

Polynesian language and culture history

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1 March 1999

Ph.D. Thesis

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This thesis is my own original work except where attributed to others.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a stylized, cursive initial 'Z' followed by the name 'Mack'.

For my father,
who died while I was away,
and my mother,
who welcomed me when I got home.

Oh,
Te Rangi Hiroa!

Architect of the Bishop Museum ethnographies!

My report to Bruce Biggs.

Acknowledgements

Twice I have left North America behind to study with Andrew Pawley. I want to thank Andrew, Malcolm Ross and Matthew Spriggs, my PhD committee, for suggesting the present topic. It was one for which a reasonable amount of work promised to yield a reasonable body of results.

I also want to mention a number of other people beginning with some of those at the University of Iowa when I was there: Mac Marshall whose dynamic teaching led me to Pacific studies and Dick Shutler who supervised my M.A. thesis in anthropology together with Mac and Ed Kozlowski. They sent me on to study linguistics with George Grace, Byron Bender, Don Topping, Andrew Pawley, Ken Rehg and others at the University of Hawai'i. The atmospheres of the Iowa and Hawai'i departments were dominated by enthusiasm. We barely realised how lucky we were: June Helm was our social anthropology professor at Iowa, Lawrence Thompson and George Grace were our comparative linguistics professors at Hawai'i. Ward Goodenough was occasionally in Hawai'i arguing Proto Micronesian reconstructions with us during the years I was there, and many other people visited Iowa and Hawai'i including Robert Kiste, Bruce Biggs, Ross Clark, Peter Bellwood and Roger Green. Above all such people as Paul Geraghty, Bill Wilson and Tamati Reedy were also students at Hawai'i when I was there and they had such remarkable energy.

Many years later, I went to Canberra and the Department of Linguistics at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, an opportunity that I came to appreciate more and more as time went on. People were so helpful, across the whole of the school, from the beginning to the end. My Ph.D. panel here slowly helped me organise my enthusiasm. It took them many months and years. Pawley poured hours, days and weeks into editing my drafts up to the end and Ross and Spriggs made similar investments of their time at various points along the way.

To mention even a portion of the people who have helped me in Canberra seems an elusive task. Lois Carrington's help with bibliographies and Merv Common's help with

computers are early memories as are Adrian and Nanik Clynes' regular invitations to dinner and Robert Early's help with a host of administrative and software questions. Ian Heyward of the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies Cartography Unit did the maps and figures.

Through these years in Canberra I have worked for John C. Caldwell at the Health Transition Centre, National Centre for Epidemiology and Population Health, Australian National University. There I had invaluable work experience building massive bibliographies, otherwise assisting with large research projects and then in helping bring publications to press; always, it seemed, just days before those skills became meaningful in the context of my thesis work. Wendy Cosford, the Caldwell's longtime copyeditor, proofread the present work. Sandi Goddard, once the Health Transition Centre publications office typist, did much of the formatting and entering of copyedits.

To those Polynesian people who have helped me along the way or were simply just friends, I would like to say what a great honour it has been to work under the people mentioned above and to have had the help of so many others, such as Peter Bellwood and Jack Golson. I hope I have been able to same something useful about how Polynesians have traditionally answered the questions "Who is my family?" and "How did we get here?"

I *like* to do such things because they are possible, interesting and of value to Polynesian cultural survival. I am *able* to do such things because my family brought me back to health. It took them many years. *Tak for det* Mor, Janice, Sonja, Eric, Karen, Neil.

Jeff Marck
February 1998
Canberra

Preface

This thesis was developed over a five year period, 1992 to 1996. During the first year I settled upon a topic and began studying East Polynesian reconstructions in Biggs' *Pollex*. By about mid 1993 (Marck 1996a) I was impressed with the extent of sporadic sound changes among the established East Polynesian subgroups. I became interested in the idea that the older, higher order subgroups of Polynesian could be reexamined with an eye towards uniquely shared sporadic sound changes to see if any refinements in the standard subgrouping might be achieved. During the year to mid 1994 I found that the Ellicean Outliers shared sporadic sound changes with East Polynesian and Samoan that other Polynesian languages did not share (Marck 1998), a stunning bit of support for Wilson's (1985) suggestion of "Ellicean", composed of those same languages, on the basis of the pronoun prehistory. I then turned to a year of work on cosmogony (Marck 1996b, 1996c) and then a year on kin terms (Marck 1996d). I consolidated those and other materials into the submitted thesis in late 1997. This version of the work is the final examined, certified and deposited PhD thesis, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
2. CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES	27
3. VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES	93
4. CONFOUNDING FACTORS: MORPHOLOGICAL REPLACEMENT, CONFLATION AND BORROWING	129
5. SUBGROUPING	149
6. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING LANGUAGE HISTORY	173
7. COSMOGONY	179
8. KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES	233
9. CONCLUSIONS	301
APPENDIX A: THE TONGIC REFLEXES OF PPN *L AND *R	311
APPENDIX B: DETAIL OF VOWEL CHANGES IN INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES	326
APPENDIX C: SAMOAN <i>TOOGA</i> 'FINE MAT, ESP. GIFT MAT', A PROBLEM IN LEXICAL BORROWING	340
REFERENCES	345

DETAIL OF CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 OVERVIEW	4
1.2 PURPOSE	5
1.3 BACKGROUND	11
1.4 METHOD	11
1.5 POLYNESIAN GEOGRAPHY	20
1.6 LANGUAGE NAMES AND ABBREVIATIONS	23
1.7 ON THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGE DESCRIPTION IN POLYNESIA	27
2. CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES	27
2.1 REGULAR CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES	27
2.2 SPORADIC CONSONANT CHANGES	27
2.2.1 PROTO POLYNESIAN *P	35
2.2.2 PROTO POLYNESIAN *T	37
2.2.3 PROTO POLYNESIAN *K	40
2.2.3.1 LOSSES OF *K THAT REGULARLY BECAME GLOTTAL STOP	43
2.2.4 PROTO POLYNESIAN GLOTTAL STOP	44
2.2.5 PROTO POLYNESIAN *M	46
2.2.6 PROTO POLYNESIAN *N	48
2.2.7 PROTO POLYNESIAN *NG	50
2.2.7.1 LOSSES OF *NG THAT HAD BECOME GLOTTAL STOP	54
2.2.8 PROTO POLYNESIAN *F	55
2.2.9 PROTO POLYNESIAN *S	57
2.2.10 PROTO POLYNESIAN *H	61
2.2.11 PROTO POLYNESIAN *W	62
2.2.12 PROTO POLYNESIAN *L	67
2.2.13 PROTO POLYNESIAN *R	72
2.2.14 OVERALL CONSONANT IRREGULARITIES OF THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	73
2.3 DIFFUSED CONSONANT CHANGES	76
2.3.1 THE INSTABILITY OF *FAF- AND *F(A,E)S- FORMS	77
2.3.2 PROTO POLYNESIAN *S IN TONGAN	81
2.3.3 PROTO POLYNESIAN *Q IN NIUEAN	84
2.3.4 SAMOAN: RESIDUES OF PPN *S OR *H?	85
2.3.5 CONDITIONED LOSS OF GLOTTAL STOP IN RAPANUI	87
2.3.6 RESIDUES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN GLOTTALS IN MARQUESAN?	88
2.3.7 PROTO POLYNESIAN *H IN NZ MAORI	90
2.3.8 FREE AND DIALECT VARIANTS IN MARQUESAN AND HAWAIIAN	91
3. VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES	93
3.1 OVERVIEW	93
3.2 REGULAR VOWEL CHANGES	96
3.2.1 PROTO TONGIC, TONGAN AND NIUEAN	97
3.2.2 KAPINGAMARANGI	99
3.2.3 PROTO NUCLEAR MARQUESIC AND MARQUESAN	100
3.3 DIFFUSED VOWEL CHANGES	100
3.3.1 NUCLEAR MARQUESAN	100
3.3.2 LOW VOWEL RAISING	102
3.3.3 *(CA)CACU(C)(A,E) CHANGES	105
3.3.4 LOW VOWEL LENGTHENING	109
3.4 SPORADIC VOWEL CHANGES	113
3.4.1 PROTO TONGIC	114
3.4.2 PROTO NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN	115
3.4.4 PROTO ELLICEAN	117
3.4.4 PROTO EAST POLYNESIAN	119

3.4.5 PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN	120
3.4.5 PROTO MARQUESIC	123
3.4.5 PROTO TAHITIC	124
4. CONFOUNDING FACTORS: MORPHOLOGICAL REPLACEMENT, CONFLATION AND BORROWING	129
4.1 MORPHOLOGICAL REPLACEMENT	129
4.2 CONFLATION	132
4.3 BORROWING	133
4.3.1 POST PROTO NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN AND POST PROTO TONGIC DISTRIBUTIONS IN WESTERN POLYNESIA	134
4.3.2 EAST UVEAN BORROWINGS FROM TONGAN	137
4.3.3 ANUTAN AND TIKOPIAN BORROWINGS FROM EAST UVEAN AND TONGAN	139
4.3.4 NIUEAN BORROWINGS FROM EAST POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES	140
4.3.5 TONGAN BORROWINGS FROM NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN	141
4.3.6 SAMOAN BORROWINGS FROM TONGAN	144
4.3.7 PUKAPUKAN BORROWINGS FROM EAST POLYNESIAN	144
4.3.8 THE POST PROTO ELLICEAN RELATIONS OF SAMOAN AND TOKELAUAN	144
4.3.9 EAST POLYNESIAN BORROWINGS FROM TONGIC	144
4.3.10 RAPANIUI BORROWINGS FROM TAHITIAN	145
4.3.11 HAWAIIAN BORROWINGS FROM TAHITIAN	146
4.3.12 POSSIBLE MULTIPLE STRATA IN NZ MAORI	148
5. SUBGROUPING	149
5.1 POLYNESIAN	150
5.2 THE DISINTEGRATION OF A COMMON LANGUAGE BETWEEN TONGA AND SAMOA	150
5.2.1 TONGIC PATTERNS OF LOSS AND RETENTION OF PROTO POLYNESIAN *R AND *L	151
5.2.2 IRREGULARITIES OF NIUEAN	155
5.2.3 WESTERN POLYNESIAN VOCABULARY AGREEMENTS	156
5.2.4 CONCLUSION	159
5.3 TONGIC	160
5.4 NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN	161
5.5 UNCLASSIFIED NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES	162
5.5 ELLICEAN	162
5.6 ELLICEAN OUTLIER	163
5.7 SAMOAN-TOKELAUAN	165
5.8 EAST POLYNESIAN	166
5.9 CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN	167
5.10 MARQUESIC	167
5.11 NUCLEAR MARQUESIC	168
5.12 TAHITIC	168
5.13 NUCLEAR TAHITIC	169
5.14 CONCLUSION	170
6. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING LANGUAGE HISTORY	173

7. COSMOGONY	179
7.1 PURPOSE, METHOD AND SOURCES	179
7.2 THE PRIMORDIAL PAIR	185
7.2.1 THE PRIMORDIAL CONDITION, THE PRIMORDIAL PAIR AND CREATION IN POLYNESIAN COSMOGONIES	185
7.2.1.1 PROTO POLYNESIAN	187
7.2.1.2 PROTO NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN	187
7.2.1.3 PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN	189
7.2.1.5 PROTO MARQUESIC	190
7.2.1.6 PROTO TAHITIC	191
7.2.1.7 NZ MAORI	192
7.2.1.8 THE COOK ISLANDS	193
7.2.1.9 THE TUAMOTUS	194
7.2.1.10 TAHITI	196
7.2.1.11 SUMMARY OF TAHITIC TRADITIONS AND FURTHER THOUGHTS ON PROTO TAHITIC	198
7.2.1.12 HAWAII	198
7.2.2 RESULTS	199
7.3 THE FIRST ORDER ANTHROPOMORPHIC GODS	202
7.3.1 INTRODUCTION	202
7.3.2 PROTO POLYNESIAN AND PROTO NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN	203
7.3.3 PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN TRADITIONS	205
7.3.3.1 MARQUESIC TRADITIONS	208
7.3.3.1.1 THE MARQUESAS	208
7.3.3.1.2 MANGAREVA	210
7.3.3.1.3 HAWAII	210
7.3.3.2 TAHITIC TRADITIONS	211
7.3.3.2.1 NEW ZEALAND MAORI	211
7.3.3.2.2 COOK ISLANDS	212
7.3.3.2.2.1 TONGAREVA (PENRHYN)	213
7.3.3.2.2.2 MANGAIA	213
7.3.3.2.2.3 RAROTONGA	214
7.3.3.2.3 TAHITI	215
7.3.3.2.4 THE TUAMOTUS	216
7.3.4 PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN RECONSTRUCTIONS	218
7.3.4.1 *AATEA	218
7.3.4.2 *(S)AUMIA	220
7.3.4.3 *MAURI	221
7.3.4.4 *RONGO	222
7.3.4.5 *TAANE	223
7.3.4.6 *TANGAROA	227
7.3.4.7 *TONGA-FITI	228
7.3.4.8 *TUU	229
7.3.4 CONCLUSION	230
7.4 RETROSPECTIVE ON THE METHOD	231

8. KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES	233
8.1 INTRODUCTION	233
8.1.1 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM	238
8.1.2 SOURCES	238
8.2 NOTES ON THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF EARLY POLYNESIAN KIN TERMS	240
8.2.1 PPN *KAAINGA 'THE LAND OF A SOCIAL GROUP' AND *KAINANGA 'SOCIAL GROUP'	241
8.2.2 THE FATHER'S SISTER, THE MOTHER'S BROTHER, AND THE MAN'S SISTER'S CHILD	247
8.3 TERMS FOR CONSANGUINES	250
8.3.1 CONSANGUINES OF THE GRANDPARENTS' GENERATION (-2)	250
8.3.1.1 PPN *TUPUNA 'GRANDPARENT'	250
8.3.1.2 (GREAT)-GREAT-GRANDPARENTS	252
8.3.1.3 RELATED FORMS	253
8.3.2 CONSANGUINES OF THE PARENTS' GENERATION (-1).	255
8.3.2.1 PPN *MATUQA 'PARENT' AND PPN *MAATUQA 'PARENTS'	256
8.3.2.2 PPN *TAMA(NA) 'FATHER' AND *TINA(NA) 'MOTHER'	258
8.3.2.3 PPN *TUQA-TINA 'MOTHER'S BROTHER'	259
8.3.2.4 PN *MASAKI-TANGA 'FATHER'S SISTER'	260
8.3.2.5 DISCUSSION	261
8.3.3 CONSANGUINES OF EGO'S OWN GENERATION (+0)	262
8.3.3.1 PPN *TUA-FAFINE 'MAN'S SISTER' AND *TUA-NGAQANE 'WOMAN'S BROTHER'	265
8.3.3.2 PPN *TAHINA 'YOUNGER SAME-SEX SIBLING'	267
8.3.3.3 PPN *KAWE 'CROSS-SEX SIBLING'	268
8.3.3.4 OLDER SAME-SEX SIBLING: *TUAKA(NA) OR *TAQO-KETE?	269
8.3.3.5 THE EXTENSION OF SIBLING TERMS TO COUSINS	272
8.3.4 CONSANGUINES OF THE CHILDREN'S GENERATION (+1)	278
8.3.4.1 LINEALS	279
8.3.4.2 COLLATERALS	285
8.3.4.3 CHILD, CHILDREN, YOUNG MAN AND DAUGHTER	287
8.3.4.4 ELDEST AND FIRSTBORN	288
8.3.5 CONSANGUINES OF THE GRANDCHILD'S GENERATION (+2)	289
8.3.5.1 GRANDCHILDREN	289
8.3.5.2 (GREAT)-GREAT-GRANDCHILDREN	290
8.4 TERMS FOR AFFINAL RELATIVES	292
8.4.1 SPOUSES AND MARRIAGE	292
8.4.2 SIBLINGS-IN-LAW	294
8.4.3 CHILDREN- AND PARENTS-IN-LAW	295
8.5 CONCLUSIONS	296
9. CONCLUSIONS	301
9.1 LANGUAGE, ARCHAEOLOGY AND DEMOGRAPHY	301
9.1.1 WESTERN POLYNESIA	301
9.1.2 EAST POLYNESIA	305
9.2 ANCESTRAL POLYNESIAN SOCIETY	308

APPENDIX A: THE TONGIC REFLEXES OF PPN *L AND *R	311
A.1 PROTO POLYNESIAN *L FROM PROTO OCEANIC AND PROTO CENTRAL PACIFIC *L	312
A.2 PROTO POLYNESIAN *L FROM PROTO OCEANIC AND PROTO CENTRAL PACIFIC *DR	313
A.3 PROTO POLYNEAIAN *R AND *L FROM PROTO CENTRAL PACIFIC *R	315
A.4 THE DILEMMA	318
A.5 SUMMARY OF LIQUID CORRESPONDENCES	322
 APPENDIX B: DETAIL OF VOWEL CHANGES IN INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES	 325
B.1 TONGIC	325
B.2 NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN	325
B.2.1 ANUTAN	325
B.2.2 EAST UVEAN	325
B.2.3 MAE	326
B.2.4 MELE-FILA	326
B.2.5 PILENI	326
B.2.7 PUKAPUKAN	326
B.2.8 RENNELLESE	327
B.2.10 TIKOPIA	327
B.2.11 WEST FUTUNAN	327
B.2.12 WEST UVEAN	328
B.2.13 ELLICEAN	328
B.2.13.1 SAMOAN/TOKELAUAN	328
B.2.13.1.1 SAMOAN	328
B.2.13.1.2 TOKELAUAN	329
B.2.13.2 ELLICEAN OUTLIER	329
B.2.13.2.1 KAPINGAMARANGI	329
B.2.13.2.2 NUKUORO	330
B.2.13.2.3 ONGTONG JAVA	330
B.2.13.2.4 SIKAIANA	320
B.2.13.2.5 TAKUU	331
B.2.13.2.6 TUVALU	331
B.2.13.3 EAST POLYNESIAN	332
B.2.13.3.1 EASTER	332
B.2.13.3.2 CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN	332
B.2.13.3.2.1 MARQUESIC	332
B.2.13.3.2.1.1 HAWAIIAN	332
B.2.13.3.2.1.2 NUCLEAR MARQUESIC	333
B.2.13.3.2.1.2.1 MARQUESAN	333
B.2.13.3.2.1.2.1 MANGAREVAN	333
B.2.13.3.2.1 TAHITIC	334
B.2.13.3.2.1.1A NZ MAORI	334
B.2.13.3.2.1.1B MOORIORI	335
B.2.13.3.2.1.2 RAROTONGA	335
B.2.13.3.2.1.3 TAHITIAN	336
B.2.13.3.2.1.4 TONGAREVAN (PENRHYN)	336
B.2.13.3.2.1.5 TUAMOTUAN	336
APPENDIX C: SAMOAN <i>TOOGA</i> 'FINE MAT, ESP. GIFT MAT', A PROBLEM IN LEXICAL BORROWING	340
 REFERENCES	 345

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE 1.1: SOME AGREEMENTS BETWEEN A FEW POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES	1
TABLE 1.2: OCCURRENCES OF FORMS IN SOME <i>POLLEX</i> VERSIONS UTILISED	8
TABLE 1.3: A <i>POLLEX</i> ENTRY WITH NUMEROUS AGREEMENTS	9
TABLE 1.4: A <i>POLLEX</i> ITEM WITH MINIMAL AGREEMENTS	9
TABLE 1.5: POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGE AND SUBGROUP ABBREVIATIONS	21
TABLE 1.6: POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE AND DIALECT ABBREVIATIONS	21
TABLE 1.6: POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE AND DIALECT ABBREVIATIONS (CONTINUED)	22
TABLE 1.7: ABBREVIATIONS OF SOME NON-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES AND PROTOLANGUAGES	23
TABLE 2.1: POINT AND MANNER OF ARTICULATION OF THE PROTO POLYNESIAN CONSONANTS	27
TABLE 2.2: REFLEXES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN CONSONANTS IN SELECTED DAUGHTERS	28
TABLE 2.2: REFLEXES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN CONSONANTS IN SELECTED DAUGHTERS (CONTINUED)	29
TABLE 2.3: PPN * <i>FAF</i> - TO PCE * <i>WAH</i> - CORRESPONDENCES	31
TABLE 2.4: SPORADIC CHANGES BY RECONSTRUCTED SOUND	32
TABLE 2.5: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>P</i>	35
TABLE 2.6: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>P</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	35
TABLE 2.7: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>T</i>	37
TABLE 2.8: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>T</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	37
TABLE 2.9: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>K</i>	40
TABLE 2.10: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>K</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	41
TABLE 2.11: POSSIBLE LOSSES OF RECONSTRUCTED PN * <i>K</i> WHICH CAME TO BE GLOTTAL STOP IN SAMOAN, HAWAIIAN AND TAHITIAN	43
TABLE 2.12: PROTO POLYNESIAN GLOTTAL STOP	44
TABLE 2.13: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>Q</i> IN TON AND EAS	45
TABLE 2.14: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>M</i>	46
TABLE 2.15: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>M</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	46
TABLE 2.16: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>N</i>	48
TABLE 2.17: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>N</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	48
TABLE 2.18: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>NG</i>	50
TABLE 2.19: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>NG</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	51
TABLE 2.20: POSSIBLE LOSSES OF RECONSTRUCTED PN * <i>NG</i> BY WAY OF GLOTTAL STOP FROM TAH	54
TABLE 2.21: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>F</i>	55
TABLE 2.22: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>F</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	55
TABLE 2.23: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>S</i>	57
TABLE 2.24: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>S</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	58
TABLE 2.25: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>H</i>	61
TABLE 2.26: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>H</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	61
TABLE 2.27: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>W</i>	62
TABLE 2.28: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>W</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	63
TABLE 2.29: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>L</i>	67
TABLE 2.30: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN * <i>L</i> FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES	67
TABLE 2.31: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>R</i>	72
TABLE 2.32: REASONABLY CERTAIN CASES OF SPORADIC CONSONANTAL IRREGULARITY IN SEVEN LANGUAGES (NOT INCLUDING SPORADIC LOSS OF GLOTTAL STOP)	73
TABLE 2.33: CONSONANTS PER WORD IN A TEN PERCENT SAMPLE OF BIGGS' (1993) ".PN" RECONSTRUCTIONS	74

TABLE 2.34: MINIMAL IRREGULAR CONSONANTS AS A RATIO OF ESTIMATED REGULAR CONSONANTS IN THE SEVEN MAJOR LANGUAGES (OTHER THAN IRREGULAR LOSSES OF GLOTTAL STOP)	75
TABLE 2.35: AN EXAMPLE OF LEXICAL DIFFUSION IN ENGLISH	77
TABLE 2.36: POSSIBLE BORROWINGS OF PPN * <i>H</i> FROM TONGAN IN SAMOAN	87
TABLE 2.37: LOSS OF PNP GLOTTAL STOP IN RAPANUI IN THE * <i>A_A</i> ENVIRONMENT	88
TABLE 2.38: EPENTHETIC MARQUESAN INSERTIONS OF GLOTTAL STOP	88
TABLE 2.39: FORMS WITH APPARENT GLOTTAL RESIDUES IN MARQUESAN	89
TABLE 2.40: CHART OF GLOTTAL RESIDUES INTO MARQUESAN	89
TABLE 3.1: POLYNESIAN VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES	94
TABLE 3.2: GENERALISED PPN WORD STRESS PATTERNS	95
TABLE 3.3: NUMBER OF WORDS FOR INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES WHICH SHOW A CHANGE IN VOWEL QUALITY COMPARED TO RECONSTRUCTED FORMS	96
TABLE 3.4: PROTO POLYNESIAN TO PROTO TONGIC VOWEL CHANGE TYPES	
TABLE 3.5: SOME PROTO POLYNESIAN VOWELS THAT HAD NOT ASSIMILATED IN PROTO TONGIC	97
TABLE 3.6: SOME TONGAN ASSIMILATIONS THAT ARE INDETERMINATE FOR PROTO TONGIC	98
TABLE 3.7: SOME ADDITIONAL KINDS OF PROTO TONGIC VOWEL ASSIMILATIONS	98
TABLE 3.8: * <i>CU(C)A</i> > <i>CU(C)O</i> IN TONGAN	98
TABLE 3.9: EXAMPLES OF PRIMARILY STRESSED * <i>A</i> RAISING IN NIUEAN	98
TABLE 3.10: EXAMPLES OF * <i>-MO</i> > <i>-MU</i> IN NIUEAN	99
TABLE 3.11: EXAMPLES OF ASSIMILATIONS OF FINAL * <i>-A</i> TO PRECEDING VOWELS IN KAPINGAMARANGI	99
TABLE 3.12: EXAMPLES OF * <i>-A(C)O</i> > * <i>-A(C)A</i> IN KAPINGAMARANGI	99
TABLE 3.13: EXAMPLES OF RECENT * <i>-ITO</i> > <i>-ITA</i> IN KAPINGAMARANGI	99
TABLE 3.14: DIFFUSED ASSIMILATIONS OF THE LOW VOWEL TO HIGHER VOWELS IN PROTO NUCLEAR MARQUESAN	101
TABLE 3.15: OTHER ASSIMILATIONS OF LOW VOWELS IN MANGAREVAN	101
TABLE 3.16: OTHER ASSIMILATIONS OF LOW VOWELS IN MARQUESAN	102
TABLE 3.17: MARQUESAN ASSIMILATIONS AFTER THE DIVERGENCE OF MANGAREVAN	102
TABLE 3.18: FREE OR DIALECT VARIANTS IN MARQUESAN	102
TABLE 3.19: LOW VOWEL RAISING IN POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES	104
TABLE 3.20: POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE REFLEXES OF PPN * <i>FANUA</i> 'LAND, PLACENTA'	106
TABLE 3.21: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>CACU(C)A</i> SPORADICALLY GOING TO <i>COCU(C)A</i> IN TONGIC AND <i>CECU(C)A</i> IN NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN	107
TABLE 3.22: PROTO POLYNESIAN *(<i>C</i>) <i>ACACU(C)A</i> SPORADICALLY > (<i>C</i>) <i>ACECU(C)A</i>	108
TABLE 3.23: PROTO POLYNESIAN * <i>CACU</i> SPORADICALLY > <i>CECU</i>	108
TABLE 3.24: SOME LONG LOW VOWEL RECONSTRUCTIONS FOR PROTO POLYNESIAN	110
TABLE 3.25: LOW VOWEL LENGTHENING IN NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN BUT NOT TONGIC	111
TABLE 3.26: LOW VOWEL LENGTHENINGS IN SAMOAN	111
TABLE 3.27: LOW VOWEL LENGTHENINGS IN NZ MAORI	112
TABLE 3.28: LOW VOWEL LENGTHENINGS IN HAWAIIAN	112
TABLE 3.29: POSSIBLE ANALOGICAL LENGTHENINGS IN HAWAIIAN	112
TABLE 3.30: SPORADIC VOWEL CHANGES OF THE PROTOLANGUAGES	113
TABLE 3.18: PPN *(#,-) <i>UI</i> (-,#) FORMS WHICH DID NOT CHANGE IN PNP	116

TABLE 4.1: SOME EAST UVEAN WORDS SHOWING BOTH TONGAN VOWELS AND CONSONANTS	139
TABLE 4.2: EAST UVEAN OR TONGAN LOANS IN TIKOPIAN	140
TABLE 4.3: SOME NIUEAN BORROWINGS FROM SOUTHERN COOK LANGUAGES	140
TABLE 4.4: POSSIBLE BORROWINGS BY TONGAN FROM NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN I	142
TABLE 4.5: POSSIBLE BORROWINGS BY TONGAN FROM NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN II	143
TABLE 4.6: POSSIBLE BORROWINGS BY TONGAN FROM NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN III	143
TABLE 4.7: SOME RAPANUI BORROWINGS FROM TAHITIAN	146
TABLE 5.1: CRITERIA SOUNDS FOR IDENTIFYING BORROWING AROUND WEST POLYNESIA	151
TABLE 5.2: DOUBLE REFLEXES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN *R AND THEIR POSSIBLE OUTCOMES IN MODERN TONGAN AND NIUEAN	152
TABLE 5.3: WORDS KNOWN TO TYPIFY PATTERNS 1-6 AND THEIR PROTO POLYNESIAN ORIGINS	152
TABLE 5.4: SOME NIUEAN DOUBLETS WITH AND WITHOUT /H/ (RENSCH 1987)	155
TABLE 5.5: NUMBER OF KNOWN COGNATE VOCABULARY ITEMS FOR SOME POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES	158
TABLE 5.6: NUMBER OF KNOWN COGNATE VOCABULARY ITEMS FOR SOME POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES - WEIGHTED BY EACH LANGUAGE'S KNOWN COGNATES WITH ANY OTHER LANGUAGE	159
TABLE 5.7: SPORADIC CONSONANT CHANGES OF PROTO TONGIC	160
TABLE 5.8: SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF ELLICEAN	163
TABLE 5.9: POSSIBLE SHARED SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF ELLICEAN OUTLIER FROM HOWARD (1981)	163
TABLE 5.10: SOME SHARED SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF SAMOAN AND TOKELAUAN	165
TABLE 5.11: SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF PROTO EAST POLYNESIAN	166
TABLE 5.12: PROTO EAST POLYNESIAN MORPHOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS	166
TABLE 5.13: SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN	167
TABLE 5.14: SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF PROTO MARQUESIC	168
TABLE 5.15: SHARED SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF TAHITIC	169
TABLE 7.1: THE PRIMORDIAL PAIR AND POSSIBLE REMNANTS OF THE PRIMORDIAL PAIR IN POLYNESIAN COSMOGONIES	186
TABLE 7.2: PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN FIRST ORDER ANTHROPOMORPHIC GODS	206
TABLE 8.1: KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES	236
TABLE 8.1 (CONT.): KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES	236
TABLE 8.1 (CONT.): KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES	237
TABLE 8.1 (CONT.): KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES	238
TABLE 8.2: SOURCES UTILISED IN THE KINSHIP DATABASE	239
TABLE 8.2 (CONT.): SOURCES UTILISED IN THE KINSHIP DATABASE	240
TABLE 8.3: PPN *KAA/NGA 'PLACE, PREMISES, HOUSE AND HOMESTEAD SUCH AS OF A FAMILY AND THE DWELLINGS THEREON' ¹	243
TABLE 8.4: PPN *KAINANGA 'SOCIAL GROUP'	245
TABLE 8.5: THE COMMON ADDITION OF PPN *-NA TO KINSHIP TERMS.	250
TABLE 8.6: PPN *TUPUNA 'GRANDPARENT'	250
TABLE 8.7: POLYNESIAN TERMS FOR "GRANDFATHER"	251
TABLE 8.8: PPN *TUPUNA FAFINE 'GRANDMOTHER'	251
TABLE 8.9: A FEW GREAT-GRANDPARENT TERMS OF THE "SECOND", "THIRD" GRANDPARENT TYPE.	252
TABLE 8.10: SOME CENTRAL EASTERN WORDS FOR "(GREAT-)GREAT-GRANDPARENT" BASED ON PCE *SINA	253
TABLE 8.11: SOME TERMS FOR "ANCESTOR" AND "AGE SET"	254
TABLE 8.12: PPN *MATUQA 'PARENT'	256

