TENTATIVE

TAWALA PHONEMICS

ВΥ

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I. INTRODUCTION

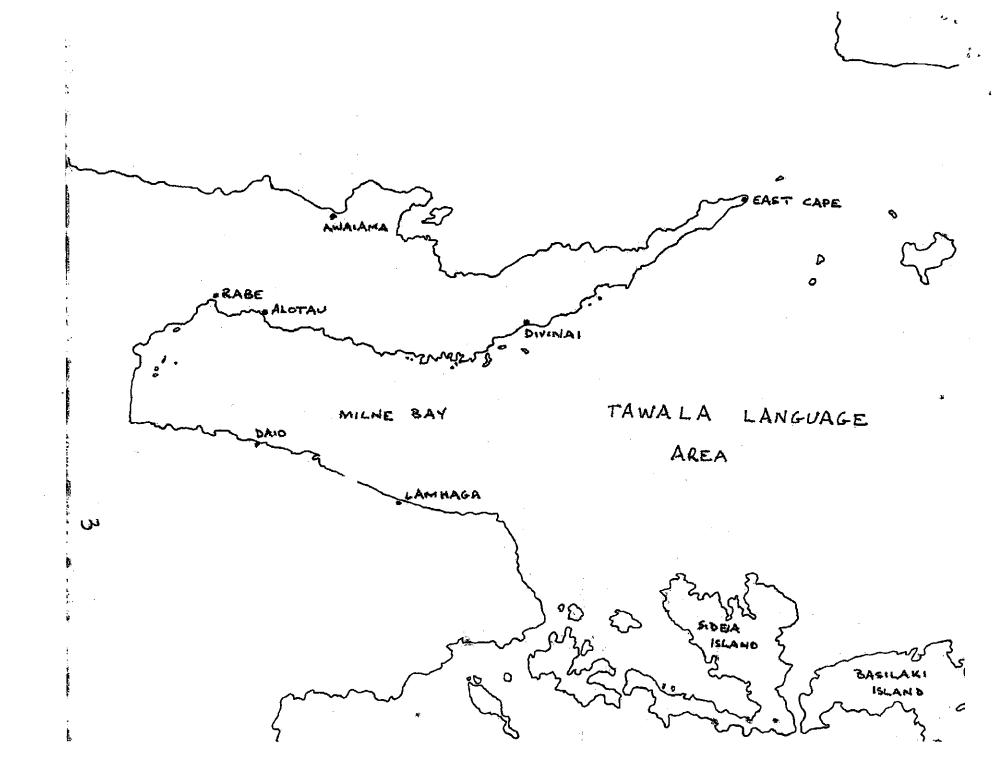
The Tawala language is an Austronesian language of the Taupota family, to which Wedau also belongs. It is spoken by about 8,000 people from East Cape, along the north coast to Awaiama and around Milne Bay from East Cape to Rabe and from Daio to Lamhaga. It is also spoken on Sideia and Basilaki Islands. The language is a continuous chain of dialects, though Sideia and Basilaki represent a more divergent dialect than the remaining chain.

This paper represents the dialect of Divinai which is a central dialect, midway between East Cape and Rabe dialects. There are several hundred speakers of this dialect living in hamlets stretching along the coast around Divinai proper.

The data for this paper was collected during 4 months residence at Divinai in 1974. A variety of language helpers in the age-group 30-60 years was used. Material was cross-checked with two men, though usually others were present and offered comments. It could not be said that an "informant" was used, as at no point did the person questioned understand the purpose of our questioning.

¹ Tawala is variously known as Basilaki, Tavare and Keheraran - we have here adopted the dialect word for "our friends", which is the way all the dialects are said to refer to their own language group.

David Lithgow, 'Austronesian languages of the Milne Bay District' in <u>Current Trends in New Guinea Area Languages</u>. S. A. Wurm, Editor not yet published.



2. OUTLINE OF PHONEMES

2.1. Chart of Phonemes

CONSONANTS

		Silabial	Alveo-dental	Front velar
Stops	Vl.	р	t	k
	Vd.	b	đ	g
Labialised	V1.			k ^w
Stops	Vd.			g W
Nasals		m	n	
Lateral			1	
Semi-consonants		₩	У	h

VOWELS

	Front	Mid	Back
High	i.		ប
Low	e	а	0

Note: Bilabials, /l/, /h/, /e/ and /o/ are represented by their true phonetic norms, throughout this paper. The other symbols are used for simplification. For their true phonetic norms, see 4.1.2. and 4.2.2.

