Possessives and Destinatives in Udeghe*

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ABSTRACT

Several structures in Udeghe (a Manchu-Tungusic language) involving possessive morphology will be discussed, and a unified semantic analysis will be sought. In regular possessive NPs, the possessee agrees in person and number with the possessor, while the alienable possession suffix is used to indicate a situationally determined relationship. The possessive agreement suffix is required as well in destinative constructions, marking objects 'destined for' a particular person or purpose. Definiteness is also marked by the possessive-agreement suffix. These constructions seem unrelated at the first glance, but the Split Approach (Partee & Borschev 2003), which distinguishes common and relational nouns, allows us to arrive at a unified analysis. I will argue that the possessive agreement morpheme is actually an argument of the relationship, in which case its multifunctionality is not surprising. Because of the rich agglutinative morphology of Udeghe, many alleged deep structure nodes correspond to surface morphemes of Udeghe. This makes it easier to test a cross-linguistic hypothesis, and brings together the morphology, syntax and semantics involved in the phenomenon.

1. UDEGHE

Udeghe is a Manchu-Tungusic language, spoken in the southern part of the Russian Far East. The number of people who have Udeghe as their first language does not exceed 100. Udeghe lacks official status and is only used in everyday oral communication. This paper is based on the Southern dialect, spoken in the Khabarovsk region. The data comes from *A Grammar of Udihe* (Nikolaeva & Tolskaya 2001) and recently published texts (Nikolaeva, Perekhvalskaya & Tolskaya 2002, 2003).

Udeghe exhibits a rather high degree of morphological synthesis; but, though suffixation and agglutination are characteristic, agglutination is not absolute. Udeghe is an SOV language. However, head-finality is not rigid: in main clauses the word order is largely

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motivated by information structure. Pronominal arguments (subjects, objects and possessors) are easily omitted.

Udeghe has a dual system of root-controlled vowel harmony based on rounding and height distinctions. A harmonizing non-high non-front vowel in affixes will be schematically indicated by the capital *A*. (*nA* = *na* or *ne*).

2. ALIENABLE AND NON-ALIENABLE POSSESSION, DESTINATIVES AND DEFINITENESS

There are several constructions in Udeghe where possession is involved:

Possessive NP (example (1) below), where possessee agrees in person and number with the possessor;

Alienable possession (2), indicating a situationally determined relationship, marked by a suffix on the possessee;

Predicative use of alienable possession (3), where the alienable possession suffix is attached to the possessor, not to the possessee as in (2);

Destinatives (4), marking objects 'destined for' a particular person or purpose;

Definiteness (5), marked by the possessive-agreement suffix.

Possession in Udeghe invokes agreement morphology on the possessee, which is identical to one of the series of verb agreement suffixes, so (1) can mean either 'you write' or 'your letter'.

(1) si oño-i[1]
you write-2SG
'you write' or 'your letter'

The Alienable possession suffix (*-ŋi*), attached immediately after the possessee noun stem, indicates a situationally determined relationship:

(2) a. oloxi-ni
squirrel-3SG
'his squirrel, the squirrel which belongs to him'
b. oloxi-ŋi-ni
squirrel-AL-3SG
'the squirrel he pursued, the squirrel he saw, the squirrel he shot at, etc.'

[1] ABREVIATIONS: ACC – Accusative Case; AL – Alienable possession; DAT – Dative Case; DEST – Destinative Case; DIR – Directive; EP – Epenthetic element; INC – Inchoative; INF – Infinitive; INST – Instrumental Case; IMP – Imperative; LAT – Lative Case; LOC - Locative Case; N – Nominal derivational affix; PL – Plural; PL.POSS – Plural possessive suffix; PRES – Present; REF – Reflexive; V – Verbal derivational affix

Nouns marked by the alienable possessive suffix can be used as predicates of copular constructions. In this case, unlike what has been previously described, the suffix *-ŋi-* attaches not to the possessed noun but to the possessor, and is not followed by the personal agreement morpheme:

(3) Ei suese jegdige-ŋi.
this axe hero-AL
'This axe is hero's.'

The destinative suffix (*-nA*) attaches to an object destined for a particular person or purpose, and is obligatorily followed by a possessive-agreement suffix:

(4) bi zugdi-ne-i wo-i-ti.
me house-DEST-1SG make-PRES-3PL
'They are building a house for me.'

The third person singular non-reflexive possessive suffix *-ni* also optionally encodes the definiteness (identifiability, referentiality) of the corresponding noun:

(5) neki-ni dexi
spring-3SG till
'until (this) spring'

These five constructions seem unrelated at first glance, but the Split Approach, distinguishing common and relational nouns, allows us to arrive at a unified analysis.

3. SPLIT APPROACH

The structure of possessive NPs in English and cross-linguistically has been subject to much discussion. In the analysis of Partee (1983/1997) and Barker (1995), the possessor in a genitive phrase (i.e. *John* in *John's*) is always an argument of *some* relation, but the relation does not always come from the head noun. Such contrasts as *the books of John's/*John*; *the father of John/*John's*, suggest that relational and common nouns must be differentiated. A relational noun specifies the relation between the possessor and the possessee, where possessor is an argument of the relational possessee. The possessive relationship with common nouns, on the other hand, is denoted by the possessive suffix *'s*, and its exact meaning is determined by context. An R variable is introduced to denote this context-defined relationship, and the possessor is its argument.

Crucially, the meaning of what has been called the alienable possession suffix in Udeghe, corresponds to the meaning of Partee & Borschev's relational variable R, and the suffix surfaces exactly where the variable is expected to be introduced at deep structure in English. The Udeghe relational nouns such as kinship terms, body parts, etc., normally require the possessive personal agreement morpheme, and then the alienable possession suffix is generally not used.

I will argue that the personal agreement morpheme is actually the argument of either the relational noun or of the possessive relationship. The pronominal possessor (as well as a pronominal subject of a verb) is easily omitted (*si oño-i* = *oño-i* = 'your letter/you write'). More telling is that the agreement morpheme appears after the Case endings, which are expected to be external to agreement with the possessor. The similarity between the personal agreement morphemes, on the one hand, and personal pronouns, on the other hand, across Manchu-Tungusic languages, suggests a common origin, and also supports the hypothesis that the agreement morphemes act more like pronoun clitics than just like agreement markers.

This approach to possessive constructions will be used to describe the problematic semantics of the destinative constructions, and will shed light upon definiteness.

First we turn to English to clarify the NP structure proposed for Udeghe. Genitive constructions like *John's teacher*, *team of John's* offer a challenging testing ground for the argument-modifier distinction in NPs, both in English and cross-linguistically. After exploring a range of possible approaches: argument-only, modifier-only, and split approaches, split approach will be selected both for English and Udeghe.

