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AN ANALYSIS OF KUNIMAIPA PRONOUNS

This paper describes a small fraction of the Kunimaipa noun phrase. The formal grammar of it is stated in four Phrase-Structure rules and two Transformations. These rules are excerpted from my unpublished paper, "A Brief Kunimaipa Grammar."[1]

1. <u>Pronoun Contrast</u>. Before presenting the themselves, I would like to discuss the range of pronoun contrasts. Figure (1) is a display of all of Kunimaipa pronouns.

	singular	dual	plural	
(1) 1st person	<u>ne</u> (1)	<u>reipi</u> (2)	<u>rei</u>(paro)	(X)
inclusive	<u>reipi</u> (sp person + 1)	<u>raripi</u> (sp + 2)	<u>rari</u>(paro) (sp + X)	
2nd person	<u>ni</u> (1)	<u>aripi</u> (2)	<u>ari</u>(paro)	(X)
3rd person	<u>pi</u> (1)	<u>parupi</u> (2)	<u>paru</u>(paro)	(X)

It will be noted that the terms 'singular' and 'dual' are used in a distinct sense. At first glance the form <u>raripi</u> is trial and <u>reipi</u> simply dual.

On closer examination it appears that <u>reipi</u> is used with both inclusive and exclusive meanings. <u>Raripi</u> is used only as an inclusive. Among the forms of the Imperfective aspect is a suffix which is used with <u>reipi</u> only in the inclusive sense. This is the kind of situation in which the speaker is addressing one other person and saying, 'Let's we two . . . . .'

(2) <u>reipi</u> <u>so-opaine</u> 'Let's we two go.'

<u>reipi</u> <u>sa-ka</u> 'We two will go.'

<u>raripi</u> <u>sa-ka</u> 'Let's we three go.'

These examples (2) show the contrast in the usage of
reipi, and the parallel with the inclusive usage of raripi.

In order to summarize these observations, I postulate
that there are two homophonous forms reipi in a six-way
contrast as shown in the first two rows of (1).   Note that
as inclusive singular reipi includes the speaker plus one
other; raripi as inclusive dual includes the speaker plus
two others; rari(paro) as inclusive plural includes the
speaker and any number of others.

Postulating a contrast between homophonous forms
reipi sheds light on the otherwise incongruous paradigm of
the Imperfective Aspect (3).   Reference to Figure (4) shows
that Perfective lacks a similar contrast.

(3)   Imperfective

	Singular	Dual, Plural
1st person	-oma	-ka
Inclusive person	-opaine	
2nd person	-ke	-pike
3rd person	-pane	

(4)   Imperfective

	Singular	Dual, Plural
1st person	-ho	-gi
Inclusive person		
2nd person	-ngi	
3rd person	-ha	

Since the form reipi does not by phonological form
fit into the singular column or in the inclusive row, I
postulate, historically, an analogical leveling in which

the original form has been replaced by <u>reipi</u>. At least
one related language has retained distinct forms in these
positions.[2] It's inclusive singular form is not phonolo-
gically related to <u>reipi</u>.

2. <u>Noun-pronoun relationship</u>. The particular form
of the rules given here (Figure 5) postulates a kind of
relationship between Kunimaipa nouns and pronouns.

(5)

PS-8: Nominal $\longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} P \\ N \ (PRO) \end{array} \right\}$ Num

PS-9: P $\longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} P\text{-fst} \\ P\text{-in} \\ P\text{-sec} \end{array} \right\}$

PS-10: Num $\longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Sing (Dual)} \\ \text{Plural} \end{array} \right\}$

PS-11: N $\longrightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{N-root (descriptive)} \\ \text{Name} \end{array} \right\}$

T-12 (Obligatory): Person-number Spread.[3]

SD: $X + \left[\ \left[Y, \ P + Num, \ subj \right]_{NP} + \left[Z, \ \left[X' \right]_{Verb} \right] VP \right] Sv^{,} Y'$

          1   2   3   4   5

SC: $- - - - - - - - -, \ \left[X', \ P + Num \right]_{Verb} \right] VP \right] Sv^{,} Y'$

          1   2   3   4   2   5

T-16 (Obligatory): Pronoun substitution.

SD: $X, \ \left[N + PRO, \ Y \right]_{Noun'} \ Z$

   1   2   3   4

SC: $X, \ \left[P\text{-td}, \ Y \right]_{Noun'} \ Z$

   1   2'   3   4

The rules given in (5) state that a nominal may be of
two different types (P or N) both of which may be inflected

for number (singular, dual, or plural).   N-type nominals
(nouns) may occur with the PRO element (dummy) which
operates a later transformation.   Nouns are further divided
into the two types N-root and Name.   Descriptives will
not be discussed here.   P-type nominals (pronouns) are of
three types (rule PS-9): exclusive first person (P-fst),
inclusive first person (P-in) and second person (P-sec).
(The T rules are discussed below.)

