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Chapter 52. Free personal pronouns

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52.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a basic outline of free personal pronouns in Malayo-Polynesian languages of South East Asia and their outliers (henceforth MPSEA).

MPSEA pronoun systems show a fair degree of uniformity and diachronic stability. Many languages have seven underived pronouns reflecting first, second and third person, singular and plural number, and clusivity (distinguishing between 1_{PL}.INCL and 1_{PL}.EXCL pronouns). Furthermore, MPSEA languages generally have various (morpho)syntactic series, for instance, free pronouns and possessive clitics, and many of them have additional series. These are recurrent features that can also be reconstructed for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) and Proto-Austronesian (PAN) (see Blust's (2013a) reconstruction of PAN and PMP pronouns, §52.2 and Table 52.1). However, the multiple series of pronouns that exist in individual languages and the processes that result in their development are not discussed here, as they are covered in the various typological chapters in this volume.

This chapter focuses on the semantic features of free pronouns (including their number, person and clusivity distinctions) and their arrangement into paradigms. It also discusses some other relevant pronominal features such as the effect of social register and the dual use of the historical 1_{PL}.INCL pronoun. It follows the changes that these free pronouns

have undergone over time, taking the PAN/PMP pronominal system as a reference point. It is not concerned with the grammaticalization of pronouns into multiple series in individual languages, a process which is covered in the various typological chapters in this volume.

The organization of this chapter is as follows. Section 52.2 shows the reconstruction of PAN and PMP pronouns as proposed by Blust (2013a). Section 52.3 discusses number, §52.4, clusivity, and §52.5, person. Section 52.6 gives information about status, formality and pronoun avoidance. Section 52.7 is about the pronominal use of vocabulary belonging to other categories. Section 52.8 discusses the source of some pronouns. The chapter ends with summary conclusions in §52.9.

The authors would like to caution the readers that while the information in this chapter has the entire MPSEA region in its scope, it also leans heavily towards the languages of Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Madagascar. This particular focus was hard to avoid given that the authors are most familiar with these languages and many of them have been studied more systematically than other MPSEA languages.

52.2 The original PMP pronoun system and prototypical MPSEA systems

Blust (2013a) reconstructed seven PMP pronouns along with earlier PAN ones that must have been very similar to them. The major changes that occurred from PAN to PMP were two so-called ‘PAN/PMP politeness shifts’. One involved the loss of a politeness distinction in the 2SG free pronouns, which was due to an (unexplained) shift from the PAN 2SG form *i-Su to a 2PL form *i-hu in PMP, and the concomitant loss of politeness marking in the transition from PAN 2SG *(i)kaSu to PMP *(i)kahu which became a default 2SG pronoun as a result. The other involved the change in the 2nd person genitive clitic *=mu from a default 2PL

marker to a 2SG polite one (Blust 1977a:11).¹ In many current MP languages reflexes of *i-kahu (and *=mu) have become default pronouns for the 2SG (see also Smith, this volume, §2.3.4).

Blust's (2013a) PMP and PAN pronouns (Table 52.1) are cliticized by a person marker (*i or *si):

Table 52.1 PAN and PMP personal pronouns

	PAN	>	PMP
1SG	*i-aku		*i-aku
2SG	*i-Su, *(i)kaSu (polite)		*i-kahu
3SG	*si-ia		*si-ia
1PL.INCL	*i-(k)ita		*i-(k)ita
1PL.EXCL	*i-(k)ami		*i-(k)ami
2PL	*i-kamu		*i-kamu, *ihu
3PL	*si-ida		*si-ida

As in many languages all around the world, pronouns in PMP and PAN are suppletive, that is, they are etymologically unrelated independent lexemes. This also applies to inclusive *i-(k)ita and exclusive *i-(k)ami: they are lexemes *sui generis* and are not derived from one another nor from 1SG or 2SG pronouns.

As mentioned in the Introduction, most MP languages have added at least one cliticized series to these free pronouns. They often have more than two pronominal series,

¹ As indicated in §52.1, cliticized pronouns are not discussed further in this chapter.

and in some languages there are six series, as in *Tukang Besi* (South East Sulawesi; Donohue 1999a:106) and *Mori Bawah* (East Sulawesi, Mead 2005:686), or even more. However, these series are usually morphologically transparent.

52.3 Number

The general pattern for personal pronouns in MPSEA languages is to distinguish singular and plural, in contrast to nouns, which are typically unmarked for number. Moreover, MPSEA languages usually agree with PAN and PMP in that their plural pronouns are not derived from singular ones (see Table 52.1). Vehicular Malay varieties are exceptional in having added a grammaticalized form of **oraŋ* ‘person’ to singular pronouns in order to form plural ones (see §52.3.3; for the notion of Vehicular Malay, see Anderbeck, this Volume, §9.1).

There are also many languages that have departed from this basic structure. Some languages, particularly in western Indonesia, have lost the pronominal number distinction (see §52.3.1). Other languages have extended the original number division with a dual category, and in some instances even with trial and quadral categories (see §52.3.2).

52.3.1 Loss of number

In modern Javanese pronominal number has been lost completely. If required, the plural is expressed periphrastically with *paḍa*, *kabeh* or another equivalent. Compare the following sentences in which *paḍa* marks plurality of Subject and Agent respectively:

Javanese

- (1) *Anak-e paḍa g<um>uyu*
child-DEF PL <INTR>laugh

‘The children laughed’ (Novi Djenar p.c.)

Javanese

(2) *Aku paḍa di-tinggal*

I PL UV-leave

(Context: the parents were gone): ‘I was left [by them]’ (Ogloblin 2005:607; original source Hayward 1998)

Number was also lost in neighbouring languages including Balinese (Arka and Dalrymple 2017:262; Shiohara and Arka, this Volume, §32.1), Madurese (Vander Klok, this Volume, §31.2) and some varieties of Malay, where this has presumably happened under the influence of Javanese. Blust (2013a:306) explains the loss of number in these languages to the fact that they are spoken in societies with extreme stratification (see §52.6).

In Old Javanese PMP number may still have existed but it was in a state of erosion. In his analysis of the Old Javanese *Adiparwa*, Zoetmulder (1983:17-18) shows that at least in this prose text number was no longer distinguished, although the pronouns signifying it were still extant. However, the 3rd person pronouns *ya* (< PMP *ia ‘3SG’) and *sira* (< PMP *sida ‘3PL’) had instead become indicators of low and high position respectively. Furthermore, *kita* (a reflex of PMP *kita ‘1PL.INCL’) had become a 2nd person pronoun together with *kami* (originally ‘1PL.EXCL’) and *ko* (< PMP *i-kau ‘2SG’). According to Kern (1918), which is based on a larger corpus of Old Javanese than the *Adiparwa* text, *kami* was no longer exclusively plural and had acquired a deferential meaning.

The trend towards loss of a number distinction is also observed in Merina Malagasy, a language spoken in the central highlands of Madagascar which was particularly affected by Hindu-Malay and Hindu-Javanese culture and associated social stratification in the past. In this language, PMP *sida ‘3PL’ lost its pronominal function. It became a plural marker in

combination with a following deictic element in Proto-South-East-Barito *iu: *sida + *iu > *hire+iu > *irèu*. Modern Malagasy has essentially only one default 3rd person pronoun *izi*, and *irèu* needs to follow it to make plurality explicit (Adelaar and Kikusawa 2014:496). Furthermore, the 2^{PL} pronoun *hianarèu* in Merina is the result of two successive attempts to mark plurality in a 2nd person pronoun that had lost this notion several times in the history of Malagasy (see a and b in example (3)):

Malagasy

- (3) a *ikam ‘2^{PL}’ > *iha ‘2^{SG}’ (compare *iha* ‘2^{SG}’ in west coast Malagasy dialects);
 *iha + *nau(n) ‘2^{PL}’ > *ihanau ‘2^{PL}’
- b *ihanau ‘2^{PL}’ > (with *i/*h metathesis) *hianàu ‘2^{PL}’ > *hianàu* ‘2^{SG}’;
 *hianàu ‘2^{SG}’ + *irèu* (pluralizer) > *hianà(u)-(i)rèu > *hianarèu* ‘2^{PL}’

The 1^{PL}.INCL pronoun *isika* is derived from a 1^{DU}.INCL pronoun and has undergone a different development. But it too needed an element to be suffixed to in order to acquire plural meaning (see §52.4-4.2 fn.4). Only the 1^{PL}.EXCL pronoun *izahàì* cannot be shown to have gone through a stage in which the notion of plurality was missing (Adelaar and Kikusawa 2014).

