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In this new work, Bernd Heine claims that the structure of grammatical categories is predictable to a large extent once we know the range of possible cognitive structures from which they are derived. The author uses as his example the structure of predicative possession, and shows how most of the possessive constructions to be found in the world's languages can be traced back to a small set of basic conceptual patterns. Heine identifies these patterns, and using grammaticalization theory he describes how each affects the word order and morphosyntax of the resulting possessive construction. Illustrating his argument with a wealth of examples, he proposes that grammaticalization theory explains much of the observable typological diversity which characterizes 'have'-constructions in the world's languages.

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POSSESSION

*Cognitive sources, forces, and
grammaticalization*

BERND HEINE

Professor of African Studies, University of Cologne



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For Tom Givón

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Preface

The claim made in this work is that the structure of grammatical categories is predictable to a large extent once we know the range of possible cognitive structures from which they are derived. This claim is tested here with reference to one example, viz. the structure of predicative possession. It would seem that most of the possessive constructions to be found in the languages of the world can be traced back to a small set of basic conceptual patterns. These patterns are identified in this work and the way each of them affects the word order and morphosyntax of the resulting ‘have’-construction is described within the framework of grammaticalization theory (see Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca 1994 for references). It is argued that much of the typological diversity that characterizes ‘have’-constructions in the languages of the world can be explained with reference to the principles of grammaticalization proposed in those works.

The present work has profited greatly from the assistance and co-operation of a number of colleagues. Most of all, my gratitude is due to Ulrike Claudi who, in addition to accompanying my research with constructive criticism, also gave me access to her unpublished paper on ‘To have or not to have: on the conceptual base of predicative possession in some African languages’ (Claudi 1986), which already contains a number of the basic notions to be discussed below. Furthermore, my gratitude is due to the members of the research team working on grammaticalization at the University of Cologne, in particular to Tom Güldemann, Ingo Heine, Christa Kilian-Hatz, Christa König, Tania Kouteva, Heinz Roberg, and Mathias Schladt, and to my colleagues Leila Behrens, Jürgen Broschart, Claudia Brugman, Joan Bybee, Norbert Cyffer, Karen Ebert, Michele Emanatian, Suzanne Fleischman, Zygmunt Frajzyngier, Orin Gensler, Tom Givón, Paul Hopper, George Lakoff, Frank Lichtenberk, Doris Payne, Mechthild Reh, Hans-Jürgen Sasse, Fritz Serzisko, Leon Stassen, Christel Stolz, Thomas Stolz, Eve Sweetser, Leonard Talmy, Elizabeth

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Abbreviations

A	subject of a transitive or ditransitive verb	EXIST	existential marker
ABL	ablative case	F	feminine gender
ABS	absolute	FOC	focus
ABSOL	absolutive	GEN	genitive marker
ABST	abstract possession	IMP	imperative
ACC	accusative	INAL	inalienable possession
ADP	adposition	IN/A	inanimate alienable possession
AL	alienable	IN/I	inanimate inalienable possession
ALL	allative		
ART	article	INSTR	instrument
ASP	aspect	IPFV	imperfective
ASSOC	associative	KI	kinship term
AUX	auxiliary	LOC	locative
BO	body-part term	M	masculine gender
CAR	carrier	N	noun
CL	noun class	NEU	neuter gender
CLASS	classifier	NF	non-feminine gender
CLFR	classifier	NOM	nominative
CLIT	clitic	NSP	non-specific
COM	comitative	O	object of a transitive verb
COMPL	completive	OBL	oblique case
CONN	connector	P	patientive object
COP	copula	PART	participle
DAT	dative case	PERF	perfect
DEF	marker of definiteness	PERM	permanent possession
DEM	demonstrative	PFV	perfective
DUAL	dual	PHYS	physical possession
EMPH	emphatic	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	POESS	possessive

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PRES	present tense	TAM	tense, aspect, and modality
PRS	presentative marker	TEMP	temporary possession
PRT	particle	TNS	tense
Q	question marker	TOP	topic
REC	recipient	UNSP	unspecified third-person
S	subject of an intransitive verb	1	first person, class 1
SG	singular	2	second person, class 2
SPCF	specifier	3	third person, class 3
SPEC	specific	4, etc.	class 4, etc.
SU	subject of intransitive verb		