3.1 ONE-ARGUMENT AND TWO-ARGUMENT NOUNS

A wide range of the possessive relationships can be expressed by the genitive in English. Some of these are exemplified in (6)

(6) a. John's hat
b. John's story
c. the table's leg
d. yesterday's problem
e. John's father
f. John's discussion of the problem
g. Rome's destruction

In these examples the relationships between the pairs of words are clearly not uniform, and often far from possessive. In some of these cases it looks like the relationship between the possessor and possessee mimics that between the verb and its subject (see (6f,g)). Sometimes, there appears to be a relation that resembles modification (6d). There are cases where some notion of possession is involved (6a), or a part-whole relationship (6c). In some cases, the relationship between the two words seems to be named by the noun itself (6e). In other cases, the relationship is ambiguous and context-dependent, e.g. (6b) can mean 'the story of John's life', 'the story written by John', 'the story book belonging to John', 'the story John tells us every time we see him', etc.

It is possible to group the sentences above according to the number of arguments of the noun:

(6a-d) have one argument: the referent.
story=λx.story(x); true of an *x* if it is a story
(6e) has two: the referent and the possessor.
father=λx.λy.father(x)(y); true if *x* is a father of *y*.
(6f,g) seems to have three (if the external argument is counted): the referent, the internal argument (object) and the external argument (agent).
discussion=λx.λy.λz.[discussion(x)(y)&agent(x)(z)];
True of an x if it is a discussion of y and if the agent of it is z.

Answering the question of whether a uniform account of sentences in (6) is possible, is linked to deciding where the possessive relationships come from. One approach (Jensen & Vikner 1994) is to assume that the noun's meaning itself determines the relation. This seems most natural for the cases like (6e-g) where we might think of the genitive as being an argument of the relation denoted by the noun. Then the relationship would vary freely from noun to noun and from context to context.

Yet, the relationship between a common noun and its possessor is not completely arbitrary, so there must be something uniformally present to derive the meaning. The most natural candidate is the possessive suffix *'s*. In some cases, indeed, the possessive meaning is linked to the presence of the suffix, but not always.

3.2 THE *'S* SUFFIX

The contrast in (7) suggests that the possessive meaning correlates with the presence of the possessive suffix *'s* for common nouns (one argument: (7b,d)), but not for relational nouns (two arguments: (7a,c)):

(7) a.	the father of John	a'. John's father
b.	*the house of John	b'. John's house
c.	the solution of the problem	c'. the problem's solution
d.	*the solution of John	d'. John's solution

Only an object of a noun (*father, solution*) in English can be marked with *of*. That is, the presence of *of* is a diagnostic for arguments vs. modifiers.

If the possessive meaning were uniformally built into the possessee noun (whether common or relational), it would be unexpected that an argument of the noun could be adjoined in an *of John* phrase in some cases, but not in others. Grammaticality of an *of John* paraphrase correlates with relational-ness of the possessee. The *'s* suffix must appear on a possessor of a common noun, which is why (7b'), or *a house of John's* are grammatical.

What (7) shows us is that the suffix *'s* is actually homophonous between two meanings. With common nouns, the *'s* suffix introduces the relationship, while with relational nouns it is semantically empty. With relational nouns the *'s* suffix could assign Case to the possessor, just like *of* does, which is also considered semantically empty.

Thus, in (7b), the possessor is an argument of a possessive relationship, rather than the noun itself. With common nouns, the possessive relationship comes from the 's suffix, and, therefore, a possessor cannot appear in an *of*-phrase.

In an NP with a common noun, *John* combines with the *'s* suffix to produce an <e,t> type predicate which is true of an *x* if the relationship holds between that individual *x* and John.

The ambiguity of phrases like 'Mary's former mansion', discussed in Section 3.4, suggests that the *'s* suffix must appear lower than it surfaces. I assume that the DP is formed by movement from an underlying form similar to Figure 1 and 2.

Consider, for example, the derivation of *John's house*: *house* is an <e,t> type predicate which is true of an individual *x* if *x* is a house. The predicate *house* and the predicate *John's* combine by the predicate modification rule:

(8) **Predicate Modification**[2] (a.k.a intersective modification): if A and B are sisters and A's and B's meanings are both functions that map any individual *x* to a truth value, then [AB] is interpreted as the function *f* that maps any individual *x* to True if and only if both A's and B's meanings are true.

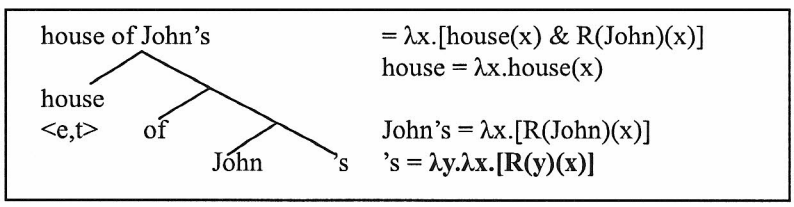

Figure 1

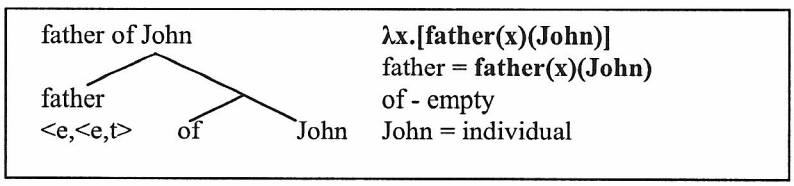

Figure 2

The contrast in (7c,d) suggests that the internal argument of a deverbal noun (*solution*) behaves like an argument of a relational noun, i.e. can be adjoined in an *of*-phrase, while the external argument (*John*) cannot.

I am adopting the view that subjects of verbs are not directly arguments of verbs but are, rather, externally licensed, as advocated by Kratzer (1996). Under this approach, the meaning of *John solved the problem* is:

(9) λe.[solve(e)(problem) & agent(e)(John)].

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[2] Jon Nissenbaum, lecture notes.

In *John's solution of the problem,* the possessor, *John,* is also externally licensed, but in this case it is an argument of the R variable, rather than an agent-predicate. The agentive meaning is included in the range of the meanings of the R variable, as is clear from non-deverbal examples like *John's portrait of Mary* where John can be the painter.

In *John's solution of the problem,* solution acts as a relational noun; *problem* is the internal argument of *solution.* When combining with *John's* the phrase *solution of the problem* behaves like a monotransitive common noun, since the internal argument of *solution* is saturated. In *John's solution* an internal argument (*problem*) is implied. Thus *John* cannot be considered an argument of *solution* and patterns with possessors of common nouns.

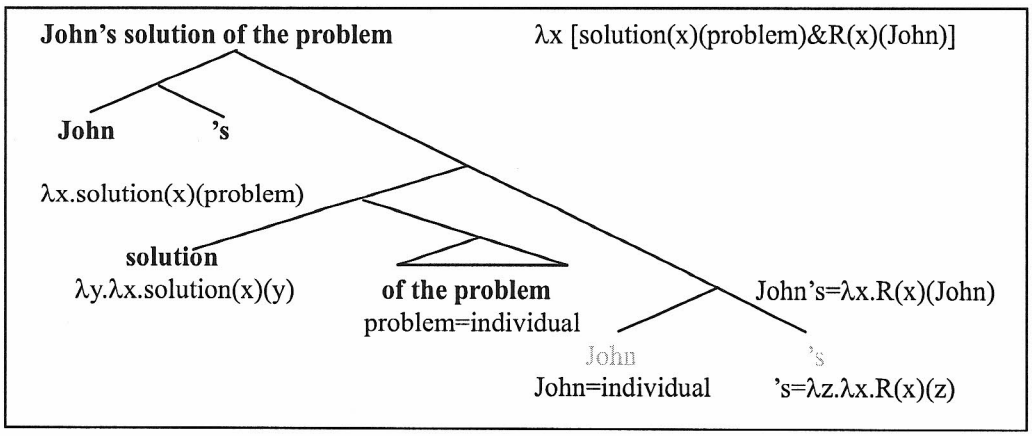

Figure 3

3.3 POSSESSORS AS PREDICATES

The fact that a possessor can act as a post-copular predicate with common nouns (10c,d), but not with relational nouns(10a,b), is another reason for suggesting that the possessor cannot be an argument of a common noun.

