

Pronoun Ordering and Marking in Kalamianic

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Languages of the Kalamianic microgroup, represented here by Agutaynen and Kalamian Tagbanwa, display a relatively unusual pattern among Austronesian languages with regard to pronoun ordering and marking. The typical order in transitive (Patient-Voice) clauses with full NPs is Verb-Actor-Patient. Pronoun Actors in such constructions come from the so-called Genitive set of pronouns. If the Patient is a first- or second-person pronoun, however, the Patient must take the immediate post-verbal position, resulting in an inverse word order of Patient-Actor. In such an instance, Actor pronouns come from the Oblique set. If a Patient pronoun is fronted to pre-verbal position, as in following a Negative or other fronted adverbial, there are two options for the Actor pronoun: (1) it can be fronted along with the Patient, retaining its Oblique-marking; or (2) it may remain in post-verbal position, in which case it ‘reverts’ to Genitive-marking. Similarities in pronoun ordering and marking patterns are noted in selected Philippine-type languages.

1. The Kalamianic microgroup

The Kalamianic¹ (or Kalamian) microgroup of Austronesian languages are spoken in northern Palawan province in the central Philippines. The two best documented and universally agreed upon members of Kalamianic are Agutaynen and Kalamian (or Northern) Tagbanwa.² Agutaynen has an estimated 12-15,000 total number of speakers, with the largest concentration being found on the home island of Agutaya and surrounding islets, all of which belong geographically to the larger Cuyo Island group. There are also concentrations of Agutaynen speakers on the main island of Palawan, in the municipalities of San Vicente, Roxas, Sofronio Española, Brookes Point, and Puerto Princesa. Smaller groupings of Agutaynens can be found in Metro Manila and elsewhere.

The term ‘Kalamian’ (or ‘Calamian’ as it often occurs on maps) is a geographic term used to distinguish Kalamian Tagbanwa from two other ‘Tagbanwa’ languages to the South, on the main island of Palawan.³ The Calamian group of islands includes the three main islands of Busuanga, Culion, and Coron, together with the many smaller adjacent islands. In common parlance, there are three groups of people inhabiting these islands that speak Kalamianic language varieties: the ‘Busuanganen’ who speak ‘Binusuanganen’, the ‘Kalamiananen/ Karamiananen’ who speak ‘Kinalamiananen/ Kinaramiananen’, and the ‘Tagbanwa’ who speak ‘Tinagbanwa’. Binusuanganen and Kinalamiananen appear to be very similar to each other apart from some

¹ McFarland (1980) uses ‘Northern Palawan’ in place of ‘Kalamianic’.

² Zorc (personal communication) suggests that future research will show that Central Tagbanwa, listed as a Kalamianic language in Ethnologue (2005), is actually a member of Palawanic with heavy influence from Kalamianic—an opinion shared by Himes (personal communication).

³ These two other languages are ‘(Aborlan) Tagbanwa’ spoken in scattered communities ranging from 120 km south to 60 km north of Puerto Princesa, and ‘Central Tagbanwa’ spoken farther north, but still on the ‘mainland’ of Palawan Island. Central Tagbanwa is rapidly becoming extinct. See Scebold (2003).

differences in lexical items. The similarity of both to Tinagbanwa is of a lesser degree.⁴ Kalamian Tagbanwa has an estimated 10-15,000 total number of speakers, inhabiting the coastal areas of the eastern portion of Busuanga Island, the entirety of Coron Island and the Tara (Tala) group of islands, and various other adjacent islands. An estimated 40% of Kalamian Tagbanwa speakers inhabit the Linapacan group of islands, located south southwest of the Calamian Group and north northeast of Palawan Island. In addition, there are reportedly two or three villages on the ‘mainland’ of northeastern Palawan where Kalamian Tagbanwa speakers reside. The closely related language varieties of Binusuanganen and Kinalamianen are spoken in the coastal areas of the western portion of Busuanga Island and adjacent islands, and in various coastal locations on Culion Island and adjacent islands, respectively.

Research on phonological and lexical innovations has established Kalamianic as a linguistic isolate, a single node deriving from Proto Philippines in Blust (1991) or from Meso-Philippines in Zorc (1977).⁵ This paper describes grammatical phenomena—namely pronoun ordering and marking—that further distinguish the Kalamianic microgroup.⁶

2. Pronouns in Kalamianic

Pronoun sets in Agutaynen and Kalamian Tagbanwa are given in Tables 1 and 2 below, written in the standard orthography of each language.⁷ Table 1 shows four sets of Agutaynen personal pronouns: Nominative, Genitive, Oblique, and Free.⁸

Table 1. Agutaynen personal pronouns

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Free
1sg [+Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	=o	=o	yen	yo
2sg [-Spkr, +Addr, -Pl]	=a	=mo	nio	yawa
3sg [-Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	—	=na	nandia	tanandia
1Inc [+Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	=ita	=ta	yaten	ita
1Exc [+Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	=ami	=amen	yamen	yami
2pl [-Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	=amo	=mi	nindio	yamo

⁴ Himes (forthcoming) considers ‘Karamiananen’ to be a minimally distinct dialect of Kalamian Tagbanwa, and states that these two are equidistant from Agutaynen.

