

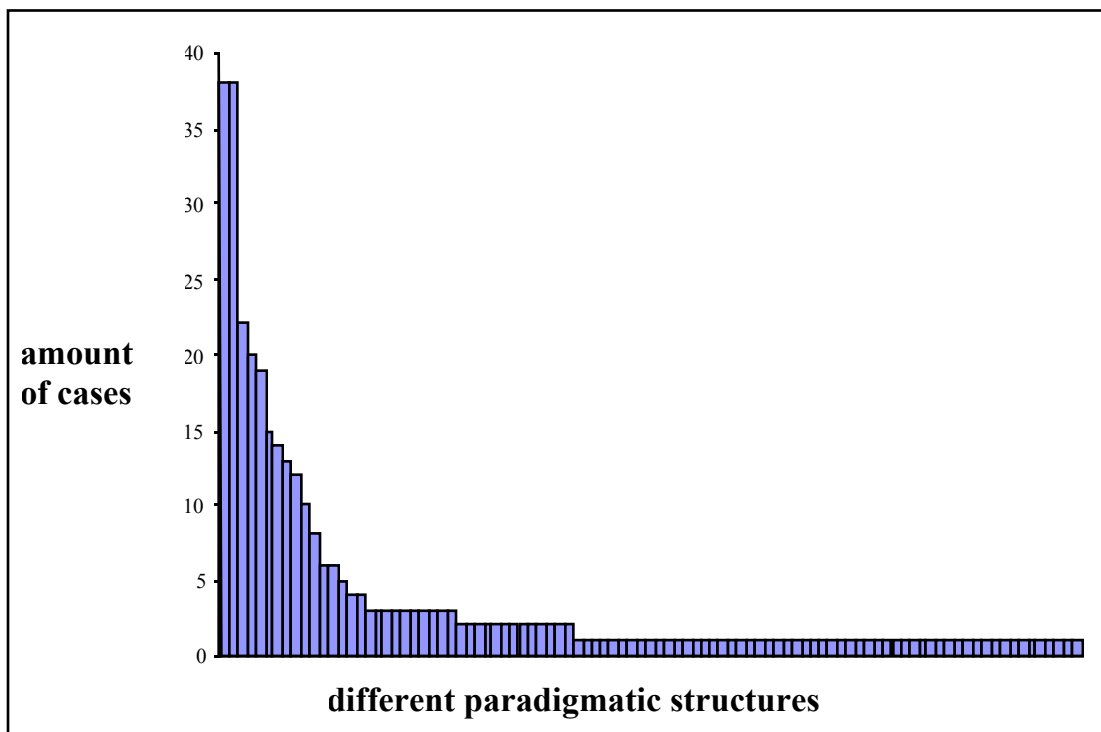
Zur Vielfalt sprachlicher Personmarkierung

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1. Introduction

Figure 1.1. Continuum of variation



2. Method

Figure 2.1. Conceptual framework for person marking

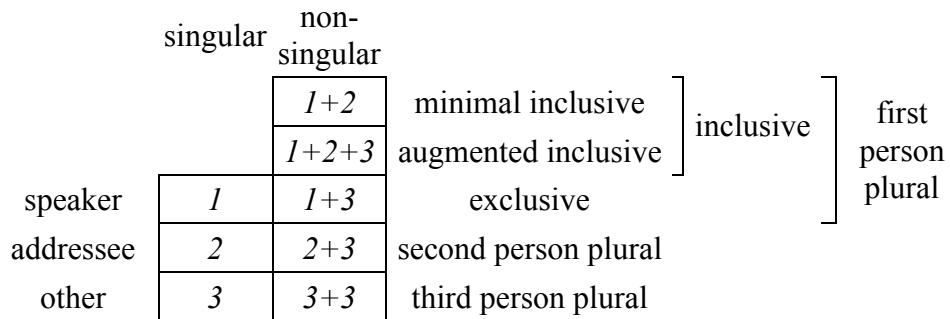


Figure 2.2. Latin present suffixes

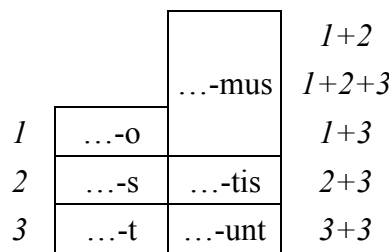


Figure 2.3. Kunimaipa perfective suffixes (Pence, 1968; Geary, 1977)

