THE GRAMMAR OF POSSESSION IN ENGLISH

by

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I take full responsibility for the inadequacies, misrepresentations and faults herein.

ABSTRACT

Possessive/genitive morphemes in a number of languages, in addition to indicating that a unique relationship obtains between two nouns, also have the property of dividing nouns into classes--one class modified by proverbal possessives and the other by adnominal possessives. Proverbal possessives modify non-relational nouns (e.g. car, pencil, etc.) and adnominal possessives modify relational nouns (e.g. kinship terms--father/son; 'picture nouns'--photograph, book; associational nouns--employer/employee; etc.) and body-part nouns (e.g. head, hair, personality, etc.). In some languages only a twofold distinction is overtly reflexed in the possessive forms, in which case linguists have traditionally referred to the proverbally-modified non-relational class of nouns as 'alienable' and the adnominally-modified sub-divided classes of relational and body-part nouns as 'inalienable.' In other languages the sub-divided classes have distinct or separate possessive morpheme classifiers, thus a full threefold distinction in noun classes is reflexed. In still other languages, like English, possessive forms do not function as noun classifiers, consequently only one possessive form reflexes neutralizing noun classes in the surface structure. Proverbal possessive phrases (e.g. my car) are semantically equivalent to, and therefore paraphrasable by expanded clauses containing any one of the five 'verbs of possession', i.e. have,

own, possess, belong and be+possessive; adnominal possessive phrases (e.g. my face, my aunt) cannot be easily expanded into sentential structures.

These and other possessive relationships are formalized within the framework of the localist-case grammar established by John Anderson. The various possessive relationships reflex from underlying structures, which I hold are universal despite non-reflexion in some languages and fundamentally inter-related. However, from within this set of related underlying structures each reflex is found to be derived from a distinct structure, which generally admits only one of the three classes of nouns.

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CHAPTER I: THE PROBLEM AND ITS BACKGROUND

1.0 Introduction

The notion of 'possession' within the confines of present linguistic knowledge is a 'substantive universal.'[1] As such at the semantic level, the generalized term 'possession' essentially entails a relationship which binds two or more relata to each other. Of this relationship two remarks maybe made: (1) Three types of possessive relationships from the notional point of view are isolatable--(a) possession of non-relational nouns (e.g. car, book, etc.), which maybe a relationship of 'ownership' or 'availability'[2]; (b) relationship to relational nouns (kinship terms, societal associations, etc.) and (c) body-part nouns. (2) Each of these (possessive) relationships have related, but distinct underlying structures. The underlying structures of possessives of non-relational nouns are also related to the underlying structures of clauses containing the five 'verbs of possession'--have, own, possess, belong and be+possessive.

1.0.1 Purpose and scope. Modern linguistics, and in particular transformational case grammars, have the thrust of reductionism in two senses: (1) Reducing clauses within a language to a finite set of common underlying structures and (2) relating such common structures to superficial structures in a number of languages. In this thesis we shall be pendulating between both these poles.

Within English we shall try to prove a common underlying structure for the 'verbs of possession' and the

'proverbal' possessives, i.e. possessives modifying non-relational nouns which are characterized by a pronominal-verbal derivation. Then, using surface evidence from other languages, particularly from Melanesian and Amerindian languages (see below § 1.2), we shall independently motivate, in the primary instance, distinct underlying structures for possessives which modify relational nouns and body-part nouns. This category will be known as the 'adnominal' possessives for their derivations are related to no sentential structures, i.e., no verbs; but 'adnominal' possessives of relational nouns do have an internal structure which is both independently (by superficial structures in languages other than English) and internally (within English) motivated. Adnominal possessives of body parts in clauses containing an ergative verb[3] seem to be reflexed as a result of the operation of a set of highly complex rules peculiar to English.

Our investigation for the most part is restricted to the semantico-syntactic relationship of the possessive/noun collocation and will not include the possessive/participial noun relationship, per se.[4] In passing, I would say that the majority of these participial nouns fall into the category of relationals or body parts and attributes and many have corresponding nominalizations; e.g. speaking/speech, singing/song, writing/manuscript (?), composing/composition, etc., but not driving, swimming, etc. The scope of our work is further limited to human/human (e.g. his son)

and human/non-human (e.g. his car) possessive relationships. By the term human we include all personification. We will not discuss in any detail inanimate/inanimate (part-whole) relationships, e.g. the theatre's entrance, the door of the car. In other words, our discussion will concentrate on those possessives whose internal structure contain a personal pronoun, not including it. Non-pronominal possessive/genitive structures (e.g. John's) will not be considered overtly, but will be assumed to parallel the pronominal possessive derivations in that the proper noun merely substitutes for the pronoun (or vise-versa) when called for by the grammar.

1.0.2 Terminology. Traditionally, the category or class of possessives have been most commonly referred to as 'possessive pronouns' and 'possessive adjectives'[5], that is they are described by their formal or distributional attributes, respectively. Other categorial designations for possessives are the 'possessive case of personal pronouns' and the 'pronominal adjectives', the latter combining the formal/distributional characteristics. Although the following terms will be reintroduced in the appropriate places in Chapters 2 and 3, it is well to define them now.

Relational nouns entail a semantically inherent complementary relationship with other nouns (see below § 3.3); this category includes kinship terms, terms of societal associations, 'picture' nouns and patronymics (e.g. brother/sister; employer/employee; photograph; and

Guy de Maupassant). Body-part nouns include both non-detachable body parts (e.g. foot, head, face, etc.) and detachable body parts (e.g. hair, fingernails, etc.) as well as human attributes (e.g. memory, character, emotion, names, speech, etc.).[6] Non-relational nouns are the largest category in all languages by exclusion of all other nouns, just designated that is, nouns which maybe possessed but have no inherent associations with other nouns. As we have mentioned 'proverbal' possessives modify non-relational nouns and 'adnominal' possessives modify relational and body-part nouns.

The terms alienable and inalienable as used by most workers in the field are loosely analogous to non-relational and relational, respectively. The category of inalienable nouns usually includes both kinship terms and body parts, or any noun which is permanently associated with or part of the possessor. As we progress we shall amend the definitions of these two terms (see below §§3.0), but for the present, particularly when discussing the work of others, inalienabilia will be employed with the sense as just defined.

1.1 Description of the Framework in which the Arguments Are Set

We shall be describing derivations within the framework of the transformational-localist case grammar originated by John Anderson.[7] Anderson has briefly considered the verbs of possession (Anderson 1971: §§ 7.364-6) and more particularly the verb have (Anderson 1968:311; 1971: §§ 7.362 and 7.365; forthcoming a: § 5.3.2). He has also briefly dis-

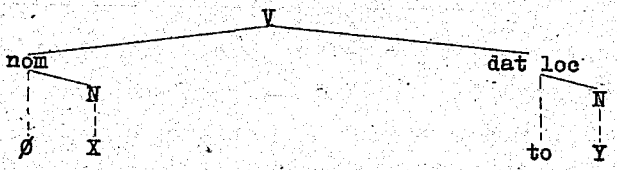
cussed the possessive forms (Anderson 1968: 310-15). Having provided the initial framework for a case grammar based on localist theory in Anderson (1971), he is now endeavoring to fill in the gaps and make some revisions in numerous subsequent papers.[8] These papers, particularly the two dealing with quantifiers, have dealt with the internal underlying structures of the phenomena discussed. He has argued for the reduction of quantifiers from underlying verb-governed structures. In my discussion of the possessive forms, I too, shall be isolating internal semantic elements, although in the discussion of the verbs of possession the aim will be to relate the clauses containing the verbs of this suppletive set to a common underlying structure, one relatable to the proverbal possessives. Hopefully this work is a significant addition to Anderson's own work in this direction and thus represents a further step towards the completion of a localist theory of grammar.

1.1.1 Brief sketch of the principles of localist grammar. Localist theory involves the hypothesis that all (functional) relations constitute a possibly abstract/extension of concrete localistically oriented case markings, which form a bundle of features attachable to verbs. Therefore, when these are derived by a series of dependency rules , they form a set of underlying case relations, that is a syntactico-semantic base structure known as a clause. The clause is transformationally reflexed into a phonologically completed surface structure or sentence.

1.1.2 Case grammar and possession. Two case markers are required as features in the underlying structures of

the verbs of possesseion and subsequently the 'reduced' (Anderson 1971: §§ 1.42) proverbal possessives derived therefrom. The case markers are nom and dat loc[9] as in (1:1):

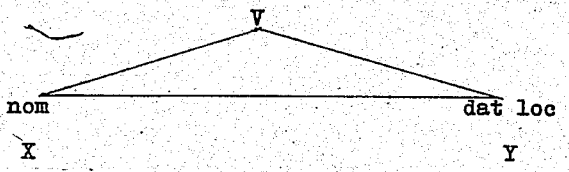
(1:1)



This structure will be known as the dative locative structure. The dative locative and the corresponding semantic marker to underlie only the five verbs of possession and the proverbal possessives which are semantically marked to indicate 'ownership'. A non-dative locative case marker usually accompanied with the semantic markers with or on underlies an 'availabilty' relationship of 'X' and 'Y'. Be is characterized by the two arguments, nom, representing the object 'possessed' ('X') and loc representing the 'possessor' ('Y'), or more concretely, the location of the possession. In other words, 'Y' is the location of 'X' and 'X' is in the state of ('Y's') possession.

The dative structure is assumed to be the base, i.e. the universal case relationship from which all ownership sub-type possessive structures are derived. An abstract representation of structure (1:1) is structure (1:2):

(1:2)



This underlying structure generates two surface structures in English--one in which the deep (dative) locative marker *to* is reflexed and the other in which the verb *be* is reflexed as in (1:3) and (1:4) respectively:

(1:3) X belongs *to* Y

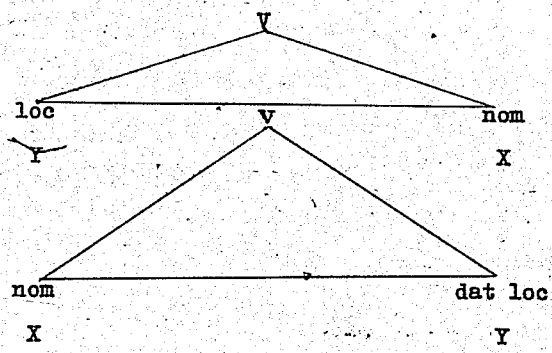
(1:4) X *is* Y's

Selection restrictions account for the choice of verb, which is determined by the noun features (see below §§ 2.3.1 and fn. 16, Ch. 2). In French both the copula and the dative locative marker of the dative structure are reflexed in one final derived surface structure as in (1:5):

(1:5) X est à Y

With respect to the three remaining verbs of possession, *have*, *own* and *possess*, there is a parallel surface construction of (1:1) similar to the relationship of *walk* and *travel on foot* (Anderson 1971: §§2.12, 2.121). In other words, the dative locative marker reflexed in (1:3) or the marker of possession in (1:4) is incorporated into the verb (as the locative phrase *on foot* becomes part of the meaning of *walk*) when the loc argument is subjectivized.[10] This surface structure is reflexed when a higher predication is dominating (1:2) as in (1:6):

(1:6)



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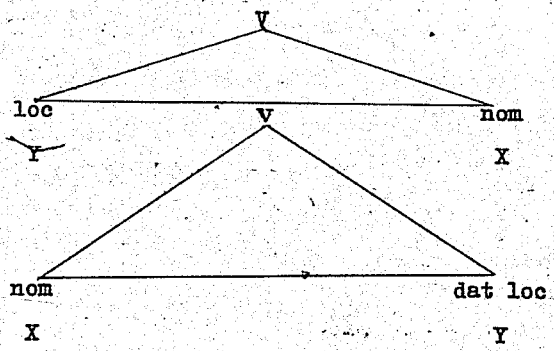
(1:6)



Thus we account for the surface structures in (1:7):

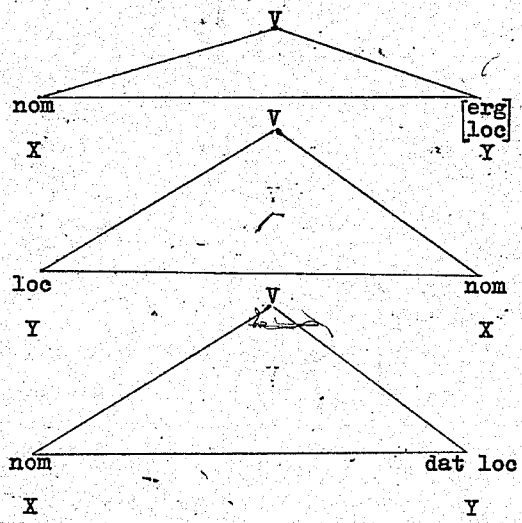
(1:7) a. Y has X

b. Y owns X

c. Y possesses X

Once again selection restrictions determine verb reflexes. A further super-ordinated structure produces (1:8):

(1:8)



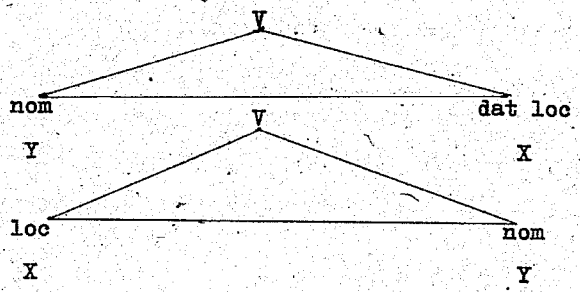
From this structure is derived the passivized form (i.e. erg subcategorized loc) of (1:7b) found in (1:9):

(1:9) X is owned by Y

Although the uppermost V has the same structural ordering as the lowermost V (cf. (1:2)), and thus (1:9), (1:3) and (1:4) necessarily follow in superficial similarity, to say that (1:9) should reflex from the same structure as (1:3) and (1:4) would be misleading. Anderson (in conference)

has argued that the to/by in a clause like 'Some of the truth is known to/by the people.' is indeciferable with respect to a semantic difference. However, with the verb know, the to/by forms are both marked. They are both reflexed when the unmarked base structure (i.e. 'The people know some of the truth.') is super-ordinated by a dative locative structure as in (1:10):

(1:10)



Thus, the lower (non-superordinated) V underlies (1:11a) while the complete structure (1:10) underlies (1:11b):

(1:11) a. X knows Y

b. Y is known to/by X

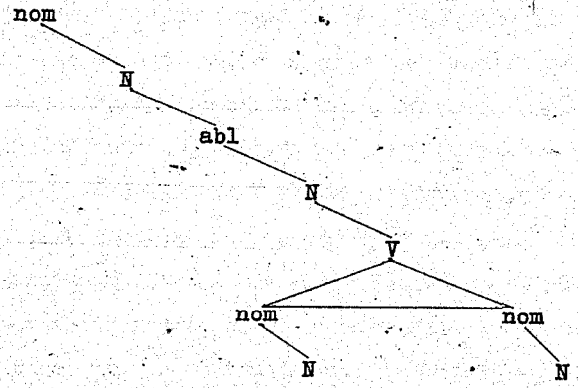
In the case of the verbs of possession, (1:3) and (1:4) are unmarked and seem the more basic because of the actual surface reflexions of the to and be, whereas (1:9) is marked like (1:11b), therefore it is ~~not intuitive~~, ~~nor~~ natural that it should reflex from the same underlying structures. Rather (1:9) is reflexed from an underlying structure which shows it to incorporate (1:2) as in the structure like that underlying (1:6). (1:9) is reflexed from a structure containing the same semantic

relationship found in (1:3) and (1:4).

In structures (1:6), (1:8) and (1:10) a rule formulated by Anderson (1972a: § 1) known as the 'X-principle' operates to produce these derivations. We shall discuss this rule as well as these derivations in detail in Chapter 2. Our discussion here is merely intended to be an informal introduction.

Up to this point we have only discussed case grammar and verb related possessive derivations. However, adnominal possessives of relational and body-part nouns also have a syntactico-semantic structure, which is describle in the framework of a case grammar. Such a structure is schematically represented as (1:12) for relational nouns:

(1:12)



This structure represents an NP whose constituents are the two relata of the (complementary) relational noun and one personal pronoun which is placed in the equative V structure. The personal pronoun and the relatum of the V structure conflate to ultimately form the adnominal possessive

modifier of the reflexed relatum dominated by the upper nom.

Finally, the adnominal possessives modifying body-part nouns in English, particularly in ergative clauses, as well as clauses with a copula, have a highly complex nom/loc underlying structure. In some languages, though by no means all,[11] which make the nominal distinction of alienable and inalienable, body parts are included with the kinship terms in one category modified by one possessive morpheme in the surface structure. This fact in English is disconcerting in that it would be most satisfying from the point of view of cost, to have one set of rules which adequately describes the internal structure and relationship of adnominal possessives to all inalienabilia. No one formal structure, however, that naturally ~~and intuitively~~ describes possessives of relational nouns and body-part nouns presents itself. Rather the adnominal possessive of body parts are associated with a closed set of verbs (e.g. scratch, cut, bow, etc.), whose features in English optionally admit in most environments the occurrence of an adnominal possessive or the definite article before the body part. Such features have been found to be extremely complex and thus difficult to formalize (cf. § 3.4).

1.1.3 Motivation and global linguistic theory. Theoretical linguistics is a search for a set of rules which will ultimately form a 'global linguistic theory.' Such a theory envisions a finite set of underlying

structures, which are cast in a predetermined theoretical framework (here a localist-oriented case grammar), and which are transformationally derived to produce infinite cross- and intra-linguistic surface structures. Such structures in the transformational process (or prior or subsequent to the transformational process) are altered to their infinite, but analogous, final forms by the process of elective lexical insertion and stylistic lexical ordering. The underlying structures, if truly universal, will be greater in number than the underlying structures needed to represent surface strutures in any one language. In other words not all of the underlying syntactico-semantic structures will be overtly 'utilized' in the surface structure of each language (Anderson 1971: § 2.11). There may be no provisions in language X for a syntactic reflex, but lexically (phrasally) such underlying structures may be made manifest. The corollary is is that all underlying structures have a syntactic reflex in some language, and a syntactic or lexical equivalent in all languages.

It is possible to work in two directions. We may hypothesize about certain neutralized surface structures in our own language, for example the genitive or other case markings like subject and object[12] and then investigate other languages for occurrences of superficial reflexions of these surface neutralizations; or we may first investigate other (exotic) languages for occurrences of superficial syntactico-semantic distinctions

and then compare these to our own language (in this case, English). If we do not find such distinctions, we assume that they have been neutralized. I have chosen to work primarily in the first direction, thus using superficial evidence from other languages to confirm my hypothesis.

I have been begging one question and that is: At its most abstract semantic level are the underlying structures the same for all languages, with differences being produced by the syntactic and morpho-phonological components, the lexicon and certain of the transformational rules? If so, are the base rules the same for all languages allowing that their form is somewhat governed by the syntactic structure of each language despite superficial neutralizations? On the evidence uncovered by our investigation into the grammar of possession in English and other languages, the answer to these questions is in the affirmative. Independent and internal evidence require that no grammar of English is complete, nor truly reflects the semantic structure of the language unless it includes distinct underlying structures for the derivations of proverbal and adnominal possessives, though they are morpho-phonologically neutralized in the surface structure of the language.

1.2 Survey of Other Languages in Which Two or More Sets of Possessives Are Present in the Surface Structure

The most fruitful evidence in support of my proposals is to be found in the superficial structure of two

language groups in particular--the Melanesian and Amerindian. Within the Indo-European languages nominal classes, with respect to alienable/inalienable or non-relational/relational, are also overtly distinguished usually by the presence or absence of the possessive form or by the restricted use of the definite article (to inalienables) and the possessive form (to alienables). French,[13] German,[14] Swedish,[15] Russian,[16] Hindi,[17] and English[18] are those that I know of which have some means available to signify distinctions in noun classes. Also in Chinese[19] (not Indo-European, of course) there is a morphological form, the presence or absence of which classes the noun modified as alienable or inalienable.

1.2.1 The Melanesian Group. Of the languages of this group, though we shall mention others in passing, Maori provides some very positive evidence and will be the focus of our discussion. Initially, in Maori we find two particles which signify the two different modes of possession, or in other words modify the two formally sub-divided classes of nouns. A possessions are those to which the possessor is dominant, and O possessions are those to which the possessor is subordinate (i.e. the possessions dominate the possessor). A possessions are portable and atemporal; O possessions are non-portable (the one major exception is clothes) and also atemporal (i.e. generic; see below § 4.1). Roughly, then, the class of dominant nouns is constituted by words denoting inalienable, organic and intregral parts of higher wholes, feelings, virtues, subjective

processes and actions and objects that are not possessed either by an individual or a community; the class of subordinate nouns includes movable property, weapons, tools, slaves, children, spouses, (i.e. dependent persons), and various kinds of nominalized actions (verbs), i.e. objects which could change hands (cf. Krupa 1968:73-4). Thus, in the Maori sub-division of possessivized nouns one set of relational nouns--child, son, daughter, husband, wife--is placed in the subordinate category or class, while the words for parents, brother, sister, friend, and enemy are dominant nouns. 'Several nouns are qualified both as subordinate and dominant, e.g., taana makapuna and toona makapuna 'his grandchild.' Also, the members of these same categories fluctuate among the different Melanesian languages as in Tongan the words motu'a, 'parent', tamai, 'father', and fa'é, 'mother' are considered subordinate nouns (Krupa 1968:74) (see below §§ 1.2.3 and fn. 25, Ch. 1).

In the Maori system of subordination and dominance, ambiguities do not exist with respect to a class of nouns known as 'picture nouns,' (see below §§§ 3.2.3 and 3.3.3) as they do in English.[21] Without going into detail at this point, for example in English, one cannot distinguish, given the surface structure 'the Book of Ruth', whether it is 'a book written by Ruth' (e.g. the Book of Joshua, the same construction, but attributed to the hand of Joshua) or 'a book about Ruth' written by another, which in fact it is. Thus, in Maori 'Te waiata

a te tangata ra, 'that man's song' denotes the song which he sang or composed, whereas Te waiata o te tangata ra, 'that man's song' is a song about the man.

Where Maori has but two subclasses of nouns distinguished by the possessive particles other languages of the Melanesian group have more, sometimes highly specified as for example in Mota of the Bank's Islands there are four distinctions: nak, 'a thing belonging to me generally' (remote); gak, 'a belonging more closely to me;' mak, 'a thing for my drinking'; and mok, 'a thing for my doing.' The -k morpheme is the first person pronoun suffix and the no- of nok is formally a noun glossed as '(a) belonging' thus nok siopa is glossed 'a garment, I (my) belonging.' Inalienabilia are designated by the suffixal juxtaposition of the personal pronoun as in gatuk (i.e. gatu+k), 'my head' (cf. Codrington 1885: 128-9).

Also in Maori the definite article is a superficial constituent of the possessive construction which is tāa/too, composed of the morphological forms te, the singular definite article+a/o, the particles of dominant and subordinate possession, respectively. Thus, too te wahine whakaaro is a transform of te whakaaro o te wahine glossed respectively as 'the-of-the woman thought' and 'the thought of the woman', i.e. 'the woman's thought.' The same phenomena (also possible with an indefinite article) is found in Florida (cf. Codrington 1885:130) and in Tongan of which Churchward (1953: § 20.1) reports,

'Each possessive pronoun is made up of three elements—an article, a possessive preposition, and a cardinal pronoun. In some of them these three elements are still in tact. E.g., ha'aku = ha 'a ku 'an of me'. [Notice the morpheme a, also found in Maori, translated as of.] In others a change has taken place in one of the vowels. E.g., he 'a ku, 'the of me' has become he'eku. In others, again, the original structure of the word has been obscured by contraction. E.g., he 'o ku, 'the of me' has become haku, losing both the e and the glottal stop.'

There is also in Maori a possessive particle which neutralizes the contrast of dominant and subordinate; it freely replaces a and o.

An even more interesting fact is that in Maori a distinction is overtly made with regard to 'realized' and 'unrealized' possession. Na and no have the 'special implication that the possession is already an accomplished fact,' and ma and mo have the gloss of 'possession not yet realized.'[22] The latter is usually translated by for as in Ma Peta teenei pukapuka 'This book is for Peter' or more literally glossed, 'for (dominant)-Peter, this (near-speaker)-book.' The dominant/subordinate distinction is upheld. This implies that the possessor need not be definite or specified or in possession, but that the possessive is a non-specified or generalized relationship or association of two nouns. In our terms a dative locative underlies na and no (i.e. ownership) and a non-dative locative underlies ma and mo

(i.e. availability). Na and no are always translated by own, belong, and be+possessive (obligatorily dative locative), whichever is the most appropriate in a less literal translation; literally na is glossed as 'of, by' (dominant) and no, 'of' (subordinate). Thus we have (1:13):

(1:13) a. Na Pita teenei pukapuka.
'of, by'-Peter, this-book
This book is (written by, a product of) Peter('s).

b. No Pita teenei pukapuka.
'of'-Peter, this-book
This book is (belongs to) Peter('s), or
Peter owns this book.

As with all a and o forms, na and no and ma and mo combine with the personal pronouns to form 'possessive pronouns' (Biggs 1969: § 18.4).

In a grammar of Maori, all nouns and nominalizations would have to be provided with a feature ±A (±dominant). Unlike English, in which the nouns may be marked with the feature ±R (±relational), this feature in Maori has a corresponding surface reflex in a and o. In the case of 'picture' nouns in both languages, the context determines the appropriate feature attachment. This type of feature is reflexed only in the possessive forms and not reflexed in all languages. Whether the possessive forms reflect a semantic property of certain classes of nouns, or whether they class nouns according to their semantic properties (without such classification these properties

may go unrecognized) is an unanswerable and perhaps irrelavent question.

1.2.2 The Amerindian Group. Within this group I have found that the Menomini language of North America as described by Bloomfield (1962) overtly reflexes a number of underlying structures which are comperable with my derivational analysis of adnominal possessive modifiers of relational and body-part nouns in English. Such phenomena are current in other Amerindian languages and references will be made at the appropriate points in the discussion, though Menomini is the focus of the investigation.

According to Bloomfield most nouns in Menomini occur in possessed and unpossessed forms, though some one hundred or so obligatorily appear in possessed form only (§2.50). These, Bloomfield has termed dependent nouns, a term which seems to engender more or less the same notion as our term relational noun, with the exception that Menomini's dependent nouns are semantically and formally distinguishable from non-dependent nouns, whereas the term 'relational' as applied to nouns in English stresses the semantic associations.[23] The structure of dependent nouns is a composition of prefixal, suffixal, and stem particles morphologically analyzable as personal pronouns (§ 3.14) and -e·t-, a morpheme meaning 'accompany' (§§ 3.36-8).

Dependent nouns in Menomini are divided into two sub-classifications--those of intimate possession,

including parts of the body and a few other personal possessions, and those of relationship, i.e. kinship terms. In Huichol, a Mexican Indian language, the formally distinguished class of dependent nouns, as opposed to non-dependent nouns, includes both sub-classes (Grimes 1964:19). That is, in Menomini two classes of nouns are distinguished and one class is sub-divided, thus there are three different possessive particles; in Huichol there are two classes of nouns and two different possessive particles. Included in the sub-class of dependent nouns of intimate possession in Menomini in addition to body parts and body (human) attributes are such nouns as ne·p, 'my arrow' and ne·k, 'my dwelling'. Most dependent nouns of this sub-class have a form with the prefix me-, which denotes an indefinite personal possessor such as me·p, 'someone's arrow, an arrow.' Similarly, in Huichol the morpheme ra- denotes possession, but it is indefinite as to the identity of the possessor, thus ráa?ʌʌ+rʌʌ, 'somebody's arrow' (Grimes 1964:29). This construction also occurs in Wiyot, another North American Indian language, in the form of 'a prefix marking the ABSOLUTE form, which denies specific possession,' usually translated as 'somebody's X' or 'an X' (Teeter 1964: § 3.58). Returning to Menomini, we also find a prefixal morpheme o- denoting a non-human possessor of a dependent noun, as ose·t, 'his foot,' 'a foot' as of a slaughtered animal. Dependent nouns of intimate possession marked with o- can be again possessed as non-depen-

dent nouns (i.e. property) as neose·nem, 'his (animal) foot,' e.g., an article of food.

