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Possessor Ascension in Taglennaa (Kordofan Nubian)

Gumma Ibrahim Gulfan

1. Introduction

Taglennaa is a Kordofan Nubian language. The term Taglennaa, which literally means the language of the people of Tagle, is derived from Tagle-n-ii-n-aa which is in turn derived from Tagle-n-ini-n-aa where ii/ini means “people,” aa means “language, speech” and -n is the genitive marker. Taglennaa is spoken in the village of Tagle which is situated on the eastern side of the Kadaru Hills. These hills are commonly known by their Arabic name al-jibaal al-sitta, “the six hills.” The other five communities sharing the hills with Tagle are: Kadaru, Dabatna, Kuldaji, Kurtala, and Kafer. The linguistically related communities of Jebel al-Dair, Dilling, and Ghulfan lie to the east, west, and south west of the Kadaru Hills, respectively. Taglennaa is mutually intelligible with the other languages of al-jibaal al-sitta as well as with the languages of Jebel al-Dair and Uncu. Hence, the possessor ascension (pa) analysis provided here may apply to a great extent to all aforementioned languages. The data in this paper are based on the author’s insights and knowledge of the Tagle language as a native speaker.

Taglennaa is an sov language. Direct objects, indirect objects, and oblique constituents tend to occur before the verb. However, the relative order of these elements is not strictly fixed. Subjects are not case-marked in Taglennaa. Both direct and indirect objects are marked with the accusative marker -gi or one of its phonologically conditioned variants. Transitive and intransitive verbs have distinct sets of aspect and modality markers. Two of these markers, nal and bol mark the ability modalities. The suffix nal is used with transitive verbs while bol is used with intransitive verbs. These aspect markers are glossed as COMPL1 and COMPL2, respectively. They are used
in this paper for the purpose of illustrating contrasts between transitive and intransitive clauses.
There are two ways for expressing possessor relations in Taglenna, as exhibited in exx. 1a and 1b below.³

1a komul onuna ɪy-ɡɪ uɡgenammɪn
komul onu-na ɪy-ɡɪ urge-nal-mɪn
camel donkey-GEN tail-ACC trample.on-COMPL1-3SG.PST
“The camel has trampled on the donkey’s tail”

1b komul onuɡi ɪy-ndɔɔ uɡgenammɪn
komul onu-gi ɪy-ndɔɔ urge-nal-mɪn
camel donkey-ACC tail-LOC trample.on-COMPL1-3SG.PST
“The camel trampled the donkey on his tail”

As shown in the base construction in ex. 1a, both possessor and possessed can appear in a single possessive noun phrase headed by the possessed. Here the possessive noun phrase, onu-na ɪy “the donkey’s tail,” has the structure NP₁-GEN NP₂, where NP₁ is the possessor and NP₂ is the possessed. The possessor is marked with the genitive marker -n or its allomorph -na depending on the phonological environment.

Alternatively, in PA constructions, the possessor and the possessed can appear as distinct constituents of the clause, as shown in ex. 1b, where onu is accusative-marked by -gi while ɪy is locative-marked by -ndɔɔ. Nevertheless, onu is interpreted as possessor rather than as a patient.

Constructions similar to ex. 1b are said to be derivations from constructions similar to ex. 1a and have been analyzed using different linguistic frameworks and given various definitions such as:
▶ Enlarged/Extended Arguments²
▶ PA³
▶ Applicative Constructions⁴
▶ Possessor Raising⁵
▶ Possessor Agreement⁶
▶ External Possession⁷

According to these analyses, PA constructions have the following key characteristics:

1. The first line in each of the examples shows how the examples are realized in Taglenna while the second line shows how they are morphologically composed.
3. Robinson, “Possessor Ascension in Generative Grammar.”
There is an overt or implied possessor relationship expressed by genitives in the base constructions such as ex. 1a from which PA constructions such as ex. 1b are derived;

The possessor noun phrase assumes the syntactic function of its host phrase, i.e. it is the object of a transitive clause or subject of an intransitive clause, and the possessed noun phrase becomes an oblique argument;

Verbs, including intransitive verbs, take extra arguments;

These extra arguments are interpreted as having the semantic role of possessor rather than patient or agent;

They express the fact that the referent of the possessor noun phrase is affected by actions or events which are directly impacting the referent of the possessed noun phrase;

Since PA is the most commonly used term for describing this phenomenon it has been adopted in this paper.

