

Multiple inalienable categories in linguistic Wallacea

Laura Arnold

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Multiple inalienable categories in Wallacea

1. Alienability in Wallacea

2. Multiple possessive categories

3. The data

Northern Wallacea

Southern Wallacea

4. Summary

Alienability in Wallacea

(1) **Mpur** (PAP, West Papuan; Odé 2002: 62)

a. an-muk
2SG-name

‘your name’

b. an-tar jan
2SG-POSS house

‘your house’

(2) **Buli** (AN, SHWNG; Maan 1951: 53-5)

a. ya-boboko-k
1SG-head-1SG

‘my head’

b. ya-ni-k ebai
1SG-POSS-1SG house

‘my house’

Alienability in Wallacea

(3) **Maybrat** (PAP, West Papuan; Dol 1999: 149)

- | | | | |
|----|--------------------|----|-----------------------|
| a. | fnia m-ao | b. | amah ro t-atia |
| | woman 3U-foot | | house POSS 1SG-father |
| | ‘the woman’s foot’ | | ‘my father’s house’ |

(4) **Abun** (PAP, West Papuan; Berry and Berry 1999: 79)

- a. an bi nji bi nggon bi nu
 3SG POSS brother POSS wife POSS house
 ‘his brother’s wife’s house’
- b. wo kwai tik Sepenyel gwes
 fish kwai pull Sepenyel leg
 ‘The fish pulled Sepenyel’s leg.’

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(5) **Lenakel** (AN, Oceanic; Lynch et al. 2011: 41)

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a. nite niki-k
taro POSS:FOOD-1SG

'my taro'</p> | <p>b. kolei ne-k
sweet.potato POSS:PLANT-1SG

'my sweet potato'</p> |
| <p>c. nikava nimwi-k
kava POSS:DRINK-1SG

'my kava'</p> | <p>d. nimwa taha-k
house POSS:NEUTRAL-1SG

'my house'</p> |

(6) **Proto-Oceanic**: *ka- 'food', *m^wa- 'drink', *na- 'general' (Lynch et al. 2011: 77)

Multiple alienable categories

(7) **Buli** (AN, SHWNG; Maan 1951: 55)

- | | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|-------|----|---------------------|-------|
| a. | ya-ni-k | ebai | b. | ya-na-k | pinge |
| | 1SG-POSS:GENERAL-1SG | house | | 1SG-POSS:EDIBLE-1SG | rice |
| | 'my house' | | | 'my rice' | |

(8) **Waropen** (AN, SHWNG; Held 1942: 45)

- | | | | | |
|----|------------|----|-----------------|---------|
| a. | rai-ruma | b. | ra-na | sabaku |
| | 1SG-house | | 1SG-POSS:EDIBLE | tobacco |
| | 'my house' | | 'my tobacco' | |

(9) **Proto-SHWNG**: **ri-* 'general', **na-* 'edible' (van den Berg 2009: 351-2)

Multiple inalienable categories

(10) **Ambai** (AN, SHWNG; Silzer 1983: 88)

a. ina-na
mother-3SG

‘his/her mother’

b. awe-n
foot-3SG

‘his/her foot’

(11) **Hatam** (PAP, Hatam-Mansim; Reesink 1999: 48-9)

a. niT-mem
3SG-mother

‘his/her mother’

b. ni-bou
3SG-head

‘his/her head’

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Multiple possible categories