⁵ Zorc (personal communication) no longer accepts the Meso-Philippine node, and would include Kalamianic directly under Proto Southern Philippines.

⁶ Agutaynen and Kalamian Tagbanwa data presented here are a result of fieldwork done under the auspices of SIL International. The first author spent extended periods of time in residence in Agutaynen-speaking communities from 1984-1997, and 2002-2003. Agutaynen grammaticality judgements are those of Mr. Pedrito Z. Labrador. The second author has spent extended periods of time over the past several decades in Barangay Banwang Daan in the municipality of Coron.

⁷ In both languages, the letter ‘e’ represents a high, central, unrounded vowel. There is no real phonetic difference between Agutaynen ‘o’ and Kalamian Tagbanwa ‘u’. A sequence of two identical vowels is not indicated in Agutaynen, but is so indicated in Kalamian Tagbanwa. Data in this paper are presented in the standard orthography as much as possible. Affixation will be made explicit, however, with <> marking an infix, – a prefix or suffix, and = a clitic pronoun.

⁸ The labels Nominative, Genitive and Oblique are used in a Philippinist tradition for ease of communication, without claiming that these markers do not perform a variety of functions or that, indeed, they are really ‘case’ markers at all.

3pl [-Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	—	=nira	nira	tanira
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Table 2. Kalamian personal pronouns

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Free
1sg [+Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	=aw	=u	yeen/yaken	yuu/yaku
2sg [-Spkr, +Addr, -Pl]	=a	=mu	nuyu	yawa
3sg [-Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	—	=na	anya	tanya
1Inc [+Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	=ita	=ta	yaten	ita
1Exc [+Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	=ami	=yamen	yamen	yami
2pl [-Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	=amu	=mi	numyu	yamu
3pl [-Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	—	=nira	nira	tanira

2.1 Agutaynen pronouns

The use of Kalamianic pronouns in clauses is demonstrated below using Agutaynen data, with certain differences in Kalamian Tagbanwa noted in the sub-section 2.2.⁹

Table 1 shows that Nominative and Genitive pronouns in Agutaynen are clitics, being phonologically bound to a preceding verb or predicate. Nominative forms are used for Actors in intransitive (Actor-Voice) constructions as in (1), and Patients in transitive (Patient-Voice) constructions as in (2).¹⁰

- (1) **T<om>abid *ami*.**
Irr:AV–accompany 1ExcNom
‘We will come along.’
- (2) **K<in>omosta *ami* ta doro–ng taw.**
Perf:PV–greet 1ExcNom GEN many–LIG people
‘Many people greeted us.’

Note in Table 1 that the first and second singular Nominative pronouns, as well as the first singular Genitive, consist of a single vowel. These pronouns may be written as a single vowel joined to the preceding word or split off as separate words. They are always joined if the preceding word ends in a vowel, as in (3) and (4). The resulting vowel sequences are pronounced without any intervening glottal stop.

- (3) **K<in>omosta=*o* tang bisita.**
Perf:PV–greet 1sgGen NOM guest
‘I greeted the guest./The guest greeted me.’

⁹ Abbreviations used in glosses include: AV Actor Voice, PV Patient Voice, BV Benefactive Voice, Irr Irrealis, Perf Perfective, Imperf Imperfective, NOM Nominative, GEN Genitive, OBL Oblique, sg Singular, dl Dual, pl Plural, Inc Inclusive, Exc Exclusive, INV Inverse, NEG Negative, Spkr Speaker, and Addr Addressee.

¹⁰ The terms ‘intransitive’ and ‘transitive’ are used in this paper in the spirit of Ross and Teng (2004). The terms ‘Actor’ and ‘Patient’ indicate semantic macro-roles. ‘Actor-Voice’ and ‘Patient-Voice’ correspond to ‘Actor Focus’ and ‘Goal Focus’ (or ‘Non-Actor Focus’) in more traditional Philippinist terminology.

- (4) **Mag-arado=a!**¹¹
Irr:AV–plow 2sgNom
‘Plow!’

On the other hand, these single-vowel pronouns may be written as distinct words if the preceding word ends in a consonant, in which case they copy that final consonant, as in (5) and (6).¹²

- (5) **T<om>abid da?**¹³
Irr:AV–accompany 2sgNom
‘Will you come along?’

