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THE SAKHA PROPRIETIVE SUFFIX -LEEX

This paper examines morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics of the proprietive suffix -LEEX of Sakha (Yakut). The suffix -LEEX is highly productive and has a wide-ranged usage: the resultant form functions as adnominal phrases or predicates (i.e., predicative possession) as well as noun phrases or adverbials. Semantically, the suffix -LEEX denotes not only simple possession, but often implies special connotation. When the base nouns is human, the proprietive expresses kinship relation, accompaniment, or approximate plural. When the base is a concrete noun, the proprietive often denotes ‘possession at that very moment’ as well as simple possession. When the base is an abstract noun, the proprietive denotes either a person characterized by that noun or a permanent or temporary property of humans or things. The proprietive construction may overlap the comitative construction or the existential construction. Although the proprietive suffix -LEEX has been described as an adjective-deriving suffix in the literature, this suffix shows some idiosyncrasy that ordinal derivational suffixes do not have. For example, suffixation after a plural suffix or directly to a verbal noun is possible with the suffix -LEEX. In addition, the paper examines the morphosyntactic characteristics of the abessive that is semantically contrastive but is not always symmetrical to the proprietive.

Key words: *Sakha, possession, proprietive, lexical integrity, abessive.*

1. Introduction

Sakha, also known as Yakut, is a member of the Turkic language family. It is spoken mainly in the Sakha Republic, and the number of speakers is estimated to be approximately 450,000¹. The basic word order in a typical transitive clause of Sakha is SOV. Sakha has an agglutinative morphology, and uses suffixes extensively.

This paper focuses on the proprietive suffix -LEEX and examines its morphosyntactic and semantic characteristics². The proprietive suffix -LEEX has high productivity and high frequency. In Section 2, an outline of the suffix -LEEX is given. In Section 3, we will examine the semantics of the suffix -LEEX. In Section 4, we will examine the abessive expression, which is semantically symmetrical to the proprietive. In Section 5, we will compare the proprietive construction with the comitative construction. In Section 6, we will compare the proprietive construction with the existential construction. In Section 7, we will examine the suffix -LEEX in the predicative position. In Section 8, we conclude the discussion.

2. The basic properties of the proprietive suffix

In works such as Kharitonov (1947: 134) and Ubrjatova et al. (1982: 163), the proprietive suffix -LEEX is described as an adjective-deriving suffix from nominal stems. However, the Sakha proprietive does have some additional special characteristics that typical derivational suffixes do not, as will be shown in this section. In the following section, we will examine the productivity, the morphological and syntactic properties, and the semantics of the proprietive suffix -LEEX.

2.1 Productivity

This proprietive suffix has high productivity in that it can be attached to various parts of speech, such as nouns, numerals, adjectives, and adverbs (Table).

Productivity of the Sakha proprietive suffix

N-PROP	N	Parts of speech of N
<i>ovo-loox</i> ‘having a child’ <i>tynnyk-teex</i> ‘having a window’ <i>tuha-laax</i> ‘useful’	<i>ovo</i> ‘child’ <i>tynnyk</i> ‘window’ <i>tuha</i> ‘profit’	Noun
<i>ys-teex</i> ‘at the age of three’ <i>otučča-laax</i> ‘having about 30’	<i>ys</i> ‘three’ <i>otučča</i> ‘about 30’	Numeral
<i>yčygej-deex</i> ‘having a good point’ <i>yryŋ-neex</i> ‘having a white spot’	<i>yčygej</i> ‘good’ <i>yryŋ</i> ‘white’	Adjective
<i>sajun-naax</i> ‘having summer’ <i>uhulučču-laax</i> ‘special’	<i>sajun</i> ‘in summer’ <i>uhulučču</i> ‘specially’	Adverb

¹ The data in this paper were collected during fieldwork in the city of Yakutsk conducted by the author or taken from the corpus data for the weekly newspaper *КЫЫМ*. The phonemic inventory of Sakha is as follows: /p, b, t, d, č[tʃ], ž[dʒ], k, g, s[s~h], x[χ~q], ʋ, m, n, ŋ[n̠], ŋ, l, r, j; a, aa, e, ee, o, oo, æ, œæ, u, uu, i, ii, u, uu, y, yy, uɑ, ie, uo, yœ/. The phoneme /s/ has two allophones [s] and [h], which are distinguished in the example sentence for the sake of convenience. Russian elements that are not phonetically nativized are transliterated.

