Differential inalienable marking in linguistic Wallacea

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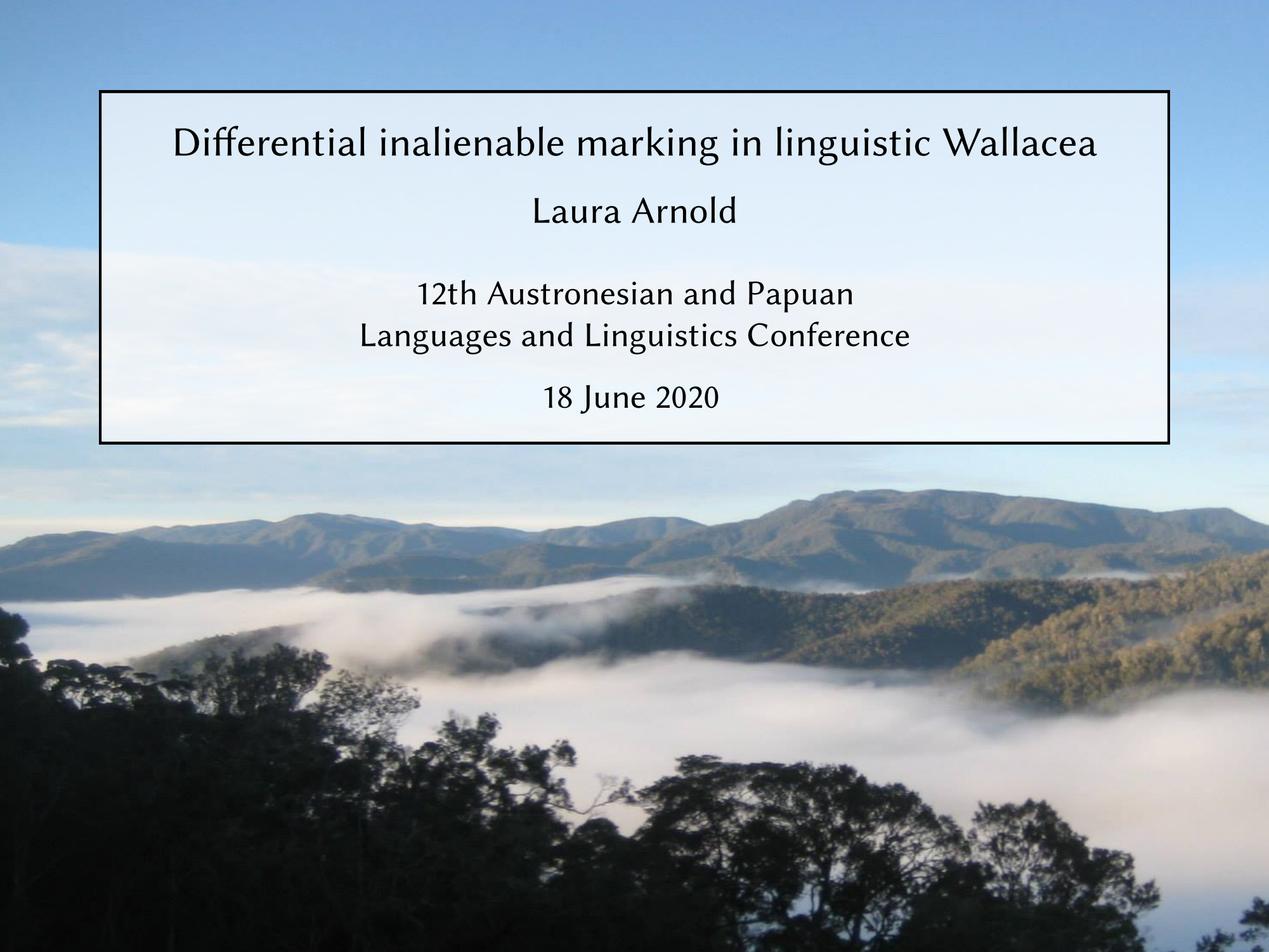

Differential inalienable marking in linguistic Wallacea

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'

- 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...
- I will be using 'alienability' to refer **only** to the formal expression of possession

Differential possessive marking

	Possessive NPs	
	Construction 1	**Construction 2**
Semantics	*+/- Body parts* *+/- Kin terms* *+/- Part/whole* *etc*	*Else*
Morphosyntax	**Direct**	**Indirect**
Ambai (SHWNG; Silzer 1983)	awe-ku head-1SG	ne-ku wá POSS-1SG canoe

Differential possessive marking

	Possessive NPs	
	Construction 1	**Construction 2**
Semantics	*+/- Body parts* *+/- Kin terms* *+/- Part/whole* *etc*	*Else*
Morphosyntax	**Juxtaposition**	**Poss linker**
Abun (isolate; Berry & Berry 1999)	ji syim 1SG arm	ji bi nggwe 1SG POSS garden

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
'finger'

b. Banda ni wog
Banda 3sg.poss canoe
'Banda's canoe'