- (6) **T<om>abid do.**
Irr:AV–accompany 1sgNom
‘(Yes,) I will come along.’

The Nominative forms for third-person are null, so that the most natural responses to questions (7) and (8) would be (9).

- (7) **T<om>abid si Pedro?**
Irr:AV–accompany PersSgNOM Pedro
‘Will Pedro come along?’

- (8) **T<om>abid da Pedro?**
Irr:AV–accompany PersPINOM Pedro
‘Will Pedro and friends come along?’

- (9) **T<om>abid.**
Irr:AV–accompany
‘(Yes,) he/they will come along.’

Genitive personal pronouns are used inside a noun phrase as postposed possessors as in (10) and (11), or as Actors in transitive (Patient-Voice) clauses as in (12).

- (10) **mano mo**
chicken 2sgGen
‘your chicken’

- (11) **bisita ta**
guest 1IncGen
‘our guest’

¹¹ As in other Philippine languages, Agutaynen imperatives include an explicit second-person pronoun.

¹² For a fuller discussion of these pronouns and ambiguities in their use, see Quakenbush 1997. The best explanation of what is happening phonologically is likely that the final consonant in a preceding word is ambisyllabic, serving as a coda for the final syllable of that word as well as an onset for the otherwise vowel-initial pronoun. I thank Loren Billings (personal communication) for this insight.

¹³ All Nominative and Genitive forms are clitics, whether or not they are joined to the verb orthographically.

- (12) **I-torol**¹⁴ **lo** **tang** **mano** **mo** **ong** **bisita** **ta**.
 Irr:PV-give 1sgGen NOM chicken 2sgGen OBL guest 1IncGen
'I will give your chicken to our guest.'

Oblique pronouns usually occur following the Oblique marker **ong** in a clause, as in (13). They may also be used to indicate Possessor in preposed position inside a noun phrase as in (14), although this order is marked, and used either for emphasis or for more formal speech or writing. The unmarked order for Possessors is with a postposed Genitive pronoun as in (10) and (11) above.

- (13) **I-torol** **lo** **ong** **nio**.
 Irr:PV-give 1sgGen OBL 2sgObl
'I will give (it) to you.'
- (14) **Patay** **da** **tang** **nandia-ng** **mano**.
 dead already NOM 3sgObl-LIG chicken
'His chicken is dead.' (formal style, or emphasis on 'his')

Oblique pronouns may also occur in isolation as Possessors. For example, any of the Oblique pronouns from Table 1 would constitute a grammatical response to the question in (15).

- (15) **Ninopa** **tang** **mano**?
 whose NOM chicken
'Who does the chicken belong to? (Lit. Whose is the chicken?)'

Free pronouns are used in topicalized constructions such as (16) and in equational clauses such as (17).

- (16) **Yami**, **t<om>abid** **ami** **ra** **lamang**.
 1ExcFree Irr:AV-accompany 1ExcNom already only
'As for us, we'll just come along.'
- (17) **Yamo** **tang** **matod** **ang** **makatete-bek**.
 2plFree NOM true LIG pitiful
'You are the truly pitiful ones.'

Free pronouns also occur in isolation, and any of the Free set from Table 1 would constitute a grammatical response to a question such as (18).

- (18) **Sinopa-y** **paning**?
 who-INV go
'Who will go?'

¹⁴ For the sake of transparency, I depart from the orthography for this particular verb form for 'give' here and in the following examples. It is typically spelled **i-dol**, as it is commonly pronounced, indicating morphophonemic processes that reduce the sequence /i=**torol**/ to [i?**dol**].

It is possible, and even common, to use the Free forms for third-person post-verbally, as in (19). Much less commonly, Free forms may be used after first- or second-person Nominatives for special emphasis, as in (20).

- (19) **T<om>abid** **tanandia/tanira.**
 Irr:AV–accompany 3sgFree/3plFree
 ‘*She/He/They will come along.*’
- (20) **T<om>abid** **do** **yo!**
 Irr:AV–accompany 1sgNom 1sgFree
 ‘*I will go along (most decidedly/no matter what)!*’

There are homophonous forms among the Agutaynen pronouns in three instances, namely between first-person singular Nominative and Genitive, between first-person plural inclusive Nominative and Free, and between third-person plural Genitive and Oblique. The latter two sets of homophonous forms simply mean that **ita** and **nira** can pattern either as clitics or as full words, as illustrated in (21) through (24).

