The Conceptual Network of the Possessive na-*construction in Macedonian*

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Introduction

This paper examines the network of possessive *na*-constructions in contemporary standard Macedonian. I consider this semantic category to be a structured network of related meanings showing prototype effects. Following Lakoff (1987:ch.6) and Langacker (1991, 1993, 1995 and 2000) I assume that they are structured around a central subcategory defined by a cluster of cognitive models from which the non-central subcategories gradually depart. The central model along with certain general cognitive principles such as association, metaphor, and metonymy motivate these extensions.

Possession seems to be one of the central concepts of human cognition. It embodies a relation between two entities, called possessor and possessed. This relationship can be so versatile that it is tempting to claim that any relationship between two entities can be interpreted as possessive. However, this is not the case, since the possessive relationship is asymmetric and it is normally not possible to reverse the referent roles (compare: *Tom's hat* and (?) *the hat's Tom*) without affecting the meaning in some way.

Within the cognitive approach there have been several attempts to analyze the possessive functions as structured polysemy. Taylor (1989 and 1996), Nikiforidou (1991) and Durieux (1990) (among others) assign prototype status to the meaning of ownership (possession *sensu stricto*) and consider the related meanings as extensions from the prototype. While Nikiforidou's links between the various meanings are strongly based on metaphor, Taylor (as well as Durieux who accepts his model) views possession as a cluster of properties whose frequent occurrence constitutes an 'experiential gestalt' (Taylor 1989:679). The extensions are motivated by their similarity to the properties of

the prototype. Langacker (1991, 1993, 1995 and 2000), on the other hand, has proposed an alternative model, which is, nevertheless, compatible both with the metaphor and the prototype approach.

The present analysis of the possessive constructions in Macedonian is based on Langacker's explication of possessive relations. He proposes two types of underlying structure for the possessive category: (1) a reference point model as an abstract image schema underlying the wide range of possessive meanings; and (2) conceptual archetypes which have a strong experiential base and define the category prototypes (ownership, kinship and part-whole). The reference point schema is a cognitive model largely present in human experience.

> "It involves the notion *mental contact* […]. By definition, to establish mental contact with an entity is to single it out for individual conscious awareness. The reference-point model is simply the idea that we commonly invoke the conception of one entity for the purpose of establishing mental contact with another." (Langacker 1995:58)

In possessive constructions the entity coded as the possessor is always the more salient entity in a given situation and thus the reference point. It serves to ensure identification of the possessed, which is the target entity. This accounts for the wide range of possessive constructions as well as the striking asymmetry of possessive relations, no matter how distant they are from the prototype. It also explains the tendency of possessive constructions to be definite. Thus, this cognitive ability has a direct effect on linguistic organization, proving one of the basic claims of cognitive linguistics. This is in line with Lakoff's (1987) and Johnson's (1987) accounts of the importance of image schemas in structuring meaning, and consequently, language.[i]

This image schematic ability is inherent in the conception of the archetype, which defines the category's prototype. Langacker gives prototype status to the three central categories (ownership, kinship and physical part/whole relations) explaining that "each involves a clear and clearly defined reference point relationship" (Langacker 2000:176-177). For example, possessions are normally defined in reference to the people who own them, while the reverse is quite unusual. Parts, especially body-parts, cannot be conceived of without invoking the concept of the whole. Equally, a kinship term only

makes sense in relation to a given individual. However, Langacker agrees partly with Taylor, allowing some primacy for ownership.[ii]

In this paper I analyze the possessive *na*-constructions as a structured category unified under cognitive principles. In addition to providing a principled account of a language category in Macedonian, a language which has not received much attention in cognitive linguistics, this paper is also of theoretical interest for two reasons. First, I argue that the category under scrutiny is compatible with Langacker's reference point model, lending further support to this model. Second, this paper contributes to our understanding of grammaticalization (Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine et al. 1991, Traugott 1986 and 1988). I argue that the subcategories of the *na*-constructions range from less grammaticalized to more grammaticalized as they depart from the prototype. The relations expressed by the central senses are relatively concrete and situated in the external situation, whereas those construed by the more remote ones tend to express internal relations exhibiting progressively growing degrees of subjectivity. This is in accord with Traugott's view of the pragmatic strengthening of speaker involvement along the grammaticalization cline (Traugott 1986 and 1988).

The various subcategories of the possessive *na*-constructions are presented in section 2. First, the basic functions are identified (2.1.) followed by meanings that gradually depart from them (2.2.). The conceptual links and motivations for extension are pointed out in order to establish the paths and principles of the semantic extension. Finally, in section 3 the continuum of the possessive *na*-constructions is discussed and the degrees of **subjectification** are identified, after which a short conclusion is offered.