² The proprietive suffix -LEEX has 16 allomorphs due to vowel harmony and initial consonant alternation rules: *-laax, -LEEX, -loox, -lœæx, -taax, -teex, -toox, -tœæx, -daax, -deex, -doox, -dœæx, -naax, -neex, -noox, -nœæx*. Further, the suffix-final /x/ turns into /b/ in the intervocalic position.

2.2 Phrase as input

The proprietive suffix *-LEEX* attaches not only to a single stem but also to a phrase. Sakha has two types of adnominal modification. One type is juxtaposition, whereby the proprietive suffix can be attached to a phrase containing a juxtaposed modifier and the head noun.

- (1) *saŋa* *ojox*
 new wife
 ‘a new wife’
- (2) *saŋa* *ojox-toox*
 new wife-PROP
 ‘having a new wife’
- (3) *xaar* *taŋan* *battax*
 snow white hair
 ‘snow-white hair’
- (4) *xaar* *taŋan* *battax-taax*
 snow white hair-PROP
 ‘having snow-white hair’

Sakha has another type of adnominal modification in which a possessive suffix is attached to the head noun. When the proprietive suffix *-LEEX* is attached to this type of phrase, the proprietive replaces the possessive suffix.

- (5) *xarax* *uu-ta*
 eye water-POSS.3SG
 ‘tears’
- (6) *xarax* *uu-laax*
 eye water-PROP
 ‘with tears’
- (7) *miliissije* *taŋah-a*
 police clothes-POSS.3SG
 ‘a police uniform’
- (8) *miliissije* *taŋas-taax*
 police clothes-PROP
 ‘with a police uniform’

The proprietive suffix *-LEEX* can also attach to a stem that contains a plural suffix. In this case, a derivational suffix *-LEEX* occurs outside a plural, that is, an inflectional suffix. This type of morpheme order is cross-linguistically rare, and on the ground we may say that the proprietive suffix *-LEEX* is not a typical derivational suffix³.

- (9) *egelge* *kehii-ler-deex*
 various souvenir-PL-PROP
 ‘with various souvenirs’
- (10) *tuuun* *boppuruos-tar-uu-n* *taaruuj-ar* *tieme-ler-deex*
 live problem-PL-POSS.3SG-ACC touch-VN.PRES theme-PL-PROP
 ‘with topics that relate with some hot problems’

In (10), the proprietive suffix *-LEEX* is attached to a pluralized stem and at the same time the stem is qualified by a verbal noun phrase. Thus, the suffix *-LEEX* can be attached to a noun modified by a verbal noun phrase or to a verbal noun itself. We will consider the latter case in Section 7.

³ Sakha extensively uses derivational processes: See Ebata (2011), Ebata (2013a), and Ebata (2013b). In Ebata (2011), this idiosyncrasy is explained by the degree of decategorization in derivation. In Old Turkic also, the proprietive suffix can be attached to a pluralized stem. As Erdal (2004: 139) states, “It is much more common in relatively late texts for +IXg to be added to nominals with the plural suffix.” In Modern Turkic languages, this morpheme order is attested only in Tyvan (Takashima, 2008: 70).

2.3 The morphology of ‘N-PROP’

As shown in the previous subsections, the suffix -LEEX can be attached to various types of host. At the same time, inflectional or other derivational suffixes can follow it. For instance, a stem with the suffix -LEEX behaves as a nominal stem and it can take a plural, possessive, or case suffix.

- (11) *saas-tuuu-laax-tar-buu-ttan*
age-SYM-PROP-PL-POSS.1SG-ABL
‘from people of my age’
- (12) *banquet* *uŋuruuu-laax-tar-u-n*
banquet invitation-PROP-PL-POSS.3SG-ACC
‘people who have an invitation to the banquet’

The proprietive suffix -LEEX can be followed by other derivational suffixes. Through my research, I collected examples in which the proprietive suffix is followed by the verb-deriving suffix – (i)msij, the simulative suffix -LIH, and the adverb-deriving suffix -TIK (13), (14), (15). In addition, the proprietive suffix -LEEX does follow another suffix -LEEX (16).