- (21) **T<om>abid** **ita.** (clitic pronoun)
 Irr:AV–accompany 1IncNom
 ‘*We will come along.*’
- (22) **Ita** **tang t<om>abid.** (free pronoun)
 1IncFree NOM Irr:AV–accompany
 ‘*We are the ones who will go.*’
- (23) **Kasalanan nira!** (clitic pronoun)
 sin 3sgGen
 ‘*(It’s) their fault!*’
- (24) **Nira** **tang kasalanan.** (free pronoun)
 3plGen NOM sin
 ‘*It’s their (own) fault./The fault is theirs.*’

The particular homophony between first-person singular Nominative and Genitive forms introduces genuine ambiguity that is clarified only by the context. Thus, outside the context, there is no way to distinguish in example (25) who is the Actor and who is the Patient.

- (25) **K<in>omosta=o** **tang bisita.**¹⁵
 Perf:PV–greet 1sgNom/1sgGen ?? guest
 ‘*I greeted the guest./The guest greeted me.*’

¹⁵ The ‘unexpected’ Patient-first order with a Nominative reading of the first-person singular pronoun in (25) is discussed more fully below.

2.1.1 Pronoun ordering and marking in transitive clauses

As stated above, Actor pronouns generally immediately follow the verb. This is true whether the verb is transitive (Patient-Voice) as in (26), or intransitive (Actor-Voice) as in (27).

- (26) **I–torol lo tang mano ong bisita ta.**
 Irr:PV–give 1sgGen NOM chicken OBL guest 1IncGen
‘I will give the chicken to our guest.’

- (27) **Mag–torol ami ta mano ong bisita ta.**
 Irr:AV–give 1ExcNom GEN chicken OBL guest 1IncGen
‘We will give a chicken to our guest.’

The same Actor-first order is generally followed for full noun phrases as in (28), although it is uncommon to have three fully specified noun phrases in one clause,

- (28) **I–torol ni Pedro tang mano ong bisita ta.**
 Irr:PV–give PersSgGEN Pedro NOM chicken OBL guest 1IncGen
‘Pedro will give the chicken to our guest.’

A typologically unusual phenomenon occurs when there is a sequence of two personal pronouns in a transitive clause. When the Patient is a first- or second-person Nominative—that is, when the Patient is an overt pronoun—an inverse Patient-Actor word order obtains, with the Actor coming from the Oblique (rather than Genitive) pronoun set, as illustrated in (29) and (30).

- (29) PATIENT ACTOR
I–tabid da yen.
 Irr:PV–accompany 2sgNom 1sgObl
‘I will include you.’

- (30) PATIENT ACTOR
I–tabid do nio!
 Irr:PV–accompany 1sgNom 2sgObl
‘Include me!’

This inverse word order is obligatory in pronoun clusters involving a first- or second-person Patient. Although an inverse Patient-Actor word order may be fairly frequent in Philippine languages,¹⁶ Oblique-marking on the Actor is unusual, and distinguishes Kalamianic from most Philippine language subgroupings, including Palawan languages to the South.

¹⁶ Appendix A in DuBois and Dubois 2005 contains a discussion of word order inverse in Tagabawa, and notes in footnote 241 that word order inverses have been documented in various Philippines languages, e.g. Cebuano (Payne 1994), Butbut Kalinga (Mijares and Brainard 1996), Obo Manobo (Brainard and Vander Molen 1997), Mayoyao Ifugao (Hodder 1999), and Kagayanen (Pebley and Brainard 1999).

The inverse pronoun order in Kalamianic pronouns is not triggered solely by phonological weight, as can be seen in Table 3, where Nominatives precede Obliques regardless of whether the Nominatives are mono- or di-syllabic.¹⁷

Table 3. Logical combinations of Agutaynen pronouns involving first- and second-person Patients

	Nominative Patient	Oblique Actor
Itabid do nio	1sg	2sg
Itabid do nandia	1sg	3sg
Itabid do nindio	1sg	2pl
Itabid do nira	1sg	3pl
Itabid da yen	2sg	1sg
Itabid da nandia	2sg	3sg
Itabid da yamen	2sg	1Exc
Itabid da nira	2sg	3pl
Itabid ita nio	1Inc	2sg
Itabid ita nandia	1Inc	3sg
Itabid ita nindio	1Inc	2pl
Itabid ita nira	1Inc	3pl
Itabid ami nio	1Exc	2sg
Itabid ami nandia	1Exc	3sg
Itabid ami nindio	1Exc	2pl
Itabid ami nira	1Exc	3pl
Itabid amo yen	2pl	1sg
Itabid amo nandia	2pl	3sg
Itabid amo yamen	2pl	1Exc
Itabid amo nira	2pl	3pl

For comparison, Table 4 gives the Genitive Actor pronouns used with third-person Patients. Note that the Genitive Actor pronouns immediately follow the verb, and the occurrence of a Free Patient pronoun is optional.

