Morphological Behaviors Of Pronominals In Jarawa

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Abstract

Pronouns in general and personal pronouns, in particular, exhibit different morphological behaviors in languages. In some languages, it is attached to a verb. The attachment of a pronoun to a verb can be explained in different ways, depending on the syntactic and morphological nature of the operations, exhibited by the pronoun in the overall grammatical system of the language in question. Depending on the nature of the operation, one can say whether it is a kind of affixation or cliticization. This paper makes an attempt to examine the morphological behavior of personal pronouns in the Jarawa language and how the various forms of personal pronouns behave in this language.

The Jarawa community lives on the west coast of the Andaman Islands and has been untouched by modern civilization for centuries. They came into contact with outsiders in 1998 and began to welcome them; otherwise, they used to attach anyone outside their community. These people are reminiscent of the pre-Neolithic population and their language represents the language of that time. This paper can shed a light on the study of language evolution and the evolution of humanity.

Keywords: morphology, Pronominals, Jarawa, Andaman, affixation, cliticization, evolution.
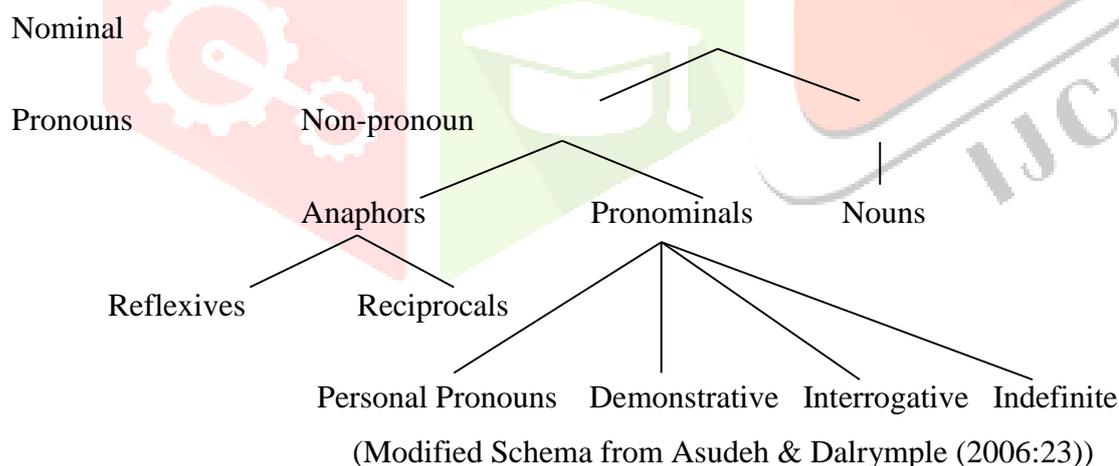
1.0 Introduction

Pronominals are found in every human language and have a variety of linguistic forms and functions in human speech. They play the role of a deictic category (Lyons, 1979, 1981, 1996; Levinson, 1983; Dik, 1989; Huang, 2014, Irgens, 2017) or a head of a noun phrase (Abney, 1987; Longobardi, 1994; Cardinaletti, 1994; Cardinaletti and Starke, 1996; Carnie, 2000). Furthermore, pronominals also exhibit different morphological behavior as affixes or clitics (Zwicky, 1977; Faraclas, 1989; Haulde 1992; Sulkala& Karjalainen 1992; Evans, 1993; Akinlabi& Liberman, 2000; Aikhenvald 2003). In addition to these interpretations, pronominals also function as agreement markers in many languages (Klavans, 1985; Zwicky, 1987; Spenser 1991; Halpen 1995;

Monachesi, 1996; Miller & Sag, 1997; Albuhayri, 2013). Thus, pronominals play important role in the linguistic structure of language and exhibit different forms and thus different functions in human languages. This paper, attempts to study and describe the forms and functions of pronominals in Jarawa language. The paper is divided into different sections: Section 1 deals with the concept of pronominals in general and the Jarawa community in particular; Section 2 explains the methodology used for data collection; Section 3 describes different types of pronouns in the Jarawa language; Section 4 discusses morphological nature of personal; and Section 5 presents the conclusion.

