

Describing Possession in Ob-Yenisei languages: local typology

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Describing Possession in Ob-Yenisei Languages

- initially not a specific objective
- emerging by-product of language documentation and description projects
- generally has not been object of dedicated studies on the Siberian data in question - occasional article-length treatments
- current study:
 - 2015 RFBR project – Phase 1 language set: Teleut, Chulym Turkic, Eastern Khanty, Southern Selkup, Ket
 - compilation of previous unsystematic observations, preliminary discussion based on field-data
 - 2015-2017 – set of journal publications – developing unified framework
 - 2018-2019 – developing Phase 2 unified local typologically informed treatment based on a questionnaire
 - 2019-2023 – Phase 2 language set: Teleut, Eushta/Chat, Chulym Turkic, Eastern Khanty, Northern Khanty, Mansi, Southern Selkup, Northern Selkup, Nenets (forest, tundra), Enets, Nganasan, Ket, Dolgan.

Ob-Yenisei Linguistic Area

- lesser described
- highly endangered (some under 5 speakers)

1) Phase – 1:

Eastern Khanty (A.Filchenko, O.Potanina)

Southern Selkup (S.Kovylin, N.Polyakova, A. Kim)

Ket (E.Krjukova, A.Nefedov)

Teleut, Chulym Turkic (V.Lemskaya, D.Tokmashev)

2) Phase – 2:

