

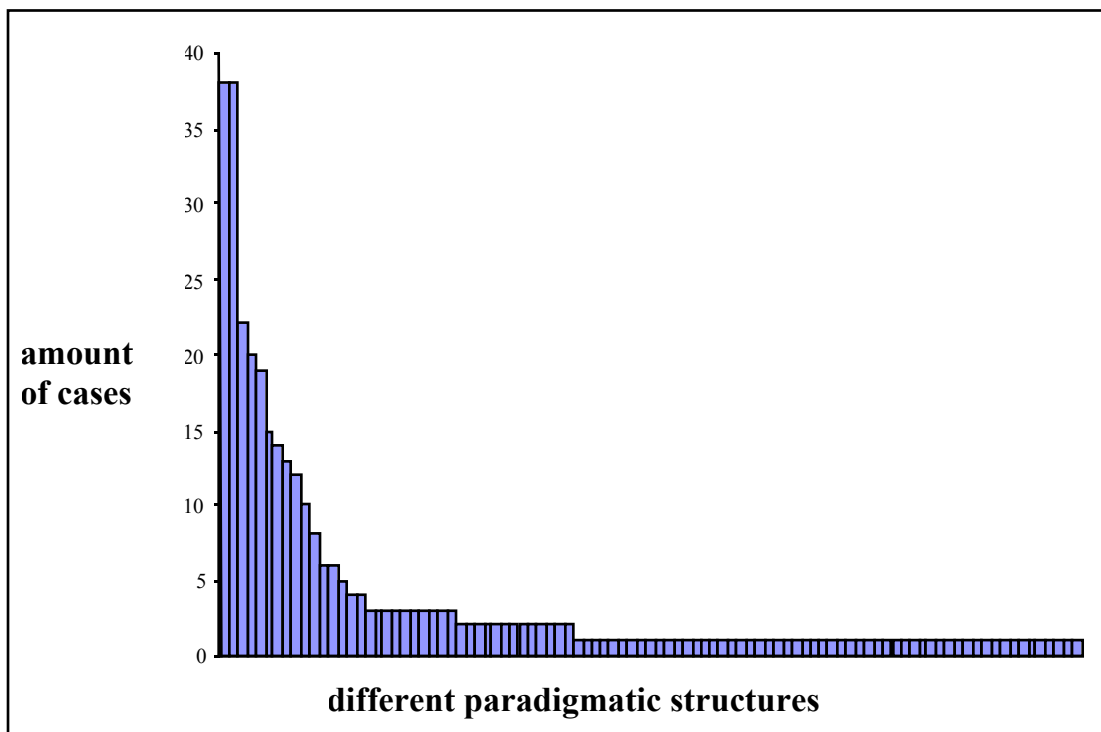
Zur Vielfalt sprachlicher Personmarkierung

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1. Introduction

Figure 1.1. Continuum of variation



2. Method

Figure 2.1. Conceptual framework for person marking

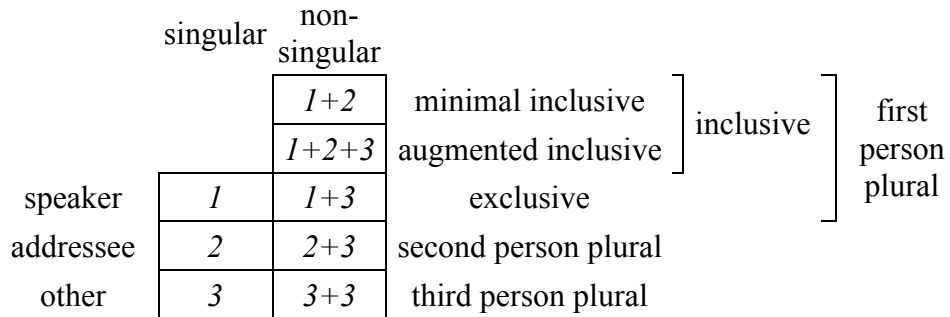


Figure 2.2. Latin present suffixes

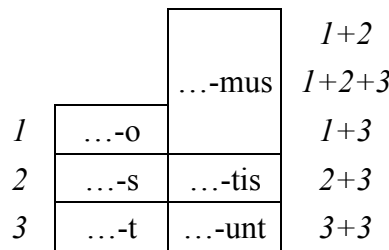


Figure 2.3. Kunimaipa perfective suffixes (Pence, 1968; Geary, 1977)

