

UC Santa Barbara

Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies

Title

Possessor Ascension in Taglennaa (Kordofan Nubian)

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/1sv5806n>

Journal

Dotawo: A Journal of Nubian Studies, 2(1)

Author

Gulfan, Gumma Ibrahim

Publication Date

2015-06-01

DOI

10.5070/D62110011

Copyright Information

This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, available at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/>

Peer reviewed

Possessor Ascension in Taglennaa (Kordofan Nubian)

171

Gumma Ibrahim Gulfan

1. Introduction

Taglennaa is a Kordofan Nubian language. The term Taglennaa, which literally means the language of the people of Tagle, is derived from Tagle-n-ii-n-aa which is in turn derived from Tagle-n-ini-n-aa where ii/ini means “people,” aa means “language, speech” and -n is the genitive marker. Taglennaa is spoken in the village of Tagle which is situated on the eastern side of the Kadaru Hills. These hills are commonly known by their Arabic name *al-jibaal al-sitta*, “the six hills.” The other five communities sharing the hills with Tagle are: Kadaru, Dabatna, Kuldaji, Kurtala, and Kafer. The linguistically related communities of Jebel al-Dair, Dilling, and Ghulfan lie to the east, west, and south west of the Kadaru Hills, respectively. Taglennaa is mutually intelligible with the other languages of *al-jibaal al-sitta* as well as with the languages of Jebel al-Dair and Uncu. Hence, the possessor ascension (PA) analysis provided here may apply to a great extent to all aforementioned languages. The data in this paper are based on the author’s insights and knowledge of the Tagle language as a native speaker.

Taglennaa is an SOV language. Direct objects, indirect objects, and oblique constituents tend to occur before the verb. However, the relative order of these elements is not strictly fixed. Subjects are not case-marked in Taglennaa. Both direct and indirect objects are marked with the accusative marker -gɪ or one of its phonologically conditioned variants. Transitive and intransitive verbs have distinct sets of aspect and modality markers. Two of these markers, *nal* and *bol* mark the ability modalities. The suffix *nal* is used with transitive verbs while *bol* is used with intransitive verbs. These aspect markers are glossed as *COMPL1* and *COMPL2*, respectively. They are used

in this paper for the purpose of illustrating contrasts between transitive and intransitive clauses.

There are two ways for expressing possessor relations in Taglennaa, as exhibited in exx. 1a and 1b below.¹

172

- 1a komul onuna ɪyɔɪ uggenammin
 komul onu-na ɪy-gɪ urge-nal-min
 camel donkey-GEN tail-ACC trample.ON-COMPL1-3SG.PST
 “The camel has trampled on the donkey’s tail”
- 1b komul onugi ɪyɔɔ uggenammin
 komul onu-gi ɪy-ɲɔɔ urge-nal-min
 camel donkey-ACC tail-LOC trample.ON-COMPL1-3SG.PST
 “The camel trampled the donkey on his tail”

As shown in the base construction in ex. 1a, both possessor and possessed can appear in a single possessive noun phrase headed by the possessed. Here the possessive noun phrase, *onu-na ɪy* “the donkey’s tail,” has the structure NP_1 -GEN NP_2 where NP_1 is the possessor and NP_2 is the possessed. The possessor is marked with the genitive marker *-n* or its allomorph *-na* depending on the phonological environment.

Alternatively, in *PA* constructions, the possessor and the possessed can appear as distinct constituents of the clause, as shown in ex. 1b, where *onu* is accusative-marked by *-gi* while *ɪy* is locative-marked by *-ɲɔɔ*. Nevertheless, *onu* is interpreted as possessor rather than as a patient.

Constructions similar to ex. 1b are said to be derivations from constructions similar to ex. 1a and have been analyzed using different linguistic frameworks and given various definitions such as:

- ▶ Enlarged/Extended Arguments²
- ▶ *PA*³
- ▶ Applicative Constructions⁴
- ▶ Possessor Raising⁵
- ▶ Possessor Agreement⁶
- ▶ External Possession⁷

According to these analyses, *PA* constructions have the following key characteristics:

- 1 The first line in each of the examples shows how the examples are realized in Taglennaa while the second line shows how they are morphologically composed.
- 2 SIMANGO, “Enlarged arguments in Bantu: Evidence from Chichewa.”
- 3 ROBINSON, “Possessor Ascension in Generative Grammar.”
- 4 FOX, “Body Part Syntax: Towards a Universal Characterization.”
- 5 BARSHI & PAYNE, “The Interpretation of ‘Possessor Raising’ in a Maasai Dialect.”
- 6 CHO & LEE, “Possessor Agreement as Theta Feature Sharing.”
- 7 DEAL, “External Possession and Possessor Raising.”