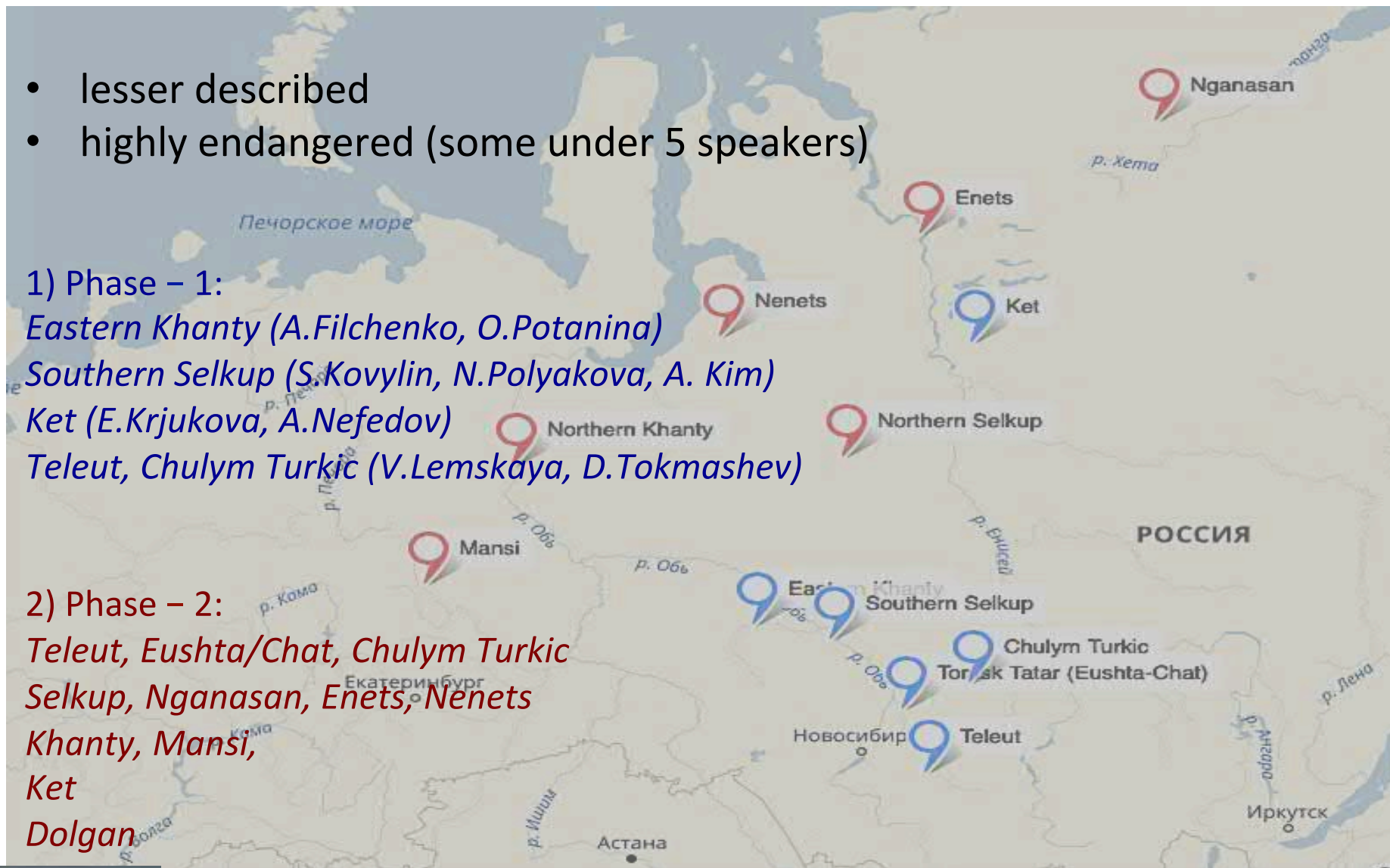
Teleut, Eushta/Chat, Chulym Turkic

Selkup, Nganasan, Enets, Nenets

Khanty, Mansi,

Ket

Dolgan



Ob-Yenisei Area: geography

- Northern Eurasia
- Western Siberian Plain
- Taiga Forests
- Rivers, lakes, swamps



Ob-Yenisei Area



- **Location**

Western Siberia, East of Ural range,
Ob & Yenisei watersheds & tributaries

- **Eco-system:**

North - Tundra, rivers, lakes

South - Taiga forest, swamps, rivers



- **Occupations:**

North - Forest hunter-fisher-gatherers

South - Tundra nomadic pastoralists

Ob-Yenisei Area

- Small patrilineal clan villages
- Large distances
- Small local seasonal migrations



Ob-Yenisei Area

- Locally adapted fishing-hunting techniques
- Fur, fish trade
- Mutual reliance



Ob-Yenisei Area

Social Organization

- preferred endogamous (within ethnic group), now – mixed marriages
- local “river” groups = extended families / clans
- patrilocal, patrilineal
- exogamous, phratrial



Ob-Yenisei Area: Language Endangerment



South-Eastern Khanty Dialects	Population	Speakers	Status	Ob-Ugric Languages
Yugan Khanty	<1000	<500	a-	Tjumen' region
Vakh Khanty	<600	<200	c-	Tjumen' region
Vasyugan Khanty	<200	>5	d-	Tomsk region
Aleksandrovo Khanty	<150	>5	d-	Tomsk region

Project Concept

- 1) lacking comprehensive descriptions of possession in idioms of the project (existing unpublished data, largely unavailable to academic community)
- 2) lacking theoretically and methodologically consistent local typological description of possession in Ob-Yenisei languages, considering areal factors and language contact
- 3) lacking exhaustive typological parameters for cross-linguistic study of possession

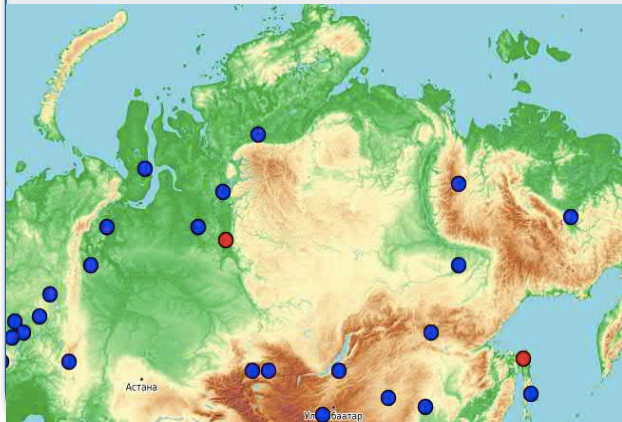
Narrow & Wide Definitions

Possession

- «relationship between a human being and his kinsmen, his body parts, his material belongings, his cultural & intellectual products» (Seiler 1983:4)
- «identification of objects via their relation to a person or another object...» (LE, 1990: 388)
- «wide range of relations between objects, particularly a relation between an object and its characteristic feature» (Grashchenkov, 2007: 25)

Possession in Ob-Yenisei Area: WALS

Matthew S. Dryer. 2013. Position of Pronominal Possessive Affixes. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, M. (eds.). The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/57>, Accessed on 2019-03-13.)



