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The Interactional Structure of Nominals: An Investigation of Paranouns

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The Interactional Structure of Nominals: An Investigation of Paranouns

by

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A THESIS

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Abstract

Pronouns are often thought to be a uniform syntactic class both inside and outside of linguistics. Despite this, comparing languages like Japanese and English reveals striking differences between their pronoun paradigms. English pronouns express contrasting sets of person, number, and gender features (i.e., phi-features), but Japanese pronouns encode far more content like the relative age, gender, and social status of the speaker, addressee, and other referents. Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) propose that the Japanese and Korean so-called pronouns are actually a different type of nominal called paranouns. This thesis takes Ritter & Wiltschko's conceptual description of paranouns and develops a set of explicit diagnostics for distinguishing pronouns and paranouns and tests a sample of six East and Southeast Asian languages whose so-called pronouns have similar properties to those of Japanese and Korean (namely: Burmese, Khmer, Thai, Vietnamese, Lao, and Malay/Indonesian). It also tests the broader syntactic distribution of paranouns in the context of binding theory. This thesis concludes that five of the six languages tested have paranouns rather than pronouns while one language, Malay/Indonesian, appears to be transitioning from having pronouns to having paranouns. It also determines that the binding theoretic properties of paranouns are distinct from those of pronouns.

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but love and faith in me and what I could accomplish long before I recognized my own potential.

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For Charisse and Marvin McDonald

Abbreviations

Spkr	Speaker
Adr	Addressee
GroundP	Ground phrase
RespP	Response phrase
DP	Determiner phrase
PhiP	Phi Phrase
NumP	Number phrase
NP	Noun phrase
FEM	Feminine
MASC	Masculine
FRML	Formal
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
INCL.	Inclusive
EXCL.	Exclusive
SG	Singular
PL	Plural

TOP	Topic
COP	Copula
HON	Honorific
Q	Question
NOM	Nominative case
ACC	Accusative case
GEN	Genitive case
PAST	Past tense
PRES	Present tense
PAn	Proto-Austronesian
PMP	Proto-Malayo-Polynesian
SI	Standard Indonesian
SM	Standard Malay
CJI	Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian
CM	Colloquial Malay
ECV	Eastern Contact Variety of Malay
LM	Larantuka Malay

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem

It is no surprise that pronouns and their use differ greatly across languages. Not only can they vary in their person, number, and gender (i.e., phi-feature) specifications, but their grammatical and sociocultural uses can vary as well. For example, the use of pronouns in English is very different from their use in Japanese. Firstly, as shown in Tables 1 and 2, the pronoun inventories look very different.¹ Japanese has far more forms than English, and the plural forms are analytic rather than synthetic as they are in English. In other words, plural forms are derived by the addition of the plural suffixes *-tachi*, *-ra*, and *-domo* to the singular forms. However, these plural suffixes are generally optional in the 1st and 2nd person (Kaiser et al., 2001, p. 370). There is an abundance of 1st and 2nd person forms and their use differs based on the speaker's gender and the formality of the relationship between the speaker and addressee, but also on the gender, age, and sociolinguistic status of the speaker, addressee, or other referents (Kaiser et al., 2001, p. 370).

¹ For the purposes of this thesis I will be focusing only on independent personal pronouns.

Table 1.1 Japanese personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	watashi, watakushi, kochira, boku, ore, washi, atachi, uchi, jibun	[-tachi] watashitachi, watakushitachi...
2 nd	anata, sochira, kimi, omae, anta, kisama	[-tachi, -gata] anatatachi/anatagata, sochiratachi/sochiragata...
3 rd	ko/so/ano kata, ko/o/aitsu, ko/so/ano hito, kare, kanojo	[-tachi, -ra] karera/karetachi, kanojora/kanojotachi...

Table 1.2 English personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st	I	we
2 nd	you	you
3 rd	he, she, they, it	they

There are also several differences between English and Japanese pronouns in terms of their use. For example, Japanese pronouns can only refer to people whereas

English pronouns can refer to people, animals or objects.² Also, the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) Chapter 45 “Politeness distinctions in pronouns” identifies Japanese as a language that avoids the use of pronouns for reasons of politeness, whereas English is identified as a language with no politeness distinctions (Helmbrecht, 2013). That is, in Japanese, pronouns are normally not used in polite address; instead, titles or kin terms are often used in their place (Helmbrecht, 2013). Japanese is also a *pro*-drop language where subjects and objects of a sentence are often omitted when the referents are retrievable from context, so this is another pronoun avoidance strategy (Akiyama & Akiyama, 1991). In Japanese, using the wrong pronouns – whether referring to oneself, the addressee, or another individual – can offend or embarrass the speaker, addressee, or referent, as they reflect gender, age, status, etc. In English, with more recent innovations of definite singular *they* and neopronouns³, similar embarrassment or offence can occur, generally on the premise of gender identity and/or expression, but only in the 3rd person as 1st and 2nd person pronouns in English are not gendered. All of this is to say, if a speaker is unsure of which pronoun they should use in a given situation, sometimes it is just safer to avoid them.

Given these significant differences between the pronoun paradigms of English and Japanese, one might wonder how or why these paradigms came to look so different. While there are, of course, sociocultural differences that may lead to different politeness conventions in conversation, there is also a syntactic explanation

² There are exceptions to this for animals or objects granted special animate status, for example, family pets or anthropomorphized objects.

³ *Neopronouns* are new and innovative pronouns that are used in place of *he/she/they*, e.g., *ze/zir/zirs*.

that might shed some insight into why these pronoun inventories are so distinct from one another. Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) propose that the forms commonly referred to as pronouns in Japanese are actually a different type of nominal called PARANOUNS. In order to understand the difference between these types of nominals, we must first introduce the *Duality of Person Hypothesis*.

1.2 Duality of Person Hypothesis

Pronouns are often thought to be bundles of morphosyntactic features distinguishing person, number, and gender (i.e., phi-features). Ritter & Wiltschko (2018) propose that the differences between Japanese paranouns and English pronouns may be attributed in part to different kinds of features and introduce the Duality of Person Hypothesis (DPH). This hypothesis distinguishes *grammatical person* features and *pragmatic person* features to account for the variability seen between personal pronoun and paranoun inventories. Grammatical person features are $[\pm 1]$ and $[\pm 2]$ which can account for a four-way person distinction; 1st inclusive, 1st exclusive, 2nd, and 3rd person (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2018, p. 5). Grammatical gender is comprised of binary gender features like $[\pm \text{FEM}]$ and is defined in terms of agreement and concord, whereas pragmatic gender lacks these binary features and can exist in languages with no agreement (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2018, p. 6). Ritter & Wiltschko (2018) suggest that a grammatical $[\pm \text{PL}]$ feature is interpreted as an additive plural, denoting a set of entities (e.g. books = book + book + book...). This contrasts with $[-\text{PL}]$, which denotes a singleton. Associative plural, assumed to be a pragmatic feature, denotes a group consisting of one focal individual and their associates (Moravcsik, 2003, pp. 471–472). Additive plurals must occur with grammatical person, but associative

plural can occur with either grammatical or pragmatic person (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2018, p. 6). It will be important to note later that 1st person plural is always associative as it is presumed that there is (almost) never a group of speakers at a given time, but rather that there is one speaker and the other individuals in the 1st person plural group are associated with them, whether or not this includes the addressee (Harley & Ritter, 2002, p. 6). Formality (social deixis) distinctions are assumed to be instances of pragmatic person (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2018, p. 7). Languages can differ in which type of features their pronouns have, and in some instances, they may have a combination of pronouns with grammatical features and pronouns with both grammatical and pragmatic features.

Now that the DPH has been explained, the theoretical differences between pronouns and paranouns can be explored.

1.2.1 Background on Category of Paranouns and Pronouns

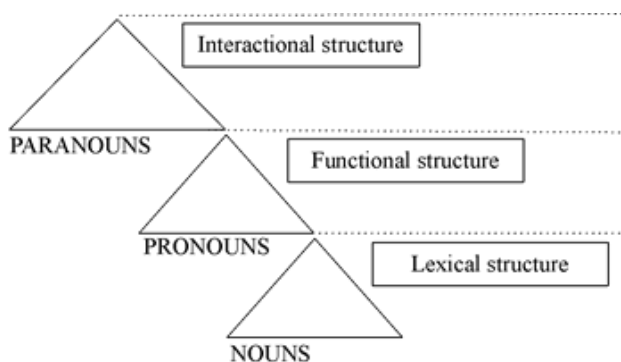
Several linguists have posited the existence of an “interactional” layer of syntactic structure (see Heim et al., 2016; Hill, 2013; Speas & Tenny, 2003). This is an abstract layer of grammatical structure located above the CP that encodes a wealth of pragmatic, discourse, and contextual information. According to Heim et al., (2016) and Wiltschko (2021) this interactional layer of clausal structure contains a Resp(onse)P that encodes whether or not a response is expected from the addressee, as well as two GroundPs which encode the speech act participants’ attitudes toward the propositional content. More specifically, Ground_{Spkr}P encodes the speaker’s attitude toward the proposition, and Ground_{Adr}P encodes the speaker’s beliefs about the addressee’s attitude toward the proposition. Hence, the interpretive function of

the GroundP layer is to manage the common ground in the sense of Stalnaker (1978, 2002).

Ritter & Wiltschko (2018) posit a parallel interactional layer of nominal structure which encodes the attitudes of the speech act participants toward the referent of the nominal. This nominal interactional layer plays a role in deciding whether to refer to someone by their name, their title, a kinship term, a common noun, or a pro/paranoun⁴.

On this view, nominals have three layers of structure: the lexical structure, consisting of NP and nP; the functional structure, consisting of DP and other functional categories (e.g., NumP), sometimes collectively referred to as PhiP; and the interactional structure, consisting of Ground_{Spkr}P, Ground_{Adr}P and RespP. Paranouns are associated with the interactional structure, pronouns with the functional structure, and nouns with the lexical structure, as diagrammed in (1.1).

(1.1) The structure of nominals

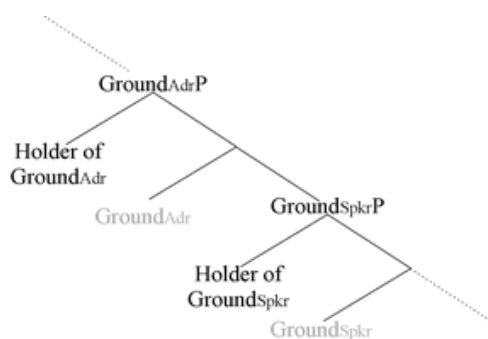


(McDonald, Ritter & Wiltschko, 2021, fig. 6)

⁴ This thesis will use the cover term pro/paranoun when the status of a form as a pronoun or paranoun is either irrelevant or unknown.

Within the interactional layer, paranouns are associated with either $\text{Ground}_{\text{Spkr}}\text{P}$, or $\text{Ground}_{\text{Adr}}\text{P}$. Paranouns denoting the addressee (or, more precisely, the holder of the addressee's ground) are in the specifier of $\text{Ground}_{\text{Adr}}\text{P}$ and paranouns denoting the speaker (or, more precisely, the holder of the speaker's ground) are in the specifier of $\text{Ground}_{\text{Spkr}}\text{P}$ (cf. McDonald et al., 2021, p. 5). This is diagrammed in (1.2).

(1.2) The structure of GroundPs



(McDonald et al., 2021, fig. 3)

Now that the structures associated with different categories of nominals have been established, the next subsection will explain the content associated with the different categories of nominals.

1.2.2 Background on Content Associated with Different Categories in Paranouns and Pronouns

Different levels of structure contain different types of features and content. For example, phi-features (i.e., grammatical person, number and gender features) are realized in functional heads such as D or Num, and therefore are internal to DP. These features include $[\pm 1]$, $[\pm 2]$, $[\pm \text{PL}]$, $[\pm \text{FEM}]$, etc.

Categories in the interactional spine, however, have different types of content. Rather than grammatical person features, there are pragmatic roles for person such as [Speaker], [Addressee], and [Other], as well as open-class sociolinguistic content such as conceptual gender, status, context of use, and possibly modifying plural features such as associative plural.

Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) propose that these different categories and types of features are at the core of the difference between English pronouns and Japanese paranouns. Paranouns differ from pronouns in that they are associated with the nominal interactional spine (specifically $\text{Ground}_{\text{SpkrP}}$, or $\text{Ground}_{\text{AdrP}}$) rather than with positions internal to DP. As paranouns are associated with a different level of structure, it follows that they have different features and content than pronouns. Pronouns contain the grammatical content (i.e., phi-features), and paranouns contain discourse roles and open-class sociolinguistic content.

Person in pronouns is expressed with different combinations of the two binary features $[\pm 1]$ and $[\pm 2]$. The combination $[+1, +2]$ results in an inclusive interpretation (i.e., speaker and addressee), $[+1, -2]$ gives an exclusive interpretation (i.e., just speaker), $[-1, +2]$ gives a 2nd person interpretation, and $[-1, -2]$ gives a 3rd person interpretation. Person in paranouns is expressed with the discourse roles [Speaker] for a form denoting the speaker, [Addressee] for a form denoting the addressee, and [Other] for a form denoting neither speaker nor addressee. Note, crucially, that there is no single discourse role that can give rise to a contrastively inclusive interpretation, which would require both the [Speaker] and [Addressee] roles.

Number in pronouns is expressed with the phi-feature [\pm PL] (and [\pm SG] in languages with dual number). A [+PL] feature results in a plural interpretation, and a [-PL] feature results in a singular interpretation. Paranouns may not be inherently specified for number but can be made explicitly plural by means of a modifying associative plural marker.

Gender in pronouns is expressed with the phi feature [\pm FEM] and/or [+MASC] resulting in feminine, masculine, or neuter gender, depending on which gender distinctions the language has. Paranouns have no gender features but can have sociolinguistic content that includes gender for this purpose.

In summary, pronouns are realized in the functional layer of the nominal and contain grammatical features. Paranouns are realized in the interactional layer and are comprised of discourse roles and sociolinguistic content. An example of an impossible pronoun would be one that encodes only formality and other types of sociolinguistic content as these are associated with the interactional layer. An example of an impossible paranoun would be one that is contrastively inclusive as paranouns can only have one discourse role.

1.3 Research Question

The proposal that some so-called pronouns are in fact paranouns is largely based on conceptual considerations, and on a comparison of the inventories of pronouns in English and other Indo-European languages to their Japanese and Korean counterparts. If the conceptual motivation for paranouns is valid, we should expect to find additional empirical motivation. In other words, we should expect to find other languages with paranouns, and that all paranoun languages have grammatical

properties that distinguish them from languages with pronouns. This thesis aims to test this hypothesis by running a sample of languages that share the property of avoiding pro/paranouns for reasons of politeness with Japanese and Korean against a set of diagnostics based on the contrasting grammatical properties of paranouns and pronouns, notably the presence/absence of an interactional layer and phi features in the nominal. The case study of languages that avoid pro/paranouns will be explored in chapters 2 and 3. Additionally, we should expect that pronouns and paranouns have different syntactic distributions. This thesis will explore the question of distribution by investigating the binding properties of English pronouns and Japanese paranouns.

