

The interaction of person and number *a typologist's perspective*

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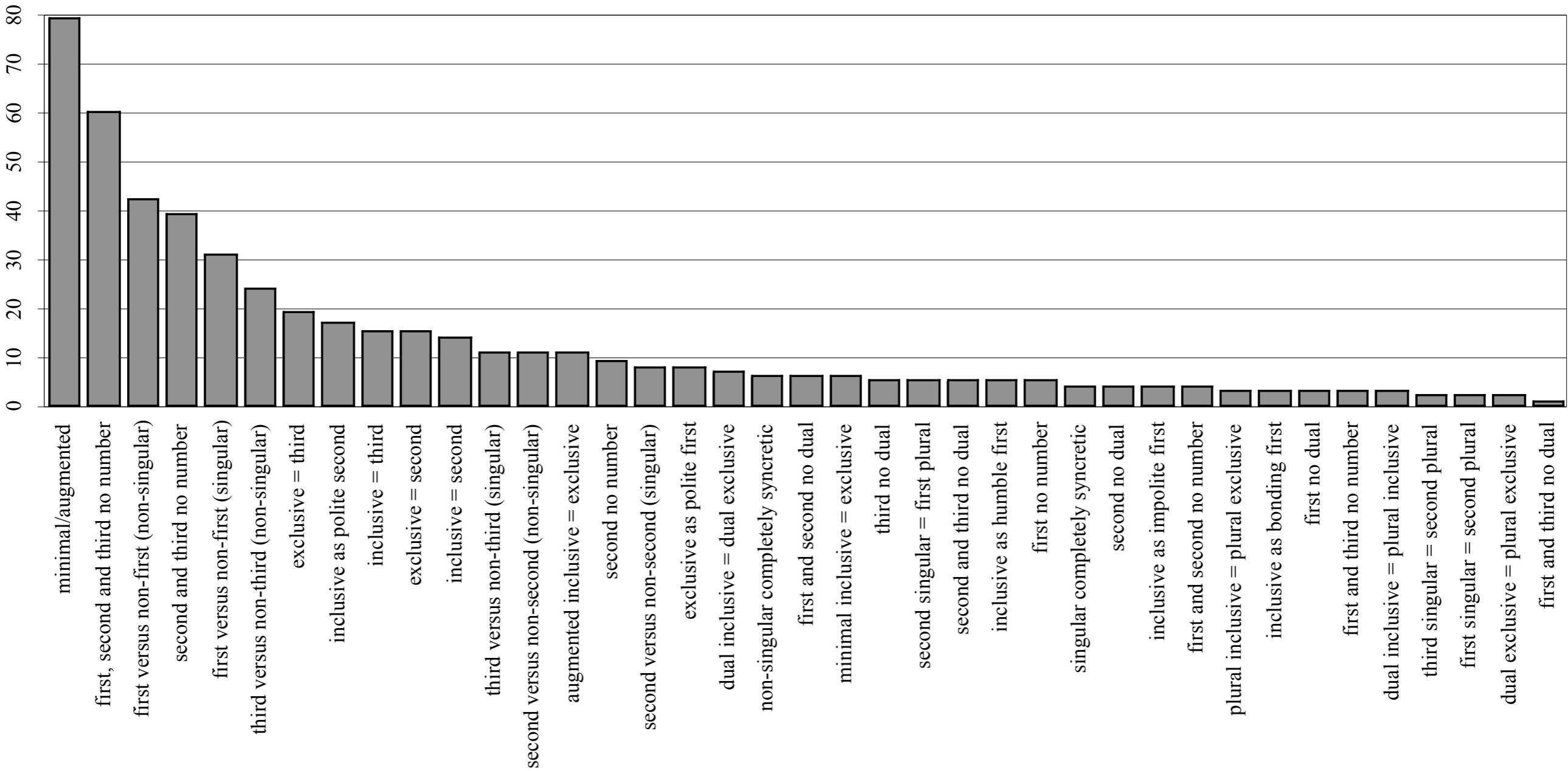
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Object of theory / model

- Necessity to distinguish between
 - ▶ Language-particular arguments
 - ▶ World-wide cross-linguistic perspective
- Trade-off between number of languages and number of linguistic phenomena
 - ▶ not only practical problems
 - ▶ Language-particular arguments often idiosyncratic
- World-wide perspective
 - ▶ is to some extent necessarily ‘rough’
 - ▶ needs to be probabilistic

