

***'Possessive' marking of subject and aspect
in the Solomon Islands and Bougainville***
University of Durham May 2003

Bill Palmer
University of Leeds/University of New South Wales
palmer_bill@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

Many Oceanic languages of the North West Solomonic subgrouping (Bougainville and the western Solomon Islands) employ apparent possessive morphology within the verb complex to encode certain aspectual categories. Outside Bougainville this tends to be optional marking in an otherwise unmarked verb complex. In several Bougainville languages, however, two distinct verbal constructions exist: one reflecting POC clause structure, the other a special construction with a heavy functional load in which 'possessive' morphology is obligatory. Moreover, in a small number of languages of eastern Bougainville two distinct versions of the 'possessive' verbal construction exist, each with their own formal and functional characteristics. This paper surveys these verbal constructions, and attempts to characterise the formal and functional differences between the two version of the construction, then considers the origin of the constructions.

1. PROTO NORTH WEST SOLOMONIC (PNWS) POSSESSION

Table 1: PNWS possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	* <i>-gu</i>	-	* <i>-mu</i>	* <i>-na</i>
PL	* <i>-mami</i>	* <i>-da</i>	* <i>-miu</i>	* <i>-di</i>

- (1) a. **na-* 'general indirect possessive base'
 b. **ye-* 'consumable indirect possessive base'
 c. ?**sa-* '??' (see Ross 1988:185-186; Lynch 1996:106-108)
- (2) a. **mata-gu* 'my eye'
 b. **na-gu ruma* 'my house'
 c. **ye-gu tohu* 'my sugar cane (to eat)'

2. THE PROBLEM

Mono (Ross 1982):

- (3) a. *ha-na-nuhu-i-Ø*
 1SGS-IRR-dive-TR-3SGO
 'I shall dive for it.'¹

¹ Glossing abbreviations at end of handout.

- b. *au e-na hahine-na pata-aŋ*
 stay AUX-3SGS cross.sibling-3SGP shore-LOC
 'His sister stayed on the shore.'
- c. *soipa e-na toitoi*
 PN CP-3SGP banana
 'Soipa's banana.'

3. KOKOTA

Palmer 1999, 2002, f.c.

3.1 Kokota indirect possessive morphology

Table 2: Kokota possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	- <i>gu</i>	-	- <i>u</i> ~ - <i>mu</i>	- <i>na</i>
PL	- <i>mai</i>	- <i>da</i>	- <i>mi</i>	- <i>di</i>

(4) a. *no-* 'general indirect possessive base'
 b. *ye-* 'consumable indirect possessive base'

(5) a. *nene-mu*
 leg-2SGP
 'Your leg.'

b. *no-u suga*
 GP-2SGP house
 'Your house.'

c. *ye-u namari*
 CP-2SGP fish
 'Your fish (to eat).'

3.2 General possessive base as desiderative marker

In Kokota the general possessive base can function as a preverbal desiderative modifier:

- (6) *mane aro n-e no-di faroho-gai yai*
 man these RL-3S GP-3PLP smite-1INCO weINC
 These men want to hit us.

The consumable possession base does not occur, even when the action involves consumption by mouth:

- (7) a. *maneri n-e papara yu-na n-e no-di ηau*
 they RL-3S suffer because-3SGP RL-3S GP-3PLP eat
 They are suffering because they want to eat.
- b. **n-e ye-di ηau*
 RL-3S CP-3PLP eat
 They want to eat.

'Possessive' desiderative marking is volitional:

- (8) **ara n-a no-gu heta*
 I RL-1S GP-1SGP be.strong
 I want to be strong.

3.3 Kokota 'possessive' subject indexing

'Possessive' subject indexing is optional and marks events as having high saliency or immediacy. (Palmer 1999)

Indirect possessive morphology occurs optionally within the verb complex marking the event as having high saliency or immediacy. The 'possessor' encoding indexes the subject. This marking often occurs as a response to a question such as 'what are you doing?' or 'how are you feeling?', with a sense the event or state pertains 'right now':

- (9) a. *n-a babao no-gu*
 RL-1S be.tired GP-1SGP
 'I'm tired.'
- b. *ge age m̩m̩e no-mai n-e-u*
 NT proceed be.difficult GP-1EXCP RL-3S-be.thus
 'We find it difficult.'

The construction typically encodes events or states applying at the moment of speaking, but can refer to past or future events. Marking of past events typically indicates that the event has occurred just before the moment of speaking:

- (10) *ara n-a-ke to ya no-gu*
 I RL-1S-PRF arrived GP-1SGP
 'I have just arrived [right now].'

If another temporal frame has been established, it may indicate that the event had high saliency at the moment indicated:

- (11) *ka-t-au-ana* *ge la lehe no-gu bo-sini*
 LOC-SB-exist-that NT go die GP-1SGP CNT-FOC
 'At that I nearly died.'

In irrealis the possessive marking indicates that the event is about to occur, immediately after the moment of speaking:

- (12) *maneri e zaho no-di*
 they 3S go GP-3SGP
 'They are about to go [right now].'

In imperatives the form gives a sense that the event should occur immediately:

- (13) a. *zaho no-u*
 go GP-2SGP
 'Go away!'
- b. *mai ome no-da*
 come fuck GP-1INCP
 'Come and let's fuck!'

The consumable base marks events of consumption:

- (14) *manei n-e pipiala ye-na*
 he RL-3S smoke CP-3SGP
 'He is smoking.'