Table 4. Logical combinations of Agutaynen pronouns involving third-person Patients

	Genitive Actor	(Free Patient)
Itabid do (tanandia/tanira)	1sg	3sg/pl
Itabid mo	2sg	
Itabid na	3sg	
Itabid ta	1Inc	
Itabid amen	1Exc	
Itabid mi	2pl	
Itabid nira	3pl	

There is apparently a morphophonological rule at work in Kalamianic, then, which disallows a cluster of two clitic pronouns. Evidence for such a rule can be seen in examples (31) through

¹⁷ All Oblique (and Free) pronouns are phonologically heavy, a fact which is masked by an orthography that does not indicate vowel length (or sequences of identical vowels), as in 1sgObl [yeen] and 1sgFree [yoo]. Whether these are tautosyllabic bimoraic forms or consist of two light syllables remains to be determined.

(41). Examples (31) and (32) show the Patient-Actor inverse order in a post-verbal pronoun cluster, with an Oblique-marked Actor.

- (31) **I–tabid do nio!**
 Irr:PV–accompany 1sgNom 2sgObl
 ‘Include me!’
- (32) **I–tabid ami nindio!**
 Irr:PV–accompany 1ExcNom 2plObl
 ‘Include us!’

If a clause begins with a Negative, Adverb or Deictic pronoun, there are two possible patterns for the Patient and Actor pronouns to take. Examples (33) and (34) show the pronouns fronted as a cluster, in the case of an initial Negative.

- (33) **Indi=o nio i–tabid!**
 NEG 1sgNom 2sgObl Irr:PV–accompany
 ‘Don’t include me!’
- (34) **Indi ami nandia i–tabid.**
 NEG 1ExcNom 3sgObl Irr:PV–accompany
 ‘S/He will not include us.’

Although fronting the entire cluster as a unit to pre-verbal position is grammatical, it is rarely attested in actual speech. The much more common pattern is to front only the Patient pronoun. Such a pattern breaks up the pronoun cluster, and the Actor pronoun, once again in immediate post-verbal position, ‘reverts’ to Genitive-marking, as in (35) and (36).

- (35) **Indi=o i–tabid mo!**
 NEG 1sgNom Irr:PV–accompany 2sgGen
 ‘Don’t include me!’
- (36) **Indi ami i–tabid na.**
 NEG 1ExcNom Irr:PV–accompany 3sgGen
 ‘S/He will not include us.’

Examples (37) through (40) show that any additional clitics or adverbs associated with a pronoun cluster get fronted along with the Nominative Patient. The Oblique marking of the Actor in (37) and (39) provides evidence that the two pronouns form a cluster whenever they occur on the same side of the verb.

- (37) **I–tabid do ra lamang nio!**
 Irr:PV–accompany 1sgNom already just 2sgObl
 ‘Just include me (already)!’
- (38) **Indi=o ra lamang i–tabid mo!**
 NEG 1sgNom already just Irr:PV–accompany 2sgGen
 ‘Just don’t include me!’

- (39) **I–tabid do kay lagi nindio!**
 Irr:PV–accompany 1sgNom REQ immediate 2plObl
 ‘Please include me!’
- (40) **Indi=o kay lagi i–tabid mi!**
 NEG 1sgNom REQ immediate Irr:PV–accompany 2plGen
 ‘Please don’t include me yet.’

A final example of Agutaynen pronoun use is included here that is unaccounted for in the ‘logical’ possibilities of Table 3. Example (41) shows a first-person plural inclusive Actor co-occurring with a second-person Nominative Patient. Such a combination frequently occurs in colloquial, spoken Agutaynen, and could be called the ‘familiar we’, which decreases formality and distance, as opposed to the English ‘editorial we’, which increases the same.

- (41) **Indi=a i–tabid ta.**
 NEG 2sgNom Irr:PV–accompany 1IncGen
 ‘(Don’t worry.) I (lit. we) will not include you’

2.2 Kalamian Tagbanwa

Kalamian Tagbanwa pronouns in transitive clauses pattern the same as Agutaynen pronouns in terms of ordering and marking, with essentially no differences between the two languages. There are, however, some small differences which will be noted here for the sake of completeness. The first two differences relate to phonetic or phonological detail.

A distinctive of Kalamian Tagbanwa, as opposed to Agutaynen, pronouns is that vowel-initial pronouns condition consonant weakening in preceding stem-final voiced consonants. That is, voiced bilabial and (back) velar stops become fricatives, while the voiced alveolar stop becomes a flap in a VC=V environment. Example (42) shows a verb ending in a voiced bilabial stop followed by another consonant. In example (43), where the same verb stem is immediately followed by a vowel-initial pronoun, the stop has become a fricative.¹⁸ Similarly, (44) shows a verb ending in a voiced (back) velar stop that becomes a fricative in (45). Example (46) shows a voiced alveolar stop that becomes a flap in (47) in the same VC=V environment.

