# **Tukang Besi**

# MARK DONOHUE Department of Linguistics, Australian National University,

ACT 0200, Australia

Tukang Besi is an archipelago in southeast Sulawesi, Indonesia, where an Austronesian language is spoken. The speech represented here is that of the north-west coast of the island of Wanci. With mainly slight lexical variation it represents the speech of the two northernmost islands in the archipelago, Wanci and Kaledupa.

## Consonants

	Bilabial	Labio-dent.	Den	tal	Alveo	lar	Post- alveolar	Vela	r	Glottal
Plosive	p (b)		t	(d)				k	g	?
Implosive	6			ď						
Nasal	m					n			ŋ	
Fricative	β				s	(z)				h
Prenasalized plosive	mp mb		nt	nd				ŋkı	<u>19</u>	
Prenasalized Fricative			ns		·					
Trill						r				
Lateral Approx.				1						

The consonant table represents phonemic contrasts with the exception of [d] and [z], which are allophones of the loan phoneme  $/d_3/$ ; only borrowed words show this phoneme. /b/ is also a loan phoneme, present only in a few recently borrowed words.

р б т	ара аба ата	'up to' 'previous' 'father'	t ɗ n	titi piɗi ana	'breast' 'rubbish' 'child'	k g ŋ	kai gai ?aŋa	'hook' 'pull out' 'gills'
β mp mb	?aβa kompa komba	ʻobtain' 'eel' 'moon'	s nt nd	asa tinti pindi	'one' 'run' 'faeces'	ŋk ŋg	балка ілдаβі	ʻship' ʻyesterday'
			ns r l	pinse ara ala	'squeeze' 'if' 'fetch'	? h	?aɗa haɗa	'send' 'imminent'

Journal of the International Phonetic Association (1994) 24:1.

Vowels

#### ш 'turn around' 6ali i 6ale 'frond of a young ε 0 coconut tree' 6ala (classifier for soap а and small objects) 6alo 'answer' 0 ε 6alw 'buy' ш а

#### Stress

Stress, realised as a generally higher and level pitch on the whole syllable, is almost always on the penultimate syllable of the word. The definition of the word is sometimes extended to include the following (inherently stressless) absolutive article /tɛ/. Thus the sentence *nomanga te bae* 'He ate the rice' can be pronounced either as [nɔ'maŋate'bae] or as [nɔma'ŋate'bae]. A secondary stress, consisting of a greater amplitude without the higher pitch that is the characteristic of the primary stress, is also found on every second syllable away from the primary stressed syllable.

Contrastive stress patterns have arisen from the introduction of loan-words with final nasals; the final nasal is borrowed as a separate syllablic nucleus, with predictable effects on stress, and then later dropped. This has produced at least one case of a lexical difference based solely on stress: ['kenta] 'fish (archaic)' vs [ke'nta] 'potato (loan)'.

#### Conventions

Free variation is observed between  $[\beta]$ ,  $[\phi]$  and  $[\upsilon]$ , with  $[\beta]$  being the most common phone except amongst children, who prefer  $[\phi]$ ; the implosives and /g/ are preglottalised following a stressed syllable ([?6], [?d] and [?g]). /h/ varies with  $[\phi]$  before a high back vowel. The lateral /l/ is sometimes realised as a retroflex lateral flap [J] after back vowels. The phoneme /r/ varies between [r], [r], [J] and [4]; thus, after a back vowel, realizations of /r/ and /l/ overlap. The loan phoneme /d3/ varies idiolectally between [d3] (most common), [d] (contrasting with [d]), and [z]. Thus: [ka4a'da:] ~ [ka4a'd3a:] karajaa 'work (for a wage)', ['dari] ~ ['zari] ~ ['d3ari] jari 'then, thus'.

