

A TENTATIVE MULTILEVEL MULTIUNIT PHONOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MURIK LANGUAGE

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0. INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a descriptive phonological analysis of the sound system of the Murik language.¹ The theoretical basis underlying the paper is multilevel multiunit as introduced by Marvin K. Mayers. The basic premise of the theoretical framework is that phonemic criteria should be applied to more than just segments (individual phones) or syllables of any given language. It should in fact produce a system of notation for the consistent, accurate pronunciation of the entire language, not just the segments.

Details of phonetic pronunciation such as voicing, stress, pitch, duration, etc., can be spread throughout the phonological hierarchy in such a way as to tie phonetic features into specific contrastive units on the various levels of the hierarchy and thus reduce the amount of complexity on the segment level. Such features are divided into three classes: (1) *contact* - involving point and manner of articulation, (2) *relational* - such as the relative positioning of the tongue in the pronunciation of certain sounds, (3) *dynamic* - involving such features as level of pitch, contour of pitch, terminal point of contour of pitch. (Mayers 1975).

Phonetic features are assigned to specific levels of the phonological hierarchy according to the following criteria: (a) recurring patterns of features, (b) frequency with which the features occur in the speech span, and (c) by analogy to the assignment of features to a level and the successive bundling of features assigned to a given level. Generally the more frequently a feature occurs, the lower will be its assignment as to level; the less frequently, the higher the level assignment. (Mayers 1975).

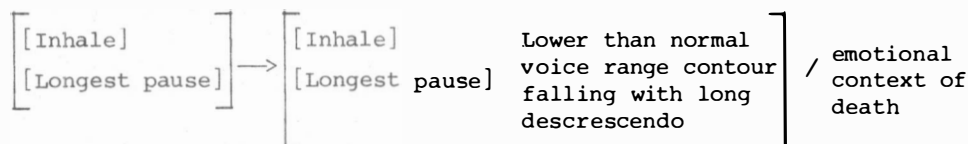
Thus Murik phonology is conceived of as a number of phonological levels ordered specifically within the hierarchy. Each level is seen in descriptive terms of contrastive and variant types of units and distribution of these units within the hierarchy. The unit and level-defining features comprising the individual levels are specific to that particular level but not necessarily unique to that level. The individual levels are specifically different from the other levels but should not be regarded as autonomous. 'The higher layer may condition the lower or the lower mark or identify the higher'. (Pike 1962:14).

At this stage of analysis, Murik phonology appears to have six levels: discourse, sentence, phrase, word, syllable, and phoneme. A unit of a lower level may simultaneously function as a unit on a higher level. For example the phoneme /a/ may function as a syllable, word, or phrase, depending upon placement of stress, occurrence within the speech span, and/or pitch contour.

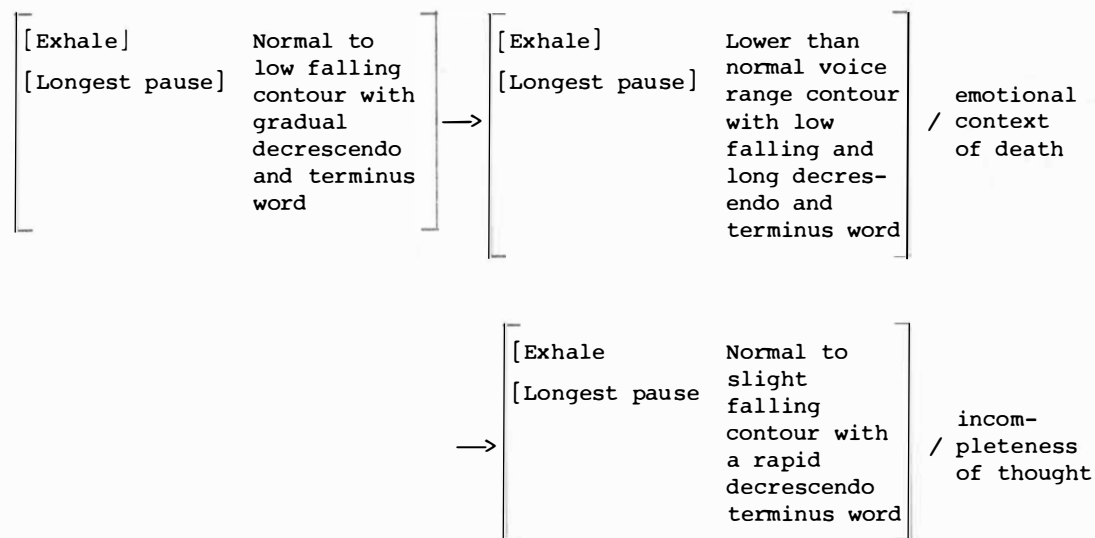
To be accurate in analysis of discourse type data one would need to have not only recorded text materials but also recordings of natural conversation in a variety of normal village settings. Therefore, the statement in Level 1: DISCOURSE and Level 2: SENTENCE represent only observations of variations in phonological features at Discourse and Sentence levels as derived from a limited corpus of text materials.

1. Level 1: DISCOURSE /indentation/

Text initial:



Terminus:



Additional features assigned to the discourse level:

- (1) /a/ → [ã?] / ø v ø within discourse...no apparent gloss
→ [a] / elsewhere.

This feature manifests itself within the discourse in various positions at different levels: (a) sentence initially or finally
(b) phrase medially
(c) phrase initially.

Its occurrence appears to be completely optional at the discretion of the speaker. Its immediate appearance is that of a stutter word much like 'uh' in English. However, there are certain predictions that can be made about the discourse revolving around its occurrence: (1) shift of focus from one object to another; or (2) change in action; or (3) switch in time. For the present, merely an observation that /a/ manifests itself within the phonological hierarchy on the discourse level glottalised and nasalised, will have to suffice. Further investigation and grammatical analysis should afford further insight.

- (2)
$$\begin{array}{l} + \\ - \end{array} \left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{word ending in consonant}] \rightarrow [^*\text{word ending in } /i/ \sim /i\cdot/] \\ [\text{word ending in short vowel}] \rightarrow [\text{word ending in long vowel}] \end{array} \right] / \begin{array}{l} \text{sentence} \\ \text{and phrase} \\ \text{final} \end{array}$$

/ka'ʔuk/ *bearer* ~ /ka'ʔuki·/ *bearer*
 /dwamin/ *crocodile* ~ /dwamini·/ *crocodile*
 /a'in/ *talk* ~ /a'ini·/ *talk*
 /ongwe/ *no* ~ /ongwe·/ *no*
 /songaʔo/ *place* ~ /songaʔo·/ *place*

This feature appears to be simply a stylistic variation from the norm. Its function would be that of a rhetorical device to add interest to a discourse.

2. Level 2: SENTENCE /full stop/, /exclamation/, /question/

Sentence initial:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Breath inhale}] \\ [\text{Pause of varying lengths}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Straight normal voice}] \\ \text{range contour} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow /./$$

contrastive in identical environments with:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Breath inhale}] \\ [\text{Pause of varying lengths}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Straight normal voice}] \\ \text{range with speed up} \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow /!/:$$

The exclamation type has variations according to the contexts mentioned below:

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Breath inhale}] \\ [\text{Pause of varying lengths}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Straight normal voice range contour with speed up}] \end{array} \right] \longrightarrow \left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Breath}] \\ [\text{Pause of varying lengths}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Straight raise in register and speed up}] \end{array} \right] / \begin{array}{l} \text{emotional} \\ \text{context} \\ \text{of death} \end{array}$$

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Breath}] \\ [\text{Pause of varying lengths}] \end{array} \right] \left[\begin{array}{l} [\text{Straight raise in register and speed up and tense voice quality}] \end{array} \right] / \begin{array}{l} \text{emotional} \\ \text{context of} \\ \text{extreme} \\ \text{fear or} \\ \text{danger or} \\ \text{anger} \end{array}$$

* No stress added or changed as a result.

Sentence final:

[+ Breath exhale]	[Straight to mid-falling contour
[Pause of varying lengths]	with optional rapid decrescendo]

Upon eliciting several types of statement and declarative versus quotation items it was found that the intonation contour patterns overlap totally. Both are manifested by straight normal voice range contours to low falling with rapid decrescendo. The only differences occur within the variation already described about sentence contours. Orthographic symbolisation will be discussed in a later section of the paper. Further analysis on a larger corpus of data, including both text and conversation type materials, should provide more concise analysis of phonological features on the Discourse and Sentence levels.

3. Level 3: PHRASE /comma/

Terminus:

[Breath]	[Straight to slight rising contour
[Pause of varying lengths]	with optional rapid decrescendo]

freely variant with:

[Breath]	[Straight contour with optional
[Pause of varying lengths]	rapid decrescendo]

4. Level 4: WORD /space/

+ Pre-tonic: S³ + Tonic: 'S + Post-tonic: S⁶

The phonological word is defined by an optional pre-tonic slot filled by one to three syllables; an obligatory tonic slot, the simple nucleus, filled by one stressed syllable; and an optional post-tonic slot filled by one to six syllables. However, the maximum number of syllables is seven. For illustration see Chart A.