Bloomfield (§ 2.50) states that nouns of relationship never admit an inflexional form of indefinite possessor. Significantly included in this group is the Menomini equivalent for the English word 'possession,' thus obligatorily it is rendered neti·n, 'my possession, my thing.' In other words, all possessions must not only have a possessor, but a definite or specifically named possessor (see below § 3.3.4). This finding is independent motivation for our analysis of the adnominal possessives of (all) relational nouns in which is proposed a specific possessor, though in English it is conflated (i.e. not overtly reflexed) with the non-reflexed relational complement. Instead /of an indefinite possessor inflexional form/, one uses a derived term, as oki·qsemaw, 'a son, the son /of/' or the participle of a derived verb, wɛ·kiqset, 'one who has a son, the parent of a son.' The phrase, then, (wɛ·kiqset) is an overtly completed complementary (relational) possessive phrase.

Finally, in Menomini there are two other classes of nouns--pseudo-dependent nouns and a very few nouns which never reflex in a possessed form.. Pseudo-dependent nouns are semantically like dependent nouns, i.e. they denote some body parts, relatives and other types of human associations, but are formally capable of occurring unpossessed. Their meanings make it rare, if ever, that they do. Non-possessable nouns are replaced by a different

form when possessed: onɛ·m 'dog', neti·hsɛh 'my dog, my familiar animal;' we·kewam 'wigwam, house', ne·k 'my dwelling' (§§ 2.51). In English there are also a few nouns whose meaning makes it impossible that they collocate with a possessive form: my friend, but not *my stranger (Anderson 1971: §§ 2.12 discussing a suggestion by A. McIntosh); *my traveler, etc. These nouns do not have corresponding possessed forms. Such nouns in both languages would have to be so distinguised (no class feature?) in a grammar.

A number of highly specific 'verbs of possession' in Menomini are formed directly from dependent and non-dependent possessed nouns as in (1:14):

(1:14) a. neske·hsek 'my eye/face': oske·hsekow 'he has an eye/face; he wears glasses'

b. nesu·niyanɛm 'my money': osu·niyanɛmew 'he has money'

c. we·wan 'his wife': we·wew 'he is married'

1.2.3 Remarks on possessive classificatory systems. The intention of the discussion in §§ 1.2 up to this point was not to formalize the structures of these languages and perhaps compare these underlying structures with English, but rather to justify on universalist grounds the underlying structures we shall be proposing for the possessive forms in English in Chapters 2 and 3. I certainly would not pretend to be so presumptuous as to attempt to formalize structures of languages of which I only have second-hand knowledge. The alternative, then, is a very notional discussion, which despite that limitation has

its merits for our purposes.

Perhaps one of the most salient points to come out of looking at these non-Indo-European languages is the recognition of the need for an underlying distinction of possessive relationships and even types of possessors (cf. the Menomini distinction of human and non-human possessors). Actual classificatory systems, with respect to possession, vary greatly: dominant/subordinate (Maori, Tongan); alienble/inalienable (Chinese, Hindi and Wiyot); remote/close (Mota)[24]; and dependent/non-dependent (Menomini, Huichal); and within dependent or inalienable class is sometimes a further sub-classification of relation (kinship terms)/ body parts (Menomini). Of course, the terminology is superimposed on these languages by observers, and because linguistic phenomena overlap so do the various descriptive terms to some extent. In all cases, however, these noun classes are based on semantic, not formal or syntactic criteria; the semantic classes, however, have a correlation with the formal (possessive) markers. Generally, the converse is also true, that is, possessed nouns marked by one or the other possessive form, are sematically uniform, though exceptions are common: 'Clothes' are in the subordinate (non-portable) class in Maori; 'arrow' and 'house' are placed in the class of dependent nouns of intimate possession, i.e. body parts in Menomini;'wood' and 'enemy' are found in the inalienable class of nouns of Wiyot which also has a sub-class of kinship terms (called KIN NOUNS) and includes the word for 'nose.'[25]

What we have then is some superficial and notionally correlatable cross-linguistic evidence for a number of different classificatory systems and a few inexplicable exceptions within those systems. If these reflexed phenomena are indicative of underlying structural differences, and these different structures are based on universal semantic criteria, such structures should be detectable even in languages which do not have a correlatable formal distinction in the surface structure. Furthermore, either a two-fold (e.g. alienable/inalienable) or three-fold (e.g. non-dependent/dependent--relationship/dependent--intimate possession) classificatory system is indeed justified. In English I have found it necessary to propose a three-fold distinction, because non-relational, relational and body-part nouns each have different semantic properties and each behaves differently in possessive environments. In English none of these semantic distinctions, with respect to possession, have <u>obligatory</u> formal (morpho-syntactic) markers (however, see below § 3.2.1). However, there are paraphrases which correspond with proverbal and adnominal possessives, and these paraphrases are not usually inter-changeable as in (1:15) and (1:16), respectively:[26]

(1:15) a. my car

b. the car which I have/which is mine/etc.

c. *the car of me

d. *the car of John

(1:16) a. my mother/arm

b.*the mother/arm which I have/which is mine/etc.

c.*the mother/arm of me

d. the mother of John

e.*the arm of John

Thus, if English is to be fully and accurately described, we must represent underlying structures for non-reflexed underlying semantic distinctions.

1.3 Survey of Previous Treatments of the Subject

A number of grammarians and linguists in the past have recognized the same problem with which we have concerned ourselves. In the words of Sweet (1903: § 2107): 'Although the possessive pronouns no more necessarily imply possession than the genitive case does, yet it is one of their most important functions to do so. If the idea of possession is excluded by the context--so that there is no possible ambiguity--they are freely used to express a variety of relations, as in his fear of his master, where the relation is implied by both possessives that is the exact opposite of that of subjective possession.'

1.3.1 Non-generative grammarians. Sweet, to express it in the terminology of modern linguistics, suggests that all possessives are derived from a common underlying structure, and are disambiguated by the semantic interpretation rules of the superficial context. I propose just the opposite: Each possessive relationship, dependent on the noun modified, has a distinct underlying structure,

and the ambiguity is only in the identical surface reflexes of the possessive forms in some languages.

Elmquist (1940:95, fn. 3) remarks, 'The words 'possession, possessor and possess' are used in the broad sense not limited to ownership. Indeed, it is often a question of mere connection or association.' (We, too, have been and will be using 'possession' in a sense more akin to relationship quite apart from 'ownership,' that is, 'ownership' is just one of the many 'possessive relationships.') Others[27] have made similar observations, but the formal machinery necessary to fully describe this linguistic phenomena was not yet in existence.

1.3.2 The generative grammarians. In 1968 two significant papers, both cast in the generative-case framework (non-localist), were published on the structural relationship between the possessive form and the class of noun it modified. Here, it is not my intent to describe these papers in full, but rather to describe their influences on and their differences to the present work.

Langacker (1968:51-75) in a very compact, but insightful paper, first poses the problem with the examples in (1:17) and (1:18) /my numbering/:

(1:17) a. ma maison 'my house'

b. la maison que j'ai 'the house which I have'

c. la maison qui est à moi 'the house which is mine'

(1:18) a. ma promenade 'my walk'

b. *la promenade que j'ai 'the walk which I have'

c. *la promenade qui est à moi 'the walk which is mine'

His proposal is that the proverbal possessive ma is derived from a reduced relative clause, that is, ma maison is a syntactic reflex of an underlying structure something like la maison qui est à moi. Langacker cast his proposal in a Fillmorian (1966) case framework. Essentially, his underlying structure differs little from ours, with the exception of the case markings. Therefore, if we are deriving the clause Le livre est à moi in Fillmore's terms the V, être, indirectly dominates an Objective NP, livre, and a Dative NP, moi; in a localist based case grammar the V dominates a nom node, ∅ livre, and a dative loc node, à moi (see above (1:1) and (1:2)).[28]

Langacker maintains that this underlying structure adequately describes all possessive be and have clauses including those which contain body-part nouns (e.g. Elle a les yeux bleus.) and also inanimate part/whole relationships (e.g. la porte de la cathédrale). Needless to say, I find a single underlying structure wholely inadequate and a very misleading analysis.

Langacker also neglects to derive the other verbs of possession, namely own, possess and belong from the underlying structure for possessive have and be+possessive. And though he derives the proverbal possessives, as I have mentioned above, from a relative dative structure, he does not do it in the case grammar framework, but in a Chomskian transformational grammar. He fails to utilize the full productive power of his underlying dative structure.

Langacker also proposes that the clauses of (1:19)

and (1:20) are derived from a dative underlying structure:

(1:19) a. J'ai le livre. 'I have the book.'

b. Elle a les yeux bleus. 'She has blue eyes.'

c. La cathédrale a une porte. 'The cathedral has a door.'

(1:20) a. mon livre 'my book'

b. ses yeux bleus 'her blue eyes'

c. la porte de la cathédrale 'the door of the cathedral/the cathedral's door'

At one stage in the derivation of (1:20) from a structure containing (1:19) the relative clause is generated as in (1:21):

(1:21) a. le livre que j'ai 'the book which I have'

b. *les yeux bleus qu'elle a 'the blue eyes which she has'

c. *la porte qui (est à/de) la cathédrale à 'the door which (is) the cathedral('s) has'

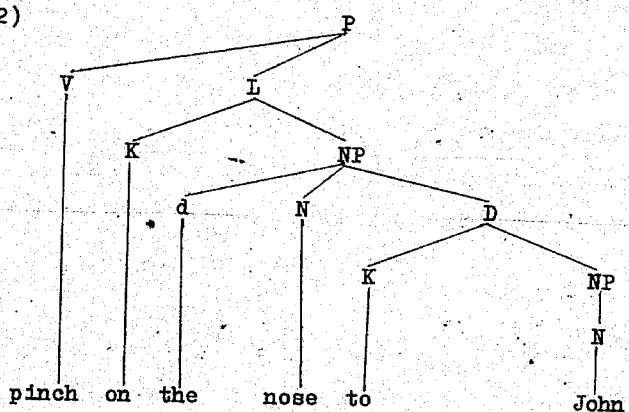
A constraint, according to Langacker, prevents the reflex of (1:21b-c). Langacker rightly accounts for the ungrammaticality of (1:21b-c) by suggesting that they include inalienables. However, this fact does not seem to suggest to him that such clauses may have a different, though related underlying structure. Certainly, as we have seen, cross-linguistic evidence (i.e. independent motivation), which Langacker completely fails to consider, points to distinct underlying structures for possessive forms of different noun classes. Langacker has unnaturally forced the the identical surface structures in (1:19) and (1:20) into identical underlying structures.

Now let us turn to the work of Fillmore (1968: § 5) himself. Where Langacker proposed one underlying structure for the possessive forms, Fillmore proposes two. 'A distinct method is required for introducing the possessive element in the case of inalienable possession, a method which reflects the fact that the relationship between the two nouns in 'inalienable possession' is not (pace Frei) a sentential relationship' (§ 5.1.4). One structure is of D(ative) origin initially embedded in a L(ocative) NP to account for the adnominal possessives of body parts; and the other is of S(entential) origin to account for the possessives of all other nouns, i.e. proverbal possessives modifying non-relational nouns. This, he says, is necessary 'to provide the deep structure difference in the form of the possessive modifiers in those languages in which the distinction is made overt in that way' (§ 5.2). On the contrary, I hold that even when such distinctions are not made overt or perhaps reflexed only in subtle forms (see below § 3.2.1), underlying structural distinctions are necessary, because some native speakers recognize a tension between the semantics of a number of 'possessive' relationships and the syntactic reflex of a single possessive form in a language like English.

Although Fillmore's proposals for a grammar of possession are more than valid, his proposals are highly restricted. He gives no concrete proposals for the sentential derivation of the proverbal possessives and announces that his 'discussion will concentrate on body parts,' thus

he ignores adnominal possessives of relational nouns. Where Langacker proposes a dative underlying structure for the possessives of body-part and non-body-part nouns (i.e. non-relational nouns), Fillmore proposes a dative origin for adnominal possessives of body-part nouns only. What Fillmore is referring to is the Dativus Sympatheticus, variously known in traditional parlance as the dative of benefit, the dative of interest, etc. He has, however, chosen the prepositional case marker to, thus not distinguishing this dative form from the sentential dative locative (e.g. I gave the book to him.), essential to the underlying structure of proverbal possessives (cf. fn. 28, Ch. 1).[29] Moreover, we see from a fragment of Fillmore's underlying structure in (1:22) /his 156/[30]

(1:22)



that for all underlying structures the D node is initially dominated by the L, which seems intuitively wrong, in fact, opposite of what is found in most languages which exhibit a dative structure for such clauses as 'Mary pinched John

on the nose' and its various surface reflexes. Such languages topicalize the whole, the body in the D node, and then mention the specific body part, i.e. the L as in (1:23):

(1:23) a. Ich wasche mir die Hände.

b. Je me suis cassé la jambe.

Also consider (1:24):

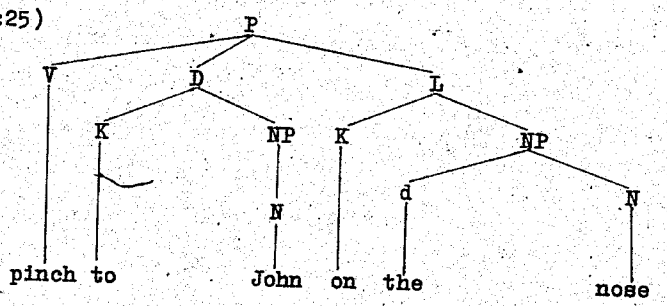
(1:24) a. Mary pinched John.

b. *Mary pinched on the nose.

As would be expected, mention of the whole without the part or local specification is grammatical (1:24a), whereas the opposite is not true (1:24b). The locative only specifies a location with respect to the dative, so notionally, it seems that the locative (L) should be subordinated to the dative (D) as any other locative phrase is subordinate (e.g. the key on the ring; the water in the pool; etc.).

This would seem fairly strong evidence for Fillmore to reverse his analysis and place the locative under the dominant dative node. In most Indo-European languages other than English, the D node is obligatorily moved out and placed under the P node as in (1:25):

(1:25)



Also, the D cannot be generated unless the L is in Fillmore's analysis, which would mean the L is deleted in clauses like (1:24a). Only in modern English where the genitive/possessive is employed regularly as a varient construction does the L rightly dominate the D as in (1:26):

(1:26) a. I wash my hands.
b. I broke my leg.
c. Mary pinched John's nose.

For most Indo-European languages, under Fillmore's analysis (i.e. (1:22)), a number of extra rules are necessary, and only in English are the rules fewer in most cases, except when the dative is reflexed.

Although there are indications that he has considered the problem elsewhere (cf. Langendoen 1970:207-8), Fillmore neglected to account for the source of the pronominal element in the possessive form in clause like 'Mary pinched his nose.' That is, is it a copy of a masculine personal noun from an extra-sentential source, or is the personal pronoun introduced under the dative node directly without cataphoric reference in the underlying structure? This is a more difficult problem than the origin of the possessive in 'Mary pinched her (own) nose' which is more easily called a copy of the personal noun, Mary, present in the underlying structure.

Fillmore seems to have proposed construction (1:22) in an effort to force it into conformity with an underlying structure for clauses like (1:27):

(1:27) a. The girl's eyes are beautiful.

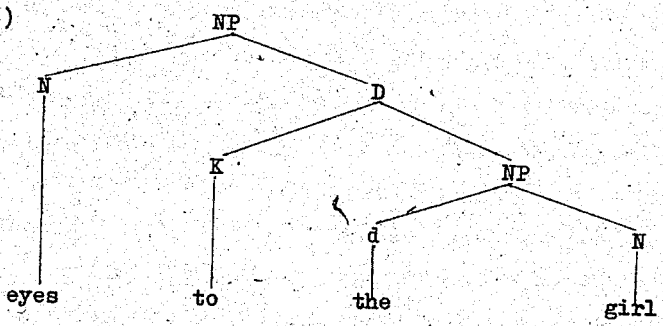
b. The girl has beautiful eyes.

c. La femme est jolie des yeux.

d. Puellae oculi belli sunt.

A structural fragment of such a construction is represented in (1:28) /Fillmore's 1697:

(1:28)



In this analysis, which is the predicate of the verb (be) beautiful, I agree with Fillmore, since it is the beauty of the eyes, incidental to a particular person, that forms clause (1:29):

(1:29) The eyes are beautiful.

and not (1:30):

(1:30) The girl is beautiful.

Notice the verb agreement with eyes and not girl, i.e. the plural and not the singular. Even (1:27c), which appears to be (1:30) plus an oblique body part constituent, could have the elements of this constituent stylistically transformed with slight phonological change to form an alternative ~~a more acceptable~~ clause as in (1:31):

(1:31) Les yeux de la femme sont jolies.[31]

In a localist theory of case grammar, although the identifying constituent, the body (person) or whole, may be subordinate to the node containing the body part,[32] the subordinate node is marked loc rather than by the grammatical marker Dative. Although the identifying constituent may be reflexed in some languages (e.g. (1:27d)) in a dative construction, in others it is appositional (e.g. (1:31)) or oblique (e.g. (1:27c)). The marker dative is not sufficiently abstract, particularly when it is represented by the prepositional marker to, to account for all reflexes. As a result I will be proposing an underlying dative locative construction, marked by to, for proverbal possessives with the semantic content of 'ownership' and also for the verbs of possession. A purely (i.e. non-dative) locative marker is thus reserved as a designation in an underlying structure for proverbal possessives whose semantic content is 'availability' and for clauses with body-part nouns in them.

Our present discussion has not been to answer questions but to raise them, and not to discuss solutions but problems. Finally, there are some aspects of possessive forms which we are unable to touch upon. Other generative accounts of possessives, notably Jackendoff (1968 and 1969) and Postal (1971), deal with non-derivational aspects of possessives, and thus are not of immediate interest to our work.[33]

1.4 Summary and Conclusions

To briefly recapitulate, our purpose in this chapter

has been to establish the linguistic motivation to uphold a proposal for distinct underlying structures of possessives. Our modus operandi is the reverse of most found in the discipline of linguistics. Rather than attempting to describe the relationship between underlying structures, primarily semantically based, and a number of syntactically related surface structures in one familiar language, and then extending the underlying structures into a global linguistic theory, we are beginning with a premise of an underlying structure necessitated by superficial evidence in a number of exotic languages, and claiming this structure is a part of the grammar of a language, English, which now manifests itself in most subtle forms.

Our primary aim in the next two chapters is not proving conclusively that every detail of the proposals which we shall put forth is linguistically motivated, but something far less demanding--merely, that there is a linguistic motivation for the proposals. A grammar of English is inadequate unless such proposals are made; how they are made will no doubt remain debatable. If linguists stopped at just justifying underlying structures, rather than proposing them, linguistic studies would be a closed book by now. To be sure it is not as trivial as that; justifying distinct underlying structures, and proposals for such structures are complementary. We cannot justify any structures unless we are able to make concrete proposals for distinct structures, and even alternatives for the underlying structural distinctions we have identified.

CHAPTER II: AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE PROVERBAL POSSESSIVE TO NON-RELATIONAL NOUNS

2.0 Introduction

As we have seen in the previous chapter, a number of languages (see above §§ 1.2) exhibit distinct morphological reflexes in the possessives modifying alienable and inalienable nouns.[1] In this chapter the possessive/alienable noun (later to be termed non-relational noun) relationship will be explored in English, a language in which 'genitive constructions represent a superficial neutralization of a large range (in some cases quite complex) of underlying relations....' (Anderson 1971: §§7.363).

2.1 Definitions of Alienable and Inalienable Nouns

Before proceeding we must define what is meant by 'alienability' in nouns. Grammatically, according to Fillmore (1968: §§ 5.2) inalienable nouns take a feature +[_D] for the dative case, whereas alienable nouns and their possessives are characterized by the feature +[_S] representing a sentential origin. Fillmore suggests that the underlying semantic source of possessive modifiers of alienable nouns is the verb *have* in 'part.'[2] Fillmore's analysis will be shown to be inadequate, and in fact misleading on two counts: (1) The verb *have* will be shown not to be a deep structure verb[3] in the sentential underlying structure of possessives of alienables, but rather (2) *have* will be derived from a sentential dative construction which

only underlies the possessives of alienable nouns, and not inalienable nouns. Have will be found to be a rather ambivalent verb in terms of 'ownership' and 'availability,' (cf. Lyons 1968: §§ 8.4.5; Anderson 1971: §§ 7.362 and 7.365) and so too, are the possessives of alienable nouns, i.e. proverbal possessives.

A notional definition of an alienable noun, then, is a noun which does not possess inherent characteristics of a relationship to any other noun. Alienable nouns have no necessary associations specific to them.[4] Counter to what we have just said above, let us assume for the moment that possessives are derived from have. These possessives, then, relate alienables to persons in the same way that inalienables are related, but have remains recoverable in the surface structure.[5] The reason for this is quite clear. Alienable possessive relationships involve the concepts of either 'ownership' or 'availability,' the former being inalienable by definition.[6] Note the parallelism with other inalienable nouns in (2:1):

(2:1) a. He has an arrow in his arm.

b. *He has an arrow in an/the arm.

c. He has a car in his ownership.

d. *He has a car in an/the ownership.

The only fallacy in this argument is that have is in no way part of the underlying structure of adnominal possessives (i.e. possessives of inalienable nouns), and when alienable nouns are possessivized, they become possessions, i.e. inalienable (see below § 3.0).

2.2 The Verbal and Nominal Possessive Paradigm

The verbal and nominal forms of the possessives form a complex paradigm of complementary inter-relationships. Three of the verbs of possession, have, own and possess, are locative subjectivizing and two, belong and be+possessive, are nominative subjectivizing (see above § 1.1.3). In other words, we are postulating a subcategorization feature [±subj] which can subjectivize the locative argument, i.e. $\begin{bmatrix} loc \\ subj \end{bmatrix}$ or the nominative argument, i.e. $\begin{bmatrix} nom \\ subj \end{bmatrix}$. The subcategorized [subj] feature is necessitated because there is no correlation between the established subcategorization feature [erg] attached to [loc] and subjectivization of the locative. Have and possess, both verbs which subjectivize the locative argument, do not admit the locative argument to be subcategorized as [erg], unlike own, which also subjectivizes the locative, but allows the locative to be subcategorized as [erg], thus accounting for its passivizability (see above § 1.1.2).

2.2.1 Notional discussion of the semantic complexities of the verbal paradigm. Of the five verbs of possession have appears to have nearly unlimited distribution, that is, it collocates with all the N's which enter into the nominative case with the exception of some body parts (cf. fn. 11, Ch. 3). Have admits N's designating objects of relatively high and low value, and attributes of persons or body parts, whether concrete or abstract. Possess is limited to admitting N's of higher relative value and non-concrete attributes of persons. Own only admits N's

of higher relative value. Belong and be+possessive exclude attributes of persons and body parts and admit objects of any value. These last four do not admit body parts, kinship terms and social relations. See Diagram I.

Finally, have clauses which are negated and contain body-part nouns or kinship relations are acceptable[7] as in (2:2):

(2:2) a. ?He has a father.

b. He has no father.

c. He does not have a father.

d. ?He has an arm.

e. He has no arm.

f. He does not have an arm.

2.2.2 Notional discussion of the semantic complexities of the nominal paradigm. In the following examples (2:3)-(2:5) the differences in semantic content of the nominalizations are brought to light:

(2:3) a. *John has a book in his belonging.

b. *John has a book in his belongings.

c. John has a book among his belongings.

(2:4) a. John has a book in his possession.

b. John has a book in his possessions.

c. John has a book among his possessions.

(2:5) a. John has a book in his ownership.

b. *John has a book in his ownerships.

c. *John has a book among his ownerships.

NOUN CLASSES	BODY PARTS e.g. LEG	LOW VALUE e.g. PENCIL	HIGH VALUE e.g. CAR	ABST./CONC. ATTRIBUTES OF PERSONS & BODY PARTS e.g. TALENT	COLD	SPRAIN	KINSHIP RELATIONS e.g. FATHER	SOCIETAL RELATIONS e.g. LAWYER
HAVE	(a)(adj)A	A	A	A	(a)A	(a)A	(a)(adj) A	(a)(adj)A
POSSESS	U	U	A	A	U	U	U	U
OWN	U	U	A	U	U	U	U	U
BE/BELONG	U	A	A	U	U	U	U	U

TEST SENTENCES: I have/own/possess (a/the)(adj)_____.
The_____is mine/belongs to me.

NOTE: U = Unacceptable) cf. fn. 7, Chapter 2
A = Acceptable)

DIAGRAM I

The nominalization belongings is the most concrete and also a count noun which can only appear in the presence of among. Ownership, at the other end of the continuum, is the most abstract nominalization, never a count noun and ungrammatical in the presence of among. Unmarked possession(s) lies midway between belongings and ownership, being both abstract and concrete and grammatical in the presence of among and in.

A further clue into the nature of abstractness and concreteness with respect to these nominalized forms may be found in their correspondence with in and among. Possession and ownership are abstract bounded forms and therefore analogous to, though further abstracted from, all temporal (i.e. periods of time or time spans) and spatial phenomena which something can be placed 'into' and once placed being contained 'in.' Possessions and belongings are a concrete group or collection of single entities, having the possibility of things being added to their numbers, once added thereby being 'among.' Possessions and belongings enter into a state of possession or ownership. Possession, ownership, possessions and belongings are all inherently relational requiring the presence of an adnominal possessive (see above §§ 1/2.2 in which it was noted that these are dependent nouns in Menomini which obligatorily reflex with specified 'possessors'; see also above §§ 2.1 and fn. 6, Ch. 2 and again below §§ 3.3.4). Finally, be+possessive and have have no corresponding non-participial nominalizations. Diagram II illustrates the complete verbal/nominal correspondences.

	VERB	NOMINALIZATION
{own / ownership}	[loc/subj]	ABSTRACT —
have	[loc/subj]	— —
{possess / possession(s)}	[loc/subj]	ABSTRACT CONCRETE
be+possessive	[nom/subj]	— —
{belong / belongings}	[nom/subj]	— CONCRETE

DIAGRAM II

2.3 Derivation of the Verbs of Possession

In this section we shall propose an underlying structure, known as the dative locative structure, from which all the verbs of possession are derived. The dative locative structure is intended to relate the members of this partially suppletive set (partially suppletive because of the semantic differences in the verbs illustrated in Diagrams I and II) to one another by their common derivation from this structure.

2.3.1 The dative locative and possessive be and have. Langacker (1968: § 3.1 and fn. 13, p. 66) holds that avoir and être à are in some way semantically equivalent in 'deep structure.' Lyons' (1968: § 8.4.5) research leads him to make the following statement: 'The syntax of these sentences /possessive sentences/ is very complex, from a transformational point of view; but it seems quite clear that have is not a deep structure verb any more than be is.' The problem here lies in the confusion of be+possessive and the be in the dative locative structure, referred to as dative-be. Have and be+possessive are in fact derived forms; dative-be is an underlying form. Langacker compares possessive have with dative-be (i.e. être à, not être à+possessive) and claims structural equivalence. We shall propose here a derivation in which dative-be underlies possessive have and be+possessive as well as the other verbs of possession and ultimately the proverbal possessives.

When the copula of the dative locative structure is

superficially reflexed as be+possessive in English, the semantic context is one of 'ownership' only (never 'availability'). Examples (2:6) follow Anderson (1971: § 7.365: lxi,b):

(2:6) a. *The compass is mine, and I own it.

b. *The compass is mine, but I don't own it.

If the first independent clause containing the copula did not have the semantic content of 'ownership', (2:6a) containing the conjoined clauses would not be tautological, and (2:6b) would not be contradictory.

Anderson (1971: §§ 7.362 and 7.365) advanced two proposals for have: (1) The locative interpretation in which an overt locative phrase (e.g. I have a pen with/on me. I have a pen in my possession.) distinguishes the have of 'availability' from the have of 'ownership;' and (2) the dative derivation underlying the indefinite have of 'ownership.' In the first proposal deletions of the locatives result in ambiguity, and in the second the presence or absence of the dative in the underlying structure define the character of have. In our terms, Anderson distinguishes between a non-dative have of 'availablity' (i.e. proposal (1)) and a dative locative have of 'possession' (i.e. proposal (2)).[8] He does not formalize these proposals.

