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PROTO-POLYNESIAN POSSESSIVE MARKING

by

William H. Wilson

Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

Proto-Polynesian Possessive Marking is a doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa in July of 1980. The only substantive change made in this version is the promotion of a possible innovation of the common ancestor of Eastern Fijian and Polynesian languages to the common ancestor of these languages and the Western Fijian languages (see note seven of chapter five).

Irwin Howard, Patricia A. Lee, and Andrew K. Pawley each functioned as chairman during different stages in the production of this dissertation. I am grateful to them and my other committee members: Steven T. Boggs, George W. Grace, Lawrence A. Reid, and Albert J. Schütz. Without the guidance and criticism of these teachers of mine this work would never have taken final form.

Tāmati Reedy and Paul Geraghty, fellow linguistics students at the time of the writing of this work, deserve recognition for sharing their knowledge of Polynesian and Fijian languages with me. Along with them, I would like to thank my friends and colleagues, Larry L. Kimura and Sarah Nākoa, who have spent much time discussing the subtleties of the Hawaiian language with me and have helped me to explore the Hawaiian possessive system.

Special thanks are also due to those who made the completion of this work physically possible: my employers, Agnes Conrad of the Hawai'i Archives and Dean David Purcell of the University of Hawai'i at Hilo; my family, Mr and Mrs Theodore F. Wilson, Betsy de Wolff, Kauanoe Kamanā, and Adelaide McKinzie; and my friends, John and Emily Hawkins, Larry L. Kimura, Joseph P. Maka'ai, Kalā Enos, and Satoko Lincoln.

The Hawaiian language, its speakers, teachers, and students have provided my primary motivation for graduate study in linguistics and have been the primary source of subject matter for most of my

contributions, including this dissertation. I would like to dedicate this study to three people without whom I, and many others, may have never been able to learn Hawaiian: Samuel H. Elbert, Dorothy Kahananui, and Mary K. Pukui.

ABSTRACT

It is the purpose of this study to reconstruct the possessive system of Proto-Polynesian and relate it historically to the possessive marking systems of other Oceanic languages.

Chapter One outlines the basic features of Polynesian possessive marking systems and presents other background information.

Chapter Two describes a division of Polynesian possessive marking into A-forms and O-forms, a contrast that has long presented problems for Polynesianists. Possessive relationships initiated through the control of the possessor are found to require A-possessive marking, while those initiated without such control are found to require O-possessive marking. O-marking is also found to be used with exceptional relationships involving the sources of food and drink, drinks themselves, terms for certain artifacts, and kin terms.

Chapter Three contains reconstructions of the syntax and morphology of Proto-Polynesian possessive phrases. Five possessive phrase types are distinguished. These occur variously as predicates, modifiers, and noun phrases. Of particular interest are the morphological complexities of possessive marker, article, and pronominal elements formally distinguishing possessive phrases that require a following possessed noun and those that do not.

Chapters Four and Five compare the Proto-Polynesian possessive system with more typical Oceanic possessive systems, especially those found in Fiji. Chapter Four presents systematic similarities in the possessive relationships distinguished in Proto-Polynesian and an early Oceanic possessive system reconstructed by Pawley. These similarities show the Proto-Polynesian possessive system to derive from the early Oceanic system, with certain formal innovations. These innovations have, for some observers, disguised the continuity which we demonstrate here. Chapter Five covers morphological and syntactic similarities between the Proto-Polynesian and Fijian possessive

systems. Proto-Polynesian possessive morphology and syntax is proposed as having derived from a Fijian-like ancestor.

Finally, Chapter Six deals with the implications of our Proto-Polynesian reconstruction and conclusions regarding its early Oceanic origin. Included in this chapter are a summary of the contents of earlier chapters, a section on the relationship between Fijian and Polynesian languages, and a discussion of areas for future work.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Language Names:

EAS Easter Island (Eastern Polynesian)
EF Eastern Fijian
EFU East Futunan (Samoic-Outlier)
EO Eastern Oceanic
EUV East Uvean (Samoic-Outlier)
HAW Hawaiian (Eastern Polynesian)
KAP Kapingamarangi (Samoic-Outlier)
KOR Koroalau (Eastern Fijian)
KWA Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands)
LAM Lamalanga (New Hebrides)
LAU Lauan (Eastern Fijian)
LUA Luangiua (Samoic-Outlier)
MAE Mae/Emwae (Samoic-Outlier)
MAO New Zealand Māori (Eastern Polynesian)
MEL Mele-Fila (Samoic-Outlier)
MTU Motu (Papua)
NAN Nanumea Ellice (Samoic-Outlier)
NIU Niuean (Tongic)
NGU Nguna (New Hebrides)
PCE Proto-Central Eastern Polynesian
PCP Proto-Central Pacific
PEP Proto-Eastern Polynesian
PEO Proto-Eastern Oceanic
PIL Pileni (Samoic-Outlier)
PNP Proto-Nuclear Polynesian
POC Proto-Oceanic
PPN Proto-Polynesian
PTO Proto-Tongic

RAR	Rarotongan/Cook Islands Māori (Eastern Polynesian)
REN	Rennellese (Samoic-Outlier)
SEA	Seaqāqā (Eastern Fijian)
SF	Standard Fijian (Eastern Fijian)
SIK	Sikaiana (Samoic-Outlier)
TBW	Tubaniwai (Western Fijian)
TON	Tongan (Tongic)
TUB	Tubai (Western Fijian)
ULA	Ulawa (Solomon Islands)
VAI	Vaitupu Ellice (Samoic-Outlier)
WAI	Waidina (Eastern Fijian)
WAY	Wayan (Western Fijian)
WF	Western Fijian
WFU	West Futunan (Samoic-Outlier)

Other Abbreviations:

art	article
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
gen	genitive particle
inc	inclusive
JPS	Journal of the Polynesian Society
lig	ligative particle
nam	proper name marker
p	plural
poss	possessive marker
prep	preposition, or preposition-like element
sing	singular
T	tense/aspect marker
top	topic marker
I	first person
Ii	first person inclusive
Ix	first person exclusive
II	second person
III	third person
1	singular
2	dual
3	trial/paucal
*x	reconstructed protoform x, or x is ungrammatical
x > y	y derives from x

x >> y	y derives from x with irregular sound changes
*(x)	either x or zero occurred in the protoform
Ø	absence of a morpheme where one is expected for internal symmetry or genetic consistency

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CHAPTER ONE
PRELIMINARIES

1.1. Goals and Organisation

The goal of this study is to reconstruct the system used in the possession of common nouns in Proto-Polynesian.[1] All Polynesian languages exhibit or show traces of a system by which a noun (or a pronominal element) is indicated as a possessor by the use of an immediately preceding morpheme that we shall call a possessive marker.[2] It is the existence of contrasting pairs differing only in the form of the possessive marker that is the most outstanding feature of Polynesian possessive marking systems. The contrast is easily described in terms of A-forms (incorporating a possessive marker usually containing an a) and O-forms (incorporating a possessive marker usually containing an o) illustrated in the Hawaiian examples below:

HAW(1.1) he pāpale ā-na
art/*hat*/poss/*she*
a hat of hers (She made it.)

(1.2) he pāpale o-na
art/*hat*/poss/*she*
a hat of hers (She wears it.)

The A/O contrast is incorporated into a variety of phrase types we shall call *possessives*. The nucleus of a possessive is the *possessor*, a pronoun, common noun, or proper noun following a possessive marker. Some possessives contain another morpheme preceding the possessive marker (e.g., an article). The number of types of possessives in individual Polynesian languages is often quite large, as illustrated by the Samoan examples below:

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Table 1
Some Samoan Possessives

A-forms	O-forms	Gloss
a a'u	o a'u	*of me, of mine*
la'u	lo'u	*my* (singular)
a'u	o'u	*my* (plural)
sa'u	so'u	*one of my*
nia'u	nio'u	*some of my*
ma a'u	mo a'u	*for me*

The components of the various types of possessives are often special allomorphs found only in possessives. Compare, for example, the different allomorphs of pronoun (-ku versus au) and article (t- versus te) morphemes in New Zealand Māori found in possessive and nonpossessive environments.

MAO(1.3) m-ō-ku
irrealis/poss/*I*
for me

(1.4) ko au
top/*I*
It is I.

(1.5) ko t-ō-ku whare
top/art/poss/*I*/*house*
It is my house.

(1.6) ko te whare
top/art/*house*
It is the house.

Allomorphic variation extends to possessive marker morphemes in several languages, as shown by the Tongan examples below. Note that allomorphic variation typically involves presence versus absence of glottal stops and single versus repeated vowels.

Table 2
Some Tongan Possessives

A-forms	O-forms	Gloss
'e-ku	h-o-ku	*my*
h-a'a-ku	h-o'o-ku	*mine*
'a-ku	(')o-ku	*of me/of mine*
m-a'a-ku	m-o'o-ku	*for me*

Possessives refer (either as modifiers [like English 'my'], independent noun phrases [like English 'mine'], or predicates [like English 'belongs to me']) to *possessed nouns*, that is, nouns denoting someone or something associated with the possessor through various genitive relationships including, but not limited to, ownership, authorship, kinship, and part-whole relationships. Although there are considerable differences in the number and forms of the possessives that a particular language may exhibit, the distribution of A-forms and O-forms with possessed nouns is basically the same in all languages that have preserved a contrast between the two (i.e., all but Niuean, Mele-Fila, and a group of closely related Outliers: Takuu, Nukumanu, Nukuria, Luangiua).[3] Certain terms are most commonly used with O-marking and others most commonly with A-marking. It is clear, however, that most, if not all, terms can be used with both markings with a meaning contrast. The following table illustrates the basic characteristics of A/O distribution in Polynesian languages as well as the remarkable agreement one can find even between such distantly related languages as New Zealand Māori and Tongan.

Table 3
Examples of A/O Distribution in Tongan and Māori

O-Marking required:		
Tongan	Māori	Gloss
fale	whare	*house (One lives there.)*
hingoa	ingoa	*name (One is known by it.)*
inu	wai	*water (One drinks it.)*
tehina	teina	*younger sibling of the same sex*
hui	iwi	*bone (It is part of one's body.)*
ongoongo	rongo	*news (Others relate it about one.)*
'ufi	uwhi	*yam (The possessor is a garden.)*
A-Marking required:		
Tongan	Māori	Gloss
me'akai	kai	*food (One eats it.)*
ika	ika	*fish (One catches it.)*
kumete	kumete	*bowl (One eats from it.)*
tamasi'i	tamaiti	*child (One raises him.)*
hui	iwi	*bone (One chews on it.)*
ongoongo	rongo	*news (One relates it about others.)*
'ufi	uwhi	*yam (The possessor is a man.)*

That an A/O contrast existed in the common ancestor of Polynesian languages, and that it was basically the same as the system shared by modern Polynesian languages has long been an assumption of Polynesianists. Progress toward reconstructing a full Proto-Polynesian possessive system has been made by Pawley (1966, 1967, 1972), Chung (1973), and Clark (1976), who have discussed aspects of Proto-Polynesian possessive morphology and syntax. This study, however, is the first full-scale study concentrating exclusively on the Proto-Polynesian possessive marking system.

Chapter Two contains a detailed characterisation of the factors determining the distribution of three possessive markings in Proto-Polynesian: A-marking, O-marking, and direct suffixation (a very limited alternative to O-marking with certain kin terms). Providing a framework for predicting the choice between A/O possessive marker pairs has long been a problem in the Polynesian field. Our framework involves a basic criterion of possessor's control over the initiation of the relationship. This basic criterion is supplemented by a number of exceptional relationships and word classes involving personal drinks, personal kin, certain items referring to artifacts, and sources of personal food and drink.

In Chapter Three, we present reconstructions for five sets of possessives differentiated by their morphology as well as by the syntactic contexts in which they occur. Most important here, we reconstruct two sets containing article elements, rather than one as previously reconstructed by Clark (1976:43). Also significantly different from earlier reconstructions are our Proto-Polynesian pronominal elements, especially dual and second-person forms.

In Chapter Four, we relate the Proto-Polynesian A/O possessive marker contrast to possessive marker contrasts in other Oceanic languages. Polynesian possessive marking systems have appeared quite different from other Oceanic possessive marking systems in past analyses. We show that there are, in fact, many similarities between Polynesian languages and other Oceanic languages in the use of possessive markers and that most of the similarities are best explained as inherited from a common ancestral system.

Chapter Five is a comparison of the morphology and syntax of the Proto-Polynesian and Fijian possessive systems. Proto-Polynesian is found to share many features with Fijian languages, especially Eastern Fijian languages, further supporting the hypothesis that the Proto-Polynesian possessive system has evolved from an early Oceanic system.

Chapter 6, the last chapter of the study, presents a summary of earlier chapters. It contains a discussion of some of the major problems in reconstructing the Proto-Polynesian possessive system and suggestions for future work on Oceanic possessive systems. The implications of our findings in terms of the place of the Polynesian languages in the Oceanic subgroup are also discussed here.

1.2. Methodology and Data

The application of the comparative method to morphological and syntactic reconstruction has become an accepted practice in the Polynesian field (e.g., Grace 1959; Pawley 1966, 1967; Clark 1974, 1976; Chung 1973, 1978) and is used throughout this work. Pawley (1966:39-41) contains a discussion of the use of the comparative method in morphological reconstruction, and Clark (1976:24-27) contains a discussion on the applicability of the comparative method to syntactic reconstruction.

Reconstruction of early Polynesian, Fijian, and Oceanic languages by Clark (1976), Geraghty (1979), and Pawley (1966, 1967, 1973) have provided special direction as well as important data for this work. Clark's and Geraghty's works play an important role in Chapters Three and Five, respectively. Pawley's influence is felt throughout, but especially in Chapter Four.

Besides the considerable literature on Polynesian and other Oceanic languages that has been published in the last one hundred and fifty years, I have drawn on unpublished materials supplied by colleagues. Unpublished Polynesian data that I have used have come primarily through the courtesy of Tāmati Reedy (New Zealand Māori) and my own collection of Hawaiian data. Unpublished Fijian data have come from Paul Geraghty. In particular, Geraghty's extensive collection of Fijian dialectal forms has provided valuable evidence for reconstructing the syntax and morphology of Proto-Polynesian possessives.

One of the difficulties in investigating a topic in as great detail as is done here is the lack of comprehensive studies of all the individual languages within the genetic subgroup which is being dealt with. In the case of this particular topic, we were fortunate in having access to reliable data for representatives of all three subgroups central to the study and which we used as the main witnesses: Hawaiian (my own notes) and New Zealand Māori (Tāmati Reedy) for the Eastern Polynesian group, Rennellese (Elbert 1965, 1975) for the Samoic-Outlier group, and Tongan (Churchward 1953) for Tongic group.

Eastern and Western Fijian data (Geraghty 1979, and his unpublished notes) provide the primary external support for Proto-Polynesian reconstructions proposed in this study. Pawley's early Oceanic reconstructions (1972, 1973) have also been important as external support.

The orthography used in presenting data represents a compromise between individual traditions and expediency for purposes of linguistic analysis. The orthographies of most languages of Polynesia and Melanesia are phonemically based and even where certain distinctions are not consistently marked (e.g., long vowels and glottal stops) there are usually accepted means of marking such distinctions. We have marked these distinctions according to local usage whenever they are indicated in the original or clear to us from other information. In Oceanic orthographies a long vowel is usually marked with a macron, sometimes by doubling the vowel, and glottal stop is marked with a single open quote mark or raised comma, with q being the established symbol for glottal stop used in Oceanic reconstructed forms.[4] We have diverged from local traditions occasionally in word divisions, in particular in the use of a hyphen to indicate morpheme boundaries (of a historic as well as a synchronic nature) when illustrating such boundaries is important in clarifying certain points.

Special note should be made of the Fijian orthography used in this work. All Fijian examples unless specified otherwise are written in Geraghty's diaphonemic orthography. This orthography represents a base form in which letters stand for rough correspondence sets of phonemes that occur throughout Fiji. The letter t, then, could represent a true dental stop, a glottal stop, or an affricate, depending on the particular dialect. Although Geraghty's diaphonemic orthography is unique, in some respects many Pacific Island orthographies are diaphonemic in that the same spelling is pronounced differently by different dialect groups.

1.3. Genetic Relationships

The recognition of a discrete Polynesian subgroup has a long history and has not been subject to serious challenge. The work of Elbert (1953), Pawley (1966, 1967, 1970), and others is determining subgrouping within Polynesian has resulted in a widely accepted genetic tree model. The accepted subgrouping hypothesis recognises three major subgroups: Tongic, Samoic-Outlier, and Eastern Polynesian. Eastern Polynesian and Samoic-Outlier are regarded as forming a higher

level subgroup called Nuclear Polynesian that is coordinate with Tongic. Table 4 outlines the basic genetic classification of those Polynesian languages referred to in this study. Table 5 is a modification of a list of Polynesian consonant correspondences given by Clark (1976:20). Correspondences are orthographic rather than phonetic (because examples are given in local orthographies) and the languages listed are only those referred to in this work.[5]

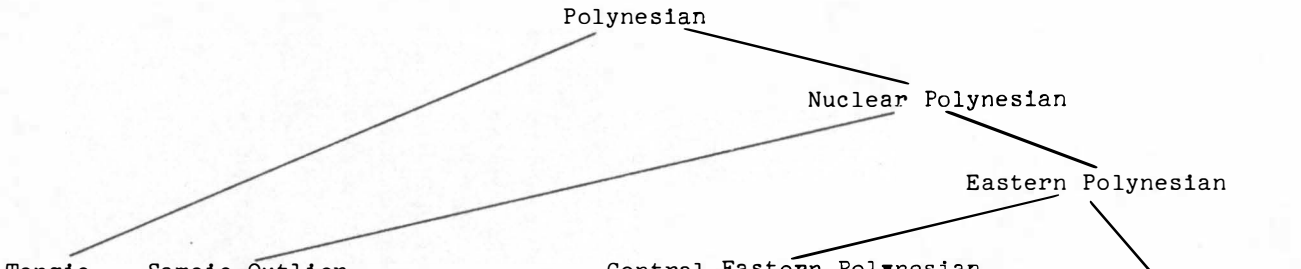
Polynesian languages are the easternmost members of the widespread Austronesian language family. Somewhat detailed subgroupings of a portion of Austronesian that includes Polynesian have been proposed by Grace (1955), Dyen (1965), and Pawley (1972). Although differing in other details, all three investigators concluded that the closest relatives of Polynesian languages include the languages of Fiji, the central and northern New Hebrides, the Banks Islands, and the southeast Solomons. An abbreviated version of Pawley's (1972:98) scheme of interrelationships emphasising the subclassification of Polynesian and its closest relatives is given in Table 6.

Of particular interest in this study is the Central Pacific subgroup, since Proto-Central Pacific is the immediate ancestor of Proto-Polynesian. The Central Pacific subgroup as first proposed by Grace (1959, 1967) and supported by Pawley (1972) included all Fijian languages as well as the Polynesian languages.[6] Geraghty (1979) modified the Central Pacific subgroup as proposed by Grace and Pawley in order to explain innovations shared by Polynesian and Eastern Fijian languages that are not found in Western Fijian languages.

Geraghty's proposal of a low-order subgrouping of Eastern Fijian and Polynesian languages is well documented and has received support from Pawley (1979). Our own investigation of possessive morphology and syntax reveals some similarities between Fijian and Polynesian languages that may represent shared innovations. Some of these are found in Eastern Fijian but not in Western Fijian (see section 6.3).

Table 4

The Polynesian Subgroup



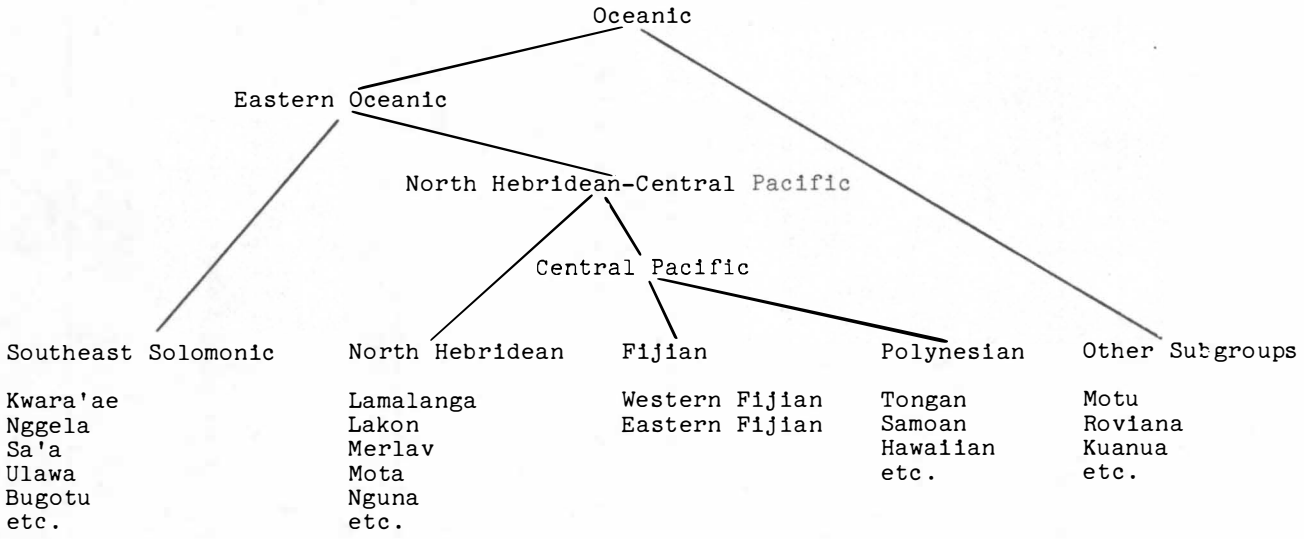
Tongic	Samoic-Outlier	Central Eastern Polynesian	Easter Island
Tongan	East Futunan	Tahitian	
Niuean	East Uvean	Hawaiian	
	Rennellese	Rarotongan (Cook Islands Māori)	
	Mele-Fila	New Zealand Māori	
	Mae (Emwae)		
	West Futunan (Futuna-Aniwa)		
	Pileni		
	Samoan		
	Ellice (Vaitupu and Nanumea)		
	Nukuoro		
	Kapingamarangi		
	Sikaiana		
	Takuu		
	Nukuria		
	Nukumanu		
	Luangiua		

Table 5

Orthographic Representations of Consonant Correspondences in Certain Polynesian Languages

PPN	*p	*t		*k	*q	*f		*s		*h	*m	*n	*ŋ	*v		*l		*r
PTO	*p	*t		*k	*q	*f		*h		*h	*m	*n	*ŋ	*v		*l		*Ø
TON	p	t/s		k	'	f		h		h	m	n	ng	v		l		Ø
NIU	p	t/s		k	Ø	f		h		h	m	n	g	v		l		Ø
PNP	*p	*t		*k	*q	*f		*s		*Ø	*m	*n	*ŋ	*v		*l		*l
EFU	p	t		k	'	f		s		Ø	m	n	g	v		l		l
EUV	p	t		k	'	f		h		Ø	m	n	g	v		l		l
REN	p	t		k	'	h		s		Ø	m	n	ng	b		g		g
MEL	p	t/j		k	Ø	f		s		Ø	m	n	ng	v,w		r		r
MAE	p	t		k	Ø	f		s		Ø	m	n	ŋ	v		r		r
WFU	p	t/tʃ,ʃ		k	Ø	f		s		Ø	m	n	ŋ	v		r		r
PIL	p	t/s		k	Ø	f/h		Ø		Ø	m	n	ng	v		l		l
SAM	p	t		'	Ø	f		s		Ø	m	n	g	v		l		l
NAN	p	t		k	Ø	f		h		Ø	m	n	g	v		l		l
VAI	p	t		k	Ø	f		s		Ø	m	n	ng	v		l		l
NUK	b	d		g	Ø	h		s		Ø	m	n	ng	v		l		l
KAP	b	d		g	Ø	h		h		Ø	m	n	ng	w		l		l
SIK	p	t		k	Ø	h		s		Ø	m	n	n	v		l		l
TAK	p	t		k	Ø	f		s		Ø	m	n	n	v		l/r		l/r
NKR	p	t		k	Ø	h		h/s		Ø	m	n	n	v		l/r		l/r
NKM	p	t		k	Ø	h		h/s		Ø	m	n	n	v		l/r		l/r
LUA	p	k		'	Ø	h		s		Ø	m	ŋ	ŋ	v		l		l
PEP	*p	*t		*k	*q	*f/h		*s		*Ø	*m	*n	*ŋ	*v		*l		*l
EAS	p	t		k	'	h		h		Ø	m	n	ng	v		r		r
PCE	*p	*t		*k	*Ø	*f/h		*s		*Ø	*m	*n	*ŋ	*v		*l		*l
TAH	p	t		'	Ø	f/h		h		Ø	m	n	'	v		r		r
HAW	p	k		'	Ø	h		h		Ø	m	n	n	w		l		l
RAR	p	t		k	Ø	'		'		Ø	m	n	ng	v		r		r
MAO	p	t		k	Ø	wh/h		h		Ø	m	n	ng	w		r		r

Table 6
The Oceanic Subgroup



NOTES ON CHAPTER ONE

1. See Chung (1973) for a study of the possession of nominalised verbs in Polynesian languages, which will not be covered here.

2. In some Polynesian languages, possessive markers have been lost in certain environments (e.g., Tongan ha-Ø-ku [art/zero/*I*] *one of my*, Samoan le-Ø-tā [art/zero/*we*-inc-dual] *our*). Although the loss of possessive markers seems to have occurred in the history of certain Polynesian languages, there are no Polynesian languages that do not show at least some traces of earlier possessive markers. Even a language like Luangiua, where possessive markers are almost completely absent, has relic forms like k-a-ŋa (art/poss/*he*) *his*.

3. In Niuean (McEwen 1970:xv), A-forms have taken over the function of both A- and O-forms. Both A- and O-forms have been generally lost in Mele-Fila, where a rather different distinction in possessives has been developed on what appears to be a model adopted from the languages of neighbouring Melanesian peoples (Clark 1977:11-13). The loss of the A/O distinction in a group of closely related Outlier languages (Takuu, Nukumanu, Nukuria, and Luangiua) is accompanied by a historical deletion of possessive markers before most possessors. (See note 8 of Chapter Three.)

4. The only Polynesian orthographic symbols requiring special explanation are listed below. (See also Table 5.)

   ng — general symbol for the velar nasal

   g
   1. symbol for the velar nasal in languages not using ng for that purpose (e.g., Samoan)
   2. symbol for the prenasalised voiced velar stop in Rennellese
   3. symbol for the voiceless velar stop in Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi (symbolised with k when geminate)

b symbol for the voiceless bilabial stop in Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi (symbolised with p when geminate)

d symbol for the voiceless dental stop in Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi (symbolised with t when geminate)

The Fijian orthography also contains a number of symbols requiring special explanation.

b symbol for the prenasalised voiced bilabial stop

c symbol for the voiced interdental fricative

d symbol for the prenasalised voiced dental stop

dr symbol for the prenasalised voiced flapped liquid

g symbol for the velar nasal

q symbol for the prenasalised voiced velar stop

5. Takuu, Nukuria, and Nukumanu correspondences are from Irwin Howard (personal communication 1980).

6. As originally proposed by Grace (1959), the Central Pacific subgroup included Rotuman as well as the Fijian and Polynesian languages. Pawley (1972) left the position of Rotuman indeterminate, but in his most recent study of internal Oceanic relationships, Pawley (1979) has proposed that Rotuman is a Central Pacific language with its closest relatives among Western Fijian languages.

CHAPTER TWO

Proto-Polynesian Possessive Marker Contrasts

2.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the factors determining choice of possessive marking in Proto-Polynesian. Three markings are reconstructed: A, O, and direct suffixation. As direct suffixation is confined to a small subset of the vocabulary, the major portion of this chapter deals with the complex factors predicting the use of A and O.[1]

The A/O contrast is remarkably constant within Polynesian. Differences do exist, but they involve small groups of terms and innovations and can be identified by comparison with other languages. Frequently, innovative changes in the marking of a group of terms are incomplete, leaving archaisms that provide further evidence for the earlier system. The problem in reconstructing the Proto-Polynesian A/O contrast, then, is not so much one of determining the distribution of A-forms and O-forms, but one of determining the criteria governing that distribution.

This chapter begins with a characterisation of three theories that have been proposed to account for the distribution of A/O possessive markers: the Noun Class Theory, Simple Control Theory, and Initial Control Theory. The Initial Control Theory, which states that A is required in relationships initiated by the possessor and O in those not initiated by the possessor is shown to be the most adequate. These three theories will be treated in section 2.2.

Acceptance of the Initial Control Theory is qualified by a provision for several classes of exceptional relationships taking O rather than the expected A. These classes of exceptions constitute the subject matter of section 2.3. The first class of exceptions discussed is personal possession of clothing, canoes, and shelters in

Eastern Polynesian languages, and these plus certain other artifacts such as adzes, digging sticks, and spears in other Polynesian languages. A second group of exceptions involves things drunk by a possessor and also sources of possessor's drink and food. The last class of exceptions discussed is a group of kin terms.