1.1 Pronominals

Pronominals are interpreted in linguistic literature as pronouns, agreement markers, clitics, and deictic category, etc. depending on their form and function in the linguistic structure of a given language. It is also an accepted fact in the linguistic literature that pronouns substitute for a noun and thus form part of the noun phrase. Hence, in this paper, I will adopt the classification and subsequent interpretation of pronouns that prevails in Generative Grammar and is accepted in other linguistic theories. In Generative Grammar, it is common to divide nominals into two broad categories: Pronouns and Non-pronouns. Non-pronouns are, generally, bare nouns or R-expressions. Pronouns are further divided into anaphors and pronominals. Anaphors consist of reflexives and reciprocals, while pronominals are a non-anaphoric element. In addition, pronominals form a larger group consisting of personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, interrogative pronouns, and indefinite pronouns. The scheme of this classification of nominals is shown in (1).

Nominal

Pronouns   Non-pronoun

                Anaphors   Pronominals   Nouns

        Reflexives   Reciprocals

        Personal Pronouns   Demonstrative   Interrogative   Indefinite

(Modified Schema from Asudeh & Dalrymple (2006:23))

In this paper, I am interested in pronominals in general and personal pronouns in particular as expressed in the Jarawa language. It also attempts to explore the morphological nature of personal pronouns in the Jarawa language.

1.2 Jarawa Community

The Andaman Islands have been the subject of speculation and scientific study for centuries: because the native communities of the islands are reminiscent of the first Paleolithic population of Southeast Asia (Thangaraj et al. 2003), and they lived in isolation for centuries that no other population in the world continued to be (Kashyap et al., 2004). Due to the nomadic lifestyle of the inhabitants and the limited amount of exploration that has taken place, there is little archaeological evidence of when the Andaman Islands were inhabited by these people (Cooper 1993). According to Cooper (1993), the oldest confirmed radiocarbon date is just >2000 years old and there are no artifacts indicating contact or trade with the world outside the archipelago.

The Andaman Islands have been home to four indigenous populations, namely Great Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa, and Sentinelese (Kumar 2012). Great Andamanese is an umbrella term for ten distinct communities once living separately and independently throughout the Andaman Islands (Abbi 2006, 2009; Manoharan 1984). These communities are Aka-Cari, Aka-Kora, Aka-Bo, Aka-Jeru, Aka-Kede, Aka-Kol, Oko-Juwoi, Aka-Pucikwar, Akar-Bale, and Aka-Bea (Abbi 2006, 2009; Manoharan 1984; Kumar 2012). After noticing the population of these communities was declining, the Andaman administration decided to settle them on one of the islands, called the Strait Islands (Awaradi 1990). The Onge, who once inhabited all of Little Andaman, have been settled in the Dugong Creek area of Little Andaman (Kumar 2012). The Sentinelese live on North Sentinel Island and still avoid all contact with the outside world. The Jarawa, who were once confined to the areas around Port Blair before the British landed on these islands, have now spread across South and Middle Andaman along the west coast of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (Kumar 2012).

Genetic study shows that the Great Andamanese group forms a separate group and the Onge-Jarawa have similar genetic inheritance (Thangaraj, et al. 2005). Great Andamanese contains haplogroup M31, while Jarawa-Onge carries haplogroup M32 according to mt-DNA study. Linguistic studies also suggest that there are two groups: Great Andamanese and Onge-Jarawa (Abbi 2006, 2009; Blevins 2006a). Based on genetic and linguistic studies, it is suggested that there may have been two waves of migration by Paleolithic colonizers in the Andaman Islands (Abbi 2009).

2.0 Methodology

Since the community is monolingual, I used two methods, participant observation and trial-and-error. First, I accustomed my ears to the sounds of the language. Then, using picture I collected words that referred to body parts, animals, fish, etc. The words related to everyday activities were elicited using gestures or pointing to the activities. The sentences were collected from spoken forms and dialogs. Gradually, I began to pick up some parts of speech. I made a conscious effort to learn the language. I do not claim to have mastered the language like a native speaker, but I picked up some parts of the Jarawa language and was able to communicate with them. Most of the data was collected from the Jarawa people living in the Katadamtala region, but sometimes I

also visited the Middle Strait and Tiroor regions. The data collected during my fieldwork[1] between 2003 and 2006 is the only sources of data for this study.

3.0 Pronominals in Jarawa

Pronominals are heads of NPs without lexical content and they refer to either a noun of a sentence/clause or they draw reference from context/discourse. These types of NPs occur in place of noun-headed NPs to avoid repetition or to maintain economy. In Jarawa, there are three types of pronominals. They are personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, and interrogative pronouns. Personal pronouns are used to refer to human and/or non-human. Moreover, the Personal Pronouns demonstrate different forms to express different functions. They also distinguish different types of demonstratives that convey different types of deictic references. Similarly, there are different kinds of interrogative pronouns that convey different 'wh-forms'.

