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Adnominal and Predicative Possessive Constructions in Melanesian Languages

Mai 1983

1. INTRODUCTION

According to the present state of research, there seems to
be no language which shows possessive classifiers and possessive
verbs corresponding to English "to have" at the same time. In
classifier languages predicative possession is expressed by
verbless clauses, i.e. by existential clauses ("there is my
possessed item"), equative clauses ("the possessed item is mine",
"that is my possessed item") or by locative expressions ("the
possessed item is near me"), in which the classifier in the
case of non-inherent possession marks the nature of the rela-
tionship. While most Melanesian languages, as for instance
Fijian, Lenakel, Pala and Tolai are classifier languages, Nguna,
a Melanesian language spoken in Vanuatu, only shows traces of
the Melanesian possessive classifier system, but, in contrast
to the other Melanesian languages, it has a possessive verb,
namely peani "to have". In order to show how the Nguna posses-
sive constructions deviate from the common Melanesian type,
we shall start with a brief description of the Melanesian
possessive constructions in general, and that of Fijian in
particular.

As far as Nguna is concerned, the whole investigation is
based on the data provided by the "Nguna Texts" edited by
Schütz (1969a), whereas the Fijian examples are taken from
Churchward (1941), Hazlewood (1872), Milner (1956) and Schütz &
Komaitai (1971). Lenakel examples are quoted from Lynch (1978),
and those of Pala are from Peekel (1909).

Whereas Codrington (1885:129), Lévy-Bruhl (1914:99), Milner
(1956:64) and several other students of Melanesian languages
classify the nouns into alienable and inalienable nouns accord-
ing to whether they enter alienable or inalienable construc-
tions, Lynch (1973), Mosel (1982) and Pawley (1973) have shown
that the Melanesian nouns do not form gender-like noun classes,
since many nouns can enter more than one possessive construc-
tion (cf. Mosel 1982:23f, 33; Pawley 1973:54f; compare also
the Pala examples quoted by Peekel 1909:68f). Therefore, rather
the various constructions which express different kinds of

possessive relationships have to be classified.

2. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS ON PHRASE LEVEL

The Melanesian possessive constructions on phrase level, hence called "possessive phrases", form two morphosyntactic classes. The characteristic of the first one, the so-called "inalienable possessive phrases", is that pronominal posses- sors are expressed by suffixed pronouns, whereas in the se- cond type of possessive phrases, the so-called "alienable" ones, the pronominal suffixes are not attached to the posses- sed noun, but to a possessive classifier, which usually pre- cedes the possessed noun.

Fijian
(1)   na ulu = na
        ART head = his
        "his head"   Ch 33
(2)   na no   = na vale
        ART CLFR = his house
        "his house"   Ch 33
Lenakel
(3)   ner   = k miin
        child = my PL
        "my children"   L 81
(4)   nuw miin nɨk = k
        yams PL   CLFR = my
        "my yams (to eat)"   L 80

The inalienable constructions usually refer to such intimate relationships as the relationship between a human being and his bodyparts or his kinsmen, whereby the information of the nature of the relationship is already implicitly contained in the possessed noun. In alienable constructions this informa- tion is not inherent in the possessed noun, but is carried by the possessive classifier.

In Tolai inalienable constructions only singular pronouns are immediately attached to the possessed noun, but dual, trial and plural pronouns are linked to it by means of the connector i, e.g.

Tolai

(5) a ulu = na
     ART head = his
     "his head"

(6) a ulu = i = dir /dital/diat
     ART head = C = their/their /their
                    DUAL TRIAL PL
     "their head"

(7) ka = na pal
     CLFR = his house
     "his house"

     (cf. Mosel 1982:1ff)

If in inalienable possessive phrases the possessor is a noun,
it either directly follows the possessed noun (Lenakel, Pala)
or it is attached by mediation of a connective particle (Fijian,
Tolai) or a pronoun (Pala).

Lenakel

(8) nelk pukas
     leg pig
     "the pig's leg"   L 78

Fijian (with proper nouns)

(9) na ulu i Wiliame
     ART head C William
     "William's head"   Ch 36

     (with common nouns)

(10) na yaca ni gone
      ART name C   child
      "the name of the child"   Ch 35

(11) na ulu ni gone
      ART head C   child
      "the head of the child"

Tolai

(12) a ulu = i ra bul
      ART head = C ART child
      "the head of the child"

Pala   (with singular common and proper nouns)

(13) a lima Kamel
      ART hand Kamel
      "Kamel's hand"   P 36

      (with plural nouns)

(14) a hi = diet ra nongtamat
      ART hair = their Art old-men
      "the hair of the old men"   P 38

The Tolai and the Fijian constructions differ in that the Tolai
=i is used both with common and proper nouns and must synchroni-
cally be classified as a connector, whereas the Fijian i only
precedes proper nouns, so that it may also be regarded as a
proper noun article whose use, however, is rather restricted.
Both the Tolai and the Fijian i originate in the Proto-Oceanic
proper noun article i, a reflection of which is also found
with Fijian transitive verbs followed by proper nouns or pro-
nouns, e.g.