The discussion of kin terms leads naturally into the final topic of the chapter, the optional use of singular pronominal suffixes attached directly to the possessed noun in the possession of a small class of kin terms. This topic will be treated in section 2.4.

Our view of Polynesian possessive systems differs from those of other scholars primarily in our treatment of conditioning factors (especially our attention to the *initiation* of a possessive relationship) and our subdivision of the use of O-forms into several distinct categories. In supporting Pawley's (1967) analysis that direct suffixation in certain Outlier languages is a retention from Proto-Polynesian, we argue against an alternative proposal that these Outlier languages have borrowed this feature from non-Polynesian languages.

2.2. Characterising a Basic A/O Choice

It has long been recognised that the choice between the A member and the O member of a possessive pair is not free in Polynesian languages, nor is it determined by the phonological shape of the possessed noun. Almost every description of a Polynesian language contains an effort to characterise the conditions for the use of A and O.[2] However, the only full-scale investigation into A/O choice in any language to date is of Hawaiian possessive marking (Wilson 1976a). In this study (Wilson 1976a:3-13), we formalised three different theories from short accounts of A/O distribution offered by traditional grammarians and modern linguists.

2.2.1. The Noun-Class Theory

The simplest theory holds that A/O marking is like the gender systems of Indo-European languages. That is, all nouns are assigned to either an O noun class or an A noun class, based on the possessive marker they take. Although this theory can be stated in a version which makes no reference to semantic features of members of the two noun classes, most descriptions in fact note that the selection is not semantically arbitrary in all cases. Again, this is like Indo-European gender systems, in which membership in noun classes is partly

motivated by semantic features such as 'femininity' and 'masculinity'. In Polynesian languages semantic features often associated with O are clothing, kin terms, and traditionally important objects, while A is often associated with food and portable property. An example of the noun class theory is the following description of A/O marking in New Zealand Māori by Hohepa (1967:24):

> In the first subgroup, objects (things, persons, etc.) that precede [aa and oo] (i.e. are marked for possession) are divided into two classes. The class marked by /aa/ are those possessions to which the possessor (following [aa and oo]) is dominant (e.g. small personal portable property, food), or which the possessor acquired in his lifetime (e.g. wife, children, husband, uninherited objects). The second class marked by /oo/ to which the possessor is subordinate (e.g. nonportable property, or property such as canoes, boats, cars which carry the possessor), and inherited objects (e.g. ancestors, parents).

Any noun class theory is deficient as an overall theory of A/O choice in that it cannot handle minimal pairs such as the following, where the same noun occurs with both markings:

HAW(2.1) **ko'u inoa** O
my name (that represents me)

(2.2) **ka'u inoa** A
my name (that I bestow on someone)

Minimal pairs of the sort illustrated above are extremely common in Polynesian languages. It is, in fact, difficult to find nouns that *cannot* be used with both A and O given the proper context.

2.2.2. The Control Theories

There are two theories that claim A/O choice is predictable not according to noun class but according to distinction in the meaning of possession, much like the choice of the English locative prepositions (*in*, *on*, *at*, etc.) is predictable according to distinctions in the meaning of location rather than word classes. Both of these theories hold that the presence or absence of control by the possessor is the determining factor in A/O choice in Polynesian possessives. Presence of control requires A. Absence of control requires O. By attributing meaning other than simple possession to A (plus control) and O (minus control), the two control theories handle minimal pairs like (2.1) and (2.2), which prove a problem for noun class theories.

The difference between the two control theories lies in what is viewed as controlled. The Simple Control Theory holds that a

possessor's *control of the possessed* is the determining factor. The Initial Control Theory, on the other hand, holds that the possessor's *control over the initiation of the possessive relationship* is the determining factor.

Control theories, first proposed by early missionary grammarians such as Alexander (1864:9), have largely replaced noun class theories in recent descriptions of Polynesian languages, it being obvious that control theories better explain A/O marking. An example of the Simple Control Theory is presented by Clark (1976:44).

> ...*a and *o are markers of different *relations* between NPs. The terms 'dominant' (*a) and 'subordinate' (*o) are used by Biggs (1969) and others, and characterize the distinction between the two as well as any two English words. *a generally takes only human adjuncts, and indicates a relation of control or authority of the adjunct over the head. The relation indicated by *o can perhaps best be characterised as covering all relations *not* included in *a.

The Initial Control Theory was first proposed in the treatment of Hawaiian possessives in Wilson (1976a) and a more precise definition was given for the notion of 'controller'.[3]

> The controller, on the other hand, is the noun phrase that causes or instigates the relationship (usually possessive, but the relationship between an agent and a verb is also one of control).... Actors, agents, and instruments are controllers. The owner in a relationship of ownership is a controller. Ownership is a mental relationship with some form of property instigated by a thinking being. The owner creates this sense of possession in his mind. You do not own something unless you think you do. A speaker assumes animate beings other than himself to be owners of objects when the circumstances of the relationships he observes appear similar to relationships of ownership he has experienced himself. (Wilson 1976a:45)

As an overall theory of A/O choice, the Initial Control Theory is preferable to the Simple Control Theory. The Simple Control Theory can allow for only one controller (i.e., if the possessor controls and dominates the possessed, it is a contradiction for the possessed to control and dominate the possessor in the same relationship). Thus, the Simple Control Theory predicts obligatory O-marking when the roles of an A-marked possessor and the noun it possesses are reversed. The Initial Control Theory, on the other hand, allows for the establishment of a relationship by either the possessor or the possessed, by both of them, or by neither of them. Thus, it predicts that reversal of the syntactic roles of possessor and possessed will not necessarily destroy A-marking. We see in the following pairs that the predictions of the

Initial Control Theory can be substantiated, while those of the Simple Control Theory do not hold.

Both Participants Controllers

HAW(2.3) **ka wahine a ke kāne** A
art/*wife*/poss/art/*husband*
the wife of the husband

(2.4) **ke kāne a ka wahine** A
art/*husband*/poss/art/*wife*
the husband of the wife

One Participant a Controller

(2.5) **ke keiki a ka makuahine** A
art/*child*/poss/art/*mother*
the child of the mother

(2.6) **ka makuahine o ke keiki** O
art/*mother*/poss/art/*child*
the mother of the child

Neither Participant a Controller

(2.7) **ke kaikua'ana o ke kaikaina** O
art/*older brother*/poss/art/*younger brother*
the older brother of the younger brother

(2.8) **ke kaikaina o ke kaikua'ana** O
art/*younger brother*/poss/art/*older brother*
the younger brother of the older brother

The Initial Control Theory explains the A/O choice in all the above examples. The use of A in both (2.3) and (2.4) can be attributed to the fact that both husband and wife control the initiation of the marriage relationship in Hawaiian culture. The change from A in (2.5) to O in (2.6), on the other hand, is attributed to the fact that the relationship between a mother and child comes into being through agency on the part of the mother but not on the part of the child. Finally, the use of O in both (2.7) and (2.8) reflects the fact that neither the older brother nor the younger brother in a sibling relationship has any control or agency in initiating their possession of each other. The origin of their relationship is found not with them, but with their parents, an external force.

Note that the Initial Control Theory focusses on the initiation of a relationship and not on its features once it is established. In traditional Hawaiian culture, the relationship between an older brother and a younger brother is characterised by the older brother's dominance and control of his younger brother. The feature of dominance and control by the older brother predicts A for (2.8) in

the Simple Control Theory, a marking which, however, is ungrammatical in Hawaiian.

Another example in which a possessor has control over the possessed after the establishment of the relationship, but yet has no control over the establishment of the relationship, is the relationship between a chief and his people, illustrated in example (2.9).

HAW(2.9) nā kānaka o ke ali'i — C
art/*people*/poss/art/*chief*
the people of the chief

A chief is definitely dominant over his people in Hawaiian culture, although the relationship between them is not established through anyone's agency. The chief-people relationship is one established through common kinship and residence bonds. The Initial Control Theory correctly predicts O for (2.9), while the Simple Control Theory incorrectly predicts A.

The converse of the chief-people (and older brother-younger brother) relationship is the ancestor-descendant relationship. Note the use of A here, while O is used in the chief-people relationship.

HAW(2.10) nā mamo a ka mea make — A
art/*descendant*/poss/art/*person/dead*
the descendants of the deceased

Although a dead person played a vital controlling role in initiating his relationship with his descendants, the relationship itself is not characterised by control of either party over the other. The Simple Control Theory incorrectly predicts O for this relationship due to lack of control in the relationship itself. The Initial Control Theory, on the other hand, correctly predicts A due to the initiation of the relationship through agency by the possessor.[4]

2.2.3. Illustration of the Initial Control Theory

The Initial Control Theory explains A/O marking for an extremely large number of Polynesian possessive relationships. Some of these are illustrated in the following section, using Hawaiian examples. Similar results would be found in other Polynesian languages.[5]

The relationship of a possessor to his honors, titles, symbols, and to images of himself or ceremonies in his honour requires O. Such relationships are initiated by forces other than the possessor (although the possessor's actions may attract outside forces to initiate such relationships). A possessor does not give himself awards, names, or titles but receives these things from others.[6]

HAW(2.11) **kona inoa**
his name

(2.12) **kona kāhili**
his kāhili (feather standard, a symbol of royalty)

(2.13) **kona ki'i**
his picture (He is depicted in the picture.)

(2.14) **kona lū'au**
his feast (It is prepared in his honour.)

(2.15) **kona kiaho'omana'o**
his memorial

(2.16) **kona ho'olewa**
his funeral

(2.17) **kona pōkā**
his bullet (The bullet is intended for him.)

The relationship of a possessor to his body and its parts and to his siblings, parents, and ancestors requires O. A possessor does not initiate such relationships. (Note that some of these relationships involve considerable control by the possessor after their initiation. For example, a possessor exercises considerable control and dominance over his hands.)

HAW(2.18) **kona lima**
his hand

(2.19) **kona makua**
his parent

(2.20) **kona kaikuahine**
his sister

(2.21) **kona mimi**
his urine

The relationship of a possessor to his creations and products of his own work is established by the possessor, as is his relationship to his offspring and descendants. These relationships take A.

HAW(2.22) **kāna ki'i**
his picture (He painted it.) (cf. 2.13)

(2.23) **kāna lū'au**
his feast (He prepared it.) (cf. 2.14)

(2.24) **kāna keiki**
his child

Certain personal relationships are entered into through a conscious decision by the possessor. These relationships include marriage, formal friendships, and business transactions. The conscious decision

by the possessor is a form of control in initiating the possessive relationship and requires A.

HAW(2.25) kāna wahine
his wife

(2.26) kāna aikāne
his (best) friend

(2.27) kāna limahana
his workman

(2.28) kāna haumāna
his student

The relationship of ownership of property involves a conscious establishment of such a relationship in the mind of the possessor. The conscious establishment of ownership in a possessor's mind initiates the possessive relationship and thus requires A. Also requiring A is temporary custody, which involves the consent of the person caring for something owned by another.

HAW(2.29) kāna hoe
his paddle

(2.30) kāna 'īlio
his dog

(2.31) kāna pia
his beer (He drinks or sells it.)

(2.32) kāna haupia
his coconut pudding (He eats or sells it.)

It is because inanimate things are incapable of artistic creation, marriage, ownership, and other agentive relationships common among human possessors that we seldom see A-marking used with inanimates in Polynesian languages. The lack of control of inanimate possessors over the possessive relationships in which they participate requires O.

HAW(2.33) ka 'īlio o ka hale
the dog of the house

(2.34) ka keiki o ka 'āina
the child of the land

(2.35) ka haupia o kēia lā
today's coconut pudding

In Proto-Polynesian, inanimates may have been constrained from possessing with A even in cases where they could be seen as having agency or control over the initiation of a possessive relationship.[7] If such a constraint existed in Proto-Polynesian, Hawaiian has lost

it. Hawaiian distinguishes relationships initiated through agency by an inanimate from those initiated with no such control or agency.

HAW(2.36) **ka wela o ka lā** A
the heat of the sun (the heat emanating from the sun)

(2.37) **ka wela a ka lā** A
the heat of the sun (heat in a person or thing that can be traced to the sun)

(2.38) **ka melemele o ka 'ōlena** O
the yellow colour of turmeric (the colour in the turmeric itself)

(2.39) **ka melemele a ka 'ōlena** A
the yellow colour of turmeric (the colour in cloth or on the skin caused by turmeric)

2.3. Other Criteria for Predicting O-Forms: Exceptional Classes

We have seen that the control or the lack of such control of the initiation of a possessive relationship provides the most basic criterion for A/O choice in Hawaiian. It is this criterion that we propose as basic to A/O choice in all Polynesian languages, and in Proto-Polynesian as well. There are, however, occurrences of O-marking in Polynesian languages that cannot be handled by this criterion, or by any other criterion that we have discussed previously. These exceptions can be accommodated by establishing other criteria involving subclasses of relationship types and possessed nouns. In the following pages we will discuss those relationships and word classes relevant to possessive marking in Polynesian languages and their implications for the reconstruction of Proto-Polynesian possessive marking.

Table 7 outlines the basic criteria for Proto-Polynesian A/O choice, along with the various supplementary criteria we will propose in this section.

Table 7
Proto-Polynesian A/O Choice Outlined

General Noncontrolled Relationships	Exceptional Controlled Relationships	General Controlled Relationships
O	O	A
	1. possession for personal use, with certain artifacts	
	2. possession as personal drink	
	3. possession as the producer of one's drink	
	4. possession as the producer of one's food	
	5. possession as personal kin	

2.3.1. Personal Possession with Marked Artifact Terms

The largest subclass taking O-forms unexpectedly in Proto-Polynesian is a group of words including terms for *house*, *canoe*, *adze*, *loin-cloth*, *spear*, and *bed* (but not *bowl*, *hook*, or *sennit*). There is a lack of agreement between Eastern and non-Eastern Polynesian languages as to the membership of this subclass, but considerable consistency within Eastern Polynesian and within non-Eastern Polynesian. The lack of agreement appears to be due to an Eastern Polynesian innovation.

We shall investigate the Eastern Polynesian situation first, as it is the best described, and then relate the Eastern Polynesian data to that of other Polynesian languages. Finally, we make our proposal for an Eastern Polynesian innovation.

Descriptions of Eastern Polynesian languages often make reference to the use of O-forms with clothing, shelters, and modes of transportation and the use of A-forms with other sorts of personal property. The fact that personal property generally takes A in Polynesian languages is consistent with the observation that ownership of personal property involves the initiation of the relationship by the possessor. The use of O with some personal property is therefore unexpected and examples such as the following must be treated as

exceptions to the basic rule.

HAW(2.40) ko'u hale
my house

(2.41) ko'u wa'a
my canoe

(2.42) ko'u pālule
my shirt

(2.43) ko'u noho
my chair

(2.44) ko'u moe
my bed

What is common to the examples above is that they refer to property owned for what we shall term a 'spatial use'.[8] Spatial use requires physical proximity or contact between the possessor and the possessed. This physical proximity or contact must be the salient feature of the use of the property - its primary purpose - and not merely incidental to its use. For example, the primary purpose or function of having a chair is for the possessor to sit upon. Likewise for clothing, once one has put on the clothes, one is using the clothes. The same is true with a house, once one has entered the house, one is using the house.

In contrast, there are things that require physical contact or proximity when in use but for which the mere attainment of such a spatial relationship does not constitute full use. For example, one holds an adze when using the adze, but just holding the adze is not the primary goal. One must carve with it. Similarly, with a mirror, one must attain a certain physical proximity, but if one does not observe one's image after attaining the proximity, one has not made use of the mirror.

A good contrast is that between perfume (involving spatial use taking O) and soap (involving a non-spatial use taking A). With perfume, once the customary contact with the possessor's skin has been made, the perfume is being used. With soap, however, contact with the possessor's skin is not primary but incidental. One must then scrub and wash the soap off to have used it properly. To leave the soap in contact with the body without performing the next steps would not be the customary use of soap.

Evidence for the existence of a semantic criterion of ownership for spatial use is that such geographically and culturally remote Eastern Polynesian languages as Hawaiian, Eastern Island, and New Zealand Māori all use O with postcontact nouns whose possession involves spatial use, such as the terms for horse (ridden), automobile (ridden),

swimming pool (swum in), sunglasses (worn), lipstick (worn), and umbrella (stood under). Note that these nouns, like all other nouns usually owned for special use, take A when owned for a purpose other than spatial use. For example, horses and canoes are possessed with O by those owning them to ride, and with A by those who do not ride them but possess them for other purposes, such as to sell.

Although non-Eastern Polynesian languages do not have an expectional relationship of spatial use, they have a class of 'marked artifact terms' that are used with O-marking when possessed for personal use, but with A-marking in other cases of possession initiated with a possessor's control. We call these terms 'marked artifact terms' because they are commonly (but not necessarily, e.g. *path*) objects of human manufacture. Not all terms for artifacts fit this class, however, and it is clearly a partially idiosyncratic, rather than semantically predictable, noun class, as shown in the Tongan examples below:

TON(2.45)	**hoku toki** *my adze (I own it and use it myself.)*	O
(2.46)	**he'eku toki** *my adze (I made it or sell it.)*	A
(2.47)	**he'eku kumete** *my bowl (I own it and use it myself, or made it or sell it.)*	A

Thus, **toki** *adze* is a member of the marked artifact noun class while **kumete** *bowl* is not.

Eastern Polynesian cognates of a number of marked artifact terms are nouns whose personal possession normally involves spatial use and consequently are possessed with O. There are other Eastern Polynesian cognates, however, that cannot be used spatially and these are marked with A for personal possession. We will argue below that there is no regular semantic principle by which one can predict which terms will take O-marking when possessed as personal property in non-Eastern Polynesian languages; rather, they reflect an exceptional noun class of Proto-Polynesian itself.

Note the following examples of O-marked artifact terms from Tongan. The first column of Table 8 includes terms that fall under the spatial-use category in Eastern Polynesian languages.

There is remarkable agreement among genetically diverse and geographically widespread non-Eastern Polynesian languages in the membership of the marked artifact term class. Such geographically, culturally, and linguistically disparate speech communities as

Table 8
Some Marked Artifact Terms in Tongan

Spatial Use		Nonspatial Use	
kofu	*clothes*	helu	*comb*
mama	*ring*	ī	*fan*
tokotoko	*walking stick*	fue	*fly-whisk*
fale	*house*	toki	*adze, axe*
mohenga	*bed*	tao	*spear*
pōpao	*canoe*	huo	*spade*
hala	*path*	kupenga	*fish net*
vala	*loin cloth*		
pā	*shield*		

Rennellese, Tongan, and Samoan agree on the marking of terms for digging stick, house, spear, clothing, canoe and adze with O. It is extremely difficult to explain the consistent use of O with the particular set of artifact terms mentioned above, except by assuming their retention from a common ancestor. If there were some regular underlying semantic principle governing the use of O with these terms, we would expect terms for certain introduced items to join into the system on a widespread scale (as they have for spatial use terms in Eastern Polynesian languages). We find, instead, that the term for the introduced axe in Rennellese acts differently from the term for the native adze, and that in Samoan the term for the introduced means of transportation, *automobile*, acts differently from the term for the traditional means of transportation, *canoe*. We conclude, therefore, that there was a fixed class of exceptions taking O for personal possession in the common ancestor of Tongan, Rennellese, and Samoan. With the present subgrouping hypothesis, that common ancestor is Proto-Polynesian. There is, furthermore, considerable external evidence for a marked artifact term class in Proto-Polynesian. Pawley (1973:163) has suggested reconstructing the marking of the possession of intimate clothing, shields, and hand-carried weapons as different from that of other forms of property in Proto-Oceanic.[9]

Reconstructing the use of O-marking with the personal possession of a marked artifact term class for Proto-Polynesian implies innovation in Eastern Polynesian. Although many Eastern Polynesian reflexes of the marked artifact term class are possessed with O-marking in what

would be described as personal possession for non-Eastern Polynesian languages (e.g., PEP *fale *house*, *waka *canoe*, *rei *neck ornament*), others are possessed with A-marking (e.g., *toki *adze*, *tao *spear*). A second difference is that those Eastern Polynesian terms preserving the use of O-marking in cases of personal (i.e., spatial) possession do not belong to a fixed class as in non-Eastern Polynesian languages. New items are consistently incorporated in the Eastern Polynesian languages in accordance with the criterion of spatial use.

One could explain the Eastern Polynesian innovation as a simple change in the noun class taking O-marking with personal possession, but such an explanation overlooks the criterion of spatial use that connects reflexes of Proto-Polynesian marked artifact terms preserving O-marking to those newly coined terms that take O-marking in all Eastern Polynesian languages.

What appears to have happened is that Pre-Eastern Polynesian speakers extrapolated from the large number of O-marked items a subclass involving spatial use, such as *bed*, *house*, *mat*, *canoe*, and *loincloth*. We hypothesize that the first step in this innovation was the perception of a relationship of spatial use, although one lacking a distinct marking from other O-marked relations. That is, some speakers distinguished words like *house* from *adze* as members of two different exception groups, both, however, taking O. *House* would take O because its use is a spatial use. *Adze* would take O because it belonged to an irregular class of artifact terms taking O in normal personal use.

The next step in the analysis was for some speakers to allow the requirement of O with the marked artifact term class to become optional, while retaining the use of O obligatorily with spatial use. This would have given competing O and A with terms like *fan*, *spear*, *adze*, and *comb*. Probably before Proto-Eastern Polynesian split up, A completely replaced O with many such terms. We do find here and there in Eastern Polynesian languages cases of free A/O alternation with personal possession of a few words that might be relics from a time when A and O alternated with certain marked artifacts.[10]

2.3.2. Possession as Personal Drink

In Proto-Polynesian ownership in which the possessed is intended as drink for the possessor appears to have required O rather than the expected A-marking predicted by the Initial Control Theory. Evidence for this conclusion is found in Eastern Polynesian languages, in Tongan, and in external witnesses such as Standard Fijian.

Eastern Polynesian languages have irregular and presumably archaic preservation of O-marking with certain drinks. In New Zealand Māori, drinking water and medicines (many of which are drunk in liquid form) are possessed irregularly with O rather than A, which is used with drinks such as beer and wine introduced by Europeans. Likewise in Hawaiian, 'awa *kava*, that is intended to be drunk, is possessed with O, while all other potables, including water and medicine, take A.

The productive use of O with things owned as drinks in Tongan indicates that use of O with ownership for drinking is not an Eastern Polynesian innovation, but rather a retention from Proto-Polynesian.

TON(2.48)	hoku inu *my drinking water*	O
(2.49)	hoku kofi *my coffee*	O
(2.50)	hoku tī *my tea*	O

The reconstruction of an exceptional class including terms for things intended as a possessor's drink is well supported by external evidence. Fijian languages distinguish the possession of a possessor's drink from ordinary ownership. The same distinction is also made in a number of languages of the New Hebrides and Banks Islands and has been reconstructed for Proto-North Hebridean-Central Pacific by Pawley (1973:163-164).

2.3.3. Marked Drink Producers

In Fijian languages, the special marking used with terms for a person's drinks is also used with sources of his drinks, notably wells and springs. O-marking appears to have been extended to sources of drinks in the same way in Proto-Polynesian. That is, any possessed noun which was regarded as a source of the possessor's drink had its possessive relation expressed with O, in contrast to A-marking, which was used in other controlled relationships, such as when the possessed was the possessor's creation. In Tongan, springs and wells (and, in modern times, water tanks) take O. The extension of this special use of O to water tanks is evidence that we are dealing with a semantically based relationship rather than a fixed noun class. O is also used with sources of drinks in Rarotongan, an Eastern Polynesian language.

TON(2.51) hono vai — O
his well

(2.52) hono sima — O
his cement tank

RAR(2.53) no Mi'i tēia punavai — O
This is Mi'i's well.

2.3.4. Marked Food Producers

Quite similar to the use of O with sources of drink in Proto-Polynesian is the use of O with sources of personal food (but not food itself). This usage can be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian based on evidence from Eastern Polynesian, Samoic-Outlier, and Tongic languages, as well as external witnesses. More specifically, we reconstruct Proto-Polynesian as requiring the use of O-marking with the possession of cultivated plots of land and most food plants by the individuals who eat the production of that land or plant. An outline of the evidence is given in Table 9.

Table 9
The Possession of Cultivated Land and Food Plants in Three Polynesian Languages

	Cultivated Land	Food Plants
Hawaiian	Either A or O	A
Rennellese	O	O
Tongan	A	O

In Hawaiian, free variation between A and O marking is found with terms for cultivated plots such as māla *garden*, kīhāpai *field*, lo'i *flooded field*, and mahina'ai *field*. We find mere traces of this usage in another Eastern Polynesian language, New Zealand Māori, where māra *garden* normally takes A but O occurs in a poetic expression, presumably an ancient fixed idiom.

MAO(2.54) māra o Tāne — O
Literally: *garden of (the god) Tāne*
Idiomatically: *the singing of birds together at dawn or dusk*

Much more substantial support can be found outside of Eastern Polynesian in Tongan and Rennellese, two languages for which we have good data on possessives. In Rennellese, 'umanga *garden* takes O

without the free alternation with A as is the case in Hawaiian. Note that O with *garden* in Hawaiian and Rennellese implies normal use; that is, ownership for the personal cultivation of one's food, not possession for special purposes such as ownership as merchandise, which requires A.

In Rennellese, certain plants which produce food are possessed with O. Examples include huti *banana plant*, niu *coconut tree*, pateto *sweet potato*, kape *giant taro*, and mamiapu *papaya*. Note that these plants only take O when considered as food *producers*. When they are considered *food*, they take A.

REN(2.55)	toku huti *my banana (plant)*	O
(2.56)	taku huti *my banana (food)*	A

Not all food-producing plants take O in Rennellese. For example, tago *taro* and 'uhi *yam* are possessed with A even when considered plants and not as food.

In Tongan, names for short plants that are not trees (such as yams, taro, and sweet potatoes) all take A, as the term for taro does in Rennellese, while names of food-producing trees and tall plants (such as oranges, coconut trees, and banana plants) take O. Also, like Rennellese, for the plants that take O, Tongan distinguishes between possession as a food producer and possession as food.

TON(2.57)	hotau niu *our coconut (tree)*	O
(2.58)	'etau niu *our coconut (fruit to eat)*	A

Tongan differs from Rennellese and Hawaiian in that it does not use O with the word for garden (TON ma'ala). We infer that the Tongan use of A with *garden* is an innovation. Other than this change, the Tongan system is very similar to the system we reconstruct for Proto-Polynesian. That is, gardens and food-producing trees and large plants took O in Proto-Polynesian.

The position of some short food plants is problematical. PPN *talo *taro* was probably excluded from this class of food-producing plants taking O. Rennellese evidence suggests that PPN *kape *giant taro*, a large plant but not a tree, may have taken O. Either Tongan has eliminated some short plants on analogy with *taro*, or Rennellese has included some short plants on analogy with trees and tall plants. Hawaiian appears to have lost the use of O with food-producing plants but preserved O in alternation with A with cultivated gardens.

It is important to emphasise that in all three languages, the use of O with terms for certain food-producing plants and gardens runs contrary to the normal use of A to mark personal possession of property, and that these terms must be treated as exceptions. Changes to A-marking, as proposed for *garden* in the history of Tongan and terms for food-producing plants in the history of Hawaiian, can be regarded as regularisations of an earlier system better preserved in Rennellese. If one reconstructed the earlier system on the Tongan or Hawaiian model, one would be faced with the problem of motivating the innovation of exceptions to normal usage in the other two languages.

The marking of the possession of food producers as distinct from ordinary ownership in Polynesian languages has a parallel in Fijian languages, in which gardens and food producing groves are possessed distinctively from ordinary ownership. In Fijian languages, however, the marking seems to be an extension of a special marking used with a possessor's personal food, quite similar to the case discussed earlier in section 2.3.3, where sources of a possessor's drinks are treated like his drinks. If the Polynesian and Fijian treatment of sources of food are related, it seems that the possessor's food took a marking distinct from ordinary property in the history of Polynesian languages, but that this feature was lost in pre-Polynesian.

2.3.5. Marked Kin Terms

Oceanic languages typically treat the possession of kin terms differently from the possession of other noun types. It is therefore not unexpected that Polynesian languages have irregular kin term classes. In this section, we present evidence for reconstructing a set of kin terms taking O-marking irregularly in Proto-Polynesian. We also discuss the possibility of a class of terms taking A-marking irregularly, as suggested by Tongan data.

In Eastern Polynesian languages, ascendant kin terms and terms for blood relatives of one's own generation take O, while descendant kin terms and terms for spouse take A. The following reconstruction in Table 10 is based on a comparison of Hawaiian, Tahitian, and New Zealand Māori.