Number of pre-tonic (1-3) syl- lables	Tonic	Number of post-tonic (1-6) syl- lables
0	/ug/ rattan	0
0	/ŋa.sen/ girl	1
0	/da.ka.nɪmp/ post	2
0	/nɪ.nɪ.be.kon/ tree species	3
0	/sɪ.ʃi.sɪ.ʃi.ŋɪ/ flying phalanger	4
0	/ma.nɪ.bo.kin.bo.kin/ goose	5
0	/ko.sa.bwa.tɪ.kɪ.mɪŋ.ka/ leave it	6
1	/gɪ.'gop/ sago palm stem	0
1	/mo.'ko.map/ small mosquito	1
1	/ma.'ʃi.sa.rap/ underneath	2
1	/i.'dʒe.ʃi.ma.ʃo/ teenage female	3
1	/o.'a.ʃa.kɪ.mɪŋ.ka/ walk	4
1	/ko.'kay.ʃe.ʃa.ga.tɪ.ka/ remove	5
1		6
2	/i.ʃa.'saʃ/ inside house	0
2	/to.bwa.'kɪ.mɪ/ crooked	1
2	/ko.ki.'ge.tɪ.ka/ break	2
2	/ko.ta.'ba.ga.mɪŋ.ka/ push	3
2	/kay.sa.'bwa.tɪ.kɪ.mɪŋ.ka/ blow	4
2		5
2		6
3	/i.ʃa.ŋa.'nin/ ridgepole	0
3	/i.tɪ.kɪ.'ma.ʃa/ door	1
3		2
3	/ko.a.sa.'sa.ko.pi.ka/ change	3
3		4
3		5
3		6

Chart A: Syllable distribution

Distribution of word initial and word final phoneme segments and/or sequences are given in Charts B1 and B2: (see appendix for data).

Phoneme	Word Initial		Word Final
	Pre-tonic	Tonic	
i	x	x	x
e	x	x	x
ɪ			x
a	x	x	x
u		x	x
o	x	x	x
p	x	x	x
b	x	x	x
θ			
t	x	x	x
d	x	x	
k	x	x	x
g	x	x	x
ŋ			
dʒ	x	x	
s	x	x	x
n	x	x	x
ɹ	x	x	x
m	x	x	x
y	x	x	
w	x	x	

Chart B1: Word-initial/final phonemes

Clusters	Word Initial		Word Final
	Pre-tonic	Tonic	
pw-	x	x	
bw-		x	
tw-	x	x	
dw-	x	x	
kw-	x	x	
gw-		x	
sw-	x	x	
dʒw-		x	
mw-		x	
pʁ-		x	
bʁ-		x	
kʁ-		x	
gʁ-		x	
sk-		x	
sp-		x	
-mp			x
-nt			x
-nk			x
-yn			x
-yt			x
-yk			x
-wʁ			x
-wg			x
-wt			x
-wk			x

Chart B2: Word-initial/final clusters

Phoneme consonant clusters have certain restrictions in word medial position. The possible syllable patterns are as follows in Chart C:

Pre-tonic	Tonic	Post-tonic
VC CVC	VC CV CVC CVCC CCV CCVC CCVCC	CV CVC CVCC CCV CCVC CCVCC

Chart C: Syllable patterns

The potential consonant clusters across syllable boundaries are as follows in Chart D:

Pre-tonic/Tonic border	Tonic/Post-tonic border
C/C C/CC	C/C C/CC CC/CC

Chart D: Syllable boundaries

Border consonant patterns actually occurring between syllables within the corpus of data used for this analysis are as follows:

1. Pre-tonic: -C/C-
2. Pre-tonic/Tonic: -C/C-, -C/CC-
3. Tonic/Post-tonic: -C/C-
4. Post-tonic: -C/C-, -C/CC-

Actual consonant distribution illustrated in Charts E1, E2, E3, E4: (see appendix for data).

	Syllable initial	
Syllable final		t
	n	x

Chart E1: Pre-tonic boundary consonants

	Tonic syllable initial							
	b-	bw-	t-	d-	g-	dž-	s-	k-
Pre-tonic syllable final	-b		x					
	-n			x		x	x	
	-ŋ				x			
	-r				x			
	-m	x	x					
	-y							x

Chart E2: Pre-tonic/Tonic boundary consonants

Post-sonic syllable initial

	p-	b-	t-	d-	k-	g-	dʒ-	s-	n-	ʃ-	w-
-p									x		
-n			x	x		x	x				
-ŋ						x					
-r					x				x		
-m	x	x									
-y		x	x	x	x	x		x	x		x
-w										x	

Tonic
syllable
final

Chart E3: Tonic/Post-sonic boundary consonants

Syllable initial

	b-	t-	k-	g-	gw-	bʃ-
-k	x					
-n	x			x		
-ŋ			x	x		
-m	x				x	x
-y		x				

Syllable
final

Chart E4: Post-sonic boundary consonants

Within this corpus of data all phonological words feature simple nuclei composed of a single syllable and a single unit of stress. Phoneme restrictions (see Charts B1 and B2) are too limited to be predictive features.

Concerning the unit of stress within the nucleus of the phonological word and the feature of length found within the corpus of data used for this analysis, stress is predictable as occurring on the first lengthened vowel or, if there are no long vowels, then word initially.

[anənp ^h a'ʃɛ.t ^h]	<i>lightning</i>
[ga'i.n]	<i>canoe</i>
['damag]	<i>garden</i>
['nag]	<i>vine used for tying</i>

However, the most efficient analysis was to interpret length as environmentally predictable on all stressed syllables other than word initial (see Level 5). But six data occurred which seemed to nullify this allophonic statement about lengthened vowels; initial syllables were found both lengthened and stressed.

[^h du.g]	stone	[^h kh _o .bo]	two
[^h sa.k ^h]	cheek	[^h da.g]	grass skirt
[^h phwa.p ^h]	waist	[^h sa.k ^h o]	wait

A minimal pair was discovered with the only difference being the contrast of initial syllable lengthened and stressed versus stressed only.

[^h saʔ]	stomach	[^h sa.ʔ]	type of shark
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Assuming that the phonetic transcription is accurate (it was tape recorded and checked with several informants) then the condition of these data is not coincidental and inexplicable but rather some characteristic of the language. There are at least two alternatives for analysing this phenomenon. (1) Presupposition: Stress is phonemic and length is derived. The first alternative would be to consider the unit of stress word initial on a syllable with a short vowel contrastive with stress word initial on a syllable with a long vowel. The two contrastive units of stress would be contrastive as to intensity with the former less intense than the latter. (2) The second alternative would be that there are two identical underlying vowels realised as a long vowel phonetically only in the presence of a unit of stress. The placement of stress in this case would be on the first long vowel within the word or on the first syllable in the absence of a long vowel, with only one unit of stress per phonological word.

Within the word level there are several features of neutralised contrast: /d/ → [t^h] word finally, /ʔ/ → [d] word initially, and /b, g/ → [b, g] word initially and finally.

The predominant feature of voicing versus voicelessness, contrasting [d] and [t^h], is lost in the word final position. That is, when a vocoid is preceded by [d] or [t^h] contrast is maintained. However, in the absence of a word final vocoid the contrast is neutralised. /t/ is the symbol chosen to actualise the neutralised contrast.

/d/ → [t^h] / word finally,
[d] / elsewhere.

[thandina akɪn]	time of the fish	[thant]	fish
[^h damag]	garden	[^h bebɛt ^h]	Vitex confassus
[^h da.g]	grass skirt	[disi'u.t ^h]	sea waves
[a'da.n]	shrub species	[anənpha'ʔɛ.t ^h]	lightning
[^h khəndəb]	fish species	[nungunsəʔagath]	green
[^h phwaydək ^h]	fish species	[ya'go.t ^h]	sick

/tant/ → /tandɪ-na akɪn/
fish fish-poss sun

The predominant feature contrasting [d] and [ʔ] is the speed of the tongue or length of duration of tongue at the point of articulation, the flap being more rapid than the stop. At word initial position the rapidity of articulation is lost and thus the contrast is neutralised. /d/ is the symbol chosen to actualise the neutralised contrast.

/ʔ/ → [d] / word initially,
 → [ʔ] / elsewhere.

[ˈdakʰanɪmp]	<i>post</i>	[pʰiˈsɛ.ʔ gwan]	<i>teenage male</i>
[ˈdamag]	<i>garden</i>	[ˈnoʔ]	<i>man</i>
[dɪˈkʰi.n]	<i>sweet potato</i>	[iˈdze.ʔ maʔo]	<i>teenage female</i>
[dəˈpha.g]	<i>coconut</i>	[numaˈʔo.go]	<i>woman</i>
[ˈdu.g]	<i>stone</i>	[gɪˈgɪ.ʔɪtʰɪkʰɪmpʰ]	<i>joists</i>

/dɪ-/ → /-ʔɪ-/

3rd person plural	3rd person plural
subject marker	subject marker
(word initial)	(word medial)

The contrast between the stops, /b, g/, and the fricatives, /b, g/ is neutralised in word initial and word final positions. [b] and [g] appear to occur only intervocalically in word medial positions, whereas, [b] and [g] occur word initially, word finally, and word medially contiguous to another consonant and/or intervocalically. /b/ and /g/ are the symbols chosen to actualise the neutralised contrasts.