TABLE 8.13: EAST POLYNESIAN "PARENT" CONSTRUCTIONS USING MASCULINE AND FEMININE MARKERS FOR "FATHER" AND "MOTHER"	256
TABLE 8.14: PPN * <i>TAMA(NA)</i> 'FATHER AND CLASSIFICATORY FATHER'	258
TABLE 8.15: PPN * <i>TINA(NA)</i> 'MOTHER'	258
TABLE 8.16: PPN * <i>TUQA-TINA</i> 'MOTHER'S BROTHER'	259
TABLE 8.17: PPN * <i>MASAKI-TANGA</i> 'FATHER'S SISTER'	260
TABLE 8.18: PPN * <i>TUA-FAFINE</i> 'MAN'S SISTER'	265
TABLE 8.19: PPN * <i>TUA-NGAQANE</i> 'WOMAN'S BROTHER (XM)'	266
TABLE 8.20: PPN * <i>TAHINA</i> 'YOUNGER SAME-SEX SIBLING (/Y)'	267
TABLE 8.21: PPN * <i>WEKA</i> OR * <i>KAWE</i> 'CROSS-SEX SIBLING'	268
TABLE 8.22: PPN * <i>TUAKA(NA)</i> 'ELDER SAME-SEX SIBLING (/E)'	269
TABLE 8.23: BIGGS' (1994A) RECONSTRUCTION OF PPN * <i>TAQO-KETE</i> 'OLDER SAME-SEX SIBLING'	270
TABLE 8.24: SOME TERMS FOR PARALLEL AND CROSS-COUSINS IN TIKOPIAN	274
TABLE 8.25: TERMS FOR CROSS-SEX PARALLEL AND CROSS-COUSINS IN TOKELAUAN	275
TABLE 8.26: OCCURRENCE OF RECONSTRUCTED CHILD'S GENERATION KIN TERMS FOR POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES.	278
TABLE 8.27: PPN * <i>TAMA</i> 'WOMAN OR COUPLE'S CHILD OR CLASSIFICATORY CHILD, ESP. SON'	280
TABLE 8.28: PPN * <i>FOSA</i> ¹ 'MAN'S SON OR CLASSIFICATORY SON'	281
TABLE 8.29: PNP * <i>ATA-LIKI</i> 'MAN'S SON OR CLASSIFICATORY SON'	281
TABLE 8.30: BIGGS (1994A) TERMS FOR "DAUGHTER", "FEMALE CHILD", AND "GIRL"	282
TABLE 8.31: DISTRIBUTION AND MEANINGS OF THREE POLYNESIAN WORDS FOR GIRLS AND DAUGHTERS.	283
TABLE 8.32 PPN **(<i>QO,(Q)A</i>)- <i>FAFINE</i> 'MAN'S DAUGHTER' AND ** <i>TAMA-FAFINE</i> 'WOMAN OR COUPLE'S DAUGHTER.'	283
TABLE 8.33: PPN * <i>TAMA-QA-FINE</i> 'DAUGHTER OR CLASSIFICATORY DAUGHTER'	284
TABLE 8.34: PPN * <i>TAQA-SINE</i> 'GIRL'	284
TABLE 8.35: PPN * <i>QILAMUTU</i> 'MAN'S SISTER'S CHILD'	285
TABLE 8.36: PN ** <i>FAKA-FOTU</i> 'WOMAN'S BROTHER'S CHILD'	286
TABLE 8.37: PPN * <i>FASU</i> 'HAVING TO DO WITH THE RIGHTS OF A MAN'S SISTER'S CHILD OR THE CONTENT OF THE RELATIONSHIP'	286
TABLE 8.38: PPN * <i>TAMA-QITI</i> 'CHILD (BOY OR GIRL)'	287
TABLE 8.39: PPN * <i>TAMA-RIKI</i> 'CHILDREN (BOYS AND GIRLS)'	287
TABLE 8.40: PNP * <i>TAMAA-LOA</i> 'YOUNG MAN'	288
TABLE 8.41: PNP * <i>MA(A)-FINE</i> 'DAUGHTER (**TERM OF ENDEARMENT)'	288
TABLE 8.42: PPN * <i>QULU-MATUQA</i> 'FIRSTBORN CHILD'	288
TABLE 8.43: PTA * <i>MATA-SIAPO</i> 'FIRSTBORN CHILD'	289
TABLE 8.44: PPN * <i>MAKUPUNA</i> 'GRANDCHILD AND COLLATERALS OF THAT GENERATION"	289
TABLE 8.45: SOME PATTERNS OF NAMING (GREAT-)GREAT-GRANDPARENTS USING NUMBERS	290
TABLE 8.46: PCE * <i>HINA</i> 'GREAT-GRANDCHILD' AND * <i>HINA-RERE</i> 'GREAT-GREAT-GRANDCHILD'	291
TABLE 8.47: PPN * <i>QAHAWANA</i> 'MARRY, SPOUSE'	292
TABLE 8.48: PCE * <i>TAANE</i> 'HUSBAND, ETC.'	293
TABLE 8.49: PCE * <i>WAHINE</i> 'WIFE, ETC.'	293
TABLE 8.50: "FUTUNIC" OUTLIER * <i>NOFINE</i> 'WIFE'	293
TABLE 8.51: PCE * <i>PUNA-RUA</i> 'HAVING TWO SPOUSES; POLYGAMY'	294
TABLE 8.52: PPN * <i>MAQA</i> 'EGO'S SAME-SEX SIBLING-IN-LAW'	294
TABLE 8.53: PEP * <i>TA(Q)OKETE</i> 'EGO'S SAME-SEX SIBLING-IN-LAW'	295
TABLE 8.54: PPN * <i>FUNGAONA</i> 'CHILD-IN-LAW'	295
TABLE 8.55: REFLEXES OF PPN * <i>FUNGAONA</i> 'IN-LAW' AS A RECIPROCAL	296
TABLE 8.56: PPN * <i>FUNGAWAI</i> 'PARENT-IN-LAW'	296

TABLE A.1: CORRESPONDENCES OF THE POC, PCP, PPN AND PTO LIQUIDS	311
TABLE A.2: GERAGHTY'S (1986) CP LIQUID CORRESPONDENCES	311
TABLE A.3: CORRESPONDENCES OF PPN *L WITH POC *L	312
TABLE A.4: AGREEMENTS OF PPN *L WITH FIJ <i>DR</i> OR POC * <i>DR</i> .	313
TABLE A.5: POC * <i>DR</i> IN TONGIC	314
TABLE A.6: POC * <i>MADRA</i> 'RIPE' AND POC * <i>MARA</i> 'SPOILED, FOUL'	315
TABLE A.7: PPN * <i>R</i> IN TONGIC	316
TABLE A.8: SOME TONGIC DOUBLETS OF PPN * <i>R</i>	317
TABLE A.9: SOME POSSIBLE SHIFTS OF POC * <i>R</i> TO PPN * <i>L</i>	318
TABLE A.10: SOME CORRESPONDENCES OF FIJ <i>R</i> TO TONGIC <i>L</i>	320

TABLE C.1: PPN * <i>TA(A)QONGA</i> 'PRESTATION'	340
TABLE C.2: PPN *(C)(A)A(C)O(C)V IN SAMOAN AND TONGAN I	341
TABLE C.3: PPN *(C)(A)A(C)O(C)V IN SAMOAN AND TONGAN II	342
TABLE C.4: PPN *(C)(A)A(C)O(C)V IN SAMOAN AND TONGAN III	342
TABLE C.5: PPN *(C)(A)A(C)O(C)V IN SAMOAN AND TONGAN IV	342

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1.1: THE STANDARD SUBGROUPING OF POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES	2
FIGURE 1.2: THE STANDARD SUBGROUPING OF POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES REVISED	3
FIGURE 8.1: EPLING, KIRK AND BOYD'S (1973) TYPE 20 SIBLING TERMS	264
FIGURE 8.2: EPLING, KIRK AND BOYD'S (1973) TYPES 3 AND 4 (AFTER CLARK 1975)	264
FIGURE 8.3: EPLING, KIRK AND BOYD'S (1973) TYPE 2 (AFTER CLARK 1975)	264
FIGURE 8.4: EPLING, KIRK AND BOYD'S (1973) TYPE 1 (AFTER CLARK 1975)	265
FIGURE 9.1: THEORETICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND DEMOGRAPHY IN ANCIENT WESTERN POLYNESIA	304

LIST OF MAPS

MAP 1.1: POLYNESIA IN THE PACIFIC	15
MAP 1.2: THE POLYNESIAN OUTLIERS	16
MAP 1.3: WESTERN POLYNESIA	17
MAP 1.4: GEOGRAPHICAL CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIA	18
MAP 1.5: SUBGROUPS SUPPORTED BY OR FIRST ARGUED IN THE PRESENT WORK	19
MAP 2.1: ISOGLOSSES OF SHARED SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES IN WESTERN POLYNESIAN	33

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 OVERVIEW

Consider the words from a few Polynesian (Pn) languages given in Table 1.1.

TABLE 1.1: SOME AGREEMENTS BETWEEN A FEW POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

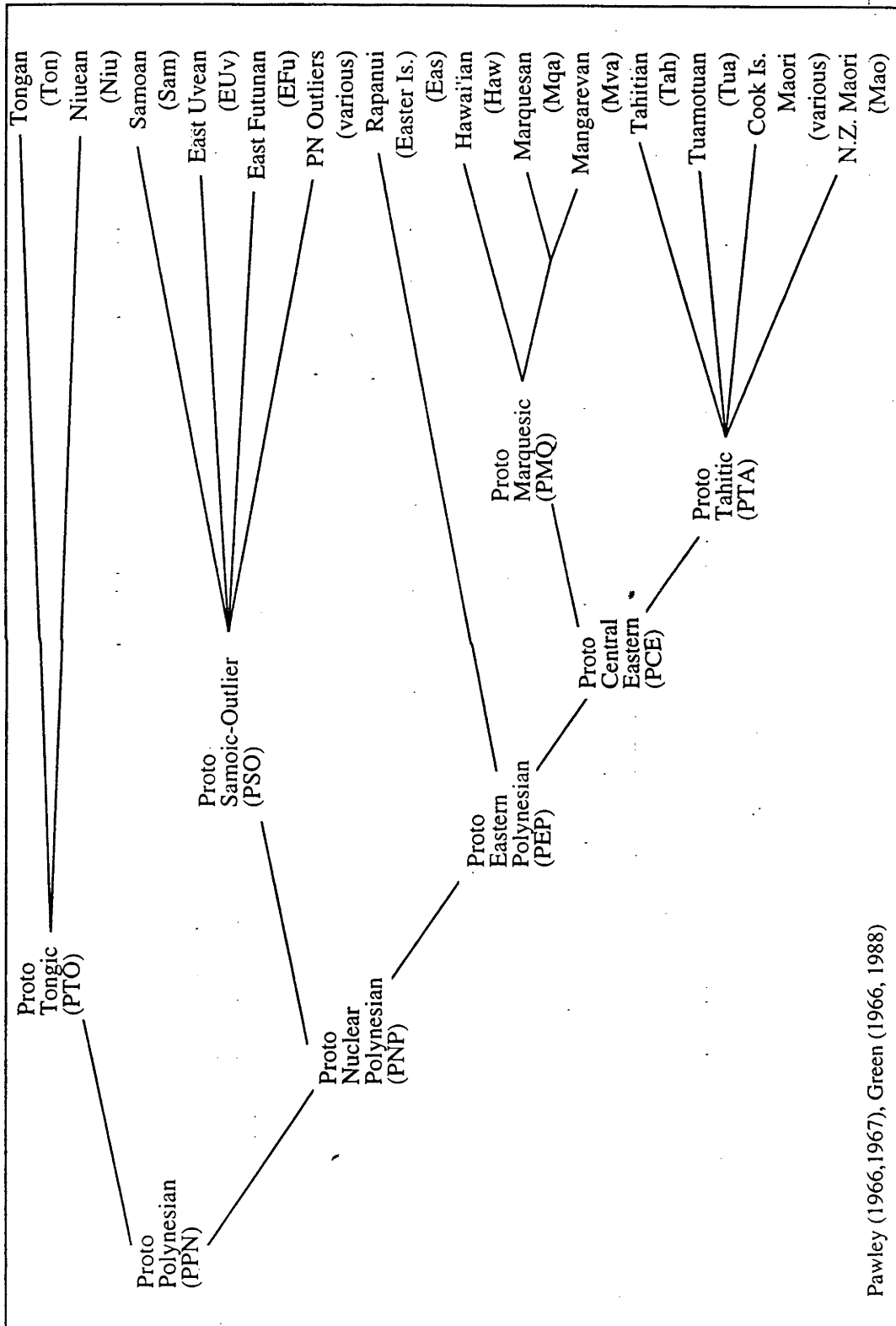
	eye, face	child	taro	whale	PPn ¹ expert, adroit PTa ² priest	chief
Proto Pn	*mata	*tama	*talo	*tafuraqa	*tufunga	*qariki
Tongan	mata	tama	talo	tofua'a	tufunga	'eiki
Samoaan	mata	tama	talo	tafolaa	tufunga	ali'i
Rapanui	mata	tama ³	taro	taoraha		
Marquesan	mata		ta'o	toho'aa	tuhuka	(hak)a'iki
Hawaiian	maka	kama	kalo	koholaa	kahuna	ali'i
Tahitian	mata	tama	taro	tohorea	tahu'a	ariki
Maori	mata	tama	taro	tohorea	tohunga	ariki

Notes: 1. Proto Polynesian. 2. Proto Tahitic. 3. Sugar cane sprout.

Notice in the first two examples that only one language has a sound which is not the same as all the others: Hawaiian has *k* where the others have *t*. In fact, the *k* of Hawaiian nearly always corresponds to the *t* of the others as can be seen in the third through fifth examples. The fourth and fifth examples provide cases where the vowels do not agree as we would expect. The **tafuraqa* of Proto Polynesian irregularly became **taforaqa* in some descendant languages and **tohorea* in others. Similarly, the **tufunga* of Proto Polynesian irregularly became **tafunga* in some languages. The initial chapters of this thesis consider which sound changes are regular, which are not, and what kind of subgrouping of Polynesian languages results when we define subgroups based upon shared irregular sound changes. Later chapters examine two Polynesian culture history topics: cosmogony and kin terms.

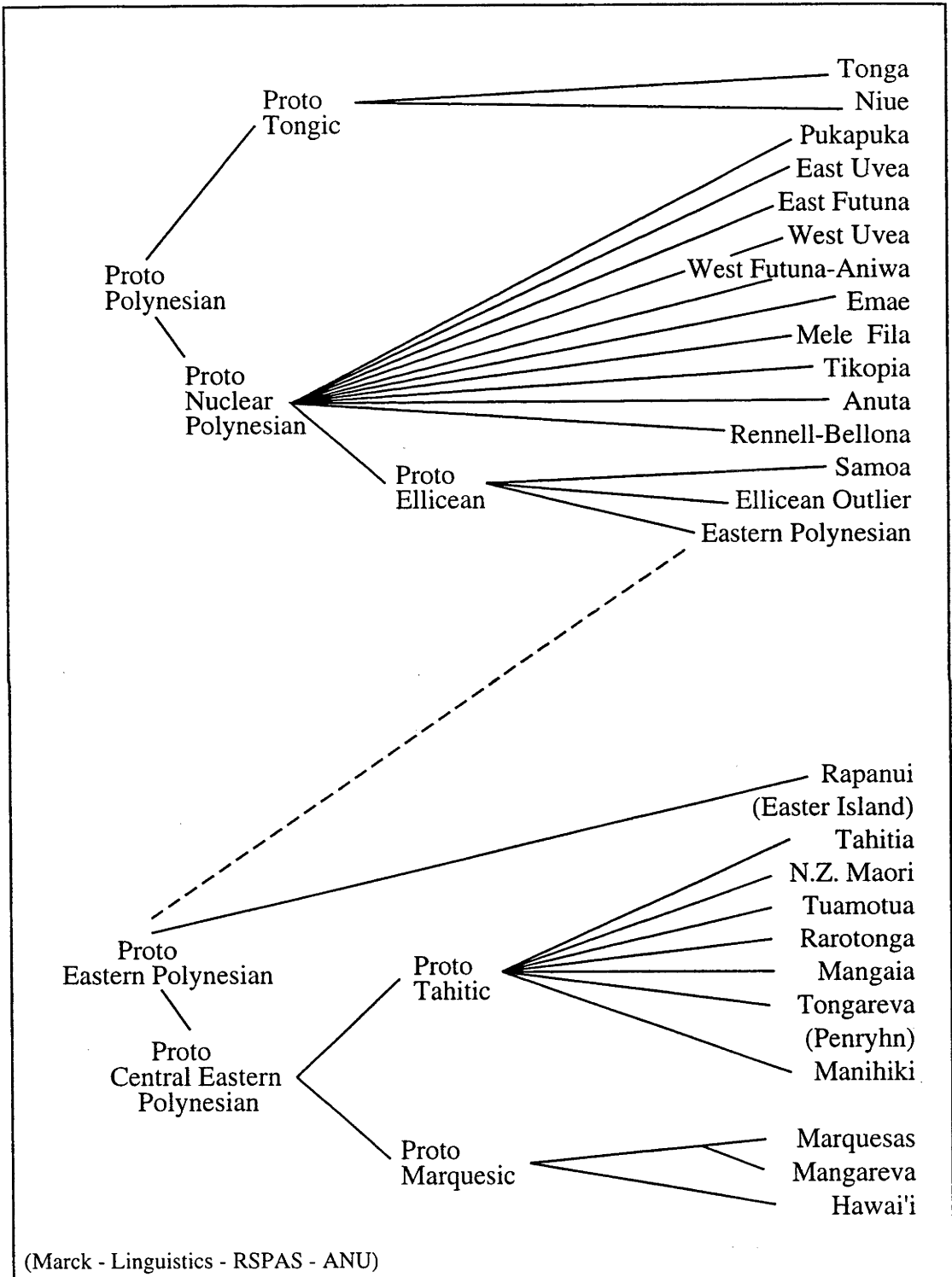
Figure 1.1 gives the generally accepted subgrouping of Polynesian languages and Figure 1.2 gives the slightly revised subgrouping resulting from the present work and Wilson (1985). In the revised subgrouping, Tongic (Tongan and Niuean) remains the first group to have diverged from the other languages (Nuclear Polynesian). But the Samoic-Outlier group is abandoned and the Ellicean Outlier languages are placed in a Nuclear Polynesian subgroup (Ellicean) whose members also include Samoan and East Polynesian as Wilson (1985) suggested some years ago. Other Nuclear Polynesian languages (East Uvean, East Futunan, Pukapukan and the individual "Futunic" Outliers)

FIGURE 1.1: THE STANDARD SUBGROUPING OF POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES



Pawley (1966,1967), Green (1966, 1988)

FIGURE 1.2: THE STANDARD SUBGROUPING OF POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES REVISED



Source: Figure 1.1 revised per Wilson (1985) and Marck (1996a, forthcoming and present volume). Tokelauan may have shared or borrowed innovations more or less continuously through its history from Samoan.

4 JEFF MARCK

remain unclassified within Nuclear Polynesian. Small groups of two or three "Futunic" Outlier languages (Pawley 1967 ¹³ ~~are~~ the only exception).

There is also a revision to the previous representation of Marquesic where it consisted of three coordinate members (Marquesan, Mangarevan and Hawaiian) or where Hawaiian appears in a subgroup with Southern Marquesan that does not include Northern Marquesan or Mangarevan. There is now clear evidence of a period of developments in the vowels common to Marquesan and Mangarevan but not including Hawaiian (Marck 1996a and Chapter 5.12 below). I call this Marquesan-Mangarevan group "Nuclear Marquesic".

As the work here came to a close I had begun to notice evidence to suggest that NZ Maori diverged from other Tahitic languages before any other split occurred Tahitic. Although the figures given here do not show it, I now believe there may be a "Nuclear Tahitic" which consists of all Tahitic other than NZ Maori (see Chapter 5.13 below).

Results of the cosmogony work are based upon a distributional method (explained in Chapter 7) and indicate what *might* have been where the linguistic and kin term results are based upon the comparative method of linguistics and indicate more strongly what *must* have been. Still, the cultures of the linguistic subgroups tend to have exclusively shared features in cosmogonic notions and the distributional method is taken to be highly indicative. There are also substantial sharings of cosmogonic traditions through most of the cultures which seem to be shared retentions from Proto Polynesian times (Marck 1996b, 1996c and Chapter 7 below). The central finding of the kin terms study is that the ancestral system was similar to modern East Polynesian and Tongan in which more relationships were named than in Samoan and many of the Outliers today (Marck 1996d and Chapter 8 below). Chapter 9 relates the results of the previous chapters to current issues in archaeology and makes a few observations on how Polynesian language historians might benefit by turning their eye towards the demographics of ancient Polynesian linguistic communities.

1.2 PURPOSE

I began this work with the idea of developing a synthesis between comparative linguistics and archaeology. However, I soon came to believe that even though synthesis of results is possible, synthesis of methods is not. Each has its own materials, methods,

and traditions. Synthesis seemed possible only from a clear enunciation of results from the individual disciplines and a comparison of those results.

I had been aware that anthropologists and archaeologists can take a rather mechanical view of language, exemplified in the great interest in lexicostatistics about thirty years ago, and that linguists and archaeologists can take a rather mechanical view of culture, each hoping to find some central insight that will lead them to some core theory and method of the other discipline that can be applied across a large number of research problems. Of course no discipline can be reduced to such a concise set of insights and here I present an exposition of why we cannot for language (pre)history in Polynesia. The main subgrouping results, however, are based on shared sporadic sound changes, a linguistic method which can be readily understood by people from other disciplines.

1.3 BACKGROUND

Polynesian languages are members of the Austronesian language family which extends from Taiwan through Insular Southeast Asia, much of north, northeast and southeast coastal New Guinea, island Melanesia, all of Micronesia and all of Polynesia. Austronesian languages are also found on Hainan, the Malay peninsula, in parts of Vietnam and Cambodia, in the Mergui Archipelago off the coast of Burma, and throughout Madagascar (Bellwood et al. 1995:1). Polynesian languages are most closely related to Rotuman and Fijian languages and altogether they are known as "Central Pacific" languages.¹ Any period of highly unified Central Pacific development apart from other Austronesian languages seems to have been rather brief. The relationship is marked by an early drift into Fijian and Polynesian dialect centres, Polynesian last sharing innovations with and borrowing from the eastern (Lau or Tokalau) portion of the dialect chain in Fiji. The most comprehensive statement on the relationship of Polynesian to Fijian is Geraghty (1983:348-367) which has recently been updated (Geraghty 1996).

More broadly, Polynesian is part of a subgroup of Austronesian called Oceanic which includes all the Austronesian languages of Polynesia, Island Melanesia, coastal

¹ The Central Pacific subgroup was first proposed (1959) and named (1967) by George Grace.

New Guinea east of 136 degrees East longitude, and Micronesian languages other than two Western Micronesian languages: Chamorro (Mariana Islands) and Belauan (Belau, formerly Palau).

Little reference is made to external evidence through much of this work because it is clear that Proto Polynesian speech and culture (ca. 1-300 A.D.) was a product of something like 1000 years of development in fair isolation from the outside world. "Polynesian" language and culture did not arrive fully formed in Polynesia. The language and culture of the early Oceanic Austronesian speaking settlers who gave rise to the modern cultures we observe in Polynesia were greatly transformed in Polynesia itself before internal diversification became pronounced. "Polynesian" language and culture "came from" the west as most people have long imagined, but it wasn't Polynesian when it arrived. It became Polynesian *in situ*, differentiating from a linguistic and cultural base originating in Insular Southeast Asia and initially transformed as it spread across Melanesia towards Polynesia over a period of hundreds of years.

Work summarised by and expanded upon by Green (1981) and Pawley (1996) indicates that the Proto Polynesian speech community resided in the Tonga, Samoa, East Futuna and East Uvea area. From *circa* 900 B.C. (Chapter 9) to the early first millennium A.D., Polynesian language and culture developed in a more or less cohesive way in those Western Polynesian islands. By the end of the period in question, one common Polynesian cosmogonic tradition was apparently autochthonous (creation was envisaged as having occurred locally) (Marck 1996b and Chapter 7 below, but see Geraghty 1993), many of the kin terms distinct from those of Fiji (but clearly derived from a common ancestor) (Marck 1996d and Chapter 8 below), and the language and its dialects full of innovations not shared with the outside world.

The internal diversification of Polynesian languages began only after many centuries of highly unified and uniquely Polynesian phonological, morphological, lexical and grammatical developments had occurred. There were then dispersals to Pukapuka, the "Futunic" Outliers, Tuvalu and the Ellicean Outliers, and East Polynesian. There are no linguistic substrata hypotheses involving pre-Polynesian

peoples and languages in Triangle Polynesia. If such substrata exist they have yet to be detected.²

A massive database of cognate sets called "*Pollex*" (*Comparative Polynesian Lexicon Project*) now exists for the Polynesian languages (Biggs³ 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994a, Biggs and Clark 1996). Organised by reconstructed word, the various versions contain more than four thousand reconstructions with supporting data including over two thousand reconstructions attributed to Proto Polynesian itself. I report here on patterns of agreements apparent in the 1993 and 1994 versions in a study focused on a very small number of unexpected sound changes (Chapters 2 and 3).

The numbers of reconstructions for the various protolanguages in the *Pollex* versions utilised are given in Table 1.2.

² There are some *Post* Proto Polynesian linguistic and cultural *borrowings* from South America but there are no contemporary linguistic *sub-strata* hypotheses.

³ The research reported in this thesis was conducted from the early months of 1992 to the final months of 1996. Four versions of *Pollex* were used: the first was obtained in late 1990, the second was obtained in mid 1992, the third in late 1993 and the fourth in November of 1994. Each version was about five per cent larger than the previous version during those years and the 1994 version stood at about 2.4 Mb. Then in late 1996 I obtained a version from Ross Clark. At that point in time the contributions of Clark to the overall work had become quite substantial, Biggs refers to Clark as the his principal collaborator in the accompanying explanatory file, and I refer to that version in this and other work as "Biggs and Clark (1996)".

TABLE 1.2: OCCURRENCES OF FORMS IN SOME *POLLEX* VERSIONS UTILISED

	1990	1992	1993	1994
Proto Austronesian (PAn)	174	172	174	170
Proto MalayoPolynesian (PMP)	119	126	130	145
Proto Oceanic (POc)	155	163	175	175
Proto Eastern Oceanic ¹ (PEO)	92	114	115	114
Proto Central Pacific (PCP)	65	90	93	95
Proto Fijian ² (PFj)	189	224	235	238
Proto Polynesian (PPn)	1407	1387	1392	1390
Proto Tongic (PTo)	35	34	34	34
Proto Nuclear Polynesian (PNP)	437	440	440	430
Proto Samoic-Outlier ³ (PSO)	108	98	105	109
Proto Ellicean ⁴ (PEc)	-	-	-	-
Proto Ellicean Outlier ⁵ (PEcO)	?	?	?	12
Proto East Polynesian (PEP)	108	112	115	111
Proto Central East Polynesian (PCE)	373	437	451	450
Proto Marquesic (PMq)	29	30	31	31
Proto Nuclear Marquesic ⁶ (PNM)	-	-	-	-
Proto Tahitic (PTa)	109	130	137	141
Total	3400	3557	3627	3633

Notes: *Pollex* reconstructions are tagged according to the highest level to which they can be reconstructed. Forms known from a higher level protolanguage than PPn are tagged for that language but the reconstruction given in the head of the entry is the index form and given in rough PPn phonological representation. Parentheses are not used in index forms but occur with the formal reconstruction lower in the entry. Higher level reconstructions are also given in other parts of the entry. For languages below PPn, reconstructions are given in the phonological form of the protolanguage for which the entry is tagged: PTo, PNP, etc.

Numbered Notes: 1. Reconstructions based upon knowledge of cognates only from Nuclear Micronesian, Polynesian and Oceanic Melanesian from the Southeast Solomons east and south. 2. Reconstructions based upon Fijian languages that are compared to Polynesian data in *Pollex*. 3. Reconstructions which are based upon evidence from Samoan, Ellicean and "Futunic" Outliers, only. No longer, here, considered a possible subgroup. See next note. 4. Suggested by Wilson (1985) and supported by Marck (forthcoming and Chapter 5.6 below). Consists of Samoan, Ellicean Outlier and East Polynesian. Supersedes Proto Samoic-Outlier. 5. Ellicean as earlier defined, e.g. Howard (1981). 6. Marquesan and Mangarevan, see Marck (1996a and Chapter 5.12).

We can consider two extremes in the entries. Table 1.3 gives an entry with numerous agreements while Table 1.4 gives an entry with minimal agreements. As seen in Table 1.3, *Pollex* entries give the languages in alphabetical order and in this example 29, including Bauan (Fij), are known to have cognate forms. Language abbreviations are given in Tables 1.5, 1.6 and 1.7 in a later section of the present chapter. The note immediately following Table 1.2 explains how *Pollex* entries are tagged and indexed.

TABLE 1.3: A *POLLEX* ENTRY WITH NUMEROUS AGREEMENTS

.Pn	MA-TAGI
Pn	:Wind, breeze.
Anu	Matangi. :Wind.
Eas	Matagi. :Wind, air, breeze, squall, tempest (Chl).
Tuv	Matagi. :Wind, blow (of wind) (Rby).
EFu	Matagi. :Wind n.
EUv	Matagi. :Vent, brise (Ren).
Fij	Cagi. :Wind.
Haw	Makani. :Wind n.
Kap	Matangi. :Wind (Ebt).
Kap1	Madangi. :Wind (Lbr).
Mae	Matagi. :Wind.
Mao	Matangi. :Wind.
MFa	Matagi. :Wind.
Mqa	Metaki. :Wind.
Mqa1	Metani. :Wind.
Mva	Matagi. :Wind.
Niu	Mata9i. :Wind.
Nuk	Madangi. :Wind, gas, flatus.
Lua	Maka9i. :Wind.
Pen	Matangi. :Wind.
Puk	Matangi. :Wind (Ege).
Rar	Matangi. :Wind, air (Bse).
Ren	Matangi. :Wind n, weather, position of wind, eastern (Ebt).
Sam	Matagi. :Wind n.
Sik	Matani. :Wind.
Tah	Mata`i. :Wind n.
Tak	Matani. :Wind, air (Hwd).
Tik	Matagi. :Wind (Fth).
Ton	Matangi. :Wind.
Tua	Ma-ta9i. :Wind n.
WFu	Matagi. :Wind (Dty).
WUV	Matagi. :Wind.

The agreements in Table 1.3 involve a rather basic word and an etymology whose geographical spread has been roughly known for some years. In contrast, the forms in Table 1.4 represent one of many agreements which Biggs has noticed but perhaps not researched fully or for which he has exhausted the sources without finding further agreements.

TABLE 1.4: A *POLLEX* ITEM WITH MINIMAL AGREEMENTS

??	PAA-KATI
??	:A fish.
Mao	Paakati. :A fish, Spotty = paakarikari (Bgs).
Rar	Pakati. :Kinds of parrotfish (Scaridae), small, light-blue in colour (Bse).

The 1994 *Pollex* version used had 4263 entries of which 3633 are accounted for in Table 1.2. The 630 entries not accounted for are mainly marked "??", as is the form in Table 1.4, and are entries for which Biggs apparently believes so little relevant data is

presently drawn together that assignment to a particular protolanguage is not very meaningful.

