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A Typology of First Person Dual Pronouns in Philippine Languages and Their Reconstructibility

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Objectives

❖ To give an overview of the distribution of first person dual pronouns in Philippine languages

❖ To determine if the presence of first person dual pronouns in different microgroups/subgroups of Philippine languages is due to direct inheritance or drift

Philippine Languages

❖ Philippine languages (genetic sense): Austronesian languages spoken in the Philippine archipelago, with three exceptions:
(a) Yami
(b) the Sangiric, Minahasan, and Gorontalic languages of northern Sulawesi
(c) Sama Bajaw languages ('Barito Family')

Philippine Microgroups

- Cordilleran/Northern Luzon
- Bashiic/Batanic
- Central Luzon
- Inati
- Kalamian
- Greater Central Philippines (Central Philippines, South Mangyan, Palawanic, Manobo, Danaw, Subanun, Gorontalic)
- Bilic
- Sangiric
- Minahasan

The Distribution of 1 Dual Pronouns-I

- First person dual pronouns are **not** found in the following microgroups/groups at all:
  - Bashiic (e.g. Ivatan, Itbayaten, Babuyan, etc.)
  - Inati
  - Kalamian (Agutaynen and Kalamian Tagbanwa)
  - The Subanun group of the Greater Central Philippines microgroup (e.g. Sindangan Subanun, Siocon Subanon, etc.)

The Distribution of 1 Dual Pronouns-II

- First person dual pronouns are found in the following microgroups:
  - Cordilleran/Northern Luzon: nearly all (exception: Karao (Brainard 2003:135)
  - Central Luzon: most, if not all (e.g. Kapampangan, Bolinao, Botolan Sambal, Sinauna, Ayta Mag-anchi, etc.) [??Northern Mangyan languages]
  - Bilic: at least in Tboli and Blaan
  - Greater Central Philippines (see next slide)

The Distribution of 1 Dual Pronouns-III

- First person dual pronouns are found in the following Greater Central Philippine subgroups:
  - Central Philippines: only found in (provincial) Tagalog, Umiray Dumaget, Kalagan, and Tausug
  - South Mangyan: Hanunóo (Zorc 1974)
  - Palawanic: Aborlan Tagbanwa and Palawan Batak (but **not** in Central Tagbanwa)
  - Manobo: Agusan, Dibabawon, Ata, Western Bukidnon, Ilianen, Binukid, Sarangani (and Tasaday)
  - Danaw: Maranao, Magindanao, and Iranon

Reconstructibility of 1 Dual Pronouns-I

- Philippine languages which have developed a distinction between first person dual and first person plural inclusive forms typically have reflected PAn *kita '1pi' with the restricted meaning '1d', but have added a third syllable to the form to create a first person plural inclusive form.

Reconstructibility of 1 Dual Pronouns-II

- In order to know if first person dual forms can be reconstructed for a proto-language, one needs to look at how first person plural inclusive pronouns were developed in its daughter languages.

  – First person dual pronouns **can** be reconstructed for a proto-language if there is a consistent way of forming first person plural inclusive pronouns.

  – First person dual pronouns **cannot** be reconstructed for a proto-language if there is **no** consistent way of forming first person plural inclusive pronouns.

Reconstructibility of 1 Dual Pronouns-III

- **No** first person dual pronouns can be reconstructed for the following proto-languages because **no** first dual pronouns are found in their daughter languages.
  - Proto-Bashiic
  - Proto-Inati
  - Proto-Kalamian
  - Proto-Subanun

Reconstructibility of 1 Dual Pronouns-IV

- First person dual pronouns probably can be reconstructed for the following proto-languages.
  - Proto-Central Luzon
  - Proto-Danaw
  - Proto-Alta
  - ?Proto-Southern Cordilleran (with the loss of 1d/1pi distinction in Karao) (Reid 1979, Himes 1998)
  - ?Proto-Central Cordilleran (with innovation in Itneg (Reid 1974)

Proto-Central Luzon

- First person dual pronouns **can** be reconstructed for Proto-Central Luzon.