Fijian

(15) eratou   a   raica na vale
      they/TRIAL PAST see   ART house
      "They saw the house."

(16) eratou   a   raica Viti
      they/TRIAL PAST see   Fiji
      "They saw Fiji."   Mi 53

The Fijian construction of ART N_1 ni N_2 is a compound noun
phrase whose modifying noun N_2 is not referential, but rather
characterizes the concept expressed by the head noun N_1 (note
that N_2 is not determined by the article). In contrast to the
Tolai ART N_1 i ART N_2 construction, it is not only used to de-
note possessive relationships, but also to express the purpose
of the head noun referent, and thus it corresponds to the
Tolai N_1 na N_2 construction (Mosel 1982:27ff), e.g.

Fijian

(17) na vale ni kana
      ART house C eat(ing)
      "restaurant"   Sch 235

Tolai

(18) a pal na nian
      ART house C eating
      "restaurant"

Fijian

(19) na vale ni kuro
      ART house C pot
      "kitchen"
                                             Sch 235

Tolai

(20) a pal na boroi
      ART house C pig
      "pig sty"

In alienable possessive phrases nominal possessors follow the possessed nouns and are linked to them by a classifier (Lenakel, Pala), a combination of a classifier and a connector (Tolai in general, Fijian in case the possessor is a proper noun) or by a construction in which a classifier plus a suffixed pronoun referring to the possessor are involved (as in Fijian with common possessor nouns and in Pala with plural possessor nouns), e.g.

Lenakel

(21) nɨte nɨk uus-suaas uk
      taro CLFR man -small this
      "this boy's taro (for eating)   L 80

(22) kuri miin taha uus mil aan
      dog PL   CLFR man DUAL that
      "those two men's dogs" (aquired property)
                                                 L 82

Pala

(23) a mal ta ra hinasik
      ART dress CLFR ART girl
      "the dress of the girl"   P 36

(24) a lamas   ana kareka
      ART coconuts CLFR chicken
      "the coconuts for the chickens"   P 37

(25) a puah ta = diet   ra hahin
      ART kitchen CLFR = their/PL ART woman
      "the kitchen for the woman"   P 38

Tolai

(26) a pal ka = i ra vavina
      ART house CLFR = C ART woman
      "the house of the woman" (aquired property)

(27) a vudu   a = i ra vavina
      ART bananas CLFR = C ART woman
      "the woman's bananas" (to eat)

Fijian

(28) na vale ne = i Joni
      ART house CLFR = C John
      "John's house" (aquired property)   Ch 36

(29) na no = na vale na turaga
      ART CLFR = his house ART chief
      "the house of the chief" (aquired property)
                                                 Ch 37

(30) na uvi ke = i Joni
      ART yams CLFR = C John

      "John's yams" (to eat)   Ch 36

(31) na ke   = na kakana   na gone
      ART CLFR = its food   ART child
      "the child's food" (to eat)

To conclude, the alienable possessive phrases differ from
the inalienable ones in that they are more explicit, as the
possessive classifiers specify the nature of the possessive
relationship, which is implicitly given in the case of the
inalienable constructions. If the constructions of pronominal
and nominal possessors and those of various nominal possessors
(i.e. singular vs. plural, and proper vs. common nouns) are
compared, it becomes evident that those possessors which are
less individuated require the more explicit constructions
(compare Seiler (1981:28-29, 43-45) and the so-called "animacy
hierarchy" in Comrie (1981:178ff), which would be better
called "hierarchy of egocentricity and individuation".)

TABLE I

	Lenakel	Pala	Fijian	Tolai
N_1=PRON	-al	-al	-al	-al +sg
N_1 N_2	-al	-al +sg	-	-
N_1=C=PRON	-	-	-	-al +sg
N_1=PRON N_2	-	-al -sg	-	-
CLFR=PRON N_1	+al	+al	+al	+al
N_1 CLFR N_2	+al	+al	-	-
N_1 CLFR=C N_2	-	-	+al +proper	+al
CLFR=PRON N_1 N_2	-	+al -sg	+al -proper	-

Thus the degree of inherence of a relationship is not only
determined by the nature of the possessive relationship - such
as kinship in contrast to aquired property -, but also by the
degree of individuation of the possessor.

