

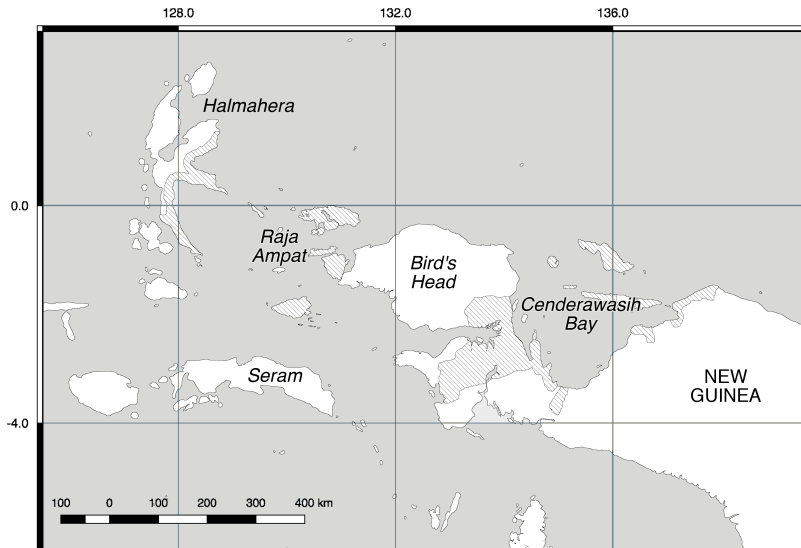
Possession in South Halmahera-West New Guinea: Contributions from Ambel

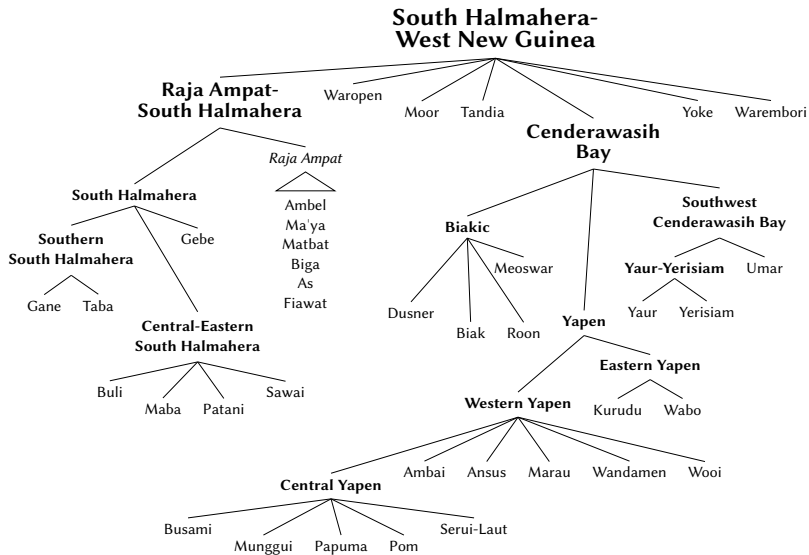
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Possession in SHWNG

1. Possession in SHWNG: The story thus far
2. Possession in Ambel
3. Multiple inalienable categories in SHWNG

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Proto-SHWNG possession: van den Berg (2009)

► Inalienable possession

*[POSSR] [POSSD-INFL]

	SG	PL
1EX	*-ku	*-mam
1IN		*-ta
2	*-mu	*-miu
3	*-na	*-ri?

