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11th March 1974.

The Tigak Language of New Ireland by C.H. Beaumont.

Errata:

p5 1.7 For 1972:xii Read: 1972:xiii
 p6 fn. For 197b Read: 1971b
 p79 (120) For Nag - Read: Nag - a
 p81 1.20 For C1 Base 4 Read: C1 Base 3
 p86 last line For Table 5 Read: Table 6
 p87 1.5 " "
 1.12 For +Com Read: +Com
 fn.2 For common Read: uncommon
 p102 1.12 Remove bracket after 4.1.3.
 p113 1.15 For ..v Read: ..V
 p115 (242) Insert: 'He hit him hard.'
 p120 fn.2 After This Insert: is
 p132 1.4 For on whether Read: or whether
 p135 fn. For intransitive Read: transitive
 p148 1.3 from end For 5.5.1. Read: 5.4.1.
 p150 1.13 " "
 p155 1.15 For 5.1.6. and 5.1.7. Read: 5.1.3. and 5.1.
 1.16 For C1 Base 5, 4.5. Read: C1 Base 4, 4.1.4.
 p158 1.20 For KinNp Read: KNP
 p191 1.12 For l Read: r
 p196 1.4 from end For possible Read: possibly
 p201 1.6 For *guma Read: *quma
 p206 1.10 For A2.4.8. Read: A2.4.9.
 p225 1.3 na-si Add: [PO, PAN -78].
 1.4 natu(-na) Add: [PO -54].
 p226 1.5. from end patu(-na) Add: [PO -14].
 p232 1.3. from end vung Add: [PO, PAN -13].
 p234 1.14 bird Add: [PAN].
 p235 1.18 child, (his) Add: [PO].
 1.5 from end coconut Add: [PAN].
 p248 1.19 who? Add: [PAN].

C.H. Beaumont.

13th March 1974 - Additions

p19 1.6. Read: PO Proto-Oceanic
 p33 1.3 from end For vowel boundaries Read: word boundaries
 p42 1.4 from end For Clausal S Read: Causal S
 p87 1.6 For Limited Read: Limiter
 p90 1.16 (150) For 'my brother' Read: 'my brothers'
 p91 1.10 For + Head Read: + Head
 p95 1.18 For op Read: ip
 p199 1.9 For (PAN *|ancuŋ 'go for a walk') Read: (PAN *|aku)
 p208 1.17 For *|ancuŋ Read: *|aku
 p209 1.5. For PAN *penu Read: PAN *peñu
 p212 1.9 After 'hot' Add: (PAN *panas)

oral exam -

THE TIGAK LANGUAGE

OF

NEW IRELAND

by

Clive Henry Beaumont

A thesis submitted as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Australian National University.

January 1974

Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents the original research of the author.

Clive H. Beaumont

THE TIGAK LANGUAGE OF NEW IRELAND

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ABSTRACT

Tigak is an Austronesian language spoken in the north-east of Papua New Guinea. This tagmemic description of Tigak illustrates the general grammatical and phonological nature of the language.

Chapter 1 indicates the location and linguistic classification of Tigak and refers to the small amount of descriptive work on the language. The theoretical position underlying the description and minor modifications which are made are then set out.

Chapter 2 outlines the phonology of the language. There are 12 consonant phonemes and 5 vowel phonemes. Syllables may have complex vowel nuclei, but consonant clusters occur only across syllable boundaries. Words may end with open or closed syllables.

The syntax of Tigak sentences is discussed in Chapter 3. This is the first of four chapters which deal with the grammar.

At clause level (Chapter 4), four types of clause base are described. These represent the structure common to all the seven clause types. Five of the clause types have subordinating conjunctions which precede the clause base. The other two types, Independent and Relative Clauses, are similar to each other in structure, but differ in function and distribution. Relative Clauses are notable for the lack of any relative pronoun or marker.

Phrase level is considered in Chapter 5. Noun Phrases have a complex system of articles and quantifiers. Three types of Verb Phrases are set up, but as these have many features in common they are discussed together. The main complication is the variety of particles which may precede the verb. Subject pronouns occur obligatorily in the verb phrase, even when there is a noun as subject. Object suffixes are affixed to the verb

or, if the verb is qualified, to the adverb.

In Chapter 6 (word level) four types of noun are distinguished according to the use of articles and possessive suffixes. Pronouns provide the most interest at this level. Singular, dual, trial and plural are distinguished in all case functions. Similarities in form between the various types of pronouns and pronominal suffixes are established.

Chapter 7 indicates the dialects of Tigak and some of the features which distinguish them.

A Tigak text is given in Appendix 1 with interlinear and free translations and a brief commentary which indicates the sentence structure. The history of Tigak phonemes is outlined with reference to Proto-Oceanic (and Proto-Austronesian) reconstructions in Appendix 2. Appendix 3 contains a Tigak-English word-list of 500 words including those used in the examples in the thesis. This is followed by an English-Tigak index. There is a brief grammar index in Appendix 4.

PREFACE

It is my hope that this description of the Tigak language will make one of the languages of New Ireland better known and stimulate linguistic work on others. May it also be an encouragement to the people of New Ireland and Papua New Guinea to see another of their languages described. I shall be very pleased if this work is useful to them in some way.

My wife and I began our study of the Tigak language in February 1969, following an invitation from the United Church. Since late in 1970 my work has been supported by the Australian National University through a research scholarship and generous fieldwork grants for which I would like to express my thanks. I would also like to thank Christian friends and relatives in Australia and New Zealand who have helped support our work especially in the initial eighteen months.

For my introduction to general linguistics I am indebted to the staff of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) courses in Auckland and Brisbane, especially Dr. Karl Franklin. Dr. David Lithgow and the late Mr. Oren Claassen who made a survey for SIL of the New Ireland languages in 1966 were responsible for initiating my interest in this area. I am grateful for the use of their unpublished wordlists as well as their published report.

At the Australian National University my supervisors have been Dr. T. E. Dutton, Dr. C. L. Voorhoeve and Professor S. A. Wurm. I would like to thank Dr. Dutton and Dr. Voorhoeve

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I have greatly appreciated the faithful devotion and help of my wife, Daisy, especially during fieldwork and in the typing of various drafts of this thesis, including the final photo-ready copy.

I wish to extend special thanks to Mr. William Watlugan who has been my principal informant and valued friend. Thanks are also due to Mr. Henry Tanu, Mr. Gabriel Gamsa and boys of Utu High School for their help in building our house, and to the children and staff of the United Church Primary School at Liga for their friendship and practical assistance.

I would also like to acknowledge the hospitality and assistance of various members of the United Church in the New Guinea Islands. Members of the Catholic Mission have also been helpful and have provided access to unpublished work on other New Ireland languages. I am grateful to Dr. Andrew Taylor for permission to use the English of 150 examples from his unpublished thesis (1970) on Motu in testing for complex constructions in Tigak.

Maps 1 and 2 are reprinted from *Pacific Linguistics*, A 35, by permission of the Editor, Professor S. A. Wurm, and I would like to thank Mr. M. Pancino of the Department of Human Geography at the A.N.U. for the mapwork in them. I would also like to thank Miss Mary Rose for computer programming assistance and Mr. M. E. Clarke and his staff in the Joint Schools Printing Section at the A.N.U. for their help in printing this thesis.

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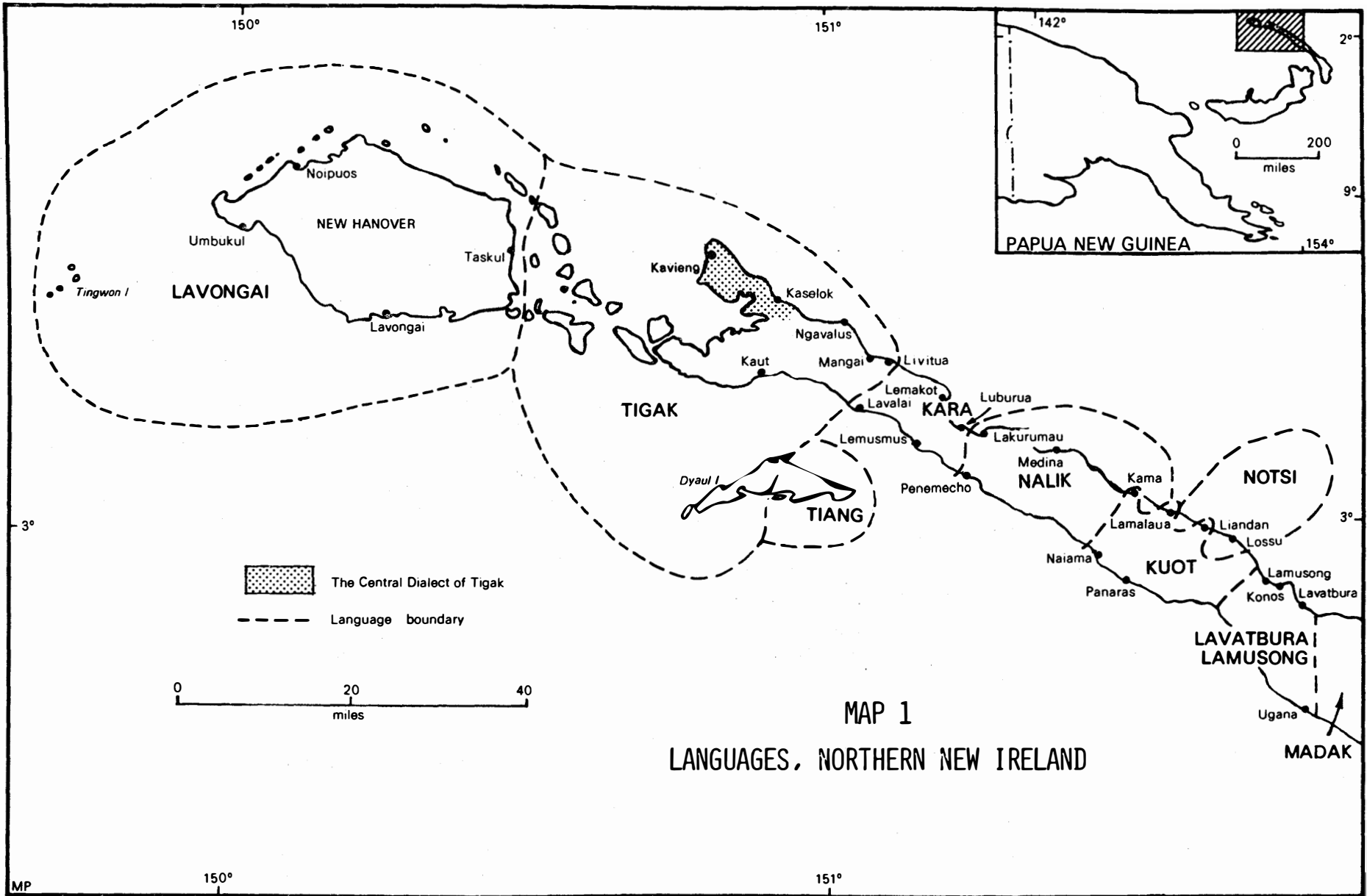
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XV



MAP 1
LANGUAGES, NORTHERN NEW IRELAND

MP

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151°

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. GENERAL SETTING

Tigak is an Austronesian language in the New Ireland District of Papua New Guinea (see Map 1). It is spoken by just over 4000 people living in the northern part of the mainland of New Ireland (extending about 30 miles south of Kavieng), in the western half of Dyaul Island and on most of the small islands between Kavieng and New Hanover. There are four main dialects, Central, Southern, Island and Western. This study is primarily concerned with the Central dialect (the N.E. coast from Kavieng to Putput). The dialects are discussed in Chapter 7. The name Tigak (= 'my brother') has only become established in recent years. Other names which may be found in general works are Omo, Kavieng and Nusa.

Tigak is a member of the Northern New Ireland subgroup of Austronesian languages (Beaumont 1972:15) which also includes Lavongai, Kara, Tiang, Nalik, Notsi and possibly Tabar. This subgrouping is in turn part of a wider New Ireland - Tolai grouping¹ which includes most of the 20 languages of New

¹ This was suggested by Grace (1955) and is discussed more fully by Capell (1971:245,254-65) and Beaumont (1972:7-19). The name is from Pawley (1972) where Grace's classifications are summarized.

Ireland¹ and the Duke of York and Tolai languages of New Britain (see Map 2, p20). The New Ireland - Tolai grouping comes within Capell's (1971:242) AN₁ group of the New Guinea Austronesian languages. This AN₁ group is characterized by having the order: Subject + Verb + Object. In Grace's classification (Pawley 1972:5, Grace 1955, 1968) the New Ireland - Tolai grouping is one of 19 co-ordinate branches of Oceanic (earlier called Eastern Malayo-Polynesian). Evidence supporting the inclusion of Tigak within Oceanic is given in Appendix 2.

1.1. PREVIOUS TIGAK MATERIALS

There has been very little published on the Tigak language. A very short vocabulary collected by Rev. R. H. Rickard was published by Sidney Ray (1891), and Tigak is included in a 25 word comparative word list by Capell (1971:256-259). Lexico-statistical comparisons with other languages have been made by Lithgow and Claassen (1968) and the present writer (Beaumont 1972:18).

Apart from this, the only papers published on the language are two written early in the writer's study of the language on

¹ I would exclude (at least for the present) Madak and Lavatbura-Lamusong which are included by Capell (1971), though I accept them as Austronesian. Lithgow and Claassen (1968) show that these two languages have comparatively low lexical correspondence with the other AN languages in New Ireland. Regrettably almost nothing is published on them.

There is also one non-Austronesian language, Kuot (Panaras).

phonology (Beaumont 1969) and personal pronouns (1970). These are both brief and only provide an introductory account. The phonology paper is concerned mainly with the segmental phonemes and questions of orthography. The pronoun paper summarizes the pronominal forms and gives examples illustrating their use.

1.2. AIM

The aim of this study is to give a detailed account of the Tigak language. This will be done within the theoretical framework of Tagmemics. Aspects of this theory and the way in which it is applied in this description are discussed in 1.4.

Research on the language was carried out independently for 16 months in 1969-70 and as a Research Scholar of the Australian National University during 10 months of fieldwork in 1971-2.

1.3. PRESENTATION

The description will be presented in seven chapters, most of which will deal with the grammar. The remainder of this chapter deals with theoretical aspects and conventions used. Chapter 2 is concerned with the phonology of the language and is a development of my earlier published paper (Beaumont 1969). Chapters 3 to 6 describe the grammar of the language as it is at present understood¹ in four chapters dealing with sentence,

¹ The grammatical analysis is based principally on two concordances of texts totalling 24,000 words which were made at the Australian National University. Formulae and statements in this study are valid as far as the evidence in this corpus is concerned. Further data might require some modifications.

clause, phrase and word levels respectively. Discussion of individual word classes is made at the level at which it is most relevant. At word level the major classes are considered while those already discussed are summarized and cross-references are given. Chapter 7 establishes the dialects of Tigak and discusses their relationship to one another. Supplementary material and a grammar index are contained in the appendices.

1.4. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

As mentioned above the grammar and phonology will be described within the theoretical framework of Tagmemics. As this is now a well-known theory, only those aspects which are directly relevant to this description are discussed in any detail.

1.4.1. General

The linguistic theory of Tagmemics has been developed by Pike, Longacre and others primarily in relation to the description of hitherto unwritten languages. This has given it a very practical orientation as is especially clear in basic works such as those of Pike (1947) and Longacre (1964). This makes the theory particularly useful for a first-time description such as this.

In the major theoretical work (1967) Pike sets out the basic idea of Tagmemics that language consists of three separate but mutually interlocking hierarchies - phonological, grammatical and lexical. These are also placed in a wider context of human behaviour. Within the three hierarchies there are feature, manifestation and distribution modes. The feature mode is

concerned with contrasts which indentify units, the manifestation mode is concerned with constant features and with variations and the distribution mode is concerned with relationships including class membership and function.

Of the three hierarchies the lexical has been the least developed in Tagmemic study but this area is receiving increasing attention from various points of view. Longacre (1972:xii) challenges the hierarchical nature of the lexicon and Merrifield (1967:43-45) prefers to talk of a 'semantic component'. As this description is not directly concerned with the lexicon no further mention of this hierarchy is made here.¹

Both the practical and theoretical principles of Tagmemic Phonology are mainly expounded by Pike (1947 and 1967). These are followed closely in Chapter 2.

Pike (1967:571-73) discusses the independence and also the interlocking of the phonological and grammatical hierarchies. Rigid separation is avoided but at the same time phonological and grammatical units are not required to be always identical. Thus in this grammar phonological considerations are used in discussing the definition of the sentences in Chapter 3 and in relation to yes-no questions in 3.9.

Two introductory works on Tagmemics (Elson and Pickett 1964 and Cook 1969) advocate the introduction of intonation into the formulae of the grammar (e.g. Sentence = + Base -² Intonation).

¹ The wordlists in Appendix 3 are not to be equated with a lexical component or hierarchy.

² The minus sign is used for a suprasegmental feature.

In practice Tagmemic grammars do not generally do so. Introduction of intonation into the formulae creates complications especially in relation to sentence embedding and coordination. In this grammar it is therefore not included in the actual formulae though as stated above it is mentioned where relevant.

The grammatical hierarchy in Tagmemics has received the most attention. The main manual of procedures for discovering significant structures is that of Longacre (1964) but there are many other works relevant to this hierarchy.¹ Much of the recent work (e.g. Longacre 1972) is concerned with Paragraph and Discourse levels above the Sentence. As this grammar is a first grammar only, levels above the sentence are not considered here.

A feature of Tagmemic grammar is the importance given to function. The value of representing function is discussed by Franklin (1971a:29). The way in which function is conveyed in this grammar is set out in 1.4.3.

A considerably amount of flexibility is included in Tagmemics and some important aspects of this are discussed in 1.4.4.-1.4.6. Another basic feature is that it is a language-centred approach in which the patterns of a particular language are sought. Each language is described in terms of its own patterns without assumptions of a universal structure to which a grammar must conform.

¹ E.g. Pike (1962, 1967), Franklin (1971a, 197b), Longacre (1965, 1966, 1967, 1972), Elson and Pickett (1964), Cook (1969).

Most consideration in Tagmemic grammar has been given to surface structure on the basis that this is the actual verifiable material that the linguist has to work with. In the same way this description is concerned primarily with surface structure. Deep or underlying structure has not however been completely ignored by Tagmemicists, as may be seen in Longacre (1972: Introduction and Chapter 3) and references there.

1.4.2. Establishment of Tagmemes and Syntagmemes

Longacre in 1964 (p18) required that syntagmemes in contrast have more than one structural difference and that at least one of the differences involve the nuclei.¹ He opposed (ibid:20-21) the use of external distribution as a countable contrastive feature though Pike (1962:232 and 1967:472) allowed this in some circumstances. Longacre later adopted a slightly more flexible view (1966:252) allowing a single structural difference when the syntagmemes are exponents of radically different tagmemes or when symmetry of the analysis requires it.

In this grammar different external distribution, when it is combined with different meaning and function, is used as a countable feature. If this is not counted, the result is serious

¹ A nucleus versus periphery distinction is usually made in Tagmemics. All obligatory tagmemes are nuclear. Optional tagmemes are considered nuclear if they are relevant in defining the syntagmeme (construction), otherwise they are peripheral.

under-specification in the formulae,¹ which would then be quite inadequate to account for the sentences of the Tigak language.

As an aim of grammars should be to make maximum generalization of statements, discussion of some syntagmemes is combined. An example of this is the discussion of Verb Phrases (5.4.). Although the VP types are formally regarded as separate syntagmemes (constructions) and separate formulae are given, the types are all discussed together. For this purpose of generalization of statements use is sometimes made here of cover terms (e.g. Independent Sentences, Relator-Axis Phrases) which combine several different syntagmemes.

For tagmemes which are not constructions (syntagmemes) at a lower level, only one clear difference is required (Longacre 1964:18). This affects word level and presents no problems. Minor differences are not used for setting up separate types.

1.4.3. Unitary Notation

Two types of notation are used in Tagmemic grammars, unitary and binary (Longacre 1964:24-25). Binary notation is more common. In this, dual function-set symbolism is used. Thus an intransitive clause in Tigak might be expressed as:

+ Subj²:NP + Pred:itVP

¹ If only internal structure was considered it would be possible, for example, to combine the Relator-Axis Phrases, but this would make it impossible to write meaningful clause level formulae.

² The abbreviations of S for Subject and P for Predicate are not used here because of potential confusion with other abbreviations in this thesis.

(An obligatory predicate expressed by an intransitive verb phrase, preceded optionally by a subject expressed by a noun phrase).

This method puts the maximum information into the formula but, as Longacre admits, it can become unwieldy if there are intricate substitution possibilities.

Unitary notation has only single symbols. In the method of using this given by Longacre (ibid:25), the symbols are used for the pattern (or function) points with the indication of the manifesting sets deferred to subsequent rules. Thus the above formula would be expressed as:

$$\underline{+} \text{ Subj } + \text{ Pred}$$

with later formulae:

$$\text{Subj} = \text{NP}$$

$$\text{Pred} = \text{itVP}$$

The use of unitary notation in this grammar generally follows that prescribed by Longacre. However, where the manifesting sets are not complex these are typed immediately below the function point in the formula. Thus the intransitive clause (or in terms of my grammar, 'intransitive clause base') is expressed as:

$$\underline{+} \text{ Subj } + \text{ Pred}$$

$$\text{NP} \quad \text{VP}_2$$

In some cases where this would create a lot of repetition a generalized formula or table of formulae in terms of pattern points is given and then subsequent formulae are expressed in terms of the sets. Relator-Axis Phrases are an example of this.

A formula for this cover term is given:

RA Phrase = + Relator + Axis

and, for each type, formulae are expressed in terms of the actual relators and NP types.

1.4.4. Layering

Layering is allowed for in Tagmemic Grammars (Elson and Pickett 1964:59-60, Longacre 1964:17). This refers to syntagmemes occurring as tagmemes of other syntagmemes at the same level. Cook (1969:24-25) distinguishes two kinds of layering - recursive and non-recursive. Both types occur in this grammar. In recursive layering the same symbol occurs on both sides of the equal signs, for example:

NP = + Head + Apposition
 noun NP

In non-recursive layering, although there is still a phrase within a phrase, or a clause within a clause, these are of different types.

Using non-recursive layering an Adjectival Phrase (e.g. adjective + adverb) is a syntagmeme at phrase level which occurs within (i.e. as a tagmeme of) a Noun Phrase. The process of non-recursive layering avoids the need for setting up extra levels, some of which would have no real significance (e.g. a level between phrase and word levels for Adjectival Phrase which, unlike NP, is not found in Clause Base formulae).

Non-recursive layering occurs extensively in this grammar at phrase level for NP types within Relator-Axis Phrases,

Article and Adjectival Phrases within NP and pre-verb within VP. Use is also made at clause level where Clause Base is used for the main part of the clause excluding subordinating conjunctions. This means that under Clause Types the functions of the clauses and differences between them can be discussed, while under Clause Bases the common internal structure where features of transitivity and intransitivity are significant is considered.

The process of recursiveness (or nesting) is also allowed for (Longacre 1964:17) in which a syntagmeme (construction) of a higher level may occur in a tagmeme of a lower level. An example of this is a relative clause occurring in a noun phrase.

1.4.5. Levels and Level Skipping

Levels are defined flexibly in Tagmemics. Thus, in discussing part of their definition of 'phrase', Elson and Pickett state (1964:73) that a phrase is "defined not as always composed of two or more words, but as potentially composed of two or more words".

Level skipping is provided for (Longacre 1964:17fn.). Thus even a single word may in some circumstances be a tagmeme on the sentence level, e.g. 'Nothing' in "What do you want?" "Nothing." Other examples of level skipping and formulae using this are given in the introductory work by Elson and Pickett (1964:125).

1.4.6. Transformational Rules

Transformational rules are frequently used in Tagmemic grammars. These are not the same as those of Transformational Generative Grammar. The rules are not placed in a separate section of the grammar as they do not represent a special level (Longacre 1965:44). Generally these are surface to surface rules for reordering or adding elements (Franklin 1971a:40-41). This type of rule (widened in some instances to include deletion of an element) is used in this grammar as an adjunct to the Tagmemic formulae so that variations in surface structure may be accounted for.

1.5. CONVENTIONS

Types within each major class are generally numbered and also given a name. Where the name is lengthy or more of a reference, the numbered abbreviation is used in discussion e.g. VP₃. These numbered forms are the ones usually used in formulae. Where the name is short and clear (e.g. Transitive VP) this is used in discussion, with the numbered abbreviation added if necessary.

The use of numbers has certain other advantages which are utilized here. If the number is omitted the reference is a general one. Thus NP refers to noun phrases of any type. Where reference is to some types but not others this can be indicated very briefly, e.g. NP₁₋₃ means noun phrases of types 1, 2 or 3 and excludes NP₄.

Tigak words or phrases occurring in formulae or in the text of chapters three to six are underlined.

1.5.1. Formulae

In formulae the usual tagmemic symbolization of + for obligatory and + for optional is used. Alternatives for a tagmeme are separated by a slash (/). Where two items are linked square brackets are used. For example, one of the formulae for the Margin of a Causal Sentence (3.4.) is:

+ Reason Cl + + [+ ve + Reason Cl]

This indicates that if there is a second Reason Clause, it must be preceded by ve ('and') and also rules out the possibility of ve occurring alone.

In some instances numbered alternatives are used in the formulae. This device is used where there are complex co-occurrence restrictions relating to optional tagmemes (e.g. pre-verb 5.5.) or where one tagmeme varies according to the tagmeme which follows. Thus for the Dative Phrase we have in 5.3.2. the formula:

Dative P = 1. + suna + CommonNP
or 2. + su + ProperNP/KinshipNP

1.5.2. Feature Symbolization

In order to deal with the relation of nouns to the appropriate articles and quantifiers (5.1.1., 6.1., 6.1.4.), the use of distinctive feature symbolization is borrowed from

Transformational Generative Grammar (e.g. Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968:81-83). For example, Proper Nouns with the feature [+mother] are preceded by the honorific article ri, while proper Nouns with the feature [-mother] are preceded by na (5.1.1.).

1.5.3. Examples

Square brackets are used in examples to mark off clauses and sentences contained in other sentences. Smaller sections on which attention is focussed at the particular part of the grammar are underlined. No attempt is made to parse every example in detail as usually only some aspects are relevant to the level being discussed. Morpheme breaks are indicated by hyphens.

Interlinear as well as free translations are provided so that the examples may be followed more easily. Where there is a multi-word English gloss for a single morpheme, the words of the gloss are separated by full stops. e.g. IN.THIS.WAY. Separate glosses for the different morphemes of a word are separated by hyphens. Reduplicated morphemes are separated in the Tigak but not glossed. As far as possible English glosses are used in this interlinear translation rather than grammatical terms. Thus subject pronouns and object suffixes are glossed even when the subject or object is also represented by a noun or an independent pronoun.¹

¹ An exception is that the object suffix is marked as (os) when it does not agree in number as in example (248).

An example is:

nane gi vis-i tang piu
 HE HE HIT-IT THE DOG
 'he is hitting the dog'.

In this sentence nane is an independent pronoun (5.1.4.), gi is a subject pronoun (5.4.1.) and -i is an object suffix,(5.4.2.)

Some grammatical terms such as article (art), past, perfective (perf), singular (sg) and negative (neg) are often unavoidable. These are always in brackets.

1.6. ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in the grammar chapters. Most abbreviations which are not obvious are also explained when they are first used. Abbreviations referring to function points or to Sentence, Clause or Phrase types begin with a capital letter, while abbreviations referring to word and morpheme classes are all in lower case.

adj	adjective
Adj P	Adjectival Phrase
adv	adverb
am	adverb marker
App	Apposition
art	article
Art P	Article Phrase
aux	auxiliary verb

Cl	Clause
CNP	Common Noun Phrase
Com,Comit	Comitative
Cond Cl	Conditional Clause
conj	conjunction
Dat	Dative
dei	deictic
Dep Cl	Dependent Clause
dub	dubitative
emph	emphatic
exc	exclusive
fut	future marker
Gen	Genitive
gen p	genitive pronoun
hon	honorific
inc	inclusive
Ind	Independent
Inst	Instrument
int	introducer
IO	Indirect Object
ip	independent pronoun
IPP	Independent Pronoun Phrase
it	intransitive
iter	iterative aspect
KNP	Kinship Noun Phrase
Lim	Limiter
Loc	Locative
Mod	Modifier

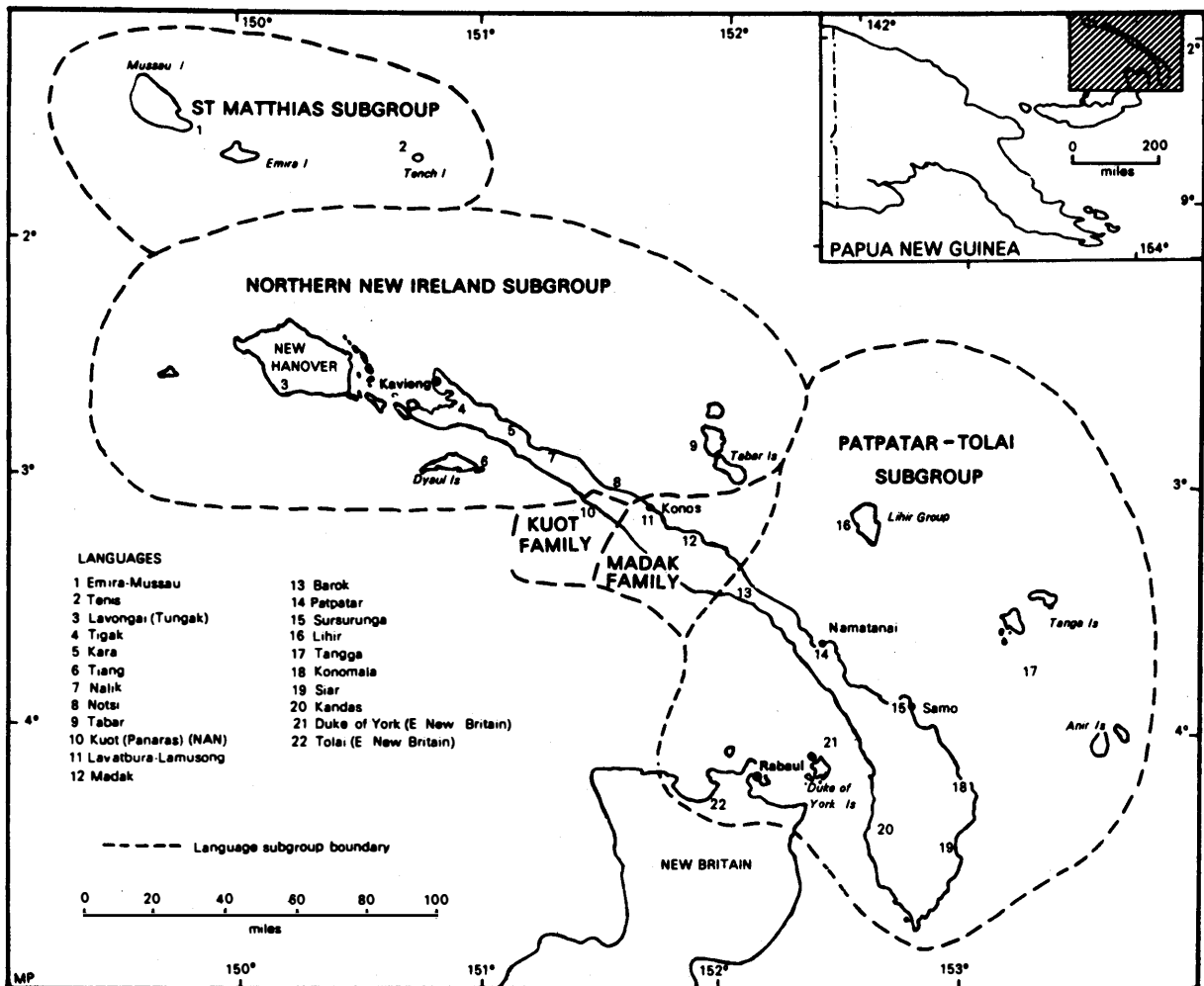
n	noun
neg	negative
NP	Noun Phrase
ns	noun suffix
num	numeral
Obj	Object
obl	obligation
os	object pronominal suffix
p	pronoun, pronominal morpheme
P	Phrase
perf	perfective aspect
Periph	Periphery
pl	plural (4 or more if used of a pronoun)
pluperf	pluperfective aspect
PNP	Proper Noun Phrase
Pos	Possessor
Pred	Predicate
pre-v	pre-verb
Purp Cl	Purpose Clause
q	Information question marker
qm	yes-no question marker
qual	qualification
Quant	Quantifier
Quot S	Quotative Sentence
r	relator
RA	Relator-Axis
Ref	Referential
Rel Cl	Relative Clause

resp	response word
S	Sentence
sal	salutation
sg	singular
sp,subj pr	subject pronoun
Spec	Specifier
sub conj	subordinating conjunction
Subj	Subject
T Obl.	Obligatory Transformation
T Opt.	Optional Transformation
ts	transitive suffix
v	verb
V	any vowel
Voc	Vocative
VP	Verb Phrase
1	1st person
2nd	2nd person
3rd	3rd person
2	dual
3	trial
-	morpheme break
.	multi-word gloss
∅	zero, zero meaning

Abbreviations used elsewhere in this thesis include:

AN	Austronesian
C	consonant (Ch.2)
C	Central dialect (Ch. 7)
Ch.	chapter

fn.	footnote
I	Island dialect
N	nucleus
NAN	non-Austronesian
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PO	Proto-Austronesian
S	Southern dialect
TK	Tigak
VLAW	Dempwolff 1934-38, <i>Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes.</i>
W	Western dialect.



MAP 2
LANGUAGE SUBGROUPS, NEW IRELAND

The New Ireland - Tolai group consists of the Patpatar-Tolai, Northern New Ireland and St. Matthias subgroups and possibly also the Madak family.

Chapter 2

PHONOLOGY

2.0. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the main features of Tigak phonology are presented. Phonological features which are clearly attributable to word borrowing in this century are kept separate from the main analysis and are discussed in 2.4. Diachronic aspects of Tigak phonology are considered in Appendix 2.

The published analysis of Tigak phonology (Beaumont 1969) is rather brief but there are aspects of it which are not included here. These are the section on orthographies used in translated works to the end of 1969 and detailed articulatory descriptions and examples for all phonemes. Some of this information is given here in a different form. Other aspects of the paper are generally expanded. Where the present analysis differs significantly from that of 1969 this is noted.

For typographical reasons the symbols [β] and [$\underset{+}{l}$] will be used instead of those suggested by Pike (1947:7) for the bilabial fricative [b] and the voiced alveolar lateral fricative [$\underset{+}{l}$] respectively. β is also used in the phonemic script. In phonetic transcriptions syllable boundaries are marked by . and the peak vocoid of the complex nuclei (2.1.5.) is underlined.