The semantic network of the possessive na-constructions

There are several means of expressing possession in contemporary standard Macedonian, but the *na*-construction is the most productive and the most common one. Following the loss of the case system in Balkan Slavic (Macedonian and Bulgarian), it has taken over the majority of the functions of the genitive case in adnominal position . Apart from possession, the preposition *na* is also used for marking the indirect object as well as for various spatial and temporal meanings.[iii] The basic spatial relation it conveys

is that of contact and/or support (cf. Cienki 1995:97 for Bulgarian). Syntactically the possessive *na*-construction represents a noun phrase constituted by a head and a modifying prepositional phrase. The head noun encodes the ***possessed*** (Pd) and the complement of *na* the ***possessor*** (Pr).[iv] The entities coded in the Pd and Pr enter into a variety of relationships, the type of which depends largely on the semantics of the referents.

The present study is based on extensive data containing possessive *na*-constructions collected from a wide range of written (both fiction and non-fiction) and spoken (private conversations, radio and TV) sources. Examples have been evaluated based on the judgments of native speakers of Macedonian and on my own intuitions as an educated speaker of standard Macedonian .

The basic possessive functions

Following Langacker and Topoli*f*ska I will assume that the three central meanings are:

(1)   ownership: *knigata na Ana* 'Ana's book'

(2)   body part relations: *rakata na Ana* 'Ana's arm'

(3)   kinship relations: *bratot na Ana* 'Ana's brother'

These three functions represent salient aspects of our experience and, as Langacker (1995:59) points out, "lend themselves especially well to reference point organization". This is due to the fact that the possessor is always a person who is identified in the situation. It is thus easier to identify the owned entities in reference to an individual that owns them than the opposite. The whole, particularly the body, is a natural reference point for a part because it is automatically evoked by the part. Parts are not normally conceived of as independent units, especially not body parts, but rather as functional units within an overall configuration. A kinship term identifies the designated person in relation to another individual identified by both participants in the speech situation.

These three subcategories are not uniform structures but exhibit prototype effects of their own in having a central meaning and more distant meanings gradually departing from it. For example, in the ***ownership*** subcategory, while the referent of the Pr remains a person, the referent of the Pd can be the following:

(4)   concrete object: *čadorot na Ana* 'Ana's umbrella', *kolata na Ana* 'Ana's car'

(5)   place: *stanot na Ana* 'Ana's flat', *gradot na Ana* 'Ana's town'

(6)   institution/group: *učilišteto na Ana* 'Ana's school', *timot na Ana* 'Ana's team'[v]

(7)   non-material: *prezimeto na Ana* 'Ana's surname', *ulogata na Ana* 'Ana's role'

(8)   psychological state originating from the Pr: *celta na Ana* 'Ana's goal', *stavot na Ana* 'Ana's point of view'

(9)   creation: *slikata na Ana* 'Ana's painting', *idejata na Ana* 'Ana's idea'

Concrete, manipulable objects as possessed items establish relationships with the greatest degree of prototypicality . Prototypicality decreases in the direction from concrete to abstract Pd. Moreover, in each of these subgroups there is a possibility for most of the relationships to be interpreted as more or less permanent depending on context, e.g. concrete objects and places legally owned vs. having a possessed item at one's disposal .

In the subcategory of ***body parts*** we also find the extension along the line concrete-abstract, as the following examples illustrate :

(10)   concrete body parts: *glavata na Ana* 'Ana's head'

(11)   personality features: (physical) *glasot na Ana* 'Ana's voice', *izgledot na Ana* 'Ana's look'; (psychological) *kreativnosta na Ana* 'Ana's creativity', *karakterot na Ana* 'Ana's character'

(12)   psycho-physiological states/experiences: *lutinata na Ana* 'Ana's anger', *bolesta na Ana* 'Ana's illness'

A human individual is normally perceived as a physical and psychological complex and these two aspects are commonly implied in a mention of a person. Thus, personality features, both physical (look, voice, posture, strength etc.) and psychological (weakness, imagination, habits etc.) are equally viewed as parts of this complex, just like body parts. Psychological states/experiences (happiness, satisfaction, fear, feelings, life) are very close and can sometimes be regarded as features of someone's personality, especially when they express permanent states. At the same time, these types of experiences can

also be viewed in the sense of material possession, so they link the body part subcategory to the one of ownership.