1.4 Organization of Thesis

Chapter 2 will explore the properties of paranouns in more detail and develop a set of diagnostic properties for paranouns. These diagnostics will then be applied to a set of seven sample languages; six of which are languages that WALS Chapter 45 identifies as having pronouns that are avoided for reasons of politeness, and one which is closely related, genetically and geographically, to other languages in the sample. Included in this sample are Japanese and Korean, the only two languages that Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) identify as having paranouns. The results of this case study will show that so-called pronouns in all of these languages pass all of the paranoun diagnostics, and thus belong to the paranoun type. This shows that Japanese and Korean are not the only two languages with paranouns and that paranouns are not only conceptually motivated, but empirically motivated as well.

Chapter 3 will explore different varieties of Malay/Indonesian with respect to the diagnostics for paranouns developed in chapter 2. Among the varieties discussed

is Standard Indonesian, the only other language that WALS classifies as “avoiding pronouns for reasons of politeness”. What is interesting about Malay/Indonesian is that different varieties have very different inventories of pro/paranouns, and, consequently, they do not pattern in a uniform way with respect to the diagnostics developed in chapter 2. It will be suggested that the results of chapter 2’s diagnostics may actually indicate that certain varieties of Malay/Indonesian are transitioning from having pronouns to having paranouns. A possible mechanism by which pronouns could change into paranouns over time will be proposed. This chapter concludes that Malay/Indonesian is a language transitioning from having pronouns to paranouns, and no one variety can adequately represent the pro/paranoun⁵ inventory of the language because some have pronouns, and others have paranouns. Therefore, Malay/Indonesian cannot be generalized as a pronoun or paranoun language.

Chapter 4 will explore the consequences of the pronoun/paranoun distinction for binding theory (Chomsky, 1981). The point of departure is Dechaine & Wiltschko’s (2002) proposal that there is cross-linguistic variation in the category of pronouns, and different categories of pronouns have different binding theoretic properties. Assuming that paranouns realize categories of the interactional structure, we might expect them to have binding properties distinct from other types of nominals (e.g., anaphors, pronouns, R-expressions). Focusing narrowly on Japanese, I discuss evidence from Hoji (1990) that traditional binding theory cannot cover the

⁵ This thesis will use pro/paranoun as a cover term in situations where the category of a given form as a pronoun or paranoun is not relevant, not known, or indistinguishable. It may also apply in situations where a source refers to what I am calling paranouns as pronouns. With respect to Malay/Indonesian I conclude that the category of these forms varies from one variety to another, so pro/paranoun will be used to refer to the forms found in this language more generally.

binding facts of paranouns and other nominals in this language without modification. The facts indicate that Japanese paranouns are subject to principle B just as pronouns are, and that other Japanese interactional nominals (specifically, names, kin terms, and titles) are also subject to principle B. This is unexpected because names, kin terms, and titles are R-expressions, so they should be subject to principle C. Hoji (1990) observes this peculiarity and develops an additional binding principle, principle D, which encompasses certain binding properties of what I am calling interactional nominals. This chapter concludes that Japanese paranouns have different binding properties than pronouns, providing additional empirical motivation for distinguishing paranouns from pronouns.

This thesis provides support for the presence of the nominal interactional structure proposed in Ritter & Wiltschko (2019). The properties of paranouns provide empirical support for their conceptual base, as tested by the diagnostics developed in chapter 2. Chapter 4 offers a glimpse into the binding properties of Japanese which are consistent with paranouns being GroundPs, along with names, kin terms, and titles. While there are plenty of other aspects of paranouns and interactional nominals that remain unexplored, this thesis provides a foundation for future research to discover more about this recently identified syntactic class.

Chapter 2: Diagnosing Paranouns

Now that the basic concept of paranouns has been explained in chapter 1, the question arises as to how one can tell whether a language has pronouns, paranouns, or both. In the following section, I describe the theoretical differences between pronouns and paranouns, then develop several criteria for diagnosing paranouns based on Ritter & Wiltschko's (2019) description.

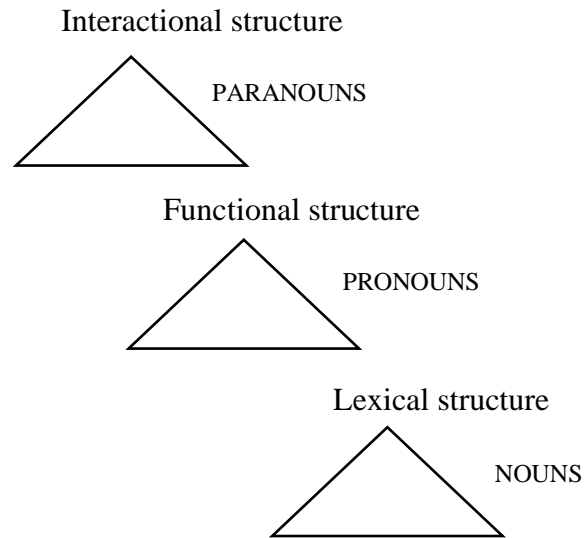
2.1 Differences between pronouns and paranouns

Based on Ritter & Wiltschko's (2019) description, there are two main differences between pronouns and paranouns: their internal composition and their position in the nominal structure. These differences are outlined in the following subsections.

2.1.1 The structural position of pronouns and paranouns

The first of the two main differences between pronouns and paranouns pertains to the position into which each type of nominal is interpreted. Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) account for three types of nominals: nouns, pronouns, and paranouns, each of whose content is interpreted in a different position in the nominal structure. As schematized in (2.1), nouns are assumed to merge in the lexical structure, pronouns in the functional structure, and paranouns in interactional structure, making paranouns the highest possible element in nominal structure (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2019, p. 10).

(2.1) Levels of nominal structure

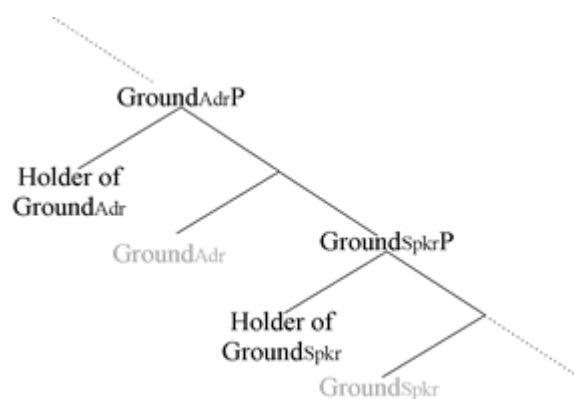


(Ritter & Wiltschko, 2019, fig. 10)

Each structure schematized in (2.1) contains different levels of structure. The lexical structure, as stated above, contains the open-class descriptive content of the nominal, namely the NP. The functional structure contains all functional heads of the nominal such as D(P), Num(P), etc. The interactional structure, also known as the speech act layer, consists of several levels according to Wiltschko (2014). The structures most relevant to paranouns are the GroundPs. GroundPs establish the common ground (in the sense of Stalnaker, 1978; 2002) between interlocutors including common knowledge and attitudes towards the content of the proposition and each other. There are assumed to be two GroundPs in the interactional structure: $\text{Ground}_{\text{Spkr}}\text{P}$ and $\text{Ground}_{\text{Adr}}\text{P}$. $\text{Ground}_{\text{Spkr}}\text{P}$ encodes the speaker's own knowledge and beliefs about the addressee and the content of the proposition. $\text{Ground}_{\text{Adr}}\text{P}$ encodes the speaker's beliefs about the addressee's knowledge and attitudes towards themselves, the

speaker, and the proposition. The speaker and addressee's beliefs about one another can include their relative ages, social status, gender, as well as how they are known to one another. The Spec of $\text{Ground}_{\text{SpkrP}}$ is assigned the role of [Speaker] from $\text{Ground}_{\text{Spkr}}$, therefore is where a speaker-oriented paranoun (i.e., a paranoun denoting the speaker) is interpreted. The Spec of $\text{Ground}_{\text{AdrP}}$ is assigned the role of [Addressee] from $\text{Ground}_{\text{Adr}}$, therefore is where an addressee-oriented paranoun (i.e., a paranoun representing the addressee) is interpreted. This is schematized in (1.2), repeated in (2.2).

(2.2) The structure of GroundPs



(McDonald et al., 2021, fig. 3)

Given that both GroundP projections relate to discourse participants (i.e., speaker and addressee), there is no obvious structural position within the interactional layer where a non-discourse participant (i.e., 3rd person) paranoun would be interpreted, nor do Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) address the issue of where a 3rd person form would merge under their theory. Despite this, paranouns that refer to neither speaker nor addressee can reasonably be expected to exist since how one refers to a discourse-external individual also varies depending on the shared knowledge and relationship between interlocutors. For example, a professor might refer to a

colleague by their first name when speaking to another colleague but refer to the same colleague by their title (e.g., *Professor Smith*) when speaking to a student (McDonald et al., 2021), so it is quite reasonable to assume that a 3rd person paranoun would be sensitive to the socio-linguistic content of GroundP. McDonald et al. (2021) claim that 3rd person paranouns are first interpreted in DP and are then reinterpreted in GroundP, where instead of assigning a discourse role to the holder of the Ground, the head of GroundP assigns a discourse role to the content of the Ground, i.e., the reinterpreted paranoun.

2.1.2 The compositional differences between pronouns and paranouns

The second of the two main differences between pronouns and paranouns pertains to the interpretive content of these nominals. Pronouns are said to be comprised of formal grammatical features, called phi-features⁶ (e.g. person, number, gender), corresponding to functional heads in the nominal structure (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2019, p. 9). Paranouns, on the other hand, contain content intrinsically associated with GroundP. In other words, they contain socio-linguistic and pragmatic content, rather than grammatical features (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2019, p. 9). Phi-features are a closed set of contrastive, binary-valued features such as the person features [± 1] and [± 2], number features [$\pm SG$] and [$\pm PL$], and gender features [$\pm MASC$] and [$\pm FEM$]. Pragmatic features, on the other hand, are an open set of properties that may or may not be contrastive, such as the discourse roles (i.e., [Speaker], [Addressee], and

⁶ Phi is a cover term for intermediate nominal functional categories such as Num in Ritter (1991) and Div, Num, and Coll in Massam (2009)

[Other]) and associative or modifying plurals, as well as other open-class socio-linguistic content that encodes conceptual gender, age, and social status.

Ritter & Wiltschko (2018) account for two types of person features under their *Duality of Person Hypothesis*. Under this hypothesis, person phi features are considered *grammatical person* features, whereas discourse role features associated with GroundP are considered *pragmatic person* features. While grammatical person contrasts are derived through contrasting binary features (e.g. [± 1 , ± 2]), pragmatic person features are privative (e.g. [Speaker]/[Addressee] features denoting a referent's role in the discourse). The differences between grammatical and pragmatic person features are shown in Table 2.1. Note that associative plural can combine with either grammatical or pragmatic person features, but additive plural can only combine with grammatical person features. Associative plural is considered pragmatic rather than grammatical because, rather than denoting a homogeneous set, it singles out a focal entity in the discourse and denotes a group that includes other entities associated with them. As foci are a pragmatic phenomenon, it follows that a plural marking strategy which employs them would also be pragmatic rather than grammatical.

Table 2.1 *Grammatical vs. pragmatic person features* (Ritter & Wiltschko, 2018, Table 5)

	Grammatical person	Pragmatic person
Grammatical number	[\pm plural] (or associative)	(only associative plural)
Grammatical gender	[\pm feminine], ...	(only semantic ⁷ gender)
3 rd person	[-1, -2]	?

⁷ Semantic gender is also referred to as *conceptual gender*.

1pl inclusive pronoun	[+1, +2]	(only [Speaker] or [Addressee])
Formality distinctions	no	yes

Now that the terms *pronoun* and *paranoun* have been differentiated, the following sections will develop and apply a series of diagnostics for distinguishing between them.

2.2 Diagnostics for Paranouns

As was discussed in 2.1, paranouns have certain properties that set them apart from pronouns. These properties can be used to develop diagnostics for identifying paranouns. The diagnostics for paranouns listed in Table 2.2 below will be motivated in Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2. Section 2.2.1 will motivate diagnostics D1 and D2 based on the structural position of paranouns, while section 2.2.2 will motivate diagnostics D3-8. As Japanese is one of the original prototypes for the paranoun type, each diagnostic will be illustrated with examples from Japanese, along with examples from English to illustrate the contrasting behavior of pronouns. Assuming Ritter & Wiltschko's (2019) paranoun theory, the term *paranoun* will be used to refer to what are traditionally considered "pronouns" in Japanese for the purposes of this thesis.

Table 2.2 *Diagnostics for paranouns*

Structural (Interactional Layer)	Diagnostic	D1	In a given context, the choice of a paranoun is determined by interactional properties, i.e., the identity of the interlocutors, their relations, and the context of interaction
	Diagnostic	D2	Kinship terms and titles frequently substitute for paranouns denoting Speaker and Addressee
Interpretive Content	Diagnostic	D3	Paranouns do not trigger phi-agreement on verbs.

(Absence of phi-features)	Diagnostic	D4	Paranouns do not trigger plural agreement.
	Diagnostic	D5	Paranouns do not trigger gender agreement.
	Diagnostic	D6	Sets of paranouns allow for more forms than can be distinguished from contrasting sets of phi- features.
	Diagnostic	D7	If a language with paranouns has pro-drop, it will be discourse-based and not agreement-based pro-drop
	Diagnostic	D8	There are no paranouns which are contrastively inclusive

2.2.1 Diagnostics based on the interactional layer

If paranouns merge directly into the interactional structure rather than in DP, as Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) claim, then certain properties would be expected to follow.

2.2.1.1 D1 – Paranouns are interactional

Ritter and Wiltschko (2018) mention in a footnote that humanness may be an additional diagnostic for pragmatic person features. This may be based on the idea that animals and inanimate objects are not normally interlocutors or speech act participants, as discourse is a uniquely human activity. In short, the use of paranouns is predicted to be centred around discourse context and the characteristics of the speech act participants. Additionally, unlike the phi-features that define pronouns, the interactional properties that define paranouns are neither binary nor minimally contrastive, allowing for an unlimited number of such features. This motivates diagnostic D1.

D1. In a given context, the choice of a paranoun is determined by interactional properties, i.e., the identity of the interlocutors, their relations, and the context of interaction.

This diagnostic holds true for Japanese as many sociolinguistic and contextual factors such as the age, gender, and social status of the discourse participants or referents must be considered when choosing a paranoun. Additionally, Japanese paranouns can normally only refer to humans, not to animals, inanimate objects, or ideas (Akiyama & Akiyama, 1991, p. 29, but see footnote 2 of Chapter 1 for exceptions). That is, paranouns in Japanese can only reasonably refer to possible discourse participants and cannot be used to denote referents for whom these sociolinguistic factors do not apply. Given the sheer number of paranouns available in Japanese, the interactional features and properties are essential in the process of choosing which paranoun to use in a given context.

This diagnostic does not hold for a language like English, where the identity of the interlocutors and their relationship does not play a role in selecting a pronoun to use. That is, a speaker will always use the pronoun *I* to refer to themselves, *we* if referring to themselves and others, and *you* when referring to one or more addressees, regardless of their relationship. In prescriptive grammars of English, the 3rd person pronoun *he* typically refers to males, *she* to females, and *it* to inanimate objects. Definite singular *they* is genderless and is often used to refer to non-binary people or to people whose gender is unknown or irrelevant. These may incorporate interactional properties to a degree based on the speaker's knowledge or perception of their referent's gender identity, but it is clear that, in general, the decision of which 3rd person pronoun to use in English is determined by the grammatical person, number, and perceived gender of the referent expressed through sets of binary phi-features. Therefore, English pronouns fail this diagnostic.

