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9. Adnominal possessive relations

In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases are encoded with the possessive ligature *punya* ‘POSS’. The noun phrase preceding the ligature (LIG) designates the possessor (POSSR), while the noun phrase following it expresses the possessum (POSSM), such that ‘POSSR-NP – *punya* – POSSM-NP’.

Besides its canonic function of expressing adnominal possession, *punya* serves other functions in ‘POSSR-NP – *punya* – POSSM-NP’ constructions. It is employed to mark and emphasize locational, temporal, or associative relations, to indicate beneficiary relations, or to signal speaker attitudes or evaluations; furthermore, the ligature is used in reflexive expressions.

The three constituents of an adnominal possessive construction have different realizations, as illustrated in Table 1. The possessive marker can be realized with long *punya*, reduced *pu*, clitic =*p*, or a zero morpheme. The noun phrases expressing the possessor and possessum can belong to different syntactic categories. The most common constituents are lexical nouns and noun phrases. Demonstratives can also take either slot. Also very common are personal pronoun possessors. In non-canonical possessive constructions, the possessor and possessum slots can also be filled by verbs. In addition, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. In both canonical and non-canonical possessive constructions, the possessum can be omitted.

Table 1: Adnominal possessive constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSR</th>
<th>LIG</th>
<th>POSSM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lexical nouns</td>
<td><em>punya</em></td>
<td>Lexical nouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun phrases</td>
<td><em>pu</em></td>
<td>Noun phrases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td><em>pu</em></td>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronouns</td>
<td>=<em>p</em></td>
<td>Verbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>Quantifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Adverbs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prepositional phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ø</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can designate human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents. Overall, adnominal possessive constructions do not make a distinction between alienable and inalienable possession, with one exception. Possessive constructions with omitted possessive marker signal inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations.

In the following sections, adnominal possessive constructions are discussed in more detail. The possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’ with its different realizations is examined in §9.1. The different realizations of the possessor and possessum noun phrases are described in §9.2. Non-canonical possessive constructions are discussed in §9.3. The main points of this chapter are summarized in §9.4.
9.1. **Possessive marker punya ‘POSS’**

The possessive marker *punya* ‘POSS’ is related to the full bivalent verb *punya* ‘have’ which is still used synchronically in two-argument clauses to predicate possession of an indefinite possessum. In such clauses, the possessor is encoded by the grammatical subject (S) while the indefinite possessum is the direct object (O) of the verb (V) *punya* ‘have’. This is illustrated in (1): the possessor *sa* ‘1SG’ is the grammatical subject while the possessum *rencana* ‘thought’ is the direct object of *punya* ‘have’. Overall, however, verbal clauses with *punya* ‘have’ are rather rare. Instead, speakers typically express possession of an indefinite possessum with a two-argument existential clause with *ada* ‘exist’. This is demonstrated in (2): the possessor *sa* ‘1SG’ is the subject while the indefinite possessum *ana* ‘child’ is the direct object of existential *ada* ‘exist’. (This type of two-argument existential clause is discussed in detail in §11.4.2.)

**Predicative reading of *punya* ‘have’ constructions**

(1)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{S} & \text{V} & \text{O} \\
\text{malam} & \text{saya} & \text{suda} \text{ punya} \text{ rencana} \\
\text{night} & \text{1SG} & \text{already} \text{ have} \text{ plan} \\
\end{array}
\]

‘the night (before I go hunting) I already have a plan’ [080919-004-NP.0002]

**Two-argument existential clause denoting possession**

(2)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{S} & \text{V} & \text{O} \\
\text{sa} & \text{ada} & \text{ana} \\
\text{1SG} & \text{exist} & \text{child} \\
\end{array}, \text{jadi sa kasi untuk sa pu sodara} \\
\]

‘I have children, so I gave (one) to my relative’ [081006-024-CvEx.0010]

The most common function of Papuan Malay *punya* ‘POSS’ is that of a ligature in adnominal referential possessive constructions, that is, possessive constructions with definite referents. Such constructions have the syntactic structure ‘POSSR-NP *punya* POSSM-NP’. As illustrated in (3), this type of possessive construction contrasts with the verbal constructions in (1) and (2): the possessive relation is not encoded by a two-argument clause but in a single construction which consists of two noun phrases, which in turn functions as an argument in a clause. Hence, *sa* ‘1SG’ in (3) is not a grammatical subject but the possessor. Likewise, *ana ini* ‘this child’ is not the direct object of a verbal clause, but a definite possessum. The entire possessive construction in (3) functions as the direct object of the causative construction *kas sembu* ‘heal’. The contrastive examples in (2) and (3) also illustrate the distinctions between possession of an indefinite and a definite possessum, respectively.

**Adnominal reading of *punya* ‘POSS’ constructions**

(3)  
\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{POSSR-NP} & \text{LIG} & \text{POSSM-NP} \\
\text{ko kas sembu} & \text{sa} & \text{punya} \text{ ana ini} \\
\text{2SG give be.healed 1SG POSS child D.PROX} \\
\end{array}
\]

[Addressing an evil spirit:] ‘you heal this child of mine!’ [081006-023-CvEx.0031]
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Sometimes, however, it is ambiguous whether the punya construction should receive a predicative reading as in (4a) or adnominal interpretation as in (4b), as there is no difference in intonation or stress between both utterances.

Predicative and adnominal readings of punya ‘have/POSS’ constructions

(4)  a. [de] [punya] [piring kusus]
    3SG have/POSS plate be.special
    Predicative reading: ‘he/she has special plates’ [081006-029-CvEx.0016]

b. [de punya piring] [kusus]
    3SG have/POSS plate be.special
    Adnominal reading: ‘his/her plates are special’ [081006-029-CvEx.0016]

In adnominal possessive constructions, the ligature punya ‘POSS’ has four different realizations which are discussed in the following sections: long punya ‘POSS’ and its reduced form pu in §9.1.1, the clitic =p ‘POSS’ in §9.1.2, and elision in §9.1.3. In §9.1.4, possible grammaticalization of the possessive marker is examined.

