

THE POSSESSIVE CLASS SYSTEMS IN ÄIWO, REEF ISLANDS, SOLOMON ISLANDS

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NOTE: This article constitutes some of the results of a preliminary analysis of a limited corpus of Äiwo materials, and acknowledgement is given to help received from Äiwo speakers, especially Mr Patrick Bakolo and Rev. Martin Moiya.

1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS¹

The very similar dialects of the Äiwo language are spoken by approximately 4000 people on the Reef Islands in the Santa Cruz Archipelago, situated far to the east of the main Solomon Islands chain. Äiwo speakers have also settled in some numbers on Ndeni (Santa Cruz), the main island of the Santa Cruz Archipelago, and a considerable number of them is living in Honiara, the Solomon Islands capital. Äiwo and the two (or three) languages spoken on Santa Cruz Island constitute a family named the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family (Wurm 1969, 1972, 1976, 1981a, Simons 1977) (the major language on Santa Cruz, called Northern Santa Cruz (or Lödäi), can be regarded as consisting of two sub-languages which virtually constitute separate languages (Wurm 1978)). The members of this family seem to be languages which were originally Papuan, but they have been so heavily influenced by Austronesian that it can be suggested that the speakers have incompletely taken over an Austronesian language (Wurm 1978). This incomplete language take-over has very strongly influenced and changed much of the assumed original Papuan structure of the languages, and has replaced it by Austronesian forms and structures, which applies especially to transparent surface features. However, some Papuan structural systems and principles have been preserved, though affixes and other markers functioning in them have often

been replaced by formally Austronesian ones. The Papuan structural elements are mainly limited to core features such as complex traits of the verb structure, the forms and underlying principles of the subject (and in part object) marking with the verbs through suffixes, and the presence and in part the form, of elaborate class and gender systems with nouns. These Papuan elements display some formal and system links with elements encountered in the other Papuan languages located in the island world to the east of the New Guinea mainland which have been included into what has been named the East Papuan Phylum (Wurm 1975, 1981a). A number of links are also present between the un-Austronesian lexical elements in the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family languages and the Papuan lexical elements in East Papuan Phylum languages (most of these have also been subject to considerable lexical, and in part also structural, influence from Austronesian languages). In the light of this, the languages of the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family have been included in the East Papuan Phylum as aberrant members.

The languages of the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family have quite complex phonologies, though that of the Äiwo language is simpler than those of the Santa Cruzan languages. In recent years, practical orthographies have been set up for Äiwo and Northern Santa Cruz (Löddäi), very largely through the efforts and ingenuity of some educated local people who had some linguistic training, and were given some limited help in this by outside linguists. The Äiwo alphabet is as follows:

Vowels:		Diphthongs:	
i	u	e	i
e		ä	ou
ä	o		
a	<u>a</u>		

Vowel length (double articulation) is indicated through the doubling of the vowel symbol, e.g. aa.

In vowel clusters, strong glides are present which are represented in the orthography as follows:

- between the high vowels i, e + the low vowels a, a, o, y appears word-medially;
- between the low vowels a, o in word-initial position, and a prefix ending in i or e, w appears, e.g. opwa 'to be white', dyiwopwa 'we two (incl.) are white'. There is no glide between i or e, and word initial a- in such a case;
- between the high vowel u + o, a, a, and also between o + a, a, w appears;

- between u + ä and o + ä, the insertion of w is optional, and w appears in free variation with 0.

Consonants:

p	t		k
pw			kw
b	d	dy	g
bw			gw
m	n	ny	ng
mw			ngw
	s		
	l		
w		y	

In the sequence C + unstressed u + V, the short u manifests itself through labialisation of the consonant only, and is written as such, e.g. *nwoli* 'knife', < *nuóli. Stress is predictable.

The materials presented here are in the Nenubo (N) and Ngawawa (Ng) dialects. If no dialect abbreviation appears, the forms are identical in both dialects.

2. PERSON MARKING WITH NOMINALS (NOUNS, VERBAL NOUNS)

There are only three word classes in Äiwo: nouns (including a range of verbal nouns), verbs, and particles. The noun and verb morphology employs prefixes and suffixes.

Four numbers, singular, plural, dual and trial, are distinguished. In the non-singular first persons, an inclusive-exclusive distinction is present. The dual is marked by -le, the trial by the addition of special forms, and in the 1st inclusive by the addition of -le to the 1pl. inclusive suffix -de.

The trial number forms which follow the person suffixes are the numeral verb *eve* 'to be three' preceded in all persons (except the 3rd) by *pe-* which marks the person noun class in the noun class system (Wurm 1981b). This is preceded by the subject prefixes used with most intransitive verbs. After *eve* 'to be three', *enge* 'this' follows in the 1st person, and *enga* (shortened from *eyanga* 'that' in the 2nd and 3rd persons. In the 3rd person, *mi-* is the gender marker indicating neutrality in the noun class system, and *-li-* is the 3pl. subject prefix with intransitive verbs.

TABLE 1
PERSON SUFFIXES WITH NOMINALS

	1st incl.	1st excl.	2nd	3rd
sg.	any vowel, or -u, or + -o		-mu	θ, or V → ä (e, o)
pl.	-de	-ngo	-mi	-i, or V → ä + -i
dl.	-dyi	-ngole	-mile	-ile, or V → ä + -ile
tl.	-dele -de depeeveenge	-ngo mäpeeveenge N -ngo mepeeveenge Ng	-mi mipeeveenga	θ V → ä} + milieveenga

The person suffixes (given in Table 1) are added to those nouns with which personal possession is indicated by person suffixes only (see below 3.2.1.). They are also used in the formation of free person markers which in Äiwo are formally verbal nouns: these suffixes are, in general, added to the verb base *i- v y-* 'to exist, to be' to produce in accordance with rules of verbal noun formation in Äiwo, verbal nouns with the meaning of 'the fact of my, your, etc. existing; my, your, etc. existing as a fact'. In the non-singular 1st person forms, and in the 2sg. form, the person suffixes are added to the 1sg. person suffix, e.g. *y-u-mu*: verb base - 1sg. person suffix - 2sg. person suffix = 2sg. free person marker. There are however some special cases:

In the 3sg., *-na* (or *-nanga*) is added to *i-*. In the 3pl., *-dyii* is added to *i-*, *yu-*, or occurs by itself.