2.2.1.2 D2 – Kin terms and titles

McDonald et al. (2021) suggest that there are three types of nominals with interactional structure. Firstly, there are paranouns which are inserted directly into the interactional structure of the nominal spine. Secondly, there are formal pronouns such as French *vous*. This pronoun's unmarked interpretation is 2nd person plural but is also very commonly used as a formal pronoun denoting the 2nd person singular when the speaker wants to show respect to their addressee. Even with a 2nd person singular interpretation, *vous* triggers plural agreement on the verb, meaning it must contain the same 2nd person plural phi-features as when it yields its unmarked plural interpretation. Formal pronouns such as French *vous* are initially merged in the functional layer (DP), then undergo upward movement to GroundP where they receive their pragmatic and sociolinguistic interpretation. Lastly, kin terms and titles which have more lexical content than a pronoun are inserted in NP (the lexical layer) and undergo movement to the interactional layer to receive their interactional interpretation. Each of these types of nominals are assumed to have interactional structure and are sensitive to discourse context and the relationship between Speaker and Addressee. This prompts the following diagnostic:

D2. Kinship terms and titles frequently substitute for paranouns denoting Speaker and Addressee.

This diagnostic holds for Japanese, as kin terms and titles in this language are frequently used instead of paranouns. In fact, in Japanese, kin terms and titles are often preferred over paranouns (Akiyama & Akiyama, 1991, p. 30). This is shown in

(2.3), where instead of a paranoun, the title *sensei* ‘teacher’ is used to refer to the addressee.

(2.3) **Sensei**-wa zikan-ga wakari-masu-ka?⁸

teacher-TOP time-NOM know-HON-Q

‘Do you know the time?’ lit. ‘Does teacher know the time?’

This diagnostic does not hold for English. While kin terms are commonly used as imposters⁹ in English, especially in child-directed speech, kin terms and titles cannot stand as substitutes for pronouns in normal conversation in the same way that they can in Japanese. This is shown in (2.4).

(2.4) # Does **teacher** know the time? (intended: ‘Do you know the time?’)

2.2.2 Diagnostics based on the lack of phi-features

If paranouns lack phi-features (i.e., lack the grammatical features discussed in 2.1), certain properties would be expected to follow. These will be discussed in the following subsections.

2.2.2.1 D3 – Verb agreement

If phi-agreement is triggered on a verb, it necessarily entails the presence of phi-features on the agreement controller. A lack of phi-agreement on a verb does not necessarily entail a lack of phi-features on its controller, however. That is, paranouns

⁸ The romanization of the Japanese examples in this thesis are copied verbatim from their sources. Note that not all romanization in this thesis is consistent with the Hepburn system adapted from *Kenkyusha’s New Japanese-English Dictionary*.

⁹ Imposters are grammatically 3rd person expressions with 1st or 2nd person reference (Collins & Postal, 2012). McDonald et al. (2021) argue that kin terms and titles in paranoun languages are not imposters as such an analysis does not account for the sociolinguistic content associated with them nor the affinity between these nominals and paranouns in these languages.

must not trigger phi-agreement on verbs, but this does not predict that all pronouns which do not trigger phi-agreement on verbs are paranouns. In short, a lack of phi-agreement on a verb is a necessary but insufficient condition for diagnosing a paranoun. Therefore, a lack of phi-agreement is consistent with the paranoun typology and constitutes the following diagnostic:

D3. Paranouns do not trigger phi-agreement on verbs.

This diagnostic holds for Japanese, as shown in the example (2.5).

(2.5) Japanese¹⁰

a. **Watasi-ga** otya-o **nonda**

I-NOM tea-ACC drank

‘I drank tea’

b. **Kanojo-ga** otya-o **nonda**

she-NOM tea-ACC drank

‘She drank tea’

In both examples, the verb *nonda* ‘drank’ is not inflected for person, number, or gender. This shows that the verb does not agree with its subject (or object).

This diagnostic does not hold for English. While verb agreement is rather impoverished in English, verbs do minimally agree in person and number with their subjects, as shown in (2.6b) where the verb *drink* inflects for 3rd person singular to

¹⁰ Unless otherwise indicated, all Japanese examples were provided by Kimiko Nakanishi (p.c.).

give the form *drinks*, contrasting with (2.6a) where the verb *drink* is the default form used for all other combinations of person and number.

(2.6) English

- a. I drink tea.
- b. She drinks tea.

I assume that pronouns lack all phi-features (i.e., person, number, and gender features), and in the following subsections, I explore the effects of the absence of each of these phi-features individually.

2.2.2.2 D4 – Number agreement

If a pronoun lacks phi-features, it must specifically lack a grammatical number feature, i.e. [\pm PL]. While nominals are quite commonly marked for plural with a [\pm PL] feature belonging to the category of Num, there are other ways that nominals can be marked for plural that do not involve a plural phi-feature. One of these strategies is the associative plural, where rather than denoting a homogeneous set, it denotes a focal individual and others associated with them (i.e., ‘X and their associates, e.g., friends, family members, teammates’,) and invokes a semantically plural interpretation by virtue of denoting more than one object/individual (i.e., the focal referent and at least one associated other). Associative plural markers are commonly used with proper names and other nominals denoting humans, including common nouns and pronouns. As mentioned in 2.1.2, Ritter & Wiltschko (2018) claim that associative plural is not a plural phi-feature and therefore is compatible with pronouns. Another plural marking strategy which does not involve a plural phi-feature under Num is modifying pluralizers (i.e. non-inflectional plurals) (Wiltschko,

2008). Modifying pluralizers invoke a plural interpretation but are analysed as optional adjuncts to a functional head, rather than as the head itself. Both of these strategies are compatible with the lack of a plural phi-feature on the nominal being pluralized, and if this plural nominal lacks a plural phi-feature, it should not trigger plural phi-agreement. These facts give rise to the following diagnostic:

D4. Paranouns do not trigger plural agreement.

This diagnostic holds true for Japanese, as illustrated in (2.7). Japanese plural paranouns are formed by the associative plural markers such as *-tachi*, *-ra*, and *-domo* and these plural markers do not trigger plural agreement (Kaiser et al., 2001; Corbett, 2000).

(2.7) Japanese

a. Watashi-ga nanika-o katta

I-NOM something-ACC buy

‘I bought something’

b. Watashi-**tachi**-ga nanika-o katta

I-PL-NOM something-ACC buy

‘We bought something’

Nominals in languages like Japanese do not have a plural phi-feature because they do not instantiate a singular/plural distinction (Corbett, 2000). If a nominal lacks explicit plural marking in Japanese, it denotes general number (i.e., ‘one or more X’). Plural meaning in Japanese is often derivable from context, thus explicit plural marking is

normally optional, even for 1st and 2nd person pronouns. Corbett (2000) notes that in some languages with general number explicit plural marking can be optional for most nominals but certain characteristics of nominals (e.g. humanness, definiteness, etc.) favour plural marking, and, over time, this plural marking can become as good as obligatory (Corbett, 2000). This obligatoriness is not indicative of a grammatical plural, however, as this is a semantic/pragmatic difference rather than a syntactic one. In some cases, an associative plural marker may be required on pronouns for a plural interpretation, but, nonetheless, it is clear that bare pronouns express general number.

English fails this diagnostic. As English verb agreement is rather impoverished, verbs only agree with their subjects in number in the 3rd person singular. This is shown in (2.8).

(2.8) English

- a. He buys something.
- b. They buy something.

Note that if *they* in (2.8b) denotes a singular individual, the verb still agrees with the [+PL] phi-feature, showing that verbs agree with the grammatical number of their subject, not the semantic number. Number on English pronouns is a grammatical head feature. Unlike plural pronouns, the plural pronouns of English are synthetic rather than formed with an associative plural marker or a plural modifier.

2.2.2.3 D5 – Gender agreement

Similar to number, if paranouns lack phi-features they must specifically lack a grammatical gender feature (e.g. [\pm FEM], [\pm MASC]). Grammatical gender is normally defined in terms of agreement or concord. Agreement occurs when the predicate has the same phi-features as its subject (or some other nominal), and concord occurs when elements inside a nominal phrase (e.g. adjectives, determiners) have the same phi-features as the noun they modify or specify (Hockett, 1958, pp. 214–215).

While nominals do not always express grammatical gender overtly, this phi-feature is often detectable through the agreement it triggers. Adjectives are commonly incorporated into the syntax as modifiers or predicates. Since paranouns are a type of nominal, they can be modified by, or predicated of adjectives. Thus, the lack of a grammatical gender feature should be supported by a lack of adjectival agreement/concord. This prompts the following diagnostic:

D5. Paranouns do not trigger gender agreement/concord.

Note that the absence of grammatical gender features does not eliminate the possibility of encoding semantic or conceptual gender. The 3rd person paranouns *kare* ‘he’ and *kanojo* ‘she’ can also be used to mean ‘boyfriend’ and ‘girlfriend’, respectively (Kaiser et al., 2001, p. 374). However, they never trigger agreement/concord on adjectives, as shown in (2.9), regardless of whether the adjective is attributive, as in (2.9a) or predicative, as in (2.9b) and (2.9c).

(2.9) Japanese

- a. Watasi-no sutekina **kare/kanojo**
 I-GEN wonderful he/she
 ‘My wonderful boyfriend/girlfriend’
- b. Watasi-no **kare/kanojo**-wa suteki-da
 I-GEN he/she-TOP wonderful-COP
 ‘My boyfriend/girlfriend is wonderful.’
- c. **Kare/kanojo**-wa suteki-da
 he/she-TOP wonderful-COP
 ‘He/she is wonderful.’

Grammatical gender in English is also rather impoverished, but 3rd person singular pronouns encode grammatical gender features. Note that English pronouns cannot be modified with adjectives in the same way that Japanese pronouns can, but adjectives in English do not agree in gender with their subjects as they do in other languages with rich grammatical gender, like French. This distinction is shown in (2.10).

(2.10) English

- a. He is wonderful.
 b. She is wonderful.
 c. They are wonderful.

French

- d. Il est merveilleux.
 3SG.MASC be.3SG.PRES intelligent.MASC
 ‘He is intelligent’

- e. Elle est merveilleuse.
 3SG.FEM be.3SG.PRES intelligent.FEM
 ‘She is intelligent’

2.2.2.4 D6 – Paranoun inventories need not form contrastive paradigms

If paranouns lack phi-features, it would not be expected that they form paradigms that are contrastive for phi-features such as person, number, or gender. This means that the distinguishing features between different paranouns in a language are extra-grammatical. This could mean that a paranoun set will have fewer forms than a typical phi-contrastive paradigm, or perhaps significantly more. Since the pragmatic features that make up the different forms are not limited like grammatical phi-features, this leaves the potential for expanding the set with innovative forms. While it may not be accurate to call paranouns an open class since new forms might not be readily added, there are, in theory, an infinite number of possible features and forms that could make up an inventory of paranouns. This gives rise to the following diagnostic:

- D6. Sets of paranouns allow for more forms than can be distinguished from contrasting sets of phi-features.

The Japanese pronominal paradigm shown in Table 2.4 consists of far more forms than a typical pronominal paradigm like the one found in English, shown in Table 2.3. While languages such as English have a rather limited set of pronouns where the necessary distinctions can be made by virtue of contrasting phi-features, there are far more many forms in the Japanese pronominal set than can be accounted for with

binary sets of formal features. In short, Japanese passes this diagnostic, but not English.

Table 2.3 *English pronouns*

English	Singular	Plural
1 st person	I	we
2 nd person	you	you
3 rd person	he/she/they	they

Table 2.4 *Japanese pronouns*

Japanese	Singular	Plural
1 st person	watashi, watakushi, kochira, boku, ore, washi, atachi, uchi, ...	[-tachi] watashitachi, watakushitachi...
2 nd person	anata, sochira, kimi, omae, anta, kisama, ...	[-tachi, -gata] anatatachi, anatagata...
3 rd person	ko/so/ano kata, ko/o/aitsu, ko/so/ano hito, kare, kanojo, ...	[tachi, -ra] karera, kanojotachi, kanojora...

2.2.2.5 D7 – Pro-drop in pronoun languages is discourse-licensed

This diagnostic pertains only to pro-drop languages. There are two main types of pro-drop found cross-linguistically. The first type is pro-drop licensed by rich agreement.

In many languages, rich verb agreement allows for a pronominal argument that triggers agreement (typically, the subject) to be dropped, as the agreement reflects the phi-feature content of the dropped pronoun, making the referent retrievable. This type of pro-drop is found in languages like Spanish. The second type is discourse-determined pro-drop. In some languages that lack verb agreement, any argument or adjunct whose content is retrievable from discourse can be dropped, despite the fact

that there is no agreement to reflect the phi-features of the dropped elements. If a language has pro-drop but lacks phi-features in its pronouns, it would be expected that the pro-drop is of the second type (i.e., discourse-determined pro-drop) since the lack of phi-features would prevent rich phi-agreement on the verb, ruling out the kind of pro-drop that is licensed by rich agreement. This constitutes the following diagnostic:

D7. If a language with pronouns has pro-drop, it will be discourse-based and not agreement-based pro-drop.

Japanese is a language where pro-drop is discourse-based rather than agreement-based, as there is no phi-agreement on verbs in Japanese. Examples of discourse-based pro-drop in Japanese are shown in (2.11) for subjects and (2.12) for objects. In these examples, it is obvious from the context that the dropped arguments in (2.11b) and (2.12b) refer to *Mika* and *Marika*, respectively.

(2.11) Japanese

Context: I tell my partner that I saw Mika yesterday, and then continue...

- a. **Kanojo-ga** Marika-o paatii-ni yonda
 she-NOM Marika-ACC party-to invited
 ‘She invited Marika to (her) party.’
- b. Marika-o paatii-ni yonda
 Marika-ACC party-to invited
 ‘(She) invited Marika to (her) party.’

(2.12) Japanese

Context: I tell my partner that I saw Marika yesterday, and then continue...

- a. Mika-ga **kanojo**-o paatii-ni yonda
 Mika-NOM she-ACC party-to invited
 ‘Mika invited her to (her) party.’
- b. Mika-ga paatii-ni yonda
 Mika-NOM party-to invited
 ‘Mika invited (her) to (her) party.’

This diagnostic does not apply to English, as it is not a pro-drop language.

2.2.2.6 D8 – Paranouns are not contrastively inclusive

As mentioned in chapter 1, the phi-feature specification for an inclusive pronoun requires the features [+1, +2]. Paranouns, on the other hand, get their “person” features in the form of the discourse roles [Speaker], [Addressee], and [Other], which are associated with different positions in the interactional layer. For this reason, inclusive forms that denote both the speaker and addressee cannot be analysed as paranouns. Note that paranouns that refer to the speaker can have a group denotation that may optionally include the addressee, but crucially there cannot be a 1st person paranoun with a group denotation that necessarily includes the addressee and contrasts with a 1st person paranoun with a group denotation that necessarily excludes the addressee. Additionally, a paranoun inventory that contains both an 1st person paranoun with a group denotation that necessarily excludes the addressee and an unspecified 1st person paranoun with a group denotation (i.e., a 1st person paranoun that is not inclusive) is also possible as, again, the form which can invoke an inclusive interpretation is not *necessarily* inclusive, even when an exclusive form exists alongside it.

