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THE TIGAK LANGUAGE OF NEW IRELAND

by

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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.

This monograph is a revision of my doctoral thesis which was submitted to the Australian National University in January of 1974. Appendix 2 of the thesis has already been published in *Te Reo* 17-8 (Beaumont 1974-75) and this has been omitted, although some of this material has been included in an addition to Chapter 2. The other main changes are an expanded section on pronouns (6.4.) and an additional text.

My wife and I began our study of the Tigak language in February 1969, following an invitation from the United Church. Our Lord Jesus Christ led us into this work and what has been done could not have been achieved without His help. For His steadfast love we praise Him.

From late in 1970 until early in 1974 my work was 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 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 I am grateful for the use of their unpublished wordlists as well as their published report.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 were Dr. T.E. Dutton, Dr. C.L. Voorhoeve and Professor S.A. Wurm. I would like to thank Dr. Dutton and Dr. Voorhoeve for their comments on drafts of this thesis and Professor Wurm for his general encouragement and assistance with practical arrangements.

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

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. I would also like to thank Miss Mary Rose for computer programming assistance and the Department of Human Geography at the Australian National University for the preparation of the maps.

Finally I would like to express my thanks to all others who have encouraged or assisted us in various ways in New Ireland, Canberra and from afar.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Preface	iii
Map 1 - The New Ireland - Tolai Group of Languages	xi
Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION	1
1.0. General Setting	1
1.1. Previous Tigak Materials	2
1.2. Aim	2
1.3. Presentation	2
1.4. Theoretical Orientation	3
1.4.1. General	3
1.4.2. Establishment of Tagmemes and Syntagmemes	5
1.4.3. Unitary Notation	6
1.4.4. Layering	7
1.4.5. Levels and Level Skipping	7
1.4.6. Transformational Rules	8
1.5. Conventions	8
1.5.1. Formulae	8
1.5.2. Feature Symbolisation	9
1.5.3. Examples	9
1.6. Abbreviations	9
Chapter 2 - PHONOLOGY	13
2.0. Introduction	13
2.1. Segmental Phonemes	13
2.1.1. Chart of Phonemes	14
2.1.2. Distribution of Allophones	14
2.1.3. Distribution of Phonemes	15

	<i>Page</i>
2.1.4. Contrasts	15
2.1.5. Complex Nuclei	16
2.2. Suprasegmental Features	18
2.2.1. Stress	18
2.2.2. Intonation	18
2.2.3. Pause	19
2.3. Syllables	19
2.4. External Influence	19
2.5. Morphophonemics	20
2.6. Orthography	20
2.7. History of the Tigak Phonemes	21
Chapter 3 - SENTENCE LEVEL	25
3.0. Introduction	25
3.1. Independent Sentences	25
3.2. Simple Sentences	26
3.3. Conditional Sentences	27
3.3.1. More Complex Conditional Sentences	28
3.4. Causal Sentences	28
3.5. Quotative Sentences	29
3.6. Compound Sentences	31
3.7. Sentence Periphery	32
3.7.1. Introducer	32
3.7.2. Conjunctions	33
3.7.3. Vocative	33
3.7.4. Exclamation	34
3.7.5. Salutations	34
3.7.6. Responses	34
3.8. Defective Sentences	34
3.9. Modification for Yes-No Questions	35
Chapter 4 - Clause Level	37
4.0. Introduction	37
4.1. Clause Bases	38
4.1.1. Clause Base 1 - Transitive	39
4.1.2. Clause Base 2 - Intransitive	39
4.1.3. Clause Base 3 - Genitive	40
4.1.4. Clause Base 4 - Stative	41
4.1.5. Clause Base Periphery	42
4.1.5.1. Instrument	42
4.1.5.2. Indirect Object	43

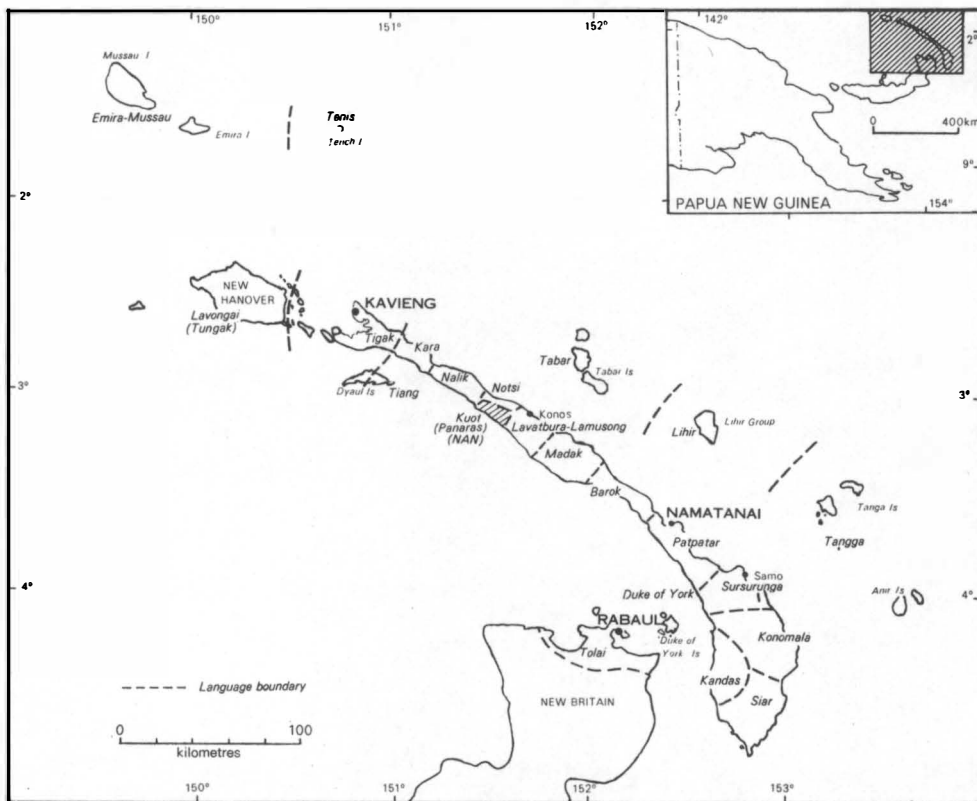
	<i>Page</i>
4.1.5.3. Referential	43
4.1.5.4. Locative	43
4.1.5.5. Time	44
4.1.5.6. Comitative	45
4.1.5.7. Manner	45
4.2. Independent Clauses	45
4.2.1. Information Questions	46
4.2.2. Phrase-Replacing Question Markers - q_1	46
4.2.3. Adjective-Replacing Question Markers - q_2	48
4.2.4. Clause-Replacing Question Markers - q_3	49
4.2.5. Imperatives	49
4.3. Relative Clauses	50
4.4. Conditional Clauses	53
4.5. Reason Clauses	53
4.6. Purpose Clauses	54
4.7. Time Clauses	54
4.8. Manner Clauses	55
Chapter 5 - PHRASE LEVEL	57
5.0. Introduction	57
5.1. Noun Phrases	57
5.1.1. Proper Noun Phrases (PNP, NP_1)	58
5.1.2. Kinship Noun Phrases (KNP, NP_2)	59
5.1.3. Common Noun Phrases (CNP, NP_3)	60
5.1.3.1. Possessor	61
5.1.4. Independent Pronoun Phrases (IPP, NP_4)	63
5.2. Tagmemes within NP	63
5.2.1. Article Phrases	64
5.2.2. Adjectival Phrases	65
5.2.3. Appositional NP	66
5.3. Relator-Axis Phrases	66
5.3.1. Genitive Phrases	67
5.3.2. Dative Phrases	68
5.3.3. Referential Phrases	68
5.3.4. Instrument Phrases	69
5.3.5. Locative Phrases	69
5.3.6. Time Phrases	70
5.3.7. Comitative Phrases	70
5.3.8. Manner Phrases	71
5.4. Verb Phrases	71
5.4.1. Subject Pronouns	73
5.4.2. Object Suffixes	74

	<i>Page</i>
5.4.3. Adverbial Phrases and Adverbs within VP	76
5.5. Pre-verb	77
5.5.1. Negative	77
5.5.2. Aspect	78
5.5.2.1. Perfective	78
5.5.2.2. Pluperfective	79
5.5.2.3. Dubitative	79
5.5.2.4. Iterative	79
5.5.3. Qualification	80
5.5.4. Emphatic	80
5.5.5. Obligation	81
5.5.6. Auxiliary	81
5.6. Verbs and Compound Verbs	82
5.6.1. Double Verbs	82
5.6.2. Causative Compound Verbs	82
5.7. Future	83
Chapter 6 - WORD LEVEL	85
6.0. General	85
6.1. Nouns	86
6.1.1. Proper Nouns (n_1)	87
6.1.2. Kinship Nouns (n_2)	87
6.1.3. Part Nouns (n_3)	88
6.1.4. Alienable Nouns (n_4)	89
6.1.5. Derived Nouns	89
6.1.6. Verbs used as Nouns	90
6.1.7. Adjectives as Nouns	90
6.2. Verbs	91
6.2.1. Transitive Verbs (v_1)	91
6.2.2. Intransitive Verbs (v_2)	92
6.2.3. Genitive Verbs (v_3)	92
6.2.4. Transitive Verbs derived from Intransitive	92
6.2.5. Intransitive Verbs from Transitive	93
6.2.6. Other Class Changes	93
6.2.7. Reduplication without Class Change	93
6.2.8. Reciprocal Prefix	93
6.3. Adjectives and Determiners	94
6.3.1. Adjectives	94
6.3.1.1. Intensification	94
6.3.2. Determiners	95
6.4. Personal Pronoun Forms	95

	<i>Page</i>
6.4.1. Tables and Examples of Personal Pronoun Forms	96
6.4.1.1. Subject Pronouns	96
6.4.1.2. Independent Pronouns	97
6.4.1.3. Object Suffixes	98
6.4.1.4. Possessive Suffixes	98
6.4.1.5. Genitive or Possessive Pronouns	99
6.4.1.6. Dative Pronouns	100
6.4.1.7. Other Pronoun Types	100
6.4.2. Formulae and Rules	100
6.5. Adverbs	103
6.5.1. Adverb 1	103
6.5.2. Adverb 2	103
6.5.3. Time Adverbs (adverb 3)	104
6.5.4. Locative Adverbs (adverb 4)	104
6.5.5. Adverb 5	104
6.6. Numerals	105
6.7. Deictics	105
6.8. Other Words	105
6.8.1. Ina	106
6.9. Subanalysis	107
Map 2 - Dialects of Tigak	108
Chapter 7 - DIALECTS OF TIGAK	109
7.1. General	109
7.2. Lexical Differences	110
7.2.1. Group 1 (Southern Variants)	110
7.2.2. Group 2 (Southern and Island shared Variants)	111
7.2.3. Group 3 (Island Variants)	111
7.2.4. Other Non-Cognates	112
7.2.5. Modifications	112
7.3. Phonological Differences	112
7.3.1. General	112
7.3.2. Southern Dialect Differences	113
7.4. Grammatical Differences	114
7.4.1. Island Dialect	114
7.4.2. Western Dialect	115
7.4.3. Southern Dialect	115
7.4.3.1. Negative	115
7.4.3.2. Time	116
7.4.3.3. Questions	116
7.4.3.4. Deictics	116

	<i>Page</i>
7.4.3.5. Personal Pronouns	117
7.4.3.6. Aspect	117
7.4.3.7. Relators	117
7.4.3.8. Adverbs	118
7.4.3.9. Numerals	118
Chapter 8 - TEXTS	119
8.0. Introduction	119
8.1. The Life of a Blind Man	119
8.2. Free Translation	121
8.3. Commentary	122
8.4. Levarava and Levaravu	124
8.5. Free Translation	133
Appendix 1 - WORD-LISTS	139
1. Introduction	139
Tigak to English Word-List	140
English to Tigak Index	149
Appendix 2 - GRAMMAR INDEX	157
<i>Bibliography</i>	159

MAP 1
THE NEW IRELAND-TOLAI GROUP OF LANGUAGES



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.0. GENERAL SETTING

Tigak is an Austronesian language in the New Ireland Province 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 and 1976b:387-9) 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 19 of the 20 languages of New Ireland² and the Duke of York and Tolai languages of New Britain (see Map 1). The New Ireland-Tolai grouping comes within Capell's (1971:242) AN₁ group of the New Guinea Austronesian languages. This AN₁ group is characterised by having the order: Subject + Verb + Object. In Grace's classification (Pawley

¹This was suggested by Grace (1955) and is discussed more fully by Capell (1971:245, 254-65) and Beaumont (1972:7-19 and 1976b:387-93). The name is from Pawley (1972) where Grace's classifications are summarised.

²There is one non-Austronesian language, Kuot (Panaras).

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 2.7. and Appendix 1 and in Beaumont 1974-75.

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 (1971:256-9). Lexicostatistical comparisons with other languages have been made by Lithgow and Claassen (1968) and the present writer (Beaumont 1972:18 and 1976b:388).

Apart from this, the only papers published on the language are two written early in the writer's study of the language on 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 summarises the pronominal forms and gives examples illustrating their use.

Translated works in Tigak include two translations of the Gospel of Mark ([Reddin] 1911 and [Beaumont and Watlugan] 1972) and a hymn and worship book ([Boettcher] 1921).

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 eight 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 understood³ in four chapters dealing with sentence, 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 summarised and cross-references are given. Chapter 7 establishes the dialects of Tigak and discusses their relationship to one another. There are two texts in Chapter 8. Word-lists 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 identify 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:xiii) challenges the hierarchical nature of the lexicon and Merrifield (1967:43-5) 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

³The 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.

here.⁴

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 (1967:571-3) 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 -⁵ Intonation). In practice Tagmemic grammars do not generally do so. Introduction of intonation into the formulae creates complications especially in relation to sentence embedding and co-ordination. 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.⁶ 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 considerable 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.

⁴The wordlists in Appendix 1 do not represent a full lexical component or hierarchy although the words have been placed in appropriate classes, so that 'grammatical' sentences could be generated from the formulae.

⁵The minus sign is used for a suprasegmental feature.

⁶E.g. Pike (1962, 1967), Franklin (1971a, 1971b), 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 1964:18 required that syntagmemes in contrast have more than one structural difference and that at least one of the differences involve the nuclei.⁷ He opposed (ibid:20-1) 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 under-specification in the formulae⁸, 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 generalisation 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 generalisation 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.

⁷A 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 syntagme (construction), otherwise they are peripheral.

⁸If 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.

1.4.3. Unitary Notation

Two types of notation are used in Tagmemic grammars, unitary and binary (Longacre 1964:24-5). Binary notation is more common. In this, dual function-set symbolism is used. Thus an intransitive clause in Tigak might be expressed as:

± Subj⁹:NP + Pred:itVP

(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:

± Subj + Pred

with later formulae:

Subj = NP

Pred = 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:

± Subj + Pred

NP VP₂

In some cases where this would create a lot of repetition a generalised 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.

⁹The abbreviations of S for Subject and P for Predicate are not used here because of potential confusion with other abbreviations in this thesis.

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 (1969:24-5) 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. A similar method of analysis is used at clause level, where, after excluding subordinate conjunctions, the main part of the clause becomes the Clause Base. Under Clause Bases, internal features such as transitivity and intransitivity are considered. In discussing Clause Types, attention is centred on functions of the clauses and differences between them.

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 re-ordering or adding elements (Franklin 1971a:40-1). 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 utilised 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 in different type.

1.5.1. Formulae

In formulae the usual tagmemic symbolisation 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 C1 ± [+ ve + Reason C1] 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 Symbolisation

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 symbolisation is borrowed from Transformational Generative Grammar (e.g. Jacobs and Rosenbaum 1968:81-3). 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. Sentences contained in other sentences are marked off by □ unless they are already separated by inverted commas. 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.¹⁰ 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.

1.6. ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in this monograph. Most abbreviations which are not obvious are also explained when they are first used. Abbreviations referring to function points or to Sentence,

¹⁰ An exception is that the object suffix is marked as (os) when it does not agree in number as in example (248).

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
AN	Austronesian
App	Apposition
art	article
Art P	Article Phrase
aux	auxiliary verb
C	consonant (Ch.2)
C	Central dialect (Ch.7)
Ch.	chapter
Cl	Clause
CNP	Common Noun Phrase
Com,Comit	Comitative
Cond Cl	Conditional Clause
conj	conjunction
Dat	Dative
dei	deictic
Dep Cl	Dependent Clause
det	determiner
dub	dubitative
emph	emphatic
exc	exclusive
fn.	footnote
fut	future marker
Gen	Genitive
gen p	genitive pronoun
hon	honorific
I	Island dialect
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
N	nucleus (Ch.2)
NAN	non-Austronesian
neg	negative
NP	Noun Phrase
ns	noun suffix
num	numeral
Obj	Object
obl	obligation
os	object pronominal suffix
p	pronoun, pronominal morpheme
P	Phrase
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
perf	perfective aspect
Periph	Periphery
pl	plural (4 or more if used of a pronoun)
pluperf	pluperfective aspect
PNP	Proper Noun Phrase
PO	Proto-Oceanic
Pos	Possessor
Pred	Predicate
prep	preposition
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
S	Southern dialect (Ch.7)
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
tr	transitive
ts	transitive suffix
v	verb
V	any vowel
Voc	Vocative
VP	Verb Phrase
W	Western dialect
1	1st person
2nd	2nd person
3rd	3rd person
2	dual
3	trial
-	morpheme break
.	multi-word gloss
∅	zero, zero meaning

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 2.7.

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 [ɸ] will be used instead of those suggested by Pike (1964:7) for the bilabial fricative [ɸ] and the voiced alveolar lateral fricative [ɸ̣] 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

There are twelve consonant phonemes /p, b,¹ t, k, g, r, β, s, l, m, n, ŋ/ and five vowel phonemes /a, e, i, o, u/. These are tabulated below in 2.1.1. /ɸ̣/ is a voiced alveolar lateral fricative. Both /g/ and /k/ are backed.

¹The 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 (see 2.7.).

2.1.1. Chart of Phonemes

Consonants			
	Bilabial	Alveolar	Velar
Stops	p [p̥] b [b]	t [t]	k [k̥] g [g̥]
Trills		r [r̥] [ʁ]	
Fricatives	β [β]	s [s] ʃ [ʃ]	
Nasals	m [m]	n [n]	ŋ [ŋ]
Vowels			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i [i] [i] [y]		u [u]
Mid	e [e] [e]		o [o]
Low		a [ʌ] [a]	

2.1.2. Distribution of Allophones

- /r/ [r̥] Voiced flapped alveolar stop.
Occurs only word initially and is in free variation with [r̥]
in this position:
[d̥ɪk] [r̥ɪk] 'they (subj pr)'
[d̥u.'r̥um] [r̥u.'r̥um] 'water'
- [r̥] Voiced alveolar trilled vibrant.
Occurs in all positions:
[r̥ɔ] 'good' ['k̥ʌ.r̥ʌ] 'our (inc)'
[u̥r̥] 'banana'
- /i/ [i] Voiced high front unrounded vocoid.
Occurs word finally, as an off-glide in complex nuclei and
sometimes in stressed open syllables:
['k̥ʌ.r̥i] 'their' ['ti.βu.nʌ] 'his grandparent'
['aⁱ.sɔk] 'work'
- [ɪ] Voiced lower high front unrounded vocoid.
Occurs in all positions except finally or as an off-glide:
[ɪ.'βɪ.si] 'to spit'
[ɪ] and [i] are sometimes in free variation:
[ɪ.mʌ] ['i.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'
[yaⁱ] [ɪaⁱ] 'tree'

- /e/ [e] Voiced mid front unrounded vocoid.
Occurs word finally and occasionally in stressed open syllables:
[βe] 'and' [ʔ̄e.ɣʌ] 'they (2, past)'
- [ɛ] Voiced lower-mid front unrounded vocoid.
Occurs in all positions. It can therefore be in free variation with [e] in the uses of [e] listed above. It is less common than [e] word finally.
[ʔ̄ɛ.tɔk] 'talk' [ʔ̄ɛk] 'they (2, subj pr)'
[ʔ̄ɛ.βe] [ʔ̄e.βe] 'where' [ʔ̄kɛn.kɛ.nu] 'other'
[nʌ.'ne] [nʌ.'ne] 'he (independent pronoun)'
- /a/ [ʌ] Voiced lower-mid central unrounded vocoid.
Occurs in all positions. In stressed positions it is in free variation with [a]:
[ʔ̄mʌ.tʌ.nʌ] [ʔ̄ma.tʌ.nʌ] 'his eye'
[ʔ̄ʌ.tʌ] 'fire'
- [a] Voiced low central unrounded vocoid.
Occurs only in stressed syllables:
[ʔ̄a.nu] 'man' [kʌk] 'my'

2.1.3. Distribution of Phonemes

Most phonemes occur in all positions within a word. The only restrictions are that /b, ɣ, β/ do not occur word finally.² Only vowels occur in the nucleus of a syllable and only consonants occur in the optional syllable margins. All consonant 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/ /baβat/ 'close off', /βaβat/ 'two men'
/buat/ 'float to the surface', /βuai/ 'betel nut'
/βabat/ 'cane (for wall)', /βaβalaŋ/ 'stupid'

²The phoneme /r/ was previously thought to be restricted in the same way (Beaumont 1969:87) but it occurs finally in /ur/ 'banana' and /ɣur/ 'mouth'. [ɣ] is no longer interpreted as a phoneme.

