

2. Characteristics of the L-proprietive: *having N*

In previous studies on Alutor, Kibrik et al. (2004: 266) define the marker *-lʔ* as an attributiviser that derives a participle from the verbal stem, and further point out that the marker ‘derives attributive forms from nouns, adjectives, and adverbs².’

Since L-proprietive forms often functions as attributives, they are functionally similar to adjectives. However, this form always takes a case marker, so formally it is similar to a noun. In Nagayama (2004, 2006), the author pointed out that the L-proprietive expresses certain relations of possession.

2.1 Morphology of the L-Proprietive

The L-proprietive form is derived from a nominal stem by attaching the suffix *-lʔ*, and is always followed by a nominal case suffix. The suffix *-lʔ* has too phonetic variations: *-lʔ/-lʔʔ*. Depending on the phonetic structure of the word, the epenthetic vowel *ə* may be added between the first and second consonants. Furthermore, when the word includes a palatalized consonant like *ʃ* or *nʲ* in its stem or other affix, the first consonant of the suffix is often palatalized, though this palatalization does not always occur.

A case marker always follows the *marker of the L-proprietive*.

In addition to being attached to nominal stems, the suffix *-lʔ* can also be attached to adjectives (3), numerals (4), and personal pronouns (5), but never to demonstratives or personal names.

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| (3) | <i>ura-ka</i>
far-ADV | <i>ana</i>
maybe | <i>murəkka+mami-ŋ</i>
our+store_house-DAT | <i>ura-lʔ-ə-n</i>
far-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
- ‘(It is located) in the distance somewhere (between here) and our storehouse.’ (GSV)

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (4) | <i>ŋitaqav-ə-lʔ-u</i>
second-E-L.PROP-ESS | <i>it-ti</i>
be-3SG.S:PFV | <i>omməqo</i>
PSN:ABS.SG |
|-----|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
- ‘Ommyqo finished in second place (in the reindeer sledge race).’ (Kilpalin, 1993: 118)

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| (5) | <i>ya-junat-ə-lqiv-laŋ</i>
RES-live-E-INC-RES.3PL.S | <i>arŋiŋ-ten-ə-k</i>
sea_coast-side-E-LOC | <i>murəkka-k-ə-lʔ-u</i>
OUR-E-L.PROP-ABS.PL |
|-----|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|

teŋat-ə-lʔ-u³

fish-E-PTCP-ABS.PL

‘There lived our fishermen on the seacoast (*lit.* they-lived on-the-sea-coast those-who-were-on-our-side fishermen).’ (IMP)

The L-proprietive, moreover, can take the prefix *awən-*, which is identical to the prefixial part of the comitative marker, and if it does so, it indicates optional accompaniment ‘even together with N.’

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (6) | <i>meŋ-ə-wala</i>
big-E-knife:ABS.SG | <i>awən-wala-juŋy-ə-lʔ-ə-n</i>
even.with-knife-case-E-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG |
|-----|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|
- ‘the knife even with a sheath’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 134; Text 22–34)

2.2 Syntax of the L-Proprietive

The L-proprietive takes a nominal case suffix; that is, when the possessor noun is given overtly in a sentence, the L-proprietive agrees with its possessor in case, person, and number. This agreement is obligatory.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| (7) | <i>spička-wwi</i>
match-ABS.PL | <i>əv-ʃot-ə-lʔ-uwwi</i>
black-head-E-L.PROP-ABS.PL |
|-----|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
- ‘Matches have black heads.’ (GTN)

The L-proprietive, similar to common nouns, may be used as an argument of a verb. Alutor shows ergative–absolutive type agreement: intransitive subjects and transitive objects are marked by the absolutive case (8) (9) a), while transitive agents are marked by the ergative case (10). And the L-proprietive also functions as a nominal predicate; for subjects in the first and second person, it takes a predicative marker (11). For each example, I give examples of common nouns (b) for comparison.