- (13) *æj-dææb-ymsyj*
mind-PROP-VBLZ
‘to pretend to be wise’
- (14) *tuuun-naax-tuuu*
breath-PROP-SIM
‘as if being alive’
- (15) *uksal-laax-tuk*
hurry-PROP-ADVLZ
‘in a hurry’
- (16) *tuox* *kuuruu-laax-taax-xuun-uj*
what edge-PROP-PROP-COP.2SG-Q
‘What kind of edged tools do you have?’

The suffix -LEEX can follow a plural suffix. At the same time, the stem with the suffix functions as a nominal stem. Therefore, two plural suffixes can appear before or after the proprietive suffix -LEEX⁴.

- (17) *oko-lor-doox-tor* *kel-li-ler*
child-PL-PROP-PL come-PAST-3PL
‘People who have children have come.’

2.4 The syntax of ‘N-PROP’

Syntactically, N-PROP can be used as a nominal, adjectival, or adverbial phrase. Considering that N-PROP can be used also nominally and adverbially, “adjective-deriving” is not a perfectly suitable description of the suffix -LEEX. The examples below show that N-PROP functions as a nominal, adnominal and adverbial phrase respectively.

- [Nominal phrase]
- (18) *at-taax* *satuuu-luuun* *argustas-pat*
horse-PROP on.foot-COM go.together-NEG: PAST:3SG
‘A person with a horse does not go together with a walker.’
- [Adnominal phrase]
- (19) *yrdyk* *yærex-teex* *kihi*
high education-PROP man
‘a person who had higher education’

⁴The same morpheme order is also possible in Tyvan, a Turkic language. The next example is by Arzhaana Syuryun, a native speaker of Tyvan: *ool-dar-lyg-lar* ‘people who have boys’ (boys-PL-PROP-PL).

[Adverbial phrase]

- (20) *ujaaħuŋ-ŋa* *giire-leex* *tur-bup-put*
 scale-DAT weight-PROP stand-PAST-1PL
 ‘We stepped onto the weight scale with a weight.’

3. Types of possessee nouns and the meaning of the proprietive suffix

In this section, we will examine the semantics of the proprietive suffix with reference to the possessee noun type: human, concrete, and abstract.

3.1 Human nouns

If the N is a human noun, the suffix -LEEX may have such meanings as: kinship relations, illustrated in (21); accompaniment, illustrated in (22); syntactically adnominal and semantically coordinative meaning, illustrated in (23); and approximate plural, illustrated in (24).

- (21) *tyært* *sien-neex-pin*
 4 grandchild-PROP-COP.1SG
 ‘I have four grandchildren.’

- (22) *ajta* *keskil-leex* *kuorak-ka* *kel-li-ler*
 PSN PSN-PROP city-DAT come-PAST-3PL
 ‘Ayta has come to the city with Keskil.’

- (23) *maahuŋka* *ubaj-daax* *ežij-e* *yrdyk* *yærex-teex-ter*
 PSN brother-PROP sister-POSS.3SG high education-PROP-COP.3PL
 ‘The brother and sister of Mahynka are well-educated.’

- (24) *bahuļaj-daax* *xanna* *bar-du-lar*
 PSN-PROP where go-PAST-3PL
 ‘Where have Bahylay and his fellows gone?’

When the subject is a human noun with the suffix -LEEX, the number marking in the predicate may be plural even if the subject does not contain a plural suffix.

3.2 Concrete nouns

If the N is a (non-human) concrete noun and is an “everyone”-type possessee, the suffix -LEEX is not interpreted as the simple possession, but may denote either ‘plenty N’ or ‘special N.’ Examples of the former type are *bulčuuŋ-naax* ‘well-muscled’ (< *bulčuuŋ* ‘muscle’) and *xarčuu-laax* ‘rich’ (< *xarčuu* ‘money’)⁵. Examples of the latter type are *kuolas-taax* ‘with a beautiful voice’ (< *kuolas* ‘voice’) and *mejii-leex* ‘intelligent’ (< *mejii* ‘brain’).