Johanna Nichols, Balthasar Bickel. 2013. Locus of Marking in Possessive Noun Phrases. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, M. (eds.). The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/24>, Accessed on 2019-03-13.)



Balthasar Bickel, Johanna Nichols. 2013. Obligatory Possessive Inflection. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) The World Atlas of Language Structures Online. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/58>, Accessed on 2019-03-13.)



- highly generalized representations of possession in the Ob-Yenisei languages
- lacking theoretically and methodologically consistent local typological description of possession in Ob-Yenisei languages, considering areal factors and language contact
- lacking exhaustive typological parameters for cross-linguistic study of possession

Possession ?

1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

mən-nə kūr-t-əm *loŋə-ta*
1SG-LOC cannot-PRS-1SG read-INF

Zoltan *nipik*
Zoltan book

verbal arguments?

‘I cannot read Zoltan’s book (written by Zoltan, but given to the speaker to own)’

2.1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

qat jor
house middle

‘The floor of the house’.

2.2. Teleut (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 26)

arka söök
spine bone

‘Spine’.

attributive/spatial?

3.1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

tuyi tʃel’-m-əl
thunderstorm cry-PP-3SG

‘The rattle of thunderstorm’.

3.2. Southern Selkup (Kim-Kovylin 2015:38)

märy-ən orəp
wind-GEN strength

‘The force of the wind’.

propriative?

4.1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

emtər qanəŋ
lake shore

‘The shore of the lake’.

4.2. South.Selkup (Kim, Kovylin 2015: 38)

qöd-et lj
side-GEN bone

‘Rib (side bone)’

part-whole?

Possession ?

5.1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

qasi tur
man voice

'Human voice'.

5.2. Teleut (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 26)

kol tärben
hand mill

'Manual mill'

attributive/proprietive?

6.2. Teleut (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 27)

qayin meške-zi
birch-tree mushroom-PX.3SG

'Chaga (tree mushroom)'

6.2. Ket (Krjukova 2015: 58)

qam-t kub-'diŋa
arrow-PX.INAN end-DAT

'To the end of the arrow'

spatial?

7.1. East.Khanty – Vakh. (Gulya 1960):

mä läwät al taja-l-əm
1SG seven year have-PRS-1SG

'I am 7 years old'.

7.2. Southern Selkup (Budzisch 2015: 46)

loya-nan mat-ti t'ü-mba.
fox-LOC house-PX.3SG melt-PST.3SG

'The house of the fox melted'.

attributive?

8. East.Khanty – Vas.:

qu kütfkül-tə tayi-l-oy iu-wal
man hunt-NPP place.NMZ-3SG-ABL come-PRS.3SG

relative clause (nominalization)?

'The man came from hunting' (somewhere he regularly hunts).

Research Dilemmas

(A) What would actually count as “possession”?

(B) What among the local diversity of formal means of coding possessive relations would be considered within the typology?

(C) What “non-possession” functions of the formal means typically assigned as “coding possession” would be considered within the “possession typology”?

Developing Typology

Language-internal Tests

(Aikhenvald 2013: 6)

- (i) Can the construction be rephrased with predicative possession (English: *'have'* or *'belong'*)?
- (ii) Can the construction be rephrased using a possessive pronoun?
- (iii) Can an alternative possessive marker be applied to the construction (English: *of* vs. *'s*)?
- (iv) Can the construction be rephrased as a content interrogative on Possessor (English: *whose, of which*)?

(Stassen 2009: 11)

- substituting *own* for *have* in (English: *John has a house*), leading to non-felicitous results: (*John has a sister; John has the flu*).