The lack of a number distinction in a single person (as in English 2nd person *you*) is more frequent. For instance, Malay *ia/dia* is historically a general 3rd person pronoun; and although modern Malay and Indonesian have *məreka* ‘3^{PL}’, *ia/dia* (and particularly its genitive cliticized form *-nya*) is still used with plural reference. *məreka* is relatively new and derives from Old Javanese *mar-ika*, an emphatic particle with a deictic function (Adelaar 1992a:125-126). Sambas Malay (in Semelagi Kecil, West Kalimantan) lacks a dedicated 3^{PL}

pronoun, using instead the number-neutral *die* or *oraŋ ito* (literally ‘that person/those people’) (Adelaar unpublished fieldnotes). In Mandailing Batak, *halahí* (also *halaní*) ‘those people’ replaced an older *nasida* ‘3PL’, part of which still reflects PAN/PMP *si-ida as a source (van der Tuuk 1971:219). Colloquial Indonesian *kita*, Jakarta Malay *kite* and, historically, Vehicular Malay **kita*, all refer to any first person, with no number or inclusive/exclusive distinction (see further §52.4.3). PMP *(si)ia ‘3SG’ was generalized to a general 3rd person pronoun *ia* in literary Malay (16th-19th c. AD) and various other Malay varieties. As discussed previously, number distinction was lost in the Malagasy default 3rd person pronoun *izy*. Sulawesi languages such as Makasar (Jukes 2005, 2020) and Busoa (van den Berg 2020), also make use of a single default 3rd person pronoun.

52.3.2 Additional number categories

Most MP pronouns only distinguish singular and plural, but in various MPSEA regions it is not uncommon for languages to have an additional dual number distinction, especially in Borneo and eastern Indonesia.² Dual number is usually manifested throughout a dedicated dual pronoun series. In some MPSEA regions there is also a dual-like phenomenon which as a rule only involves reflexes of **kita*. However, duality is not a semantic core element in these reflexes, which are discussed in §52.4 on clusivity. As a rule, dual pronouns are derived from plural ones and/or the numeral for ‘two’.³ A transparent example is Iban, a Malayic language in Sarawak, which has a full dual series based on such derivations

² Note also Chamorro which does not have dual pronouns but expresses dual number through verbal morphology (Topping [1973:233] and Zobel, this Volume, §38.4.3).

³ Zobel (p.c.) makes the observation that number distinctions other than singular and plural are always derived from plural pronouns, never from singular ones.

(Richards 1981:xvi), as shown in Table 52.2:

Table 52.2 Iban plural and dual personal pronouns

	Plural	Dual
1.INCL	<i>kitay</i>	<i>tua</i> (< *kita(y) dua)
1.EXCL	<i>kami</i>	<i>kami dua</i>
2	<i>kita?</i>	<i>kita? dua</i>
3	<i>sida?</i>	<i>siduay</i> (< *sida? dua(y))

Various languages in eastern Indonesia and Borneo have trial number. Trial number also occurs in the Mongondow and Lolak languages in Sulawesi (van den Berg and Mead, this Volume, Chapter 33). The example in Table 52.3 is from Larike (Central Maluku, Indonesia) (Laidig and Laidig 1990:92). Parallel to the formation of dual series in Iban, the dual and trial series in Larike (Ambon Island, Moluccas) have evolved from compounds involving plural pronouns followed by the numbers *dua* ‘two’ and *tidu* ‘three’ respectively:

Table 52.3 Larike plural, dual and trial personal pronouns

	Plural	Dual	Trial
1.INCL	<i>ami</i>	<i>arua</i>	<i>Aridu</i>
1.EXCL	<i>ite</i>	<i>itua</i>	<i>Itidu</i>
2	<i>imi</i>	<i>irua</i>	<i>iridu</i>
3	<i>mati</i>	<i>matua</i>	<i>matidu</i>

Kenyah languages in Borneo have an additional quadral number, bringing the total number of categories up to five (singular, dual, trial, quadral, plural), the same unusually high number as in some Pacific languages, as Smith (2017d) points out. This is illustrated in the pronoun chart in Smith (2017d:56); see also the Punan Bah five-number pronominal system presented in Table 27.11 by Kroeger and Smith (this volume, §27.4.2.3). In his demonstration of Lepo' Vo' (Kenyah, Borneo), Smith (2017d:53–56) shows that the quadral is used for small numbers in general, not necessarily for only 'four', and therefore it is better described as a 'paucal'. This is not unlike other languages with more than three number distinctions. (Corbett shows that in Oceanic languages like Sursurunga (New Ireland), trial number is used as a 'lesser paucal', and quadral number as a 'greater paucal' [Corbett 2000]). In Biak, trial number is distinguished for the 3rd person and functions practically as a paucal. However, the trial forms in Larike listed above unambiguously refer to a number of three (Laidig and Laidig 1990:92).

Another feature shared by Lepo' Vo' and Sursurunga is that they use paucal number (not the plural) to refer to well-defined groups such as a working team or a kin pair (one's uncles or one's siblings) (Smith 2017d:52–54). Similarly, Biak uses the trial or paucal (rather than the plural) to refer to kinship members together.

Blust (2013a:318) notes that in some Bornean languages which have no trial or quadral distinction, the plural is derived from original plural pronouns and a following numeral *telu 'three' or *epat 'four' respectively. This is demonstrated on the basis of Mukah Melanau in Table 52.4, the plural series of which is derived from reflexes of PMP plural pronouns followed by the word for three.

Table 52.4 The origin of Mukah Melanau plural pronouns

Etymon	Mukah Melanau
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1PL.INCL	*kita *təlu	tələw
1PL.EX	*kami *təlu	mələw
2PL	*ikəm *təlu	kələw
3PL	*ida *təlu	(də)ləw iən

Blust speculates that this outcome may be due to the reduction of an originally more extended system which included trial number: at some point trial pronouns must have assumed the role of plural pronouns in general, whereas the original plural pronouns became superfluous (Blust 2013a:318). In some languages with quadral number a parallel development may have occurred (for an example in a Kenyah language of the shift from original quadral to plural number, see Smith [2017d:62]).

A comparable phenomenon is observed in the history of Biak trial pronouns *sko* ‘3rd person paucal’, *ko* ‘2PL.INCL’, *inko* ‘1PL.EXCL’, and *mko* ‘2PL’: the *-ko* component in these pronouns can be traced to the numeral *təlu ‘three’; furthermore, van den Heuvel speculates that the *u* vowel in all dual pronouns may reflect the penultimate vowel of PAN *Du(S)a (> PMP *duha) ‘two’ [van den Heuvel 2006:66-67]).

52.3.3 Morphological marking of the plural

The dual, trial and quadral (or paucal) number categories discussed above are morphologically marked in the pronoun systems of MP languages. As mentioned previously, as a rule, plural pronouns are not. Vehicular Malay languages are untypical in that they are historically singular pronouns with the word *oraj* ‘person’ cliticized to it. This is shown in Table 52.5 where we can also infer that *kita was originally a number-neutral pronoun in the

early history of these languages.⁴ In Manado Malay it subsequently became a singular pronoun:

Table 52.5 Vehicular Malay pronouns

	Sri Lanka Malay (Adelaar 1991)	Ambon Malay (van Minde 1997)	Manado Malay (Stoel 2005)	Standard Indonesian (Sneddon 2010)
1SG	<i>go</i> , (polite) <i>se</i>	<i>beta</i> (with variants <i>bet</i> , <i>be</i>)	<i>kita</i>	<i>aku</i> , (polite <i>saya</i>)
2SG	<i>lu</i>	<i>ose</i> (with variants <i>os</i> , <i>se</i>), <i>ale</i>	<i>nana</i>	(<i>əŋkaw</i>), <i>kamu</i>
3SG	<i>de</i>	<i>dia</i> (with variants <i>di</i> , <i>de</i>) (inanimate) <i>akan</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>dia</i>
3SG				
1PL	<i>kitaŋ</i> < * <i>kita</i> * <i>oraŋ</i>	<i>kat'oraŋ</i> , <i>toŋ</i> (<i>torajaŋ</i>) < * <i>kita</i> * <i>oraŋ</i>	<i>torajaŋ</i>	<i>kita</i> (<i>incl</i>), <i>kami</i> (<i>excl</i>)
2PL	<i>luraŋ</i> < * <i>lu</i> * <i>oraŋ</i>	<i>doraŋ</i> , <i>doŋ</i> < * <i>dia</i> * <i>oraŋ</i>	<i>ŋoni</i>	(<i>kamu</i>), <i>kalian</i>

⁴ Jakarta Malay *kite* (Abdul Chaer 1976) is also number-neutral, (see §52.4.3), although Jakarta Malay is not a Vehicular Malay variety.

