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Possession in Yucatec Maya

Second, revised edition

Christian Lehmann

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Das Knie

Ein Knie geht einsam durch die Welt.
Es ist ein Knie, sonst nichts!
Es ist kein Baum! Es ist kein Zelt!
Es ist ein Knie, sonst nichts.

Im Kriege ward einmal ein Mann
erschossen um und um.
Das Knie allein blieb unverletzt –
als wärs ein Heiligtum.

Seitdem gehts einsam durch die Welt.
Es ist ein Knie, sonst nichts!
Es ist kein Baum, es ist kein Zelt.
Es ist ein Knie, sonst nichts.

Christian Morgenstern

Abstract

This is a linguistic investigation of the functional domain of possession in the Mayan language spoken on the peninsula of Yucatan, Mexico. Most of the data were collected in fieldwork. A possessive relationship connects two elements, the possessor and the possessum. In the prototypical case, the former is human, and the concept of the latter is relational, so that the relation inheres in the possessum. Part-whole and kinship relations are central to the domain. Relations of belonging and ownership are shaped on this model.

In the structural section of the description, the analytical notions are defined on a formal basis. The functional part of the description is then subdivided according to the following criteria. The possessive relationship may be used to refer to one of its members, or it may be predicated on one of them. In both cases, it may be used to characterize either the possessor or the possessum. Furthermore, there is a type of situation which itself is non-possessive but which affects a participant possessed by another participant which is thereby indirectly affected.

The grammar of Yucatec Maya in this domain is exceedingly complex and diversified. There are various morphological classes of nouns defined by their use in vs. outside possessive constructions. There are grammatical operations of relationalization and absolutivization to allow use of a noun in the respective unwanted context. In particular, kinship terms have to be absolutivized before they can be used without a possessor. Body-part terms are subdivided among several of the morphological classes according to their susceptibility of control and their contribution in shaping the geometry of the body. There is a system of possessive classifiers to specify the relationship of the possessor to the possessum. In predications, possessive or not, it is preferred and often obligatory to associate possessor and possessum in a possessed nominal rather than dissociate them as two independent actants of the verb.

Typological connections of this part of Yucatec grammar can be found, among other things, in the overall emphasis on morphological manifestation of the relationality of concepts and in the tendency to keep persons in the background rather than style them as protagonists of a situation.

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Preface

The present work is part of a set of studies contributing to the grammatical description of Yucatec Maya. I have devoted several field work trips since 1988 to diverse areas of the grammatical system. The first sketch of the present work was drafted already in 1992, on the basis of the material that I had available at the time and before I had done any fieldwork specifically devoted to the subject of possession. I did this because I had very little time to spend on fieldwork proper, so I had to prepare it as thoroughly as possible. There were, all in all, three weeks of fieldwork, in 1993 and 1994, on the topics of the present work. While I was writing up the present version, some doubts arose which I have been unable to eliminate. The hedges in some empirical generalizations will draw the reader's attention to this circumstance.

I take the opportunity to express my cordial thanks to my informants, especially to Ramón May Cupul and Ernesto May Balam, and to my hosts and companions of Yaxley for their help, patience and for the trust they accorded me as I was pursuing interests and doing things that were outside their life experience and that I have, so far, been unable to render profitable for them.

Extracts and earlier versions of this study were presented in my Mexico City seminar on language typology (April/May 1992), at the Max-Planck-Institut für Psycholinguistik in Nijmegen (June 1992), at the workshop on 'General Comparative Grammar and Linguistic Description' of the DGfS Conference in Jena (March 1993), at the Nordrhein-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften in Düsseldorf and at the Instituut voor Algemene Taalwetenschap at the Universiteit van Amsterdam (both March 1994). I thank the colleagues in the audience for their suggestions. Thanks also to Christel Stolz, whose comments on a draft version were most helpful, and to Yong-Min Shin and Lisa Verhoeven, who freely shared their ideas on possession with me. Finally, Jürgen Bohnemeyer deserves my special gratitude, since he not only commented on the paper, but even undertook it to resolve several open questions in his 1995 fieldwork.

The first edition of this study appeared simultaneously with Bricker et al. 1998. That work represents a major advance over previous Mayan lexicology and grammar, including possessive morphology. Its achievements are taken into account in the second edition of the present work. Apart from that, the text has been thoroughly revised and updated in many respects. The revision has also benefitted from correspondence with Phil Baldi.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Outline

The goal of the present study is threefold. First of all, it is a descriptive contribution to the grammar of Yucatec Maya (YM). The body of the study should be suitable to serve as a chapter in a comprehensive grammar of the language. Second, an attempt is made to integrate the principles found working in the domain under study with the rest of the grammar of the language and to characterize YM at a more general level in a typological comparison with other languages. Third, the descriptive framework used has not been devised with particular regard to YM. It is meant to be applicable, at least at its higher levels of subdivision, to any language. At the level of general comparative grammar, the purpose is to suggest a set of parameters that may be used in the description of the domain of possession in any language.

In conformity with these purposes, the work is subdivided as follows. The remainder of ch. 1 outlines the framework used and, in particular, gives a universal characterization of the functional domain of possession. A few remarks on the sources of data and the research history follow. Ch. 2 introduces some concepts of YM grammatical structure which need to be presupposed in the description of possession. The bulk of the work, viz. chapters 3 – 5, is devoted to the morphological, syntactic and lexical phenomena found in the functional domain of possession. Finally, ch. 6 works out the typological principles underlying the particular generalizations made in this domain by tying the latter up with the general grammatical setup of the language and by comparing them to the ways in which English and related languages work in the same functional domain.

1.2. Theoretical background

1.2.1. THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

Just as the lexicon of a language deals both with the expression and the content of its words, the grammar deals with its formal structures and with the communicative and cognitive functions these fulfill. And just as a practical dictionary gives access to the words of a language both from the expression and from the content side, for instance in the form of a bilingual dictionary, the grammar allows a double access to the constructions, either from the structural or from the functional side. In the lexicological tradition of European structuralism, the approach which is based on the structures and identifies their functions is called **semasiological**; the opposite approach, which takes the

functions for granted and looks for the structures that fulfill them, is called **onomasiological**.¹

The onomasiological approach may as well be called **functional**, provided it is understood that what is involved is not a linguistic ideology, but a perspective in grammatical description. It is true that ‘functional’ is sometimes used to mean ‘concerned with the functions fulfilled by language or by grammar’, as opposed to ‘formal’ or ‘structural’ in the sense of ‘not concerned with functions fulfilled by language or by grammar’. In this sense, however, both the onomasiological and the semasiological approach are functional. And both are structural (or ‘formal’) as well, since they are just as much concerned with the sheer formal structure of grammatical constructions. The use of the term ‘functional’ in the sense of ‘onomasiological’ as observed in this study has nothing to do with the ‘formalist vs. functionalist’ debate.

The conceptual framework used in the grammatical description of particular languages is set up in such a way that it may be applied to any language. That is, it is universal. The functional approach to grammar arranges and subdivides the description according to substantive concepts (including operations) founded in human cognition and communication. These are partly linguistic, partly extralinguistic concepts. However, even to the extent that they are linguistic, they are formed in such a way that they are independent of the structure of any particular language. For instance, the concept of the possessor, which plays an important role in what follows, has to mean something different from ‘genitive noun phrase’, or else the approach will be inconsistent.

Given that grammar is by nature language-specific, it follows that the concepts forming the basis of the universal framework, including the functional approach, are not grammatical concepts. In the exposition that follows, a great deal of grammatical concepts will nevertheless show up. This is a consequence of the fact that the functional perspective involves a transition from purely cognitive and communicative concepts to grammatical concepts. The functions are presupposed; it is the grammatical structures (categories, relations, processes) of the language that are being talked about.

In a complete grammar, the functional approach is complemented by the structural approach. This must be emphasized because criticisms of a functionally based linguistic description generally allege that it is not appropriate to the particular structure of the language. Given that form and function covary in language less than a hundred percent, a structural description is no more self-sufficient than a functional one. Either affords an access to the linguistic phenomena that is not afforded by the other.

While a complete grammar uses both of the approaches in a systematic complementary way, this is not feasible in a specialized study such as this one. The functional and the formal framework are completely independent of each other. This means that in a partial

¹ Alternative terms which have been used are *analytic* and *synthetic*, respectively.

description such as the present one, there is no natural way to limit the structural treatment to the same phenomena which are in the focus of the functional treatment. We will try and solve this dilemma as follows: In ch. 2, there will be a general exposition, in a structure-based perspective, of the analytic concepts to be used later. Chapters 3 – 5 are organized in a function-based perspective. YM constructions which are formally like the ones treated in these sections, but which are marginal to the functional domain of possession, are nevertheless brought in occasionally. In some cases, this takes the form of a “semasiological aside”. In principle, however, I have tried to work out, in the appropriate subsection, the common functional basis on which these constructions assume the same form.

As a concrete example of what this entails, consider the YM *-il* suffix, which will be talked about in various chapters. It would be misguided to expect a unified treatment of such a structural phenomenon from a functional account. However, to repeat, this is not a defect of the functional approach, at least no more than it is a defect of the structural approach that it does not allow one to give a unified treatment of the grammar of body part terms in YM.

1.2.2. POSSESSION

1.2.2.1. Fundamental concepts

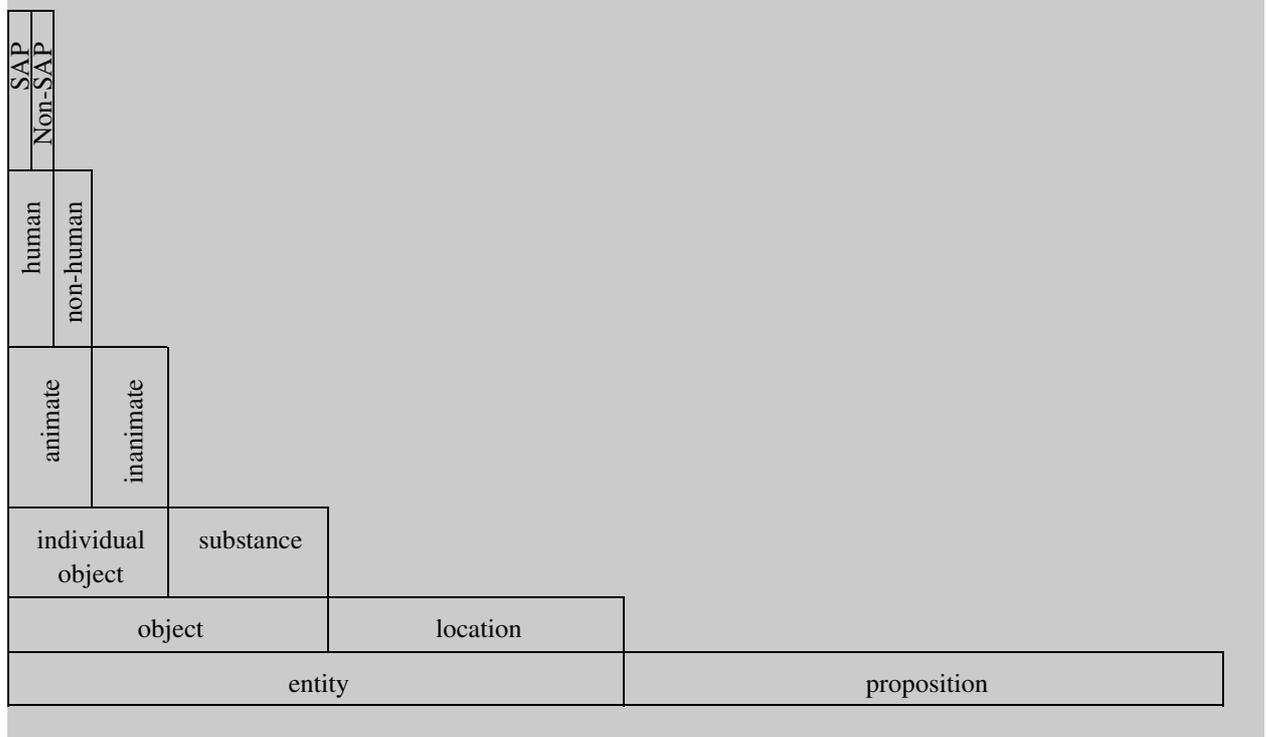
In trying to characterize possession, there are two possible approaches, one searching for a Grundbedeutung (core meaning), the other searching for a Gesamtbedeutung (general meaning). The former identifies a prototype on the basis of the properties and semantic roles of the entities involved, the latter looks for a general schema based on cognitive processing. The former is taken in Seiler 1983, the latter in Langacker 1993. In ch. 1.2.2.1.2, possession will be characterized as a prototypical concept. In ch. 1.2.2.2, the commonalities among possession and related domains will be sought, and it will be seen how loosening of the specific conditions of the prototype leads to transition from possession into neighboring areas whose common denominator may provide a Gesamtbedeutung for a large set of similar constructions.

1.2.2.1.1. THE EMPATHY HIERARCHY

If stripped of their relations, the participants of a situation are classified by their properties. The classification imposed by the grammars of natural languages is oriented towards the ego: participants are rated as to their similarity with the speaker. The result is not really a classification, but a hierarchy. The speaker is most **empathic** with himself and least empathic with entities which are not even thing-like. S1 represents this hierarchy

as it emerges from typological comparison of many languages in diverse grammatical subsystems.²

S1. *Empathy hierarchy*



The speaker and other speech act participants (SAPs) are at the top of the hierarchy, then follow other human beings, other animate beings, other individuals, other objects and other entities. Propositions are most unlike human beings; they can actually only become a participant by conversion. The empathy hierarchy plays an important role both in the functional domain of possession and in diverse areas of YM grammatical structure.³

² Cf. Comrie 1981, ch. 9 and the literature cited there.

³ Some clarification of terminology is necessary here. First, until recently, ‘empathy’ has been called *animacy* in linguistics. This term, however, is unfortunate for several reasons: It suggests a binary classification instead of a hierarchy, it arbitrarily names the hierarchy by one of its intermediate levels, and it doubles the traditional label for a category which appears in morphological systems of nominal classification of many languages. The term *empathy* nicely underlines both the graduality and the speaker-dependence of the concept (cf. Kuno & Kaburaki 1977). Second, X’s empathy is properly his attitude of being empathic with Y. S1 is a hierarchy of participants Y according to the degree to which the speaker X is empathic with them. Although it is, insofar, X and not Y that is empathic or anempathic, we will henceforth, for the sake of simplicity, use the converse of the empathy relation to designate more or less empathic or anempathic Ys.

1.2.2.1.2. PROTOTYPICAL POSSESSIVE RELATIONSHIPS

1.2.2.1.2.1. Possessor and possessum

Possession⁴ will here be characterized as a prototypical concept. More marginal cases of possession may be obtained by loosening any of the following conditions. Possession is an asymmetric relationship between exactly two entities, called the **possessor** and the **possessum** (the thing possessed). The most relevant parameter for possessors of different kinds is the empathy hierarchy. The prototypical possessor is at the top of the hierarchy, i.e. it is ego. Since empathy is inseparable from individuation, the prototypical possessor is also highly individuated. It is therefore apt to serve as a reference point which may be appealed to if intrinsically less individuated things – in this case possessa – are to be identified.

The prototypical possessum is a concrete entity, normally an individual (as opposed to a mass), but not necessarily highly individuated. It may be empathic or anempathic. The relationship between possessor and possessum prototypically has zero intension. This means that there is no relator which would link the two relata and could thus contribute a meaning of its own. Instead, the relation between the two elements is brought about by the relationality of one of them, which opens a place (an argument position) to be occupied by the other. Consequently, the interpretation of the possessive relation will crucially depend on the nature of the two members. Two aspects of the possessive relation follow from this. First, since the prototypical possessor is ego, the entities to which he has a direct relation belong to his personal sphere. In this sense, prototypical interpretations of the possessive relationship lie in the bio-cultural sphere. This is the anthropological basis of possession. The second relevant aspect of the possessive relation is its affinity to control and will be taken up shortly.

The possessive relationship is also asymmetrical as regards the relationality of the two constitutive concepts. In principle, a concept could be relational either by implying a relationship to a possessor or by implying a relationship to a possessum. However, elementary concepts of the latter kind do not exist. Thus, there are entity concepts which typically function as a possessum and therefore require specification by a possessor; but there are no elementary entity concepts which typically function as a possessor and therefore require specification by a possessum.⁵

⁴ The fundamental work on possession in general is Seiler 1983[Pn]. Apart from a few modifications and shifts in emphasis, the framework outlined in ch. 1.2.2.1 is taken from this work. Its concepts and insights are freely made use of throughout this study.

⁵ Possessive pronouns form a potential exception to this statement; cf. ch. 3.2.1.1.

A concept such as ‘owner’ might appear to be an exception to the last statement.⁶ It should therefore be emphasized at this point that ‘possessor’ and ‘possessum’ are functional linguistic concepts.⁷ Social or legal roles such as ‘owner’ are possible interpretations of the ‘possessor’ concept, as we will see in ch. 1.2.2.1.2.2; but they are not constitutive of it.

- E1. a. the saddle of the horse
 b. the owner of the horse

In an expression such as E1.a, the saddle is the possessum and the horse is the possessor. In E1.b, assignment of possessor and possessum works analogously, i.e. the owner is still the possessum, not the possessor in the construction. See ch. 1.2.2.2.4.2 for some more theoretical discussion. A relevant YM example will come up on p. 98.

While the decisive subdivision of possessum concepts is according to relationality, empathy plays an important role for them, too. The prototypical representative of empathic entities which belong to the personal sphere of ego is the kinsman. Other social relationships such as friends and enemies are generally treated as analogous to the kinship relation. The prototypical representative of anempathic entities which belong to the personal sphere of ego is the body part. Other part-whole relations, especially spatial regions of physical objects, are generally treated as analogous to body-part relations. In short, there are at least two kinds of entity concepts which are relational in the required sense at the universal cognitive level: concepts of social relations, especially kin, and concepts of parts, especially body parts. It can be said that possession is **inherent** in such concepts.

Mirroring conceptual relationality, nouns for kinship terms and other social relations, and nouns for parts, especially body parts, exhibit properties of grammatical relationality in many languages. This means they typically occur in possessive constructions, and these involve minimal use of grammatical formatives, because the relationship between any of these items and its possessor is already inherent in the former.

An example of a constellation where the possessor, the possessum and the possessive relation are all represented by their focal instances is ‘my mother’. There are quite a few languages which do not even express possession in such a constellation, because it is the default assumption. For instance, the German expression in E2 will normally be

⁶ It is not really an exception, though, as it is not elementary. Probably most of the nouns which are analogous to *owner* in E1.b are agent nouns, which means that their argument position for the apparent ‘possessum’ actually stems from a verbal undergoer argument position.

⁷ In the framework of Role and Reference Grammar (Foley & Van Valin 1984), ‘possessor’ could be conceived as a macro-role analogous to ‘actor’ and ‘undergoer’. Just as the agent is the prototypical actor and the patient is the prototypical undergoer, so the possessor would have a prototype as characterized above.

interpreted to refer to the speaker's mother, not to the addressee's or anybody else's mother.

E2. Ist Mutter schon zurück? 'Has mother already come back?'

In Jaminjung (North Australia), kinship terms have special possessive suffixes. However, for a first person possessor, the suffix is zero (Schultze-Berndt 1999, ch. 2.2.2.2). This kind of evidence confirms the prototypical conception of possession advocated in this section.

1.2.2.1.2.2. The possessive relation

Up to this point, possession in the sense of ownership has not entered the picture. To see how it comes in, we have to go back to the notion that the possessive relation itself is basically empty and that its interpretation depends crucially on the nature of the two relata. If X is high in empathy and individuation, while Y may be anempathic and less individuated, then this is the typical constellation for X to **control** Y. Given the default constellation of possessor and possessum with its asymmetry in empathy and individuation, control of the possessum by the possessor is the default assumption and insofar the default interpretation of the possessive relation.

In the present context, control is not an action or activity. Instead, it is the basis of the relationship between actor and undergoer of a situation (cf. ch. 1.2.2.2.4). For X to control Y means that X has Y under its control, that X is somehow prior to Y and Y somehow depends on X. Incidentally, this corresponds to the traditional analysis of the Gesamtbedeutung of the verb *have*. It may be specified by additional semantic features which yield interpretations of the sort that X possesses Y, that X has produced Y, that Y stems from X etc.

The status of control as a default corollary to the prototypical possessive relationship needs to be clarified. It means that although prototypically the possessive relationship itself has zero intension, the semantic vacuum is filled up by implicature. This implicature may become a conventional semantic feature in a language system. Then relationships which do not involve control may be marked or otherwise be treated differently in terms of linguistic structure. On the other hand, the implicature may be restricted to certain constellations of possessor and possessum and be absent from others, for instance from kin relations, where possessor and possessum are generally equal in empathy.

So far, the domain of possession appears to be internally uniform, with the prototypical possessive relation in the center and other relations which lack some relevant properties arranged around it at various distances. There is, however, a feature in the constitution of the domain which prevents it from remaining so stable and homogeneous. This consists in a certain tension between the two criteria which define prototypical possessors and possessa. On the one hand, the asymmetry between X and Y in terms of empathy and individuation enables X to control Y; on the other hand, Y is inherently relational. Now,

for X to control Y implies that it is X which dictates the nature of its relation to Y. This, however, is incompatible with the requirement that the relationship be inherent in Y, but not in X. It is this conflict which is intrinsic to the functional domain of possession and which renders the loosening of the definitory conditions of prototypical possession not merely accidental, but constitutive of the domain.

It is in the nature of human cognition that properties are more constitutive of concepts than relations. Things may remain essentially the same even if their relations change; but a relation does not remain the same if the basic properties of the related entities change. Consequently, the properties of possessor and possessum are fundamental to the functional domain of possession. To the extent that they change, we leave this functional domain. The relationship between them, however, may be interpreted as a control relation and may thus be hypostatized to various extents. Therefore, prototypical possession is surrounded by less direct and empty relations between possessor and possessum which are not inherent in the possessum and which are essentially controlled by the possessor. These complete the domain of possession.

Many entities are not inherently related to, let alone possessed by, anybody and sometimes are not even straightforwardly conceived of as being possessed at all. These include wild animals such as fish and spiders, human beings such as women, youths, farmers and Mayas, and configurations of nature such as hills, jungles and clouds. If they are to play the role of the possessum in a possessive situation, it will be such a non-prototypical case of possession, because the relationship between the two entities is then not inherent in either of the terms. It is also possible that a relationship which is normally inherent in the possessum is to be specially asserted. Anyhow, to the extent that the possessive relationship is not taken for granted, it is **established**. The grammatical constructions affording this will typically involve more formative apparatus. The asymmetrical opposition between inherent possession at the unmarked pole and established possession at the marked pole, and the gamut of more or less direct relations between them, is therefore constitutive of the functional domain of possession.

1.2.2.1.3. THE METHODOLOGICAL BASIS OF POSSESSION

At the methodological level, the question arises what the criterion or what the motivation is for founding the conceptual domain of possession in such a way. After all, in daily life possession is primarily a concept assigned to the sociological and juridical sphere. It is associated with ownership and typically concerns relationships between a person and a thing sanctioned by convention or law, such as the possession of a car by a woman or the possession of a house by a company. Why is the functional domain of possession not centered around such cases?

The kinds of relationship which have been adduced in ch. 1.2.2.1.2 as prototypical cases of possession are generally expressed without any special grammatical apparatus in the

languages of the world. In this sense, they are unmarked as against other relationships, such as the possession of a car by a woman or the possession of a director by an institute. It is this criterion of formal unmarkedness which leads us to positing the former kind of relation as fundamental for our concept of possession. The other relationships of possession are diverse cases on the gamut between the two poles of inherent and established possession. Consequently, the grammatical means to express them will vary between these two extremes.⁸

1.2.2.1.4. SYNTACTIC MANIFESTATIONS OF POSSESSION

Let X_{Pr} represent a nominal expression in the role of a possessor, and Y_{Pm} a nominal expression in the role of a possessum. A possessive relationship may essentially appear in one of three ways in linguistic structure. They will be briefly introduced here and discussed more fully in chapters 3 – 5 at the junctures where they are needed in the description.

1. In a referential act, a possessive relationship may be used to specify the possessum by its relation to the possessor, as in *the student's bike*, or vice versa, as in *the student with the bike*. The first is reference by using the **possessor as an attribute**, the second is reference by using the **possessum as an attribute**. Both are normally expressed by some kind of noun phrase consisting of a head and an attribute which designate the possessor and the possessum. Such constructions may be schematized by ' X_{Pr} 's Y_{Pm} ' / ' Y_{Pm} of X_{Pr} ' and by ' X_{Pr} with Y_{Pm} ', respectively.

2. The possessive relationship may constitute a predicative act, in which it is either predicated on the possessum, as in *the bike is the student's*, or on the possessor, as in *the student has a bike*. The first is a **predication of belonging**, which may take forms such as ' Y_{Pm} is X_{Pr} 's', ' Y_{Pm} belongs to X_{Pr} '. The second is an **ascription of possession**, which may take forms such as ' X_{Pr} has a Y_{Pm} ', ' $there is a Y_{Pm} to X_{Pr}$ ', ' $to X_{Pr}$ exists a Y_{Pm} '.⁹ In the clearest cases of possession in predication, possessor and possessum are assigned to subject and predicate of a clause, or vice versa, as in these English-based structure formulas. We will see, however, that this need not be so.

3. The possessive relationship may be part of a (non-possessive) situation in which one participant (the possessum) is affected directly and another participant, by virtue of

⁸ The approach taken here is similar to the one taken in Langacker 1993 in that possession is not founded on the concept of ownership. However, Langacker only assumes that possession "clusters around several conceptual archetypes [... which] include ownership, kinship, and part-whole relations involving physical objects (the body in particular)" (p. 8). The above statement goes beyond this in trying to structure this set of archetypes according to the inherence parameter.

⁹ The distinction goes back to Benveniste 1966, where it is made in terms of 'appartenance' vs. 'possession', respectively.

being the possessor of the first, is affected indirectly, as in *the bike broke down on the student*. This is **indirect affection of the possessor**.¹⁰ It may take either of two syntactic forms which will be called internal and external possessor constructions (cf. König & Haspelmath 1998). The internal possessor construction has the form ‘X_{Pr}'s Y_{Pm} is affected’, while the external possessor construction has the form ‘Y_{Pm} is affected to X_{Pr}’ / ‘X_{Pr} is affected on Y_{Pm}’. The internal possessor construction simply incorporates the referential construction (#1) with the possessor as attribute. For more clarification, see ch. 5.1.

The three syntactic manifestations of possession are related to the distinction between inherent and established possession made in ch. 1.2.2.1.2 as follows:

- The possessive relationship contained in a referential act may be inherent or established.
- If the possessive relationship is predicated, it is established. That is to say, an inherent possessive relationship cannot be predicated.
- The external possessor construction is prototypically associated with inherence of the possessive relationship.

The concepts of these major possessive constructions are summarized in T1. This classification of possessive constructions will serve as the basis for the subdivision of ch. 3 – 5.

T1. *Possessive constructions*

| operation | subtype | possessive relation | basis of operation | |
|-------------|----------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| | | | possessum | possessor |
| reference | possessive | inherent or established | possessor as attribute | possessum as attribute |
| predication | possessive | established | predication of belonging | ascription of possession |
| | non-possessive | inherent | external possessor construction | |

¹⁰ A slight misuse of the word *affection* is necessary here, by recourse to its etymology and in analogy to the linguistic term *affectedness*.

1.2.2.2. Possession and related functional domains

1.2.2.2.1. STRUCTURAL SIMILARITIES IN A FUNCTIONAL APPROACH

In all languages, the grammatical formatives and structures involved in possessive constructions are also used in grammatical constructions whose function is but loosely associated with (the gamut between inherent and established) possession. The locus of such constructions is in functional domains which are conceptually related to, but distinct from, possession. For instance, the verb *have* appears not only in possessive predications, but also as a marker of the perfect in many other predications. This kind of polysemy or polyfunctionality would be brought out by a semasiological description. That is, methodologically speaking, the affinity of other conceptual domains to possession is disclosed by a procedure which starts from the grammatical structures which happen to be used for possession in any given language, and then looks for their further uses. To the extent that this is so, it is impossible to systematize them at a universal level. They will not be given full treatment here because the orientation of the central chapters is functional.

However, to the extent that there are cross-linguistic patterns in the observable polyfunctionalities, they manifest inner relations, especially conceptual similarities and analogies, among the diverse functional domains. An onomasiological account should try to make these explicit so that the polysemies do not appear as homonymies.

The functional domains which are relevant to possession may be found by the same conceptual procedure which was mentioned in ch. 1.2.2.1.2 for the generation of marginal cases of possession, namely by changing any of the features which define the prototypical possessive situation. The functional domains that will be considered below will not be justified in the present context; see Seiler 1978, 1985, 1986 and Seiler & Premper (eds.) 1991 for the theoretical background.

1.2.2.2.2. DENOMINATION AND CHARACTERIZATION

There is an agglomerate of functional domains which concern concept formation and reference. They involve operations of denomination, determination, modification, classification and the like. The point of contact with possession lies in the specification of a referent that may be afforded by a possessive relationship. In a construction of the form 'X_{Pr}'s Y_{Pm}' / 'Y_{Pm} of X_{Pr}', the possessive attribute oscillates between a determiner (to pin down the reference of Y) and a specifier (to further characterize the concept of Y). The constituent 'X_{Pr}'s' in the first formula may be represented by a mere possessive pronoun. In many languages, this shows the grammatical behavior of a **determiner** and behaves similarly as an article. At this point, then, we pass into the domain of determination.

On the other hand, the X in a construction ‘Y of X’ may represent some entity which does not bear a possessive relationship to Y, mainly because it is too far away from the prototypical possessor. Here we enter the field that is known to traditional grammar as the diverse uses of the genitive. The following may be mentioned:

X may be the **place of origin** of Y (genitivus originis), as in ‘basket from Seville’ (e.g. Spanish *canasto de Sevilla*), which may be structured like the possessive construction ‘basket of Alfred’ (*canasto de Alfredo*).

X may be the whole of which Y is a part, or the **set** of which Y is a subset (genitivus partitivus). Then ‘most of the employees’ may be structured like ‘salary of the employees’. While proper parts are at the center of the domain of possession, subsets, as in the example mentioned, are more at the periphery.

X may be a **substance** that Y is made of (genitivus materiae), as in ‘chair of wood’ (Spanish *silla de madera*). This may be structured like ‘chair of Alfred’ (*silla de Alfredo*).

X may be a **property**, i.e. a quality, of Y (genitivus qualitatis). Then ‘boy of sixteen years’ (Latin *puer sedecim annorum*) may be structured like ‘boy of sixteen masters’ (*puer sedecim dominorum*).

X may be the **name** of Y or name the species of which Y designates the genus (genitivus explicativus or appositivus): ‘town of Merida’ (Spanish *ciudad de Mérida*) like ‘town of our ancestors’ (*ciudad de nuestros antecesores*).

Although all of these cases may appear formally as nominals containing a nominal attribute, they are marginal to the domain of possession because the X entity is far removed from the prototypical possessor and, consequently, does not bear a possessive relationship to Y.

Such attributes may also be represented by adjectives in many languages (e.g. ‘Sevillan basket’ alongside ‘basket from Seville’, or English *lexical entry* alongside *entry of the lexicon* [partitive genitive]). However, this is also true of real possessive attributes. For instance, beside ‘army of the king’ (Latin *exercitus regis*) we may have ‘royal army’ (*exercitus regius*). This shows that a possessive relationship may be used not only to specify, but also to characterize a referent. However, in the latter case the possessor is not individuated, and insofar it is not a prototypical case of possession.

Finally, the structural means par excellence for concept formation is **compounding**. In many languages, this is formally similar to possessive attribution. For instance, ‘university rector’ may be structurally similar to ‘rector of the university’. In several languages, such as French, the difference does not reside in the structural relation between the two components but rather in the determination of the nominal representing the possessor. In languages like English, the difference between the two processes is both structural and functional. Structurally, compounding takes place at the stem level, while possessive attribution takes place at the phrase level. Functionally, compounding forms a new

concept by enriching the base concept, while possessive attribution specifies a referent by relating it to another referent (cf. Langacker 1993). Therefore, compounding is peripheral to the domain of possession.

1.2.2.2.3. LOCATION AND EXISTENCE

A situation – and, thus, its central participant – may be located with respect to another one. This is a stative binary relation like possession. Points of contact may be found in the following construction types.

In the possessive construction ‘ X_{Pr} 's Y_{Pm} ’, Y may be a part of X , as in ‘head of the institute’. There are constructions of the type ‘ X 's Y ’ where Y is a **spatial region** of X , as in ‘top of the institute’. In most languages, these constructions are formally similar.

Ascription of possession often takes the form ‘there is a Y_{Pm} to X_{Pr} ’, ‘to X_{Pr} exists a Y_{Pm} ’, as in Russian *u menja jest' kniga* (at me:GEN EXIST book) ‘I have a book’. This is then similar to a **local predication** ‘there is a Y at X ’ / ‘at X exists a Y ’, as in *u vokzala jest' zavod* (at station:GEN EXIST factory) ‘there is a factory at the station’. The existence predicate is very frequent in ascriptions of possession in the languages of the world.

If the possessive relation is not to be predicated, then X_{Pr} and Y_{Pm} necessarily participate as referents in some other situation (third row of T1). No special grammatical means to express the possessive relationship in such a situation are used in the languages of the world. This is true both in case the possessor is expressed as a normal possessive attribute of the participant directly affected – the internal possessor construction of ch. 1.2.2.1.4 – and in the external possessor construction. If Y_{Pm} is a body part of X_{Pr} , then Y is, in a sense, on X . The external possessor construction is often shaped on the pattern of a predication which directly pertains to X and adjoins Y as a **local adjunct**. That is, ‘ Y_{Pm} is affected to X_{Pr} ’ is similar to ‘ Y is located at / moved to X ’. Thus, Russian has *časny u menja ostanovilis'* (hour:NOM.PL on me:GEN stand.still:PAST:NOM.PL) ‘my watch has stopped’, comparable to the local predication of the preceding paragraph. Cf. also English *Peter hit me on the cheek*, which appears to be modelled on non-possessive constructions such as *Peter hit me on the market*.

1.2.2.2.4. PARTICIPATION

1.2.2.2.4.1. Basic concepts¹¹

Given a situation with a number of entities more or less directly involved in it, then the latter are its **participants**. They are assembled around an immaterial center, the **situation**

¹¹ Comprehensive treatments of the following at the typological level and for YM in particular may be found in Lehmann 1991[P], esp. §3.6.2, and 1993[P], respectively.

core, with respect to which they bear various roles such as goal, experiencer, instrument and the like. Participation is the interplay of these participant roles. The main parameter which differentiates among participants is their **centrality**: central participants are inherent in the situation core, peripheral participants are added to it. The central participants are distinguished by **control**: the **actor** controls the situation, the **undergoer** is controlled by it.¹² A side effect of this is a difference in centrality: since the undergoer is controlled by the situation, it is the most central participant.

In participation, the situation core has its own intension and is thus distinct from the participants. Possession can be similar to participation in two principal ways: The relationship of the possessor to the possessum may be likened to the relationship of a participant to the situation core. Then only ‘possessor’, but not ‘possessum’ is construed as a participant role. Or else both possessor and possessum are taken as participants in a situation whose core is the possessive relation.

1.2.2.2.4.2. Situation core as possessum

Starting with the first possibility, we find two variants of it, namely in reference and in predication. In a construction of the form ‘X's Y’, Y may be the expression of a situation core (typically an action noun), and X may be one of its participants. If it is a central participant, then X appears in one of the functions which in Latin grammar are called genitivus subjectivus and objectivus, respectively; e.g. ‘Alfred's victory’ and ‘Alfred's defeat’ like ‘Alfred's bottle’.

