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PRONOUNS AND INCLUSORY CONSTRUCTIONS IN KOVE

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Kove, an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea, has independent (free) personal and some dependent (bound) pronominal forms, namely subject markers, object suffixes, and possessive affixes. The pronominal system encodes three personal distinctions: first person, second person, and third person. There is also a distinction between inclusive and exclusive.

While Kove generally marks two numbers, singular and plural, independent pronouns have two more number categories. One is the dual and the other is the so-called “collective.” The collective refers to a group that consists of members of different families. In contrast, the plural usually refers to a group of people from a single family. While I recognize the dual and the collective in Kove’s pronominal system, I separate them from the singular and plural pronouns based on their syntactic behavior, which differs from that of the singular and plural pronouns in three main ways. First, the dual and the collective pronouns can co-occur with object suffixes. Second, they can function as inclusory pronouns. Third, the collective pronoun can occur with the independent plural pronouns.

Keywords: Papua New Guinea, Kove, pronouns, inclusory pronouns, collective, dual

1. INTRODUCTION¹

Oceanic languages usually have pronominal systems that consist of both independent pronouns (free forms) and dependent pronominal forms (clitics or affixes). While the former are “used in citation and function as noun phrases” (Lynch, Ross, and Crowley 2002: 35), the latter function as possessors, subjects, and objects. These pronominal systems generally include first, second, and third person (*ibid.*). While gender distinctions are rare, almost all Oceanic languages distinguish between inclusive and exclusive in first person pronominal forms. A number distinction is always drawn between singular and plural. There also may be distinctions beyond the singular-plural

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opposition, such as the dual, which refers to two distinct entities (Corbett 2000: 20). In Austronesian languages, dual number is generally derived “by adding the numeral ‘two’” (Blust 2013: 317). Table 1 shows free pronouns in Vitu, which distinguishes singular-dual-plural (van den Berg and Bachet 2006: 21).

Table 1. Free pronouns in Vitu (Meso-Melanesia: Papua New Guinea)

	1. inclusive	1. exclusive	2	3
Singular	<i>hau</i>	<i>hau</i>	<i>ho</i>	<i>ia</i>
Dual	<i>toro, to</i>	<i>miro</i>	<i>moro, mo</i>	<i>hiro</i>
Plural	<i>tolu</i>	<i>hita</i>	<i>miu</i>	<i>dia</i>

Along with the dual, a paucal is sometimes found in Oceanic languages. The paucal refers to a small number of distinct entities (Corbett 2000: 22). Its form is generally derived from a historical trial (Blust 2013: 333). It is said that systems distinguishing singular-paucal-plural are rare, while those including a paucal and a dual are more common, as in singular-dual-paucal-plural (Corbett 2000: 22–23). Table 2 shows a set of pronouns in Manam, which distinguishes singular, dual, paucal, and plural. The dual and paucal forms are derived from the plural forms by means of the dual and paucal suffixes *-ru* and *-to*, respectively (Lichtenberk 1983: 270). The paucal is commonly used to refer to low numbers higher than two (i.e., three to five). However, it may be used when “the referents are thought of as forming a group” (109).

Table 2. Independent personal pronouns in Manam (Papua New Guinea; North New Guinea cluster)

	1. inclusive	1. exclusive	2	3
Singular		<i>ŋau, ŋa</i>	<i>ʔaiʔo, ʔai</i>	<i>ŋai</i>
Dual	<i>ʔitaru</i>	<i>ʔeru</i>	<i>ʔanru</i>	<i>diaru</i>
Paucal	<i>ʔitato</i>	<i>ʔeto</i>	<i>ʔanto</i>	<i>diato</i>
Plural	<i>ʔita</i>	<i>ʔeʔa</i>	<i>ʔaŋ, ʔaʔamiŋ</i>	<i>di</i>

A few Oceanic languages have a trial referring to three distinct entities. As with the paucal, its forms are usually derived by adding the numeral ‘three’ to the pronominal forms (Blust 2013: 333). As table 3 shows, Anejoñ marks singular-dual-trial-plural, and its non-singular pronouns are compounds of a pronominal root and a suffix marking number: dual *-rau*, trial *-taj*, or plural *-a* (Lynch 2000: 37, 39).

Table 3. Focal pronouns in Anejoñ (Vanuatu; Southern Oceanic linkage)

	1. inclusive	1. exclusive	2	3
Singular		<i>añak</i>	<i>æk, aak</i>	<i>aen, aan</i>
Dual	<i>akajau</i>	<i>ajamrau</i>	<i>ajourau</i>	<i>aarau</i>
Trial	<i>akataj</i>	<i>ajamtaj</i>	<i>ajoutaj</i>	<i>aattaj</i>
Plural	<i>akaja</i>	<i>ajama</i>	<i>ajowa</i>	<i>aara</i>

Some languages may have a five number system: singular-dual-trial-quadral-plural. According to Corbett (2000: 26), the quadral, which refers to the quantity four, is rare, and the languages that have such systems are all Austronesian languages. Table 4 gives the set of emphatic pronouns in Sursurunga (Corbett 2000: 27).

Table 4. Emphatic pronouns in Sursurunga (Papua New Guinea; Meso-Melanesian)

	1. inclusive	1. exclusive	2	3
Singular		<i>iau</i>	<i>iáu</i>	<i>-i, on, ái</i>
Dual	<i>gitar</i>	<i>giur</i>	<i>gaur</i>	<i>diar</i>
Trial	<i>gittul</i>	<i>gimtul</i>	<i>gamtul</i>	<i>ditul</i>
Quadral	<i>gihat</i>	<i>gimhat</i>	<i>gamhat</i>	<i>dihat</i>
Plural	<i>git</i>	<i>gim</i>	<i>gam</i>	<i>di</i>

Corbett (2000: 29) claims that the few languages reported to have a quadral generally do not use it strictly for four. For example, in Sursurunga, while the dual is used strictly for two entities, the

trial is used for small groups (like a paucal), and the quadral is used for larger groups of at least four. The plural is used for numbers of entities larger than are covered by the quadral, although there is no strict dividing line.