(10) a. *This father is John's[3]
b. *This solution is the problem's.
c. This solution is John's. (where John is the agent!)
d. This house is John's.

It has been suggested[4] that the predicate construction is a case of ellipsis (*this house is John's house*). Yet, even if it is, this does not explain the contrast between (10a,b) vs. (10c,d), nor why the reading of (10c) is necessarily agentive. Evidently, only a possessor of a common noun can appear in a predicative (post-copular) position. The agentive reading of (10c) is coherent with the contrast discussed above and the structure in Figure 3. The internal

[3] Partee & Borschev 2003: 69
[4] Kyle Johnson, p.c.

argument (*problem*) behaves like an argument of a relational noun, so **this solution is the problem's* is ungrammatical just like (10a) and, since the external argument (*John*) is not an argument of its possessee, (10c) is grammatical like (10d).

In (10d) the possessive relationship comes from the possessive suffix attached to *John*. The suffix introduces a two-argument function that maps two individuals *x* and *y* to True if and only if the relationship denoted by the context-determined variable R holds between the two individuals. When the function is combined with the individual *John,* it turns into a one-argument function <e,t> that maps an individual *x* to True if the relationship denoted by R holds between that individual *x* and *John.* As a transitive function of type <e,t>, *John's* can act as a predicate.

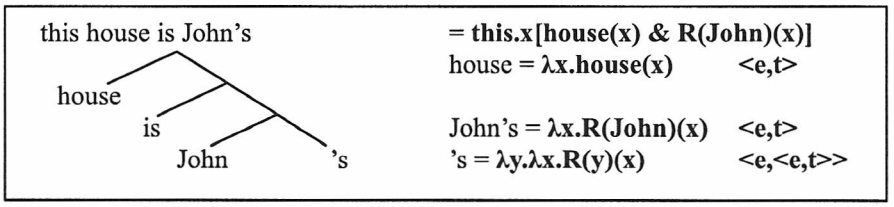

Figure 4

In (10a), there is a type mismatch: the relational noun is of <e,<e,t>> type, demanding a referent and a possessor. For example, *father* <e,<e,t>> maps two individuals *x* and *y* to True if and only if *x* is a father of *y.* Predicate modification cannot apply:

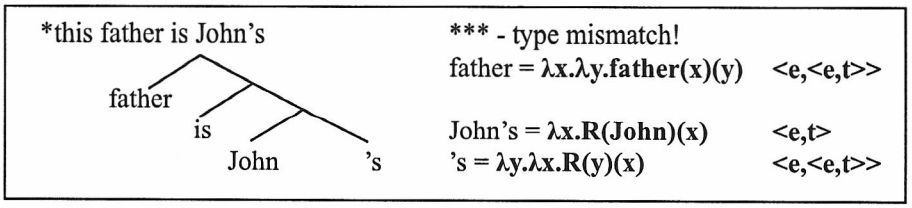

Figure 5

The question arises: how can sentences like (11) be grammatical if *the father* is a ditransitive noun <e,<e,t>> and the predicate *came in* is of type <e,t>?

(11) The father came in.

The difference between (10a) and (11) is that in (10a) there is an implicit argument. The *y* argument of *the father* in (11) may be existentially bound:

(12) ∃y.father(y)(x):there is an individual *x* such that the individual *y* is the father of *x*.

In sentences such as (11) the individual *x* who came in can only be referred to as *the father* if there is an individual *y,* known to the speaker and the audience, of whom *x* is the father. Because the possessor argument is existentially closed, *the father* in (11) is a transitive noun <e,t>, just like a common noun.

Yet, in (10a) *this father* being existentially closed would lead to a controversy, since the post-copular genitive cannot be the implicit argument. Thus, the meaning of the sentence is just as odd as *pro's father is John's.*

The contrast in (10b,c) supports the hypothesis that the internal argument takes the single position of the argument of a relational noun, and the agent behaves like a possessor of a common noun: (10b) can only refer to John being the agent (author) of the solution, while (10c) where the argument (direct object) attempts to be a predicate, is ungrammatical.

This contrast is explained by the fact that the internal argument, as a true argument of the verb and the deverbal noun, cannot act as a predicate, just like an argument of a relational noun. The external argument of a verb (*John*) is licensed separately: either by the agent node in (9), repeated below, or by the R-node (*'s* suffix) in (9'):

(9) John solved the problem: **λe.[solve(e)(problem) & agent(e)(John)]**

(9') John's solution of the problem: **λx.[solution(x)(problem) & R(John)(x)]**
(where the referential x is parallel to the event variable, and the possessive variable R is interpreted as agent from the context)

3.4 MARY'S FORMER MANSIONS AND HUSBANDS

One proposal[5] about how to locate where the possession relation originates syntactically, comes from the analysis of temporal adjectives like *former.* As can be seen from (13),

(13) a former mansion

former ascribes to an individual a property named by the noun (*mansion*), but asserts that that property no longer holds. This meaning can be expressed with (14)

(14) λx.it used to be true but is no longer true[mansion(x)]

Surprisingly, when *former* appears in a possessive NP with a common noun, an ambiguity arises:

(15) Mary's former mansion

(15) can refer to a still existing mansion formerly owned by Mary, or to the ruins of a mansion still belonging to Mary. That is, *former* can describe either the property of being a mansion or the possessive relationship. Typical representations of DPs parse genitives so that the possessor appears rather high:

[5] Partee & Borschev (2003); Larson & Cho (2003).

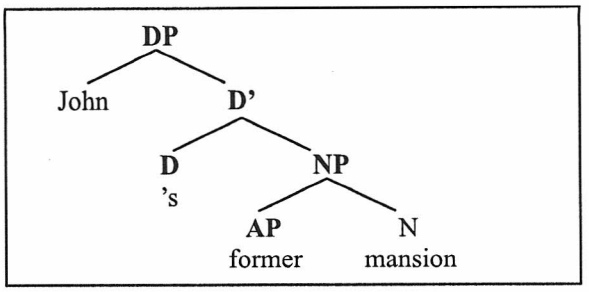

Figure 6

This places the possessive relationship outside the scope of any adjective. Adjectives combine with nouns; the determiner combines with the result. So, by the time *John's* is combined with the NP, an adjective like *former* has already been put together with the N. Under this approach the possessive relationship falls outside the semantic scope of *former,* permitting only an N-modifying reading.

