Differential inalienable marking in linguistic Wallacea
Laura Arnold
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18 June 2020
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1. The expression of possession
   ‘Alienability’
   Differential inalienable marking (DIM)

2. DIM in Wallacea: A survey

3. The distribution and development of DIM
   DIM in Timor-Alor-Pantar
   DIM around the Bird’s Head
   A possible origin for DIM?

4. Conclusions
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We need to talk about ‘alienability’

- Karovskaya (2018; building on Nichols 1988):
  - Differential morphosyntactic marking
  - Obligatory possessive marking
  - Semantic class of nouns
  - Semantic relationship between PossD and PossR
    - Permanence, inherence, inseparability, control...

- I will be using ‘alienability’ to refer only to the formal expression of possession
## Differential possessive marking

### Possessive NPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Construction 1</th>
<th>Construction 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Semantics</strong></td>
<td><strong>Else</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+/- Body parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+/- Kin terms</td>
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<tr>
<td>+/- Part/whole</td>
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<tr>
<td>etc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Morphosyntax</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awe-ku head-1sg</td>
<td>ne-ku wá POSS-1SG canoe</td>
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**Ambai (SHWNG; Silzer 1983)**
Differential possessive marking

Possessive NPs

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<tr>
<th>Morphosyntax</th>
<th>Juxtaposition</th>
<th>Poss linker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abun (isolate; Berry &amp; Berry 1999)</td>
<td>ji syim</td>
<td>ji bi nggwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1sg arm</td>
<td>1sg poss garden</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Obligatory possessive marking

(1) Taba (An > SHWNG; Bowden 2001: 233-4)

“A differentiation between alienable and inalienable possessive categories is not obligatorily marked by the use of different forms in Taba... However, some of what could perhaps be called the most ‘inalienable’ kinds of possessive relationships (e.g. expressions referring to part-whole relationships) are distinguished in Taba by obligatory possessive marking.”

a. komo ni myao hand 3SG.POSS digit

b. Banda ni wog Banda 3SG.POSS canoe

‘finger’

‘Banda’s canoe’
Obligatory possessive marking $\neq$ differential marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Differential</th>
<th>Obligatory possessive marking</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$-$ morphosyntactic marking</td>
<td>Malay varieties</td>
<td>Taba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$+$ morphosyntactic marking</td>
<td>Toqabaqita</td>
<td>Kui</td>
</tr>
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We need to talk about ‘alienability’

- Karvovskaya (2018; building on Nichols 1988):
  - Differential morphosyntactic marking
  - Obligatory possessive marking
  - Semantic class of nouns
  - Semantic relationship between PossD and PossR
    - Permanence, inherence, inseparability, control...
Differential inalienable marking (DIM): A definition

► Either:
  1. In languages with a basic two-way structural split in the formal marking of adnominal possession, there are two or more possessive-marking paradigms in the construction which is primarily restricted to expressing semantically inalienable relationships.

► Or:
  2. In languages which have no structural split, but which have three or more possessive-marking paradigms, at least two of the paradigms are primarily restricted to expressing semantically inalienable relationships.
Examples: Ambel (SHWNG; Arnold 2018b)

- **Possessive NPs**
  - **Direct**
    - tāji-k
    - eye-1sg
  - **Indirect**
    - ni-k wán
    - POSS-1sg canoe

- **Paradigm 1**
  - ‘eye’
    - 1sg: tāji-k
    - 2sg: tāji-m
    - 3sg: tāji

- **Paradigm 2**
  - ‘same-sex sibling’
    - 1sg: nú-k
    - 2sg: nú-m
    - 3sg: i-nu

- **Paradigm 3**
  - ‘shadow’
    - 1sg: lú-k
    - 2sg: lú-m
    - 3sg: (i)-lu
Examples: Batuley (CMP; Daigle 2015)

 Possessive NPs

 Direct

 ler-ung
 voice-1sg

 Poss. pronoun

 kanang lef
 1sg.poss house

 Paradigm 1

 ‘younger sibling’

 1sg: gwal-ing
 2sg: gwal-em
 3sg: gwa<e>l

 Paradigm 2

 ‘voice’

 1sg: ler-ung
 2sg: ler-om
 3sg: l<i>r

 Paradigm 3

 ‘father’

 1sg: am-ang
 2sg: am-am
 3sg: a<e>n
Differential inalienable marking (DIM):  
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘finger’, ‘foot’, ‘foot (sore)’</td>
<td>Body parts, kin</td>
<td>Else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1EX</td>
<td>nge-</td>
<td>ng-</td>
<td>ngá-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1IN</td>
<td>ige-</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>igá-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ye-</td>
<td>ya-</td>
<td>yi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ge-</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>gi-</td>
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Examples: Kula (TAP; Williams 2017)

Possessive NPs

Paradigm 1

‘finger’

1sg: nge-kárík
2sg: ye-kárík
3sg: ige-kárík

Paradigm 2

‘wife’

1sg: ng-yo
2sg: ya-yo
3sg: a-yo

Paradigm 3

‘shed’

1sg: ngá-yo
2sg: yi-yo
3sg: gi-yo
Differential inalienable marking (DIM): A definition

- Either:
  1. In languages with a basic two-way structural split in the formal marking of adnominal possession, there are two or more possessive-marking paradigms in the construction which is primarily restricted to expressing semantically inalienable relationships.