Eastern Polynesian kin terms are typically classificatory. For example, the term for sibling is also used to refer to cousin, and the term for grandchild also applies to sibling's grandchild. One's relationship to one's true grandchild can be viewed as involving some agency (i.e., control), but the same does not hold for one's

Table 10
Some Proto-Central Eastern Polynesian Kin Terms

Possessed with O	
*tupuna	*grandparent*
*matua	*parent*
*tuakana	*older sibling of the same sex*
*teina/taina	*younger sibling of the same sex*
*tuŋaane	*brother of a female*
*tuahine	*sister of a male*
Possessed with A	
*taane	*male (used for husband)*
*vahine	*woman (used for wife)*
*tamariki	*children (used for offspring)*
*tama	*child (used for offspring, son)*
*tamahine	*girl (used for daughter)*
*mokopuna/makupuna	*grandchild*

relationship to the grandchild of one's sibling. There is, then, a potential for different marking of reflexes of *mokopuna *grandchild* and reflexes of *mokopuna *grandnephew* or *grandniece* according to strict application of the Initial Control Theory. In actual fact, this does not occur. All collateral kin are possessed on analogy with lineal kin. This analogy even extends to the term PCE *ila(a)mutu *nephew/niece* which is possessed with A. Except for the complication of analogy, Eastern Polynesian possession of kin terms is basically the same as possession of ordinary nouns.

The possession of Nuclear Polynesian kin terms as a whole is slightly more complicated than that of the Eastern Polynesian subgroup. First of all, there are some differences in terms. Second, some terms one would expect to be possessed with A are possessed with O in many Nuclear Polynesian languages outside Eastern Polynesian. The following reconstructions in Table 11 are based on evidence from Rennellese, Samoan, Ellice, and our Eastern Polynesian reconstruction.

Note that every term possessed with A in the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian kin term set in Table 11 is different semantically from those possessed

Table 11
Some Proto-Nuclear Polynesian Kin Terms

Possessed with O	
*tupuna	*grandparent*
*tamana	*father*
*tinana	*mother*
*matuqa	*parent*
*teina/taina	*younger sibling of the same sex*
*tuakana	*older sibling of the same sex*
*tuafafine	*sister of a male*
*tuaŋaqane	*brother of a female*
*mokopuna/makupuna	*grandchild*
*qila(a)mutu	*nephew/niece*
Possessed with A	
*faanau	*children (used for offspring)*
*tama	*child (used for offspring, son)*
*tamafafine	*girl (used for daughter)*

with O in that those possessed with A have their basic meaning outside the kinship system. That is, like *girl* and *boy* used for *daughter* and *son* in English, their use as kin terms is a secondary adaptation. The implication here is that all true kin terms were possessed with O in Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and that those terms possessed with A were not true kin terms.

It is possible to reconstruct a noun class taking O for normal personal possession which consisted of all true kin terms in Proto-Nuclear Polynesian, but it is more economical to set up a smaller marked kin term class consisting of at least *makupuna/mokopuna *grandchild* and *qila(a)mutu *nephew/niece* since the use of O with terms such as *tamana *father* and *tuaŋaqane *brother of a female* is predictable by the Initial Control Theory.

What appears to have happened in Eastern Polynesian languages is that the small irregular noun class has been eroded and lost. We say eroded since New Zealand Māori has free alternation between A and O in personal possession of the term mokopuna. Disagreements among some

non-Eastern Polynesian languages over the marking of certain kin terms indicates a similar erosion of the marked kin term class. As example of such a term is PNP *qaavaŋa *spouse*, reflexes of which are possessed with O in Ellice (e.g., toku avanga *my husband/wife*), but A in Rennellese (e.g., taku 'aabanga *my spouse*), and Samoan la'u āvā *my wife* (common man speaking; compare, however, the chiefly version, lo'u faletua *my wife*, in which O-marking is used).

Nuclear Polynesian data suggest, then, a Proto-Polynesian system in which all true kin terms were possessed with O. Comparison with Tongan, the only Tongic witness for the A/O contrast, does not offer immediate support for this hypothesis and, in fact, suggests the possibility that some Proto-Polynesian kin terms were possessed with A even in cases where the Initial Control Theory predicts O-marking. Table 12 lists some Tongan kin terms as marked for normal personal possession.

Agreement between Tongan and our Proto-Polynesian reconstruction allows us to reconstruct A-marking with PPN *faanau *children* (used for *offspring*), *tama *child* (used for *son* or *offspring*), *tama fafine *girl* (used for *daughter*). None of these are true kin terms, however. O-marking can be reconstructed for PPN *tahina/tehina *younger sibling of the same sex*, *tuaŋaqane *brother of a female*, *tuafafine *sister of a male*, *mokopuna *grandchild*, and also *qila(a)mutu *nephew/niece*. We may also add to the list *fosa *son*, based on agreements between Tongan foha and Rennellese hosa *son*. All the terms reconstructed as taking O-marking are true kin terms. Of the true kin terms reconstructable for PPN, use of O with *qila(a)mutu, *mokopuna, and *fosa runs contrary to the predictions of the Initial Control Theory and requires the establishment of a marked kin term class taking O under personal possession.

Tongan use of A with kui *grandparent*, motu'a *parent*, tamai *father*, and fa'ē *mother* runs contrary to the predictions of the Initial Control Theory (since they are possessed without one's agency), and requires the establishment of an irregular class of kin terms taking A under personal possession in Tongan. All of these terms have cognates taking O in Nuclear Polynesian languages (e.g., MAO kuia *grandmother*, matua *parent*, and whaea *mother*, SAM tamā, REN tamana *father*). The question is whether Tongan or Nuclear Polynesian preserves the Proto-Polynesian system.

Although one cannot completely rule out the possibility of a Tongan-like A-marked irregular kin term class in Proto-Polynesian, the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian system more closely resembles other

Table 12
Some Tongan Kin Terms

Possessed with O	
mali	*spouse*
tokoua	*sibling*
ta'okete	*older sibling of the same sex*
tehina	*younger sibling of the same sex*
tuonga'ane	*brother of a female*
tuofefine	*sister of a male*
foha	*son of a male*
'ofefine	*daughter of a male*
mokopuna	*grandchild*
'ilamutu	*nephew/niece of a male*
tu'asina	*maternal uncle*
mehekitanga	*paternal aunt*
Possessed with A	
kui	*grandparent*
motu'a	*parent*
tamai	*father*
fa'ē	*mother*
fānau	*children (used for offspring)*
tama	*child (used for woman's son)*
tama fefine	*girl (used for daughter)*
fakafotu	*nephew/niece of a female*
fa'ētangata	*maternal uncle*
fehuhu	*mother (regal)*

Eastern Oceanic systems in having two classes of true kin terms. That is, Proto-Nuclear Polynesian is typically Oceanic in the following two ways.

(A) Proto-Nuclear Polynesian had a class of kin terms defined by an independent suffix *-na (e.g., *tama-na *father*) and possession by direct suffixation (e.g., *tama-ku *my father*). Note that this class is further united in Proto-Nuclear Polynesian by the use of O-marking in all cases of personal possession. (See sections 2.4 and 4.3).

(B) Proto-Nuclear Polynesian also had a very small class of true kin terms not ending in *-na (e.g., *qila(a)mutu *nephew/niece*) that was defined by being possessed with a possessive marker rather than by direct suffixation (e.g., *t-o-ku qila(a)mutu *my nephew/niece*). Note that the possessive marker used with this kin term class is always O in cases of personal possession. (See section 4.3).

Tongan differs from the Eastern Oceanic typology given above in the following ways:

(A) Tongan treats terms cognate with the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian class ending in *-na differently from each other. Note that Tongan tamai *father* (cf. PNP *tama-na) is possessed with A while mokopuna *grandchild* (cf. PNP *mokopu-na) is possessed with O.

(B) Tongan treats terms within a class of true kin terms not associated with the *-na ending differently from each other. Note that fa'ē *mother* is possessed with A while foha *son* is possessed with O.

Based on typological comparison, Tongan appears to have innovated by creating an irregular noun class possessed with A under personal possession, contrary to the predictions of the Initial Control Theory. There is, however, a possibility that such an irregular A-marked kin term class existed in Proto-Polynesian. This irregular A-marked kin term class would be in addition to the well established small irregular O-marked kin term class reconstructed above to include PPN *fosa *son*, *mokopuna *grandchild*, etc.

2.4. Direct Suffixation

The markers A and O are not the only means of possessive marking in Polynesian languages. In certain structures, suffixes alternate with O in some languages. We will argue below, in agreement with Pawley (1967:262), that such languages have retained this feature from Proto-Polynesian.

The direct suffixation to certain kin terms of pronominal elements normally found after A and O is a form of possessive marking found in certain Polynesian Outlier languages. In investigating the genetic relationships of Outlier languages, Pawley (1967:262) noted that direct suffixation of pronominal elements was a possessive marking strategy in Mae, Rennellese, Pileni, Mele-Fila, Tikopia, and

West Futunan, and that except for an apparent innovation in Mele-Fila and West Futunan, only singular possessive suffixes occur.

Rennellese will be used to illustrate the use of possessive suffixes in Outlier languages. In Rennellese, possessive suffix use is restricted to a small group of stems and is irregular in its application. Six stems take possessive suffixes. These six stems can be further subdivided into three separate groupings according to what suffixes they take and what form they take when there is no possessive suffix affixed to them.

The stems meaning *father* and *mother* have independent forms ending in -na. This -na can be replaced by a possessive suffix -u indicating either a first person singular possessor or a second person singular possessor.

REN(2.59) te tama-na (independent form)
art/*father*/independent suffix
the father

(2.60) te tama-u
your father/my father

(2.61) te tina-na
the mother

(2.62) te tina-u
your mother/my mother

The stems meaning *grandparent*, *grandchild*, and *male's younger brother* have independent forms ending in -na. This -na can be replaced by a possessive suffix -u which only indicates a second person singular possessor.

REN(2.63) te tupu-na
the grandparent

(2.64) te tupu-u
your grandparent

(2.65) te makupu-na
the grandchild

(2.66) te makupu-u
your grandchild

(2.67) te tai-na
the younger brother of a male

(2.68) te tai-u
your younger brother

The stem meaning *mother's brother* has an independent form without a final suffix -na. This stem does take -na, however, as a possessive

suffix indicating third person singular possessor. The possessive suffix -u, second person singular possessor, also occurs.

REN(2.69) te tu'aatina
the uncle

(2.70) te tu'aatina-na
his uncle

(2.71) te tu'aatina-u
your uncle

The fact that a suffix -na occurs in the independent forms of five of the six Rennellese kin terms taking possessive suffixes is of considerable importance. The Triangle Polynesian languages of all three major subgroups and several Outlier languages (e.g., Takuu, Kapingamarangi) lack direct suffixation as a possessive strategy, but have a subclass of kin terms ending in -na. Among these are terms cognate with the Rennellese terms showing an independent form with a -na suffix (e.g., HAW kupu-na, REN tupu-na *grandparent*).[11] The final syllable in these forms has long been identified as a petrified reflex of the third person singular possessive suffix, PEO *-ña (Churchward 1932:4-6). It has generally been assumed that *-na ceased to be a separate morpheme in Proto-Polynesian kin terms. We will suggest, however, that *-na was part of a set of contrasting endings which has been preserved in some Outliers. The following Proto-Polynesian kin terms are reconstructed as participating in direct suffixation.

Table 13
Proto-Polynesian Kin Terms Participating in Direct Suffixation

*tahi-na	*younger sibling of the same sex*
*tuaka-na	*older sibling of the same sex*
*tina-na	*mother*
*tama-na	*father*
*makupu-na	*grandchild* (also *mokopu-na)
*tupu-na	*grandparent*

Direct suffixation is marginal in Rennellese and an alternative structure exists in which these kin terms are possessed with O in their independent forms.

REN(2.72) te tama-u
art/*father*/*you*
your father

(2.73) t-o-u tama-na
art/poss-O/*you*/*father*/independent suffix
your father

The Rennellese alternative structure using O and -na is cognate with the structure used in Triangle Polynesian languages and is therefore reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian.

TON(2.74) h-o-ku mokopu-na
art/poss/*I*/*grandchild*/independent suffix
my grandchild

HAW(2.75) k-o-'u kupu-na
art/poss/*I*/*grandparent*/independent suffix
my grandparent

We reconstruct a Proto-Polynesian system in which the kin terms of Table 13 form a special noun class. The independent forms with the *-na suffix can occur with O marking but O marking is in competition with direct suffixation for singular pronoun possessors. In direct suffixation, the final *-na suffix of the independent form is replaced by a pronominal possessive suffix. We can derive direct suffixation in Outlier languages directly from the Proto-Polynesian system with the minor modification of the loss of some suffixes with some words in some languages.

Most Outlier languages exhibiting direct suffixation are like Rennellese in lacking a distinct suffix used only for first person singular. However, the occurrence of -ku, first person singular, in Pileni, Mele-Fila, and West Futunan allows for the reconstruction of three Proto-Polynesian suffixes used in direct suffixation: *-ku, first person singular, *-u, second person singular, and *-na, third person singular, as well as the independent form suffix, *-na.

Nonsingular pronominal suffixes occur in West Futunan and Mele-Fila. These appear to be innovations, as suggested by Pawley (1967:262-289), who pointed out that a -no- intervenes between the base and pronoun possessor in West Futunan. Evidently the West Futunan nonsingular 'suffixed' forms derive from an independent form of the possessed noun (ending in -na) and a following simple O possessive, a structure found throughout Polynesian and illustrated below with Rennellese. The West Futunan innovation, then, appears to be a phonological one in which the a of an earlier -na is lost before the o of the following possessive. Compare the Rennellese and West Futunan examples below.

REN(2.76) **tama-na o-taaua**
father/independent suffix/poss/*we*-inc-dual
our father

WFU(2.77) **tama-n-o-taua**
our father

Like West Futunan, Mele-Fila (Clark 1977:12-13) has included **o**-initiated nonsingular possessive pronouns in the same paradigm as the singular pronominal suffixes. However, the possessed kin terms appear to have lost the expected **-na** suffix on analogy with the constructions with the singular possessive suffix. In addition, some kin terms in the suffixed possession class in Mele-Fila require an accompanying preposed possessive. Compare the following Mele-Fila examples with examples (2.76) and (2.77).

MEL(2.78) **atna-na**
mother/he
his mother

(2.79) **tuku makupu-ku**
I/grandchild/I
my grandchild

(2.80) **makupu-o-maateu**
grandchild/poss/*we*
our grandchildren

For those languages that do not preserve direct suffixation as a possessive strategy, we claim that competition between O-marking on the independent form and direct suffixation resulted in the loss of direct suffixation. The **-na** found with kin terms in most Polynesian languages, then, would not strictly be the descendant of a third person singular possessive suffix but of an independent noun forming suffix.

We would be remiss if we assumed suffix possession in Outlier languages to reflect Proto-Polynesian usage without considering the possiblity that such suffixes represent a borrowing from non-Polynesian Oceanic languages. Most Outlier languages are located geographically close to non-Polynesian Oceanic languages where suffix marking is a common method of indicating possession.[12]

The fact that the second person singular possessive suffix in Outlier languages has the Polynesian form **-u** (as found in A/O possessive forms MAO **t-ō-u** and **t-ā-u** *your*) rather than the common Oceanic third person singular possessive marker **-mu** argues that Outlier direct suffixation does indeed represent a retention of a Proto-Polynesian feature. Also suggesting the existence of a special suffix-taking class of kin terms in Proto-Polynesian is the preservation of

the independent form suffix *-na in Triangle Polynesian languages as well as the Outliers.

If direct suffixation were borrowed from Oceanic languages of Melanesia, one would expect it to be borrowed in a much less restricted context. Why, for instance, is direct suffixation restricted to a small subset of kin terms and to singular pronominal possessors, while in Melanesia direct suffixation is used with all pronominal possessors and a large class of nouns including not only kin terms but also body parts, locatives, and terms like 'name'? Furthermore, the fact that the details of direct suffixation are so similar for the languages exhibiting this feature argues that direct suffixation is not a recently borrowed characteristic, but is instead a feature traceable to a common ancestor of those Polynesian languages where it occurs.

2.5. Summary

We have reconstructed three Proto-Polynesian possessive markings: direct suffixation, A-marking, and O-marking. Direct suffixation is a strategy restricted to a class of kin terms when possessed with singular pronouns and alternates with O-marking. It is proposed that the choice between A and O is determined by one main semantic criterion modified with classes of exceptions. The main criterion is whether or not the speaker views the relationship of possession as initiated through agency or control by the possessor. Such agency or control requires A. Lack of agency or control by the possessor requires O.

Exceptions to the basic criterion of control or lack of it depend on the semantics of the possessive relationship or both the semantics of the relationship and the idiosyncratic requirements of a particular noun class. Table 14 outlines our reconstruction of Proto-Polynesian possessive marking, specifying the marking together with the semantic and/or grammatical criterion which determines it.

Table 14

Proto-Polynesian Possessive Marking

Basic Criteria		
(1)	A	possessive relationship initiated through agency or control by the possessor.
(2)	O	possessive relationship not initiated through agency or control by the possessor
Exceptions		
(1)	O	use of the possessed as possessor's drink
(2)	O	use of the possessed as food producer for the possessor (garden and fruit trees)
(3)	O	use of the possessed as a source of the possessor's drink
(4)	O	normal personal use of the possessed by the possessor (marked artifact term class)
(5)	O	normal personal relationships of the possessed to the possessor (marked kin term class)
(6)	Direct Suffixation (Optional)	normal personal relationship of the possessed to the possessor (a class of kin terms taking *-na in the independent form)

NOTES ON CHAPTER TWO

1. A and O are used, here and throughout this present study, as symbols of the semantic contrast between two sets of morphemes in Polynesian languages. These two symbols should not be interpreted as morphemes themselves and although we reconstruct the A/O contrast for Proto-Polynesian, we refrain from using the asterisk (*) signifying proto-forms with the symbols A and O when discussing this contrast in Proto-Polynesian. In chapter three, Proto-Polynesian will be reconstructed with possessive marker morphemes *qa-, *-qa-, *-(q)a-, *-aqa- (A-forms) and *(q)o-, *-o-, *-(q)o-, *-oqo- (O-forms).

2. See, for example, Alexander (1864:9), Biggs (1969:43-44), Tryon (1970:26), Elbert (1965:20-23), Lieber and Dikepa (1974:xliii-xliv).

3. Closely resembling (and predating) our Initial Control Theory is a view on Fijian possession held by Schütz and Nawadra (1972:99):

> The choice between two types of possession is based on the relationship between the possessor and the possessed (note that these terms are grammatical and do not necessarily imply ownership in the strict sense). The basis of this choice is ***control***, but not as it has been stated previously (Buse 1960:131). The domain of the control is the ***relationship***, not the actual object, quality, or person being possessed.

Schütz and Nawadra's view resembles our Initial Control Theory in emphasising that the determining factor is the relationship of the possessor to the fact of possession rather than to the possessed item itself. However, unlike our theory, the initiation of the relationship is not treated as crucial.

4. Modification of the Simple Control Theory by stipulating the degree of control can handle some apparent anomalies where a possessor who controls the possessed is marked with O. Such modification, however, is then challenged by contradictions of a different sort. For example, one might claim that the degree of control must be at least as strong as that of a parent over a child. This excludes (not without argument, however) the relationship of an older sibling over a younger sibling in Polynesian culture. Compare the following examples:

(i)	**ke keiki a ka makua** *the child of the parent*	A
(ii)	**ke kaikaina o ke kaikua'ana** *the younger sibling of the older sibling*	O
(iii)	**ke kāne a ka wahine** *the husband of the wife*	A

Although using (i) as the lower limit of control requiring A explains the use of O in (ii), it is challenged by the use of A in (iii). The degree of control exercised by a wife over her husband in Polynesian cultures is frequently less than that of an older sibling over a younger sibling.

5. Cases where Hawaiian usage differs from that of other languages (possession of drinks, kin terms, certain artifact terms) are discussed in detail in section 2.3.

6. In cases of reflexive relationships such as taking one's own picture, giving oneself a name, etc., the possessor is treated as two distinct individuals: the one initiating the relationship and the passive recipient of the relationship. Either relationship may be emphasised and marked or both may.

(i)	**ka'u inoa no'u** *my name for me*	A - O
(ii)	**ko'u inoa na'u** *my name (created) by me*	O - A

7. Few descriptions of Polynesian languages discuss the rare possessive relationship initiated through the control or agency of inanimate things. Since in Fijian (Churchward 1941:33) inanimate possessors may not take a possessive marker analogous to Polynesian A (SF **nō-/nē-**), we suspect that a similar constraint existed in Proto-Polynesian. More detailed

descriptions of the possessive systems of individual Polynesian languages is necessary for reconstruction of the Proto-Polynesian possessive marking for this currently problematical situation.

8. The concept of spatial use was first proposed in Wilson (1976a:46-92), where 'use as location' was put forward as the uniting semantic feature of a large number of possessive strings taking O in Hawaiian. Previous descriptions did not clearly differentiate the motivation for O-marking found with *shirt*, *chair*, *bed*, *canoe*, etc. (spatial use) in Eastern Polynesian languages from the motivation for the O-marking found with *name*, *hand*, *mother*, *memorial*, etc. (non-controlled relationships).

9. In Wilson (1976b:62), it was suggested that Proto-Polynesian may have innovated the concept of spatial use based on the preposition *i which marked both locations and indirect agents in Proto-Polynesian. The realisation that non-Polynesian languages in eastern Oceania have marked artifact term classes similar to those in Tongan and Samoan has resulted in the rejection of that earlier idea. The proposal made in this study is more adequate in that it accounts for the use of O with *adze*, *digging stick*, and other similar terms not involving spatial use, which posed a major problem to suggesting a marked spatial use in Proto-Polynesian.

10. The Hawaiian words ukana *baggage* and 'ope'ope *bundle* may take either A or O without a meaning difference in cases of personal possession. This may reflect an earlier system where *baggage* and *bundle* were marked artifact terms taking O for personal possession, much like the Tongan marked artifact term 'oho *provisions for a journey*.

11. Samoan is unique among Polynesian languages in having no kin terms ending with the suffix -na. Instead, we find a lengthening of a final vowel where the -na occurs in other languages (tamā *father*, tinā *mother*, tua'ā *parent*, ma'upū *sister's son*). The sole exception to this vowel lengthening involves the term tei *younger sibling* which ends in a diphthong. (Note also that considerable semantic change has occurred with some Samoan kin terms. Compare the Samoan forms listed above with the Proto-Polynesian forms reconstructed in Table 13.)

S. Churchward (1932:5) suggests that the Samoan kin terms with final long vowels given above originally contained a suffix -na and that the occurrence of a final long vowel in the contemporary forms is a relic of the antepenultimate stress of the original forms that was preserved with the loss of the -na suffix.

Geraghty (personal communication 1979) suggests the final long vowel may be related to an independent form suffix -i found in Mota with terms taking direct suffixation. Evidence for this analysis is the existence of the Tongan term tama-i *father* rather than the expected tama-na, although other kin terms show -na rather than -i in Tongan (e.g., mokopu-na *grandchild*). Geraghty relates the Mota -i to a genitive particle i found in some Fijian compounds (daliga-i-levu [*ear*/genitive/*big*] *big-eared*, yava-i-vā [*leg*/genitive/*four*] *four-legged*). Fijian i has a clear source in Proto-Austronesian in which it has been reconstructed as an alternate of genitive *ni (Blust 1977:4-5, Reid 1979:46-50). A similar morpheme, PPN *qi is reflected in some Polynesian languages, including Samoan (fua-i-'upu [*fruit*/genitive/*word*] *word*) and Tongan (mo'oni-'i-me'a [*truth*/genitive/*thing*] *fact*, ngako-'i-puaka [*fat*/genitive/*pig*] *lard*).

Note that Geraghty's explanation that the suffixation of such a morpheme to certain Samoan kin terms is the source of final long vowels with those kin terms also explains the Tongan/Samoan pair, fo-'i-moa/fuā-moa (PPN *fua-qi-moa [*fruit*/genitive/*chicken*] *chicken egg*), where Samoan has an unexpected long vowel.

12. Clark (1977:20-23) explicitly claims that suffix possession in Mele, an Outlier language, is the result of borrowing. Clark notes many features of Mele possessives that have parallels in neighbouring non-Polynesian languages. His suggestion that much of the similarity is the result of borrowing by Mele is sound but he may have overextended the effect of borrowing by including suffix possession in its entirety. The fact that Outlier languages other than Mele exhibit direct suffixation remarkably similar to that of Mele suggests that direct suffixation is an inherited, rather than borrowed, feature of Mele.

CHAPTER THREE

Proto-Polynesian Possessive Morphology and Syntax

3.1. Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to reconstruct the syntax and morphology of Proto-Polynesian possessives (those constructions incorporating the A/O contrast).[1] Polynesian possessives can be described by the following formula:

$$(\{^{\text{ASPECT MARKER}}_{\text{ARTICLE}}\}) + \text{POSSESSIVE MARKER} + \text{POSSESSOR}$$

This formula distinguishes three basic types of possessives depending upon the initial element of the phrase. We will refer to those possessives lacking any initial element preceding the possessive marker as simple possessives, those beginning with markers of aspect as aspect-initial possessives (more specifically, irrealis and realis possessives), and those beginning with articles as article-initial possessives. Tongan illustrations of the three types of possessives are given below.[2]

Simple	Aspect-Initial	Article-Initial
'o-ku	m-o'o-ku	h-o-ku
poss/*I*	irrealis/poss/*I*	art/poss/*I*
of me	*for me*	*my*

Simple and aspect-initial possessives are relatively straightforward and are reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian in the first part of this chapter. Article-initial possessives present more difficulties. In contrast to earlier investigators who reconstructed a single type of article-initial possessive for Proto-Polynesian, we reconstruct two: preposed possessives (used obligatorily before a noun, like English 'their' in 'their house') and elliptical possessives (used as independent noun phrases, like the English 'theirs' in 'theirs is nice'). After reconstructing article-initial possessives, the chapter

closes with a final section dealing with the pronominal morphemes used after possessive markers, or possessive pronouns as Pawley (1972) and Geraghty (1979) have called them.

3.2. Simple Possessives

Based on evidence from a wide variety of Polynesian languages, we reconstruct for Proto-Polynesian preposition-like A/O elements used with suffixed pronouns, common noun phrases, and proper noun phrases.[3] These simple possessives, as we shall call them, do not contain any morphemes preceding the A/O markers. Simple possessives are used as postposed modifying phrases in all the languages where they occur.

MAO(3.1) te whare ō-ku
art/*house*/poss/*I*
my house

HAW(3.2) ka hale o ka wahine
art/*house*/poss/art/*woman*
the woman's house

TON(3.3) e fale 'o Sioné
art/*house*/poss/*Sione*
Sione's house

We reconstruct along with Clark (1976:115) a predicate use for simple possessives as well as an attributive use. This usage is not found in Eastern Polynesian but exists in Tongan, Samoan, and Ellice.

TON(3.4) 'oku 'a e 'eikî
T/poss/art/*chief*
It is the chief's.

SAM(3.5) e o-u le malō
T/poss/*you*/art/*kingdom*
Thine is the kingdom.

The A/O elements in Proto-Polynesian simple possessives probably had short vowels. Short vowels occur in some, and often all, simple possessives in all of the Polynesian languages used in this study. Conditioned long vowel variants occur in Central Eastern Polynesian languages before some or all singular pronominal possessors (e.g., MAO ā-ku, first person singular, ā-u, second person singular, ā-na, third person singular), and sometimes in certain phonological environments (e.g., before syllables containing more than one vowel in New Zealand Māori (Biggs 1969:44). Such variation appears to be a recent phenomenon. Unlike in other possessives, there is no regular correspondence in Polynesian simple possessives between long vowels in languages which have lost PPN *q and a V_1V_1 sequence in languages which have retained it.[4]

Reconstruction of initial glottal stops for all Proto-Polynesian simple possessives is suggested by comparison of simple possessives with irrealis and elliptical possessives. As we shall see in the following sections, these two possessives derive from simple possessives preceded by other elements. Both also are clearly reconstructed with a glottal stop at the historical morpheme boundary initiating the simple possessive element. Good synchronic support for this glottal stop is restricted to Tongan, the only language where two crucial Proto-Polynesian features are preserved together: (a) PPN *q and (b) the use of simple possessives phrase-internally. As Clark (1976:22-23) has pointed out, Polynesian languages often neutralise the distinction between glottal stop and zero phrase-initially. In Tongan, simple A possessives always contain an initial glottal stop even phrase-internally, while simple O possessives may occur with or without an initial glottal stop. Tongan data thus support the reconstruction of initial glottal stop with simple possessives that is suggested by comparison with other possessive types. It is unclear, however, whether variation between glottal stop and zero with simple O possessives is a recent development of Tongan or an old feature.[5]

3.3. Irrealis Possessives

Clark (1976:114-115) reconstructed irrealis possessives initiated with *maqa-/moqo- for Proto-Polynesian based on evidence from all three primary subgroups of Polynesian languages. The usual English translation of reflexes of *maqa-/moqo- in modern Polynesian languages is *for*. Irrealis possessives are prepositional phrases and may be used predicatively as well as attributively. In Tongan ma'a-/mo'o- may be preceded by a tense marker in the predicate use but in languages like New Zealand Māori, which restrict tense markers to use with verbs, tense markers do not occur preceding irrealis possessives.

TON(3.7) 'oku mo'oe 'eikí e falé
T/*for*/art/*chief*/art/*house*
The house is for the chief.

MAO(3.8) te ika ma te wahine
art/*fish*/*for*/art/*woman*
the fish for the woman

(3.9) mō-na te whare
for/*he*/art/*house*
The house is for him.