The possessive base occurs within the verb core preceding object agreement enclitics and incorporated nouns:

- (15) a. *ara n-a hoda no-gu-di palu kokorako ide*
 I RL-1S take GP-1SGP-3PLO two chicken these
 'I'm taking these two chickens.'
- b. *manei n-e-ke ŋau ye-na namari ŋi yo*
 he RL-3S-PRF eat CP-3SGP fish be.finished
 'He has just eaten [some] fish.'

Possessive forms cliticise to reduced forms of several verbs. With some this is obligatory:

- (16) a. *ara n-a ma yu*
 I RL-1S be.afraid
 'I'm afraid.'

- b. *ara n-a ɲa-no-gu*
 I RL-1S be.afraid-GP-1SGP
 'I'm afraid.'
- c. **ara n-a ɲa ɣu no-gu*
- (17) a. *ara n-a ɲa ɣu-ni*
 I RL-1S be.afraid-3SGO
 'I am afraid of it.'
- b. *ara n-a ɲa-no-gu-di kakafre are*
 I RL-1S be.afraid-GP-1SGP-3PLO spider those
 'I am afraid of those spiders.'
- (18) a. *ara n-a gonu*
 I RL-1S be.insensible
 'I don't understand.'
- b. *ara n-a go-no-gu-ni naɲa-na-na manei*
 I RL-1S be.insensible-GP-1SGP-3SGO name-3SGP-that he
 'I don't know his name.'

In other instances both the cliticised reduced form and the unreduced forms occur:

- (19) a. *ara n-a do yoho no-gu si-ɲ-ara no yoi*
 I RL-1S be.lazy GP-1SGP FOC-IMM-I VOC
 'I can't be bothered, man!'
- b. *n-e do-no-gu-ɲa ara ye,*
 RL-3S be.lazy-GP-1SGP-IMM I and then
 'I don't want to,
- o-ti huhuru-nau e-u yoi*
 2S-NEG force-1SGO 3S-be.thus VOC
 so don't force me, man!'

4. CHEKE HOLO (MARINGE)

White et al 1988, Ross 1988

4.1 Cheke Holo possessive morphology

Possessor indexing as for Kokota except the 3SGP indexing form is *-ɲa*. Possessive bases as for Kokota.

4.2 Cheke Holo 'possessive' subject indexing

'Possessive' subject indexing is optional and "intensifies the involvement of the subject". (White et al 1988)

- (20) a. *tei no-gu buala*
 go GP-1SGP PN
 'I'm going to Buala.'
- b. *age no-da ka t^hoŋno ɲo*
 go GP-1INCP LOC ocean there
 'Let's go to the ocean.'
- c. *iara tei-tei no-gu ka nabrou*
 I RD-go GP-1SGP LOC road
 'I was walking along the road.'
- (21) a. *ne t^hono roŋo ye-gu sara ia*
 PST really sting CP-1SGP FOC.I ART
 'I really got stung.'
- b. *tet^heɣu ye-gu si ŋa iara ɲe*
 strain CP-1SGP FOC ? I this
 'I'm really straining.'
- c. *ye-hati mae nahu re e maru ye-mi si-a*
 weEXC-PL man PN ART do have.food CP-1EXCP FOC-ART
 'We Nahu men have plenty of food.'

The use of the two bases needs more investigation, but the *no-* base seems to occur with active or unergative verbs and the *ye-* base with stative or unaccusative verbs.

5. ZABANA (KIA)

Fitzsimons 1989

5.1 Zabana possessive morphology

As for Kokota except the 2PLP indexing form is always *-mu*.

5.2 Zabana 'possessive' subject indexing

Examples in the data suggest 'possessive' subject indexing marks ongoing states or activities.

- (22) *la to-ke sikolu no-u ma kesao*
 go PRF-PFV study GP-2SG ? Kesao
 'You must go to school in Kesao.'

- (23) a. *nakele ye-na-yu ia rekaha*
cry CP-3SGP-and then ART child
'The child cried.'
- b. *to kabai yahe ye-na ia mane fa*
PRF want travel CP-3SGP ART man big
'The boss wants to travel.'

This marking is obligatory for some verbs:

- (24) a. *puna mau ye-mai ma-mu*
very fear CP-1EXCP ?-CNT
'We were very afraid.'
- b. *maneri di pake ye-di ragi-na*
they IRR.3PLS forgo CP-3PLP dance-?
'They didn't want to dance.'

Fitzsimons incorrectly identifies the use of the possessive morphology as middle voice. Examples in the data suggest the construction marks continuous states or activities.

The general possessive base seems to occur with volitional activities while the consumable base seems to occur with emotion verbs and non-volitional activities, suggesting a distinction between unergative and unaccusative or between active versus stative. The apparent exception is with *mahai* 'eat':

- (25) *o mahai ye-u*
IRR.2SGS eat CP-2SGP
'Eat please.'

6. GANOQA

Kettle 2000

6.1 Ganoqa indirect possessive morphology

Table 3: Ganoqa general indirect possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>gua</i>	-	<i>mua</i>	<i>nana</i>
PL	<i>mami</i>	<i>nada</i>	<i>mua</i>	<i>dia</i>

Table 4: Ganoqa consumable indirect possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>ye-gu</i>	-	<i>ye-mu</i>	<i>ya-na</i>
PL	<i>ye-mami</i>	<i>ya-da</i>	<i>ye-miu</i>	<i>ye-di</i>

6.2 Ganoqa 'possessive' subject indexing

'Possessive' subject indexing marks durative aspect. (Kettle)

- (26) a. *juma dia pa leo ivere*
 sit GP.3PLP LOC inside sea
 'They stayed sitting inside the sea.'
- b. *za po yozo uku keni nana*
 RL.3SGS carry go.away go GP.3SGP
 'He carried him away.'
- c. *mana va-keni nana*
 IRR.1SGS CS-go GP.3SGP
 '(How) will I make it go away?'