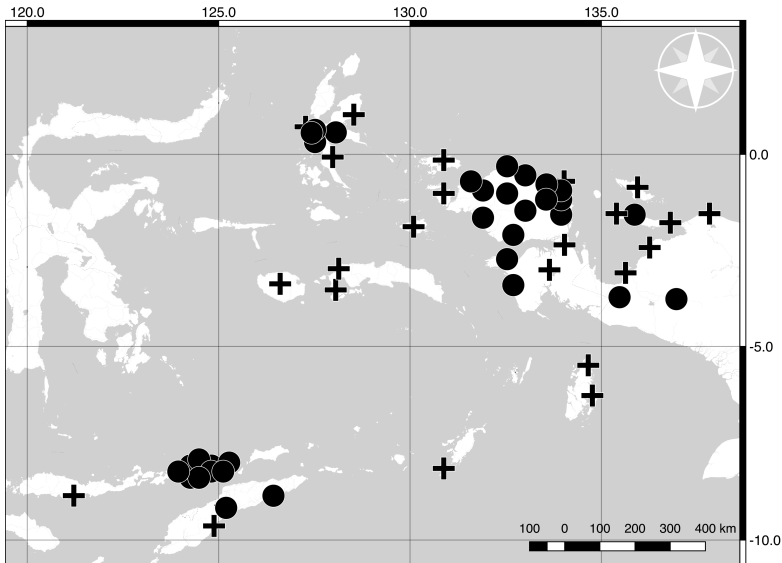
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Alienability in Wallacea

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Multiple possessive categories

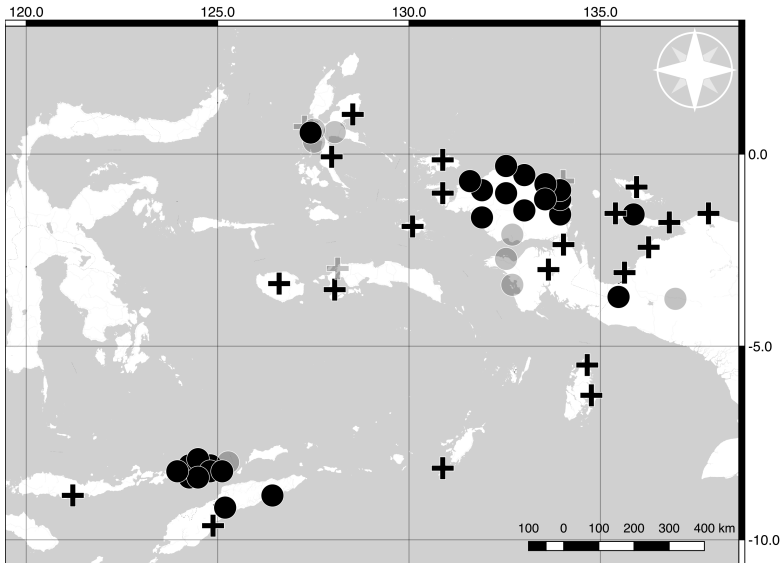
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Alienability in Wallacea

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Multiple possible categories

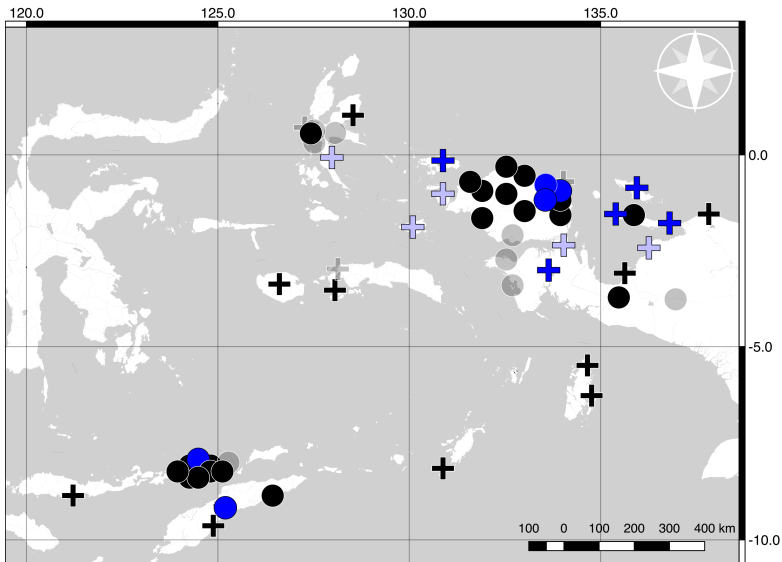
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Alienability in Wallacea

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Multiple possessive categories