9.1.1. POSSR-NP punya/pu POSSM-NP

In adnominal possessive constructions, the possessive marker is most commonly realized with the long form punya ‘POSS’ or the reduced monosyllabic form pu ‘POSS’. This reduction is independent of the syntactic or semantic properties of the possessor or possessum, as illustrated in (5).

Both ligature forms occur with possessors encoded by lexical nouns as in (5a-g), in personal pronouns as in (5h-i), or in noun phrases as in (5j-l). With either ligature form, the possessor can denote a human referent as in (5a-d, i-k), a nonhuman animate referent as in (5e-f, h), or an inanimate referent as in (5g, l). Likewise, the reduction is independent of the possessum’s properties. Both markers occur with possessa encoded by nouns as in (5b, e-f, h, l), by demonstratives as in (5c-d), or by noun phrases as in (5a, g, i-k). With either marker, the possessum can express an inalienably possessed referent as in (5a-b, h, k) or an alienably possessed referent as in (5c-g, i-j, l).

(5) Adnominal possessive constructions with the long possessive marker punya ‘POSS’ and short pu ‘POSS’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSR</th>
<th>LIG</th>
<th>POSSM</th>
<th>Possessive construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. N</td>
<td>punya</td>
<td>NP (INAL)</td>
<td>mama punya ade laki-laki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mother POSS ySb man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘mother’s younger brother’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POSSR</th>
<th>LIG</th>
<th>POSSM</th>
<th>Possessive construction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>b. N (HUM)</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>N (INAL)</td>
<td><em>bapa pu mata</em> father POSS eye ‘father’s eyes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. N (HUM)</td>
<td>punya</td>
<td>DEM (AL)</td>
<td><em>Fitri pu ini</em> Fitri POSS D.PROX ‘Fitri’s (belongings)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. N (HUM)</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>DEM (AL)</td>
<td><em>ade pu itu</em> ySb POSS D.DIST ‘younger sister’s (fish)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. N (AN)</td>
<td>punya</td>
<td>N (AL)</td>
<td><em>setan punya kwasa</em> evil.spirit POSS power ‘force of an evil spirit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. N (AN)</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>N (AL)</td>
<td><em>setan pu pake–pake</em> evil.spirit POSS black.magic ‘an evil spirit’s black magic’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. N (INAN)</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>NP (AL)</td>
<td><em>LNG pu terpol itu</em> LNG POSS container D.DIST ‘metal jerry can’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h. PRO (AN)</td>
<td>punya</td>
<td>N (INAL)</td>
<td><em>de punya bulu–bulu</em> 3SG POSS body.hair ‘its (the dog’s)body hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i. PRO (HUM)</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>NP (AL)</td>
<td><em>de pu sikat gigi deng odol</em> 3SG POSS toothbrush with toothpaste ‘her toothbrush and toothpaste’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j. NP (HUM)</td>
<td>punya</td>
<td>NP (AL)</td>
<td><em>orang Isirawa punya, apa, cara kawin</em> person Isirawa POSS what manner marry ‘the Isirawas’, what, way of marrying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k. NP (HUM)</td>
<td>pu</td>
<td>NP (INAL)</td>
<td><em>mama Klara pu ana prempuang</em> mother Klara POSS child woman ‘mother Klara’s daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l. NP (INAN)</td>
<td>punya</td>
<td>N (AL)</td>
<td><em>kebung ini punya hasil</em> garden D.PROX POSS product ‘this garden’s products’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With respect to the possessive marking of personal pronouns, there are no prosodic restrictions on the use of the two possessive marker forms: either can occur with the

194 The proper noun LNG has developed from the noun phrase ‘Liquified Natural Gas’.
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long and the short pronoun forms, as illustrated in Table 2. (The pronoun ko ‘2SG’ does not have a short form.)

Table 2: Possessive marking of personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive construction</th>
<th>Literal translation</th>
<th>Free translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possessive marking with punya ‘POSS’</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long personal pronoun form – punya ‘POSS’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saya punya sabit</td>
<td>1SG POSS sickle</td>
<td>‘my sickle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko punya barang</td>
<td>2SG POSS stuff</td>
<td>‘your belongings’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dia punya nama</td>
<td>3SG POSS name</td>
<td>‘his name’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitorang punya kekurangang</td>
<td>1PL POSS shortcoming</td>
<td>‘our shortcoming’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitong punya muka</td>
<td>1PL POSS face</td>
<td>‘our faces’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kita punya bapa</td>
<td>1PL POSS father</td>
<td>‘our father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamu punya otak</td>
<td>2PL POSS brain</td>
<td>‘your brains’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dorang punya kampung</td>
<td>3PL POSS village</td>
<td>‘their village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short personal pronoun form – punya ‘POSS’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa punya nokeng</td>
<td>1SG POSS stringbag</td>
<td>‘my stringbag’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de punya swami</td>
<td>3SG POSS husband</td>
<td>‘her husband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>torang punya orang-tua</td>
<td>1PL POSS parent</td>
<td>‘our parents’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tong punya ipar</td>
<td>1PL POSS sibling-in-law</td>
<td>‘our sister in-law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta punya kampung</td>
<td>1PL POSS village</td>
<td>‘our village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam punya nasip</td>
<td>2PL POSS destiny</td>
<td>‘your destinies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dong punya rama</td>
<td>3PL POSS house</td>
<td>‘their house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possessive marking with pu ‘POSS’</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Long personal pronoun form – pu ‘POSS’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saya pu hasil kebung</td>
<td>1SG POSS product garden</td>
<td>‘my garden products’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko pu kampung</td>
<td>2SG POSS village</td>
<td>‘your village’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dia pu maytua</td>
<td>3SG POSS wife</td>
<td>‘his wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitorang pu keadaang</td>
<td>1PL POSS condition</td>
<td>‘our condition’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitong pu kawang</td>
<td>1PL POSS friend</td>
<td>‘our friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kita pu adat</td>
<td>1PL POSS customs</td>
<td>‘our customs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamu pu cara hidup</td>
<td>2PL POSS manner live</td>
<td>‘your ways of life’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Documentation: 080916-001-CvNP.0006, 080917-008-NP.0166, 080919-004-NP.0018, 080919-004-NP.0053, 080919-004-NP.0071, 080919-004-NP.0079, 080922-001a-CvPh.0834, 080922-002-Cv.0006, 080922-005-CvEx.0004, 080922-010a-NF.0002, 080922-010a-NF.0288, 081106-022-CvEx.0043, 081106-022-CvEx.0047, 081106-029-CvEx.0015, 081101-011-Cv.0055, 081101-011-Cv.0057, 081105-005-NP.0011, 081105-005-NP.0023, 081110-001-Cv.0026, 081110-002-Cv.0015, 081110-002-Cv.0018, 081110-003-Cv.0023, 081110-008-CvHl.0058, 081110-008-CvHl.0101, 081115-001a-Cv.0275, 081115-001b-Cv.0026, 081115-001b-Cv.0026, 081115-001b-Cv.0057.
Short personal pronoun form – pu ‘POSS’