² Forms with the corresponding suffix in Chukchi are called ‘participles’ [*имена-причастие*] (Skorik, 1961: 216–225, 358), and in Koryak, ‘nominals of actors’ [*имена деятеля*] (Zhukova, 1972: 137).

³ The noun *teŋat-ə-lʔ-u* ‘fishermen’ is a participle derived from a verbal stem *teŋat-* meaning ‘to fish’ by the affixation of the suffix *-lʔ*. Diachronically, this suffix may share a common origin with the L-proprietive marker, but in this paper I am not concerned with participles because of space limitations.

(8) Intransitive subject

a. *ɲon* *məɣu-lʔ-u=q* *awwaw-la-t*
 there reindeer_sled_team-L.PROP-ABS.PL=EMP leave-PLUR-3NSG.S: PF
 ‘Those who are in the reindeer sled team left there.’ (Nagayama, 2003: 231, Text 4–319)

b. *tiŋya* *awwaw-lat* *kalak-u* *materik-ə-ŋ*
 well leave-PLUR-3NSG.S: PF wooden.gardian-ABS.PL mainland-E-DAT
 ‘Well, the guardians left for the mainland ...’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 55, Text 10–61)

(9) Transitive object

a. ... *t-ə-laʃu-n* *rənn-ə-lʔ-ə-n* *tu* *lalu-lʔ-ə-n*
 1SG.A-E-see-E-3SG.P: PF antler-E-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG and mustache-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG
 ‘I saw the horned and whiskered one.’ (Kilpalin, 1993: 81)

b. *ɲanək* *t-ə-laʃu-n* *nuta-lqən*
 there 1SG.A-E-see-E-3SG.P:PF tundra-ABS.PL
 ‘There I saw tundra.’ (PMI)

(10)

a. *ʃoro* *ɣa-juʔ-ə-lqiv-lin* *janut+ə-mɣu-lʔ-a*
 then RES-reach-E-INC-RES.3SG.P forward+E-reindeer_team-L.PROP-ERG

ɣənun+ɣətɣə-lq-ə-k
 middle+lake-surface-E-LOC

rənn-uwwi
 antler-ABS.PL

‘After that the forward reindeer teams reached the antlers in the middle of the surface of the lake.’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 76; Text 16–7)

b. *to* *ɣa-juʃ-ə-lin* *ənɲin* *ʃaqalʔ-a*
 and RES-reach-E-RES.3SG.P that>3SG enemy-ERG
 ‘And the enemies reached (the man).’ (GSV)

(11)

a. *ləqlaŋ-ki* *ʃopta* (*mur-u*) *paŋka-lʔ-ə-muru*
 winter-LOC all we.ABS.PL cap-L.PROP-E-1PL.PRED
 ‘All of us wear caps in the winter.’ (GTN)

b. *mur-uwwi* *jəʋʔalɲəjərʔə-muru*
 we-ABS.PL male_cousin-1PL.PRED
 ‘We are male cousins.’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 135, Text 22–38)

In contrast with common nouns, however, a proprietary form may be juxtaposed with a noun in the absolutive case and used as its modifier, agreeing with it on person and case (12). Common nouns in the absolutive case cannot modify other nouns (13). They can modify other noun only when they have a possessive suffix (13). Compare:

(12) [...] *naqam* *əv+palʔtu-lʔ-u* *kalaka-w* *tuyval-la-t*
 [...] at_once black+coat-L.PROP-ABS.PL wooden_guardian-ABS.PL appear-PLUR-3PL.S:PFV
 ‘(...) at once the wooden guardians in black clothes appeared.’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 52, Text 10–36)

(13)

a. **qura+naly-ə-n* *ukansi+ra-n*
 reindeer+fur.skin-E-ABS.SG dried_skin+house-ABS.SG
 ‘*a house made of dried reindeer skin’

b. *qura+naly-in* *ukansi+ra-n*
 reindeer+fur.skin-POSS>3SG dried_skin+house-ABS.SG
 ‘a house made of dried reindeer skin’ (GTN)

Furthermore, the L-propriative, like other nominal stems, can be prefixed to a nominal stem in order to form a compound noun. In (14) below, L-propriative *kali-lʔ-* ‘having spots’ is prefixed to a nominal stem ‘female domestic reindeer’ and forms the compound noun ‘spotted female domestic reindeer.’