The objective of this paper is to present a number of constructions in Taglennaa which have similar characteristics to those listed above. The paper will focus on:

1. The factors that are associated with the realization of PA in Taglennaa, particularly transitivity, verb class, and the type of the underlying genitive relation in the base construction.
2. The different ways in which PA can be realized in Taglennaa.

The paper will proceed as follows: An overview of PA strategies in Taglennaa will be provided in section 2 and 3, followed by a presentation of the individual strategies in sections 4 to 7. A summary of the main findings is provided in section 8.

2. An Overview of PA in Taglennaa

Evidence of PA in Taglennaa has already been provided in ex. 1b above. Exxs. 2 to 6 below present five manifestations of PA, as it occurs in five distinct situations, see subsections 1–5 below. More details on PA scenarios are provided in section 3.

2.1 PA in a transitive clause with the possessive noun phrase functioning as a direct object

In the base construction in ex. 2a the possessive noun phrase onu-na ɪy is the syntactic object of the clause and case-marked by -gɪ. In the PA construction in ex. 2b, onu is marked by the accusative marker -gi while ɪy is marked by the locative marker -ndɔɔ.
2a komul onuna iygi uggenalmim
komul onu-na iy gi urge-nal-mi
camel donkey-gen tail-acc trample.on-compl1-3sg.pst
“The camel has trampled on the donkey’s tail”

2b komul onugi iy nɔɔ urge-nalmim
komul onu-gi iy ndɔɔ urge-nal-mi
camel donkey-acc tail-loc trample.on-compl1-3sg.pst
“The camel has trampled the donkey on its tail”

2.2 PA in an intransitive clause with the possessive noun phrase functioning as a subject
In ex. 3a the possessive noun phrase onu-na iy is the unmarked syntactic subject of the intransitive base clause. In ex. 3b the possessor onu appears as an object marked by the accusative marker –gi while the possessed iy functions as the subject. This illustrates how intransitive verbs in Taglennaa can take one more argument than their argument frame structure would normally allow as a result of PA.

3a onuna iy ɖɔʈɪbommim
onu-na iy ɖɔʈɪ-bol-mi
donkey-gen tail cut.off-compl2-3sg.pst
“The donkey’s tail has been severed”

3b onugi iy ɖɔʈɪbommim
onu-gi iy ɖɔʈɪ-bol-mi
donkey-acc tail cut.off-compl2.3sg.pst
“The donkey had its tail severed”

2.3 PA in a transitive clause with the possessive noun phrase functioning as a subject
In ex. 4a the possessive noun phrase komul-na kʊgdʊ is the unmarked syntactic subject (and semantic agent) in the transitive base clause. In the PA construction in ex. 4b komul is the unmarked subject while kʊgdʊ is marked by the instrumental marker –kɔ.

4a komulna kʊddʊ onugi uggenalmim
komul-na kʊddʊ onu-gi urge-nal-mi
camel-gen leg donkey-acc trample.on-compl1-3sg.pst
“The camel’s leg has trampled the donkey”
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komul kudduɔ onugi uggenammin 4b
komul kuʤu-kɔ onu-gi urge-nal-min
camel leg-insta donkey-acc trample.on-compl1-3sg.pst
“The camel has trampled the donkey with its leg”

2.4 PA in a transitive clause with a durative verb and a possessive noun phrase functioning as a direct object
In the base construction in ex. 5a the possessive noun phrase onu-na iy-gi is the accusative-marked object of the clause while in ex. 5b both onu and iy are marked with the accusative marker –gi. Moreover, the durative verb akɪ is marked with the applicative marker –nd.

onuna iyɡi tɪɲtʃɔ akɪnalɛ 5a
onu-na iy-gi tîŋ-kɔ akî-nal-ɛ
donkey-gen tail-acc oil-insta rub-compl1-1sg.pst
“I have rubbed the donkey’s tail with oil”

onugi iyɡi tɪɲtʃɔ akɪnalde 5b
onu-ɡi iy-gi tɪŋ-kɔ akî-nal-nd-ɛ
donkey-acc tail-acc oil-insta rub-compl1-appl-1sg.pst
“I have rubbed the donkey’s tail with oil” /
“I have rubbed the donkey with oil on his tail”

2.5 PA in a transitive clause with a punctual verb and a possessive noun phrase functioning as a direct object
In the base construction in ex. 6a the possessive noun phrase onu-na ur is the syntactic object of the clause. In the PA construction in ex. 6b onu is accusative-marked by –gi while ur is marked by the locative marker –ndɔɔ.