| sa pu motor       | 1SG POSS motorbike | ‘my motorbike’ |
| de pu bahu        | 3SG POSS shoulder  | ‘her shoulder’  |
| tong pu pakeang   | 1PL POSS clothing  | ‘our clothing’  |
| ta pu orang-tua   | 1PL POSS parent    | ‘our parents’   |
| kam pu sabun      | 2PL POSS soap      | ‘their soap’    |
| dong pu jaring    | 3PL POSS net       | ‘their net’     |

There are only two unattested combinations, namely the marking with short pu ‘POSS’ of the long third person plural pronoun dorang ‘3PL’ and of the short plural pronoun torang ‘1PL’. The elicited examples below show, however, that possessive constructions with torang/dorang pu ‘our/their’ are possible:

(6) torang / dorang pu ruma ada di situ
1PL / 3PL POSS house exist at L.MED
‘our/their house is over there’ [Elicited BR111020-001.002-003]

The examples in Table 2 show that the reduction of the disyllabic form punya ‘POSS’ to monosyllabic pu ‘POSS’ does not interact with the long versus reduced shape of the personal pronoun. These findings contrast with those of Donohue (to be published) who found that the long pronoun forms may not co-occur with the reduced possessive marker pu ‘POSS’ (for more details see Donohue to be published: 24–25).

Very occasionally, the reduced ligature takes on the form /puŋ/ regardless of the form of the following segment, as illustrated in Table 3. That is, speakers realize short pu ‘POSS’ with a word-final nasal which receives its place features from the onset segment of the following prosodic word; when the following word has a vowel as onset, the nasal is typically realized as velar [ŋ]. (For more details on nasal place assimilation see §2.2.1.)

Table 3: Assimilation of short pu ‘POSS’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Orthogr.</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/de puŋ bapa/</td>
<td>de puŋ bapa</td>
<td>‘his/her father’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/de puŋ teman—teman/</td>
<td>de puŋ teman—teman</td>
<td>‘his/her friends’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dom puŋ asrama/</td>
<td>dong puŋ asrama</td>
<td>‘their dormitory’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sa puŋ kaka/</td>
<td>sa puŋ kaka</td>
<td>‘my older sibling’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a few cases, however, the reduced ligature takes on the form /puŋ/ regardless of the form of the following segment, as illustrated in (7) to (9): sa /puŋ/ dusung ‘my gardens’ in (7), dong /puŋ/ peserta ‘their participants’ in (8), or tong /puŋ/ cara makang babi ‘our way of eating pig’ in (9).
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(7) ada sa /puŋ/ dusung
exist 1SG POSS garden
‘(over there) is my garden’ [081110-008-CvNP.0009]

(8) dong /puŋ/ peserta juga macang tra ...
3PL POSS participant also variety NEG
‘their participants also, like (they) didn’t …’ [081025-009a-Cv.0132]

(9) … tong /puŋ/ cara makang babi juga
1PL POSS manner eat pig also
‘[our way of eating is like just the Toraja one.] our way of eating pigs also’ [081014-017-CvPr.0053]

9.1.2. POSSR-NP =p POSSM-NP

The possessive marker can be reduced further to =p ‘POSS’, if the possessor noun phrase ends in a vowel, as in (10) to (12). In this case, the marker is cliticized to the possessor. In this type of reduced possessive construction, the possessor is almost always a singular personal pronoun, such as short first person sa ‘1SG’ or second person ko ‘2SG’ in (10), or short third person de ‘3SG’ as in (11). The possessor may, however, also be expressed by a noun as in (12), although in the present corpus this example is the only one attested. Again, the same construction is used for alienable and inalienable possession.

(10) sa bilang, i, sa=p kaka, de bilang ko=p kaka
1SG say ugh! 1SG=POSS oSb 3SG say 2SG=POSS oSb
‘I said, ‘ugh!, (that’s) my older sister’, she said, ‘your older sister?’’ [080919-006-CvNP.0026]

(11) de timbul de=p cucu tanya dia, tete knapa
3SG emerge 3SG=POSS grandchild ask 3SG grandfather why
‘(when) he (grandfather) emerged, his grandchild asked him, ‘grandfather, what happened?’’ [081109-005-JR.0009]

(12) Fredi de pu ade=p motor ...
Fredi 3SG POSS ySb=POSS motorbike
‘Fredi’s younger brother’s motorbike …’ [081002-001-CvNP.0058]

9.1.3. POSSR-NP Ø POSSM-NP

The possessive marker can also be elided, as illustrated in (13) to (17). The elision is limited, however, to certain semantic kinds of possession. Attested are inalienable possession of body parts, as in (13) and (14), and kinship relations, as in (15) and (16). Most commonly, the possessor is human as in (13) to (16), but it may also be animate nonhuman as in (17).

