

# Interlingual identification in contact-induced grammatical change: Evidence from northwest New Guinea

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# *Models of pattern replication*



## Heine & Kuteva (2003)

- ▶ Contact-induced grammaticalization
  - ▶ Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization
  - ▶ Replica contact-induced grammaticalization

See also Aikhenvald (2002), Enfield (2002), and Nau (1995)



## Heine & Kuteva (2003)

### Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization

- a. Speakers of language **R** notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**.
- b. They develop an equivalent category **Rx**, using material available in their own language (**R**).
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalization, using construction **Ry** in order to develop **Rx**.
- d. They grammaticalize construction **Ry** to **Rx**.

## Heine & Kuteva (2003)

	French	Cèmuhî	Tayo	
1SG	je	jo	mwa	
2SG	tu	go	twa	
3SG	il/elle	nang	lie	
1DU	–	gayu (I)/gamu (E)	nu <sup>n</sup> de	< <i>nous deux</i>
2DU	–	gau	vu <sup>n</sup> de	< <i>vous deux</i>
3DU	–	gawe	le <sup>n</sup> de	< <i>les deux</i>
1PL	nous	ganye (I)/game (E)	nu	
2PL	vous	gawe	uso	
3PL	les	jɛle	sola	

► Cf. Cèmuhî *álo* ‘two’

Ehrhart & Revis (2013) and Lynch (2002)



## Heine & Kuteva (2003)

### Replica grammaticalization

- a. Speakers of language **R** notice that in language **M** there is a grammatical category **Mx**.
- b. They develop an equivalent category **Rx**, using material available in their own language (**R**).
- c. To this end, they replicate a grammaticalization process they assume to have taken place in language **M**, using an analogical formula of the kind  $[My > Mx] = [Ry > Rx]$ .
- d. They grammaticalize category **Ry** to **Rx**.



## Heine & Kuteva (2003)

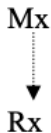
	Malay	Ambai	Papuan Malay
1SG	saya	yau	sa
2SG	kamu	wau	ko
3SG	dia	i	de
1DU	–	<b>turu (I)/auru (E)</b>	tendua < <i>tong dua</i>
2DU	–	<b>murū</b>	kamdua < <i>kam dua</i>
3DU	–	<b>uru</b>	dendua < <i>dong dua</i>
1PL	kita (I)/kami (E)	tata (I)/amea (E)	tong
2PL	kalian	mea	kam
3PL	mereka	ea	dong

► Cf. Ambai *-ru*, Malay *dua* ‘two’

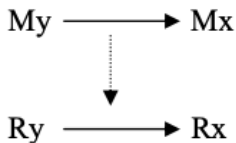
Gil (Forthcoming) and Silzer (1983)

## Heine & Kuteva (2003)

- ▶ Ordinary contact-induced grammaticalization



- ▶ Replica contact-induced grammaticalization

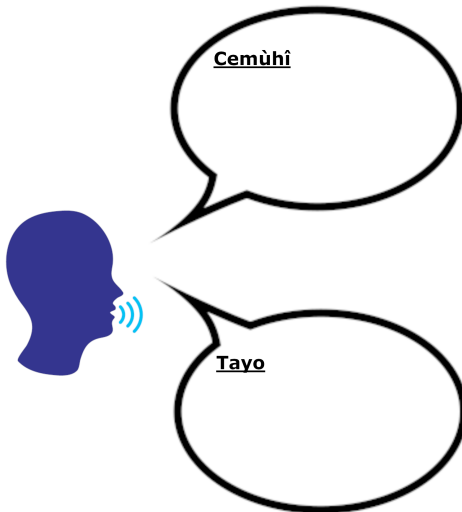


Gast & van der Auwera (2012)



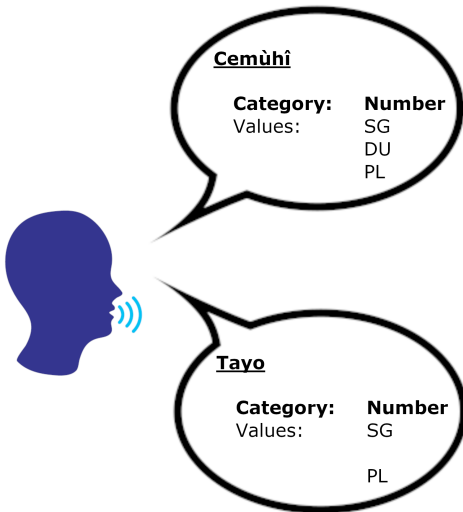
## Gast & van der Auwera (2012)

- ▶ Interlingual identification of linguistic subsystems



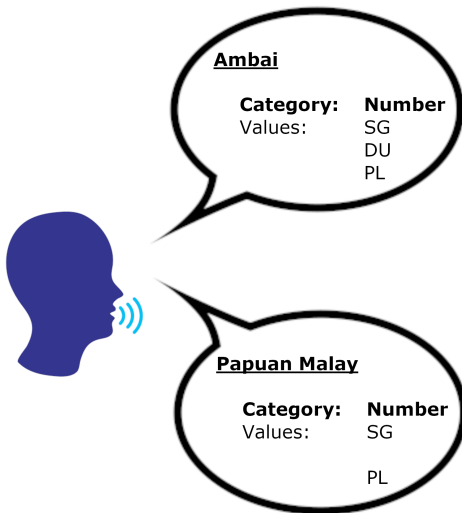
## Gast & van der Auwera (2012)