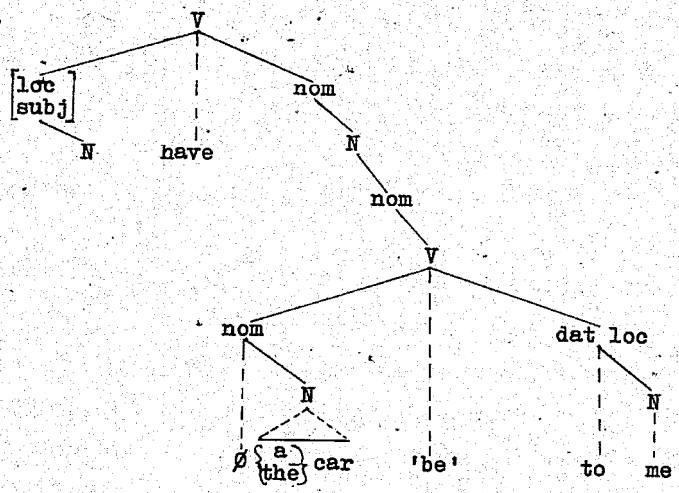
I hold that in the underlying structure of all five verbs of possession the dative locative is the case marker which accounts for the ownership relationship between the nom and the loc.[9] Other identical structures with non-

dative locative markers (e.g. with/on...) underlie semantically different possessive relationships, all of which are non-ownership, between the nom and loc.

The configuration of the underlying structure of each of the verbs of possession will determine the ordering of the arguments. More specifically, the presence of an upper predication over the dative locative structure produces a subjectivized locative; the absence of an upper predication reflexes an unmarked subjectivized nominative.[10] (see Diagram II). Finally, when the case nodes are properly ordered, certain constraints[11] will operate to determine distinctions in the semantic content of the lexical items which are inserted into the case nodes of each of the five verbs of this (partially) suppletive set (see Diagram I). Exactly how these constraints are to be formulated is somewhat beyond the scope of this present work.

2.3.2 Derivations of the possessive have, own and possess. Following Anderson (forthcoming a: § 5.3.2) I shall derive possessive have (i.e. have of 'ownership') from an underlying structure similar to the non-dative locative have of 'My soup has a fly in it' or 'The table has a book on it.' Thus, (2:7), the derivation for 'I have a/the car':

(2:7) a.


V
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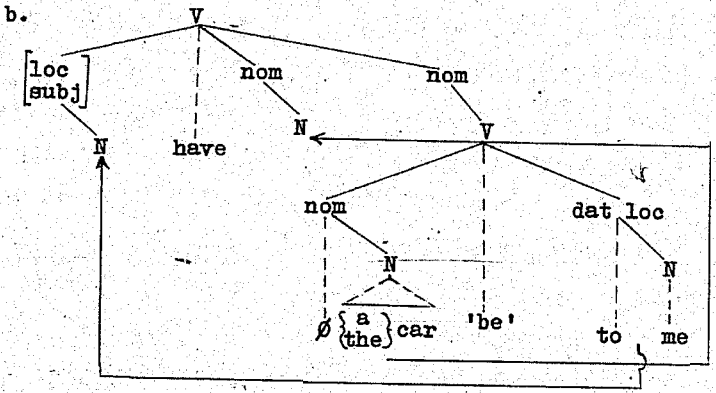
b.


V
loc
subj
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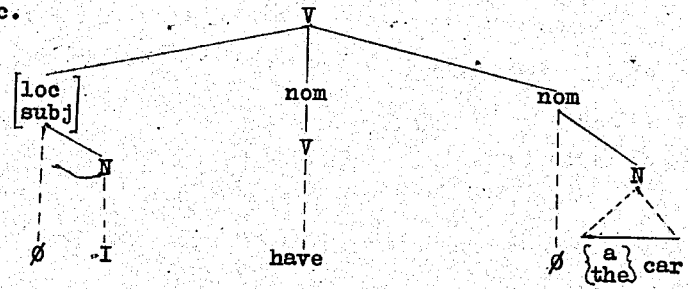
c.


V
loc
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I
have
Ø
a
the
car

From this derivation we are able to see how *have* is derived from a dative construction. *Have* is semantically unspecified in terms of its arguments (see Diagram I), ambiguous in surface structure (cf. fn. 9, Ch.2), subjectivizes the locative argument, and conforms to the three properties of *have* (Anderson forthcoming a: § 5.3.2): (1) Two semantically empty N's are found in the upper predication, which (2) set off the operation of the 'X-principle' (cf. Anderson 1972a: § 1 for the motivations of this rule), and (3) lower (dative) *be* absorption. The underlying structure of the clause is in (2:7a), and the rules that operate on it are illustrated in (2:7b-c). By the 'X-principle' (Anderson 1972: § 1, again) the lower locative N is raised to the empty upper locative and subjectivized altering its phonological shape; the dative locative case marker *to*, I presume, is absorbed into the subjectivized locative N.[12] This differs from the locative *have* which fills the lower loc with a locativized pronominal phrase such as 'in it' or 'on it.' Overt locatives (e.g. 'with me' or 'in my possession') used with the possessive (dative locative) *have* are placed in an upper predication (see below (2:13a)). Such locative phrases are not normally a part of the underlying structures of *possess* and *own*, the other two locative subjectivizing verbs, nor with *be*+possessive or *belong*. The lower nom N is also raised to the corresponding upper nom. And finally the verb of the lower predication, the dative-*be* in inverted commas, is absorbed by *have* as in (2:7c). The V-dominated nom and V

in (2:7c) are removed by tree pruning (cf. Anderson 1972b: §§ 2 and 3). The representations of the underlying structures of own and possess do not differ from that of have; either may replace have in the upper V. In the case of own the loc is futher subcategorized as erg to indicate that own admits passivization (e.g. The car is owned by John A.). In structural terms a third and higher predication is added when the passive clause reflexes (see above § 1.1.3 and (1:8)-(1:9)). Although the three locative subjectivizing verbs are virtually all derived from a common underlying structure, for each verb these structures are distinguished by minor differences: Possess is unmarked being neither [erg] [13] nor easily admitting locative phrases; have is not subcategorized as [erg], but does admit locative phrases very easily; and own is subcategorized as $\begin{bmatrix} \text{loc} \\ \text{erg} \end{bmatrix}$, and like possess does not easily admit locative phrases. Compare the paradigms (2:8) and (2:9) for the behavior of have and possess/own in the environment of locative phrases:

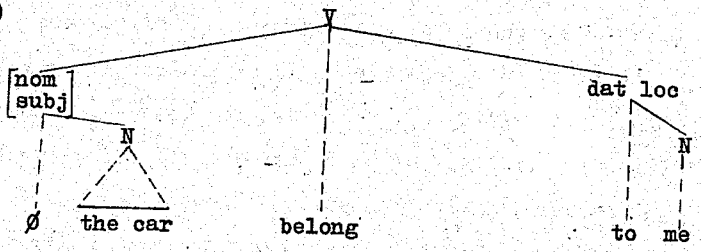
(2:8) a. I have a car with me.
b. I have the car with me.
c. I have a car in my possession.
d. I have the car in my possession.

(2:9) a. *I possess/own a car with me.
b. I possess/own the car with me.
c. *I possess/own a car in my possession.
d. *I possess/own the car in my possession.

Clause (2:9b) is only acceptable if the phrase 'with me' is a reduced relative, i.e. not a locative phrase equivalent to the others. We shall return to discuss the locative with in another proposal in § 2.3.3.

2.3.3 Derivations of belong and be+possessive. The derivations of the locativized nominative verbs of possession, belong and be+possessive, is like that of have verbs, but without the upper predication as in (2:10):

(2:10)



Notice first that when the nom is subjectivized it is also definitized obligatorily, and secondly with the verb belong the dative locative marker to is reflexed without morphophonemic change. The insertion of be into this structure triggers off a morphophonemic change in the dative locative marker from to me to mine, which distinguishes the dative-be from the be+possessive.

Throughout our discussion of the derivation of the verbs of possession we have been begging one question, 'Why are mine and I derived from the dative locative and no other?' Perhaps we can begin our argument by demonstrating the distinction between the dative locative (e.g. to me) which underlies all and only possessive clauses of

'ownership' and a non-dative locative like 'with me.' Compare (2:11a,b and c):

(2:11) a. { The car is with me.
?The car belongs with me.

b. { The car with me is mine.
The car with me belongs to me (him).

c. { The car is mine.
The car belongs to me.

(2:11a) is derived from a structure like that of (2:10), however the loc node is non-dative. As a result the clauses (2:11a) are not possessive clauses. In fact, the clause with belong is of questionable acceptability; non-possessive (i.e. non-dative) belong is usually found in a context like 'The record belongs with the/its jacket' or 'I belong to Glasgow' (my thanks to John Anderson for this example) in which the semantic content is 'close association' of loc and nom, but not a possessive relationship. (2:11b) are clauses containing two locatives--one is dative and one, non-dative. The non-dative is simply locative, whereas the dative locative is possesive as is evident in a comparison of the non-equivalent (2:11a and c). The non-dative locative reflexes unaltered in (2:11a) (i.e. overtly), and both clauses have similar (semantic) interpretations; the clauses of (2:11b and c) also have similar interpretations (different from (2:11a)) so it appears linguistically sound to conclude that mine is a morphophonemically changed dative locative reflex.

The problem is somewhat more complex in have clauses such as (2:8a-b), because the dative locative has been

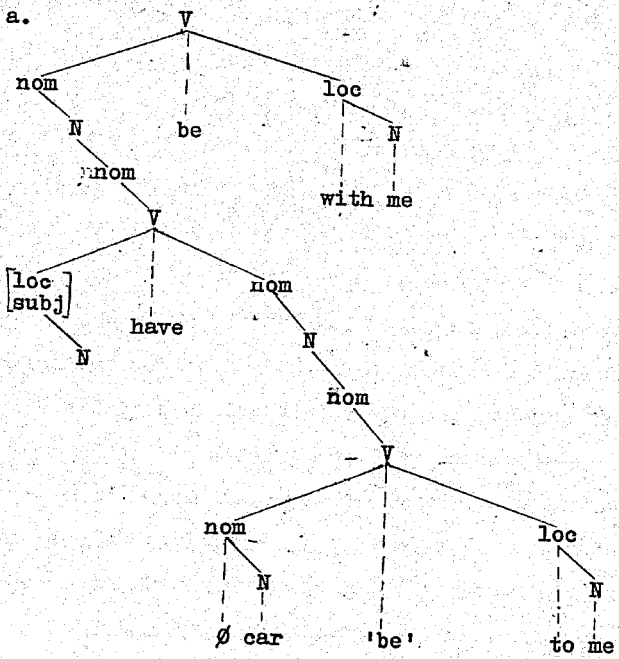
moved out into subject position in the higher predication. Although I implied in § 2.3.2 that overt locative phrases (those other than dative locative) in these clauses are always found in the higher predication, this is somewhat of an over-simplification, though not untrue. (2:8a-b) have two interpretations, thus concentrating on the definite clause (2:8b) we have (2:12):

(2:12) a. I have the car with me.

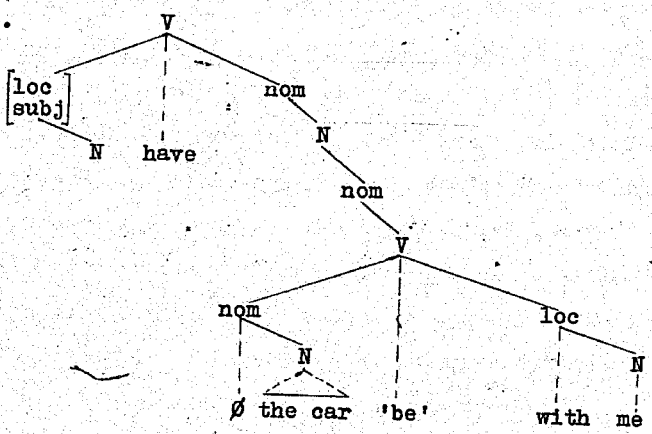
b. I have the car with me.

Clause (2:12a) with stress on the have is semantically equivalent with (2:9b), and (2:12b) with stress on the locative phrase is equivalent to (2:11a). Clause (2:12a) is a combined dative locative and non-dative locative clause like (2:9b) or the overtly reflexed type (2:11b); (2:12b) is merely a locative have of 'availability' similar in underlying structure to that of 'The table has a book on it.' Notice that clause (2:9b) is only equivalent to (2:11b), and could never be equivalent to (2:11a). The way I propose that this semantic distinction be made in the underlying structure is in (2:13a-b) below, corresponding to (2:12a-b), respectively:

(2:13) a.



b.



Structure (2:13a) represents the dative <u>have</u> of possession (i.e. 'ownership'as opposed to 'availability')

embedded in higher locative predication. An alternative proposal for the underlying structure of (2:12a) and (2:9b) is that the locative phrase with me is a relative reduced from 'I have/possss the car that is with me.'

Structure (2:13b) is exactly the same as that of Anderson (forthcoming a:(75)), the structure for 'My soup has a fly in it.' Whereas he moves the N out of the lower loc, '(in) my soup', to the subject position under nominativized locative in the higher predication and directly adjoins the empty lower loc to the upper V copying the subject into it as the pronoun it, I raise the lower loc N me to the subjectivized locative position ([loc/subj] for human (subject) locative have as opposed to [loc/nom] for non-human (subject) locative have) in the upper predication as I (having undergone morphophonemic change) and copy it back into the raised, empty loc as me. Unlike the non-dative locative have in clauses with non-human subjects, the locative phrase in clauses with human subjects is optionally deletable. Thus, '*My soup has a fly' is ungrammatical, but 'I have a car' is not. It is this deletability of the locative phrase which causes confusion between the dative/possessive have, in which the dative locative phrase never reflexes and the locative have of 'availability', in which the locative phrase optionally reflexes. Thus, at the second and third stages, the underlying structures (2:13a-b) derive clauses identical to the surface reflexes (2:12a-b). The representations of the derivations are both exactly like (2:7b-c) with the

addition of the locative.

In our underlying structural distinction between dative/possessive <u>have</u> and non-dative/non-possessive <u>have</u>, as with other derivations of the complete set of the verbs of possession, we have created no new rules. The rules for the introduction of the dative locative underlying structure for the verbs of possession and the proverbal possessives are formulated as follows in (2:14):

(2:14) II. i. 1. V⟶ ±dative locative

2. a. +dative locative⟶ ±subject

b. -dative locative⟶ +locative

. . .

ii. 1. a. +subj⟶ dat loc//__V

b. -subj⟶ dat loc//V__

2. +nom⟶ {nom//dat loc V__ / nom//__V dat loc}

3. +case⟶ N//case__

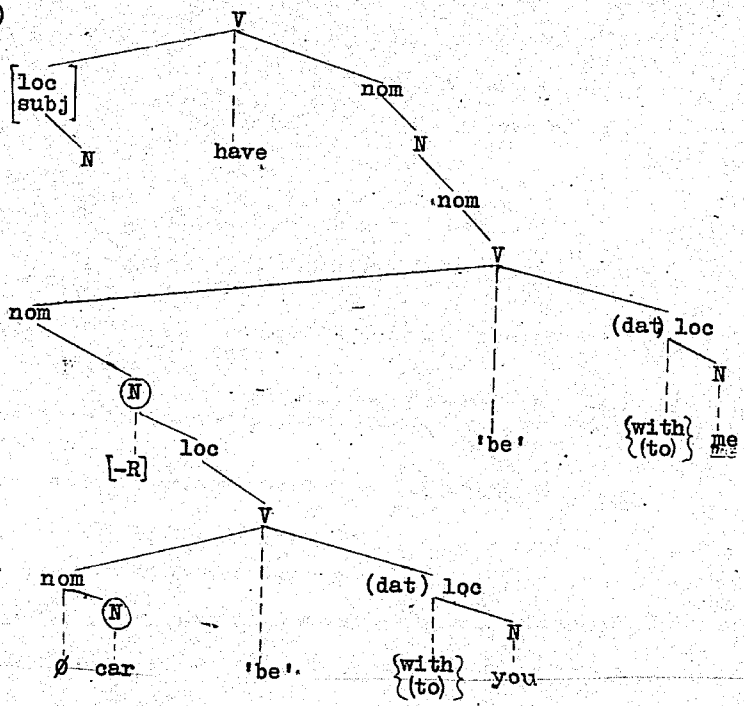
These are dependency rules of set II, which order the clause structure (cf. Anderson 1971: § 2.4). The rules of i provide the governing verb with its case features, and the rules of ii place the cases in their proper relation to the verb (Anderson 1971: § 2.6). I presume that the +nom of ii. 2 is obligatorily introduced in the presence of any dative or non-dative locative verb. These rules are not final, and these or similar rules are intended to be integrated into the established case grammar framework.

2.4 Derivation of the Proverbal Possessives

In our derivation of the proverbal possessives we are initially operating on the motivation of a semantic connection between the proverbal possessives and the verbs of possession, that is, any one or all of those verbs derived from the dative locative structure, but not any one in particular, like Fillmore's have (cf. fn. 5, Ch. 2). Up to this point we have been discussing the expansion of the dative locative structure into its five clause (eventually sentence) structures, each of which having different semantic features; now we shall investigate its properties of conflation. Any N in the lexicon marked with the feature [-R] (non-relational), by which is meant without specific, inherent relational properties, as opposed to [+R] (relational) N's like kinship terms, may enter into an unspecified possessive relationship. In formal terms the dative locative structure can be embedded into any clause with an N marked with the feature [-R]. Notionally, it appears most natural to place the dative possessive construction under a loc marker, because possessives contain a pronominal element which has deictic features. Possessives are thus characterizable as 'associators,' 'identifiers' or 'relators' of the possessively modified N to the personal or pronominal N. By a process of 'relativization' or 'relative formation' and then 'relative reduction' the possessive structure is embedded into higher predications (cf. Langacker 1968).

In an example, a dative possessive (proverbal) construction to structure (2:7a), which now becomes the underlying structure for 'I have your car' in (2:15):

(2:15)



The circled N's in (2:15) (and all other structures below) indicate identity, i.e. points of relative embedding. The brackets around dat and the double brackets around with/to indicate a constraint peculiar to possessive clauses with subjectivized locatives. The constraint is that one predicate, either the lower or upper is dative/possessive the other is obligatorily non-dative locative. Thus, we are pro-

posing that proverbal possessives can, like the two haves, have underlying non-dative locative case markers, i.e. proverbal possessives are not always marked by 'ownership', but are sometimes a morphophonemically identical proverbal locative. For illustration's sake allow a semantically equivalent paraphrase, a relative construction, to be substituted for the proverbal possessive/locative as in (2:16):

(2:16) a. * I own the car, which you own.

b. I own the car, which you have (with you/available to you).

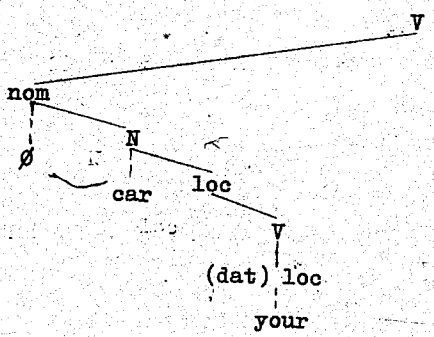
c. I have the car (with me/available to me), which you own.

d. * I have the car (with me/available to me), which you have (with you/available to you).

The case is even stronger when I is substituted for you in the relative construction.

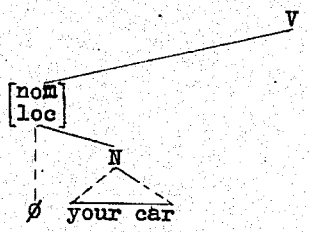
Now let us continue our description of the derivation of (2:15). After nom N raising and V conflation structure (2:15) becomes (2:17) (the two upper predications are not shown):

(2:17)



Finally, the V is pruned, the N and the V are permuted, and the structure is reduced to (2:18):

(2:18)

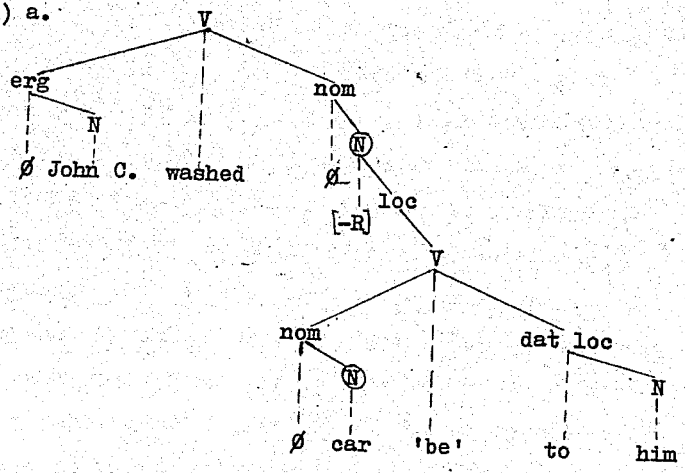


Now the structure (2:18) is permitted to undergo 'X-principle' raising. That is, the embedded proverbal possessive is raised together with the noun it modifies. Structures (2:15) (the embedded lowermost predication), (2:17) and (2:18) bear many structural similarities with our proposed structures and derivations for relational nouns (see below § 3.3.4). The rules we have mentioned here are not idiosyncratic to the formation of proverbal possessives, and will be discussed in more detail in our analysis of adnominal possessives of relational nouns in Chapter 3. It is this pattern of reduced relative predication raising which seems also operable in the case of attributive adjective formation. I presume the adjective would enter into the lower predication as a non-dative locative something like 'nom N 'be' in class of green things' or better 'in the state of greeness' (cf. Anderson 1971: § 11.62 and Anderson fothcoming a: § 4.2). This, of course, is highly speculative (notice that 'green things' is in itself attributive, thus this argument is

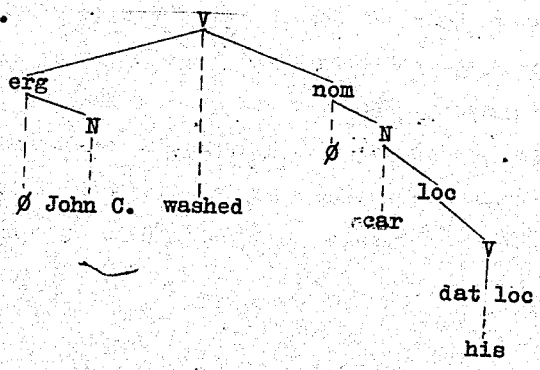
somewhat circuitous) and needs more investigation, but this is another topic.

Finally, it may be of interest to compare structures (2:15), (2:17) and (2:18) to (2:19), the underlying structure for 'John C. washed his car' (tense will not enter into our structure here):

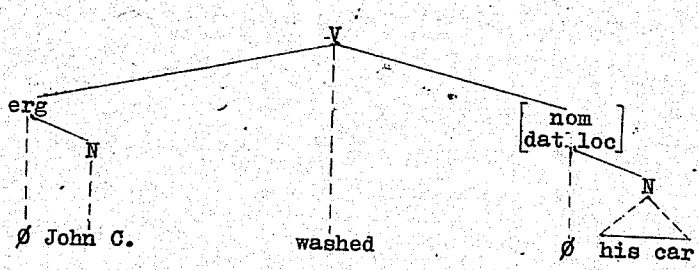
(2:19) a.



b.



c.



Structure (2:19) illustrates the problem of co-referentiality between the subject erg N and the N in the dative locative node. (2:19) is, in fact, non-co-referential; if it were, we would have indicated it with a broken line connecting the erg and dat loc N's in (2:19) identified as 'co-referential.' In English for the co-referential third person, and for the first and second persons, a copying rule is obligatory. In (2:15) the copying rule, if the proverbal possessive and the sentential dative locative were co-referential (e.g. 'I have my car'), operates prior to subject formation (i.e. 'X-principle' operation and dative locative raising), because the dative locative does not always become the subject as in 'My car belongs to me.' The constraint, then, is when a dative locative appears in the underlying structure, it is copied into the proverbal possessive construction, otherwise the subject is copied. We shall discuss the copying rule again in connexion with adnominal possessives of body-part nouns in § 3.3.2.

2.5 Further Arguments for a Dative Locative Underlying Structure

In § 2.3.3 we have argued for a distinction between dative and non-dative locatives (e.g. 'with...') and that the dative-locative only underlies possessive clauses and proverbal possessives of 'ownership' (as opposed to proverbals of 'availability'). Here we shall further argue for the syntactic, semantic and historical connexion between possession and dativity.

2.5.1 Brief historical account of the dative. Historically, in English the dative and the accusative personal pronouns merged into one form derived from the dative (cf. Ahlgren 1946: §§ 18 and 131). Hofmann (1968: 50-1) has noted that the possessives have close morphological ties with these objective forms ('my and her are more similar to the objective me and her than the nominative I and she, respectively') thus, moreover, to the dative forms.

In non-possessive clauses the dative forms express the direction of the accusative (i.e. direct object, or in localist terms the nominative). In English the direction (dative) locative marker to (opposed to the direction ablative marker from) is sometimes reflexed and sometimes not as seen in (2:20):

(2:20) a. I gave the book to him.

b. I gave him the book.

This, then, is the origin of the dative (directional) element which is retained in the proverbal possessives and

which is sometimes reflexed (e.g. 'The book belongs to me.') and sometimes not (e.g. 'I have the book.').

2.5.2 Double-dative argument. Another similarity between dative constructions and the datively derived proverbal possessives is that no verb in English (and most likely universally[14]) admits a double-dative construction such as (2:21):

(2:21) *I gave to the book to him.

Likewise, because proverbal possessives contain a dative locative element in there underlying structures they are not admitted easily into possessive (i.e. dative locative) clauses such as (2:22) and (2:23):

(2:22) *My car is mine.

[+dat loc, +person, +verb] [+verb] [+dat loc, +person]

(2:23) ?My car belongs to me.

[+dat loc, +person, +verb] [+verb] [+dat loc] [+person]

Together the three features of (2:22) and (2:23) and the sentential nominative car complete the possessive relationship. However, notice that the derivation (2:15) was not blocked. This is accounted for by the fact that in the have clause, either the verb or the proverbal possessive is a non-dative locative. Either can be non-dative locative or dative locative, but both cannot have the same underlying structures. In possess and own clauses

the proverbal possessive is obligatorily non-dative locative (i.e. 'availability') as in (2:24):

(2:24)

I	have / own / possess	my	car.
[+(dat) loc, +person]	[+verb]	[+(dat) loc, +person, +verb]	

2.5.3 The connexion between possessive and non-possessive datives through the relational factor. As we mentioned in § 2.5.2 above, possessive verbs and pronominal possessives require a nominative to complete a possessive relationship. Similarly, verbs which admit dative locatives require a nominative (that is, a nom) as evidenced in (2:25):

(2:25) a. ?I gave to him

b. *I have/possess/own

c. belong to me

d. *is mine

(2:25a) is acceptable when the hearer supplies a nom, for that which has been deleted, probably for stylistic reasons.

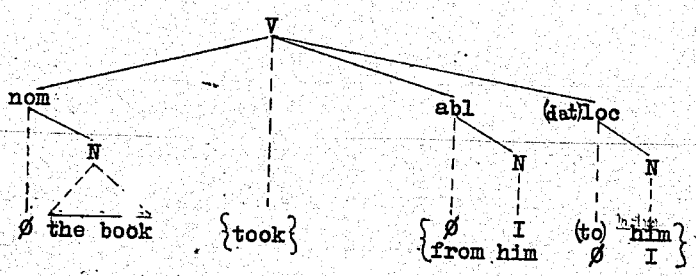
2.5.4 The connexion between possessive and non-possessive datives through the resultative factor. We have been claiming that the possessive verbs require two arguments, a nominative and a locative, and that the locative is a dative locative. Now we wish to elaborate on

the obvious relationship between the possessive bi-argumental construction and tri-argumental constructions like (2:26):

(2:26) a. I gave the book to him.
b. I took the book to him.
c. I brought the book to/for him.[15]
d. I took the book from him.
e. I received the book from him.
f. I got/obtained the book from him.