- /t/ and /r/ /to/ 'wave', /ro/ 'good'
 /itak/ 'be surprised', /iran/ 'to cure'
 /ɲut/ 'louse', /ɲur/ 'mouth'
- /r/ and /l/ /ro/ 'good', /lo/ 'in'
 /kara/ 'our (inc)', /kala/ 'taro'
- /n/ and /ŋ/ /naŋas/ 'be happy', /ŋan/ 'eat'
 /lono/ 'in it', /lonok/ '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'
- /l/ and /e/ /li/ '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 (Beaumont 1969:85-7) three vowel glides were posited as phonemes - /aⁱ, a^u, oⁱ/ - and the vocoid [y] was treated as a consonant - /y/.³ These items are now interpreted differently although in terms of the practical orthography (Beaumont 1969:88-9) 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:

³Other vowel sequences were not dealt with,

/gigiak/	[ˈgɪ.gɪʌk]	'messenger'
/tapuok/	[tʌ.ˈpuɔk]	'return'
/gaβeak/	[ˈga.βɛʌk]	'no'
/ugui/	[ˈu.gui]	'hair'
/piu/	[pɪu][pyu]	'dog'

Examples containing phonetic glides are:

/aisok/	[ˈa ⁱ .sɔk]	'work'
/lo'βait/	[ɬɔ.ˈβa ⁱ t]	'far away'
/pau/	[pʌ ^u]	'frog'
/tauan/	[ˈtʌ ^u .ʌn]	'men'
/koi/	[kɔ ⁱ]	'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/.⁴ The peak is the second vowel in both cases. Examples containing VVV nuclei are:

/iai/	[y ^a ɪ][ɪ ^a ɪ]	'tree'
/uai/	[u ^a ɪ]	'fruit'
/suai/	[su ^a ɪ]	'to respect'
/βuai/	[βu ^a ɪ]	'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'pais/	[pʌ.ˈpa ⁱ s]	'quickly'
/gaus/	[gʌ ^u s]	'vine'
/kaul/	[kʌ ^u ɬ]	'to row'

There are no phonemic contrasts between [y] and [i] or [ɪ] 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 [ɔⁱ] as single phonemes (as in Beaumont 1969) would add three extra phonemes.

⁴A 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 413-4.

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

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

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

Other examples where stress is on the second syllable are:

/ma'sut/	[mʌ.'sʊt]	'bush'
'i'naŋ/	[i.'nʌŋ]	'go'
/pa'pais/	[pʌ.'pa 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 i'naŋ lo ma'sut. (Fall)
 he go to bush

'He is going to the bush.'

gi i'naŋ lo ma'sut? (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 co-ordinate 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 language - 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.⁵

⁵In the *Papua and New Guinea Population Census 1971, Population Characteristics Bulletin 16* it was reported (p.9-10) that of the indigenous population over ten years of age of New Ireland, 91.4% were able to speak Pidgin, 34.2% were able to speak English and 57.3% were literate. The current literacy figure for the Tigak area would probably be higher than this general 1971 figure. The New Ireland percentage of Pidgin speakers was the highest reported for the country. The average for Papua New Guinea was 45%.

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', /nasenal/ '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'
/w/	/wik/	'week'
/h/	/haus sik/	'hospital'
/y/	/yia/	'year'
/j/	/jas/	'judge'
CC	/benk/	'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 word boundaries:

/ginan/	'he goes'	from /gi inan/
/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. This practical orthography is used (with-

out indication of morpheme breaks) in the Gospel of Mark in Tigak (Beaumont and Watlugan 1972). This is also the same as the orthography recommended in 1969 (Beaumont 1969:88-9).

2.7. HISTORY OF THE TIGAK PHONEMES

Although words easily traceable to Proto-Oceanic (PO) and Proto-Austronesian (PAN)⁶ form only a part of the Tigak vocabulary, it is possible to trace all the present Tigak phonemes except /b/ back to these proto-languages.

The origins of the Tigak phonemes are shown in summary form in Table 1. A more detailed account starting from the Proto-Austronesian and Proto-Oceanic reconstructions may be found in another paper (Beaumont 1974-75 or 1974:185-213). Table 2 provides data illustrating these reflexes and some further examples are in the wordlist in Appendix 1. Numbers in Table 1 and in the paragraphs following this one refer to examples in Table 2.

Final consonants are nearly always retained in Tigak (13, 16, 19) and a tendency to drop some final vowels results in a number of other reflexes ending in consonants. The loss of final vowels occurs with several examples of PO *i (4, 15), *e (46), *o (18, 27, 35) and *u (9, 20, 24) although these vowels are also sometimes retained (1, 3, 38).

Although vowel reflexes are in general regular, there are examples where modifications have occurred. Some represent attraction to another vowel in the word (11, 29, 34) while others represent no apparently regular pattern (3, 26, 30).

Syllable loss (other than loss of final vowel) is seen in 26, 47 and 16 (although there reduplication has followed - PO *ndanum > *rum > ru'rum).

In Table 1 three examples are referred to where possible. Proto sounds are bracketed where there is some doubt involved. Unless otherwise stated PAN reconstructions in Table 2 are from Dempwolff (1934-8) but using the orthography changes recommended by Dyen (1971:23). PO reconstructions are from Grace (1969 and 1971) but without most of the bracketing of final consonants. A third person object suffix -i is attached to Tigak transitive verbs.

⁶Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Austronesian are both reconstructed languages. Proto-Austronesian is the ancestor of 500 present-day languages. Proto-Oceanic is a daughter language to PAN. Most of the Austronesian languages of Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia are considered to be descendants of Proto-Oceanic.

TABLE 1

Correspondences between Tigak, Proto-Oceanic and Proto-Austronesian

Tigak	Proto-Oceanic	Proto-Austronesian
β	*mp (1-3) (*ŋp) (4)	*b (1-4)
p	*p (5-7) *mp (8-9) (*ŋp) (10)	*b (5, 6, 10) *mb (8-9) -
b	-	-
t	*t (9-13)	*t (9-13)
r	*nt (14-15) *nd (16-17)	*nt (14-15) *d (16-17)
l	*l (18-20) (*d) (21)	*l (18-20) (*d) (21)
s	*s (22-24) *ns (25-27)	*s (24) *z (22) *j (23, 25, 27)
g initial	-	-
g medial	*R (1, 28, 29)	*R (1, 28)
k	*k (19, 28, 35) *q (5, 33, 34) *-R (30-32)	*k (19, 28) *q (5, 33) *-R (30-32)
m	*m (12, 31, 36) (*ŋm) (37)	*m (12, 31, 36)
n	*n (5, 38-40)	*n (5, 22, 39)
ŋ	*ŋ (13, 18, 41-43)	*ŋ (13, 18, 42-43)
i syllabic	*i (19, 23, 31)	*i (19, 23, 31)
i non-syllabic	*i (44) (*y) (45) (*q) (27, 46)	*i (44) (*y) (45) (*q) (27, 46)
e	*e (8)	(*e) (8)
a	*a (12, 18, 22)	*a (12, 18, 22)
o	*o (1, 20, 29)	*e (1, 20)
u	*u (5, 15, 23) *o before consonant and final *u or *i (4, 6, 20)	*u (5, 15, 23) *e (4, 6, 20)

TABLE 2
Data Illustrating Tigak Reflexes of PO and PAN Reconstructions

Tigak	PO	PAN
1. βogo 'pig'	*mporo	*berək ⁷
2. βuai 'betel nut'	*mpua	*buaq
3. tiβu 'grandparent, grandchild'	*tumpu	*tumpu 'ancestor'
4. βuŋ 'night'	*ŋpoŋi	*beni
5. punuk-i 'kill'	*punuq 'strike, kill'	*bunuq
6. pul-i 'buy'	*poli 'buy, sell'	*beli
7. ulpuk-i 'change'	*puki 'return'	-
8. pepe 'butterfly'	*mpempe	*mbembe ⁸
9. tap 'holy, sacred'	*tampu	*tambu ⁹
10. patu 'head'	*ŋpatu	*baTuk
11. talana 'ear'	*taliŋa	*taliŋa
12. mata 'eye'	*mata	*mata
13. laŋit 'rain'	*laŋit 'sky'	*laŋit
14. -ra 'our (inc)'	*-nta	*-nta ⁹
15. ur 'banana'	*punti	*punti
16. ru'rum 'water'	*ndanum	*danum
17. raula 'frigate bird'	*ndaula	(? *dara 'pigeon')
18. laŋ 'fly'	*laŋo	*laŋaw
19. kulit 'body'	*kulit 'skin'	*kulit
20. po-tul 'three'	*tolu	*telu
21. loŋok 'listen'	*doŋo 'hear'	*deŋer
22. salan 'road, path'	*salan	*zalan
23. isu- 'nose'	*isu(ŋ)	*ijuŋ
24. sut 'breast'	*susu	*susu
25. asan, isan 'name'	*ansan	*ajan
26. so 'what'	*nsapa	*apa
27. ias 'sun'	*qanso	*qanjaw
28. kagat-i 'bite'	*karati	*karat
29. nenogo 'yesterday'	*nora	-
30. katiluk 'egg'	*qatolur	*telur
31. mimik 'urinate'	*mimir	*mirmir
32. salik 'flow'	*salir	*alir
33. tuk 'stand'	*tuqu(d)	*tuquD

⁷Blust 1970:118.

⁸Capell 1971:258.

⁹Capell 1943.

TABLE 2 (cont.)

Tigak	PO	PAN
34. kono 'sand'	*qone	-
35. lak 'go up, enter'	*lako 'go, walk'	*laku
36. inum 'drink'	*inum	*inum
37. muata 'snake'	*ɣmata	-
38. natu 'child'	*natu	-
39. manui 'bird'	*manu(k)	*manuk
40. laman 'sea'	*laman	-
41. nuŋ-i 'ask for'	*noŋi	-
42. ŋan 'eat'	*paŋa (or *kani)	*paŋan
43. ŋur 'mouth'	*ŋusu	*ŋusu
44. ien 'fish'	*ikan	*ikan
45. uaia 'crocodile'	*puqaia	*buqaya
46. iat 'liver'	*qate	*qatey
47. mat 'reef'	*maqati	-

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:

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

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.

TABLE 3
Independent Sentence Types

	Margin	Base	Margin
Simple S		Ind Cl	
Cond S	Cond Cl	Ind S	
Causal S		Ind S	Reason/Purp Cl
	Base	± Link	Quote
Quot S	Ind S	pana	S
	Base 1	± 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.'

¹In order to make these more comparable the terms protasis and apodosis are not used in the table. Complications in the formulae are omitted.

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.²

3.3. CONDITIONAL SENTENCES

The nucleus of Conditional Sentences is expressed by the formula:

$$\text{Cond S} = + \text{Protasis} + \text{Apodosis}^3$$

Generally the Protasis is a Conditional Clause and the Apodosis is an Independent Clause.⁴ 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.'

²Conditional, 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.

³Although in Table 3 the terms Margin and Base were used (see footnote 1, Chap.3), the more specialised terms for conditions are preferred here.

⁴Some complex apodoses and protases are discussed in 3.3.1.

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.'
- (8) [gi la- tangintol-i a vap] [vouneng rig- a mat].
he cause-life- os art people if they past 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 *'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 mugina
if he turn he-go on- you I I come to back-his
 [ina nak gava- i] □ .
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 Conditional Sentence occurs as part of a Compound Sentence.

- (11) □ [vouneng gi tapuok kail-au], [gi etong ina nak kus- i] □ ,
if he return call-me it be.fitting that I tell-him
 kisang □ ga veak lo utak kail-au □ .
but he past neg yet call-me
*'If he returns and asks me I will tell him, but he has not yet asked me.'*⁵

3.4. CAUSAL SENTENCES

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

$$\text{Causal S} = + \text{Base} + \text{Margin}$$

$$\text{Ind S}$$

⁵This 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.'*

Margin = 1. + Purp Cl⁶
 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:

- (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] ve
 they- past eat because they- past tired and
 [rig- a lago].
 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:

Quot S = Base ± Link + Quote
 Ind S pana⁷ S

The Quote depends on a clause of the base which is not necessarily an Independent Clause.⁸ 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 of auneng is not confined to Quotative Sentences.

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

⁶One example has been recorded of two Purpose Clauses linked by vo 'or' - 8.1.24.

⁷pana 'that, 'with' is also the relator or preposition for Instrument Phrases. The uses are clearly related.

⁸No examples have yet been found of the Independent S depending on a Conditional Clause or the Independent Clause of a Causal S.

- 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.⁹

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 liu
he past say in.this.way-it that thing this it cross
tana mug-i-k".
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').
- (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 pasttell-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 speech¹⁰:

- (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:

⁹The suffix -ani replaces the usual direct object suffix -i (5.4.3.).

¹⁰Many 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.

- (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 ga
because they- past believe that one child girl she past
 po mun etang□ .
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:

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

$$\text{Ind S} \quad \text{conj} \quad \text{Ind S} \quad \text{conj} \quad \text{Ind S}$$

This formula allows for recursiveness as Ind S may itself be expounded by Compound S.¹¹ It also provides for the possible varieties involving the other Sentence types. Conjunctions are *ve* 'and', *kisang* 'but' and *vo* 'or'.¹²

The most common combinations are illustrated by the examples which follow. The conjoined sentences are marked by square 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 gon
follow-it the path of Taugui because he past perf prepare
a- paga- i]□ .
am-clear-it
'Well, the two boys went and they followed Taugui's path because
he had cleared it.'

¹¹The 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.

¹²The 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.

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 □ ve
well art younger.brother he past obey of elder.brother and
 □ [ga putuk- i a kiki-na] ve [ga gavan- i] □ .
he past cut.off-it the leg- his and he past 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 rig- a
they 2-past come to one village and art people they-past
igai-irek] "a pas-pasal-an gara gi inang eve?" □ .
ask- them 2 art walking- ns this it go where
'They (2) came to a village and the people asked them, "Where is
this journey going?"'

Two Conditional Sentences:

- (29) □ [vouneng gi uipuk 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 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 and 10 of the text in 8.1.

3.7. SENTENCE PERIPHERY

Periphery may occur with any of the sentence types. Co-occurrence 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 texts in Chapter 8.

3.7.2. Conjunctions

Two conjunctions, *ve* 'and' and *kisang* 'but', which have already been referred to about 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 la- na*
but they-past think-it that fut a devil in inside-its
mata gi min punuk-i .
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.¹³

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

- (33) *ong, tiga- k, nak vuvok kus- uam pana sakai aisok mem*
yes brother-my I want tell-you sg with one work we exc
togon- i e Kaselok.
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*.

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!'

¹³For 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.

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*, *aa*,¹⁴ 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. 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 *gaveak*¹⁵ *'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

¹⁴This should be regarded as phonologically extra-systemic (Longacre 1964:143), Vowel length does not normally occur.

¹⁵Historically 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.

tagmemes listed in 3.7.¹⁶ Others contain only a 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.
'Yes' (Response)
- (43) lo ias, Gamsa.
'Good.day, Gamsa' (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?'

¹⁶Introducers and conjunctions must be excluded from this as they cannot occur alone.

- (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.¹⁷

- (46) gi-so, gi inang lo masut?
 qm he go in bush
 'Is he going into the bush?'

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

¹⁷This 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.

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 4 and 5. 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 -

- Clause Base 1 - Transitive
- Clause Base 2 - Intransitive
- Clause Base 3 - Genitive
- Clause Base 4 - Stative

Each of these bases may occur in any of the clause types except that Stative cannot occur in a Relative Clause. As the Clause Bases

¹These 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.

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 4
Structure of Clause Types

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

TABLE 5
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.²

²Other reasons, including the analogy with Object, would also make this advisable.

The structure of Clause Base nuclei is summarised below in Table 6. Optional tagmemes are bracketed.

TABLE 6
Clause Bases

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

4.1.1. Clause Base 1 - Transitive

Transitive Clause Bases may be formularised as:

Cl Base₁ = ± Subj + Pred ± Obj ± Periph
 NP VP₁ NP

The terms Subject and Object are used for what is really 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 VP₁ 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 VP⁴ as Predicate but which cannot contain an Object (direct) or a Genitive tagmeme. The formula for Intransitive Clause Bases is:

³Predicate and Complement are equated for this table. If the Complement is a deictic the Subject and Complement may be transposed (4.1.4.).

⁴A VP is identifiable by the subject pronoun tagmeme (5.4., 5.4.1.).

Cl Base 2 = ± Subj + Pred ± Periph

NP VP₂

Within VP₂ there is usually either an intransitive verb or an adjective.⁵

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 past⁶ 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 tag-meme in the formula:

Cl Base 3 = ± Subj + Pred ± Gen ± Periph
NP VP₃ Gen P/gen p

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:

⁵Full details of VP₂ are given in 5.4.

⁶Past tense is generally preferred to present in Verb Phrases containing an adjective.

- (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 - Stative

Stative Clause Bases differ from other Clause Bases because they have no Verb Phrase⁷ and they have a nucleus consisting of two obligatory tagmemes. The formula is:

Cl Base 4 = + Subject + Complement
 NP NP/deictic

An optional re-ordering rule may apply when the Complement is a deictic, which results in the Complement preceding the Subject. An example showing the order of the basic formula is:

- (58) tang lui lavu gura
 the house big here
 (NP) (dei)
 'Here is the big house.'

An example with the re-ordering rule applied is:

- (59) gura tang lui lavu
 here the house big
 (dei)(NP)
 'Here is the big house.'

Both Subject and Complement are NP in:

- (60) a naing a aisok tana vap
 art magic art work of people
 (NP) (NP)
 'Magic is the work of people.'

Stative Bases are not as common as might be expected. Most English Equational Clauses are rendered in Tigak by Intransitive Clause Bases (4.1.2.). There is no verb 'to be' in Tigak.

⁷This may generally be diagnosed by the absence of any subject pronoun.

4.1.5. Clause Base Periphery

A number of peripheral tagmemes occur in clause bases:

Cl Base Periph = ± Inst ± IO ± Ref ± Loc ± Time ± Com ± Manner

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 (Stative) and it is rare with Clause Base 3. Distribution restrictions relating to specific tagmemes are given with the realisation 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 Phrase⁸ as in (63), an instrument pronoun as in (64) or not 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.'

⁸There is a similar construction in the related Tolai language:

i tabar iau ma ra rumu
 he give me with a spear
 'He gave me a spear.'

(Wright 1964:162 and Lanyon-Orgill 1960:368).

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 or animals.

The Indirect Object in Tigak is less common than the English Indirect Object. Two verbs of speaking, *pising*⁹ '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.

An example of Indirect Object expressed by a Dative Phrase (5.3.2.) is:

- (66) *ga lisan-i suna tang ulina*
he past bring-it to the woman
 'He brought it to the woman.'

A dative pronoun (6.4.1.6.) 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 (6.4.1.7.):

- (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.

⁹Pising also has a direct object for what is spoken. Etok is intransitive.

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 (6.4.1.6.):

- (74) ga sang su-rek
 he past come to-them 2
 'He came to them.'

Locative pronoun (6.4.1.7.):

- (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 Cl = + 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 prepositional) Phrase¹⁰ 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 7.