Two is the smallest number of possessive classifiers found in Melanesian languages (as, for instance, in Tolai). The first one, hence called NA-classifier according to its Proto-Oceanic reconstruction (Pawley 1973:47), indicates that the relationship is controlled and implies some activity on the part of the possessor referent as in the case of aquired property, whereas the second one, called KA-classifier, expresses that the possessum referent directly affects the possessor referent or is closely related to it, though not so intimately as bodyparts or kinsmen. In other words, the relationship marked by the KA-classifier is less inherent than that expressed by inalienable constructions, but more inherent than that denoted by the NA-classifier (cf. Mosel 1982:25-27; 56; Lynch 1973:17).

The most typical relationships expressed by the KA-classifier are:

1. the relationship between a weapon and the one who is to be hurt or killed by it, e.g.

Fijian

(32)   na ke = na dali
       ART CLFR = his rope
       "the rope that is to be used on him (for binding him, perhaps, or for strangling him)"
                                                        Ch 32

in contrast to

(33)   na no = na dali
       ART CLFR = his rope
       "the rope that belongs to him"

       (for Tolai examples cf. Mosel 1982:11-13). Ch 32

2. the relationship between food and the person for whom it is determined, e.g.

Fijian

(34)   na ke = na uvi
       ART CLFR = his yams
       "his yams" (to eat)   Ch 32

in contrast to

(35)   na no = na uvi
       ART CLFR = his yams
       "the yams that belong to him"   Ch 32

       (for Tolai examples cf. Mosel 1982:11-13)

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3. referential relationships, e.g.

Fijian

```
(36)  na ke  = na  itukutuku
      ART CLFR = his story
      "the story about him"                      Ch 32
```

in contrast to

```
(37)  na no  = na  itukutuku
      ART CLFR =  his .story
      "the story that is told by him"            Ch 32
```

The fact that the KA-possessive constructions are, with regard to inherence, semantically closer to the inalienable constructions than the NA-possessive constructions is also reflected in syntax:

1. In Fijian both the inalienable and the alienable KA-constructions are extended to inamimate pronominal possessors in order to express spatial and part/whole relationships respectively, e.g.

Fijian

```
(38)  na dela= na
      ART top = its
      "its top"                                  Ch 33
```

```
(39)  na ke  = na  lalage
      ART CLFR= its  wall
      "its wall"                                 Ch 34
```

With nominal possessors, however, the contrast between spatial and part/whole relationships is neutralized:

```
(40)  na  dela ni wai
      ART  top  C water
      "the top of the water"                     Ch 35
```

```
(41)  na  lalaga ni vale
      ART  wall    C  house
      "the wall of the house"                    Ch 35
```

Similarly, locational relationships such as "the chief of the village, the chief of Bau, its chief" in which the possessor refers to a place, are expressed by the KA-construction when the possessor is a pronoun or a proper name, and by the N_1 ni N_2-construction when it is a common noun, e.g.

```
(42)  ke  = na turaga
      CLFR = its chief
      "its chief"                                Ch 33
```

```
(43)   ko ira     na turaga ke  = i Bau
       ART they/PL ART chief    CLFR = C Bau
       "the chiefs of Bau"                              Ch 36
```

```
(44)   na turaga ni koro
       ART chief   C  village
       "the chief  of the village"                     Mi 20
```

2. In Tolai a few words denoting garments are inalienably con-
structed, whereas others enter the KA-construction, e.g.

Tolai

```
(45)   a  mari     = gu
       ART decoration = my
       "my decorations"
```

```
(46)   a  = gu mal
       CLFR =  my clothes
       "my clothes, loincloth"
```

The same kind of variation is also found interlinguistically.
According to Pawley (1973:51) nouns denoting intimate clothing
are inalienably constructed in Motu and Mota, but in other
languages they enter the KA-construction.

3. While most inherent properties are inalienably possessed in
Oceanic languages (Pawley 1973:51), Fijian uses the KA-construc-
tion, e.g.

Fijian

```
(47)   ke  = na levu
       CLFR = his size
       "his size"                                      Ch 32
```

A further instance of interlinguistic variation is found with
referential relationships; in contrast to Tolai, for instance,
where referential relationships are expressed by the inalienable
construction (cf. Mosel 1982:22), e.g.

Tolai

```
(48)   malalari = gu
       picture  = my
       "my picture, i.e. the picture depicting me"
```

they are denoted by the KA-construction in Fijian, e.g.

Fijian

```
(49)   na ke  = na itaba
       ART CLFR = his picture
       "his picture (depicting him)"          Pawley 1973:50
```

A number of Melanesian languages have, besides the NA- and the KA-possessive classifiers, additional classifiers whose use is much more specific. Thus Fijian has a particular classifier to indicate that the possessed noun refers to something that is determined to be drunk by the possessor referent, e.g.