In clauses (2:26) the N in the loc case can be said to 'acquire' the N in the nom case from the N in the abl case.[16] The above examples all have a common underlying structure (cf. Anderson 1971: §§ 9.22)[17] and we shall use for illustration the lexically identical take of (2:26b and d) in (2:27):[18]

(2:27)



Two assumptions about the verbs in (2:26) and (2:27) have first to be stated: (1) They are resultative verbs[19] in which (2) the transitive action is completed, i.e. actual nominative N movement has taken place. Notice these verbs are most commonly found in the past tense. Notionally,

then, result should not be characterized as a process of 'receiving' or 'acquisition', i.e. of 'coming into possession' (Allen 1964:342), but rather as a 'transfer of possession' or a 'change of the possessor'. In the terms of a localist grammar, tri-argumental, non-stative verbs relocate the nom N from the abl to the loc. The resulting state is marked by a stative bi-argumental verb of possession (frequently occurring in the present tense) or proverbal possessive in which the ablative is deleted and/the nominative N is (re)locat(iviz)ed (i.e. a 'new' possessor). The semantic origin of the dative construction in conflated (i.e. proverbal possessives) and possessive clauses is the dative locative in tri-argumental constructions, and depending on the bi-argumental verb of the resulting clause, the dative marker to may or may not be reflexed (see above § 2.5.2).

2.6 Summary

In this chapter we have surveyed and attempted to indicate the complexity of the verbal/nominal paradigm of possession both semantically and syntactically. We have also proposed a common underlying structure for the verbs of possession and the proverbal possessives, the latter being a conflation of this structure. We have also tried to motivate a distinction between dative/possessive and non-dative locative have (and perhaps belong (cf. (2:11a)) and possess (fn. 13, Ch. 2)) and the proverbal possessives and proverbal locatives. The conflated

dative constructions, the proverbal possessives, have free distribution in any clause, anywhere in the clause where a non-relational noun occurs marked for an identifying, i.e. possessive or locative relationship. Finally, the underlying structure we have proposed is the copula and the dative locative (not <u>have</u>) for 'ownership' relationships only; other possessive relationships, i.e. 'availability' are non-dative locative with different semantic markers in their underlying structures.

CHAPTER III: AN ANALYSIS OF THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVES TO RELATIONAL AND BODY-PART NOUNS

3.0 Definitions of Relational and Body-Part Nouns

Inalienabilia have sometimes notionally been defined as 'that which cannot be gotten rid of.' Obviously, such a definition includes in part relational nouns, but also such permanent stative attributes such as male and female. Such attributes are not nouns, and they are, therefore, not modifiable by possessives. Such a notional definition is inadequate because of its over-generality and over-emphasis on the permanency of relational nouns. As a result, lists of examples are often offered to limit the class of inalienabilia.[1]

In view of these inadequacies connected with the term 'inalienable' we shall reject the term in its present definition, that is, the definition used throughout Chapter 1. Instead, from this point forward we shall only use the term 'relational noun'[2] and refine our own terminology by distinguishing between 'alienable' and 'inalienable' relational nouns. Relational nouns, then, have unalterable inherent features of association or relationship with other nouns outside themselves. Such a definition embraces at least three well-known sub-classes of nouns: (1) Kinship terms (e.g. father, son, brother, wife, etc.), (2) body parts (e.g. arm, artery, hair, etc.), and (3) miscellaneous relational nouns, i.e. nouns which when modified by an adnominal possessive, are shown

to be derived from a conflated equative nom structure, in which one of the nom N's is an intersection of 'complementarity' and 'symmetrical converseness' (i.e. requiring a (complementary) alienable or inalienable relational noun to complete its meaning: cf. Lyons 1968: § 10.4.5) and the other is a personal pronoun (e.g. employer/employee, friend, relative, etc. and 'picture nouns' like photograph, painting, etc.). Needless to say, this last group of nouns will become defined as the underlying structures are elaborated upon in this chapter.

As we mentioned above, the term 'inalienable' implies 'relational', however a relational noun need not be inalienable or permanent. Therefore, let us refine our terminology so that we have three classes of nouns, the former modified by proverbal possessives and the latter two (sub-classes) modified by adnominal possessives as follows: (1) Non-relational (e.g. table, car, etc.), (2) inalienable relational (e.g. son, chest,[3] birth-place, name, etc.), and (3) alienable (non-permanent) relational (e.g. possession(s), friend, etc.). When a Class 1 non-relational noun enters into a Class 3 state, it becomes relational; in other words, car is non-relational, but my car is an alienable relational, assuming my is datively derived (cf. fn. 6, Ch. 2 and see below §§ 3.3.4). Recognition of these distinctions will be helpful in our later analysis, particularly since Classes 2 and 3 behave semantically differently.

The scope of our study of possessives and their relationship to relational nouns is limited to an analysis of the internal underlying structure of possessives of kinship terms and other complementary-converse nouns. These structures are similar to those we have proposed for proverbal possessives, though non-locative. The underlying structures of the possessives of body-part nouns are non-dative locative structures. We shall also discuss a number of related clause structures in which body-part nouns are found and the associated copying rule (see above §§ 2.4). The relationship, then, of morphophonemically identical preposed possessives of relational and body-part nouns engenders two distinct underlying structures. The possessives of all relational and body-part nouns will be known as 'adnominal possessives', because their underlying structures do not underlie related verb-governed clauses.

3.1 Diagnostic Tests for Determining Relational and Body-Part Nouns

Although it means back-tracking to a certain extent, since we have already defined relational nouns, in this section we shall devise means of syntactically and semantically identifying relational nouns and distinguishing them from non-relational nouns. I should like to note that the arguments of §§ 3.2 will be somewhat repetitive of those in this section, but the purposes are different in each section.

3.1.1 Tri-argumental verbs, directionality of the dative and relational nouns. This test consists of replacing non-relational nouns with relational nouns in clauses which contain tri-argumental verbs. As was observed in § 2.5.4 there is a directional movement of the nom N 'from abl...to loc.' Consider the following examples in (3:1):

(3:1) a. Paul P. gave his/the ball to John R.
b. ?Paul P. gave his/the son to John R.
c. *Paul P. gave his/the arm to John R.
d. Paul P. gave his/the measles to John R.
e. *Paul P. gave his/the relative to John R.

Such directional movement in clauses which have human abls and locs effects a 'change in possessor' (see above § 2.5.4). In (3:1a) the ball becomes John R's, that is, it enters into a (dative) possessive relationship. In (3:1b) although it is perfectly feasible in a proper context 'to give a son (away)'[4] and though John R. will have legal custody, a relational nom N maintains original relationship, that is, he will always be Paul P's son. John R. has Paul P's son, but he does not have a son as a result of the act of giving. (3:1c) illustrates that it is utterly anomalous 'to give an arm' since it is not readily detachable. However, ease of detachability is no longer a criteria, because as we know modern medecine has means of 'giving' (i.e. transplanting) the body parts, particularly vital organs; also, figuratively, the arm may be 'given' (i.e.

extended) to (Dr.) John R. (i.e. contextualization). In this case though the original relationship between the body part and its body remains wholly intact, despite actual location. Clause (3:1c) is an extreme example, but even detachable body parts (e.g. hair, teeth, fingernails, etc.) maintain original relationship as in an example like 'John L. bought a lock of Napoleon's hair from George L.' The nom N, Napoleon's hair, is now John L's (dative/possessively, i.e. non-relationally: cp. 'my animal('s) head' in Menomini—see above § 1.2.2), but the hair is always Napoleon's (relationally). Although (3:1d) is completely acceptable, John R. does not get the same measles, but the same disease as Paul P. In other words, John R. gets a different 'token' of the one 'type.'[5] (3:1e) representing a complementary relational noun (not a kinship term) is more anomolous than the related (3:1b), perhaps because Paul P. does not have the control over relatives (or friends, employers, etc.) that one has over sons. Thus, if cousin, uncle, or even brother were substituted for son in (3:1b) it too would receive an asterisk (*). It should be noted finally that the definite article does not easily collocate with relational and body-part nouns in this type of clause structure.

As a result of this somewhat notional argument, it seems obvious that such tri-argumental verbs do not easily admit relational and body-part nouns on semantic grounds. They, therefore, prove to be fairly accurate in separating relational and body-part nouns from non-relational nouns.

3.1.2 Negative possessive test. Although possesives are occasionally referred to as 'possessive adjectives'[6] or 'attributive genitives'[7] as a consequence of their attributive positional distribution, they are, in fact, a distinct, but related category to adjectives. That is, one could argue they are a locative (deictic) sub-category of adjectives! However, on purely syntactic grounds possessives do not behave like adjectives. They do not admit negativizers such as un-, in- and non-, which are common negative formatives for adjectives in English.

Possessives can, of course, be negated. If, for instance, the first person possessive is negated (i.e. not my.../mine) a non-negative possessive or genitive is complementary (cf. Lyons 1968: § 10.4.2). Thus, what is 'not my.../not mine' is 'your.../yours,' 'his.../his,' 'her.../hers,' 'their.../theirs' or 'somebody's', i.e. other than mine. In other words, the non-negated second and third persons are equally complementary with the negated first person. If the second and third persons are negated, however, all three persons are complementary. At first sight this may seem difficult, but upon closer inspection one notes that there are special characteristics of source of locution and co-referentiality which appertain only to the first person possessive (cf. Lyons 1968: § 7.2.2). Thus, the second person possessive negative and non-negative are complementary, as is the third person. With the use of subscripts and the condition of one speaker only this point may be clarified in example

(3:2):

(3:2) a. The ball is not mine, therefore it follows that it is (a) *mine/ours
(b) yours
(c) his/hers/theirs

b. The ball is not $yours_1$, therefore it follows that it is (a) mine/ours
(b) $yours_2$
(c) his/hers/theirs

c. The ball is not his_1, therefore it follows that it is (a) mine/ours
(b) yours
(c) his_2/hers/theirs

The complementarity of non-negated and negated possessives in (3:2) is acceptable for non-relational nouns and detachable body parts; this same frame is made unacceptable when all other alienable and inalienable relational nouns and non-detachable body parts are substituted for ball.

Compare the semantic behavior of non-relational nouns to alienable and inalienable relational nouns in clauses containing negativized proverbal possessives (e.g. nobody's, no one's) such as in (3:3)-(3:6):

(3:3) That is no one's/nobody's ball.

(3:4) a.*That is no one's/nobody's tooth.

b.*That is no one's/nobody's hand.

c.*That is no one's/nobody's measles.

(3:5) She is no one's friend/nobody's friend/a friend of no one.

(3:6) *She is no one's/nobody's daughter.

Both the non-relational noun and the alienable relational

noun, (3:3) and (3:5) respectively, in this frame are acceptable, because possession and friendship are both alienable relational nouns--permanent potentialities of non-permanent states between persons and things and persons and persons (see above §§ 3.0). Non-relational nouns can be negated as being included in these states. Such a clause as (3:3) would most likely be uttered when the owner was not known to the speaker; similarly, for (3:5) when friends were not known to the speaker. The body-part nouns of (3:4) and the inalienable relational noun of (3:6) are un-acceptable, because permanent relationality is being denied; that is, these nouns are generic (see below §§ 4.1 and cf. Anderson forthcoming c). In other words, no one can be a daughter without being someone's daughter always. And again, nothing can be a possession without being someone's possession and a body part cannot exist but as part of somebody's body. In Menomini (see above §§ 1.2.2) all three of these nouns obligatorily require possessives, moreover, specific possessives--not nobody's, not just anybody's, but somebody's.

3.2 Arguments Justifying a Different Derivation for Adnominal Possessives

It does not necessarily follow, after having defined and isolated distinctive behavior patterns of relational and body-part nouns, that there is a different underlying structure and derivation for the possessives that modify these nouns. Justification for distinct underlying

structures of adnominal possessives cannot be taken for-granted.

3.2.1 The notional argument. 'The demonstrative article is defining, or classifying when used in colloquial speech with designations for the members of a person's family. The construction seems to suggest the notion of mere reference to a particular member of a group, 'the wife' (of my family); it is less emotional than the corresponding construction with the possessive adjective, 'my wife.' (Ahlgren 1946: §§ 116). Another and not necessarily contradictory[8] explanation might be that the speaker who uses the definite article instead of the possessive form wishes to avoid implying that the same relationship exists between 'he' and 'his wife, father,[9] girl-friend, leg, rheumatism,' etc.[10] Following their intuitions about their language, some native speakers of English recognize that there are distinct relationships involved, yet only one possessive form, primarily associated with the dative/possessive underlying structure, i.e. proverbal, is available. Consequently, since wives, etc. in our culture are not owned, the definite article is substituted for the possessive form. The unmarked (for a specific type of relation, i.e. 'ownership') definite article allows the relational features of the noun to fully determine the type of relationship that is to exist. Not all speakers, however, use the definite article in collocation with relational nouns. One assumes the relational noun context alters the semantic content of the possessive form for

these speakers from the proverbal possessive to the adnominal possessive, which has no implications of 'ownership.'

3.2.2 The dative frame argument. Neither relational nouns, alienable or inalienable, nor body-part nouns can enter into a non-relational frame, that is, a frame derived from a dative locative structure. Any non-relational noun fits neatly into a dative locative frame with the selection restrictions (see above § 2.3.1, Diagram II and cf. fn. 11, Ch. 2) acting as constraints against certain collocations. Let us take for example (3:7):

(3:7) a. He has a/the ball.

b. He possesses a knowledge (of the stars)/ the knowledge (that is necessary for the mission).

c. He owns a/the house.

d. The house belongs to him.

e. The ball is his.

Compare (3:7) with (3:8):

(3:8) a. He has a son/ a (broken) arm/a (girl-) friend.

b. ?He has the son/the (broken) arm/the (girl-) friend.

c. *He possesses a son/an arm/a friend.

d. *He possesses the son/the arm/the friend.

e. *He owns a son/an arm/a friend.

f. *He owns the son/the arm/the friend.

g. *The son/the arm/the friend belongs to him.

h. *The son/the arm/the friend is his.

With the exception of have[11] each of these verbal forms rejects relational and body-part nouns. Admittedly, it is impossible to determine whether these nouns are ungrammatical because of selectional constraints accruing to these verbs or because of incompatibility with relational frames or a combination of both. The two phenomena cannot be separated. Remembering that proverbal possessives are conflated forms derived from the same dative/possessive structure that underlies the clauses in (3:7) and (3:8), we may ask, 'How is it possible for relational nouns to be grammatical in the presence of proverbal possessive forms and incompatible in commonly derived dative/possessive frames?' The only answer that is logical is the possessives of relational nouns have different underlying structures than those of non-relational nouns. Furthermore, we may conclude that there are no verb forms like the verbs of possession that are derived from the same underlying structures as the adnominal possessives are. Possessives of relational nouns merely complete the relationship expressed in these nouns; possessives of body-part nouns seem to be locators with unspecified, however non-dative, locative cases and corresponding semantic markers. The grammar will provide relational nouns with the feature [+R] and body-part nouns with the feature [+BP] to indicate the underlying structure of the adnominal possessive.

3.2.3 The picture noun argument. Without semantically related verbs and therefore expanded clauses

which reflex elements of the underlying structure, the motivations for proposals of underlying structures for adnominal possessives would appear to be all but impossible. All such possessives might merely be considered reduplicative adnominals (cf. Anderson 1971: § 7.363, Fillmore 1968: § 6.1, and Langendoen 1970:207-8 following Fillmore 1968). Internal and independent motivations would then, of course, be made unnecessary. It may be sounder to simply argue that adnominal possessives are not differently structured, but without underlying structure and leave it at that. But before abandoning ~~non-~~ indistinct underlying structures and accepting such an expedient proposal, let us look at one more example.

Postal calls attention to a group of nouns known as 'picture nouns.' '...these are incredibly complex and unique....' (cf. Postal 1971: § 17.A, D). In Maori (see above § 1.2.1) the dominant/subordinate distinction disambiguated 'his song'—'a song by him' (dominant) from 'a song of or about him' (subordinate). A phrase like 'his painting' because of its physical properties, is at least three ways ambiguous: (1) The painting by him, (2) the painting of him, and (3) the painting of his/belonging to him. The clause (3:8):

(3:8) Emmon B. took my picture.

is ambiguous between the paraphrases of (3:9) and (3:10):

(3:9) Emmon B. took the/^{d}picture from/of(f) me/^{of}mine.

(3:10) Emmon B. took the/^{d}picture of me.

When (3:8) is interpreted as (3:9) my has a dative/possessive underlying structure and is a proverbal possessive as in (3) above; when (3:8) is interpreted as (3:10) picture becomes a relational noun and something very like the appositional of phrase (see below § 3.4) in (3:10) and (2) above is found in the underlying structure of the adnominal possessive. Notice that it is possible to replace the in/definite article in (3:9) with a proverbal possessive, but such a procedure is redundant in (3:10). Compare (3:11) and (3:12) with (3:9) and (3:10), respectively:

(3:11) Emmon B. took my picture from/of(f) me/^{of}mine.
(3:12) *Emmon B. took my picture of me.

Finally, contrast examples in which the non-relational noun appears in the same frame as (3:8)-(3:10) as in (3:13):

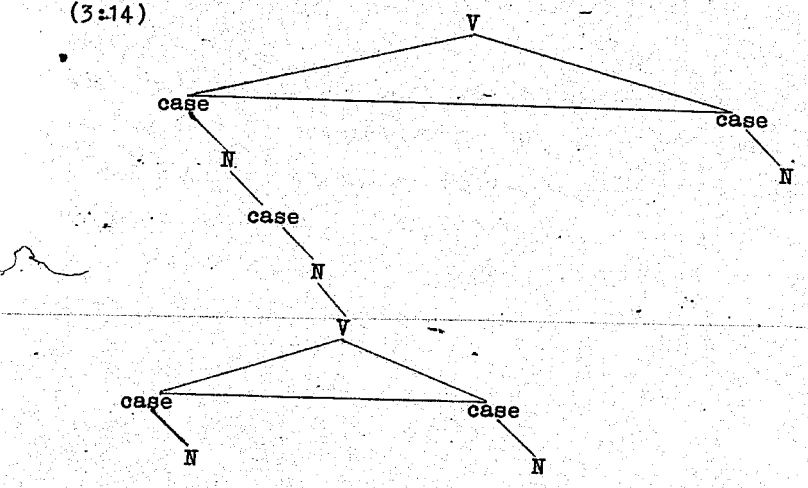
(3:13) a. Emmon B. took my car.
b. Emmon B. took the/a car from/of(f) me/^{of}mine.
c. *Emmon B. took the/a car of me.

Proverbal possessives do not yield to an appositional paraphrase (i.e. 'of me' as opposed to the post-possessive 'of mine'—see below § 3.4) as in (3:13c). (3:13) illustrates how picture nouns vacillate between physical non-relational nouns and relational nouns. The picture noun test makes it patently clear that a distinct underlying structure must be proposed for adnominal possessives of relational nouns. We shall return in § 3.3.3 for a closer and fuller analysis of picture nouns.

3.3 The Derivation of Adnominal Possessives of Relational Nouns

In this section we shall analyze the structure of adnominal possessives of relational nouns, i.e. kinship terms and miscellaneous relationals like picture nouns. We shall focus upon the structure of the adnominal possessive in its relation to the relational noun. This structure is a lower embedded predication of a higher matrix clause, which schematically represented appears as in (3:14):

(3:14)



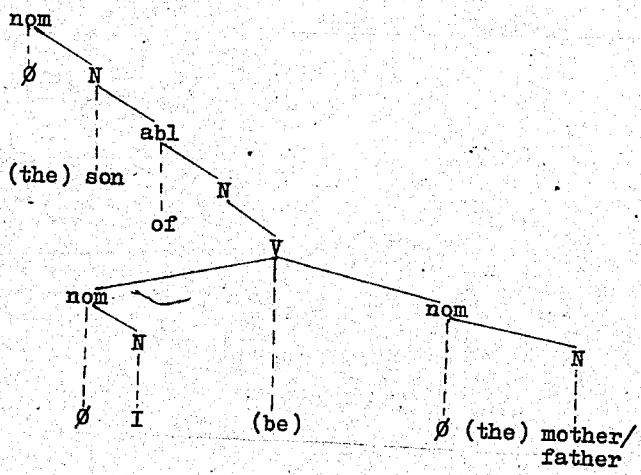
An N placed between the lower V and the case dominating it structurally distinguishes it as an adnominal (non-verb related) structure from that of the proverbal possessive structure (cp. above e.g. (2:7)). In the representations of adnominals of relational nouns only, the case markers of the lower V are equative noms, that is, the lower V

is non-locative. Our concern in this and the following section is the effect upon the internal structure of the adnominal possessive by the nouns which are modified and not the structure of the nouns, i.e. nouns as predicates (cf. Bach 1968; Anderson unpublished Ph.D. thesis: §§ 8.1-8.3 and Anderson forthcoming c).

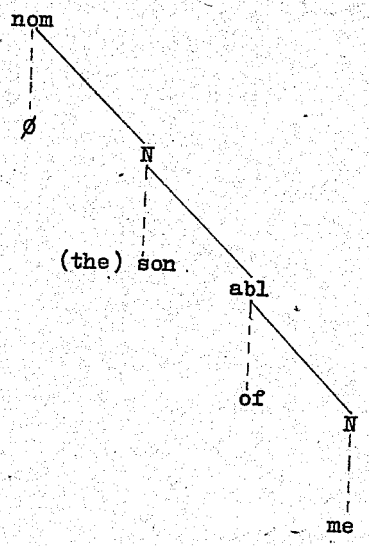
3.3.1 The underlying structure of adnominal possessives of kinship terms. Adnominal possessives, like proverbal possessives, have ubiquitous distribution in English participating in all functions of the sentence where relational nouns may occur. Unlike proverbal possessives, as we have mentioned, we cannot first derive the verbs of possession from an underlying structure and then relate that common structure to the conflated proverbal possessives, thereby forming mutually supporting internal motivation for the structure.

The underlying structure and derivation of 'my son' is in (3:15):

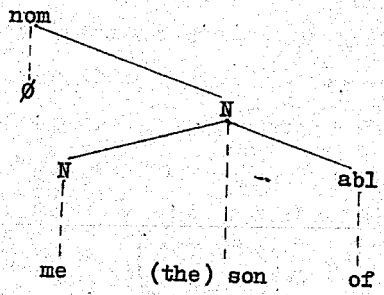
(3:15) a.



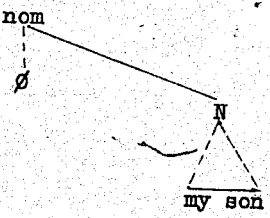
b.



c.



d.



We shall begin our explanation by starting with the lowest constituent of the structure in (3:15a). The V of (3:15a) represents a subordinate equative predication, hence the necessity for the definite article in brackets. The V does not represent the locative sub-type of classifying 'predicate nom.'[12] The V contains the internal semantic content of the adnominal possessive which is in (3:15) the first person personal pronoun and mother/father. The V is a device to indicate identity. In (3:15b) the V node has been lost; in explanation and motivation of this fact there are a number of alternative proposals. First, the V may be subjoined to the ablative N when the two identical nom N's (i.e. both N's have the same 'reference', denote the same person) conflate to form the pronominal constituent of the ablative appositive. The V would then be pruned; this has not been shown in (3:15b). Second, the copula may be absorbed into the upper predicate which dominates the adnominal phrase (see above (3:14)). In this proposal we follow our derivations for the verbs of possession and the proverbal possessives in Chapter 2. The third possibility is that the verb does not exist in fact (thus the brackets in (3:15a)) except as an expedient device for lack of a better representation or as an attempt at an abstraction of the unrepresentable. Independent motivation for such a proposal is found in a number of languages, Russian, Greek, Latin, Hebrew, etc. in which the present tense of the copula does not reflex in the surface structure in equative and

identifying clauses (cf. Lyons 1968: § 7.6.3).

In (3:15b), following rule (1) conflation and V-deletion, nominalization (rule (2)) operates. The nominalization is the objective form of the personal pronoun, thus there is morphological progression (see above § 2.5.1). Motivation for the ablative *of* will be presented in § 3.3.2, our discussion of patronymics; and the appositional construction will be motivated because of its reflex in possession of picture nouns (see above § 3.2.2 and below § 3.3.3). Rule (3), permutation, operates in (3:15c) moving the abl N before the nom N. The abl is then deleted. Rule (3) is obligatory for kinship terms modified by adnominal possessives. Rule (4), adnominal possessive formation, a morphophonemic rule is illustrated in (3:15d). For other applications of these rules in related structures, see below Diagram III.

Kinship nouns, except by marriage, are always inalienable, despite natural circumstances such as death: Once a person is born he has a mother and father from infinity to infinity whether or not they die and whether or not they are known to him. More importantly, kinship terms are always found in conversely paired complementary sets: Parents (mother and father)/children (sons and daughters); siblings (brother, sister/sister, brother); husband/wife; nephew,niece/uncle, aunt; etc. In other words a *father* can not be without a *son* or *daughter*, a *brother* can not be without a *sister* or *brother*, and so

forth. (3:15) reveals the internal structure of the adnominal possessives of relational nouns: The upper nom-dominated N is reflexed in the surface structure while the lower V-dominated N of the relational pair conflates with the personal pronoun ultimately receiving the position and phonological shape of the adnominal possessive.

Langendoen (1970:123-4) has adduced some evidence to show that 'the genitive expression replaces the definite article.' Thus (3:16) /Langendoen's example, but our numeration/:

(3:16) Princess Grace is Prince Rainier's wife.

has the underlying assumption 'that Prince Rainier has exactly one wife,' so that (3:16) is a stylistic varient of (3:17a), but not of (3:17b):

(3:17) a. Princess Grace is the wife of Prince Rainier.

b. Princess Grace is a wife of Prince Rainier.

Because of this evidence the definite article is place in brackets in the uppermost and lowermost N's of (3:15a) to indicate definiteness and eventual replacement by the adnominal possessive.

In a number of traditional grammars[13] the <u>of</u> of (3:15) is known as the genitive <u>of</u>; however, genitive <u>of</u> (in the etymological sense of 'genitive') is only appropriate for an example like (3:15). That is to say, children or off-spring come <u>from</u>, are born <u>of</u>, are products <u>of</u> (all literally ablative) parents, whereas of the reverse, 'my father' this is not true, nor is it true of

siblings, married couples, and so forth. Although it is possible to say 'the father of...,' 'the brother of...,' and 'the wife of...', in genitive relationships the of marker is dominated by abl, and in non-genitive relationships, by loc.

3.3.2 Independent motivation for the proposed structure of adnominal possessives of relational nouns: Patronymics and metronymics.[14] A number of languages exhibit patronymic/metronymic morphemes which are usually glossed as 'son/daughter of.' Examples of such forms are the following: Gr. υἱος 'son' was often suppressed and substituted for by the article ὁ as in Φάλιος Ἐρατοκλείδου 'Phalios Eratokleidou,' i.e. 'Phalios [the son] of Eratoclides' and Ἀλεξανδρος ὁ Φιλίππου 'Alexandros o Philippou', i.e. 'Alexander the [son] of Philip; also the following suffixes -ades as Λαερτιάδης 'Laertiades', i.e. 'son of Laertios', -ides as Πριαμίδης 'Priamides', i.e. 'son of Priamos', -ion as Κρονίων 'Kronion', i.e. 'son of Kronos', and -is as Ταντάλις 'Tantalis', i.e. 'daughter of Tantalos'; Heb. בֶּן (ben) 'son of' as in דָּוִד בֶּן יוֹסֵף 'David [the] son of Joseph'; Ir. mac 'son of', o, ua 'descendent of'; Wel. ab; NF. fitz; L. filius as in 'Egidius filius Bernardi' > 'Giles Bernard'; Rus. -vich, -off, etc. In some languages the patronymic/metronymic relationship is represented by the (genitive) of-adjunct only, as in Fr. de, i.e. 'Charles De Gaulle' and Ger. von, i.e. 'Otto von Bismarck.' Genitive endings corresponding to the of-adjunct are also common, for example, in L. the genitive

case ending -is and -i as in 'Willelmus Johannis' and 'Dugallus Nigelli' and the -Y genitive ending of the second declension as in 'Mably.' And the thirteenth century English genitive endings, -es, -is, -ys, and -s, were often added to names as in 'Margret, Robin's daughter' > 'Margret Robines' and 'Christian Edwardis' > 'Edwards.' Notice the true apposition corresponding to an appositional of and subordinate nom construction in the first example in the immediately preceeding sentence. Sometimes neither the genitive ending nor the relational N was made overt, but mere juxtaposition served, as in 'John, Robin's son' (again appositional) 'John Robin' analogous to Ger. Tasse Kaffe, Fr. tasse café, and Eng. River Thames. In other instances the relational N remained as in 'Widowson,' 'Williamson' and 'Johnson.'

