

On articles and reference management in western Austronesian languages

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1. Two types of (non-personal) ‘articles’ in western Austronesian

A Proclitic from demonstratives (and pronouns?)

- (1) Tajio *te=*
te=saping neng-inang te=gugus
ART=cow AV.RLS-eat ART=grass
Cows feed on grass.
- (2) Tagalog *ang=*
at kinuha niyá ang langgám
and RLS(UV)-getting 3s.POSS SPEC ant
And he got the ant ...
- (3) Kambera *na=* (sg), *da=* (pl) (Klamer 2005:713)
Da=munju da kokur mbú ndàba=da
3p.NOM=fall.off ART coconut all=3p.GEN
‘The coconuts all fell off (the tree)’
- (4) Kambera *na=* (sg), *da=* (pl) (Klamer 2005:728)
Na tau na ma=kawanga nda na=rongu=a
ART person ART REL=be.deaf NEG 3s.NOM=hear=MOD
‘The deaf don’t hear’

B Enclitic from possessive pronouns

- (5) Malay *-nya*
air-nya
water-ART
‘(Room service knocking at the door:) The water (you asked for)’
- (6) Balinese *=(n)e*
tiang ngelah kuluk ajak meong. kuluk=e putih meong=e selem
1SG AV:own dog and cat dog=ART white cat=ART black
‘I have a dog and a cat. The dog is white, the cat is black.’

C Enclitic from pronoun/demonstrative?

- (7) Woi *=va* + number marker (in complementary distribution with demonstratives)
tiang vati poti mancey
tiang va-i p<ø>o-i mancey
fish DET-SG <1s>pull-OBJ upward
The fish, I pulled it up’

- (8) Adnominal grammaticisation of demonstratives (Greenberg 1978, Lehmann 1982, Himmelmann 1997)
RECOGNITIONAL/ANAPHORIC DEM > DEF ART > SPEC ART > GENDER/NOUN MARKER
- (9) Adnominal grammaticisation of possessives (Himmelmann 1997, 2001)
3. PERSON POSSESSIVE PRONOUN > DEF(?) ARTICLE > ??

2. Honorific articles

- (10) Tagalog *si=*
tingnán mo si Maria
look: POSS 2s.POSS HON PN
Just look at Maria
- (11) Balinese (*n)i=* (Clynes 1995:199)
a. *i Gede tusing taen ngenah matane*
HON PN NEG ever visible eye:3s
‘Gede (he), his eyes are never visible (i.e. He’s never here)’
b. **Gedene tusing taen ngenah matane*

3. Grammatical (non-semantic/pragmatic) restrictions on the use of articles

3.1 Phonology

- (12) Tolaki: disyllabics only (vd Berg 2012:2017ff)
- (a) *o=piso* (c) **o=kahuku*
ART=knife ART=coconut
‘the/a knife’ ‘the/a coconut’
- (b) *o=donga* (d) **o=laika*
ART=deer ART=house
‘the/a deer’ ‘the/a house’
- (13) Tajio: obligatory for vowel-initial bases in most syntactic positions (including subject and object)
te=auda ni=Wafik na-ate **auda*
ART=goat GEN=PN ST.RLS-dead
‘Wafik’s goat died.’
te=ulingka ni-oli=’u **ulingka*
ART=coconut UV.RLS-buy=1s
‘I bought a/the coconut.’

3.2 In complementary distribution with GEN/POSS marker

- (14) Tagalog *ng* [nəŋ]
kinagát ng mga langgám ang mama’
RLS(UV):bite GEN PL ant SPEC man
The ants bit the man.

- (15) *pùpunuún mo iyán ng kuto*
 RDP1:full:PV 2s.POSS MED GEN louse
 You fill that (cup) with lice.

3.3 In complementary distribution with prepositions (LOC marker)

- (16) Tagalog *sa*
nagpunta silá sa simbahan
 AV.RLS:direction 3p LOC church
 They went to a church.
- (17) Balinese opposite constraint? (examples: Clynes 1995:241, 208)
montor-ne tomplok-ang=a ke tembok=e
 car-3s.POSS collide-APPL=3s to wall=ART
 'He crashed his car into a wall.
i lutung tegakanga di duur kayu=ne
 HON monkey sit:APPL.3s LOC top wood=ART
 'The monkey was sat down by him on the wood.'

3.4 Banned from, or optional in, initial/preverbal position

- (18) Balantak *a* (vd Berg 2012)
 a) *Ma-polos tuu' a sengke'-ku.*
 INTR.IRR-hurt very ART back-1s
 b) *Sengke'-ku ma-polos tuu'.*
 back-1s INTR.IRR-hurt very
 'My back really hurts.'
- (19) Tagalog initial *ang* omissible (Wolff et al. 1991:612)
(ang) gágamítin ko na lang e basáhan
 (SPEC) RDP1:use:PV 1s.POSS now only PM rag
 Shall I just use rags?