  – 1pi < 1d + **2s**

  Kapampangan: *ta**mo*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mo*** '2s'

  Tina Sambal: *ta**mu*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mu*** '2s'

  Sinauna: *ta**mu*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mu*** '2s'

  Magbeken: *ta:**mu*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mu*** '2s'

  Ayta Mag-anchi: *ta**mo*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mo*** '2s'

Proto-Danaw

- First person dual pronouns **can** be reconstructed for Proto-Danaw.
  - 1pi < 1d + **2p**

    Magindanao: *ta**nú*** < *ta* '1d' + ***nu*** '2p'

    Maranao: *ta**no*** < *ta* '1d' + ***nio*** '2p'

    Iranon: *ta**nu*** < *ta* '1d' + ***niu*** '2p'

Proto-Alta

● First person dual pronouns **can** be reconstructed for Proto-Alta.

  – 1pi $<$ 1d $+$ **2s**

  Northern Alta: *ta**m*** $<$ *ta* '1d' $+$ ***m**/**mu*** '2s'

  Southern Alta: *ta**m*** $<$ *ta* '1d' $+$ ***mo*** '2s'

Proto-Central Cordilleran

- 1pi < 1d + **1s**: nearly all (exception: Itneg)

  Isinai: *taʔu* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *ʔ / ʔu* '1s'

  Limos Kalinga: *takú* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *k / ku* '1s'

  Guinaang Bontok: *takú* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *k/kú* '1s'

  Balangaw: *taʔaw* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *ʔ/ʔo* '1s'

  Northern Kankanay: *tako* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *k / ko* '1s'

  Batad Ifugao: *taʔu* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *ʔ/ʔu* '1s'

- 1pi < 1d + **2p**: Itneg

  Itneg: *tayu* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *yu* '2p'

Proto-Southern Cordilleran

- 1pi < 1d + **2p**: Pangasinan, Inibaloi, (Kayapa, Keley-i, I-wak) Kallahan, ?Ilongot

  Pangasinan: *tayú* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *yu* '2p'

  Inibaloi: *tayu* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *yu* '2p'

  Kayapa Kallahan: *tayu* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *yu* '2p'

- Karao: **no** 1d/1pi distinction (*tayu/θayu* '1pi/1d') (Brainard 2003)

Reconstructibility of 1 Dual Pronouns-IV

- First person dual pronouns **cannot** be reconstructed for the following proto-languages.
  - **Proto-Philippines** (Reid 1979; Blust To appear)
  - **Proto-Cordilleran** (Reid p.c.; cf. Reid 1979, 1994)
  - Proto-Northern Cordilleran (cf. Tharp 1974)
  - Proto-Meso-Cordilleran
  - **Proto-Greater Central Philippines**
  - Proto-Central Philippines
  - Proto-Manobo (Harmon 1979:116)
  - ?? Proto-South Manygan (no sufficient data)
  - ?? Proto-Palawanic (no sufficient data)
  - **Proto-Bilic**

Proto-Northern Cordilleran-I

- 1pi < 1d + **2s**: Northeastern Luzon (Casiguran Dumagat Agta, Paranan, Eastern Cagayan Agta); Cagayan Valley (Agta, Atta, Gaddang, Ibanag, Yogad)

Casiguran Dumagat Agta: *ta**m*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mo*** '2s'

Paranan: *ta**m*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mo*** '2s'

Agta: *ta**m*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mo/m*** '2s'

Gaddang: *ta**m*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***nu/m*** '2s'

Yogad: *ta**m*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***nu/m*** '2s'

Proto-Northern Cordilleran-II

- 1pi < 1d + **3p**: Cagayan Valley (Malaweg, Itawis)

  Malaweg: *ti**da*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***da*** '3p'
  Itawis: *té**ra*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***da/ra*** '3p'

- 1pi < 1d + **2s/3p**: Isnag

  Isnag: (a) *ta**m*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mo/m*** '2s'
  　　　　(b) *ta**dá*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***da*** '3p'

Proto-Meso-Cordilleran

- First person dual pronouns **cannot** be reconstructed for Proto-Meso-Cordilleran.
    - 1pi < 1d + **2s**: Northern Alta, Southern Alta
    - 1pi < 1d + **1s**: Central Cordilleran (except Itneg)
    - 1pi < 1d + **2p**: Itneg, Southern Cordilleran (Pangasinan, Inibaloi, Kayapa Kallahan, Keley-i Kallahan, I-wak Kallahan, Ilongot)

Proto-Northern Luzon/Cordilleran

● First person dual pronouns **cannot** be reconstructed for Proto-Northern Luzon/Proto-Cordilleran.

