"Inclusive/Exclusive" Distinctions in Sive (Spoken Manchu) and Khalkha Mongolian[*]

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1. Introduction

Many languages have so-called "inclusive/exclusive" pronouns in the first person plural, and typically the distinction is based on whether the hearer is included on or excluded from the speaker's side. Among the languages and dialects discussed in this paper, one dialect has this typical distinction, while the other two show some deviations:

In the Cabcal third dialect of Sive[1] that I have studied, the distinction is a

[1] The Sive (/siwé/) language (锡伯语), i.e., Spoken Manchu, is an endangered language spoken in the Xin-jiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (新疆维吾尔自治区) of China. The dialect described by Hattori and Yamamoto (1955) is the Hui-yuan (惠远) dialect. The dialect that I have studied is the Cabcal (/cawcale/) third county (察布查尔 三乡) dialect. My consultant was born in 1936 and brought up near the Cabcal third county. My research concerning this topic was carried out in Yi-ning (伊宁) city in September 1992.

typical one, i.e., the "inclusive" pronoun includes the hearer, while the "exclusive" one does not.

In the Hui-yuan dialect of Sive, described by Hattori and Yamamoto (1955), the "exclusive" pronoun may include the hearer if there exists an opposing third party.

In Khalkha Mongolian, according to my preliminary research, the way of distinguishing between "inclusive/exclusive" is different from that of the two dialects above. That is, the "exclusive" pronoun refers to a subset of the members in question, referring to a family, company, and so on, but it can include the hearer; the "inclusive" pronoun refers to the whole set of the members in question.

2. The Two Dialects of Sive

In the examples below, HY stands for the Hui-yuan dialect described by Hattori and Yamamoto (1955). Their representations are phonemic. In this dialect, the "inclusive" pronoun has two stem allomorphs: **bo** in the nominative case and **mon-** in all other cases. The "exclusive" pronoun is **mäse**. C3 stands for the Cabcal third county dialect. The C3 data consist of both phonemic and phonetic representations. In this dialect also, the "exclusive" pronoun has two stem allomorphs, **bo** and **mon-**, and the "inclusive" pronoun is **mese**.

2-1. Typical Distinction

In (1)-(5) below, both dialects show the typical distinction between "inclusive/exclusive" pronouns, and there is no significant difference between the two dialects.

In the examples (1)-(3), the situation is as follows: three persons, A, B, and C are going to take a seat in a restaurant. In (1) and (2), A is the speaker, and C is the hearer.

In September 2005, the data were checked again for the same language consultant.

My Khalkha Mongolian consultant was born in 1972 and brought up in Ulan Bator, Mongolia. My research concerning this topic was carried out in Japan in 1997.

The following abbreviations are used: ABL, ablative; ACC, accusative; ADN, adnominal; ADV, adverbial; COM, comitative; COP, copula; FIN, finite; CAUS, causative; COND, conditional; DAT, dative; EXCL, so-called "exclusive"; GEN, genitive; IMP, imperative; I, imperfect; INCL, so-called "inclusive"; INST, instrumental; NEG, negative; NOM, nominative; OPT, optative; PART, participle; P, perfect; PL, plural; PR, present; VOL, voluntative.

(1) HY $\boxed{bo}$ 'äva-de tä-kyä.   C 'agu täva-de tä-kiny.

     EXCL here-DAT sit-VOL   C Mr. there-DAT sit-OPT

     "We (A and B) will sit here. Mr.C, please sit there."

In this case, **bo** is the "exclusive" pronoun which refers to A and B, as in Figure 1.

Figure 1 for (1) (and (2)).
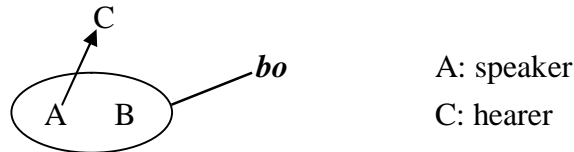
The same use of **bo** is observed in the Cabcal third county dialect, as seen in (2).

(2) C3 $\boxed{bo}$ ewa-de te-ki.   agé tewa-de   te.[2]

     EXCL here-DAT sit-VOL Sir there-DAT sit(IMP)

     [boː ʒʋaḓ   tɜkj.   agɜː tɜʋaḓ   tɜː.]

     "We (A and B) will sit here. Please sit there, Sir."