In POSSR-POSSM constructions, the possessor is usually encoded by a short personal pronoun form, as in (15) to (17). Much less often, the possessor is expressed with a lexical noun such as bapa ‘father’ in (13). Also rather infrequently,
the possessor is expressed by a noun phrase such as pace de ‘the man’ in (14), where
adnominally used de ‘3SG’ modifies pace ‘man’ (for details on the adnominal uses
of the personal pronouns, see §6.2).

(13) adu, bapa Ø mulut jahat skali
oh.no! father mouth be.bad very
‘oh no, father’s language is very bad’ (Lit. ‘father’s mouth’) [080923-008-Cv.0019]

(14) pace de Ø tangang kluar ke samping
man 3SG arm get.out to side
[About an accident:] ‘the man’s hand stuck out sideways’ [081108-001-JR.0003]

(15) de Ø mama ini ke atas
3SG see 3SG POSS wife
‘his mother here (went) up (there)’ [080923-001-CvNP.0019]

(16) dia liat dia pu maytua … ah, sa Ø maytua cantik
3SG see 3SG POSS wife ah! 1SG wife be.beautiful
‘he saw his wife … ah, my wife is beautiful’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0020]

(17) langsung potong dia buang tali-prutnya
immediately cut 3SG throw(.away) intestines:3 POSSR
de Ø tali-prut buang tinggal isi saja
3SG intestines throw(.away) stay contents just
[About killing dogs:] ‘cut him up at once (and) throw away the intestines,
(after having) thrown away his intestines, just the meat remains’ [081106-001-CvPr.0005]

Contrary to the possessive constructions presented in §9.1.1 and §9.1.2, the data
presented in (13) to (17) shows that Papuan Malay also has the option to signal
inalienable possession by omitting the possessive marker.

This alienable versus inalienable distinction is also found in other Austronesian
languages of the Papuan contact zone, whereas it is not found in Western Malayo-
Polynesian languages. As in other Austronesian and Papuan languages of this
contact zone (Klamer et al. 2008), it is body parts and kinship terms that can be
inalienably possessed.196

9.1.4. Grammaticalization of punya ‘POSS’

In §9.1.1 to §9.1.3, the reduction of possessive marker punya ‘POSS’ to its
monosyllabic variants pu or =p ‘POSS’ and its omission in POSSR-POSSM

196 Klamer et al. (2008: 116) note that this “innovation must have occurred prior to the
population of Oceania”, a conclusion that is based on Ross’s (2001) hypothesis that it “is
also probable that the formal distinction between alienable and inalienable possession
entered Proto-Oceanic or an immediate precursor through Papuan contact”. 
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constructions was described. One explanation for this reduction would be to consider it as a fast speech phenomenon that high-frequency words tend to undergo.

Alternatively one could explain this reduction in terms of a grammaticization process. As Bybee (2006: 719) observes, the phonetic reduction of high-frequency words “can lead to the establishment of a new construction with its own categories” and “the grammaticization of the new construction”. One could argue that Bybee’s (2006: 719) observation also applies to the high-frequency morpheme punya with its variable status between a full verb ‘have’, a clitic possessive marker, and a zero morpheme. That is, the variable status could be taken as an “as-yet incomplete grammaticization” (Aikhenvald 2007: 59) from the independent lexical item punya ‘have’ via the possessive marker punya ‘POSS’ into a clitic =p ‘POSS’ or a new possessive construction without overt marker.197

In the present corpus, the reductions of the possessive marker to the clitic =p ‘POSS’ or a zero morpheme occur with about the same frequency. The two constructions usually only occur when the possessor is expressed with a short singular personal pronoun. It remains to be seen whether and to what extent over time (1) one of the constructions is going to become dominant, and (2) one or both constructions are going to occur with possessors encoded by the plural personal pronouns or common nouns. Such developments could be taken as an indication of a grammaticization process of the possessive marker.

9.2. Realizations of POSSR-NP and POSSM-NP

This section discusses the different realizations of the possessor and possessum noun phrases in adnominal possessive constructions. The syntactic categories that can take the possessor or possessum slot, together with their semantic properties are discussed in §9.2.1.1. Elision of the possessum noun phrase is described in §9.2.1.2, followed by a brief discussion of recursive possessive constructions in §9.2.1.3.

9.2.1.1. Syntactic and semantic properties

In adnominal possessive constructions, the possessor and/or possessum can be expressed by lexical nouns as in (18) and (19), by demonstratives as in (20) and (21), or by noun phrases as in (22) to (27). Further, the possessor can be encoded by a personal pronoun as in (24) to (27). Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can be human as in (18) and (26), nonhuman animate as in (19) and (21), or inanimate as in (28) and (24), respectively.

In (18) and (19), the possessor and the possessum are expressed by lexical nouns.

197 One reason why punya constructions are so frequent in Papuan Malay and other eastern Malay varieties, is that unlike the western Malay varieties, the eastern Malay varieties do not use suffix -nya ‘3POSS’ as a marker of possessive relations, as for instance in western Malay tangang-nya ‘his/her hand’ (Hammarström, p.c. 2013).
Lexical nouns expressing the possessor / possessum

(18) sa masi ingat bapa pu muka

1SG still remember father POSS front

‘I still remember father’s face’ [080922-001a-CvPh.1307]

(19) … pake setan punya kwasa

use evil_spirit POSS power

[About the power of evil spirits:] ‘[the sleeping person can’t wake up because the sorcerers are] using the evil spirit’s power’ [081006-022-CvEx.0084]

In (20) the proximal demonstrative ini ‘D.PROX’ takes the possessor slot and in (21) distal itu ‘D.DIST’ takes the possessum slot.