As suggested by Clark (1976:115-116), a very likely source of *maqa-/moqo- is an irrealis marker plus simple possessive sequence. Probable cognates of the initial m- of the irrealis possessives are New Zealand Māori me, prescriptive marker, Luangiua me, future marker, and Standard Fijian me, imperative, prospective, resultant conjunction (C.M. Churchward 1941:24). In Standard Fijian, me is actually used preceding possessives.

SF(3.10) me me-qu na bia oqō
let-be/poss/*I*/art/*beer*/*here*
Let me have this beer./Let this beer be for me.

If one assumes PCP *me, assimilation of *me to the vowel of the following possessive marker would result in PPN *maqa-/moqo-.[6]

Pre-Polynesian	Proto-Polynesian
me qa-	*maqa-
me qo-	*moqo-

3.4. Realis Possessives

In addition to the irrealis possessives, many Eastern Polynesian languages exhibit realis possessives initiated with na(a)-/no(o)-. These realis possessives can be used either predicatively or attributively and indicate either present or past possession, in contrast to the future possession indicated by irrealis possessives.

MAO(3.11) te ika nā-na
art/*fish*/*belong*/*he*
the fish belonging to him

(3.12) nā-na te ika
belong/*he*/art/*fish*
The fish belongs to him.

Realis possessives contrast with simple possessives in emphasis in all languages where they both occur. Often the difference is indicated in translation into English by using the genitive markers '-s' and 'of' with simple possessives and the term 'belonging to' with realis possessives.

HAW(3.13) ka i'a a ka wahine (simple possessive)
art/*fish*/poss/art/*woman*
the woman's fish/the fish of the woman

(3.14) ka i'a na ka wahine (realis possessive)
art/*fish*/*belong*/art/*woman*
the fish belonging to the woman

Outside of Eastern Polynesian languages, we do not find realis possessives initiated with na(a)-/no(o)-, but some other languages do have forms identifiable as realis possessives. A number of Outliers (Nukuoro, Kapingamarangi, Pileni, West Futunan) have realis possessives initiated with nia-/nio-,

NUK(3.15) de me-pasa ni-a Soan
art/*radio*/*belong*/*John*
the radio belonging to John

while Mele-Fila has nea-/n- (both probably deriving from an earlier nia-, the A/O contrast being lost in Mele-Fila).

MEL(3.16) ti taatai nea-ku
art/*little sister*/poss/*I*
my little sister

(3.17) t-maarooraga n-Teeriki
art/*power*/poss/*Lord*
the power of the Lord

We can assume Proto-Central Eastern Polynesian to have had realis possessives initiated with *na(q)a-/no(q)o- and Proto-Samoic-Outlier to have had realis possessives initiated with *ni(q)a-/ni(q)o-. The (q)a- and (q)o- elements are probably derived from the A/O markers of simple possessives. We do not make a firm reconstruction of the glottal stop because none of the witnesses we have for realis possessives preserves PPN *q. It is very likely that the glottal stop was present, however, since we find it to be part of the A/O markers in simple, elliptical, and irrealis possessives in the languages where PPN *q is retained.

Clark (1976:115) has suggested that the initial n- element of realis possessives derives from his PPN *naqa/ne, past tense marker. We see as more likely Pawley's (1966:60, footnote 30) derivation from an earlier possessive morpheme *ni, which is reflected as ni in Standard Fijian. PEP *na(q)a-/no(q)o- can be derived from a PNP *ni(q)a-/ni(q)o- by vowel assimilation, while it would be difficult to derive ni- from a verb marker *naqa (but less difficult from a verb marker *ne). Note also that realis possessives mark present as well as past tense, posing a problem for the derivation of the initial element of the realis possessives from a past tense marker. There is no such anomaly in the derivation of realis possessives as originally containing a morpheme ni. In Eastern Fijian languages, ni carries no tense/aspect meaning. We can explain its realis meaning in PNP *ni(q)a-/ni(q)o- as due to obligatory use of the m- initiated possessives in irrealis environments, leaving ni- initiated possessives to mark realis environments.

Our association of realis possessives with Fijian ni allows us to extend our Proto-Nuclear Polynesian reconstruction to Proto-Polynesian. Tongic languages do not have a set of realis possessives but Clark (1976:115) has pointed out a possible relic form in the archaic Niuean word noo *your* (cf. Māori nōu *belonging to you*).

3.5. Article-Initial Possessives

3.5.1. Introduction

In this section we reconstruct two sets of article-initiated possessives: preposed possessives and elliptical possessives. These two sets of possessives are distinguished by five features in our Proto-Polynesian reconstruction, which will be presented in this section in the order given in Table 15.

3.5.2. Syntactic Context

It is important in understanding the history of Polynesian languages to distinguish between two sets of article-initial possessives which must be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian. The reflexes of one of these sets is found only in prenominal position (before the possessed noun as a modifier) in all languages where they occur and must thus

Table 15

Distinguishing Features of Preposed and Elliptical Possessives

	Preposed Possessives	Elliptical Possessives
1.	prenominal modifier	independent noun phrase
2.	restricted to pronominal possessors	no restriction on possessor type
3.	short forms of the dual possessive pronouns used	long forms of the dual possessive pronouns used
4.	single-vowel possessive marker	two-vowel possessive marker
5.	some full article elements	all reduced article elements

be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian as occurring only in that position. This set of possessives will therefore be referred to as *preposed possessives*. Examples from Tongan, East Uvean, and

New Zealand Māori follow:

TON(3.18) ko h-o-ku falé
top/art/poss/*I*/*house*
It's my house.

EUV(3.19) ko t-a-ku ika
top/art/poss/*I*/*fish*
It's my fish.

MAO(3.20) ko t-a-ku ika
It's my fish.

Reflexes of the second set of possessives that must be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian are found as independent noun phrases in all languages in which they occur. That is, there is no possessed noun and the possessive may be translated by English 'mine', 'theirs', etc. This set of possessives will therefore be referred to as *elliptical possessives*. The following examples illustrate this type of possessive.

TON(3.21) ko h-o'o-kú
top/art/poss/*I*
It's mine.

EUV(3.22) ko t-a'a-ku
It's mine.

MAO(3.23) ko t-ā-ku
It's mine.

Reflexes of the Proto-Polynesian elliptical possessives are used in the prenominal (as well as the independent) position in Tongan and Eastern Polynesian languages. The resultant minimal pairs carry a slightly different force. For Tongan, the difference has been described as one of 'emphasis' (C.M. Churchward 1953:131-132, 134-135). In Eastern Polynesian languages, reflexes of the preposed possessives do not distinguish the A/O contrast while reflexes of the elliptical possessives do (see section 3.5.3.2)[7].

TON(3.24)	'i h-o-ku falé *at*/art/poss/*I*/*house* *at my house (I live in it.)*	PREPOSED
(3.25)	'i he-'e-ku falé *at my house (I built it.)*	PREPOSED
(3.26)	'i h-o-'o-kú fale *at my house (I live in it.)*	ELLIPTICAL
(3.27)	'i h-a'a-kú fale *at my house (I built it.)*	ELLIPTICAL

MAO(3.28) i t-a-ku whare — PREPOSED
at/art/poss/I/house
at my house (I live in it or built it.)

MAO(3.29) i t-ō-ku whare — ELLIPTICAL
in my house (I live in it.)

(3.30) i t-ā-ku whare — ELLIPTICAL
in my house (I built it.)

The overlap between preposed and elliptical possessives in the prenominal position led to a misidentification of Eastern Polynesian elliptical possessives with preposed possessives in other Polynesian languages. As we will discuss in section 3.5.3.2, a reduction in the Eastern Polynesian preposed possessive (or 'neutral possessive') set has facilitated this misidentification which has led Polynesianists to view Proto-Polynesian as containing a single set of article-initial possessives. However, it is clear that Proto-Polynesian maintained two distinct sets of article-initial possessives. Agreements between Tongan and Samoic-Outlier languages are sufficient to reconstruct Proto-Polynesian preposed and elliptical possessive sets distinguished both syntactically and morphologically (note the possessive marker elements in examples (3.18)-(3.23)). Furthermore, the distinction between preposed and elliptical possessives has been preserved in Eastern Polynesian languages with some pronominal possessors, showing a continuation of two sets of article-initial possessives in all three primary subgroups of Polynesian.

The similarities between Tongan and New Zealand Māori forms presented in examples (3.24)-(3.30) suggest that Proto-Polynesian elliptical and preposed possessives overlapped in the prenominal position, with a contrast in meaning or force. However, these similarities may be the result of independent innovation in Tongan and Eastern Polynesian. Although there is external evidence from Fijian languages for reconstructing a contrast between preposed and elliptical article-initial possessives, there are no minimal pairs in which they contrast in Fijian languages (see examples (5.25) and (5.26) in Chapter Five). We are dealing, then, with internal innovation within Polynesian, either at the Proto-Polynesian level or at different points in the history of Tongan and Eastern Polynesian.

Sources of Tongan use of elliptical possessives in the prenominal position remain unclear and choice of Proto-Polynesian innovation over a later Tongic innovation requires evidence from other Polynesian languages. Samoic-Outlier support is lacking, and the Eastern

Polynesian evidence is inconclusive because there is motivation for the innovative use of elliptical possessives in the prenominal position in that subgroup. The reduction of the Eastern Polynesian preposed possessive set created gaps in the prenominal position that were conducive to being filled by elliptical possessives. Note also that the occurrence of Tongan definitive accent phrase-internally with prenominal elliptical possessives (e.g., example (3.26)), rather than in its regular phrase-final position, may indicate that the addition of a possessed noun after elliptical possessives may be a recent innovation of Tongan.

A lack of agreement between Tongan and Eastern Polynesian in the type of elliptical possessive used in prenominal position is a further reason for exercising caution in attributing the use of elliptical possessives prenominally to Proto-Polynesian. In Eastern Polynesian, all elliptical possessives can occur in the prenominal position, while in Tongan, elliptical possessives containing common noun or proper noun possessors do not occur prenominally.

In the light of the differences between Tongan and Eastern Polynesian elliptical possessives used in the prenominal position, as well as the absence of corroborating Samoic-Outlier evidence, the occurrence of Proto-Polynesian elliptical possessives in the prenominal position remains problematical. The use of Proto-Polynesian elliptical possessives as independent noun phrases, however, is certain, as is the restriction of Proto-Polynesian preposed possessives to the prenominal position.

3.5.3. Possessors

In this section, we discuss differences in possessor elements between elliptical and preposed possessives in Polynesian languages. Section 3.5.3.1 deals with this difference in Proto-Polynesian. The topic of section 3.5.3.2 is Eastern Polynesian reduction of the preposed possessive set through the loss of all nonsingular possessors, accompanied by the neutralisation of the A/O contrast.

3.5.3.1. Proto-Polynesian Possessor Distribution

Our reconstructed Proto-Polynesian preposed and elliptical possessives differ from each other in their possessor elements in two ways. The first of these is that preposed possessives take 'short' dual pronominal morphemes, while elliptical possessives take 'long' forms. This distribution can be reconstructed on the basis of

Tongic and Samoic-Outlier evidence. Eastern Polynesian languages lack preposed possessives with dual pronominal elements, but Eastern Polynesian elliptical possessives support the reconstruction of long dual pronominal morphemes in that set.

TON(3.31) ko h-o-ta falé — PREPOSED
top/art/poss/*we*-inc-2/*house*
It's our house.

(3.32) ko h-o'o-tauá — ELLIPTICAL
top/art/poss/*we*-inc-2
It's ours.

EUV(3.33) ko t-o-tā fale — PREPOSED
top/art/poss/*we*-inc-2/*house*
It's our house.

MAO(3.34) ko t-ō tāua — ELLIPTICAL
top/art/poss/*we*-inc-2
It's ours.

Short and long dual pronominal possessor elements, or 'possessive pronouns', are reconstructed in section 3.6.3.

Another difference between preposed and elliptical possessives that can be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian is the restriction of possessors to pronominal morphemes in preposed possessives and the lack of such a restriction with elliptical possessives. Elliptical possessives occur with proper and common noun possessors (as well as pronominal ones) in all three major subgroups of Polynesian, as shown in the following examples. Elliptical possessives are underlined.

TON(3.35) 'oku lahi ange 'a e fale 'o Sioné i h-o'o Sialé
T/*big*/dir/nom/art/*house*/poss/*Sione*/*than*/
art/poss/*Siale*
Sione's house is bigger than Siale's.

SAM(3.36) 'ua 'ese le pulapula o le tasi fetū i l-o le tasi fetū
T/*different*/art/*bright*/poss/art/*one*/*star*/*than*/
art/poss/art/*one*/*star*
The brightness of one star is different from that of another.

EUV(3.37) t-o'o Petelo
art/poss/*Petelo*
Petelo's.

MAO(3.38) kua ngaro t-ā te wahine
T/*lost*/art/poss/art/*woman*
The woman's (one) was lost.

Proto-Polynesian preposed and elliptical possessives are thus reconstructed as differing in the inclusion of nonpronominal possessors, and the form of certain pronominal possessors.

3.5.3.2. Eastern Polynesian Preposed Possessives

The preposed possessive set of Eastern Polynesian languages is substantially different from those of most other Polynesian languages in two ways. First, the restriction of possessors to pronominal morphemes is even further narrowed in Eastern Polynesian to singular pronominal possessors. Another reduction in the preposed possessive set in Eastern Polynesian has been the result of the loss of the A/O distinction in preposed possessives. Compare New Zealand Māori preposed possessives incorporating singular pronominal possessors with preposed possessives of the same type in the other Nuclear Polynesian languages given in Table 16.

Proto-Eastern Polynesian preposed possessives *taku, *too, *tana, reflected without change in New Zealand Māori, are supported by Rarotongan taku, tō, tana, Tahitian ta'u, tō, tana, and Hawaiian ku'u, kō (no third person form). (Easter Island cognates are lacking,

Table 16

Some Nuclear Polynesian Preposed Possessives

		Samoan	Rennellese	Kapingamarangi	Māori
II	A	la'u	taku	dagu	taku (neutral)
II	O	lo'u	toku	dogu	
III	A	lau	tau	dau	tō (neutral)
III	O	lou	tou	doo	
IIII	A	lana	tana	dana	tana (neutral)
IIII	O	lona	tona	dono	

being replaced by ellipticals.) These preposed possessives, or 'neutral possessives', as they are usually called, can be derived from earlier A forms in the first and third persons. The source of the second person form, PEP *too, is less clear. Derivation from an A-form, *tau, while possible, is not supported by any unambiguous case in which an au sequence has resulted in a long o (i.e., oo) in Proto-Eastern Polynesian. However, derivation from an earlier O-form, *tou, by assimilation, as has occurred in the history of the Kapingamarangi O-form, doo, seems a likely possibility. Note the correspondence PNP *koulua, PEP *koolua, KAP goolua, second person dual independent pronoun.[8]

The small set of Eastern Polynesian neutral possessives was not accounted for by earlier investigators, and it was assumed that the

elliptical possessives used in the prenominal position in Eastern Polynesian languages were cognate with preposed possessives in other Polynesian languages. (Note that this was assumed in spite of differences in the dual pronominal elements, and in the shape of the possessive markers.) The misidentification of Central Eastern Polynesian elliptical possessive as cognate with preposed possessive in non-Eastern Polynesian languages accounts for the preposed/elliptical distinction being overlooked in earlier Proto-Polynesian reconstructions.

It has, in fact, been commonly accepted, as proposed by Clark (1976:43), that Proto-Eastern Polynesian innovatively expanded on an earlier preposed article-initial possessive set by including common and proper noun possessors along with pronominal ones. The analysis here is that, rather than expanding the set of possessors allowed in preposed possessives, Eastern Polynesian languages have reduced it to singular pronominal morphemes. Eastern-Polynesian article-initial possessives with other possessor types (and also those making the A/O contrast with singular pronominal possessors) reflect Proto-Polynesian elliptical possessives, a set of possessives that allowed nonpronominal possessors as early as Proto-Polynesian.

3.5.4. Possessive Marker Elements

Preposed and elliptical possessive sets differ from each other in the A/O marker element in all three primary Polynesian subgroups in that those of preposed possessives contain a single vowel, while those of elliptical possessives contain two vowels. Exceptions to the above generalisation are few and clearly the result of local innovation. Thus, vowel shortening occurred before glottal stop in Hawaiian first person elliptical possessives k-a-'u/k-o-'u < PEP *t-aqa-ku/t-oqo-ku (note also HAW k-u-'u < PEP *t-a-ku, first person singular preposed possessive) and vowel lengthening occurred before a long vowel in Samoan preposed possessives like l-ā-mā (cf. REN t-a-maa, first person exclusive dual preposed possessive).[9] Compare the possessive markers in elliptical and preposed possessives in Table 17. (Note that the Tongan article element given in parenthesis in the preposed A-possessives is deleted except after prepositions ending in i or e.) Possessive markers with possessors other than first person singular do not differ from those in the table in the pattern of single-vowel possessive markers in preposed possessives and two-vowel possessive markers in elliptical possessives.

Table 17

Comparison of Possessive Markers in First Person Singular Preposed and Elliptical Possessives

	Elliptical O	Elliptical A	Preposed O	Preposed A
Tongan	h-o'o-ku	h-a'a-ku	h-o-ku	(he)-'e-ku
East Uvean	t-o'o-ku	t-a'a-ku	t-o-ku	t-a-ku
East Futunan	l-o'o-ku	l-a'a-ku	l-o-ku	l-a-ku
Māori	t-ō-ku	t-ā-ku	t-a-ku (neutral)	

The A/O possessive markers in the ellipticals in languages preserving PPN *q (i.e., Tongan, East Futunan, East Uvean, Rennellese, and Easter Island) are invariably -a'a- (A) and -o'o- (O), supporting reconstruction of *-aqa- and *oqo- for Proto-Polynesian. This reconstruction is also consistent with the long vowels in elliptical possessives in languages such as New Zealand Māori, where PPN *q has been lost.

Reconstruction of the possessive markers of Proto-Polynesian preposed possessives is complicated by a lack of agreement between Tongan and Nuclear Polynesian languages. The A/O elements found in preposed possessives in Nuclear Polynesian languages all clearly reflect short a and o. Based on the occurrence of simple a and o in preposed possessives in Nuclear Polynesian languages, we reconstruct *-a- and *-o- as the possessive markers in preposed possessives in Proto-Nuclear Polynesian.

Tongan evidence agrees with our Proto-Nuclear Polynesian reconstruction of the O-form but suggests a glottal stop in the A-form. Compare the A- and O-forms of some representative Tongan preposed possessives in Table 18.[10]

Table 18

Some Tongan Preposed Possessives

	Definite Forms A	Definite Forms O	Indefinite Forms A	Indefinite Forms O
II	he-'e-ku	h-o-ku	ha-'a-ku	ha-Ø-ku
III	ho-'o	h-o	ha-'o	ha-o
IIII	he-'e-ne	h-o-no	ha-'a-na	ha-Ø-no
Ix2	he-'e-ma	h-o-ma	ha-'a-ma	ha-Ø-ma

We see that considerable vowel quality change and reduction has occurred in Tongan, but that A-forms always differ from O-forms in their inclusion of a glottal stop, even when all other components of the two possessives are identical. It is unlikely, then, that glottal stop in A-forms is a recent innovation.[11] Based on Tongan evidence, we will reconstruct PPN *-qa- and *-o- in preposed possessives with a subsequent innovative loss of the initial glottal stop of PPN *-qa- in the development of Proto-Nuclear Polynesian reflexes *-a- and *-o-, respectively. Motivation for the change was apparently analogy with the O-forms.

3.5.5. Article Elements

Both definite and indefinite article elements are incorporated into possessives in the Tongic and Samoic-Outlier subgroups. Eastern Polynesian languages only incorporate definite article elements into possessives, despite the fact that these languages also have indefinite articles. Distributional evidence suggests the asymmetry of Eastern Polynesian article use to be innovative and we will reconstruct Proto-Polynesian as containing possessives incorporating both definite and indefinite article elements. We will also reconstruct a difference between article elements in preposed and elliptical A-possessives (but not O-possessives) for Proto-Polynesian based on the Tongan model.

Both Pawley (1966:53-58) and Clark (1976:48-50) have reconstructed Proto-Polynesian with definite and indefinite articles unspecified for number. Pawley's reconstructions *(t)e, definite article, and *ha, indefinite article, were modified by Clark to *te and *sa, respectively. PPN *te is reflected as PNP *te, PTO *he/e and PPN *sa is reflected as PNP *se, PTO *ha, with irregular sound changes occurring in both Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and Proto-Tongic.[12] The article elements in Nuclear Polynesian article-initial possessives are invariably the initial consonant of the articles and we can reconstruct PNP *t-, definite article element, and *s-, indefinite article elements, for both preposed and elliptical possessives. Table 19 illustrates a representative sampling of reconstructed Proto-Nuclear Polynesian article-initial possessives showing identical article elements in preposed and elliptical possessives.

The definite article element in elliptical possessives in Proto-Polynesian may be reconstructed as PPN *t-. The evidence for this is that in Tongan, as in Nuclear Polynesian languages, the first element in definite elliptical possessives is the initial consonant of the

Table 19
Some Proto-Nuclear Polynesian Article-Initial Possessives

		Definite		Indefinite	
		Preposed	Elliptical	Preposed	Elliptical
II	A	*t-a-ku	*t-aqa-ku	*s-a-ku	*s-aqa-ku
II	O	*t-o-ku	*t-oqo-ku	*s-o-ku	*s-oqo-ku
III	A	*t-a-u	*t-aqa-u	*s-a-u	*s-aqa-u
III	O	*t-o-u	*t-oqo-u	*s-o-u	*s-oqo-u
IIII	A	*t-a-na	*t-aqa-na	*s-a-na	*s-aqa-na
IIII	O	*t-o-na	*t-oqo-na	*s-o-na	*s-oqo-na
III2	A	*t-a-laa	*t-aqa-laaua	*s-a-laa	*s-aqa-laaua
III2	O	*t-o-laa	*t-oqo-laaua	*s-o-laa	*s-oqo-laaua

definite article. The indefinite article element in Proto-Polynesian elliptical possessives is not so obvious. PNP *s- may be reconstructed with confidence, while Proto-Tongic lacks indefinite elliptical possessives altogether. Are we, then, to assume that Proto-Polynesian had an asymmetric system like modern Tongan, or a symmetric one like Proto-Nuclear Polynesian? It seems reasonable to reconstruct Proto-Polynesian indefinite elliptical possessive as initiated with *s- (as in Proto-Nuclear Polynesian) on the strength of the following observation. Clark's (1976:48-50) hypothesis that the initial consonants of the definite and indefinite articles merged in Proto-Tongic through irregular change predicts a phonological merger of definite and indefinite elliptical possessives and thus provides an explanation for the lack of such a contrast in Tongan.[13]

For preposed possessives, a consistent correspondence between Tongan h- and PNP *t- in O-forms allows for the reconstruction of PPN *t-, definite article element, in that environment. There is no such regular correspondence in preposed A-possessives. In Tongan, the vowel of the definite article he (<< PPN *te) is preserved in preposed A-possessives and has played a part in Tongan vowel assimilation. In Proto-Nuclear Polynesian, the article element, *t-, contains no vowel. Compare the Tongan and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian preposed possessives in Table 20.

Are we to reconstruct Proto-Polynesian definite preposed A-possessives with *t- on the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian model or with *te- on the Tongan model? Our reconstruction of a possessive marker, PPN *-qa- in section 3.5.4, requires *te- since a sequence of two

Table 20

Some Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and Tongan Preposed Possessives Compared

		Proto-Nuclear Polynesian		Tongan	
		A	O	A	O
II	*my*	*t-a-ku	*t-o-ku	he-'e-ku	h-o-ku
III	*your*	*t-a-u	*t-o-u	ho-'o	h-o
IIII	*his*	*t-a-na	*t-o-na	he-'e-ne	h-o-no
Ii2	*our*	*t-a-taa	*t-o-taa	he-'e-ta	h-o-ta

consonants is not possible in Proto-Polynesian. We can account for a reduction of this article and the loss of the glottal stop in the A-possessive marker in the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian reflexes as motivated by analogy with the preposed O-possessives. Compare the initial elements of preposed possessives in Proto-Polynesian and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian as shown below.

PPN	PNP
*t-o-	*t-o-
*te-qa-	*t-a-

Indefinite preposed A-possessives in Tongan are also initiated with a full article element, ha-, which reflects an earlier PPN *sa-. We propose a change, PPN *sa-qa- >> PNP *s-a, parallel to that occurring in definite preposed possessives, to account for the lack of agreement between Tongan and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian indefinite preposed A-possessives illustrated in Table 21.

Table 21

Selected Proto-Polynesian Indefinite Preposed Possessives and Their Tongan Reflexes

	A		O	
	PPN	Tongan	PPN	Tongan
II	*sa-qa-ku	ha-'a-ku	*s-o-ku	ha-Ø-ku
III	*sa-qa-u	ha-'o	*s-o-u	ha-Ø-o
IIII	*sa-qa-na	ha-'a-ne	*s-o-na	ha-Ø-no
Ii2	*sa-qa-taa	ha-'a-ta	*s-o-taa	ha-Ø-ta

We observe, first of all, that Tongan O-forms appear to have lost a possessive marker, *-o-, but note that its previous occurrence is indicated by the assimilated vowels in pronouns such as -no (<< PPN *-na, third person singular). Secondly, the earlier indefinite article element, PPN *s-, has been replaced by a full article form, ha. Another possible analysis is that the possessive marker, *-o-, was idiosyncratically replaced by a only after an indefinite article element. Whatever the analysis, there is a strong precedent in the history of Tongan for irregular changes of the sort outlined above. Recall that Clark (1976:48-50) has proposed an irregular phonological change from *t to h in the history of the Tongan definite article resulting in identity between definite and indefinite articles in their initial element, i.e., PPN *te >> TON he, PPN *sa > TON ha. Such an irregular change would destroy the definite/indefinite contrast in earlier O-possessives which depended solely on the initial consonant (e.g., PPN *t-o-ku *my*, *s-o-ku *one of my*). In preposed A-possessives, however, the vowel difference in the article elements preserved the distinction; e.g., PPN *te-qa-ku *my* (definite), *sa-qa-ku *my* (indefinite) would give PTO *he-qa-ku, *ha-qa-ku, respectively. It appears that through analogy with the preposed A-possessives, the vowel of the indefinite article, PTO *ha was reintroduced into Tongan indefinite preposed O-possessives and that in conjunction with this innovation the possessive marker, *-o-, was lost.

Our basic Proto-Polynesian possessive paradigms contain only definite and indefinite article elements unmarked for number. Other article elements occur in possessives in modern Polynesian languages, but none are widespread enough to warrant reconstruction for Proto-Polynesian. We mention, however, a Proto-Nuclear Polynesian reconstruction supported by both Pawley (1966:56-57) and Clark (1976:51-52) in which a specifically plural preposed possessive is derived by the deletion of the initial *t- of definite preposed possessives. There is evidence for the same morphological process in Proto-Nuclear Polynesian definite elliptical possessives as well. Compare the East Uvean and New Zealand Māori forms in Table 22.

Table 22

Comparison of East Uvean and Māori Definite Plural Possessives in the First Person Singular

	Preposed		Elliptical	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
East Uvean	l-a-ku l-o-ku	a-ku o-ku	l-a'a-ku l-o'o-ku	a'a-ku o'o-ku
Māori	t-a-ku	a-ku	t-ā-ku t-ō-ku	ā-ku ō-ku

3.6. Possessive Pronouns

3.6.1. Introduction

In Polynesian languages, 'possessive pronouns' (pronominal elements occurring in possessives after A/O markers) usually have shapes that are different from the independent pronouns that occur after verbs and case-marking prepositions other than A and O.[14] Based on internal Polynesian evidence, as well as support from external witnesses, Proto-Polynesian is reconstructed with a special set of possessive pronouns. Singular pronouns in this set are invariant for all types of possessives, but dual possessive pronouns have special short forms that are restricted to preposed possessives.

Proto-Polynesian singular and dual possessive pronouns are reconstructed in the beginning of this section. Second person dual forms have had a slightly different history than other duals and are treated after the other duals. Reconstruction of Proto-Polynesian non-singular possessive pronouns beyond the dual number is complicated by external correspondences which suggest Proto-Polynesian to have distinguished trial/paucal from unlimited plural, in spite of the fact that neither Proto-Tongic nor Proto-Nuclear Polynesian is reconstructed with such a contrast. The problem of the exact source of Polynesian plural possessive pronouns is discussed in the final part of this section, where a very tentative reconstruction of possessive pronouns contrasting trial/paucal and plural is presented.

3.6.2. Singular Possessive Pronouns

Three singular possessive pronouns, *-ku, first person singular, *-u, second person singular, and *-na, third person singular, can be reconstructed with confidence for Proto-Polynesian, based on almost

universal agreement among Polynesian languages. These three Proto-Polynesian singular possessive pronouns have external cognates and have been proposed by Pawley (1972:61-63) as reflecting PEO *-ŋku, first person singular, *-mu, second person singular, and *-ña, third person singular, respectively.