Obligatory possessive marking ≠ differential marking

		Obligatory possessive marking: −	Obligatory possessive marking: +
Differential morphosyntactic marking	−	Malay varieties	Taba
Differential morphosyntactic marking	+	Toqabaqita	Kui

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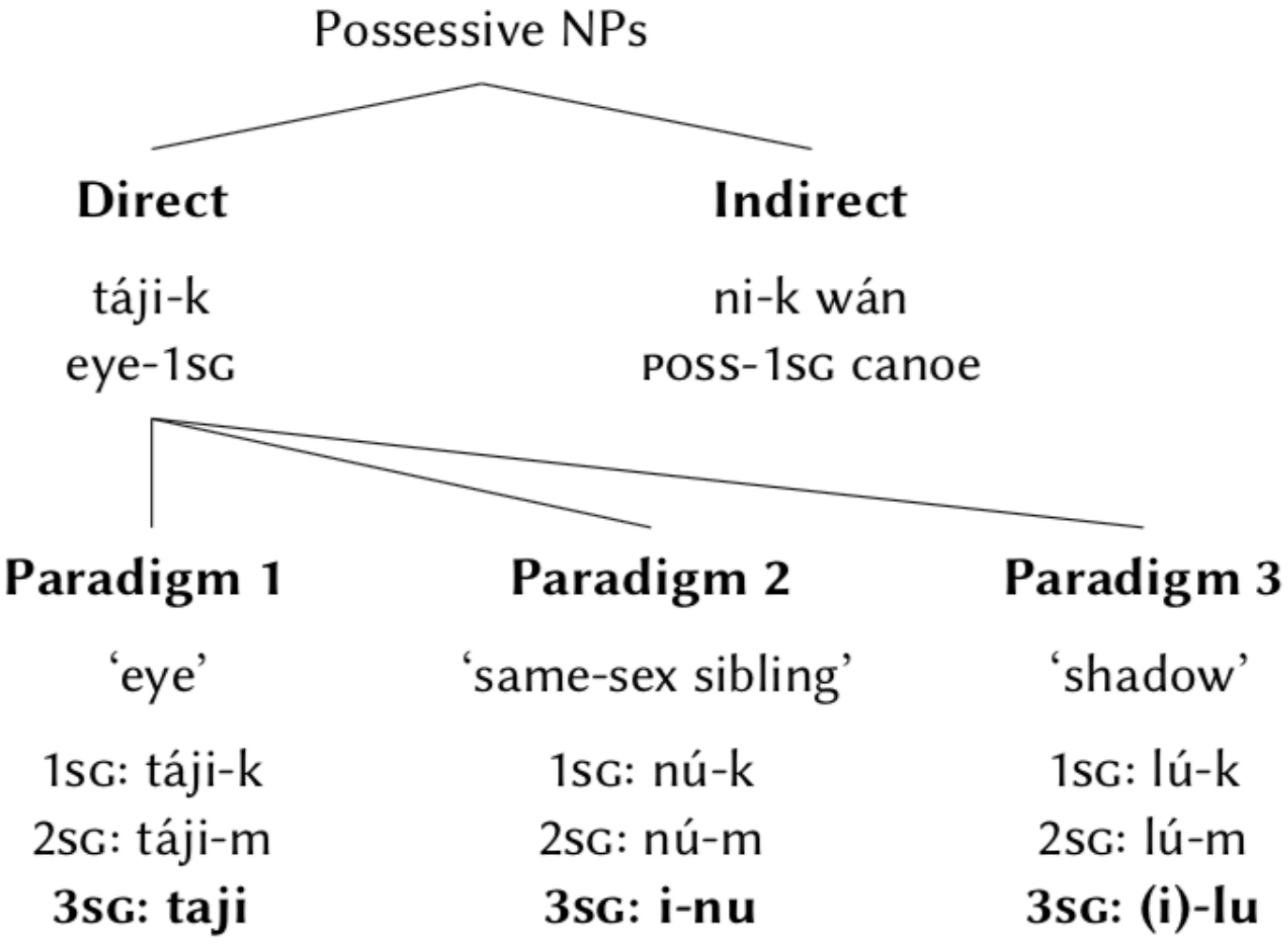
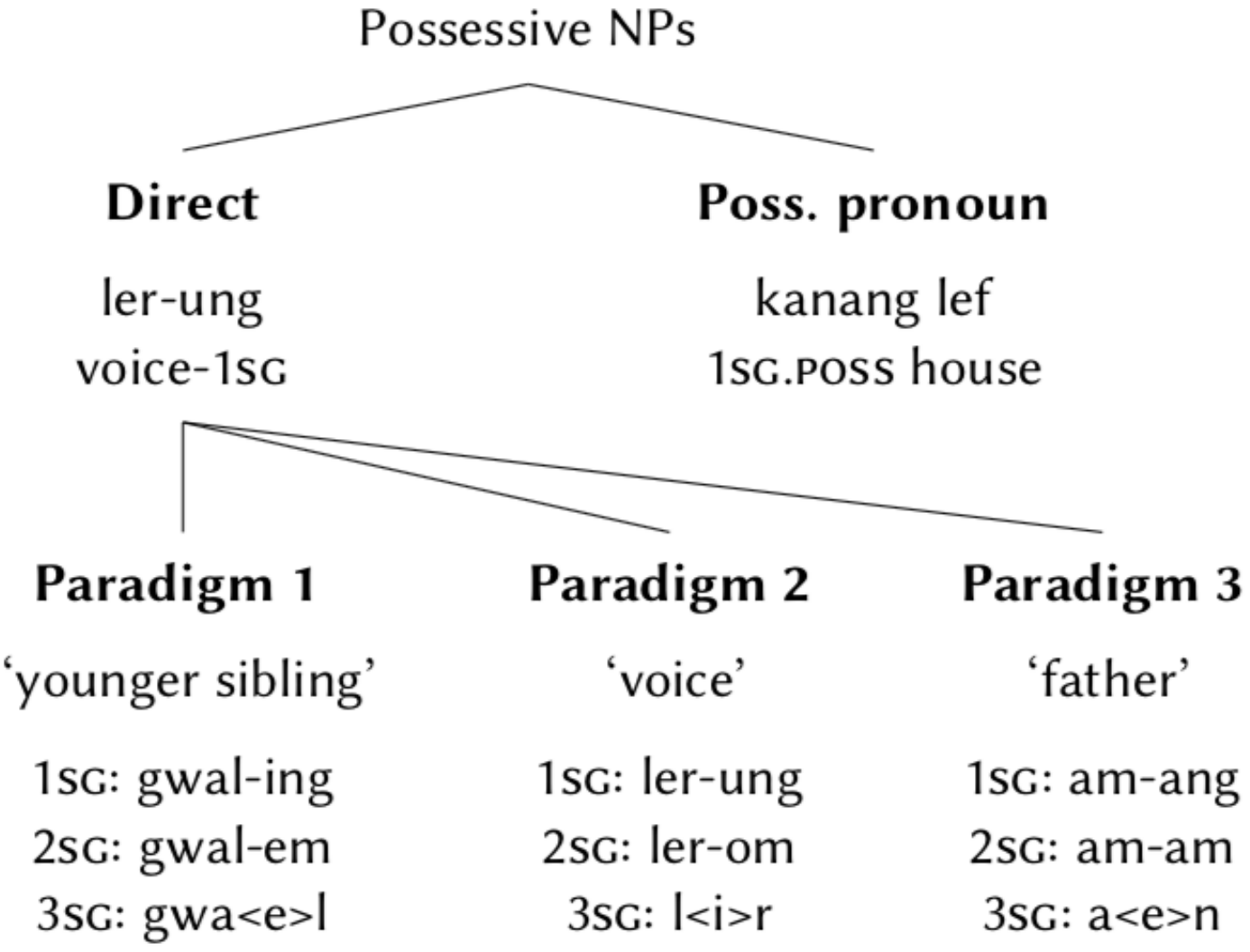
Differential inalienable marking (DIM): A definition

