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WORKPAPERS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGES AND CULTURES

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PREFACE

This third volume of "Workpapers in Indonesian Languages and Cultures" contains papers on two languages from the Irian Jaya province of Indonesia. The first is a phonological analysis of the Tabla language from near Tanah Merah Bay just west of Jayapura, followed by an analysis of a discourse feature from the related Sentani language located around Lake Sentani. A historical comparative study of these two languages has been done by Dr. Kenneth Gregerson and Margaret Hartzler, "Towards a Reconstruction of Proto Tabla-Sentani Phonology", to appear in Oceanic Linguistics.

Future volumes of WILC will have papers on languages currently being studied by field linguists from each of the cooperative SIL programs: Maluku with Universitas Pattimura, Sulawesi with Universitas Hasanuddin, and Irian Jaya with Universitas Cenderawasih.

Peter J. Silzer

Editor

Jayapura

November, 1986

PRAKATA

Kami menyambut dengan gembira publikasi ini yang mengetengahkan hasil penelitian pada bahasa Sentani dan Tabla yang disponsori oleh Program Kerja Sama UNCEN-SIL selama beberapa tahun terakhir dan juga karya-karya ilmiah dalam bahasa-bahasa tersebut telah dipublikasikan baik di dalam maupun di luar negeri.

Publikasi ini adalah hasil lanjutan Program Kerja Sama UNCEN-SIL di bidang penelitian sebagai salah satu wujud dari TRI DHARMA PERGURUAN TINGGI.

Hasil-hasil penelitian ini kami publikasikan agar dapat menjadi suatu daya tarik tersendiri bagi mereka yang sadar akan kerumitan dan kekhasan dari bahasa-bahasa daerah di Irian Jaya yang mengagumkan ini.

Rudy C. Tarumingkeng

Rektor, Universitas Cenderawasih

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TABLA PHONOLOGY

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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper is an initial description of the phonology of the Yewena dialect of the Tabla language.[1]

1. CONSONANTS

1.1. CONSONANT SEGMENTS

The following are the consonant segments of the Tabla language.

	LABIAL	LINGUAL	
		APICAL	NON-APICAL
STOPS			
Voiceless	p [p,ɸ]	t	k
Voiced	b	d, r	
SPIRANT		s	
CONTINUANTS			
Oral	w		y
Nasal	m	n [n,ŋ]	

1.2. CONSONANT VARIANTS AND DISTRIBUTION

Voiceless stops

/p/   [p]   Voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop occurs word initial
and intervocalically in syllable initial position.

['pəna]   /pəna/   'sago frond'
['dopəre]   /dopəre/   'many'

[ɸ]   Voiceless bilabial fricative frequently fluctuates with
[p] word initial.

['poi] ~ [ɸoi]   /poi/   'good'

/t/   [t]   Voiceless unaspirated fronted alveolar stop occurs word
initial and intervocalically in syllable initial
position.

['taŋkə]   /tankə/   'net bag'
['butu]   /butu/   'joint'
['oto]   /oto/   'leg'

/k/ [k] Voiceless unaspirated velar stop occurs word and
          syllable initial.

          [ˈkani]   /kani/   ˈdirt,earthˈ
          [ˈkəkou]   /kəkou/   ˈsoreˈ
          [ˈsuŋkənuŋ]   /sunkənun/   ˈmosquitoˈ

Voiced stops

/b/ [b] Voiced bilabial stop occurs word and syllable initial.
          When in syllable-initial word-medial position [b] is
          always preceded by /m/.

          [ˈbaro]   /baro/   ˈsea-gullˈ
          [ˈbutu]   /butu/   ˈjointˈ
          [ˈambai]   /abai/   ˈno, noneˈ

/d/ [d] Voiced fronted alveolar stop occurs word and syllable
          initial. When in syllable-initial word-medial position
          [d] is always preceded by /n/.

          [ˈdəŋ]   /dən/   ˈpaddleˈ
          [ˈkəndo]   /kədo/   ˈcoconut creamˈ
          [ˈdou]   /dou/   ˈeyeˈ

/r/ [r] Voiced alveolar flap occurs intervocalically in syllable
          initial position.