Both Japanese and English pass this diagnostic, as they lack contrastively inclusive 1st person plural forms.

Now that diagnostics D1-8 have been explained and exemplified by Japanese and English, the following section will apply them to a set of languages that I hypothesize have paranouns, to see if they pass all seven diagnostics and thus, can be classified as belonging to the paranoun type.

2.3 Case study of potential paranoun languages

Now that some diagnostics for paranounhood have been established, this section applies these diagnostics to a set of language that potentially have paranouns.

Japanese and Korean are used as the baseline for paranouns, as these are the two languages the Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) identify as having paranouns, and English is used as the baseline for pronouns. Japanese and Korean are identified as belonging to the type of language that avoids pronouns for reasons of politeness in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) Chapter 45 typology “Politeness distinctions in pronouns” (Helmbrecht, 2013). In addition to these two languages, Burmese, Khmer, Thai, Vietnamese, and Indonesian are also classified as avoiding pronouns for reasons of politeness. These additional five languages form the bulk of the language sample for the case study in this thesis. Note that Indonesian is omitted from the discussion in this chapter and will be discussed in detail in chapter 3. However, Lao is included in the language sample discussed in this chapter, as it has a close geographic relationship to the other five languages in the case study, and a close genetic relationship to Thai. In sum, six languages form the sample for the case study in this thesis; five are discussed in this chapter and one in chapter 3. Japanese, Korean are

used as baselines for the diagnostics for paranouns, and English as the baseline for pronouns. All of the possible paranoun languages discussed in this thesis are listed in Table 2.5 along with their genetic families and the countries in which they are primarily spoken.

Table 2.5 Languages for chapter 2's case study

Language	Language Family	Spoken in
Japanese	Isolate	Japan
Korean	Isolate	Korea
Burmese	Sino-Tibetan	Myanmar
Khmer	Austroasiatic	Cambodia
Thai	Kra-Dai	Thailand, Cambodia, Myanmar, Vietnam
Vietnamese	Austroasiatic	Vietnam
Lao	Kra-Dai	Laos

2.3.1 Results

The results of the case study are summarized in Table 2.6.

Table 2.6 Results of case study. Y indicates that a language passes the diagnostic, N indicates that a language fails the diagnostic.

Language	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8
Japanese	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Korean	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Burmese	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Khmer	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Thai	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Vietnamese	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lao	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
English	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N/A	Y

These results, which show that all of the languages from the sample discussed in this chapter have paranouns rather than pronouns, will be discussed in the following subsections.

2.3.1.1 Results of structural diagnostics D1 and D2

This section will cover the results of the case study for the structural diagnostics D1 and D2. These diagnostics are repeated below.

D1: In a given context, the choice of a paranoun is determined by interactional properties, i.e., the identity of the interlocutors, their relations, and the context of interaction.

D2: Kinship terms and titles frequently substitute for paranouns denoting Speaker and Addressee.

All languages under study (except English) pass both of these diagnostics. In each of the seven languages that have paranouns, the choice of form is determined by several interactional factors such as age, social status, and familiarity. In Khmer, for example, a speaker may refer to their addressee with the 2nd person form *lo:k* if the addressee is older or of higher status, or with *neak* if the addressee is younger or of lower status (Haiman, 2011, p. 184).

Additionally, in all seven paranoun languages kin terms and titles are often used in place of personal pronouns denoting Speaker, Addressee, or Other. For example, Haiman (2011) states that in Khmer there are very few kin terms that cannot be used as terms of address or self-reference (p. 159). Aside from *prapun* ‘wife’ and *pdej* ‘husband’, essentially all kin terms can be used in this way, including ones such

as *mia* ‘uncle younger than either parent’ or *om* ‘uncle/aunt older than either parent’ which clearly encode interactional properties that account for not only the age of the speaker and/or addressee, but also the relative ages and relationships of other family members. In the reference grammars for these languages, it is not uncommon to see kin terms and titles referred to as “pronoun substitutes” which are sometimes even preferred over the so-called pronouns. For example, with respect to Burmese, Jenny & Tun (2016) write that “[t]he original set of pronouns has been expanded in Burmese by a rather big, probably open, class of kinship, professional, and social terms that are used in place of pronouns,” (p. 52).

The following subsection will delve into the results for the featural diagnostics D3 through D8, which are expected consequences of paranouns lacking phi-features.

2.3.1.2 Results of featural diagnostics D3-D7

As shown in Table 2.6, pro/paranouns in all languages in the study, except English, pass the featural diagnostics D3-D7, repeated below.

D3: Paranouns do not trigger phi-agreement on verbs.

D4: Paranouns do not trigger plural agreement.

D5: Paranouns do not trigger gender agreement/concord.

D6: Sets of paranouns allow for more forms than can be distinguished from contrasting sets of phi-features.

D7: If a language with paranouns has pro-drop, it will be discourse-based and not agreement-based.

D8: There are no paranouns which are contrastively inclusive.

The results show that all languages in this study that belong to the paranoun type pass diagnostic D3 without exception. That is, other than English, no language under study has phi-agreement on verbs. This is unsurprising due to the fact that these languages lack phi-agreement on verbs entirely. In other words, no nominal in these languages triggers any phi-agreement on verbs, and the absence of such agreement cannot be attributed to paranouns alone. It is, however, a necessary condition to be met in the diagnosis of paranouns.

All languages (except English) also pass diagnostic D4 in that plural paranouns do not trigger plural agreement. These languages also lack explicitly plural paranouns. They employ associative plural marking (e.g., Burmese *tó/dó*), a modifying word (e.g., Thai *phuak* ‘group’) or a generic plural marking word also used for nouns denoting humans (e.g., Vietnamese *chúng*). Khmer paranouns denote general number (i.e. they can be interpreted as either singular or plural) and are only optionally marked for plural with a modifying word *puak* ‘group’ (Haiman, 2011, p. 184).¹¹

None of the languages in this study fails diagnostic D5. Pro/paranouns in these languages do not trigger gender concord on adjectives that modify them. In fact, there is no gender concord/agreement in these languages at all. Like the other agreement-based diagnostics, the absence of gender agreement/concord cannot be

¹¹ The Khmer 1st person forms *anj* and *jeu:ng* convey singular and plural meaning, respectively. Ritter & Wiltschko (2018) assume that 1st person plural is always associative given it does not normally denote a group of people speaking in unison, but rather one speaker and others associated with them. It is unclear why *anj* is uniquely singular in the paradigm, but this question is left for future research.

attributed to the presence of paranouns in the languages, but it is a necessary condition for paranouns to exist.

As for diagnostic D6, setting aside English, none of the languages in this study have a paradigm of para/pronouns that can be analysed as contrastive for binary phi-features. Though it is theoretically possible that sets of paranouns could have fewer forms than a typical pronoun paradigm would, each of the languages with paranouns have far more than the eight or so forms than would be expected for a language with three persons, two numbers and two genders. For example, abstracting away from case, English has only one 1st person singular pronoun, while Khmer has three, *knjom*, *anj*, and *atma* (Haiman, 2011, p. 184).

All of the languages under study also pass the diagnostic D7. Despite the fact that pro-drop is not a necessary condition for paranouns, all seven of the paranoun languages have it, and in all cases, it is discourse-based rather than agreement-based pro-drop, as these languages all lack verb agreement.

At first glance, Lao appears to fail diagnostic D8, because some grammars characterize some of its pro/paranouns as inclusive or exclusive 1st person forms. However, this apparent clusivity distinction in its 1st person forms arguably instantiates a formality distinction rather than a person distinction. First, not all sources agree on whether a clusivity distinction exists in Lao, and if it does, what the forms are. Compton (1994) does not identify a clusivity distinction in Lao pro/paranouns. Gething (1976) and Enfield (2007) both identify a clusivity distinction, but do not agree on the forms which instantiate it. Gething (1976) describes the form *háv* as having a 1st person singular, 1st person plural inclusive, and

1st person plural exclusive interpretation, which shows that this form is not contrastively inclusive. Enfield (2007) identifies the three 1st person plural forms, given in (2.13). He states that (2.13a) is neutral in terms of clusivity, (2.13b) has an inclusive interpretation, and (2.13c) has an exclusive interpretation.

(2.13) Lao

a. phuak4-kuu3

group-speaker

b. cu-haw2

group-speaker.FAMILIAR

c. cu-khòj5

group-speaker.POLITE

(Enfield, 2007, p. 77)

Significantly, he also indicates that the inclusive form in (2.13b) is the familiar speaker-denoting form and the exclusive form in (2.13c) is the polite speaker-denoting form. I propose that these forms, rather than expressing the discourse roles of both [Speaker] and [Addressee], are actually denoting the sociocultural relationship between the speaker and addressee, which is entirely compatible with their analysis as paranouns. That is, the familiar form used in (2.13b) identifies the addressee as having a close relationship to the speaker, with the implicature that the addressee is part of the speaker's group, and the polite form used in (2.13c) signals that there is social distance between the speaker and addressee, with the implicature that the addressee is not included in the speaker's group. Thus, the apparent clusivity

distinction in Lao does not instantiate a grammatical person contrast, but rather, a formality distinction in line with the paranoun type.

2.4 Summary

Given the inherent properties of paranouns as described by Ritter & Wiltschko (2019), this chapter develops a two sets of diagnostics for paranouns. The first set, comprised of diagnostics D1 and D2, relate to the structural position in which paranouns are merged, namely, in the interactional layer. The second set, comprised of diagnostics D3-D8 relate to the internal composition of paranouns, namely that they are not comprised of phi-features.

Running the diagnostics in Table 2.2 against the languages listed in Table 2.5, the results (listed in Table 2.6) show that the languages under study (excluding English) pass all eight diagnostics. Although Lao appears to have a clusivity distinction in its 1st person paranouns, I argue that this is actually a formality distinction rather than one of grammatical person. Therefore, I conclude that Japanese, Korean, Burmese, Khmer, Thai, Vietnamese, and Lao pass all eight diagnostics, and consequently, they have paranouns rather than pronouns.

The results of this case study show that the characteristics one might expect to apply to paranouns do, in fact, apply to Japanese and Korean, as well as the five other languages suspected of belonging to the same type. There is one language, Malay/Indonesian, which is part of the sample from WALS Chapter 45 which was not discussed in this chapter. This language consists of a dialect-continuum with different varieties having different pro/paranoun inventories. Consequently, the results of the application of diagnostics D1-8 vary across the continuum. Chapter 3 will discuss the

properties of Malay/Indonesian in relation to the diagnostics developed in this section and provide the necessary context for the diversity observed in varieties of this language.

Chapter 3: Pronouns to Paranouns: The Case of Malay/Indonesian

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 introduced a set of diagnostics for paranouns and applied them to a sample of four languages taken from WALS Chapter 45 “Politeness distinctions in pronouns” (Helmbrecht, 2013), and one additional language that has a close genetic and geographic relation to another language in the sample. All five of these languages passed these diagnostics. WALS Chapter 45 identifies one other language, Indonesian, as a language whose pronouns are avoided for reasons of politeness, but it was not discussed in chapter 2. Indonesian will be discussed separately in this chapter as it is a standard variety of a language known as Malay or Malay/Indonesian, and running Malay/Indonesian against the diagnostics is much more complex than for the rest of the sample. There are, in fact, several varieties of Malay/Indonesian spoken across several countries, whose pro/paranoun inventories differ from one another to a greater or lesser degree. For this reason, this chapter will explain the pro/paranoun situation of the Malay/Indonesian dialect continuum and delve into the paradigms of several varieties.

Applying the diagnostics introduced in chapter 2 gives different results for the various varieties of Malay/Indonesian. Therefore, it is impossible to make any generalizations about whether the Malay/Indonesian dialect continuum is a pronoun or paranoun language. As this chapter will show, many of the varieties of Malay/Indonesian may be transitioning from having pronouns to paranouns. Some more conservative varieties, such as Standard Indonesian (SI), still retain what is clearly a pronoun paradigm. Other more innovative varieties, like the Eastern Contact

Varieties of Malay (ECV), have forms that are arguably paranouns (that is, they pass all diagnostics for paranouns given in chapter 2). Still, other varieties such as Colloquial Malay (CM) and Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (CJI) share properties with both pronouns and paranouns, suggesting that a change may be in progress. As these forms can clearly not be both pronouns and paranouns simultaneously, until the change from pronouns to paranouns is complete, these forms must be analysed as pronouns.

This chapter's primary goal is to show that chapter 2's diagnostics yield different results for the different varieties of Malay/Indonesian. Additionally, this chapter will show how the language contact situation in the Malay/Indonesian-speaking region has led to differences between pro/paranoun inventories across this dialect continuum. Finally, it will argue that conservative varieties of Malay/Indonesian retain the pronoun system of their parent language, while in the most innovative varieties, these pronouns have been reanalysed as paranouns, and that varieties that yield mixed results for chapter 2's diagnostics are in the process of shifting from pronoun varieties to paranoun varieties. Based on the contrasting properties of the conservative, innovative and intermediate varieties, a mechanism by which pronouns can become paranouns will be proposed. In the limited literature on paranouns available so far, no change from a purely pronominal system to a paranoun system has been observed or accounted for, so this chapter serves to test: a) if such a change is possible, and b) if it has occurred in Malay/Indonesian.

This chapter is organized as follows: Section 3.2 will provide relevant background on the Malay/Indonesian dialect continuum that explains some of the

differences between varieties and introduces some of the instances of language contact. Section 3.3 provides some historical context for the progression of Malay/Indonesian pro/paranouns. Section 3.4 will identify and explain the unexpected results of Malay/Indonesian when the diagnostics from chapter 2 are applied. Section 3.5 will speculate on the potential loss of person and number phi-features in the pro/paranouns of certain varieties of Malay/Indonesian and explain the process by which a syntactic reanalysis of pronouns as paranouns is possible. Section 3.6 will explain the process developed in 3.5 as it applies to Malay/Indonesian. Section 3.7 will identify some questions left for future research. Concluding remarks will follow in Section 3.8.

3.2 Background on Malay/Indonesian

This section will provide some background on Malay/Indonesian, including some historical background on Proto-Malayo-Polynesian and Proto-Austronesian. It will also explain some of the language contact situations that led to the diverse dialect continuum that makes up Malay/Indonesian today. This section will show that Malay/Indonesian comes from a language which clearly had pronouns rather than paranouns, and that contact and influence from different ambient languages has resulted in a dialect continuum whose varieties do not produce a uniform result when run against the diagnostics from chapter 2. For this reason, Malay/Indonesian as a whole cannot be classified as either a pronoun or paranoun language, but rather, each variety must be classified separately.