The primary tool that comparative linguistics employ has to do with the regularity of sound change over time in linguistic communities. As the study of IndoEuropean and, later on, other language families has shown, the pronunciations of words in living and interstage languages have profoundly regular relationships amongst themselves and, by implication, to the pronunciations of those words in earlier ancestral languages. Called "laws" or "rules", these mappings of sound change anchor all else that is done in comparative linguistics. The sound changes of living Polynesian languages during their descent from Proto Polynesian and the various interstage protolanguages are rarely complex. More commonly we are faced with transparent agreements among simple sound systems which allow two or three thousand years of linguistic (pre)history to be discussed without frequent reference to obscure sound changes.

Nevertheless, historical and comparative linguistics demand rigorous proofs that are rarely understood in full by people not trained or well read in the discipline. The results are sometimes understood to mean something they do not, or not to imply something they do in fact imply. The field of Polynesian culture history includes instances of published studies⁴ which present linguistic data and misinterpret their significance. Therefore, the first chapters of the present work discuss the method of comparative linguistics as applied to some issues concerning Polynesian sound correspondences and subgrouping (Chapters 2 to 6).

Culture history topics are taken up in Chapters 7 and 8. Culture history is here defined as reconstruction of those elements of culture reflected in the broad range of interests in the lifeways that pervaded the classic ethnographic works on Africa and the Pacific in the first half of the twentieth century. Here I will simply mention the genre of ethnographies issued by the Bishop Museum from about the time of World War I and the topics they generally covered: the tribal identity, the family, larger social institutions, material culture, procurement, recreation, the arts and religion. These and similar works are cited extensively in the culture history chapters. The topics of a typical Bishop

⁴ Cf. Langdon (1989) and Fischer (1992:187, 1994:187 and fn. 1) and comments on those works by Marck (1996a:509 and 1996e).

Museum ethnography are mentioned as one is limited in comparative work to those aspects of culture and society for which there is consistent reporting. Those and other works allowed explorations of cosmogony (Chapter 7) and kin terms (Chapter 8).

The motives for investigating culture history problems through linguistic data are easy to explain. Such conclusions as emerge are often not recoverable from other fields of inquiry. Indeed, significant advances in Polynesian comparative linguistics have been made by ethnologists and archaeologists who did the comparative linguistics themselves (e.g. Emory 1946, 1963 and Green 1966, 1971, 1981, 1988).

1.4 METHOD

"Comparative linguistics" is variously defined by linguists. Hock (1991:556) makes a parsimonious general definition of its goals by reference to

accounting for similarities which cannot be attributed to chance, by the assumption that they are the result of descendancy from a common ancestor, i.e., of genetic relationship.

This is the definition of comparative linguistic objectives employed in the present work. We shall specifically not be concerned with "typology", the comparative study of the ways in which elements of languages are organised. Typological studies are comparative and linguistic but not always directed at problems in reconstructing past stages of (a) language.

In the chapters on sound correspondences and subgrouping the comparative method is applied in the main to Biggs' *Pollex*. The emphasis in the subgrouping presentation is upon shared sporadic (unexpected) sound changes. These represent convincing evidence for subgrouping to linguists and their significance is easily communicated to people in other disciplines. Shared sporadic sound changes are an extremely subtle indicator of ancient linguistic groups and are diagnostic measures of affiliation even where only small differences in dialects may have been involved. The method employed in the chapter on cosmogony is distributional with an eye towards motifs that occur exclusively within any one of the linguistic subgroups. The method employed in the chapter on kin terms is again the comparative method of linguistics.

1.5 POLYNESIAN GEOGRAPHY

The traditional story of the discovery of Rakahanga and Manihiki is a blend of historical narrative and myth. The human discoverer, Huku, is stated to have sailed from

Rarotonga on a fishing expedition. When he came to a part of the ocean referred to as "te tukuanga I Whaka-hotu" he noticed an upgrowth of rock or land (tapua whenua) projecting from the sea bottom but not rising above the water, an image evidently culled from the experience of an atoll-dwelling people to whom coral upgrowths on an encircling reef were familiar... Huku returned to his home with the idea that the upgrowth would eventually reach the surface and become land (Hiroa 1932a:14).

We cannot assume that the prehistoric geography of the islands, especially the atolls, was always what we encounter today. There was a period of higher world sea levels (Nunn 1994) at the time early Polynesian was developing in unity and a good deal of isolation around Western Polynesia during the first millennium B.C. Many of the atolls present on the landscape today may have lain sub-surface during that millennium and even when the sea reached something close to its present level, not all atolls present today would necessarily have emerged as they may have still been reef formations growing upward from below the sea's surface (Nunn 1994). Island geography was different in the past for one or both of those reasons and sometimes also because of subsidence or uplift whereby certain islands' surfaces have come to be some metres or fractions of a metre closer to or further from the centre of the earth.

Map 1.1 includes the Polynesian Triangle. At the time of earliest European contact only Polynesian languages were spoken within the bounded area. The Polynesian "Outliers" are found in Melanesia and Micronesia and are thus called as they are found outside Triangle Polynesia. Their locations and names are given in Map 1.2. The Outliers from Sikaiana west and north are atolls. Rennell, Bellona, Pileni, Aniwa and West Uvea are raised coral islands and the others from Taumako south are small but of volcanic origin protruding from the sea as small peaks (Bayard 1976:3).

The Outlier languages do not comprise a unified linguistic subgroup:

1. Those from Sikaiana west and north form a linguistic group with Tuvaluan (Bayard 1966, 1976, Pawley 1967, Howard 1981), Tokelauan, Samoan and East Polynesian (Wilson 1985, Marck forthcoming and Chapter 5.6 below) called "Ellicean".
2. Those from Rennell and Bellona east and south are unclassified Nuclear Polynesian languages in the present analysis as they share no sporadic sound changes or other innovations through all members. Although there are overlapping isoglosses of reasonably clear replacement innovations (Bayard 1966, 1976, Pawley 1967), none define the group as a whole, which I refer to as "Futunic" through this work. I might add that although some members of this group have been shown to have many similarities with East Futunian, East Uvea seems more commonly mentioned in oral traditions and the actual relationship of its language to "Futunic" Outlier languages may be obscured by massive borrowings from Tongan.
3. Taumako was classified as a possible Ellicean member by Bayard (1976:81) but the present work (Marck 1996d and Chapter 8 below) shows that the kin terms of Taumako are relatively numerous and archaic compared to Outlier Ellicean (non-Triangle Ellicean) languages which show many common simplifications where such matters are known.

The Taumako/Pileni area is geographically intermediate between the Ellicean Outliers and the "Futunic" Outliers and this seems true of their languages to some extent. "Futunic" will continue to be presented in quotation marks through this work to mark it as a subgroup suggested on the basis of lexicostatistical evidence which has not been supported or refuted by subsequent work. In general the Outliers seem to have had a great deal of contact with each other, their Melanesian neighbours and Western Polynesia (Bayard 1976:84) and this has confounded attempts at subgrouping (Pawley 1967:292, Howard 1981:102, Marck forthcoming and Chapter 5.5-6 below).

Map 1.3 shows Western Polynesia. Map 1.4 shows central East Polynesia. The circles around the various islands give the limits of an overnight voyage under average conditions. As in Micronesia (Marck 1986) such distances have, over long periods of time, come to define the limits over which languages, or at least highly unified dialects, are maintained. Map 1.5 shows the isoglosses for the subgroups supported by or argued for the first time in the present work.

"Western Polynesia" generally refers to the islands of Tonga, Samoa, East Uvea, East Futuna and the small islands of Niuatoputapu and Niuafu'ou between Tonga and Samoa.⁵ I generally exclude Niue my use of the term, unless specified, and generally include Tuvalu and the Tokelaus (and specify their inclusion in most instances). If there is a lack of complete consistency it generally revolves around differences in the cultural situation of the first millenium B.C. compared to that of the millennia A.D. In the former it is convenient to speak of Western Polynesia as excluding Niue, Tuvalu and the Tokelaus as it is not clear that they were settled yet. In the latter it is convenient to speak of Western Polynesia as excluding Niue but including Tuvalu and the Tokelaus as Tuvalu and the Tokelaus seem part of a general area through which culture diffused and language was to some extent borrowed but Niue was not.

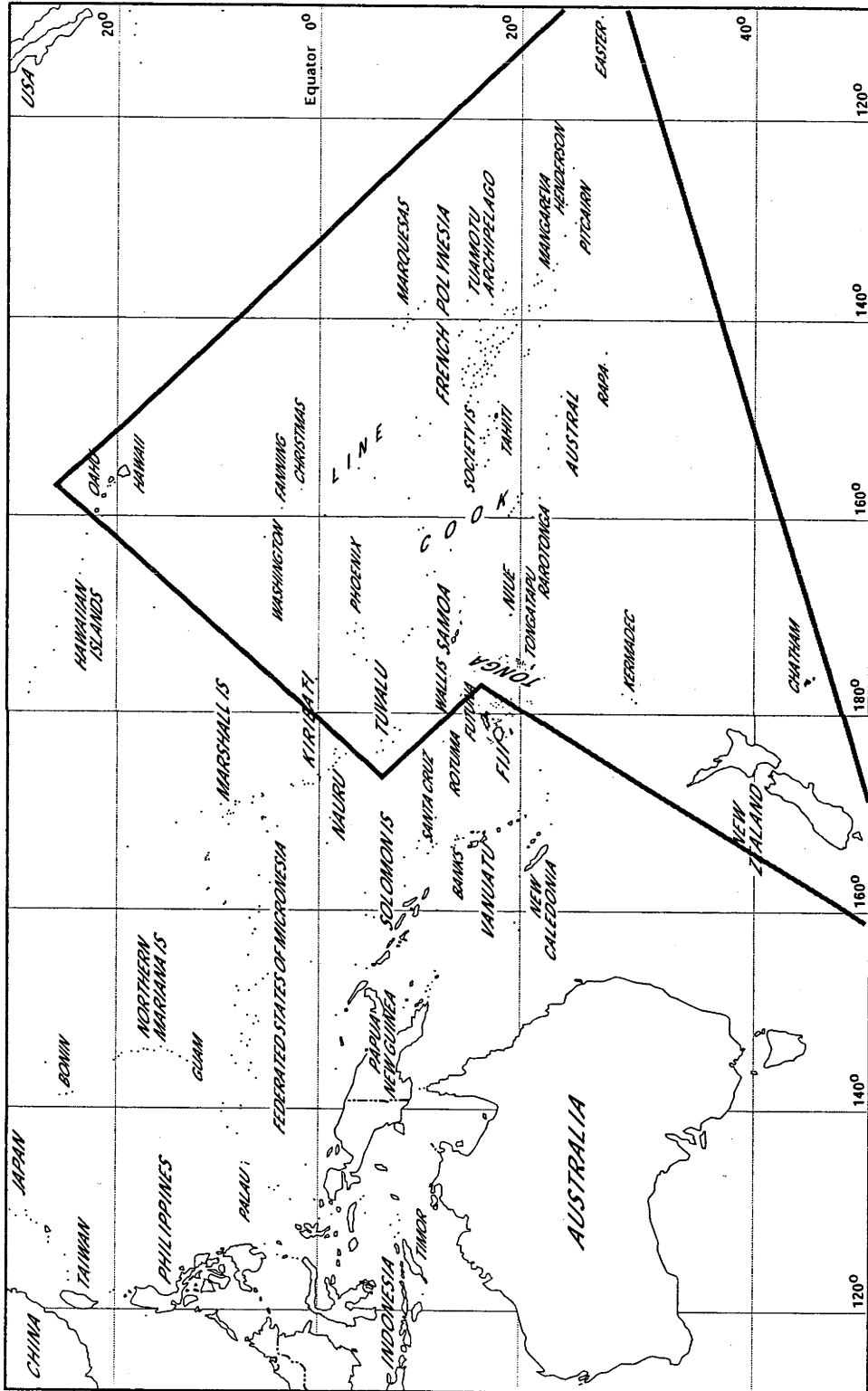
⁵ Burrows' (1938:5) usage was with a lower case "western" and was "defined vaguely for the present as the region centring in Samoa and Tonga", a definition which is more or less followed in the present work but normally including Tuvalu and Tokelau. He also defined "central Polynesia" as the area centring in Tahiti and "marginal Polynesia" as Hawai'i, the Marquesas, Easter Island, Mangareva, and New Zealand. These definitions have been used less commonly in subsequent work by other scholars and are not used here. See below in main text.

It is an accident of history that we speak of "Western Polynesia" and "East Polynesia" rather than "West Polynesia" or "Eastern Polynesia". "Western Polynesia" and "East Polynesia" have been the fixed terms in the literature for many generations.

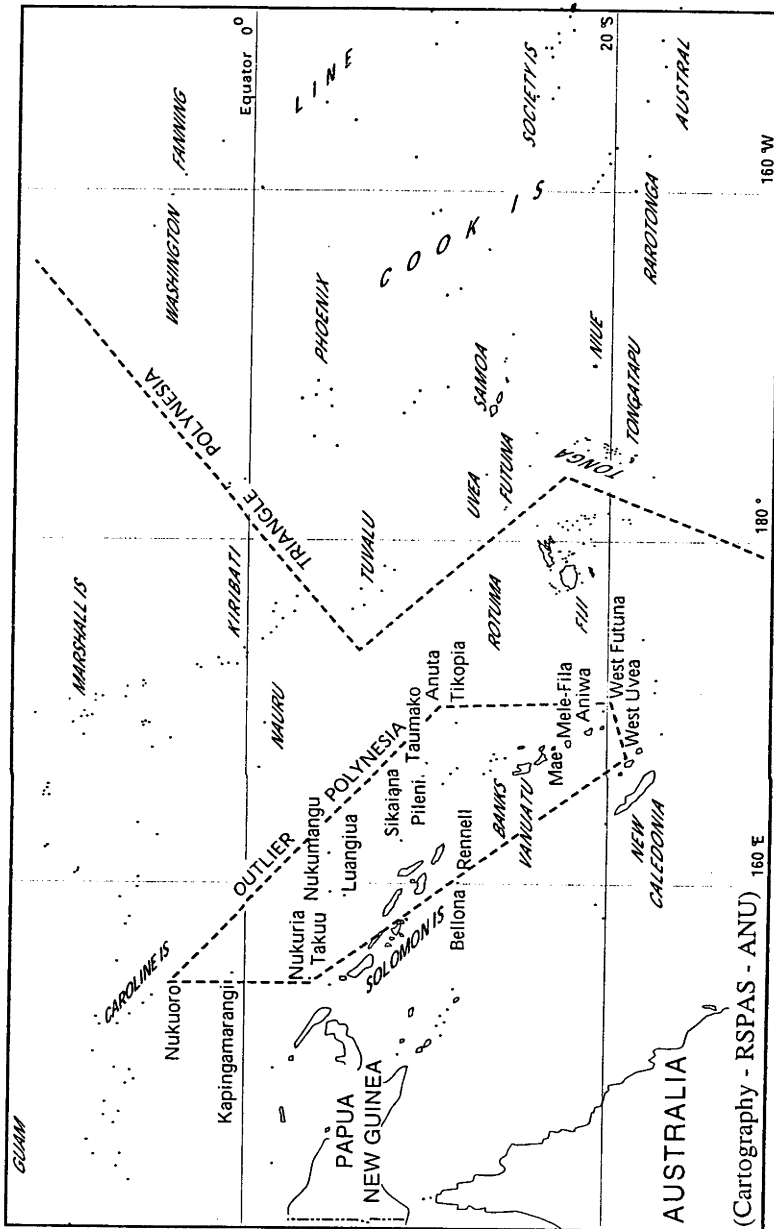
"Western Polynesia" is a geographical term. There is no linguistic group within Polynesian by that name although one can speak of a Western Polynesian area in which linguistic and other cultural sharing and borrowing occurred throughout prehistory and I often refer to "Western Polynesian" languages when enumerating various Polynesian languages by geographical area. "East Polynesia", on the other hand, has a corresponding linguistic subgroup, "East Polynesian". The geographical group includes all the Triangle islands other than those in greater Western Polynesia (counting Niuean, Tuvaluan and Tokelauan). All the languages present in East Polynesia, other than Pukapukan, show evidence of a period of common development apart from Western and Outlier Polynesian languages. New Zealand is generally included in "East Polynesia", the geographic term. Although it lies west of Tonga and Samoa, it is more conveniently lumped as part of East Polynesia due to its cultural affiliations (and NZ Maori is an East Polynesian language).

"Central East Polynesian" is a linguistic subgroup which includes all East Polynesian languages other than Rapanui but "central East Polynesia" has no fixed geographical definition. It is convenient to define it here as "East Polynesia less Hawai'i, Rapanui and New Zealand" and a lower case "central" will be employed as it is not a fixed term in the literature. Central East Polynesian, the linguistic group, is composed of "Marquesic" languages (Hawaiian, Marquesan and Mangarevan) and "Tahitic" languages (Tahitian, NZ Maori, Southern Cook Islands languages and dialects (Rarotongan, Mangaian, Aitutaki and others), all Tuamotuan languages and dialects, Rapan and other Austral Islands dialects, and Northern Cook Islands languages and dialects (Tongareva (Penrhyn) and Manahiki/Rakahangan) other than Pukapukan).

MAP 1.1: POLYNESIA IN THE PACIFIC

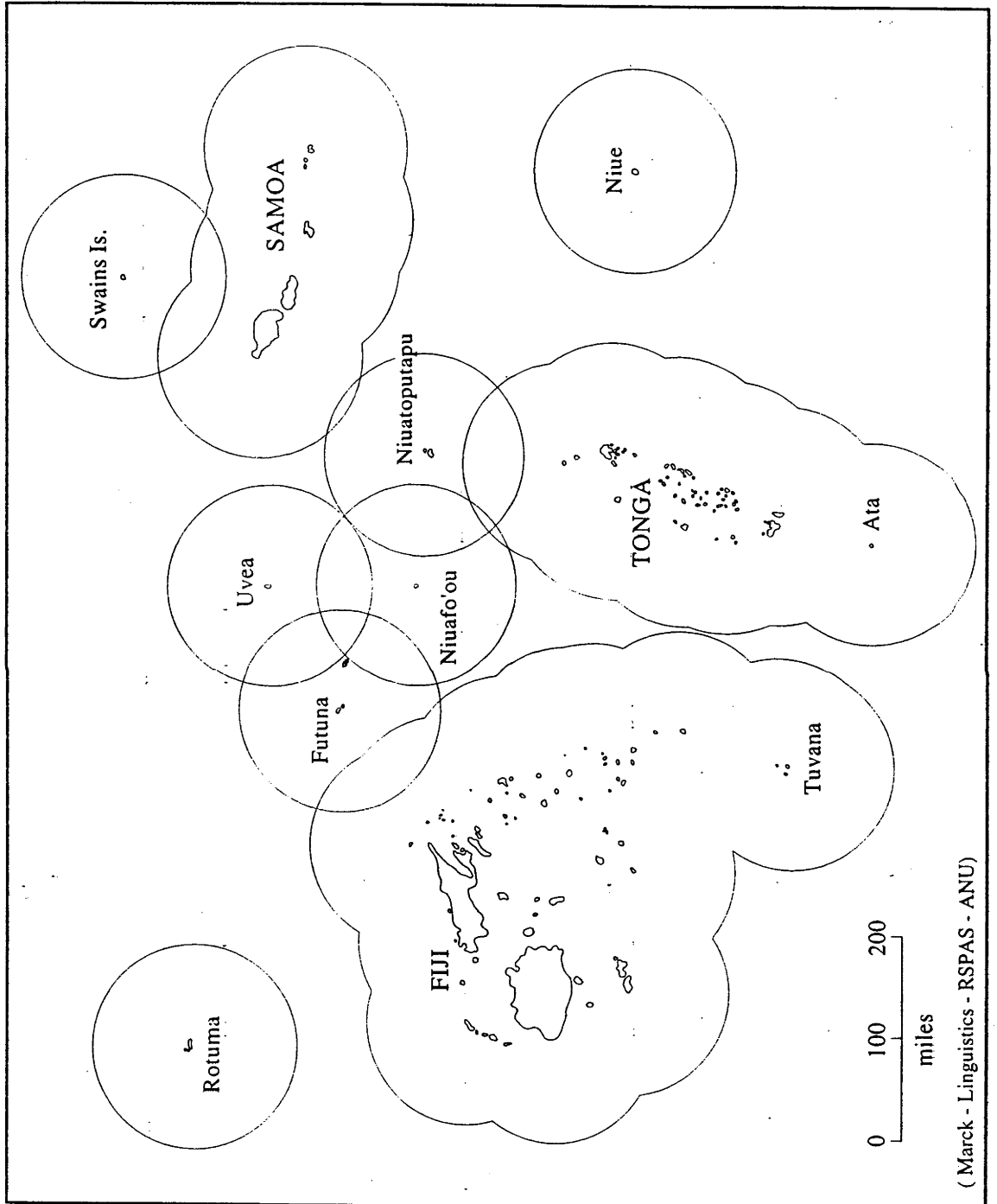


MAP 1.2: THE POLYNESIAN OUTLIERS



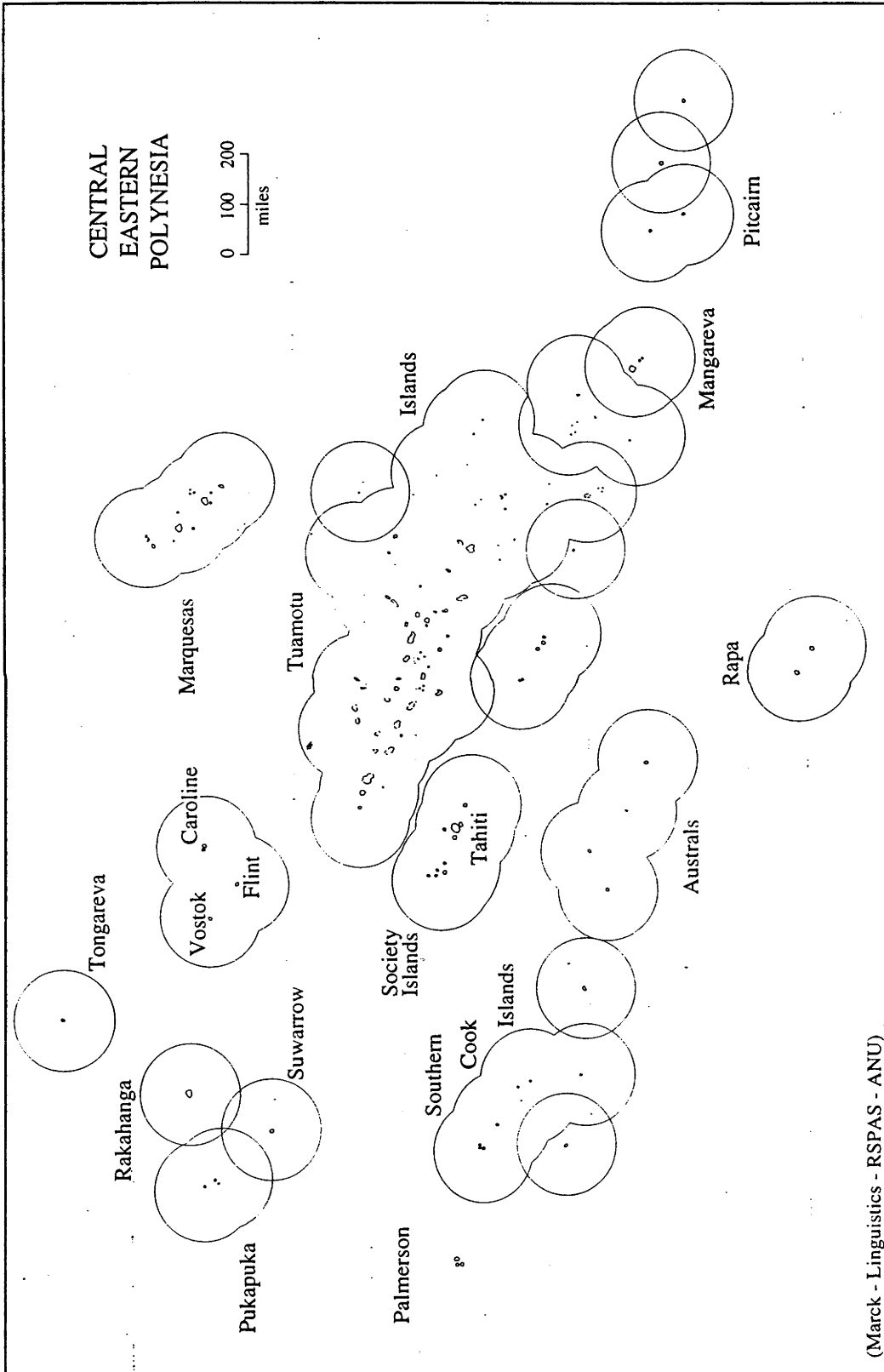
Source: After Pawley (1967).

MAP 1.3: WESTERN POLYNESIA



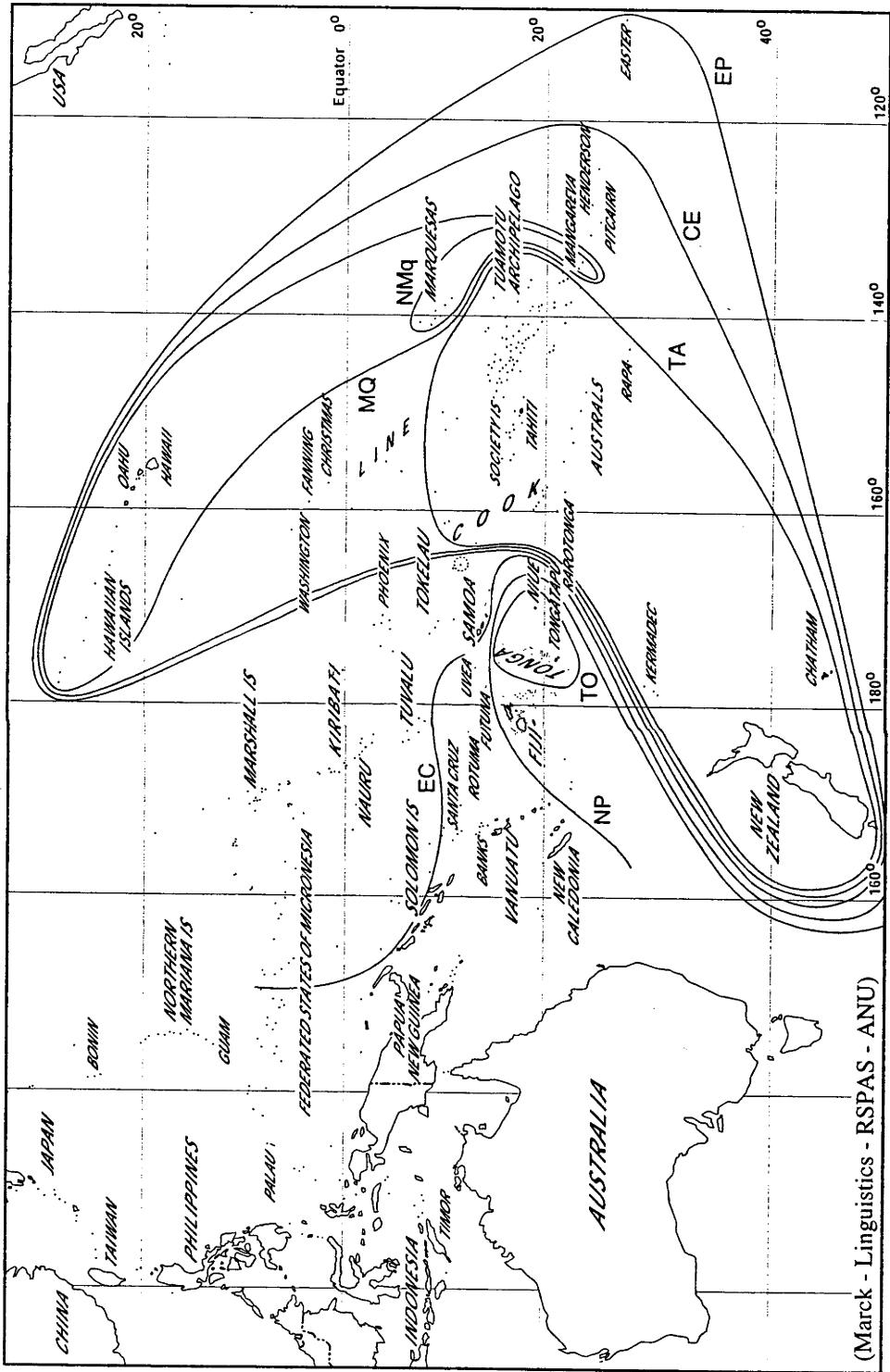
Source: Author.

MAP 1.4: GEOGRAPHICAL CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIA



(Marck - Linguistics - RSPAS - ANU)

MAP 1.5: SUBGROUPS SUPPORTED BY OR FIRST ARGUED IN THE PRESENT WORK



Source: Chapter 6

1.6 LANGUAGE NAMES AND ABBREVIATIONS

The number of Polynesian languages and dialects is on the order of thirty, a number of them largely undescribed such as for some of the Outliers, Tuamotus (Paumotus), Australs, and Cooks. As Biggs puts it, the Polynesian languages

have variously been said to number from one to as many as thirty-five. Here I recognise twenty-eight, several of which are dialectally somewhat diversified, though not to the extent that any of the dialects are mutually unintelligible (Biggs 1978:693).

There are at least 50 regional and local dialects if one includes Northern versus Southern Marquesan, the various NZ Maori dialects, individual dialects of the Southern Cooks, Tuamotus and so on.

It is customary to abbreviate Austronesian dialects and languages with three-letter designations and to abbreviate subgroups with two-letter designations which are preceded by "P" to indicate the protolanguage. A protolanguage is a theoretically reconstructed immediate ancestor of a particular group of languages. Thus, the immediate ancestor of all Polynesian (Pn) languages is Proto Polynesian (PPn), the immediate ancestor of the subgroup called Tahitic (Ta) is Proto Tahitic (PTa) and so on. Reasons for believing there are groups composed of some languages and not others will be defended presently. For the moment it is desirable simply to mention the abbreviations used in the present work. Following Biggs (1978, 1990, 1992, 1993, 1994a) but using Reid's (1992) lower case conventions, the abbreviations are as in Tables 1.5, 1.6 and 1.7.

TABLE 1.5: POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGE AND SUBGROUP ABBREVIATIONS

PPn	Proto Polynesian
Pn	Polynesian
PTo	Proto Tongic
To	Tongic
PNP	Proto Nuclear Polynesian
NP	Nuclear Polynesian
PSO	Proto "Samoic-Outlier"
SO	"Samoic-Outlier"
PEc	Proto Ellicean
Ec	Ellicean
PEcO	Proto Ellicean Outlier
EcO	Ellicean Outlier
Fu	"Futunic" Outlier
PEP	Proto East Polynesian
EP	East Polynesian
PCE	Proto Central East Polynesian
CE	Central East Polynesian
PMq	Proto Marquesic
Mq	Marquesic
PNM	Proto Nuclear Marquesic
NM	Nuclear Marquesic
PTa	Proto Tahitic
Ta	Tahitic

Note: Quotation marks are used for previously suggested subgroups not supported by the present study.

