

Issues Related to Possessive Constructions in Kavalan and Saisiyat

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Outline

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 - 2.2 Saisiyat:
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- 3. The development paths of HAVE predicate/verb
- 4. Conclusions

Introduction (1/3)

- **Possession splits**: Many languages have possessive constructions which treat different groups of nouns in different ways.
- The group of nouns that are usually given special treatments are **body parts** and **kinship terms**.
- Some languages allow for possession splits within the **attributive possessions (NPs)**, whereas some languages attests to split possession in **predicative possession** constructions.

Introduction (2/3)

- POSSESSION is a universal domain.
- POSSESSION has frequently been described as a concept that is neither conceptually nor linguistically basic (cf. Heine 1997:1)
- **Localist theory**: “possession-is-location” view (Payne 2009:109; Clark 1978:89; Lyons 1967; Lyons 1977:474; Baron and Herslund 2001; among others).
- “...in many, perhaps in all, languages **existential** and **possessive** construction derive (both synchronically and diachronically) from **locatives**....” (Lyons 1967:390; see also Clark 1978; Freeze 1992; among others)

Introduction (3/3)

Types of Possessive Relations

(Haspelmath 2008; Stassen, *WALS Online* 2011)

- ◆ (i) relation of **kinship**, e.g. ‘my father’
- ◆ (ii) relation of **part-whole**, e.g. ‘my head’
- ◆ (iii) relation of **ownership**, e.g. ‘my money’



Data

- (a) fieldwork
- (b) Two dictionaries (e-dictionaries on the website of the Council of Aboriginal Peoples)
 - <http://e-dictionary.apc.gov.tw/Index.htm>)
- (c) NTU Corpus of Formosan Languages
 - http://corpus.linguistics.ntu.edu.tw/index_en.php

2. Two sets of pronominals

	genitive pronominal	possessive pronominal
Kavalan	(a) sunis=ku Child=1SG.GEN 'my child'	(a') zaku= ay sunis 1SG.POSS=REL child 'my child'
	(b) kelisiw=na money=3SG.GEN 'his money'	(b') zana=ay kelisiw 3SG.POSS=REL money 'his money'
Saisiyat	(c) ma'an tama 1SG.GEN father 'my father'	(c') 'inmana'a tama 1SG.POSS father 'my father'
	(d) niSo' rayhil 2SG.GEN money 'your money'	(d') 'inSo'o'a rayhil 2SG.POSS money 'your money'

Kavalan and Saisiyat

	kinship	Body-parts	Ownership
Genitive	V	V	V
Possessive	V	V	V

2.1 Functional split in Kavalan

- NP=GEN (e.g. sunis=ku ‘my child’)
- POSS=ay+NP (e.g. zaku=ay sunis ‘my child’)

e.g. (1a) 'nay sunis=ku
that child=1sg.gen
'That is my child.'

- a. can be used to function as an answer in Q&A
- b. used to present/introduce a new entity

2.1 Functional split in Kavalan

- (1b) Kavalan POSS=ay+NP

- 'nay zaku=ay sunis.

- that poss=rel child

- 'That is my child.'

a. Cannot be used to present/introduce a new entity

b. Mainly used in Q&A pair (answer)

2.1 Functional split in Kavalan

- A: tiana 'nay?
- (1a) B: 'nay sunis=ku

- A: tiana=ay sunis 'nay? 'Whose child is that?'
- (1b) 'nay zaku=ay sunis

- c. POSS NPs are used to identify, reassure the possessive relation between the **possessor and the possessum.**

2.1 Functional difference in interaction

(2) Kavalan

a. **manna** mata=su?

What happened to your eyes?

b. **manna** zasu=ay mata?

Why/How come it was your eyes (instead of his eyes or someone else's eyes, or are these eyes on the photo really yours)?

2.2 Saisiyat Case: Word order

3a. siya 'inmana'a 'aeh'aehael.

3sg.nom 1sg.poss relative

POSS + NP

'He is my relative.'

3b. ma'an kayba:en hayno' ila?

1sg.gen clothes where

pf **GEN + NP**

'Where is my clothes?'

3c. para:in mama' ma'an.

pn uncle 1sg.gen

NP + GEN

'Para:in is my uncle.'

2.2 Saisiyat: Split in word order

	Pre-verbal		Post-verbal	
	GEN+NP	NP+GEN	GEN+NP	NP+GEN
Kinship	35	18	0	29
Body-parts	91	6	0	8
ownership	174	6	3	16

Saisiyat Examples: kinship

(4a) ma'an yaba' kamakoroeh.