3PL	<i>deraŋ</i> < * <i>dia</i>	<i>doraŋ, doŋ</i> <	<i>doraŋ</i>	<i>māreka (itu)</i>
	* <i>oraŋ</i>	* <i>dia</i> * <i>oraŋ</i>		

52.4 Clusivity

Clusivity is defined by Filimonova as a ‘term denoting the phenomenon of inclusive-exclusive distinction and comprising simultaneously both members of the opposition’ (Filimonova 2005:xii). It refers to the inclusion of more than one person in a pronominal reference and was discussed for the first time in Boas (1911) who was concerned with the phenomenon in North American languages.

Austronesian languages as a rule distinguish between 1PL.INCL and 1PL.EXCL pronouns. ‘Inclusive’ refers to the inclusion of both 1st person (self) and 2nd person (addressee) in the use of a pronoun, and ‘exclusive’ to the exclusion of the 2nd person in the use of the 1PL. The following Karo Batak sentences serve as simple examples: sentence (4) has *kita* ‘we’, which includes the addressee and translates as ‘we (all)’, whereas sentence (5) has *kami* ‘we’, which excludes the addressee and translates as ‘we (but not you)’:

Karo Batak (Sumatra)

(4) *Arus kita mā-hampat nandaŋi kalimbubu*

must 1PL.INCL STAT-respect towards in-law

‘We must be respectful to our in-laws’ (Woollams 1996:174)

Karo Batak (Sumatra)

(5) *Pitu garun dakan nakan kami!*

seven pot cook rice 1PL.EXCL

‘Cook us seven pots of rice! (Woollams 1996:134)

Clusivity is not limited to the 1st-cum-2nd person plural pronoun (see Boas 1911). In many languages in the Philippines, Borneo and North Sulawesi, it also applies to the 1st-cum-2nd person singular. In these languages, reflexes of PMP *kita only refer to the 1st and 2nd person singular combined and have lost their general plural meaning. Because of this narrowing of scope they are often identified as ‘dual’ pronouns, but in fact they are more accurately defined as inclusive pronouns which have the 1SG and 2SG together as their reference (Thomas 1955:205-208). The concomitant shift from plural to a dual-like meaning in *kita required a new 1PL.INCL pronoun as it potentially left a gap in the pronoun system. This gap is filled by a compound pronoun deriving from *kita + a cliticized ‘extender’. The latter is usually a cliticized 2PL.GEN pronoun, but it can also be a quantifier. So, in Iraya (Mindoro, Philippines), PMP *kita ‘1PL.INCL’ became *kita* ‘1SG+2SG’, and the ‘1PL.INCL’ slot was filled by an extended form *kita + -*mu ‘2PL.GEN’, which in modern Iraya is reduced to *tamu* (Reid 2016:155). Sinama Bajau *kita* is a 1SG+2SG.INCL pronoun, whereas the 1PL slot was filled by *kitabī* (which developed from *kita + a quantifier *qabis ‘all’).

52.4.1 Minimal versus augmented number

The inclusive/exclusive opposition (and in MPSEA languages - and in Austronesian languages in general) creates an irregular paradigm, as it only applies to the first person non-singular. In the Philippines, Borneo and North Sulawesi, the imbalance is complicated further by the presence of a dual-like category, which is filled by *kita as its only member. This is shown in the many gaps (indicated by a hyphen) in the Ilokano pronominal paradigm in Table 52.6:

Table 52.6. Ilokano singular, dual and plural pronouns.

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1+2	–	<i>ta</i>	<i>tayo</i>
1	<i>co</i>	–	<i>mi</i>
2	<i>mo</i>	–	<i>yo</i>
3	<i>na</i>	–	<i>da</i>

In order to get around this imbalance and to eliminate dual as a category in Ilokano, Thomas abandoned the notion of a singular versus plural opposition and replaced it with one opposing ‘limited’ and ‘generalized’ number (Thomas 1955:205-208; Cysouw 2003). Later on, Conklin (1962:135) used the terms ‘minimal’ vs. ‘augmented’ for these same notions in Hanunóo (Philippines), which have since become the current labels in linguistics more widely. Through this change in vantage point, the rather ‘lonely’ 1DU.INCL pronoun can be arranged as a minimal pronoun along with what used to be called the singular pronouns but are now labelled as minimal pronouns (I with you [alone], she, he it). It is called ‘minimal’ pronoun because - although not singular - it can be classified together with the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular pronouns in a joint category. The members of this category refer to a minimal number of people (one individual in cases of 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, and two individuals in the case of the 1DU.INCL). They contrast with the augmented pronouns, which are not limited in the number of people they may refer to. These minimal and augmented pronouns can be arranged into a simple binary classification. In Table 52.7, the inclusive pronoun *ta* refers only to speaker and addressee and contrasts with *tayo*, which refers to the speaker and an unspecified number of addressees.

Table 52.7 Ilokano minimal and augmented pronouns

	Minimal	Augmented
1+2	<i>ta</i>	<i>tayo</i>
1	<i>co</i>	<i>mi</i>
2	<i>mo</i>	<i>yo</i>
3	<i>na</i>	<i>da</i>

The minimal/augmented arrangement shown in Table 52.7 is seen to be neater than the singular/plural one in Table 52.6 when dealing with pronominal systems of languages in the Philippines, North Sulawesi, and North and Central Borneo. For other MPSEA languages this arrangement is less relevant as it does not provide a more balanced description than the standard analysis identifying singular and plural pronouns.

52.4.2 The development of the 1st person ‘dual’ form *kita

Reflexes of PMP *kita are widespread among MP languages, and most of these refer to the 1PL. However, as noted above, in many Philippine languages and languages in northern Sulawesi and northern and central Borneo, they are a pronoun referring to the 1st and 2nd person singular combined, and the only dual-like pronoun in their respective paradigms. Blust (2013a:309) considers them dual pronouns and proposes that their ‘dual’ meaning is the result of a convergent development or ‘drift’, which happened in various languages independently. He concedes that the dual instances suggest that *kita originally had a dual meaning but explains that this is unlikely because if so, the proto-language would have lacked a 1PL.INCL, a gap which would be difficult to account for. The shift from 1PL.INCL to 1DU.INCL is pragmatically predictable as contexts requiring a 1PL.INCL usually only involve a 1SG and a 2SG as participants. As for the subsequent development of a new 1PL.INCL based on

*kita and cliticized pronominal extenders, Blust (2013a:320) notes that these extenders seemed to be of 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person and could be singular or plural (a matter that he does not discuss any further). They almost always seem to derive from one of the following four forms:

*=mu ‘2SG.GEN’

*=ku ‘1SG.GEN’

*=yu ‘2PL.GEN’

*=da ‘3PL.GEN’

In general outline, Blust’s position (2013a) is supported by Liao (2008a). However, it is opposed by Reid (2016) who argues that, somewhere at a post-Proto-Austronesian stage (but prior to Proto-Malayo-Polynesian) *kita had become a ‘dual’ pronoun, and its meaning was maintained in Philippine and Bornean languages. The plural inclusive meaning in other languages is consequently the result of a semantic shift (or rather, a semantic U-turn). Reid points out that the suffixation of extenders was not a random process. The singular ones can be shown to derive historically from plural ones. *=mu and *=ku may look like singular forms today but are in fact derived from *=muyu, and *=kayu respectively, both 2PL.GEN clitics. In the course of time the latter became phonologically reduced and lost their plural meaning.⁵ According to this analysis, extenders were originally all plural, and never first

⁵ At a later stage *-kayu was also reduced and became formally identical to PMP *-ku ‘1SG’ (see Reid 2009b:472). As Reid points out, this 2PL pronoun -ku in the languages in question is unlikely to clash with reflexes of PMP *-ku ‘1SG’ as these languages usually reflect the latter as -k.

person, which would be more in line with general typological expectations than the assessment about their nature made by Blust. Reid furthermore claims that *=muyu was originally the only extender suffixed to *kita: after it was reduced to *-mu and had lost its plural meaning, some languages replaced it with other extenders which still had a plural meaning (*=yu, *=kayu, *=da).