- (14) *maŋkot* *yəmnin* *ŋanin* *kali-lʔ+ə-winqur*
 how my>3SG that>3SG spot-L.PROP+E-female_domestic_reindeer:ABS.SG

it-ə-lʔ-ə-n?

be-E-PTCP-E-ABS.SG

‘How is my spotted female domestic reindeer?’ (IMP)

2.3 Types of Possession

The L-propriative often expresses relations other than simple possession or ownership: for instance, this form is often used to indicate close relations between the possessor and possessee nouns. The range of semantic relations expressed by the L-propriative is shown below. Note that personal names never use the L-propriative, although place names use it frequently.

(15) Inalienable possession

- a. body parts and other part-whole relations
- b. place of one’s origin

(16) Alienable possession

- a. Accompaniment: human nouns (kin and other ‘accompaniers’—men, women, and children)
- b. Transport: domestic animals and other means of transport
- c. Items worn: clothes, boots, and others
- d. Location at the moment of the speech
- e. Items being carried with a possessor: goods, tools, and others

2.3.1 Inalienable Possession

The L-propriative with an inalienable possessee indicates a persistent property such as a physical characteristic or a place to which one belongs.

When the L-propriative is derived from a nominal stem indicating everyone-type body parts (Tsunoda, 1991 (2009): 150–162), the form is interpreted as ‘having plenty of N’ or ‘having extreme N.’ In the example below, cited from a folklore text, the L-propriative ‘the big one with hairs’ indicates that the person whom a girl saw was hairy all over – indeed, he turned out to be a wolf later.

- (17) *ʃoro* *ya-yita-lin* *pulatk-epə* *yəty-ə-lʔ-ə-nʲaqu*
 then RES-see-RES.3SG.P tent-PROL hair-E-PROP-E-AUG:ABS.SG

nika

(dummy)

ʃujamtawilʔ-ə-n

human-E-ABS.SG

jat-ə-tkə

come-E-IPFV:3SG.S

‘Then (she) saw the big hairy man coming behind the tent.’ (IMP)

When the L-propriative is derived from a nominal stem indicating not everyone-type body parts (Tsunoda, 1991 (2009): 150–162), the form is just interpreted as ‘having N’ (18). In such cases, L-propriative can have a modifier before the possessee (19).

- (18) *yəty-ə-k* *mey+ə-kamak-nʲaqu* (...) *rənʲni-ə-lʔ-ə-nʲaqu*
 lake-E-LOC big+E-spirit-AUG: ABS.SG (...) antler-E-PROP-E-AUG:ABS.SG

ŋanin

that>3SG

ŋətulʲʔat-ə-tkə

appear-E-IPFV:3SG.S

‘The big spirit with antlers appeared from the lake.’ (IMP)

(19) *ya-nvissav-lin*

RES-set_up-RES.3SG.P

ŋəruni+yətka-lʔ-ə-n

three+leg-PROP-E-ABS.SG

‘They set up the tripod stand (*lit.* the one with three legs).’ (IMP)

When the L-propriative is derived from a place name, the possessee is most naturally interpreted as one’s place of origin rather than one’s location at the moment of the speech.

(29) *kali-lʔ-* ‘spotted seal’ (< *kali-* ‘spots, pattern’); *nəm-ə-lʔ-* ‘villager (autonym of the Alutor people)’ (< *nəm-* ‘settlement’); *ramk-ə-lʔ-* ‘guest’ (< *ramk-* ‘nomad camp’); *panina-lʔ-* ‘ancestor’ (< *panina-* ‘ancient’).