The solution is a structure similar to Figure 1, where the possessor, along with the possessive relationship, starts below the possessee and moves up:

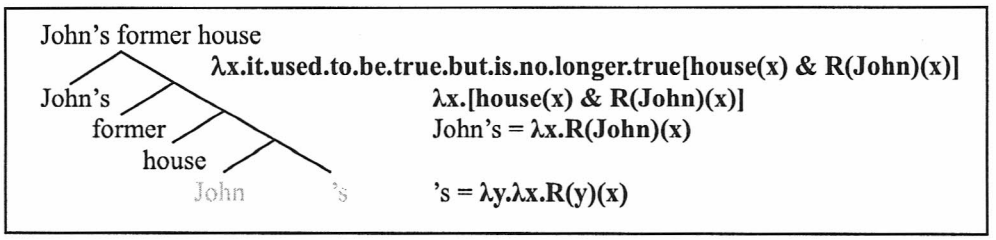

Figure 7

The interpretation of the entire NP is, 'true of an *x* if it used to be true and is no longer true that *x* is a house and the possessive relationship holds between the house and John.'

By the De Morgan's law given in (16)

(16) ¬(A&B) = ¬A or ¬B

we get the following: 'the predicate is true of an *x* if either it is no longer a house or if it is no longer John's' – which is exactly the result we were looking for.

The ambiguity is not present for relational nouns, as in (17):

(17) Mary's former husband

Crucially, (17) cannot mean that the former husband is a divorced man now 'belonging' to Mary.[6] The ungrammaticality does not come from the strangeness of the concept of a former husband belonging to Mary. The genitive has a wide variety of meanings, which, in cases like *Mary's guy* can range over meanings such as 'the type of guy Mary likes', 'the guy Mary always talks about', 'the guy who is stalking Mary', etc. Therefore, there is no pragmatic reason to deny such readings for cases like *Mary's former husband*, where it would mean, e.g. the (someone else's) former husband Mary is always talking about.

The non-ambiguity is also predicted by the analysis suggested above (Section 3.1-3). If the possessor is an argument of the relationship (e.g. *John* is an argument of *teacher* in *John's teacher* parallel to *He teaches John*), the *teacher* must combine with *John* before it can combine with *former:*

(18) λx.[it used to be true but is no longer true that teacher(John)(x)]

That is, it used to be true but is no longer true that the relationship known as teacher holds between John and *x*.

In this case, unlike the common nouns, there is no conjunction to decompose into a disjunction, and, hence, no ambiguity.

3.5 SUMMARY

In this section the contrasts between relational and common nouns in English were explained by assuming that a relational noun specifies the relation between the possessor and the possessee, e.g. John's father = λx.father(John)(x).

On the other hand, the possessive relationship for the common nouns is denoted by the possessive suffix *'s*, which introduces the relationship variable R, whose exact meaning is determined by context, e.g. John's house = λx.[house(x)&R(John)(x)].

The analysis of phrases with *former* suggests that the possession relationship must be introduced lower than it appears on the surface, so the possessor starts out below the possessee and moves up to its surface position.

4. POSSESSIVE NPS IN UDEGHE

4.1 MEANINGS OF THE POSSESSIVE SUFFIX:

The possessive construction in Udeghe can express a variety of relations, not just possessive in a strict sense. The possible meanings include possession (19a), part/whole relationship (19b,c), species relationship (19d), gender/age relationship (19e-g), measure relationship (19h), definiteness (19i,j), and focused adjectives (19k).

[6] For some speakers this reading is not absolutely impossible, though still hard to imagine. This might suggest that for those speakers there is an implicit possessor argument of *husband* present.

(19) a. si tade-i
you arrow-2SG
'your arrow'
b. tege ukie-ni
dress sleeve-3SG
'a sleeve of a dress'
c. mulexi uli-ni
bucket water-3SG
'a bucket of water'
d. talu mo:-ni
birch.bark tree-3SG
'birch tree'
e. n'au en'ese-ni
chicken female-3SG
'hen'
f. n'au amina-ni
chicken male-3SG
'rooster'
g. n'au site-ni
chicken kid-3SG
'chick'
h. uli sunʈele-ni
river depth-3SG
'the depth of the river'
i. ei mo:-ni
this tree-3SG
'this tree'
j. bua-ni
heaven-3SG
'Heaven'
k. zua xekui-ni
summer hot-3SG
'In summer it is very hot.'/'a very hot summer'

4.2 ALIENABLE POSSESSION

In Udeghe, the so-called alienable possession morpheme indicates that the relationship between two nouns is some kind of a situationally determined association, for example: *oloxi-ni* means 'his squirrel (the squirrel which belongs to him)', but *oloxi-ŋi-ni* means 'his squirrel (the squirrel he pursued, the squirrel he shot at, the squirrel he saw, and so on)'.

The suffix *-ŋi* is attached immediately after the noun stem. It does not (unlike the possessive/agreement affixes) refer to the person or the number of the possessor. It must obligatorily be followed by the regular possessive affix (20) (except the predicative use, (V) in Table 1, also discussed in Section 4.4). The Case affix, if present, is located between *-ŋi-* and the possessive suffix (20b).

(20) a. nua-ni ja:-ŋi-ni
he-3SG cow-AL-3SG
'his/her cow'
b. xatala-ŋi-we-u[7]
girl-AL-ACC-2PL
'your$_{PL}$ girl$_{ACC}$'

The meaning of the alienable possessive forms is not homogeneous, and clusters around five types:

(I) temporary ownership	bi imo:-ŋi: (< bi imo:-ŋi-i) me fat-AL.1SG 'my (boar) fat'
(II) alienable possession	Bi ja:-ŋi: xonto ni: na:-ŋi-le-ni ŋene:-ni. me cow-AL.1SG another man land-AL-LOC-3SG go.PAST-3SG 'My cow went onto somebody else's land.'
(III) abstract associative relationship through a certain activity	Bi tuduze-ŋi: sagdä-ŋku. me potato-AL.1SG big-PL 'My potatoes (those cultivated by me) are big.'
(IV) substitutional meaning 'instead of something'	Bi tiu-ŋi: bu-je bi kapta-si:-le. me pillow-AL.1SG give-IMP.2SG me parcel-V.1SG-CONT 'Give me something as (instead of) a pillow so that I can roll it up.'
(V) predicative function (without the regular possessive affix)	Ei zugdi bi ami-ŋi:. this house me father-AL.1SG 'This house is my father's.'

Table 1. Meanings of alienable possession suffix

4.3 RELATIONAL VS. COMMON NOUNS IN UDEGHE

The ordering of morphemes in a maximal noun phrase is:

(21) [Possessor [N-AL-PL.Poss[8]-Case-AGR]]

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[7] = daughter: a girl, temporally belonging to her parents, in the context of a marriage proposal

[8] The Possessive Plural suffix *-nA-* is used with kinship terms and certain other nouns denoting persons and always cooccurs with a Possessive suffix within a word, for example:

(i) Udie tue-ze-zi sita-na-zi-fi bagdi-e-ti.
Udihe winter-N-INST child-pl-INST-REF.PL live-PAST-3PL
'The Udihe lived in winter huts with their children.'