In summary, Reid (2016) proposes that PMP had a 1DU.INCL pronoun *kita and had developed along with it an extended form *kita + *-muyu for the 1PL.INCL.

Reid's analysis is strengthened by recent support from languages outside the Philippines, North Sulawesi and North Borneo. As mentioned above, languages within this region attribute 'dual' meaning to reflexes of *kita but usually do not distinguish dual number in other pronouns. Languages outside the region – provided they distinguish dual number – usually extend it to the entire pronominal series. However, a few languages are exceptional in that they are spoken outside the region delineated above and yet also limit dual meaning to *kita reflexes. These are Ma'anyan (southern Borneo), Enggano, Mentawai (Enggano and Mentawai Islands east of Sumatra), Muna (South East Sulawesi), and (in historical hindsight) Malagasy. In the South East Barito languages in southern Borneo, Ma'anyan *tarueh*, Dusun Witu *ueh* (Adelaar fieldnotes), and Bayan *tatarue* (Tjia fieldnotes), all derive from *(ki)ta- + *ruε(h) 'two', while other pronouns have no dual meaning. Moreover, Ma'anyan *takam* and Malagasy *(i)tsika*⁶ '1PL.INCL' appear to be historically derived from *(ki)ta '1SG+2SG' inclusive' combined with *=kam, a 2PL.GEN extender (Adelaar 2019:420). Their history appears to be in alignment with that of the 1PL.INCL

⁶ Compare Proto-South-East-Barito *hi (topic marker) + *kita=kam > *i + *tik(a) (+ regular *k/*t metathesis) + *=kaN > *itsika* '1PL.INCL' (Adelaar and Kikusawa 2014:492-493). In Ma'anyan, *kita=kam > *(ki)ta=kam > *takam*.

pronouns in Philippine, North Sulawesi and North Borneo languages.⁷ Furthermore, Enggano (off Sumatra's west coast) has the pronouns *ʔika* '1DU.INCL' and *ʔikaʔa* '1PL.INCL'. The former is a regular reflex of PMP *kita, whereas the latter must derive from *kita in combination with an unidentified post-clitic *-aʔa (Edwards 2015:72). In Mentawai, the 1PL.INCL consists of *sita* (< *kita) and *kam* '2PL' and these two parts can move independently: *sita kam* (and *ta-Verb kam*) occurs in clause initial position, and *kam sita* follows a predicate (Zobel p.c.). Finally, in Muna (South East Sulawesi), *intaidi* is a 1DU.INCL, and *intaidi=imu*, 1PL.INCL (=imu is a plural marker)⁸. With the exception of Malagasy, the number categories in these languages are described most adequately in terms of minimal versus augmented.

52.4.3 Loss of clusivity

In Jakarta Malay (Melayu Betawi), the '1PL.INCL' pronoun *kita became a general 1st person *kite* (Abdul Chaer 1976), which is neutral as to both clusivity and number. This also happened in Vehicular Malay varieties, although in most of these varieties *kita nowadays only occurs in derivations involving the plural marker *oraj* so that its initial lack of number became obscured (§52.3.3). In Indonesian there is a tendency to use *kita* for all 1st person plural reference, whereas *kami* keeps its basic meaning of '1PL.EXCL' but with a notion of

⁷ However, Ma'anyan *tarueh*, Dusun Witu *ueh*, and Bayan *tatarue* are different from their Philippine, Sulawesi and Bornean counterparts in that they are marked by the extender *-rueh* (*-rueh/ueh*) 'two'.

⁸ The suffix =imu is a form of the plural marker =Vmu, also found on the 2PL pronoun *ihintu=umu* which is derived from the 2SG pronoun *ihintu*.

emphasis added to it.⁹

The change from a clusivity opposition into one marking relative quantity in *Tukang Besi* (South East Sulawesi) is remarkable. In this language, *ikami* (< PMP *i-kami ‘1PL.EXCL’), became a 1st person paucal indicating numbers from two to four, and *ikita* (<*kita) a 1st person indicating numbers of four or more (Donohue 1999a:114).

52.5 Person

Austronesian and Malayo-Polynesian languages generally distinguish 1st, 2nd and 3rd person, although there is also variability in the manifestation of person in MPSEA languages. The following phenomena are addressed in this section: loss or reduction of pronominal distinction, change of pronominal referent, generic pronouns, reflexive pronouns, gender and animacy.

52.5.1 Loss of pronominal distinctions

As mentioned in §52.2, various languages lack a dedicated 3PL pronoun (as in *Sambas Malay*, §52.3) or have created a new one after they lost PMP *sida (as in *Malay* and *Merina Malagasy*). Something similar no doubt also happened in *Acehnese*. The latter currently has a 3HON pronoun *gobñan*, which is number neutral and can still be analysed as *gop* ‘other person’ + *ñan* ‘that’ (Durie 1985:118). Modern *Javanese* lost the original PMP 3rd person pronouns, which are still extant in Old *Javanese*, although in the latter they lost their number distinction and differentiate social rank instead (§52.3.1). Modern *Javanese* now uses *dèwè?é*, which is essentially a reflexive pronoun.

⁹ Novi Djenar (p.c.).

52.5.2 Change of original referent

A change of original referent often concerns reflexes of PMP **kita*, the 1PL.INCL pronoun. In some languages this has led to a permanent shift, for instance, Old Javanese *kita* ‘2nd person’, dialectal Sundanese *kita* ‘2SG’ (Eringa 1984), Mandar *ita?* ‘2SG.HON’ (Abdul Muthalib 1977), Iban *kita?* ‘2PL’ (Richards 1981). In other ones, the 1st person inclusive pronoun has kept its original meaning but it can also be used as a 2nd person polite. This is frequently the case in Timorese languages. In Baikenu, Tokodede, Tetun, Idate (Alcantara 2015) and South Mambai with reflexes of **kita* ‘1PL’. In Nauteti, *kita* has instead become a 1PL.EXCL pronoun and was replaced by *hira* as a 1PL.INCL pronoun. The latter pronoun is now also used as a 2nd person (singular) polite form (Veloso 2016:59-61), in agreement with the general tendency in Timor-Leste.

The use of the 1PL.INCL as a 2nd person polite is also widespread in Sulawesi (see van den Berg and Mead, this Volume, Chapter 33). It is observed in the Dampelas, Totoli and Amipibabo-Lauje languages of the Tomini-Tolitoli group (Himmelmann (2001:90), and in Pendau (Quick 2003) (Central Sulawesi Province). It is also observed in Gorontalo (Gorontalo Province, Pateda 1977:31), in Tompakewa (a variant form of Tontemboan, (North Sulawesi Province, Stokhof ed. [1983:104]), in Tae’ (van der Veen 1940), Makasar (Jukes 2020:169), Bugis, Kajang (also known as Coastal Konjo) and Duri (Massenrempulu) (Sirtjo Koolhof p.c.) (in South Sulawesi), in Bangui (van den Bergh 1953) and Balantak (van den Berg and Busenitz 2012) (East Sulawesi) and in Muna (van den Berg 1989) (South East Sulawesi). Finally, Buol speakers (in Central Sulawesi) use *kito* when addressing elders, while referring to themselves as *kami ato-niu* [1PL.EXCL.NOM slave-2PL.GEN] ‘we, your slave’ (Zobel 2005:633).