Examples in the absolutive, instrumental, dative, and essive are given below. As in the statement on participles by Kibrik et al. (2004: 266), L-proprietive forms can inflect for case only when they are lexicalized, that is, only when they are used without a noun indicating a possessor.

(30) *ilir-ləʔ-a* *mur-yin* *nəm-jərʔə-n*
 PLN-L.PROP-ERG we-POSS.PL>3SG village-content-ABS.SG

na-nm-ə-tku-naw...

INV-kill-E-ITER-3PL.P: PF

‘The people of the village Kultushno decimated our villagers.’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 95; Text 19–70)

(31) ... *γ-iv-lin* *rara-lʔ-ə-ŋ*
 RES-say-RES:3SG.S house-L.PROP-E-DAT
 ‘(He) said to (his) household.’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 89; Text 19–30)

(32) *ŋitaqav-ə-lʔ-u* *it-ti* *ommqo*
 second-E-L.PROP-ESS be-3SG.S.PF PSN:ABS.SG
 ‘Ommyqo was the second (*lit.* be as the second).’ (Kilpalin, 1993: 118)

The same as common nouns, as seen in (33), the lexicalized L-proprietive, such as in *kalilʔən* ‘spotted seal (*lit.* the one having spots)’, can be followed by the possessive suffixes *-in* and rarely *-kin* and used as a modifier for other nouns (34).

(33) *qur-ina-wwi* *naŋq-u*
 domestic_reindeer-POSS-ABS.3pl belly-ABS.PL
 ‘reindeer stomachs’ (GSV)

(34) *kali-lʔ-in* *naly-ə-n*
 spot-L.PROP-POSS>3SG skin-E-ABS.SG
 ‘spotted seal skin’ (GTN)

Moreover, the lexicalized L-proprietive can be followed by derivational suffixes for nouns. The suffix *-tʔul* attached to nominal stems often indicates wild animals, and productively forms words with the meaning ‘meat of (an animal)’:

(35)
 a. *kali-lʔ-ə-tʔul*
 spot-L.PROP-E-piece: ABS.SG
 ‘seal meat’ (IMP)

b. *əlwa-tʔul*
 wild_reindeer-piece: ABS.SG
 ‘wild reindeer meat’ (GTN)

However, no example of incorporation using the L-proprietive is found in published or unpublished texts. Therefore, there are at least some morphosyntactic restrictions for L-proprietives as compared to common nouns.

3. Characteristics of the G-Propriative: *with N*

The G-propriative is formed by attaching the circumfix *γα-...-lin(a)*⁴ to a nominal stem. Kibrik et al. (2004: 285) define this form as the marker which derives ‘habitative adjectives’, meaning those ‘having an object X⁵.’

⁴ This marker is identical with the marker of the resultative, and shares the prefix *γα-* with the marker of the comitative: *γα-...-(t)* a and *γeqə-...-(t)* a (the underlying form is **γajqə-...-(t)* a). When these comitative markers are attached to a verbal stem, they form ‘converbs.’ Although all of these markers may have a common diachronic origin, I treat them in this paper as different markers on the synchronic level.

⁵ The corresponding marker is defined as the ‘form of the possessor of an object’ [форма лица обладателя предмета] in Chukchi (Skorik, 1961: 218–225), and as indicating ‘adjectives with the meaning “feature indicating possession of some object” [прилагательные со значением ‘признак, выражающий обладание каким-л. предметом] in Koryak (Zhukova, 1972: 162). Stassen (2009: 359) defines the corresponding form in Chukchi as a ‘with-possessive.’

Indeed, the G-proprietary bears some resemblance to an adjective; however, it differs from an adjective in some points as well. In Nagayama (2004), this form is referred to as an expression of ‘possession/existence.’