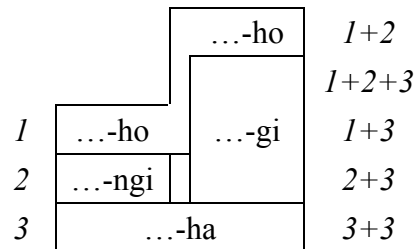
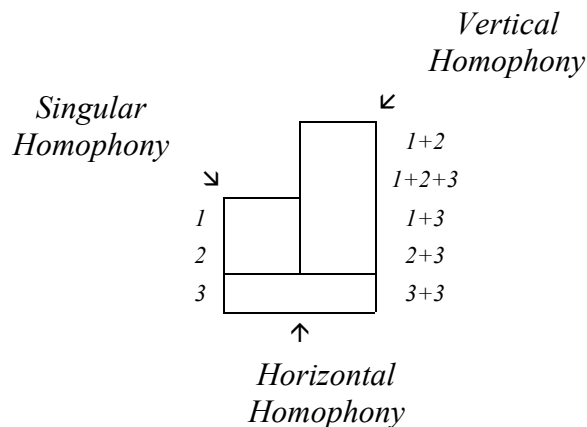


Figure 2.4. Different kinds of homophony (syncretism)



3. Singular homophony

Figure 3.1. Dutch present suffixes (without inversion)

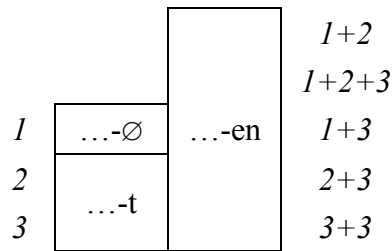


Figure 3.2. Spanish imperfect suffixes

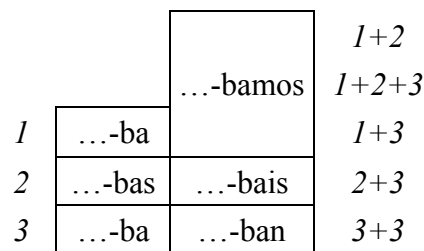


Figure 3.3. English present suffixes

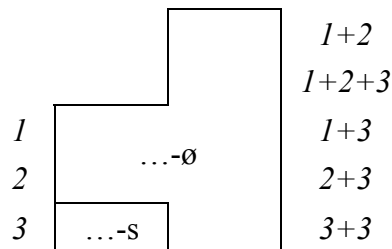


Figure 3.4. Different kinds of singular homophony

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

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

4. Vertical (Non-singular) homophony

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

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

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

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

Figure 4.3. Vertical homophony without an inclusive/exclusive opposition

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

Figure 4.4. Vertical homophony with an inclusive/exclusive opposition

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

5. Horizontal homophony

Figure 5.1. English independent pronouns

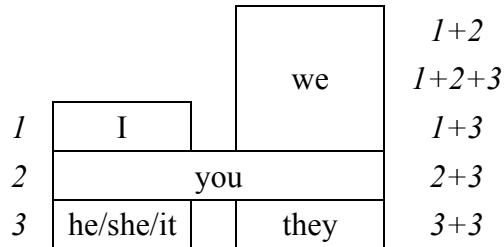


Figure 5.2. German subject suffixes

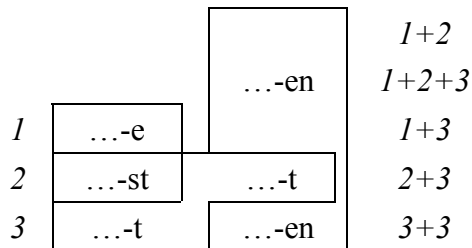


Figure 5.3. Huave intransitive prefixes (Stairs & Hollenbach 1969: 48-53)

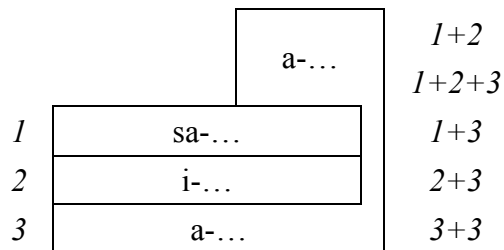


Figure 5.4. Horizontal Homophony Hierarchy

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

Figure 5.5. Exemplars of the Horizontal Homophony Hierarchy

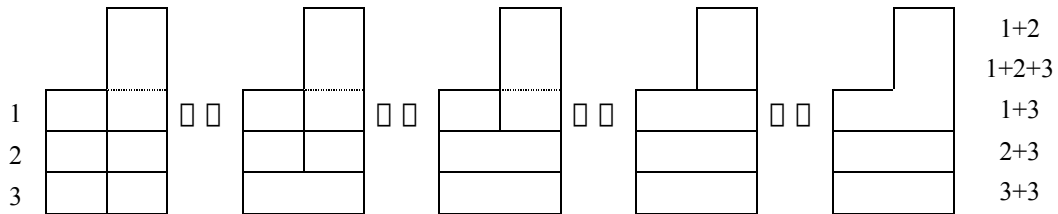


Figure 5.6. Horizontal homophony shows a slight preference for inflectional marking