The set of agreement suffixes coincides with one of the series of verb agreement suffixes, used for future, converbs, present participle, and future participle.

The possessor triggers the agreement, like a verb's external argument, and can be interpreted as an argument of the possessive relationship, introduced separately, rather than as an argument of the noun itself.

(22) bi onö-i 'I draw' or 'my drawing.'

Relational nouns (such as kinship terms, body-parts, measures, seasons...) do not normally appear without the possessive-agreement morpheme.

It has been suggested for English that the relational nouns such as *father* take an implicit argument, even when the possessor is not stated explicitly. The reason for that is pragmatic: a father is necessarily *someone's* father. In Udeghe the obligatory presence of the possessor argument of the relational nouns is morphologically marked.

The relational nouns also may appear with the alienable possession suffix when conditioned by situation (23a):

(23) a. nakta dili-ŋi: (< dili-ŋi-i)
boar head-AL.1SG
'my boar head'
b. nakta dili-ni
boar head-3SG
'boar's head'

Most of the words denoting various types of property (such as a house and various household objects: clothes, weapons, boats, domestic animals) do not require the suffix of alienable possession and may take the regular possessive morpheme to express a strictly possessive relationship. For example, *the house*, unlike relational nouns, may appear with (as in 24a) or without (as in 24b) the possessive morpheme:

(24) a. nuani zugdi-ni
he house-3SG
'his house'
b. ŋene:-ni zugdi-tigi
go.PAST-3SG house-LAT
'he went home'

Other nouns that do not denote things that can typically be considered inalienable property, do not take the personal agreement morpheme without an alienable possession morpheme.

There is also a small group of words denoting temporal possessions for which the expression of alienable possession is practically obligatory. In this they differ from relational nouns and property, for which the marking by the suffix *-ŋi-* is conditioned by the situation (23a). These are as follows:

(i) *na*: 'land' when it is regarded as somebody's property (as opposed to 'earth', 'ground', 'country')
(ii) *mo*: 'tree', whereupon its meaning changes to 'firewood which belongs to somebody' or refers to a tree which, for example, grows by somebody's house
(iii) *zä*: 'money'; which constantly changes owners;
(iv) *ja*: 'cow'. Cows were introduced into Udeghe way of life not so long ago, so it is a foreign and temporary kind of property, which is likely to be bought and sold, unlike, for example, dogs.

Thus, nouns can be divided into three groups depending on whether the personal agreement suffix and the alienable possession suffix are required:

Group (I) relational nouns that require a possessive-agreement morpheme;
Group (II) the strictly non-relational nouns that cannot take a possessive-agreement morpheme without the alienable possessive suffix;
Group (III) nouns that optionally take a possessive-agreement morpheme.

Nouns in Group (I) and (III) can always take the alienable-possession suffix, when it is required by context. Cases where the possessive agreement suffix denotes definiteness and, therefore, the relational vs. common noun contrast is irrelevant will be discussed separately in Section 6.

It must be noted that the division between common and relational nouns is not universal, but language specific. What is seen in one culture as a possible property, in another culture might be viewed only as a temporary possession. For example, in English *house* behaves like a common noun, while in Udeghe it is semi-relational (Group (III)), or *cow* in Udeghe is different from all other household animals and is a common noun (Group (II)). It would be an interesting question if a noun could switch groups with time, e.g. if cows would eventually become semi-relational nouns like the rest of household animals...

The contrast between relational and non-relational nouns is morphologically marked in Udeghe by requirement/optionality of the personal agreement suffix. This clearly supports the description outlined in Section 3 for English, where the evidence was less obvious. In English, the evidence for the contrast between relational nouns, of which the possessor is an argument, and common nouns, where the possessor is a modifier; as well as for the introducing an R variable, is indirect. The contrast is seen through differences in syntactic behaviour: relational nouns, but not common nouns, can appear in an *of*-phrase (like *father of John*), while only common nouns can act as predicates (*this house is John's*). In Udeghe, on the other hand, the contrast is explicitly morphologically marked. With relational nouns a possessor is present (at least implicitly), and this is reflected by the agreement on the possessee. The common nouns require a separate morpheme to introduce the relationship between the possessee and the possessor, since the relationship is not inherent to a non-relational possessee.

The relational nouns (Group (I)) require two arguments: a referent and a possessor, and, therefore cannot appear without the possessive suffix. The R variable introduced to express the relationship between monotransitive common nouns (Group (II)) and their possessors is morphologically marked in Udeghe by the alienable possession suffix. Like the R variable in English (introduced by the *'s* suffix), it denotes a set of possible relationships, among which

the appropriate relation is selected by the context. The set includes temporary ownership, alienable possession, activities and substitutional meaning. The two-way nouns (Group (III)) have the option of appearing as monotransitive referential nouns or ditransitive relational nouns. In a relational noun the possessive meaning is built into the noun itself, while in a non-relational noun the relationship is introduced when the alienable possession suffix is adjoined. For example, compare ditransitive *dili* 'head' (25a) and ditransitive *mo:-ŋi* 'wood' (25b):

(25) a. *dili*: λx.λy.head(x)(y): true of an *x* if *x* is *y*'s head.
b. *mo:-ŋi:* λx.λy.[wood(x)&R(x)(y)]:
true of an *x* if *x* is wood and a relationship (in this case of temporal possession) holds between *x* and *y*.

4.4 THE POSSESSIVE-AGREEMENT MORPHEME

Neither (25a) nor (25b) is a complete word: both must combine with the personal possessive agreement suffix .The question arises, why is the suffix obligatory and what is its function?

It could be suggested that it is the possessive-agreement suffix that introduces the possessive relation, i.e. ni = λx.λy.R(x)(y). In that case the suffix would combine with common nouns and introduce the relationship, whether possessive or not. Yet, there are many objections to this solution. In that case it would be unclear why the suffix is obligatory, while the possessor DP is generally easily omitted. Besides, the role of the alienable possessive suffix would be unexplainable. Also, the suffix would be expected to be the closest to the root, while in Udeghe it is peripheral. The syntax of destinative phrases in Section 7 will provide further evidence against this hypothesis.

The other option that does not run into any of the problems listed above is to interpret the agreement morpheme as an argument of the relationship. In that case it is expected to be peripheral. It is also predicted to be obligatory with relational nouns or with the alienable possession morpheme.

Then the possessive-agreement morpheme is seen as similar to a personal pronoun. Actually, a common origin for the possessive morpheme and personal pronouns across the Altaic family has been suggested. A table comparing the forms of the personal pronouns with the personal agreement morphemes in Oroch, Evenki, and Udeghe, along with a suggested reconstruction of the proto-pronouns, is given in the Appendix.