A fourth possessive pronoun, PPN *-ta *my, one's*, can be reconstructed on the basis of Tongan, East Futunan, Nukuoro, East Uvean, and Samoan evidence. Note the Tongan example below, in which -to << PPN *-ta by assimilation.

TON(3.39) 'i h-o'to falé
at/art/poss/*one*/*house*
at one's house

PPN *-ta bears a formal resemblance to Pawley's (1972:65) PEO *-(n)ta, first person inclusive plural, and could be derived from it by semantic shift.[15] Note the use of first person plural in English impersonal statements such as 'We have to eat our vegetables if we want to grow up strong'.

3.6.3. Dual Possessive Pronouns

We will reconstruct Proto-Polynesian with two sets of dual possessive pronouns: a short set used in preposed possessives, and a long set used in all other possessives. Second person dual has been subject to some special developments and we will deal with first and third person as a unit before going on to second person.

Tongan and many Samoic-Outlier languages (Samoan, Rennellese, Ellice, East Uvean, East Futunan, West Futunan) have two sets of first and third person dual possessive pronouns. One set, the long set, includes a suffix -ua. The second set lacks this suffix. Typically, the short set is restricted to preposed possessives and the long set occurs in all other possessives. In Rennellese, however, the short set has become an alternate for the long set in all possessive types.

Proto-Nuclear Polynesian can be reconstructed with the six possessive pronouns in Table 23 based on clear agreement in that subgroup.

Proto-Tongic can be reconstructed with the six possessive pronouns in Table 24, based on agreements between Tongan and Niuean for the long forms and minimal support from Niuean in the short forms. Niuean lacks short dual possessive pronouns altogether except for -ta, which alternates with -taua, first person inclusive dual.

Table 23
Proto-Nuclear Polynesian First and Third Person Dual Possessive Pronouns

	Long	Short
I12	-taaua	-taa
Ix2	-maaua	-maa
III2	-laaua	-laa

Table 24
Proto-Tongic First and Third Person Dual Possessive Pronouns

	Long	Short
I12	-taua	-ta
Ix2	-maua	-ma
III2	-laua	-la

The two reconstructions are identical except for vowel length, but it does not appear that an innovation in only one proto-language is the best account for this difference. External evidence supports Proto-Tongic as preserving the original long forms and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian as preserving the original short forms. Fijian long dual forms contain three vowels, while short forms typically contain two vowels, although the vowels are not identical in the short forms (see section 5.3.5).

Internal evidence for Proto-Nuclear Polynesian short forms continuing Proto-Polynesian short forms without change includes, first, a reconstructed singular possessive pronoun, PPN *-ta *my, one's*, which would be identical to the first person inclusive short form if single-vowel short forms were reconstructed on the Tongic model. Note, however, that these two morphemes are distinct in all Polynesian languages where they occur - even in Tongan, where the singular possessive pronoun has been affected by vowel assimilation while the dual one has not (e.g., h-o-to *my, one's*, h-o-ta *our*). If the forms were originally the same, one would expect them to be affected by the

same phonological changes. Note also that long vowels resist assimilation better than short vowels. A logical sequence of change in Tongan would be for shortening to have occurred after assimilation. Second, our reconstruction of PPN *-muru, second person short dual possessive pronoun, to be discussed shortly in this section, requires a loss of a final vowel in the derivation of the Tongan reflex, -mo.

The similarity between the short forms and the person-marking stems of the long forms can account for both the Proto-Tongic and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian changes to the Proto-Polynesian possessive pronoun set. Vowel length innovation in both languages resulted in short forms becoming identical with the long forms minus a dual suffix, -ua. (See section 3.6.4 for relics of the earlier short stem in Nuclear Polynesian languages.)

The problem of reconstructing Proto-Polynesian second person dual possessive pronouns involves an unexpected correspondence between PTO *m and PNP Ø. Pawley (1967:265) reconstructed a single form, PPN *m(o)urua reflected as PNP *oulua, through irregular loss of PPN *m, probably on analogy with a change from POC *-mu to PNP *-u. The Tongan reflex is -moua.

We differ from Pawley, first of all, in reconstructing PNP *-ulua, without the o. Pawley presents the following data to justify his reconstruction of *oulua: Mae -koro, West Futunan -orua, Mele-Fila -kar ∿ -koru ∿ -korua, Sikaiana, Pileni, East Uvean, West Uvean -ulua, Nukuoro -oluu, Kapingamarangi -gulu, Rennellese -ugua, Pukapukan -koulua, Samoan, Nanumea Ellice -lua, none of which really support an initial ou sequence.[16] We disregard forms with initial k and initial g. These are apparently historically independent forms replacing possessive forms. Pawley himself (1967:277) proposes an innovative use of independent PPN *koulua as a possessive form in the history of Eastern Polynesian languages. Of the remaining forms not reflecting our PNP *-ulua by regular sound change, one (Samoan, Nanumea Ellice -lua) shows an unexpected absence of the initial unstressed u, and the other two (West Futunan -orua and Nukuoro -oluu) can be seen as resulting from a change from u to o with the assimilation of a final a to u in one of them.[17]

Pawley reconstructs his PPN *m(o)urua based on Tongan -moua and Niuean -mua, along with his PNP *ourua. He did not explain the Tongan form, -mo, second person short dual possessive pronoun. We reconstruct a contrast between short and long forms for Proto-Polynesian second person dual possessive pronouns based on the Tongan data, the pattern of long/short contrasts in other Proto-Polynesian dual possessive

pronouns, and Fijian evidence. For the long form, we reconstruct PPN *-(m)urua, based on our PNP *-ulua and the common Fijian forms -muruka and -mudrau (probably from an earlier -mudrua by metathesis). We add the initial (m) to accommodate Tongan -moua and Niuean -mua, but suspect that the m in the Proto-Tongic long form (but not the short form) was reintroduced after being lost in Proto-Polynesian. Geraghty (1979:169) has shown an earlier m to be lost sporadically before an unstressed u in the history of Proto-Polynesian (e.g., PPN *maluu < PEO *malumu *soft*, PPN *u < PEO *-mu, second person singular possessive pronoun, but PPN *limu *seaweed*, *qumu *earth oven*, *timu *rain, wind*).[18] A pre-Polynesian form, -murúa, would be subject to this sporadic rule deleting m, and in fact we have reconstructed PNP *-ulua without an initial m. Reconstructing PPN *-murua rather than *-urua, implies that the m-deletion rule applied twice in the history of Nuclear Polynesian languages, but only once in the history of Tongic languages. On the other hand, reconstructing PPN *-urua implies that m has been reintroduced in the Tongic reflexes. The source of the reintroduced m could be analogy with the short form, PPN *-muru.

PPN *-muru, second person short dual possessive pronoun, can be reconstructed on the basis of Tongan -mo (short form of -moua) and the common Fijian form, -muru (short form of -muruka). Tongan -mo is derived from PPN *-muru by regular loss of PPN *r, a vowel quality change, and shortening, much like PTO *-la derives from PPN *-laa, third person short dual possessive pronoun. The stress pattern of PPN *-múru precluded the loss of *m that we suggest occurred in the long form. The initial m in Tongic long forms could have been restored by back formation from the short form, giving PTO *-muua.[19] This Proto-Tongic long form could be considered ancestral to both Niuean -mua and Tongan -moua, with loss of one u in Niuean and a change of the initial u to o in Tongan. (Note this suggests that in an earlier stage of Tongan, the short form, -mo was -mou or -muu, that is, the long form minus the final a.)

3.6.4. Plural Possessive Pronouns

The reconstruction of Proto-Polynesian 'plural' possessive pronouns is complicated by the question of how many number distinctions should be attributed to the Proto-Polynesian pronoun system. It has been a common assumption that Proto-Polynesian distinguished only three numbers - singular, dual, and plural - in pronoun forms, as do the vast majority of Polynesian languages (Mele-Fila and West Futunan with

four distinctions being notable expections). Geraghty (1979:363-364), however, has suggested that a trial/paucal, as well as a dual, may have been distinguished from unlimited plural in Proto-Polynesian, much as in Fijian languages. We shall discuss this question later in this section, and reconstruct Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and Proto-Tongic paradigms first.

For Proto-Nuclear Polynesian, plural possessive pronouns *-ta(a)tou, first person inclusive, *-ma(a)tou, first person exclusive, and *-la(a)tou, third person, are reconstructable. (The second person form will be treated separately shortly.) Most Nuclear Polynesian languages for which reliable vowel-length information is available show long vowels in the person-marker morphemes preceding PNP *-tou, plural number morpheme, but Rennellese does not, in spite of the fact that there are long vowels in Rennellese dual possessive pronoun person marking stems.

The scenario outlined in section 3.6.3 for the development of long vowels in dual possessive pronoun stems is consistent with a hypothesis that Rennellese continues an earlier distinction between the person marker stems of dual and plural possesive pronouns. Long vowels in the plural person marker stems in most Nuclear Polynesian languages could be the result of analogy with the dual forms, possibly occurring after the breakup of Proto-Nuclear Polynesian.

Vaitupu Ellice data also suggests caution in reconstructing the vowel length of person marking stems in plural possessive pronouns, even though Kennedy (1945) does not regularly mark vowel length. Vaitupu Ellice first person exclusive and third person plural forms differ between preposed possessives and other types of possessives, with -motou and -lotou occurring in preposed position and -matou and -latou occurring in other positions. The differences in vowel quality are clearly recent developments, but they may continue a distinction between short (easily assimilated) and long (assimilation resistant) vowels with the same distribution.

For the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian second person plural possessive pronoun, we reconstruct *-utou, rather than support Pawley's (1967: 265) *outou, based on Nukuoro -odou, Sikaiana, East Uvean, Rennellese -utou, Pileni -utu, -tou, Samoan, Nanumea Ellice -tou. Our arguments for reconstructing *-utou rather than *outou are basically the same as those given for reconstructing the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian second person dual form as *-ulua rather than *oulua in section 3.6.3.

Although all Proto-Nuclear Polynesian dual possessive pronouns can be reconstructed with both long and short forms, there is evidence for

only one short plural possessive pronoun, PNP *-tou, first person inclusive plural. This form has been reconstructed by Pawley (1967: 279) from evidence from West Futunan, Mae, East Uvean, Tikopian, and Ellice.

For Proto-Tongic, long plural possessive pronouns *-tautolu, first person inclusive, *-mautolu, first person exclusive, *-muutolu, second person, and *-lautolu, third person, are reconstructed, based on the data presented in Table 25. Note that the change PTO *-muutolu > NIU -mutolu. TON -moutolu is analogous to the change PTO *muua > NIU -mua, TON -moua proposed in section 3.6.3.

Table 25
Tongan and Niuean Plural Possessive Pronouns

	Tongan Long	Tongan Short	Niuean Long	Niuean Short
Iip	tautolu	-tau	-tautolu	-talu
Ixp	-mautolu	-mau	-mautolu	-malu
IIp	-moutolu	-mou	-mutolu	-mulu
IIIp	-nautolu	-nau	-lautolu	-lalu

The Tongan short forms appear to derive from the initial consonant and two vowels of the long forms while the Niuean short forms appear to derive from a combination of the first and last syllables of the long forms. The l of the Niuean forms could be epenthetic or Tongan could have lost an earlier liquid. The forms may even represent independent innovations, but this is especially unlikely in the case of Niuean, which has only one short dual possessive pronoun that could serve as a model. We shall tentatively reconstruct short Proto-Tongic plural pronouns with medial (l) in order to reflect our uncertainty over the irregular correspondences between Tongan and Niuean.

There are also difficulties involving a medial l between Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian plural possessive pronouns. Compare the plural forms in the Proto-Tongic and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian paradigms in Table 26 and Table 27.

Pawley (1972) reconstructed a plural pronominal suffix, PPN *-tolu, to account for both the Nuclear Polynesian and Tongic data. The morpheme *-tolu is proposed as inherited without change in Proto-Tongic but an irregular loss of medial l is proposed in the derivation of PPN *-tou, plural pronominal suffix. Pawley supported his reconstruction with a hypothesis that his PPN *-tolu reflects an

Table 26
Proto-Tongic Possessive Pronouns

	Singular	Dual Long	Dual Short	Plural Long	Plural Short
Ii	*-ta	*-taua	*-ta	*-tautolu	*-ta(l)u
Ix	*-ku	*-maua	*-ma	*-mautolu	*-ma(l)u
II	*-u	*-muua	*-mu	*-muutolu	*-mu(l)u
III	*-na	*-laua	*-la	*-lautolu	*-la(l)u

Table 27
Proto-Nuclear Polynesian Possessive Pronouns

	Singular	Dual Long	Dual Short	Plural Long	Plural Short
Ii	*-ta	*-taaua	*-taa	*-ta(a)tou	*-tou
Ix	*-ku	*-maaua	*-maa	*-ma(a)tou	*-ma(a)tou
II	*-u	*-ulua	*-ulua	*-utou	*-utou
III	*-na	*-laaua	*-laa	*-la(a)tou	*-la(a)tou

earlier trial/paucal suffix, PEO *-tolu (cf. PPN *tolu *three*), which came to mark plural in Proto-Polynesian with a loss of an earlier distinction between unlimited plural and trial/paucal in Proto-Polynesian. Table 28 gives our reconstructed Proto-Polynesian singular and dual possessive pronouns along with plural forms consisting of Pawley's plural suffix attached to non-singular stems taken from the long dual forms.

Table 28
A Possible Set of Proto-Polynesian Possessive Pronouns Following Pawley (1972) with Regard to Plurals

	Singular	Dual Long	Dual Short	Plural
Ii	*-ta	*-taua	*-taa	*-tatolu
Ix	*-ku	*-maua	*-maa	*-matolu
II	*-u	*-(m)urua	*-muru	*-(m)utolu
III	*-na	*-laua	*-laa	*-latolu

In contrast to Pawley, Geraghty (1979:363-364) has presented a hypothesis based on an assumption that Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian plural pronouns are not cognate. Geraghty points out that Proto-Tongic plural suffix is not *-tolu, but *-utolu, and presents the following argument that Proto-Polynesian may have distinguished trial/paucal from unlimited plural, as in Fijian and other Eastern Oceanic languages, with PPN *-utolu being a plural suffix.

> In view of the fact that the meaning of this suffix is not paucal, but plural, it seems quite likely that its source is not the word for *three*, but a cognate of SF udolu *thousand* and NGG undolu *whole, all* (as in rogita undolu *both of us*). Note also that in Aomba, New Hebrides (Codrington 1885:422), teri *thousand* also functions as a plural marker.... PPN may have had *-utolu as an optional plural suffix, and *-tou as the trial or paucal suffix.

Geraghty's hypothesis avoids the positing of irregular sound change required by Pawley's hypothesis in the derivation of PNP *-tou (and PTO *-utolu) from an earlier *-tolu, and shows regular inheritance in the derivation of PNP *-tou from an earlier Proto-Central Pacific *-tou, trial paucal suffix, supported throughout Fiji and in the northern New Hebrides. Thus, the loss of medial l in PEO *-tolu, trial pronominal suffix, is proposed as occurring only once in the history of the Central Pacific languages, rather than separately in Fijian and Nuclear Polynesian languages as required by Pawley's reconstruction.

We might develop Geraghty's hypothesis a little further by suggesting that in Proto-Polynesian, earlier non-singular stems came to take *-utolu, and possibly other suffixes, in the environments where long dual possessive pronouns occurred. The historic plural forms then came to serve as short forms, with the possible addition of a final u to the first person inclusive and third person forms on analogy with a first person exclusive form *-mau (<PCP *-mamu/i by loss of m before an unstressed u) and a second person form, *-muu (cf. Western Fijian, -mū).

From the paradigm presented in Table 29, Proto-Tongic would lose the trial pronouns and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian the plural ones. Changes in second person dual forms are also proposed: the replacement of PPN *-muru with PNP *-ulua and the replacement of PPN *-(m)urua with PTO *-muua (see section 3.6.3). The set in Table 29 also suggests a source for Tongan and Niuean short plural forms which are not explained by the paradigm presented in Table 28.

Table 29

A Possible Set of Proto-Polynesian Possessive Pronouns
with Long Trial/Paucal and Plural Forms
Following Geraghty (1979)

	Singular	Dual Long	Dual Short	Trial Long	Trial Short	Plural Long	Plural Short
Ii	*-ta	*-taua	*-taa	*-tatou	*-tou	*-tautolu	*-ta(u)
Ix	*-ku	*-maua	*-maa	*-matou	*-matou	*-mautolu	*-mau
II	*-u	*-(m)urua	*-muru	*-(m)utou	*-(m)utou	*-muutolu	*-muu
III	*-na	*-laua	*-laa	*-latou	*-latou	*-lautolu	*-la(u)

The existence of a contrast between trial/paucal and unlimited plural possessive pronouns in Mele-Fila and West Futunan could be used to support Geraghty's suggestion that Proto-Polynesian distinguished four numbers in its pronoun system. The possibility remains, however, that the Mele-Fila and West Futunan systems are recent innovations associated with contact with neighbouring non-Polynesian languages (Clark 1977:16). Furthermore, neither Mele-Fila nor West Futunan has a cognate of PTO *-utolu, plural pronominal morpheme.[20]

The distribution of evidence for reconstructing Proto-Polynesian non-singular possessive pronouns beyond the duals is such that any reconstruction must be considered very tentative. Geraghty's hypothesis, however, is preferable to Pawley's earlier proposal in that it shows more consistency with external data and it avoids the phonological problems inherent in Pawley's hypothesis (see section 5.3.5). The implications of Geraghty's hypothesis as expanded and developed in Table 29 are that Proto-Polynesian had a possessive pronoun system considerably more complicated than those of Proto-Tongic and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and even Proto-Oceanic (in its inclusion of special short forms and an impersonal pronoun).

3.7. Summary

We have reconstructed several morphologically complex possessives exhibiting the A/O contrast in Proto-Polynesian. These possessives typically consist of an A/O element optionally preceded by an article or aspect-marking element and followed by a possessor of some sort, commonly, and in one case obligatorily, a pronoun.

The A/O elements have forms *-qa-/-o- (preposed possessives), *-aqa-/-oqo- (elliptical and irrealis possessives), *qa-/(q)o- (simple possessives), and *-(q)a-/-(q)o- (realis possessives). Simple possessives are exceptional in not having a morpheme before the A/O possessive marker. Table 30 lists the initial elements of our reconstructed Proto-Polynesian possessives.

The noun following the A/O marker is restricted to being a pronoun with preposed possessives. With all possessives, pronouns take special forms different from their independent forms. Our singular possessive pronouns have invariable forms but dual possessive pronouns have short forms occurring in preposed possessives and long forms in other possessives as shown in Table 31.

Table 30
Initial Elements of Proto-Polynesian Possessives

Possessive Type	A-Form	O-Form
Definite preposed	*te-qa-	*t-o-
Indefinite preposed	*sa-qa-	*s-o-
Simple	*qa-	*(q)o-
Definite elliptical	*t-aqa-	*t-oqo-
Indefinite elliptical	*s-aqa-	*s-oqo-
Realis	*ni-(q)a-	*ni-(q)o-
Irrealis	*m-aqa-	*m-oqo-

Table 31
Proto-Polynesian Singular and Dual Possessive Pronouns

	Long Form	Short Form
Ii1	*-ta	*-ta
Ii2	*taua	*-taa
Ix1	*-ku	*-ku
Ix2	*-maua	*-maa
II1	*-u	*-u
II2	*-(m)urua	*-muru
III1	*-na	*-na
III2	*-laua	*-laa

Reconstruction of Proto-Polynesian non-singular possessive pronouns beyond duals is a problematical area. Although neither Proto-Tongic nor Proto-Nuclear Polynesian can be reconstructed with a contrast between trial/paucal and unlimited plural, a case can be made for reconstructing pronominal number marking suffixes *-tou, trial/paucal, and *-utolu, unlimited plural (alongside *-ua, dual).

NOTES ON CHAPTER THREE

1. There are modern Polynesian possessives in which the A/O constrast has been lost. However, these can all be derived from earlier forms containing A/O markers (see note 3 of Chapter One and section 3.5.3.2).

2. A systematic deletion of singular definite article elements in article-initial possessives to create plurals is common in Nuclear Polynesian languages and can be reconstructed for Proto-Nuclear Polynesian (see end of section 3.5.5). Although lacking an overt article morpheme, such plural forms are considered article-initial possessives like their singular counterparts.

3. Some Outlier languages lack the A/O possessive markers in simple possessives, but they still retain the syntactic category of simple possessives in the use of possessors as postposed modifying phrases, as shown in the following Luangiua example:

LUA **ke hale Ø ke hiŋe**
art/*house*/poss/art/*woman*
the woman's house

4. There is some evidence for reconstructing a variant set of simple possessives restricted to singular pronominal possessors. Such a variant set occurs in Tongan, where the simple short vowels of the possessive marker of regular simple possessives are optionally replaced by possessive markers containing repeated vowels separated by a glottal stop. These variants are found only with singular pronominal possessors (e.g., TON **'a-na/'a'a-na** *of him*, but only **'a-taua** [*of us*-inc-dual]). No other Polynesian language has two sets of simple possessives in this manner. Easter Island, however, shows a pattern similar to the Tongan one, except for the absence of the

regular variant with the singular pronominal possessors (e.g., EAS 'a'a-na *of him*, but 'a-taaua [*of us*-inc-dual]).

5. C.M. Churchward (1953:11) describes the glottal stop of simple O-possessives as epenthetic. While this may be the best synchronic characterisation of glottal stop/zero alternation in Tongan simple O-possessives, the obligatory medial glottal stop of Tongan elliptical (e.g., ho'oku *mine*) and irrealis possessives (e.g., mo'oku *for me*) suggests that its best historical characterisation is optional deletion, since the glottal stop in these two possessive types clearly initiates what were historically simple possessives. Motivation for the deletion of glottal stop before o in simple possessives can be found in the lack of an initial glottal stop in the O element of Tongan preposed possessives.

   Although Tongan and other Polynesian data suggest an obligatory glottal stop before simple O-possessives as well as simple A-possessives in an early form of Polynesian, it is not clear whether this language was Proto-Polynesian or pre-Polynesian. There is no Nuclear Polynesian evidence of the sort that could date the development of glottal stop/zero alternation in Tongan simple O-possessives and the alternation could trace back to Proto-Polynesian rather than reflect a recent change in Tongan.

6. There are Fijian data suggesting variation in the vowel of PCP *me. Standard Fijian me is realised as m- before -o, second person singular. (See Geraghty [1977] for a discussion of this variation and similar variation in other particles in Fijian languages.) Although the form me occurs in both Fijian and Polynesian languages, it is possible that the Proto-Central Pacific form was *ma, not *me, as many non-Central Pacific languages have a cognate ma (Pawley, personal communication 1979).

7. In Hawaiian, preposed possessives carry emotional connotations and are most commonly used with nouns like ipo *sweetheart*, lei *garland*, keiki *child*, makuahine *mother*, etc. Tahitian preposed possessives appear to have similar connotations, judging from songs where neutral possessives are quite commonly used with words like mafatu *heart* and tino *body*.

8. PNP *tou *your* (*you* singular) is reflected as doo in the two Northern Outliers of Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro, and as too in the related Central Outlier of Sikaiana, suggesting an innovative change from PNP *tou to too in an early Outlier proto-language. These Outlier subgroups and their interrelationships were first proposed by Pawley (1967). This hypothesis is strengthened by other Central Outlier forms: Takuu, Nukumanu, Nukuria too, Luangiua koo, second person singular preposed neutral possessive. PEP *too, second person neutral possessive, shows unexpected similarity with second person singular forms in all these languages. There are even more striking similarities with Takuu, Nukumanu, Nukuria, and Luangiua. As in Eastern Polynesian, preposed possessives in these languages

   (a) neutralise the A/O contrast;
   (b) have meaningless A/O elements with singular pronominal possessors;
   (c) have forms with singular pronominal possessors that appear to derive from earlier taku, first person, too, second person, and tana, third person.

These similarities are quite surprising in light of the present subgrouping hypothesis. Pawley (1967:278) also faced difficulties in explaining the distribution of A/O neutralisation in Nuclear Polynesian languages within the framework of the present subgrouping hypothesis. Pawley states that

> WUV, EFU, and PUK appear to retain the PPN and PNP a/o distinction in all forms. This situation can be explained either by assuming that these three languages fall outside the subgroup containing those SO languages which have "neutral possessives", or by assuming that they once had neutral possessives as stylistic variants of a/o possessives (as SAM but that the neutral possessives eventually lost out in competition with the alternate constructions).

The A/O neutralisation that Pawley refers to above involves the replacement of PNP *t-a- with the free article reflecting PNP *te. This neutralisation is different from the loss of the A/O contrast in forms incorporating singular pronominal elements in certain Outlier languages (e.g., Takuu taku, too, tana). However, both neutralisation have played a part in the history of these Outlier languages and appear to be closely related. These two neutralisations are quite important in light of their subgrouping implications and

also appear to have an unusual source which we plan to discuss in a future article.

9. In Samoan, preposed A/O possessive markers are long before all non-singular pronominal elements (Pawley, personal communication 1979). Not all can be explained by assimilation to a following long vowel, e.g., SAM l-ō-lua (art/poss/*you*-dual) *your* (cf. PNP *t-o-ulua), but they are all clearly innovations of Samoan.

   Samoan also has preposed possessives in which a possessive marker is absent before certain non-singular pronominal elements, e.g., le-mā, first person exclusive dual preposed neutral possessive. Similar neutral forms are found in many (but not all) Samoic-Outlier languages (see end of note 8 in this chapter).

10. Tongan possessives with a second person singular possessor (PPN *-u) appear to share a history of diphthong reduction. -au and -ou become -o. This reduction makes the distinguishing of morpheme boundaries in a form such as ho *your* rather arbitrary. Neither division of the word as h-Ø-o nor as h-o-Ø accurately reflects the components of the word.

11. Phonological explanations for the glottal stop in Tongan preposed A-possessives are all unlikely. One possibility is an epenthesis rule that would insert a glottal stop between certain vowel pairs. This rule would have to be restricted to preposed possessives. If the rule applied after other phonological processes resulting in vowel sequences ea and aa changing to ee, aa, ao, and oo, it would have to be restricted to preposed A-possessives.

   Another possibility would be to explain the glottal stop as introduced with the deletion of the definite article element, he-, except after prepositions ending in i or e (e.g., ki he'eku ikā *to my fish*, ko 'eku ikā *It's my fish*). The glottal stop occurs, however, after the indefinite article element, ha- (e.g., ha-'a-ku *my*), which is never deleted, and also after the definite article element, ho- (e.g., ho-'o *your*), also never deleted. Furthermore, a similar phenomenon in which h is deleted from the definite article he has not resulted in the insertion of a glottal stop, e.g., ki he ikā *to the fish*, ko e ikā *It's the fish*, not *ko 'e ikā.

12. Clark (1976:50) supported his reconstruction of PPN *sa, indefinite article, by a claim that it derived from an early Oceanic numeral *sa/nsa *one* that is reflected in Fijian languages with an s (e.g., SF sa-ga-vulu *ten*, literally one-ligature-ten). Since Fijian s generally corresponds to PPN *s (Pawley 1972:27), the Fijian evidence supports reconstructing PPN *sa rather than *ha. Of course, PPN *sa is also required to explain the initial phoneme of PNP *se.

    Clark (1976:65) also offered idiomatic preservation of PPN *te in Tongan terms like te-kau *twenty* (cf. SAM 'au) as additional support for his reconstruction of PPN *te.

13. The merger of the initial consonants of definite and indefinite articles in the history of Tongan has also resulted in the merger of reflexes of PPN *t-aqa-ku, definite elliptical A-possessive *mine*, and PPN *sa-qa-ku, indefinite preposed A-possessive *my* as TON ha'aku. Merger of other pairs in these two A-possessive sets is prevented by differences in pronominal elements, e.g., ha'amaua *ours* < PPN *t-aqa-maua; ha'ama *our* < PPN *sa-qa-maa, and ha'au *yours* < PPN *t-aqa-u; ha'o *your* < PPN *sa-qa-u. The pronominal difference in the last example is a Tongan innovation, with the irregular change, au > o, probably being blocked in the elliptical form by stress, which always occurs finally in the Tongan elliptical set.

    The merger of PPN *t- and *s- in Proto-Tongic as *h- can be associated with an innovation of Niuean in which the definite article, e/he, is used preceding what was formerly an article element, h-.

NIU ko e haa-ku a fale
top/art/poss/*I*/ligative/*house*
my house

The sequence, h-aa (also written hā), has become a single possessive marker used after nouns as well as before them in Niuean. Historically, Proto-Tongic possessives initiated with h- never followed a noun since the h- was an article element. In the post-noun position, Niuean possessives initiated with h- indicate indefiniteness as well as definiteness (at least according to McEwen's [1970:xvi] translations).

NIU **ko e fale hā-ku**
top/art/*house*/poss/*I*
a house of mine, my house

14. Note, however, that in Polynesian and other Oceanic languages, preverbal subject pronouns are often quite similar to possessive pronouns (e.g., TON, **ne**, preverbal subject third person singular, **-na, -ne, -no**, possessive third person singular SF **erau/rau**, preverbal subject third person dual, **-drau**, possessive third person dual). A close association of the two pronoun sets has been traced right back to Proto-Austronesian (Dahl 1973:121-122, Blust 1977).