Kettle regards the general possessive form as unmarked because it occurs with a wide range of verbs. Her data shows it with active unergative verbs and stative verbs as in (26), as well as with clearly unaccusative verbs:

- (27) *mina dururu beto nana na abana*
 IRR.3SGS sink finish GP.3SGP ART island
 'The island will sink completely.'

The consumable possessive forms also occur but Kettle regards this as marked because it occurs rarely in her data and only with a restricted set of verbs. Of six instances in her data, four were with the verb *puta* 'sleep':

- (28) *beto gari puta ye-di*
 and.then RL.3PLS sleep CP-3PLP
 'Then they slept.'

A further example seems idiomatic:

- (29) *ge vari-teku ye-di ari-kori*
 RL.3PLS RECIP-take CP-3PLP they-DL
 'They two fought each other honourably.'

The final example involves food:

- (30) *korapa paro-paro yo ye-di*
 PRG RD-grill CP-3PLP
 '(They) were cooking (their food).'

7. ROVIANA

Todd 2000, Ross 1988, Corston-Oliver 2002

7.1 Roviana possessive morphology

Table 5: Roviana indirect possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>gua</i>	-	<i>mua</i>	<i>nana</i>
PL	<i>mami</i>	<i>nada</i>	<i>mia</i>	<i>dia</i>

The consumable indirect possessive paradigm does not occur marking nouns in Roviana.

7.2 Roviana 'possessive' subject indexing

Examples suggest 'possessive' subject indexing marks ongoing states or activities.

- (31) a. *asa si ele korapa habotu koa nana mo vasina doduru munumunuma*
 he TOP alreadyPRG sit stay 3SGP just a.little all morning
 'He has been sitting there all morning.' T:144²
- b. *do yor-i rau sari koburu tutunuru dia pa kolo*
 find-3PLO I.ERG ABS.ART.PL child swim 3PLP LOC water
 'I found the children swimming in the sea.' T:152
- c. *doŋo-n-i ovia dia rau sari koreo hiroi*
 see-TR-3PLO hungry 3PLP I.ERG ABS.ART.PL boy those
 'Those boys look hungry to me.' T:153

Forms from the *ye-* paradigm do occurs in this verb construction, though rarely. The distribution of the consumable base in this construction is at this stage unclear.

- (32) *...meke vura-mae ye-na si keke noki pa kenu-na*
 and appear-come CP-3SGP ABS one snake LOC front-3SGP
 '...and suddenly a snake appeared in front of him.' R88

² Data source abbreviations are: AH = Allen & Hurd 1963a, b or c; B = Boch; CO = Corston-Oliver; F = Fagan 1986; L = Lincoln 1975; O = Oliver n.d.; RH = Rausch 1912; R82 = Ross 1982; R88 = Ross 1988; T = Todd; W29 = Wheeler text 29.

8. HOAVA

Davis 1997

8.1 Hoava indirect possessive morphology

Table 6: Hoava general (“exclusive”) indirect possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>gua</i>	-	<i>mua</i>	<i>nana</i>
PL	<i>mami</i>	<i>nada</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>dia</i>

Table 7: Hoava consumable indirect possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>e-gu~ye-gu</i>	-	<i>e-mu~ye-mu</i>	<i>a-na~ya-na</i>
PL	<i>e-mami~ye-mami</i>	<i>a-da~ya-da</i>	<i>e-mi~ye-mi</i>	<i>e-di~ye-di</i>

Davis treats the fricative-less forms as standard Hoava, claiming the fricative initial forms are regarded as borrowings from Roviana. (Davis 1997:124, 217) (Note these forms do not mark nominals in synchronic Roviana.)

8.2 Hoava ‘possessive’ subject indexing

- (33) a. *vose-vose pule la nana*
 RD-paddle return go GP.3SGP
 ‘He was paddling back.’
- b. *tahiko busa gua*
 be.afraid too.much GP.1SGP
 ‘I was too afraid.’
- c. *la hele mi*
 go wash GP.2PLP
 ‘Are you going to wash (yourself)?’
- d. *ko dia pele ria kiga tase-di ria kiga kasitoŋa...*
 exist GP.3PLP next thePL some name-3PLP thePL some thing...
 ‘There are next some names of some things...’

Davis argues Hoava possessive subject-indexing has a function “analogous to middle voice”, (Davis 1997:213) identifying verbs with this marking as emotion and perception verbs; spontaneous events where the subject undergoes change of state; verbs of grooming; and verbs of motion in which the subject causes him or herself to change location or posture. This seems inconsistent with examples such as (34), where the canoe is unlikely to be regarded as causing itself to move.

- (34) *keke mola korapa hiku toka mae nana*
 one canoe PRG be.last follow come GP.3PLP
 'One canoe was following behind.'

Examples in the data appear to encode ongoing activities or states.

The consumable possessive forms occur "occasionally". (Davis 1997:217) Only the fricative-initial consumable forms occur in this construction. Davis identifies no functional distinction. The data includes consumable possessive forms with *hagala* 'run', *gore* 'descend' and *tuŋu* 'sit', the latter occurring in the data with both forms:

- (35) a. *tuŋu nana sa keke manue*
 sit GP.3PLP theSG one possum
 'One possum sat down.'
- b. *"koleo" yua sa kalege, la tuŋu ya-na pa kedakeda...*
 good say theSG old.woman go sit CP-3PLP LOC near.back
 "'Good.'" Said the old woman, going to sit near the back (of the canoe)...