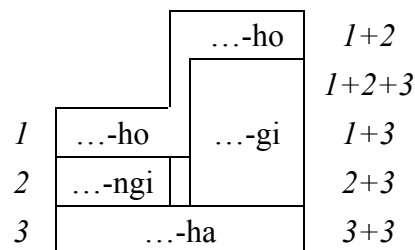
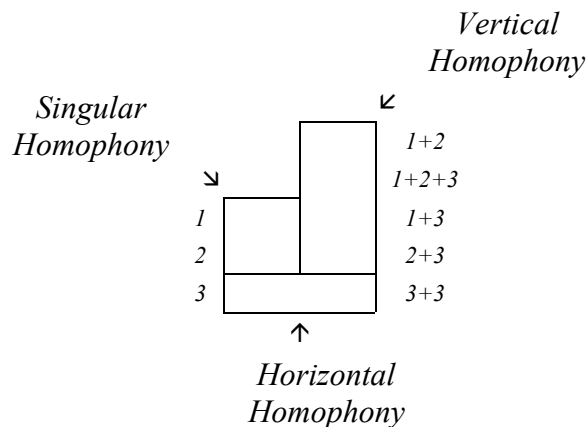


Figure 2.4. Different kinds of homophony (syncretism)



3. Singular homophony

Figure 3.1. Dutch present suffixes (without inversion)

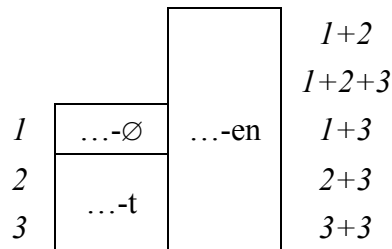


Figure 3.2. Spanish imperfect suffixes

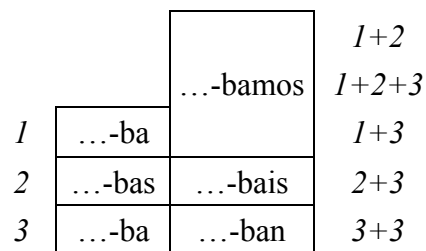


Figure 3.3. English present suffixes

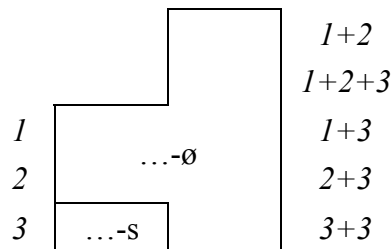


Figure 3.4. Different kinds of singular homophony

| homophony | zeros | cases | |
|-----------|---------------------|-------|----|
| 2 = 3 | no zeros: | 4 | 14 |
| | first is zero: | 2 | |
| | non-first is zero: | 8 | |
| 1 = 3 | no zeros: | 4 | 9 |
| | second is zero: | – | |
| | non-second is zero: | 5 | |
| 1 = 2 | no zeros: | 4 | 8 |
| | third is zero: | 2 | |
| | non-third is zero: | 2 | |

Almost all inflectional; (possible) exceptions: Qawesqar (Alacalufan: Clairis, 1985; 1: *ce*, 2/3: *caw*), Winnebago (Siouan: Lipkind 1945; 1/2: *nee*, 3: *?ee*)

4. Vertical (Non-singular) homophony

Figure 4.1. Slave object pronouns (*Athabaskan: Rice, 1989: 253, 431*).

| | | | |
|---|----------------|--------|-------|
| | | | 1+2 |
| | | naxi | 1+2+3 |
| 1 | s _i | | 1+3 |
| 2 | n _i | | 2+3 |
| 3 | ʔedi | ʔegedi | 3+3 |

Figure 4.2. Shuswap intransitive suffixes (*Salish: Kuipers, 1974: 45, 59*).

| | | | |
|---|---------------------|--------|-------|
| | | ...-ət | 1+2 |
| | | ...-əs | 1+2+3 |
| 1 | ...-wn | ...-əp | 1+3 |
| 2 | ...-əx ^o | | 2+3 |
| 3 | ...-əs | | 3+3 |

Figure 4.3. Vertical homophony without an inclusive/exclusive opposition

| Vertical Homophony | Number of cases | % Inflectional |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| 1+2/3, 2+3 | 16 | 62.5% |
| 1+2/3, 3+3 | 10 | 78.9% |
| 2+3, 3+3 | 9 | |
| 1+2/3, 2+3, 3+3 | 6 | 100% |
| Total | 41 | 75.6% |

