

PROPOSED NRT: THE SYNTAX OF HAVING

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Goals & claims (Kinande syntax)

- Study predicative possession and its rather close ally, possessor raising constructions
- First examine predicative possession & look at what Myler (2016) has called the “too many meaning” problem
- Examine the structure of predicative possession (both *have* and *be* constructions in Kinande)
- Examine possessor raising constructions
 - *Here we will find evidence of nominal licensing and c/Case*

Roadmap


- i. introduction to predicative possession
- ii. what are the various meanings involved in predicative possession in Kinande & what do the structures look like that are associated with the various meanings?
- iii. the structure(s) of predicative possession in Kinande
- iv. another external possession construction: possessor raising
- v. proposed questionnaire and anticipated issues with questionnaire design
- vii. conclusion

Predicative possession / ‘Having’

- study of (a) predicative possession; Initial focus on the Bantu language Kinande (J42)


(1) a. Kám̐bale a-na-wíte enyúmba. [predicative possession]
Kambale 3s-indeed-have 9house
‘Kambale indeed has a house.’

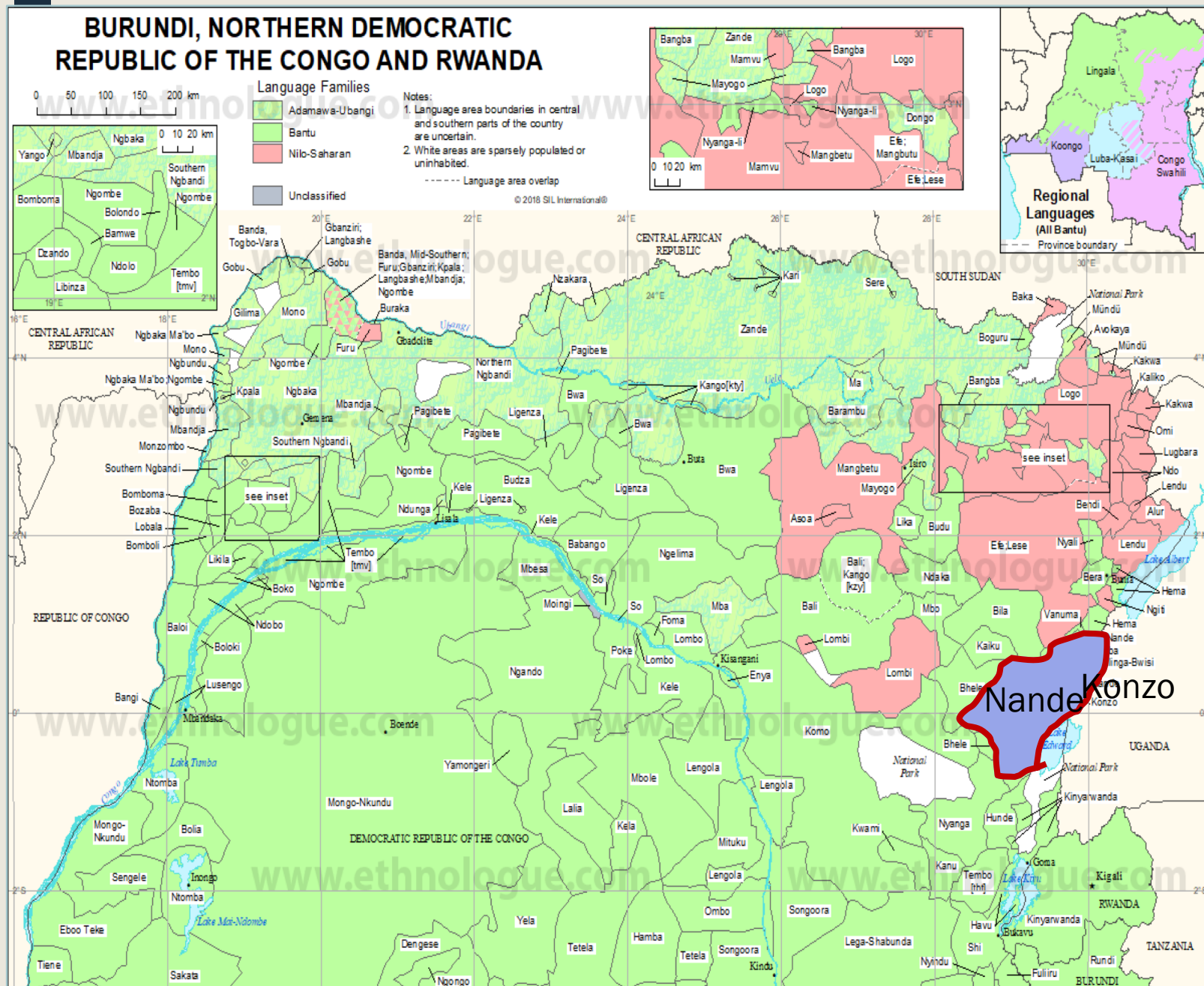
b. Kambale [_{VP} has house]



(2) a. [enyúmba y-a Kám̐bale] [internal possession] ← not subject of this NRT
9house 9-associative Kambale
‘Kambale’s house’

b. [_{DP} house of Kambale]





(Ki)nande/Konzo

Narrow Bantu – (J42)

(nearest major city: Butembo, DRC)



The many meanings of *predicative possession*

THE HAVING OF ...

