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

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Objectives

- To give an overview of the distribution of first person dual pronouns in Philippine languages
- To determine if the presence of first person dual pronouns in different microgroups/subgroups of Philippine languages is due to direct inheritance or drift
Philippine Languages

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

- Cordilleran/Northern Luzon
- Bashiic/Batanic
- Central Luzon
- Inati
- Kalamian
- Greater Central Philippines (Central Philippines, South Mangyan, Palawanic, Manobo, Danaw, Subanun, Gorontalic)
- Bilic
- Sangiric
- Minahasan
The Distribution of 1 Dual Pronouns

First person dual pronouns are not found in the following microgroups/groups at all:

- Bashiic (e.g. Ivatan, Itbayaten, Babuyan, etc.)
- Inati
- Kalamian (Agutaynen and Kalamian Tagbanwa)
- The Subanun group of the Greater Central Philippines microgroup (e.g. Sindangan Subanun, Siocon Subanon, etc.)
The Distribution of 1 Dual Pronouns-II

- First person dual pronouns are found in the following microgroups:
  - Cordilleran/Northern Luzon: nearly all (exception: Karao (Brainard 2003:135))
  - Central Luzon: most, if not all (e.g. Kapampangan, Bolinao, Botolan Sambal, Sinauna, Ayta Mag-anchi, etc.) [Northern Mangyan languages]
  - Bilic: at least in Tboli and Blaan
  - Greater Central Philippines (see next slide)
The Distribution of 1 Dual Pronouns-III

First person dual pronouns are found in the following Greater Central Philippine subgroups:

- Central Philippines: only found in (provincial) Tagalog, Umiray Dumaget, Kalagan, and Tausug
- South Mangyan: Hanunóo (Zorc 1974)
- Palawanic: Aborlan Tagbanwa and Palawan Batak (but not in Central Tagbanwa)
- Manobo: Agusan, Dibabawon, Ata, Western Bukidnon, Ilianen, Binukid, Sarangani (and Tasaday)
- Danaw: Maranao, Magindanao, and Iranon
Reconstructibility of 1 Dual Pronouns

Philippine languages which have developed a distinction between first person dual and first person plural inclusive forms typically have reflected PAn *kita ‘1pi’ with the restricted meaning ‘1d’, but have added a third syllable to the form to create a first person plural inclusive form.
In order to know if first person dual forms can be reconstructed for a proto-language, one needs to look at how first person plural inclusive pronouns were developed in its daughter languages.

- First person dual pronouns can be reconstructed for a proto-language if there is a consistent way of forming first person plural inclusive pronouns.
- First person dual pronouns cannot be reconstructed for a proto-language if there is no consistent way of forming first person plural inclusive pronouns.
No first person dual pronouns can be reconstructed for the following proto-languages because no first dual pronouns are found in their daughter languages.

- Proto-Bashiic
- Proto-Inati
- Proto-Kalamian
- Proto-Subanun
First person dual pronouns probably can be reconstructed for the following proto-languages.

- Proto-Central Luzon
- Proto-Danaw
- Proto-Alta
- ?Proto-Southern Cordilleran (with the loss of 1d/1pi distinction in Karao) (Reid 1979, Himes 1998)
- ?Proto-Central Cordilleran (with innovation in Itneg (Reid 1974)
Proto-Central Luzon

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

- 1pi < 1d + 2s

Kapampangan: *tam*o ‘1pi’ < *t*a ‘1d’ + *mo* ‘2s’
Tina Sambal: *Tam*u ‘1pi’ < *t*a ‘1d’ + *Mu* ‘2s’
Sinauna: *Tam*u ‘1pi’ < *t*a ‘1d’ + *Mu* ‘2s’
Magbeken: *ta:Mu* ‘1pi’ < *t*a ‘1d’ + *Mu* ‘2s’
Ayta Mag-anchi: *Tam*o ‘1pi’ < *t*a ‘1d’ + *Mo* ‘2s’
Proto-Danaw

- First person dual pronouns can be reconstructed for Proto-Danaw.
  - 1pi < 1d + 2p
    - Magindanao: tanú < ta ‘1d’ + nu ‘2p’
    - Maranao: tano < ta ‘1d’ + nio ‘2p’
    - Iranon: tanu < ta ‘1d’ + niu ‘2p’
First person dual pronouns can be reconstructed for Proto-Alta.