Malay/Indonesian is a Malayalic language of the Western-Malayo-Polynesian branch of Austronesian languages (Tadmor, 2007, p. 301). The term

Malay/Indonesian is used to include all varieties of Malay, where *Indonesian* refers to the standardized varieties of Malay spoken in Indonesia, which are also the most widely-spoken varieties (Tadmor, 2007, p. 301). Malay/Indonesian is spoken in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei as an official language, and there are also varieties found in Sri Lanka (Tadmor, 2007, p. 301). The map in Figure 3.1 below shows the primary countries where Malay/Indonesian is spoken (indicated in grey), including Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei, East Timor, and Papua New Guinea.

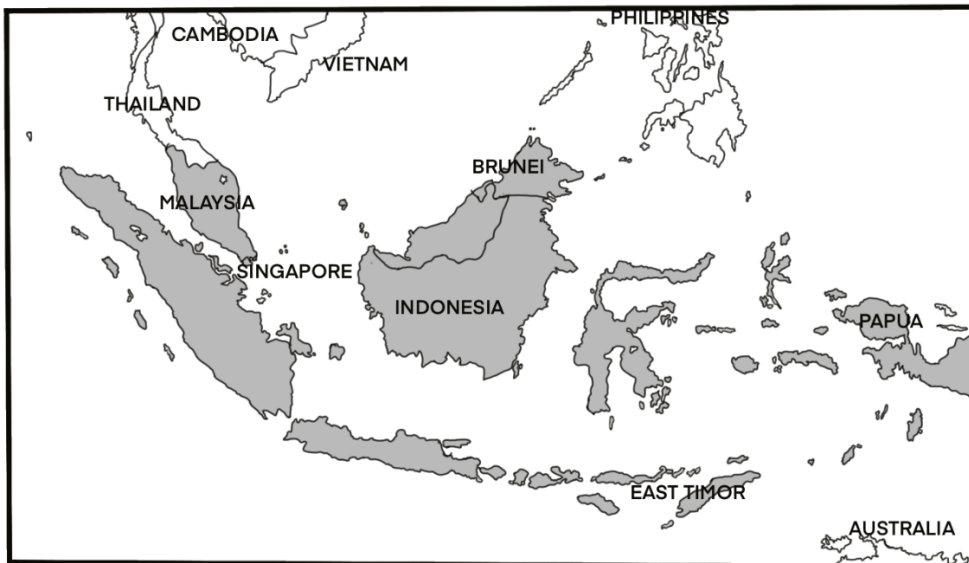


Figure 3.1 Map of Malay/Indonesian speaking region

Malay/Indonesian has had extensive contact with other languages, resulting in a great deal of foreign influence on the language. Sanskrit was one of the earliest languages to have influence on Malay/Indonesian, and the oldest Malay texts from the 7th century AD are intertwined with Sanskrit and contain many Sanskrit loanwords (Tadmor, 2007, p. 302). Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages, namely Hindi-Urdu and Tamil, also had extensive contact with Malay/Indonesian by way of merchants, immigrants, and missionaries (Tadmor, 2007, p. 302). Chinese has had

strong influence on many colloquial varieties of Malay/Indonesian, but less so on the standard varieties where Chinese influence is only lexical (Tadmor, 2007, p. 302). Persian and Arabic heavily influenced the language when Indonesians began converting to Islam in the first millennium (Tadmor, 2007, p. 302). Portuguese, Dutch, and English are the primary European influences on Malay/Indonesian (Tadmor, 2007, p. 303). Javanese (another Austronesian language) is said to be the most influential of the local languages on Malay/Indonesian, where the two languages have co-existed and been spoken alongside each other for over a millennium (Tadmor, 2007, p. 303).

Despite the extensive language contact of most varieties of Malay/Indonesian with languages from various language families, the pronouns in the standard varieties are relatively conservative when compared to some other Austronesian languages in the Malayo-Polynesian branch. Aside from some relatively minor phonological changes and the borrowing of forms through language contact, the standard varieties' pronouns are undeniably similar to those that have been reconstructed for Proto-Austronesian (PAN) and Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP).

The reconstructed paradigm of PAN is believed to have had a three-way person distinction, a two-way number distinction and a clusivity distinction in the 1st person plural. There is no reliable reconstructed form for the 3rd person plural (Ross, 2006). Ross (2006) has reconstructed what he believes to be a formality distinction. The polite forms are only found in the 2nd person singular and plural, and in the 1st person plural (Ross, 2006, p. 538). The reconstructed paradigm for PAN is shown in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Reconstructed paradigm of Proto-Austronesian Pronouns.

		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2PL	3PL
PAn		i-aku	iSu[qu]	s-ia	ita	i-ami	i-mu[qu] i-amu	--
	FRML		i-ka-su		i-kita	i-kami	i-kamu	

(Ross, 2006, Table 4)

Recall that chapters 1 and 2 argued that contrastively inclusive pronouns are a theoretical impossibility. If we assume this to be correct, then the PAn forms must be analysed as pronouns. The pronominal paradigm for PMP does not differ significantly from the PAn paradigm, though it lacks a formality distinction. Interestingly, it is the formal PAn forms that were inherited by PMP, rather than the neutral/informal ones (Ross, 2006). The reconstructed paradigm for PMP is shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 Reconstructed paradigm for Proto-Malayo-Polynesian pronouns

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2PL	3PL
PMP	i-aku	i-ka-su	siya	i-kita ita	i-kami	i-kamu i-ka-ihu kamu-ihua	--

(Ross, 2006, Table 9)

The paradigm for Standard Indonesian shows pronominal forms acquired through language contact, as well as the addition of 2nd person singular *anda* (Sneddon, 1996). The 1st person singular form *saya* is a borrowing of the Sanskrit word *sahāya* ‘companion’ (Tadmor, 2007, p. 316). Standard Indonesian also has a 3rd person plural pronoun, *mereka* which was absent from PAn and PMP. *Mereka* was

borrowed from the Javanese word *marika* which is a distal demonstrative also used as a 3rd person plural pronoun in that language (Tadmor, 2007, p. 316). The paradigm for Standard Indonesian (SI), a very conservative variety of Malay/Indonesian, is shown in the table in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 *Paradigm for Standard Indonesian*

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2PL	3PL
SI	saya	engkau	ia	kita	kami	kalian	mereka
	aku	kamu	dia				
	beta	kau	beliau				
	gua	anda					

(Sneddon, 1996, p. 160)

Notably, even in conservative varieties such as Standard Indonesian, the 1st and 2nd person categories underwent the largest expansions. In other words, they have various forms denoting Speaker and Addressee, a first indication that these forms contain more than just phi features. *Aku* ‘I’ and *engkau*, *kau*, and *kamu* ‘you (sg.)’ are intimate (i.e., informal) forms used for addressing children or equals, but are also sometimes used to speak to younger adults to convey a suggestion of the social superiority of the speaker (Sneddon, 1996, p. 160). *Saya* ‘I’ and *anda* ‘you’ are generally considered to be socially neutral, though the use of *saya* over *aku* tends to indicate that an intimate relationship does not exist (Sneddon, 1996, p. 161). *Ia* and *dia* ‘he/she’ are also considered neutral, and *beliau* ‘he/she’ is used to refer to people who are held in high respect (Sneddon, 1996, p. 161).

3.2.1 Clusivity in Malay/Indonesian pronouns

As shown in the paradigm above, SI has a clusivity distinction in the 1st person plural, just as PAn and PMP did. Specifically, *kita* is an inclusive form which necessarily denotes the speaker and addressee and optionally includes other referents as well whereas *kami* is an exclusive form which denotes the speaker and other referents, but not the addressee. This is representative of conservative varieties of Malay/Indonesian, which all have two 1st person plural forms.

However, in many varieties of Malay/Indonesian such as the Eastern Contact Varieties of Malay (ECVs)¹², patterns are emerging that suggest that the clusivity distinction has been - or is in the process of becoming - neutralized. The ECVs are varieties of Malay/Indonesian spoken in eastern Indonesia that are unique for their extensive language contact due to trade and colonial policies (Paauw, 2008). The map in Figure 3.2 below shows where the ECVs are spoken.

¹² Eastern Contact Varieties include Manado Malay, North Moluccan Malay, Ambon Malay, Banda Malay, Kupang Malay, Larantuka Malay, and Papuan Malay.

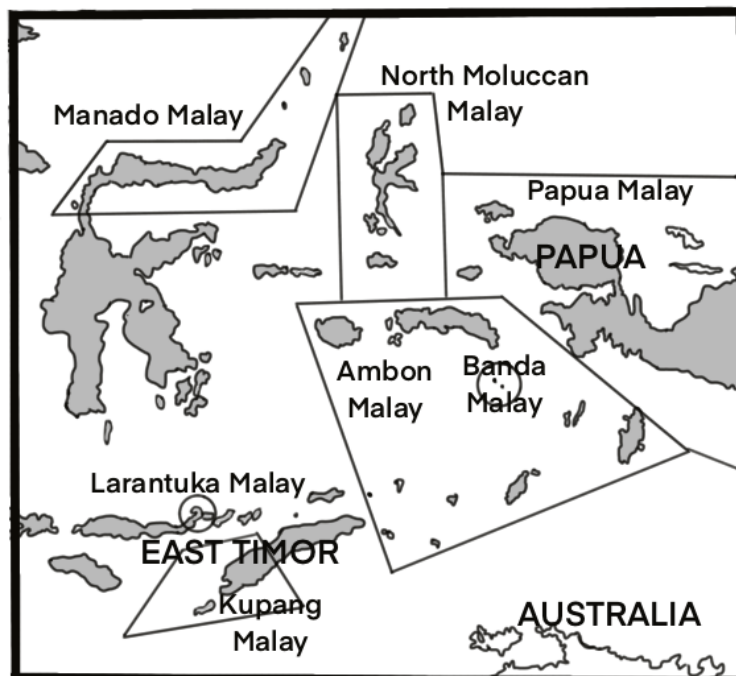


Figure 3.2 Map of the Eastern Contact Varieties of Malay

In several of the ECVs, there is a single 1st person plural form; therefore, no form is contrastively inclusive. In most of these varieties, the 1st person inclusive form *kita* has been retained as the only 1st person plural form and extended to cover all 1st person plural referents, and the exclusive form *kami* has been lost entirely or is largely disfavoured (Donohue & Smith, 1998). Other varieties have more than one 1st person plural form and they signal different levels of politeness and social distance, but the forms in most of these varieties are not specified for clusivity. For example, Colloquial Malay (CM), spoken in Malaysia, has both 1st person plural forms *kita* and *kami*, though *kami* is rarely used and is considered formal, that is, it indicates social distance between speaker and addressee (Koh, 1990, p. 91). Consequently, *kita* can be interpreted as exclusive in some contexts. Moreover, when speakers of this variety want to make explicit that they are referring to a speaker group that excludes the

addressee, they prefer to use *kita* with the plural morpheme *orang* ‘person/people’ (Koh, 1990, pp. 137-138).

Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian (CJI), spoken in Jakarta, Indonesia, similarly has both *kita* and *kami*, though the clusivity distinction has essentially been lost (Sneddon, 2006). *Kita*, which was formerly an inclusive pronoun, is now used with both inclusive and exclusive meanings; *kami* is rarely used, even in written texts, and is not always limited to an exclusive interpretation (Sneddon, 2006, pp. 62–63).

As shown in this section, the status and use of forms that were historically inclusive or exclusive 1st person plural pronouns differs across varieties of Malay/Indonesian and these innovations are not limited to any particular region. Standard Indonesian, the most conservative of the varieties discussed in this chapter, maintains a clear clusivity distinction. The ECVs, such as North Moluccan Malay, are generally the most innovative varieties, and most of these have lost the clusivity distinction. Other varieties, like CJI, fall somewhere in between, in that both the inclusive and exclusive forms are still present but do not strictly maintain their inclusive or exclusive interpretation. These contrasts are illustrated in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4 Comparison of *kita* and *kami* in different varieties of Malay/Indonesian

Variety	<i>kita</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kita</i> + <i>orang</i>
Standard Indonesian	1PL.INCL.	1PL.EXCL.	N/A
North Moluccan Malay (ECV)	1SG	N/A	1PL
Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian	1PL	(1PL)	N/A

In summary, varieties that retain the clusivity distinction still have pronouns. Varieties that have lost it or are in the process of losing it may have either pronouns or paranouns. Additional diagnostics may need to be developed and applied to the varieties that appear to be transitioning to having paranouns in order to determine the status of their pro/paranoun forms.

3.2.2 Grammatical number in Malay/Indonesian pronouns

Just as the varieties of Malay/Indonesian differ regarding the presence or absence of a clusivity distinction in the 1st person, they also differ in how plural number is expressed. In the conservative varieties, as shown in the paradigm for SI repeated in Table 3.5, there is a clear grammatical number distinction in the pronouns. That is, the instances of plural pronouns in SI (and other conservative varieties) are synthetic rather than analytic. In other words, they are portmanteaus of person and number, whose form is distinct from that of the singular pronouns.

Table 3.5 *Pronoun paradigm for Standard Indonesian*

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2PL	3PL
SI	saya	engkau	ia	kita	kami	kalian	mereka
	aku	kamu	dia				
	beta	kau	beliau				
	gua	anda					

(Sneddon, 1996, p. 160)

An innovative way of encoding plural number on pro/paranouns, which is more in line with the paranoun type, is present in many varieties across the Malay/Indonesian-speaking region. This plural marking strategy combines a singular

pro/paranoun with a modifying plural morpheme *orang* ‘person/people’¹³ (e.g. *kau* ‘2SG’ → *kau orang* ‘2PL’) or its reduced suffix form *-ong* (e.g. *dia* ‘3SG’ → *dong* ‘3PL’).

CM uses the [pro/paranoun+*orang*] pluralization method, though this variety also has the inherent plural forms *kita*, *kami*, and *mereka*. According to Koh (1990), CM greatly favours the *orang* plural forms. Koh notes that the preference for [pro/paranoun+*orang*] is one of several features that sets CM apart from Standard Malay. Further evidence of the loss of a plural phi-feature in this variety is that certain bare singular pronouns (*awak*, *kamu*, *kau*) can be used with either singular or plural reference, indicating that they express general rather than singular number (Koh, 1990).

CJI uses the plural 1st person plural form *kita* (and, very occasionally, *kami*), but the 2nd and 3rd person plural pro/paranouns *kalian* (2PL) and *mereka* (3PL) are extremely rare (Sneddon, 2006). Instead, 2nd and 3rd person singular pro/paranouns are used for both singular and plural reference, again, indicating the presence of general number.

This section has shown that Malay/Indonesian is the daughter of a language with pronouns that clearly contained at least person and number phi-features. These phi-features are still present in the most conservative varieties of Malay/Indonesian like SI, but there is no compelling evidence that these features are still present in the pro/paranouns of the most innovative varieties like the ECVs. Other varieties like CM

¹³ As Malay/Indonesian nominals express general number, *orang* is lexically ambiguous as to whether it refers to one or more people.

and CJI have pro/paranouns that reflect these phi-features, though the grammatical plural and inclusive/exclusive forms show clear signs of change where they have either been replaced – or mostly replaced – by alternative, non-grammatical strategies, or have lost their original inclusive/exclusive meaning. The following section will give an account on how these innovative, forms that lost or replaced the original number and clusivity distinctions came about.