Developing Typology

Further definitions of possession

Stassen - cognitive/semantic definition of possession (2009: 15):

...prototypical case of possession is characterized by the presence of two entities (the possessor and the possessee) such that:

- a) the possessor and the possessee are in some relatively enduring locational relation
- b) the possessor exerts control over the possessee (and is therefore typically human)

M.Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2003: 630):

...adnominal possessive constructions are never dedicated to expressing possession *stricto sensu*, but can normally also be used for a number of other relations, by which the head's referent is identified via its relation to the dependent's referent.

...constructions can be divided into expressing anchoring relations when the possessors serve as anchors or reference point entities for identification of the head, and those expressing non-anchoring relations, in which the nominal dependent is used to classify, describe or qualify the class of entities denoted by it.

Developing Typology

Possession Types

(Taylor 1989; Heine 1997; Stassen 2009)

alienably possessed
(optionally possessed)

inalienably possessed
(obligatorily possessed)

temporarily possessed

abstractly possessed

Formal Means of Coding Possession

(Croft, 2003: 39-40):

juxtaposition

concatenation

fusion possessor+possessee

Typologically relevant grammatical properties

(Croft, 2003: 40):

- 1) use of additional morpheme (none, relational, indexical, linker/special form)
- 2) degree of fusion of elements
- 3) order of elements

Typical Possession

Adnominal possession strategies in Ob-Yenisei:

(o) Frequent - juxtaposition of case-unmarked modifier (possessor) to unmarked possessee head (Ob-Ugric, Turkic):

- unmarked nominal / pronominal possessor & unmarked possessee [$\text{Prn}_{\text{Pxr}}/\text{Prn}_{\text{Pxr}} \text{N}_{\text{Pxe}}$] – (9.1-9.4)
- implicit possessor & unmarked possessee [$\emptyset_{\text{Pxr}} \text{N}_{\text{Pxe}}$] – (10)

9.1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

tʃu ni lopifäj *ən-tə*
DET woman clothes put.on-PST0.3SG

‘The mermaid put on this woman’s clothes’.

9.2. East.Khanty – Vas.:

wajaj pun
animal fur

‘Animal(bear) fur’.

9.3. East.Khanty – Vas.:

qu jernas
man shirt

‘Men’s (male) shirt’.

9.4. Chulym Turkic (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 29):

tül’gü kuzuruk
fox tail

‘Fox tail’.

10.1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

pəɣ-əl jayənt-əkətə-ɣən *ajrit juɣ wej morəmtə-ɣən*
son-PX.3SG row-INCH-PST0.3SG canoe tree handle break-PST0.3SG

‘His son had just started rowing when his oar handle broke’.

10.2. East.Khanty – Vas.:

tuy-i tʃi apajəɣ-ən faj tom ostrow-a
carry-IMPR.2SG DET oldman-PX.2SG* stuff DET “isle”(RUS)-ILL

‘Carry your grand-father’s stuff to that isle’. (*Possessor ‘grandfather’ = inalienable = marked)

Typical Possession

Frequent adnominal possession constructions:

(i) Dependent-marked constructions (Turkic, Samoyedic and Yeniseian):

- possessive pronominal/nominal possessor marked with GEN/enclitic & unmarked head [$N_{\text{PXR}}\text{-GEN } N_{\text{Pxe}}$]
- pronominal possessor marked with LOC+ADJ & implicit possessee [$\text{Prn}_{\text{PXR}}\text{-LOC-ADJ } N_{\text{Pxe}}\text{-}\emptyset$]
- nominal possessor marked with proclitic & unmarked nominal/postpositional head [$\text{PXR-}N_{\text{PXR}}\text{-}N_{\text{Pxe}}/\text{PSTP}_{\text{Pxe}}$]

11.1. South.Selkup (Kim, Kovylin 2015: 38):

<i>qana-t</i>	<i>qob</i>
dog-GEN	hide

'Dog's hide'.

12.1. Ket (Krjukova, 2015: 55):

<i>b-ogde-t</i>	<i>kūp</i>
PX.1SG-ear-GEN.F	edge

'The edge of (my) ear'

13.1. South.Selkup (Kim, Kovylin 2015: 38):

<i>ima-n-ty</i>	<i>lan̄kccyā</i>
woman-GEN-PX.3SG*	cry

'His wife's cry'.