Demonstratives expressing the possessor / possessum

(20) bapa masi kenal kaka Siduas pu masi kenal

father still know oSb Siduas POSS still know

ini pu muka

D.PROX POSS front

‘do you (‘father’) still know Siduas’, still know this (one)’s face?’ [080922-001a-CvPh.1123]

(21) ko ambil dulu ade pu itu

2SG fetch be.prior ySb POSS D.DIST

‘you pick (it) up first, that (fish) of (your) younger sister’ (Lit. ‘younger sibling’s that’) [081006-019-Cv.0002]

In (22) to (27), noun phrases take the possessor or the possessum slot (the scope of the noun phrases is indicated with brackets). In (22) the possessor is encoded by a noun phrase with a verbal modifier plus an adnominal demonstrative, while in (23) the possessor is expressed by a coordinate noun phrase.

Noun phrases expressing the possessor

(22) sebut [[orang mati] tu] pu [nama] karna …

name person die D.DIST POSS name because

‘(he has) to mention that dead person’s name because …’ [080923-013-CvEx.0019]

(23) itu ko pu [[ko deng Mateus] pu [tugas]]

D.DIST 2SG POSS 2SG with Mateus POSS duty

‘that is your, your and Mateus’ duty’ [081005-001-Cv.0035]

In (24), the possessum is encoded by a noun phrase with an adnominally used stative verb plus an adnominal demonstrative. In (25), a noun phrase with nominal modifier plus an adnominal demonstrative takes the possessum slot. In (26) the possessum is expressed by a coordinate noun phrase. In (9), repeated as (27), a noun phrase with a modifying nonfinite clause takes the possessum slot. The examples in (24) to (27) also illustrate that a personal pronoun can take the possessor slot; personal pronouns do not take the possessum slot.
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Noun phrases expressing the possessum

(24) (de pu [cucu kecil itu]) tiap hari de 3SG POSS grandchild be.small D.DIST every day 3SG menangis trus cry be.continuous
‘that small grandchild of his, every day he/she cries continuously’ [081011-009-Cv.0055]

(25) sa tida maw (sa punya [sodara prempuang itu]) mendrita 1SG NEG want 1SG POSS sibling woman D.DIST suffer
‘I don’t want that sister of mine to suffer’ [081006-024-CvEx.0108]

(26) nanti [(de) punya [bapa dengan mama]] langsung pergi … very.soon 3SG POSS father with mother immediately go
‘very soon her father and mother will go …’ [081110-005-CvPr.0079]

(27) … ([tong] pu [cara [makang babi]]) juga 1PL POSS manner eat pig also
’[our way of eating is like just the Toraja one,] our way of eating pigs also’ [081014-017-CvPr.0053]

In (18) to (27) the possessor is always animate. It can, however, also be inanimate as shown in (28).

Inanimate possessor

(28) … LNG pu terpol itu tinggal liquified.natural.gas POSS container D.DIST stay
[About the need to buy gasoline:] ‘[those jerry cans] that LNG jerry can stays behind’ (Lit. ‘the LNG’s container’) [081110-002-Cv.0075]

9.2.1.2. Elision of the possessum noun phrase

It is also possible to omit the possessum when its identity was established earlier; this applies to inalienably as well as alienably possessed referents, as illustrated in (29) to (32). Such ‘POSSESSOR punya’ constructions are typically used in contexts where the possessor identity is under discussion.

Most commonly, speakers employ long punya ‘POSS’, but as shown in (31) and (32), constructions with reduced pu ‘POSS’ are also possible. In his analysis of similar possessive constructions in Classical Malay, Yap et al. (2004: 157) conclude that Classical Malay (em)punya constructions with omitted possessum denote “pronominal possessive constructions”. More specifically, Yap (2007: 7) maintains that “in such constructions (em)punya identifies a possessee in relation to its possessor (the genitive function), while at the same time alluding to the morphologically unrealized possessee as well (the pronominal function). Consequently, possessive pronominal (em)punya allows us to focus on the possessor, while still referring to the possessee”. It seems that this analysis is also applicable to Papuan Malay.
possessor is unattested. Instead speakers employ a demonstrative, as in (20), when
the identity of the possessor has already been established.

(29) Nofi tu itu bukang bapa Lukas punya Ø
    Nofi D.DIST D.DIST NEG father Lukas POSS
    mama Nofita punya Ø
    mother Nofita POSS
    ‘Nofi here, that’s not father Lukas’ (son nor) mother Nofita’s (son)’
    [081006-024-CvEx.0011]

(30) itu de punya Ø
    D.DIST 3SG POSS
    ‘those are his (banana plants)’ [081110-008-CvNP.0121]

(31) sedangkang Pawlus ini itu jin pu Ø
    whereas Pawlus D.PROX D.DIST genie POSS
    ‘whereas Pawlus here, that’s the genie’s (child)’ [081025-006-Cv.0278]

(32) ko liat Luisa pu Ø bagus, suda kembang banyak
    2SG see Luisa POSS be.good already flowering many
    ‘you see Luisa’s (flowers) are good, (they are) already flowering a lot’
    [081006-021-CvHt.0002]

9.2.1.3. Recursive adnominal possessive constructions

Adnominal possessive constructions can be stacked to form recursive possessive
constructions as illustrated in (33) to (35). Double possessive constructions as in
(33) and (34) are quite common, especially to express kinship and social relations as
in (33). Triple possessive constructions are also possible but extremely rare: the
present corpus only contains one such construction, which is presented in (35) in
slightly modified form.

