

The multiple causes of Split Inalienable Coding in
northwest New Guinea: Contact meets drift

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The multiple causes of SIC in northwest New Guinea

1. Introduction

Split Inalienable Coding (SIC)
Northwest New Guinea

2. Distribution of SIC in Northwest New Guinea

3. Multiple causation

Contact
Drift

4. Tying things up

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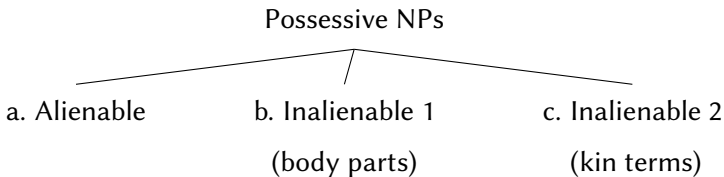
4. Tying things up

Split Inalienable Coding (SIC)

A language has **Split Inalienable Coding** if there are three or more distinct adnominal possessive coding strategies...

- ▶ at least two of which are used to code inalienable possession
- ▶ where the choice of inalienable coding is conditioned by semantic factors.

Split Inalienable Coding (SIC)



Split Inalienable Coding (SIC)

(1) Hatam (Hatam-Mansim; Reesink 1999)

a. Alienable:

a-de singau
2SG-POSS knife

‘your knife’

b. Inalienable 1:

a-ndab
2SG-hand

‘your hand’

c. Inalienable 2:

at-nem
2SG-wife

‘your wife’

Split Inalienable Coding (SIC)

Table: Hatam inalienable paradigms (Reesink 1999)

	Inalienable 1 <i>Body parts</i>	Inalienable 2 <i>Kin terms</i>
1SG	di-	diT-
2SG	a-	aT-
3SG	ni-	niT-
1PL.EXCL	ni-	niT-
1PL.INCL	i-	iT-
2PL	ji-	jiT-
3PL	i-	iT-

Split Inalienable Coding (SIC)

(2) Salawati (Austronesian > SHWNG; own fieldnotes)

a. Alienable:

at-ni-m wá
1PL.I-POSS-1PL canoe

‘our (incl) canoe’

b. Inalienable 1:

(at-ni-m) tá-m
1PL.I-POSS-1PL eye-1PL

‘our (incl) eye’

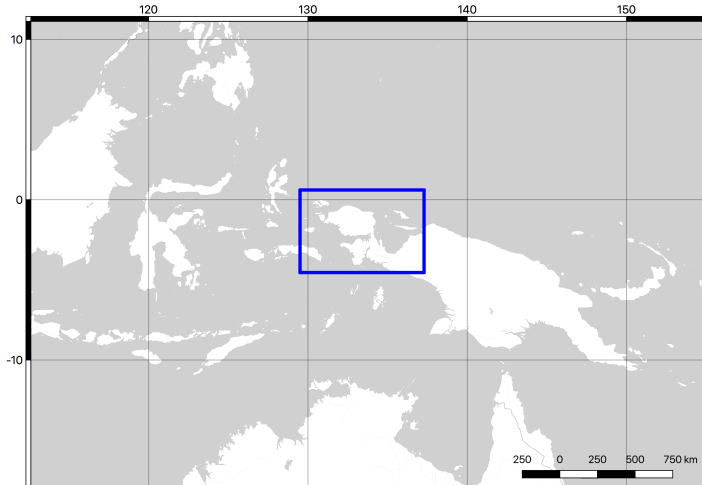
c. Inalienable 2:

at-ni-m təbú-m
1PL.I-POSS-1PL grandchild-1PL

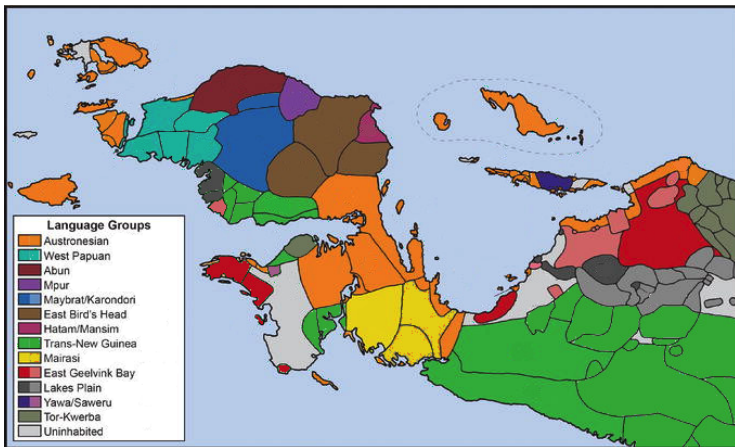
‘our (incl) grandchild’



Northwest New Guinea



Northwest New Guinea



Adapted from Gasser (2019)

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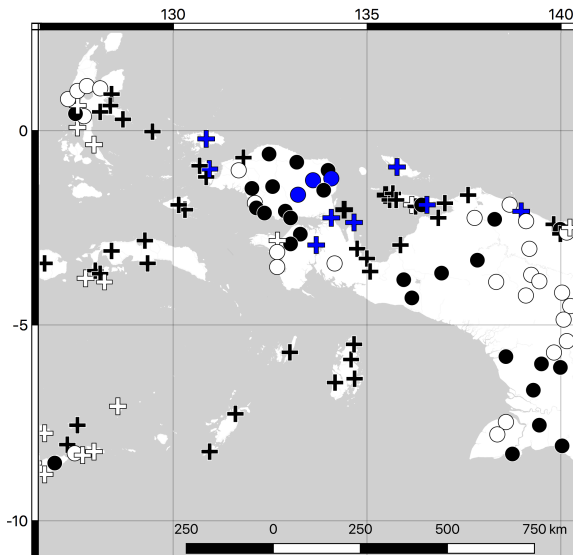
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Distribution of SIC in Northwest New Guinea



Distribution of SIC in Northwest New Guinea

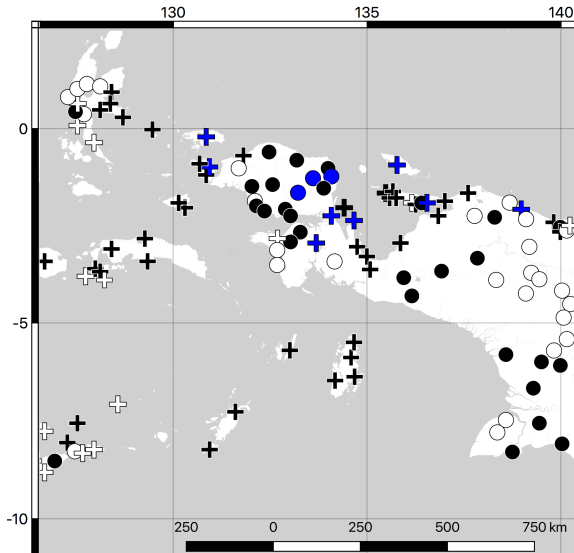
- ▶ Possible causes:
 - ▶ Spontaneous innovations (chance)
 - ▶ Inheritance
 - ▶ Drift
 - ▶ Contact

Distribution of SIC worldwide

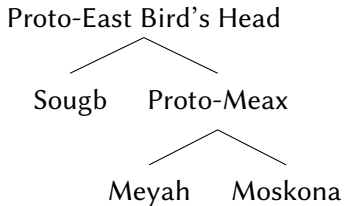
Family	Location	Language(s)	Source
Austronesian (Oceanic)	Pacific	Western Fijian	Geraghty (2011)
Austronesian (CMP)	ISEA	Central Lembata	Fricke (2019)
Austronesian (CMP)	ISEA	Amarasi	Edwards (2020)
Gunwinyguan	Australia	Nunggubuyu	Heath (1984)
Worrorran	Australia	Ungarinjin	Rumsey (1978)
Pama-Nyungan (Mantharta)	Australia	Djiwarli, Thiin, Dhargari, Wariyangga	Austin (2015, p.c.)
Pama-Nyungan (Kanyara)	Australia	Bayungu, Pinigura, Burduna, Dhalandji	Austin (2015, p.c.)
Pomoan	N America	Northern Pomo	O'Connor (1987)
Isolate	S America	Trumai	Guirardello (1999)