9. HALIA (HANAHAN DIALECT)

Allen 1971, Allen et al 1982, Ross 1982

9.1 Hanahan possessive morphology

Table 8: Hanahan direct possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	-r	-	-mulö	-nen
PL	-mulam	-rara	-milimiu	-ren

Table 9: Hanahan indirect possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	e-gu	-	e-mu	e-na (SG) e-nu (PL)
PL	e-mu	e-ra (SG) e-ru (PL)	e-mu	e-ra (SG) e-ru (PL)

9.2 Hanahan Verbal Construction A

- (36) SUBJ V-(OBJ)

- (37) a. *nori i la*
 they 3PLS go
 'They went.'

- b. ...*n-e kasumona e muku ha-mate poni-en*
 and-ART PN 3SGS punch CS-die again-3SGO
 'And Kasumona struck him dead also.'

9.3 Hanahan Verbal Construction B

(38) PM V-(TR/APPL)-SUBJ-(OBJ)

Table 10: Hanahan Verbal Construction B subject indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	- <i>gu</i>	-	- <i>m</i>	- <i>na</i>
PL	- <i>m</i>	- <i>ra</i>	- <i>miu</i>	- <i>r</i>

- (39) a. *nori e la-r*
 they PM go-3PLS
 'They are going.'
- b. *alia e la-gu*
 I PM go-1SGS
 'I will go.'
- c. *nori e tar-e-r a apena*
 they PM see-TR-2SGS ART bird
 'They see a bird.'
- d. *none e gala gono-me-re-na a gala pien*
 he PM descend together-APPL-3PLO-3SGS ART PL child
 'He is going down (to the beach) with the children.'

9.4 Function of Halia Verbal Construction B

Allen (1971:65) identifies a functional distinction between past tense (VCA) and nonpast (VCB). However, an example from Ross (1988) has VCB apparently encoding past events:

- (40) *ba nori e la ha-taya-me-r-en i yasa*
 and they PM go CS-lost-APPL-3PLS-3SGO LOC top
 'And they disappeared with him into the sky.'
- la tala-me-r a tei kolu...*
 go now-APPL-3PLS ART people sky
 'And the sky people went with him.' R88:232

Alternatively this may be a 'historical present', a phenomenon found in narratives in some other NWS languages.

Conversely, in most Halia data currently available to me clauses coding future events are imperatives, obligatives, future conditionals and the like, none of which demonstrate Verbal Construction B. However, the following example occurs in Ross:

- (41) *a* *kiou* *e* *na* *kaho* *tal-e-r*
ART hole PM go dig now-TR-3PLS
'A hole they will go and dig now.' R88:232

If Allen (1971) and Allen et al (1982) are right, VCB encodes nonpast tense. Alternative possibilities include that VCB encodes present tense, or continuous aspect.

10. PAPAPANA

Allen & Hurd 1963a

10.1 Papapana possessive morphology

No indirect possession occurs in the data; direct possession is represented only by *-na* (3SGP).

10.2 Papapana Verbal Construction A

- (42) (*e*)-PM-V-((TR)-OBJ)

The particle/proclitic/prefix *e* is optional in VCA and is probably 3 subject agreement marker. The Predicate Marker only occurs in main clauses. Papapana VCA can be SVO or SOV:

- (43) a. *nauraβwi* *to-nau*
 man PM-go
 'The man goes.' AH177
- b. *naunaβa* *nauraβwi* *nauβi* *e-to-ani-a*
 yesterday man yam 3SGS-PM-eat-3SGO
 'The man ate the yam yesterday.' AH181
- c. *natui* *nauraβwi* *nauβi* *e-to-ani-a*
 tomorrow man yam 3SGS-PM-eat-3SGO
 'The man will eat the yam tomorrow.' AH182

10.3 Papapana Verbal Construction B

10.3.1 Papapana non-reduplicating Verbal Construction B

- (44) PM-V-*ena*
- (45) a. *to-munu-ena*
 PM-sit-AUX
 'He sits.' AH92

- b. ***to-iri-mat-ena***
PM-?-die-AUX
'He dies.' ['He is dead.?'] AH151
- c. ***ai-nabu-ena***
NEG-heavy-AUX
'light' [ie. 'not heavy'] AH121

The last example has no PM, but is probably some kind of subordinate clause. As with VCA PM seems to be obligatory in VCB1 main clauses but not occur in subordinate clauses. There is no transitive VCB1 in the Papapana data.

10.3.2 Papapana reduplicating Verbal Construction B

(46) (PM)-RD-V-(OBJ)-*ena*

(47) a. ***to-iro-ilomo-ena***
PM-RD-drink-AUX
'He drinks.' AH148

b. ***nao-naoβo-ena***
RD-fly-AUX
'It flies.' AH153

c. ***pata-pata*** ***poto-poto-ena***
RD-laugh RD-INTNS-AUX
'He laughs a lot.' AH173

d. ***nauraβwi*** ***nauβi?*** ***ani-ani-a-ena***
man yam RD-eat-3SGO-AUX
'The man eats the yam.' AH180

Ena appears to be a reflex of PNWS 3SGPOSS indexed consumable indirect possessive base **ye-na*. There is no data on Papapana indirect possession, so it's not possible to say whether this relationship exists synchronically. However, while all subjects in the data are 3 person, *ena* occurs whether the subject is singular or plural.

