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Table 1: Ata independent pronouns

Number	<----- Singular ----->	<----- Dual ----->	<----- Paucal ----->	Plural->	
Referents	Masculine	Feminine	Singular+third singular masculine	Singular+third singular feminine	Singular+third more than one
First person					
Exclusive			<i>nexi noxou</i>	<i>nexi noxie</i>	<i>nexi noxiqa</i>
Inclusive		<i>eni</i>	<i>nenge nengei</i>		<i>nenge nengeqa</i>
Second person		<i>nini</i>	<i>ngingi ngongou</i>	<i>ngingi ngongie</i>	<i>ngingi ngongiqa</i>
Third person	<i>anu</i>	<i>ane</i>	<i>aneqi ilou</i>	<i>aneqi ilee</i>	<i>aneqi iloqa</i>

Ata has the singular-dual-paucal-plural system.

Paucal: contrast is more important than specific number.

Table 2: Direct possessive clitics and indirect possessive suffixes

	Direct		Indirect
	FOOD	NFOOD	
1SG	+ <i>xo</i>	+ <i>xeni</i>	- <i>xeni</i>
2SG	+ <i>xene</i>	+ <i>meni</i>	- <i>nini</i>
3SG.M	+ <i>xu</i>	+ <i>u</i>	- <i>qu</i>
3SG.F	+ <i>xe</i>	+ <i>ie</i>	- <i>qe</i>
1NSG.EXC	+ <i>nexe</i>	+ <i>mexi</i>	- <i>nexi</i>
1NSG.INC	+ <i>nenge</i>	+ <i>menge</i>	- <i>nenge</i>
2NSG	+ <i>ngenge</i>	+ <i>mengi</i>	- <i>ngingi</i>
3NSG	+ <i>xaqa</i>	+ <i>iqa</i>	- <i>qa</i>

Table 3: Possessive classifier and indirect possessive suffixes

	classifier suffixes
1SG	<i>naqa -xeni</i>
2SG	<i>naqa -nini</i>
3SG.M	<i>na -qu</i>
3SG.F	<i>na -qe</i>
1NSG.EXC	<i>naqa -nexi</i>
1NSG.INC	<i>naqa -nenge</i>
2NSG	<i>naqa -ngingi</i>
3NSG	<i>na -qa</i>

Table 4: Benefactive clitics

	FOOD	NFOOD
1SG	<i>xenixo</i>	<i>xenixe(ni)</i>
2SG	<i>xene</i>	<i>meni</i>
3SG.M	<i>xou</i>	<i>iu</i>
3SG.F	<i>xe</i>	<i>ie</i>
1NSG.EXC	<i>nexe</i>	<i>mexi</i>
1NSG.INC	<i>nenge</i>	<i>menige</i>
2NSG	<i>ngenge</i>	<i>mengi</i>
3NSG	<i>xaqa</i>	<i>iqa</i>

Table 5: Preposition and suffixes

	PREP suffixes
1SG	<i>no -xilo</i>
2SG	<i>no -xine</i>
3SG.M	<i>no -xou</i>
3SG.F	<i>no -xie</i>
1NSG.EXC	<i>no -xixe</i>
1NSG.INC	<i>no -xinge</i>
2NSG	<i>no -xinge</i>
3NSG	<i>no -xaqa</i>

Table 6: Direct predicative possessive constructions into benefactive constructions