/b, g/ → [b, g] / word medially, intervocalically,
 → [b, g] / elsewhere.

[baˈu.ʔ]	<i>bamboo</i>	[ˈkʰo.ʔo]	<i>two</i>
[ˈkeb]	<i>prow of canoe</i>	[eˈbi.pʰ]	<i>hurry</i>
[ˈbiŋam]	<i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>	[ˈnago]	<i>suppose</i>
[ˈnag]	<i>tying vine</i>	[mwaga]	<i>some</i>
[ˈgawg]	<i>seed</i>		

Further analysis of morphophonemics will provide greater insights on related aspects of these neutralisation processes.

5. Level 5: SYLLABLE

+ O: C² + N: V + C: C²

The syllable is defined by: an optional onset slot filled by one to two consonants; an obligatory nucleus filled by a vowel; and an optional coda slot filled by one to two consonants. Phoneme distribution can be seen in Charts F1, F2, and F3: (see appendix for data).

	V	VC	CV	CVC	CVCC	CCV	CCVC	CCVCC
i	x	x	x	x		x	x	
e	x		x	x		x		
ɪ		x	x	x	x	x	x	
a	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
u	x	x	x	x		x	x	
o	x		x	x			x	
p			x	x	x	x	x	x
b			x	x	x		x	x
ɓ			x	x				
t		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
d			x	x	x	x	x	
k			x	x	x	x	x	x
g		x	x	x	x		x	x
ɠ			x					
dʒ			x	x	x			
s			x	x		x	x	
n		x	x	x	x	x		x
ŋ			x	x	x			x
ɹ		x	x	x	x	x	x	x
m			x	x	x	x	x	x
y		x		x	x		x	x
w			x	x	x	x		x

Chart F1: Tonic slot phonemes

	V	VC	CV	CVC	CVCC	CCV	CCVC	CCVCC
i	x		x					
e	x		x			x		
ɪ			x	x				
a	x		x	x		x		
u			x	x				
o	x	x	x	x				
p			x			x		
b			x	x	x			
ɸ								
t			x	x		x		
d			x			x		
k			x	x		x		
g			x					
ŋ								
dʒ			x					
s			x	x		x		
n			x	x	x			
ŋ			x		x			
r			x	x	x			
m			x	x	x			
y		x	x		x			
w			x	x		x		

Chart F2: Pre-tonic slot phonemes

	v	VC	CV	CVC	CVCC	CCV	CCVC	CCVCC
i			x	x		x	x	
e			x	x	x	x	x	
ɨ			x	x	x	x		
a			x	x	x	x	x	x
u			x	x			x	
o	x		x	x		x		
p			x	x	x	x	x	x
b			x	x	x	x	x	
ɓ			x					
t			x	x	x	x	x	x
d			x			x		
k			x	x	x	x	x	x
g			x	x	x	x		
ɠ			x	x	x			
dʒ			x	x				
s			x	x	x			
n			x	x	x	x		x
ŋ			x	x	x	x		x
r			x	x	x	x	x	x
m			x	x	x	x		
y			x	x	x		x	x
w			x	x	x		x	

Chart F3: Post-tonic slot phonemes

Consonant cluster phoneme restriction is as follows in Chart G: (see appendix for data).

		Consonant cluster final							
Consonant cluster final		p	t	d	k	g	n	ɲ	w
	p							x	x
	b							x	x
	t								x
	d								x
	k							x	x
	g							x	x
	dʒ								x
	s	x			x				x
	n		x						
	ŋ				x				
	m	x							x
	ɣ		x		x		x		
	w		x			x		x	

Chart G: Consonant cluster restrictions

The ambivalent heterorganic consonant clusters are occasionally and unpredictably interrupted by a type of automatic consonant separator. The separator is always the central phoneme /i/. When separated, the initial consonant of the ambivalent cluster plus the /i/ become a syllable with the same timing as any other open syllable.

/přot/	['p ^h urot]	/piřot/	sago palm stem
/skemo/	['sikhemo]	/sikemo/	show
/mikhřik/	['mikhřik ^h]	/mikhřik/	hum
/spitikhim/	['siphitikhim]	/sipitikhim/	slick

Native speakers of the language accept either form, with or without this type of automatic separator, as correct.

The feature of length is a unit-defining feature of the syllable level. The short vowel manifests itself as a long vowel in the environment of a single unit of stress, with the exception of the data discussed on the Word level.

/v/ → [v.] / stress syllable,
→ [v] / elsewhere.

Because of the complexities involved in the analysis of syllable types, simple versus complex nucleus types will both be discussed in relation to the preferred interpretation.

		Coda		
		∅	C	CC
Onset	∅	V	VC	VCC
	C	CV	CVC	CVCC
	CC	CCV	CCVC	CCVCC

Chart H: Simple nucleus syllable types

With the exception of CVCC, CCVC, and CCVCC in the pre-tonic slot, all of the syllable patterns within the simple nucleus matrix in Chart H occur in pre-tonic, tonic, and post-tonic positions. In the analysis there were reasons initially to assume that there were complex nucleus syllable types. With the complex nucleus interpretation the CCVCC slot of this matrix was left unfilled in all slots. By phonotactic decisions the complex nucleus was reinterpreted as a simple nucleus and all slots of the simple nucleus matrix were filled with the CVCC, CCVC, and CCVCC pre-tonic slot as exceptions.

		Coda		
		∅	C	CC
Onset	∅	VV		
	C	CVV	CVVC	
	CC	CCVV		

Chart I: Complex nucleus syllable types

As can be seen from the matrix in Chart I the complex nucleus interpretation produces a very asymmetrical system. The vowel sequences occurring within the corpus of data were: [ao], [ai], [ia], [au], [ua], [oi], [ue], and [ui]. Also found were: [-aiə-], [-oia-], [-auo-], and [-iə-]. The decision to resegment [ai] → /ay/, [ia] → /ya/, [au] → /aw/, [ua] → /wa/, [oi] → /oy/, [ue] → /we/, [ui] → /wi/ as members of the same syllabic nucleus and [oia] → /oya/, [auo] → /awo/, and [iə] → /yə/ and interpret all vowel clusters as individual syllables was based on: (1) the asymmetry of the complex nucleus matrix; (2) the completion of symmetry of the simple nucleus matrix with the resegmentation decision of no VV pattern; (3) pattern pressures from such data as the three vocoids clustered together; and (4) univalent clusters [ao] and [ea] actually being nuclei of separate syllables.

All structural syllable types have been observed constituting one syllable words with the exception of CCV.

V	/a/	pause word
CV	/di/	<i>to kill</i>
	/mi/	2nd person singular
	/ma/	1st person singular
VC	/ug/	<i>rattan</i>
CVC	/keb/	<i>prow of canoe</i>
	/baʔ/	<i>mangrove (generic)</i>
	/kiʔ/	<i>cassowary</i>
CVCC	/tant/	<i>fish</i>
	/gawg/	<i>seed</i>
	/yawt/	<i>name</i>
CCV	∅	
CCVC	/bʔag/	<i>spirit</i>
	/pʔog/	<i>betelnut</i>
	/swaʔ/	<i>Intsia bijuga</i>
CCVCC	/kwawn/	<i>hole</i>
	/mwayn/	<i>star (generic)</i>

Words of up to seven syllables in length have been observed:

1 syllable	/saʔ/	<i>stomach</i>
2 syllables	/da.mag/	<i>garden</i>
3 syllables	/ay.bo.gep/	<i>cucumber</i>
4 syllables	/ni.ni.be.kon/	<i>tree species</i>
5 syllables	/si.ʔi.si.ʔi.ŋi/	<i>flying phalanger</i>
6 syllables	/ma.ni.bo.kin.bo.kin/	<i>goose</i>
7 syllables	/ko.sa.bwa.ti.ki.miŋ.ka/	<i>leave it</i>

6. Level 6: PHONEME

The Murik language has twenty-two phonemes. There are sixteen consonant phonemes: /p, b, ɸ, t, d, k, g, ɣ, dʒ, s, n, ŋ, ʃ, m, w, y/ and six vowel phonemes: /i, e, ɪ, a, u, o/. The consonants contrast in manner of articulation as to (1) voiceless aspirated and voiced stops; (2) stops and fricatives; and (3) stops and flaps. The nasals contrast as to bilabial alveolar, and velar points of articulation. The vowels contrast as to high, mid, and low tongue heights and front, central, and back tongue positions. Allophonic variation is conditioned by position within the phonological word and contiguous vowel pressure.