15. The connection between Polynesian impersonal pronouns and an earlier first person inclusive plural was first made by S. Churchward (1951:43-44), who suggested a relationship between Samoan **-ta** *my, one's* and Indonesian **-ta** *our.*

16. Pawley (1967:265) lists second person dual possessive forms, Kapingamarangi **kuruu** (rather than **-gulu**) and Nukuoro **olu** (rather than **-oluu**) based on sources available to him at that time. Since that time, dictionaries have been published for both Kapingamarangi (Lieber and Dikepa 1974) and Nukuoro (Carrol and Soulik 1973). The forms given in these dictionaries are slightly different from what Pawley used in his study, but not sufficiently so to account for differences between his reconstruction and ours.

17. Howard (personal communication 1980) points out that unexpected **o** in Nukuoro **-oluu** and West Futunan **-olua** (<< PNP ***-ulua**, second person dual possessive pronoun) can be related to an analogous change in the independent forms, i.e., Nukuoro **gooluu**, West Futunan **koorua** << PNP ***koulua.**

18. Note that stress phenomena associated with enclitics may have protected some Proto-Polynesian morphemes from the deletion of ***m** before an unstressed ***u**. Clark (1974: 106-107) has reconstructed Proto-Polynesian with a set of univocalic demonstratives ***ni**, first person, ***na**, second person, ***ra**, third person and proposes that they developed into enclitics in the history of Tongan, e.g., TON **ha tálo** *some taro*, **e taló-ni** *this taro.* Clark uses the cliticised PPN ***ra** > pre-Tongan **-a** to explain the shift of stress in specific definite noun phrases, e.g., **e taló** *the (specific) taro* (<< **e taló-a**).

Although Clark did not reconstruct the enclitic function of these demonstratives for Proto-Polynesian (he had them attached to a base PPN *e-), he presented data from Rarotongan and West Futunan where reflexes of these demonstratives are used as enclitics as in Tongan. Since Tongan, Rarotongan, and West Futunan represent all three primary subgroups of Polynesian, it does not seem unreasonable to suspect that the enclitic use of the demonstratives occurred in Proto-Polynesian. If this usage did occur in Proto-Polynesian, there would have been alternating stress patterns with common nouns in Proto-Polynesian (e.g., *sa límu *some seawood*, *te limú-ni *this seaweed*, *te limú-ra *the (specific) seaweed*). Such alternation could have protected common nouns from irrecoverable *m deletion and possibly created doublets (e.g., MAO mura *blaze, flame*/MAO ura *glowing*; EFU timu *squall*/MAO tiu *north wind*; HAW hau *beat*/TAK samu *drum, beat a drum*).

19. Note that a sort of back formation has occurred in Tongan third person forms where the singular -na (< PPN *-na) replaced PPN *-la- as the third person non-singular stem, giving Tongan -na-ua, third person dual, and -na-utolu, third person plural.

20. The Mele-Fila non-singular possessive pronouns are outlined in the table below. Note that in Mele-Fila -teu (<< PNP *-tou) marks trial/paucal, while -fa/-fu marks unlimited plural. The West Futunan marker of unlimited plural is -a.

Mele-Fila Non-singular Possessive Pronouns

	Long	Short
Ii2	taaua	taa
Ii3	taateu	tau
Iip	teafa	tafu
Ix2	maaua	maa
Ix3	maateu	mau
Ixp	meafa	mafu
II2	koorua	karu
II3	kooteu	katau
IIp	kouafa	kafu
III2	raaua	raa
III3	raateu	rau
IIIp	reafa	rafu

CHAPTER FOUR

Pre-Polynesian Possessive Marker Contrasts

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents arguments that the distribution of Proto-Polynesian A and O possessive markers with possessed nouns continues in large measure an earlier system better preserved in some other Oceanic languages such as Standard Fijian. Argumentation is complicated by the fact that Proto-Polynesian possessive markers are one of several cases within the Oceanic subgroup where there appears to have been either major irregular phonological change or morpheme replacement in development from earlier forms. Unusual typological similarities and distributional evidence, however, show that Proto-Polynesian possessive marker use is a descendant of an earlier Oceanic system and not the result of independent Proto-Polynesian innovation or borrowing.

The similarities between Proto-Polynesian possessive markers and other Oceanic possessive markers can almost all be illustrated by comparing Proto-Polynesian with the Fijian languages. Fijian languages are similar to Polynesian languages, for example, in having preposed possessive markers to which pronominal morphemes are suffixed. Compare the syntax and morphology of the Standard Fijian and Hawaiian examples given below:

SF(4.1) na no-qu vale
art/poss/*I*/*house*
my house

HAW(4.2) k-o-'u hale
art/poss/*I*/*house*
my house

Possessive constructions involving preposed possessive markers are traditionally referred to as 'alienable possession' in descriptions of Fijian languages. Standard Fijian is typical of Fijian languages in having three preposed possessive markers subdiving alienable possession into what is frequently called 'edible possession' (kē-), 'drinkable possession' (mē-), and 'neutral possession' (nō-/nē-).[1] Although these labels frequently characterise the nature of the possessed relationship, there are cases where the name associated with the possessive marker is inappropriate, as in (4.6).[2]

SF (4.3) **na ke-mu uvi**
art/poss/*you*/*yam*
your yam *(You eat it.)*

(4.4) **na me-na yaqona**
art/poss/*he*/*kava*
his kava *(He drinks it.)*

(4.5) **na no-qu waqa**
art/poss/*I*/*canoe*
my canoe

(4.6) **na ke-na i-talanoa**
art/poss/*he*/*story*
his story *(It is about him.)*

Like certain Polynesian Outlier languages, Fijian languages exhibit direct affixation of pronominal morphemes to possessed nouns. This direct affixation is sometimes described in terms of a zero possessive marker (Ø). The traditional term associated with direct affixation is 'inalienable possession'. Compare the syntax and morphology of the Standard Fijian and Rennellese examples below:

SF (4.7) **na mata-na**
art/*eye*/*he*
his eye *(It is part of his body.)*

(4.8) **na tubu-mu**
art/*grandparent*/*you*
your grandparent

REN(4.9) **te tupu-u**
art/*grandparent*/*you*
your grandparent

In Eastern Fijian languages such as Standard Fijian, possessive pronominal affixes are always suffixed. In Western Fijian languages, however, there are both possessive prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes are used primarily with body terms (i.e., terms for the body and its parts), while suffixes are used primarily with kin terms.

WAY(4.10) m-lima
you-sing/*arm*
your arm

(4.11) tama-m
father-you-sing
your father

Except for the use of possessive prefixes in Western Fijian languages, Fijian possessive marking is fairly typical of many Oceanic languages and was used extensively (along with data from several widely distributed but less well described languages) by Pawley (1973) in reconstructing early Oceanic possessive markers *na-, *ma-, *ka-, and *Ø (direct suffixation). The functions reconstructed by Pawley for early Oceanic possessive markers form a convenient framework for much of this chapter, since they correlate not only with Fijian data but also with the Proto-Polynesian function of the possessive markers reconstructed in Chapter Two.

This chapter contains two main sections. Section 4.2, the larger of the two, deals with the preposed possessive markers used with most common nouns in Oceanic languages. The first part of section 4.2 demonstrates the typological similarities between Proto-Polynesian and other Oceanic languages and shows that the Proto-Polynesian possessive marking system is a continuation of an early Oceanic system. The second part of section 4.2 treats the problem of relating the phonological forms of Proto-Polynesian possessive markers to early Oceanic forms. Section 4.3 deals with direct suffixation (and some preposed possessive markers) used with body and kin terms. These are small groups of exceptions to the generalisations presented in section 4.2.

4.2. Preposed Possessive Markers

4.2.1. General Controlled Possession

Pawley's (1973:158) reconstruction of Proto-Oceanic preposed possessive markers included a function marked by POC *na- in which

> ...the possessor owns or is in physical control of the head noun, has a choice in the matter of possession, or is the agent or deliberate actor or voluntary experiencer of the action denoted by the head noun.

Pawley's description of the function of POC *na- is consistent with what we have called the general controlled possessive function of PPN A-marking in section 2.2.2. In fact, Pawley's term for POC *na-marking, 'dominant possession', is a borrowing from descriptions of A-marking in Polynesian languages (Hohepa 1967, Biggs 1969).

Pawley identifies nō- and its alternate nē- as the Standard Fijian reflexes of POC *na-. There are clear parallels in the function of SF nō-/nē- and PPN A-marking. Both SF nō-/nē- and PPN A are general markers of possessive relationships of a controlled nature, including relationships of simple ownership,

SF (4.12) na no-na vatu
art/poss/*he stone*
his stone

(4.13) na no-na vuaka
his pig

HAW(4.14) k-ā-na pōhaku
art/poss/*he/stone*
his stone

(4.15) k-ā-na pua'a
his pig

relationships of temporary use,

SF (4.16) na no-na dalo
his taro *(He sells it.)*

(4.17) na no-na wai
his water *(He sprinkles it on his plants.)*

HAW(4.18) k-ā-na kalo
his taro *(He sells it.)*

(4.19) k-ā-na wai
his water *(He sprinkles it on his plants.)*

and relationships in which the possessor creates the possessed.

SF (4.20) na no-na i-tukutuku
his story *(He made it up.)*

HAW(4.21) k-ā-na mo'olelo
his story *(He made it up.)*

Certain specific types of controlled relationships, however, receive special marking in both Standard Fijian and Proto-Polynesian. These will be discussed below.

The parallelism between SF nō-/nē- and PPN A when marking the category of possession corresponding to POC *na-, 'controlled possession', is extensive and regular. Both SF nō-/nē- and PPN A are used in other situations which reflect innovations in those languages, however, and in such cases the parallelism does not hold.

4.2.2. Possession as Personal Drink

Pawley (1973:163) discusses the reconstruction of an early Oceanic morpheme, *ma-, attributable to at least Proto-North Hebridean-Central Pacific and possibly Proto-Oceanic as well. *ma- marked the possession of any liquid for the purpose of consumption by the possessor. Pawley identified mē- as the Standard Fijian reflex. There are parallels between SF mē- and PPN O-marking in their use with drinks and sources of drinks.

Both SF mē- and PPN O-marking distinguish the possession of something as a personal drink from the possession of that same noun for a different purpose:

SF (4.22) na me-na wai
his water *(He drinks it.)*

(4.23) na no-na wai
his water *(He uses it to wash dishes.)*

MAO(4.24) t-ō-na wai
his water *(He drinks it.)*

(4.25) t-ā-na wai
his water *(He uses it to wash dishes.)*

Not only do Standard Fijian and Proto-Polynesian agree in the special marking of ownership as personal drink, they also extend the marking to include the possession of producers of personal drink.[3]

SF (4.26) na me-na vureniwai
his spring *(He gets his drinking water there.)*

TON(4.27) h-o-no sima
his cement water tank *(He gets his drinking water there.)*

Thus, SF mē- and PPN O regularly correspond in the category of possession dealing with personal drink.[4]

4.2.3. Possession as Personal Food

The possession of any solid for the purpose of consumption by the possessor is reconstructed by Pawley (1973:161) as being marked in Proto-Oceanic with *ka-. This relationship of ownership as personal food is extended to include the possession of producers of things eaten by a possessor, such as gardens and food-producing plants.

Pawley identifies SF kē- as reflecting POC *ka-. Note that SF kē- distinctly marks ownership of something as personal food (or source of food) from other possessive relationships:

SF (4.28) na ke-na dalo
his taro *(He eats it.)*

(4.29) na no-na dalo
his taro *(He sells it.)*

(4.30) na ke-na ika
his fish *(He eats it.)*

(4.31) na no-na ika
his fish *(He keeps it as a pet.)*

(4.32) na ke-itou veiniu
our coconut grove *(We get our eating nuts there.)*

(4.33) na ke-itou uqele
our cultivated land *(We get our food there.)*

(4.34) na ne-itou vanua
our land *(We live there.)*

Proto-Polynesian is only partially parallel to Standard Fijian with regard to the function of ownership as personal food. There is no difference between general controlled possession and ownership as personal food itself in Polynesian languages.

HAW(4.35) k-ā-na kalo
his taro *(He eats it or he sells it.)*

(4.36) k-ā-na i'a
his fish *(He eats it or he keeps it as a pet.)*

However, like Standard Fijian and many other Oceanic languages, Proto-Polynesian does exhibit a distinction between general controlled possession and the possession of sources of food. The marking used in Proto-Polynesian with the possession of sources of food is O.

REN(4.37) t-o-na 'umaga O
his garden *(He gets his food there.)*

TON(4.38) h-o-no niu O
his coconut tree *(He gets his eating nuts there.)*

But note:

TON(4.39) he-'e-ne niu A
his coconut *(He eats it.)*

We see, then, that although Proto-Polynesian has no special marking for possession of personal food, there is evidence that it did mark such a relationship at an earlier period. Its use of O as a special marker for possession of source of personal food is parallel to the use of kē- in Standard Fijian (and *ka- in Proto-Oceanic) to mark sources of personal food and personal food itself.

4.2.4. General Non-Controlled Possession

In reconstructing POC *ka-, Pawley (1973:162) noted that

> Actions over which the possessor has no control (where he is the patient, target, or involuntary experiencer) were evidently marked as such by use of *ka-.

Pawley identified SF kē- as reflecting POC *ka- as a marker of general non-controlled possession. It Proto-Polynesian, general non-controlled possession is marked with O. Note the parallels in the following Fijian and Polynesian examples contrasting general non-controlled and general controlled possession.

SF (4.40)	na ka-na i-taba *his picture*	*(He is depicted in the picture.)*
(4.41)	na no-na i-taba *his picture*	*(He owns or has photographed it.)*
(4.42)	na ke-na dali *his rope*	*(It is used to bind him.)*
(4.43)	no no-na dali *his rope*	*(It is one that he owns.)*
HAW(4.44)	k-o-na ki'i *his picture*	*(He is depicted in the picture.)*
(4.45)	k-ā-na ki'i *his picture*	*(He owns or has photographed it.)*
(4.46)	k-o-na kaula *his rope*	*(It is used to bind him.)*
(4.47)	k-ā-na kaula *his rope*	*(It is one that he owns.)*

The parallelism between SF kē- and PPN O when marking the category of possession corresponding to POC *ka-, 'general non-controlled possession', is extensive and regular.

4.2.5. Possession of Marked Artifact Terms

Pawley (1973:163) suggests a third use of *ka- in Proto-Oceanic.

> There are indications that POC extended the use of *ka- marking to what might be called 'intimate property', e.g., intimate clothing (belts, skirts, men's aprons or loin-cloths, shields, hand-carried weapons, bags containing essential portable property).

Proto-Polynesian terms for the articles mentioned by Pawley, such as clothing, weapons, and other artifacts of human manufacture, are unusual in taking O-marking for personal ownership, unlike other terms,

which take A-marking for personal ownership. The use of A-marking with these unusual artifact terms indicates controlled possession other than personal ownership for normal use.

HAW(4.48) k-o-na malo
his loin-cloth (He wears it.)

(4.49) k-ā-na malo
his loin-cloth (He makes it or sells it.)

(4.50) k-o-na wa'a
his canoe (He rides it.)

(4.51) k-ā-na wa'a
his canoe (he made it or sells it.)

(4.52) k-o-na hale
his house (He lives in it.)

(4.53) k-ā-na hale
his house (He made it or sells it.)

In Standard Fijian, as in all Fijian languages, there is no special marking for terms denoting artifacts when they are possessed for personal use. The marker of general controlled possession is used for personal possession as well as for other types of controlled possession with terms cognate with Proto-Polynesian artifact terms taking O for personal possession.

SF (4.54) na no-na waqa
his canoe (He rides it, made it, or sells it.)

(4.55) na no-na vale
his house (He lives in it, made it, or sells it.)

Although no parallels between Proto-Polynesian and Fijian languages can be found in the marking of a distinct class of irregular artifact terms, there certainly are similarities between Proto-Polynesian and other Oceanic languages. For example, Nggela (Solomon Islands) terms that are irregular in that they refer to things other than food but take ga-, the marker of 'edible possession', include mbore *armlet*, una *earring*, susumalagaura *frigate bird tattoo*, tako *shield*, mbulao *shell ornament*, and others. Where Polynesian equivalents of these Nggela terms exist, they are possessed with O for normal personal use. Mota (Banks Islands) terms in a similar irregular class take direct suffixation rather than the expected general control marker, no-. At least one of these Mota irregular artifact terms has a cognate in the Proto-Polynesian marked artifact class: Mota aka, PPN *waka *canoe*. Other Mota terms of this sort (such as epa *mat*, sagiai *ornaments of a*

man or place, and gamal *club house*), while not cognate with Proto-Polynesian terms, have equivalents or near-equivalents that take O-marking in Polynesian languages for normal personal possession.

The parallelism between PPN O and POC *ka- in the marking of personal possession of a noun class consisting primarily of terms for artifacts is somewhat surprising, given the lack of a similar category of possession in Fijian languages. It appears, then, that Fijian languages have lost the special marking for such a category recently, at least since the breakup of Proto-Central Pacific. Much work remains to be done, however, in describing irregular Oceanic noun classes (such as the Nggela and Mota ones above) before we can determine the details of the history of these classes in Oceanic languages.

4.2.6. Establishing a Genetic Relationship

Comparison of Pawley's reconstructed semantic functions of early Oceanic *na-, *ka-, and *ma- with the functions of SF nō-/nē-, kē-, and mē-, and Proto-Polynesian A- and O-marking shows remarkable patterning, as illustrated in Table 32.

Table 32

Preposed Possessive Marker Functions in Early Oceanic, Standard Fijian, and Proto-Polynesian

Possessive Environment	Early Oceanic	Standard Fijian	Proto-Polynesian
Possession as personal drink	*ma-	mē-	O
Possession as personal food	*ka-	kē-	O/A[a]
General non-controlled possession	*ka-	kē-	O
Possession of marked artifact terms	*ka-	nō-/nē-	O
General controlled possession	*na-	nō-/nē-	A

[a]source of food/food

Several important observations can be made about Table 32:

(A) Although early Oceanic has only three markers, the use of POC *ka- to mark three distinct types of alienable possession allows five types of alienable possession to be distinguished. The three-way division of the functions of POC *ka- is not an

arbitrary one. It seems impossible to come up with a single natural generalisation of the function of POC *ka- that can accommodate the possession of food and marked artifacts as well as general non-controlled relationships. It also seems impossible to define *ka- as marking all relationships not specified by *ma- and *na-. POC *na- itself is defined in a somewhat negative manner in that it is used to mark all instances of possession requiring a possessor's control except those specified for some other marking - thus, its characterisation as marker of *general* controlled possession.

(B) Standard Fijian use of no-/ne- with cognates of Oceanic marked artifact terms involves the loss of a special marking and is thus brought under the basic criterion for the choice of the marker for general controlled possession. Standard Fijian, thus, marks only four types of alienable possession: (1) general non-controlled possession, (2) special controlled possession with personal food, (3) special controlled possession with personal drink, and (4) general controlled possession (including all types of controlled possession outside of possession of food or drink).

(C) As in Standard Fijian, there has been an expansion of general controlled possession in Proto-Polynesian. In contrast to Standard Fijian, however, this expansion has not resulted in a reduction in the number of types of alienable possession. The inclusion of possession of personal food into general controlled possession is incomplete, leaving the relic possession type, possession of *source* of food. Proto-Polynesian, then, is more like early Oceanic than Standard Fijian in maintaining a distinction between five separate types of alienable possession.

(D) Standard Fijian is more like early Oceanic in using three markers to distinguish the various possession types. Proto-Polynesian has innovated by reducing the number of markers to two. This innovation is a natural evolution of the early Oceanic system, in that it extends the use of the marker of general non-controlled possession for exceptional controlled possession types, to the one type of exceptional controlled possession that had its own marking.

That Standard Fijian forms and uses of preposed possessive markers are genetically inherited from an early Oceanic prototype has never

been questioned. It is the genetic relationship between Proto-Polynesian and early Oceanic markers that has until now been considered untenable. However, as this study has shown, Proto-Polynesian not only preserves the exceptional marking of various subclasses of alienable possession found in early Oceanic, but in one case even preserves this exceptionality where it has been lost in Standard Fijian: possession of marked artifact terms. The Proto-Polynesian retention of these semantic contrasts discussed by Pawley for early Oceanic is best explained by a genetic relationship between the possessive system of Proto-Polynesian and early Oceanic systems, rather than by parallel development or borrowing.

Let us consider first the possibility of parallel development. The functional and syntactic similarities between early Oceanic and Proto-Polynesian preposed possessive markers are too close to be readily explained in this way. First, the probability of two languages both independently developing the same semantic elaborations of the concept of possession, indicating them with the use of possessive markers preposed to the possessed noun, and accompanying these possessive markers with the same special pronominal suffixes, is surely very low. Second, certain semantic distinctions shared by Proto-Polynesian and early Oceanic preposed possessive markers are quite unusual. The specific marking of sources of one's personal food and drink is not a widely attested feature of the world's languages. Third, there is the fact that one of the exceptional classes of possession - that referring to possession of certain artifacts - is essentially an arbitrary one. Fourth, there is a correlation between early Oceanic and Proto-Polynesian in the distribution of possessive markers. In both, general controlled possession has its own unique marking, while possession as source of food, general non-controlled possession, and possession of marked artifact terms all take the same marker.

Next, let us consider the possibility that the characteristics shared by Proto-Polynesian and early Oceanic are the result of borrowing. In general, languages do not often borrow features of their core morphology from one another. Still, borrowing has been postulated by Milner (1971), in order to explain some of the similarities between Polynesian and Fijian languages. Although Milner originally proposed borrowing to have been from Polynesian into Fijian and differences in possessive marker use as one of the features defining Fijian and Polynesian as separate language groups, we could extend the borrowing hypothesis to explain the similarities referred

to earlier.[5] But borrowing from Fijian could not explain agreement between Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Polynesian in maintaining a distinct marking for the possession of members of a marked artifact term class. No such class exists in any Fijian language. In order to maintain Proto-Polynesian possessive marker use as the result of borrowing, one would have to posit one of the languages of the New Hebrides, Banks Islands, or the Solomons as the source of the marking of a special artifact term class. There is no other linguistic evidence of contact between Proto-Polynesian and the languages of the geographically distant island groups mentioned above.

Even in areas of their possessive systems where both Fijian and Polynesian languages exhibit parallels with early Oceanic, there are difficulties in explaining the similarities by means of a borrowing hypothesis. In the case of possession as personal food, for instance, we have seen that in Proto-Polynesian, only sources of personal food are marked distinctively. Unlike in Fijian, however, there is no special marking of personal food itself in Proto-Polynesian. It is difficult to see how a language could borrow a peripheral area of the marking of the possession of food without also borrowing the distinctive marking of food itself.

4.2.7. The Phonological Problem

In light of the unique systematic parallels between early Oceanic and Proto-Polynesian preposed possessive markers in both function and syntax which are otherwise unexplainable, we have proposed a genetic relationship between the two *systems*. However, the establishment of genetic relationship in historical linguistics is typically based on phonological as well as functional evidence. Here, there are considerable problems. Aligning morphemes according to their functional correspondences between early Oceanic, Standard Fijian, and Proto-Polynesian shows the pattern illustrated in Table 33. (PPN *-qa- and *-o- are reconstructed in section 3.5.4.)

Table 33

Preposed Possessive Marker Correspondences Among Proto-Polynesian, Standard Fijian, and Early Oceanic

	Early Oceanic	Standard Fijian	Proto-Polynesian
1.	POC *na-	nō-/nē-	*-qa-
2.	PHC *ma-	mē-	*-o-
3.	POC *ka-	kē-	*-o-

Both the Standard Fijian and Proto-Polynesian forms exhibit irregularities in relation to the early Oceanic forms. Pawley (1973:159, 161, 164) considers the Standard Fijian forms to reflect early Oceanic forms, with the irregular changes confined to the vowels. Phonological differences between Proto-Polynesian preposed possessive markers and the early Oceanic markers, however, are considerable and the Proto-Polynesian markers could be the result of morphological substitution. Unfortunately, there are no obvious sources of PPN *-qa- and *-o- among morphemes outside the early Oceanic possessive system, nor archaisms that can be more closely related to Fijian possessive markers, nor is there any clear motivation for morpheme substitution in this area of Proto-Polynesian grammar. Furthermore, irregular phonological correspondence between early Oceanic possessive markers and their functional equivalents in modern Oceanic languages are not confined to Standard Fijian and the Polynesian languages. Such irregularities are in fact rather common, and there are possessive markers in other Oceanic languages as phonologically aberrant as PPN *-qa- and *-o-, as illustrated in Table 34.

Table 34 shows, then, that Proto-Polynesian must be viewed as part of a broader Oceanic problem of relating regular functional correspondences to irregular phonological correspondences in possessive markers. In some cases (such as that of Standard Fijian), direct inheritance with irregular sound change can account for discrepancies with early Oceanic forms, but in others (such as that of Proto-Polynesian), there are no clear choices of direct inheritance over morphological substitution.

Although the phonological history of Proto-Polynesian possessive markers remains problematical, their early Oceanic ancestry is clear from unusual functional properties discussed in the previous section. Due to an apparent tendency for this area of Oceanic grammar to be affected by irregular sound change, phonological similarities in the form of possessive markers between different Oceanic languages may be the result of convergence rather than inheritance from a common ancestor. Striking examples of convergence can be found between the Fijian and Polynesian language families, as illustrated in Table 35. (Note also in Table 34 the convergent pairs, Sa'a **'e**/Motu **e-**, and Kuanua **ka-**/Bugotu **ga-**, where phonological similarities are not accompanied by functional similarities.)

Table 34

Irregular Phonological Correspondences in Oceanic Possessive Markers

	POC *na-	POC *ka-	PHC *ma-
Standard Fijian (Eastern Fiji)	nō-/nē-	kē-	mē-
Lauan (Eastern Fiji)	o-/we-	ke-	me-
Wayan (Western Fiji)	le-	ke-	me-
Mota (Banks Islands)	no-	ga-	ma-
Roviana (Western Solomons)	na-	ge-	-
Sa'a (Eastern Solomons)	ne-	'e-	-
Bugotu (Southeast Solomons)	ni-	ga-	-
Motu (Papua)	e-	a-	-
Kuanua (New Britain)	ka-	a-	-
PPN[a]	*-qa-	*-o-	*-o-

[a]Proto-Polynesian forms given are those occurring in preposed possessives.

Table 35

Convergence in Fijian and Polynesian Possessives

Nabukelevu (Kadavu Island)	New Zealand Māori	
noqu *my* (SF nō-)	nōku *belonging to me*	(O)
naqu *my* (SF kē-)	nāku *belonging to me*	(A)
Labasa (Central Vanua Levu)	Tongan	
no'oku *my* (SF nō-)	ho'oku *mine*	(O)
ne'eku *my* (SF kē-)	he'eku *my*	(A)

In spite of their phonological similarity, the above sets are semantic opposites. Standard Fijian nō- corresponds in function to Polynesian A-marking, and Standard Fijian kē- corresponds to Polynesian O-marking. Phonological similarity derives in part from irregular local developments. Note MAO nōku/nāku < PPN *ni(q)oku/ ni(q)aku, TON ho'oku < PPN *toqoku, TON he'eku < PPN *teqaku (see Chapter Three), Nabukelevu naqu < earlier na kequ, Labasa no'oku

< earlier na noqu, Labasa ne'eku < earlier na kequ (Geraghty 1979: 242-245). It is tempting to propose a common source for Fijian and Polynesian possessive markers (especially SF nō-, LAU o-, and PPN *-o-) based on phonological similarities, but such a hypothesis is not reasonable given the clear differences in semantic value.[6]

4.3. Possession of Kin and Body Terms

The problem of relating Polynesian languages to other Oceanic languages in the possession of kin and body terms is distinct from the problem of reconciling the marking of other types of possessive relationships. There is little here that has any bearing upon our earlier conclusions about POC *na-, POC *ka-, and PHC *ma- and the corresponding markers in Proto-Polynesian and Standard Fijian. We will suggest, in fact, that none of the possessive markers we have discussed so far were used in the personal possession of kin and body terms in low-order ancestors of Proto-Polynesian.

It is clear from Fijian evidence that most body and kin terms in Proto-Central Pacific continued the direct suffixation strategy reconstructed with a full set of pronouns by Pawley (1973:154-158).[7]

SF (4.56) na tama-qu
art/*father*/*I*
my father

(4.57) na tama-daru
art/*father*/*we*-inc-dual
our father

(4.58) na mata-mu
art/poss/*you*-sing
your eye

(4.59) na mata-mudrau
art/*eye*/*you*-dual
your eyes

Proto-Polynesian as we reconstruct it reflects the earlier system in direct suffixation of *singular* pronouns to most kin terms.

PPN(4.60) *te tama-u
art/*father*/*you*
your father

An alternate structure which involves the use of the O-marker with members of the above mentioned kin-term class suffixed by *-na can also be reconstructed for Proto-Polynesian. This structure is used obligatorily with non-singular pronominal possessors (see section 2.4).