TABLE 2
FREE PERSON MARKERS

	1st incl.	1st excl.	2nd	3rd
sg.	<i>yu</i>	<i>yu</i>	<i>yumu</i>	{ <i>ina</i> <i>inanga</i>
pl.	<i>yude</i>	<i>yungo</i> N } (<i>ingo</i>) Ng }	<i>imi</i>	{ <i>yudyii</i> <i>idyii</i> <i>dyii</i> (<i>dyiilanga</i>)
dl.	<i>yudyi</i>	<i>yungole</i> N, Ng } (<i>ingole</i>) Ng }	<i>imile</i>	{ <i>yudyiile</i> <i>idyiile</i> <i>dyiile</i>
tl.	<i>yudele</i> <i>yude depeeveenge</i> }	<i>yungo</i> <i>mäpeeveenge</i> N } <i>yungo</i> (<i>ingo</i>) <i>mepeeveenge</i> Ng }	<i>imi mipeeveenga</i>	(<i>kala</i>) <i>milieveenga</i>

3. NOMINAL CLASSIFICATION SYSTEMS

3.1. GENERAL REMARKS

The languages of the Reefs-Santa Cruz Family have a number of unusual features of which three may be of particular interest here:

One of these features is the occurrence of several almost entirely semantically based, independent, multiple-class nominal classification systems in these languages. Äiwo in particular, shows a personal possessive class system comprising three main noun types. The first of these types comprises three main categories, and each of these categories is sub-divided into sub-categories. In addition, an as yet undetermined number of minor categories also belongs to this first type. Each of these minor categories, and each of the sub-categories of the major categories, constitutes a separate personal possessive noun class of which a total of 25 has been established to date. The second noun type comprises at least eight, and the third only one, separate personal possessive noun classes. A construct possessive class system with at least four classes is also met with, as well as a noun class system with two types of classes (Wurm 1981b). One of these types constitutes a variable noun class system in which 32 classes, including five genders, have been established so far (two classes only tentatively), and the other is a fixed noun class system in which eight classes have been established to date. These three noun class and gender systems appear to have little relationship to each other, and are cross-cutting.

The second outstanding feature of the languages of the Reef-Santa Cruz Family to be mentioned here is the fact that a large proportion of their nouns, including many which indicate common items such as birds, mosquitoes, rivers, babies, children, etc. do not constitute original noun bases, but are verbal nouns of a descriptive nature. In Äiwo, the numerous class and gender prefixes play a very important role in the formation of these. Examples: *dekuwo* 'bird' (lit. *something that sinks (i.e. dives) into water habitually*), *dekumwange* 'mosquito' (lit. *something that bites habitually*), *ukipe* 'river' (lit. *something that is flowing liquid that goes along all the time*), *giva* 'male baby' (lit. *male human that is immature*), *silaki* 'female child' (lit. *female human that is small*), etc.

The third unusual feature of the Reef-Santa Cruz Family languages to be referred to here is the occurrence of a large number of words in them which are very similar in form and, at the same time, have very similar, but nevertheless different, meanings. This characteristic is also encountered in other languages of the East Papuan Phylum, e.g. Buin of South Bougainville (Laycock 1981). A few examples from Äiwo may be given here: *nyopaa* 'arrow for shooting birds', *nyopwaa* 'fighting

arrow', *singeda* 'female'; *sigedaa* 'his wife'; *nwopwa* 'house', *nwopwa* 'canoe platform, canoe house', *papu* 'vagina', *pwapu* 'virgin'. Some of this has an air of artificiality about it, and seems to suggest the possibility of deliberate interference and tampering with, the languages by their speakers.

It may be mentioned at the same time that a large portion of the words in *Äiwo* and in the other languages of the Reef-Santa Cruz Family recognisably consist of a varying number of very prevalently monosyllabic nuclear elements each of which has a specific meaning and function.

3.2. THE PERSONAL POSSESSIVE CLASS SYSTEM

There are, in *Äiwo*, three main types of nouns with regard to the way in which personal possession is marked with them:

Type A: With most terms of relationship, many nouns indicating parts of the body, and some other nouns, possession is indicated by the addition of the person suffixes listed in Table 1, to the nouns themselves.

Type B: With other nouns, personal possession is indicated by a range of special possessive class markers which usually follow the nouns, and the person suffixes are added to these possessive class markers. The possessive class markers themselves are verbal in nature, and possessive class markers + personal suffixes constitute verbal nouns.

Type C: With some verbal nouns, personal possession is indicated through the ordinary verb subject suffixes + special verbal noun possessive suffixes.

3.2.1. Type A Nouns

The nouns to which the person suffixes are directly added, belong to three main categories, each of them containing sub-categories of which more than those described are likely to exist in the language. There is also an as yet not fully known number of minor categories. The membership of nouns to the three main categories and their sub-categories, or to the minor categories, is not semantically determined, and no reasons for the appearance of the various categories and sub-categories have yet been established. The three main categories are as follows:

3.2.1.1. *Category A*3.2.1.1.1. *Sub-Category or Class A1*

The basic form is the 1sg. form which can end in *-e*, *-o*, or *-u* (other vowels have not yet been observed). In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form. In the 3rd person, in all numbers, the final vowel of the basic form changes to *-ä*. If the basic form ends in *-mo*, the 3rd person forms change to *-mwä(-)*.

Example:

nyibe	'my eye'	1sg.
nyibemu	'thy eye'	2sg.
nyibä	'his, her, its eye'	3sg.
nyibede	etc.	1pl.incl.
nyibengo		1pl.excl.
nyibemi		2pl.
nyibäi		3pl.
nyibedyi		1dl.incl.
nyibengole		1dl.excl.
nyibemile		2dl.
nyibäile		3dl.
nyibedele	}	1tl.incl.
nyibede depeeveenge		
nyibengo mäpeeveenge N	}	1tl.excl.
nyibengo mepeeveenge Ng		
nyibemi mipeeveenga		2tl.
nyiba milieveenga		3tl.

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class A1 are for instance: *tumo* 'my father' (3sg. *tumwä*), *noto* 'my nose', *nulo* 'my neck', *nyime* 'my arm', *nyiivelu* 'my spirit (when I am dead)' (3sg. *nyiivelä*), *nämelu* 'my reflection', etc.