3.1 Morphology of the G-Proprietary

As I mentioned above, the G-proprietary can be formed only from the stem of a common noun, by attaching the circumfix *ya-...-lin(a)* to it. The prefix part of the G-proprietary has two phonetic variations: *ya-* and *y-*. The former is used with a consonant-initial stem and the latter with a vowel-initial stem. Compare:

(36)

a. ***ya-ŋavakka-lin***

G.PROP-daughter-G.PROP.3SG

‘(s) he has a daughter/daughters’ (GTN)

b. ***y-un’uni-lin***

G.PROP-child-G.PROP.3SG

‘(s) he has a child/children’ (GTN)

The suffix part of this form has the underlying form *-lina*, and when no element follows it – for example, in the third person singular – the final vowel *a* is reduced. When any element follows it, the vowel is restored. Compare the following example with the preceding.

(37) ***y-un’uni-lina-t***

G.PROP-child-G.PROP-3NSG

‘they (two) have a child/children’ (GTN)

In addition, when the ‘possessor’ is in the third person plural, the suffix part is replaced with the suffix *-lan*, which is a reduced form of *-laninawwi*.

In contrast with the L-proprietary, no case marker follows the G-proprietary: however, similarly to nouns and adjectives, a predicative marker can follow the G-proprietary in the first and second person to indicate the person and number of the possessor.

Additionally, in contrast with the L-proprietary, the G-proprietary is not lexicalized.

3.2 Syntax of the G-Proprietary

The G-proprietary is most typically used as the predicate of a sentence and is never used as the core argument of a verb; in this regard, it bears the same function as an adjective, and differs from a noun. However, it differs from adjectives in the following points: 1) it is not used adnominally, and 2) it does not form a nominal phrase that functions as a core argument.

(38) Predicative use

ann’əliq-ə-n

PLN-E-ABS.SG

ya-miml-ə-lin (=2)

G.PROP-water-E-G.PROP.3SG

‘Cape A has water (= there is water on cape A).’ (GTN)

In the following sentence, the G-proprietary functions as an adverbial, rather than an adnominal. Thus, this sentence is interpreted as ‘The woman came with her friend’, not ‘The woman accompanied by her friend came.’

(39) Adverbial use

ya-tumy-ə-lin

G.PROP-comrade-E-G.PROP.3SG

ŋavəsŋ-ə-n

woman-E-ABS.SG

jat-ti.

come-3SG.S:PFV

‘The woman came with (her) friend’ (NVM)

the speech. In other words, the speaker's main interest is in the existence of the possessee noun, not its ownership.

- (47) *ənʒin* *ŋavəŋə-ə-n* *ya-ʕəʔ-ə-lin*
 that>3SG woman-E-ABS.SG G.PROP-dog-E-G.PROP:3sg
 'That woman has dogs.' (NVM)

- (48) *murū* *ya-produkta-murū* *ya-pulatka-murū*
 WE.ABS.PL G.PROP-food-1PL.PRED G.PROP-tent-1PL.PRED
 'We have food and a tent (so we can even stay for a night here).' (GTN)

- (49) *ya-ql̥ipa-turu?*
 G.PROP-bread-2PL.PRED
 'Do you have bread? (If not, I shall buy it on the way to your home)' (NVM)

A modifier can precede an alienable possessee in G-proprietary. The following example is acceptable when the nominal stem 'head' indicates a part of other animals, that is, 'fish head', but it is unacceptable when the nominal stem indicates the possessor's own head.

- (50) *ya-tur+lot-iyəʔ?*
 G.PROP-new+head-2SG.PRED
 'Do you have a fresh (fish) head?' (NVM)

4. Comparison with the Existential Construction

The L-proprietary and the G-proprietary are preferred for expressing inalienable possession; in other words, a possessor and a possessee show some sort of 'togetherness.' The existential construction is preferred for expressing alienable possession, in which a possessor and a possessee show 'weak' togetherness. This difference is shown clearly especially for a possessor noun that indicates place or likeness.

In the following examples, only the existential construction is allowed, because 'a child', for the possessor 'house', is not an inherent but instead an alienable possessee.

