INTRODUCTION

The Tolais are a Melanesian people living on the Gazelle
Peninsula, East New Britain, Papua New Guinea. They them-
selves call their language a tinata tuna (the native
language), but among linguists the name of the people
Tolai is now more usual for the language itself. Therefore
the title "Tolai Texts" had to be chosen for practical
reasons, though certainly my informants would not like
it. Other common names for the language are Gunantuna,
Tuna, Raluana and Kuanua. In early German studies of the
Tolais it is called "Nordgazellen-Sprache" or "Neupommer-
sche Sprache", because under German rule New Britain was
called "Neupommern."

The texts presented here were collected during fieldwork
in September and October 1976 in the village of Rakunai,
which is 15 km away from Rabaul. Before I came to Papua
New Guinea my only experience with the language was from
the texts collected by Kleintitschen (1924), Jos. Meier
(1909), the grammars by Bley (1912) and Constantini (1907),
the Tolai Language course by Franklin, Kerr and Beaumont
(1974) and the dictionaries by Otto Meyer (1961) and Lanyon-
Orgill (1960). The main purpose of the fieldwork was to
collect phonological data and other material for a reference
grammar and to check the validity of the old texts and
grammars.

I chose the village of Rakunai because this is where most
of the old texts which formed the basis of my grammatical

studies so far had been collected. As my time for field-
work was rather short, I was not able to do any research
on dialect geography, but had to rely on former studies
and on what people told me. According to Meyer (1961)
there are three main dialect groups to be distinguished:

1. Kokopo dialects including Tavui Bush, Vunapope, Takabur,
   Paparatava, Gunave, Davaun (Raluana),

2. Rabaul and Northcoast dialects including Matupit, Mala-
   kuna, Ratavul, Ravaira, Rakunai, Tavuiliu,

3. marginal dialects including Nodup, Tavui-Kap, Vuatom,
   Livuan, Kabair, Vurar, Vunamarita.

All Tolais are well aware of the different dialects; whenever
I told a Tolai that I wanted to learn the <u>tinata</u> <u>tuna</u> he
explained to me that there was no <u>tinata</u> <u>tuna</u> as such,
but many different dialects. The dialectal boundaries are
now becoming more and more blurred. In particular, the
marginal dialects are heavily influenced by the "stronger"
dialects, i.e. the dialect of Rabaul and the dialect of
Kokopo. The influence of English and Tok Pisin can be ob-
served not only in the lexicon but also in syntax.
The texts are written in common orthography, i.e. the
orthography used by the United Church and the Catholic
Mission in their religious publications. It does not
distinguish between phonologically distinct short and long
vowels (compare: <u>ta</u> "some" and <u>ta:</u> "sea", <u>meme</u> "red" and
<u>me:me:</u> "with it").

<u>b</u>, <u>d</u>, <u>g</u>   are prenasalized except at the beginning of an
              utterance,

<u>ng</u>   represents the velar nasal,

<u>v</u>   the voiced bilabial fricative.

<u>r</u>   is trilled.

<u>s</u>   only appears in foreign words and varies according
              to the talent of the speaker. It alternates with <u>t</u>,
              e.g. <u>pusi</u>, <u>puti</u> "cat". The same holds true of

<u>f</u>,   which alternates with <u>p</u>, e.g. <u>raipol</u> "rifle".

A hyphen inserted between two words of the texts means that
it was impossible to translate these two words in the inter-
linear translation by two separate words, e.g. <u>tur-pa</u> "to
begin s.th.", which literally means "to stand up with regard
to s.th." (<u>tur</u> means "to stand" and <u>pa</u> is the so-called
effective particle; see below). A hyphen between two or more
words in the interlinear translation indicates that all these
words together are the translation of the corresponding word
in the text, e.g.

<u>tadap</u>   means "to go in a certain direction"
<u>go-to</u>

<u>doka</u>   means that the third person pronoun <u>ia</u> "him"
<u>kill</u>-him   is totally assimilated to the last vowel of
              the verb, i.e. <u>doko</u> "to kill" vs <u>doka</u> "to kill
              him/her/it"

<u>limana</u>   means that the suffix pronoun meaning "his" is
<u>hand</u>-his   attached to the noun "hand", i.e. <u>-na</u> to <u>lima</u>
              "hand".