If the N is a (non-human) concrete noun and is a “not everyone”-type possessee, the suffix -LEEX may be interpreted as simple possession, but it often denotes ‘possession at that very moment.’ Examples of simple possession are (25) and (26). In (26), the meaning is that Vasilev authored more than 10 books, not that he has books physically with himself. In other words, in these examples of simple possession it does not matter whether the possession is a conceptual one or one at that very moment.

- (25) *massuuna-laax* *kihi* *syrbe-čče* *buruhuan-a*
 car-PROP man 20-APRX percent-POSS.3SG
 ‘20 percent of the people who have a car’

- (26) *ikki* *tul-unan* *uon-tan* *taxsa* *kinige-leex* *vasil’ev*
 two language-INS 10-ABL over book-PROP PSN
 ‘Vasilev, who has more than 10 books in two languages’

⁵Although ‘money’ is a type of inalienable possessee, *xarčuu-laax* (money-PROP) has a special connotation like other inalienable “everyone”-type possessives. A similar situation is pointed out by Tsunoda (2009: 153) in Japanese.

Contrary to (25) and (26), the suffix *-LEEX* is often used for the possession at that very moment when the N is not an “everyone”-type possessee. In this case, N can be ‘put on’ (27) and (28), ‘in use’ (29) and (30), or ‘ridden on’ (31) and (32).

- (27) *oko-but* *taŋas-taax* *utuj-but*
 child-POSS.1PL clothes-PROP sleep-PAST:3SG
 ‘Our child fell asleep with the clothes on.’
- (28) *xaluŋ* *taas-taax* *ačukku-laax* *uol-čaan*
 thick stone-PROP glasses-PROP boy-DIM
 ‘a little boy wearing glasses with thick lenses’
- (29) *oko-lor* *meečik-teex* *ooňnuu-l-lar*
 child-PL ball-PROP play-PRES-3PL
 ‘The children are playing with a ball.’
- (30) *biir* *uol* *gitara-laax* *ullaa-but-a*
 1 boy guitar-PROP sing-PAST-3SG
 ‘One boy sang a song (playing) with a guitar.’
- (31) *xajuhar-daax* *kihi* *kurduk* *tuox =ere* *ih-er*
 ski-PROP man like what =CLT come.toward-PRES:3SG
 ‘Something like a man with skis is coming toward me.’
- (32) *massuuna-laax-tar* *xaptaŋaj-unan* *sulž-uax-tara*
 car-PROP-PL PLN-INS go-FUT-3PL
 ‘People with a car will go via Xaptagay.’

As is the case with human nouns, the suffix *-LEEX* may be syntactically adnominal and semantically coordinative.

- (33) *saŋa* *urbaaxu-laax* *ustaan-u-n* *ket-en*
 new shirt-PROP pants-POSS.3SG-ACC wear-CVB
 ‘Wearing a new shirt and a pair of pants and ...’ (Čeremisina et al., 1995: 69)

N may indicate content here. In this case also, the suffix *-LEEX* must denote the togetherness of possessor and possessee; that the content is in the container. In (34) the content ‘alcohol’ must be in the container ‘bottle.’ Contrastively, the possessive suffix does not necessarily denote the togetherness of container and content, in other words, the content ‘alcohol’ does not have to be in the container ‘bottle’ (and often it is not in the bottle).

- (34) *aruguu-laax* *butuuulka*
 alcohol-PROP bottle
 ‘a bottle containing alcohol’
- (35) *aruguu* *butuuulka-ta*
 alcohol bottle-POSS.3SG
 ‘liquor bottle’

The suffix *-LEEX* may be attached to the container. Above, (34) and (36) are structurally symmetrical. When the suffix *LEEX* is attached to the container, it denotes either the unity of the possessor and the possessee or the amount of content (in this case *biir* ‘one’ is not necessary).

- (36) *butuuulka-laax* *aruguu*
 bottle-PROP alcohol
 ‘a bottle containing alcohol/a bottle of alcohol’

3.3. Abstract nouns

If the N is an abstract noun, N-PROP denotes either a person characterized by N or a permanent or temporary property of humans or things: (A) A person characterized by N: *kuajuuu-laax* ‘winner’ (< *kuajuuu* ‘victory’), *xaajuuu-laax* ‘prisoner’ (< *xaajuuu* ‘imprisonment’), *pensija-laax* ‘pensioner’ (< *pensija* ‘pension’), *olox-toox*

‘inhabitant’ (< *olox* ‘life’), etc.; (B) A permanent property of humans or things: *yærex-teex* ‘well-educated’ (< *yærex* ‘education’), *kyys-teex* ‘mighty’ (< *kyys* ‘power’), *kiN-neex* ‘irritable’ (< *kiN* ‘rage’), etc.; (C) A temporary property of humans or things: *xatuuu-laax* ‘locked’ (< *xatuuu* ‘lock’), *birieme-leex* ‘free’ (< *birieme* ‘time’), *ys-teex* ‘be at the age of three’ (< *ys* ‘three’), etc.