TABLE 1.6: POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE AND DIALECT ABBREVIATIONS

Aki	Aitutaki (Cooks)
Ani	Aniwa (Outlier, Southern Vanuatu)
Anu	Anuta (Outlier, Solomon Islands, Santa Cruz area)
Atu	Atiu (Cooks)
CkM	Cook Islands Maori (East Polynesia) (Dialects: Rakahanga, Manihiki, Aitutaki, Mitiaro, Atiu, Ma'uke, Rarotonga, Mangaia)(cf. esp. Rar, Mia and Aki)
EFu	East Futuna (Western Polynesia)
EUv	East Uvea (Western Polynesia)
Eas	Rapanui (Easter Island) (East Polynesia)
	Ellice (See Tuvalu)
Haw	Hawaiian (East Polynesia)
Kap	Kapingamarangi (Outlier, Micronesia)
Lua	Luangiua (Ongtong Java) (Outlier, Solomon Islands, some distance north of the centre of the chain)
MaB	New Zealand Maori (Bay of Plenty)
Mae	Mae (Outlier, Central Vanuatu)
Man	Manihiki-Rakahanga (East Polynesia, Northern Cooks)
MaN	New Zealand Maori (North Auckland)
Mao	New Zealand Maori (general) (East Polynesia)
MaS	New Zealand Maori (South Island)
MTW	New Zealand Maori (Taranaki-Wanganui)

TABLE 1.6: POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE AND DIALECT ABBREVIATIONS (CONTINUED)

MFa	Mele-Fila (Outlier, Central Vanuatu)
Mia	Mangaia (East Polynesia, Cook Islands)
Mit	Mitiaro (East Polynesia, Cook Islands)
Mke	Mauke (East Polynesia, Cook Islands)
Mor	Mooriori (Chatham Islands, East Polynesia off New Zealand)
Mqa	Marquesas (general, East Polynesia)
MqN	Marquesas (Northern dialect, East Polynesia)
MqS	Marquesas (Southern dialect, East Polynesia)
Mva	Mangareva (East Polynesia)
Nan	Nanumea (Tuvalu, Western Polynesia)
Nfu	Niuafo'ou (Western Polynesia)
Niu	Niue (Western Polynesia)
Nkr	Nukuria (Outlier, Solomon Islands, north of Bougainville)
Nkm	Nukumanu (Outlier, Solomon Islands, some distance north of the centre of the Solomon chain)
Nuk	Nukuoro (Outlier, Micronesia)
Ntu	Niuaatoputapu (Western Polynesia) Paumotu (See Tuamotu)
Pen	Penrhyn ((Tongareva) East Polynesia, Northern Cooks)
Pil	Pileni (general, Outlier, Santa Cruz, Santa Cruz area, also Tau (Taumako), esp. in kinship chapter and appendix)
Puk	Pukapuka (East Polynesia, Northern Cooks)
Rap	Rapa (East Polynesia, Australs) Rapanui (See Easter Is.)
Rar	Rarotonga (East Polynesia, Southern Cook Islands)
Ren	Rennellese and Bellona (Outlier, Solomon Islands)
Rng	Rangiroa (Northern Tuamotus)
Rur	Rurutu (East Polynesia, Australs)
SaC	Colloquial Samoan (Western Polynesia)
Sam	Samoa (Western Polynesia)
Sik	Sikaiana (Outlier, Solomon Islands, some distance north of the southeastern tip of the chain)
Tah	Tahiti (East Polynesia)
Tak	Takuu (Outlier, Solomon Islands, some distance north of the main northwestern islands of the chain)
Tau	Taumako (Outlier, Solomon Islands, Santa Cruz area)
Tik	Tikopia (Outlier, Santa Cruz area)
Tok	Tokelau (Western Polynesia)
Ton	Tonga (Western Polynesia) Tongareva (See Pen)
Tua	Tuamotua (numerous dialects) (East Polynesia)
Tub	Tubuai (East Polynesia, Australs)
Tuv	Tuvalu (Islands) (Western Polynesia) (Dialects: Tuvalu (general), Nanumea, Vaitapu)
Vai	Vaitupu (Tuvalu, Western Polynesia) Wallis Island (See East Uvea)
WFu	West Futuna (Outlier, Southern Vanuatu)
WUv	West Uvea (Outlier, New Caledonia, Loyalty Islands)

TABLE 1.7: ABBREVIATIONS OF SOME NON-POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES AND PROTOLANGUAGES

PAn	Proto Austronesian
POc	Proto Oceanic
PEO	Proto Eastern Oceanic ¹
PCP	Proto Central Pacific
PFj	Proto Fijian
PMc	Proto Nuclear Micronesian
Fij or Bau	Bauan (Eastern Fijian)
Kir	Kiribatese (Gilbert Islands, Micronesia)
Lau	Lau (Eastern Fijian)
Mot	Mota (Banks Islands)
Ngg	Nggela (S.E. Solomons)
Rot	Rotuman
Saa	Sa'a (S.E. Solomons)
Way	Wayan (Western Fijian)

Note: 1. Not an established group. Used to tag reconstructions made from Oceanic languages that do not include amongst them any West Melanesian Oceanic language.

While the preferred usage for Easter Island is "Rapanui" or "Rapa Nui", the name in the language of the Rapanui people, linguists continue to use "Eas" as the abbreviation for the language because "Rap" has long been used for the language of Rapa in the Australs south of Tahiti.

1.7 ON THE HISTORY OF LANGUAGE DESCRIPTION IN POLYNESIA

European observers of varying linguistic ability began recording the languages from the onset of contact and the first small dictionaries were produced towards the end of the eighteenth century (e.g. Crook's 1799 essay "toward a dictionary" of Marquesan).

Word lists for individual islands were often first compiled during expeditions in the eighteenth century which sometimes had scientists amongst their entourage, e.g. Forster (1778). The nineteenth century saw most of the islands missionised then drawn into the various colonial orbits. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries dictionary making was dominated by European missionaries and administrators resident in the islands. The first "dictionary" of NZ Maori (Williams 1844) appeared before the middle of the century and larger and smaller works for some of the other languages began to appear regularly after that. Andrews (1864) for Hawaiian, Baker (1897) for Tongan, Davies (1851) for Tahitian, Grezel (1878) for East Futunan, Hale (1848) for Nukuhiva, Marist Mission (1890) for Tongan, Tregear (1899) for Mangarevan, and Pratt (1862) and Violette (1879) for Samoan fall into this category. Twentieth century

Polynesian dictionaries have mainly been compiled by anthropologists and linguists along with the initial major dictionaries produced by Polynesian native speakers as Simona (1986) for Tokelauan and Ngata (1993) for NZ Maori. By about World War II, dictionaries for most of the languages with large numbers of speakers had become available. Since World War II dictionaries have been published for languages of many Outliers and some of the smaller islands of Triangle Polynesia. Few of them document more than five thousand words. The larger and smaller dictionaries available for Polynesian languages now number something over seventy.⁶

A considerable body of ethnographic work, much of it from the first half of the present century, constitutes an additional resource on social vocabularies. In many Polynesian societies comprehensive ethnographic description postdates the period in which much belief and ceremony was abandoned under mission or administrative pressure. Much is unknown about traditional vocabulary due to lack of timely and comprehensive linguistic description. Traditional vocabulary may be preserved in the modern languages more than we suspect but the dictionaries commonly do not elaborate on the meanings of some important terms as much as the ethnographies or anthropological literature in general.

The quality of linguistic description in even the earliest published materials was often reasonable. Polynesian languages have sounds which were all known from most European languages and there is rarely any uncertainty about what consonant the early transcriptions are meant to represent.⁷ The main exception is the glottal stop which was not recorded in some early works or not perceived by Europeans documenting the language when it occurred at the beginning of a word. Even when the glottal stop was known to be a significant sound, the Europeans sometimes ignored it in their spellings and this has become embedded in casual and even standard spellings as employed by some of the Islanders. In most Polynesian languages there are no consonant clusters,⁸ there are no complex sounds except for affricates in Niuean and a few "Futunic" Outliers. There are always only five vowels (phonologically).

⁶ See author's Polynesian Culture History Bibliography: <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/~marck/biblio10.htm>.

⁷ They may have transcribed voiced for voiceless stops, especially in word initial position, but the actual consonant in question is generally obvious.

⁸ Other than in some Outliers where certain clusters occur.

A problem of the earliest works that continues in some instances to the present is the failure to represent or consistently represent vowel length. There is a difference, in all Polynesian languages, between a short and a long vowel. For instance, *maui* and *mauii* have distinct meanings in numerous Polynesian languages and some representations of Polynesian words do not make a distinction (both are spelt *maui*).

While even the worst work of the earliest explorers is useful for some purposes their transcriptions are not generally cited in modern comparative work. In the first instance, it is not always clear what vowel they were representing or if they had indicated all the vowels or indicated diphthongs correctly. Polynesian languages have vowels of the Latin type: five simple vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*. Spaniards recorded vowels according to the Spanish/Latin model but the native English and French speakers recorded them more variously: "*oo*" for "*u*", "*oh*" for "*o*" and the like. Representations of diphthongs were also sometimes problematic. In the second instance, most of the vocabulary recorded in early contacts with the Polynesians eventually came to be recorded with more consistent spellings and less uncertainty associated with the actual meaning of the word in the subject language.

2. CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES

This chapter lays out the regular, sporadic and diffused consonant correspondences presently known for Polynesian languages by way of an examination of *Pollex* (Biggs 1993). The consonants reconstructed for Proto Polynesian are given in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1: POINT AND MANNER OF ARTICULATION OF THE PROTO POLYNESIAN CONSONANTS

	labial	apical	velar	glottal
stops	p	t	k	q
nasals	m	n	ng	
fricatives	f	s		h
trill/flap		r		
liquid		l		
glide	w			

2.1 REGULAR CONSONANT CORRESPONDENCES

The regularity of sound change is the anchor of comparative linguistics. The tendency of a sound to change in each word in which it occurs, or to change in each word in a particular class through similar environments, gives us a place to begin sorting through what overall linguistic change has occurred between an earlier language and its daughters.

Early work comparing Polynesian languages was not generally done within the framework of the comparative method of linguistics. A rare exception in the nineteenth century was Hale (1841). More commonly, early scholars simply noted the transparent agreements of sounds and words in the context of arguing culture history questions rather than directly linguistic questions. Hiroa's (1938a) "*Hawaiki*" is an example (which we now reconstruct as Proto East Polynesian "**Sawaiki*" due to maturation of theories of subgrouping and sound change).¹

Since about the beginning of the twentieth century, and especially since World War II, there have been intermittent attempts to define the sound correspondences that link the various daughters of Proto Polynesian to that language by regular sound changes. Dempwolff (1929) was the earliest work to attempt reconstruction and the next major work on reconstructing the sound system was not that of until that of Elbert (1953). Such work was much more complete in Biggs (1978) which gives a succinct

¹ PEP **Sawaiki* 'homeland or point of origin in the west; place to which spirits/souls of people go upon death'

TABLE 2.2: REFLEXES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN CONSONANTS IN SELECTED DAUGHTERS

PPn	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	*q ¹	*f	*s	*h	*w	*l	*r
PTo	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	*q	*f	*h	*h	*w	*l	*ø/l ³
Ton	p	t ²	k	m	n	ng	'	f	h ⁴	h	v	l	ø/l ³
Niu	p	t ²	k	m	n	ng	ø	f	h	h	v	l	ø/l ³
PNP	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	*q	*f	*s	ø/*h ⁵	*w	*l	*l
Ani ⁶	p	t ⁷	k	m	n	ng	ø	f	s	ø/s ⁵	v	r	r
Anu ⁸	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	p	ø	ø/s ⁵	v	r	r
Bel	p	t	k	m	n	ng	'	h	s	ø/s ⁵	b	ng	ng
Mae	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	f	s	ø/s ⁵	v	r	r
Mfa	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	f	s	ø/s ⁵	v	r	r
EUv	p	t ⁷	k	m	n	ng	'	f	h	ø/h ⁵	v	l	l
EFu	p	t	k	m	n	ng	'	f	s	ø/s ⁵	v	l	l
Pla	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	f	h	ø/h ⁵	v	l	l
Puk	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	w	thy	ø/thy ⁵	w	l	l
Ren	p	t	k	m	n	ng	'	h	s	ø/s ⁵	b	ng	ng
Tik	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	f	s	ø/s ⁵	v	r	r
Wfu ⁶	p	t ⁷	k	m	n	ng	ø	f	s	ø/s ⁵	v	r	r
WUv	p	t	k	m	n	ng	ø	f	s	ø/s ⁵	v	l~r	l~r
PEc	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	*q	*f	*s	ø/*h ⁵	*w	*l	*l
Sam	p	t	q	m	n	g	ø	f	s	ø/s ⁵	v	l	l
PEcO	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	ø	*f	*s	ø/*h ⁵	*v	*l	*l
Kap ⁹	p	t	k	m	n	ng		h	h	ø/h ⁵	w	l	l
Nan ⁹	p	t	k	m	n	ng		f	h	ø/h ⁵	v	l	l
Nkr	p	t	k	m	n	ng		h	s	ø/s ⁵	v	l/r	l/r
Nuk ⁹	p	t	k	m	n	ng		h	s	ø/s ⁵	v	r	r
Lua ⁹	p	k	q	m	ng	ng		h	s	ø/s ⁵	v	l	l
Sik ⁹	p	t	k	m	n	ng		h	s	ø/s ⁵	v	l	l
Tak ⁹	p	t	k	m	n	ng		h~f	h	ø/h ⁵	v	l	l
Tok	p	t	k	m	n	ng		f	h	ø/h ⁵	v	l	l
Tuv ⁹	p	t	k	m	n	ng		f	h	ø/h ⁵	v	l	l
Vai ⁹	p	t	k	m	n	ng		f	h	ø/h ⁵	v	l	l
PEP	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	*q ¹⁰	*f	*s	ø/h ⁵	*w	*r	*r

Source: After Biggs (1978:Figure 5) with refinements as per the present work and works mentioned in the materials on borrowing (Chapter 4.3), diffused consonant changes (Chapter 2.3) or cited below. Direct quotes from Biggs' (1978:Figure 5) footnotes are given in quotation marks:

1. The glottal stop is "*q" in protolanguages and the apostrophe (') in living languages.
2. [s] before *i* in Ton and [ts] or [s] before *e* and *i* in Niu.
3. Retained as *l* in borrowings from Nuclear Polynesian or an earlier Tongic dialect that retained **r* as **l*. See Chapter 5.2.1.
4. Rensch (1987:577) shows some forms with *s*. See Chapter 2.3.2.
5. PPn **h* is retained as *s* or *h* in a few words in Sam and some Outlier languages by the traditional analysis and possibly Mqa and Mao as well. This work follows Biggs (1992, 1993, 1994a) and Biggs and Clark (1996) and the general tradition of Pn comparative linguistics in assuming there *was* a difference between PPn **s* and **h*. But Tongic does not give evidence of such and Nuclear Polynesian differences may only be the difference between fortis and lenis reflexes of PPn **s*. See Chapter 2.3.4.
6. "Loss of unstressed vowels has resulted in some non-identical consonant clusters."
7. "Palatalised before *i*."
8. Biggs (1980).
9. "Loss of unstressed vowel between identical consonants occurs in all of these languages. The results may always be treated as long consonants through the phonetic facts may vary."

TABLE 2.2: REFLEXES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN CONSONANTS IN SELECTED DAUGHTERS (CONTINUED)

PEP	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	*q ¹⁰	*f	*s ¹¹	*w	*r
Eas	p	t	k	m	n	ng	¹⁰	h	h	v	r
PCE	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng	∅	*f	*s	*w	*r
PMq	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng		*f	*h	*w	*r
Haw	p	k	'	m	n	n		h ¹⁶	h	w	l
PNM	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng		*f	*h	*w	*r
MqS ¹⁸	p	t	'	m	n	n		f ¹²	h	v	'
MqN ¹⁸	p	t	k	m	n	k		h ¹²	h	v	'
MqT ¹⁸	p	t	k	m	n	ng		h ¹²	h	v	'
Mva	p	t	k	m	n	ng		¹⁷	'	v	r
PTa	*p	*t	*k	*m	*n	*ng		*f	*s	*w	*r
Aki	p	t	k	m	n	ng		¹²	'	v	r
MaB	p	t	k	m	n	n		∅	h	w	r
Mao	p	t	k	m	n	ng		wh/h ¹³	h	w	r
MaN	p	t	k	m	n	ng		hw	hy	w	r
MaS	p	t	k	m	n	k		h ¹²	h	w	r
Mia	p	t	k	m	n	ng		¹²	'	v	r
Mor	p	t	k	m	n	ng		hw ¹²	hy	w	r
Pen	p	t	k	m	n	ng		h ¹²	s	v	r
Rap	p	t	k	m	n	ng		∅ ¹²	'	v	r
Rar	p	t	k	m	n	ng		¹²	'	v	r
Rur	p	t	'	m	n	ng		¹²	'	v	r
Tub	p	t	'	m	n	'ng ¹³		h	h	v	r
Tah	p	t	'	m	n	'		f/h ¹⁴	h	v	r
Tua	p	t	k	m	n	ng		f/h ¹⁵	h	v	r

10. Only Eas regularly retains the glottal stop in EP and it is lost between *(-)a_a(-). The Eas glottal stop in word initial position is not recorded in the major sources but Bergmann (1963) notes that it exists and regularly reflects the PPn word initial glottal stop. Mqa has a small residue of PEP *q.

11. There may have been some residue of PPn *h as PEP *h. See Chapter 2.3.6-7.

12. "v initially before *af." See Chapter 2.3.1.

13. "In some place names only. Elsewhere ' (glottal stop)."

14. "w initially before *af; h medially and before round vowels." See Chapter 2.3.1.

15. "v initially before *af. h before round vowels."

16. w initially before *af.

17. v initially before *af but there are exceptions. See Chapter 2.3.1.

18. Mqa may have some residue of the PPn glottals if such forms are not late insertions. See Chapter 2.3.6.

theory of how the consonant system of Proto Polynesian descended into the various living Polynesian languages (see also Krupa 1982 and Biggs 1971). The differences between the Proto Polynesian phonological system and those of the modern languages "are occasioned by the process of sound change which, as has been known for a couple of centuries, is characterised by extraordinary regularity" (Biggs 1978:710).

Table 2.2 gives the regular consonant correspondences of living languages to Proto Polynesian. There it can be seen that some consonants are more susceptible to regular change than others. Proto Polynesian **p*, **m* and **n* are particularly stable, almost never regularly changing to other sounds during their descent into the living languages. Such cannot be said about the other consonants which have all changed in at least one language. The glottal stop is the least stable, being regularly lost in all but five² of the many languages and dialects of Polynesia.

The primary split in Polynesian is between Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian. This split is attested by certain changes in the consonant system characterising each subgroup, as well as by grammatical and lexical innovations and, as will be seen, uniquely shared sporadic sound changes. In the Tongic branch, PPn **s* and **h* fell together as PTo **h*³ and PPn **r* was lost. In Nuclear Polynesian, PPn **r* merged with PPn **l* as PNP **l* and PPn **h* was lost (Biggs 1978:710).

Proto East Polynesian continued the Proto Nuclear Polynesian consonants with one purely phonetic change: **l* became **r*. There were no "structural" changes in the consonant phonology (losses, mergers, splits or additions). The first internal split in East Polynesian was the divergence of Rapanui and Central East Polynesian from each other. Central East Polynesian lost **q* in all environments (but see Chapter 2.3.6 for possible Mqa retentions), "PEP **f* merges with **s* medially and before round vowels as PCE **h*" and "PEP **f* merges with **w* initially before PCE **a(a)h*" (Biggs 1978:711). The following forms illustrate the last change:

² Ton, EFu, EUv, Ren/Bel, and Eas.

³ There is a residue of PPn **s* which is still *s* in Ton. See Chapter 2.3.2.

TABLE 2.3: PPN *FAF- TO PCE *WAH- CORRESPONDENCES

PPn	PNP	PCE	
*fafa	*fafa	*waha	carry on back
*fafie	*fafie	*wahie	firewood
*fafine	*fafine	*wahine	woman
*fafo	*fafo	*waho	outside (etc.)

Source: Bergmann (1963), Pawley (1966:59, fn. 29), Grace (1985) and Biggs (1993).

Biggs (1978:711) continues: "It seems likely that the CE [Central Eastern] rules were innovated in the order given above. Any other order would require the merging of *f and *s to take place in several environments rather than just two". As Biggs (1978:711) notes, Proto Tahitic and Proto Marquesic are not marked by any regular consonant (or vowel) changes from Proto Central East Polynesian. Such occurred later and only individually or in small groups within Marquesic or Tahitic with the possible phonetic exception of PCE *s becoming PMq *h.

2.2 SPORADIC CONSONANT CHANGES

By the detailed observation of sporadic sound changes given in this section, I justify the consonant portion of the evidence for the sporadic sound change isoglosses in Maps 1.5 and 2.1. Sporadic sound changes are here defined as those that are known to have occurred in a language or protolanguage only once or twice. That is too narrow a definition to claim a standard usage of that term but it is useful to distinguish between:

- *regular* change which affected all or nearly all occurrences of a sound under phonologically specifiable conditions,
- *diffused* change or loss which affected multiple forms under conditions that I cannot always state, as well as *residue* of such changes that were never complete, and
- *sporadic* change which affected only one or two forms.

The purpose of the present section is to lay out just how very rare sporadic consonant change seems to be. In the conclusion of the chapter rates of sporadic consonant change are estimated for selected Polynesian languages. The result is that only one sporadic change for about every 400 to 800 consonants compared can presently be shown. We may think of these as something like genetic mutations and their central place in cladistics. The following sections identify 38 irregularities in the consonants which are distributed as in Table 2.4.

These forms, in the instance of the consonants, were identified by reference to Biggs (1993) where all forms "Not Counted as Cognate" were culled for possible failures of regular agreements. A few others were noticed over the course of the work amongst *Pollex* forms counted as cognate. Biggs' forms "Not Counted as Cognate" have distinctive markings. By searching for these I reduced *Pollex* to seven files, one each for Tongan, Samoan, Rapanui, Hawaiian, Marquesan, Tahitian and NZ Maori. The seven resulting files have all forms for the respective languages from Biggs (1993) which were "Not Counted as Cognate" in *Pollex*. Each cognate set for each language was then tagged for possible reasons why Biggs may not have counted them cognate. Such reasons as semantic distance, compounds whose phonology and semantics did not allow a clear judgement of cognate status and irregular consonant correspondences were identified. These are very large files and could not be included in the appendices to the present work for that reason.⁴

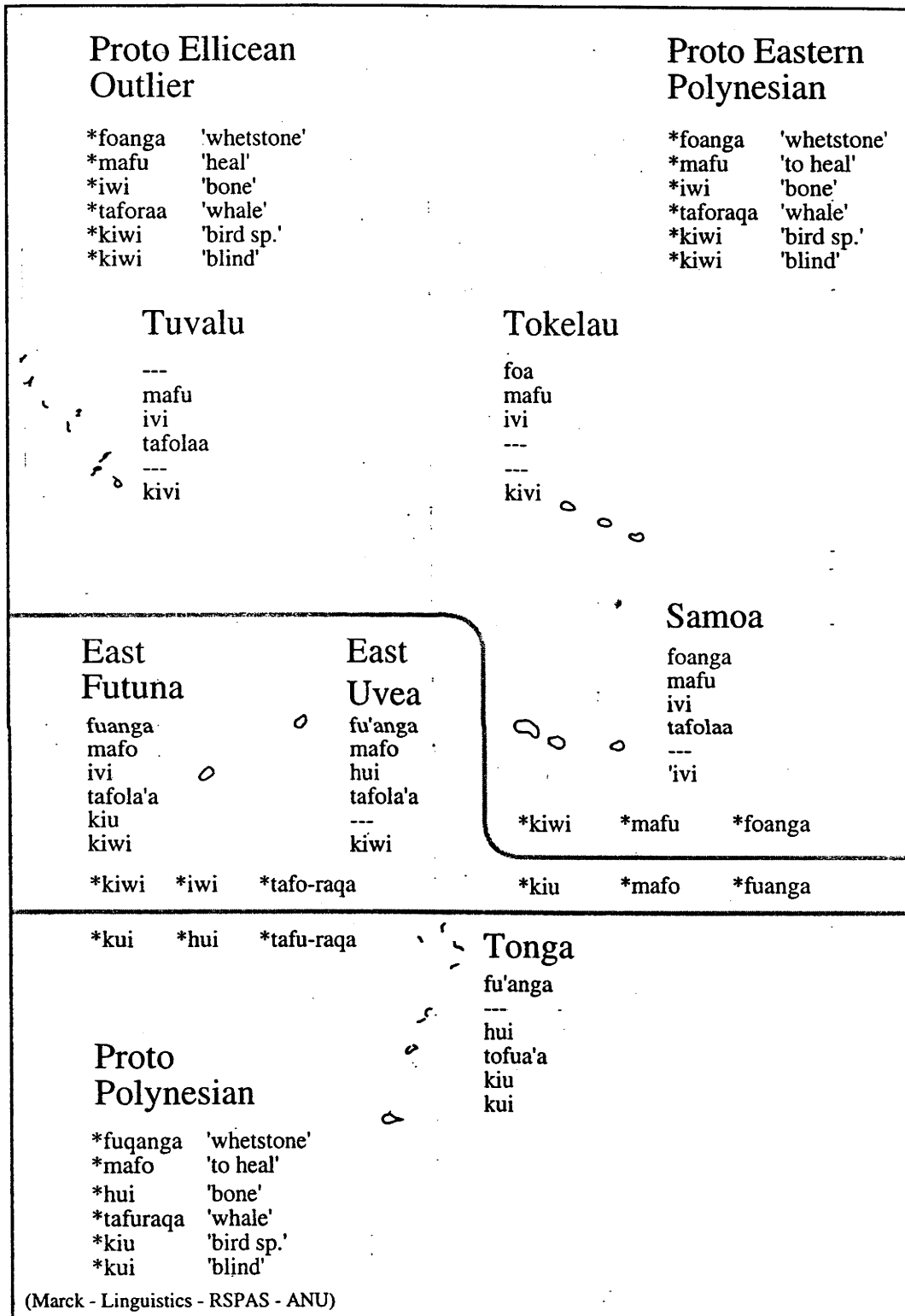
TABLE 2.4: SPORADIC CHANGES BY RECONSTRUCTED SOUND

*p	3	1 place, 1 manner, 1 loss
*t	2	1 place, 1 loss
*k	3	1 place, 1 insertion, 1 indeterminate between insert/loss
*q		all glottal stop losses counted as diffused
*m	1	1 place
*n	2	2 place
*ng	6	4 place, 2 manner
*f	3	1 place, 2 manner
*s	7	6 loss (all of *s which had otherwise become h), 1 insertion
*h	1	1 loss
*w	5	1 syllabification, 2 coalescence, 1 insertion, 1 loss
*l	5	2 place, 2 manner, 1 loss
*r		not calculated, complicated by borrowing or residual retention in Tongic

To one side of each line in Maps 1.5 and 2.1 are pronunciations that regularly follow a Proto Polynesian or other protolanguage pronunciation for the words in question while on the other side of each line uniquely and sporadically changed consonants or vowels are found. Sporadic consonant changes are given by protolanguage in Table 2.32 and sporadic vowel changes in Table 3.17. Some

⁴ They are, however, available through the Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University FTP (File Transfer Protocol) web site in Word 6 format under "thesis/marck/*Pollex*-not-cognate" which can be accessed through my Linguistics-RSPAS-ANU web site: <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/~marck/marck.htm>.

MAP 2.1: ISOGLOSSES OF SHARED SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES IN WESTERN POLYNESIA



Source: Revision of Marck (forthcoming: Map 2).

isoglosses are marked by numerous such changes in pronunciation. Nuclear Marquesic (NM), however, is marked by only one..

The subgrouping chapter (Chapter 5) is a reiteration of the sporadic consonant and vowel changes from the perspective of the individual languages and protolanguages. In this chapter we look at the same data from the perspective of the individual reconstructed consonants.

The plan of this chapter is to review the reconstructed Proto Polynesian consonants one by one. Examples of regular correspondences are given and then the known exceptions from seven languages (Tongan, Samoan, Rapanui, Marquesan, Hawaiian, Tahitian and NZ Maori) are given. This group of languages is the subject of special attention as there are so many Polynesian languages that we must limit examples in some manner. The seven were chosen because:

1. They are representative of Polynesian in general (other than the Outliers),
2. They stand in critical subgrouping relations to one another and
3. They are the languages of major cultural groups around which revolve some of the most basic culture history questions.

Good potential cases of sporadic (one or two of a kind) consonant irregularities for the seven languages in Biggs (1993) number at least 58. Irregular losses account for 28 of the 58. Of those irregular losses, 21 are of the Proto Polynesian glottal stop or of Proto Polynesian sounds that regularly became glottal stop in one or more of the seven languages. All changes identified and accepted as sporadic changes are discussed below in the following sections on the individual reconstructed consonants.

2.2.1 PROTO POLYNESIAN *P

TABLE 2.5: PROTO POLYNESIAN *P

	fence	ocean wave	sprinkle water	night	coral rock
PPn	*paa	*peau	*pii	*poo	*punga
PTo	*paa	*peau	*pii	poo	*punga
Niu	paa	peau	pii	poo	punga
Ton	paa	peau	pii	poo	punga
PNP	*paa	*peau	*pii-pii	*poo	*punga
EFu	-	peau	-	poo('uli)	puga
EUv	-	peau	pii-pii	poo	puga
PEc	*paa	*peau	*pii-pii	*poo	*punga
Tuv	-	peau	-	poo	puga
Lua	-	peau	-	-	-
Sam	paa	peau	-	poo	puga
PEP	*paa	*peau	*pii-pii	*poo	*punga
Eas	paa	peau	pi-pi	poo	punga
PCE	*paa	*peau	*pii-pii	*poo	*punga
PMq	*paa	*peau	*pii-pii	*poo	*punga
Haw	paa	-	pii-pii	poo	puna
Mqa	pa	peau	pii-pii	poo	puka
Mva	paa	peau	pii	poo	puga
PTa	*paa	*peau	*pii-pii	*poo	*punga
Mao	paa	-	pii-pii	poo	punga-punga
Rar	paa	-	pii-pii	poo	punga
Tah	paa	-	pii-pii	poo	pu'a
Tua	paa	peau	pii-pii	poo	punga

Proto Polynesian *p regularly remained [p] in all Polynesian languages but for Nukuoro. The regular reflexes in Nukuoro and Kapingamarangi are spelt "b" but Lieber and Dikepa (1974:375) note that the Kapingamarangi sound is voiceless while Carroll (1965) describes the Nukuoro stops as variable with respect to voicing. In Biggs (1993), I find the three potential irregular reflexes of reconstructed *p from the seven languages in Table 2.6.

TABLE 2.6: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *P FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PPn *qepo	Sam eto	'lick'
PPn *palu	Haw walu	'fish sp.'
PNP *tapa-tuu	Haw kaakuu	'barracuda'

The evidence for the first irregular agreement, which occurs in Samoan, is part of the following unabridged cognate set.

36 JEFF MARCK

- (2.1) QEPO
 Pn :Lick.
 Anu Epo/epo. :To lick (Fbg).
 EFu 'Epo. :Lick (Bgs).
 EUv 'Epo. :Lecher (Rch).
 Niu Epo, /epo/epo. :Lick, taste.
 Ren Epo. :Lick (Ebt).
 Sam⁻¹ <Eto. :Lick (Mnr)>.
 Tok⁻¹ <Eto. :To lick (Sma)>.

Note: 1. The hyphens after a language abbreviation in *Pollex* indicate a "word not counted as cognate" (but worth noting as it for some reason resembles the rest of the group).

If this is not a fortuitous resemblance, we can note that the irregular change had not occurred by Proto Nuclear Polynesian times but is not entirely recent as it is shared by Samoan with Tokelauan.