Figure 4.4. Vertical homophony with an inclusive/exclusive opposition

| Vertical Homophony | Number of cases | % Inflectional |
|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| inclusive and 2+3 | 5 | 77.8% |
| exclusive and 3+3 | 4 | |
| inclusive and 3+3 | 2 | 100% |
| exclusive and 2+3 | 1 | |
| 2+3 and 3+3 | 1 | |
| 1+2+3, 1+3 and 2+3 | 1 | |
| Total | 14 | 85.7% |

5. Horizontal homophony

Figure 5.1. English independent pronouns

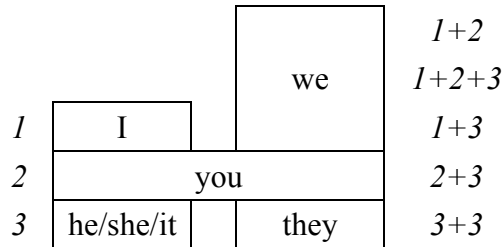


Figure 5.2. German subject suffixes

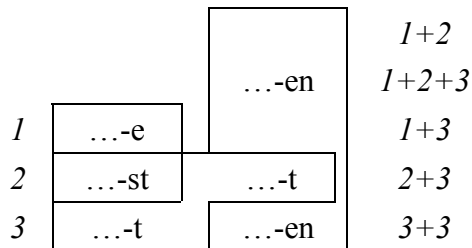


Figure 5.3. Huave intransitive prefixes (Stairs & Hollenbach 1969: 48-53)

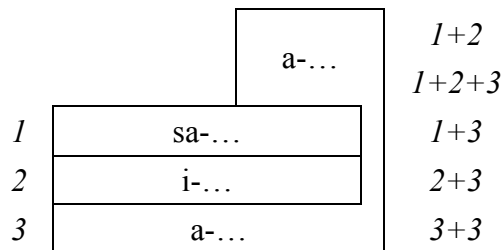


Figure 5.4. Horizontal Homophony Hierarchy

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---------------|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Inclusive | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + | + | + | + | diagonal |
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Exclusive | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 2+3 | - | - | + | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + | |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 3+3 | - | + | + | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | |
| Number of cases | 136 | 38 | 22 | 18 | 23 | 6 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| | 237 (89.5%) | | | | | 21 (7.9%) | | | | | | (2.6%) | | | | | |

Figure 5.5. Exemplars of the Horizontal Homophony Hierarchy

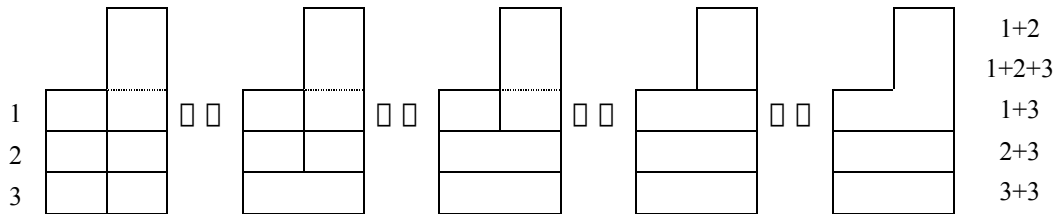


Figure 5.6. Horizontal homophony shows a slight preference for inflectional marking

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Inclusive | - | - | - | - | + | others |
| 1 <input type="checkbox"/> Exclusive | - | - | - | + | + | |
| 2 <input type="checkbox"/> 2+3 | - | - | + | + | + | |
| 3 <input type="checkbox"/> 3+3 | - | + | + | + | + | |
| Number of cases | 136 | 38 | 22 | 18 | 23 | 28 |
| <i>Independent</i> | 73 | 16 | 7 | 5 | 10 | 6 |
| <i>Inflectional</i> | 63 | 22 | 15 | 13 | 13 | 22 |
| % Inflectional | 46.3% | 57.9% | 68.2% | 72.2% | 56.5% | 78.6% |

6. Pure Person

Figure 6.1. Inclusive/exclusive and singular homophony (Fisher's exact $p = .000$):

| | Inclusive vs. Exclusive | | Total |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------|
| | No | Yes | |
| No Singular Homophony | 119 (44.9%) | 121 (45.7%) | 240 |
| With Singular Homophony | 25 (9.4%) | 0 (0.0%) | 25 |
| Total | 144 | 121 | 265 |