  – Arta: 1pi < 1d + **2s**

  – Ilokano: 1pi < 1d + **2p**

  – Northern Cordilleran: 1pi < 1d + **2s**; 1pi < 1d + **3p**

  – Meso-Cordilleran: 1pi < 1d + **2s**; 1pi < 1d + **1s**; 1pi < 1d + **2p**

Proto-Central Philippines

- **No** 1d/1pi distinction: majority
- Four Central Philippine languages distinguish 1d/1pi:
  - Tausug: *ta**niyu*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***niyu*** '2p'
  - Tagalog: *ta**yo*** '1pi' < *kata* '1d' + *~**yo*** '2p'
  - Umiray Dumaget: *ta**m(u)*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mo*** '2s'
  - Kalagan: *kita**dun*** 'Nom.1pi' < *kita* 'Nom.1d' + ***dun*** '??'

Proto-Manobo

- **No** 1d/1pi contrast: Kagayanen, Cotabato, Obo, Tagabawa, Tigwa

- 1pi < 1d + **2p**: Agusan, Dibabawon, Ata, Western Bukidnon, Ilianen, Binukid, (?Tasaday)

  Dibabawon: *tanɨw* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *nɨw* '2p'

- 1pi < 1d + ***don*** '??': Sarangani (borrowed from Kalagan) (Harmon 1979)

  Sarangani: *tadon* '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + *don* '??'

Proto-Palawanic

- 1pi < 1d + **2p**: Aborlan Tagbanwa, Palawan Batak

  Aborlan Tagbanwa: *ta**mi*** '1pi' < *ta* '1d' + ***mi*** '2p'

  Palawan Batak: *kita**mi*** 'Nom.1pi' < *kita* '1d' + ***mi*** '2p' (**no** contrast in the Genitive form: *ta* '1pi/1d')

- **No** 1d/1pi distinction: Central Tagbanwa

- No data available: Palawano and Molbog

Proto-Greater Central Philippines

- First person dual pronouns **cannot** be reconstructed for Proto-Greater Central Philippines.
  - Central Philippines: **no** 1d/1pi distinction (majority); 1pi < 1d + **2p**; 1pi < 1d + **2s**; 1pi < 1d + *dun* '??'
  - Manobo: 1pi < 1d + **2p**; 1pi < 1d + *don* '??'; **no** 1d/1pi distinction
  - Proto-Danaw: 1pi < 1d + **2p**
  - South Mangyan: 1pi < 1d + **2s** (Hanunóo)
  - Palawanic: 1pi < 1d + **2p**
  - Subanun: **no** 1d/1pi distinction

Proto-Bilic

- First person dual pronouns **cannot** be reconstructed for Prot-Bilic.
    - Tboli: 1pi < 1d + **2p**

      *te**kuy*** '1pi' < *te* '1d' + *kuy* '2p'

    - Blaan: 1pi (-*o*) vs. 1d (-*e*/-*a*)

      *git**o*** '1pi' vs. *git**e*** '1d'

      *at**o*** 'Nom.1pi' vs. *at**e*** 'Nom.1d'

      *t**o*** 'Gen.1pi' vs. *t**a*** 'Gen.1d'

Conclusion-I

- First person plural inclusive pronouns are formed in a variety of ways in Philippine languages.
  - 1pi < 1d + **1s**: Central Cordilleran
  - 1pi < 1d + **2s**: Central Luzon, Alta, some N-Cord, Arta, Umiray Dumaget
  - 1pi < 1d + **2p**: Danaw, Itneg, S-Cord, Tausug, Tagalog, some Manobo, Aborlan Tagbanwa, Palawan Batak
  - 1pi < 1d + **3p**: some N-Cord (Malaweg, Itawis, Isnag)
  - 1pi < 1d + ***don*/*dun*** '??': Kalagan, Sarangani Manobo
  - 1pi vs. 1d (vowel change): Blaan

Conclusion-II

- **No** first person dual pronouns can be reconstructed for Proto-Philippines because there is **no** consistent way to form first person plural inclusive pronouns.

- The wide distribution of first person dual pronouns in Philippine languages is due to **drift** rather than direct inheritance from Proto-Philippines.

Conclusion-III

- "The most likely explanation of these special dual forms arises from the pragmatics of the speech act: most conversations take place between a speaker and a single hearer. As a result, the use of an inclusive pronoun would normally involve only the conversational dyad of speaker and hearer… Frequency of usage alone would lead reflexes of *kita to become *de facto* duals, creating a need for new plural inclusive forms, which were then cobbled together from the existing reflex of *kita plus parts of other pronouns (…-*m(u)* '2sg', -*da* '3pl', etc.)" (Blust To appear)

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