Variety in the usage of Sakha proprietary ‘-LEEX’

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The proprietive suffix -LEEX
- 16 allomorphs:
  - laax, -leex, -loox, -tax, -teex, -toox, -naax, -neex, -noox, -nexx
  - daax, -deex, -doox, -dx, -daax, -deex, -doox, -dx,
  - taax, -teex, -toox, -t
  - naax, -neex, -noox, -nexx
- Suffixes to a noun stem, or a noun-like derived stem
- ‘having’ or ‘with’

Possessive use
- Attributive
  (1) ys oro-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-laax satuu-nu kuutta agusta-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) niurgun-naax semen ostul-lar-garolor-du-lar
      Niurgun-LEEX Semen table-POSS:3PL sit-PAST-3PL
      ‘Niurgun and Semen sat at the table.’
  (5) niurgun-naax semen-i moex-pyt-ym
      Niurgun-LEEX Semen-ACC scold-PAST-1SG
      ‘I scolded Niurgun and Semen.’

Similarity to the comitative
- When [NP,leex NP,] is the subject
  (4) niurgun-naax semen ostul-lar-garolor-du-lar
      Niurgun-LEEX Semen table-POSS:3PL sit-PAST-3PL
      ‘Niurgun and Semen sat at the table.’
  (6) niurgun-nunun semen ostul-lar-garolor-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) uculual-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) uculual-laax 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-leex ‘who (PL)’
      who-LEEX who-PL

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Non-possessive (3):
Attendant circumstance
- With an inanimate noun
- Qualifies predicates, instead of NPs
  (10) oro-but tags-laax utu-j-but
       child-POSS.1PL clothes-LEEX sleep-PAST.3SG
       ‘Our child fell asleep with her clothes.’
  (11) suntaar bahultug-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) a-a-bu-t-n kutta ehe-ni
       father-POSS.1SG-ACC with bear-ACC
       bultaa-butt-taax puin
       hunt-VN.PAST-LEEX-COP.1SG
       ‘I have once hunted a bear with my father.’
  (13) ehe-ni bultaa-butt-un
       bear-ACC hunt-PAST.3SG
       ‘I hunted a bear.’

Non-possessive (5): Necessive
- When [VN-leex] is a predicate, and VN is in the present or future tense
  (14) samaj soep hoppuruoh-u koetex-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 oro-loru-n toto iit-iex-leex-pi-i
       they child-POSS.3PL-ACC why raise-VN.FUT-LEEX-COP.1SG-Q
       ‘Why must I raise their child?’

The usage of -LEEX

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Concluding remarks
- Wide-ranging use of the identical suffix
- Semantically common ground ‘having’
- Inflectional or derivational?
- N-PL-POSS-CASE
  (16) suuana-laax taas-tar-deex żaaxtar
       value-LEEX stone-PL-LEEX lady
       ‘a lady with (valuable) jewels’

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