2.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

2.1.1. Chart of Phonemes

Consonants			
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	p [p]	t [t]	k [k̚]
	b [b] ¹		g [g̚]
Trills		r [r̥] [r̥̥]	.
Fricatives	β [β]	s [s]	
		l [l̥]	
Nasals	m [m]	n [n]	ŋ [ŋ]

Vowels			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i [i] [i] [y]		u [u]
Mid	e [ɛ] [e]		o [ɔ]
Low		a [ʌ] [a]	

/l/ [l̥] is a voiced alveolar lateral fricative.

Both /g/ and /k/ are backed.

¹ The phoneme /b/ is not common and the distinction between /b/ and /β/ is not made in the other dialects (7.3.). /b/ is the only phoneme not found in reflexes from Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Austronesian (Appendix 2).

2.1.2. Distribution of Allophones

/r/ [ḍ̥] Voiced flapped alveolar stop.

Occurs only word initially and is in free variation with [ř] in this position:

[ḍ̥ɪk̚] [řɪk̚] 'they (subj pr)'

[ḍ̥u.ˈrum] [řu.ˈřum] 'water'

[ř] Voiced alveolar trilled vibrant.

Occurs in all positions:

[řɔ] 'good' [ˈk̚ʌ.řʌ] 'our (inc)'

[uř] 'banana'

/i/ [i] Voiced high front unrounded vocoid.

Occurs word finally, as an off-glide in complex nuclei and sometimes in stressed open syllables:

[ˈk̚ʌ.ři] 'their'

[ˈʌ.ˈsɔk̚] 'work'

[ˈti.βu.nʌ] 'his grandparent'

[ɪ] Voiced lower high front unrounded vocoid.

Occurs in all positions except finally or as an off-glide:

[ɪ.ˈβɪ.sɪ] 'to spit'

[ɪ] and [i] are sometimes in free variation:

[ˈɪ.mʌ] [ˈi.mʌ] 'come'

[y] Voiced high front unrounded non-syllabic vocoid.

Occurs only before another vocoid and is in free variation with [ɪ]:

[yas] [ɪas] 'sun'

[yaˈi] [ɪaˈi] 'tree'

/e/ [e] Voiced mid front unrounded vocoid.

Occurs word finally and sometimes in stressed open syllables:

[βe] 'and' [ˈr̥e.gʌ] 'they (2, past)'

[ɛ] Voiced lower-mid front unrounded vocoid.

Occurs in all positions. It is sometimes in free variation with [e]:

[ˈɛ.tɔk] 'talk' [r̥ɛk] 'they (2, subj pr)'

[nʌ.ˈnɛ] [nʌ.ˈne] 'he (independent pronoun)'

/a/ [ʌ] Voiced lower-mid central unrounded vocoid.

Occurs in all positions. In stressed positions it is sometimes in free variation with [a]:

[ˈmʌ.tʌ.nʌ] [ˈmʌ.tʌ.nʌ] 'his eye'

[ˈʌ.tʌ] 'fire'

[a] Voiced low central unrounded vocoid.

Occurs sometimes in stressed syllables:

[ˈa.nu] 'man' [kək] 'my'

2.1.3. Distribution of Phonemes

Most phonemes occur in all positions within a word. The only restrictions are that /b, g, β/ do not occur word finally.¹ Only vowels occur in the nucleus of a syllable and only consonants occur in the optional syllable margins. All consonant

¹ The phoneme /r/ was previously thought to be restricted in the same way (ibid:87) but it occurs finally in /ur/ 'banana' and /ɲur/ 'mouth'. [ɣ] is no longer interpreted as a phoneme.

phonemes may occur as syllable onset but the three consonants listed above cannot occur as coda. The only restrictions on vowel occurrence in the nucleus are in relation to complex nuclei and these are discussed in 2.1.5.

2.1.4. Contrasts

- /p/ and /b/ /papasa/ 'proclaim', /βabat/ 'cane (for wall)'
 /put/ 'run', /buat/ 'float to the surface'
- /p/ and /β/ /po/ (perfective), /βo/ (future)
 /pe/ 'with', /βe/ 'and'
 /lapa/ 'basket', /laβa/ (emphasis)
- /b/ and /β/ /baβati/ 'close off', /βaβat/ 'two men'
 /βabat/ 'cane (for wall)', /βaβalaŋ/ 'stupid'
 /buat/ 'float to the surface', /βuai/ 'betel nut'
- /t/ and /r/ /to/ 'wave', /ro/ 'good'
 /itak/ 'be surprised', /iran/ 'to cure'
 /ŋut/ 'louse', /ŋur/ 'mouth'
- /r/ and /l/ /ro/ 'good', /lo/ 'in'
 /kara/ 'our (inc)', /kala/ 'taro'
- /n/ and /ŋ/ /naŋas/ 'be happy', /ŋan/ 'eat'
 /lono/ 'in it', /loŋok/ 'listen'
- /k/ and /g/ /kam/ 'your (sg)', /gam/ 'shell'
 /koko/ 'wait', /gogo/ 'poor', /goko/ 'neck'
- /g/ and /ŋ/ /gan/ 'day', /ŋan/ 'eat'
 /naga/ 'I (past)', /naŋas/ 'be happy'
- /s/ and /t/ /saŋ/ 'come', 'arrive', /taŋ/ 'the'
 /βusa/ 'heart', /βuta/ 'ashes'
 /pus/ 'full', /put/ 'run'

/i/ and /e/	/i/ 'of', /e/ 'at'
	/nik/ 'coconut', /nek/ 'my belly'
/e/ and /a/	/e/ 'at', /a/ 'a, the'
	/nek/ 'my belly', /nak/ 'I (subj pr)'
/a/ and /o/	/aŋ/ 'this', /oŋ/ 'yes'
	/nak/ 'I (Subj pr)', /nok/ 'my face'
	/ta/ (indefinite article), /to/ 'a wave'
/o/ and /u/	/ot/ 'thing', /ut/ 'dove'
	/nok/ 'my face', /nuk/ 'you (sg, subj pr)'
	/to/ 'a wave', /tu/ 'sugar cane'
/u/ and /i/	/uma/ 'garden', /ima/ 'come'
	/nuk/ 'you (sg, subj pr)', /nik/ 'coconut'
	/anu/ 'man', /ani/ 'about him, for him'

2.1.5. Complex Nuclei

In the previous analysis (ibid:85-87) three vowel glides were posited as phonemes - /aⁱ, a^u, oⁱ/ - and the vocoid [y] was treated as a consonant - /y/.¹ These items are now interpreted differently although in terms of the practical orthography (ibid:88-89) the results are the same. The phonetic glides are now interpreted as two separate phonemes and [y] is regarded as an allophone of /i/.

The complex syllable nucleus in Tigak is a close-knit sequence as described by Pike (1947:148). A number of these occur in Tigak as well as the glides already mentioned. In the phonetic form of the following examples the more prominent vowel of the nucleus is underlined:

¹ Other vowel sequences were not dealt with.

/gigiak/ [g̣i.g̣iʌk] 'messenger'
 /tapuok/ [tʌ.puɔk] 'return'
 /gaβeak/ [g̣a.βɛʌk] 'no'
 /ugui/ [u.gui] 'hair'
 /piu/ [piu] [pyu] 'dog'

Examples containing phonetic glides are:

/aisok/ [ʌⁱ.sɔk] 'work'
 /lo^βait/ [ɬɔ.βaⁱt] 'far away'
 /pau/ [pa^u] 'frog'
 /tauan/ [tʌ^u.ʌn] 'men'
 /koi/ [kɔⁱ] 'black'

In these VV nuclei the first vowel is more prominent except when the two vowels are /i/ and /u/, or when /i/ followed by any vowel occurs at the beginning of the syllable. In these cases the second vowel is more prominent.

Any vowel may occur as peak of a VV nucleus and all except /e/ may occur as a post-peak vowel. Actual combinations found are more restricted.

There are two VVV nuclei - /iai/ and /uai/.¹ The peak is the second vowel in both cases. Examples containing VVV nuclei are:

¹ A syllable nucleus of up to three vowels has been described for Mazateco in Mexico (Pike and Pike 1947:78). Further discussion and references concerning this type of complexity may be found in Pike 1967:372 and 413-14.

/iai/ [yaⁱ] [ɿaⁱ] 'tree'
 /uai/ [uaⁱ] 'fruit'
 /suai/ [suaⁱ] 'to respect'
 /βuai/ [βuaⁱ] 'betel nut'

Interpretation of some or all of the occurrences of non-syllabic /i/ and /u/ as consonant phonemes /y/ and /w/ is not satisfactory for several reasons. Before the syllable peak this would result in CC combinations which do not otherwise occur within a syllable. This would happen in words such as /piu/ 'dog', /suai/ 'to respect' and /βuai/ 'betel nut'. The same would happen with off-glides in:

/pa^lpais/ [pʌ.^lpəⁱs] 'quickly'
 /gaus/ [gʌ^us] 'vine'
 /kau^l/ [kʌ^uɿ] 'to row'

There are no phonemic contrasts between [y] and [i] or [ɿ] or between syllabic and non-syllabic [u]. This interpretation would require the setting up of two extra phonemes.

Interpretation of the phonetic glides, [ʌ^u], [aⁱ] and [ɿⁱ] as single phonemes (as in Beaumont 1969) would add three extra phonemes. This is not worthwhile as it still leaves a number of other VV combinations in the syllable nucleus unaccounted for. It would only be helpful in relation to the VVV nuclei which would then be VV, but as there are so few examples of a VVV nucleus this is not justified and would be an artificial solution.

2.2. SUPRASEGMENTAL FEATURES

2.2.1. Stress

Stress generally falls on the first syllable of the word. Prefixes are usually not stressed and stress then falls on the second syllable. This also applies to words where the prefix is no longer productive. A few other examples do not conform to the usual stress pattern but this has no semantic significance.

As stress is not fully predictable it is marked in this chapter on all words where stress is not on the first syllable.

Stress on the first syllable, which is the main type, is seen in:

/a/	[¹ a.nu]	'man'
/etok/	[¹ ε.tɔk]	'talk'
/βogo/	[¹ βɔ.gɔ]	'pig'
/tiptip/	[¹ tɪp.tɪp]	'heavy'

Examples with a prefix and stress on the second syllable are:

/na ¹ ri/	[nʌ. ¹ ri]	'they' (pl. independent pronoun)
/su ¹ guk/	[su. ¹ guk]	'to me'
/pa ¹ loŋani/	[pʌ. ¹ ɬɔ.ŋʌ.ni]	'hear it'

Other examples where stress is on the second syllable are:

/ma ¹ sut/	[mʌ. ¹ sut]	'bush'
/i ¹ naŋ/	[i. ¹ nʌŋ]	'go'
/pa ¹ pais/	[pʌ. ¹ pə ⁱ s]	'quickly'

2.2.2. Intonation

Two intonation patterns have contrastive significance:

(1) Sentence final intonation for statements and commands.

In this the last syllable is of lower tone.

(2) Question intonation. In this the last syllable is of higher tone.

These intonations are marked by . or ! for (1) and ? for (2). Some sentences are distinguished in meaning purely by these different intonation patterns:

Gi i¹naŋ lo ma¹sut. (Fall)

HE GO TO BUSH

'He is going to the bush.'

Gi i¹naŋ lo ma¹sut? (Rise)

'Is he going to the bush?'

Sentence medial intonation is not significant. There is a slight rise after conditions and at other pauses where the meaning is incomplete. Intonation sometimes falls before a dependent clause or a coordinate sentence but, if there is no pause, level intonation is maintained.

2.2.3. Pause

Breaks between phonological sentences are distinguished in speech by a major pause as well as intonation.

Minor pauses may occur within phonological sentences. In written texts and examples these are indicated by commas.

2.3. SYLLABLES

Syllables in Tigak are more economically described in terms of consonants and nuclei rather than consonants and vowels. In these terms there are four types of syllable.

N	/i/ 'of', /i.gai/ 'question', /sau.i/ 'bread'
NC	/ot/ 'thing', /ul.pu.ki/ 'change', /pau.ak/ 'two'
CN	/si.βa/ 'village', /ta.loi/ 'spirit'
CNC	/nik/ 'coconut', /tip.tip/ 'heavy'

Of these the N and NC syllables occur only word initially or after a CN or N syllable. CN and CNC syllables may occur in any position in the word. Consonant clusters may occur across syllable boundaries but not (except in very recent borrowings) within a syllable. Sequences of vowels may occur across syllable boundaries as well as in complex nuclei.

Most words are of one, two or three syllables but there are a number of words of four syllables and some even longer combinations are possible.

2.4. EXTERNAL INFLUENCE

Three external languages - Pidgin, Tolai (Kuanua) and English - all exert strong lexical influence on the Tigak language. Almost everyone speaks Pidgin and those who are literate (about 50%) have been educated either in Tolai or

in English.¹

Words may be freely borrowed from Pidgin and many do not conform to the natural Tigak phonology. Frequently words come almost simultaneously into Pidgin and Tigak from English e.g. /eleksen/ 'election', /sensis/ 'census', /nasena/ 'national'. Whether borrowings are modified to conform to existing phonological patterns often depends on the ability of the speaker in pronouncing the words of the source language or languages. Thus English 'judge', Pidgin 'jas' may be heard pronounced in Tigak as [sʌs], [ʒʌs] or [dʒʌdʒ].

Although Tolai provides many borrowings especially in matters relating to the church, the fact that its phonology is reasonably similar to that of Tigak results in it having little phonological influence.

Examples of new phonemes and permitted consonant clusters which occur in words borrowed from English and Pidgin are:

/d/ /Niu Ailand/ 'New Ireland'
 /God/ 'God'

1

In *Territory of Papua and New Guinea Population Census 1966, Preliminary Bulletin 36* it was reported (p17-18) that of the indigenous population over ten years of age of the New Ireland District, 94.2% were able to speak Pidgin, 25.1% were able to speak English and 45.6% were literate.

The current literacy figure for the Tigak area would be higher than this general 1966 figure. The New Ireland percentage of Pidgin speakers was the highest reported for the Territory. The average for the Trust Territory of New Guinea (i.e. excluding Papua) was 45%.

/w/ /wik/ 'week'
 /h/ /haus sik/ 'hospital'
 /y/ /yia/ 'year'
 /j/ /jas/ 'judge'
 CC /beŋk/ 'bank'

This process is almost unrestricted but some sounds or clusters are usually assimilated to the nearest phoneme:

th as /t/ /Metodist/ 'Methodist'
 f as /p/ /opisa/ 'officer'

This happens to vowel sounds as may be seen in a number of the above examples but English vowel sounds are likely to become more common.

2.5. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Two morphophonemic changes are dealt with in the grammar in 5.4.1. Both affect the subject pronouns. If the phoneme immediately preceding the past tense morpheme (-a) is /k/, it changes to /g/ and if it is a vowel, it is lost.

Two identical vowels may be assimilated to a single vowel, even across vowel boundaries:

/ginaŋ/ 'he goes' from /gi inaŋ/
 /gima/ 'he comes' from /gi ima/.

2.6. ORTHOGRAPHY

In the grammar chapters a practical orthography is used. This differs from the phonemic orthography in the use of ng for /ŋ/ and v for /β/. Stress is not marked.

Chapter 3

SENTENCE LEVEL

3.0. INTRODUCTION

Sentence level is defined by Longacre (1967:15) as the level on which clauses combine into larger units. At the same time a sentence may consist merely of a single clause or even just part of a clause.

A free grammatical sentence in Tigak is distinguished by the final intonation and pause features of a phonological sentence. It is however also possible to have sentences occurring within a free sentence. The most obvious example of this is in Quotative Sentences. A sentence in this broad sense is defined as either a free sentence or a combination or potential combination of clauses occurring as a tagmeme of a free sentence. Wherever the term sentence (S) is used without qualification, reference is to this broad definition.

Sentences in Tigak are divided into two major categories - Independent and Defective (or Dependent). Independent Sentences contain at least one independent clause. Defective Sentences consist only of a dependent clause or of a part of a clause. Defective Sentences are discussed in 3.8.

Modification for Yes-No questions occurs at sentence level and this is discussed in 3.9.

3.1. INDEPENDENT SENTENCES

Longacre (1967:20) sets up a sentence periphery as opposed to a sentence nucleus and this practice is followed in this analysis. Items such as exclamations and vocatives are considered as part of the periphery of the sentence as they may occur with any type of sentence. Those tagmemes which are obligatory or contrastive are regarded as part of the nucleus. We may therefore state the formula:

$$\text{Ind S} = \underline{+} \text{ Periphery } + \text{ Nucleus}$$

Periphery is expanded and discussed in 3.7. and examples of Independent Sentences with Periphery are given there. Attention here and in the next sections (3.2.-3.6.) is focussed on the nucleus and Periphery is not repeated in the formulae.

Independent Sentences in Tigak are divided into five types - Simple, Conditional, Causal, Quotative and Compound. These are tabulated in summary form¹ below.

1

In order to make these more comparable the terms **protasis** and **apodosis** are not used in the table. **Complications in the formulae** are omitted.

Table 1

Independent Sentence Types

	Margin	Base	Margin
Simple S		Ind Cl	
Cond S	Cond Cl	Ind Cl	
Causal S		Ind Cl	Reason/Purp Cl
	Base	<u>+</u> Link	Quote
Quot S	Ind S	<u>pana</u>	S
	Base 1	<u>+</u> Link	Base 2
Compound S	Ind S	conj	Ind S

3.2. SIMPLE SENTENCES

The formula for the nucleus of a Simple Sentence is:

$$\text{Simple S} = + \text{Base} \\ \text{Ind Cl}$$

Discussion of the structure of an Independent Clause is made at clause level. Simple sentences are illustrated by the following examples:

(1) Rig - a kalum-i tang manui.

THEY-(past) SEE -IT THE BIRD

'They saw the bird.'

(2) Tang anu gi los.

THE MAN HE LAUGH

'The man is laughing.'

Simple Sentence is interpreted (as in Longacre 1967:17) as any sentence with the structure of a single independent clause, whether or not this clause itself contains embedded clauses. Thus the Independent Clause of a Simple S may contain a Time Clause expounding the Time tagmeme:

(3) [Vo nak minang [tuk tana nuk tapuok]].

(fut) I STAY UNTIL OF YOU(sg) RETURN

'I will stay until you return.'

This may be compared to:

(4) Vo nak minang maransakai.

(fut) I STAY FOREVER

'I will stay forever.'

In the Independent Clause of both sentences there is a Time tagmeme so that there are obvious advantages in classing both as Simple Sentences. In a similar way, Relative Clauses (4.3.) and Manner Clauses (4.8.) may occur within Simple Sentences.¹

¹ Conditional, Reason and Purpose Clauses which in Tigak are not equivalent to words or phrases (except for two question markers - 4.2.4.) are, in contrast, always interpreted as sentence level tagmemes and may not occur in Simple Sentences.

3.3. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

The nucleus of Conditional Sentences is expressed by the formula:

Cond S = + Protasis + Apodosis

Generally the Protasis is a Conditional Clause and the Apodosis is an Independent Clause.¹ Tense is restricted to present or past in the Protasis and present or future in the Apodosis. The Dubitative particle min (5.5.2.3.) may occur in the Apodosis. Unreal conditions in English (e.g. 'If he had asked me, I would have told him') must be rephrased as in example 11 in 3.3.1.

Examples of Conditional Sentence are:

(5) [Vouneng nuk angasik-i] [vo gi nangas].
IF YOU(sg) HELP -HIM (fut) HE BE.PLEASED

'If you help him, he will be pleased.'

(6) [Vouneng nuk nung-i] [vo gi min tavai-om papana].
IF YOU(sg) ASK-HIM (fut) HE MAY GIVE-YOU WITH.IT

'If you ask him, he may give it to you.'

The Protasis and Apodosis may be transposed:

(7) [Gi angasik-i vap] [vouneng rik malapen].
IT HELP -(os) PEOPLE IF THEY SICK

'It helps people if they are sick.'

¹ Some complex apodoses and protases are discussed in 3.3.1.

- (8) [Gi la -tangintol-i a vap] [vouneng rig - a
 HE CAUSE- LIFE -(os)(art)PEOPLE IF THEY -(past)
 mat].
 DIE

'He brings people to life if they are dead.'

3.3.1. More Complex Conditional Sentences

Some Conditional Sentences have been recorded in which the Protasis or Apodosis is not merely a single clause. In (9) the Protasis contains two clauses conjoined by ve, 'and'. The subordinating conjunction, vouneng 'if' is not repeated.

- (9) [[Vouneng gi sang] ve [gi vuvok vis-vis]], [nuk akotong].
 IF HE COME AND HE WANT FIGHT YOU WATCH.OUT

'If he comes and he wants to fight, you watch out.'

In (10) the Apodosis consists of a Causal Sentence (here an Independent Clause and a Purpose Clause):

- (10) [Vouneng gi ulpuk g -inang kuli-nim] [naniu nak sang lo
 IF HE TURN HE- GO ON -YOU I I COME TO
 mugi-na [ina nak gava - i]].
 BACK-HIS SO.THAT I SPEAR-HIM

'If he goes and turns on you, I will come behind him to spear him.'

This Conditional Sentence itself occurred within a Compound Sentence - (29).

In the next example the Apodosis is a Compound Sentence:

- (11) [Vouneng gi tapuok kail-au], [[gi etong ina nak
IF HE RETURN CALL-ME IT BE.FITTING THAT I
kus - i], [kisang ga veak lo utak kail-au]].
TELL-HIM BUT HE(past)(neg) YET CALL-ME

'If he returns and asks me I will tell him, but he has not yet asked me.'¹

3.4. CAUSAL SENTENCES

The formula for the nucleus of a Tigak Causal Sentence is:

Causal S = + Base + Margin

Ind Cl

Margin = 1. + Purp Cl²

or 2. + Reason Cl + [ve + Reason Cl]

Reason and Purpose Clauses are introduced by different subordinating conjunctions - Reason kula 'because', Purpose ina 'so that', 'in order that.' Other differences between these clauses may be seen in 4.5. and 4.6.

A Causal Sentence with a margin consisting of a single Reason Clause is illustrated by:

- (12) [Nag- a sang] [kula nak vuvok angasik-uam].
I -(past)COME BECAUSE I WANT HELP -YOU(sg)

'I came because I want to help you.'

In the following example the margin consists of a single Purpose Clause:

1

This sentence was obtained while I was seeking to elicit an equivalent to the English unreal condition, 'If he had asked me, I would have told him.'

2 One example has been recorded of two Purpose Clauses linked by vo 'or' - sentence 24, Appendix 1.

- (13) [Na Levaravu ga tatut [ina gi gava - i]].
 (art) LEVARAVU HE(past) RISE SO.THAT HE SPEAR-HIM
 'Levaravu rose to spear him.'

If two Reason Clauses are conjoined in the margin, kula is usually omitted in the second clause:

- (14) [Rig - a ngan] [kula rig - a malmal]
 THEY-(past) EAT BECAUSE THEY-(past) TIRED
 ve [rig - a lago].
 AND THEY-(past)HUNGRY
 'They ate because they were tired and because they were hungry.'

3.5. QUOTATIVE SENTENCES

The formula for the nucleus of a Quotative Sentence is:

$$\text{Quot S} = \text{Base} + \text{Link} + \text{Quote}$$

$$\text{Ind S} \quad \text{pana}^1 \quad \text{S}$$

The Quote depends on a clause of the base which is not necessarily an Independent Clause.² There are obvious semantic requirements for this clause which introduces the Quote (i.e. it must refer in some way to speech or thought). Frequently this clause contains the adverb auneng 'in this way' although the use

1

Pana 'that', 'with' is also the relator or preposition for Instrument Phrases. The uses are clearly related.

2

No examples have yet been found of the Independent S depending on a Conditional Clause or the Independent Clause of a Clausal S. If such sentences are found then it would be necessary to say that the Ind S of the base may spread on both sides of the Quote, e.g. 'If he says that he will not come, we will go without him.'

of auneng is not confined to Quotative Sentences.

Verbs of saying or speaking in Tigak have three different types of construction:

- 1) Person spoken to is Object.
- 2) Person spoken to is Dative, what is spoken is Object.
- 3) Person spoken to is Dative, no Object (least common).

All have the same sentence structure for quotations.

It may be noted that auneng becomes auneng-ani in the first type.¹

Quote is expressed as S in the formula as there is no restriction on the type which may occur.

Examples of Quotative Sentences with the speech link pana are:

(15) [Ga ot -i] pana "Ga veak lo nanos."
 HE(past)TELL-HIM THAT IT(past)(neg) RIGHT
 'He told him that it was not right.'

(16) [Ga pising auneng - ani] pana, "Ot gara gi
 HE(past) SAY IN.THIS.WAY- IT THAT THING THIS IT
 liu tana mugi-k."
 CROSS OF BACK-MY

'He said, "This thing is distasteful to me."'

(literally, 'This thing goes past my back' or 'I turn my back on this').

¹ The suffix -ani replaces the usual direct object suffix -i (5.4.3.).

(17) [Nak nol - i] pana [nak aius lakis egeng].

I THINK-IT THAT I REST FIRST HERE

'I think that I will stop (i.e. finish my letter) here.'

Examples without pana are:

(18) [Ga kus -irek auneng], "Muk kurau."

SHE(past) TELL-THEM(2) THIS.WAY YOU(2)PLAY

'She told them, "You go and play."'

(19) [Ve na sisin ga pising auneng - ani]

AND(art) YOUNGER.BROTHER HE(past)SAY IN.THIS WAY -IT

"Gaveak, nanu nuk putuk - au."

NO YOU(sg)YOU CUT.UP - ME

'And the younger brother said to him, "No, you cut me up."'

(20) [Ga iga-i], "Na-si a isani-m?"

HE(past)ASK-HIM WHO (art) NAME -YOUR(sg)

'He asked him, "What is your name?"'

There is no difference between the sentence structure for direct and indirect speech, but only a few sentences require interpretation as indirect speech¹:

(21) [Rig - a nung-i] pana [gi ian pasin-i kari siva].

THEY-(past) ASK -HIM THAT HE LEAVE -IT THEIR VILLAGE

'They asked him to leave their village.'

An example of a Quotative Sentence in which the introducing clause is not an Independent Clause is:

(22) [Kisang a vap rig - a veak lo vuvok namkai]

BUT THE PEOPLE THEY-(past) (neg) WANT BELIEVE

[kula rig - a namkai] pana [sakai lakeak kapul]

BECAUSE THEY-(past) BELIEVE THAT ONE CHILD GIRL

¹ Many sentences could be interpreted as either direct or indirect speech. The only basis for definite distinction is the person of the subject pronoun in the Quote.

ga po mun etang].
 SHE(past)(perf) BECOME.LOST THERE

'But the people did not want to believe because they believed
 that a young girl had been lost there.'

In this example the quoted sentence is introduced by the Reason
 Clause of a Causal Sentence.

3.6. COMPOUND SENTENCES

Many Compound Sentences in Tigak could be described by a
 formula linking two Independent Clauses by a conjunction but
 this would not be adequate for all Compound Sentences. The
 formula should be written as:

$$\text{Compound S} = + \text{Base}_1 \pm \text{Link} + \text{Base}_2 \pm [\pm \text{Link} + \text{Base}_3]$$

Ind S conj Ind S conj Ind S

This formula allows for recursiveness as Ind S may itself be
 expounded by Compound S.¹ It also provides for the possible
 varieties involving the other Sentence types. Conjunctions
 are ve 'and', kisang 'but' and vo 'or'.²

The most common combinations are illustrated by the examples
 which follow. The conjoined sentences are marked by square

¹ The formula is deliberately given flexibility. A free
 sentence with three Independent Clauses may be analysed as
 containing two sentences (one a Compound S) or as containing
 three sentences, according to the clauses' relationship to each
 other.

² The word for 'or', vo, is not often used at this level. It
 is homophonous with the future marker and can be ambiguous in
 this position.

brackets.

Two simple sentences:

- (23) [Ga lak lo mata] ve [ga tapuok lo ge].
 HE(past)GO.UP IN CAVE AND HE(past)RETURN IN AFTERNOON
 'He went up into the cave and he returned in the afternoon.'
- (24) [Ga lak lo mata] kisang [ga veak lo tapuok].
 HE(past)GO.UP IN CAVE BUT HE(past)(neg) RETURN
 'He went up into the cave but he did not return.'

Simple Sentence and Causal Sentences:

- (25) [Io, va lakeak reg - a inang] ve [reg - a
 WELL TWO BOY THEY(2)-(past) GO AND THEY(2)-(past)
 usik - i a salan te Taugui kula ga po
 FOLLOW-IT THE PATH OF TAUGUI BECAUSE HE(past) (perf)
 gon a - paga-i].
 PREPARE(am)- CLEAR-IT
 'Well, the two boys went and they followed Taugui's path
 because he had cleared it.'

Causal Sentence and Simple Sentence:

- (26) [Gi soko a -tapuok- i ina gi la -minang-i] ve
 HE BRING (am) -RETURN-IT SO.THAT HE CAUSE- STAY -IT AND
 [gi soko a timin tuap i Levarava].
 HE BRING(art) FLESH BODY OF LEVARAVA
 'He took it back to keep it and he brought some flesh from
 Levarava's body.'

Simple Sentence and Compound Sentence:

- (27) [Io, na sisin ga longok te tuan]
 WELL(art) YOUNGER.BROTHER HE(past)OBEY OF ELDER.BROTHER
 ve [[ga putuk -i a kiki-na]ve [ga
 AND HE(past) CUT.OFF-IT THE LEG-HIS AND HE(past)

gavan - it]].

THROW.AWAY-IT

'Well, the younger brother obeyed his elder brother and he cut off his leg and threw it away.'

Simple Sentence and Quotative Sentence:

- (28) [Reg - a sang lo sakai siva] ve [a vap
THEY(2)-(past) COME TO ONE VILLAGE AND (art) PEOPLE
rig - a igai-irek "[A pas-pasal-an gara gi
THEY-(past) ASK-THEM(2) (art) WALKING -(ns) THIS IT
inang eve?]"]
GO WHERE

'They (2) came to a village and the people asked them,
"Where is this journey going?"'

Two Conditional Sentences:

- (29) [Vouneng gi ulpuk g -ima kuli-nik nanu nuk takul -i
IF HE TURN HE-COME ON -ME YOU(sg) YOU ATTACK-HIM
lo mugi-na] ve [vouneng gi ulpuk g -inang kuli-nim
AT BACK-HIS AND IF HE TURN HE-GO ON -YOU(sg)
naniu nak sang lo mugi-na ina nak gava - i].
I I COME TO BACK-HIS SO.THAT I SPEAR-HIM

'If he turns on me you attack him from behind and if he goes and turns on you I will come behind him to spear him.'

Examples of Compound Sentences where conjunctions are omitted are sentences 8, 10 and 11 of the text in Appendix 1.

3.7. SENTENCE PERIPHERY

Periphery may occur with any of the sentence types.

Cooccurrence restrictions make it best to write the formula as two alternatives:

Periph = 1. + int/conj + voc

or 2. + excl + sal/resp + voc

These six tagmemes, Introducer, Conjunction, Vocative, Exclamation, Salutation and Response are here discussed and illustrated in turn.

3.7.1. Introducer

The Introducer is io 'all right', 'well'.

- (30) Io, ri tivu - na rig- a nangas alu tata -na.
 WELL (art) MOTHER-HIS SHE-(past)PLEASED TOO ABOUT-IT
 'Well his mother was pleased about it, too.'

Several other examples may be seen in the text in Appendix 1.

3.7.2. Conjunctions

Two conjunctions, ve 'and' and kisang 'but', which have already been referred to above in 3.6., may be used as Sentence Periphery as in examples (31) and (32):

- (31) Ve nane iat gi angasik-au pana mamana ot.
 AND HE YET HE HELP -ME WITH (plural)THING
 'And he himself helped me in many ways.'

- (32) Kisang rig - a nol - i pana [vo a rongan lo
 BUT THEY-(past) THINK-IT THAT (fut) A DEVIL IN
 la -na mata gi min punuk-i].
 INSIDE-ITS CAVE IT MAY KILL-HIM

'But they thought that a devil inside the cave would kill him.'

It is impossible by grammatical means alone to determine whether sentences beginning with a conjunction are in fact separate or are merely the second part of a Compound Sentence. However, phonological considerations do justify regarding many of these as distinct sentences. The significance of ve in this position is often similar to that of 'then' in English.

3.7.3. Vocative

The Vocative tagmeme is expounded by NP and refers to the person addressed. Proper nouns and kinship nouns are not preceded by an article when they occur in this function. These types of nouns are usually preceded by an article (na or ri) when they do not follow a preposition.¹

Vocative is illustrated in (43) below and in the following example:

(33) Ong, tiga -k, nak vuvok kus -uam pana sakai aisok
 YES BROTHER-MY I WANT TELL-YOU(sg)WITH ONE WORK

mem togon-i e Kaselok.

WE(exc) HAVE-IT AT KASELOK

'Yes, my brother, I want to tell you about a business we have at Kaselok.'

In example (33) the Vocative, tiga-k is preceded by a Response tagmeme, ong.

¹ For examples with articles see (13), (27) and (30) above. For a fuller discussion of the use of articles with these types of NP, see 5.1.1. and 5.1.2. below.

The NP in the Vocative may itself have a second appositional NP in it as provided for in 5.2.3:

- (34) Nanu, Tombet, nuk ima!
 YOU(sg) TOMBET, YOU COME
 'You, Tombet, come!'

In example (34) the sentence consists of an Independent Clause (expounded by an Intransitive Verb Phrase) preceded by Periphery. Periphery is expounded by Vocative, which is expounded by NP. NP is expounded in turn as NP + NP. The first NP is nanu, an independent pronoun, and the second is Tombet, a proper noun.

3.7.4. Exclamation

Exclamation is expounded by short words without semantic content such as u, aa¹, and o, which are used to express surprise, fear or regret.

- (35) Aa, nak maliung.
 Ah, I MAKE.MISTAKE
 'Ah, I have made a mistake.'

3.7.5. Salutations

Most Salutations are related to the time of the day. The exceptions are the forms for 'goodbye' - le, which may occur alone or with a time greeting, and ierak, which occurs alone.

¹ This should be regarded as phonologically extra-systemic (Longacre 1964:143). Vowel length does not normally occur.

Of these le is more common.

The time greetings may be followed by ro 'good'. They are all introduced by lo 'in':

lo maua (ro) 'good morning'

lo ias (ro) 'good day' (i.e. about 11 a.m. to 3 p.m.)

lo ge (ro) 'good afternoon'

lo vung (ro) 'good evening', 'good night'.

3.7.6. Responses

Response is expounded by ong 'yes' or gaveak¹ 'no'.

