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POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS  
IN TOLAI

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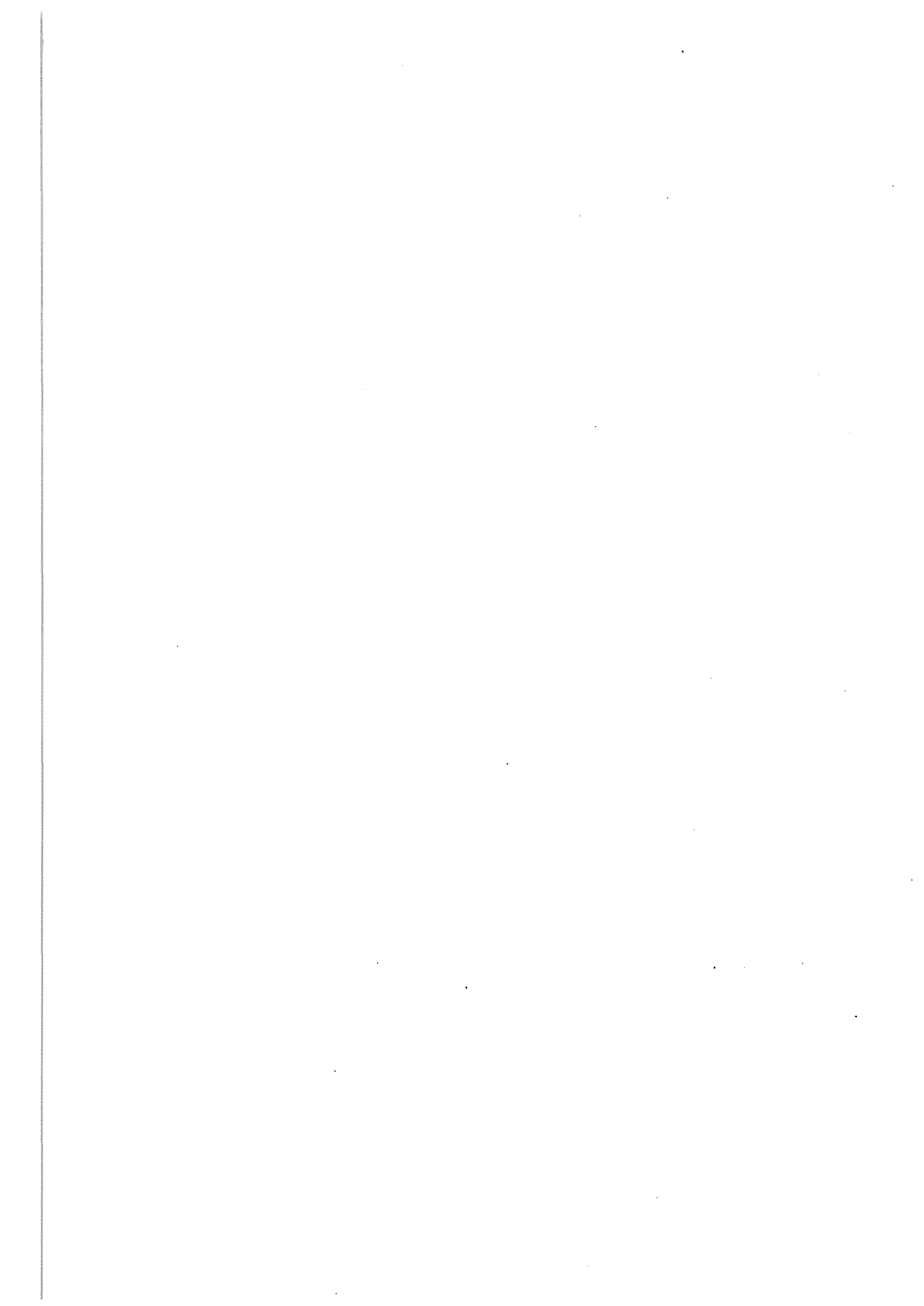
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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

1.	Introduction	1
2.	Possessive phrases	1
2.1.	Alienable possessive phrases	6
2.1.1.	Alienable KA-possessive phrases	6
2.1.2.	Alienable A-possessive phrases	11
2.2.	Inalienable possessive phrases	14
2.2.1.	Possessive phrases of kin relationships	14
2.2.2.	Possessive phrases of bodypart relationships	18
2.3.	The continuum from inherent to established possession	25
2.4.	Compound noun phrases	27
2.4.1.	Part/whole constructions	31
2.4.2.	Spatial relationships	34
2.4.3.	"Piece-of-amorphous-stuff"-constructions	36
2.5.	Conclusion	38
3.	Possessive constructions on clause level	40
3.1.	Alienable possessive constructions on clause level	40
3.2.	Inalienable possessive constructions on clause level	42
3.3.	Part/whole constructions on clause level	45
3.4.	Alienable possessors in the syntactic function of an indirect object	46
4.	Innovations in modern Tolai	48
4.1.	Alienable possessive constructions in modern Tolai	48
4.2.	Inalienable possessive constructions in modern Tolai	51
4.3.	<u>Vatur-vake</u> "to have"	53
4.4.	Conclusion	54
	Notes	55
	References	57



# POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN TOLAI<sup>1</sup>

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Possessive constructions are grammatical constructions which contain two nominals and express that the referent of one of these nominals belongs to the other. The kind of relationship denoted by possessive constructions is not only that of ownership (1), as the term "possessive" might suggest, but also that of kinship (2), bodypart relationship (3), part/whole relationship (4) and similar relationships, e.g.

- (1) the house of the man  
the man has a house.  
the house belongs to the man.
- (2) my brother  
I have two brothers.
- (3) the leg of the kangaroo  
the kangaroo has short front legs.
- (4) the leaves of the tree

The following investigation will start with possessive constructions on phrase level, i.e. possessive phrases, and then deal with possessive constructions on clause level.

## 2. POSSESSIVE PHRASES

With regard to Tolai, possessive phrases can be defined as noun phrases containing a head noun and a subordinated noun or pronoun which express that the head noun referent belongs to what is referred to by the nominal or pronominal attribute. The head noun is called the 'possessed noun' and the attribute the 'possessor', e.g.

- (5) tura-            gu            my brother  
brother        my  
POSSESSED    POSSESSOR  
NOUN

As in other languages of Melanesia, Tolai shows different types of possessive phrases which on the basis of structural criteria can be grouped into the three classes of inalienable possessive phrases, alienable possessive phrases and compound noun phrases, and furthermore into several subclasses, as will be seen later (cf. p. 6, p. 14):

I. Inalienable<sup>2</sup> possessive phrases:

(6) a bala- i ra tutana<sup>3</sup>  
 ART belly-POSS.M. ART man  
 the belly of the man

(7) a bala- na  
 ART belly- his  
 his belly

II. Alienable possessive phrases:

(8) a pal ka- i ra tutana  
 ART house POSS. POSS.M. ART man  
 CLFR.  
 the house of the man

(9) ka- na pal  
 POSS. his house  
 CLFR.  
 his house

III. Compound noun phrases:

(10) a mapi-na-davai  
 ART leaf-C -tree  
 the leaf/leaves of the tree

(11) a bala- na-pal  
 ART interior-C- house  
 (belly)  
 the interior of the house

In inalienable possessive constructions ((6), (7)) the possessor always follows the possessed noun (i.e. bala- "belly"). While singular pronominal possessors are directly suffixed to the possessed noun (7, 12), non-singular pronominal and nominal possessors are connected to it by means of the possessive marker (POSS.M.) i (13, 14) :

(12) a bala- gu my belly  
 ART belly-my

- (12) a bala- m                    your (sg) belly  
 ART belly-your
- a bala- na                    his, her, its belly  
 ART belly-his/her/its
- (13) a bala- i-                    dor  
 ART belly-POSS.M.- our/INC/DUAL  
 our bellies
- a bala- i-                    mimir  
 ART belly-POSS.M.- our/EXC/DUAL  
 our bellies
- a bala- i-                    datal  
 ART belly-POSS.M.-our/INC/TRIAL  
 our bellies
- a bala- i-                    diat  
 ART belly-POSS.M.-their/PL  
 their bellies
- (14) a bala- i                    ra tutana  
 ART belly-POSS.M. ART man  
 the belly of the man

The pronominal suffixes -gu, -m, -na etc. cannot be classified as possessive suffix pronouns, but only generally as suffix pronouns, because they also occur with some prepositions, e.g. ta-gu "to me", pira-gu "near me".

Since clusters of consonants are avoided in Tolai<sup>4</sup>, the singular pronominal suffixes -gu, -m and -na are not directly joined to nouns ending in a consonant, but through mediation of an inserted vowel. If the stem vowel of the noun is u or if the final consonant of the noun is p, the inserted vowel is u, elsewhere it is i, e.g.

- (15) a ul- u- gu                    my head  
 ART head- my
- a gap- u- na                    his blood  
 ART blood- his
- a pal- i- na                    his skin  
 ART skin- his

With non-singular pronominal suffixes the insert vowel -u- is optional, whereas the insert vowel -i- fuses with the

possessive marker i, e.g.

- (16) a ul- u- i- dir their heads  
 ART head- POSS.M.-their/DU
- a ul- i- dir their heads  
 ART head-POSS.M.-their/DU
- a pal- i- dir their skins  
 ART skin-POSS.M.-their/DU

In alienable possessive constructions the possessor noun follows the possessed noun and is joined to it by means of the particle kai or ai ((8), (15), (16)), which is composed of the possessive classifier (POSS.CLFR.) ka- or a- and the possessive marker -i :

- (17) a nian ka- i ra tutana  
 ART food POSS. POSS.M. ART man  
 CLFR.  
 the food of the man, i.e. the food owned by the man  
 (but not necessarily eaten by him)

- (18) a nian a- i ra tutana  
 ART food POSS. POSS.M. ART man  
 CLFR.  
 the food of the man, i.e. the food which is determined  
 to be eaten by the man (but which is not necessarily  
 owned by him)

The different meanings of the possessive classifiers will be explained below (cf. p. 6ff); here we are only concerned with the formal structure of the different possessive constructions.

Pronominal possessors of alienable possessive constructions are the same suffix pronouns as in inalienable possessive constructions, but are suffixed to one of the possessive classifiers and form an independent possessive pronoun which usually precedes the possessed noun and replaces the article, e.g.

- (19) ka- na nian  
 POSS. his food  
 CLFR.  
 his food, the food owned by him
- (20) a- na nian his food; the food which is deter-  
 POSS. his food mined to be eaten by him  
 CLFR.



Instead of the possessive classifier ka- one finds the allomorph kau- with the first and second person singular suffix pronoun, i.e. kau-gu "my" and kau-m "your", in most dialects.<sup>5</sup> The possessive classifier a- + suffix pronoun is only used at the beginning of an utterance; elsewhere its allomorph ra- is used, e.g. ... ra-na nian "his food".