All the examples shown here can be used as nominal or adnominal phrases, but never as adverbial phrases. That is, N-PROP is used as an adverbial phrase only when the N is a concrete noun (either human or non-human).

3.4 Nouns that cannot take the suffix -LEEX

The proprietive suffix -LEEX has a high productivity, but some types of nouns never take this suffix: personal pronouns, possessive pronouns (*miene* ‘mine’ etc.), demonstrative pronouns, place names, locative nouns that use the present location as a benchmark (*ilin* ‘east’, *xanjas* ‘left’, etc.), and temporal nouns that use the present moment as a benchmark (*bygyn* ‘today’, *ehiil* ‘next year’, etc.). That is, the suffix -LEEX is not attached to deictic nouns or place names.

4. Abessive phrase

Sakha features an abessive (privative) phrase, which contrasts semantically with the suffix -LEEX. The abessive phrase is formed by the abessive suffix – (t) E and the postposed *suox* ‘absent’; for example, *xarčuu-ta suox* (money-ABES absent) ‘without money.’ In this section, we will examine the morphosyntactic characteristics of the abessive construction⁶.

4.1 Productivity

Just like the suffix -LEEX, the abessive suffix – (t) E also has high productivity. There are, however, two main differences from the case of the suffix -LEEX. First, the abessive phrase can also be formed from the personal and demonstrative pronouns; for example, *miigin-e suox* ‘without me’, *mant-a suox* ‘without this.’ Second, the abessive phrase cannot be formed from personal names.

Just like the suffix -LEEX, the abessive phrase may be formed from NPs modified by an adjective or an adnominal phrase. The abessive suffix – (t) e can also be attached after a plural suffix⁷.

(37) *yčygej yle-te suox*
 good work-ABES absent
 ‘without good jobs’

(38) *ies-ter-e suox*
 debt-pl-abes absent
 ‘without debts’

(39) *ulaxan uol-lara tuspa bar-ar žie-te suox*
 big son-POSS.3PL separate go-VN.PRES house-ABES absent
 ‘Their elder son is without a house he lives separate [from his parents].’

4.2 The morphology of the abessive

The head of the abessive phrase, *suox* ‘absent’, functions as a nominal stem in the morphological respect, and takes nominal inflectional suffixes such as plural, possessive, or case suffixes. In contrast, derivational suffixes cannot be attached to the abessive phrase, except for the adverb-deriving suffix -tik.

(40) *kuax-a suox-tar-uu-ttan*
 power-ABES absent-PL-POSS.3SG-ABL
 ‘due to being without its power’

(41) *tuah-a suox-tuk*
 sound-ABES absent-ADVLZ
 ‘silently’

⁶The author considers the abessive suffix – (t)E itself to be an inflectional suffix, and the abessive phrase as an equivalent to a derivative word. Only certain clitics may be inserted between the abessive suffix – (t)E and the word *suox* ‘absent.’ Previous works such as Ubrjatova *et al.* (1982: 160) describe the abessive phrase as the “negative form of adjectives.”

⁷The abessive suffix – (t)E never co-occurs with a possessive or a case suffix.

4.3 The syntax of the abessive

Just as N-PROP, the abessive phrase also functions as a nominal, an adjectival, and an adverbial phrase. However, unlike the suffix -LEEX, abessive phrases formed from abstract nouns also function as adverbial phrases.

[Nominal phrase]

- (42) *biir =da kyn-y tuha-ta suox-xa uuut-uma*
 one=CLT day-DAT benefit-ABES absent-DAT send: IMP-NEG:2SG
 ‘Don’t use a single day for things without benefits’

[Adnominal phrase]

- (43) *atax-a suox žaxtar*
 foot-ABES absent woman
 ‘a woman without feet’

[Adverbial phrase]

- (44) *oko-lor ajdaan-a suox utuj-al-lar*
 child-PL fuss-ABES absent sleep-PRES-3PL
 ‘The children are sleeping without a fuss.’