	Direct FOOD predicative possessive	>	FOOD benefactive
1SG	<i>eni MP +xo</i>		<i>eni +xo</i>
2SG	<i>nini MP +xene</i>		<i>nini +xene</i>
3SG.M	<i>anu MP +xu</i>		<i>anu +xu</i>
3SG.F	<i>ane MP +xe</i>		<i>ane +xe</i>
1NSG.EXC	<i>nexi MP +nexe</i>		<i>nexi +nexe</i>
1NSG.INC	<i>nengeqa MP +nenge</i>		<i>nengeqa +nenge</i>
2NSG	<i>ngingi MP +ngenge</i>		<i>ngingi +ngenge</i>
3NSG	<i>aneqi MP +xaqa</i>		<i>aneqi +xaqa</i>
	Direct NFOOD predicative possessive	>	NFOOD benefactive
1SG	<i>eni MP +xeni</i>		<i>(eni +xeni)</i>
2SG	<i>(nini MP +meni)</i>		<i>(nini +meni)</i>
3SG.M	<i>(anu MP +u)</i>		<i>anu +iu</i>
3SG.F	<i>(ane MP +ie)</i>		<i>(ane +ie)</i>
1NSG.EXC	<i>(nexi MP +mexi)</i>		<i>(nexi +mexi)</i>
1NSG.INC	<i>(nenge MP +menge)</i>		<i>(nenge +menge)</i>
2NSG	<i>(ngingi MP +mengi)</i>		<i>(ngingi +mengi)</i>
3NSG	<i>(aneqi MP +iqa)</i>		<i>aneqi +iqa</i>

MP: possessum phrase, (): no example in my database

Table 7: Indirect possessive construction into self-benefactive construction

	indirect possessive	>	self-benefactive
1SG	RP <i>naqa -xeni</i> MP		<i>naqa -xeni</i> MP
2SG	RP <i>naqa -nini</i> MP		<i>naqa -nini</i> MP
3SG.M	RP <i>na -qu</i> MP		<i>na -qu</i> MP
3SG.F	RP <i>na -qe</i> MP		<i>na -qe</i> MP
1NSG.EXC	RP <i>naqa -nexi</i> MP		<i>naqa -nexi</i> MP
1NSG.INC	RP <i>naqa -nenge</i> MP		<i>naqa -nenge</i> MP
2NSG	RP <i>naqa -ngingi</i> MP		<i>naqa -ngingi</i> MP
3NSG	RP <i>na -qa</i> MP		<i>na -qa</i> MP

RP: possessor phrase. MP: possessum phrase

Table 8: Prepositional possessive construction into prepositional phrase

	prepositional possessive	>	prepositional phrase
1SG	MP <i>no -xilo</i>		<i>no -xilo</i> MP
2SG	MP <i>no -xine</i>		<i>no -xine</i> MP
3SG.M	MP <i>no -xou</i>		<i>no -xou</i> MP
3SG.F	MP <i>no -xie</i>		<i>no -xie</i> MP
1NSG.EXC	MP <i>no -xixe</i>		<i>no -xixe</i> MP
1NSG.INC	MP <i>no -xinge</i>		<i>no -xinge</i> MP
2NSG	MP <i>no -xinge</i>		<i>no -xinge</i> MP
3NSG	MP <i>no -xiqa</i>		<i>no -xiqa</i> MP

MP: possessum phrase

Possessors into beneficiaries: How indirect and predicative possessive constructions encode beneficiaries in Ata, a Papuan language of New Britain¹

(Draft only: please do not cite without reference to the author)

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RSPAS Department Seminar, 25 Nov 2005 11:00-12:30

Abstract

The seminar will show how possessive structures in Ata can be analysed in terms of “possessive-benefactive connection” (Lichtenberk 2002, Margetts 2001). Constructions in concern are possessive, benefactive, applicative, prepositional phrase, and possessive-benefactive, which will be illustrated below:

- Possessive constructions:
Ata has two types of direct possessive constructions (which I refer to as food and non-food possessives), as well as indirect possessive constructions. Both constructions can be used predicatively.
- Post verbal constructions:
 - Benefactive clitics
 - Applicative clitics
 - Prepositional
- Possessive-benefactive constructions:
Direct possessive constructions which are predicatively used and indirect possessive construction can appear in verbal clauses to encode “new, intended, prospective possessors” (Lichtenberk 2002) or, equivalently, “future possession or benefaction” (Margetts 2001), as beneficiaries, if either possessor or possessum phrase is absent.

Possessive-benefactive constructions in post verbal position show a resemblance to structures in which benefactive, applicative and prepositional structures appear. This may indicate an ongoing change from possessive to benefactive.