Continuous world-wide cline of variation

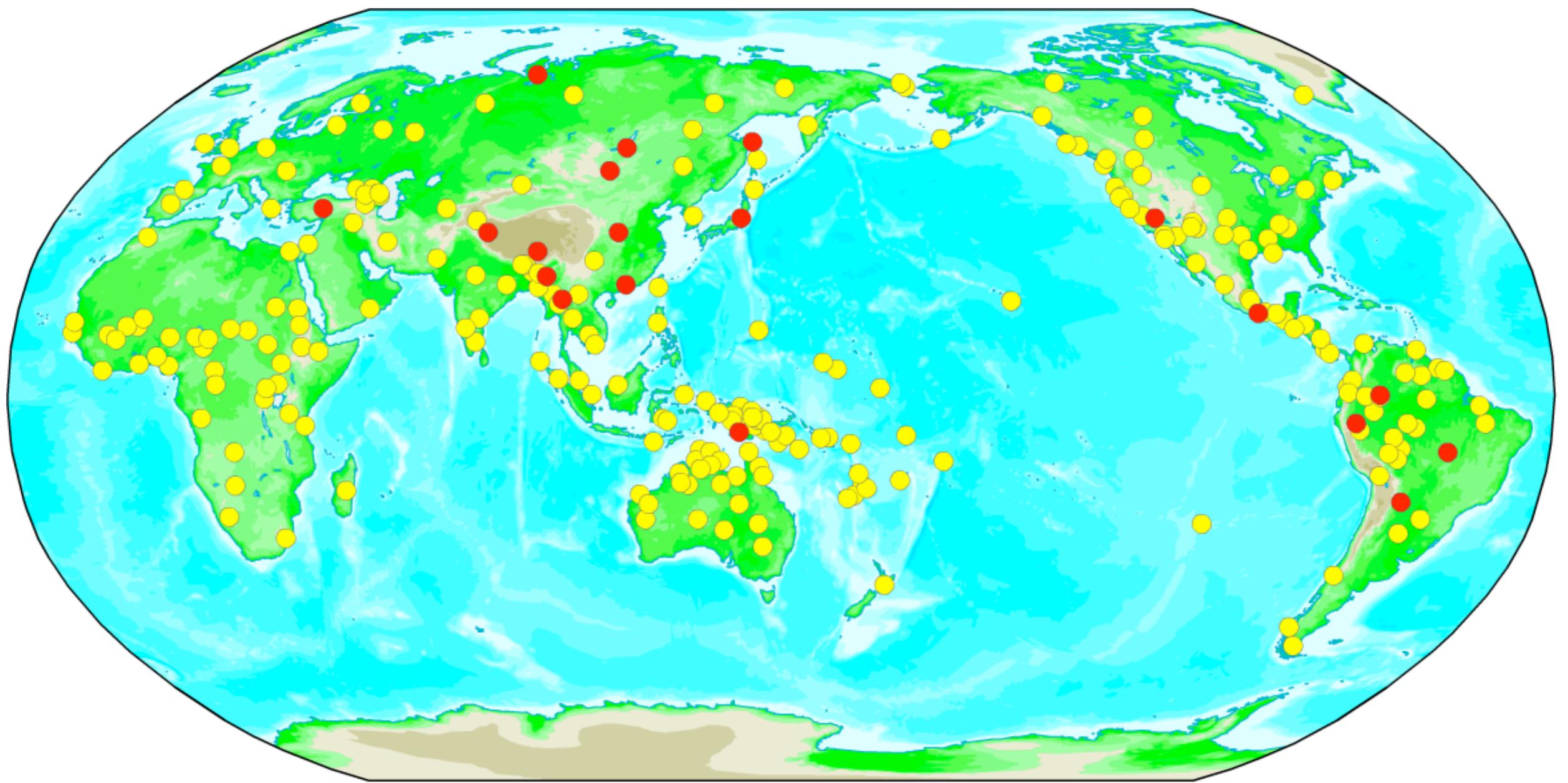


Cysouw, Michael (2005) 'What it means to be rare: the case of person marking',
in Frajzyngier, Zygmunt, Adam Hodges, & David S. Rood (eds.), *Linguistic Diversity and Language Theories*. Amsterdam: Benjamins): 235-258.

Is there a plural in the person domain ?