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... Feedback welcome!
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Linguistic Wallacea (Schapper 2015)
DIM in Wallacea

- Surveyed languages:

**Austronesian (108)**
- Sangiric
- Minahasan
- Gorontalo-Mongondow
- Celebic
- South Sulawesi
- Malayic
- CMP
- SHWNG

**Papuan (71)**
- Timor-Alor-Pantar
- North Halmahera
- West Bird’s Head
- Konda-Yahadian
- South Bird’s Head
- Maybrat-Karon
- East Bird’s Head
- Hatam-Mansim
- West Bomberai
- Isolates x 6

**Papuan**
- Mairasic
- Yawa-Saweru
- Greater Kwerba
- TNG
- Anim
- Bulaka River
- Kolopom
- Mombum-Koneraw
- Geelvink Bay

Distribution and Development

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DIM in Timor-Alor-Pantar
### DIM in Timor-Alor-Pantar

- **Adang (TAP; Robinson and Haan 2014)**

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<td>nɛ-</td>
<td>n(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>ɛ-</td>
<td>(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ʔɛ-</td>
<td>ʔ(a)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.EX</td>
<td>niɛ-</td>
<td>ni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL.IN</td>
<td>piɛ-</td>
<td>pi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>iɛ-</td>
<td>i-</td>
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DIM in Timor-Alor-Pantar

- Kula (TAP; Williams 2017)

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DIM in Timor-Alor-Pantar

Kaiping and Klamer (2019)
DIM around the Bird’s Head
DIM around the Bird’s Head

- Hatam-Mansim (Pap)
  - Hatam
- East Bird’s Head (Pap)
  - Meyah
  - Moskona
- SHWNG (An)
  - RASH
    - Ambel
    - (Biga, Butlih...)
  - Biakic
    - Biak
    - Roon?
  - Yapen
    - Ambai
    - Wamesa
    - Wooi
- CMP (An)
  - Irarutu
DIM around the Bird’s Head

- Ambel (AN > SHWNG > RASH; Arnold 2018b)

<table>
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<th>Body parts</th>
<th>Association</th>
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<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>(i-)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DIM around the Bird’s Head

- **Ambai (An > SHWNG > CB > Yapen; Silzer 1983)**

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<tr>
<td>1sg -ku</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg -mu</td>
<td>-mu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg -na</td>
<td>-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **Biak (An > SHWNG > CB > Biakic; van den Heuvel 2006)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin terms</th>
<th>Body parts (paired, ‘tooth’, ‘nose’)</th>
<th>Body parts (else)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1sg =i</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg -m=i</td>
<td>-m-si</td>
<td>-m-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg -r=i</td>
<td>-si</td>
<td>-ri</td>
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A possible origin for DIM?

- DIM was an innovation in proto-Meax
- The ‘kin’ paradigms of Meyah and Moskona are more archaic → only *kin terms* possessed in inalienable constructions in proto-Meax (/proto-EBH?)
A possible origin for DIM?
A possible origin for DIM?

- Oral history: Homelands of Meyah, Moskona, Sougb, Hatam were on the south coast of the BH, between Bintuni and Merdei (Reesink 2002; Gravelle 2004, 2010; Haenan 1998)
  - Speculation: Could the homeland of proto-EBH have been even further south?

- DIM developed when the EBH languages, previously only possessing **kin terms** in inalienable constructions, came into contact with the languages of the BH which only possessed **body parts** in inalienable constructions
A possible origin for DIM?

- Following this, DIM > An via multiple borrowing events
  - Intermarriage, slaving and trade networks (*kain timor*, bird of paradise plumes, massoy bark – Swadling 2019; Reesink 2002; Biak migration patterns; RA oral history)

- Linguistic correlates:
  - Tone (*Pap* > *An*; Kamholz 2014, 2017; Arnold 2018a)
  - DO/GIVE coexpression (*Pap* > *An*; Gil 2017)
  - Base-five numeral systems (*Pap* > *An*; Gasser 2017)
  - *ve-* verbaliser (*An* > *Pap*; Gil 2017)
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Conclusions

- DIM is an additional areal feature of Wallacea
  - Clusters genetically in TAP – reconstructable to proto-TAP?
  - Clusters areally around the BH

- Possible origin: developed in EBH
  - Then > An

- Take-home message for fieldworkers:
  - Differential inalienable marking is often very subtle!
References I


References II


References III

KARVOVSKAYA, LENA, 2018. The typology and formal semantics of adnominal possession. Utrecht: LOT.


MENICK, RAYMOND, 1995. ‘Moi: A language of the West Papuan Phylum. A preview’. In: Connie Baak, Mary Bakker, and Dick van der Meij (eds.), Tales from a concave world: Liber amicorum Bert Voorhoeve, 55–73. Leiden: Projects Division, Department of Languages and Cultures of South-East Asia and Oceania, Leiden University.


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