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Translation Accuracy in Relation to Language Differences

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I declare that I elaborated this paper independently and that I mentioned the absolute list of works cited.

In Olomouc on the day   …………..…………………………………….

Acknowledgement

Abstract

This thesis deals with morpho-syntactic and semantic properties of selected possessive phrasings in English, Spanish and Czech. The comparative description allows the reader to see underlying processes which connect or divide the three language systems. Morpho-syntactic similarities in the systems lead us to a syntactically corresponding construction which might not be a semantic equivalent at the same time. In many cases, the corresponding construction is not available in one of the languages.

The aim of the thesis is to describe similarities and differences between a part of English, Spanish and Czech language systems and state principles for selection of equivalents and/ or corresponding constructions of a phrasing in different language.

Key words

possessive Pronoun, possessive Determiner, possessive Adjective, of-phrase, Germanic-genitive, de-phrase, derived Possessive, possessive Genitive, Noun Phrase, Possessive Phrase

Anotace

Tématem této diplomové práce jsou morfosyntaktické a sémantické vlastnosti vybraných přivlastňovacích frází v angličtině, španělštině a češtině. Komparativní popis umožňuje čtenáři nahlédnout na skryté procesy, které spojují či rozdělují vybrané jazykové systémy. Podobnosti v morfosyntaktické vrstvě mezi jazyky vedou k syntakticky stejné konstrukci, která ovšem nemusí odpovídat výchozí frázi sémanticky. V mnoha případech není odpovídající konstrukce v jednom z jazyků k dispozici.

Cílem této diplomové práce je popsat podobnosti a rozdíly mezi částí anglického, španělského a českého jazykového systému a stanovit principy výběru ekvivalentu či odpovídající konstrukce vybrané fráze v jiném jazyce.

Klíčová slova

přivlastňovací zájmeno, přivlastňovací determinant, přivlastňovací přídavné jméno, předložka of, germánský genitiv, předložka de, odvozené přivlastňovací přídavné jméno, přivlastňovací genitiv, jmenná fráze, přivlastňovací fráze

Table of contents

List of abbreviations

A – adjective
ACC – accusative
+ANIM – animate
-ANIM – inanimate
AP – adjectival phrase
D – determiner
DAT - dative
DP – determinative phrase
FEM – feminine gender
GEN – genitive
HIGH – high register
IMP – imperative
INF – infinitive
INSTR – instrumental
LOC – locative
MASC – masculine gender
N – noun
N° – head noun
NEUT – neuter gender
NOM - nominative
NP – noun phrase
PAST – past tense
PL – plural
POSS – derived possessive
Prep - preposition
PP – prepositional phrase
PS – person
REFL – reflexive
S – sentence
SG – singular
V – verb
VP – verb phrase

1. Introduction to possessive modifiers of NPs in English, Spanish and Czech

Possession is one of the most used features of language – because what is more natural than the demarcation of territory, one's possession? There are many different ways to express possession but possessive pronouns always maintain a solid position among these. Therefore possessive pronouns have been studied from many different points of view.

This thesis provides a comparison of possessive modifiers in three languages – English, Spanish and Czech. These languages were chosen as representatives of subgroups of Indo-European languages – English for Germanic, Spanish for Romance, and Czech for Slavic.

Every language has different means to express basically the same meaning, and it is interesting to see the correspondences in possessive modifiers in such different languages. Correspondences can be found between all combinations of these three languages, but it seems that the properties of Spanish are in ´a middle position´ between English and Czech, i.e. the Spanish system of possessive modifiers is a combination of English and Czech systems.

The possessive modifiers are divided into two groups in this work. The first group, possessive pronouns, and its properties are a criterion for the division of languages into groups in the section 4.5.1. According to the degree of agreement of a possessive pronoun with its possessed noun, each language is labelled as non-agreeing (English), agreeing in ɸ-features (Spanish), and case-agreeing (Czech). The label case-agreeing includes agreement in ɸ-features, which are gender and number.

The morpho-syntactic properties of possessive pronouns in these three languages may show many differences, as above, but there are many similarities when talking about lexical inventory (as will be found out in the section 3) which is caused by their common origin in personal pronouns.

There is one fundamental difference between the lexical inventory of Czech and the other two languages. Since a concrete countable Czech noun in singular does not require the presence of determiner as Spanish and English do, Czech possessive pronouns show more adjectival features and do not have a determinative function as will be seen in the section 4.

The other group, considered in this work, consists of pre-modifying and post-modifying possessive elements. The lexical inventory of these phrasings shows a number of differences and irregularities and section 4.3

provides equivalents and corresponding constructions in compared languages.

Complete list of all phrases considered as possessive modifiers of an NP may be found in the section 4.4.

2. Objectives of analysis

This work has two objectives. First, to provide morpho-syntactic and semantic analysis as such. Second, to draw conclusions from these analyzes. The morpho-syntactic analysis is done using a typological approach to language as described by Croft (2010): ´*by examining diversity, one can use techniques to uncover the enduring processes that underlie language and reveal its nature´*.

By diversity, the three different languages are meant, or more exactly their systems of possessive modifiers. The enduring processes uncovered by the analysis are proposals of new one-way universals. I call them proposals because they need to be tested in more languages before calling them universals as such.

The instrument of analysis is the constituency theory, which is described in section 8.

The semantic analysis uses other than possessive meanings and analyzes in greater detail the influence of morpho-syntactic realization on semantic components of phrasings.

3. List of possessive pronouns in English, Spanish and Czech

This section provides a complete list of possessive pronouns in all three languages. As shown in Table 1, there is no inflection in English possessive pronouns:

Table 1
Possessive pronouns in English

Determiners	*my, your (sg.,pl.), his, her, its, our, their*
Adjectives	*mine, yours (sg.,pl.), his, hers, ?its, theirs*

A question mark in front of the possessive adjective signals its weak character and quite restricted usage. The restrictions are described in appropriate sections.

Table 2 presents Spanish possessive pronouns and shows the φ-features agreement:

Table 2
Possessive pronouns in Spanish

Singular (order: 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 1st, 2nd ps.)		
Determiners	Feminine	*mi, tu, su (sg.,pl.), nuestra, vuestra*
	Masculine	*mi, tu, su (sg., pl.), nuestro, vuestro*
Adjectives	Feminine	*mía, tuya, suya (sg., pl.), nuestra, vuestra*
	Masculine	*mío, tuyo, suyo (sg., pl.), nuestro, vuestro*
Plural		
Determiners	Feminine	*mis, tus, sus (sg., pl.), nuestras, vuestras*
	Masculine	*mis, tus, sus (sg., pl.), nuestros, vuestros*
Adjectives	Feminine	*mías, tuyas, suyas (sg., pl.), nuestras, vuestras*
	Masculine	*míos, tuyos, suyos (sg., pl.), nuestros, vuestros*

As one can see, not all pronouns show agreement in gender. This is caused by missing inflection in possessive determiners. On the other hand, the agreement in number is general. Other properties will be discussed in section 4.5.1..

Possessive pronouns in Czech have the richest inflectional morphology of these three languages. In the most developed inventory of possessive pronouns, Czech incorporates two *possessive pronouns* which respect none of the inflectional rules applied to the other *possessive adjectives*.

These are indeclinable *jeho* (´his´, ´him´) and *jejich* (´their´). Trávníček (1951, 1125) considers *jeho* and *jejich* to be *nominal genitives,* not possessive pronouns. The nominal genitive is much closer to personal pronouns than to possessive pronouns. The form *jeho* can be still used in a couple of contexts as a personal pronoun:

(1)   **Jeho** *vidět*   *pracovat, to je zázrak.*
        him   see$_{INF}$ work$_{INF}$ it   is miracle
        ´It is a miracle to see him working.´

It is much more common to use a shorter form *ho* (him):

(2)   *Vidět* **ho**   *pracovat je zázrak.*
        see$_{INF}$ him   work$_{INF}$ is miracle

The example (1) is much more expressive than (2) because of the marked word order.

I agree with Trávníček, but since the term *nominal genitive* might get easily confused with the term *possessive genitive*, I will not use this label in this work. In fact, for the purposes of this work, it is sufficient to consider *jeho* and *jejich* a part of group *possessive adjectives.* Therefore, I will not suggest a new label.

With these two exceptions excluded, we get to three declensions of possessive pronouns. Petr (1986, 388) suggests labels *special* for *můj, tvůj, svůj*; *soft* for *její*; *pronominal* for *náš, váš*. I agree with his hypothesis but I would like to elaborate his division.

First, it is necessary to specify more the ´special´ declension of the set of possessive pronouns *můj, tvůj, svůj* (´my´, ´your´ and reflexive possessive pronoun).

There are two subsets of possessive adjectives. The distinctive feature seems to be the presence or absence of *-j-* in the in the word. The subsets created by applying this distinctive features belong to different registers, marked +/ - HIGH in the following table.

(3) a. *Bez   tvé   lásky   nemohu   žít.*
     without   your$_{SG.FEM.GEN.HIGH.}$ love$_{SG.GEN.}$ cannot$_{1ST.SG.PRS.}$ live$_{INF}$
     ´I can´t live without your love.´

  b. *Potřebuju   tvoje   auto.*
     need$_{1ST.SG.PRS.}$ your$_{SG.MASC.ACC.LOW.}$ car$_{SG.ACC.}$
     ´I need your car.´

Native speakers differentiate these two subsets of possessive adjectives to such extent, that they create forms which are not a part of lexical inventory and therefore are ungrammatical as in (4) a.. These forms are used, above all, by less educated speakers in Bohemia. The reason for creation of such forms is the tendency to avoid the high register in spoken communication. These tendencies disappear in Moravia and Silesia.

(4) a. *?Můžeme   poprosit tvojeho   bráchu?*
     can$_{1PS.PL.PRS.}$ ask$_{INF}$ *your$_{SG.MASC.GEN.}$ bro$_{SG.GEN.}$
     ´Can we ask yo bro?´

  b. *?Můžeme   poprosit tvého   bráchu?*
     can$_{1PS.PL.PRS.}$ ask$_{INF}$ your$_{SG.MASC.GEN.}$ bro$_{SG.GEN.}$
     ´Can we ask your bro?´

  c. *Můžeme   poprosit tvého   bratra?*
     can$_{1PS.PL.PRS.}$ ask$_{INF}$ your$_{SG.MASC.GEN.}$ brother$_{SG.GEN.}$
     ´Can we ask your brother?´

(4) b. represents probable statement in low register in Moravia and Silesia, and (4) c. fully grammatical and high register statement.
The complementary distribution of the possessive pronouns from high and low register may be a subject for future research.

The high register copies the hard adjectival declension with a model word *mladý* (´young´). The declension in low register does not show any consistent adjectival pattern. I will return to this analysis in section 4.5.

Table 3

Stems: 1st *m-*, 2nd *tv-*, reflexive *sv-*							
	+MASC, -PLUR, +ANIM, -HIGH	+MASC, -PLUR, -ANIM	+MASC, -PLUR, +ANIM, +HIGH	+NEU, -PLUR, +HIGH	+FEM, -PLUR, +HIGH	+NEU, -PLUR, -HIGH	+FEM, -PLUR, -HIGH
NOM	*-ůj*	*-ůj*	*	*-é*	*-á*	*-oje*	*-oje*
ACC	*		*-ého*		*-ou*	*-oje*	*-oji*
INSTR		*-ým*				*	*-ojí*
GEN		*-ého*			*-é*		
LOC		*-ém*					
DAT		*-ému*					
	+MASC, +PLUR, +ANIM, -HIGH	+MASC, +PLUR, -ANIM	+MASC, +PLUR, +ANIM, +HIGH	+NEU, +PLUR, +HIGH	+FEM, +PLUR, +HIGH	+NEU, +PLUR, -HIGH	+FEM, +PLUR, -HIGH
NOM	*-oji*	*-oje*	*-í*	*-á*	*-é*	*-oje*	*-oje*
ACC	*-oje*		*-é*				
INSTR	*	*-ými*				*	
GEN		*-ých*					
LOC							
DAT		*-ým*					

The second declension, which includes merely the possessive adjective *její* (´her´), copies the soft adjectival declension with a model *jarní* (´spring_{ADJ}´).

Table 4

Stems: 3rd *jej-*				
	+MASC, -PLUR, -ANIM	**+MASC, -PLUR, +ANIM**	**+NEU, -PLUR**	**+FEM, -PLUR**
NOM	*-í*	*-í*	*-í*	*-í*
ACC		*-ího*		
INSTR	*-ím*			*-í*
LOC				
GEN	*-ího*			
DAT	*-ímu*			
	+MASC, +PLUR, -ANIM	**+MASC, +PLUR, +ANIM**	**+NEU, +PLUR**	**+FEM, +PLUR**
NOM	*-í*			
ACC				
INSTR	*-ími*			
LOC	*-ích*			
GEN				
DAT	*-ím*			

The last pronominal declension shows a φ-feature agreement like previous declensions but it does not follow any adjectival declension. In my opinion, this declension should be considered idiosyncratic but adjectival. It shows case agreement and the possessive pronouns can be replaced by adjectives.

Table 5

Stems: 1st *n-*, 2nd *v-*				
	+MASC, -PLUR, -ANIM	+MASC, -PLUR, +ANIM	+NEU, -PLUR	+FEM, -PLUR
NOM	*-áš*	*-áš*	*-aše*	*-aše*
ACC		*-ašeho*		*-aši*
INSTR	*-aším*			*-aší*
GEN	*-ašeho*			
LOC	*-ašem*			
DAT	*-ašemu*			
	+MASC, +PLUR, -ANIM	+MASC, +PLUR, +ANIM	+NEU, +PLUR	+FEM, +PLUR
NOM	*-aše*	*-aši*	*-aše*	
ACC		*-aše*		
INSTR	*-ašimi*			
GEN	*-ašich*			
LOC				
DAT	*-ašim*			

4. The nature of analyzed phrases

In this section, I will define the possessor and explain the selection of the analyzed phrasings.

4.1. Animacy of possessor

The possessor is expressed by the possessive element, therefore it is not directly present in the phrase in the case of possessive pronouns. This does not mean, that the properties of the possessor are not reflected in the language.