The phonological pattern of Murik consonants is symmetrical as illustrated in Chart J:

(a)	<table><tr><td>p</td><td>t</td><td>k</td></tr><tr><td>b</td><td>d</td><td>g</td></tr></table>	p	t	k	b	d	g	(a) voiced and voiceless oral stops
p	t	k						
b	d	g						
(b)	<table><tr><td>b</td><td>dʒ</td><td>ɟ</td></tr><tr><td></td><td>s</td><td></td></tr></table>	b	dʒ	ɟ		s		(b) voiced and voiceless fricatives
b	dʒ	ɟ						
	s							
(c)	<table><tr><td>m</td><td>n</td><td>ŋ</td></tr></table>	m	n	ŋ	(c) voiced nasals			
m	n	ŋ						
(d)	<table><tr><td>ɾ</td></tr></table>	ɾ	(d) voiced flaps					
ɾ								
(e)	<table><tr><td>w</td><td>y</td></tr></table>	w	y	(e) semi-vowels				
w	y							

Chart J: Consonant symmetry

The absence of the alveolar in the fricative series is filled by the voiced grooved alveopalatal affricate /dʒ/.

The six Murik vowels show symmetry as illustrated in Chart K.

	Front	Back		Central
High close	i	u	High close	ɨ
Mid close	e	o	Low open	a

Chart K: Vowel symmetry

Consonants

Voiced and voiceless oral stops

1. /p/ [p^h] voiceless bilabial aspirated stop.

['aʃip ^h an]	/aʃipan/	common housefly
['nagep ^h]	/nagep/	wall stud
['phʀog]	/pʀog/	betelnut

2. /b/ [b] voiced bilabial stop.

[ba'u.ʔ]	/ba'uʔ/	<i>bamboo</i>
[swa'ʔa.b]	/swa'ʔab/	<i>taro</i>
['bebet]	/bebet/	<i>Vitex cofassus</i>

3. /t/ [tʰ] voiceless alveolar aspirated stop.

[tʰi'bi.ʔ]	/ti'biʔ/	<i>sago palm flooring</i>
[itʰi'kʰi'ma.ʔa]	/itʰiki'maʔa/	<i>door</i>
[pʰu'ʔo.tʰ]	/pi'rot/	<i>sago palm branch</i>

4. /d/ [d] voiced alveolar stop.

['dakʰani'pʰ]	/dakanip/	<i>post</i>
['wadag]	/wadag/	<i>oyster species</i>
[wan'da.m]	/wan'dam/	<i>hornbill bird</i>

5. /k/ [kʰ] voiceless velar aspirated stop.

['wekʰ]	/wek/	<i>ladder</i>
[kʰa'ʔu.kʰ]	/ka'ʔuk/	<i>bearer</i>
[itʰi'kʰi'ma.ʔa]	/itʰiki'maʔa/	<i>door</i>

[kʰ] voiceless back velar aspirated stop freely varies with the voiceless velar aspirated stop [kʰ]

[bə'kʰa.yn]	~	[bə'kʰa.yn]	/bi'kayn/	<i>bowl</i>
[ma'kʰa.m]	~	[ma'kʰa.m]	/ma'kam/	<i>nape</i>
['kʰaykʰ]	~	['kʰaykʰ]	/kayk/	<i>buttocks</i>

6. /g/ [g] voiced velar stop.

['gangan]	/gangan/	<i>little</i>
['nageph]	/nagep/	<i>wall stud</i>
['ug]	/ug/	<i>rattan</i>

7. /b/ [b] voiced bilabial fricative.

['kʰo.ʔo]	/kʰoʔ/	<i>two</i>
[a'ʔe.ph]	/a'ʔep/	<i>one</i>
[e'ʔi.ph]	/e'ʔip/	<i>hurry</i>

8. /dʒ/ [dʒ] voiced alveopalatal grooved affricate.

[i'dʒɛ.ʔamaro]	/i'dʒerimaro/	<i>teenage female</i>
[adʒi'kʰo.ph]	/adʒi'kop/	<i>sugar</i>
[dʒu'ʔo.g]	/dʒi'ʔog/	<i>tree species</i>

9. /g/ [g] voiced velar fricative.

['pʰogayn]	/pogayn/	<i>snore</i>
['nago]	/nago/	<i>suppose</i>
['mwaga]	/mwaga/	<i>some</i>

10. /s/ [s] voiceless alveolar grooved fricative.

['nasɛn]	/nasɛn/	<i>young girl</i>
[sa'bo.n]	/sa'bon/	<i>river</i>
['seb]	/seb/	<i>sail of canoe</i>

Voiced nasals

11. /m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal.

[numa'ʔo·go]	/numa'ʔogo/	woman
[me'i·g]	/me'ig/	table
['damag]	/damag/	garden

12. /n/ [n] voiced alveolar nasal.

['gwan]	/gwan/	little boy
['noʔ]	/noʔ/	man
[kʰi'nu·n]	/ki'nun/	truss post

13. /ŋ/ [ŋ] voiced velar nasal.

['ŋasɛn]	/ŋasen/	young girl
['iraŋa'ni·n]	/iraŋa'nin/	ridgepole
['phaʔiŋaʔ]	/paʔiŋaʔ/	mast of canoe

Voiced flap

14. /ɾ/ [ɾ] voiced alveolar flap.

[kʰa'ʔa·kʰ]	/ka'ʔak/	sago thatch
['gaygeʔɛpʰ]	/gaygeʔep/	outside side of canoe
[ŋaʔa'kʰo·n]	/ŋaʔa'kon/	fish pen

Semivowels

15. /w/ [w] voiced high close rounded back semivowel.

['wekʰ]	/wek/	ladder
['gwan]	/gwan/	little boy
[a'wa·ʔ]	/a'waʔ/	west wind

16. /y/ [y] voiced high close unrounded front semivowel.

['mwayn]	/mwayn/	star (generic)
[ya'u·n]	/ya'un/	cave
['yaʔaʔ]	/yaʔaʔ/	wood

Vowels

Front

1. /i/ [i] voiced high close front unrounded vocoid.

['sikʰaph]	/sikap/	grass (generic)
[idʒa'ʔi·pʰ]	/idʒa'ʔip/	pandanus
[i'na·ŋkʰ]	/i'naŋk/	paddle

2. /e/ [e] voiced mid close front unrounded vocoid.

['monemonɛŋkʰ]	/monemonɛŋk/	warbler
['kʰenag]	/kenag/	Bibionidae of the order Diptera
['dewa]	/dewa/	demonstrative

[ɛ] voiced mid open front unrounded vocoid freely varies with the voiced mid close front unrounded vocoid [e]

['pʰɛpʰɛtʰam]	~	['pʰepʰetʰam]	/pepetam/	<i>butterfly</i>
['abɛtʰabɛtʰa]	~	['abetʰabetʰa]	/abetabeta/	<i>plenty</i>
['kʰɛnag]	~	['kʰenag]	/kenag/	<i>Bibionidae of the order Diptera</i>

Back

3. /u/ [u] voiced high close back rounded vocoid.

['mwaguʀo]	/mwaguʀo/	<i>rubbish</i>
['dʒabudʒabun]	/dʒabudʒabun/	<i>tender</i>
['duʀin]	/duʀin/	<i>sago</i>

4. /o/ [o] voiced mid close back rounded vocoid.

['noʃ]	/noʃ/	<i>man</i>
['sa.kʰo]	/'sako/	<i>wait</i>
['kʰotʰokʰa]	/kotoka/	<i>take it and go</i>

Central

5. /i/ [i] voiced high close central unrounded vocoid.

['mɪkʰɪʀɪkʰ]	/mɪkɪʀɪk/	<i>hum</i>
[dɪ'kʰɪ.ʃ]	/dɪ'kɪʃ/	<i>hiccup</i>
[sɪ'bi.ʃ]	/sɪ'biʃ/	<i>bush (jungle area)</i>

[ə] voiced mid close central unrounded vocoid freely varies with the voiced high close central vocoid [ɪ]

[iʀə'pʰwa.ŋkʰ]	~	[iʀɪ'pʰwa.ŋkʰ]	/iʀɪ'pwaŋk/	<i>joint</i>
['geʀəb]	~	['geʀɪb]	/geʀɪb/	<i>half</i>
[tʰə'bə.ʃ]	~	[tʰɪ'bi.ʃ]	/tɪ'biʃ/	<i>sago palm flooring</i>

6. /a/ [a] voiced low open central unrounded vocoid.