The abbreviated evidence for the second irregular agreement, from Hawaiian, is:

- (2.2) PALU.1
 Pn :A fish (Ruvettus pretiosus).
 Tuv Palu. :Fish (Ruvettus spp.).
 Haw- <Walu. :Oilfish (Ruvettus pretiosus) (Hpr)>.
 Mao Paru/u. :An unidentified fish.
 Niu Palu. :Oilfish (Ruvettus pretiosus) (Hpr).
 Rar Paru. :Snapper spp. (E. carbunculus) and (P. zonatus).
 Sam Palu. :Aphareus sp. (Mnr), fish sp. (Prt).
 Tah Paru. :A fish.
 Tua Paru. :A fish, generic term for fish.

As other Marquesic cognates are not clearly present, it is uncertain if the change is recent in Hawaiian or had occurred at the Proto Marquesic level. Marquesan has *vau* "gros poisson (lg. fish)" which is regularly cognate but for the absence of a glottal stop corresponding to PPn *r. If cognate, it shares the irregular change of PPn *p to v or w with Hawaiian so possibly this was a change that had occurred by Proto Marquesic times.

The abbreviated evidence for the third irregular agreement is:

- (2.3) TAPATUU.*
 *7 Cf. PPn *sapatuu "a fish (Sphyraena sp.)".
 NP :Fish (Sphyraena sp.) (Hpr).
 Tuv Tapatuu. :Barracuda sp. (Hwd) (Ablennes hians) (Bsr).
 Haw- <Kaakuu. :(Sphyraena barracuda)>.
 Mqa Tapatu. :(Sphyraena sp.).
 Mva Tapatu. :Name of a fish (Tgr).
 Tok Tapatuu. :Sea-pike barracuda (Sphyraena forsteri) when young

Here it is clear that an irregular loss occurred and that it occurred locally in Hawaiian and not by Proto Marquesan times.

2.2.2 PROTO POLYNESIAN *T

TABLE 2.7: PROTO POLYNESIAN *T

	year, season	circumcise	gardenia	south	to light
PPn	*taqu	*tefe	*tiale	*tonga	*tungi
PTo	*taqu	*tefe	*tiale	*tonga	*tungi
Niu	tau	-	tiale	tonga	tungi
Ton	ta'u	tefe	siale	tonga	tungia
PNP	*taqu	*tefe	*tiale	*tonga	*tungi
EFu	ta'u	tefe	tiale	toga	tugia
EUv	ta'u	-	siale	toga	-
PEc	*taqu	*tefe	*tiale	*tonga	*tungi
Tuv	tau-naga	tefe	tiale	toga	tugia
Lua	he-kau	-	kiale	-	kungi
Sam	tau	tefe	tiale	toga	-
PEP	*taqu	*tehe	*tiare	*tonga	*tungi
Eas	ta'u	tehe	tiare	tonga	-
PCE	*tau	*tehe	*tiare	*tonga	*tungi
PMq	*tau	*tehe	*tiare	*tonga	*tungi
Haw	kau	kahe	-	kona	kuni
Mqa	tau	tehe	tia'e	tua-toka	-
Mva	tau	te'e	tiare	toga	-
PTa	*tau	*tehe	*tiare	*tonga	*tungi
Mao	tau	tehe	tiiare	tonga	tungi
Rar	tau	te'e	tiare	tonga	tungi
Tah	tau	tehe	tiare	to'a	tu'i
Tua	tau	tehe	tiiare	tonga	tungi

Proto Polynesian **t* has regularly changed to *k* in all environments in Hawaiian and Colloquial Samoan. It remains *t* in formal Samoan, and Elbert (1982:503) reports *t* as a free variant of Haw *k* in some Hawaiian dialects. The sound is palatalised before *i* in Ton [*s*] and Niu [*ts*] or [*s*] so we might suspect that such could have been true in Proto Tongic. However, McEwen (1970:xi) states that the palatalisation in Niuean occurred within the historic period and I have found no early transcriptions of Niuean using "s". Modern Niuean also palatalises to [*ts*] or [*s*] before *e* and Biggs (1978:Figure 5) marks Taumako, Pileni, West Futunan and Aniwa as palatalising before [*i*]. From the seven languages surveyed in Biggs (1993), two irregular developments associated with reconstructed **t* seem apparent.

TABLE 2.8: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *T FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PTo *kamata	PCE *tamata	'taste'
PTa *taumafa	Tah aumaha	'heavy'

The first occurs in the following unabridged cognate set for which we would also reconstruct PCE **tamata* 'taste something':

- (2.4) KAMATA.2
 To :Taste.
 EUv- <Kamata. :Gouter B. (Btn)>.
 Mqa- <Taamata. :Taste>.
 Niu Kamata. :Taste, begin, tempt (McE)>
 Tah- <Tamata. :Try a thing, taste>.
 Ton Kamata/hake. :Taste.

The correspondence of PCE **k* to PTo **t* seems a loan or irregularity. We would reconstruct PCE **tamata* 'taste' in contrast to Biggs PTo **kamata* 'taste'. No loan hypothesis is appealing unless there was a PEc **tamata* which became Sam *kamata* and was borrowed lately by Tongic. Early Ellicean or Central East Polynesian would not borrow early To **kamata* as **tamata* and early Tongic would not borrow PEc or PCE **tamata* as **kamata*. Given the regular change of PPn **t* to *k* in some languages and the absence of regular changes of PPn **k* to *t* we might be inclined to suggest that there was PPn ***tamata*⁵ and that Proto Tongic changed irregularly. But this is only conjecture. Other processes could be at work such as a tendency for some languages to change a sequence of unlike stops, *t...k* or *k...t*, to a sequence of like stops. An example is the change of Proto Nuclear Micronesian **kuita* 'octopus' to Kiribati *kiika*. Or the change could be the result of the initial syllable being interpreted as a prefix and being replaced by another. Such morphological replacement may also have happened in a homophonous form in Kapingamarangi, both **ta-* and **ka-* being causative prefixes in some Polynesian languages:

⁵ Double asterisks, "***", are used in this work to mark proto forms that cannot be properly defended. They are also used to mark the expected reflex in a living language when such forms are not actually known to exist.

(2.5)	KAMATA.1
	Pn PPn *ka(a)mata. :Begin.
	EFu Kamata. :Commencer.
	Haw- <Ho'omaka. :Begin>.
	Kap Taa/mata/. :Begin (Ebt).
	Kap1 Daa/mada/. :Begin, start (Lbr).
	Mao Tii/mata/. :Begin.
	Mqa Ha'a/mata/. :Begin.
	Niu Kamata. :To begin, to try, to tempt.
	Puk Ka(a)mata. :To begin (Bge).
	Sam 'Aamata. :Begin (Mnr).
	Tah Ha/'a mata/. :Begin.
	Tik Kaamata. :Beginning (Fth).
	Tok Kaamata. :Begin, start, commence (Sma).
	Ton Kamata. :Begin.
	Tua Koo/mata/^mata^haka/mata/. :Begin.

It is possible the "taste" sense developed out of the "begin" sense (with an intermediate sense of "try, test") and we are dealing with the same historical form, having a "taste" of something being a common "beginning".

The second irregularity of *t from amongst the seven languages is the unexpected loss in Tahitian in the following set.

(2.6)	TAU-MAFA.*
	CE :Heavy.
	Haw Kaumaha. :Heavy, weight.
	Kap- <Taamaha. :Weight, weigh>.
	Mae- <Taumafa/ina. :Intimidate, overawe (Clk)>.
	Mao Taumaha. :Heavy, weight.
	Rar- <Tauma'a. :Curse, threat, accusation (Sve)>.
	Tah- <Aumaha. :Sultry, close, warm (Dvs)>.

Two sources agree that there is no word initial consonant in the Tahitian form so this seems an irregular loss of PCE > PTa *t in Tahitian. It is possible that it became a glottal stop as Davies (1851) rarely marked them but Andrews (1944) normally did and loss seems the main possibility. The semantic fit of the irregular Tahitian agreement is not good but Biggs' source is Davies while Andrews gives the Davies form and definition along with a homonym with the more clearly cognate meaning of "heavy".

There are also the cases of PPn *te > Sam *le* 'the' and PPn *taqe > Sam *lee* 'not' but I have avoided using articles, negatives, pronouns and other such morphemes as examples. They may have changed by analogy or other processes that did not affect the common nouns and verbs from which represent the majority of my examples.

2.2.3 PROTO POLYNESIAN *K

TABLE 2.9: PROTO POLYNESIAN *K

	sennit	reddish (of hair)	outrigger boom	belly, stomach	grasp
PPn	*kafa	*kefu	*kiato	*koopuu	*kuku
PTo	*kafa	*kefu	*kiato	*koopuu	*kuku
Niu	kafa	kefu	kiato	koupu	kuku
Ton	kafa	kefu	kiato	koopuu	kuku
PNP	*kafa	*kefu	*kiato	*koopuu	*kuku
EFu	kafa	kefu	ki'ato	koopuu	kuku
EUv	kafa	kefu	kiato	-	kuku
PEc	*kafa	*kefu	*kiato	*koopuu	*kuku
Tuv	kafa	kefu	-	koopuu	-
Lua	'aha	'ehu	'iako	-	-
Sam	'afa	'efu	'iato	-	'u'u
PEP	*ka(f,h)a	*kehu	*kiato	*koopuu	*kuku
Eas	-	-	kiato	kopu	kuku
PCE	*kaha	*kehu	*kiato	*koopuu	*kuku
PMq	*kaha	*kehu	*kiato	*koopuu	*kuku
Haw	'aha	'ehu	'iako	'oopuu	'u'u
Mqa	kaha	kehu	kiato	kopu	kuku
Mva	kaha	ke'u	kiato	koopuu	-
PTa	*kaha	*kehu	*kiato	*koopuu	*kuku
Mao	kaha	kehu	kiato	koopuu	kuku-a
Rar	ka'a	ke'u	kiato	koopuu	kuku
Tah	'aha	'ehu	'iato	'oopuu	-
Tua	kaha	kehu	kiato	koopuu	kuku

Proto Polynesian **k* regularly changed to other sounds, always to glottal stop and always independently, in more languages than Proto Polynesian **p* or **t*. It is now glottal stop in Samoan, Luangiua, Tahitian, the Australs, Hawaiian and Southern Marquesan. The change in Hawaiian and Southern Marquesan may be related (Green 1996) but the others are probably not. Elbert (1982:503-504) notes that the dominant PCE **k* reflex in Northern Marquesan is *k*, while there are also forms showing a glottal stop reflex, and that the dominant PCE **k* reflex in Southern Marquesan is glottal stop while there are also forms showing a *k* reflex. This is a case of the two dialects occasionally borrowing the dominant reflex of the other (Tryon 1987). Such cases of dialect borrowing are not considered in the following discussion of irregular developments of **k*.

There are numerous cases of loss amongst languages that regularly changed **k* (and/or **ng*) to the glottal stop and these are certainly most often losses of the resulting glottal stop and not direct losses of **k*. Those will be discussed in the following

subsection after the other unexpected changes. Otherwise, from the seven languages, there are the irregular agreements in Table 2.10 where a Polynesian **k* seems sporadically lost or changed to another sound. There is also a good case for insertion in one instance.

TABLE 2.10: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN **K* FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PTo * <i>kamata</i>	Mqa taamata, Tah tamata	'taste, attempt, try'
PPn * <i>ki</i>	Mqa i	'preposition "to"'
PPn * <i>komo</i>	Eas omo-omo	'suck'
PTa * <i>taa-tea</i>	Eas takatea	'semen'
PMq * <i>hakali</i>	PNMq * <i>erehi</i>	'mature coconut'
PEP * <i>ope</i>	Haw kope	'scoop up, shovel'

The first set was discussed in the previous section and it is not certain whether a **k* changed to *t* or vice versa.

The second set is best dismissed as a possible case of phonological erosion. Prepositions generally exhibit more sound change than the common nouns and verbs which are the main focus of the present study. This is sometimes motivated by reinterpretation of the word when it is morphologically complex, simple erosion of its parts when there is no ambiguity as to the sense or meaning of the form or due to phonetic factors resulting from their common place in utterances.

In the following cognate set the Rapanui form is irregular.

- (2.7) KOMO.2
 Pn :Suck.
 Eas- <Omo/omo. :Sip, suck B.>.
 EUv Komo. :To suck on (as a cigarette) (Bgs).
 MFa Koom/ia. :Suck on something in the mouth (Clk).
 Mta- <'Om. :Hold liquid in the mouth>.
 Mqa 'Omo. :Suck (Bgs).
 Ton Komo. :Suck in/up.
 Tua Komo. :Drink.

This Rapanui irregularity is what we would expect from a Tahitian loan. PPn **k* has become glottal stop in Tahitian and initial glottal stop is recorded imperfectly by the Rapanui sources. I cannot, however, demonstrate that the word was available for borrowing from Tahitian as a Tahitian cognate for this group is not presently known to me.

The next irregular agreement involves a *k* in Rapanui which is not present in a very similar Proto Tahitic reconstruction:

42 JEFF MARCK

- (2.8) TAA-TEA
 CE :Semen.
 Eas- <Takatea. :Semen (Fts)>.
 Mao Taatea. :Semen (Wms).
 Rar Taate'a. :Semen (Mka).
 Tah Taatea. :Sperme (Mte).

Notes: As Biggs discounts the Eas form, the level of reconstruction would normally be PTa as the only completely regular agreements occur within that group.

There is no reason to posit borrowing in any of these forms. Seemingly Rapanui has inserted a consonant or Proto Tahitic (or Proto Central East Polynesian) lost one. Given the rarity of insertion compared to loss, PEP ***taka-tea* seems more likely than a PEP ***taa-tea* but we cannot be certain of this. As Biggs indicates in his reconstruction, the form is morphologically complex. PPn **tea* 'white' is certainly the source of the second morpheme. We might ask if the **taa-* and **taka-* have different sources. Biggs (1994a) reconstructs a number of homonyms for **taa* such as "strike" and "bunch of fruit, hand of bananas" and PPn **taka* also seems to have had various meanings including "unmarried", "revolve" and "sandal". As no **taka-* senses suggest an origin for a morphological replacement I have counted this among the more likely cases of sporadic change.

Several changes happened to **sakali* in the period between Proto Marquesic (which seems to have had **hakari*) and Proto Nuclear Marquesic (which clearly had **erehi*). There were vowel assimilations, there was metathesis and **k* was lost.

- (2.9) SAKALI
 EP :Flesh of mature coconut@.
 *7 Cp. **erehi* "coconut".
 Eas Hakari. :Body (human or animal) (Fts) (Egt).
 Haw- <Haa'ali. :Fish gills (Pki)>@
 Mao Haakari. :Feast, roe of fish, yolk of egg (Wms)@
 Mki Hakari. :Coconut when flesh is maximally thick (Bck)@
 Mqa E'ehi. Coconut (Bgs)@
 Mva Erehi. :Coconut palm (Tgr)@
 Mva1 Ere'i. :Coco (Rch).
 Pen Sakari. :Coconut when absolutely mature (Bck)@
 Puk- <Yakali. :Mature coconut in niu papaku stage (Bge)>.
 Rar Akari. :Mature or dry coconut, feast (Etn)@
 Tah Ha'ari. :Coco (Mte)@
 Tak Sakare. :Edible shoot at top of coconut palm (Hwd)@
 Tik Sakare. :Shoot of plant (e.g. coconut) (Fth)@
 Tua Hakaari. :Coconut palm (Stn)@
 Tua1 Rehi. :The coconut in its fifth growth stage (Stn).

Consonant insertion is often hard to demonstrate but a clear case seems to be that of Hawaiian in the following cognate set.

- (2.10) OPE.1
 EP :Scoop up, shovel.
 Eas Ope. :To shovel, throw shovelful of something (Fts).
 Haw- <Kope. :Shovel>.
 Mao Ope. :Scoop up, scrape together.
 Rar Ope-a. :Sweep/scoop up, wash s.t. up (of waves) (Bse).
 Tah Ope. :To go and collect, shovel, spade, to shovel.
 Tua Ope. :Scoop, gather up in the hands.

2.2.3.1 LOSSES OF *K THAT REGULARLY BECAME GLOTTAL STOP

Among the seven languages, PPn *k regularly became glottal stop in Colloquial Samoan, Tahitian and Hawaiian. In these languages, as in every Polynesian language or protolanguage that has or had the glottal stop, this sound is diffusely lost more freely than any other consonant. The cases presently identified for these three languages are:

TABLE 2.11: POSSIBLE LOSSES OF RECONSTRUCTED PN *K WHICH CAME TO BE GLOTTAL STOP IN SAMOAN, HAWAIIAN AND TAHITIAN

PNP *kawa-kawa-qatua	Sam 'avaava aitu ¹	'shrub or vine'
PPn *keke-keke	Sam 'e'ee	'type of noise'
PCE *kuka	Sam u'a	Sam 'sheet of bast fibre'
PNP *kalo-kalo	Haw aloalo ²	'flower sp.'
PPn *ki	Haw i	'preposition "to(wards)"'
PNP *kusa	Haw uhaa-uhaa	'pant, froth from mouth'
PPn *kete-kete	Tah eteete	Tah 'shocked'
PNP *koo-tole	Tah otore	Tah 'disembowel'
PCE *koo-mene	Tah omenemene	'contract, roll up'
PCE *pokea	Tah poea	PCE 'Purslane'

Notes: 1. Pawley (personal communication) suspects a misspelling as loss in one morpheme of a reduplicated form is not otherwise known to be matched by retention in the other. Neither of the Samoan dictionaries (Pratt 1984, Milner 1966) have the form (or one with the missing glottal stop). The form is taken from *Pollex* where there is no note as to the source. 2. Possibly a fortuitous resemblance. Not otherwise known in EP.

Biggs (1993) also shows Marquesan as having no consonant in its reflex of *ki 'to(wards)' but Dordillon (1931) shows it as beginning with a glottal stop.

2.2.4 PROTO POLYNESIAN GLOTTAL STOP

TABLE 2.12: PROTO POLYNESIAN GLOTTAL STOP

	personal article	at, from	yam	mountain	sun	tie
PPn	*qa	*qi	*qufi	*maqunga	*laqaa	*faqu
PTo	*qa	*qi	*qufi	*maqunga	*laqaa	*faqu
Niu	a	i	ufi	mounga	laa	fau
Ton	'a	'i	'ufi	mo'unga	la'aa	fa'u
PNP	*qa	*qi	*qufi	*maqunga	*laqaa	*faqu
EUv	'a	'i	'ufi	mo'uga	la'aa	-
EFu	a	'i	ufi	ma'uga	la'aa	fa'u
PEc	*(q)a	*(q)i	*qufi	*maqunga	*laqaa	*faqu
Tuv	a	-	ufi	mauga	laa	fafau
Lua	a	i	-	mounga	laa	hau
Sam	a	i	ufi	mauga	laa	fau
PEP	*(q)a	*(q)i	*(q)ufi	*maqunga	*raa	*faqu
Eas	a	i	uhi	ma'unga	raa	haha'u
PCE	*a	*i	*ufi	*maunga	*raa	*fau
PMq	*(i)a	*i	*ufi	*maunga	*raa	*fau
Haw	-	i	uhi	mauna	laa	-
Mqa	ia	i	pua-uhi	mouka	'aa	hau
Mva	-	i	u'i	maga	raa	-
PTa	*a	*i	*ufi	*maunga	*raa	*fau
Mao	a	i	uwhi	maunga	raa	whawhau
Rar	a	i	u'i	maunga	raa	-
Tah	ia	i	ufi	mau'a	raa	-
Tua	a	i	uhi	maunga	raa	fau

PPn *q is retained in only Tongan, East Uvean, East Futunan Rennellese/Bellona, and Rapanui. Orthographically the glottal stop is always "q" in the protolanguages and " ' " in the living languages. Rapanui is the only Ellicean or East Polynesian language that retains PPn > PNP > PEc > PEP glottal stop except for possible residue in Marquesan (Chapter 2.3.6) and the reconstruction of the Proto Ellicean and Proto East Polynesian glottal stop depends entirely upon Rapanui agreeing with Tongan, Rennellese, East Uvean and/or East Futunan. It was long thought that Rapanui lost the PPn > PNP glottal stop in word initial position but Bergmann (1963) found that the old glottal stop is retained in that position as well (and that the compilers of the Rapanui dictionaries had failed to record it). In the absence of reliable descriptive materials, we therefore reconstruct *(q)- for Proto East Polynesian in word initial position where Proto Polynesian and/or Proto Nuclear Polynesian are known to have had one. In those few instances where Bergmann or others have recorded a word initial glottal stop for Rapanui, PEP *q- is reconstructed.

Rapanui normally loses PPn and PNP *q word medially between two occurrences of the low vowel (*a_a). Thus, for instance, the PPn *laqaa > EAS raa 'sun' correspondence can now be understood as regular rather than irregular or a borrowing. Rapanui dictionaries have a number of (-)a'a(-) sequences and two or three do go back to glottal stops in Proto Polynesian and/or Proto Nuclear Polynesian. They are best understood as residue of diffused loss. PPn and/or PNP *q are also known to be lost in a few instances between other vowel combinations in Rapanui but these seem less common and associated with a preceding low vowel. Whether the losses occurred by Proto East Polynesian times is indeterminate so, for instance, PEP *ra(q)aa 'sun' should be reconstructed.

Of the seven languages under special scrutiny here, only Tongan and Rapanui retain PPn *q. The irregular agreements of Tongan and Rapanui with a reconstructed glottal stop are given below. As can be seen, some Tongan forms disagree with Proto Nuclear Polynesian or "Proto Samoic-Outlier"⁶ and the situation for Proto Polynesian is indeterminate. In other cases the situation in Proto Polynesian is clear and Tongan has irregularly lost the glottal stop. The Rapanui cases exhibit loss in the first three cases and insertion in the fourth.

TABLE 2.13: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN *Q IN TON AND EAS

PNP *faqj	Ton fai	'rite, perform ritual'
PPn *mata-qi-talinga	Ton matai	'hammer head shark'
"PSO" *qau-kau	Ton au	'pus'
PPn *saqa	Ton haa-sia'	'forbidden, wrong, taboo'
PPn *saqele	Eas haere	'go on foot, walk'
PPn *faqo	Eas hao	'put into, pack in'
PNP *laqu	Eas rau	'piece of yam for propagation'
PNP *kai	Eas ka'ika'i	'sharp'

Note: 1. "(food) spoilt by the smell of something".

⁶ Samoic-Outlier, a group abandoned in Wilson (1985), Marck (forthcoming) and the present work.

2.2.5 PROTO POLYNESIAN *M

TABLE 2.14: PROTO POLYNESIAN *M

	ashamed	red	rub, massage	fowl	fish sp.
PPn	*maa	*mea	*mili	*moa	*muu
PTo	*maa	*mea	*mili	*moa	*muu
Niu	maa	mea	mili	moa	-
Ton	maa	mea	mili	moa	muu
PNP	*maa	*mea	*mili	*moa	*muu
EFu	maa	mea	mili	moa	muu
EUv	maa	mea	mili	moa	muu
PEc	*maa	*mea	*mili	*moa	*muu
Tuv	maa	mea-mea	mili	-	muu
Lua	-	mea	mili	moa	muu
Sam	maa	-mea	mili	moa	mu
PEP	*haka-maa	*mea	*miri	*moa	*muu
Eas	haa-maa	mea	-	moa	-
PCE	*haka-maa	*mea	*miri	*moa	*muu
PMq	*haka-maa	*mea	*miri	*moa	*muu
Haw	-	mea	mili	moa	muu
Mqa	-	-	-	moa	mu
Mva	'aka-maa	-	mi'i	moa	muu
PTa	*haka-maa	*mea	*miri	*moa	*muu
Mao	whaka-maa	mea	miri	moa	muu
Rar	-	-	miri	moa	muu
Tah	ha'a-maa	tara-mea	miri-miri	moa	muu
Tua	haka-maa	mea	miri	moa	muu

PPn **m* is regularly retained as *m* in every Polynesian language. Two possible irregular reflexes of Pn **m* were encountered in the seven languages:

TABLE 2.15: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *M FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PNP *sume	Mqa hune	'put on, as loincloth'
PPn *rima	Mao ringa	'hand, five'

Marquesan shows an irregular change in the following::

- (2.11) SUME
 NP :Put on, as a loincloth.
 Haw Hume. :Put on, as a loincloth.
 Mao Hume. :Put on, as a loincloth.
 Mqa- <Hume. :Put on loincloth>.
 Puk Yume. :Clasp s.t. between thighs, put on s.t.
 Rar 'Ume. :Put on, as a loincloth.
 Tah Hume. :Put on, as a loincloth.
 Tua Hume. :Put on, as a loincloth.

but there is an item noted in Dordillon (1931:75) where corresponding forms in the North and South Marquesan groups differ similarly:

- (2.12) MqN peemo 'slippery'
 MqS peeno 'slippery'

So this may be part of some larger pattern of alternations and cannot be counted as a single sporadic event.

The other change is in NZ Maori and has no parallel of which I am presently aware. Here PPn **m* has gone to Mao *ng*:

- (2.13) LIMA
 Pn five, hand
- | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|
| Anu | Rima. :Hand-arm (2.Yen). |
| Anu1 | <Nima. :Five, hand-arm (Fbg) B.>. |
| Ece | Lima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| EFu | Lima. :Five, hand. |
| EUv- | <Nima. :Main, bras, cinq (Rch)>. |
| Fij | Lima. :Five. |
| Haw | Lima. :Five, hand. |
| Kap | Rima. :Five, hand n (Ebt). |
| Kap1 | Lima. :Hand, arm, five (Lbr). |
| Mae | Rima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| Mao | Rima. :Five. |
| Mao2 | <Ringa. :Hand>. |
| MFa | Rima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| Mqa | 'Ima. :Five, hand. |
| Mva | Rima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| Niu | Lima. :Five, hand. |
| Nkr | Lima. :Hand, arm. |
| Oja | Lima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| Pen | Rima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| Rar | Rima. :Five, hand. |
| Ren | Gima. :Hand, arm, five (Ebt). |
| Rot | Lima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| Sam | Lima. :Five, hand. |
| Sik | Lima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| Tah | Rima. :Five, hand. |
| Tak | Rima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| Tik | Rima. :Five, hand, arm, wrist (Fth). |
| Ton | Nima. :Five, hand. |
| Tau | Rima. :Five, hand. |
| WFu | Rima. :Five, hand-arm. |
| WEv | Lima. :Five, hand-arm. |

2.2.6 PROTO POLYNESIAN *N

TABLE 2.16: PROTO POLYNESIAN *N

	mosquito	orgasm	tooth	common, worthless, ordinary	earth, country
PPn	*namu	*nene	*nifo	*noa	*nuku
PTo	*namu	*nene	*nifo	*noa	*nuku
Ton	namu	-	nifo	noa	nuku
Niu	namu	nene	nifo	noa	nuku
PNP	*namu	*nene	*nifo	*noa	*nuku
EUv	namu	-	nifo	noa	-
EFu	namu	ma-nene	nifo	noa	nuku
PEc	*numu	*nene	*nifo	*noa	*nuku
Sam	namu	-	nifo	noa	nu'u
Lua	ngamu	-	ngiho	-	-
Tuv	namu	nene	nifo	-	nuku
PEP	*namu	*nene	*niho	*noa	*nuku
Eas	-	nene	niho	noa	-
PCE	*namu	*nene	*niho	*noa	*nuku
PTa	*namu	*nene	*niho	*noa	*nuku
Tah	namu	nenene	niho	noa	nu'u
Tua	namu	nene	niho	noa	nuku
Mao	namu	whaka-nene	niho	noa	nuku
Rar	namu	nene	ni'o	noa	nuku
PMq	*namu	*nene	*niho	*noa	*nuku
Mqa	namu	nene	niho	noa	nuku-
Mva	-	-	ni'o	noa	nuku
Haw	-	nene	niho	noa	nu'u

PPn **n* is retained as *n* in most Polynesian languages. All possible cases of sporadic irregular change of PPn **n* known to me have other explanations for change readily at hand. For instance, consider the three changes below:

TABLE 2.17: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *N FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PCE *kanapa	Mqa ke'apa	'flash, glitter, sparkle'
PPn *qahawana	PNP *qaawa(n.ng)a	'spouse'
PNP *taafuna, PTo *tafuna	Ton tafunga	'shoal or submarine reef'

The first case exhibits an irregular change. Hawaiian and Mangarevan agree on PMq **kanapa* while Marquesan has a glottal stop.⁷ The change of the first vowel in Marquesan is expected:

⁷ Normally reflecting a former liquid (PCE **r*) although it is also the PCE **k* reflex in one dialect. PMq **n* is regularly reflected as glottal stop in neither of the Mqa dialects.

- (2.14) KANAPA
 CE :Flash, glitter, sparkle.
 Haw 'Anapa. :Shine, gleam, glitter, sparkle (Pki).
 Mao Kanapa. :Bright, gleaming (Wms).
 Mqa- <Ke'apa. :Flash, gleam>.
 Mva Kanapa. :Bright, shining (Tgr).
 Pen Kanapa. :Flash (reflection as a signal) (Yda).
 Puk Ka(a)napa(napa). :Shine, flash (Bge).
 Rar Kanapa. :Flash, glitter, sparkle brilliantly (Sve).
 Tah 'Anapa. :Scintiller, lacer des eclairs (Mte).
 Tua Kaanapa. :Glitter, gleam, flash once (Stn).

Dordillon (1931:3) notes that Marquesan *k*, *n*, *r* and *t* sometimes have doublets with the glottal stop but gives no examples for *n* or *r* (1931:74-76). This is the single instance of an **n* reflex that I noted in *Pollex* that changed according to that pattern. I have not counted it as a sporadic change because it may be part of a larger pattern of such alternations.

The second possibility is the change of PPn **qahawana* 'spouse' to PNP **qaawa(n,ng)a*. The Proto Nuclear Polynesian form may represent a morphological reinterpretation of the final syllable (*-*na* 'possessive' to *-*nga* 'nominaliser') and is not counted here as a sporadic sound change:

- (2.15) QAHAWANA
 *7 Cf. PNP *'aawanga (Ebt.1975).
 Pn *qahawa(n,9)a. :Marry, elope, spouse.
 Anu Aavanga. :Marry.
 Ece Aavaga. :Marry, spouse, intended spouse.
 EFu 'Aavaga. :Spouse, marry (Bgs).
 EUV 'Aavaga. :Mariage, epouse, union, hysterie (Rch).
 Kap Awanga. :Wife.
 MFa Avaga. :Married.
 Mqa 'Ahana. :Mari, epoux (Dln)>.
 Mva Ahana. :Mari (Jnu).
 Niu Hoana. :Wife, marry (of a man).
 Ren 'Aabanga. :Marry, elope, spouse.
 Sam Aavaga. :Elope (Mnr).
 Sik Aavana. :Spouse, marry)Sps).
 Tak Avana. :Spouse (Hwd).
 Tik Aavaga. :Marry.
 Tok Aavaga. :Spouse, be married (Sma).
 Ton 'Ohoana. :Spouse, husband, wife (Cwd).
 WFu Ava9a. :Marry.
 WEv Avanga. :Marry.

In the last example it is only Tongan that disagrees. Niuean is marked "not counted as cognate" as well but that marking appears only to concern semantic distance and not the consonant irregularity seen in Tongan:

50 JEFF MARCK

(2.16) TAAFUNA
 NP :A shoal or submarine reef.
 Mao Taahuna. :Shoal, sandbank (Wms).
 Niu- <Tafuna. :A mound (McE)>.
 Mqa Tahuna. :Rivage de la mer couvert de pierres (Dln).
 Mva Tahuna/huna. :Shallows, shoals, sandbanks etc. (Tgr).
 Rar Taa'una. :A pile, bank, ridge, reef (Bse).
 Sam Taafuna. :A rocky place in the sea (Prt).
 Tah- <Tahuna. :Hide or conceal (Dvs)>.
 Ton- <Tafunga. :Convex, in the form of a mound (Cwd)>.