The last category of numbers includes the so-called “greater” numbers. According to Corbett (2000: 30), the greater numbers occur as the result of a secondary split within certain number values, usually the paucal and the plural. These may split into two subcategories: normal and greater. The greater plural “implies an excessive number” or “all possible instances of the referent.” For example, as table 5 shows, Mokilese has two plural subcategories: one is a “normal” plural referring to more than two persons, and the other is a remote plural referring to “groups of people, usually large, and most of which are probably not directly present when being discussed” (Harrison 1976: 89). The latter category is “greater” by Corbett’s definition.

Table 5. Personal pronouns in Mokilese (Federal States of Micronesia; Micronesian)

	1. inclusive	1. exclusive	2	3
Singular		<i>ngoah, ngoahi</i>	<i>koah, koawoa</i>	<i>ih</i>
Dual	<i>kisa</i>	<i>kama</i>	<i>kamwa</i>	<i>ara, ira</i>
Plural	<i>kisai</i>	<i>kamai</i>	<i>kamwai</i>	<i>aria, irai</i>
Remote plural	<i>kihs</i>	<i>kimi</i>	<i>kimwi</i>	<i>ihr</i>

In this paper, I will examine the independent personal pronouns and the dependent pronominal forms in Kove, an Oceanic language of Papua New Guinea. The Kove pronominal system generally marks singular and plural. However, there are two more number categories in the set of independent pronouns, which I call non-basic pronouns. I will first present the functions and distributions of the basic pronominal system, and then discuss the non-basic pronouns. Then, I will take a close look at the pronouns in inclusory pronominal constructions. For the sake of convenience, I will use the term “pronominal” to cover both independent personal pronouns and dependent forms.

There are four types of verbs in Kove: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive, and middle voice. Intransitive verbs take a subject but not a direct object. Across languages, intransitive verbs can be categorized into two major groups depending on their syntactic behavior: unergative and unaccusative. However, there is no syntactic distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs in Kove. Transitive verbs are verbs that take both a subject and a direct object. A lexical noun phrase occurs after a transitive verb, as seen in (1), in which *amai vua* is the direct object. In addition, the number of the object may be identified by a plural marker, which is identical in form to the third person singular object pronominal suffix.

Ditransitive verbs take two objects without prepositions, a direct object and a recipient object. Kove has only one such verb: *pa*- ‘give’. This verb has to take an object pronominal suffix for the recipient. The argument order in a verbal clause is subject, recipient, direct object. In (3), the verb *pa* ‘give’ carries the object pronominal suffix *-ni*,⁴ which marks the recipient. In (3), the recipient is also realized as a lexical noun phrase, *Neti*, which is followed by the direct object *niu*.

(3) Nga-pa-**ni** Neti niu.
 1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ Neti coconut
 ‘I gave Neti a coconut.’

Evidence that the object pronominal suffix on the verb *pa* marks the recipient rather than the theme comes from the sentence in (4). In (4), the verb *pa* carries the second person singular object suffix *gho*, which marks the recipient.

(4) Nga-pa-**gho** niu.
 1SG.SBJ-give-2SG.OBJ coconut
 ‘I gave you a coconut.’

⁴ *Pa* ‘give’ is a reflex of POc **pani* ‘give’. Given that the third person singular object for the recipient occurs only with the ditransitive verb and prepositions including a preposition *pa*, it is possible that *ni* ‘3SG.OBJ’ is a result of reanalysis from **pani*. However, it would be necessary to look at more data from both Kove and related languages before drawing such a conclusion.

The sentence in (5) provides additional evidence. In (5), the verb carries the plural marker *-ri* to mark the theme, *niu*, as plural. The verb also takes the third person singular object pronominal suffix, which marks the recipient, *Neti*.

(5) <i>Nga-pa-ni-ri</i>	<i>Neti</i>	<i>niu.</i>
1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ-3PL.OBJ	Neti	coconut
'I gave Neti coconuts.'		

Finally, the middle verbs are a few apparently transitive verbs that take co-referential subjects and direct objects, including the verbs *roai* 'sit down', *ghunui* 'stand up', *luai* 'return', and *uhui* 'take a rest'.⁵ They behave as if they were transitive verbs because they take a direct object. In (6), the verb *ghunui* carries an object suffix that is co-referential with the subject.

(6) <i>Nga-vagha</i>	<i>nga-ghunu-ghau.</i>
1SG.SBJ-say	1SG.SBJ-stand.up-1SG.OBJ
'I want to stand up.' (lit., 'I say, I stand (myself) up.')	

3. THE PRONOMINAL SYSTEM OF KOVE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Kove has independent personal pronouns (free personal pronouns) and three types of dependent pronominal forms (bound forms): the subject markers,⁶ the object suffixes, and the possessive affixes. These pronominals are presented in Table 6.

⁵ Kove speakers strongly argue that the base forms of these verbs include *i*, although it only appears in the third person singular.

⁶ Although subject markers are prefixes, I call them subject markers because they do not function as subjects.