          [bəˈrənka]   /bərənka/   ˈheadˈ
          [ˈmurau]   /murau/   ˈcloudyˈ
          [ˈburu]   /buru/   ˈholeˈ

Nasal Continuants

/m/ [m] Voiced bilabial nasal occurs syllable initial.[2]

          [ˈmaŋ]   /man/   ˈskyˈ
          [ˈkəmeu]   /kəmeu/   ˈsacrificeˈ
          [ˈməmai]   /məmai/   ˈgardenˈ

/n/   [n]   Voiced alveolar nasal occurs syllable initial; it also
            occurs syllable final before fronted alveolar stops.
            It also occurs sometimes in free fluctuation with
            voiced velar nasal, word finally.

            ['niki]   /niki/   'dirty'
            ['kənteu]   /kənteu/   'coconut shell'
            ['kani̪]   /kani̪/   'earth'

      [ŋ]   Voiced velar nasal occurs syllable final preceding
            voiceless velar stops and word final.

            ['sʊŋkənʊŋ]   /sunkənun/   'mosquito'
            ['təŋkaŋ]   /tənkan/   'bark thread'
            ['siŋ]   /sin/   'fire'

Oral Continuants

/w/   [w]   Voiced bilabial non-syllabic semi-vowel occurs syllable
            initial, and in the second slot in CCV syllables.

            ['wa]   /wa/   'breadfruit'
            ['wau]   /wau/   'south'
            ['səwa]   /səwa/   'spear'
            [ˌnwa]   /nwa/   'hair'

/y/   [y]   Voiced alveopalatal semi-vowel occurs syllable initial,
            and in the second slot in CCV(C) syllables.

            ['yəko]   /yəko/   'boundary'
            ['mayoŋ]   /mayon/   'clothes'
            ['kya]   /kya/   'light'
            ['nyaŋ]   /nyan/   'k.o. tree'

Spirants

/s/   [s]   Voiceless grooved alveolar spirant occurs syllable
            initial.

            ['saro]   /saro/   'sea-urchin'
            ['esərə]   /esərə/   'stomach'
            ['sye]   /sye/   'thorn'

Contrasts among consonant phonemes are illustrated in the following forms.

/p/ and /b/	[ˈpi]	/pi/	ˈsagoˈ
	[ˈbi]	/bi/	ˈrainˈ
	[ˈepə]	/epə/	ˈpotˈ
	[ˈembə]	/ebə/	ˈyou pl. will goˈ
/t/ and /d/	[ˈto]	/to/	ˈcoconutˈ
	[ˈdo]	/do/	ˈmanˈ
	[ˈetə]	/etə/	ˈexecretaˈ
	[ˈendə]	/edə/	ˈhe will goˈ
/s/ and /t/	[ˈsoro]	/soro/	ˈmountainˈ
	[ˈtəro]	/təro/	ˈeelˈ
	[ˈsəwa]	/səwa/	ˈspearˈ
	[ˈtəwa]	/təwa/	ˈk.o. beadsˈ
	[ˈbəsa]	/bəsa/	ˈwhatˈ
	[ˈbəta]	/bəta/	ˈdistant seaˈ
/m/ and /b/	[ˈbə]	/bə/	ˈfaceˈ
	[ˈmə]	/mə/	ˈhandˈ
	[ˈməya]	/məya/	ˈstarˈ
	[ˈbəya]	/bəya/	ˈpig tuskˈ
/n/ and /d/	[ˈna]	/na/	ˈseedˈ
	[ˈda]	/da/	ˈthisˈ
	[ˈnimi]	/nimi/	ˈredˈ
	[ˈdimi]	/dimi/	ˈcryˈ
/r/ and /d/	[ˈməro]	/məro/	ˈcleanˈ
	[ˈməndo]	/mədo/	ˈthoughtˈ
	[ˈerə]	/erə/	ˈfenceˈ
	[ˈendə]	/edə/	ˈheˈll goˈ
	[ˈmerai]	/merai/	ˈcoconut oilˈ
	[ˈmendai]	/medai/	ˈlameˈ