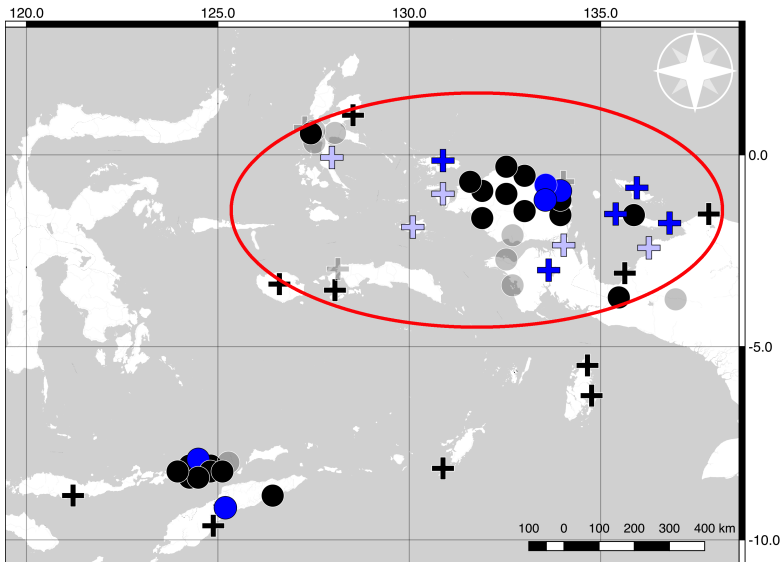
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Northern Wallacea: Austronesian

	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)

Northern Wallacea: Austronesian

	Language	Form of 3SG(.AN) marker		
		<i>Body parts</i>	<i>Kin terms</i>	<i>Other</i>
RASH	SH Sawai	-∅	(i-)	<i>not possible</i>
	RA Ambel	-∅	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	-N	-n-i	<i>n/a</i>
	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 (2017), Silzer (1983), Whisler (1996)

Northern Wallacea: Papuan

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

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

Northern Wallacea: Discussion

- ▶ Multiple inalienable categories cannot be reconstructed to proto-SHWNG
 - ▶ Non-cognacy of forms
 - ▶ Biak and Wandamen morphemes: innovations (Kamholz 2014)

- ▶ Multiple inalienable categories possibly reconstructable for some SHWNG subbranches
 - ▶ Proto-RASH? (Ambel, Sawai)
 - ▶ Proto-Western Yapen?? (Ambai, Wandamen, Wooi)

- ▶ Result of contact with Papuan languages genetically related/typologically similar to back of the Bird's Head?
 - ▶ If so, an example of **'ordinary' contact-induced grammaticalisation** (Heine and Kuteva 2003)

Northern Wallacea: Austronesian

	Language	Form of 3SG(.AN) marker		
		<i>Body parts</i>	<i>Kin terms</i>	<i>Other</i>
RASH	SH Sawai	-∅	(i-)	<i>not possible</i>
	RA Ambel	-∅	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	-N	-n-i	<i>n/a</i>
	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 (2017), Silzer (1983), Whisler (1996)

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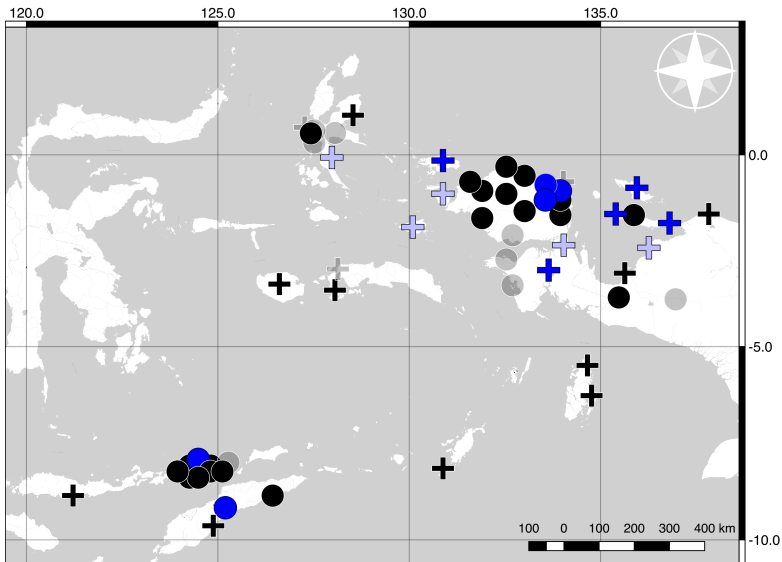
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Alienability in Wallacea