52.5.3 Generic pronouns

Personal pronouns can be used as generic pronouns. An instance of this is the following Colloquial Indonesian utterance (6) (made by someone laying out the conditions for hiring a rowing boat). According to Ewing (2005c:245), here *kita* ‘1PL.INCL’ is used without particular person affiliation:

Colloquial Indonesian

(6) *Tapi kalau kalau ndak bisa ya,...*

but if if not can yeah

kita nambah... nambah ongkos

1PL.INCL increase increase payment

‘But if (one) can’t [row], well one has to pay more [to hire and oarsman]’ (Ewing 2005c:245)

Some languages make use of the word for ‘person’ to express generic reference, for instance, Indonesian / Malay *orang* and Javanese *wong* both general terms for ‘person’. This is seen in Indonesian expressions like *Kata orang* [word; say + person] ‘they say, it is said,...’ and *barang orang* [thing, object + person] ‘someone else’s belongings’ (Adelaar 1994c).

Observe also the Colloquial Indonesian example in (7):

Colloquial Indonesian

(7) *Iya, bisa terjadi, orang nggak tahu kan!*

Sure can happen person not know isn’t.it

Mana orang bisa tahu!

how person can know

‘Sure, [these things] happen, one doesn’t know, right? How’s one to know?!’

(Novi Djenar p.c.)

In Cocos Keeling Malay (West Australia) a reduced form of *oraŋ* has become a dedicated indefinite pronoun (Adelaar 1996b:170, 183). See *oŋ* in (8):

Cocos Keeling Malay

(8) *ada barat kancan, seklon oŋ bilan, dari*
EXIST westerly strong cyclone someone.they say from
sana
there

‘there is a strong westerly, a cyclone as they call it, coming from there’ (Adelaar 1996b:197).

52.5.4 Reflexive pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are ‘used to indicate that a non-subject argument of a transitive predicate is coreferential with (or bound by) the subject’. They have to be distinguished from intensifiers, ‘which can be adjoined to either noun-phrases and verb-phrases, are always focused and thus are prosodically prominent’ (König, Siemund and Töpper 2013). Many MPSEA languages have reflexive pronouns, although notions like reflexivity and reciprocity¹⁰ are also expressed through verbal morphology, especially in Philippine and

¹⁰ MPSEA languages generally express reciprocity morphosyntactically, although some of them may additionally also have lexical ways to do so (Kitada 2021:7). Some languages use a personal pronoun (Gasser, Arnold and Kamholz, this volume, §37.3.8.1) but that does not

Sulawesi languages (Kitada 2021; see also chapters 24.4.2, 24.5.3, 25.3.5.6, and 33.4.5). Conforming to what seems to be a universal tendency (König, Siemund and Töpfer 2013), reflexive pronouns are often derived from words for ‘body’ or ‘(something) standing upright’. In Phan Rang Cham, *-tray* is a 1PL.INCL as well as a reflexive pronoun, and it has also retained the original meaning ‘body’ (Thurgood 2005:499). It is related to Indonesian *diri* ‘self’, *diri-ku/diri-mu/diri-nya sãndiri* ‘my-/your-/her-/him-self’, and *sãndiri* ‘oneself’ (for *sãndiri* see further below). Note that Indonesian *diri* is also the root of the verbs *bãr-diri* ‘to stand’ and *mãn-diri-kan* ‘to found, erect’. Related forms are Salako *diri?*, a default 1PL.INCL pronoun, and Acehnese *droe* ‘self’. Cliticized to basic personal pronouns, the latter forms reflexive pronouns (*droe=ku* ‘myself’, *droe=neu(h)* ‘yourself’) but *droe=neu(h)* is also used as a polite 2nd person or even a reverent 3rd person (Durie 1985:117-119). Even more obvious examples of polysemy involving ‘body’ and a reflexive pronoun are Makasar and Embaloh *kale* (Adelaar 1995e), Malagasy *tena*, Mentawai *tubu*, Minangkabau *awak*¹¹, Manggarai *weki* (Chapter 34): all these words have a core meaning ‘body’ and serve as the basis of reflexive pronouns, e.g. Makasar *kaleŋku* ‘myself’, *kalennu* ‘yourself’, *kalenna* ‘her-, himself’ etc. Note incidentally that such periphrastic constructions involving the word for ‘body’ are not only used as reflexives but have also other applications.¹²

seem to be usual. As reciprocity in MPSEA languages is in any case still a poorly studied topic, the authors have made no attempt to include reciprocal pronouns in this survey.

¹¹ *Awak* is also used as a polite address term in Malaysian Malay.

¹² Zobel (p.c.) notes that in some languages, prepositions cannot directly precede pronominals but need to combine with the term for ‘body’ in order to be able to do so, e.g. Bugis *ri ale-ku* ‘to/by me’ and Mentawai *ka tubu-mu* ‘to you’ [both: PREP + body + PRO]. This is not unlike the Malay/Indonesian prepositions *kã* ‘to and *dari* ‘from’ which need to be prefixed to *pada*

Compare also High Balinese *tiaŋ*, Low Balinese *icaŋ* ‘1SG’ Tanala Malagasy *itsàa*, *itsàana* < *i (topic marker) + *tiaN) ‘1PL.INCL’. These terms are related to the notion of ‘mast’ or ‘post’, compare Indonesian *tiaŋ* ‘mast, post’, Javanese *tiaŋ* ‘mast, post; (high register) person; (generic pronoun)’.

Indonesian has *awak* ‘body, trunk of body; self’. In regional Malay varieties and Minangkabau, *awak* ‘person’ is also a generic personal pronoun occurring separately as well as in combination with a pronominal suffix to express 1st, 2nd, 3rd person: *awak-ku* ‘1SG/1PL’ *awak-mu* ‘2SG/2PL’, *awak-nya* ‘3SG/3PL’. Javanese *dèwè’è* ‘3SG/3PL’ probably derives ultimately from **awak* (< *d(i)- + **awak* ‘body’ + -*e* ‘3.POSS’).

Toba Batak *iba* ‘person; self’ is also used as a generic pronoun and has the derivations *iba-ŋhu* [ibakku] ‘my person; 1SG’ and *iba-na*, the 3SG default form (Warneck 1977). Note the distinction between reflexive pronouns in dedicated reflexive constructions (e.g. Minangkabau *mambunuah badan/diri*, Malay *məmbunuh diri* ‘to kill oneself’), and intensifiers expressing emphasis, e.g. Minangkabau *awak* in *awak den* ‘I myself’, and Malay *səndiri* in sentence (9):

Indonesian

(9) *Lihat sendiri!*

see self

‘See for yourself! (Novi Djenar p.c)

‘at’ before they can combine with a pronoun (*kə-pada-mu* ‘to you’ and so on). Although *pada* is currently a preposition, it derives from an (originally Sanskrit) noun meaning ‘place, position’ (Gonda 1973: 593).

52.5.5 Gender and animacy distinctions

Gender, based on human male-female sex differentiation, is not usually distinguished in MPSEA languages but there are various exceptions. These generally concern the 2SG, e.g. Moken (*mε*: ‘2SG.FEMALE’, *bɔ* ‘2SG.MALE’) (Larish 2005), Mualang (*di* ‘2SG.FEMALE’, *m’ih* ‘2SG.MALE’) (Tjia 2007). Punan languages from the Müller-Schwaner group in Indonesian Borneo have a three gender distinction for the 3rd person (masculine, feminine and neutral; Sellato 1981). In Minangkabau, gender distinction is only made with lower status pronouns: *añ* is to address a second person (singular) male of a lower position, and *kau* is the equivalent term to address a female (Moussay 1995). Besemah Malay (South Sumatra) has a 2SG pronoun to address someone of the same sex, *kaba*, and one to address someone of the opposite sex, *deña* (see McDonnell, Wu, Mckinnon and Adelaar, this volume, §29.3.5).¹³ Note that in Tengger Javanese there are different 1st person pronouns for females (*isun*) and males (*(r)eyang*) (Conners 2008:46).