1.3. PALATALIZATION AND LABIALIZATION

When the second vowel of a CVV syllable is /u/, or /i/, the following consonant is labialized or palatalized respectively.[3]

/nauben/	[´naubweŋ]	´salt´
/waina/	[´wainya]	´west´

2. VOWELS

2.1. VOWEL SEGMENTS

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i [i,ɩ]		u [u,ʊ]
MID	e	ə	o [o,ɔ]
LOW		a	

2.2. VOWEL VARIANTS AND DISTRIBUTION

Front Vowels

/i/   [i]   High front close unrounded vocoid occurs in open syllables.

[ti´nimi]	/tinimi/	´sour´
[i´təwərə]	/itəwərə/	´I give´

[ɩ]   High front open unrounded vocoid occurs in closed syllables.

[´mɩŋ]	/min/	´louse´
[´kɩŋkɩŋ]	/kinkin/	´butterfly´

/e/   [e]   Mid front close unrounded vocoid occurs in open and closed syllables.

[´emi]	/emi/	´garden´
[´bise]	/bise/	´bitter´
[´beu]	/beu/	´river sand´
[´nameŋ]	/namen/	´mother´

Central Vowels

/ə/ [ə] Mid central close unrounded vocoid occurs in open and
          closed syllables.

[ˈesərə]	/esərə/	ˈstomachˈ
[ˈdəŋ]	/dəŋ/	ˈpaddleˈ
[ˈdə]	/də/	ˈIˈ

/a/ [a] Low central close unrounded vocoid occurs in open and
          closed syllables.

[ˈaka]	/aka/	ˈcoralˈ
[ˈmaŋ]	/maŋ/	ˈskyˈ
[ˈmaɩ]	/mai/	ˈyearˈ

Back Vowels

/u/ [u] High back close rounded vocoid occurs in open
          syllables.

[ˈkumu]	/kumu/	ˈland crabˈ
[ˈmurau]	/murau/	ˈovercastˈ
[ˈtu]	/tu/	ˈendˈ

     [ʊ] High back open rounded vocoid occurs in closed
          syllables.

[ˈbʊntʊŋ]	/buntun/	ˈnavelˈ
[ˈnʊŋ]	/nun/	ˈseedlingˈ
[ˈsʊŋkənʊŋ]	/sunkənun/	ˈmosquitoˈ

/o/ [o] Mid back close rounded vocoid occurs in open
          syllables.

[ˈo]	/o/	ˈwoodˈ
[ˈto]	/to/	ˈcoconutˈ
[ˈdoto]	/doto/	ˈcross cousinˈ

     [ɔ] Mid back open rounded vocoid occurs in closed
          syllables.

[ˈɔŋ]	/on/	ˈbase of sago frondˈ
[ˈorɔŋ]	/oron/	ˈvegetablesˈ

Vowel contrasts are exemplified as follows;

/i/ and /e/	[ˊemi]	/emi/	ˊgardenˊ
	[ˊeme]	/eme/	ˊmarsupialˊ
/ə/ and /a/	[ˊməndo]	/mədo/	ˊthoughtˊ
	[ˊmando]	/mado/	ˊkind of plantˊ
/u/ and /o/	[ˊoru]	/oru/	ˊrockˊ
	[ˊoro]	/oro/	ˊbanana stalkˊ
/i/ and /u/	[ˊbise]	/bise/	ˊbitterˊ
	[ˊbuse]	/buse/	ˊdanceˊ
/i/, /ə/, /o/	[ˊwari]	/wari/	ˊaliveˊ
	[ˊwarə]	/warə/	ˊsnakeˊ
	[ˊwaro]	/waro/	ˊbridgeˊ
/ə/, /o/, /u/	[ˊdəŋ]	/dən/	ˊpaddleˊ
	[ˊdɔn]	/don/	ˊeggˊ
	[ˊdʊn]	/dun/	ˊlandslideˊ