- 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)



Examples: Batuley (CMP; Daigle 2015)



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Examples: Kula (TAP; Williams 2017)

	Inalienable *Prefixes*		**Alienable** *Prefixes*
	‘finger’, ‘foot’, ‘foot (sore)’	Body parts, kin	Else
1EX	nge-	ng-	ngá-
1IN	ige-	i-	igá-
2	ye-	ya-	yi-
3	ge-	a-	gi-

Examples: Kula (TAP; Williams 2017)

Possessive NPs

Paradigm 1	**Paradigm 2**	**Paradigm 3**
‘finger’	‘wife’	‘shed’
1SG: nge-kárík	1SG: ng-yo	1SG: ngá-yo
2SG: ye-kárík	2SG: ya-yo	2SG: yi-yo
3SG: ige-kárík	3SG: a-yo	3SG: gi-yo

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... Feedback welcome!

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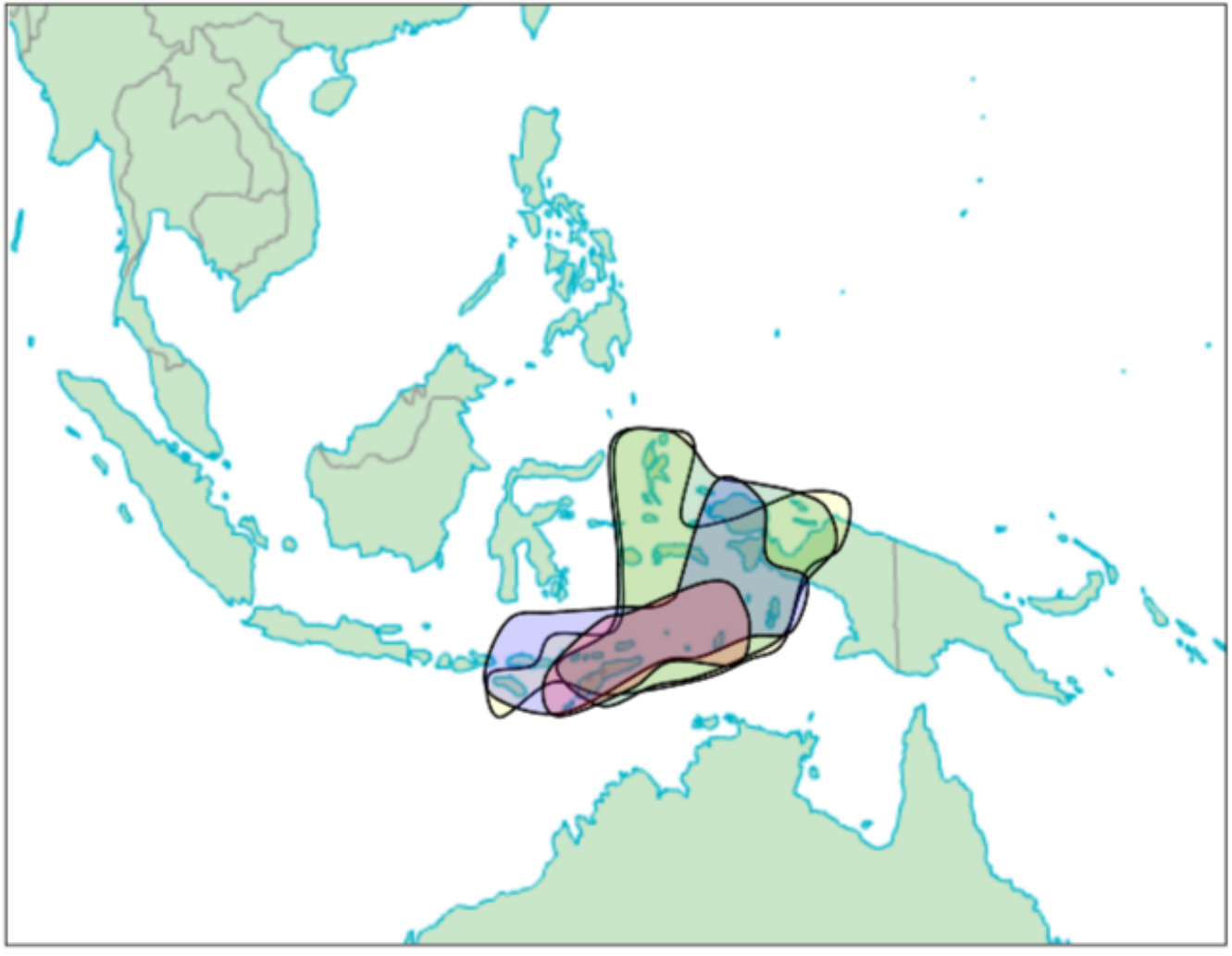
Linguistic Wallacea (Schapper 2015)



DIM in Wallacea

- Surveyed languages:

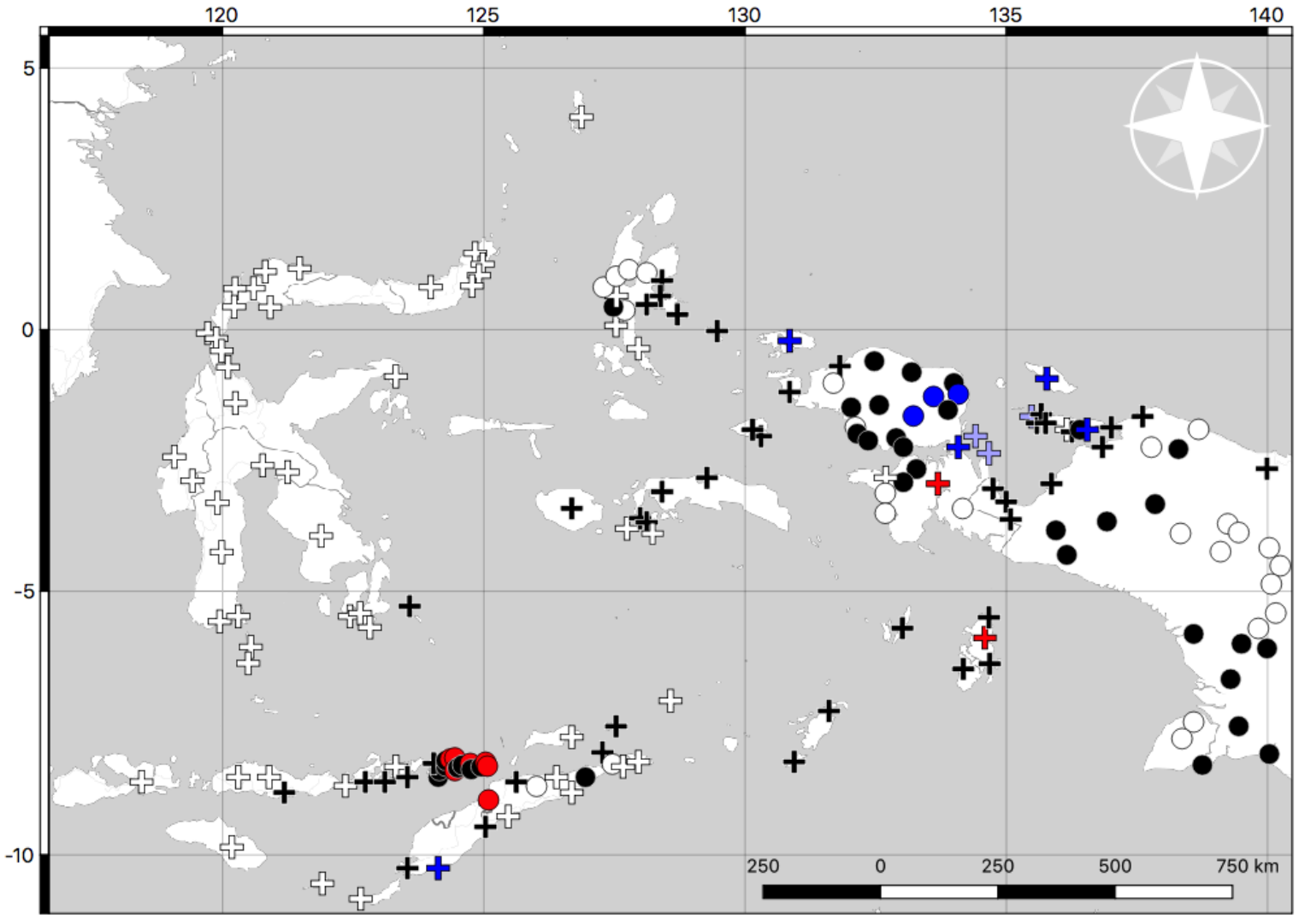
Austronesian (108)

