

Workshop on Local Pronouns
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Morphosyntactic Irregularities in Local Pronouns
in Some Western Austronesian Languages

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Objectives

- Patterns of morphosyntactic irregularities observed in personal pronoun systems in western Austronesian languages
- Situations where unusual morphosyntactic behavior of personal pronouns occur
- Possible motivation for the occurrence of unusual formal coding of personal pronouns

western Austronesian

- **western Austronesian** (a geographic sense): all Austronesian languages to the west of 130° east longitude, excluding the Indonesian languages east of Sulawesi, but including Palauan and Chamorro (Himmelman 2002:7)
- a cover term for all Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, the Philippines, mainland Southeast Asia, western Indonesia (Sulawesi and all islands to the west of it), Borneo and Madagascar, and also including Palauan and Chamorro

*When a first person
singular participant
meets a second person
participant*

1sg>2sg: no overt actor/possessor

- Ilokano (Rubino 1997:58-59)

(a) *ay-ayaten = ka.*

love=Nom.2sg

‘I love you (sg.).’

(b) *titser = ka.*

teacher=Nom.2sg

‘You (sg.) are *my* teacher.’

1sg>2sg/2pl: Gen.1du

- Bolinao (Pérez 1975:50-51)

(a) *naʔkít = ku = ya.*

saw=Gen.1sg=Nom.3sg

‘I saw him.’

(b) *naʔkít = ta = ka.*

saw=Gen.1du=Nom.2sg

‘I saw you (sg.).’

(c) *naʔkít = ta = kamú.*

saw=Gen.1du=Nom.2pl

‘I saw you (pl.).’

1sg>2sg: Gen.1pl.incl

- Agutaynen (Quakenbush 2005:445)

Indi=**a** itabid=**ta**.

Neg=Nom.2sg accompany=Gen.1pl.incl

‘(Don’t worry.) I (lit. we) will not include you (sg.).’

Quakenbush (2005:468, note 21):

“...it is possible for a first-person plural inclusive Actor to cooccur with a second-person Nominative Patient in a colloquial, friendly Agutaynen style. This could be called the “familiar we”, which decreases formality and distance, as opposed to the English “editorial” we, which increase the same.”

1sg>2sg/2pl: Gen.1du (actor)

- Ilongot/Bugkalot (Liao, fieldnotes)

(a) *kad i waʔan = ta = ka.*

accompany=Gen.1du=Nom.2sg

‘I will accompany you (sg.).’

(b) *kad i waʔan = ta = ki.*

accompany=Gen.1du=Nom.2pl

‘I will accompany you (pl.).’

1sg>2sg/2pl: Gen.1du (possessor)

- Ilongot/Bugkalot (Liao, fieldnotes)

(a) kabuintaw = **ta** = **ka**.

friend=Gen.1du=Nom.2sg

‘You (sg.) are **my** friend.’

(b) kabuintaw = **ta** = **ki**.

friend=Gen.1du=Nom.2pl

‘You (pl.) are **my** friends.’

1sg>2sg/2pl: Gen.1du (actor)

- Timugon Murut (Prentice 1971:169)

(a) potoyon=**to**=**kow**.

kill=Gen.1du=Nom.2sg

‘**I** will kill you (sg.).’

(b) potoyon=**ta**=**kamin**

kill=Gen.1du=Nom.2pl

‘**I** will kill you (pl.).’

1sg>2sg/2pl: Gen.1du (possessor)

- Timugon Murut (Prentice 1971:170)

(a) kamaman=**to**=**kow**

uncle=Gen.1du=Nom.2sg

‘You (sg.) are **my** uncle.’

(b) kamaman=**ta**=**kamin**

uncle=Gen.1du=Nom.2pl

‘You (pl.) are **my** uncles.’

1sg>2sg/2pl: Gen.1du or Gen.3pl

- Ga’dang /Gaddang (Walrod 1988: 104, 121, 164)

(a) ...pakoman = **ta** = **ka**.

...forgive=Gen.1du=Nom.2sg

‘...**I** forgive you (sg.).’

