Parallel Possessive Agreement in Ro'is Amarasi

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Outline

Outline

Location


MALAYSIA
BRUNEI
PALAU
INDONESIA
TIMOR-LESTE
AUSTRALIA
N
0
km
40
9°S
10°S
123°E
125°E
Biboki
Baikeno
Kusa-Manea
Insana
Miamafo
Amfo'an
Molo
Fatule'u
Amanuban
Amanatun
Timaus
Kopas
Amabi
Kotos Amarasi
Ro'is Amarasi
Ketun
Baumata
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Overview

- possessor possessum order
- two kinds of nouns:
  - alienable
  - inalienable (parts, kin etc.)

alienable/inalienable distinction

(1) *hin umi*

3SG house

'her/his house'

(2) *hin kana-**n***

3SG house-**3SG.GEN**

'her/his name'

Outline

Genitive Suffixes

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-r/-k*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n/-r*	*-n/-r*
0		*-f*

Genitive Suffixes

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		***-r/-k***
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	***-n/-r***	***-n/-r***
0	*-f*	

Outline

Second Person

(3) ***hoo*** *maat-**m**=aan*
2SG eye-**2GEN**=2DET
'your eye'

(4) ***hoo*** *maat-**m**=iin*
2SG eye-**2GEN**=PL
'your eyes'

Second Person

(3) ***hoo*** *maat-**m**=aan*
2SG eye-**2GEN**=2DET
'your eye'

(4) ***hoo*** *maat-**m**=iin*
2SG eye-**2GEN**=PL
'your eyes'

(5) ***hii*** *maat-**m**=iin*
2PL eye-**2GEN**=PL
'your(pl.) eyes'

Second Person

(3) ***hoo*** *maat-**m**=aan*
2SG eye-**2GEN**=2DET
'your eye'

(4) ***hoo*** *maat-**m**=iin*
2SG eye-**2GEN**=PL
'your eyes'

(5) ***hii*** *maat-**m**=iin*
2PL eye-**2GEN**=PL
'your(pl.) eyes'

(6) * ***hoo*** *maat-**r**=iin*
2SG eye-**3GEN**=PL
'your eyes'

Outline

Double Agreement

(7) ***hin*** *maat-**n**=ee*
3SG eye-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

Double Agreement

(7) ***hin*** *maat-**n**=ee*
3SG eye-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) ***sin*** *moin-**r**=iin*
3PL life-**3PL**.GEN=PL
'their lives'

Double Agreement

(7) ***hin*** *maat-**n**=ee*
3SG eye-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) ***sin*** *moin-**r**=iin*
3PL life-**3PL**.GEN=PL
'their lives'

(9) ***hin*** *maat-**r**=iin*
3SG eye-**3PL**.GEN=PL
'her/his eyes'

Double Agreement

(7) ***hin*** *maat-**n**=ee*
3SG eye-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) ***sin*** *moin-**r**=iin*
3PL life-**3PL**.GEN=PL
'their lives'

(9) ***hin*** *maat-r=iin*
3SG eye-**3**PL.GEN=PL
'her/his eyes'

Double Agreement

(7) ***hin*** *maat-**n**=ee*
3SG eye-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) ***sin*** *moin-**r**=iin*
3PL life-**3PL**.GEN=PL
'their lives'

(9) ***hin*** ***maat-r=iin***
3SG **eye-3PL**.GEN=**PL**
'her/his eyes'

Double Agreement

(7) ***hin*** *maat-**n**=ee*
3SG eye-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) ***sin*** *moin-**r**=iin*
3PL life-**3PL**.GEN=PL
'their lives'

(9) ***hin*** ***maat-r=iin***
3SG **eye-3PL**.GEN=**PL**
'her/his eyes'

(10) ***sin*** *moin-**n**=ee*
3PL life-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'their life'

Double Agreement

(7) ***hin*** *maat-**n**=ee*
3SG eye-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) ***sin*** *moin-**r**=iin*
3PL life-**3PL**.GEN=PL
'their lives'

