

A TIKOPIA PHONOLOGY

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1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to present a phonemic analysis of the Tikopia language. A description is given of the phoneme, syllable, word and phrase levels.

Tikopia is a 'Polynesian Outlier' in the British Solomon Islands. It is located at approximately 12° S 169° E. The island is 2.25 square miles of inactive volcano surrounded by a coral reef. The crater contains a fresh water lake which covers about one-fourth of the total area, mountains cover about half and level sandy beaches cover the remaining fourth of the island.

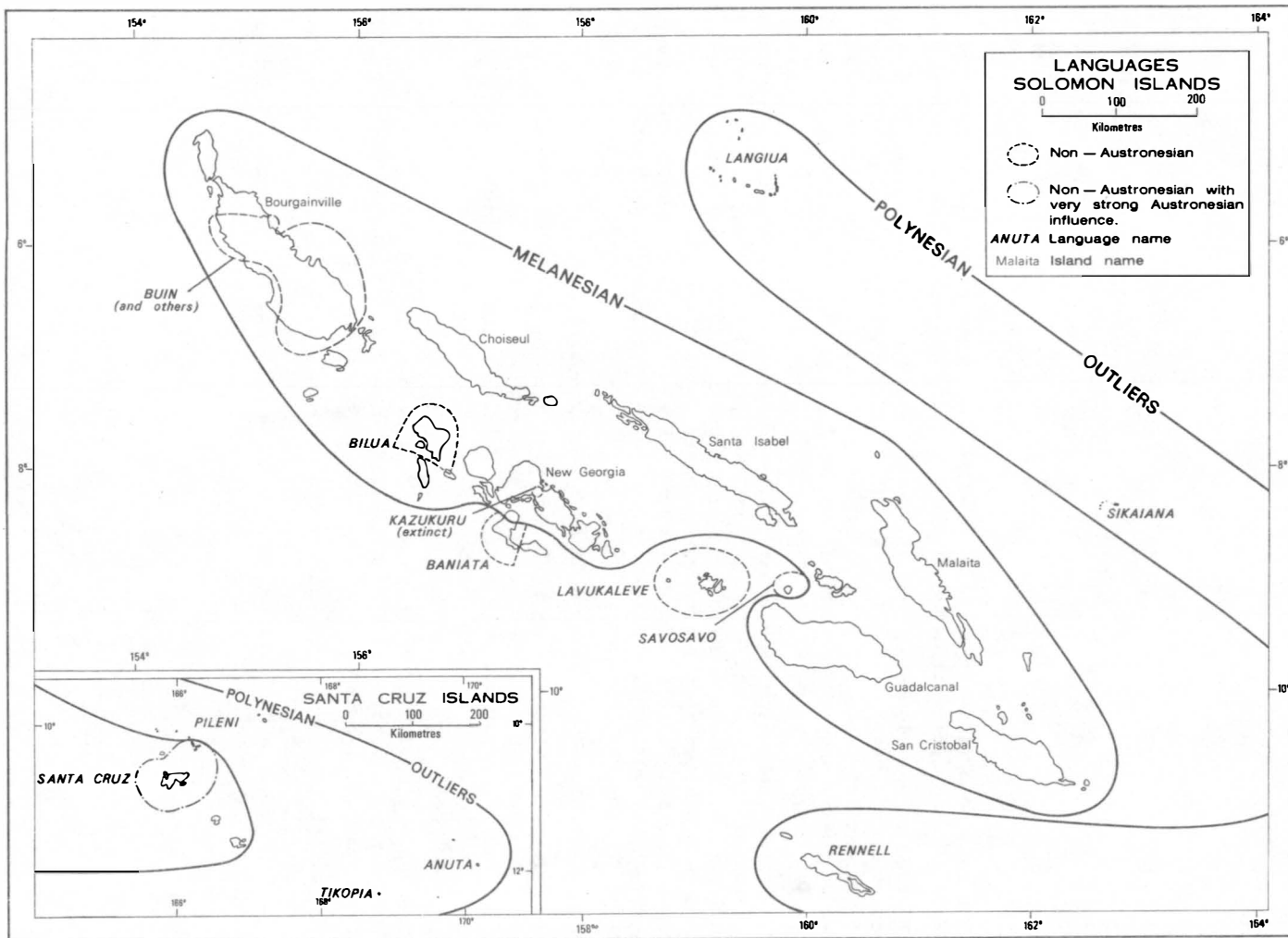
The speech community at present (1975) is about 2000, although some estimates are as high as 5000. About 1000 live on Tikopia, 500 in the Russell Islands, 400 on San Cristobal, 100 in Honiara and a small group on Vanikoro. Because these colonies were started in this generation there is little or no difference in dialects. There is little bilingualism on Tikopia but almost everyone in the colonies speaks Solomonese, the Melanesian-English creole which is the lingua franca of the Solomon Islands.