Fijian
(50)   na me   = na wai
       ART CLFR = his water
       "his water (for drinking)

but
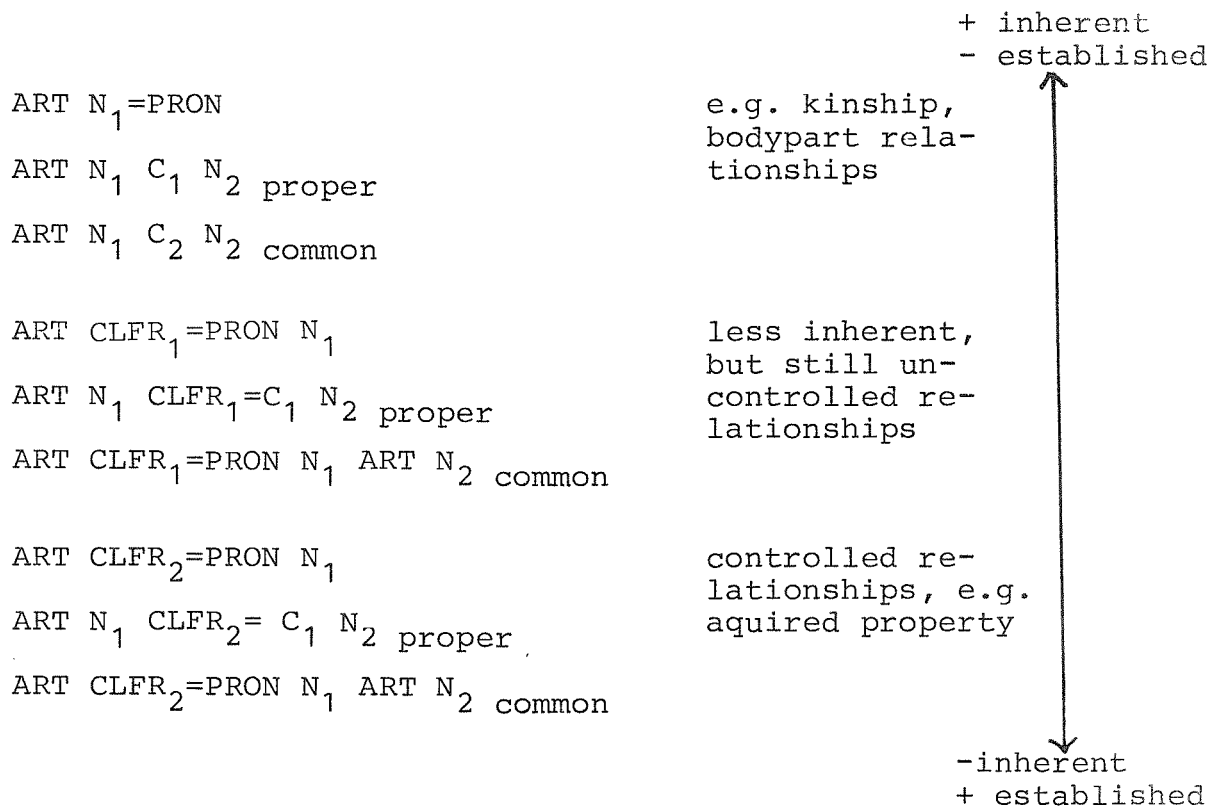
(51)   a ke   = na wai
       ART CLFR = his water
       "his or its water that is to do something with, as to
       wash with"   Haz 54

whereas Lenakel has a total number of five classifiers which distinguish whether the possessed item is "to be eaten, drunk or planted, or whether it has to do with one's home, or whether it is conceived of only as a general possession" (Lynch 1978: 80). For further information about Melanesian languages which have more than two classifiers cf. Codrington 1885:271, Ray 1926:92-94.

Leaving the constructions with the specific classifiers such as Fijian me- aside, the Melanesian possessive phrases form a continuum with the most unmarked constructions denoting the most inherent relationships at the one end and the most explicit expressions referring to non-inherent or established relationships at the other. If the terms "alienable" and "in- alienable" are maintained, it is only justified to use them as labels for the two different forms of possessive phrases, i.e. classifier constructions and constructions without classifiers, but not to associate them with the meaning of these construc- tions, since the KA-constructions do not belong to the same semantic class as the NA-constructions, but form a class of their own which mediates between those without classifiers and the NA-constructions. In order to distinguish between the three types of possessive relationships, we shall speak of inherent, medium and established possession. The figure below shows how in Fijian the various kinds of possessive phrases are arranged

on this continuum; further details of possessive phrases are given in table 2 accompanied by a list of examples, which also takes the extension of possessive constructions to constructions with inanimate possessors into account.