2.2. Contrastive Features

Consonants contrast as to manner of articulation between voiceless and voiced stops, voiceless and voiced labialised stops, frx masals, a lateral and semi-consonants.

Contrast as to place of articulation occurs, in voiceless and voiced stops and semi-consonants, between bilabial, dental and fronted velar positions; and in masals between bilabial and dental positions.

Vowels contrast vertically as to high and low tongue positions.

The high vowels contrast as to front and back positions, and the low vowels contrast as to front, central and back positions.

3. INTERPRETATION

3.1. The status of ambiguous items which may be consonant or vowel.

Non-syllabic i and u are interpreted as semi-consonants /y/ and /w/, because they fill the onset slot of CV syllables.

/yobila/	[yo'bil∧]	"t. of edible leaves"
/kayakayana/	[kayaka'yan a]	"red"
/ihi yawi/	[ihi'yewi]	"he read"
/kowai/	[ko'wai]	"pawpaw"
/wawei/	wa'wei	"down there"

- 3.2. The status of ambiguous items which may be requence or unit.
- 3.2.1. <u>Labialised consonants</u> have been interpreted as single units for the following reasons.
 - a. Interpretation as CC introduces consonant clusters word initially.
 - b. Interpretation as $C^{u}V$ introduces vowel downglides $/^{u}a/\sqrt{a}/\sqrt{a}$ /ue/ and $/^{u}i/\sqrt{a}$ whose distribution would be limited to $/^{u}a/\sqrt{a}$ following /k/ and /g/, and $/^{u}i/\sqrt{a}$ following /k/.
 - c. Interpretation as C^WV introduces labialised consonants $/k^W/$ and $/g^W/$, occurring with 3 and 2 respectively, of the five vowels. This is more reasonable than 3 downglides occurring with only 2 of the 13 consonants.
 - d. Labialisation is a feature of Milne Bay languages and has regularly been interpreted as units. (Ezard j. 1970, Lithgow, Huckett, Williams).

3.2.2. <u>Consonant clusters</u> are interpreted as CuC. Clusters occur only word medially, with [m] the first of the pair, occuring with stops, [h] and [n] as the second.

Interpretation as sequence CC is also possible in view of the [m] word final, creating closed syllables CVm. However this is rejected because of the following.

a. [mu] is never found in the equivalent position i.e. word medially preceding stops, [h] or [n]. But [mV] is to be found.

b. Almost all words with [m] final retain the stress on the final vowel.

```
/aipomu/ [ai'pom] "evening"

/banumu/ [ba'num] "t. of shell"

/pomupamu/ [pom'pam] "caterpillar"
```

c. There is slight extra length $oldsymbol{f x}oldsymbol{f x}$ on $oldsymbol{f f m}ig)$ in a cluster.

3.2.3. <u>Vocoid clusters</u> have been interpreted as sequences of 2 vowels on the basis of the unambiguous sequences:

/mae/	XMMR [mae]	"to stay"
/mea/	[me/]	"again"
/poa/	['po^]	"error"
/wao/	['wao]	"to plant taro"
/ludeo/	[luˈdeo]	"to wash"
/kakae/	[ko¹koe]	"to finish"

4. DESCRIPTION OF PHONEMES.

4.1. CONSONANTS

4.1.1. Consonant Contrasts

/p/ and /b/, voiceless and voiced bilabial stops contrast in initial and medial positions.

/ pani/	[ˈpani]	"parcel"
/bani/	[ˈbani]	"fish-bait"
/pilina/	[pi'lin/]	"its holder"
/bilawa/	[bi'law/]	"squirrel fish"
/tapuna/	[ta*pun^]	"different"
/tabuna/	[ta*bun^]	"taboo"
/pupu/	[ˈpupu]	"deafness"
/bubu/	[ˈbubu]	"sand"
/po/ /bo/	['bo]	"conjunction" "question marker"

/t/ and /d/: voiceless and voiced dental stops contrast in initial and medial positions.