(*Possessor 'wife' = inalienable = marked)

14.1. Ket (Krjukova, 2015: 59):

<i>buŋ-na</i>	<i>ku'bbes^j</i>
they-PX.CL.PL.ANIM	in.front

'In front of them'.

11.2. Teleut (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 29):

<i>seŋ</i>	<i>kazein</i>
2SG.GEN	"master"(RUS)

'Your master'.

12.2. Ket (Kryukova 2015: 58):

<i>n-asl-n</i>
PX.PL.ANIM-ski-PL

'Their skis' (Kryukova 2015: 58)

13.2. Teleut (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 29):

<i>serdiŋ</i>	<i>üy-∅ / -iger</i>
2PL.GEN	house-∅**-PX.2PL

'Y'all's house'

(**head=alienable=optional PXR-marker)

14.2. Ket (Krjukova, 2015: 58):

<i>Bal'na</i>	<i>rə</i>	<i>battat-bes^j</i>
Balna	PX.M	face-PROLAT

'Into Balna's forehead'.

Adnominal / Attributive Possession (tentative)

construction types / languages	Teleut		Chulym.Turk		Est.Khanty		Sth.Selkup		Ket	
	Inalien	Alien	Inalien	Alien	Inalien	Alien	Inalien	Alien	Inalien	Alien
0. Unmarked										
0.1. Unmarked nominal juxtaposition [N_{Pxr} N_{Pxe}]	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	0	0
0.2. Unmarked <u>Pron.possessor</u> & unmarked <u>possessee</u> [Prn_{Pxr} N_{Pxe}]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
0.3. Implicit possessor & unmarked <u>possessee</u> [\emptyset_{Pxr} N_{Pxe}]	0	0	0	0	-	+	0	0	0	0
0.4. Unmarked Reflexive <u>Pron.possessor</u> & unmarked <u>possessee</u> [$Prn-RFL_{Pxr}$ N_{Pxe}]	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	0
1. Dependent-Marking										
1.1. Nominal possessor marked (GEN/enclitic) & unmarked <u>possessee</u> [$N_{Pxr-GEN}$ N_{Pxe}]	-	+	-	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	+	+
1.2. <u>Pron.possessor</u> marked (Poss.Prn/GEN/enclitic) & unmarked <u>possessee</u> [$N_{Pxr-GEN}$ N_{Pxe}]	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1.3. <u>Pron.possessor</u> marked (LOC+ADJ & implicit <u>possessee</u>) [$Prn_{Pxr-LOC-ADJ}$ $N_{Pxe-\emptyset}$]	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	0
1.4. Nominal possessor marked (proclitic) & unmarked <u>possessee</u> [$PXr-N_{Pxr}$ N_{Pxe}]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	-	+
1.5. Nominal possessor marked (proclitic) & unmarked postpositional Head [$N_{Pxr-PXr}$ $PSTP_{Pxe}$]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	0	+
2. Head-Marking										
2.1. <u>PXr</u> -marked nominal head [$N_{Pxe-PXr}$]	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2.2. Unmarked <u>Pron.possessor</u> & <u>PXr</u> -Head-marking [Prn_{Pxr} $N_{Pxe-PXr}$]	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2.3. Unmarked possessor & <u>PXr</u> -marked postpositional head (proclitic) [N_{Pxr} $PXr-PSTP_{Pxe}$]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	+	+
2.4. Reflexive <u>Pron.possessor</u> unmarked & <u>PXr</u> -Head-marking [$Pm-RFL_{Pxr}$ $N_{Pxe-PXr}$]	0	0	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	0
2.5. Implicit unmarked possessor & <u>PXr</u> -Head-marking [\emptyset_{Pxr} $N_{Pxe-PXr}$]	-	+	-	+	+	+	0	0	0	0
3. Dependent-Marking and Head-Marking										
3.1. GEN- or enclitic-marked possessor & <u>PXr</u> -Head-marking [$N_{Pxr-GEN}$ $N_{Pxe-PXr}$]	+	+	+	+	n/a	n/a	+	+	-	-
3.2. GEN-marked nominal possessor & GEN- <u>PXr</u> -Head-marking [$N_{Pxr-GEN}$ $N_{Pxe-GEN-PXr}$]	-	-	-	-	n/a	n/a	+	0	0	0
4. Peripheral types of coding possession										
(i) Dependent-marking (proprietary) & unmarked/implicit Head [$N_{Pxr-PRD/ADJ}$ N_{Pxe} / \emptyset]	+	+	+	+	?	+	0	0	0	0
(ii) Dependent-marking (complex=PRD/ADJ) & unmarked Head [$N_{Pxr-PRD/ADJ}$ N_{Pxe}]	0	0	0	0	+	+	0	0	0	0
(iii) Dependent-marking (complex=GEN + PRD/ADJ) & unmarked Head [$N_{Pxr-GEN/PRD}$ N_{Pxe}]	0	+	0	+	n/a	n/a	0	0	0	0
Use of 3 <u>prs</u> (possessive) Head-marking for pragmatic (non-possession) functions [$N_{Pxe-PXr.3}$]	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	0	0
Use of 2 <u>prs</u> (possessive) Head-marking for pragmatic (non-possession) functions [$N_{Pxe-PXr.2}$]	0	0	0	0	-	+	-	+	0	0