(b) Aggataronan = **ta** = **kayu....**

wait=Gen.1du=Nom.2pl

‘**I** waited you (pl.)....’

(c) ...balawan = **da** = **kayu**.

...rebuke=Gen.3pl=Nom.2pl

‘...**I** rebuke you (pl.).’

1sg/1pl.excl>2sg/2pl: Gen.3pl

- Kapampangan (Gonzalez 1981:178)
- (a) *kalugurán=da=ká.*
love=Gen.3pl=Nom.2s
'*I* (/We (ex.) / They) love you (sg.).'
- (b) *kalugurán=da=kayú.*
love=Gen.3pl=Nom.2p
'*I* (/We (ex.) / They) love you (pl.).'

1sg/1pl.excl>2sg/2pl: Gen.3pl

- Kapampangan (Gonzalez 1981:178)
- (a) *yáku, kalugurán=da=ká.*
Top.1sg love=Gen.3pl=Nom.2sg
'As for me, *I* love you (sg.).'
- (b) *íkami, kalugurán=da=ká.*
Top.1pl.excl love=Gen.3pl=Nom.2sg
'As for us (excl.), we (ex.) love you (sg.).'

1sg>2sg/2pl: portmanteau pronoun

- Ayta, Mag-anchi (Storck and Storck 2005:146)
- (a) *haglapan=kata.*
help=Nom.2sg.Gen.1du
'*I* will help you (sg.).'
- (b) ...*haglapan=kataw*
... help=Nom.2pl.Gen.1du
'...*I* will help you (pl.).'
- ***The same or similar portmanteau forms are also found in other Central Luzon languages (e.g. Botolan Sambal, Halitaq Bayta, and Kakilingan Sambal).

1sg>2sg: portmanteau pronoun

- Tagalog (English 1987:340)
- (a) *Sásamahan=kitá.*
accompany=Nom.2sg+Gen.1sg
'*I* will accompany you (sg.).'
- (b) *Kaibigan=kitá.*
friend=Nom.2sg+Gen.1sg
'You (sg.) are *my* friend.'

1sg>2sg: portmanteau pronoun

- **Wulai Atayal** (Egerod 1978:378)
tnoxun=*misuʔ*
kill=Gen.1sg+Nom.2sg
'I will kill you (sg).'
- ◆ Egerod (1966:355): *misuʔ* 'Gen.1sg+ Nom.2sg' <=*mi* 'Gen.1sg' + *isuʔ* 'Nom.2sg'
- *misuʔ* [Og *miso*]
[cf *mu*, *isuʔ* and *suʔ*]
Secondary plus primary or nominalized pronoun I plus II
(combining *mu* and *isuʔ*); **you are my...**, **you ...by me, I ...you.**
(Egerod 1978:377)
- ◆ The portmanteau form *misuʔ* 'Gen.1sg+ Nom.2sg' appears to be found in most, if not all, dialects of Atayalic languages (i.e. Atayal and Seediq).

1sg>2sg/2pl: Gen.2sg/Gen.2pl

- Paiwan (Egli 1990:296)
- (a) urhi *ku=su=pavayan* tua kakudan.
will Gen.1sg=**Gen.2sg**=give Obl power
'I will give **you (sg.)** power.'
- (b) urhi *ku=nu=sankitsiqaven* tua tsautsau.
will Gen.1sg=**Gen.2pl**=become.get.fish Obl human
'I will make **you (pl.)** become fishermen.'

1sg>2sg: Gen.1sg=Gen.2sg

- Paiwan (Egli 1990:297)
- (a) *ku=su=qada*.
Gen.1sg=Gen.2sg=neighbor
'**You (sg.)** are my neighbor.'
- (b) *ku=su=qari*.
Gen.1sg=Gen.2sg=male.friend
'**You (sg.)** are my friends.'

1sg>2sg vs. 2sg>1sg

- Paiwan (Ferrell n.d.:38)
- (a) *ku=su=ayain*.
Gen.1sg=Gen.2sg=say
'I said it/that to **you (sg.)**. ~ I told **you (sg.)**.'
- (b) *su=ku=ayain*.
Gen.2sg=Gen.1sg=say
'**You (sg.)** said it/that to **me**. ~ you (sg.) told **me**.'