/itala/ /idala/	[i'tal^] [i'dal^]	"he cuts" "he crawled"
/tona/	[ˈtanʌ]	"to challenge"
/dona/	[ˈdonʌ]	"tusk, horn"
/tete/	['tete]	"steps"
/dede/	['dede]	"story"
/tuboli/	[tu'boli]	"middle-born child"
/dubola/	[du'bol∧]	"high tide"
/tamana/	[ta'man/]	"fäther"
≠damana/	[da'man/]	"cross over"

/k/ and /g/: voiceless and voiced fronted velar stops contrast in initial and medial positions.

/kiu/	(ˈkiu]	"bird"
/giu/,	[ˈgiu]	"tail"
/kukuna/	[ku'kun A]	"short"
/gu≯guna/	[gu'gunA]	"her breast"
/kahi/	[ˈkahi]	"scraper"
/gahi/	[ˈgahi]	"part of house"
/koiba/	[ko'iba]	"stomach"
/goila/	[go'ilA]	"water"
/ke ^x nuna/	[ke'nun <u>w]</u>	"smell girl"
/gehua/	[ge'hu <u>w]</u>	"to be still"

/k^w/ and /g^w/* voicless and voiced fronted, labialised velar stops contrast in initial and medial positions before /a/ and /e/.

/kxxxx/k ^W auk ^W auta	/ [k ^w auk ^w a'ut∧]	"changeable weather"
/g ^W alug ^W alu/	[g ^w alu'g ^w alu]	"wrist"
/iluk ^W ik ^W ai/	[iluma ^W i'k ^W ai]	"he shook"
/hag ^W ai/	[ha'g ^W ai]	"possum"
/kelak ^W e/	[ke'lek ^w a]	"race"
/yag ^W ata/	[ya'g ^w ata].	"stinging leaf"
/k ^W elina/ /g ^W eg ^W e/	[k ^w e'lin a] ['g ^w eg ^w e]	"part of coconut" "strayed"
/k ^W asik ^W asi/	[k ^w asi'k ^w asi]	"machete"
/g ^W ayag ^W aya/	[g ^w aya'g ^w aya]	"red-headed"

 $/k^{W}/$ and /k/: contrast in initial and m edial positions before /a/,/e/ and /i/.

kk^wasik^wasi k /k ^w atik ^w ati/ /kati/	k ^w [k ^w asi'k ^w asi] ['kasi]	"machete" "knife"
/k ^W adohi/	[k ^w a'dohi]	"t. of fish"
/kadidili/	[kadi'dili]	"strong"
/k ^W elelio/	k ^w ele'lio	"t. of bird"
/kelak ^W a/	ke'lak ^w a	"race"
/ hælæk hak ^w ala/	[ha'k ^w al/]	"small sticks"
/akalili/	[aka'lili]	"I bastened"
/iluk ^W ik ^W ai/	[iluk [™] i'k [™] ai]	"he shook"
/kikiwa/	[ki'kiw∧]	"t. of bird"

 $\mbox{$k/g^W$/and $/g/$: contrast in initial and medial positions before $/a/$ and $/e/$}$

/ig ^W ae/	[i'g ^W ae]	"it is murky"
/igae/	[i'gae]	"he went up"
/g ^w alug ^w alu/	[g ^w alu'g ^w alu]	% "wrist"
/galugalu/	[galu'galu]	"new leafage"
/hag ^w ai/	[ha'g ^w ai]	"possum"
/agae/	[a'gae]	" I went up"
/g ^w eg ^w e/	['g ^w eg ^w e]	"strayed"
/gegeka/	[ge'geka]	"this"

 $/g^{W}/$ and /w/: contrast in initial and medial positions before /a/ and /e/.

```
/g<sup>W</sup>alug<sup>W</sup>alu/ [g<sup>W</sup>alu'g<sup>W</sup>alu] "wrist"
/wakowako/ [wako'wako] "t. of nut"
/gwegwe/ [gwegwe] "stray
/gadiwewe/ [gadi'wewe] "rain"
                                               "stray"
/dag waye/ [da'g wayn] "sago funnel" "t. of fish"
                                               "sago funnel"
/waya/
 /yag<sup>w</sup>ata/ [ya'g<sup>w</sup>atʌ]
                                             "stinging leaf"
              [a'wawA]
 /awawa/
                                               "thin"
                  [ha'g<sup>w</sup>ai]
 /hag<sup>W</sup>ai/
                                               "possum"
                         [a'wai]
 /awai/
                                               "what"
```

 $/\kappa^{W}/$ and /w/: contrast in initial and medial positions before /a/, /e/ and /i/.