1sg.gen father barber

'My father is a barber.'

(4b) yako 'okik k<om><in>ita' .

1sg.nom neg <af><PFV>see

hi yaba' ma'an

acc father 1sg.gen

'I have never seen my father.'

Saisiyat Examples: body parts

(5a) ma'an kinotimo'an rengreng
1sg.gen calf often

mawas.

af.crimp

'I often have a crimp on my calves.'

(5b) ke:eb ka bekeS ma'an!
cut acc hair 1sg.gen

'Cut my hair!'

Saisiyat Examples: ownership

(6a) ma'an kalaSo'an hayno' ila?
1sg.gen lunch.box where pfv
'Where is my lunch box?'

(6b) siya man'oetoh
3sg.nom af.break
ka kapahikor ma'an.
acc crutch 1sg.gen
'He had my crutch broken.'

Saisiyat: body parts

	Pre-verbal	Post-verbal
	POSS+NP	POSS+NP
Kinship	3	12
Body-parts	1	0
ownership	2	18

Body-parts: somatic illnesses

(7) Saisiyat

a. **yao** biSbiS **ka** **baSang**
1SG.NOM AF.hurt ACC body

‘My body hurts. I fall sick.’

b. **yao** biSbiS **ka** **ka:ala’**
1SG.NOM AF.hurt ACC chest

‘I have a heart attack. My chest hurts

c. **sia** biSbiS **ka** **masa’**
3SG.NOM AF.hurt ACC eye

‘His eye hurts.’

Possession split

(8a) nimon kinmae'iyaeahan hingha' kita'en.
2pl.gen face same see-pf

'Your faces look the same. (You two look exactly the same.)'

(8b) yako biSbiS ka biskol.
1sg.nom af.hurt acc stomach

'My stomach hurts.'

External vs. internal possessors in English and German (König 2001:970)

(9) German: external possessor

- a. Mir zittern die Hände.
me.dat shake.3pl the hands
‘My hands are shaking.’
- b. Ich habe es ihm in-s Gesicht gesagt.
I have it he.dat into-def face said
‘I told him to his face.’

External vs. internal possessors in German (König 2001:970)

(10) German

a. Ich habe meine Haare verbrannt.

I.nom have my hair burnt

b. Ich habe mir die Haare verbrannt.

I.nom have me.dat the hair burnt

‘I have burnt/singed my hair.’

External vs. internal possessors in German (König 2001:970)

(11) German

- a. Karl ist auf **meinen** Mantel getreten.
pn is on my coat stepped
- b. Karl ist **mir** auf **den** Mantel getreten.
pn is **me.dat** on the coat stepped
- ‘Karl stepped on my coat.’

Internal vs. External possessor constructions

- 1. **Internal possessor constructions**: the body part or garment is seen as a separate, autonomous entity
- 2. **External possessor constructions**: the possessor is (construed as being) affected by an event which affects some part of him,

External possessor constructions

- 3. The implied affected reading is often psychological in nature when the possessor is animate, akin to notions such as ‘inconvenience’, ‘misfortune’ or ‘adversity’.

Saisiyat: external possessor construction

(12) Saisiyat

'obayS<om>bet **iyakin** ka/ *ray ta'oeloh
PN <AF>hit 1SG.ACC ACC/*LOC head

'Obay hit my head. (Lit.: Obay hit me (and) the head.)'

Saisiyat: external possessor construction

(13) siya 'aewhay ka 'ae'ay.
3sg.nom af.bad acc leg
'He has a bad leg.'

Saisiyat

(14)

- a. So'o 'ampowa' bizo-'bizo'an
2SG.NOM why RED-gray
ka kinmae'iyaeahan.
ACC face
'Why does your face look grey-like (dirty)?'
- b. yako rengreng haw-hawka'
1SG.NOM often RED-disappear
ka rayhil.
ACC money
'My money often disappears.'