- $1\text{pi} < 1\text{d} + 2\text{s}$

Northern Alta: $tam < ta$ ‘1d’ + $m/mu$ ‘2s’
Southern Alta: $tam < ta$ ‘1d’ + $mo$ ‘2s’
Proto-Central Cordilleran

- \( lpi < ld + 1s \): nearly all (exception: Itneg)
  
  Isinai: \( ta?u \ 'lpi' < ta 'ld' + \?/\?u '1s' \)
  
  Limos Kalinga: \( takú 'lpi' < ta 'ld' + k/ku '1s' \)
  
  Guinaang Bontok: \( takú 'lpi' < ta 'ld' + k/kú '1s' \)
  
  Balangaw: \( ta?aw 'lpi' < ta 'ld' + \?/\?o '1s' \)
  
  Northern Kankanay: \( talo 'lpi' < ta 'ld' + k/ko '1s' \)
  
  Batad Ifugao: \( ta?u 'lpi' < ta 'ld' + \?/\?u '1s' \)

- \( lpi < ld + 2p \): Itneg
  
  Itneg: \( tayu 'lpi' < ta 'ld' + yu '2p' \)
Proto-Southern Cordilleran

- $1\text{pi} < 1\text{d} + 2\text{p}$: Pangasinan, Inibaloi, (Kayapa, Keley-i, I-wak) Kallahan, ?Ilongot
  - Pangasinan: $tayú‘ l\text{pi}’ < ta ‘1\text{d}’ + y\text{u} ‘2\text{p}’
  - Inibaloi: $tayu ‘l\text{pi}’ < ta ‘1\text{d}’ + y\text{u} ‘2\text{p}’
  - Kayapa Kallahan: $tayu ‘l\text{pi}’ < ta ‘1\text{d}’ + y\text{u} ‘2\text{p}’

- Karao: **no** $1\text{d}/1\text{pi}$ distinction ($tayu/θayu ‘l\text{pi}/1\text{d}’$) (Brainard 2003)
First person dual pronouns cannot be reconstructed for the following proto-languages.

- **Proto-Philippines** (Reid 1979; Blust To appear)
- **Proto-Cordilleran** (Reid p.c.; cf. Reid 1979, 1994)
- Proto-Northern Cordilleran (cf. Tharp 1974)
- Proto-Meso-Cordilleran
- **Proto-Greater Central Philippines**
- Proto-Central Philippines
- Proto-Manobo (Harmon 1979:116)
- ?? Proto-South Manygan (no sufficient data)
- ?? Proto-Palawanic (no sufficient data)
- **Proto-Bilic**
Proto-Northern Cordilleran-I

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

Casiguran Dumagat Agta: \textit{tam} ‘$1pi$’ < \textit{ta} ‘$1d$’ + \textit{mo} ‘$2s$’
Paranan: \textit{tam} ‘$1pi$’ < \textit{ta} ‘$1d$’ + \textit{mo} ‘$2s$’
Agta: \textit{tam} ‘$1pi$’ < \textit{ta} ‘$1d$’ + \textit{mo/m} ‘$2s$’
Gaddang: \textit{tam} ‘$1pi$’ < \textit{ta} ‘$1d$’ + \textit{nu/m} ‘$2s$’
Yogad: \textit{tam} ‘$1pi$’ < \textit{ta} ‘$1d$’ + \textit{nu/m} ‘$2s$’
Proto-Northern Cordilleran-II

- $1\pi < 1d + 3p$: Cagayan Valley (Malaweg, Itawis)
  
  Malaweg: $tida\ '1\pi' < ta\ '1d' + da\ '3p'$
  
  Itawis: $téra\ '1\pi' < ta\ '1d' + da/ra\ '3p'$

- $1\pi < 1d + 2s/3p$: Isnag
  
  Isnag: (a) $tam\ '1\pi' < ta\ '1d' + mo/m\ '2s'$
  (b) $tadá\ '1\pi' < ta\ '1d' + da\ '3p'$
First person dual pronouns cannot be reconstructed for Proto-Meso-Cordilleran.