In the subcategory of **kinship** the referent of the Pd can express the following:

(13) family relations: *vujkoto na Ana* 'Ana's uncle'

(14) close social relations: *prijatelkata na Ana* 'Ana's friend'

(15) hierarchical social and business relations: *šefot na Ana* 'Ana's boss', *lekarot na Ana* 'Ana's doctor'

(16) organization/group (viewed as people): *partijata na Ana* 'Ana's party', x*orot na Ana* 'Ana's choir' (Ana is either a singer or a conductor)

(17) supporting relations: *obožavatelite na Ana* 'Ana's fans', *pejačot na Ana* 'Ana's singer' (the one she likes)

The most permanent family relations occupy the central position. As part of a family organization, one's relation to the other members is naturally determined by the person's position in the organization. The other types of relations are socially based and the person has more or less freedom to determine or change his/her role.

Extensions from the central possessive meanings

Two lines of extension from the central possessive meanings can be followed: one is mapped on the central body parts relations (Pd as body parts and personality features) and the other on the marginal one (states/experiences) as well as on the last two subcategories of the ownership relationship.

Part-whole relations

Part-whole relations are conceptually linked to *body part relations*. In fact, I propose that the central senses are metaphorical extensions from *body parts*: the relation between an inanimate concrete object and its parts is perceived as parallel to a relation between a person and his/her body parts.[vi]

Despite the similarity, this subcategory is presented separately from *body parts* for two reasons. First, although the central *part-whole* meanings, where the Pr is a concrete entity , share more properties with *body parts*, the extensions tend to differ considerably. Furthermore, the different nature of the Pr (human in *body parts relations*

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and non-human in *part-whole*) seems to result in important conceptual differences that may be reflected in the structure. For example, in standard Macedonian, apart from the preposition *na* 'on', the preposition *od* 'from' is often used with inanimate whole as Pr, but not with human Pr. Similarly in English, the fuzzy borderline between the possessive *'s* and *of* constructions lies at this same point (it is more common to say *the cover of the book*, but *the man's skin*).

This subcategory also consists of a central meaning when concrete objects as Pr and concrete parts as Pd are involved as in :

(18)   concrete parts: *račkata na šoljata* 'the handle of the cup', *površinata na patot* 'the surface of the road'

and some less prototypical instances, where the Pr is a more or less concrete inanimate phenomenon, while the referent of the Pd can be:

(19)   part of a place: *vrvot na planinata* 'the top of the mountain', *krajot na gradot* 'the end of the town',

(20)   part of a temporal period: *krajot na denot* 'the end of the day', *prviot den na proletta* 'the first day of spring'

(21)   section of an organization/institution: *proizvodniot oddel na fabrikata* 'the manufacturing section of the factory', *levoto krilo na partijata* 'the left wing of the party', *odbranata na timot* 'the defense of the team'[vii]

(22)   abstract "part" of concrete or abstract entities: *pravecot na glasot* 'the direction of the voice', *osnova na sistemot* 'the basis of the system', *strukturata na jazikot* 'the structure of the language'

The relations between inanimate wholes and their parts is close to the prototype instantiation of the reference point schema. Parts, even though sometimes more easily imagined as detached from the whole than the body parts, normally represent the less salient participant in the relation and evoke reference to the whole. With more abstract participants the relation varies, but still preserves the same schema.

The metaphorical extension of personality features (11) to constructions with an inanimate Pr results in an expression of the ***parameters of an inanimate entity***. Here the relation inanimate object–characteristic is viewed in the sense of human being–

personality features relations. Both physical (23) and abstract parameters (24) of concrete referents as Pr can be encoded in the Pd as well as personal roles (25).

(23)   concrete parameters: *bojata/težinata/dolžinata na kolata* 'the color/ weight/ length of the car'

(24)   abstract parameters: *vrednosta/brzinata/kvalitetot/starosta na kolata* 'the value/ speed/ quality/ age of the car'

(25)   person as a parameter: *sopstvenikot na kolata* 'the owner of the car', *naslednikot na imotot* 'the heir of the estate', *prodavačot na jabolka* 'the seller of apples', *direktorot na bibliotekata* 'the director of the library

The function of expressing parameters of concrete objects is mapped onto constructions where the Pr is an abstract phenomenon as in (26):

(26)   parameters of abstract possessors: *visinata na danokot* 'the amount of the tax', *brzinata na zvukot* 'the speed of sound', *ubavinata na pesnata* 'the beauty of the song', *predlagačot na planot* 'the initiator of the plan'

This function of the *na*-constructions to express relationships between an inanimate object and its parameters is further grammaticalized when the Pr is a nominalized predication, expressing an activity or a state as the basis of the nominalization. This function shows specific characteristics, so it can be regarded as a separate subcategory – ***parameters of nominalized predication***. All parameters of the predication can be expressed as referents of the Pd as in (27)-(33):

(27)   time: *vremeto na nastanot* 'the time of the event', *denot na svadbata* 'the day of the wedding'