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

DIM in Wallacea



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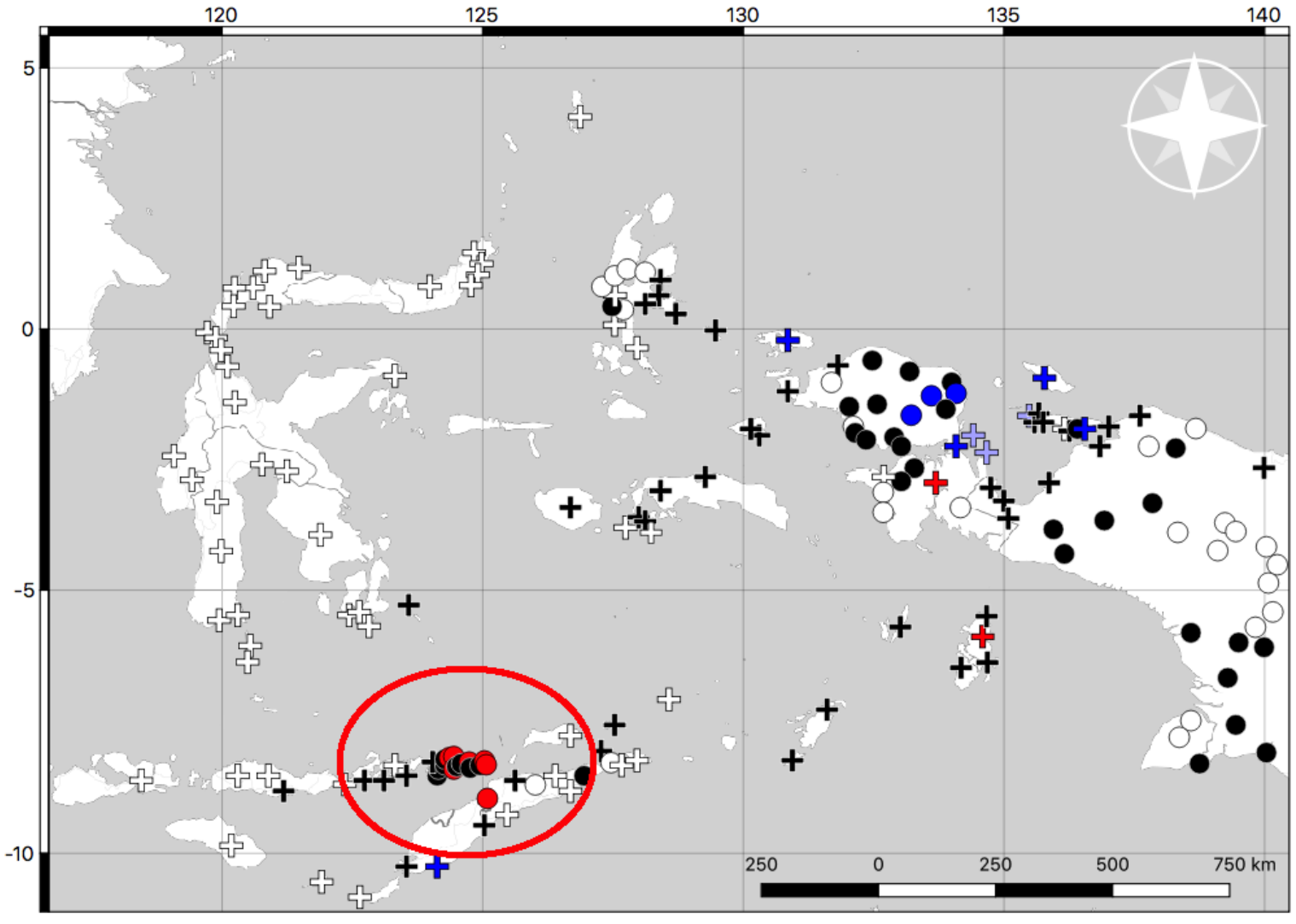
DIM in Timor-Alor-Pantar