This may be a case of morphological replacement as PPn *-na was a possessive and PPn *-nga a nominaliser as mentioned above and I have not counted the present case as one of sporadic change.

2.2.7 PROTO POLYNESIAN *NG

TABLE 2.18: PROTO POLYNESIAN *NG

	disappeared, forgotten	famine	blow (of wind)	snore	hum, grunt, groan
PPn	*ngalo	*honge	*angi	*ngolo	*nguu
PTo	*ngalo	*honge	*angi	*ngolo	*nguu
Niu	ngalo	honge	angi	nguu	
Ton	ngalo	honge	angi	ngolo	nguu
PNP	*ngalo	*onge	*angi	*ngolo	*nguu
EFu	galo	oge	agi	(tuu)golo	guu
EUv	galo	-	(agi)agi	-	guu
PEc	*ngalo	*onge	*angi	*ngolo	-
Tuv	galo	oge	agi	-	-
Lua	-	(e)onge	-	-	-
Sam	galo	oge	agi	(go)golo	guu
PEP	*ngaro	*onge	*angi	*ngoro	*nguu
Eas	ngaro	onge	-	(ngoro)ngoro	nguu
PMq	*ngaro	*onge	*angi	*ngoro	-
Haw	nalo	-	ani	-	nuu
MqN	ka'o	oke	-	ko'o	-
MqS	-	one	-	-	-
Mva	-	-	(agi)agi	goro	-
PTa	*ngaro	*onge	*angi	*ngoro	-
Mao	ngaro	onge	(a)angi	(ngo)ngoro	nguu
Rar	ngaro	(o)onge	angi	ngoro	nguu
Tah	'aro	o'e	-	-	('uu)'uu
Tua	ngaro	onge	angi	(ngo)ngoro	nguu

The differences between the Northern and Southern dialects of Marquesan are consistent. (See Elbert 1982:Table 2):

- (2.17) PCE *ingoa > MqN ikoa, MqS inoa 'name'.
 PCE *rangī > MqN 'aki, MqS 'ani 'sky'.
 PCE *moenga > MqN moeka, MqS moena 'mat'.
 PCE *tango > MqN tako, MqS tano 'dark'

Note: See also Dordillon (1931:72-74).

PPn *ng changes regularly to other sounds (*n*, *k* or glottal stop (via *k*)) in several Polynesian languages where **m* made no regular changes and **n* made relatively few. Similarly, the irregular changes of reconstructed *ng outnumber the irregular changes of reconstructed **m* and **n*. Loss of reconstructed Pn *ng occurs in some languages where *ng regularly became glottal stop. Examples are given at the end of the present section. Otherwise, the possible irregular developments of *ng which are most convincing number six, of which I accept three as most likely resulting from sporadic sound change.

TABLE 2.19: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *NG FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PPn *manga-wai	PEP *mana-wai	'tributary water course'
PPn *ngaa	Tah naa	'a plural marker'
PPn *nguu-feke	PCE and Outlier *muu-feke	'squid'
PPn *palangi	Mao paraki	PPn 'surgeonfish'
PPn *qafinga	PTo *qafine	'armpit'
PPn *singano	Tah hinano	'pandanus flower'

In the cognate set below Rapanui and Tuamotuan both show an *n* where PPn *ng is reconstructed on the basis of Niuean, Samoan and East Futunan. If it is from the Southern dialect, the Marquesan form would be consistent with either **n* or *ng. The simplest (fewest changes) explanation for these East Polynesian reflexes is that PPn *manga-wai irregularly became PEP *mana-wai.

- (2.18) MAGA-WAI
 Pn :Tributary water-course.
 Eas- <Manabai. :Big holes in which plants were planted(Fts).
 EFu Magaavai. :Outlet in an irrigation ditch (Bgs).
 Mqa Manavai. :Ruisseau, vallee, vallon(Dln).
 Niu Mangavai. :Fresh water (McE).
 Sam Magavai. :Tributary stream (Mnr).
 Tua- <Manavai. :Hollow, depression, trough.

The second likely case of irregular change from a reconstructed Pn *ng occurs in Tahitian in the following abbreviated cognate set.

52 JEFF MARCK

- (2.19) GAA.2A
 Pn :Plural marker preposed to definite or specific nouns.
 Anu Nga. :Definite article plural (Fbg).
 Eas 9a. :Prefix used with n. to indicate plurality (Fts).
 Haw Naa. :Plural definite article.
 Mao Ngaa. :Definite article plural.
 Mqa Na. :Paucal plural definite article.
 Rar Ngaa. :Two, pair, couple, a few (Bse).
 Tah- <Naa. :Dual or paucal number marker of nouns>.
 Ton Ngaa/hi. :The commonest of the plural signs (Cwd).
 Tua 9aa. :Prctl of limited plurality, the several, the few.

Clearly PPn *ngaa > Tah naa. But change in such grammatical markers is commonly viewed as possibly due to factors which affect common nouns and verbs less frequently and, as elsewhere, I apply a different standard, not counting it as a clear case of sporadic change.

The third case involves a set of distributions that do not correspond neatly to the subgrouping hypotheses. The data from Biggs (1993) occur in two related cognate sets and are given below.

- (2.20) GUU-FEKE
 Pn :Squid.
 EFu Guufeke. :Squid (I).
 EUv Gufeke. :Seiche, poulpe, pieuvre (Rch).
 Mae Guufeke. :Squid, cuttlefish (Clk).
 Ren Nguuheke. :Squid, decapoda (Ebt).
 Sam Guu/fe'e. :Mollusc sp., squid (Mnr).
 Tok Guufeke. :Cuttlefish (Sim)
 Ton Guu/feke. :Squid sp.

- (2.21) MUU-FEKE
 NP :Squid, cuttlefish.
 Tuv Muufeke. :Squid (Bsr).
 EFu Muufeke. :Squid (Bgs).
 Haw Muuhe'e. :Cuttlefish, (Sepioteuthus artipinnis).
 Mao Muheke. :Paper Nautilus (Argonauta tuberculata).
 Mia Mu'eke. :Squid (Teuthoid sp.) (Cek).
 Mqa Muheke. :Espece de poisson (Dln).
 Puk Muuweke. :Squid (Bge).
 Rar Muu'eke. :Kind of squid (Bse).
 Tik Mufeko (sic). :Squid (Fth).
 Tua Muheke. :Squid.

Jackson (1994) gives *gufeke* [*ngufeke*] 'squid' for Vaitupu and cross references to *mufeke* but I did not find such an entry. Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro have simply *nguu* 'squid' as does NZ Maori. There are several standard explanations for this kind of distribution. One is that phonetic pressure caused convergent developments. POC *nusa 'squid' evidently became PCP *nuu by final syllable loss and *nguufeke was the Proto Polynesian form. The second consonant (labiodental *f), in concert with the long round

vowel would be seen to have created situation where *muufeke* (which begins with a bilabial) was easier to pronounce than *nguufeke* (which begins with a velar).

It is also possible that there were competing forms in Proto Polynesian or Proto Nuclear Polynesia as there may be in East Futunan and Vaitupu today. But I do not find the competing forms solution very satisfying. It is not certain that East Futunan has competing forms as the different forms were recorded at different times. As we have no clear evidence for competing forms in a living language it seems possible that change normally occurred quickly when it happened. Overall this seems a case of sporadic change that has occurred in several languages and protolanguages through natural articulatory and auditory processes.

The fourth possible example involves an irregular reflex in NZ Maori:

(2.22)	PALAGI.1	
	Pn	:A surgeonfish (<i>Acanthurus</i> sp.).
	EFu	Palagi. :Fish sp.
	Haw	Palani. :A surgeonfish (<i>Acanthurus dussumieri</i>) (Pki).
	Mao-	<Paraki. :A freshwater fish, (<i>Retropinna retropinna</i>).
	Mqa	Pe'aki. :Fish species (= Tahitian para'i).
	Puk	Palangi. :A fish (<i>Acanthurus bleekeri</i>) (Hpr).
	Rar	Parangi. :A surgeonfish (<i>A. xanthopterus</i>) (Hpr).
	Sam	Palagi. :A surgeonfish sp. when one foot long (Mnr).
	Tah	Para'i. :A surgeonfish (<i>Acanthurus xanthopterus</i>) (Hpr).
	Ton	Palangi. :A fish (<i>Acanthurus</i> sp.) (Hpr).

This case is weakened by distinctive semantics in that language, but the New Zealand physical environment is different from that in tropical Polynesia and Proto East Polynesian, Proto Central East Polynesian and Proto Tahitic plant and fish names were often assigned to new species encountered in New Zealand. The agreement is problematic but it is an extremely common East Polynesian word and if Maori has it, it appears to be the form given below. It is consistent with Harlow's (1994:118) suggestion of Northern Marquesan influence in some Maori dialects as Northern Marquesan has *k* as the regular reflex of PCE **ng* so borrowing or substratum is a possible explanation for the form. It is also possible that it is a local regular development or dialect borrowing as South Island Maori had *k* as the regular reflex of PCE **ng* (cf. Biggs 1978:Figure 5, Harlow 1994:107). Though worth mentioning, it has too many other possible explanations to be counted as a likely sporadic change.

The fifth possible case involves an irregular shift to **n* in Proto Tongic:

- (2.23) QAFI-GA
Pn :Armpit.
 Eas Hai9a. :Armpit (Fts).
 Ece Afiga. :Armpit (Rby).
 EFu 'Afiga. :Armpit (Bgs).
 EUv 'Afiga. :Armpit (Btn).
 Mae Afiga. :Armpit (Clk).
 Niu Afine. :Armpit (McE).
 Nkr Ahinga. :Armpit (Crl).
 Lua Ahi9a. :Armpit (Tpe).
 Ren 'Ahinga. :Armpit (Ebt).
 Tak Afina. :Armpit (Hwd).
 Tik Afiga. :Armpit (Fth).
 Ton Faa/'efine/. :Armpit (Cwd).
 WFu Afiga. :Armpit (Dty).

This is a possible replacement of the **-nga* nominaliser with the **-na* possessive and is not counted here as a sporadic sound change of the sort presently being tabulated.

The sixth possible irregular development of reconstructed Pn **ng* follows and occurs in Tahitian. Given that 1) the irregularity is shared in the only other Tahitic cognate (Rar) known but not Marquesic (the two Marquesan forms below are regular but from different dialects) and 2) **ng* became *n* before the regular change of PTa **ng* to glottal stop, this change may have occurred by Proto Tahitic times. Note that the second Marquesan form has metathesis of the second and third consonants, a matter which is indeterminate for Tahitian, Rarotongan and the first Marquesan form:

- (2.24) SIGANO
Pn :Pandanus flower, pandanus sp.
 Mqa Hiinano. :Pandanus flower.
 Mqa1 Hinako. :Pandanus flower.
 Rar 'inano. :Pandanus flower.
 Tah- <Hinano. :Blossom of the pandanus b.>.
 Ton Hingano. :Pandanus sp. and its flower.
 WFu Sigano. :Sheath of banana flower (Dty).

2.2.7.1 LOSSES OF *NG THAT HAD BECOME GLOTTAL STOP

I am presently aware of two possible cases from the seven languages where an **ng* that became glottal stop was lost, both from Tahitian:

TABLE 2.20: POSSIBLE LOSSES OF RECONSTRUCTED PN **NG* BY WAY OF GLOTTAL STOP FROM TAH

PPn <i>*angi</i>	Tah aiai	PPn 'unencumbered', Tah 'clear, white'
PCE <i>*tenga</i>	Tah teaai	'satiated'

The agreements are reasonable on semantic grounds⁸ but may not involve loss at all as glottal stops are not recorded accurately in some of the Tahitian sources.

2.2.8 PROTO POLYNESIAN *F

TABLE 2.21: PROTO POLYNESIAN *F

	four	star	desire	paddle	fruit
PPn	*faa	*fetuqu	*fia-	*fohe	*fua
PTo	*faa	*fetuqu	*fia	*fohe	*fua
Niu	faa	fetuu	fia	fohe	fua
Ton	faa	fetu'u	fie	fohe	fua
PNP	*faa	*fetuqu	*fia-	*foe	*fua
EFu	faa	fetu'u	fia-	foe	fua
EUv	faa	fetu'u	fia-	foe	fua
PEc	*faa	*fetuqu	*fia-	*foe	*fua
Tuv	faa	-	fia	foe	fua
Lua	-	-	hia	hoe	hua
Sam	faa	fetuu	fia-	foe	fua
PEP	*faa	*fetuqu	*fia-	*foe	*fua
Eas	haa	hetu'u	hia(hia)	hoe	hua
PCE	*faa	*fetuu	*fia	*foe	*fua
PMq	*faa	*fetuu	*fia	*hoe	*fua
Haw	haa	hokuu	hia	hoe	hua
MqN	haa	hetuu	hia-	hoe	hua
MqS	faa	fetuu	-	-	-
Mva	'a	'etu	-	'oe	'ua
PTa	*faa	*fetuu	*fia-	*hoe	*fua
Mao	whaa	whetuu	whia	hoe	hua
Rar	'aa	'eetuu	'ia	'oe	'ua
Tah	faa	fetuu	hia-	hoe	hua
Tua	faa	fetuu	hia	hoe	hua

Pn *f has been unstable in *faf- and *fas- forms and this matter is considered in Chapter 2.3.1. Otherwise, I have found the following possible sporadic irregularities of Pn *f among the protolanguages and the seven languages:

TABLE 2.22: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *F FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PPn *fai-ngaofie	Mao wai-ngoohia	'easy, not difficult'
PPn *fala-fala	Sam sala-sala	'plant sp.'
PPn *faa-kule	Post Ec-WP *vaa-kule	'search for head lice'

⁸ Reduplication and compounding often result in very distinct meanings whose connection to the original meanings of the components is not obvious.

The evidence for the first is found in the following cognate set:

- (2.25) FAI-GAOFIE
 Pn Easy, not difficult.
 Anu- <Pai9apua (Fbg) B.>.
 Tuv Fai9ofie (Rby).
 EFu Fai9ofie (Rch).
 EUv- <Fai9afua (Rch) B.>.
 Mao <Wai9oohia (Wms).
 Nkr Hai9aohie (Crl).
 Lua Hai9ahie (Tpe).
 Ren Hai9aohie (Ebt).
 Sam Faigoofie (Mln).
 Sam Vaogofie. :To be obedient (Prt).
 Sik Hainaohie (Dnr).
 Tok Fai9oofie (Sma).
 Ton Fai9ofua (Cwd).

The regular NZ Maori word initial correspondence to PPn *f is *wh* except for those dialects where it is *h*. But I have not counted this as a probable irregularity as the word is morphologically complex and *fai- may have been reinterpreted as *wai-*.

In the second case Samoan has an unusual agreement of *s* with PPn *f. The semantic and morphological agreements are excellent and Samoan seems sporadically to have changed *f to *s*:

- (2.26) FALA-FALA.1
 Pn :Plant sp.
 EFu Falafala. :Yam sp. (Bgs).
 EUv Falafala. :Espece d'igname (Rch).
 Fij Varavara. :Several plants (Phm)@.
 Mao Wharawhara. :(Collospermum sp.).
 Sam- <Salasala. :(Collospermum sp.) (Mnr)>.
 Tah Farafara. :Species of mountain plantain (Dvs).
 Ton Falafala. :Yam sp.

The evidence for the third irregularity is found in the following cognate set:

- (2.27) FAA-KULE
 Pn :Search head for lice@
 EFu Faakule. :Search head for nits or lice (Bgs)@)@
 Haw Haa'uke. :Search head for lice@
 Haw1 Naa'uke. :Search head for lice@
 Mae Faakure. :Search head for lice (Clk)@
 Mae1 Faakuru. :Search head for lice (Clk)@
 Mao Whaakure. :Search head for lice (Wms)@
 Rar 'Aaruke. :Search head for lice@
 Tik Faakure. :Forage for headlice, delouse (Fth)@
 WEv Faalukia. :Chercher (les poux) (Hmn).
 WEv1 Faaliki(a). :Chercher (les poux) (Hmn).

 MFa Vaakure. :Search head for lice (Clk)@
 MFa1 Vakure/a. :Search head for lice (Clk)@
 Sam Vaa'ule. :Seek lice in head
 Sik Vaakule. :Search for lice@
 Tok Vaakili. :Inspect, look for (e.g.lice) (Sma)@
 Ton Vaakule. :Rummage about in (Cwd)@

This change (**f* > *v*) appears to have occurred more than once. Tongan, Samoan and Tokelauan are contiguous and may have borrowed the change in Post Proto Polynesian times. Sikaiana and Mele Fila may have made the change independently. It may be a morphological change rather than a sporadic sound change.

2.2.9 PROTO POLYNESIAN *S

TABLE 2.23: PROTO POLYNESIAN *S

	tear, torn	err	fish with line	smell, rub noses	turn over, lever up, weed, root
PPn	*sae	*see	*sii	*songi	*sua
PTo	*hae	*heehee	*hii	*hongi	*hua
Niu	hee	heehee	hii	hongi	huo
Ton	hae	heehee	hii('atu)	hongi	hua
PNP	*sae	*see	*sii	*songi	*sua(a(ki))
EFu	sae	(se)see	(sii)sii	sogi	-
EUv	hae	(hee)hee	hii	hogi	hua aki
PEc	*sae	*see	*sii	*songi	*sua(aki)
Tuv	(ha)hae	(he)hee	hii	hongi	hua
Lua	sae	-	sii	(vei)songi	-
Sam	sae	see	-	sogi	-
PEP	*sae	*see	*sii	*songi	*sua(ki)
Eas	-	-	hii	hongi	-
PCE	*sae	*see	*sii	*songi	*suaki
PMq	*hae	*hee	*hii	*hongi	-
Haw	hae	-	hii	honi	hua'i
Mqa	(ka)hae	hee	(ika)hii	hoki	huai
Mva	('ae)'ae	-	'ii	'ogi	-
PTa	*sae	*see	*sii	*songi	*suaki
Mao	hae	hee	hii	hongi	hua
Pen	sae-sae		sii-sii		
Rar	('ae)'ae	'ee	'ii	'ongi	'uaki
Tah	(hae)hae	hee	hii	ho'o	hua'i
Tua	hae	hee	-	hongi	huaki

Tongan has a residue of PPn **s* which it retains as [s] rather than changing to *h* (Chapter 2.3.2). Otherwise the most common irregular outcome is loss. This is seen in six cases involving several languages and there is also a case of insertion:

TABLE 2.24: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *S FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PPn *safu	Sam aafu	'fall (of water)'
PPn *kisi-kisi	Sam 'ii	'Oxalis sp., herb'
PPn *kosi	Mqa koi	'scrape, scratch'
PCE *nohi-nohi	Tah noi-noi	'small, short'
PEP *paasua	Haw paapaua	PEP 'Tridacna sp.'
PEP *paasua	Mao paaua	PEP 'Tridacna sp.'
PPn *ngau	PCE *ngasu	'bite'

In the cognate set that follows Samoan (and Tokelauan) have irregularly lost PPn *s. The distribution is consistent with Samoan having lost the sound and a doublet later developing in Tokelauan under Samoan influence (one retaining the old local pronunciation and one taking up the innovative Samoan pronunciation).

(2.28) SAFU.1

Pn	:To run off, fall (of water).
EFu	Safu. :Flow, small conduit from leaf.
EUv	Hafu. :Drip, trickle.
Fij	Savu. :Waterfall.
Haw	Hahu. :Purge, as the bowels.
Ren	Sahu. :Drip, flow, as water or blood (Ebt).
Rot-	<Safu. :Stream running down hillside (Cwd) b.>.
Sam-	<Aafu. :Waterfall (Mnr) b.>.
Tok	Safu. :To pour off (as water from a roof) (Sma).
Tok-	<Aafu. :Waterfall, cascade, cataract (Sma) b.>.
Ton	Hafu. :Trickle down, small waterfall.

The semantic and morphological agreements are excellent in the following cognate set (although Samoan does not show the reduplication of the others) and there is reason to suspect that *s was irregularly lost in Samoan.

(2.29) KISIKISI

Pn	:Oxalis spp.
Haw	'Ihi ('ihi). :Oxalis spp.
Sam-	<'Ii. :(Oxalis corniculata) (Whr) B.>.
Ton	Kihikihi. :Herbs (Desmodium triflorum and O.c.) (Ykr).

Loss of PPn *s can be seen below in Anutan, Ellicean Outlier, Tokelauan and Marquesan. Tikopian, Samoan and Tuamotuan retain the sound in good cognates suggesting loss may have happened independently in the others. See Chapter 2.3.4 on the lenition of PPn *s.

- (2.30) KOSI
 Pn :Scrape, scratch.
 Anu Koi. :To scratch with one's fingernail (Fbg).
 EUv Kohi. :Couper legerement, egratigner (Btn).
 EUv1 Kohi'i. :Coupes legerement, egratigner (Btn).
 Kap Koi. :Metal hand grater for grating coconut flesh(Lbr).
 Mqa- <Koi. :Inflammation aux cuisses, excoriation (Dln)>.
 Ngg Kohi. :Scrape.
 Nkr Goi. :Scrape (Crl).
 Puk Koyi. :Stripe, streak, crease (Bge).
 Rot- <'Oi. :Scrape. :scrape, grate (Cwd)>.
 Sam 'O/'osi/. :Scratch, scrape (Prt).
 Tik- <Kosi. :Pinch out (as a bud, some powder etc.) (Fth)>.
 Tok- <Ko/koi/. :Scorching heat of the sun (Sma).
 Ton Kohi. :Scratch with a sharp point (Cwd).
 Tua- <Kohi/hi. :Tear, strip off (Stn)>.

The cognate set below is discussed more extensively in Chapter 2.3.1 and the unabridged data will not be repeated here. Our interest here is the irregular loss of PCE *h in NZ Maori and Hawaiian. Reference to the data in Chapter 2.3.1 make it clear that these are independent losses in Maori and Hawaiian and had not occurred by Proto Tahitic or Proto Marquesic times.

- (2.31) PAAHUA
 CE :Tridacna clam sp.
 Haw- <(Paa)paua. :Bivalve shellfish (Isognomen) (Pki)>.
 Mao- <Paaua. :Haliotis spp.>.
 Note: PCE *paasua by the theory of PCE sounds proposed in the present work.

In the following instance it seems certain that Tahitian has irregularly lost PCE > PTa *s or *f.

- (2.32) NOFINOFI
 CE :Small, short.
 Mao Nohinohi. :Small (MAN) (Bgs).
 Mqa Nohinohi. :Short stature (Tgr).
 Tah- <Noinoi. :Small, diminutive (Dvs)>.

Finally, the case of insertion appears to have occurred at the Proto Central Eastern Polynesian level. Besides the regular reflex of PPn *ngau 'chew' (PCE *ngau 'chew'), there was also PCE *ngasu 'bite', which had an irregular insertion that, in this instance, created a new word with a slightly different meaning:

60 JEFF MARCK

(2.33) GAU

Pn	:Chew in order to extract juice, as sugar-cane).
EFu	Gau. :Chew (as sugar-cane).
Haw	Nau. :Chew.
Kap	Ngau. :Chew (Ebt), (Lbr).
Mao	Ngau-a. :Gnaw, bite (Bgs).
Niu	Gau. :Chew, as sugar cane.
Nuk	Ngau. :Chew.
Puk	Ngau/ngau. :Chew (Bge).
Rar	Ngau-a, -'ia. :Chew.
Ren	Ngau. :Chew, as sugar-cane, betel nut, bite (Ebt).
Sam	Gau. :Chew (e.g. sugar-cane) (Mnr).
Tah	Au/au. :Chew food.
Tak	Nau. :Chew (e.g. sugar-cane) so as to suck juice (Hwd).
Tik	Ngau. :Bite, chew, take in teeth (Fth).
Ton	Ngau. :Gnaw, chew to extract juice (Cwd).
Tua	9au. :Gnaw.

(2.34) GAHU.1

CE	:Bite.
Haw	Nahu. :Bite, sting, pain (Pki).
Mao	Whakanga/ngahu/. :To hunt with dogs (Wms).
Mao1	Kakahu. :Bite (SMA).
Mqa	Kakahu. :Bite.
Mqa1	Nennahhu. :To bite (Crk).
Mqa2	Nahu. :Mordre (Dln).
Tah	'A'ahu. :To bite or nip, a bite, gnash the teeth (Dvs).
Tua	9ahu. :Bark in rage (Stn).
Tua1	9a/9ahu/. :Fight, as dogs (Stn).

Note: By the current theory of PCE sounds: PCE **ngasu* or, by the *Pollex* orthography, **gasu*. Biggs (1992, 1993, 1994) and Biggs and Clark (1996) continues to use **h* for PEP, PCE and PTa **s* which is inconsistent with Biggs' (1978:Figure 5) postulation of PEP **s* for these correspondences and what can now be seen as the clear position of Tongarevan as Tahitic (Biggs 1978:Figure 5 places Tongarevan as an unclassified EP language).

2.2.10 PROTO POLYNESIAN *H

TABLE 2.25: PROTO POLYNESIAN *H

	span (measure)	mount, go on board	name	famine	enter
PPn	*hanga	*heke	*hingoa	*honge	*huru
PTo	*hanga	*heke	*hingoa	*honge	*huu
Niu	-	heke	hinga	honge	huu
Ton	hanga	heke(nga)	hingoa	honge	huu
PNP	*anga	*eke	*ingoa	*onge	*ulu
EFu	-	eke	igoa	oge	ilu
EUv	-	-	-	-	ulu
PEc	*anga	*eke	*ingoa	*onge	*ulu
Tuv	aga	-	igoa	oge	ulu
Lua	-	-	igoa	(e)oge	ulu
Sam	aga	e'e	igoa	oge	ulu
PEP	*anga	*eke	*ingoa	*onge	*uru
Eas	-	eke	ingoa	onge	uru
PCE	*anga	*eke	*ingoa	*onge	*uru
PMq	*anga	*eke	*ingoa	*onge	*uru
Haw	ana	e'e	inoa	-	-
Mqa	(')aka	eke	ikoa	oke	u'u
Mva	aga	eke(ga)	igoa	-	(aka)uru
PTa	*anga	*eke	*ingoa	*onge	*uru
Mao	-	eke	ingoa	onge	uru
Rar	-	'eke	ingoa	(o)onge	uru
Tah	aa	e'e	i'oa	o'e	uru
Tua	anga	eke	ingoa	onge	uru

PPn *h is regularly retained only in Tongic. In Samoan and some Outlier languages it is lost in most environments but falls together with *s in Samoan between like vowels where a long vowel would have been the result of loss (Biggs 1994a:*moho entry⁹). I offer a different interpretation here (Chapter 2.3.4). Aside from that question, I found only one case of irregular developments associated with PPn *h:

TABLE 2.26: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *H FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PPn *kaho-kaho	Ton kaokao	'side of canoe'
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In this instance there is the loss of *h in Tongan where the semantic and morphological agreements with the reconstruction are excellent. Niuean retains the sound so this was

⁹ "Note. At some point all non-Tongic languages lost *h initially and between unlike vowels, but (? some) SO languages retained *h, as s, between like vowels (most) of the time. If *moho was innovated from *ma-oha, then, to account for the retention of the h in SO languages, the assimilation of the final vowel must have occurred first. But our subgrouping theory would not allow for this unless we suppose that h was lost twice (totally in EP and partially in SO)."

not a Proto Tongic development. Possibly the Tongan form is a borrowing from Nuclear Polynesian. Rensch (1987) has noted that PPn **h* is lost in some other words in Tongan but that these cases are generally doublets with forms that retain the sound. Semantic doublets are a hallmark of borrowing so there is reason to believe the forms with losses involve borrowing from Nuclear Polynesian (Chapter 5.2) and this may simply be a retention of the old loan while the regularly agreeing form was lost or not included in the dictionary and other sources. The Tongan form is considered here a probable borrowing.

2.2.11 PROTO POLYNESIAN **W*

TABLE 2.27: PROTO POLYNESIAN **W*

	canoe	hot	mango
PPn	*waka	*wela	*wii
PTo	*vaka	*vela	*vij
Niu	vaka	vela	vii
Ton	vaka	vela	vii
PNP	*waka	*wela	*wii
EFu	vaka	vela	vii
EUV	vaka	vela	vii
PEc	*vaka	*vela	*vij
Tuv	vaka	vela	-
Lua	va'a	vela	-
Sam	va'a	vela	vii
PEP	*waka	*wera	*wii
Eas	vaka	vera	-
PCE	*waka	*wera	*wii
PMq	*waka	*wera	*wii
Haw	wa'a	wela	wii
Mqa	vaka	ve'a	-
Mva	vaka	vera	vii
PTa	*waka	*wera	*wii
Mao	waka	wera	-
Rar	vaka	vera	vii
Tah	va'a	vera	-
Tua	vaka	vera	-

Where Proto Polynesian **w* is not still *w* it is *v*. It did not occur before the back vowels **u* and **o* with the possible exception of some onomatopoeic words. I presently know of only three irregularities for reconstructed PPn **w* from the seven languages, one from Proto Tongic and one from Proto East Polynesian.

TABLE 2.28: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *W FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

PPn *mamawa	PTo *mamao	'yawn'
PPn *raqa	Ton va'a	'branch (of tree)'
PPn *qaoa	Ton 'ovava	'banyan tree'
PPn *watuke	PEP *fatuke	'sea urchin sp.'
PCE *hungowai	PMq *hungoai	'parent-in-law'
PPn *qawa	Mao auā	'fish sp.'

The first is seen in the correspondence of PPn *mamawa > PTo *mamao > Ton, Niu mamao 'yawn'. There was both PNP *mamawa and *mawawa, as is evident in the following data set. But only *mamawa can be reconstructed to Proto Polynesian (Ton, Niu, Mae, Ren) and the point here is that of coalescence in Tongan and Niuean:

(2.35) MA-MAWA

- *Pn* :Yawn (Clk).
- Tuv Maavava. :Yawn (Bsr).
- Ece1 Maavaava. :Yawn (Rby).
- EFu Maavava. :Yawn.
- EUv- <Mamaao. :Bfillement (Rch) B.>.
- Mae Mamava. :Yawn.
- Niu Mamao. :Yawn.
- Nkr Maava. :Yawn.
- Ren Mababa Yawn.
- Ren1 Mamaba. :Yawn.
- Sam Maavava. :Yawn.
- Tik Mava. :Yawn (Fth).
- Tok Maavava. :Yawn.
- Ton Mamao. :Yawn.
- WFu (H)mava. :Yawn, pull in breath (Dty).

The following two forms show (2.36) possible replacement of **l* or **r* with *v* in Tongan and (2.37) coalescence to *v* in Tongan:

(2.36)	RAQA	
	Pn	:Branch (of tree).
	Anu	Rara. :Small branch (Fbg).
	Ece	Laalaa. :Small branch (Bsn).
	EFu	La'ala'a. :Small branch.
	Fij-	<Va'a. :Branch (Rch) B.>.
	Fij	Dradra/i. :Suckers from yam tubers.
	Haw	Laalaa. :Branch, limb, bough.
	Mao	Raaraa. :Small branch.
	Mqa	'A'a. :Petites branches (Dln).
	Mva	Rara. :Branch (Tgr), Branches d'arbres (Jnu).
	Niu-	<Laa (sg.), laalaa (pl.). :Small branch (MCE).>.
	Nkr	Laalaa. :Having many branches.
	Nkr1	Laa. :Branch.
	Lua	Laalaa. :Branch.
	Pil	La. :Branch.
	Pen	Raaraa. :Small branch.
	Puk	Laa. :Branch (Bge).
	Rar	Raaraa. :Branch, twig, off-shoot.
	Ren	Ga'a. :Branch.
	Rot	Raaraa. :Having branches.
	Sam	Laalaa. :Branch (Mnr).
	Sik	Laa. :Branch (of a tree).
	Tah	Rara. :Branch (Dvs).
	Tak	Raa. :Branch (Hwd).
	Tik	Raa. :Stem, twig, minor branch of tree (Fth).
	Tok	Laalaa. :Side branches.
	Ton	Va'a. :Branch (Cwd).
	Ton1	Va'a(va'a). :Having branches.
	WEv	Laalaa. :Branch.