Here also, **bo** refers to A and B "exclusively", i.e., it excludes the hearer C, also as in Figure 1.

    If B is the hearer instead of C, [A and B] are referred to by the "inclusive" pronoun **mese,** and C is referred to by the demonstrative pronoun **tere** "that"[3], as seen in (3) (no Hui-yuan data corresponding to this sentence).
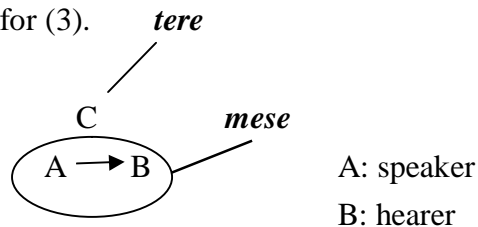
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[2] The same speaker acted as a language consultant for Hattori and Yamamoto (1955) and Yamamoto (1969). The dialect (the Hui-yuan dialect) and the dialect of my consultant (Cabcal third county dialect) show some phonological differences:

    a. The former has the six-vowel system /a, o, ä, u, i, e/, while the latter has the five-vowel system /a, o, e, u, i/.

    b. Fricative voicing between sonorants is very rare in the former but very common in the latter.

[3] The Sive language has a binary distinction in the demonstratives which roughly corresponds to "this" and "that", the latter being used as a third person pronoun. Hereafter, I will not mention the use of third person pronouns, which is not relevant here.

(3) C3 |*mese*| ewa-de te-ki. tere tewa-de te-kini.
      INCL here-DAT sit-VOL he there-DAT sit-OPT
      [məs ȝʋaɖ̥ tȝkj. tȝr tȝʋaɖ̥ tȝkiɲ.]
      "We (A and B) will sit here. Let him (C) sit there."

Figure 2 for (3).

tere

C   *mese*

A→B   A: speaker
          B: hearer

    In the examples (4)-(8) below, the situation is as follows: Three persons A, B and C are climbing a mountain, and another group of people come and overtake them. In (4) and (5), A is the speaker, B and C are the hearers. In both sentences, A, B, and C are referred to by the "inclusive" pronoun *mäse* (HY) or *mese* (C3), including the hearers.

(4) HY 'alin tavene-re-de davele 'äxeše-cye, bäye-ve
      mountain climb-PART(I)-DAT too hurry-COND health-ACC

    qokyra-me; |mäse| 'älexeken-ye tavene-kyää.
    suffer-FIN(PR) INCL slow-INST climb-VOL

    "It's harmful for your health to climb a mountain too fast. Let us (A, B, and C) climb slowly."

Figure 3 for (4) (and (5)).

mäse (HY), *mese* (C3)

A→B   A: speaker
  C   B and C: hearers
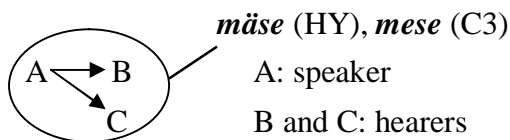
The same use of *mese* is observed in the Cabcal third county dialect, as seen in (5).

(5) C3 aliɴ   tawene-re-de   dawele   exse-me,   beye-de

    mountain   climb-ADN(I)-DAT   too much   hurry-ADV(I)   health-DAT

    [alĩː   tavənərədə   davɐɭ   ɜxsɜmɜː   bɜɪdə]

χokiraɴ   o-me.   mese   elké   elké   tawene-ki.

harmful   become-FIN(PR)   INCL   slowly slowly climb-VOL

[χokirã̃ː   om.   məs   ɜɭkɜː ɜɭkɜː   tavənkj.]

The English translation and the figure are the same as (4).

If A says this to the overtaking group, the "exclusive" ***bo*** should be substituted for the "inclusive" ***mese***, as seen in (6) and Figure 4.

(6) C3 aliɴ   tawene-re-de   dawele   exse-me, beye-de

    [alĩː   tavənərədə   davɐɭ   ɜxsɜmɜː,   bɜɪdə]

χokiraɴ   o-me.   bo   elké   elké   tawene-ki.

[χokirã̃ː   om.   boː   ɜɭkɜː ɜɭkɜː   tavənkj.]

The English translation is the same as (4).