(33) kalo memang ko punya maytua punya waktu pas di kapal …
    if indeed 2SG POSS wife POSS time be.exact at ship
    ‘if indeed your wife’s time (to give birth) is exactly (when you’re) on the
    ship …’ [080922-001a-CvPh.0010]

(34) ini kaka Natanael pu laki pu mobil
    D.PROX oSb Natanael POSS husband POSS car
    ‘this is sister Natanael’s husband’s car’ [081006-015-Cv.0001]

(35) dēi pu ana kawin dēi pu laki punya
    3SG POSS child marry.inofficially 3SG POSS husband POSS
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As discussed in §9.1.1, the long ligature form punya ‘POSS’ and pu ‘POSS’ are freely used in adnominal possessive constructions without any syntactic or semantic restrictions. This also applies to recursive possessive constructions, as illustrated in (33) to (35). In terms of attested frequencies in such constructions, however, short pu ‘POSS’ is employed more commonly than long punya ‘POSS’.

9.3. Non-canonical adnominal possessive constructions

In addition to encoding adnominal possession, punya ‘POSS’ (including its reduced forms) also serves other functions in possessive constructions, namely (1) as an emphatic marker that signals locational relations or association (§9.3.1), (2) as a marker of beneficiary relations (§9.3.2), or (3) as an attitudinal intensifier or stance (§9.3.3). And (4), the possessive ligature is used in reflexive construction (§9.3.4).

Syntactically, not only nouns, personal pronouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives can take the possessor or possessum slots. In addition, these slots can be filled by verbs. Further, the possessum slot can be taken by mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, or prepositional phrases. Finally, the possessum can be omitted.

9.3.1. Locational relations and association

One non-canonical function of possessive constructions is to signal that the possessum is “perceived to be closely related” to the possessor, as Dixon (2010a: 278) puts it. In Papuan Malay, this includes locational relations, both spatial and temporal, and relations that express an association, as illustrated in (36) to (42). With this function of punya ‘POSS’, the possessive construction receives an emphatic reading; in the following examples the English translation attempts to convey this emphatic reading with the additional italicized information.

The possessive marker can signal locational relations, or, employing Dixon’s (2010a: 263) terminology, relations of “orientation or location”. The locational relations can be spatial, as in (36) and (37), or temporal, as in (38) to (40).

In (36) and (37), pu ‘POSS’ marks spatial relations between the possessor and the possessum, with the possessive construction receiving an emphatic reading. In (36), a spatial referent, encoded with the proper noun Jayapura, takes the possessor slot. It denotes the location or source for the referent expressed by the possessum, dua.
 blasph orang ‘twelve people’. In (37), the spatial referent, encoded in the prepositional phrase di dalam itu ‘in that inside’, takes the possessum slot.\(^{201}\) It designates the location for the referent expressed by the pronominal possessor de ‘3SG’.

Spatial locational relations

(36)  
\[
\text{Jayapura pu dua blas orang yang lulus ka} \\
\text{Jayapura POSS two tens person REL pass(a.test) or} \\
\text{‘aren’t there twelve people from Jayapura who graduated (as opposed to other cities with fewer graduates)?’ (Lit. ‘Jayapura’s twelve people’) [081025-003-Cv.0311]}
\]

(37)  
\[
\text{baru ambil bayi tu bayi yang de pu} \\
\text{and.then fetch palm.stem D.DIST palm.stem REL 3SG POSS} \\
\text{di dalam itu kang kaya kapas to?} \\
\text{at inside D.DIST you.know like cotton right?} \\
\text{‘and then (he) took that palm stem, that inside (part) of it (as opposed to other parts), the palm stem is like cotton, right?’ [080922-010a-CvNF.0073]}
\]

In the elicited examples in (38) to (40), the possessive marker signals temporal locational relations. In these examples, the third person singular pronoun de ‘3SG’ takes the possessor slot. It designates the temporal reference point for the event under discussion. The possessum slot is taken by a temporal expression such as besok ‘tomorrow’ in (38), pagi ‘morning’ in (39), or malam ‘night’ in (40). This temporal expression denotes a specific point in time relative to the temporal reference point expressed by the possessor.

Temporal locational relations

(38)  
\[
\text{… trus sa tinggal di sana, trus de pu besok} \\
\text{next 1SG stay at L.DIST next 3SG POSS tomorrow} \\
\text{baru sa kembali …} \\
\text{and.then 1SG return} \\
\text{‘[two days ago I went to Abepura,] and then I stayed there, and then the (very) next day only then did I return …’ (Lit. ‘its tomorrow’) [Elicited BR111020.008]}
\]

(39)  
\[
\text{dong kerja ruma dari pagi sampe malam de pu pagi} \\
\text{3PL work house from morning until night 3SG POSS morning} \\
\text{baru dong kasi selesai smua} \\
\text{and.then 3PL GIVE finish all} \\
\text{‘they worked on the house from morning until evening, the (very) next morning only then did they finish everything’ (Lit. ‘its morning’) [Elicited BR111020.009]}
\]

(40)  
\[
\text{Petrus deng Tinus dong pi mandi di pante tadi pagi} \\
\text{Petrus with Tinus 3PL go bathe at coast earlier morning}
\]

\(^{201}\) The locative preposition di ‘at, in’ can also be deleted (see §10.1.5) resulting in de pu dalam itu ‘that inside (part) of it’.
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de pu malam dong pi ke Jayapura
3SG POSS night 3PL go to Jayapura
‘Petrus and Tinus went bathing at the beach this morning (and) this (very)
evening they went to Jayapura’ (Lit. ‘its night’) [Elicited BR111020.009]

The possessive marker can also indicate an “association” between the possessum
and the possessor (Dixon 2010a: 285), as in (41) and (42). In (41), punya ‘POSS’
signals that the possessum tu ‘D.DIST’ is associated with the possessor lima juta
‘five million’, giving the emphatic reading ‘a minimum of five-million (as opposed
to lower prices)’. Along similar lines, in (42), the ligature indicates an association
between the possessum tu ‘D.DIST’ and the possessor tingkat propinsi ‘province level’,
resulting in the emphatic reading ‘(a meeting at) the provincial level (and not
at the regency level)’.