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

6. Pure Person

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

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 6.4. Explicitness Hierarchy

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

Figure 6.5. Exemplars of the Explicitness Hierarchy

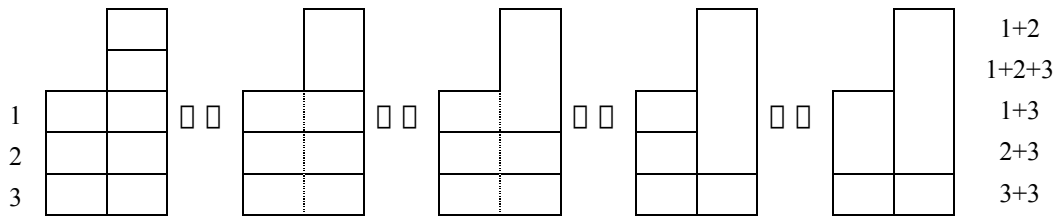


Figure 6.6. Correlation with Horizontal Homophony Hierarchy

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

7. Gender

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

Figure 7.1. Nama independent pronouns

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

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

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

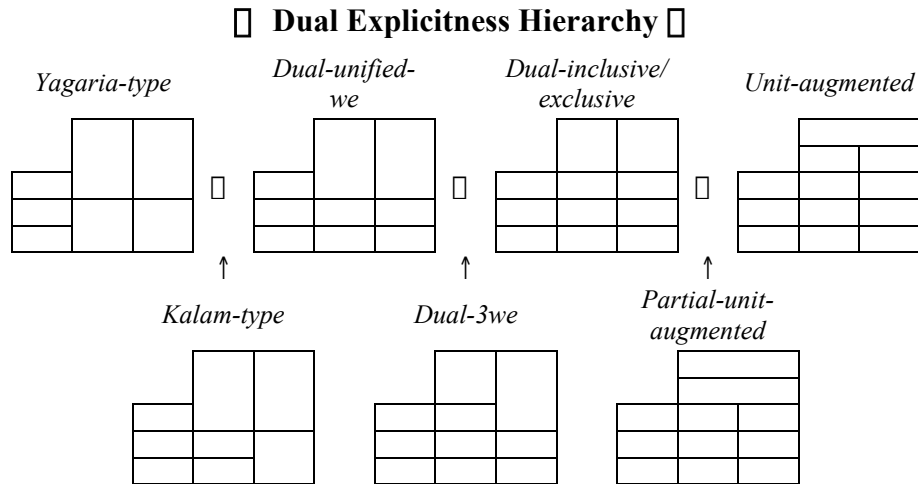
	Singular			Plural			Dual		
	Neut.	Fem.	Masc.	Neut.	Fem.	Masc.	Neut/Fem	Masc.	
				...-tà	...-se	...-ke	...-`m	...-kx`m	I+2
									I+2+3
1		...-ta							I+3
2		...-s	...-ts	...-tù	...-so	...-ko	...-rò	...-kxà	2+3
3	...-`i		...-p	...-`n	...-tì	...-ku	...-rà		3+3

Figure 7.3 Nama pronominal roots

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

8. Number

Figure 8.1. Dual Explicitness Hierarchy



9. Connections between types

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

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

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

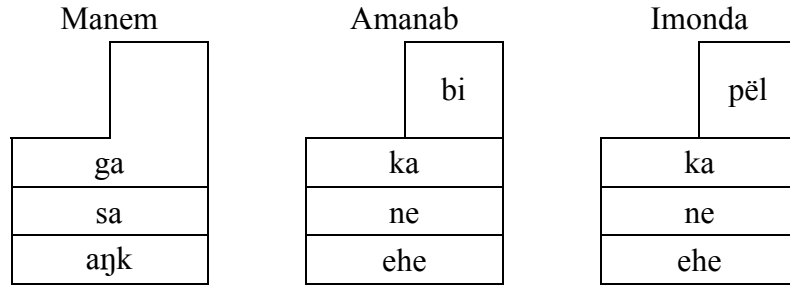


Figure 9.4. Web of interconnected paradigmatic structures