An animacy distinction, i.e. between animate and inanimate (or between human and non-human) entities, is expressed lexically more often than male and female gender in MPSEA languages. Ambon Malay *akan* refers to a 3SG inanimate (van Minde 1997), e.g. *akan di atas meja* [it + on + top (of) + table] ‘it’s on top of the table’; this pronoun is derived from the object preposition *akən. Note that in many MPSEA languages 3rd person pronouns are only used with an animate reference (and sometimes only with a human one). For instance, Indonesian *dia* ‘(s)he’ and *məreka* ‘they’ as a rule only refer to people.

Explicit animate versus inanimate person marking is more pronounced in Austronesian-Papuan contact areas. SHWNG languages mark animacy only in plural

¹³ Helfrich (1904:34) has *deñan*, a 2SG pronoun used by young men when addressing young women.

pronouns, and in some of them (Biak, Wamesa, Dusner, As and Sawai) only for the 3PL, as is the case with the animate *si/si-* and inanimate markers *na/na-* in Biak (van den Heuvel 2006:64). As pointed out by Steinhauer (1985), this is counterevidence to some of the universals formulated by Greenberg (1966), who claimed that languages never have more gender categories in non-singular numbers than in the singular. Explicit animate vs. inanimate marking is also found in other languages in Austronesian / Papuan contact areas, and some of these languages also make this distinction in 3SG and even 3DU pronouns. See Schapper (2010b) and chapter 35 by Schapper and Zobel, chapter 36 by Grimes, and chapter 37 by Gasser, Arnold and Kamholz (all in this Volume), for more details.

Schapper (2010b) points out that explicit animate/inanimate marking is untypical for MP languages in general. She also argues that in eastern Indonesian languages it is not an inherited feature but the result of contact with neighbouring Papuan languages. In eastern Indonesia different areas show varying patterns of animate/inanimate marking which are generally shared with similar patterning in neighbouring Papuan languages. These Papuan languages furthermore belong to various genetically distinct Papuan language groups, so a single shared origin of such marking is not likely.

52.6 Status, formality and pronoun avoidance

Reference has already been made to changes that are linked to the pronominal expression of politeness (§52.5.2), but more detailed discussion of status and formality is merited here. (See also Vander Klok, this volume, §31.2 and Shiohara and Arka, this volume, §32.5, for the use of polite register in languages of Java, Bali and Lombok). Polite language plays a particularly important role in western Indonesia, Malaysia and Madagascar. These regions were for centuries subject to strong Indian influence, bringing with it the establishment of important polities (empires, kingdoms, city-states) under rulers with strong

centralized power. The influence was also pervasive in mainland South East Asia, including among Chamic speakers in Vietnam and (nowadays) Cambodia. It affected the Malagasy language and culture indirectly via contact with Malays and Javanese. An elaborate court culture developed in the polities affected, which was a decisive factor in the establishment of a strict social hierarchy. This hierarchy left clear traces in the languages involved, especially in Java and the wider Javanese sphere of influence. These languages include Javanese, Balinese, Madurese, Sundanese, Sasak, and Malagasy as well as Banjar and Palembang Malay, among others. They have seen the development of a socially stratified lexicon, a process which has gone furthest in Javanese but also left its mark in the other languages. Three parameters govern the use of a polite register in these languages: (1) relative age; (2) social status; (3) formal distance. An example of how the use of pronouns can express the extent of social layering in a speech community is Acehnese. According to Durie (1985:120), the 1st person in this language has six different forms. These are shown in (10), organized in order of increasing formality from left to right:

Acehnese

(10) *lôn* > *ulôn* > *lôn* > *ulôn* > *lôntuwan* > *ulôntuwan*. (Durie 1985:120)

However, as Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982:44) point out, it is not only the choice of address forms, but also their frequent absence which is relevant in polite conversation. The high Javanese question in (11) lacks a subject pronoun, or indeed any subject argument, but to Javanese speakers the non-linguistic context leaves little doubt as to who is being addressed:

Javanese

- (11) *Putra-né raq loro tô*
 Child-DEF one.assumes two isn't.it.so

‘You have two children, don’t you?’ (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982:44)

Speakers of Indonesian may use the local deictics *sini* ‘here’, *situ* ‘there’ and *sana* ‘yonder’ for first, second, and third person respectively. Kaswanti Purwo (1984:45) does not elaborate on the context or motivation for using these deictics in sentence (12), but it is likely that it involves the avoidance of a pronoun (or some other pronominal equivalent; Novi Djenar p.c.).

Indonesian

- (12) *Sini sudah setuju, tinggal situ bagaimana.*
 Here already agree remain there how
Tentang pendapat sana nanti bagaimana,
 about opinion yonder next how
itu terserah kepada mereka.
 that left up to them

‘We already agree, which leaves you to make up your mind. As to what they would think, that’s up to them.’ (Kaswanti Purwo 1984:45)

According to Blust (2013a:306), the elimination of number distinction and the use of non-personal deictics and circumlocutions involving ‘body’ in these languages all serve to ‘de-activate individual deixis’ and to ‘create a system of what might be called ‘insinuate reference’ rather than one of ‘determinative reference’. In the highly stratified societies to which these languages belong, ‘hyper-sensitivity to social differences has made the inherited

Austronesian pronouns unworkable' (ibidem). Clearly, the tendency to avoid any deictic form to address a 2nd person as discussed in Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo should also be considered as a form of insinuating reference.

An interesting case of the status-sensitive use of pronouns is communication with God. Here, there seems to be competition between one's respect for divine beings and the intimate nature of one's communication with them. Whereas in many Malayo-Polynesian languages this communication requires the use of polite personal pronouns, in Indonesian and Malay the status-insensitive and intimate pronouns *aku/-ku* '1SG' and *engkau/kau/-kau/-mu* '2SG' are used. The same distinction exists in Tagalog, in which *kayo* '2PL' is also used as '2SG.HON' although *ikaw* (the non-honorific 2SG pronoun) is used when addressing God in prayers (Schachter and Otanes 1972:433). That there is room for nuance is suggested in the case of Acehnese. In this language, *droe=neu(h)* '2SG.HON' is used to address God, but use of the first and second informal pronouns *kee* and *gata* respectively is also allowed in conversation with God (Durie 1985:116-121). Note also Salako (West Borneo) which applies a special pronominal construction *ne' idà* '3PL' to refer to the ancestors and the deceased: it consists of (*ne*)*ne'* 'grandparent' + *idà*, a root which does not seem to occur in other contexts and derives from PMP *sida '3PL' (Adelaar 2005e:78).

Specific patterns of polite speech linked to pronominal use are also found elsewhere in the MPSEA region and are apparently not limited to areas that have undergone more direct influence from the Indian subcontinent. As already indicated in §52.5.2, two areas stand out for expanding their use of the 1PL.INCL pronoun to include 2nd person polite address, Timor and Sulawesi. While Tetun *ita* (< *kita) is also used as a polite 2SG form in an attempt to avoid direct address, an even more formal form of address is *ita boot* (lit. 'big you') which cannot be understood as a 1PL.INCL. In the plural we find formal *ita boot sira* (lit. 'big you (plural)') alongside informal *imi* 2PL. Williams-van Klinken and Hajek 2006). Insinuating

reference is also very common in this area. The use of phrases without nominal arguments indicates the frequent tendency to avoid reference to any relative social standing, as seen in the two everyday greeting questions *Di'ak ka lae?* (lit. good or not?) 'How are you?', and *Ba nebee?* (lit. go where?) 'Where are you going?'. This type of ellipsed structure usefully allows speakers to address complete strangers without causing potential status-related offence.

52.7 Pronominal use of kinship terms, terms for professions, rank and ethnicity, and proper names

Pronouns are not the only words that are used 'pronominally'. At least in the languages of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and thereabout, pronominal reference can be done by: (1) dedicated pronouns, (2) kinship terms (especially those denoting a generational affiliation), (3) terms for professions, rank and ethnicity, (4) proper names. While many of these phenomena are also noted elsewhere in MPSEA languages (e.g. those of Timor-Leste), there is at present generally less information available about them.