Association

(41) yang mahal yang di atas satu juta
REL be.expensive REL at top one TRU-million
lima juta punya tu
five million POSS D.DIST
‘(traditional cloths from Sorong) which are expensive, which (cost) more
than one million[TRU], a minimum of five million (as opposed to lower
prices)’ (Lit. ‘that five million’s (price)’) [081006-029-CvEx.0009]

(42) kitong ikut ini tingkat propinsi punya tu
1PL follow D.PROX floor province POSS D.DIST
‘we attended (a meeting at), what’s-its-name, the provincial level (and not
at the regency level)’ (Lit. ‘that (meeting) of the provincial level’)
[081010-001-Cv.0043]

9.3.2. Beneficiary relations

The possessive marker punya ‘POSS’ is also used to signal beneficiary relations.
Speakers employ this construction when they want to signal that the RECIPIENT is the
beneficiary of a definite THEME, as discussed in §11.1.3.3. This is illustrated with
simpang ‘store’ in (43) and bli ‘buy’ in (44). In both examples, the possessor
expresses the BENEFICIARY or RECIPIENT of the event expressed by the verb, while
the possessum denotes the anticipated object of possession or THEME.

(43) mama kitong suda simpang mama punya makang
mother 1PL already store mother POSS food
‘mother, we already put food for you aside’ (Lit. ‘mama’s food’) [080924-002-Pr.0005]

202 Alternatively, one might classify the possessive construction in (41) as an “appositive
genitive”, where the two noun phrases are equated denotatively” (Quirk et al. 1972: 193).
9.3.3. Intensifying function of punya ‘POSS’

Another non-canonical function of possessive punya ‘POSS’ is that of an intensifier or stance that signals speaker attitudes or evaluations. The attested data suggest three different constructions in which Papuan Malay speakers use punya ‘POSS’ in such a way: constructions with (1) nominal possessor and quantifier possessum (§9.3.3.1), (2) nominal possessor and verbal possessum (§9.3.3.2), and (3) verbal possessor and verbal possessum (§9.3.3.3).

9.3.3.1. N-POSSR – punya – QT-POSSM constructions

In the possessive constructions in (45) to (48), a nominal constituent takes the possessor slot while a quantifier takes the possessum slot.

Attested in the present corpus is only the one example in (45) in which the mid-range quantifier banyak ‘many’ takes the possessum slot. A second, elicited example is presented in (46). Possessive constructions with the mid-range quantifier sedikit ‘few, a little’ are also possible as illustrated with the elicited examples in (47) and (48). In these examples punya ‘POSS’ functions as an attitudinal intensifier, expressing speaker evaluations, such as feelings of annoyance in (45), of surprise in (46) and in (47), or of alarm in (48).

(45) baru, mama, setan pu banyak di situ
    and.then mother evil.spirit POSS many at L.MED
    ‘and then, mother, (there) are really many evil spirits over there’ (Lit. ‘many of’) [081025-006-Cv.0062]

(46) natal tu ana–ana dong maing kembang-api pu banyak
    Christmas D.DIST RDP~child 3PL play fire-cracker POSS many
    ‘Christmas the children play with really many fire-crackers’ (Lit. ‘many of’) [Elicited BR111020.005]

(47) di gunung itu pohong pu sedikit
    at mountain D.DIST tree POSS few
    ‘on that mountain, there are very few trees’ (Lit. ‘few of’) [Elicited BR111020.006]

(48) tete de minum air pu sedikit
    grandfather 3SG drink water POSS few
    ‘grandfather drinks very little water’ (Lit. ‘few of’) [Elicited BR111020.007]

Possessive constructions with other quantifiers or with numerals taking the possessum slot are ungrammatical.
In the possessive constructions in (49) to (53), a nominal constituent takes the possessor slot while a mono- or bivalent verb takes the possessum slot.

In the examples in (49) to (51), a monovalent verb takes the possessum slot. Again, punya ‘POSS’ functions as an attitudinal intensifier. In (49) pu ‘POSS’ adds emphasis to stative malas ‘be listless’. In (50), pu ‘POSS’ precedes stative brat ‘be heavy’, and thereby signals feelings of annoyance. Finally, in (51), the possessive marker precedes dynamic mendrita ‘suffer’, thereby indicates negative feelings of disbelief.

Intensifying function of punya ‘POSS’: Preceding monovalent verbs

(49) dong tida taw umpang smua tra taw toser  
  3PL NEG know pass.ball all NEG know pass.ball  
  adu sa pu malas  
  oh.no! 1SG POSS be.listless  
  [About playing volleyball:] ‘none of them knows (how) to pass a ball, none of them knows (how) how to pass a ball, oh no, I’m so very listless (to play with them)’ (Lit. ‘the being listless of’) [081109-001-Cv.0127]

(50) damay, de pu brat  
  peace 3SG POSS be.heavy  
  ‘my goodness, he was so heavy’ (Lit. ‘the being heavy of’) [081025-009b-Cv.0041]

(51) adu, dong dua pu mendrita  
  oh.no! 3PL two POSS suffer  
  ‘oh no, the two of them were suffering so much’ (Lit. ‘the suffering of’) [081025-006-Cv.0059]

In (52) to (53), the possessum slot is taken by bivalent verbs. Again, the possessive marker has intensifying, asserting and/or evaluative function. With bivalent verbs, only short pu ‘POSS’ is attested while long punya ‘POSS’ does not occur; more investigation is needed however, to further explore these speaker preferences.