To conclude, the pronominal and nominal possessors are linked to the possessed noun in four different ways, namely by means of juxtaposition (5), the possessive marker i ((6), (13), (14)), a possessive classifier ((19), (20)) or a possessive classifier plus possessive marker ((17), (18)). Thus the means of constructions form a "scale of immediateness" (Seiler 1981:29) with juxtaposition at one end and possessive classifier + possessive marker at the other:

	POSS.M.	POSS.CLFR.	
inalienable			
singular pronom. possessor	-	-	(5, 12)
non-singular pro- nominal possessor	+	-	(13)
nominal possessor	+	-	(14)
alienable			
pronominal possessor	-	+	(19, 20)
nominal possessor	+	+	(17, 18)

As will be seen later (cf. p.25f), this continuum of structural means correlates with a semantic continuum from the most intimate or inherent relationship (such as kinship and body-part relationship) to more distant relationships (as for instance temporary ownership): the more inherent relationships require less mediating means of expression than the less inherent ones.

Secondly, the choice of the means of expression is determined by morphosyntactic features of the possessor nominal. The syntactic relationship between the possessed noun and a pronominal possessor is closer than the corresponding relationship between the possessed noun and a nominal possessor (compare (12) with (14) and (19, 20) with (17, 18); and in

inalienable possessive phrases non-singular pronominal possessors require a more distant construction (13) than singular pronominal possessors (12).<sup>6</sup>

Compound noun phrases (cf. p. 2) are noun phrases consisting of a head noun ( $N_1$ ) and a nominal adjunct ( $N_2$ ) which are connected by the so-called connective particle (C). This class of noun phrases (abbr.  $N_1$ -C- $N_2$ ) is not only comprised of possessive phrases but also of noun phrases whose head noun is modified by a noun denoting some characteristic feature of the head noun referent, for example:

(21) a pal- na-kunai  
ART house- C- grass  
the grass hut

(22) a bala na vavina  
ART belly C woman  
a woman's belly, a belly like a woman

In comparison with

(6) a bala- i ra tutana  
ART belly-POSS.M. ART man  
the belly of the man

the last example (22) shows that one and the same noun may enter different constructions, and therefore it is not the nouns, but the constructions which should be classified (cf. p. 33).

## 2.1. Alienable Possessive Phrases

The class of alienable possessive phrases comprises of two subclasses<sup>7</sup>, which are marked by the possessive classifier KA- (17, 19) and A- (18, 20; cf. p. 4) and their respective allomorphs, and hence will be called "KA-possessive phrases" and "A-possessive phrases" respectively.<sup>8</sup>

### 2.1.1. Alienable KA- Possessive Phrases

The KA-possessive phrases denote temporary ownership (23) which includes the relation between married people (24, 25)

and their relatives by marriage (25) (the bride is bought by the relatives of the bridegroom and becomes the property of the man. If the marriage is divorced, the family of the woman has to pay back the bride price (Parkinson 1926:5))  
e.g.

(23) a pal ka- i ra tutana  
ART house POSS.-POSS.M. ART man  
CLFR.

the house of the man

(24) kau- gu vavina, kau gu tutana  
POSS.- my woman POSS.- my man  
CLFR. CLFR.

my wife, my husband

(25) kau- gu taulai  
POSS.- my wife/husband  
CLFR.

my wife (said by a man), my husband (said by a woman)

There are three words for "child", namely natu-, bul and mumum. While natu-, which is inalienably possessed, denotes one's **own** child by birth (cf.p.17 ), bul means "child" in general and is alienably possessed. kaugu bul "my child" refers to any child I take care of, whether it is my own or not. Hence bul may be used with the same reference as natu-, e.g.

(26) ura natu-gu ma kau- gu ura bul M 24  
two son-my and POSS.-my two child  
CLFR.

my two sons, my two children!

The compound noun bul-mur "descendant" (lit. "following child"), however, may be either inalienably or alienably possessed without any changes in meaning, e.g.

(27) a umana bul-mur- i. dor M 62  
ART PL descendant POSS.M.- our/DUAL/INC  
our descendants

(28) ka- dor umana bul-mur M 44  
POSS.- our/DUAL/INC PL descendant  
CLFR.

our descendants

mumum "adopted child" is alienably possessed, since the rela-



and still more specifically (+ EGO) or close to the speaker. ...

Semantically the domain of POSSESSION can be defined as bio-cultural. It is the relationship between a human being and his kinsmen, his body parts, his material belongings, his cultural and intellectual products. In a more extended view, it is the relationship between parts and whole of an organism. The complex bio-cultural feature may serve as one criterion to delimit POSSESSION from other relationships, in particular from VALENCE and from LOCATION. VALENCE is the relationship between an action or process or state and its participants. It does not show any limitations to the bio-cultural sphere. The number of participants can range from zero to three or four, whereas POSSESSION is a strictly binary relation.

...

Syntactically speaking, POSSESSION is a relation between nominal and nominal, which is not mediated by a verb. Predication, specifically a verb of possession, does contribute to the expression of POSSESSION- but only to the extent that such a predication or such a verb refers to the particular mode of the possessive relationship and to nothing else."

( Seiler 1981:6-7 )

The relationship between an action and its agent evidently differs semantically from the relationship that exists between a human being and his material belongings, products etc. However, the fact that the agent of verbal nouns is constructed in exactly the same way as the possessor of a KA-possessive phrase is hardly accidental <sup>10</sup>, but this has to be ascribed to the similarities between the semantic role of the agent of active verbs and that of the KA-possessor. The common denominator of all KA-possessive phrases is that they denote active voluntary or controlling relationship <sup>11</sup>, such as temporary ownership implies acquisition and the possibility of disposal, or as personal relationships other than kinship (24) presuppose selection. The very same rela-

tionship is expressed by the agent noun phrase and the verb in active transitive and intransitive clauses (Mosel 1982b) and consequently by the corresponding nominalized constructions, e.g.

(32) a tutana i vana.  
 ART man he go  
 The man went.

(33) a vinavana ka- i ra tutana  
 ART going POSS.- POSS.M. ART man  
 CLFR.  
 the going of the man

Transitive verbs are not directly nominalized, but are intransitivized first, whereby the obligatory patient noun phrase of the transitive verb changes into an optional nominal adjunct (cf. Mosel 1982b), e.g.

(34) a tutana i kul a kar.  
 ART man he buy ART car  
 The man bought a car.

(35) a tutana i kukul (na-kar).  
 ART man he buy/INTR (C car)  
 The man did the (car) buying.

(36) a kunukul (na-kar) ka- i ra tutana  
 ART buying (C car) POSS.-POSS.M. ART man  
 CLFR.  
 the (car) buying of the man

In (35) and (36) na-kar characterizes the concept of buying in a rather unspecific way. It is left open, whether the man bought one or several cars (compare TT 147).

To conclude, it is not only ownership (which is the most typical established possessive relationship) that is expressed by the alienable KA-possessive constructions, but also other relationships which presuppose activity, control or voluntariness on part of the possessor referent. The various relationships expressed by the KA-possessive constructions constitute what might be called a "continuum of possessivity", which starts with ownership representing the focal instance of established relationships, and which ends with the construction of the agent of the nominalized verbs as being the

"least possessive" relationship (compare the other scale of "possessivity" p. 39).

+ possessive	↑	ownership	kaugu pal my house
			kaugu bul my child (the child I take care of)
			kaugu gunan my village (the village which I have chosen, which I can leave)
			kaugu iang my name (the name given by me)
- possessive	↓	action/agent	kaugu vinavana my going

#### 2.1.2. Alienable A- Possessive Phrases

In A-possessive phrases the possessed noun refers to something that is determined to the possessor referent, as food is determined to be eaten by somebody<sup>12</sup>, weapons are determined to hurt or kill somebody, or emotions are determined to affect somebody. Compare the following expressions:

- (37) a- na vudu  
POSS.-his banana  
CLFR.

his banana, lit. the banana which is determined to be eaten by him (but which is not necessarily owned by him)

- (38) to-ia u u iaian kau- gu vudu  
who you/SG you/SG eat/RED POSS.- my banana  
CLFR.

Who are you who is eating my banana?

K1 283

- (39) ma dir rapu ia ma ra- na ram  
and they/DUAL hit it with POSS.-its club  
CLFR.

and they hit it (the pig) with its club (with the club that was determined for it)

M 44

- (40) ma dia ga mar ka- dia rumu  
and they/PL TA decorate POSS.- their/PL spear  
CLFR.

and they decorated their spears

M 150

- (41) ma i ga al pa nam ra- na kankan  
and he TA attract PART DEM POSS.- his anger  
CLFR.

and he drew their anger upon himself (because he  
always scolded them)

- (42) kau- gu varmari na tur pira-m  
POSS.- my love it-TA stand with-you  
CLFR.

my love will be with you; I'll love you TT 174

In contrast to KA-possessive phrases, the A-possessive phrases do not express a relationship of control, but rather the relationship that exists between an object (e.g. food, weapons) and somebody or something that is affected by this object; i.e. in A-possessive phrases the possessor refers to somebody or something the referent of the possessed noun phrase is used on.<sup>13</sup> While the KA-possessors are always (+ animate), the A-possessors may also be (- animate) in a few cases. The examples listed by Rickard (1889) suggest that the usage of inanimate possessors is restricted to objects into which some other small object is put, such as food is put into someone's mouth or a spear into somebody's body, e.g.

- (43) a ot e ra bok  
ART nail POSS.-POSS.M. ART box  
CLFR.

a nail for nailing the box

- (44) a ki e ra pal  
ART key POSS.-POSS.M. ART house  
CLFR.

the key to unlock the house

- (45) a waraku e ra maraket  
ART oil POSS.-POSS.M. ART musket  
CLFR.

oil to oil the musket with (Rickard 1889:439)

The translations by Rickard are misleading, because they suggest that the general idea expressed by these constructions is that of purpose. But purpose is either denoted by a compound noun phrase (cf.p. 28) or by a prepositional construction with upi "for" or ure "for", e.g.



(46) a   dava i ure ra pal  
 ART wood for ART house  
 timber for the house

Wr 190

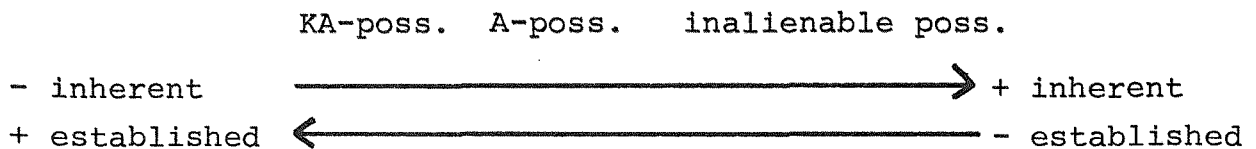
The fact that A-possessor referents are affected by what is denoted by the possessed noun is correlated to the fact that A-possessive constructions express a more intimate relationship than KA-possessive constructions, as it is the body of the possessor referent (37, 39) or his personality (41) that is affected. This becomes most evident with the noun mal "clothes". With an A-possessor mal refers to clothes that someone wears or should wear on his body (47). But if it is possessed by a KA-possessor, it is only intended to say that the possessor referent has these clothes irrespective whether he puts them on or not, e.g.