Figure 4 for (6).
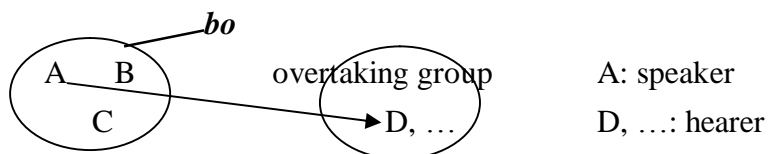
2-2. Extension of "Exclusiveness" in the Hui-yuan Dialect

As seen above, the Hui-yuan dialect and the Cabcal third county dialect show typical distinction in the use of the first person plural pronouns: the crucial factor is whether the hearer is included on the speaker's side or not.

    As seen from (7) below, however, in the Hui-yuan dialect the "exclusive" form ***bo*** can be used to refer to the group including the speaker (A) and <u>the hearers (B and C)</u> , as opposed to the overtaking group.

(7) HY mäse gäle horedun tavene-fye, täse-de 'ätä-fye,
      INCL also fast climb-ADV(P) they-DAT win-ADV(P)
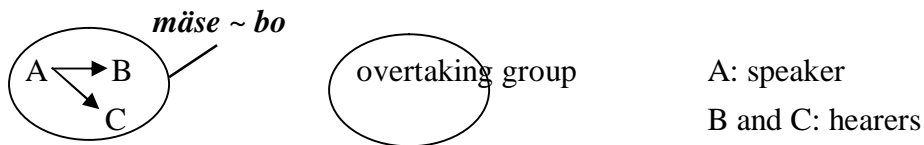
    mon-y fäkesi-me tavene-me mute-re-ve
    EXCL-GEN run-ADV(I) climb-ADV(I) can do-ADN(I)-ACC

    ta-ve-kyä.
    see-CAUS-VOL

    "We (A, B, and C) will also climb faster, beat them (the overtaking group), and show them that we can climb faster."

In (7), both "inclusive" **mäse** and "exclusive" **bo**, which in this case appears in the genitive form **mon-y**, can be used to refer to A, B, and C.
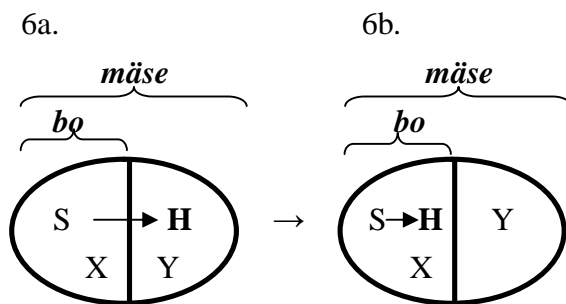
Figure 5 for (7).

The present author assumes that this demonstrates the option of extending "exclusiveness" to include the hearer(s), subject to the condition that there exists an opposing third party, as schematized in Figure 6, from 6a to 6b.

Figure 6. The optional extension of "exclusiveness" in the Hui-yuan dialect.
    S = speaker, H = hearer(s), X = the other(s), Y = the other(s)

In the Cabcal third county dialect, however, such an extension is not permitted, as (8) shows.

(8) C3 mese   gele   χoduɴ   tawene-maqe,   tese-we   ete-maqe,
    INCL   also   fast   climb-ADV(P)   they-ACC   win-ADV(P)
    [məs   gɜl̩   χodũ̈ː   tavənəmaq   tɜzɨv   ɜtəmaq]

    mese-i/*mon-i   feksi-maqe   tawene-me   mute-re-we
    INCL-GEN/ EXCL-GEN   run-ADV(P)   climb-ADV(I)   can do-ADN(I)-ACC
    [məzəɪ   fəxʃimaq   tavənəm   mutərəvə]

    ta-we-ki.
    see-CAUS-VOL
    [tafkiȩ]

The English translation is the same as (7).

Figure 7 for (8).

overtaking group   A: speaker
                          B and C: hearers
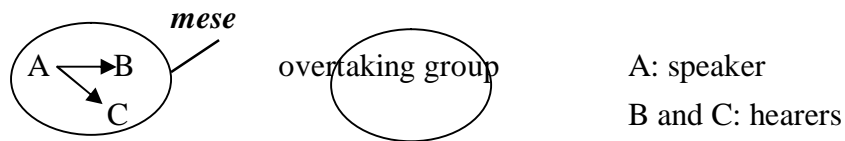
In the examples (9)-(10) below, the situation is as follows: A, B, and C are friends. When A is not present, B speaks to C. In the Hui-yuan dialect, the "inclusive" pronoun is used to refer to A, B, and C, while the "exclusive" pronoun is used to refer to B and C, as seen in (9).