Intensifying function of punya ‘POSS’: Preceding bivalent verbs

(52) ka Sarles juga de pu maing pisow  
  oSb Sarles also 3SG POSS play knife  
  ‘older brother Sarles also, he has a fast and smart way of playing’ (Lit. ‘the knife playing of’) [081023-001-Cv.0009]

(53) baru nanti tong pu lawang deng siapa  
  and.then very.soon 1PL POSS oppose with who  
  ‘and then later who will be our opponent?’ (Lit. ‘the opposing of’) [081109-001-Cv.0136]
9.3.3. V-POSSR – punya – V-POSSM constructions

In non-canonical possessive constructions, both the possessor and the possessum slot can be taken by verbs, as illustrated in (54) to (57). More specifically, a dynamic verb takes the possessor slot, while a stative verb takes the possessum slot. Attested in the present corpus is only one example in (54), while the examples in (55) to (57) are elicited.

With its intensifying function, punya ‘POSS’ signals an emphatic reading of both the verbal possessor and the verbal possessum, as illustrated in (54): mandi punya ‘really bathing’ and punya jaw ‘very far away (of!’).

(54) dong mandi di kali Biri, mm-mm, mandi punya jaw itu
3 PL bathe at river Biri mhm bathe POSS be.far D.DIST
[About a run-away boy:] ‘they were bathing in the Biri river, mhm, (they were) really bathing very far away’ (Lit. ‘the being far away of the bathing’) [081025-008-Cv.0032-0033]

(55) dekerja punya cepat
3 SG work POSS be.fast
‘he really worked very fast’ (Lit. ‘the being fast of the working’) [Elicited BR111020.022]

(56) mama de masak punya enak
mother 3 SG cook POSS be.pleasant
‘mother really cooks very tastily’ (Lit. ‘the being tasty of the cooking’) [Elicited BR111020.023]

(57) Marice deng Matius dong dua bicara punya kras
Marice with Matius 3 PL two speak POSS be.harsh
‘the two of them Marice and Matius really spoke very loudly (with each other)’ (Lit. ‘the being loud of the speaking’) [Elicited BR111020.024]

9.3.4. punya ‘POSS’ in reflexive expressions

The possessive marker punya ‘POSS’ is also employed to create reflexive expressions. Reflexives typically designate constructions “where subject and object refer to the same entity, explicitly […] or implicitly” (Asher 1994: 5164). Typically, explicit reflexive expressions are formed with a reflexive pronoun “which refers to the same person or thing as the subject of the verb” (1994: 5165). In Papuan Malay, by contrast, reflexive relations are expressed with adnominal possessive constructions where a personal pronoun in the possessor slot and the reflexive noun diri ‘self’ in the possessum slot express the reflexive relationship between both, as illustrated with sa pu diri ‘myself’ in (58) and kita punya diri ‘ourselves’ (59).

(58) bukang sa rasa bahwa sa ini sa banggakang
NEG 1 SG feel that 1 SG D.PROX 1 SG praise
Adnominal possessive relations

sa pu diri tapi itu yang terjadi
1SG POSS self but D.DIST REL happen
‘it not that I feel that I here, (that) I praise myself, but that’s what happened’ (Lit. ‘the self of me’) [081110-008-CvNP.0152]

(59) kita rencana manusia yang mengatur kita punya diri
1PL plan human.being REL arrange 1PL POSS self
‘we make plans, (it’s us) human beings who manage our own lives’ (Lit. ‘the self of us’) [080918-001-CvNP.0032]

9.4. Summary and discussion

In Papuan Malay, adnominal possessive constructions consists of two noun phrases linked with the possessive marker punya ‘POSS’, such that ‘POSSESSOR punya POSSESSUM’. In addition to signaling adnominal possessive relations between two noun phrases, punya ‘POSS’ has a number of derived, non-canonical functions, namely (1) as an emphatic marker of locational relations or relations of association, (2) as a marker of beneficiary relations, (3) as an attitudinal intensifier or stance, and (4) as a ligature in reflexive constructions.

Such non-canonical functions of the possessive ligature have also been noted in other eastern Malay varieties, such as its function as a marker of beneficiary relations in Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997: 164), as an attitudinal intensifier in Manado Malay (Stoel 2005: 45), or as a marker of locational or temporal relations in Ternate Malay (Litamahuputty 1994: 52–53, 96–97).

Moreover, some of these non-canonical functions have long been noted for Bazaar Malay and have been linked to the substratum influence of Chinese speech varieties, namely the function of punya ‘POSS’ to link a locative or temporal modifier or a modifying adjective in the possessor slot preceding the ligature with its head in the possessum slot (see Bao 2009, Lim 1988, Shellabear 1904: 6–7, Winstedt 1913: 115, and Winstedt 1938: 41). Along similar lines, Yap (2007: 1, 8ff) shows that under the influence of southern Chinese speech varieties, the Colloquial Malay possessive marker developed into a “attitudinal intensifier” or “stance” that transforms statements into evaluative “assertions that are often laced with strong feelings, including feelings of awe, […] or feelings of incredulity or even annoyance”. For the different synchronic functions of (em)punya in classical and colloquial Malay, Yap et al. (2004: 159) established the following development or grammaticalization path: “> lexical verb > genitive > pronominal > stance development”. It seems that this grammaticalization path also applies to Papuan Malay punya ‘POSS’.

Possessive constructions with punya ‘POSS’ have a number of different realizations. The possessive marker can be represented with long punya, reduced pu, clitic =p, or a zero morpheme. There are no syntactic or semantic restrictions on the uses of the long and reduced possessive marker forms. By contrast, omission of punya only occurs when the possessive construction expresses inalienable possession of body parts or kinship relations. The possessor and the possessum can be expressed with different kinds of syntactic constituents, such as lexical nouns, noun phrases, or demonstratives. In addition, personal pronouns can also express the
possessor. In non-canonical possessive constructions, verbs can also take the possessor and/or possessum slots. Further, mid-range quantifiers, temporal adverbs, and prepositional phrases can take the possessum slot. The possessum can also be omitted in canonical or non-canonical possessive constructions. Semantically, the possessor and the possessum can denote human, nonhuman animate, or inanimate referents.