Variety in the usage of Sakha proprietive '-LEEX'

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The proprietive suffix -LEEX

- 16 allomorphs:
  -laax, -leex, -loox, -lœœx, -daax, -deex, -doox, -dœœx,
  -taax, -teex, -toox, -tœœx, -naax, -neex, -noox, -nœœx.
- Suffixes to a noun stem, or a noun-like derived stem
- 'having' or 'with'

Possessive use

- Attributive
- (1) ys oʁo-**loox** kihi
  3 child-LEEX person
  'a person having three children'

- Predicative
- (2) semen ys kinige-**leex**
  Semen 3 book-LEEX:COP.3SG
  'Semen has three books.'

- NP
- (3) at-**taax** satuuu-nuu kuutta arguusta-s-pat
  horse-LEEX pedestrian-ACC with travel-REC-PRES:NEG:3SG
  'A man on a horse does not travel with a pedestrian. (saying)'

Non-possessive (1): Associative

- When the host is an animate noun

- (4) ňurgun-**naax** semen ostuol-laruu-gar olor-du-lar
  Niurgun-LEEX Semen table-POSS.3PL sit-PAST-3PL
  'Niurgun and Semen sat at the table.'

- (5) ňurgun-**naax** semen-i mœx-pyt-ym
  Niurgun-LEEX Semen-ACC scold-PAST-1SG
  'I scolded Niurgun and Semen.'

Similarity to the comitative

- When [NP₁-leex NP₂] is the subject

- (4) ňurgun-**naax** semen ostuol-laruu-gar olor-du-lar
  Niurgun-LEEX Semen table-POSS.3PL sit-PAST-3PL
  'Niurgun and Semen sat at the table.'

- (6) ňurgun-**nuuun** semen ostuol-laruu-gar olor-du-lar
  Niurgun-COM Semen table-POSS.3PL sit-PAST-3PL
  'Semen sat at the table with Niurgun.'

Non-possessive (2): Approximant plural

- When [NP-leex] is "headless"
- (7) učuutal-**laax** bygyn kuorak-ka kiir-el-ler
  teacher-LEEX today city-DAT go.into-PRES-3PL
  'The teacher and others are going into the city today.'

- (8) učuutal-**lar** bygyn kuorak-ka kiir-el-ler
  teacher-PL today city-DAT go.into-PRES-3PL
  'The teachers are going into the city today.'

- With an interrogative *kim* 'who'
- (9) kim 'who (SG)' kim-neex 'who (PL)' * kim-ner
  who who-LEEX who-PL

Non-possessive (3): Attendant circumstance

- With an inanimate noun
- Qualifies predicates, instead of NPs

(10) oʁo-but   taŋas-**taax**   utuj-but
       child-POSS.1PL clothes-LEEX sleep-PAST.3SG
    'Our child fell asleep with her clothes.'

(11) suntaar bahɯlug-a   elbex kehii-**leex**   kel-le
      Suntar governor-POSS.3SG many gift-LEEX   come-PAST:3SG
    'The governor of Suntar has come with many gifts.'

Non-possessive (4): Experience

- When [VN-leex] is a predicate, and VN is in the past tense
- "VN" is short for verbal nouns, derived from verbal stems

(12) aʁa-bɯ-n   kutta   ehe-ni
      father-POSS.1SG-ACC with   bear-ACC
      bultaa-bɯt-**taax**-pɯn
      hunt-VN.PAST-LEEX-COP.1SG
    'I have once hunted a bear with my father.'

- The past VN is identical to the finite verb form

(13) ehe-ni   bultaa-bɯt-ɯn
      bear-ACC   hunt-PAST-1SG
    'I hunted a bear.'

Non-possessive (5): Necessive

- When [VN-leex] is a predicate, and VN is in the present or future tense

(14) saamaj sœp boppurɯoh-u kœtœx-pyt,
      most   fit   question-ACC raise-PAST:3SG
    eb-en   et-er-**deex**-pin
    add-CV   say-VN.PRES-LEEX-COP.1SG
    '(S)he brought up a very suitable question. I must make an additional comment.'

(15) kiniler oʁo-loru-n   toʁo iit-iex-**teex**-pin-ij
      they   child-POSS.3PL-ACC why raise-VN.FUT-LEEX-COP.1SG-Q
    'Why must I raise their child?'

The usage of -LEEX

	Host	Syntax	Function
Possessive	ANY	Attr./Pred./NP	Nominal derivation
Associative	Animate	Attr.	Nominal inflection?
Approximant plural	Animate	NP	Nominal inflection?
Attendant circumstance	Inanimate	Adv.	Adv. derivation?
Experience	Past VN	Pred.	Verbal inflection?
Necessive	Pres./Fut. VN	Pred.	Verbal inflection?

Concluding remarks

- Wide-ranging use of the identical suffix
- Semantically common ground 'having'

- Inflectional or derivational?
- N-PL-POSS-CASE

(16) sɯana-laax   taas-**tar-daax** žaxtar
      value-LEEX   stone-PL-LEEX lady
    'a lady with (valuable) jewels'

Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
COM	comitative
COP	copula
CV	converb
DAT	dative
FUT	future
NEG	negative
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRES	present
REC	reciprocal/associative
SG	singular
VN	verbal noun