3.2.1.1.2. *Sub-Category or Class A2*

The basic form is the 1sg. form which ends in *-i*. In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form, and in the 3rd person this final *-i* remains unchanged. Example:

nyisi	'my body'	1sg.
nyisimu	'thy body'	2sg.
nyisi	'his, her, its body'	3sg.
nyiside	etc.	1pl.incl.
nyisingo		1pl.excl.
nyisimi		2pl.
nyisii		3pl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to this sub-category or class A2 is for instance *nyigisi* 'my body odour'.

3.2.1.1.3. Sub-Category or Class A3

The basic form is the lsg. form which ends in -u. In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form. In the 3rd person, in all numbers, the final -u changes to -e. With nouns which have -a- in the penultimate syllable, this -a- changes to -ä-. Example:

nedu	'my mouth'	lsg.
nedumu	'thy mouth'	2sg.
nede	'his, her, its mouth'	3sg.
nedude	etc.	lpl.incl.
nedungo		lpl.excl.
nedumi		2pl.
nedei		3pl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class A3 are for instance: *nubuledu* 'my lip', *nwotedu* 'my tooth', *nubuleku* 'my knee', *napwalu* 'my chin' (3sg. *napwäle*), *giyalu* 'my husband' (3sg. *giyäle*), *nyigalu* 'my chest' (3sg. *nyigäle*), *numwangu* 'my back' (3sg. *numwängä*), etc.

3.2.1.1.4. Sub-Category or Class A4

The basic form is the lsg. form which ends in -u. In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form. In the 3rd person in all numbers, the final -u changes to -o. Example:

gibu	'my nephew'	lsg.
gibumu	'thy nephew'	2sg.
gibo	'his, her nephew'	3sg.
gibude	etc.	lpl.incl.
gibungo		lpl.excl.
gibumi		2pl.
giboi		3pl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class A4 are for instance: *sibu* 'my niece', *meegu* 'my matrilineal mate', *giogu* 'my companion', *pelivagu* 'my relative' (3sg. *pelivago*), *topapwaagu* 'my upper back', etc.

3.2.1.1.5. Sub-Category or Class A5

The basic form is the 1sg. form which ends in -u. In the other persons, the person markers are suffixed to this basic form, and in the 3rd person in all numbers, this final -u remains unchanged.

Example:

peluu	'my son-in-law' (in a strict avoidance relationship)	1sg.
peluumu	'thy son-in-law'	2sg.
peluu	'his, her son-in-law'	3sg.
peluude	etc.	1pl.incl.
peluungo		1pl.excl.
peluumi		2pl.
peluui		3pl.
	etc.	

3.2.1.2. Category B

3.2.1.2.1. Sub-Category or Class B1

The basic form is the 3sg. form which ends in a vowel, usually -a, -o, or -e. In the 1sg., -u is suffixed to this basic form, and in the 1st person of the other numbers, the person suffixes are added to this -u. In the 2nd and 3rd person in all numbers, the person suffixes are added to the basic form. Example:

siwolepaau	'my lung'	1sg.
siwolepaamu	'thy lung'	2sg.
siwolepaa	'his, her, its lung'	3sg.
siwolepaaude	etc.	1pl.incl.
siwolepaaungo		1pl.excl.
siwolepaami		2pl.
siwolepaai		3pl.
siwolepaaudyi		1dl.incl.
siwolepaaungole		1dl.excl.
siwolepaamile		2dl.
siwolepaaile		3dl.
siwolepaaudele	}	1tl.incl.
siwolepaaude depeeveenge		
siwolepaaungo māpeeveenge N	}	1tl.excl.
siwolepaaungo mepeeveenge Ng		
siwolepaami mipeeveenga		2tl.
siwolepaa milieveenga		3tl.

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class B1 are for instance: sipe 'his, her daughter', gino 'his, her son', pelivano 'his,

her children (collective)' (lsg. *pelivanou*), *nuwotaa* 'his, her head', *numabo* 'his beard', *nyida* 'his, her inside belly', etc.

3.2.1.2.2. Sub-Category or Class B2

This sub-category or class is essentially the same as B1, except that the final vowel in the 3sg. basic form is long, but becomes short when a 1st person suffix is added to it. Example:

<i>nyivau</i>	'my cheek'	1sg.
<i>nyivaamu</i>	'thy cheek'	2sg.
<i>nyivaa</i>	'his, her, its cheek'	3sg.
<i>nyivaude</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>nyivaungo</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>nyivaami</i>		2pl.
<i>nyivaai</i>		3pl.
<i>nyivaudyi</i>		1dl.incl.
<i>nyivaungole</i>		1dl.excl.
<i>nyivaamile</i>		2dl.
<i>nyivaaille</i>		3dl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to sub-category or class B2 is for instance *topwalea* 'long fin of a fish', i.e. *topwaleau* (also *topwaleau*, see 3.2.1.4.) 'my long fin' (a fish speaking in a story), *topwaleaamu* 'thy long fin', *topwaleaa* 'its long fin'.

3.2.1.3. Category C

The basic form of nouns belonging to Category C has no possessive class marker and the nouns can be used independently, without any indication of personal possession. When personal possession is indicated with them, possessive suffixes are added to them. These belong to a range of different sets. Some nouns can take suffixes of more than one set. Each set is characteristic of a sub-category or class in Category C.

3.2.1.3.1. Sub-Category or Class C1

To nouns of the sub-category or class C1, -o is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. This -o appears as -yo after -i and -e and as -wo after -u, in accordance with what has been said in 1. about glides in vowel clusters. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -o, and in the 3rd person in all numbers, the -o changes to -ä, or -wä after -u. Example:

näbili	'tongue'	
näbiliyo	'my tongue'	1sg.
näbilyomu	'thy tongue'	2sg.
näbiliä	'his, her, its tongue'	3sg.
näbilyode	etc.	1pl.incl.
näbilyongo		1pl.excl.
näbilyomi		2pl.
näbiliäi		3pl.
näbilyodyi		1dl.incl.
näbilyongole		1dl.excl.
näbilyomile		2dl.
näbiliäile		3dl.
näbilyodele		
näbilyode depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
näbilyongo mäpeeveenge N }		
näbilyongo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
näbilyomi mipeeveenga		2tl.
näbiliä miliyeveenga		3tl.