['bʀag]	/bʀag/	<i>spirit</i>
['tʰanth]	/tant/	<i>fish (generic)</i>
[a'be.pʰ]	/a'bep/	<i>one</i>

Consonants contrastive in identical and analogous environments:

/p/ and /b/

/a'pap/	<i>shovel</i>	/a'pab/	<i>large mosquito</i>
/bebet/	<i>Vitex cofassus</i>	/pemoʃ/	<i>tree species</i>
/bambaŋk/	<i>music</i>	/paʃam/	<i>mountain</i>
/abopikpik/	<i>red pepper</i>	/bo'ʀoboʀon/	<i>shrub species</i>
/pepetem/	<i>butterfly (generic)</i>	/abetabeta/	<i>plenty</i>

/t/ and /d/

/a'dan/	shrub species	/ga'tan/	betel pepper vine
/dukwin/	laugh	/top're/	dead
/dan'k/	leg	/tant/	fish (generic)
/di'kiř/	hiccup	/ti'biř/	sago palm flooring
/pwayd+k/	fish species	/katik/	grasshopper

/k/ and /g/

/wa'k'in/	snake (generic)	/wa'g'in/	kundu drum
/wek/	ladder	/weg/	oyster species
/ka'řak/	sago thatching	/gatan/	betel pepper vine
/kařiwan/	moon	/gařakop/	loincloth

/b/ and /v/

/'kobo/	two	/koba/	more
/a'bebabeba/	each	/abetabeta/	plenty
/a'bep/	one	/abekop/	suddenly
/e'bi'p/	hurry		

/dʒ/ and /s/

/a'dʒin/	ground	/a'sin/	sneeze
/swär/	Intsia bijuga	/dʒwařub/	fish species
/dʒa'řegĩ/	rat species	/sa'bon/	river
/dʒagřep/	iguana	/sakayn/	tobacco

/dʒ/ and /d/

/dʒi'řog/	tree species	/du'bin/	garamut drum
/mo'dʒik/	little mosquito	/ko'dika/	kill
/dʒa'řegĩ/	rat species	/da'řin/	hand
/dʒařayn/	beach	/dan'k/	leg

/g/ and /g/

/mwago/	bad	/nago/	suppose
/utaga/	day-after-tomorrow	/mwaga/	some
/mwaguřo/	rubbish	/nagonak/	right hand
/yagaboř/	road	/bagadžak/	crab species

/s/ and /t/

/si'biř/	bush (jungle area)	/ti'biř/	sago palm flooring
/ga'son/	edible green	/ga'tan/	betel pepper vine
/tatan/	older brother	/masak/	salt water
/ti'mit/	poison	/ti'giwařis/	gathering

/n/ and /ŋ/

/nagep/	wall stud	/ŋasen/	young girl
/kenag/	Bibionidae of the order of Diptera	/kaŋař/	Tahitian chestnut
/apanoř/	old man	/yaŋasař/	canal
/napan/	plank on canoe side	/ŋařin/	tomorrow

/ʃ/ and /t/

/daʃa'boʃ/ *ten*
 /bo'tim/ *fish species*
 /kaʃip/ *oyster species*
 /yagaboʃ/ *road*
 /ko'dika/ *kill*

/pi'ʃot/ *sago stem*
 /gi'ʃik/ *fish species*
 /katik/ *smoke*
 /ya'got/ *sick*
 /ma'ʃisaʃap/ *underneath*

/ʃ/ and /d/

/min'din/ *cloud*
 /ko'dika/ *kill*
 /aʃa'dawʃ/ *breastbone*
 /aydikaʃaka/ *feel*

/pi'ʃot/ *sago stem*
 /ma'ʃisaʃap/ *underneath*
 /ka'ʃuk/ *bearer*
 /yoʃa'kin/ *fish basket*

/w/ and /b/

/ka'wiʃ/ *hook*
 /a'waʃ/ *west wind*
 /awo/ *yes*

/e'ʃip/ *hurry*
 /a'ʃep/ *one*
 /'kobo/ *two*

/y/ and /dʒ/

/yanamanɪŋk/ *mangrove species*
 /ya'un/ *cave*
 /ya'got/ *sick*
 /toyamata/ *swollen*
 /teke'yaʃa/ *fright*

/dʒaŋayn/ *beach*
 /dʒa'gɪʃ/ *edible green*
 /dza'gʃon/ *owl*
 /todʒabudʒabu/ *slack*
 /bibi'dʒagam/ *soot*

Vowel allophonic variation

- /ɪ/ → [ɪ] / contiguous to a front vowel,
 → [ʊ] / contiguous to a back vowel,
 → [ɨ] / contiguous to a central vowel or as nucleus of a monosyllabic word.

(The phonetic reality [front vowel C ɪ C back vowel] has not occurred in the data encountered thus far to be able to establish a precedent as to directional preference for progressive versus regressive assimilation.)

[kʰɪ'be·ʃ] /kɪ'beʃ/ *fish net*
 [sɪnen] /sɪnen/ *sorrow*
 [sɪ'kʰi·n] /sɪ'kin/ *mouth*
 ['dʒɪndʒɪpʰ] /dʒɪndʒɪp/ *crab species*
 ['nɪnɪbekʰon] /nɪnɪbekon/ *shrub species*

[num'bo·n] /nim'bon/ *hot water sago*
 [dʒu'ʃo·g] /dʒɪ'ʃog/ *tree species*
 [du'bu·n] /du'bɪn/ *slit gong*
 ['munumpʰ] /munɪmp/ *smell*
 [gu'go·pʰ] /gɪ'gop/ *sago palm stem*

[kʰɪʃ] /kɪʃ/ *cassowary*
 [sɪ'bɪ·ʃ] /sɪ'bɪr/ *bush (jungle area)*
 [kʰathɪkʰ] /katik/ *grasshopper*
 [dɪ'kʰa·b] /dɪ'kab/ *throat*
 ['mɪʃɪdʒan] /mɪʃɪdʒan/ *fish species*

Vowels contrastive in identical and analogous environments:

/i/ and /ɨ/

/katik/	smoke
/kiř/	vein
/twaytitiři/	forget

/katik/	grasshopper
/kiř/	cassowary
/tomaři/	want

/e/ and /i/

/de/	demonstrative
/e'bi/	hurry
/bebet/	Vitex cofassus
/sip/	Poinciana delnis
/tibwa'kimi/	crooked

/di/	kill
/i'džerimaro/	teenage female
/biŋam/	Casuarina equisetifolia
/seb/	sail of canoe
/wa'řiŋame/	what

/u/ and /ɨ/

/iřiŋimařa/	happy
/mikiři/	hum
/du'kimeneŋk/	whistle
/geři/	half
/sikaŋa/	thank you

/dařugeři/	fish species
/gařuk/	fish scales
/di'kiři/	hiccup
/džařub/	fish species
/sugibaři/	mangrove species

/o/ and /u/

/přog/	betelnut
/a'pamařo/	old woman
/todžabudžabu/	slack

/přog/	thigh
/se'sařu/	ancestor
/ko'kotapombo/	wings

/a/ and /ɨ/

/gi'giři/	joists
/ni'miři/	mangrove species
/ni'bři/	spider
/dařugeři/	fish species
/gi'siři/	fish species

/dampetakam/	toes
/sa'peřakap/	navel
/na'bin/	eye
/maři/	underneath
/ga'son/	edible green

/a/ and /o/

/asa'řap/	teeth
/přeman/	banana
/da'kon/	crab (generic)
/a'pamařo/	old woman
/koba/	more

/asa'řop/	firewood
/pemoř/	tree species
/do'kwan/	little bamboo
/itiki'mařa/	door
/tabo/	five

7. ORTHOGRAPHIC CORRELATES TO ANALYSIS

As the basic premise of the theoretical framework of this analysis is that phonemic criteria should be applied to more than just segments or syllables of any given language, it should in fact produce a system of notation for the consistent, accurate pronunciation of the entire language. It is with this thought in focus that the following orthographic suggestions are made.

Level 1: DISCOURSE The discourse would be marked by use of indentation, just as in the convention of indenting new paragraphs in written English style. The analysis did not produce a level for paragraph on the basis of phonological

criteria. It is hoped that further grammar investigation will help mark the paragraph. Thus in applying the analysis to phonetic data it would be possible to separate and symbolise a discourse from larger speech spans by indentation. Although the different contexts of death and incompleteness of thought would not be symbolised in writing, knowledge of the phonetic reality of these different contexts would help a hearer better understand the speaker's intent and attitude.

Level 2: SENTENCE. Within this level there are statement and declarative versus question versus exclamation. Although phonological features are the same for statement and question, the fact remains that the two are semantically distinct. Therefore, separate symbols are recommended: */?/* for question, */./* for statement and declarative, and *!/* for exclamation.

Level 3: PHRASE. The phrase could be symbolised by the conventional use of comma. Further distinction such as colon or semicolon may become necessary with further analysis but that could be easily added into a literacy program at a later stage.

Level 4: WORD. Space between words would adequately separate one word from the next. Stress will be written on the lengthened syllables only, by a small diacritic above the line. The phonemes involved in the neutralisation of contrast */d/* → [*t^h*] / word finally, */r/* → [*d*] / word initially, and */b, g/* → [*b, g*] / word initially and finally will be symbolised as follows: (a) There is a */t/* contrastive in analogous environments with */d/* word initially and medially. Therefore the analyst would choose */t/* to actualise the neutralised contrast word finally. (b) There is a */d/* contrastive in analogous environments with */t/* word medially. Therefore the analyst would choose */d/* to actualise the neutralised contrast word initially. (c) There is a */b, g/* contrastive in analogous environments with */b, g/* word medially. Therefore the analyst would choose */b/* and */g/* to actualise the neutralised contrasts. These rules may not apply if morphophonemic changes suggest otherwise at a later stage in analysis.