4.4 The semantics of the abessive

An abessive phrase formed from human nouns denotes non-accompaniment or absence of relatives.

- (45) *vitja ejigin-e suox bar-bat =yhy*
 PSN you-ABES absent go-NEG: PRES:3SG =HS
 ‘It is said that Vitya would not go without you.’

- (46) *bu žon tuox =da ajmax-a suox xallaan-tan*
 this people what =CLT relative-ABES absent sky-ABL

tys-pyt žon =duu
 fall-VN.PAST people =Q

‘Are these people ones who have fallen from the sky without any relatives?’

The abessive phrase formed from an “everyone”-type possessee may denote simple absence as in (43), but it does not always do so. For instance, the abessive phrase in (47) does not denote the absence of eyes themselves but the defectiveness of the visual sense. Similarly, the abessive phrase in (48) denotes the absence of consideration.

- (47) *ikki xarax-a suox ebe-bit*
 2 eye-ABES absent grandmother-POSS.1PL
 ‘our blind grandmother’

- (48) *syrex-e suox-tar-u at sæbylee-bet*
 heart-ABES absent-PL-ACC horse like-NEG: PRES:3SG
 ‘Horses do not like heartless people.’

Contrastively, an abessive phrase formed from a “not everyone”-type possessee always denotes simple absence.

- (49) *ahuuu-r ah-a suox*
 eat-VN.PRES food-ABES absent
 ‘without eating food’

- (50) *tæbæ-m ualž-ar buol-but-a senie-te suox-pun*
 head-POSS.1SG ache-VN.PRES be-PAST-3SG energy-ABES absent-COP.1SG
 ‘I got a headache. I do not have any energy.’

4.5 Asymmetry between the proprietive and the abessive

The semantics of the abessive phrase are symmetrical to those of the proprietive. However, there are several asymmetrical aspects in the morphosyntax. (A) The proprietive is expressed in a single suffix -LEEX, while the abessive phrase is formed compositively by the abessive suffix – (t) e and *suox* ‘absent’⁸. (B) Although the proprietive and the abessive have high productivity, the proprietive -LEEX cannot be attached to personal and demonstrative pronouns while the abessive phrase cannot be formed from person names. (C) N-PROP can only function as an adverbial phrase with a concrete noun, whereas an abessive phrase formed from any type of noun may function as an adverbial phrase.

5. Difference from the comitative construction

As mentioned in Section 3.1, the proprietive suffix -LEEX may denote accompaniment when attached to human nouns. Sakha also has a comitative suffix, whose main function is to denote accompaniment. The use of these two suffixes overlaps, and sometimes we can replace one with another without changing the sentence meaning. For example, (51) and (52) have the same meaning.

(51) *valja-luun kostja kel-li-ler*
 PSN-COM PSN come-PAST-3PL
 ‘Valya and Kostya have come.’

(52) *valja-laax kostja kel-li-ler*
 PSN-PROP PSN come-PAST-3PL
 ‘Valya and Kostya have come.’

However, there are cases in which the choice of suffix does affect the sentence meaning. A comitative NP cannot modify an NP: it always functions adverbially. Therefore, the comitative NP in (53) is never interpreted as an adnominal phrase modifying *kostja-nuu* ‘Kostya.’ That is, Valya in (53) must be one of the agents. On the other hand, N-PROP may function as an adnominal phrase (Section 2.4). ‘N-PROP’ in (54) must be interpreted as an adnominal phrase (otherwise, it could be an NP, but the person/number agreement rejects this reading). That is, Valya in (54) is one of the patients.

(53) *valja-luun kostja-nuu mæx-pyt-ym*
 PSN-COM PSN-ACC scold-PAST-1SG
 ‘Valya and I scolded Kostya.’

(54) *valja-laax kostja-nuu mæx-pyt-ym*
 PSN-PROP PSN-ACC scold-PAST-1SG
 ‘I scolded Valya and Kostya.’