In likening the relation between a situation core and one of its participants to the relation between a possessum and its possessor, different participant roles are mapped onto the possessor role. While no problem arises for one-participant situations, several participants of one situation should be kept distinct. It was seen in ch. 1.2.2.1.2 that the relation to a possessor may either be inherent in the possessum or be established. There is therefore a functional basis for the following mapping principle: A central participant will be mapped onto the inherent possessor, while a peripheral participant will be mapped onto the established possessor.

When it comes to the differentiation between the two central participants, it is possible to map just one of them onto the possessor of an unmarked possessive relation. Here, however, the potential conflict between the two essential conditions for an unmarked possessive situation makes itself felt again. If the high empathy, individuation and control potential of the possessor is the crucial criterion of unmarkedness, then the actor should be mapped onto the unmarked possessor. If inherence of the relation in the possessum is

¹² The term ‘undergoer’ will be used in a broad sense to designate not only patients, but also central participants that may also be called ‘theme’, as, e.g., the role corresponding to the direct object of ‘know’ and to the sole actant of ‘exist’.

the decisive criterion, then the undergoer should be mapped onto the unmarked possessor. The whole issue becomes relevant, of course, only if the language does make a formal distinction between ‘genitivus subjectivus’ and ‘genitivus objectivus’. Then different languages do take up either of the motivated alternatives (cf. Seiler 1983[Py]).

A situation core may be nominalized not only into an action noun, but also into an **agent noun**. Thus we find constructions of the form ‘Y of X’, such as ‘painter of the picture’, where Y is an agent noun, thus designating the actor of a certain situation core, and X again represents one of the latter’s other participants, typically the undergoer. Such a construction may be structurally similar to a possessive construction: just as before, Y would be the possessum, X would be the possessor. However, the prototypical constellation of possessor and possessum is almost reversed here (and even more so in E1.b above), since this possessum is high in individuation, empathy and control, while this possessor is controlled and typically lower in individuation and empathy. The motivation for expressing this conceptual constellation on the analogy of a possessive construction lies in the relationality of Y; but otherwise such constructions are not possessive.

In a construction which is formally similar to an ascription of possession to X, Y may be the expression of a situation core (normally a non-finite verbal) which is somehow ascribed to a central participant X (cf. Seiler 1973[Z]). Such a construction may fulfill various functions. The situation core may be ascribed as a result to the participant expressed in subject position. This construction (the ‘possessor-of-an-act’ construction of Seiler 1973[O]) is at the basis of the **perfect** in diverse languages. Both constructional variants of the ascription of possession, namely ‘X has Y’ and ‘there is a Y to X’, may serve as the model for the perfect. Cf. English *I have slept* like *I have money* and Latin *mihi est emptus liber* ‘I have bought a book’ like *mihi est liber* ‘I have a book’. Otherwise, the situation core may be ascribed as an obligation to the participant expressed by the subject. This **obligative** (debitive) construction, too, appears in both of the variants of ascription of possession. Cf. again English *I have to sleep* and Latin *mihi dormiendum est* with *I have money / mihi pecunia est*.

1.2.2.2.4.3. Situation core as possessive relation

The second possibility of getting a formal similarity of possession and participation arises if, in a possessive predication, the possessive relation is inflated to a full-fledged situation core. Instead of merely attributing the possessum to the possessor or vice versa, as described in ch. ?, one then adds specific semantic features to the relation. This is the field of the **possessive verbs** such as ‘possess’, ‘belong’, ‘acquire’, ‘lose’ etc. Here possession forfeits its structural identity and is subsumed under participation..

1.2.2.2.5. RELATIONSHIPS AMONG FUNCTIONAL DOMAINS

From a semasiological point of view, all the YM constructions which feature a possessive pronoun are related. This includes several of those mentioned above, such as the genitivus explicativus or the possessed nominal with an abstract head.¹³ However, as a consequence of the methodological decision taken here, such constructions are only mentioned in passing or not treated at all.

The point of dividing the cognitive and communicative substance up into diverse functional domains is not to assign everything a unique place in a neat and streamline system. No claim is being made that the domain of possession is clearly delimited against the other domains mentioned. For instance, phenomena such as possessive attribution obviously lie in the intersection between the domains of possession and of determination.

From a methodological point of view, the functional domains are but convenient ways of grouping things that intrinsically belong together. Since any scientific study necessarily cuts off at certain points, limiting the treatment to a functional domain is a form of doing this in an intelligible way. A more comprehensive treatment would include all the neighboring functional domains, highlight the similarities among them and relate the observable polyfunctionality of linguistic structure to these functional similarities.

1.3. Data

Most of the data for this study were gathered in various fieldwork trips to the village of Yaxley, municipio of Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Quintana Roo. The chief native consultants were Ramón May Cupul and the late Gregorio Vivas Cámara, both Yaxley. Some data on body-part terminology stem from Fidencio Briceño Chel, then Mexico City. Examples taken from my text corpus (see index at the end) are provided with a source indication. All examples not so marked were elicited in fieldwork.

Much of the study concentrates on the level of syntax and its semantics rather than morphology. At that level, grammaticality judgements of informants are notoriously less stable. In particular, many nouns are practically always, and others practically never, used in possessive constructions. Informants tend to get uneasy about the use of such nouns in the respective unwonted environment. For instance, non-possessed forms of such body-part terms as *chi* 'mouth' or *ich* 'eye, face' can only be elicited with considerable effort. The mere fact that they can be elicited does not guarantee that they ever occur freely.

Literature that mentions possession in YM relies mainly on data from the state of Yucatán. Clashes between the present account and published knowledge may partly be due to

¹³ Cf. Hofling 1990, where abstract and even plainly verbal heads are subsumed under possession.

dialectal differences. Thus, Blair's (1964) informants apparently could say *u kiih* 'his sisal' (ch. 2.2.2.3), *in òon* 'my avocado' (ch. 2.1.1.1; cf. E23 below and Bricker et al. 1998:360). Informants from Yaxley need to use either the relational suffix or a possessive classifier with such words.

Also, the literature based on the dialect of Yucatán has a threefold prosodic contrast in vowels: short and toneless, long high-tone, long low-tone. Apparently, there is a dialect continuum leading from the extreme north-west of the Yucatecan speaking area to various regions in the south. Mopán, a language bordering on YM in the south-east, very closely akin and mutually intelligible with it, only has a contrast between short and long vowels, but no tones. The dialect area which includes Yaxley is geographically as close to Mopán as it is to the language of Yucatán. There is frequent variation between low-tone and toneless syllables.

1.4. Research on possession in Mayan languages

A couple of specialized studies on aspects of possession in diverse Mayan languages have been published. For Yucatec Maya, Bricker 1970 and Durbin 1970 have been used.¹⁴ Comprehensive studies of possession are available for Aguacatec (Larsen 1976) and Itzá (Hofling 1990). Most of the published grammars of Mayan languages treat possessive constructions in some detail. Dayley 1985 for Tzutujil, Haviland 1988 for Tzotzil and Edmonson 1988 for Huastec may be mentioned here.

Given the close affinity between YM and Itzá, it is no surprise that many of the results of Hofling 1990 are valid for YM, too. All in all, a picture of great uniformity in Mayan possessive constructions emerges. Both the morphological processes and the semant syntactic factors conditioning them are similar throughout. The subdivision of body-part nouns into morphological classes based on alienability is widespread. The use of absolutivizing suffixes, observable in YM only on kin nouns (cf., however, ch. 3.2.2.2.3.2), is even more general in other Mayan languages and there includes inalienable body-part nouns. The comparison between YM and the other Mayan languages will not, however, be pursued systematically here.

¹⁴ Derrig 1970 may be mentioned for the record.

2. PREREQUISITES OF YUCATEC GRAMMAR

2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this section is to introduce the most important grammatical categories which interact with the ones central to possession. Given these limitations, the treatment is eclectic and incomplete. For a brief survey of the language as a whole, see Lehmann 1991[Y]. Most of the morphology and the syntax is described, in a structural approach, in Blair 1964.

The orthography used here for YM is essentially based on Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980, with two exceptions: First, tones are indicated on all long vowels. Second, in a sequence consisting of a vowel and a glottal stop, the vowel is not repeated after the glottal stop. This system is used throughout, even for material quoted from colonial sources.

2.2. Nominal categories

2.2.1. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

2.2.1.1. Stem-formation

YM has nominal as well as verbal **compounding**; the latter will be treated in ch. 2.4.3. There are endocentric and exocentric compound nouns. The exocentric compounds mostly have a verbal head, such as *k'ax-nak'* (tie-belly) ‘belt’ or *x-kimen-y-üicham* (F-dead-0-husband)¹⁵ ‘widow’. Endocentric compounds have a noun in the role of the determinatum. It may be the first or the second member of the compound. The structure ‘determinatum-determinans’ is generally chosen if the determinans is a noun, too, as in *éet-lu'm* (companion-earth) ‘compatriot’. The structure ‘determinans-determinatum’ is preferred if the determinans is an adjective or verb, as in *noh-ko'lel* (big-lady) ‘mother-in-law’ or *k'ay-küuts* (sing-pheasant) ‘male pheasant’. With the exception of the last example, the sequence of the elements in these compound patterns is the same if the compound is resolved into a syntactic construction. For instance, *kimen yüicham* is a clause meaning ‘her husband is dead’. Many apparent compounds are clearly phrasal in nature and should therefore not appear under the rubric “stem-formation”. See ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2 for some discussion.

¹⁵ or, alternatively, F-dead-POSS.3-husband; cf. ch. 3.2.1.1.1.4.3

Derivation of nouns by means of suffixes is very productive. For instance, the pattern [X-*náal*]_N (one who is habitually related to X) yields nouns such as *kol-náal* (milpa-NR) ‘farmer’.

2.2.1.2. Inflection

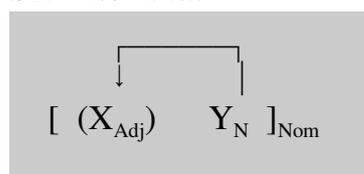
There is no singular or singulative marker. **Plurality** of an NP is marked by the suffix *-o'b* on the noun stem, as in *ko'lel* ‘lady’ – *ko'lelo'b* ‘ladies’. Obligatoriness of plural marking increases with empathy and specificity. It is, for instance, optional in E36.c below.

There is no **gender** in YM. There is, however, a grammatical sex distinction which may be made on certain classes of nouns designating beings high on the empathy hierarchy (cf. E6, E36.b), but not in pronouns or any pronominal elements. Objects of traditional Mayan culture may also bear the feminine prefix, as in E39. For classifiers, see ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.3. There are, of course, deictic distinctions in grammar, but this is not a nominal category; see ch. 3.2.4.2.

2.2.2. NOMINAL SYNTAX

A **nominal** is a construction consisting of a head noun and an optional prenominal simple adjective attribute, Y and X respectively in S2,¹⁶ as illustrated in E3.

S2. Nominal



E3. *chàan* *tàanah*
 little house ‘little house’

An adjective is substantivized without further ado; e.g. *nohoch* ‘big/tall (old, important) → big/tall one (old/important person, authority)’. In the plural, however, a substantivized adjective, and only this, takes the suffix *-tak*, as in *nohochtak* ‘big ones’ (cf. also E50 and E58).

A nominal may be expanded into a more complex nominal by close **apposition**, as in *yùum ahaw* ‘master chief’ (cf. E67.a).

¹⁶ Dependency arrows are on top of the category structure and point toward the dependent element.

Numerals are right-bound morphemes which require either a numeral classifier (E4.a) or a mensurative (E4.b) as a host. Consequently, a **numeral complex** has the structure [Numeral- Num.Class] or [Numeral- Mensurative]. A numeral complex combines with a following nominal to form a count nominal.

- E4. a. hun-túul chàan áak
 one-CL.animate little tortoise ‘a little tortoise’ (RC, AAK 001)
- b. ka'-hàats ixim
 two-share corn ‘two shares of corn’

Numeral classifiers occur primarily in complex forms such as *hum-p'éel* (one-CL.inanimate) and *ka'-túul* (two-CL.animate), where they are inseparable from the numeral. However, there is evidence to show that it is the numeral which is a bound form. There are constructions such as E68.b below, in which the classifier is not left-bound.

The **definite determiner** precedes such a count nominal, as in E5.

- E5. le ka'-túul suku'n-tsil-o'b-e'
 DEF two-CL.animate elder.brother-ABSOL-PL-D3
 ‘(as for) the two elder brothers’ (MUUCH 364)

The definite determiner cannot occur by itself to mark mere definiteness, but obligatorily triggers one of the deictic particles described in ch. 2.4.4.

2.3. Pronominal system

The paradigm of free personal pronouns appears in T2.¹⁷ There is a strong and a weak variant of this paradigm. The difference is only in the third person, where the strong forms

T2. Personal pronouns

| number \ person | singular | plural |
|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1 | <i>tèen</i> | <i>to'n</i> |
| 2 | <i>tèech</i> | <i>te'x</i> |
| 3 | <i>(le-)ti'</i> | <i>(le-)ti'o'b</i> |

are preceded by an element *le-* which the weak forms lack. The weak personal pronouns show the typical syntactic behavior of atonic oblique personal pronouns of verb-initial languages in that they immediately follow the verb (cf. ch. 2.4.2). The strong forms, instead, occur in topic and focus position and may be governed by a

preposition.

Beside these personal pronouns, there are two sets of dependent pronominal indices in YM, namely clitics and suffixes. Mayan structural linguistics calls them ‘Set A’ and ‘Set

¹⁷ For the sake of simplicity, I ignore the first person plural inclusive.

T3. *Pronominal clitics for subject*

| number person | singular | plural |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>in</i> (w-) V | <i>k</i> V |
| 2 | <i>a</i> (w-) V | <i>a</i> (w-) V- <i>e'x</i> |
| 3 | <i>u</i> (y-) V | <i>u</i> (y-) V- <i>o'b</i> |

B', respectively (see Arzápalo 1973 for the pronominal system). They will here be called subject clitics and absolute suffixes because of their syntactic agreement pattern (see ch. 2.4.1). The paradigms are as shown in T3 and T4.

In T3, V represents the verbal which the indices combine with.

It is essentially a verb stem specified for all the other verbal categories, which may be preceded by an optional short adverb. Two members of the paradigm are discontinuous, with the second part being suffixed to the verb stem. The first person plural, too,

frequently takes the form *k ...-o'n*, i.e. it is completed by the first person plural absolute suffix to yield a discontinuous shape, in analogy to the second and third person plural. If the clitic immediately precedes a vowel-initial verb, a glide is inserted as indicated in parentheses; see ch. 3.2.1.1.1.4 for the details. An example is in E22.

T4. *Pronominal suffixes for absolute*

| number person | singular | plural |
|------------------|---------------|-------------|
| 1 | <i>-en</i> | <i>-o'n</i> |
| 2 | <i>-ech</i> | <i>-e'x</i> |
| 3 | <i>-ih/-0</i> | <i>-o'b</i> |

The absolute suffixes of T4 attach to nouns, adjectives and verb stems

which are specified for all the other verbal categories. The allomorph *-ih* of the third person singular appears only on verbal predicates in pausa. It may be seen that the nominal number paradigm is identical to the third person absolute subparadigm. The third person plural absolute suffix is, in turn, identical to the suffixal part of the corresponding member of the subject clitic paradigm.

Finally, the weak personal pronouns of T2 may be analyzed as consisting of the grammatical preposition *ti'* (LOC) plus an absolute personal suffix of T4. In origin, those pronouns are therefore (emphatic) oblique pronouns.¹⁸ This, however, only concerns their etymology, since in Modern YM they may appear in subject function. The morpheme glosses for the weak personal pronouns throughout this work appear slightly inconsistent, as the three singular persons are glossed as 'me, you, LOC', respectively. This reflects the fact that the original suffixal part is zero in the third person singular. Cf. Hanks 1990:158f.

¹⁸ much as French *moi, toi, lui*

2.4. Clause structure

2.4.1. SYNTACTIC RELATIONS

The general principle of the order of constituents in YM is right-branching: the subject follows the predicate, the nominal and adverbial dependents follow the verb, attributes follow their head noun (with the exceptions noted in ch. 2.2.2), adpositions are prepositions, dependent clauses follow their matrix clause. The first syntactic position of a verbal clause is occupied by an auxiliary, followed by the core of the verbal clause (cf. Lehmann 1993[g]).

The clause core is a nominal (i.e. substantival or adjectival) or verbal predicate.¹⁹ The system of fundamental relations has accusative structure; i.e. the core syntactic functions are subject and object. It is only the verb agreement system by pronominal indices which works on a mixed basis, requiring the notions of subject and absolutive. The subject comprises the sole actant of an intransitive verb and the actor of a transitive verb, while the absolutive comprises the sole actant of a monovalent predicate and the undergoer of a transitive verb. By the criterion of the distribution of the pronominal indices, the actor and the undergoer of a transitive verb are cross-referenced as subject and absolutive, respectively. With intransitive verbs, subject and absolutive are in complementary distribution as determined by tense/aspect/mood categories. These are purely structural concepts which are not directly mappable onto syntactic functions, let alone semantic roles. Cf. Lehmann 1991[Y], §2.2.2.1 for details.

If the actants are pronominal and not emphatic, they are sufficiently represented in the pronominal indices. Therefore, any noun can constitute a full clause. E.g., *ko'lel* '(she is a) lady' – *ko'lelo'b* '(they are) ladies'. The same goes for adjectives: *k'oha'n* '(he is) sick' – *k'oha'no'b* '(they are) sick'. The same applies, in principle, to verbs, although an independent verbal clause requires an aspect auxiliary in addition to the verb form. Anyway, the noun phrase can be freely omitted from E8.

The clause core is optionally followed by NPs in object and subject function, if it is based on a transitive verb, or just by a subject NP otherwise. Such an NP may be constituted by a personal pronoun. By the cross-reference indices, the predicate agrees with the actants in person and number.

E6 illustrates nominal clauses, E7 an existence clause, E8 verbal clauses.²⁰

¹⁹ Operators such as *yàan* in E7 and the ones mentioned in ch. 6.4 may also function as predicates.

²⁰ Verbs bear aspect/mood suffixes, among others for completive vs. incompletive aspect, which exhibit a complex allomorphy depending on the transitivity of the verb. The glosses, such as the one in E8, do not render the details.

- E6. a. hun-túul x-wàay le ko'lel-o'
 one-CL.animate F-sorcerer DEF lady-D2 'that lady is a witch'
 b. k'oha'n le ko'lel-o'
 sick DEF lady-D2 'that lady is sick'
- E7. yàan hun-túul ko'lel
 EXIST one-CL.animate lady 'there is a lady'
- E8. a. h tàal hun-túul ko'lel
 PAST come one-CL.animate lady 'a lady came'
 b. t-u tàas-h-en hun-túul ko'lel
 PAST-SBJ.3 bring-CMPL-ABS.1.SG one-CL.animate lady
 'a lady brought me'

2.4.2. INDIRECT OBJECT

The indirect object may be represented by a prepositional phrase introduced by the only grammatical preposition of the language, *ti'*, which is rendered by LOC in the morpheme glosses. E9 is an example.

- E9. t-in ts'a'-ah ya'b tàak'in ti' {le ko'lel-o' / leti'}
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG give-CMPL much money LOC DEF lady-D2 he
 'I gave much money to the lady / her'

In this construction, the NP in the prepositional phrase may be a strong personal pronoun, as in the second of the braced alternatives in E9. The prepositional phrase normally comes at the end of the clause.

Alternatively, the indirect object may be represented by a weak personal pronoun, as in E10.

- E10. a. t-in ts'a'-ah ya'b tàak'in ti'
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG give-CMPL much money LOC
 'I gave her much money'
 b. t-in ts'a'-ah tèech ya'b tàak'in
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG give-CMPL you much money
 'I gave you much money'

In both cases, the order of constituents obeys the rule that indirect objects represented by (weak) non-third person pronouns (E10.b) directly follow the verb, while all other indirect objects follow the direct object, except if the latter is highly complex as, e.g., a clause.

2.4.3. VERBAL COMPOSITION

Verbal composition starts from a verb stem as the determinatum and incorporates various classes of other stems as determinans (cf. Blair 1964, ch. 2.3.1.1, Sullivan 1984). While preverbal position of the determinans is frequent with adverbs and possible with one or another noun stem, postverbal position of the determinans is the productive pattern of noun incorporation. The corresponding process of verbal composition is schematized in S3. X is an action verb, Y is a bare noun fulfilling the role of a controlled participant. They are combined in a determinatum-determinans pattern to yield an intransitive verb stem.

S3. *Transitive verb with incorporated noun*

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| [[[X] _{V-tr} | [Y] _N |] _{V-} | -t] _{V-tr} |
| | | itr | |
| Action | Controlled Participant | | |

In E11.a, a transitive verb takes a direct object. In b, this is incorporated into the verb. At the structural level, this process involves direct combination of the naked dependent noun with the verb stem. The former fills the direct object slot of the latter and thus renders it intransitive. At the semantic level, it involves deindividuation of the undergoer and typicization of the activity. The compound verb may then undergo extraversive derivation by a *-t* suffix.²¹ This renders a verb stem transitive, so that it can govern a direct object, as in E11.c.

- E11. a. tíin ch'ik-ik le che' ti' lu'm-a'
 PROG:SBJ.1.SG stick:INCMPL DEF tree LOC earth-D1
 'I am sticking this pole into the earth'
- b. tíin ch'ik-che'
 PROG:SBJ.1.SG stick-tree
 'I am sticking poles (i.e. making a fence)'
- c. tíin ch'ik-che'-t-ik in pak'al
 PROG:SBJ.1.SG stick-tree-TRR-INCMPL POSS.1.SG thing.planted
 'I am fencing in my plantation'

Verbal compounding by this pattern allows for incorporation of dependent nominals in various participant roles, above all the undergoer and the instrument, which roles are thereby confounded.

²¹ E31 below contains a typical example. Cf. Lehmann 1993[P], §6.3.1.4 for details.

2.4.4. DEICTIC CLITICS

There is a paradigm of three **deictic enclitics** which is displayed in T5.²²

T5. *Deictic clitics*

| meaning | | form | gloss |
|-------------------------|------------------|------|-------|
| in speech situation | near speaker | -a' | -D1 |
| | not near speaker | -o' | -D2 |
| not in speech situation | | -e' | -D3 |

A clause may contain one of these clitics, at its very end.²³ Apart from an exception to be noted, they do not occur by themselves, but only if the clause contains a triggering element. The class of triggers comprises two subclasses, one which necessitates such a clitic, the other which renders it possible. The first subclass includes words of a deictic or demonstrative function, among them the optional demonstrative article *le* DEF which precedes a nominal (cf. E6 and many other examples), and such words as *te'l* 'there', *he'l* PRSV (E47), *láaili'* 'still' (E67.b) and *be'òoráah* 'now' (E151). The second subclass importantly includes possessive clitics; see ch. 3.2.4.2. Moreover, -e' D3 appears without a trigger to mark the preceding phrase or clause as a topic (E5).

2.5. Nominalization

The syntax of the actants in nominalizations will be taken up in ch. 3.2.3.1.4. Here we concentrate on the morphology. In the verbal system of YM, non-finite verb stems occupy a central position. Most finite categories are based on non-finite stems rather than the other way around. Accordingly, there is little overt derivational apparatus involved in several non-finite constructions and verbal nouns. Two processes of verbal noun formation need to be reviewed here, the formation of nomina acti and of gerundives (cf. Bricker et al. 1998:362f and 378f). Both take a transitive base as their input and block the

²² In this paradigm, the figures differentiating among the glosses do not refer to the three persons. See Hanks 1990 for a comprehensive treatment of deixis in YM.

²³ There are some crucial examples such as E11 and E111 to show that the deictic clitic does not occur at the end of the phrase which triggers it, but indeed at the end of the including clause.

direct object position. So far, this is **introversion** (cf. Lehmann 1993[P], §6.3.1.2); the result is an intransitive, viz. an introversive, verb stem.²⁴

A *nomen acti* is a deverbal noun which designates the result of the situation (esp., action) designated by the base verb, as in *speak – speech*. Since the result can often be considered as an cognate object produced by the action, a frequent reinterpretation of a *nomen acti* is as a *nomen patientis* (undergoer noun), as when ‘debt’ is derived from ‘owe’ (see T6). In syntactic terms, the further step taken here is the orientation of the valency of the stem towards the undergoer position. The result is, thus, a noun designating the undergoer of the action. The gerundive, too, refers to an object that undergoes or has to undergo the action. The two derivational operations are defined in the following two subsections. Some examples are in T6.

T6. *Nomina acti and gerundives*

| base | meaning | nomen acti | meaning | gerundive | meaning |
|--------------|---------|---------------|---------|-----------------|------------------|
| <i>huch'</i> | grind | <i>hùuch'</i> | dough | <i>huch'bil</i> | (to be) ground |
| <i>pay</i> | owe | <i>pàay</i> | debt | <i>paybil</i> | (to be) borrowed |
| <i>p'o'</i> | wash | <i>p'òo'</i> | laundry | <i>p'o'bil</i> | (to be) washed |
| <i>kon</i> | sell | <i>kòonol</i> | ware | <i>kombil</i> | (to be) sold |

2.5.1. NOMEN ACTI FORMATION

Base: Transitive verb stem.²⁵

Morphological change: If the base is a monosyllabic root, its vowel gets low tone, and in some cases the root is suffixed with *-Vl*²⁶. Otherwise there is no change.

²⁴ In transformationally inspired accounts, introversion used to be called “direct object deletion”. This is inappropriate, one of the reasons being that no sentence constituent is being affected, and instead the valency of the verb is reduced. The form is usually called “antipassive” in Mayan linguistics (e.g. in Bricker et al. 1998:349-351). This term is inappropriate, too, because it is meant to designate “the antithesis of the passive voice” (o.c. 333). Now, in YM as in many other languages, the passive allows the expression of an actor, while the deagentive (cf. ch. 6.2) blocks the actor slot. The introversive blocks the undergoer slot and is, insofar, not the counterpart of the passive, but of the deagentive. On the other hand, the antipassive in those languages that do have it – chiefly ergative languages – does allow the expression of the undergoer. Not being an ergative language, YM does not have a true antipassive.

²⁵ For application of the process to a transitivized base, cf. E75.b.

²⁶ V stands for ‘vowel subject to harmony (i.e., normally, identical) with preceding vowel’.

Syntactic change: First, the direct object slot of the base is blocked (introversion). Second, the valency of the base is oriented toward this slot. The subject slot is converted into a slot governing a possessive attribute, i.e. the derived noun is primarily relational in the sense of ch. 3.2.2.2. The derived stem joins the inalienable noun class.

Semantic change: The stem designates an entity that undergoes the action.

The syntactic change consists of two steps. The morphological change – low tone on the root – is associated with the first of them. The nominalization itself is not marked. Correspondingly, the conversion of the subject slot into a slot for a possessive attribute does not produce a structural change (cf. ch. 3.2.1.1.1.1 and 6.2). To the extent that the pattern is syntactically regular and confined to *nomina acti*, it is the actor that occupies the slot before and after the derivation. For instance, *in pàay* (POSS.1.SG owe\NR) ‘my debt’ shows genitivus subjectivus.

There is, however, the kind of variation typical for word-formation. For one thing, the derived noun may designate, instead of the undergoer of the action, its instrument. In that case, the possessive attribute slot may be taken by the undergoer, as in *u k'àax p'òok* (POSS.3 tie\NR hat) ‘hatband’. For another, some such nouns, as e.g. *hùuch'*, are neutral nouns in the sense of ch. 3.2.2.2.1, i.e. they may designate the undergoer (or other non-active participant) irrespective of the actor. With this extension, the operation becomes an important means of forming names for artifacts.

2.5.2. GERUNDIVE FORMATION

Base: transitive verb stem.

Morphological change: The suffix *-bil* is added.

Syntactic change: The valency of the base is oriented toward the direct object slot, which is converted into a modifying slot. The subject slot disappears. The stem joins the (substantivizable) adjective class.

Semantic change: The stem characterizes an entity that undergoes or has to undergo the action.

The gerundive could as well be called incomplete passive participle. Its primary use is as an adjective, as in *p'o'bil nòok'* ‘cloth to be washed, washable cloth’. It also serves as a non-relational action noun, as in *kombil* ‘sale’. Since the derived form is, in this use, a verbal noun which dispenses with reference to actants, it also serves as the citation form for verbs in metalinguistic communication. *-bil* contrasts minimally with *-a'n* RESULTATIVE, as in *p'o'a'n* ‘washed’, *kona'n* ‘sold’.

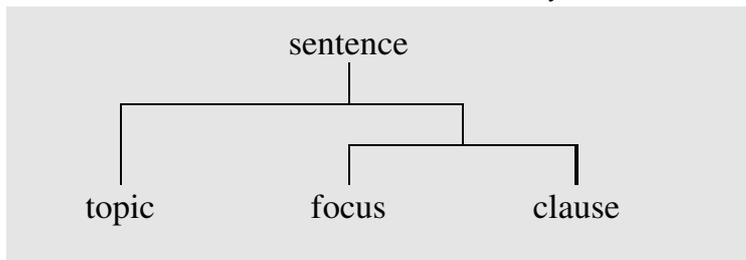
In Modern YM, gerundive formation only applies to transitive verb stems. Transitive stems derived by extraversion form an apparent exception to this rule. They forfeit their *-t* in gerundive formation, e.g. *báaxal* ‘play (intr.)’ – *báaxalt* ‘play (tr.)’ – *báaxalbil*

‘playing, to be played’. As there is no phonological rule which could bring this about, it must be a matter of morphological simplicity. In semant syntactic terms, it is clearly the derived stem which forms the basis to the gerundive. In Colonial YM, however, restrictions on the category of possible bases seem to have been looser. Forms such as *ti'a'lbil* ‘(anybody's) property’, which will be given some attention in ch. 3.2.2.2.3.2, are based on relational nouns. Here the suffix serves to block the possessor slot of such nouns.

2.6. Functional sentence perspective

The main constituent order resulting from the principles set out in ch. 2.4.1 is VOS. This order is fairly rigid. In particular, nothing can precede the auxiliary in the verbal clause, or the predicate in the nominal clause. Topic and focus are syntacticized in YM. A sentence containing them has the structure schematized in S4.

S4. Sentence structure in Yucatec Maya



The **topic** occupies the leftmost position in the sentence (it is left-dislocated). If it is not determined by one of the deictic clitics of T5, then a functional variant of the clitic *-e'*, which is glossed by TOP, obligatorily marks the topic, as in E12 (another text example is in E146).

E12. Tèen-e' wi'h-en way-e'.
 me-TOP hungry-ABS.1.SG here-D3
 ‘Me, I am starving here.’ (HIJO 102)

If the syntactic function of the topic NP in the clause is one for which there are dependent pronominal indices (cf. ch. 2.3), then it is represented there by a coreferential pronominal clitic or suffix, as may also be seen in E12. There are practically no limits on the complexity of the topic. As E109.iii shows, even subordinate clauses are good topics.

The sentence **focus** may occupy the position immediately preceding the initial clause boundary. A focus occupying this position will be called a canonical focus. The (canonical) focus is not marked morphologically. However, if the verb in the extrafocal clause is intransitive imperfective, it bears a special suffix, as in E13.

- E13. hach nàats' yàan-ik wa'pach' wíinik
 very near EXIST-EXTRAFOC giant man
 'the giant was quite near' (HK'AN 135)

A number of rules conspire to generate some constructions which are peculiar to focusing:

- R1. If a verbal dependent (an NP or PrepP) contains an NP which is under focus, then the former may be fronted as a whole.
 R2. If an interrogative pronoun is a subconstituent of a verbal dependent, then it precedes rather than follows its head (the preposition or PNom, respectively).²⁷
 R3. If the canonical focus position is occupied by the transitive subject, then the imperfective and past auxiliaries are dropped.
 R4. An NP which would directly precede a pronominal (subject or possessive) clitic with which it is coreferential replaces it.

E14 illustrates R1 and R2.

- E14. máax iknal ken-e'x yáax bin to'n-e'x?
 who at go.IMP-2.PL first go us-2.PL
 'whose place shall we (incl.) go to first?' (BVS 15.01.13)

E15 illustrates R3 and R4.

- E15. a. t-u y-il-ech leti'
 PAST-SBJ.3 0-see-ABS.2.SG he 'hé saw you'
 b. leti' il-ech
 he see-ABS.2.SG 'it's him who saw you'
 c. máax il-ech?
 who see-ABS.2.SG 'who saw you?'

The strong personal pronoun of E15.a is a canonical focus in b. Since it is the transitive subject, the auxiliary disappears by R3. Now, the focused NP replaces the subject clitic by R4. The same happens if the subject is an interrogative pronoun, as in c.

Topic and focus often co-occur in a sentence. E16 is a typical example; E44 below is another one.

- E16. Tèen-e' mixba'l in wohel le òorah-o'.
 me-TOP nothing POSS.1.SG know DEF hour-D2
 'I did not know anything at that time.' (HIJO 021)

²⁷ It is as if focusing reapplied cyclically at the lower syntactic level.— Any other pronoun or NP remains in postnominal position, as illustrated in E36.

3. POSSESSION IN REFERENCE

3.1. Prerequisites

Nominal dependents (determiners and specifiers) fulfil a twofold function. To the extent that they are determiners, they help identify an object and pin down the referent. To the extent they are specifiers, they characterize an object and thus form a more specific concept (cf. ch. 1.2.2.2.2 and Seiler 1978).

If reference to an entity is to be made, its possessive relationship to another entity may be used to characterize the former entity or to pin down its identity. In principle, an entity may be specified either by being possessed by another entity (ch. 3.2) or by possessing another entity (ch. 3.3). There is an analogy to this alternative in possessive predication, since the relationship may be predicated either on the possessum or on the possessor; cf. T1.

The prototypical situation in possession has a highly individuated possessor, while the prior individuation of the possessum is not crucial. Presupposing this asymmetry, one may say that if either of them is to serve as an attribute, the prototypical possessor is better suited to serve in the identification of an object (viz. the possessum), while the prototypical possessum may as well serve in characterizing the possessor and, more generally, in concept formation.

The other feature which distinguishes the possessor from the possessum in prototypical terms, viz. relationality, also contributes to the primary function of the possessor as an attribute, instead of a head. In reference, inherent possession is prominent, since established possession may require a predication. Given the nature of inherence, it is more natural to identify an entity by naming its possessor (e.g. *tail of a dog*) than to identify one by a relation to a possessum which is taken for granted, anyway (e.g. *dog with a tail*).

YM is more sensitive to the nature of the possessive relationship than central European languages. It has two different constructions for the entity which is identified by its possessor and for the entity which is characterized by its possessum. As one might predict, variation arises whenever possessor and possessum are not prototypical, but essentially of the same kind. We will see this in ch. 3.3.1.

3.2. Possessor as attribute

Use of the possessor as an attribute in reference corresponds to a predication of belonging (ch. 4.2) in the area of possessive predication. The prototypical asymmetry in individuation of possessor and possessum mentioned before is the functional basis of the

structural fact that a possessive attribute, if it is at all lexically represented, typically falls into the syntactic category of the NP, while the possessum is typically represented by a nominal (the difference between NP and nominal consisting in presence vs. absence of determination). An NP representing a possessor in the construction which is at stake in this chapter will be called a **possessive NP**.

3.2.1. PROPERTIES OF POSSESSOR

3.2.1.1. Grammatical status of possessor

The prototypical possessor is high in empathy. It is natural that languages should have a grammaticalized expressive device to cover the prototypical case. This is the **possessive pronoun**. In languages such as English, it is morphologically distinct from the personal pronoun and may be considered a derived form of it.²⁸ The possessive pronoun is the only general phenomenon that comes close to being an exception to the generalization stated in ch. 1.2.2.1.2.1 that there are no elementary concepts which are predestined for the role of possessor and therefore demand complementation by a possessum concept. It is not really an exception though, since it is not an elementary concept, witness its morphology. Moreover, it would be an exception that proves the rule: the only words that by their nature signify a possessor are reserved for the prototypical possessor. As will be seen in ch. 6.3, YM possessive clitics differ both morphologically and syntactically from English style possessive pronouns.