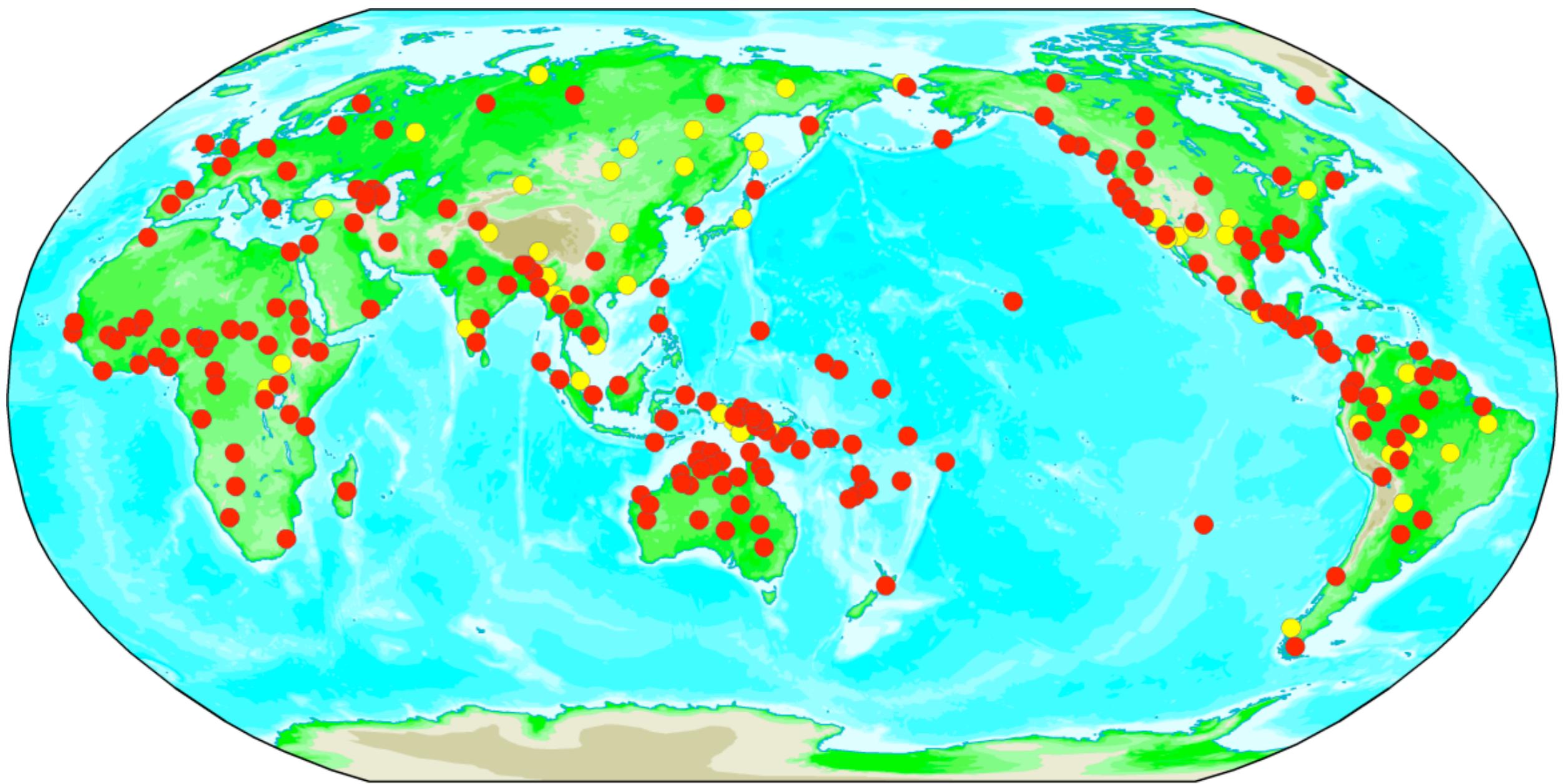
- There are of course person markers that refer to more than one person, but ...
- Semantic problem: ‘we’ and ‘you-all’ are not sets of the same kind
- Morphological problem: overlap with nominal plural is highly unusual

Nominal plurals in independent pronouns



Daniel, Michael (2005) 'Plurality in independent personal pronouns',
in Haspelmath, Martin, et al. (eds.), *World Atlas of Language Structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press): 146-149.