- (51) **rara-ŋa* *un'un'u-l̥-ə-n*
 house-ABS.SG child-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG
 '*There is a child in the house.' (NVM)
- (52) **rara-ŋa* *y-un'un'u-lin*
 house-ABS.SG G.PROP-child-G.PROP:3SG
 '*There is a child (or there are children) in the house.' (NVM)
- (53) *rara-k* *un'un'u* *it-ə-tkən*
 house-LOC child: ABS.SG be-E-IPFV:3SG.S
 '*There is a child in the house.' (NVM)

In contrast, the possessee noun 'stove' is allowed in every such construction, because a stove is interpreted as an inalienable part of the possessor 'house.' In the following examples, the L-proprietary and the G-proprietary indicate that the house is equipped with a stove, that is, they express a property of the house, while the existential construction can indicate the location of the stove, or the existence of the stove in the house.

- (54) *rara-ŋa* *pasi-l̥-ə-n*
 house-ABS.SG stove-PROP-E-ABS.SG
 'This house has a stove.' (NVM)
- (55) *rara-ŋa* *ya-pasi-lin*
 house-ABS.SG G.PROP-stove-G.PROP:3SG
 'This house has a stove.' (NVM)
- (56) *rara-k* *pasi-n* *it-ə-tkən*
 house-LOC stove-ABS.SG be-E-IPFV:3SG.S
 'There is a stove in the house.' (NVM)

Similarly, the inalienable possessee ‘engine’ or ‘oar’ for the possessor ‘boat’ is allowed in any construction. However, the existential construction may be interpreted as saying that an unmounted engine lies on the boat. Thus, this construction expresses weaker ‘togetherness’ between possessor and possessee.

- (57) *ʕətv-ə-ʕət* *mator-ə-lʔ-ə-n*
 boat-E-RDP:ABS.SG engine-E-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG
 ‘The boat has an engine.’
- (58) *matka* *ya-tivinaŋ-ə-lin* *ʕətv-ə-ʕət?*
 Q G.PROP-OAR-E-G.PROP.3SG boat-E-RDP:ABS.SG
 ‘Does the boat have oars?’
- (59) *ʕətv-ə-k* *mator* *it-ə-tkən*
 boat-E-LOC engine:ABS.SG be-E-IPFV:3SG.S
 ‘There is an engine on the boat.’

For further details, see Nagayama (2004: 74–76).

5. Proprietary and Comitative

Alutor has three comitative markers, one of which shares a prefix with the G-proprietary (60).

- (60) Comitative markers
- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>ya-...-(t) a</i> | <i>ya-ŋavʕan-a</i> | ‘with (one’s) wife’ (<i>ŋavʕan</i> ‘wife’) |
| b. | <i>yeqə-...-(t) a</i> | <i>yeqə-ʕətʕ-a</i> | ‘with a dog/dogs’ (<i>ʕətʕ-</i> ‘dog’) |
| c. | <i>awən-...-(m) a</i> | <i>awən-qama-ma</i> | ‘with a dish together’ (<i>qama-</i> ‘dish’) |

In Nagayama (2006: 131), I pointed out that L-proprietarys can co-occur with prefixes of comitative markers *yeqə-* and *awən-*.

- (61) *yeqə-tavaq-jusy-ə-lʔ-ə-n*
 COM-tobacco-container-E-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG
 ‘the one with a tobacco case’ (NVM)
- (62) *yeqə-jaŋkilŋ-ə-lʔ-ə-n*
 COM-reindeer_harness-E-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG
 ‘the one with a reindeer harness’ (NVM)
- (63) *awən-upyav-ə-lʔ-ə-n* *sapa+ʕaʕa-tkən*
 COM-tie_out_stake-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG chain+drag-IPFV:3SG.S
 ‘It (= dog) drags a chain with a stake attached. (*lit.* the-one-with-a-stake chain-drags)’ (NVM)
- (64) *meŋ+ə-wal* *əpəsq-ə-k* *ya-nillil-lin*
 big+E-knife:ABS.SG tent_wall-E-LOC RES-hang-RES.3SG.P

awən-wala-july-ə-lʔ-ə-n
 COM-knife-case-E-L.PROP-E-ABS.SG
 ‘(He) hanged the big knife with a sheath on a wall of a tent’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 134, Text 22–34)

