Manifestations of Participants in Atayal: A Cross-dialectal Study
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1. Introduction
(1) Atayal, one of the Austronesian languages spoken in Taiwan, consists of two major dialects; namely, Squiliq and C’uli’.
(2) The dialects investigated in this paper are Wulai Atayal (Squiliq), Mayrinax Atayal (C’uli’) and Plngawan Atayal (C’uli’).
   (i) Wulai Atayal being surrounded by Han people has lost a lot of structural properties.
   (ii) Mayrinax being the most conservative dialect has retained most of the structural properties that have been lost in others.
   (iii) Plngawan being close to Seediq people presents a lot of characteristics of language contact.
2. Participants expressed by nouns and case markers

2.1 Sets and forms of case markers

### Table 1 Case markers in Squliq Atayal (Huang 1993)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Dat/Loc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Ben</th>
<th>Ins</th>
<th>Com</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Table 2 Case markers in Mayrinax Atayal (Huang 1995)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Dat</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Ben</th>
<th>Ins</th>
<th>Com</th>
<th>Neu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

### Table 3 Case markers in Plngawan Atayal (Huang 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Acc/Loc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Ben</th>
<th>Ins</th>
<th>Com</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td>Animate</td>
<td></td>
<td>ci?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inanimate</td>
<td></td>
<td>naka?</td>
<td></td>
<td>na?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4a  Case marking systems of the three named Atayal dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom</th>
<th>Acc</th>
<th>Dat</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Gen</th>
<th>Ben</th>
<th>Ins</th>
<th>Com</th>
<th>Neu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wulai</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayrinax</td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proper</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plngawan</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4b  Revised case marking systems of the three named Atayal dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Nom (Acc/Dat/Loc)</th>
<th>Acc (Acc/Dat/Loc)</th>
<th>Obl (Gen/Ben/Ins)</th>
<th>Com</th>
<th>Neu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wulai</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayrinax</td>
<td>Common</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Proper</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plngawan</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+/-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2 Summary

2.2.1 Shared characteristics

(i) They all have Nominative, Accusative (including so-called Dative and Locative cases), Comitative, and Oblique (including Genitive, Beneficiary and Instrument cases) and these cases function similarly in the named dialects.

(ii) Cases can be further differentiated depending on whether they precede proper nouns or common nouns, though such differentiation in Wulai and Plngawan Atayal (represented by ‘+-’) is not as significant as that in Mayrinax Atayal.

2.2.2 Different characteristics

(i) While the three dialects all have Nominative, Accusative, Comitative, and Oblique (or Genitive) cases, only Mayinax Atayal has the Neutral case.

(ii) While the case systems in the three dialects can be differentiated in terms of their preceding proper nouns or common nouns, the case markers in Mayinax Atayal can be further categorized with respect to the notion of ‘referentiality’ and Plngawan Atayal the property of ‘animacy’.

(iii) While Mayrinax Atayal doesn’t allow the alternating use of different case markers before proper nouns and common nouns, Wulai and Plngawan Atayal enjoy more freedom, except that Wulai Atayal has the case markers intended for common nouns extending their scope to proper nouns, while Plngawan Atayal presents an opposite situation, i.e. allowing the case markers used for proper nouns to precede common nouns.
3. Participants manifested by pronouns

3.1 Sets and forms of pronouns

Table 5 Pronouns in Wulai Atayal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Bound</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nomitive</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>Person</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>saku?; ku?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>su?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>ta?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Inclusive)</td>
<td>sami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (Exclusive)</td>
<td>simu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (Inclusive)</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Gen+2S.Nom</td>
<td>misu?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6  Pronouns in Mayrinax Atayal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Case</th>
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<td>Genitive</td>
<td>Neutral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cu; ci?</td>
<td>mu; mi?</td>
<td>kuiŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>su?; si?</td>
<td>su?</td>
<td>isu?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>nia?</td>
<td>hiya?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1 (Inclusive)</td>
<td>ta?; ti?</td>
<td>ta?; ti?</td>
<td>ita?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Exclusive)</td>
<td>cami</td>
<td>niam</td>
<td>cami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>cimu</td>
<td>mamu</td>
<td>cimu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>nha?</td>
<td>nha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Gen+2S.Nom</td>
<td>misu?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Person</td>
<td>Case</td>
<td>Bound</td>
<td>Free</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nomitative</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>cu; ci?</td>
<td>mu</td>
<td>kinan; kinaŋ</td>
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<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>su?</td>
<td>su?</td>
<td>sinan; sinaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>ni?</td>
<td>hiyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>1 (Inclusive)</td>
<td>ta?</td>
<td>ta?</td>
<td>itan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 (Exclusive)</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>min</td>
<td>caminan; caminaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>mamu</td>
<td>mamu</td>
<td>cimunan; cimunaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>naha?</td>
<td>lahan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Gen+2S.Nom</td>
<td>misu?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2S.Gen+1S.Nom</td>
<td>saku?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1S.Nom+3S.Gen</td>
<td>cini?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2S.Nom+3S.Gen</td>
<td>sini?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1P.Nom+3S.Gen</td>
<td>mini?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2P.Nom+3S.Gen</td>
<td>mani?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8  Sets of pronouns in the three named Atayal dialects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialect</th>
<th>Free-bound Case</th>
<th>Bound</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulai</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayrinax</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plngawan</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9  Forms, distribution and functions of the Atayal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Free-bound Case</th>
<th>Bound</th>
<th>Free</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms</td>
<td></td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syntax/distribution</td>
<td>marked by case markers</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as Predicate</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as Topic</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Functions</td>
<td>alone as response</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>emphatic/contrast</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>disambiguation</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Summary