/d/ and /l/: voiced dental stop and voiced alveolar retroflex lateral contrast in initial and medial positions.

/dabanei/ /labata/	[daba'nei] [la'bat a]	"t. of bird" "force"
/idibalei/ /ilibea/	[idiba'lei] [ili'be^]	"night" "it drifts"
/ida da/ /ilalana/	[i'dad∧] [ila'lan∧]	"he assists the weak" "it shines"
/dedena/ /lelega/	[de'den^]	"story" "house-building term"
/dubola/ /lubigo/	[du'bol] [ju'bigo]	"high tide" "pag back"

4.1.2. CONSONANT VARIANTS

- /t/ [s] voiceless dental grooved fricative occurs preceding /i/, usually in fluctuation with $[t]^{l}$
 - [t] occurs elsewhere.

4.2.1. VOWEL CONTRAST

/i/ high open front unrounded vocoid; /e/ mid close front unrounded vocoid; /a/ low close central unrounded vocoid; $x\Omega x/o/$ mid close back rounded vocoid and /u/ high open back rounded vocoid contrast in all positions.

/kikina/ /keketa/ /kakai/ /kokoe/ /kukuna/	[ki'kin/] [ke'ket/] [ka'kai] [ko'koe] [ku'kun/]	"little" "sugar cane" "t. of poison" "finish" "short"
/hili/ /heli/ /hali/ /holi/ /huni/	['hili] ['heli] ['heli] ['holi] ['huni]	"blow coals into flame" "to peel" "t. of fish" "to pull" "taro"
/heli/ /hale/ /hala/ /halo/ /halu/	['hali] ['hale] ['halo] ['halo]	"t. of fish" "demee, ekip" "dance, skip" "to hunt" "t. of bead"
/bide/ /beda/ /bada/ /boda/ /buda/	[bida] [beda] [beda] boda] [buda]	"dirty" "betel nut" "man" "t. of tree-fern" "to decompose"
/ilata/ /elata/ /alkata/ /olata/ /ulata/	i'lat^] [e'lat^] [a'lat^] [o'lat^] [u'lat^]	"ik grake"it grew" "(you) grow up" " I grew" "you (pl) grew" "you (sing) grew"

4.2.2. VOWEL VARIANTS

/a/	[^]	mid open central unrounded vocoid occurs word finally.
	[æ]	low close front unrounded vocoid occurs preceding /u/.

(a) low close central unrounded vocoid occurs elsewhere.

/iyeta/	[i'yet^]	"day time"
/lalawa/	[la'law/]	"fleme tree"
/tulau/	[tuˈlæu]	"my friend"
/wayau/	[wa'y≥u]	"cold"
/ataima/	Tata mim	"now"

4.3. SUPRA-SEGMENTAL ITEMS

Pitch and length are non-phbnemic. The stressed symbols is usually lengthened, and the pre-stressed syllable tends to be a higher pitch in words of three or more syllables. Stress falls on the penultimate s-yllable, except where this is a high vowel, /u/ or /i/ preceded by the lower vowel, /o/ or /e/ respectively, where there is a widesp-read tendency for the penultimate syllable to be ommitted altogether.

5. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemic changes are observed at morpheme boundaries.

5.1. VOWEL ELLIPSIS

a. Between morphemes and/ or words.

with ssimilar vowels:

	/tahopu uAlotau/	tahopu Alotau	"we went to Alotau"
	/unaamu/	[ปกลฑ]	"you will eat"
	/iyai ihouni/	iyai'houni	"who put it there?"
	with dissimilar vowel	.s:	
	/tanaeno/	ta neno	"we will sleep"
	/apo ega/	a bega	"never"
	/geka unuma/	[geku'numa	"this is my house"
b	Utterance initial.		
	/unaduhuna/	nadu*hun a	"(you) sit down;"
	/unanei/	nehei	"go!"

5.2. TRANSITIONAL CONSONANT

a. The 1st person singular intimate possession suffix /-u/ becomes /-we/ following /u/.

b. Verb roots which begin with a vowel take /y/ initial following subject prefix ending in /i/, and /w/ initial following subject prefix ending in /u/.