(36) Ong, ga nanos.

YES IT RIGHT

'Yes, it is right.'

(37) Gaveak, nak minang pauak a gan.

NO I REMAIN TWO (art) DAY

'No, I am staying for two days.'

3.8. DEFECTIVE SENTENCES

Defective (or Dependent) Sentences may be defined as sentences which do not have a complete Independent Clause. These sentences may be of different kinds. Some consist merely of one or more of the peripheral tagmemes listed in 3.7.² Others contain only a

¹ Historically the structure of ga-veak is that of a Verb Phrase - ga (Subject pronoun, past) 'it', veak 'not', 'it is not' - but in the use discussed in this section it is best considered as a unit.

² Introdurers and conjunctions must be excluded from this as they cannot occur alone.

Dependent Clause or part of a clause, sometimes preceded by a peripheral tagmeme.

These Defective Sentences appear mainly in questions, replies, greetings, commands and exclamations.

The following example illustrates a Defective Sentence consisting of a peripheral tagmeme (a response word) and a Reason Clause.

- (38) Ga-veak, kula nak vuvok tapuok.
 NO BECAUSE I WANT RETURN
 'No, because I want to go back.'

Examples with only part of a clause are:

- (39) Kula kar lavu tara?
 ON CAR BIG THAT
 'On that big car?'

In example (39) there is a Locative Phrase which is part of an Independent Clause containing a Clause Base 1 (see (4.1.1.)). The rest of the clause ('shall I put it...') is understood. In example (40) there is a similar phrase preceded by a response word:

- (40) Gaveak, kula kar lakliak gura.
 NO ON CAR LITTLE THIS
 'No, on this little car.'

Another example of part of a clause, this time consisting of a Noun Phrase as Object is:

- (41) Miti-m!
 HAND-YOUR(sg)
 'Watch your hand!'

Examples with Sentence Periphery tagmemes alone are:

(42) Ong. (43) Lo ias, Gamsa.

YES GOOD.DAY GAMSА

(Response)(Salutation)(Vocative)

3.9. MODIFICATION FOR YES-NO QUESTIONS

One type of modification, that for Yes-No Questions, must be considered at sentence level. Yes-No questions in Tigak may be formed from ordinary sentences by the addition of a question marker (qm) or by a change of intonation alone.

Most question markers follow the sentence - la, a, vang, vo gaveak. Vo gaveak has the meaning 'or not'.

(44) Vo gi tapuok angina, la?

(fut) HE RETURN TODAY (qm)

'Will he return today?'

(45) Vo nuk tapuok, vo gaveak?

(fut) YOU(sg)RETURN OR NOT

'Will you return or not?'

Two question markers - gi-so and gasigai precede the sentence.¹

¹ This different position of gi-so is accounted for by its origin as a Verb Phrase, gi so 'it is what', which would have functioned as a separate sentence. Its present use is now comparable to the other question markers and it does not co-occur with them.

(46) Gi-so, gi inang lo masut?

(qm) HE GO IN BUSH

'Is he going into the bush?'

The question markers la and gi-so are the most common.

Information Questions and Imperatives are clause level modifications and are dealt with in 4.2.1.-4.2.4.

Chapter 4

CLAUSE LEVEL

4.0. INTRODUCTION

Seven clause types are set up here for Tigak - Independent, Relative, Conditional, Reason, Purpose, Manner and Time. The five latter types may be broadly grouped as dependent or relator-axis clauses. They are each introduced by a different subordinating conjunction and differ in distribution and function. A rule for subject pronoun omission in Purpose Clauses and tense restrictions in Conditional Clauses represent further differences.

The main differences and similarities between the clause types are illustrated in summary form in Tables 2 and 3. Independent and Relative Clauses do not have subordinating conjunctions. Internal differences between them are not great but there is considerable difference in distribution and function. Reasons for setting up Relative Clauses as a separate type are given in 4.3.

To simplify the description of these clause types four types of clause base are set up¹ -

¹ These clause bases are not relevant in Sentence Level formulae. They are equivalent to the clause types of some Tagmemic grammars (e.g. Franklin 1971b:61). Liem (1966:1 and 47) makes a distinction between class and type. Independent Declarative Clauses are treated as the kernel Clause Class and Clause Types (equivalent to my Clause Bases) are discussed only for Independent Declarative Clauses.

Clause Base 1 - Transitive

Clause Base 2 - Intransitive

Clause Base 3 - Genitive

Clause Base 4 - Equational

Each of these bases may occur in any of the clause types except that Equational cannot occur in a Relative Clause. As the Clause Bases contain most of the internal structure of the Clause Types, they are discussed first. This internal structure is relevant to some modifications which may occur in the Clause Types.

Table 2

Structure of Clause Types

	Sub Conj	Base
Ind Cl		Cl Base
Rel Cl		Cl Base 1-3
Cond Cl	<u>vouneng</u>	Cl Base
Reason Cl	<u>kula</u>	Cl Base
Purpose Cl	<u>ina</u>	Cl Base
Manner	<u>malan + te/tana</u>	Cl Base
Time	<u>tuk tana</u>	Cl Base

Table 3

Distribution of Clause Types

	Sentence	Clause Base	NP
	Protasis Base Margin	Manner Time	Apposition
Ind Cl	x		
Rel Cl			x
Cond Cl	x		
Reason Cl		x	
Purpose Cl		x	
Manner		x	
Time			x

4.1. CLAUSE BASES

In Clause Base formulae the term Periphery is used. Included in the Periphery are tagmemes which are always optional and may occur with more than one type of Clause Base. The nature of this periphery and the use and distribution restrictions of the peripheral tagmemes are discussed in 4.1.5.

As mentioned in the Introduction (1.4.2. fn) nuclear tagmemes are not only those that are obligatory but also those which are contrastive. Thus Object and Genitive are both treated as nuclear, as they each occur in only one type of clause base. The Subject tagmeme is obligatory in Clause Base 4 and is therefore treated

as nuclear in all the formulae.¹ The structure of Clause Base nuclei is summarized below in Table 4. Optional tagmemes are bracketed.

Table 4

Clause Bases

	Subject	Predicate	Object	Genitive
1. Transitive	(NP)	VP ₁	(NP)	
2. Intransitive	(NP)	VP ₂		
3. Genitive	(NP)	VP ₃		(GenP/genp)
4. Equational	NP	NP/dei ²		

4.1.1. Clause Base 1 - Transitive

Transitive Clause Bases may be formularized as:

$$\text{Cl Base 1} = \pm \text{Subj} + \text{Pred} \pm \text{Obj} \pm \text{Periph}$$

$$\text{NP} \quad \text{VP}_1 \quad \text{NP}$$

The terms Subject and Object are used for what is really

¹ Other reasons, including the analogy with Object, would also make this advisable.

² Predicate and Complement are equated for this table. If the Complement is a deictic the Subject and Complement may be transposed (4.1.4.).

subject amplification and object amplification. Subject and Object are expressed within the verb phrase by subject pronouns (sp) and object pronominal suffixes (os), so that further specification is often unnecessary.

An example with NP's is:

(47) Tang anu gi vis-i tang piu.

THE MAN HE HIT-IT THE DOG

(NP) (VP) (NP)

'The man is hitting the dog.'

The Clause Base with a VP_1 alone is:

(48) Gi vis-i.

HE HIT-IT

'He is hitting it.'

4.1.2. Clause Base 2 - Intransitive

An Intransitive Clause Base in Tigak is defined as a Clause Base in Tigak which has a VP^1 as Predicate but which cannot contain an Object (direct) or a Genitive tagmeme. The formula for Intransitive Clause Bases is:

$$Cl\ Base\ 2 = \underline{+} \underset{NP}{Subj} + \underset{VP_2}{Pred} \underline{+} \underset{Periph}{Periph}$$

Within VP_2 there is usually either an intransitive verb or an adjective.²

¹ A VP is identifiable by the subject pronoun tagmeme (5.4., 5.4.1.).

² Full details of VP_2 are given in 5.4.

Intransitive Clause Base expounded by VP₂ alone is seen in:

(49) Gi matai.

HE SLEEP

'He is sleeping.'

With Subject NP as well as VP₂ this becomes:

(50) Tang anu gi matai.

THE MAN HE SLEEP

(NP) (VP₂)

'The man is sleeping.'

In examples (49) and (50) VP₂ contains an intransitive verb.

The two following examples illustrate VP₂ containing an adjective. In (51) VP₂ is preceded by NP as Subject and in (52) VP₂ occurs alone:

(51) Tang iai ga lavu.

THE TREE IT(past)¹ BIG

'The tree is big.'

(52) Ga lavu.

IT(past) BIG

'It is big.'

4.1.3. Clause Base 3 - Genitive

This type of Clause Base is distinguished from the others by a distinct class of verbs in the VP and by the presence of the Genitive tagmeme in the formula:

$$\text{Cl Base 3} = \text{+ Subj} + \text{Pred} \text{+ Gen} \quad \text{+ Periph}$$

$$\text{NP} \quad \text{VP}_3 \quad \text{Gen P/gen p}$$

¹ Past tense is generally preferred to present in Verb Phrases containing an adjective.

Examples with the Genitive expounded by a Genitive Phrase are:

(53) Rik namkai tana naing.

THEY BELIEVE OF MAGIC

'They believe in magic.'

(54) Na sisin ga longok te tuan.

(art) YOUNGER.BROTHER HE(past) OBEY OF ELDER.BROTHER

(NP) (VP₃) (Gen P)

'The younger brother obeyed his elder brother.'

In the following two examples Genitive is expounded by a genitive pronoun:

(55) Tang vap rik longok tata-na.

THE PEOPLE THEY OBEY OF -HIM

(NP) (VP₃) (gen p)

'The people obey him.'

(56) Rig - a ketil eul tata-na.

THEY-(past) BE.SURPRISED VERY OF-IT

'They were very surprised at it.'

As indicated in the formula, Genitive is optional. An example of VP₃ occurring alone is:

(57) Rik longok.

THEY OBEY

'They obey.'

4.1.4. Clause Base 4 - Equational

Equational Clause Bases differ from other Clause Bases because they have no Verb Phrase¹ and they have a nucleus

¹ This may generally be diagnosed by the absence of any subject pronoun.

It is unlikely that more than three of these would occur within the same clause base. Where more than one occurs the order is as in the above formula but Time may be moved to the beginning of the clause base as in (81).

Periphery has not so far been found in Clause Base 4 (Equational) and it is rare with Clause Base 3. Distribution restrictions relating to specific tagmemes are given with the realization formulae below. Examples of each type are given and references to where they are discussed more fully.

4.1.5.1. *Instrument*

Inst = + Inst P/inst p

Instrument Phrase (5.3.4.) is seen in:

(61) Gi vis-i tang piu pana iai.
HE HIT-IT THE DOG WITH STICK

'He is hitting the dog with a stick.'

Using an instrument pronoun (6.4.) this is:

(62) Gi vis-i tang piu papa-na.
HE HIT-IT THE DOG WITH-IT

'He is hitting the dog with it.'

Another common use of Instrument occurs with the verb tavai 'give'. This has the person to whom something is given as Object. What is given may be expressed by an Instrument Phrase¹ as in (63), an instrument pronoun as in (64) or not

¹ There is a similar construction in the related Tolai language:

! tabar iau ma ra rumu.
HE GIVE ME WITH A SPEAR

'He gave me a spear.' (Wright 1964:162 and Lanyon-Orgill 1960:368).

referred to at all as in (65):

(63) Ga tavai-irek pana tapega.

HE(past) GIVE -THEM(2) WITH PAWPAW

'He gave them a pawpaw.'

(64) Ga tavai-irek papa-na.

HE(past) GIVE -THEM(2) WITH-IT

'He gave it to them.'

(65) Ga tavai-irek.

HE(past) GIVE -THEM(2)

'He gave (it) to them.'

4.1.5.2. Indirect Object

IO = + Dat P/dat p

The term Dative is used for Tigak phrases or pronouns introduced by su 'to'. Su is only used with reference to persons.

The Indirect Object in Tigak is less common than the English Indirect Object. Two verbs of speaking, pising¹ 'say' and etok 'talk', use an Indirect Object for the person spoken to but other verbs of speaking use a Direct Object for this. The verb lisan-i 'bring' also has an Indirect Object but tavai 'give' (examples 63-65) uses a Direct Object for the person to whom something is given and Instrument for what is given.

¹ Pising also has a direct object for what is spoken. Etok is intransitive.

An example of Indirect Object expressed by a Dative Phrase

(5.3.2.) is:

- (66) Ga lisan-i sunā tang ulina.
 HE(past) BRING-IT TO THE WOMAN
 'He brought it to the woman.'

A dative pronoun (6.4.) is used in:

- (67) Ga pising-i su-guk.
 HE(past) SAY -IT TO-ME
 'He said it to me.'

Even with these verbs Dative Phrases are not obligatory:

- (68) Ina-so ga pising-i etok gara?
 WHY HE(past) SAY -IT TALK THIS
 'Why did he say this?' (Literally 'Why did he say this talk?').

4.1.5.3. Referential

Ref = + Ref P/ref p

The relator ani means 'for' or 'about'.

Referential Phrase (5.3.3.):

- (69) Rig - a kuskus ani tang anu.
 THEY-(past) TALK ABOUT THE MAN
 'They talked about the man.'

Referential pronoun (6.4.):

- (70) Ga aigot - i pok an -iri.
 SHE(past) PREPARE-IT FOOD FOR-THEM
 'She prepared food for them.'

4.1.5.4. *Locative*

Loc = + Loc P/loc adv/Dat P/dat p/loc p

Locative is used for motion to or from a place, thing or person or for location. Dative Phrases and pronouns are used only with reference to persons. Locative Phrases and adverbs generally refer to places and things.

Locative Phrase (5.3.5.):

(71) Gi inang lo siva.

HE GO INTO VILLAGE

'He is going into the village.'

Locative adverb (6.5.4.):

(72) Gi sinuk egeng.

HE SIT HERE

'He is sitting here.'

Dative Phrase (5.3.2.):

(73) Ga sang su tama -na.

HE(past) COME TO FATHER -HIS

'He came to his father.'

Dative pronoun (6.4.):

(74) Ga sang su-rek.

HE(past) COME TO-THEM(2)

'He came to them.'

Locative pronoun (6.4.):

(75) Gi ulpuk g -ima kuli-nik.

HE TURN HE-COME ON - ME

'He turns on me.'

4.1.5.5. *Time*

Time = + Time Cl/Time P/time adv/Gen P/NP

NP and Gen P are only possible if the noun they contain refers to time e.g. gan 'day'. Even then a Time Phrase is more common.

Time Clause (4.7.):

- (76) Vo nak minang tuk tana nuk tapuok.
 (fut) I STAY UNTIL OF YOU(sg) RETURN
 'I will stay until you return.'

Time Phrase (5.3.6.):

- (77) Vo nak kalum-i lo ge.
 (fut) I SEE -HIM IN AFTERNOON
 'I shall see him in the afternoon.'

Time Adverb (6.5.3.):

- (78) Ga malapen nenogo.
 HE(past) SICK YESTERDAY
 'He was sick yesterday.'

Genitive Phrase (5.3.1.):

- (79) Ga ot lakliak tana gan gura.
 IT(past) THING LITTLE OF DAY THIS
 'At this time it was a little thing.'

Noun Phrase (5.1.):

- (80) Sakai gan reg - a siak lo laman.
 ONE DAY THEY(2)-(past) GO.DOWN TO SEA
 'One day they went down to the sea.'

Optional transposition of Time to the beginning of the Clause

Base is seen in (80) and also in:

- (81) Amaua vo nak tapuok.
 TOMORROW (fut) I RETURN
 'I will return tomorrow.'

4.1.5.6. *Comitative*

Com = + Comitative P (5.3.7.)

- (82) Ga inang lo siva kum pana tiga - na.
 HE(past) GO INTO VILLAGE TOGETHER WITH BROTHER-HIS
 'He went into the village with his brother.'

4.1.5.7. *Manner*

Manner = + Manner Cl/Manner P

Manner Phrase (5.3.8.):

- (83) Nuk etok malan tana vavalang.
 YOU(sg) TALK AS OF STUPID.PERSON
 'You talk like a stupid person.'

Manner Clause and examples are found in 4.8.

4.2. *INDEPENDENT CLAUSES*

The formula for Independent Clauses is:

Ind C = + Cl Base

The basic structure of this type of clause is fully illustrated by the Clause Base formulae. Any type of Clause Base is possible:

Clause Base 1 -

- (84) Tang piu ga kagat-i tang lakeak.
 THE DOG IT(past) BITE-HIM THE CHILD
 'The dog bit the child.'

Clause Base 2 -

- (85) Nak tapuok e Kaselok.
 I RETURN TO KASELOK
 'I am returning to Kaselok.'

Clause Base 3 -

- (86) Rik namkai tana naing.
 THEY BELIEVE OF MAGIC
 'They believe in magic.'

Clause Base 4 -

- (87) Ka-na lui tara.
 HIS HOUSE THERE
 'His house is over there.'

Only Independent Clauses may be subjected to two important modifications. These are for Information Questions and for Imperatives. Clauses are regarded as still being Independent Clauses after either of these modifications.

4.2.1. Information Questions

Information Questions are Independent Clauses in which a question marker is inserted or substituted for one of the tagmemes. There are three types of question markers which are referred to as q_1 (Phrase-replacing), q_2 (Adjective-replacing) and q_3 (Clause-replacing). The names given in parentheses refer to their function.

4.2.2. Phrase-Replacing Question Markers - q_1

The exponents of q_1 are words or phrases which are substituted for a Noun Phrase or a Relator-Axis (or preposition-

al) Phrase¹ of equivalent grammatical function. Where a case function may be expressed by either persons or things there are distinct interrogative forms. Personal forms all include si and forms for things include so, except for the Locative question markers. The relators used in RA Phrases also appear in the q_1 forms. The na of na-si is a personal article as used before proper and kinship nouns (5.1.1. and 5.1.2.), while a in a-so 'what' is an article occurring before common nouns (5.1.3.). The q_1 forms are tabulated below in Table 5.

Table 5

 q_1

	Persons	Things
NP as Subject, Complement or Object	<u>na-si</u> 'who, whom'	<u>so</u> , <u>a-so</u> , <u>a-so ta ot</u> ² 'what'
Dative	<u>su-si</u> 'to whom'	-
Locative, or Deictic	-	<u>eve</u> 'where' <u>ul-eve</u> 'from where'
Genitive	<u>te-si</u> 'whose, of whom'	<u>tana-so</u> 'of what'
Referential	<u>ani na-si</u> 'about whom, for whom'	<u>ani a-so ta ot</u> 'about what'
Instrument	-	<u>pana-so</u> 'with what'
Time	-	<u>lo-so</u> , <u>angiso</u> , <u>lo so ta gan</u> ³ 'when'

¹ The term Relator-Axis (RA) Phrase covers Genitive Phrases and all Peripheral Phrases referred to above in discussing Clause Bases. RA Phrases are discussed in 5.3. below.

² Ot means 'thing', ta is an indefinite article (5.1.3.).

³ Gan means 'day' but the expression is more general than 'on what day'.

The position of the exponents of q_1 within the clause is determined by the position of the tagmeme for which they substitute. Where that is flexible the position of q_1 is also flexible, e.g.:

- (88) Tang ur lavu eve?
 THE BANANA BIG WHERE

'Where is the big banana?'

in which eve is equivalent to a deictic functioning as Complement of an Equational Clause Base (4.1.4.) may also be:

- (89) Eve tang ur lavu?
 WHERE THE BANANA BIG

Na-si occurs in different positions according to the function it has in a particular clause. As Subject it precedes the Verb Phrase:

- (90) Na-si ga vis-i?
 WHO HE(past) HIT-HIM

'Who hit him?'

As Object it follows the Verb Phrase:

- (91) Nug - a kalum-! na-si?
 YOU(sg)-(past) SEE -HIM WHOM

'Whom did you see?'

As Complement it follows the Subject:

- (92) Tang anu takteak na-si?
 THE MAN STRONG WHO

'Who is the strong man?'

The impersonal form a-so generally follows the same pattern:

- (93) A-so tara?
 WHAT THERE

'What is that?' 'What is over there?'

- (94) Nuk vil-i a-so?
 YOU(sg) DO -IT WHAT
 'What are you doing?'

However when a-so functions as Object it may be transposed to the beginning of the clause:

- (95) A-so kara vil-i?
 WHAT WE(inc) DO -IT
 'What are we doing?'

For other case functions there is no flexibility in ordering. Examples of the various case functions are:

Dative -

- (96) Nug- a lisan-i su-si?
 YOU-(past) BRING-IT TO-WHOM
 'To whom did you(sg) bring it?'

Locative -

- (97) Nuk inang eve?
 YOU(sg) GO WHERE
 'Where are you going?'

Genitive -

- (98) Nuk longok te-si?
 YOU(sg) OBEY OF-WHOM
 'Whom do you obey?'

Referential -

- (99) Rig - a vil -i tang etok gura ani a-so ta ot?
 THEY-(past) MAKE-IT THE TALK THIS ABOUT WHAT (art) THING
 'About what did they make this talk?' 'About what did they talk like this?'

Instrument -

- (100) Nug - a vis- i pana-so?
 YOU(sg)-(past) HIT- HIM WITH-WHAT
 'What did you hit him with?'

Substitution for NP is seen in:

- (105) Nuk vuvok-ani a poisan?
 YOU(sg) WANT-(os) HOW.MANY
 'How many do you want?'

4.2.4. Clause-Replacing Question Markers - q_3

The exponents of q_3 are equivalent in function to Dependent Clauses. They are:

Purpose	<u>ina-so</u> 'why'
Reason	<u>kula-so</u> 'why'
Manner	<u>malan tana-so</u> , <u>a-so-so</u> 'how'

Of these forms ina-so is the most common. The impersonal interrogative morpheme so, already observed in q_1 , occurs in all these forms.

The use of q_3 is seen in the following examples:

- (106) Ga sang ina-so?
 HE(past) COME WHY
 'Why has he come?'
- (107) Mem nangas kula-so?
 WE(exc) PLEASED WHY
 'Why are we pleased?'
- (108) Ga vil-i malan tana-so?
 HE(past) DO -IT HOW
 'How did he do it?'
- (109) Vo nak lak a-so-so?
 (fut) I ENTER HOW
 'How shall I get in?'

Frequently q_3 is transposed to the beginning of the clause:

(110) Ina-so tang anu tara gi etok auneng?

WHY THE MAN THAT HE TALK THIS.WAY

'Why does that man talk like this?'

(111) A-so-so a naing a aisok te Kalou?

HOW (art) MAGIC (art) WORK OF GOD

'How can magic be the work of God?'

4.2.5. Imperatives

Independent Clauses may also be modified for Imperatives. This cannot occur if the Independent Clause has an Equational C1 Base.¹ Only 1st or 2nd person constructions can be imperative in Tigak.² In 2nd person constructions the subject pronoun may be omitted from the VP. If a Noun Phrase occurs before a subject pronoun in an Imperative it is better considered as a Vocative tagmeme (see Sentence Level 3.7.3.) than as NP as Subject.

A 2nd person example with subject pronoun and Vocative is:

¹ There are also many expressions using other Clause Base types which are semantically unlikely or impossible (e.g. 'be big').

² Expressions such as 'let him go' would require rephrasing as 'send him away', 'it is good that he goes' or 'release him.'

(112) Na - mi, mik sinuk munis!
 YOU-(pl) YOU(pl) SIT QUIETLY
 (Voc) (VP₂)
 'You(pl), sit quietly!'

Without subject pronoun we may have:

(113) sinuk munis!
 SIT QUIETLY
 'Sit quietly!'

A 1st person example is:

(114) Karak inang.
 WE(2 inc) GO
 'Let us go.'

4.3. RELATIVE CLAUSES

The formula for a Relative Clause is:

Rel Cl = + Cl Base 1-3

Apart from the fact that this formula disallows Clause Base 4 (Equational) this is the same as the formula for Independent Clauses. There are no relativization markers or relative pronouns so that identification of Relative Clauses sometimes appears arbitrary. Relative Clauses are distinguished from Independent Clauses for the following reasons:

- i) They cannot be modified to express information questions or imperatives.
- ii) They occur as part of a NP and do not occur independently as the main clause or a co-ordinate clause of a sentence.
- iii) They always have an antecedent and this antecedent may not be referred to by a noun within the Relative Clause, but only pronominally.

The second reason may be taken as diagnostic of Relative Clauses.¹

There is no restriction on the case function of the antecedent or of its co-referent in the Relative Clause. In the examples which follow the Relative Clauses are in square brackets. The antecedent immediately precedes the Relative Clause.

The clearest evidence for Relative Clauses is provided by an example where the antecedent is Subject of the Main Clause² and its co-referent is Object of the Relative Clause:

- (115) Tang tapa [nag-a kupa - i pana tang pupua]
 THE BASKET I -(past) COVER-IT WITH THE SAGO.BRANCH
 ga tongos.
 IT(past) BREAK
 'The basket which I covered with the sago branch is broken.'

An example with antecedent and co-referent both as Subject is:

- (116) Na-ri [rik vil naing] rik marakan-i a tangintol
 THEY THEY MAKE MAGIC THEY SPOIL-IT THE LIFE
 tana kematan.
 OF SOME
 'Those who make magic spoil the lives of some people.'

¹ Avoiding setting up Relative Clauses would be no advantage. It would then be necessary to include a section on "Independent" Clauses embedded in NP and then discuss the characteristics and uses of these clauses. Naming them as Relative Clauses makes it easier to find for comparison or contrast of the Tigak construction with that of other languages.

² The term Main Clause is used here and in the pages which follow for the clause which contains the Relative Clause.

With some case functions, as in the above example, there are no purely grammatical reasons for defining a series of words as one sentence containing a Relative Clause or as two sentences. Defining it as one sentence is in such instances based on phonological considerations (i.e. no major pause and no sentence final intonation). This is sometimes confirmed by the meaning in the context. 'They make magic. They spoil the lives of some people' would be a possible meaning of the words in (116) but not in the context from which the sentence is taken. The Independent Pronoun na-ri 'they' is not defined by an earlier context but only by the Relative Clause which follows it.

The Tigak word order results in most Relative Clauses occurring at the end of the sentence unless the antecedent is Subject of the Main Clause. Once again purely grammatical considerations are insufficient for determining whether this is a separate sentence. A Relative Clause in this position is distinguished from a conjoined sentence (or clause) of a Compound S mainly by the fact that the latter is preceded by ve 'and' or kisang 'but'.

This ordering is seen in the following examples:

Object in Main Clause, Subject in Rel Clause-

(117) Nag- a po usik -i tang piu [ga kagat-i
 I -(past) (perf) FOLLOW -IT THE DOG IT(past) BIT -HIM
 tang lakeak].
 THE CHILD

'I chased the dog which bit the child.'

Object in both clauses -

- (118) Nag- a tara-i tang mamana ot [nug - a
 I -(past) SEE-IT THE (pl) THING YOU - (past
 po vil- i]
 (perf) DO-(os)¹

'I saw what you did' (lit. 'the things which you did').

Dative in Main Clause, Subject of Rel Clause -

- (119) Nag- a po etok suna tang lakeak [ga
 I -(past) (perf) TALK TO THE CHILD HE(past)
 tara-i tang muata].
 SEE-IT THE SNAKE

'I spoke to the boy who saw the snake.'

Genitive in Main Clause, Subject of Rel Clause -

- (120) Nag - kalum-i tang lakeak tana anu tara [ga
 I -(past) SEE-HIM THE CHILD OF MAN THAT HE(past
 punik-i tang siakau].
 KILL-IT THE WALLABY

'I saw the child of the man who killed the wallaby.'

Object in Main Clause, possessive suffix in Rel Clause -

- (121) Nag - a kalum-i tang lakeak gura [na
 I -(past) SEE-HIM THE CHILD THIS (art)
 tama -na ga punuk-i tang siakau].
 FATHER-HIS HE(past) KILL-IT THE WALLABY

'I saw the child whose father killed the wallaby.'

Example (121) has the same meaning as (120) but the structure is different.

Instrument in both clauses -

- (122) Nag - a vil -i kak kaleo pana tang kaput gara
 I -(past) MAKE-IT MY CANOE WITH THE AXE THIS

¹ The object suffix (os) is here singular. The 3rd sg. object suffix is often preferred to the plural (see 5.4.2.).

[na tama -m ga mo vil -i tang kaleo
(art) FATHER-YOUR HE(past) (perf) MAKE-IT THE CANOE

papa-na].

WITH-IT

'I made my canoe with the axe that your father made his canoe with.'

If the antecedent is a Locative Phrase the co-referent in the Rel Clause is usually a locative adverb:

(123) Nag - a mumug-i tang uaia lo la - na suk
I -(past) KILL-IT THE CROCODILE IN INSIDE - ITS RIVER

[tang lakeak ga mo mun lono].
THE CHILD HE(past) (perf) LOST IN.IT

'I killed the crocodile in the river in which the boy disappeared.'

When the antecedent is a Time Phrase there is no co-referent in the Relative Clause. As Time Phrases sometimes occur at the beginning of the clause the Rel Clause may occur in mid-sentence as in the following example:

(124) Lo mamana gan [gi siak kula mat] gi kalapang
ON (pl) DAY HE GO.DOWN ON.TO REEF HE UNDERSTAND

ina aupat ien.
TO CATCH FISH

'Whenever he goes down to the reef he catches fish.'

Relative Clauses are avoided in favour of Reason Clauses if there is any cause and effect relationship.¹ Coordination is sometimes preferred where a Relative Clause might be ambiguous.

¹ E.g. 'The boy whose mother lost the sweets cried' is restructured as 'The boy cried because his mother lost the sweets.'

There is no extension of Relativization to express Reason, Purpose, Manner or Condition as Taylor (1970) has reported for Motu.

4.4. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

Conditional Clauses are separated from other dependent clauses by the following features:

- i) Different subordinating conjunctions
- ii) Restriction of tense to present
- iii) Different position in the Sentence. (Conditional Clauses usually precede the Independent Clause).

The formula for Conditional Clauses is:

$$\text{Cond Cl} = + \text{vouneng}^1 + \text{Cl Base}$$

There are no Clause Base restrictions as can be seen from the examples which follow:

Transitive -

- (125) Vouneng nuk vis-i ...
 IF YOU(sg) HIT-HIM
 'If you hit him...'

Intransitive -

- (126) Vouneng gi tapuok ...
 IF HE RETURN
 'If he returns'

Cl Base 4 (Genitive) -

- (127) Vouneng mik longok tata-na ...
 IF YOU(pl) OBEY OF -HIM
 'If you obey him ...'

Equational -

- (128) Vouneng a naing a aisok te Kalou ...
 IF (art) MAGIC (art) WORK OF GOD
 'If magic is the work of God ...'

¹ Vouneng 'if' may have been formed from the future marker vo and auneng 'in this way'.

For examples of complete Conditional Sentences, see 3.3. above.

4.5. REASON CLAUSES

Reason Clauses are introduced by the subordinating conjunction kula 'because'. Where two Reason clauses are coordinated in a sentence, kula is usually omitted from the second clause. This was illustrated in example (14) above. Other examples of Reason Clauses are:

(129) Vo nak varas-i [kula gi veak lo aisok].
 (fut) I SCOLD-HIM BECAUSE HE (neg) WORK
 'I shall scold him because he is not working.'

(130) Reg - a usik - i a salan te Taugui [kula
 THEY(2)-(past) FOLLOW-IT THE PATH OF TAUGUI BECAUSE
 ga po gon a - paga - i].
 HE(past)(perf) PREPARE (am)- CLEAR-IT
 'They followed Taugui's path because he had cleared it.'

4.6. PURPOSE CLAUSES

Purposes Clauses are introduced by the subordinating conjunction ina 'that, in order that'. A Purpose Clause is illustrated in the following example:

(131) Lisan-i suna kematan [ina rik kokot-i].
 BRING-IT TO SOME THAT THEY READ -IT
 'Bring it to some people so that they can read it.'

Where the Subjects of the Independent Clause and the Purpose Clause are the same, the subject pronoun may be omitted

from the VP of the Purpose Clause.¹ Thus

- (132) Ga ima [ina gi aisok].
 HE(past) COME THAT HE WORK
 'He came in order that he might work.'

may be:

- (133) Ga ima [ina aisok].
 HE(past) COME THAT WORK
 'He came in order to work.'

Although these clauses are named Purpose Clauses, this name is not always accurate. In some uses the Purpose Clause complements the verb. This is especially so after vilrokoli 'be able' and after some uses of kalapang 'understand, be in the habit':

- (134) Gi vilrokoli [ina gi kus -au].
 HE BE.ABLE THAT HE TELL-ME
 'He can tell me.'

More commonly the subject pronoun is omitted:

- (135) Gi vilrokoli [ina kus-au].
 'He can tell me.'
- (136) Gi kalapang [ina matai]
 HE BE.IN.THE.HABIT THAT SLEEP
 'He is in the habit of sleeping.'

4.7. TIME CLAUSES

The only expression which really functions as a Time conjunction is tuk tana 'until'. Time Clause is illustrated

¹ Alternatively this could be called an ina + infinitive construction.

by the following example:

(137) Vo karak minang [tuk tana karak la -kamus - i
 (fut) WE(2 inc) STAY UNTIL WE CAUSE -FINISH -IT
 karak aisok].
 OUR (2 inc) WORK

'We shall stay until we finish our work.'

Time Clauses are not common in Tigak as there are no conjunctions equivalent to 'when' or 'while'. These meanings can, if necessary, be expressed a phrase such as lo gan (literally 'on the day' but more general in application) followed by a Relative Clause:

(138) lo gan [nag- a lakeak lakliak]
 AT DAY I -(past) CHILD SMALL

'when I was a small child'.

A further example is (124) above. It is however more common to express Time by simple Time Phrases or adverbs.

4.8. MANNER CLAUSES

The subordinating conjunction for Manner Clauses is malan tana 'as', when the Clause Base begins with a common noun, independent pronoun or the subject pronoun, and malan te when the Clause Base begins with a proper or kinship noun.

(139) Ga vil - i tang kaleo gura [malan tana mem
 HE(past) MAKE-IT THE CANOE THIS AS WE(exc)
 kalapang ina vil - i].
 UNDERSTAND TO MAKE-IT

'He made this canoe like we make canoes.'

Use of malan te is seen in:

(140) Nag- a vil - i lui [malan te tama - k gi kalapang
 I -(past) MAKE-IT HOUSE AS FATHER-MY HE UNDERSTAND
 ina vil - i].
 TO MAKE-IT
 'I built a house as my father builds them.'