TABLE 7

q_1

	Persons	Things
NP as Subject, Complement or Object	<i>na-si</i> 'who, whom'	<i>so</i> , <i>a-so</i> , <i>a-so ta ot</i> , ¹¹ <i>neva so</i> 'what'
Dative	<i>su-si</i> 'to whom'	-
Locative, or Deictic	-	<i>eve</i> 'where' <i>ul-eve</i> 'from where'
Genitive	<i>te-si</i> 'whose, of whom'	<i>tana-so</i> 'of what'
Referential	<i>ani na-si</i> 'about whom, for whom'	<i>ani a-so ta ot</i> 'about what'
Instrument	-	<i>pana-so</i> 'with what'
Time	-	<i>lo-so</i> , <i>angiso</i> , <i>lo so ta gan</i> ¹² 'when'

¹⁰The 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.

¹¹*ot* means 'thing', *ta* is an indefinite article (5.1.3.).

¹²*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-i 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?'

Time -

- (101) nug- a ima lo-so?
 you sg-past come when
 'When did you come?'

Where the equivalent phrase may occur within a Noun Phrase then the q_1 can also occur there:

- (102) nug- a marakan-i a kaleo te-si?
 you sg-past damage- it the canoe of-whom
 (VP₁) (NP)
 'Whose canoe did you damage?'

4.2.3. Adjective-Replacing Question Markers - q_2

The exponents of q_2 are either inserted before a Noun Phrase or substituted for a Noun Phrase. This may also occur in relation to the NP in a Relator-Axis Phrase. The exponents are:

Quantity (a)¹³ poisan 'how many'

Quality (a-)so ta vukun 'what kind of'.

Insertion is seen in:

- (103) poisan a vap rik minang egeng?
 how many art people they stay here
 'How many people stay here?'
- (104) na-ne a-so ta vukun anu
 he what art kind man
 'What kind of a man is he?'

Substitution for NP is seen in:

- (105) nuk vuvok-ani a poisan?
 you sg want- os how many
 'How many do you want?'

¹³The article form a is optional. There are no restrictions relating to its occurrence.

4.2.4. Clause-Replacing Question Markers - q_3

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

Purpose *ina-so* 'why'
 Reason *kula-so* 'why'
 Manner *malan tana-so, a-so-so* '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 a Stative C1 Base.¹⁴ Only 1st or 2nd person constructions can be imperative in Tigak.¹⁵ 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:

¹⁴ There are also many expressions using other Clause Base types which are semantically unlikely or impossible (e.g. 'be big').

¹⁵ 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.'

Negative commands are expressed by a different construction which is illustrated under the Obligation tagmeme in 5.5.5.

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 (Stative) this is the same as the formula for Independent Clauses. There are no relativisation markers or relative pronouns so that identification of Relative Clauses sometimes appears arbitrary. Relative Clauses are distinguished from Independent Clauses for the following reasons:

- 1) 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.

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.

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 Clause¹⁶ and its co-referent

¹⁶The term Main Clause is used here and in the pages which follow for the clause which contains the Relative Clause.

is Object of the Relative Clause:

- (115) tang tapa [nag-a kupa- i pana tang pupua] ga
 the basket I- past cover-it with the sago.branch it past
 tongos
 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 vii naing] rik marakan-i a tangintol tana
 they they make magic they spoil- it the life of
 kematan
 some

'Those who make magic spoil the lives of some people.'

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 tang lakeak]
 I- past perf follow-it the dog it past bit- him the child
 'I chased the dog which bit the child.'

Object in both clauses -

- (118) nag- a tara-i tang mamana ot [nug- a po vil- i]¹⁷
 I- past see- it the pl thing you- past perf do- os
 '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 tara-i tang muata]
 I- past perf talk to the child he past see- it the snake
 'I spoke to the boy who saw the snake.'

¹⁷The Object suffix (os) is here singular. The 3rd sg. object suffix is often preferred to the plural (see 5.4.2.).

Genitive in Main Clause, Subject of Rel Clause -

- (120) nag- a kalum-i tang lakeak tana anu tara [ga punuk-i
I- past see- him the child of man that he past kill- it
tang siakau]
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 tama- na ga
I- past see- him the child this art father-his he past
punuk-i tang siakau]
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 [na tama-
I- past make-it my canoe with the axe this art father-
m ga mo vil- i tang kaleo papa-na]
your he past perf make-it the canoe 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 ina aupat ien
on pl day he go.down on.to reef he understand 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.¹⁸ Co-ordination is sometimes preferred where a Relative Clause might be ambiguous.

¹⁸E.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 Relativisation 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:

Cond Cl = + vouneng¹⁹ + Cl Base

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

Transitive -

- (125) vouneng nuk vls-i ...
 if you sg hit-him
 'If you hit him...

Intransitive -

- (126) vouneng gi tapuok ...
 if he return
 'If he returns

Cl Base 3 (Genitive) -

- (127) vouneng mik longok tata-na ...
 if you pl obey of- him
 'If you obey him ...

Stative -

- (128) vouneng a naing a aisok te Kalou ...
 if art magic art work of God
 'If magic is the work of God ...

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 co-ordinated 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 ga
 they 2-past follow-it the path of Taugui because he past
 po gon a- paga- i]
 perf prepare am clear-it
 'They followed Taugui's path because he had cleared it.

¹⁹Vouneng 'if' may have been formed from the future marker vo and auneng 'in this way'.

4.6. PURPOSE CLAUSES

Purpose 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.²⁰ 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 by the following example:

- (137) *vo karak minang [tuk tana karak la- kamus- i karak*
fut we 2 inc stay until we cause-finish-it our 2 inc
aisok]
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,

²⁰ Alternatively this could be called an *ina* + infinitive construction.

be expressed by 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 lakllak*]
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 kalapang*]
he past make-it the canoe this as we exc understand
ina vil- i]
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 8, 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 8. The function points are

¹This is one reason that NP is discussed first.

Specifier (Spec), Head, Modifier (Mod), Limiter (Lim), Apposition (App), Possessor (Pos) and Comitative (Com).

TABLE 8
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 /Art P	+ n ₂				±App	±Pos	±Com
CNP	± art ₂ /Art P	+ n ₃₋₄	±AdjP	±det	±dei	±App	±Pos	±Com
IPP	+ na	+ p		±det	±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 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 Gamsa he past come
'Gamsa came.'

(142) ri Salomi rik minang lo lui
art_{1,hon} Salome sp stay in house
'Salome is at home.'

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

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 float.to surfaced
 '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 (6.4.1.4.). Sometimes there is a Gen Phrase representing the possessor as well. The formula for KNP is:

$$\text{KNP} = + \text{Spec} \quad + \text{Head} \pm \text{Pos}$$

$$\text{art}_1 / \text{ArtP} \quad n_2 \quad \text{Gen P}_2$$

T Obl. In Gen P, Dat P and Voc, delete Spec.³

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 / ina,⁴ is used in the plural.

Examples using the various articles are:

- (148) na tiga- k
 art brother-my
 'my brother'

³This rule does not apply if the noun is plural - (151).

⁴Ina is used only after a relator (151).

- (149) ri na- na
art mother-his
'his mother'
- (150) aina tiga- k
art₁ pl brother-my
'my brothers'
- (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:

- (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.)⁵

Mod₂ = + determiner

The series of words described as determiners is a limited one which includes words such as akamus 'all', kisang 'alone', iat 'emphasis'.

Lim = + dei (6.7.)⁶

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

⁵Adj P consists of + adj ± adv₂/adj.

⁶Deictics include gura 'this' (very close), gara 'this'.

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) (det)
 '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) (lo⁷) lul
 in house
 'in the house'
- (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 (n₃) nearly always have a possessive suffix which is dealt with at word level (6.1.3.). This section is concerned with phrases where the possessor is also expressed by a noun. The following formula may be given:

(after n₃) Pos = 1. + i + PNP/KNP
 or 2. + CNP

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

⁷lo is bracketed as it is not part of NP but is a relator for a Locative Phrase (5.3.5.).

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 patu⁸ i tiga-na
he plant-it head of brother-his
 'he planted his brother's head'
- (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 Table 19, 6.4.2.). These pronouns are shown in full in Tables 16-18, 6.4.1.5. 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'

⁸The 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 the context. This example may be found in 8.4.75., p.128.

- (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:

IPP = + Head ± Mod ± Lim
 ip det del

ip stands for independent pronoun

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 a determiner are:

- (173) na-ne kising
 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:

$$\text{Art P} = \pm \text{Art} + \text{Quant}$$

$$\text{art}_2$$

$$\text{Quant} = + \text{kematan/mamana}/[+ \text{numeral} + \text{a}^9]$$

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 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'
- (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 houses
 'ten houses'
- (184) *potul a piu*
 three Ø dog
 'three dogs'
- (185) *sakai a lui*
 one Ø house
 'one house'

⁹A 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.

- (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:

Adj P = + adj ± adv₂/adj

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

- (190) (ga) ot lakliak eul
 it past thing little very
 'It is a very small matter.'

If two adjectives 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 adjective:

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

There is also a construction, + adj + ina + noun, which is sometimes used when the adjective is emphasised¹⁰:

- (193) tang takteak ina anu
 the strong of man
 'the strong man',

¹⁰The 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, Kerr and Beaumont 1974: 29 and 37).

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 blink.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 in an Independent Pronoun Phrase.

When a Kinship NP includes an appositional Proper NP the latter is preceded by te¹¹:

- (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:

$$\text{RA Phrase} = \text{Relator} + \text{Axis}$$

$$r \quad \text{NP}_{1-3}$$

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 *sunā*). 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.

The Referential Relator, *ani* could also be subanalysed as *an-* + *-i*.

¹¹Te usually means 'of'. Example (197) contrasts with (201) below, *na tiga-na i Gamsa* 'Gamsa's brother'.

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 (6.4.2.). 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 Gamsa¹²*
art brother-his of Gamsa
 'Gamsa's brother'
- (202) *ta sasapulai i tiga- k*
art payment for brother-my
 'payment for my brother'

¹²See (197) for a different meaning with *te*.

- (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'

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:

Inst P = 1. + pe + PNP¹³
 or 2. + pana + CNP/KNP¹³

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

- (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.

¹³Use 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.

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 realisation 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 pl 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, 8.1.).

5.3.7. Comitative Phrases

The formula for Comitative Phrase is:

Comit p = 1. + kum/kuvul¹⁴ + 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 realisation 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':

¹⁴ 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 + CNP¹⁵

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.'
- (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

¹⁵These 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.

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-verb¹⁶, though negative is.

The formulae of the VP types are presented below in Table 9.

TABLE 9
Verb Phrases

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

VP₂ with adjective -

(230) gi lavu
it big
'it is big'

¹⁶Tense is expressed in the subject pronoun. Future (5.7.) is a modification of the VP.

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)¹⁷
he listen of- 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.

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 6.4.1.1.) 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
mem 'we (exc pl)'	mema
nak 'I'	naga
gl 'he, she, it'	ga

¹⁷The 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.

The subject pronoun¹⁸ has separate forms for each number and 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 (5.1.1. and 6.4.1.2.) 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.'

¹⁸This 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 person and number (e.g. Lavongai (New Hanover), Motu, Arosi).

- (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)
'He hit him hard.'

The object suffix is marked as obligatory in the VP₁ formula. With four verbs - *algot* 'prepare', *togon* 'have', *vil* 'make',¹⁹ *apat* '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 lui*¹⁹
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 are given in Table 14 in 6.4.1.3. 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 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.'

¹⁹It 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.

5.4.3. Adverbial Phrases and Adverbs within VP

Within the VP formulae both Adv P and adv₂ occur. The formula for Adverbial Phrases is:

Adv P = ± adv₁ ± adv₂ (at least one must occur)

When both types occur in Adv P, as in (260) and (261), adv₂ modifies adv₁. Adv₁ occurs alone in (250) and (256) and adv₂ occurs alone in (257) and (258). Adv₁ (6.5.1.) are adverbs which indicate the manner in which an action is performed, and adv₂ (6.5.3.) is a small class of adverbs which indicate extent (e.g. eui '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 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 formularised 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'.²⁰ Kon is uncommon, but lo and ko occur with almost the same frequency and are in free variation.²¹ 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.

²⁰Utak is included within the negative as it does not occur elsewhere, except in pata utak 'must not yet' (5.5.5.).

²¹This is not the case in the other dialects (7.4.).

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) mentul- 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.'

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	po, pon, mo, mon
Pluperfective	po-mo, po-mon
Dubitative	min
Iterative	pe, pen

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 elai
he past worry because he past pluperf promise above
(pana gi vil auneng- an-i)
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)²²
 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- lakllak
 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 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'.

²²A different order - (na Taugui alu) ga pe buat - also occurs. These and other examples may be seen in context in 8.4, 25-64.

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 formularised 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 obligatory²³ and it is sometimes preceded by kola or gi-minang²⁴, 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 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.'
- (298) 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:

²³This contrasts with positive commands (4.2.5.). A further difference is that negative commands may be in any person - see (286).

²⁴Gi-minang means literally 'it stops'.

- (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 verbs²⁵ 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'

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.²⁶ The compound is then transitive:

²⁵The 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.

²⁶A single word causative construction using the prefix *la-* (6.2.4.) is more common.

(294) gi vil a-sang- i (a ylakon)
 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'

(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'. It is treated separately from the other tense and aspect markers as its position in the VP is different.

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 summarised 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 VP_2 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. 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 or whether they have a possessive suffix. These features intersect as may be seen from the following matrix.

TABLE 10
Matrix of Noun Classes

	+ possessive suffix	- possessive suffix
art ₁ (na/ri)	2. Kinship	1. Proper
art ₂ (a/tang)	3. Part	4. Alienable

For discussion at word level it is useful (e.g. for possessive suffixes 6.4.1.4.) 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 n₃ Part and n₄ 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.

¹Words 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.).

6.1.1. Proper Nouns (n_1)

Proper Nouns are the actual names of people or places. They occur in Proper NP (NP_1). 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'*², *'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.'

6.1.2. Kinship Nouns (n_2)

Kinship Nouns occur as head of NP_2 (KNP 5.1.2.). Kinship Nouns always have a possessive suffix (6.4.1.4.). Examples are:

<i>tama-</i>	<i>'father'</i>	<i>na</i> ³	<i>tama-k</i>	<i>'my father'</i>
<i>natu-</i>	<i>'child'</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>natu-m</i>	<i>'your (sg) child'</i>
<i>na-</i>	<i>'mother'</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>na-na</i>	<i>'his mother'</i>
<i>tiga-</i>	<i>'sibling of same sex,</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>tiga-na</i>	<i>'his brother',</i>
	<i>brother, sister'</i>			<i>'her sister'</i>
<i>vasa-</i>	<i>'sibling of opposite sex,</i>	<i>ri</i>	<i>vasa-k</i>	<i>'my sister (a mother)'</i>
	<i>sister, brother'</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>vasa-na</i>	<i>'her brother', 'his sister'</i>
<i>natlava-</i>	<i>'spouse'</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>natlava-na</i>	<i>'his wife',</i>
				<i>'her husband'.</i>

²*'Brother'* could also be replaced by *'sister'* as these words have no relation to sex.

³As these nouns are usually preceded by an article unless they follow a relator, these examples include articles.

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'
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 sava
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 (8.4.55.), Even in these circumstances the possessive suffix is usually used when referring to body parts. In the same text, only two sentences later (8.4.57.), the following sentence occurs in which the suffix is used:

(304) ga putuk gavan- i alu a kepal sava- 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 verb⁴ 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'
tang takteak-i-na	'his strength'
kana takteak	'his strength'.

⁴Itself derived by reduplication from the transitive verb nol which is illustrated in example (17).

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 [\pm 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 [\pm plural]

iai 'tree'
siva 'place, village'
manui 'bird'
taloi 'spirit'
gan 'day'

Subtype 2 [$-$ plural]

anu 'man'
kapul '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 -ai⁵:

tuktapong (1) 'begin'	tuktapong-ai 'beginning'
otaun (1) 'love'	otaun-ai 'love'
kamus (2) 'finish'	kamus-ai 'end'

Reduplication and -ai:

sapul (1) 'buy'	sa-sapul-ai 'payment'
vil (1) 'do, make'	vi-vil-ai 'action'

Reduplication alone⁶:

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 [\pm 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 [\pm 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'

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

⁵This suffix is also sometimes used to make transitive verbs intransitive (6.2.5.).

⁶Reduplication 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).

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. To deal with this subtype a Transformational Rule could be set up to delete the object suffix. 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'
koto	'cut (e.g. bamboo)'.

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 *-an*⁷ which is added to 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.'					

⁷This is possibly derived from the Referential relator *ani* (5.3.3.),

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 ⁸ 'hear him'	palong-ai 'hear'
akaung-an-i ⁸ 'praise him'	akaung-ai 'give praise'.

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):

- (306) rik lamon- i
they believe-it
 'They believe it.'
- (307) rik lam-lamon tata-na
they believe of- it
 'They believe it.'

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.

⁸These are two verbs which have either a transitive suffix or an intransitive suffix.

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 AND DETERMINERS

Adjectives and determiners both occur as modifiers in Noun Phrases (5.1.). As they differ in meaning and have different distribution they are treated as different word classes.

6.3.1. 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 a Stative Clause Base whereas adjectives cannot. (Adjectives also cannot occur in Independent Pronoun Phrase as deictics can).

Sample list of adjectives:

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'

Examples may be seen in 5.2.2.

6.3.1.1. 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.

6.3.2. Determiners

Determiners have different features of distribution from adjectives, as they can occur with independent pronouns in Independent Pronoun Phrases, and a special class of words is set up for them. They may follow adjectives as indicated in the NP formulae in 5.1.

Sample list of determiners:

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 determiners 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.'

Determiner after adj is illustrated by:

- (309) tang mamana vivilai palavien akamus
 art pl deed evil all
 'all the evil deeds'

Determiners also occur 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 determiner 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'.

6.4. 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 in 6.4.2. 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. This analysis is the most economical in terms of formulae and rules and it is integrated with the rest of this grammar.

As the pronouns of Tigak are very complex, a series of tables of the actual forms found is presented first (in 6.4.1.) together with some examples of the use of each type.

6.4.1. Tables and Examples of Personal Pronoun Forms

6.4.1.1. Subject Pronouns

Subject Pronouns (5.4.1.) are obligatory (except in imperatives) even when the subject is also represented by a noun or independent pronoun:

(313) tang anu gi inang lo masut
the man sp go into bush
'The man is going into the bush.'

(314) naniu nak vuvok tapuok
I ip I sp want return
'I want to go back.'

They are of course frequently the only indication of the subject:

(315) nak inang lo masut
I sp go into bush
'I am going into the bush.'

There are two sets of subject pronoun forms - those for present (and future) tense and those for past tense. The past tense forms have the addition of -a with the modifications dealt with in 5.4.1. (k → g and V + -a → a).

Examples of sentences in past tense are:

(316) rega inang lo siva
they 2,past go to village
'They (2) went to the village.'

(317) ga inang lo siva
he past go to village
'He went to the village.'

TABLE 11
Present Subject Pronoun Forms

	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc. exc.	nak	karak mek	karatul mentul	kara mem
2nd	nuk	muk	miktul	mik
3rd	gi	rek	riktul	rik

TABLE 12
Past Subject Pronoun Forms

	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc. inc.	naga	karaga mega	karatula mentula	kara mema
2nd	nuga	muga	miktula	miga
3rd	ga	rega	riktula	riga

6.4.1.2. Independent Pronouns

Independent Pronouns are used independently or in addition to another pronoun for emphasis. Examples of independent use are:

(318) "nasi tara?" "Naniu."
who there me ip
 "'Who's there?" "Me".'

(319) nane tang anu
he ip the man
 'He is the man.'

An example showing emphasis is:

(320) nanu nuk vil-i
you ip you do- it
 'You do it.'

Other examples include 173-175 and 116.

TABLE 13
Independent Pronoun Forms

Forms of the basic pronominal morpheme *p* as found in this type of pronoun are underlined and there is some subanalysis.