Different stems for plural pronouns



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Proposal from Cysouw (2001, 2003)

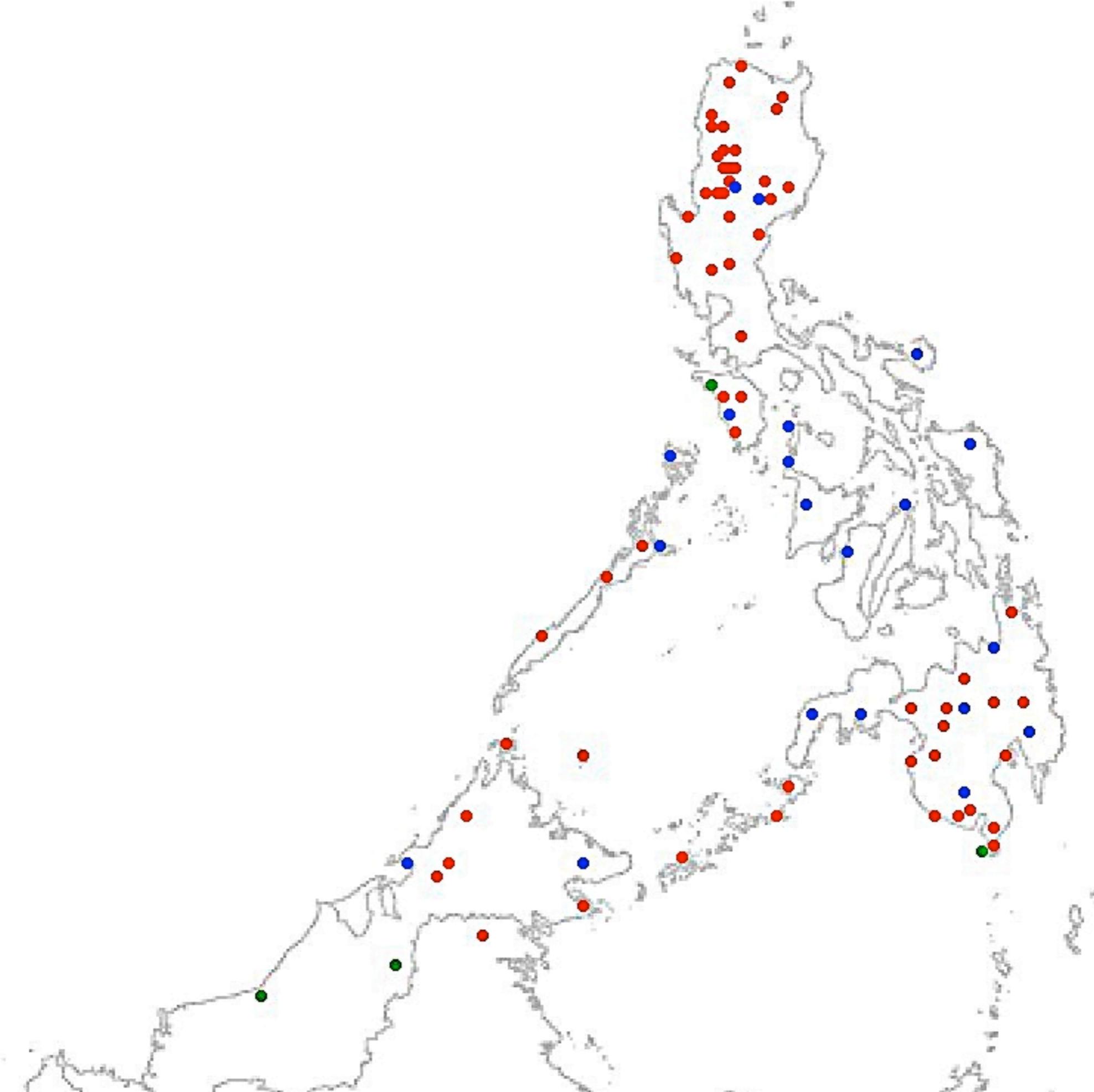
- Plurality in the domain of person marking is something different as in the nominal domain
- Categories like dual, trial, paucal seem to behave alike in both domains
- There are eight ‘primitives’ of person in singular and plural