(48) ***aatonu*** ***βanua*** ***to-toonu-ena***
three person PM-stand-?
'three men stand' 176

This may mean *ena* agrees with the subject, but the number distinction has been neutralised, or it may mean all person/number distinctions have been neutralised and the enclitic merely marks this verbal construction.

The proposed particle or proclitic *e* optional in VCA never occurs in VCB. Objects can be incorporated in VCB in SOV order:

- (49) *to-mita-mita toofu-ena*
 PM-RD-eat sugar.cane-AUX
 'He eats sugar cane.' AH172
- (50) *nao-nao-ena-ma*
 RD-go-AUX-hither
 'He comes.' AH47
- (51) *aatonu βanua to-toonu-ena*
 three person PM-stand-AUX
 'Three men stand.' AH176

10.3.4 Function of Papapana VCB

All VCB in the Papapana data are present tense. The data contrasts the present tense sentence in (47)d. with the corresponding sentences in (43)b. and c. locating the event in the past and future. Both have VCA in contrast with VCB. However, VCB is not obligatory in the present tense. Verbs occurring in Papapana VCB overwhelmingly encode states or ongoing activities such as *pata* 'laugh' and *βurao* 'run'. Verbs occurring in VCA overwhelmingly encode punctual events such as *gosi* 'catch' and *atunu* 'strike', although one activity verb *etuuβu* 'swim' and one stative verb *betuou* 'hungry' also occur in VCA. Two verbs occur in both VCA and VCB in the data: *ani* 'eat' and *ma ~ maʔa* 'give'. Both could plausibly encode punctual events. However, in both cases the VCA clause refers to a past or future event and the VCB clause refers to a present event. On that basis it seems reasonable to hypothesise that VCB marks clauses for continuous aspect, possibly limited to present continuous.

10.3.5 Papapana Verbal Construction B summary

Active verbs are reduplicated.
 Stative verbs are unreduplicated.

Only the *e*- auxiliary form occurs.

11. TORAU

Rausch 1912; Allen and Hurd 1963b; Ross 1982; Ross 1988

11.1 Torau indirect possessive morphology

Table 11: Rausch's Torau indirect possessor indexing (RH983):

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>sa-gu</i>	-	<i>sa-u</i>	<i>sa-la</i>
PL	<i>sa-mani</i>	?	<i>sa-mu</i>	<i>sa-dia</i>

But:

- (52) a. *ena tioni e-na wakasi gesi*
 DEM man POSS-3SGP canoe big
 'this man's big canoe' R88:250
- b. *a-gu-na ruma*
 POSS-1SGP-SG house
 'my house' R88:422

11.2 Torau Verbal Construction A

- (53) TAM.SUBJ V-(OBJ)
- (54) a. *magu aoso*
 TAM.1SGS sick
 'I am sick.' RH985
- b. *mu alo-dia*
 TAM.2SGS do-3PLO
 'You have done them.' RH985

11.3 Torau Verbal Construction B

Table 12: Attested Torau Verbal Construction B subject indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>sa-gu</i>	-	<i>sa-u</i>	<i>sa-la</i>
	<i>e-gu</i>			<i>e-la</i>
PL	<i>sa-mani</i>	?	<i>sa-mu</i>	<i>sa-dia</i>

11.3.1 Torau non-reduplicating Verbal Construction B

- (55) (TAM.SUBJ) V-(OBJ) AUX-POSS-(*to*)

The form *-to* occurs always and only with unreduplicated verbs and the *sa-* auxiliary.

- (56) a. *tioni ruma tia-la-i tu sa-la-to*
 man house inside-3SGP-LOC be AUX-3SGS-?
 'He is inside the house.' R82:36

(Note S+OBL+V order.)

- b. *tibo-la ari tuga-i sa-la-to*
 self-3SGP RECIP love-3SGO AUX-3SGS-?
 'He loves himself.' RH984

But:

- (57) *inau tioloni-ai magu-waka e-gu*
I PN-LOC TAM.1SGS-work AUX-1SGS
'I was working for Tioloni.' R88:250

11.3.2 Torau reduplicating Verbal Construction B

- (58) RD-V-(OBJ) AUX-SUBJ
- (59) a. *la-lao sa-la*
RD-walk AUX-3SGS
'He walks.' AH18
- b. *a-alo-dia sa-u*
RD-do-3PLO AUX-2SGS
'You are doing them.' RH984

11.3.3 Torau *sa-* versus *e-*

Tense:

- (60) a. *pita ge-getu sa-la ba*
PN RD-dance AUX-3SGS too
'Peter is dancing too.' R88:250
- b. *io ta-tanisi e-la*
he RD-cry AUX-3SGS
'He was crying.' R82:35

11.3.4 Torau Verbal Construction B summary

Active verbs are reduplicated.
Stative verbs are unreduplicated.

The *sa-* auxiliary occurs with present/nonpast events.
The *e-* auxiliary occurs with past events.