Chapter 5

PHRASE LEVEL

5.0. INTRODUCTION

Clause Level formulae include a number of Phrase Level tagmemes. These are Noun Phrases, several types of Relator-Axis-Phrases (Referential, Genitive, Dative, Locative, Time, Instrumental, Comitative, Manner), and three types of Verb Phrase. The use of these in clause bases has been described and illustrated in 4.1. to 4.1.5.7. The main concern in this chapter is with their internal structure. In describing this internal structure, further phrases are set up such as article phrases, adjectival phrases, pre-verb, compound verbs and adverbial phrases. Noun Phrases and their constituents are discussed in 5.1. to 5.2, Relator-Axis Phrases in 5.3., and Verb Phrases and their constituents in 5.4. to 5.7.

5.1. NOUN PHRASES

There are four types of NP in Tigak - Proper NP (PNP, NP₁), Kinship NP (KNP, NP₂), Common NP (CNP, NP₃) and Independent Pronoun Phrases (IPP, NP₄). These types are distinguished by the different classes of nouns, different articles, ways in which possessor may be expressed and limitations on the use of quantifiers and modifiers. The main differences may be seen in Table 5, below.

The distinctions are also necessary in relation to the Relator-Axis Phrase formulae as the type of NP frequently affects the relator.¹ Several tagmemes of Tigak NP's are of a complex nature. Only those relevant for contrast are expanded in Table 5. The function points are Specifier (Spec), Quantifier (Quant), Head, Modifier (Mod), Limited (Lim), Apposition (App), Possessor (Pos) and Comitative (Com).

Table 6

Noun Phrases

	Spec	Head	Mod ₁	Mod ₂	Lim	App	Pos	Com
PNP	+ ² art ₁ /Art P	+ n ₁				+App		+Com
KNP	+ ² art ₁ /ArtP	+ n ₂				+App	+Pos	+Com
CNP	+ art ₂ /ArtP	+ n ₃₋₄	+AdjP	+adj ₂	+ dei	+App	+Pos	+Com
IPP	+ <u>na</u>	+ p		+adj ₂	+ dei	+App		+Com

CNP includes two different classes of nouns - part nouns (n₃) and alienable nouns (n₄) - which differ in that part nouns almost always have a possessive suffix. As this is the only major difference there is no need to set up distinct phrase types.

Apposition and Comitative are expanded separately in 5.2., rather than with the individual types, and they are not repeated

¹ This is one reason that NP is discussed first.

² This is usually obligatory but there are defined circumstances (5.1.1. and 5.1.2.) when it is omitted. ArtP is very common for these two types.

in the formulae in the sections which follow.

5.1.1. Proper Noun Phrases (PNP, NP₁)

The article is obligatory in some circumstances, optional or not permitted in others. It is made obligatory in the formula, as this is the basic use, and rules are provided to deal with its omission. The basic formula is:

PNP = + Spec + Head
 art₁ /ArtP n₁

T Obl. In Gen P, Dat P, Loc P and Voc, delete Spec.

T Opt. In Ref P, Inst P, and in rapid narrative as Subj or Obj, delete Spec.

The usual Specifier is art₁. In PNP art₁ is na before proper nouns which do not refer to a mother (n₁[-mother]), while an honorific form, ri, is used before proper nouns which do refer to a person who is, or has been, a mother (n₁[+mother]):

(141) Na Gamsa ga ima.
 (art₁) GAMSAs HE(past) COME
 'Gamsa came.'

(142) Ri Salomi rik minang lo lui.
 (art₁,hon)SALOME (sp) STAY IN HOUSE
 'Salome is at home.'

In (142) it may be noted that the subject pronoun (sp) - rik - is also an honorific form and that this is the same as the plural (more than 3). The honorific article also appears to come from a plural form. The forms na and ri are both the same as possessive suffixes and this may indicate their origin.

Examples where the Specifier is omitted are:

- (143) Gura a salan te Taugui.
 HERE (art) PATH OF TAUGUI
 'Here is Taugui's path.'
- (144) Ga sang su Tamasigai.
 HE(past) COME TO TAMASIGAI (person's name)
 'He came to Tamasigai.'
- (145) Ga po inang e Kavieng.
 HE(past) (perf) GO TO KAVIENG
 'He has gone to Kavieng.'

An example occurring in rapid narrative is:

- (146) Taugui ga pe buat.
 TAUGUI HE(past) AGAIN FLCAT.TO.SURFACE
 'Taugui surface again.'

Art P is rare in this type of NP, but it occurs when plural reference is made:

- (147) tang mamana Tolai
 THE (pl) TOLAI
 (Art P)(n₁)
 'the Tolais', 'the Tolai people'.

5.1.2. Kinship Noun Phrases (KNP, NP₂)

Kinship nouns (n₂) which fill the head slot of KNP are always possessed and include a pronominal possessive suffix (6.4.). Sometimes there is a Gen Phrase representing the possessor as well. The formula for KNP is:

KNP = + Spec + Head + Pos
 art₁/ArtP n₂ Gen P₂

T Obl. In Gen P, Dat P and Voc, delete Spec.¹

The article 1 forms, na and ri, are used within n₂ in the same way as with n₁ (5.1.1.). A further article 1 form, aina / ina², is used in the plural.

Examples using the various articles are:

(148) na tiga - k
 (art) BROTHER-MY

'my brother'

(149) ri na - na
 (art) MOTHER - HIS

'his mother'

(150) aina tiga - k
 (art₁ pl) BROTHER - MY

'my brother'

(151) (a tangintol tana) ina tiga - m.
 (art) LIFE OF (art₁ pl) BROTHER-YOUR(sg)

'your brothers' life'

Possessor is included in the following example:

(152) na tiga -na i Gamsa
 (art) BROTHER-HIS OF GAMSA

'Gamsa's brother'

Art P (5.2.1.) sometimes occurs when the noun is plural:

¹ This rule does not apply if the noun is plural - (151).

² ina is used only after a relator (151).

- (153) kematan tiga - ri
 SOME BROTHER-THEIR
 'some of their brothers'
- (154) tang mamana tiga - m
 (art) (pl) BROTHER-YOUR(sg)
 'your brothers'.

5.1.3. Common Noun Phrase (CNP, NP₃)

The formula for Common Noun Phrases (omitting Apposition and Comitative which are dealt with later) is:

CNP = + Spec + Head + Mod₁ + Mod₂ + Lim + Pos

Spec = + art₂/Art P

art₂ = + tang/a/ta

Of these tang may be regarded as definite and ta as indefinite. A merely serves as a noun marker.

Article Phrase (which may include art₂) is expanded in 5.2.1.

Head = + n₃/n₄

These are part nouns (n₃, 6.1.3.) and alienable nouns (n₄, 6.1.4.).

Mod₁ = + Adj P (5.2.2.)¹

Mod₂ = + adj₂

The series of adjectives described as adj₂ is a limited one which includes adjectives such as akamus 'all', kisang 'alone', iat (emphasis).

¹ Adj P consists of + adj₁ + adv₂/adj₁.

Lim = + dei (6.7.)¹

Possessor is expanded in a separate subsection (5.1.3.1.) as this tagmeme includes several complications.

Examples of CNP showing the various tagmemes are:

- (155) a mamana buk gara
 (art) (pl) BOOK THIS
 (Art P) (n₄) (dei)
 'these books'
- (156) tang piu lakliak akamus
 THE DOG LITTLE ALL
 (art₂) (n₄) (Adj P) (adj₂)
 'all the little dogs'
- (157) tang miti-na
 THE HAND-HIS
 (art₂) (n₃)
 'his hand'
- (158) a etok lakliak
 (art₂) TALK LITTLE
 'a short talk'
- (159) a vap
 (art₂) PEOPLE
 'the people'

Examples of CNP without any Specifier are:

- (160) ot gara
 THING THIS'
 'this thing'
- (161) (lo²) lui
 IN HOUSE
 'in the house'

¹ Deictics include gura 'this' (very close)', gara 'this'.

² Lo is bracketed as it is not part of NP but is a relator for a Locative Phrase (5.3.5.).

- (162) *miti-na*
 HAND-HIS
 'his hand'.

5.1.3.1. *Possessor*

Possessor differs for the two noun types which occur as Head of CNP. Part nouns (n_3) nearly always have a possessive suffix which is dealt with at word level (6.1.3.). Concern here (for this type) is when the possessor is also expressed by a noun. The following formula may be given:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{(after } n_3 \text{) Pos} &= 1. + \underline{i} + \text{PNP/KNP} \\ &\text{or } 2. + \text{CNP} \end{aligned}$$

The relator i means 'of'. Although the first part of the formula comes within Genitive Phrase, this term is avoided here as other realizations of Gen P are not possible.

Examples of CNP with n_3 as Head which include the Possessor tagmeme are:

- (163) *tang lingi-na* *i Gamsa*
 THE VOICE-HIS OF GAMSA
 'Gamsa's voice'

- (164) (*ga kapis-i*) a *patu*¹ *i tiga - na*
 HE(past) PLANT-IT (art) HEAD OF BROTHER-HIS
 'he planted his brother's head'

¹ The possessive suffix is omitted here as the head had been separated from the rest of the body. It would also be possible to use *patu-na* 'his head' in this context.

(165) (Ga palongan-i) tang lingi-na tang ulina gura.
 HE(past) HEAR -IT THE VOICE-HER THE WOMAN THIS
 'He heard this woman's voice.'

(166) (Rik lak lo) la - na lui.
 THEY GO.UP IN INSIDE - ITS HOUSE
 'They go up into the house.'

For alienable nouns (n_4) the formula for Possessor is expressed as:

(after n_4) Pos = + Gen P/gen p

Genitive Phrases are discussed in 5.3.1.

Examples are:

(167) tang salan te Taugui
 THE PATH OF TAUGUI
 'Taugui's path'

(168) a aisok tana vap
 (art) WORK OF PEOPLE
 'the work of men'

There are three types of genitive pronoun - tata- + p, tesu- + p and ka- + p. (The forms of the basic pronoun morpheme (p) are given in (6.4.)). Each of these types may occur as Possessor in CNP but ka- + p is always transposed to the beginning of the NP:

(169) ka-na lui
 HIS HOUSE
 'his house'

Usually article 2 does not co-occur with this type but this does sometimes happen and the genitive pronoun precedes the article:

- (170) ka-na tang etok
 HIS (art) TALK
 'his talk'

The same meanings may be conveyed by using either of the other two types. An article frequently also occurs in the phrase:

- (171) a lui tata-na
 (art) HOUSE OF -HIM
 'his house'

- (172) lui tesu-na
 HOUSE OF -HIM
 'his house'.

5.1.4. Independent Pronoun Phrases (IPP, NP₄)

The basic formula for Independent Pronoun Phrase is:

$$\text{IPP} = + \text{Head} \ \underline{+} \ \text{Mod} \ \underline{+} \ \text{Lim}$$

$$\text{ip} \quad \text{adj}_2 \quad \text{dei}$$

ip stands for independent pronoun

$$\text{op} = + \ \underline{\text{na}} \ - \ + \ \text{p}$$

The independent pronoun appears to be formed by prefixing to the subject pronoun an article form na. This differs from the article in Proper and Kinship Noun Phrases in two respects - it is invariable and it is a bound morpheme.

Examples including adj₂ are:

- (173) na-ne kisang
 HE ALONE
 'only he'

- (174) na-ri akamus
 THEY ALL
 'all of them'

An example with ip + deictic is:

(175) na-ne gura

HE THIS

'this one'

Independent Pronoun Phrases occur only as Subject or Object or anywhere NP occurs without any relator.

5.2. TAGMEMES WITHIN NP

Two of the function points in the full formulae for Noun Phrases in 5.1. (Apposition and Comitative) are not elaborated on there or in the sub-sections of 5.1. Both may occur with any type of NP. The formulae which indicate the filling sets are:

App = + NP/Rel Cl

Com = + Comit P

Relative Clauses were dealt with in 4.3. and Comitative Phrases will be dealt with in 5.3.7. The use of NP in Apposition is discussed and illustrated in 5.2.3.

The other phrase types which occur within NP, Article Phrases and Adjectival Phrases, are discussed here in 5.2.1. and 5.2.2. respectively.

5.2.1. Article Phrases

The formula for Article Phrase is:

$$\text{Art P} = \text{+ } \underline{\text{art}}_2 \text{ Spec + Quant}$$

$$\text{Quant} = \text{+ } \underline{\text{kematan/mamana}} / [\text{+ numeral + } \underline{\text{a}}^1]$$

If the numeral is sakai 'one', the following a is often omitted.

Before kematan 'some', article 2 (discussed within 5.1.3.) is restricted to ta. Mamana is merely a plural indicator and article 2 preceding it may be either tang or a. Numerals may be preceded by any of the three exponents of article 2. As indicated in the formula each of the three quantifiers may occur without any Specifier (article).

Examples illustrating the various combinations are:

(176) ta kematan manui
 (art) SOME BIRD
 'some birds'

(177) kematan gan
 SOME DAY
 'some days'

(178) tang mamana manui
 THE (pl) BIRD
 'the birds'

(179) a mamana ot
 (art) (pl) THING
 'things'

¹ A few examples of tang (e.g. tang sangaulung ve pauak tang tauan 'the twelve men') suggest that this is an article. As none of the examples using tang are from natural recorded text, tang is not listed in the formula.

- (180) mamana ot
 (pl) THING
 'things'
- (181) (Nak vuvok-ani) ta potul a kau.
 I WANT-(os) (art) THREE Ø SWEET.POTATO
 'I want three sweet potatoes.'
- (182) tang potul a piu
 THE THREE Ø DOG
 'the three dogs'
- (183) a sangaulung a lui
 (art) TEN Ø HOUSE
 'ten houses'
- (184) potul a piu
 THREE Ø DOG
 'three dogs'
- (185) sakai a lui
 ONE Ø HOUSE
 'one house'
- (186) sakai lui
 ONE HOUSE
 'one house'

Most Article Phrases occur within Common NP (as in all the above examples). Since nouns do not inflect for plural, Article Phrases are often used to convey plurality. Some alienable nouns (6.1.4.) always have a plural meaning and the quantifier mamana is not used before them.

Use of Article Phrases in Proper and Kinship NP's is uncommon but it occurs when a quantifier is needed. Article 1 which usually occurs before Proper and Kinship Nouns is not used with any of the quantifiers.

An example of Art P in a Proper NP is:

- (187) tang mamana Tolai
 THE (pl) TOLAI
 'the Tolais'

Examples with Kinship NP are:

- (188) kematan tiga - k
 SOME BROTHER-MY
 'some of my brothers'

- (189) tang mamana tiga - m
 THE (pl) BROTHER-YOUR(sg)
 'your brothers'.

5.2.2. Adjectival Phrases

The formula for Adjectival Phrases is:

$$\text{Adj P} = + \text{adj}_1 \pm \text{adv}_2 / \text{adj}_1$$

If adverb 2 (6.5.2) occurs it modifies the adjective:

- (90) (Ga) ot lakliak eul.
 IT(past) THING LITTLE VERY
 'It is a very small matter.'

If two adj_1 occur then both modify the noun:

- (191) tang piu koi lavu
 THE DOG BLACK BIG
 'The big black dog.'

The minimum form for an Adj P is a single adj_1 :

- (192) piu lakliak
 DOG LITTLE
 'a little dog'

There is also a construction, + adj + ina + noun, which is sometimes used when the adjective is emphasised¹:

- (193) tang takteak ina anu
 THE STRONG OF MAN
 'the strong man'.

5.2.3. Appositional NP

This construction is not very common. Usually the appositional NP will be of a different type from that of the NP in which it occurs.

- (194) Naniu, na Ngisa, nak vuvok kalum-i.
 I (art) NGISA, I WANT SEE -HIM
 'I, Ngisa, want to see him.'

In this example a Proper NP nests in an Independent Pronoun Phrase (NP₄).

- (195) Na William, tang pip, ga angasik-au.
 (art) WILLIAM THE BLIND.MAN HE(past) HELP -ME
 'William, the blind man, helped me.'

In (195) a Common NP nests in a Proper NP.

Nesting may also occur in the NP which is itself nesting:

- (196) Nane, tang anu tara, na losip, vo gi angasik-au.
 HE THE MAN THERE (art) JOSEPH (fut) HE HELP -ME
 'That man over there, Joseph, will help me.'

In this example a Proper NP nests in a Common NP which nests

¹ The adjective is used like a noun with a Genitive Phrase following. Example 193 is literally 'the strength of (the) man'. This construction is much less common than a similar one in the Tolai language, + adj + na + noun (Franklin and Kerr 1968:33, 36).

in an Independent Pronoun Phrase.

When a Kinship NP includes an appositional Proper NP the latter is preceded by te¹:

- (197) na tiga -na te Gamsa
 (art) BROTHER-HIS Ø GAMSA
 'his brother, Gamsa'.

5.3. RELATOR-AXIS PHRASES

The term 'Relator-Axis (RA) Phrases' is used here as a cover term for Genitive, Dative, Instrument, Referential, Comitative, Time, Locative and Manner Phrases. As these types all have different relators and occur in different tagmemes in Clause Base formulae they are regarded as separate syntagmemes at phrase level. They do, however, have some common features which make some general discussion pertinent.

A general formula may be expressed as:

$$\text{RA Phrase} = \text{Relator } r + \text{Axis NP}_{1-3}$$

Independent Pronoun Phrases (NP₄) do not occur in RA Phrases. The Relators for Genitive, Dative, Instrument and Manner Phrases each have two forms (e.g. Dative su and suna). The longer forms are used before Common NP and contain the 3rd person singular pronominal suffix -na. The forms without this suffix are usually used before Proper and Kinship NP's.

¹ Te usually means 'of'. Example (197) contrasts with (201) below, na tiga-na i Gamsa 'Gamsa's brother'.

The Referential Relator, ani could also be subanalysed as an- + -i. The suffix -i is the 3rd person singular object suffix. This Relator is used before any type of NP. All these forms with suffixes are identical with the 3rd singular pronouns for the same case (6.4.). The Relators do not vary before a plural NP.

The terms Relator and Axis are not repeated in all the formulae but, when they are not expressed, they are to be regarded as implicit.

5.3.1. Genitive Phrases

Genitive Phrases may occur at clause level, as tagmemes in Clause Base formulae (4.1.3.) and 4.1.5.5.), or at phrase level within NP (5.1.3.1.).

There are two sub-types of Genitive Phrase but as they do not co-occur they are treated together. The formulae for the two sub-types are:

Gen P₁ = 1. + te + KNP/PNP
or 2. + tana + CNP

Gen P₂ = 1. + i + KNP/PNP
or 2. + ina + CNP

Only Gen P₁ is used as a tagmeme of Clause Bases. Within NP both types occur. They are not interchangeable although there is some similarity in meaning.

Te and tana both mean 'of' while i and ina may be glossed as 'of' or 'for' according to context.

Gen P₁ is used when speaking about possession:

- (198) tang lui te Makeo
 THE HOUSE OF MAKEO
 'Makeo's house'

Gen P₁ is also used after nouns referring to actions and characteristics:

- (199) a aisok tana vap
 (art) WORK OF PEOPLE
 'people's work'
- (200) a takteak tana naing
 (art) STRENGTH OF MAGIC
 'the strength of magic'

Gen P₂ generally indicates relationship or association:

- (201) na tiga -na i Gamsa¹
 (art) BROTHER-HIS OF GAMSA
 'Gamsa's brother'
- (202) ta sasapulai i tiga - k
 (art) PAYMENT FOR BROTHER-MY
 'payment for my brother'
- (203) mamana ot ina masut
 (pl)THING OF BUSH
 'things of the bush' (i.e. bush plants, creepers etc.)

Gen P₂ is also used after Part Nouns (n₃):

- (204) a kulit i Levarava
 (art)BODY OF LEVARAVA
 'Levarava's body'

¹ See (197) for a different meaning with te.

Examples of Gen P₁ in Clause Bases may be seen in 4.1.3. and 4.1.5.5.

5.3.2. Dative Phrases

Dative Phrases in Tigak are phrases in which the relator is su or suna 'to'. These phrases are restricted to use with persons. As mentioned and illustrated in 4.1.5.2. Dative Phrases are not used in many constructions where a native English speaker might expect them. The use in Tigak is mainly when motion towards is involved but it also occurs as an Indirect Object with some verbs of speaking, and the verb lisan-i 'bring'.

The formula for Dative Phrases is:

Dat P = 1. + suna + CNP
or 2. + su + PNP/KNP

Use of a Dative Phrase with a Common NP is seen in the following:

- (205) Ga inang suna tang vap.
HE(past) GO TO THE PEOPLE
'He went to the people.'

Proper NP is used in:

- (206) Nag - a etok su Gamsa.
I -(past)TALK TO GAMSA
'I spoke to Gamsa.'

Kinship NP in a Dative Phrase is seen in:

- (207) Ga po tapuok su tama - na.
HE(past) (perf) RETURN TO FATHER-HIS
'He returned to his father.'

Other examples of the use of Dative Phrases are given in 4.1.5.2. and 4.1.5.4.

5.3.3. Referential Phrases

Referential Phrases are phrases in which the relator is ani 'for, about, concerning'. The formula is:

Ref P = + ani + NP

An example is:

(208) Ga etok ani a mamana ot akurul.
 HE(past) TALK ABOUT (art) (pl) THING MANY
 'He talked about many things.'

There is another example in 4.1.5.3.

5.3.4. Instrument Phrases

The formula for Instrument Phrases is:

InstP = 1. + pe + PNP¹
 or 2. + pana + CNP/KNP¹

Instrument P occurs in Clause Base formulae and within Comitative Phrases (5.3.7.). Examples occurring in Clause Bases are:

¹ Use of Proper or Kinship NP is not common and is restricted to when the noun is used as a name or title (211) or when Inst P occurs within a Comitative Phrase.

- (209) Nuk tavai-au pana tapega.
 YOU(sg) GIVE -ME WITH PAWPAW
 'Give me a pawpaw.'
- (210) Ga vis-i tang piu pana iai.
 HE(past) HIT-IT THE DOG WITH STICK
 'He hit the dog with a stick.'
- (211) Rig - a pising-i pe Taugui.
 THEY-(past) SAY -HIM WITH TAUGUI
 'They called him Taugui.'

5.3.5. Locative Phrases

The formula for Locative Phrases is:

Loc P = + r loc + CNP/PNP

r loc = e 'at, from, to'

lo 'in, into'

ule 'from'

kula 'on'

siana 'out of'

Locative Phrases are illustrated in the following examples:

- (212) Nak inang e Kaplaman.
 I GO TO KAPLAMAN
 'I am going to Kaplaman.'
- (213) Nuk lak lo lui.
 YOU(sg) COME.UP INTO HOUSE
 'Come into the house.'
- (214) Gi minang lo la -na sakai a lui.
 HE STAY IN INSIDE-ITS ONE (art) HOUSE
 'He remains inside one of the houses.'

- (215) Ga giak pasin-iri siana siva gura.
 HE(past) SEND LEAVE-THEM FROM PLACE THIS
 'He sent them away from this place.'

A further example of Locative Phrase is given in 4.1.5.4.

5.3.6. Time Phrases

The formula for Time Phrase is:

Time = + r time + CNP

r time = lo 'at, in, during, on'

tuk tana 'until'

The realization of Time as tuk tana + CNP could also be described as tuk + Genitive.

Examples are:

- (216) Lo mamana vung tang anu gura gi matai lo masut.
 ON (p1) NIGHT THE MAN THIS HE SLEEP IN BUSH
 (Time P) (NP₃) (VP₂) (Loc P)
 'At nights this man sleeps in the bush.'

- (217) Ga aisok tuk tana gan tap.
 HE(past) WORK UNTIL DAY HOLY
 'He worked until Sunday.'

One Adverbial Phrase has been observed which functions as a Time Phrase - ginang a-lakliak 'a little later' (sentence 5, Appendix 1).

5.3.7. Comitative Phrases

The formula for Comitative Phrase is:

Comit P = 1. + kum/kuvul¹ + Inst P/inst p/[ve + NP]
 or 2. + ve/vo + NP

Comitative Phrases may occur as a tagmeme of a Clause Base or within NP. The second type in the formula occurs only within NP. An example of a Comitative Phrase occurring as a Clause Base tagmeme is:

(218) Rik irim kuvul ve kana tauan.
 THEY SIT.DOWN (r com) AND HIS MEN
 'They sit down together with his men.'

Use within NP is seen in:

(219) Ri na -na kuvul pana mamana tiga -na.
 (art) MOTHER-HIS (r com) WITH (pl) BROTHER-HIS
 'His mother together with his brothers.'

Instrument pronoun as axis is seen in the following example:

(220) Ga minang kum papa-nik.
 HE(past) STAY (r com) WITH-ME
 'He stayed with me.'

The use of a Comitative Phrase after an Independent Pronoun Phrase requires special comment. This combination is a realization of NP. Only kum may be used in such instances as relator. The number of the pronoun includes all those grouped together. Thus in the following example, narek is dual, whereas English uses the singular 'he'.

¹ These two relators may also be used as adverbs (adv₁, 6.5.1.) with the meaning 'together'.

- (221) narek kum ve ri vasa-na
 THEY(2) (r com) AND (art) WIFE-HIS
 'he and his wife'

There are occasions when ve 'and' is sufficient to connect two NP's (type 2 of Comit P formula):

- (222) na Levaravu ve kana piu
 (art) LEVARAVU AND HIS DOG
 'Levaravu and his dog'

The conjunction vo means 'or' and expresses an alternative:

- (223) kak tangintol vo kak namkai
 MY LIFE OR MY FAITH
 'my life or my faith'.

5.3.8. Manner Phrases

Manner Phrases and Clauses (4.8.) are very similar. Both occur in the periphery of Clause Bases. The formula for Manner Phrases may be expressed as:

Manner P = 1. + malan te + PNP/KNP
 or 2. + malan tana + CNP¹

Manner Phrase in an Intransitive Clause Base is illustrated by the following examples:

- (224) Nug - a po etok malan tana vavalang.
 YOU(sg)-(past)(perf) TALK AS OF STUPID.PERSON
 'You spoke like a fool' or 'You spoke foolishly.'

¹ These could be combined as malan + Gen but the variety of Genitive forms would make this a more complex solution and the parallel with Manner Clauses would be slightly obscured.

- (225) Gi etok malan te tama -k.
 HE TALK AS OF FATHER-MY
 'He talks like my father.'

An example in a Transitive Clause Base is:

- (226) Nuk vil-i malan tana anu gura.
 YOU(sg) DO -IT AS OF MAN THIS
 'Do it like this man.'

Manner Phrases also occur as predicate in Intransitive Verb Phrases (VP₂):

- (227) Pak ina iai lo masut ga malan tana marasin.
 LEAF OF TREE IN BUSH IT(past) AS OF MEDICINE
 'The leaf of a tree in the bush is like a medicine.'

5.4. VERB PHRASES

In Clause Base formulae three Verb Phrase types are referred to. This is necessary because of the different tagmemes occurring with each type which relate to the class of verb used in the VP. In terms of the internal structure of the Verb Phrase the Transitive Verb Phrase (VP₁) is separated from the others by having a different class of verbs and by the presence of an object suffix (os). The other two types are separated from each other mainly by the different classes of verbs used. There is little reason to discuss these types separately in any detail at this level though the formal distinction is necessary in relation to clause and word levels.

A number of particles may precede the verb. These are grouped together in this analysis as pre-verb (pre-v). Tense

is not part of this pre-verb¹, though negative is.

The formulae of the VP types are presented below in Table 7.

Table 7

Verb Phrases

	Subj	Pre-V	Head	Mod	Obj
VP ₁ (Transitive)	+ sp	<u>±</u> pre-v	+ v ₁	<u>±</u> Adv P	+ os
VP ₂ (Intransitive)	+ sp	<u>±</u> pre-v	+ v ₂	<u>±</u> Adv P	
	+ sp	<u>±</u> pre-v	+ (Adj P (adv ₄ (NP (MannerP		
VP ₃ (Genitive)	+ sp	<u>±</u> pre-v	+ v ₃	<u>±</u> adv ₂	

These types are illustrated in the discussion of Clause Base types (4.1. to 4.1.3.) and in the following examples in which only the obligatory tagmemes are used:

VP₁ -

(228) gi kail-au
HE CALL-ME

'he is calling me'

VP₂ with v₂ -

(229) gi ima
HE COME

'he is coming'

¹ Tense is expressed in the subject pronoun. Future (5.7.) is a modification of the VP.

VP₂ with adjective -

- (230) gi lavu
 IT BIG
 'it is big'

VP₂ with Manner P -

- (231) gi malan tana a naing
 IT AS OF (art) MAGIC
 'it is like magic'

VP₂ with adverb 4 -

- (232) gi losiliak
 IT CLOSE
 'it is close'

VP₂ with NP

- (233) gi ot atuman
 IT THING TRUE
 'it is true'

VP₃ -

- (234) gi longok (tata-na)¹
 HE LISTEN OF -HIM
 'he listens (to him)'.
 'he listens (to him)'.

Subject pronouns and object pronominal suffixes are treated as part of the Verb Phrase. They cannot occur independently (i.e. without a verb or a tagmeme functioning verbally). Adverbs are also part of the verb phrase.

¹ The bracketed section in this example is not part of the VP. It is not obligatory in the Clause Base, though its potential presence is diagnostic of the type of base, and thence of the VP type.

In dealing with the Verb Phrase the tagmemes listed in the formulae are here discussed and illustrated in turn. The future marker vo presents special problems and is treated as a modification of the VP (see 5.7.) rather than as part of the formulae.

5.4.1. Subject Pronouns

Subject pronouns are obligatory in all Verb Phrases except, as already outlined, in some clauses expressing imperatives (4.2.5.) and in some Purpose Clauses (4.6.).

Subject pronouns may be either past or present tense. The present tense forms (listed in 6.4.) may be taken as the basic forms. Past tense forms are formed by the addition of -a with the following two extra rules:

..k + -a --> ..ga
 ..v + -a --> ..a (where V represents any vowel).

These rules may be seen in comparing the following present and past forms:

Present	Past
<u>mem</u> 'we(exc pl)	<u>mema</u>
<u>nak</u> 'I'	<u>naga</u>
<u>gi</u> 'he, she, it'	<u>ga</u>

The subject pronoun¹ has separate forms for each number and

¹ This term is used here for Tigak in preference to other terms such as subject marker, short pronoun, verbal pronoun or predicate marker. Capell (1972) discusses this feature of many Oceanic languages. There are variations between the languages and sometimes these pronouns (or markers) only partially differentiate number and number (e.g. Lavongai (New Hanover), Motu, Arosi).

person. Four degrees of number-singular, dual, trial and plural (more than three) - are differentiated. In person, 1st person inclusive, 1st person exclusive, 2nd and 3rd person are distinguished. There is no gender difference in any pronoun forms except that women who are mothers are referred to by an honorific form (identical with the plural) in 2nd and 3rd person:

(235) Mik inang eve ? Nak inang lo siva.
 YOU(hon) GO WHERE I GO INTO VILLAGE

'Where are you (sg, a mother) going? I am going to
 the village.'

In this example the honorific form is used in the second person mik but the mother replies in the ordinary singular form.

Similar honorific distinction for mothers occurs in the articles used in Proper Noun Phrases (5.1.1.) and Kinship Noun Phrases (5.1.2.). A 3rd person example preceded by such a Noun Phrase is:

(236) Ri Salomi rik malapen.
 (art)SALOME (sp,hon) SICK

'Salome is sick.'

The slightly longer independent pronouns in Tigak (5.1.4. and 6.4.) appear to be derived from the subject pronouns by the preposing of na- which is a personal article form. The singular forms show less resemblance to the subject pronouns, but all begin with na-.

Uses of present and past tense subject pronouns are illustrated by the following examples:

(237) Mem ima. Mem - a ima.
 WE(exc) COME WE(exc) -(past) COME
 'We are coming. We came.'

(238) Nak ima. Nag- a ima.
 I COME I -(past) COME
 'I am coming. I came.'

(239) Gi ima. Ga ima.
 HE COME HE(past) COME
 'He is coming. He came.'

5.4.2. Object Suffixes

The object pronominal suffix is affixed to the immediately preceding tagmeme in the VP. This is usually the verb:

(240) Ga vis-i.
 HE(past) HIT-HIM
 'He hit him.'

(241) Ga giak gavan - i.
 HE(past) SEND REMOVE-HIM
 'He sent him away.'

Example (241) contains a Compound Verb (5.6.)

If an adverb occurs in the VP the object suffix is attached to it:

(242) Ga vis a - takteak - i.
 HE(past) HIT (am) - HARD - HIM
 (sp) (v₁) (adv₁) (os)

The object suffix is marked as obligatory in the

VP₁ formula. With four verbs - aigot 'prepare', togon 'have', vil 'make'¹, aupat 'fish' - the object suffix may be omitted if there is a Noun Phrase as Object within the Clause Base. The examples which follow show Clause Bases which meet these conditions in which this omission occurs, and similar examples in which it does not. The VP is underlined in each example:

(243) ga togon sakai piu
HE(past) HAVE ONE DOG

'he has a dog'

(244) mem togon-i sakai a plantesin
WE(exc) HAVE -(os) ONE (art) PLANTATION

'we have a plantation'

(245) nag-a vil lui¹
I -(past) MAKE HOUSE

'I built a house'

(246) nag-a vil - i a lui
I -(past) MAKE-(os) (art) HOUSE

'I built a house'

(247) ga vil - i sinsinuk
HE(past) MAKE-(os) CHAIR

'he made a chair'

The forms of the object suffixes may be derived from the tables and rules in 6.4. Differentiation for number and person is as for subject pronouns. When there is also a Noun Phrase as Object in the Clause Base which is plural, concord for number is generally not maintained and the 3rd person singular

¹ It is much more common for vil to be used with an object suffix. Vil alone is never used if an article precedes the object noun.

object suffix is used:

- (248) Reg - a saket - i tang mamana vana.
 THEY(2)-(past) PREPARE-(os 3rd sg) THE (pl) NET
 'They prepared the nets.'

Less likely but also acceptable is (249) where concord is made:

- (249) Reg - a saket - iri tang mamana vana.
 THEY(2)-(past) PREPARE-(os 3rd pl) THE (pl) NET
 'They prepared the nets.'

5.4.3. Adverbial Phrases and Adverbs within VP

Within the VP formulae both Adv P and adv_2 occur. The formula for Adverbial Phrases is:

Adv P = $\pm adv_1 \pm adv_2$ (at least one must occur)

When both types occur in Adv P, as in (260) and (261), adv_2 modifies adv_1 . adv_1 occurs alone in (250) and (256) and adv_2 occurs alone in (257) and (258). adv_1 (6.5.1.) are adverbs which indicate the manner in which an action is performed, and adv_2 (6.5.2.) is a small class of adverbs which indicate extent (e.g. eul 'very, very much').

As indicated in the formulae and in 5.4.2. these adverbs precede the object suffix if there is one:

- (250) ga vis a -takteak - i
 HE(past) HIT (am) - STRONG - HIM
 'he hit him hard'

In example (250) a-takteak is adverb 1. Of the four exponents of adverb 2, only one - eul - occurs in Transitive Verb Phrases.

