Diachrony of the possessive classifiers in Uto-Aztecan languages: back-and-forht between attributive and predicative possession

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Uto-Aztecan languages, a linguistic stock located in Northern America, may exhibit an inalienable/alienable and/or an animate/inanimate possesive distinction within possessive NPs (1).

- (1) Tarahumara (SUA, Tarahumaran)
- (1a) anijé-ka **níwa** echi machete juan **níwa**-ra 1SG.S-ENF have DEM machete J. have-POS 'I have Juan's machete' (Lit.: 'I have Juan's possession-machete' (MKR)
- (1b) *nijé bucu-ra* cahué ju 1SG.S animal:SG-POS horse COP 'This is my horse.' (Lit.: 'My animal-horse is') (Hilton 1993: 13)

One particular evolutive pattern for thesze classifiers is that they tend to evolve into possessive transitive verbs (1a). Some of them even derive from a construction of predicative possession. We analyze this back-and-forth diachronic movement between attributive and predicative possession as the illustration of the strength of the subjacent cognitive model that is used in UA languages to express predicative possession, that is, the Genitive Schema (Heine 1997), which seems to act like a rubber band or a bungee, that keeps on pulling and pushing possessive classifiers between attributive and predicative possession

References: • Heine, Bernd, 1997a. *Possession: Cognitive Sources, Forces and Grammaticalization.* Cambridge: CUP. Hilton, K. Simon, 1993 [1959]. *Diccionario tarahumara de Samachique.* Catalina: ILV. • Langacker, Ronald W., 1977. *Studies in Uto-Aztecan Grammar I: An Overview of Uto-Aztecan Grammar.* Dallas / Arlington: Summer Institute of Linguistics / University of Texas.