Table 6. Personal pronominals in Kove

	Independent	Subject	Object	Possessor
1SG	<i>yau</i>	<i>nga-</i>	<i>-ghau</i>	<i>-ghu</i>
2SG	<i>veao</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>-gho</i>	<i>-mu</i>
3SG	<i>veai</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-ni</i>	<i>ai-, e-</i>
1SG.INCL	<i>taita</i>	<i>ta-</i>	<i>-ghita</i>	<i>-ra</i>
1SG.EXCL	<i>yai</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>-ghai</i>	<i>-mai</i>
2PL	<i>amiu</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-ghimi</i>	<i>-mi</i>
3PL	<i>asiri</i>	<i>ti-</i>	<i>-ri</i>	<i>-ri</i>

The Kove pronominal system encodes three personal distinctions: first person, second person, and third person. As in many Oceanic languages, gender is not encoded: the third singular refers to either male or female. Kove also makes a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. Kove generally marks only two numbers: singular and plural. This singular-plural opposition is marked in all functional categories. However, there are two more numbers found in independent pronouns, which will be discussed in section 3.2.

Animacy plays some role in the Kove pronominal system. The independent personal pronouns are used primarily with human referents. They may occasionally be used with some other high animacy referents including pigs, dogs, other relatively large animals, spirits, and so on, but they are never used for inanimate referents. With plural inanimate and non-high animate subjects and objects, the singular forms are normally used for the subject marker and object suffixes, unless the referents are individuated. If a subject or object is a plural inanimate or non-high animate, it is usually treated as a singular group, but it is possible for the verb to take the plural object marker. In example (7), the singular form indexes the subject; it may be that more than one stone fell down, but they are treated as a unit. In contrast, example (8) uses the plural form to emphasize that each individual stone fell down. (See also examples (19) and (20).)

(7) *Patu i-tapu.*
 stone 3SG.SBJ-fall.down
 ‘(One group of) stones fell down.’

(8) *Patu ti-tapu.*
 stone 3PL.SBJ-fall.down
 ‘Stones fell down.’

3.2. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

Independent pronouns function both as the subjects of verb phrases and noun phrases and as the specifiers for possessors. Examples (9) and (10) show the third singular independent pronoun *veai* acting as the subject of a verb phrase and a noun phrase, respectively. Example (11) shows it as the specifier for a possessor. The subject of a verb phrase or a possessor phrase may be omitted, and very commonly is if the possessor phrase is a pronoun.⁷

(9) SUBJECT (VERB PHRASE)

(Veai) i-hau Neti noha.
 3SG 3SG.SBJ-hit Neti yesterday
 ‘He / She hit Neti yesterday.’

(10) SUBJECT (NOUN PHRASE)

Veai tamine Kove ai-a.
 3SG woman Kove 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
 ‘She is from Kove.’ (lit., ‘She is a woman of Kove.’)

(11) POSSESSOR SPECIFIER

(Veai) ai-tama
 3sg 3sg.poss-father
 ‘his / her father’

⁷ However, possessor phrases can serve as subjects in verbless sentences, as well. This sentence can also mean ‘(S)he is his / her father’. In such a case, the subject, *veai*, and the possessor of the father, *ai-*, are not related to each other.

In addition to these functions, the third singular independent pronoun also can function as the object of a transitive verb or a preposition, except with the ditransitive verb *pa* ‘give’, where the object form *ni* is used for the recipient. (12) shows *veai* as the object of a transitive verb.

(12) OBJECT

Neti i-hau veai noha.
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit 3SG yesterday
 ‘Neti hit him / her / it yesterday.’

According to older speakers, the other independent pronouns cannot be used as the object of a transitive verb or preposition. These speakers find the sentences in (11) and (12) ungrammatical.

(13) **Neti i-hau yau noha.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit 1SG yesterday
 (‘Neti hit me yesterday.’)

(14) **Neti i-oli tue pa yau noha.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-buy clam PREP 1SG yesterday
 (‘Neti bought clams from me yesterday.’)

As discussed in detail below, the object suffixes for persons other than the third person singular are used for the direct objects of verbs and prepositions, as shown in (15) and (16).

(15) *Neti i-hau-ghau noha.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit-1SG.OBJ yesterday
 ‘Neti hit me yesterday.’

(16) *Neti i-oli tue pa-ghau noha.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-buy clam PREP-1SG.OBJ yesterday
 ‘Neti bought clams from me yesterday.’

However, younger speakers do not hesitate to use any of the independent pronouns as objects; for them, the structures in (13) and (14) are grammatical. Based on my observations, the independent pronouns are most commonly and frequently used as the objects of basic verbs such as ‘hit’, ‘show’, or ‘teach’, and of prepositions. With verbs that do not occur frequently, it is more common for the object markers to be used. This usage pattern may be an indication of language change.

Thus, the independent pronouns are used in positions in which lexical noun phrases occur. They co-occur in the subject position with the subject markers. However, they cannot occur in conjunction with the object suffixes, as discussed in the next section.

3.3. DEPENDENT PRONOMINAL FORMS

The dependent pronominal forms include subject, object, and possessive (possessor) affixes.

The subject markers are prefixes, which verbs obligatorily carry. They index the subject and agree with its person and number, but do not mark any grammatical properties such as tense, aspect, negation, and so on. They may co-occur with an independent pronoun or lexical noun phrase that is the subject of the sentence. (17) illustrates the co-occurrence of a subject marker and an independent pronoun in subject position. (18) contains both a subject marker and a lexical noun phrase.

(17) (*Yau*) *nga-so-sohi* *moe.*
 1SG 1SG.SBJ-RED-remove pandanus
 ‘I am stripping the edge of pandanus leaves.’ (lit., ‘I am removing pandanus.’)

(18) *Avava* *i-lua-i* *gha* *i-nama.*
 Avava 3SG.SBJ-return-INTR SVU 3SG.SBJ-come
 ‘Avava came back.’

The third person singular form is usually used for plural inanimate or non-high animate referents. In (19), the singular is used for the subject marker. There may be more than one item of clothes, but here the clothes are all treated as a single entity.

- (19) *Malo* *i-kua.*
 clothes 3SG.SBJ-wet
 ‘Clothes became wet.’