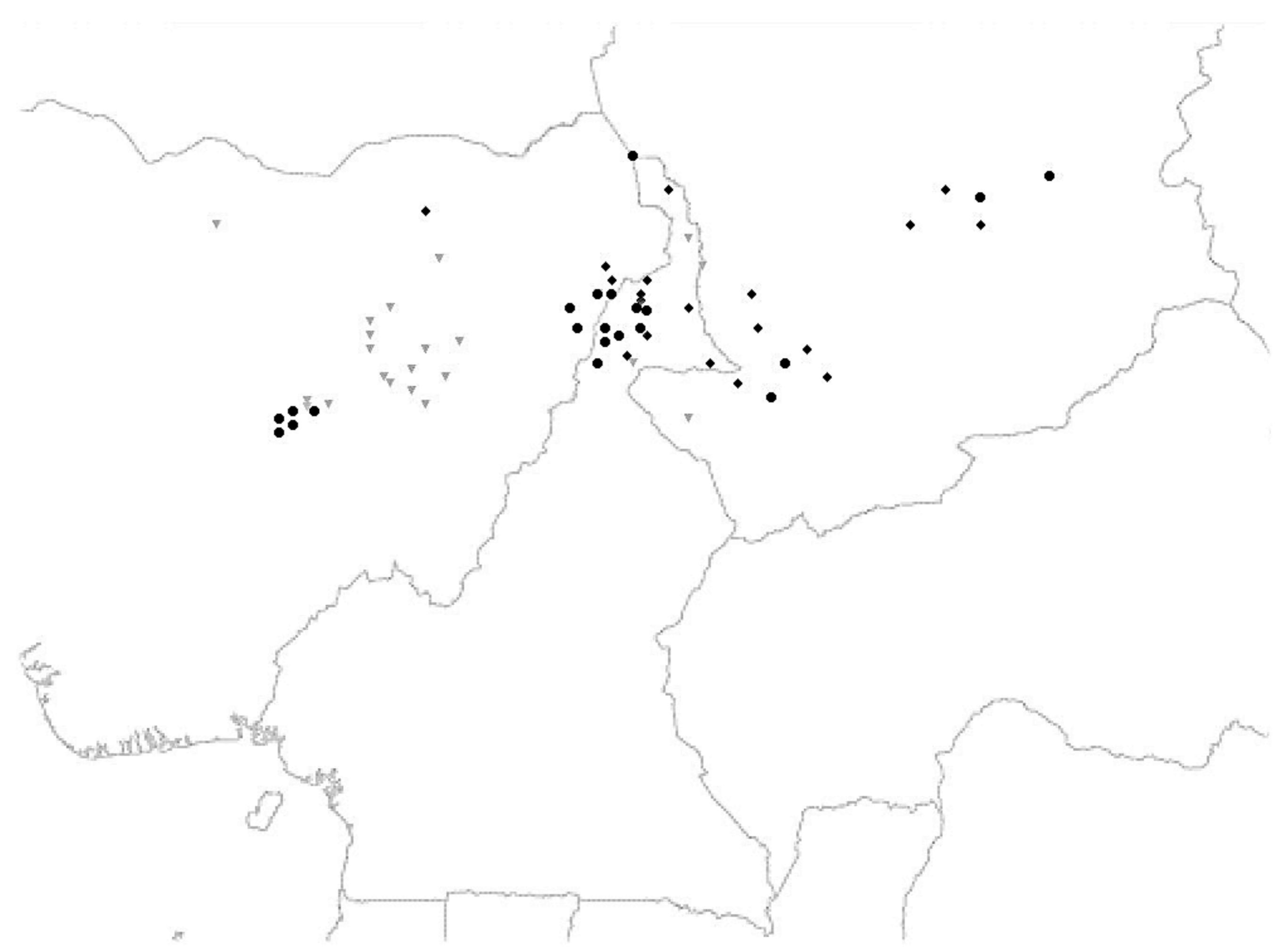
The eighth primitives

Primitive	Abbreviation
speaker	I
addressee	2
other	3
minimal inclusive	I+2
augmented inclusive	I+2+3
exclusive	I+3
addressee with others	2+3
others	3+3