/anae/	[a'nae]	"I get went"
/unae/	[u¹nae]	"you went"
/(h)inae/	[(h)i'nae]	"(they) he went"
/aeno/	[a¹eno]	"I slept"
/uweno/	[u'weno]	"you (si n g) slept"
/(h)iyeno/	[(h)i'yeno]	"(they) he slept"
//iyenaeno/	(iyeno'eno)	"he is sleeping"

6. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEWES

While all consonants may occur in the onset slot of the Tawala syllable, there are some restrictions as to what vowels they can occur with.

- a. /w/ never occurs as the onset of a syllable whose nucleus is /u/.
- b. /y/ never occurs as the onset of a syllable whose nucleus is /i/.
- \mathring{c} : $\mathring{f}_{g}^{w}/$ never occurs as the onset of a syllable whose nucleus is /i/, /u/ or /o/.
- d. /k $^{\rm W}$ / never occurs as the onset of a syllable whose nucleus is /u/ or /o/.1

7. SYLLABLES

A syllable in Tawala consists of a nucleus of one vowel and an optional consonant onset. Most syllables have the consonant onset - especially in medial and final positions.

7.1. Distribution of syllables within words.

Both syllable types occur in initial, medial and final positions.

^{1 **}XMEXA** $/g^W/$ and $/k^W/$ are infrequent phonemes (only 10 words in 1,000) and we have found only one occurrence of $/g^We/$

7.2. Syllable contrasts

Both emic syllable types, /V/ and /CV/ contrast in stressed and unstressed positions in the phonological word.

/ala/	[a.lA]	"boy's brief"
/dobu/	[do.bu]	"village"
/inae/	[i.'na.e]	"he went"
/amana/	a. main,	"his father"

7.3. Restrictions of distribution

One syllable

Monosyllabic words have /CV/ pattern only.

/po/ ['po] "and"

Two xxyllables

There are no restrictions in two syllable words.

/ae/	[ˈa.e]	"leg"
/utu/	[ս.ես]	"lice"
/kiu/	[ki.u]	"bird"
/yada/	[ˈya.dʌ]	"sky"

¹ The three monosyllabic words will possibly be found to be morphemes connected to the end of the phrase. Further investigation at a grammatical level is needed to determine their status.

Three and more syllables.

Words of up to eleven syllables have been observed. Most roots , and mark function marked have CV pattern — thus the overall pattern is predominantly CVCV... There seems to be no restriction on number of CV syllables occurring consecutively. Up to 8 have been found together.

Except across morpheme boundaries, no more than 2 V syllables occur together, and then only initially in the word. Across morpheme boundaries, three have been found.

V	/eau/	[e'au]	"my aunt"
	/neula/	[ne'ul/]	"coconut"
	/autu/	[a'utu]	"bag"
	/unahalea/	unaha'le∧	"throw it away"
CA	/bada/	bada	"man"
	/kabudala/	kabu dal	"sun"
	/unainugonugo	otuhugehi/ [unai:	nugonugotuhu'gehi]"think about it"

8. THE PHONOLOGICAL WORD.

The phonological word in Tawala in a groups of syllables around a primary stress, and it is distributed within the phonological phrase. The obligatory nucleus of a primary—stressed syllable has optional preceding margins, and an obligatory following margin (with the exception of a very few single syllable "words" See Footnote page 19).

The nucleus is composed of a stressed syllable, and the margins by nonor lesser-stressed syllables. In words of four or more syllables,
every second preceding syllable has a secondary stress with one exception:
the secondary stress always falls on the first syllable to be reduplicated
even though the primary stress is 3 syllables away 2

The border between phonological words is often marked by voicelessness.

9. THE PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE

The phonological phrase is the unit within which words are distributed. It is itself distributed within the breath group.

The nuclear syllable of the last phonological MAKAS word is the nucleus of the phrase. It contains the loudest and longest vowel and the one lowest in pitch.

Two emic phonological phrase types have been found, and further analysis will probably disclose others.

9.1. The question phrase.

This is characterised by a high pitch on pre-nuclear syllables, and mid pitch on post-nuclear syllable.

9.2. The statement phrase.

In a simple statement, only two pitches are present. Pre-nuclear syllables are mid pitch, and nuclear and post nuclear are low.

Variations of the above are seen in a response statement.

Another variation has slow descent through the whole of the phrase.