Local typology of Possession: Ob-Yenisei Area

Defining the basic patterns

- if the construction is restricted to a grammatical subtype, it is less basic
- if the construction is semantically or pragmatically specialized, it is less basic
- more complex constructions are less basic type
- less frequent is less basic

Formal parameters for adnominal possession valid for O-Y cross-linguistic comparison

- the order of the possessor and the possessed;
- the locus of marking of possessive relations;
- means of expressing the possessor and the possessed;
- means of coding the possessive relations (degree of explicitness, degree of fusion)

Meaning of these parameters is conditioned by some principles

- the possessor: human or non-human, preferential or non-referential, pragmatically salient or inactive in discourse universe.
- the possessee: alienable or inalienable, definite or indefinite.

Basic (?) Adnominal Possession Constructions

(ii) Overtly marked syntactic relation between Possessor (PXr) & possessee (PXe) - head-marked:

- PXr-marked (possessive marker) nominal head [N_{PXe}-PXr] (Ob-Ugric, Samoyedic, Yeniseian);
- unmarked (non-possessive) Pron.possessor & PXr-Head-marking [Prn_{PXr} N_{PXe}-PXr] (Ob-Ugric, Samoyedic);
- unmarked possessor & PXr-marked postpositional head (proclitic) [N_{PXr} PXr-PSTP_{PXe}] (Yeniseian);
- reflexive Pron.possessor unmarked & PXr-Head-marking [Prn-RFL_{PXr} N_{PXe}-PXr] (Samoyedic);
- implicit unmarked possessor & PXr-Head-marking [∅_{PXr} N_{PXe}-PXr] (Ugric, Turkic).

15.1. Chulym.Turkic (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 29):

*meŋ oŋ kul-am**
1SG.GEN right ear-1SG

'My right ear'. (* - inalienable head)

16.1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

wajaj lök-əl män-ä päमितäl-tə
animal footprint-PX.3SG 1SG-ILL show-PST0.3SG

'(S)He showed me the animal track'.

17.1. East.Khanty – Vas.:

mä ap-am
1SG father-PX.1SG/SG

'My father'.

18.1. South.Selkup (Kim, Kovylin 2015: 37):

mi onut man-mute kwes-s-aut.
1PL RFL house-ABL go-PST-1PL

'We left from our(own) house'.

15.2. Teleut (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 29):

*meen škol-im / -∅***
1SG school-PX.1SG / -∅

'My school'. (** - alienable head)

16.2. South.Selkup (Kim, Kovylin 2015: 37):

me qj (qj-βat) korr e-ŋ
1PL river (river-PX.1PL) deep be-3SG.sub

'Our river is deep'.

17.2. Ket (Krjukova, 2015: 59):

bu'ra oŋ'nas' t-hittiya
his bed PX.INAN-under

'Under his bed'.

18.2. South.Selkup (Kim, Kovylin 2015: 37):

ma mē-z-ap onek neña-Rek.
1SG do-PST-1SG.ob RFL sister-LAT.PX.1SG

'I did it for my own sister'.