<u>da</u>   means that the word <u>da</u> represents a fusion of
<u>IND</u>-TA   the indefinite pronoun and a tense-aspect-marker.

Brackets indicate that the speaker made a mistake and
corrected himself afterwards. The so-called "euphonic i"
between a word ending in t and a word beginning with t also
appears in brackets.

Abbreviations:

There are some abbreviations introduced for words that cannot
be translated into English:

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D       determinative particle : a and ra
exc     exclusive pronoun
inc     inclusive pronoun
IND     indefinite pronoun: di
2       dual              ⎫
3       trial or paucal   ⎬  with pronouns
4       plural            ⎭
PL      plural particle:  umana
TA      tense-aspect-marker
E       effective particle
O       object connector : i
C       connective particle: na and a
PR      preposition: ta
PART    emphatic particle
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Discussion of the abbreviations:

D determinative particle: a and ra

a and ra are two phonologically conditioned variants of a
noun-phrase-marker which is a kind of determinative standing
in opposition to ta "some, any" and tika na "one", but it
does not denote definiteness in opposition to indefiniteness
as does the English article "the". If an alienable noun is
determined by a proceeding possessive pronoun, the determinative
particle is left out, but if the possessive pronoun or a
nominal possessive construction follows the noun, the
determinative particle has to proceed the noun, e.g.

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kada mangamangana              our custom (p.132,3)
our-4inc  custom

a mangamangana                 the custom (p.132,2)
D custom

...ra mangamangana kadat^1)    our custom (p.132,1)
   D   custom our-4inc

a mangamangana kai ra umana Iapan  a practise of the
D practise/custom of D PL Jap.     Japanese (p.22,2f)
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Inalienable nouns denoting body-parts take the determinative

particle, whether they are determined by the suffixed possessive

pronoun or not, e.g. <u>a lima</u> "the hand", <u>a limana</u> "his hand",

but inalienable nouns denoting relatives never take the

determinative particle, if they are determined by a suffixed

possessive pronoun, e.g. <u>tamagu ma nagu</u> "my father and my

mother"(p.28,3). Place-names take no determinative particle;

but the determinative particle plus a place-name denotes an

inhabitant of that place, e.g. <u>a Amerika</u> "an American".

Nouns which are connected with an other word by the connective

particle do not take the determinative particle, e.g.

<u>a papait na pal</u> "building a house" (p.139,2),

<u>a</u> is used at the beginning of an utterance and after words

ending in <u>r</u> and <u>l</u>, <u>ra</u> in all other places, e.g.

> <u>a tutana i ga vana</u>; <u>nam ra tutana i ga vana</u>
> the man went;   that man went.

If the speaker hesitates and makes a pause after <u>ra</u>, he

continues his speech by repeating the determinative particle

in its variant <u>a</u> : <u>nam ra - a tutana i ga vana</u> .

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1) Note that in this position the long form of the
possessive pronoun in the plural is used, i.e. the
form with t in the end, e.g. kavevet/ komavet "our" (exc)
kavavat "your",kadat "our" (inc)kadiat "their".

IND   indefinite pronoun : di

di is similar to the German "man" or French "on" and is used
when the actor of an action is not to be expressed, e.g.

> di ga doka   somebody killed him, he was killed
> IND TA kill-him   (man tötete ihn).

PL plural particle: umana

The plural of nouns is not obligatorily marked. It can be
marked by the plural particle umana, which stands before
the noun:

> a umana bul   ta umana bul   kaigu umana bul
> the children   some children   my children

Only two nouns have special plural forms: the plural of
tutana can be expressed by a tarai or by a umana tutana and
the plural of a vavina "woman" by a varden or by a umana vavina.
Another means of expressing plurality is to reduplicate the
noun, e.g. a gunan "a village", a gunagunan "villages", even
a umana gunagunan is possible. Note that "big villages" is
expressed by a ngalangala na gunan   or   a umana ngala na gunan
            D big-big   C village   D PL   big   C village.

TA   tense-aspect-marker

The most important tense-aspect-markers are:

ga ,   the remoteness-marker, indicating that the action
described by the verb happened in the past before
yesterday (see p. 149, p. 150), e.g.

> iau ga vana   I went (sometime before yesterday)
> na bung iau vana   yesterday I went.

ga is not obligatory, if it is understood from the context
that the action happened in the past. In combination with

the future-tense-marker, <u>ga</u> denotes remoteness in the
future;

<u>tar</u>   resultative marker, e.g.