- ▶ There is an overt or implied possessor relationship expressed by genitives in the base constructions such as ex. 1a from which PA constructions such as ex. 1b are derived;
- ▶ The possessor noun phrase assumes the syntactic function of its host phrase, i.e. it is the object of a transitive clause or subject of an intransitive clause, and the possessed noun phrase becomes an oblique argument;
- ▶ Verbs, including intransitive verbs, take extra arguments;
- ▶ These extra arguments are interpreted as having the semantic role of possessor rather than patient or agent;
- ▶ They express the fact that the referent of the possessor noun phrase is affected by actions or events which are directly impacting the referent of the possessed noun phrase;

Since PA is the most commonly used term for describing this phenomenon it has been adopted in this paper.

The objective of this paper is to present a number of constructions in Taglennaa which have similar characteristics to those listed above. The paper will focus on:

1. The factors that are associated with the realization of PA in Taglennaa, particularly transitivity, verb class, and the type of the underlying genitive relation in the base construction.
2. The different ways in which PA can be realized in Taglennaa.

The paper will proceed as follows: An overview of PA strategies in Taglennaa will be provided in section 2 and 3, followed by a presentation of the individual strategies in sections 4 to 7. A summary of the main findings is provided in section 8.

2. An Overview of PA in Taglennaa

Evidence of PA in Taglennaa has already been provided in ex. 1.b above. Exx. 2 to 6 below present five manifestations of PA, as it occurs in five distinct situations, see subsections 1–5 below. More details on PA scenarios are provided in section 3.

2.1 PA in a transitive clause with the possessive noun phrase functioning as a direct object

In the base construction in ex. 2a the possessive noun phrase *onu-ry* is the syntactic object of the clause and case-marked by *-gɪ*. In the PA construction in ex. 2b, *onu* is marked by the accusative marker *-gi* while *ry* is marked by the locative marker *-ndɔɔ*.

- 2a komul onuna ɪyɣɪ uggenammin
 komul onu-na ɪy-ɣɪ urge-nal-min
 camel donkey-GEN tail-ACC trample.on-COMPL1-3SG.PST
 “The camel has trampled on the donkey’s tail”

174

- 2b komul onugi ɪyɛɔɔ uggenalmin
 komul onu-gi ɪy-ɛɔɔ urge-nal-min
 camel donkey-ACC tail-LOC trample.on-COMPL1-3SG.PST
 “The camel has trampled the donkey on its tail”

2.2 PA in an intransitive clause with the possessive noun phrase functioning as a subject

In ex. 3a the possessive noun phrase *onu-na ɪy* is the unmarked syntactic subject of the intransitive base clause. In ex. 3b the possessor *onu* appears as an object marked by the accusative marker *-gi* while the possessed *ɪy* functions as the subject. This illustrates how intransitive verbs in Taglennaa can take one more argument than their argument frame structure would normally allow as a result of PA.

- 3a onuna ɪy ɖɔɽɪbommin
 onu-na ɪy ɖɔɽɪ-bol-min
 donkey-GEN tail cut.off-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “The donkey’s tail has been severed”

- 3b onugi ɪy ɖɔɽɪbommin
 onu-gi ɪy ɖɔɽɪ-bol-min
 donkey-ACC tail cut.off-COMPL2.3SG.PST
 “The donkey had its tail severed”

2.3 PA in a transitive clause with the possessive noun phrase functioning as a subject

In ex. 4a the possessive noun phrase *komul-na kugdu* is the unmarked syntactic subject (and semantic agent) in the transitive base clause. In the PA construction in ex. 4b *komul* is the unmarked subject while *kugdu* is marked by the instrumental marker *-ko*.