- inanimate things: ownership
 - *hold in hand* (*have a book*)
 - *proximal location* (*have a house*)
- body parts
- part/whole
- locatives
- kinship
- attributes (height, age, courage, etc.)
- diseases [*states*]
- cognitive entities (ideas, dreams, etc.) [*states*]
- linguistic entities (names, messages, etc.)
- events
- and more
- (see Belvin 1996 for relevant and thorough discussion)

The many structures of *predicative possession*

(WALS=World Atlas of Language Structures: <https://wals.info/chapter/117>)

- i) a transitive *have*-type construction
 - *I have a book*
- ii) an oblique locative intransitive structure involving the possessum as grammatical subject, a copula, and a locative possessor
 - *at me is a book*
- iii) an oblique genitive intransitive structure, with the possessum as grammatical subject, a be-type copula and a genitive possessor
 - *my book is*
- iv) a topic possessive where, as with obliques, the possessum is grammatical subject of be copular verb and the possessor is expressed as a topic
 - *as for me, there is a book*
- v) a *conjunctive*-possessive construction where the possessor is grammatical subject of a be-type copula and the possessum is introduced by a comitative/conjunctive marker, which suggests a “simultaneity” between possessor and possessum.
 - *I am with book*

- We now turn to a language that has both a *have* and a *be* verb

KINANDE PREDICATIVE POSSESSION

the many meanings

The many meanings of *predicative possession*

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- and more

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ownership

(3) Kámbale a-ná-wíte enyúmba.
1Kambale 3s-indeed-have 9house
'Kambale has a house.'

- a have-type verb *a-wíte*
- related to a verb meaning *to hold* *eriwata*
- defective—cannot directly accept tenses. No infinitive form. For that, we have *eri-yira* —more on that later

ownership—DOM based on if object can be held in hand

DOM = Differential Object Marking

- (4) a. Kámbale a-wíte (*oko) enyúmba. [own]
1Kambale 3s-have 17Loc 9house
'Kambale has a house.'
- b. Kámbale a-wíte *(oko) kitábu. [+hold, possess]
1Kambale 3s-have 17 Loc 7book
'Kambale has a book.'
- c. A-wíte esyofarángâ.
3s-have 10money
'He has money (in general).' [own]
- d. A-wíte oko farángâ.
3s-have 17Loc 10money
'He has money (on him).' [+hold, possess]

(see Irimia & Schneider-Zioga 2019)

body parts (inalienable possession)

(5) a. Maryá a-wíty' ámeso awûwéne.
Marya 3s-have 6eye 6beautiful
'Mary has beautiful eyes.'

b. Omundú a-má-byá á-wite amátwĩ w' eríowá, ów-ê.
1person 3s-COND-BE 3s-have 6ear 6LK' 5hear, hear-hortative
'If someone has ears to hear, let him hear.' Mark 4: 23

- inalienable possession uses *awite*

part/whole predicative possession

- note: **inanimate part/whole uses copula**, animals could use either copula or *awite*; **human part/whole always uses *awite***

(6) a. ekítumbi ekí ki-rí-ko migulw' íni
7chair 7this 7-be-17loc 4leg 4four
'This chair has four legs (on it).'

b. omúti a-li-ko ebísanz' ébiolúhunda
3tree 3-be-17loc 8branch 8many
'The tree has many branches.'

c. etsúkudu yi-rí-ko ebíringo
9cart 9be-17loc 8wheel
'The cart has wheels.'

(7) a. émbene yi-ká-byá-ko magulw áni (generic statement)
9goat 9-generic-be-17loc 6leg 6four
'Goats have four legs.'

b. émbeni' eyí yi-rí-kó múkirá múkuhi
9goat 9this 9-be-17loc 3tail 3short
'This goat has a short tail.'

locative

- (8) a. omúti a-né- kw' ehinyúnyu
3tree 3-be(evidential) 17loc 19bird
'The tree has birds on it.'
- b. omúti a-né- kw' olutû
3tree 3-be 17loc 11nest
'The tree has a nest on it.' (cf. English *in it*)

kinship

- (9) a. nyi-ná-**wíé** abitsikulu bage
 1s-indeed-have 8grandchild 8my
 ‘I have grandchildren.’
- b. nyi-ná-**wíé** omúlúme
 1s-indeed-have 1man
 ‘I have a husband.’

- kinship uses **awite** verb

attributes

- age & height use *awite*

(10) nyi-*wité* myaká mákumi abiri (age)
1s-have 4years 6ten two
'I am twenty years old.'

(11) Q: a-*wite* lubú lúngáhî? (height)
3s-has 11height 11.how.much
'How tall is he?' (hand gesture with palm facing outward, not downward)

A: is statement and the above-described gesture. See photo on next page

- Note palm facing outward.

a-wíte lubú lúngaha.

‘He is how tall: {gesture}’

Appropriate answer:



NOT this gesture!



attributes

(12) a. níkwá í-sí-ng-wíte olwánzo 1 Corinthians 13:1
but subj-neg-1s-have 1love
'But has not love...'

(13) a. í-mw-a-byá n' olwanzo okó bandi bándú
SUBJ-2P-TAM-be with 1love 17loc 2other 2person
'Have love for other people!'

b. ni-ko na kitabu ← [Swahili]
1s-be with book
'I have a book.'

attributes

- (14) a. a-**wíte** erigúndu
3s-have 5disobedience
'He is disobedient.' *Literally*: He has disobedience, disrespectfulness.
- b. omúlwan' oyú a-**lí** **n'** erigúndu (cf. Swahili)
1boy 1this 3s-be with 5disobedience
'This boy is disobedient.'
- c. omúlwan' oyú a-**lí-mw'** erigúndu (= BE + Loc MO)
1boy 1this 3s-be-18loc 5disobedience
- d. omúlwan' oyú **ni** mundú w' erigúndu
1boy 1this BE 1person 1of' 5disobedience
'This boy is a disobedient person.'