Figure 6.2. Inclusive/exclusive and vertical homophony (Fisher's exact $p = .001$):

| | Inclusive vs. Exclusive | | Total |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------------|-------|
| | No | Yes | |
| No Vertical Homophony | 103 (38.9%) | 107 (40.4%) | 210 |
| With Vertical Homophony | 41 (15.5%) | 14 (5.3%) | 55 |
| Total | 144 | 121 | 265 |

Figure 6.3. Inclusive/exclusive and horizontal homophony (Fisher's exact $p = .388$):

| | Inclusive vs. Exclusive | | Total |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------|
| | No | Yes | |
| No Horizontal Homophony | 69 (26.0%) | 65 (24.5%) | 134 |
| With Horizontal Homophony | 75 (28.3%) | 56 (21.1%) | 131 |
| Total | 144 | 121 | 265 |

Figure 6.4. Explicitness Hierarchy

| | Frequent Paradigmatic Structures | | | | | Infrequent Paradigmatic Structures | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + |
| Minimal vs. Augmented Inclusive | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | + |
| Inclusive vs. Exclusive | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | + | - |
| No Vertical Homophony | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | - |
| No Singular Homophony | + | + | + | + | - | + | + | - | + | + |
| Number of cases | 26 | 78 | 99 | 20 | 21 | 3 | 12 | 4 | 1 | 1 |
| | (244 cases, 92% of total) | | | | | (21 cases, 8% of total) | | | | |

Figure 6.5. Exemplars of the Explicitness Hierarchy

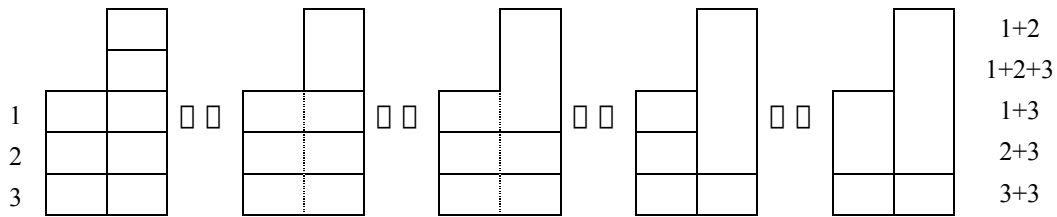


Figure 6.6. Correlation with Horizontal Homophony Hierarchy

| | | Explicitness Hierarchy | | | | | others |
|---------------------------------------|---------|------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| | | + | - | - | - | - | |
| <i>Horizontal Homophony Hierarchy</i> | none | 24 | 38 | 38 | 14 | 14 | 8 |
| | 3□ 3+3 | 1 | 14 | 19 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| | 2□ 2+3 | 0 | 8 | 10 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| | 1□ Excl | 0 | 15 | 20 | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| | 1□ Incl | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 0 | |
| others | | 1 | 3 | 12 | 6 | 2 | 4 |

7. Gender

Pronominal paradigms with an inclusive/exclusive distinction do not have (natural) gender involving first or second person. Counterexample: Nama independent pronouns (Khoekhoe: Hagman, 1977; Haacke, 1977; Güldeman, MS)

Figure 7.1. Nama independent pronouns

| | Singular | | | Plural | | | Dual | | |
|---|----------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|----------|----------|-------|
| | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. | Neut/Fem | Masc. | |
| | | | | saá-tà | saá-se | saá-ke | saá-`m | saá-kx`m | I+2 |
| | | | | | | | | | I+2+3 |
| 1 | | tíi-ta | | sií-tà | sií-se | sií-ke | sií-`m | sií-kx`m | I+3 |
| 2 | | saá-s | saá-ts | saá-tù | saá-so | saá-ko | saá-rò | saá-kxà | 2+3 |
| 3 | //ʔñ-`i | //ʔñ-s | //ʔñ-p | //ʔñ-`n | //ʔñ-tì | //ʔñ-ku | //ʔñ-rà | //ʔñ-kxà | 3+3 |

Two different systems. The root is partly borrowed from !Ui-Ta; the suffix is in much wider use, probably as a sort of Wackernagel-clitic. The idea of a pronoun is a rather Eurocentrically imposed category in this language, yielding the cross-linguistically uncommon paradigm with inclusive/exclusive and gender.

Figure 7.2. Nama PNG-elements (Wackernagel clitics ?)