In those languages such as English, German and French in which the gloss 'son/daughter of' is not a single patronymic/metronymic morpheme (like the Gr. suffix -ides and the Ir. prefix Mac), the of-adjunct is identical with the ablative of/from non-patronymic usage as in (3:18) and (3:19):

(3:18) a. Charles De Gaulle

b. Il vienne de Paris.

(3:19) a. Otto von Bismarck

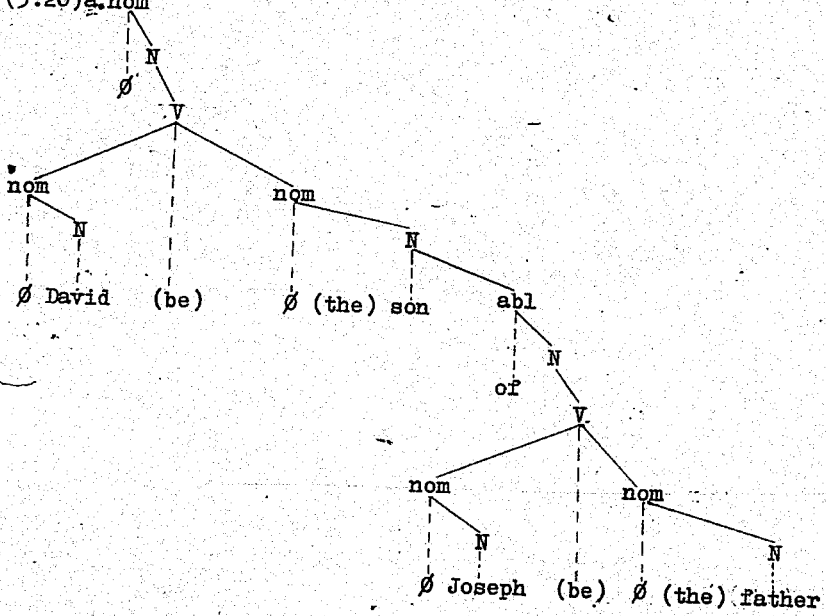
b. Er kommt von/aus Berlin.

In French and German the 'of/from' gloss seems contextually determined. (In German von and aus, although usually of

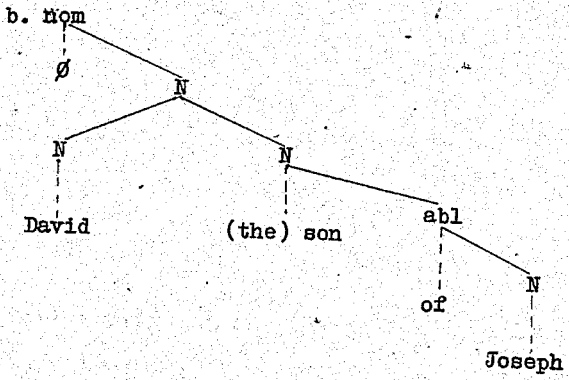
fixed distribution with few exceptions like (3:19b), both are glossed 'of/from' and the distinction is determined by the context for both.)

The underlying structure of a patronymic like the gloss for the Heb. 'David the son of Joseph' is remarkably like the conflated adnominal possessive of kinship terms. Compare (3:15) with (3:20):

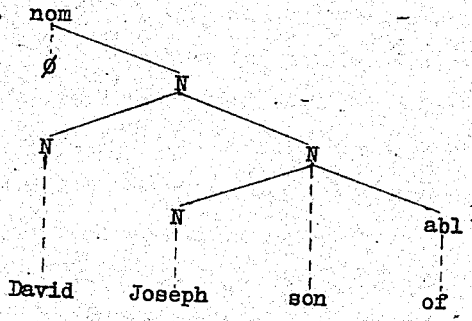
(3:20)a.



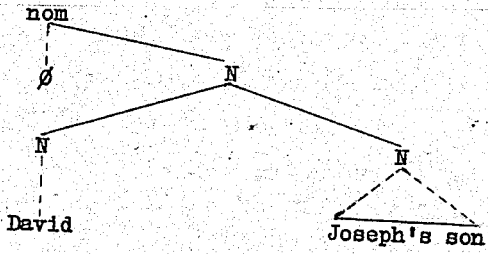
b. nom

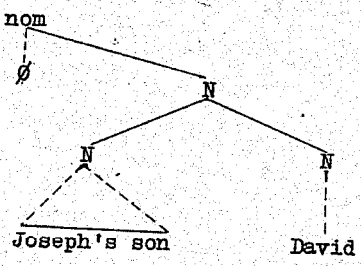


c. nom



d. nom



e. 

In the derivation of (3:20) the collapsing rule and V-deletion rule (1) operate in the upper V as in (3:20b). The collapsing rule is distinct from the conflation rule which operates in the lower V of (3:20a-b) (see above § 3.3.1). The collapsed and conflated structures are then nominalized (rule (2)) as in (3:20b). The permutation and ablative deletion rules operate in (3:20c). The permutation rule optionally operates a second time as in (3:20e) after adnominal possessive/genitive formation has operated as in (3:20d). Because (3:20b) reflexes and because it is semantically equivalent to (3:15) (i.e. only Joseph could say to David 'my son') we claim this as motivation for our structure of 'my son' in (3:15). (3:20d-e) are optional and semantically equi alent to (3:20b) (cf. fn. 15, Ch. 2). See Diagram III in § 3.3.3 below.

3.3.3 The underlying structures of adnominal possessives of picture nouns. As we mentioned in § 3.2.2 above, a phrse like 'his painting' is three ways ambiguous as in (3:21):

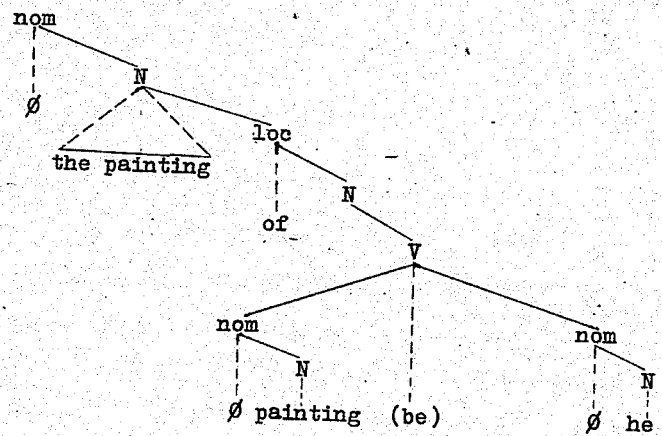
(3:21) a. the painting of him

b. the painting of his/by him

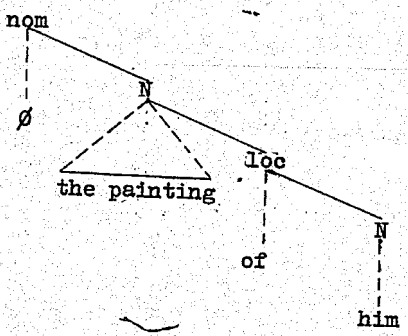
c. the painting of his/belonging to him

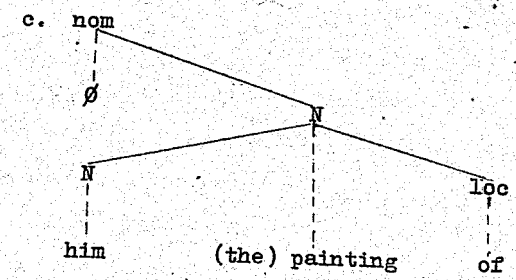
Because of their peculiar semantic qualities, picture nouns are modifiable by adnominal possessives (i.e. the underlying structure of the possessive in (3:21a)) and proverbal possessives (as in (3:21b-c)). The underlying structure of (3:21a) is as in (3:22a) and derived in (3:22b); if the optional permutation and adnominal possessive formation rules operate (3:22a-b) is further reduced to (3:22c-d):

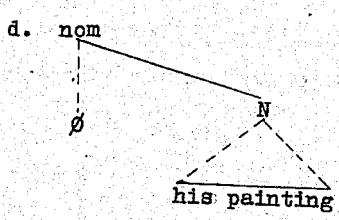
(3:22) a.



b.







The derivation of (3:22) does not differ in any substantial way from that of (3:15). The only differences are that picture nouns like painting have identical (i.e. phonologically) complements in the upper and lower noms (cf. associational nouns like 'friend/friend', but not 'employer/employee') and the definite article is bracketed in (3:22c) only when the optional rules preposed adnominal possession apply. We shall discuss the post-possessive constructions of (3:21b-c) in § 3.4, but first we shall justify the ordering of the rules.

Conceivably, in the cases of patronymics, kinship terms and miscellaneous relationals, i.e. associational nouns, it would make little difference if the ordering were (1) permutation of the abl/loc-dominated (lower) N and V with the nom-dominated N and abl deletion, (2)

conflation and V-deletion, and (3) nominalization. However, in the cases of picture nouns and patronymics, also derived with the appositional possessive construction (i.e. 'of me' as opposed to the post-possessive construction 'of mine': see below § 3.4) the permutation rule would have to be reversed after conflation/V-deletion and nominalization or it would have to be blocked, because the appositional construction reflexes, thus making permutation optional in these environments. In either alternative an unnecessary additional rule would be required if the ordering were not as in Diagram III:

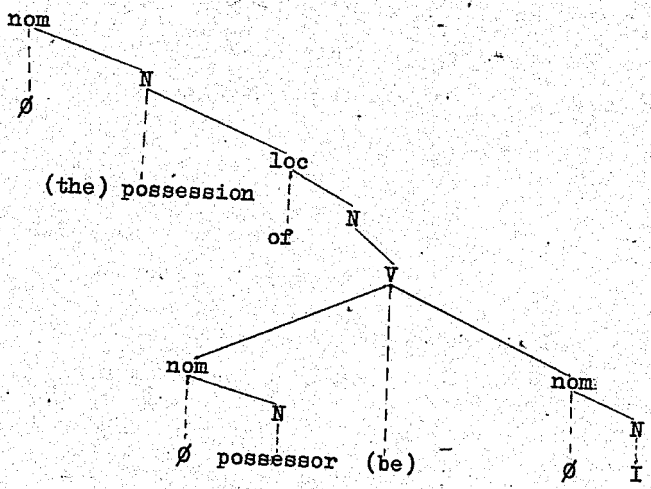
KINSHIP TERMS/ASSOCIATIONAL NOUNS	PATRONYMICS	PICTURE NOUNS
(1) CONFLATION/V-DELETION (3:15a)	(1) COLLAPSING, CONFLATION/V-DELETION (3:20a)	(1) CONFLATION/V-DELETION (3:22a)
(2) NOMINALIZATION (3:15b)	(2) NOMINALIZATION (3:20b)	(2) NOMINALIZATION (3:22b)
	OPTIONAL RULES	OPTIONAL RULES
(3) PERMUTATION AND ABL-DELETION (3:15c)	(3) PERMUTATION AND ABL-DELETION (3:20c)	(3) PERMUTATION AND ABL-DELETION (3:22c)
(4) ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVE FORMATION (3:15d)	(4) ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVE FORMATION (3:20d)	(4) ADNOMINAL POSSESSIVE FORMATION (3:22d)
	(5) PERMUTATION (OPT) (3:20e)	

DIAGRAM III

Our analysis argues that patronymics and picture nouns have an added feature which optionalizes rules (3) and (4) (and also (5)). Only patronymics reflex three of the elements found in the underlying structure of the adnominal possessive of relational nouns. Those are the two persons and one complement of the complementary set relating the two individuals, each identically referential with one of the complements. Reflexion of both complements is superfluous. In addition, patronymic and picture noun constructions reflex the appositional abl/loc semantic marker of, which is semantically equivalent to the preposed adnominal possessive.

3.3.4 The relationship of adnominal possessives to the nominalizations of the verbs of possession. As we mentioned in § 1.2.2 above on Menomini, the word for possession in that language reflexes obligatorily as a relational ('dependent') noun with a specified possessor morpheme. The underlying structures for the nominalizations possession(s), ownership and belongings, being alienable relational noun designators mapped onto non-relational nouns (e.g. The house is (now) in his possession/ among his possessions), are like those of other alienable and inalienable relational nouns. Thus a representative underlying structure for 'my possession' is (3:23):

(3:23)



(3:23) is derived by the operation of the four rules of adnominal possessives of relational nouns (see above §§ 3.3.1 and Diagram III). One problem occurs in English and that is there is no lexical equivalent like possessor or owner associated with the nominalization belongings.

3.4 The Post-Possessive/Post-Genitive Constructions

Before discussing the relationships of the adnominal possessives to the parts of the body, I shall digress to investigate the underlying structures of the post-possessive/post-genitive constructions. Post-possessive and post-genitive are terms designating structures like 'of mine' and 'of John's', respectively. In contrast the term appositional possessive[15] (i.e. reflexed of) designates constructions such as 'of me' and 'of John' discussed in §§ 3.2.2 and 3.3.3 on picture nouns.

The post-possessive/genitive constructions appear at first sight to be acceptable with all relational and non-relational nouns except non-detachable body parts such as in (3:24):

(3:24) a. *a/the face of his

b. ?an/the arm of mine

c. ?an/the artery of hers

There is no question about the acceptability of these constructions and detachable body parts as in (3:25):

(3:25) a. a/the tooth of mine

b. a/the fingernail of hers

The reason for (3:24a) being positively ungrammatical is the fact that the post-possessive/genitive construction implies plurality of the head noun particularly in the environment of the indefinite article. Those non-detachable body parts of which there are only one per body (e.g. face, nose, chest, etc.) are more ungrammatical than those of which there are more in number (i.e. arm and artery) and which under certain unusual circumstances are detachable. There is an obvious positive correlation between detachable body parts and a number greater than one (1). Thus, such paraphrases as (3:26) are ungrammatical with nouns like face, but grammatical with other detachable and non-detachable body-part nouns:

(3:26) a. *one of his faces

b. one of her arms

c. one of her arteries

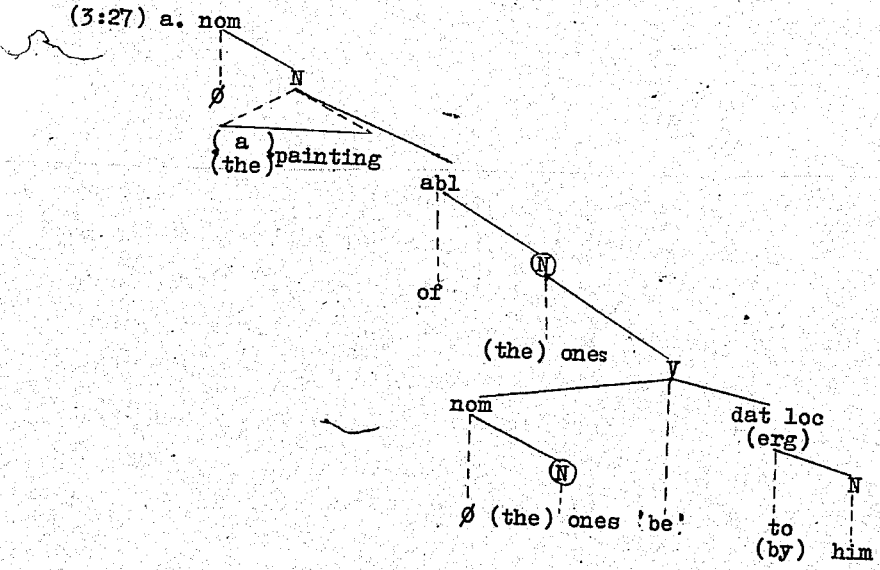
d. one of my teeth

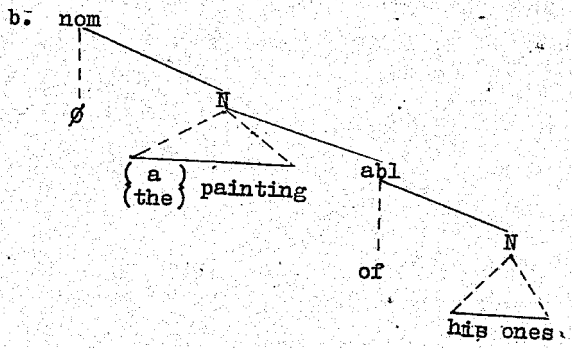
e. one of his fingernails

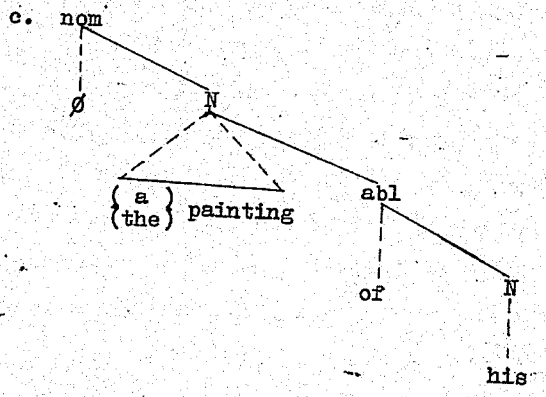
Thus in such a phrase as 'that nose of his' when the definite singular demonstrative modifies the noun, the post-possessive construction cannot possibly imply several noses, but rather one part (nose) of a number of parts of the body.[16] Therefore, if we include the use of the demonstrative as a modifier of singular non-detachable body parts, which is in fact a constraint on the use of the post-possessive/genitive with these nouns, we must amend our original statement and say that it is possible for all nouns to co-occur with the post-possessive/genitive construction.

The underlying structure for (3:21b-c) 'a painting of his' is now presentable in (3:27):

(3:27) a.





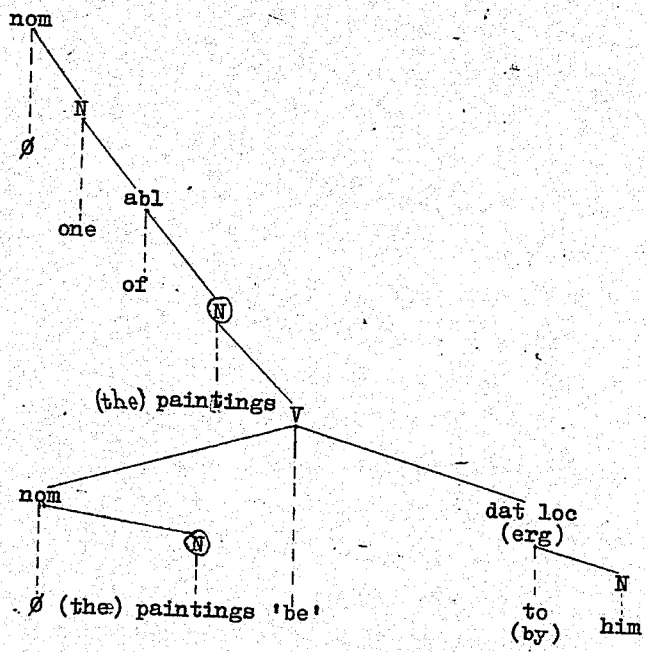


The two circled N's of (3:27a) are identical, thus indicating a relative construction (i.e. a painting, one of which is his); the uppermost N is part of a higher predication which is not shown here. The erg and its corresponding semantic marker by are placed in brackets; I have just shown two nearly identical structures in one to save space. The underlying structure of 'his painting', which is included in the structure of 'a/the painting of his' is, then, a proverbal possessive, but derived from

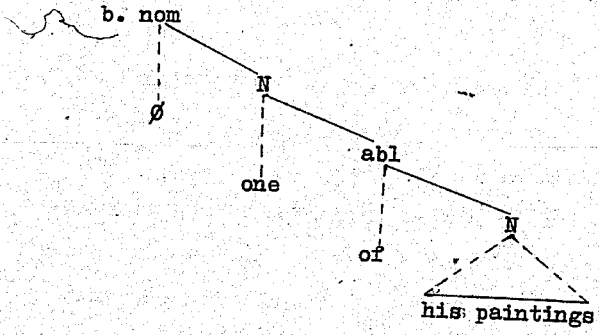
an ergative/possessive structure if his refers to Constable, the painter. If his refers to Carnegie, the owner, then the proverbal possessive is derived from the usual dative/possessive structure. The ambiguous reflex his is in this way disambiguated in the underlying structure. Only 'nouns of result' (cf. Lyons 1968: § 9.5.3) like painting and also house (not a picture noun) are modifiable by proverbal possessives derived from an ergative structure. Returning to our description, the lower V conflates as a proverbal possessive, however, it is nominalized first to his ones as in (3:27b). Then ones-absorption[17] takes place to produce (3:27c). Finally, the ablative of of the post-possessive/genitive construction is a partitive ablative, which may be paraphrased 'out of' or 'from among.'

Just as (3:25) and (3:26) are semantically equivalent paraphrases of one another, (3:27) is structurally identical with the representation for 'one of his paintings' in (3:28):

(3:28) a. nom



b. nom



In both (3:27) and (3:28) the full proverbal derivation has been left out, however, these have been fully discussed and illustrated in §§ 2.4 above. In (3:28) one is reflexed; in (3:27) ones-absorption took place. Also observe in structures (3:27a) and (3:28a) the uppermost nom N is singular

and the lowermost abl and nom N's are plural; in (3:27) the plurality of ones is absorbed into the possessive form, but in (3:28) it is reflexed in the surface structure.

Finally, when nouns enter into a post-possessive/genitive construction like (3:27) or the related structure (3:28), they are not directly modified by a proverbal possessive. When relational and body-part nouns are found in these structures the proverbal possessive is formed from a non-dative locative construction. The relationship is one of the proverbal possessive modifying a set of N's, the set being non-relational, though the individual members may not be. The plurality of the nom N in the V structure is the indication of the set; the singularity of the uppermost nom N is the member within the proverbally modified set.

3.5 The Derivation of Adnominal Possessives of Body-Part Nouns

The underlying structure of the adnominal possessives of body-part nouns in English is extremely complex for two reasons. First, the possessive form may optionally directly modify the body-part noun, though this structure alternates with the Dativus Sympatheticus and definite article construction (see below § 3.5.1 and cf. Ahlgren 1946: §§ 5, 128-132 and 135-139; cf. also Havers 1911:1-5 and Visser 1963: § 320), the latter being obligatory in all other Indo-European languages. Secondly, the verbs governing the

clauses containing body-part nouns are marked by a set of very complex semantic features as we shall observe in §§ 3.5.2. Although the underlying structures we shall be describing are structurally similar to those of the pro-verbal possessives, there is no corresponding expanded clause structure, i.e. no suppletive set of verbs analogous to the verbs of possession (however, see fn. 9, Ch. 2 and below § 3.5.2), hence possessives of body parts are adnominals.

3.5.1 Brief historical outline of the relationship of the possessive forms to the body-part nouns in English.[18] Consider the paradigm of clauses in (3:29):

(3:29) a. He cut his finger.

b. He cut his (own) finger.

c. He cut the finger.

d. He cut him on the finger.

e. He cut him on his finger.

f. He cut himself on the finger.

g. He cut himself on his finger.

It is quite obvious in English, unlike a number of other Indo-European languages, because of the inconsistent intra-distribution of the definite article, the adnominal possessive, and the personal pronoun (i.e. Dativus Sympatheticus) in clauses containing a body-part noun and the affinity of certain verbs, unlike cut, for one or the other, that it is difficult to advance proposals for formalized rules to capture the relationships of person to body part and

pronominal co-referentiality as well as showing that these clauses are related syntactically to one another.

The complexity of the distribution of (3:29) grew out of the use of the Dativus Sympathetics in OE, which in OE was the only construction in such cases to express the relationship a person and (his) body part. The Dativus Sypatheticus functions as an indirect object (see below (3:30a)) or the object of the preposition (i.e. (3:29d-g)). Notionally, the use of the Dativus Sympatheticus implies that it is impossible to act on any (body) part without affecting the whole (body).

Like OE, in French and German the Dativus Sympatheticus is the only construction which expresses the person/body part relationship. Clauses (3:29b,f,g), for example, are all suitable English glosses for a reflexive interpretation which is inferred from the French and German, respectively, in (3:30):

(3:30) a. Il se coupe le doigt.

b. Er schnitt sich in den Finger.

And clauses (3:29a,c,d,e) are English glosses of the French and German in (3:31):

(3:31) a. Il lui coupe le doigt.

b. Er schnitt ihm in den Finger.

Consequently the person/body part relationship is much more easily dealt with in terms of formalization in these languages, rather than in English.[19]

In early OE the reflexive use of the Dativus Sympa-

theticus was very common (see below §§ 4.2 and cf. Sweet 1900: §§ 1106), and unlike modern French and German it often appeared without the definite article as in (3:32) (but not (3:33)) and never appeared with an adnominal possessive:

(3:32) a. Dyde him of healse hring gyldenne,/
b. 'Cause' him from neck collar golden,/

þioden þristhydig þegne gesealde Beow. 2809
king brave-hearted thane gave

c. (The) brave-hearted king (took) off (from his) neck (the) golden collar (and) gave (it to the) thane

trans. Earle (1892)

(3:33) a. Ne gemealt him se modsefa Beow. 2628
b. Not melt him the heart

c. (His) courage (did) not melt (in) him

trans. Earle (1892)

By the ME period the Dativus Sympatheticus, with but very few exceptions found in set phrases (e.g. He looked him in the face), was no longer to be found; its function was largely superceded by the use of the adnominal possessive. 'While this process was going on, we often find blendings of the two constructions, the possessive adjective being used together with the dative of a personal pronoun or of a noun in the same clause' (Ahlgren 1946: § 130). For example, examine (3:34):

(3:34) a. And right anoon it ran him in his minde

Chaucer, A Kn. 1402

b. Horn þrew him over þe brigge,/ þat his ribbes him to broke.

Horn C. 1076

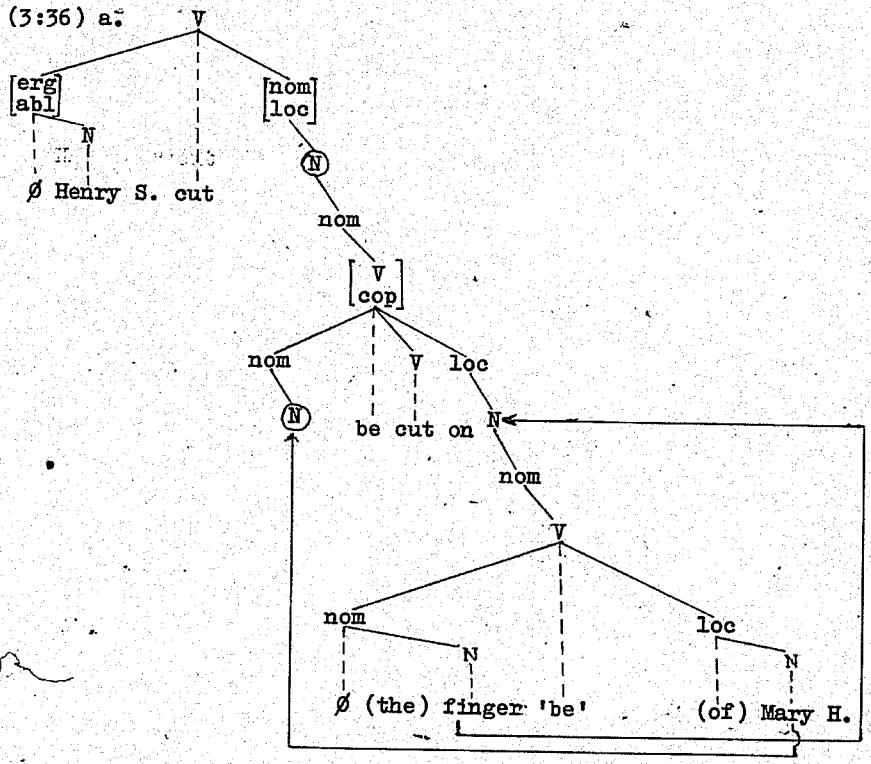
As a consequence, Modern English appears to have retained structural elements from all stages of this development. To account for or explain the gradual substitution of the adnominal possessive for the Dativus Sympatheticus and why such a phenomenon only occurred in English goes beyond the scope of our work here and is most likely beyond the descriptive requisite of any grammar; nevertheless, the questions are interesting.