¹Orthography: ng: /velar nasal/, x: /velar fricative/, q: /glottal stop/. Abbreviations: +: clitic boundary; -: morpheme boundary; 1: first person; 2: second person; 3: third person; A: transitive subject; APPL: applicative; BEN: benefactive; CC.ADD: coordinating conjunction, additive; CC.CNG: coordinating conjunction, changing discourse subject/topic pragmatically; CC.CRN: coordinating conjunction, chronological; CC.IMD: coordinating conjunction, immediate; CC.SML: coordinating conjunction, simultaneous; COMP: complement marker; DAT: dative; DIST: distal; DU: dual; EMPH: emphatic; EXC: exclusive; F: feminine; FBEN: food benefactive; FOOD: food purpose; GEN: genitive; IMPF: imperfective; M: masculine; MP: possessum phrase; NEG: negation; NFBEN: non-food benefactive; NFOOD: non-food purpose; NSG: non-singular; O: transitive object; PERF: perfective; PL: plural; POSS: possessive classifier (as dummy possessum head); PREP: preposition; PROX: proximal; RC: relative clause; RED: reduplication; RP: possessor phrase; S: intransitive subject; SC.CAUS: subordinating conjunction, cause; SC.PURP: subordinating conjunction, purpose; SC.RSLT: subordinating conjunction, result; SC.RSN: subordinating conjunction, reason; SG: singular; SUBD: subordinating marker; SPC: specific marker; PA: paucal; T: topic/focus; Q: question particle.

1 Introduction

1.1 Possessive-benefactive connection

Stages in the shift towards benefactive marking (Margetts 2001, Lichtenberk 2002) :

- **Stage 1-1:** (source construction) attributive possession: possession only
- **Stage 1-2:** attributive possession with benefactive implicature: the benefactive implicature is always defeasible.
- **Stage 2:** separate constructions with distributional overlap: exclusively possessive meaning in some contexts, both possessive and benefactive meanings in some contexts, exclusively benefactive meaning in some contexts; the possessive-to-benefactive reanalysis takes place at this stage.
- **Stage 3:** separate constructions without distributional overlap: a given construction expresses either a possessive meaning or a benefactive meaning, but not both.

1.2 Aims of the paper

Ata does seem to have the possessive-benefactive connection:

- FOOD and NFOOD categories with possessive and benefactive
- predicative possessive into benefactive
- possessive into benefactive or benefactive into possessive or merger
- self-benefactive or reflexive-benefactive
- extension to applicative?

2 Possessive constructions

2.1 Direct possessive constructions

- (1) Food possessive (paradigm on Table 2):

sie +xo

taro 1SG.FOOD.GEN

“my taro” (for me to eat)

- (2) Non-food possessive (paradigm on Table 2):

sie +xeni

taro 1SG.NFOOD.GEN

“my taro” (for me not to eat but to keep)

2.2 Indirect possessive constructions

- (3) Possessive classifier *naqa* (as a dummy possessum head) (paradgm on Table 2, 3) :

anu vim -ou tavuna qole, ia -u na -qu qolu
 3SG.M sibling 3SG.M.GEN sibling in law DIST uncle 3SG.M.GEN POSS 3SG.M.GEN son
mu- oxo lexe, viv -ilo, e, siku -me(ni) a
 3SG.M.A.PERF say COMP sibling 1SG.GEN here sunbird 2SG.NFOOD.GEN DIST
na- neqe.
 2SG.S.IMP come

“his brother ([in fact] his uncle’s son) said, my brother, your bird is here. Come here!”