Kinship terms are not only used to address or refer to kin but also to those in the same generation as the kin person mentioned. An Indonesian term like *ibu* 'mother' also refers to women of mother's generation and has become the term for 'Mrs'; *abanj* 'older brother' is also used for men in general who are older but still of the same generation as oneself etc.

The use of kinship terms by the speaker obliges the addressee to reciprocate with a socially appropriate terminological equivalent, for instance, someone addressed with 'older sibling' will reply in turn with 'younger sibling'; in Minangkabau, for instance, if a speaker uses a proper name, the interlocutor may do so too, and so on.

Among kin the choice of a kinship term is less governed by absolute age than by the kinship generation the referent is affiliated with. For instance, a parent's sister, if younger

than oneself, will still be addressed as ‘auntie’ (and deserves polite treatment) because she belongs to an older kinship generation. This is demonstrated well by Tadmor (2015) on the basis of the Onya Darat address system, discussed further below.

Moussay (1981:150-151) gives a detailed outline of the use of pronoun substitutes in Minangkabau. The following four lines in Table 52.8 all mean ‘I can’t go with you’:

Table 52.8 Pronoun substitutes in Minangkabau

(a) Den	<i>inda?</i>	<i>dape?</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>aŋ</i>
I	not	can	go	with	you
(b) uni ‘older sister’	<i>inda?</i>	<i>dape?</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>adia?</i> ‘younger sibling’
(c) Eri (proper name)	<i>inda?</i>	<i>dape?</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>Ida</i> (proper name)
(d) <i>awa?</i> ‘body’	<i>inda?</i>	<i>dape?</i>	<i>pai</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>uda</i> ‘older brother’

In Table 52.8 line (a) makes use of default pronouns for 1st and 2nd person singular. Line (b) uses kinship terms, line (c) proper names, and line (d), the word for ‘body’ which also functions as a generic pronoun or as a substitute for a 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person pronoun. The use of *awa?* and *uda* in the last sentence suggests that it is uttered by a wife to her husband and implies intimacy. Moussay emphasizes that in each of these lines the terms for speaker and addressee are interdependent and not in free variation with those in the other lines. He also explains that some of the lines can vary in meaning, e.g. line (b) can also be read as ‘you can’t go with me’ or ‘she can’t go with him’, depending on context. Such ambivalent instances also occur in various other languages in the region.

When other categories are used in place of pronouns the question arises whether they

still function syntactically as other elements of the category they belong to or as pronouns. Categories used in this way are sometimes called ‘imposters’ (Collins and Postal 2012). While these imposters can be used as substitutes for the 1st and 2nd person, in the case of hierarchically sensitive terms they can also end up as proper pronouns (see the Indonesian 1st pronoun *saya*, originally meaning ‘servant, slave’ and borrowed from Sanskrit). However, this does not seem to happen to kin terms. Kaufman (2014) shows that the notion of ‘imposter’ as defined in Collins and Postal is not adequate. In a sentence like ‘Mommy needs her quiet time now’ uttered by Mommy herself, ‘Mommy’ is an imposter which occurs instead of ‘I’ (Kaufman 2014:90).

Kaufman (2014) explains that in contrast to English, in Indonesian such an imposter has a radically different syntactic representation from its plain noun phrases equivalent: in the above sentence, ‘Mommy’ triggers third person verb inflection (as in ‘needs’) and third person pronoun agreement (‘her’) even if it represents a 1st person. Taken on face value, this example might lead to a ‘purely notional theory’ of imposters, treating them syntactically the same as their homophonous non-imposter counterparts. However, there are problems with this theory and Kaufman shows that the syntactic behaviour of Indonesian imposters is particularly at odds with it.

For instance, Indonesian UV constructions require 1st and 2nd person actors to immediately precede the verb whereas 3rd person actors traditionally follow it¹⁴, and it is noticeable here that imposters must also precede the verb, in agreement with 1st and 2nd person syntax. So, whereas English imposters follow the same agreement rules as their homophonous non-imposter counterparts would do, Indonesian imposters agree with the

¹⁴ In colloquial speech 3rd person actors can also precede the verb, and there has been a tendency for this distinction to disappear.

pronouns they replace, and they are clearly more integrated in the pronominal syntax than English imposters.¹⁵ Consider the following three sentences: in (13), the 1SG pronominal clitic *ku-* precedes the UV verb, which is the conventional place for 1SG and 2SG agents; in (14), *ibu* ‘mother’ follows the UV verb, which is conventional for 3rd person agents (whether they are nouns or pronouns). In (15), however, *ibu* precedes the UV verb, which (until recently) was considered incorrect unless interpreted as a 1SG pronominal imposter:

Indonesian

- (13) *Nanti ku-beritahukan ke dia*
 in.a.moment 1SG.AV-tell to 3SG
 ‘I’ll tell her’ (Novi Djenar, p.c.)

Indonesian

- (14) *Nanti di-beritahukan ibu ke dia*
 in.a.moment UV-tell mother to 3SG
 ‘Mother will tell her’ (Novi Djenar, p.c.)

Indonesian

- (15) *Nanti ibu beritahukan ke dia*
 in.a.moment mother tell to 3SG

¹⁵ This use of imposters does not seem to be generally Austronesian. It would be worthwhile to investigate to what extent it is areal, and whether in western Indonesian languages it is the continuation of similar practices in mainland South East Asian languages.

‘I’ll tell her’ (Novi Djenar, p.c.)

In relation to this, Mahdi (2001:163-168) argues that the traditional (general linguistic) division of nominals into nouns and pronouns does not fit the morphological patterns in Indonesian. He proposes a different nominal classification for this language involving a class of non-personal nominals and personal nominals. Non-personal nominals include nouns (substantives) and non-personal (demonstrative and interrogative) pronouns.

Personal nominals include personal proper names, personal pro-names (i.e. personal pronouns) and relational pro-names (i.e. personalized kinship terms and honorific titles functioning as personal pronouns). Mahdi emphasizes that the division is a grammatical one and not one based on semantics. His distinction also fits the behaviour of nominals in Minangkabau and possibly also that of nominals in other MPSEA languages under discussion.

The pronoun system of the Onya Darat language in Ketapang (West Borneo) has grammaticalized one of the most basic values in the culture of its speakers (Tadmor 2015). Apart from distinguishing 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 1+2 person as well as singular, dual and plural number, it also encodes generational affiliation of pronominal referents. The latter is marked differently depending on person and number of a pronoun. *Maaʔ* ‘1SG’ is used when addressing referents of a younger generation, *oko* ‘1SG’ is used with referents of the same or older generation, *omo* ‘2SG’ with referents of the same or younger generation, and *okam* ‘2SG’ with referents of an older generation. Of the 3SG pronouns, *iyō* refers to someone of the same or younger generation, and *idoh* to someone of an older generation. However, the ‘viewpoint’ of *iyō* and *idoh* can be 1st person, 2nd person or another 3rd person, i.e. one refers to one’s mother as *idoh*, but one also refers to one’s spouse as *idoh* when talking to one’s children. As to the 1DU, 2DU, 1PL and 2PL pronouns as well as the 1DU.EXCL and 1PL.EXCL

pronouns, they are differentiated as to whether their referents belong to one or more than one generation. The 1DU.INCL and 1PL.INCL pronouns do not mark generational affiliation. In this context, generational affiliation is defined genealogically rather than chronologically. Tadmor explains that Onya Darat communities are small enough that its members know each other intimately and are well acquainted with each other's generational affiliations. He speculates that the fact that these members used to live in a single longhouse in the past provided the environment that facilitated the development of such a pronoun system.

Finally, the Besemah Malay 2SG pronouns opposing same sex and opposite sex (§52.5.5) may also be indicative of the particular kinship organization of its speech community (a supposition in need of further investigation).

52.8 Source of personal pronouns

Personal pronouns may be inherited from PMP without showing major unexpected semantic or formal changes (see list of PMP pronouns in §52.1). In other instances, they are the result of lexical replacement, or they are inherited from PMP but have undergone considerable semantic and/or formal changes.