onuna uɡgi kitenale 6a
onu-na ur-gi kite-nal-ɛ
donkey-gen head-acc touch-compl1-1sg.pst
“I have touched the donkey’s head”

onugi unndɔɔ kitenale 6b
onu-ɡi ur-ndɔɔ kite-nal-ɛ
donkey-acc head-loc touch-compl1-1sg.pst
“I have touched the donkey’s head” /
“I have touched the donkey on his head”

The (a) sentences in the above examples represent the base possessive noun phrase constructions from which the PA constructions in
the (b) sentences have been derived. This scheme will be followed throughout this paper unless stated otherwise.

In exx. 2a, 3a, 5a, and 6a onu is a noun bearing a possessor relation to ɪy and ʊr in the possessive noun phrases onu–na ɪy and onu–na ʊr of which ɪy and ʊr are the heads, respectively. These noun phrases function as direct objects of the clauses in exx. 2a, 5a, and 6a and as a subject in ex. 3a.

As a result of the PA process, onu has ascended to take over the position of a direct object in ex. 2b, and the position of indirect object in 5b and 6b while ɪy and ʊr have lost their status as the heads of the possessive noun phrase and have been relegated to oblique elements marked with locative case marker.

Likewise in ex. 3b, onu has ascended to the position of direct object in an intransitive clause. This is attested by the accusative marker -gi on onu and the aspect marker -bol on the intransitive verb ḏɔtɪ. The subject of the intransitive clause, ɪy, is not affected by this process.

In ex. 4a, komul is a noun bearing a possessor relation to kʊgdʊ in the possessive noun phrase komul–na kʊgdʊ which functions as the syntactic subject (with the semantic role of agent) of the clause. As a result of the PA process, komul has ascended to take over the function of subject in the clause in ex. 4b. Meanwhile, kʊgdʊ has lost its status as the head of the possessive noun phrase and has been relegated to an oblique element with an instrumental case marker.

The examples show that in all cases the possessor ascends to assume a new grammatical relation. In transitive clauses, it ascends to the position of subject or object depending on the whether the host possessor noun phrase originally functioned as a subject, as seen in ex. 4b or as an object, as seen in ex. 2b. In ditransitive clauses it ascends to the position of indirect object as seen in ex. 5b. In intransitive clauses, the possessor ascends to become a direct object, as seen in ex. 2b. The argument frames of the verbs involved have been enlarged to allow extra arguments. This is also possible for intransitive verbs. As intransitive verbs do not categorize for objects, these extra arguments are interpreted by speakers of the language as having the semantic role of a possessor rather than the semantic role of patient or agent.

3. PA strategies

PA constructions are derived from certain genitive relations in Taglennaa: possessor relations, body-part relations and whole-part relations. Moreover, they are used only with a small set of semantically defined verb classes: verbs of change of state, verbs of impact by
contact, and causative verbs. They are used to express the affectedness of the referents of possessors in possessive noun phrase with actions, events, or processes which have direct impact on the referents of the possessed noun phrase. When a possessor noun phrase is an agent, PA constructions are used to express its responsibility for the action denoted by the verb. There are a number of PA scenarios that can be grouped into five strategies in Taglennaa. The scenarios are governed by the following factors:

- The transitivity of the verb in the base construction
- The syntactic function of the possessive noun phrase: subject or object
- The semantically defined class of the verb in the clause.

PA scenarios manifest themselves in the syntactic functions the possessors ascend to assume combined with how the possessed noun phrases are marked:

- Scenario 1: The possessor ascends to direct object and the possessed is not marked: **No possessed marking strategy** (ex. 3).
- Scenario 2: The possessor ascends to direct object and the possessed is marked as locative: **Locative marking strategy** (ex. 2).
- Scenario 3: The possessor ascends to indirect object and the verb is marked as an applicative: **Indirect object marking strategy** (ex. 5).
- Scenario 4: The possessor ascends to subject and the possessed is marked as locative: **Locative marking strategy** (ex. 6).
- Strategy 5: The possessor ascends to subject and the possessed is marked as instrumental: **Instrumental marking strategy** (ex. 4).