FIGURE 1

$$\text{ART } N_1 = \text{PRON}$$

$$\text{ART } N_1 \ C_1 \ N_2 \text{ proper}$$

$$\text{ART } N_1 \ C_2 \ N_2 \text{ common}$$

$$\text{ART } CLFR_1 = \text{PRON } N_1$$

$$\text{ART } N_1 \ CLFR_1 = C_1 \ N_2 \text{ proper}$$

$$\text{ART } CLFR_1 = \text{PRON } N_1 \ \text{ART } N_2 \text{ common}$$

$$\text{ART } CLFR_2 = \text{PRON } N_1$$

$$\text{ART } N_1 \ CLFR_2 = C_1 \ N_2 \text{ proper}$$

$$\text{ART } CLFR_2 = \text{PRON } N_1 \ \text{ART } N_2 \text{ common}$$

+ inherent
− established

e.g. kinship, bodypart rela-tionships

less inherent, but still un-controlled re-lationships

controlled re-lationships, e.g. aquired property

−inherent
+ established

animate possessors   inanimate possessors

pronominal possessor (a)	proper noun possessor (b)	common noun possessor (c)	pronominal possessor (d)	proper noun possessor (e)	common noun possessor (f)
$N\ N$	$N\ C_1\ N$	$N\ C_2\ N$	$N\ N$	$N\ C_1\ N$	$N\ C_2\ N$
1. kinship			————		
2. bodyparts (parts of plants)			2. spatial relationships	?	spatial relationships
$N\ CLFR_1\ N$	$N\ CLFR_1\ C_1\ N$	$N\ CLFR_1\ PRON\ N$	$N\ CLFR_1\ N$	$N\ CLFR_1\ C_1\ N$	$N\ CLFR_1\ PRON\ N$
3. characteristics whose manifestation does not depend on the person's activity			3. characteristics part/whole	characteristics ? locational relationships	characteristics part/whole
4. referential relationships			referential relationships		
$N\ CLFR_2\ N$	$N\ CLFR_2\ C_1\ N$	$N\ CLFR_2\ PRON\ N$			
5. food to be eaten by the possessor referent					
6. characteristics whose manifestation depends on the person's activity					
7. aquired property					

TABLE II

Possessive Phrases in Fijian

Examples:

1a)   na tama = na
      ART father = his
      "his father"

2a)   na ulu = na
      ART head = his
      "his head"

      na waka = na
      ART roots = its
      "its roots"

3a)   na ke = na levu
      ART CLFR = his size
      "his size"

4a)   na ke = na itukutuku
      ART CLFR = his story
      "the story about him"

5a)   na ke = na uvi
      ART CLFR = his yams
      "his yams; the yams which is determined to be eaten by him"

6a)   na no = na kaukauwa
      ART CLFR = his strength
      "his strength"

7a)   na no = na vale
      ART CLFR = his house
      "his house"

      na no = na uvi
      ART CLFR = his yams
      "his yams; the yams he owns"

1b)   na tama i Joni
      ART father C John
      "John's father"

2b)   na ulu i Wiliame
      ART head C William
      "William's head"

3b)   na levu ke = i Wiliame
      ART size CLFR = C William
      "William's size"

4b)   na itukutuku ke = i Paula
      ART story   CLFR = C Paul
      "the story about Paul"

5b)   na uvi ke = i Joni
      ART yams CLFR = C John
      "John's yams"

7b)   na vale ne = i Joni
      ART house CLFR = C John
      "John's house"

1c) na tama   ni gone
    ART father C   child
    "the father of the child"

2c) na ulu ni gone
    ART head C   child
    "the head of the child"

3c) na ke = na levu .na gone
    ART CLFR = his size   ART child
    "the size of the child"

4c) na ke = na itukutuku na gone
    ART CLFR = his story   ART child
    "the story about the child"

5c) na ke = na kakana na gone
    ART CLFR = his food   ART child
    "the food of the child"

7c) na no = na vale na turaga
    ART CLFR = his house ART chief
    "the chief's house"

2d) na dela = na
    ART top   = its
    "its top"

3d) na ke = na levu
    ART CLFR = its size
    "its size"

    na ke = na lalaga
    ART CLFR = its wall
    "its wall"

    na ke = na turaga
    ART CLFR = its chief
    "its chief (of a place)"

    ko ira   na turaga ke = i Bau
    ART they/PL ART chief   CLFR = C Bau
    "the chiefs of Bau"

    na turaga ni koro
    ART chief   C   village
    "the chief of the village"

4d) na ke = na itukutuku
    ART CLFR = it   story
    "the story about it"

2e) na yaca i Viti
    ART name C Fiji
    "the name of Fiji"

3e) na balavu ke = i Kadavu
    ART length   CLFR = C Kadavu
    "the length of Kadavu"

4e) na itukutuku ke = i Rotuma
    ART story   CLFR = C Rotuma
    "the story about Rotuma"

2f)　·na loma　ni vale
ART inside C　house
"The inside of the house."