(9) HY   A-'i   banin   'umäsy haten,   'äre-cy   'amesy
        A-GEN   personality   very impatient   this-ABL   after

    mäse-i   baite-ve   'icyxya-re-de
    INCL-GEN matter-ACC   deal with-ADN(I)-DAT

    A-de   xäfeše-re-ve   naqe-fye,   mon-y   junofi   täile
    A-DAT consult-ADN(I)-ACC   quit-ADV(P)   EXCL-GEN   two person only

'icyxya-cye   'afesy.
deal with-COND   how about

"A is a very impatient person. So hereafter, when we deal with our (A, B, and C's) matter, how about not consulting with him (A), and dealing with it between the two of us (A and B)?"

Figure 8 for (9).
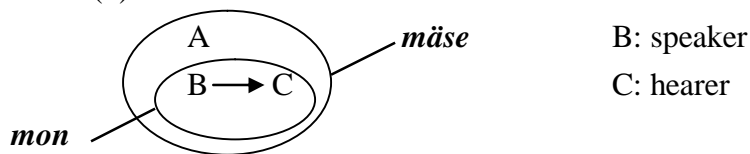
B: speaker
C: hearer

Here also, the extension of "exclusiveness" is observed: the hearer C is included on the speaker's side, subject to the condition that there exists an opposing third party, A.

As seen from (10) below, however, in the Cabcal third county dialect, such an extension is not allowed, as is the case in (8) above: the "inclusive" **mese** should be used.

(10) C3   tere jaqe-i   baniN   ursuN χateN.   e-derí   sirame
         that guy-GEN   personality   very impatient   this-ABL   after
         [tɜr dʐaqəɪ   baɲɪ̃   ursũː χatɔ̃ː.   ɜdəri   ʃiramɜː]

    mese-i   baite icixya-re-de,   tere-maqe   xefse-re-qu-ye,
    INCL-GEN matter deal with-ADN(I)-DAT   he-COM   consult-ADN(I)-NEG-INST
    [məzəɪ   baɪt iʃxjarədə   tɜrəmaq   xɜfsərəqʊjɜ]

    mese   ju   nane-li   icixya-ci   afsi.
    INCL   two person-only   deal with-COND   how about
    [məs   dʐuː nanəliː   iʃxjatʃiẹ   afʃiẹ.]

The English translation is the same as (9).

Figure 9 for (10).
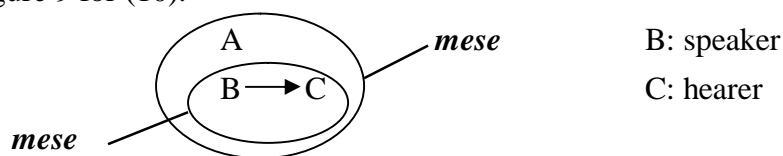
B: speaker
C: hearer

So far I have shown that (i) in both dialects the typical distinction of the first person plural "inclusive/exclusive" pronouns is made, based on whether the hearer is included on or excluded from the speaker's side; (ii) in the Hui-yuan dialect an optional extension of "exclusiveness" is observed. That is, the hearer is optionally included on the speaker's side, subject to the condition that there exists an opposing third party.

3. Khalkha Mongolian

Hattori (1941) points out that in Khalkha Mongolian two series of pronouns are both used confusingly. Poppe (1955: 71) says that in this language the inclusive series is used to cover the exclusive meaning.

Khalkha Mongolian has basically two series of first person plural pronouns, i.e.,

(11)   a. "inclusive" pronouns: **bid**[4] (NOM), **bidn-ij** (GEN), **bidn-ijg** (ACC),
                                           biden-d (DAT),
         b. "exclusive" pronouns: **manaj** (GEN) — no other cases.

Besides these, the language has the following series of first person plural pronominals combined with **bid**:

(12)   a. **bid nar** "we (NOM)", **bid nar-yn** (GEN), **bid nar-yg** (ACC), ...
         b. **bid xojor** "we two", **bid gurav** "we three", **bid döröv** "we four", ...

Comparing the forms in (11) and (12), the **bid** series in (11a) is stylistically formal. However, apart from their stylistic differences, the **bid** series in (11a) and the **bid nar** series in (12a) have much in common.

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[4] The Khalkha Mongolian data are given via transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet, with morpheme boundaries hyphenated.