3.2.1 Shared characteristics
(i) They have no gender distinction; i.e. no masculine – feminine contrast;
(ii) They make a distinction between ‘inclusive’ (speaker + addressee) and ‘exclusive’ (addressee not included) first person plural pronouns;
(iii) They have no bound Nominative pronouns for third person singular or plural.

3.2.2 Different characteristics
(i) The three dialects all have Nominative, Genitive and Neutral pronouns, and these pronouns function similarly in the named dialects. Yet only the Neutral pronouns in Mayinax and Plngawan can be preceded by case markers; the Neutral pronouns in Wulai can not. Furthermore, only the Neutral pronouns in Plngawan can be affixed with tense/aspect markers.
(ii) While Wulai and Plngawan have Locative pronouns, Mayrinax does not. The Locative pronouns function rather similarly in Wulai and Plngawan, but they appear more frequently in Plngawan than in Wulai, especially when they manifest the patient participant.
(iii) The three dialects all have the fossilized pronoun misu? ‘1S.Gen + 2S.Nom’, but Plngawan has more.
(iv) Ordering constraints of bound pronouns: while both Wulai and Mayrinax illustrate the following constraints, Plngawan only presents the first two.
(a) 1st/2nd person (singular or plural) > 3rd person;
(b) fossilized lexical pronoun *misu?* (when 1st & 2nd person singular pronouns cooccur)
(c) singular > plural (when 1st and 2nd person pronouns cooccur, and one is singular and the other plural);
(d) Patient > Agent (when 1st and 2nd person plural pronouns cooccur).

4. Concluding remarks
Data from Plngawan Atayal
Informant: Watan Nawi Age: 60 (born in 1946)

Text 1: saβaβa? ci ke? na itaral ‘Learning our Atayal language’

   [AF-happy=1S.Nom learn.AF Acc word Gen mother=1S.Gen self]
2. k<um>aral ci? ke?=mu nak ya?, yo na hulhul ka kisi=mu.
   [say<AF>say Acc word=1S.Gen self Top like warm Nom heart=1S.Gen]
3. si paskake=cini? ke? na? itaral
   [ te>ach.LF=1S.Nom+3S.Gen word Gen Atayal
4. ni? yaki yutas=mu ya?,
   [Gen grandma grandpa=1S.Gen Top
5. kaŋarac-un=mu m-usahaan? saβaβa?=cü k<um>aral.
   [concentrate-PF=1S.Gen AF-listen Conj learn.AF=1S.Nom say<AF>say]
6. m-aiλaŋ=cü saβaβa? haŋ ya?,
   [AF-lazy=1S.Nom learn.AF temporarily Top
7. pawas-an=cu=nuha? haŋ.
   [sing-LF=1S.Nom=3P.Gen temporarily]
8. “ule? minubah, ana=mamu m-usa? inu?,
   [child following ever=2P.Nom AF-go where
   [Neg.Imp forget.AF Acc word=1P.Gen]
10. ke? hani ya?, kakinuxan=ta?, yiwa na hamalit ni? yaya?
    [word this Top future:life=1P.Gen equivalent to tongue Gen mother yaβa?,’
   [father]
11. m-usahaan=cü ci? awas=nuha? la ya?,
    [AF-listen=1S.Nom Acc song=3P.Gen Part Top
    [miss-PF=1S.Gen Nom deceased-grandma deceased-grandpa=1S.Gen Part]
13. m-yaβel=cü malahpan ya?, sipel-un=mu ka? laha?.
    [AF-sleep=1S.Nom midnight Top dream-PF=1S.Gen Nom 3P.Neu]
14. yo na nyel pasβa? maha,
    [like Prog.Prox teach.AF say.AF
    [Neg.Imp=1P.Gen forget.PF Nom word=1P.Gen]