In that case, the derivation of a relational NP (*hero's wife*) is as follows:

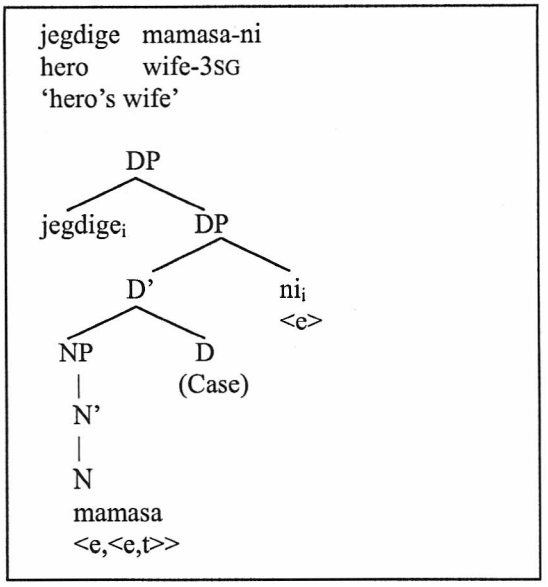

Figure 8

(i) **wife**, a ditransitive relational noun combines with its internal (possessor) argument, which is a bound third person singular variable, producing 'true of an *x*, if it is the wife of the third person singular individual that binds the possessive-agreement morpheme.'
(ii) **hero** is coindexed with the third person singular variable, and is interpreted as coreferential with it, which also makes the possessor definite, as coreferential with an anaphoric pronoun, which are always referential.

This model describes the NPs with alienable possession suffix as well:

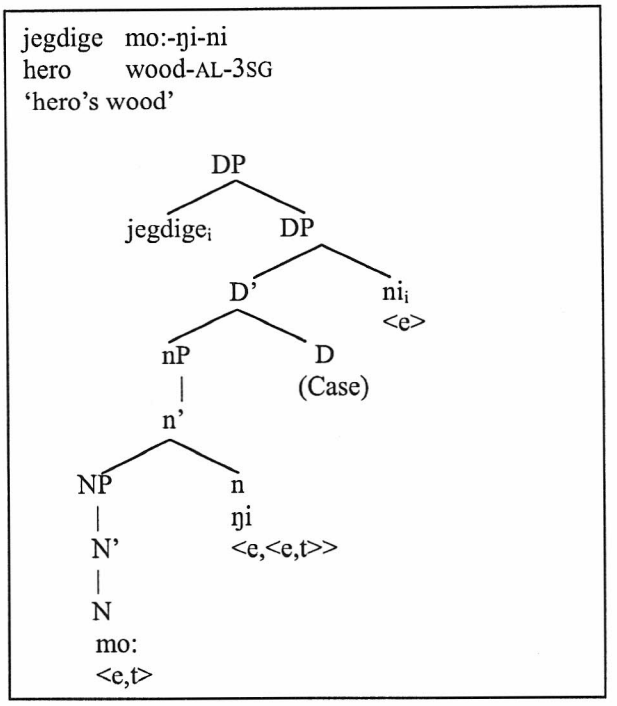

Figure 9

5. PREDICATIVE USE OF THE ALIENABLE POSSESSIVE

Nouns marked by the suffix of alienable possessive are used as the predicates of the copular construction. In this case, unlike previously described in Section 4.3, this suffix *-ŋi-* attaches not to the possessed noun but to the possessor, and is not followed by the personal agreement morpheme:

(26) a. Ei suese jegdige-ŋi.
this axe hero-AL
'This axe is hero's.'

The NP (*jegdige-ŋi*) is a one-place predicate <e,t>, which takes one referential argument (axe). The meaning of *jegdige-ŋi* in (26b) is λx.R(x)(hero) i.e. there is an *x* that 'belongs' to hero. Personal pronouns can also act as predicative possessors: *mini-ŋi* 'mine', *sini-ŋi* 'yours', etc.

The meaning of the alienable possession suffix should remain the same: λy.λx.R(x)(y). What is unclear is how the same suffix may appear either on the possessor or the possessee, and why with the possessor it is not followed by the personal agreement morpheme.

Yet, the two constructions are much more similar than they look at a first glance, if we assume that underlyingly the possessor precedes the possessive morpheme in both cases. Consider, for example, (27):

(27) ei suese jegdige-ŋi
this axe hero-AL
'this axe is the hero's'

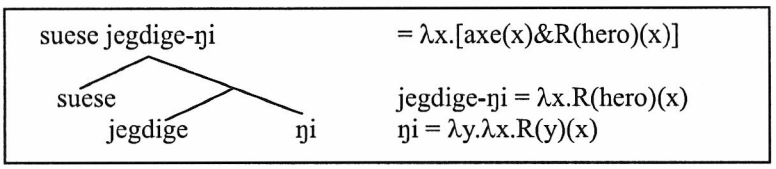

Figure 10

Unlike in Figure 8, the alienable possession suffix (*-ŋi*) first combines with its *y*-argument (possessor), which is its sister. The bound possessive-agreement morpheme is unnecessary in this case. The 'possessor' argument is saturated by the individual *hero*, and a one-argument referential expression is yielded: λx.R(x)(hero): true of an x if a relationship holds between that x and the hero. Then the predicate can combine, by predicate modification, with the one-argument referential expression λx.axe(x), yielding λx.[axe(x)&R(hero)(x)].

6. POSSESSIVES AND DEFINITENESS

Apart from the possessive meaning (possession in the strict sense and also the non-possessive relation between two entities), the third person singular non-reflexive possessive suffix *-ni* optionally encodes the definiteness (identifiability, referentiality) of the corresponding noun. The noun marked as definite by the third person singular suffix *-ni* is not a head of a possessive NP. It neither has an overt possessive modifier, nor is there a possessor recoverable from the context.

(28) a. Sita-**ni** tege-we gele-li-e-ni.
son-3SG gown-ACC ask-INC-PAST-3SG
'(Our) son is asking for a gown.'
(the mother is talking to her husband about their son, so *my, your,* or *our son* would be expected, but surprisingly – the suffix is third person singular)

b. neki-**ni** dexi
spring-3SG till
'until (this) spring'

c. Boxoso tüe-**ni** drugafa tukti-e-ni.
hunchback pole-3SG in.the.middle climb-PAST-3SG
'(In the yard, there was a pole.) The hunchback climbed up to the middle of the pole.'

The possessive personal agreement morpheme is not treated as a possessive anymore – but rather, more similar to a pronoun (whose referent either precedes it or is clear from context, i.e., both the speaker and the listener can uniquely identify a corresponding concept and establish its clear reference to a particular extra-linguistic entity.)

Cross-linguistically, free variables whose referents are determined by context invoke the presupposition that the referent is clear to both the speaker and the listener from the background. In Udeghe, the presence of the possessive-agreement morpheme in a possessive NP makes the entire NP definite.

In definite NPs like in (28) the morpheme is combined with a one-argument common noun that seeks a referent and saturates its *x*-argument by referring to the background.

7. DESTINATIVES

The destinative object corresponds to a possessive NP whose head is marked by the Destinative marker *-nA-* and the possessive affix, and denotes an object designated for a particular person (benefactive, when the modifier is animate (29a)) or purpose, when the modifier noun is inanimate (29b)).