(47) o ra vat i ga noe vake o ra mal a- i  
 DEM ART stone it TA do fasten DEM ART dress POSS.-POSS.  
 ra tutana CLFR. M.  
 ART man

and the flat piece of stone held fast the dress of the man; the man's dress was caught under the flat stone

M 252

Both the KA- and the A-possessive constructions have been defined as alienable constructions on the basis of mere structural criteria (cf.p. 1f, 6f). If, however, structural features are correlated with semantic ones, it becomes evident that they do not form one class which is strictly opposed to the class of inalienable constructions, but that these three types of possessive constructions constitute different degrees on a gradient scale from established possession to inherent possession with the alienable KA-possessive constructions at one end and the inalienable constructions at the other (compare Seiler's claim that "the traditional exclusive categorization into 'inalienable' or 'alienable' possession must be given up" (Seiler 1981:130)).<sup>14</sup> As will be seen later, the morphosyntactic class of inalienable possessive constructions also shows various degrees of "inalienability" (cf.p.25f).



## 2.2. Inalienable Possessive Phrases

There are two types of inalienable possessive phrases to be distinguished:

1. possessive phrases denoting kin relationships, and
2. possessive phrases whose possessed noun refers to something that inherently belongs to the possessor referent and is not transferable. Since mostly body-part terms enter this second type of construction, it will be called "possessive phrases of body part relationships".

Both types of possessive phrases are very similar in structure. The only difference is that kinship terms must not be directly preceded by the article. Thus, when the kinship term is not preceded by an adjective, a plural marker or a quantifier (cf. Mosel 1981), there is no article, e.g.

- (48)      tura-    i            ra    tutana  
             brother-POSS.M. ART man  
             the brother of the man
- tura-    na  
             brother- his  
             his brother
- (49)      a    umana tura-    i            ra    tutana  
             ART PL    brother- POSS.M. ART man  
             the brothers of the man
- (50)      a    bala- i            ra    tutana  
             ART belly-POSS.M. ART man  
             the belly of the man

### 2.2.1. Possessive Phrases of Kin Relationships

There are two classes of kinship terms:

1. reciprocal kinship terms,
2. non-reciprocal kinship terms.

Reciprocal kinship terms, which are by far in the majority, refer to both sides of a kin relationship, i.e., for instance, to the grandparent as well as to the grandchild, or to the nephew as well as to the uncle, so that

- (51) tubu-  
 person who is in the relationship grandparent-  
 grandchild to another person

-gu  
 my

can either mean "my grandfather (or -mother)" or "my grandchild". If as in (51) a reciprocal kinship term enters a possessive construction as possessed noun, it can only be seen from the context which partner of the kin relationship is referred to by the kinship term and which one by the possessor, for example

- (52) nina ra bul, tama- i nem ra tutana  
 DEM ART child father/child-POSS.M. DEM ART man  
 that child, the child of that man K1 375

- (53) tama- i nem ra bul  
 father/child-POSS.M. DEM ART child  
 the father of that child K1 203

tama- means "somebody who is in the relationship father - child to another person".

If these kinship terms do not enter a possessive construction, they must be combined with the derelational suffix, i.e. a suffix whose function it is to derelationalize words that are inherently relational and thus require a word or phrase to follow in order to make the expression of relationship complete. In the case of kinship terms the derelational suffix is phonologically identical with the 3. pers.sg.-suffix pronoun -na, as all kinship terms end in a vowel, but with other relational nouns it shows different forms, e.g. -a in ul-a "head" in contrast to ul-u-na "his head" (cf.p. 3).

The derelationalized form of kinship terms is used in combination with the plural marker bar in order to refer to at least two people who are in the relationship that is denoted by the kinship term (cf. Mosel 1982a), e.g.

- (54) a ura bar tubu- na  
 ART two PL grandparent/-child-DEREL  
 the grandmother and her grandchild. M 184

Furthermore, the derelationized form of kinship terms occurs as nucleus in verbal phrases (55-56), as adjunct to independent and suffixed pronouns (58-60) and as prenuclear adjunct in verbal phrases (61-63). The derelationized kinship terms, as the nucleus in verbal phrases, always require a plural subject, in order to denote that the subject referents are relatives of the same kind. You cannot say "he is my uncle", but only

- (55) ami matua- na  
 we/DUAL/EXC uncle/nephew DEREL  
 we two are in the relationship of uncle and nephew,  
 i.e. I am his uncle K1 194  
 ("I am his nephew" is theoretically possible as well)

- (56) mi tura- na ma Kabinana  
 we/DUAL/EXC brother DEREL including Kabinana  
 I and To Kabinana are brothers.  
 I am the brother of Kabinana (K1 75)

The subject marker refers to the total number of subject referents. If you want to say "we two and Kabinana are brothers", you have to use the trial form:

- (57) amita tura- na ma Kabinana  
 we/TRIAL/EXC brother- DEREL including Kabinana  
 (lit.: we three are brothers including To Kabinana  
 we two and kabinana are brothers)

Non-singular independent and suffixed pronouns can be modified by derelationized reciprocal kinship terms in order to express that the people spoken about are relatives, for example:

- (58) i vana papa kan amir tama- na  
 he go off from we/DUAL/EXC father/son- DEREL  
 he left me and my father TT 97
- (59) "Amur ma ia?" "Amir tura- na  
 you/DUAL including whom we/DUAL/EXC brother-DEREL  
 "Who is with you?" "It's I and my brother"  
 (lit. "You two including whom?" "We two brothers.")

(in amur ma ia? the same rule of coordination as in (57) applies: the pronoun refers to the total number of participants including those expressed by the added noun phrase.)

(60) ta ka- -dir turana- na pal  
in POSS.\_ their/DUAL brother- DEREL house  
CLFR.

in their, the two brother's house.

In verbal clauses derelationized kinship terms are found between the tense/aspect/mood markers (abbr. TA) and the nucleus in order to modify the action as being done by relatives, for example:

(61) dir ga tubu- na vartir  
they/DUAL TA grandmother/-child DEREL ask-each-other  
grandchild and grandmother asked each other M 182

(62) dir ga ti tama- na virua  
they/DUAL TA TA father/child DEREL be-killed  
par  
be-complete  
they both, father and son, were killed M 162

Most kinship terms are reciprocal, including the word talai-na "friend", which is strictly speaking not a kinship term:

(63) ami talai- na ma nam ra kaia  
we/DUAL/EXC friends- DEREL including DEM ART kaia  
I and the kaia ghost are friends; I am the friend  
of that kaia. Kl 370

There is only a very small number of non-reciprocal kinship terms, for example:

(64) tina-na mother  
natu-na child  
tavu-na parent(s)

The term tavu-na is also metaphorically used for the master of a dog, e.g.

(65) ma dia tir nam ra pap :  
and they/SG ask DEM ART dog  
"Ba tavu- m akave?"  
Please, master your/PL  
and they asked that dog: "Please, where is your  
master?" M 230

## 2.2.2. Possessive Phrases of Bodypart Relationships

Nouns denoting bodyparts are only inalienably possessed, if they refer to the bodyparts of human beings or animals, but not if they denote parts of plants or objects. In that case they enter the  $N_1$ -C- $N_2$ -construction as  $N_1$ , i.e. they form the head of a compound noun phrase (compare Table I). The only exception is pa "base, root of a tree" which, however, never denotes a part of a human being or animal.

Whereas kinship terms are obligatorily possessed or are combined with the derelational suffix, there are some bodypart terms which are optionally possessed, and never take the derelational suffix. These non-relational bodypart terms characteristically denote bodyparts that are often found separated from the body which they belong to; for example gap "blood", kiau "egg", ur "bone". The fact that separation from the body is a decisive factor of whether the possessed or the non-possessed form is preferred, is shown by the following sentence:

- (66) i ga van' arikai ra gap-u- na  
 it TA go appear ART blood- his  
 i ga vilau urama liu nam ra gap  
 it TA run upwards high DEM ART blood K1 397  
 (the man was thrown into the sea)  
 his blood appeared (i.e. he started to bleed),  
 and the blood flew up to the surface.

Consequently, kiau "egg" is mostly found in its unpossessed form, as eggs are not often talked about with reference to the animal to which they belong. Compare:

- (67) dia tak- pa ra ivu kiau  
 they/PL take- E ART two egg  
 they took two eggs M 30
- (68) dia ga karakarate ra kiau- i- diat  
 they/PL TA bite/DISTR. ART egg- POSS.M.-their  
 each of them (the ants) carried an egg in its mouth  
 M 158

If one wants to characterize the sort of egg, one uses the  $N_1$ -C- $N_2$ - construction:

- (69) a kiau-na-kakaruk, a kiau-na-rumi  
 ART egg -C -hen ART egg- C -ant  
 hen's egg ant's egg

Note that 'non-relational' is used here as a purely grammatical term, namely as a label for optionally possessed inalienable nouns that are not combined with the derelational suffix, when used outside possessive phrases. Other bodypart terms must take the derelational suffix, when they are not possessed. The distribution of these derelationalized forms, however, is partly different from that of derelationalized kinship terms. Derelationalized bodypart terms never function as modifiers (compare 58-63), but occur as the nucleus of verbal phrases and, furthermore, like any other noun, as the head of a patient noun phrase and after prepositions, for example as the nucleus of verbal phrases:

- (70) ma i ga ul- a ura ra makilalat  
 and he TA head-DEREL towards-to ART door  
 he had his head in the direction of the door

Kl 169

i ga kake-ne ura ra vabungan  
 he TA foot-DEREL towards-to ART back-of-the-hut  
 he had his feet in the direction of the back of  
 the hut,  
 i.e. he lay down with his head at the door and  
 his feet in the back of the hut,

and as the head of a patient noun phrase:

- (71) "...una loe ra ul-u- m."  
 you/SG-TA shake ART head- your/SG

i ga loe ra ul- a  
 he TA shake ART head- DEREL

"Shake your head." And he shook his head. Kl 75

- (72) i ga iaian ra ul- a  
 he TA be-eating ART head-DEREL

he was eating the head (of the victim) Kl 168

- (73) nam di kutu- vue ra ul- a  
 DEM INDEF cut- take-off ART head-DEREL

ra kaia i ga dolom ia ka  
 ART kaia he TA swallow him PART

that one whose head was cut off- the kaia  
 ghost swallowed him.

Kl 350

As the head of a patient noun phrase <sup>9</sup> a bodypart term may occur in its derelationized form, if it does not refer to the speaker's or hearer's bodypart (71). The second and the third example show that the derelationized form of the bodypart term is used, if it refers to a bodypart that has been separated from its body <sup>15</sup>. This corresponds to the use of the non-relational bodypart terms gap "blood", kiau "egg", and ur "bone". In our data the possessed form ul-u-na "his head" is never used instead of ul-a "head", when reference is made to a separated head (which happens quite often in the myths and stories of the Tolai people). But unless linguistic texts with informants have not been made, it would perhaps be premature to say that in this case the derelationized form is obligatory. If the person to whom the separated head belongs is to be expressed by a noun phrase, one uses the usual construction, e.g.

- (74) a kaia i vue ra ul- i ra tutana  
 ART kaia he throw-away ART head-POSS.M. ART man  
 the kaia ghost threw the head of the man away.