- ▶ Interlingual identification of linguistic subsystems



## Gast & van der Auwera (2012)

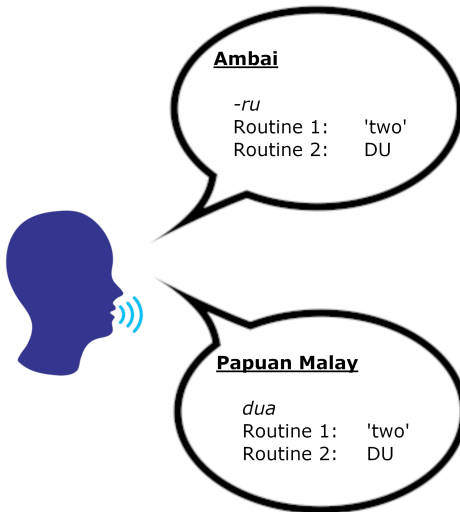
- ▶ Interlingual identification of linguistic subsystems





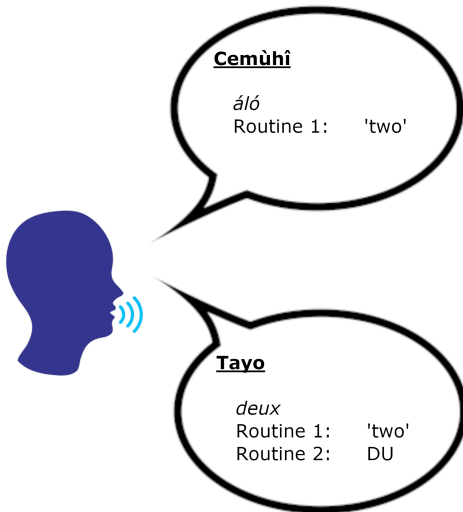
## Gast & van der Auwera (2012)

- ▶ Interlingual identification of form/meaning



## Gast & van der Auwera (2012)

- ▶ Interlingual identification of form/meaning



# Summary

	+ Int. ID of subsystem	– Int. ID of subsystem
+ Int. ID of form/meaning	= <b>Replica CIG</b> e.g. Papuan Malay ‘two’ > DUAL	= <b>Polysemy copying</b> e.g. Tariana ‘who’ > REL
– Int. ID of form/meaning	= <b>Ordinary CIG</b> e.g. Tayo ‘two’ > DUAL	n/a



# *Split Inalienable Coding in Northwest New Guinea*



# Split Inalienable Coding in northwest New Guinea

## (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’





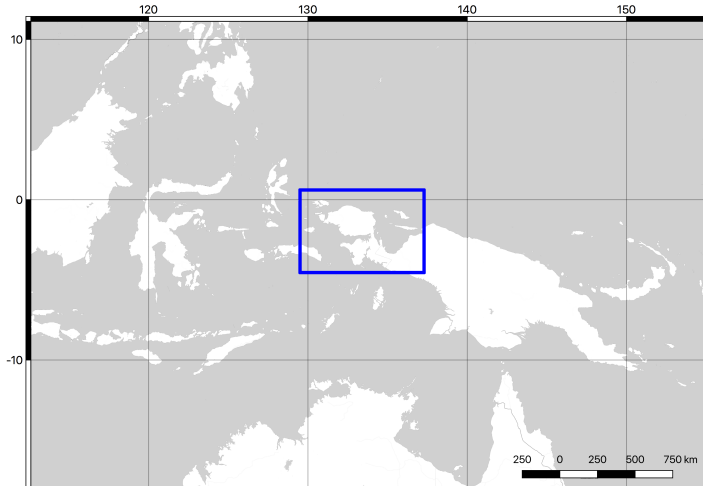
# Split Inalienable Coding in northwest New Guinea

Table: Hatam inalienable paradigms (Reesink 1999)

	<b>Inalienable 1</b>	<b>Inalienable 2</b>
	<i>Body parts</i>	<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-