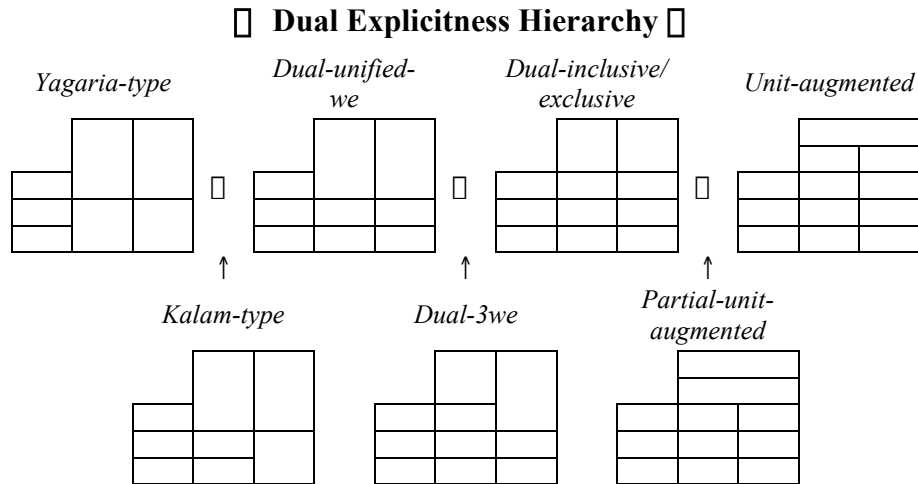
| | Singular | | | Plural | | | Dual | | |
|---|----------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|----------|----------|-------|
| | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. | Neut. | Fem. | Masc. | Neut/Fem | Masc. | |
| | | | | ...-tà | ...-se | ...-ke | ...-`m | ...-kx`m | I+2 |
| | | | | | | | | | I+2+3 |
| 1 | | ...-ta | | | | | | | I+3 |
| 2 | | ...-s | ...-ts | ...-tù | ...-so | ...-ko | ...-rò | ...-kxà | 2+3 |
| 3 | ...-`i | | ...-p | ...-`n | ...-tì | ...-ku | ...-rà | | 3+3 |

Figure 7.3 Nama pronominal roots

| | | | |
|---|-------|------|-------|
| | | saá- | I+2 |
| | | | I+2+3 |
| 1 | tíi- | sií- | I+3 |
| 2 | saá- | | 2+3 |
| 3 | //ʔñ- | | 3+3 |

8. Number

Figure 8.1. Dual Explicitness Hierarchy



9. Connections between types

Figure 9.1. Pama-Nyungan independent pronouns (Warrgamay, Dixon, 1981: 40) (Nyawaygi, Dixon, 1983: 463-467).

| | | | | |
|---|-------|--------------|-------------------------|-------|
| | | <i>group</i> | <i>restricted group</i> | |
| 1 | ɲayba | ɲana | ɲali | 1+2 |
| 2 | ɲinba | ɲura | ɲubala | 1+2+3 |
| 3 | ɲaɲa | ɲana | bula | 1+3 |
| | | | | 2+3 |
| | | | | 3+3 |
| | | | | |
| | | <i>group</i> | <i>restricted group</i> | |
| 1 | ɲayba | ɲana | ɲali | 1+2 |
| 2 | ɲinba | ɲanalɪɲu | ɲalilɪɲu | 1+2+3 |
| 3 | ɲaɲga | ɲana | bula | 1+3 |
| | | | | 2+3 |
| | | | | 3+3 |

Figure 9.2 Waris (Manem: Voorhoeve, 1975: 416; Foley, 1986: 71) (Amanab: Minch, 1991: 31) (Imonda: Seiler, 1985: 44)

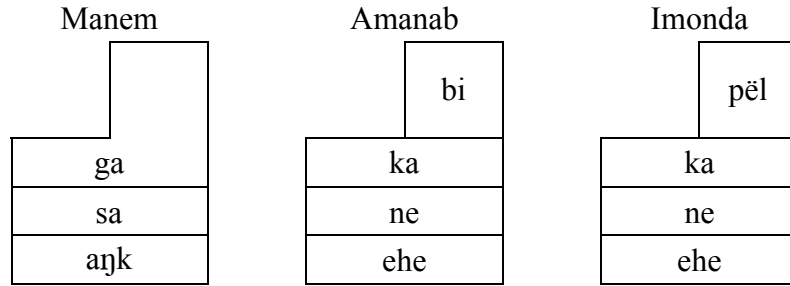


Figure 9.4. Web of interconnected paradigmatic structures