(29) a. bi zugdi-ne-i wo-iti.
me house-DEST-1SG make-3PL
'They are building a house for me.'

b. Aŋala waktia-na-ni taluga-zi o:-ti.
pot lid-DEST-3SG birch.bark-INST made-3PL
'They made a lid for a pot out of birch bark'

The destinative suffix adds the meaning of intention or potentiality. For example, husband with the destinative suffix is the husband to be, potential husband. In this respect, the destinative suffix is similar to tense or modality of a verb phrase – since it refers to the time and likeliness of when a predicate might hold true.

7.1 AGAINST DOUBLE OBJECT ANALYSIS

Semantically, destinatives are reminiscent of English double object constructions. Unlike constructions with accusative direct object, destinative constructions cannot be passivized. Unlike a regular direct object, a destinative object cannot be coreferentially deleted, does not control subordinate clauses or depictives (but does control resultatives) and does not trigger attributive Case-agreement. In this respect it behaves like small clause, similar to *Mary a cake* in *I baked Mary a cake* (cf. English **Mary a cake was baked*; **It's Mary a cake that I baked*). This and the meaning of the construction suggest that it might be similar to English double object construction. Yet, there are considerable differences.

Though destinatives do not behave like regular object noun phrases in these respects, syntactically they act solidly like single constituents – structurally similar to the possessive NPs. A destinative object can be topicalized (30a), or be coreferential with a topicalized object (30b), or act as predicates (30c) or adjuncts (30d):

(30) a. Bi men-e suese-ne-mi aja suese-we ga:zi-e-mi.
me REF-EP axe-DEST-REF nice axe-ACC bring-PAST-1SG
'As for an axe for myself, I brought a nice one.'
b. Ei suese-we men-e neŋu-i suese-ne-ni wo:-mi.
this axe-ACC REF-EP younger.sibling-REF axe-DEST-3SG make.PAST-1SG
'This axe, I made it for my younger brother.'
c. Ni kusige-ne-ni?
who knife-DEST-3SG
'For whom is the knife?'
d. Sin-e-we gene-mi jegdige mamasa-na-ni.
you-EP-ACC take-1SG hero wife-DEST-3SG
'I am taking you as a wife for the hero.'

This evidence leads me to suggest that the constituent is somewhat like a regular DP, or a possessive structure.

7.2 WHY IS THE POSSESSIVE-AGREEMENT SUFFIX OBLIGATORY?

As was said above, the destinative suffix is obligatorily followed by a possessive-agreement suffix. Yet, the double object analysis is rejected, and an analysis under which the possessor is an argument of the destinative suffix will not be found acceptable either.

Interestingly, when a common noun (e.g. *tree*) is a destinative object, the alienable possession suffix is also obligatorily present, while with relational nouns (e.g. *husband*) it is not:

(31) a. mo:-ni-ne-m(i) mo:-lo-no:-n(i).
tree-AL-DEST-REF tree-V-DIR.PAST-3SG
'He went to cut wood for himself'
b. si mafa-na-i b'a:-mi.
you husband-DEST-2SG find.PAST-1SG
'I found a husband for you.'

This shows that the possessor must still be the argument of the relational noun or the relational variable – not of the destinative suffix. Thus, it must be a part of the meaning of the destinative suffix that it applies to a relation:

DEST=λR.future(R)

where R stands for a function that maps two arguments to a truth value – i.e. either a relational noun or a conjunction of a common noun with the relationship variable.

7.3 VERBS OF APPEARANCE VS. VERBS OF CREATION

Only certain verbs, namely verbs of appearance and creation, take the destinative object, e.g. *gagda* 'buy', *ule* 'dig', *zawa* 'take', *gele* 'ask (for something)', *wo:* 'make', *uli* 'sew', *olokto* 'cook', *b'a* 'find, get', *bu* 'give', *gen* 'fetch'...

Consider the contrast between (32a) and (32b).

(32) a. bi zugdi-ne-i wo-iti.
me house-DEST-1SG make-3PL
'They are building a house for me.'
b. si zugdi-ne-i b'a:-mi.
you house-DEST-2SG find.PAST-1SG
'I found a house for you.'

In (32a) the destinative object – the house – is in the process of being made and has not yet acquired the property of being a house. In (32b), however, the object is already a house.

With relational nouns (31b), the destinative suffix maps the relationship 'husband' to True if it is intended that the found individual becomes a husband.

Because with common nouns the destinative is applied to a conjunction, either part of the conjunction may be intended. So, if someone makes a lid for a pot, the intention is that the referent becomes a lid, and that the relationship holds between the lid and the pot. While if someone finds a lid for a pot – the referent is already a lid, but the relationship is still potential.

The destinative object is either not yet made, or the relationship is not yet holding – but it is the intention of the creator/finder/giver that the object – or the relationship – comes into the existence. This ambiguity is reminiscent of the treatment of *former* in Section 3.4, though the tenses are different. In both cases, a predicate of when the property and relationship in question holds true (not clear), is applied to a conjunction, and results in a disjunction. The meaning of destinative is something like 'it is intended to be true in the future that the quality denoted by P holds of x and that the relationship holds between x and y.' Like with *former,* the statement can be decomposed into 'it is intended that the quality P would hold, (with verbs like 'make') or that the relationship would hold (with verbs like 'find').'

7.4 THE STRUCTURE

Here I will collapse the D-head and K-head, so that both Case and destinative suffix appear in D. The structure could be expanded to have and empty D-head and have Case in K-head, which would not affect the analysis. Thus, the derivation of a relational destinative object is given in Figure 11, and of a common noun in Figure 12:

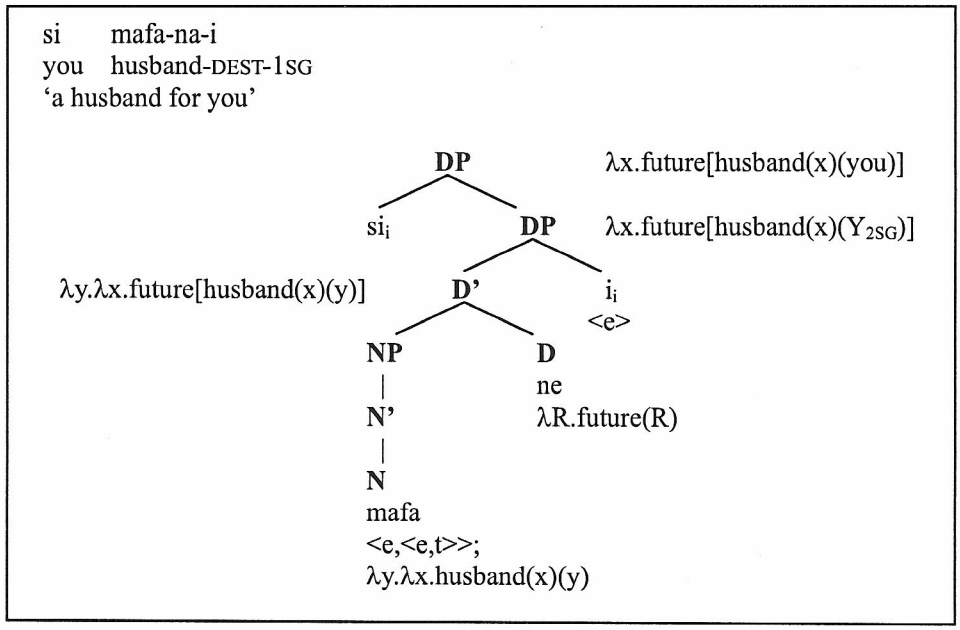
si mafa-na-i
you husband-DEST-1SG
'a husband for you'
DP
λx.future[husband(x)(you)]
si$_i$
DP
λx.future[husband(x)(Y$_{2SG}$)]
λy.λx.future[husband(x)(y)]
D'
i$_i$
<e>
NP
D
ne
N'
λR.future(R)
N
mafa
<e,<e,t>>;
λy.λx.husband(x)(y)