12. MONO ALU

Boch n.d.; Wheeler 1926; Fagan 1986; Ross 1982, 1988

12.1 Mono Alu indirect possessive morphology

Table 13: Mono Alu indirect possessor indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	- <i>gu</i>	-	- <i>ŋ</i> ~ - <i>m</i>	- <i>na</i>
PL	- <i>ma(ŋ)</i>	- <i>ra</i>	- <i>mia</i>	- <i>ria</i>

- (61) a. *sa-* 'general indirect possessive base'
 b. *e-* 'consumable indirect possessive base'

12.2 Mono Alu Verbal Construction A

(62) SUBJ-RL/IRR-V-((TR/APPL)-OBJ)

- (63) a. *ea Sakusaku Ø-i-lefe*
 ART PN 3SGS-RL-leave
 'Sakusaku went away.' F92
- b. *fafine-ŋ ga Ø-i-belu*
 cross.sibling-2SGP ABS 3SGS-RL-hungry
 'Your brother is hungry.' F95
- c. *fa-na-lapu-ri ga aanana*
 1SGS-IRR-smite-3PLO ABS children
 'I am going to kill the children.' F104

12.3 Mono Alu Verbal Construction B

Table 14: Attested Mono Alu Verbal Construction B subject indexing:

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>sa-gu</i>	-	<i>sa-ŋ</i> ~ <i>sa-m</i> <i>e-ŋ</i>	<i>sa-na</i> <i>e-na</i>
PL	<i>sa-ma(ŋ)</i>	<i>sa-ra</i>	<i>sa-mia</i>	<i>sa-ria</i> <i>e-ria</i>

12.3.1 Mono Alu non-reduplicating Verbal Construction B

(64) V-((TR/APPL)-OBJ) AUX-SUBJ

- (65) a. *au e-na hahine-na pata-aŋ*
 exist AUX-3SGS cross-sibling-3SGP shore-LOC
 'His sister stayed on the shore.' R82:15/39
- b. *soipa maha-iai nnta uaka sa-na*
 PN I-LOC TAM work AUX-3SGS
 'Soipa is working for me.' R88:254/349
- c. *eli sa-ria.*
 dig AUX-3PLS
 'They went on digging.' W29
- d. *boitalu hanua-aŋ alu roro-i-Ø-a sa-ria ga niunu*
 formerly people-LOC PN see-TR-3SGO-thither AUX-3PLS ABS coconut
 'Formerly the Alu people could see the coconut palm.' R82:40

12.3.2 Mono Alu reduplicating Verbal Construction B

- (66) RD-V-(OBJ) AUX-SUBJ
- (67) a. *r-e-hose. ho-hose sa-ria, Ø-i-kapa ga pakusi*
 3PLS-RL-paddle RD-paddle AUX-3PLS 3SGS-RL-fall ABS axe
 'They paddled. As they were paddling, the axe fell.' R82:38 (R82:15)
- b. *ta-tai sa-na sa-na kanega taro-na*
 RD-cry AUX-3SGS AUX-3SGS man spouse-3SGP
 'She kept on weeping for her husband.' R82:40
- c. *talaiva nihe hu-hulau sa-ria*
 women snake RD-fear AUX-3PLS
 'Women fear snakes.' R88:250
- d. *soipa ma-mate e-na ata*
 PN RD-die AUX-3SGS now
 'Soipa is dying.' R88:250

12.3.3 Mono Alu sa- versus e-

- (68) a. *au e-na hahine-na pata-aŋ*
 exist AUX-3SGS cross.sibling-3SGP shore-on
 'His sister stayed on the shore.' R82:15/39
- b. *numa-aŋ au sa-na ta*
 house-LOC exist AUX-3SGS now
 'He sits in the house.' B

12.3.4 Mono Alu Verbal Construction B summary

Verbs expressing punctual events are reduplicated.

Verbs expressing ongoing states or events are unreduplicated.

The *sa-* auxiliary occurs with controlled events.

The *e-* auxiliary occurs with uncontrolled events.

13. URUAVA

Rausch 1912; Allen & Hurd 1963c; Oliver n.d.; Lincoln 1975

13.1 Uruava possessive morphology

Table 15: Uruava indirect possessor indexing – singular possessum (RH975-6):

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>e-gu ~ go</i>	-	<i>e-mu ~ mo</i>	<i>e-na ~ e-nau</i>
PL	<i>e-mau</i>	?	<i>e-mu ~ e-miau</i>	<i>e-di ~ e-diau</i>

Table 16: Uruava indirect possessor indexing – plural possessum (RH975-6):

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>go-gi</i>	-	<i>mo-gi</i>	<i>na-gi</i>
PL	<i>ma-gi</i>	?	<i>mi-gi</i>	<i>di-gi</i>

13.2 Uruava Verbal Construction A

(69) SUBJ V-(OBJ)

(70) a. *u ebete*
 1SGS.PST sleep
 'I slept.' RH979

b. *raro udaka-ia ko βa-pius-i*
 pot fire-LOC 2SG.FUT CS-sit-3SGO
 'Put the pot on the fire!' RH981

13.3 Uruava Verbal Construction B

Table 17: Uruava Verbal Construction B subject indexing (RH978-981):

	1EXC	1INC	2	3
SG	<i>-gu</i>	-	<i>-mu</i>	<i>-na</i>
PL	<i>-mani</i>	?	<i>-mi</i>	<i>-di</i>

Both *no-* and *e-* auxiliaries occur.