Further analysis is provided for each strategy in the following sections concentrating on the following topics:

- Applicable clause types
- Applicable verb classes
- How is PA realized?
- Relevant genitive relations

4. No possessed marking strategy

This strategy applies to two classes of intransitive verbs: (i) internally caused change of state verbs, and (ii) externally caused change of state verbs. In the base construction, the whole possessive noun phrase functions as the subject of the clause. Under this PA strategy, the possessor loses its genitive marking and ascends as an extra argument to assume the syntactic function of direct object in the clause. The possessed, being the only remaining element after PA, takes on the role of the subject. Since subjects are not case-marked in Taglennaa, the possessed surfaces unmarked. The accusative-
marked possessor is interpreted as having the semantic role of possessor rather than that of patient.

4.1 PA with internally caused change of state verbs

Verbs of internally caused change of state express atelic and gradual physical and non-physical changes that impact body-parts (ex. 7) and changes in emotional conditions (ex. 8) or social status that affect animate entities (ex. 9). The type of changes that are expressed by these verbs are not initiated by external forces nor are they controlled by entities that undergo these changes. PA constructions are used to express the affectedness of the referents of the possessor noun phrase with such changes.

Exx. 7–9 below provide instances of PA involving verbs of internally caused change of state. The (b) sentences in the examples represent the PA constructions derived from the (a) sentences which represent the underlying or base possessor constructions.

In all three examples, Musa, the possessor noun phrase, loses the genitive marking as a result of PA, takes accusative marking and assumes the function of direct object, albeit in intransitive clauses. Meanwhile, the possessed noun phrases iʃi, mal, and er lose their positions as heads of their possessive noun phrases. The verbs in the examples – all intransitive verbs – have arguments marked as direct objects as a result of PA.

Even though the (a) sentences are grammatically sound, their PA counterparts are more likely to be used by speakers of the language in these situations.

- **PA with internally caused change of physical state verbs**

  7a Musana iʃi teribommɪn
  Musa–na iʃi teri–bol–mɪn
  Musa–GEN hand be.numb.COMPL2-3SG.PST
  “Musa’s hand has become numb”

  7b Musagi iʃi teribommɪn
  Musa–gi iʃi teri–bol–mɪn
  Musa–ACC hand be.numb–COMPL2-3SG.PST
  “Musa has his hand become numb”

- **PA with internally caused change of non-physical (emotional) state verbs**

  8a Musana mal tibommɪn
  Musa–na mal ti–bol–mɪn
  Musa–GEN hope die–COMPL2-3SG.PST
  “Musa has lost hope (lit. Musa’s hope has died)”
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Musagi mal tibommín
Musa-gí mal ti-ból-min
Musā-acc hope die-compl2-3sg.pst
“Musa has lost hope”

- **PA with internally caused change of non-physical (social status) state verbs**
  Musana er doyibommín
  Musa-na er doyi-bol-min
  Musa-gen name be.damaged-compl2-3sg.pst
  “Musa has lost his (good) reputation (lit. Musa’s name is damaged)”

Musagi er doyibommín
Musagi-er doyi-bol-min
Musagi-acc name be.damaged-compl2-3sg.pst
“Musa has his reputation damaged”

4.2 **Body part idioms**
There are also situations where possessive constructions would be semantically unsound to use and as such, only **PA** constructions are used. Body part idioms are the most obvious example of situations where only **PA** constructions are used to express affectedness by internally caused changes of state. Body part idioms are used in Taglennaa in conjunction with internally caused change of state verbs to express both physical and non-physical changes, as shown exx. 10 and 11. As evidenced in other situations, the use of **PA** in these situations may be explained by the contiguity of the body part to its possessor.⁸

- **PA with body-part idiom denoting change in physical state**
  *Musana il tibommín
  Musa-na il ti-ból-min
  Musa-gen body die-compl2-3sg.pst

Musagi il tibommín
Musagí il ti-ból-min
Musagí-acc body die-compl2-3sg.pst
“Musa has become paralyzed”

- **PA with body-part idiom denoting change in non-physical state**
  *Ahmedna ʊr ʃiribommín
  Ahmed-na ʊr ʃiri-bol-min
  Ahmed-gen head be.silent.compl2-3sg.pst

⁸ Fox, “Body Part Syntax: Towards a Universal Characterization.”
**4.3 PA with externally caused change of state verbs**

Externally caused change of state verbs express dynamic and telic physical changes of state caused by external forces. **PA** constructions involving these verbs express affectedness of animate and inanimate referents of possessor noun phrases by actions or events impacting on the referents of the possessed objects, i.e. they apply to both animate and inanimate objects in body-part and whole-part relations. Exx. 12 to 13 provide instances of **PA** involving this verb class. The (b) sentences in the examples represent the **PA** constructions derived from the (a) sentences which represent the underlying or base possessor constructions.