K1 350

Apart from true bodypart terms, several other nouns enter the inalienable possessive construction which can be classified roughly as follows:

1. Nouns denoting personal attributes or properties which are physically related to the possessor referent, e.g.

	<u>non-possessed form</u>	<u>possessed form</u>
(75)	a manua ART ulcer	a manua-m ART ulcer-your/SG your ulcer
	a nilai-na ART voice-DEREL	a nilai-gu ART voice-my my voice
	a pal-a-kau-na ART track- DEREL	a pal-a-kau-i ra boroi ART track- POSS.M.ART pig the track of the pig



non-possessed form

a minat- i- na  
ART corpse- DEREL

possessed form

a minat- i- vavat  
ART corpse-POSS.M.-your/PL  
your corpses M 94

2. Nouns denoting properties that are socio-culturally defined as non-transferable:

non-possessed form

a iang  
ART name

possessed form

a iang-i- gu  
ART name my  
my name

a kaia  
ART secret

a kaie- dat  
ART secret-POSS.M.-our/PL/INC  
our secret Kl 504

a nga  
ART way

ra nga-i- dir  
ART way-POSS.M.  
their way<sup>16</sup> Kl 42

a rakirak  
ART catafalaque

a rakirak-i- m  
ART catafalaque- your/SG  
your catafalaque M 100

a tabu  
ART taboo

a tabu- gu  
ART taboo-my  
something that is a taboo  
for me; that I am forbidden  
to touch

M 34

3. Nouns denoting the hut or part of the hut where the possessor referent sleeps:

non-possessed form

a kuba- na  
ART bed/dwelling-DEREL

possessed form

ra kuba-na  
ART hut- his  
his hut Kl 64

a kuba- gu  
ART mat-to-sleep-on- my  
my mat to sleep on

<u>non-possessed form</u>	<u>possessed form</u>
a makmakilalat	ra makmakilalat-i- dat ART entrance -POSS.M.our/PL/ INC
	our entrance M 240
a marua- na ART fire(-wood) DEREL	tika na marua- gu some C firewood-my
with which to warm oneself	some firewood to warm me K1 70

4. Nouns denoting referential objects <sup>17</sup>, e.g.

<u>non-possessed form</u>	<u>possessed form</u>
a malalar ART picture	a malalar-i ra ART picture-POSS.M.ART
	umana tubuan PL Tubuan
	The pictures of the Tubuans TT 62
a tinata ART speech	ra tinata-i nam ra ART speech-POSS.M.DEM ART
	tubuan Tubuan
	the story about that tubuan TT 86

While malalar obligatorily enters the inalienable possessive construction, tinata "speech, story" is also constructed with the preposition ure "about". Other words of this semantic class, such as akakur "story, legend, fable" or pirpir "speech, talk" cannot be inalienably possessed, but must be constructed with ure "about".

## 5. Two other nouns whose classification is unclear, e.g.

<u>non-possessed form</u>	<u>possessed form</u>
a pupulu ART parcel	ra pupulu-i tura- na ART parcel-POSS.M.-brother-his
	the parcel into which his brother has been wrapped up M 32

non-possessed form

?

possessed form

ra mata -i ra tabu  
 ART source-POSS.M.ART shell  
 money

the place where the shell-  
 money is found

Note that in the last example the possessor is inanimate and that this construction alternates with ra mata na tabu (M 96), i.e. a compound noun phrase without any changes in meaning.

In order not to complicate the terminology, the term "bodypart term" will also be applied to the nouns listed above, which are constructed in the same way as true bodypart terms.

A characteristic feature of bodypart terms is that most of them can also function as the nucleus of compound noun phrases (cf. p.33 ) e.g. g

- (76) i ga poko ra bala -i ra marau  
 he TA cut ART belly-POSS.M. ART crocodile  
 he cut the belly of the (living) crocodile

K1 176

- (77) i laplap ra bala- na-boroi  
 he wash ART belly C pig  
 he washed the pig's entrails

M 218

Some of the non-relational terms can also enter the alienable possessive construction, e.g.

- (78) ra kiau-i diat  
 ART egg -POSS.M.-their/PL  
 their eggs (the eggs of the ants)

M 158

- (79) ra- mamur kiau  
 POSS.-your/DUAL egg  
 CLFR.  
 your eggs; the eggs that you two should eat

- (80) a iang-i ra umana Iapan  
 ART name-POSS.M. ART PL Japanese  
 the name of the Japanese; i.e. the name given  
 to the Japanese

- (81) a iang ka- i ra umana Japan  
 ART name POSS.-POSS.M. ART PL Japan  
 CLFR.

the name of the Japanese; i.e. the name given by  
 the Japanese

(TT 66)

If a relational bodypart term is to be alienably possessed,  
 it must first be derelationized, e.g.

- (82) a- gu bala- na  
 POSS.-my belly-DEREL  
 CLFR.

the entrails that are determined to be eaten by me.

To conclude, the construction of bodypart terms differs  
 from that of kinship terms in the following points:

kinship terms

1. Kinship terms must not be directly preceded by the article.
2. All kinship terms are relational. They are either possessed or derelationized by the derelational suffix.
3. In the function of the head noun, kinship terms do not enter other nominal constructions other than inalienable poss. phrases. They are neither the head noun of alienable poss. phrases, nor the head noun of compound noun phrases.

bodypart terms

Bodypart terms are always preceded by the article

A number of bodypart terms are non-relational. If they are possessed, they enter the inal-poss. construction, but if they are not possessed they do not take the derelational suffix.

Bodypart terms are also used as the head noun of compound noun phrases to denote, for instance, the part of an inanimate object (cf 31,33,34 ). A few terms of this class (e.g. iang "name", tinata "speech") are also alienably possessed (cf. p. 8 ).

### 2.3. The Continuum from Inherent to Established Possession

While alienable possessive constructions express established possessive relationships which are not inherently given, the common determinant of inalienable possessive constructions is that they denote inherent possession:

Inherent POSSESSION means that the possessive relationship is inherently given in one of the two terms involved, viz. the POSSESSUM: The POSSESSUM contains reference to the POSSESSOR. Semantically, this kind of representation implies more intimate POSSESSION: Prototypically, of 'self' to his kinsmen, his body parts, etc.

(Seiler 1981:9)

The various types of inalienable possessive constructions suggest that the relationships expressed by them are not inherently given to the same extent, but that these types constitute a continuum with respect to inherence. According to Seiler's definition of "inherent POSSESSION" the construction of the reciprocal kinship terms (cf.p. 16) is the most inherent one, as both sides of the kin relationship are already denoted by these terms themselves, e.g. tubu- "person who is in the relationship grandparent/grandchild to another person" (which is obligatorily denoted by the possessor), hence either "grandparent" or "grandchild" in English.

The second position on the scale of inherence is held by the non-reciprocal kinship terms. These terms are less inherent than the reciprocal kinship terms, because they explicitly denote only one side of the relationship, e.g. natu- "son, daughter". tina- "mother", though implicitly they contain "reference to the POSSESSOR" (Seiler 1981:9). Since one cannot speak of a mother in Tolai without saying whose mother is meant, these terms are more inherent than the relational bodypart terms (e.g. ul- "head") which can be derelationized, if they do not refer to the speaker's or hearer's bodypart, or if they denote a bodypart that

has been separated from its body (cf. p.20 ).

The least inherent relationship within inalienable possessive constructions is expressed by non-relational bodypart terms. As was shown above, the fact that these terms are non-relational correlates with the fact that they denote bodyparts which are often found separated, e.g. ur "bone" etc.

The next position on the scale is held by the alienable A-possessive constructions (cf. p.11 ), and the least inherent and most established possessive construction is the alienable KA-construction (cf.p. 6 ). In Tolai the continuum of inherence correlates with a continuum of control or activity. This correlation is probably not accidental but has to be associated with the fact that for the encoding of actions, states and processes the very same feature of control or activity is relevant (cf. Mosel 1982).

(- control)  
(+ inherent  
- established)



possession of reciprocal kinship terms  
(e.g. tubu-)

possession of non-reciprocal kinship terms (e.g. natu-, tina-)

possession of relational bodypart terms  
(e.g. ul-)

possession of non-relational bodypart terms  
(e.g. ur-)

A-possession

KA-possession

(+ control)  
(- inherent  
+ established)

All but one possessive phrase express relationships that exist between an animate being on the one hand and some other animate being, a bodypart, a concrete object etc. on the other. This single instance of possessor denoting an inanimate being is found with the inalienably possessed noun pa, which refers exclusively to the base or root of a tree. In other words,

the relationship in which pa is involved, is inherently given, and that perhaps explains its alienable construction; since the more inherent the relationship is, the more determined the kind of relationship.

KA-possessive phrases which express the least inherent relationship also denote the greatest variety of relationships, namely the relationship between temporary property and its owner, a selected object or person and the one who selected it, an action and its agent etc. With A-possessive constructions, the variety of relationships is much smaller, as it is only relationships that directly affect the possessor referent, and these are limited by nature. Hence the class of nouns which enter these constructions as possessed nouns is limited to the semantic field of food, clothes, weapons, and emotions. However, in contrast to inalienably possessed nouns, this class is open to new words such as loanwords for recently introduced food and weapons. Secondly, the nature of relationship is not definitely made explicit; radia tava "their water" can mean both: "the water by which they are killed" or "the water which they drink".

The inalienable possessive phrases only express one clearly defined relationship. Since these relationships are biologically and socio-culturally defined, it seems plausible that inalienable constructions are not accessible to terms of cultural innovations. Apart from the above mentioned ART pa i NP<sub>TREE</sub> "the root or base of a tree", all other part/whole relationships, the whole of which is inanimate, are expressed by compound noun phrases.

#### 2.4. Compound Noun Phrases

In the introduction the compound noun phrases were mentioned as a means of expressing possession along with inalienable and alienable possessive constructions, as they are used to denote part/whole relationships, which certainly belong to the domain of possession in its wider sense (cf. p.8f Seiler 1981:6, 110). However, in contrast to inalienable and alienable possessive phrases, compound noun phrases may have

other functions than the expression of possessive relationships. One of these other functions is the expression of spatial relationships, e.g.

- (83) a ul- a-pal  
 ART head-C-house  
 the top of the house

which like part/whole expressions show at least some lexical affinities with the inalienable possessive phrases of body-part terms, but whose classification as possessive phrases is even more debatable (cf. p.34 ). Or, if one could speak of degrees of "possessivity" to characterize those constructions which are still somewhat related to the proper possessive constructions, one might perhaps say that the degree of "possessivity" decreases from the construction of body-part terms to the expression of part/whole relationships and, further on, to the expression of spatial relationships. At the end of such a scale of "possessivity" there would be those compound noun phrases then, which have nothing to do with possession.

While in possessive phrases the possessor specifies the reference of the head noun, it is not its reference but the concept of the head noun that is determined by the modifying noun in compound noun phrases. Which properties of the head noun referent are modified is not made explicit, but depends on the context. The modifying noun can denote the material (84), or the destination of the head noun referent (85), e.g.