In Transitive Verb Phrases after eul - 'very much' and two adverbs of class 1, auneng 'in this way' and epatok 'away',

-an- precedes the object suffix:

- (251) gi otaun eul -an-i (na tama -na)
 HE LOVE VERY.MUCH -Ø -HIM (art) FATHER -HIS
 'he loves his father very much'

With no adverb this would be:

- (252) gi otaun-i (na tama -na)
 HE LOVE -HIM (art) FATHER-HIS
 'he loves his father'

The object NP, na tama-na, is outside the VP. The examples would be the same if this was omitted. Other examples using these adverbs in Transitive Verb Phrases are:

- (253) mem - a vil auneng - an-i
 WE(exc) -(past) DO THIS.WAY - Ø -IT
 'we did it in this way'
- (254) ga pising auneng -an-i
 HE(past) SAY THIS.WAY -Ø -IT
 'he said it this way'
- (255) ga giak epatok-an-iri
 HE(past) SEND AWAY -Ø -THEM
 'he sent them away'

Examples of adverbs in other types of VP are:

VP₂ (Intransitive) -

- (256) nak put papais
 I RUN QUICKLY
 'I run quickly'
- (257) gi los eul
 HE LAUGH VERY.MUCH
 'he laughs very much'

- (258) gi viakon eul
 HE FEAR VERY.MUCH
 'he is very afraid'

VP₃ (Genitive) -

- (259) rik namkai paliu
 THEY BELIEVE VERY.MUCH
 'they believe strongly'

As indicated in the formulae in 5.4. only adverb 2 occurs in VP₃.

An adverb 2 may qualify an adverb 1 in VP₂(Intransitive):

- (260) nuk etok papais eul
 YOU(sg) TALK FAST VERY
 'you talk very fast',

or rarely in VP₁ (Transitive):

- (261) ga nung a -takteak eul -an-i
 HE(past) ASK (am)-STRONG VERY -Ø -HIM
 'he asked him very strongly'.

5.5. PRE-VERB

Under the term pre-verb are considered particles, negative and auxiliaries. Pre-verb may be formularized as:

pre-verb = 1. ± neg ± asp ± emph
 2. + qual
 3. + obl
 or 4. ± neg + aux

The terms in the above formulae stand respectively for negative, aspect, emphatic, qualification, obligation and auxiliary.

5.5.1. Negative

Negative has the formula:

neg = + veak + lo/ko/kon + utak

Utak has the meaning 'yet'.¹ Kon is uncommon, but lo and ko occur with almost the same frequency and are in free variation.² Veak also occurs in the response word gaveak 'no' (3.7.6.).

This negative tagmeme cannot be used for negative commands. An obligation tagmeme pata 'must not' (5.5.5.) is generally used for this.

Examples of the various forms of the negative are:

- (262) Nag-a veak lo vis-i.
 I -(past) (neg) HIT-HIM
 'I did not hit him.'
- (263) memtul - a veak lo utak ngan
 WE(exc 3) -(past) NOT YET EAT
 'we have not yet eaten'
- (264) mik veak ko kalapang
 YOU(pl) (neg) UNDERSTAND
 'you don't understand'
- (265) Rig - a veak kon vil-i.
 THEY-(past) (neg) DO -IT
 'They did not do it.'
- (266) nag- a veak lo pe lak
 I -(past) (neg) AGAIN ENTER
 'I have not gone in again'.

¹ Utak is included within the negative as it does not occur elsewhere, except in pata utak 'must not yet' (5.5.5.).

² This not the case in the other dialects (7.4.).

Use of negative with aspect (e.g. pe, iterative, in (266)) or emphatic is uncommon.

5.5.2. Aspect

Aspect particles in Tigak are:

Perfective	<u>po</u> , <u>pon</u> , <u>mo</u> , <u>mon</u>
Pluperfective	<u>po-mo</u> , <u>po-mon</u>
Dubitative	<u>min</u>
Iterative	<u>pe</u> , <u>pen</u>

The alternative forms given above are used for euphonic reasons, but not under a rigorous system which can be fully defined. The only definite statement that can be made is that the alternative forms ending in -n are not used before words beginning with n or ng. The form given first is the one most commonly used.

Only one aspect particle may occur in a VP, except that the pluperfective particles are obviously derived from the combination of two perfective particles.

5.5.2.1. Perfective

The perfective refers to a completed action. It is mainly used with past tense subject pronouns:

(267) Nug - a po sang (egeng aino)?
 YOU(sg)-(past) (perf) COME HERE EARLIER

'Have you come here before?'

- (268) ga pon kus -imem (papa-na)
 HE(past) (perf) TELL-US(pl exc) WITH-IT
 'he told us about it'
- (269) Nag-a mo matai (lo lui tata-nik).
 I -(past) (perf) SLEEP IN HOUSE OF -ME
 'I slept in my house.'
- (270) Mig - a mon ian pasin -i (kami siva).
 YOU(pl)-(past) (perf) LEAVE -(os) YOUR(pl) VILLAGE
 'You have left your villages.'

An example in which perfective is used after a present subject pronoun is:

- (271) (A ias) gi po kiak.
 (art) SUN IT (perf) GO.DOWN
 'The sun has set.'

5.5.2.2. *Pluperfective*

The pluperfective is not commonly used. It is used for an action which was completed at an earlier point of time:

- (272) (Ga mamakus kula) ga po-mo akalkalima
 HE(past) WORRY BECAUSE HE(past) (pluperf) PROMISE
 elai (pana gi vil auneng -an-i.)
 ABOVE THAT HE DO THIS.WAY -Ø -IT
 'He was upset because he had sworn to do so.'

5.5.2.3. *Dubitative*

The dubitative particle min is used when it is uncertain if the action will take place. It occurs only with reference to the future. Sometimes it co-occurs with the future marker vo

(5.7.) and sometimes it occurs when vo is not present.

An example with vo is:

(273) Vo nak min ima (amaua).
 (fut) I (dub) COME TOMORROW
 'I may come tomorrow.'

The same meaning may be expressed without vo:

(274) Nak min ima (amaua).

These examples contrast in meaning with (275) where the future marker is used but there is no dubitative particle:

(275) Vo nak ima (amaua).
 (fut) I COME TOMORROW
 'I will come tomorrow.'

In this example no doubt is raised and this is a definite promise.

5.5.2.4. *Iterative*

The iterative particle pe or pen is used for the second and subsequent occasions that an action takes place. In English it is glossed as 'again'. Another word alu (adverb 5, 6.5.5.) also means 'again'. Frequently these both occur in the same clause, however alu does not appear to be a part of the VP. Sometimes the iterative particle is omitted and the idea 'again' is expressed by alu 'alone'. Similar clauses within the same text illustrate this variety.

Iterative alone -

(276) (na Taugui) ga pe buat
 (art) TAUGUI HE(past) (iter) SURFACE(v)
 'Taugui surfaced again'

Iterative and alu -

- (277) (na Taugui) ga pe buat (alu)¹
 (art) TAUGUI HE(past) (iter) SURFACE AGAIN
 'Taugui surfaced again'

Iterative omitted but identical meaning -

- (278) (na Taugui) ga buat (alu)

The alternative form pen is not common:

- (279) Ga veak ko pen lak (lo malak lavu).
 HE(past) (neg)(iter) GO.UP TO TOWN
 'He did not go up to the town again.'

5.5.3. Qualification

The qualification particle is sa which has the meaning 'only', 'alone' or 'still':

- (280) (Na-ne) gi sa minang.
 HE HE ALONE REMAIN
 'He remains alone.'

- (281) Gi sa matai (lakos).
 HE ONLY SLEEP ONLY
 'He is only sleeping.'

- (282) (Tangintol) gi sa ro a -lakliak.
 LIFE IT STILL GOOD (am) - LITTLE
 'Life is still fairly good.'

5.5.4. Emphatic

There are two emphatic particles, me and kun. Neither is

¹ A different order - (na Taugui alu) ga pe buat - also occurs.

common and they are not interchangeable. Me is used with the sense 'come and', though it is generally best not to translate it in English. An example of the use of me is:

- (283) rek me sinuk
 THEY(2) (emph) SIT.DOWN
 'they sit down' or 'they come and sit down'.

Kun is illustrated by:

- (284) (Ina-so) mik kun etok auneng?
 WHY YOU(pl) (emph)TALK THIS.WAY
 'Why do you talk in this way?'

5.5.5. Obligation

Obligation may be formularized as:

Obl = + ke/pata/pata utak

Ke means 'must', pata 'must not' and pata utak 'must not yet'. Pata is used for negative commands. In negative commands the subject pronoun is obligatory¹ and it is sometimes preceded by kola or gi-minang², both of which can be glossed as 'no'.

The use of ke is seen in:

- (285) Mik ke tuk a -takteak.
 YOU(pl) MUST STAND (am)- STRONG
 'You must stand firmly.'

The various uses of pata and pata utak are seen in the

¹ This contrasts with positive commands (4.2.5.). A further difference is that negative commands may be in any person - see (286).

² Gi-minang means literally 'it stops'.

following examples:

- (286) Rik pata ima.
 THEY MUST.NOT COME
 'They must not come.'
- (287) Mik pata ima.
 YOU(pl) MUST.NOT COME
 'You must not come.'
- (288) Gi-minang nuk pata kus - i.
 NO YOU(sg) MUST.NOT TELL-HIM
 'You must not tell him.'
- (289) rik pata utak ngan
 THEY MUST.NOT YET EAT
 'they must not eat yet'.

5.5.6. Auxiliary

The auxiliary is vuvok 'want'. This differs from the obligation particles in that it may be preceded by negative:

- (290) Nak veak lo vuvok ima.
 I (neg)WANT COME
 'I don't want to come.'

The auxiliary differs from the first verb in compound verbs (5.6.1.) in that it can occur before any verb and even before a compound verb:

- (291) Nak vuvok giak gavan -i.
 I WANT SEND REMOVE -HIM
 'I want to send him away.'

5.6. VERBS AND COMPOUND VERBS

The head slot of the Verb Phrase is usually a verb. Samples of the three verb classes are given at Word Level (6.2.), however it is more appropriate to consider compound verbs¹ here.

Compound Verbs are of two types - double verbs and causative compound verbs. Both types are exponents of v_1 (transitive verb).

5.6.1. Double Verbs

Double verbs are formed by the combination of two transitive verbs (v_1). The object suffix is attached only to the second verb. Only a limited number of verbs are used in this construction. Some of the compounds found are:

giak lisan- 'send' (giak- 'send', lisan- 'bring')

giak gavan- 'send away' (gavan- 'remove')

giak pasin- 'send away' (pasin- 'release')

sok gavan- 'take away' (soko 'bring')

luga vosop- 'find' (luga- 'look for', vosop- 'find')

putuk gavan- 'cut off' (putuk- 'cut')

nol gavan- 'forget' (nol- 'think')

tara kila- 'choose' (tara- 'see', kila- 'know')

¹ The term 'closely knit verb phrase' might be slightly more accurate but use of this term would conflict with the way in which VP is used in this grammar.

Examples containing double verbs are:

(292) Rig -a pon luga vosop-i.
 THEY-(past) (perf) FIND -HIM
 'They have found him.'

(293) Ga putuk gavan-i (a kepal miti-na).
 HE(past) CUT.OFF -IT (art) PART HAND-HIS
 'He cut off part of his hand.'

5.6.2. Causative Compound Verbs

Causative compound verbs are formed mainly with the transitive verb vil 'make, do'. Vil comes first then a- is prefixed to an intransitive verb.¹ The compound is then transitive:

(294) gi vil a-sang - i (a viakon)
 IT MAKE COME -IT (art) FEAR
 'it causes fear'

(295) rig -a vil a-ngan - i
 THEY-(past)MAKE EAT - HER
 'they made her eat'

Occasionally other verbs are used in this construction instead of vil:

(296) nuk kus a-kalapang - imem
 YOU(sg) TELL UNDERSTAND- US(pl exc)
 'let us know'

¹ A single word causative construction using the prefix la- (6.2.4.) is more common.

- (297) ga kong a-tuk - i
 HE(past) HOLD STAND-IT
 'he held it up'.

The construction is similar to that of a transitive verb followed by an adverb, as most adverbs are formed by adding the same prefix a- to an adjective. This similarity is most noticeable in an example such as:

- (298) rig - a vil a-palavien- i (a mata-k)
 THEY-(past) MAKE BADLY -IT (art) EYE -MY
 'they ruined my eye',

in which a-palavien is an adverb but there is a strong causative sense.

5.7. FUTURE

Future is a modification of the VP in which the future marker vo is placed at the beginning of the VP:

- (299) vo gi tapuok
 (fut) HE RETURN
 'he will return'
- (300) (a vap) vo rik pasal
 (art) PEOPLE (fut) THEY GO
 'the people will go'.

The future marker occurs only with present subject pronouns. As already illustrated (5.5.2.3.) future marker may co-occur with the dubitative particle min. Occurrence in a VP containing a negative is seen in:

- (301) vo nak veak lo minang
 (fut) I (neg)REMAIN
 'I will not remain'.

Vo cannot be used independently like the time adverb aimuk 'later'.

Chapter 6

WORD LEVEL

6.0. GENERAL

The major classes or words are considered in this chapter including affixation which can occur with them. Pronominal forms whether separate words or merely suffixes are grouped together for treatment in 6.4. A number of smaller classes of words (e.g. articles, aspect particles) have already been discussed earlier in the grammar at the point at which they are relevant. These classes are merely summarized in this chapter and references given to where they are treated more fully.

As in most languages in Melanesia there is some mobility between word classes. Where this change involves some form of affixation this is treated under the new class. Frequently there is no change in form at all. This can be dealt with easily in the lexicon by marking the word as a member of both classes e.g. viakon v, n., 'fear'. In a grammar it is possible to list the word in both classes, but this alone does not tell the reader about the connection. In this grammar such words are placed in the class in which they most commonly occur and referred to in the other class. Thus in dealing with nouns, reference is made to verbs (such as viakon) which may be used as nouns.

Where a whole class may be used in different functions higher level formulae have been elaborated to provide for this. In this way Adjectival Phrase is given as an exponent of the head

slot of VP₂ as an alternative to intransitive verb. There is therefore no need here at word level to talk of adjectives being used as intransitive verbs.

In defining the basic word classes, reference frequently has to be made to characteristics of other classes. For example, intransitive verbs are separated from adjectives because they cannot be used as modifiers in a Noun Phrase as adjectives can. Use in Verb Phrases does not indicate the difference.

6.1. NOUNS

Nouns in Tigak are words which occupy the head slot of a Noun Phrase and may be preceded by an article.¹

The classes of nouns are:

1. Proper Nouns
2. Kinship Nouns
3. Part Nouns
4. Alienable Nouns

For the first two of these classes it is necessary to know whether the noun refers to a human mother in order to ascribe the correct article form (5.1.1. and 5.1.2. above). Except for na 'mother' it is impossible to specify this positively in any list of these nouns, unless they are related to an actual situation, but the potential occurrence of the feature [+mother] is naturally restricted to nouns which can refer to women.

¹ Words which fit this definition but also fit the definitions of verb or adjective are regarded as verbs or adjectives functioning as nouns (6.1.6. and 6.1.7.).

It would be possible to add the feature indication [+ mother] to na and [+ mother] to nouns which may refer to a mother.

The differences between the four classes of nouns are based on the articles or article phrases which can precede them on whether they have a possessive suffix. These features intersect as may be seen from the following matrix.

Table 8

Matrix of Noun Classes

	+ possessive suffix	- possessive suffix
art ₁ (<u>na</u> / <u>ri</u>)	2. Kinship	1. Proper
art ₂ (<u>a</u> / <u>tang</u>)	3. Part	4. Alienable

For discussion at word level it is useful (e.g. for possessive suffixes 6.4.) to use the term Inalienable Nouns to cover classes 2 and 3, but this is of no use at phrase level. There, Common Noun Phrase, which includes phrases containing 3. Part and 4. Alienable Nouns, is relevant for RA Phrase formulae as well as for the internal structure of NP. Proper and Kinship Noun Phrases frequently group together in RA Phrase formulae.

6.1.1. Proper Nouns (n₁)

Proper Nouns are the actual names of people or places. They occur in Proper NP (NP₁). No affixation is possible. They are usually preceded by the article na (or ri- if referring to a mother) unless a relator (preposition) precedes them.

As Locative Phrases are impersonal, only place names may occur in them, and as Dative Phrases are restricted to persons, only names of people may occur in them. Proper Nouns are not qualified by adjectives.

Examples of place names are:

Nusa, Putput, Maiom, Kaselok.

Men's names include:

Lisam, Gamsa, Ngisa, Tamasigai.

Women's names include:

Dosi, Taia, Landa.

Three nouns which in meaning appear to be Kinship Nouns are grammatically Proper Nouns:

tuan 'eldest child', sisin 'second born child',
sutamak 'youngest child'.

These three nouns are not possessed but they are preceded by the same articles as Proper Nouns and therefore cannot be considered alienable nouns. In context they may frequently be translated as 'elder brother'¹, 'younger brother', 'youngest brother'. An example using two of these words is:

(302) Na sisin ga longok te tuan.
 (art) 2nd BROTHER HE(past) OBEY OF 1st BROTHER
 'The younger brother obeyed his elder brother.'

¹ 'Brother' could also be replaced by 'sister' as these words have no relation to sex.

6.1.2. Kinship Nouns (n_2)

Kinship Nouns occur as head of NP₂ (KNP 5.1.2.). Kinship Nouns always have a possessive suffix (6.4.). Examples are:

tama-	'father'	na ¹	tama-k	'my father'
natu-	'child'	na	natu-m	'your(sg) child'
na-	'mother'	ri	na-na	'his mother'
tiga-	'sibling of same sex, brother, sister'			
		na	tiga-na	'his brother', 'her sister'
vasa-	'sibling of opposite sex, sister, brother'			
		ri	vasa-k	'my sister (a mother)'
		na	vasa-na	'her brother', 'his sister'
natlava-	'spouse'	na	natlava-na	'his wife', 'her husband'.

Sometimes an alienable noun (n_4) is used with a similar meaning to a kinship term.

ka-k	kapul	'my wife' (lit. 'my woman')
ka-na	lakeak	'his child'.

6.1.3. Part Nouns (n_3)

Part Nouns occur as the head of NP₃ (CNP, 5.1.3.). They have possessive suffixes as for Kinship Nouns. If the stem ends in a consonant, -i- is added before the possessive suffix. Examples are:

patu-	'head'	patu-k	'my head'
mit-	'hand'	mit-i-m	'your(sg) hand'
mata-	'eye'	mata-na	'his eye'

¹ As these nouns are usually preceded by an article unless they follow a relator, these examples include articles.

isan- 'name'

isan-i-na 'his name'

In circumstances where the part is separate from its possessor the suffix can be omitted:

- (303) Ga putuk gavan-i kepal seva.
 HE(past) CUT REMOVE-IT PART BUTTOCK
 'He cut off part of a buttock.'

This example occurred in a folk tale when Levaravu was cutting off pieces of his brother's body to throw to the ogre, Taugui. Even in these circumstances the possessive suffix is usually used when referring to body parts. In the same text, only three sentences later, the following sentence occurs in which the suffix is used:

- (304) Ga putuk gavan- i alu a kepal seva -na.
 HE(past) CUT REMOVE-IT AGAIN A PART BUTTOCK-HIS
 'He cut off another part of his buttock.'

It is also possible to use these nouns without suffixes if there is general reference, or if no context is given when eliciting a word-list:

tang kalama 'the tongue',

Two nouns show fluctuation between this class and n_4 (Alienable Nouns):

nonol 'thought' (an intransitive verb¹ used as a noun)
 takteak 'strength' (an adjective used as a noun)

This variation may be seen in the following:

tang nonol-i-ri 'their(pl) thoughts'
 tang nonol tata-ri 'their(pl) thoughts'

¹ Itself derived by reduplication from the intransitive verb no which is illustrated in example (17).

tang takteak-i-na 'his strength'
 kana takteak 'his strength'.

6.1.4. Alienable Nouns (n_4)

This is the largest class of nouns. Alienable Nouns occur as the head of NP₃ (Common NP, 5.1.3.).

Within this class it is necessary to distinguish three subtypes. These are:

1. Nouns which may be singular or plural [+ plural].
2. Nouns which are always singular [- plural].
3. Nouns which are always plural [+ plural].

Nouns in subtype 2 generally have equivalents in 3, but only in one case (lakeak) is the plural derived by affixation. The plural marker mamana only occurs before nouns of the first subtype.

The following are sample lists of these subtypes:

Subtype 1 [+ plural]

iai	'tree'
siva	'place, village'
manui	'bird'
taloi	'spirit'
gan	'day'

Subtype 2 [- plural]

anu	'man'
ulina	'woman'
lakeak	'child'

Subtype 3 [+ plural]

vap	people'
tauan	'men'
nga-lakeak	'children'
non	'men'
naina	'women'

Nouns in subtype 3 are always plural in meaning. They may be preceded by words such as kematan 'some' or numerals e.g. ta kematan vap 'some people', sangaulung a tauan 'ten men'. Generally they are merely preceded by an article e.g. a vap 'people', tang vap 'the people'.

6.1.5. Derived Nouns

Some nouns are derived from verbs by affixation, reduplication or both. Both transitive (v_1) and intransitive (v_2) verbs are found which are modified in these ways but the processes are restricted rather than general. The two affixes used are -ai and -an. The modifications are illustrated in the examples which follow. The verb and its class is given first and then the noun.

Suffixing -ai¹:

tuktapong (1) 'begin'	tuktapong-ai 'beginning'
otaun (1) 'love'	otaun-ai 'love'
kamus (2) 'finish'	kamus-ai 'end'

¹ This suffix is also sometimes used to make transitive verbs intransitive (6.2.5.).

Reduplication and -ai:

sapul (1) 'buy' sa-sapul-ai 'payment'

vil (1) 'do, make' vi-vil-ai 'action'

Reduplication alone¹:

pul (1) 'buy' pul-pul 'payment'

giak (1) 'send' gi-giak 'messenger'

Reduplication and -an

pasal (2) 'go on foot' pas-pasal-an 'journey'

sang (2) 'come, arrive' sa-sang-an 'arrival'

All these derived nouns are n_4 (subtype 1 [+ plural]).

6.1.6. Verbs used as Nouns

Some verbs may be used as nouns of class 4 without any modification. These should be considered part of subtype 1 [+ plural] though plural uses are not common. Transitive verbs (v_1) are not used in this way. Examples are:

v_2 nonol 'thought' (also sometimes n_3 , see 6.1.3.)

 a nonol gara 'this thought'

 aisok 'work'

 tang aisok gara 'this work'

 etok 'talk'

 tang etok gara 'this talk'

 kalapang 'understanding'

 kak kalapang 'my understanding'

¹ Reduplication is a common method of making transitive verbs intransitive. These verbs may then be used as nouns as in 6.1.6. below (e.g. nonol, kuskus).

kuskus 'story'	a kuskus 'a story'
viakon 'fear'	a viakon 'fear'
v ₃ namkai 'belief'	a namkai tesu-guk 'my belief'.

6.1.7. Adjectives as Nouns

It is possible to use adjectives as nouns (n_4 , subtype 1).
No modification is made:

ka-k takteak 'my strength' (also n_3 , 6.1.3.)
a malapen 'a sick person'
tang mamana malapen 'the sick people'.

6.2. VERBS

Verbs occur in the Head slot of a VP. Some other classes of words may occur in this slot in VP_2 (Intransitive) and these classes are separated from verbs on the basis of their use in other environments. In this way words which can also occur as modifiers in a Noun Phrase are considered to be adjectives and words which can also occur as Locative in a Clause Base are considered to be adverbs (adv_4).

Three classes of verbs are distinguished. These are illustrated in the discussion of Clause Bases 1-3 (4.1.1.-4.1.3.) and Verb Phrases (5.4.). Each class of verb occurs in the head slot of the VP of the same numbering. Clause Base numbers also correspond. The differences are best exemplified in the Clause Bases.

6.2.1. Transitive Verbs (v_1)

These are verbs which are followed by a direct object which is expressed by an object suffix and sometimes an object NP. A few verbs already mentioned (5.4.2.) may omit the object suffix, provided that there is a Noun Phrase as object, and these may be considered to constitute a subtype. As transitive verbs generally (i.e. if there is no adverb) have an object suffix attached they are clearly distinguished from the other verb classes.

Sample lists are:

Main type -	vis 'hit'	kalum 'see'
	nung 'request'	kus 'tell'
	ot 'tell'	ulpuk 'change'
	lisan 'bring'	marakan 'spoil'

Subtype with which object suffix is sometimes omitted -

aigot 'prepare'
 togon 'have'
 vil 'make, do'
 aupat 'fish'.

6.2.2. Intransitive Verbs (v_2)

Intransitive verbs differ from v_3 by the fact that they cannot be followed by Genitive. In other respects the classes are similar.

Sample list -

minang 'remain'	los 'laugh'
etok 'talk'	ima 'come'

lak 'come up, enter' sang 'come, arrive'
 inang 'go' put 'run'

6.2.3. Genitive Verbs (v_3)

These verbs are distinguished from the other classes because they may be followed by a Genitive.

Sample list -

longok 'obey' nangas 'be pleased (with)'
 namkai 'believe, trust' ketil 'be amazed(at)'

Examples are (53) to (56) and (234).

6.2.4. Transitive Verbs Derived from Intransitive

The most common way of deriving transitive verbs from intransitive verbs is the use of the causative prefix la-.

Examples of this are:

Intransitive	Causative
polok 'grow'	la-polok-i 'cause it to grow'
minang 'stay, remain'	la-minang-i 'leave it'
mun 'be lost'	la-mun-i 'hide it'
lak 'go up'	la-lak-i 'raise it'
siak 'go down'	la-siak-i 'lower it'
sinuk 'sit'	la-sinuk-i 'put it'
kamus 'finish'	la-kamus-i 'finish it'

There is also a transitive suffix -an¹ which is added to

¹ This is possibly derived from the Referential relator ani (5.3.3.).

some verbs:

Intransitive	Transitive
viakon 'be afraid'	viakon-an-i 'fear him'
piras 'be angry'	piras-an-i 'be angry with him'
akotong 'be watchful'	akotong-an-i 'watch over it'

This suffix is more closely associated with the object suffix than with the verb stem, as may be seen from the fact that with adverbs -an-i is detached from the verb:

- (305) Rig - a viakon eul - an - i.
 THEY-(past) FEAR VERY-(ts) - HIM
 'They were very afraid of him.'

6.2.5. Intransitive Verbs from Transitive

Intransitive Verbs are derived from transitive verbs in two ways - reduplication (usually incomplete) and addition of the suffix -ai.

Examples of reduplication are:

Transitive	Intransitive
nol-i 'think'	no-nol 'think'
vis-i 'hit him'	vis-vis 'fight'
kalum-i 'see it'	kal-kalum 'look, appear'

Examples of the use of -ai are:

palong-an-i ¹ 'hear him'	palong-ai 'hear'
akaung-an-i ¹ 'praise him'	akaung-ai 'give praise'.

¹ These are two verbs which have either a transitive suffix or an intransitive suffix.

6.2.6. Other Class Changes

Other class changes are rare. One example is lamon 'believe', a transitive verb (v_1) which after reduplication becomes a genitive verb (v_3):

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(306) Rik <u>lamon</u> - i.
THEY BELIEVE-IT
'They believe it.'</p> | <p>(307) Rik <u>lam-lamon</u> tata-na.
THEY BELIEVE OF -IT
'They believe it.'</p> |
|---|---|

There is no need for verbs of class 3 to be considered as v_2 (intransitive) if they occur without a Genitive as this is optional in the clause base formula.

6.2.7. Reduplication without Class Change

Reduplication is sometimes used with verbs to express a prolonged action:

- rik ais-aisok 'they work and work'
rik pal-palong-ai 'they hear and hear'.

One reduplicated verb pas-pasal 'go and go' sometimes follows other verbs to provide the same result:

- rek polok pas-pasal 'they (2) grow and grow'.

6.2.8. Reciprocal Prefix

A reciprocal prefix e- is occasionally used. This is sometimes accompanied by the use of the suffix -ai and sometimes reduplication as well. The resulting verbs are always intransitive.

The prefix may precede a transitive verb:

rik e-vis 'they fight each other'.

It may also precede intransitive verbs:

rik e-tu-tuk-ai 'they stand about together'

rik igai-ai 'they ask each other'.

Another use is with kinship nouns:

rek e-tama 'they are father and son'.

6.3. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives occur following nouns which they modify. They may also occur in the head slot of VP₂ (Intransitive). The first feature is what distinguishes them from most other word classes. Deictics which also follow nouns and occur in VP₂ are distinguished from adjectives because they occur as complement in an Equational Clause Base whereas adjectives cannot. (Adjectives of class 1 also cannot occur in Independent Pronoun Phrase as deictics can).

A few adjectives have different features of distribution from other adjectives, as they alone can occur with independent pronouns in Independent Pronoun Phrases, and a second class of adjectives is set up for them. They may follow but not precede other adjectives as indicated in the NP formulae in 5.1.

Sample list of adj₁:

lakliak 'little'	pakik 'new'
lavu 'big'	kavai 'old'
koi 'black'	vusit 'dirty'
posok 'white'	ninis 'clean'

malapen 'sick'	nanos 'straight'
ro 'good'	palavien 'bad, evil'

Sample list of adj₂

akamus 'all'	kisang 'alone'
alu 'too'	kas (emphasis)
iat (emphasis)	akurul 'many'

Alu is also an adverb (adv₅). Kisang is also used as a conjunction meaning 'but'.

The distinctive use of adj₂ after an independent pronoun is seen in the following example:

(308) Na-niu iat nag-a kus - i.
 I (emph) I -(past) TELL-HIM
 'I told him myself.'

Adj₂ after adj₁ is illustrated by:

(309) tang mamana vivilai palavien akamus
 (art) (pl) DEED EVIL ALL
 'all the evil deeds'

Adj₂ also occurs alone after nouns:

(310) a vap akamus
 (art) PEOPLE ALL
 'all the people'.

Akurul may be transposed to the beginning of the NP. The usual adj₂ position is seen in:

(311) a vap akurul
 (art) PEOPLE MANY
 'many people'

Transposition is shown by:

(312) akurul a vap
 MANY (art)PEOPLE
 'many people'.

6.3.1. Intensification

A suffix -mat is used with ro 'good':

gi ro-mat 'it is very good', 'thank you'.

This may also be combined with reduplication with this adjective:

gi ro-ro-mat 'thank you very much'.

This compound may also be followed by the adv₂ paliu:

gi ro-ro-mat paliu 'thank you very much', 'it is very good indeed'.

The adjective lavu is often partially reduplicated

lavu 'big' lap-lavu 'big', 'very big'

For vuk-vuga 'long', the reduplicated form has become the only one used in the Central dialect. The unreduplicated form is seen in two of the other dialects - 7.2.5.

Apart from the instances mentioned above reduplication of adjectives for intensification is rare.

6.4. PERSONAL PRONOUN FORMS

This section is concerned both with free pronouns and with pronominal suffixes (e.g. possessive suffixes and object suffixes). In an earlier paper (Beaumont 1970) two ways of deriving all the pronominal forms were suggested. What is presented here is a further development from this paper. Several types of pronouns are referred to in the clause and phrase level formulae. All of these show a marked relationship to each other in form, especially in their non-singular forms. For this reason all are treated together.

The structure of the various types of pronouns includes a basic pronominal morpheme which is referred to as p. Variations in p are dealt with in the selection and supplementary rules which accompany the table of the basic forms of this morpheme (Table 9).

The following are the formulae for the types of pronouns in Tigak. After each formula the 3rd person singular form is given with the most common meaning, as well as a reference to where the particular type has occurred in earlier formulae and been illustrated.

subject pronoun (sp) = + p

gi 'he'¹ 5.4., 5.4.1.

object suffix (os) = + -p

-i 'him' 5.4., 5.4.2.

independent pronoun (ip) = + na- + p

na-ne 'he' 5.1.4.

genitive pronoun = 1. + tata- + p

2. + tesu- + p

or 3. + ka- + p

The third form, ka- + p, cannot occur as gen p in Clause Base 3 (4.1.3.). It also has different ordering within NP from the other two forms (5.1.3.1., page 94).

tata-na 'his', '(of) him'

tesu-na 'his', '(of) him'

ka-na 'his'

¹ This can also mean 'she' or 'it'. A similar range of meaning applies to all the pronoun forms.

possessive suffix = + -p

-na 'his' 6.1.2., 6.1.3.

dative pronoun = + su- + p

su-na 'to him' 4.1.5.2., 4.1.5.4.

referential pronoun = an- + p

an-i 'for him, about him' 4.1.5.3.

instrumental pronoun = + papa- + p

papa-na 'with it' 4.1.5.1.

locative pronoun = 1. + kuli- + p

or 2. + sia- + p

kuli-na 'on him'

sia-na 'from him' 4.1.5.4.

Singular forms present the greatest variation and warrant the inclusion of four singular series in the table of basic pronominal forms (p). Dual, trial and plural (i.e. more than three) are more regular and with a few rules all forms for these numbers may be derived from the one set of basic forms.

For selection purposes in any sentence p must have features of person and number. First person non-singular forms are distinguished for inclusive (inc), which includes the person or persons spoken to, and exclusive (exc), which excludes them. Any human mother is represented by an honorific form identical with the plural in 2nd or 3rd person, but the usual singular form in 1st person. This is illustrated in regard to subject pronouns in 5.5.1. and a corresponding distinction in articles has been shown in 5.1.1. and 5.1.2. An example where p is a possessive suffix is:

- (313) na tivu - ri
 (art) GRANDCHILD¹ -HER(hon)
 'her grandchild'.

The following are the selection rules which apply to the four singular series:

For sp select from I.

For os and p in referential pronouns select from II.

For p as possessive suffix or in genitive, dative, instrumental and locative pronouns select from III.

For p in independent pronouns select from IV.

Table 9

Table of Basic Pronominal Morphemes

	SINGULAR				NON-SINGULAR		
	I	II	III	IV	Dual	Trial ²	Pl
1st inc							
exc	nak	-au	-k	(-nau (-niu	-rak	-ratul	-ra
					-mek	-mentul	-mem
2nd	nuk	-uam	-m	-nu	-muk	-mitul	-mi
3rd	gi	-i	-na	-ne	-rek	-ritul	-ri

¹ Tivu can also mean 'grandparent'.

² It is possible to derive trial forms from the plural by adding -tul (Beaumont 1970:184) but this makes the grammar more complex.

To derive actual forms from the table, the following rules apply after the selection rules given above. These rules are numbered consecutively but they are grouped according to the function of the forms to which they apply. Two of the rules (6-7) apply to identical environments. The majority of pronominal forms are not affected by any of these rules.