The factors determining the choice between a lexical and a pronominal possessor – or, for YM, between presence and absence of a nominal possessor – are not specific to the grammar of possession. They have to do with the possessor's empathy and with discourse properties such as focality, topicality and givenness, which belong to a different functional domain. There is no feature of the grammar of possession in YM which would be directly sensitive to discourse properties of the possessor (rather than to its nominal status).²⁹

While the distinction between a pronominal and a lexical possessor has a language-independent functional basis, its details are part of the grammar of each language. While those two concepts do form the titles of the following subdivision between ch. 3.2.1.1.1 and 3.2.1.1.2, it will be seen that YM grammar distinguishes between a syntactic class that

²⁸ More precision is possible. A noun may be converted into a modifier either by inflection, i.e. by putting it into the genitive, or by derivation, i.e. by adjectivizing it. The same is possible with the personal pronoun. Languages such as Latin and German have a genitive form of the personal pronoun (*mei* and *mein*, resp.), which is, at the same time, the base for the possessive pronoun, which shows morphological categories like an adjective or a determiner. Cf. ch. 6.3 for more discussion.

²⁹ Hofling 1990 claims the grammar of possession of Itzá to be sensitive to topicality of the possessor.

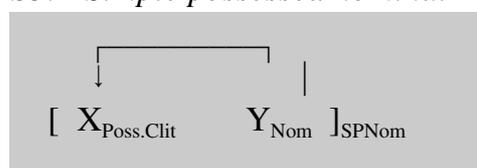
includes pronominal clitics and interrogative pronouns and a syntactic class which includes lexical NPs and all other pronominal NPs. This appears hard to account for in functional terms.

3.2.1.1.1. PRONOMINAL POSSESSOR

3.2.1.1.1.1. Construction

A nominal in the sense of S2 may be expanded by a **possessive clitic** preceding it. The result is a **possessed nominal** (PNom). A **simple possessed nominal** (SPNom) has the structure shown in S5.

S5. *Simple possessed nominal*



A PNom whose head is but a noun is a **possessed noun**. Possessive attributes in any case presuppose the SPNom; cf. ch. 3.2.1.1.2.

T7. *Pronominal clitics for possessor*

| number person | singular | plural |
|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>in</i> (w-) N | <i>k</i> N |
| 2 | <i>a</i> (w-) N | <i>a</i> (w-) N- <i>e'x</i> |
| 3 | <i>u</i> (y-) N | <i>u</i> (y-) N- <i>o'b</i> |

The paradigm of the possessive clitics is as in T7, where N stands for the nominal that the morphemes combine with. It is absolutely identical to the paradigm of the subject clitics shown in T3. There is, thus, only one category of pronominal clitics in the language.³⁰ This

notwithstanding, we will, for the convenience of the reader, continue to distinguish possessive clitics (POSS in the interlinear glosses) from subject clitics (SBJ) according to their syntactic function.

Two members of the paradigm are discontinuous, with the second part suffixed to the head noun of the SPNom, which is, in practice, almost always its last constituent. Examples are in E17.

E17. a. *in* *chàan* *tàanah*
 POSS.1.SG little house 'my little house' (cf. BVS 09.01.09)

³⁰ The same clitics again cross-reference the complement of a preposition; cf. ch. 3.2.3.1.2.3 and E193.

- b. a k'àaba'
 POSS.2 name 'your name'
- c. u ba's-o'b
 POSS.3 suitcase-PL 'his suitcases/their suitcase(s)'

The suffixal part of the discontinuous plural clitics is, again, identical to the corresponding members of the absolutive suffix paradigm. The discontinuous variant of the first person plural is illustrated by E30 below.

While there are free personal pronouns as shown in T2, there are no free possessive pronouns corresponding to them. Although the possessive clitics of T7 are the only possessive pronominal elements of YM and the closest to English-style possessive pronouns that the language has, these elements will not be called possessive pronouns, in order to conserve the terminological proportion between (subject or possessive) clitics and (free) pronouns.

3.2.1.1.1.2. Combination with absolutive suffixes

There are two constructions in which a possessive/subject clitic co-occurs with an absolutive suffix of T4: the finite transitive verb and the nominal clause whose predicate is a PNom. The complex paradigm is displayed in T8, where N stands for an SPNom (it could also be a transitive verb stem). E18 and E20 illustrate the schema.

T8. *Combination of possessive and absolutive suffixes*

| poss. \ abs. | 1. sg. | 2. sg. | 3. sg. | 1. pl. | 2. pl. | 3. pl. |
|--------------|-----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1. sg. | | <i>a N-en</i> | <i>u N-en</i> | <i>k N-en</i> | <i>a N-en-e'x</i> | <i>u N-en-o'b</i> |
| 2. sg. | <i>in N-ech</i> | | <i>u N-ech</i> | <i>k N-ech</i> | <i>a N-ech-e'x</i> | <i>u N-ech-o'b</i> |
| 3. sg. | <i>in N</i> | <i>a N</i> | <i>u N</i> | <i>k N</i> | <i>a N-e'x</i> | <i>u N-o'b</i> |
| 1. pl. | <i>in N-o'n</i> | <i>a N-o'n</i> | <i>u N-o'n</i> | | <i>a N-o'n-e'x</i> | <i>u N-o'n-o'b</i> |
| 2. pl. | <i>in N-e'x</i> | <i>a N-e'x</i> | <i>u N-e'x</i> | <i>k N-e'x</i> | | <i>u N-e'x-o'b</i> |
| 3. pl. | <i>in N-o'b</i> | <i>a N-o'b</i> | <i>u N-o'b</i> | <i>k N-o'b</i> | <i>a N-e'x-o'b</i> | <i>u N-o'b</i> |

- E18. u pàal-e'x-o'b
 POSS.3 child-ABS.2.PL-PL 'you (pl.) are their children'

The cells in T8 where possessor/subject and absolutive are both of first or both of second person are shaded. The combination is highly artificial if the number is different and impossible if it is the same, the respective referents being, thus, identical. It may be seen

that the order of the absolutive suffix and the suffixal part of the possessive/subject suffix does not reflect the operator-operand layering. Instead, the sequencing rule is dictated by the empathy hierarchy: the suffix of the person with a higher position in the hierarchy (i.e. with a lower digit in the numbering of the three persons) precedes the other one (cf. Hanks 1990:162).

3.2.1.1.1.3. Plural marking

As plural marking is largely optional, it is also possible to leave plurality of a possessor unspecified if it is obvious from the context.

- E19. Òok-en-e'x! T-a w-otoch yàan-e'x.
 enter-IMP-2.PL LOC-POSS.2 0-home EXIST-2.PL
 'Enter (pl.)! You are in your home.' (BVS 09.01.08)

If the possessor were fully specified in E19, the form would have to be *ta wotche'x* 'in your (pl.) home'. However, the plurality of the possessor is evident from the context. In fact, singular interpretation is practically excluded by the same mechanism which stigmatizes singular-plural combinations within the first and the second person in T8.

Similarly, plurality of the possessum is left unspecified in situations where it is redundant. If possessum and possessor are both plural, the plural suffix on the possessed noun co-occurs syntagmatically with the suffixal part of the possessive clitic. Co-occurrence of the plural suffix with (the suffixal part of) the second person plural clitic is rare, maybe because it is avoided, certainly because plural marking is mostly redundant in situations such as E20 (cf. E36.c).

- E20. a k'àaba'-e'x-o'b
 POSS.2 name-2.PL-PL '(they are) your (pl.) names'

In its clause reading, E20 is comparable to E18. Then *-o'b* is an absolutive suffix, and the order of suffixes happens to reflect operator-operand layering. In the noun phrase reading, *-o'b* is a nominal number suffix, and the order of suffixes is countericonic. However, the sequencing rule for the combination of the plural suffix with the possessive suffixes is the same as the one for the combination of the absolutive suffixes with the possessive suffixes, and it simply treats the nominal number suffix as a member of paradigm T4.

If two instances of *-o'b* co-occur, haplology obtains. As a result, expressions such as E17.c, even if restricted to the NP reading, are ambiguous as indicated by the translation. E21 shows the combined effect of the two simplifications mentioned.

- E21. u y-íicham u k̄ik-o'b le x t'ùup-e'
 POSS.3 0-spouse POSS.3 elder.sister-PL DEF F youngest.sibling-TOP
 ahaw-o'b hats'uts-tak-o'b
 chief-PL nice-SBSTR.PL-3.PL
 'the youngest daughter's elder sisters' husbands were some handsome princes'
 (HK'AN 0301.1)

Íicham here is interpreted as 'husbands' by a pragmatic inference typical of a monogamous society. And the form *íichamo'b* that would express this would still lack number agreement with its possessor noun by virtue of haplology.

3.2.1.1.1.4. Phonological and morphophonological properties

Some of the ensuing discussion presupposes the rule of **syncope**. This eliminates a vowel in stem-final toneless syllables before a consonant plus vowel in the same phonological word. For instance, *xanab-o'b* (shoe-PL) yields [ʃamboʔb], and *xanab u* (shoe POSS.3) yields [ʃambu] (cf. ch. 3.2.1.1.1.4.1).

3.2.1.1.1.4.1. Cliticization

The pronominal elements of T7 are enclitic.³¹ This means they do not cliticize to what they syntactically belong to, but instead to whatever happens to precede them. A natural pronunciation of E22 (with syncope) would therefore sound [miʔn wohlu k'à:baʔiʔ].

- E22. ma' in w-ohel u k'àaba'-i'
 NEG POSS.1.SG 0-know POSS.3 name-NEGF 'I don't know his name'

3.2.1.1.1.4.2. Glide insertion

One of the rules that modify the phonological shape of possessed nouns refers to pronouns of T7 regardless of whether they precede nouns, prepositions (as in E193) or verbs. It inserts a glide between the pronominal (pre-prepositional, preverbal) part of the clitic of

³¹ Many specialized publications (including Hanks 1990, ch. 4.2 and Bricker et al. 1998:406) claim they are proclitics or even prefixes. They are clearly neither. Not only are they left-bound rather than right-bound. Also, they do not necessarily directly precede a noun or a verb, respectively. As for the insertion of an attributive adjective in front of a possessed noun, cf. E26. Similarly, we could have a short adverb in front of the verb in E22, for instance *in hach ohel* 'I really know'.

T7 and a vowel-initial possessed noun (or preposition or verb).³² The glides are indicated in parentheses in T7. Examples appear, among others, in E22 and E27.a.³³

Glide insertion is blocked in two cases. First, if the head noun is an alienable noun that somehow does not fit in a direct possessive relationship (cf. also ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1).

- E23. a. in áak'ab
 POSS.1.SG night 'my night'
- b. in òon
 POSS.1.SG avocado 'my avocado'
- E24. a. yan a kaxt-ik a ah-beh-il
 DEB SBJ.2 search-INCMPL POSS.2 M-road-REL
 'you have to look for a guide'
- b. in ahaw
 POSS.1.SG chief 'my chief'

Thus, the head noun of E23.a is not normally possessed at all. The one of E23.b may be possessed, but not directly by a human being. Nouns prefixed by *ah* (male [agentive]), as in E24.a (cf. also E110), never undergo glide insertion. This is semantically motivated, since human beings, and a fortiori such as are marked for control, while making optimal possessors, are singularly unfit as possessa (see ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.1). The noun *ahaw* 'chief' is similar, as its designatum more controls than it is controlled by its possessor (E24.b = E42 in ch. 3.2.1.2 below). All of these are cases where the noun is not naturally directly preceded by a possessive clitic at all.³⁴

³² The words in question are underlyingly vowel-initial. If glide insertion does not apply, prothesis of a glottal stop applies.

³³ Some recent publications (Bricker et al. 1998, Bohnemeyer 1998) treat the inserted glide as part of the pronominal clitic rather than of the noun or verb, writing, e.g., *inw ohel*, *aw ohel*, *uy ohel* (or, even worse, *inw ʔohel*) instead of *in wohel*, *a wohel*, *u yohel*, and also *túuny ahal* ('he is awakening') instead of *túun yahal*. While it is true that the writing system should, as much as possible, reflect the semantics rather than the phonology, it should certainly respect the morphonology and, a fortiori, the morphology. A form like *inw* violates phonotactic constraints on morphemes in YM and can therefore be neither a morpheme nor a word. Similarly, forms like *aw* and *uy*, although not violating general phonotactic constraints, have no parallel in YM (there is no word like *ew*, *ay* etc.). Moreover, there is no phonological rule of YM that would link the final semivowel of these forms to the following word, which is, however, the actual pronunciation. Instead, there is actually a rule of glottal stop prothesis before any word starting with a vowel, which would have to apply to (*inw*) *ohel* etc., but of course does not, since these words actually start with the glide in question. Fourth, notations such as *túuny* are phonologically uninterpretable under any known phonological analysis or orthographic convention of YM. Finally, this orthography runs counter to the historical facts, since the glides stem from prefixes (cf. below ch. 3.2.1.1.4.3). Consequently, this (analytic or orthographic) innovation is misguided.

³⁴ In Yaxley, the phrases in E23 are hard to elicit (cf., however, E70.b). Under this proviso, my results may be taken to be compatible with the ones reported in Durbin 1970. However, I have been unable to confirm his hypothesis according to which a given noun designates a plant with glide insertion, but a food

Second, Spanish loans are not subject to glide insertion, as may be seen from E25. In E25.b, both of the conditions mentioned are fulfilled.

- E25. a. in ìihoh / áamikoh / éerensiyah
 POSS.1.SG son friend heritage ‘my son/friend/heritage’
- b. in Áalbertoh
 POSS.1.SG Albert ‘my Albert’

Glide insertion only applies if the possessive clitic directly precedes the possessed noun itself. If the PNom is expanded by a prenominal adjective attribute (S2, E3f), then neither the adjective nor the noun are preceded by the glide if either has an initial vowel,³⁵ witness E26.

- E26. in úuchben atan
 POSS.1.SG old wife ‘my former wife’

3.2.1.1.1.4.3. Clitic suppression

While vowel-initial possessed nouns are always (apart from the exceptions mentioned) preceded by a glide, the personal clitic of the third person, *u*, is itself often missing before the glide (*y* in this case).

- E27. a. kóom u y-òok
 short POSS.3 0-foot ‘his foot is short’
- b. chowak u k'ab
 long POSS.3 hand ‘his hand/arm is long’
- c. chowak u y-òok
 long POSS.3 0-foot ‘his foot is long’

Thus, E27.a would naturally be said as [kó:mjò:k]. The omission of the pronoun is not a matter of a late allegro speech rule. Applying the rule of syncope, E27.b would naturally be pronounced as [tʃowkuk'ab]. However, E27.c is not pronounced [tʃowkujò:k], but [tʃowakjò:k]. Apparently, the *y* renders the third person possessive clitic redundant.³⁶

without it. In Yaxley, the noun has to be preceded by a possessive classifier in both cases.

³⁵ The rule is, again, the same for verbs: glide insertion does not obtain if there is anything (typically, an adverb) between the subject clitic and the verb, witness the example *in hach ohel* given in fn. 31.

³⁶ Similarly in the verbal sphere, the combination of the progressive auxiliary *táan* with the third person clitic *u* generally fuses into *túun*. Before a vowel-initial verb, however, one commonly gets the sequence *táan y-* instead of *túun y-* (e.g. *táan yilik* (PROG SBJ.3-see-INCMP) ‘he is seeing it’).

T9. *Pronominal clitics for possessor and subject in Colonial YM*

| number person | singular | plural |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | <i>in/w</i> N | <i>ka/k</i> N |
| 2 | <i>a/aw</i> N | <i>a/aw</i> N- <i>e'x</i> |
| 3 | <i>u/(u)y</i> N | <i>u/(u)y</i> N- <i>o'b</i> |

This analysis is also appropriate on the diachronic axis. In Colonial YM, the system of pronominal clitics was as shown in T9,³⁷ where the slash separates the preconsonantal from the prevocalic allomorph. It may be seen that *w* and *y* were prevocalic allomorphs of the first and third person pronouns, respectively. In the third person, the preconsonantal allomorph had already begun to generalize to all contexts, optionally combining syntagmatically with the prevocalic allomorph. In the evolution of modern YM, the same happened in the first person. As a result, the prevocalic allomorphs became submorphemic elements whose presence is for the most part conditioned by the occurrence of the erstwhile preconsonantal allomorphs. Once the ambivalent status of submorphemic elements in general and of these glides in modern YM in particular is recognized, it may, for the purposes of the present synchronic analysis and for the sake of uniformity, be assumed that they are conditioned, and accordingly they are always rendered by 0 in the morphological glosses.

3.2.1.1.1.4.4. Tone lowering

There is another phonological change in possessed nouns: the first syllable has low tone for some nouns mainly of the inalienable and neutral subclasses (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.1³⁸) if they are directly preceded by a possessive clitic (including the glide of third person, cf. E27.c). Some inalienable nouns such as *k'ab* (E27.b) do not undergo tone lowering. Also, the rule does not apply to relationalized nouns (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.2.2; Blair 1964:51), neither is there an analogous rule in verbs.

Although no functional or grammatical correlates of this tone lowering are known, it will be represented in the orthography, for a methodological reason. For a noun such as *òok* 'foot', which only, or almost only, occurs in possessive constructions and has low tone in

³⁷ from San Buenaventura 1684:3f and Smailus 1989:12, but in (reconstructed) phonological representation

³⁸ Blair 1964:51f and Bricker et al. 1998:360f have extensive lists of relevant nouns.

the first syllable, it is practically impossible to know whether this is lexically inherent or conditioned by possession.³⁹

3.2.1.1.1.5. Identity of possessor

The pronominal possessor may be coreferential with the subject, as in E28, or they may be distinct, as in E29.

E28. Pàabloh-e' túun p'o'-ik u k'ab
 Paul-TOP IMPF:SBJ.3 wash-INCMPPL POSS.3 hand
 'Paul is washing his hands'

E29. k-u y-u'b-ik u k'àay hun-túul x-ch'uppàal
 IMPF:SBJ.3 0-hear-INCMPPL POSS.3 song one-CL.animate F-girl
 'he hears the singing of a girl' (MUUCH 065f)

YM does mark reflexivity in complements of verbs and prepositions. The possessive pronoun is formed in a syntactically regular way, on the basis of the inalienable noun *báah* 'self' which will be seen in ch. 3.2.2.2.2.1 (T14). Thus, YM *in báah* corresponds closely to English *myself*. Given that a reflexive pronoun is, thus, a PNom by itself, it becomes understandable that YM has no reflexive possessive pronouns.⁴⁰

However, there is an optional possibility of emphasizing 'possessor's own possessum'. If the possessum is inalienable, there is a special strategy illustrated by E30 – E32:

E30. t mèet-ah t k'ab-il-o'n
 PAST:SBJ.1.PL do-CMPL LOC:POSS.1.PL hand-REL-1.PL⁴¹
 'we made it with our own hands'

E31. (le beh-o') t-in xímbal-t-ah t-in w-òok-il
 DEF road-D2 PAST-SBJ.1.SG walk-TRR-CMPL LOC-POSS.1.SG 0-foot-REL
 '(that road) I went it on my own feet'

³⁹ Many of these nouns also occur incorporated into the verb (cf. section 5.3); but there the tone may change, too.

⁴⁰ Bricker 1979:110 reports on a way of marking coreference between a transitive subject and either the object or the possessor of the object. The possibility is reserved to subject focus constructions. While in non-reflexive subject-focus constructions, the perfective and imperfective auxiliaries and, as a consequence, the subject clitics are dropped (cf. ch. 2.6), this does not happen in reflexive subject-focus constructions. Cf., e.g., *máax kins-ik u y-atan* (who kill-INCMPPL POSS.3 0-wife) 'who_i is killing his_j wife' with *máax k-u kins-ik u y-atan* (who IMPF:SBJ.3 kill-INCMPPL POSS.3 0-wife) 'who_i is killing his_i wife' (Bricker 1979:126).

⁴¹ E30 features some complex morphology. Similarly as in the auxiliary form *t*, the preposition *ti'* here fuses with the first person plural clitic *k* into *t*.

- E32. káa ho'p' u nup'-ik u k'ab
 CONJ begin(ABS.3.SG) SBJ.3 fold-INCMPL POSS.3 hand
 t-u táan-il le u ìihoh-e'
 LOC-POSS.3 front-ADVR DEF POSS.3 son-D3
 'He started folding his hands right in front of his son / in front of his own son.'
 (MUUCH 243)

In E30 – E32, emphasis is laid on the identity of the possessor. This may be marked by adding the relational suffix *-il* (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.2) to the possessed noun. As will be seen in ch. 3.2.2.2, this suffix is otherwise excluded from such inalienable nouns as bear it in the above examples. The usage may be restricted to inalienable body parts.

Emphasis on the possessor of an alienable possessum is achieved in the way illustrated by E33.

- E33. ka' t-u ch'a'-ah u xúuchub leti'-e'
 and PST-SBJ.3 take-CMPL POSS.3 sucker he-D3
 '[after taking his wife's sucker ...] he took his own sucker' (HK'AN 107.2)

This is actually the general strategy of emphasizing the identity of a referent that would otherwise only be represented by a dependent pronominal index, which is also illustrated by E36.a below.

3.2.1.1.6. Interrogative pronoun as possessor

The questioned constituent is represented by an interrogative pronoun. As it constitutes a canonical focus, the syntactic rules relevant to focus constructions (ch. 2.6) apply to the representation of possessive NPs by interrogative pronouns (cf. also ch. 3.2.4.3.1 below and Bricker 1979).

Given that the focused element is a subconstituent of an NP, viz. a possessed NP (an EPNP; see ch. 3.2.1.1.2), the latter may be fronted as a whole by R1 of ch. 2.6. Given that the focused element is an interrogative pronoun, it is fronted within the possessed NP according to R2 (ibid.). This, in turn, yields a constellation in which an NP (the interrogative pronoun) directly precedes a pronominal clitic with which it is coreferential (viz. the possessive clitic). Therefore, the possessive clitic is dropped by R4 (ibid.).⁴²

⁴² Some speakers have a further rule which provides the possessed noun with the relational suffix (see ch. 3.2.2.2.2). Apparently, they form the possessed NP whose possessor is an interrogative pronoun on the model of the combination of a noun with an interrogative pronoun to ask for an object of a specified kind, as mentioned in fn. 111. This gives rise to such examples as *máax ìiho-il le pàal-alo'b-a'?* (who son-REL DEF child-PL-D1) 'whose sons are these children?' (J. Bohnemeyer p.c.), where the *-il* suffix has no other justification.

- E34. a. t-u y-il-ech u y-atan
 PAST-SBJ.3 0-see-ABS.2.SG POSS.3 0-wife ‘his wife saw you’
- b. u y-atan il-ech
 POSS.3 0-wife see-ABS.2.SG ‘it’s his wife who saw you’
- c. máax atan il-ech?
 who wife see-ABS.1.SG ‘whose wife saw you?’

E34.b shows a possessed NP in focus position, as opposed to its *in situ* position in a. The auxiliary and the subject clitic disappear according to R3 and R4. This is just as in E15. E34.c shows the same with an interrogative pronoun representing the possessor. By R2, it moves to the front of the possessed nominal; by R4, it replaces the possessive clitic which was present in versions a and b.

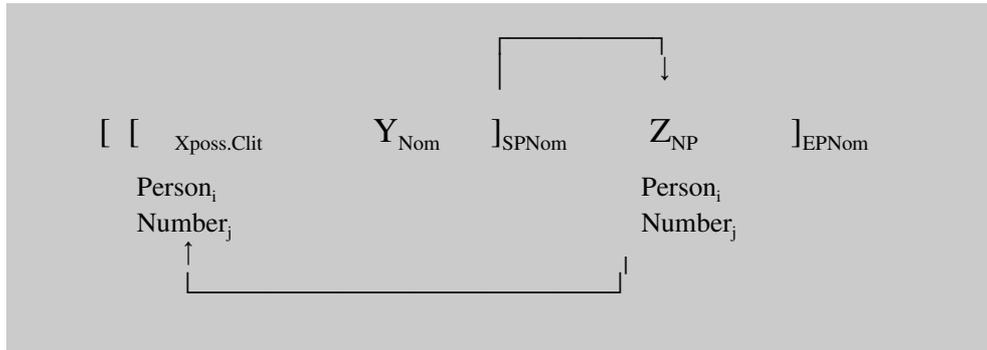
R2 and R4 of ch. 2.6 also apply if the constituent containing the interrogative dependent is not in focus position, but instead forms the predicate of the sentence. E35 provides some examples; another one is in E48.

- E35. a. máax atn-il?
 who wife-REL ‘whose wife is she?’
- b. máax lèentes-il-o’b?
 who glasses-REL-PL ‘whose spectacles are they?’ (J. Bohnemeyer p.c.)

3.2.1.1.2. LEXICAL POSSESSOR

If the possessor as attribute is represented by a lexical noun or a non-interrogative free pronoun, this will be the head of a **possessive NP**. This follows an SPNom in a construction that will be called **expanded possessed nominal (EPNom)**.⁴³ (Thus, by terminological convention, a possessive NP is part of a possessed nominal.) The EPNom may be schematized as in S6.

⁴³ In the same sense, Lichtenberk 1983:149f distinguishes between simplex and complex possessive constructions.

S6. *Expanded possessed nominal*

The possessive clitic agrees with the possessive NP in person and number, as visualized by the lower arrow in S6 and illustrated in E36. The personal pronoun in E36.a is, of course, optional and only used for emphasis. The plural suffix on the possessed noun in E36.c is optional, too.

- E36. a. a k'àaba'-e'x te'x
 POSS.2 name-2.PL you.PL 'your (pl.) name(s)'
- b. u k'àaba' le x-ch'up-pàal-a'
 POSS.3 name DEF F-woman-child-D1 'this girl's name'
- c. u k'àaba'(-o'b) in láak'-o'b
 POSS.3 name-PL POSS.1.SG other-PL 'my friends' names'

The nature of the syntactic relation symbolized by the upper arrow in S6 has been a matter of debate in American linguistics since Boas's times. It is an intricate combination of anaphora and government.⁴⁴ Government extends from Y directly to X⁴⁵ and is, as it were, passed on from there to Z via coreference.

Expansion of a nominal (S2) into a PNom is, of course, not recursive (the stacking of possessive attributes represented by S9 in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2 is a different matter). Nevertheless, a – simple or expanded – PNom is still a nominal as far as combination with outer nominal specifiers or operators is concerned. In particular, the nominal is the category with which the numeral complex (cf. ch. 2.2.2) combines, no matter whether it contains a numeral classifier, as in E37.a, or a mensurative, as in b.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ It has sometimes been assumed that there is a grammatical relation between the two elements linked by the lower arrow, viz. the possessive clitic and the possessive NP, and that it is one of apposition. This, however, does not seem correct, as the concept of apposition requires that two constituents related by it form a constituent. For more discussion, see Lehmann 1985, §5.2.

⁴⁵ The issue of whether one is allowed to speak of government in all constructions of nominal possession in YM will be taken up in ch. 6.3.

⁴⁶ Indefiniteness of the possessor, as in E37.a, has no influence on word order here.

- E37. a. *táan u kim-il hun-túul in chàan ìihah*
 PROG SBJ.3 die-INCMPL one-CL.animate POSS.1.SG little daughter
 ‘a little daughter of mine was about to die’ (FCP 276)
- b. *tàas hun-p’íit a wìix*
 bring one-bit POSS.2 urine ‘bring a bit of your urine’

Once a PNom is fully determined, it is a **possessed NP**, either a simple possessed NP (SPNP) or an expanded possessed NP (EPNP). More on this in ch. 3.2.4.

If the PNom is the predicate of the clause, it contains absolutive suffixes. These are not appended to the EPNom, but to the SPNom in S6 as described in ch. 3.2.1.1.1.2, regardless of the presence or not of Z. Thus, E18 could be expanded to E38.

- E38. *u pàal-e’x-o’b h-k’áaxil-o’b*
 POSS.3 child-ABS.2.PL-PL M-farmer-PL ‘you are the children of farmers’

Semantically, the absolutive suffix should combine with the predicate of the clause. Structurally, however, it does not combine with the expanded, but with the simple PNom, intruding, as it were, into its host. Moreover, once landed there, it serializes according to the empathy-sensitive rule associated with T8. This is due to the fact that the absolutive suffix is not a pronoun, but much more grammaticalized on its way to an agreement marker.

3.2.1.2. Empathy

One of the most important parameters along which possessive constructions vary is the semantic class of the possessor. The classification relevant here is essentially the empathy hierarchy (S1), with some adaptations. Prototypical possessors are high on the empathy hierarchy. Consequently, there are constructions which are morphologically unmarked if the possessor is high in empathy, and marked otherwise.⁴⁷ In YM, this concerns the use of the relational suffix *-il* (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.2.2). Nouns which are generally unmarked if used as the possessum in a possessive construction, i.e. neutral and inalienable nouns, nevertheless take the relational suffix if the possessor has insufficient empathy.⁴⁸

- E39. a. *tu’x yàan {in x-ba’y / u x-ba’y Hwàan}*?
 where EXIST POSS.1.SG F-bag POSS.3 F-bag John
 ‘Where is my / John’s bag?’

⁴⁷ Cf. also the frequency data in Hofling 1990. Deane 1987 shows that empathy of the possessor is responsible for the choice of a prenominal instead of a postnominal genitive attribute in English.

⁴⁸ It is worth quoting Coronel (1620:99) here: “Todas las veces que hay cierto modo de posesión, que no lo es verdadero de persona, sino por razón de algun oficio se llama suya la cosa poseída, se ha de poner *il* al fin de la cosa poseída, como de los ejemplos estará claro: *in taça*, mi taza, *v taçail Refectorio*, la taza del Refectorio. *V llaveil in vay*, la llave de mi celda. *In pop*, mi petate, *v pópil in cama*, el petate de mi cama. *V xiuil kaknáb*, la yerba del mar.” The passage is reflected in San Buenaventura 1684:28.

- b. tu'x yàan u x-ba'y-il in nòok'?
- where EXIST POSS.3 F-bag-REL POSS.1.SG dress
'Where is the bag for my clothes?'
- E40. a. u y-ùuk' le pàal-o'
- POSS.3 0-louse DEF child-D2 'that child's lice'
- b. u y-ùuk'-il u ho'l le pàal-o'
- POSS.3 0-lice POSS.3 head DEF child-D2 'the lice of that child's head'
- E41. a. u ch'e'n le kàah-a'
- POSS.3 well DEF community-D1 'the well of this village'
- b. u ch'e'n-il ta'b / gàas
- POSS.3 well-REL salt gas 'shaft of salt/gas'
- E42. a. in ahaw
- POSS.1.SG chief 'my chief'
- b. u ahaw-il in kux-tal
- POSS.3 chief-REL POSS.1.SG live-PROC 'the master of my life (i.e. god)'
- c. u ahaw(-il) le lu'm way-a'
- POSS.3 chief-REL DEF earth here-D1 'the chief of this land'
- E43. a. in yùum
- POSS.1.SG master 'my lord'
- b. u yùum-il le tsíimn-e'
- POSS.3 master-REL DEF horse-D3 'the owner of the horse'

In E39 – E42, the a-phrase shows an empathic possessor or at any rate what is construed as one, with the PNom remaining unmarked, while the b-phrase shows an anempathic possessor, with the relational suffix appearing on the head noun. The variation displayed in E42.c is significant, as it testifies to the gradience of the phenomena involved. More examples will be seen in ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.3.

Animals as possessors are generally sufficiently high in empathy to dispense with the relational suffix (cf. e.g. E122.b below). There are, however, a couple of constellations in which the suffix does appear. First, in cases such as E44, the animal has no control of the possessum *sahkab*.

- E44. h p'óokinah tsùuk-e'
- M hat:USAT:NR paunch-TOP
- napulak u bin t-u sahkab-il u ts'oya'n tsíimin-e'
- at.once SBJ.3 go LOC-POSS.3 white:earth-REL POSS.3 weak horse-CNTR
'Paunchhat went at once to his weak horse's cave,' (HK'AN 0391.1)

Here, the possessum is rather a place where the possessor habitually is. Second, in cases such as E43.b, the possessor is lower in empathy than the possessum; and this constellation is sufficiently far from the prototypical case to require the relational suffix. The same applies if the possessor of a human being is human, but not an individual; cf. E35 and ch. 3.2.3.1.2.4.

The relevant condition of an unmarked possessive construction is, thus, that the possessor be higher in empathy than the possessum. As was seen in ch. 1.2.2.1.2.2, this condition may be reinterpreted in the sense that the possessor must – actually or virtually – control the possessum. Thus, in E39.a and E41.a, the possessor controls the possessum, whereas in the corresponding b-examples, this is not the case. In E42 and E43, this condition may be loosened in the sense that in the a-versions, the possessor controls the possessum to the extent that the latter's nature admits this, and certainly controls it more than the possessor in the b-versions. From this derives the following principle: A possessive relationship in which the possessor controls the possessum is prototypical and insofar receives no morphological mark. A possessive relationship in which the possessor does not control the possessum is deviant and receives a morphological mark to indicate the deviation.⁴⁹

If the condition that the possessor must be higher in empathy than the possessum and in principle be able to control it is dropped, many different kinds of things and even masses and places could occupy the position of the possessor. Then, however, the nature of the relationship changes, and it ceases to be properly possessive (cf. ch. 1.2.2.1.2). YM does use the pattern of the PNom for a couple of non-prototypical, in particular associative (cf. ch. 3.2.3.1.3), relationships. It was seen in ch. 1.2.2.2.2 that the genitive in Indo-European languages, especially in Latin grammar, has a great number of semantically distinct uses that go beyond those of YM. This is partly due to the fact that the genitive is not very sensitive to the semantic class or the degree of individuation of its noun. In this respect, YM is more restrictive; it limits its possessive construction more closely to the prototype. The following cases may be mentioned:

If the attribute represents the species or is even the name of an individual of which the head represents the genus, then the construction of S6 is chosen. E45 shows two typical examples of this YM counterpart to the Standard Average European (SAE) ‘genitivus explicativus’.

E45. a. u kàah-il Ho'
 POSS.3 town-REL Merida ‘the town of Merida’

⁴⁹ The logic of this procedure is very similar to the inverse conjugation found in Algonquian languages (cf. Comrie 1981:122). In situations with two participants, the default is that the one which is higher in empathy controls the other one (thus, they are actor and undergoer, respectively). If it is the other way round, the construction remains the same, but the verb is marked for inverse conjugation.

- b. u che'-il òon
 POSS.3 tree-REL avocado 'avocado tree'

Although the attribute is low on the empathy hierarchy in this use of the construction (wherefore it receives the *-il* suffix), it is crucially more highly individuated than the head. This is a sufficient condition for the PNom to be used.

If the would-be possessor is too low in empathy and individuation, the PNom becomes less preferred. Thus, it is not used if the specifier is a place, but the head is higher in empathy, as in Spanish *hombre de Mérida*. The corresponding YM construction is treated in ch. 3.3.1. If the specifier is a substance or material, SAE languages use the 'genitivus materiae', as in Spanish *casa de madera*. The material attribute is rather marginal to YM grammar. The two most important substances to make objects from, namely stone and wood, are preferably treated as individuals, not as masses. There are many compound nouns which have *tun* 'stone' and *che'* 'wood, tree, stick, rod' etc.) as their determinatum. Instead of *stone cover*, YM says *bal-tun* (cover-stone), instead of *wooden wedge* it has *takab che'* 'wedge stick'. On the possibility of extending the construction for the possessum as attribute (i.e. the pattern of S11) to material attributes, see ch. 3.3.1. In this semantic area, the Spanish loan construction *X de Y* is rather frequent, as illustrated by E46 (cf. also E119).

- E46. k-a bèet-ik túun u màak túun dée x-màak áak'
 IMPF-SBJ.2 do-INCMPL then POSS.3 cover then of F-cover liana
 'then you make its door, its "woven door"' (lit.: door of woven door) (K'AXBIL 091)

3.2.2. PROPERTIES OF POSSESSUM

Possessa will be classified here according to two criteria, their status as lexical vs. grammatical item and their relationality. A classification according to conceptual class (persons, things etc.) would be feasible. However, part of it would repeat the subclasses that we will have occasion to mention in the classification by relationality; and its other part would really concern functional concepts such as body parts and relatives, which will be treated as kinds of possessive relationship in ch. 3.2.3.1.