3f)　na levu ni koro
ART size　C　village
"The size of the village."

na lalaga ni vale
ART wall　　C　house
"The wall of the house."

4f)　na itukutuku ni koro
ART story　　　C　village
"The story about the village"

3. A SHORT OUTLINE OF POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS ON CLAUSE LEVEL

On clause level, possessive relationships are expressed by existential clauses, equative clauses or clauses whose predicate is a locative expression. Furthermore, if some predicatation is made about the possessed item, this predication becomes the syntactic predicate of the clause. In Fijian, this type of clause is also used when the possessed item is indefinite, since the numeral dua "one" then becomes the syntactic predicate. Examples:

I. Existential clauses:

Tolai

(52)　pata matua = i = dir
no　uncle　= C = their/DUAL
"No uncle of them (exists),
they do not have an uncle."　　(Mosel 1982:43)

II. Equative clauses:

Tolai

(53)　ka　= na tika = na oaga
CLFR = his one　= C　canoe
"One/a canoe (is) his, he has a canoe."

(54)　ka　= na go ra pal
CLFR = his DEM ART house
"This house (is) his; this house belongs to him."

(55)　ka　= na pal　go
CLFR = his house this
"This is his house."

Lenakel

(56)　nar uk　nɨk = n
this thing CLFR = his
"This is his (to eat)."　　　　　L 100

Fijian

```
(57)   oqo na   no  =  gu vale
       this ART CLFR =  my house
       "This is my house"                              Sch 44
```

III. Locative expressions

Fijian

```
(58)   e             sega tu   vei au na ilavo
       predicative   not  stand near me ART money
       particle
       "I don't have any money."                       Sch 172

(59)   e             tu    vai au e           dua na ilavo
       predicative   stand near me predicative one  ART money
       particle                    particle
       "I have some money."                            Mi 59
```

(All numerals including dua "one" which is often used in the
meaning of an indefinite article are preceded by the predicative
particle, i.e. a particle that introduces the predicate (Churchward
1941:14, Hazlewood 1872:39), so that e dua na isele "a knife" has
to be translated literally by "it is a knife", compare (60) and (62).)

```
(60)   sa            tu    vei au e           dua na isele
       predicative   stand near me predicative one ART knife
       particle                    particle
       "I have a knife."                               Ch 40
```

IV. Other predicates

Tolai

```
(61)   i ngala par        ra ngia = i = dir
       it big   be-complete ART mouth = C = their/DUAL
       (The mouth of the two was entirely big.)
       "They both had big mouths."
```

Fijian

```
(62)   e             dua na no  = na waqa
       predicative   one  ART CLFR = his canoe
       particle
       "He has a canoe."                               Mi 36

(63)   e             levu na ke  = na uvi
       predicative   large ART CLFR = his yams
       particle
       "He has a lot of yams."                         Sch 45
```

4. POSSESSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN NGUNA

The Nguna possessive constructions differ from the common Melanesian type in the following points:

1. The three-way contrast between ZERO -, KA and NA - marking for inherent, medium and established possession is only main-tained with pronominal possessors, whereas possessive construc-tions with nominal possessors distinguish between inherent and medium possession on the one hand and established possession on the other.

2. Whereas in typical Melanesian languages the possessive pro-nouns marking medium and established possession are formed by a possessive classifier and a pronominal suffix, those in Nguna show a different structure. Though the possessive pronouns of medium possession are evidently a reflection of Proto-Oceanic *KA = pronominal suffix, e.g. kaka=gu "my", kaka=na "his", kaka= cannot be synchronically interpreted as a classifier, since it does not contrast with other possessive classifiers. The prono-minal possessors of established possession are formed by inde-pendent possessive pronouns which are not analysable into pos-sessive classifier + suffixed pronoun, but show a closer rela-tionship to the independed pronouns, though their morphological structure is far from being clear. Schütz (1969b:38) analyses them as being composed of agi= "to belong" plus object pronoun suffix, although it does not seem justified for morphological and syntactic reasons.

		independent pronouns	suffixed pronouns	object pronouns	possessive pronouns
Sg	1	kinau	= gu	au	aginau
	2	niigo	= ma	ko	aniigo
	3	nae	= na	a, e, na, sa	aneana
Pl	1 incl	nigita	= gita	gita	anigita
	exc	kinami	= gami	gami	aginami
	2	nimu	= mu	mu	animu
	3	naara	= ta	ra	ateata

3. In contrast to other Melanesian languages which express possession on clause level by means of verbless clauses, predicative possessive constructions in Nguna are formed by the means of _peani_ "to have", whereby in constructions expressing inherent relationships such as kinship and bodypart relationships the possessed noun is modified by a possessor pronoun and thus distinguished from possessed nouns in non-inherent possessive constructions, e.g.