	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc. exc.	{ <u>na-nau</u> <u>na-niu</u> }	na-ka- <u>rak</u> na- <u>mek</u>	na-ka- <u>ra-tul</u> na- <u>mem-tui</u>	na-ka- <u>ra</u> na- <u>mem</u>
2nd	na- <u>nu</u>	na- <u>muk</u>	na- <u>mi-tul</u>	na- <u>mi</u>
3rd	na- <u>ne</u>	na- <u>rek</u>	na- <u>ri-tul</u>	na- <u>ri</u>

6.4.1.3. Object Suffixes

Object Suffixes (see also 5.4.2.) are suffixed to the verb. When the verb is modified by an adverb, the object suffix is transferred to the adverb. For examples see (228) and (240-49).

TABLE 14
Object Suffix Forms

	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc. exc.	-au	-irak -imek	-iratul -imemtul	-ira -imem
2nd	{-om -uam}	-imuk	-imitui	-imi
3rd	-i	-irek	-iritul	-iri

With a few verbs (6.4.2. note 12) the -i- of the non-singular forms is optional.

6.4.1.4. Possessive Suffixes

These are the forms attached to nouns denoting kinship terms (n_2) and body parts (n_3) which are obligatorily possessed. The forms are always preceded by a vowel - either -i- (e.g. kulit-i-na 'his body') or a vowel belonging to the stem (e.g. talanga-na 'his ear').

TABLE 15
Possessive Suffixes

	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc. exc.	-k	-rak -mek	-ratul -mentul	-ra -mem
2nd	-m	-muk	-mitul	-mi
3rd	-na	-rek	-ritul	-ri

6.4.1.5. Genitive or Possessive Pronouns

There are three types: ka-na, tata-na and tesu-na. The ka-na type occurs before the noun (examples 169 and 170). The other two types occur after the noun for possession (examples 171 and 172) and they can also occur after certain verbs (v_3) as outlined in 4.1.3.

TABLE 16
Preposed Possessive (ka-na)

	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc. exc.	kak	karak kamek	karatul kamentul	kara kamem
2nd	kam	kamuk	kamitul	kami
3rd	kana	karek	karitul	kari

TABLE 17
Genitive Pronoun Forms (tata-na)

	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc. exc.	tatanik	tatarak tatamek	tataratul tatamentul	tatara tatamem
2nd	tatanim	tatamuk	tatamitul	tatami
3rd	tatana	tatarek	tataritul	tatari

Variant forms are also found e.g. tanik, tatak 'my', tanim, tatam 'your (sg)', tana 'his' (cf. 7.4.1.).

The tesu-na forms are as for the dative (Table 18 below) with te- in front.

6.4.1.6. *Dative Pronouns*

Dative pronouns are illustrated and explained in 4.1.5.2. and 4.1.5.4.

TABLE 18
Dative Pronoun Forms

	Sing.	Dual	Trial	Plural
1st inc. exc.	suguk	surak sumek	suratul sumentul	sura sumem
2nd	sugum	sumuk	sumitul	sumi
3rd	suna	surek	suritul	suri

A variant form sugik 'my' is also found.

6.4.1.7. *Other Pronoun Types*

There are other pronoun types:

locative kuli-na 'on it' instrumental papa-na 'with it'
sua-na 'from it' referential an-i 'concerning it'

Of these, the two locatives and the instrumental have the same endings as tata-na (Table 17) while referential pronouns have an- plus the object suffix forms (Table 14).

6.4.2. *Formulae and Rules*

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 19).

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'⁹ 5.4., 5.4.1., 6.4.1.1.
object suffix (os) = + -p
-i 'him' 5.4., 5.4.2., 6.4.1.3.
independent pronoun (ip) = + na- + p
na-ne 'he' 5.1.4., 6.4.1.2.
genitive pronoun = 1. + tata- + p
2. + tesu- + p
or
3. + ka- + p

⁹This can also mean 'she' or 'it'. A similar range of meaning applies to all the pronoun forms.

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.).

tata-na 'his', '(of) him'

tesu-na 'his', '(of) him'

ka-na 'his'

These pronouns are also discussed in 6.4.1.5.

possessive suffix = + *-p*

-na 'his' 6.1.2., 6.1.3., 6.4.1.4.

dative pronoun = + *su-* + *p*

su-na 'to him' 4.1.5.2., 4.1.5.4., 6.4.1.6.

referential pronoun = *an-* + *p*

an-i 'for him, about him' 4.1.5.3., 6.4.1.7.

instrumental pronoun = + *papa-* + *p*

papa-na 'with it' 4.1.5.1., 6.4.1.7.

locative pronoun = 1. + *kuli-* + *p*

or 2. + *sia-* + *p*

kuli-na 'on him'

sia-na 'from him' 4.1.5.4., 6.4.1.7.

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 5.4.1. 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:

(321) *na tivu-*
 art *grandchild*¹⁰ *-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.

¹⁰ *Tivu* can also mean 'grandparent'.

For p in independent pronouns select from IV.

TABLE 19
Table of Basic Pronominal Morphemes

	I	II	III	IV	Dual	Trial ¹¹	Pl
1st inc. exc.	nak	-au	-k	{-nau -niu}	-rak -mek	-ratul -mentul	-ra -mem
2nd	nuk	-uam	-m	-nu	-muk	-mitul	-mi
3rd	gi	-i	-na	-ne	-rek	-ritul	-ri

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 → p + -k.

e.g. sp 3rd pl, (i) p = ri, (ii) add -k = rik 'they'.

Rule 2 (Opt). In 3rd person trial, ritul → riktul.

Modification of subject pronouns for past tense (addition of -a; vowel + -a → a; -k + a → -ga) is dealt with in discussion of subject pronouns at phrase level (5.4.1.).

Rule applying to Subject and Independent Pronoun -

Rule 3 (Obl). In 1st person inc. non-singular, p → ka + -p.

e.g. sp 1st inc 2, (i) p = rak, (ii) add ka- = karak 'we (2)'.

Rule applying to Object and Referential -

Rule 4 (Obl¹²). In all non-singular, p → -i- + -p.

e.g. os 3rd pl, (i) p = -ri, (ii) add -i- = -iri 'them'.

ga vis-iri 'he hit them'.

Rule applying to Object -

Rule 5 (Opt). In 2nd person singular, uam → om.

¹¹It is possible to derive trial forms from the plural by adding -tul (Beaumont 1970: 184) but this makes the grammar more complex.

¹²This rule is optional for the following verbs: vosop 'find', angasik 'help', rokok '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-¹³ 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 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:

¹³Another form ta- is always used in Western and Island dialects and occasionally in Central. After ta- the rule always applies - ta-ni-k 'my'.

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' epakai '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 (322) alu precedes the Dative but in (323) it follows:

(322) ga pe sang alu su-na
 he past iter come again to-him
 'He came to him again.'

(323) 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 a determiner (e.g. nane alu 'he too') has already been referred to (6.3.2.).

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 borrowed¹⁴ and this makes counting up to a thousand possible.

'1' sakai	'6' palmit sakai
'2' pauak	'7' palmit pauak
'3' potul	'10' sangaulung
'4' poiak	'13' sangaulung ve potul
'5' palmit	'49' poiak sangaulung ve palmit poiak

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-poiak 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., 5.1.3. and 5.1.4.). They also occur in Complement in Stative Clause Bases (C1 Base 4, 4.1.4.) 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 summarised here in the order in which they occurred with sample lists and references.

¹⁴This is still recognised as a borrowing. The Tolai language was used in schools and other mission work. The Tolai word for thousand is less acceptable.

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 emphasised 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.

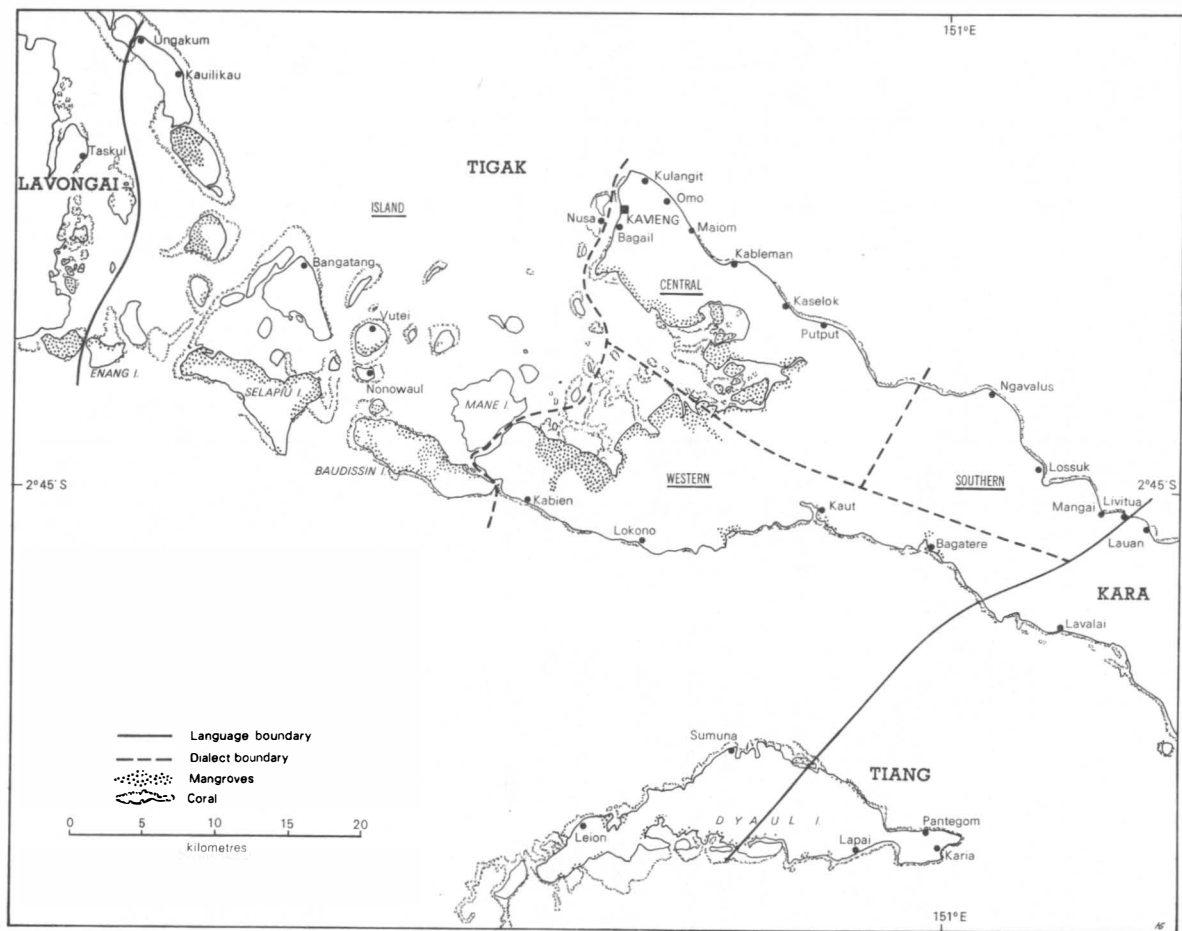
The use of ina as a plural marker before kinship nouns (5.1.2.) does not appear to have any link with the other uses.

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/KNP	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 2
DIALECTS OF TIGAK

CHAPTER 7

DIALECTS OF TIGAK

7.1. GENERAL

There are four main dialects of Tigak (Map 2) - 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. As Lithgow and Claassen have reported (1968:8) there is 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.

¹The dialects are named geographically. No special status for 'Central' is implied.

²These are based on 1971 village census figures from the Sub-District Office at Kavieng.

7.2. LEXICAL DIFFERENCES

The general relationship between the dialects is shown by the lexicostatistical percentages in Table 20 below. These are based on the first 140 words in the SIL word-list³. The table shows clearly the divergence of the Southern dialect.

TABLE 20
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

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 list⁴:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	KARA
'neck'	goko	βuŋkalama	βoguloma
'leaf'	pakak	βai	pakanaβai
'axe'	gamui	βirima	βirima

³This word-list is given and explained by Bee and Pence (1962). The counts in Table 20 are based on lists personally elicited from informants from Kaselok (Central), Ngavalus (Southern), Lokono (Western) and Vutei (Wadei, Island).

⁴Vernacular words in this chapter are written phonemically (or semiphonemically 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.

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	KARA
'morning'	maua	panikan	panian
'warm, hot' (of water)	manas	lakap	lakaf
'many'	akurul	akaβes	kaβes

Those with other links are:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	TIANG	LAVONGAI
'skin'	kulit	tuap	[tuʌ]	-
'blood'	tiliŋ	rakai	[ʔʌŋɛlʌŋ]	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'	miriŋ	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'	[nɛnɔɔɔ]	[nɛnɔɔkɔ]	[nɔɔɔ]	[nɔɔɔ]
'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. [bɔɔɔ] [βɔɔɔ] '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]:

[βɛtɛ]	(S)	'cloud'
[bɛtɛ]	(C,W)	'cloud'
[bɛtɛ]	(I)	'rain cloud'

Other examples of variations between [b] and [β] are:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
'ashes'	[βutʌ]	[βutʌ]	[βutʌ]	[butʌ]
'smoke'	[βuβuʌn]	[βuβuʌn]	[buʌn]	[buʌn]

There is a preference for the [ɖ] allophone of /r/ in the Island and Western dialects. This is also influenced in the following example by the lack of reduplication as [ɖ] occurs only word initially:

	CENTRAL	SOUTHERN	ISLAND	WESTERN
'water'	[ʔuʔum]	[ʔʌʔom]	[ɖum]	[ɖum]

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) merged 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'	[gʌʔʌ]	[kʌʔɛ]
'basket'	[ʔʌpʌ]	[ʔʌpɛ]

Another change is that final /u/ becomes /o/:

laβu (C,I,W) 'big'
laβo (S)

Other examples show word modifications which do not affect the nature or status of individual 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 monograph 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 ⁵

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.'
- (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

⁵This change removes the definite/indefinite distinction in the article forms of taŋ and ta.

- '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	ŋanaŋ, ŋanaŋ gara
'that one'	tara	ŋan taŋ, 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

The Southern dialect shows the most grammatical divergence from the Central dialect. The points of difference are illustrated 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 pis-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 arrived 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 loḡunai 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	βitaḡ, vataḡ, 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 may be 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'	papa is	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'	sangauluŋ	sangauluŋ
'11'	sangauluŋ βe sakai	sangauluŋ βe sakai
'12'	sangauluŋ βe pauak	sangauluŋ βe pauak
'16'	sangauluŋ βe palmit sakai	sangauluŋ βe pisaka
'18'	sangauluŋ βe palmit potul	sangauluŋ βe pisiktul

CHAPTER 8

TEXTS

8.0. INTRODUCTION

There are two texts presented here. Both were narrated by Mr. William Watlugan, aged about 70, of Kaselok village. They were recorded at Kaselok in January 1972 and the original tapes are lodged in the Linguistics Department of the Research School of Pacific Studies at the A.N.U. in Canberra. The first text tells about the narrator's life. The second is a Tigak folk tale.

Free translations are given for both texts and the sentences are numbered for cross reference. There is a commentary for the first text which deals primarily with sentence structure and with borrowed words. Sentences which occur within other sentences are enclosed in square brackets in this text. Borrowed words or phrases are underlined and these are explained in the commentary when they first occur.

8.1. 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 po tok-togon
art eye- my it past see emph and I- past perf have
kalapang]. 4. nak vilrokoli nak nos-nosom tana tang kalapang
understanding I be.able I feel of the understanding
- ve a tangintol gara. 5. ginang a- lakliak, io, a malapen
and art life this going.on am-little well the sickness
- gara ga sang su-guk. 6. io, rig- a akalkalit-i na
this it past come to-me well they-past inform- him art
- talatala mista Boitia. 7. io, a talatala gura a talatala
minister mister Boettcher well art minister this art minister

- Jemani. 8. [io, ga giak-i na tama- k ve ri na- k],
Germany well he past send-os art father-my and art mother-my
 [reg- a inang papa-nik suna dokta]. 9. [io, rik aisok an- au
they 2-past go with-me to doctor well they work for-me
 tuk tana rig- a vil a- palavien-i a mata-k] ve [mata-k ga
until they-past 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], [nak vuvok
going,on I- past have feeling am-little I want
 sinuk angasik-i nga-lakeak ina akalkalit te tama- k]. 11. [ve
sit help- os pl- child of teach of father-my and
 nag-a palongan-i a mamana ot ina akalkalit] ve [nag-a
I- past hear- os art pl thing of teaching and I- past
 tongan-i nak vilrokoli ina kalapang tata-na]. 12. ginang tuk tana
try- os I be,able to understand of- it going,on until
 nag-a tapal tana pising rokol-i a mamana ot rig-a
I- past complete of say able- os art pl thing they-past
 kalag-i, 13. [nak vilrokoli ina pising tangui a buk ina
write-os I be,able to say from.memory art book of
 ngain], [nak vilrokoli ina pising tangui a buk tambu],
hymn I be,able to say from.memory art book sacred
14. io, rig- a kail-au ina na- niu sakai a teteng ina aisok
well they-past call-me that art-I one art person for work
 lo la-na aisok te God. 15. nag-a tena varavai. 16. lo
in inside-its work of God I- past person preach at
 masat potul sangaulung ve palmit pauak rig- a kail-au tana tena
time three ten and five two they-past call-me of person
 varavai, tuk gara longina. 17. [ve tana gan rig- a kail tapong-
preach until now today and of day they-past call start-
 au nag-a veak lo utak kalapang a- ro] pana [a-so ta ot tang
me I- past neg yet understand am-good that what art thing the
 aisok gara], 18. tuk tana na mista Sinaut ga akalit-au
work this until art mister Chenoweth he past teach- me
 pana ot gara a breil. 19. io, nag-a tuktapong-i kokot
with thing this art braille well I- past begin- os read
 pana breil. 20. [nag-a vilrokoli ina akalkalit pas-pasal tata-na]
with braille I- past be,able to teach continuing of- it
 ve [nak tongan-i ina kalapang tata-na]. 21. [ve nag-a veak lo
and I try- os to understand of- it and I- past neg
 utak kalapang] pana [[a-so ta ot tana kak aisok] ve [a-so ta
yet understand that what art thing of my work and what art
 ot gara a tena varavai vo a vil lotu]]. 22. [ve longina
thing this art person preach or art make worship and today
 no-nol tesu-guk gi paga pas-pasal] ve [nak kilai rokol-i a aisok
thought of- me it clear continuing and I know able- os art work
 ina lotu], ve [nak kilai alu kak pasingan]. 23. [[ve nak nol
of worship and I know too my Lord and I think
 auneng- ani] pana [atuman ina tang aisok iat a aisok ina lotu]].
in.this.way-it that true that the work emph art work of worship

ve [nak kila atuman-i kak pasingan na God], 24. ga veak
 and I know true- him my Lord art God it past neg
 alu ta ot ina nonol tesu-guk gi pe ulpuk taun], vo ina nak
 too art thing that thought of- me it again turn to.it or that I
 namkai tata-na. 25. [na God klsang kak tangintol ve kak takteak
 believe of- it art God alone my life and my strength
 ve kak kalapang], ve [na- ne iat gl angasik-au pana mamana ot].
 and my understanding and art he emph he help- me with pl thing
 26. nak ton- i lo la- na tanglntol tesu-guk longina, ve tuk
 I hold-him in itside-its life of-me today and until
 pas-pasal ina mamana masat eno lono. 27. gi ro- mat paliu.
 continuing of pl time ahead in.it it good-very very
 28. na- ne kisang,
 art-it only

8.2. FREE TRANSLATION

The Life of a Blind Man

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.

8.3. 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. Stative 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.
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. Stative 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 a Simple S and a Causal S.
ina has been omitted after *tongani*.
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.

¹As all Simple Sentences contain a single Independent Clause, in subsequent sentences of this type I refer directly to the Clause Base.

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.

22. Compound S consisting of three Simple S's linked by conjunctions.

23. Compound S consisting of a Quotative S and a Simple S linked by a conjunction. The Quotative S consists of a Simple S + pana + Simple S.

24. Causal S consisting of an Independent Clause and two Purpose Clauses which are linked by vo '*or*'.

25. Compound S consisting of two Simple S's. In the first there is a Stative Clause Base and in the second a Transitive Clause Base.

26. Simple S. The clause base is transitive and contains a long periphery consisting of:

Locative lo lana tangintol tesuguk '*in my life*'

Time longina '*today*'

Link ve '*and*'

Time tuk paspasal ina mamana masat eno '*continuing until times ahead*'

Locative lono '*in it*' (i.e. '*in my life*').