(28)   place: *mestoto na sostanokot* 'the place of the meeting'

(29)   mode: *brzinata na dviženjeto* 'the speed of moving', *stilot na oblekuvanje* 'the style of dressing'

(30)   quantity: *stepenot na razvoj* 'the level of development'

(31)   purpose: *celta na razgovorite* 'the purpose of the talks'

(32)   initiator: *storitelot na kražbata* 'the perpetrator of the theft', *inicijator na pregovorite* 'initiator of the negotiations'

(33)   patient: *žrtvata na napadot* 'the victim of the attack', *posledica na rabotata* 'consequence of the work'

With deverbatives which have acquired a more concrete meaning (such as *pesna* 'song', *zbor* 'word', *sostanok* 'meeting', *misla* 'thought') the *parameters of predication* constructions are closer to the previous category (*parameters of inanimate objects)* and can be viewed as analogous extensions from it.

Another commonly used, but rather restricted function linked to the *part-whole relationship* is the one I call **superlatives**. The examples in (34) illustrate it:

(34)   *sportist na godinata* 'sportist of the year', *xit na mesecot* 'hit of the month', *mis na Amerika* 'Miss America'

In reality, the relationship of the Pr and the Pd is one of time or place (referents of the Pr) in which the Pd acquires the highest degree of importance, compared to other entities of the same type. The neutral expression would consist of a superlative adjective and time or space preposition (*najdobar sportist vo 2002* 'the best sportsman in 2002'). By using the *na*-construction the speaker gives a special status to the Pd in regard to the Pr.

The subcategories of *parameters of inanimate objects and of predication* are quite abstract and further removed from the prototypical possessive senses. The question of their consonance with the reference point schema arises here. It is explained by the fact that parameters and features cannot exist by themselves, but must be viewed as pertaining to some entity (concrete or abstract). Consequently, in order to identify them we must make reference to some independent phenomenon with which the parameter is intrinsically connected. Langacker (2000:181) points out that "the more intrinsically one entity figures in the characterization of another, the more likely it is to be used as a reference point for it". The relations in which the parameter implies a person, as in (25), (32), and (33), may pose a problem . These seem like a reversal of the possession relationship between animate Pr and inanimate Pd, but the person here is just a role and consequently more abstract. In comparison with it, the referent of the Pr is the more concrete and the more precisely defined entity in the relation, thus preserving the reference point model (*sopstvenikot na kolata* 'the owner of the car' is a good construction, whereas **Ana na kolata* 'Ana of the car' is not acceptable).

Participant-predication relationships

The other line of extension begins with the *na*-constructions that encode **predication-participant relationships**; namely they specify the subject and object arguments of the nominalized verb periphrastically . In fact, this is a very productive function, both with personal and non-personal possessors. In this subcategory the Pd is a constant, its referent is a nominalized predication, and the Pr may be:

(35)   the initiator of the nominalized predication: *pristignuvanjeto na Ana* 'Ana's arrival'*, pobedata na Ana* 'Ana's victory', *presmetkata na Ana* 'Ana's calculation'

(36)   the patient or goal of the nominalized predication: *popravkata na kolata* 'repair of the car', *posetata na crkvata* 'the visit of the church'*, ubistvoto na pretsedatelot* 'the president's assassination'

In classical accounts of possessive constructions this function has always posed a special problem and has often been regarded as homonymous with the central functions (*ownership, part/whole*, and *kinship*). However, in accounts based on the cognitive approach, these functions are integrated in the network and well motivated. Langacker (1993:10) accounts for their existence by explaining that the participants serve as natural reference points for events. Participants are conceptually autonomous, while an event is conceptually dependent. An event cannot be conceived of without evoking in some way the conception of the participants. However, in the subcategory *parameters of nominalized predication* in (27)-(33), the nominalization takes the role of Pr, which means that it is perceived as the more salient participant in the relation (the reference point). This may seem counter to Langacker's analysis , but may be explained if the nature of the referents coded in the Pd is considered. Only abstract parameters are permitted as Pd in constructions of the relevant type. In examples where the Pd appears to be a person, the Pd noun does not refer to an individual, but rather a general role. A reified event can have more parameters (time, place, goal etc.), while a parameter needs to be attached to an entity (prototypically one at a time) to make sense. This is parallel to

the relationship between the prototypical owner and his/her possessions (cf. Taylor 1996:340).