/i/, /e/, /ə/, /u/

	[ˊeri]	/eri/	ˊlightningˊ
	[ˊere]	/ere/	ˊskinˊ
	[ˊerə]	/erə/	ˊfenceˊ
	[ˊeru]	/eru/	ˊtesticleˊ

/e/, /a/, /o/, /ə/, /u/

	[ˊka]	/ka/	ˊfishˊ
	[ˊkə]	/kə/	ˊsapˊ
	[ˊke]	/ke/	ˊrattanˊ
	[ˊko]	/ko/	ˊcanoe platformˊ
	[ˊku]	/ku/	ˊsleepˊ

/i/, /ə/, /a/, /u/

	[ˊsi]	/si/	ˊa, otherˊ
	[ˊsə]	/sə/	ˊheavyˊ
	[ˊsa]	/sa/	ˊbloodˊ
	[ˊsu]	/su/	ˊsunˊ

/i/, /ə/, /a/, /o/

	[ˊdi]	/di/	ˊthatˊ
	[ˊdə]	/də/	ˊIˊ
	[ˊda]	/da/	ˊthisˊ
	[ˊdo]	/do/	ˊmanˊ

/i/ and /y/	['kia]	/kia/	'small'
	['kya]	/kya/	'light'
	['niai]	/niai/	'moss'
	['nyai]	/nyai/	'tongs'
/u/ and /w/	['suaŋ]	/suan/	'kind of wood'
	['swarə]	/swarə/	'cassowary'
	['duaip ko]	/duaip ko/	'tired'
	['dwa]	/dwa/	'waste'

2.3. VOWEL LOWERING

A generalization regarding vowels is that lowered variants occur in closed syllables and raised variants in open syllables.

3.   PHONOLOGICAL WORD PATTERNS

3.1. STRESS
Stress occurs on the penultimate syllable of words up to six syllables in length. In cases when the penultimate syllable has a /ə/ vowel, the stress is shifted to the ante-penultimate syllable if such a syllable exists. Since an ante-penultimate syllable cannot exist in two syllable words, stress occurs on the penultimate syllable even though it is a /ə/. The basic patterns may be summarized as follows:

$$(S)\ (S)\ (S)\ (S)\ {'}S\ (S)$$

This formula implies the following word patterns:

```
        'S
       'SS
      S'SS
     SS'SS
    SSS'SS
   SSSS'SS
```

In words of three or more syllables with /ə/ in the penultimate syllable, according to the above stress shift rule, the following patterns occur:

```
      'SSS
     S'SSS
    SS'SSS
   SSS'SSS
```

4.   SYLLABLE PATTERNS
     The syllable in Yewena/Tabla has one or two vowels as nucleus
with optional onset and/or coda. The following types occur:

     V, VV, CV, CVV, VC, CVC, CWV, CYV, CWVV, CWVC, CYVV, and CYVC

This may be summarized as follows:

$$(C_1) \ (w,y) \ (V) \ \ V \ \ (C_2)$$

     In the optional onset slot (C_1), all the consonants may occur.
In the second onset slot only /w/[1] and /y/ may occur. In the
nuclear slot V, all vowels may occur in consonant-initial
syllables, but /ə/ does not occur in vowel initial syllables. In
the optional coda slot (C_2), only nasals may occur. When this
coda slot is word final, all nasals are realized as [ŋ].

4.1. SYLLABLE COMBINATIONS

     Syllables   form   phonological   words   in   the   following
combinations.