Proto-SHWNG possession: van den Berg (2009)

- ▶ **Alienable possession: Edible**

*[POSSR] *na*-INFL [POSSD]

- ▶ **Alienable possession: General**

*[POSSR] *ri*-INFL [POSSD]

Proto-SHWNG possession: Kamholz (2014, 2015)

- Reconstruction of proto-SHWNG inalienable morphology:

	SG	PL
1EX	*-ku	*-mami?
1IN		*-nd, ta-
2	*-mu	*-meu?
3	*-Ø	*-ndri, si-

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Alienable possession (Arnold 2018)

[POSSR] (INFL-)CLASS(-INFL) [POSSD]

- (1) mákay bin pa i-ni now pa
 child woman ART 3SG-POSS opposite.sex.sibling ART

‘the young woman’s brother’

now ‘opposite-sex sibling’

	SG	DU	PC	PL
1.I	ni-k now	tuta-ni-n now	(a)túta-ni-n now	t-ni-n now
1.E	ni-k now	uma-ni-n now	atúma-ni-n now	áma-ni-n now
2	ni-m now	muma-ni-n now	matúma-ni-n now	mim-ni-n now
3AN	i-ni now	ula-ni-n now	atúla-ni-n now	la-ni-n now
3INAN	<i>unattested</i>			

Alienable possession (Arnold 2018)

- ▶ **Class I:** Most kin terms, ‘girl/boyfriend’, ‘friend’
- ▶ **Class II:** All nouns not otherwise specified

	Classifier	Morphology		
		3SG.AN	3INAN	1PL.I
Class I	<i>ni</i>	i-	(<i>n/a</i>)	t-
Class II	<i>ni/na</i>	-Ø	i-	ta-

Inalienable possession (Arnold 2018)

[PossR] [(INFL-)PossD(-INFL)]

tají 'eye'

	SG	DU	PC	PL
1.I	táji-k\H	tu-taji-n	(a)tú-taji-n	taji-n
1.E		um-taji-n	atúm-taji-n	ám-taji-n
2	táji-m\H	mum-taji-n	matúm-taji-n	mim-taji-n
3AN	taji	u-taji-n	atú-taji-n	taji-n
3INAN			i-taji	

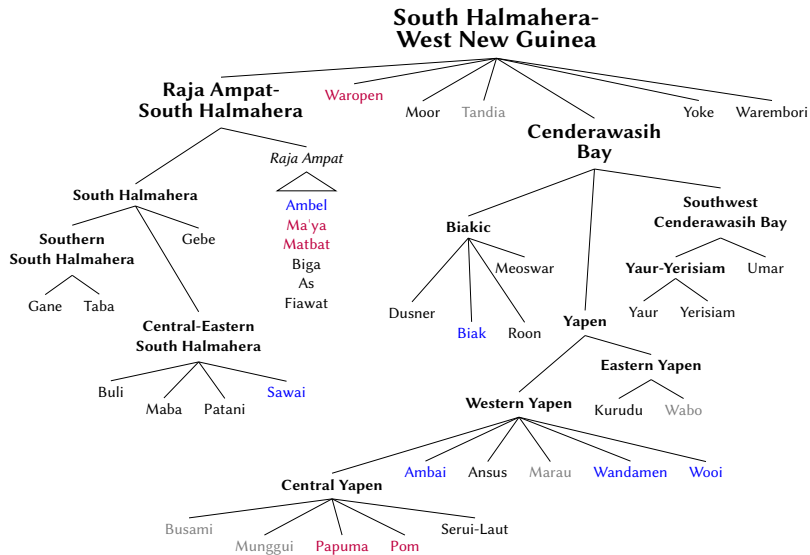
Inalienable possession (Arnold 2018)

- ▶ **Class I:** Body, animal, and plant parts; parts of wholes; non-human attributes
- ▶ **Class II:** Six kin terms ('spouse', 'different generation in-law', 'father', 'mother', 'same-sex sibling', 'grandchild, grandparent')
- ▶ **Class III:** Six nouns of association ('name', 'footprint', 'shadow', 'nest, spider web', 'tail', 'egg')

	3SG.AN	3INAN	\H '1 2SG'?
Class I	<i>unmarked</i>	i-	✓
Class II	i-	(n/a)	✗
Class III	(i-)		✓