3. Development of HAVE-verb in Kavalan and Saisiyat

- Major types of predicative possession (*WALS*, Stassen 2013)
 - 1. HAVE-possessive (Transitive construction)
 - 2. Locational (Existential) possessive
 - 3. Genitive possessive
 - 4. Topic possessive
 - 5. Conjunctive possessive

3. 'HAVE'-predicate/verb in Kavalan and Saisiyat

- Kavalan → EXISTENTIAL Possessive

yau (one-place predicate /intransitive)

- Saisiyat → HAVE Possessive

hayza' (two-place predicate)

Kavalan *yau* and Saisiyat *hayza'*: existential, possessive, and locative constructions

	Kavalan ⁺	Saisiyat ⁺
possessive ⁺	<i>yau</i> POSSESSUM-POSSESSOR _{NOM⁺}	POSSESSOR _{NOM} <i>hayza'</i> POSSESSUM _{ACC⁺}
existential ⁺	<i>yau</i> THEME _{NOM} LOCATION _{LOC⁺}	(LOCATION*) _{LOCNOM} <i>hayza'</i> THEME _{ACC⁺}
locative ⁺	<i>yau</i> LOCATION _{LOC} THEME _{NOM⁺}	THEME _{NOM} LOCATION _{LOC⁺}

*NP inside the parentheses is frequently omitted.⁺

Saisiyat locative

(15)

a. siya ray taew'an 'i:zo'.
3SG.NOM LOC house inside

'He was inside the house.'

b. yako ray kakiSka:atan kiSka:at.
1SG.NOM LOC school study

'I am in school studying.'

Usages of Kavalan *yau*

- 1. demonstrative marker
- 2. existential
- 3. possessive
- 4. locative
- 5. presentative
- 6. aspectual: (a) progressive, (b) perfect
- 7. emphatic
- 8. numeral linker

Kavalan *yau*: demonstrative marker

(16) demonstrative marker

tenes	sabulan	zin=ku	yu
a.long.time	one.month	say=1SG.GEN	INT
utuz	a	yau	
earthquake	Ink	that	

The earthquake lasted for a long time. For a month, I think.

Kavalan *yau* : existential

(17) Existential

a. *yau ta takanan bangRes.*

exist loc table-loc big.fly

‘There is a big fly on the table.’

b. *qa-yau=pama sikawman=ta*

irr-exist=still language=1ipl.gen

‘Will our language still survive? (Will our language still exist?)’

Kavalan *yau*: possessive

(18)

- a. *yau* *sunis=ku*.
 exist child=1sg.gen
 ‘I have children.’ (lit. my children exist)
- b. *yau* *kelisiw=ku*.
 exist money=1sg.gen
 ‘I have money. (lit.: My money exists)

Kavalan *yau*: locative

(19)

a. **yau**=imi ta-leppaw-an atu tu sunis
exist=1epl.nom Loc-home-Loc and Obl child

‘We stay at home with children.’

b. **yau**=iku tazian ayi tamaisuan
EXIST=1SG.NOM here aunt 2SG.LOC

‘I’m here at your place, my dear aunt.’

Kavalan *yau*: presentative

(20)

yau=imi	qan	sataRbabi	nani
EXIST=1EPL.NOM<AF>eat		breakfast	DM
yau =ti	utuz	a	yau
EXIST=PFV	earthquake	LNK	that

‘When we were having breakfast, there came the earthquake.’

Aspect: progressive

(21)

yau=imi	qan	sataRbabi	nani
EXIST=1EPL.NOM<AF>eat		breakfast	DM
yau=ti	utuz	a	yau
EXIST=PFV	earthquake	LNK	that

‘When we were having breakfast, there came the earthquake.’

Aspect: perfect

(22)

A:,,, sanshijiu nian... sinapawan=ti=iku
[MAN] [MAN] marry=PFV=1SG.NOM
zin=ku uu mai=pama?
think=1SG.GEN or NEG=yet
yau=ti.
EXIST=PFV

‘In 1950...I am wondering if I was married, or maybe not?’ Ah, I was (married) already.

Emphatic usage

(23)

me-Retut=ti=iku	yau	qaqa
AF-surprise=Pfv=1sg.nom	Exist	brother
ti-‘zun mawtu		
ncm-PN af.come		

“I was surprised that brother ‘zun did come.”

Kavalan *yau*: Numeral linker

(24)