It will be seen that the classification of nouns into grammatical classes according to the possessive constructions they may form is anything but rigid. Many nouns allow of more than one kind of construction. To the extent this is true, we are dealing less with a grammatical categorization of nouns and more with alternative possessive relationships and alternative strategies of expressing them.

3.2.2.1. Grammatical status of possessum

3.2.2.1.1. LEXICAL POSSESSUM

A lexical possessum will be represented as a nominal, as seen in ch. 3.2.1, specifically, in S5. In the far majority of occurrences, the PNom reduces to a possessed noun. In any case, the position of the head (Y in S5) must not be taken by a PNom, since the construction is not recursive.

3.2.2.1.2. PRONOMINAL POSSESSUM

A pronominal possessum occurs mainly in anaphora and in predications of belonging (cf. ch. 4.2.1). There are two constructions for representing it, which will be called the dummy possessum construction and the personal pronoun construction.

In the dummy possessum construction, the head nominal of a PNom (Y in S6) is represented by the inabsoluble noun (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.2.1) *ti'a'l* ‘property, destined for’, as in E47. It cannot be omitted. Structurally, the possessive clitic (with its eventual suffixal complement), which is constitutive of the construction, needs a syntactic host⁵⁰ of the appropriate kind.

- E47. He'l in k'àan-a'. –
 PRSV POSS.1.SG hammock-D1
 ‘Here's my hammock. –’
 Mi'n k'áat a ti'a'l-i'.
 NEG:POSS.1.SG wish POSS.2 property-NEGF
 ‘I don't want yours.’

The constellation also typically arises in question-answer pairs concerning the possessor of something, as in E48.

- E48. Máax ti'a'l le k'áan-a'? – In ti'a'l.
 who property DEF hammock-D1 POSS.1.SG property
 ‘Whose is this hammock?’ – ‘It is mine.’

Ti'a'l generally represents non-human referents. Reference to human possessa is not strictly excluded; cf. E49. Normally, however, if the possessum is human, it will be repeated in anaphora. If one substituted, for instance, *láak'* ‘friend’ for *k'áan* in E47, the answer could not contain *ti'a'l*. For an animal, the situation will seldom arise. Domestic animals have a possessive classifier (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.3), which is used for anaphora. Wild animals are not normally possessed (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.3.2).

⁵⁰ Recall from ch. 3.2.1.1.4.1 that the syntactic host of a possessive clitic is distinct from its phonological host.

The personal pronoun construction involves a definite NP, with a personal pronoun from T2 as its head and a definite determiner around it, as in E47'.

E47'. mix in k'áat le tèech-o'
 nor POSS.1.SG wish POSS.2 property-NEGF 'I don't want yours'

As shown by E49 and E50, this construction is equally common with human or non-human inalienable possessa.

E49. in suku'n-e' màas úuchben
 POSS.1.SG elder.brother more old
 ketik a suku'n-o' / a ti'a'lo' / le tèecho'
 than POSS.2 elder.brother POSS.2 property-D2 DEF you-D2
 'my brother is older than yours'

E50. u y-àal in k'ab-a' mas chowak-tak
 POSS.3 0-young.one POSS.1.SG hand-D1 more long-ADJ.PL
 ketik le tèech-o' / le a ti'a'l-o'.
 than DEF you-D2 DEF POSS.2 property-D2
 'my fingers are longer than yours'

As noted in ch. 3.2.1.1.1.1, there are no free possessive pronouns in the language. Therefore, the pronouns in E47' – E50 have to be regarded as personal pronouns. Only pronouns of first and second person are possible as possessors in the personal pronoun construction; for third person possessors, the dummy possessum construction is chosen. These facts may be understood with reference to the origin of the personal pronouns as discussed in ch. 2.3. I.e., the use of pronouns of the first and second persons as possessors of an anaphoric possessum originated at a stage where these were exclusively oblique pronouns.

3.2.2.2. Relationality

Nouns exhibiting grammatical properties of relationality will be called **inalienable**, nouns exhibiting grammatical properties of non-relationality will be called **alienable**. The relationality/non-relationality of a noun is a grammatical property which resides in its sensitivity to being used in syntactic constructions inside vs. outside a (simple) PNom.⁵¹ The use in such a possessive construction will be called 'possessed', the use outside 'absolute'. In the paired examples of the following sections, the a-example will illustrate absolute use of a noun in a demonstrative non-possessive NP, while the b-example will illustrate possessed use in an SPNom.

⁵¹ The alternative must be restricted to syntactic constructions. Even inabsoluble nouns can function as members of compound stems, as will be seen in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.1.

In YM, relationality manifests itself morphologically on the noun. This gives rise to a subdivision of nouns into three major classes. The criterion of the classification is markedness of absolute vs. possessed use of a noun: if absolute use is unmarked, the noun is alienable; if possessed use is unmarked, the noun is inalienable; if there is no difference in markedness, the noun is neutral. T10 gives a survey of these classes.⁵²

T10. *Possessive noun classes*

| grammat- ical class | subclass | absolute use | possessed use | semantic classes |
|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|------------------|---|
| neutral | | N | N | diverse |
| inalienable | inabsoluble | – | N | parts of wholes |
| | absoluble | N- <i>tsil</i> | | kin |
| alienable | impossessible | N | – | persons, configurations of nature |
| | possessible convertible | | N- <i>il/-el</i> | most |
| | classifiable | | POSS.CLASS N | objects of cultural sphere |

Relationality is a grammatical property of noun stems that can be changed by derivational operations. The operation that renders a noun stem relational is **relationalization** (see ch. 3.2.2.2.2.2). The opposite operation, which renders a stem absolute, is **absolutivization** (see ch. 3.2.2.2.3.2). The subdivision of alienable and inalienable noun stems into semantic classes, as executed in T10, is significant only for basic, i.e. non-derived, stems.

3.2.2.2.1. NEUTRAL NOUNS

A neutral noun may be used both in possessive constructions and outside, with no morphological or other difference apart from tone lowering. The two constructions are displayed in T11 and exemplified in E51.

E51. a. le k'áan-o' 'the hammock'

⁵² T10 comprises six possessive noun classes. Bricker et al. 1998:360, by making some finer morphological and semantic distinctions, arrive at ten possessive noun classes. Grammars of other Mayan languages, e.g. Dayley 1985 and Haviland 1988, contain similar classifications.

b. in k'àan 'my hammock'

T11. *Constructions of neutral nouns*

| grammatical class | absolute construction | possessed construction | semantic classes |
|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|------------------|
| neutral | N | N | diverse |

The class of neutral nouns includes nouns of diverse semantic classes, as exemplified in T12 (body parts are treated more fully in T20 and in the pertinent appendix).

T12. *Semantic classes of neutral nouns*

| semantic class | noun | meaning |
|-------------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| artifact, human produce | <i>kòot</i> | wall |
| | <i>ch'e'n</i> | well |
| | <i>nu'kul</i> | instrument |
| | <i>kib</i> | candle |
| | <i>ba's</i> | suitcase |
| | <i>k'áan</i> | hammock |
| | <i>nòok'</i> | dress |
| | <i>xanab</i> | shoe |
| | <i>hòoch</i> | crop |
| | <i>kol</i> | milpa |
| body part | <i>koh</i> | tooth |
| person in social role | <i>ahaw</i> | chief |
| | <i>kisin</i> | devil |
| | <i>léets'</i> | lackey |
| plant | <i>nal</i> | corn plant |
| | <i>chúuh</i> | squash |
| abstract entity | <i>t'àan</i> | speech, word |
| | <i>ayik'alil</i> | wealth |
| | <i>k'oha'nil</i> | sickness |
| other | <i>hòol</i> | opening |
| | <i>bo'y</i> | shade, shelter |

Most of the abstract nouns which belong in this class are based on inalienable nouns which, in their turn, have been derived from verbal or adjectival bases. The processes which afford this are explained in ch. 3.2.2.2.1. Once such new stems are formed, they are amenable to further lexical developments which may be frequent, but nevertheless not grammatically regular. What is relevant in the present context is the loss of their relationality.

Consider first deverbal nouns. The transitive verb *t'an* ‘call’ yields the introversive *t'àan* ‘speak’. This is also used as a nomen acti meaning ‘speech, word, language’. Secondly, the actor/possessor slot of this verbal noun becomes optional, and the word joins the class of neutral nouns, behaving syntactically like its English translation equivalents.

Second, there are deadjectival nouns. As explained in ch. 3.2.2.2.1, these are derived by means of the suffix *-il* and are therefore primarily relational. Thus, from *k'oha'n* ‘sick’ we get *k'oha'nil* ‘sickness’. Secondly, however, the possessor slot becomes optional. Thus, parallel to E51, we have E52.

- E52. a. *le k'oha'n-il-o'*
 DEF sick-ABSTR-D2 ‘the sickness’
- b. *in k'oha'n-il*
 POSS.1.SG sick-ABSTR ‘my sickness’

The dynamic account, which is presented in more detail in ch. 3.2.2.2.1, assumes that these neutral nouns are tributary to the inalienable nouns formed on the same morphological patterns. A static approach, however, cannot but observe two (or even more) distinct uses of the *-il* suffix, one the relationalizer as described in ch. 3.2.2.2.2, the other an abstractor which has nothing to do with relationality and which appears in both E52.a and b. From a synchronic point of view, E52.a proves that the suffix in E52.b is not triggered by possession.⁵³

In the possessed nominal with a neutral noun as the head, the specific kind of possessive relationship is not signalled morphologically nor is it inherent in the possessum. However, it was said in ch. 1.2.2.1.2.2 that the prototypical constellation for a possessive relationship, with a highly empathic possessor and a possessum which belongs to the former’s immediate bio-cultural sphere, gives rise to a default interpretation of the possessive relation by which the possessor controls the possessum. This interpretation is available for a large subclass of neutral nouns, especially the artifacts, and will typically apply if they are possessed.

There is one particular case which shows how the control connotation of the direct possessive construction becomes virulent. The noun *he'* ‘egg’ is susceptible of practically all absolute and possessive constructions. However, in an unadorned PNom it means ‘egg laid by possessor’. Thus, while *u he'* ‘its egg’ is current, *in he'* ‘my egg’ provokes laughter and would normally be substituted by a classifier construction such as *in wo'ch he'* (s. ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.3.2). Detailed explanations on the behavior of nouns of specific semantic classes in possessive constructions will be given in ch. 3.2.3.1.

All neutral nouns are morphologically insensitive to the syntactic distinction of absolute vs. possessed use. Logically, the class also comprises nouns which do exhibit a

⁵³ as Hofling 1990, §5.4 appears to imply for an analogous case in Itzá

morphological contrast based on absolute vs. possessed use, which is, however, an equipollent one. Such a contrast could be a regular one, e.g. an alternation between an absolutivizing and a relational affix; or it could consist in a suppletive relationship between two stems. While the former situation has not been found, the literature on other Mayan languages does report the latter one. In particular, the etymological cognates or lexical equivalents of the two pairs in E53 and E54 are mentioned repeatedly.

- E53. a. le wàah-o' 'the tortilla'
 b. in w-o'ch 'my food'
- E54. a. le nah-o' 'the house'
 b. in w-otoch 'my home'

An analysis of these as suppletive pairs would require that the two nouns of each pair be synonymous, barring relationality, and that their occurrence be conditioned by absolute vs. possessed use. In YM, this is not the case, neither for the two pairs adduced nor for any others. As for E53, *wàah* means nothing but 'tortilla', whereas *o'ch* is any food.⁵⁴ The latter may be combined, as a possessive classifier (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.3.2), with any noun designating solid or liquid food, including *wàah* itself. As for E54, there is no conditioned alternation between the two stems, as *nah* belongs in the class of convertible nouns (ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.2), while *otoch* is an inabsoluble noun (3.2.2.2.2.1). Neither are they synonymous, as *nah* means 'house', while *otoch* means 'home'. In the dialect described here, the distribution of *nah-il* includes the one of *otoch*.

3.2.2.2.2. INALIENABILITY

Inalienable nouns are such whose primary use is in a possessive construction. The morphological manifestation of this syntactic property lies in two facts: 1. the noun bears no morphological mark if possessed; 2. absolute use is either impossible or morphologically marked.⁵⁵

3.2.2.2.2.1. Grammatical classes of inalienable nouns

The alternative of being either excluded from or marked in the absolute construction yields two grammatical subclasses of inalienable nouns. **Inabsoluble** nouns are obligatorily possessed; **absoluble** nouns may be absolutivized. Their respective constructions are displayed in T13 and illustrated in E55f.

⁵⁴ Its cognate in other Mayan languages, e.g. Tzotzil, does mean 'tortilla'.

⁵⁵ Complete impossibility of absolute use is hard to guarantee. An imaginative informant can come up with all sorts of unusual linguistic situations. Cf. ch. 3.2.3.1.2.1.

T13. *Constructions of inalienable nouns*

| grammatical class | absolute use | possessed use | semantic classes |
|-------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| inabsoluble | - | N | certain inanimate entities |
| absoluble | N- <i>tsil</i> | N | certain animate entities |

E55. in k'áat 'my wish'

- E56. a. le tatah-tsil-o' 'the father'
 b. in tàatah 'my father'

As may be gathered from T13, the grammatical distinction between absoluble and inabsoluble nouns neatly correlates with a semantic distinction. All absoluble nouns are animate (generally, human), while inabsoluble nouns are inanimate. Within each of these two classes, there are various semantic subclasses which are enumerated and illustrated with some nouns in T14.⁵⁶ Most of these subclasses are treated more fully in subsequent chapters: kinship terms in ch. 3.2.3.1.1 and 3.2.2.2.3.2; body parts in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.1; plant parts in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2; other parts of wholes in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.1.

⁵⁶ *Báah* in its most current use, as a direct object, does not accept a nominal possessor. The analysis given in Hofling 1990, §4.2 to ex. 10c does not apply to YM.

T14. Semantic classes of inalienable nouns

| semantic class | subclass | noun | meaning |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| inanimate entity [inabsoluble] | body part | <i>ich</i> | face |
| | plant part | <i>íts</i> | resin |
| | manifestation of animate being | <i>bok</i> | smell |
| | | <i>tukul</i> | thought |
| | property | <i>ti'a'l</i> | property, destined for |
| | | <i>otoch</i> | home |
| | abstract entity | <i>k'áat</i> | wish |
| <i>tohol</i> | | price | |
| <i>yeh</i> | | sharpness | |
| animate entity [absoluble] | social role | <i>éet</i> | companion |
| | | <i>láak'</i> | equal, other, friend |
| | | <i>yùum</i> | master, lord |
| | kin | <i>báah</i> | self |
| | | <i>tatah</i> | father |
| | | <i>mamah</i> | mother |
| | | <i>suku'n</i> | elder brother |
| | | <i>kik</i> | elder sister |
| | | <i>íts'in</i> | younger sibling |
| | | <i>ícham</i> | husband |
| <i>atan</i> | wife | | |
| <i>ha'n</i> | son-in-law | | |
| <i>ilib</i> | daughter-in-law | | |

First the **inabsoluble nouns** will be considered. Of these, body parts are treated in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.1 and plant parts in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2. Manifestations of animate beings may be considered as abstract body parts. The nouns designating kinds of property have no special grammatical properties. While most nouns designating social roles belong in the absoluble subclass, there is one inabsoluble noun in this semantic class, viz. *éet* ‘companion’. This is only an apparent exception to the generalization that inabsoluble nouns are inanimate,

3.2.2.2.2. Relationalization

For present purposes, relationalization is a grammatical or derivational operation which renders a noun stem inalienable and, thus, usable as the head of a PNom.⁵⁸ This is done by means of the relational suffix. Its basic allomorph is *-il*. The other allomorphs have a different vowel than *i*. While it is common for the vowel of inflectional and derivational suffixes to alternate by phonological rule, the relational suffix shows phonologically conditioned alternation, viz. vowel harmony, only in one marginal context, namely if it follows a numeral classifier or a mensurative, as in E68f below.⁵⁹ In the other cases, the vowel is lexically conditioned: *-el* is essentially reserved for alienable body-part terms, where *-al* and *-ol* are occasionally found, too (cf. ch. 3.2.3.1.2.1), while *-ul* appears to occur only after *meyah* (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.2).

In terms of grammatical structure, relationalization works as follows: The *-il* suffix itself is a relator, which means it has both modifying and governing relationality. In possessive relationalization, it combines with the noun stem that it modifies and bestows its governing relationality on it.⁶⁰ The result is an inalienable noun stem of the inabsoluble subclass.

The relationalizer is more an inflectional than a derivational affix. It follows derivational suffixes and even *-tak* ADJ.PL, which is itself on this borderline. It does, however, precede inflectional suffixes such as the plural, possessive and absolutive suffixes, as shown in E58.

E58. in nuk-tak-il-o'b
 POSS.1.SG big-ADJ.PL-REL-PL ‘my old ones (i.e. my parents)’ (Stolz 1996:47)

Possessive relationalization is applied in the following cases:

1. If a noun belongs to the convertible class, it bears the relational suffix as the head of a PNom. Cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.2 and examples such as E63.

As a subcase, relationalization is also applicable to stems that have been absolutivized by *-tsil* (see ch. 3.2.2.2.3.2).

E59. máax u suku'n-tsil-il le pamìilyah he'l-a'?'
 who POSS.3 elder.brother-ABSOL-REL DEF family PRSV-D1
 ‘who is the eldest brother of this family?’ (J. Bohnemeyer p.c.)

First *-tsil* forms the concept of a person who has the absolute property of being the eldest brother, then *-il* relates this person to the group at hand.

⁵⁸ See Lehmann 1985, §6.1 for a more general concept of relationalization.

⁵⁹ This observation is due to Ch. Stolz.

⁶⁰ For the fundamentals of this kind of relational analysis, see Lehmann 1985.

2. For neutral and inalienable nouns, relationalization marks possession by an anempathic possessor. Cf. ch. 3.2.1.2.

3. The suffix *-il* in general marks possessive constructions which somehow deviate from the prototypical constellation, where nothing but some vague relation is intended. Cf. ch. 3.2.3.1.3.⁶¹

Outside possession, the relational suffix plays an important role in rendering nouns relational and thus establishing diverse kinds of nominal relations.⁶² It is the task of a semasiological study to bring them all out.

3.2.2.2.3. Implicitness of inherent possession

In several languages, inalienable nouns need not be accompanied by their possessive pronoun if the possessor is identified in the syntactic context and, in particular, if it is the subject.

- E60. a. Paulus manus lauat
 LATIN Paul:NOM.SG hand:ACC.PL wash:3.SG
 ‘Paul is washing his hands’
- GERM b. Paul schloß die Auge-n
 Paul shut\PAST(3.SG) DEF:ACC.PL eye-PL
 ‘Paul shut his eyes’
- E61. a. Pàabloh-e’ túun p'o'-ik u k'ab
 Paul-TOP IMPF:SBJ.3 wash-INCMPL POSS.3 hand
 ‘Paul is washing his hands’
- b. Pàabloh-e’ h múuts' u y-ich
 Paul-TOP PAST close\DEAG(CMPL) POSS.3 0-eye
 ‘Paul shut his eyes’

Thus, in E60.a, the possessive relation between Paul and his hands is not expressed, and neither is the possessive relation between Paul and his eyes in E60.b. In the YM E61 (= E28 + E126), however, the possessive clitic needs to be there. The constellation is, in fact, an instance of a possessive relation between participants and will therefore be resumed in ch. 5.2. While implicitness of inherent possession is typical of languages which have no alienability opposition at the level of grammar, YM does have such an opposition and consequently has no room for such implicitness.

⁶¹ Cf. Tozzer 1921:38, 49f and Andrade 1955, ch. 4.60 (3).

⁶² Among them are the genitivus explicativus illustrated by E45 and the combination of a noun with an interrogative pronoun to ask for an object of a specified kind, as mentioned in fn. 111. Some more are touched in ch. 3.3.1. Cf. also Andrade 1955, ch. 4.60.

3.2.2.2.3. ALIENABILITY

Alienable nouns are such whose primary use is in absolute constructions. The morphological manifestation of this syntactic property lies in two facts: 1. the noun bears no morphological mark if used absolutely; 2. possessed use is either impossible or morphologically marked.

3.2.2.2.3.1. Grammatical classes of alienable nouns

The alternative of being either excluded from or marked in the possessive construction yields two major grammatical subclasses of alienable nouns, the **impossessible** and the **possessible** ones. Possessible nouns again fall into two subclasses, **convertible** and **classifiable** nouns. This classification is displayed in T15 and illustrated in E62 – E64.

- E62. le suhuy-o' 'the virgin'
- E63. a. le nah-o' 'the house'
b. in nah-il 'my house'
- E64. a. le ha's-o' 'the banana'
b. in w-o'ch ha's 'my banana'

T15. *Constructions of alienable nouns*

| grammatical class | | absolute use | possessed use | semantic classes |
|-------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| impossessible | | N | – | persons, configurations of nature |
| possessible | convertible | N | N- <i>il</i> | diverse |
| | classifiable | N | POSS.CLASS N | objects of cultural sphere |

3.2.2.2.3.1.1. Impossessible nouns

For a noun to be strictly impossessible means that there is no way, including morphological modification, to make it the head of a PNom. Such nouns are rare. Some relevant semantic classes are illustrated in T16.⁶³

⁶³ Tzotzil, too, has a class of impossessible nouns; and Haviland 1988:101 insists that this is a formal, not a semantic class.

T16. *Semantic classes of impossible nouns*

| semantic class | noun | meaning |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| person | <i>máak</i> | person |
| | <i>xch'up</i> | woman |
| | <i>bàalam</i> | (kind of) ghost |
| | <i>hòoykep</i> | lazy-bones |
| | <i>suhuy</i> | virgin |
| proper name | <i>Hwàan</i> | John |
| | <i>Hùulyah</i> | Julie |
| configuration of nature | <i>ìik'</i> | air, wind |
| | <i>ka'n</i> | sky |
| | <i>k'a'náab</i> | sea |
| | <i>yóok'olkab</i> | world |

The prototypical possessum is relational and subject to control rather than exerting control itself. In the semantic class of persons – apart from relatives, but including anthroponyms –, both of these conditions are counterfulfilled. Consequently, while such nouns would make optimal possessors, they are highly unfit as possessa. The configurations of nature, too, are diametrically opposed to the two conditions, although in a different way. They are conceived as entities which are completely unrelated to, let alone controlled by, anything else.

Some person nouns may be interpreted as designating a person that fulfills a certain function for another person. These are, thus, likened to social roles and may then be possessed. The second noun in E65 is a typical case in point.⁶⁴ Some more examples are shown in T17, where the third column hints at possible interpretations in possessed nominals.

⁶⁴ The possession of the first will be explained in ch. 3.2.3.1.3.

T17. Person nouns as possessum

| noun | absolute meaning | possessed meaning |
|-----------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ko'lel</i> | lady | maternal grandmother |
| <i>ts'ùul</i> | gentleman | patron |
| <i>lòoxnáal</i> | boxer | hired boxer |
| <i>x wáay</i> | witch | contracted witch |

E65. u ahaw-il Mani' t-u y-a'l-ah ti' u h-mèen-hanal
 POSS.3 chief-REL Mani PAST-SBJ.3 0-say-CMPL LOC POSS.3 M-make-food
 'the chief of Mani said to his cook.' (CM1: 67)

The change in meaning which accompanies the alternate use in possessive vs. absolute contexts of some of the person nouns of T17 is also visible in *ìik*. In the meaning 'air, wind', it is impossible. However, it may also mean 'breath', and then it is inabsoluble. If the change in meaning were disregarded, such nouns would simply be classified as neutral. Some similar cases have indeed been classed this way and therefore appear in T12.

3.2.2.2.3.1.2. Convertible nouns

Convertible nouns get the relationalizing suffix *-il* (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.2.2) or an allomorph thereof if they are the head of a PNom, as in E63.b. E66 shows the difference of construction if a convertible noun is the head of a PNom (b) as opposed to an inabsoluble noun as the head (a).

E66. a. túun chòoh u y-iits le che'-o'
 PROG:SBJ.3 drip POSS.3 0-resin DEF tree-D2
 'the resin is dripping from the tree'

b. túun chòoh u ha'-il le yèeloh-o'
 PROG:SBJ.3 drip POSS.3 water-REL DEF ice-D2
 'the water is dripping from the ice'

Some of the semantic classes within the grammatical class of the convertible nouns are illustrated in T18.

T18. Semantic classes of convertible nouns

| semantic class | noun | meaning |
|----------------|---------------|---------|
| body part | <i>k'áak'</i> | blister |
| plant | <i>ìik</i> | chili |
| | <i>òon</i> | avocado |
| time span | <i>ha'b</i> | year |
| | <i>k'ìn</i> | day |
| dwelling | <i>nah</i> | house |
| | <i>beh</i> | road |
| | <i>kahtal</i> | village |
| other | <i>ha'</i> | water |

For some convertible nouns, such as *nah* ‘house’, *k'áak'* ‘wart’ and *wíinkil* ‘body’, there is no way of possessing them except by means of this suffix. The behavior of *wíinkil* deserves special mention. It is derived from *wíinik* ‘man’ by the suffix *-il*. Such derived nouns are normally semantically abstract and grammatically inalienable (ch. 3.2.2.2.2.1) or neutral (ch. 3.2.2.2.1). *Wíinkil*, however, is not based on an adjective or verb, but on a noun. It is semantically concrete and grammatically convertible. In possessive constructions it takes the relational suffix. If the possessor is anempathic (‘skeleton, frame’), the suffix is always *-il*. If the possessor is empathic, the suffix is either *-il* (E67.a) or *-al* (E67.b).

- E67. a. *káa t-u cho'-ah t-u wíinkl-il yùum ahaw*
 CONN PAST-SBJ.3 wipe-CMPL LOC-POSS.3 body-REL master chief
 ‘and he smeared it on the chief's body’ (RC, HTS'ON 034)
- b. *láaili' k'íinil u wíinkl-al-e'*
 still warm POSS.3 body-REL-D3 ‘its body is still warm’

While *wíinkil* is not a body part term, its morphological behavior is highly reminiscent of the alienable body parts terms. They are treated more fully in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.1. Although the stacking of *-il* suffixes has not been investigated systematically, it seems safe to say that if there is a sequence of them containing the relational suffix proper, this will be the last of them.

Some possessible nouns are only marginally so. This applies, above all, to wild animals such as *am* ‘spider’ or *áakach* ‘horsefly’, but also to *ahaw* ‘chief’ (cf. E24). Their reluctance against possession manifests itself in the fact that they are immune to glide

insertion and tone lowering. Thus we find *u amil le naha'* ‘the spiders of this house’ and *u áakachil le tsímna'* ‘the horseflies of this horse’.

The delimitation between the neutral and the convertible noun classes is problematic because the *-il* suffix also appears on neutral nouns if the possessor is not higher in empathy. Two cases may be distinguished.

First, several nouns, e.g. those designating plants and other edible things, may be relationalized either by *-il* or by possessive classification. One of the factors determining this choice is the possessor's empathy. See ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.3.3 with E80f for details. Such nouns will be considered convertible.

Second, there may be alienable entities which do not naturally have an empathic possessor at all. Corresponding nouns would show the relational suffix in all possessive constructions, and their appurtenance to the convertible vs. the neutral class would not really be ascertainable. Unexpectedly however, such nouns are hard to find. Numeral classifiers and mensuratives provide an – if somewhat marginal – case in point.

- E68. a. ka'-túul-o'b
two-CL.animate-ABS.3.PL ‘they are two (persons)’
- b. seys u túul-ul
six POSS.3 CL.animate-REL ‘they are six (persons)’ (Lucy 1992:51)
- E69. a. yàan ka'-wòol x-chìinah
EXIST two-heap F-orange ‘there are two heaps of oranges’
- b. nuk-tak u wòol-ol
big-ADJ.PL POSS.3 heap-REL ‘the heaps are big’ (Ch. Stolz p.c.)

Time spans, as illustrated in E70.a, are also chiefly used with anempathic possessors.

- E70. a. ts'o'k u k'uch-ul u k'in-il u bin-o'b xòok
TERM SBJ.3 arrive-INCMPL POSS.3 day-REL SBJ.3 go-PL school
‘the day has come for them to go to school’
- b. le he'l-a' in k'in
DEF PRSV-D1 POSS.1.SG day ‘this is my day’

However, there are certain idiomatic uses in which even time spans may have human possessors. Then the nouns are directly possessible, as seen in E70.b (cf. also E23.a). Therefore, they must be classified as neutral.

There is at least one noun, *meyah* ‘work’, which may be used either as a neutral or as a convertible noun. All of the variants of E71 occur.⁶⁵ E72 illustrates the use of the form in E71.d.

- E71. a. le meyaho' ‘the work’
 b. u meyah ‘his work’
 c. u meyahul ‘his work/the work relative to it’
 d. u meyhil ‘the work relative to it’
 e. u meyhulil ‘his work relative to it’
- E72. k-in na't-ik u meyah-il le mòotor-o'b-o'
 IMPF-SBJ.1.SG understand-INCMPL POSS.3 work-REL DEF motor-PL-D2
 ‘I can deal with those motors’

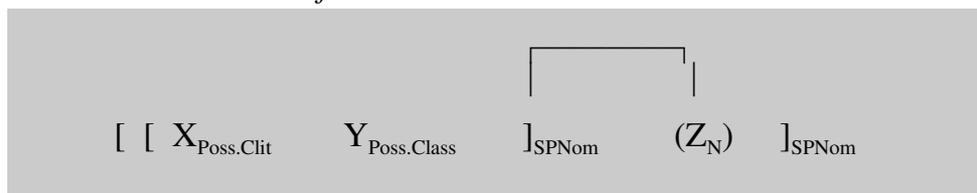
Among all the grammatical classes of nouns according to possessibility, the class of the convertible ones is the largest and the most productive one. Most Spanish loans belong in this class.⁶⁶ Cf., e.g., E111.

3.2.2.2.3.1.3. Possessive classification

3.2.2.2.3.1.3.1. Possessive classifier construction

A subclass of possessible nouns is provided with a possessive classifier in possessive constructions, as seen in E64.b.⁶⁷ The construction is as in S7.⁶⁸

S7. *Possessive classifier nominal*



⁶⁵ Cf. Blair 1964:53. Blair's other example (*u y-ìik-al* ‘his chili (which accompanies something else he is eating)’, *u y-ìik* ‘his chili’, *u y-ìik-al-il* ‘his chili (for eating something with)’ remains inexplicable. As a possible parallel to *meyhul*, Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980 has (s.v. ¹*p'ax*) “*in p'ax*: lo que debo; *in p'axul*: lo que me deben”.

⁶⁶ Edmonson 1988, ch. 10 says the same about the cognate class 1 in Huastec.

⁶⁷ The fundamental work on possessive classifiers is Lichtenberk 1983. They are frequent in Oceanic and, more generally, in circumpacific languages. The contexts in which they appear and the kinds of distinction made in their paradigm are very much alike cross-linguistically. Many of the observations made in Lichtenberk 1983 apply to YM, too.

⁶⁸ It needs to be verified whether the immediate co-constituent of the classifier phrase is the PNom or the possessed noun. I have *in chàan o'ch bah* (POSS.1.SG little CL.food mole) ‘my little corn mole (a kind of tortilla)’ to suggest the latter.

The possessive clitic X forms a phrase with the possessive classifier Y. The resulting classifier phrase categorizes as an SPNom. Z stands for a classifiable alienable noun. It is optional in this construction. The dependency line between the classifier phrase and Z represents apposition. The resulting construction is again an SPNom and may thus combine with a possessive NP to form an EPNom as in S6.

It will be observed that apart from the category indices and the dependency line, S6 and S7 are alike. This may give occasion to the doubt whether these differences are not an artifice of linguistic analysis. However, the differences can be justified by structural correlates. Thus, S7 can indeed be expanded by an NP representing the possessor, while S6 cannot (since it already contains one). Moreover, X in S7 is independent in person and number from Z, while X in S6 reflects person and number of Z.

3.2.2.2.3.1.3.2. Possessive classifiers

The class of possessive classifiers is an open one.⁶⁹ T19 enumerates some important members. The first four classifiers in T19, *alak'* for domestic animals⁷⁰ as in E73, *o'ch* for food as in E64.b, *pak'al* for things planted as in E74 and *mehen* (also *meyah*) for things made as in E79.b, form the core of the system.

E73. he'l in w-àalak' kàax-o'b-a'
 PRSV POSS.1.SG 0-CL.domestic chicken-PL-D1 'here are my chickens'

E74. [k-u] hóoya't-ik u pak'al lol-o'b
 IMPF-SBJ.3 irrigate-INCMPL POSS.3 CL.planted flower-PL
 '(who) waters his flowers' (HK'AN 0210.2)

⁶⁹ Possessive classifiers are not mentioned in the literature on YM, as far as I can see. Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980 provides entries for many of them, without recognizing their limitation to possessive contexts. It does, however, contain numerous scattered examples, from the earliest periods of the language on, featuring such a context, as e.g. (source orthography not adapted) '*lubi u ch'ak che' yok'ol* cayó sobre él el árbol que había cortado' (fall:ABS.3.SG POSS.3 CL.cut tree POSS.3:on) s.v. *ch'ak*; '*tin ketkunah in ts'a xoka'an*: he empatado la cuenta que he dado' (PAST:SBJ.1.SG equal:FACT:COMPL POSS.1.SG CL.give bill) s.v. *ket*; '*yan wa in p'at ti' "meson"*: ¿por ventura quedóseme alguna cosa en el mesón?' (EXIST INT POSS.1.SG leave LOC inn) s.v. *p'at*; '*kex a p'is ixi'm*: ¿qué es del maíz que has medido?' (what.about POSS.2 CL.measure corn) s.v. *p'is*; '*u pekah u man bino*' (SBJ.3 move:CMPL POSS.3 CL.buy wine) llevó así el vino que compró s.v. *pekah*. Cf. also note 73. Bricker et al. 1998:361 recognizes a class of 'noun specifiers' which only includes *alak'* and *o'ch*.

⁷⁰ The meaning is approximately 'non-human living being that is raised in the house or its area'. Certain plants grown at the house may be so classified, too.– The exception noted in Bricker et al. 1998:361, according to which a few nouns designating domestic animals do not accept *alak'*, may be confined to the dialect described there, as it is not observed by speakers from Valladolid, Chan Kom and Yaxley.

T19. Classifiers and classifiable nouns

| classifier | | derivational base | | classifiable nouns | |
|---------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------|
| form | meaning | form | meaning | form | meaning |
| <i>o'ch</i> | food | – | | <i>ha'</i> | water |
| | | | | <i>bu'l</i> | bean |
| | | | | <i>chamal</i> | cigarette |
| <i>alak'</i> | domestic animal | – | | <i>kàax</i> | chicken |
| | | | | <i>k'éek'en</i> | pig |
| | | | | <i>úulum</i> | turkey |
| <i>pak'al</i> | thing planted | <i>pak'</i> | plant | <i>ixi'm</i> | corn |
| <i>mehen</i> | thing made | <i>mèen</i> | make | <i>ch'e'n</i> | well |
| | | | | <i>hàanal</i> | food |
| <i>matan</i> | thing received | <i>mat</i> | receive as present | <i>ch'uhuk</i> | candy |
| <i>sih</i> | thing presented | <i>síih</i> | present | <i>ch'uhuk</i> | candy |
| <i>man</i> | thing bought | <i>man</i> | buy | <i>nòok'</i> | dress |
| | | | | <i>he'</i> | egg |
| <i>kon</i> | thing sold | <i>kon</i> | sell | <i>báat</i> | axe |
| <i>ch'ak</i> | thing cut | <i>ch'ak</i> | cut | <i>che'</i> | tree |
| | | | | <i>okom</i> | pillar |
| | | | | <i>úits che'</i> | resin |
| <i>pay</i> | thing drawn | <i>pay</i> | draw, haul | <i>ha'</i> | water |
| <i>ch'a'</i> | thing fetched | <i>ch'a'</i> | fetch | <i>ha'</i> | water |
| <i>kóol</i> | thing pulled | <i>kóol</i> | pull | <i>áak'</i> | creeper |
| | | | | <i>àanikab</i> | (liana) |

Apart from the two most basic ones, all the possessive classifiers, including those in E78, are verbal nouns derived by nomen acti formation⁷¹ (ch. 2.5.1) or, in cases like *pak'al*, *mehen* and *matan*,⁷² by some morphological variant of it. Their precise tonal properties remain to be investigated. In principle, possessive classifiers should have low tone by the tone lowering rule of ch. 3.2.1.1.1.4.4; and, in addition, the deverbal ones should have the low tone of the relational nomina acti. However, it must be recalled what was said in ch. 1.3 on the low tone. It is often inaudible on possessive classifiers. Thus, *in ch'àak si'* (POSS.1.SG CL.cut firewood) 'my firewood' will often sound as *in ch'ak si'*.