Rules applying to Subject -

Rule 1 (Obl). In 2nd and 3rd person pl, $p \rightarrow p + \underline{-k}$.

e.g. sp 3rd pl, (i) $p = \underline{ri}$, (ii) add $\underline{-k} = \underline{rik}$ 'they'.

Rule 2 (Opt). In 3rd person trial, $\underline{ritul} \rightarrow \underline{riktul}$

Modification of subject pronouns for past tense (addition of $\underline{-a}$; vowel + $\underline{-a} \rightarrow \underline{a}$; $\underline{-k} + \underline{a} \rightarrow \underline{-ga}$) is dealt with in discussion of subject pronouns at phrase level (5.5.1.).

Rule applying to Subject and Independent Pronoun -

Rule 3 (Obl). In 1st person inc. non-singular,

$p \rightarrow \underline{ka} + -p$

e.g. sp 1st inc 2, (i) $p = \underline{rak}$, (ii) add $\underline{ka-} = \underline{karak}$ 'we(2)'.

Rule applying to Object and Referential -

Rule 4 (Obl¹). In all non-singular, $p \rightarrow \underline{-i-} + -p$.

e.g. os 3rd pl, (i) $p = \underline{-ri}$, (ii) add $\underline{-i-} = \underline{-iri}$ 'them'.

$ga \ vis\text{-}\underline{iri}$ 'he hit them'.

Rule applying to Object -

Rule 5 (Opt). In 2nd person singular, $\underline{uam} \rightarrow \underline{om}$.

¹ This rule is optional for the following verbs: vosop 'find', angasik 'help', rokot 'follow', akalkalit 'teach'.

Rule applying to Dative (and Genitive with tesu-) -

Rule 6 (Obl). If p has no vowel, p → -gu- + -p.

e.g. dat 1st sg, (i) p = -k, (ii) add -gu- = -gu-k,

(iii) su-gu-k 'to me'.

gen 1st sg = tesu-gu-k 'my'.

An alternative to -gu-, -gi-, may sometimes be used in the Dative e.g. su-gi-m 'to you(sg)', but su-gu-m is more common.

Rule applying to Instrument, Locative and Genitive with tata-.

Rule 7. If p has no vowel, p → -ni- +p

This rule is obligatory for Instrument and Locative:

kum papa-ni-m 'together with you(sg)'

sia-ni-k 'from me'

kuli-ni-m 'on you(sg)'.

After tata-¹ the rule generally applies:

tata-ni-k 'my',

but forms without -ni- are also (rarely) found:

tata-k 'my'.

6.5. ADVERBS

There are five types of adverbs in Tigak. Differences between the types are based mainly on their different distribution. Adverbs are used in Verb Phrases (adv₁₋₂), in Adjectival phrases (adv₂) and within the periphery of clause bases as Time (adv₃) or Locative (adv₄). Adv₅ also occur in

¹ Another form ta- is always used in Western and Island dialects and occasionally in Central. After ta- the rule always applies - ta-ni-k 'my'.

clause bases as an external modification of the VP.

6.5.1. Adverb 1

This type of adverb occurs within the VP. As already shown (5.4.3.), object suffixes are attached to the adverb if both occur together. Derivationally there are two types of adv₁ - true and derived. Derived adverbs are formed from adjectives by adding the prefix a-. A sample list of adverb 1 is:

papais 'quickly'	a-takteak 'hard'
auneng 'as follows'	a-paga 'clearly'
ananap 'slowly'	epatok 'away'.

6.5.2. Adverb 2

These are adjectives which can occur in Adjectival Phrases as well as in VP. Some of these are also derived from adjectives. The class appears to be restricted to the following adverbs:

eul 'very, very much'	a-lakliak 'a little'
a-lavu 'greatly'	paliu 'very, very much'.

In Adjectival Phrases they follow the adjective e.g. tiptip eul 'very heavy'.

They may also modify some adverbs of type 1, e.g.

papais eul 'very quickly.'

6.5.3. Time Adverbs (adverb 3)

Time adverbs occur in the Time slot of clause bases.

A sample list is:

nenogo 'yesterday'	aimuk 'later'
amaua 'tomorrow'	aino 'before, earlier'
longina 'today'	maransakai 'forever'
ginang 'going on, later'.	

The deictic gara may be used as a time adverb with the meaning 'now'.

Examples containing time adverbs are (78), (81).

6.5.4. Locative Adverbs (adverb 4)

Locative adverbs may occur as exponents of Locative in clause base formulae and as predicate in VP₂ (intransitive).

Sample list:

evang 'there'	losiliak 'close'
egeng 'here'	epakal 'above'
lono 'in it'.	

Examples containing locative adverbs are (72), (123).

6.5.5. Adverb 5

A few adverbs have distribution features different from any of the above types:

alu 'again, too'	lava (emphasis)
------------------	-----------------

Although they qualify verbs they are not integrated into the VP as adverb 1 and 2 are. They show some variation in **ordering**

in relation to peripheral tagmemes in the clause base. This may be seen in the following two examples. In (314) alu precedes the Dative but in (315) it follows:

(314) Ga pe sang alu su-na.
 HE(past)(iter) COME AGAIN TO-HIM
 'He came to him again.'

(315) Ga sang suna natu-na kapul alu.
 HE(past) COME TO CHILD-HER WOMAN TOO
 'He also came to the woman's child.'

Use of alu as adjective 2 (e.g. nane alu 'he too') has already been referred to (6.3.).

6.6. NUMERALS

Numerals occur in the Article Phrase formulae (5.2.1.). They differ from adjectives in that they precede the noun. Mamana (plural) and kematan 'some' have a similar distribution to numerals and do not co-occur with them. Numerals are usually followed by an article (mainly a) when they precede a noun. They may also be preceded by an article.

Counting is with a modified decimal system with numbers from six to nine formed as 'five one', 'five two' etc. The Tolai word for hundred mar has been borrowed¹ and this makes counting up to a thousand possible.

¹ This is still recognized as a borrowing. The Tolai language was used in schools and other mission work. The Tolai word for thousand is less acceptable.

1 sakai	6 palmit sakai
2 pauak	7 palmit pauak
3 potul	10 sangaulung
4 poiat	13 sangaulung ve potul
5 palmit	49 poiat sangaulung ve palmit poiat

Ordinal forms for 2nd to 5th may be formed by prefixing la- to the cardinal forms above. The ordinal form is linked to a noun by ina:

la-poiat ina lapa 'the fourth basket'.

Some extra numeral forms are found e.g. arin 'one', va, ave 'two'.

6.7. DEICTICS

Deictics occur in Noun Phrases after the noun and any adjectives (5.1.4., 5.1.6. and 5.1.7.). They also occur in Complement in Equational Clause Bases (Cl Base 5, 4.5.) and in this function they may either follow or precede the Subject. These uses distinguish deictics from other word classes.

Sample list:

gara 'this, here'

gura 'this (very close), here'

tara 'that, there'

ang, iang 'this'

Ang and iang differ from the other deictics in not being used as Complement.

6.8. OTHER WORDS

A number of other words and word classes have already been fully expounded in earlier chapters. These are summarized here in the order in which they occurred with sample lists and references.

speech link	3.5. pana
introducer	3.7.1. io
conjunction	3.7.2., 3.6., 5.3.7. ve, kisang, vo
exclamation	3.7.4. aa, o, u
salutation	3.7.5. le, ierak
response	3.7.6. ong, gaveak
question markers	
- yes-no	3.9. la, gi-so
- information	4.2.2. na-si, te-si 4.2.3. poisan 4.2.4. ina-so, kula-so
subordinating conjunctions	4.4. vouneng 4.5-6. kula, ina
article 1	5.1.1-2. na, ri, ina, a-ina
2	5.1.3. tang, a, ta
quantifiers	5.2.1. mamana, kematan
relators - genitive	5.3.1. te, tana, i, ina
- dative	5.3.2. su, suna
- referential	5.3.3. ani
- instrumental	5.3.4. pe, pana
- locative	5.3.5. lo, e

- time	5.3.6.	lo, tuk tana
- comitative	5.3.7.	kum, kuvul
- manner	5.3.8.	malan

pre-verb particles

- negative	5.5.1.	veak, lo, ko
- aspect	5.5.2.	po, min, pe
- qualification	5.5.3.	sa
- emphatic	5.5.4.	me, kun
- obligation	5.5.5.	ke, pata

auxiliary 5.5.6. vuvok

future marker 5.7. vo.

6.8.1. Ina

A variety of uses of ina have been mentioned in this grammar. It has been convenient to keep these separate but some general discussion to show links between some of the uses is warranted.

It is possible (at least in relation to some uses) to subanalyse ina as i 'of' + -na 'it'. In this sense there is a link with the suffix on many part nouns (n_3) e.g. mit-i-na 'his hand'. Closely connected with this is the use of ina between two nouns e.g. malila ina vap 'crowd of people'.

Ina also occurs as a relator between adjective and noun where the adjective is emphasized and placed first, e.g. takteak ina ot 'difficult thing'. The fixed expression

teteng ina 'person skilled in' is followed by a verb e.g.
teteng ina akalkalit 'teacher'.

These uses run into those where ina has in this grammar been labelled as a subordinating conjunction e.g.
rik kalapang ina minang 'they are in the habit of remaining',
gi tatut ina gi vis-i 'he rises to hit him.'

Dividing lines between these uses must be regarded as artificial. Other similar instances in Tigak are tuk tana (Time), malan te, malan tana (Manner) and pana (Instrument) which may all be followed either by a Noun Phrase or a Clause Base.

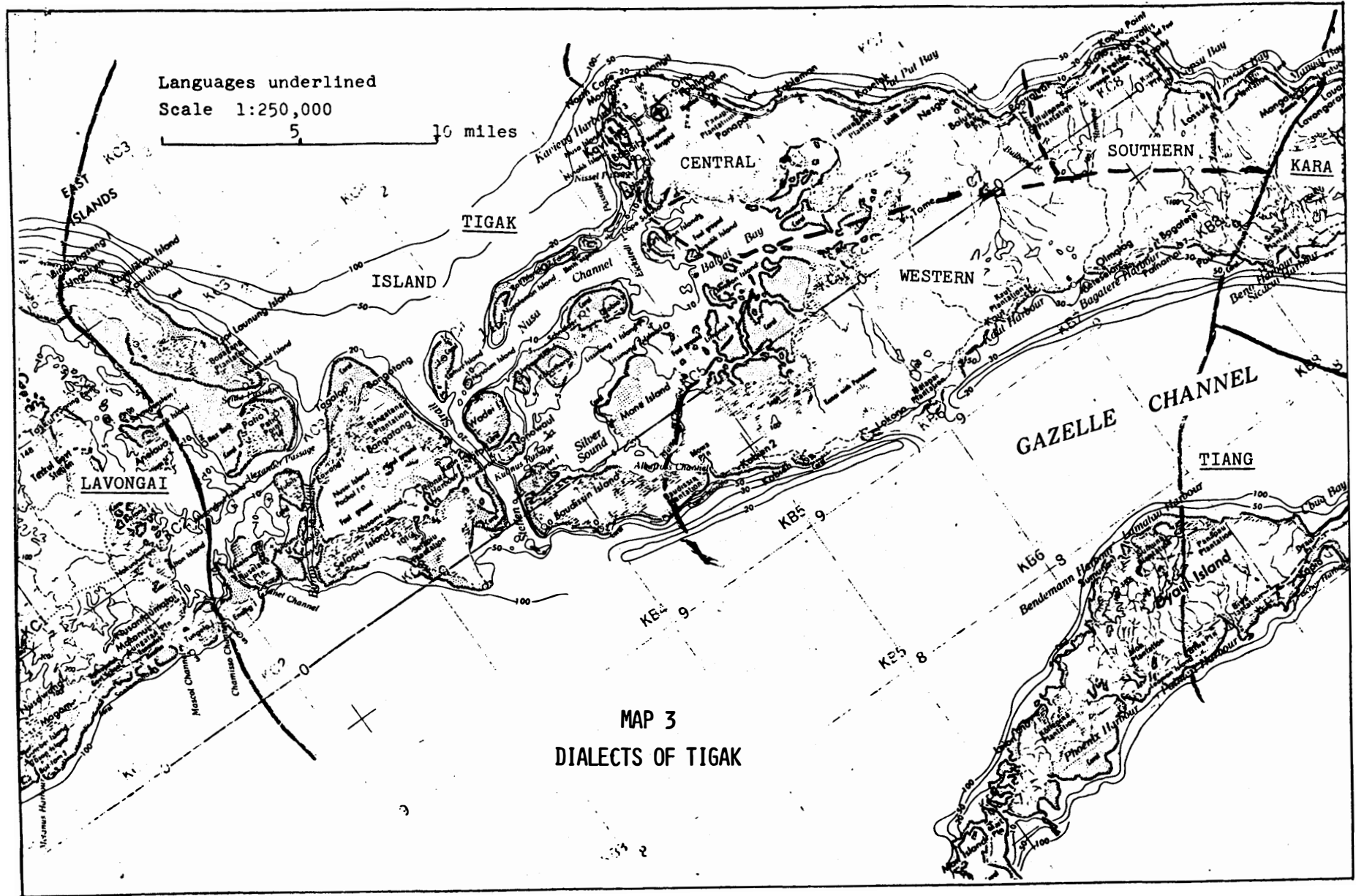
The use of ina as a plural marker before kinship nouns (5.1.2.) does not appear to have any link with the other uses.

6.9. SUBANALYSIS

A number of points of subanalysis have been made, mainly in footnotes. A further point which may be noted is the use of reduplication of two relators in pronoun forms. These relators have a vowel change from e to a when they are followed by a suffix.

	before PNP/KinNp	before CNP	pronoun
Genitive	te	ta-na	ta-ta-na
Instrumental	pe	pa-na	pa-pa-na

It seems likely that this reduplication is an innovation in the Central Dialect as it is not used in the other dialects.



MAP 3
DIALECTS OF TIGAK

Chapter 7

DIALECTS OF TIGAK

7.1. GENERAL

There are four main dialects of Tigak (Map 3) - Central¹ (N.E. coast, from Bagail and Kavieng in the north to Putput in the south), Southern (N.E. coast from Ngavalus to Livitua in the south), Island (islands between Kavieng and New Hanover) and Western (west coast and the western half of Dyaul Island).

The populations of these dialects are²:

Central	1218
Southern	830
Island	1354
Western	715

Of these dialects the Southern dialect (represented here by Ngavalus) shows the greatest divergence from the other dialects. Good communications along the East Coast road provide a great deal of contact with the Central dialect and therefore many speakers of the Southern dialect are familiar with the Central one as well. There has been a lot of movement of people between the Tigak dialects and this would make a detailed dialect study difficult. Lithgow and Claassen

¹ The dialects are named geographically. No special status for 'Central' is implied.

² These are based on 1971 village census figures from the Sub-District Office at Kavieng.

reported (1968:8) a dialect transition through the Southern dialect into the Kara language.

The dialects can be distinguished on several grounds - lexical, phonological and grammatical. These aspects are discussed in turn in the remainder of this chapter.

7.2. LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

The general relationship between the dialects is shown by the lexico-statistical percentages in Table 10 below. These are based on the first 140 words in the SIL word-list.¹ The table shows clearly the divergence of the Southern dialect.

Table 10

Lexicostatistical Comparison of Tigak Dialects

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
CENTRAL	x	88	96	99
SOUTHERN	88	x	89	88
ISLAND	96	89	x	97
WESTERN	99	88	97	x

¹ This word-list is given and explained by Bee and Pence (1962). The counts in Table 10 are based on lists personally elicited from informants from Kaselok (Central), Ngavalus (Southern), Lokono (Western) and Vutei (Wadei, Island).

In the lists of 140 words compared most of the items showing non-cognates may be placed in three groups -

1. Southern varying from all the others.
2. Southern and Island sharing against Central and Western.
3. Island varying from all other dialects.

There are 12 examples of Group 1, though two of these are doubtful and could possibly be classed as cognate. There are only two examples each for Groups 2 and 3.

7.2.1. Group 1 (Southern Variants)

A number of the 12 different items in the Southern dialect have similar forms in neighbouring languages, especially Kara. The link with Kara is found for the six words in the following list¹:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	KARA
'neck'	goko	βuŋkalama	βoguloma
'leaf'	pakak	βai	pakanaβai
'axe'	gamui	βirima	βirima
'morning'	maua	panikan	panian
'warm, hot' (of water)	manas	lakap	lakaf
'many'	akurul	akaβes	kaβes

¹ Vernacular words in this chapter are written phonemically (or semi-phonemically for Kara and Lavongai) unless they are enclosed in square brackets to indicate phonetic script.

Words in Kara, Lavongai and Tiang are quoted from the unpublished lists collected by Lithgow and Claassen in the SIL survey of 1966.

Those with other links are:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	TIANG	LAVONGAI
'skin'	kulit	tuap	[tuʌ]	-
'blood'	tiliq	rakai	[řʌŋəɪʌŋ]	raŋai

Of the other four, two have no similar form elsewhere:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
'heavy'	tiptip	liβus
'dry'	sagaŋ	pilikap

The remaining two are the two doubtful forms which are possible cognates with the forms in the other dialects. They are certainly closer to these than to any other New Ireland forms:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
'small'	lakliak	rakes
'wet'	miriq	mirokos

7.2.2. Group 2 (Southern and Island shared Variants)

The two forms in this group, where the Southern and Island dialects have the same form and differ from Central and Western, are both linked to Lavongai:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	LAVONGAI
'knee'	βuβuknarok	βusil	βusil	βusilai
'when?'	lo so	aŋisan	aŋiso(n)	aŋisa

7.2.3. Group 3 (Island Variants)

Both words in this group are linked to Lavongai. The first is:

	CENTRAL	ISLAND	LAVONGAI
'cloud'	bata	kuku, kuŋkuŋ	kuku

The Island dialect uses [bʌtʌ] for 'rain cloud', 'dark cloud' and kuku or kuŋkuŋ for 'white cloud'. The word kuŋkuŋ appears in Central with the meaning 'sky' or 'heaven'.

The other example is:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	LAVONGAI
'axe'	gamui	βirima	ŋanik	ŋanig

The Southern form βirima was linked above (7.2.1.) to Kara. The Central and Western word gamui is not cognate with that of any other New Ireland language.

7.2.4. Other Non-Cognates

A further type of word is that for which the Southern dialect uses a different word from Island and Western, while Central may use either:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
'people'	non, βap	non	[βap],[bap]	[bap]

For the word 'woman' the Island dialect has ulina. Other dialects have kapul, but ulina is also used, usually with the sense of 'young woman'. The word kapul is used in the Island dialect for 'many women'.

For one item the Central word differed from all the other dialects:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
'stick (for walking)'	saβil	kipa	kipa	kepa

7.2.5. Modifications

Many words differ in form between the dialects though they are clearly cognate. Purely phonological changes are considered in 7.3. but there is one change more appropriately considered here.

Reduplicated forms are more common in the Central and Southern dialects. 'Smoke' and 'water' in 7.3., below, are examples of it, as well as the two which follow:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
'yesterday'	[nɛnɔ̌ɡɔ]	[nʌnɔ̌kɔ]	[nɔ̌ɡɔ]	[nɔ̌ɡɔ]
'long'	βukβuga	βuka	βukβuka	βuka

7.3. PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

The Southern dialect shows the most phonological differences. Those distinctive to this dialect are discussed in 7.3.2. while other differences are discussed in 7.3.1.

7.3.1. General

The sounds [b] and [β] vary in frequency and status among the dialects. These are treated as separate phonemes for Central (2.1.1.), but /b/ is not common.

In the Western and Island dialects, [b] is more common than [β]. The Island dialect has these in free variation e.g.

[bɔ̌ɡɔ] [βɔ̌ɡɔ] 'pig'

The phonemic distinction does not seem valid outside Central and is not very significant there either. Southern has [β] even where all others have [b]:

[βʌtɛ] (S) 'cloud'

[bʌtʌ] (C,W) 'cloud'

[bʌtʌ] (I) 'rain cloud'

Other examples of variations between [b] and [β] are:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
'ashes'	[βutʌ]	[βutʌ]	[βutʌ]	[butʌ]
'smoke'	[βuβuʌŋ]	[βuβuʌŋ]	[buʌŋ]	[buʌŋ]

There is a preference for the [ǰ] allophone of /r/ in the Island and Western dialects. This is also influenced in the following example by the lack of reduplication as [ǰ] occurs only word initially:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
'water'	[řuřum]	[řʌřom]	[ǰum]	[ǰum]

Other examples which include variations are:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
'light' (i.e. not heavy)	kaleŋleŋ	kalaŋleŋ	kalkaloŋ	kaleŋleŋ
'leg'	kak	kak	ki-na, kiki-na	ke-na
'bad'	palaβien	palaβien	palaβien	palaieŋ

7.3.2. Southern Dialect Differences

The most notable phonological difference is that in the Southern dialect the phonemes /g/ and /k/ (both backed) merge as /k/ (backed) in all positions e.g.

	OTHER DIALECTS	SOUTHERN
'to bite'	kagat	kakat
'hair'	ugui	uki

Final /a/ becomes [ɛ]. This is probably a change of phoneme to /e/:

	OTHER DIALECTS	SOUTHERN
'this', 'here'	[gʌɾʌ]	[kʌɾɛ]
'basket'	[ɬʌpʌ]	[ɬʌpɛ]

Another change is that final /u/ becomes /o/:

laβu (C,I,W) 'big'

laβo (S)

Other examples show changes which have occurred rather than changes in the nature or status of phonemes. Southern tends to shorten words:

	OTHER DIALECTS	SOUTHERN
'go'	inaŋ	naŋ
'come'	ima	ma (though ima can be used sometimes e.g. imperative and after βuβok 'want').
'near'	losiliak	pasilak
'be able to'	βilrokoli	βirokoli

Metathesis occurs in 'snake':

	OTHER DIALECTS	SOUTHERN
'snake'	muata	mauta

The ending -ui changes to -i:

	OTHER DIALECTS	SOUTHERN
'bird'	manui	mani
'hair'	ugui	uki

7.4. GRAMMATICAL DIFFERENCES

There are few grammatical differences between the Central, Island and Western dialects and these are mainly in the forms

of isolated function words. Differences between these dialects and the Southern dialect are much greater. There are wide differences in the form of many function words and also some differences in structure. In discussing the various differences Central is taken as the point of reference as this is the dialect on which the grammar in this thesis is based.

7.4.1. Island Dialect

Island differs from Central in the form of a few of the function words common in the grammar.

	CENTRAL	ISLAND
'and'	βe	e
(Genitive pronoun)	tatana	tana
'want'	βuβok	βuβok, βuk
'the'	taŋ	ta ¹

There is a slight difference in the negative construction. In the Island dialect βeak ko, and βeak kon are both used. βeak lo, the most common form in Central was until recently not used, though this is beginning to be borrowed as an alternative. The following two Island examples reflect their normal usage:

- (1) Ga βeak ko ima.
 HE(past)(neg) COME
 'He did not come.'

¹ This change removes the definite/indefinite distinction in the article forms of taŋ and ta.

- (2) Naga βeak kon ima.
 I (past)(neg) COME
 'I did not come.'

These are both acceptable in Central.

An old counting system existed in this dialect.

1. kase
2. luaman
3. taramun
4. bata
5. titi
6. βarakuman
7. na mamon
8. na bakot
9. na kaika
10. na kaik bes

The form bes is still used for 'ten' in counting coconut leaves.

7.4.2. Western Dialect

The Western dialect also differs from Central in the form of some of the common grammatical words:

	CENTRAL	WESTERN
'he' (ip)	nane	ne
'you' (sg,ip)	nanu	nu
'this one'	gara	ηanaη, ηanaη gara
'that one'	tara	ηan taη, tara
'and'	βe	e

The negative differs from Central in that only *lo* can be used after *veak*:

- (3) Ga *βeak lo* *ima*.
 HE(past)(neg)COME
 'He did not come.'

This form would be acceptable in Central but not in Island (see above 7.4.1.). The Island example (1) is unacceptable in Western. (Southern shows more differences in this; see below 7.4.3.).

For iterative particle only *pe* (not *pen*) may be used.

7.4.3. Southern Dialect

Southern shows the most grammatical divergence from Central. These are considered below under several headings.

7.4.3.1. Negative

The difference here is illustrated by the following examples:
 Southern:

- (4) *Kak* *nak lo βis-i*.
 (neg) I (neg)HIT-HIM
 'I did not hit him.'

Central:

- (5) *Nak* *veak lo* *βis-i*.
 I (neg)HIT-HIM

or

- (6) *Nak* *veak ko* *βis-i*.
 I (neg)HIT-HIM

Negative in Southern is expressed by:

kak + subject pronoun + lo + verb

For 'no' on its own, Southern uses kavek. The word kak may be a contraction of this.

7.4.3.2. Time

In Central nenogo is an adverb of time but in Southern it can be a noun and can be preceded by a relator (preposition):

- (7) Nak-a sang lo nenogo.
 I-(past) ARRIVE ON YESTERDAY
 'I arrive yesterday.'

Southern has some different time adverbs:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
'now'	gara	βalen
'earlier'	aino	lino
'later'	aimuk	tambak

The following example illustrates a different placing of the time adverb:

- (8) A lui lokunai kak ki lo kamus.
 THE HOUSE STILL (neg) IT (neg) FINISH
 'The house is not yet finished.'

Central has a cognate loqunai but this occurs after the verb. The Central form of (8) uses utak 'yet' which occurs after the second negative particle:

- (9) A lui ga βeak lo utak kamus
 THE HOUSE IT(past)(neg)YET FINISH
 'The house is not yet finished.'

7.4.3.3. Questions

Several different question forms are used although the Central forms may also be used:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
'where'	eβe	βai, eβe, eβalen
'from where'	ul eβe	in eβe

7.4.3.4. Deictics

Different forms include:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
'that'	tara	βitaŋ, vataŋ, tare
'this'	gara, gura	βan, koro, kare

7.4.3.5. Personal Pronouns

The following subject pronouns (present tense) illustrate changes:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
3rd (sg)	gi	ki
1st (exc 2)	mek	mak
3rd (2)	rek	rik
1 (inc 3)	karatul	kutu
1 (exc 3)	mektul	metu
2nd (3)	mitul	mutu
3rd (3)	ritul	rutu, ritu
1 (exc pl)	mem	maŋ

Forms ending in -u do not change in the past tense:

- (10) Ritu po naŋ.
 THEY(3) (past)(perf) GO
 'They (3) have gone.'

In Object forms -iam was recorded for 2nd pers sg. (Central -uam/-om).

Possessive forms sukuk 'my' and sukum 'your (sg)' replace tesuguk and tesugum but tesuna 'his' remains the same.

7.4.3.6. Aspect

Some aspect markers are slightly altered:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
(uncertain)	min	miŋ
(pluperf.)	po mo	moŋ
(perfective)	po, pon, mo, mon	po, mon

One aspect marker in Southern is ta. This does not correspond to any marker in Central. It seems to be confined to present tense.

- (11) Nuk ta los.
 YOU(sg)(asp) LAUGH
 'You are laughing.'

There is probably a connection with the -ta of Central pata 'must not'. I have not yet been able to assign any semantic or syntactic significance to ta.

7.4.3.7. *Relators*

A few small variations occur e.g.

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
Locative 'on'	kula	kulu

7.4.3.8. *Adverbs*

There are some differences in Adverbs:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
'again'	alu	lu
'fast'	papais	susumal

7.4.3.9. *Numerals*

The numerals from 1-9 differ from those of the Central dialect. 10-15 are exactly the same as in Central but 16-19 revert to making use of the distinctive Southern forms 6-9. Twenty is pauak sangaulung 'two tens' as in Central.

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN
1.	sakai	kai
2.	pauak	kuak
3.	potul	tul
4.	poiat	iat
5.	palmit	lima
6.	palmit sakai	pisaka
7.	palmit pauak	pisikuak
8.	palmit potul	pisiktul
9.	palmit poiat	pisikpat
10.	sangaulun	sangaulun

CENTRAL

11. saṅauluŋ βe sakai
12. saṅauluŋ βe pauak
16. saṅauluŋ βe palmit sakai
18. saṅauluŋ βe palmit potul

SOUTHERN

- saṅauluŋ βe sakai
- saṅauluŋ βe pauak
- saṅauluŋ βe pisaka
- saṅauluŋ βe pisiktul

APPENDIX 1

TEXT

This text was narrated by Mr. William Watlugan, aged about 70, of Kaselok village and it tells about his life. It was recorded at Kaselok in January 1972 and the original tape is lodged in the Linguistics Department of the Research School of Pacific Studies at the A.N.U.

The commentary deals primarily with sentence structure in the text and with borrowed words. Free sentences are numbered for cross-reference to the free translation and commentary. Sentences which occur within other sentences are enclosed in square brackets. Borrowed words or phrases are underlined and explained in the commentary when they first occur.

The Life of a Blind Man

1. Nak vuvok kus -uam alu pana a tangintol tata-nik.
I WANT TELL-YOU(sg) TOO WITH (art) LIFE OF -ME
2. Lo tuktapong-ai ina kak sa-sang-an ina tangintol gara.
AT BEGIN -(ns) OF.IT MY COME -(ns) OF LIFE THIS
3. [A mata-k ga kal-kalum iat] ve [nag-a
(art) EYE -MY IT(past) SEE (emph) AND I -(past)
- po tok-togon kalapang]. 4. Nak vilrokoli nak
(perf) HAVE UNDERSTANDING I BE.ABLE I
- nos-nosom tana tang kalapang ve a tangintol gara.
FEEL OF THE UNDERSTANDING AND (art) LIFE THIS

5. Ginang a -lakliak, io, a malapen gara ga
GOING.ON (am)-LITTLE WELL THE SICKNESS THIS IT(past)
- sang su-guk. 6. lo, rig - a akalkalit-i na talatala
COME TO-ME WELL THEY-(past) INFORM -HIM (art) MINISTER
- mista Boitia. 7. lo, a talatala gura a talatala
MISTER BOETTCHER WELL (art) MINISTER THIS (art) MINISTER
- Jemani. 8. [lo, ga giak-i na tama - k ve
GERMANY WELL HE(past) SEND-(os) (art) FATHER-MY AND
- ri na - k], [reg - a inang papa-nik suna
(art) MOTHER-MY THEY(2)-(past) GO WITH-ME TO
- dokta]. 9. [lo, rik aisok an - au tuk tana rig - a
DOCTOR WELL THEY WORK FOR-ME UNTIL THEY-(past)
- vil a - palavien-i a mata-k] ve [mata-k ga
MAKE (am)- BAD -IT (art) EYE -MY AND EYE -MY IT(past)
- palavien lava] ve [nag-a veak lo vilrokoli ina kal-kalum].
BAD (emph) AND I -(past) (neg) BE.ABLE TO SEE
10. [Ginang nag-a tok-togon nos-nosom a -lakliak],
GOING.ON I -(past) HAVE FEELING (am)-LITTLE
- [nak vuvok sinuk angasik-i nga-lakeak ina akalkalit te
I WANT SIT HELP -(os) (pl)-CHILD OF TEACH OF
- tama - k]. 11. [Ve nag-a palongan-i a mamana ot
FATHER-MY AND I -(past) HEAR -(os) (art) (pl) THING
- ina akalkalit] ve [nag-a tongan-i] [nak vilrokoli ina
OF TEACHING AND I -(past) TRY -(os) I BE.ABLE TO
- kalapang tata-na]. 12. Ginang tuk tana nag-a tapal
UNDERSTAND OF -IT GOING.ON UNTIL I -(past) COMPLETE
- tana pising rokol-i a mamana ot rig-a kalag-i.
OF SAY ABLE -(os) (art) (pl) THING THEY-(past) WRITE-(os)

13. [Nak vilrokoli ina pising tangui a buk ina
I BE.ABLE TO SAY FROM.MEMORY (art) BOOK OF

ngain], [nak vilrokoli ina pising tangui a buk
HYMN I BE.ABLE TO SAY FROM.MEMORY (art) BOOK

tambu]. 14. lo, rig -a kail-au ina na -niu
SACRED WELL THEY-(past) CALL-ME THAT (art)- I

sakai a teteng ina aisok lo la-na aisok te God.
ONE (art)PERSON FOR WORK IN INSIDE-ITS WORK OF GOD

15. Nag-a tena varavai. 16. Lo masat potul sangaulung
I -(past) PERSON PREACH AT TIME THREE TEN

ve palmit pauak rig -a kail-au tana tena varavai, tuk
AND FIVE TWO THEY-(past) CALL-ME OF PERSON PREACH UNTIL

gara longina. 17. [Ve tana gan rig -a kail tapong-au
NOW TODAY AND OF DAY THEY-(past) CALL START -ME

nag-a veak lo utak kalapang a -ro] pana [a-so ta
I-(past) (neg) YET UNDERSTAND (am)-GOOD THAT WHAT (art)

ot tang aisok gara]. 18. Tuk tana na mista Sinaut
THING THE WORK THIS UNTIL (art) MISTER CHENOWETH

ga akalit-au pana ot gara a breil. 19. lo, nag-a
HE(past) TEACH-ME WITH THING THIS (art)BRAILLE WELL I -(past)

tuktapong-i kokot pana breil. 20. [Nag-a vilrokoli ina
BEGIN -(os) READ WITH BRAILLE I -(past) BE.ABLE TO

akalkalit pas-pasal tata-na] ve [nak tongan-i ina kalapang
TEACH CONTINUING OF -IT AND I TRY -(os) TO UNDERSTAND

tata-na]. 21. [Ve nag-a veak lo utak kalapang] pana
OF -IT AND I -(past) (neg) YET UNDERSTAND THAT

[[a-so ta ot tana kak aisok] ve [a-so ta ot gara
WHAT (art)THING OF MY WORK AND WHAT (art)THING THIS

a tena varavai vo a vil lotu]]. 22. [Ve longina
(art) PERSON PREACH OR (art)MAKE WORSHIP AND TODAY

no-nol tesu-guk gi paga pas-pasal] ve [nak kilai
THOUGHT OF -ME IT CLEAR CONTINUING AND I KNOW

rokol-i a aisok ina lotu], ve [nak kilai alu kak
ABLE -(os) (art) WORK OF WORSHIP AND I KNOW TOO MY

pasingan]. 23. [[Ve nak nol auneng - ani] pana
LORD AND I THINK IN.THIS.WAY- IT THAT

[atuman ina tang aisok iat a aisok ina lotu]]. ve
TRUE THAT THE WORK (emph) (art) WORK OF WORSHIP AND

[nak kila atuman-i kak pasingan na God]. 24. Ga veak
I KNOW TRUE -HIM MY LORD (art) GOD IT(past) (neg)

alu ta ot ina nonol tesu-guk gi pe ulpuk tauni,
TOO (art)THING THAT THOUGHT OF -ME IT AGAIN TURN TO.IT

vo ina nak namaki tata-na. 25. [Na God kisang kak
OR THAT I BELIEVE OF -IT (art)GOD ALONE MY

tangintol ve kak takteak ve kak kalapang], ve
LIFE AND MY STRENGTH AND MY UNDERSTANDING AND

[na -ne iat gi angasik-au pana mamana ot]. 26. Nak ton -
(art) -HE (emph) HE HELP -ME WITH (pl) THING I HOLD-

i lo la -na tangintol tesu-guk longina, ve tuk pas-pasal
HIM IN ITSIDE -ITS LIFE OF-ME TODAY AND UNTIL CONTINUING

ina mamana masat eno lono. 27. Gi ro -mat paliu.
OF (pl) TIME AHEAD IN.IT IT GOOD-VERY VERY

28. Na - ne kisang.
 (art)- IT ONLY

^
Free Translation

1. I want to tell you also about my life. 2. At its beginning is my coming into this life [i.e. of blindness].
 3. My eyes were able to see and I acquired understanding.
 4. I was able to be aware of knowledge and of this life.
 5. Well, going on a little, this sickness came to me.
 6. They informed the minister Mr. Boettcher of it. 7. This minister was a German minister. 8. Well, he sent my father and mother with me to the doctor [medical orderly]. 9. Well, they worked on me until they spoiled my eyes and my eyes were very bad and I was not able to see.