3.3 The loss of phi-features in Malay/Indonesian

The previous section described the state of plural pro/paranouns and clusivity in Malay/Indonesian and showed that there is a great deal of variation between pro/paranoun paradigms across this dialect continuum. This section asserts that this variation reflects the loss of person and number phi-features in certain varieties of Malay/Indonesian. The varieties that maintain person and number distinctions have retained these phi-features and are thus incompatible with paranouns, but the ones that no longer maintain these distinctions have lost these phi-features and thus satisfy the criterion for paranouns. The focus of this section will be on person and number features, as pro/paranouns in Malay/Indonesian are not gendered, nor is there evidence of any grammatical gender agreement elsewhere in the language.

Number features in Malay/Indonesian are absent on nouns, but present in the pro/paranouns in certain varieties. Common nouns in this language express general number. That is, they may denote one or more entities, and are optionally marked to invoke explicitly plural interpretations. Number features on pronouns in Malay/Indonesian, however, are present in some more conservative varieties, but absent in more innovative ones. These innovative varieties that lack grammatical

number features are the ones that plausibly have paranoun inventories rather than pronoun paradigms. Recall from chapter 2 that despite the fact that paranouns cannot contain a plural phi-feature, they can still encode number distinctions. They may express general number (i.e., ‘one or more X’) or they may be pluralized by means of an optional modifying or associative plural marker. Both of these alternative pluralizing strategies are present in different varieties of Malay/Indonesian.

Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian’s pro/paranouns express general number in the 2nd and 3rd person. In other words, a bare form can be used to express either singular or plural reference (Sneddon, 2006). Other varieties, like Colloquial Malay, modify the bare pro/paranoun forms with the plural morpheme *orang* ‘person/people’ to invoke a plural interpretation (Koh, 1990). Whereas a bivalent plural phi-feature gives rise to a singular-plural contrast, a monovalent modifying plural feature gives rise to a general-plural contrast. While modifying plurals tend to be optional, Corbett (2000) explains that nominals that express general number with certain characteristics like high animacy or definiteness tend to favour overt plural marking, which over time can become essentially obligatory as the bare forms are more commonly associated with a singular referent by contrast. As pro/paranouns in this language only denote humans, the plural morpheme *orang* may have become obligatory for a plural interpretation while maintaining its status as a modifying plural marker. In short, the Malay/Indonesian pronouns that once held a singular/plural number contrast now express general number and/or can be modified with a non-inflectional plural marker like *orang* in several innovative varieties.

Following Ritter & Wiltschko (2018), I assume that a pronoun paradigm can have both an inclusive 1st person plural and an exclusive 1st person plural pronoun but a pronoun inventory cannot. Ritter and Wiltschko (2019) argue that clusivity is the realization of the contrasting phi-feature specifications [+1, +2] and [+1, -2], respectively. While a clear clusivity distinction exists in more conservative varieties like SI, it has been lost in nearly all of the ECVs and has essentially also been lost in CM and CJI, where *kita* is generally favoured over *kami* and can have either inclusive or exclusive reference. In the varieties in which *kita* is used for both inclusive and exclusive interpretations, even if *kami* is still used to some degree, *kita* is no longer contrastively inclusive. This means that the person distinctions made in the varieties without a clusivity contrast may not reflect person phi-features and could instead reflect the discourse roles [Speaker], [Addressee], and [Other].

None of the varieties of Malay/Indonesian have any instances of phi-agreement. That is, verbs do not agree with subjects or objects and determiners and adjectives do not agree with nouns. Consequently, this weakening or loss of phi-features would have no observable consequences in the grammar apart from change in the affected forms themselves. The loss of a grammatical number distinction, the loss of a clusivity distinction, and the absence of phi-agreement in certain varieties of Malay/Indonesian can be taken together to make a strong case for the absence of any phi-features in these varieties' pro/paranouns.

So far, I have established that Malay/Indonesian is the daughter of a language with at least three contrasting sets of phi-features (i.e. [\pm PL], [\pm 1] and [\pm 2]) in their pronouns, and these phi-features are still evident in the most conservative varieties,

but arguably have been lost in at least some of the innovative non-standard varieties. Now that we have some background on some of the Malay/Indonesian varieties and their pro/paranouns, the following section will show how the diagnostics from chapter 2 apply to some of these varieties.

3.4 Results of Case Study: Malay/Indonesian

As the preceding sections show, varieties of Malay/Indonesian can vary rather significantly in terms of the pro/paranoun forms they have and what features they possess. For this reason, it is not possible to run the diagnostics against Malay/Indonesian as a whole, and each variety must be analyzed separately. The diagnostics from chapter 2 are repeated below in Table 3.6, followed by the results of several varieties of Malay/Indonesian in Table 3.7, along with English and Japanese as baselines for pronouns and paranouns, respectively.

Table 3.6 *Diagnostics used to distinguish between paranoun and pronouns.*

D1	In a given context, the choice of a paranoun is determined by interactional properties, i.e., the identity of the interlocutors, their relations, and the context of interaction
D2	Kinship terms and titles frequently substitute for paranouns denoting Speaker and Addressee
D3	Paranouns do not trigger phi-agreement on verbs.
D4	Paranouns do not trigger plural agreement.
D5	Paranouns do not trigger gender agreement.

D6	Sets of paranouns allow for more forms than can be distinguished from contrasting sets of phi-features.
D7	If a language with paranouns has pro-drop, it will be discourse-based and not agreement-based pro-drop
D8	There are no paranouns which are contrastively inclusive

*Table 3.7 Results of chapter 2's diagnostics for varieties of Malay/Indonesian. *= Due to scarcity of resources on the ECVs, some diagnostic results may not be available.*

Language/Variety ¹⁴	D1	D2	D3	D4	D5	D6	D7	D8
Japanese	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
SI	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	<u>N</u>
SM	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	<u>N</u>
LM*	Y	Y	Y	?	?	Y	Y	Y
CM	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
CJI	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
English	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>N</u>	Y	<u>N</u>	N/A	Y

As summarized in Table 3.7, Standard Indonesian and Standard Malay pass all but one of the diagnostics developed in chapter 2 (D8) but they have at least one additional property that is unexpected, given what we assume about paranouns, which is that their plural pronouns are synthetic rather than formed with modifying plural

¹⁴ SI= Standard Indonesian, LM= Lantuka Malay, SM= Standard Malay, CM= Colloquial Malay, CJI= Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian.

markers. Due to a lack of resources on Larantuka Malay, an ECV spoken on the island of Flores, the information necessary for applying all of chapter 2's diagnostics is incomplete. This variety passes all of the diagnostics that can be applied, given the data limitations, but more research is required to determine results for D4 *Paranouns do not trigger number agreement* and D5 *Paranouns do not trigger gender agreement*. While a lack of number and gender agreement appear to be universal features of the Malay/Indonesian continuum, these diagnostics would have to be run specifically in the context of Larantuka Malay to be sure. CM and CJI pass all diagnostics, but just as for SI and SM, there are other properties of these varieties that are incompatible with paranouns, namely the presence of synthetic 1st person plural forms, as discussed in the previous section.

Standard varieties of Malay/Indonesian clearly fail D8 while many nonstandard varieties pass all of the diagnostics. This shows that applying the diagnostics to a single variety that is meant to represent the entire Malay/Indonesian dialect continuum would not accurately represent the state of the language as a whole.

3.5 Reinterpretation of pronouns as paranouns

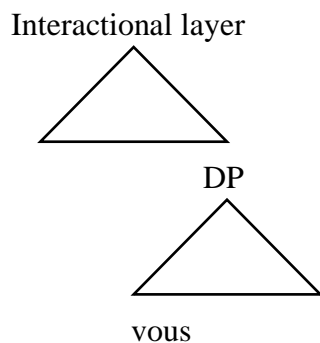
So far, this chapter has argued that what were originally pronouns in various varieties of Malay/Indonesian are being reanalysed as paranouns, and that the rate of change differs from one variety to another. This section will offer a possible account of this syntactic reanalysis.

Recall that Malay/Indonesian encodes formality distinctions in its pronouns; the status, age, gender, etc. of the interlocutors and/or the discourse situation determine which form a speaker will use to address or speak about someone.

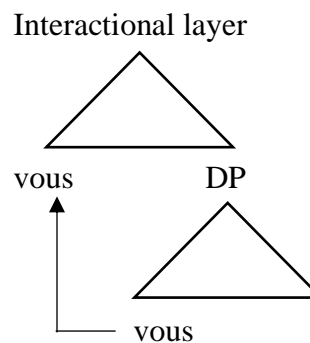
According to Ritter & Wiltschko (2019), formality is realized in the interactional layer of structure. Formal pronouns, such as French *vous* or German *Sie* undergo syntactic movement from the DP to the interactional layer where they receive their formal interpretation. These are referred to as *derived paranouns*, contrasting with *intrinsic paranouns* which are inserted directly in GroundP. Derived paranouns exist alongside pronouns which are unspecified for, such as French *vous* when it is used as a 2nd person plural pronoun. Pronouns are assumed to merge and remain in DP. The structural difference between pronouns, derived paranouns, and inherent paranouns is schematized in (3.1).

(3.1)

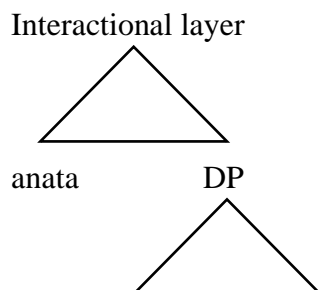
a. **Pronoun:** *vous* ‘2PL’ (French)



b. **Derived paranoun:** *vous* ‘2SG.FRML’ (French)



c. **Intrinsic Paranoun:** *anata* ‘you’ (Japanese)



(Adapted from Ritter & Wiltschko, 2019, p. 2)

In languages like French, where only one pronoun in the paradigm is considered formal, only the formal pronoun undergoes movement to the interactional layer becoming a derived paranoun; the rest of the pronouns remain in DP. In a language like Malay/Indonesian, there are often two or more forms available for each person/number specification, whose use depends on the discourse context and social considerations. That is, it is not the case that pronouns in this language are ever truly “neutral” or unmarked with respect to formality. Even in cases where there may only be one pronoun available for a certain phi-specification, there are several “pronoun substitutes” such as names, kin terms, and titles (i.e., other nominals with interactional structure) which are available to choose from. For this reason, it is not unreasonable to assume that all pronouns in Malay/Indonesian undergo movement to the interactional layer to receive their (in)formal interpretation. This constitutes the first necessary condition that allows for the reinterpretation of pronouns as paranouns.

C1: All pronouns must undergo movement to the interactional layer, becoming derived paranouns.

As mentioned in section 3.2, PAn and PMP did not have a number distinction in any nominals aside from their pronouns, and this remains the case in Malay/Indonesian, which also lacks grammatical gender and any type of phi-agreement on adjectives and verbs (Sneddon, 1996). For this reason, there is little evidence to suggest that phi-features play any role in the grammar of Malay/Indonesian, meaning the loss of phi-features in its pronouns would have few if any observable consequences. As paranouns necessarily lack phi-features, the second necessary condition for the reanalysis of pronouns as paranouns is given in C2.

C2: Pronouns must lose all phi-features.

It would be expected that the loss of phi-features in pronouns would be much more likely to occur in a language such as Malay/Indonesian whose pronouns do not trigger phi-agreement to begin with.

If both conditions are met, over time, speakers may reanalyse these pronouns as intrinsic paranouns, since merging the forms directly into the interactional layer is far more economical than merging in DP and then remerging in GroundP. If phi-features are still present, the form must merge in DP, rather than GroundP (C2). If the forms do not undergo movement to the interactional layer, there is little motivation for speakers to reanalyse these forms as merging in a different syntactic position (C1).

3.6 Reanalysis of pronouns as paranouns in Malay/Indonesian

While it is possible that no variety of Malay/Indonesian has yet completed the change from pronouns to paranouns, it is clear that conditions C1 and C2 have been or are close to being met in the most innovative varieties, making this reanalysis possible.

As observed by Donohue & Smith (1998), the extension of *kita* to include 1st person singular reference indicates a neutralization of the plural phi-feature and motivation for the introduction of an innovative plural marker *orang*, which was eventually extended to mark all plural pro/paranouns. This resulted in several varieties disavouring the original grammatically plural pronouns or abandoning them altogether. There is also evidence of the loss of person phi-features from the changes observed in the 1st person plural pronouns. As mentioned throughout this chapter, the

clusivity distinction has been lost in many of varieties of Malay/Indonesian (Donohue & Smith, 1998). In most cases, the inclusive form *kita* was reanalysed as a general 1st person form that can refer to just the speaker or to the speaker and others. In order to explicitly refer to a group that includes the speaker, the modifying plural marker *orang* must be added to *kita* (e.g., *kita orang*, *kitorang*, *kitong*). These changes can be reasonably attributed to a loss of person and number phi-features.

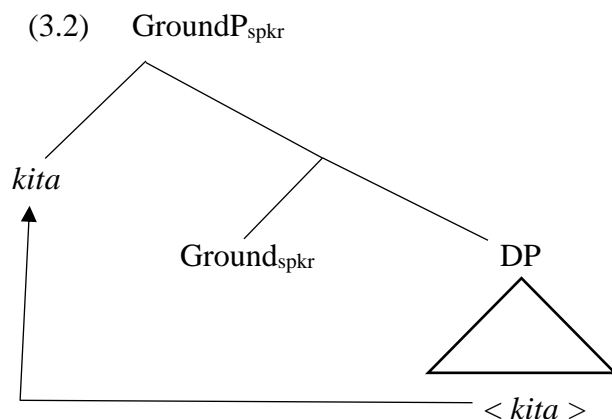
So far, this section has shown that many varieties of Malay/Indonesian have lost or are losing their phi-features, satisfying C2. In order for these forms to meet C1, they must all undergo movement to the interactional layer to receive their formal interpretation. For this to happen, speakers must determine which form to use based on their interlocutor and the discourse context, meaning more than one form must be available, whether these forms are all pro/paranouns or “pronoun substitutes” (i.e., kin terms, names, titles).

This is exemplified by Javanese Indonesian, a variety of Malay spoken on the island of Java (not to be confused with the Javanese language). Aside from kin terms and names, speakers have five options for 1st person singular pronouns: *aku*, *saya*, *gué/gua*, *tak*, and *kita* (Manns, 2012, p. 437). The use of *kita* as a 1st person singular form indicates that this variety has undergone the loss of the plural phi-feature as well as the loss of the 2nd person phi-feature. I speculate that *kita* has also lost its 1st person phi-feature but retains its discourse content, namely, that it denotes the speaker.¹⁵

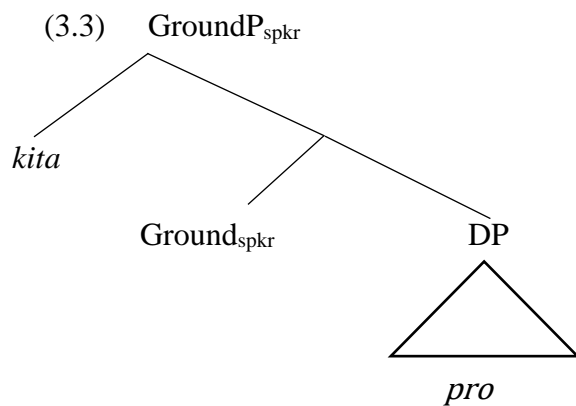
Since there are at least four 1st person pronouns, each with different sociolinguistic content, they must all undergo syntactic movement to the interactional

¹⁵ These assumptions are only speculative due to the lack of availability of diachronic data.

layer in order for this sociolinguistic content to be interpreted. This is illustrated in (3.2) with *kita*, but the structure would be the same for any of the alternative 1st person pronouns, *aku*, *saya*, *gué/gua*, or *tak*.



