TIGAK PERSONAL PRONOUNS

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O.   Introduction

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O. <u>Introduction</u>   This is a description of the personal pronoun system of the Tigak language[1] of New Guinea.   As data was collected personal pronoun forms seemed very complex.   Differentiation is made for singular, dual, three people (trial) and more than three (plural).   An unusual feature is that the plural form is used when referring to a woman who has a child (not necessarily recently) or is expecting a child.   Different sets of forms were found for the various grammatical functions.   Three sets of forms were found for the possessive and a further set of suffixes used for body parts and relatives.   The result was ten tables of pronouns.   By making morpheme cuts the following analysis presents a more satisfactory description.   An alternative analysis is also presented.

1.   <u>Formation of Pronoun Types</u>   Tigak personal pronouns may be formed from the following table and the rules which follow.[2]

	Series 1					Series 2			
	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural		Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st Incl.	nak	karak	karatul	kara		-k	-rak	-ratul	-ra
1st Excl.	-	mek	memtul	mem		-	-mek	-memtul	-mem
2nd pers.	nuk	muk	mitul	mik		-m	-muk	-mitul	-mi
3rd Pers.	gi	rek	riktul	rik		-na	-rek	-ritul	-ri

	Series 3			
	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st Incl.	au	irak	iratul	ira
1st Excl.	-	imek	imemtul	imem
2nd Pers.	om uam	imuk	imitul	imi
3rd Pers.	i	irek	iritul	iri

Pronoun Types using Series 1

Type 1.   Subject Non-Past. No affixation

Type 2.   Subject Past. Series 1 + Past Suffix : -a

Morphophonemic Rules.

-k + Past Suffix⟶ -g + Past Suffix

-i + Past Suffix⟶ -a

Type 3.   Disjunctive. na- + Series 1.

Morphophonemic Rules .

na- + -r- is sometimes attracted to rar-

e.g. 'they (pl.)' may be either nari or rari.

Singular forms are irregular :

1st nanau or naniu   2nd nanu   3rd nane

Pronoun Type using Series 2

Type 4.   Possession of Body Parts and Relatives

Series 2 is suffixed to the noun.

If the noun ends in a consonant --i- is added before the suffix.

Type 5.   Indirect Object.   su- + Series 2

-gu- is added before vowelless suffixes.

Type 6.   First Post-posed Possessive.

tesu- + Series 2

As in Type 5 -gu- is added before vowelless suffixes

Type 7.   Second Post-posed Possessive.

tata- + Series 2.

-ni- is often added before a vowelless suffix

Type 8.   Pre-posed Possessive.   ka + Series 2

Pronoun Types using Series 3

Type 9.   Direct Object. No affixation

After some verbs[4] i- is omitted in all non-singular forms

Type 10. Benefactive.   an- + Series 3

For 2nd Pers.Sing. -uam is selected.

2. Uses of the Pronoun Types

Type 1. Subject Non-Past

These forms are used as the subject in present and future tenses. They are also used with adjectives although Type 2 is more commonly used even where English uses the present.

These pronouns precede the verb or adjective. In the future tense the future marker vo precedes the pronoun.

nak tapuok	'I am returning'
vo nak tapuok	'I shall return'
gi ananap	'he is slow'

Commands may be expressed with or without the personal pronoun.

sinuk	'sit down!'
nuk sinuk	'sit down!'

When the subject is expressed by a noun or proper noun the appropriate 3rd Person pronoun is used as well.

tang anu gi los	'the man is laughing'

Type 2. Subject Past.

These forms are used as the subject in past tenses. With adjectives they are used to describe a state which may be still continuing.

These forms precede the verb or adjective. If an aspect marker such as po (completed) is present this comes between the pronoun and verb.

riga tapuok	'they returned'
riga po tapuok	'they have returned'
nuga vavalang	'you (sing.) are stupid'

Like Type 1 these are also used in addition to nouns.

Type 3. Disjunctive.

This type is used when the pronoun occurs alone or preceding a subject pronoun

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to give emphasis.

> Nasi?   Naniu.   'Who is it?   Me.'
>
> Rari akamus rik igai   'they all ask'

Type 4. Possession of Body Parts and Relatives.

These are used to indicate possession with body parts, attributes and relatives. The forms occur as suffixes to the nouns.

tama-k	'my father'
mit-i-na	'his hand'
isan-i-na	'his name'

Type 5. Indirect Object.

These are used where English usually has 'to + pronoun'. They are also used to indicate 'at the same place as...'

riga sang suna	'they came to him'
ga pising suri	'he said to them'
rik minang sumi	'they remain with you'

Types 6, 7 and 8 are all used to express possession of things other than body parts, attributes and relatives. There appears to be no difference in meaning or occurrence for these three types.

Types 6 and 7 follow the noun. Type 8 precedes the noun.

Type 6	lui tesugum	)
Type 7	lui tatam	)
	lui tatanim	) 'your (sing.) house'
Type 8	kam lui	)

Type 7 is also used after some verbs. Those so far observed are: ketil 'be amazed at', longok 'hear (and obey)', kalapang 'understand', nangas 'be pleased with', lamlamon 'believe', namkai 'believe, trust', usisik 'follow', rik longok tatana 'they hear and obey him'.

