

**Title:** Possessor Dissent: Oblique possessive constructions in Bilarra  
**Category:** Oral/poster presentation

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Bilarra is an Australian language belonging to the Eastern Ngumpin subgroup of the Ngumpin-Yapa family (Pama-Nyungan), which includes Warlpiri and Gurindji (McConvell & Laughren, 2004). Bilarra, like most Australian languages, has two distinct possessive constructions, one which encodes alienable possession (1), and another which encodes inalienable possession (2). These constructions differ in terms of grammatical relations: in (1), the possessed NP is cross-referenced with the bound object/oblique pronoun, and the possessor is marked as a dative modifier. In the inalienable construction in (2), on the other hand, both nominals appear in the unmarked (accusative) case and it is the possessor which is cross-referenced.

- (1) nyawa=ma= $\emptyset$ <sub>a</sub> [nyununy gurrurij=ma<sub>b</sub>]<sub>a</sub>?  
this=TOP=3MIN.O 2MIN.DAT car=TOP  
Is that your car?
- (2) nyawa=ma=nggu<sub>b</sub> nyundu<sub>b</sub> mila=ma<sub>a</sub>?  
this=TOP=2MIN.O 2MIN eye=TOP  
Is that your eye?

Bilarra in fact also has a third possessive construction, which has not previously been identified in the Australianist literature, and which is the focus of this paper. This *oblique possessive construction* encodes alienable possession yet appears to mix the grammatical features of the two possessive constructions described above: cross-referencing is with the possessor (as in (2)), but the possessor appears marked with the dative case (as in (1)). An example is given in (3).

- (3) nyawa=ma=nggu<sub>b</sub> nyununy<sub>b</sub> gurrurij<sub>a</sub>=ma?  
this=TOP=2MIN.O 2MIN.DAT car=TOP  
Is that a car of yours?

Oblique possessive constructions in Bilarra are used to highlight the affectedness of the possessor in alienable constructions. Syntactically the possessor and possessum remain one NP yet the possessor modifier is cross-referenced, rather than the nominal head (cf. (1)). The construction is enabled by the fact that object/oblique bound pronouns are used to mark adjuncts in benefactive, malefactive and animate goal constructions. Thus, these bound pronouns are available to be reanalysed as a marker of 'affected participant' and extended into alienable possession constructions where the speaker wants to highlight the effect on the possessor.

In this paper we discuss the properties of the oblique possessive construction in Bilarra and surrounding languages within the context of benefactives/malefactives and possessive constructions cross-linguistically (e.g. Lichtenberk 2002, Zúñiga & Kittilä 2010, Rapold 2010). This work has implications for the typology of Australian languages, for which this construction type has previously not been discussed (cf. Dixon 2002:394ff), as well as for our understanding of dative constructions more broadly (cf. Bosse et. al 2012).

## References

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