The previous work on Tikopia is best summarised by Biggs (1971)

Tikopia culture is better known than that of any other Polynesian society but published study of the language is limited to a rather inadequate wordlist (Durrad 1926-7) and an article on the existence of *l* and *r* (Firth 1963), an unusual phonemic feature in Polynesia.

The description which follows comes from data collected in the field during the (southern) academic year of 1974, while the author was engaged in linguistic and ethnomusicological research in the British Solomon Islands.

The author is indebted to the Tikopia of Nukufero, Russell Islands; Nukukaisi, San Cristobal; Honiara, Guadalcanal and Namo, Tikopia. Assistance was mainly provided by Mark Vaka, Aron Teoqa and Philip Koria although many Tikopia were helpful on linguistic matters.



2. PHONEME LEVEL

2.1. Phoneme chart

2.1.1. Consonants

	Labial	Dental-Alveolar	Velar
Stops	p	t	k
Nasals	m	n	ŋ
Lateral		l	
Trill		r	
Fricatives	f	s	
	v		

2.1.2. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Higher	i		u
Lower	e	a	o

2.1.3. Description of contrastive features

There are eleven consonant phonemes in Tikopia which contrast in manner of articulation between stops, nasals, lateral, trill and fricatives.

Stops and nasals contrast in point of articulation as to labial, dental-alveolar, and velar. The lateral occurs at dental point of articulation, the trill at alveolar. The fricatives occur at labial and alveolar points of articulation.

There is contrast between front and back vowels as to higher and lower tongue positions. The lower central vowel occurs with the tongue in the neutral or non-flexed position and contrasts with front and back vowels as to flexed positions.

2.2. Description

2.2.1. Consonant contrasts

The following consonants contrast in word initial and medial positions.

The trill and lateral
/r/ and /l/

/lau/	['lau]	'dance'
/rau/	['rau]	'leaf'
/solo/	['so o]	'melt'
/soro/	['soʀo]	'whet axe'

The alveolar and velar nasals

/n/ and /ŋ/

/nau/	['nau]	'mother'
/ŋau/	['ŋau]	'chew'
/mana/	['mana]	'father'
/maŋa/	['maŋa]	'fork in tree'

The voiced and voiceless labiodental fricatives

/f/ and /v/

/vaka/	['vaka]	'canoe'
/faka/	['faka]	'very'
/tovi/	['tovi]	'boat'
/tofi/	['tofi]	'garden'

The dental stop and alveolar grooved fricative

/t/ and /s/

/se/	['se]	'not'
/te/	['te]	'the'
/fetari/	[fe'taʔi]	'wait'
/esari/	[e'saʔi]	'gave'

2.2.2. Consonant variants

The oral stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ occur word initial and medially. Each has an aspirated allophone (p^h), (t^h) and (k^h) which occur preceding the high back vowel /u/.

/p/ (p^h) voiceless bilabial aspirated stop

(p) voiceless bilabial stop

/pe/	['pe]	'throw'
/tupa/	['t ^h upa]	'white crab'
/puna/	['p ^h una]	'grandfather'
/fakanupu/	['faka'nup ^h u]	'draw water'

/t/ (t^h) voiceless dental aspirated stop

(t) voiceless dental stop

/te/	['te]	'the'
/fetari/	[fe'taʔi]	'wait'
/tu/	['t ^h u]	'cut'
/fatu/	['fa ^h t ^h u]	'stone'

/k/ (k^h) voiceless velar aspirated stop

(k) voiceless velar stop

/kasi/	['kasi]	'spoon'
/kuka/	['k ^h uka]	'embers'
/mauku/	['mauk ^h u]	'grass'

The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ has a semivowel allophone (w) which occurs medially following the high back vowel /u/.

/v/ (v) voiced labiodental fricative

(w) voiced high back rounded semivowel

/tovi/	['tovi]	'boat'
/tauvi/	['tauwi]	'buy'
/vai	['vai]	'water'

The following consonants each have a single allophone, the phonetic norm, which occur initially and medially.