Type 9. Direct Object.

These pronouns are used as the objects of most verbs. They also follow numerals and prepositions.

gi angasik ri	'he helps them'
ga varas iri	'he was angry with them'
gi kus iri	'he tells them'
sakai imi	'one of you'
lovitua imi	'amongst you'

Type 10. Benefactive.

This type is used to indicate for whom something is done. It is also used after certain verbs as the object. Those so far observed are: pasin 'release', tong 'try', igai 'ask', vuvuk 'want', stok 'speak', palong 'hear', marak 'spoil', kuskus 'tell (a story)', epatok 'run away from', asesenai 'deny knowing', piras 'refuse', lukepuak 'make fun of, suai 'respect', ausisik 'go ahead of', latakul 'hang'.

It is also used after the word aino 'before, ahead of.'

gi aigot pok aniri	'she prepares food for them'
tong ani	'try it'
aino anuam	'ahead of you (sing.)'

3. An Alternative Analysis

In this analysis a single table is used and some morphophonemes[5] are set up.

Table

	Sing.	Dual	Plural
1st Incl.	ǀKǀ	rak	ra
1st Excl.	–	mek	mem
2nd Pers.	ǀMǀ	muk	mi
3rd Pers.	ǀIǀ	rek	ri

General Rule   When referring to 3 people add –tul to the plural form .

Special Rules for First and Second Group

Add ka- before the Table forms in all non-singular 1st Pers. Incl.

Add -k immediately after Table forms in 2nd Pers. Plural only and in 3rd Pers. Plural and Trial.

First Group

Type 1. |K| ⟶ nak

|M| ⟶ nuk

|I| ⟶ gi

Type 2. Add -a to Type 1.

Rule -k + -a ⟶ -ga

-i + -a ⟶ -a

Second Group

Type 3. na- + Table forms

|K| ⟶ -niu ⌢ -nau

|M| ⟶ -nu

|I| ⟶ -ne

Third Group

Type 4. |K| -k

|M| -m

|I| -na

Rule Add -i- before suffix if the noun ends in a consonant.

Type 5. su- + Type 4

Rule Add -gu- before Type 4 forms not containing vowels.

Type 6. te- + Type 5

Type 7. tata- + Type 4

Optional Rule. Add -ni- before Type 4 forms not containing vowels
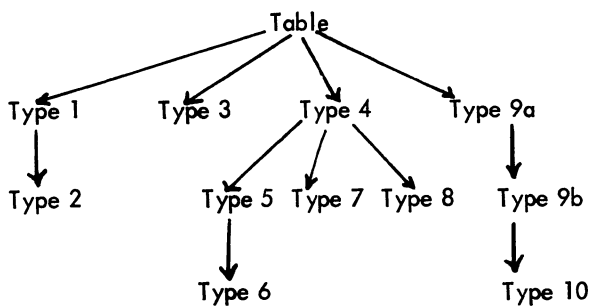
Type 8.   ka- + Type 4

<u>Fourth Group</u>

Type 9a[6] | K |—→ au
               | M |—→ om ⌢ uam
               | I |—→ i

Type 9b.   Add i- before Type 9a except before vowels

Type 10.   an- + type 9b.

                <u>Rule</u>   2nd Pers. Sing. only <u>anuam</u> is formed.

The relation between the types in this analysis is shown in the following diagram:

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                            Table
              ↙      ↙        ↓        ↘
        Type 1    Type 3    Type 4      Type 9a
          ↓              ↙    ↓   ↘         ↓
        Type 2      Type 5  Type 7  Type 8   Type 9b
                      ↓                         ↓
                    Type 6                    Type 10
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<u>FOOTNOTES</u>

1.   Tigak is an Austronesian language of the Patpatar language family (Lithgow and
       Claassen, 1968 : Chart II).   It is spoken by about 3000 people in the northern
       part of the New Ireland mainland, in the western part of Djaul Island and on most
       of the islands between New Ireland and New Hanover.
       This paper is based on the dialect spoken in the Kableman and Kaselok area on the
       North East coast of New Ireland.   The data was collected during my first eight
       months of residence in the village of Kableman in 1969.   Chief informants were
       William Taupa and Enok Tamasegai, both aged about 60 and living at Kaselok.
       · Other informants were also used.

2. All forms are written in a practical alphabet based on my own phonemic analysis:

Consonants: p [p], t [t], k [k], b [b], g [g], r [r̃][d], v [b],
s [s], l [ɬ], m [m], n [n], ng [ŋ], y [y]

Vowels: i [ɪ][i], e[ɛ][e], a[ʌ][a][ə], u[ʋ][u], o[ɔ][o]

Glides : ai [aⁱ][eⁱ], au [aᵘ], oi [ɔⁱ]

3. Plural forms are used also when referring to women who have had a child or are expecting a child.

   rik malapan   'she is sick'

4. Those so far observed are: akalkalit 'teach', tavai 'give', vosop 'reach', angasik 'help'

5. Elson and Pickett, 1964 : 39 – 40

6. Types 9 a and 9b are different types in this analysis. The number 9 is retained for both for cross reference to the rest of the paper.

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