- (84) a pal -na-kunai  
 ART house-C -grass  
 the grass hut
- a pal -na-kapa  
 ART house-C -metal  
 the house of sheet metal
- (85) a pal -na-boroi  
 ART house-C -pig  
 the pig sty
- a pal -na-vartovo  
 ART house-C -learning  
 the school house



the whole of which the head noun referent is part of,  
e.g.

- (86) a mapi -na-davai  
ART leaves-C -tree  
the leaves of the tree,

amorphous stuff of which the head noun indicates a measured quantity, e.g.

- (87) a botol -na-whisky  
ART bottle-C -whisky  
a bottle of whisky,

or the goal of an action expressed by the head noun, if it is a nominalized verb (cf. p.10 ), e.g.

- (88) a minomo -na-whisky  
ART drinking-C -whisky  
the drinking of whisky

The semantic difference between possessive phrases and compound noun phrases can be best understood from pairs of examples which only contrast in their structure, and not in the selection of the head noun and the modifying noun. Compare the following three pairs of phrases:

The inalienable possessive phrase

- (89) a ivu- i ra pap  
ART hair-POSS.M. ART dog  
the hair of the dog

refers to the hair of a specific individual dog, whereas in

- (90) a ivu-na-pap  
ART hair-C -dog  
dog's hair (was on the back of the dancer)

Kl 441

the hair is generally characterized as being of a certain kind, namely as dog's hair, which does not, as one would expect, belong to a dog or several dogs, but to a dancer. Similarly in

- (91) a bul -na-luluai  
ART child-C -chief  
the chief's child

M 138

na luluai characterizes the child as being a chief's child and thus having all the properties that a child of this status has, whereas in

- (92) a bul ka- i ra luluai  
 ART child POSS.-POSS.M. ART chief  
 CLFR.

the child of the chief

the possessor identifies the child by specifying whose daughter or son it is.

Thirdly, in

- (93) a bala- i ra vavina  
 ART belly POSS.M ART woman  
 the belly of the woman,

the possessor determines the belly as being the belly of a certain woman, and it would be a contradiction in itself to say that a man has got a bala-i ra vavina. But one can say that a man has a

- (94) a bala -na-vavina  
 ART belly-C -woman  
 the woman's belly,

i.e. he has a belly with properties of a woman's belly or a belly like a woman, which means either that he is fat or metaphorically that he is a coward. But it would not make sense to say that a woman has a bala-na-vavina.

To conclude, C + N<sub>2</sub> determines the concept expressed by the head noun, whereas alienable and inalienable possessors specify the reference of the object which the head noun refers to.

Being the modifier of the concept of the head noun (N<sub>1</sub>), the modifying noun (N<sub>2</sub>) in N<sub>1</sub>-C-N<sub>2</sub>- constructions does not refer to an individual entity which is discrete from the head noun referent; in N<sub>1</sub>-C-N<sub>2</sub>- constructions, e.g. a bul-na-luluai "the chief's child" N<sub>1</sub> (bul) and N<sub>2</sub> (luluai) form a closely knit unit which is more like a compound noun than a phrase, because the sequence of these three elements must not be interrupted by any additional determiners. The N<sub>1</sub>-C-N<sub>2</sub>-con-

struction can only be modified as a whole. While, for instance, both the possessed noun and the possessor in possessive phrases may be modified by a demonstrative pronoun, e.g.

(95) go ra bul ka- i ra luluai  
 DEM ART child POSS.-POSS.M. ART chief  
 CLFR  
 this child of the chief

(96) a bul ka- i go ra luluai  
 ART child POSS.-POSS.M. DEM ART chief  
 CLFR.  
 the child of this chief,

the demonstrative pronoun can only modify the whole  $N_1$ -C- $N_2$ -construction:

(97) go ra bul na luluai  
 DEM ART child C chief  
 this chief's child, the child of this chief.

Secondly, the fact that the modifying noun does not refer to a discrete entity is reflected by the fact that it cannot be pronominalized.

#### 2.4.1. Part/Whole-Constructions

Part/Whole-relationships are relationships that exist between an object or a plant and its constituent, hence mostly removable parts, as for instance the relationship between a tree and its leaves, its crown, its stem etc.. Apart from the exception mentioned above (cf. p.26 ), all part/whole relationships are expressed by compound noun phrases, so that the whole of which the  $N_1$ -referent is part of is not specified or individuated. Even if you mean, for instance, the roof of a specific house, you simply say

(98) (r)a ul - a-pal  
 ART head-C-house  
 the roof of the house,

which can also mean "the roof of a house". Consider the following story of an American soldier who fled from the Japanese and jumped on to the roof of a house where he

was shot. Tolai people got him to the ground:

- (99) i ga van' urama liu ta ra ul- a- pal....  
 he TA go up-there high on ART head- C- house..
- amir ga kau urama ra ul- a- pal  
 we/DU/EXC TA climb up-there ART head-C- house
- ma amir ga tuman vue uro  
 and we/DU/EXC TA push do-away-him down-to
- ra ul- a- pal, upi i ga va  
 ART head- C- house, so-that he TA lie-down
- i ga va mur nam ra ul- a- pal.....  
 he TA lie-down follow DEM ART head- C- house...
- kan go ra papar -a-pal arama ra ul- a-pal  
 from DEM ART side- C-house up-there ART head-C-house
- he climbed on to the roof of a house (and stood there... Then a leader of the Japanese shot at his neck... But he did not fall down to the ground, he remained standing and died while standing).
- We climbed up on to the roof of the house, and knocked him down on the roof of the house, so that he lay down, he remained lying on the roof of the house...
- (We thought that we should carry him down properly) from the side of the house (from) the roof there (to the ground).

TT 77-78

In other words, one does not refer to the house as an individual discrete entity, but to the concept of "house", by which a part of it, namely the roof, is characterized, as if one could say "the housy roof" in English. As will be seen in the next chapter (cf. p. 34), ra ul-a-pal can also mean "the top of the house". That the speaker here refers to the roof is shown particularly by the third sentence "and knocked him down on the roof of the house".

If, however, the noun referring to the whole ( $N_2$ ) is to be determined by a demonstrative pronoun and an adjective,  $C-N_2$  is replaced by a prepositional phrase denoting location. But this construction is very rare and seems to be an innovation in modern Tolai, e.g.

- (100) a mapinai ta nam ra ngala na davai  
 ART leaves on/from DEM ART big C tree  
 the leaves of that big tree

Though being different in structure, the part/whole constructions show some affinities to the expressions of bodypart relationships. Firstly, many parts of objects are denoted by the very same lexemes as bodyparts, and, secondly, most part nouns are relational. If they are not followed by C-N<sub>2</sub>, they require a derelational suffix. For example:

<u>unpossessed form</u>	<u>inalienable constr.</u>	<u>part/whole constr.</u>
bala-na belly	a bala-i ra boroi the belly of the pig	a bala-na-lama the stem of the coconut tree/a coconut tree
bit-i-na anus	a bit-i ra tutana the anus of the man	a bit-na-davai the base of the tree/ a tree
kongkong-i-na neck	a kongkong-i ra tut. the neck of the man	a kongkong-na-lama the upper part of the stem of the coconut tree
mata-na eye	a mata-i ra tutana the eye of the man	a mata-na-bair the sharp end of a stick for husk- ing coconuts
ngie-ne mouth	a ngia-i-ra-tutana the mouth of the man	a ngie-na-tete the tip of the flower of the ban- ana /a banana
paka-na body	a paka-i ra tutana the body of the man	a paka-na-davai the piece of wood
pal-i-na skin	a pal-i ra tutana the skin of the man	a pal-a-kiau egg's shell a pal-a-davai the bark of a tree/ the tree
ul-a head	a ul-i ra tutana the head of the man	a ul-a-davai the crown of a tree/the tree
ur bone	a ur-i ra tutana the bones of the man	a ur-na-mami the thorny roots of the Mami/a Mami

---

<u>unpossessed form</u>	<u>inalienable constr.</u>	<u>part/whole constr.</u>
ingar-i-na twig	--	a ingar-a-davai the twig of the/ a tree
mapi-nai leaf/leaves		a mapi-na-davai the leaves of a/ the tree
pat-i-na kernel		a pat-na-koai the kernel of a/ the mango fruit

In contrast to the possessor of the inalienable and alienable possessive phrases, the modifying noun of these phrases cannot be pronominalized, i.e. one cannot say "its crown, its roof" etc. , but must use either the  $N_1$ -C- $N_2$  construction or the "unpossessed" form, i.e. the derelationized or non-relational form.

#### 2.4.2. Spatial Relationships

The second type of  $N_1$ -C- $N_2$ -phrases, which shows some affinities to the constructions of bodypart terms, expresses a kind of part/whole relationship as well. In this case, however, it is not the constituent part of a whole that is referred to, but a spatial relationship such as "the top of something", "the interior of something" or "the side of something".<sup>18</sup>

Many spatial relationships are denoted by bodypart terms plus C- $N_2$ , so that this type of phrase looks like the first one. Thus a ul-a-davai "the top of the tree", can mean both "the crown of the tree" and "the top of the tree", which is not the same. While constituent parts of an "organic" whole (compare Seiler 1973:234) are discrete entities insofar as they can be removed, the spatial dimensions of an object, i.e. its top, its side, its interior, etc. , are not removable: even if you cut off the crown of the tree, it will still have a top. Secondly, also objects that do not have a headlike part have a top:

(101) dir kiki ta ra ul- a-vat  
 they/DUAL sit on ART top-C-stone  
 they were sitting on top of the stone  
 M 30

(102) i ga kao urama liu ra ul- a-vatar  
 he TA climb up-there high ART top-C-table  
 ma i ga va arama ra ul- a-vatar  
 and he TA lie up-there ART top-C-table  
 he climbed on the table and lay down there  
 on top of the table  
 K1 173

Nouns denoting the spatial dimensions of an object are more relational than nouns denoting the constituent parts of a whole; whereas one can speak of leaves, for instance, without mentioning the plant to which they belong, e.g.

(103) ma dia ga parpar ta ra mapi- nai  
 and they/PL TA dress with ART leaves-DEREL  
 and they dressed themselves with leaves,  
 M 110

it is not possible to speak of a top, an inside or a side, unless it is also said of which object the top, inside or side is meant. Thus relational nouns such as bala- "belly, interior, inside" can only be derelationized, if it is understood from the context whose inside is referred to, e.g.