- (4) Prepositional (paradigm on Table 5):

- a. *tani no -xilo*
 house PREP 1SG.GEN
 “my house”
- b. *sema no -xilo*
 woman PREP 1SG.GEN
 “my wife”
- c. *laqilali no -xiqa ta- mikea*
 food PREP 3NSG.GEN PL white people
 “white people’s food”

2.3 Predicative use

2.3.1 Direct possessive with independent pronouns

- (5) Food predicative possessive (paradigm on Table 2. See Table 1 for independent pronouns):

Anu mu- oxo, ioxe, io nini na- polo -∅ ava
 3SG.M 3SG.M.A.PERF say okay CC.CNG 2SG 2SG.A.IMP follow 3SG.M.O where
maasi. Na- luqe la a- qi -ne xo, xaiva
 now 2SG.S.IMP move down CC.CRN 1SG.A.IMP eat 2SG.O SC.RSN [Malay apple
ne, eni xaiva +xo
 SPC]_T 1SG Malay apple 1SG.FOOD.GEN.S

“It (the spirit) said, okay, but, where are you going? Come down and I will eat you because, as for the Malay apple, it’s mine.”

- (6) Non-food predicative possessive:

la vile mi- oxo lexe itema +xeni, viv -ilo, eni
 CC.CRN one 3SG.F.A.PERF say COMP man 1SG.NFOOD.GEN sibling 1SG.GEN 1SG
mulu +xeni
 male 1SG.NFOOD.GEN.S

“and another woman said, my man, my sister! He is mine.” (I want him to be my husband.)

2.3.2 Indirect predicative possessive

- (7) Indirect possessive (paradigm on Table 3, See Table 1 for independent pronouns):

la nini naqa -nini qani ane sie la na- qo -u ia...
 CC.CRN 2SG POSS 2SG.GEN.S food DIST taro CC.CRN 2SG.A.IMPF eat 3SG.M.O CC.CTR

“and you have the food, which is taro, and you eat it. But...”

3 Post verbal constructions

3.1 Benefactive

- (8) Food benefactive (paradigm on Table 4):

i- no -qu +xenixo sie o.
 3SG.F.A.IMPF get 3SG.M.O 1SG.FBEN taro EMPH

“She gets taro for me (to eat).”

- (9) Non-food benefactive (paradigm on Table 4):

a- no -qu +xenixeni kopu.
 1SG.A.IMPF get 3SG.M.O 1SG.NFBEN cucumber

“I will get a cucumber for myself (to keep).”

3.2 Applicative

- (10) (Paradigm on Table 2)

u- lutu +li +xe molosila.
 3SG.M.A.IMPF leave APPL 3SG.F.O spirit(f)

“The boy leaves with the spirit.”

- (11) *ie -qi* [APPL 3NSG.O] < *ie -qi* [eye 3NSG.GEN] “their eyes”.

aneqi mi- avuti la mi- exe, nenge ta- lai +ie
 3PL 3NSG.S.PERF get up CC.CRN 3NSG.A.PERF say 1PL.INC 1NSG.A.IMPF go APPL
-qi ta- lai +ie -qi ta- mitema, ta- tema tuala +singe
 3NSG.O 1NSG.A.IMPF go APPL 3NSG.O PL man PL man village 1NSG.INC.GEN

“They (the two boys) got up and said, we should go and get the people, the people from our village.”

3.3 Prepositional

- (12) Preposition *no* (paradigm on Table 5. 8):

la mi- iave mi- lai no -xou mulu -e.
 CC.CRN 3SG.F.S.PERF run 3SG.F.S.PERF go PREP 3SG.M.GEN male 3SG.F.GEN

“and she runs and goes to her husband.”

- (13) Preposition *noqa* (*noqa* [PREP] < *no anu* [PREP 3SG.M]) (See the independent pronoun *anu* in Table 1)

a. *mu- tilo noqa quvauqva.*
 3SG.M.S.PERF be caught PREP pig net

“It was caught with the pig net.”

b. *mu- tengotu -sou noqa ngotu mu- kalu.*
 3SG.M.S.PERF wrap 3SG.M.O PREP bark 3SG.M.S.PERF finish

“He finished wrapping it with the bark.”

4 Possessive-benefactive constructions

4.1 Direct possessive-benefactive

- (14) consider this example:

na- qele +sou enixo u- luqe.
 2SG.A.IMPF pick 3SG.M.O.ITERAT FOOD 3SG.M.S.IMPF move down

“Pick foodstuff and drop it down!”

