

‘WIJ twee’ versus ‘wij TWEE’

Het duale karakter van de dualis in pronominale paradigma’s

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1 Introduction

On the basis of diachronic analyses, Greenberg (1988) concludes that the category ‘first person inclusive dual’ is ambiguous between a more *dual*-like meaning and a more *inclusive*-like meaning. Greenberg concludes that this is a problem for a typological meta-language, as one single category has two different interpretations.

‘Thus the first person inclusive dual appears to be an ambiguous category. ... in doing this we have sacrificed the notion of a uniform an universally valid set of typological categories by positing an ambiguous one.’ (Greenberg 1988:12)

I will argue that the two versions of the first person inclusive-dual are indeed one category, but that the two ‘meanings’ are distinguished by the paradigmatical structure to which the morpheme belongs.

2 Methodology and definitions

Pronouns are not considered as individual items, but as bound into a paradigm. The structure of such a paradigm determines the precise value of the item (cf. phonological systems or the ‘Wordfeld’ approach as pioneered by Trier 1931).

Pronominal paradigms are taken as the locus of investigation. I do not talk about whole languages, but only about paradigms from a language. One language can have (and usually has) multiple pronominal paradigm (cf. the ‘item-based’ approach, Nettle 1999).

Pronominal paradigms can both be independent or inflectional. I do not restrict a priori on morphological status. It is still to be seen whether there is any difference in paradigmatical structure between inflectional and independently marked pronominal paradigms.

Pronominal paradigms are defined by:

- a group morphemes that forms one paradigm
- at least an opposition between ‘speaker’ and ‘addressee’

For this paper, only pronominal paradigms are included that:

- have a specialised morpheme for the ‘first person inclusive dual’
- do not mark trials, paucals or other categories for restricted higher amounts (other than the dual)

The reported data come from my dissertation on the paradigmatical structure of pronominal marking, which will available later this year. In the dissertation, relevant data from about 350 languages are discussed.

3 Dual-Inclusive/Exclusive paradigm

Characterised by:

- four different forms for ‘we’, a dual-plural opposition crossed by an inclusive-exclusive opposition.
- dual forms for the second and third person

A typical examples of this paradigmatical structure is found in Maori (Oceanic, New Zealand) as described by Harlow (1996:6):

(1) Maori

		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
		tātou	tāua	<i>inclusive</i>
1	au	mātou	māua	<i>exclusive</i>
2	koe	koutou	kōrua	2
3	ia	rātou	rāua	3

This kind of paradigm is found among the Oceanic languages, among the Pama-Nyungan languages from Australia, among the Tibeto-Burman languages, throughout native languages from North and Mesoamerica and in an incidental case in Africa (Kunama).

4 Minimal-Augmented paradigm

Characterised by:

- three different forms for ‘we’, roughly ‘dual-inclusive’, ‘plural-inclusive’ and ‘exclusive’
- no duals in the second and third person
- no duals anywhere else in the languages

Famous example of the pronouns from Ilocano (Austronesian, Phillipines, Thomas 1955):

(2) Ilocano

		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
		tayo	ta	<i>inclusive</i>
1	co	mi		<i>exclusive</i>
2	mo	yo		2
3	na	da		3

(3)

		<i>non-singular</i>	
		ta	<i>dual-inclusive</i>
		tayo	<i>inclusive</i>
1	co	mi	<i>exclusive</i>
2	mo	yo	2
3	na	da	3

This kind of paradigm is found in the Philippines, among the Non-Pama-Nyungan from Australia, among the native American languages from California and among various unrelated languages in the ‘elbow’ of Africa.

5 Uncompleted-Dual paradigms

Characterised by:

- four different forms for ‘we’;
- not all dual forms for second and third person;
- exceptional variation of Dual-Inclusive/Exclusive.

(4) Limbu

		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
		ani	anchi	<i>inclusive</i>
1	aŋga	anige	anchige	<i>exclusive</i>
2	khɛnɛʔ	kheni	khenchi	2
3	khunɛʔ/khey	khunchi/khɛŋkaʔ		3

Attested in different paradigmatical structures:

- dual-plural not distinguished in third person:
 - Limbu (Tibeto-Burman family, Nepal, Driem 1987:25-28)
- dual-plural not distinguished in second person:
 - Dhuwal (Pama-Nyungan family, Australia, Morphy 1983:51-55)
- dual-plural not distinguished in second and third person:
 - Kilivila (Austronesian, Papua New Guinea, Senft 1986:46-47)
 - Rapanui (Austronesian, Easter Island, Du Feu 1996:140)

6 Dual-3We paradigms

Characterised by:

- three different forms for ‘we’;
- dual forms for second and third person;
- various paradigmatical structures for the three forms for ‘we’.