u-tulu

CLF.NHUM-three

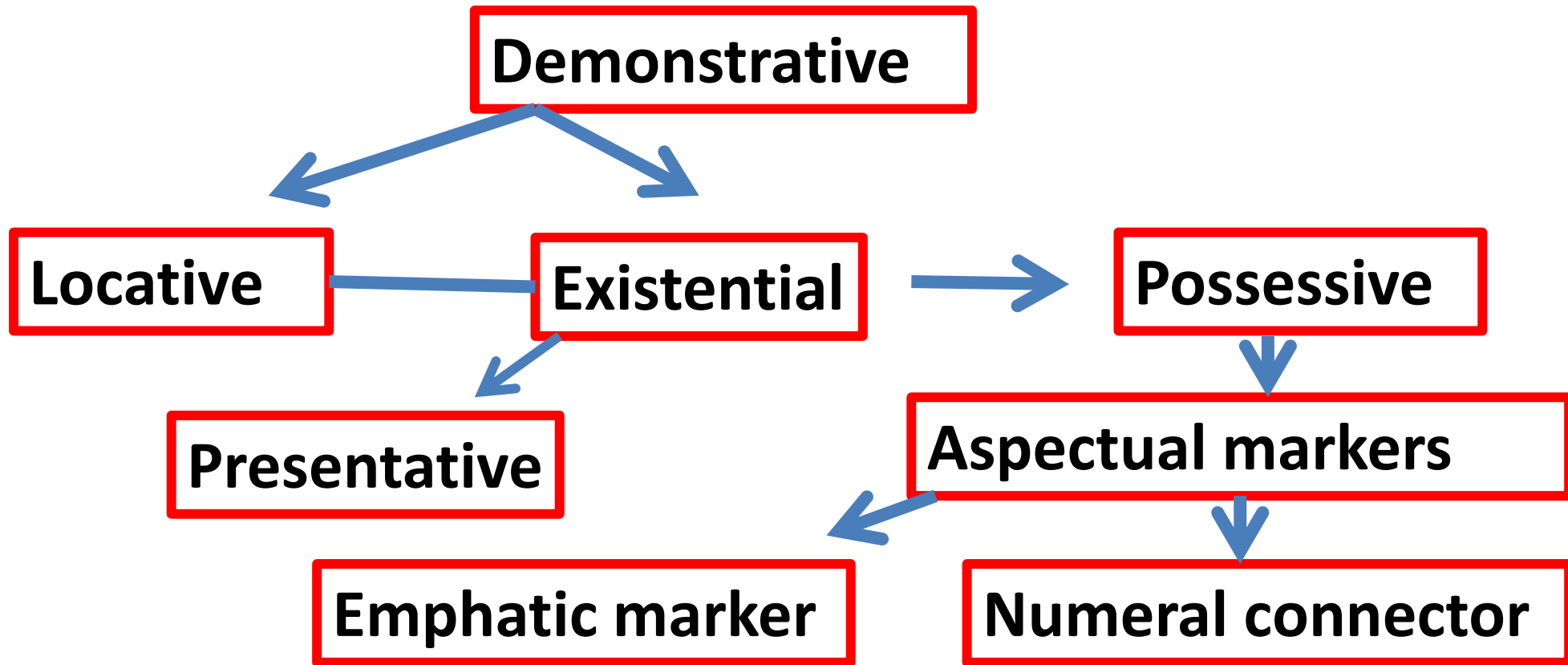
'39 years.'

betin **yau** u-siwa

ten and CLF.NHUM-nine year

tasaw

The development of Kavalan *yau* (adopted from Sung & Sung 2008:2)



Saisiyat HAVE-verb *hayza'*

- a. possessive
- b. existential
- c. presentative
- d. aspectual marker
- e. change of state

Saisiyat *hayza'*: possession

(25)a. yako **hayza'** ka 'aehae'
1sg.nom have acc one
minatini' ki roSa' minayti'.
older.brother and two younger.brother

'I have one older brother and two younger brothers.'

b. So'o **hayza'** ay ka rayhil?
2sg.nom have Q acc money

'Do you have any money?'

Saisiyat *hayza'*: Existential

(26a) *hayza'* ay ka mae'iyae'h 'inoka' ka maro'?
 exist Q acc person neg acc mold

'Is there anyone who doesn't have a mole?'

b. ray talka: babaw *hayza'* to:o'
 loc table above exist three
 ka 'iyok 'inaSkan.

Ink tangerine

'There are three tangerines on the table.'

c. hini *hayza'* to:o' mae'iyae'h.
 here exist three person

'There are three persons here (in this room).'

Saisiyat *hayza'*: presentative

(27a) **hayza'** mae'iyaeh mowa:i' ila
exist person af.come pfv

'izi' 'o'a'owiz, Sa'ila hiba: ka kayba:en!
neg naked.breast go dressacc clothes

'Here comes someone. Don't ; go get dressed.'

b. **hayza'** Sopat ka ba:yoS 'am mowa:i'.
have four Ink typhoon fut af.com

'There will be four typhoons coming.'