(104) i takan pa ra kudu- na-davai  
 he take PART ART piece-C- wood  
 ma i ga kala ra bala- na  
 and he TA cut-out ART inside- DEREL  
 he took a piece of wood and cut out the inside  
 (and thus made a wooden handdrum),  
 M 52

(105) dia ga na- tadav ra vat  
 they/PL TA see-go-to ART stone  
 i ga mata ra bala- na  
 it TA have-ahole ART inside- DEREL  
 they saw a stone which had a hole inside  
 (lit. the inside had a hole)  
 K1 218

Theoretically -na could also be the suffix pronoun, but

this would contradict the rule that the  $N_2$  of  $N_1$ -C- $N_1$ -constructions cannot be pronominalized (cf.p.31 ). Further evidence for the interpretation of bala-na as the non-relational form of bala- is provided by the use of papar "side" in comparable contexts. In contrast to bala-, papar "side" is not morphologically relational. Hence papar is used without any suffix, if it is understood from the context of whose side papar refers to. Compare:

- (106) dor a vana ra papar a gunan  
 we/INC/DUAL TA go ART side C village  
 let's go to the side of the village, i.e.  
 let's go near the village (but not enter it)

M 92

- (107) i ga ku ra tek a papar a kukuta  
 he TA paint ART kangaroo ART side ART black-paint  
 ma a papar a tar  
 and ART side ART red-paint  
 (he took black paint, he took red paint)  
 he painted the kangaroo; one side (with) the black  
 paint, the other side (with ) the red paint.

K1 87

#### 2.4.3. "Piece-of-amorphous.stuff"-Constructions

The third type of  $N_1$ -C- $N_2$ -constructions to be mentioned here differs from the first two ones, as it does not refer to a particular part of an object which is complete in itself (e.g. the roof or interior of a house), but to an un-specific piece of an amorphous stuff, for example

- (108) a kudu -na -davai a short piece of wood  
 ART short-piece-C-wood  
 a kut -na-pia a lump of earth  
 ART lump-C -earth  
 a paka-na-davai a piece of wood  
 ART body-C- wood  
 a paka-na-lokor an area of jungle  
 ART body-C- jungle  
 a paka-na-tinata a piece of talk,  
 ART body-C -talk a word



a pal- a-davai  
ART skin-C-wood

a long thin piece  
of wood, piece of  
board.

According to our definition of possessive phrases, these  $N_1$ -C- $N_2$ -phrases are not to be classified as possessive phrases, as they do not express that the head noun referent belongs to what is expressed by  $N_2$ ; a paka-na-davai "a piece of wood", for instance, does not mean that the piece belongs to the wood as part of a whole, but that there is wood in a certain quantity and of a certain shape. However, most of these "piece"-nouns share the feature of being grammatically relational with the head nouns of part/whole-constructions; i.e. they must take the derelational suffix when used in isolation, for example: a kut-u-na, a paka-na, a pal-i-na "the lump, the piece, the long thin piece". Furthermore, in many cases it is usually the same nouns that enter this "piece-of-amorphous-stuff"-construction, the part/whole construction and the inalienable construction of body-part terms. Compare:

(109) a pal- i ra tutana  
ART skin-POSS.M. ART man  
the skin of the man

a pal- a- kiau  
ART skin- C- egg  
the egg shell

a pal- a- davai  
ART skin-C- wood

the skin-like piece of wood; i.e. a long thin piece  
of wood, a piece of a board

(110) a paka- i ra tutana  
ART body- POSS.M. ART man  
the body of the man

a paka- na- davai  
ART body- C- wood  
the piece of wood

On the other hand, they are related to measure phrases, the mensuratives of which are also relational nouns in some cases, for example:

- (111) a poko- na- tabu  
 ART fathom-C- shell-money  
 the fathom of shell-money
- a poko- no  
 ART fathom- DEREL  
 the fathom
- (112) a kur- a- pa  
 ART half-a-dozen- C- taro  
 half a dozen taros
- a kur-e- ne  
 ART bunch- DEREL  
 the bunch or cluster of fruit (4-7 pieces)

### 2.5. Conclusion

There are three structurally different nominal constructions in which the head noun is modified by another noun <sup>19</sup>:

#### 1. Inalienable possessive phrases

(ART) N<sub>POSSESSUM</sub> - POSS.M. NP<sub>POSSESSOR</sub>

#### 2. Alienable possessive phrases

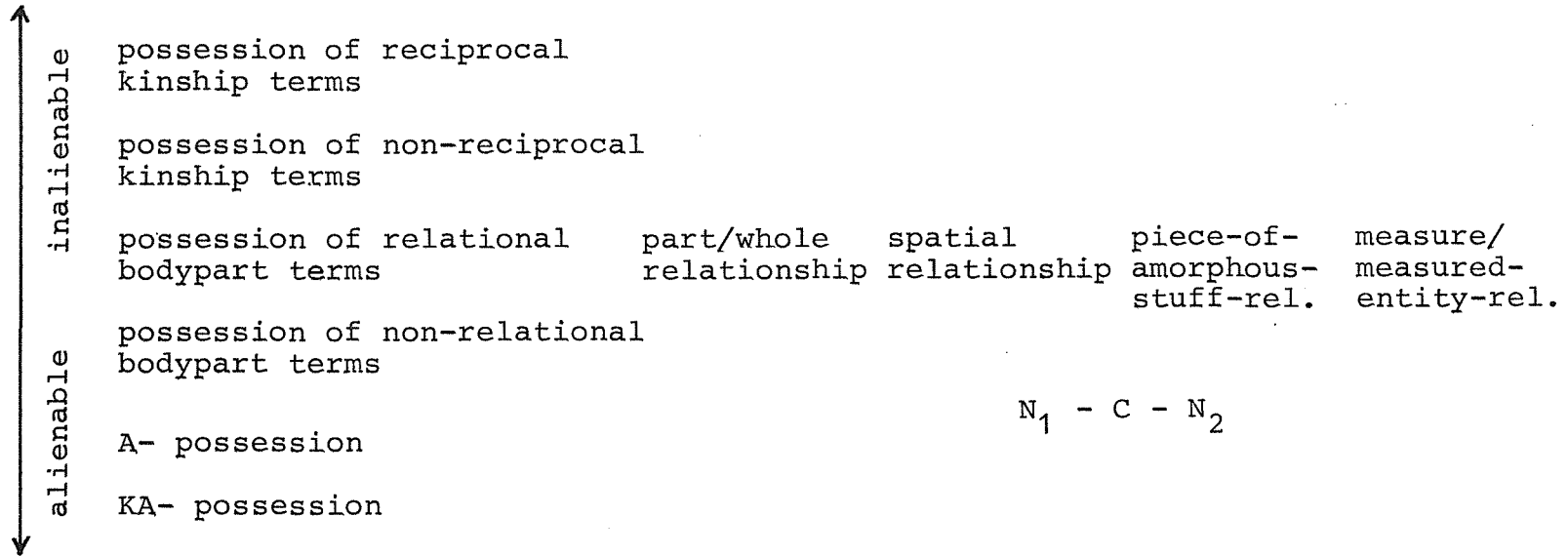
ART N<sub>POSSESSUM</sub><sup>POSS.CLFR-POSS.M.</sup> NP<sub>POSSESSOR</sub>

#### 3. Compound noun phrases

ART N<sub>1</sub> - C - N<sub>2</sub>

While the various types of inalienable and alienable constructions constitute a continuum from inherent to established possession, the compound noun phrases with relational head nouns show decreasing degrees of "possessivity". Starting with the part/whole -constructions which are lexically and semantically closely related to the possessive phrases of bodypart terms, the scale of "possessivity" ends with measure phrases whose head noun, the mensurative, is still relational, but which have nothing to do with possession. What all compound noun phrases, including the non-relational ones (cf. p.28 ), have in common, is that the two nouns do not refer to two discrete entities, but to a single one only, which accounts for the fact that the modifying noun cannot be pronominalized.

(+inherent, -established)



$N_1 - C - N_2$

(-inherent, +established)

(+possessive)

(-possessive)

## 3. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS ON CLAUSE LEVEL

The following chapter will show how the various relationships denoted by the different types of possessive constructions on phrase level are expressed on clause level in Tolai. The Tolai translation equivalents of

(113) NP<sub>POSSESSOR</sub> has/ has got/ owns/ possesses NP<sub>POSSESSED</sub>

and

(114) NP<sub>POSSESSED</sub> belongs to NP<sub>POSSESSOR</sub>

differ from their English counterparts mainly in the two following points:

1. Tolai does not have verbs of possession like the English to have, have got, own, possess, belong to which express what the relationship between the referents of NP<sub>POSSESSOR</sub> and NP<sub>POSSESSED</sub> is like.
2. The contrast between inherent and established possession and part/whole-relationship that is overtly marked by structurally different phrases, is also reflected on clause level.

## 3.1. Alienable Possessive Constructions on Clause Level

Alienable possessive phrases correspond to two types of nominal clauses, depending on whether the possessed NP functions as the predicate or the subject. If the possessed NP functions as the predicate, the clause consists of two juxtaposed noun phrases N<sub>1</sub> + N<sub>2</sub>, and thus exhibits the same structure as equative clauses, e.g.

(115) NP <sub>1</sub> (subject)	NP <sub>2</sub> (predicate)
possessor	possessed
avet	a mangoro na buai
we/PL/EXC	ART many C betelnuts
we have many betelnuts	

(theoretically this sentence could also mean "we are betelnuts"). If the ownership is denied, the possessed NP<sub>2</sub> is introduced by the negative particle pata "no", e.g.

(116)    ba    iau pata tabu  
          PART I    no    shell-money  
          I have no shell-money Kl 384

In clauses which express that something belongs to somebody, the possessed NP functions as the subject, whereas the predicate is formed by a possessor, introduced by the possessive classifier ka- or a-, e.g.

- (117)    "Ka-    i            ia go ra uma     ?"  
          POSS.-POSS.M. who DEM ART garden  
          CLFR. whose               this garden  
          "Ka-    mamital            go."  
          POSS.-our/EXC/TRIAL DEM  
          CLFR. ours                     this  
          "Whom does this garden belong to?" "Us." Kl 500
- (118)    ko-    mamur            nina ra ngala na tabu  
          POSS.-your/DUAL DEM ART big C shell-money  
          CLFR.  
          that big (roll of) shell-money is yours/  
          belongs to you Kl 361
- (119)    ka-    i            nam parika ra tabaran  
          POSS.-POSS.M. DEM all ART ghost  
          CLFR.  
          of  
          nam ra umana vavina  
          DEM ART PL woman  
          those women belonged to all those ghosts
- (120)    a-    i            nam uka ra tutana nam ra magit  
          POSS.-POSS.M. DEM only ART man DEM ART food  
          CLFR.  
          the food was only for that man Kl 410

The common feature of the last four clauses is that the possessor, which functions as a predicate, precedes the possessed noun phrase, whereas in the corresponding possessive phrases, nominal possessors follow the possessed noun, and pronominal possessors take the position of the article

before the possessed noun, e.g.

- (121) nina ko- mamur ngala na tabu  
 DEM POSS.-your/DU big C shell-money  
 CLFR.

your big (roll of) shell-money there

- (122) nam ra umana vavina ka- i nam parika  
 DEM ART PL woman POSS.-POSS.M. DEM all  
 CLFR.

ra tabaran  
 ART ghost

those women of all those ghosts

If the ownership is denied, the negative particle pa "not" precedes the possessor phrase:

- (123) tago pa ka- gu ta vabirau  
 for not POSS.-my some light  
 CLFR.

for I have not got a light

K1 402

- (124) pa a- vavat ta magit ika  
 not POSS.-you/PL some food PART  
 CLFR.

there is not any food at all for you

K1 87

It seems that all kinds of relationships denoted by alienable possessive phrases can also be expressed on sentence level by predicating either the possessed or the possessor.