27. Simple S.

28. Simple S with a Stative Clause Base. This is a typical discourse closure.

8.4. LEVARAVU AND LEVARAVU

1. kus para-tung, para-lang ani a tama-tene tivu-nan.
folk.story story about art grandchildren.and.grandmother
2. ri lapun, riga pising-iri pana ri karak, ve a va
art old.woman they call- her with art lady and art two
 tivu- ri na Levaravu ve na Levarava. 3. va lakeak gura
grandchild-her art L. and art L. two child this
 rek kal-kalum malan tana palmit sakai a masat tana ka-rek
they 2 look like of five one art masat of their 2
 tangintol. 4. io, aisok te ri tivu- rek ina kavai-
life well work of art grandmother-their 2 to look.after-
 irek ve tavai-irek pana pok, ve kavul- irek alu. 5. a
them and give- them 2 with food and build.up-them 2 too the
 malmalasup ina 'kavul' gi malan tana rik tavai-irek pana ta kematan
meaning of 'build.up' it as of she give- them with art some
 takteak vo rik vil a-polok-irek. 6. io, rega polok pas-pasal,
strength or she make grow- them well they 2,past grow continuing
 ve ri lapun riga kalum-irek rek polok pas-pasal, ve riga
and the old.woman she see- them 2 they 2 grow continuing and she
 nangas tana ka-ri akotong tana va tivu- ri, ve riga kus-
be.pleased with her watch of two grandchild-her and she past tell-
 irek auneng, "vo muk karau ve ga togon sakai anu riga
them as.follows fut you 2 play and it past has one man they
 pising-i pe Taugui. 7. anu gura ga anu ngangan ve na-ne ga
call- him with T. man this he man cannibal and he sp
 togon tukul sula alu lo tua- na tukul sula tata-ra. 8. vouneng
has patch bamboo too in middle-its patch bamboo our inc if
 muk vuvok koto sula ve muk kalum e-kaliman a-ro-ini a salan.
you 2 want cut bamboo and you 2 look consider well-about art path
 9. a salan tata-ra ga paga ina inang etang lo tua- na tukul
the path our it clear to go there in middle-its patch
 sula tata-ra, ve a salan tata-na ga kavelo ve ga sisimukan.
bamboo our and art path his it spider and it overgrown
 10. vouneng muk tarai a salan ga ius bavatan tana kavelo ve ga
if you 2 see art path it blocked with spider and it
 sisimukan, gura a salan te Taugui, ve muk tarai a salan ga paga
overgrown this art path of T. and you 2 see a path it clear
 a salan tata-ra gura ina tukul sula tata-ra. 11. muk inang
art path our this of patch bamboo our you 2 go
 a-nanos ve muk sang tana kara tukul sula ve muk koto sula."
straight and you 2 come on our pl,inc patch bamboo and you cut bamboo
 12. io, a va lakeak gura rega pon palong-an-i a papasa ta-ri
well art two child this they asp hear art talk of-her
 tivu- rek ve rega lam-lamon tata-na.
grandmother-their and they 2,past think of-it
 13. sakai a gan rega inang ina rek koto sula, na Taugui ga pon
one art day they 2,past go to they cut bamboo art T, he asp
 ius bavat- i a salan tata-rek pana kavelo. 14. ve ga gon a-paga-
block- it art path their 2 with spider and he past prepare clearly-

i a salan tata-na iat pana ina inang lo tua- na tuku sula
 it art path his emph in.order.to go in middle-its patch bamboo
 tata-na, ve ga paga, ga salan kamarak. 15. io, tana gan
 his and it clear it path which.all.can.use. well on day
 va lakeak rega inang ve rega usik tul- i- a
 two child they 2,past go and they 2,past follow falsely-it art
 salan te Taugui kula ga po gon a-paga- i. 16. a no-nol-
 path of Taugui because he perf prepare clearly-it art thought-
 irek ga tug- i a papasa ta-ri tivu- rek, kisang na
 their it remember-it art talk of-her grandmother-their but art
 Taugui ga ius bavati- a salan tata-ritul, auneng tarai rega usik
 T. he block- it art path their 3 thus see they follow
 tul- i a salan te Taugui kasung. 17. rega po koto sula
 falsely-it art path of T. wrongly they perf cut bamboo
 kamus ve rega sang ve rega vuvuas sula vo kapung, ve rek
 completely and they come and they burn bamboo or shaft and they
 kangkangaro sula, ve sakai gan rega siak lo laman. 18. io, rega
 put.iron.on bamboo and one day they go.down to sea well they
 inang, rega sang etang lo laman gup ve regapot
 go they come there to sea deep and they catch.with.net
 mulmul ve rega la-pus-i ka-rek kaleo pana mulmul, ve
 species.of.small.fish and they fill- it their canoe with fish and
 rek aigot ina tapuok, ve na Taugui ga sang su-rek lo vitua- na
 they prepare to return and art T. he come to-them in middle-its
 laman. 19. ve ga nung pulpul ina ka-na tukul sula. 20. na-rek
 sea and he ask payment of his patch bamboo they 2
 rega kitil ve rega sinuk e-tara-k. 21. na Taugui
 they surprised and they sit staring.at.each.other art T.
 ga pising auneng-ani su-rek, "muk kamona tavai-au, aso a
 he say in.this.way to-them you 2 hurry give- me what the
 sasa-pul-ai ina ka-k tukul sula, muk pata e-tara-k." 22. na
 payment of my patch bamboo you 2 must.not stare art
 Levarava ga iga-i na Levaravu, "ga-ro ina nuk sok gavan-i
 L. he ask-him art L. it-good that you sg throw-away.it
 ta kenu lapa mulmul." 23. io, na Levaravu ga ta-tut pana sakai
 art some basket fish well art L. he rise with one
 a lapa mulmul ve ga sok gavan-i lo laman.
 art basket fish and he throw.away- it in sea
 24. rega pasal, rega kaul, rega kaul, kaul, kaul. 25. Taugui ga
 they go.on they row they row row row T. he
 ngan a-kamus-i a lapa mulmul gura, ga pe buat alu.
 eat completely-it art basket fish this he again surface again
 26. "neva so pulpul ina ka-k tukul sula?" 27. na Levaravu alu ga
 what payment of my patch bamboo art L. again he
 ta-tut pana kenu lapa ve ga gavan-i. 28. ga-veak rek ko
 rise with some basket and he throw.away-it. not they neg
 utok tara-i unga-na siva vo kono, na-rek lo vitua- na laman paliu.
 yet see- it mark-its place or sand they 2 in middle-its sea very
 29. rega kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul. 30. ve na Taugui alu ga buat.
 they row row row row and art T. again he surface

31. ve ga iga-irek alu, "aso ta ot a pulpul ina ka-k tukul
and he ask-them again what art thing art payment of my patch
sula?" 32. la-potul ina lapa mulmul alu ga kiak.
bamboo third of basket fish too it go.down
33. rega kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul. 34. na Taugui
they 2,past row row row row row row art T.
- alu ga sang su-rek, ga iga-irek alu, "aso ta ot a
again he past come to-them 2 he ask-them 2 again what art thing art
pulpul ina ka-k tukul sula?" 35. rega la- kiak alu la-poiat ina
payment of my patch bamboo they let-fall again fourth of
lapa mulmul.
basket fish
36. rega kaul, rega kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul, rek tara-i
they row they 2,past row row row row they 2 see- it
a unga-na siva ve kono gi sang. 37. Taugui alu ga buat
a mark-its place and sand it come T. again he surface
su-rek, ga iga-irek alu, "neva ta pulpul ina kak tukul sula?"
to-them 2 he ask-them 2 again what art payment of my patch bamboo
38. rega gavan-i la-palmit ina lapa mulmul
they remove-it fifth of basket fish
39. rega kaul, rega kaul, kaul, ve rek tara-i
they 2,past row they row row row and they 2 see- it
a to kula patu-na mat gi tapasok, 40. Taugui ga buat alu,
art sea on head-its reef it break T. he surface again
ga iga-irek, "neva so ta ot a pulpul ina kak tukul sula?"
he ask-them what art thing art payment of my patch bamboo
41. rega ta-tut pana la-palmit sakai ina lapa mulmul ve rega
they rise with sixth of basket fish and they
gavan- i. 42. a-kamus-ai ina ka-rek lapa.
remove-it finish of their 2 basket
43. rega kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul. 44. Taugui ga buat alu
they row row row row T. he surface again
su-rek, ga iga-irek, "neva ta so ta ot sasa-pul-ai ina kak tukul
to-them he ask-them what art what art thing payment of my patch
sula?" 45. rega a- sinuk e-tara-k lava. 46. ka-rek mamana len
bamboo they kept.sitting stare emph their pl fish
ga po kamus, ka-rek mulmul ga po kamus. 47. io, na tuan
it perf finish their fish it perf finish well art elder.brother
ga pising-i sang su sisin, "ga-ro ina nuk putuk- au."
he say- it come to younger.brother it-good that you cut.up-me
48. ve na sisin ga pising auneng-ani, "gaveak, na-nu nuk putuk-
and art younger he say in.this.way no you sg you cut.up-
au." 49. na tuan ga pising-i su sisin auneng, "naniu, naga
me art elder he say- it to younger thus I ip I past
po minang lo-kavai su ri tivu- rak ve ga-ro ina nuk
perf stay long.time to art grandmother-our and it-good that you
putuk- au, ve na-nu, nuga sa pakik minang usik tana mugik
cut.up-me and you you still new stay follow of back-my
ga-ro ina nuk pe minang su ri tivu- rak." 50. io,
it-good that you again stay to art grandmother-our 2,inc well

na sisin ga longok te tuan, ve ga putuk- i a kiki-na ve ga
 art younger he obey of elder and he cut.up-him art leg- his and he
 gavan- i.
 throw.away-it

51. na-ne ga kaul, ga kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul. 52. na Taugui
 he ip he past row he row row row row art T.
- alu ga pe buat. 53. ga putuk gavan- i ke-pal kak.
 again he again surface he cut.up throw.away-it part leg
54. na-ne ga kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul. 55. na Taugui ga pe
 he ip he row row row row row art T. he again
 buat, ve ga putuk gavan- i kepal sava, ve ga kaul, kaul,
 surface and he cut.up throw.away-it part buttock and he row row
 kaul, kaul, kaul. 56. na Taugui ga pe buat. 57. ga putuk
 row row row art T. he again surface he cut.up
 gavan- i alu a kepal sava- na 58. ve ga kaul, kaul, kaul,
 throw.away-it again art part buttock-his and he row row row
 kaul. 59. na Taugui ga pe sang alu su-na. 60. ve ga putuk
 row art T. he again come again to-him and he cut.up
 gavan- i a kepal miti-na. 61. nane ga kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul,
 throw.away-it art part hand-his he ip he row row row row
 kaul. 62. na Taugui ga pe buat alu. 63. ga putuk gavan-
 row art T. he again surface again he cut.up throw.away-
 i a kepal miti-na, ve ga kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul. 64. na
 it art part hand-his and he row row row row art
 Taugui alu ga pe buat ve ga ngapotol gavan- i a vitua-
 T. again he again surface and he cut.off throw.away-it art middle-
 na, ve ga kaul, kaul, kaul, kaul, ve na Taugui ga pe buat alu.
 his and he row row row row ana T. he again surface again
65. a siva lavang gi losiliak a patu-na mat, gi po losillak
 art place now it close art head-its reef it perf close
- paliu. 66. ga putuk potol- i lo goko-na ve ga gavan- i.
 very he cut.off remove-it at neck-his and he throw.away-it
67. nane ga kaul, kaul a-lak maran-sakai kula mat. 68. io, ga
 he he row row go.up forever on reef well he
 akotongan-i a iat ve mamaingon i- na, ve a patu-na alu, ve
 watch- it the liver and entrails of-him and art head-his too and
 ga osong papa-na ve ga kaipan-i lo te-na lui, lo te-na ka-rek
 he come.ashore with-it and he bury- it close.to house close.to their 2
 garama lo mata-na siva ve ga akotongan-i. 69. siva gi
 men's.house at entrance-its village and he watch- it place it
 maua gi sang gi kekevai gi tara-i a sese gi polok ve ga
 morning he come he look he see- it art small.tree it grow and he
 uk gavan-i, gi pising auneng-ani, "ot gara nak tara-i ta
 pull.out-it he say in.this.way thing this I see- it art
 sasa-pul-ai i tiga- k tata-na va gara?" 70. gi uk gavan-i ve
 payment of brother-my of- him qm this he pull.out-it and
 siva gi vung, siva gi maua, ginang lo kekevai, gi tarai a nunus
 place it evening place it morning he.goes to look he see art tree
 gi polok, gi uk gavan-i. 71. gi pising auneng-ani, "ot gara nak
 it grow he pull.out-it he say in.this.way thing this I

- tara-i ta sasa-pul-ai i tiga- k tata-na va gara?" ve gi
see- it art payment of brother-my of- him qm this and he
- uk gavan-i. 72. siva gi vung, siva gi maua ginang gi kekevai
pull.out-it place it evening place it morning he.goes he look
- gi tara-i a utun ga polok. 73. "ot gara nak tara-i ta
he see- it a tree it past grow thing this I see- it art
- sasa-pul-ai i tiga- k tata-na va gara?" 74. gi uk gavan-i.
payment of brother-my of- him qm this he pull.out-it
75. siva gi vung, siva gi maua, ginang gi a-tuk kal-kalum
place it evening place it morning he.goes he stand look
- lo pal-siva gura ga kapis-i a patu i tiga- na lo-no ga
at spot this he past plant-it the head of brother-his in.it it
- vung a-kamus ve ga minang. 76. siva gi vung, siva gi maua,
red completely and he stay place it evening place it morning
- ginang a-tuk kal-kalum gi tara-i a nik ga sang, kisang ga weak lo
he.goes stand look he see- it art coconut it come but he not
- utok kila- i pana a nik, gi vagai pana aso ta vukun iai.
yet realise-it with a coconut he not.know with what art kind tree
77. ve ga talongan-i lava ga polok ga akotong-i tuk tana ga pit,
and he leave- it now it grow he watch- it until it bearing
- tuk tana ga tairas pas-pasal ginang. 78. io, ga kalum-i pana
until it come.big continuing it.goes well he see- it that
- vo a iai gara gi etong ina gi kalum-i a sasa-pul-ai i tiga-
fut art tree this it equal that he see- it art payment of brother-
- na kuli-na. 79. io, ga akotong-an-i lava, ga kail-i ri
his on- it well he watch- it emph he call-her art
- tivu- na, ve riga me tara-i.
grandmother-his and she emph see- it
80. io, ri tivu- na riga nangas alu tata-na. 81. ve
well art grandmother-his she pleased too of- it and
- ri tivu- na riga l-aigot riga alg-i sakai a gaus vuk-vuga
art grandmother-his she prepare she splice one art rope long
- ve ga togon sakai piu riga po kava- i iat, ve riga la-
and sp have one dog she perf look.after-it yet and she make-
- marala-i. 82. riga aigot- i ka-rek mamana aigot, a pok ve
cross- it she prepare- os their 2 pl preparation art food and
- a piu ve ka-rek aik. 83. io, rega ima ve rega sinuk
art dog and their 2 rope well they 2,past come and they sit
- elai kuli-na ondongo ina nik gura. 84. na Levaravu ve ka-na
above on- it spathe of coconut this art L. and his
- piu gura. 85. io, ga kus- i ri tivu- na ve ri tivu-
dog this well he tell-her art grandmother-his and art grandmother-
- na riga pas-i a nik gura ve nik gura ga lak
his she put.leg.on.base art coconut this and coconut this it go.up
- ginang pana pe Levaravu ve ka-na piu ve ga lak, lak, lak, lak ve
it.go with with L. and his dog and it go.up and
- rega sang etang lo siva te Taugui. 86. io, na Levaravu ga kong
they come there to place of T. well art L. he take
- a-tug-i a piu ve ga la-siak-i a gaus gura ve ri tivu-
stand-it art dog and he lower- it art rope this and art grandmother-

na riga patgan- i tang lapa ina pok kuli-na, ve na-ne ga ngai
his she tie.to, rope-it the basket of food on- it and he he pull
 a-lak-i, ve ga togon lapa ina pok ve ka-rek rorum, ve na-ne ga
go.up-it and he have basket of food and their 2 water and he he
 ngai a-lak-i ginang ve ga sukaulong-i kula siva gura nik ga
pull go.up-it it.go and he bring,up- it on place this coconut it
 pon agupati.
perf come.up.to

87. io, rega aigot evang, rega pasal ve nik gura ga tuk
well they prepare there they go and coconut this it stand
 ve rega inang, rega sang lo sakai siva ve a vap riga
and they go they come to one place and art people they pl,past
 iga-irek, "a paspasal-an gara ginang eve?"
ask-them 2 art trip.on.foot this it.goes where

88. "gaveak, mek sa pa-kurau, lakos ginang,"
no we 2,excl just walk.around only going

89. "muk pasal pepengai ginang lo siva gara ina e-viakon-
you 2 walk in.danger continuing to place this of be.afraid-
 aian ina-so gara?" 90. ve rek pasal rek inang rek sang lo
ns why now and they 2 walk they 2 go they 2 come to
 sakai siva. 91. a non alu riga iga-irek, "a
one place art people again they pl,past ask-them 2 art
 paspasal-an gara ginang eve?"
trip.on.foot this it.goes where

92. na Levaravu gi pising auneng-ani, "nak sa tuk kal-kalampang
art L. he say in.this.way I just stand understand
 la ginang evang."
answer it.goes there

93. "muk kalampang tana-so gura lo siva ina e-viakon-aian?"
you 2 understand why here in place of being,afraid

94. kanataut ve rega inang ina rega sang lo siva
never,mind and they 2,past go that they 2,past come to place
 te Taugui ve ka-na nga-lakeak ve ri natlava-na evang rek minang
of T. and his children and art wife- his there they 2 stay
 ve nane ga inang lo matang. 95. io, rek sang evang ve rek
and he he past go to garden well they come there and they 2
 iga-ini na Taugui. 96. gi veak lo pising pana isan gi pising
ask-about art T. he not say with name he say
 auneng-ani, 'na lava-k'. 97. ve nga-lakeak riga kus-i,
in.this.way art uncle-my and children they pl,past tell-him

"ga inang lo masut."
he past go into bush

98. "gi-so mem inang lo tara-i?"
qm we pl,exc go to see- him

99. "gaveak ga-ro ina vo gi ke sang," 100. ve ga
no it-good that fut he must come and he past
 lak lo lui, ve ga tara-i a mamana ot ina vis-vis te
go.up in house and he past see- os art pl thing of fight of
 Taugui gi minang, ka-na mamana taula ve ga suka, ga po susung-i
T. it remain his pl tusk and he bring he perf light- it