However, it is possible for an inanimate or a non-high animate subject to be indexed for its plurality by the subject marker, if the referents are treated as a group of individual entities. In (20), the plural subject marker is used to emphasize that each individual item of clothes is wet.

- (20) *Malo* *ti-kua.*
 clothes 3PL.SBJ-wet
 ‘Clothes became wet.’

Although the independent pronouns as well as the lexical noun phrases may be omitted, I consider the subject prefixes on verbs to be subject agreement markers, while the independent pronouns and lexical noun phrases are subjects. The reason for this interpretation is that agreement markers are used obligatorily and consistently, while independent personal pronouns are used optionally (Bhat 2004: 24). Moreover, it is common across languages for a clause not to have a subject phrase, but much less common for subject markers to be omitted (Lichtenberk 2008: 244). Additionally, it is the subject that identifies the actor, while the subject marker functions only to index its person and number.

The object suffixes, except for the third person singular, function as the direct object of a verb or preposition. Kove has three types of verbs that take direct objects: transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs, and middle voice verbs.

Example (21) contains a transitive verb; the direct object is expressed by means of an object pronominal suffix.

(21) DIRECT OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

Neti i-hau-ghau noha.
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit-1SG.OBJ yesterday
 ‘Neti hit me yesterday.’

Example (22) shows a ditransitive clause. Kove’s only ditransitive verb, *pa* ‘give’, has to take an object pronominal suffix for the recipient. The argument order in a verbal clause is subject, recipient, direct object. In the example, the verb *pa* ‘give’ carries the object pronominal suffix -*ghau*, which marks the recipient; the direct object, *niu*, follows.

(22) DIRECT OBJECT OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERB

Neti i-pa-ghau niu noha.
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-give-1SG.OBJ coconut yesterday
 ‘Neti gave me a coconut yesterday.’

Kove’s middle verbs, including *roai* ‘sit down’, *ghunui* ‘stand up’, *luai* ‘return’, and *uhui* ‘take a rest’, take an object suffix that is coreferential with the subject, as in (23).

(23) DIRECT OBJECT OF MIDDLE VOICE VERBS

Yau nga-lua-ghau gha nga-nama noha.
 1SG 1SG.SBJ-return-1SG.OBJ SVU 1SG.SBJ-come yesterday
 ‘I came back yesterday.’

The object suffixes are also used for the objects of prepositions, as in (24).

(24) DIRECT OBJECT OF PREPOSITIONS

Donga i-panana posa-nga Siapan pa-ghau.
 Donga 3SG.SBJ-teach talk-NMLZ Japan PREP-1SG.OBJ
 ‘Donga taught the Japanese language to me.’

Unlike the other object suffixes, there is no form marking the third person singular as an object suffix with transitive verbs. When a third person object pronoun is required, the free pronoun is used, as shown in (12), repeated here as (25).

- (25) *Neti i-hau veai noha.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit 3SG yesterday
 ‘Neti hit him / her / it yesterday.’

Nevertheless, the third person singular object has a suffix form, *-ni*. The *-ni* form is used for the recipient direct object of the ditransitive verb, *pa* ‘give’, and the direct object of prepositions, as in (26) and (27).⁸

- (26) *Yau nga-pa-ni niu noha.*
 1SG 1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ coconut yesterday
 ‘I gave him / her a coconut yesterday.’

- (27) *Yau nga-pasolani⁹ vula pa-ni noha.*
 1SG 1SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3SG.OBJ yesterday
 ‘I showed a shell necklace to him / her yesterday.’

Unlike the subject markers, the object suffixes cannot co-occur with independent pronouns, as shown in (28) and (29).

- (28) **Neti i-hau-ghau yau noha.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-hit-1SG.OBJ 1SG yesterday
 (‘Neti hit me yesterday.’)

⁸ *pa* is the only verb that takes the *-ni* form. It is a reflex of POC **pani* ‘give’. Given that the third person singular object for the recipient occurs only with the verb *pa* and prepositions, including the preposition *pa*, it is possible that *-ni* ‘3SG.OBJ’ is a result of reanalysis from **pani*.

⁹ *Pasolani* ‘show’ is one morpheme. If the direct object is plural, *pasolani* takes the plural marker, as follows:

Yau nga-pasolani-ri vula pa-ni noha.
 1SG 1SG.SBJ-show-PL shell.necklace PREP-3SG.OBJ yesterday
 ‘I showed a shell necklace to him / her yesterday.’

- (29)* *Neti i-pasolani vula pa-ghau yau noha.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-1SG.OBJ 1SG yesterday
 ('Neti showed a shell necklace to me yesterday.')

However, they can co-occur with lexical noun phrases in two cases. In the first case, the object suffix functions as a plural marker to indicate the plurality of a direct object, as in (30) and (31).

(30) DIRECT OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERBS (AS PLURAL)

- Neti i-kona-ri ghaya mogha yai¹⁰ noha.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-see-3PL.OBJ pig garden POSTP yesterday
 'Neti saw pigs in a garden yesterday.'

(31) OBJECT OF PREPOSITIONS (AS PLURAL)

- Neti i-pasolani vula pa-ri pana Kapo.*
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-show shell.necklace PREP-3PL.OBJ people Kapo
 'Neti showed a shell necklace to people from Kapo.'

In the second case, object suffixes co-occur with lexical noun phrases when they refer to the recipient of the ditransitive verb. The ditransitive verb *pa* obligatorily takes an object suffix for the recipient, which is optionally followed by a lexical noun phrase for the same referent.

(32) DIRECT OBJECT OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERB (AS A RECIPIENT)

- Yau nga-pa-ni¹¹ Neti niu noha.*
 1SG 1SG.SBJ-give-3SG.OBJ Neti coconut yesterday
 'I gave Neti a coconut yesterday.'