### 3.2. Inalienable Possessive Constructions on Clause Level

The relationship denoted by inalienable possessive phrases differ from those of alienable possessive phrases in that they cannot be expressed on sentence level by predicating either the possessed noun phrase ("I have a father"), or the possessor noun phrase ("the father belongs to me", "the father is mine"), which is quite natural, since inherent relationships cannot be predicated. But whereas one can say "I have four brothers" in English, there are no possessive constructions on clause level in Tolai which could be regarded as translation equivalents of "have" in

this or similar contexts. One can only say:

- (125) a ivia tura- m  
 ART how-many brother-your  
 (lit: how many brothers of you (exist)?)  
 how many brothers do you have?

This clause has to be classified as an existential clause, i.e. as a clause that consists of only one noun phrase and denotes that what is referred to by the noun phrase exists. The same clause type is also used to deny the existence of a certain kind of kin relationship, in other words, to express that somebody does not have this certain kind of relative, e.g.

- (126) ma patana i ga mal nam ra ura bul  
 and nobody he TA care DEM ART two child  
 pata matua-i- dir  
 no uncle-POSS.M.-their/DUAL  
 pata tura- i- dir  
 no brother-POSS.M.-their/DUAL  
 pata ta- i- dir, patana kakit  
 no sister-POSS.M.-their/DUAL nobody at-all  
 nobody cared for the two children,  
 they had neither uncle,  
 nor brother,  
 nor sister, they had nobody at all.

K1 377

Another possibility of expressing the absence or non-existence of relatives is to topicalize the possessor noun phrase and place it at the beginning of a negative existential clause:

- (127) nam pata matua- na ati  
 DEM no nephew-his here  
 (lit: that (one), no nephew of his here (exists))  
 he has not got a nephew here K1 386

- (128) tago iau pata niuru- gu ara valien  
 for I no relative-my there beach  
 for I have not got any relatives there on  
 the beach

K1 343

(Note that every nominal part of the clause may be shifted to clause initial position providing that a pronoun is

related to it in its original place; cf. Mosel 1982b).

The relationship between a human being or an animal and its bodyparts or other things intimately belonging to him is similarly expressed on clause level as kin relationships, e.g.

- (129) a evu ia- gu  
ART two name-my  
(lit: the two names of mine (exist))  
I have two names K1 63
- (130) o ra evu ngala na mata-na  
DEM ART two big C eye- his  
(lit: that two big eyes of him (exist))  
he had two big eyes K1 141
- (131) ma pata paka-i- diat  
and no body-POSS.M.-their/PL  
(lit: and no body of them (exists))  
and they (the spirits) had no bodies.

As the literal translations suggest, these clauses do not differ structurally from noun phrases, but the context unambiguously determines them as independent clauses.

If it is to be said that somebody has a bodypart of a particular quality or property, as for instance a big mouth, long legs etc., the modifying expression becomes the predicate of the clause, whereas the possessed noun and the possessor noun form the subject noun phrase, e.g.

- (132) i ngala par ra ngia- i- dir  
it big be-complete ART mouth-POSS.M-their/DUAL  
(lit: the mouth of the two was completely big)  
they both had a big mouth M 290
- (133) i bala -na-vavina ra bala- m  
it belly-C- woman ART belly-your/SG  
(lit: your belly is a woman's belly;  
you have a belly like a woman K1 295

As with kinship terms, the possessor may be topicalized:



- (134) a pap i ga tar ikilik ra ngie- ne  
 ART dog it TA TA small ART mouth-his  
 dar dat i ga tar ngie-na- tutana  
 like we/PL/INC it TA TA mouth-C- man  
 (lit: the dog-his mouth had been little  
 like we, it had been a human mouth)  
 the dog had had a little mouth like us,  
 he had had a human mouth

M 288

To conclude, inalienable possessive phrases cannot be transformed into clauses in which the possessor and the possessed noun function as the predicate and the subject, or the subject and the predicate, as alienable possessive phrases can be. The possessor and the possessed noun are always constituents of the same part of the clause. Thus the inherence of the relationship between an animate being and its relatives or its bodyparts is syntactically reflected by the strong bondedness between the possessor and the possessed noun. In contrast to the established possessive relationships, none of the participants of an inherent relationship can be syntactically predicated to the other.

### 3.3. Part/Whole Constructions on Clause Level

There are three devices for expressing part/whole relationships on clause level: Similar to inherent relationships, part/whole relationships can be expressed by existential clauses, e.g.

- (135) a banbanu-na-pal  
 ART door -C -house  
 the door of the house,
- (136) a ivia banbanu-na-pal?  
 ART how-many door -C -house  
 (lit: how many doors of the house (exist) ?)  
 how many doors does the house have?
- a utul a banbanu na pal  
 ART three C door C house  
 (lit: three doors of the house (exist))  
 the house has three doors

Secondly, the noun referring to the part may function as

the subject, whereas the predicate is formed by a prepositional phrase denoting where the part is located, e.g.

(137) a utul a banbanu ta ra pal  
 ART three C door in ART house  
 three doors (are) in the house;  
 the house has three doors

(138) pata lok ta ra banbanu  
 no lock at ART door  
 (there is) no lock on the door;  
 the door has no lock

Co 62

Ta is a kind of all purpose preposition, which is not only used to indicate all sorts of locational relationships ("in, at, to etc."), but also temporal relationships ("in, during etc."). Further more, it introduces prepositional phrases denoting the reason or the instrument.

The third means of expressing part/whole relationships on clause level is given by a number of words which do not only occur as the head of nouns denoting parts of a whole, but may also be used verbally, i.e. following the subject-marker and being the head of a verbal phrase. Compare:

(139) a vuai- na-lama  
 ART fruit-C- coconut  
 the fruits of the coconut-tree

(140) i vuai ra lama  
 it fruit ART coconut-tree  
 the coconut-tree bears fruit

K1 382

(141) dia ga na tadav ra vat i ga  
 they/PL TA see go-to ART stone it TA  
 mata ra bala -na  
 hole ART belly-its  
 they saw a stone, the interior of which had a hole

K1 218

### 3.4. Alienable Possessors in the Syntactic Function of an Indirect Object

Alienable possessors may occur without possessed

nouns, if it is understood from the context what is owned by or determined for the possessor referent. Syntactically these isolated possessors function as indirect objects indicating to whose benefit the action is done. For example:

1. KA-possessors as indirect objects:

- (142) dia ga va- uma ka- i To Kabinana  
 they/PL TA CAUS-garden POSS.-POSS.M. To Kabinana  
 CLFR.

they made a garden for To Kabinana; or:  
 they made the garden of To Kabinana K1 83

- (143) nam ra tutana, a umana vavina dia ga  
 DEM ART man ART PL woman they/PL TA  
 papalum ka- na  
 work POSS.-him  
 CLFR.

that man, the woman did the work in the garden  
 for him; or:  
 that man, the woman did the work in his garden  
 K1 74

- (144) una kap ia ka- i natu- m  
 you/ take it POSS.-POSS.M. son -your/SG  
 SG+TA CLFR.

take it for your son; i.e.  
 take it, so that it will be the property of your son  
 K1 266

2. A-possessors as indirect objects:

- (145) i ga igir a- dir  
 she TA cook-vegetables POSS. them/DUAL  
 CLFR.

she cooked vegetables for them K1 210

- (146) ma u tar nganga a- i ra bul  
 and you/SG TA chew POSS.-POSS.M. ART child  
 CLFR.

have you already chewed (the food) for the child?  
 K1 452

In contrast to these benefactive indirect objects, the indirect objects denoting the recipient or the addressee of an action are introduced by the all-purpose preposition ta, e.g.

- (147) ma i ga tar ia tai tura- na  
 and he TA give it to brother-his  
 and he gave it to his brother M 17  
 (tai is used instead of ta, when the following word  
 begins with t.)
- (148) i ga biti ta- gu  
 he TA say to- me  
 and he said to me

#### 4. INNOVATIONS IN MODERN TOLAI

By modern Tolai we mean the variety of Tolai which is nowadays spoken by young and middle-aged persons who are in a close contact with non-Tolais. Due to the fact that these people often speak Tok Pisin (New Guinea Pidgin English) and have at least some knowledge of English, their language is heavily influenced by Tok Pisin and English (cf. Mosel 1979a, 1979b, 1980a and 1982a). In the case of possession the following innovations can be observed:

##### 4.1. Alienable Possessive Constructions in Modern Tolai

Whereas in traditional Tolai the alienable possessor is obligatorily animate, the KA-possessive construction is extended to inanimate possessors and thus corresponds to the Tok Pisin construction of bilong "of" and the English construction of of.

1. The KA-possessive construction is used instead of a compound noun phrase, when the head noun or the modifying noun or both are English loan-words. Compare:

- (149) a ura lualua-na- vinarubu  
 ART two leader-C - fighting  
 the two chief warriors TT 4
- (150) a provincial minister kai ra education  
 ART of ART  
 the provincial minister of education (news)

2. Since alienable constructions are not accessible to loans, loan-words denoting bodyparts or kinsmen enter the alienable construction, e.g.

(151) nam ra toes kai nam ra ngala na image  
 DEM ART of DEM ART big C  
 the toes of that big image

(152) kaugu cousin  
 my  
 my cousin

3. A few Tolai words which are inalienably possessed in traditional Tolai, are often alienably constructed in modern Tolai, e.g.

(153) kaugu dekdek  
 my strength  
 my strength

(154) pata tikai i ga nuk pa kana nuknuk  
 no one he TA think PART his thought  
 nobody thought of doing what he liked to do  
 (lit.: nobody thought his own thought) TT 67

4. As has also been shown in my study of number in Tolai (Mosel 1982a), nouns denoting vehicles are treated like names of animals in the syntax of modern Tolai. Consequently, they may function as KA-possessors, though they are inanimate and do not control what is expressed by the possessed noun, e.g.

(155) tai tika- na ginigira kai tika- na tepelin  
 in one - C seeing of one - C plane  
 when an inspection (of the area) was undertaken  
 by plane  
 (news)

5. Due to loan-translations from English, there are alienable possessors which replace prepositional phrases of location, e.g.

(156) a tarai-na-papalum kai ra pal- na- guria  
 ART men -C -work of ART house-C - earthquake  
 the employees of the seismic observatory,  
 the men who work in the seismic observatory (news)

instead of

- (157) a tarai-na-papalum ta ra pal- na-guria  
 ART men -C- work in ART house-C- earthquake  
 the men who work in the seismic observatory (news)

which is also found in the same text.

A special case of loan-translations are the constructions of abstract nouns such as lolovina "length" and mamat "weight" which are recent derivations from the adjectives lolovina "long" and mamat "heavy", e.g.

- (158) a mamat kai ra vat  
 ART weight of ART stone  
 the weight of the stone
- (159) a lolovina kai ra pal  
 ART length of ART house  
 the length of the house

(note that in Tok Pisin, these abstract nouns are derived by the same mechanism from adjectives, e.g.