3.5.2 The underlying structure of adnominal possessives of body-part nouns and related clause structures. Let us begin by repeating the paradigm in (3:29), this time substituting names in order to avoid the use of subscripts to indicate identity, which hopefully will make the reader's task easier. We shall also add a few clauses to (3:35):

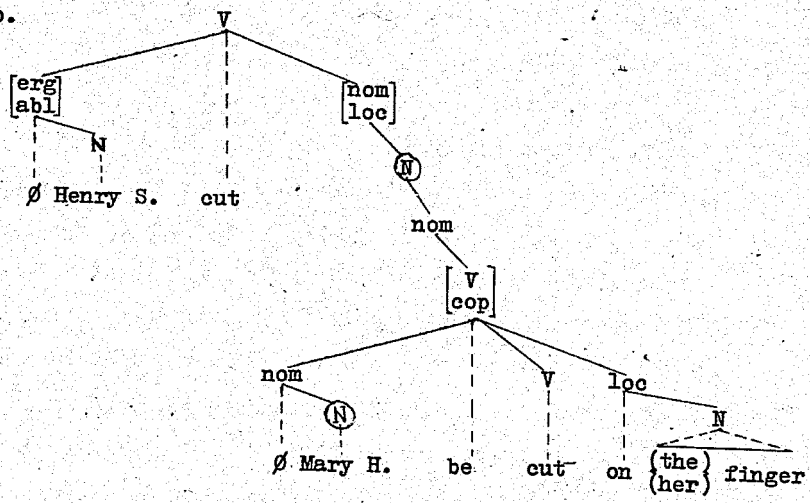
(3:35) a. Henry S. cut Mary H. on the finger.
b. Henry S. cut Mary H. on her finger.
c. Henry S. cut Mary H's finger.
d. Henry S. cut the finger of Mary H.
e. Henry S. cut his (own) finger.
f. Henry S. cut his/the finger.
g. Henry S. cut himself on the finger.
h. Henry S. cut himself on his finger.
i. Henry S's finger is cut.
j. The finger of Henry S. is cut.
k. Henry S. is cut on the finger.
l. Henry S. is cut on his finger.

The underlying structure for (3:35a-b) is in (3:36):

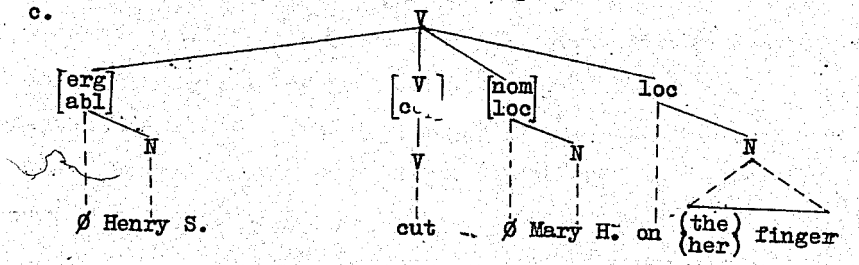
(3:36) a.



b.



c.



The verbs which govern clauses containing body-part nouns like (3:35a-h) appear to be causatives, although not all are as concrete as cut. Similar verbs like kiss, pinch, grab, etc. may not even have a corresponding nominalization nor concrete effects, however the [nom loc]-dominated N is affected. Henry S. initiates the action (i.e. [erg]) and is the locational source of the cutting (i.e. subcategorization [abl]); Mary H. is the object of the action (i.e. [nom]) and is the location of the cut (i.e. subcategoriza-

tion [loc]). The subcategorized features indicate that the verb is directional. We have ignored the fact in our structure that the verb cut is a resultative existential. In other words, 'Henry S. causes by the act of cutting a cut to result, therefore come into existence.' Our analysis of cut and similar verbs is only incidental to the relationship of the adnominal possessive to body-part nouns and may not be in all details accurate, however it is unavoidable that we discuss such verbs since they are so intimately connected with body parts. To continue, notice that in (3:32a) Dyde is glossed as 'cause' in (3:32b); dyde was a causative marker in OE[20] and reflexes here in a clause containing a body-part noun. Furthermore, Anderson (1971: §§ 7.363) and Fillmore[21] have interpreted the clause (3:35f) in one reading as [erg] with which I agree, though it is more complicated as we shall see below. Thus, the causative predication in such clauses as (3:35e) is motivated.

We are proposing a series of three predications embedded in one another; the hierarchical ordering of these predications (all of which appear in (3:36a)) determines the reflexes of (3:35). In some reflexes not all three are required. We shall also make use of a set of N-raising rules (i.e. the 'X-principle' and relativization), in (3:36), none of which are new or ideosyncratic.

The lowest predication in (3:36a) represents the relationship of the body-part N, (the) finger ([nom]), to the body N, Mary H. ([loc]). The locative semantic

marker of is placed in brackets in the structure, because it approximates the body/body part relationship and because it reflexes in clauses like (3:35d), (1:27c) and (1:31). This predication is necessarily motivated even in English clauses and the clauses of other languages, because there is no ambiguity about the relationship of the Dativus Sympatheticus and the body part. Thus in German the Dativus Sympatheticus and the body part refer to the same person as in (3:37a):

(3:37) a. Sie schüttelte ihr die Hand. 'She shook her (own) hand (at someone).'

b. Sie schüttelte die Hand. 'She shook the/her (own or someone else's) hand.'

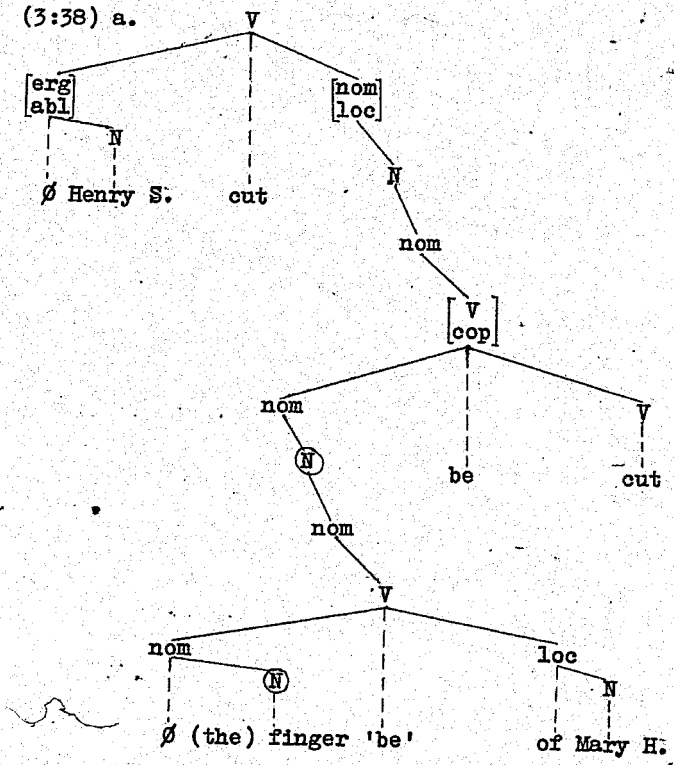
(3:37b) only is ambiguous like the English (3:35f) and (3:29a and c).

In (3:36b) the N's of the lowest predication have been shown to be raised. I presume the 'X-principle' operates here (see above § 2.3.2 and cf. Anderson 1972a: § 1) under the condition that cut is a passive form (the agent being in the uppermost predication), one of the four criteria for 'X-principle' operation. The lower predication of (3:36b), after N-raising, has the structure of the reflexes (3:35k-l). In (3:36b) the loc N is subjectivized under the nom case marker and the nom N is locativized. Be is shown absorbed into the upper V. At this point the optional copying rule which has been developed in English and which has been blocked in all other Indo-European languages (see above § 3.5.1) operates pronominalizing the nom N onto the loc N. This

reflexed adnominal possessive reaffirms the relationship of the body (i.e. Dativus Sympatheticus) to the body part,[22] thus is more motivation for the lowermost predication in (3:36a). Finally, in (3:36c) the $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ cop \end{bmatrix}$ and V (passive/resultative of Henry S's act of cutting) are subjoined to the uppermost predication and the nom N is subjoined to the $\begin{bmatrix} nom \\ loc \end{bmatrix}$. The $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ cop \end{bmatrix}$ and V markers are subsequently pruned out (cf. Anderson forthcoming a: §§ 5.3.2). The loc case is directly adjoined to the upper predication as shown in (3:36c). The same rule operated above in (2:7) (cf. again Anderson forthcoming a: §§ 5.3.2). This direct adjoining is because in the passive (i.e. Mary H. was cut on the finger by Henry S.) the loc N may be separated from the $\begin{bmatrix} nom \\ loc \end{bmatrix}$ N by the verb.

We shall now turn to the underlying structures and derivations of (3:35c-d) in (3:38):

(3:38) a.


V
erg
abl
nom
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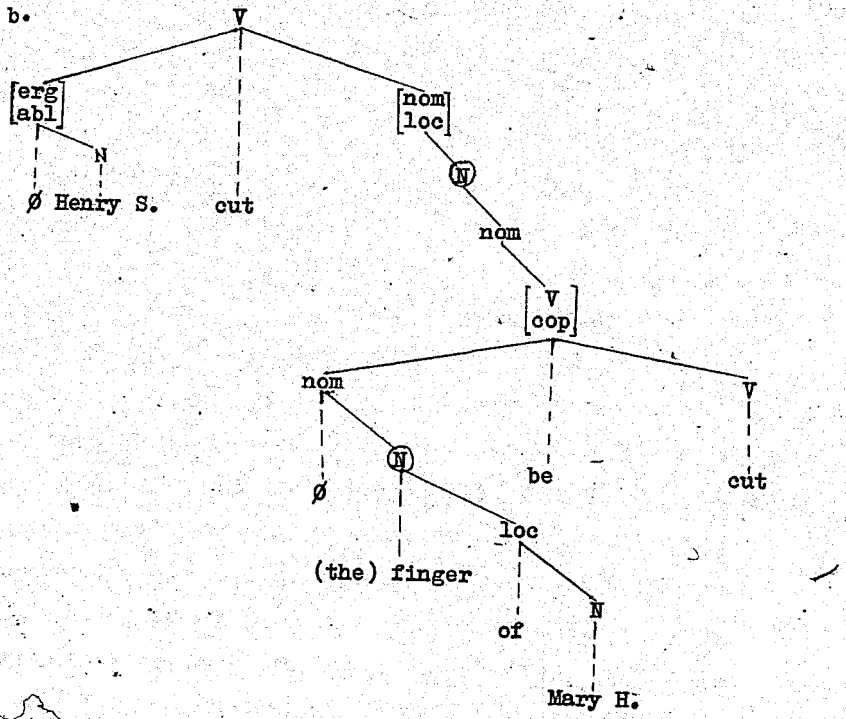
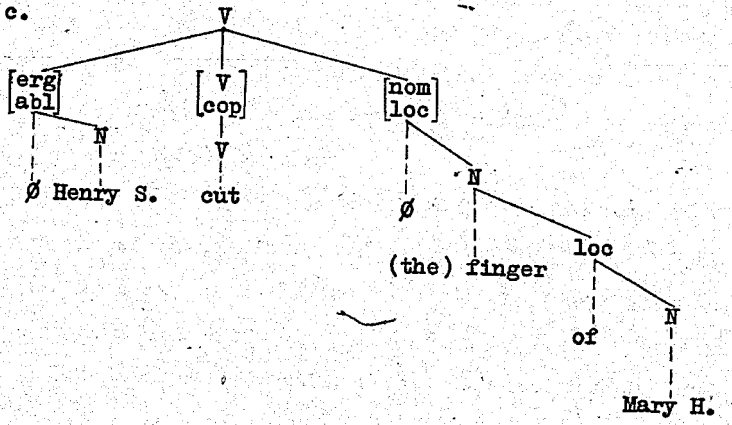
N
Ø Henry S.
cut
N
nom
V
cop
nom
V
N
be
cut
nom
V
nom
loc
N
N
Ø (the) finger 'be'
of Mary H.

b.


V
[erg abl]
[nom loc]
N
Ø Henry S.
cut
N
nom
[V cop]
nom
V
N
Ø
be
cut
loc
(the) finger
of
N
Mary H.

c.


V
[erg abl]
[V cop]
[nom loc]
N
V
Ø Henry S.
cut
Ø
N
loc
(the) finger
of
N
Mary H.

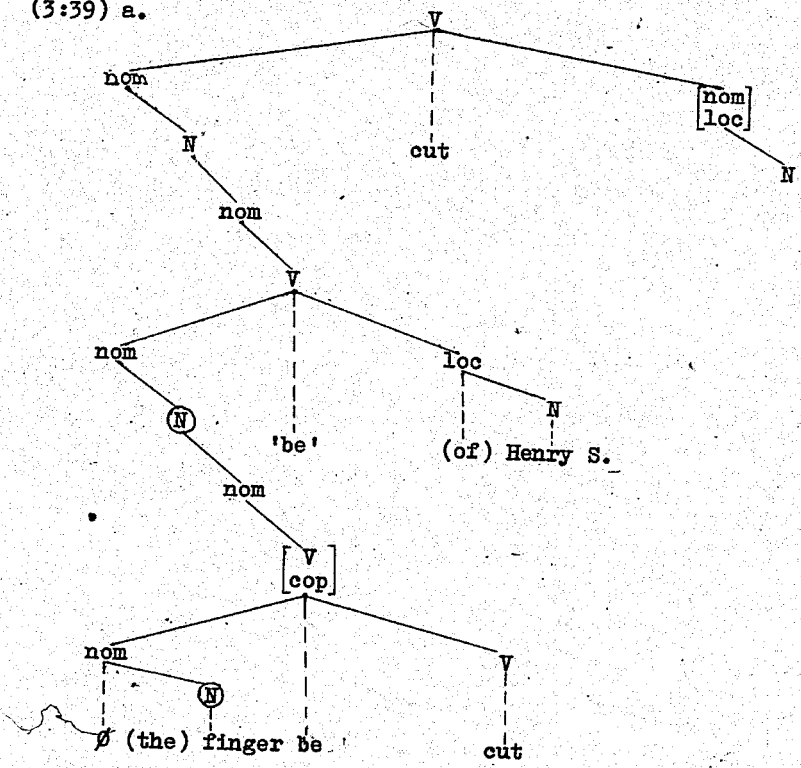
Structure (3:38) in fact underlies (3:35d). The lowermost predication is collapsed and the loc is adjoined to the nom dominating the V. The nom N with the adjoined appositional loc is then raised as in (3:38b) by the relativization rule (see above §§ 2.4). The be is absorbed. The $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ cop \end{bmatrix}$ and V of the now lower predication are subjoined to to the uppermost V as in (3:38c). The nom N is cyclically raised once again. The nom cases governing the V's are pruned out in the derivation. The derivation of the underlying structure (3:38a) has two alternatives: (1) It can proceed as above to the (3:38c) structure, after which the permutation and possessive/genitive formation rules operate (see above §§ 3.3.1 and Diagram III), or (2) the proverbal possessive/genitive formation rule (see above §§ 2.4) can operate first and then relativization. Thus, the nom phrase Mary H's finger (see (3:35c)) is raised. Hence, the definite article is placed in brackets in either case, only reflexing if the locative appositional phrase reflexes. Finally, the loc is adjoined to the nom because they are not separated in the passive (i.e. The finger of Mary H. was cut by Henry S./Mary H's finger was cut by Henry S.).

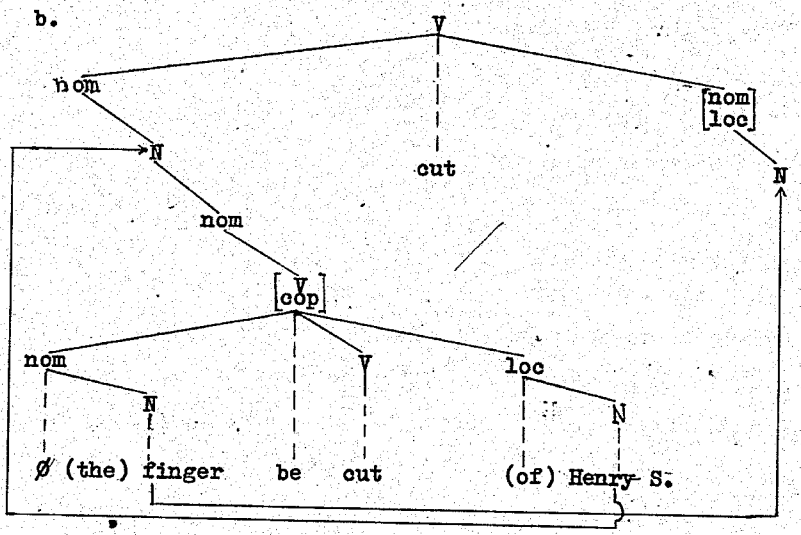
Clause (3:35e) has the underlying structure of (3:38) with the added condition that the uppermost $\begin{bmatrix} erg \\ abl \end{bmatrix}$-dominated N has identity with the lowermost loc N, where the name Henry S. would then originate. Such an identity may or may not occur for (3:35f), (3:37b) and (3:29a) depending on the interpretation. Clauses (3:35g-h) have the struc-

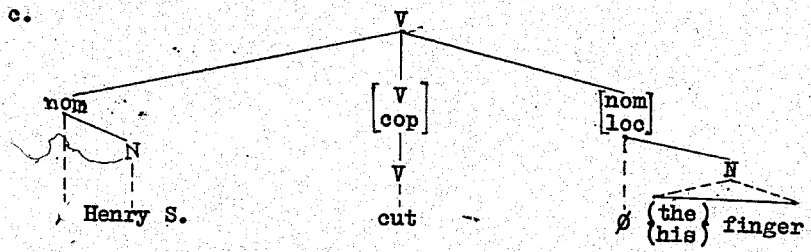
ture (3:36) with identity between the $\begin{bmatrix}\text{erg}\\ \text{abl}\end{bmatrix}$ and lowermost loc N's. Henry S. originates in the lowermost loc N and -self in the nom N of the immediately dominating predication. Him- is copied onto -self in English (in French, German and OE the Dativus Sympatheticus without a -self form is sufficient to indicate reflexiveness--cf. e.g. (3:37a)) and the optional pronominalization rule of English may operate as in (3:35h) forming an adnominal possessive copy before the body part. (See below §§ 4.2 on -self)

The other ambiguity connected with (3:35f) referred to above is wether or not the subject is ergative. If it is, the underlying structure is that of (3:38) together with the identity conditions which are overtly reflexed in the surface structures of (3:35e, g and h); if it is not, the ergative higher predication is missed out, thus the subject is lowered to the nom N of the intermediate passive/resultative predication as in (3:39);

(3:39) a.


V
nom
N
cut
nom
loc
N
nom
V
nom
loc
N
N
'be'
(of) Henry S.
nom
V
cop
nom
V
N
Ø (the) finger be
cut

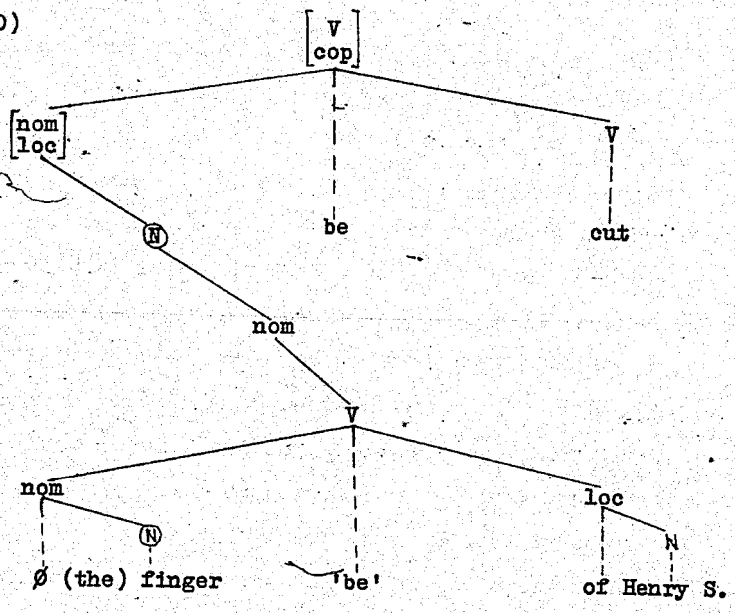




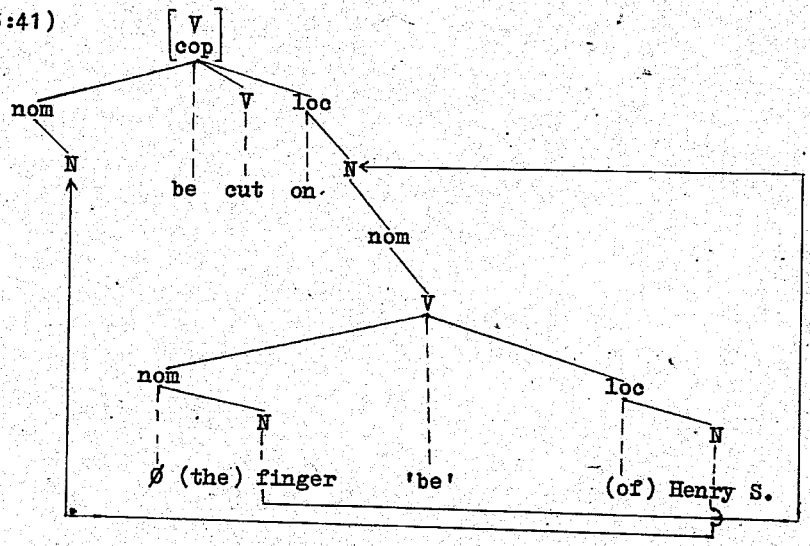
In (3:39) cut originates in a higher nominative (i.e. non-ergative, agent and cause unspecified) predication. We are claiming that the verb of (3:35f) derived from this underlying structure is semantically equivalent to the verb in (3:35i-j). However, the $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ cop \end{bmatrix}$ and the passive/resultative V do not reflex, because of 'X-principle' operation. The 'X-principle' is necessitated because '*The finger is cut of Henry S.' is ungrammatical. Therefore, they are absorbed into a higher nom predication and despite

surface form, are semantically equivalent with the reflexed passive/resultative verb. The optional pronominalization rule must operate in this instance, though the possessive may not reflex, otherwise the clause is interpreted as ergative (i.e. equivalent to (3:35c or e)). A similar structure underlies (3:35f) when an instrument is made explicit, e.g. 'Henry S. cut his finger on a knife.' That is, this clause has the possibilty of a non-ergative interpretation. Other underlying structures in which the agent or instrument is not explicit (i.e. deleted) for clauses (3:35i-j) and (3:35k-l) are in (3:40) and (3:41), respectively:

(3:40)



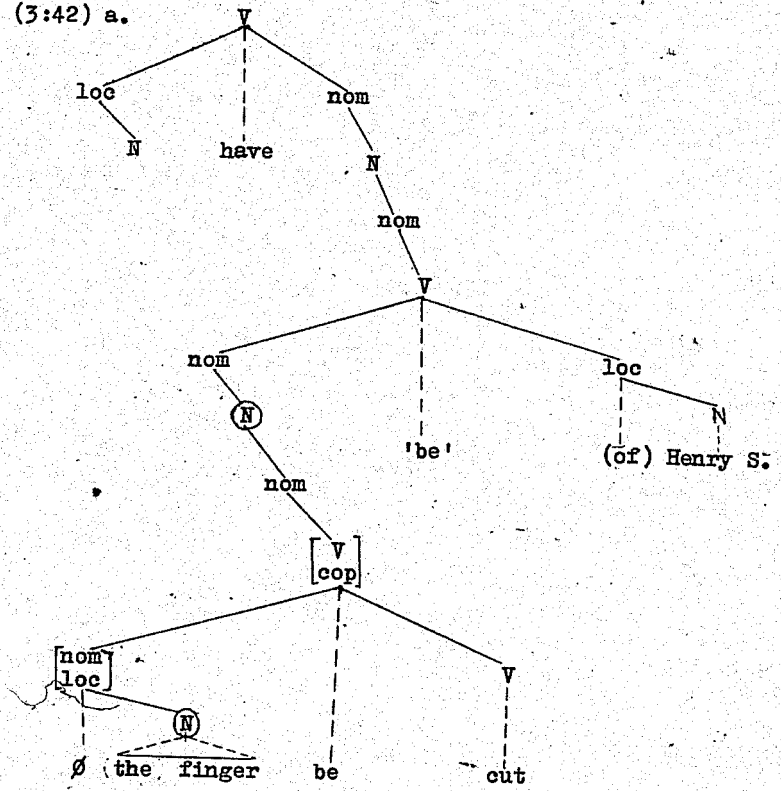
(3:41)

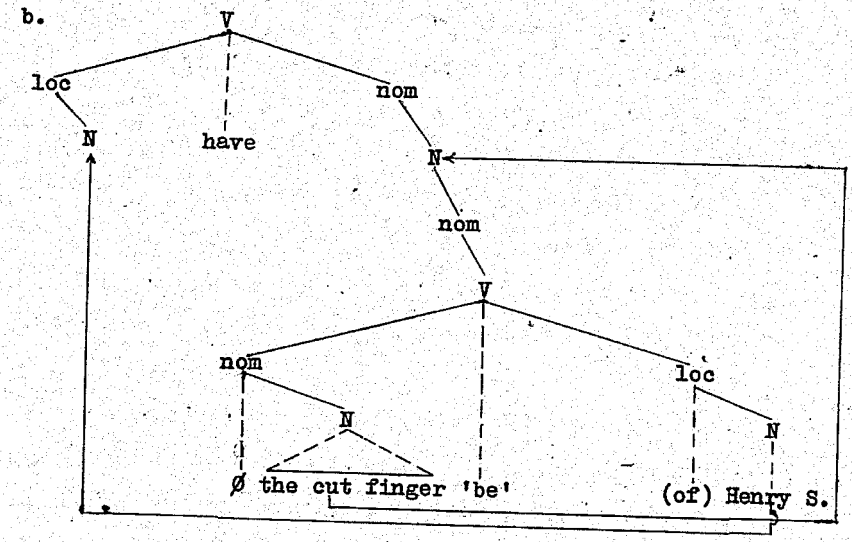


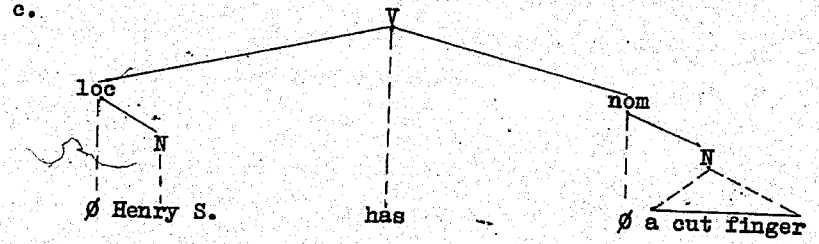
The structures (3:40) and (3:41) show clearly the motivation for the intermediate $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} V \\ cop \end{smallmatrix}\right]$ in the structures (3:36a) and (3:38a), because be reflexes in the clauses derived from the former pair. Two conventions are also made obvious: (1) Where there are two empty N's in the higher predication as in (3:39) and (3:41) the 'X-principle' operates to raise the lower N's; and (2) where there is only one empty N as in (3:38) and (3:40) in the next higher predication a relativization rule raises the nom N, if the possessive formation rule operates first, or the nom N with the appositional loc N after which permutation and possessive formation optionally occur.

In the clause 'Henry S. has the cut finger' both rule conventions apply as in (3:42):

(3:42) a.


V
loc
nom
N
have
N
nom
V
nom
loc
N
'be'
(of) Henry S.
nom
V
cop
nom
loc
V
N
Ø
the finger
be
cut





In (3:42) the verb cut reflexes in its attributive/resultative function, one of the features which are subjoined to to the verb form in the uppermost predication of (3:36) and (3:38). The relativization rule (e.g. when fully reflexed is 'Henry S. has the (a) finger which is cut') raises the attributivized N to the next higher predication. There the modified nom N and loc N in (3:42b) undergo 'X-principle' raising to form (3:42c). The bracketed of is a convention developed here and in (3:36), (3:39)

and (3:41) when the 'X-principle' operates and of cannot possibly reflex. Bracketed of indicates that the same relationship exists between body and body part as when of reflexes in the surface structure. Where it does reflex optionally as in (3:38) and (3:40) it is unbracketed. Notice that the have of (3:42) is a non-dative locative, i.e. body parts are not 'owned', neither is this the have of 'availability' as the semantic marker is of and not with.