- ata ga alaklagai akamus- i ka-na taula ve ga la- minang
fire he burn completely-os his tusk and he cause-remain
- a-tapuok-i lo ka-na papain. 101. ve na-rek rek me sinuk,
return- it in his dwelling and they 2 they 2 emph sit
- na-rek ve ka-na piu ve ga po kus- i ka-na piu auneng,
they 2 and his dog and he past perf tell-it his dog thus
- "vouneng gi sang ve gi vuvok vis-vis, nuk akotong. 102. vouneng
if he come and he want fight you sg watch if
- gi ul-puk gima kuli-ni-k nanu nuk takul-i lo mugina, ve
he turn he.comes on- me you sg you kill- him in back-his and
- vouneng gi ul-puk ginang kuli-ni-m naniu nak sang lo mugina
if he turn he.goes on- you sg I ip I come to back-his
- ina nak gava- i, ve vouneng gi ul-tapuok gima kuli-ni-k nanu
that I spear-him and if he turn.round he.comes on- me you
- nuk po takul-i lo mugina." 103. io, ka-na piu ga kalapang
you perf kill- him at back-his well his dog it past understand
- tana etok ina apapating ina vis-vis na Levaravu ga po kus- i
of talk of preparation of fight art L. he past perf tell-him
- papa-na.
with-it
104. tana pal gan na Taugui ga sang, io gi sang tarai-irek,
on part day art T. he past come well he come see- them 2
- no-nol tata-na gi po tuk pana ina gi vis- rek kisang ta kematan
thought his it perf stand with that he fight-them but art some
- etok ina a-pul-pul vo ina atiti, etok palau kisang, ve nane ka-na
talk of payment or of betrayal talk empty only and it his
- no-nol gi po tuk pana ka-na vau vo gi vil vau. 106. io,
thought it perf stand with his death fut he make death well
- Taugui ga iga-irek "makato-k nuk ima asoso gura?"
T. he past ask-them 2 nephew-my you come why here
107. "gaveak, naga sa tuk karau gima." 108. io, na
no I past just stand play it.comes well art
- Taugui gi lak ve ga soko mulmul, gi sang ve gi tavai-irek.
T. he go.up and he past bring fish he come and he give- them 2
109. nane ga po tara kila- i a mulmul tata-rek lakos ve
he he past perf see realise-it art fish their 2 only and
- gi pising auneng-ani pana, "ot gara ga liu tana mugik."
he say in.this.way that thing this it past pass of back-my
110. gi soko a-tapuok-i ina gi la- minangi ve gi soko a
he bring return- it that he cause-remain-it and he bring art
- timin tuap i Levarava gura ga mo sang su-rek etang lo laman
flesh body of L. this he past perf come to-them 2 there in sea
- ve na tiga- na ga putuk lisan-i su-na. 111. ve na
and art brother-his he past cut.off bring-it to-him and art
- Levaravu ga tara kilai a kulit i Levarava ve ga pising
L. he past see realise art body of L. and he past say
- auneng-ani, "a vogo gara ga liu tana mugik."
in.this.way art pig this it pass of back-my
112. na Taugui ga soko a-tapuok-i ginang a timin, ve
art T. he past bring return- it it.goes the flesh and

- gi po marala lava tara. 113. "aso ta ot gara mik mo
he perf angry completely there what art thing this you perf
- pasal-ira papa-na ve mik me piras-ani ka-mem e-tavai?
come-us with-it and you pl emph be.angry.at our exc,pl gift
114. mik me piras-ani ka-mem asaksok. 115. so
you pl emph be.angry.at our exc,pl gifts.to.visitor what
- mik mo luga-imem papa-na?" 116. ga soko ka-na taula ve
you pl perf find-us with-it he past bring his tusk and
- ga la- tug- i lo ngisi-na ve ga sang ve ga vuvok tong-an-i lakis
he make-stand-it in teeth-his and he come and he want try- it first
- lo poto-na iai ve inang ga pita- vuakan-i lo poto-na iai,
at base-its tree and going.on he strike-break- it at base-its tree
- vaul ina iai. 117. ga lak ve ga soko alu ken-kenu
buttress.root of tree he go.up and he bring again another
- ve ga rontan-i, gi vuvok inang alu ina gi tongan-i tana vaul
and he join- it he want go again so.that he try- it on root
- ina iai alu, ga inang ve ga saum-vuak-an-i. 118. ve la-potul
of tree again he go and he break- it and third
- ina ga tongan-i alu, io ga takteak lava, sakai kisang gura
of.it he try- it too well it strong very one only this
- rega veak lo alaklagai gura lava, ga no-nol auneng
they 2,past not burn this completely he think thus
- lava pana gi kaskas ina vis- rek lava gura. 119. ga
completely that he able to fight-them 2 completely this he
- sang tauni- rek lava ina gi vis- rek, ga pasal-i na
come toward-them 2 completely so.that he strike-them he go- him art
- Levaravu. 120. na Levaravu ga ta-tut ina gi gava-i, piu ga
L. art L. he rise so.that he spear-him dog it
- po takul- i lo mugina, ve nane ga ul-tapuok kuli piu. 121. ve
perf attack-him at back-his and he he turn on dog and
- na Levaravu ga tatut ga gava- i pana vut tana mugina. 122. ga
art L. he rise he spear-him with spear at back-his he
- ul-tapuok ginang kuli Levaravu. 123. na piu ga po tatut
turn continuing on L. art dog he perf rise
- takul- i a kiki-na emuk.
attack-him art leg- his in.front
124. rega vil auneng-ani, io nane ga ul-tapuok kuli piu,
they 2,past do in.this.way well he he turn on dog
- na Levaravu ga pon gava- i pana ka-na vut. 125. gi vuvok ul-tapuok
art L. he perf spear-him with his spear he want turn
- ginang kuli Levaravu, piu ga po takul- i keke-na lo mugina.
continuing on L. dog it perf attack-it leg- his at back-his
126. rega vil auneng-ani ginang tuk tana na Taugui ga
they 2,past do in.this.way continuing until art T. he
- veak ko pe kaskas ina gi vis-vis alu. 127. ga tuk tapal
not again able that he fight again he stand always
- maransakai pana mamana vut te Levaravu. 128. na Levaravu ga rot-
forever with pl spear of L. art L. he stab-
- i, rot- i tua- na pana ka-na mamana vut ve ga po la-kamus-i
him stab-him body-his with his pl spear and he perf finish- it

- ka-na volo ina vut ve ga po a-tuk maran-sakai. 129. na Taugui
his bundle of spear and he perf stand forever art T.
- ga-veak alu lo pen paipuok ina vis-vis. 130. Tua- na ga po
not again neg again move to fight body-his it perf
- tiptip akamus tana ka-na mamana vut na Levaravu ga po rot
heavy completely of his pl spear art L. he perf stab
- akamus i papa-na. 131. ga tut pana kigogon ve ga kigogon-
completely-him with-it he stand with heavy.rod and he strike-
- i gavan- i na Taugui, ga puka epakal-iak ve a siva ga
him take.away-him art T. he fall downwards and the place it
- tariak ve kana nga-lakeak ve kana ri natlava-na riga ru ve a
shake and his children and his art wife- his they rush and the
- siva akamus riga palongan-i a nunung ina puka te Taugui ve riga
place whole they hear- it the bang of fall of T. and they
- kumali ginang lo mamana malak lo ta siva akamus. 132. ve a
sing.out continuing to pl hamlet in art place whole and the
- vap riga nangas ve riga pising auneng-ani, "a malangis ina tang
people they pleased and they say in.this.way the meaning of the
- pas-pasal-an tara-vai, a siva gi po tariak, gi-ro- mat eul."
journey is.this the place it perf shake it-good-very very
133. rik etok ina nangas. 134. io, ta-na gan gura rega
they talk of happy well on.the day this they 2,past
- po vis kamus- i na Taugui ve rega tapuok gima, riga
perf hit finish-him art T. and they 2,past return coming they pl,past
- unang-i mamana non, a patu-ri gi po polok-on tana lutuk,
untie-os pl people art head-their it perf overgrown with wild.orchid
- ve tua- ri gi po polok-on tana tipas. 135. mamana ot ina
and body-their it perf covered with snail pl thing of
- masut riga po lak tua- na mamana non riga pipis a-tug-iri
bush they past perf go.up body-his pl people they tie stand-them
- lo poto-na iai ve riga minang ginang lo pakana gaggavus
at base-its tree and they past stay continuing under rotten.tree
- ve riga irim ginang lo mamana vaul ina iai lavu lo
and they past sit continuing at pl buttress of tree big in
- lana masut. 136. a ot ina ru-rui-ai ani a pasingan gara ga
inside bush art thing of run.away about the lord this it
- tuk ina marakan-i a vap ve la- na siva.
stand to spoil- it the people and inside-its village
137. ve rik sang ginang lo la-na mamana malak ginang
and they come continuing to inside pl hamlet continuing
- lo kising ina salan a vap riga aigot koko-irek. 138. rik
to edge of road the people they prepare wait-them 2 they
- kong vogo rik nganakas pok ve a gan rik sang lo malak gura
catch pig they cook.on.mumu food and the day they come to hamlet this
- rik la-lak-i ngavo pok ve a vakut gi masak kuli-na.
they pile.up heap food and art shell.money it lie on- it
139. kisang rek soko lakos a vakut ve rek kus
but they 2 bring only art shell.money and they 2 say
- pirasan-i mamana ngavo tana pok pana, "kanataut a ot tata-ri
refuse- it pl heap of food with never.mind art thing of- them

gura tana aigot ina vogo ve pok." 140. ve rega pising
this of preparation of pig and food and they 2 say

auneng-ani pana na-rek rega vil-i aisok ina angasik-i lakos a
as.follows that they 2 they 2 do- it work to help- it only the
 la-na siva ve a vap tana vukun nos-nosom, vap riga mon
inside place and the people of kind feeling people they perf
 nosom-i aino tuk gara longina. 141. rega ima ve rega sang
feel- it before until now today they 2 come and they 2 come

lo papain gura riga mo tuk-tapong-i pasal lono, rega sinuk alu
to place this they perf start- it walk in.it they 2 sit again

kula ondongo ina nik ve na Levaravu ga parulan-i alu tang
on spathe of coconut and art L. he put.leg.on again the

nik ve tang nik ga kiak a-tapuok gima epakal-iaik ve
coconut and the coconut it go.down return coming downwards and
 ga me sang malan tana gara kara tara-i a nik longina ve
he emph come as of this we pl,inc see- it the coconut today and

rega me kiak lo kavala. 142. io ri tivu- rek riga
they 2 emph go.down to ground well art grandmother-their 2 she

susu-irek ve riga sai alalang tana no i Levaravu.
meet-them 2 and she remove sweat on face of L.

143. nane kisang. 144. gi-ro-ro-mat paliu sang su-mi
it only thank.you very.much come to-you pl

a-kamus vouneng mik palongan-i a kus paratung gura.
all if you pl hear- it the folk.take this

8.5. FREE TRANSLATION

Leverava and Levaravu

1. A folk tale which tells about a grandmother and grandchildren.
2. An old woman who is called 'old lady' and her two grandchildren who are called Leverava and Levaravu.
3. These two children appear to be about six years old.
4. Well, their grandmother's work is to look after them, and give them food to build them up as well.
5. The meaning of 'build up' (kavul) is that she should give them some strength and make them grow.
6. Well, they kept on growing and she was pleased with her care of her two grandchildren and she told them this, "You will be playing and there is a man called Taugui.
7. This man is a cannibal and he has a bamboo patch too, in the middle of our bamboo patch.
8. If you want to cut bamboo then look carefully at the path.
9. Our path is clear for going into the middle of our bamboo patch and his path has spiders and is overgrown.
10. If you see a path that is blocked with spiders and is overgrown, this is Taugui's path, and if you see a path that is clear, this is our path into our bamboo patch.
11. You go straight and cut bamboo."
12. Well, these two children heard their grandmother's advice and thought about it.
13. One day the two went to cut bamboo. Taugui had blocked their

path with spiders. 14. In addition he had prepared and cleared his own path to go into his bamboo patch. It was clear, a path which all could use. 15. Well, on the day the two boys went, they followed Taugui's path by mistake because he had cleared it. 16. Their minds recalled their grandmother's advice, but Taugui had blocked their path, so, see, they followed Taugui's path by mistake. 17. They cut the bamboo down completely and they came and burnt a bamboo or shaft and they put iron on the bamboo. Then, one day they went down to the sea. 18. Well, they went and reached the deep sea where they caught mulmul fish in their nets. They filled their canoe with fish and prepared to return. Then Taugui came to them in the middle of the sea. 19. He asked for payment for his bamboo patch. 20. They were surprised and they sat staring at each other. 21. Taugui said this to them. "You hurry up and give me the payment for my bamboo patch. Don't just stare at each other." 22. Levarava said to Levarava, "It is best for you to throw away a basket of fish." 23. Well, Levaravu got up with a basket of fish and he threw it into the sea.

24. They went on, they rowed, they rowed, rowed and rowed. 25. Taugui completely ate up this basket of fish; he surfaced again. 26. "What is the payment for my bamboo patch?" 27. Levaravu again rose with a basket and threw it away. 28. They could not yet see any sign of a village or sand, they were right in the middle of the sea. 29. They rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 30. And then Taugui surfaced again. 31. And he asked them again, "What is the payment for my bamboo patch" 32. The third basket of fish went down too.

33. They rowed, rowed, rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 34. Taugui again came to them and asked them again, "What is the payment for my bamboo patch?" 35. They let down the fourth basket of fish.

36. They rowed, they rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed; they saw the mark of a village and sand coming. 37. Taugui surfaced to them again, he asked them again, "What is the payment for my patch of bamboo?" 38. They threw out the fifth basket of fish.

39. They rowed, they rowed, rowed, rowed, and they saw the sea breaking on the top of a reef. 40. Taugui surfaced again and asked them, "What is the payment for my bamboo patch?" 41. They got up with the sixth basket of fish and they threw it away. 42. That was the end of their baskets.

43. They rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 44. Taugui surfaced to them again and asked them, "What is the payment for my bamboo patch?" 45. They kept sitting staring at each other. 46. Their fish were finished, their mulmul fish were finished. 47. Well, the elder brother said to the younger, "It is best for you to cut me up." 48. And the

younger brother said, "No, you cut me up." 49. The elder said to the younger, "I have been with our grandmother for a long time and it is better that you cut me up, and as you are still new following behind me, it is better for you to stay with our grandmother." 50. Well, the younger brother obeyed the elder, and he cut off his leg and threw it away.

51. He rowed, he rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 52. Taugui surfaced again. 53. He cut off part of the other leg and threw it away. 54. He rowed, rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 55. Taugui surfaced again, and he cut off part of the buttock and threw it away, and he rowed, rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 56. Taugui surfaced again. 57. He again cut off part of his buttock and threw it away. 58. And he rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 59. Taugui came to him again. 60. And he cut off part of his hand and threw it away. 61. He rowed, rowed, rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 62. Taugui surfaced again. 63. He cut off part of his hand and threw it away, and he rowed, rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed. 64. Taugui surfaced again and he cut off his middle and threw it away, and he rowed, rowed, rowed and rowed, and Taugui surfaced again.

65. The village is close now, the head of the reef is very close. 66. He cut him off completely at the neck and he threw the chest away. 67. He rowed, rowed and went right up on to the reef. 68. Well, he watched over his liver and entrails and his head too, and he came ashore with him and buried him close to the house, close to the men's house which the two had at the entrance to the village and he watched over him. 69. When it was morning he went and looked and saw a sese tree growing and he pulled it out. He said, "Is this thing I see a payment for my brother?" 70. He pulled it out and after it was evening and morning again, he went to look and saw a nunus tree growing. He pulled it out. 71. He said, "Is this thing I see a payment for my brother?" and he pulled it out. 72. After it was evening and morning again he went and looked and saw an utun tree growing. 73. "Is this thing I see a payment for my brother?" 74. He pulled it out.

75. After it was evening and morning again he went and stood looking at the spot where he had planted his brother's head. It was completely red and he stayed. 76. After it was evening and morning he went and stood there looking. He saw that the coconut tree had come, but he did not yet realise it was a coconut tree; he did not know what kind of tree it was. 77. And he left it and it grew and he watched it until it was bearing, until it became bigger and bigger. 78. Well, he saw that this would be a tree which was adequate for him to regard it as the payment for his brother. 79. Well, he watched it, then he called

his grandmother and she saw it.

80. Well, his grandmother was pleased with it too. 81. And she made preparations. She spliced a long rope and got a dog which she still looked after and she made it angry. 82. She did their preparations, food, dog and their rope. 83. Well, they (84. this was Levaravu and his dog) went and sat above on a spathe of this coconut tree. 85. Well, he told his grandmother and she put her leg on the base of the coconut tree and the tree went up and up with Levaravu and his dog. It went up, up, up and up and they came to Taugui's village. 86. Well, Levaravu took the dog and stood it on the ground and he lowered this rope and his grandmother tied the basket of food on it. He pulled it up and had a basket of food and their water. Keeping on pulling it up he brought it to the place to which the coconut tree had come.

87. Well, they got ready there, they walked on and this coconut tree remained standing. They came to one village and the people asked them, "Where is this journey going?"

88. "No, we are just walking around."

89. "Why are you keeping on walking in danger in this place?" 90. And they went on walking and came to a village. Again the people asked them, "Where is this journey going?"

92. Levaravu said this, "I just know it's going over there."

93. "Why are you coming to this place of fear?" 94. Never mind, they went on and they came to Taugui's place and his children and his wife were staying there while he had gone to the garden. 95. Well, they arrived there and they asked about Taugui. 96. He did not mention him by name, he called him 'my uncle'. 97. And the children told him, "He has gone into the bush."

98. "Shall we go to see him?"

99. "No, he will have to come back." 100. And he went into the house and saw Taugui's fighting things which were there - his tusks - and he brought them out and lit a fire. He burned his tusks completely and he took them back into his dwelling. 101. And the two sat down, he and his dog, and he told his dog this, "If he comes and he wants to fight, watch out. 102. If he is turning on me you kill him from the back, and if he is turning on you I will come behind him to spear him, and if he turns round on me you kill him at his back." 103. Well, his dog understood the talk which Levaravu gave him about preparation for the fight.

104. At the hour that Taugui came, seeing the two of them his thought was to fight them, but first some talk of payment or betrayal, empty talk only, and his thoughts remained on Levaravu's death - that he would

kill him. 106. Well, Taugui asked them, "Nephew, why have you come here?"

107. "No, I am just having a walk around." 108. Well, Taugui went in and brought out mulmul fish, and he came and gave it to them. 109. He recognised it as only their fish and he said this, "I don't like this stuff." 110. He brought it back to keep it and he brought some flesh of Levarava's body. He had come to them there in the sea and his brother had cut it off and given it to him. 111. And Levaravu recognised Levarava's body and said, "I don't like this pig."

112. Taugui took back the flesh and he was very angry at this. 113. "Why have you come and shown anger at our gifts? 114. You are angry at our hospitality. 115. What have you found wrong with it?" 116. He brought out a tusk and he put it in his teeth. He came and wanted to test it first on the base of the tree and then he struck and broke it on the base of the tree, the buttress root. 117. He went in and he brought out another and he fastened it. Again he wanted to try it on the buttress root of the tree. He went and smashed it. 118. And the third one he tried too, well it was very strong, this was the only one they had not burned completely; so he thought that he would be able to beat them now. 119. He came right towards them to strike them and he went for Levaravu. 120. Levaravu stood up to spear him, his dog attacked him at his back, and he turned on the dog. 121. And Levaravu stood up and stuck his spear in his back. 122. He turned round on Levaravu. 123. The dog rose and attacked his leg in front. 124. When they did this he turned round on the dog and Levaravu stuck his spear into him. 125. As he started to turn round on Levaravu, the dog attacked his leg at the back. 126. They kept doing this until Taugui was unable to fight again. 127. He was still standing at the time with Levaravu's spears in him. 128. Levaravu stabbed, stabbed and stabbed his body with his spears and he finished his bundle of spears and he was still standing all the time. 129. Taugui did not move to fight again. 130. His body was all heavy with the spears with which Levaravu had stabbed him. 131. He stood up with a heavy rod and struck Taugui down with it; he fell and the place shook and his children and his wife ran off. The whole place heard the bang of Taugui's fall and they kept singing out in the hamlets everywhere. 132. And the people were pleased and they said, "This is the real meaning of the journey, the place has shaken, it is very good indeed." 133. They talked rejoicingly. 134. Well, on this day that the two killed Taugui and were coming back, people were untied whose heads were overgrown with wild orchids and their bodies covered with snails. 135. Things of the bush had gone up on to the bodies of people who were tied to the base

of trees and remained under rotten trees and kept sitting on buttress roots of big trees inside the village. 136. The problem of running away from the overlord had stood to ruin the people and the village.

137. And they came into hamlets right to the edge of the road where the people had prepared to wait for them. 138. They caught pigs and cooked food in mumus. The day they came to this hamlet they piled up heaps of food with shell money lying on it. 139. But the two brought away only the shell money and they refused the heaps of food with, "Never mind about preparing pigs and food." 140. And they said this, that they did the job merely to help the village and the people, with the type of feeling the people had felt before and still did that day. 141. They came and arrived at this place where they had started to walk. They sat down again on a spathe of the coconut tree and Levaravu again put his leg on the coconut tree and the tree returned down again and they came down to the ground. 142. Well their grandmother met them and she wiped the sweat off Levaravu's face.

143. That is all. 144. Thank you very much indeed to all of you who have heard this folk tale.

APPENDIX 1

WORD-LISTS

1. INTRODUCTION

The first part of this appendix 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 texts (Ch. 8)

PO reflexes

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 Table 2 (Ch. 2).