attributes

- (15) a. Nyi-**né** omó- bûtsemé búnéne.
 1s-be.evidential??? 18loc 14joy 14large
 'I have great joy.' *Literally*: 'I am in great joy.'
- b. a-**li**/*ne omó bûtsemé búnéne
 3s-be/*evidential??? 18loc 14joy 14large
 'He is joyful.'
- (16) nyi-**wité** ómwisyô
 1s-have 3jealousy
 'I am jealous.' *Literally*: 'I have jealousy.'
- (17) a. omúlwan' oyú a-**wíte** erítsúro
 1boy 1this 3s-have 5envy
 'This boy is envious.'
- b. omúlwan' oyú a-**lí-mo** erítsúro (= BE + Loc MO)
 1boy 1this 3s-be-18loc 5envy
 'This boy is envious.' *Literally*: 'This boy is in envy.'
- c. omúlwan' oyú a-**né mo** erítsúro verum (e.g. we are gossiping & I agree with your assertion about him)
 1boy 1this 3s-be 18loc 5envy
 'This boy is envious.'

diseases = states

(18) X: I'm sick. Y: What do you have?

a. u-**kwíré**-kîî? (Wh-question)

2s-die 7what

'What do you have?'

b. *ekihi kyo u-**kwire**?

7what 7foc 2s-die

intended: 'What do you have?'

(19) a. nyi-**kwíre** ehóma

1s-die 9flu

'I have the flu.'

b. n-ámá-**kw**' akapururu

1s-TAM-die 12malaria

'I have malaria.'

c. n-ámá-**kw**' omútwê

1s-TAM-die 3head

'I have a headache.'

diseases

(20) a. omubirí wage a-huhéne

3body 3my 3-is.hot

My body is hot= 'I have a fever.'

b. á-ámá-byá-mw ekíhuhánia

3s-TAM-be-Loc18 7heat/warmth

it has inside it heat = 'I have a fever.'

(≈part/whole syntax)

- Most diseases use a construction: died + ailment; fever can use a copular construction. No use of *awite*

cognitive entities

- (21) nyi-**né** **n'** 9ewazo 9eno
 1s-be(evidential) with idea(Swahili) this
 'I have this idea.'

(cf. Swahili)

- (22) a. I have a worry
 n-gá-nungunika oko kindú kíguma
 1s-tam-worry 17loc 7thing 7one
 'I worry about one thing.'
- b. ekindú kíguma ki-ká-nyí-nungun-is-a-y-â
 7thing 7one 7-TAM-1S-sorry-CAUS-EXT-TRANS-FV
 'One thing makes me worry.'
- (23) a. I had a nightmare
 mó-n-a-lótíré múhanda
 AFF-1S-TAM-dream-TAM badly
 'I dreamt badly.'
- b. I have a dream
 mó-n-a-lót-íre enzóli
 aAFF-1S-TAM-dream 9dream
 'I dreamt a dream.'

linguistic entities

(24) a. ni mundu anapáswa eríbyá í-n-a-ná-**wíte** erína
be 1person must 5be subj-N-3s-indeed-have 5name
'A person must have a name.'

b. a-ná-**wíte** omwátsí ó-w-eri-ku-kanir-í-a
3s-indeed-have 3news AUG-W-5-2s-tell-TRANS-FV
'He has news to tell you.'

- **awite** is used for the possession of linguistic entities

And many other types of having....

(25) a. tu-**wíte** mwimanirí múbi
1p-have 1leader 1bad
'We have a bad leader.'

b. ba-byá ba-**wite** endwá oko yénga y-a-lábâ [**event**]
2-be 2-have 9wedding 17loc 9week 9-TAM-pass
'They had a wedding last week.'

some missing meanings

- *Causative/engineer *have*: I had Kambale leave the room
- *modal *have*: I had to read a book.

awite—a defective verb

subject/verb agreement	negation	tense	aspect	verum focus
nyi-wite 1s-have	sy-a-wite neg-3s-have	*eri-wit-a infinitive form	*a-ka-wite instantaneous	a-na-wite 3s-indeed-have
u-wite 2s-have	a-ta-wite 3s-neg-have	infin. uses different root –eri- yir -a	*-ka-... habitual	conditional & related
a-wite 3s-have	‘He doesn’t have...’	*a-a-wite recent past	*ne-mu progressive	*a-ma-wite 3s-cond-have
tu-wite 1p-have	other neg. forms =ungrammatical	*a-á-wite remote past	ok: -ki- ‘still’ a-ki-wite 3s-still-have ‘He still has...’	a-anga-wite olwanzo 3s-should-have 1love
mu-wite 2p-have		*a-ka-ndi-wite future		i-si-ng-wite subj-neg-1s-have
ba-wite 3p-have		*mw-a-wit-e/a affirmative	*a-li-mu-wite	imperative
omundu oy’ u -wite 3s antiagreement		eri- yir -a is used where awite cannot be	eri- yir -a is used where awite cannot be	*wita/ok: yira olwanzó have/ have 1love!
ki-wite, etc 7have (it has)		aspect/modal difference btw –wite and -yir-a		

awite—a defective verb

complex tenses	extensions	prefix/enclitic
a-byá a-wit-é 3s.past-be 3s-have-fv ‘He had....’ recent past	ki-wit-w-e-ko 7-have-pass-FV It was had... Ok: passive	a-na-wite-kyo 3s-indeed-have-7it ‘He indeed has it.’
á-byá a-wit-é 3s.past-be 3s-have-fv remote past ‘He had....’	*ba-wit-an-e 2p-have- recip-fv <i>intended:</i> ‘They have each other.’ *reciprocal	a-mu-wite-ko 3s-3obj-have-17loc ‘He has him/her.’ (E.g., he has the baby.)
a-ma-bya inanabya awit-e esyofuranga 3s-cond-be 3s-have-fv ‘If he had had money’	*a-wit-es-y-e 3s-have-caus-trans-fv *causative	
*a-kandisya-bya a-(ki)-na-wite 3s-fut-be 3s-(still)-verum-have ok: a-kandisya-bya i-n-a-na-wite	*a-wit-ir-e 3s-have-appl-fv *applied	
the future & conditional does not require subjunctive with other verbs....(it appears)		

defective verb *awite* summary

- *awite* can be inflected for subject/verb agreement
- is restricted to present when a simple tense; it needs an auxiliary for other tenses-- (tensed auxiliary + verb *awite*)
- can take negation
- cannot take a different final vowel
- can take this productive extension: passive, but only when DOM is present
- can take prefix or enclitic pronouns (dependent on information structure/context)