I believe that the constructions with these two types of Prs do not have equal status. Those with the initiator as Pr are closer to the possessive prototype. Referring to the genitive in Classical Greek, Nikiforidou (1991:177) claims that "what is expressed by the genitive freely and productively is the experiencer, with the head noun denoting things such as feelings, moods, dispositions etc." and not the agent, meaning that these functions precede diachronically the expression of agent as Pr. Consequently, they are conceptually closer to the central meanings. This is also in agreement with my suggestion that psychological states and experiences can marginally be perceived as components of one's personality. The analogous shift from nominalized states to nominalized activities is easy to imagine. Furthermore, initiator as Pr of a nominalized predication is also linked to ownership. Abstract products of people's activity are often expressed in a similar way as the activity itself (deverbal nouns whose root is the verb for the activity) and can be interpreted, just like experiences, as more or less permanent. For example *mislenje* can be interpreted as 'thought' or 'thinking', *govor* as 'speech' or 'speaking', *upatstvo* as 'a written instruction' or 'a spoken instruction' (being more concrete in the former interpretation).[viii] This ambiguity creates conditions for semantic reinterpretation and, once conventionalized, the construction is easily spread to other activities. Clancy (this volume) claims: "This type of analogical extension is common in languages throughout the world (cf. the extension of the use of the dative case from verbs of giving to verbs of taking as in Czech, German, and other European languages) […]." [ix]

The periphrastic expression of the patient or goal of nominalized predication is a more grammaticalized stage and conceptually more remote from the basic possessive functions. Unlike Nikiforidou, who links it directly to *ownership*, I see it as a further extension from the subject of nominalized predication.[x] The conceptual link is found in the large number of nominalizations of reflexive and decausative predicates in which the subject has a role closer to typical patient than to typical agent, as in (37).

> (37)   *aktiviranjeto na Ana* 'active involvement of Ana', *dviženjeto na vozduhot* 'the movement of the air'

These constructions can be viewed as occupying an intermediate position between those expressing agent and those expressing patient or goal as Pr, since they are often ambiguous: *aktiviranjeto na Ana* can mean that Ana herself became active or that someone made her become active, and *dviženjeto na vozduhot* can mean that the air moved by itself or that someone or something moved the air. The wider context often gives clues for interpretation, but sometimes it does not resolve the ambiguity. In (38) it is not clear whether our country is active in this association or someone else is carrying out the process.

(38) *Procesot   na **asociranje na   našata   zemja***
process.DEF of   association of   our   country
vo   evropskot   semejstvo   prodolžuva.
in   European.DEF family   continue.3-SG-PRES
'The process of **association of our country** into the European family continues.'

According to Janda (this volume) such overlap and continuity among the parts of a category is a common phenomenon in language. This arises from the "dynamic semantic relationship between a grammatical subsystem and its component parts".

It seems that in the constructions where the affected entity is expressed as Pr of a nominalized predication, the connections with the central possessive meanings become extremely weak. As a prominent participant, though, the affected entity has the ability to serve as a reference point for the nominalized predication. The initiator is generally the first candidate, but there are situations when the affected entity is a better choice, as shown in (39).

(39) ***Izborot   na Ana** za pretsedatel gi*
selection.DEF of   Ana for president   DO PRON-3-PL
iznenad   site.
surprise.3-SG-PAST   all.DEF
'The selection of Ana for a president surprised everyone.'

Being the source of the activity or state, and thus having more control, the initiator has closer affinity with the prototypical possessor, while the affected participant is further removed .[xi]

The subcategory of ***whole-contents*** expresses a reverse relationship from the *part-whole* one. Namely, the Pd encodes a kind of collective entity (a whole) while the Pr carries information about its contents. When the Pd is a concrete whole, the Pr states its components. The examples in (40) illustrate this:

(40)   *zbirka na esei/pesni/insekti* 'a collection of essays/ poems/ insects', *izbor na pesni* 'a selection of poems', *izložba na knigi* 'an exhibition of books', *mozaik na pretstavi* 'a mozaik of performances', *grupa na naučnici/lekovi* 'a group of scientists/medicines', *mreža na korisnici/kapilari* 'a network of users/ capillaries'

With more abstract notions as Pd and Pr, however, this relation is reinterpreted as a relation between a specified and a specifier. The Pd is an abstract notion, which is given more concrete meaning by the Pr. Compare the examples in (41):

(41)   *čuvstvo na strav* 'a feeling of fear', *izraz na iznenadenost* 'a look of surprise', *misla na nade⌋* 'a thought of hope', *slučaj na samoubistvo* 'a case of suicide', *relacija na posesivnost* 'relation of possessivity', *proces na selekcija* 'a process of selection'