This movement (re-merging) of pronouns whose phi-features are not syntactically active (because they fail to trigger agreement) is less economical than merging them directly in the interactional layer. For this reason, over time speakers may begin to reanalyse *kita* or any of the other pronoun as merging in the interactional layer rather than moving from DP, as schematized in (3.3). The result is essentially the same surface structure but with a featureless null pronoun (*pro*) in DP, rather than a deleted copy of the overt pronoun. This reanalysis is possible, as *kita* lacks phi-features so there is no empirical need for it to merge initially in DP.



Standard Indonesian does not meet the necessary conditions for the reanalysis of pronouns as paranouns. Its paradigm is repeated in Table 3.8.

Table 3.8 *Standard Indonesian pronouns*

	1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL.INCL	1PL.EXCL	2PL	3PL
SI	saya	engkau	ia	kita	kami	kalian	mereka
	aku	kamu	dia				
	beta	kau	beliau				
	gua	anda					

(Sneddon, 1996)

There are several forms in the 1st and 2nd person singular with varying degrees of formality, so these forms undergo the movement from DP to the interactional layer. However, the presence of distinct plural forms (ones not formed by a modifying plural marker) indicate that there is a plural phi-feature present. Therefore, these forms must merge in DP. Additionally, the presence of a clusivity distinction in the 1st person plural prohibits any potential reanalysis of these pronouns as paranouns.

This section has shown how a structural reanalysis of pronouns as paranouns could be possible when conditions C1 and C2 are met.

3.7 Problems for future research

As an in-depth historical analysis of Malay/Indonesian pronouns is beyond the scope of this chapter, certain questions remain for future research. Even though the ECVs generally use *-orang/-ong* type plural pronouns, in many of these varieties, this suffix is not productive (i.e., plurals contain *-orang/-ong* but they are not derived from the singular forms). This might suggest that these plural pronouns are monomorphemic.

Additional support for this conjecture comes from the fact that many varieties of Malay/Indonesian have shortened forms of 1st and 3rd person independent pronouns, and in some cases, these shortened forms do not preserve the source morphological composition (e.g., North Moluccan Malay: **kita orang* → (*ki*)*torang* → *tong*). A more in-depth morphosyntactic analysis of this problem is required.

3.8 Conclusion

WALS Chapter 45 classified Indonesian, a standardized variety of Malay/Indonesian, as a language whose pronouns are avoided for reasons of politeness. When the diagnostics developed in chapter 2 are applied to Malay/Indonesian varieties, the results are not uniform. Some varieties, like the ECVs, CM, and CJI pass all eight diagnostics while others such as SI and SM fail diagnostic D8 due to the presence of a clusivity contrast in the 1st person plural forms.

Despite passing diagnostic D4, many varieties have synthetic, grammatical plural pro/paranouns, indicating the presence of a number phi-feature. Since paranouns have no phi-features, these forms must be pronouns. It appears that in several of the innovative varieties, the grammatical number distinction in pronouns was lost, and in some cases replaced with the modifying plural marker *orang* ‘person/people’ (or its reduced suffix form *-ong*). In the same varieties, the clusivity distinction was often lost in the 1st person plural, indicating the loss of at least one person phi-feature.

In addition to independent pro/paranouns, all varieties of Malay/Indonesian possess several types of “pronoun substitutes” such as kin terms, titles, and names (i.e., other nominals with interactional structure) which force speakers to consider the

discourse context and interlocutor when determining how to refer to their addressee (or other referents), meaning that these pronouns undergo movement to the interactional layer to acquire their formality features. When combined with the loss of phi-features, speakers may over time reanalyze these pronouns as paranouns. In other words, forms that historically underwent movement into the interactional structure, may be reanalyzed as merging directly into the interactional structure because the motivation for merging in a DP-internal position is lost while the motivation for realization in the interactional structure remains.

It is clear from this chapter that when diagnosing paranouns in languages like Malay/Indonesian, each variety must be analyzed separately to determine if they have the properties of pronouns or paranouns. That is, to classify Malay/Indonesian as a language with pronouns based solely on the results of Standard Malay or Standard Indonesian would be an overgeneralization that misses important facts about the nonstandard varieties.

This chapter also showed that it is entirely possible for some varieties to possess pronouns and others paranouns due to diachronic change that resulted in the reanalysis of pronouns as paranouns. This type of morpho-syntactic reanalysis is possible when pronouns have the following two properties: (a) they fail to trigger phi-feature agreement; and (b) they have sociolinguistic (discourse) content, such as formality, which requires them to move to the interactional layer of the nominal. In the absence of agreement, the phi-features play little or no role in the syntax, and consequently may be lost without consequence. If the phi features are lost, but the sociolinguistic (discourse) content is retained, the forms will merge directly in the

interactional layer, as there is no longer any reason for speakers to analyze these forms as first merging in DP and subsequently moving into the interactional layer.

Chapter 4: The Syntactic Properties of Paranouns

4.1 Introduction

The two previous chapters have shown that paranouns have specific properties that follow from Ritter & Wiltschko's (2019) theoretical description of them. In chapter 2, English was used alongside Japanese to set the baseline for pronouns and paranouns. The application of the diagnostics developed in chapter 2 highlighted the fact that English pronouns and Japanese paranouns have rather different characteristics. This chapter will provide additional evidence of the differences between English pronouns and Japanese paranouns.

This chapter explores Dechaine & Wiltschko's (2002) claim that cross-linguistically, pronouns have different syntactic categories, and extends this typology to include paranouns. Additionally, Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) claim that different categories of pronouns have distinct binding properties. This chapter will provide new evidence in support of Dechaine & Wiltschko's (2002) broad claim that different categories of pronouns (and paranouns) have the syntax of their associated head, but will argue that their classification of Japanese *kare* as a pro-NP is incorrect. More specifically, given the conclusion of Chapter 2, *kare*, is a paranoun, and as such is a pro-GroundP. Extending Dechaine & Wiltschko's (2002) proposal that the binding properties of a pronoun depend on its category to paranouns, it will be argued that pro-GroundPs have distinct binding properties from the various pronoun types they identify, and Hoji's (1990) fourth binding principle will be adopted to account for these distinct properties of paranouns.

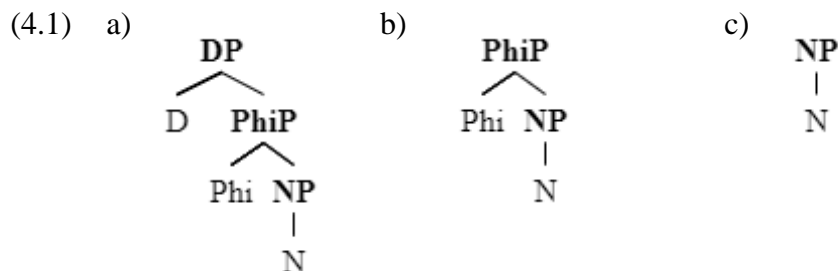
This chapter is structured as follows: Section 4.2 will introduce Dechaine & Wiltschko's (2002) assumption that different types of pronouns are associated with different structures and that they have the syntax of their associated head. Section 4.3 will discuss the fact that paranouns cannot be construed as bound variables due to their referential properties, but pronouns can. It will argue that paranouns such as Japanese *kare* are pro-GroundPs, rather than pro-NPs as Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) claim. Evidence will be introduced to show that paranouns cannot be analysed as belonging to the categories of pro-NP, pro-PhiP, or pro-DP. Section 4.4 will discuss the binding theoretic properties of pro-GroundPs and show that Hoji's (1990) analysis of Japanese binding reveals a natural class of interactional nominals. He develops an additional binding principle which accounts for the binding facts of Japanese interactional nominals, and this serves as independent support for the existence of an interactional layer of nominal structure. Concluding remarks follow in Section 4.5.

4.2 The syntax of pronouns and paranouns

Pronouns are generally treated as a uniform category in the literature, but Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) challenge this notion and propose that pronouns are not uniform syntactic objects.¹⁶ Under their analysis, there are three different types of pronouns: pro-DP, pro-PhiP, and pro-NP, each associated with a distinct projection within DP. Each pronoun type has the syntax of the projection that it is associated with. That is, pro-DPs have the syntax of DPs, pro-PhiPs have the syntax of PhiPs, and pro-NPs

¹⁶ The idea that the syntactic structure of pronouns is not homogeneous has been independently proposed in a number of other papers, including as Ritter (1995), Noguchi (1997), and Weerman & Evers-Vermeul (2002).

have the syntax of NPs. The structure of each of these pronoun types is illustrated in (4.1).



(Dechaine & Wiltschko, 2002, fig. 1)

Extending this assumption, paranouns such as Japanese *kare* are pro-GroundPs and have the syntax of GroundPs. This predicts that pro-GroundPs (i.e., paranouns) should have different properties and different distributions from pro-DPs, pro-PhiPs, and pro-NPs.

According to Dechaine & Wiltschko, Pro-DPs are definite and function as R-expressions subject to binding condition C whereas Pro-PhiPs lack inherent semantics.¹⁷ Pro-PhiPs only spell out phi-features and have the binding theoretic status of a variable, and are therefore subject to binding condition B (Dechaine & Wiltschko, 2002, p. 411). Pro-NPs are undefined in respect to binding theory; their binding properties follow from their inherent semantics (Dechaine & Wiltschko, 2002, p. 411). Under their analysis, both English *one* and Japanese *kare* are pro-NPs, though they differ in their referential properties - *kare* can support coreference (i.e. it can be bound), but *one* cannot (Dechaine & Wiltschko, 2002, p. 420).¹⁸

¹⁷ Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) use *PhiP* as a cover term for any intermediate projection between N and D that encodes phi-features, e.g., NumP.

¹⁸ Some varieties of English can use *one* to refer to the speaker. In these instances, *one* has the properties of a derived paranoun (i.e., it triggers verb agreement but encodes sociolinguistic content).

As mentioned previously in this section, paranouns have one undeniable distinctive feature that follows from them having interactional structure: they are inherently referential. A paranoun always refers to a discourse participant (i.e., speaker or addressee) or a discourse referent, that is, an individual being spoken about that is neither the speaker nor the addressee. The nominal that a speaker chooses when referring to a given individual depends both on their relationship to the individual being spoken about and on their relationship to the addressee. That paranouns necessarily refer is predicted to have consequences for their binding properties. This appears to be borne out. It has been noted in the literature that so-called pronouns in Japanese (i.e., paranouns) cannot be construed as bound variables, and the following subsection will argue that this fact is due to their inherently referential nature.

4.3 Paranouns as quantifier bound variables

One of the most commonly discussed differences between English pronouns and their Japanese counterparts is their respective (in)ability to be construed as quantifier bound variables. Specifically, it has been observed that English pronouns can be construed as bound variables but Japanese paranouns like *kare* cannot (e.g. Noguchi, 1997). I propose that this follows from the fact that English pronouns are not inherently referential (though they can be used referentially) whereas Japanese paranouns are inherently referential (i.e., they can only refer).

Therefore, it is merged under DP and then moved to GroundP, where it receives its speaker role and sociolinguistic content.

Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) classify English pronouns as pro-PhiPs, and argue that this accounts for the fact that they can function as variables. In contrast, they analyse Japanese pronouns as pro-NPs, and claim that this accounts for the fact that they always refer. While Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) are certainly correct about the referential properties of Japanese pronouns, their classification of them as pronouns, and more specifically as pro-NPs is problematic. When compared to English *one*, another proform which they analyse as a pro-NP, Japanese pronouns like *kare* are entirely different in their referential properties. As mentioned in Section 4.2, *one* cannot support coreference, while *kare* can. This is shown in the examples in (4.2) below.

(4.2) a. English

*John_i said that Mary had hit **one**_i.

b. Japanese

John_i-ga [Mary-ga **kare**_i-o butta to] itta

John-NOM Mary-NOM he-ACC hit that said

‘John said that Mary had hit him’

The ungrammaticality of (4.2a) is due to the fact that *one* cannot be coreferential with *John*. The reason for this is that *one* is not referential, and hence, cannot be coreferential. According to Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002), the fact that *one* cannot refer follows from its status as a pro-NP. Although they also analyse *kare* as a pro-NP, they observe that it has different binding properties. For example, as shown in (4.2b), *kare* can be coreferential with *John*, and hence, can clearly be referential. This

is a problem for Dechaine & Wiltschko's (2002) analysis because N(P)s are predicates and therefore not referential, whereas *kare* is clearly referential.

This problem for the NP analysis of *kare* raises the question as to whether it could be analysed as belonging to either the PhiP or DP type of pronoun that Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) discuss. Of course, if *kare* is a paranoun, we expect that the answer will be no and, in fact, this expectation is borne out. Paranouns cannot be analysed as PhiPs for two main reasons. Firstly, paranouns necessarily lack phi-features, which are associated with PhiP. Secondly, Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) describe pro-PhiPs as lacking inherent semantics; they simply spell out bundles of phi-features. Not only do paranouns encode sociolinguistic content, but forms like *kare*, in fact, can also have descriptive semantic content. This descriptive content is why *kare* and its female counterpart, *kanojo*, can be used to mean 'boyfriend' and 'girlfriend', respectively, as mentioned in chapter 2. Paranouns are also not pro-DPs, as they do not have the syntax of Ds. They can be modified by adjectives as shown in (4.3a), possessives as shown in (4.3b), and demonstratives as shown in (4.3c). Additionally, DPs are expected to have the binding properties of R-expressions and are subject to principle C, which is not the case for Japanese paranouns which are subject to principle B.

(4.3) Japanese

a. *tiisai kare*

small he

'he who is small'

b. *watashi-no kare*

I-GEN he

‘my boyfriend’

c. *kono kare*

this he

‘this guy here’

(Dechaine & Wiltschko, 2002, fig. 21)

That paranouns do not embody the characteristics of pro-NPs, pro-PhiPs, or pro-DPs is consistent with the view that they are not pronouns but rather pro-forms of interactive nominals. And as interactive nominals, it is appropriate to classify them as pro-GroundPs. Moreover, assuming Dechaine & Wiltschko’s (2002) proposal that different categories of nominals have different binding theory properties, it is expected that as GroundPs, paranouns will have distinct binding properties from pronouns, which can be DPs, PhiPs or NPs. This expectation is also borne out, as will be shown in the next section.

4.4 Principle D

Just as pro-PhiPs and pro-DPs are subject to different binding principles (i.e., principles B and C, respectively), pro-GroundPs should also be subject to a distinct binding principle. In his detailed account of binding theory as applied to Japanese, Hoji (1990) remarks that certain nominal expressions in Japanese have binding properties which are not fully accounted for under traditional binding theory (Chomsky, 1981). Specifically, names, social titles, epithets, and what I am calling paranouns are all subject to principle B, despite the fact that names, titles, and

epithets would normally be considered R-expressions subject to principle C. Note that all of these nominals are also assumed to contain interactional structure. Hoji (1990) also observes that there are restrictions on which of these nominals can bind the others. For example, a name can bind another name (also showing that names are not subject to principle C), but what I am calling a paranoun cannot bind a name, as shown in (4.4) below.