(5) Yagua

		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
		vúúy		<i>inclusive</i>
1	ráy	núúy	nááy	<i>exclusive</i>
2	jíy	jiryéy	sạạdá	2
3	níí	ríy	naadá	3

Attested in different paradigmatical structures:

- dual-plural opposition only in exclusive, not in the inclusive:
 - Yagua (Peba-Yaguan family, Peru, Payne 1993:20)
 - Ngankikurrungkurr (Daly family, Australia, Hoddinott and Kofod 1988:94)
 - Savosavo (East Papuan family, Solomon Islands, Todd 1975:813)
- dual-plural opposition only in the inclusive, not in the exclusive:
 - Middle Paman family (Pama-Nyungan, Australia, Hale 1976:56-57), for instance Wik-Munkan (Godfrey and Kerr 1964:14)
- inclusive-exclusive opposition only in the dual, not in the plural:
 - Samo (East Strickland family, Papua New Guinea, Voorhoeve 1975:391-392)
 - Coos ('Coastal Penutian', USA, Frachtenberg 1922:321)
- inclusive-exclusive opposition only in the plural, not in the dual:
 - Kuku-Yalanji (Pama-Nyungan family, Australia, Oates and Oates 1964:7)
 - Jiarong (Tibeto-Burman family, China, Bauman 1975:131-132, 276)
 - Guhu-Samane (Binanderean family, Papua New Guinea, Richard 1975:781).

6.1 Connection between Dual-3We and Dual-Unified:

Found among the Yalandic languages (from Queensland, Australia): Kuku-Yalandji (Oates and Oates 1964) versus Guguyimidjir (Zwaan 1969:135; Haviland 1979). The two plural 'we' forms in Guguyimidjir are geographical dialectal variants.

(6) Kuku-Yalanji

		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
		ɲana	ɲali(n)	<i>inclusive</i>
1	ɲayu	ɲanjin		<i>exclusive</i>
2	yuudu	yurra	yubal	2
3	ñulu	jana	bula	3

(7) Guguyimidjir

		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
		ɲana, ɲandan	ɲali	<i>inclusive</i>
1	ɲayu			<i>exclusive</i>
2	nundu	yura	yubal	2
3	nulu	dana	bula	3

6.2 Connection between Dual-3we and Dual-inclusive/exclusive:

Found among the ‘Coastal Penutian’ languages (from Oregon, USA): Coos (Frachtenberg 1922:321) versus Siuslaw (Frachtenberg 1922:468).

(8) Coos

		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
1	n̄-...	ɬɪn-...	îs-...	<i>inclusive</i>
			xwîn-...	<i>exclusive</i>
2	e ^ɛ -...	cîn-...	îc-...	2
3	∅-...	ît-...	úx-...	3

(9) Siuslaw

		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
1	...-n	...-nɬ	...-ns	<i>inclusive</i>
		...-nxan	...-a ^u xûn	<i>exclusive</i>
2	...-nx	...-tcî	...-ts	2
3	...-∅	...-nx	...-a ^u x	3

6.3 Connection between Dual-3We and Minimal-Augmented:

Found among the Paman languages (from Cape York Peninsula, Australia): Wik-Mungkan (Godfrey and Kerr 1964:14) versus Uradhi (Crowley 1983:352-356).