The path of the semantic extension for these constructions in Macedonian is rather problematic. Unlike English *of* Macedonian *na* does not imply constituting material (as in the English expression *ring of gold*). The preposition *od* is used for that purpose (*prsten od zlato*). While the functions of *od* do overlap with some possessive *na* functions, it is nevertheless difficult to explain the development of *od* into a *na*-construction for expressing *whole-contents relations*. Instead, I will propose that they are an extension from the patient or goal of the nominalized predication function. Out of context, a number of both concrete and abstract *whole-contents* constructions show ambiguity with these constructions. For the examples in (42) two types of paraphrasing is possible:

(42)   *čuvstvo na strav* 'a feeling of fear': *čuvstvuva strav* 'to feel fear' or *čuvstvo što pretstavuva strav* 'a feeling which is fear'; *izraz na iznenadenost* 'a look of surprise': *izrazuva iznenadenost* 'to express

surprise' or *izraz što pokažuva iznenadenost* 'expression that shows surprise'; *izbor na pesni* 'a selection of poems': *izbira pesni* 'to select poems' or *izbor sostaven od pesni* 'a selection consisting of poems'

According to the nature of the relation between the Pr and the Pd *whole-contents* is the least prototypical possessive function of the *na*-constructions in Macedonian. Apart from the fact that it comes last in the chain of extensions, two additional factors serve as proof for its peripheral status. Firstly, this function has become more productive in Macedonian only recently and, secondly, there is still a lot of variation between the *na*-construction and the zero marker, as illustrated in example (43).[xii]

(43)   *kolekcija sliki vs. kolekcija na sliki* 'a collection of paintings', *relacija posesivnost vs. relacija na posesivnost* 'relation of possessivity'

I call the constructions such as those in example (44) ***dominating contents***.

(44)   *godina na danocite* 'year of taxes', *esen na čuda* 'autumn of miracles', *zemjata na snegot* 'the country of snow', *svetot na politikata* 'the world of politics'

Here a special status is given to the Pr in relation to the Pd. *Godina na danocite* 'year of taxes' means that the year was marked by numerous taxes. Notice the difference between the neutral expression *sala so ezera* 'a hall with lakes', which only informs about what the hall contains, and the one with the *na*-construction, *sala na ezera* 'hall of lakes', which, apart from conveying the fact that there are lakes in that hall, also conveys the impression that the lakes are a distinctive feature of the hall.

To accommodate the *whole-contents* relations the reference point schema is further stretched and schematized. The salience of the Pr in regard to the Pd results from the level of abstractness. As illustrated, the Pd entity is more general: when it is concrete it can consist of various things (a collection can comprise books or paintings or stamps etc.), while the abstract one is always a superordinate term (feeling, relation, state etc.) which encompasses various kinds of meanings. Each of them gets its concrete identity when paired with the Pr. This type of relation assures the required asymmetry and links the *whole-contents* meanings to the more central possessive senses. Thus, despite their peripheral position they can still be regarded as part of the category.

The semantic structure of the possessive na-constructions

The diagram in Figure 1 represents a simplified semantic map of the possessive *na*-constructions. Each subtype discussed above is represented by a node. The lines that connect the nodes indicate hypothesized direct semantic connections between them. The diagram is iconic in the sense that the relative distance of the subcategories indicates conceptual distance. Adjacent types share more properties than the more distant ones. The senses more remote from the central ones are conceptually further from the possessive prototype. However, the nodes do not represent strictly distinct units. As shown above, the subcategories have central and peripheral members and the latter exhibit ambiguity, which makes them difficult to classify. In fact, the best way to look at the subcategories is as overlapping units. The category is a continuum in which the *na*-construction gradually changes and becomes more grammaticalized.