Interim Summary

- *special* coding strategies for *the actor*, *the undergoer*, or *the actor* plus *the undergoer* in events involving ‘1sg.actor’ and ‘2sg(/pl).undergoer’:
 - *no* overt form of the actor: Ilokano
 - the use of ‘Gen.1du.incl’ or ‘Gen.1pl.incl’ in place of ‘Gen.1sg’: most of the languages surveyed
 - the use of ‘Gen.3pl’ in place of ‘Gen.1sg’: Ga’dang, Kapampangan
 - the use of **special portmanteau forms** (e.g. *kita*, *tika*, *tikaw*, *misu?*, etc.) for ‘Gen.1sg + Nom.2sg(/2pl)’: Ayta Mag-anchi, Tagalog, Cebuano, Atayal, etc.
 - the use of ‘Gen.2sg’ in place of ‘Nom.2sg’: Paiwan, Puyuma

Other situations

2sg: Nom.1du

- Batad Ifugao (Newell 1993:473)
AdI=ta matoy hi un ipa?āgah nan dogoh.
 Neg=Nom.1du die Lig if medicine Spec sickness
 ‘**You** (lit., we two) will not die if the sickness is treated.’

(Newell 1993:473):

“...Speaker includes himself along with hearer to soften a statement, as when giving advice, making a statement about a tragedy involving the hearer.”

1sg: Nom/Obl/Gen.1du

- Southwest Palawano (Bill Davis, pers. comm.)
 Sinoy *menguma=kite?*
 who make.a.kaingin=Nom/Obl.1du
Nebueluen=te=ne.
 Pfv.widow=Gen/Nom.1du= already/now
Megurang=te=ne.
 old=Gen/Nom.1du=now/already
 ‘Who will make a *kaingin* **for me**? I’ve been widowed. I’m old now.’

Bill Davis (pers. comm.):

“...when **a first person** is quoting their own thoughts, it’s as though they are speaking to their own self (dual inclusive) in their mind .”

2sg: Gen.1du

- Southwest Palawano (Davis 1995)
senoy utang=*te*?
how.much debt=**Gen.1du**
'How much is *your (sg.)* debt?'

Bill Davis (pers. comm.):

"...when one speaks to another of debt, instead of referring to it as 'your debt (to me)' or 'my debt to you,' the more natural and polite form is to use the first person dual form *te* and to speak of it as 'our' debt."

"I think this is a social mitigation/relationship type strategy, rather than anything syntactic. Like if you owe me a hundred pesos, I'll speak to you of "**our-dual-incl debt**" rather than calling it "YOUR-sg debt."

Gen.2sg: Gen.1pl.incl
Nom.2sg: Gen.1pl.incl

- Toli-toli (Wolff 1996:34, 32)

Bali *kita* ku **pogole** kina=*ta*.

so Nom.1pl.incl Gen.1sg ask.for.it breath=Gen.1pl.incl

'So *from you (sg.)*, I ask a favor from *you (sg.)*. (Lit., 'I ask for your (sg.) breath.')

Stative predicate: Nom.1s or Acc.1sg

- Maga Rukai (Li 1996:216)

(a) mali *kiki*.

full Nom.1sg

'I am full.'

(b) mali *ŋku-a*.

full Acc.1sg

'I am full.'

Stative predicate: Acc.1sg

- Maga Rukai (Li 1996:217)

(a) *utritri *kiki*.

ache Nom.1sg

'I am sick.'

(b) utritri *ŋku-a*.

ache Acc.1sg

'I am sick.'