Even though the (a) sentences are grammatically sound, their **PA** counterparts are more likely to be used by speakers of the language in these situations.

- **PA** with externally caused change verbs and animate possessor

12a  
Ali-na ontu ṁaŋi bol-mi
Ali-gen arm break-compl2-3sg.pst

“Ali’s arm is broken”

12b  
Ali-gi ontu ṁaŋi bol-mi
Ali-acc arm break-compl2-3sg.pst

“Ali’s arm is broken”

- **PA** with externally caused change verbs and inanimate possessor

13a  
angire-na kutur kakibo-min
bed-gen leg crack-compl2-3sg.pst

“The leg of the bed has cracked”

13b  
angire-gi kutur kakibo-min
bed-acc leg crack-compl2-3sg.pst

“The leg of the bed has cracked”
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4.4 PA with physically attached and contiguous objects
In addition to body-part and whole-part relations, this PA strategy applies also to some alienably possessed objects that are physically attached to or contiguous to their possessors such as items of clothing. Their usage extends even to alienably possessed objects with high economic or psychological values attached to them by their possessors such as money, animals and similar symbols of wealth. This is shown in exx. 14 and 15.

- PA with physically attached or contiguous possessed objects
  Jadana kuman bɛʃibommɪn
  Jada-na kuman bɛʃi-bol-min
  Jada-GEN garment tear-COMPL2-3SG.PST
  “Jada’s garment has ruptured”

Jadagɪ kuman bɛʃibommɪn
Jada-gɪ kuman bɛʃi-bol-min
Jada-ACC garment tear-COMPL2-3SG.PST
“Jada’s garment has ruptured”

- PA with items of high value
  Addena guruʃe bɛkkɪbɛlamɪn
  Adde-na guruʃe bɛrki-bɛl-a-min
  Adde-GEN money.PL be.lost-COMPL2.PL-3PL-PST
  “Adde’s money is lost”

Addegɪ guruʃe bɛkkɪbɛlamɪn
Adde-gɪ guruʃe bɛrki-bɛl-a-min
Adde-ACC money.PL be.lost-COMPL2.PL-3PL-PST
“Adde’s money is lost”

Whereas a PA construction can be used with contiguous, physically attached and high-value alienably possessed objects, as shown in ex. 15b above, it cannot be used with alienably possessed objects that are not physically attached or are not of high values to their possessors as shown in ex. 16b below.

- PA impossible with alienably possessed, non-contiguous, non-high value objects
  Jadana ʈɔŋ bɛʃibommɪn
  Jada-na ʈɔŋ bɛʃi-bol-min
  Jada-GEN gourd tear-COMPL2-3SG.PST
  “Jada’s gourd has ruptured”
5. Locative-marking strategy

This strategy applies to two classes of transitive verbs known as verbs of impact by contact, transitive causative verbs and a small set of intransitive change of state verbs. Under this strategy, the possessor ascends to assume the syntactic role of direct object while the possessed object loses its status of head of the possessive noun phrases and is relegated to an oblique marked as a locative. Though marked as direct object, the new argument is still interpreted as having the semantic role of possessor rather than patient. This strategy applies to both animate and inanimate objects in body-part and whole-part relations, as exhibited in exx. 17–19. As shown in exx. 17c, 18c, and 19c, the element marked with the locative marker is an adjunct that can be dropped from the utterance without significantly affecting the meaning. Hence, it can be concluded that the locative marking serves the purpose specifying the locus of the action.

5.1 Locative marking PA strategy with verbs of impact designating forceful surface contact

Taglennaa verbs of impact by contact include a group of transitive verbs referred to as “hit verbs” that designate semelfactive, punctual, and telic actions. PA constructions formed with this class of verbs are used to express affectedness of referents of possessors in possessive noun phrases with actions that have direct impact on their parts.