- 4a komulna kuddu onugi uggenammin
 komul-na kugdu onu-gi urge-nal-min
 camel-GEN leg donkey-ACC trample.on-COMPL1-3SG.PST
 “The camel’s leg has trampled the donkey”

komul kuddukɔ onugi uggenamɪn 4b
 komul kugdɔ-kɔ onu-gi urge-nal-min
 camel leg-INST donkey-ACC trample.ON-COMPL1-3SG.PST
 “The camel has trampled the donkey with its leg”

2.4 PA in a transitive clause with a durative verb and a possessive noun phrase functioning as a direct object

175

In the base construction in ex. 5a the possessive noun phrase *onuna ɪy-gi* is the accusative-marked object of the clause while in ex. 5b both *onu* and *ɪy* are marked with the accusative marker *-gi*. Moreover, the durative verb *akɪ* is marked with the applicative marker *-nd*.

onuna ɪyɪ tɪɲtɔ akɪnalɛ 5a
 onu-na ɪy-gi tɪɲ-kɔ akɪ-nal-ɛ
 donkey-GEN tail-ACC oil-INST rub-COMPL1-1SG.PST
 “I have rubbed the donkey’s tail with oil”

onugi ɪyɪ tɪɲtɔ akɪnalɛ 5b
 onu-gi ɪy-gi tɪɲ-kɔ akɪ-nal-nd-ɛ
 donkey-ACC tail-ACC oil-INST rub-COMPL1-APPL-1SG.PST
 “I have rubbed the donkey’s tail with oil” /
 “I have rubbed the donkey with oil on his tail”

2.5 PA in a transitive clause with a punctual verb and a possessive noun phrase functioning as a direct object

In the base construction in ex. 6a the possessive noun phrase *onuna ʊr* is the syntactic object of the clause. In the PA construction in ex. 6b *onu* is accusative-marked by *-gi* while *ʊr* is marked by the locative marker *-ndɔɔ*.

onuna ʊgɪ kitenale 6a
 onu-na ʊr-gi kite-nal-e
 donkey-GEN head-ACC touch-COMPL1-1SG.PST
 “I have touched the donkey’s head”

onugi ʊndɔɔ kitenale 6b
 onu-gi ʊr-ndɔɔ kite-nal-e
 donkey-ACC head-LOC touch-COMPL1-1SG.PST
 “I have touched the donkey’s head” /
 “I have touched the donkey on his head”

The (a) sentences in the above examples represent the base possessive noun phrase constructions from which the PA constructions in

the (b) sentences have been derived. This scheme will be followed throughout this paper unless stated otherwise.

In exx. 2a, 3a, 5a, and 6a *onu* is a noun bearing a possessor relation to *ıy* and *ur* in the possessive noun phrases *onu-na ıy* and *onu-na ur* of which *ıy* and *ur* are the heads, respectively. These noun phrases function as direct objects of the clauses in exx. 2a, 5a, and 6a and as a subject in ex. 3a.

As a result of the PA process, *onu* has ascended to take over the position of a direct object in ex. 2b, and the position of indirect object in 5b and 6b while *ıy* and *ur* have lost their status as the heads of the possessive noun phrase and have been relegated to oblique elements marked with locative case marker.

Likewise in ex. 3b, *onu* has ascended to the position of direct object in an intransitive clause. This is attested by the accusative marker *-gi* on *onu* and the aspect marker *-bol* on the intransitive verb *çıttı*. The subject of the intransitive clause, *ıy*, is not affected by this process.

In ex. 4a, *komul* is a noun bearing a possessor relation to *kügdü* in the possessive noun phrase *komul-na kügdü* which functions as the syntactic subject (with the semantic role of agent) of the clause. As a result of the PA process, *komul* has ascended to take over the function of subject in the clause in ex. 4b. Meanwhile, *kügdü* has lost its status as the head of the possessive noun phrase and has been relegated to an oblique element with an instrumental case marker.

The examples show that in all cases the possessor ascends to assume a new grammatical relation. In transitive clauses, it ascends to the position of subject or object depending on whether the host possessive noun phrase originally functioned as a subject, as seen in ex. 4b or as an object, as seen in ex. 2b. In ditransitive clauses it ascends to the position of indirect object as seen in ex. 5b. In intransitive clauses, the possessor ascends to become a direct object, as seen in ex. 2b. The argument frames of the verbs involved have been enlarged to allow extra arguments. This is also possible for intransitive verbs. As intransitive verbs do not categorize for objects, these extra arguments are interpreted by speakers of the language as having the semantic role of a possessor rather than the semantic role of patient or agent.