Nguna

(64)   sikai e   peani natu = na na=anoai sikai
        one   she have child = her.male   one
        "One (woman) had a boy"   Sch 163

(65)   kinau a peani na=lea maaga mamau=puti
        I   I have thing PL   all
        "I have all (these) things."   Sch 71

An exception is _na=gisa_ "name", which is inalienably constructed on phrase level, but does not require modification by a suffix pronoun when it is used with _peani_ "to have", e.g.

(66)   e peani na=gisa p̃ota
        it have name   other
        "It had another name."   Sch 121

Thus the construction of _na=gisa_ seems to represent an instance of a less inherent relationship than the construction of kinship and bodypart terms.

The table below outlines the various types of Nguna possessive phrases similar to those given for Fijian possessive phrases, and is illustrated by a following list of examples.

		+inherent −established ↑
N = PRON	inherent relationships	
N _kaka_ = PRON	less inherent, but not established relationships (medium possession)	
N _ni_ N	non-established relationships (inherent and medium possession)	
N POSS.PRON	established relationships	
N _ki_ N	established relationships	
		−inherent ↓ +established

	animate possessors		inanimate possessors	
	pronominal possessors (a)	nominal possessor (b)	pronominal possessors (c)	nominal possessors (d)
	N = PRON	N ni N	N = PRON	N ni N

	1. kinship
	2. bodyparts
	         parts of plants
	         "name of ..."
			2. spatial relationships
			
			        "name of ..."	

	N kaka=PRON	N ni N	N kaka=PRON	N ni N

	4. the relationship between
	      a person or some people
	      and a group of people
	5. referential relationships
			3. part/whole relationship
			4. locational relationships
			
			5. referential relationships	

	N POSS.PRON	N ki N		
	6. foot to be eaten by the possessor referent 7. acquired property			

TABLE III

Possessive Phrases in Nguna

(compare TABLE II p.12)

Examples:

1a) p̃ila = na
     mother= his
     "his mother"   Sch 3

     natu = ta
     child = their
     "their child"   Sch 3

2a) na=gusu = na
     nose   = his
     "his nose"   Sch 15

     na=gisa = na
     name   = his
     "his name"   Sch 3

     na=palau = na
     stem   = its
     "its stem"   Sch 288

     na=sua = na
     juice   = its
     "its juice"   Sch 71

     niniko kaka =gu
     rib   my
     "my rib (said by a coconut)"   Sch 73

4a) sikai kaka =ta
     one   their
     "one of them"   Sch 43

     takalapa kaka =ta
     first-born   their
     "the first-born of them"   Sch 64

5a) na=rogorogo kaka =m̃a
      news   you
     "news of you"   Sch 82

     na=atuusi=ana kaka =na
     story   his
     "a story about him"   Sch 109

6a) e gani naati aneana
     she eat   banana her
     "she ate her banana"   Sch 131

7a) na=sum̃a ateata
     house   their
     "their house"   Sch 11

b) constructions with animate nominal possessors

1b) tama ni koroi kiiki
     father   girl little
     "the father of the little girl"   Sch 24

```
        tama   ni   Lakolako
        father      Lakolako
        "the father of Lakolako"                    Sch  3
```

2b)   na=gusu ni maariki
        nose   old-man
        "the nose of the old man"   Sch 16

        na=gisa ni na=wota animu
        name   chief   your
        "the name of your chief"   Sch 44

        na=ulu ni na=vao
        leaf   (a tree)
        "leaves of the Navao-tree"   Sch 288

5b)   na=rogorogo=ana ni koroi kiiki
        news   girl   little
        "news of the little girl"   Sch 24

6b)   na=vinaga warua ki Sagalegaale
        food   big   Sagalegaale
        "the main food of the Sagalegaale"   Sch 141

7b)   na=sum̃a ki maariki waina
        house   old-man   that
        "the house of that old man"   Sch 46

c) constructions with inanimate pronominal possessors

2c)   na=tiga =na
        side   =its
        "its side"   Sch 4

        na=malo =na
        inside =its
        "its inside"   Sch 24

3c)   na=mata kaka =na
        entrance   =its
        "its entrance"   Sch 149

4c)   na=wota kaka =na
        chief   =its
        "its chief (of Siviri - a place)"   Sch 110

        na=atam̃oli kaka =na
        people   =its
        "its people (of Efate - a place)"   Sch 186