Other nouns which belong to sub-category or class C1 are for instance: gipi 'brother-in-law', i.e. gipiyo 'my brother-in-law'; sipi 'sister-in-law', i.e. sipiyo 'my sister-in-law'; nenu 'womb', i.e. nenuwo 'my womb', nenuwä 'her womb'; nwosi 'tribe', i.e. nwosiyo 'my tribe'; mwoli 'eggs', i.e. nwoliyo 'my eggs (which I laid)' (a bird speaking in a myth); nalu 'dance decoration', i.e. naluwo 'my dance decoration', naluwä 'his dance decoration', etc.

3.2.1.3.2. Sub-Category or Class C2

To nouns of the sub-category or class C2, -eyo is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -eyo. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -eyo changes to -eä. Example:

kupu	'swelling'	
kupueyo	'my swelling'	1sg.
kupueyomu	'thy swelling'	2sg.
kupueä	'his, her, its swelling'	3sg.
kupueyode	etc.	1pl.incl.
kupueyongo		1pl.excl.
kupueyomi		2pl.
kupueyoi		3pl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to this sub-category or class C2 are for instance: pipi 'diarrhoea', i.e. pipieyo 'my diarrhoea'; nyinaa 'power', i.e. nyinaeayo 'my power', etc.

3.2.1.3.3. Sub-Category or Class C3

This sub-category or class C3 is essentially the same as C2, except that in the 3rd person in all numbers, -eyo changes to -ä or optionally to -(y)owä ~ -(y)oä, and after -u, -o, optionally (see 1.) to -wä ~ -ä. Example:

papu	'vagina'	
papueyo	'my vagina'	1sg.
papueyomu	'thy vagina'	2sg.
papuä ~ papuwä	'her, its vagina'	3sg.
papueyode	etc.	1pl.incl.
papueyongo		1pl.excl.
papueyomi		2pl.
papuäi ~ papuwäi		3pl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to sub-category or class C3 is for instance: sigiläi 'male; husband', i.e. sigiläieyo 'my husband', sigiläiä (~ sigiläiyo(w)ä) 'her husband'.

3.2.1.3.4. Sub-Category or Class C4

To nouns of the sub-category or class C4, -eyou is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the 1st person of the other numbers, the person suffixes are added to this -eyou. In the 2nd person in all numbers, the -u is dropped and the person suffixes are added to -eyo. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -eyou changes to -eä (sometimes also the forms -eyowä ~ -eyoä and -owä ~ -oä are found), which alternates with -wä ~ -ä after final -u and -o. Example:

alangenao	'wart'	
alangenaoeyou	'my wart'	1sg.
alangenaoeyomu	'thy wart'	2sg.
alangenaoeä ~ alangenao(ey)o(w)ä	'his, her, its wart'	3sg.
alangenaoeyoude	etc.	1pl.incl.
alangenaoeyoungo		1pl.excl.
alangenaoeyomi		2pl.
alangenaoeäi ~ alangenao(ey)o(w)äi		3pl.
alangenaoeyoudyi		1dl.incl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to sub-category or class C4 are for instance: *dänyo* 'a part of something (not the one which has already been referred to)', i.e. *dänyoeyou* 'a part of me', *dänyoeä* ~ *dänyo(w)ä* 'a part of it'; *nupwanuupe* 'kidney', i.e. *nupwanuupeeyou* 'my kidney', *nupwanuupeä* ~ *nupwanuupe(ey)o(w)ä* 'his, her, its kidney'; *tepäyakoko* 'internal stomach', i.e. *tepäyakokoyeou* 'my internal stomach', *tepäyakoko(w)ä* 'his, her, its internal stomach', etc.

3.2.1.3.5. Sub-Category or Class C5

This sub-category or class C5 is similar to C4, but the lsg. personal possession suffix is *-(y)ou* which in the 3rd person, changes to *-eä* which freely alternates with *-(y)owä* and *-ä* (which can be *-wä* after *-o*, *-u*). Example:

<i>kokope</i>	'lung'	
<i>kokopeyou</i>	'my lung(s)'	lsg.
<i>kokopeyomu</i>	'thy lung(s)'	2sg.
<i>kokopeeä</i> ~ <i>kokopeyowä</i> ~ <i>kokopeä</i>	'his, her, its lung(s)'	3sg.
<i>kokopeyoude</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>kokopeyoungo</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>kokopeyomi</i>		2pl.
<i>kokopeeäi</i> ~ <i>kokopeyowäi</i> ~ <i>kokopeäi</i>		3pl.
	etc.	

Other nouns which belong to sub-category or class C5 are for instance: *nepe* (lit. *moon*) in the meaning of 'menstruation', i.e. *nepeyou* 'my menstruation', *nepeeä* ~ *nepeyowä* ~ *nepeä* 'her, its menstruation'; *neve* 'bone (in one's body)', i.e. *neveyou* 'my bone (in my body)', *neveeä* ~ *neveyowä* ~ *neveä* 'his, her, its bone (in the body)' (*neve* 'bone (in one's body)' optionally also belongs to sub-category or class C10, i.e. *nevengu* 'my bone'), etc.

3.2.1.3.6. Sub-Category or Class C6

To nouns of the sub-category or class C6, *-(y)aa* is suffixed to indicate lsg. personal possession. The manner in which the possessive suffixes are added to this *-(y)aa* is identical to what can be observed with nouns of class B1 (see 3.2.1.2.1.). Example:

temenge Ng	<i>'skull (of living person or animal)'</i>	
temengeyaau	<i>'my skull'</i>	1sg.
temengeyaamu	<i>'thy skull'</i>	2sg.
temengeyaa	<i>'his, her, its skull'</i>	3sg.
temengeyaau	etc.	1pl.incl.
temengeyaau		1pl.excl.
temengeyaami		2pl.
temengeyaa		3pl.
temengeyaadyi		1dl.incl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to sub-category or class C6 is for instance: tepeke N *'skull (of a dead person or animal)'*, i.e. tepekeyaau *'my skull'* (said by a spirit of a dead man in a story), tepekeyaa *'his, her, its skull'*.

3.2.1.3.7. Sub-Category or Class C7

Nouns of the sub-category or class C7 have the final vowel -a when they are used independently. When personal possession is indicated with them, the -a is replaced by -aau for the 1sg., with this -aau undergoing changes as with nouns of the sub-categories or classes C6 and B1. Example:

dela	<i>'blood'</i>	
delaau	<i>'my (body's) blood'</i>	1sg.
delaamu	<i>'thy (body's) blood'</i>	2sg.
dela	<i>'his, her, its blood'</i>	3sg.
delaau	etc.	1pl.incl.
delaau		1pl.excl.
delaami		2pl.
delaai		3pl.
delaadyi		1dl.incl.
	etc.	