3. PA strategies

PA constructions are derived from certain genitive relations in Taglennaa: possessor relations, body-part relations and whole-part relations. Moreover, they are used only with a small set of semantically defined verb classes: verbs of change of state, verbs of impact by

contact, and causative verbs. They are used to express the affectedness of the referents of possessors in possessive noun phrase with actions, events, or processes which have direct impact on the referents of the possessed noun phrase. When a possessor noun phrase is an agent, PA constructions are used to express its responsibility for the action denoted by the verb. There are a number of PA scenarios that can be grouped into five strategies in Taglennaa. The scenarios are governed by the following factors:

- ▶ The transitivity of the verb in the base construction
- ▶ The syntactic function of the possessive noun phrase: subject or object
- ▶ The semantically defined class of the verb in the clause.

PA scenarios manifest themselves in the syntactic functions the possessors ascend to assume combined with how the possessed noun phrases are marked:

- ▶ Scenario 1: The possessor ascends to direct object and the possessed is not marked: **No possessed marking strategy** (ex. 3).
- ▶ Scenario 2: The possessor ascends to direct object and the possessed is marked as locative: **Locative marking strategy** (ex. 2).
- ▶ Scenario 3: The possessor ascends to indirect object and the verb is marked as an applicative: **Indirect object marking strategy** (ex. 5).
- ▶ Scenario 4: The possessor ascends to subject and the possessed is marked as locative: **Locative marking strategy** (ex. 6).
- ▶ Strategy 5: The possessor ascends to subject and the possessed is marked as instrumental: **Instrumental marking strategy** (ex. 4).

Further analysis is provided for each strategy in the following sections concentrating on the following topics:

- ▶ Applicable clause types
- ▶ Applicable verb classes
- ▶ How is PA realized?
- ▶ Relevant genitive relations

4. No possessed marking strategy

This strategy applies to two classes of intransitive verbs: (i) internally caused change of state verbs, and (ii) externally caused change of state verbs. In the base construction, the whole possessive noun phrase functions as the subject of the clause. Under this PA strategy, the possessor loses its genitive marking and ascends as an extra argument to assume the syntactic function of direct object in the clause. The possessed, being the only remaining element after PA, takes on the role of the subject. Since subjects are not case-marked in Taglennaa, the possessed surfaces unmarked. The accusative-

marked possessor is interpreted as having the semantic role of possessor rather than that of patient.

4.1 PA with internally caused change of state verbs

178

Verbs of internally caused change of state express atelic and gradual physical and non-physical changes that impact body-parts (ex. 7) and changes in emotional conditions (ex. 8) or social status that affect animate entities (ex. 9). The type of changes that are expressed by these verbs are not initiated by external forces nor are they controlled by entities that undergo these changes. PA constructions are used to express the affectedness of the referents of the possessor noun phrase with such changes.

Exx. 7–9 below provide instances of PA involving verbs of internally caused change of state. The (b) sentences in the examples represent the PA constructions derived from the (a) sentences which represent the underlying or base possessor constructions.

In all three examples, Musa, the possessor noun phrase, loses the genitive marking as a result of PA, takes accusative marking and assumes the function of direct object, albeit in intransitive clauses. Meanwhile, the possessed noun phrases *ifi*, *mal*, and *er* lose their positions as heads of their possessive noun phrases. The verbs in the examples – all intransitive verbs – have arguments marked as direct objects as a result of PA.

Even though the (a) sentences are grammatically sound, their PA counterparts are more likely to be used by speakers of the language in these situations.