5c)   na=rogorogo kaka =na
        news   =its
        "the news about it"   Sch 23

d) constructions with inanimate nominal possessors

2d)   na=masua ni taava
        top   hill
        "the top of the hill"   Sch 88

```
       na=gisa ni toko=ana ke=rua
       name         village    second
       "the name of this second village"          Sch 118
```

3d)   na=mata ni valea
       entrance   cave
       "the entrance of the cave"   Sch 149

4d)   na=wota ni Siviri
       chief   Siviri
       "the chief of Siviri"   Sch 110

5d)   na=atuusi=ana ni Vaatu-Pau-ma-sai
       story   Stone-head-broken-through
       "the story about Vaatu-Pau-ma-sai (Broken-head-stone)"

                                                Sch 92

Similar to Fijian, the N_1 ni N_2 - construction is also used as a means of modifying the concept expressed by the head noun (N_1) rather than indicating its reference as is done by proper possessive constructions, e.g.

(67)   paapaa e pei ragi ni na=maro=maro=ana
       until   it is   time   rest (noun)
       "until it was time to rest"   Sch 96

(68)   toko=ra ni na=maturu=ana aneana
       place   sleeping   his
       "his sleeping place"   Sch 153

Compare also:

(69)   na=saisai=ana ki na=vei=na=wota=ana
       meeting   chiefs
       "the meeting of the chiefs",   Sch 115

where ki indicates that the relationship is controlled by the possessor referent, and

(70)   na=saisai=ana ni na=tam̃ate
       meeting   chief's day
       "the chief's day festivities",   Sch 115

where the meeting is characterized as one being held on the occasion of the chief's day.

    On clause level, possessive and related relationships such as part/whole relationships are formed by the possessive verb peani "to have" whose only function is to link the possessor, which is the subject of the clause, and the possessed noun. As has already been mentioned, inherent relationships are marked

by a pronominal copy of the subject, i.e. the possessor.

Examples:

1. kinship

(71) ero peani natu= ta   na=goroi sikai
      they have   child= their female   one
      DUAL
      "They (two) had a daughter."   Sch 23

      (ero is a verbal-pronoun marker preceding the verb. In contrast
      to pronouns these pronominal markers distinguish between singular,
      dual and plural (Schütz 1969b:25).)

2. parts of plants

(72) a peani na=sua= gu
      I have   juice = my
      "I have juice."(said by a coconut-tree)   Sch 72

3. "name"

(73) e peani na=gisa p̃ota
      it have   name   other
      "It had another name."   Sch 121

4. part/whole relationships

(74) e pei tuusi, e   peani na=p̃olaga maaga
      it be book,   it have   page   PL
      "It is a book, it has pages."   Sch 218

5. locational relationships

(75) Farealape   e peani varea   paati
      (village name) it have   meeting-house four
      "It has four meeting houses."   Sch 63

(76) e peani na=ata tapu e toko asa
      it have   person sacred it live in-it
      (lit.: It (the stone) has a sacred person who lives in it.)

      "A sacred person lives in it (the stone)." Sch 93

6. established relationships

(77) kinau a peani na=leo maaga mamau=puti
      I   I have thing   PL   all
      "I have all (these) things."   Sch 71

Peani "to have" is even combined with verbal nouns, whereby its
subject either refers to the agent or the patient of the ac-
tion denoted by that verbal noun, e.g.

24

(78) eu   taa   moro   peani na=kokona=ana
      they/PL not   in-turn have   feeling-against-him
      "They are not against him anymore."   Sch 107

(79) go au   moro   peani na=vasa=piseiki=ana
      and we/EXC/PL in-turn have   teaching

      pae   tea taare maaga
      from one white PL

      "Then, too, we have had instruction from the white
      people."
                                                       Sch 279

Preceded by the verbal pronoun marker, peani has to be
classified morphosyntactically as a verb; semantically, how-
ever, it differs considerably from full verbs, since the
selectional restrictions which obtain in NP-peani-NP-clauses
are not determined by peani (as in the case of full verbs),
but by the noun phrases, i.e. the possessor and the possessee.
In other words, peani is a kind of relator, or in Seiler's
terminology a "logical predicate" (compare Seiler 1981:7, 98-
102).

That the predicative relationship between possessor and
possessee is mediated by a "logical predicate" in Nguna,
correlates with the fact that in contrast to other Melanesian
languages, the nominals of equative clauses are linked by
the copula pei "to be". Since the preceding investigation
could only be based on the materials presented by Schütz,
it is impossible to make any suggestions of how the auxiliary
verbs peani and pei have been developed.

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