Level 5: SYLLABLE. As previously discussed in the syllable level, all vowel clusters are interpreted as being simple nuclei. Therefore all high/low or low/high clusters will be written as semivowel/low vowel or low vowel/semivowel. Any mid/mid cluster is considered nuclei of two syllables and will be discussed under the phoneme level.

Level 6: PHONEME. The greatest complexity and the most controversial orthographic symbolisation must surely be found with the phoneme.

1. Consonants. (a) The two series of oral stops contrast as to aspirated versus voiced. No unaspirated voiceless stops occurred within the corpus of data used for analysis. Therefore, the voiceless aspirated stops could be written without the symbol for aspiration, i.e. */p^h, t^h, k^h/* → *p, t, k*. (b) The fricative series has several alternatives; however, the analyst would symbolise them as follows: voiced bilabial fricative */b/* → *v*, voiced velar fricative */g/* → *h*, voiced alveopalatal grooved affricate (filling the slot of the voiced alveolar fricative) */dʒ/* → *j*, voiceless alveolar grooved fricative */s/* → *s*. (c) The nasal series would be written as follows: voiced bilabial nasal */m/* → *m*, voiced alveolar nasal */n/* → *n*, voiced velar nasal */ŋ/* → *ŋ*. There are occurrences of */-ng-/*, */-ŋg-/*, and */-ŋk-/*. If the */ŋ/* was written as *ng* then there would be sequences such as *ngg* for */-ŋg/* and *ngk* for */-ŋk/*. The

simpler choice for the velar nasal seems obviously the use of the symbol ŋ. (d) The voiced alveolar flap /ɾ/ will be written ɾ, and (e) semivowels /w/ and /y/ as w and y.

2. Vowels. The high close front vowel /i/ will be written with i and the high back vowel /u/ will be written with u. The mid close front vowel /e/ will be written with e and the mid close back vowel /o/ written with o. The low open central vowel /a/ will be written a. It seems to be the general trend to symbolise the /ɨ/ in the Sepik Province with ɨ. For that reason, to help try and establish some uniformity in symbolisation, the analyst also suggests /ɨ/ be written ɨ.

If Murik speakers desire vowels rather than semivowels before consonants, cf. [k^hwaun] versus [k^hwawn], an alternative interpretation of the homorganically prenasalised final stops and of vowel clusters is possible. If one reinterpreted the homorganically prenasalised stops word finally as units and not sequences and all occurrences of nasal and stop at the same point of articulation as prenasalised stops rather than two separate phonemes divided by syllable boundaries, then it would be analytically feasible to reinterpret the vocoid clusters also. Any vocoid cluster with a mid or low plus high combination would become a complex nucleus of one syllable rather than mid or low vowel plus semivowel, cf. [sa'ɾa.ɲn] would become /sa'ɾai.n/. However, all syllables with vowel clusters of high plus low or mid vowels will remain the same, cf.

['t ^h oimathə]	remains	/toyamata/	<i>swollen</i>
['guan]	remains	/gwan/	<i>boy</i>
['bothamiaɾ]	remains	/botamyəɾ/	<i>big mouth</i>
['auo]	remains	/awo/	<i>yes</i>
['duaɾ]	remains	/dwaɾ/	<i>hair</i>
['k ^h uaiɨmbaɾ]	remains	/kwayɨmbaɾ/	<i>mangrove species</i>

If the Murik speakers opt to write vowels versus semivowels before consonants this reinterpretation would concur with their choice.

Phoneme	Orthography	Example
p ^h	p	napan <i>plank on canoe</i> , pariŋaʔ <i>mast of canoe</i>
t ^h	t	ti'biʔ <i>palm flooring</i> , bi'tun <i>taro</i>
k ^h	k	ka'ʔak <i>sago thatching</i> , sikap <i>grass</i>
b	b	bebet <i>Vitex cofassus</i> , ba'uʔ <i>bamboo</i>
d	d	damag <i>garden</i> , bon'den <i>moth</i>
g	g	nag <i>tying vine</i> , gibwan <i>lemon</i>
ʋ	v	e'vip <i>hurry</i> , 'kovo <i>two</i>
dʒ	j	ju'ʔog <i>tree species</i> , ajɪ'kop <i>sugar</i>
ɣ	h	naho <i>suppose</i> , mwaha <i>some</i>
s	s	seb <i>sail of canoe</i> , si'sim <i>ant (generic)</i>
m	m	me'ig <i>table</i> , damag <i>garden</i>
n	n	noʔ <i>man</i> , nagep <i>wall stud</i>
ŋ	ŋ	biŋam <i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i> , ŋaʔa'kon <i>fish pen</i>
ʃ	ʃ	saʔ <i>stomach</i> , ka'ʔuk <i>bearer</i>
w	w	was <i>wind (generic)</i> , wek <i>ladder</i>
y	y	ya'un <i>cave</i> , yoʔa'kin <i>fish basket</i>
i	i	i'nanɲ <i>paddle</i> , ga'in <i>canoe</i>
e	e	keb <i>prow of canoe</i> , pʔeman <i>banana</i>
ɬ	ɬ	kiʔ <i>cassowary</i> , si'biʔ <i>bush (jungle area)</i>
a	a	a'dan <i>shrub species</i> , ŋa'sen <i>girl</i>
u	u	ki'nun <i>truss post</i> , ug <i>rattan</i>
o	o	bon'den <i>moth</i> , ga'son <i>edible green</i>

Symbolisation Chart

APPENDIX

A. Notes

1. The Murik people live in a chain of salt water estuaries known as Murik Lakes. The area is located approximately ten miles west of the mouth of the Sepik River on the coast in the East Sepik Province of Papua New Guinea. There are approximately 1,500 speakers dispersed within six villages: Jangimut, Wagamut, Aramut, Darapap, Karau, and Mendam. The language belongs to the Nor Family of the Lower Sepik Sub-Phylum of the Sepik Ramu Phylum. (Laycock 1973, Laycock and Z'graggen 1975:739).

The data upon which this description was based were collected primarily in the village of Darapap during August 1977 through March 1978. The writer worked under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Papua New Guinea Branch.

Because the methodology used may be foreign to some, a list of phonetic features with corresponding symbolisation is included:

Pause: ////	////	discourse from 20 second to 2 minutes 50 seconds.
///	///	2.5. seconds to 3 seconds within text.
//	//	1 to 2 seconds within text.
/	/	.50 seconds to 1 second within text.
speed up in voice		slight crescendo <
raise in register	+	long gradual crescendo 
loudness	L	breath inhale/exhale < >
tense voice quality	T	length v.
rapid decrescendo	>	nasalisation Y
gradual decrescendo		stress 's
glottalisation	ʔ	

B. List of charts

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Data for Chart B1

/i'naŋk/	<i>paddle</i>
/idʒi'ɾip/	<i>shrub species</i>
/mwa'ɾi/	<i>emphatic negative</i>
/e'ɾib/	<i>bark cloak</i>
/keb/	<i>prow of canoe</i>
/wa'ɾiname/	<i>what</i>
/a'ɾebi/	<i>all the same</i>
/a'wa'ɾ/	<i>west wind</i>
/apo/	<i>large</i>
/iti'ki'ma'ɾa/	<i>door</i>
/ug/	<i>rattan</i>
/se'sa'u/	<i>ancestor</i>
/oy'kin/	<i>parrot</i>
/kobo/	<i>two</i>
/pa'ɾib/	<i>mark of time</i>
/pa'ɾina'ɾ/	<i>mast of canoe</i>
/a'pap/	<i>shovel</i>
/ba'u'ɾ/	<i>bamboo</i>
/bebet/	<i>Vitex cofassus</i>
/a'pab/	<i>large mosquito</i>
/ti'bi'ɾ/	<i>sago palm flooring</i>
/tant/	<i>fish (generic)</i>
/timit/	<i>poison</i>
/da'ɾin/	<i>hand</i>
/a'dan/	<i>shrub species</i>

/ka'ɾak/	<i>sago thatching</i>
/ka'ɾiwan/	<i>moon</i>
/wek/	<i>ladder</i>
/ga'in/	<i>canoe</i>
/gatan/	<i>betel pepper vine</i>
/p'rog/	<i>betelnut</i>
/dʒa'g'ron/	<i>owl</i>
/san'sam/	<i>shadow</i>
/sikap/	<i>grass</i>
/ti'giwa'ɾis/	<i>gathering</i>
/ni'b'ɾin/	<i>spider</i>
/no'ɾ/	<i>man</i>
/ɾarin/	<i>tomorrow/yesterday</i>
/ɾa'ɾa'kon/	<i>fish pen</i>
/ɾasen/	<i>girl</i>
/kandimbwan/	<i>carving</i>
/ba'ɾ/	<i>mangrove (generic)</i>
/ki'ɾ/	<i>cassowary</i>
/min'din/	<i>cloud</i>
/mi'ki'ɾik/	<i>hum</i>
/bi'nam/	<i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>
/ya'un/	<i>cave</i>
/ya'ɾa'ɾ/	<i>wood</i>
/was/	<i>wind (generic)</i>
/wa'ɾiname/	<i>what</i>