One Syllable Words

V	/o/	'wood'
VV	/ou/	'sago biscuit'
VC	/en/	'banana'
CV	/ma/	'cloud'
CVV	/dou/	'eye'
CVC	/sin/	'fire'
CWV	/dwo/	'bone'
CYV	/kya/	'light'
CWVV	/dwai/	'tree kangaroo'
CYVV	/tyei/	'clever'

Two Syllable Words

V.CV	/aka/	'coral'
V.CVV	/arai/	'bush vine'
V.CVC	/enin/	'fear'
VV.CV	/aito/	'fireplace'
VC.CV	/onki/	'digging stick'
VC.CVC	/enkon/	'black palm'
CV.V	/kia/	'small'
CV.VV	/niai/	'sea sponge'
CV.CV	/baro/	'sea-gull'
CV.CVV	/b koi/	'sweet potato'
CV.CVC	/namen/	'mother'
CVV.CV	/daitə/	'moment'
CVV.CVV	/yaumai/	'iron wood'
CVV.CYV	/daise/	'day'
CVC.CVC	/buntu/	'navel'
CYV.CV	/syəro/	'kind of fish'

Three Syllable Words

V.CV.CV	/abəre/	'foreign'
V.CVC.CV	/arənka/	'green cockatoo'
VV.CV.CV	/eutona/	'near'
VC.CV.CVC	/ansiraŋ/	'floor'
CV.V.CV	/diana/	'outside'
CV.CV.CV	/bəpori/	'thick'
CV.CV.CVV	/mərəwai/	'river'
CV.CV.CVC	/nariyaŋ/	'bow(for arrows)
CV.CVV.CVV	/kinauwai/	'rainbow'
CV.CVV.CVC	/kətauren/	'frigate bird'
CV.CVC.CV	/bərənka/	'head'
CVC.CV.CV	/pankoru/	'lizard'
CVC.CV.CVV	/buntəkei/	'ear'
CYVC.CV.CVC	/nyankərun/	'coconut fibre'

Four Syllable Words

V.CV.CV.CV	/anadəna/	'eaten'
CV.CV.CV.CV	/barəmarə/	'middle aged'
CV.CV.CV.CVV	/bəsərəwai/	'lizard'
CV.CV.CVV.CVV	/nəsəreibei/	'suddenly'
CV.CVV.CV.CV	/dəreimote/	'by myself'

Five Syllable Words

V.CV.CV.CV.CV	/emətərəna/	'all'
CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	/məmətərətə/	'firstly'

Six Syllable Words

CV.CV.CV.CV.CV.CV	/tiderətəpodə/	'I will throw'

Seven Syllable Words

CV.CV.CV.CV.CVV.CV.CV	/kuwutuwunaipodə/	'they'll be confused'

5.   INTONATION PATTERNS

Certain intonation contours indicate basic sentence and discourse types. Seven phonetically distinguishable intonation contours have been observed. The contours are of the level and register types between syllables and sentences. The register type involves a change of relative pitch. In the level type the whole pitch of the sentence is raised to a clearly recognizable degree. The high point of intonation tends to coincide with the raised pitch of the stressed syllable in the focal word of the sentence.

5.1. INTERROGATIVE INTONATION

Interrogative intonation is manifested by a relatively high level of pitch at the beginning of the sentence, while on the stressed syllable of the last word of the sentence a rise occurs followed by a falling pitch on the final syllable(s) to the same (high) level as at the beginning of the sentence.

/wə kəpawə dupəke?/   ´Have you forgotten?´

/wə məpətəna?/   ´Where are you going?´

/dasa bəyasa?/   ´What is this?´
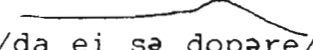
5.2. STATEMENT INTONATION

Statement intonation is manifested by a level pitch on the first part of the sentence rising slightly on the last stressed syllable, and then falling to a lower level than the beginning of the sentence.

/də Jayapuratə tərə/   ´I am going to Jayapura.´

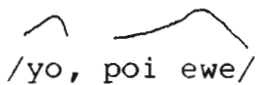/da ei sə dopəre/   ´This canoe is very heavy.´

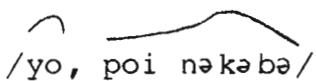/də mimei paĺ/   ´I don´t know.´

5.3. FAREWELL INTONATION

Farewell intonation is manifested by a rise and fall on the first word, followed by a mid level pitch rising on the last stressed syllable in the sentence, and falling again on the last syllable(s).

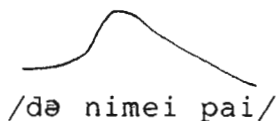/yo, poi ewe/   'Ok, happy traveling.'