DIM in Timor-Alor-Pantar

- Adang (TAP; Robinson and Haan 2014)

	Inalienable *Prefixes*		**Alienable** *Poss pronouns*
	‘head’, ‘knee’, ‘shin’, ‘buttocks’, ‘hair’	Body parts, some kin, ‘name’, ‘place’	Else
1SG	nɛ-	n(a)-	nɔ
2SG	ɛ-	(a)-	ɔ
3	ʔɛ-	ʔ(a)-	ʔɔ
1PL.EX	niɛ-	ni-	ni
1PL.IN	piɛ-	pi-	pi
2PL	iɛ-	i-	i

DIM in Timor-Alor-Pantar

- Kula (TAP; Williams 2017)

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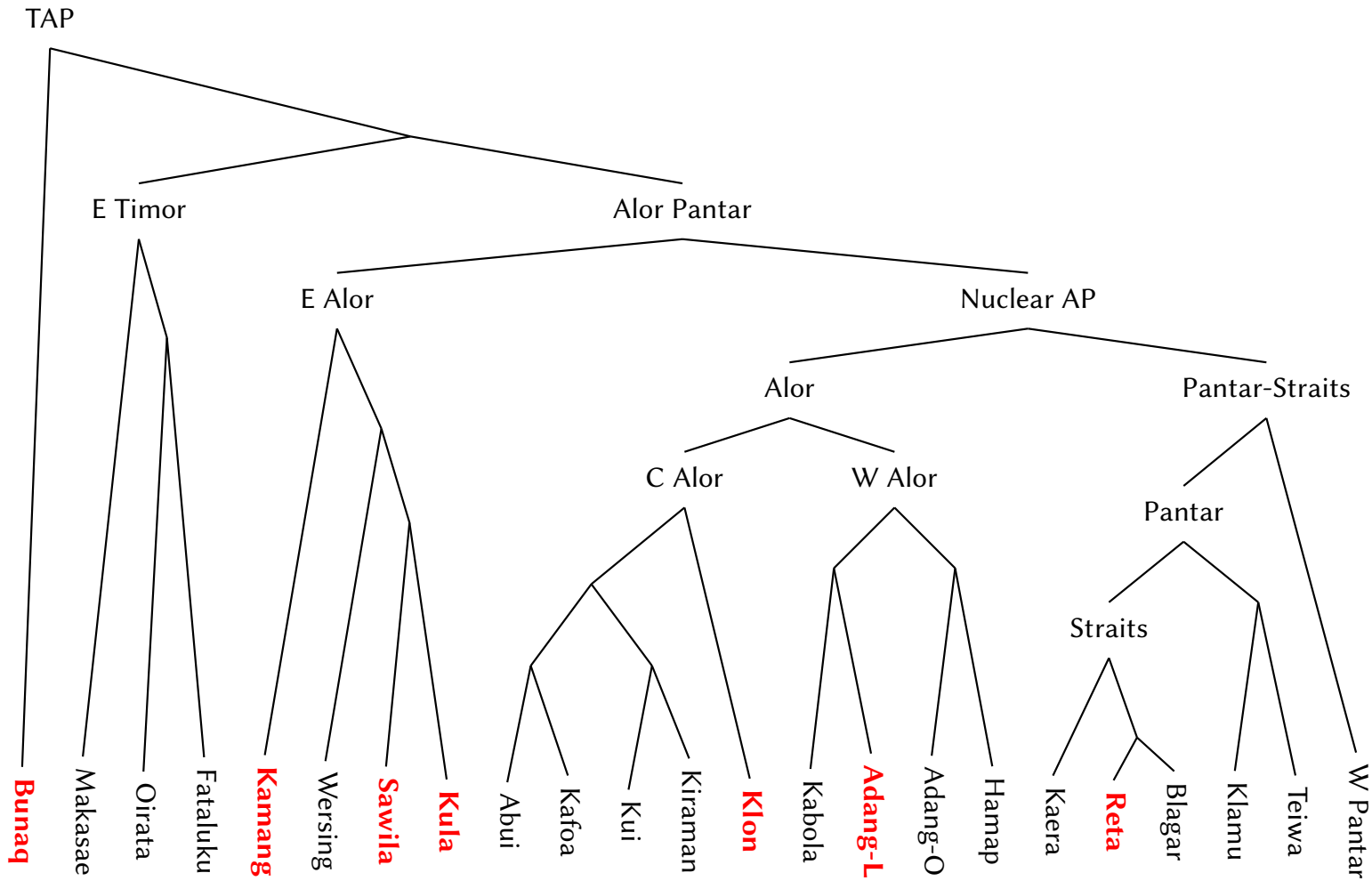
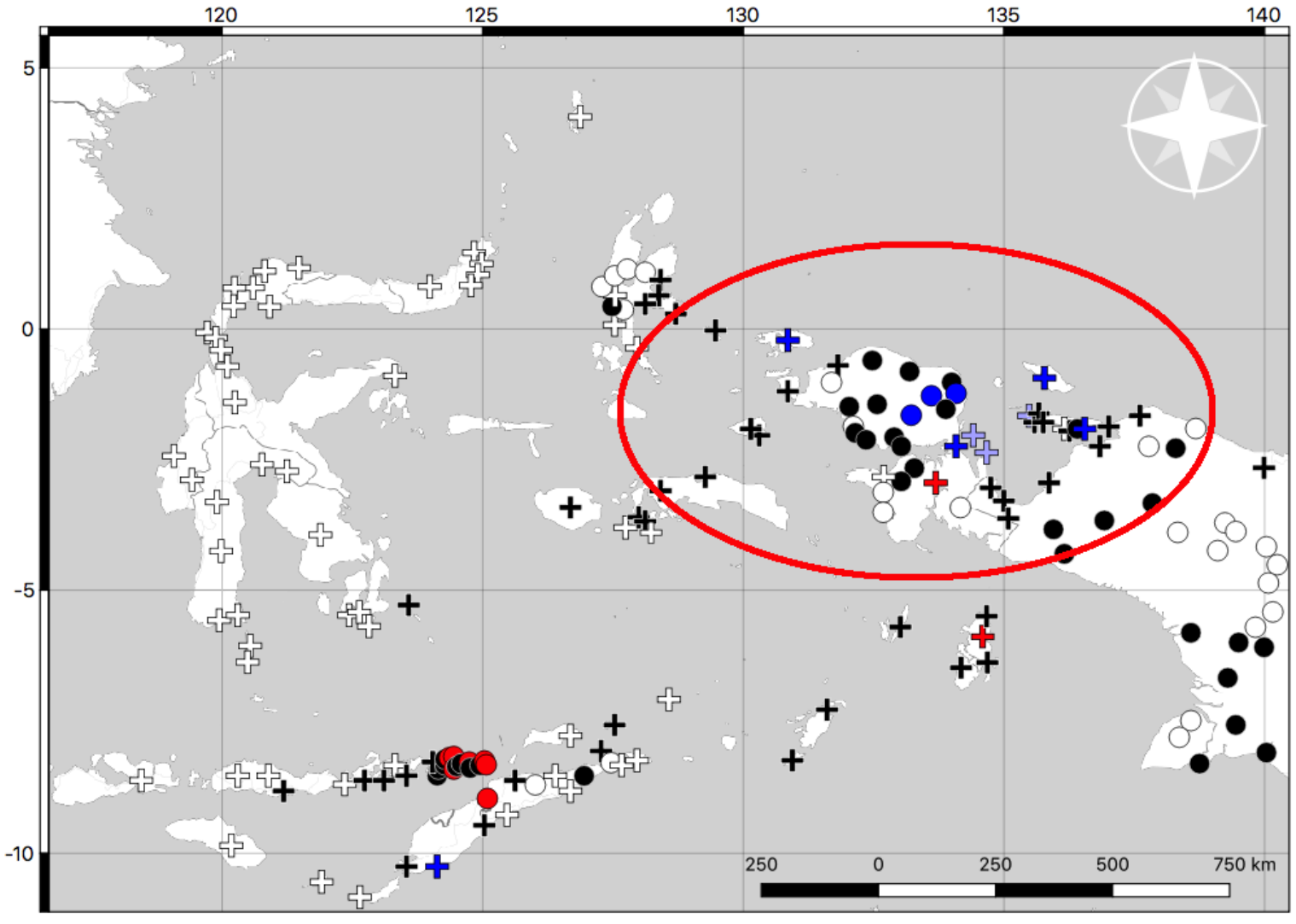


Kaiping and Klamer (2019)

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)

	Kin terms	Body parts	Association
1SG	-k	-k	-k
2SG	-m	-m	-m
3SG	**i-**	**Ø**	**(i-)**

DIM around the Bird's Head

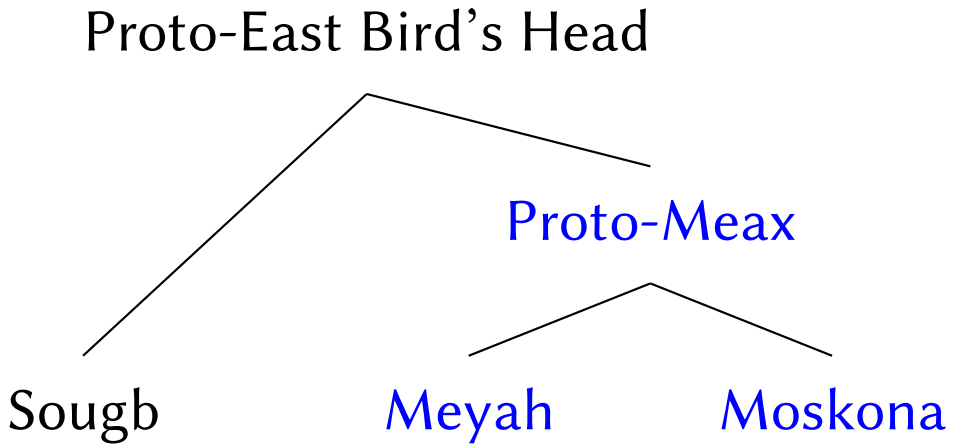
- Ambai (AN > SHWNG > CB > Yapen; Silzer 1983)