(10) Wik-Mungkan

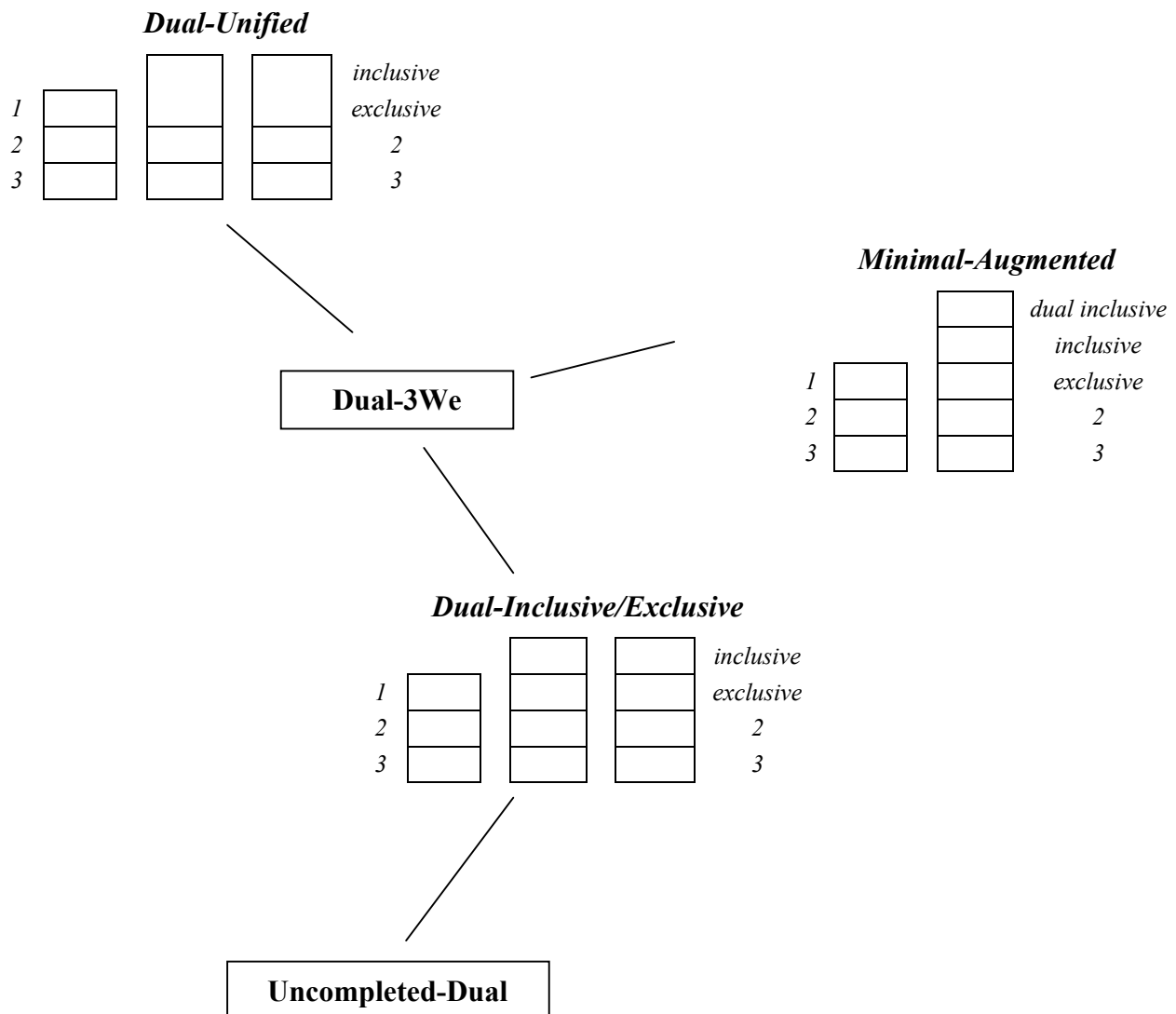
		<i>plural</i>	<i>dual</i>	
1	ngaya	nampi	ngaali	<i>inclusive</i>
		ngana		<i>exclusive</i>
2	ninta	niya	nipa	2
3	nila	tana	pula	3

(11) Uradhi

		<i>non-singular</i>	
1	ayu(βa)	ali(βa)	<i>dual-inclusive</i>
		ampu(la)	<i>inclusive</i>
		ana(βa)	<i>exclusive</i>
2	antu(βa)	ipu(la)	2
3	ulu(βa)	ula(βa)	3

7 Conclusions

- the category ‘dual inclusive’ is found in two clearly different paradigmatic structures: the Dual-Inclusive/Exclusive paradigm and the Minimal-Augmented paradigm;
- exceptional intermediate forms between these two paradigmatic structure are attested: the Uncompleted-Dual and the Dual-3We;
- the Uncompleted-Dual paradigm is related to the Dual-Inclusive/Exclusive;
- the Dual-3We paradigm exists in various forms, it is relatively unstable, and is closely related to different types of more common paradigms.



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TIN-dag, 5 februari 2000