Stative predicate: Nom.1sg vs. Acc.1sg

- ...A few stative verbs can take either the nominative or accusative form for the first person, singular or plural, in a simple sentence. Each pair of sentences has roughly the same meaning. This phenomenon is found in all the three northern Rukai dialects.” (Li 1996:216)
- ...the rule applies to only a few stative verbs, which indicate personal sensational feelings, and only to *the first person singular and plural*, but not to the other persons, or a personal name. (Li 1996:217)
- As a matter of fact, speakers tend to use *accusative pronouns* more often than nominative pronouns for these stative verbs. (Li 1996:217)

Stative predicate: Double Accusative

- Tona Rukai (Li 1996:218)
- (a) ?akuluDu *kakə* na lakuuŋanə.
afraid Nom.1sg Acc ghost
'I am afraid of ghosts.'
- (b) ?akuluDu *nakua* na lakuuŋanə.
afraid Acc.1sg Acc ghost
'I am afraid of ghosts.'

Kinship Terms: Acc.1pl.excl

- Maga Rukai (Li 1996:219)
- (a) *mami=*li*.
father=Gen.1sg
'my father'
- (b) mami *nmaa*.
father Acc.1pl.excl
'my father' (lit. 'father to/for us (excl.)')

Kinship Terms: Acc.1sg

- Tona Rukai (Li 1996:220)
- (a) *tatavi=*li*.
father=Gen.1sg
'my father'
- (b) tatavi *nakua*.
father Acc.1sg
'my father'

Patterns of Irregularities-I

- the use of a *special portmanteau form* (e.g. *kita, tika, tikaw, misu?*, etc.) for ‘Gen.1sg + Nom.2sg(/2pl)’
- the use of a *first person inclusive (dual or plural) form* in place of a *first person singular form*
 - mainly in events involving a first person singular participant acting upon a second person participant
- the use of a *third person plural form* in place of a *first person singular form* (in events involving a first person singular participant acting upon a second person participant)
- the use of a *first person (plural) inclusive form* in place of a *second person singular form*: Toli-toli

Possible Motivation-I

- Lichtenberk (2005:264, 265): the *integrative* use of inclusive pronominals: “the speaker *integrates* herself and the addressee into one and the same group, even though objectively they are *not* members of the same group....”
- “**Integrative use of inclusives** is not uncommon in Austronesian languages, and it is **usually characterized as having a politeness function....**”

Possible Motivation-II

- Lichtenberk (2005:265) “Crucial to understanding the functions of the integrative use of inclusives is Brown & Levinson’s (1987) notion of *positive politeness*.”
- **Positive politeness** is “approach-based” (p.70); it attends to *the addressee’s positive face*, which is *a person’s wish to have his or her wants considered desirable by others*.
- One way of expressing positive politeness, the one that will be of special relevance here, is for the speaker to treat the addressee as “a member of an in-group, a friend” (ibid.), which may minimize a potentially face-threatening act. In fact, Brown & Levinson specifically discuss the use of inclusives as a *positive politeness* strategy.

Possible Motivation-III

- The use of a *third person plural form* in place of a *first person singular form* might also be related to **politeness**.
 - *Third person plural pronouns* can be used to refer to ‘**you (sg.) (respect or very formal)**’ in Ilokano, Tagalog, Toli-toli [Sulawesi], and Toba-Batak [N. Sumatra] (Nabahan 1981; Rubino 1998, 2000; Himmelmann 2001)
 - *Third person plural pronouns* can be used to refer to ‘**he/she (respectful or polite)**’ in Pangasinan (Benton 1971; Rubino 2001).

Patterns of Irregularities-II

- **double genitive pronouns:** the use of a *genitive pronoun* (in place of a *nominative pronoun*) to refer to an *undergoer* in events involving a first person singular participant acting upon a second person participant, or vice versa: Paiwan and Puyuma
- the preference of using an *accusative pronoun* rather than a *nominative pronoun* with a few monadic stative verbs, which indicate personal sensational feelings: Rukai (Maga, Tona, and Mantauran)
 - only to the *first person singular and plural*
- **double accusative pronouns:** the use of an *accusative pronoun* rather than a *nominative pronoun* with a few dyadic stative predicates: Rukai (Maga)
- the use of an *accusative pronoun* rather than a *genitive pronoun* to indicate possession for a few kinship terms: Rukai (Maga and Tona)

Motivation?

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