The Tongan form above agrees with a dialect of Fijian not specified by Biggs and may be a borrowing. But it is Fijian which has a doublet, not Tongan, so if it *is* a loan perhaps it is Fijian that has borrowed. Then there is the following case in Tongic where PPn **qaoa* may have gone to Pre Proto Tongic **qaowa(wa)* then to PTo **qovava* (EUv is taken to be a Ton loan):

(2.37) QAOA
 Pn :Banyan tree (Ficus sp.).
 EFu 'Aoa. :Banyan tree.
 EUv 'Oovava. :Nom d'un arbre (Ficus prolixa) (Rch).
 Haw Ao/aoa/. :Small seaside shrub, (Wikstroemia sp.).
 Mae R/aoa. :Banyan (Clk).
 MFa Aoa. :Banyan.
 Mqa Ao'a. :Baobas, figuier des bananiens (Dln).
 Niu Ovava. :Banyan tree (Ficus prolixa) (McE).
 Nkr Aoa. :Ficus prolixa, banyan.
 Rar Aoa. :Banyan tree (Ficus prolixa) on outer islands.
 Rar1 Ava. :Pacific Banyan (Ficus prolixa) (McC).
 Ren 'Aoa. :Banyan-like tree, (Ficus benjamini) [l.] (Ebt).
 Sam A/aoa/. :Banyan tree.
 Tah Aoa. :Tree sp.
 Tik Aoa. :Banyan tree (Ficus sp.) (Fth).
 Ton 'Ovava. :Banyan tree (Ficus sp.) (Cwd).
 WFu Aoa. :Banyan.

The fourth case is the change of PPn **watuke* 'slate-pencil urchin' to **fatuke* in Proto East Polynesian:

(2.38) WATUKE
 Pn :Slate-pencil urchins (2.Heterocentrotus spp.).
 EUv Vatuke. :Nom d'un oursin de mer (Btn).
 Kap Maduge. :Slate Pencil Urchin (Heterocentrotus sp.).
 Mae Vatuke. :Sea urchin sp. with blunt spines (Clk).
 Mia Atuke. :Slate-pencil Urchins, (H. spp.) (Cek).
 Ren Patuke. :A brownish sea-urchin commonly eaten (Ebt).
 Sam Vatu'e. :Large, edible sea-egg, (H. sp.) (Mnr).
 Tik Vatuke. :Slate-pencil sea urchin (H. sp.) (Fth).
 Ton Vatuke. :Kind of sea-egg with long, thick spikes (Cwd).
 WFu Vatuke. :Sea-urchin.

Eas Hatuke. :Sea-urchin (Mtx).
 Eas1 Hetuke. :Sea-urchin (Chl).
 Haw Haaku'e. :Slate-pencil Sea-urchin, (H. mam.) (Pki).
 Haw1 Haa'uke. :Slate-pencil Sea-urchin, (H. mam.) (Pki).
 Mqa Hatuke. :Oursin a gros aiguillons (Dln).
 Mva Etuqe. :The sea porcupine (Tgr).
 Pen Hetuke. :Slate-pencil Urchin (Rsn).
 Rar 'Aatuki. :Sea-egg, echninus (Sve).
 Tah Fetu'e. :Oursin-crayon, (H. mammaillatus) (Mte).
 Tua Fatuke. :Edible variety of sea-urchin (Stn).

The next cognate set exhibits loss of PCE *w in Proto Marquesic:

- (2.39) FUGOWAI.*
 *7 Cf. PPN *fu9awai "parent-in-law".
 *8 Note rule PCE *u(C)o > MAO u(C)a.
 CE :Parent-in-law.
 HAW Makua/huunooai/. :Parent-in-law (Pki).
 MAO Hungawai. :Parent-in-law (Bgs).
 MQA Mòt/ukoai/. :Beau-pere, belle-mere (Dln).
 MQA1 Mot/u'oai/. :Beau-pere, belle-mere (Dln).
 MQA2 Mot/unoai/. :Beau-pere, belle-mere (Dln).
 RAR 'Ongovai. :Parent-in-law (Sve).
 TAH Ho'ovai. :Beau-pere (Mte).
 TUA Hu9ovae. :Great-grandparent-in-law (Stn).

Note: Biggs (1994) gives Haw *makua/huunoowai* but this is described by his source as a "rare variant" of the form I have given above, which I take to be more basic, the form showing *w* being a Tah loan or case of insertion.

The last exhibits PTA *w becoming syllabic *u* in NZ Maori. This is a "natural" change, in that it occurs in many language families, but is rare with the very stable, very "consonantal" *w of Polynesian:

- (2.40) QAWA
 Pn :Milkfish or Salmon Herring (Chanos chanos).
 EFu 'Ava. :Fish like mullet but bigger (Bgs).
 EUv 'Ava. :A freshwater fish (Mugil cephalus) [L.] (Rch).
 Haw Awa. :Milkfish (Chanos chanos) (Pki).
 Mao- <Aua. :Herring, Yellow-eyed Mullet>.
 Mqa Ava. :Petit poisson d'eau douce (Dln).
 Rar Ava. :(Chanos chanos).
 Sam Ava. :(Chanos sp.) (Mnr).
 Tah Ava. :Fish called white salmon (Dvs).
 Ton 'Ava. :Fish sp.

2.2.12 PROTO POLYNESIAN *L

TABLE 2.29: PROTO POLYNESIAN *L

	sky	whale tooth/ivory	angry	squeeze	shake
PPn	*langi	*lei	*lili	*lomi	*luuluu
PTo	*langi	*lei	*lili	*lomi	*luuluu
Ton	langi	lei	lili	lomi	lulu
Niu	langi	lei	-	lomi	luuluu
PNP	*langi	*lei	*lili	*lomi	*luuluu
EUv	lagi	lei	lili	(lo)lomi	lulu
EFu	lagi	lei	lili	(lo)lomi	luluu
PEc	*langi	*lei	*lili	*lomi	*luuluu
Sam	lagi	lei	lili	lomi	luuluu
Lua	-langi	-	-	lomi	-
Tuv	lagi	lei	lili	lomi	luu
PEP	*rangi	*rei	*riri	*romi	*ruuruu
Eas	rangi	rei	riri	-	ruru('u)
PCE	*rangi	*rei	*riri	*romi	*ruuruu
PTa	*rangi	*rei	*riri	*romi	*ruu
Tah	ra'i	rei	riri	(tau)romi	ruuruu
Tua	rangi	rei	riri	(romi)romi	ruu
Mao	rangi	rei	riri	romi	ruuruu
Rar	rangi	rei	riri	romi	ruuruu
PMq	*rangi	*rei	*riri	*romi	*ruuruu
Mqa	'aki	'ei	'i'i	'omi	'uu
Mva	ragi	rei	riri	(romi)romi	ruuruu
Haw	lani	lei	lili	lomi	luuluu

Proto Polynesian *l is generally found as l in Western and Outlier languages and as r in East Polynesian languages. Irregularities associated with Pn *l known to me consist of the forms in Table 2.30. As PPn *r and *l fell together as PNP *l, all r and l sounds of Nuclear Polynesian are considered in the present section.

TABLE 2.30: POSSIBLE IRREGULARITIES OF PN *L FROM THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

Pta *areare	Tah aneane	'clear'
PCE *manufiri	Tah manihini	'guest, visitor'
PPn *lunga	Tah ni'a	'above, on top'
PNP *ka-itoa	Haw 'aikola	'expression of satisfaction'
PPn *saakule	Haw haa'uke	'search for head lice'
PPn *pulu	Ton punu	'plug'
PPn *lima	Ton nima	'hand'
PPn *taka-milo	Mao takaamio	'go round'
PNP ngaawali	Sam vaaivai	'weak'
PPn *maqoli	Sam/Efu *maoki	'common, genuine'
PPn *maqoli	Post Ec-WP *maqoni	'common, genuine'

Evidence for the first irregularity which is in Tahitian comes from:

- (2.41) AREARE
 Ta :Clear, open.
 Haw- <Aniani. :Mirror, glass, clear, transparent (Pki)>.
 Mao Areare. :Open, clear of obstruction.
 Puk- <Aleale. :Clear, pure (Mta) B.>.
 Rar Areare. :Transparent, clear, as of water.
 Tah Aneane. :Clear, as fine, cloudless day (Dvs).

The evidence for the second, also involving Tahitian, follows. As can be seen, a doublet at the Proto Tahitic level seems possible:

- (2.42) MANU-FIRI
 CE :Visitor, guest, stranger.
 Fij- <Manu ciri. :Wandering bird (Mythological)>.
 Haw Malihini. :Stranger, newcomer, guest.
 Mao Manuwhiri. :Visitor, guest.
 Mqa Manihi'i. :Hote, etranger, convives.
 Rar Manu'iri. :Stranger, visitor, guest from distant parts.
 Tah Manuhiri. :Guest, visitor.
 Tah1 Manihini. :Guest, visitor.
 Tua Marihini. :Guest, visitor.
 Tua1 Manihini. :Guest, visitor.

Note: The Haw case is counted as metathesis of the second and fourth consonants.

The evidence for the third, again from Tahitian, is:

- (2.43) LUGA
 Pn :Above, top (locative noun).
 Eas Ru9a. :Above (Fts).
 Ece Luga. :Up.
 EFu 'A/luga/. :Above.
 Haw Luna. :Above.
 Mao Runga. :Above.
 MFa Ruga. :Top, above (Clk).
 Mqa 'Uka. :Above (NKH) (I).
 Mva Ruga. :Above.
 Niu Lunga. :Above.
 Nkr Lunga. :Up, above.
 Oja Lu9a. :Above (Fts).
 Puk Lunga. :top, upper part (Bge).
 Rar Runga. :Above.
 Sam Luga. :Above.
 Tah Ni'a. :Above.
 Tak A/runa. :Top, summit, above (Hwd).
 Ton Luga. :Above (Fts).
 Tok 'O/lunga/. :Above (Locative).
 Tua Ru9a. :Above.

The abbreviated data set below for the fourth sporadic change shows an irregular insertion of *l* in Hawaiian:

- (2.44) KA-ITOA
 NP :Expression of satisfaction at misfortune of others.
 Tuv Kaitoa. :Serves you right.
 Haw- <'Aikola. :Expr. of satisf. at misfortune of others>.
 Mao Kaitoa. :Expr. of satisf. at misfortune of others.
 Lua 'Aikoa. :That's good! (sarcastic) (Tpe).
 Rar- <'Aitoa. :Serve somebody right (Bse) B.>.

Hawaiian also has an irregular correspondence to one or the other of the following reconstructions:

- (2.45) SAAKULE
 Pn :Search head for lice, examine carefully.
 Eas Aruke. :Remove lice (Fts).
 EUv Hakule. :Chercher en fouillant (Btn).
 Fij Cakule. :Lift up in searching, part hair to find lice.
 Haw- <Haa'uke. :Examine carefully, s. head for lice (Pki)>.
 Mao Haakure. :Search (Head) for lice.
 Mva 'Akure/kure. :Search head for lice (Bck).
 Nkr Saagule. :Pick head lice.
 Pen- <Aakure. :Pick up B.>.
 Rar 'Aaruke. :Examine carefully, s. head for lice (Mka).
 Rot Sa'ule. :Separate hair and pick out lice.
 Tak Sakure. :Search for lice (Hwd).
 Ton Hakule. :Rummage about, examine carefully.
 Tua Raruke. :Delouse (Stn).
 Tual Aaruke. :Delouse (Stn).
 YAS Caakule. :Part the hair to look for lice (Ply).
- (2.46) FAA-KULE
 Pn :Search head for lice.
 EFu Faakule. :Search head for nits or lice (Bgs)@).
 Haw Haa'uke. :Search head for lice.
 Haw1 Naa'uke. :Search head for lice.
 Mae Faakure. :Search head for lice (Clk).
 Mae1 Faakuru. :Search head for lice (Clk).
 Mao Whaakure. :Search head for lice (Wms).
 MFa Vaakure. :Search head for lice (Clk).
 MFa1 Vakure/a. :Search head for lice (Clk).
 Pen- <Aakure. :To search head for lice B.>.
 Rar 'Aaruke. :Search head for lice.
 Sam Vaa'ili. :Search for, look for.
 Sik Vaakule. :Search for lice.
 Tik Faakure. :Forage for headlice, delouse (Fth).
 Tok Vaakili. :Inspect, look for (e.g.lice) (Sma).
 Ton Vaakule. :Rummage about in (Cwd).
 WUv Faalukia. :Chercher (les poux) (Hmn).
 WUv1 Faaliki(a). :Chercher (les poux) (Hmn).

Items 2.45 and 2.46 seem an old doublet or series of doublets based upon alternate prefixes. As both PPn *s and *f> Haw *h*, the Hawaiian forms may have come from either or both of the reconstructions. Our present interest lies mainly with the **l* to

Haw *k* correspondence. Haw *k* is irregular and seems to be a sporadic change from **l* as the Hawaiian glottal stop is a regular correspondence to **k*.

The irregularity shown below involves excellent semantic agreement between Proto Nuclear Polynesian and Tongan which correspond irregularly in one of the consonants. In the absence of Niuean or external evidence Biggs has not made a Proto Polynesian reconstruction but there is Wayan (Fijian) *bulu* 'patched, sealed' and we can reconstruct the following form to Proto Polynesian and note Tongan as sporadically irregular:

- (2.47) PULU.1B
 NP :Plug of fibrous material.
 Eas Puru. :Plug, cover, to close (Fts).
 Tuv Tau/pulu. :To plug holes in a canoe.
 Haw Pulu. :Material used to stuff corpses, etc.
 Mao Puru. :Plug.
 Rar Puru. :Plug.
 Ton- <Punu. :Plug>.
 Tua Puru. :Plug.

A similar change is PPn **lima* > Ton *nima* 'hand, five'.

The next irregularity associated with Pn **l* is a case of loss in NZ Maori where the semantic and morphological agreements with other Polynesian are excellent:

- (2.48) TAKA-MILO
 Pn :Turn round.
 Efu Takamilo. :Tournoyer, passer autour (Rch).
 Mao- <Takaamio. :To go round about>.
 Sam Ta'amilo. :Go round about (Prt).
 Ren- <Laghamigo. :Be riled (as the sea), twisted(Ebt)>.
 Ton Takamilo. :Turn round and round (Cwd).

Another possible irregularity is a loss in Samoan:

- (2.49) GAAWARI
 Pn :Weak, pliable, easily persuaded.
 Haw Naawali. :Weak, feeble, infirm.
 Mao Ngaawari. :Soft, accomodating, obedient.
 Mqa Navai. :Delicate, slender, pliable.
 Nkr Ngaavali. :Bent slightly.
 Puk Ngavali. :Bend, be curved (Bge).
 Rar Ngaavari. :Pliable, easily persuaded.
 Sam- <Vaaivai. :Weak (of body)>.
 Tik Ngavari/vari. :Slack, of man.
 Ton Ngaavai/vai. :Feeble, infirm.
 Tua 9aavari. :Weak, feeble.

The semantics of Samoan are consistent with the rest of the group. Loss of **r* suggests a Tongan loan and Samoan shares the Tongan reduplication of the second morpheme. But the loss of the first morpheme of Samoan is not matched in Tongan and there is no

semantic argument for a loan. As it is not clear whether borrowing or irregular loss has occurred this has not been counted amongst the likely cases of sporadic change.

Finally, PPn **maqoli* 'true, right, genuine' is irregular throughout Western Polynesia. It is replaced by a reflex of **maqoki* in East Futunan and Samoan and by a reflex of **moqoni* in Tongan and other languages. Samoan has both *mo'i* from **maqoki* and a borrowing, *moni*, from the Post Proto Tongic Tongan pronunciation (PTo was still **maqoli* on the evidence of Niu). East Uvean, Tokelauan, Tuvalu (Ece), and Sikaiana have only what I suggest to be the late Tongan pronunciation. Having said that it should be noted that Nukuoro has a regular reflex of the Proto Polynesian reconstruction to Proto Ellicean Outlier was still **ma(a)oli* and Sikaiana may be a late influence from Tuvalu or some other source. In any event, there seems to have been some kind of Post Proto Tongic and Post Proto Ellicean tabooing reaction within Western Polynesia to the regularly reflected pronunciations of the Proto Polynesian reconstruction. Perhaps a high chief or king had a name with the reconstructed pronunciation (see Chapter 6).

(2.50) MAAQOLI

Pn	:True, right, genuine.
Eas	Ma'ori. :Skilled, old.
Ece	Faka/maoni. :Reliable (Rby).
Efu-	<Maa'oki. :True (Bgs)>.
Euv	Ma'oni/'oni. :Juste, vrai (Rch).
Euv-	<Mo'oni. :Vrai, s-r, certain (Rch) B.>.
Haw	Maoli. :Native, indigenous, native, true, real (Pki).
Mao	Maaori. :Indigenous, ordinary, natural (Bgs).
Mfa	Maori. :True, real.
Mva	Maori. :Right (not left) (Jnu).
Niu	Mooli. :True.
Nkr	Maoli. :Suspicion which proves true.
Ren	Maa'oli. :Right, true, real (Ebt).
Sam	Fa'a/maoni/. :True, loyal.
Sam1	Moni. :True (Prt).
Sam2	<Mo'i. :True (Prt)>.
Sam3	<Maa'o'i. :Real, genuine (Mnr)>.
Sik	Maaoni. :True, genuine.
Tah	Maaori. :True, genuine, indigenous.
Tik	Maori. :True, truth, feel sure of.
Tok	Moni. :True, sincere, honest.
Ton	Mo'oni. :True, genuine, intrinsic.
Tua	Maori. :Indigenous.
WUV	Maaoli. :Vrai, verite (Hmn).

2.2.13 PROTO POLYNESIAN *R

TABLE 2.31: PROTO POLYNESIAN *R

	torch	turmeric	chief	go	fish sp.
PPn	*rama	*renga	*qariki	*roo	*rufi
Pto	*ama	*enga	*q(a,e)iki	*oo	*ufi
Ton	ama	enga	'eiki	oo	ufi
Niu	ama	enga	iki	o	-
PNP	*lama	*lenga	*qaliki	*loo	*lufi
Euv	lama	lega	'aliki	-	-
Efu	lama	lega	'aliki	-	lufi
Pec	*lama	*lenga	*qaliki	*lo(o)	*lufi
Sam	lama	lega	ali'i	-	lufi
Lua	lama	-	'ali'i	-	-
Tuv	lama	lega	aliki	-	-
PEP	*rama	*renga	*(q)ariki	*roo	*ruhi
Eas	rama	-	ariki	-	ruhi
PCE	*rama	*renga	*ariki	*roo	*ruhi
Pta	*rama	*renga	*ariki	*roo	*ruhi
Tah	rama	re'a	ariki	-	ruhi
Tua	rama	renga	ariki	-	ruhi
Mao	rama	renga	ariki	roo	-
Rar	rama	renga	ariki	roo	ru'i
PMq	*rama	*renga	*ariki	-	*ruhi
Mqa	'ama	'eka	(hak)aliki	-	'uhi
Mva	rama	rega	(ak)ariki	-	ru'i
Haw	lama	lena	ali'i	-	lufi(a)

The regular reflexes of Proto Polynesian **r* are the same as those for **l* in Nuclear Polynesian while loss is the regular pattern in Tongic. Irregular reflexes of PPn **r* can only be suggested through reference to Tongic which lost PPn **r* where Proto Nuclear Polynesian did not. One pattern is loss, one is retention and a third is a situation where there are doublets, one from each pattern. This pattern seems to be a result of borrowing from Nuclear Polynesian or, less certainly, an old dialect difference internal to the Tongan archipelago (see Chapter 5.2). There are no apparent cases of PPn **r* becoming something other than *l* (or being lost) in Tongic.

2.2.14 OVERALL CONSONANT IRREGULARITIES OF THE SEVEN LANGUAGES

TABLE 2.32: REASONABLY CERTAIN CASES OF SPORADIC CONSONANTAL IRREGULARITY IN SEVEN LANGUAGES (NOT INCLUDING SPORADIC LOSS OF GLOTTAL STOP)

PNP *tamata	Pto *kamata	'taste, attempt, try'
PPn *mamawa	Pto *mamao	'yawn'
PNP *pulu	Ton punu	'plug'
Pto *lima	Ton nima	'hand, five'
PPn *raqa	Ton va'a	'branch'
PPn *qaoa	Ton 'ovava	'banyan tree'
PPn *maqoli	Post Ec WP ¹ *maqoni	'true, right, genuine'
PPn *faa-kule	Post Ec WP *vaa-kule	'search for head lice'
PEc *fala-fala	Sam sala-sala	'plant sp.'
Pec *kisi-kisi	Sam 'ii	'Oxalis sp.'
PNP *qepo	Sam eto	'lick'
Pec *safu	Sam aafu	'fall (of water)'
PPn *maqoli	Sam maa'o'i	'true, right, genuine'
PEc *manga-wai	PEP *mana-wai	'tributary water course'
PPn *watuke	PEP *fatuke	'sea urchin'
PTa *taa-tea	Eas takatea	'semen'
PEP *komo	Eas omo-omo	'suck'
PPn *nguu-feke	PCE *muu-feke	'squid'
PPn *ngau 'chew'	PCE *ngau 'chew'	PCE *ngasu 'bite'
PEc *faasua	PCE *paasua	'Tridacna (giant clam)'
PCE *hungowai	PMq *hungoai	'parent-in-law'
PEP *ka-itoa	Haw 'aikola	'express satisfaction'
PCE *ope	Haw kope	'scoop up, shovel'
PCE *palu	Haw waiu	'fish sp.'
PCE *paasua	Haw paapaua	PCE 'Tridacna (giant clam)'
PMq *haakule	Haw haa'uke	'search for head lice'
PMq *tapatuu	Haw kaakuu	'fish sp.'
PMq *hakali	PNMq *erehi	'mature coconut'
PCE *kosi	Mqa koi	'scrape, scratch'
PCE *singano	PTa hinano	'pandanus flower'
PPn *paasua	Mao paaua	PCE 'Tridacna (giant clam)'
PTa *awa	Mao aua	'milkfish or salmon herring'
PPn *taka-milo	Mao takaamio	'go round'
PPn *manufiri	Mao manifini	'guest, visitor'
PTa *lima	Mao ringa	'hand'
PPn *runga	Tah ni'a	'above, on top'
PTa *no(f,h)i-no(f,h)i	Tah noi-noi	'small, short'
PTa *areare	Tah aneane	'clear'
PTa *tau-ma(f,h)a	Tah amaha	'heavy'

Note: "Post Ec WP": Post Proto Ellicean Western Polynesian languages.

Table 2.33 gives the most likely cases of sporadic sound changes in the data from Biggs (1993). They number 39. There are also 20 losses of glottal stop or sounds that regularly became glottal stop which are not included. These more closely resemble

diffused loss (there are multiple instances of loss in all languages that regularly retain the Proto Polynesian glottal stop or that have sounds which regularly became the glottal stop). Eleven forms in Table 2.31 involve simple loss while others involve change in manner or place but changes of both manner and place occur only in PPn **maqoni* > **maqoki* 'true, genuine' (Sam/EFu) and PMq **haakule* > Haw *haa'uke*¹⁰ 'search for head lice'. Obstruents, especially sibilants, are lost more often than nasals which are never lost. Sonorants become obstruents but there are no cases of obstruents becoming sonorants. As these are patterns of *regular* sound change for human languages in general, it would seem that these 39 cases are mostly real cases of irregular change rather than fortuitous resemblances.

The extreme regularity of Polynesian consonant agreements has long been recognised. Due to the breadth of Biggs' (1993) work we are now in a position to evaluate just how little irregularity seems to exist even when we make extraordinary efforts to identify it. It is difficult to express, precisely, what percentage of the consonants of the seven languages above is the result of sporadic changes. So far we have been counting words, not consonants.

Average consonants per Biggs (1993) ".PN" reconstruction was 2.27 in a ten percent sample which distributed as found in Table 2.32. There are Proto Polynesian reconstructions with no consonants but none were encountered in the sample. Words with more than about three consonants tended to be compounds and many words with three, two and even one consonant were also compounds.

TABLE 2.33: CONSONANTS PER WORD IN A TEN PERCENT SAMPLE OF BIGGS' (1993) ".PN" RECONSTRUCTIONS

Consonants Per Word	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Number of Such Words	0	19	160	90	20	15	12
Percent of Forms Sampled	0	6	51	28	6	5	4
Average Consonants Per Word: 2.27							

Not counting diffused loss of glottal stops, the reasonably certain sporadic irregular changes number three for Tongan, five for Samoan, two for Rapanui, one for Marquesan, six for Hawaiian, five for NZ Maori and four for Tahitian. There were also two for Proto Tongic, two for Post Proto Ellicean Western Polynesian languages, two

¹⁰ The first and second consonants have regular correspondences. There is a change of **l* to *k* in the third.

for Proto East Polynesian, three for Proto Central East Polynesian, one for Proto Tahitic and one for Proto Nuclear Marquesic.

Table 2.34 estimates the number of consonants compared (2.27 x words counted as cognate) and calculates the rate of irregularity for each language. The number of cases for each language in the table includes those for their ancestral languages, such as the addition of two for Proto East Polynesian and three for Proto Central East Polynesian to Marquesan, Hawaiian, Tahitian and NZ Maori.

TABLE 2.34: MINIMAL IRREGULAR CONSONANTS AS A RATIO OF ESTIMATED REGULAR CONSONANTS IN THE SEVEN MAJOR LANGUAGES (OTHER THAN IRREGULAR LOSSES OF GLOTTAL STOP)

	Words Counted as Cognate	Estimated Consonants Compared	Secure Cases of Sporadic Change	Estimated Rate of Sporadic Change
Ton	2149	4878	8	1:609
Sam	2048	4648	6	1:774
Eas	829	1882	4	1:470
Mqa	1572	3568	8	1:446
Haw	1816	4122	12	1:345
Tah	1917	4352	10	1:435
Mao	2716	6166	11	1:560

Note: "Secure Cases" includes all changes back to PPn, i.e., those unique to the individual language plus those of any ancestral inter-stage back to PPn.

Here we can see the basis of Polynesianists' reluctance to accept consonant agreements that are not perfect. In only one case per about four to eight hundred does any consonant of the seven major languages fail to follow its regular correspondence. The relatively more frequent changes of East Polynesian languages are mainly a reflection of their common history in Proto East Polynesian and especially Proto Central East Polynesian which had two and three sporadic changes respectively, large numbers for their apparent periods of development (Chapters 6 and 9).

These best cases for possible irregular sporadic consonant change can be characterised as follows:

1. The number per language is very small and those argued to date constitute about one in 400 to 800 comparisons to reconstructed consonants. East Polynesian languages generally experienced more changes, perhaps due to a founder effect during times when populations were small upon the initial settlement of new islands.
2. The sonorants have fewer changes than the obstruents except in the instances of *ng and *l.
3. Obstruents never become sonorants while sonorants that change sporadically remain sonorants in all but two instances.

4. Irregular changes may be of manner (13 examples) or place (8 examples) but there are no examples of both having changed in a single sound except the Samoan and East Futunan change of **maqoli* to *maao'i* and *maa'oki* respectively and the change of Hawaiian changing **l* to *k* in **haakule* becoming *haa'uke*.
5. Irregular insertion is sometimes difficult to demonstrate. Only three examples seem fairly certain and not part of some wider epenthesis process using the consonant inserted. This contrasts with 11 reasonably certain irregular losses of sounds other than glottal stop.

As these are characteristics of regular sound change, it seems that as a group most instances are indeed sporadic changes and not due to morphological replacement, borrowing, conflation or chance.

2.3 DIFFUSED CONSONANT CHANGES

Chapter 2.1 gave the regular consonant correspondences of Polynesian languages and Chapter 2.2 gave evidence for sporadic (one or two of a kind) consonant agreements. The present section gives correspondences which are neither and are diffused. By "diffused" sound change I refer to changes to related forms that occur word by word over time. By "residue" I refer to groups of apparently eligible forms that have not been affected by diffused change that has otherwise run its course through other eligible forms. This terminology comes from the "lexical diffusion" literature of Wang (1969), Labov (1981) and others. It refers to such changes as those occurring to some "-oo-" words in dialects of English. Where all of a certain class were once pronounced [u], many have come to be pronounced with a lax vowel and some currently have alternate pronunciations. Examples are given in Table 2.35. With diffused sound change, change happens singly or in small groups over time.

TABLE 2.35: AN EXAMPLE OF LEXICAL DIFFUSION IN ENGLISH

word	unchanged	variable	changed
book			buk
cook			kuk
foot			fut
soot		sut~sut	
root		rut~rut	
boot	but		
fool	ful		
doom	dum		

Note: Adapted from Wang (1979:362) and Phillips (1984:320).

We see evidence for lexical diffusion in two main situations in Polynesia. The first is in the instability of **faf-*, **fas-* and **fes-* forms and their diffused change of one or more of their sounds. The second is in residues of PPn **s* and the glottals (PPn **h* and **q*) that were otherwise lost in several languages and the residue of some PPn **s* as [s] in Tongan (rather than having changed to [h]).

Elbert (1982) considered several topics in Marquesic sound change and wondered if they fell within the range of phenomena being considered by Wang (1969) and Labov (1981). Elbert described alternations of consonants in Marquesan and Hawaiian dialects. There may be some kind of stylistic alternation common to the two groups going back to their common history in Proto Marquesic. But this seems not to have permanently affected much common vocabulary descended from that time. In neither language do we fail to find the regular correspondence except in those rare instances mentioned in the previous section. People may have had styles of speech which involved some alternate pronunciations, but they did not, at the Proto Marquesic level, fail to assign the "historically correct" form its place as the most basic form of the word. I am not certain that most of the examples given by Elbert fall within the range of phenomena normally discussed as "lexical diffusion". In the following sections are cases which I believe may do so.

2.3.1 THE INSTABILITY OF **FAF-* AND **F(A,E)S-* FORMS

An unusual sound change occurred between Proto East and Proto Central East Polynesian whereby PEP **faf-* sequences commonly became PCE **wah-*. Some examples are given in Table 2.3. Grace (1985:60-61) noted that while this is a well

known feature of Central East Polynesian languages, it also occurs in East Futunan and Northern Outliers with **fas-* forms and Biggs (1994a) notes that PPn **fes-* regularly becomes *wes-* in East Futunan. I will first consider the outcome of PPn **faf-* in Central East Polynesian. In addition to those examples where all Central East Polynesian languages made the change (Table 2.3), there are cases where the agreements are imperfect or where no language has made the change at all.

The case below can be provisionally reconstructed to Proto Central East and Proto East Polynesian. This evidence indicates that the sound change rule had not become a Proto Central East Polynesian morpheme structure rule but was only a morpheme structure tendency.