- (160) longpela haus  
 long house  
 the long house
- (161) longpela bilong haus  
 length of house  
 the length of the house. )

Both mamat "weight" and lolovina "length" are alienably constructed, though they denote inherent properties. Therefore it would be more reasonable if they were inalienably constructed (see below).

6. While in traditional Tolai the alienable possessive pronoun (i.e. POSS.CLFR.+ SUFF.PRON.) obligatorily precedes the possessed noun, they are occasionally placed after the possessed noun in modern Tolai, which can certainly be ascribed to interference from Tok Pisin, e.g.

- (162) ra nian ka- vevet  
 ART food POSS.-our/EXC/PL  
 CLFR.  
 our food

instead of

(163) ka- veve nian  
POSS.-our/EXC/PL food  
CLFR.

In Tok Pisin "our food" means

(164) kaikai bilong mipela  
food of us/EXC/PL.

7. The A-possessive construction does not seem to have undergone changes. There is only one example in the whole corpus which contradicts the rules of traditional Tolai. In

(165) a ticket ai ra bus  
ART for ART  
the ticket for the bus, the bus ticket,

ai (POSS.CLFR-POSS.M.) is used as a synonym for upi "for". If this extension of the usage of ai is not accidental, it probably started with the metaphorical expressions which are described above (cf.p.12).

#### 4.2. Inalienable Possessive Constructions in Modern Tolai

1. The inalienable possessive construction is extended to expressions of temporal relationships which do not seem to have any correspondances in traditional Tolai, since no need was felt to express these relationships in the ancient Tolai society (cf. Mosel 1979 b). If they had been expressed in traditional Tolai, one would expect that they had been denoted by compound noun phrases like spatial relationships (cf.p.34), e.g.

(166) Iakaka ta ra bala -i ka- veve  
But in ART belly-POSS.M. POSS.-our/PL/EXC  
CLFR.

tama- na kini  
father/children-DEREL staying

i ga vala vapurpuruan ka- veve  
he TA HABIT disturb POSS.-our/PL/EXC  
CLFR.

tama- na kini  
father/children-DEREL staying

(lit.: but inside of our  
staying as father and children  
he used to disturbed our  
staying as father and children)

when he, our father, stayed with us in our family,  
he usually disturbed our family life.

(167) ta ra bala- i nam ra war  
in ART belly-POSS.M. DEM ART war  
during that war

(168) ta ra bala- i go ra kilala  
in ART belly-POSS.M. DEM ART year  
during this year

2. In the modern texts I collected in 1978, there are three abstract nouns denoting inherent properties of things, which are inalienably constructed: mata- "value", kukura- "meaning" and vinava- "system", e.g.

(169) ra mata- i nam ra money  
ART value-POSS.M. DEM ART  
the value of that money

(170) ra kukura- i nam kana ginigira  
ART meaning-POSS.M. DEM POSS.-his seeing  
CLFR.  
the meaning of what he saw

(171) a vinava-i ra kakao  
ART system-POSS.M. ART cocoa  
the system of the cocoa, i.e. the system according  
to which the different sorts of cocoa are dis-  
tinguished

Vinava-i is derived from vinavana, "going", the verbal noun  
of vana "to go", which is reinterpreted as

(172) vinava-na  
going -DEREL

3. In the missionaries' language (cf. Mosel 1982 c) one finds inalienable possessors with nominalized active verbs denoting the agent of the action, which contradicts the principle that inalienable possessive constructions express inherent and uncontrolled relationships, while established and controlled relationships are expressed by the alienable



KA-constructions, e.g.

- (173) ra pinot- i Iesu  
ART coming-POSS.M. Jesus  
the coming of Jesus ND 1912

Since even very young speakers use KA-possessors with nominalized active verbs, these constructions are not to be regarded as innovations, but as mistakes.

A different case is tinavua "growth, progress", the verbal noun of the inactive verb tavua "to grow". As this word is the only verbal noun of an inactive verb, and it is neither found in the oldest Methodist dictionary (Rickard 1889) nor in the Catholic dictionary written in 1921 (Meyer 1961) nor in the mythological texts (Meier 1909, Kleintitschen 1924), it is perhaps a creation of the Methodist missionaries. It is frequently used in the newspaper of the Church Nilai ra Dovot to speak of the progress of the mission, e.g.

- (174) ure ra tinavua-i ra lotu  
about ART growth- POSS.M. ART church  
about the growth of the Church ND 1913

Here the inalienable construction is reasonable, because the subject of tinavua does not control the action, or better: the process. That this construction is an innovation is shown by the fact that it varies with

- (175) ure ra tinavua ta ra papalum ati  
about ART progress in ART work here  
about the progress of the work here

which shows that the writers were not sure how to construct tinavua.

#### 4.3. Vatur-vake "to have"

Vatur-vake is a verbal chain consisting of

- (176) va- tur and vake  
CAUS- stand detain

While in traditional texts vatur-vake always means "to hold

fast", "to have in one's hands", it is nowadays often used in the general sense of "to have". For example:

- (177)     ina    vatur-vake nam ra   bul  
           I-TA hold                  DEM ART child  
           I will hold that child                                  K1 116
- (178)     vakir dia            vatur-vake ta    papalum  
           not    they/PL have                  some work  
           they do not have work
- (179)     di            vatur-vake tika-na wire ka    ure ra    power  
           INDEF have                  one- C   wire only for ART power  
           they only have one conduction for electricity.

Thus vatur-vake replaces the alienable KA-possessive construction on phrase level.

#### 4.4. Conclusion

The inalienable constructions do not show innovations which contradict the main function of these constructions, as they express inherent relationships. They only differ from inalienable constructions in traditional Tolai in that the possessor is inanimate. The innovations found with alienable constructions, however, are of a different sort. Due to loan-translations from English and Tok Pisin, they also serve as a means of expressing inherent relationships (151, 152, 153, 158, 159) and modification (150). In other words, the inalienable constructions, which are of a stronger structural bondedness, and whose meaning is more restricted, are less accessible to innovations than the alienable constructions.

## NOTES

- 1 Tolai is a Melanesian language which is spoken on the Gazelle Peninsula in East New Britain Province, Papua New Guinea (Capell 1971a: 261, Beaumont 1972: 12f). Other names of the language are Gunantuna, Kuanua, Neu-Pommerische-Sprache, New Britain Dialect, Nordgazellen-Sprache, Tuna.
- 2 The terms "alienable" and "inalienable" are used to distinguish different phrase types and not to label two noun classes. For there are nouns which may enter both types of constructions, so that it is not adequate to speak of two discrete, gender-like noun classes. As has also been put forward by Pawley (1973: 54), Lynch (1973: 5f) and myself (1980 b), the same problem arises with other Austronesian languages, and it is hoped that writers of Austronesian languages will not speak of "alienable" and "inalienable" nouns any longer.
- 3 In the interlinear translations the following abbreviations are used:
- |           |   |
|-----------|---|
| ART       | article   |
| C         | connective particle (cf. Mosel 1981)                        |
| DEM       | demonstrative pronoun                                       |
| DEREL     | derelational suffix (cf.p.15)                               |
| DU        | dual  |
| EXC       | exclusive   |
| INC       | inclusive   |
| IND       | indefinite subject marker (cf. Mosel 1982 b)                |
| PART      | emphatic particles  |
| PL        | plural  |
| POSS.CLFR | possessive classifier                                       |
| POSS.M    | possessive marker   |
| SG        | singular  |
| TA        | tense, aspect and mood markers preceding the verbal nucleus |
- Most examples are taken from published texts, the references of which are abbreviated as follows:
- |    |                    |
|----|--------------------|
| Co | Constantini 1907   |
| Kl | Kleintitschen 1924 |
| M  | Meier 1909         |
| ND | Nilai ra Dovot     |
| TT | Mosel 1977         |
| Wr | Wright 1964        |
- 4 An exception is the verbal prefix var-, which may be prefixed to verbs beginning with a consonant. But note that it has been vara- until recently (cf. Rickard under wara-).
- 5 The possessive KA-pronouns show much variation in the different dialects, which cannot be described here.

- 6 Similar hierarchies are found in many Austronesian languages. In Kusaia, for instance, different inalienable possessive constructions are chosen according to whether the possessor is a proper or a common noun (Lee 1975:104), whereas in Arosi it makes a difference, whether the possessor noun is a non-human noun or a human proper noun or a human common noun (Capell 1971 b: 60-62). The significance of these hierarchies will be dealt with in my forthcoming paper "Typological Aspects of Possessive Constructions in Austronesian Languages". See also Seiler: 1981: 43-45, 131; Comrie 1981: 188, 192.
- 7 Other Melanesian languages show up to four subclasses (compare Codrington 1885: 128-131, Lynch 1978: 80ff).
- 8 The Tolai KA-possessive phrases correspond to Proto-Oceanic NA-possessive phrases, and the Tolai A-possessive phrases to Proto-Oceanic KA-possessive phrases (cf. Rawley 1973: 47, 49).
- 9 Active verbs denote actions that are controlled by the subject referent (Mosel 1982 b)
- 10 That the alienable possessive construction is used to express the agent of nominalized verbs is also found in other Austronesian languages (Mosel 1980 b)
- 11 Compare Buse's remarks on Polynesian languages (Buse 1960: 131) and Lynch (1973: 8) : "The alienable constructions imply not only a less close relationship (than the inalienable ones -U.M.), but also a measure of control of the possessor over possessed, or a choice as to whether he has the possession... alienable constructions imply... also some activity towards the possessed."
- 12 Since this function of the A-possessive construction prevails in Melanesian languages, it is called "the edible construction" by Lynch (1973: 15); compare Pawley 1973: 49.
- 13 The nature of this relationship is clearly seen by Lynch (1973: 16), who states: "One quite common use of the edible construction is the possession of something to be used on the possessor, i.e. possession by a patient as opposed to possession by an actor." But since he regards the edible construction as being derived from the underlying sentence I eat X and the other alienable constructions as being derived from I have X, he fails to see that the principle determining the choice of construction is that of activeness vs. inactiveness, and that the possessive constructions are correlated to the construction of verbal clauses by this principle. Lynch did not investigate the construction of nominalized verbs.
- 14 Lynch (1973: 17) also speaks of "degrees of inalienability" and postulates a three-way division which is marked by the features ( $\pm$  control) and ( $\pm$  close connection):

	Regular inalienable	Extensional usages (of the edible cstr.)	Regular alienable
control	-	-	+
close connection	+	-	-
15	That the expression of separated bodyparts differs from that of bodyparts which are on the body, is also found in Tigel, a Melanesian language of New Ireland (Beaumont 1979: 62).		
16	Compare Kleintitschen (1924: 196)		
17	By referential objects we mean things like books, pictures etc, that are about someone or something. Nouns denoting referential objects typically enter inalienable possessive constructions in Austronesian languages.		
18	There are a limited number of compound nouns of which the modifying noun is juxtaposed to the head noun (cf. Mosel 1981).		
19	In many Austronesian languages spatial relationships are expressed by inalienable possessive constructions (cf. Mosel 1980 b, Pawley 1973: 44f, Schütz 1969: 52f).		

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