¹⁰ Kove has only one postposition, *yai*, which marks location. This postposition can be replaced by the locative-function preposition *pa* with the same meaning:

Neti i-kona-ri ghaya pa mogha noha.
 Neti 3SG.SBJ-see-3PL.OBJ pig PREP garden yesterday
 'Neti saw pigs in a garden yesterday.'

¹¹ *-ni* refers to the recipient *Neti*, rather than to *niu* 'coconut'.

(33) DIRECT OBJECT OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERB (AS A RECIPIENT)

<i>Yau</i>	<i>nga-pa-ri</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>iha.</i>
1SG	1SG.SBJ-give-3PL.OBJ	people	fish

‘I gave people fish.’

Thus, the object suffixes of Kove function as direct objects of verbs and prepositions. However, unlike subject markers, they cannot occur with independent pronouns, but may co-occur with lexical noun phrases to indicate the plurality of the referent.

The last category of Kove dependent pronominal forms is possessives, which are affixes that index the possessor. The possessive forms are suffixes, except for the third person singular, which is a prefix. Possessive affixes attach either to nouns or to possessive markers, depending on noun type. The possessive can co-occur with the independent pronouns as specifiers of the possessors. It can also occur with lexical noun phrases. Example (34) shows the independent pronoun as a specifier.

(34)	<i>(taita)</i>	<i>tama-ra</i>
	1PL.INCL	father-1PL.INCL.POSS

‘our father’

In (35) and (36), the possessive forms attach to the possessive markers *a* and *le*, respectively.

(35)	<i>(taita)</i>	<i>a-ra</i>	<i>tue</i>
	1PL.INCL	A.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS	clam

‘our clam(s)’

(36)	<i>(taita)</i>	<i>le-ra</i>	<i>aulu</i>
	1PL.INCL	LE.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS	spirit.mask

‘our spirit mask’

(37) shows the lexical noun phrase in the position of the specifier for the possessor.

(37)	<i>Donga</i>	<i>gha</i>	<i>maseli</i>	<i>a-ri</i>	<i>tue</i>
	Donga	CONJ	others	A.POSS-3PL.POSS	clam
	‘Donga and others’ clams’				

Thus, as with the independent pronouns, the dependent pronominal forms mark the singular-plural opposition. While the subject markers and possessives can co-occur with the independent pronouns, the object suffixes cannot.

4. THE NON-BASIC PRONOUNS

As mentioned above, Kove’s basic pronoun system marks only two distinctions for number: singular and plural. This distinction is found in all sets of pronominals. However, two more number categories are found in the set of independent pronouns. One is the dual and the other is the so-called “collective (non-family).” Table 7 shows their forms, including singular and plural.

Table 7. Independent personal pronouns

	1 (incl)	1 (excl)	2	3
Singular		<i>yau</i>	<i>veao</i>	<i>veai</i>
Plural	<i>taita</i>	<i>yai</i>	<i>amiu</i>	<i>asiri</i>
Dual	<i>tahua</i>	<i>yahua</i>	<i>amihua</i>	<i>asihua</i>
Collective	<i>tangera</i>	<i>yangera</i>	<i>angera</i>	<i>asingera</i>

There are some partial similarities among the plural, dual, and collective forms: *ta-* = 1PL.INCL, *ya-* = 1PL.EXCL, *a(mi)-* = 2PL, *asi-* = 3PL. There is also some association of the form *hua* with the dual number and of *ngera* with the collective number. The source of *ngera* is unclear, but as with most Austronesian languages (Blust 2013: 317), the dual is derived by adding the numeral *hua* ‘two’. It is even possible to derive the trial and some others by adding the related numeral or degree words. This pattern is very productive, as shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Personal pronouns with numerals

	1 (incl)	1 (excl)	2	3
Trial	<i>taitatolu</i>	<i>yaitolu</i>	<i>amiutolu</i>	<i>asiritolu</i>
Quadral	<i>taitapange</i>	<i>yaipange</i>	<i>amiupange</i>	<i>asiripange</i>
Many	<i>taitasalai</i>	<i>yaisalai</i>	<i>amiusalai</i>	<i>asirisalai</i>

However, these forms are used less frequently; generally, they are used only if the number is emphasized. Moreover, their forms are slightly different from the dual and collective pronouns. In the dual and collective pronouns, the numeral is added to a part of the plural form, whereas in the trial or others, the numeral is added to the whole plural form. Therefore, I consider the pronouns listed in Table 7 to be lexical pronouns, and those listed in Table 8 to be pronominal phrases.

The term “collective” is just a convenient label for the fourth category of numbers in the Kove pronominal system, which are numbers that refer to a group that consists of members of different families. In contrast, the plural usually refers to a group of people from a single family. This contrast seems to fit into Corbett’s (2000: 30) classification, discussed in section 1, with the former corresponding to his “normal” plural and the latter to his “greater” plural. In the case of Kove, I consider the label “collective” to be useful, as it is a less ambiguous term than “greater” to indicate this number category.

The following examples show the contrast between the collective and the plural forms. Example (38) indicates that the group that will go to Kimbe consists of people from different families, while (39) indicates that the group consists of people from only one family.

(38) COLLECTIVE

Ta yangera ya-la Kimbe.
 FUT 1COL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go Kimbe

‘We will go to Kimbe.’ (‘we’ = members of different families)

(39) PLURAL

Ta yai ya-la Kimbe.
 FUT 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go Kimbe

‘We will go to Kimbe.’ (‘we’ = members of one family)

Indeed, the concept of a distinction between the group and the plural seems to reflect a distinctive feature of Kove culture. The Kove people have strong ties to each other on the basis of family > relatives > men’s house > village > territorial divisions (East, Central, and West) > Kove area. Although the plural generally refers to a group from a single family, it may be used for a group of people from different families but the same clan, the same men’s house, the same village, and so on, in order to show their ties and to distinguish them from others. For example, the plural may be used in a situation where the addressee is someone from a different clan, if the speaker wants to distinguish his or her own clan.