Possession in SHWNG

1. Possession in SHWNG: The story thus far
2. Possession in Ambel
3. **Multiple inalienable categories in SHWNG**



	Language No. Categories distinguished					
RASH	SH	Sawai	3?	Body parts	Kin terms	Parts of wholes
	RA	Ambel	3	Body parts	Kin terms	Association
CB	Biakic	Biak	3	Body parts (paired/ non-paired)	Kin terms	Locational nouns/ parts of wholes
	Yapen	Ambai	2	Body parts	Kin terms	
		Wandamen	2	Body parts	Kin terms	
		Wooi	2	Body parts	Kin terms	
	Irarutu	2	Body parts	Kin terms		

Sources: Arnold (2018), van den Berg (2009), van den Berg and Matsumura (2008), van den Heuvel (2006), Jackson (2014), Sawaki (2014), Silzer (1983), Whisler (1996)

	Language		Form of 3SG(.AN) marker		
			<i>Body parts</i>	<i>Kin terms</i>	<i>Other</i>
RASH	SH	Sawai	-Ø	(i-)	<i>not possible</i>
	RA	Ambel	-Ø	i-	(i-)
CB	Biakic	Biak	-ri (non-paired) (3DU: su- -s-na) -si (paired)	-r(=i)	-ri (3DU: -s-na)
	Yapen	Ambai	-n	-na	<i>n/a</i>
		Wandamen	-pai	-ni	<i>n/a</i>
		Wooi	?	?	
		Irarutu	i-	i-n-	<i>n/a</i>

Sources: Arnold (2018), van den Berg (2009), van den Berg and Matsumura (2008), van den Heuvel (2006), Jackson (2014), Sawaki (2014), Silzer (1983), Whisler (1996)

► Papuan languages of the Bird's Head:

	Language	No.	Categories distinguished	
EBH	Meyah	2	Body parts	Kin terms
			1SG <i>di-</i> , 2SG <i>bi-</i> , 3SG \emptyset -	1SG <i>ed-</i> , 2SG <i>ob-</i> , 3SG <i>me-</i>
EBH	Moskana	2	Body parts	Kin terms
			1SG <i>di-</i> , 2SG <i>bi-</i> , 3SG \emptyset -	1SG <i>ed-</i> , 2SG <i>eb-</i>
	Hatam	2	Body parts	Kin terms
			1SG <i>di-</i> , 2SG <i>a-</i> , 3SG <i>ni-</i>	1SG <i>diT-</i> , 2SG <i>aT-</i> , 3SG <i>niT-</i>

Sources: Gravelle (2004), Gravelle (2010), Reesink (1999)

- ▶ Bunaq (TAP; Schapper 2009):
 1. Body parts, kin terms, ‘intimates’;
 2. Body parts, ‘intimates’, plant parts;
 3. ‘Intimates’, plant parts, spatial;
 4. ‘grave’;
 5. Body and plant parts, part/whole, spatial;
 6. Part/whole, spatial

	Language		Form of 3SG(.AN) marker		
			<i>Body parts</i>	<i>Kin terms</i>	<i>Other</i>
RASH	SH	Sawai	-Ø	(i-)	<i>not possible</i>
	RA	Ambel	-Ø	i-	(i-)
CB	Biakic	Biak	-ri (non-paired) (3DU: su- -s-na) -si (paired)	-r(=i)	-ri (3DU: -s-na)
	Yapen	Ambai	-n	-na	<i>n/a</i>
		Wandamen	-pai	-ni	<i>n/a</i>
		Wooi	?	?	
		Irarutu	i-	i-n-	<i>n/a</i>

Sources: Arnold (2018), van den Berg (2009), van den Berg and Matsumura (2008), van den Heuvel (2006), Jackson (2014), Sawaki (2014), Silzer (1983), Whisler (1996)

- ▶ Preliminary conclusions:
 - ▶ 2+ inalienable categories can probably be reconstructed for some SHWNG subbranches (e.g. proto-RASH; proto-West Yapen?)
 - ▶ ...but cannot be reconstructed to proto-SHWNG
 - ▶ Was a distinction in inalienable categories previously a more widespread feature in the Papuan languages of west New Guinea?

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