3.2.1.3.8. Sub-Category or Class C8

To nouns of the sub-category or class C8, -lo is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -lo. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -lo changes to -lä. Example:

nwapu	'vulva'	
nwapulo	'my vulva'	1sg.
nwapulomu	'thy vulva'	2sg.
nwapulä	'her, its vulva'	3sg.
nwapulode	etc.	1pl.incl.
nwapulongo		1pl.excl.
nwapulomi		2pl.
nwapuläi		3pl.
	etc.	

3.2.1.3.9. Sub-Category or Class C9

To nouns of the sub-category of class C9, -lu is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -lu. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -lu changes to -lä. Example:

nyiive	'spirit of dead'	
nyiivelu	'my spirit' (said by a dead man in a myth)	1sg.
nyiivelumu	'thy spirit'	2sg.
nyiivelä	'his, her, its spirit'	3sg.
nyiivelude	etc.	1pl.incl.
nyiivelungo		1pl.excl.
nyiivelumi		2pl.
nyiiveläi		3pl.
	etc.	

nyiive 'spirit of dead' optionally also belongs to sub-category or class C1 (see 3.2.1.3.1.), i.e. nyiiveyo 'my spirit', nyiiveä 'his, her, its spirit'.

3.2.1.3.10. Sub-Category or Class C10

To nouns of the sub-category or class C10, -ngu is suffixed to indicate 1sg. personal possession. In the other persons, the person suffixes are added to this -ngu. In the 3rd person in all numbers, -ngu changes to -ngä. With nouns ending in -a, this -a changes to -o before the possessive suffixes of sub-category or class C10. Example:

neve	'bone (in one's body)'	(see also 3.2.1.3.5.)
nevengu	'my bone'	1sg.
nevengumu	'thy bone'	2sg.
nevengä	'his, her, its bone'	3sg.
nevengude	etc.	1pl.incl.
nevengungo		1pl.excl.
nevengumi		2pl.
nevengäi		3pl.
	etc.	

Another noun which belongs to sub-category or class C10 is for instance: numoba 'hole, opening', i.e. numobongu 'my opening (on my body)'.
'

3.2.1.4. Minor Categories or Classes

In addition to the nouns belonging to the three main categories or classes described above, a number of Type A nouns are found which show various irregularities in the indication of personal possession with them, and therefore constitute minor additional categories or classes, each consisting of one to a limited number of member nouns. The total number of these additional categories or classes has not yet been determined, but it may be considerable. A few may be mentioned here:

One of these categories or classes is constituted by nouns such as gisi 'my brother (man speaking)' which has gisimu 'thy brother', etc. but the irregular forms gite for 'his brother', gitei 'their brother(s)', etc. Similarly, sisi 'my sister (woman speaking)' shows site 'her sister', ibesi 'my friend' shows ibete 'his, her, its (m. or f.) friend', etc.

'Leg' belongs to another such category or class: nuku is 'my leg' which shows the regular nukumu 'thy leg', etc. but 'his, her, its leg' is nyike, 'their leg(s)' is nyikei, etc.

Another such category or class is constituted by ginuwou 'my brother (woman speaking)' which largely functions as if it belonged to sub-category or class B1 (see 3.2.1.2.1.) and has for instance regular ginuwomu for 'thy brother'. However, 'her brother' is ginuwe, not ginuwo as would be expected if the word were regular. 'My sister (man speaking)' belongs to the same category or class: it is siwou, and 'thy sister' is siwomu, but 'his sister' is siwe. Another example is nyigilou 'my tail' (a dog speaking in a story), which has nyigilomu 'thy tail', but nyigile for 'its tail'.

'Skin' belongs to another such category or class: läge is 'skin', and 'my skin' is lägeyou which would make this noun a member of sub-

category or class C5 (see 3.2.1.3.5.). However, the 3sg. personal possessive shows -ou > -θ, i.e. *'his, her, its skin'* is läge, *'their skin'* is lägei, etc.

'Face' constitutes another such category or class: nyivädolaau or nyivadoläu is *'my face'*, which has nyivädolaamu or nyivadolämu for *'thy face'*, but *'his, her, its face'* is only nyivadolä.

'Pubic hair' belongs to another such category or class: nwanupulo is *'my pubic hair'* and *'his, her, its pubic hair'* is nwanupule instead of the regular nwanupulä (see 3.2.1.2.1.).

The words for *'fin'* constitute another such category or class in one of their optional varieties (for the other one of *'long fin'* see 3.2.1.2.2.): *'long fin'* and *'back fin'* are topwleau in the 1sg. personal possessive form (a fish speaking in a story).

The -a- changes to -aa- in all persons except the 1st person, i.e.

topw <u>le</u> au	<i>'my long fin'</i>	1sg.
topw <u>le</u> aamu	<i>'thy long fin'</i>	2sg.
topw <u>le</u> aa	<i>'its long fin'</i>	3sg.
topw <u>le</u> aude	etc.	1pl.incl.
topw <u>le</u> aungo		1pl.excl.
topw <u>le</u> aami		2pl.
topw <u>le</u> aa		3pl.
topw <u>le</u> audyi		1dl.incl.
	etc.	

Similarly, *'my fin (in general)'* is topwäleau (also topwäleau), *'thy fin'* is topwäleamu, and *'its fin'*, topwäleaa.

Another such category or class is constituted by nyibeli *'tapa cloth wrapping of a corpse'*: *'my wrapping'* is nyibeliyo which would make this noun a member of sub-category or class C1 (see 3.2.1.3.1.). However, in all forms except the 1sg., -li changes to -le, i.e.

nyibeliyo	<i>'my wrapping'</i>	1sg.
nyibeleyomu	<i>'thy wrapping'</i>	2sg.
nyibeleä	<i>'his, her, its wrapping'</i>	3sg.
nyibeleyode	etc.	1pl.incl.
nyibeleyongo		1pl.excl.
nyibeleyomu		2pl.
nyibeleäi		3pl.
	etc.	

There are apparently quite a few more such additional categories or classes.