The inherent gender is dual in all three languages - feminine and masculine, but in all three languages there is a trace of neuter gender at least.

(5)   *No es   lo que quiero.*
      not be_{3RD.SG.PRES.} it that want_{SG.1ST.PRES.}
      ´This is not what I want.´
(6)   *It rains.*
(7)   *Ono   prší?*
      it   rain_{3RD.SG.PRES.}
      ´Is it raining?´

The neuter gender in the possessive paradigm perseveres in English. It is used for possession of animals and relating a part of an object to the whole.

(8)   *a. This is a rare animal, its skin is blue.*
      b. This is my table. Its leg is broken.

The usage of neuter possessive pronouns for animals is restricted. If the speaker has an emotionally charged relation to the animal, the masculine or feminine possessive pronoun may be used.

(9)   My dog´s name is Percy. His tail is really long.

In Czech, the neuter possessive pronoun has the same form as masculine.

(10) *Dítě bylo   malé a   jeho oči   byly   zelené.*
      child be_{3RD.SG.PAST.} small and its eyes be_{3RD.PL.PAST.} green
      ´The child was small and his eyes were green.´

As (8) and (10) show, the grammatical gender does not always correspond with the inherent gender. A living organism can be grammatically inanimate as well, e.g. animals in English. In these cases, the extralinguistic context is the decisive element, but the grammatical gender affects the morpho-syntactic realization of the possessive phrase like in (8) a..

In Czech, the animacy is a condition for usage of the derivative possessive suffix.

(11) noha **stolu**
      leg   table$_{GEN}$
      ´the table leg´
(12) ?stolu/   *stolova   noha
        table$_{GEN.}$ table$_{POSS.MASC.}$ leg
      ´*the table´s leg´

The animacy is not the only condition. The possessor must be concrete and known to the speaker at least. Compare:

(13) dívčí román
      girly novel
      ´teen girl novel´
(14) dívčin román
      girl$_{POSS}$ novel
      ´the girl´s novel´

Šmilauer (1986, 184-6) classifies both phrases as possessive. According to the criteria set in this section, only (14) can be considered possessive. (13) expresses rather character of the *book* than its possessor.

To sum up obligatory properties of a possessor which will be further on marked as Principle 1:
- the possessor must be animate and concrete
- the possessor must be inherently feminine or masculine, but the grammatical gender can be neuter as well

4.2. Reducing the list of analyzed phrases

Possession can be expressed by a number of devices. In English, those devices would be possessive determiners presented in (15), possessive adjectives[1], (16), Germanic genitive case, (17), possessive *of*-phrases, (18), postposed possessive, (19), subject and object complements presented in (20) and (21), verbs of possession, (22), and elliptical possessives, (23).

*(15) **my** house*
*(16) a[2] house of **mine***
*(17) **Jane's** house*
*(18) a. house **of Jane***
*(19) a. house **of Jane's***
*(20) The house is **mine**.*
(21) *Jane considered the house **mine**.*
(22) ***I have/ own/ possess** a house.*
(23) ***His** was a great house.*

From the semantic point of view, all the phrasings express possession. This work will not study phrases (20), (21), (22) and (23) where the element with possessive function is a part of predication or it is elliptical. There are various reasons for this decision.

In the cases of (20) and (21) which represent subject and object complement, the character of *mine* is not the same as in (16). On the one hand, the positions external to an NP both allow replacement with an AP and an inanimate NP, as in examples (10)-(12) and in a few situations where the meaning is shifted for stylistic reasons even replacement with an animate NP.

(24) The house is mine/ violet / a ruin.
(25) *The house is mine/ a ruin/ ?my friend.*
(26) *Jane considered the house mine/ violet*

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[1] Quirk´s terminology for these forms is independent possessive.
[2] The distribution of definite and/or indefinite article will be explained in appropriate sections.

On the other hand, examples (27) to (29) show that the position internal to an NP allows neither:

*(27)   a. house of mine/ *violet /* a ruin.*
(28)   *Jane considered the house mine/ a ruin/ ?my friend.*
(29)   *a. house of mine/ *a ruin/ my friend*

In the case of an object complement presented in (20), the situation is even more complicated by the fact that the possessive pronoun *mine* is a complement both to a noun and a verb. This dual role is reflected in the translation to Czech and Spanish, where both realizations are different:

(30)   *Juana creía   que la   casa   era mía.*
         Jane   consider$_{PAST, 3RD,SG.}$ that the$_{SG.FEM.}$ house$_{SG.}$ was mine$_{SG.FEM.}$

(31)   **Juana creía   la   casa mía.*
         Jane   consider$_{PAST, 3RD,SG.}$ the$_{SG.FEM.}$ house mine$_{SG.FEM.}$

(32)   *Jana považovala   ten   dům   za můj.*
         Jane consider$_{PAST, 3RD,SG.}$ the$_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$house$_{SG.NOM.}$for mine$_{SG.MASC.ACC.}$

(33)   **Jana považovala   ten   dům   můj.*
         Jane consider$_{PAST, 3RD,SG.}$ the$_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ house$_{SG.NOM.}$ mine$_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$

In Spanish, it is necessary to insert a subordinate sentence because there are no pronominal object complements in the system of Spanish syntactic functions. In Czech, the complement is in the system but it is usually realized as a PP.

These differences of distribution lead to a conclusion that *mine* in an NP internal position is an NP with strictly defined features of animacy.

*(34)   *Those books are beautiful. Those covers of theirs are especially nice.*

(35)   *That house is wonderful. But some windows of its need repair.*

Mine in an NP external position can be both an AP and an NP depending on the meaning which a speaker wants to express. Since the external position is not studied in this work, the label *possessive adjectives (which seem* to be more appropriate for the external position) will be kept for the internal position because of the lack of another more appropriate label.

The label for *mine* in an NP external position will be Huddleston´s term (2002, 470) ´*predicative genitive´*.

The case (22) where possession is lexically encoded into the verb is more a subject of study for lexicology than for syntax. In all three languages there are several verbs of possession:

(36)   *Já mám/   vlastním   dům.*
       I   have$_{1ST.SG.PRES.}$ own$_{1ST.SG.PRES.}$house$_{SG.NOM.}$
       ´I have/ own a house.´
(37)   *Tengo/   poseo   una casa.*
       have$_{1ST.SG.PRES.}$possess$_{1ST.SG.PRES.}$ a$_{FEM.}$ house
       ´I have/possess a house.´

Own and *possess* (or *poseer* in Spanish and *vlastnit* in Czech) have only one possibility of interpretation and that is possession. In the case of *have* (or *tener* in Spanish and *mít* in Czech), the most frequent interpretation with an animate subject is possession as well but broader meaning allows other interpretations. One of them is holding or keeping an object which is not yours, or which you have at your disposal:

(38)   *I have **your** book.*
(39)   *I have a take-home vehicle from **my employer**.*

The verb *have* is also used when talking about people associated to the person who we talk about (example (40)) or to speaker himself (example (41)):

(40)   *My poverty stricken boyfriend has two rich uncles.*
(41)   *I have a lot of colleagues.*

One certainly cannot say that you own a person; therefore it could be said that the verb is used in ´associative´ instead of possessive meaning in these cases.
With the predicates of possession excluded, there are two more constructions I decided not include in this thesis.
The postposed possessive presented in (19) is not considered as a part of the subgroup of possessive *of*-phrases in this work. The internal structure and other characteristics of this phrase, for example the animateness restriction in (34) and (35), will be a subject for further research.
The elliptical possessive presented in (23) is not studied here because I am interested in the syntactic relationship of possessor and possessed, which

is lost in this construction. As Quirk et al. (2005, 361) point out ´the independent possessive (…) has a quasi-elliptical role, replacing an NP with a determinative possessive´ in other words, the possessed NP is absent in an elliptical possessive (or independent possessive in Quirk's terminology).

(42) a. **Her** lips knew perfectly the form of **his** [lips].
      b. *The form of **his** [lips] had changed.
      c. **His** used to be strawberry **lips**.

(42) b. is ungrammatical because of the absence of referent. (42) c. is an example of the replacement of whole NP by the possessive adjective. Huddleston (2002, 470-471) labels this construction as ´fused subject-determiner-head´ and provides an example with Germanic-genitive phrase as a referent.

(43) Max's attempt wasn't as good as **mine**.

The obligatory presence of the referent or the possessed makes inaccurate the term *independent possessive pronouns* used in Dušková (1994, 106). This term can be used only in Czech, where the possessive adjectives can stand independently as an elliptical construction without the referent.

(44) a. My son is two years old. *Mine three.
      b. Mi   hijo tiene   dos años. *El   mío   tres.
         my$_{SG.}$ son have$_{3RD.SG.PRES.}$ two year$_{PL.}$ the$_{MASC.SG.}$mine$_{MASC.SG.}$ three
      c. Mému   synovi jsou   dva. Mému   tři.
         my$_{MASC.SG.DAT.}$son$_{SG.DAT.}$be$_{3RD.SG.PRES.}$ two my$_{MASC.SG.DAT.}$ three

Petr (1986, 87) labels it as a nominalization of possessive pronouns:

(45) a. Přijď   v neděli s   **tím**   **svým.**
         come$_{2ND.SG.IMP.}$ on Sunday with the$_{SG.MASC.INSTR.}$ refl.possessive$_{2ND.SG.INSTR.}$
         ´Come with your partner/boyfriend/husband on Sunday.´
      b. *Přijď   v neděli se   svým.
         come$_{2ND.SG.IMP.}$ on Sunday with refl.possessive$_{2ND.SG.INSTR.}$
         ´*Come with your on Sunday.´
(46) **Vaši   ti   koupili   vrtačku?**
         your$_{PL.}$ you$_{DAT.}$ buy$_{3RD.PL.PAST.}$ drill

´Your parents bought you a drill?´

(47) ***Naši*** *vyhráli.*
      our   win$_{\text{3RD.PL.PAST.}}$
      ´Our team/my parents won.´

Czech possessive adjectives do not require the presence of a referent. The meaning of these three examples have acquired an idiomatic quality but the nominalization of possessive pronouns is generally used in spoken language.

The reflexive possessive pronoun in (45) must be reinforced by a demonstrative to gain its independent meaning. This is probably caused by the reflexive.

On the other hand, non-reflexive possessive pronouns in (46) and (47) manifest the ability to transfer meaning without any reinforcement. According to the context, the correct reading is chosen.

In the end of this section, I will exclude semantically specific inalienable possession because the semantic content affects the translation of the phrase both to Czech and Spanish.

As Dušková (1994, 108) states: ´English possessive pronouns are used to refer to parts of body, personal objects and in other cases, where no possessive element is used in Czech, or it is expressed by the dative of reflexive [example (48)] or personal [example (49)] pronoun.´

(48) *Navlékla **si**   rukavice.*
      pull on$_{\text{3RD.SG.FEM.PAST.REFL.}}$ glove$_{\text{ACC.PL.}}$
      ´She pulled on **her** gloves.´

(49) *Třásla se   **mi**   ruka.*
      tremble$_{\text{3RD.SG.FEM.PAST.REFL.}}$ me$_{\text{DAT}}$ hand$_{\text{NOM.SG.}}$
      ´**My** hand was trembling.´

Spanish shows the same tendency:

(50) ***Me***   *rompí*   *la*   *pierna.*
      me$_{\text{DAT.}}$break$_{\text{3RD.SG.PAST.}}$ the$_{\text{SG.FEM.}}$ leg
      "I broke **my** leg."

(51) ***Le***   *comió*   *la*   *cena.*
      him$_{\text{DAT.}}$eat$_{\text{3RD.SG.PAST.}}$ the$_{\text{SG.FEM.}}$ dinner
      "He ate **his** dinner."

16

The translation is affected by the fact, that the phrase expresses inalienable possession. The thesis is concerned with **general principles** in translation of possessive, therefore I will leave out this exceptional case as a subject for future research.

4.3.   Corresponding constructions and equivalents

Thus, there are four possessive constructions in English which I will study and compare with Spanish and Czech constructions: possessive determiners as in (15), possessive adjectives, (16), Germanic-genitive case, (17), and possessive *of*-phrase, (18). Not all these constructions have corresponding phrases in Spanish and Czech:

(52)   *a. **my** house*
         *b. **mi**   casa*
            my$_{SG.}$ house
         *c. **můj**   dům*
            my$_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$[3] house$_{SG.NOM.}$

The system of possessive determiners seems to show similarities in all three languages, but the Czech possessive pronoun *můj* does not have the determinative function. I put these examples in the same group because they all precede the noun and in most of the cases they are equivalents.

The term *possessive determiner* is used in Spanish in spite of RAE[4] (2005, 209) which states that possessive pronouns have purely adjectival character. If the character of Spanish possessive pronouns were purely adjectival, the co-occurrence with any determiner would be possible. This is true neither for possessive determiners (see (65) b.) nor for possessive adjectives (see section 9.2).

(53)   *a. ten   můj   dům*
            the $_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ my $_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ house $_{SG.NOM.}$
         b. tento   můj   dům
            this $_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ my $_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ house $_{SG.NOM.}$
         c. tamten   můj   dům
            that $_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ my $_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ house $_{SG.NOM.}$

---

[3] The glosses ´my´ and ´mine´ for Czech ´moje´ (and corresponding glosses for other possessive adjectives) are chosen according to the positition of the Czech pronoun, although the non-determinative character of Czech gives priority to ´mine´; i.e. in spite of the adjectival character of possessive pronouns, they will be glossed as possessive determiners in prenominal positions and as possessive adjectives in postnominal positions.

[4] Royal Spanish Academy

(53) shows that *můj* can stand both alone and in combination with words with determinative function. Therefore it cannot be considered a possessive determiner. (52) c. shows that *můj* can stand alone as well. This is caused by an **optional** feature of determination which is one of the properties of the Czech system.

(54)   a. *a house of **mine***
       b. **una*   casa   de **mía***
          $a_{FEM.}$/ one$_{FEM.}$ house of mine$_{SG.FEM.}$
       c. *?jeden*   *dům*   ***můj***
          a$_{MASC.NOM.}$/ one$_{MASC.NOM.}$ house$_{SG.NOM.}$ mine$_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$

Possessive adjectives show a number of differences from the other languages. The Czech system allows a succession of an agreeing possessive adjective (such as (54) c.) in stylistically marked cases.