/yo, poi nə kə bə/   'Ok, happy staying.'

5.4. EXCLAMATION INTONATION

Exclamation intonation is manifested by an initially high level pitch rising to a very high peak on the last stressed syllable, and then falling back to medium pitch level.
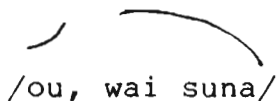
/də nimei pai/   'I wouldn't have a clue.'

5.5. LOCATIVE INTONATION

Locative intonation is manifested by a rising pitch from mid to high then a rise on the third last syllable, followed by another high pitch falling off to mid or low level.

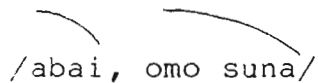/ou, wai suna/   'Oh, the western side.'

/ou, tiki dopə re/   'Oh, very far.'

5.6. NEGATIVE STATEMENT INTONATION

Negative statement intonation is manifested by an initially high pitch rapidly falling to mid or low, which is followed by another high pitch falling off to mid or low level.
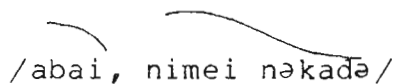
/abai, omo suna/   'No, the east side.'

/abai, mai Harun kəna/   ' No, Mr. Harun owns it.'

/abai, nimei nəkadə/   'No, we are just sitting.'

5.7. IMPERATIVE INTONATION

Imperative intonation is manifested by an initially high or mid pitch falling to a mid or low level for the rest of the sentence.
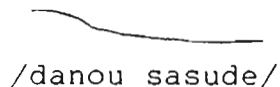
/wə erəwə/   'You say it!'

/nəmanə/   'That way!' (Do it that way!)

/danou sasude/   'Put it here!'

6.   PROPOSED ORTHOGRAPHY

The following orthography is suggested in order to conform as closely as possible with the current Bahasa Indonesia orthography.

Phoneme symbol	Allophones	Orthographic
/p/	[p], [ɸ]	p
/t/	[t]	t
/k/	[k]	k
/b/	[b]	b
/d/	[d]	d
/r/	[r]	r
/s/	[s]	s
/m/	[m]	m
/n/	[n], [ŋ]	n
/w/	[w]	w
/y/	[y]	y
/i/	[i], [ɩ]	i
/e/	[e]	e
/ə/	[ə]	e
/a/	[a]	a
/o/	[o], [ɔ]	o
/u/	[u], [ʊ]	u

Further testing is required to determine what practical ambiguities may result in writing both /e/ and /ə/ as e, as is done in the current Indonesian orthography. If necessary, the statistically less frequent /e/ could be separately symbolized, though it would be preferable to avoid a diacritic symbol.

FOOTNOTES

[1] This description was based on a corpus of approximately eight hundred words, collected over a period of about seven months in the village of Doromena, under the auspices of the Cooperative Program of Cenderawasih University and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. We are indebted to Dr. Kenneth Gregerson who gave very useful advice in writing up the results. The Tabla language is spoken by approximately 3,700 people who live in Kecamatan Demta and Kecamatan Depapre within Kabupaten Jayapura, Irian Jaya. There are four dialects; the eastern-most, called Yongsu with 500 speakers, the next dialect west is Yewena, with 900 speakers, the next west dialect is Tepera (from which the general name Tabla is derived) with 800 speakers, and finally the westernmost dialect, Yokari, with 1,500 speakers. Cowan (1965) classifies the language as Non-Austronesian, and part of the Sentani-Demta group of languages.

[2] One example in the data conflicts with this role: ['m.bei] 'one'. In this case historical comparison with the neighboring Sentani language suggests that the word was originally **embei**. In Tabla, the initial V has been lost, leaving this one instance of a syllabic nasal.

[3] Generally speaking, the people with greater contact with Indonesian exhibit these features less frequently than those with little outside contact.

REFERENCES

Cowan, H.K.J. 1965. Grammar of the Sentani Language. Verhandelingen, 'S-Gravenhage, Netherlands:Martinus Nijhoff.