- (15) Speculation: absence of the possessum phrase in food predicative possessive (illustrated in Table 6):

na- qele +sou eni ∅ +xo u-
 2SG.A.IMPF pick 3SG.M.O.ITERAT 1SG 1SG.FOOD.GEN 3SG.M.S.IMPF
luqe.
 move down

“Pick it (fruit) and drop it down for me (to eat)!”

4.2 Ongoing change - possessors into beneficiaries or vice versa?

- (16) Speculation: absence of possessum phrase in non-food predicative possessive (illustrated in Table 6):

(?) *na- qele -nu nini ∅ +meni u- luqe.*
 2SG.S.IMPF pick 3SG.M.O 2PL 2SG.NFOOD.GEN 3SG.M.S.IMPF move down

“Pick it (thing) and drop it down for me (to keep).”

- (17) See Table 6: Benefactive clitics replace possessive clitics in 3SG.M. This example is an equivalent for 23a:

mu- isi -nu anu +iu quvaquva.
 3SG.M.A.PERF tie 3SG.M.O 3SG.M 3SG.M.NFBEN pig net

“He put the pig net for himself.”

- (18) If O is FOOD then food benefactive is used:

mu- isi -nu anu +xou memee.
 3SG.M.A.PERF tie 3SG.M.O 3SG.M 3SG.M.FBEN pig

“He tied the pig for himself.”

- (19) Non-food benefactive clitics after O (cf. Table 4, 6):

a- sua -nu mii +meni +iu memee.
 1SG.A.IMPf throw 3SG.M.O thing 2SG.NFOOD.GEN 3SG.M.NFBEN pig

“I throw your stuff for the pig.”

4.3 Indirect possessive-benefactive – self-benefactive

- (20) Consider this example:

mi- lave +nu na -qa uaxa qo xe mi- lutu.
 3NSG.A.PERF pull 3SG.M.O POSS 3NSG.GEN canoe PROX CC.SML 3NSG.S.PERF leave

“They launched their canoe and took off.”

- (21) Speculation: absence of the possessor phrase in indirect possessive (illustrated in Table 7):

mi- lave +nu ∅ na -qa uaxa qo xe
 3NSG.A.PERF pull 3SG.M.O (POSS) 3NSG.GEN canoe PROX CC.SML
mi- lutu.
 3NSG.S.PERF leave

“They launched the canoe for their own use and took off” [leaving behind a girl who wanted to go with them].

- (22) cf.

noqa uaxa +iqa
 PREP canoe 3NSG.NFOOD.GEN

“on their canoe.”

4.4 Further change

(23) Post verbal constituent order:

a. See 17.

mu- isi -nu na -qu quvaquva.
 3SG.M.A.PERF tie 3SG.M.O POSS 3SG.M.GEN pig net

b. *mu- isi -nu quvaquva na -qu.*
 3SG.M.A.PERF tie 3SG.M.O pig net POSS 3SG.M.GEN
 “He put the pig net for himself.”

(24) Possessive-benefactive (transitive):

aneqi ta- ngiala i- qe -u na -qa masaxa no
 3PL PL bird 3NSG.A.IMPF eat 3SG.M.O POSS 3NSG.GEN want/desire PREP
-xiqa uasi.
 3NSG.GEN NEG

“The birds cannot eat it (the seeds) as they want.”

(25) Possessive-benefactive (intransitive):

i- lutu na -qa masaxa no -xiqa.
 3NSG.S.IMPF leave POSS 3NSG.GEN desire PREP 3NSG.GEN

“They leave of their own free will.”

(26) Prepositional:

eni a- lei noqa masaxa +xeni.
 1sg 1SG.S.IMPF dance PREP want 1SG.NFOOD.GEN

“I dance as I want.”

Compare the post verbal constructions in (24, 25) with the applicatives (illustrated in 10, 11).

References

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