The Grammar of Pronouns: Pron. as means of Regulating Relations of Nouns and Verbs in Asian lgs.

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The investigation of lgs. of East and South-East Asia undertaken by the joint Soviet-Vietnamese linguistic expedition which carried out the fieldwork in Vietnam during the last ten years since 1979 showed that the lgs. as a whole give a complicated picture of evolution. Most of the lgs. of this area shifted from the inflectional non-isolating type of languages to agglutinative isolating lgs. Though in the various lgs. of the area diachronic changes reveal themselves differently, in many lgs. we find residues (1) of the previous stages as a heritage of these previous stages. Actually by these residues we can judge what the previous stages looked like.

The typological shift in these lgs. came as a result of many processes. The main process was the tendency towards monosyllabization of words in these lgs. (This tendency in its turn was also a result of many special processes -we shall not deal with them here- since this is another problem). The tendency to monosyllabization led to a change in the structure of words and in their nature. It led in the first place to the loss of the first syllables of words which in most cases were either derivative either inflectional markers of morhological categories. The disappearance of prefixes led to a change in the morphological paradigms of categories. The prefixes which remained in the structure of the word lost their grammatical meanings and became mere parts of sound patterns of words. At first all this led to the misfunctioning of categories and then to the loss of these categories.

We can state that due to the typological shift the changes took place on all levels of these lgs.

At the morphological level the main direction of changes was the disappearance of the so-called " old" morphology and the rise of the "new" morphology. There not only appeared a new stock of morphological categories but they in principle were of different

character than those of the previous stage. The old morphology was mainly represented by the morphological categories the markers of which expressed not only the morphological meanings but also the syntactical relations between the words. The new morphology is represented by the categories morphological markers of which do not express the syntactic relations between the words and have non-relational functions such as tense and aspect markers of verbs and plural markers of nouns and pronouns.

There also was a great change in the character of the markers of these categories. The old morphological markers were mostly of pronominal origin and the morphological markers of the new morphology mainly if not always are of adverbial and verbal origin. This origin of new verbal markers provides no bases for morphological agreement or morphological government.

In the previous stage the pronouns possessed case forms and forms of plurality. In Ruc (one of the oldest Viet-Muong lgs.) the personal pronouns have preserved two case forms and the form of plurality. In Taoih (a Mon-khmer language) the personal pronouns have preserved four case forms,which are nonobligatory and plural forms. Other lgs. investigated in Vietnam do not have case forms, but have forms of plurality. The Chinese personal pronouns in the previous stage according to Wan Li (2) also had an inflectional paradigm of forms. In Modern Chinese the personal pronouns have only forms of plurality.

The verbs in previous stages were inflected for causative,causative-transitive and state forms. They also had personal forms of pronominal origin. Most of the lgs. of the area have had lost these forms. And in some of the lgs. we find vestiges of these forms, which still continue to function.

In the new stage the verbs acquired new categories such as tense, aspect and passive voice, which in some respects replaced the category of state.

Actually only nouns were least of all affected to changes. According to the data of lgs. of East and South-East Asia nouns as a rule do not possess the category of case. We find vestiges of case forms only in Ruc and Taoih.

On the next stage of evolution the nouns in the lgs. of this area did not acquire this category. The only category which the nouns possess now is the category of number.

The above named developments in the lgs. in turn determined the changes on the syntactical level. They determined changes in the character of functioning of

words in the sentences and led to the changes in some
sentence structures. The role of the word order also
changed with a shift of completly free to a relative
fixed word order.

In the previous stages there existed morphological
government and morphological agreement, which
completely disappeared in the new stage of evolution in
most of the lgs. But in some of the lgs. there are
residues of morphological agreement and morphological
government.

It is necessary to underline that on different
stages of evolution the lgs. of the area possessed such
forces as Reciprocity, Reflexivization, verb
serialization, referentiality, which govern the
relationships in the sentences and which are connected
or oriented to the functional properties of nouns and
verbs and are influenced by two dominant categories-the
category of animacy and the category of activity.

On different stages the lgs. used different means to
materialize these forces. When these lgs. were of
non-isolating type they as a rule used inflectional
morphemes. But alongside they also used pronominal
clitics with verbs and inflectional or other forms of
pronouns to relate nouns to verbs or nouns to nouns or
adjectives to nouns.