A proposed origin of *awite*

A proposal for the explanation of the awite form: result of phonological imbrication

What is imbrication in general (cf. work of Yvonne Bastin, with exemplification in Kinande)

regular verb	infinitive	possible imbrication	1p subject, past tense
Eri-solóm-a	<i>to harvest</i>	mó-tw-á-sólom-ire	<i>we harvested</i>
Erí-hangan-a	<i>to stand up</i>	mó-tw-a hangene (hangan-ir-e → hangar-in-e → hanga-in-e hangene)	
Eri-sangál-a	<i>to be surprised</i>	mó-tw-á-sangere (sangal-ir-e → nga -ire → sangere)	
Erí-son-a	<i>to sew</i>	mó-tw-a-sóníre	
Erí-sál-a	<i>to vomit</i>	mó-tw-a-sálíre	
Erí-wát-a	<i>to hold</i>	mó-tw-a-wát-íre	

a + i_ɿ → e (i_ɿ = +ATR, a = -ATR e = -ATR. Coalescence of a + i_ɿ = e (e = ε)
 tu-ná-wát-íre → wa-r-it-e → wa-it-e → wite

2. tu-ná-sangal-ire -> tunásángere
tu-ná-hangan-ire -> tunáhangene

$a + i_{\text{c}} \rightarrow i \quad / \quad __ t$
[-ATR]

3. Wata okó mwana *Hold the child*
Unáwátíre okó mwána kwé *Are you holding the child?*
Nyinámúwítéko *nyinámúwátíréko *I am holding him*
Máma nyíwaték'okó kúboko *Mom, hold me by the hand* *nyíwatíréko
Súkwé búba. Nyinákúwítéko *Don't be afraid. I am holding you.* *nyinákúwátíréko

$a + i_{\text{c}} \rightarrow e$ ($i_{\text{c}} = +\text{ATR}$, $a = -\text{ATR}$ $e = -\text{ATR}$. Coalescence of $a + i_{\text{c}} = e$ ($e = \varepsilon$)
tu-ná-wátíre \rightarrow wa-it-e \rightarrow wa-it-e \rightarrow wite

KINANDE PREDICATIVE POSSESSION

the structures

The many structures of *predicative possession*

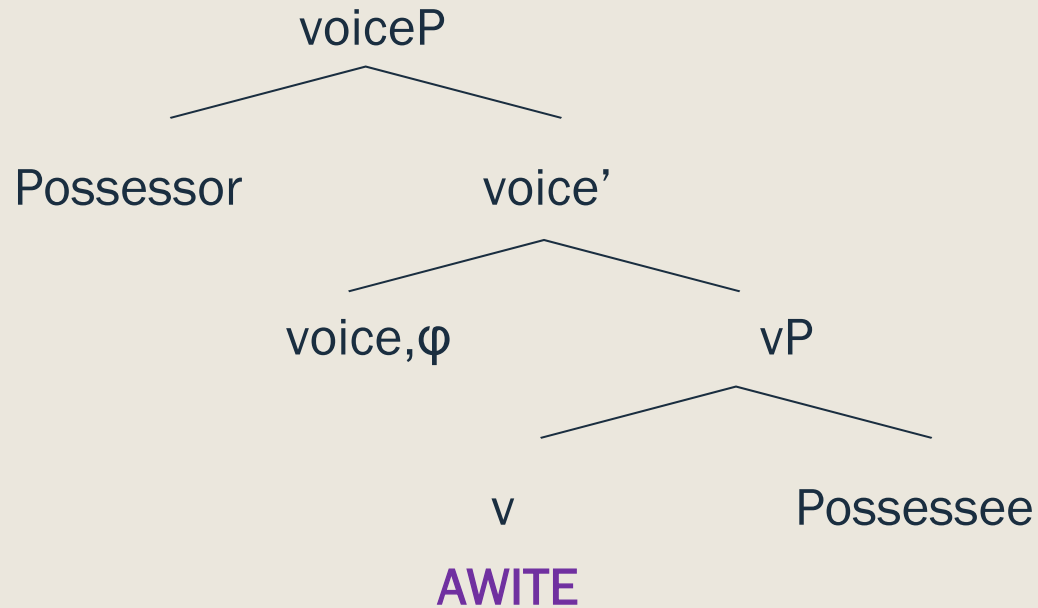
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- v) a *conjunctive*-possessive construction where the possessor is grammatical subject of a be-type copula and the possessum is introduced by a comitative/conjunctive marker, which suggests a “simultaneity” between possessor and possessum.
 - *I am with book*

tentative structure of *awite* (have)

possession = transitive

(26)



- (following Myler 2016)

transitive *awite*?

- recall DOM in (4):

(27) a.	Kámbale	a-wíte	(*oko)	nyúmba.	[-hold, +see]
	1Kambale	3S-have	17LOC	9house	
	'Kambale has a house.'				
b.	Kámbale	a-wíte	*(oko)	kitábu.	[+hold, +see]
	1Kambale	3S-have	17 LOC	7book	
	'Kambale has a book.'				

transitivity

- passivization is possible of oko- but not non-okó marked nominal. And even then, it is complicated:

(28) Ekitábu ki-wít-w-é-ko (na Kámbale) DOM
7book 7-have-PASS-FV-17LOC (with Kambale)
'The book was had by Kambale.'