3.2.2. Type B Nouns

The nouns belonging to Type B, i.e. nouns with which personal possession is expressed through separate possessive class markers to which the person markers are suffixed, belong to at least eight categories or classes, referred to here as Possessive Classes. It is possible that additional, as yet unrecognised, possessive classes of this kind may exist in the language.

3.2.2.1. General Possession Possessive Class

Nouns belonging to this possessive class indicate items which do not belong to one of the other seven established possessive classes of type B nouns. Items which belong to the general possession possessive class are, for instance, animals which are not thought of as food (i.e. pets such as dogs, pet birds, inedible animals, etc.), objects in nature such as the sun, moon, stars, wind, rain, clouds, sky, etc., and also persons.

One item can belong to different possessive classes according to its purpose and to what its possessor wants to do with it. For instance, *poi* 'pig', thought of as a pet or an animal in general, belongs to the general possessive class (*poi nou* 'my pig'), but if it is thought of as food, it belongs to the food possessive class (*poi nugo* 'my pig'). *Nenu* 'coconut' can belong to the general possessive class if it is something to hold in one's hand, e.g. for playing (*nenu nou* 'my coconut'), but to the food possessive class if it is food (*nenu nugo* 'my coconut'), and to the drink possessive class if it is for drinking (*nenu numo* 'my coconut').

The possessive class marker of the general possession possessive class is *no-*. In the 1sg., *-u* is suffixed to it, and *no + u* constitutes the base to which the person suffixes of the non-singular 1st person suffixes are added. The base for the addition of the person suffixes of the other persons is *no-*, i.e.

<i>nou</i>	'my'	1sg.
<i>nomu</i>	'thy'	2sg.
<i>no</i>	'his, her, its'	3sg.
<i>noude</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>noungo</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>nomi</i>		2pl.
<i>noi</i>		3pl.
<i>noudyi</i>		1dl.incl.
<i>noungole</i>		1dl.excl.

nomile		2dl.
noile		3dl.
noudele	}	1tl.incl.
noude depeeveenge		
noungo mäpeeveenge N	}	1tl.excl.
noungo mepeeveenge Ng		
nomi mipeeveenga		2tl.
no milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: kuli nomu 'your dog', nyiivä no 'his stone (in his hand)',
nale noude 'our sun'.

3.2.2.2. Food Possessive Class

Nouns belonging to the food possessive class indicate things which are food (except edibles such as sugarcane which have a high liquid content - they belong to the drink possessive class), and some objects which are associated with food or the obtaining of food, e.g. some baskets, knives, axes, etc. The possessive class markers of the food possessive class are as follows:

nugo	'my'	1sg.
namu	'thy'	2sg.
na	'his, her, its'	3sg.
näde	etc.	1pl.incl.
nugongo		1pl.excl.
nämi		2pl.
nai		3pl.
nädyi		1dl.incl.
nugongole		1dl.excl.
nämile		2dl.
naile		3dl.
nädele	}	1tl.incl.
näde depeeveenge		
nugongo mäpeeveenge N	}	1tl.excl.
nugongo mepeeveenge Ng		
nämi mipeeveenga		2tl.
na milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: nubole nugo 'my taro (for eating)', nwoli näde 'our knives',
nyiivä na 'his cooking stones', nabwe nai 'their digging sticks'.

3.2.2.3. Drink Possessive Class

Nouns belonging to this possessive class indicate things which are potable liquids, or food with a high liquid content such as sugarcane,

pawpaw (papaya), etc. The possessive class marker of the drink possessive class is *numo* in lsg. This is the base to which the person suffixes are added in the 1st and 2nd person forms, but *numo* changes to *numwä* as the 3rd person base. The possessive class markers are therefore as follows:

<i>numo</i>	'my'	lsg.
<i>numomu</i>	'thy'	2sg.
<i>numwä</i>	'his, her, its'	3sg.
<i>numode</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>numongo</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>numomi</i>		2pl.
<i>numwäi</i>		3pl.
<i>numodyi</i>		1dl.incl.
<i>numongole</i>		1dl.excl.
<i>numomile</i>		2dl.
<i>numwäile</i>		3dl.
<i>numodele</i>		
<i>numode depeeveenge</i>	}	1tl.incl.
<i>numongo mäpeeveenge</i>	N }	
<i>numongo mepeeveenge</i>	Ng }	1tl.excl.
<i>numomi mippeeveenga</i>		2tl.
<i>numwäi milieveenga</i>		3tl.

Examples: *nwoi numo 'my water (for drinking)'*, *nenu numwä 'his coconut (for drinking)'*, *nau numongo 'our(excl.) sugarcane'*.

3.2.2.4. Betel Possessive Class

Nouns which belong to this possessive class indicate betel nuts and things used in connection with chewing betel such as lime, lime containers, lime spatulas, etc. The possessive class markers of the betel possessive class are as follows:

<i>dano</i>	'my'	lsg.
<i>damu</i>	'thy'	2sg.
<i>da</i>	'his, her, its'	3sg.
<i>däde</i>	etc.	1pl.incl.
<i>dangopu</i>		1pl.excl.
<i>dämi</i>		2pl.
<i>dai</i>		3pl.
<i>dädyi</i>		1dl.incl.
<i>dangole</i>		1dl.excl.
<i>dämile</i>		2dl.
<i>daile</i>		3dl.

dādele dade depeeveenge }	1tl.incl.
dango māpeeveenge N } dāngo mepeeveenge Ng }	1tl.excl.
dāmi mipeeveenga	2tl.
da milieveenga	3tl.

Examples: numatāpi dano 'my betelnut', nato da 'his lime container',
nupu dangopu 'our(excl.) betel leaf'.

3.2.2.5. Utensils Possessive Class

Nouns which belong to this possessive class indicate utensils, tools, and things used for achieving some purpose, such as bows, nets, adzes for carving, fire, lies, talks, unless they belong to the food possessive class (e.g. knives, baskets, digging sticks, etc., see 3.2.2.2.). The possessive class markers of the utensils possessive class have the base form nugu in all persons except the 3rd in which it changes to nogo:

nugu	'my'	1sg.
nugumu	'thy'	2sg.
nogo	'his, her, its'	3sg.
nugude	etc.	1pl.incl.
nugungo		1pl.excl.
nugumi		2pl.
nogoi		3pl.
nugudyi		1dl.incl.
nugungole		1dl.excl.
nugumile		2dl.
nogoile		3dl.
nugudele nugude depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
nugungo māpeeveenge N } nugungo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
nugumi mipeeveenga		2tl.
nogo milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: dyāpwa nugu 'my bow', saloko nogo 'his adze', singā nugumu 'your(sg.) lie', lopwa nugungo 'our(excl.) story', nyieuna nogoi 'their speech', nyie nugumile 'your(dl.) fire', etc.