13.3.1 Uruava non-reduplicating Verbal Construction B

- (71) (TAM.SUBJ) V-(OBJ)-*no*-SUBJ
- (72) a. *piutu-no-na*
sit-AUX-3SGS
'He sits.' AH15
- b. *iana arakao-a popo-no-na*
fish water-LOC exist-AUX-3SGS
'The fish is in the water.' RH981
- c. *ko popo-no-mu*
2SG.FUT exist-AUX-2SGS
'You will be.' RH981
- d. *matau-in-ia-no-na*
know-APPL-3SGO-AUX-3SGS
'He knows about it.' L15
- e. *u vari mariri-no-gu*
1SG.PST RECIP love-AUX-2SGS
'I was loving myself.' RH979 ("Die durativ-reflexiv Form")
- f. *ku vari mariri-no-gu*
1SG.FUT RECIP love-AUX-2SGS
'I will be loving myself.' RH979

13.3.2 Uruava reduplicating Verbal Construction B

- (73) (PM)-RD-V-(OBJ)-*e*-SUBJ
- (74) a. *ra-ra-e-na*
RD-walk-AUX-3SGS
'He walks.' AH18
- b. *pura-pura-dia-e-mu*
RD-do-3PLO-AUX-2SGS
'You did them.' RH978
- c. *karuku mane-man-ena*
possum RD-hunt-3SGS
'He is hunting possum.' O493

13.3.3 Uruava *no-* versus *e-*

- (75) a. *barori-a-no-na*
hear-3SGO-AUX-3SGS
'He hears.' L3
- b. *ba-barori-a-e-na*
RD-hear-3SGO-AUX-3SGS
'He hears.' L3
- (76) a. *doi-no-na*
see-AUX-3SGS
'He sees.' L5
- b. *doi-doi-e-na*
RD-see-AUX-3SGS
'He sees.' L5

13.3.3 Uruava Verbal Construction B summary

Active verbs are reduplicated.
Stative verbs are unreduplicated.

The *e-* auxiliary occurs with active verbs.
The *no-* auxiliary occurs with stative verbs.

Note the reversed functional characteristics of each respective auxiliary.

14. Genesis of the construction in Mono-Uruavan

Ross (1982) argues that the construction as found in Halia etc may derive historically from nominalised clauses that were possessed by one of their participants.

The distinct versions of the construction found in the Mono-Uruavan languages, and general tendencies in the distribution of the consumable possessive forms in NWS support this argument if considered from the perspective of dominant versus subordinate (or general versus passive) possession:

Fijian (Geraghty 1983:242-250; Lynch 1996:96-99; Lynch 2001):

- (77) a. *no-mu* *vale*
GP-2SGP house
'your house'
- b. *ke-mu* *madrai*
CP-2SGP bread
'your bread'

- (78) *ke-mu levu*
 CP-2SGP big
 'your size'
- (79) a. *no-mu i-vacu*
 GP-2SGP DV-punch
 'your punch' (which you threw)
- b. *ke-mu i-vacu*
 CP-2SGP DV-punch
 'your punch' (which you received)
- (80) *na no-mu ā vacu-k-i koya*
 the GP-2SGP PST punch-TC-3SGS s/he
 'your having punched him'/'when you had punched him'

Roviana

- (81) *Me ene la gua dia tutuv-i-a ri se Boko.*
 and walk go be.like 3PLP meet-TR-3SG 3PL ABS Pig
 'And as they were walking along, they met Pig.' CO

Mono Alu

- (82) a. *ir-i-gagana. ir-i-nau. gagana sa-ria, ir-i-soku hauroho*
 3PLS-RL-go 3PLS-RL-go go AUX-3PLS 3PLS-RL-reach PN
 'They went (on their way). They went. Having travelled, they reached the
 Hauroho river.' R82:38
- b. *r-e-taofu ga ŋka-na apa-na.*
 3PLS-RL-wail ABS mother-3SGP father-3SGP
 'His mother and father wailed for him.
- ta-taofu sa-ria Ø-i-boi.*
 RD-wail AUX-3PLS 3SGS-RL-night
 As they wailed night came on. W29

Preverbal subject indexing may occur in Mono in 'possessive' marked clauses, but apparently only in adverbial subordinate clauses, suggesting such clauses may be live nominalisations.

- (83) *o-na-gagana sa-m o-na-roro-i-Ø hanua-aŋ saiga*
 2SGS-IRR-travel AUX-2SGS 2SGS-IRR-see-TR-3SGO men-LOC garden
 'As you travel on, you will see the men's gardens.' R82:39

Compare:

- (84) a. *au e-na hahine-na pata-aŋ*
 exist AUX-3SGS cross.sibling-3SGP shore-on
 'His sister stayed on the shore.' R82:15/39
- b. *o-na-au sa-m ha-na-nuhu-i-Ø*
 2SGS-IRR-exist AUX-2SGS 1SGS-IRR-dive-TR-3SGO
 'While you stay here, I shall dive for it.' R82:15/39

However, the order in (83) and (84)b. would be possessum + indexing, the reverse of the Mono possessed nominal order:

- (85) *soipa e-na toitoi*
 PN CP-3SGP banana
 possessor indexing possessum
 'Soipa's banana.' R88:250

It would also be at odds with the order found elsewhere in NWS and reconstructed for Proto NWS:

- (86) a. *no-gu suga ara*
 GP-1SGP house I
 indexing possessum possessor
 'my house' (Kokota)
- b. *nana vetu tie hoi*
 3SGP house person that
 indexing possessum possessor
 'that person's house' (Roviana) CO

However, compare (86) with NWS 'prepositional' possession:

- (87) a. *ia suga ka ara*
 theSG house LOC I
 possessum possessor
 'my house' (Kokota)
- b. *vetu ta-ni sa tie hoi*
 house POSS-3SG ART person that
 possessum indexing possessor
 'that person's house' (Roviana) CO

The form of the possessive base in Roviana, and the fact that it is possessor indexed, suggest a possible source for the Mono possessive base *sa-* and postposed clausal possession.