        We may ask the question, In what way are pronouns
related to nouns and how may we show this in the grammar?
My rules give a particular interpretation to this relation-
ship by the way in which pronouns are generated.   In effect
I am postulating that the first person, the inclusive person
and second-person forms are noun-like words contrasting
with other noun roots (rule PS-11).   The third-person pro-
noun is regarded as the only pronoun which substitutes for
nominal forms (rule T-16).

        Some other possibilities for the interpretation of
this relationship between pronouns and nouns are presented
here.

   (a)   We might decide that pronouns have only a substi-
tution relationship to nouns.   All pronouns could then be
introduced in the grammar through superficial changes brought
about by transformations.   This will easily care for third
person forms but with first and second person forms we strike
difficulty.   For inclusive and exclusive forms we would
need to postulate two hypothetical morphemes which are
introduced into the lexicon.   This seems somewhat speculative.
For second person forms we might suggest that any name plus
the vocative morpheme might be the basic form for which
second person forms substitute.   This is not a workable

solution since name plus vocative never acts as subject
of the sentence.   The following example illustrates this
clearly:

(6) <u>Baroa-ae</u> <u>ba-ta</u> <u>na-sa</u> Baroa-vocative get-and not-go
This sentence is not marked for subject and may be equally
well translated by the following glosses:
   'Hey Baroa, they didn't take it.'
   'Hey Baroa, you didn't take it.'

        In addition to this difficulty, we find that trans-
formations which regulate the agreement of verb suffixes
with subject of the sentence are awkward and unwieldy in
this interpretation.

(b) We may go to the opposite extreme and interpret all
pronouns as a special class of nouns which function in a
manner parallel to noun roots.   But to deny the substitution
properties of third person forms does not conform with our
intuitions as grammarians or as language speakers.

        But we may pursue this general option a little
farther by expanding rule PS-9 to include P-td (third person
pronoun).   To do this would be to postulate that third person
pronouns are of two different types: one which has a grammat-
ical meaning of 'third person substitute' and the other which
has a lexical meaning of 'third person'.   This is speculative
and the distinction is difficult to maintain, so I have not
chosen this analysis.

(c)   A third alternative analysis of the relationship of
pronouns to nouns is embodied in the rule stated in Figure (7).

(7)
        $$\text{Nominal} \ \text{---} \left\{ \begin{matrix} P \\ N + P\text{-td} \end{matrix} \right\} \ \text{Num}$$

That is, nominals are of two basic types (P and N). N-type nominals (nouns) are obligatorily accompanied by a pronoun element in the deep structure of the grammar. Optional transformations will act upon this deleting one or the other (or perhaps leaving both). This interpretation has little to say for it because out intuition about substitution is again not followed. It is also less desirable because of added complications in the transformational rules.

These appear to be the major alternatives to the solution which I have chosen. I have already noted that first person, inclusive person, and second-person forms are thus described as a special class of nominals in contrast to those which may have a third person form substituted for them.

Substitution of the third person pronoun for N-type nominals is accomplished in a very simply way by rule T-16. It provides that any sequence of N plus PRO is deleted and a third-person pronoun substituted for it. Since transform grammar has limited itself to the sentence as the maximum grammatical unit, it will be difficult to state constraints on this transformation which may relate to paragraph structure.

Rule T-12 attacks a problem not previously mentioned in the discussion. It has been noted elsewhere that it is the subject of the sentence which determines the person and number of the verb. To show this in the rules which describe Kunimaipa, it is necessary to write a transformation which will take the person and number of the subject and duplicate it in the verb. This is very difficult to handle unless person and number are characterized in the grammar simply (one or two nodes). The rules which I have set up have the following characteristics:

(1) Third-person aspect markers are regarded as a basic form in that they are routinely chosen. In any sentence in which N-type nominals are chosen, no further operation is required, since third-person forms are not distinguished for number.

(2) In sentences in which P-type nominals are chosen, rule T-12 operates to add the P and Num nodes to the verb. Selection rules of some type not specified here are required to operate on this segment of the output to draw from a matrix the paradigmatic form which combines a certain aspect with the proper person and number.

A number of shadow areas remain in the building of a complete grammar of Kunimaipa pronouns; however, the rules which are given satisfy the requirement that a grammar reflect the corpus with simple rules which shed light on the intuition of a native speaker about his language.

[1] This paper is based on data gathered from 1959 to 1963 in the Bubu Valley near Garaina, Morobe District, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The dialect spoken there (Gajili) is close to that spoken in the Goilala Sub-District near Guari Patrol Post.

[2] cf. Boxwell, Maurice, "Weri Pronoun System," Linguistics, 29:34-43 (Feb 1967).

[3] My statement of transformations follows the conventions of Klima and others in which brackets and subscripts indicate relations of dominance. The rule $[a + b]_c$ indicates a structure:
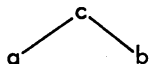
Commas indicate the extent of application of the code numbers below the main line.