The second part is an English to Tigak index of this list. Where the origin of a word is referred to in the first part, a brief indication of the earliest language traced is given for cross-reference.

Abbreviations in this appendix are as listed in 1.6. with the addition of:

Eng	English
Fij	Fijian
Pidg	New Guinea Pidgin.

TIGAK TO ENGLISH WORD-LIST

A

a art. *a, the*.
 a- am. (adverb marker).
 a- tr. prefix for verbs
 e.g. a-tug-i.
 a- verb prefix. *keep on* e.g.
 e.g. a-sinuk.
 -a sp suffix. (past tense).
 aa exclamation. *ah!*
 agupati v₂. *come up to*.
 aig-i v₁. *splice*.
 aigot v₁. *prepare*.
 aik n₄. *rope*.
 aimuk adv₃. *later*.
 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 det. *all*.
 a-kamus adv₁. *completely*.
 akotong v₁, v₂, n₄. *watch*
 akurul det. *many*.
 alaklagal v₁. *burn*.
 alalang n₄. *sweat*.
 alu adv₅. *again*; det. *too*
 amaua adv₃. *tomorrow*.
 ang del. *this*.
 angasik v₁. *help*
 angina adv₃. *today*.
 ani r. *about, for*.
 an-i ref p. *about him, for him*.
 anu n₄. *man*.
 apapating n₄. *preparation*.
 asaksok n₄. *gifts to a visitor*.
 asan(-i-na) n₃. (*his*) *name*
 [PO, PAN - 25].

a-sinuk v₂. *keep on sitting*.
 a-so q₁. *what?* [see so].
 a-so-so q₃. *how?, why?*
 ata n₄. *fire*
 atiti n₄. *betrayal*.
 a-tug-i v₁. *stand* (tr.).
 atuman adj. *true*.
 -au os. *me* [PO *au, PAN].
 auneng adv₁. *in this way*. *auneng-ani*
 (after v₁¹).
 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*.
 e-kaliman v₁. *consider*.
 elai adv₄. *above*.
 emuk adv₄. *in front*.
 eno adv₃. *ahead*.
 epakal adv₄. *down below*.
 epakaliak adv₄. *downwards*.
 epatok adv₁. *away*.
 e-tama v₂. *be father and son* [see
 tama].
 etang adv₄. *there*.
 e-tarak v₂. *stare at one another*.
 e-tavai n₄. *gift*.
 etok v₂. n₄. *talk, speak*.
 etong v₂. *be equal*.
 e-tu-tuk-ai v₂. *stand about together*.

eul adv₂. *very, very much.*
 evang adv₄. *there.*
 eve q₁. *where?*
 e-viakon-aian n₄. *being afraid.*
 e-vis v₂. *fight each other.*

G

ga sp. *he, she, it (past).*
 galit adj. *dirty.*
 gamui n₄. *axe.*
 gan n₄. *day.*
 gara del. *this, here.*
 garama n₄. *men's house.*
 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/it 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 adj. *poor.*
 goko n₂. *neck.*
 gon v₁. *prepare.*
 -guk p. *me (after su- or tesu-).*
 gup adj. *deep.*
 gura del. *this, here.*

I

i r. *of.*
 -i os. *him, her, it.*
 iai n₄. *tree [PO *kai, PAN].*
 ian pasin-i v₁. *leave.*
 ias n₄. *sun [PO, PAN - 27]. lo ias good day.*
 iat det. (emphasis).

iat(-i-na) n₃. (his) *liver [PO *qate, PAN].*
 ien n₄. *fish [PO, PAN *ikan].*
 ierak sal. *goodbye.*
 igai v₁. *ask.*
 igai n₄. *question.*
 igai-ai v₂. *ask each other.*
 ima v₂. *come [PO *mai, PAN].*
 ina sub conj. *so that.*
 ina r. *of, for.*
 ina art₁. (plural article).
 inang v₂. *go.*
 ina-so q₃. *why?*
 -ini = -ani.
 inum v₂. *drink [PO, PAN - 36].*
 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 - 23].*
 itak v₂. *be surprised.*
 ivisi v₂. *spit.*

K

-k p. *my, me [PO *-k, PAN].*
 ka- stem of gen p.
 kagat v₁. *bite [PO, PAN - 28].*
 kail v₁. *call.*
 kaipan v₁. *bury.*
 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 adj. *light (not heavy).*
 kaleo n₄. *canoe.*
 kalkail n₄. *elbow.*
 kal-kalum v₂. *see, look.*

- kalou n₁. *God* [Fij].
 kalto n₄. *star*.
 kalum v₁. *see*.
 ka-m gen p. *your* (sg).
 kamarak adj. *which all can use*.
 ka-mi gen p. *your* (pl).
 kamona v₂ *hurry*.
 kamus v₂. *finish*; adv₅. *completely*.
 kamus-ai n₄. *end*.
 ka-na gen p. *his, her*.
 kanataut int. *never mind*.
 kangkangaro v₁. *put iron on*.
 kankanak n₄. *mosquito*.
 kapis v₁. *plant*.
 kapul n₄. *woman*.
 kapung n₄. *shaft*.
 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).
 karak n₄. *lady*.
 karau v₂. *play*.
 ka-ri gen p. *their* (pl).
 kaskas adj. *able, enough*.
 kasui n₄. *salt*.
 kasung adv₁. *wrongly*.
 kat v₁. *tie*.
 katiluk n₄. *egg* [PO, PAN - 30].
 katut v₂. *cough*.
 kau n₄. *sweet potato*.
 kaul v₂. *row*.
 kaup n₄. *dust*.
 kawai adj. *old*.
 kawai v₁. *look after*.
 kavale, kavala n₄. *earth (soil)*.
 kavelo n₄. *spider*; adj. *covered*
 with cobwebs.
 kavil n₄. *stick (for walking)*.
 kavul v₁. *build up (a person)*.
 ke pre-v particle. *must*.
 keak n₄. *seed*.
 keke(-na) n₃. *(his) leg*.
 kekevai v₂. *look*.
 kematan quant. *some, a few*.
 kenkenu dei. *other, another*.
 kenu dei. *some, other*.
 kepal n₄. *part*.
 ketil v₃. *be surprised*.
 kiak v₂. *go down*.
 kigogon n₄. *heavy rod*; v₁. *strike*
 with a heavy rod.
 kik(-i-na) n₃. *(his) leg*
 [cf. kak(-i-na)].
 kila, kilai v₁. *know, realise*
 [PO *kilala].
 kisang conj. *but*; det. *alone*.
 kitil v₃. *be surprised (= ketil)*.
 ko, kon (part of neg).
 koi adj. *black*.
 koko v₁₋₂. *wait for, wait*.
 kokot v₁. *read*.
 kong v₁. *hold, catch*.
 kono n₄. *sand* [PO - 34].
 korok n₄. *root*.
 koto v₁. *cut (e.g. bamboo)*.
 kula r. *on, on to*.
 kula sub conj. *because*.
 kula-so q₃. *why?*
 kuli r. *on*.
 kuli(-na) loc p. *on (him, it)*.
 kulit(-i-na) n₃. *body* [PO, PAN - 19].
 kulkulinguak n₄. *worm*.
 kum r. *together*.
 kumali v₂. *sing out*.
 kun pre-v particle. (emphasis).
 kungkung n₄. *sky*.
 kupa v₁. *cover*.
 kurau v₂. *play*.
 kurunusa n₄. *island* [PO *nusa].
 kus v₁. *tell*.
 kus pirasan(-i) v₁. *refuse*.
 kus paratung n₄. *folk story*.

- kusia n₄. *rat* [PO *kunsupe, PAN].
 kuskus v₂. *talk*.
 kuvul r. *together*.
- L
- la qm. (yes-no question marker).
 la n₄. *answer*.
 la- ordinal numeral prefix.
 e.g. la-potul *third*.
 la-, l- causative prefix. *cause*.
 la(-na) n₃. (*its*) *inside*. lo la-na
*inside*³ (prep).
 lago adj. *hungry*.
 lak v₂. *go up, enter* [PO, PAN -
 35].
 lakau v₂. *dance*.
 lakeak n₄. *child (= young person)*.
 lakeak tigari *boy*.
 lakis adv₃. *first*.
 lakliak adj. *small, little*
 [PO, PAN *dikiq].
 lakos adv₅. *only*.
 la-lak(-i) v₁. *pile up*.
 laman n₄. *sea* [PO - 40].
 la-marala v₁. *make angry*.
 lam-lamon v₃. *believe*.
 lamon v₁. *believe*.
 lang n₄. *fly* [PO, PAN - 18].
 langit v₂, n₄. *rain* [PO, PAN - 13].
 lapa n₄. *basket*.
 lap-lavu adj. *big*.
 la-poiat num. *fourth*.
 la-tug(-i) v₁. *place, make*
something stand.
 lava adv₅. (emphasis). *completely*.
 lava(-na) n₂. (*his*) *uncle*
 [PO *qalawa].
 lavang adv₃. *now*.
 lavu adj. *big*.
 le sal. *good-bye*.
 liang n₄. *stone*.
 ling(-i-na) n₂. (*his*) *voice*.
 lisan-i v₁. *bring*.
 liu v₃. *cross, pass*.
 lo r. *in, into, to, on* [PO *lo].
 lo (part of neg).
 lo ge sal. *good afternoon*.
 lo-kavai adv₃. *for a long time*.
 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,
 Polyñesian].
 lovait adv₄. *far away*.
 luak v₂. *breathe*.
 luga v₁. *find*.
 luga vosop-i v₁. *find*.
 lui n₄. *house* [PO *runma, PAN].
 lutuk n₄. *wild orchid*.
- M
- m p. *your* (sg) [PO *-mu, PAN].
 makago adj. *green*.
 makan v₂. *float*.
 makato(-k) n₂. (*my*) *nephew*.
 malak n₄. *hamlet*.
 malan tana, malan te sub conj, r.
as, like.
 malan tana-so q₃. *how?*
 malangis n₄. *meaning*.
 malapen adj. n₄. *sick, sick person,*
sickness.
 mali v₂. *blow (of wind)*.
 malmal adj. *tired*.
 malmalakup adj. *cold*.
 malmalasup(-ina) n₃. *meaning*.
 mamaingon n₄. *entrails*.
 mamakus v₂. *worry*.
 mamala-mit n₄. *finger*.
 mamana quant. (plural).
 manas adj. *hot, warm* [PO *mapanas,
 PAN].
 manmanuk n₄. *animal* [PO, PAN manuk].

manui n_4 . *bird* [PO, PAN - 39].
 mar num. *hundred* [Tolai].
 marakan v_1 . *spoil*.
 marala adj. *angry*.
 maransakai adv₃. *forever*.
 marasin n_4 . *medicine* [Pidg. English].
 masak v_2 . *to lie (= rest)*.
 masat n_4 . *time, year*.
 masut n_4 . *bush (= woodland)*.
 mat v_2 . *die* [PO *mate, PAN].
 mat n_4 . *reef* [PO *maqati].
 -mat adj suffix. *very*.
 mata n_4 . *cave* [cf. mata(-na)].
 mata(-na) n_3 . (*his*) *eye, entrance* [PO, PAN 2 12].
 matai v_2 . *sleep*.
 matang n_4 . *garden*.
 matuk v_2 . *lie down* [PO *matudu(ɾ) *sleep*, PAN].
 maua n_4 . *morning*. *lo maua good 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 - 31].
 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. *right (hand)*.
 muata n_4 . *snake* [PO - 37].
 mug(-na) n_3 . *back*.
 muk sp. *you* (2).
 mulmul n_4 . *species of small fish*.
 mumug-i v_1 . *kill, shoot*.
 mun v_2 . *be lost, become lost*.
 munis adv₁. *quietly*.
 musangi v_1 . *smell*.

N

na art₁. (*article before proper and kinship nouns*).
 na(-na) n_2 . *mother* [PO *tina, PAN].
 -na p. *his, him* [PO *-na, PAN].
 nag-a sp. *I* (past).
 nak sp. *I*.
 namkai v_3, n_4 . *believe, belief*.
 na-ne ip. *he, she*.
 nargas v_2 . *be happy*.
 na-niu, na-nau ip. *I, me*.
 nanos adj. *straight, right*.
 na-rek ip. *they* (2).
 na-ri ip. *they* (pl).
 natlava(-na) n_2 . (*his*) *wife, (her) husband*.
 na-si q_1 . *who? whom?* [PO *nsai, PAN].
 natu(-na) n_2 . (*his*) *child* [PO - 38].
 ne(-na) n_3 . (*his*) *belly*.
 nenogo adv₃. *yesterday* [PO - 29].
 neva so q_1 . *what?*
 ngai v_1 . *pull*.
 ngain v_2, n_4 . *sing, hymn, song*.
 ngan v_2, v_1 . *eat* [PAN - 42].
 nganakas v_1 . *cook in a mumu*.
 ngangan adj. *sharp, cannibal*.
 ngapotol v_1 . *cut off*.
 ngavo n_4 . *heap*.
 ngeak v_2 . *cry*.
 ngisa(-na) n_3 . (*his*) *tooth*.
 ngui adj. *dull (of knife)*.
 ngur(-i-na) n_3 . (*his*) *mouth* [PO, PAN *ngusu].
 ngut n_4 . *louse* [PO, PAN *kutu].
 nik n_4 . *coconut, coconut tree* [PO *niu(ɾ), PAN].
 -nik p. *me*.
 -nim p. *you* (sg).
 no(-na) n_3 . *face, forehead*.
 nol v_1 . *think*.
 nol gavan v_1 . *forget*.
 nonol n_{3-4} . *thought*.
 nosom v_1 . *feel*.

nos-nosom v_3 , n_4 . *feel, feeling.*
 nug-a sp. *you* (sg, past).
 nuk sp. *you* (sg).
 nung v_1 . *ask, request* [PO - 41].
 nunung n_4 . *bang.*
 nunus n_4 . *species of small tree*
(but larger than sese) which
grows on the beach.

O

-om os. *you* (sg).
 ondongo n_4 . *spathe, frond (of*
coconut tree).
 ong resp. *yes.*
 osong v_2 . *come ashore.*
 ot n_4 . *thing.*
 ot v_1 . *tell.*
 otaun v_1 . *love.*

P

paga adj. *clear.*
 paipuok v_2 . *move.*
 pak n_4 . *leaf.*
 paka-na. lo paka-na r. *under.*
 pakik adj. *new.*
 pakpakal n_4 . *shoulder* [PO *para,
 PAN].
 pa-kurau v_2 . *walk around.*
 pal n_4 . *part.*
 palau adj. *empty, vain.*
 palavien adj. *bad.*
 paliu adv $_2$. *very much.*
 palkais n_4 . *left hand.*
 palmit num. *five.* palmit potul
eight.
 palong-an-i v_1 . *hear* [PO *dono,
 PAN].
 pal-siva n_4 . *spot.*
 pana r. *with.*
 pana speech link. *that.*
 panasai n_4 . *chin* [PO *anse, PAN].
 pana-so q_1 . *with what?*
 papain n_4 . *dwelling, place.*
 papais adv $_1$. *quickly.*

papa-na inst p. *with it.*
 papasa v_2 . *proclaim.*
 para-lang n_4 . *folk story.*
 para-tung adj. *mythical.*
 parulan(-i) v_1 . *put one's leg on.*
 pas v_1 . *put one's leg on.*
 pasal v_2 . *go, walk.* v_1 . *come to.*
 pasin v_1 . *leave.*
 pasingan n_4 . *important man, lord.*
 pas-pasal v_2 . *go and go; adv $_1$.*
continuing.
 pas-pasal-an n_4 . *journey (on foot).*
 pata pre-v particle. *must not.*
 patakai dei. *other.*
 patgan v_1 . *tie to a rope.*
 patu(-na) n_3 . *(his) head* [PO - 10].
 pau n_4 . *frog.*
 pa-uak num. *two* [PO *dua, PAN].
 pe r. *with.*
 pe, pen aspect. *again.*
 pepe n_4 . *butterfly* [PO, PAN - 8].
 pepengai adv $_1$. *in danger.*
 pinis n_4 . *knife.*
 pinpin n_4 . *skin, bark* [PO *pinsiko
flesh].
 pikpikarum n_4 . *claw.*
 pip n_4 . *blind man.*
 pipis v_1 . *tie.*
 piras-an(-i) v_1 . *be angry at.*
 pising v_1 . *say, call.*
 pit v_2 . *bear fruit.*
 pita-vuakan(-i) v_1 . *strike and break,*
smash.
 piu n_4 . *dog.*
 plantasin n_4 . *plantation* [Eng, Pidg].
 po, pon aspect. *(perfective).*
 poiat num. *four* [po- +PO *pat, PAN].
 poisan q_2 . *how many?* [PO *pinsa].
 pok n_4 . *food.*
 poko v_2 . *fall.*
 polok v_2 . *grow.*
 polok-on adj. *overgrown.*
 po-mo aspect. *(pluperfective).*

popo n_4 . *baby*.
 pot v_1 . *catch (with net)*.
 poto adj. *short*.
 poto(-na) n_3 . (*its*) *base*.
 potok-i v_1 . *divide, split*.
 potul num. *three* [PO, PAN - 20].
 puang n_4 . *grass*.
 puka v_2 , n_4 . *fall*.
 pul v_1 . *buy, sell* [PO, PAN - 6].
 pulpul n_4 . *payment*.
 punuk v_1 . *kill* [PO, PAN - 5].
 pupua n_4 . *sago branch*.
 pupualavu n_4 . *thumb*.
 pus adj. *full*.
 put v_2 . *run*.
 put n_4 . *mountain*.
 putuk v_1 . *cut, cut up*.

R

-ra p. *our* (inc, pl) [PO, PAN - 14].
 raula n_4 . *frigate bird* [PO - 17].
 raivung n_4 . *flying fox*.
 reg-a sp. *they* (2, past).
 rek sp. *they* (2).
 -rek p. *them* (2).
 rem v_2 . *burn*.
 ri art $_1$. (honorific article).
 -ri os, p. *them, their*.
 rig-a sp. *they* (pl, past).
 rik sp. *they* (pl), *she* (hon).
 ro adj. *good*. gi ro *thank you*.
 rongan n_4 . *devil*.
 rokol v_1 . *be able (to do)*.
 rontan v_1 . *join*.
 rot(-i) v_1 . *stab*.
 ru v_2 . *rush*.
 ru-rui-ai n_4 . *running away*.
 ruruh n_4 . *water* [PO, PAN - 16].

S

sa qual. *alone, only, still*.
 sagang adj. *dry*.

sai v_1 . *remove*.
 sakai num. *one* [PO *-kai].
 saket v_2 . *prepare*.
 salan n_4 . *path, road* [PO, PAN - 22].
 salik v_2 . *flow* [PO, PAN - 32].
 sang v_2 . *come, arrive*.
 sangaulung num. *ten* [PO *ŋapulu(q), PAN].
 sa-sang-an n_4 . *coming*.
 sa-sapul-ai n_4 . *payment*.
 saui n_4 . *bread*.
 saum-vuak-an(-i) v_1 . *break*.
 sava(-na) n_3 . (*his*) *buttock*.
 seil-i v_1 . *catch*.
 sese n_4 . *species of very small tree which grows on the beach*.
 siak v_2 . *go down*.
 siakau n_4 . *wallaby*.
 siana r. *out of*.
 sia-na loc p. *from him*.
 sin n_4 . *meat*.
 sin-sinuk n_4 . *chair*.
 sinuk v_2 . *sit, sit down*.
 sisigulut adj. *narrow*.
 sisin n_1 . *younger brother*.
 sisimukan adj. *overgrown*.
 siva n_4 . *village, place*.
 so q_1 . *what?* (PO, PAN - 26].
 sok gavan v_1 . *take away, throw away*.
 soko v_1 . *bring*.
 su, suna r. *to*.
 suai v_2 . *give respect*.
 suk n_4 . *river*.
 suka v_1 . *bring*.
 sukaulong v_1 . *bring up*.
 sula n_4 . *spear, bamboo*.
 su-na dat p. *to him*.
 su-si q_1 . *to whom?*
 susu v_1 . *meet*.
 susung v_1 . *light (a fire)*.
 sut(-i-na) n_3 . (*her*) *breast* [PO, PAN - 24].