      <u>iau</u> <u>tar</u> <u>ian</u>   I have already eaten;

<u>-na/a</u>, future-tense-markers; <u>-na</u> occurs only after the singular
pronouns and fuses with them to <u>ina</u>, <u>una</u> and <u>na</u>:

      <u>ina</u> / <u>una</u> / <u>na</u> <u>vana</u>   I / you / he will go ;

<u>a</u> occurs after all other pronouns, but fuses only with
the indefinite pronoun <u>di</u> (to <u>da</u>), e.g.

      <u>da</u> <u>vana</u>   somebody will go

but

      <u>dir</u> <u>a</u> <u>vana</u>, <u>dital</u> <u>a</u> <u>vana</u>, the two of them, the three
                                of them will go

<u>-na/a</u> also denotes a frequently repeated and/or habitual
action (see p. 129,7 f, 13o,3 f, 143,2 f);

<u>la</u>,. denoting habitual action, e.g.

      <u>ave</u> <u>la</u> <u>long</u>   we (exc,) used to steal (p.26,12
(see p. 13o,1 f, 171,1 f).

E effective particle

This particle comes after the verb and denotes the effective-
ness of the action expressed by the verb or its relation
to other actions, e.g.

<u>kapi</u>, meaning that the action is followed by another action[1],

<u>pa</u>,   denoting that the action definitely happened or was
successful or happened with regard to something or
somebody[2],e.g. <u>ki</u> <u>pa</u> "to sit with regard to something"
= "to expect something"

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1) Bley, p.12o, Zwinge p.53, Meyer p.143
2) Bley, p.119, Zwinge p.52, Meyer p.289

papa, signifying that the action is intended to be a purpose
in itself[1]) (see p.7,3) or meaning the same as pa
(see above).

O object connector : i
The object connector is used after some verbs to connect
a pronominal object with the verb, e.g.

    i tup i avet   it exhausted us (exc. Pl.)

C connective particle : na / a
This particle connects a) nouns with nouns, b) cardinal numbers
other than "two" with nouns, c) adjectives with nouns, d) verbs
with nouns, e) local adverbs with nouns[2]). a ia a variant of
na that occurs when the proceeding word ends in r or l.

a)   a uma na bin   a garden of beans (p.28,5)
       D garden C bean

       a nga na varden   a row of women (p.3o,12)
       D row C women

       a papalum na rot   the building of the road
       D work C road   (p.56,1)

b)   ra ilima na kakaruk   five chickens (p.37,1o)
       D five C chicken

       a lavutul a balut   eight planes (p43,3 f)
       D eight D plane

c)   a ngala na tutana   a big man
       D big C man

       a ngala na varvakadik   a bad injury (p.41,9)
       D big C hurting

       a bo na vaninara   a good preparation (p.5,11)
       D good C preparation

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1) Zwinge p. 52
2) Though the words cannot strictly be classified into nouns,
   verbs, adjectives, and so on, according to English or Latin
   grammar, the traditional terms are used here in order to
   avoid a lengthy discussion of Tolai word-classes.

 3) The only exeption is ik "little": ik is always connected
   by a, e.g. a ik a nian "little food", a ik a tinata "a
   little story".

d) pa ave ga momo na ti   we did not drink tea (p.69,13)
 not we-4exc TA drink C tea

 dir ga gigit na bin   the two of them picked beans
 they-2 TA pick C bean   (p.28,1o)

 ave ga bo na kini   we had a good stay (p.69,9)
 we-4exc TA good C staying

 dia ga ngala na niligur they were very sad (p.63,12)
 they-4 TA big C sorrow

e) ara na pal   there in the house (p.2o,9)
 there C house

 ura na gunan   down there to the village (p.22,9)
 down-there-to C village

If a word ends in -na, e.g. a pakana "part", the connective
particle is left out. This is indicated by (C) in the inter-
linear translation.

PR preposition: ta/ tai

The preposition ta/ tai has so many meanings that it seemed
wiser to render it in the interlinear translation as PR
rather than to translate it, so that it would then be clear
that ta/ tai occurs in all these uses. ta/ tai means "in,
at, on, with, from, because of, during". tai is a variant
of ta that occurs, when the following word begins with t,
e.g. ta "some" or tika "one".