(29) *omútoka a-wít-w-e (na Kámbale) not DOM
3car 3-have-PASS-FV (with Kambale)
intended: 'The car was had (by Kambale).'

transitivity

(30) ??ómwaná a-wít-w-é-kô
1child 1-have-PASS-FV-17LOC
Literally: 'The child is had.'

(31) a. ?esyofaránga si-wítwé-ko (na Kámbale) **DOM**
10money 10-have-PASS-FV-17LOC (with Kambale) (sounds a bit artificial)
Literally: 'Money is had (on him) by Kambale.'

b. *esyofaranga si-wit-w-e (na Kambale) **not DOM**
10money 10-have-PASS-FV (with Kambale)
Literally: 'Money is had (in general) by Kambale.'

pseudo-incorporation of unmarked possessum

(32) a. Tu-ná-wíty' **oko** mukátí kó hano.
1pl-VERUM-have 17Loc 3bread LK 16here
'We do have bread here (with us).'

OKO POSSESSUM

ADVERB

b. Tu-ná-wíté hanó h' **oko** mukáti.
1pl-VERUM-have 16here LK 17Loc 3bread
'We do have here (with us) bread'

ADVERB

OKO POSSESSUM

(33) a. Tu-ná-wíty' enyúmbá yó' hano.
1pl-VERUM-have 9house LK16here
'We do indeed have a house here.'

POSSESSUM

ADVERB

b.*?Tu-ná-wíté hanó h' enyúmba.
1pl-VERUM-have 16here LK 9house
'We do indeed have a house here.'

*ADVERB

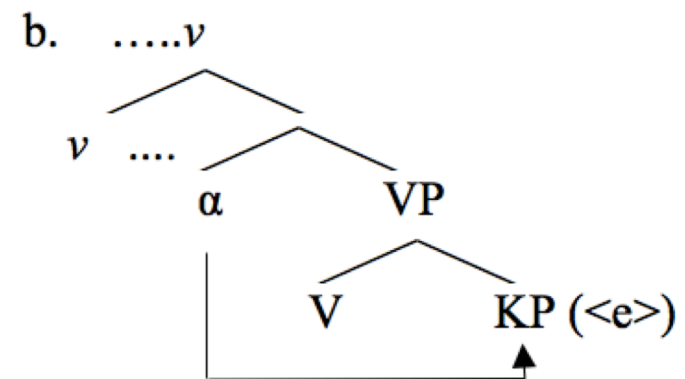
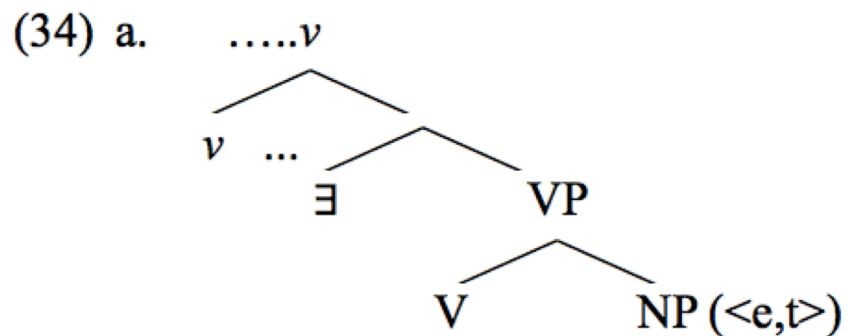
POSSESSUM

- “Bare” possessums must remain next to the verb; differentially oko-marked possessums need not
(from: Irimia & Schneider-Zioga 2019, with some glosses altered)

Definiteness effects in some *have* contexts

(kinship, body parts, & ownership)

- need to disambiguate between existential readings of their complement nominals and non-existential readings (see detailed discussion in López 2012)
- existential readings: nominals are of type $\langle e, t \rangle$ (interpreted under existential closure)
- DOM readings: nominals are arguments of type $\langle e \rangle$, contain structure that needs licensing, and must escape existential closure



Definiteness effects in some *have* contexts

(kinship, body parts, & ownership)

- Definiteness effects are not evident in possession (vs. ownership) contexts—
- *I have the sister.
- From Iatridou 1995: That's a nice car you're driving. Do you *have it? (ok: Do you own it?).
- I have the keys!
 - *OKO-marked objects clearly involve possession rather than ownership and they seem to be “e” type, rather than indefinite.*
 - *supportive evidence that **awite** is a transitive construction.*

Some definiteness effects with *awite*

- Information structure influences the possibility of definite/augmented & augmentless nominals in *awite* constructions.

(35) a. (?)a-wíte enyúmba
 3s-has 9house
 ‘He has a house.’

- ? if said out of the blue. The augment is sensitive to context. The following sentence makes the augment seem natural. Note alternatives are made salient through the larger linguistic context here:

b. iyé a-wíty’ enyú:mba na-gu u-wíty’ ebi:ndu
 He 3s-has aug-9house and-you 2s-have aug-8thing
 ‘He has a house and you have things.’

c. Kámbale a-na-wíte enyúmba.
 Kambale 3s-indeed-have 9house
 ‘Kambale indeed has a house.’

Now what about augmentless nominals in have contexts?

(36) a. ?a-wíte kanyúmbâ ‘He has a little house.’ ? out of the blue
 3s-has 12house

However,

- Kw’ámbw’ awíte kanyúmbââ Who said that he has a house!
- Awíte kanyumba?! (surprised) Does he have a house?!

the role of information structure:

Focus on alternatives

context: We have things to transport. How will we do it?

- I have a car. (It's not a problem!)

(37) a. nyi-ne na' mutoka
1s-be with 3car
'I have a car.'