The Spanish system does not allow usage of the preposition *de* with the possessive adjective*,* which implies that Spanish possessive adjective *mío* has a different structure than the English possessive adjective *mine.*

The basic position of *mío* is post-nominal in contrast to basic pre-nominal position of *můj*, but in aspects of the ɸ-feature agreement they show very similar behaviour.

(55)   a. *una   casa **mía***
          a$_{FEM. SG.}$ house mine$_{FEM. SG.}$
          ´a house of mine´
       b. ***můj***   *dům*
          my$_{MASC. SG.NOM.}$ house$_{SG.NOM.}$

In Czech, the case feature is added to ɸ-features. The case agreement cannot be realized in Spanish because there is no inflectional manifestation of cases in the Spanish system.

The Germanic-genitive case in English is an equivalent to Czech derived possessive:

(56)   a. ***Jane's*** *house*
       b. ***Janin***   *dům*
          Jana$_{POSS.FEM.}$ house

The term *derived possessive* is a variation on Veselovská´s (1998, 260) term ´possessive noun´. Veselovská states that these ´possessive elements contain specific possessive morphemes which precede (secondary) adjectival agreement morphology.´

In my opinion, this derivational morphology is a sufficient reason to call them derived possessives. Veselovská also points out other properties of the derived possessives. The possessive suffix cannot be added to nouns of neuter gender and to noun in plural.

(57) a. *matky**in**   dům
         mother$_{PL.POSS}$ house
      b. *dítět**in/ ův**   dům
         child$_{NEUT.POSS}$ house

There are two possessive suffixes *–ův* for masculine gender and *–in* for feminine gender:

(58) a. matč**in**   dům
         mother$_{POSS.FEM.}$ house
      b. *matk**ův**   dům
         mother$_{POSS.MASC.}$house
(59) a. *otč**in**   dům
         father$_{POSS.FEM.}$ house
      b. otc**ův**   dům
         father$_{POSS.MASC.}$ house

At this point, I will use this principle of Veselovská, and label it as Principle 2:

- the derived possessive is always an animate masculine or feminine noun in singular
- the derivational suffixes *–ův/ -in* are distributed to masculine/ feminine gender respectively
- if the possessor is multiple, possessive genitive has to be used in Czech

I will return to this type of phrase in section 4.5.1. There is no corresponding construction in Spanish:

(60) *Juana**Ø**   casa
        Jane$_{POSS}$ house

There is no possessive suffix in Spanish neither for pre-nominal nor post-nominal position. The only manner to express possession in Spanish keeping possessor in prenominal position is to use a possessive determiner *mi* (´my´)*, tu* (´your´)*,* etc.

The post-modifying possessive of-phrase has equivalents both in Czech and Spanish:

(61)   *a. (a) house **of Jane***
       *b. (una) casa **de Juana***
          a~FEM~ house of Jane
       *c. (jeden) dům **Jany***
          a   house Jane~GEN~

Since Czech cases correspond with English and Spanish PPs in many configurations, they are considered perfect equivalents in this work. The distribution of usage is explained in the section 0.

There are also constructions in Czech and Spanish, which do not have corresponding constructions in English or the other language:

(62)   *a. (una)   casa **mía***
           a~FEM~ house mine~SG.FEM.~
       *b. *a. house **mine***
       *c. ?(jeden) dům   **můj***
            a~MASC.~ house~SG.NOM.~ mine~SG.MASC.NOM.~

The possessive adjective in Spanish is the only possessive pronoun which immediatelly follows a noun (possessed) and is not marked. The Czech possessive adjective is marked, but used. By the marked post-nominative position and by the choice of possessive adjective from higher register, the speaker can reinforce the poetic effect, which is introduced by the choice of a noun from poetic register in some cases (compare (63) a. and (63) b.).

(63) a. ňadra   tvá
         bosom$_{PL.}$ your$_{FEM. PL. HIGH}$
       ´thy bosom´
      b. prsa   tvoje
         brest$_{PL.}$ your$_{FEM. PL. HIGH}$
       ´your brests´

The poetic style is not the only effect the post-position of possessive adjective in Czech can have:

(64) *Dům   můj   jsem   ti   dal.*
        house$_{NOM.SG.}$ my$_{MASC. SG.NOM.}$ be$_{1ST.SG.PRES}$ you$_{DAT.}$ give$_{SG. PAST.}$
       ´I gave you **my** (own) house.´

Accompanied by the stress, the post-nominal position emphasizes the possession. For more phrases and usages see section 0.
Another phrase, which does not have corresponding constructions in the other languages, is the Czech combination of a demonstrative and possessive adjective mentioned in (53):

(65) a. *ten/   tamten **můj** dům*
         the$_{MASC}$/ that$_{MASC}$ my   house
      b. **the/ that **my** house*
      c. **la/   aquella **mi** casa*
         the$_{FEM}$/ that$_{FEM}$ my house

All possessive pronouns in Czech are classified as adjectives (see section 3). Adjectives can co-occur with determiners in all three languages. On the other hand, English and Spanish possessive pronouns in the pre-nominal position have been classified as possessive determiners, therefore they cannot co-occur with adjectives. In the case of co-occurrence, the possessive pronoun stands in post-position in English and Spanish:

(66) a. *that house of mine*
      b. *aquella casa   mía*
         that$_{FEM}$ house mine$_{FEM}$

There is one example in Spanish which copies the internal structure of the phrase in (65):

(67) *El   mío   Cid*
        the mine Cid

But this is a name of a literary work and there is no similar structure in commonly used Spanish. The complementary distribution with demonstrative pronouns and other determiners will be discussed in more detail in appropriate section.

As might be noticed, I use two terms – *a corresponding construction* and *an equivalent.* A corresponding construction is a phrase in the target language with the same internal structure as the phrase in the source language. The meaning and markedness are secondary, or not considered at all. On the other hand, an equivalent is a phrase with the same or very similar semantic features and markedness. The internal structure might not be the same. In other words: a corresponding construction describes a syntactic sibling and an equivalent describes a semantic sibling in the other language.

4.4.   An overview of analyzed phrases

In this section, I presented data patterns, which I will study in this work. For better orientation, I provide two tables with comparison of these data patterns in the three languages. I include marked word order in Czech as well because it is *commonly used*.[5]

Table 6 presents an overview of phrases expressing possession through possessive pronouns:

Table 6

Language	Possessive Determiners	Possessive Adjectives
English	*my* ex: *my house*	*mine* ex: *a house of mine*
Spanish	*mi* ex: *mi casa*	*mío/ mía* ex: *una casa mía*
Czech	Ø	*můj/moje* ex: *můj dům*

Table 7 presents an overview of possession expressed by other elements than possessive pronouns which are internal to a NP:

Table 7

Language	Pre-modifying possessive element for Nouns	Post-modifying possessive element for Nouns
English	*'s* on lexical NP (Germanic- genitive) ex: *my mother´s house*	Preposition *of* + NP (possessive *of*-phrase) ex: *a house of my mother*
Spanish	Ø	Preposition *de* + NP (possessive *de*-phrase) ex: *la casa de mi madre*
Czech	Derived possessive ex: *bratrův dům* ex: *matčin dům*	NP in genitive case ex: *dům mého bratra* ex: *dům mé matky*

---

[5] I define this term in section Grammaticality and acceptability.

4.5. Morpho-syntactic analysis of studied possessive phrasings

After establishing the list of possessive phrasings which will be studied further in this work, we will define their morpho-syntactic properties. A few of these characteristics were mentioned when exploring the phrases but they will be summarized here.

I will start with possessive pronouns, continue with Czech possessive genitive and derived possessive. Their properties are the most complex of all studied phrasings, because the rich inflectional morphology causes also phonological changes. In the last subsection, I will compare Germanic-genitive, possessive *of*-phrase and possessive *de*-phrase.

4.5.1. Possessive pronouns

There are number of important differences but also similarities between the system of possessive pronouns in Czech, English and Spanish. In this section, basic properties of each of the system will be described and comparison will be provided.

This section is not divided according to languages to provide a better comparison. Every section focuses on a different aspect of possessive pronouns and includes characteristics of the aspect in all three languages.

Possessive pronouns are one of the closed classes of parts of speech; therefore their lexical inventory does not change. The basic lexical inventory of possessive pronouns is similar in all three languages, which is caused by their common origin in personal pronouns.

The possessive pronouns reflect characteristics of personal pronouns. English possessive pronouns reflect the gender of possessor in 3rd ps. sg. in accordance with personal pronouns.

(68) *a. He has a sister. It´s his sister.*
   b. She has a sister. It´s her sister.
   c. It has a room. It´s its room.

The Czech system lacks the neuter possessive pronoun in 3rd. ps. sg. to reflect the neuter personal pronoun *ono* (´it´). Czech uses masculine possessive pronoun for neuter gender.

(69) a. *Je   to majitelka toho   kuřete.*
      be$_{3RD.SG.PRES.}$ it owner$_{FEM.}$ the$_{SG.MASC.GEN.}$ chicken$_{GEN.}$
      ´She is the owner of the chicken.´
      b. *Je   to jeho   majitelka.*
      be$_{3RD.SG.PRES.}$ it its/ his owner$_{FEM.}$
      ´She is its/ his owner.´

Spanish possessive pronouns do not reflect the gender of possessor at all. They do not reflect the number of possessor in 3rd ps., which is a unique characteristics in comparison with the other two languages.

(70) *su   adicción*
      possessive determiner$_{3RD.PS.}$ addiction
      ´his/ her/ its/ their addiction´

Thus, the reading of possessive pronoun in 3rd ps. is context dependent, which is a feature typical for reflexive elements.
The reflexive possessive pronoun appears also in Czech – *svůj*. Czech reflexive pronoun can reflect all grammatical persons. They have common base *s-* which might be due to their origin in Indo-European group of languages.
Reflexive possessive pronoun is used when the possessor is the agent of a verb in the clause (Trávníček: 1951, 1126-27):

(71) *Vezmi si   s   sebou   všechny své   věci.*
      take$_{IMP\ REFL}$ with pers. pron.$_{REFL}$ all$_{PL.FEM.ACC.}$possessive$_{REFL.}$ stuff$_{PL.ACC.}$
      "Take all your stuff with you."
(72) *Radím   ti vzít si s sebou   všechny své   věci.*
      advise$_{1ST.SG.PRES.}$ take$_{REFL.INF.}$ pers. pron.$_{REFL}$ possessive$_{REFL}$ stuff$_{PL.ACC..}$
             you   with   all$_{PL.FEM.ACC.}$
      "I advise you to take all your stuff with you."

Both English and Spanish use Possessive pronouns corresponding to personal pronoun in the cases where Czech employs a reflexive possessive pronoun.

If we consider the dependency on context a criterion for reflexivity, there is one reflexive pronoun in English as well. Possessive determiner *your* may refer both to sg. and pl. of 2nd person.

The rules of distribution are different in every language. English possessive adjectives cannot be equated neither with Spanish nor Czech possessive adjectives etc.

In English, there is a set of possessive determiners and possessive adjectives (see Table 1). Possessive determiners precede the noun they complement:

(73)   a. *their cup*
        b. *cup *their*

On the other hand, possessive adjectives are used after possessive preposition *of* as in (61) a..

The Spanish lexical inventory also employs possessive determiners and possessive adjectives (see Table 2). The distribution of possessive determiners is the same but the distribution of possessive adjectives shows different tendencies. While English possessive adjectives (as defined in this work) are used exclusively in a possessive *of*-phrase, Spanish possessive adjectives are employed in a direct and immediate post-position:

(74)   *un   coche mío*
        a$_{MASC.}$ car   mine$_{MASC.}$
        ´a car of mine´

Czech lexical inventory is less developed. Czech nouns do not require determination; therefore there is no possessive determiner in the system. There are two forms of possessive pronouns *můj, tvůj, svůj* (´my´, ´your´, reflexive possessive pronoun):

(75)   *ty   tvoje/tvé boty*
        the$_{PL.FEM.}$ your$_{NOM}$ shoes
        ´these shoes of yours´
(76)   *dítě moje/mé*
        child mine$_{SG. NEUTR.}$
        ´my child´

Section 3 introduced the two registers of the Czech possessive adjectives. With the register distinction left aside, both forms are distributed in the same manner. The prototypical pre-nominal position changes into post-nominal for stylistic reasons (see section 0). This feature excludes any direct equivalence with both English and Spanish possessive adjectives.

The paradigmatic abundance of Czech possessive pronouns relates to seven grammatical cases which are employed with nouns. The φ-feature agreement includes the grammatical case in Czech.

If you change one of the three aspects, the possessive pronoun cannot be used in this form:

(77) a. *naší   matkami
          our$_{INSTR.SG.FEM.}$ mothers$_{INSTR.PL.}$
      b. *naší   otcem
          our$_{INSTR.SG.FEM}$ father$_{INSTR.SG.}$
      c. *naší   matka
          our$_{INSTR.SG.FEM}$ mother$_{NOM.SG.}$
      d. naší   matkou
          our$_{INSTR.SG.FEM}$ mother$_{INSTR.SG.FEM}$

(77) a. shows a phrase with incorrect agreement in number, (77) b. in gender, and (77) c. in grammatical case.

Spanish possessive determiners reflect the gender of the possessed only in the 1st and 2nd ps. pl.:

(78) a. *mi   hombre/ mujer*
          my$_{SG.}$ man   woman
      b. *nuestro hombre/ *mujer*
          our$_{SG.MASC.}$ man   woman

On the other hand, possessive adjectives distinguish the gender of possessed in all grammatical persons:

(79) a. *un   tío   mío/ *mía*
          a$_{MASC.}$ uncle mine$_{SG.MASC.}$/ *$_{FEM.}$
          ´an uncle of mine´
      b. *una   tía   mía/ *mío*
          an$_{FEM}$ aunt   mine$_{SG.FEM.}$/ *$_{MASC.}$
          ´an aunt of mine´

A collision of inherent and grammatical gender may occur in the case of possessive pronoun which refers to a grammatically neuter but inherently feminine noun, e.g. děvče (´girl´):

(80) a. *Děvče řeklo,   že to jsou   jeho boty.*
        girl   say$_{3RD.SG.PAST.}$ that it be$_{3RD.PL.SG.}$ his/its shoe$_{PL.NOM.}$
      b. **Děvče řeklo*,   že to jsou   její   boty.*
        girl   say$_{3RD.SG.PAST.}$ that it be$_{3RD.PL.SG.}$ her$_{NOM.}$ shoe$_{PL.NOM.}$
        ´The girl said those were her shoes.´

The case (80) a. is grammatically correct but a native speaker might prefer (80) b. because of the inherent feminine gender.