Data for Chart B2

/pwa'kip/	<i>short</i>
/pwa'ɾa/	<i>sore</i>
/bwam/	<i>fish species</i>
/twi/	<i>try</i>
/dwa'tambinan/	<i>shrub species</i>
/dwen/	<i>dog</i>
/kwawn/	<i>hole</i>
/kwe'gin/	<i>oyster species</i>
/gwan/	<i>boy</i>
/swa'ɾab/	<i>taro</i>
/swa'ɾ/	<i>Intsia bijuga</i>
/dʒwa'ɾub/	<i>fish species</i>
/mwayn/	<i>star</i>
/p'reman/	<i>banana</i>
/b'rag/	<i>evil spirit</i>

/k'ɾunag/	<i>jaw</i>
/g'ɾawn/	<i>fish species</i>
/skemo/	<i>to show</i>
/spiti'kim/	<i>slick</i>
/dakanimp/	<i>post</i>
/tant/	<i>fish (generic)</i>
/i'naŋk/	<i>paddle</i>
/dʒanayn/	<i>beach</i>
/sab'ɾayt/	<i>arrogant</i>
/kayk/	<i>buttocks</i>
/a'ɾa'daw'ɾ/	<i>breast bone</i>
/gawg/	<i>seed</i>
/yawt/	<i>name</i>
/nawk/	<i>mosquito (generic)</i>

Data for Chart E1

/mantam'baw'ɾ/	<i>rainbow</i>
----------------	----------------

Data for Chart E2

/mĩn'dĩn/	<i>cloud</i>	/nim'bon/	<i>hot water sago</i>
/bon'džayn/	<i>fish species</i>	/kum'bwank/	<i>top of canoe paddle</i>
/san'sam/	<i>shadow</i>	/oy'kin/	<i>parrot</i>
/nĩŋ'gin/	<i>breast</i>		

Data for Chart E3

/tantikĩm/	<i>clean</i>	/twaytitiřĩ/	<i>forget</i>
/wandik/	<i>brother/sister-in-law</i>	/aydĩkařaka/	<i>feel</i>
/indži/	<i>great distance</i>	/kayko/	<i>later</i>
/nungun/	<i>black</i>	/kaygan/	<i>hips</i>
/pa'sařnawk/	<i>mosquito species</i>	/kaysin/	<i>black ashes</i>
/kambatak/	<i>head</i>	/paynak/	<i>oyster species</i>
/kaybaba/	<i>stupid</i>		

Data for Chart E4

/kininbakamař/	<i>tongs</i>	/danĩmbig/	<i>knee</i>
/kobanķa/	<i>to nail</i>	/awambřo/	<i>straight</i>
/nĩŋĩmongo/	<i>new</i>	/o'dwapaytam/	<i>jump</i>

Data for Chart F1

V

/abopikpik/	<i>capsicum</i>	/epak/	<i>sparks of fire</i>
/a'ogĩdžig/	<i>centipede</i>	/apo/	<i>large</i>
/iřĩgĩmařa/	<i>happy</i>	/usinag/	<i>dirty</i>
/ařĩto/	<i>good</i>		

VC

/ug/	<i>rattan</i>	/ya'un/	<i>cave</i>
/ba'uř/	<i>bamboo</i>	/me'ig/	<i>table</i>
/indži/	<i>great distance</i>	/a'ĩř/	<i>lime</i>

CV

/ŋasen/	<i>girl</i>	/mi/	<i>2nd person singular</i>
/dewa/	<i>demonstrative</i>	/ti'řa/	<i>dance</i>
/a'řeřo/	<i>same</i>		

CVC

/sun/	<i>basket</i>	/noř/	<i>man</i>
/nungun/	<i>black</i>	/si'sim/	<i>ant (generic)</i>
/ma'mak/	<i>sandfly</i>		

CVCC

/kimp/	<i>bind</i>
/i'naŋk/	<i>paddle</i>
/sa'ɾayn/	<i>seagull</i>

/bi'kayn/	<i>bowl</i>
/yawt/	<i>name</i>

CCV

/pɾeman/	<i>banana</i>
/dʒaŋayn/	<i>beach</i>
/bibi'dʒagam/	<i>soot</i>
/kɾi'gao/	<i>ripe</i>

/spiti'kim/	<i>slick</i>
/bɾaŋin/	<i>tree species</i>
/skemo/	<i>show</i>

CCVC

/pɾog/	<i>betelnut</i>
/ka'kɾep/	<i>cockatoo</i>
/dʒa'gɾon/	<i>owl</i>
/gwan/	<i>boy</i>

/na'bwen/	<i>cooking fire</i>
/bɾag/	<i>evil spirit</i>
/swaɾ/	<i>Intsia bijuga</i>

CCVCC

/kwawn/	<i>hole</i>
/mwayn/	<i>star (generic)</i>
/gɾawn/	<i>fish species</i>

Data for Chart F2

v

/i'naŋk/	<i>paddle</i>
/a'kin/	<i>sun</i>

/e'bi'p/	<i>hurry</i>
/asa'ɾap/	<i>teeth</i>

vc

/oy'kin/	<i>parrot</i>
----------	---------------

cv

/ga'in/	<i>canoe</i>
/di'pag/	<i>coconut</i>
/kima'kin/	<i>bee</i>
/ki'baɾ/	<i>rat (generic)</i>

/go'gonggo/	<i>long</i>
/du'bɪn/	<i>garamut drum</i>
/se'saɾu/	<i>ancestor</i>

CVC

/min'din/	<i>cloud</i>
/nim'biɾ/	<i>flea</i>
/niŋ'gin/	<i>breast</i>

/kum'bwank/	<i>top of canoe paddle</i>
/wan'dam/	<i>hornbill bird</i>
/bon'den/	<i>moth</i>

CVCC

N/A

CCV

/swa'řab/ *taro*
 /dža'gřon/ *owl*

/idža'řip/ *pandanus*
 /pwa'kin/ *Malay apple*

CCVC

N/A

CCVCC

N/A

Data for Chart F3

V

/babao/ *crazy*
 /gao/ *2nd person dual*
 /ka'křao/ *dry*

VC

N/A

CV

/kinabakan/ *scorpion*
 /yaŋařan/ *angry*
 /apo/ *large*

/ařito/ *good*
 /pasamaři/ *close*
 /wa'řiname/ *what*

CVC

/přeman/ *banana*
 /kati/ *smoke*
 /yařan/ *blood*

/pinagep/ *shoulder*
 /masak/ *salt water*

CVCC

/džanaŋn/ *beach*
 /nimbunaŋk/ *fan*
 /mĩnĩmp/ *smell*

/bambaŋk/ *music*
 /menen/ *tongue*

CCV

/indži/ *great distance*
 /awambřo/ *straight*

/oŋgwe/ *negative*
 /džabudžabun/ *tender*

CCVC

/gibwan/ *lemon*
 /a'ogidžig/ *centipede*
 /kakřep/ *white*

/džagřep/ *monitor lizard*
 /nimbwan/ *grandparent*

CCVCC

/batakřaŋk/ *shoe*

Data for Chart G

/přug/	thigh
/pwap/	place
/břag/	evil spirit
/na'bwēn/	cooking fire
/twi/	try
/dwař/	hair
/křin/	hit
/kwawn/	hole
/gřawn/	fish species
/gwan/	boy
/džwařub/	fish species
/spiti:kim/	slick

/skemo/	to show
/swař/	<i>Intsia bijuga</i>
/tant/	fish (generic)
/danċ/	foot
/dakanimp/	post
/mwayn/	star (generic)
/sabřayt/	arrogant
/kayk/	buttocks
/džanayn/	beach
/yawt/	name
/gawg/	seed
/ařa'dawř/	breast bone

