Double locatives: the case of external possession in Yaqui

Lilián Guerrero & Valeria A. Belloro
Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México & Universidad Autónoma de Querétaro

It is well known that languages have more than one structure for encoding the relation between a possessor and a possessee, and that their distribution usually correlates with different semantic relationships, e.g., kinship terms, body parts, garments, natural entities, domestic animals, and the ownership of other personal objects (Heine 1997; Stolz et al. 2008). The Yaqui language is not the exception (Uto-Aztecan, Mexico). At the phrase level, a possessive relation can be expressed by juxtaposition (1a), possessive phrases (1b) and genitive phrases (1c); in the later, the possessor takes the accusative case marker. These are cases of internal possession (the two participants form a single constituent). At the clause level, Yaqui also has the so-called possessive clauses taking a possessive verb (1d).

(1)   a.   waka   beea
           cow   skin
           'The cow's skin'

      b.   em   koba
           2SG.POS   head
           'your head'

      c.   Joan-ta   kari
           Juan-ACC   house
           'John's house'

      d.   Empo   bwe   koba-ta   jippue
           2SG.NOM   big   head-ACC   have
           'You have big head.'

This paper focuses on external possessor constructions involving body parts (Heine 1997; Payne & Barshi 1999; Haspelmath 1999; Lødrup 2009). In the constructions in (2), the possessor occurs within a constituent separate from that which contains the body, there is no possessive verb, the body part is marked by the (general) locative postposition -po, and the coding of the possessor varies. The basic (unmarked) structure involves the external possessor as the nominative subject and the body part as a locative argument; the literal meaning of (2a) would be 'Mary burned on [her] hand'. In (2b), there is an applicative morpheme, and the possessor takes accusative case, 'He/she squashed me the fingers'. The intriguing examples are (2c-f). In (2c), the possessor is coded by an accusative pronoun but there is no applicative morpheme, 'the boy scratched me on the face'; in (2d) the possessor takes the directional postpositional marker -u (i.e., dative-like marker), something like 'the woman took the scarf on the neck to her'; in (2e-f), the possessor is marked by the locative postposition -(e)t 'on, over', 'I put the necklace on the neck on her'. Thus, there is an additional participant that is not a part of the valency of the verb: the possessor counts as a core argument and the verb does not carry any valency-changing morpheme.

(2)   a.   [Maria-Ø]   [mam-po]   taja-k
           María-NOM   hand-LOC   burn-PFV
           'Mary burned her hand.' (lit. burn on the hand)

b. Aapo   [mam-pusiam]   [nee]   pueta-po   pitta-ria-k
    3SG.NOM hand-finger.PL 1SG.ACC door-LOC   squash-APPL-PFV
    'He/She squashed my fingers in the door.' (lit. squashed me the fingers)

c. U   ili   miisi-Ø   [pujba-po] [nee]   witta-k
    DET little cat-NOM   face-LOC   1SG.ACC   scratch-PFV
    'The little cat scratched my face.' (lit. scratched me on the face)

d. U   jamut-Ø$_i$ tajoorim   [kuta-naa-po]   [a-u$_i$]   u'ura-k
    DET woman-NOM cloth.ACC.PL neck-around-LOC 3SG.OBL-DIR take-PFV
    'The woman took off the scarf on her neck.' (lit. took the scarf on the neck to her)

e. Inepo   [kutanaa-po] koka-ta   [a-et]   yecha-k
    1SG.NOM   neck-LOC   necklace-ACC 3SG.OBL-LOC   put-PFV
    'I put the necklace on her neck.' (lit. put on her the necklace on the neck)

f. U   baiseebolim-Ø   [mam-po]   [ne-t]   yejte-k
    DET butterfly-NOM   hand-LOC   1SG.OBL-LOCC stand-PFV
    'The butterfly stood in my hand.' (lit. stood on the hand on me)

We first analyze whether the Yaqui data belong to the well-known 'possessor raising' or 'dative' external possession found in European and Mesoamerican languages (e.g. *yo le corté el cabello* 'I cut his hair', *le pegué en la pierna* 'I hit him on the leg'; Conti 2011; Palancar & Zavala 2013). We demonstrate that Yaqui data satisfy some of the affectedness conditions proposed by Haslpemath (1999), namely the referential, inalienability and situational hierarchies, and the fact that the possessor and the possessee do not belong to the same phrase. However, the syntactic relation hierarchy is disfavored: although the possessee is expressed as a locative PP, the coding of the possessor as a dative-like argument (2d) is unusual. In fact, Yaqui prefers to demote both, the possesee and the possessor. We also examine how Yaqui external possessors can be accommodated in Role and Reference Grammar (Van Valin 2005). First, the construction in (2c) can be represented by the logical structure [LS] in (3a); however, (2d-f) cannot be captured by the regular LS for a three-place predicate (3b) because in it there are three argument positions only; instead, we propose the LS in (3c). The second problem to solve is the assignment of the Undergoer macrorole. In Yaqui, only accusative arguments can serve as the passive subject, hence the Undergoer (Guerrero & Van Valin 2004). In external possessive constructions, only the accusative possessor in (2b-c) shows the same syntactic privilege (Undergoer). The constructions in (2d-f) do not take Undergoer macrorole (i.e., are M-intransitive). A third problem is how the locative coding of the possessor and possessee can be predicted from the LS of these constructions. In (3c) we propose the component BECOME **be-at'** (x, y) in order to highlight the locative meanings over the possessive meaning in (3b). A final problem is the assignation rules for the two locative postpositions: the general locative *-po* 'on' marking the body part (the first argument of the first locative component), and the specific locative *-(e)t* 'on, above' and the directional *-u* 'to' marking the external possessor (the first argument of the second locative component).

(3) a. [**do'** (cat, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **scratched'** (1sg, face)]
    b. [**do'** (1sg, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **have'** (neck, necklace)]   possessor?
    c. [**do'** (1sg, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-at'** (neck, necklace)] & [BECOME **have'** (3sg, necklace)]

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