(9) ***hin*** ***maat-r=iin***
3SG **eye-3PL**.GEN=**PL**
'her/his eyes'

(10) ***sin*** *moin-n=ee*
3PL life-**3**SG.GEN=3DET
'their life'

Double Agreement

(7) *hin maat-n=ee*
3SG eye-3SG.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) *sin moin-r=iin*
3PL life-3PL.GEN=PL
'their lives'

(9) *hin maat-r=iin*
3SG eye-3PL.GEN=PL
'her/his eyes'

(10) *sin moin-n=ee*
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Double Agreement

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'her/his eye'

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3PL life-3PL.GEN=PL
'their lives'

(9) *hin maat-r=iin*
3SG eye-3PL.GEN=PL
'her/his eyes'

(10) *sin moin-n=ee*
3PL life-3SG.GEN=3DET
'their life'

(11) * *hin maat-n=iin*
3SG eye-3SG.GEN=PL
'(her/his eyes)'

Double Agreement

(7) *hin maat-n=ee*
3SG eye-3SG.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) *sin moin-r=iin*
3PL life-3PL.GEN=PL
'their lives'

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'her/his eyes'

(10) *sin moin-n=ee*
3PL life-3SG.GEN=3DET
'their life'

(11) * *hin maat-n=iin*
3SG eye-3SG.GEN=PL
'(her/his eyes)'

(12) *hin hae-n bian=ee*
3SG leg-3SG.GEN other=3DET
'her/his other leg'

Double Agreement

(7) *hin maat-n=ee*
3SG eye-3SG.GEN=3DET
'her/his eye'

(8) *sin moin-r=iin*
3PL life-3PL.GEN=PL
'their lives'

(9) *hin maat-r=iin*
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'their life'

(11) * *hin maat-n=iin*
3SG eye-3SG.GEN=PL
'(her/his eyes)'

(12) * *hin hae-r bian=ee*
3SG leg-3PL.GEN other=3DET
'(her/his other legs)'

Features

- GEN agrees with possessor for person
- GEN agrees with possessum for number

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM

Outline

hit PSM-*r*

(13) ***hit maat-r=iin*** ***na-meen***
1PI eye-1PI.PSR;PL.PSM=PL 3-hurt
'Our eyes hurt.'

(14) ***hit paan-r=aa***
1PI nose-1PI.PSR;PL.PSM=0DET
'our noses'

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM

hit PSM-*k*

(15) *baap Melianus n-oka, **hit ana-k**, hit ori?, nai? Owen*
dad M. 3-with **1PI child-1PI.PSR;SG.PSM** 1PI ySi Mr. O.
'Melianus brought our son, our brother, Owen' 170829-1, 0.51

hit PSM-*k*

(15) *baap Melianus n-oka, **hit ana-k**, **hit ori?, nai? Owen***
dad M. 3-with **1PI child-1PI.PSR;SG.PSM** 1PI ySi Mr. O.
'Melianus brought our son, our brother, Owen' `170829-1, 0.51`

(16) *hit t-kius, **hit maat-k=iin** na-mtau*
1PI 1PI-see **1PI eye-1PI.PSR;PL.PSM=PL** 3-scare
lit. 'We see it, our eyes are scared.' `obs. 01/09/17`

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	PERS=1PI	NUMB=SG,PL	1PI.PSR

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	**NUMB=PL**	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	**NUMB=PL**	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	PERS=1PI	NUMB=SG,PL	1PI.PSR

First person singular

(17) ***au*** *kaan-**k**=ii* *nai? Owen*
1SG name-**1SG.PSR**=1DET Mr. O.
'my name is Owen'

(18) ***au*** *maat-**k**=iin* *na-meen*
1SG eye-**1SG.PSR**=PL 3-hurt
'my eyes hurt'

First person singular

(17) ***au*** *kaan-**k**=ii* *nai? Owen*
1SG name-**1SG.PSR**=1DET Mr. O.
'my name is Owen'