Four nominal grammatical cases in Spanish system do not interfere in lexical inventory of possessive pronouns.

English does not employ inflectional morphology for cases with the exception of the Germanic-genitive case:

*(81)   Jane**'s** addiction*
*(82)   **my** sister**'s** addiction*

4.5.2. Possessive genitive and derived possessive in Czech

Let us return to (58) and (59) repeated here as (83) and (84):

(83)   *a. mat**čin**   dům*
         mother$_{POSS.FEM}$ house
      *b. *mat**ův**   dům*
         mother$_{POSS.MASC}$ house
(84)   *a. *ot**čin**   dům*
         father$_{POSS.FEM}$ house
      *b. ot**ův**   dům*
         father$_{POSS.MASC}$ house

It was stated that –*in* is a possessive suffix for feminine nouns and –*ův* for masculine. I would like to add that –in causes softening of preceding consonant which is shown in (83) a. and (84) a..

If a native speaker is asked to create a masculine derived possessive using feminine possessive suffix, the word passes through the softening of the

preceding consonant as well as in case of a feminine noun. The resulting consonant is palatal and affricative. The masculine possessive suffix *–ův* does not affect the word in this way as shown in (84) b..

Morpho-syntactic features of derived possessives were outlined in the previous section – as Veselovská (1998, 268) states, it must be in singular and it cannot be of a neuter gender (Principle 2). Derived possessives are never derivations from a neuter noun. Nouns in neuter gender always express genitive by post-nominal possessive genitive.

The possessor must be animate and concrete. If the possessive adjective is used, it must refer to a single possessor. If there are more possessors, or more exactly, if the word which serves as a base for derivation of the derived possessive is in plural, the possessive genitive must be used (as the following example shows):

(85)   a. smích dív**ky**
            laugh girl_{GEN}
          ´the laugh of girl/ the girl´s laugh´
        b. smích dív**ek**
            laugh girls_{GEN}
          ´the girls´laugh/ the laugh of girls´´
        c. ?dív**ek** smích
            girls´   laugh
          ´the girls´laugh/ the laugh of girls´´

(85) c. also highlights that the unmarked position for possessive genitive is in the post-position to the possessed noun. By the inversion of the word order the phrasing gains a poetic quality. The possessive genitive is not a subject to consonant alternations, because the process of adding suffix is not derivative (as in the case of the derived possessive) but inflectional.

The genitive case in nouns results in different endings dependent on the class they belong to. There are four different classes for the feminine gender, six classes for the masculine gender and four for the neuter gender. Not all classes are used in the possessive genitive. Feminine possessive nouns usually belong to the class with the model word *žena* (´woman´) and the possessive ending is *–y* (like in (85) a.).

Masculine possessive nouns usually belong to four classes with the model words *pán, muž, předseda, soudce* (´sir´, ´man´, ´chairman´, ´judge´) and possessive endings are *–a* (for *pán*)*, -e* (for *muž* and *soudce*)*, -y* (for *předseda*):

(86) a. *dům   pána*
         house   sir_{GEN}

(86) a. *dům   pána*
         house   sir$_{GEN}$
      b. *dům   muže*
         house   man$_{GEN}$
      c. *dům   předsedy*
         house   chairman$_{GEN}$
      d. *dům   soudce*
         house   judge$_{GEN}$
         ´a house of NP´

Neuter possessive nouns usually belong to the class with model word *kuře* (´chicken´) and the possessive ending is *-ete*:

(87) *dům   dítěte*
      house child$_{GEN}$
      ´a house of child´

As might be noticed, all model words mentioned are semantically animate. This fact serves as an extra supportive argument for animacy as a condition for possession.

Adjectives can be developed by an adverb. But the derived possessive must be bare:

(88) a. *velmi vysoký   dům*
         very   high$_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ house$_{SG.NOM.}$
      b.*velmi otcův   dům*
          very father$_{POSS. MASC.}$ house$_{SG.NOM.}$

The possessive genitive can be developed by all prototypical complements of a noun:

(89) a. *ten   vysoký   dům*
         the $_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ high $_{SG.MASC.NOM.}$ house $_{SG.NOM.}$
      b. *dům   toho   vysokého   muže*
         house the$_{SG.MASC.GEN.}$ tall$_{SG.GEN.MASC.}$man$_{SG.GEN.}$

31

To sum up the characteristics of the derived possessives and possessive genitives, I provide the adapted table by Veselovská (1998, 268) comparing the derived possessive and possessive genitive in Czech:

Table 8

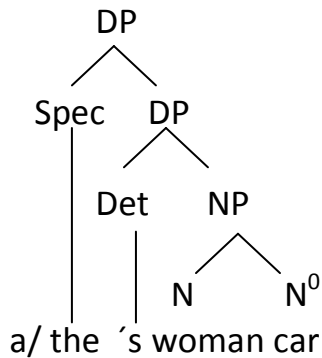| Criteria	Derived possessive	Possessive genitive
Prototypical position	pre-nominal	post-nominal
Morphology	possessive suffix, adjectival agreement	genitive case ending
Phonological changes	if FEM	no changes
Complexity	bare	any complex
Number	- PLUR	+/ - PLUR
Animacy	+ ANIM	+ ANIM
Gender	Masc/ Fem	all

4.5.3. *The possessive of-phrase and Germanic-genitive in comparison to possessive de-phrase*

In section 4.4, it has been stated there is no corresponding construction for the Germanic-genitive in Spanish. This fact raises a question how one conveys a semantic difference between the Germanic-genitive and the possessive *of*-phrase if there is any.

In this section, I argue, that there is no semantic difference between the possessive *of*-phrase and the Germanic-genitive. I propose that the necessity of two constructions has morpho-syntactic roots.
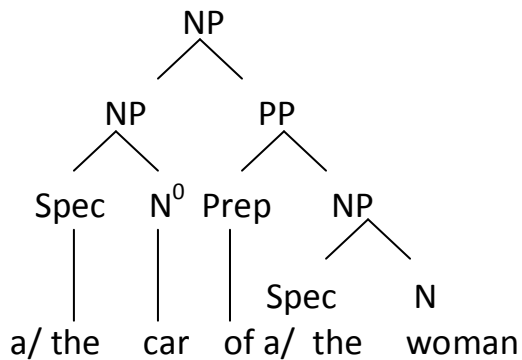
When selecting the right construction in English, a number of criteria are considered. The Germanic-genitive has a determinative function; therefore it cannot co-occur with another determiner. As shown in 0, if an article appears, it does not complement the possessed, which is the nucleus of the whole phrase, but the possessor.

(90)   a/ the woman´s car

```
              DP
            /    \
        Spec      DP
         |       /   \
         |     Det    NP
         |      |    /   \
         |      |   N     N⁰
      a/ the   ´s woman  car
```

The determination of the possessor percolates to the possessed NP, and the whole phrase is therefore indefinite or definite depending on the possessor determination. On the other hand, with the *of*-phrase used as the possessive element, the determinations of the possessor and possessed are independent.

(91)   a/ the car of a/ the woman

```
                   NP
                 /    \
              NP       PP
             /  \     /   \
         Spec    N⁰  Prep   NP
           |     |    |    /   \
           |     |    |  Spec   N
        a/ the  car of a/ the  woman
```

The second option offers the possibility of determination of the possessed object, i.e. *car,* separately from the possessor, which might be necessary if it was not clear which object was meant.

(92)   *a. *the woman´s that car*
        b. that car of the woman

In other cases, the language economy prioritizes the Germanic-genitive because as one can see comparing 0 and (91), the underlying structure is less complex.

According to the functional sentence perspective, the emphasis lies on the last part of the phrase which is rhematic, i.e. on the *car* in the case of Germanic-genitive and on the *woman* in the case of the possessive *of-*

phrase. This can also influence the selection of the appropriate construction.

Leaving out the position and determination, the distinctive feature is the degree of allowed complementation of the possessive element. The Germanic-genitive allows only pre-nominal complements; the possessive *of*-phrase allows pre-nominal and post-nominal complements. Thus, if the possessive element is developed, the possessive *of*-phrase is preferred.

(93) a. *that beautiful girl with black hair*
      b. **that beautiful girl´s with black hair car*
      c. *a car of that beautiful girl with black hair*

Having described the properties of both constructions, which are summed up in the Table 9 below, I will compare the Spanish and English system. As mentioned, the possessive *de*-phrase is the corresponding construction and equivalent for the *of*-phrase. In Spanish, there is neither corresponding construction for the Germanic-genitive nor any other nominal possessive phrase. If the nominal possessor needs to be preserved, the possessive *de*-phrase is the only option for both constructions in English.

(94) a. *the beautiful girl´s car*
      b. *the/ a car of the beautiful girl*
      c. *el/   un   coche de la   chica bonita*
         the$_{SG.MASC.}$ a$_{MASC.}$ car   of the$_{SG.FEM.}$ girl   beautiful

In contrast to Spanish possessive adjective, the possessive *de*-phrase does not have a *pseudo-determinative function* (described in section 9.2). Thus, it is possible to interchange the definite and indefinite article without any changes of the construction, as shown in (94) c..

As a conclusion, the Spanish equivalent for both nominal possessive constructions in English is the possessive *de*-phrase. Czech equivalents for both possessive and non-possessive meanings of these constructions were described in section 6.2.

Table 9

Characteristics of nominal possessive constructions in English and Spanish

Criteria	Germanic-genitive	Possessive of-phrase	Possessive de-phrase
Prototypical position	pre-nominal	post-nominal	post-nominal
Morphology	´s clitic	no morphology	no morphology
Complexity	pre-nominal complements	any complex	any complex
Number	+/ - PLUR	+/ - PLUR	+/ - PLUR
Animacy	+ ANIM	+ ANIM	+ANIM

5. The nature of analyzed languages according to their possessive pronouns

All three languages have a set of possessive pronouns, which are defined by their position, determinative features and their inflectional morphology. According to these properties, which have been described in the previous sections, the languages may be labelled as non-agreeing (English), agreeing (Spanish) and case-agreeing (Czech).

As the least inflectional language, English does not require the agreement between possessive pronouns and the possessed. This is a systematic rule, which is applied also in different fields than NPs, e.g. VPs (with the exception of 3rd ps. sg.), and Aps, where is no inflectional morphology of agreement. Thus, the possessive pronouns, both determiners and adjectives, do not reflect the number and gender of the possessed, i.e. φ-features, at all. In a conclusion, English can be labelled as a non-agreeing language, because the agreement is not a part of its language system, which is shown also in possessive pronouns.

Spanish reflects the number of the possessed in the case of possessive determiners and both number and gender in the case of possessive determiners and adjectives. This system appears to be similar to the adjectival agreement. Adjectives in Spanish may be divided into two groups:

- complex inflection – reflecting only the number of the noun

(95) *a. unas   casas   bonitas*
         some$_{FEM}$ house$_{PL.}$ beautiful$_{PL.FEM.}$
      b. unas   casas   mías
         some$_{FEM}$ house$_{PL.}$ mine$_{PL.FEM.}$
(96) *a. unos   libros   bonitos*
         some$_{MASC.}$book$_{PL.}$ beautiful$_{PL.MASC.}$
      b. unos   libros   míos
         some$_{MASC.}$book$_{PL.}$ mine$_{PL.MASC.}$

- simple inflection – reflecting both number and gender of the noun

(97) *a. las   casas   grandes*
      the$_{PL.FEM.}$ house$_{PL.}$ big$_{PL.}$
    b. mis   casas
      my$_{PL.}$ house$_{PL.}$

(98) *a. los   libros grandes*
      the$_{PL.MASC.}$ book$_{PL.}$ big$_{PL.}$
    b. mis   libros
      my$_{PL.MASC.}$ book$_{PL.}$

As examples (95), (96), (97) and (98) show, the adjectives without complete inflection, i.e. with a rigid suffix which show agreement in gender neither with masculine nor with feminine, evoke the behaviour of possessive determiners. On the other hand, the possessive adjectives copy the behaviour of the adjectives with complex inflection.

The agreement in gender and number is not complemented by case-agreement even though Spanish nouns have four cases.

Table 10

Nominative	el coche ´the car$_{NOM.}$´
Genitive	del coche ´of the car$_{GEN.}$´
Dative	con el coche ´with the car$_{DAT.}$´
Accusative	al coche ´to the car$_{ACC.}$´

Table 10 shows that these nominal cases are reflected only in the preposition which assigns the case to the noun. Since the nominal inflectional suffixes do not reflect the case of the noun, there is no space for agreement. Thus, Spanish is labelled as an agreeing language.

Czech, as the most inflectional language, has the richest inflectional system of the three studied languages. The label ´case-agreeing´ is selected because of the case being the distinctive feature compared to Spanish system. The ɸ-features in Czech include the case agreement. To be grammatically correct, the possessive adjective in Czech must agree in all three features - number, gender, case (see example (77)).This is true also for adjectives.

(99) a. *s   bílou   kávou*
    with white_{INSTR.SG.FEM.}   coffee _{INSTR.SG.FEM.}

b. *s   bílá   kávou*
    with white_{NOM.SG.FEM.}   coffee _{INSTR.SG.FEM.}

c. *s   bílými   kávou*
    with white_{INSTR.PL.FEM.}   coffee _{INSTR.SG.FEM.}

d. *s   bílým   kávou*
    with white_{INSTR.SG.MASC.}   coffee _{INSTR.SG.FEM.}

The classification of the languages according to their possessive pronouns copies their position on the scale of inflectionality. The agreement is proper to the inflectional languages, rather than to the analytic languages.

6. Semantics of studied phrases

After establishing the formal character of the analysed phrases, it is necessary to look at them from the semantic point of view. All constructions were presented as possessive, which is not always true even when considering possessive determiners and possessive adjectives. This section will explore the other meanings and the interconnectedness of the semantic and morpho-syntactic layers of language.