Voiceless or sonorant consonants are often geminated in the stressed or post-stressed syllable, in a restrictive set of vocalic environments that depends on the consonant. Thus; [aka] ~ ['ak:a] 'root', [mɔtu'turuı] ~ [mɔtu'turuı] 'sleepy'. The voiced prenasalised stops sometimes reduce to a geminate nasal in casual speech. Thus: [ba'mbai] ~ [ba'm:ai] 'comb', ['ndaŋa] ~ ['n:aŋa] 'jackfruit', ['ŋgaβi] ~ [i'ŋ:<sup>j</sup>aβi] 'yesterday'. A glottal stop deletes or is replaced by [k] in a syllable adjacent to another glottal stop; Thus, /?u/ '2nd person singular possessive' and [ŋɔ?o] 'nose', but [ŋɔ'?ou] 'your nose' (<ŋɔ?o + ?u), /?ɛ/ '3rd person object' and [tur?o] 'chcp down', but [tur?ɔke] 'chop it down' (< tur?o + ?ɛ).

The high front vowel shows little variation in quality, nor does the low back vowel. The high back unrounded vowel /u/ can round to [u] in a syllable immediately following the vowel /o/ or following /w/. In these and other environments it shows occasional variation with [u]. The front mid vowel / $\epsilon$ / tends to raise when not followed by a consonant (i.e., finally or before a syllable without an onset), with the notable exception of the absolutive article *te*, which is invariably [te]. The mid back vowel is higher than the mid front vowel, again tending to be higher when followed by a vowel, especially when the following syllable contains /o/ or /u/. Following a bilabial consonant the height of the vowel is also more pronounced, and the closer the syllable to the end of the word, the higher the vowel. All the vowels tend to de-syllabify if they occur before the stressed syllable adjacent to another vowel, or in the stressless words; usually the highest of the vowels desyllabifies. When two vowels come together across a word boundary, the first of these often deletes. See the text for examples of these phenomena.

#### Transcription of recorded passage

sa'pajra sa'pajra 'ana, 'ane ke la 'bela βa'ndensa'ŋia 'kene la 'bela ?o'lor. te a'm:ai 'ana nopo,busu'busu' 'ako te e'mai na me'buku. mbe'aka mo'leŋo '?umpa ,noma'imo na 'mia φu'mila pu'make ?e 'badʒu mo'ko?ba. ,sa?i,ta?a'kono, nose'tudʒu kuja te ba:ba:no pu,malu'lu?e na 'mia βu'mila 'iso, te 'ia na,hopo'talu i po,taju'?ano 'isŏ aj. 'maka te la 'bela βa'ndensa'ŋia 'ana no'top:a, no'top:a, no'top:a, 'tok:a same'buku no'top:a ,same'buku te 'ia 'iso no'konta te 'badu moko'bano. ka'mbea moni'nino. ma,kala'?amo mbĕa'kamo no'so?ba na la 'bela βa,ndensa'ŋia 'ana. po'?oli 'iso, la 'bela ?o'lo: no,paso'soa te 'mia me'badʒu iso 'kene mbea'kamo o'ha?da pa'ke te badʒuno. 'dʒar aβa'na:tu no,hopo'talu na la 'bela ?o'lo;, 'kene nomo'talu na la 'bela βa,ndensa'ŋia i ,pota'ru? u ka'βasa 'iso aj. sapa'ira ,sapa'ira ,taŋka'nomŏ.

### **Orthographic version**

Sapaira sapaira ana, ane ke La Bela Wandensangia kene La Bela 'Oloo. Te amai ana nopobusubusu ako te emai na mebuku. Mbeaka molengo 'umpa nomaimo na mia wumila pumake te baju mokoba. Sa'itaakono, nosetuju kua te baabaano pumalulu'e na mia wumila iso, te ia nahopotalu i potaru'ano iso ai. Maka te La Bela Wandensangia ana notopa, notopa, notopa, toka samebuku notopa samebuku te ia iso nokonta te baju mokobano. Kambea moninino. Maka la'amo mbeakamo nosoba na La Bela Wandensangia ana. Po'oli iso, La Bela 'Oloo nopasosoa te mia mebaju iso kene mbeakamo ohada pake te bajuno. Jari awana atu nohopotalu na La Bela 'Oloo, kene nomotalu na La Bela Wandensangia i potaru'a u kawasa iso ai. Sapaira sapaira tangkanomo.