⁷¹ The same is true of possessive classifiers in Cahuilla; cf. Seiler 1977:299-305.

⁷² The verb *mat* is no longer used in modern YM. A brief account of *matan* is already in San Buenaventura 1684:33.

Derivation of possessive classifiers from transitive verbs is completely productive. If a situation as in E75.a is presupposed, then a possessive classifier may be formed from it as in b.⁷³

- E75. a. t-in wolis-kun-t-h le che'-a'
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG round-FACT-TRR-CMPL DEF tree-D1
 'I bent this branch round'
- b. le he'l-a' in wolis-kun-ah che'
 DEF PRSV-D1 POSS.1.SG round-FACT-INTROV tree
 'this is the branch that I bent round'

The deverbal origin of most of the possessive classifiers accounts for their relationality. In the prototypical case, possessive classifiers are nothing but inalienable nouns, grammaticalized to different degrees. From a syntactic point of view, this makes them fit to serve as a carrier of the possessive clitic for such nouns which cannot combine with the clitic themselves. In accordance with this, the combination of the classifier with the possessive clitic is categorized as an SPNom in S7. Optionality of Z in S7 means that the inner SPNom can represent the outer SPNom of S7, and only the former will be used in discourse whenever the referent of the possessum does not need to be specified. Cf. in this respect E11.c with E74. A typical context for the possessum to be superfluous is anaphora. Thus, E47 will come out as E76 if *k'eyem* is substituted for *k'àan*.

- E76. He'l in w-o'ch k'eym-a'. –
 PRSV POSS.1.SG CL.food pozole-D1
 'Here's my pozole. –'
- Mi'n k'áat a w-o'ch-i'.
 NEG:POSS.1.SG wish POSS.2 0-CL.food-NEGF
 'I don't want yours.'

In this respect, possessive classifiers behave like the dummy possessed noun *ti'a'l* 'property' (cf. ch. 3.2.2.1.2). The latter, however, does not serve as a possessive classifier; probably because it fails to specify the kind of control that the possessor exerts.

Although most possessive classifiers are inalienable nouns, there are possibilities of using them in absolute contexts. First, some such as *alak'* may be neutral nouns. Second, although the deverbal classifiers are neither neutral nor absoluble in the sense of ch. 3.2.2.2.3.2, there is an alternative deverbal derivation to create their non-relational counterpart, viz. gerundive formation as described in ch. 2.5.2.

⁷³ This is already observed in Coronel 1620:31: "El cuerpo de cualquier activo, si se le varía con pronombres, y si se le sigue algún nombre sustantivo, parece tener romance de participio, como *in le ch'ich'*, mi pájaro cogido con lazo; *in hul ceh*, mi venado que yo fleché; *in cambeçah vinicil* mi discípulo."

- E77. a. le che'-o'
DEF tree-D2 'the wood'
- b. in màan che'
POSS.1.SG CL.bought tree 'my wood that I bought'
- c. le man-bil che'-o'
DEF buy-GER tree-D2 'the wood being / to be bought'

This creates a complex subsystem: On the one hand, the possessive classifier marks the possessive use as against the absolute use. Thus, E77.a and b are parallel to E64.a and b. On the other hand, the classifier itself is part of the derivational paradigm E77.b vs. c, as presented in ch. 2.5. In this paradigm, it is the relational and unmarked member and contrasts with the gerundive as the non-relational marked member. In this sense, the classified PNom is like an absoluble possessed noun, and the relationship between E77.c and b is analogous to the relationship between E55.a and b.

Semantically, a possessive classifier does not really classify anything.⁷⁴ As is apparent from T19, many possessed nouns combine alternatively with more than one possessive classifier. Sometimes choice of the classifier depends even more on the possessor than on the possessum. The examples in E78f show how different classifiers will be chosen according to who is considered as the possessor of a given entity. Thus, two interlocutors may refer to the same cigarette by E78.a and b. And if the speaker's meal has been prepared by the addressee, he may prefer to praise it by referring to it as 'your meal' (E79.b) rather than 'my meal' (E79.a); that, however, requires a different classifier.

- E78. a. in sìih chamal
POSS.1.SG CL.presented cigarette 'the cigarette I gave away'
- b. in matan chamal
POSS.1.SG CL.received cigarette 'the cigarette I got'
- E79. a. hach ki' in w-o'ch hàanal
very delicious POSS.1.SG 0-CL.food meal
'my meal is very delicious'
- b. hach ki' a mehen hàanal
very delicious POSS.2 CL.made meal
'your meal is very delicious'

⁷⁴ This is also observed in Lichtenberk 1983, where the term 'relational classifier' is proposed. However, the problem is not with the term 'possessive', but with the term 'classifier', so that the category might instead be called 'possessive relators'. The term 'possessive classifier' was apparently introduced in Oceanic linguistics and is by now fairly well established; cf. Seiler 1983[Pn], ch. 5.4. Although possessive classifiers in other languages generally work like the YM ones, it is perhaps not worthwhile to replace the term.— The term introduced in Bricker et al. 1998:361, viz. 'noun specifier', is even less appropriate.

A possessive classifier such as *o'ch* does not subsume the possessum under the class of edible things. Instead, it expresses that the possessor has the specified relation to the possessum. Therefore, if X possesses something edible Y which, however, Z is going to eat, then the classifier *o'ch* is not appropriate in the construction X's Y (cf. Lichtenberk 1983:161). The syntactic structure shown in S7 reflects the semantics: the possessor fills a slot provided by the classifier; it is not the direct possessor of the possessum.

The semantic function to be fulfilled here may be characterized as follows: There is an entity high in empathy which is to play the role of possessor, and another entity which is not in the immediate personal sphere of the possessor, but which is under control of the possessor. As the kind of relation between the possessor and the possessum does not follow from anything else (in particular not from the meaning of the possessed noun), it needs to be expressed. Therefore an element is intercalated that specifies the kind of control that the possessor has over the possessum and, thus, establishes a possessive relationship between the two. Transitive verbal bases convey the kind of meaning required here. Therefore, such elements are derived productively from such bases.

We have seen various possibilities of intersection between the functional domains of possession and participation in ch. 1.2.2.2.4. Similarities in the verbal sphere, viz. in possessive predication, will be seen in ch. 4. Here we find a less expected intersection, in the nominal sphere. Recall (from ch. 1.2.2.1.2) that a relationship between entities X and Y is either inherent in one of them or established by something Z that is itself relational and mediates between the two. In the functional domain of possession, the relation in question is prototypically empty. The default case is inherence of the relation in one of the relata. The marked counterpart of this is created by establishing the relation. The whole grammar of the domain centers around this basic contrast. A distinction of **kinds** of established situations, however, is at a further remove from the core of possession and is not a grammatical distinction in many languages. In the functional domain of participation, it is the situation core which is relational and mediates between the central participants. In this sense, the relation between the participants is in principle always established. The whole domain revolves around the different ways in which the central participants are related to each other. Now there is an analogy between the established possessor and the actor, which is based on the concept of control. Just as the actor controls the undergoer in diverse situations, so the possessor controls the possessum in diverse ways. Therefore, the grammar of established possession may be modeled on the grammar of participation. Just as the verb mediates between the actor and the undergoer and expresses the way in which the former controls the latter, so the possessive classifier mediates between the possessor and the possessum and expresses the way in which the former controls the latter (cf. Lehmann 1996 for control in YM).

such as *in mehen òok* ‘(the) foot I made’. More importantly, the possessive classifier plays a role in establishing a possessive relationship to an animate possessor for something which may well be inherently relational but which does not directly accept animate possessors. This is generally true of parts of inanimate wholes (cf. ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2). E100 illustrates the phenomenon for a house pillar.

Given S7, the possessive classifier does not contract a direct grammatical relation with the possessed noun. There are, however, grammatical constructions whose immediate constituents are just items of the respective two grammatical classes, i.e. an elementary transitive verb and a non-relational noun. One of these is a compound noun with a verbal determinans and a nominal determinatum. The noun *chuy-che'* (sew-tree) ‘wickerwork wall’ is so composed and belongs to the neutral class.

- E82. a. he'l in chuy-che'-a'
 PRSV POSS.1.SG sew-tree-D1 ‘here is the palisade I made’
- b. tíin ch'ah-k u chuy-che'-il in nah-il
 PROG:SBJ.1.SG cut-INCMP POSS.3 sew-tree-REL POSS.1.SG house-REL
 ‘I am cutting the palisade for my house’

The structures in E82 are comparable with those in E39 – E42. However, this may be superficial. The meaning of E82.a suggests that its PNom may have the structure $[[in\ chuy_{Poss.Class}]_{SPNom}\ che']_{SPNom}$, instantiating S7. This could mean that in possession by a human possessor, the potential of the verbal base as a possessive classifier is activated. Also, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, a palisade as part of a house is not directly possessible by a human being. Alternatively, this type of compound may originate in possessive constructions like E82.a. This would imply that at a first stage, the verbal base plays the role of a possessive classifier, while at a second stage the sequence of verbal base plus head noun is reanalyzed and lexicalized. This remains to be verified.

Such a reanalysis is possible only for constructions consisting of transitive verb stem plus noun stem. A phrase such as *huch'bil bak'* ‘ground meat’, which is structurally similar to *chuy che'* ‘palisade’, contains the gerundive suffix *-bil*. It is non-relational and therefore forestalls an analysis as a classifier phrase (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.3.1.3.2). If a possessor is to be specified in a phrase like *huch'bil bak'*, there are two possibilities. Either the phrase may be syntagmatically combined with a classifier, as in E83.a, or else the gerundive may be replaced by the nomen acti, which is relational and therefore does admit an interpretation as a classifier, as in E83.b.

- E83. a. in w-o'ch huch'-bil bak'
 POSS.1.SG 0-CL.food grind-GER flesh
 ‘my minced meat (that I'm going to eat)’
- b. in hùuch' bak'
 POSS.1.SG CL.ground flesh
 ‘my minced meat (i.e. meat that I ground)’

The semantic difference between the alternatives is a consequence of the fact that two different possessive classifiers specify two different relations of the possessor to the possessum: in E83.a, the possessor eats the meal, while in E83.b, he prepares it.

3.2.2.2.3.1.3.4. Possessive and numeral classification

Since YM has both numeral and possessive classification,⁷⁶ one may wonder about the relationship between them. There are a few similarities. Both possessive and numeral classifiers are words. Both kinds of classifier are triggered by items of a certain grammatical class – by a possessive pronoun and by a numeral, respectively. They occur syntagmatically after the element triggering them and before the noun classified.

However, the paradigm of numeral classifiers shows no overlap with the possessive classifier paradigm, and in general the two systems of classification are semantically completely independent of one another. The differences between them prevail. After a numeral, either a numeral classifier or a mensurative is obligatory. After a possessive pronoun, a possessive classifier is seldom obligatory, since many nouns are neutral or convertible. Numeral classification is exhaustive in the sense that any noun that can be combined with a cardinal numeral falls into one of the classes. While the overall subdivision of nouns according to relationality as given in T10 is exhaustive, too, possessive classification in the narrow sense, viz. the one afforded by possessive classifiers, only comprises alienable nouns. While both systems allow for a certain variation in the sense that a given noun may be combined alternatively with more than one classifier, the choice is much freer with possessive classifiers. This has doubtless to do with the fact that numeral classification is essentially based on physical properties of the things classified, while possessive classification is based on the functions things have for human beings. The latter are obviously more variable than the former. Accordingly, possessive classifiers form an open class which can be productively enriched by deverbal derivation, while the numeral classifier system is small and closed. After a numeral classifier, a noun must be in the singular; after a possessive classifier, it may be in the plural, as shown in E73.

There may be more similarities with the mensuratives. They form a larger system which does contain some deverbal members such as *xèet* ‘piece’ from *xet* ‘chop’. Measuring is one of the ways in which human beings control things. Insofar, the function of mensuratives is similar to that of possessive classifiers. It is therefore possible for one (possibly deverbal) word to serve both as a mensurative and as a possessive classifier. *Kùuch* ‘load’ (from the verb *kuch* ‘load on one's shoulders’) and *múuch* ‘heap’ (from *much*

⁷⁶ Numeral and possessive classifiers also co-occur in various Micronesian languages; cf. Lichtenberk 1983, §2.6.

‘gather’) are cases in point.⁷⁷ The former appears in its function as mensurative in E84.a, and in its function as possessive classifier, in b.

- E84. a. *lel-a' hun kùuch nal*
 this-D1 one CL.load cob ‘this is one load of corn-cobs’
- b. *lel-a' in kùuch nal*
 this-D1 POSS.1.SG CL.load cob ‘this is my load of corn-cobs’

Syntagmatic combination of numeral and possessive classification is possible. The numeral phrase then precedes the PNom, as in E37, and the noun is in the singular, as in E85.⁷⁸

- E85. *ka'-túul in w-àalak' k'éek'en*
 two-CL.animate POSS.1.SG 0-CL.domestic pig
 ‘two of my pigs / two pigs of mine’

Combination of a mensurative with a possessive classifier works analogously.

3.2.2.2.3.2. Absolutivization

Absolutivization is a grammatical or derivational operation which renders a noun stem alienable and, thus, usable outside possessive constructions. It is, thus, the exact converse to relationalization as described in ch. 3.2.2.2.2. In terms of grammatical structure, absolutivization works as follows: The operator itself is a dummy of the category ‘alienable noun’, without any referential properties.⁷⁹ In possessive absolutivization, it occupies the governing slot of the inalienable noun. The result is an alienable noun stem of the convertible subclass.

Absolutivization is possible for most kin nouns (cf. ch. 3.2.3.1.1).⁸⁰ The absolutivizer is a suffix *-tsil* on the kin noun (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.1), as in E56 and E86.⁸¹

⁷⁷ As for *xèet'*, Bevington 1995:185 has *u xèet' wàah* (POSS.3 chip tortilla) ‘piece of bread’ besides the mensurative use of the word.

⁷⁸ E85 also has a clause reading (‘my pigs are two’), which is irrelevant here.

⁷⁹ Absolutivizers are sometimes etymologized as indefinite pronouns. The YM examples show that implicit reference to someone present in the context who may be construed as occupying the possessor argument position (but cannot occupy the syntactic slot, since it is blocked) is not excluded, so that such an analysis is, at least synchronically, forestalled.

⁸⁰ Some like *abil* ‘grandchild’ and *chich* ‘grandmother’ do not appear to admit it. See ch. 3.2.3.1.1 for Spanish loans.

⁸¹ Cf. San Buenaventura 1684:26 and Andrade 1955, chapters 3.45, 4.71. Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980 contains some relevant entries; e.g. *mehentsil* ‘hijo respecto del padre sin denotar cuyo’. Cf. also Hanks 1990, ch. 3.3.4.– On the other hand, there is a notion, going back at least to Barrera Vásquez 1944:237, that the suffix *-tsil* has a reverential function. Classical Nahuatl does have a reverential suffix *-tzin* which appears, among other things, on kin nouns, thus apparently in the very same position as the YM suffix.

- E86. káa h k'uch le suku'n-tsil-e',
 CONN PAST arrive(ABS.3.SG) DEF elder.brother-ABSOL-D3
 u nohoch suku'n
 POSS.3 big elder.brother
 'when the elder brother arrived, his senior brother' (HIJO 142)

It also applies to other nouns of human relations such as person nouns which have first been relationalized by *-il*, as in E87 and E88.

- E87. le ts'ùul-il-tsíil-o'b-a', le asyendados-o'b-o'
 DEF nobleman-REL-ABSOL-PL-D1 DEF landowners-PL-D2
 'these noble masters, those landowners' (FCP 048)

- E88. káa hóop' u ko'n-ol-o'b pàal-il-tsil-o'b
 CONN begin(ABS.3.SG) SBJ.3 sellPASS-INCMPL-3.PL child-REL-ABSOL-PL
 'and then slaves were sold' (FCP 086)

In E87, first the suffix *-il* converts the base *ts'ùul* 'nobleman' into an inalienable noun meaning '(someone's) noble master' (cf. T17). This is then again absolutivized by *-tsil*. *Pàaliltsil* of E88 is lexicalized in the meaning 'slave' and may function as a neutral noun.

Absolutivization is, in principle, obligatory for kin nouns. I.e., the distribution shown in E56 and E86, whereby the bare noun is used if accompanied by a possessive pronoun, but has the absolutivizing suffix if there is no possessive pronoun, is canonical.⁸² There is only one exception: If a kin term is used to address somebody, like a vocative, then the bare noun is employed, as in *papah!* 'dad!', *suku'n!* 'brother!'.

One might expect absolutivization to apply to other classes of inalienable nouns, too. Inalienable body-part nouns may be absolutivized in other Mayan languages,⁸³ but not in YM. As mentioned in ch. 2.5.2, one of the base categories which *-bil* suffixation applied to in Colonial YM was relational nouns. Thus it applies to non-derived possessive classifiers or to the nouns underlying them, to render them absolute. The *Calepino de Motul* (the manuscript dates from 1577) has *alak'bil* 'animal casero doméstico, sin decir cuyo sea' (Arzápalo Marín 1995:1485), *mehenbil* 'hijo respecto del padre, sin denotar cuyo' (o.c. 1924).⁸⁴ These are still related to verbs (*alak't* 'domesticate' and *mehent* 'engender' resp.). Moreover, there is *pak'albil* 'cosa plantada' (p. 2023), which may be

However, the Nahuatl suffix can cooccur with possessive affixes. While Nahuatl *no-nan-tzin* (POSS.1.SG-mother-REV) means 'my dear mother', YM *in màamah-tsil* is ungrammatical. The relationship between the two elements is probably nothing more than a fortuitous assonance.

⁸² The same regularity holds in other Mayan languages. Cf. Dayley 1985:145 for Tzutujil.

⁸³ such as Tzotzil (Haviland 1988:98), Tzutujil (Dayley 1985), Huastec (Edmonson 1988, ch. 10, possessive noun class 2) and Aguacatec (Larsen 1976)

⁸⁴ The change of these definitions into 'animal casero, doméstico, sin decir cuál sea' and 'hijo, respecto del padre, sin denotar cuál' in Arzápalo Marín 1995:55.517 misses the point.

directly based on *pak'* 'plant (v.)'. Absolutivization also applies to at least some kin terms. Parallel to *mehen* '(father's) child' – *mehenbil* as just quoted, we have *al* 'mother's) child' – *abil* (p. 1486). Finally, there is even *ti'a'lbil* 'cosa ajena' (p. 2110), i.e. '(anybody's) property', an absolutivized form of the dummy possessum *ti'a'l*, which here patterns once more with the possessive classifiers.

None of these formations is in my Modern YM data. The forms *yumbil* (master-ABSOL) 'the Lord',⁸⁵ *chambil* (small-ABSOL) 'Christ Child' and *ko'lelbil* (lady-ABSOL) 'Virgin Mary', which are cited in Blair 1964, ch. 3.2.1.2, belong to the conservative religious language.⁸⁶

3.2.2.2.4. CONTINUUM OF RELATIONALITY

We have seen that nouns fall into a couple of grammatical classes according to the possessive constructions that they form and to their morphological form inside and outside such constructions. These classes are similar, in their grammatical import, to European-style genders or Bantu-style noun classes: A possessive noun class is both a grammatical property of a noun, since it determines its morphology and syntactic distribution, and a lexical property of a noun, because it is not predictable by rule and instead is part of the grammatical information associated with a lexical entry. And just as gender is distinct from sex, but partly motivated by it, so possessive noun classes are not semantic classes of nouns, but partly semantically motivated.

The classes in themselves are clearly distinct by morphological and syntactic criteria. However, the differences among them are gradual. This allows us to arrange the possessive noun classes of T10 on a gradient that leads from the maximum of relationality to its minimum, i.e. to maximum absoluteness, as shown in S8.

⁸⁵ San Buenaventura 1684:34 gives the example "Yalah yumbil ti in yumil *Dixit Dominus Domino meo*", i.e. *t-u y-a'l-ah yum-bil ti' in yum-il* (PRT-SBJ.3 0-say-CMPL master-ABSOL LOC POSS.1.SG master-REL).

⁸⁶ Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980 also mention *-bil* as an allomorph of *-tsil*, e.g. in *suku'nbil* 'hermano mayor sin decir cuyo'.

S8. Continuum of possessive noun classes

| relationality | high low | | | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------|---------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| grammatical class | inalienable | | neutral | alienable | | |
| | inabsoluble | absoluble | | possessible | | impossessible |
| | | | | convertible | classifiable | |
| absolute use | – | N- <i>tsil</i> | N | N | N | N |
| possessed use | N | N | N | N- <i>il</i> | Poss.Class N | – |

The gradience is motivated by several criteria:

- The two formal parameters of appearance in absolute contexts and appearance in possessed nominals take the values entered in the last two rows of S8. It is apparent that these values form converse gradients. The stronger the relationality of a noun, the more sumptuous gets its absolute use, until it becomes plainly impossible. Possessed use, on the other hand, is formally unmarked and may even be obligatory. The weaker the relationality of a noun, the more sumptuous gets its possessed use, until it becomes outright impossible. Absolute use, on the other hand, is formally unmarked and may even be obligatory.
- As already mentioned in ch. 3.2.2, the assignment of nouns to the classes is not rigid. To the extent that adjacent classes (columns of S8) are semantically compatible, a noun may shift into a neighboring class. If a noun is used in two non-adjacent classes, then it is also used in the classes that lie in between.
- A semantic class may be divided among neighboring grammatical classes. For instance, while kinship terms are in general absoluble, some are inabsoluble.
- Adjacent grammatical classes tend to comprise similar semantic classes. For instance, most animate beings are impossessible, but domestic animals are classifiable. Cultivated plants are in general classifiable, but other plants are convertible; etc.

Thus, the possessive noun classes are one area in the grammar of YM which testify to the graduality of the distinctions in the functional domain of possession.

3.2.3. PROPERTIES OF POSSESSIVE RELATIONSHIP

3.2.3.1. Kinds of possessive relationship

3.2.3.1.1. KIN RELATIONS

Kin terms in YM conform to typological expectations in being inalienable nouns. It was said in ch. 3.2.2.2.2.1 that they belong, in principle, to the absoluble subclass. That is, if they are to be used outside possessive constructions, absolutivization by the *-tsil* suffix (cf. ch. 3.2.2.2.3.2) must apply. However, most of the traditional kinship terms have faded out of use (T14 contains most of the rest). Correspondingly, the grammar of kinship terminology has been shrinking. Absolutivization is not customary today with Spanish loans. However, the Andrade text collection, first recorded in the 1930s, does feature *le swèegratsiilo* ‘the mother-in-law’ (A&M II:319).

3.2.3.1.2. PARTS OF WHOLE

Parts of wholes fall into a number of grammatically relevant subclasses. A distinction has to be made between parts of animate beings, which are body parts, and parts of things. Within the class of parts of things, there are plant parts, spatial regions and members of sets. It will be seen that some body parts are also parts of things.

3.2.3.1.2.1. Body parts

3.2.3.1.2.1.1. Overview

Body-part nouns form a lexical field that is central to the grammar of possession in every language. In YM, however, they are subdivided among all of the three major possessive noun classes. They are systematized in T20 and exemplified in E89 – E91.

T20. *Classes of body-part nouns*

| gr. class \ use | absolute | possessed | example | meaning |
|-----------------|----------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| neutral | N | N | <i>ch'ala't</i> | rib ¹²⁹ |
| inalienable | - | N | <i>k'ab</i> | hand, arm |
| alienable | N | N- <i>el</i> | <i>bak'</i> | flesh |

- E89. a. *le koho'* ‘the tooth’
 b. *in koh* ‘my tooth’

- E90. a. *le chi'o' 'the mouth'
 b. in chi' 'my mouth'

- E91. a. le táamno' 'the liver'
 b. in tàamnel 'my liver'

There are, thus, neutral body-part nouns, inalienable ones which belong to the inabsoluble subclass of T13, and alienable ones, which belong to some morphological variant of the convertible class of T15.

The distinction between the inalienable and the alienable subclasses of body-part terms is rigid. For any given term, it is indisputable which of the two classes it belongs to. This is not so for the neutral subclass. Its borderline with the inalienable subclass is unstable. In a sense, the neutral body-part terms are just a subclass of those inalienable body-part terms which are most liberal in their absolute use. For some speakers, e.g., *tsem* 'chest' may rather belong in the inalienable subclass.

A couple of nouns fit into none of the three classes. One of them is *nabka'n* 'palate', which is inalienable, but obligatorily bears the *-il* suffix. A rather complete list of YM body part terms is given in the appendix (p. 130).

3.2.3.1.2.1.2. Inalienable body-part nouns

The inalienable body-part nouns are for all practical purposes inabsoluble. Phrases like E90.a do not occur in natural texts. They are hard to elicit and require considerable interpretive effort. A context in which they are conceivable is when the respective body part is drawn on a sheet of paper. Even then the possessive construction is what occurs spontaneously in natural texts, witness E92.⁸⁷

- E92. bèey bin ka'-p'éel u k'ab máak bin ts'al-k'ab-t-e'
 thus QUOT two-CL.INAN POSS.3 hand person QUOT press-hand-TRR-D3
 'thus there were two hands printed [on the wall]' (CM2:57 [HAPAÍKAN 047])

Another context in which a body part noun would be expected without a possessive is when the body part is treated like a ware that can be sold and bought in isolation.

- E93. t-in man-ah
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG buy-CMPL
 hum-p'éel (u y-)àak' (wakax) teh k'íiwik-o'
 one-CL.inanimate POSS.3 0-tongue beef LOC:DEF market-D2
 'I bought a (beef) tongue on the market'

⁸⁷ By contrast, Blair 1964:50 has *ka'-ts'ít òok* (two-CL.long leg) 'two legs' and *òox-ts'ít y-àal-k'ab* (three CL.long 0-young-hand) 'three fingers', which have the flavor of grammar-book examples.

E93 with the parenthesized material, i.e. with a possessive construction, was accepted by informants in Yaxley. The version without the parenthesized material was not elicitable in Yaxley,⁸⁸ but was volunteered by a linguistically trained consultant from Yucatán with a perfect command of Spanish. Differences of dialect, sociolinguistic and professional background obviously play a role here.

For the inalienable body-part terms, there is, apart from the exceptions noted, no way to occur absolutely in syntactically regular constructions. Their bare stem is, however, used in word-formation. While most of this area is beyond the scope of this study, a few general remarks must be made here, as body-part terms provide a particularly rich source of compounds in YM. They occur in all of the patterns introduced in ch. 2.2.1.1. Exocentric compounds in this domain have the structure [X_{Modifier}-Y_{Body_Part}]_{Modifier}, i.e. they serve to modify something whose Y is characterized by X. Examples include *chin-ho'l* in E94 and also *chowak-òok* ‘long-legged’, *hum-p'éel-k'ab* ‘one-armed’ and others to be treated in ch. 3.3.2.

E94. chin-ho'l yàan-ik
 tilted-head EXIST-EXTRAFOC ‘he is standing upside-down’

Endocentric compounds containing body-part terms have a ‘determinatum-determinans’ structure. Sometimes the body-part term is the determinans, as in compounds with *k'i'nam* and *chi'bal* ‘pain, ache’, such as *k'i'nam ho'l* ‘headache’, *chi'bal koh* ‘toothache’. Others have the body-part term as the determinatum. Thus we have *ho'l nah* (head house) ‘ridge’, *pàach nah* (back house) ‘rafter’ etc. (cf. also the compounding strategy of ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2). The determinans can again be a body-part term.

These compounds are to be distinguished from the construction of the type *y-àal k'ab* (0-young.one hand) ‘finger’. Although the latter looks like a compound noun with a body-part term as determinans, it is a stacked PNom, to be discussed in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2.

3.2.3.1.2.1.3. Alienable body-part nouns

Body-part nouns of the alienable subclass normally bear a relational suffix in possessed nominals. As mentioned in ch. 3.2.2.2.2.2, the suffix has a number of allomorphs. Most of the alienable body-part nouns show the variant *-el*, although *puksi'k'* ‘heart’ has *-al*⁸⁹, *àax* ‘wart’ has *-il*, others such as *tso'ts* ‘hair’ have either *-el* or *-il*, and *mòol* ‘rectum, anus’ has the *-VI* suffix with vowel harmony. Since the *-el* allomorph is essentially confined to body-part terminology, it assumes the semantic coefficient ‘natural part of own body of’.

⁸⁸ although E144 was accepted after some effort

⁸⁹ The absolute form of this noun is not extant in any of the YM dictionaries, but elicitable. Recall that the allomorph *-al* appears also on *wúinkil* ‘body’. It may have been more frequent in Colonial YM; Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980 features it s.v. *kamach* (~ *kama'ch*) ‘jaw’ and *kawab* ‘chin’.

Hobon, for instance, which means ‘hollow, cavity’, designates the abdominal cavity if equipped with the *-el* suffix, but the hollow inner part of anything else if equipped with the *-il* suffix. The combinatory potential of a term suffixed by *-el* is exactly the same of an inalienable term. The class of the latter is, thus, the target of the operation of relationalizing the former by means of that suffix.⁹⁰

For the body-part terms of the inalienable subclass, the nature of the relationship to the possessor, viz. being a natural part of the latter's own body, is inherent in the argument position they have. For the members of the alienable subclass, there is no such predetermined relation to a possessor. There are, in fact, three different kinds of possessive constructions in which they may be used, exemplified in E95.

- E95. a. in bak'-el
 POSS.1.SG flesh-REL ‘my flesh (of my body)’
- b. in bak'
 POSS.1.SG flesh ‘my flesh (which I possess)’
- c. in w-o'ch bak'
 POSS.1.SG CL.food flesh ‘my meat’

The most usual construction, as in E95.a, uses the relational suffix. The resultant meaning is a compositional equivalent to the possessive meaning inherent in the inabsoluble body-part terms; i.e. in E95.a reference is made to a natural part of the speaker's own body.

In some cases at least, a possessive construction without the relational suffix, as in E95.b, is possible. Here, the nature of the relationship to the possessor is left unspecified. The only interpretation which is excluded is the one of E95.a. Interpretations are sought in the realm of ownership relationships. For instance, the possessor could be a wild animal which has put a piece of flesh in store. Similarly, while *in k'ewlel* is odd because humans don't have a hide, *in k'ewel* normally means ‘hide/leather belonging to me’.⁹¹

If precision in the kind of relationship is wanted, the members of the alienable subclass of body-part terms may be accompanied by a possessive classifier instead of the relational suffix, as in E95.c. They share this possibility with other convertible nouns.

⁹⁰ That may be the reason why the morpheme is dubbed “inalienable suffix” in Bricker et al. 1998:359.

⁹¹ The example goes back to the *Diccionario de Motul*; see Arzápalo Marín 1995, III s.vv. *keuel* and *keuelel*. Cf. also BVS 16.3.5 and Bricker et al. 1998:359 on an analogous example with *k'ik'* ‘blood’, and Launey 1979:100f for an analogous morphological distinction in Classical Nahuatl.

3.2.3.1.2.1.4. Functional correlates

The mere existence of the alienable subclass of body-part terms is not predicted by any theory and hard to account for.⁹² The two classes of inalienable and alienable body part terms are distinguished by two semantic features:

- Inalienable body-part nouns designate body parts which have salient spatial properties, articulate the body, determine its geometry and make a gestalt. The class of alienable body parts comprises body parts which do not have such properties.
- Inalienable body-part terms designate body parts which animate beings can control and thus use in their actions. Alienable body-part terms designate body parts which are inert.⁹³

Accordingly, most of the external body parts are in the inalienable class, while most of the intestines are in the alienable class.⁹⁴ The distinction is prototypical in nature, both because it is made on the basis of two independent criteria and because each of these criteria is relative. While the morphological assignment of one or another body part remains hard to account for, the two criteria do provide a principle of classification which proves crucial in many cases, e.g. for the noun exemplified by E96 (cf. also ch. 5.3 for the second criterion). In the meaning ‘horn’, *bàak* is inalienable; in the meaning ‘bone’, it is alienable.

| | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------|----------|----------------|------|-----------------|
| E96. | a. | u | bàak | hun-túul | kéeh | |
| | | POSS.3 | bone | one-CL.animate | deer | ‘a deer's horn’ |
| | b. | u | bàak-el | hun-túul | kéeh | |
| | | POSS.3 | bone-REL | one-CL.animate | deer | ‘a deer's bone’ |

Still in accordance with the principle, the alienable class includes terms such as *bòox* ‘lip’, *xìich* ‘sinew’, *òox* ‘scab’, which are parts of parts and admit no animate possessor (cf. ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2). Given the anempathy of their possessor, they take the relational suffix according to ch. 3.2.1.2.

⁹² However, YM is not the only language to make such a distinction. A similar distinction is not only made in other Mayan languages but also, according to Mosel 1982, in Tolai (Austronesian). Several of the alienable Tolai body parts are the same as in YM. According to Mosel, these are body parts which are often found detached.

⁹³ In Blair 1964:50 (and similarly in BVS 16.3.5), the alienable body parts (termed ‘inalienable’ there) are characterized as “body parts which are not controlled by will”. Edmonson 1988, ch. 10 denies the validity of any such criterion for the corresponding two classes of body parts in Huastec. For Tzutujil, Dayley 1985 advances the following hypothesis: In the functional domain of possession, ownership and control of objects by human beings is prototypical. This applies to body parts, too. Therefore, the markedness relation in pairs such as E95.a vs. b adequately manifests the functional basis.

⁹⁴ *k'áah* ‘gall’ is a clear exception to this statement. It is probably morphologically irregular on account of its conversion relation to the adjective *k'áah* ‘bitter’.

On the other hand, all of the nouns which designate spatial regions and parts in general (*nak* 'belly, mid-height', *pàach* 'back', *táan* 'front'), and all of those which have standard metaphorical uses (*ho'l* 'head', *chi'* 'mouth', *ni'* 'nose', *xikin* 'ear', *kàal* 'neck', *k'ab* 'hand, arm', among others),⁹⁵ are members of the inalienable class. All in all, the far majority of the body-part terms are inalienable. For all these reasons, the inalienable body-part nouns are the most important subclass.

3.2.3.1.2.2. Parts of things

The things which are by nature parts of other things, significantly including subparts of parts, may be classified as in T21.