- (42) **T<um>aklib pa.**
 Irr:AV–pass.by yet/still
 ‘S/he will continue passing-by.’
- (43) **T<um>akli μ =aw pa.**
 Irr:AV–pass.by 1sgNom yet/still
 ‘I will continue passing-by.’
- (44) **Mag–belag da tanira?**
 Irr:AV–divorce now 3plNom

¹⁸ Again, sample sentences are written in the orthography of the language. KTB orthographic μ , \times and r represent IPA β [voiced bilabial fricative], ν [voiced velar fricative], and r [voiced alveolar flap], respectively. The = symbol does not appear in the orthography, but is used here to indicate a clitic pronoun.

'Will they divorce (each other) now?'

- (45) **Mag-bela x= amu ra?**
 Irr:AV-divorce 2plNom now
Are you (pl) going to divorce (each other) now?

- (46) **Mag-pakled da.**
 Irr:AV-enter now/already.
'S/he will enter now.'

- (47) **Mag-pakler=ami ra.**
 Irr:AV-enter 1ExcNom now
'We will enter now.'

Another minor difference in Kalamian Tagbanwa versus Agutaynen pronouns is that the first singular Nominative and Genitive forms in KTB are not homophonous. This results in significantly less ambiguity. Examples (48) and (49) show the Nominative and Genitive first singular pronouns in intransitive and transitive clauses, respectively.

- (48) **M-ulik= aw ra.**
 Irr:AV-go.home 1sgNom now
'I will go home now.'

- (49) **Ulik-en= u ra yang talaana.**
 go.home-Irr:PV 1sgGen now NOM nursing-mother¹⁹
'I will go home now to the nursing mother.'

A third kind of difference observed in the use of Kalamian Tagbanwa pronouns is the possibility of two Nominative forms appearing in a single command. Example (50) shows the typical way to issue an invitation to eat, with a first plural inclusive pronoun. Example (51) shows how a speaker may choose to repeat such an invitation, this time with an additional second person plural pronoun, in order to get the addressees' attention in a polite way. Note that the second person pronoun also occurs in the clitic Nominative form, as opposed to the Free form, which might otherwise be expected with a vocative or emphatic use.

- (50) **Mamangan=ita ra.**
 Irr:AV-eat 1IncNom now
'Let's eat now!'

- (51) **Mamangan=ita ra amu.**
 Irr:AV-eat 1IncNom now 2pl.Nom
'Let's eat now, you (people)!

¹⁹ The term 'nursing mother' is a jocular reference to the speaker's wife who is beyond the child-bearing stage of life.

3. Some brief comparisons

3.1 Palawanic languages

It is instructive to compare pronoun ordering and marking in Kalamianic with that of some Palawanic languages to the South, represented here by Aborlan Tagbanwa and Southwest Palawano.²⁰ In neither of these languages does the inverse Patient-Actor pronoun order occur, but rather Actor-Patient is the normal order with GEN-NOM marking, as illustrated in (52) and (53).

(52) ABORLAN TAGBANWA (data from Green ms, glosses revised)

Buwatan mu aku= t pasil.

make-IRR:BV 2sgGen 1sgNom GEN top

'Make a spinning top for me.'

(53) SOUTHWEST PALAWANO (data from Davis ms, glosses revised)

Tinebangan ye kami.

help-PERF:PV 3sgGen 1ExcNom

'He helped us.'

One slightly unusual pronoun pattern reported by Davis for Southwest Palawano is the obligatory use of the first-person dual form for a first singular Actor whenever the Patient is second-person. This pattern is illustrated in (54).

(54) SOUTHWEST PALAWANO (data from Davis ms, glosses revised)

Nebiri te ikew.

see-PERF:PV 1dlGen 2sgNom

'I saw you.'

This pattern is obviously similar to the 'familiar we' of Agutaynen illustrated in (41) above, and one which likely occurs in many Philippine languages. The difference for Southwest Palawano as Davis reports it is that the dual form is the only way to indicate a first-person (singular) Actor with a second-person Patient.

Interestingly, Central Tagbanwa—a language whose status in Kalamianic has been questioned—patterns with the Palawanic languages to the South with regard to pronoun ordering and marking. Example (55) illustrates the same GEN-Actor NOM-Patient pattern that occurs in Aborlan Tagbanwa and Southwest Palawano.

(55) CENTRAL TAGBANWA (data from Scebald pers. com., glosses revised)

Iatid mo ako doon ka karsada.

IRR:PV-escort. 2sgGen 1sgNom over.there OBL street

'Escort me over to the street!'