- ▶ PA with internally caused change of physical state verbs
- 7a Musa-na ifi teri-bol-min
Musa-GEN hand be.numb.COMPL2-3SG.PST
“Musa’s hand has become numb”
- 7b Musagi ifi teri-bol-min
Musa-ACC hand be.numb-COMPL2-3SG.PST
“Musa has his hand become numb”
- ▶ PA with internally caused change of non-physical (emotional) state verbs
- 8a Musa-na mal tibommin
Musa-GEN hope die-COMPL2-3SG.PST
“Musa has lost hope (lit. Musa’s hope has died)”

Musagi mal tibommin 8a
 Musa-gɪ mal ti-bol-min
 Musa-ACC hope die-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Musa has lost hope”

- ▶ PA with internally caused change of non-physical (social status) state verbs 179

Musana er doyibommin 9a
 Musa-na er doyi-bol-min
 Musa-GEN name be.damaged-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Musa has lost his (good) reputation (lit. Musa’s name is damaged)”

Musagi er doyibommin 9b
 Musa-gɪ er doyi-bol-min
 Musa-ACC name be.damaged-COMPL2.3SG.PST
 “Musa has his reputation damaged”

4.2 *Body part idioms*

There are also situations where possessive constructions would be semantically unsound to use and as such, only PA constructions are used. Body part idioms are the most obvious example of situations where only PA constructions are used to express affectedness by internally caused changes of state. Body part idioms are used in Taglennaa in conjunction with internally caused change of state verbs to express both physical and non-physical changes, as shown exx. 10 and 11. As evidenced in other situations, the use of PA in these situations may be explained by the contiguity of the body part to its possessor.⁸

- ▶ PA with body-part idiom denoting change in physical state 10a

*Musana il tibommin
 Musa-na il ti-bol-min
 Musa-GEN body die-COMPL2-3SG.PST

Musagi il tibommin 10b
 Musa-gɪ il ti-bol-min
 Musa-ACC body die-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Musa has become paralyzed”

- ▶ PA with body-part idiom denoting change in non-physical state 11a

*Ahmedna ur firibommin
 Ahmed-na ur firɪ-bol-min
 Ahmed-GEN head be.silent.COMPL2-3SG.PST

8 Fox, “Body Part Syntax: Towards a Universal Characterization.”

- 11b Ahmedgɪ ʊr ʃɪɾɪbomɪn
 Ahmed-gɪ ʊr ʃɪɾɪ-bol-mɪn
 Ahmed-ACC head be.silent-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Ahmed has become stunned (lit. Ahmed’s head has become silent)”

180

4.3 PA with externally caused change of state verbs

Externally caused change of state verbs express dynamic and telic physical changes of state caused by external forces. PA constructions involving these verbs express affectedness of animate and inanimate referents of possessor noun phrases by actions or events impacting on the referents of the possessed objects, i.e. they apply to both animate and inanimate objects in body-part and whole-part relations. Exx. 12 to 13 provide instances of PA involving this verb class. The (b) sentences in the examples represent the PA constructions derived from the (a) sentences which represent the underlying or base possessor constructions.

Even though the (a) sentences are grammatically sound, their PA counterparts are more likely to be used by speakers of the language in these situations.

- ▶ PA with externally caused change verbs and animate possessor
- 12a Alina ontu ɳɔɪbomɪn
 Ali-na ontu ɳɔɪ-bol-mɪn
 Ali-GEN arm break-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Ali’s arm is broken”
- 12b Aligi ontu ɳɔɪbomɪn
 Ali-gi ontu ɳɔɪ-bol-mɪn
 Ali-ACC arm break-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Ali’s arm is broken”
- ▶ PA with externally caused change verbs and inanimate possessor
- 13a aŋgɪɾɛna kutur kakɪbomɪn
 aŋgɪɾɛ-na kutur kaki-bol-mɪn
 bed-GEN leg crack-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “The leg of the bed has cracked”
- 13b aŋgɪɾɛgɪ kutur kakɪbomɪn
 aŋgɪɾɛ-gɪ kutur kaki-bol-mɪn
 bed-ACC leg crack-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “The leg of the bed has cracked”

4.4 PA with physically attached and contiguous objects

In addition to body-part and whole-part relations, this PA strategy applies also to some alienably possessed objects that are physically attached to or contiguous to their possessors such as items of clothing. Their usage extends even to alienably possessed objects with high economic or psychological values attached to them by their possessors such as money, animals and similar symbols of wealth. This is shown in exx. 14 and 15.