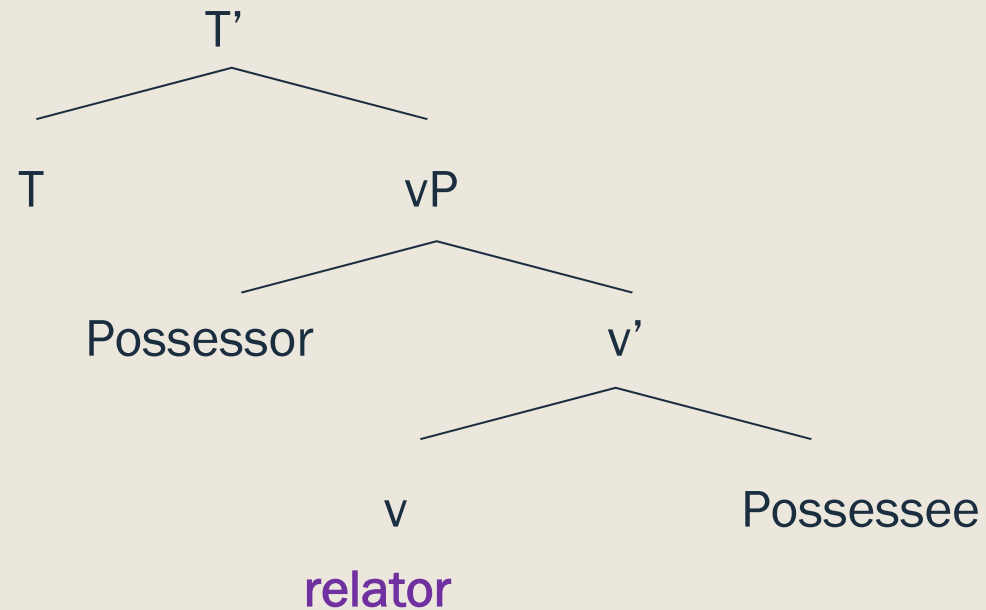
b. #nyi-wite omutoka
1s-have 3car

but: c. nyi-na-wite oko-mutoka (verum focus)
1s-verum-have 17loc-3car
'I do indeed have a car.'

d. nyi-wite omutoka (We've been talking about cars)
1s-have 3car
'I have a car.'

BE+LOC predicative possession

(38)



- Intransitive structure

transitive *awite* vs intransitive *BE+LOC* & the linker in Kinande

- (39) a. a-ká-**bya-mw**'érigúndú (*ryo) obuli tututu
3s-HAB-be-18LOC 5disobedience *LK every morning
'S/He is disobedient every morning.'
- b. a-ká-**byá-mw**' erigundu (*ryo) omókíro
3s-HAB-be-18LOC 5disobedience *LK 18LOCnight
'S/He is disobedient at night.'
- c. á-by' a-**wite** erigundú **ry**' omotututu
3s-be 3s-have 5disobedience LK 18LOCmorning
'S/He was disobedient in the morning.'
- d. a-ká-**yir**' erigundú **ry**' omotututu
3s-HAB-have 5disobedience LK LOCmorning
'S/He is habitually disobedient in the morning.'

transitive *awite* vs intransitive *BE+LOC* & the linker in Kinande

- generalization: v selects the Linker Phrase.
- Where there is no v (or perhaps no transitive v), there is no Linker Phrase
- Halpert's work (2013, 2015, and more) have demonstrated that vP is a locus of nominal licensing in Bantu languages.
 - *The close tie of the Linker Phrase to v seems to support this generalization (at least in so far as the linker is connected to the licensing system).*

is there a form/meaning problem?

Different forms can clearly mark the same meaning. We do not explore that here.

- (40) a. a. a-**wite** erigúndu
 3s-have 5disobedience
 ‘He is disobedient.’ *Literally*: He has disobedience, disrespectfulness.
- b. omúlwana oyú a-**lí** **n'** erigúndu (cf. Swahili)
 1boy 1this 3s-be with 5disobedience
 ‘This boy is disobedient.’
- c. omúlwana oyú a-**lí-mw'** erigúndu (= BE + Loc MO)
 1boy 1this 3s-be-18loc 5disobedience

KINANDE PREDICATIVE POSSESSION

an additional possessive structure

The many meanings of *predicative possession*

THE HAVING OF ...

■ ownership

← Three relations of particular interest

- *hold in hand* (*have a book*)
- *proximal location* (*have a house*)

■ body parts

■ part/whole

■ locatives

■ kinship

■ attributes (height, age, courage, etc.)

■ diseases [states]

■ cognitive entities (ideas, dreams, etc.) [states]

■ linguistic entities (names, messages, etc.) [sometimes states]

■ events


■ and more

■ (see Belvin 1996 for relevant and thorough discussion)

More external possession (ownership, body parts, part/whole)

- (41) a. ná-kúrugut-a [omugóngo w-a Sárah] ← not subject of this NRT
 1s-scrub-FV 3back 3-ASSOC Sarah [phrase-internal possession]
 'I scrubbed Sarah's back.' (lit: I scrubbed the back of Sarah)

b. [_{DP} back of Sarah]



- (42) a. ná-kúrugut-a [Sárah] y' [oko -mugóngo] [possessor raising]
 1s-scrubbed-FV Sarah LK' 17Loc-3back [possession not mediated by verb]
 'I scrubbed Sarah's back (Lit: I scrubbed Sarah on the back.)'

b. I scrubbed [Sárah] LK [on-back]



possessor raising → ownership

- ownership—animate of lesser animate: 17_{LOC} *oko* dependent-marks the possessor

(43) a. ná-mat-ul-a [ezípe y-a Sáràh] [*phrase-internal possession*]
1S-fasten-REV-FV 9zipper 9-ASSOC 1Sarah
'I unfastened Sarah's zipper' (for example, on a dress she has, not nec. wearing)

b. ná-mat-ul-a [*(**oko**-)Sáràh] kw' [ezípe] [*possessor raising*]
1S-fasten-REV-FV 17_{LOC}-1Sarah LK' 9zipper
'I unfastened Sarah's zipper.' (she is necessarily wearing the thing with the zipper)

- In the realm of predicative possession: a have verb is used (awite) and there is no dependent-marking of the possesum.

possessor raising → inalienable possession

- inalienable possession: 17Loc *oko* dependent-marks the possessum/part

(44) a. ná-kúrugut-a [omugóngo w-a Sárah] [*phrase-internal possession*]
1s-scrub-FV 3back 3-ASSOC 1Sarah
'I scrubbed Sarah's back.' (lit: I scrubbed the back of Sarah)

b. ná-kúrugut-a [Sárah] y' [*(*oko*-)mugóngo] [*possessor raising*]
1s-scrubbed-FV 1Sarah LK' 17Loc-3back
'I scrubbed Sarah's back (Lit: I scrubbed Sarah on the back.)