²⁰ Thanks to Peter Green and Bill Davis for enlightening conversation on Aborlan Tagbanwa and Southwest Palawano, respectively, and to Rob Scebald for additional information on Central Tagbanwa. Personal pronoun charts for these languages are included in Appendix 1.

3.1 Some Northern Philippine languages

It was stated above that the Kalamianic microgroup is an isolate, and it is certainly distinct from nearby languages of Palawan with regard to its NOM-Patient OBL-Actor patterning of pronouns. Brainard (pers. com.) reports that a Patient-Actor word order inverse occurs in many languages throughout the Philippines, eleven of which she has documented.²¹ The following languages of the Cordilleran region have such an inverse along with Oblique-marking on the Actor pronoun, just as happens in Kalamianic: Upper Tanudan Kalinga, Lower Tanudan Kalinga, Butbut Kalinga, Mayoyao Ifugao and Tuwali Ifugao.²² Some illustrative examples are given in (56) through (58).

- (56) LOWER TANUDAN KALINGA (data from Brainard, pers. com., glosses revised)

Bikungon *dika kan dida.*
hit-Imperf:PV 2sg OBL 3pl
'They will hit you.'

- (57) BUTBUT KALINGA (data from Mijares and Brainard 1996, glosses revised)

Inabot= *a' a sija.*
Perf:PV-meet 1sgNom OBL 3sg
'He met me.'

- (58) MAYOYAO IFUGAO (data from Hodder 1989 via Brainard pers. com., glosses revised)

Tinning *cha'mi ay hija.*
Perf:PV-see 1plExcNom OBL 3sg
'He saw us.'

The similarity between Kalamianic and these languages of the Cordilleran region is not complete, however, due to differences in the marking of full NP Actors, pronoun Patients, and circumstances under which the word order inverse applies in the first place. With regard to the marking of full NPs, for instance, Upper and Lower Tanudan Kalinga mark both full NP and pronoun Actors as Oblique in a word order inverse, whereas in Kalamianic only pronoun Actors take Oblique-marking. In the same Kalinga languages, the a set of pronouns used for the Patient in inverse constructions is unique to that construction, whereas Patient pronouns in Kalamianic share the Nominative forms also used for Actors in intransitive clauses. Finally, these and other languages differ with respect to when a word order inverse can or must occur. In Kalamianic, the inverse occurs only (and always) with a first- or second-person pronoun Patient. In other languages, the word order inverse may occur obligatorily in some environments and optionally in others.

²¹ These examples of word order inverses are not limited to pronoun Actors and Patients, but also include proper nouns and full NPs.

²² To date, these languages of the Cordilleran region are the only ones known to the authors (apart from Kalamianic) to employ the NOM-Patient OBL-Actor pronoun pattern.

3.2 Some Southern Philippine languages

Two languages of the Southern Philippines for which a word order inverse has been documented are Tagabawa and Obo Manobo.²³ Both languages have a unique set of pronouns used only for the Actor in Patient-Actor inverse constructions. Obo Manobo has a particularly robust system which allows for both orders, even with the same Patients and Actors. Examples (79) and (86) from Brainard and Vander Molen (2005) are re-numbered here as (59) and (60) to demonstrate the Actor-Patient and Patient-Actor orders, respectively. Although the Actor and Patient remain constant in person and number, they take different forms according to the order in which they appear.

(59) OBO MANOBO (data from Brainard and Vander Molen 2005)

Actor Patient

Od suntukon *du* *siyak*.

IRR hit–PV 2sg 1sg

'You hit me.'

(60) OBO MANOBO (data from Brainard and Vander Molen 2005)

Patient Actor

Od suntukon *a* *nikkow*.

IRR hit–PV 1sg 2sg

'You hit me.'

How these pronouns interact with other clitics, or with Negatives or other fronted Adverbials, has yet to be documented fully.

Brainard (pers. com.) also reports that word order inverses occur in Kagayanen, Tagakaulo Kalagan and Davawenyo Kalagan, each under slightly different circumstances. In each case, however, pronouns keep the same marking for Actor-Patient and Patient-Actor orders, that is GEN-NOM or NOM-GEN.