‘I am happy to learn my mother tongue. When I speak my language, my heart is warm. When my grandma and grandpa taught me the Atayal language, I listened very carefully and learned to speak it. Sometimes when I was lazy to learn, they would

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1 The abbreviations and symbols used in this paper are as follows. 1S: First person singular; 1PE: First person plural exclusive; 1PI: First person plural inclusive; Acc: Accusative case; Act: Active; AF: Agent focus; Aux: Auxiliary; Ben: Benefactive case; BF: Benefactive focus; Com: Comitative case; Dat: Dative case; Dist: Distal; Dyn: Dynamic; Fin: Finite; Gen: Genitive case; IF: Instrument focus; Imp: Imperative; Ins: Instrument case; Irr: Irrealis; LF: Locative focus; Loc: Locative case; NAF: Non-agent focus; Neg: Negation; Neu: Neutral; Nfin: Non-finite; Nom: Nominaive case; Nrf: Nonreferential; Obl: Oblique; Part: Particle; PF: Patient focus; Prf: Perfective aspect; Prog: Progressive aspect; Prox: Proximal; Q: Question; Real: Realis; Red: Reduplicate; RF: Referential; Top: Topic; < >: indicating the enclosed element is infix or its gloss; =: indicating the following bound pronoun is a clitic.
sing to me saying, “Child, wherever you go, don’t forget our language. This language is the future (hope) of our life; it is like our parents’ tongue.” When I heard their song, I would think about my deceased grandparents. When I sleep at midnight, I would dream of them. It’s like that they are teaching me by saying, “Don’t forget our language!”

Text 2: Taken from rumuji cu musa pastana? ya$k'an mu la ‘I forgot to pick up my father’

1. m-aha=cu pastana? ya$ba-n=mu.
   [AF-go=1S.Nom pick:up.AF father-Acc=1S.Gen]
2. cyel m-umarah calak.
   [Prog.Dist AF-work water:field]
   [Neg Nom car Red-go pick:up.AF 3S.Loc]
4. m<in>oh morow tehuk calak.
   [AF<Prf>go house arrive.AF water:field]
   [Aux.Prf=1S.Nom+3S.Gen lend-LF car=3S.Gen uncle=1S.Gen]
   [say<AF>say 1S.Loc Nom uncle=1S.Gen take.PF Nom car=1S.Gen Part]
7. hal-i pastana? ya$ba?=su$.”
   [go-LF pick:up-AF father=2S.Gen]
8. “ho!” sun=mu c<um>ik k<um>aral.
   [all:right say.PF=1S.Gen respond<AF>respond say<AF>say]
   ‘I am going to pick up my father. He is working in the field. From home to the field, I have no car to ride to pick him up. My uncle lends me his car. He says, “Take my car and pick up your father!”’ I respond saying, “All right!”

I. Case marking

I. Nominative and Accusative case

(1) a. m-asye? ci? watan-patient ka? temu
   [AF-laugh Acc Watan Nom Temu]
   ‘Temu is laughing at Watan’
   b. m-asye? cika? watan-patient ka? temu
   [AF-laugh Acc Watan Nom Temu]
   ‘Temu is laughing at Watan (for some reason)’

(2) a. cyel tehuk ci? ule?_location=mu ka? yumin
   [Prog.Dist arrive.AF Acc child=1S.Gen Nom Yumin]
   ‘Yumin has arrived at my child’s place’
   a’. cyel tehuk ci? ule?_patient=mu ka? yumin
   [Prog.Dist arrive.AF Com child=1S.Gen Nom Yumin]
   ‘Yumin has arrived at my child’s place’
   b. m<in>oh cika? na$b=ki? watan
   [AF<Prf>come Acc old:man Nom Watan]
   ‘Watan has been to the old man’s place’
   b’. m<in>oh ci? na$b=ki? watan
   [AF<Prf>come Acc old:man Nom Watan]
   ‘Watan has been to the old man’s place’

(3) a. m-asye? watan-an_patient ka? temu
   [AF-laugh Watan-Acc Nom Temu]
   ‘Temu is laughing at Watan’
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a'. *m-asye? ciʔ watan-an\_patient kaʔ temu
[AF-laugh Acc Watan-Acc Nom Temu]
a''. *m-asye? uleʔ-an\_patient kaʔ temu
[AF-laugh child-Acc Nom Temu]

(4) a. m<in>oh watan-an kaʔ yumin
[AF<Prf>come Watan-Acc Nom Yumin]
‘Yumin has been to Watan’s place’
b. awah kinan cuxan aw?
[come.AF 1S.Loc tomorrow Q]
‘Come to my place tomorrow, ok?’