10. Later I regained feeling and I wanted to sit and help my father's schoolchildren. 11. I heard some pieces of teaching and I tried to learn them. 12. It continued until I was completely able to say the things that were taught. 13. I was able to recite from memory the hymn book, I was able to recite from memory the scriptures. 14. Well, they appointed me to be a helper in God's work. 15. I was a lay preacher. 16. In 1937 they made me a lay preacher until today. 17. At the time I did not yet understand very well what this work was (18) until Mr. Chenoweth taught me this Braille. 19. Well, I began to read in Braille. 20. I was able to teach more and more from it and I tried to understand it. 21. I did not yet understand what my work was and what this 'lay preacher' or worship leader was. 22. But today my thoughts are increasingly clear and I

am able to know clearly the work of the church, and I know too my lord. 23. I think that the true work is the work of the church, and I truly know my lord, God. 24. There is nothing else towards which my thoughts may be made to turn or which I may believe in; (25) God alone is my life, my strength and my understanding and he himself helps me with many things. 26. I hold him in my life today and continuing until times ahead. 27. Thank you very much. 28. That is all.

Commentary

1. Simple S. The Independent Clause¹ consists of a Transitive Clause Base. This includes an Instrument Phrase (pana a tangintol tesuguk).
2. Simple S. Equational Clause Base.
3. Compound S consisting of two Simple S's linked by a conjunction. The first Simple S has an Intransitive Clause Base and the second has a Transitive Clause Base.
4. Causal S. The subordinating conjugation ina is understood (after vilrokoli).
5. Simple S consisting of an Independent Clause preceded by an introducer (io) and a Time Phrase (ginang a-lakliak 'a little later'). The Independent Clause has an Intransitive Clause Base.

¹ As all Simple Sentences contain a single Independent Clause, in subsequent sentences of this type I refer directly to the Clause Base.

6. Simple S. Transitive Clause Base.
talatala 'ordained minister' is of Fijian origin. It was introduced through the Methodist Mission which began work in the Tigak area in 1910.
mista 'Mister' from English.
Boitia for the name Boettcher and Sinaut for Chenoweth in 18 illustrate modification of unusual sounds.
7. Simple S. Equational Clause Base.
Jemani 'Germany'. /j/ occurs in Tigak only in recently borrowed words. The word is used here as an adjective.
8. Compound S consisting of two Simple S's but with no conjunction.
dokta is borrowed from English and Pidgin.
9. Compound S consisting of two Simple S's and a Causal S.
10. Compound S consisting of two Simple S's but with no conjunction.
11. Compound S consisting of two Simple S's and a Causal S.
 Only the first two are linked by a conjunction.
12. Simple S. Ginang (literally 'it goes') which occurs in some of the earlier sentences as a time adverb functions as the main verb in this S. The remainder of the sentence is a Time tagmeme filled by a Time Clause. Within this Time Clause is a Relative Clause, riga kalagi 'which they taught', for which the antecedent is a mamana ot 'of things'.
13. Compound S consisting of two Causal S's:
buk 'book' is from English, and is the same in Tolai and Pidgin.

buk tambu 'Bible' is borrowed from Tolai (Kuanua) where it is written buk tabu. This was the language used in the situation referred to. It is also possible to say in Tigak buk tap or valat tap using the Tigak equivalent instead of tambu.

14. Causal S.

God is borrowed from English and Pidgin and is used as a proper noun. This is a very recent borrowing (since 1969) and not yet well established. It is replacing Kalou which came from Fijian. /d/ used in God is an introduced phoneme.

15. Simple S consisting of an Intransitive Clause Base.

tena varavai 'person who preaches' is borrowed from Tolai.

16. Simple S. The Transitive Clause Base has two Time Phrases, one at the beginning and one at the end.

17. Quotative S consisting of Simple S + pana + Simple S.

In the first S, riga kail tapong-au is a Relative Clause depending on gan.

18. Defective S consisting of a Dependent Clause expressing Time.

breil 'Braille' is borrowed from English. The consonant cluster br is assimilated by this particular speaker.

19. Simple S.

20. Compound S consisting of two Causal S's linked by a conjunction.

21. Quotative S consisting of Simple S + pana + Compound S.

The Compound S consists of two Simple S's linked by a conjunction.

lotu 'worship' is of Polynesian origin, coming to Tigak through Fijian.

APPENDIX 2

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF TIGAK PHONEMES

A2.0. INTRODUCTION

It is possible to study the history of the sounds of present-day Tigak in relation to reconstructions for two proto-languages - Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Oceanic. All the natural Tigak phonemes except /b/ may be accounted for from these two related sources. In the process of doing this, the membership of Tigak within the Oceanic group of Austronesian is clearly confirmed.

In his brief study of the phonological history of some of the Austronesian languages of West Irian (1971:12-14) Grace states his reasons for using Proto-Oceanic as a starting point rather than the more remote Proto-Austronesian. In the present study I have followed the same practice but I have also used Proto-Austronesian as a subsidiary reference. This makes the link between Proto-Oceanic (PO) and Proto-Austronesian (PAN) more explicit. A further advantage is that the reconstruction of PO is not yet as well developed as the reconstruction of PAN and dual reference provides a firmer basis.

As this study depends on these proto-languages they are discussed briefly first in A2.1. to A2.3. Reflexes in Tigak for each Proto-Oceanic sound are presented in A2.4. In giving examples, PAN reconstructions are cited as well, where the PO reconstructions appear to derive from them. Examples are numbered consecutively for cross-reference through this appendix.

When it is necessary to quote an example again in full the same number is used. A summary of the origin of the Tigak phonemes is given in A2.5.

A2.1. PROTO-AUSTRONESIAN

Proto-Austronesian is the source of about 500 present-day languages which spread over a vast area, from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east, and from New Zealand in the south to Taiwan and Hawaii in the north. The major work in the reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian remains that of Dempwolff (VLAW 1934-38). His work has been criticized but not supplanted.

The reconstructions of PAN words used in A2.4. are based on those made by Dempwolff. The orthography changes advocated by Dyen (1971:23) for use "without phonetic prejudice" are made. In addition Dyen's restatements concerning the laryngeals (1953, 1971:36-40) are followed and also his change of *-aj to *-ey (1949:421fn., 1971:27). The changes made are:

Dempwolff	Dyen	Dempwolff	Dyen
ə	e	k'	c
v	w	g'	j
t̚	T	ɣ	R
d̚	D	h	q
!	r	<	∅, h
t'	s	aj	ey
d'	z		
n'	ñ		
j	y		

These changes make the PAN reconstructions easier to compare with those for PO. Other changes suggested by Dyen (1971) are not followed as they introduce further complications which are not relevant to this study. Four reconstructions which are not in the *VLAW* are quoted from Capell (1943 and 1971) and are clearly identified on the first occasion they occur.

A2.2. DEMPWOLFF'S URMELANESISCH

In the second volume of the *VLAW* Dempwolff considered some major groupings of AN languages, based mainly on sound changes. His three groups are Indonesian, Melanesian and Polynesian. Dempwolff takes the Indonesian group as the main grouping and concludes finally (1937:194) that his Urindonesisch can be called Uraustronesisch. He also identifies (192-93) the similarities between the Melanesian and Polynesian sound systems and also some further unification of sounds in Polynesian.

Dempwolff (1937:166) summarized a number of sound changes between his Urindonesisch (=PAN) and Urmelanesisch. Although these changes were illustrated only in relation to Fijian and Sa'a (Solomon Islands) (p 125-64), ten other Melanesian languages were also examined (p164-65) including two - Pala (= Patpatar) and Tuna (= Tolai) - which are in the same New Ireland - Tolai group as Tigak. As well as languages in Melanesia, Dempwolff also included languages of Micronesia in his Melanesian group. The changes noted by Dempwolff were the coalescing of a number of pairs or groups of sounds:

palatals *d' (z), *t' (s), *g' (j), *k' (c) as *d' (z)

retroflexed and non-retroflexed stops

*d	)	*t	)	*nd	)	*nt)
*ḍ (D)	)	*ṭ (T)	)	*ṇḍ (nD)	)	*ṇṭ (nT))

voiced and voiceless labial and velar stops

*b	)	*g	)	*mb	)	*ŋg)
*p	)	*k	)	*mp	)	*ŋk)

vowel *ə (e) and *-av (aw) as *o.

Other changes noted by Dempwolff were:

*-aj (ey) to *e *h (q) to *k.

Although he reconstructed a sound system for this proto-language Dempwolff did not list any reconstructed words for it.

A2.3. PROTO-OCEANIC

In the study of Oceanic languages a daughter language to Proto-Austronesian, Proto-Oceanic, has been proposed by Milke (1958, 1961, 1965, 1968) and Grace (1955, 1968, 1969, 1971) which is somewhat similar to Dempwolff's Urmelanesisch. From PO they derive the AN languages of Polynesia, Micronesia (with the exception of Palau and Chamorro), island Melanesia, mainland New Guinea and part of West Irian. Grace has assembled a finder list (1969) of about 800 reconstructions for this proto-language. Some linguists such as Dyen (1965) have questioned this Oceanic hypothesis but generally it has been accepted. This study of the history of Tigaksounds provides further evidence which supports the validity of Proto-Oceanic.

Grace's PO list (1969) is used as the basis in the study which follows. The sound unifications identified by Dempwolff are also

reflected in the PO list though sometimes with different orthography¹. Grace has a nasal series, *mp, *nd, *nt, *ŋk and *ns which reflect distinctions found in many Oceanic languages. There is only limited correlation between these and Dempwolff's PAN prenasalized series. Some new phonemes are introduced in the PO reconstructions - *ŋp, *ŋm, *nj (similar to *s) - though Grace (1969:42-44) gives these (and *r) only qualified endorsement. Correspondences between PO and PAN and Tigak are summarized, below, in Table 11.

In using the PO reconstructions I have followed Grace's orthography except for some modification of the use of bracketing, discussed below. All are from Grace (1969) except that for two examples (5 and 83) the form is from Grace's more recent article (1971). Grace's list is compiled from several sources (Biggs 1965, Capell 1943, Goodenough 1961, Grace 1961, Milke 1958, 1961, 1965, 1968). As some reconstructions were made for Eastern Oceanic, which is to be considered one of the branches of Oceanic coordinate with New Ireland - Tolai (Pawley 1972:5), these are marked as PEO, though some at least probably go back to PO.

Grace (1969) brackets the final consonant in a number of reconstructions and in 1971 he brackets all of them with the statement that "these final consonants are generally based on PAN evidence, and do not necessarily indicate that the consonant has been observed in Oceanic languages". Most of these PAN final consonants are retained in Tigak and, where this is the case, the brackets are removed. These examples are: 1 *punu(q), 4 *pula(n), 19 *laŋi(t), 24 *ndanu(m), 27 *kuli(t), 35 *mimi(r),

¹ In PO *s is used for *d' (z) and *p and *k for *b and *g.

40 *ika(n), 47 *qunsa(n), 61 *sala(n), 63 *ansa(n), 83 *mapana(s). Capell (1971:300-03) gives other evidence of some of these final consonants occurring in Oceanic languages.

Brackets are also removed from 5 *pu(n)ti. 11 *mpe(e)mpe(e) is written as *mpempe and 62 *k(au)nsupe is written as *kunsupe. Otherwise brackets are retained. If two or three sounds are bracketed it means that it is uncertain which sound occurred. If one sound is bracketed this means that the sound may possibly have been part of the form.

Table 11 which follows indicates the main correspondences between PAN and PO and also summarizes the Tigak reflexes which are discussed individually in the sections which follow. PO is used as the central point of reference and where evidence of correspondence in PAN or Tigak is inadequate, phonemes in these lists are bracketed. The symbol \emptyset means a zero reflex, while - means that no equivalents to the reconstructions containing the particular phoneme have so far been found. The table does not include all the sounds reconstructed for PAN but only those that appear to be reflected in PO reconstructions.

Table 11
Correspondences between PAN, PO and Tigak

PAN	PO	TIGAK
b, p	p	p, Ø
(b, mp)	mp	β, p
(b)	ŋp	(β, p)
w	w	(β)
t	t	t
(t, nt)	nt	r
d, D	d	l
(d)	nd	r
!	r	-
l	l	l
R	R	-g-, -k, (l-)
k	k	k, Ø
(k)	ŋk	(k)
q	q	k, Ø, (i-)
m	m	m
(m)	ŋm	(m)
n	ŋ	n
ŋ	ŋ	ŋ
s, z, j, c	s	s, (t, r, Ø-)
s, z, j	ns	s
-	nj	-
y	y	i
a	a	a, (o)
-ey	e	e, -Ø
i	i	i, -Ø
e, aw	o	o, u, -Ø
u	u	u, -Ø

A2.4. REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC SOUNDS IN TIGAK

The major features revealed in a diachronic study of Tigak phonology are the retention of final consonants which are lost in most Oceanic languages and the loss of most final vowels other than *a. As no reflexes have yet been positively identified for *nj or *r these are omitted from consideration. Evidence for some of the other phonemes is inadequate but it is included.

Reference to the forms of reconstructions used has already been made in A2.3. and A2.1. Where Grace has given more than one possible meaning for a reconstruction, only those most relevant have been included. Meanings of Tigak and PAN forms are given only if they differ from that given for the PO form. A third person object suffix -i is attached to Tigak transitive verbs.

A2.4.1. Bilabials

The two main bilabials in the PO list, *p and *mp, generally show different reflexes though two examples (11 and 12) show some overlapping. *ŋp and *w are not common in the PO list and the small amount of evidence indicates similarity with *mp.

PO *p (PAN *b, *p)

PO *p in initial position is reflected in Tigak as p or else lost. In medial position *p is lost. *p is only reconstructed in final position in a few words and no reflexes of these have so far been found.

Reflexes as p are;

1. PO *punuq 'strike, kill' (PAN *bunuq)
TK punuk-i 'kill'
2. PO *poli 'buy, sell' (PAN *beli)
TK pul-i
3. PEO *puki 'return'
TK ulpuk-i 'change', tapuok 'return'

Other examples are 70) poisan and 83) pinpin.

Loss of p is equally frequent:

4. PO *pulan 'moon' (PAN *bulan)
TK ulan
5. PO *punti 'banana' (PAN *punti)
TK ur
6. PO *topu 'sugar cane' (PAN *tebu)
TK tu
7. PO *ŋapulu(q) 'ten' (PAN *puluq)
TK sa¹ŋauluŋ

Other examples of loss of p are 65) uala and 71) un.¹ The syllable containing p is lost in 62) kusia and 64) so.

PO *mp

This is reflected as β or p. Only five examples have been found.

¹ As stated earlier examples are numbered consecutively for cross referencing. When it is necessary to quote an example again in full the same number is used. As further supporting evidence only the number and the Tigak reflex are given.

Reflexes as β are:

8. PO *mporo 'pig'
TK β ogo
9. PO *mpua 'areca (betel) nut' (PAN *buaq 'fruit')
TK β uai
10. PO *tumpu 'grandparent, grandchild' (PAN *tumpu 'ancestor')
TK ti β u

Reflexes as p are:

11. PO *mpempe 'butterfly' (PAN *mbembe - Capell 1971:258)
TK pepe
12. PO *tampu 'ritual restriction protected by supernatural
sanction' (PAN *tambu - Capell 1943)
TK tap

PO * η p

Reflexes of * η p appear similar to *mp but only two examples are found, one of β and one of p. For the example of p the reconstruction was made for Eastern Oceanic.

13. PO * η poni 'night' (PAN *be η i)
TK β u η
14. PEO * η patu 'head'
TK patu

PO *w

PO *w is reflected as β in the only example found:

15. PO *qalawa 'mother's brother'
TK la β a

A2.4.2. Alveolars

PO *t (PAN *t)

This is reflected as t in all positions:

16. PO *taliŋa 'ear' (PAN *taliŋa)

TK talaja

17. PO *tama 'father' (PAN *ama)

TK tama

18. PO *mata 'eye' (PAN *mata)

TK mata

19. PO *laŋit 'sky' (PAN * laŋit)

TK laŋit 'rain'

Other examples include 6) tu, 10) tiβu, 27) kulit, 45) tuk, 54) natu, 67) mat.

PO *nt

*nt is not common in the PO list and only two reflexes have been found, both showing r:

20. PO *-nta 'our (inc)' (PAN *kita 'we')

TK -ra

5. PO *punti¹ 'banana' (PAN *punti)

TK ur

¹ This is listed as *pu(n)ti by Grace (1971:37). All prenasalization is bracketed in that article. In Grace (1969) it is listed as *puti. It is reconstructed as *punti for PEO (Biggs 1965:397, Cashmore 1969:17).

PO *d and *r (PAN *d, *D)

There is some doubt whether *d and *r should be distinct from *l in Proto-Oceanic. In the PO list frequently two of these are bracketed as alternatives. For the reconstructions containing *r no definite reflexes have so far been found in Tigak. Evidence for *d is also inadequate but it suggests that *d like *l is reflected as l.

21. PO *doŋo 'hear' (PAN *deŋeɾ)

TK pa^lloŋ-an-i 'hear', loŋok 'listen'

22. PO *(d)iki 'small' (PAN *Dikiq)

TK lakliak

In one example *d is lost:

23. PO *dua 'two' (PAN *Duwa)

TK pauak

The prefix pa or po precedes several numerals in Tigak (6.6.). Example 45) tuk may also show loss of *d, but *d is only tentatively included in the reconstruction - *tuqu(d).

PO *nd

Only two examples are found with a reflex of *nd and in both cases this is r.

24. PO *ndanum 'water' (PAN *danum)

TK ru^lrum (syllable reduction and reduplication)

25. PO *ndaula 'frigate bird' (possible PAN *dara 'pigeon')

TK raula

PO *l (PAN *l)

PO *l is consistently reflected as l.

26. PO *laŋo 'a fly' (PAN *laŋaw)

TK laŋ

27. PO *kulit 'skin' (PAN *kulit)

kulit

28. PO *lo 'in'

lo

Other examples include 2) pul-i, 7) sa'ŋauluŋ, 16) taliŋa, 19) laŋit and 61) salan.

*l is not reconstructed in final position but l does occur finally in Tigak, because of the loss of some final vowels:

29. PEO *tolu 'three' (PAN *telu)

TK po-^htu^h

A2.4.3. Velars

PO *R (PAN *R)

PO *R is reflected as g in medial position, k in final position and possibly as l in initial position.

Examples showing reflex as g are:

30. PO *karati 'bite' (PAN *karat)

TK kagat-i

8. PO *mporo 'pig'

TK βogo

31. PO *nora 'yesterday'

TK nenogo

32. PO *turaŋ 'friend, kinsman'
 TK tiga- 'brother'¹
 Examples showing k are:
33. PO *qatolur 'egg' (PAN *telur)
 TK katiluk
34. PO *para 'shoulder' (PAN *bara)
 TK pakpakal
35. PO *mimir 'urinate' (PAN *mirmir)
 TK mimik
36. PO *salir 'flow' (PAN *alir)
 TK salik

Evidence for l initially is inadequate. The only example could be explained as a borrowing from another New Ireland language or merely coincidence:

37. PO *ruŋma 'house' (PAN *rumaq)

TK lui (cf. Duke of York, Kandas ruma. Siar rumai, Sursurunga rum, Lavongai lui, Tiang lu, Lihir liom, all in or adjacent to New Ireland²).

Reflection of PO *R as l or r is seen in several New Ireland languages, as can be seen from the data for 'pig' PO *mporo listed by Capell (1971:257-58) as well as from the data given for the example above.

1

It is more satisfactory to derive tiga- from *turaŋ than from *tuqa 'old, older brother' (49). The reconstruction *turaŋ and supporting data are in Milke (1968:167).

² Capell (1971:318-20) gives a wider listing of reflexes of *RUŋma in New Guinea AN languages.

PO *k (PAN *k)

PO *k is generally reflected in Tigak as k:

38. PO *-kai 'one' #
TK sakai
27. PO *kulit 'skin' (PAN *kulit)
TK kulit
30. PO *karati 'bite' (PAN *karat)
TK kagat-i
39. PO *lako 'go, walk' (PAN *lancuŋ 'go for a walk')
TK lak 'go up, enter'

Also 3) ulpuk-i, 22) lakliak, 62) kusia.

Loss of *k in Tigak occurs in some words. All of these are examples where the other New Ireland languages also show loss of *k. There are some apparently irregular reflexes in Tigak and some of the other languages, but these are best explained as showing loss of *k with later additions.

Examples of loss of *k are:

40. PO *ikan 'fish' (PAN *ikan)
TK ien
41. PO *manu(k) 'bird' (PAN *manuk)
TK manui¹
42. PO *kutu 'louse' (PAN *kutu)
TK ŋut
43. PO *kai 'tree' (PAN *kayu)
TK iai (c.f. Lavongai iai, Kara wai, Tabar ei, Tolai
davai, Duke of York diwai, Kandas rakai).

¹ There is also in Tigak a doublet manmanuk 'animal' which does show *k retained.

Data for the other New Ireland languages for 'fish' and 'bird' has been published by Capell (1971:257-58) and for 'louse' and 'bird' by Lithgow and Claassen (1968:Chart III). From this data it is clear that *k in *ikan and *manuk is lost in all New Ireland languages. *k of *kutu is lost in languages of the southern half of New Ireland, while in the northern half ŋ is found in four languages (Tigak, Lavongai, Kara and Tiang). Kandas is the only language that shows a regular reflex of *k for *kai. A more regular set of reflexes for *k in New Ireland languages may be seen in the list for 'leg' (PAN *kaki'foot', Tigak kak) given by Lithgow and Claassen (loc. cit.).

PO *ŋk

This is reflected as k:

44. PO *-ŋku 'my' (PAN *aken)

TK -k

PO *q (PAN *q)

PO *q is reflected as k or non-syllabic i, or lost. The two examples of i (both initial) may represent loss of *q with later addition of i.

The reflex k is seen in the following:

45. PO *tuqu(d) 'stand' (PAN *tuquD)

TK tuk

46. PO *qone 'sand'

kono

32. PO *qatolur 'egg' (PAN *telur)

katiluk

1. PO *punuq 'strike, kill' (PAN *bunuq)
punuk-i

Loss of *q is seen in:

47. PO *qunsan 'rain' (PAN *quzan)
TK usan 'rain heavily'
48. PO *quma 'garden' (PAN *guma 'orchard')
TK uma
49. PO *tuqa 'old, older sibling of same sex' (PAN *tuqa
'old')
TK tuan 'eldest sibling'

Examples which now have non-syllabic i¹ are:

50. PO *qate 'liver' (PAN *qatey)
TK iat
51. PO *qanso 'sun' (PAN *qanjaw)
TK ias

A2.4.4. Nasals

Nasals are very consistent.

PO *m (PAN *m)

This is reflected as m in all positions:

18. PO *mata 'eye' (PAN *mata)
TK mata
17. PO *tama 'father' (PAN *ama)
TK tama

¹ These may be compared to 43 iai.

52. PO *inum 'drink' (PAN *inum)

TK i^lnum

Other examples include 24) rurum, 35) mimik, 41) manui, 48) uma, 67) mat and 73) -m.

PO *ŋm

This is reflected in only one example. The reflex is m though this could be interpreted as m^w.

53. PO *ŋmata

TK muata (mauta in Western dialect).

PO *n (PAN *n)

PO *n is reflected as n.

54. PO *natu 'child, offspring'

TK natu

41. PO *manu(k) 'bird' (PAN *manuk)

TK manui

55. PO *laman 'sea'

TK la^lman

Other examples include 1) punuk-i, 4) ulan, 61) salan, 40) ien, 31) nenogo, 52) i^lnum.

Loss of *n has only been found in one example:

24. PO *ndanum 'water' (PAN *danum)

TK ru^lrum (rum with later reduplication).

PO *ŋ (PAN *ŋ)

PO *ŋ is reflected as ŋ but is lost from the final position of PO reconstructions, though loss of many final vowels leaves ŋ at the end of some present Tigak words.

Reflex as ŋ is seen in the following:

56. PO *ŋusu 'lips, mouth' (PAN *ŋusu)

TK ŋur 'mouth'

57. PAN *paŋan 'eat' (cf. PO *kani and PEO *paŋa)

TK ŋan

58. PO *noŋi 'beg, ask for'

TK nuŋ-i

Other examples are 19) laŋit, 26) laŋ, 13) βuŋ, 16) taliŋa, 21) pa¹loŋ-an-i.

Loss of final ŋ is seen in:

59) PO *isu(ŋ) 'nose' (PAN *ijun)

TK isu-

Another example is 32) tiga-.

A2.4.5. Sibilants

PO *s (PAN *s, *z, *j, *c)

PO *s is reflected as s initially or medially, provided that this does not become word final due to loss of final vowel. In final position in the Tigak word, limited evidence suggests that *s is reflected as t or r. There are few examples of *s in final position in a PO reconstruction, and no definite reflexes of these have been found for Tigak.

Reflex as s is seen in:

60. PO *susu 'breast' (PAN *susu)

TK sut

61. PO *salan 'road, path' (PAN *zalan)

TK salan

59. PO *isu(ŋ) 'nose' (PAN *ijūŋ)

TK isu-

Reflex as t is seen in 60) sut above, and r is seen in:

56. PO *ŋusu 'lips, mouth' (PAN *ŋusu)

TK ŋur 'mouth'

One example of loss in initial position has been found,
36) salik, though the PAN reconstruction has Ø.

PO *ns

This is reflected as s:

62. PO *kunsupe 'rat' (possibly PAN *tikus)

TK kusia

63. PO *ansan 'name' (PAN *ajan)

TK asan

64. PO *nsapa 'what' (PAN *apa)

TK so

51. PO *qanso 'sun' (PAN *qanjaw)

TK ias

Other examples are 70) poisan, 68) panasai.

*ns is not reconstructed in final position for PO.

A2.4.6. Semi-Vowel

PO *y (PAN *y)

*y is not common in the PO list. Only one cognate has been found in Tigak and the reflex for *y in it is a non-syllabic i:

65. PO *puqaya 'crocodile' (PAN *buqaya)

TK uaia

A2.4.7.

A five vowel system is used for PO and also in my analysis of Tigak. Dempwolff reconstructed a four vowel system for PAN. Reflexes in Tigak vary from PO in a few instances but they are generally similar. Final *o, *u, *e, and *i are usually lost.¹

PO *a (PAN *a)

PO *a is generally reflected as a:

55. PO *laman 'sea'

TK laman

66. PO *-na 'his' (PAN *-ña - Capell 1943)

TK -na

18. PO *mata 'eye' (PAN *mata)

TK mata

Other examples with consistent reflexes include 4) ulan, 17) tama, 19) lañit, 30) kagat-i, 33) katiluk 50) iat, 54) natu, 15) laβa, 61) salan.

¹ Single syllable words are to be excepted from this statement and similar ones in the sections which follow.

There are a few examples which show variations:

30. PO *nora 'yesterday'
TK nenogo
64. PO *nsapa 'what' (*apa)
TK so
39. PO *ikan 'fish' (*ikan)
TK ien

Loss of *a appears to be confined to instances such as 64) above where the number of syllables is reduced. Other examples of this are listed in A2.4.8.

PO *e (PAN *-ey)

PO *e is reflected as e in medial position but it is not common. In final position *e is usually lost. Only one PO reconstruction begins with *e and this has no reflex in Tigak.

Reflex as e is illustrated by:

11. PO *mpempe 'butterfly' (PAN *mbembe)
TK pepe

Loss of final *e is shown in :

67. PO *mate 'die' (PAN *matey)
TK mat
50. PO *qate 'liver' (PAN *qatey)
TK iat

Variations from this are found in two examples:

46. PO *qone 'sand'
TK kono
68. PO *anse 'chin' (PAN * azey)
TK panasai (Lavongai asai)

PO *i (PAN *i)

PO *i is generally reflected as i in initial and medial position and lost in final position. This loss is less obvious in relation to transitive verbs which generally have the 3rd sg. object suffix -i.

Reflexes as i include:

35. PO *mimir 'urinate' (PAN *mirmir)

TK mimik

59. PO *isu(ŋ) 'nose' (PAN * ijuŋ)

TK isu

and also 27) kulit, 40) ien, 19) laŋit, 52) i'num.

Loss of final *i is seen in:

13. PO *ŋpoŋi 'night' (PAN *beŋi)

TK βuŋ

69. PO *maqati 'reef'

TK mat

Other examples are 5) ur, 22) lakliak and the verbs 3) ulpuk-i, 2) pul-i and 30) kagat-i.

Variations include the following:

22. PO *(d)iki 'small' (PAN *Dikiq)

TK lakliak

16. PO *taliŋa 'ear' (PAN *taliŋa)

TK talaga

70. PO *pinsa 'how many' (PAN *pija)

TK poisan

PO *o (PAN *e, *-aw)

This is generally reflected as o but it is sometimes lost in final position. *-oCu and *-oCi are reflected as -uC.

Reflexes as o include:

8. PO *mporo 'pig'

TK βogo

21. PO *doŋo 'hear' (PAN *deŋeɾ)

TK paloŋ-an-i 'hear', loŋok 'listen'

28. PO *lo 'in'

TK lo

Other examples are 31) nenogo, 46) kono. In these two instances *-oCa and *-oCi become -oCo.

Loss of final *o is restricted to examples where the vowel of the preceding syllable is not *o¹:

26. PO *laŋo 'a fly' (PAN *laŋaw)

TK laŋ

39. PO *lako 'go, walk' (PAN *lancuŋ)

TK lak 'go up, enter'

51. PO *qanso 'sun' (PAN *qanjaw)

TK ias

Reflexes as u are found when *o is followed by a consonant and final *i or *u. The final vowel is then lost:

2. PO *poli 'buy' (PAN *beli)

TK pul-i

¹ On the data found so far, it would be possible to say that final *o is lost if the vowel of the preceding syllable is *a.

28. PEO *tolu 'three' (PAN *telu)

TK po-tul

58. PO *noŋi 'ask for'

TK nuŋ-i

71. PO *ponu 'turtle' (PAN *penu)

TK un

Other examples are 13) βuŋ, and 6) tu.

One variation of the general pattern is:

33. PO *qatolur 'egg' (PAN *telur)

TK katiluk

PO *u (PAN *u)

The main reflex of PO *u is u. *u is lost finally unless the previous vowel is *a.

Examples showing reflex as u include:

1. PO *punuq 'strike, kill' (PAN *bunuq)

TK punuk-i

4. PO *pulan 'moon' (PAN *bulan)

TK ulan

54. PO *natu 'child, offspring'

TK natu

72. PO *uti(n) 'penis' (PAN *uti)

TK uti-

Other examples are 5) ur, 27) kulit, 52) i^lnum, 14) patu.

Examples of loss of final *u are:

73. PO *-mu 'your (sg)' (PAN *-mu - Capell 1943)

TK -m

74. PO *tunu 'to cook' (PAN *tunu 'roast')

TK tun

Other examples are 42) ŋut, 56) ŋur, 44) -k, 29) po-tul.

Loss of non-final *u is seen only in:

75. PO *niu(ɾ) 'coconut' (PAN *niyuɾ)

TK nik

PO *u is modified to i in:

32. PO *turaŋ 'companion, friend'

TK tiga- 'brother' (cf. Lavongai tuŋa)

10. PO *tumpu 'grandparent, grandchild' (PAN *tumpu)

TK tiβu

A2.4.8. Vowel Sequences

Some VV sequences occur in the PO reconstructions though Dempwolff did not allow for any in PAN. Each vowel is treated as a separate phoneme.

Some of these sequences have identical reflexes in Tigak:

76. PO *au 'I' (PAN *aku)

TK -au 'me' (object suffix)

77. PO *tau 'man' (PAN *tawu)

TK tauan 'men'

43. PO *kai 'tree' (PAN *kayu)

TK iai

Other examples are 23) pauak, 25) raula, 38) sakai.

Only one vowel is retained in two examples:

78. PO *nsai 'who' (PAN *sayi)

TK na-si

(na- is an article - 4.2.2.)

75. PO *niu(ɾ) 'coconut' (PAN *niyur)

TK nɪk

A further vowel is added in:

9. PO *mpua 'areca (betel) nut' (PAN *buaq¹ 'fruit')

TK βuai

In one example there may be reduction to one vowel or metathesis²:

79. PO *mai 'come' (PAN *maɾi 'hither')

TK ima (Southern dialect ma).

A2.4.9. Reduction and Accretion

In some reflexes syllable reduction other than the loss of single phonemes has taken place. Accretion, usually in the form of reduplication, sometimes takes place in the same word:

24. PO *ndanum 'water' (PAN *danum)

TK ru¹rum

Other examples of syllable loss are:

80) PO *matudu(ɾ) 'sleep' (PAN *tuɖur)

TK ma¹tuk 'lie down'

81. PO *tina 'mother' (PAN *ina)

TK (ri) na-

In this example ri is an article (5.1.2.).

Whether there is actual syllable loss or accretion depends

¹ In Dempwolff's orthography this is *bu¹ah.

² Metathesis has not been found in any of the other Tigak reflexes from PO and this process is therefore considered doubtful here.

on the reconstructed form being correct and on it being assigned to the correct proto-language. In the following PO reconstructions the underlined syllables are not found in Tigak, but there is no corroborating evidence from PAN of their early existence : 15) *qalawa, 62) *kunsupe, 69) *maqati.

Two examples not already quoted are:

82. PO *pinsiko 'flesh'

TK pinpin 'skin'

83. PO *mapanas 'hot'

TK manas

Two other examples of reduction are 57) ŋan (from PAN *paŋan) and 37) lui.