- $1pi < 1d + 2s$: Northern Alta, Southern Alta
- $1pi < 1d + 1s$: Central Cordilleran (except Itneg)
- $1pi < 1d + 2p$: Itneg, Southern Cordilleran (Pangasinan, Inibaloi, Kayapa Kallahan, Keley-i Kallahan, I-wak Kallahan, Ilongot)
Proto-Northern Luzon/Cordilleran

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

- Arta: 1pi < 1d + 2s
- Ilokano: 1pi < 1d + 2p
- Northern Cordilleran: 1pi < 1d + 2s; 1pi < 1d + 3p
- Meso-Cordilleran: 1pi < 1d + 2s; 1pi < 1d + 1s; 1pi < 1d + 2p
Proto-Central Philippines

- **No** 1d/1pi distinction: majority
- Four Central Philippine languages distinguish 1d/1pi:
  - Tausug: *tániyu* ‘1pi’ < *ta* ‘1d’ + *niyu* ‘2p’
  - Tagalog: *tayo* ‘1pi’ < *kata* ‘1d’ + ~*yo* ‘2p’
  - Umiray Dumaget: *tam(u)* ‘1pi’ < *ta* ‘1d’ + *mo* ‘2s’
  - Kalagan: *kitadun* ‘Nom.1pi’ < *kita* ‘Nom.1d’ + *dun* ‘??’
Proto-Manobo

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

- **1pi < 1d + 2p**: Agusan, Dibabawon, Ata, Western Bukidnon, Ilianen, Binukid, (?Tasaday)
  Dibabawon: *tan iw* ‘1pi’ < *ta* ‘1d’ + *niw* ‘2p’

- **1pi < 1d + don ‘??’**: Sarangani (borrowed from Kalagan) (Harmon 1979)
  Sarangani: *ta don* ‘1pi’ < *ta* ‘1d’ + *don* ‘??’
Proto-Palawanic

1pi < 1d + 2p: Aborlan Tagbanwa, Palawan Batak
Aborlan Tagbanwa: *tami* ‘1pi’ < *ta* ‘1d’ + *mi* ‘2p’
Palawan Batak: *kitami* ‘Nom.1pi’ < *kita* ‘1d’ + *mi* ‘2p’ (no contrast in the Genitive form: *ta* ‘1pi/1d’)

No 1d/1pi distinction: Central Tagbanwa

No data available: Palawano and Molbog
First person dual pronouns **cannot** be reconstructed for Proto-Greater Central Philippines.

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

- Tboli: 1pi < 1d + 2p
  \[ tekuy \ '1pi' < te \ '1d' + kuy \ '2p' \]

- Blaan: 1pi (-o) vs. 1d (-e/-a)
  \[ gito \ '1pi' \text{ vs. } gite \ '1d' \]
  \[ ato \ 'Nom.1pi' \text{ vs. } ate \ 'Nom.1d' \]
  \[ to \ 'Gen.1pi' \text{ vs. } ta \ 'Gen.1d' \]
First person plural inclusive pronouns are formed in a variety of ways in Philippine languages.

- $1pi < 1d + 1s$: Central Cordilleran
- $1pi < 1d + 2s$: Central Luzon, Alta, some N-Cord, Arta, Umiray Dumaget
- $1pi < 1d + 2p$: Danaw, Itneg, S-Cord, Tausug, Tagalog, some Manobo, Aborlan Tagbanwa, Palawan Batak
- $1pi < 1d + 3p$: some N-Cord (Malaweg, Itawis, Isnag)
- $1pi < 1d + don/dun$ ‘??’: Kalagan, Sarangani Manobo
- $1pi$ vs. $1d$ (vowel change): Blaan
No first person dual pronouns can be reconstructed for Proto-Philippines because there is no consistent way to form first person plural inclusive pronouns.

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

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