/m/ (m) voiced bilabial nasal

/ma/	['ma]	'and'
/mama/	['mama]	'priest'

/n/ (n) voiced alveolar nasal

/na/	['na]	'his'
/mana/	['mana]	'father'

/ŋ/ (ŋ) voiced velar nasal

/ŋa/	['ŋa]	'the'
/maŋa/	['maŋa]	'fork in tree'

/l/ (l) voiced lateral

/laoi/	['laoi]	'good'
/solo/	['so o]	'melt'

/r/ (ʀ) voiced alveolar trill

/ro/	['ʀo]	'ant'
/soro/	['soʀo]	'whet axe'

/f/ (f) voiceless labiodental fricative

/fai/	['fai]	'try'
/tofi/	['tofi]	'garden'

/s/ (s) voiceless alveolar grooved fricative

/se/	['se]	'not'
/lasi/	['lasi]	'big'

2.2.3. Vowel contrasts

The five vowel phonemes /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/ contrast with each other in the peak slot of syllables occurring in stressed and unstressed positions in the phonological word.

/i/ /e/ /a/ /o/ /u/

/ki/	['ki]	'to'
/ke/	['ke]	'you'
/ka/	['ka]	'future'

	/ko/	['ko]	'name'
	/ku/	['k ^h u]	'past progressive'
	/tautari/	[tau'ta ^h ʔi]	'stalk'
	/tare/	['ta ^h ʔe]	'cough'
	/para/	['pa ^h ʔa]	'sore'
	/taro/	['ta ^h ʔo]	'taro'
	/maru/	['ma ^h ʔu]	'speaker'
/i/ and /e/			
	/ki/	['ki]	'to'
	/ke/	['ke]	'you'
	/tare/	['ta ^h ʔe]	'cough'
	/tautari/	[tau'ta ^h ʔi]	'stalk'
/e/ and /a/			
	/pera/	['pe ^h ʔa]	'type of taro'
	/para/	['pa ^h ʔa]	'sore'
	/kave/	['kave]	'sibling'
	/kava/	['kava]	'kava drink' made from root of a plant
/a/ and /o/			
	/tosi/	['to ^h ʔi]	'drag'
	/tasi/	['ta ^h ʔi]	'one'
	/pito/	['pi ^h ʔo]	'navel'
	/pita/	['pi ^h ʔa]	'type of leaf'
/u/ and /o/			
	/tofi/	['to ^h ʔi]	'garden'
	/tufi/	['tu ^h ʔi]	'pick'
	/maru/	['ma ^h ʔu]	'speaker'
	/maro/	['ma ^h ʔo]	'man's loin cloth' (from bark Broussonetia papyrifera)

2.2.4. Vowel variants

Each of the three lower vowels /e/, /a/ and /o/ has two allophones which occur in free variation.

/e/ /ɛ/ mid open front unrounded vocoid

/e/ mid close front unrounded vocoid

/peti/	['peti] ~ ['pe ^h ʔi]	'fat'
/emao/	[e'mao] ~ [ɛ'mao]	'far from'
/te/	['te] ~ ['tɛ]	'the'

/a/	/ʌ/	low close central unrounded vocoid	
/a/		low open central unrounded vocoid	
/taka/		[ˈtaka] ~ [ˈtʌkʌ]	'young'
/muna/		[ˈmuna] ~ [ˈmunʌ]	'speak'
/o/	(ɔ)	mid open back rounded vocoid	
	(o)	mid close back rounded vocoid	
/soro/		[ˈsoʔo] ~ [ˈsɔʔo]	'rub'
/foŋa/		[ˈfoŋa] ~ [ˈfɔŋa]	'above'

Each of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ has a single allophone which occurs in the peak slot of stressed and unstressed syllables.

/i/	(i)	voiced high close front unrounded vocoid	
/i/		[ˈi]	'in'
/tofi/		[ˈtofi]	'garden'
/u/	(u)	voiced high close back rounded vocoid	
/u/		[ˈu]	'crab'
/maru/		[ˈmaʔu]	'speaker'

3. SYLLABLE LEVEL

For Tikopia, a syllable is defined as a single mora of length consisting of a nucleus of one or two vowels with an optional onset of a single consonant.

3.1. Syllable contrasts

There are four emic syllable types /V/, /VV/, /CV/ and /CVV/ which contrast in stressed and unstressed positions in the phonological word.