T21. Part-whole relations

| part | | whole | | | phrasal meaning |
|---------------|----------|-------------|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| form | meaning | form | meaning | semantic class | |
| <i>bòox</i> | lip | <i>chi'</i> | mouth | body part | lip |
| <i>káap</i> | aperture | <i>òok</i> | foot | | crotch |
| <i>àal</i> | child | | | | finger |
| <i>na'</i> | mother | <i>k'ab</i> | hand | | toe |
| | | | | | thumb |
| | | | | | wrist |
| <i>kàal</i> | neck | <i>pòol</i> | head | | upper arm |
| <i>mùuk</i> | strength | | | | palm |
| <i>táan</i> | front | | | | forehead |
| <i>pàach</i> | back | <i>ich</i> | eye | | eyelid |
| <i>pòol</i> | head | <i>pìix</i> | knee | | kneecap |
| | | <i>ìim</i> | bosom | | nipple |
| <i>chùuch</i> | stalk | <i>kàal</i> | neck | | cervix |
| <i>xìich'</i> | sinew | | (body part) | | |

⁹⁵ Cf. de León 1992 for this kind of metaphorical extension and grammaticalization in Tzotzil. Levinson 1992 claims that, at least for Tzeltal, what is involved is not metaphor, but application of the same principles of geometry to all kinds of objects, animate or inanimate.

| part | | whole | | | phrasal meaning |
|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|
| form | meaning | form | meaning | semantic class | |
| <i>òox</i> | scab | | | | |
| <i>mòots</i> | root | | (plant) | plant | |
| <i>ìits</i> | plant liquid | <i>che'</i> | tree | | (resin of tree) |
| <i>k'ab</i> | hand | | | | branch, twig |
| <i>sóol</i> | shell | | | | bark |
| | | | | | (fruit) |
| <i>chùuch</i> | stalk | | | | |
| <i>i'h</i> | tassel | <i>nal</i> | corn | | |
| <i>hòol</i> | hole | <i>nah</i> | house | artifact | door |
| <i>okom</i> | pillar | | | | pillar |
| <i>k'abil</i> | hand:REL | | | | (dress) |
| <i>alab</i> | rest | | | composite whole | |
| <i>chùun</i> | start | | | process | |
| <i>ts'o'k</i> | end | | | | |

Complex nominals may be formed by selecting a head from the leftmost column and a dependent from the center column of T21. Many of these are phrasal compounds, as suggested by the translations in the last column. Dictionaries sometimes list these as compounds. However, as soon as they are used in a sentence, they reveal their true status as EPNoms (of S6), which means that they have to be provided with an introductory possessive clitic of third person. Thus, a twig is not **hunts'ít k'ab che'*, but *hunts'ít u k'ab che'*. The possessor may only be suppressed under such circumstances which are relevant for inalienable nouns in general. One of them is reference to a detached body part. Another is the quotation of such a phrase in a metalinguistic context, for instance as a lexical entry.

As may be seen from T21, one of the important semantic classes of wholes in this construction is constituted by body parts. Some of these complex body-part nominals have a simple common body-part noun in the position of the ultimate possessum, used in a figurative sense. Examples include *pòol pùix* 'kneecap', *pòol ìim* 'nipple', *ni' k'ab/òok* (nose hand/foot) 'finger/toe' (= *àal k'ab/òok*).

In this semantic area, we get a meronymy in the sense that, e.g., a lip is part of a mouth which is part of a face which is part of a head which is part of a body. In YM, the

immediate inclusive whole is stipulated lexically for many such subpart concepts, and this is their only possible – and in some cases obligatory – possessor. This entails that such nouns occur exclusively in an EPNom, where Y is the part and Z is the whole.⁹⁶

The immediate whole is inanimate in all these cases. None of the nouns of the left column in T21 may be directly possessed by an animate being.⁹⁷ Therefore, if the animate possessor of the part is to be specified, as the speaker in E97, an expression problem arises. There are three different strategies of combining an animate possessor with such subpart concepts.

| | | | | | | |
|------|----|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|---------------------|
| E97. | a. | u | bòox-el | in | chi' | |
| | | POSS.3 | lip-REL | POSS.1.SG | mouth | 'my lip(s)' |
| | b. | u | chùuch | in | lùuch | |
| | | POSS.3 | stalk | POSS.1.SG | squash | 'my squash stalk' |
| | c. | u | y-òokom | in | nah-il | |
| | | POSS.3 | 0-pillar | POSS.1.SG | house-REL | 'my (house-)pillar' |
| | d. | u | k'ab-il | in | nòok' | |
| | | POSS.3 | hand-REL | POSS.1.SG | dress | 'my sleeve' |

E97 illustrates the most widely applicable strategy of solving the expression problem: The meronymy is pursued upwards until a part is compatible with an animate possessor, and the steps are represented as stacked possessive attributes. Generally, such a meronymy has just three levels, so that the mediate part/whole is intercalated between the ultimate part (the possessum) and the ultimate whole (the animate possessor); i.e. Z of S6 is itself a PNom. The result is a stacked PNom, whose structure is displayed in S9 as an EPNom.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Amazingly perhaps, *íich'ak* 'fingernail, footnail' is not among these nouns.

⁹⁷ Informants will laugh and reply 'You don't have stalks/pillars/sleeves!'.

⁹⁸ It must be observed that stacking of possessive attributes is not restricted to meronomic relations. E21 provides an example of this construction in the realm of kin relations.

compound as a whole combines with the possessive clitic, as in b.⁹⁹ In the majority of the cases, however, the animate possessor does not take as its head the whole complex (**in bòoxel chi'*, **in wàal k'ab*¹⁰⁰), but exclusively the dependent noun, as in S9: *u bòoxel in chi'* (E97.a), *u yàal in k'ab'* 'my finger(s)'.¹⁰¹

- E99. a. u y-iits le che'-o'
 POSS.3 0-resin DEF tree-D2 'the resin of the tree'
- b. in ch'ak íits-che'
 POSS.3 CL.cut resin-tree 'my resin, the resin I cut'
- E100. in ch'ak okom
 POSS.1.SG CL.cut pillar 'my pillar, the pillar I cut'

The third strategy applies if the possessed entity is not a body part and instead is somehow controlled by the animate possessor. Then a possessive classifier may be used. Thus, instead of the stacking in E99.a, one may have b; and instead of E97.c, one may have E100 (cf. also E82.a, where the kind of control is already inherent in the notion of the thing-part). The structural difference between E99.b and E100 is due to the fact that *íits* is inalienable, while *okom* is not. Note that all three strategies involve the intercalation of an item between the two nouns which are irreconcilable by selection restrictions.

3.2.3.1.2.3. Spatial regions

Spatial regions such as top, bottom, front and back are linked to the functional domain of possession in various ways. They are geometrical aspects of physical objects and thus, in a sense, parts of wholes. They may even materialize as parts of such objects, as for instance when we take off the top or the bottom of a box. These notions are often borrowed from body-part concepts by metaphor.¹⁰² In most languages, they are grammatically inalienable. All of this relates spatial regions to the core of possession.

⁹⁹ Just like *táan* in some cases optionally has the relational suffix, compounds with *táan* as determinatum may also have a variant of this suffix. Thus: *u táan in k'ab* = *in táank'ab(il)* 'my palm', *in táan ho'lal* 'my forehead'. Cf. E171 for a text example.

¹⁰⁰ In the phrase *óox-ts'íit y-àal-k'ab*, quoted in fn. 87, the *y* prefix is the rest of a possessive clitic referring not to the human possessor of the finger, but to the hand; so this may be grammatical.

¹⁰¹ As regards the necessity of specifying the intermediate part/whole, the situation of parts of parts in YM does remind one of the situation in English and related languages. Thus, while we could well say *my brows*, *my nails*, many would prefer to say *my eyebrows*, *my fingernails*, where the ultimate part forms a compound with the intermediate part/whole.

¹⁰² Heine et al. 1991 is representative of the rich literature on the subject.

T22. Spatial regions

| noun | meaning |
|-----------------|------------|
| <i>háal</i> | edge |
| <i>xùul</i> | end |
| <i>ts'u'</i> | inside |
| <i>ba'pàach</i> | outside |
| <i>iknal</i> | proximity |
| <i>táan</i> | front |
| <i>pàach</i> | back |
| <i>óok'ol</i> | top |
| <i>áanal</i> | bottom |
| <i>tséel</i> | side |
| <i>xno'h</i> | right |
| <i>xts'i'k</i> | left |
| <i>nak'</i> | mid-height |

There are, however, other aspects of this domain which make it appear rather marginal to possession.¹⁰³ First, they do not typically have a possessor high in empathy, and they do not in general belong to the bio-cultural sphere. Second, they are prototypically not concrete entities, but immaterial aspects of things. They may manifest as nouns in linguistic structure (e.g. *inside*); but very often their primary manifestation is in the form of adpositions (*in*), adverbs (*inside*) or even verbs (*enter*). Their primary function is in spatial orientation, more specifically, in the localization of objects at rest or in motion with respect to a reference object. For these reasons they will not be given full treatment here.¹⁰⁴

In YM, nouns denoting spatial regions are inabsoluble. T22 contains a representative sample. These words differ as to their grammatical properties. Some, such as *iknal* and *óok'ol*, can be directly used as prepositions. These are entirely abstract. Others, including *háal* and *táan*, have a primary use as nouns and need to combine with the primary preposition *ti'* to function as prepositions. Some of the latter nouns

are based on body-part terms; these include *pàach* ‘back’, *táan* ‘front’ and *nak'* ‘mid-height’. All of them differ from prepositions in the standard European languages such as English in that they include no reference to the local orientation of the localized entity towards the reference object. They designate spatial regions and nothing else. For instance, *óok'ol* translates as ‘on, onto, over, down from’.

3.2.3.1.2.4. Members of sets

Like spatial regions, the relationship of a member to its set (genitivus partitivus in traditional grammar) is not a central case of possession. However, in many languages including YM, it is assimilated to the part-whole relation. In such constructions, the possessive clitic refers to the domain of which the possessum singles out a member. However empathic such a possessor may be, it is not an individual, but a set or a

¹⁰³ Cf. also Levinson 1992 on the distinction between body parts and spatial regions in general, and between body-part terms and locative relational nouns in Tzeltal.

¹⁰⁴ See Lehmann 1992[Y] for syntactic properties of nouns designating spatial regions in YM.

collective. Therefore the *-il* suffix is used whenever the possessum is more highly individuated or not relational. In E101, it is a neutral kin term.¹⁰⁵

E101. u ti'a'l káa u y-u'b u x t'ùup-il u pàal
 POSS.3 for CONJ SBJ.3 0-feel POSS.3 F youngest.sibling-REL POSS.3 child
 ‘so that his youngest daughter could hear it (HK’AN 0365.2)

Despite the absence of plural marking on the last word of E101, the possessor is here clearly a set. Similarly, even an inalienable kin term takes the *-il* suffix in a phrase like *u nohoch suku'n-il* (POSS.3 big elder.brother-REL) ‘their eldest brother’, because the possessor is a set.¹⁰⁶

Another case in point is the superlative. It, too, singles out a member of a set.

E102. kaxt u màas kóom-il / le màas kóom-o'
 find POSS.3 more short-REL DEF more short-D2
 ‘find the shortest one’

The traditional construction in E102 requires at least an SPNom centered around the superlative adjective, which itself is relationalized by the *-il* suffix. It is expandable by a possessive NP specifying the reference set. The alternative construction is like the Spanish one in using definite determination.¹⁰⁷

Ordinal numbers are similar. The ordered entity bears an inherent relation to the set in which it occupies its position. In YM, ordinal numbers and numeroid terms are inabsoluble nouns. The relevant including set is referred to by the possessive clitic. In cases like E103, it may be identified by a lexical possessive NP; in cases like E104, it may not.

E103. táalves u ts'o'k t'àan k-in bèet-ik xàan
 perhaps POSS.3 end speech IMPF-SBJ.1.SG make-INCMPL also
 ‘perhaps I am even making my last speech’ (FCP 394)

E104. t-u bèet-ah t-u ka' téen
 PAST-SBJ.3 make-CMPL LOC-POSS.3 two time ‘he did it a second time’

¹⁰⁵ Another example of the same kind is the following:

le túun le h-t'ùup-o', u h-t'ùup-il-o',
 DEF then DEF M-youngster-D2 POSS.3 M-youngster-REL-D2
 k-u y-a'l-ik ti'-e':
 IMPF-SBJ.3 0-say-INCMPL LOC-D3

‘now the youngster, their youngster, said to him:’ (MUUCH 042f)

For the sake of clarity, the relevant phrase in this example could be expanded to *u h-t'ùup-il ichil-o'b* (... inside-3.PL) ‘the youngster among them’.

¹⁰⁶ Hofling 1990, §5.1 makes the same observation for Itzá kin terms.

¹⁰⁷ Here belongs also a certain exceptional behavior of the inalienable noun *báah* ‘self’. It may be equipped with the *-il* suffix to indicate reciprocity, as in *k-u náak'-l-o'b t-u báah-il-o'b* (IMPF-SBJ.3 lean-INCMPL-PL LOC-POSS.3 self-REL) ‘they lean against each other’.

Since the possessive clitic preceding the inalienable noun in E103 must refer to the relevant set, it cannot refer to the possessor of this set. In order to make the latter explicit, one could say *u ts'o'k in t'àan* ‘the last of my speeches’.

Again, terms that designate members or subsets of a set are inalienable nouns in YM. Such terms include *alab* ‘rest, remainder’ (E105.a), *anal* ‘other’ (E105.b) and *láak'* ‘equal, other, friend’ (E105.c; cf. T14). As the possessors of the former two terms cannot be speech act participants, they are always possessed by the third person. Consequently, they appear as *yalab* and *yanal* in the dictionaries.

- E105. a. hay-p'éel u y-àalab?
 how.many-CL.inanimate POSS.3 0-remainder
 ‘How many (of them) are left?’ (SANTO 051)
- b. le he'l-a' y-àanal rèey
 DEF PRSV-D1 0-other king
 ‘this is another king’ (MUUCH 238)
- c. u láak' a ìiho-s
 POSS.3 other POSS.2 child-PL
 ‘other children of yours / your other children’ (BVS 17.01.26)

The relevant set is usually identified by a naked noun, as in E105.b. Nevertheless, the partitive terms in E105 are not prenominal modifiers, as are their English counterparts. This becomes clear in E105.c, where the noun designating the relevant set (the head noun in English) is expanded to a full NP.

This analysis may even be valid for *ya'b* ‘much, many’, as in E106 (cf. also E162).

- E106. ya'b wáah a k'i'k'-el hóok'-ih?
 much INT POSS.2 blood-REL exit-ABS.3.SG
 ‘has much (of your) blood come out?’ (BVS 16.01.23)

Although the combination of *ya'b* with the quantified noun phrase is not visibly a possessive construction, comparison with E105.c suggests that it may be one. Etymologically, the initial *y* of the word could be a third person possessive clitic (cf. T9).

3.2.3.1.3. ASSOCIATIVE RELATIONSHIPS

All the configurations of ‘Poss.Clit N_1 -REL N_2 ’ can be paraphrased by ‘ N_1 related to N_2 ’. In the cases presented up to now, the relationship was a more or less prototypical possessive relationship. This is not so in E107.

- E107. h chíik-pah u yùum-il
 PAST appear-SPONT POSS.3 master-REL
 ‘there appeared the master/owner (Span. apareció el dueño)’

Here, the possessive clitic refers to something which is not the possessor of the master; at the lexical level at least, it is the other way round (cf. below on E130.b). But possession is not really what matters here. The possessive clitic expresses an association of the PNom with something present in the universe of discourse. This association is marked by the relational suffix. Similarly, E108 occurs in a ritual text and relates the person designated to the ritual (E65 is very similar).

E108. yan a t'an-ik u h-men-il
 DEB SBJ.2 call-INCMPPL POSS.3 M-shaman-REL
 'you have to call the (pertinent) shaman' (SANTO 004)

The possessive clitics in E109.iv and v, a passage from an instruction of how to build the traditional Mayan house, are to be interpreted in the same way.

E109. i. Ts'-a kaxt-ik kwàatroh okm-o'b,
 TERM-SBJ.2 search-INCMPPL four pillar-PL
 'Now you have found four pillars,'
 ii. k-a tàas-ik.
 IMPF-SBJ.2 bring-INCMPPL
 'you bring them.'
 iii. K-u ts'o'k-ol-e',
 IMPF-SBJ.3 end-INCMPPL-TOP
 'When this is ready,'
 iv. k-a kaxt-k u báaloh-il,
 IMPF-SBJ.2 search-INCMPPL POSS.3 cross.beam-REL
 'you search the cross-beams,'
 v. ka' ts'ít báaloh y-éetel u pàach-nah-il.
 two CL.long cross.beam 0-with POSS.3 back-house-REL
 'two cross-beams and the girders.' (K'AXBIL 011-015)

Although the relevant whole, i.e. the house, has been mentioned before, it is textually too far away for anaphora. Thus, the possessive clitic in *u báaloh-il* here does not refer to the house, but associates the possessed noun to the present universe of discourse, i.e. to house-building.

The examples of this section show that YM uses the PNom in many situations where languages like English use a definite NP.¹⁰⁸ However, in most of the examples there is, in fact, a part-whole, a member-of-set (E110) or at least an associative relationship (E111) between the possessed noun and something in the context.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Andrade 1955, ch. 4.60.3 and Durbin 1970:98f with more examples; and see ch. 1.2.2.2.2 above on the relation between possession and determination.

E110. máakan-máak u ah-beh-il?
 which-person POSS.3 AG-road-REL
 ‘Who (lit. which one) is the guide?’

E111. tíin k'al-ik le nah y-éetel u yàabeh-il-a'
 PROG:SBJ.1.SG lock-INCMPPL DEF house 0-with POSS.3 key-REL-D1
 ‘I am locking this house with the key’

A comparison of English and YM in this domain reveals that reference to a Y which may be identified with respect to an X which is readily accessible in the universe of discourse is a communicative task which may be solved by an extension of either of two strategies: either one provides the noun designating Y with a definite article, thus suggesting that it itself is directly accessible in the universe of discourse, or one provides it with a possessive pronoun, thus suggesting that Y somehow belongs to X. Neither of the two extensions seems more far-fetched than the other.

3.2.3.1.4. PARTICIPANT RELATIONS IN NOMINALIZATIONS

The relation of a participant to a situation belongs to the functional domain of participation. However, as was seen in ch. 1.2.2.2.4, the domains of possession and participation intersect in various ways. If the situation core is construed as an entity, then the relation of a participant to it may be likened to the relation of a possessor to a possessum. This happens in nominalization. Different participant relations may then be mapped onto the possessor relation. Distinctions within the possessive relation based on criteria such as control on the side of the possessor and inherence of the relation in the possessum may be made use of in order to differentiate among participant relations even under nominalization (cf. ch. 1.2.2.2.4.2).

This empirical domain will only be given eclectic treatment here.¹⁰⁹ In YM just as in most languages, the combination of a verbal noun with a dependent NP does take the form of a PNom, with the verbal noun in the role of the possessum and the dependent NP in the role of the possessor. Therefore the basic structural option is to either treat the verbal noun as inalienable and have it directly govern the dependent NP or else treat it as alienable and provide it with the relationalizer in order to govern the dependent NP. Both possibilities are made use of in YM, depending on the two criteria mentioned before.

As was explained in ch. 2.5, there is little overt derivational apparatus involved in nominalization. Thus, the independent clauses in E112.a and E113.a are clearly based on the corresponding embedded clauses in b.

E112. a. k-in xímbal
 IMPF-SBJ.1.SG walk ‘I walk’

¹⁰⁹ Some discussion of nominalization in YM may be found in Stefflre 1972, ch. 3.4.

- b. t-u y-il-ah in xímbal
 PAST-SBJ.3 0-see-CMPL [SBJ.1.SG walk] ‘he saw me walk / my walk’
- E113. a. k-in ts'uts'-ik Hwàan
 IMPF-SBJ.1.SG kiss-INCMP John ‘I kiss John’
- b. t-u y-il-ah in ts'uts'-ik Hwàan
 PAST-SBJ.3 0-see-CMPL [SBJ.1.SG kiss-INCMP John]
 ‘he saw me kiss John’

The absolutive suffixes remain unaltered. Since subject and possessive clitics are the same, anyway, the complement clause is no closer to a PNom than the independent clause.

If only one of the actants of a transitive verb is needed, the verb is detransitivized. This is again the same for independent and dependent clauses and therefore will be illustrated only for the latter. E114.a illustrates introversion, E114.b passivization.

- E114. a. t-u y-il-ah in ts'ùuts'
 PAST-SBJ.3 0-see-CMPL SBJ.1.SG kiss\INTROV
 ‘he saw me kiss (somebody) / my kiss’
- b. t-u y-il-ah u ts'u'ts'-ul Hwàan
 PAST-SBJ.3 0-see-CMPL SBJ.3 kiss\PASS-INCMP John
 ‘he saw John being kissed’

The introversive stem is the same as the *nomen acti* introduced in ch. 2.5.1. Since the direct object slot has been blocked, the action noun may easily be reanalyzed as oriented towards (i.e. designating) the undergoer. The *nomen acti* is, in fact, amenable to orientations toward diverse participants. The only orientation that is excluded is towards the actor, as a *nomen agentis*, since the stem conserves the argument position reserved for the actor.

Consequently, the combination of a *nomen acti* with an NP in actor role is formally unmarked. An NP in undergoer role cannot be added. However, the combination with NPs in other participant roles is possible. In this case, the *nomen acti* receives the relational suffix. E115 – E117 feature abstract nouns derived from the following verbs: *tsikbal* (intr.) ‘talk’, *k'ay* (tr.) ‘sing’, *p'ax* (tr.) ‘owe’ (cf. Bricker et al. 1998:362f). E115 and E116 (repeated from E29) provide corpus examples which come close to minimal pairs: the a-version shows a dependent NP in actor role, the b-version shows one in theme role. In E117, a source participant is marked by *-il*. E115 also makes it clear that this time it is not empathy what is at stake.

- E115. a. tsikba-t tèn a tsikbal!
 tell-TRR me POSS.2 story
 ‘Tell me your story!’ (RC, HTS'ON 006)
- b. u tsikbal-il hun-túul h-ts'òon
 POSS.3 story-REL one-CL.animate M-hunter

‘a story about a hunter’ (RC, HTS’ON 000)

E116. a. k-u y-u'b-ik u k'àay hun-túul x-ch'uppàal
 IMPF-SBJ.3 0-hear-INCMPL POSS.3 song one-CL.animate F-girl
 ‘he hears the singing of a girl’ (MUUCH 065f)

b. u k'àay-il le chàan ch'íich'-o'
 POSS.3 song-REL DEF small bird-D2
 ‘the song of [i.e. about] the little bird’ (LIED h.000)

E117. a. u p'àax Hwàan
 POSS.3 debt John ‘John's debt’

b. u p'àax-il k'eban
 POSS.3 debt-REL sin ‘the guilt of sin’ (Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980 s.v.
¹p'ax)

Given the syntax of nominalization in YM, the differential possessive marking is not needed to distinguish actor from undergoer of an action noun. It is, however, used to distinguish the actor from other participants. The actor controls the situation, while the other participants do not. The actor is also more central to the situation than the other participants. Both of these differences have their counterpart in the syntax of possession, since the unmarked PNom conveys inherence of the possessor and admits its control, while the PNom marked by the relational suffix conveys lack of inherence and of control. The mapping of participants onto possessive NPs is therefore doubly motivated.

3.2.3.2. Temporal properties of possessive relationship

Some languages make a grammatical distinction between **permanent vs. temporary possession** at the level of the referential act. YM has no structural means specialized for that. However, there is, at the functional level, an intimate association of permanent vs. temporary possession with inherent vs. established possession: permanent possession follows by implication from inherent possession, while temporary possession is implied by established possession. Given this, a language can hardly be expected to mark both contrasts at the grammatical level. In YM in particular, inalienable possession implies permanence, while possessive classification implies temporariness of the possessive relation.

A possessive relation may be situated on the time axis relative to reference time. In this sense, a distinction between **simultaneous** (or present), **anterior** (or past) and **posterior** (or future) **possession** may be made. An anterior possessive relation is one that did exist but is dissolved at reference time. Similarly, a posterior possessive relation is one that does not exist at reference time, but is to be established after it. Simultaneous possession is always the default case which is not specially marked. Typically, if a language makes a grammatical distinction on this functional parameter, the distinction is a binary one, i.e it

conflates either anterior or posterior possession with simultaneous possession, distinguishing the other one as a marked case.

YM again has no structural means specialized for this kind of distinction. As for a lexical means to express the notion of *ex-*, as in *ex-wife*, cf. the use of *úuchben* ‘old’ in a phrase such as E26 above. Otherwise, such distinctions can only be made at the level of the predicative act; cf. ch. 4.2.2f.

Similarly, there is no special expression for posterior possession. It is, however, a striking difference between YM and SAE languages that unmarked nominal possession includes the meaning of posterior possession. Examples of this can be found in E24.a, E119 and E179 below. In particular, the dummy possessed noun *ti’a’l* ‘property’ is grammaticalized to a preposition meaning ‘for’, as illustrated by E118.

E118. máax ti’a’l le ha’-o’?
 who property DEF water-D2
 ‘whose is the water? / who is the water for?’

Such a development is easy to understand if posterior possession is an inherent possibility of unmarked possessive constructions. This semantic potential of the YM possessed nominal is related to its inherent lack of definiteness, to be discussed in ch. 3.2.4.1.

3.2.4. PROPERTIES OF POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTION

3.2.4.1. Definiteness

As will be recalled from ch. 1.2.2.2.2, the function of nominal dependents varies between the poles of identification of a referent and specification of a concept. Accordingly, such dependents are partly determiners, partly specifiers. Possessive attributes are just in the transition zone between determiners and specifiers and may themselves be ordered on a cross-linguistic scale according to their determinative or specifying behavior (cf. Plank 1992). To the extent that possessive attributes have determinative function, they tend to render the NP definite. In English, the prenominal possessive attribute, including the possessive pronoun, occupies the syntactic position of the article, thus rendering determination impossible. Relatively clumsy circumlocutions are necessary if the NP is to be marked as indefinite.

In YM, a possessed NP will often pragmatically be taken to refer definitely. Grammatically, however, a PNom is neither definite nor indefinite. There are clear cases such as E119 where an NP must be semantically indefinite but nevertheless consists of a PNom.

- E119. *tàak in w-il-ik*
 anxious SBJ..SG 0-see-INCMPL
- u ts'a'-bal in kòoh de marfil*
 SBJ.3 put-PASS.INCMPL POSS.1.SG tooth of ivory
- ‘I would like to get implanted an ivory tooth’ (spontaneous conversation)

Also, just like any nominal, a PNom may be preceded by a definite determiner or by a numeral or by both, as in E120.

- E120. a. *in k'àan* ‘my hammock’
 b. *le in k'àan-o'* ‘that hammock of mine’
 c. *hum-p'éel in k'àan* ‘a hammock of mine’
 d. *le hum-p'éel in k'àan-o'* ‘that one hammock of mine’

E151 is a relevant example from a natural text. Combination with a numeral does not, however, render the nominal indefinite, as proved by E5, where a PNom could well be substituted for the absolutivized noun.

The structure of the NP in YM cannot be fully explored here. The observations concerning NPs containing a possessive attribute can, however, be summarized in S10 (where optionality is not shown).

S10. *Structure of the NP*

$$[le [W_{\text{Num.Comp}} [[X_{\text{Poss.Clit}} Y_{\text{Nom}}]_{\text{SPNom}} Z_{\text{NP}}]_{\text{EPNom}}]_{\text{Ct.Nom}}]_{\text{NP}}$$

Y is the head of the NP, a Nom according to S2. This is optionally expanded, by X, into a SPNom according to S5, which may or may not have the internal structure of S7. This in turn may be expanded into an EPNom by adding Z according to S6. At this level, the Nom may be preceded by a Numeral Complex (cf. ch. 2.2.2) to form a Count Nominal. Finally, the Nom is converted into an NP by introducing it with the definite determiner *le*. The order constraints implicit in S10 are born out by the examples. Some of the constituency relations await a thorough investigation of the structure of the YM NP.

3.2.4.2. Deixis

As was observed in ch. 2.4, the main condition for a deictic clitic to occur is if the clause contains one or more out of a set of triggers. After most of these triggers, the deictic clitic is obligatory. An important exception is their appearance after a possessive clitic. That is, if a clause contains a possessive clitic, then it may be followed by a deictic clitic. E121 – E123 (cf. also E101 and E180) serve to show that the deictic clitics cross-combine with the possessive clitics, i.e. they are not sensitive to person.

- E121. a. ko'x hàant-ik y-éetel in iihoh-a'
lets.go eat-INCMPL 0-with POSS.1.SG son-D1
'Let's eat it with my son here!' (HIJO 133)
- b. ch'a' in pìik-o'
take POSS.1.SG petticoat-D2
'Take my petticoat there!' (MUUCH 205)
- E122. a. hats'uts a chàan tàanah-a'
nice POSS.2 small house-D1
'your house here is nice' (BVS 09.01.09)
- b. wach'-lan-t u kùuch a tsíimin-e'x-o'
open-DISTR-TRR POSS.3 load POSS.2 horse-2.PL-D2
'release the load of your horses!' (MUUCH 284)
- E123. káa h na'ch-ab u wi't' u si'n-el-o'
CONN PAST snap\PASS-CMPL POSS.3 buttocks POSS.3 spine-D2
'and the buttocks of his spine were snapped' (MUUCH 386)

While the other triggers of deictic clitics are demonstrative words, the possessive clitics have no demonstrative force. The preceding section has shown that they do not enforce definiteness either. Their ability to co-occur with the deictic clitics somehow compensates for the latter lack and helps to link referents of possessed NPs back to the speech situation.

3.2.4.3. Possession in functional sentence perspective

The two communicative functions introduced in ch. 2.6, topic and focus, may be assigned either to a possessed NP or to a possessive NP. The discussion will be subdivided accordingly.

3.2.4.3.1. THE POSSESSED NP IN FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE

As there are no systematic limits on the complexity of a topic, a possessed NP, be it simple or expanded, can freely be topicalized. Topicalization of a rather complex EPNP was already seen in E21. E124 presents a series of three topics, the first of which (i) is an EPNP and anticipates the subject of the clause (iiif), while the other two topics (ii) successively narrow down on the time of the event.

- E124. i. u x t'ùup-il in pàal-e'
POSS.3 F youngest.sibling-REL POSS.1.SG child-TOP
'my youngest daughter,'
- ii. walkil hun ha'b-a' u ti'a'l u k'îin in k'àaba'-e'
about:time one year-D1 POSS.3 property POSS.3 day POSS.1.SG name-CNTR
'in about a year, on the day of my name,'

- iii. bín ts'o'k-ok u bèeh-il
 FUT finish-SUBJ POSS.3 way-REL
 ‘she will get married’
- iv. yéetel in pàalil-tsil h p'óokinah tsùuk
 with POSS.1.SG slave-ABSOL M hat:USAT:NR paunch
 ‘with my slave, Paunchhat’ (HK'AN 294)

Similarly, an EPNP as a whole can be a canonical focus (as allowed by R1 of ch. 2.6). E125 is an example.

- E125. chéen u k'ík'-el kùuts bin ts'ak-ik
 just POSS.3 blood-REL pheasant go cure-INCMPL
 ‘only the blood of a pheasant could cure her’ (HK'AN 441)

3.2.4.3.2. THE POSSESSIVE NP IN FUNCTIONAL SENTENCE PERSPECTIVE

The topicalization of a possessive NP is like the topicalization of any other NP; no special rules apply. In E126 (= E61.b), an NP functioning as a possessive attribute to the subject is topicalized. Inside the clause, the topicalized possessor is, of course, resumed by the possessive clitic.

- E126. Pàabloh-e' h múuts' u y-ich
 Paul-TOP PAST close\DEAG(CMPL) POSS.3 0-eye
 ‘Paul shut his eyes’ (lit.: As for Paul, his eyes got shut.)

As we have seen in E124, serialization of topics fulfils the communicative function of gradually restricting the frame of reference for the following predication. In E127, the speaker starts with himself as topic, then restricts the topic further to something he possesses, thus forming the second topic out of a possessive construction in which the first topic is a possessive attribute, and this last topic finally anticipates the subject of the following clause.

- E127. Tèen-e', in k'àaba' tèen-e', Gregorio Vivas.
 me-TOP POSS.1.SG name me-TOP Gregorio Vivas
 ‘As for me, my name is Gregorio Vivas.’ (FCP 003)

Similarly in focusing, if the focus is precisely on a possessive NP, then one need not focus the whole EPNP, as in E125. Instead, one may “extract” just the possessive NP from the EPNP and front it to canonical focus position, as in E128.

- E128. Chéen diyos poderòsoh yàan t-u k'ab tuláakal ba'l-o'b.
 just god mighty EXIST LOC-POSS.3 hand all thing-PL
 ‘Only the mighty God has all things in his hand.’ (FCP 176)

In E128, the focused possessor corresponds to a possessive attribute in an NP which is the complement of a preposition. Thus, there appear to be no narrow limits to the extraction of focused NPs. For the interrogative pronoun as focused possessor, see ch. 3.2.1.1.1.6.

3.3. Possessum as attribute

A referential act may identify or specify its referent by the fact that it is the possessor of some possessum. In syntactic terms, this gives occasion to a nominal whose head is the possessor, while the possessum is an attribute. In possessive predication, this corresponds to an ascription of possession (ch. 4.3). The relationality of the possessum is again relevant here and therefore constitutes the subdivision of this chapter.

3.3.1. NON-RELATIONAL POSSESSUM

The most generally available process for specifying an entity by the circumstance that it possesses another entity is the relative clause construction. Possession is established in an ascription of possession (cf. ch. 4.3), and such a clause is then used as a relative clause to specify the possessor, as in E129 (the brackets enclose the relative clause).

E129. hun-túul máak yàan / mina'n u me'x
 one-CL.animate person [EXIST / NEG.EXIST POSS.3 beard]
 'a man with / without a beard'

If the possessive relationship is negated, then this is the only available construction. YM possesses nothing corresponding to the English suffix *-less*.

E130. a. le máak yàan tsíimin ti'-e'
 DEF person [EXIST horse LOC]-D3 'the person with a horse'
 b. u yùum-il le tsíimn-e'
 POSS.3 master-REL DEF horse-D3 'the owner of the horse'

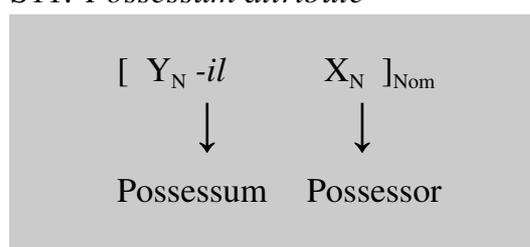
In such cases as E130.a, where conventional possession is involved, one may also have E130.b (= E43). This is a normal EPNom, with the peculiarity that the legal possessor is represented by the possessed noun, while the legal possessum is represented by the possessive attribute. The apparent contradiction between the semantics and the syntax of the construction is due to the particular meaning of the noun *yùum* 'master, lord', which behaves like the agent nouns discussed in ch. 1.2.2.2.4.2 (and here takes the relational suffix according to ch. 3.2.1.2).

In ch. 3.2.2.1.2 we saw the construction with a pronominal possessum, in which the inabsoluble noun *ti'a'l* functions as a grammatical dummy possessum. The construction represented by E130.b comes close to a converse, with the inabsoluble noun *yùum* functioning as a syntactic dummy possessum, but in the semantic role of the possessor. The nouns *ti'a'l* and *yùum* are, in fact, almost lexically converse. The fact that the dummy

possessor noun is high in empathy is in keeping with general expectations in the domain of possession.¹¹⁰

Where there is a positive associative relationship between a possessum represented by an alienable noun Y and a possessor represented by a noun X, one may adjectivize Y by the suffix *-il*, have it precede X as the head noun and thus form a nominal as defined by S2. The construction is schematized in S11 and illustrated by E131.

S11. *Possessum attribute*



- E131. a. meyah-il máak
work-REL person ‘workaholic’
- b. xa'n-il / pak'-il nah
palm-REL wall-REL house
‘house with palm leaf roof’ (i.e. traditional house) / brickwork house’

The proper meaning of S11 is ‘X which has Y (on it), X provided by Y’. It is therefore, among other things, highly appropriate for cooking terminology. E132.a and b are examples.