Accretion occurs in the form of prefixes, reduplication, suffixes, addition of extra vowels and addition of final consonants. Examples are : 21) pa-^lloŋ-an-i, 7) saŋauluŋ, 31) nenogo, 38) sakai, 3) tapuok, 22) lakliak, 41) mani, 70) poisan, 21) loŋok¹.

A2.5. PROTO-OCEANIC ORIGINS OF TIGAK PHONEMES

Words easily traceable to Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Austronesian form only a small part of the Tigak vocabulary, but only one of the present phonemes - b - is not found in any reflex from Proto-Oceanic.² A few distribution occurrences

¹ This final k may be a regular reflex from the PAN *R.

² The phoneme b is rare and may be considered as a later development of minor significance. In the other dialects of Tigak b is not phonemically distinct from β.

(e.g. initial g, final u) are not accounted for in terms of PO reflexes alone. The list which follows summarizes, with page references, the origin of Tigak phonemes in relation to PO. Bracketing is used where evidence is slight.

TIGAK	PROTO-OCEANIC
β	*mp -p193-4, (*np) -p194, (*w) -p194
p	*p -p192-3, *mp -p193-4, (*np) -p194
b	none
t	*t -p195, (*-su) -p204
r	*nt -p195, *nd -p196, (*-su) p204
l	*l -p196-97, *d -p196, (*r-) -p197-98
g medial	*-r- -p197-98
k	*k -p199, *q -p200-1 *-r -p197-98, (*nk) -p200
m	*m -p201-2, (*nm) -p202
n	*n -p202
ŋ	*ŋ -p203
s	*s -p203-4, *ns -p204
i syllabic	*i -207, (*u) -210
non-syllabic	*i -p207, (*y) -p205, (*q-) -p200-1
e	*e -p206
a	*a -p205
o	*o -p208, other vowels by attraction -p208
u	*u -209-10, *o before consonant and final *u or *i -p208-9.

APPENDIX 3

WORD-LISTS

A3.0. INTRODUCTION

The first part of this appendix (A3.1.) is a Tigak to English word-list containing words (and morphemes) from the following:

phonemic contrast examples (Ch. 2)

grammar examples (Ch. 3-6)

the text (Appendix 1)

PO reflexes (Appendix 2)

equivalents of the SIL word-list.

The list is restricted to the Central dialect. Practical orthography is used as in the grammar chapters and text. Origins of words are indicated, where they are known, in square brackets. Numbers refer to the examples in A2.

The second part (A3.2.) is an English to Tigak index of this list. Where the origin of a word is referred to in A3.1., a brief indication of the earliest language traced is given for cross-reference.

Abbreviations in this appendix are as listed in p15-19 with the addition of :

Eng	English
Fij	Fijian
Pidg	New Guinea Pidgin.

A3.1. TIGAK TO ENGLISH WORD-LIST

A

- a art. a, the.
- a- am. (adverb marker).
- a sp suffix. (past tense).
- aa exclamation. ah!
- aigot v₁. prepare.
- aina art₁. (plural article before kinship nouns).
- aino adv₃. earlier, previously.
- aisok v₂, n₄. work.
- aius v₂. rest.
- akaliman v₁. count.
- akalit v₁. teach.
- akalkalit v₁. teach.
- akalkalima v₂. promise.
- akamus adj₂. all.
- akotong v₂. watch.
- akurul adj₂. many.
- alu adv₅. again; adj₂. too.
- amaua adv₃. tomorrow.
- ang dei. this.
- angasik v₁. help.
- angina adv₃. today.
- ani r. about, for.
- an-i ref p. about him, for him.
- anu n₄. man.
- asan(-i-na) n₃. (his) name [PO, PAN - 63].

a-so q₁. what? [see so].
 a-so-so q₃. how?
 ata n₄. fire.
 atuman adj₁. true.
 -au os. me [PO, PAN -76].
 auneng adv₁. in this way.
 aupat v₁. catch (of fish).

B

bata n₄. cloud.
 bavat-i v₁. close off.
 breil n₄. braille [Eng, French].
 buat v₂. float to the surface, surface.
 buk n₄. book [Eng, Pidg].

D

dokta n₄. doctor [Eng, Pidg].

E

e r. at, to.
 egeng adv₄. here.
 elai adv₄. above.
 eno adv₃. ahead.
 epatok adv₁. away.
 e-tama v₂. be father and son [see tama].
 etang adv₄. there.
 etok v₂. n₄. talk, speak.
 e-tu-tuk-ai v₂. stand about together.
 eul adv₂. very, very much.
 eve q₁. where?
 e-vis v₂. fight each other.

G

ga sp. he, she, it (past).
 galit adj₁. dirty.
 gamui n₄. axe.
 gan n₄. day.
 gara dei. this, here.
 gaus n₄. vine, rope.
 gava v₁. spear.
 gavan v₁. remove.
 gaveak resp. no.
 ge n₄. afternoon.
 gi sp. he, she, it.
 giak v₁. send.
 gigiak n₄. messenger.
 gima v₂. he comes [gi ima].
 gi-minang resp. no.
 ginang v₂. he goes; adv₃. going on, later [gi inang].
 gi-so qm. (yes-no question marker).
 God n₁. God [Eng, Pidg].
 gogo adj₁. poor.
 goko n₂. neck.
 gon v₁. prepare.
 -guk p. me (after su- or tesu-).
 gura dei. this, here.

I

i r. of.
 -i os. him, her, it.
 iai n₄. tree [PO, PAN -43].
 ian pasin-i v₁. leave.

ias n₄. sun [PO, PAN -51].
 iat adj₂. (emphasis).
 iat(-i-na) n₃. (his) liver [PO, PAN -50].
 ien n₄. fish [PO, PAN -40].
 ierak sal. goodbye.
 igai v₁. ask.
 igai n₄. question.
 igai-ai v₂. ask each other.
 ima v₂. come [PO, PAN -79].
 ina sub conj. so that.
 ina r. of, for.
 ina art₁. (plural article).
 inang v₂. go.
 ina-so q₃. why?
 inum v₂. drink [PO, PAN -52].
 io int. well, all right.
 iran v₁. cure.
 -irek os. them (2).
 irim v₂. sit down.
 isan(-i-na) n₃. (his) name [see asan].
 isu(-na) n₃. nose [PO, PAN -59].
 itak v₂. be surprised.
 ivisi v₂. spit.

K

-k p. my, me [PO, PAN -44].
 ka- stem of gen p.
 kagat v₁. bite [PO, PAN -30].
 kail v₁. call.
 ka-k gen p. my [see -k].

- kakas v₂. swim.
 kak(-i-na) n₃. (his) leg (PAN *kaki].
 kala n₄. taro.
 kalag-i v₁. write.
 kalama(-na) n₃. (his) tongue.
 kalapang v₃. understood, know, be in the habit of;
 n₄. understanding.
 kalengleng adj₁. light (not heavy).

 kaleo n₄. canoe.

 kalkail n₄. elbow.
 kal-kalum v₂. see.
 Kalou n₁. God [Fij].
 kalto n₄. star.
 kalum v₁. see.
 ka-m gen p. your (sg).
 ka-mi gen p. your (pl).
 kamus v₂. finish.
 kamus-ai n₄. end.
 ka-na gen p. his, her.
 kankanak n₄. mosquito.
 kapis v₁. plant.
 kapul n₄. woman.
 kaput n₄. axe.
 kar n₄. car [Eng, Pidg].
 kara sp. we (pl, inc).
 ka-ra gen p. our (pl, inc) [see -ra].
 karak sp. we (2, inc).
 ka-rak gen p. our (2, inc).

ka-ri gen p. their (pl).
 kasui n₄. salt.
 kat v₁. tie.
 katiluk n₄. egg [PO, PAN -33].
 katut v₂. cough.
 kau n₄. sweet potato.
 kaul v₂. row.
 kaup n₄. dust.
 kawai adj₁. old.
 kavale n₄. earth (soil).
 kaviil n₄. stick (for walking).
 ke pre-v particle. must.
 keak n₄. seed.
 kematan quant. some, a few.
 kenkenu dei. other.
 kepal n₄. part.
 ketil v₃. be surprised.
 kiak v₂. go down.
 kik(-i-na) n₃. (his) leg [cf.kak(-i-na)].
 kila, kilai v₁. know [PO *kilala].
 kisang conj. but; adj₂ alone.
 ko, kon (part of neg).
 koi adj₁. black.
 koko v₂. wait.
 kokot v₁. read.
 kong v₁. hold.
 kono n₄. sand [PO -46].
 korok n₄ root.
 kula r. on, on to.
 kula sub conj. because.

kula-so q₃. why?
 kuli-na loc p. on him.
 kulit(-i-na) n₃. body [PO, PAN - 62].
 kulkulinguak n₄. worm.
 kum r. together.
 kun pre-v particle. (emphasis).
 kungkung n₄. sky.
 kupa v₁. cover.
 kurau v₂. play.
 kurunusa n₄. island [PO *nusa].
 kus v₁. tell.
 kusia n₄. rat [PO, PAN -62].
 kuskus v₂. talk.
 kuvul r. together.

L

la qm. (yes-no question marker).
 la- causative prefix. cause.
 la(-na) n₃. (its) inside. lo la-na inside (prep).
 lago adj₁. hungry.
 lak v₂. go up, enter [PO, PAN -39].
 lakau v₂. dance.
 lakeak n₄. child (=young person).
 lakeak tigari boy.
 lakis adv₃. first.
 lakliak adj₁. small, little [PO, PAN -22].
 lakos adv₅. only.
 laman n₄. sea [PO-55].
 lam-lamon v₃. believe.
 lamon v₁. believe.

lang n₄. fly [PO, PAN -26].
 langit v₂, n₄. rain [PO, PAN -19].
 lapa n₄. basket.
 lap-lavu adj₁. big.
 la-poiat num. fourth.
 lava(-na) n₂. (his) uncle [PO -15].
 lavu adj₁. big.
 le sal. good-bye.
 liang n₄. stone.
 ling(-i-na) n₂. (his) voice.
 lisan-i v₁. bring.
 liu v₃. cross.
 lo r. in, into, to, on [PO -28].
 lo (part of neg).
 lo-ge sal. good afternoon.
 longina adv₃. today.
 longok v₃. obey, listen [PO, PAN -21].
 lono adv₄. in it.
 los v₂. laugh.
 losiliak adv₄. close.
 lo-so q₁. when?
 lotu v₂, n₄. worship [Fij, Polynesian].
 lovait adv₄. far away.
 luak v₂. breathe.
 luga vosop-i v₁. find.
 lui n₄. house (PO, PAN -37].

M

-m p. your (sg) [PO, PAN -73].
 makago adj₁. green.

- makan . v₂. float
 malan tana, malan te sub conj, r. as, like.
 malan tana-so q₃. how?
 malapen adj₁. n₄. sick, sick person, sickness.
 mali v₂. blow (of wind).
 malmal adj₁. tired.
 malmalakup adj₁. cold.
 mamakus v₂. worry.
 mamala-mit n₄. finger.
 mamana quant. (plural).
 manas adj₁. hot, warm [PO -83].
 manmanuk n₄. animal [PO, PAN -p199 fn].
 manui n₄. bird.
 mar num. hundred [Tolai].
 marakan v₁. spoil.
 maransakai adv₃. forever.
 marasin n₄. medicine [Pidg, English].
 masat n₄. time, year.
 masut n₄. bush (=woodland).
 mat v₂. die [PO, PAN -67].
 mat n₄. reef [PO -69].
 -mat adj suffix. very.
 mata n₄. cave [cf. mata(-na)].
 mata(-na) n₃. (his) eye [PO, PAN -18].
 matai v₂. sleep.
 matang n₄. garden.
 matuk v₂. lie down [PO, PAN -80].
 maua n₄. morning.
 me pre-v particle. (emphasis).
 mek sp. we (pl, exc).

mem sp. we (pl, exc).
 mem-tul sp. we (3, exc).
 mik sp. you (pl), you (sg, hon).
 milmilut n_4 . flower.
 mimik v_2 . urinate [PO, PAN -80].
 min pre-v particle. (dubitative).
 minang v_2 . stay, remain.
 mis v_1 . suck.
 mit(-i-na) n_3 . (his) hand.
 mo, mon pre-v particle. (perfective).
 muan adj_1 . right (hand).
 muata n_4 . snake [PO -53].
 mugi(-na) n_3 . back.
 muk sp. you(2).
 mumug-i v_1 . kill, shoot.
 mun v_2 . be lost, become lost.
 munis adv_1 . quietly.
 musangi v_1 . smell

N

na art_1 . (article before proper and kinship nouns).
 na(-na) n_2 . mother [PO, PAN -81].
 -na p. his, him [PO, PAN -66].
 nag-a sp. I (past).
 nak sp. I.
 namkai v_3, n_4 . believe, belief.
 na-ne ip. he, she.
 nangas v_2 . be happy.
 na-niu, na-nau ip. I, me.
 nanos adj_1 . straight, right.
 na-rek ip. they (2).

na-ri ip. they (pl).
 natlava(-na) n₂. his (wife), (her) husband.
 na-si q₁. who? whom?
 natu(-na) n₂. (his) child.
 ne(-na) n₃. (his) belly.
 nenogo adv₃. yesterday [PO -31].
 ngain v₂. n₄. sing, hymn, song.
 ngan v₂. v₁. eat [PAN -57].
 ngangan adj₁. sharp.
 ngeak v₂. cry.
 ngisa(-na) n₃. (his) tooth.
 ngui adj₁. dull (of knife).
 ngur(-i-na) n₃. (his) mouth [PO, PAN -56].
 ngut n₄. louse [PO, PAN -42].
 nik n₄. coconut, coconut tree [PO, PAN -75].
 -nik p. me (p151).
 -nim p. you(sg) (p151).
 no(-na) n₃. face, forehead.
 nol v₁. think.
 nol gavan v₁. forget.
 nonol n₃₋₄. thought.
 nosom v₁. feel.
 nos-nosom v₃, n₄. feel, feeling.
 nug-a sp. you (sg, past).
 nuk sp. you (sg).
 nung v₁. ask, request [PO -58].
 0
 -om os. you (sg).
 ong resp. yes.
 ot n₄. thing.

ot v₁. tell.

otaun v₁. love.

P

paga adj₁. clear.

pak n₄. leaf.

pakik adj₁. new.

pakpakal n₄. shoulder [PO, PAN -34].

palavien adj₁. bad.

paliu adv₂. very much.

palkais n₄. left hand.

palmit num. five. palmit potul eight.

palong-an-i v₁. hear [PO, PAN -21].

pana r. with.

pana speech link. that.

panasai n₄. chin [PO, PAN -68].

pana-so q₁. with what?

papais adv₁. quickly.

papa-na inst p. with it.

papasa v₂. proclaim.

pasal v₂. go, walk.

pasin v₁. leave.

pasingan n₄. important man, lord.

pas-pasal v₂. go and go, continuing.

pas-pasal-an n₄. journey.

pata pre-v particle. must not.

patakai dei. other.

patu(-na) n₃. (his) head.

pau n₄. frog.

pauak num. two [PO, PAN -23].

pe r. with.

pe, pen aspect. again.

pepe n₄. butterfly [PO, PAN -11].
 pinis n₄. knife.
 pinpin n₄. skin , bark [PO, -82].
 pikpikarum n₄. claw.
 pip n₄. blind man.
 pising v₁. say.
 piu n₄. dog.
 plantesin n₄. plantation [Eng, Pidg].
 po, pon aspect. (perfective).
 poiat num. four [po- +PO*pat, PAN].
 poisan q₂. how many? [PO, PAN -70].
 pok n₄. food.
 poko v₂. fall.
 polok v₂. grow.
 po-mo aspect. (pluperfective).
 popo n₄. baby.
 poto adj₁. short.
 potok-i v₁. divide, split.
 potul num.three [PO, PAN -29].
 puang n₄. grass.
 pul v₁. buy, sell [PO, PAN -2].
 punuk v₁. kill [PO, PAN -1].
 pupua n₄. sago branch.
 pupualavu n₄. thumb.
 pus adj₁. full.
 put v₂. run.
 put n₄. mountain.
 putuk v₁. cut, cut up.

-ra p. our (inc, pl) [PO, PAN -20].
 raula n₄. frigate bird [PO -25].
 raivung n₄. flying fox.
 reg-a sp. they (2, past).
 rek sp. they (2).
 -rek p. them (2).
 rem v₂. burn.
 ri art₁. (honorific article).
 -ri os, p. them, their.
 rig-a sp. they (pl, past).
 rik sp. they (pl), she (hon).
 ro adj₁. good.
 rongan n₄. devil.
 rokol v₁. be able (to do).
 rorum n₄. water [PO, PAN -24].

S

sa qual. alone, only, still.
 sagang adj₁. dry.
 sakai num. one [PO -38].
 saket v₂. prepare.
 salan n₄. path, road [PO, PAN -61].
 salik v₂. flow [PO, PAN -36].
 sang v₂. come, arrive.
 sangaulung num. ten [PO, PAN -7].
 sa-sang-an n₄. coming.
 sa-sapul-ai n₄. payment.
 saui n₄. bread.
 seil-i v₁. catch.
 seva(-na) n₃. (his) buttock.

siak v₂. go down.
 siakau n₄. wallaby.
 siana r. out of.
 sia-na loc p. from him.
 sin n₄. meat.
 sin-sinuk n₄. chair.
 sinuk v₂. sit, sit down.
 sisigulut adj₁. narrow.
 sisin n₁. younger brother.
 siva n₄. village, place.
 so q₁. what? [PO, PAN -64].
 sok gavan v₁. take away.
 soko v₁. bring.
 su, suna r. to.
 suai v₂. give respect.
 suk n₄. river.
 sula n₄. spear.
 su-na dat p. to him.
 su-si q₁. to whom?
 sut(-i-na) n₃ (her) breast [PO, PAN -60].

T

ta art₂. (indefinite article).
 takteak adj₁. strong; n₃₋₄ strength.
 takul v₁. attack.
 talatala n₄. minister [Fij].
 talinga(-na) n₃. (his) ear [PO, PAN -16].
 taloi n₄. spirit.
 tama(-na) n₂. (his) father [PO, PAN -17].
 tana r. of.

- tang art₂. the.
- tangintol n₄. v₂. life, live, be alive.
- tangui adv₁. from memory.
- tap adj₁. holy [PO, PAN -12].
- tapa n₄. basket.
- tapal v₂. complete.
- tapega n₄. pawpaw.
- tapuok v₂. return [PO -3].
- tara dei. that, there.
- tarai, tara v₁. see.
- tat v₂. fly.
- tata-na gen p. his, of him.
- tatut v₂. rise.
- tauan n₄. men [PO, PAN -77].
- taula n₄. tusk.
- tauni adv₄. to it.
- tavai v₁. give.
- te r. of.
- tena varavai NP. person who preaches, lay preacher [Tolai].
- te-si q₁. whose, of whom.
- tesu-na gen p. his, of him.
- teteng ina n₄. person (who does something).
- tiga(-na) n₂. (his) brother, (her) sister (i.e. sibling of same sex) [PO - 32].
- tiling(-i-na) n₃. (his) blood.
- timin n₄. flesh.
- tiptip adj₁. heavy.
- tivu(-na) n₂. (his) grandparent, grandchild [PO, PAN -10].

to n₄. wave.
 togon v₁. have.
 tok-togon v₁. have.
 ton v₁. hold.
 tongan v₁. try.
 tongos v₂. break.
 tu n₄. sugar cane [PO, PAN -6].
 tuan n₄. bone.
 tuan n₁. eldest brother [PO, PAN -49].
 tuap n₄. body.
 tuk v₂. stand [PO, PAN -45].
 tuk r. until.
 tuk tana r, sub conj. until.
 tun v₁. cook [PO, PAN -74].

U

uai n₄. fruit [PO *pua(q), PAN].
 uaia n₄. crocodile [PO, PAN -65].
 -uam os. you (sg).
 ugui n₄. hair.
 ulan n₄. moon [PO, PAN -4].
 ule r. from.
 ulina n₄. girl.
 ulit adj₁. round.
 ulpuk-i v₁. turn, change [PO -3].
 uma n₄. garden [PO, PAN -48].
 un n₄. turtle [PO, PAN -71].
 ungan n₄. fat
 ur n₄. banana [PO, PAN -5].
 usan v₂. rain heavily [PO, PAN -47].
 usik v₁. follow.

ut n₄. dove

utak neg particle. yet.

uti(-na) n₃. penis [PO, PAN -72].

v

va num. two.

vabat n₄. cane (for wall).

vakup n₄. cloth, clothing.

vana n₄. net.

vap n₄. people.

varas v₁. scold.

vavalang adj₁, n₄. stupid, stupid person.

vavat n₄. two men.

ve conj. and.

veak, veak lo not

viakon v₂, n₄. be afraid, fear.

viakon-an-i v₁. fear.

vil v₁. do, make.

vilrokoli v₂. be able.

vis v₁. hit.

vis-vis v₂, n₄. fight.

vivilai n₄. deed, action.

vo conj. or

vo fut. (future marker).

vogo n₄. pig [PO -8].

vouneng sub conj. if.

vuai n₄. betel nut [PO, PAN -9].

vukun n₄. kind.

vulau n₄. guts.

ving n₄. night, evening.

vusa n₂. heart.

vusit adj₁. dirty.

vuta n₄. ashes.
 vuvok aux. want.
 vuvok-an-i v₁. want.

A3.2. ENGLISH TO TIGAK INDEX

A

a. a.
 able, be. vilrokoli, rokol.
 about. ani.
 above. elai.
 action. vivilai.
 afternoon. ge. afternoon. lo ge.
 again. alu, pe, pen.
 ah! aa.
 ahead. eno.
 all. akamus.
 alone. kisang, lakos, sa.
 and. ve.
 animal. manmanuk [PAN].
 as. malan tana, malan te.
 ashes. vuta.
 ask. (question) igai; (request) nung [PO].
 at. e.
 attack. takul.
 away. epatok.
 axe. gamui, kaput.

B

baby. popo.
 back, (his). mugi(-na).
 bad. palavien.
 banana. ur [PAN].
 bark (of tree). pinpin [PAN].
 basket. tapa, lapa.
 because. kula.
 belief. namkai.
 believe. lamon, lam-lamon, namkai.
 belly, (his). ne(-na).
 betel nut. vuai [PAN].
 big. lavu, lap-lavu.
 bird. manui.
 bite. kagat [PAN].
 black. koi.
 blind man. pip.
 blood. tiling.
 blow (of wind). mali.
 body. kulit [PAN], tuap.
 bone. tuan.
 book. buk [Eng].
 boy. lakeak tigari.
 bread. saui.
 break. it.v. tongos
 breast. sut [PAN].
 breathe. luak.
 bring. lisan-i, soko.

brother, (his). tiga(-na) [PO].

burn. rem.

bush (=woodland). masut.

but. kisang.

butterfly. pepe [PAN].

buttock. seva.

buy. pul [PAN].

C

call. v. kail.

cane (for wall). vabat.

canoe. kaleo.

catch. (of ball) seili; (of fish) aupat.

cause. la-.

cave. mata.

chair. sinsinuk.

change. ulpuk-i [PO].

child (=young person). lakeak.

child, (his). natu(-na).

claw. pikpikarum.

clear. adj. paga.

close. adv. losiliak.

close off. bavat-i.

cloth, clothing. vakup.

cloud. bata.

coconut. nik.

cold. malmalakup.

come. ima [PAN], sang.

coming. sa-sang-an.

complete. tapal.

continuing. pas-pasal.
 cook. tun [PAN].
 count. akaliman.
 cover. v. kupa.
 crocodile. uaia [PAN].
 cross. v. liu.
 cry. v. ngeak.
 cure. iran.
 cut, cut up. putuk.

D

dance. lakau.
 day. gan.
 deed. vivilai.
 devil. rongan.
 die. mat [PAN].
 dirty. vusit, galit.
 divide. potok-i.
 do. vil.
 doctor. dokta [Eng].
 dog. piu.
 dove. ut.
 drink. inum [PAN].
 dry. sagang.
 dull (of knife). ngui.
 dust. kaup.

E

ear. talanga [PAN].
 earlier. aino.
 earth (soil). kavale.

eat. ngan [PAN].
 egg. katiluk [PAN].
 eight. palmit potul.
 elbow. kalkail.
 eldest brother. tuan [PAN].
 end. kamus-ai.
 enter. lak [PAN].
 evening. vung [PAN].
 eye. mata [PAN].

F

face, (his). no(-na).
 fall. v. poko.
 far away. lovait.
 fat (grease). ungan.
 father, (his). tama(-na) [PAN].
 father and son, be. e-tama.
 fear. viakon, viakon-an-i.
 feather = hair.
 feel. nosom, nos-nosom.
 feeling. nos-nosom.
 few. kematan.
 fight. vis-vis.
 fight each other. e-vis.
 find. luga vosop-i.
 finger. mamala-mit.
 finish. kamus.
 fire. ata.
 fish. ien [PAN].
 five. palmit.

flesh. timin.
 float. makan.
 flow. salik [PAN].
 flower. milmilut.
 fly. n. lang [PAN].
 fly. v. tat.
 flying fox. raivung.
 follow. usik.
 food. pok.
 foot = leg.
 for. ani, ina.
 forehead, (his). no(-na).
 forever. maransakai.
 forget. nol gavan.
 four. poiat [PAN].
 fourth. la-poiat.
 frigate bird. raula [PO].
 frog. pau.
 from. ule.
 from him. sia-na.
 fruit. uai [PAN].
 full. pus.

G

garden. matang, uma [PAN].
 girl. ulina.
 give. tavai.
 go. inang, pasal, pas-pasal.
 go down. siak, kiak.
 go up. lak [PAN].
 God. God [Eng], Kalou [Fij].

good. ro.
 goodbye. le, ierak.
 grandparent, (his) grandchild. tivu(-na) [PAN].
 grass. puang.
 green. makago.
 grow. polok.
 guts. vulau.

H

habit, be in the habit of. kalapang.
 hair. ugui.
 hand. mit.
 happy, be. nangas.
 have. togon, toktogon.
 he. ip. na-ne; sp. gi, ga.
 head. patu [PO].
 hear. palong-an-i [PAN].
 heart. vusa.
 heavy. tiptip.
 help. v. angasik.
 her = him, his.
 here. egeng, gara, gura.
 him. -i, -na [PAN].
 his. -na [PAN], ka-na, tata-na, tesu-na.
 hit. v. vis.
 hold. ton, kong.
 holy. tap [PAN].
 hot. manas [PO].
 house. lui [PAN].
 how? a-so-so, malan tana-so.

how many? poisan [PAN].
 hundred. mar [Tolai].
 hungry. lago.
 husband, (her). natlava(-na).

I

I. ip. na-niu, na-nau.
 I. sp. nak, nag-a.
 if. vouneng.
 important man. pasingan.
 in. lo [PO], lo lana. in it. lono.
 inform. akalkalit.
 inside, (its). la(-na).
 inside. prep. lo lana.
 island. kurunusa [PO].
 it = he, him.

J

journey. pas-pasal-an.

K

kill. punuk [PAN], mumug-i.
 kind. n. vukun.
 knee. vuvaknarak.
 knife. pinis.
 know. kalapang, kila(i) [PO].

L

lake. rurum ulit.
 laugh. los.
 leaf. pak.
 leave. ian pasin, pasin.
 left (hand). palkais.

leg. kak [PAN], kik(-i-na).
 lie down. matuk [PAN].
 life. tangintol.
 light (not heavy). kalengleng.
 like = as.
 listen. longok [PAN].
 live. (= be alive) tangintol; (= reside) minang.
 liver. iat [PAN].
 long. vukvuga.
 lost, be. mun.
 louse. ngut [PAN].
 love. otaun.

M

magic. naing.
 make. vil.
 man. anu.
 many. akurul.
 me. -au [PAN], -k [PAN], -nik, -guk.
 meat. sin.
 medicine. marasin [Eng].
 memory, from. tangui.
 men. tauan [PAN].
 messenger. gigiak.
 moon. ulan [PAN].
 morning. maua.
 mosquito. kankanak.
 mother, (his). na(-na) [PAN].
 mountain. put.

mouth. ngur [PAN].
 must. ke.
 must not. pata.
 my. -k [PAN], ka-k, tata-nik, tesu-guk.

N

narrow. sisigulut.
 near. losiliak.
 neck. goko.
 net. vana.
 new. pakik.
 night. vung [PAN].
 nine. palmit poiat.
 no. gaveak, gi-minang.
 nose. isu [PAN].
 not. veak lo, veak.

O

obey. longok [PAN].
 of. te, tana, i, ina.
 old. kawai.
 on, on to. kula; on him. kuli-na.
 one. sakai [PO].
 only. kisang, sa, lakos.
 other. kenkenu, patakai.
 our(pl, inc). -ra [PAN], ka-ra.
 our (2, inc). -rak, ka-rak.
 out of. siana.

P

part. kepal.
 path. salan [PAN].
 pawpaw. tapega.
 payment. sa-sapul-ai.
 person (who does something). teteng (ina).
 pig. vogo [PO].
 place. n. siva.
 plant. v. kapis.
 play. kurau.
 poor. gogo.
 preacher. tena varavai [Tolai].
 prepare. aigot, gon, saket.
 proclaim. papasa.
 promise. akalkalima.

Q

question. igai.
 quickly. papais.
 quietly. munis.

R

rain. langit [PAN].
 rain heavily. usan [PAN].
 rat. kusia [PAN].
 read. kokot.
 red. vung.
 reef. mat [PO].
 remain. minang.
 remove. gavan.
 respect, give. suai.
 rest. v. aius.
 return. tapuok [PO].

right (correct). nanos.
right (hand). palmit muan.
rise. tatut.
river. suk.
road. salan [PAN].
root. korok.
rope. gaus.
round. ulit.
row. v. kaul.
run. put.
sago branch pupua.
salt. kasui.
sand. kono [PO].
say. pising.
scold. varas.
sea. laman [PO].
see. tarai, kalum, kalkalum.
seed. keak.
sell. pul [PAN].
send. giak.
seven. palmit pauak.
sharp (of knife). ngangan.
she. = he.
shoot. mumug-i.
short. poto.
shoulder. pakpakal [PAN].
sick, sick person, sickness. malapen.
sing. ngain.
sister (her). tiga(-na).

sister (his). vasa(-na).
sit, sit down. sinuk, irim.
six. palmit sakai.
skin, (person's). pinpin [PO].
sky. kungkung.
sleep. matai.
small. lakliak [PAN].
smell. v. musang-i.
smoke. buan.
snake. muata [PO].
so that. ina.
some. kematan.
speak. etok.
spear. n. sula; v. gava.
spirit. n. taloi.
spit. ivisi.
split. potok-i.
spoil. marakan.
stand. tuk.
stand about together. etutukai.
star. kalto.
stay. minang.
stick. iai [PAN]; (for walking) kavil.
still. sa.
stone. liang.
straight. nanos.
strong, strength. takteak.
stupid, stupid person. vavalang.
suck. mis.
sugar cane. tu [PAN].
sun. ias [PAN].

sister (his). vasa(-na).
sit, sit down. sinuk, irim.
six. palmit sakai.
skin, (person's). pinpin [PO].
sky. kungkung.
sleep. matai.
small. lakliak [PAN].
smell. v. musang-i.
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stand. tuk.
stand about together. etutukai.
star. kalto.
stay. minang.
stick. iai [PAN]; (for walking) kavi.
still. sa.
stone. liang.
straight. nanos.
strong, strength. takteak.
stupid, stupid person. vavalang.
suck. mis.
sugar cane. tu [PAN].
sun. ias [PAN].

surface, float to. *buat.*
 surprised, be. *ketil, itak.*
 sweet potato. *kau.*
 swim. *kakas.*
 tail. *sum.*
 take away. *sok gavan-i.*
 talk. *etok, kuskus.*
 taro. *kala.*
 teach. *akalkalit, akalit.*
 tell. *kus, ot.*
 ten. *sangaulung [PAN].*
 that, so that. *ina.*
 that. *dei. tara.*
 that, speech link. *pana.*
 the. *tang, a.*
 their (pl). *-ri, ka-ri, tata-ri, tesu-ri.*
 them (2). *-rek, -irek.*
 them (pl). *-ri, -iri.*
 they (2). *ip. na-rek; sp. rek.*
 they (pl). *ip. na-ri; sp. rik.*
 thing. *ot.*
 think. *nol.*
 this. *gara, gura, ang.*
 thou. *ip. na-nu; sp. nuk.*
 thought. *nonol.*
 three. *potul [PAN].*
 thumb. *pupualavu.*
 tie. *kat.*
 tired. *malmal.*
 tomorrow. *amaua.*

to. e, lo, su, suna.
 to him. su-na.
 to it. tauni.
 to whom? su-si.
 today. longina, angina.
 together. kum, kuvul.
 tongue. kalama.
 too. alu.
 tooth. ngisa.
 tree. iai [PAN].
 true. atuman.
 try. tongan.
 turn. ulpuki [PO].
 turtle. un [PAN].
 tusk. taula.
 twenty. pauak sangaulung.
 two. pauak [PAN], va.
 two men. vavat.

U

uncle. lava [PO].
 understand, understanding. kalapang.
 until. tuk, tuk tana.
 urinate. mimik [PAN].

V

very, very much. eul, paliu, -mat.
 village. siva.
 vine. gaus.
 voice. ling.

W

wait. koko.
 walk. pasal.
 wallaby. siakau.
 want. vuvok, vuvok-an-i.
 warm. manas [PO].
 watch. akotong.
 water. rurum [PAN].
 wave. to.
 way, in this. auneng.
 we. ip. (pl inc). na-kara, (2 inc) karak, (pl exc) namem.
 we. sp. (pl inc). kara; (pl. exc) mem.
 we. (2 exc). mek; (3 exc) mem-tul.
 well, (all right). io.
 wet. miring.
 what? a-so, so [PAN].
 when? lo-so.
 where? eve.
 white. posok.
 who? whom? na-si.
 whose? te-si.
 why? ina-so, kula-so.
 wife (his). natlava(-na).
 wind. rei.
 with. pana, pe; together with kum pana, kuvul pana.
 with what? pana-so. with it papa-na.
 woman. kapul.
 woods. masut.
 work. aisok.
 worry. mamakus.
 worm. kulkulinguak.
 worship. lotu [Fij].
 write. kalag-i.

Y

yam. karakok.

year. masat.

yellow. keis.

yes. ong.

yesterday. nenogo [PO].

yet. utak.

you (sg). ip. nanu; sp. nuk, nug-a, os. om,-uam; p. -m, -nim.

you (pl). ip. na-mi. sp. mik; os.-mi.

you (2). ip. na-muk; sp. muk.

younger brother. sisin.

your (sg). -m [PAN], ka-m, tesu-gum, tesu-na.

your (pl). -mi, ka-mi, tesu-mi, tata-mi.

APPENDIX 4

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