/V/	/o/	[ˈo]	'of'
/VV/	/ao/	[ˈao]	'no'
/CV/	/te/	[ˈte]	'the'
/CVV/	/sea/	[ˈsea]	'what'
/V/	/esari/	[eˈsaʔi]	'flow'
/VV/	/laoi/	[ˈlaoi]	'good'
/CV/	/toru/	[ˈtoʔu]	'three'
/CVV/	/maroa/	[ˈmaʔoa]	'bachelor'

3.2. Distribution of phonemes into the syllable

Any consonant may occur in the onset slot of syllables. Any vowel may occur in the peak of syllables with all vowel combinations occurring in complex nuclei except combinations of like vowels.

4. PHONOLOGICAL WORD LEVEL

The phonological word is a stress group within which syllables are distributed and it is itself distributed within the phonological phrase. It is composed of an obligatory nucleus with optional preceeding and/or following margins. Primary stress (') occurs once in each phonological word, predictably on the penultimate syllable of each morpheme occupying the nuclear position. Reduplicated words behave as two separate words in this respect. Primary stress is phonetically defined by slightly higher pitch, intensity and length.

Any syllable type may occur as a monosyllabic phonological word. There is no restriction of distribution of the syllable types /V/, /VV/, /CV/ or /CVV/ in the phonological word.

/V/ occurs in nuclear and margins

/ara/	['aʔa]	'road'
/kia/	['kia]	'to that'
/elaoi/	[e'laoi]	'good'

/VV/ occurs in nuclear and margins

/eisu/	['eisu]	'painful'
/maea/	['maea]	'rope'
/atuaifaea/	[aʔhʷai'faea]	'octopus'

/CV/ and /CVV/ occur in nuclear and margin

/kuefu/	['kʰuefu]	'dissolve'
/matua/	['maʔhʷua]	'bachelor'
/pearakau/	[pea'ʔakau]	'raft'
/kupeŋa/	[kʰupeŋa]	'fish net'

5. PHONOLOGICAL PHRASE LEVEL

5.1. Phonological phrase

The phonological phrase or pause group is the unit consisting of words and is itself distributed within the phonological sentence or final pause.

The nucleus of the phonological phrase is the nuclear syllable of the first phonological word. That nuclear syllable contains the loudest and longest vowel, and the one highest in pitch.

5.2. Contrastive phonological phrase types

There are three emic phonological phrase types /./, /,/ and /?/ which contrast as to melody and meaning.

5.2.1. Statement phrases

/./ and /,/ contrast by the relative rise or fall of pitch on the last syllable before pause. A rising pitch signals more information to come before final pause which is indicated by a falling pitch on the last syllable. There is no limit to the phonological sentence but the norm observed is two non-final preceding the final phrase.

'tera 'koke e'masi ma'matu, 'marie 'mua, 'penia 'mau 'kafai
 that you should think slow first think we do

5.2.2. Interrogative phrases

/??/ question intonation contrasts with the above in melody and meaning. It consists of a rising from a midpitch on the first stressed syllable to a high pitch then falling to a low on the last syllable of the phrase.

'sea?
 what
 'kuai na iŋoa?
 who his name

6. MORPHOPHONEMICS

6.1. Elision

Elision occurs between root and minor morphemes within the phonological word. Vowels of the same quality in close transition are never rearticulated, the two adjacent vowels of the same quality become a single vowel of normal length in normal speech.

/kau/	['ka ¹ au]	'come, future'
/arara/	['a ¹ ra ¹ a ¹ ra]	'make story'

6.2. Vowel loss

Vowel loss occurs in rapid speech, most often in reduplicated forms when a stop is preceded by a front vowel.

/poŋipoŋi/	[poŋ'poŋi]	'morning'
/pesepese/	[pes'pese]	'sing'

7. ALTERNATIVE HYPOTHESES

7.1. Stress and vowel length

Stress occurs on the nucleus of each phonological word with the effect of rising pitch, intensity and adding slightly to the length of the vowel.

Vowel length does not occur in my phonetic data but has been recorded in the language as follows:

Rev. W.J. Durrad recorded length twice, from fieldwork May and June 1910;

(ma'tea) 'great, many, vary'
(ma'etua) 'husband' note also (matua) 'wife'

and from Raymond Firth, fieldwork 1928-9 and 1952, recorded length contrastive once. (Firth 1963)

(la'la') 'plenty'
(lala) 'hymen, small vulva'

Firth states "long vowels occur in some other words also but are not marked because they are not contrasted with similar words with short vowels".