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Multiple possessive categories

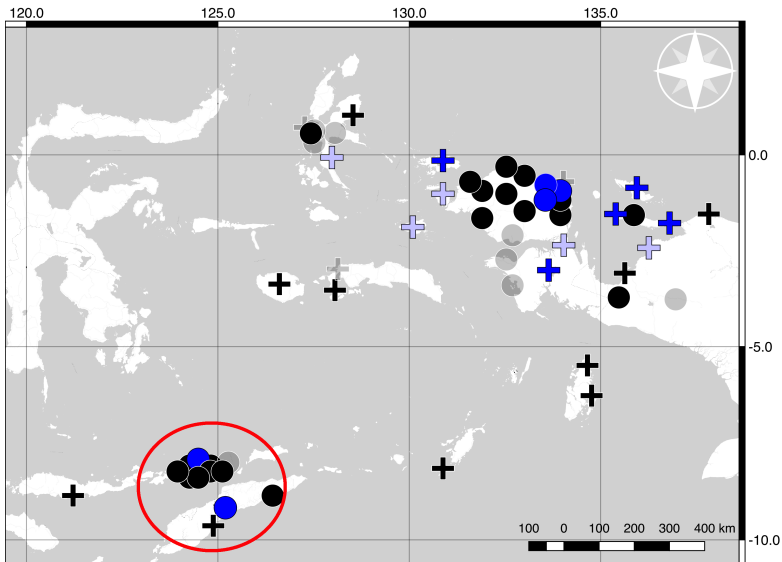
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Southern Wallacea: Bunaq (TAP; Schapper 2009: 321)

Table 9.3: Inalienable possessive classes

	3 rd ANIMATE	3 rd INANIMATE	Kind of relation
CLASS I	<i>g</i> - '3AN'	--	body parts, kin terms, intimates ⁴
CLASS II	<i>g</i> - '3AN'	<i>h</i> - '3INAN-'	body parts, intimates, plant parts
CLASS III	<i>g</i> - '3AN'	<i>n</i> - 'LOC-'	intimates, plant parts, spatial
CLASS IV	<i>g</i> - '3AN'	<i>t</i> - 'ABSL-'	absolute, non-possessed
CLASS V	<i>gV</i> - '3AN'	unmarked	body & plant parts, part-whole, spatial
CLASS VI	--	unmarked	part-whole, spatial

Southern Wallacea: Adang (TAP; Robinson and Haan 2014: 243-7)

	Body parts, kin terms	'head', 'knee', 'shin', 'buttocks', 'hair'
1SG	n(a)-	nɛ-
1PL.I.DIST	t(a)-	tɛ-
1PL.E	ni-	niɛ-
1PL.E	pi-	piɛ-
2SG	(a)-	niɛ-
2PL	i-	iɛ-
3	ʔ(a)-	ʔɛ-

Southern Wallacea: Discussion

- ▶ Multiple inalienable categories not reconstructable to proto-TAP
 - ▶ Non-cognacy of forms
 - ▶ Variable class membership
 - ▶ No evidence from other TAP languages
- ▶ Two independent innovations?

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- ▶ Multiple inalienable categories in Northern and Southern Wallacea appear to be unrelated phenomena
 - ▶ Northern Wallacea: Strictly semantically conditioned
 - ▶ Southern Wallacea: Lexically specified; variable class membership
- ▶ Northern Wallacea: Developed several times in AN languages
 - ▶ Through contact with PAP languages?
 - ▶ Was a distinction in inalienable categories previously a more widespread feature in the Papuan languages of west New Guinea?
- ▶ Southern Wallacea: Unrelated development
- ▶ Please check in other languages!

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Thank you!