(18) ***au*** *maat-**k**=iin* *na-meen*
1SG eye-**1SG.PSR**=PL 3-hurt
'my eyes hurt'

(19) * ***au*** *maat-**r**=iin*
1SG eye-**1PI**.PSR=PL
'(my eyes)'

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	**NUMB=PL**	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	**NUMB=PL**	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	PERS=1PI	NUMB=SG,PL	1PI.PSR

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	PERS=1PI	NUMB=SG,PL	1PI.PSR

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	PERS=1PI	NUMB=SG,PL	1PI.PSR
-k	PERS=1SG	NUMB=SG,PL	1SG.PSR

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	**PERS=1PI**	**NUMB=SG,PL**	1PI.PSR
-k	**PERS=1SG**	**NUMB=SG,PL**	1SG.PSR

1PL.EXCL

(20) *n-nes~neis* *n-eu* ***hai*** *ana-**m*** *he? nai? Owen he? ai*
3-INTNS~more 3-DAT **1PX** ana-**1PX**.GEN REL Mr. O. REL 1DEM
'especially for our son here, Owen.' 170829-1, 2.38

1PL.EXCL

(20) *n-nes~neis* *n-eu* ***hai*** *ana-**m*** *he? nai? Owen he? ai*
3-INTNS~more 3-DAT **1PX** ana-**1PX**.GEN REL Mr. O. REL 1DEM
'especially for our son here, Owen.' 170829-1, 2.38

(21) ***hai*** *aan-**m**=ini* *sin* *mana? nee*
1PX child-**1PX**.GEN=PL 3PL COUNT six
'We had six children.' 170820-2, 10.18

Morphological 1PL.EXCL/2PL Syncretism

Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*au*	*hai*
1,2		*hit*
2	*hoo*	*hii*
3	*hin*	*sin*

Morphological 1PL.EXCL/2PL Syncretism

Pronouns

	SG	PL
1	*au*	***hai***
1,2		*hit*
2	*hoo*	***hii***
3	*hin*	*sin*

Morphological 1PL.EXCL/2PL Syncretism

Genitive

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	***-m***
1,2		*-k/-r*
2	*-m*	***-m***
3	*-n/-r*	*-n/-r*

1PX = 2PL

Morphological 1PL.EXCL/2PL Syncretism

Verb Agr. 1

	SG	PL
1	*k-*/*ʔ-*	***m-***
1,2		*t-*
2	*m-*	***m-***
3	*n-*	*n-*

1PX = 2PL

Morphological 1PL.EXCL/2PL Syncretism

Verb Agr. 2

	SG	PL
1	*ku-*	***mi-***
1,2		*ta-*
2	*mu-*	***mi-***
3	*na-*	*na-*

1PX = 2PL

Morphological 1PL.EXCL/2PL Syncretism

'come'

	SG	PL
1	*kuma*	***ima***
1,2		*tema*
2	*uma*	***ima***
3	*nema*	*nema=n*

1PX = 2PL

Morphological 1PL.EXCL/2PL Syncretism

'self'

	SG	PL
1	*kuu-k*	***kii-m***
1,2		*kuu-k*
2	*kuu-m*	***kii-m***
3	*kuu-n*	*kuu-k*

1PX = 2PL

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	**PERS=1**PI	**NUMB=SG,PL**	1PI.PSR
-k	**PERS=1**SG	**NUMB=SG,PL**	1SG.PSR

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	**PERS=1**	**NUMB=SG,PL**	**1PSR**

Features

GEN	Possessor	Possessum	gloss
-n	PERS=3	NUMB=SG	3PSR;SG.PSM
-r	PERS=3	NUMB=PL	3PSR;PL.PSM
-r	PERS=1PI	NUMB=PL	1PI.PSR;PL.PSM
-k	PERS=1	NUMB=SG,PL	1PSR
-m	PERS=2/1PX	NUMB=SG,PL	2/1PX.PSR