As we hinted in §§ 1.3.2 on Fillmore's analysis, in his terms, a L(ocative) initially dominates the D(ative) in the underlying structures of body part clauses, and then depending on the surface reflex, the various constituents ('predications' in our terminology) are reordered and/or deleted. Our analysis postulates three underlying predications, (1) ergative, (2) passive or attributive/resultative, and (3) nominative-locative. As with Fillmore's analysis (3) is usually (not in (3:39) or (3:42)) embedded in (2), and if there is an ergative super-predication, both are embedded in (1). When there is an ergative predication and it is marked as [+reflexive] (e.g. (3:35g-h) and (3:35e)) the lowermost loc N is copied into both higher predications; if the uppermost N is non-reflexive the lowermost loc N is only copied (raised) once into the immediately dominating (passive/resultative) predication (see above (3:36) and (3:38)). Where the clauses are non-ergative, i.e. only two predications as in (3:40) and (3:41), the reflexed subject is copied (raised) from

the lower predication, that is, it is obligatorily related to the body part. In clauses in which (2) is embedded in (3) (see above (3:39) and (3:42)) the subject N originates in the loc of the intermediate nominative-locative predication and is copied (raised) into the uppermost predication. In essence, I cannot say that my analysis differs fundamentally from Fillmore's (1968: § 5.3); however, I have been able to improve on his analysis, in that I have related ergative and non-ergative (i.e. nominative) body-part clauses in a natural way. Whereas Fillmore analyzes an ergative clause 'John pinched Mary on the nose' and a nominative clause 'The girl's eyes are beautiful' and does not relate the underlying structures of these two clauses, I have shown that the latter is part of the former. Of course, ... some locative-nominative body-part clauses, like Fillmore's example cited above, never appear in surface structure with ergative super-structures, which is why Fillmore probably failed to see the structural connexion. By working with clauses like (3:35a) and (3:35i), which are structurally identical to Fillmore's examples, the connexion becomes obvious. Finally, as a result of relating ergative and non-ergative body-part clauses, we we have been able to show how (3:35f) can be derived from either an ergative structure like (3:38) or a nominative structure like (3:39) and thus account for its ambiguity.

3.6 Summary and Conclusions

In this chapter we have investigated the adnominal

possessives of relational and body-part nouns and tried to find semantic evidence which might motivate two- (proverbal/adnominal possessives) and threefold (proverbal/adnominal possessives of relational and body-part nouns) distinctions in underlying structures of English relatable to reflexed morphophonemic distinctions in the possessive forms of various other languages. One fault in our argument is that the morphology of possessives in no language, to my knowledge, reflects the semantic underlying structures we have assigned to them. In other words, there is no independent morphological motivation for the precision of our structures, especially with respect to adnominal possessives of relational nouns.

Our arguments are indirect. The internal underlying structures we have proposed for possessives in this chapter and Chapter 2 are implicit in the three classes of nouns distinguished by the differences in the possessive forms and the fact that the two adnominal forms cannot be related to the verbs of possession. Thus, our argument is not circular, but fallacious: Nouns have relational structure or lack of it; that differences in noun structure is in some languages reflected in or classified by the possessive forms does not <u>necessarily</u> imply that they themselves have structure.

CHAPTER IV: RELATED PROBLEMS AND CONCLUSIONS

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter we shall examine briefly three diverse problems in connexion with the possessive forms. The first of these problems is to do with tense--the temporal relationship between the clausal verbs and the verbal elements of the possessive forms. Secondly, we shall discuss -self, which has come to collocate with the possessive forms in the first two persons (i.e. myself, yourself, but not *hisself, *theirself, etc.) and own, which in English is never found except in the presence of a possessive (or rarely a genitive). Finally we shall try to place possessives in a grammatical category. For the purposes of this discussion we shall be making reference to Bach's (1968) proposal and Anderson's (unpublished Ph.D. thesis) re-examination of this proposal concerning a single-form (i.e. 'predicate' or 'contentive') underlying structure for the three major categories--nouns, verbs and adjectives.

4.1 Possessives and Tense

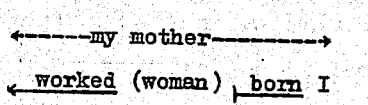
The initial part of our discussion here is coloured somewhat by the nature of the nouns modified. As we stated in §§ 3.1.1 the relational and body-part nouns maintain a permanent or inalienable (with some exceptions like the associational nouns) relationship with their original 'possessor' for an infinity, despite their present circumstances, e.g. death, transplantation, etc. In other

words, many relational and body-part nouns are generic, i.e. without tense reference. The copula be in the underlying structures of adnominal possessives is generic, and therefore so is the relationship between the two complements (one pronominalized in the possessive form) of the inalienable relational noun and the body to the body part. In some languages (cf. discussion of Menomini in §§ 1.2.2) such nouns obligatorily reflex with a 'possessor' morpheme, either definite or indefinite, to complete the generic relationship.

Let us begin by using a clause similar to Bach's (1968:101) in (4:1):

(4:1) Before I was born, my mother worked in a cafeteria.

My mother is an inalienable relational noun phrase (i.e. I be son of mother), and thus generic. Notice that 'when my mother was working' she was not, in fact, 'my mother'; this may be clarified in the representation (4:2):

(4:2) 

At the tensed level, represented by the solid lines, there is one point of reference in time 'being born' represented by the perpendicular, which is preceded by the iterative 'working' represented by the arrow sign. At the generic level, in which the referenced tense predication is embedded, (represented by the broken line) the relational noun phrase is extended over the entire period of time in both directions.

Now we shall briefly consider non-relational nouns modified by proverbal possessives as in (4:3):

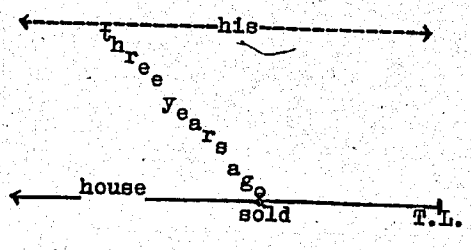
(4:3) a. He sold his house three years ago.

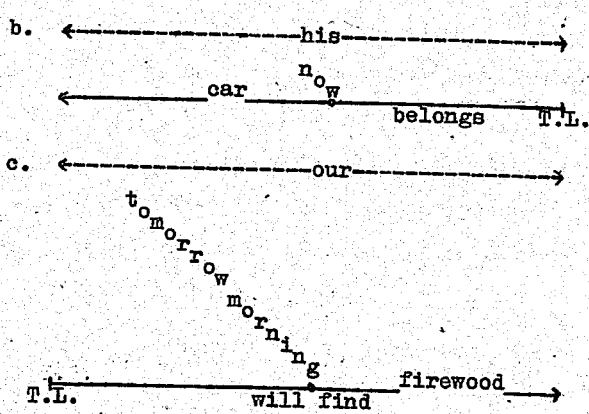
b. His car now belongs to John.

c. We will find our firewood tomorrow morning.

To account for the grammaticality of the clauses in (4:3), we must conclude that the dative locative be of the proverbal possessive is tenseless. Thus in (4:3a) the relationship imposed upon house by the proverbal possessive extends from the undetermined distant past to a specific point in the past, three years ago, through the present and beyond. Thus tense reference points (only one is explicit, however) are embedded in the tenseless be. The main verb of clause (4:3b) is in the present tense, but because it is stative it entails inception of belonging in the past indicated by the adverb now as well as continuation into the present. Here, then, a stative verb is embedded into the non-temporal be. Lastly, in (4:3c) the tenseless proverbal possessive extends over the period from the time of locution to a point in the future, tomorrow morning, and beyond. We may represent the embedding of the referenced tences into the proverbal possessive as follows in (4:4):

(4:4) a.





The referentially tensed sentential verbs are embedded in a proverbal predication (tenseless), and both refer to the same noun. Like (4:2) the solid lines in (4:4) represent the tense level, while the broken lines represent the untensed level. Included in the tense level is a marker of the time of locution (T.L.).

As we have mentioned, there is some independent linguistic evidence for a representation of (4:3c) such as (4:4c) from Maori (cf. § 1.2.1) which has reflexed forms that specifically indicate 'unrealized' (before the reference marker dot) and 'realized' (after the dot) possession. However, the other two clauses (4:3a-b) appear to be characterized by realized possession, followed by something which I loosely term 'a residue of relationship or association' after the tense marker and semantic content of the sentential verbs indicate a contradiction to possession. For this notion I can find no independent motivation. Thus, an alternative proposal is that the

verbal element of the proverbal possessive is tense indexed with respect to the sentential verb. The verbs of possession derived from the common structure that underlies proverbal possessives overtly reflex tense. Example (4:5) illustrates that the tense of the possessive verb in the dependent clause is oriented with respect to the verb in the main clause:

(4:5) a. He sold the house which belonged to him three years ago.

b. *He sold the house which belongs to him three years ago.

c. *He sold the house which will belong to him three years ago.

The relative clause does not indicate that it is perfectly acceptable to speak of 'his house' though it no longer belongs to him, i.e. it does not capture 'residue of relationship.' As a result the proverbal possessive verbal element would have to be characterized by two verb predications, a tenseless one above the matrix clause predication and a tensed one in the proverbal structure below (embedded in) the matrix clause predication. In other words, the possessive form would be characterized by different semantic structures on either side of the temporal reference point in (4:4). Such delicacy of semantic description as a higher verb predication is probably unwarranted in underlying structure, particularly since there are no constraints on grammaticality of possessives in any clause resulting from the main verb tense or semantic content and since the possessive structure

is embedded as a relative into the matrix clause.[1]

4.2 -Self and Own

Consider the following paradigm in (4:6):

(4:6) a. He lives/is on his own.

b. He lives/is by himself.

c. She cooks on her own.

d. She cooks by herself.

e. You cook your own dinner.

f. You cook yourself dinner.

For the present in our analysis of (4:6) we shall treat -self and own as commonly derived formatives which are inseparable from the possessive forms in English,[2] despite some obvious superficial differences. The output of the morpho-phonological component derives own as an unbound formative and -self as bound. Yet own is with but one little known exception (cf. fn. 2, Ch. 4) far more dependent and closely associated with the occurrence of a possessive form than -self. This is evidenced in the clauses of (4:7):

(4:7) a. He has his own money.

b. *He has own money.

c. She has her own new dress.

d. *She has her new own dress.

Own cannot reflex without a possessive form as in (4:7b), nor can an adjective interpose between the possessive and own[3] as in (4:7d). -Self, on the other hand, though super-

ficially bound to the possessive forms (in the first two persons, at least), can and does appear unbound and also admits the interposition of an adjective as in (4:8):

(4:8) a. I have a kind of self that resides with you;
Shakes. T and C IIIiii155.

b. I am my own self again today.

Up to this point we have referred to own and -self as formatives; it is now our intention to argue for their being nouns modified by adnominal possessives. One bit of evidence which follows from (4:8b) for treating -self as a noun is that although the -self forms are formally considered three persons and must be in agreement with the subject noun of the clause in which they appear, alternatively all could be considered (and I think are in fact) third person 'denoting the 'self' which is mine, yours, his, etc.' (cf. Wood 1956:99). Historically, the reflexive intensifier -self became regarded as a noun in ME when it was modified by the possessive forms in the first two persons, i.e. they became nouns and thus possessable (cf. Brook 1958:128). In some dialects of English the forms hisself and theirselves as well as the mis-spelling one's self have arisen. The third person forms himself, herself (not possessive, but dative in origin) and themselves, are derived from a blend of dative and accusative forms with the unbound self form (cf. again Brook 1958:128 and Sweet 1900: §§ 1106) and became the nominal reflexive form equivalent to the Latin se or the German sich, as opposed to the intensifiers, Latin ipse and German selbst.

Also, notice the concord of the plural forms and -self in ourselves, yourselves, and them/theirselves.

It is true that their were two self forms which merged; the other was an adjective by which the reflexive intensifier -self form became associated with the meaning 'same', e.g. 'the selve moment' (Chaucer) and 'selfsame'. The -self form is identical to the subject nom or erg N of a clause, but simultaneously allows the duality of the nom or erg N to occur. The -self form can only be the same as the subject N, but not be the subject N; thus, for instance, I is figuratively divided into I and (my)self. By way of example note (4:9):

(4:9) a. *I was talking to I/me.

b. I was talking to myself.

Also, compare the clauses in (4:10) suggested by Erades (1956), which suggest the exclusive completeness of this two-in-one personal pronoun/-self relationship:

(4:10) a. He lives alone with his son.

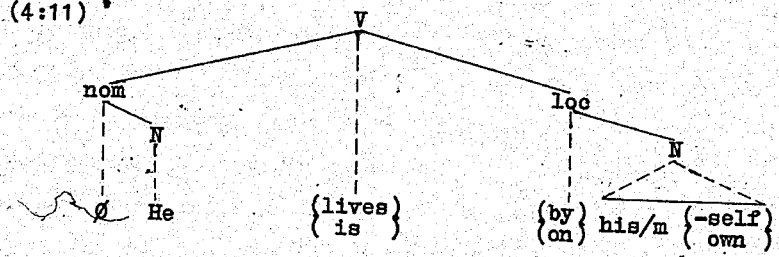
b. *He lives by himself with his son.

c. *He lives on his own with his son.

The point of the above digression was to describe some of the evidence which allows us to consider -self and own nominal forms. Now we are in a position to propose that these forms are semantically analogous to other body-part nouns. Syntactically, they obligatorily receive a preposed possessive form copied on to them from a lower nominative locative predication (see above § 3.5.2).

And the -self and own forms, like the other body parts, reflex in locative phrases as evidenced by the reflexion of the locative markers in (4:6a-d). (For the moment we shall leave (4:6e-f).) In the case of -self and own, the reflexion of the semantic marker must be considered metaphorical as opposed to abstract. That is, one does not (literally) 'live by oneself/on one's own' as one 'lives (near) by a river or on a boat. This is also true of the comitative with, e.g. 'He must now live with himself/with his aunt.' The representation of the derived structure of (4:6a-b) is (4:11):[4]

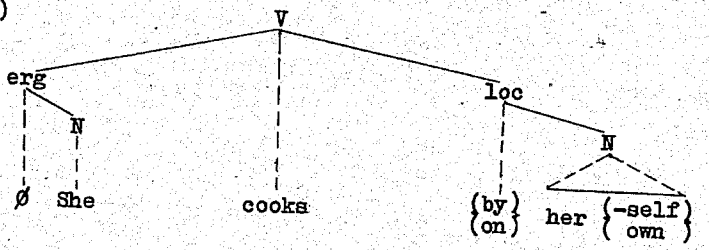
(4:11)



I am presuming that the on/by semantic markers in (4:6a-b) are semantically equivalent and I am representing these clauses as having an identical underlying structure in (4:11). I presume the morphophonemic rules resolve the his/him variant.

The structures of (4:6c-d) represented in (4:12) are likewise identical:

(4:12)



Now we shall turn to clauses (4:6e-f) and attempt to show that the non-contrastive reading of (4:6e) (the contrastive reading being 'You cook <u>your</u> dinner' (and nobody else's)) is semantically equivalent to (4:6f) and that both are representable by a common benefactive locative structure. I presume that in (4:6e-f) the semantic (prepositional) markers have been deleted before reflexing and that these markers are not <u>on/by</u> since 'You cook dinner on your own' is not a paraphrase of (4:6e) and 'You cook dinner by yourself' is not a paraphrase of (4:6f). However, we hold that (4:13) is equivalent to (4:6f):

(4:13) You cook dinner for yourself.

Further, we maintain that (4:6e) is also a benefactive locative, although the semantic marker is never reflexed. <u>Own</u> in this reading is no mere intensifier, which is inserted by a transformational rule late in the derivation. If this were so, <u>your</u> would have to be derived as a proverbal possessive, since <u>dinner</u> is a non-relational noun. <u>Your</u> in (4:6e) is an adnominal possessive which modifies <u>own</u> and not <u>dinner</u>. Notice the result when we substitute another possessive for <u>your</u> in (4:14):

(4:14) *You cook his own dinner.

Yet if own does not appear, (4:14) is perfectly grammatical as in (4:15):

(4:15) You cook his dinner.

Next, notice that if (4:15) is interpreted as a benefactive clause, it must reflex as (4:16a) rather than (4:14), whereas the already benefactive (4:6e) cannot reflex analogously as (4:16b):

(4:16) a. You cook dinner for him.

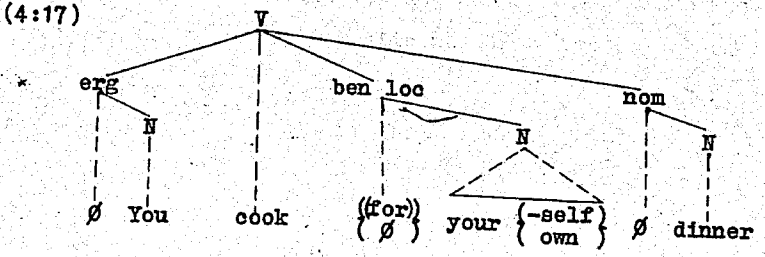
b. *You$_i$ cook dinner for you$_i$.

(If, in (4:16b) you is not identical, the clause would be acceptable.)

In a final bit of evidence for the benefactive for interpretation, in OE a dative and the own-equivalent self form (though self/selfa was optional) were often added reflexively to the nominative 'without materially changing meaning' as in hē ondrēd him (self) þone mann 'he was afraid of the man', literally 'feared for himself' (cf. Sweet 1900: § 1106).

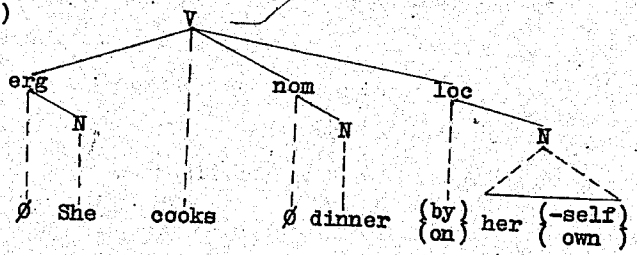
Thus, the common structure for (4:6e-f) is (4:17):

(4:17)



Let us redraw structure (4:12) as (4:18), this time including a nom N, in order to discuss what seem to be a rather large number of constraints associated with such structures:

(4:18)



First, with respect to ordering, in (4:17) when the benefactive locative marker reflexes (optional as indicated by the brackets) the locative and nominative nodes are obligatorily permuted (cf. (4:13)). When the benefactive locative marker does not reflex, the -self form may precede or follow the nom N, whereas the own form obligatorily precedes the nom N. In (4:18) the loc node obligatorily follows the nom node and the loc markers are obligatorily reflexed. By not reflexing the by/on a change in meaning results and thus a change in structure from (4:18) to (4:17). Finally, if a nom is not included in the structure (cf. (4:12)), the subject erg is subcategorized [loc] when the semantic markers by/on do not reflex. Similarly, the [loc] feature must be subcategorized on to the subject erg in (4:17) when the for and nom N do not reflex. Otherwise, if left unsubcategorized, the reflexive structure (cf. Anderson 1971:(xliv f)) results and the interpretation 'You cook yourself' (i.e. You cook you).

4.3 Possessives and Grammatical Category

Up to this point we have distinguished between two forms of possessives determined by their relationship to the noun that they modify--proverbal and adnominal possessives. The latter modify two sub-classes of nouns, relational nouns and body parts. The terminology we have used to refer to the two possessive forms, particularly in the case of the proverbal possessives, is descriptive of structural composition, rather than grammatical category.

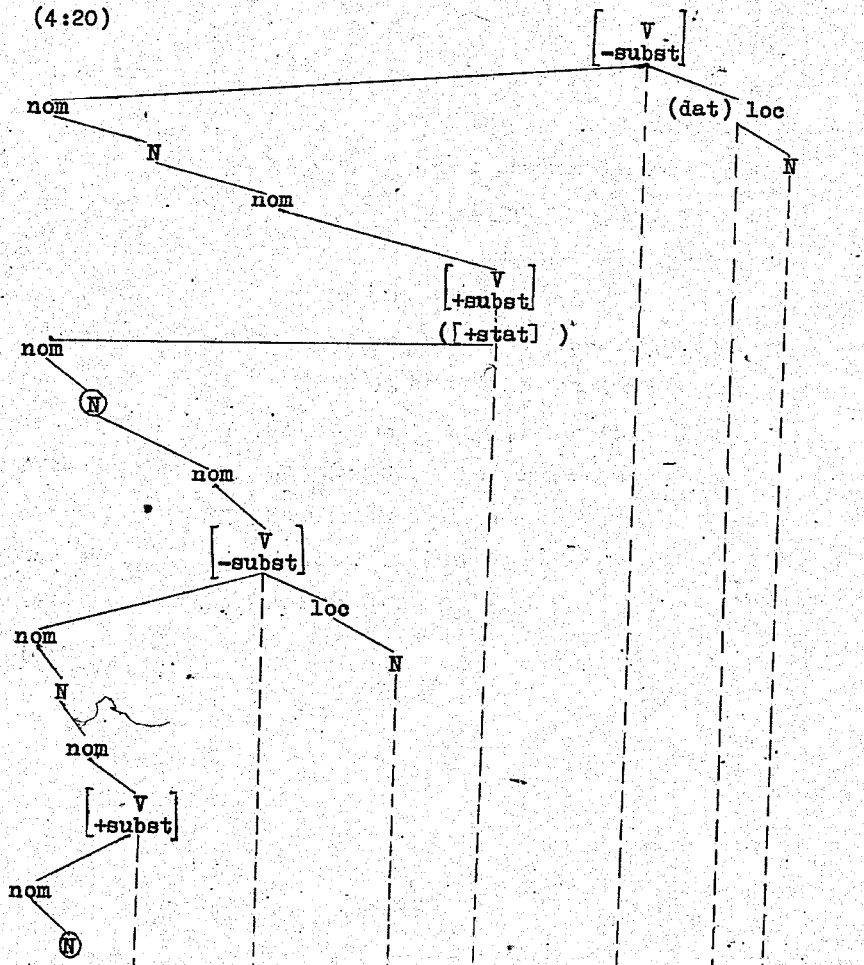
4.3.1 Proverbal possessives. In his latest work Anderson (unpublished Ph.D. thesis: §§ 8.1-8.3) has taken up Bach's proposal (1968: § 1) that the three major categories, verbs, nouns, and adjectives, are derived from a single underlying predicate structure in which one or two distinct features determine the category of the predicate or 'sententive'. In Anderson's formulation, all three categories are marked [V] (i.e. [+pred]), the distinctions being made between the three positive/negative combinations of the features [substantive] and [stative], thus the feature complexes for nouns, verbs and adjectives, respectively, are as in (4:19):

(4:19) a. $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{pred} \\ +\text{subst} \\ +\text{stat} \end{bmatrix}$ b. $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{pred} \\ -\text{subst} \\ -\text{stat} \end{bmatrix}$ c. $\begin{bmatrix} +\text{pred} \\ -\text{subst} \\ +\text{stat} \end{bmatrix}$

In terms of this proposal, proverbal possessives still appear to be a reduced sentential form, which is

very similar to the derivations for predicative clauses like Anderson's 'The president is a soldier' (e.g. $\left[\begin{smallmatrix}V\\+subst\end{smallmatrix}\right]\left[\begin{smallmatrix}V\\-subst\end{smallmatrix}\right]\left[\begin{smallmatrix}V\\+subst\end{smallmatrix}\right]$), in that it is composed of (two) substantive and non-substantive predicates. In fact, the structures are nearly identical. Compare the structures of the clauses 'The president is a soldier' and 'The car is mine' in (4:20a-b):

(4:20)



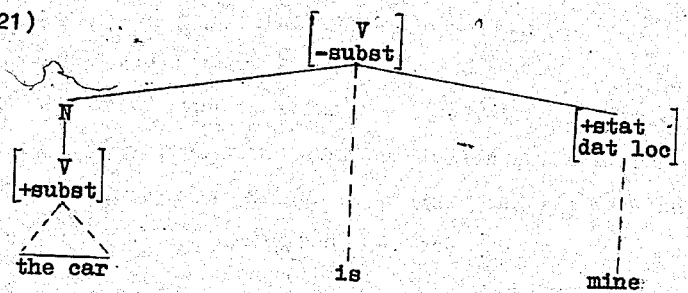
a. car 'be' 'existence' 'possession' be to me

b. president 'be' 'existence' soldier be 'existence'

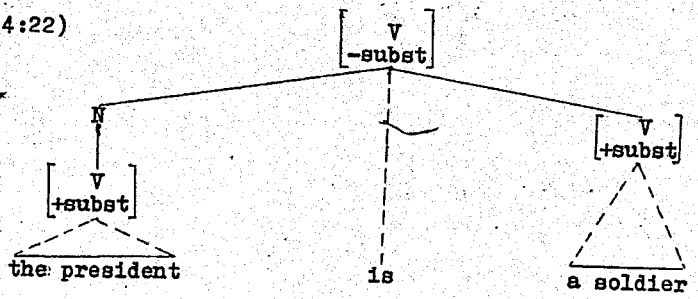
The circled N's represent co-referentiality. Structure (4:20a) does not reflex 'The car is possession', but 'The car is mine', that is the pronominal element is absorbed

into 'possession' and reflexes as mine (see below § 4.4). The dative locative marker to indicates the type of possessive relationship, which in this case is 'ownership', and is also absorbed into mine. I presume likewise that 'existence' is absorbed into president and soldier in (4:20b) since they do not reflex. Mine, unlike soldier, is not a substantive, and not a full predicate (i.e. an adjective) as Anderson suggests in the non-attributive position (see above (2:22)), hence the feature [+stat] in brackets (not part of the $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} V \\ +subst \end{smallmatrix}\right]$) for 'possession.' After subjunction, pruning and other operations described and motivated by Anderson (unpublished Ph.D. thesis: §8.3) the structures are reduced to (4:21) and (4:22) from (4:20a-b), respectively:

(4:21)



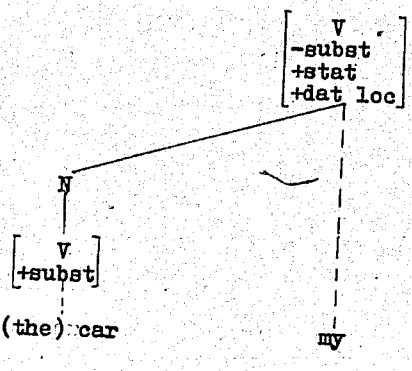
(4:22)



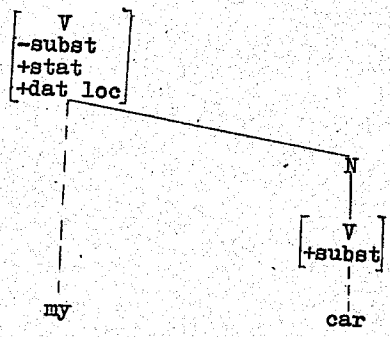
Such structures as (4:21), I would like to argue, are further reducible to an adjectival form (i.e. attributive position) without recourse to relative formation and reduction rules. Motivation for such a proposal depends on whether adjectives are predicate primes (as Anderson and Bach suggest) like nouns and verbs, or secondarily derived from a noun/verb predicative phrase of an N-dominated substantive predicate. Non-attributive adjectives are devoid of the verbal element, but are dominated by a verbal predicate. The non-attributive adjective is a non-substantive and non-verbal state into which nouns can enter or be entered.

The attributive adjective only is a predicate prime. The attributive adjective is formed by a conflation of the features $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ -subst \end{bmatrix}$ (the copula) and [+stat], and in the case of the proverbal possessives a [+dat loc] feature. Now returning to structure (4:21) after attributive adjective formation (or V conflation), the structural representation will be something like (4:23a) and after permutation (in English) (4:23b):

(4:23) a.



b.



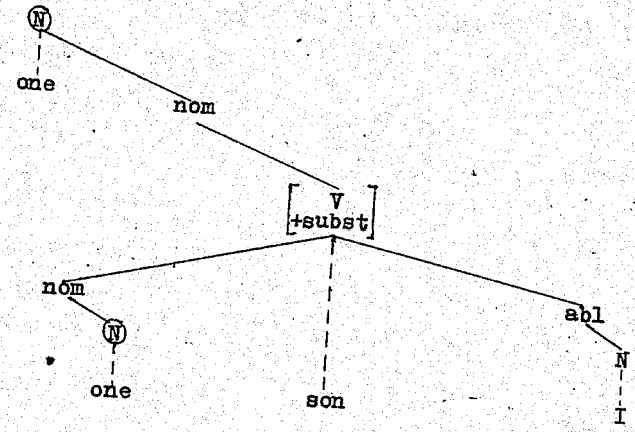
Such a proposal is not new with me. Adjectives have long been considered (a sub-category of) verbs (cf. Lyons 1968: §§ 7.6.4). When they reflex as predicative phrases (e.g. The girl is beautiful.) the verbal predicate reflexes separately and distinctly. And we have argued that the verbal predicate is very much a part of the underlying structures of proverbal possessives. Ross (1969) has also put forth a proposal that adjectives are derived from noun phrases which include a verbal element. In support of his claim he has adduced six arguments, though not all equally convincing.