6.1. Inherent and accidental possession[6]

All studied possessive phrasings can be divided into two groups – *inherent* (or *inalienable*) and *accidental* (or *alienable*) *possession.* The criteria for this division are syntagmatic relations which the possessive phrasings have to remaining sentence members. In this section, we step out of the scope of phrase.

The phrasings are incorporated into a sentence. Based on their properties described in previous sections, I will replace the possessive with a non-possessive element.

(100) a. **My** houses are in Washington.
       b. White houses are in Washington.
       c. These houses are in Washington.
(101) a. Mi casa   es en Washington.
        my house is in Washington
       b. La   casa es en Washington.
        the_{FEM} house is in Washington

The possessive determiner allows a replacement by an adjective in English. His determinative properties allow a replacement by another determiner in Spanish and English without any need to modify the sentence. The possession expressed by a possessive determiner is therefore accidental.

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(102) *a. I have some houses of **mine** in Washington.*
　　b. *I have some houses of white in Washington.
(103) *a. Un　　coche mío　　　que　me　dió.*
　　　a$_{MASC}$ car　　mine$_{MASC}$　which me$_{DAT}$ give$_{PAST.3RD.SG.}$
　　b. Un　　coche azul　　que　me　dió.
　　　a$_{MASC}$ car　　blue$_{MASC}$　which me$_{DAT}$ give$_{PAST.3RD.SG.}$
(104) *a. Ten　　　　můj dům　je ve Washingtonu.*
　　　the$_{MASC.SG.NOM.}$my house　is in Washington
　　b. Ten　　　　bílý　　　　　dům　je ve Washingtonu.
　　　the$_{MASC.SG.NOM.}$ white$_{MASC.SG.NOM.}$ house　is in Washington

The English possessive adjective does not allow a replacement by an adjective. It can be replaced only by an animate NP and the possessive meaning is always preserved. Therefore it is inherently possessive. On the other hand, Czech and Spanish possessive adjectives allow a replacement by adjectives and therefore the possession is classified as accidental.

(105) *a. I went to **Jane's** houses yesterday.*
　　b. I went to white houses yesterday.
(106) *a. Ten　　bratrův　dům　je ve Washingtonu.*
　　　the$_{MASC}$ brother$_{POSS}$ house　is in Washington
　　b. Ten　　bílý　　dům　je ve Washingtonu.
　　　the$_{MASC}$ white　house　is in Washington

The Germanic-genitive allows replacement by an adjective. The derived possessive is basically an adjective and therefore it allows an adjectival replacement. The possession is therefore accidental in both cases.

(107) *a. I went to houses **of Jane** yesterday.*
　　b. I went to houses of parliament yesterday.
(108) *a. La　　mesa blanca de Juana es en Washington.*
　　　the$_{FEM}$ house white　of Jane　is in Washington
　　b. La　　mesa blanca　　de　　cocina es en Washington.
　　　the$_{FEM}$ house white$_{FEM}$　from　kitchen is in Washington
(109) *a. Ten　　　článek Jany　je ve Washingtonu.*
　　　the$_{MASC}$　article Jane$_{GEN}$ is in Washington
　　b. Ten　　　článek řetězu je ve Washingtonu.
　　　the$_{MASC}$　link　chain$_{GEN}$ is in Washington

The possessive *of*-phrase, *de*-phrase and possessive genitive allow a replacement by a NP. The phrase loses its possessive meaning. The possession is therefore accidental in all three languages.

The following table is a recapitulation of the facts stated in this section. As you can see, there is only one phrasing which is inherently possessive. This means that its construction cannot be used in other than possessive meaning.

Table 11

Possessive phrasing	Language	Accidental possession	Inherent possession
possessive determiner	EN	YES	NO
possessive adjective	**EN**	**NO**	**YES**
possessive of-phrase	EN	YES	NO
Germanic-genitive	EN	YES	NO
possessive determiner	SP	YES	NO
possessive adjective	SP	YES	NO
possessive de-phrase	SP	YES	NO
possessive adjective	CZ	YES	NO
derived possessive	CZ	YES	NO
possessive genitive	CZ	YES	NO

However, if we add animacy of the replacement as another criterion to *of*-phrase and *de*-phrase, they get into the same position as English possessive adjective – they are inherently possessive.

As a conclusion, I tentatively propose English to be considered the only of the three languages which has grammaticalized possession.

6.2.   Adjectivization of possessive of-phrases and de-phrases

In this section, I argue that the presence or absence of the determiner inside the NP influences the reading of *of*-phrase and *de*-phrase. In this section, I propose the following Principle 3 concerning the usage of articles in *de*-phrases and *of*-phrases:

- If a countable noun in singular, which is internal to an *of*-phrase or *de*-phrase does not have the obligatory determiner, the *of*-phrase or *de*-phrase is subject to the adjectivization.
- The adjectivized *of*-phrase or *de*-phrase is translated into Czech by an adjective with suffix *–í* or *–ský*[7] be it a noun in singular or plural.
- If the possessor is multiple, the equivalent in Czech is always possessive genitive.

I will start with Spanish and I will work with these phrases:

(110) *la   mesa de cocina*
the_{SG.FEM.} table of kitchen
´the kitchen table´

(111) *una   mesa de la/   una   cocina*
a_{FEM} table of the _{SG.FEM} a_{FEM.} kitchen
´the table from the/ a kitchen´

(112) *la   mesa de chica*
the_{SG.FEM} table   of girl
´a girls table´

(113) *la   mesa de la/   una   chica*
the_{SG.FEM} table of the_{SG.FEM.} a_{FEM.} girl
´the/ a girl´s table´

(114) *la   mesa de Juana*
the_{SG.FEM} table of Jane
´Jane´s table´

(110) and (111) cannot be considered possessive according to the Principle 1 in this work. On the other hand, (112), (113) and (114) are examples of a prototypical possessive *of*-phrase.

The translation into English shows that there is a difference between (112) and the phrases presented in (113) and (114). The phrase in (112) is translated by an adjectival noun in plural, which is interpreted as a general

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[7] The distribution of these two suffixes may be a subject for a future research.

characteristic of the following noun. The equivalent in Czech is fully adjectival:

(115) a. la   mesa de chica
        the$_{SG.FEM}$ table   of girl
    b. dívčí stůl
        girly table
        ´a girls table´

Studying the phrases more closely, the distinctive element seems to be the absence of the article in the *de*-phrase in (112). The presence of the article in (114) would be ungrammatical because proper names do not allow the presence of an article.[8] A Spanish nominal projection without a determiner is not a full NP and translates formally as adjectives in Czech and as compounds in English, which is a part of the Principle 3.

This principle can be applied also to non-possessive phrasings in Spanish. (110) and (111) differ only in the presence or the absence of an article in the *de*-phrase. (110), which lacks the article is translated into English with the adjectival noun *kitchen* and the equivalent in Czech is fully adjectival.

(116) *kuchyňský stůl*
        kitchen$_{ADJ}$ table

On the other hand, the equivalents of (111) are adjectivized neither in English nor in Czech.

(117) ten   stůl z   kuchyně
        the$_{SG.MASC.}$ table from kitchen
        ´the table from the kitchen´

The above generalization does not apply in this phrase. The non-possessive *de*-phrase is translated by a PP both into English and Czech.

Having proved that the principle works in Spanish, I will provide a set of examples in English. Since the English system does not use the preposition *of* as a preposition of space, the phrasing in (118) a. is not acceptable. The preposition *from* is used for this type of relationship between two nouns.

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[8] The usage of the definite article with a proper name is possible when talking about a person with contempt.

Therefore another type of relationship is selected for non-possessive *of*-phrases.

(118) a.? the table of the kitchen
(119) b. the table from the kitchen
(120) the leg of table
(121) the leg of the/ a table
(122) the table of girl
(123) the table of the/ a girl
(124) the table of Jane

The phrases (122), (123), (124) can be considered possessive, because they meet the Principle 1. According to the Principle 3, (122) is subject to the generalization governing the absence of the determiner. Thus, the equivalent phrases in Spanish and Czech would be as presented in (115), and the phrase could be transformed into construction by which is glossed Spanish phrase in (112), i.e. ´a girls table´.

This transformation is not possible with the phrases in (123) and (124) and the equivalents in Spanish and Czech are possessive phrases as presented in (113) and (114) for Spanish and in the following examples for Czech:

(125) a. the table of the/ a girl
      b. stůl   té/ Ø   dívky
         table the$_{SG.FEM.GEN.}$ girl$_{GEN.}$
         ´the/ a girl´s table´
(126) a. the table of Jane
      b. stůl   Jany
         table Jane$_{GEN.}$
         ´Jane´s table´

Like in Spanish, (120) and (120) are subject to Principle 3. Thus, (120) can be transformed as shown in (127) a. and (120) as in (127) b.. The transformation of the latter causes a slight change of meaning. With the preposition *of* the *leg* tends to be perceived as a part of the *table*. On the other hand, the preposition *from* implies that the *leg* is no longer a part of the table.

(127) a. a table leg
      b. a leg from the table

The obligatory presence of a determiner is connected with concrete countable nouns in the singular both in Spanish and English. The absence of the determiner therefore marks a deviation from the norm of obligatory determiners. Thus, this criterion is not applicable in the Czech system where is no obligatory determiner for nouns.

As might be noticed, Czech equivalents use the derivational suffixes –*í* (like in (115)) and –*ský* (like in (116)) for adjectivized phrases. The properties of these suffixes were described in the previous section about Czech derived possessives. I highlight again, that I do not agree with Šmilauer (1966, 184-6) on calling them possessive and I state instead that the criterion of the absence/ presence of the determiner is transformed into usage of non-possessive/ possessive suffixes in Czech.

The obligatoriness restricted to singular countable nouns brings up the problematics of multiple possessors.

(128) *a. la   mesa de chicas*
         the$_{SG.FEM}$ table of girl$_{PL.}$
         ´the girly table´
         b. la   mesa de las   chicas
         the$_{SG.FEM}$ table of the$_{PL.FEM.}$ girl$_{PL.}$
         ´the girls´table´
(129) *a. the table of girls*
         b. the table of the girls

(128) shows that *de*-phrases containing a plural noun are subject to adjectivization if the determiner is absent. (129) a. can be translated using the preposition *for*, (129) b. can be translated as a Germanic-genitive phrase. The Czech equivalent confirms the hypothesis that the non-possessive meaning, which is marked by the absence of the determiner in the *of*-phrases/ *de*-phrases, is translated by a non-possessive suffix. The possessive meaning with plural possessor is translated by *a possessive genitive* phrase which is a consequence of the by number restriction for the *derived possessive* described in Principle 2.

6.3. Possessive phrasings in co-occurence

The following subsections will describe possible co-occurences of the studied possessive elements. It shows that any co-occurence of two possessive elements causes a loss of original possessive meaning of one of the elements and in most of the cases the combination is ungrammatical.

In my opinion, this is caused by the specific character of possession, which is rather unique than multiple. In different words, to complement an NP with two different possessive elements causes ill-formedness if the possessive meaning be preserved in both elements. So if there are two possible possessors in one NP (excluding coordination), either the NP is ill-formed or non-possessive meaning must be available for one of the two. This will be labelled as Principle 4.

6.3.1. Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns in pre-nominal position can co-occur in coordination:

(130) *a. my and your friend*
    b. mi y   tu   amigo
      my and your friend
    c. můj a   tvůj přítel
      my   and your friend

None of the languages allow co-occurence without a dividing element (see Tables 1, 2, 3). Possessive pronouns in a post-nominal position co-occur in coordination in Czech and Spanish. The English system does not allow any co-occurence:

(131) *a. *a friend of mine and of yours*
    b. un   amigo mío   y   tuyo
      a$_{MASC}$ friend   mine$_{MASC}$ and yours$_{MASC}$
    c. přítel   můj   a   tvůj
      friend mine$_{MASC}$ and yours$_{MASC}$
(132) *a. *a friend of mine of yours*
    *b. *un   amigo mío   tuyo*
      a$_{MASC}$ friend   mine$_{MASC}$ yours$_{MASC}$
    *c. *přítel   můj   tvůj*
      friend mine$_{MASC}$ yours$_{MASC}$

The co-occurence of pre-nominal and post-nominal possessive pronouns is not possible in any studied language.

(133) *a. *our friend of theirs*
       *b. *nuestro   amigo suyo*
           our_{MASC.SG.} friend theirs _{MASC.SG.}
       *c. *náš   přítel   váš*
           our_{MASC.SG.NOM.} friend_{NOM.} theirs _{MASC.SG.NOM.}

This is probably due to the violation of the restriction to one possessor per NP as stated in the Principle 4.

6.3.2. Nominal possessive elements

The co-occurrence of nominal possessive elements provokes interesting changes in the semantic layer. One of the causes is the semantic ambiguity of nominal elements when they stand alone.

6.3.2.1. Inherent ambiguity of nominal possessive elements

Veselovská (1998) states that with Czech genitive presented in (134) the interpretation can be:

a. **possessive** – Jane owns the picture
b. **thematic** – Jane is in the picture
c. **agentive** - Jane made the picture

(134) obraz Jany
       picture Jane_{GEN}
       ´a picture of/ by Jane´

The Spanish de-phrase which is an equivalent to a possessive genitive can be interpreted in three manners as well.

(135) el   retrato de Juana
       the picture of Jane
       ´the picture of/by Jane´

On the other hand, the English *of*-phrase allows only two interpretations – possessive and thematic.

(136) *the picture of Jane*

The Czech derived possessive and the Germanic-possessive, which are equivalents, allow all three interpretations.

(137) *Janin   obraz*
  Jane$_{POSS.FEM.}$ picture
  ´Jane´s picture´
(138) *Jane´s picture*

The choice of reading is context dependent and it might be a subject for future research.

6.3.2.2. *Co-occurrence of nominal possessive elements and its impact on semantic layer*

While the interpretation of nominal possessive phrasings may be ambiguous, according to Grimshaw (1991) it should be clear when two of these phrasings co-occur. Veselovská (1998, 269) demonstrates this co-occurrence of a derived possessive and possessive genitive in Czech:

(139) *Petrův   obraz   Evy*
  Peter$_{POSS}$ picture   Eve$_{GEN}$
  ´Peter´s picture of Eve´

The preferred interpretation is that Peter is the author (agentive role) and Eve is in the picture (thematic role). As a native speaker, I believe that another interpretation is possible. The derived possessive may be the possessor role as well. Then the author would be unknown and Peter would be the owner of the picture.