Figure 11

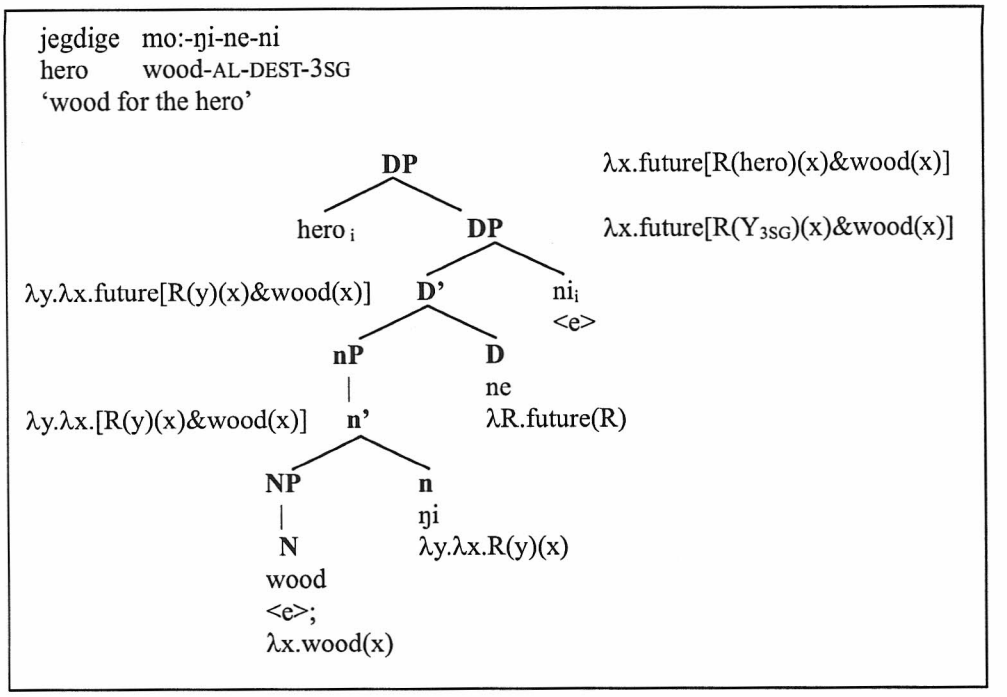

Figure 12

8. CONCLUSIONS

The contrast between relational and common nouns in Udeghe was established and proven to be expressed morphologically. The possessor is a required argument of a relational possessee and an optional argument of a semi-relational possessee. For common nouns, the alienable possession suffix introduces the relational variable, of which the possessor is an argument.

The semantic analysis of the possessive NPs allowed us to preserve a uniform meaning of the alienable possession morpheme, though for related languages two different homophonous suffixes: one attached to the possessor and the other one attached to the possessee, were postulated (e.g. Bulatova 2000). Under my analysis, on the contrary, the same suffix attaches to the possessor or possessee.

When the alienable possession suffix is attached to the possessor, the possessor saturates its y-argument, and a predicate is formed, that maps an individual to True if the relationship between that individual and the possessor holds.

The possessive-agreement morpheme is analyzed as an argument of the possessive relationship, a *y*-argument co-indexed with the full NP possessor, or the referential *x*-argument, in which case it marks definiteness.

The destinative construction has been proven to have the same structure as the possessive NP. The destinative suffix adds the meaning of intention or potentiality, similar to

tense or modality of a VP. It introduces a function that takes a relationship as its argument – and this is why it is always followed by a possessive-agreement morpheme.

APPENDIX A: CASE AFFIXES AND THE MAJOR SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF CASES

Nominative *Ø* subject, possessor, object of postpositions, reflexive object, predicate
Accusative *-wA/-mA* direct object, causee
Dative *-du* indirect object, causee, passive agent, local adjunct
Lative *-tigi* local adjunct, indirect object
Locative *-lA/-dule* local adjunct
Prolative *-li/-duli* local adjunct
Ablative *-digi* local adjunct, standard of comparison
Instrumental *-zi* manner adjunct, comitative adjunct or modifier
Destinative *-nA-* direct object, beneficiary (the Destinative must be followed by a possessive affix)

APPENDIX B: COMPARISON OF PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVE AGREEMENT MORPHEMES IN MANCHU-TUNGUSIC LANGUAGES

	Udeghe		**Evenki**		**Oroch**		
	pronoun	**poss.**	**pron.**	**poss.**	**pron.**	**poss.**	**reconstructed personal pronouns**[9]
1sg	bi	i, mi	bi:	β, iβ, mi:	bi:	vi, i, mi, bi	*-mi(n) ~ -bi(n)
2sg	si	i	si:	s, is, ni:, li:, ri:	si:	si	*-si(n)
3sg	nuani, bueni	ni	nuŋan	n, in	n'i	nuŋan'i	*-i(n)
1pl excl	bu	u, mu	bu:	βun, mun	biti	pi	*-bi (1) + *-in (excl.)
1pl incl	minti	fi	mit	t, it, ti	bu:	mu, bu	*- bi(1) + *-ti (incl.)
2pl	su	u	su:	sun, nun, lun, run	su:	su, hu	*-si (2) + *-in ~ -uə
3pl	nuati, bueti	ti	nuŋartin	tin	ti	nuŋanti	

[9] Ramstedt (1957); Baskakov (1981).

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RÉSUMÉ

En Udeghe (une langue Manchu-Tungusic) il y a quelques structures qui utilisent la morphologie possessive. Je vais les discuter et chercher une analyse unifiée. En général, dans une phrase nominale possessive de l'Udeghe, le possesseur s'accorde avec le possédé en genre et en nombre. Le suffixe de possession aliénable est utilisé pour indiquer une relation déterminée par le contexte. Le suffixe possessif d'agrément est aussi utilisé dans les constructions destinatives, en marquant les objets destinés pour une personne ou un but particulier. Un nom défini est aussi marqué par le suffixe d'accord possessif. Ces constructions ne semblent pas reliées, mais le «Split Approach» (Partee et Borschev), qui distingue les noms communs et relationnels, aide à trouver une analyse unifiée. Je vais montrer que le suffixe d'accord possessif est un argument de la relation, et que, dans ce cas, sa multifunctionalité n'est pas inqttendue. À cause de la morphologie agglutinative riche de l'Udeghe, beaucoup des noeuds de la structure profonde correspondent à des morphèmes à la surface en Udeghe. Cela permet de tester une hypothèse interlinguistique, et d'unifier la morphologie, la syntaxe et la sémantique du phénomène.