Inheritance



Inheritance: East Bird's Head



Arnold (submitted)

Inheritance: Austronesian

- ▶ SHWNG > West Yapen
 - ▶ Ambai: 3SG body parts *-n*, kin terms *-na*
 - ▶ Wamesa: 3SG body parts *=pa*, kin terms *-ni*
- ▶ SHWNG > Raja Ampat-South Halmahera
 - ▶ Ambel: 3SG body parts unmarked, kin terms *i-*
 - ▶ Salawati: body parts – possessive particle optional, kin terms – possessive particle obligatory

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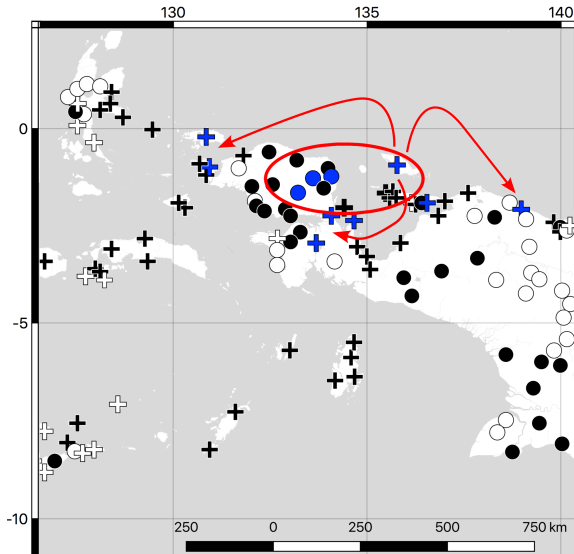
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Contact



Drift in Austronesian

Family	Location	Language(s)	Source
Austronesian (Oceanic)	Pacific	Western Fijian	Geraghty (2011)
Austronesian (CMP)	ISEA	Central Lembata	Fricke (2019)
Austronesian (CMP)	ISEA	Amarasi	Edwards (2020)
Gunwinyguan	Australia	Nunggubuyu	Heath (1984)
Worrorran	Australia	Ungarinjin	Rumsey (1978)
Pama-Nyungan (Mantharta)	Australia	Djiwarli, Thiin, Dhargari, Wariyangga	Austin (2015), p.c.
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Kin terms in Austronesian

- ▶ Synchronic distinctions:
 - ▶ Proto-Austronesian: kin term-specific morphology (Blust 1979)
 - ▶ North Philippines, central and west Borneo: kin terms obligatorily possessed (Blust 2013, Schapper & McConvell Forthcoming)
 - ▶ *Tukang Besi* (CMP): Kin terms optionally possessed with *mai*
 - ▶ *Ambel* (SHWNG): Kin term possessive particle *ni*

Kin terms in Austronesian

- ▶ Diachronic distinctions:
 - ▶ Soahuku (CMP): Kin terms INAL > AL (Florey 2005)
 - ▶ Proto-Polynesian: Six kin terms retained proto-Oceanic possessive morphology (Wilson 1982)

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Tying things up

► Observations:

- | | |
|---|-------------|
| 1. Antiquity in East Bird's Head | Inheritance |
| 2. Presence in genealogically diverse lgs in NWNG | Contact |
| 3. Attestation in AN lgs outside NWNG | } Drift |
| 4. Density of AN lgs with SIC in NWNG | |

Tying things up

- ▶ No neat dichotomy between internal and external causes (Dorian 1993, Hickey 2012)

“Contact is a source of linguistic change if it is less likely that a particular change would have happened outside a specific contact situation...

there is no way to measure ‘less likely’ precisely for any past linguistic change.”

Thomason (2010: p. 32)

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Introduction

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Distribution

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Multiple causation

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Conclusion

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Thanks for listening!