Thus, it seems that the co-occurrence of the two nominal elements causes a restriction of possible meanings – because Eve can occupy neither the possessive nor the agentive role – but it does not cause the obligatory assignment of the meaning as suggested.

The co-occurrence of derived possessives in Czech is not grammatical. The Czech system allows recursion of two possessive genitives with the

thematic or possessive interpretation of the first genitive and associative interpretation of the second genitive.

(140) *obraz   bratra   otce*
picture brother$_{GEN}$ father$_{GEN}$
´the picture of my father´s brother´

The co-occurence of possessive genitives causes resrictions in complexity of the constructions:

(141) *a. ?obraz   mého bratra   otce*
picture my$_{GEN}$ brother$_{GEN}$ father$_{GEN}$
´picture of my brother´s father´
b. obraz   bratra   mého statečného otce
picture brother$_{GEN}$ my$_{GEN}$ brave$_{GEN}$ father$_{GEN}$
´picture of my brave father´s brother´

The complementation of the first possessive genitive in (141) a. causes a switch in the roles of the two constructions. The complementation of the second possessive genitive is not subject to any restriction.
The co-occurrence of the Germanic-genitive and possessive *of*-phrase causes also a restriction in interpretation:

(142) *Peter´s picture of Eve*

The preferred interpretation is the same as in Czech – Peter has the agentive role and Eve has the thematic role. A second interpretation preserves the possessive meaning of the Germanic–genitive, as in Czech.
The recursion of the same possessive constructions is possible also in English, but in contrast to Spanish, it is not commonly used.

(143) *a. Jane´s Peter´s picture*
b. This is Peter´s picture. Which Peter? Jane´s Peter. It´s Jane´s Peter´s picture.

The possible interpretation is presented in (143) b., where both German-genitives preserve the possessive meaning, but the possessed is different for each of them. Thus, the first possessive construction implies   an

associative relation to the other, which preserves either the possessive or the agentive meaning.

The co-occurence of two *of*-phrases is possible under the same conditions with the exclusion of agentive for the element standing in immediate post-position to the possessed.

The complexity of two co-occurring elements is a factor also in English. If the nominal phrasings which complement the possessed are complex, different devices will be used:

(144) *a. a picture of the father of their friend*
      *b.? a picture of **my** great father of their beautiful friend*
      c. my great father´s picture of their beautiful friend

The complexity of complementing phrasings complicates the understanding, therefore they are divided by the head. Furthermore, the presence of the possessive pronoun *my* in (144) b. causes an ill-formed contradiction as described above.

The Spanish system contains only one nominal possessive element and the co-occurence of two of these elements is grammatical:

(145) *un   retrato de   Juana de   mi madre*
      a_{MASC} picture of/by Jane   of/by   my mother

The ambiguous meaning of the preposition *de* allows various interpretations, but the basic possessive meaning, where the *picture* is a possession of the possessor expressed by the *de*-phrase, can be preserved for only one of the phrases in all cases. The consulted native speaker of Spanish states that the preferred interpretation assigns the theme role to *Jane* and the possessive role to *mother.* The other interpretations include *Jane* in the theme role and *mother* in the agentive role, or vice versa.

Spanish allows all complements with the exclusion of pronouns in the case of the first possessive *de*-phrase.

(146) *a. el   retrato de la   prima bonita de la   mujer   alta*
the_{SG.MASC.} picture of the_{SG.FEM.} cousin pretty of the_{SG.FEM.} woman tall_{FEM.}
´the picture of the pretty cousin of the tall woman´

*b. *el   retrato de **mi** prima bonita de la   mujer   alta*
the_{SG.MASC.} picture of my cousin pretty of the_{SG.FEM.} woman tall_{FEM.}
´the picture of my pretty cousin of the tall woman´

6.3.2.3. Co-occurrence of possessive pronouns and nominal possessive elements and its impact on the semantic layer

Talking about the complementation of nominal possessive elements, the co-occurence of possessive pronouns and nominal possessive elements is common.

(147) *a. the picture of **my** sister*
       b. obraz mé   sestry
          picture my$_{GEN}$ sister$_{GEN}$
          ´the picture of my sister´
       c. el   retrato de mi hermana
          the$_{MASC.SG.}$ picture of my sister

If the possessed is the complemented element, the co-occurrence is restricted.

(148) *a. my Jane´s picture*
       b. my picture of Jane
(149) a. mi retrato de Juana
          my picture of Jane
       b. el   retrato mío   de Juana
          the$_{SG.MASC.}$ picture mine$_{SG.MASC.}$ of Jane
          ´my picture of Jane´
(150) a. můj obraz   Jany
          my   picture Jane$_{GEN}$
          ´my picture of Jane´

Since the possessive pronoun is a pro-form of a possessive NP, the phrases in (148) have the same meaning as the same constructions (143) and (142), phrase in (150) is the same as (139), phrase in (149) b. is the same as (145). (149) a. does not have any corresponding construction without usage of a possessive pronoun in Spanish.

6.3.2.4. An overview of co-occurences of possessive phrasings

Two implications might be deduced from the discussion provided in the last two sections. First, the presence of the preposition *by* in English system reduces the possible number of interpretations of the analyzed constructions (e.g. (136), (142)). Second, additional complements of the constructions cause changes of reading in all three languages (e.g. (141)). If both constructions stand on the same side of the possessed noun, i.e. if both of them are in post-position/ pre-position, then the construction which directly complements the noun cannot be complemented by a possessive pronoun (e.g. (141), (145)).

Following tables provide an overview of grammaticality of co-occurrences in the studied languages. If the possessive meaning of one of the elements is lost because of the co-occurence with another possessive element, the construction is marked with a question mark. If the construction is ungrammatical, it is marked with double asterisk. If the construction is not acceptable it is marked with one asterisk.

Table 12 – The co-occurences of possessive elements in English

Construction	Possessive determiner	Possessive adjective	Germanic-genitive	Possessive of-phrase
Possessive determiner	**my your picture	**my picture of his	*my Jane´s picture	?my picture of Jane
Possessive adjective	_____	**a picture of mine of his	**Jane´s picture of mine	**a picture of mine of Jane
Germanic-genitive	_____	_____	?Jane´s Peter´s picture	?Jane´s picture of Peter
Possessive of-phrase	_____	_____	_____	?a picture of Peter of Jane

Table 13 – The co-occurrences of possessive elements in Spanish

Construction	Possessive determiner	Possessive adjective	Possessive *de*-phrase
Possessive determiner	**mi tu retrato*	**mi retrato tuyo*	?mi retrato de Juana
Possessive adjective	_____	**un retrato mío tuyo*	?un retrato mío de Juana
Possessive *de*-phrase	_____	_____	?un retrato de Juana de mi madre

Table 14 – The co-occurrences of possessive elements in Czech

Construction	Pre-nominal possessive adjective	Post-nominal possessive adjective	Derived possessive	Possessive genitive
Pre-nominal possessive adjective	*můj tvůj obraz	**můj obraz tvůj	*můj bratrův obraz	?můj obraz bratra
Post-nominal possessive adjective	------------------	*obraz můj tvůj	*bratrův obraz můj	*obraz můj bratra
Derived possessive	_____	_____	**bratrův otcův obraz	? bratrův obraz otce
Possessive genitive	_____	_____	_____	? obraz bratra otce

6.4. Studied constructions in Czech and their non-possessive meaning

After establishing the formal character of the analysed phrases, it is necessary to look at them from semantic point of view. All constructions were presented as possessive, which is always true only when considering possessive determiners and possessive adjectives. Possessive genitive and derived possessive are used in non-possessive meaning as well.

6.4.1. Possessive genitive

Šmilauer (1966, 174) divides Czech genitive into several groups. Only one of these groups has possessive meaning:

a) Possessive genitive according to Šmilauer contains not only phrases expressing possession but also phrases expressing close but not possessive relation to a place or a person. I quote only the examples which are relevant for this work together with Šmilauer´s example and my commentary:

- Possession in Šmilauer´s terminology is much broader than the term used in this work. My definition of possession is closely connected with animacy - the possessor must be animate. Therefore the example (151) is not considered possessive in this work.

(151) *rozmary osudu*
   whims faith$_{GEN}$
  ´whims of faith´

- A person related to another person is Šmilauer´s term for associative possession which I already mentioned in previous section. This phrase is classified as possessive in this work even if it is not prototypical possession.

(152) *syn krále Ferdinanda*
   son king$_{GEN}$ Ferdinand$_{GEN}$
  ´the son of King Ferdinand´

- Authorial relation mentioned in Šmilauer´s grammar as a peculiar case of possession is not considered possessive in this work.

Nevertheless, the phrase is mentioned in the following section when discussing the co-occurrence of possessive genitive and derived possessive in Czech and its influence on the reading of these phrases.

(153) *báseň Jaroslava Vrchlického*[9]
poem Jaroslav$_{GEN}$ Vrchlický$_{GEN}$
´poem by Jaroslav Vrchlický´

- Qualitative genitive is endowed with a poetic quality which makes it a construction used in higher register of Czech. It always expresses a quality of the complemented noun. In Spanish, this construction loses its poetic quality and it is used when describing a person. In English, it is used in figurative meaning. (154) c. then means that the man has the quality to keep his word.

(154) a. *krasavice vysoké postavy*
   beauty   tall$_{GEN}$ stature$_{GEN}$
    ´a beauty with tall stature´
   b. *una chica de pelo largo*
      a$_{FEM}$ girl   of hair long
       ´a girl with long hair´
   c. *a man of his word*

- Explicative genitive is a non-possessive construction which is a subject to adjectivization in English and Spanish. From the label of this construction is obvious that the genitive explains or elaborates the character of the complemented noun.

(155) *trest   smrti*
   penalty death$_{GEN}$
   ´death penalty´

- Partitive genitive is a widely used construction. The complemented noun always expresses a part of the word in genitive. In English and Spanish, an *of*-phrase/ *de*-phrase is usually used as an equivalent. (156) is rather idiomatic exception.

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[9] For further analysis see the section 6.3.2.1 .

(156) a. *půl   hodiny*
           half$_{NUM}$ hour$_{GEN}$
           ´half an hour´
     b. *media hora*
           half$_{ADJ}$ hour

The author highlights that the possessive and qualitative genitive can be transformed into a sentence containing the verb ´to have´ in its possessive meaning:

(157) *Krasavice má   vysokou postavu.*
       beauty   have$_{3RD.PS.SG.}$ tall$_{ACC}$ stature$_{ACC}$
       ´The beauty has a tall stature.´
(158) *Osud má   rozmary.*
       faith have$_{3RD.PS.SG.}$ whims
       ´Faith has its whims.´

If another possessive verb is used, this rule does not work:

(159) **Krasavice vlastní   vysokou postavu.*
        beauty   own$_{3RD.PS.SG.}$ tall$_{ACC}$ stature$_{ACC}$
        ´*The beauty owns a tall stature.´
(160) **Osud vlastní   rozmary.*
        faith own$_{3RD.PS.SG.}$ whims
        ´Faith owns its whims.´

Therefore these constructions cannot be considered possessive.

6.4.2. Derived possessive

According to Šmilauer (1966, 184-6) derived possessives replace possessive genitive of nouns. He divides the suffixes of possessives into several groups according to nouns which they are formed of. Since my notion of possession is closely related to animacy of possessor, I will leave out the suffixes for inanimate nouns which are not subjects of this investigation. For animate nouns he names four suffixes:

- *-ův* for animate masculine nouns
- *-in* for animate feminine nouns[10]
- *-ský/ská/ské* variable for all three genders
- *-í* for all three genders

The first two suffixes are translated by a possessive construction into Spanish and English. On the contrary, the other suffixes are not translated as possessive and I dare to disagree with Šmilauer on calling them by this name. The possession is connected with one or more possessor who must be concrete. This is not the case of these two suffixes.

- *-ský/ ská/ ské* variable for all three genders. The example (161) shows feminine variation of the suffix. The translation is a possessive construction neither in English nor in Spanish. It cannot be said that the possessor is unknown (this fact is proved by the example (162), where the derived possessive is transformed into possessive genitive) but if there were more *mothers* in one room, it would be difficult to tell whose *love* is the mentioned.

(161) a. *mateř-ská láska*
         mother-ly$_{FEM.}$ love
       b. *motherly love*
       c. *el   amor maternal*
          the$_{MASC.}$ love motherly
(162) a. *láska matky*
         love mother$_{GEN}$
       b. *a mother´s love*
       c. *el   amor de una madre*
          the$_{MASC.}$ love   of a$^{FEM.}$ mother

---

[10] Described in previous section.

In different words, the suffix –*ský* expresses relation to the person but has also generalizing properties. Therefore, the possessor is determined only as a member of a group – a female who has a motherlike relationship to another person.

- *-í* for all three genders. The (163) presents an example of feminine gender and the translation is not a possessive construction. Therefore I assume that the construction is not really possessive as well as the construction employing the previous suffix. More attention should be paid to (163) c. where I mark the construction containing definite article as ungrammatical:

(163) a. *rybí   kost*
      fish_ADJ. bone
    b. a fish bone
    *c. un   hueso de pescado/ *del   pescado*
      a_MASC. bone of fish   of+the_MASC.SG.fish

The construction is not ungrammatical in general. In this case, it is marked because it is not the equivalent to (163) a.. The corresponding constructions in Czech and English are presented in (164):

(164) *a. un hueso del   pescado*
      a bone of+the_MASC.SG. fish
    b. a bone from the fish
    c. kost   z   té   ryby
      bone from the fish

The presence of an article completely changes the meaning of the phrase in Spanish. This phenomenon is described in the appropriate section as adjectivization.

The existence of possessive suffixes in the same context is another evidence of non-possessive character of the last two suffixes in Czech.