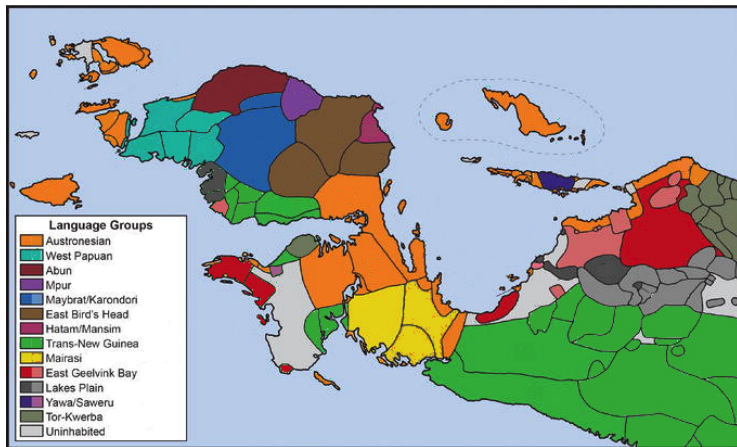


# Split Inalienable Coding in northwest New Guinea





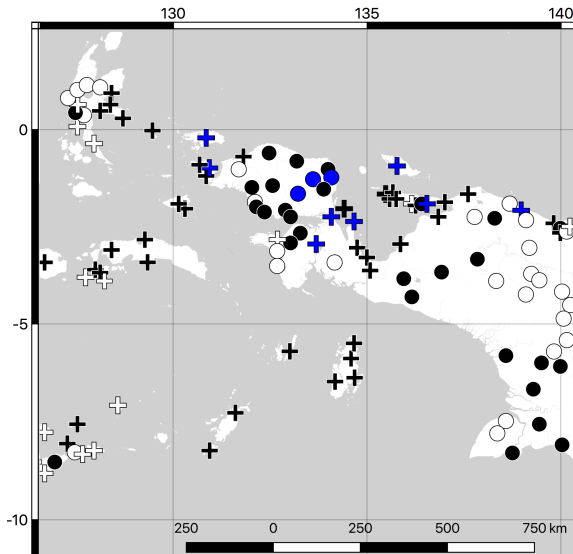
# Split Inalienable Coding in northwest New Guinea



Adapted from Gasser (2019)

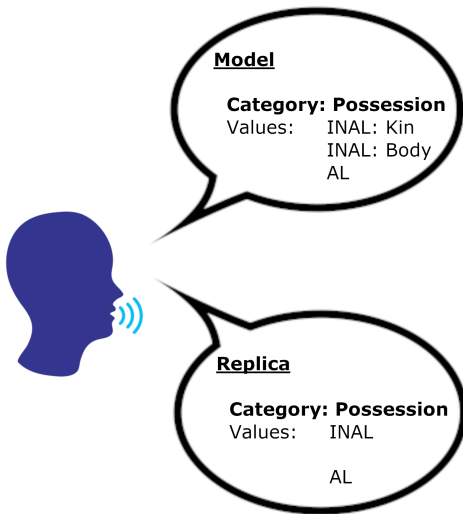


# Split Inalienable Coding in northwest New Guinea





# Split Inalienable Coding in northwest New Guinea



## Source material

	Body parts	Kin terms	Notes
Ambai	-n '3SG'	-na '3SG'	Phonological erosion
Ambel	Ø '3SG'	i- '3SG'	< 3SG pronoun
<b>Irarutu</b>	<b>Circumfixing</b>	<b>Prefixing</b>	
Meyah	Paradigm 1	Paradigm 2	< Pronominal paradigm
Moskona	Paradigm 1	Paradigm 2	< Pronominal paradigm
Salawati	(ni)	ni	Alienable marker extended
Sobei	Ø '3SG'	-n '3SG'	Phonological erosion
Wamesa	=pa '3SG'	-ni '3SG'	< Determiner

Arnold (In press)



## Source material

- Irarutu (singular possessors only):

	<b>Body parts</b>	<b>Kin terms</b>	<b>pMP</b>
1SG	a-...-g	a-g-	*=ku
2SG	o-...-m	o-m-	*=mu
3SG	i-	i-n-	*=niya

van den Berg & Matsumura (2008) and Ross (2006)



## Source material

### ► The local drift to possessive prefixation:

Stage 1	sg: only suffixes pl: only suffixes	Mor, Matbat
Stage 2	sg: only suffixes pl: prefixes and suffixes	Biak, Wandamen, Ambai
Stage 3	sg: optional prefixes and suffixes pl: prefixes and suffixes	Sawai
Stage 4:	sg: obligatory prefixes and suffixes pl: obligatory prefixes and suffixes	Buli, Irarutu
Stage 5:	sg: only prefixes pl: only prefixes	Waropen, Warembori

van den Berg (2009)

### ► Likely a result of contact with prefixing Papuan languages (Klamer et al. 2008)





# *Discussion*



## Discussion

- ▶ The development of SIC in Irarutu involved interlingual ID of subsystem
- ▶ How to characterise the development of markers?
  - ▶ Transfer of prefixing template = interlingual ID of form/meaning
  - ▶ cf. Gast & van der Auwera (2012): templatic identification in Tzotzil and Chiapas Zoque in the development of auxiliary constructions
  - ▶ But no subsequent grammaticalization in Irarutu



## Discussion

- ▶ Model involving interlingual ID more powerful than contact-induced grammaticalization
  - ▶ Can capture pattern replications not involving grammaticalization (or polysemy copying)
- ▶ Contact-induced pattern replication necessarily involves interlingual ID (Weinreich 2010 [1953]: 7-8, 32)
- ▶ Interlingual ID of subsystem need not involve grammaticalization



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Thanks for listening!