181

- ▶ PA with physically attached or contiguous possessed objects

Jadana kuman beʃɪbommin	14a
Jada-na kuman beʃɪ-bol-min	
Jada-GEN garment tear-COMPL2-3SG.PST	
“Jada’s garment has ruptured”	
Jadagi kuman beʃɪbommin	14b
Jada-gɪ kuman beʃɪ-bol-min	
Jada-ACC garment tear-COMPL2-3SG.PST	
“Jada’s garment has ruptured”	
- ▶ PA with items of high value

Addena gurufe bekkɪbelamin	15a
Adde-na gurufe beɾki-bel-a-min	
Adde-GEN money.PL be.lost-COMPL2.PL-3PL-PST	
“Adde’s money is lost”	
Addegi gurufe bekkɪbelamin	15b
Adde-gɪ gurufe beɾki-bel-a-min	
Adde-ACC money.PL be.lost-COMPL2.PL-3PL-PST	
“Adde’s money is lost”	

Whereas a PA construction can be used with contiguous, physically attached and high-value alienably possessed objects, as shown in ex. 15b above, it cannot be used with alienably possessed objects that are not physically attached or are not of high values to their possessors as shown in ex. 16b below.

- ▶ PA impossible with alienably possessed, non-contiguous, non-high value objects

Jadana tɔŋ beʃɪbommin	16a
Jada-na tɔŋ beʃɪ-bol-min	
Jada-GEN gourd tear-COMPL2-3SG.PST	
“Jada’s gourd has ruptured”	

- 16b *Jadagɪ ʈŋ bɛʃɪbomɪn
 Jada-gɪ ʈŋ bɛʃɪ-bol-mɪn
 Jada-ACC gourd tear-COMPL2-3SG.PST

5. Locative-marking strategy

182

This strategy applies to two classes of transitive verbs known as verbs of impact by contact, transitive causative verbs and a small set of intransitive change of state verbs. Under this strategy, the possessor ascends to assume the syntactic role of direct object while the possessed object loses its status of head of the possessive noun phrases and is relegated to an oblique marked as a locative. Though marked as direct object, the new argument is still interpreted as having the semantic role of possessor rather than patient. This strategy applies to both animate and inanimate objects in body-part and whole-part relations, as exhibited in exx. 17–19. As shown in exx. 17c, 18c, and 19c, the element marked with the locative marker is an adjunct that can be dropped from the utterance without significantly affecting the meaning. Hence, it can be concluded that the locative marking serves the purpose specifying the locus of the action.

5.1 Locative marking PA strategy with verbs of impact designating forceful surface contact

Taglennaa verbs of impact by contact include a group of transitive verbs referred to as “hit verbs” that designate semelfactive, punctual, and telic actions. PA constructions formed with this class of verbs are used to express affectedness of referents of possessors in possessive noun phrases with actions that have direct impact on their parts.

- ▶ PA with punctual verbs of impact by contact
- 17a Dukulana ugɣɪ kitenale
 Dukulana-ŋa ʊɾ-gɪ kite-nal-e
 Dukula-GEN head-ACC touch-COMPL1-1SG.PST
 “I have touched Dukula’s head”
- 17b Dukulagɪ unndɔɔ kitenale
 Dukulana-gɪ ʊɾ-ndɔɔ kite-nal-e
 Dukula-ACC head-LOC touch-COMPL1-1SG.PST
 “I have touched Dukula’s head / I have touched Dukula on his head”
- 17c Dukulagɪ kitenale
 Dukulana-gɪ kite-nal-e
 Dukula-ACC touch-COMPL1-1SG.PST
 “I have touched Dukula”

5.2 *Locative marking PA strategy with causative verbs*

Some causative transitive verbs which are derived from intransitive verbs of change of state participate in PA constructions formed with locative strategy.

- ▶ PA with causative verbs

idʊ tɛndʊna kuddʊɣɪ tʊnnɪɣɪmɪn
 idʊ tɛrndʊ-na kʊgdʊ-ɣɪ tʊnnɪ-ɣɪ-mɪn
 woman girl-GEN leg-ACC break-CAUS-3SG.PST
 “The woman broke the girl’s leg”

18a

183

- idʊ tɛndʊ kuddʊnɔɔ tʊnnɪɣɪmɪn
 idʊ tɛrndʊ-ɣɪ kʊgdʊ-nɔɔ tʊnnɪ-ɣɪ-mɪn
 woman girl-ACC leg-LOC break-CAUS-3SG.PST
 “The woman broke the girl’s leg”

18b

- ʊdʊ tɛndʊɣɪ tʊnnɪɣɪmɪn
 idʊ tɛrndʊ-ɣɪ tʊnnɪ-ɣɪ-mɪn
 woman girl-ACC break-CAUS-3SG.PST
 “The woman broke the girl”

18c

5.3 *Locative marking PA strategy with change of state verbs*

There are a few cases in which intransitive change of state verbs are involved in PA constructions using the locative strategy.