The examples (13)-(21) below assume the same situation shown in figure 10: there are five persons A, B, C, D, and E (Bat = E's name) *and nobody else*. A speaks to B.

Figure 10.

B

A   C   D   E(Bat)
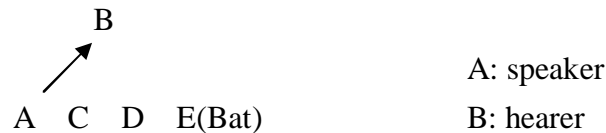
A: speaker
B: hearer

Manaj and bidn-ij cannot refer to a single person, i.e., the speaker, as seen in (13) and (14), and ***min-ij*** "my" should be used as in (15).

(13) *Ene manaj   nom.
      this EXCL+GEN book   "This is our (A's) book."
      *manaj = A's
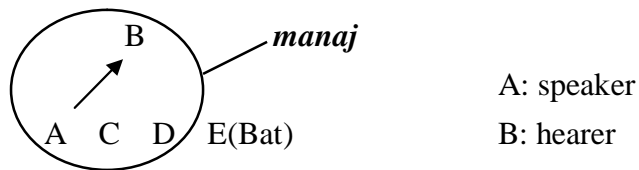
(14) *Ene bidn-ij   nom.
      this EXCL-GEN book   "This is our (A's) book."
      *bidn-ij = A's

(15) Ene min-ij   nom.
      this I-GEN   book   "This is my (A's) book."
      min-ij = A's

Manaj and ***bidn-ij*** can refer to a subset of the members in question, as (16)-(18) show.

(16) Ene   Bat-yn nom biš,   manaj   nom.
      this   Bat-GEN book NEG.COP   EXCL+GEN book
      "This is not Bat's book, but our (A, B, C, and D's) book."
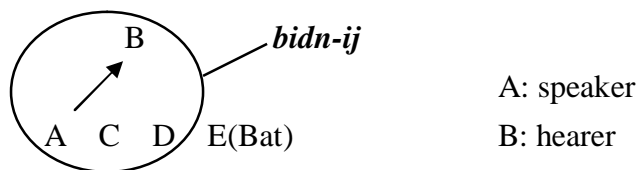   manaj = A, B, C, and D's

Figure 11 for (16).

A: speaker
B: hearer

In this case, A, B, C, and D are regarded as belonging to the same group, e.g., a family, class, company, and so on, which does not include E (Bat).

(17) Ene   Bat-yn   nom   biš,   bidn-ij   nom.
     this   Bat-GEN book   NEG.COP   INCL+GEN book
     "This is not Bat's book, but our (A, B, C, and D's) book."
   bidnij = A, B, C, and D's

Figure 12 for (17).

A: speaker
B: hearer

In this case, A, B, C, and D are not necessarily regarded as belonging to the same group. A, B, C, and D are using the same book together, or they paid for it together, and so on.

(18) Ene či n-ij   nom   biš,   manaj   nom.
     this you-GEN   book   NEG.COP   EXCL+GEN book
     "This is not your book, but our (A, C, D, and E's) book."
     manaj = A, C, D, and E's

Figure 13 for (18).

A: speaker
B: hearer
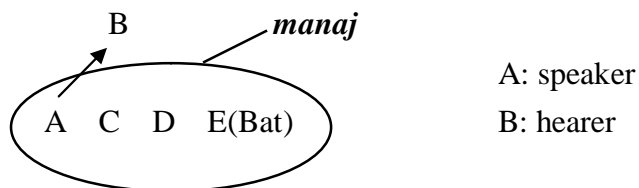
In this case, A, C, D, and E (Bat) belong to the same group, which does not include B.

If A, C, D, and E are referred to by the "inclusive" pronoun, excluding the hearer B, the grammaticality becomes questionable,as (19) shows.

(19) ??Ene čin-ij   nom   biš,   bidn-ij   nom.
       this you-GEN book NEG.COP   INCL-GEN book
    "This is not your book, but our (A, C, D, and E's) book."
    bidn-ij = A, C, D, and E's

Figure 14 for (19).

A: speaker
B: hearer
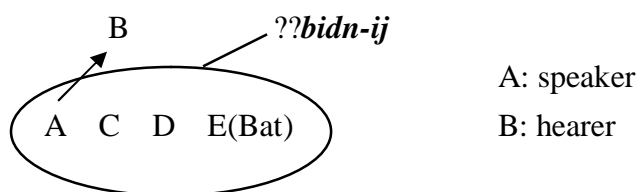
In this case, A, C, D and E are not necessarily regarded as belonging to the same group.