3.1 Personal Pronouns

Jarawa makes use of personal pronouns to refer to human and nouns non-human. They distinguish three persons, without any number distinction. They use *mi* as the first person, *ŋi* as the second person, and hi as the third person pronoun. Furthermore, the second person has three variants {*ŋi*, *ni*, and *ǝn*} and the third person has two variants {*hi* and *ǝhi*}. Among the second person variants, {*ǝn*} has two functions in this language: firstly, it serves as a second person pronoun, generally occuring in subject position and possessive forms; secondly, it has a generic interpretation for human. The Jarawa personal pronouns are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: Jarawa personal pronouns

1st Person	*mi*
2nd Person	*ŋi ~ ni ~ ǝn*
3rd Person	*hi ~ ǝhi*

Among these personal pronouns, first and second person pronouns are used to refer to humans, while third person pronouns can be used to refer to both humans and non-humans. Moreover, demonstrative pronouns can also be used in place of third person pronouns. The sentences in (1.a) through (1.e) illustrate the use of personal pronouns.

(1.a)   *mi   omohǝ*
        1   sleep
        I/we sleep.

(1.b)   *ŋi*   *bəɪʈʰe-jə*

    2   go-VEVD

    You are going.

(1.c)   *hi*   *ma*   *napo*   *ɖ-ija*

    3   1ACC   fish   REF-give

    He gave me the fish.

(1.d)   *mi*   *ih-ita*

    1   3-eat

    I ate that.

(1.e)   *hi*   *h-ita*

    3   3-eat

    He ate that.

It should be noted that we do not find plural counterparts of these personal pronouns, i.e., we have the same form for both singular and plural. The personal pronoun *mi* '1 person' for example, can mean both first person singular and first person plural, and its interpretation depends entirely on the context in which the communication takes place. The sentence given in (2) has both the meaning 'I am going' and 'We are going'.

(2)   *mi*   *bəɪʈʰe-jə*

    1   go-vevd

    I/we are going.

(3)   *ŋi*   *omohə*

    You   sleep

    You (both SG and PL) sleep.

(4)   *hi*   *h-ita*

    3   3-eat

    He/they ate that.

This shows that there is no difference between singular and plural in these two sentences. Furthermore, the examples in (2-4) show that there is no distinction in the other two persons, i.e., second and third person.

3.2 Demonstrative pronoun

In Jarawa, there are two types of demonstrative pronouns: one denoting immediate objects, the other denoting distant objects. The proximal demonstrative is *li* and the distal demonstrative is *luwə*. In this section, we focus on the use of demonstratives as pronouns, although these demonstratives are also used as adjectives and adverbs. It should be noted that the demonstratives *li* and *luwə* are used in both singular and plural forms. The examples in (5-6) show the use of demonstrative pronouns.

(5)   *li*   *taŋ-ɖə*   *čapʈʰe-jə*

       PDEM   tree-LOC   climb-VEVD

       He is climbing the tree.

It should be noted that *li* is more often used for third person references than *hi* in the subject position, thus, in (5), *li* is used as a third person pronoun when referring to a person climbing the tree. *luwə* is used for the distant object(s) as indicated in (6).

(6)   luwə   paʈʰo

       DDEM   arrow

       That is an arrow.

3.3 Interrogative pronoun

In Jarawa, there are six interrogative pronouns or wh-words: *onne* 'who' and *onəhə* 'what', *onəhəle* 'why', *kahaje* 'where', *ʈʰučəgə* 'where', *nojčʰe* 'how many'. Sometimes, these question words are used with Interrogative Marker (INTM) *ka*. Table 2 contains the words related to Interrogative Pronouns.

Table 2: Interrogative Pronouns in Jarawa

S. No.	Interrogative Pronouns in Jarawa	Gloss in English
1.	*onne*	Who
2.	*onəhə*	What
3.	*onəhəle*	What are your doing or Why
4.	*kahaje*	Where
5.	*ʈʰučəgə*	Where
6.	*nojčʰe*	How many

4.0 Morphological Nature of Personal Pronouns

The Jarawa language has different morphological forms of personal pronouns. We have two distinct but independent forms as well as reduced forms. The reduced forms are prefixed to nouns, verbs or adjectives when

the words belonging to these classes begin with a vowel. All these forms and their usage are discussed in the following sections.