Due to the extensive functioning of pronoun forms
or pronominal elements in these lgs. we may
characterize the grammar in these lgs. as a "pronoun
grammar".

In lgs. which are more advanced in their
development only traces of the so-called pronoun
grammar remain. And in some of the lgs., which are less
advanced in their development there still exists a
relatively well functioning pronoun grammar. We find
such a grammar in Taoih and in Ruc. The pronoun grammar
was widely used in Archaic and in Ancient Chinese.

The forms of pronouns were used for regulating the
Subject-Predicate and the Predicate-Object relations.
For instance a dative form or a.genetive form of a
pronoun being added to a noun applies to it the dative
or the genetive meaning. Such usage of the forms of
pronouns is well seen in Taoih. In Taoih the third
person pronoun (singular) is ?O " he,she,it ". It's
genetive form is ?ong?O " his,her's, it's". The dative
form is a?O " for him, for her ,for it ". In order to
use the noun in the genetive one has to add to the noun
the third person pronoun in the genetive form, for
example: Ikon andIal ?ong?O Ikan " mother's daughter"
(liter. child female her's mother). In order to use the
noun in the dative one has to place before the noun a

dative form of the pronoun, for example: a?O avO ?uiaw "for the old man" (liter. for him grandfather old), kun ?aw kah upUah a?O amO " The clothes were not washed for the elder sister" (liter. pants shirt not wash for her older sister). In Taoih as well as in Ruc the kinship terms could receive the dative forms themselves, for instance, ku ploy ?aw kun a IkOn " I have bought the clothes for the son" (liter. I buy shirt pants$_2$ dative$_3$ morpheme child). An example from Ruc: ni^{1}kal^{2}kuk$^{3?}$?aw^{3}co^{1}pai͡ne^4" Let's button the buttons on mother's blouse " (liter. let's button button shirt dative marker of new morphology dative morpheme mother).

In Taoih and in Vankieu there are vestiges of using the genetive form of a pronoun in the Subject when an inactive verb is in the Predicate. By such use of the pronoun forms the lgs. achieve not only a content, but also a formal correlation between a Subject and the Predicate of the sentence. Here is an example from Taoih ?ong?O a?ay " He is ill" (liter. his ill).

The pronouns in the East and South-East Asian languages were also used in another way for the purposes of correlating the Subject and the Predicate of the sentence. When an inanimate noun was used in the Subject in such lgs. as Ma, Aceh , Ancient Chinese usually there was placed a special form of a pronoun or a special pronoun before a verb in the Predicate, which in general easily combined with animate nouns but not with inanimate nouns. In Aceh according to M. Durie (3) for such purposes are used two third person clitics, or reduced forms of pronouns: ji=, familiar, and geu=, polite. They are used when in the Subject of the sentence there are nouns denoting organisations, moving vehicles, natural processes, involving water, wind, rain, cloud and so on.

There exists an analogous pronominal clitic gǒ in Ma, which T. Pogibenko counts to be a marker of inactivity. According to her (4) this marker is used with the verbs when they are combined with inanimate nouns or with animate nouns denoting animals. This marker is not used with verbs when they combine with all other animate nouns, for example,

lAt " to go" (animate)   gǒlAt (inanimate)
dU " to run"(animate)   gǒdU (inanimate)
tAm " to start"(animate) gǒtAm (about the rain).

Mark Durie names the clitics in Aceh as cross-referencing clitics, which are used when " the argument corresponding to the Agent is not an intentional initiator of the state or event being

described" (1985, p. 67).

To our view the pronouns or their forms used this way may be regarded as means of formalizing the relations between the Predicate and the Subject in those lgs. where exists an animacy dichotomy. According to this dichotomy animate nouns combine more easily with active and inactive verbs than the inanimate nouns. In the lgs. there exist special restrictions on the combination of such inanimate nouns not only with verbs but also with prepositions.