**Beneficative case**

(5) a. s<in＞ily=mu\_agent niʔ yaβaʔ\_benefactee=mu kaʔ huřil\_patient=su?
[beat<PF=1S.Gen Ben father=1S.Gen Nom dog=2S.Gen]
‘I once beat your dog for my father’
b. m-pa-silîy=cu\_agent niʔ/naʔ naβki\_benefactee ciʔ huřil\_patient=su?
[AF-Irr-beat=1S.Nom Ben old:man Acc dog=2S.Gen]
‘I’ll beat your dog for the old man’

**Instrument case**

(6) a. s<in＞ily=mu\_agent naʔ naʔariʔ\_instrument kaʔ huřil\_patient=su?
[beat<PF=beat=1S.Gen Ins stick Nom dog=2S.Gen]
‘I once beat your dog with a stick’
b. sa-silay-un=mu\_agent naʔ naʔariʔ\_instrument kaʔ huřil\_patient=su?
[Red-beat-PF=1S.Nom Ins stick Nom dog=2S.Gen]
‘Your dog will be beaten by me with a stick’

**Comitative case**

(7) a. nyel=miʔ\_agent m-awas ciʔ temu\_accompanient
[Prog.Prox=1PE.Nom AF-sing Com Temu]
‘I am singing with Temu’
b. m<in>awas=miʔ\_agent ciʔ naβki\_accompanient
[AF<Prf>sing=1PE.Nom Com old:man]
‘I once sang with the old man’

(8) a. nyel=mamu\_agent m-awas ciʔ temu\_accompanient yaʔ?
[Prog.Prox=2P.Nom AF-sing Com Temu Q]
‘Are you singing with Temu?’
b. m<in>βahiy=mamu\_agent ciʔ temu\_accompanient hira
[AF<Prf>fight=2P.Nom Com Temu yesterday]
‘You fought with Temu yesterday’

(9) a. cyel ma-sa-silîy kaʔ watan\_agent lahaʔ/*ø ciʔ temu\_accompanient
[Prog.Dist Rec-Red-beat Nom Watan 3P.Neu Com Temu]
‘Watan and Temu are beating each other (with sticks)’
b. cyel m-aruy kaʔ huril\_agent lahaʔ ciʔ ŋyaw\_accompanient
[Prog.Dist AF-dance Nom dog 3P.Neu Com cat]
‘The dog is dancing with the cat’
c. cyel m-aruy ka? yiluŋAgent laha? ci? kukukAccompanient
   [Prog.Dist AF-dance Nom chicken 3P.Neu Com duck]
   ‘The chicken is dancing with the duck’

    [delicious.AF very Nom chicken 3P.Neu Com duck]
    ‘The chicken and the duck are very delicious’

(11) a. m-pa-bahiy=cuAgent ci? watanPatient laha? ci? temuAccompanient
    [AF-Irr-beat=1S.Nom Acc Watan 3P.Neu Com Temu]
    ‘I will beat Watan and Temu’

b. m-pa-siliy=cuAgent ci? huriliPatient laha? ci? nyawAccompanient
    [AF-Irr-beat=1S.Nom Acc dog 3P.Neu Com cat]
    ‘I will beat the dog and the cat (with a stick)’

II. Pronouns

Nominative pronouns
(12) a. m<in>ani?cuAgent la
    [AF<Prf>eat-1S.Nom Part]
    ‘I have eaten’

b. s<un>kisili-cuAgent hiyan
    [like<AF>-1S.Nom 3S.Loc]
    ‘I like him’

c. iya?-cuPatient kixur-i
    [Neg-1S.Nom cheat-PF]
    ‘Don’t cheat me!’