6. Difference from the existential construction

N-PROP may be used for existence rather than possession when it is in the predicate position. Sometimes we can replace an existential construction (with *baar* ‘existent’) with a proprietive construction (with the proprietive suffix -LEEX).

When the possessor is animate and the N is alienable, the possessive construction (55) and the existential construction (56) have similar meanings.

(55) *min mannuk kinige-LEEX-pin*
 1SG like.this book-PROP-COP.1SG
 ‘I have such a book.’

(56) *miexe mannuk kinige baar*
 1SG: DAT like.this book existent: COP.3SG
 ‘I have such a book.’

Kazama (1999: 110–112) examined the difference between the proprietive and existential constructions of Sakha, arguing that inalienable possession is expressed by the proprietive construction. This is true. There are

⁸ Most Turkic languages have an abessive suffix such as Turkish -*slz* (Ščerbak, 1977: 99). Northeastern Turkic languages (Sakha, Tyvan, Xakas, etc.) lack such a suffix.

very few examples in which the existential sentence is used for body parts. A very unusual context (a math problem in the case of (57)) is needed for this.

- (57) *ut* *tyært* *atax-taax* *kihi* *ikki* *atax-taax*
 dog four foot-PROP: COP.3SG man TWO foot-PROP: COP.3SG
- baru-ta* *syrrbe ikki* *atax* *baar*
 all-POSS.3SG 22 foot existent: COP.3SG
- ut* *uonna* *kihi* *xah-uj*
 dog and man how.many: COP.3SG-Q
 ‘A dog has four legs. A man has two legs. **There are 22 legs.** How many dogs and mans are there?’

Kazama (1999) also points out that the proprietive construction is used when the possession is permanent. However, this is not always true. In (55) for example, the possession can be temporary or permanent. Similar examples are (58) and (59): In (58), the number of members may not be constantly two; In (59), the 5m/s wind is not stable. The proprietive construction is used when the possession is cohesive, rather than permanent.

- (58) *biligin* *bælæx* *ikki* *kihi-leex*
 now group two man-PROP: COP.3SG
 ‘Now the group has two members.’
- (59) *sækyynde-ke* *bies* *mietere* *tyrgen-neex* *tual-laax*
 second-DAT five meter fast-PROP wind-PROP: COP.3SG
 ‘It has a wind of five meters per second.’

7. The proprietive suffix -LEEX attached to the predicate

N-PROP may be a sentence predicate and is employed for modal expressions when the N is an abstract noun. This occurs with a verbal noun clause that precedes N-PROP. In the examples in 7.1, the clause headed by a verbal noun modifies the following N-PROP adnominally. In the examples in 7.2, the clause headed by a verbal noun functions as the subject and the following N-PROP is the predicate. In this section, verbal noun clauses are shown in brackets for ease of comprehension.

7.1 With a nominal clause

In the following examples, N-PROP syntactically serves as the predicate and is preceded by a nominal clause. Semantically, the nominal clause resembles a complementation clause, and N-PROP is a modal expression for the clause.

- (60) [*bu* *kelinji* *sul-lar-ga* *bilsi-betex-pit*] *kuhuuu-laax*
 this recent year-PL-DAT contact-neg: VN.PAST-1PL regret-PROP: COP.3SG
 ‘It is regrettable that we have not contacted each other in recent years.’
- (61) [*prezident* *pravitel'stvo* *tua* *sir-in* *kuhalba-lar-u-gar*
 president government country land-POSS.3SG anxiety-PL-POSS.3SG-DAT
- bolkomto-nu* *kyhyrды-byt-tere*] *yæryy-leex*
 attention-ACC enhance-VN.PAST-3PL joy-PROP: COP.3SG
 ‘It is delightful that the President and the government have enhanced attention to the problems in rural areas.’
- (62) [*anugusku* *spartakiada* *min* *tærææ-byt* *uluus-par*
 next sport.games 1SG be.born-VN.PAST district-POSS.1SG: DAT
- buol-ar-a*] *ulaxan* *kerexsebil-leex*
 be-VN.PRES-3SG big interest-PROP: COP.3SG
 ‘It is very interesting that the next sporting contest will be held in my hometown.’

Those cases of N-PROP that have a similar use are *maxtal-laax* ‘thankful’ (gratitude-PROP), *xajbal-laax* ‘wonderful’ (admiration-PROP), *žohun-naax* ‘respectable’ (important-PROP), and similar.