*(165) a. dívč**í** smích*
   girly laugh
   ´girly laugh´
*b. dívč**in**   smích*
   girl$_{POSS.FEM.}$ laugh
   ´the girl´s laugh´
*c. smích dív**ek***
   laugh girls$_{GEN}$
   ´the laugh of girls´

(165) a. shows that the translation of suffix *–í* into English is a non-possessive construction, while (165) b. which employs suffix *–in* is translated as a possessive construction into English.

As mentioned above, Šmilauer states that derived possessives replace possessive genitives. This is not the case of (165) a. Since the possessor is not precisely determined, it is impossible to state if there is one or more girls laughing or even if somebody is laughing at all at the moment. The construction is *abstract*, not *concrete*.

7. Grammaticality and acceptability

Haegeman (1994, 7) states that *´grammaticality is a theoretical notion. A sentence is grammatical if it is formed according to the grammar of English [or another language concerned] as formulated by the linguist. Acceptability, on the other hand, is the term which characterizes the native speaker´s intuitions about the linguistic data.´* I agree with her definition and I will use these terms in this sense. In this section, I will relate these terms to each other and also to other terms used in this work.

The grammaticality and the acceptability are not mutually comparable. A sentence can be grammatical but not acceptable (like in (80) a.) and vice versa (like in (4)).

The grammaticality of a phrase is often connected with grammar books listed in the bibliography. The grammar is rigid and often does not reflect changes in language which became a part of language in use.

Therefore, in this work, a phrase does not have to be grammatical to be a subject of analysis. On the other hand, it always must be acceptable for a group of native speakers. This type of phrases is labelled as *´commonly used´* in this work.

It might be noticed that *´a group of native speakers´* is used instead of more general notion of *´a native speaker´*. This is due to different dialects and argots and also to different levels of education. An uneducated person has different notions of acceptability than a person educated in linguistics.

This work is not concerned with dialects, therefore if a *´commonly used phrase´* appears, the dialect might not be labelled precisely. Even though I am a native speaker of Czech, the acceptability of phrases in Czech is stated through consultation with a native speaker from different background. For judgement of acceptability of English and Spanish phrases, at least three native speakers from different backgrounds are asked.

Another label which is related to acceptability is *´context dependent´*. A phrase is often acceptable only in very specific context. By context, both linguistic and extralinguistic context is meant.

(166) ? Go to the castle which can walk.
(167) ? Go to my sister of your mother.

In cases like (166) the problem is in our perception of reality. If we lived in a reality where the castles could walk, the sentence would be acceptable.

On the other hand, with cases like (167) it is difficult to determine where the problem lies.

Since the data collected for this work are not always grammatical but they have to be *´commonly used´*, acceptability becomes more important than grammaticality, which is also connected with their nature – grammaticality is of prescriptive nature and acceptability rather descriptive.
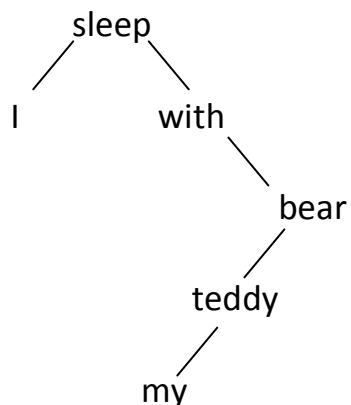
8. Dependency vs. constituency theory

In this section, I will describe constituency and dependency theory and I will demonstrate on various examples why I decided to use constituency theory for the analysis in the thesis.

The dependency theory describes the relations in the sentence as a series of pairs in which one member is always higher in the hierarchy than the other. The most important element is always the predicate. The smallest element is a word.
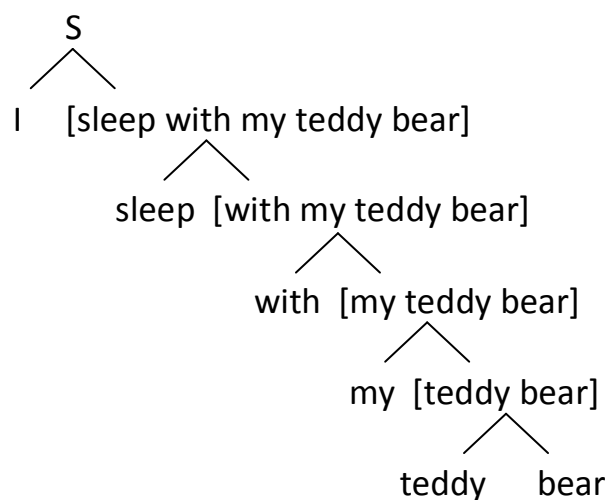
The constituency theory describes the relations in the sentence as a system of growing phrases (or syntactic units) which are labelled according to the head element in the phrase. The resultant and most important element is the whole sentence or phrase.

(168) I sleep with my teddy bear.
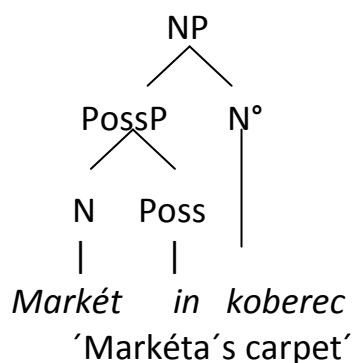
       a. **Dependency theory**

```
        sleep
       /      \
      I        with
                  \
                   bear
                  /
              teddy
             /
           my
```

      b. **Constituency theory**

```
              S
             / \
            I   [sleep with my teddy bear]
                  /\
            sleep  [with my teddy bear]
                     /\
                 with  [my teddy bear]
                        /\
                    my  [teddy bear]
                          /\
                     teddy   bear
```

The syntactic functions of sentence members are identical in both theories. The distinctive feature is the intermediate stage between the word and the sentence – the phrase. The dependency theory marks a new phrase by a change of direction (like *my teddy bear* in (168) a.). The head of the phrase is always the highest element in the structure, therefore the type of the phrase can be determined. However, without the context of the whole sentence, which is the case of most phrases in the thesis, the change of direction is not applicable. On the other hand, the type of phrase is always present in the constituency theory as the highest element in the analysis.

The phrase structure can be illustrated by the dependency theory to the level of words. Trying to illustrate the structure of a derived possessive, it is necessary to go deeper into the structure of the phrase, i.e. analyze the words and use the suffixes as a builging element of a phrase. (169) shows, that this is not problematic in the constituency theory.
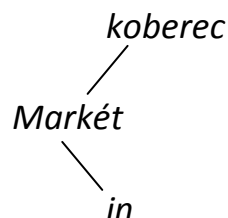
(169) Markétin koberec

```
                    NP
                   /  \
             PossP      N°
             /   \       |
            N    Poss     |
            |     |       |
          Markét  in   koberec
            ´Markéta´s carpet´
```
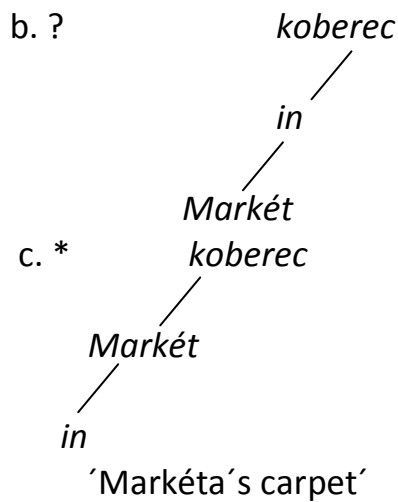
On the other hand, the dependency theory does not offer any satisfactory option to analyze the phrase, as (170) shows.

(170) Markétin koberec
a. ?   *koberec*
                       /
                Markét
                      \
                       in

b. ?   *koberec*
                  /
              in
             /
        Markét
c. *   *koberec*
          /
    Markét
       /
  in
     ´Markéta´s carpet´

The possessive suffix –*in* depends on *Markét-* since it is a derivative suffix which creates the Czech derived possessive. If a phrase is graphically represented by the change of direction, it means that *Markétin* is a phrase. This is incorrect, if the phrase is not considered an elliptical construction.

The dependency theory is rather a device of syntactic analysis than of morpho-syntactic. In the case of syntagmatic relations, i.e. analyzing the sentence functions, it might be more convenient to use the dependency theory. On the other hand, the constituency theory provides more space for phrase-structure analysis.The binary system makes it possible to divide the word into smaller functional units – morphemes.

9. Complementary distribution of possessive determiners with other determiners

In this section, I will explore the field of complementary distribution with determiners. This section is concerned especially with possessive determiners and also with the pseudo-determinative function of the possessive adjective in Spanish which is an exceptional case.

9.1. Possessive determiners

Quirk et al. (2005, 255) highlight that in English ´central determiners [among which possessive determiners are included] are in a choice relation, i.e. they occur one instead of another´.

(171) *Any/ *these/ *the/ *these/ all my/ my own houses

As shown in (171), only *all* as a pre-determiner and *own* as a post-determiner are not in complementary distribution with possessive determiners. Gómez Torrego (2008, 77) highlights that in Spanish ´shortened forms [of PProns] are not compatible with any other determiner (except demonstrative pronouns), indefinite forms otro (other) and mucho (many/much), and all the numerals´.

(172) a.*cualquieras/ *las/   todas mis/ mis propias casas
        any$_{PL.FEM.}$ the$_{PL.FEM.}$ all$_{PL.FEM}$ my$_{PI.}$ my$_{PL.}$ own$_{PL.FEM.}$house$_{PL.}$
      b. otras/   muchas   mis casas
         other$_{PL.FEM.}$ many$_{PL.FEM}$ my$_{PI..}$house$_{PL.}$
         ´other/ a lot of houses of mine´
      c.   esos   tus   ojos
            these$_{MASC.}$ your$_{PL.}$eye$_{PL.}$

In contrast, the adjectival character of possessive pronouns in Czech allows any co-occurrence.

(173) *Jakékoli/ tyto/   ty/   všechny moje/ moje vlastní domy*
        any$_{PL.NOM.MASC.INANIM.}$ the$_{PL.NOM.MASC.INANIM.}$ my own$_{PL.NOM.MASC.INANIM.}$
               these$_{NOM.MASC.INANIM}$ all my$_{PL.NOM.MASC.INANIM.}$ house$_{PL.NOM.}$

9.2. Pseudo-determinative feature of possessive adjective in Spanish

As stated in previous sections, possessive pronouns can be divided according the presence or absence of the determinative feature. The Spanish possessive adjective is an exception in this division. Its adjectival features, i.e. ф-features agreement and post-nominal position, combine with a *pseudo-determinative feature.*

According to Gómez Torrego (2005, 77), the possessive adjectives ´are always stressed and follow the substantive, which should be completed by other determiner´. However, he does not state that the determiner must not be the definite article. The *pseudo-determinative feature* is a property of the possessive adjective, which prevents the definite article and possessive adjective from co-occurrence. This will be labelled as the Principle 5.

(174) *la   casa   mía*
the$_{SG.FEM.}$house mine$_{SG.FEM.}$
´the house of mine´

If the speaker´s intention is to specify which of his/ her houses is meant, the phrase must be broken:

(175) *La   casa   que   es mía.*
the$_{SG.FEM.}$house which is   mine$_{SG.FEM.}$

This does not apply to any other determiner with the exception of possessive determiner which is excluded (see section 6.3.1).

(176) *Una/ aquella/ esta casa   mía*
the$_{SG.FEM.}$ that$_{FEM.}$ this$_{FEM.}$ house mine$_{SG.FEM.}$
´the/ that/ this house of mine´

The highly restricted determinative function of the possessive adjective is not a sufficient reason to exclude it from the group of possessive adjectives. Therefore it is labelled as an idiosyncratic possessive adjective with pseudo-determinative feature.

10. Conclusion

The aims of the thesis has been to give a complex grammatical and semantic analysis of selected possessive phrasings in English, Spanish and Czech and to determine principles for selection of equivalents and/ or corresponding phrasings of the selected construction in other language.

At first, I will summarize the principles suggested in the thesis.

Principle 1

The possessor must be animate and concrete. The possessor must be inherently feminine or masculine, but the grammatical gender can be neuter as well

Principle 2 (Veselovská 1998, 286)

The derived possessive is always an animate masculine or feminine noun in singular. The derivational suffixes *–ův/ -in* are distributed to masculine/ feminine gender respectively. If the possessor is multiple, possessive genitive has to be used in Czech.

Principle 3

If a countable noun in singular which is internal to an *of*-phrase or *de*-phrase does not have the obligatory determiner, the *of*-phrase or *de*-phrase is subject to the adjectivization.

The adjectivized *of*-phrase or *de*-phrase is translated into Czech by an adjective with suffix *–í* or *–ský*[11] be it a noun in singular or plural.

If the possessor is multiple, the equivalent in Czech is always possessive genitive.

Principle 4

To complement an NP with two different possessive elements causes ill-formedness if the possessive meaning be preserved in both elements. So if there are two possible possessors in one NP (excluding coordination), either the NP is ill-formed or non-possessive meaning must be available for one of the two.

Principle 5

The *pseudo-determinative feature* is a property of the possessive adjective, which prevents the definite article and possessive adjective from co-occurrence.

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[11] The distribution of these two suffixes may be a subject for a future research.

The following tables provide an overview of corresponding constructions and equivalents:

Table 15
Possessive pronouns and their corresponding constructions and equivalents

Possessive pronoun	Corresponding construction		Equivalent	
English	**Spanish**	**Czech**	**Spanish**	**Czech**
possessive determiner	possessive determiner	Ø	possessive determiner	pre-nominal possessive adjective
possessive adjective	Ø	Ø	possessive adjective or possessive determiner	pre-nominal possessive adjective

Table 16
Nominal possessive phrasings and their corresponding constructions and equivalents

Construction	Corresponding construction		Equivalent	
English	**Spanish**	**Czech**	**Spanish**	**Czech**
Germanic-genitive	Ø	derived possessive	*de*-phrase	derived possessive or possessive genitive
of-phrase	*de*-phrase	possessive genitive	*de*-phrase	possessive genitive or derived possessive

Besides these conclusions, the thesis focused on many other aspects of possession, from which I select the following:

In the thesis, the possessor is always inherently animate. This condition weakens the usage of neuter possessive pronouns which are a part of English and Czech. In the case of Czech, the neuter pronoun is identical to masculine form. In English, the usage of form *its* is restricted to animals and inanimate objects.