Change of state

(28a) hini tinawbon **hayza'** ka sa:bong.

this rice.cake have acc mold

'This rice cake became moldy.'

b. hiza 'a:im **hayza'** ila ka bo-boway.

this plum have pfv acc red-fruit

'This plum tree is bearing fruits.'

c. 'amiSan **hayza'** ka hahola'.

winter have acc snow

'It snows in winter.'

Aspectual marker: perfect

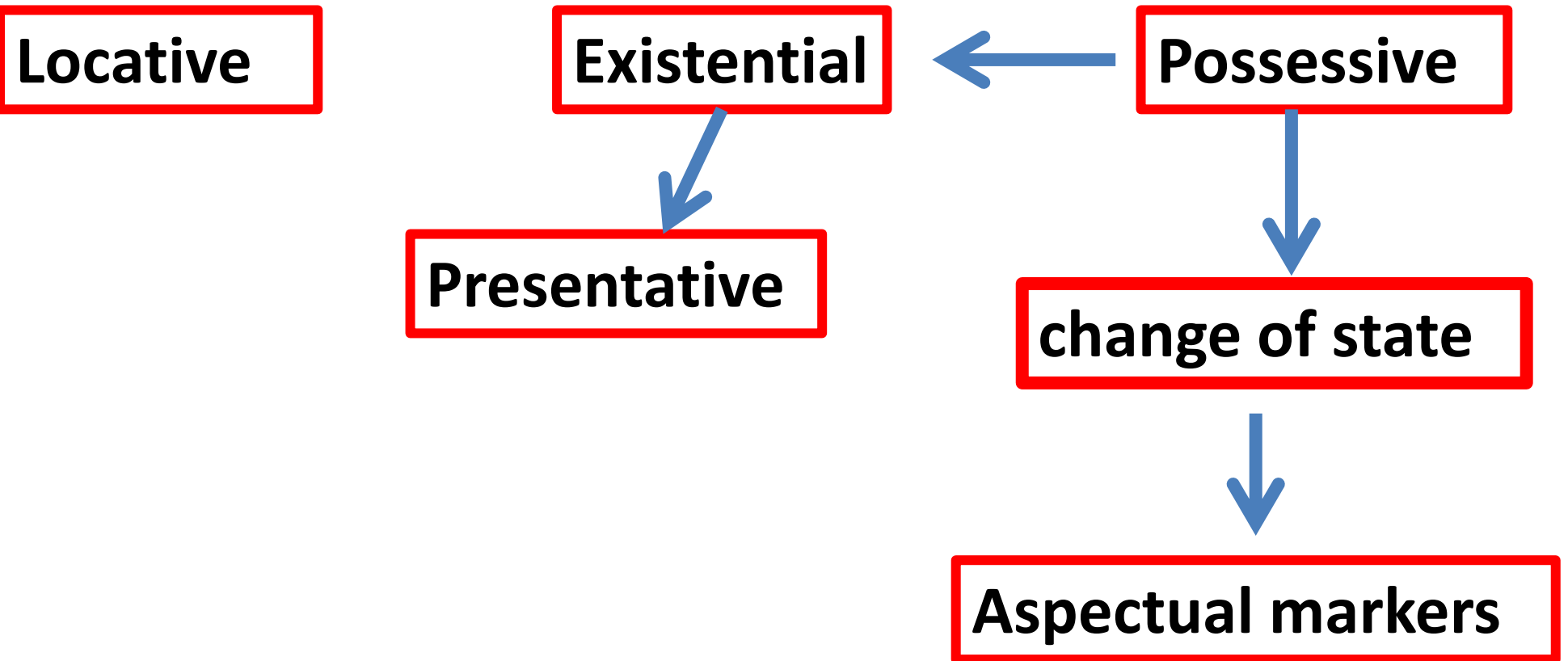
(29)a. yaba' **hayza'** S<om>pan ka waliSan.
father asp <af>raise acc wild.boar

'Has Father raised any wild boars?'

b. 'aehoe' nimon **hayza'** ay '<in>ewel?
dog 2pl.gen asp Q <pfv>tie

'Have you tied the dog?'

The development of Saisiyat *hayza'*



Conclusion

- 1. Both Kavalan and Saisiyat display possession splits in attributive possessive constructions
- 2. HAVE-verbs in both Kavalan and Saisiyat can appear in a wide variety of contexts and express a variety of different relations.
- 3. It is hoped that the linguistic expressions described here can shed light to typological and cognitive linguistic studies on POSSESSION.

- *Many thanks for your kind attention!*
- Questions or comments?