3.5 Other contexts

- CLF and numeral constructions (often required)
- possessive constructions (either obligatory or impossible)
- fixed/lexicalised expressions ((*ang*) *sabi/wika-nya* "she said"/REPORTATIVE)

cp. vd Berg 2012:223

Table 1: Comparison of the article in Balantak, Muna and Tolaki

		Balantak <i>a</i>	Muna <i>o</i>	Tolaki <i>o=</i>
<i>semantics</i>	independent meaning	no	no	no
<i>syntax</i>	category	common nouns	common nouns	common nouns
	grammatical function of NP	subjects only	any	any
	position in clause	post-predicate	a. clause-initial b. free-standing	any
	with possessive suffixes	yes	no	no
	with bound numerals	yes	no	no
	after prepositions	no	no	no
<i>prosody</i>	shape of noun root	any	any	disyllabic only
	clitic position	enclitic	proclitic	proclitic
	position in intonation phrase	medial	only initial	anywhere

5. Complementiser-like uses

- (20) *talagang nakákatuwá ang [manalo tayo]*
 really=LK RLS.ST.AV.RDP1-joy SPEC AV:surpassed 1p.IN
 It is really fun to win (lit. when we win). (Wolff et al 1991:1259)
- (21) *Sa sipa' ang hangád ng nagsísipaglaro'*
 LOC kick SPEC ambition GEN player
ay hindi ang [talun-in ang isang kaaway]
 PM NEG SPEC defeated-PV SPEC one:LK opponent
 In *sipa* the aim of the players is not to defeat an opponent, ... (Bloomfield 1917:46)
- (22) Tagalog pep 071
náisip niyá na nailigtas niyá
 RLS.ST:thought 3s.POSS COMP RLS.ST.CV:saved 3s.POSS
ang maliít na langgám
 SPEC ST:small LK ant
 he thought that he had been able to save this little ant,

6. What's the contrast?

- (23) Tagalog
 a) *malakí ang kwartong iyon.*
 ST:bigness SPEC room:LK DIST
 That room is big.
- b) *ang malakí ang kwartong iyon.*
 SPEC ST:bigness SPEC room-LK DIST
 That room is the big one.

- (24) Tagalog (Wolff et al 1991:27)
(asking about a room to rent, landlord first declines then remembers: oh yes, there is indeed one)
- A1 yung kwarto ng anak kong lalaki
DIST.LK room GEN child 1s.POSS-LK male
my son's room
- A2 malaking kwarto iyon.
ST:bigness:LK room DIST
it is a big room
- B1 nasaan ho yung kwarto?
RLS.ST:where POL DIST.LK room
where is that room? (oh it is just over here in the back)
- B2 ito ho ba yung bakanteng kwarto?
PRX POL QU DIST.LK vacant:LK room
is this the vacant room?
- A3 hindi hindi ito iyon.
NEG NEG PRX DIST
no. this isn't it (this isn't that one)
- A4 **kwarto ito ng katulong namin.**
room PRX GEN helper 1pex.POSS
this is our servant's room
- A5 **ang kwarto sa tabi niyan yung bakante**
SPEC room LOC side MED.GEN DIST.LK vacant
the vacant one is the room next to it
- A6 hayan ito ang kwarto ng anak ko
there! PRX SPEC room GEN child 1s.POSS
there it is! This my son's room (my son's room is this one).
- B3 maganda naman pala ang kwartong ito.
ST:beauty truly so! SPEC room:LK PRX
this is a nice room (this room is beautiful, I see)

Abbreviations

AV	ACTOR VOICE	NEG	NEGATION
APPL	APPLICATIVE	p / PL	PLURAL
ART	ARTICLE	PM	PREDICATE MARKER
DET	DETERMINER	PN	PERSONAL NAME
DIST	DISTAL	POL	POLITENESS MARKER
GEN	GENITIVE	POSS	POSSESSIVE
HON	HONORIFIC (ARTICLE)	PRX	PROXIMAL
IN	INCLUSIVE	PV	PATIENT VOICE
INTR	INTRANSITIVE	RLS	REALIS
IRR	IRREALIS	RDP	REDUPLICATION
LK	LINKER	s / SG	SINGULAR
LOC	LOCATIVE	SPEC	SPECIFIC ARTICLE
LV	LOCATIVE VOICE	ST	STATIVE

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¹ All books and papers by Himmelmann available from <http://ifl.phil-fak.uni-koeln.de/index.php?id=11397>