According to presence/ absence of the determinative feature, the possessive pronouns were divided into possessive determiners and possessive adjectives. The Czech inventory of possessive adjectives is the richest of the three studied languages. They can be divided according to their stylistic value into high register and low register, which is marked by presence of –j–. These forms overlap in a number of grammatical cases, but none of the register has a complete set.

The Czech system also contains a reflexive possessive pronoun *svůj* (reflexive possessive pronoun). Having defined the reflexivity of a possessive pronoun as the selection of possessor dependent on the context, the English and Spanish systems have partially reflexive pronouns *your* and *su* (´his, her, their´). They are partially reflexive, because possible possessors are restricted to the 2nd ps. sg. in the case of English, and to the 3rd ps. both sg. and pl. in the case of Spanish.

The characteristics of possessive pronouns served as criteria for labelling the languages as non-agreeing (English), agreeing (Spanish) and case-agreeing (Czech). The labels do not apply only to possessive phrase but also to other areas of language systems, e.g. APs, VPs.

The semantic analysis explores both possessive and non-possessive meanings of analyzed constructions. The possession is inherent if the possessive element cannot be replaced by another element with the same morpho-syntactic qualities but non-possessive meaning. If it can be replaced, it is accidental. In the case that the construction is inherently possessive, we can speak about grammaticalization of possession. There is only one case in the three studied languages – English possessive adjective.

11. České resumé

Tématem této práce jsou vybrané jmenné fráze v angličtině, španělštině a češtině, které vyjadřují vlastnictví. Vybrané fráze jsou podrobeny morfosyntaktické a sémantické analýze, které vedou k určení ekvivalentů a odpovídajících konstrukcí vybrané fráze v jiných jazycích. Cílem této práce je tedy popsat morfosyntaktické a sémantické vlastnosti vybraných frází a stanovit principy výběru ekvivalentu, či odpovídající konstrukce vybrané fráze v jiném jazyce.

Tato práce má několik tématických částí. V první části je definován vlastník a jeho charakteristiky. Jednou z nejdůležitějších vlastností je životnost, která je spojená s inherentním mužským, či ženským rodem. Proto se zde rozebírá střední rod a jeho projevy v přivlastňovacím paradigmatu. Vzhledem k tomu, že ve španělském jazykovém systému není střední rod, nelze mluvit o jakémkoli projevu. V češtině se přivlastňovací zájmeno pro střední rod shoduje s rodem mužským. V angličtině se zachovalo přivlastňovací zájmeno *its*, jehož pozice je ovšem oslabena řídkým přivlastňováním věcem neživým, popřípadě zvířatům, u kterých se často užívá přivlastňovacích zájmen v mužském, či ženském rodu.

Dále byly vybrány anglické přivlastňovací fráze, ke kterým jsou posléze přiřazeny ekvivalenty či odpovídající fráze ve španělštině a češtině. Analyzované fráze jsou rozděleny do několika skupin, které ve druhé fázi poskytují srovnání charakteristik jednotlivých jazyků.

Při použití přivlastňovacího elementu jako kritéria pro rozdělení vznikají dvě základní skupiny – přivlastňovací zájmena a nominální přivlastňovací elementy.

Přivlastňovací zájmena se dále dělí podle přítomnosti či nepřítomnosti determinativního rysu na přivlastňovací přídavná jména a přivlastňovací determinanty. Toto rozdělení na první pohled odhaluje, že čeština má nejrozvitější sadu přivlastňovacích přídavných jmen. Toto je způsobeno jak povinnou shodou v rodě, který má v češtině tři varianty (mužský, ženský, střední), tak dubletními tvary, které se objevují u některých pádů přivlastňovacích zájmen *můj, tvůj* a zvratného přivlastňovacího zájmena *svůj,* které se řadí do stejné deklinace.

Tyto dubletní tvary pochází ze dvou stylistických rejstříků, nižšího a vyššího, a kritériem pro zařazení určitého tvaru je přítomnost, či nepřítomnost –*j*–. Tvary z vysokého rejstříku, často nazývané stažené, se vyznačují nepřítomností této souhlásky.

Dalším příspěvkem k této rozvité sadě přivlastňovacích zájmen je již zmíněné zvratné přivlastňovací zájmeno svůj, které postrádá protějšek jak

ve španělštině, tak v angličtině. Na druhou stranu, čeština úplně postrádá sadu přivlastňovacích determinantů, které jsou nedílnou součástí španělštiny a angličtiny.

Povaha přivlastňovacích zájmen jednotlivých jazyků je kritériem pro jejich rozdělení do tří skupin – jazyk bez shody (angličtina), se shodou (španělština) a se shodou v pádě (čeština). Toto dělení není založeno pouze na přivlastňovacích zájmenech. V jazycích často panují stejné podmínky pro shodu ve frázi adjektivní, či verbální.

Vedle přivlastňovacích zájmen je další skupinou nominální přivlastňovací fráze. Tato se může rozdělit podle pozice přivlastňovacího elementu na prenominální a postnominální fráze. Španělština přispívá do této skupiny pouze jednou postnominální předložkovou frází, kde je přivlastňovací předložkou *de.* Angličtina a čeština mají jak prenominální, tak postnominální prostředky pro vyjádření vlastnictví. V angličtině se jedná o germánský genitiv v prenominální a předložkovou frázi s přivlastňovací předložkou *of* v postnominální pozici, přičemž předložkové fráze ve španělštině a angličtině mohou být nazývány nejen odpovídajícími konstrukcemi, ale také sémantickými ekvivalenty.

Čeština má flexivní charakter a proto jsou postnominální předložkové fráze nahrazeny přivlastňovacím genitivem, který je ekvivalentem, ne však odpovídající konstrukcí. Druhou nominální přivlastňovací frází je v češtině odvozené přivlastňovací přídavné jméno, jehož jméno je založeno na jeho morfologické struktuře, kde je důležitým prvkem přivlastňovací přípona – *ův/ -in,* kterou následuje adjektivní koncovka (Veselovská: 1998, 278). Tato fráze by se dala nazvat ekvivalentem prenominální přivlastňovací fráze v angličtině.

V kapitolách zaměřených na sémantickou analýzu se práce zabývala nejen přivlastňovacími, ale také jinými významy daných konstrukcí. Nejprve je popsán koncept náhodného a inherentního přivlastnění[12], který je založen na syntagmatických vztazích mezi větnými členy. Pokud není možné nahradit přivlastňovací element jiným, který má odpovídající morfosyntaktické vlastnosti, ale nemá přivlastňovací význam, jedná se o inherentní přivlastňovací konstrukci. V takovém případě je možné mluvit o gramatikalizaci přivlastňování. Ve třech zkoumaných jazycích se jako inherentní dá popsat pouze jedna konstrukce, a to přivlastňovací přídavné jméno v angličtině.

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[12] Děkuji prof. Joe E. Emondsovi za tento koncept a terminologii.

Poté byly popsány jiné než přivlastňovací významy českého genitivu (Šmilauer 1986, 184-6), který je v této práci považován za základní přivlastňovací pád. Dále se tato část práce zabývá odvozeným přivlastňovacím zájmenem, konkrétně již zmíněnými přivlastňovacími příponami –ův a –in, a také příponami –ský a -í, které zde nejsou považovány za přivlastňovací, nicméně Šmilauer je jako přivlastňovací klasifikuje.

Tato část práce je obsahuje také kapitolu o adjektivizaci, což je proces, ke kterému dochází při překladu předložkových frází z angličtiny či španělštiny, pokud nejsou použity v přivlastňovacím významu. Spouštěčem adjektivizace v obou jazycích je nepřítomnost determinantu v předložkové frázi. Adjektivizace se uskuteční i v případě, že je podstatné jméno v předložkové frázi v množném čísle, kdy přítomnost determinantu není povinná ani v jednom z jazyků. Nepřítomnost determinantu způsobí generalizaci a tím ztrátu přivlastňovacího významu, jenž je podmíněn konkrétností a životností vlastníka, tedy právě podstatného jména, které je součástí přivlastňovací fráze. Při překladu se tato ztráta přivlastňovacího významu projeví užitím přídavného jména namísto odpovídající přivlastňovací konstrukce či jiného ekvivalentu.

Poslední částí sémantické analýzy je rozbor změny významu přivlastňovacích zájmen a nominálních přivlastňovacích frází, pokud se současně vyskytnou v jedné frázi. Tato kombinace může vytvořit nelogická prohlášení, neboť charakter vlastnictví je spíše unikátní nežli pluralitní. Proto se mnoho přivlastňovacích elementů navzájem kombinovat nedá a pokud se tak stane, jeden z nich často ztrácí původní přivlastňovací význam. Přivlastnění je pak zaměněno za autorství, či tématickou roli, nebo se vztahuje na druhý přivlastňovací element místo na původní objekt.

Rozbor je doplněn popisem komplementární distribuce determinantů a přivlastňovacích elementů s determinativní funkcí. V této části práce je ukázáno, že determinativní funkce aglických prenominálních přivlastňovacích zájmen je natolik silná, že kombinace s jakýmkoli jiným determinantem je negramatická. Tento problém, je v angličtině vyřešen možností použít postnominální přivlastňovací přídavné jméno.

Španělský systém ukazuje jisté výjimky. Jednou z nich je možnost kombinovat přivlastňovací determinant s demonstrativem. Jedná se o systémovou výjimku, která je emocionálně zabarvena, a to buď negativně nebo pozitivně. Druhou výjimkou je pseudodeterminativní funkce přivlastňovacího přídavného jména, která zabraňuje kombinaci s určitým

členem. Kombinace s ostatními determinanty je gramaticky správná. Tato situace není v rámci jmenné fráze nijak uspokojivě vyřešena. Pokud chce mluvčí specifikovat vlastněný objekt určitým členem a zároveň přivlastňovacím zájmenem, je nutné rozbít frázi slovesem. Nedeterminativní charakter češtiny umožňuje kombinaci všech determinantů.

Kromě morfosyntaktické analýzy práce obsahuje dvě teoretické části, které pomáhají čtenáři zorientovat se jak v prováděné analýze, tak ve výběru rozebíraných frází. Prvním případem je kapitola o konstituentní a dependenční teorii, kde jsou rozebrány a srovnány obě teorie. Výsledkem srovnání je zvolení konstituentní teorie jako nástroje pro analýzu a to především kvůli větší přesnosti v oblasti determinace podstatných jmen a možnosti strukturovat fráze vícero způsoby. Druhým případem je kapitola o gramatické správnosti a akceptovatelnosti přivlastňovacích frází, která osvětluje výběr frází pro analýzu.

Poskytuje srovnání fráze gramaticky správné a fráze akceptovatelné úzusem rodilého mluvčího a kritéria pro zařazení frází do těchto dvou skupin, které se mohou, ale nemusejí, prolínat. Je zde stanoveno, že aby fráze byla analyzována v této práci, nemusí být gramaticky správná, ale vždy musí být akceptovaná skupinou rodilých mluvčích. Skupina rodilých mluvčích je definována jako dialektologicky, sociálně, či vzděláním definovaná skupina osob, která používá srozumitelný, ne však obecně užívaný tvar.

Tato věta není gramaticky v pořádku, což však neznamená, že není běžně užívaná. V tomto případě se jedná o frázi běžně užívanou v Čechách, především u sociálně slabších, či nevzdělaných skupin lidí, které se vyhýbají staženým tvarům, které se jim zdají příliš vznosné. Kvůli tomu často používají tvary ze stylisticky nízkého rejstříku i tam, kde neexistují.

Výsledkem práce je tedy seskupení ekvivalentů a odpovídajících konstrukcí v základním významu, který není nijak emocionálně zabarven, prezentované v následujících dvou tabulkách.

Tabulka 1

Přivlastňovací zájmena – odpovídající konstrukce a ekvivalenty

Přivlastňovací zájmeno	Odpovídající konstrukce		Ekvivalent	
Angličtina	Španělština	Čeština	Španělština	Čeština
přivlastňovací determinant	přivlastňovací determinant	∅	přivlastňovací determinant	prenominální přivlastňovací přídavné jméno
přivlastňovací přídavné jméno	∅	∅	přivlastňovací přídavné jméno **nebo** přivlastňovací determinant	prenominální přivlastňovací přídavné jméno

Tabulka 2

Nominální odvozené přivlastňovací fráze – odpovídající konstrukce a ekvivalenty

Fráze	Odpovídající konstrukce		Ekvivalent	
Angličtina	Španělština	Čeština	Španělština	Čeština
germánský genitiv	∅	derivované přivlastňovací přídavné jméno	přivlastňovací předložka *de*	derivované přivlastňovací přídavné jméno **nebo** přivlastňovací genitiv
přivlastňovací předložka *of*	přivlastňovací předložka *de*	přivlastňovací genitiv	přivlastňovací předložka *de*	derivované přivlastňovací přídavné jméno **nebo** přivlastňovací genitiv

Principy týkající se zařazení do systému a překladu popisovaných frází.

Princip1

Vlastník musí být životný a konkrétní. Jeho inherentní rod musí být mužský, či ženský, ale gramatický rod může být střední.

Princip 2 (Veselovská 1998, 286)

Odvozené přivlastňovací přídavné jméno je vždy mužského, či ženského rodu a jednotného čísla. Derivační přípony *–ův/ -in* se používají pro mužský/ ženský rod v tomto pořadí. Pokud je vlastníků více (vyjádřeno množným číslem), používá se český přivlastňovací genitiv.

Princip 3

If a countable noun in singular which is internal to an *of*-phrase or *de*-phrase does not have the obligatory determiner, the *of*-phrase or *de*-phrase is subject to the adjectivization.

Princip 4

Pokud je jmenná fráze rozvitá dvěma různými přivlastňovacími elementy, přičemž oba mají zachován přivlastňovací význam, vzniká nelogická struktura. Pokud jsou tedy dva přivlastňovací elementy přítomny v jedné frázi, fráze je buď nelogická, tudíž nesprávná, nebo jeden z přivlastňovacích elementů ztrácí původní význam.

Princip 5

Pseudo-determinativní rys je vlastnost španělského přivlastňovacího přídavného jména, který zabraňuje kombinaci určitého členu a přivlastňovacího adjektiva v jedné frázi.

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