- ▶ PA with change of state verbs

Musana ontu nɔɣɪbommɪn
 Musa-na ontu nɔɣɪ-bol-mɪn
 Musa-GEN arm break-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Musa’s arm has broken”

19a

- Musa ontunɔɔ nɔɣɪbommɪn
 Musa ontu-nɔɔ nɔɣɪ-bol-mɪn
 Musa arm-LOC break-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Musa’s arm has broken”

19b

- Musa nɔɣɪbommɪn
 Musa nɔɣɪ-bol-mɪn
 Musa break-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “Musa has (been) broken”

19c

6. Indirect object marking PA strategy

184

This PA strategy applies to two classes of transitive verbs, durative process verbs (see §6.1) and causative verbs (see §6.2). The indirect object marking PA strategy involves both animate and inanimate objects in body-part and whole-part relationships. Under this strategy, the possessor noun phrase ascends as a new argument to assume the syntactic function of an indirect object while the possessed noun phrase assumes the function of direct object. As in all other situations, the new argument is interpreted as having the semantic role of possessor rather than beneficiary. PA constructions under this strategy are similar in form to applicative constructions. However, while no possessor, whole-part, or body-part relations are generally implied or necessary for applicative constructions, these relations are implied in this PA scenario. It is also worth mentioning that it is possible to form applicative constructions with virtually all verbs in Taglennaa, except for the verb “give.”

6.1 Indirect object marking PA strategy with durative process verbs

PA constructions formed with durative process verbs indicate the affectedness of the referents of the possessor noun phrases with durative processes performed on their parts. As a result of PA, the possessor *tɛndu* in ex. 20a ascends to assume the function of direct object in ex. 20b while the possessed *ifi* is marked with the accusative marker even though a locative interpretation is also possible, as shown in the translation. These verbs are a subset of verbs of impact by surface contact that do not allow locative marking on the objects.

► PA with durative verbs

- 20a *tɛnduna ifigi tɪntɕ ogenalɛ*
 tɛndu-na ifi-gi tɪŋ-kɔ oge-nal-ɛ
 girl-GEN hands-ACC oil-INST rub-COMPL1-1SG.PST
 “I have rubbed the girl’s hands with oil/I have rubbed oil on the
 girl’s hands”
- 20b *tɛndugɪ ifigi tɪntɕ ogenaldɛ*
 tɛndu-gɪ ifi-gi tɪŋ-kɔ oge-nal-nd-ɛ
 girl-ACC hands-ACC oil-INST rub-COMPL1-APPL-1SG.PST
 “I have rubbed the girl’s hands with oil/I have rubbed oil on the
 girl’s hands”

Passive constructions are not common in Taglennaa. However, ex. 20a can be expressed as an intransitive clause as follows:

tənduna ifi ogebəlamɪn 20C
 tərndu-na ifi oge-bəl-a-mɪn
 girl-GEN hand.PL rub-COMPL2.PL-3PL-PST
 “The girl’s hands have been rubbed”

Here, the possessor noun phrase functions as the subject of the intransitive verb *oge* which is marked by the intransitive aspect marker *bəl*. 185

6.2 Indirect object marking PA with causative verbs

This strategy applies to a set of causative verbs derived from change of state verbs that do not allow locative marking in PA constructions and take indirect object marking instead.