- PA with punctual verbs of impact by contact

17a  Dukolana uggį kitenale
     Dukula-na  ur-gi  kite-nal-e
     Dukula-GEN head-ACC touch-COMPL1-1SG.PST
     “I have touched Dukula’s head”

17b  Dukulagi unndɔɔ kitenale
     Dokola-gi  ur-nndɔɔ  kite-nal-e
     Dukula-ACC head-LOC touch-COMPL1-1SG.PST
     “I have touched Dukula’s head / I have touched Dukula on his head”

17c  Dukulagi kitenale
     Dukula-gi  kite-nal-e
     Dukula-ACC touch-COMPL1-1SG.PST
     “I have touched Dukula”
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5.2 Locative marking PA strategy with causative verbs
Some causative transitive verbs which are derived from intransitive verbs of change of state participate in PA constructions formed with locative strategy.

- **PA with causative verbs**
  ![Example 1](183)
  \[18a\]
  \[idu\ \text{tendu-na kuddugi} \text{\c{n}innigimin}\]
  \[idu\ \text{tendu-na kugdu-gi} \text{\c{n}inni-gi-min}\]
  woman girl-GEN leg-ACC break-CAUS-3SG.PST
  “The woman broke the girl’s leg”
  
  ![Example 2](18b)
  \[idu\ \text{tendu kuddun} \text{c\c{n}innigimin}\]
  \[idu\ \text{tendu-gi kugdu-nd} \text{c\c{n}inni-gi-min}\]
  woman girl-ACC leg-LOC break-CAUS-3SG.PST
  “The woman broke the girl’s leg”
  
  ![Example 3](18c)
  \[udu\ \text{tendugi} \text{\c{n}innigimin}\]
  \[udu\ \text{tendu-gi} \text{\c{n}inni-gi-min}\]
  woman girl-ACC break-CAUS-3SG.PST
  “The woman broke the girl”

5.3 Locative marking PA strategy with change of state verbs
There are a few cases in which intransitive change of state verbs are involved in PA constructions using the locative strategy.

- **PA with change of state verbs**
  ![Example 4](19a)
  Musana ontu n\c{n}igbomm\i\n
  Musa-gen arm break-COMPL2-3SG.PST
  “Musa’s arm has broken”
  
  ![Example 5](19b)
  Musa ontu-n\c{n}c\c{n}igbomm\i\n
  Musa arm-LOC break-COMPL2-3SG.PST
  “Musa’s arm has broken”
  
  ![Example 6](19c)
  Musa n\c{n}igbomm\i\n
  Musa break-COMPL2-3SG.PST
  “Musa has (been) broken”
6. Indirect object marking PA strategy

This PA strategy applies to two classes of transitive verbs, durative process verbs (see §6.1) and causative verbs (see §6.2). The indirect object marking PA strategy involves both animate and inanimate objects in body-part and whole-part relationships. Under this strategy, the possessor noun phrase ascends as a new argument to assume the syntactic function of an indirect object while the possessed noun phrase assumes the function of direct object. As in all other situations, the new argument is interpreted as having the semantic role of possessor rather than beneficiary. PA constructions under this strategy are similar in form to applicative constructions. However, while no possessor, whole-part, or body-part relations are generally implied or necessary for applicative constructions, these relations are implied in this PA scenario. It is also worth mentioning that it is possible to form applicative constructions with virtually all verbs in Taglennaa, except for the verb “give.”

6.1 Indirect object marking PA strategy with durative process verbs

PA constructions formed with durative process verbs indicate the affectedness of the referents of the possessor noun phrases with durative processes performed on their parts. As a result of PA, the possessor tɛndʊ in ex. 20a ascends to assume the function of direct object in ex. 20b while the possessed iʃi is marked with the accusative marker even though a locative interpretation is also possible, as shown in the translation. These verbs are a subset of verbs of impact by surface contact that do not allow locative marking on the objects.

- PA with durative verbs

20a  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{tɛndʊna} & \text{iʃi} & \text{ʈɪɲtʃɔ} & \text{ogenalɛ} \\
\text{tɛndʊ-} & \text{iʃi-} & \text{ʈɪɲ-} & \text{c} & \text{e} & \text{gen} & \text{n-al-ɛ} \\
\text{girl-GEN} & \text{hands-ACC} & \text{oil-INST} & \text{rub-COMPL-1SG.PST} \\
\end{array}
\]
“I have rubbed the girl’s hands with oil/I have rubbed oil on the girl’s hands”

20b  
\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{tɛndʊgi} & \text{iʃi} & \text{ʈɪɲtʃɔ} & \text{ogenalɛ} \\
\text{tɛndʊ-} & \text{iʃi-} & \text{ʈɪɲ-} & \text{c} & \text{e} & \text{gen} & \text{n-ndɛ-ɛ} \\
\text{girl-ACC} & \text{hands-ACC} & \text{oil-INST} & \text{rub-COMPL-APPL-1SG.PST} \\
\end{array}
\]
“I have rubbed the girl’s hands with oil/I have rubbed oil on the girl’s hands”

Passive constructions are not common in Taglennaa. However, ex. 20a can be expressed as an intransitive clause as follows:
Possessor Ascencion in Taglennaa

Here, the possessor noun phrase functions as the subject of the intransitive verb oge which is marked by the intransitive aspect marker bel.