By comparing (17) and (19), we can say that the "inclusive" pronoun **bidn-ij** can refer to a subset of the members in question (Figure 12), but it cannot exclude the hearer (Figure 14).

As seen from (20)-(21) below, **manaj** cannot refer to the whole set of members in question, whereas **bidn-ij** can.

(20) *Ene manaj nom.
    "This is our (A, B, C, D, and E's) book."
    *manaj = A, B, C, D, and E's

(21) Ene bidn-ij nom.
    "This is our (A, B, C, D, and E's) book."
    bidn-ij = A, B, C, D, and E's

Figure 15 for (20) and (21).

B **bidn-ij, *manaj**

A C D E(Bat)
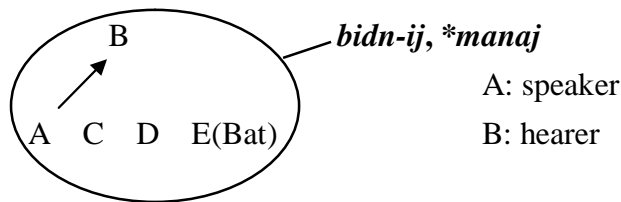
A: speaker
B: hearer

In the case of (21), they are not necessarily regarded as belonging to the same group.

So far I have shown that in Khalkha Mongolian, (i) both **manaj** and **bidn-ij** can refer to a subset of the members in question, including the speaker, where **manaj** refers to a group, e.g., a family, class, company, and so on, whereas **bidn-ij** does not necessarily refer to such a group, as seen in Figure 16a, (ii) **manaj** cannot refer to the whole set of members in question, including the hearer, whereas **bidn-ij** can; as seen in Figure 16b.

Figure 16. **manaj** and **bidn-ij**[5]

S = Speaker, X = the other(s), Y = the other(s)

16a.

S X Y

manaj ~ bidn-ij

16b.

S X

bidn-ij, *manaj
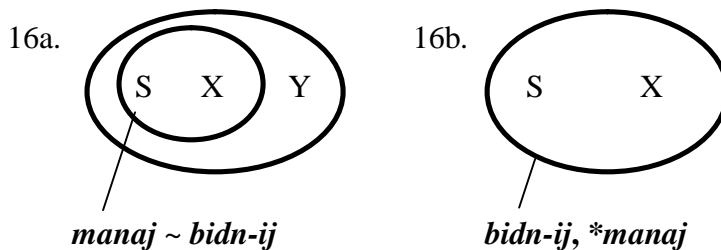
4. Concluding Remarks

In this paper, I have shown that the Hui-yuan dialect of Sive and Khalkha Mongolian show an untypical distinction of "inclusive/exclusive" first person

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[5] The following example apparently shows that **bidn-ij** can exclude the hearer:

Bidn-ij xereg-t büü orolc.
INCL-GEN problem-DAT NEG bother(IMP)
"Don't bother our problem."

In this case, however, the speaker is ironically showing that the hearer is the 'odd man out' by using **bidn-ij**.

plural pronouns, whereas the Cabcal third county dialect of Sive shows the typical distinction.

In Manchu, according to Fukuzawa and Hayata (2003), the "inclusive" pronoun refers to {speaker + α}, and the "exclusive" pronoun refers to {speaker + α} as opposed to {non-speaker (+ α)}, where α stands for any person(s). That is, in Manchu, it is not crucial whether the hearer is included on the speaker's side or not. They argue that the "exclusive" pronoun refers to the group including the speaker, as opposed to the other group. This distinction is very similar to those of the Hui-yuan dialect of Sive and Khalkha Mongolian.

Fukuzawa and Hayata (2003) further argue, based on Manchu data, that the so-called distinction of "inclusive/exclusive" pronouns is dubious, and that the "exclusive" pronoun refers to a subset of the entire set, <u>not necessarily including the hearer</u>. Further study will be necessary in order to establish whether this is the case in Sive or not. It will also be necessary to investigate the variations between the dialects of Sive.

A significant number of languages, such as Amerindian languages, have the "inclusive/exclusive" distinction in the first person non-singular. It is now clear that the details of this distinction must be re-examined, a point which has already been made in the final paragraph of Hattori and Yamamoto (1955).

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