Generative pronouns
(13) a. ule?-muPossessor
    [child-1S.Gen]
    ‘my child’

b. kixur-un-muAgent hiya?Patient
    [cheat-PF-1S.Gen 3S.Neu]
    ‘I cheated him’

Fossilized pronouns
(14) a. ini?-misu? kixur-i
    [Neg-1S.Gen+2S.Nom cheat-PF]
    ‘I didn’t cheat you’

b. ini?-saku? kixur-i
    [Neg-2S.Gen+1S.Nom cheat-PF]
    ‘You didn’t cheat me’

Locative pronouns
(15) a. iya? kaixur kinanPatient
    [Neg cheat.AF 1S.Loc]
    ‘Don’t cheat me!’
b. awah **kinan** location cuxan aw ?
   [come.AF 1S.Loc tomorrow Q]
   ‘Come to my place tomorrow, ok?’

b’. awah **kinan** lu ras-un-misu? m-ani?
   [come.AF 1S.Loc Conj take-PF-1S.Gen+2S.Nom AF-eat]
   ‘Come to my place and I’ll take you to eat’

c. **kinan** predicate ka kanaŋ hani
   [1S.Loc Nom pipe this]
   ‘This pipe is mine’

**Tense/aspect**
(16)a. arat **ni-kanan** ka wanux haca haŋ, kinaŋ micuw la
   [Neg Prf-1S.Loc Nom cattle that Part 1S.Loc now Part]
   ‘That cattle was not mine; it is now’

b. arat kinaŋ micuw ka wanux hani haŋ, mpu-**kinan** baβuw ni? la
   [Neg 1S.Loc now Nom cattle this Part AF.Irr-1S.Loc later Part]
   ‘This cattle is not mine now; it will be later’

**Neutral pronouns**
(17)a. **kuri** topic ᵃ, arat pa-**kaniŋ** ci? ucyux
   [1S.Neu TOPIC Neg Irr-eat Acc fish]
   ‘As for me, I won’t eat fish’

b. cyel hunco? ka **hivaŋ** agent haca?
   [Aux what Nom 3S.Neu that]
   ‘What is he doing?’

c. kixur-un-**mu** agent **hivaŋ** patient
   [cheat-PF-1S.Gen 3S.Neu]
   ‘I cheated him’

**Ordering of pronouns**
(A) Free pronouns: Non-Subject/Loc > Subject/Neu
(18)a. mpa-sraŋi kinaŋ ka **hivaŋ**
   [Irr-make.friends 1S.Loc Nom 3S.Neu]
   ‘He wants to make friends with me’

b. mpa-sraŋi sinaŋ ka **hivaŋ**
   [Irr-make.friends 2S.Loc Nom 3S.Neu]
   ‘He wants to make friends with you’

(B) Bound pronouns:
(i) 1ˢᵗ/2ⁿᵈ person (singular or plural) > 3ʳᵈ person (e.g. [19a-f]);
(19)a. kixur-un-**cu-ni**?
   [cheat-PF-1S.Nom-3S.Gen]
   ‘He will cheat me’

b. kixur-un-**su-ni**?
   [cheat-PF-2S.Nom-3S.Gen]
   ‘He will cheat you’

c. kixur-un-**cu-naha**?
   [cheat-PF-1S.Nom-3P.Gen]
   ‘They will cheat me’
d. kixur-un-su?-naha?
   [cheat-PF-2S.Nom-3P.Gen]
   ‘They will cheat you’

e. s<in>ili-min-ni?
   [beat<Prf.PF>beat-1P.Nom-3S.Gen yesterday]
   ‘He beat us yesterday’

f. s<in>ili-mamu-ni?
   [beat<Prf.PF>beat-2P.Nom-3S.Gen yesterday]
   ‘Did he beat you (pl) yesterday?’

g. kixur-un-min-naha?
   [cheat-PF-1P.Nom-3P.Gen]
   ‘They will cheat us’

h. kixur-un-mamu-naha?
   [cheat-PF-2P.Nom-3P.Gen]
   ‘They will cheat you (pl)’

(ii) fossilized lexical pronouns: Gen-Nom (e.g. [20a-b])
(20)a. kixur-un-misu?
   [cheat-PF-1S.Gen+2S.Gen]
   ‘I will cheat you’

b. kixur-un-saku?
   [cheat-PF-2S.Gen+1S.Gen]
   ‘You will cheat me’

(iii) fossilized lexical pronouns: 1st/2nd-3rd (e.g. [21a-d])
(21)a. kixur-un-gini?
   [cheat-PF-1S.Nom+3S.Gen]
   ‘He will cheat me’

b. kixur-un-sini?
   [cheat-PF-2S.Nom+3S.Gen]
   ‘He will cheat you’

c. s<in>lay-an-mini?
   [beat<Prf>beat-LF-1P.Nom+3S.Gen yesterday]
   ‘He beat us yesterday’

d. s<in>lay-an-mani?
   [beat<Prf>beat-LF-2P.Nom+3S.Gen yesterday]
   ‘He beat you (all) yesterday’