Basic (?) Adnominal Possession Constructions

(iii) Double overt marking of syntactic relation between Possessor (PXr) & possessee (Pxe): dependent-marked & head-marked (Turkic, Samoyedic):

- GEN- or enclitic-marked possessor & PXr-Head-marking [N_{PXr} -GEN N_{Pxe} -PXr] – (19)
- GEN-marked nominal possessor & GEN-PXr-Head-marking [N_{PXr} -GEN N_{Pxe} -GEN-PXr] – (20)

19.1. South.Selkup (Budzisch 2015: 46):

üčed'je-ka-n amba-d *čur-eli-mba*
child-DIM-GEN mother-PX.3SG cry-INCH-PST.3SG
'The child's mother began to cry strongly.'

19.2. South.Selkup (Kim, Kovylin 2015: 39):

u'ndzi:-r-gu ***l'a'ga'baba-n ne:-n-nan.***
flee-VBLz-INF witch-GEN daughter-GEN.PX.3SG-LOC2
'((She) started) to catch flees on the witch's daughter'.

20.1. Chul.Turkic (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 28):

karındaž-ə-nəŋ ***miltiy-i***
nephew-PX.3SG-GEN riffle-PX.3SG
'Nephew's riffle'.

20.2. Teleut (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 28):

paliqči-niŋ ***keme-zi***
fisherman-GEN boat-PX.3SG
'Fisherman's boat'.

Discussion

Description – to Typology – to Description

1. Descriptive projects – to – Typology:

- 1.1. sets of patterns, largely selective treatments of otherwise more diverse systems
- 1.2. informed by diverse theoretical / methodological frameworks, often specific to research traditions (Uralic, Turkic, Yeniseian)
- 1.3. occasionally (mis)represent actual local variation due to theoretical/methodological bias & limitations

2. Typology – to – Descriptive projects:

- 2.1. produce much more diverse and nuanced set of constructions to be alert to
- 2.2. produce much less discrete range of overlapping/transitional areas in the adjacent semantic/functional domains
- 2.3. inform a more rigorous, in-depth descriptive categories and descriptions

3. Description – to – Typology (again):

- 3.1. inform the (limits to) diversity of local means (coding possession), motivations and dynamics in the use of such local means
- 3.2. produce more inclusive (universal?) set of parameters & definitions
- 3.3. problematize development of the “universal” sets of tests and definitions (typology of possession)

Research Ongoing and Outlook

Possessive markers coding pragmatic relations:

30.1) Vasyugan Khanty (Potanina, Filchenko)

məŋ-ən qol-kas-əw tuyi tʃel'-m-əl
1PI-LOC hear-PST3-1PL thunderstorm cry-PP-3SG

'We heard the thunderstorm rattling'. (PX.3SG=unique/Topic)

30.2) Southern Selkup (Kim, Kovylin)

tjel-t qarət tjelə-ŋ.
sun-PX.3SG morning rise-3SG

'The sun rises in the morning'. (PX.3SG=unique/Topic)

31.1) Forest Enets (Siegl)

mana-jet onai ne-r mana
say.3SG-EMPH real woman-PX.2SG say.3SG

'So she said, this Enets women said'. (PX.2SG=Topic)

31.2) Nganasan (Gusev, Wagner-Nagy)

Muŋkati-rə kobtuatu taišüə, ńerbiaʔku.
Munkachi-PX.2SG girl.PX.3SG have.PST.3SG live.PST.3SG

'This Enets had a daughter, a little girl'. (PX.2SG=Topic)

32.1) Tundra Nenets (Siegl)

čiki mä-l nenado nerha
this house-PX.2SG visible stand.3SG

'This house seems to stand in plain view'. (PX.2SG=Topic)

32.2) Forest Enets (Siegl)

čiki-r meju mäʔ
this-PX.2SG new house

'This is a new house'. (PX.2SG=Topic)

33.1) Chulym Turkic (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 27):

maya-lór-u
frog-PL-PX.3PL

'That frog' (PX.3PL=Topic)

33.2) Teleut (Tokmashev, Lemskaya 2015: 27):

ad-i yoq
name-PX.3SG be.absnet

'Nameless one' (PX.3SG=Topic)

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