- E132. a. sikl-il p'àak
squash.seed-REL tomato ‘tomato with squash seed’
- b. kab-il k'úum
honey-REL squash ‘preserved squash’
- c. píib-il wàah
earth.oven tortilla ‘tortilla prepared in the earth-oven’
- d. ch'uhk-il ìis
sweetness-REL yams ‘preserved sweet potato’

Surrounding this semantic prototype, there is a variety of uses which the construction may be put to and which are increasingly marginal to possession. Some of them correspond to

¹¹⁰ In Colonial YM, there was a derivational process semantically akin to the construction with *yùum*. According to San Buenaventura 1684, the derivation *X-náal* mentioned in ch. 2.2.1.1 means “poseedor de X”. The *Calepino de Motul* (Arzápalo Marín 1995), too, contains quite a few entries of the structure (ah) *X-nal* ‘él que tiene X’, e.g. (ah) *paalil nal* ‘el que tiene hijos o criados’. There is even (ah) *ti'a'lnal* ‘propietario, señor de la cosa’, whose relationality, constructed from the relationality of *ti'a'l* and *-náal*, equals that of *yùum*.

various uses of the genitive as mentioned in ch. 1.2.2.2.2. E132.c and d are from the same semantic field and follow the same formal pattern as E132.a and b, but the semantic relation between X and Y is less prototypically possessive. In c it is a rather vague associative relationship (“earth-oven-related tortilla”). In d, if *ch'uhuk* is taken as a concrete noun (‘candy’), the relation is similarly vague. If it is taken as an abstract noun, then we have the YM equivalent to the genitivus qualitatis.

In some cases, S11 may be used to characterize an object X by the material Y it is made of. This would correspond to a genitivus materiae. E133 is a potential example.

E133. *tunich-il muknal*
 stone-REL grave ‘stone grave’

However, as was remarked in ch. 3.2.1.2, such nouns as *tunich* designate an individual rather than a mass. The proper interpretation of E133 is therefore probably ‘stone-related grave (viz. grave with stone[s] on it)’, according to the prototypical meaning of S11.

Given that *-il* also relationalizes a convertible possessed noun in the EPNom S6, one may wonder whether the two constructions S6 and S11 are not really identical. I.e., one may wish to equate Y and Z in S6 with Y and X in S11, respectively. Both constructions have been said to express associative relationships. Nevertheless, this equation is impossible. The head of S6 is the possessed noun (Y), while the head of S11 is the possessor noun (X). The structural correlate of this difference is that the possessive clitic is obligatory in S6, but excluded from S11. Thus, in contrast to E131.b, we have E134.

E134. *u xa'n-il nah*
 POSS.3 palm-REL house ‘the palm leaves of the house’

The semantic correlate of the difference is that S6 refers to an entity on which Y, but not Z, can be predicated, while S11 refers to an entity on which X can be predicated. For example, E131.b is a kind of *nah*, while E134 is a kind of *xa'n*.

There are thus clear syntactic and semantic differences between the two constructions. It remains nevertheless striking that the same suffix should relationalize both the head in S6 and the attribute in S11. The phenomenon is rendered intelligible by relational analysis. In ch. 3.2.2.2.2 it was seen that the suffix opens both a modifying and a governing position. In S6, it modifies the possessed noun and renders it capable of governing its possessor noun. In S11, it governs the possessed noun and renders it capable of modifying its possessor noun. It is, thus, really the same morpheme in both cases, the difference lying only in the bondedness of its two relata.

While S6 serves to identify an object by the reference point it is tied to, S11 is rather an instance of S2 and is typically used to characterize an object and to form a more specific concept. The two constructions are clearly distributed in this sense whenever both possessor and possessum are prototypical in the sense of ch. 1.2.2.1.2.1. Variation between them arises in those cases where possessor and possessum are of the same kind

and, consequently, the semantic relation between them is more symmetric than asymmetric. It is in this sense that the relation has been called associative both in S11 and in the interpretations of S6 seen in ch. 3.2.3.1.3.

E135. u hàanl-il kol
 POSS.3 meal-REL milpa ‘milpa meal’ (traditional meal)

Thus, S6 is used for E135, but S11 is used for E132.c. One would not be too surprised to see these particular cases distributed the other way around.

As a semasiological aside which can support the analysis in S11, it may be mentioned that *-il* also attaches to place nouns and forms nouns or adjectives designating a person who stems from the place, as in *chunpom-il* ‘someone from Chumpom’. Just as in S11, *-il* here governs the noun it attaches to and converts it into an adjective, which may secondarily be used as a noun. Finally, the same structural pattern also forms toponyms, as in *Ya'x-le'-il* (green-leaf-REL) ‘Yaxley’.¹¹¹

3.3.2. RELATIONAL POSSESSUM

An unadorned inalienable noun does not easily serve as an attribute of the possessor; cf. [?]*the girl with the leg / with legs* (Seiler 1983[Pn], ch. 5.5.4) or **legged (girl)* as opposed to *the girl with long legs* and *long-legged (girl)*. In YM, too, substituting *ho'l* ‘head’ or even *me'x* ‘beard’ (an inessential body part, after all) for *meyah* ‘work’ in E131 produces an unintelligible result. The process described in ch. 3.3.1 is restricted to non-relational nouns.

Body parts can be used freely to characterize people only if they have an attribute of their own. YM has two grammatical constructions in which such complex modifiers may be combined with a head nominal, neither of which is specific to possession. These are relative clause formation and compounding.

The relative clause is based on a nominal clause whose subject is a PNom with the body part as head and whose predicate is its characteristic property, as described in ch. 4.3.1. This may be transformed into a relative clause to modify the possessor noun, as in E136 and E137, which are based on E156 and E157, respectively (cf. also E168).

¹¹¹ An analogous analysis is probably appropriate for the appearance of the *-il* suffix in constructions such as *máax ts'ùul-il?* (who stranger-REL) ‘what (kind of) stranger?’, *ba'x hu'n-il* (what paper-REL) ‘what (kind of) paper?’ If the questioned entity is of a specified kind, then SAE languages use the adjectival counterpart (‘what/which’) of the core interrogative pronouns for persons and things and combine it as an attribute with an appropriate head noun. YM also uses a head-modifier construction for this purpose. However, it does not have this interrogative adjective. Therefore, it turns the noun specifying the kind into a modifier by having it governed by the *-il* suffix. The deviation of the order of constituents from the pattern in S11 is treated in ch. 3.2.1.1.1.6.

E136. le máak chowak u ho'l-e'
 DEF person [long POSS.3 head]-D3
 'the person who has long hair'

E137. le x-ch'uppàal chowak-tak u múuk' y-òok-e'
 DEF F-girl long-ADJ.PL POSS.3 strength 0-foot-D3
 'the girl who has long legs'

As for compounding, one may form a compound with the possessor as determinatum and the modified body part as determinans, as in E138.a and E139.

E138. a. le chowak ho'l máak-e'
 DEF long head person-D3 'the long-haired person'

b. le chowak ho'l-e'
 DEF long head-D3 'the long-hair'

E139. chowak òok x-ch'uppàal
 long foot F-girl 'long-legged girl'

Since nominal modifiers can be substantivized by simple conversion in YM, such a compound may be reduced to its determinans, which looks like a traditional bahuvrihi compound in itself, as in E138.b. Similarly, *nukuch me'x* (big beard) 'man with big beard', *chokol k'i'k'* (hot blood) 'hothead', *hum-p'éel k'ab* (one-CL.inanimate hand) 'one-armed', *hòomol koh* (hole:REL tooth) 'toothless'.

Inessential body parts do not need an attribute of their own if they are to be used as attributes. Just like non-relational nouns (cf. E130), their possession may be ascribed in a relative clause which specifies the possessor, as in E140.a.

E140. a. le máak yàan ts'oy ti'-e'
 DEF person [EXIST scar LOC]-D3 'the man who has a scar'

b. le h-ts'oy máak-e'
 DEF M-scar person-D3 'the man with the scar'

Again, the attribute may take the form of the determinans in a compound noun, as in E140.b or in E141.

E141. bix u k'àaba' ka'ch le h-me'x máak-e'?
 how POSS.3 name past DEF M-beard person-D3
 'what was the name of the bearded man?'¹¹²

¹¹² The *h* morpheme is not possible in E138.b. All in all, however, I have been unable to predict its occurrence in the population of Yaxley. Also, my data contain *le máak me'x-e'* 'the bearded man', with the possessum as postnominal attribute, which remains strange even if there were an *h*, to yield *h me'x* 'bearded'.

4. POSSESSIVE PREDICATION

4.1. Prerequisites

Types of situations may be ordered on a continuum by their **dynamicity** (cf. Lehmann 1991[P]). The continuum ranges, in order of increasing dynamicity and leaving subtypes aside, from class inclusion via property, state and process to event. As long as a possessive relationship abides within a referential act, there is no situation and no dynamicity. If, however, possession is predicated, it may be asked what kind of situation possession is. Being a pure relation which is basically atemporal and whose intension is typically empty, an elementary situation of possession is definitely not a dynamic situation. However, the intension of the situation core being empty, it is not unequivocally assignable to any particular one of the stative situation types, viz. class inclusion, property and state, either. It is not clearly a property¹¹³ since it does not necessarily characterize either the possessor or the possessum. There are many languages with possessive adjectives (such as *governmental*) which contrast with possessive NPs (such as *of the government*) and which are used to characterize the possessum; from which one may infer that the possessive NP in itself does not characterize the possessum. On the other hand, possession is not clearly a state either, as it is not normally conceived as transient. In Spanish, with its copulas *estar* for states and *ser* for less dynamic predicates, the copula in predications of belonging is *ser*, not *estar*. It may therefore be expected that unmarked possessive predications share features both with property and with state predications, and that more dynamic possessive predications will be marked.

Since a possessive predication establishes a possessive relation between two entities, it presupposes their **dissociation**. Its primary locus is therefore in alienable possession. There are generally heavy restrictions on the use of a relational noun as the possessum in a possessive predication.

Possessive predications are divided, in a way analogous to referential expressions constituted by a possessive relationship (cf. T1), by the criterion of whether the possessum or the possessor is taken as the element to be pinned down by the relation. Accordingly, we get predications of belonging (as in English *the book is Mary's*) and ascriptions of possession (as in *Mary has a book*).

¹¹³ accepting, for the moment, a terminology in which property and relation are not mutually exclusive concepts, i.e. disregarding the quantitative valency of properties

4.2. Predication of belonging

4.2.1. UNMARKED PREDICATION OF BELONGING

A predication of belonging is a possessive predication which takes the possessum as the point of departure and predicates over it that it belongs to the possessor. Thus, the possessum is typically already in the universe of discourse. It is normally thematic, while the possessor is in the rheme. In syntactic terms, the possessum is usually the subject. Some languages have verbs like *belong* to give lexical expression to such a relationship. YM has no such verb. Sometimes, Spanish *pertenecer* ‘belong’ is used as a loan. The grammatical construction to form a predication of belonging in YM is a nominal clause. A clause which simply has a PNom as its predicate, as in E142, may be marginally considered a predication of belonging.

E142. in pàal-ech (tèen)
 POSS.1.SG child-ABS.2.SG me ‘you are my child’

The belonging is not formally predicated here, as it is contained in the predicate nominal. Semantically, too, this is an implicit way of predicating the belonging. With the independent first person pronoun, E142 may be used to mean ‘you are related as a child to mé (rather than to anybody else)’. Without it, however, it would normally mean ‘you are related to me as a child (rather than as anything else)’. In this case, it is not a predication of belonging, but, instead, an identification.

The explicit way of making a predication of belonging is to form a nominal clause whose subject is the possessum and whose predicate is a simple or expanded PNom according to S5 or S6, respectively, and consists of the dummy possessed noun *ti'a'l* described in ch. 3.2.2.1.2 as its head and an appropriate possessive attribute, as schematized in S12 and exemplified in E143. Z and Y in S12 are optional.

S12. *Predication of belonging*

| | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| [[[X _{Poss.Clit} | <i>ti'a'l</i> |]]]] _{SPNom} | Z _{NP} |]]]] _{EPNom} | Y _{NP} |]]]] _S |
| | | | Possessor | | Possessum | |
| [| predicate |] | | | subject | |

E143. a ti'a'l le nah-a', Hoseh, wáah u ti'a'l leti'?'
 POSS.2 property DEF house-D1 Joseph or POSS.3 property that.one
 ‘is this house yours, Joe, or is it his?’ (BVS 05.01.20)

There are semantic and grammatical constraints on this construction. Given that *ti'a'l* generally does not refer to human beings, human nouns, with marginal exceptions, do not

occur in subject position of predications of belonging. The grammatical constraint excludes relational nouns. Kinship terms are subject to both constraints. There is no way of inserting one in the position of Y in S12, neither in its basic nor in its absolutized form (**in ti'a'l le atantsilo* ‘that wife is mine’). Similarly, no noun designating a spatial region can take this position. Inalienable body-part nouns in the position of Y in S12, as in E144, if possible at all, are interpreted as referring to a detached body part, typically of an animal that serves as food.

E144. in ti'a'l le pòol he'l-o'
 POSS.1.SG property DEF head PRSV-D2 ‘that head is mine’

The predication of belonging, with the interrogative pronoun *máax* in the place of X in S12, is also the construction used to ask for the possessor of an object. Cf. ch. 3.2.1.1.1.6 and 3.2.2.1.2 for examples.

4.2.2. TEMPORARY POSSESSION

In a possessive predication, a distinction between temporary vs. permanent possession may always be made by structural means which are not specific to possession, such as the aspect system of the language. Where there is a relevant opposition which is specific to possession, usually temporary possession is its marked member. The unmarked construction does not really imply permanence of possession; rather it gives no information on that count.

YM has a denominal verbal derivation whose semantic potential includes temporary possession. It is the **usative derivation** by the suffix *-int* (cf. Blair 1964:74f, Bricker 1970). The suffix has an allomorph *-t*, but is probably itself only a variant of the general transitivizer *-t*. The relevant clause construction is represented by S13 and exemplified by E145f (another example is in E124.iv). As explained in ch. 2.4, U in S13 agrees with Z, and X, with Y.

S13. *Usative construction*

| | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------------------|---|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| [[U _{Subj,Clit} | [V _N <i>-int</i>] _{Tr.V.Stem} | -W _{Asp} | -X _{Abs}] _{Tr.V.Complex} | Y _{NP} | Z _{NP} |] _{Clause Core} |
| person _i | | | person _k | person _k | person _i | |
| number _j | | | number ₁ | number ₁ | number _j | |
| | ↓ | | | ↓ | ↓ | |
| | Possessum | | | Undergoer | Possessor/Actor | |
| | finite verb form | | | dir. object | subject | |

E145. chèn k'in u ka'h in nah-int-ik
 just day SBJ.3 IMM.FUT SBJ.1.SG house-US-INCMPL
 'I am going to borrow the house just for a day' (lit. 'it is just going to be for a day that I use it as a house')

E146. úuch-e' kin nòok'-int-ik
 formerly-TOP IMPF-SBJ.3 dress-US-INCMPL
 'formerly I used it as a dress'

The usative affords a kind of predication of belonging. It predicates on its undergoer that it is the temporary possessum of the possessor. Relevant paraphrases include 'Y is a V to Z', 'Y is Z's V', 'Y serves Z as a V', 'Z has/uses Y for/as a V'. The *-int* suffix does not by itself focus on temporariness of possession. That meaning component is rather a by-product of the dynamicization of the possessive relationship which is brought about by its verbalization.

The usative derivation is partly sensitive to the relationality of its input. It is fine with non-relational nouns, as in E145f. It is generally possible for kinship terms. It is hard to elicit for part-of-whole terms and seems unacceptable for many body-part terms, and it occurs sporadically with other relational nouns, as in E147.

E147. k-in k'ab-int-ik / k'àaba'-int-ik le he'l-a'
 IMPF-SBJ.1.SG hand-US-CMPL name-US-CMPL DEF PRSV-D1
 'this is my hand/name'

In contrast with the unmarked predication of belonging, there is occasionally a connotation, especially for relational nouns, that the relationship is rather contingent. However, the primary *raison d'être* of the construction is a syntactic one: it allows the specification of verbal categories in the possessive predication. For instance, E148 has no counterpart in the nominal predications of belonging seen in ch. 4.2.1.¹¹⁴

E148. binka'h a w-atan-t-ik le x-ch'uppàal-a'
 IMM.FUT SBJ.2 0-wife-US-CMPL DEF F-girl-D1
 'you are going to marry this girl'

There is no connotation of temporariness in E148.

4.2.3. PRESENT VS. NON-PRESENT POSSESSION

As observed in ch. 3.2.3.2, there are no grammatical temporal distinctions in YM at the level of the referential act. However, as described in ch. 3.2.3.2, the time axis is divided

¹¹⁴ Exchange with the informant: What is the past of *in watan* ('she is my wife')? – *Úuchil-e' in watan* (in.the.past-TOP POSS.1.SG wife). – And what is the future? – *Yan in watan-t-ik* (DEB SBJ.1.SG wife-USAT-INCMPL).

asymmetrically by possessive relations: There is no distinction between simultaneous and posterior possession that would be specific to the grammar of possession. These two cases are lumped together as the temporally unmarked possessive relation. If posterior possession must be marked, it is done as explained in the preceding section.

Anterior possession, however, is not included in the default case. To express it, recourse is taken to the usual clause-level distinctions that may be made in a nominal clause whose predicate is a PNom (like E142). In particular, anterior possession may be signalled by the grammatical temporal adverb *ka'ch(-il)* ‘formerly, past’, as in E149.

- E149. a. in nah-il ka'ch-il
 POSS.1.SG house-REL past-ADVR ‘it was my house / is my ex-house’
- b. in w-atan ka'ch-il
 POSS.1.SG 0-wife past-ADVR ‘she was my wife / is my ex-wife’

This construction is, then, not specific to possession.

4.3. Ascription of possession

4.3.1. EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS

An ascription of possession is a possessive predication which takes the possessor as the point of departure and predicates on it that it possesses the possessum. Thus, the possessor is typically already in the universe of discourse. It is normally thematic, while the possessum is in the rheme. All languages have possessive verbs for a lexical expression of ascription of possession. These are verbs such as YM *ti'a'l-t* ‘possess, acquire’, which is derived from the relational noun *ti'a'l* ‘property’, or verbs with even more specific meanings such as *man* ‘buy’ and *sat* ‘lose’. As mentioned in ch. 1.2.2.2.4, such verbs usually have no properties which would single them out from the functional domain of participation, which means that nothing particular need be said about them under the topic of possession.

The grammatical construction reserved for ascription of possession in YM is an existence clause, with *yàan* ‘exist’ as the predicate nucleus and the possessum in subject function (cf. ch. 2.4.1). There are two variants of this construction. The first, schematized in S14 and illustrated by E150.a and E151, the possessor appears as a possessive attribute to the subject nominal (cf. Hanks 1990:164, Hofling 1990:558). Here, ascription of possession is expressed by an existence predication on a PNom, which is why S14 incorporates S6. In the other variant, schematized in S15 and exemplified in E150.b, E161 and E162, the possessor appears as an indirect object (cf. ch. 2.4.2). In both cases, the possessed NP

must be semantically indefinite. Remarks on the distribution of the two constructions follow shortly.¹¹⁵

S14. *Ascription of possession to possessive attribute*

| | | | | | | |
|--------|----------------------------|------------------|--------|-----------------|--------|----|
| [yàan | [[X _{Poss.Clit} | Y _{Nom} |]SPNom | Z _{NP} |]EPNom |]S |
| | | Possessum | | Possessor | | |
| EXIST | [| subject | | | |] |

S15. *Ascription of possession to indirect object*

| | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------|----|
| [yàan | Y _{NP} | [ti' | X _{NP} |]PrepP |]S |
| | Possessum/Undergoer | | Possessor | | |
| EXIST | subject | [indirect object | | |] |

- E150. a. yàan in tsíimin
 EXIST POSS.1.SG horse 'I have a horse/horses'
- b. yàan tèn tsíimin
 EXIST me horse ditto

- E151. ti' yàan hum-p'éel a kalèesah be'òoráah-a'
 LOC EXIST one-CL.inanimate POSS.2 carriage now-D1
 'there is a carriage for you now' (MUUCH 215)

The construction in S14 may seem an unnatural way of ascribing possession, since a pseudo-literal translation of E150.a by 'my horse exists' appears to predicate existence on something whose existence is already presupposed. However, as it was seen in ch. 3.2.4, a PNom is not per se definite. A more adequate rendering of E150.a would therefore be 'there is a horse of mine'.

Since the possessor is usually topical in an ascription of possession, topicalization is a frequent modification of sentences of the structure S14 and S15 (cf. ch. 2.6).

- E152. a. yàan u tsíimin Hwàan
 EXIST POSS.3 horse John 'John has a horse.'
- b. yàan tsíimin ti' Hwàan.
 EXIST horse LOC John ditto

¹¹⁵ Especially with inalienable possessa, the two alternatives may also be combined syntagmatically, as in *yàan tèech a ìhos* (EXIST you POSS.2 children 'do you have children' (BVS 05.05.37).

- E153. a. Hwàan-e', yàan u tsíimin.
 John-TOP EXIST POSS.3 horse ditto
- b. Hwàan-e', yàan tsíimin ti'.
 John-TOP EXIST horse LOC ditto

The left-dislocation constructions illustrated by E153 correspond to the basic constructions in E152. These topic constructions bear a paradigmatic relationship to S14 and S15 which is entirely derivable from the rules of ch. 2.6. These topic constructions are therefore no specific possessive constructions.

Similarly, the possessor may be a canonical focus.

- E154. chéen wáah-máax yàan u y-àalak' pèek'
 just if-who EXIST POSS.3 0-CL.domestic dog
 'only some people had a dog' (CM1:88 [PEEK' 014.02])

In E154, the possessive NP has been fronted to focus position, leaving the remainder of the possessed NP (i.e. an SPNom) in situ. This, too, requires no special account.

Corresponding to the constraint on relational nouns in predications of belonging, there are constraints on relational nouns in ascriptions of possession.¹¹⁶ First, if the possessed noun is relational, then only S14 may be used, because S15 presupposes an absolute possessum. Second, a relational noun can only be ascribed to a possessor under special circumstances. The conditions include possessors with unexpected properties and possessa with unexpected properties. E155 illustrates the first case.

- E155. yàan u xikin túnich, yàan u xikin che'.
 EXIST POSS.3 ear rock EXIST POSS.3 ear tree
 'the stones have ears, the trees have ears (i.e. they can hear)' (RC, HTS'ON 011)

The second case, a relational possessum that has special qualities, is discussed in ch. 4.3.2.

4.3.2. ASCRIPTION OF PROPERTIES TO POSSESSUM

There are essentially two strategies of expressing that a possessed item has special properties (cf. Anderson 1974). The first is to have the possessed item in subject position of the clause and the property in predicate position (like 'Julia's dress is clean'). The second is to combine the property as an attribute with the possessed item in an NP and to use this as the possessum of an ascription of possession ('Julia has a clean dress'). The entity in question has two features, the property and the possessive relationship. Either strategy foregrounds one of the features by making it the point of a predication, while backgrounding the other feature into an attribute.

¹¹⁶ Stefflre 1972:174f claims such constructions to be ungrammatical.

If the possessive relationship in question is alienable, then one might expect the choice between the two strategies to be equal and to depend solely on which of the two features needs to be foregrounded. If, however, the relationship is inalienable, then this is present beforehand in form of a possessive attribution. Here there is a definite contrast between English and YM. In YM one does not say ‘he has long hair’ or ‘she has green eyes’. Instead, the default strategy is the first one introduced before: a nominal clause is formed whose subject is a possessed NP with the inalienable noun as its head and whose predicate is a nominal (possibly an adjective) containing the relevant property. This construction is the same for the different morphological classes of body-part nouns, as may be seen from E156 – E158.

E156. chowak u ho'l le máak-e'
 long POSS.3 head DEF person-D3
 ‘the person has long hair (lit. the person's head is long)’

E157. chowak-tak u múuk' y-òok le x-ch'uppàal-e'
 long-ADJ.PL POSS.3 strength 0-foot DEF F-girl-D3
 ‘the girl has long legs’

E158. ka'nal u bàak-el le xib-o'
 tall POSS.3 bone-REL DEF man-D2 ‘that man is tall’

The construction preferred by languages like English ascribes possession of the special body part to the possessor. The YM construction instead ascribes the special property to the possessed body part. It is typical for the language in that it avoids detaching the body part in the first place, as does the English construction. As is apparent from E158, this strategy is preferred even for alienable possessive relations.

If, however, one does want a possessive predication of the structure of S15, then one first derelationalizes the inalienable noun.

E159. ma' ki'-y-òol tàatah-tsil ti'-o'b-i'
 NEG sweet-0-mind father-ABSOL LOC-PL-NEGF
 ‘they did not have a friendly father’ (MUUCH 298)

In E159, S15 (without the existence verb) has been used. This is permissible since an absolutivized inalienable noun is alienable.

If an entity has eminent properties which are not named, it may be ascribed in construction S14 even if it is relational, as illustrated by E160.

E160. hach yàan u xikin
 really EXIST POSS.3 ear ‘he has fine ears’

As this construction appears to ascribe possession of an inalienable body part to its possessor, it is always used with the *par excellence* reading indicated.

4.3.3. GRAMMATICAL STATUS OF POSSESSOR

The distinction according to the grammatical or lexical status of the possessive NP is relevant to ascriptions of possession, because the indirect object, which appears in S15, is empathy-sensitive. We here find again the two indirect object constructions that were introduced in ch. 2.4.2.

4.3.3.1. Lexical possessor

If the indirect object is a full NP, the construction is as indicated in S15. E161 is an example.

E161. yàan hun-túul tsíimin ti' in papah xàan
 EXIST one-CL.animate horse LOC POSS.1.SG father also
 ‘my father has a horse, too’ (BVS 05.01.26)

4.3.3.2. Pronominal possessor

If the indirect object is a personal pronoun, there are two constructions according to whether the strong or weak personal pronouns of T2 are used. With a strong personal pronoun governed by *ti'*, the construction is as in ch. 4.3.3.1. An example is in E162.

E162. ya'b ba'l-o'b k'as-tak yàan ti' tèn ka'ch-il
 many thing-PL bad-ADJ.PL EXIST LOC me past-ADVR
 ‘formerly I had many bad things’ (HIJO 028)

With the weak personal pronouns, the construction is as in E150.a. This means that the order of constituents differs from the one shown in S15.

5. POSSESSIVE AND PARTICIPANT RELATIONS

5.1. Prerequisites

In ch. 3 and 4, we have concentrated on the relation between a possessor and a possessum in isolation, without regard to any relations that either of them may bear to the context. However, the complex referents which are the object of ch. 3 do not occur in isolation, but are normally participants of some situation and are integrated in a predicative act. Again, possessive predication as dealt with in ch. 4 is special among all predications because the situation is stripped of all other relations between possessor and possessum, reducing to mere possession.

Given a dynamic situation with at least two participants X and Y, then first each of these has its participant role vis-à-vis the situation core, and second, X may be the possessor of Y. For an example, take a situation such as expressed by E28 = E60/61.a ('Paul washes his hands'). Here Paul is agent, the hands are patient, and the act is one of physical affection. Apart from being agent of the situation, Paul happens to be possessor of the patient of the situation.

E163. Paul flickt dem Professor das Fahrrad.
GERM Paul fix-3.SG DEF:DAT.SG professor DEF:ACC.N bicycle
'Paul fixes the professor's bicycle.'

Or again, in E163, the situation is one of physical affection, the bicycle is the patient, the professor is beneficiary and at the same time the possessor of the bicycle. In general, the possessive relationship is compatible with a number of semantic roles on which it may be superimposed. Languages and strategies may differ in whether they express both or either or neither of the two simultaneous relations.

The possible combinations of participants in a situation and the distribution of possessor and possessum roles among them yield a great number of different constellations. Of these, only those will be considered which are so natural that they are grammaticalized in many languages. These are essentially the ones in which X and Y have a prototypical possessive relationship to each other. This implies that X is highly empathic, while Y is an object, often, but not necessarily, a body part.

While the typical roles for the possessum are undergoer and instrument, the possessor may have any of the roles of an empathic participant, such as actor, experiencer, recipient, beneficiary or sympathetic patient (see ch. 5.2.1). The grammatically interesting combinations of these are the following:

- Possessum is undergoer, possessor is sympathetic patient, experiencer, recipient, beneficiary or actor;
- Possessum is instrument, possessor is actor.

This gives us the subdivision of the following chapters.

5.2. Possessum as undergoer

5.2.1. POSSESSOR AS SYMPATHETIC PATIENT

In ch. 1.2.2.1.4, a class of situations was introduced under the label ‘indirect affection of possessor’. This may be defined as follows. The central participant is prototypically a body part. More marginally, it may be a plant part or some clothes. The situation itself is basically non-possessive. Instead, its core is some kind of affection or impingement on the central participant. However, given the nature of the central participant, there is a secondary participant, the possessor of the central one, who/which is necessarily indirectly affected by the impact on its body part or other intimate property. Finally, there is optionally an actor which controls the affliction of the central participant. It may or may not be identical to the possessor.

There are essentially two different ways in which such a situation may be represented structurally, which are called the internal and the external possessor constructions. In the internal possessor construction, the possessor appears as a possessive attribute to the central participant, as in *I wash my hands*; in the external possessor construction, it appears as a verbal dependent in its own right. The external possessor construction is marked by phenomena which have been called possessive dative or *dativus sympatheticus*, later on possessor raising, as in French *je me lave les mains* ‘I wash my hands’, and *possessum demotion*,¹¹⁷ as in *she hit me on the head* instead of ‘she hit my head’. The internal possessor strategy concentrates on the direct involvement of the central participant and, consequently, backgrounds the person. The external possessor strategy emphasizes the involvement of the possessor and, consequently, foregrounds the person. In the internal possessor construction, we may speak of the possessor’s **indirect participation** in the situation (cf. Lehmann et al. 2000[D]).

In such situations, YM consistently uses the internal possessor strategy. Properties, states and processes which are relevant to a body part are not attributed to the animal as a whole, but directly to the body part. Thus, YM does not say ‘she is deaf’, but rather ‘her ear is deaf’; it does not say ‘you kicked me in the stomach’, but rather ‘you kicked my stomach’.

The following subdivision of this section is made according to parameters which structure situations of indirect possessor affection and which condition structural differences in many languages. They should, in principle, yield a cross-classification. However, since

¹¹⁷ In Fox 1981, the term *possessor ascension* is used.

YM makes no structural distinctions in this area, it is not worth pursuing the logical alternatives.

5.2.1.1. Situation with vs. without actor

In a situation with a body part as central participant and its possessor as indirectly affected, but inactive participant, YM uses an intransitive clause with a possessed NP as subject, as in E164f (cf., however, E168).

E164. yah in nak'
sore POSS.1.SG belly 'my belly hurts'

E165. kóok u xikin
deaf POSS.3 ear 'she is deaf'

If such a situation has an actor in addition, it is generally expressed by a transitive clause. YM has a possessed NP in direct object function, as in E166.

E166. u ti'a'l u chàan máan-s-ik u wi'h-il
POSS.3 property SBJ.3 little pass-CAUS-INCMPL POSS.3 hungry-SBSTR
'so that it appeases a bit his hunger' (BVS 17.01.19)

In such a situation, the actor may or may not be identical to the possessor. If it is, reflexivity comes into play. Languages which prefer the external possessor strategy, such as the Romance and Slavic languages and German, use a reflexive personal pronoun here. Languages which follow the internal possessor strategy, such as Tamil or Korean, may use a reflexive possessive pronoun or simply do without any expression of possessivity in such contexts. As was seen in ch. 3.2.1.1.1.5, YM has no reflexive possessive pronouns. Since YM only uses the internal possessor strategy, relevant examples, such as E167, display no peculiarities.

E167. p'o' a wich!
wash POSS.2 face 'wash your face!'¹¹⁸

As was seen in ch. 3.2.2.2.2.3 by way of E28, it is also impossible to omit the possessive pronoun in such contexts on account of semantic redundancy.

5.2.1.2. Different vs. like affection of possessor and possessum

If possessor's head is beaten, then possessor is beaten, too. If, however, possessor's pants are pulled down, then possessor is not also pulled down. Whether the possessor himself is conceived as affected in a like way as the possessum is strictly a matter of the language-

¹¹⁸ Span. ¡lávate la cara!, Germ. *wasch dir das Gesicht!*

specific meaning of the relevant predicate. Several adjectives referring to bodily defects are attributable either to the relevant body part or to a person, as shown in E168.

- E168. a. ch'óop (u y-ich) in tàatah
 blind POSS.3 0-eye POSS.1.SG father 'my father is blind'
- b. kóok (u xikin) in màamah
 deaf POSS.3 ear POSS.1.SG mother 'my mother is deaf'
- c. hun-túul senyòrah móoch, móoch y-òok
 one-CL.animate lady lame [lame 0-foot]
 'a lame lady, a lady with lame feet' (MUUCH 017)

As indicated by the parentheses in E168.a and b and by the textual variation in c, the predicate is alternately attributable to the body part or, in a totum-pro-parte fashion, to the affected being as a whole. The brackets in E168.c enclose a relative clause.

If the possessor is affected in a like way as the possessum, many European languages reserve the direct syntactic function (subject or direct object, as the case may be) to the NP representing the former, while the NP representing the latter appears in a more oblique position. The construction, which may be called possessum demotion, is illustrated by expressions such as Germ. *ich friere an den Händen*, translating E169, or the English translation of E170. When the possessor is affected differently, the Romance languages and German reserve the direct syntactic function to the possessum and represent the possessor in a possessive dative. The construction, also called possessor promotion or possessor ascension, is illustrated by Germ. *mir tut der Bauch weh*, translating E164, or *ich schneide diesem Mann die Haare*, translating E175.

YM does not care for such differences at all. For like affection of possessum and possessor, we have E169 – E173.

- E169. túun síis-tal in k'ab
 PROG:SBJ.3.SG cold-PROC POSS.1.SG hand 'my hands are freezing'
- E170. t-in k'op-ah u ho'l le máak-o'
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG hit-CMPL POSS.3 head DEF person-D2
 'I hit that man on the head'
- E171. káa h kohche'-t-a'b u táan ho'l-al-e'
 CONN PAST kick-TRR-PASS.CMPL POSS.3 front head-REL-D3
 'and he was kicked on the forehead' (MUUCH 375)
- E172. tak u pòol t-u la'ch-ah
 upto POSS.3 head PAST-SBJ.3 scratch-CMPL 'he scratched his head'
- E173. kup' u chùuch le lùuch-o'
 cut POSS.3 stalk DEF squash-D2 'cut that squash at the stalk!'

For different affection of possessum and possessor, we have E122.b and E164 as well as E174 – E176.

- E174. t-in hak-ah u y-èex
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG pull.down-CMPL POSS.3 0-pants
 ‘I pulled down his pants’¹¹⁹
- E175. tíin k'os-ik u tso'ts-el u ho'l le máak-a'
 PROG:SBJ.1.SG cut-INCMPL POSS.3 hair-REL POSS.3 head DEF person-D1
 ‘I am cutting this person's hair’
- E176. tíin xáache't-ik u ho'l
 PROG:SBJ.1.SG comb-INCMPL POSS.3 head
 ‘I am combing his hair’

It may be seen that all of these sentences have a full possessed NP in undergoer function. There is no possessive dative outside ascription of possession in YM. Examples such as E177 are the only ones that could possibly cast doubt on this assertion.

- E177. ti' u y-o'lal bíin u luk'-s-ik tèech
 LOC SBJ.3 0-reason FUT SBJ.3 go.off-CAUS-INCMPL you
 ‘in order to take away from you’
- le ìik'-o'b k'as-tak-o'b a kuch-mah-o'
 DEF wind-PL bad-ADJ.PL-PL SBJ.2 load-PERF-D2
 ‘the bad winds with which you are loaded’ (CHAAK 079f)

E177 does show a possessor in indirect object function, represented by a weak personal pronoun of T2. However, the possessor role of this constituent is an effect contingent on the semantic context. What it expresses is the indirect object provided for in the valency of the verb *luk'-s* ‘take away’. In short, the variation between possessive attribute and indirect object, to be observed in ascriptions of possession (ch. 4.3, E162 vs. E151), does not repeat itself in other predications.

5.2.2. POSSESSOR AS BENEFICIARY

The beneficiary is the role of a peripheral participant which profits from (or, in the case of the malefactive, is damaged by) the situation. The situation normally involves an agent (possibly identical to the beneficiary) and may involve a patient. For example, in addition to the professor as the beneficiary, there is a patient (the bicycle) in E163, while there is no patient in *Paul works for the professor*. If a situation involves both a beneficiary and a patient, then the beneficiary commonly bears a – possibly future – possessive relation to the patient (cf. Shibatani 1996).