4.1 'mi' form and 'ma' form

The Jarawa language displays various forms of personal pronouns. There is a possibility that these forms are related to some of the linguistic processes, whether phonological, morphological, or syntactic. Sometimes, these forms appear in free variation. However, the present data-set does not provide concrete evidence to claim the usage of these forms in this language. In this paper, I refer to them as the 'mi' form and the 'ma' form. These two forms of personal pronouns are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: 'mi' and 'ma' forms of Personal Pronouns

Person	'mi form'	'ma form'
1st Person	*mi*	*ma*
2nd Person	*ŋi ~ ni ~ ən*	*ŋa ~ na*
3rd Person	*hi ~ əhi*	*hiwa*

These two forms are used in both syntax and possessive construction, but it is difficult to describe the exact behavior of these two forms. It can be deduced that there is possibly a distinction at the level of syntax. The form 'mi' is used in the subject position, while the form 'ma' is used in the object position. This can be seen in examples (7) and (8)

(7)   *ŋi   ma   əjojəba*
        2   1ACC   see
        You saw me.

(8)   *mi   ŋa   napo   ḍ-ija*
        1   2 ACC   fish   REF-give
        I gave you the fish.

These examples show that 'mi' forms are used in the subject position and 'ma' forms are used in the object position of the sentence/clause. This confirms that forms such as *mi*, *ŋi*, and *hi* occupy the subject position of a sentence/clause. *ma*, *ŋa*, and *hiwa* are used in the object position of a sentence/clause. However, it is evident from example (9) that the 'mi' form can also be used in the object position of a sentence/clause.

(9)   *mi*   *napo*   *ŋi*   *h-ija*

        1   fish   2   3-give

        I gave you a fish.

At present, it is difficult to claim that the example in (9) is some kind of idiolectic variation or that the 'mi' form and the 'ma' form are in free variation in object position. There is no answer to this question in the present study. Nevertheless, the use of the 'mi' form in object position is limited to a few instances in the present corpus. Moreover, it is observed that 'ma' forms can never occur as the subject of a sentence/clause. This leads us to believe that there is a difference in the use of 'mi' and 'ma' forms at the syntactic level.

It should also be noted that both forms can be used in the case of possessive construction. But there is no evidence to claim why we have two different forms in the possessive construction. At first glance, one could argue that there are some phonological rules to distinguish these two forms. However, the examples in (10 and 11) do not support this suggestion.

(10)   mi   a:w

            1   arrow

            My arrow.

(11)   ma   a:w

            1   arrow

            My arrow.

4.2 Reduced forms of Personal Pronouns

It has been observed that there are reduced forms of personal pronouns. These reduced forms are attached as prefixes to verbs, nouns, or adjectives, provided that the words associated with these classes begin with a vowel and both are adjacent, i.e., there is no element that intervenes between the reduced form and the word. In such cases, the reduced forms that are prefixed are phonologically similar but shortened forms of the independent forms. The independent forms and their reduced forms are listed in Table 4.

Table 4: Independent pronominals and their prefixed forms

Person	Independent forms		Prefixed forms
1st Person	mi	ma	m-
2nd Person	ŋi ~ ni	ŋa ~ na	ŋ- ~ n- ~ ən-
3rd Person	hi	hiwa	h- ~ hi- ~ ih- ~ he- ~ əh-

The reduced form for the first person is {m-} and is used for both *mi* and *ma*. Similarly, the reduced forms for the second person are {ŋ-} and {n-}. {ŋ-}is used for *ŋi* and *ŋa*, and {n-} is used for *ni* and *na*. {ən-} is used only as a prefixed form for the second person. There are many prefixed (reduced) forms in the third person category. These forms can be used both as third person pronouns and as co-refencing elements in a sentence/clause. The third person category refers to the object NPs in the sentence/clause.

5.0 Conclusion

Three types of pronominals are attested in Jarawa language. They are Personal Pronouns, Demonstratives and Interrogative Pronouns. We have noted that the Personal Pronouns in the Jarawa language have different forms and are used differently at different places in the syntactic constructions. There are the 'mi form and the ma form' and reduced forms which are attached to a noun, verb or adjective, provided that the words belonging to these classes begin with a vowel and they are adjacent. It can also be observed that this language make use of both strategies invariably, that is, it uses both forms, the full form and the reduced form.

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