Thus, I recognize two more pronominal sets, the dual and the collective, in addition to the singular and the plural, in Kove’s pronominal system. The dual and the collective have three distinct features, which separate them from the basic pronouns:

(1) The distinction of number in dependent pronominal forms

The dual and collective are found only in the set of the independent pronouns. While the independent pronouns mark the dual and collective, the dependent pronominal forms do not include forms for these categories, instead using the plural for them. In (40), the independent pronoun is the dual, but the subject marker on the verb is the plural. And in (41), the independent pronoun is the collective, while again, the subject markers are plural.

(40) *Amihua sei a-nama?*
 2DU who.SG 2PL.SBJ-come
 ‘Who did you come with?’

- (41) *Asingera ti-rae pa wagha ne ti-la.*
 3COL 3PL.SBJ-get.on PREP canoe PTC 3PL.SBJ-go
 ‘They got on a canoe and left.’

(2) Co-occurrence with object suffixes

As discussed in section 3, the singular and plural independent pronouns cannot co-occur with object suffixes. However, both the dual and the collective pronouns in the position of object of transitive verbs, ditransitive verbs, and prepositions can co-occur with object suffixes. In the three pairs of examples in (42)–(47), (42), (44), and (46) illustrate an ungrammatical co-occurrence of an object suffix and a plural independent form,¹² and (43), (45), and (47) show a grammatical co-occurrence of the suffixes and the non-basic number independent forms.

DIRECT OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

- (42) **Pana Nutu ti-hau-ghai yai.*
 people Nutu 3PL.SBJ-hit-1PL.EXCL.OBJ 1PL.EXCL
 (‘People from Nutu hit us.’)

- (43) *Pana Nutu ti-hau-ghai yahua.*
 people Nutu 3PL.SBJ-hit-1PL.EXCL.OBJ 1DU.EXCL
 ‘People from Nutu hit the two of us.’

DIRECT OBJECT OF PREPOSITIONS

- (44) **Asiri ti-oli moe pa-ghimi amiu?*
 3PL 3PL.SBJ-buy sleeping.mattress PREP-2PL.OBJ 2PL
 (‘Did they buy sleeping mattresses from you?’)

- (45) *Asiri ti-oli moe pa-ghimi angera?*
 3PL 3PL.SBJ-buy sleeping.mattress PREP-2PL.OBJ 2COL
 ‘Did they buy sleeping mattresses from you?’

¹² It is not possible for the object suffixes to co-occur with singular and plural independent pronouns. See examples (28) and (29).

RECIPIENT OBJECT OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERB

- (46) **Nga-pa-ri* *asiri* *malo* *Hawaii* *ai-a*.
 1SG.SBJ-give-3PL.OBJ 3PL clothes Hawai'i 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
 ('I gave them clothes from Hawai'i.)

- (47) *Nga-pa-ri* *asihua* *malo* *Hawaii* *ai-a*.
 1SG.SBJ-give-3PL.OBJ 3DU clothes Hawai'i 3SG.POSS-A.POSS
 'I gave two of them clothes from Hawai'i.)

Unlike “true” transitive verbs, the middle verbs cannot take independent pronouns as objects, as shown in (48). Instead, the independent collective pronoun occurs as the subject along with the subject and object markers on the verb, as in (49).

- (48) **Yai* *ya-roa-ghai* *yangera*.
 1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-sit down-1PL.EXCL.OBJ 1COL.EXCL
 ('We sat down.')

- (49) *Yangera* *ya-roa-ghai*.
 1COL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-sit down-1PL.EXCL.OBJ
 'We sat down.'

In addition to being able to co-occur with the object suffixes, the collective pronouns can occur alongside the independent forms, as in (50) and (51).

- (50) *Yai* *yangera* *ya-hau-ri* *pana* *Nutu*.
 1PL.EXCL 1COL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-hit-3PL.OBJ people Nutu
 'We hit people from Nutu.'

(51) *Taita tangera ta-ghali ghaya pape ta-ani*
 1PL.INCL 1COL.INCL 1PL.INCL.SBJ-cut pig another 1PL.INCL.SBJ-eat

tomanga-ni haninga.

PREP-3SG.OBJ food

‘We cut up another pig and ate it with (other) food.’

Table 9 summarizes the grammaticality of each pronominal number category’s co-occurrence of independent pronouns with other pronominal forms.

Table 9. Co-occurrence of independent pronouns

	With SBJ	With OBJ of TRAN Vs	With OBJ of middle Vs	With OBJ of the DITRA V	With OBJ of PREPS	With independent
SG/PL	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO	
DU	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	NO
COL	YES	YES	NO	YES	YES	YES

(3) Use as inclusory independent pronouns

The last feature of the non-basic number pronouns is their occurrence in inclusory pronominal constructions, which I will discuss in the next section.

5. INCLUSORY PRONOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Inclusory pronominals are pronominal forms that denote “a set of participants that includes the one or those referred to by the lexical noun phrase” (Lichtenberk 2000: 1). That is, they include

the referent of the lexical noun phrase in the set identified by the pronominals, and indicate the number of the whole phrase, instead of denoting the number of a pronoun's own referents (Bhat 2004: 103; Lichtenberk 2000: 2). Inclusive pronominal constructions are found in many Austronesian languages, including other languages of the Oceanic subgroup (Bril 2011: 235; Lichtenberk 2000: 1).

The inclusive pronominal constructions are categorized into two subtypes: phrasal and split. In phrasal constructions, the inclusive pronouns and the included noun phrase form a noun phrase (Lichtenberk 2000: 3). In split constructions, on the other hand, the inclusive pronominals are usually dependent pronominal forms and do not form a phrase with the included noun phrase. (52) and (53) are a pair of examples from Nêlêmwa (Bril 2011: 237). In both examples, the pronoun *yaman* includes the noun *Polie* in the set and identifies the total set of participants. However, in (52), the pronoun and the noun form a noun phrase, whereas in (53) they do not.