10. RESIDUE

10.1. Fricative /y/.

There is a fricative fluctuation of /y/, particularly between low vowels. It is most noticeable in emphatic speech. Whenever speakers are asked to repeat words, the fricative quality usually drops out.

10.2. Glottal Stop.

Two words with glottal stops have been found.

[e7eg/] "t. of lizard"

Efforts to find more examples have been fruitless. The word elegal is an exclamation and thus not perhaps rele-vant to a phonemics paper.

MMX [MMX RA]. It seems to be a reinforcement of the common /ega/ "no."

One sophisticated man who, through his knowledge of Dobu is aware of phonemic % glottals, insists that [uma?ala] is /umaala/ - however he

It mays be that it is a reinforcement of stress on the second of similar vowels, but this would not carry through to other words, where in similar environments one of the vowels is dropped, as in:

too says it with a glottel when not thinking about it.

/inaani/ [inani] "he will eat"

(The fact that /na-/ is a paperfix may explain why it can be ellipsed)

If no further examples can be found of glottal it may be reasonable to postulate allophones of /a/ and /e/ being[?a] and [?e] which occur where the vowel occurs in stressed position following a like vowel. This would only apply to the root, and not between morphemes.

11. ORTHOGRAPHY

11.1. Introduction

The suggested orthography is very tentative, as the major consideration will be to find an orthography acceptable to the various dialects which have different orthographical traditions. Many people throughout the area are at least semi-literate in one or more languages - Tawala, Suau, Bobu, Wedau, Motu and English.

The dialect problem is compounded by the four major church traditions and their use of four different languages.

- 1. The Anglican work is centred at Awaiema (there is also a growing work around Alotau), and uses the Wedau Bible and Liturgy.
- 2. Around East Cape, the United Church, former Methodist Overseas Mission, uses the Dobu Bible, though they have included quite a few Tawala hymns along with the Dobu ones in the hymn book. There is a translation of Luke's gospel and other smaller portions in print.
- 3. The United Church around the remainder of Milne Bay is the former Kwato Mission and has used the Suau language, though they have an old translation of a Genesis Abridgement and Mark's Gospel, ret now out of print.
- A. The Roman Catholic church is centred at Daio and Sideia and has made wide use of the Tawala language and published a book of 86 Bible stories (1964 "Bible a Dedede" 100 pages). The Mass and Sunday services are exprinted in duplicated form and there is a considerable amount of Scripture included in this material.

We aim to produce an orthography acceptable to all these groups.

11.2. Suggested orthography

Phonemes	Allophones	Suggested Orthography
/p/	[p]	p
/t/	[t]	t
	[a]	s ¹
/k/	[k]	k
/k ^w /	[kw]	kw
/b/	[b]	b
/d/	[d]	d
/g/	[a]	g
/g ^w /	$\begin{bmatrix} a_{m} \end{bmatrix}$	gw
/m/	[m]	m m
/n/	[n]	n
/1/	[1]	1
/w/	[w]	W
/y/	[y]	У
/h/	[h]	h
/i/	[i]	i
/e/	[e]	е
/a/	[a],[^],[æ]	a
/o/	[0]	0
/u/	[u]	u

^{1.} As [s] is in common use in personal names before all vowels, and most people can hear the s/t distinction it seems wise to use s before /i/ and in proper names. So both s and t are included in the orthography.

^{2.} Although [m] syllable final is phonemically /mu/, the /u/ has dropped out so completely that it is proposed to drop it in orthography also.

11.3 Sample Text

Phonetic didibalei badA mΑ kedukeduluma luaga Orthographic Didibalei bada ma kedukeduluma luaga Literal translation night—at man also women two Free translation Last knight the man and the two women

mitchi higelu hoi wam po higae kehelala hiyeno mitchi higelu hoi wam po higae Kehelala hiyeno together they-embarked on boat and they-webt.up East Cape they-slept went on board and is went to East Cape, where they slept.

mA gekA malitom higelu meme hinae wwkusalamo ma geka malitom higelu meme hinae u Salamo then this morning they-embarked again they-went to-Salamo. Then this morning they got on board again and went to Salamo.

mA dalabu tonugA nokaboti hinamemae mA apom ma dalabu tonuga nokahoti hinamemae ma apom then week three there they-will-be-staying then later They will stay there for three weeks and then

hinamememee
hinanememae
they-will-return#ng-stay
return to stay.