3.2.2.6. Immovables and Location Possessive Class

Nouns which belong to this possessive class indicate things which are located somewhere, and which are not movable, such as islands, valleys, hills, or which are not normally moved while they are what they are, e.g. houses, trees, etc. The possessive class markers of the immovables and location possessive class are as follows:

to	'my'	1sg.
tomu	'thy'	2sg.
tä	'his, her, its'	3sg.
tode	etc.	1pl.incl.
tongo		1pl.excl.
tomi		2pl.
täi		3pl.
todyi		1dl.incl.
tongole		1dl.excl.
tomile		2dl.
täile		3dl.
todele		
tode depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
tongo mäpeeveenge N }		
tongo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
tomi mipeeveenga		2tl.
täi milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: nwopwa to 'my house', temotu täi 'their island', numoba tongo 'our(excl.) valley', nyenaa tomi 'your(pl.) tree'.

3.2.2.7. FLOWER AND FRUIT POSSESSIVE CLASS

Nouns belonging to this possessive class indicate flowers and fruit (as long as the latter do not belong to the food class, see 3.2.2.2.). The possessive class markers of the flower and fruit possessive class seem to be the possessive class markers of the general possession class no-, etc. (see 3.2.2.1.), with the thing and non-person noun class marker de- (Wurm 1981b) prefixed to it:

denou	'my'	1sg.
denomu	'thy'	2sg.
deno	'his, her, its'	3sg.
denoude	etc.	1pl.incl.
denoungo		1pl.excl.
denomi		2pl.
denoi		3pl.
denoudyi		1dl.incl.
denoungole		1dl.excl.
denomile		2dl.
denoile		3dl.
denoudele		
denoude depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
denoungo mäpeeveenge N }		
denoungo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.

denomi mipeeveenga	2tl.
denoi milieveenga	3tl.

Examples: nupwa denou 'my flower', nuwa deno 'his fruit (not for eating)'.

3.2.2.8. Wound Possessive Class

Nouns belonging to this possessive class indicate wounds and sores. The possessive class marker of the wound class seems to be the deictic verbal nga- which indicates that something is destined for someone, is for someone (e.g. ngagu 'it is for me'). The forms of the possessive class markers of the wound class are as follows:

<u>ng</u> agu	'my'	1sg.
<u>ng</u> agumu	'thy'	2sg.
<u>ng</u> ago	'his, her, its'	3sg.
<u>ng</u> agude	etc.	1pl.incl.
<u>ng</u> agungo		1pl.excl.
<u>ng</u> agumi		2pl.
<u>ng</u> agoi		3pl.
<u>ng</u> agudyi		1dl.incl.
<u>ng</u> agungole		1dl.excl.
<u>ng</u> agumile		2dl.
<u>ng</u> agoile		3dl.
<u>ng</u> agudele <u>ng</u> agude depeeveenge }		1tl.incl.
<u>ng</u> agungo mäpeeveenge N <u>ng</u> agungo mepeeveenge Ng }		1tl.excl.
<u>ng</u> agumi mipeeveenga		2tl.
<u>ng</u> agoi milieveenga		3tl.

Examples: nyebwali ngagu 'my wound', nyetopwalu ngagu 'my (large) sore, the sore part of me'.

3.2.3. Type C Nouns

With one of the types of the range of verbal nouns in Äiwo, personal possession is indicated through the verb subject suffixes which are very similar to the person suffixes given in 2., + special verbal noun possessive suffixes of which some appear to be formally the same as the construct possessive class suffixes (see 3.3.), though with verbal nouns, their forms appear to be determined by the person of the possessor rather than by the factors observed with construct possessive classes in general (see 3.3.). Such verbal nouns have the prefix nye- and contain the realis progressive aspect prefix ki- ~ ku-. With many

of these verbal nouns, *nye-* is the noun class prefix *nye₁-* of the location noun class (Wurm 1981b). With others, it is the general verbal noun class prefix *nye₂-* indicating the manner of doing something. An example is *nyekulunongä* 'my heart' (verbal noun prefix *nye₁-* - realis progressive aspect prefix - 'live' - lsg. subject suffix - verbal noun possessive suffix 1st person singular and non-singular inclusive, lit. 'the place where I am alive all the time'). The range of forms is:

Verb subject suffix	Verbal noun possessive suffix	
-no	-ngä	1sg.
-mu	-ä	2sg.
-θ	-nä	3sg.
-de	-ngä	1pl.incl.
-ngo	-pwä (v -ngä)	1pl.excl.
-mi	-ä	2pl.
-i	-lä	3pl.
-dyi	-ngä	1dl.incl.
-ngole	-nä	1dl.excl.
-mile	-nä	2dl.
-ile	-nä	3dl.
-dele	-nä	} 1tl.incl.
-de	-ngä depeeveenge	
-ngo	-pwä mäpeeveenga N	} 1tl.excl.
-ngo	-pwä mepeeveenge Ng	
-mi	-ä mipeeveenga	2tl.
-i	-lä milieveenga	3tl.

It can be seen that the possessive suffixes are as follows:

- ngä with 1sg., 1dl.incl., 1pl.incl., 1tl.incl. possessor
- ä with 2sg., 2pl., 2tl. possessor
- nä with 3sg. possessor and with all dl. (and 1tl.incl.) numbers containing the dl. suffix -le
- lä with 3pl., 3tl. possessor
- pwä with 1pl.excl., 1tl.excl. possessor

Examples: *nyekulumwä* (< *nyekulumu-ä*) 'thy heart', *nyekuludelenä* 'our three's (incl.) hearts'; *nyekivädolanongä* 'my appearance' (verbal noun prefix *nye₂-*; lit. *the manner of my appearing all the time*), *nyekivädolamiyä* (< *nyekivädolami-ä*) 'your(pl.) appearance' (the verb is *vädolä* (-lä > -la) 'to appear, to look like'); *nyekivebinongä* 'my waist, flank' (verbal noun prefix *nye₁-*; lit. *the place where I habitually*

put a belt on), nyekivebingolenä 'our two's (excl.) waists' (the verb is *vebi* 'to put a belt on'); nyeki-iienongä 'my ladder' (verbal noun prefix *nye₁-*; lit. *the place where I habitually step on something*), nyeki-iienä 'his ladder' (the verb is *iie* 'to step on something'), etc.