(52) Nêlêmwa (New Caledonia; Eastern Oceanic)

yaman *ma* *Polie*
 1DU.EXCL.FR CONJ Polie
 'Polie and I'

(53) Nêlêmwa

Ma *pe-vhaa* ***ma*** ***axomoo-n.***
 1DU.EXCL RECP-speak CONJ mother-POSS.3SG
 'We and his mother speak to each other.'

The inclusive constructions are commonly translated with a conjunction or comitative preposition in English. However, they differ from conjunctive or comitative constructions because a conjunctive or comitative morpheme "triggers agreement in number with the conjuncts" (Bril 2011: 236). (54) is an example of a comitative construction in Nêlêmwa. Unlike in (52) and (53), here the pronominal (*hli*) agrees in number with the referents (*dagiiny* 'messenger' and *axaleny Teâ Paak* 'Teâ Paak').

(54) Nêlêmwa

Hli ulep [dagiiny ma axaleny Teâ Paak].
 3DU go.out messenger CONJ this.M Teâ Paak

‘The messenger and Teâ Paak go out.’

In this section, I will present inclusory constructions of Kove. I will first examine the syntactic properties of the phrasal construction, and then discuss their differences from conjunctive and comitative constructions.

5.2. SYNTACTIC PROPERTIES OF PHRASAL CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section, I discuss three characteristics of Kove’s inclusory constructions. First, they lack an overt marker of the relation between the inclusory pronoun and the included noun phrase. Second, they use only non-base number pronouns as inclusory pronouns. Third, they are phrasal constructions: The independent pronoun has the inclusory function and always forms a syntactic phrase with the included noun phrase.

As an example of the first characteristic, (55) contains two participants, *Neti* and the first person singular. The set of participants is expressed by *yahua*, which is an inclusory pronoun, and it includes *Neti* as one of the participants.

(55) *yahua Neti*
 1DU.EXCL Neti
 ‘Neti and I’

There is no overt marker of the relationship between the two participants, and this fact syntactically separates this construction from conjunctive or comitative constructions. The following sentence is a conjunctive construction with a total of three referents.

(56) *yahua gha Neti*
 1DU.EXCL CONJ Neti
 ‘we two and Neti’

(57) exemplifies the second characteristic, which is that Kove's inclusory constructions involve only non-basic pronouns, usually dual or collective pronouns. However, other numbers of non-basic independent pronouns such as trial or quadral may appear as inclusory pronouns.

(57) *Amiutolu eta a-nama.*
 2TRI ART 2PL.SBJ-come
 'You three, including another, come.'

However, as (58) shows, basic independent pronouns cannot be used in inclusory constructions.

(58) **yai Neti*
 1PL.EXCL Neti
 ('we, including Neti.')

The third characteristic is that the inclusory pronoun always forms a phrase with the included noun phrase; that is, they are phrasal constructions. The inclusory pronoun always comes before the included noun phrase. It is ungrammatical if the inclusory pronoun follows the included NP, as in (59).

(59) **Neti yahua*
 Neti 1DU.EXCL

The inclusory phrasal constructions cannot involve dependent pronominal forms. Both subject markers and object pronominals of Kove always index the number of the subject or object in these contexts. Kove seems not to have split inclusory constructions. For example, (60) attempts a split construction, which is ungrammatical because the subject illustrated in this context is only *Neti*, so the subject marker should be the third person singular.

(60) **Neti ti-la Kimbe.*
 Neti 3PL.SBJ-go Kimbe
 ('They, including Neti, went to Kimbe.')

While only first and second person pronouns occur as inclusory pronouns in some languages (Bhat 2004: 104), Kove's inclusory pronouns involve first, second, and third person pronouns. Given that Kove pronouns are usually used with human or other high animacy referents, the included NPs are likely to refer to either humans or high animates. Example (61) is an inclusory construction in which the NP is a high animacy referent.

- (61) *Yangera le-ghu kaua ya-la tuanga yai.*
 1COL.EXCL LE.POSS-1SG.POSS dog 1PL.EXCL.SBJ-go village LOC
 'We, including my dog, went to the village.'

However, interestingly, the included NP can be a place name. In such a case, the NP indicates people from the place. For example, in (62), the included NP is *Talawa*, which is a village name. Although the included NP does not include the word referring to human referents, *pana*, it is clear from the context that it refers to 'people from Talawa'.

- (62) *Pana Nutu ti-hau-ghai yangera Talawa.*
 people Nutu 3PL.SBJ-hit-1PL.EXCL.OBJ 1COL.EXCL Talawa
 'People from Nutu hit us, including people from Talawa.'

The inclusory constructions are common in texts or conversations in Kove. They are found in the positions of subject, object, and possessor, as briefly discussed in the following.

(1) SUBJECT POSITIONS

Inclusory constructions are headed because the subject markers on verbs index the person, number, and clusivity of the inclusory pronoun, as in (62). Furthermore, the inclusory pronoun is the head. The inclusory pronoun is considered as the head in semantic terms: The pronoun denotes the "superset," which refers to the total set of participants, and the included NP is the "subset," which is a modifier (Lichtenberk 2000: 2).

In (63) and (64), the inclusory pronouns and included noun phrases function as subjects.

(63) *Amihua sei a-nama?*
2DU who.SG 2PL.SBJ-come

‘Who did you come with?’ (lit., ‘You including who came?’)