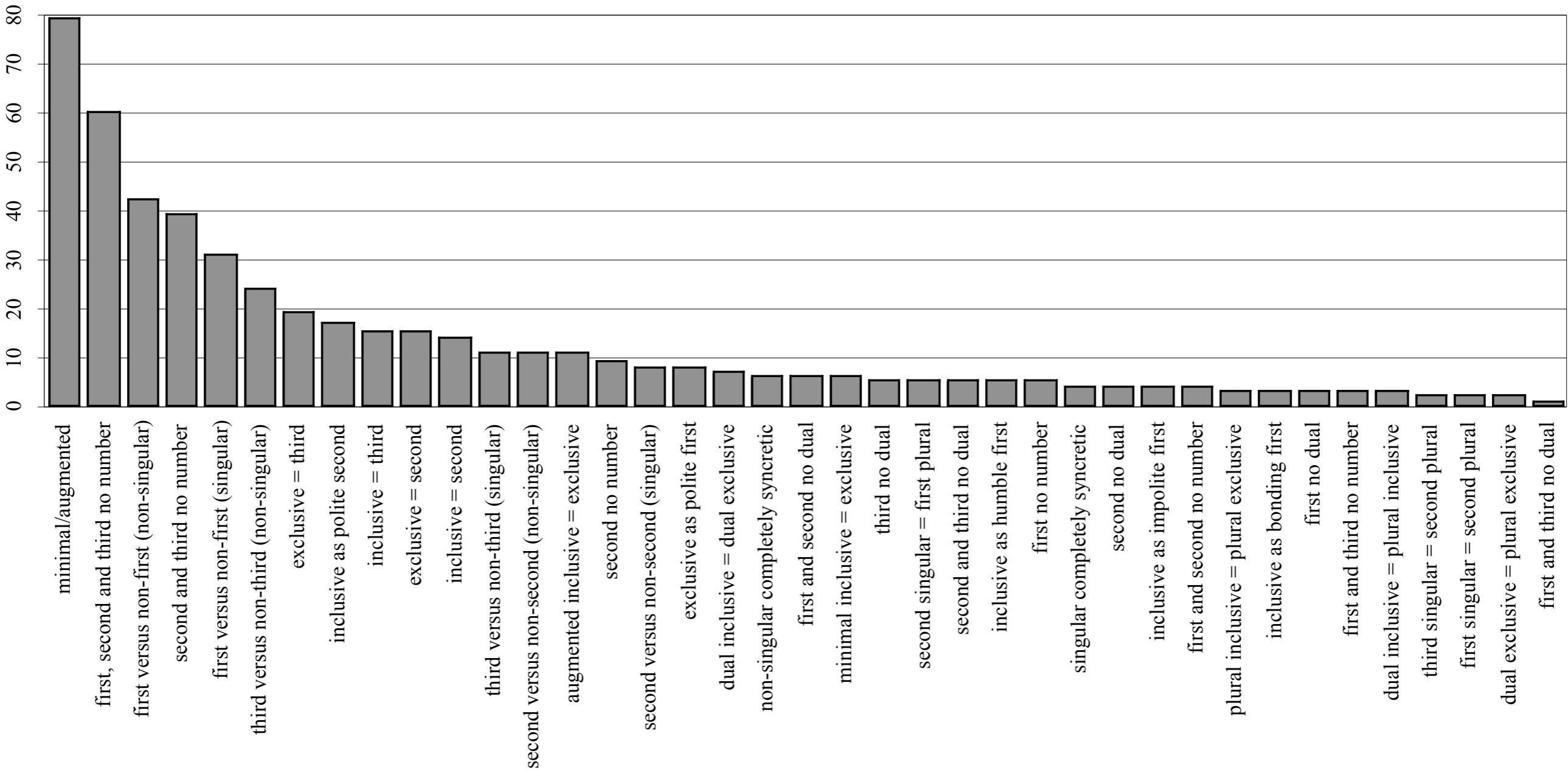
Complete expression

- Austronesian
 - ▶ Philippine languages, Sulawesi
- Africa
 - ▶ Chadic, Banoid, Mande, Atlantic, Kordofanian
- America
 - ▶ Uto-Aztecán, Miwok, Chayahuita ...
- New Guinea
 - ▶ Mountain Koiali, Kemtuik, East Papuan
- Australia
 - ▶ non-Pama-Nyungan, Uradhi





Continuous world-wide cline of variation



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What counts as evidence?

- Similarity between markers within language
 - ▶ coding and behavior
- What kind of **coding similarity** counts?
 - ▶ submorphemic
 - ▶ morphemic
 - ▶ wordform
 - ▶ whole language
- What kind of **markers** are considered?
 - ▶ only special morphological status
 - ▶ only special functional status

Inclusive + second ?