- In the realm of predicative possession: a *have* verb is used (awite).

possessor raising → part/whole

- **part/whole possession:** 17Loc *oko* dependent-marks the possessor/whole

- (45) a. mó-b-erír-y-e [ebíringó by-' omútoka] [*phrase-internal possession*]
AFF-2-clean-TRANS-FV 8wheel 8-ASSOC 3car
'They cleaned the wheels of the car.' (the wheels could be separate from the car)
- b. mó-b-erír-y-e [*(**okó**-)mútoká] kw' [ebíringo] [*possessor-raising*]
AFF-2-clean-TRANS-FV 17LOC-3car LK' 8wheel
'They cleaned the wheels of the car.' (wheels are on the car)

- In the realm of predicative possession: a BE verb is used and a locative pronoun cliticizes to it:
 - *BE+ko*

summary of possessor raising & predicative possession

table 1

	inalienable possession	part/whole possession	ownership
	poss OKO-possessum	OKO-poss possessum	OKO-poss possessum
predicative possession	awite (have) poss have possessum	Be+ON poss be-KO possessum	awite + DOM poss have OKO-possessum

unusual syntactic properties: inalienable possession

- Kinande is a symmetric language. But OKO-marked possessums are frozen in position.

(46) a. mó-na-lak-ír-y-e [Kámbalé] y' [okó nindo]
 AFF-1s-hit-TAM-TRANS 1Kambale LK' 17LOC 9nose
 'I hit Kambale in the nose.'

b. *mó-na-lak-ír-y-e [okó nindó] ko [Kámbale]
 aff-1s-hit-tam-trans 17loc 9nose lk 1Kambale

POSSESSOR

OKO-POSSESSUM

*OKO-POSSESSUM POSSESSOR



(cf. Irimia & Schneider-Zioga 2019)

usual syntactic properties: part/whole possession

- Kinande is a symmetric language. OKO marked possessors have no word order restrictions.

(47) a. Mónatulángire [oko nyúngu] kw' [omúkono].
aff-1s-broke-tam 17loc 9pot Ik 3handle
'I broke the vessel's handle.'

b. Mónatulángire [omúkono] w' [oko nyúngu].
aff-1s-broke-tam 3handle Ik 17loc 9pot
'I broke the vessel's handle.'

OKO WHOLE

PART

PART

OKO WHOLE

(from Irimia & Schneider-Zioga 2019)

usual syntactic properties: ownership

- Kinande is a symmetric language. OKO marked possessors have no word order restrictions. (Alienable possessums (ownership) behave like part/whole possessums)

OKO POSSESSOR

POSSESSUM

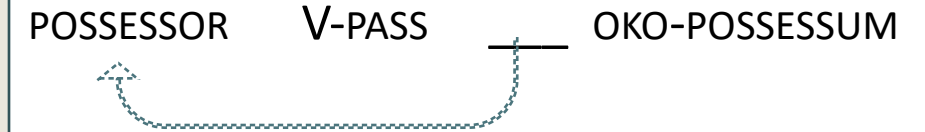
POSSESSUM

OKO POSSESSOR

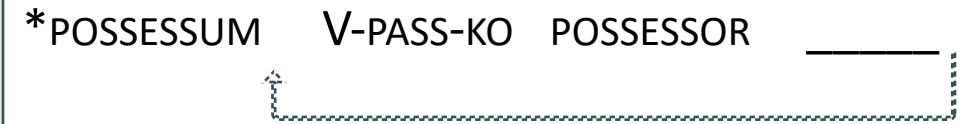


unusual syntactic properties: inalienable possession --passivization

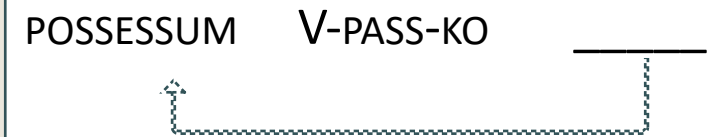
(48) a. Kámbale_j a-lak-i-báwa _j okó nindo
 1Kambale 3s-hit-TRANS-PASS 17Loc 9nose
 'Kambale was hit on the nose.'



b. *énindó y-a-lak-i-báwá-ko Kámbale
 9nose 9-TAM-hit-TRANS-PASS-KO 1Kambale



c. énindó y-a-lak-i-báwá-ko
 9nose 9-TAM-hit-TRANS-PASS-KO
 '(His) nose was hit.'



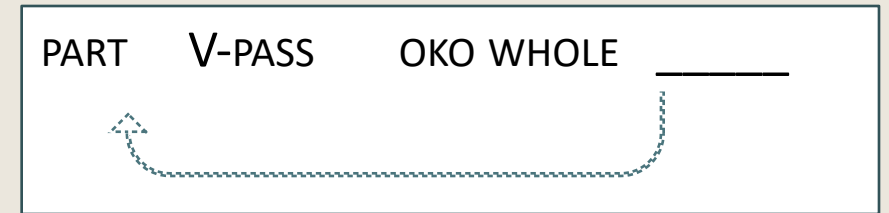
d. *okó nindo y-a-lak-i-bawá
 17Loc 9nose 9-TAM-hit-TRANS-PASS
 '(His) nose was hit.'