(64) *Asingera Avava ti-rae sa ti-ore gha ti-ore*
3COL Avava 3PL.SBJ-get.on so 3PL.SBJ-paddle SVU 3PL.SBJ-paddle

gha ti-ore ti-nama pa tuanga.
SVU 3PL.SBJ-paddle 3PL.SBJ-come PREP village

‘They, including, Avava, got on (a canoe) and paddled (for a long time) and came to a village.’

(2) OBJECT POSITIONS

As mentioned above, independent pronouns cannot occur with object markers. However, inclusory pronouns can occur with the object markers, as in (65) and (66). A sentence is ungrammatical if it includes only inclusory pronouns without object markers, as in (67).

(65) POSITION OF OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERBS

Donga i-pasolani-ghai yahua Neti nga
Donga 3SG.SBJ-show-1PL.EXCL.OBJ 1DU.EXCL Neti PREP

Hawaii ai-anunu.

Hawai‘i 3SG.POSS-picture

‘Donga showed Neti and me a picture of Hawai‘i.’

(66) POSITION OF OBJECT OF PREPOSITIONS

Yau nga-oli tue pa-ghimi amingera Elsi.
1SG 1SG.SBJ-buy clam PREP-2PL.OBJ 2COL Elsi

‘I bought clams for you, including Elsi.’

(67) POSITION OF OBJECT OF TRANSITIVE VERBS WITHOUT OBJECT PRONOMINAL FORMS

<i>*Donga</i>	<i>i-pasolani</i>	<i>yahua</i>	<i>Neti</i>	<i>nga</i>
Donga	3SG.SBJ-show	1DU.EXCL	Neti	PREP

Hawaii ai-anunu.

Hawai'i 3SG.POSS-picture

'Donga showed Neti and me a picture of Hawai'i.'

In (68), the recipient object is expressed by means of an inclusory pronoun.

(68) POSITION OF OBJECT OF THE DITRANSITIVE VERB AS A RECIPIENT¹³

<i>Atoa</i>	<i>i-pa-ri</i>	<i>asihua</i>	<i>Neti</i>	<i>tue.</i>
grandmother	3SG.SBJ-give-3PL.OBJ	3DU	Neti	clam

'The grandmother gave Neti and him / her clams.'

However, middle verbs cannot take an inclusory pronoun in the object position, although they take object pronominal suffixes.

(69) POSITION OF OBJECT OF MIDDLE VERBS

<i>*Asiri</i>	<i>ti-roa-ri</i>	<i>asingera</i>	<i>Neti?</i>
3PL	3PL.SBJ-sit.down-3PL.OBJ	3COL	Neti

('Did they, including Neti, sit down?')

An inclusory pronoun must occur only in the subject position of middle verbs.

(70) <i>Asingera</i>	<i>Neti</i>	<i>ti-roa-ri?</i>
3COL	Neti	3PL.SBJ-sit.down-3PL.OBJ

'Did they, including Neti, sit down?'

¹³ A human referent cannot be the theme object, so it is unlikely that inclusory constructions would occur in the position of the theme object.

(3) POSSESSORS

The last category is possessive pronouns. Inclusory constructions function as the specifier of a possessor. However, based on my corpus, it is not common for inclusory constructions to appear with direct possessed nouns. Instead, they commonly occur with indirect possessed nouns, as shown in (71) and (72).

(71) *tangera* *Neti* *a-ra* *tue*
 1COL.INCL Neti A.POSS-1PL.INCL.POSS clam
 ‘our, including Neti’s, clams’

(72) *asihua* *Neti* *le-ri* *luma*
 3DU Neti LE.POSS-3PL.POSS house
 ‘their, including Neti’s, house’

Thus, inclusory pronouns in Kove involve the non-base independent pronouns, especially the dual and collective. In fact, the dual and collective pronouns usually appear in inclusory constructions, and only rarely occur in non-inclusory constructions. They can occur in any grammatical position, except for as the object of middle verbs.

5.3. COORDINATING AND COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In this section, I will briefly discuss how inclusory constructions differ from coordinating and comitative constructions. Kove has both coordinating and comitative constructions. First, these constructions are syntactically different from the inclusory construction, as they contain overt markers of the relationships among the referents. The coordinating construction includes a coordinator, *gha*, between two referents, as in (73), and the comitative construction uses a

Thus, the inclusory construction is syntactically and semantically different from both the coordinating and comitative constructions.

6. CONCLUSION

I have examined the functions and distributions of personal pronouns in Kove. The pronouns include independent personal pronouns (free personal pronouns), and some dependent pronominal forms, namely the subject markers, the object suffixes, and the possessive affixes. The Kove pronominal system encodes three personal distinctions: first person, second person, and third person. There is also a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. Kove's pronoun system usually distinguishes number in terms of a singular-plural opposition. However, the independent personal pronouns include a distinct set of dual and collective pronouns where the forms *hua* for the dual number and *ngera* for the collective number are added to a part of the plural. "Collective" refers to a group that consists of members of different families, in contrast to the plural, which usually refers to a group of people from a single family. This category is equivalent to "greater" numbers in Corbett's (2000) work. That is, the plural values are split into two subcategories, normal plural and greater (i.e., collective) plural.

The dual and collective pronouns (non-basic pronouns) are grammatically different from the singular or plural pronouns. First, they can co-occur with object pronouns on transitive verbs, while plural pronouns cannot. Second, they can function as inclusory pronouns. In fact, only these pronouns act as inclusory pronouns. Like other Oceanic languages, Kove commonly uses inclusory constructions, but only phrasal constructions in which an inclusory pronoun and included noun phrase form a phrase together. These constructions are different syntactically and semantically from the coordinating or comitative constructions. There is no overt marker between an inclusory pronoun and included noun phrase. The inclusory construction can occur in any position, except for as the object of a middle verb. The included noun phrase is usually of higher animacy, but it may be a place name to refer to people from the named area. Semantically, the construction is usually used when an included noun phrase is emphasized.

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