The changes that they have undergone in MPSEA languages (including lexical replacement and loss of meaning categories) often lack transparency. The histories of pronoun systems of most MPSEA languages still need to be worked out, and we often have no detailed insight in how these systems have developed from PMP. Such knowledge requires a systematic phonological and lexicosemantic comparison at genetic micro-group level which follows a bottom-up approach of pronouns and their paradigms and should be applied to as many language varieties as possible.

Given the large number of MPSEA languages involved and their preliminary state of research, the data presented here are limited and concentrated on the few languages that have

been investigated more deeply. That said, personal pronouns not deriving from PMP have various origins. They can be derived from words denoting person, self, body, trunk, mast or post (something erect) respectively, which are somehow semantically interrelated, as already discussed in §52.5.4. See also §52.5.3 for generic pronouns derived from the word for ‘person’.

Other pronouns were adopted from foreign languages, a phenomenon which is usually due to the prestige yielded by the languages in question.¹⁶ In Table 52.9, the marked pronouns are not general but show socially restricted use.

Table 52.9 Foreign pronouns borrowed into varieties of Malay

1SG	2SG	Language	Status	Source
<i>I [ay]</i>	<i>you [yu]</i>	Colloquial Malay ^a	(marked)	English
<i>ik (ikə)</i>	<i>(yε)</i>	Colloquial Malay	(obsolete)	Dutch
---	<i>ose</i>	Ambon Malay ^b	(default)	Portuguese
<i>go</i>	<i>lu</i>	Sri Lanka Malay ^c	(default)	Hokkien Chinese
<i>gue</i>	<i>əlu</i>	Jakarta Malay ^d	(default)	Hokkien Chinese
<i>ane</i>	<i>ente</i>	Colloquial Malay	(marked)	Arabic

- a. Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings
- b. van Minde (1997)
- c. Adelaar (1991)
- d. Abdul Chaer (1976)

¹⁶ Although the Hokkien pronouns in some vehicular Malay languages in the Straits of Malacca and in Sri Lanka Malay may be explained more accurately as the result of a Hokkien substrate.

Other pronouns again were borrowed but were not pronouns in the lending language, in which they usually represented a hierarchically sensitive term. Pronouns in this category include Indonesian *sahaya* ~ *saya* ‘1SG’ (§52.7) and Old Javanese *ṅhulun* ‘1SG’. The latter term literally means ‘servant’ and is originally a South Bornean and/or Lampung term referring to people living in the *qulu (‘upriver area’); however, it can also be used by someone hierarchically higher than the addressee (Zoetmulder 1983:18). Literary Malay *duli paduka* originally Sanskrit words meaning ‘the dust under the slipper [of the sultan]’, a Malay form of address to a sultan, or rather his feet, as he himself is too high to be addressed directly. Ambon Malay has *beta* ‘1SG’; it is also found in literary Malay; although originally a Hindi term for ‘slave, servant’ (Hoogervorst, this Volume, §23.2.2), it is used between equals. High Javanese *sampeyan* literally means ‘object hanging down’; it refers to ‘royal feet’ and is used by extension as a 2nd person pronoun (it is most likely derived from an originally Malay *sampay* ‘hang, suspend’). An even more polite Javanese pronominal form of address is *pañjanəṅan sampeyan* (*pañjanəṅan* ‘stand, established position, function’).

Deictic elements also play a role in personal reference and the formation of pronouns. Muna (*i*)*hintu* ‘2SG’ derives from an earlier *si-tu ‘there (near you)’ (René van den Berg p.c.). There are also various instances of combinations of personal pronouns with a deictic element. This element may be optional as in Indonesian *məreka* and *məreka itu* ‘3PL’ (*itu* ‘that’); in other cases it always co-occurs with a pronoun and has become a lexicalized unit with it, as in Acehnese *gobñan* ‘3rd person’ consisting of *gob* ‘person’ + *ñan* ‘that’ (§52.5.1), Malagasy *irè/u*, a plural marker reflecting *ire ‘3PL’ (< PMP *sida) + *iu ‘that’ (Adelaar and Kikusawa 2014:496), and Balantak (*i*)*raaya’a* ‘3PL’, deriving from PMP *sida ‘3PL’ + *ya’a*, a demonstrative (van den Berg and Busenitz 2012:35).

52.9 Concluding remarks

In MPSEA languages the distinctions between 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person, singular and plural, and 1PL.INCL and 1PL.EXCL, are firmly embedded, and they are typically expressed by lexically independent lexemes. *kita, *kami and their clusive distinction can be reconstructed for PMP and PAN. Their reflexes are remarkably widespread, often with no change of meaning. Semantically *kita and its reflexes combine the first and second person, which seems to have facilitated the ability of these reflexes to double as 2^{HON} pronouns particularly in languages of Sulawesi and Timor-Leste, and to become a 2^{SG.HON} pronoun altogether in some other languages. Another frequent change involving *kita is from a 1PL.INCL pronoun to a first person ‘dual’ inclusive one. It is widespread in languages of the Philippines, North Sulawesi and North Borneo, and it also took place in some isolated instances elsewhere. The origin of this phenomenon is a subject of ongoing controversy.

The languages of Java, Bali, Sumatra, the Chamic region, and some other areas under the influence of Java have a large array of (mainly) 1st and 2nd person polite pronouns (often at several levels of stratification). In some of these languages (e.g. Javanese) these pronouns are integrated in more encompassing systems of speech registers that are typical for these languages. Blust (2013a) sees a correlation between these politeness registers and the tendency to lose pronominal number distinction. There may also be a correlation with other phenomena, such as the avoidance of pronouns and the use of imposters, which (at least in Indonesian) have become integrated in the verbal syntax. The languages mentioned above have some of these phenomena in common with the major languages in mainland South East Asia. The interrelations between all these factors need further investigation. Further investigation is also needed to find out whether the use of dedicated pronouns in polite address in languages of Timor-Leste and Sulawesi are related to the same practice in the Java, Bali, Sumatra, and the Chamic region, or whether they are independent developments.

As far as pronominal number is concerned, most MPSEA languages conform to a

simple singular/plural distinction in which plural pronouns are suppletive. Number tends to become lost in Javanese, Balinese, Sasak, Sumbawan, and Acehnese. Dual number (other than involving *kita only) occurs predominantly in Borneo and eastern Indonesia but is also sporadically spotted elsewhere. Trial number is found in some languages in Borneo, the South Halmahera and West New Guinea region, the Moluccas, and Sulawesi. Quadral number is found in a very few languages in Borneo and the South Halmahera and West New Guinea region. In practice, trial and more particularly quadral number may function as paucal number. Dual number comes in two forms. It may affect all persons and entail the integration of the number 'two' in all pronouns involved, as it does in eastern Indonesia and in western and central Borneo. Elsewhere, it only affects reflexes of *kita. These reflexes are usually considered dual pronouns but are more appropriately described as first-and-second person inclusive pronouns. They have first-and-second person plural inclusive counterparts which consist of *kita + a cliticized plural extender. This phenomenon involving *kita is widespread in languages of the Philippines, North Sulawesi and North Borneo, and it is also observed in isolated instances elsewhere. It has led to the replacement of the singular/plural number contrast by a minimal/augmented one in the description of the pronominal paradigm in various Malayo-Polynesian languages.

As a rule, pronominal gender is not expressed in MPSEA languages. Where it is, it involves more often inanimateness (especially in South Halmahera and West New Guinea languages in Papuan contact areas) than female/male distinction.

On the other hand, in many languages, there is a particularly strong tendency to make pronominal use of kin terms, ethnic and professional terms, proper names and deictics. However, it remains unclear how widespread and embedded this tendency is in MPSEA languages in general.

The discussion of free personal pronouns in this chapter is based on data obtained

from the authors' own research and from the literature. Obviously, there is much more information to be sourced, both in the literature and even more so in the speech communities in the MPSEA region. Languages other than the standard versions of Malay, Javanese, Tagalog and Malagasy need to be concentrated on, and certain regions such as central and eastern Indonesia, or parts of the Philippines, deserve much more attention. Another topic of future research is to investigate to what extent our current knowledge involving pronouns in MPSEA languages applies to these languages in general or is only of local interest and should not detract our attention from the existence of more general pronominal patterns in the entire MPSEA region.

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