(from Irimia & Schneider-Zioga 2019)

usual syntactic properties: part/whole possession & ownership

(49) a. Ebíringó by-éri-báwa okó mútoka.
8wheel 8-cleaned-PASS 17LOC 3car
'The wheels were cleaned on the car.'



b. Okó mútoka kw-éri-báwa ebíringó.
17LOC 3car 17-cleaned-PASS 8wheel
'On the car was cleaned the wheels.'



c. Omútoka éri-báwá-ko ebíringó.
3car 3cleaned-PASS-KO 8wheel
Literally: The car was cleaned-on the wheels.
'On the car was cleaned the wheels.'



(cf. Irimia & Schneider-Zioga 2019)

generalizations:

- If the construction is symmetric, OKO doesn't have to strand
- If it is asymmetric, OKO must strand for passivization to be possible

Proposal

- part/whole and ownership possession: there is a hidden locative reading present.
- For example,
 - *If Kambale cleaned the car the wheels, it means the wheels are actually on the car at the time.*
 - *If Kambale cleaned the wheels of the car, it doesn't tell you anything about where the wheels or car are*

 - *If I unfasten Sarah the zipper, I am unfastening the zipper on something she is actually wearing.*
 - *If I unfasten “the zipper of Sarah” then I am unfastening the zipper on something that she might or might not be wearing.*

Proposal –cont.

- The possessor raising constructions involve smallish clauses:
 - *The symmetric constructions are copular with a locative predicate:*
 - [The zipper is on Sarah]
 - [The wheels are on the car]
 - *The non-symmetric construction involves **have***
 - [Kambale has a nose]
- Therefore, OKO-marking on possessors are instances of locative nominals. But OKO-marking on the possessum in inalienables is case morphology that is involved in licensing the inalienably possessed nominal.

Proposal –cont.

- The locative part/whole & ownership possessor raising constructions are symmetric since the grammar of Kinande is symmetric within the verb phrase. The oko-marked expressions move around like any locative nominal can.
- Note they can A-move as a locative.
- The inalienable possessive predicate construction is frozen in place. It can only move if it strips off its case morphology –such behavior is a diagnostic of structural case. (and note this contrasts with locatives in general)
 - *The linker does not license the possessum here.*
 - *Another example of the type of structural licensing Halpert found within vP in Bantu languages, in her case for augmentless nominals.*

summary of possessor raising & predicative possession

table 1

	inalienable possession	part/whole possession	ownership
	poss OKO -possessum	OKO-poss possessum	OKO-poss possessum
	poss has possessum	possessum is on poss	possessum is on poss
predicative possession	awite (have) poss have possessum	Be+ON poss be-KO possessum	awite + DOM poss have OKO-possessum

HAVING: AN NRT

questionnaire

comparative problem

- too many meanings (Myers 2016 for the name of the problem)
 - *how can a single lexical item express so many different meanings beyond classical possession?*
- too many structures (Myers 2016)
 - *how can so many different structures arrive at what seem to be the same meaning?*
 - *why is **have** rarer?*
- comparative Qs:
 - *what syntactic differences correlate with **have** versus **be**? (if given the meanings expressed by having and being, an interesting Q)*
 - *e.g., the differences found in give-type constructions are relevant here*
 - give Mary a book; vs. give a book to Mary

First task:

- Elicit the many meanings involved in predicative possession
 - *ownership*
 - *part/whole*
 - *body parts*
 - *etc.*

First task:

- Elicit the meanings involved in predicative possession
 - *The easiest involve individuals*
 - care must be taken in several areas:
 - *distinguishing ownership from possession*
 - *being aware that focus might affect the acceptability of a sentence*
 - *being aware that definiteness affects might affect the acceptability of a sentence*
 - *States might show a lot of variability in structure of whether they can be had:*
 - diseases might not be possible as predicative possession
 - attributes might be challenging for similar reasons

first tast, -cont.

- Why states might be problematic
 - *might not have nominals for the state—the language might use verbs instead ☹*
 - *it would be quite useful to learn what thematic role the subject of the predication is understood to bear. For example: They had a final/finals – did they give the final or take the final or are both interpretations possible?*

some first thoughts on actual questions

- Eleni has a car. She bought it last month.
- Sophia has a book. She's holding it now. or: Sophia has a book (with her)
- We arrived at a together in a car and took turn unloading things. We went out for breakfast. I need to go back to my room and realize I forgot my key. Someone tells you: Don't worry. Eleni has the key. (temporary possession)
- Kambale has beautiful eyes.
- Mary has grandchildren (not everyone has grandchildren)
- Mary has a father (That is, he's still living).
- That jar has a handle
- That tree has many birds (in/on it)
- Kambale has a cold.

some first thoughts on actual questions

- Sophia is 20 years old.
- That child is very disobedient. (with some alternative attributes in case there is not the relevant noun or verb)
- Eleni has (much) courage (with some alternative attributes in case there is not the relevant noun or verb)
- That child already has a name.
- Kambale is cold

Some events:

They just had their wedding

They had a quarrel/argument

The baby had a bath

types of questions

- the translation problem—so if you use texts to help, be aware of this
- negative forms.

nominals

- Can relational nouns such as kinship nominals, occur without a possessor otherwise in the language?
 - *Can you say “I saw mother/the mother.” etc.*

extensions

- must/have to (modal use)
 - *John has to leave*
 - *This room has to be blue*
- engineer have:
 - *We had Eleni paint the room*
 - *We had Sophia leave*
- wanting/needing
- getting/giving
- experiencer verbs (because subjects of having can be experiencers)

Thank you!