Figure 1. The functional network of the possessive *na*-constructions
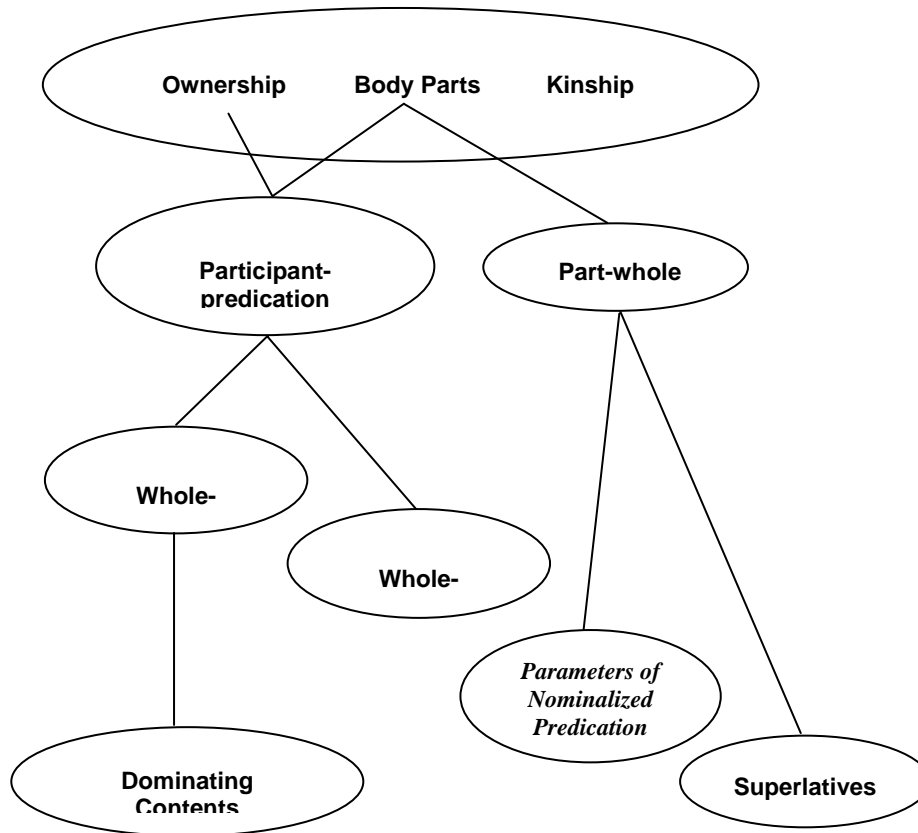
I consider grammaticalization from a synchronic point of view (cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine et al. 1991, Traugot 1986, Lehman 1985). As well as being a process which turns lexemes into grammatical formatives and makes grammatical formatives still more grammatical, it also provides a principle according to which the subcategories of a given grammatical category may be ordered. According to Traugott (1986 and 1988) this link is provided by a process she calls **subjectification**:[xiii] "Over time, meanings tend to come to refer less to objective situations and more to subjective ones (including speaker point of view), less to the described situation and more to the discourse situation" (Traugott 1986:540).[xiv] Traugott (1988:409-410) suggests three types of semantic-pragmatic tendencies:

I: Meanings situated in the external described situation > meanings situated in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation,

II: Meanings in the described external or internal situation >meanings situated in the textual situation, and

III: Meanings tend to become increasingly situated in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude towards the situation.

These processes are reflected in the synchronic structure of a polysemous category. In the continuum of the *na*-constructions the relationship between the Pr and the Pd changes from more concrete in the central functions to more abstract in the peripheral ones. How these changes relate to Traugott's tendencies is shown in Figure 2. In the basic meanings of the central categories (***ownership, body part relations, kinship and whole-part***) permanent relationships between concrete entities dominate, expressing the situation objectively. In the less basic meanings these relations are mapped onto more abstract and less permanent ones. The concrete concepts serve as models for more abstract ones: something at a person's disposal is related to the person as something in a person's possession; personality features are related to the person in the same way as the body parts to the body; what is in a person's mind is related to the person in the same way as objects owned by the person.

Figure 2. Degrees of subjectification in the *na*-construction continuum

Strengthening of the expression of speaker involvement ⟶

Meanings situated in the external situation	*Meanings situated in the internal situation*	*Meanings situated in the textual situation*	*Meanings situated in the speaker's subjective attitude towards the situation*
concrete and	abstract and less	predication - participant	superlatives,

permanent relations of ownership, body part relations, part-whole relations and kinship	permanent relations of ownership, body part relations, part-whole relations and kinship	relations, parameters of predication, whole-contents relations	dominating contents

The abstract relations further become more abstract and lead to text/structure based meanings. In the subcategory **participant-predication relations** the *na*-construction does not express direct concrete relations, but rather structural relations. The relations between participants in an event are normally expressed in a clause, but if the speaker chooses to restructure the clause into a nominalized expression then the roles of the participants are expressed with the *na*-construction.

The **whole-contents** subcategory also expresses relations remote from the external situation. The expressions such as *čuvstvo na strav* 'feeling of fear'*, akt na terorizam* 'act of terrorism', *relacija na posesivnost* 'relation of possession' do not convey any relations existing in the real world, as fear is actually a feeling, terrorism is an act and possession is a relation. When the speaker chooses to use them it is only for the purpose of the text. The speaker brings in a hierarchy between the notions, i.e. they are used in more elaborate, hypotactic style. The same applies to the subcategory **parameters of nominalized predication**. Expressions of the type *vremeto na nastanot* 'the time of the event' only relate the parameter to the event, but do not convey concrete information. The only tie with the concrete possessive relations that remains is the reference point principle. The referent of the Pr is the more salient entity and serves for identification of the Pd, not in a physical sense as the body for the parts or the owner for the possessed objects, but in a more abstract way.