C. 100 lexical items

1. ['gwan]	boy
2. ['noř]	man
3. ['ŋasēn]	girl
4. [numa'řo.go]	woman
5. ['wekħ]	ladder
6. ['dakħanimpħ]	post
7. [kħa'řu.kħ]	bearer
8. [thi'bi.ř]	palm flooring
9. [kħa'řa.kħ]	sago thatch
10. ['nageph]	wall stud
11. [kħi'nu.n]	truss post
12. [sa'bo.n]	river
13. [iřana'ni.n]	ridgepole
14. [ithi:kħi'ma.řa]	door
15. ['ug]	cane
16. [ba'u.ř]	bamboo
17. [gu'go.ph]	sago palm stem
18. [me'i.g]	table
19. [na'bwēn]	cooking fire
20. [gu'gwa.ř]	sago thatch crown
21. ['kħwawn]	hole
22. [phu'ro.th]	sago branch
23. ['damag]	garden
24. [di'kħi.n]	sweet potato
25. [swa'řa.b]	taro
26. [a'i.ř]	lime
27. ['phřeman]	banana
28. [adži'kħo.ph]	sugar
29. [ani'n+i.ŋkħ]	mango
30. [dzu'ro.g]	species of tree
31. [kħabo'sa.n]	yam
32. ['kħwab]	bean
33. [dē'pha.g]	coconut
34. [kħan'dim]	shrub species
35. ['phřog]	betelnut

36. [ga'tħa.n]	betel pepper vine
37. [a'da.n]	shrub species
38. [dža'g+i.ř]	green, edible
39. [ga'ři.n]	tree species
40. ['kħanař]	Tahitian chestnut
41. [bo'řo.bořon]	shrub species
42. ['n+i.ŋbekħon]	shrub species
43. ['mwayn]	flower (generic)
44. ['sikħaph]	grass (generic)
45. [idža'ři.pħ]	pandanus
46. ['gibwan]	lemon
47. [ga'i.n]	canoe
48. ['kħeb]	prow of canoe
49. [i'na.ŋkħ]	paddle
50. [si'kħa.n]	grass species
51. [bi'tħu.n]	taro
52. [ga'so.n]	edible green
53. ['aysaph]	steer of canoe
54. [kħi'be.r]	fish net
55. [yořa'kħi.n]	fish basket
56. [g+i.gəph]	fish spear
57. [kħa'wi.ř]	fish hook
58. [ŋařa'kħo.n]	fish pen
59. [bi'bi.n]	old cloth
60. [ma'g+i.ř]	wood holding outrigger
61. ['nag]	vine for tying
62. ['napħan]	plank on canoe
63. [phāřinař]	mast on canoe
64. ['seb]	sail of canoe
65. ['siŋař]	steer
66. ['biŋam]	<i>Casuarina equisetifolia</i>
67. ['bař]	mangrove (generic)
68. ['swař]	<i>Intsia bijuga</i>

69. ['bebet ^h]	<i>Vitex cofassus</i>	86. [oy'khi·n]	<i>parrot</i>
70. [do'k ^h wa·n]	<i>small bamboo</i>	87. [dža'g ^h o·n]	<i>owl</i>
71. ['idžə'fəp ^h]	<i>shrub species</i>	88. ['nawk ^h]	<i>mosquito (generic)</i>
72. [a'k ^h i·n]	<i>sun</i>	89. ['aʃip ^h an]	<i>common housefly</i>
73. ['k ^h aʃiwan]	<i>moon</i>	90. [ma'ma·k ^h]	<i>sandfly</i>
74. [a'ʃi·m]	<i>water</i>	91. [si'si·m]	<i>ant (generic)</i>
75. [min'di·n]	<i>cloud</i>	92. [bon'de·n]	<i>moth</i>
76. [bi'ʃi·n]	<i>star</i>	93. ['k ^h enag]	<i>Bibionidae of the</i>
77. [na'ge·n]	<i>thunder</i>		<i>order Diptera</i>
78. ['was]	<i>wind (generic)</i>	94. [nə'b ^h ə·n]	<i>spider</i>
79. [ga'mi·n]	<i>east wind</i>	95. ['khat ^h k ^h]	<i>grasshopper</i>
80. [a'wa·ʃ]	<i>west wind</i>	96. [k ^h i'ba·ʃ]	<i>rat (generic)</i>
81. [bi'ni·m]	<i>north wind</i>	97. ['phaʃam]	<i>mountain</i>
82. [wa'u·n]	<i>south wind</i>	98. ['džəŋayn]	<i>beach</i>
83. ['sɪbiwas]	<i>cold wind</i>	99. [ya'u·n]	<i>cave</i>
84. ['bug]	<i>big east wind</i>	100. [san'sa·m]	<i>shadow</i>
85. ['k ^h iʃ]	<i>cassowary</i>		

D. Text material

Text phonetically written

<<< _____
 /// 'dwɛn 'oambayaʃo 'oambasasaʃo ma 'sik^haph 'athabagyaʃi
 dog comes sits I grass cut

_____ > < + _____
 o'ya·k^hima 'gobaʃ 'tagomanmaʃo 'aʃe 'wasoboʃo / 'nago 'dwɛn
 comes chicken steals the same as look intensifier dog

_____ > < _____
 'dewa 'nago 'dwɛn 'de 'nago k^hwat^ha'di·ga / 'oambadikiʃiɓiɓgayt^hiʃo
 this intensifier dog this ints. will shoot he.get up.runs away

_____ > < + _____
 'aʃe 'wasuŋk^ha / 'yaʃaʃ 'phwak^hiɓ^h wabasa'ŋa·yt^hiʃo 'wadi 'wadiɓ
 the same as goes wood short I.get shoot shoot

_____ >> << + _____
 'aʃebɓ 'ok^hiɓɓ 'oph^hɛk^hiɓ // 'oph^hɛk^hiɓ 'wat^hak^hhaydi ma saʃ
 now he.goes he.dies he.dies I.shot I stomach

_____ > < _____ > < _____
 't^hwaŋabak^hɓiɓnawa 'nago 'dwɛnba 'dewan / t^hwa'si·di / 'dewan ///
 pleased intensifier dog this I.shot end

Phonetic symbolisation:

/// discourse - 25 seconds ///	+ rise in voice register
// 3 second pause //	< crescendo
/ 1 second pause /	> rapid decrescendo
~~~~~ speed up in speech	L loudness increase

## Text phonemically written

dwen	oambayaŕo	oambasasaŕo	ma	sikap	atabagyaŕi	o'yakima
dog	comes	sits	I	grass	cut	comes
gobaŕ	tagomanmaŕo	aŕe	wasoboŕo.	nago	dwen	dewa
chicken	steals	the same as	look	intensifier	dog	this
nago	dwen	de	nago	kwata'diga!	oambadikiŕiŕibigaytiŕo	
intensifier	dog	this	intensifier	will shoot	he gets up.runs away	
aŕe	wasuŕka!	yaŕaŕ	pwakip	wabasa'ŕaytiŕo	wadi	wadiyi aŕebi
the same as	he.goes	wood	short	I.get	shoot	shoot now
okimi	opŕekim!	opŕekim	watakaydi	ma	saŕ	twanabakibinawa
he.goes	he.dies	he.dies	I.shoot	I	stomach	pleased
nago	dwenba	dewan!	twasidi.	dewan.		
intensifier	dog	this	I.shot	end		

## Text orthographically written

Dwen	oambayaŕo	oambasasaŕo	ma	sikap	atabagyaŕi	o'yakima
dog	comes	sits	I	grass	cut	comes
gobaŕ	tagomanmaŕo	aŕe	wasoboŕo.	Nago	dwen	dewa
chicken	steals	the same as	look	intensifier	dog	this
nago	dwen	de	nago	kwata'diga!	Oambadikiŕiŕibigaytiŕo	
intensifier	dog	this	intensifier	will.shoot	he gets up.runs away	
aŕe	wasuŕka!	Yaŕaŕ	pwakip	wabasa'ŕaytiŕo	wadi	wadiyi aŕebi
the same as	he.goes	wood	short	I.get	shoot	shoot now
okimi	opŕekim!	Opŕekim	watakaydi	ma	saŕ	twanabakibinawa
he.goes	he.dies	he.dies	I.shoot	I	stomach	pleased
nago	dwenba	dewan!	Twasidi.	Dewan.		
intensifier	dog	this	I.shot	end		

## Free translation of text

*I was cutting grass and a dog came and sat down. Then I saw him steal a chicken. I decided to shoot the dog. The dog tried to run away. I got a piece of wood and shot it at the dog. I shot the dog and he ran away and died. I shot him well and I was pleased that he died.*

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After each entry, ISBN numbers have been added. Where there is more than one number, the first refers to the complete set of volumes and the second and/or subsequent numbers to individual volumes or parts.

Note: the earliest works were called LINGUISTIC CIRCLE OF CANBERRA PUBLICATIONS, however all now bear the name PACIFIC LINGUISTICS.

All volumes are softbound unless otherwise indicated.

Unmarked publications which come under 'Languages for intercultural communication in the Pacific area' project are: A-54, A-57, B-26, B-61, B-73, C-34, C-40, C-52, D-3, D-5, D-12, D-23, D-29 (note the change of project name).

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- No. 1. WURM, S.A. Some remarks on the role of language in the assimilation of Australian aborigines. 1963; 12pp. Reprinted 1966. ISBN 0 85883 006 X
- No. 2. HEALEY, Alan Handling unsophisticated linguistic informants. 1964; iii+30pp. Reprinted 1967, 1972, 1973, 1975. ISBN 0 85883 007 8
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