Outline

Outline

Forms

Ro'is

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k/-r*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n/-r*	*-n/-r*
0	*-f*	

Forms

Ro'is

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k/-r*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n/-r*	*-n/-r*
0	*-f*	

Kotos

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	*-k*
0	*-f*	

Forms

Ro'is

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k/-r*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	***-n***/*-r*	*-n/-r*
0	*-f*	

Kotos

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	***-n***	*-k*
0	*-f*	

Forms

Ro'is

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k/-r*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	*-n/-r*
0		*-f*

Kotos

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	*-k*
0		*-f*

Forms

Ro'is

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k*/***-r***
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	*-n*/***-r***
0		*-f*

Kotos

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		***-k***
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	***-k***
0		*-f*

*nd > *r* > *k*

Forms

Ro'is

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k*/***-r***
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	*-n*/***-r***
0	*-f*	

Kotos

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		***-k***
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	***-k***
0	*-f*	

*nd > *r* > *k*

cf. *punti > *hundi > *uri* > *uki* 'banana'

Forms

Ro'is

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-r*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	*-r*
0		*-f*

Kotos

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-k*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n*	*-k*
0		*-f*

*ŋg > *k*

cf. Dela (Rote) =*ŋga* 1SG.GEN

Outline

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG		PL
1	*-k*		*-m*
1,2			*-r*
2	*-m*		*-m*
3	*-n*		*-r*
0		*-f*	

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG		PL
1	*-k*		*-m*
1,2			*-r*
2	*-m*		*-m*
3	*-n*/***-r***	←	***-r***
0		*-f*	

Ambiguity

(8) *sin moin-r=iin*
3PL life-3PL.GEN=PL
'their lives'

Ambiguity

(8) ***sin*** *moin-**r**=iin*

3PL life-**3PL**.GEN=PL

'their lives'

Ambiguity

(8) *sin* ***moin-r=iin***

3PL **life**-3**PL**.GEN=**PL**

'their lives'

Ambiguity

(8) *sin* ***moin*-*r*=*iin***

3PL **life**-3**PL**.GEN=**PL**

'their lives'

(9) *hin* ***maat*-*r*=*iin***

3SG **eye**-3**PL**.GEN=**PL**

'his/her eyes'

Incipient in Kotos Amarasi

(22) ***ina*** *ʔniim-**n**=ee*
3SG arm-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his arm'

Incipient in Kotos Amarasi

(22) ***ina*** *ʔniim-**n**=ee*
3SG arm-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his arm'

(23) ***ina*** *ʔniim-**n**=ein*
3SG arm-**3SG**.GEN=PL
'her/his arms'

Incipient in Kotos Amarasi

(22) ***ina*** *ʔniim-**n**=ee*
3SG arm-**3SG**.GEN=3DET
'her/his arm'

(23) ***ina*** *ʔniim-**n**=ein*
3SG arm-**3SG**.GEN=PL
'her/his arms'

(24) ***sina*** *ʔniim-**k**=ein*
3PL arm-**3PL**.GEN=PL
'thir arms'

Incipient in Kotos Amarasi

(22) *ina ʔniim-n=ee*
3SG arm-3SG.GEN=3DET
'her/his arm'

(23) *ina ʔniim-n=ein*
3SG arm-3SG.GEN=PL
'her/his arms'

(24) *sina ʔniim-k=ein*
3PL arm-3PL.GEN=PL
'thir arms'

(25) *ina ʔniim-k=ein*
3SG arm-3PL.GEN=PL
'her/his arms'

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG		PL
1	*-k*		*-m*
1,2			*-r*
2	*-m*		*-m*
3	*-n*/***-r***	←	***-r***
0		*-f*	

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG		PL
1	*-k*		*-m*
1,2			*-r*
2	*-m*		*-m*
3	*-n/-r*		*-r*
0		*-f*	