- (69) *min* *biir* *onnuk* *tybelte-ni* *isti-bit-teex-pin*
 1SG one such event-ACC hear-VN.PAST-PROP-COP.1SG
 ‘I have heard about such an event.’
- (70) *nahaa* *astug-u* *kepsii-r-deex-pin*
 very satisfactory-ACC speak-VN.PRES-PROP-COP.1SG
 ‘I will make a speech on a very satisfactory topic.’
- (71) *æræspyybylyke* *bečeet-in* *ejge-ti-n* *syrynnnyæ-x-teex*
 Republic printing-POSS.3SG field-POSS.3SG-ACC lead-VN.FUT-PROP
- terilte-ler*
 organization-PL
 ‘organizations that should lead the publishing field of the Republic’

8. Conclusion

This paper has examined the semantics and morphosyntax of the Sakha proprietive suffix -LEEX. The proprietive suffix -LEEX denotes not only simple possession, but also possession with a special connotation, such as ‘plenty if N’ or ‘possession at that very moment.’ The Sakha abessive phrase is semantically symmetrical to the proprietive, but its morphosyntax is not totally symmetrical to the proprietive. The proprietive construction may overlap the comitative construction or the existential construction. N-PROP is also used in the predicate with a nominal or adnominal clause headed by a verbal noun. The proprietive suffix can be attached to a verbal noun that still governs an accusative NP.

The literature, such as Kharitonov (1947: 134) and Ubrjatova et al. (1982: 163), describes the proprietive suffix as an adjective-deriving suffix. This description is not appropriate for the proprietive suffix. First, it is basically a derivational suffix, but it has a morphological idiosyncrasy that other derivational suffixes do not have: suffixation after a plural suffix and to a verbal noun. Second, N-LEEX can function as a nominal, adjectival, or adverbial phrase.

Abbreviations

-- suffix boundary	COM – comitative	PLN – place name
= – clitic boundary	COP – copula	POSS – possessive
1 – 1st person	CVB – converb	PRES – present
2 – 2nd person	DAT – dative	PROP – proprietive
3 – 3rd person	DIM – diminutive	PSN – person name
ABES – abessive	FUT – future	Q – question
ABL – ablative	HS – hearsay	RECP – reciprocal
ACC – accusative	IMP – imperative	SG – singular
ADVLZ – adverbializing	INS – instrumental	SIM – simulative
APRX – approximant	NEG – negative	VBLZ – verbalizing
CAUS – causative	PAST – past	VN – verbal noun
CLT – clitic	PL – plural	

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Эбата Ф.

ЯКУТСКИЙ (САХА) СУФФИКС ПРОПРИЕТИВА -LEEX

Рассматриваются морфосинтаксические и семантические характеристики проприетивного суффикса -LEEX в якутском языке (саха). Данный суффикс является высокопродуктивным и имеет широкую сферу употребления: образуемая им форма используется в качестве атрибутивной фразы или предиката (при предикативной посессивности), а также в качестве именной группы и адвербиально. С точки зрения семантики данного суффикса он имеет значение не только собственно посессивности, а часто особые коннотации. Когда существительное-основа имеет значение «человек», данный проприетивный суффикс выражает отношения родства, совместности или некоторого множества. Когда основой является конкретное существительное, проприетивный суффикс несет значение «обладание в определенный момент» или значение собственно обладания. В случае если основой является абстрактное существительное, то наличие проприетивного суффикса характеризует человека свойством, выраженным данным существительным (постоянным или временным). Проприетивная конструкция имеет много сходств с комитативной и бытийной конструкциями. Несмотря на то что проприетивный суффикс -LEEX описывался в литературе как суффикс образования прилагательных, данный суффикс демонстрирует определенную идиосинкретичность, которую не обнаруживают остальные деривационные суффиксы. Например, возможно присоединение суффикса -LEEX после суффикса множественного числа или напрямую к отглагольному имени. Также в статье рассматриваются морфосинтаксические характеристики абессива, семантически противоположной формы, которая не всегда, однако, симметрична проприетивной форме.

Ключевые слова: якутский язык (саха), посессивность, проприетивный суффикс, абессив.

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