- Regularly found argumentation:
“syncretism *inclusive* + *second*
is parallel possibility to
syncretism inclusive + exclusive”
- English-type ‘we’: first person perspective
- Algonquian prefixes: second person perspective

Frequency

Syncretism	Languages (Families)
Inclusive = Second person	14 (9)
Exclusive = Second person	16 (7)
Inclusive = Third person	15 (8)
Exclusive = Third person	19 (7)
Minimal inclusive = Exclusive	6 (5)
Augmented inclusive = Exclusive	11 (8)

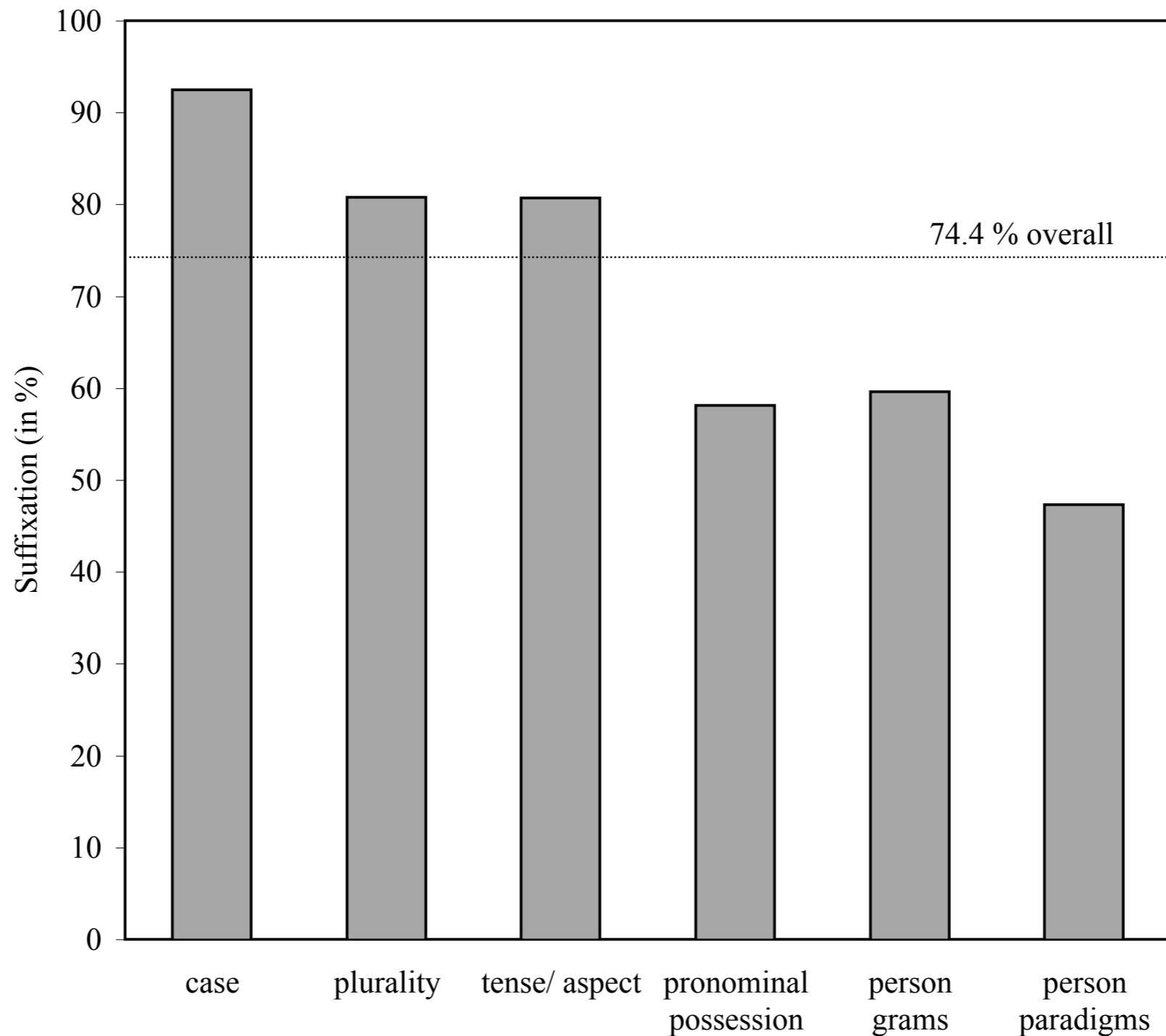
Morphology

Syncretism	Pronouns	Inflection
Inclusive = Second person	2	13
Exclusive = Second person	1	15
Inclusive = Third person	1	15
Exclusive = Third person	0	19
Minimal inclusive = Exclusive	5	4
Augmented inclusive = Exclusive	7	9