6. Negative Form of the Proprietary: *without N*

L-proprietarys and G-proprietarys share a common negative form, constructed by attaching the circumfix *a-... -kə-lʔ-* to a nominal stem indicating the possessee. This negative form expresses the absence of an object at the moment of speech.

This form is followed by the suffix *-in* for a subject in the third person, and appropriate predicative markers for a subject in the first or second person. In many cases, the negative particle *al* (*lə*), which is identical to the negative particle for adjectives (65), precedes the negative form of the proprietary. Negative forms of the proprietary are used as predicates (66) and adnominal modifiers (67). Example (66) can be interpreted as indicating a woman who is unmarried or a woman who is married but whose husband is not with her at the moment of speech.

(65) *al* *a-meŋ-ə-kə-lʔ-in*
 (NEG) NEG-big-E-NEG-L.PROP-3SG
 ‘not big one’ (CLI)

(66) *al* *yəm* *a-qlavul-kə-lʔ-iyəm*
 neg I.ABS NEG-husband-NEG-PROP-1SG.PRED
 ‘I do not have a husband’ (CLI)

(67) *yəmmə* *qətəmmə* *ŋanək* *m-ə-tkiv-ə-k*
 I.ABS I_will_not there.LOC OPT.1SG.S-E-stay_for_a_night-E-1SG.S

məri *al* *a-pasi-kə-lʔ-in* *rara-ŋa*
 because NEG NEG-STOVE-NEG-PROP-3SG house-ABS.SG
 ‘I will not stay for a night there, because the house does not have a stove.’ (CLI)

In addition, this negative form can often be replaced by the circumfix *a-...-ki*.

(68) *a-pamja-k-ə-lʔ-in* *ʕujamtawilʔ-ə-n*
 NEG-fur_inner_boots-NEG-E-L.PROP-3SG man-E-ABS.SG
 ‘the man who does not have inner boots’ (CLI)

(69) *a-pamja-k-i* *ʕujamtawilʔ-ə-n*
 NEG-fur_inner_boots-NEG-3SG man-E-ABS.SG
 ‘the man who does not have inner boots, the man does not have inner boots’ (CLI)

Although the difference between these two forms is not clear, there are many cases in which nouns with the circumfix *a-...-ki* are used as subjects or direct objects, or even as personal names⁷.

(70) *tita* *yem-ə-lqiv-ə-tkən* *a-waməlka-ki* *quratʔul-a* *oji-k...*
 when want-E-INC-E-IPFV:3SG.S ABES-lip-ABES.3SG reindeer_meat-INS eat-INF
 ‘When the one without lips wants to eat reindeer meat...’ (Kibrik et al., 2004: 112, Text 20–99)

Moreover, this negative form has an adverbial variation with the circumfix *a-... -ka*.

(71) *asyi* *yəmn'an-n'us* *al* *a-qulavl-ka* *t-ə-yakaŋəlʔat-ə-tkən*
 now I-alone NEG NEG-husband-NEG 1SG.S-E-go_by_reindeer_sled-E-IPFV
 ‘Today I go by reindeer sled without my husband.’ (CLI)

In additions, Alutor has two abessive markers *nuŋ-...-(t) a* and *taq*⁸, which are used adverbially. The former is often used with an inanimate noun, and indicates ‘not carrying with oneself at the moment of the speech.’

(72) *ənŋa* *q-awwaw-yi* *nuŋ-sumka-ta*
 like_this OPT.2SG.S-go-2SG.S ABES-bag-ABES
 ‘Go like this (=empty-handed) without (your) bag.’ (CLI)

In contrast, an abessive form with the prefix *taq-* emphasizes the absence of the possessee or indicates the speaker’s complaint about the absence of the possessee. This suffix may be attached to a human noun or even a personal name.