To our view the pronouns are one of the instruments, which regulate the realization of relationships in the sentence. The pronouns are an instrument which in it's turn is regulated by the "living germ" of the language. As W. P. Lehmann says "It's 'living germ' regulates it in an interesting though restricted ways which linguists have barely started to explore. When explored further, such "regulation" may be examined in hierarchies, as of animacy. Speakers may not introduce markers for nouns whose functions are obvious. For example, the three items of <u>children collect stones</u> have only one interpretation " regardless" of their order or their inflection. A language may economically dispence with means to distinguish animate from inanimate nouns or even subjects from objects, displaying in this way hierarchies of elements and categories while illustrating its 'living germ'" (5).

In Ancient Chinese as well as in the Chinese of Middle ages a reflexive pronoun zi " myself, himself, iself "was used in much the same way when it was placed after the Subject. In this position this pronoun did not express the idea of Reflexivity, but conveyed the idea that the noun in the Subject was an Agent of the action expressed by the following verb. I call the pronoun zi in this position between the Subject and the Predicate an Agent-pronoun. It's function here is to relate the two main units of the sentence. This function of the pronoun zi is especially well seen when an_inanimate_noun is used in the Subject, for example: xiāng liān e zi kāi " The leaves of the aromatic lotus opened " (liter. aroma lotus leaf itself to open). The Agent-pronoun was also used when in the Subject there was an animate noun and the verb in the Predicate denoted a state or an intentional action, for example: zájiā zi shuǐ " I am sleeping " (liter. I myself to sleep). In Russian language a similiar use has a pronoun сам " myself , himself ". In the " Russian Grammar " (6) this pronoun is named as an element of expansion , which belongs to the Subject and

to the Predicate as well.
When zỉ was used as a reflexive pronoun in Chinese
it was placed after the verb. In Modern Chinese the
pronoun zỉ has retained both of these functions but onl
as an element of the compound verb. Compare for
instance the two following words: zisha "to commit
suicide" and zỉláishủibỉ " a fountain-pen "(liter.
itself to come water pen).
It is obviously clear that in the lgs. of East and
South-East Asia the pronouns were the leading means in
regulating such processes as Reflexivization and
Reciprocity.
The pronouns were also used as reference markers.
In Taoih there are two pronominal clitics: u= and i=.
Both are third person clitics. The first one is use
with the last verb in the sentence as a reference
marker which shows that the Agent of the verb with
which it is used is coreferent to the Agent in the
Subject. The second clitic i= is an indefinite person
pronominal clitic, which is used with verbs in the
Subjectless sentences, acting as a marker of an unknown
Agent of the action of the verb to which it is attached
In Ancient Chinese there were used two reflexive
pronouns zỉ " myself, himself, itself " and qỉ " his,
her's, it's " as reference markers. The pronoun zỉ
marked a coreferent Agent and qỉ a non-coreferent. If
in the following English sentence " He thought that he
should go " there arises an ambiguity about attesting
the second pronoun " he" , in Chinese this ambiguity is
easily avoided due to the two named reflexive pronouns
Analyzing the different roles of the pronouns
which they played or still continue to play in the lgs.
of the area we can see that in many cases these
pronouns were used to clarify the content of the
Subject in the sentence as that one of an Agent. To my
view this shows that the notion of an Agent is relevant
for the understanding of the syntactic structures of
theses lgs. Actually an Agent plays an active role in
all processes, governing the relationships in the
sentences of these lgs.
In most of the investigated lgs. the mainly used
personal pronouns for grammatical purposses were the
third person pronouns. They not only were used to
relate the nouns to verbs as was shown above but also
they were used to combine nouns with nouns or nouns
with adjectives. These pronouns were used as
substantivisers and as atributive markers. The pronouns
were also used to express the plurality of nouns. In
Ruc, Taoih and in Vankieu a third person plural pronoun
being attached to a noun conveys the idea of a plural

number, for example: Ruc- apa$^{\perp}$ pucoj$^{\perp}$ " children " (liter.they child).

In many lgs. of the region the third person pronouns gave birth to the atributive markers and to the substantivizers. And having given birth to these elements the third person pronouns themselves very often were replaced by other pronouns as it happened in the Chinese language and in Mongolian. In Chinese there appeared new third person pronouns and in Mongolian they were replaced by the demonstratives.

The functioning of pronouns as grammatical means in many lgs. of the area gave birth to pronominal forms,to reduced pronouns, to clitics. The use of pronouns as grammatical means which regulated the grammatical relations in the sentence led to the change in their formal structure.

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