T

- ta art₂. (indefinite article).
 tairas v₂. *become big*.
 takteak adj. *strong*; n₃₋₄.
strength.
 takul v₁. *attack, kill*.
 talatala n₄. *minister* [Fij].
 talanga(-na) n₃. (his) *ear*
 [PO, PAN - 11].
 taloi n₄. *spirit*.
 talongan v₁. *leave alone*.
 tama(-na) n₂. (his) *father* [PO
 *tama, PAN].
 tama-tene tivu-nan *grandchildren*
and grandmother.
 tana r. *of, at*.
 tana-so qm. *why*.
 tang art₂. *the*.
 tangintol n₄, v₂. *life, live, be*
alive.
 tangui adv₁. *from memory*.
 tap adj. *holy* [PO, PAN - 9].
 tapa n₄. *basket*.
 tapal v₂. *complete*.
 tapega n₄. *pawpaw*.
 tapuok v₂. *return* [PO *puki].
 tara del. *that, there*.
 tarai, tara v₁. *see*.
 taravai v₂. *is this?*
 tariak v₂. *shake*.
 tat v₂. *fly*.
 tata-na gen p. *his, of him*.
 tatut v₂. *rise*.
 tauan n₄. *men* [PO *tau, PAN].
 taula n₄. *tusk*.
 taun(-i) loc p. *to (it)*.
 tavai v₁. *give*.
 te r. *of*.
 te n₃. *vicinity*. lo te-na lui
close to the house.
 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 *turaŋ friend, kinsman].
 tiling(-i-na) n₃. (his) *blood*.
 timin n₄. *flesh*.
 tipas n₄. *snail*.
 tiptip adj. *heavy*.
 tivu(-na) n₂. (his) *grandparent,*
grandchild [PO, PAN - 3].
 to n₄. *wave*.
 togon v₁. *have*.
 tok-togon v₁. *have*.
 ton v₁. *hold*.
 tongan v₁. *try*.
 tongos v₂. *break*.
 tu n₄. *sugar cane* [PO *topu, PAN].
 tua(-na) n₃. (his) *body*.
 tuan n₄. *bone* [PAN *tulaŋ].
 tuan n₁. *eldest brother* [PO *tuqa
 old, ¹older brother, PAN].
 tuap n₄. *body*.
 tug-i v₁. *remember*.
 tuk v₂. *stand* [PO, PAN - 33].
 tuk r. *until*.
 tuk tana r. sub conj. *until*.
 tukul n₄. *patch*. tukul sula *bamboo*
patch.
 tul adv₁. *falsely*.
 tun v₁. *cook* [PO, PAN *tunu].

U

- uai n₄. *fruit* [PO *pua(q), PAN].
 uaia n₄. *crocodile* [PO *puqaya, PAN].
 -uam os. *you (sg)*.
 ugui n₄. *hair*.
 uk v₁. *pull up*. uk gavan-i *pull out*.
 ulan n₄. *moon* [PO *pulan, PAN].
 ule r. *from*.
 ulina n₄. *girl*.
 ulit adj. *round*.
 ulpuk-i v₁₋₂. *turn, change* [PO - 7].
 ul-tapuok v₂. *turn around*.

uma n₄. *garden* [PO *quma, PAN].
 un n₄. *turtle* [PO *ponu, PAN].
 unang v₁. *untie*.
 unga n₃. *mark*.
 ungan n₄. *fat*.
 ur n₄. *banana* [PO, PAN - 15].
 usan v₂. *rain heavily* [PO *qunsan,
 PAN].
 usik v₁. *follow*.
 ut n₄. *dove*.
 utak, utok neg particle. *yet*.
 uti(-na) n₃. *penis* [PO, PAN *uti].
 utun n₄. *species of small tree*
which grows on the beach.

V

va num. *two* [PO *dua, PAN].
 va qm. (question marker).
 vabat n₄. *cane (for wall)*.
 vagai v₂. *not know*.
 vakup n₄. *cloth, clothing*.
 vakut n₄. *shell money*.
 vana n₄. *net*.
 vap n₄. *people*.
 varas v₁. *scold*.
 vau n₄. *death*.
 vaul n₄. *buttress root*.
 vavalang adj, 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*.
 vitua n₃. *middle*. lo vitua-na in
the middle of.
 vivilai n₄. *deed, action*.
 vo conj. *or*.
 vo fut. (future marker).

vogo n₄. *pig* [PO - 1].
 volo n₄. *bundle*.
 vouneng sub conj. *if*.
 vuai n₄. *betel nut* [PO, PAN - 2].
 vukun n₄. *kind*.
 vukvuga adj. *long*.
 vulau n₄. *guts*.
 vung n₄. *night, evening* [PO, PAN -
 4]. lo vung *good evening, good*
night.
 vung adj. *red*.
 vusa n₃. *heart*.
 vusit adj. *dirty*.
 vut n₄. *spear*.
 vuta n₄. *ashes*.
 vuvok aux. *want*.
 vuvok-an-i v₁. *want*.
 vuvuas v₁. *burn (transitive)*.

ENGLISH TO TIGAK INDEX

A

a. a.
able, be. vilrokoli, rokol,
 kaskas.
about. ani.
above. elai.
action. vivilai.
afraid, being. e-viakon-aian.
afternoon. ge.
good afternoon. lo ge.
again. alu, pe, pen.
ah! aa.
ahead. eno.
all. akamus.
all right. io.
alone. kisang, lakos, sa.
and. ve.
angry. marala.
be angry at. piras-an(-i).
animal. manmanuk [PAN].
another. kenkenu.
answer. n. la.
as. malan tana, malan te.
ashes. vuta.
ask. (question). igai; (request)
 nung [PO].
ask each other. igai-ai.
at. e.
attack. takul.
away. epatok.
axe. gamui, kaput.

B

baby. popo.
back, (his). mugi(-na).
bad. palavien.
bamboo. sula.
banana. ur [PAN].
bang. nunung.
bark (of tree). pinpin [PAN].
base. poto(-na).

basket. tapa, lapa.
bear fruit. pit.
because. kula.
become big. tairas.
belief. namkai.
believe. lamon, lam-lamon, namkai.
belly, (his). ne(-na).
below. epakal.
betel nut. vuai [PAN].
betrayal. atiti.
big. lavu, lap-lavu.
bird. manui [PAN].
bite. kagat [PAN].
black. koi.
blind man. pip.
blocked. ius bavatan.
blood. tiling.
blow (of wind). mali.
body. kulit [PAN], tuap, tua-
bone. tuan [PAN].
book. buk [En^v].
boy. lakeak tigari.
bread. saui.
break. it.v. tongos; tr.v. saum-vuak-
 an(-i).
breast. sut [PAN].
breathe. luak.
bring. lisan-i, soko, suka.
bring up. sukaulong.
brother, (his). tiga(-na) [PO].
build up (a person). kavai.
bundle. volo.
burn. v.i. rem, vuvuas; v.t.
 alaklagai.
bury. kaipan.
bush (=woodland). masut.
but. kisang.
butterfly. pepe [PAN].
buttock. sava.

buttress root. vaul.
buy. pul [PAN].

C

call. v. kail.
cane (for wall). vabat.
cannibal. ngangan.
canoe. kaleo.
catch. kong; (*of ball*) seili;
 (*of fish*) aupat, pot.
cause. la-.
cave. mata [PAN].
chair. sinsinuk.
change. ulpuk-i [PO].
child (=young person). lakeak.
child, (his). natu(-na) [PO].
claw. pikpikarum.
clear. adj. paga.
close. adv. losiliak.
close off. bavat-i.
cloth, clothing. vakup.
cloud. bata.
cobwebs, covered with. kavelo.
coconut. nik [PAN].
cold. malmalakup.
come. ima [PAN], sang, pasal.
come ashore. osong.
come up to. agupati.
coming. sa-sang-an.
complete. tapal.
completely. lava, kamus, a-kamus.
consider. e-kaliman.
continuing. pas-pasal.
cook. tun [PAN].
cook in mumu. nganakas.
cough. katut.
count. akaliman.
cover. v. kupa.
crocodile. uaia [PAN].
cross. v. liu.
cry. v. ngeak.
cure. iran.

cut, cut up. putuk, koto.
cut off. ngapotol.

D

dance. lakau.
danger, in. pepengai.
day. gan. *good day.* lo ias.
death. vau.
deed. vivilai.
deep. gup.
devil. rongan.
die. mat [PAN].
dirty. vusit, galit.
divide. potok-i.
do. vil.
doctor. dokta [Eng].
dog. piu.
dove. ut.
down below. epakal.
downwards. epakaliak.
drink. inum [PAN].
dry. sagang.
dull (of knife). ngui.
dust. kaup.
dwelling place. papain.

E

ear. talanga [PAN].
earlier. aino.
earth (soil). kavale, kavala.
eat. ngan [PAN].
egg. katiluk [PAN].
eight. palmit potul..
elbow. kalkail.
eldest brother. tuan [PAN].
empty (=vain). palau.
end. kamus-ai.
enough. kaskas.
enter. lak [PAN].
entrails. mamaingon.
entrance. mata [PAN].
equal, be. etong.

evening. vung [PAN].
eye. mata [PAN].

F

face, (his). no(-na).
fall. v. poko, puka.
falsely. tul.
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, luga.
finger. mamala-mit.
finish. kamus.
fire. ata.
first. adv. lakis.
fish. ien [PAN]. *species of fish.*
 mulmul.
five. palmit.
flesh. timin.
float. makan.
float to the surface. buat.
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.
frond. ondongo.
front, in. emuk.
fruit. uai [PAN].
full. pus.

G

garden. matang, uma [PAN].
gift. e-tavai.
gifts (to a visitor). asaksok.
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.
hamlet. malak.
hand. mit.
happy, be. nangas.
have. togon, toktogon.
he. ip. na-ne; sp. gi, ga.
head. patu [PO].
heap. ngavo.
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].
house, men's. garama.
how? a-so-so, malan tana-so.
how many? poisan [PAN].
hundred. mar [Tolai].
hungry. lago.
hurry. kamona.
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.
into. lo.
iron, put iron on. kangkangaro.
is this. taravai.
island. kurunusa [PO].
it = *he, him*.

J

join. rontan.
journey. pas-pasal-an.

K

keep on. a-.
kill. punuk [PAN], mumug-i, takul.
kind. n. vukun.
knee. vuvaknarak.

knife. pinis.
know. kalapang, kila(i) [PO].

L

lady. kapul, karak.
lake. rorum ulit.
later. aimuk, ginang.
laugh. los.
leaf. pak.
leave. ian pasin, pasin.
leave alone. talongan.
left (hand). palkais.
leg. kak [PAN], kik(-i-na), keke(-na).
lie (=rest). masak.
lie down. matuk [PAN].
life. tangintol.
light (not heavy). kalengleng.
light. v. susung.
like = *as*.

listen. longok [PAN].
little. lakliak [PAN].
live. (=be alive) tangintol;
(=reside) minang.
liver. iat [PAN].
long. vukvuga.
long, for a long time. lo-kavai.
look. kai-kalum, kekevai.
look after. kavai.
lost, be. mun.
louse. ngut [PAN].
love. otaun.

M

magic. naing.
make. vil.
make angry. la-marala.
man. anu.
many. akurul.
mark. unga.
me. -au [PAN], -k [PAN], -nik, -guk,
 naniu.
meaning. malmalasup(-ina), malangis.
meat. sin.

medicine. marasin [Eng].
meet. susu.
memory, from. tangui.
men. tauan [PAN].
messenger. gigiak.
middle. vitua.
moon. ulan [PAN].
morning. maua. *good morning.* lo maua.
mosquito. kankanak.
mother, (his). na(-na) [PAN].
mountain. put.
mouth. ngur [PAN].
move. paipuok.
must. ke.
must not. pata.
my. -k [PAN], ka-k, tata-nik, tesu-guk.

N

name. asan(-i-na), isan(-i-na) [PAN].
narrow. sisigulut.
near. losiliak.
neck. goko.
nephew, (my). makato(-k).
net. vana.
never mind. kanataut.
new. pakik.
night. vung [PAN].
nine. palmit poiat.
no. gaveak, gi-minang.
nose. isu [PAN].
not. veak lo, veak.
not know. vagai.
now. lavang.

O

obey. longok [PAN].
of. te, tana, i, ina.
old. kaval.
on, on to. kula, kull, lo; *on him (it).* kuli-na.

one. sakai [PO].
only. kisang, sa, lakos.
orchid, wild. lutuk.
other. kenkenu, patakai.
our (pl, inc). -ra [PAN], ka-ra.
our (2, inc). -rak, ka-rak.
out of. siana.
overgrown. polok-on, sisimukan.

P

part. kepal, pal.
pass. v. liu.
patch. tukul.
path. salan [PAN].
pawpaw. tapega.
payment. sa-sapul-ai, a-pulpul, pulpul.
person (who does something). teteng (ina).
pig. vogo [PO].
pile up. la-lak(-i).
place. n. siva.
place. v. la-tug(-i).
plant. v. kapis.
play. kurau.
poor. gogo.
preacher. tena varavai [Tolai].
preparation. apapating.
prepare. aigot, gon, saket.
previously. aino.
proclaim. papasa.
promise. akalkalima.
pull. ngai.
pull up. uk. *pull out.* uk gavan-i.
put one's leg on. pas.

Q

question. igai.
quickly. papais.
quietly. munis.

R

rain. langit [PAN].
rain heavily. usan [PAN].
rat. kusia [PAN].
read. kokot.
realise. kila, kilai.
red. vung.
reef. mat [PO].
refuse. kus pirasan(-i).
remain. minang.
remember. tug-i.
remove. gavan, sai.
respect, give. suai.
rest. v. aius.
return. tapuok [PO].
right (correct). nanos.
right (hand). palmit muan.
rise. tatut.
river. suk.
road. salan [PAN].
rod, heavy. kigogon.
root. korok.
rope. gaus, aik.
round. ulit.
row. v. kaul.
run. put.
running away. ru-rui-ai.
rush. ru.

S

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.
shaft. kapung.

shake. tariak.
sharp (of knife). ngangan.
she. = he.
shell money. vakut.
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].
smash. pita-vuakan(-i).
smell. v. musang-i.
smoke. buan.
snail. tipas.
snake. muata [PO].
so that. ina.
some. kematan, kenu.
spathe. ondongo.
speak. etok.
spear. n. sula, vut; v. gava.
spider. kavelo.
spirit. n. taloi.
spit. ivisi.
splice. aig-i.
split. potok-i.
spoil. marakan.
spot. pal-siva.
stab. rot(-i).
stand. v.1. tuk [PAN]; v.t. a-tug-i, la-tug-i.
stand about together. etutukai.
star. kalto.
stare (at one another). e-tarak.
stay. minang.
stick. iai [PAN]; (for walking) kaviil.

still. sa.
stone. liang.
story, folk. kus paratung,
 paralang.
straight. nanos.
strike and break. pita-vuakan(-i).
strike with a heavy rod. kigogon.
strong, strength. takteak.
stupid, stupid person. vavalang.
suck. mis.
sugar cane. tu [PAN].
sun. ias [PAN].
surface, float to. buat.
surprised, be. ketil, kitil, itak.
sweat. n. alalang.
sweet potato. kau.
swim. kakas.

T

tail. sum.
take away. sok gavan-i.
talk. etok. kuskus.
taro. kala.
teach. akalkalit, akalit.
tell. kus, ot.
ten. sangaulung [PAN].
thank you. gi ro.
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.
there. etang, evang.
they. (2), ip. na-rek; sp. rek.
they. (pl), ip. na-ri; sp. rik.
thing. ot.
think. nol.
third. la-potul.
this. gara, gura, ang.

thou. ip. na-nu; sp. nuk.
thought. nonol.
three. potul [PAN].
thumb. pupualavu.
tie. kat, pipis.
tie to a rope. patgan.
time. masat.
tired. malmal.
to. e, lo, su, suna.
to him. su-na.
to it. tauni.
to whom? su-si.
today. longina, angina.
together. kum, kuvul.
tomorrow. amaua.
tongue. kalama.
too. alu.
tooth. ngisa.
tree. iai [PAN].
tree species. nunus, sese, utun.
true. atuman.
try. tongan.
turn. ulpuki [PO].
turn round. ul-tapuok.
turtle. un [PAN].
tusk. taula.
twenty. pauak sangaulung.
two. pauak [PAN], va.
two men. vavat.

U

uncle. lava [PO].
under. pakana, lo pakana.
understand, understanding. kalapang.
untie. unang.
until. tuk, tuk tana.
urinate. mimik [PAN].
usable to all. kamarak.

V

vain. palau.
very, very much. eul, paliu, -mat.

vicinity. te-.
village. siva.
vine. gaus.
voice. ling.

W

wait. koko.
walk. pasal.
walk around. pa-kurau.
wallaby. siakau.
want. vuvok, vuvok-an-i.
warm. manas [PO].
watch. akotong.
water. rurum [PAN].
wave. to.
way, in this. auneng, auneng ani.
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], neva so.
when? lo-so.
where? eve.
white. posok.
who? whom? na-si [PAN].
whose? te-si.
why? ina-so, kula-so, a-so-so, tana-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.
worm. kulkulinguak.
worry. mamakus.
worship. lotu [Fij].

write. kalag-i.
wrongly. kasung.

Y

yam. karakok.
year. masat.
yellow. keis.
yes. ong.
yesterday. nenogo [PO].
yet. utak, utok.
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 2
GRAMMAR INDEX

All references are to page numbers. Where more than one reference is given the main one is given first.

- adjectives 94-95, 65, 72
adjectival phrases 65
adverbs 103-104, 76-77
alienable nouns 89, 60, 62
apposition 63, 66, 58
articles 58-62, 64-65
article phrases 64-65
aspect 78-80
auxiliary 81-82
- causal sentences 28-29
clauses 37-55
clause bases 37-45
comitative 70-71, 45, 63
common noun phrases 60-63
compound sentences 31-32
compound verbs 82-83
conditional clauses 53
conditional sentences 27-28
conjunction 33, 31, see also
 subordinating conjunctions
- dativ 68, 43
dative pronouns 100
- defective sentences 34-35
definite article 60-61
deictic 105, 58, 60
determiners 94-95, 60-61, 63
dubitativ 79
- embedding = nesting
emphatic 80-81
exclamation 34
- future marker 83
- genitive phrase 67-68
genitive clause base 40-41
genitive pronouns 99
genitive verbs 92
- honorific 86-87, 58-59
- imperative 49-50
inalienable nouns 86-88, 98-99
independent pronouns 97-98
independent pronoun phrases 63
independent sentences 25-34

- indirect object 43, 68
- instrument 42, 69, 70
- intransitive clause bases 39-40
- intransitive verbs 92-93
- intransitive verb phrases 72-73
- introducer 32-33
- iterative 79-80

- kinship nouns 87-88, 59-60
- kinship noun phrases 59-60

- layering 7
- locative 43, 69, 104, 101

- manner 45
- manner clauses 55
- manner phrases 71

- negative 77-78
- nesting 66, 7
- nouns 86-91
- noun phrases 57-66
- numerals 105

- object 38-39
- object suffixes 74-75, 98
- obligation 81

- part noun 88
- past 73-74, 96-97
- perfective 78-79
- periphery 32-34, 42-45
- phrases 57-83
- pluperfective 79
- plural 64-65, 89, 59-60
- possession 61-63, 57-58, 59-61
- possessive pronouns 99
- possessive suffixes 98-99, 87-88
- pre-verb 77-82, 72
- pronouns, personal 95-103
- proper nouns 87
- proper noun phrases 58-59
- purpose clauses 54

- qualification 80
- question markers - yes-no information 35-36, 46-49
- quotative sentences 29-31

- reason clauses 53, 28-29
- reduplication 89-90, 107, 93-94
- referential 43, 68
- relative clauses 50-52
- relators 66-67, 105-107
- relator-axis phrases 66-71
- response 34

- salutation 34
- sentence 25-36
- simple sentences 26-27
- speech link 29-31
- stative clause bases 41
- subject 38-40
- subject pronouns 73-74, 96-97, 100-102
- subordinating conjunctions 106, 53-55

- tense 73-74, 96-97, 102
- time 70, 44-45, 104
- time clauses 54-55
- transitive clause bases 39
- transitive verbs 91, 92-94
- transitive verb phrases 72-77

- verbs 91-94
- verb phrases 71-83
- vocative 33-34

- words 85-107

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