4. Summary

Pronouns and their uses have been demonstrated here for the Kalamianic microgroup of languages, as represented by the Agutaynen and Kalamian Tagbanwa languages. The pattern of pronoun ordering and marking in Kalamianic differs from Palawan languages to the South (and indeed from many Philippine and/or Austronesian languages) in that an inverse word order (obligatorily) occurs in Kalamianic whenever there is a first- or second-person Patient involved. In such an instance, the 'normal' Actor-Patient order for clauses with full NPs becomes NOM-Patient followed by OBL-Actor. The OBL-marking on the Actor persists as long as the two pronouns occur on the same side of the verb. NOM-marked pronouns are obligatorily attracted to Negatives or other fronted Adverbials. In transitive clauses, the Actor pronoun optionally takes a pre-verbal position along with the Patient and any other particles that form part of the pronoun cluster. If the Actor remains in post-verbal position, however, it 'reverts' to GEN-marking, the same as when an Actor Pronoun is followed by a full NP Patient. Since Genitive and Nominative

²³ For Tagabawa particulars, see Appendix A of DuBois and DuBois (2005:182-198) on 'Case markers, pronouns, locatives, and prepositions in Tagabawa'. For Obo Manobo, see Brainard and Vander Molen (2005).

pronouns are phonologically bound forms, and Oblique forms are phonologically free, it appears that there is a morphophonological rule at work in Kalamianic which prevents two bound forms in the same pronoun cluster.

Pronouns in Palawanic, as represented here by Aborlan Tagbanwa and Southwest Palawano, do not demonstrate the same inverse order for pronouns. Interestingly, Central Tagbanwa, a language whose Kalamianic status has been questioned by Zorc and Himes (pers. com.), patterns with the Palawanic languages, in this respect.

Kalamianic is not alone among Philippine languages in exemplifying a word order inverse, but it is rather unusual in the way it marks an OBL-Actor pronoun. The only other languages known to date which use OBL-marking on Actors in inverse constructions are Upper Tanudan Kalinga, Lower Tanudan Kalinga, Butbut Kalinga, Mayoyao Ifugao, and Tuwali Ifugao.²⁴ Unlike in Kalamianic, these languages also have unique pronoun forms for the Patient in inverse constructions. Some languages of the Southern Philippines also display a word order inverse, but mark pronouns in a different manner. Languages such as Obo Manobo and Tagabawa have unique forms for Actor pronouns in inverse constructions. Languages such as Kagayanen, Tagakaulo Kalagan and Davawenyo Kalagan maintain GEN-marking on Actors and NOM-marking on Patients in either order.²⁵

²⁴ It is likely, of course, that the same pattern would be found in other Kalinga and Ifugao languages if data were available. Unlike in Kalamianic, these languages use OBL-marking on full NPs as well as on pronoun Actors in inverse constructions.

²⁵ We are indebted to Sherri Brainard especially for the content of this paragraph, as she has generously shared and persistently explicated the results of years of her as-of-yet unpublished research on word order inverses in a range of Philippine languages. We also wish to thank Celeste Lee, and especially Loren Billings, for enlightening conversation and challenging questions over the past couple of years that led to our undertaking the present description of pronoun ordering and marking in Kalamianic.

Appendix

Pronoun sets are included here for Aborlan Tagbanwa and Southwest Palawano, thanks to Peter Green and Bill Davis, as these are not readily available elsewhere. Central Tagbanwa pronouns are included for comparison, from Scebold (2003). Obo Manobo pronoun sets can be found in Brainard and Vander Molen (2005), and Tagabawa pronoun sets are explained in Appendix A of Dubois and Dubois (2005).

Aborlan Tagbanwa personal pronouns (data from Green 2001, terminology revised)

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
1sg [+Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	aku	ku	aken
2sg [-Spkr, +Addr, -Pl]	ka/ikaw	mu	imu
3sg [-Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	kanya	ya	kanya
1Inc [+Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	ta/kita	ta/tami	aten
1Exc [+Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	kami	namen	amen
2pl [-Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	kamu	mi	imyu
3pl [-Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	kanya	nira	kanira

Southwest Palawano personal pronouns (data from Davis 1995, terminology revised)

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique	Free
1sg [+Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	ko	ko	daken/dag	ako
2sg [-Spkr, +Addr, -Pl]	ke	mo	dimo	ikew
3sg [-Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	ye	ye	kenye	ya
1dInc [+Spkr, +Addr, -Pl]	te	te	kite	kite
1plInc [+Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	teyo	teyo	kiteyo	kiteyo
1Exc [+Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	kay	kay	damen	kami
2pl [-Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	kaw	muyo	dimuyo	kemuyo
3pl [-Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	diye	diye	kedye	diye

Central Tagbanwa personal pronouns (from Scebold 2003:45)

	Nominative	Genitive	Oblique
1sg [+Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	ako	ko	kakin/kin
2sg [-Spkr, +Addr, -Pl]	kawa/ka	mo	kanimo/nimo
3sg [-Spkr, -Addr, -Pl]	kanya	niya/ya	kanya
1Inc [+Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	kita	ta	katin
1Exc [+Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	kami	kamin	kamin
2pl [-Spkr, +Addr, +Pl]	kamo	mi	kanimi
3pl [-Spkr, -Addr, +Pl]	tila	nila	kanila

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