(73) *taq-ŋavʕan-a* *ənə-nniv-ə-n*
 ABES-wife-ABES OPT.3NSG.A-sew-E-3SG.P
 ‘Not having a wife, they cannot sew anything.’ (CLI)

⁷ There are some male names with the negative proprietary marker: *a-pamja-ki* ‘the one without inner boots’, *a-lʔə/la-ki* ‘the one without eyes, a blind person.’

⁸ This prefix is identical to the interrogative word *taq-* ‘what’ (*tinya* in the absolutive case).

Being used with a verb in the optative mood, the abessive form with the prefix *taq-* indicates that an action is impossible to achieve, while in the indicative mood it indicates simple absence of the possessee noun. Compare:

(74) *taq-utt+ə-qama-ta* *mən-tilqal-la*
 ABES-tree+E-dish-ABES OPT.1NSG.S-make_pudding-PLUR
 ‘Not having a wooden dish, I cannot make fat pudding.’ (CLI)

(75) *taq-utt+ə-qama-ta* *kəṭavan* *mət-tilqal-la-muru*
 ABES-tree+E-dish-ABES anyway 1NSG.S-make_pudding-PLUR-1PL.S
 ‘Although we do not have a wooden dish, we made fat pudding anyway.’ (CLI)

7. Concluding Remarks

This paper gave an overview of the morphosyntactic and semantic features of the two Alutor proprietive forms, the one with the suffix *-lʔ* (the L-proprietive) and that with the circumfix *ya-...-lin(a)* (the G-proprietive). The findings can be summarised as follows:

- L-proprietives are used to express closer relations between a possessor and possessee;
- G-proprietives are used to express more distant relations between a possessor and possessee;
- L-proprietives often indicate persistent possession, while G-proprietives often indicate temporal possession; and
- the existential construction indicates a lesser degree of togetherness than the two proprietives do.

The similarities and differences between proprietives and other relevant expressions remain as a matter to be discussed further.

Abbreviations

1 – first person	EMP – emphasise	PLN – place name
2 – second person	ERG – ergative	PLUR – pluralizer
3 – third person	ESS – essive	POSS – possessive
a – agent	INC – inchoative	POT – potential
ABS – absolutive	INV – inverse	PROP – proprietive
ABES – abessive	IPFV – imperfective	PSN – personal name
ADV – adverb	LOC – locative	PTCP – participle
AUG – augmentative	NEG – negation	Q – question marker
COM – comitative	NSG – non-singular	RDP – reduplicated element
DAT – dative	P – patient	RES – resultative
DIM – diminutive	PFV – perfective	S – subject
E – epenthesis	PL – plural	

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ДВЕ ПРОПРИЕТИВНЫЕ ФОРМЫ В АЛЮТОРСКОМ ЯЗЫКЕ

Алюторский язык относится к чукотско-камчатской языковой семье. В языке имеется две формы проприетива: формы с суффиксом *-lʔ* (L-проприетив) и формы с циркумфиксом *ya...-lin(a)* (G-проприетив). Рассматриваются морфосинтаксические и семантические особенности существительных, выражающих обладаемое, в обеих формах, а также объясняется, что L-проприетив предпочтителен в случаях, когда имеются семантически близкие связи между посессором и обладаемым, тогда как G-проприетив используется в тех случаях, когда говорящий выражает заинтересованность в существовании (отсутствии) обладаемого и часто выражает временное обладаемое. Также обсуждаются особенности предикативных посессивных конструкций в отличие от бытийных конструкций и объясняются случаи сочетания проприетивных и комитативных префиксов. Более того, в статье представлены примеры различных типов абессивных форм в алюторском языке.

Ключевые слова: алюторский язык, предикативная посессивность, проприетив, неотчуждаемая принадлежность.

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