If the beneficiary actually is the possessor of another participant, then either the possessor or the beneficiary role or both may manifest themselves in grammatical structure. If the

¹¹⁹ Span. *le bajé el pantalón*, Germ. *ich zog ihm die Hosen herunter*

possessive relationship is inalienable, then YM consistently expresses this, ignoring the beneficiary role of the possessor (cf. ch. 5.2.1.2, esp. E175 and E176). If the possessive relation of the beneficiary is alienable, then it may be expressed by a benefactive adjunct with *ti'*, as in E178. The sentence would actually mean the same without the *tèn*. There is possibly some influence of Spanish here. In general, the language favors the possessive strategy even in such weak possessive relations. E179 is a typical example.

E178. peroh dónyah Máargariitah
but doña Margarita

t-u chak-ah tèn xíw-o'b in w-uk'-eh
PAST-SBJ.3 boil-CMPL me herb-PL SBJ.1.SG drink-SUBJ
'but Doña Margarita boiled me herbs to drink' (BVS 13.01.19.02)

E179. máantats' táan u t'ab-ik u kib kilich Anton
constantly PROG SBJ.3 lighten-INCMPL [POSS.3 candle saint Anton]
'regularly he lightens candles for St. Anthony' (CM2:13).

Consequently, many sentences with possessed nominals have a benefactive interpretation.

5.2.3. POSSESSOR AS RECIPIENT

While many European languages tend to autonomize the possessor in the syntax, thus actually or seemingly increasing the valency of the relevant verb, YM displays the opposite tendency of neglecting the involvement of the participant in question, thus eventually suppressing an indirect object, whenever it may be construed as the possessor of the direct object. This is evidenced by examples such as E180 – E183 (cf. also text and translation in E66, E119 and E151).¹²⁰

E180. tich in báat-o'
pass POSS.1.SG axe-D2 'pass me the/my axe!'

E181. he'l in tàas-ik a w-o'ch-e'
PRSV SBJ.1.SG bring-INCMPL POSS.2 0-food-D3
'I will bring you (your) food'

E182. káa t-u máan-s-ah u éerensyah u ìihoh-e'
CONN PAST-SBJ.3 pass-CAUS-CMPL [POSS.3_i heritage POSS.3_i son_j]-D3
'and he_i handed his_j heritage to his_i son_j' (HIJO 062)

E183. ts'a' u kùuch!
put POSS.3 load 'put the load on him / load him with his load!'

¹²⁰ Hofling 1990, §4.3 asserts the tendency for Itzá. Cf. Haviland 1988:99 for Tzotzil, where, however, benefactive interpretation seems to be bound up with the relational suffix. For other Mayan and Non-Mayan languages, see Croft 1985.

E184. mix-máak nuk-ik in t'`aan.
 nor-person answer-INCMPL POSS.1.SG speech
 ‘nobody answers me’ (cf. Bricker 1979)

In each of E180 – E183, the recipient is conceived as a future possessor of the patient. The exploitation of the possessive construction for indirect participation is, thus, again rendered possible by the lack of determination in YM nominal possession. In E184, the role of the addressee remains unexpressed by introducing an abstract object whose possessor the addressee is.

5.2.4. POSSESSOR AS ACTOR

If the actor of a situation is, simultaneously, the possessor of the undergoer, YM has a variety of structural possibilities. First of all, a common transitive clause may be formed, with the actor in subject function and the undergoer in object function. In this construction, both of the participant roles are distinguished at the clause level, while the possessive relation is expressed locally by a possessive attribute to the object which references the subject, as already illustrated by E167.

Second, the actor role may be suppressed. The situation is then conceived as concerning the undergoer by itself and is represented by an intransitive sentence, with the undergoer in subject function and the other participant accompanying it as a possessive attribute. E185 illustrates what is meant.

E185. ka h líik' y-ich le kéeh t-eh ka'nal-o',
 CONN PAST rise [POSS.3-eye DEF deer] LOC-DEF high-D2
 ka t-u y-a'l-ah:
 CONN PAST-SBJ.3 0-say-CMPL
 ‘the dear rose its glance and said:’ (A&M I:68)

The actor role has its control relation in common with the possessor. This is the condition for it to remain unexpressed, in favor of the latter. A transitive version of E185, with the actor in subject and the undergoer in direct object position, would require causativization of the main verb and would, thus, be structurally more complex than the version at hand.¹²¹

Third, the possessor role may remain unexpressed. This is possible if the undergoer is represented by an inalienable noun, for then the possessive relationship is inherent in it. If this inalienable noun were the head of a full NP, the possessive relationship would have to be expressed. The bare noun may, however, be used in composition. A compound verb

¹²¹ The same text does contain *Ka'kate' ku chéen líik'sik yich* ‘Now and then he raises his eyes.’ (A&M I:70)

is formed according to the pattern of S3 illustrated in ch. 2.4.1, as in E186. The compound stem is then usually transitivized by the *-t* suffix, as in E187 and E188.b. This is sometimes done even if no further undergoer is in the situation, as in E188.a.

E186. p'íil-ìich-nen-e'x!

open-eye-IMP-2.PL 'open your eyes!' (Blair 1964:66)

E187. t-u mèech-chi'-t-ah ba'x t-a w-a'l-ah

PAST-SBJ.3 twist-mouth-TRR-CMPL what PAST-SBJ.2 0-say-CMPL

'he put on a wry mouth at (i.e. did not endorse) what you said'

E188. a. t-u mùuts'-ich-t-ah

PAST-SBJ.3 shut-eye-TRR-CMPL 'he blinked (at it)'

b. t-u mùuts'-ich-t-h-en

PAST-SBJ.3 shut-eye-TRR-CMPL-ABS.1.SG 'he blinked to me'

In conclusion of ch. 5.2, we can say that the possessor role may not only outweigh other roles that a participant may have in a situation. What is more, other roles such as the beneficiary, the recipient and even the actor, which have functional traits in common with the possessor, may be modeled on the possessor role and manifest themselves structurally as a possessive attribute whenever possible.¹²²

5.3. Possessum as instrument

A very common configuration of a dynamic situation is for a human being to do something with a body part. YM uses the technique of verbal composition to modify the verb by the body-part noun. A transitive base is compounded with a noun as its determinans in the construction of S3. Eligible nouns include the inalienable body-part terms plus a few other nouns such as *che* 'stick' and *tun* 'stone'. The incorporated term bears the relations of possessum to the actor, represented by the verb's subject, and of instrument to the verbal action. Despite this semantic relation, the noun blocks the direct object slot of the verb, thus converting the latter into an intransitive one. Some compound verbs of this type may in fact be used intransitively. Thus, E189.a shows a transitive sentence with a body part as an instrumental adjunct. In b, the instrument noun has been incorporated into the verb stem. The result is necessarily intransitive. This then serves as the base for the extraversive derivation by means of the *-t* suffix in E189.c, which generates a transitive verb stem with the same syntactic properties as the root in the a version.

¹²² It is impossible in E177 because *k'as ìik* 'evil wind' is impossible.

- E189. a. k-u lom-ik yéetel u k'ab
 IMPF-SBJ.3 poke-INCMPPL with POSS.3 hand 'he pokes it with his hand'
- b. k-u lóom-k'ab
 IMPF-SBJ.3 poke\INTROV-hand 'he pokes with his hand'
- c. k-u lóom-k'ab-t-ik
 IMPF-SBJ.3 poke\INTROV-hand-TRR-INCMPPL 'he pokes it with his hand'

For most of these compound verbs, the intransitive stems are rarely if ever used. In E190, the step of the introversive is skipped.

- E190. a. t-u pech'-ah le ch'ik yéetel u k'ab /y-òok-o'
 PAST-SBJ.3 crush-CMPL DEF flea-D2 with POSS.3 hand foot-D2
- b. t-u péech'-k'ab/chek'-t-ah le ch'ik-o'
 PAST-SBJ.3 crush\INTROV-hand/foot-TRR-CMPL DEF flea-D2
 'he crushed the flea with his hand/foot'

The noun designating 'hand' is by far the most frequently incorporated. Next comes the noun meaning 'foot', where a suppletive stem *chek'* instead of the free allomorph *òok* is used.¹²³ In principle, any inalienable body-part noun can be incorporated in this way. E191 provides some examples.

- E191. a. t-u k'ol-ah yéetel u ho'l / kúuk
 PAST-SBJ.3 hit-INCMPPL with POSS.3 head elbow
- b. t-u k'óol-ho'l/kúuk-t-ah
 PAST-SBJ.3 hit\INTROV-head/elbow-TRR-CMPL
 'he hit it with his head/elbow'

The fact that only inalienable body-part nouns are used in this construction provides important evidence for the functional unity of this class as discussed in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.1.4.

¹²³ Both *k'ab* and *-chek'* are subject to a general phonological rule which reduces /b/ and /k'/ to /'/ in final position of the syllable (/k'/ only before consonant). Since the morph *-chek'* does not occur in other contexts, only etymology teaches us about the identity of its final consonant. The alternant *-che'* is homonymous with the noun meaning 'tree, stick', which itself is often incorporated as an instrument. For instance, *tùul-che't-* (push\INTROV-foot/stick-TRR) can mean 'push with foot/stick'. – *Chek'/che'* has a free variant *-chak'* (*-cha'*), while *che'* has nothing analogous.

6. TYPOLOGICAL CONNECTIONS

The preceding description has shown that possession, and in particular possession in reference, has a heavy functional load in YM. The relevant part of the grammar is much more diversified than in any Indo-European language, and the relevant constructions are much more prominent in the texts. It remains to identify other properties of YM grammar which correlate with this one and contribute to this particular linguistic type. This typological study will essentially consist in putting into evidence parallelisms between nominal and verbal grammar.

6.1. External agreement

Any agreement of a subconstituent of an NP with the NP as a whole (traditionally, with its head) is **internal agreement**; any agreement of a constituent with an NP depending on it is **external agreement**. Internal agreement may involve the grammatical category of case, but not person; external agreement may involve person, but not case. Internal agreement applies in constructions constituted by modification; external agreement applies in constructions constituted by government (cf. Lehmann 1982).

A language may make use both of internal and external agreement. Spanish, for instance, has external agreement of the verb with the subject in person and number and internal agreement of nominal modifiers with the head noun in gender and number. Many languages, however, have developed one kind of agreement to the complete neglect of the other. Many Australian languages such as Dyrbal rely exclusively on internal agreement. Ancient Indo-European languages, including Greek and Latin, only have verb-subject agreement in the external domain and for the rest make extensive use of internal agreement.

YM works the other way round. With one exception, there is no internal agreement at all in the language. Adjective attributes, determiners, quantifiers, let alone possessive attributes and relative clauses, do not agree with their NP. The exception is the agreement of the postnominal adjective attribute with the head noun in number, as in *ìik'-o'b k'as-tak-o'b* of E177. On the other hand, external agreement pervades the language. The verb agrees in person and number with its subject and direct object (E192), and the preposition agrees with its complement (E193).

E192. Pèedroh-e' t-u y-il-ah-ech (tèech)
Peter-TOP PAST-SBJ.3.SG 0-see-CMPL-ABS.2.SG you 'Peter saw you'

E193. a w-óok'ol (tèech)
POSS.2 0-on you 'on you'

In the same fashion, the SPNom agrees in person and number with the possessive NP, as schematized in S6 and exemplified, once more, in E194.

E194. a tàatah (tèech)
 POSS.2 father you ‘your father’

External agreement is, thus, a process which structures the nominal and verbal spheres in an analogous way.

Moreover, the paradigm of the possessive clitics (T7) is identical to the subject clitic paradigm of the verb (T3). Members of both paradigms precede their head, viz. the PNom and the verbal, respectively. Both are enclitic to whatever precedes them; both condition morphophonological changes of the same kind in their head. This is the morphological aspect of the far-reaching analogy between possessor and subject in YM.

6.2. Nominal and verbal relationality

As we have seen, semantic relationality of nouns is reflected in their grammatical behavior. Nouns fall into grammatical – morphological and syntactic – classes accordingly as they are relational or not. Exactly the same situation obtains in verbal grammar. No verbal base can be used both transitively and intransitively. Transitivity is fixed for every base. If a verb is to be used differently from its basic transitivity, a derivation is necessary. The following comparisons show the extent of this parallelism (cf. Lehmann 1992[V] for details of valency operations).

In ch. 3.2.2.2.2, we saw that certain alienable nouns can be made fit for a possessive construction if they are first relationalized by the appropriate suffix. E195 recalls this process. Likewise, an intransitive process verb does not by itself admit the specification of an actor. It first needs to be causativized by an appropriate suffix and then allows transitive person marking. This is shown in E196 (cf. also E8).

E195. a. nah-o'b
 house-PL ‘they are houses’
 b. in nah-il-o'b
 POSS.1.SG house-REL-PL ‘they are my houses’

E196. a. h ah-o'b
 PAST wake-ABS.3.PL ‘they woke up’¹²⁴

¹²⁴ The verbal examples are in past tense because it is in this tense that the intransitive verb shows the absolutive suffixes that also appear in nominal predicates.

- b. t-in w-ah-s-ah-o'b
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG 0-wake-CAUS-CMPL-ABS.3.PL ‘I woke them up’

Just like the *-il* suffix in E195.b relationalizes the noun for combination with a possessor, so the *-s* suffix in E196.b relationalizes the verb for combination with an actor.

A similar analogy obtains in derelationalization. In ch. 3.2.2.2.3.2 we saw that certain inalienable nouns can be made fit for a non-possessive construction if they are first absolutivized by the appropriate suffix. E197 recalls this process. Likewise, a transitive verb does not by itself allow the actor to remain unspecified. It first needs to be deagentivized (alias anticausativized; cf. Lehmann 1993[P], §6.3.1.1) by an appropriate morphological process and then takes intransitive person marking. This is shown in E198.

- E197. a. in tàatah-ech
 POSS.1.SG father-ABS.2.SG ‘you are my father’
 b. tatah-tsil-ech
 father-ABSOL-ABS.2.SG ‘you are a/the father’
- E198. a. t-in p'at-h-ech
 PAST-SBJ.1.SG leave-CMPL-ABS.2.SG ‘I left you’
 b. h p'áat-ech
 PAST leave\DEAG-ABS.2.SG ‘you stayed’

Just like the *-tsil* suffix in E197.b derelationalizes the noun for use without a possessor, so the high tone on the root vowel of the verb in E198.b derelationalizes the verb for use without an actor.

The functional unity of subject and possessor is perhaps most clearly brought out in nominalization. If a noun is derived from a transitive verb, the fate of the actor position needs to be decided. It may be left intact (ch. 3.2.2.2.1), in which case *nomen acti* formation applies, with minimal morphological apparatus. The semantic continuity is reflected in structural continuity, as the same pronouns are used for the actor of both the finite and the nominalized verb. Or else the actor position may be cancelled, which means application of gerundive formation (ch. 2.5.2; examples in E77). We saw that gerundive formation in Colonial YM blocks the possessor slot of relational nouns. This, too, confirms the grammatical parallelism of subject and possessor and the corresponding parallelism of transitive verb and relational noun in YM.

The relationality of a stem is intimately bound up with its meaning. In German, operations that change relationality, such as transitivity and detransitivization of a verbal stem, also affect its meaning. For instance, the derived verb *beladen*, as in E199.b, implies total affectedness of the goal Z, as opposed to the basis *laden* in a.

- E199. a. X lädt Y auf Z ‘X loads Y on Z’
 GERM b. X belädt Z mit Y ‘X loads Z with Y’

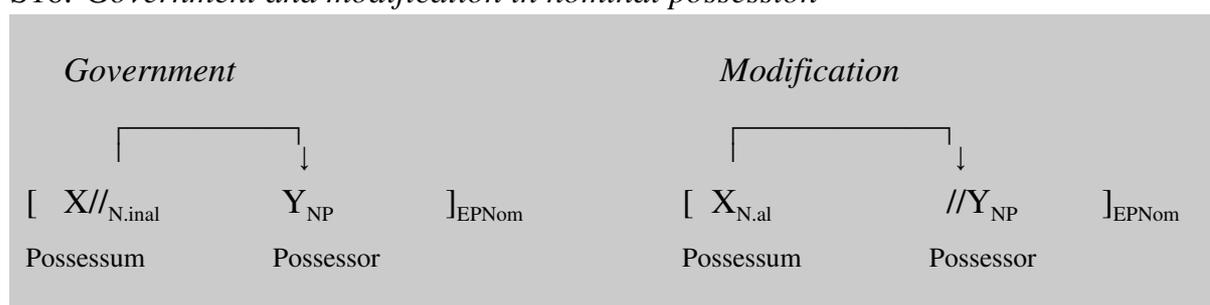
This is in consonance with the fact that in German, these are operations of word-formation. In contrast to this, the YM operations of relationalization and derelationalization do not affect the meaning of the basis. As was argued in ch. 3.2.2.2.2, they should be subsumed under inflection rather than word-formation.

It may be concluded that the same sensitivity to conceptual relationality that one observes in nominal grammar obtains in verbal grammar. YM is a language that has both its nominal and its verbal bases classified as to relationality and has to apply grammatical processes to them to change their relationality if the context requires different relational properties.

6.3. Prevalence of government over modification

A grammatical dependency relation between controller X and dependent Y can in principle be brought about either by X's or by Y's relationality. In the former case, X governs Y; in the latter case, Y modifies X (cf. Lehmann 1985). The choice between the two grammatical constructions depends on the relational properties of X and Y, which in turn depend, in principle, on the conceptual relationality of the meanings involved. If this principle manifested itself in a regular way in linguistic structure, we would find, in nominal possession, government of the possessor by the possessum whenever the latter is relational, but modification of the possessum by the possessor if the possessum is not relational (cf. Lehmann 1983, §3.3). S16 schematizes the prototypical situation.

S16. Government and modification in nominal possession



Cross-linguistic comparison reveals that, within nominal possession, the locus of government is indeed in inalienable possession, and the locus of modification is in alienable possession. However, grammatical relations are highly formalized, and their semantics is of a prototypical nature. A construction exhibiting the formal properties of government may appear in a situation where the governing item has no conceptual relationality; and a construction exhibiting formal properties of modification may be used even where the modified item is conceptually relational. This is an area where language-

specific significata deviate from conceptual structure and create a world of meaning peculiar to that language.

In Indo-European languages, e.g. in Greek, Latin, in the Slavic, Romance and Germanic languages, the construction of a possessive attribute typically involves a morpheme such as a genitive or a particle like Romance *de*, English *of*, which combines with the possessive NP and renders it capable of modifying the possessum nominal. Also, there are possessive pronouns whose bases differ from that of the personal pronouns and which, in most of these languages, agree with the possessed nominal in categories such as gender, number and case. Both the form of their base and their agreement behavior mark these as modifiers. These grammatical structures occur even in conceptually inalienable possession. That is, nominal possession is essentially modeled on the right-hand figure in S16.

In YM, it is just the other way around. As proven by external person agreement, all nominal possession is construed as government and, insofar, as inalienable possession. This is true, first of all, of conceptually relational nouns, which manifest as grammatically inalienable nouns. It is true of neutral nouns, which in nominal possession behave like inalienable ones. Finally, if the possessed noun is alienable, it would be conceivable that the possessive NP modified its head by means of a preposition such as *ti'* (cf. ch. 2.4.2). This, however, is not what happens. Instead, the alienable noun is equipped with a morpheme – the relational suffix or the possessive classifier – which renders it capable of behaving like a relational noun, so that this case, too, can be structured according to the government model, i.e. the left-hand figure in S16. There are, in fact, in YM no NPs or prepositional phrases or adverbials which could modify a nominal (cf. Lehmann 1992[Y], §4.3.2).

In Indo-European languages, the genitive or some particle fulfilling its function marks an NP as dependent on a nominal. This morpheme neutralizes all kinds of semantic relationships that may exist between the two entities. As a consequence, the typical traditional grammar has a lengthy chapter on the uses of the genitive, including those mentioned in ch. 1.2.2.2. The *genitivus auctoris*, for instance, is the meaning of the genitive in a phrase such as *John's book/picture*, where the possessor has made the artifact. A phrase such as *John's house* has an open set of interpretations, including ‘the house that John has built/destroyed/possesses/is talking about/dreams of’ (cf. Seiler 1982). Even body-part nouns as possessum are compatible with such readings. This is because, on the one hand, the lexical meaning of a possessor noun contributes in principle very little to the specification of the possessive relation and, on the other hand, the inherent semantic relationality of possessed nouns is made very limited use of and even ignored in the grammar of such languages (cf. p. iii).

Again, the opposite situation obtains in YM. There is no morpheme to mark an NP as an adnominal dependent. Instead, the relationship must be signalled on the head. If it is

inherent in the head, no special mark is needed. The lexical meaning of the head then determines the semantic relation. If the head is of such a nature that no particular semantic relationship to a possessive NP is inherent in it, then this relationship has to be marked. Where SAE languages have an almost unlimited number of interpretations of the genitive, YM has an open paradigm of possessive classifiers plus a relational suffix which disambiguate all such relations. The possessive classifier *mehen* (cf. E79.b) is YM's answer to the *genitivus auctoris*.

The possessive pronominal clitics are identical to the subject clitics (cf. ch. 3.2.1.1.1.1). Their base form does not mark them as oblique forms; they do not show their own syntactic function. They do not inflect and thus do not agree with their head nominal. They are consequently incapable of modifying the latter. The only way that a dependency relation between such a clitic and its head can be brought about is, thus, by government. From this viewpoint, the whole morphological machinery that YM puts to work in order to connect a possessor to a non-relational possessum may be seen as a compensation for the fact that the possessive dependents, in particular the possessive pronouns, do not modify the possessum.

It was seen in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.3 that inalienable nouns designating spatial regions provide the diachronic basis for prepositions. The internal syntax of the prepositional phrase is, in fact, entirely modeled on the internal syntax of the EPNP, as was already illustrated in E193 and E194. The same grammatical and phonological processes apply in the two constructions. Glide insertion operates in E193. Fronting of the construction containing an interrogative pronoun and replacement of the pronominal clitic preceding the preposition by the interrogative pronoun may be seen in E14, which is repeated here and may be compared to E34.c (cf. also E118).

E14 máax iknal ken-e'x yáax bin to'n-e'x?
 who at go.IMP-2.PL first go us-2.PL
 'whose place shall we (incl.) go to first?' (BVS 15.01.13)

In other languages, notably ancient Indo-European languages such as Sanskrit and Hittite, we find that the dependent cased NP is a modifier to its adposition. In YM, the grammar of possession is extended to the prepositional phrase, which means that another area of grammar is shaped by the model of government.

The same prevalence of government over modification can be found in the verbal sphere. As there is no case in YM, the verb directly governs its two central actants. The only verbal complement which is not directly governed is the prepositional complement which involves the preposition *ti'*, as in E177. No other preposition may be governed by the verb. Consequently, there is no grammatical process that could manipulate the relative involvement of a participant in a situation, its relative distance from the center. Besides the two processes of causativization and deagentivization, mentioned in ch. 6.2, there are corresponding processes affecting the undergoer, viz. extraversion and introversion. Each

of these four processes affords the possibility of either subjecting a certain participant to verbal government or eliminating it. None affords the possibility of adjoining it as a modifier or of having it governed more indirectly, as do the corresponding processes in many other languages. In particular, it was mentioned in ch. 5.2.2 that there is no grammatical relation for the beneficiary; instead, the benefactive relation is modeled on the possessive relation.

Overall, YM syntax relies heavily on government. This structures the manifestation of possession both in reference and in predication. In reference, the consequence is that the EPNom involves government and displays external agreement and that the relational properties of the possessed noun determine the grammar of the construction. In predication, the consequence is that possessors of inalienable possessa are not dissociated from these. Instead, predication is made over possessed NPs. There is one verb, the existence verb *yàan*, which provides a valency position for a possessor NP. In all other cases, especially those of indirect involvement of the possessor, the verbal grammar provides no possibility of accommodating a possessor constituent, since it is not governed by the verb and there is no way of having it modify the verbal.

6.4. Person backgrounding

In ch. 5.2, we saw that in a situation which indirectly affects an empathic being because it is the possessor of an entity which is affected directly, many European languages give prominence to that being in the syntax by making it depend directly on the governing verb. YM E164, which is repeated here as E200.a, translates into European languages as in b - d.

E200. a. yah in nak'
 sore POSS.1.SG belly 'my belly hurts'

SPAN b. me duele la barriga

GERM c. mir tut der Bauch weh
 me does DEF.M.SG belly sore/pain

BULG d. boli me korem- Θ
 hurt:3.SG me belly-DEF

Consider a situation with a human participant who is indirectly involved in it. At the cognitive level, there is a difference in the kind of involvement if that participant is affected by the situation as a whole, in a benefactive or malefactive role, or whether his essential role in the situation is to possess another participant in the situation. The prototypical syntactic function used to render the former situation is the indirect object or dative adjunct, while the prototypical syntactic function used in the latter situation is the possessive attribute. However, as mentioned in the preceding section, languages extend

the range of their grammatical devices beyond their prototypical function. In ch. 5.2.2 it was seen that YM extends the range of the possessive attribute beyond its “proper” application into a domain where many languages use the indirect object or dative adjunct. There are, of course, languages that behave the other way around, i.e. which use a dative adjunct even in situations which are not directed towards the human participant in question and where the latter does in fact possess another participant. In this sense, Bulgarian may be opposed to YM, as in E201.

| | | | | | |
|----------|---------------|--------------------------|-----------|---------|-------------------|
| E201. a. | t-in | sat-ah | in | tàak'in | |
| | PAST-SBJ.1.SG | lose(ABS.3.SG) | POSS.1.SG | money | ‘I lost my money’ |
| BULG b. | zagub-ikh | si | pari-te | | |
| | lose-AOR.1.SG | REFL.3.SG ¹²⁵ | money-DEF | ditto | |

In this area, one could set up a little typology founded on the use of the possessive attribute vs. the indirect object/dative adjunct in the cognitive area of indirect involvement of a participant. A continuum of languages would emerge, with YM close to the pole of maximum extension of the possessive attribute and Bulgarian¹²⁶ close to the pole of maximum extension of the dative adjunct.¹²⁷

Since the syntactic processes involved are generally sensitive to the empathy hierarchy, they are here subsumed under the general principles of **person foregrounding** and **person backgrounding**. In ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2, we found a rule according to which a part can only be possessed by its immediate superordinate whole. The application of this rule to parts of things entails that they cannot be possessed by animate beings. In ch. 4.3.2, we saw that if both a possessive relationship and a property are to be attributed to an entity, then YM prefers to syntactically background the former even if it is established, and to foreground the latter, while languages like English prefer to foreground the former even if it is inherent, and to background the latter. These are, thus, two more areas inside the domain of possession in YM which serve to background empathic beings in comparison with the relevant situation in European languages.

There are two more areas of syntax which may be analyzed in this way. Modal operators over a proposition generally manifest themselves structurally as personal modal verbs in Romance and Germanic languages. In YM, such operators are either no verbs at all, such

¹²⁵ The reflexive pronoun generally appears in the unmarked third person.

¹²⁶ Cf. König & Haspelmath 1998 in general and §6 in particular on Bulgarian. Another language which behaves extremely in this respect is Portuguese. It has constructions such as *investiguei-lhe as origens* (investigate:PAST.1.SG-IND.OBJ.3.SG DEF.F.PL origin:PL) ‘I investigated its origins’, where the participant which is indirectly involved is not even animate. Here belong, too, those languages which are said to have the verb agree with the possessor of the subject/absolutive instead of with the subject/absolutive itself; cf. Lehmann 1982:213.

¹²⁷ Such a typology is proposed in Lehmann et al. 2000[D].

as *k'abéet* ‘necessary’, or they are impersonal verbs, such as *bèey-tal* ‘be possible’. E202 with its translation illustrates the contrast. Similarly, phase operators over a proposition, such as *chúun* ‘start’ or *ts'o'k* ‘end’, generally manifest themselves structurally as personal phase verbs in Romance and Germanic languages, but as impersonal verbs in YM. This is illustrated by E203.

- E202. *k'abéet* in *bèet-ik*
 necessary SBJ.1.SG make-INCMPL ‘I have to do it’
- E203. *k-u* *ts'o'k-ol* in *bèet-ik*
 IMPF-SBJ.3 end-INCMPL SBJ.1.SG make-INCMPL ‘I finish doing it’

The impersonal strategy preferred by YM makes the whole clause depend, as a subject complement, on the operator constituent and leaves the animate subject in that clause. The personal strategy preferred by the Romance and Germanic languages makes the central participant of the operand proposition the subject of the construction and, consequently, of the verb representing the operator, and has the rest of the proposition depend as a complement on that verb.

Given a situation in which an animate being has a logically subordinate role in the sense that it is only mediately related to the main predicate, person foregrounding gives priority to empathy and features the animate being in a relatively prominent syntactic position, while person backgrounding gives priority to logical relations and leaves the animate being in a subordinate syntactic position. In situations with indirect affection of a possessor, with modal and phasal operators, Romance and Germanic languages prefer person foregrounding, while YM prefers person backgrounding (cf. Lehmann et al. 2000[P]).

The meticulousness with which YM manifests conceptual relationality at the grammatical level, and the bias towards person backgrounding, have a common source, viz. the principle to iconically reflect inherent conceptual relations in grammatical structure.

Appendix

Body part terms¹²⁸

1. Neutral

| | |
|----------|--------------------|
| ch'ala't | rib ¹²⁹ |
| he' | egg |
| kama'ch | lower jaw |
| koh | tooth; neb |
| màay | hoof |
| tsem | chest |

2. Inalienable

(inabsoluble)

| | |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| áak | tongue |
| a'l | fontanel |
| bobox | buttocks, rump |
| chíim | crop; scrotum ¹³⁰ |
| chi' | mouth |
| chon | pubic hair |
| he'h | groin |
| ho'l | head; head hair |
| ich | eye, face |
| íich'ak | finger nail |
| ìim | bosom |
| ít | backside |
| kàal | neck |
| keléembal | shoulder |
| kèep | penis |
| kúuk | elbow |
| k'áah | gall |
| k'ab | hand, arm |
| k'o'ch | Adam's apple |
| máatsab | eyelash; antena |

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| me'x | mustache |
| mòoch' | talon |
| mohton | eyebrow |
| mo'l | claw |
| nabka'n | palate |
| nak' | belly |
| nèeh | tail |
| ni' | nose; snout |
| no'ch | chin |
| òochel | shadow ¹³¹ |
| òok | foot, leg |
| óol | mind, spirit |
| óox | scab |
| pàach | back |
| pàachkab | nape ¹³² |
| péek-òok | thigh ¹³³ |
| pèel | vagina |
| píix | knee |
| pu'ch ¹³⁴ | back |
| p'òol ¹³⁵ | head |
| p'u'k | cheek |
| sak-óol | lung |
| síim | slime |

¹²⁸ The list was completed using a course handout of Fidencio Briceño Chel. The first list of this kind is in Coronel 1620:107-110.

¹²⁹ *Ch'ala't* is alienable in Bricker et al. 1998: 359.

¹³⁰ Originally, any bag.

¹³¹ Although *òochel* ends in *-el*, it does not belong to the alienable body-part nouns, for a form *òoch* does not exist.

¹³² Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980 has two examples with *POSS pachkabil*, from the same colonial source. In Modern Maya, the noun is inalienable.

¹³³ Preferably of an animal. This is a real compound, not a stacked possessed nominal. For some speakers, it is in the alienable class.

¹³⁴ *Pàach* and *pu'ch* are largely synonymous.

¹³⁵ *Ho'l* and *pòol* are largely synonymous, although *pòol* may be used more in figurative senses, as illustrated in ch. 3.2.3.1.2.2.

| | | | |
|--------------------------|---------------------|----------|---------------------|
| táan ¹³⁶ | forehead | k'ewel | (animal) skin, hide |
| tuch'ub ¹³⁷ | index finger | k'i'k' | blood |
| túb | saliva | k'u'k'um | feather |
| tùuch | navel | mòol | anus |
| tùunkuy ¹³⁸ | heel | ot' | (human) skin |
| tùux | dimple | puksi'k' | heart |
| t'óon | calf-muscle | si'n | backbone |
| tselek | shin | táaman | liver |
| ts'a'y | canine tooth | tso'ts | hair |
| wi't' | rump ¹³⁹ | tsùuk | paunch |
| xàaw ¹⁴⁰ | talon | ts'oy | scar |
| x-bak'éet ¹⁴¹ | buttocks | ts'o'm | brain |
| xìik' | arm-pit | xìich' | tendon |
| xikin | ear | | |

3. Alienable

(convertible)

| | |
|--------|---------------------|
| bàak | bone |
| bak' | flesh |
| bóox | lip |
| chòoch | intestines |
| hobon | abdominal cavity |
| kukut | bulb ¹⁴² |

¹³⁶ The term for 'forehead' in Colonial YM is *lek*.

¹³⁷ Instrument noun derived in *-Vb* from transitive verb *tuch'* 'stretch'.

¹³⁸ In Colonial YM, this was *tonkuy* (Arzápalo Marín 1995), composed of *ton* ? and *kùuy* 'ankle'. The first part was probably replaced, by folk-etymology, by *tùun* 'stone'.

¹³⁹ *u wi't'* POSS *si'nel/pàach* 'the lower part of POSS vertebra'

¹⁴⁰ *Mòoch'* and *xàaw* are largely synonymous, both meaning 'claw of a bird'.

¹⁴¹ Compound of *x-bak'-el ùit* (F-flesh-REL backside), which, apart from the prefix, is the lemma in Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980.

¹⁴² With allomorph *-il* instead of *-el*. The word now means neither 'body' nor 'skin', as in the

older sources of Barrera Vásquez et al. 1980.

Indices

Abbreviations

Morpheme glosses

| | | | |
|----------|------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| 0 | meaningless element | M | masculine |
| 1 | first person | NEG | negator |
| 2 | second person | NEGF | final part of discontinuous negator |
| 3 | third person | | |
| ABS | absolute | NOM | nominative |
| ABSOL | absolutivizer | NR | nominalizer |
| ACC | accusative | PASS | passive |
| ADJ | adjective | PAST | past |
| ADVR | adverbializer | PERF | perfect |
| AG | agent | PL | plural |
| AOR | aorist | POSS | possessive |
| CAUS | causative | PROC | processive |
| CL | (numeral or possessive) classifier | PROG | progressive |
| CMPL | completive | PRSV | presentative |
| CONN | connective | REFL | reflexive |
| D1 | proximal deictic | REL | relationalizer |
| D2 | distal deictic | SBJ | subject |
| D3 | textual deictic | SBSTR | substantivizer |
| DEB | debitive | SG | singular |
| DEF | definite | SPONT | spontaneous |
| EXIST | exist(ence verb) | SUBJ | subjunctive |
| EXTRAFOC | extrafocal | TERM | terminative |
| F | feminine | TOP | topic |
| FACT | factitive | TRR | transitivizer |
| FUT | future | US | usative |
| GEN | genitive | | |
| GER | gerundive | | |
| IMM | immediate | | |
| IMP | imperative | | |
| IMPF | imperfective | | |
| INCMPL | incompletive | | |
| INT | interrogative | | |
| LOC | locative | | |

Syntactic categories

| | |
|-------|----------------------------|
| Abs | absolute suffix |
| Adj | adjective |
| Asp | aspect |
| EPNom | expanded possessed nominal |
| EPNP | expanded possessed NP |

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| N | noun | Poss.Class | possessive classifier |
| N _{al} | alienable noun | Poss.Clit | possessive clitic |
| N _{inal} | inalienable noun | Pr | possessor |
| Nom | nominal | PrepP | prepositional phrase |
| NP | noun phrase | S | clause |
| Num.Class | numeral classifier | SPNom | simple possessed nominal |
| Pm | possessum | | |
| PNom | possessed nominal | Subj.Clit | subject clitic |
| | | Tr.V.Complex | transitive verb complex |
| | | Tr.V.Stem | transitive verb stem |

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