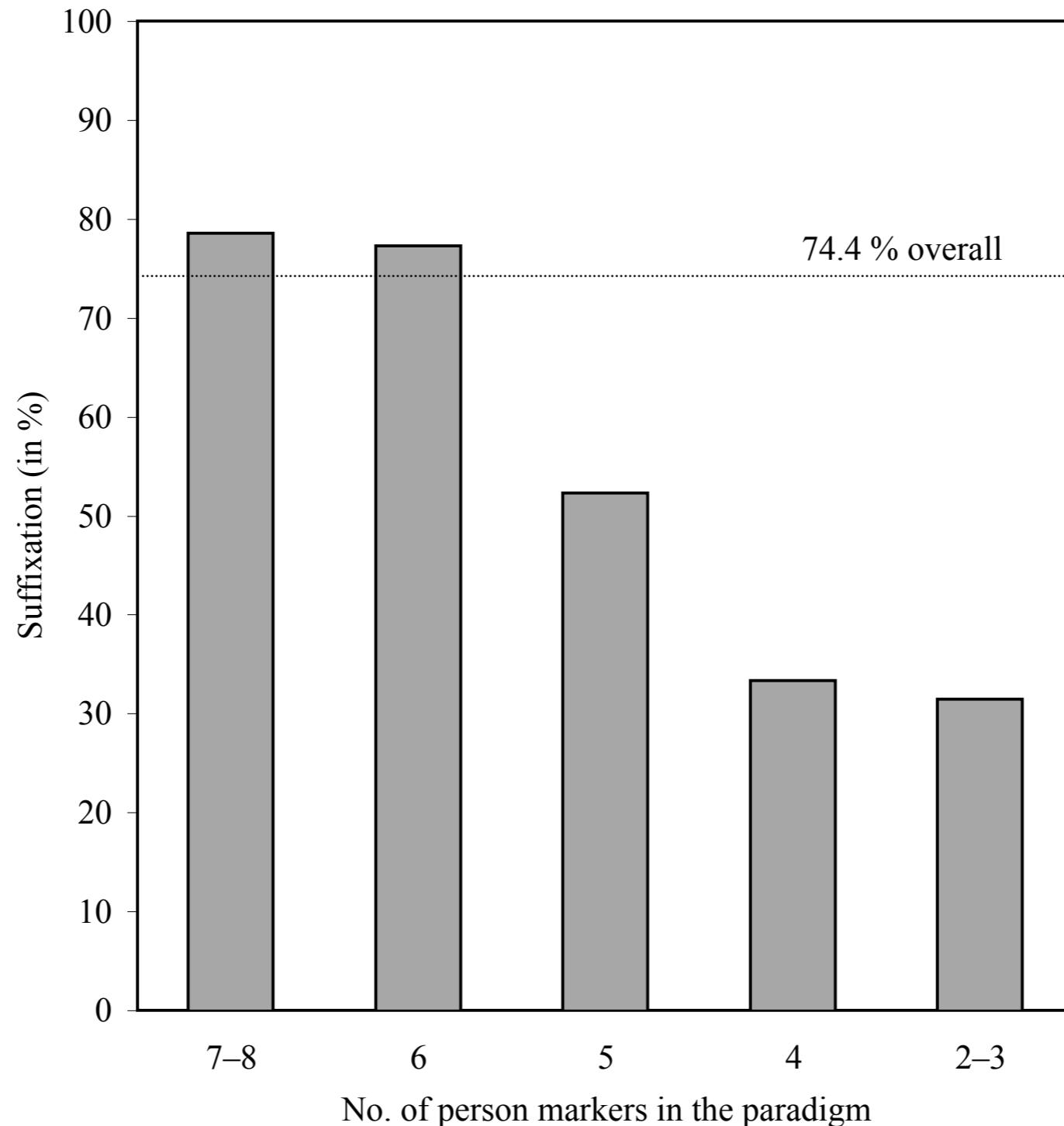
Same similarity found in whole language

- “Conflation” (McGinnis 2005)
- Only few common conflations world-wide
 - ▶ minimal+augmented inclusive
 - ▶ inclusive+exclusive
 - ▶ maybe some singular-plural cases
- Various unusual cases
 - ▶ Burarra (augmented inclusive+exclusive)
 - ▶ Nehan (exclusive + second plural)
 - ▶ English (second singular + plural)

Suffixation preference



Prefixation preference



Summary

- Strange things happen (all the time)
 - ▶ Everything is possible,
but not everything is equally likely!
- Many factors are involved
 - ▶ what kind of similarity is used
 - ▶ what kind of markers are considered
- Comparative perspective needs
consistently followed decisions
- World-wide probabilities of linguistic
structures can be quite unexpected