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG		PL
1	*-k*		*-m*
1,2			*-r*
2	*-m*		*-m*
3	***-n***/*-r*	→	*-r*/***-n***
0		*-f*	

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG		PL
1	*-k*		*-m*
1,2	↳	→	*-r*/*-k*
2	*-m*		*-m*
3	*-n*/*-r*		*-r*/*-n*
0		*-f*	

and/or Kotos influence

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-r/-k*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n/-r*	*-r/-n*
0	*-f*	

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG		PL
1	*-k*	↛	*-m*
1,2			*-r/-k*
2	*-m*		*-m*
3	*-n/-r*		*-r/-n*
0		*-f*	

$$2\text{PL} = 1\text{PL.EXCL}$$

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG		PL
1	*-k*		*-m*
1,2			*-r/-k*
2	***-m***	=	***-m***
3	*-n/-r*		*-r/-n*
0		*-f*	

Ro'is Genitive Suffixes

	SG	PL
1	*-k*	*-m*
1,2		*-r/-k*
2	*-m*	*-m*
3	*-n/-r*	*-r/-n*
0	*-f*	

Outline

Conclusion

- possessor determines which suffix(es) can occur

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- when PERS=3, possessum is controller for number
- when PERS=1PI, possessum is optionally controller for number

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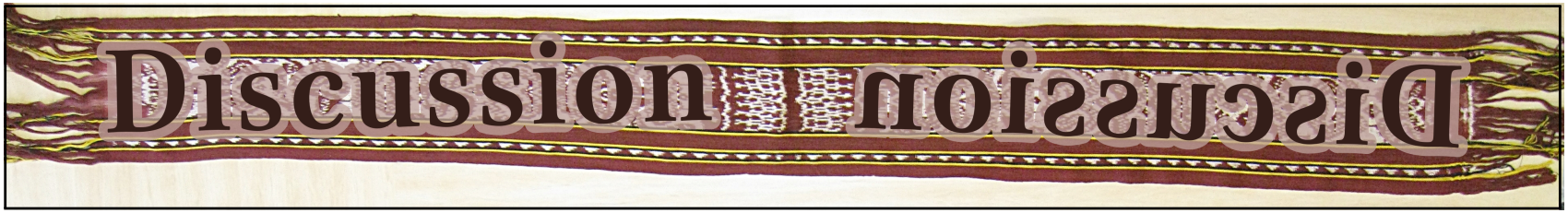
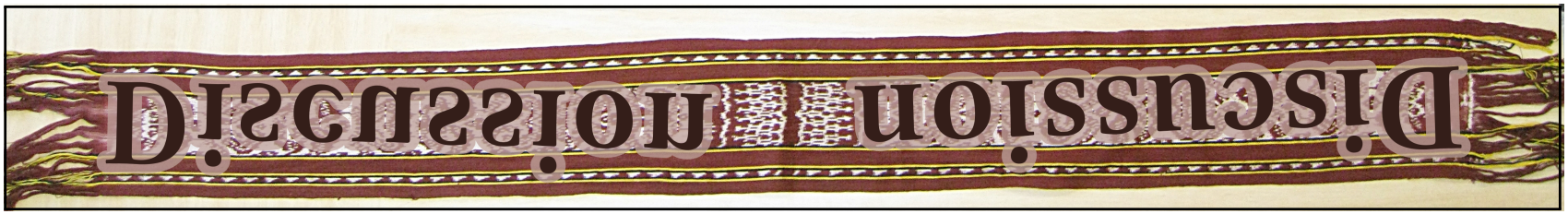
- when PERS=3, possessum is controller for number
- when PERS=1PI, possessum is optionally controller for number
- development allowed by ambiguity when PSR=PL, PSM=PL
- development impeded by paradigmatic options

Conclusion



- possessor determines which suffix(es) can occur
- when PERS=3, possessum is controller for number
- when PERS=1PI, possessum is optionally controller for number
- development allowed by ambiguity when PSR=PL, PSM=PL
- development impeded by paradigmatic options



Outline