► PA with causative verbs 21a
 bogul onuna ɪyɪ dɔɾɪgammɪn
 bogul onu-na ɪy-gɪ dɔɾɪ-gɪ-nal-mɪn
 hyena donkey-GEN tail-ACC cut.off-CAUS-COMPL2-3SG.PST
 “The hyena has severed the donkey’s tail”

bogul onugi ɪyɪ dɔɾɪgaldjɪmɪn 21b
 bogul onu-gɪ ɪy-gɪ dɔɾɪ-gɪ-nal-ndi-mɪn
 hyena donkey-ACC tail-ACC cut.off-CAUS-COMPL2-APPL-3SG.PST
 “The hyena has severed the donkey’s tail”

7. Instrumental marking PA strategy

This strategy applies in possessive constructions where the possessive noun phrase functions as the subject in transitive clauses. In the base construction, the possessor will be marked for genitive case while the possessed which is the head of the possessive noun phrase is unmarked. As a result of the PA process, the possessor ascends to assume the syntactic function of subject while the possessed is demoted to an oblique marked for instrumental case. Whether the subject plus instrumental construction will attract a genitive interpretation depends on the possible relations that can be observed between the two elements. A genitive meaning will be rendered if the element case-marked as instrumental can be inalienably possessed by the subject or is attached or contiguous to it. Under this strategy, PA constructions indicate the fact that the ultimate responsibility for the actions expressed as carried out by the possessed entities in the base constructions, lie with the referents of their possessors.

- PA with the instrumental marking strategy: the possessive noun phrase has the semanto-syntactic function of an agent
- 22a Ahmedna kɪtʊ iddi kitemɪn
 Ahmed-na kɪtʊ id-gi kite-mɪn
 Ahmed-GEN cloth man-ACC touch-3SG.PST
 “Ahmed’s cloth touched the man”
- 22b Ahmed kitʊkɔ iddi kitemɪn
 Ahmed kitʊ-kɔ id-gi kite-mɪn
 Ahmed cloth-INST man-ACC touch-3SG.PST
 “Ahmed’s cloth touched the man / Ahmed touched the man with his cloth”

186

8. Summary

PA constructions are derived from certain types of genitive constructions encoding the following types of relations:

- Body-part relations, as seen in ex. 7
- Whole-part relations, as in exx. 12-13.
- Body-part idioms, as in exx. 10-11.
- Physically attached and contiguous items, as in ex. 14.
- Alienable possessed, high-value items, as in ex. 15.

PA constructions are used to express affectedness, and in that respect they are preferred to underlying genitive constructions.

PA constructions are used with certain sets of transitive and intransitive verb classes:

- Verbs of change-of-state, as in exx. 18-19.
- Verbs of impact by contact, as in ex. 20.
- Causative verbs derived from verbs of change of state, as in ex. 21.

PA strategies are sensitive to the type of underlying genitive relations and the lexical verb classes involved and they feature in terms of how the referent of the possessed is marked.

The no possessed marking PA strategy applies to intransitive verbs of change-of-state only, as illustrated in ex. 3.

The locative marking strategy can apply to verbs from all of the above lexical classes with some restrictions: locative marking is allowed only in situations where the fact that actions were carried on possessed objects entail that these actions were carried on their possessors. As far as the affectedness of the possessor is concerned, the element marked with the locative marker can be dropped from the utterance without significantly affecting the meaning. Hence, it can be concluded that the locative marking serves the purpose specifying the locus of the action.

The indirect object marking strategy applies to all verbs from the above classes that do not allow locative marking, as illustrated in ex. 5.

PA constructions under the indirect object marking strategy are identical to applicative constructions in that they have the same form, both forms express affectedness, the argument frames of the verbs involved are increased by one.

Bibliography

- 188 BARSHI, I. & D. PAYNE, "The Interpretation of 'Possessor Raising' in a Maasai Dialect," *Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere* 45 (1996): pp. 207-26.
- CHO, S. & W. LEE, "Possessor Agreement as Theta Feature Sharing," *Language and Information* 7 (2003): pp. 1-16.
- DEAL, A. R. "External Possession and Possessor Raising." In *The Companion to Syntax*, edited by M. EVERAERT & H. v. RIEMSDIJK, 2nd ed. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013: pp. 1-28.
- FOX, B. "Body Part Syntax: Towards a Universal Characterization," *Studies in Linguistics* 5.3 (1981): pp. 323-42.
- ROBINSON, B. "Possessor Ascension in Universal Grammar." *Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 1 (1980): pp. 108-40
- SIMANGO, S. R. "Enlarged arguments in Bantu: Evidence from Chichewa," *Lingua* 117.6 (2007): pp. 928-49.