PPN(4.61) *t-o-u tama-na
art/poss/*you*/*father*/independent suffix
your father

(4.62) *t-o-taa tama-na
art/poss/*we*-inc-dual/*father*/independent suffix
our father

O-marking completely replaces direct suffixation with all Proto-Polynesian body terms and a small class of kin terms excluded from direct suffixation (see section 2.3.5). The absence of the suffix PPN *-na (as in example [4.64]) distinguished the second kin-term class from the first one.

PPN(4.63) *t-o-u mata
your eye

(4.64) *t-o-u fosa
your son

Although the early Oceanic source of Proto-Polynesian direct suffixation with kin terms is clear, the source of O-marking with kin and body terms is not. There are two possibilities that offer an explanation for the use of O-marking with these terms in Proto-Polynesian.

One possiblity is that the use of O is the result of the loss of direct suffixation and the simple extension of the A/O system to independent forms of kin and body terms. Choice of O with all body terms and with kin terms such as PPN *tama-na *father* and *matuqa *parent* is consistent with the lack of control of the possessor over the initiation of relationships of possession with these terms.

Although the above hypothesis explains innovative Proto-Polynesian replacement of direct suffixation with O-marking for a large number of terms, it does not explain the occurrence of O-marking rather than the expected A-marking in the possession of a few kin terms (e.g., PPN *fosa *son*, *mokopu-na/makupu-na *grandchild*), the possession of which appears to be initiated through the possessor's agency.

A second hypothesis focuses on similarities between the distribution of exceptions to direct suffixation in certain Oceanic languages and Proto-Polynesian. According to this hypothesis, PPN O used with all body and kin terms (or, at the very least, those kin terms taking O contrary to the predictions of the Initial Control Theory) descends from an earlier preposed possessive marker and this preposed possessive marker differed from early Oceanic *na-, *ka-, and *ma-. Evidence for this second hypothesis is presented in Table 36 in a comparison of regular and irregular body and kin term classes in

Standard Fijian, Western Fijian, Nguna (New Hebrides), and Proto-Polynesian.

Table 36

The Possession of Kin and Body Terms in Some Oceanic Languages

	Standard Fijian	Western Fijian	Nguna	Proto-Polynesian
Kin Terms				
Regular	suffixes	suffixes	suffixes	suffixes/O
Irregular	nō-/nē-	prefixes	a-	O
Body Terms				
Regular	suffixes	prefixes	suffixes	O
Irregular	nō-/nē-	-	-	-

The patterning in Table 36 suggests that in a common ancestor of Proto-Polynesian, Nguna, and all Fijian languages, kin and body terms were divided into a regular class possessed by direct suffixation of pronominal possessors, and an irregular class possessed by preposing a possessive marker plus pronoun combination to the possessed noun. The possessive marker used with the irregular class developed into SF nō-/nē-, WF prefixes, NGU a-, and PPN O. In Western Fijian, Nguna, and Proto-Polynesian, the two body term classes have merged, but note that Nguna has preserved a different strategy from that preserved in Western Fijian and Proto-Polynesian. Standard Fijian and Proto-Polynesian have merged the earlier irregular possessive marker with preposed possessive markers having other functions in the respective languages. Note also that the functions of PPN O and SF nō-/nē- are otherwise exact opposites. Finally, Proto-Polynesian has started to merge the two kin term classes, a merger which is complete in many modern Polynesian languages.

The attractiveness of the second hypothesis lies mainly in its attention to external witnesses and the O-marking used with a few Proto-Polynesian kin terms where A is expected. Its weakness is that it is built mostly on systematic similarities involving a very small number of terms and no obvious cognates.

There are deficiencies in both hypotheses regarding the use of O with kin and body terms in Proto-Polynesian and it is difficult to exclude one in favour of the other. Synchronically, the use of O with body and kin terms has to be described as a combination of

both - an irregular usage with a small set of terms that would otherwise be expected to take A-marking (e.g., PPN *fosa *son*) and the regular use of O for general non-controlled possession with a larger set of terms (e.g., PPN *matuqa *parent*, *mata *eye*). The division of kin terms into suffixed and unsuffixed classes is consistent with the second hypothesis, while the subsuming of the possession of all body terms and most kin terms under general non-controlled possession is consistent with the first hypothesis.

4.4. Summary

Proto-Polynesian possessive marking can be divided into two groups for purposes of comparison with other Oceanic languages: the marking used with kin and body terms and the marking used with other noun types. In both groups, there is support for deriving Proto-Polynesian possessive marking from an early Oceanic prototype.

Direct suffixation in the possession of certain kin terms is clearly a direct inheritance. There are parallels with other Oceanic languages in the use of preposed possessive markers in the possession of a second class of kin terms and all body terms, but these parallels can also be explained as the accidental result of Proto-Polynesian expansion of the category of non-controlled possession.

With possession of nouns other than kin and body terms, extensive and systematic parallelism between Proto-Polynesian and other Oceanic languages is such that the Proto-Polynesian system is interpreted as inherited from early Oceanic. Although there are significant parallels in function (and syntax, which is discussed in Chapter Five), the forms of the Proto-Polynesian preposed possessive markers bear little resemblance to the early Oceanic forms. Either the Proto-Polynesian preposed possessive markers are morphological replacements of the earlier Oceanic preposed possessive markers, or they descend from them by irregular sound change.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FOUR

1. Schütz (personal communication 1980) and Scott (1941:745) have noted that Standard Fijian preposed possessive markers contain underlying long vowels that shorten before unstressed syllables (e.g., **nō-dáru** *our* [*we*-inclusive-dual], **no-qǔ** *my*). We will write Standard Fijian preposed possessive markers long before stressed syllables and short before unstressed ones in this work. Whether preposed possessive markers in non-standard Fijian dialects contain underlying long vowels is unknown at present; consequently, they will be written here in the orthography of the source from which they are taken (usually Geraghty 1979).

2. Although terms like 'edible', 'drinkable', and 'neutral' are commonly used as labels in describing the division of Fijian possessive constructions according to the possessive-marking morpheme they contain, descriptions typically note that **kē-** marks things other than what English speakers consider food, and **mē-** marks things other than what English speakers consider drinks (e.g., Milner 1956:66; C. Churchward 1941:32).

3. Pawley (1973:163) did not mention this extension of the marking of personal drinks to sources of personal drinks in his reconstruction of PHC ***ma-**. It is not unlikely, however, that like **mē-** in Fijian languages, PHC ***ma-** was used with the possession of springs and wells. Such usage is consistent with the extension of POC ***ka-** marking with personal food to sources of personal food, such as gardens (mentioned by Pawley).

4. There is one minor respect in which this parallelism does not seem to hold. In Standard Fijian, **mē-** is used not only with drinks but also with juicy foods that are swallowed in a semi-liquid state, such as sugarcane, ripe mangos, and certain shellfish. We have no Polynesian evidence for the marking of juicy foods in the same way that drinks are. In fact, Tongan evidence

suggests that Proto-Polynesian treated milk as a food rather than a drink. This special treatment of the term for milk is probably related to the Polynesian idiom of referring to suckling as 'eating milk' or 'eating the breast'. Although lost from ordinary language in Tongan, this idiom is preserved in a term for suckling pig, ki'i puaka kei huhu (*little/pig/eat/breast*).

5. Milner (1971:408) considered possessive marking as '...one of the best, if not the best, ways of illustrating the difference between Fijian and Polynesian...'. He further (pp. 410-413) proposed Polynesian influence to explain the lack of possessive prefixes in Eastern Fijian (see section 4.1). Although Milner considered borrowings from Polynesian to have affected all of Fijian in the use of ko, nominative particle, he used the differences between Eastern and Western Fijian possessive and tense/aspect systems to support a view that '...Bauan, in common with central and eastern Fijian dialects, has been heavily overlain by Polynesian borrowings and influences...'.

6. There are false leads not only in the similarities in the form of Fijian and Polynesian possessive markers, but also in the way in which they are used with some classes of words. For example, irregular category changes in the history of Hawaiian and Standard Fijian have resulted in the following deceptive pair:

HAW k-o-na hale
art/poss/*he/house*
his house *(He lives in it.)*

SF na no-na vale
art/poss/*he/house*
his house *(He lives in it.)*

Hawaiian -o- here represents a direct parallel with POC *ka- used with terms for certain artifacts when possessed for personal use. Standard Fijian no- represents a structural innovation here and descends from POC *na- used to mark general controlled possession. Note that in Hawaiian, one uses the marker -ā-, rather than -o-, to possess a house one has built. This -ā- is parallel with POC *na-, Standard Fijian makes no distinction between a house one lives in and a house one has built. Note also:

HAW k-ā-na kalo
art/poss/*he*/*taro*
his taro *(He eats it.)*

SF na ke-na dalo
art/poss/*he*/*taro*
his taro *(He eats it.)*

Standard Fijian kē- here represents a direct phonological development from POC *ka- used with things possessed as personal food. Hawaiian -ā-, however, represents a structural innovation of Proto-Polynesian and is parallel with POC *na- used to mark general controlled possession. Note that in Hawaiian no distinction is made between taro used for food and taro used for merchandise, while in Standard Fijian use of taro as merchandise requires nō-/nē- marking rather than kē-.

False leads of the above sort have suggested a close relationship between Lauan possessive markers and Polynesian possessive markers in Geraghty's (1979:356) investigation of Fijian internal diversity and the relationship of Eastern Fijian languages to Polynesian. Lack of good data on Polynesian possessive marking contrasts among general controlled possession, possession as drink, and possession of marked artifact terms allowed Geraghty to make assumptions that Polynesian A and O-marking correspond to Lauan ke-/a- (SF kē-) and o-/*we*- (SF nō-/nē-), respectively. In particular, Geraghty disregarded the collapse of general controlled and general non-controlled possession in Lauan, assumed Proto-Polynesian to have merged the marking of the possession of personal food and personal drink as reported for an early form of Lauan, and equated the marking of certain artifact terms with O in Polynesian as reflecting a general controlled possession marking. Geraghty would have found something more similar to Lauan possessive marker use if he had investigated Rotuman, where 'e/en marks possession of food and drink (SF kē- and mē-) and 'o/'on marks all other relationships, somewhat like the use of o-/*we*- in contemporary Lauan.

7. Direct suffixation is used in the formation of ordinal numerals in several Solomon Island languages such as Ulawa, also in Motu in Papua, and Lamalanga in the New Hebrides, suggesting this to be a third early Oceanic use of direct suffixation.

ULA 'eta-na na laa
one/he/art/person
the first person

MTU iha-rua-na
ordinal marker/*two/he*
the second (one)

LAM gai-rua-na
ordinal marker/*two/he*
the second (one)

gai-rua-n gubweng (a of -na dropped before a noun)
ordinal marker/*two/he/day*
the second day

Fijian languages do not use direct suffixation with ordinal numerals, but use the possessive marker kē- instead. (Note Lamalanga gai- and Standard Fijian ika-, ordinal marker, may be related.)

SF na ke-na ika-tolu
art/poss/*he*/ordinal marker/*three*
the third (one)

na ke-na ika-tolu ni gone
art/poss/*he*/ordinal marker/prep/*child*
the third child

Polynesian languages do not use direct suffixation in ordinal numerals, but use the O possessive marker instead. The Tongan ordinal structures illustrated below are reminiscent of the Fijian examples above.

TON h-o-no tolu
art/poss/*he*/*three*
the third (one)

h-o-no tolu 'o e himí
art/poss/*he*/*three*/poss/art/*hymn*
the third hymn

Since we have associated SF kē- with PPN O elsewhere (see section 4.2.6), it is possible that a common ancestor of all Fijian and Polynesian languages innovated the use of a reflex of POC *ka- with ordinal numerals as a replacement for an earlier structure using direct suffixation.

CHAPTER FIVE

Pre-Polynesian Possessive Morphology and Syntax

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents arguments that the morphology and syntax of Proto-Polynesian possessive constructions are derivable from a widespread Oceanic type illustrated by the system used in Western Fijian, and that many of the Proto-Polynesian modifications to the earlier Oceanic system have parallels in Eastern Fijian languages.[1]

In section 5.2, we will present an outline of the Eastern and Western Fijian possessive systems. In section 5.3, the Fijian systems will be used as a point of comparison in proposing early Oceanic sources for various aspects of the Proto-Polynesian possessive system: preposed possessives, simple possessives, elliptical possessives, irrealis possessives, realis possessives, and possessive pronouns.

5.2. Eastern and Western Fijian Possessive Systems Outlined

One of the most distinctive features of Fijian possessives is the central role played by pronouns. It is with pronominal possessors that the full range of semantic differences in possessive relationships is expressed.[2]

SF (5.1) na ke-na niu
art/poss/*he*/*coconut*
his coconut *(He eats it.)*

(5.2) na me-na niu
art/poss/*he*/*coconut*
his coconut *(He drinks it.)*

(5.3) na no-na niu
art/poss/*he*/*coconut*
his coconut *(He sells it.)*

In Western Fijian languages, a common noun or proper noun cannot be marked as a possessor as such, but may occur in a phrase coreferential with a pronominal possessor (thus further specifying the possessor), as shown in these Tubaniwai (Viti Levu) examples:

TEW(5.4) na ke-a doko o Jone
art/poss/*he*/*taro*/nam/*Jone*
Jone's taro *(He eats it.)*

(5.5) na ke-a doko na gone
art/poss/*he*/*taro*/art/*child*
the child's taro *(He eats it.)*

In Eastern Fijian languages, the pronominal coreferential strategy is obligatory to indicate a common noun possessor in cases of possession as personal food or drink. In cases of general non-controlled and controlled possession, however, there is a second alternative involving a possessive preposition, ni.[3]

SF (5.6) na ke-na niu na gone
art/poss/*he*/*coconut*/art/*child*
the child's coconut *(He eats it.)*

(5.7) na me-na niu na gone
the child's coconut *(He drinks it.)*

(5.8) na no-na i-taba na gone
the child's photograph *(He owns it.)*

(5.9) na ke-na i-taba na gone
the child's photograph *(He is depicted in it.)*

(5.10) na i-taba ni gone
the child's photograph *(He owns it, or is depicted in it.)*

Similar to ni is i, a preposition-like element used with proper names in Eastern Fijian languages to indicate general non-controlled and controlled possession.[4]

SF (5.11) na i-taba i Jone
art/*photograph*/prep/*Jone*
Jone's photograph *(He owns it, or is depicted in it.)*

In order to indicate possession as food and drink with proper names in Eastern Fijian languages, i is preceded by possessive markers, kē- and mē-, respectively.

SF (5.12) na niu ke-i Jone
art/*coconut*/poss/prep/*Jone*
Jone's coconut *(He eats it.)*

(5.13) na niu me-i Jone
Jone's coconut *(He drinks it.)*

With general controlled and non-controlled possession, i may be preceded optionally by nē- and kē- respectively.

SF (5.14) na i-taba (ne-)i Jone
art/*photograph*/poss/prep/*Jone*
Jone's photograph *(He owns it.)*

(5.15) na i-taba (ke-)i Jone
Jone's photograph *(He is depicted in it.)*

Note that i differs from ni in that it is not an optional replacement for the pronominal coreferential system. In Eastern Fijian languages, coreferential possessive constructions are ungrammatical with proper names. Also, the use of possessive markers with i has no parallel with ni in Eastern Fijian languages (expect in a certain dialect area discussed in section 5.3.4). Structures such as (5.12) and (5.13) occur in some Western Fijian languages, but unlike their Eastern Fijian equivalents, have alternate structures using the coreferential pronoun strategy (personal communication A. Pawley 1980).

In all Fijian languages, possessive markers preceding pronouns or proper names may be used in independent predicate phrases,

SF (5.16) e ke-na na niu
he/poss/*he*/art/*coconut*
The coconut is his. *(He eats it.)*

(5.17) e ke-i Jone na niu
he/poss/prep/*Jone*/art/*coconut*
The coconut is Jone's. *(He eats it.)*

and in independent noun phrases.[5]

SF (5.18) e vei na ke-na
at/*where*/art/poss/*he*
Where is his? *(Refers to something he eats.)*

(5.19) e vei na ke-i Jone
Where is Jone's? *(Refers to something he eats.)*

Possessive markers also occur in modifying phrases. There are two types of modifying strategies found with possessive markers in Fijian languages. Like most modifiers, possessive phrases including proper names are always postposed to the noun they modify. Compare the following:

SF (5.20) na niu ke-i Jone
art/*coconut*/poss/prep/*Jone*
Jone's coconut *(He eats it.)*

(5.21) na niu damudamu
art/*coconut*/*red*
the red coconut

(5.22) na niu e na vale
art/*coconut*/*at*/art/*house*
the coconut at the house

Fijian possessives incorporating pronominal possessors, however, are obligatorily preposed to the noun they modify.

SF (5.23) na ke-na niu
art/poss/*he*/*coconut*
his coconut *(He eats it.)*

The obligatory preposing of possessives incorporating pronominal possessors as in example (5.23) is typically accompanied by a shortening of certain pronouns. Note, for example, the following from Seaqāqā, an Eastern Fijian language of Vanua Levu.

SEA(5.24) a o-daruka
art/poss/*we*-inc-dual
ours

(5.25) a o-daru i-sele
art/poss/*we*-inc-dual/*knife*
our knife

The outline of Fijian possessive morphology and syntax presented above will serve as a basis for comparison between the Proto-Polynesian and Fijian systems in the following section.

5.3. Pre-Polynesian Antecedants of Proto-Polynesian Possessives

Currently accepted subgrouping hypotheses derive Polynesian and Fijian languages (or at least Eastern Fijian languages) from a common Oceanic ancestor. Comparison of the syntax and morphology of the possessive systems of Fijian languages with those of other Oceanic languages shows Fijian possessive systems (especially those of Western Fijian) to preserve much of an earlier Oceanic system (see Pawley 1972, 1973; Geraghty 1979). We assume, then, that the differences between Fijian and Polynesian possessive morphology and syntax are primiarly the result of innovation in the separate development of Proto-Polynesian. In the remainder of this chapter, we compare the Proto-Polynesian and Fijian possessive systems, and propose pre-Polynesian innovations deriving the Proto-Polynesian possessive system from an earlier Fijian-like prototype.

In section 5.3.1, we will discuss pre-Polynesian preposed possessives. Pre-Polynesian simple possessives are covered in section 5.3.2. In section 5.3.3, pre-Polynesian elliptical and irrealis possessives are proposed as originally being uses of simple possessives. Section 3.5.4 is an investigation of the pre-Polynesian origins of the Proto-Polynesian realis possessives. The final section, 5.3.5, deals

with the ancestry of the Proto-Polynesian possessive pronouns. This last section is the longest section, and includes discussion of a number of possible shared phonological innovations of Polynesian and Fijian languages.

5.3.1. Pre-Polynesian Preposed Possessives

Proto-Polynesian preposed possessives have the same basic features as Fijian preposed possessives. These include:

(A) constituent order of
article - possessive marker - possessor - possessed noun,

(B) possessors restricted to pronouns,

(C) special short forms of the dual possessive pronouns used only in preposed possessives.

All three features are illustrated in the following examples from Seaqāqā (Vanua Levu) and Proto-Polynesian.

SEA(5.26) a o-daru i-sele
art/poss/*we*-inc-dual/*knife*
our knife (long possessive pronoun: -daruka)

PPN(5.27) *t-o-taa fale
art/poss/*we*-inc-dual/*house*
our house (long possessive pronoun: *-taua)

Although the article and possessive marker elements of Fijian and Polynesian languages are difficult to relate, the basic syntax is the same and the pronominal suffixes are cognate (see section 5.3.5).[6] Thus, Proto-Polynesian preposed possessives are syntactically conservative and represent a continuation of an early Oceanic type. Innovations are confined to the forms of the morphemes involved.

5.3.2. Pre-Polynesian Simple Possessives

Proto-Polynesian simple possessives occurred in both a predicate position,

PPN(5.28) *e (q)o-laua te fale
T/poss/*they*-dual/art/*house*
The house is theirs.

and a modifying position (see section 3.2).

PPN(5.29) *te fale (q)o-laua
art/*house*/poss/*they*-dual
their house

There were no restrictions on the type of noun that could be used as a possessor in Proto-Polynesian simple possessives. Pronominal

possessors were in their long forms.

We will discuss the predicate position first. In the predicate position, the use of simple possessives incorporating a long possessive pronoun is found throughout Fijian and in Proto-Polynesian, and this is the only respect in which Proto-Polynesian simple possessives have a direct parallel with an ancient Oceanic ancestor. Proto-Polynesian simple possessives have expanded in the predicate position to include proper noun and common noun possessors, as well as the long pronoun possessors.

Although the inclusion of common noun possessors in simple possessives is clearly a Proto-Polynesian innovation, the inclusion of proper noun possessors here may date back to a common ancestor of Fijian and Polynesian languages.[7] As in Proto-Polynesian, proper nouns can be marked for possession in the predicate position in Fijian languages.

SF (5.30) e ne-i Manu na vale
he/poss/prep/*Manu*/art/*house*
The house is Manu's.

PPN(5.31) *e (q)o Manu te fale
T/poss/*Manu*/art/*house*
The house is Manu's.

The morpheme -i in the Standard Fijian example (5.30) has no counterpart in the Proto-Polynesian reconstruction. If such a morpheme occurred in pre-Polynesian structures of the type illustrated by example (5.31), it could have been lost through phonological change. Note that there is an example of such a loss in the Eastern Fijian dialect of Koroalau (Eastern Vanua Levu), where -i appears to have been lost through assimilatory change.

KOR(5.32) nē Jone (rather than nei Jone)
kē Jone (rather than kei Jone)
mē Jone (rather than mei Jone)

In comparing Polynesian simple possessives with Fijian possessives used in the postposed modifying position we find further similarities. Postposed possessives incorporating true possessive markers (e.g., SF nō-/nē-, kē-, mē-) before pronominal and common noun possessors do not occur in Fijian languages and must therefore be considered Proto-Polynesian innovations. However, postposed possessives incorporating true possessive markers and proper noun possessors occur in Fijian languages as well as in Proto-Polynesian. This pattern may therefore be of greater antiquity than Proto-Polynesian. Compare the following:

SF (5.33) na vale ne-i Manu
art/*house*/poss/prep/*Manu*
Manu's house

PPN(5.34) *te fale (q)o Manu
art/*house*/poss/*Manu*
Manu's house

Fijian proper noun possessors fit a neat pattern (in common with verbs and prepositional phrases) in which a predicate may be attached as a postposed modifier (see examples [5.20] - [5.22]). Proto-Polynesian possessors of all types fit the same pattern, suggesting that Proto-Polynesian expanded on an earlier system involving only proper nouns. Motivation for adding pronominal possessors to the proper noun pattern can be found, of course, in the overlap between proper noun and pronominal possessors when used in the predicate position. The Proto-Polynesian system appears to be a regularisation of the Fijian pattern as shown in Table 37.

Table 37

Possessors in the Predicate and Postposed Modifying Positions in Standard Fijian and Proto-Polynesian

	Predicate Position		Postposed Position	
	SF	PPN	SF	PPN
Pronominal possessors	present	present	-	present
Proper noun possessors	present	present	present	present
Common noun possessors	-	present	-	present

There is no conclusive evidence that the use of possessive markers with proper nouns in both Fijian and Polynesian languages traces back to a common ancestor. It does seem a more likely possibility, however, than Proto-Polynesian simply innovating the use of proper nouns with possessive markers on analogy with use of pronouns with possessive markers that it inherited from early Oceanic. This second hypothesis is challenged by the Proto-Polynesian restriction on the occurrence of proper noun possessors in preposed possessives. Preposed possessives are the most common usage in which pronouns occur with a possessive marker in Polynesian and other Oceanic languages, and there is no clear reason why proper names would be used with the possessive markers on analogy with pronouns but be excluded from this common pronominal structure.

5.3.3. Pre-Polynesian Elliptical and Irrealis Possessives

The elliptical possessives of Proto-Polynesian derive directly from the use of a simple possessive as a noun preceded by an article. Assimilatory change has resulted in the article element of elliptical possessives differing from the free form, PPN *te, as illustrated below:

te qo-ku (art/poss/*I mine*)
to qo-ku (assimilation)
PPN(5.35) *t-oqo-ku (reanalysis)

Similarly, Proto-Polynesian irrealis possessives derive directly from simple possessives used as predicate phrases after an irrealis marker, PPN *me. Once again there are assimilatory changes.

PPN(5.36) *m-oqo-na (historic morpheme boundaries *mo-qo-na)
irrealis/poss/*he*
for him

It is the assimilatory changes that created the classification of elliptical and irrealis possessives in Proto-Polynesian. Analogous structures occur in Fijian languages, but since article and pre-predicate morphemes are clearly separate from the possessive marker, there is no need to separate these constructions from other non-modifying uses of possessives (see section 5.2). Compare the underlined portions of examples (5.37) and (5.38) with (5.35) and (5.36), respectively:

SF (5.37) e vei na-no-qu
*at/where/art/*poss/*I*
Where is mine?

(5.38) sā dodonu me no-na na vale
T/*right*/conjunction/poss/*he*/art/*house*
It is right that the house be his (or for him).

Proto-Polynesian elliptical and irrealis possessives are clearly continuations of earlier Oceanic usages. There are no syntactic or morphological innovations restricted to these two types of Proto-Polynesian possessives.

5.3.4. Pre-Polynesian Realis Possessives

Realis possessives, like elliptical and irrealis possessives, apparently derive from simple possessives suffixed to another morpheme. In the case of realis possessives, that morpheme is PPN *ni-.

PPN(5.39) *ni-(q)o-ku
realis/poss/*I*
belonging to me

In section 3.4, we support a proposal by Pawley (1966:60, fn. 30) that this morpheme, PPN *ni-, is related to a morpheme, ni, in Fijian languages. Geraghty (1979:225-228) notes that in Eastern Fijian languages, ni is used to mark specific possessors, a usage he proposed as innovative, since Western Fijian and other Oceanic languages have only a derivational use of ni.[8] There are two main features of the Eastern Fijian possessive marking, ni, that distinguish it from Proto-Polynesian realis possessives. First, Eastern Fijian ni only occurs with common noun possessors. Second, it does not distinguish the different possessive relationships as the possessive markers nō-/nē-, kē-, and mē- do.[9] What appears to have happened in Proto-Polynesian is that the possessive markers of simple possessives were introduced after *ni- to differentiate the possessive relationships neutralised by the use of a simple ni. The introduction of the A/O markers of simple possessives opened the way for the addition of the entire simple possessive set, including pronominal and proper noun possessors, into the position after ni.

The addition of the possessive markers to ni seems a quite natural innovation. It has also occurred in the history of the Waidina dialect of Eastern Fijian, as illustrated below.

WAI(5.40) na yaqona me-ni tūraga
art/*kava*/poss/prep/*chief*
the chief's kava *(He drinks it.)*

(5.41) na boka ke-ni gone
art/*taro*/poss/prep/*child*
the child's taro *(He eats it.)*

The Waidina and Proto-Polynesian innovations are clearly independent. In Waidina, the possessive marker has been added in front of ni, probably on analogy with the possessive markers used in front of the i used with proper name possessors (e.g., me-i Jone). In Proto-Polynesian, the possessive marker has been added after ni, probably on analogy with elliptical and irrealis possessives, where a morpheme precedes the possessive marker. Proto-Polynesian realis possessives, therefore, appear to be natural expansions of a pre-Polynesian construction preserved in Eastern Fijian languages such as Standard Fijian.

Inadequacies of a second hypothesis, that PPN *ni- derives from a tense/aspect marker, are discussed in section 3.4. They consist of

phonological and semantic discrepancies. This second derivation is parallel with that proposed in section 5.3.3 for irrealis possessives.

5.3.5. Pre-Polynesian Possessive Pronouns

The pronominal suffixes used with possessive markers in Polynesian languages clearly stem from earlier Oceanic forms and have been used by Pawley (1972:36-37) in reconstructing a set of Proto-Eastern Oceanic 'possessive pronouns'. Proto-Polynesian singular and plural possessive pronouns are discussed first. The dual forms follow.

The Proto-Polynesian singular possessive pronouns are obviously cognate with Proto-Eastern Oceanic and Standard Fijian forms, as shown below. The only noteworthy development of Proto-Polynesian is a loss of the *m of PEO *-mu (see note 18 of Chapter Three).

Table 38
Some Oceanic Singular Possessive Pronouns Compared

	I1	II1	III1
PEO	*-ŋku	*-mu	*-ña
SF	-qu	-mu	-na
PPN	*-ku	*-u	*-na

Although both Proto-Tongic and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian are reconstructed with a three-way contrast between singular, dual, and plural possessive pronouns, we very tentatively supported reconstructing a four-way contrast (singular, dual, trial/paucal, plural) for Proto-Polynesian in section 3.6.4, as suggested by Geraghty (1979: 363-364). One of the major reasons for reconstructing such a contrast is the similarity between Proto-Nuclear Polynesian plural forms and Fijian trial/paucal forms, a similarity not shared by the Proto-Tongic plural forms. Proto-Tongic plural forms (especially short first exclusive and second person) are more readily related to Fijian plural forms.