(4.4) Japanese

- a. John_i-ga [John_i-no hon]-o mottekina
 John-NOM John-GEN book-ACC brought
 ‘John_i brought John_i’s book’
- b. *kare_i-ga [John_i-no hon]-o mottekina
 he-NOM John-GEN book-ACC brought
 ‘He_i brought John_i’s book’

Similar observations were made by Lasnik (1986) about Thai and Vietnamese. The facts of these three languages led Hoji (1990) to formulate a fourth binding principle, which he calls *principle D*, given in (4.5) below. (4.6) provides the referentiality hierarchy that Hoji (1990) proposes for Japanese referential expressions, which has been modified to include paranouns rather than pronouns for the purposes of this thesis.

- (4.5) **Principle D** (Hoji, 1990): A less referential expression cannot bind a more referential one. (Adapted from Lasnik, 1986, pp. 12–13).

- (4.6) Names > Social Titles > Epithets > Paranouns

Hoji (1990) claims that principle D is universal, and gives examples of how this principle applies to English as well. As for the English translations of the Japanese sentences in (4.4), which are given in (4.7), Hoji (1990) explains that (4.7a) incurs only a principle C violation since the two instances of the name, *John*, are equally referential, therefore the sentence is acceptable in certain contexts. In contrast, (4.7b) is completely ungrammatical. This is because *he* is a pronoun, which is less referential than a name, and in this example, *he* binds *John*, incurring violations of both principles C and D.

- (4.7) a. ? John_i brought John_i's book.
 b. * He_i brought John_i's book.

Note that in both of these examples, it is an interactional nominal (the name *John*) that is being bound. Moreover, the referential hierarchy Hoji (1990) proposes consists of pronouns, names, social titles, and epithets, all of which are types of interactional nominals (cf. McDonald et al., 2021.) For this reason, I propose that Hoji's (1990) principle D be modified slightly to specifically apply to interactional nominals. This revised principle is given in (4.8).

- (4.8) **Principle D** (modified): An interactional nominal must not be bound by a less referential expression.

Hoji's (1990) observations about Japanese and the formulation of principle D, which was developed specifically to describe the binding properties of Japanese interactional nominals, serve as independent evidence for nominal interactional structure. Moreover, the similarities between the Japanese and English examples in

(4.4) and (4.7), indicate that interactional nominals in these two languages share at least one binding property. Nevertheless, they are different: In Japanese, interactional nominals are all subject to principle B, further showing that they are the same type of nominal. In English, however, interactional nominals function as regular R-expressions and are subject to principle C. Although they are all subject to principle D, the binding properties of interactional nominals appear to vary from language to language. A summary of the binding properties of English and Japanese non-anaphors is given in Table 4.1. Note that principle B has been modified to incorporate both pronouns and interactional nominals, though further modification to the binding principles is required in order to account for the fact that interactional nominals are subject to either principle B or C, depending on the language. Further information on the binding properties of Japanese non-interactional R-expressions is needed to complete the table.

Table 4.1 *Binding principles applied to English and Japanese nominals*

L		Principle B	Principle C	Principle D
		Non-anaphors are locally free	R-expressions are free everywhere	Interactional nominals cannot be bound by a less referential nominal
English	pronouns	YES	NO	NO
	r-expressions	NO	YES	NO
	interactional nominals	YES	NO	YES

Japanese	paranouns	YES	NO	YES
	interactional nominals	YES	NO	YES
	Japanese R-expression	?	?	?

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Japanese paranouns are pro-GroundPs and have the syntax of GroundPs, rather than pro-NPs, as proposed by Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002). These forms are incompatible with the pro-NP category because of their inherent referential properties. They are also incompatible with PhiP and DP syntax, meaning that these forms must be associated with a different nominal projection. Since paranouns are associated with a different structure than the pronouns discussed in Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002), it was predicted that they would have distinct binding properties from these different pronoun types.

One property of Japanese paranouns is that they cannot be construed as bound variables like English pronouns can. This follows from the fact that paranouns are inherently referential; they always denote either the speaker, the addressee, or another discourse referent. Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) point this out, but nevertheless classify Japanese paranouns as pro-NPs. This analysis is problematic as NPs are predicates which are not referential but follows straightforwardly if they are pro-GroundP paranouns.

Independent evidence to support the existence of an interactional layer of nominal structure and the category of pro-NPs comes from Hoji's (1990) analysis of Japanese binding. He observes that in Japanese the types of nominals that have been here characterized as interactional nominals behave differently from other Japanese nominals. He posits a referential hierarchy that distinguishes paranouns, names, social titles, and epithets, all of which are interactional nominals. This referential hierarchy, in combination with his principle D, accounts for the fact that less referential interactional nominals cannot bind more referential interactional nominal. Taking as his point of departure Lasnik's (1986) parallel observations of Thai and Vietnamese interactional nominals, Hoji (1990) develops a fourth binding principle, which he calls principle D. This principle states that a more referential expression cannot be bound by a less referential expression. As this principle was developed specifically to account for the behaviour of Japanese interactional nominals, I propose a modification of this principle to be specific to this type of nominal rather than to all nominals. It appears that interactional nominals in both English and Japanese are subject to principle D, even though Japanese pro-GroundPs are also subject to principle B while English pro-GroundPs are also subject to principle C.

The discussion in this chapter supports the existence of the nominal interactional layer and the classification of paranouns as interactional nominals which are categorically distinct from all types of pronouns. Next steps to further test the presence of a nominal interactional layer include an analysis of the binding properties of paranouns and other interactional nominals in all the languages and varieties determined to have paranouns in chapters 2 and 3. Minimally, the interactional

nominals in these languages should be subject to principle D. Whether they are also subject to principle B or C could vary, though, as Lasnik (1986) observes, Thai and Vietnamese interactional nominals appear to pattern with those in Japanese. These questions are left for future research.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

WALS Chapter 45 “Politeness distinctions in pronouns” classifies Japanese, Korean, Burmese, Khmer, Thai, and Vietnamese as languages whose pronouns are avoided for reasons of politeness. As this thesis has shown, this classification is not accurate. These languages do not avoid pronouns for reasons of politeness- they actually do not have pronouns, but rather paranouns. According to Ritter & Wiltschko (2019), paranouns differ from pronouns in that they are associated with GroundP in the interactional layer rather than in DP, and contain discourse roles and sociolinguistic features rather than grammatical phi-features. When translating paranouns into a language that does not have them, it is easy to assume that these forms are also pronouns since they serve essentially the same purpose. However, paranouns have some features that are quite distinct from pronouns.

The goal of this thesis was to determine whether there is broader empirical support for the existence of paranouns than just the two languages Ritter & Wiltschko (2019) discuss. In chapter 2, a set of eight diagnostics for paranouns was developed and tested against Japanese and English to set a baseline, and then applied to a sample of (south)east Asian languages that WALS Chapter 45 “Politeness distinctions in pronouns” classifies as avoiding pronouns for reasons of politeness (Helmbrecht, 2013). The results of this small case study showed that all of the languages from the sample passed the eight diagnostics for paranounhood, showing that Japanese and Korean are not the only two languages with paranouns.

Standard Indonesian, a variety of Malay/Indonesian, the only other language that WALS Chapter 45 identified as belonging to the type that avoids pronouns for

reasons of politeness, was not discussed in chapter 2. The reason for this is that Malay/Indonesian comprises a dialect continuum whose varieties have diverse pro/paranoun inventories, and this makes classification of this language based on the chapter 2 diagnostics rather challenging. As chapter 3 revealed, different results were obtained when the diagnostics from chapter 2 were applied to the different varieties. That is, there is an important difference between the pro/paranouns of the more conservative varieties, such as Standard Indonesian, and the more innovative varieties, such as the Eastern Contact Varieties of Malay. Most notably, the conservative varieties maintain a clear grammatical number distinction in their forms, while the more innovative varieties have forms which denote general number or are made explicitly plural with the modifying (and in some cases, optional) plural marker *orang* ‘person/people’ (>-*ong*). Additionally, the most conservative varieties fail diagnostic D8 in that they have contrastively inclusive 1st person plural forms, which are theoretically impossible for paranoun paradigms, but the more innovative varieties pass this diagnostic. In fact, many of the more innovative varieties have a single form for 1st person plural, rather than contrastive inclusive and exclusive ones. Other varieties have both *kita* and *kami*, but one or both of these forms (in most cases, *kita*) have extended their meaning to include both inclusive and exclusive interpretations, and even in some cases to a 1st person form that is both unspecified for clusivity and general in number. In most cases, *kami* was completely or partially lost, and in many of the varieties where it still exists, its use is not necessarily limited to an exclusive interpretation. Chapter 3 concluded that different varieties of Malay/Indonesian are transitioning from having pronouns to having paranouns at

varying rates, as such, they give different results when the diagnostics from chapter 2 are applied to them. From these facts, if an innovative variety were selected to represent the Malay/Indonesian dialect continuum, the language would be classified as having paranouns, and many conservative varieties would be misrepresented as passing D8. Similarly, if a conservative variety were chosen to represent Malay/Indonesian, the language would be classified as having pronouns, and the innovative varieties would be misrepresented as failing D8.

Chapter 4 explored the distribution of paranouns in Japanese compared to pronouns in English, taking as its point of departure Dechaine & Wiltschko's (2002) proposal that pronouns do not constitute a homogenous class of nominals due to their different syntactic categories. Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) further demonstrate that different categories of pronouns have different binding properties. I extended this approach to paranouns, which I assert are pro-GroundPs. If Dechaine & Wiltschko (2002) are correct about the correlation between category and binding theoretic status, paranouns should also have different binding properties from pronouns. This prediction was borne out, as the different kinds of Japanese nominals that are subject to Hoji's (1990) principle D, are all interactional nominals. Principle D formalizes a generalization made by Lasnik (1986) based on observations about Thai and Vietnamese names, titles, kin terms and epithets and what I am calling paranouns, i.e., interactional nominals. I speculate that principle D applies in a similar way to other paranoun languages, though this question is left for future research.

As this thesis has shown, there is empirical evidence that paranouns and pronouns are different categories with distinct properties and characteristics, and that

paranouns are motivated both on conceptual and empirical grounds. At the same time, it has also revealed that there is still much to be discovered and accounted for given the very limited available literature on paranouns and interactional nominals. Now that several paranoun languages have been identified, more research on this newly defined category can be done to test if and how these languages support or refute the existence of this distinct nominal category. Another question remains pertaining to whether paranouns exist outside of the (south)east Asian region, or if paranouns are an areal feature. This question is left for future research.

Appendix I: Paradigms for chapter 2's languages

Japanese paranouns

person	SG	PL
1	watashi, watakushi, kochira, boku, ore, washi, atachi, uchi, jibun	[-tachi] watashitachi, watakushitachi...
2	anata, sochira, kimi, omae, anta, kisama	[-tachi, -gata] anatatachi/anatagata, sochiratachi/sochiragata...
3	ko/so/ano kata, ko/o/aitsu, ko/so/ano hito, kare, kanojo	[-tachi, -ra] karera/karetachi, kanojora/kanojotachi...

(Kaiser et al., 2001) (Martin, 1988)

Jibun is an anaphor that can be used as a pronoun to mean *I* or combined with *-tachi* to mean *we* (Kaiser et al., 2001, p. 138).

Korean paranouns

person	SG	PL
1	na, ce	wuli(-tul), ce-huy(-tul)
2	ne, caney,caki, tangsin, ku tay, tayk, elusin	ne-huy(-tul), -tul

3	yay, i i, i pun	kyay, ku i, ku pun (ku), cay, ce i, ce pun
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(Sohn, 1999)

Burmese paranouns

person	SG	PL
1	təəŋə, təəmə, təənouʔ, təouʔ, ŋa, dó, ko, dəbé-də, dəbé-də-má	[tó/dó]
2	kʰəmyà, ɛin, mìn, nin, ɲì, θin, lu.dzì.mìn	
3	θu, θu-má, ðìn, θu- dó/θədó, θu-myà	

(Jenny & Tun, 2016)

Khmer paranouns

person	(SG)	PL
1	knojɲ, (anj), atma:	jeu:ng
2	neak, aeng, lo:k, chan	
3	koat, via, kee:, traung	

(Haiman, 2011)

All pronouns can have singular or plural reference with the exception of *anj* which is necessarily singular and *jeu:ng* which is necessarily plural

Thai paranouns

person	SG	PL
1	phợ̉m, chậ́n, dichậ́n	raw*
2	khun, thân	
3	kháw, man	

(Smyth, 2000)

*Unmarked use, can have 1st, 2nd, 3rd person reference, sg or pl.

Vietnamese pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	tôi, ta, tao , min (L), qua (L), thiếp (L)	choa (L)
2	mày, mi (L), bậ (L)	bay
3	nó , người ta y, hậ́n, nghi (L), va (L)	

(Thompson, 1965)

Bolded forms can be used with plural modifier *chúng*, non-bold forms cannot. (L)

indicates a literary form.

Lao personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	kuu3, haw2, khòj5, khaa5-phacaw4	phuak4-kuu3, cu-haw2 (incl.), cu-khòj5 (excl.)

2	mùng2, too3, caw4, thaan1	suu3, cu-caw4, phuak4- caw4
3	man2, laaw2, phen1, thaan1	khaw3, khacaw4

(Enfield, 2007)

Appendix II: Paradigms for Malay/Indonesian varieties

Standard Varieties

Standard formal Indonesian personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	saya, aku	kita (incl.), kami (excl.)
2	engkau, kamu, kau, anda	kalian
3	ia, dia, beliau	mereka

(Sneddon, 1996)

Standard Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	saya, aku	kita, kami
2	awak, engkau, kau	kau orang
3	dia	mereka

(Koh, 1990)

Colloquial Varieties

Colloquial Jakartan Indonesian personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	gua~gue, saya, aku	kita, kami
2	elu~lu, kamu	elu~lu, kamu, (kalian)
3	dia	dia, dia orang, (mereka)

(Sneddon, 2006)

Colloquial Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	gua, saya, aku	kita, kita orang, kami
2	awak, kamu, kau, lu	kau orang, lu orang
3	dia	mereka, dia orang

(Koh, 1990)

Eastern Contact Varieties (Paauw, 2008)

Manado Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	kita	torang
2	ngana, əngko	ngoni
3	dia	dorang

North Moluccan Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	kita	(ki)torang
2	ngana	ngoni
3	dia	dorang

Ambon Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	beta	katong
2	ose (os, se), ale	dorang (dong)
3	dia, antua, ontua	dorang (dong)

Bando Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	beta	katong
2	pane	kamorang (kamong)
3	dia, antua	dorang (dong)

Kupang Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	beta, bet, be	kotong (incl.), katong (incl.), ketong (incl.), botong (excl.), batong (excl.)
2	lu	bosong, basong, besong
3	dia, di	dorang, dong

Larantuka Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	kita, beta	(kə)toraN
2	əNko, no, oa	(əN)koraN, kamu-oraN
3	dia, bicu, bica	doraN

Papua Malay personal pronouns

person	SG	PL
1	kita, say, sa	kiton(g), kita, kitoran(g)
2	kaw, ko, koe	kamu
3	dia, de, da, di, akan	dorang

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