	Kin terms	Body parts
1SG	-ku	-ku
2SG	-mu	-mu
3SG	**-na**	**-n**

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

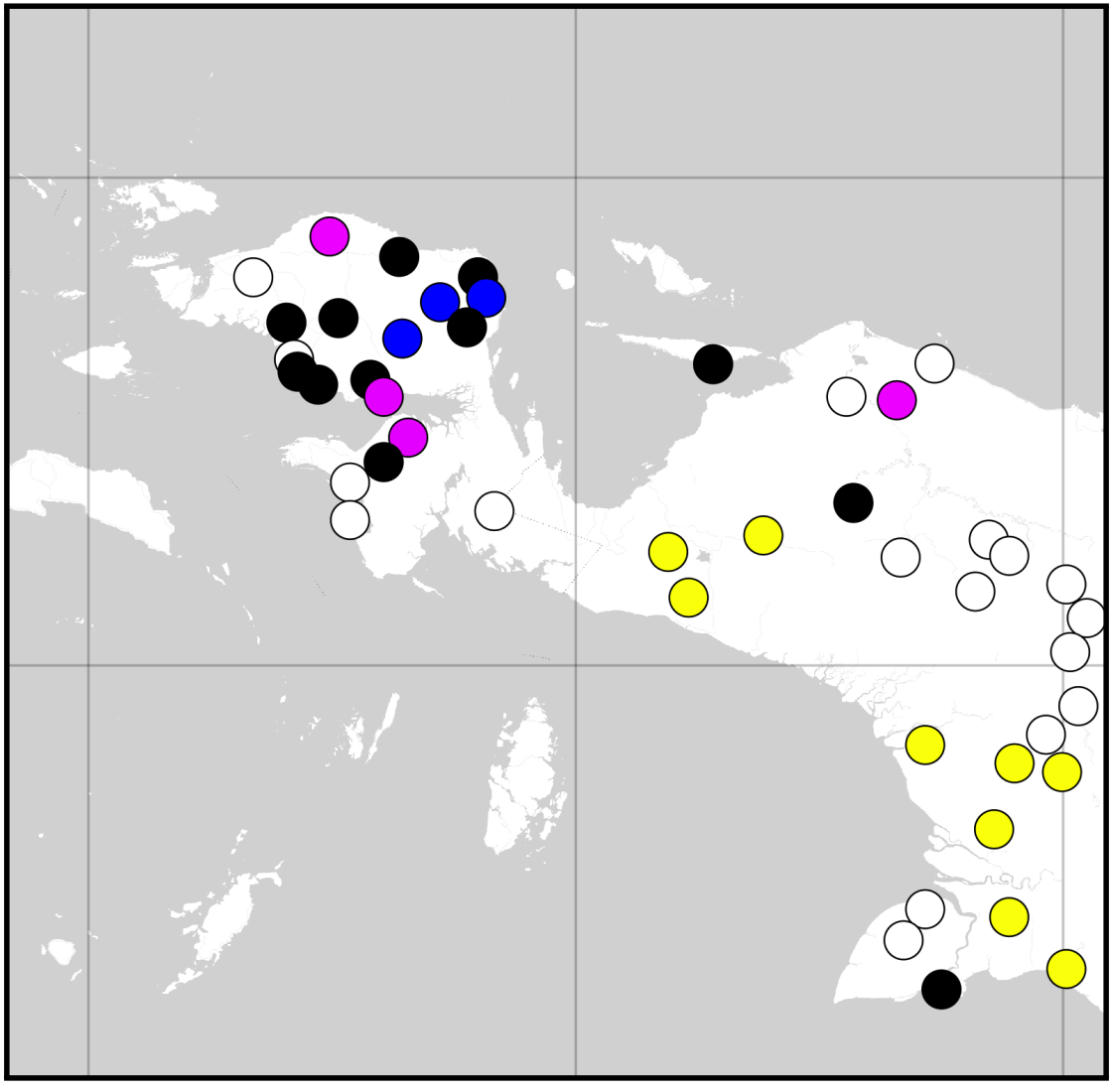
	Kin terms	Body parts (paired, 'tooth', 'nose')	Body parts (else)
1SG	=i	-si	-ri
2SG	-m=i	-m-si	-m-ri
3SG	-r=i	-si	-ri

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!

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Thank you!

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