Table 39 illustrates the similarities mentioned above, using possessive pronouns from Tubai (Western Fijian) and also shows the difficulties in deriving the Proto-Tongic and Proto-Nuclear Polynesian possessive pronouns from a Proto-Polynesian reconstruction (such as that suggested by Pawley) in which there is no trial/paucal versus plural contrast (see section 3.6.4). Note that, in Table 39, short

Table 39

Comparison of Tubai Trial/Paucal and Plural Possessive Pronouns with Early Polynesian Reconstructions

	I i 3		I i p
TUB	-datou/-dato		-da
PNP		*-ta(a)tou/-tou	
PTO		*-tautolu/-ta(l)u	
PPN(G)[a]	*-tatou/-tou		*-tautolu/ta(u)
PPN(P)[b]		*-tatolu	
	I x 3		I x P
TUB	-matou/-mato		-mamu
PNP		*-ma(a)tou	
PTO		*-mautolu/-ma(l)u	
PPN(G)	*-matou		*-mautolu/-mau
PPN(P)		*-matolu	
	II 3		II p
TUB	-mutou/-muto		-mū
PNP		*-utou	
PTO		*-muutolu/-mu(l)u	
PPN(G)	*-(m)utou		*-muutolu/-muu
PPN(P)		*-mutolu	
	III 3		III p
TUB	-dratou/-drato		-dra
PNP		*-la(a)tou	
PTO		*-lautolu/-la(l)u	
PPN(G)	*-latou		*-lautolu/-la(u)
PPN(P)		*-latolu	

[a]After Geraghty.

[b]After Pawley.

forms where they exist are listed after the long forms, and that reconstructions not distinguishing trial/paucal from plural are centered between the two headings.

Tubai innovations to an earlier set of trial/paucal and plural possessive pronouns are apparently few. The long/short contrast in trial/paucal forms appears to be a late development of Western Fijian languages. (However, short forms -tu, -du, first person inclusive trial/paucal, found in some Western Fijian languages, could be cognate with the short form PPN, PNP *-tou.) Note that the Proto-Polynesian reconstruction following Pawley shows irregular correspondences with Tubai, Proto-Nuclear Polynesian, and Proto-Tongic in all forms. In contrast, the Proto-Polynesian reconstruction following Geraghty shows very close correspondences with Tubai in trial/paucal forms, that also carry over to the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian plural forms (as expected). There are also close parallels between certain short plural forms in the reconstruction following Geraghty and the Tubai plurals. Note also that application to the Tubai set of a rule deleting m before unstressed u (see section 3.6.3) would result in further similarities between the reconstruction following Geraghty and the Tubai data (including correspondences TUB -mu/PPN *-u, second person singular possessive pronoun).

The Proto-Polynesian dual possessive pronouns exhibit a number of differences with the Proto-Eastern Oceanic forms reconstructed by Pawley (1972:64-75), as illustrated in Table 40.

Table 40

Proto-Eastern Oceanic and Proto-Polynesian
Dual Possessive Pronouns Compared

	I i2	I x2	II 2	III 2
PEO	*-(n)tadua	*-midua	*-mudua	*-ndadu
PPN(long)	*-taua	*-maua	*-(m)urua	*-laua
PPN(short)	*-taa	*-maa	*-muru	*-laa

All of the Proto-Polynesian forms in Table 40 appear cognate with the Proto-Eastern Oceanic forms but none can be derived from the earlier forms by regular sound change. Furthermore, there is the innovative occurrence of short forms in Proto-Polynesian. Phonological irregularities include:

(A) loss of *m in Proto-Polynesian II2 long but not II2 short;

(B) replacement of POC *mi- with PPN *ma- in Ix2;

(C) replacement of PEO *nd in III2 with PPN *l (regular reflex of PEO *d and *l);

(D) irregular loss of medial POC *d (expected PPN *l) in Ii2, Ix2, III2 (but note the following);

(E) replacement of POC *d with PPN *r (regular reflex of PEO *nd) in II2.

Most of the irregularities listed above can be related to Fijian forms, either through a proposal of common development, or through parallel development.

The loss of *m in the Proto-Polynesian second person dual long possessive is explained by the rule sporadically deleting PPN *m before an unstressed u (discussed above for the change PEO *-mu > PPN *-u, second person singular). The retention of the *m in the short form reflects the stress on the following u in that form. Geraghty (1979:169-170) has noted loss of m in the Waidina dialect of Eastern Fijian under the same conditions as found in Proto-Polynesian. The innovation of this rule in Waidina is probably independent of the Proto-Polynesian innovation (see note 18 of Chapter Three).

The change from PEO *mi- to PPN *ma-, first person inclusive stem, is also reflected in Western Fijian (but not in Eastern Fijian where an innovative i- occurs). The existence of first person inclusive dual forms with ma- rather than mi- in the northern New Hebrides area (Lakon -mar, Merlav -marua, Lamalanga -maru) suggests that the replacement of PEO *-mi with *-ma was present as early as Proto-North Hebridean-Central Pacific.

The replacement of PEO *nda-, third person nonsingular possessive pronoun stem, with PPN *la- (instead of the expected *ra-) is clearly an independent Proto-Polynesian innovation. The change is probably based on analogy with the verbal form of this stem, PPN *la-, inherited from PEO *da- by regular sound change.

The loss of a medial liquid in all Proto-Polynesian dual forms but second person can be related to the lack of a medial liquid in third person dual forms in both Western Fijian (e.g., Tubaniwai -dru) and Eastern Fijian (e.g., Lauan -drau). The expected Fijian reflex of the Proto-Eastern Oceanic form, *-ndadua is -drarua. Ignoring temporarily the final syllable of the expected form (see discussion of 'short forms' later in this section), all the Fijian reflexes differ from the earlier form in lacking a medial r. The loss of r in this position is accounted for by a Fijian constraint against homorganic oral and prenasalised consonants occurring in the same bisyllabic base (Geraghty 1979:83-84).

Assuming the loss of the medial liquid to have occurred in a common ancestor of Proto-Polynesian and at least some Fijian languages, the loss of the same medial liquid in first person forms in Proto-Polynesian can be explained by analogy with the third person form.[10] As we shall see below, pre-Polynesian second person dual pronouns had a different liquid from the other dual forms. The lack of phonemic identity can explain the exclusion of second person forms from medial liquid loss in dual pronouns.

The liquid in the second person dual possessive pronouns, PPN *-(m)urua and *-muru, suggests pre-Polynesian forms, -munřua and -munřu, since medial PPN *r regularly reflects an earlier prenasalised PEO *nd. The Proto-Eastern Oceanic form, *-mudua, has an oral liquid, as do all Western Fijian forms (e.g., Tubaniwai -muru) and a few Eastern Fijian forms (e.g., Labasa -muruka). More common, however, are Eastern Fijian forms such as Lauan -mudrau, where there has been prenasalisation of the medial liquid, apparently by assimilation to the initial m.[11] Pre-Polynesian evidently had a prenasalisation rule, *r → nř/mu_, affecting not only an earlier -murua/-muru but also muri *behind*, giving pre-Polynesian forms -munřua/-munřu and munři, respectively. These are reflected in Proto-Polynesian as *-(m)urua/-muru and *muri. Eastern Fijian and Proto-Polynesian irregular reflexes of PEO *d in second person dual pronouns probably reflect an innovation of a common ancestor. Fijian dual possessive pronouns lacking a reflex of the last syllable of Proto-Eastern Oceanic forms (e.g., the correspondence PEO *-ndadua/Lauan -drau discussed earlier) can be associated with a long/short contrast in Fijian dual possessive pronouns. Proto-Polynesian short dual possessive pronouns appear to share with the Fijian short forms a derivation from earlier long forms by loss of a final syllable, and a subsequent independent Proto-Polynesian replacement of au sequences in these pronouns with aa, as illustrated in Table 41.

As in Proto-Polynesian, Fijian short dual possessive pronouns are found in preposed possessives. Although short forms have recently spread to other positions in certain dialects, and short/long contrasts in possessive pronouns other than the duals have been innovated, the earlier Fijian system appears to have had only shortened dual pronouns and to have restricted these to preposed possessives as in Proto-Polynesian (Geraghty 1979:205-207). Geraghty (1979:209) offers a possible phonological source for shortening of preposed possessive pronouns. He says:

Table 41

Derivation of Proto-Polynesian Short Dual Possessive Pronouns

	Early Short Forms	Pre-Polynesian Intermediate Stage	Proto-Polynesian Short Forms
I12	-ndaru	-ndau	*-taa
Ix2	-maru	-mau	*-maa
II2	-munr̃u	-munr̃u	*-muru
III2	-nr̃au	-rau	*-laa

The fact that shortening does not usually take place in utterance-final position suggests that it may be related to a suprasegmental phenomenon: it is conceivable that the stress associated with the penultimate syllable precludes shortening, while the same stress on the head noun permits shortening by leaving the number marker of the preceding possessive pronoun unstressed.

Whether the short/long contrast in Fijian dual possessive pronouns has the source that Geraghty suggests is not important for our purposes. What is important is that like the singular and plural Polynesian possessive pronouns, Polynesian dual possessive pronouns clearly derive from an earlier Oceanic source with several innovative features tracing back to a period of common development with Fijian languages.

5.4. Summary

Proto-Polynesian possessive constructions clearly continue an early Oceanic prototype in much of their syntax and morphology. The syntactic relationship between Proto-Polynesian preposed, elliptical, and irrealis possessives, and an earlier Oceanic system is direct and obvious. With simple and realis possessives, differences can be explained by Proto-Polynesian innovations, several of which have parallels in certain Fijian languages.

A period of common development for Proto-Polynesian and Fijian languages, especially Eastern Fijian languages, is supported by a number of innovations on early Oceanic possessive pronoun morphology. Along with certain phonological innovations, there is the innovation of a long/short contrast in dual possessive pronouns common to Polynesian and Fijian languages.

NOTES ON CHAPTER FIVE

1. We do not discuss inalienable possession (direct suffixation) in this chapter except in some of the notes. Direct suffixation is covered in section 4.3, and has had a history rather different from that of the preposed markers in Oceanic languages.

2. Pronouns are more sharply differentiated from other noun types in Fijian languages than they are in English. Pronouns are obligatory components of verb phrases (and of some case markers as well) in Fijian languages. Common nouns (and proper nouns in Western Fijian) are severely restricted in the case markings that they may take. The most important function of common noun phrases is an appositional one, in which they are equated with a pronoun whose function is specifically marked in the verb phrase.

3. The morpheme **ni** is obligatory as a marker of inalienable possession with common nouns in Eastern Fijian languages and constructions with coreferential pronouns are ungrammatical, as illustrated below:

SF **na ulu ni gone**
art/*head*/prep/*child*
the child's head

***na ulu-na na gone**
art/*head*/*he*/art/*child*

4. The morpheme **i** is also the marker of inalienable possession with proper name possessors.

SF **na ulu i Jone**
art/*head*/prep/*Jone*
Jone's head

5. Note that in cases where there is a restriction on a class of possessors occurring with a possessive marker (i.e., with common

nouns in Eastern Fijian), the coreferential pronoun strategy is used, as illustrated below:

SF **e no-na na tūrage na vale**
he/poss/he/art/chief/art/house
The house is the chief's.

e vie na no-na na tūraga
at/where/art/poss/he/art/chief
Where is the chief's?

6. The Fijian morpheme, **na** (sometimes realised as **a**), that we identify as an article is sometimes called simply a common noun marker (e.g., Pawley 1972:40). Whether termed an article or a common noun marker, **na** shares with the Proto-Polynesian morphemes ***te**, definite article, and ***sa**, indefinite article, a basic function of distinguishing common nouns from proper nouns and pronouns. Fijian **na** is functionally most similar to reflexes of the definite article, PPN ***te**, as illustrated below:

SF **e na vale**
at/art/house
at the house/at a house

HAW **i ka hale**
at/art/house
at the house/at a house

Fijian languages lack an indefinite article but use the numeral *one* in many situations calling for reflexes of PPN ***sa** (< POC ***(n)sa** *one*) in Polynesian languages.

7. In the original version of this paper, the use of a possessive marker with a proper name was proposed as a possible shared innovation of Eastern Fijian and Polynesian languages. New data supplied by Andrew K. Pawley (personal communication 1980) require that this hypothesis be expanded to include Western Fijian languages.

8. In addition to the use of **ni** to mark specific possessors, Eastern Fijian languages (such as Standard Fijian) also exhibit the derivational use of **ni** found in Western Fijian and other Oceanic languages. The widespread morpheme, **ni**, sometimes called a genitive particle, is of great antiquity in Oceanic languages and has even been traced to Proto-Austronesian (Geraghty 1979:226, Blust 1974). Note how in the Standard Fijian and Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands) examples below, the genitive particle **ni** connects pairs of nouns to

derive terms whose meanings are not predictable from their parts.

SF ulu ni vanua
head/gen/land
mountain

kā ni loloma
thing/gen/love
gift

KWA toa ni mae ki
brave/gen/death/plural
soldiers

Although there are a few relic cases, such as PPN *mataniika *ingrown callus* (literally, *eye-gen-fish*), the derivational ni is generally absent in Proto-Polynesian (Geraghty 1979:357). In noting this Proto-Polynesian loss, Geraghty suggested a possible connection to the absence of ni in some place names in the Lau Islands of eastern Fiji, this being consistent with other evidence that the language spoken in Lau at an earlier time may have been more like Polynesian languages (see Geraghty 1979:356-357). Compare the use of the derivational ni in Standard Fijian and its absence in Polynesian languages like Hawaiian in the examples below.

SF bilo ni tī
cup/gen/tea
tea cup

bilo tī
cup of tea

HAW pola kī
cup/tea
tea cup or cup of tea

9. While not distinguishing the different possessive relationships in the same manner as nō-/nē-, kē-, and mē-, Eastern Fijian ni does not represent a complete and simple neutralisation of all Fijian possessive relationships. It does distinguish general controlled and non-controlled possession from possession as personal food and drink as shown in section 5.2 and discussed by Geraghty (1979:227).

10. There are a few dialects in Fiji, such as Saqani in northeast Vanua Levu, where r occurs medially in third person dual possessive pronouns (e.g., Saqani -draruka). Since lack of medial r in third person dual is so widespread in Fijian

languages, r may have been restored in cases such as the Saqani example by analogy with other dual forms.

11. The change from **ua** to **au** in Lauan **-mudrau**, second person dual possessive pronoun (from an earlier **-mudrua**), is a metathesis also found in Lauan **-irau**, first person exclusive dual possessive pronoun (from an earlier **-irua**). The third person dual form, **-drau** (from an earlier **-draru** by loss of r) probably served as a model for these changes.

CHAPTER SIX
Conclusions and Evaluation

6.1. Summary of the Proto-Polynesian Possessive System

In the previous chapters, we have found that all Polynesian languages share aspects of a complicated possessive system. The greatest complexities of this system are morphological. In Proto-Polynesian, there were special allomorphs of articles, aspect markers, and pronouns found only in possessive phrases. Even within possessive phrases, there were alternations between the forms of some morphemes in different types of possessive phrases, as illustrated in Table 42.

Syntactic differences among the five Proto-Polynesian possessive phrase types we have reconstructed are aligned in a three-way contrast between preposed possessives, elliptical possessives, and all other possessives. Preposed possessives were restricted to a prenominal modifying position. They further differed from all other types of possessives in including only pronominal elements (and not common and proper nouns) as possessors. Elliptical possessives were used as independent noun phrases. Simple, realis, and irrealis possessives were used both as independent predicate phrases and as postposed modifiers of nouns.

The heart of Polynesian possessive systems is a contrast between A and O pairs. The semantic function of this contrast has been poorly understood in the past. We have found that in Proto-Polynesian, A-forms marked relationships initiated with a possessor's control and that O-forms marked relationships initiated without a possessor's control. O-forms had secondary functions, however, as markers of specified relationships initiated with a possessor's control. Among these specified relationships were possession as drink or source of drink, possession as source of food, possession as personal kin, and possession of certain artifacts for personal use. We have also

Table 42

The Distribution of Possessive Morpheme Alternates in Proto-Polynesian

	Simple Possession		Preposed Possession		Elliptical Possession		Realis Possession		Irrealis Possession	
	A	O	A	O	A	O	A	O	A	O
A/O markers	*qa-	*(q)o-	*-qa-	*-o-	*-aqa-	*-oqo-	*-(q)a	*-(q)o-	*-aqa-	*-oqo-
Unspecified definite article	-	-	*te-	*t-	*t-	*t-	-	-	-	-
Unspecified indefinite article	-	-	*sa-	*s-	*s-	*s-	-	-	-	-
Realis marker	-	-	-	-	-	-	*ni-	*ni-	-	-
Irrealis marker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*m-	*m-
Pronouns:										
Ii1	*-ta		*-ta		*-ta		*-ta		*-ta	
Ix1	*-ku		*-ku		*-ku		*-ku		*-ku	
II1	*-u		*-u		*-u		*-u		*-u	
III1	*-na		*-na		*-na		*-na		*-na	
Ii2	*-taua		*-taa		*-taua		*-taua		*-taua	
Ix2	*-maua		*-maa		*-maua		*-maua		*-maua	
II2	*-(m)urua		*-muru		*-(m)urua		*-(m)urua		*-(m)urua	
III2[a]	*-laua		*-laa		*-laua		*-laua		*-laua	

[a]See Table 45 for a list of very tentative trial/paucal and plural possessive pronouns.

reconstructed a system of direct suffixation that was used as an optional alternative to O-forms with a class of kin terms. This direct suffixation strategy was restricted to the singular pronominal forms *-ku, first person, *-u, second person, and *-na, third person.

6.2. Polynesian Possessive Marking as an Oceanic Subtype

Although the similarities between Polynesian and other Oceanic languages in syntax and pronoun morphology are fairly obvious, the possessive markers appear quite different. Inadequate understanding of the functions of Polynesian possessive markers has made them seem much more different from those of other Oceanic languages than they actually are. Furthermore, it has not been generally recognised that some Polynesian languages have preserved the direct suffixation possessive strategy so common in other Oceanic languages.

Besides direct suffixation, Pawley (1973:153-169) has reconstructed three possessive markers (*na-, *ka-, *ma-) for Proto-Oceanic (or an early stage of Oceanic) with functions as outlined in Table 43. Semantic characterisations are Pawley's own.

The contrasts reconstructed by Pawley appear to be basically those that we have proposed for Proto-Polynesian, except for 'edible possession'. Terms for food are treated no differently from terms for ordinary property in Polynesian languages. We believe, however, that at an ancestral stage earlier than Proto-Polynesian, possession of personal food was treated differently from possession of other personal property. Evidence for this is that in Proto-Polynesian, possession of the source of personal food (gardens, groves of food-producing trees) required O-marking rather than the A-marking required in the possession of ordinary property. In other Oceanic languages, possession of the source of personal food is treated as an extension of the possession of food itself.

Table 43

Reconstructed Oceanic Possessive Markers

POC *na-		dominant possession
POC *ka-	1.	subordinate or uncontrolled possession
	2.	edible possession (food and property or things associated with food; e.g. garden, trees)
	3.	intimate property; e.g. belts, skirts, men's aprons or loin-cloths, shields, hand-carried weapons, bags containing essential portable property
PHC *ma-		drinkable possession

While Pawley's Oceanic reconstructions and our Proto-Polynesian reconstruction distinguish essentially the same semantic functions, there are no clear phonological correspondences between the two sets of possessive markers. Despite these phonological differences, one should not lose sight of the extraordinary functional similarities. In fact, Polynesian languages are more conservative than Fijian languages in their marking of the possession of terms for house, clothing, and canoe, in that they preserve an earlier contrast between possession for personal use and other types of possession, a distinction lost in the history of Fijian languages.

6.3. Implications for Subgrouping

In tracing the history of Polynesian possessive systems beyond Proto-Polynesian, we have found evidence for a period of common development with Fijian languages, especially Eastern Fijian languages. Table 44 outlines possible shared innovations of Proto-Polynesian and Fijian languages that have not been noted in other Oceanic languages.

The distribution of similarities in Table 44 suggests Polynesian languages to have shared a period of common development with all Fijian languages, possibly followed by a period of common development with Eastern Fijian languages exclusive of Western Fijian languages. The case for Polynesian and Eastern Fijian sharing a period of common development has been well presented by Geraghty (1979:341-362). However, Geraghty has questioned an earlier proposal of a low-order subgrouping including all Fijian and Polynesian languages. Geraghty's reservations can be attributed in part to his view that 'the possessive morphology of Lau was more Polynesian-like before being swamped by innovations from the coastal South East Viti Levu prestige center to the West' (1979:356). The implication here is that Eastern Fijian (or at least Far Eastern Fijian, as typified by Lauan) descends together with Proto-Polynesian from a language type quite different from that ancestral to the other Fijian languages.

We have shown earlier that phonological similarities between Lauan and Polynesian possessive markers are false leads, and that contrary to Geraghty's information, Proto-Polynesian did not collapse the possession of personal food and personal drink (as reported for an earlier form of Lauan; see section 4.2.7). Thus, there is no evidence that the Proto-Polynesian and Lauan possessive systems descend from a common ancestral system significantly different from that ancestral to the possessive systems of other Fijian languages.

Table 44

Possible Shared Innovations of Polynesian and Fijian

	Proto-Polynesian	Eastern Fijian	Western Fijian
1. Use of the general noncontrolled possession marker (rather than direct suffixation) with ordinal numbers[a]	present	present	present
2. Loss of the medial liquid in reflexes of PEO *-ndadua, third person dual possessive pronoun	present	present	present
3. Use of shortened preposed dual possessive pronouns	present	present	present
4. Possessive markers used with proper nouns	present	present	present
5. A morpheme, ni, used to mark specific possessors	present	present	-
6. Replacement of PEO *d with a reflex of PEO *nd in reflexes of PEO *-mudua, second person dual possessive pronoun[b]	present	present	-

[a]See Chapter Four, note 7.

[b]Of a list of fourteen possessive pronoun paradigms representing a wide sampling of Fijian dialects (Geraghty 1979:205-207), all Eastern Fijian dialects except Labasa and Saqani (both of Vanua Levu) show prenasalisation of the liquid of POC *-mudua, second person dual. The oral forms in these two dialects are probably the result of recent analogical change. These two dialects are also the only Fijian dialects in Geraghty's paradigms with third person dual forms exhibiting a medial liquid (e.g., Labasa -draruka, long third person dual possessive pronoun). The medial liquid is absent, however, even in these dialects in the short form (e.g., Labasa -drau, short third person dual possessive pronoun). See note 10 of Chapter Five, where we suggest that the medial liquid in these dual forms has been restored by analogy with other dual possessive pronouns.

On the contrary, the Proto-Polynesian and Lauan possessive systems appear to represent independent lines of innovation from an Eastern Fijian-like system more fully preserved in languages like Standard Fijian.[1]

Our evidence suggests, then, that rather than having an independent history from Western and typical Eastern Fijian possessive systems, the pre-Polynesian system experienced a period of common development

with them during which there were a number of innovations to an earlier system. The rigorous comparison with possessive systems in other Oceanic languages, necessary to establish these innovations as unique to a subgroup consisting of only the Fijian and Polynesian (and possibly Rotuman) languages is beyond the scope of this study. However, we no longer see the Polynesian possessive system as an obstacle to a proposal of a lower-order Oceanic subgroup of the type mentioned above.

6.4. Accomplishments, Difficulties, Future Work

In reconstructing the Proto-Polynesian possessive system, we have built upon the work of others, notably Pawley (1966, 1967, 1972, 1973), Clark (1976), and Geraghty (1979). Although we have refined earlier work in the morphology of some of our reconstructions, our major contributions to the understanding of Proto-Polynesian lie in:

(A) a detailed characterisation of the factors governing the choice between A-forms and O-forms (see Chapter Two),
(B) the distinction of a short/long contrast in dual possessive pronouns and a characterisation of their distribution (see sections 3.5.3.1 and 3.6.3),
(C) the division of article-initial possessives into preposed and elliptical possessives (see section 3.5), and
(D) the identification of Polynesian retentions of features from an early Oceanic possessive system (see Chapters Four and Five).

Our greatest area of difficulty involved the fact that the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and Proto-Tongic plural possessive pronoun sets do not appear to be cognate. Although one could propose irregular phonological changes to account for some of the differences, external evidence suggests a hypothesis that Proto-Nuclear Polynesian plural forms descend from Proto-Polynesian trial/paucal forms, and that Proto-Tongic plural forms descend from Proto-Polynesian plural forms (see section 3.6.4). We have very tentatively reconstructed Proto-Polynesian trial/paucal and plural possessive pronouns as an explanation for the differences between the Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and Proto-Tongic plural possessive pronoun sets (see Table 45). Irregularities in correspondences between Tongan and Nuclear Polynesian languages have complicated the reconstruction of some preposed and elliptical possessives. We have suggested innovative changes in both Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and Proto-Tongic to account for the irregular correspondences, as illustrated in Table 46 (see also section 3.5).

Table 45

Early Polynesian Trial/Paucal and Plural Possessive Pronouns

		PPN	PTO	PNP
I i3	long	*-tatou	lost	*-ta(a)tou
	short	*-tou	lost	*-tou
I ip	long	*-tautolu	*-tautolu	lost
	short	*-ta(u)	*-ta(l)u	lost
I x3	long	*-matou	lost	*-ma(a)tou
	short	-	-	-
I xp	long	*-mautolu	*-mautolu	lost
	short	*-mau	*-ma(l)u	lost
II 3	long	*-(m)utou	lost	*-utou
	short	-	-	-
III p	long	*-muutolu	*-muutolu	lost
	short	*-muu	*-mu(l)u	lost
III 3	long	*-latou	lost	*-la(a)tou
	short	-	-	-
III p	long	*-lautolu	*-lautolu	lost
	short	*-la(u)	*-la(l)u	lost

Table 46

Initial Elements of Proto-Polynesian Preposed and Elliptical Possessives with Their Proto-Nuclear Polynesian and Proto-Tongic Reflexes

	PPN	PNP	PTO
Preposed Possessives			
Definite A-form	*te-qa-	*t-a-	*he-qa-
Indefinite A-form	*sa-qa-	*s-a-	*ha-qa-
Definite O-form	*t-o-	*t-o-	*h-o-
Indefinite O-form	*s-o-	*s-o-	*ha-Ø-
Elliptical Possessives			
Definite A-form	*t-aqa-	*t-aqa-	*h-aqa-[a]
Indefinite A-form	*s-aqa-	*s-aqa-	lost
Definite O-form	*t-oqo-	*t-oqo-	*h-oqo-
Indefinite O-form	*s-oqo-	*s-oqo-	lost

[a]Proto-Tongic elliptical definite A-possessives had the same initial elements as the preposed indefinite A-possessives, but were differentiated by the possessive pronoun in all cases but the singulars.

In general, difficulties in reconstructing the Proto-Polynesian possessive marking system can be traced to the large number of forms involved in the individual languages rather than a lack of regular correspondences. Innovations such as the loss of the A/O contrast, the loss of one or more of the possessive phrase types, or the addition of new article elements complicate the data, but can usually be readily identified as local developments. Where there are questions regarding the status of a form as a local innovation, we have refrained from reconstructing an earlier form.

Descriptions of the grammar of possession in some Polynesian languages is rather shaky and there are holes in the data from even the best described languages. Our Proto-Polynesian reconstructions should be helpful in providing direction for more detailed accounts of possession in individual Polynesian languages. More detailed information on the possessive systems of other Oceanic languages is also needed. Geraghty's (1979) description of Fijian possessive systems could be used as a model here. Not only are possessive systems one of the most complex features of Oceanic grammar, but they are also typologically interesting in their subdivision of possession into several categories including verb-like distinctions relating to agency (control).

NOTES ON CHAPTER SIX

1. The unique features of the contemporary Lauan possessive system in comparison with that of Standard Fijian are the following:
   (A) the lack of an initial **n** in the general control possessive marker, **o-/we-**, compared to SF **nō-/nē-** and PPN ***-qa-** (Geraghty 1979:240);
   (B) a general controlled possessive, **qou** *my*, corresponding to SF **noqu** and PPN ***-qaku** (Geraghty 1979:356);
   (C) a short/long contrast in first person trial/paucal and plural possessive pronouns derived from the addition of a prefix to stems basically the same as the Standard Fijian all-purpose forms (e.g., **-iketa**, first person long inclusive plural form, **-ta**, first person short inclusive plural form [Geraghty 1979: 205]). (Compare Proto-Polynesian long and short equivalents, ***-tautolu** and ***-ta(u)**, respectively.)
   (D) merger of general controlled and noncontrolled possession with preposed possessive markers (Geraghty 1979:234). (This can be viewed as an extension of the same neutralisation found with the possessive prepositions **ni** and **i** found commonly in Eastern Fijian [Geraghty 1979:225, 227]. Note that no such neutralisation occurred in Proto-Polynesian.)

   All of these innovations are easily derived from a typical Eastern Fijian system like that of Standard Fijian. None has any clear parallels with Proto-Polynesian. (This includes the reported neutralisation of possession of personal food and drink in an earlier form of Lauan.) There is, therefore no reason to consider Lauan possessives as not sharing a common ancestor with the possessives of other Fijian languages.

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