6.2 Indirect object marking PA with causative verbs
This strategy applies to a set of causative verbs derived from change of state verbs that do not allow locative marking in PA constructions and take indirect object marking instead.

- PA with causative verbs
  - bogul onuna iygi ḍɔṭiγammin
  - bogul onu-na iy-gi ḍɔṭi-gi-nal-min
  - hyena donkey-GEN tail-ACC cut.off-CAUS-COMPL2-3SG.PST
  - “The hyena has severed the donkey’s tail”

  - bogul onugi iygi ḍɔṭiγaɫिमın
  - bogul onu-gi iy-ɣi ḍɔṭi-gi-nal-ndi-min
  - hyena donkey-ACC tail-ACC cut.off-CAUS-COMPL2-APPL-3SG.PST
  - “The hyena has severed the donkey’s tail”

7. Instrumental marking PA strategy
This strategy applies in possessive constructions where the possessive noun phrase functions as the subject in transitive clauses. In the base construction, the possessor will be marked for genitive case while the possessed which is the head of the possessive noun phrase is unmarked. As a result of the PA process, the possessor ascends to assume the syntactic function of subject while the possessed is demoted to an oblique marked for instrumental case. Whether the subject plus instrumental construction will attract a genitive interpretation depends on the possible relations that can be observed between the two elements. A genitive meaning will be rendered if the element case-marked as instrumental can be inalienably possessed by the subject or is attached or contiguous to it. Under this strategy, PA constructions indicate the fact that the ultimate responsibility for the actions expressed as carried out by the possessed entities in the base constructions, lie with the referents of their possessors.
• **PA with the instrumental marking strategy: the possessive noun phrase has the semanto-syntactic function of an agent**

22a Ahmedna kitʊ iddi kitemɪn
Ahmed-na kitʊ id-gi kite-mɪn
Ahmed-gen cloth man-acc touch-3sg.pst

“Ahmed’s cloth touched the man”

22b Ahmed kitʊkɔ iddi kitemɪn
Ahmed kitʊ-kɔ id-gi kite-mɪn
Ahmed cloth-inst man-acc touch-3sg.pst

“Ahmed’s cloth touched the man/Ahmed touched the man with his cloth”

8. **Summary**

**PA** constructions are derived from certain types of genitive constructions encoding the following types of relations:

- Body-part relations, as seen in ex. 7
- Whole-part relations, as in exx. 12-13.
- Body-part idioms, as in exx. 10-11.
- Physically attached and contiguous items, as in ex. 14.
- Alienably possessed, high-value items, as in ex. 15.

**PA** constructions are used to express affectedness, and in that respect they are preferred to underlying genitive constructions.

**PA** constructions are used with certain sets of transitive and intransitive verb classes:

- Verbs of change-of-state, as in exx. 18–19.
- Verbs of impact by contact, as in ex. 20.
- Causative verbs derived from verbs of change of state, as in ex. 21.

**PA** strategies are sensitive to the type of underlying genitive relations and the lexical verb classes involved and they feature in terms of how the referent of the possessed is marked.

The **no possessed marking PA** strategy applies to intransitive verbs of change-of-state only, as illustrated in ex. 3.

The locative marking strategy can apply to verbs from all of the above lexical classes with some restrictions: locative marking is allowed only in situations where the fact that actions were carried on possessed objects entail that these actions were carried on their possessors. As far as the affectedness of the possessor is concerned, the element marked with the locative marker can be dropped from the utterance without significantly affecting the meaning. Hence, it can be concluded that the locative marking serves the purpose specifying the locus of the action.
The indirect object marking strategy applies to all verbs from the above classes that do not allow locative marking, as illustrated in ex. 5.

PA constructions under the indirect object marking strategy are identical to applicative constructions in that they have the same form, both forms express affectedness, the argument frames of the verbs involved are increased by one.
Bibliography