Appendix

Table 18: Verbal Construction B auxiliaries:

	<i>sa-</i>	<i>no-</i>	<i>e-</i>
Papapana			
Torau	present/nonpast events		past events
Mono Alu	controlled events		uncontrolled events
Uruava		stative verbs	active verbs

Table 19: Reduplication in Verbal Construction B:

	Reduplicated	Unreduplicated
Papapana	active verbs	stative verbs
Torau	active verbs	stative verbs
Mono Alu	punctual events	ongoing states or events
Uruava	active verbs	stative verbs

Table 20: Verbal Construction B non-reduplicating verbs:

Papapana	Torau	Mono Alu	Uruava
<i>toona</i> 'stand'	<i>tegesai</i> 'stand'	<i>tege</i> 'stand'	<i>toru</i> 'stand'
<i>munu</i> 'sit'			<i>piutu</i> 'sit'
<i>aputu</i> 'sleep'			
<i>bete</i> 'lie (recline)'			<i>ebete</i> 'sleep, lie down'
			<i>boretaraβa</i> 'lie down'
	<i>tu</i> 'be'	<i>au</i> 'be, stay'	<i>popo</i> 'be'
<i>matau</i> 'know'	<i>ataena</i> 'know'		<i>matau</i> 'know'
	<i>tuga</i> 'love'		<i>mariri</i> 'love'
		<i>roro</i> 'see, look for'	<i>doi</i> 'see'
			<i>barori</i> 'hear'
		<i>kimata</i> 'be punished'	
		<i>areai</i> 'say'	
		<i>i</i> 'say, speak'	
		<i>rosirosi</i> 'write'	
		<i>gagana</i> 'go, travel'	
		<i>mera</i> 'carry, take' (?)	
		<i>eli</i> 'dig'	
		<i>kokope</i> 'be hiding'	
	<i>waka</i> 'work'	<i>uaka</i> 'work'	
<i>nabu</i> 'heavy'			
<i>malagini</i> 'cold (water)'			
<i>uʔusi</i> 'wet (clothing)'			
<i>irimate</i> 'die' ['be dead?']			

Table 21: Verbal Construction B reduplicating verbs:

Papapana	Torau	Mono Alu	Uruava
			<i>uka-uka</i> 'fall down'
		<i>ma-mate</i> 'die'	<i>mate-mate</i> 'die'
		<i>la-lapu</i> 'strike/kill'	
			<i>pura-pura</i> 'do'
		<i>ti-tiale</i> 'play'	
	<i>a-alo</i> 'make'		
			<i>βaka-βakata</i> 'fire (a pot)'
<i>nao-nao</i> 'proceed'			
<i>ore-orete</i> 'walk'	<i>la-lao</i> 'walk'		<i>ra-ra</i> 'walk'
<i>nao-naoβo</i> 'fly'			<i>roβo-roβo</i> 'fly'
<i>βu-βurao</i> 'run'			<i>pita-pita</i> 'run'
			<i>siru-sirupu</i> 'swim under water'
			<i>nabe-nabe</i> 'swim on surface of water'
		<i>ho-hose</i> 'paddle'	
<i>ena-ena</i> 'dance'	<i>ge-getu</i> 'dance'	<i>ga-gatu</i> 'sing&dance'	<i>bitu-bitu</i> 'dance'
		<i>si-simo</i> 'play pipes'	
<i>ani-ani</i> 'eat'	<i>a-ani</i> 'eat'		
<i>tam-tamu</i> 'eat'			<i>tam-tamu</i> 'eat'
<i>mita-mita</i> 'eat (sugar cane)'			
<i>iro-ilomo</i> 'drink'	<i>ko-koa</i> 'drink'		<i>noko-noko</i> 'drink'
<i>ma ʔa-ma ʔa</i> 'give'			<i>ma-ma</i> 'give'
			<i>ui-ui</i> 'wash'
<i>tue-tue</i> 'say'		<i>tu-tuu</i> 'say'	<i>ba-bau</i> 'say'
			<i>mane-mane</i> 'hunt'
<i>ou-ou</i> 'cough'			
<i>pata-pata</i> 'laugh'		<i>me-melea</i> 'laugh'	<i>pa-pa</i> 'laugh'
	<i>ta-tanisi</i> 'cry'	<i>ta-tai</i> 'cry'	
		<i>ta-taofa</i> 'wail'	
<i>u-ʔudu</i> 'burn'			<i>kuru-kurumu</i> 'burn'
		<i>hu-hulau</i> 'fear (s.th.)'	
		<i>ba-baeni</i> 'ask'	
			<i>doi-doi</i> 'see'
			<i>ba-barori</i> 'hear'
			<i>beu-beu</i> 'hungry'
		<i>pe-peko</i> 'want, like'	
		<i>so-sofa</i> 'wait for'	
<i>poto-poto</i> 'intensifier'			

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Glossing abbreviations

1	first person	FOC	focus marker	POSS	possessive base
2	second person	FUT	future tense	PRF	perfective
3	third person	GP	general possessive base	PRG	progressive
ABS	absolute	IMM	immediacy marker	PST	past tense
APPL	applicative	INC	inclusive	RD	reduplication
ART	article	INTNS	intensifier	RECIP	reciprocal
AUX	auxiliary	IRR	irrealis	RL	realis
CNT	contrastive marker	LOC	locative	S	subject
CP	consumable possessive base	NT	neutral modality	SB	subordinator
CS	causative	O	object	SG	singular
DEM	demonstrative	P	possessor	TAM	tense/aspect/mood
DL	dual	PFV	perfective	TC	thematic consonant
DV	deverbaliser	PL	plural	TOP	topic marker
ERG	ergative	PM	predicate marker	TR	transitive
EXC	exclusive	PN	personal/place name		