3.3. THE CONSTRUCT POSSESSIVE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM

3.3.1. One Item Possessing Another

The possession of a person or thing which is indicated by a noun, by someone or something which is also denoted by a noun, is expressed in Äiwo as follows:

3.3.1.1. Type A Nouns

A type A noun (see 3.2.1.) indicating a possessed item appears in the 3rd person possessed form, and the noun indicating the possessor follows it, e.g. *nyimä singeda* ;*the hand of the woman*', *nuwotaa sime enge* '*the head of this person*'.

3.3.1.2. Type B Nouns

The noun indicating the possessed item is placed first, followed by the 3sg. form of the possessive class marker of the possessive class to which that noun belongs, and the noun indicating the possessor is added, e.g. *kuli no sime eanga* '*the dog of that person*', *nyiiä nogo iso* '*the basket of my mother*', *nwoi numwä kuli* '*the water of the dog (for its drink)*'.

3.3.1.3. Type C Nouns

If, in a construct, the noun indicating the possessed item is a verbal noun of the type discussed above in 3.2.3., it appears without the verbal noun possessive suffix, and the noun denoting the possessor follows. If the noun denoting the possessor is itself subject to personal possession (e.g. in '*the heart of MY father*'), the verbal noun possessive suffix indicating the person of this personal possession is added to the personal possession marker which itself appears with the noun denoting the possessor. Examples: *nyekulu sime enge* '*the heart of this person*', *nyekulu tumomwä* (< *tumomumwä*) '*the heart of thy father*', *nyekivebi tumongopwä* '*the belt of our(excl.) father*', *nyekivädola tumongä* '*the appearance of my father*', *nyeki-iiēi gisingä* '*the ladders of my brother (man speaking)*'.

3.3.2. Two Items Belonging Together

Situations in which the relationship between the two items referred to by two nouns in a construct relationship is not one of one item actually possessing the other, but one in which the nouns either refer to items which belong together or form a unit, or refer to something which is in reality a single item, are expressed in Äiwo in a variety of ways.

3.3.2.1. Juxtapositional Construct Possessive Noun Class

Two nouns in juxtaposition may refer to situations in which the two nouns together denote a single item only, and one of the nouns is used either figuratively, or by way of explanation, with the noun thus used constituting vaguely the possessor of the item referred to by the other noun, e.g. pwapu nwoi 'dragonfly' (lit. *virgin of the water*), nyiluu nyibe 'my eyelash' (lit. *the hair of my eye*), nyiluu taigo 'eyebrow' (lit. *hair of the eyebrow*, but taigo is never used alone for 'eyebrow'), nyipaa näte 'a chip of firewood, a firewood chip' (nyipaa 'a chip, a small piece cut off from something', näte 'firewood'), nyimaa bobago 'white ant nest' (nyimaa 'nest', bobago 'white ant'), nyileyaa nyidei 'ripples (on water)' (nyileyaa 'lines or marks of a current', nyidei 'a current'), tabutepaa 'a nail' (tabu 'arrow', tepaa 'iron', but an 'iron arrow' is tabu wä tepaa, see 3.3.2.2.).

3.3.2.2. Base, Background or Material Construct Possessive Noun Class

The marker of this construct possessive noun class is ä which is placed between two nouns which are in a construct relationship with each other. When the first noun ends in -u or -o, this ä usually changes to wä (or yä after -uu). A construction containing ä indicates that the item denoted by the second noun constitutes the base or background, or something of importance for the existence of, the item referred to by the first noun. This includes situations in which the second noun indicates the material from which the item referred to by the first noun is made of. Example: mwalu wä nwopwa 'middle of the house', tomwaki ä nukumu 'a sore of (i.e. on) thy leg', saloko wä nedu 'my jaw' (lit. *adze of my mouth*), nablea ä nwopwa 'ladder of the house', sapulau wä nuumä 'the men's house of the village', neve ä topapwaago 'his shoulder blade' (lit. *the bone of the upper part of his back*), uu yä nwopwa 'the upper part of the house', nwopwa ä nyilivä 'stone house, house (built) of stone', etc.

3.3.2.3. Purpose or Assignment Construct Possessive Noun Class

The marker of this construct possessive noun class is *nä*. In a construction containing *nä*, the item referred to by the second noun specifies the purpose or particular role, or assignment to a particular category, of the item denoted by the first noun. Examples: *nupo nä sii* 'a fish net' (lit. a net of fish, i.e. a net for the purpose of catching fish), *nupo nä dekumwange* 'mosquito net' (lit. a net of mosquito, i.e. a net for the purpose of keeping mosquitoes away), *meva nä singeda* 'a woman's babies' (lit. babies of woman, i.e. babies in whose production a woman plays a particular role), *nwosi nä nwoli* 'a kind of knife' (i.e. a category assigned to the concept of 'knife'), etc.

3.3.2.4. Derivation or Result Construct Possessive Noun Class

The marker of this construct possessive noun class is *lä*. In a construction containing *lä*, the item referred to by the first noun constitutes something derived from, or resulting from, the item indicated by the second noun. Example: *nwoi lä nyenaa* 'tree sap' (lit. water of the tree), *nwoi lä sapolo* 'pawpaw juice' (lit. water of pawpaw).

It seems likely that additional construct possessive noun classes exist in Äiwo, but the evidence for them is as yet inconclusive.

3.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Though the complex possessive class systems in Äiwo, and what has been discussed here of the person marking system in it, mostly reflect Austronesian principles, their very complexity is atypical of most of the Austronesian languages of Melanesia. Some of the features, e.g. those connected with the indication of personal possession with type C nouns (see 3.2.3.), are not typically Austronesian. The un-Austronesian and in some instances, typically East Papuan Phylum (see 1.), characteristics of Äiwo are much more strongly in evidence in its complex noun class system which has been discussed elsewhere (Wurm 1981b) in some detail, in its verb structure, and in its semantic features.

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