4.3.2 Adnominal possessives. An alternative proposal for the underlying structure of adnominal possessives of relational nouns in the Bachian framework is also possible.[5]

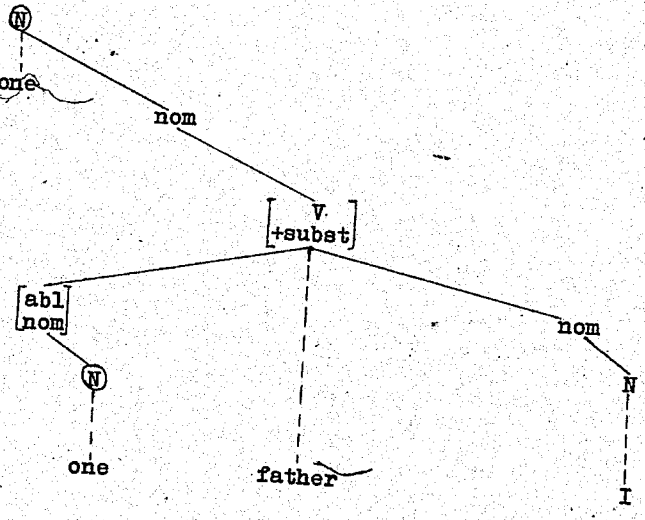
In this analysis we preserve the nominative governed underlying structure, but instead of including both complements of the relational set in the underlying structure with conflation of the non-reflexed one and the personal pronoun, the complementary relational structure

of these nouns is captured by the use of case markings. Compare the structures for 'my son' and 'my father' in (4:24) and (4:25), respectively:

(4:24)



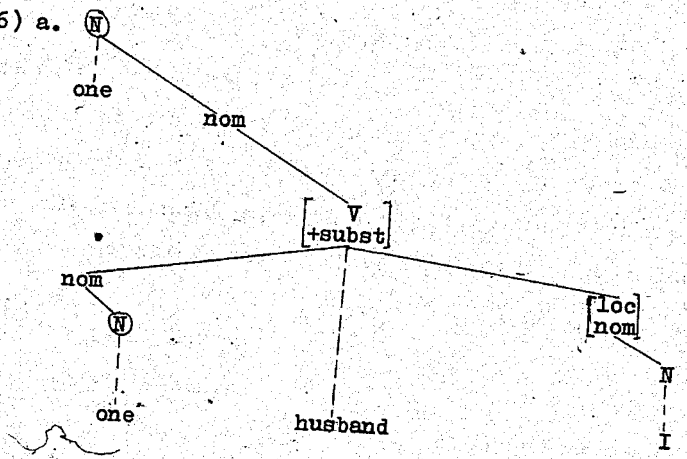
(4:25)



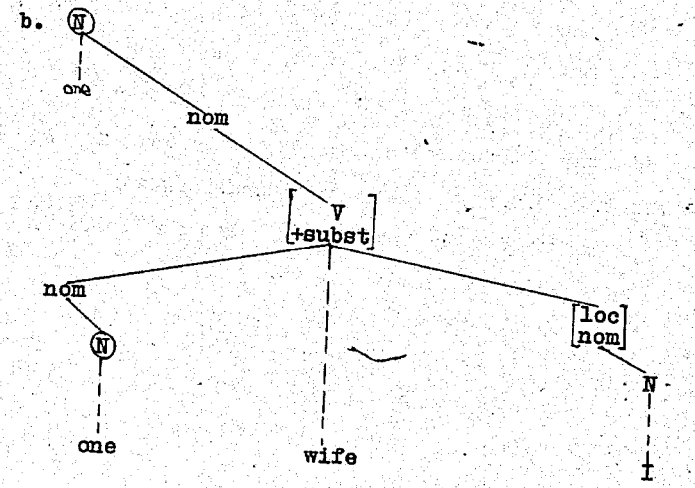
The ablative case concretely represents the (genitive) relationship between father and son, or more generally between parent and child. In (4:24) the son (is)

'from/of' I; in (4:25) I (am) 'from/of' father. The precise semantic marker of the ablative is in doubt. These structures represent an asymmetrical complementary relational pair. (4:26) represents the structural identity of a symmetrical relational pair like (my) husband/(my) wife or (my) brother/(my) sister:

(4:26) a.



b.



The reflex of (4:26a) is something like husband 'of' I ⇒ my husband and of (4:26b) wife 'of' I ⇒ my wife. In (4:24), (4:25) and (4:26) the circled N's represent identity, that is, relative embedding.

In conclusion we have argued that the attributive adjective is not derived relatively (e.g. The car which is mine), but from a non-attributive conflated predicative phrase structure composed of a verbal predicate dominating a non-predicate stative. Proverbal possessives, then, are a locative subcategory of adjectives, since by either this or the relative analysis, they are derived from similar underlying structures as adjectives but have an added locative feature.

4.4 Concluding Remarks

In our Summary and Conclusions for Chapter 3 (see above § 3.6) we suggested that our proposals were fallaciously argued in that we adduced structure to the possessive as classifier, rather than to the noun classified. Such a counter-argument is tenable; however, it must be kept in mind that possessives are more than classifiers. They also reflex pronominal elements, which perform a deictic function, as well as indicating a type of possessive relationship between two nouns. In terms of structure this is independently motivated, as for example in Maori where the two possessive particles (classifiers), a and o, combine freely in the surface structure with all personal pronouns to form possessives. Also, I hardly

have to point out that in English and other Indo-European languages those lexemes which are termed 'possessives' are morphologically similar to pronouns in the surface structure.

We have formalized these two elements[6] in an underlying structure for possessives. In a word the grammar of possession distinguishes types of possessive relationship within a common underlying structure. The cases and corresponding semantic markers (e.g. dative locative/to, benefactive locative/for, (non-dative) locative/with, on, of, ablative/of, etc.), all of which reflex in some form in at least one language (usually other than English), distinguish types of possessive relationship between the person (pronominal element) and the noun modified. In most cases the noun determines the kind of relationship, and equally put the other way, the classes of nouns are classified by the case markers in underlying structure and the corresponding possessive reflexes in languages in which they occur. In the case of the proverbal possessives and have a further distinction is made between 'ownership' (dative) and 'availability' (non-dative). As has been evident throughout this work, there is held to be a common underlying possessive relational structure differing only in case and semantic markers, and it is the commonality of the underlying structures which may well account for the neutralized surface structure forms found particularly in English.

I do not claim that the underlying structures I

have formulated represent all the types of possessive relationships of that the semantic markers I have chosen are necessarily most appropriate for the type of possessive relationship they represent. This work is by no means exhaustive. However, the basic underlying structure proposed here appears to be well-motivated by the types of possessive relationships we have examined. Slight alterations of semantic markers, perhaps more easily motivated than those I have suggested, and additions of other possessive relationship types reflexed in other languages which may have been over-looked would seem easily integratable into our proposed structure.

NOTES

Chapter 1

1. Chomsky (1965: § 5). We have, however, set the task for ourselves of dealing with the more abstract (i.e. formal) sematic universals; that is, 'possession' is treated as a spacial (but not concrete) relationship which extends far beyond the physical possession of objects, though this is very germaine to our discussion.

2. Cf. Lyons (1968: § 8.4.5) and Anderson (1971: § 7.365).

3. A clause governed by an ergative verb and containing a body-part noun is one like 'I broke my/his leg'; a similar clause type governed by the copula is 'My/His leg is broken.' Anderson (1971: § 7.363) proposes that these clauses are derivable from a common underlying structure when the former is semantically interpreted as non-ergative. See our formalization of this proposal in § 3.5.2 and see also our discussion of Fillmore's treatment in § 1.3.2.

4. Cf. Katz and Postal (1964: § 4.3) and Lyons (1966: 122-3).

5. See fn. 6, Ch. 3 and the reference to Michael (1970) therein.

6. Fillmore (1968: § 5) expresses a somewhat more comprehensive view of the term 'relational': 'Every language,

one can be sure, has nouns which express concepts that are inherently relational. Examples of inherently relational nouns in English are side, daughter and face. One doesn't speak of a side, but a side of something; one doesn't say of someone she is a daughter, only that she is somebody's daughter; and although it is possible to speak of having seen a face, the word is typically used when referring to 'his face' or 'your face' or the like. The relational nouns most frequently discussed in the linguistic literature are names of body parts and names of kinsmen.'

I have elected to take a narrower view of the term 'relational'. Body parts are only relational in that every body part is related or associated with a specific person. Kinship terms and terms of societal association (e.g. lawyer/client) are complementary, the complement being a specific person. For example,

Bill's$_i$ father$_j$ is John$_j$.
John's$_j$ son$_i$ is Bill$_i$.

Body-part nouns do not behave in any like manner, thus cannot be considered fully relational nouns. See also Fillmore (1969:59ff.) and Southworth (1967).

7. A full description of localist-oriented case grammar is to be found in Anderson (1971 and unpublished Ph.D. thesis).

8. See particularly Anderson (forthcoming a, b, and d and 1972b).

9. Once again see Anderson (1971: § 7.366 and forthcoming a: § 5.3.2).

10. The exact marker of possession is somwhat difficult to isolate; it may be the dative locative semantic marker to, the verb, or the overall structural configuration. Only possessive clauses have the underlying structure (1:1). A clause like Anderson's 'My soup has a fly in it' has a similar, but non-dative locative underlying structure. It resists representation by a dative locative construction because of the reduplicated phrase 'in it' (for more detail, see §§ 2.3.2 and 2.3.3); such a clause cannot be derived from a dative locative underlying structure, for the reflex is ungrammatical: '*My soup has a fly.' Other clauses derived from a similar non-dative locative underlying structure contain verbs like know and contain. In a notional sense these verbs may be associated with a possessive relationship. The verb know is sometimes indirectly (i.e. its nominalization) associated with the verbs possess/have in a clause like 'Dingwall possesses/has great knowledge of Scottish insect life.' And the verb contain from the point of view of possession could be considered a highly specialized reflex when the two arguments (i.e.

nom and loc) are inanimate. The structure itself, that is, the nominative-locative underlying structure, underlies all clauses of possessive relationship in the broadest possible sense. Within the structure the type of possessive relationship is specified by changes in the locative case markers (i.e. locative vs. dative locative) and corresponding semantic markers (i.e. with, on, of, etc. vs. to) thus indicating, for example, 'availability', a body/body part relationship, 'ownership', etc. Thus, the marker of posession (i.e. 'ownership'--the two terms are used interchangeably to refer to the dative locative relationship and both are distinct from the generalized term 'possessive relationship') is the dative locative and corresponding semantic marker to, sometimes incorporated into the verb, and the structure indicates that possession is a possessive relationship.

11. Fillmore (1968: § 5.2) suggests that 'Where further distinctions are made (as between body parts and kinship terms) the information on which such distinctions need to be based may be included as lexical features of the N's themselves.' This may be an expedient proposal to avoid complicating the grammar any more than is necessary, however in so doing, Fillmore leaves the impression that there is not a

fully distinct possessive relationship with respect to these two (sub-) classes of nouns.

12. See again Fillmore (1968:49), Anderson (1971: §§ 1.4 and 7.363) and also Hofmann (1968).

13. See Langacker (1968).

14. See Ahlgren (1946: §§ 6 and 27), Fillmore (1968: § 5.1.1) and references therein to Havers (1911).

15. See Elmquist (1940).

16. See Krupa (1964).

17. See Kachru (1970) and references therein.

18. See Ahlgren (1946: § 116) quoted in § 3.2.1. Prof. McIntosh, in conference, expressed his reticence at the use of the possessives in collocation with body parts. Although it is not obligatory to do so in English, some speakers use the definite article before body-part nouns, though not perhaps in all situations.

19. See again Krupa (1964) and also Hockett (1958:187).

21. Manning (1864: § II, 1), in one of the earliest allusions to picture nouns, remarks on the problem in English as follows: ' Again, "a picture of the king" would point to the existence of some relation which would usually be taken to be that of a portraiture of the sovereign's person, whether it was

possessed by the monarch himself or not; whereas in a "picture of the king's" the loose and vague prepositional genitive, is, by the added s, restricted to a specific possessory meaning; and usage might exclude even the idea of its being a portrait of the royal person.'

22. See Biggs (1969: §§ 17.1 and 18.31; 1971:473).

23. Also, in English it is not obligatory that relational nouns appear with adnominal possessives. See Anderson (1968:311-2).

24. Codrington's (1885:128-9) descriptive terminology.

25. 'Discussions of inalienable possession almost always contain lists of nouns whose grammatical classification is the opposite of what one would notionally expect' (Fillmore 1968: § 5.1.4). And yet the arbitrariness of language should not be allowed to obscure grammatical distinctions which have a relatively high correlation with semantic facts. Such a discrepancy between notional expectation and grammatical classification also is very prevalent in the category of gender. Cf. Gleason's (1961: 227) remarks on the subject.

26. The appositional construction only operates with relational nouns as head nouns and personal nouns (and not pronouns) as noms ('objects of the prepo-

sition' in traditional parlance) as in (1:16d). The only exception is this construction with picture nouns:

the picture of me

the picture of John

27. For example, see Frei (1939) and Kruisinga (1932: §§ 1196-1205).

28. À-placement (i.e. replaces the D(ative) marker) is a result of the operation of the morphophonemic rules in Langacker's interpretation of Fillmore's (1966) proposals, whereas in Anderson's (1971) localist theory the semantic specifier (e.g. for dat loc to, for loc in, among, etc., for abl from, of, etc.) dominated by a case marker is found in the underlying structure and may superficially reflex.

29. The genitive is derived from an underlying dative locative structure, but not every dative locative structure reflexes a possessive or genitive form. That is to say not every dative locative case marker is found in a possessive relational structure, i.e. the nominative-locative structure. The dative locative is also found in structures which underlie clauses like 'I gave the book to him.'

30. A legend to Fillmore's node markers is as follows:

K = Kasus (case marker)

P = proposition

L = locative

V = verb

d = determiner

D = dative

31. See Wise (1921:503-5) for a discussion of a similar construction in English which he termed the 'disjunctive possessive' (e.g. the breath of her).

32. The reverse may well be the case; however, we leave it for the moment for argument's sake.

33. Jackendoff (1969) attempts to formally relate various preposed and post-posed possessive reflexes, and Postal (1971) studies the anaphoric co-referential qualities of the pronominal element of possessives.

1. For the moment I shall follow Fillmore (1968) in his use of this term, though his use of the term is inadequate and even misleading. We shall refine the definition of the term in § 3.0. He is, however, among the first post-Syntactic Structures linguists to recognize the necessity of formalizing the alienable/inalienable distinction, although there have been passing references to it earlier (cf. Lyons 1963:72 fn. 1; Halliday 1967:24-5; and Bendix 1966:4-5 and § 3). Fillmore's terminology follows Lévy-Bruhl 1916--note: this is an incorrect reference in Bach and Harms (1968); Bally 1926; Frei 1939; Ginneken 1939; Rosén 1959; and Langacker 1968.

2. Fillmore (1969:59) asserts that some 'nouns [inalienables] themselves express relationship' and since <u>have</u> is relational verb (Fillmore's interpretation of Bendix (1966)), it therefore does not enter into inalienable structures; these are adnominal structures.

3. Lyons (1968: § 8.4.4) advances historical and syntactic motivation for this statement. Cf. also Lyons (1968: § 8.4.5) quoted in part in § 2.3.1.

4. At this point 'alienable' and 'inalienable' begin to take on the senses of 'non-relational' and 'relational', respectively, as defined in § 1.0.2. Also, for similsr definitions in the relational/non-relational sense cf. Anderson (1968:311-3); Kruisinga's

'nouns of possession' (1931: II, 2 §§ 1196-1205); and Elmquist (1940:95, fn. 3 and 98-9).

5. Cf. Fillmore's (1968:66) examples:

148. I have a dog.

149. my dog

150. I have a head.

151. my head

6. '...possession appears to be regarded as 'inalienable', though 'possessions' are not' (Anderson 1971:114). 'Now possession cannot 'stand on its own'; it exists only with reference to a possessor' (Hirtle 1970:27).

7. Acceptability in our work refers to the probability of whether or not the native speaker would actually utter such a clause. It is granted that acceptability in this sense is very subjective on my part. Grammaticality refers to the possibility of whether the clause can be said at all.

8. Many languages do not have a have alternative (i.e. a subjectivized locative). In a number of Indo-European languages like the French in (1:5), possessive and dative be are syntactically and semantically indistinguishable. The surface structure and the underlying structure are identical. For example, Asher (1968: § 2) glosses the surface structure of Malayalam with the semantically marked (i.e. 'ownership')

dative locative be construction:

avanə oru viiṭə unṭə
him/to one house is

'He has a house.'

But he translates with the semantically indifferent have, not with the possessive be, e.g. 'The house is his.'

9. However, Lyons (1968: § 8.4.5) reports: 'Many languages distinguish between an 'ordinary' or 'general' possessive and a 'possessive of availability' in this way: [the latter] is frequently locative, in terms of case or preposition used.' His examples are from Turkish as follows:

Kitab-im var ('book-my' + 'existent')
'I have (own) a (my) book.'

Ben-de kitap var ('me-locative' + 'book' + 'existent')
'I have a book with/on me.'

I will present arguments in English to support a distinction between the dative/possessive have and the non-dative locative have in §§ 2.3.2 and 2.3.3.

10. Most English clauses with nom and loc arguments tend to have the order nom-V-loc, e.g. 'The book is on the table', 'The cat sat under the car.' Stylistic transformations can account for the reverse, e.g. 'On the table is the book.' Exceptions are to be found with such verbs as contain and know, which also have an upper locative predication. Cf. § 1.1.1.

11. It appears to me that these semantic distinctions are presumably not determined by case markings. Localist theory would seem to have to employ features comparable to Chomsky's (1965: §§ 2.3.4) 'selection restrictions' to make these semantic distinctions.

12. The absorption or incorporation of the locative marker into the verb when the locative is subjectivized does not only occur with the dative locative. Often the verbs of the subjectivized locative are identical to those of the reflexed locative marker, unlike _have_/dative locative _be_. For example,

The apples are (contained) _in_ the box.
The box contains the apples.

The play was liked _by_ the audience.
The audience liked the play.

13. In some limited environments, i.e. when causative, _possess_ passivizes easily:

a. Dracula was possessed by evil spirits.
b. Hamlet was possessed/obsessed with/by a desire for revenge.

c. ?Evil spirits possessed Dracula.
d. ?A desire for revenge possessed/obsessed Hamlet.

The active clauses (c and d) seem somewhat unnatural, if not unacceptable. _Possess_ in this context would seem to have an underlying structure like that of _get/receive_ (cf. Anderson 1971: § 9.26). In any case this _possess_ is ergative and perhaps a different lexical item from the _possess_ of inanimate objects.

14. Allen (1964: 342) notes in Georgian in the present tense the direct and indirect objects are both in the dative case, however, the direct object is referred to as the 'dative-accusative' (Tschenkéli).

15. The benefactive <u>for</u> is a possessive marker, but does not reflex since it is only found in the underlying structures of unactualized possession. It is not derived like <u>with</u> or <u>on</u> in (2:13a-b), but is distinguished from these locative markers, because it, like the dative <u>to</u>, is directional, thus having possessive qualities. Cf. § 1.2.1 on Maori.

16. Allen (1964:342) states: 'With transitive verbs the indirect object can hardly be said to indicate a state of possession; but it does in most cases indicate a process of 'receiving' or 'acquisition', i.e. of 'coming into possession.' It may be recalled that in Abaza, Kabardian, and Ubykh there are identical modes of expression for possession and the indirect object.' Lyons (1968: § 8.4.7) notes that acquisition (dynamic, past tense) is to possession (static, present tense) as locomotion is to location. Compare the morphological shape of the dative (receiver) to that of the dative of possession in Greek and Latin, respectively:

a. ἡ βίβλος αὐτῷ ἐστίν
the book (nom) to him (dat) is

τὴν βίβλον αὐτῷ δίδωμι
the book (acc) to him (dat) [I] (nom) give

b. Liber ei est
book (nom) to him (dat) is

Librum ei do
book (acc) to him (dat) [I] (nom) give

17. I shall ignore Anderson's (1971: § 11.311) subsequent proposal of nom/eff , since for our purposes the point can be made by the earlier proposal.

18. Take from and take to have different implications in terms of willingness or unwillingness to give on the part of the N in the abl. Also, both abl and loc should be subcategorized as erg for the N I only. Erg placement is the distinguishing factor in the two (but here combined) structures.

19. To quote again from Hirtle (1970:25): '...the notion of possession is seen as the outcome of some previous act of acquisition. In other words, because of its very nature the notion of possession is seen as an aftermath, as a result.' Also cf. fn. 16, Ch. 2.

1. See for instance Elmquist (1940:104-5) and Rosén (1959:268ff.).

2. Fillmore (1968: §§ 5.4 and 1969:59) refers to such nouns as corner (of), edge (of), top (of), friend, neighbor, and counterpart as 'relational nouns', while reserving the term 'inalienable' for kinship terms and body parts. Clearly, kinship terms, particularly, are relational and inalienable. I have merely redefined the terms he used to facilitate our analysis.

3. Body-part nouns are not strictly relational in the sense of converse complementarity (cf. fn. 6, Ch. 1), but each is inalienably identified with a particular person. Also note the distinction between detachability and inalienability, that is, detachable body parts (e.g. hair, fingernails, etc.) are inalienably (permanently) associated with one particular person as discussed in § 3.1.1.

4. For example, said of sons and daughters about to be married.

5. Terminology introduced by Peirce (1931; 1940) presented in class lectures by Lyons (15/10/70). Diseases, like body parts, are not relational nouns and only exist in association with some person. Diseases, birth places, birth dates, names, etc. are

a sub-class of body-part nouns, body attributes.

6. This terminology is standard in Ahlgren (1946) as will be noticed in the quotations of his in §§ 3.2.1 and 3.5.1. Also cf. Michael (1970:333-41).

7. Kruisinga and Erades (1950: § 287) and Erades (1952: 189) refer, respectively, to the preposed possessive as the 'attributive genitive pronoun' and the 'attributive defining genitive.'

8. Cf. Lyons (1968: §§ 9.4.2 and 10.4.2) on the distinction between 'cognitive' and 'emotive' meaning. Cognitively, the definite article and adnominal possessive are synonymous; neither is synonymous with the proverbal possessive. Thus 'the wife'='my wife', but 'the ball'≠'my ball'. The morphological identity of the two possessive forms suggests a synonymy, which is, in fact, non-existent.

9. Although father does not itself collocate with the definite article, a number of colloquial expressions equivalent to father do collocate with both the definite article and the adnominal possessive, for example, 'the/my old man.' Prof. McIntosh, in conversation, has also suggested a number of speakers refer to body parts with the definite article instead of the adnominal possessive in some clause types such as 'The leg is acting up again this morning.'

10. Cf. Sweet (1891: § 2107).

11. I presume that this is non-dative locative, non-possessive have.

12. For the distinction between equative be and classifying be see Lyons (1968: § 8.4.2) and Anderson (1971: § 11.62 and forthcoming a: § 4.2).

13. Most traditional grammars discuss the 'of-adjunct' in these terms. Cf. particularly Breejen (1937) and also Scheurweghs (1959: §§ 117 and 192). Other such terminology used in the past to describe the of in a possessive/genitive sense is as follows: 'pleonastic genitive' (Sweet 1891: § 2100; Poutsma 1916: § 33); 'double genitive' (Curme 1935: § 27,4,A,b); 'appositional genitive' (Jespersen 1928: §§ III, 15-23); and 'post-genitive' and 'post-possessive (pronoun)' (Kruisinga 1932: § 841-9; Zandvoort 1950: §§ 399-400).

14. With the exception of the Hebrew, most of the information in this section is a restatement of Ewen (1931: 245-57).

15. This term has been borrowed from Jespersen (cf. fn. 13, Ch. 3 and see also Hatcher 1950:4-6), but redefined. Normally the appositional phrase is a subordinate nom as in Jespersen's own example 'the city of Rome'. Whereas appositional subordinate noms cannot be gen-

itivized or possessivized (e.g. *Rome's city), appositional possessives can and often must be (e.g. (the) son of me/my son; the photo of me/my photo; the life of him/his life; David the son of Joseph/David, Joseph's son/Joseph's son David).

16. Hatcher (1950) on this point draws attention to the evidence from French: un chevalier des siens to which she remarks, 'the plural form of the possessive points unmistakably to a partitive interpretation' (i.e. an ablative of a concrete nature) (p. 2). She also notes the French expression une femme des plus belles as further evidence. Instances of this construction are also found in OE: ne pearf ic yrfestal eaforan bytlian aenegum mirra '...for any heir [dat. sing.] of mine [gen. plur.] (Gen 2177-8 ed. Krapp). In the light of similar constructions in OE with the post-possessive in the genitive singular, she remarks, 'This pronoun must evidently refer to some concept not mentioned in the sentence--its number being determined by that concept' (p. 7). Finally, still further evidence to which she alludes comes from Chaucer, 'ne no-thing of hise thinges is out of my power' (fn. 8, p. 5).

17. Jackendoff (1968 and 1969) argues convincingly for one's-absorption from evidence he has adduced with respect to certain quantifiers (e.g. 'each one of the men', 'every one of the men' are transformationally

reduced to 'each man' and 'every man' via one's-absorption) and definite articles (e.g. those is a coalescence of the ones as in 'the salesman's daughters are pretty, but those of the farmer are ugly'; when an adjective intervenes coalescence does not take place as in 'the farmer's brown-eyed daughters are pretty, but the salesman's blue-eyed ones are even prettier'). Such evidence has been extended to possessives by Jackendoff as in 'my red one(s)', but not '*my one(s)'—rather mine. However, in Scots English one's-absorption commonly does not take place (e.g. 'my one(s)') or one's is reduplicated (e.g. these/those ones).

18. This discussion is found in detail in Ahlgren (1946: § IV).

19. For an analysis of French possessives see Langacker (1968) and Swedish possessives see Elmquist (1940).

20. Once again, my gratitude is to John Anderson for bringing this to my attention.

21. Here I am, in fact, referring not directly to Fillmore, but to Langendoen (1970:207), who in turn refers to Fillmore without specifying which Fillmore, however, it may be Fillmore (1968: § 6.1).

22. The actual operation of pronominalization is beyond the scope of this work which is analyzing the rela-

tionship of possessives to the nouns they modify. However, possessives do have a pronominal element, and our proposal is that copying (or raising) takes place in the direction from the lower to the higher predications and from a locative node.

1. While this section of Chapter 4 was being written, Anderson (forthcoming c) completed a paper on much the same subject, i.e. the generic. Whereas Anderson formalized the generic, I originally made no attempt at formalization and I have opted to leave the notional description as it stands.

2. In English there are exceptions. Self, particularly, may reflex independently and separated from the possessive forms as in (4:8a). Much more rarely own does appear without an accompanying possessive in English as in the phrase 'own brother' (cf. Zandvoort 1950: § 403). In Dutch and German own is commonly found without the possessive environment.

3. Own and the possessive technically form, if the criteria of 'uninterruptability' is accepted (cf. Lyons 1968: § 5.4.10), a 'word'.

4. The underlying structures illustrating the possessive nom/loc structure representing the relationship of the person (nom) to the body-part noun in the loc node, which in this case is -self or own, are not shown in § 4.2. It is felt that such structures have been adequately discussed in Chapter 3 and inclusion of these structures here would only confuse our point.

5. My thanks to John Anderson for his suggestions for the formalization here.

5. The verbal element, the copula <u>be</u>, in all underlying possessive relational structures is not independently motivated. However, if it is generic or tenseless as appears to be, the verbal element is probably neutralized as it is in a great majority of languages. Anderson (forthcoming a: § 3.4 and forthcoming c) notes that in Persian and Mongolian a morphemic indicator of the generic does reflex.

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