The two last nodes on the continuum illustrate the third tendency. The **dominating contents** constructions of the type *zemjata na snegot* 'the country of snow' emphasize the importance of the entity coded in the Pr for the characterization of the entity coded in the head noun. The **superlative** constructions (*vest na denot* 'news of the

day') convey the special status of the entity coded in the head noun among all other entities of that type in regard to the Pr. They both express the speaker's subjective view of the relationship which is consistent with Traugott's notion of strengthening of the speaker's involvement along the grammaticalization continuum.

Conclusion

In this paper I have given a detailed analysis of the possessive *na*-construction in Macedonian. I have argued that it constitutes a radial category consisting of central meanings and a number of related senses gradually departing from them. The advantage of such an analysis is that it offers an explanation for the seemingly incoherent sum of senses and, as has been pointed out by Janda (this volume), enables "principled coherent analyses across the dimensions of languages and their histories". In that respect, the aim of this study is to enable comparison and thus contribute to the on-going research into the complex field of possessive constructions in languages worldwide.

I have made two significant theoretical points beyond the fields of Macedonian and Slavic Linguistics. First, I have shown that the reference point model proposed by Langacker is an adequate explanatory mechanism for the possessive senses along the continuum. As illustrated, it shapes the relation at each phase and determines the choice of possible candidates for the roles of Pr and Pd, preserving the relevant asymmetry. In addition to providing further support for this model, the present study lends evidence to the importance of cognitive abilities in shaping language structure. Secondly, the proposed analysis of the continuum as a grammaticalization cline offers an additional explanation for the diversity of the possessive constructions and the nature of the links between them. The analysis could also serve as a basis for further diachronic research, investigating the hypothesis of unidirectionality in language change, a pivotal claim of grammaticalization theory.

Notes

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i Unlike Lakoff and Johnson, Langacker regards the image schematic abilities as innate, rather than acquired through experience, but he points out that his view could be reconciled with theirs (Langacker 1993:3-4). Nesset (this volume) argues in favor of the importance of image schemas over distinctive features in assigning case in Russian temporal adverbials. Israeli (this volume) also demonstrates the work of the CONTAINER image schema in determining the choice of case with verbs of motion in Russian.

ii It is interesting that Topolińska (1997) has, quite independently, come to the same conclusion, but she gives primacy to the part-whole meaning.

iii Diachronically the indirect object function of the preposition *na* precedes the possessive one.

iv The terms *possessor* and *possessed* will be used throughout the continuum, even though in the remote functions they are less revealing.

v In this example the Pd entity (*timot* 'the team') implicates an institution, so the relationship is viewed in terms of ownership, i.e. as something at someone's disposal. Notice that with the same noun (and similar ones) we could focus on the people constituting it. Then the relationship with a human Pr would be an extension of kinship relations, cf. (16).

vi I understand metaphor as one of the basic principles in the extension of meanings from the prototype. The definitions vary considerably, but mainly they have in common the concept of understanding one kind of thing in terms of another. (cf. Lakoff 1987, Ungerer 1996)

vii In some of these constructions parts (or both parts and wholes) can evoke people. Then they are connected to ownership relations, as in (6) or to kinship relations as in (16) .

viii Nikiforidou (1991:178) points out that "agents can be perceived as the possessors of the products of the activity just as experiencers are perceived as the possessors of the experience."

ix Clancy (this volume) sees analogy as a major motivation for deployment of semantically neighboring verbs in the compound verb construction in Hindi-Urdu.

[x] It is contradictory to her claim that "the term "objective" genitive may in some cases depend on one's theory of nominalization" (Nikiforidou 1991:179). The source sentence for some nominalizations could be passive ones, in which the patient is a subject, not an object. She also claims that "experiencers and patients as semantic roles are close" (ibid.:180) which leads to a conclusion that they follow the same line of extension from the prototype.

[xi] Durieux (1990), analyzing the English genitive possessive construction, claims that the connection of the relations of processed and patient to the possessive prototype is rather remote. However, he acknowledges the links of the processed to the agent, creatorship and source relations.

[xii] The preposition *od* is also possible with concrete nouns (e.g. *kolekcija od sliki* – a collection of pictures), but as a result a slightly different meaning is acquired, stressing the content component.

[xiii] Traugott's hypothesis encompasses Langacker's concept of subjectification, but covers a broader range of phenomena.

[xivxiv] "One of the clearest examples of the change is Old Eng. *hwile* 'at that time' > Middle Eng. 'during' > Modern Eng. 'although'. Here an adverb referencing a time in the described situation comes to be a conjunction expressing not only temporality in the described situation but also textual cohesion, and then comes to express the speaker's own view of the relation between two situations." (Traugott 1988:541)

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