I have checked the examples from Durrad and found that the word (ma'tea) 'much' when occurring in normal speech has no vowel length and normal stress. However, the word when occurring in isolation, especially at a time of excitement, could be said to have length on the first syllable. I prefer to regard this as stress which may be intensified in exclamations.

The second example [ma'etua] 'husband' is now pronounced consistently as [ma'tua] 'spouse'.

The example from Firth which shows contrast may have been a loan word, or length as a contrastive feature may have become obsolete. At present there is no (la'la') 'plenty' and the (lala) 'small vulva' is used only as profanity.

Vowel length also occurs when an isolated vowel is functioning as a word, especially in reply. This is also predictable.

/a/	[a] or [a']	'yes, I told you so'
/e/	[e] or [e']	'you don't say, wow'

In the literature it is best not to double vowels to show exclamations although one informant insisted on using double letters instead of using the (!) exclamation mark.

One other variation not included is the [A] 'yes', [A] voiceless low open central unrounded vocoid with ingressive lung air. This is used as a synonym of /a/ 'yes' when close to a speaker.

7.2. Vowel allophones

It is likely the vowel allophones are restricted to certain environments. Because little transcription was made in the first three months, when the author began transcribing he was 'semi-emic' and only recorded very obvious variations. An environment of high or fronted sounds seems to pull [a] to [ʌ], [o] goes to [ɔ] with backed sounds and [r], [e] seems to go to [ɛ] contiguous with phonemes where the midpart of the tongue is neutral, and other vowels seem to influence [e].

8. ORTHOGRAPHY

Phoneme	Allophones	Orthography
/p/	[p], [pʰ]	p
/t/	[t̪], [t̪ʰ]	t
/k/	[k], [kʰ]	k

Phoneme	Allophones	Orthography
/m/	[m]	m
/n/	[n]	n
/ŋ/	[ŋ]	ng
/l/	[l]	l
/r/	[ʀ]	r
/f/	[f]	f
/v/	[v], [w]	v
/s/	[s]	s
/i/	[i]	i
/e/	[e], [ɛ]	e
/a/	[a], [ʌ]	a
/o/	[o], [ɔ]	o
/u/	[u]	u
/,/	[,]	,
/./	[.]	.
/ʔ/	[ʔ]	ʔ

9. SAMPLE TEXT

Phonetic	'anea 'et̩au 'faŋa 't̩asi 'kefai, 'kape 'siei. 'sea na'tam̩ai
Orthographic	anea etau fangatasi kefai, kape siei. sea na tamai
Word meaning	things should do or no what reason
Translation	Things that I should do or not do. What motives

'k^huou 'kafai 'koa 'nea 'faka 'peŋa, 'kape 'siei. 'tera 'koke e'masi ma'na^hu,
kuou kafai ko a nea fakapera, kape siei. tera koke emasi manatu,
I do name the thing thus or no. that you should think
do I have for decisions. That you should think about

'penia 'mau 'kafai. 'koke ka'vaŋa, 'kape 'siei? ma'na^hu 'maŋie. ma'na^hu 'koke
penia mau kafai. koke kavanga, kape siei? manatu marie. manatu koke
things we do. you marry or not. think slow think you
your actions. Should you marry or not? Think slowly. You must think

'kafai, 'te ta'ŋata e'masi 'pena 'pena 'faka 'laoi. 'penia 'mana 'kafai 'keau 'laoi.
kafai, te tangata emasi penapena fakalaoi. penia ma na kafai keau laoi.
do the man should prepare very good. things and he do come good.
because the man must be well prepared. Then everything will work out.

'sea na'tamai 'khuou 'kapoi ki'fāke 'nofo 'raga, 'sea 'tea 'laoi, 'khuou 'kaono
 sea na tamai kuou kapoi ki rake noforanga, sea te a laoi, kuou kaono
what reason I go to other place what the good I see
What if I want to go to another country, what reason I have to

'kiei. 'khuou ka'sepoi, 'ania 'kau 'favea 'sea 'te pa'fiki 'kau. 'tefa 'koke
 ki ei. kuou ka se poi, ania kau ravea sea te pariki kau. tera koke
to it. I will not go things come see what the bad come now you
go see it. I do not know what comes next, maybe something bad happens. Therefore

e'masi ma'nat^hu, 'mafie 'mua, 'penia 'mua 'kafai.
 emasi manatu, marie mua, penia mua kafai.
should think slow first things we do.
you should think carefully before acting.

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