- (2.51) FAFI
 ?? :Packet (of fish) wrapped in leaves.
 Eas Hahi(hi) .:Packet of fish wrapped up in leaves, to wrap up (Chl).
 Mqa Fafi. :Small packet in leaves, to wrap up (Chl).
 Mqa1 Hahi. :Small packet in leaves, to wrap up (Chl).
 Mva Hahi. :Packet or bundle of fish wrapped in leaves (Tgr).

In the second example neither Marquesan nor Mangarevan make the change where Hawaiian and NZ Maori have:

- (2.52) FAFA.2
 Pn :Mouth.
 Eas Haha. :Mouth.
 Haw Waha. :Mouth.
 Mao Waha. :Mouth.
 Mqa- <Fafa. :Mouth (Crk)>.
 Mqa- <Haha. :Bouche, geule, ouverture (Dln)>.
 Mqa- <Fafa. :Bouche, geule, ouverture (Dln)>.
 Mva- <'A'a. :Mouth B.>.

In the third example there is a Mangarevan doublet, one which has made the change and one which has not:

- (2.53) FAFINE
 Pn :Woman, female.
 Eas- <Bahine. :Woman B.>.
 Eas- <Hahine. :Near, next (to), close to, at hand (Fts)>.
 Haw Wahine. :Woman.
 Mao Wahine. :Woman.
 Mqa Vehine. :Woman (Dln).
 Mqa1 Viene. :Woman (Rbt).
 Mva2 'A'ine. :Femme, femelle de tous les ^tres anim,s (Rch).
 Mva3 <Ve'ine. Femme mari, (Rch) B.>.
 Rar Va'ine. :Woman.
 Tah Vahine. :Woman.
 Tua Vahiine. :Woman.

In the above form, Rapanui also has a doublet if we can accept the second form on semantic grounds. But the point is that Mangarevan, a member of Central East Polynesian, has retained the older form, suggesting alternate pronunciations as the word changed in the other languages as well. Substratum is another possibility but it is not otherwise suggested for Mangarevan and this seems a result of diffused change.

A related kind of change is exhibited in Samoan, East Futunan and some East Polynesian languages where former **fVs-* became *(w,v)Vs-*. An example is:

- (3.54) FESI.2
Pn :To hate, dislike.
 Note. PPn **fes* > SAM, EFU /ves/. The EP reflexes require PPn
**fes* > PCE **wes*. There are no other cases, but PPn
**fa(q)(a)s/f* > PCE **was* regularly.
 EFu Vesi/a. :Hate, dislike (Bgs).
 EUv Fesi/a. :Haine (Btn).
 Fij Bese. :Dislike, refuse (Cpl).
 Haw Hehi. :Loathe, repudiate, deny, desecrate (Pki).
 Mao Wehi. :Be afraid, fear, awe (Bgs).
 Mva Vehi. :Etre embarass, (Jnu).
 Mqa Vehivehi. :Embarass, (Dln).
 Niu Vihi/a. :Hate, hateful.
 Rotx <Fesi'a. :Dislike, hate (Cwd) B.>.
 Sam Ve/vesi/. :Be disturbed, confused, disoriented (Prt).
 Tokx <Ve/vehi/. :Be confused, disturbed (Sma) B.>.
 Ton Fehi/'a. :Hate or dislike (Cwd).
 Tua Vehi. :Terrible, awe-inspiring, imposing (Stn).

Pawley (personal communication) gives a likely Wayan cognate *weci-a* 'affect someone badly, have ill effects on someone'. So possibly **wesi* would be a better reconstruction but the data suggest the alternation of such forms over time and in more languages than just Central East Polynesian.

Two forms in which only East Futunan is known to have changed are:

- (3.55) FESI.1
Pn :Tree sp. (Intsia bijuga).
 EFu Vesi. :Large tree, probably Intsia bijuga (Bgs).
 EUv Fesi. :Tree, probably Intsia bijuga.
 Tik Fesi. :Tree sp. (Fth).
 Ton Fehi. :Hardwood tree (Intsia bijuga).
 (3.56) FESI.QI
Pn :Burst out, be expelled, under pressure. - -
 EFu Vesii. :Sortir, couler (Gzl) as pus from a boil (Bgs).
 EUv Fehii. :Coconut from which cream has been expressed
 Ton Fehii. :Burst out, as toothpaste from a tube (Cwd).

Biggs (1993) makes the reconstructions PPn **faasua* 'Tridacna clam' and PCE **paasua* 'Tridacna clam' and his evidence is given below. The external evidence (Ngg *paapasua*, Fij *vaasua*) is consistent with PPn **faasua* as is Polynesian evidence outside

of Central East Polynesian and Tongic. If we posit, as Biggs has, PPn **faasua* and PCE **paasua* the result is the minimal possible number of irregular changes between interstages: one that occurred between Proto Ellicean and Proto Central East Polynesian where **f* > **p*.

(2.57) FAASUA

*7	Cf. PCE * <i>paasua</i> "Tridacna".
Pn	:Tridacna clam sp.
Tuv	Faahua. : (Tridacnus elongata) [Lamarck].
Fij	Vaasua. :Tridacna clam sp.
Mae	Faasua. :Giant Clam (Tridacna) (Clk).
Ren	Haasua. :General name for giant clams (Ebt).
Sam	Faaaisua. :Tridacna clam sp.
Tok	Faahua. :Clam (Sma).
WUv	Faasua. :B, nitier (Hmn).
WUv1	Fasua. :B, nitier (WUH) (Hmn).
WFu	Fasua. :Fish sp.

(2.58) PAASUA

Pn	:Tridacna clam sp.
Haw-	<(Paa)paua. :Bivalve shellfish (Isognomen) (Pki)>.
Mao-	<Paaua. :Haliotis spp.>.
Mqa	Pahua. :Oyster species.
Mva	Pa'ua. :Clam sp., oyster (I).
Niu	Pahua. :A large bivalve.
Nuk	Baasua. :Tridacna maxima.
Pen	Paasua. :Tridacna shell.
Rar	Paa'ua. :Various clams, typically (T. maximus) (Bse).
Tah	Paahua. :(tridacna elonga) (Mte).
Tua	Pahuua. :Tridacna clam sp.

Culled from the above *Pollex* entries are:

(2.59)	EFu	Vaasua. :Tridacna clam.
	MFa-	<Vasuvaasua. :Mollusc sp.>.
	Lua	Vaasua. :Sand-clam.
	Tak	Vaasua. :Clam sp. (Hwd).
	Ton-	<Vaasua. :Tridacna clam sp. B.>.

The third group exhibits sporadic change of the **fVs-* > *vVs-* type while Niuean falls together with the East Polynesian group and may be a loan. The forms immediately above may also be loans to some extent. The giant clam was a common raw material for tools and one can imagine that pronunciations might be borrowed in the context of trade. Tongan, for instance, may have borrowed from Fijian *vasua*. But Tongan shows the distinctive Polynesian long first vowel for this form and I am inclined to think of the third group above as being changed due to phonological processes.

The next form is similar in its Marquesan outcome to the Central East Polynesian outcome in the last group of forms considered. Other Central East Polynesian cognates are not presently known.

- (2.60) FASU (Marck 1996d:207-208)
 Pn :Rights of a man's sister's child to his property.
 Ton Fahu. : Rights of a man's s.'s child to his property.
 EUv Fahu. : Rights of a man's s.'s child to his property.
 Mqa Pahu(pahu). :Cross-sex siblings' children.

By "similar in its outcome" I mean that yet another language can be shown to have divested itself of a PPn **f(a,e)(f,s)-* sequence through change of the initial sound to a bilabial (stop or semivowel) rather than retaining the labiodental. Where this, therefore, seems a sporadic tendency of many Polynesian languages, it is only in the **faf-* forms and their Central East Polynesian outcomes and **fes-* forms and their East Futunan outcomes which we might describe as diffused and regular, respectively. The other cases occur only once or twice in any particular language or proto language and PPn **faasua* > PCE **paasua* was counted as sporadic in the previous accounting of changes made only once or twice.

2.3.2 PROTO POLYNESIAN *S IN TONGAN

Some Tongan *s* sounds are borrowings from English and other languages and some are allophones of /t/. But some are clearly PPn **s* forms where the sound has yet to change to Tongan *h* as it has in most other words (Rensch 1987). Some examples are given in the following entries from Biggs (1994a). On the whole, they often occur where the following vowel is high and there may have been some confusion with the regular retention of **ti* as *si* and a diffused shift of **s* to *h*, "intersecting sound changes" as they are called in the lexical diffusion literature. An example is:

- (2.61) KALAQAPUSI
 Pn :A shrub sp. (*Acalypha grandis*).
 Anu Karakarapui. :(Acalypha grandis) (Fbg).
 Ece Kalakalaapuhi. :(Acalypha grandis) (Rby).
 EFu Kala'apusi. :(Acalypha grandis) (Bgs).
 EUv Kalaapuhi. :(Acalypha grandis) (Rch).
 Fij Kalabuci. :(A. insulana), (A. g.), (A.wilk.) (Cpl).
 Mae Karabusi. :Tree or bush sp. (Clk).
 Mfa- <Koopisi. :(Acalypha grandis) (Clk)>.
 Tik Karaapusi. :(A. hispida) and (Macaranga spp.) (Fth).
 Ton Kalakala'apusi. :(Acalypha wilkesiana) (Ykr).

Borrowing by Tongan seems unlikely in the form above as it retains the Proto Polynesian glottal stop and the same is true of the following form:

82 JEFF MARCK

(2.62) QASI

Pn	:Visit.
Ece	Ahi. :Visit (Rby).
Ece1	A/ahi/. :Visit (Pl.) (Rby).
EFu	'Asi/'asi. :Visit (Bgs).
EUv	'Ahi/'ahi. :Visite, visiter.
Mae	A/asi/a. :Visit (Clk).
Mqa	Ahi. :Entrer (Dln).
Niu	A/ahi/. :To visit (McE).
Niu1	Ahi/ahi. :Visit frequently (McE).
Ren	'Asi/'asi. :Visit, inspect.
Rot	Asi. :Go to see, visit, inspect (Cwd).
Rot1	As/asi/. :By way of trial or probation (qual.) (Cwd).
Sam	Asi. :Visit.
Sik	A/asi/. :Inspect a fish-trap (Sps).
Tak	Asi. :Inspect, visit (Hwd).
Tik	A/asi/. :Taste, test (Fth).
Tok	A/asi/. :Visit, call on, inspect (Sma).
Ton	'Asi. :Turn up, appear on scene (Cwd).
Ton1	'A/'asi/. :Visit (Cwd).
Ton2	'Asi/'asi. :Try, test by experiment, tempt (Cwd).

The following form was discussed for other reasons in the preceding section and the full cognate set is not repeated here. There are two Tongan irregularities (the first and second consonants) but, as above, I question whether it is a loan.

(2.63) FAASUA

Pn	:Tridacna clam sp.
Fij	Vasua. :Tridacna clam sp.
Ton-	<Vaasua. :Tridacna clam sp. B.>.

The next example is a plant name and the next is a material culture item. In both instances Tongan may have adopted the Fijian or Nuclear Polynesian pronunciation where it did so less frequently with more basic vocabulary.

(2.64) SALATO

??	:Tree nettle (Laportea harveyi).
Fij	Salato. :Laportea harveyi, urticaceae (nettle plant).
Mae -	<Salato. :Nettle tree (Clk) B.>.
Sam	Salato. :Tree nettle (Laportea harveyi).
Sik	Salato. :Tree sp.
Tah-	<Haratoo. :Acrid, exciting pain (Dvs)>.
Tak	Sarato. :Plant sp. (Hwd).
Tik-	<Silato. :Tree nettle (Dendroniche harveyi) (Fth)>.
Ton-	<Salato. :A tree (Laportea harveyana)>.

(2.65)

SEI	
Pn	:Wreath, garland.
Eas	Hei. :Crown (Fts).
Fij	Sei. :Flower of the pandanus.
Mqa	Hei. :Collier, fleuron, couronne (Dln).
Mva	Hei. :Couronne (Jnu).
Niu	Hei. :Floral decoration for bride (McE).
Rar	'ei. :Wreath, garland, necklace, noose, snare.
Sam	Sei. :Flower worn as ornament.
Tah	Hei. :Wreath or garland of flowers.
Tik	Sei. :Flower, especially as ear decoration (Fth).
Tok	Hei. :Ear or hair ornament of flower, leaf (Sma).
Ton	Sei. :Ornamentation placed behind the ear (B?).
Tua	Hei. :Wreath, decorated headband.

The following form may have retained *s* due to onomatopoeic pressures, reinterpretation as an old **ti* form, or both.

(2.66) SI-SII

Pn	:Hiss, spurt with a hiss.
Ece	Hihii. :Spurt from several pipes or holes (Rby).
EFu	Sisii. :Hiss to shoo away (Bgs).
Fij	Ci. :Break wind.
Haw	Hii(hii). :Hiss, flow, purge, diarrhoea (Pki).
Mae	Sisii. :Hiss (Clk).
Mao	Hihii. :Hiss, be affected with diarrhoea (Wms).
MFa	Siisii. :Hiss.
Niu	Hihii. :Diarrhoea (McE).
Nkr	Ssii. :Hissing sound.
Ren	Sii. :Make hissing or spurting sound (Ebt).
Rot	Si. :Pass wind quietly (Cwd).
Sam	Sisii. :Hiss (of green wood in fire).
Tak-	<Ssii. :Ejaculate semen (Hwd)>.
Tik	Siisii. :Hiss, make sibilant sound (Fth).
Tok	Hihii. :Soft sound for demanding silence (Sma).
Ton-	<Hii. :Semen (Cwd)>.
Ton-	<Sisii. :Make a hissing or wheezing sound (Cwd)>.
WFu-	<Si. :Hiss (Dty)>.
WUv	Siisi. :Hiss.

There is also the following example in which Tongan seems to have borrowed the Fijian pronunciation and meaning.

(2.67) SONI.A

Pn	:Incise, cut into.
Eas	Honi/honi. :Pare, peel.
Fij	Soni. :Make a small incision, as for piercing a boil.
Mao	Ho(ho)ni. :Nibble, graze v.
Rar	'Oni. :Nibble, gnaw v.
Ren-	<Soni. :Cut (Ebt)>.
Sam	Soni. :Chop, cut up (Mnr).
Tah	Ho(ho)ni. :Nibble, bite (Dvs).
Tok	Honi. :Chop with a knife or a spade.
Ton	Soni. :Make a small incision, lance (Cwd).
Tua	Honi. :Nibble, bite, scrape out with teeth (Stn).

More generally, such forms in Churchward (1959) lack semantic doublets, lack clear sources of borrowing from Fijian or Samoan and sometimes have free variants

(e.g. *salulu* = *halulu* 'annoyed'). These are typical conditions when lexical diffusion is operating or has operated in the past.

2.3.3 PROTO POLYNESIAN *Q IN NIUEAN

Proto Polynesian **q* seems to have a residue found as *h* in Niuean in the following abbreviated¹¹ cognate groups from Biggs (1993).

- (2.68) MOQI
 NP :Small part or unit.
 EFu Mo'i/mo'i. :Mettre ou couper par petite morceaux (Bgs).
 EUv Mo'i. :Noun classifier, small portion or unit.
 Niu- <Mohimohi. :Small, tiny (McE)>.
- (2.69) PU-QAKI
 Pn :Spit out, belch, vomit.
 EUv Pu'aki. :Spit out.
 Niu- <Puhaki. :A sigh (McE)>.
 Ren Pu'aki. :Feed with food from mouth (Ebt).
 Ton Pu'aki. :Eject from mouth, utter.
- (2.70) QAGO
 NP :Thin.
 Niu- <Hangohango. :Of suitable proportions>.
 Ren 'Ango/'ango. :To be low tide (Ebt).
 Ton 'Ango/'ango. :Empty, dry, poor (Cwd).
- (2.71) QUNA
 Pn :Fish scale, turtle-shell.
 EFu 'Una/fi. :Fish scale (Bgs).
 EUv 'Uno. :Ecaille (Rch).
 Niu Ina/fi. :To scale a fish (Motu dial).
 Niu1 Hina/fi. :Fish scale, to scale a fish.
 Niu2 Una. :Turtle shell.
 Ren 'Unahi. :Scale v fish, scales (Ebt).
 Ton 'Uno. :Fish scale, turtle shell.

Niuean has occasionally borrowed from Rarotongan and Tahitian (Chapter 4.3.4) but neither retain the glottal stop and no other language retains the glottal stop as *h*. I therefore offer the above forms as evidence of a residue of PPn **q* as *h* in Niuean. The progression of change could have been along various routes. Perhaps some PPn **q* changed to *h* before **q* was lost but I am more inclined to wonder if residue of the more generally lost **q* simply fell together with *h*, **q* being nearly extinct and *h* being the only other laryngeal. Then we could say that *h* and the residue of **q* fell together as a single phone whose most basic contrast with the other consonants was [+ laryngeal] and that its surface realisation was [*h*].

¹¹ Only data from Pn languages that normally retain glottal stop as glottal stop are shown here.

2.3.4 SAMOAN: RESIDUES OF PPN *S OR *H?

East Uvean, East Futunan, Tuvalu, Tokelauan, some Outlier languages, and, particularly, Samoan present a problem with respect to what is reconstructed as Proto Polynesian **h* where any Nuclear Polynesian shows loss. As Biggs presently interprets the situation (Biggs 1992, 1993, 1994a, Biggs and Clark 1996¹²), some PPN **h* are retained in Samoan and these other languages, normally as [s]. This constitutes a problem since few linguists would allow that [h] would ever change to [s] (cf. Ferguson 1990) and they would be especially suspicious where the origin of the purported **h* was an earlier **s*, as is the case in this Polynesian situation. Examples of retention of Biggs' PPN "**h*" as /s/ ([s]) can be seen in the following data groups and, as Biggs notes, always occur between like vowels.

(2.72)	KAHA	
	Pn	:To burn (intransitive).
	Anu	Kakaa/ti. :Burnt (of food) (Yen).
	Eas	Kaa. :Light fire for the earth oven (Fts).
	EFu	Kaa. :Allumer, allume.
	EFu1	Kakaa. :Brulant, ardent; rougi par le feu (Gzl).
	Euv-	<Kakaha. :Brulant, enflamme (Btn) B.>.
	Fij-	<Kata/kata. :Hot (Bgs)>.
	Haw	'Aa ^ 'a'aa. :Burn, burning.
	Kap	Kaa. :Glow, gleam.
	Mae	Kakaa. :Burn (of fire) (Clk).
	Mao	Kaa. :Burn intrans. (Bgs).
	Mao1	Kakaa. :Glow, be red hot (Wms).
	MFa	Kaa. :Burn, blaze.
	Mia	(Ka)kaa. :Shine, glow, be brilliant (Chn).
	Mqa	Kaka/te ahi. :Said when war is declared.
	Mva	Kaa. :Bruler (Jnu).
	Niu-	<Kakaa. :When the fire takes hold B.>.
	Nkr	Gaagaa. :Easily ignited.
	Nkr1	Gaa. :Catch fire, aflame.
	Oja	'Aa. :Burn.
	Pen	Kaa. :Burn.
	Rar	Kaa. :Burn, burning.
	Rar1	Kakaa. :Shine (?).
	Ren	Kaa. :Burn v, as a light or flame (Ebt).
	Sam	'A'asa. :Glowing hot.
	Sik	Kkaa. :Burning without flame (Sps).
	Tah	'Aa. :Burn, burning.
	Tak	Kaa. :Hot, alight (Hwd).
	Tik	Kaa. :Burn (Fth).
	Tik1	Kakaa. :Hot (Fth).
	Ton	Kakaha. :To glow with heat, be red hot (Cwd).
	Tua	Kaa. :Burn, burning.
	Tua1	Kakaa. :Very hot.
	WFu	Kaa. :To burn (Dty).

¹² Cf. **moho* entry.

As can be seen in the above group, the only Nuclear Polynesian language which retains "**h*" is Samoan (except for East Uvean which is marked as "Not Counted as Cognate" and presumably taken by Biggs to be a Tongan loan). At the opposite extreme are the following two reconstructions where Nuclear Polynesian languages, other than Ellicean Outlier and East Polynesian, commonly retain "**h*" and Biggs makes two reconstructions, one with PPn **s* and the other with PPn **h*:

- (2.73) KESE
- | | |
|------|---|
| *8 | Note. ? combine this with PPN *kehe. |
| *PN* | :Different. |
| Ece | Kehe. :Different, be different (Rby). |
| EFu | Kese. :Different. |
| EUv | Kehe. :Different. |
| Fij- | <Kece. :All>. |
| Lau | 'Ete. :To be different, various (Ivs). |
| Mae | Kese. :Different (Cpl). |
| Mao- | <Kehe. :Odd number>. |
| Mta | Gese. :That and nothing else. |
| Ngg | Keha. :Different. |
| Niu | Kehe. :Different, foreign, other; away (Mce). |
| Ren | Kese. :Varied, strange, unprincipled (Ebt). |
| Ren1 | Keseke. :Different, opposite (Ebt). |
| Sam | 'Ese. :Different. |
| Tik | Kese. :Different, away, apart (Fth). |
| Tok | Kese. :Be different, changed, unusual, other (Sma). |
| Ton | Kehe. :Different. |
- (2.74) KEHE
- | | |
|------|---|
| *??* | :Different, be different, other. |
| Fij- | <Kece. :All>. |
| Haw | 'Ee. :Different. |
| Kap | Kee. :Different (Ebt). |
| Kap1 | Gee/gee. :Different (Lbr). |
| Mao | Kee. :Otherness. |
| Mfa | Kee. :To be different from. |
| Mqa | Kee. :Autre, different (Nkh) (Bgs). |
| Mqa1 | 'Ee. :Autre, different (Dln). |
| Mva | Kee. :. |
| Ngg | Keha. :Different. |
| Niu | Kehe. :Different. |
| Nkr | Gee. :Different. |
| Oja | 'Ee. :. |
| Puk | Ke. :Unrelated (Mta); strange, foreign (Bge). |
| Rar | Kee. :Different, other, wrong (Bse) |
| Sik | Kee. :. |
| Tah | 'Ee. :Different, strange, foreign, peculiar. |
| Tak | Kee. :Different (Hwd). |
| Tik | Kee. :Different (Fth). |
| Tua | Kee. :Different. |
| WFu | Ke. :. |

We might wonder if such distributions have anything to do with Blust's (1976) suggestion of a third palatal reflex in Polynesian languages. But there is no consistent relationship between such forms as above and sounds in cognate forms in Fijian and the

answer to the problem must be sought through developments internal to Polynesian. Our understanding of Oceanic palatal reflexes is based upon Blust (1976, 1978), Geraghty (1986) and especially Ross (1988:71-95) where POc *c, *j and *s, but no nasal grade of *s, are reconstructed. Previous attempts to reconstruct a nasal grade of POc *s were subsumed under POc *s itself and differences in the outcome of POc *s attributed to fortis and lenis reflexes of that sound (Ross 1988:83-86).

The suggestion of lenition works well in the Central Pacific and Polynesian situations. As mentioned previously, PPn *s and *h have no completely consistent relationship to modern Fijian sounds and it is apparent that lenition continued through the Proto Central Pacific period, the Proto Polynesian period and, to a limited extent, into the Post Proto Nuclear Polynesian period. By this analysis, forms that have "mixed" outcomes in Nuclear Polynesian languages should be reconstructed as having had PPn and PNP *s which experienced lenition in some Proto Nuclear Polynesian daughters. As we can assign a particular environment where this tended to occur (intervocally between like vowels), this seems a more plausible solution than reconstructing PPn *h just in those instances and claiming that some languages occasionally reverted to [s].

This interpretation developed lately in the present work, is of moment to a limited set of data and is not central to subgrouping or other arguments made here. For those reasons, Biggs' reconstructions have not been amended to reflect this interpretation. Other instances of Samoan retaining PPn *h as [s] are given in Table 2.36 and are taken to be borrowings from Tongan.

TABLE 2.36: POSSIBLE BORROWINGS OF PPn *H FROM TONGAN IN SAMOAN

PPn *qahu	Sam asu	'smoke'
PPn *hali	Sam sali	'scoop out'
PPn *hoka	Sam so'a	'house rafter'
PPn *huqa	Sam sua	'rise of tide'

2.3.5 CONDITIONED LOSS OF GLOTTAL STOP IN RAPANUI

As mentioned in Chapter 2.2.4, the Proto Polynesian glottal stop is regularly retained in Rapanui except for regular loss between low vowels. Some words showing such losses may be borrowings in the historical period from Tahitian but the examples in Table 2.38 show that in cases of PPn or PNP *-aqa- loss is *always* the outcome. As it is doubtful

that Tahitian pronunciations would be adopted in every such instance, loss seems the regular correspondence in that environment. These examples are given here as it is characteristic of diffused change to begin in a limited environment and then to encroach outwards.

TABLE 2.37: LOSS OF PNP GLOTTAL STOP IN RAPANUI IN THE *A_A ENVIRONMENT

PNP *faqaki 'disclose'	Eas haaki 'accuse'
PPn *laqaa 'sun'	Eas raqa 'sun'
PPn *raqa-kau 'wood tree'	Eas raakau 'castor oil plant'
PPn *maqa 'clean, light-coloured'	Eas maq 'clean, clear'
PPn *maqa 'for'	Eas maq 'for'
PPn *maqala 'garden'	Eas maara 'seashore flat'
PNP *taqane 'male'	Eas tane 'male'

2.3.6 RESIDUES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN GLOTTALS IN MARQUESAN?

Marquesan commonly inserts a glottal stop between the vowels of a word final diphthong as can be seen in Table 2.38.

TABLE 2.38: EPENTHETIC MARQUESAN INSERTIONS OF GLOTTAL STOP

PPn/PNP/etc.	Mqa	gloss
*nga-sae	kaha'e	torn, rent
*mauii	mau'i	left (not right)
*nau	na'u	plant sp.
*piingao	pina'o	dragonfly
*tia	ti'a	lower abdomen
*tutua	tutu'a	beating board for tapa

The glottal stop in Marquesan regularly reflects the Proto East Polynesian liquid (PEP *r) and Marquesan *h* regularly reflects PPn *s. In a small number of cases, glottals in Marquesan may reflect PPn *h or the PEP glottal stop. These can most readily be identified in word initial position as Proto Polynesian reconstructions with word initial vowels never show word initial insertion of a glottal stop in Marquesan except in the correspondence of Mqa 'apu 'puiser (draw (out)) (Dln)' to PNP *apu* 'seize' and in the correspondence of the Marquesan doublet *omol'omo* 'suck' to PEP **omo* 'suck' (which itself is an irregular reflex of PPn **komo*, the Mqa glottal stop being a possible retention of PEP **k* rather than an insertion). In examples given below Proto Nuclear Polynesian, Proto Ellicean, Proto East Polynesian, Proto Central East Polynesian, Proto Marquesan and Proto Nuclear Marquesic may have retained residues of PPn **h* and Proto Central

East Polynesian and Proto Nuclear Marquesic may have retained residues of the glottal stop.

Forms which have been identified to date in support of the retention hypothesis are given in Table 2.39.

TABLE 2.39: FORMS WITH APPARENT GLOTTAL RESIDUES IN MARQUESAN

PPn	Mqa	gloss
*h		
*hanga	'aka	span (measure)
*hangafulu	'okohu'u	ten
*hapi	'api'api	fish sp.
*holo	ho'o	grate, grind
*qahawana	'ahana	spouse
*q		
*qolongaa	hoka	Pipturus sp.
*qutu	'utu	fill with water

If more such agreements become apparent, some modification of the theory of the history of the glottals may become necessary. In the case of PPn *h we would posit a residue continuing from Proto Polynesian through the various interstages to Marquesan. With respect to the glottal stop, a model of residue from Proto East Polynesian to Central East Polynesian and into Marquesan is appealing as we are already aware that *q tends to be diffusely lost in any language that has the sound. So possibly loss was common along a lexical diffusion pattern. Were such residue to be the proper explanation for these forms in Marquesan, we would modify Table 2.2 to read:

TABLE 2.40: CHART OF GLOTTAL RESIDUES INTO MARQUESAN

PPn	*h	*q
PNP	-,*h ¹	*q
PEc	-,*h ¹	*q
PEP	-,*h ¹	*q
PCE	-,*h ¹	-,*q ²
PMq	-,*h ¹	-,*q ²
PNM	-,*h ¹	-,*q ²
Mqa	-,h, ³	-, ¹ h ³

Notes: 1. Residual retention between like vowels and, in a few instances, word initially. 2. A very few instances of residual word initial retention. 3. Retentions reflect PNM retentions.

We might speculate that these are Tongic loans as such are otherwise known for Marquesan (Chapter 4.3.8) but these words never have doublets and occur only in limited environments so residue seems the more plausible explanation.

2.3.7 PROTO POLYNESIAN *H IN NZ MAORI

In the three words below, NZ Maori appears to retain PPn **h* as *h*. Only the third case involves a doublet. Biggs' (1994) entries are abbreviated below (some languages are omitted which have forms consistent with the reconstruction).

(2.75) HAKU

Pn	:Garfish (Belonidae).
Eas	Aku. :Fish (Chrysophrys aurata) (Fts).
Haw	A'u. :Swordfish, garfish.
Mao-	<Haku. :Kingfish (Seriola grandis) (Wms)>.
Mqa	Aku. :Garfish (I).
Niu	Haku. :Swordfish (McE).
Ton	Haku. :Young hakulaa.
Tua	Aku. :Swordfish, garfish.

(2.76) HAGAFULU

Pn	:Ten.
Eas	A9ahuru. :Ten.
Haw	Anahulu. :Ten days.
Mao	Hangahuru. :Ten (Best).
Mqa	'Onohu'u. :Ten.
Niu	Hongofulu. :Ten.
Rar	Nga'uru. :Ten.
Ren	Angahugu. :Ten.
Sam	'Au/agafulu/. :Ten baskets of fish (Prt).
Tok	-angafulu. :Ten of a kind (Sma).
Ton	Hongofulu. :Ten.
Tua	9ahuru. :Ten.

(2.77) HUQI.1

NT	Note: EFU VqV > qVV is a regular change.
Pn	:Take off a garment, take something off a hook or peg, pick pandanus fruit, pay for something.
Anu	Uui. :Gather Pandanus fruit or Betel Nuts (Fbg).
Ece	Ui. :Take something off, undress oneself.
EFU	'Ui. :Pay a debt, settle an account (Bgs).
Mao	Ui. :Disentangle, disengage, unravel (Wms).
Mao1	Hui-a. :Take off (e.g. a shirt) (Bgs).
Mqa	Ui. :Cueillir des fruits (Dln).
Mva	Ui. :Cueillir des legumes ou des fruits de terre (Jnu).
Niu	Faka/hui/. :Unloose, abrogate.
Nkr	Ui. :Pick Pandanus.
Lua	Ui. :Shed, throw off clothes.
Ren	'Ui. :Take canoe out to sea, take off (e.g. shirt).
Sam	Ui. :Take down, take off (something hanging).
Tok	Ui. :Lift off (something hanging), take off clothes.
Ton	Hu'i. :Detach, take off, slip off (Cwd).
Tua	Ui. :Detach, disentangle, unloosen (Stn).

Otherwise, I find only the correspondence of Mao *hane* 'rotten' to PPn **ane* 'white ant, termite' where *h* was inserted before a word initial vowel so insertion does not seem a likely explanation for the cases above. Harlow (1994) has pointed to evidence suggesting multiple inputs into the initial centuries of language and dialect development in NZ Maori. If the NZ Maori terms in 2.75-2.77 reflect borrowings, they must be from

Tongic. If they are not borrowings they can be considered residue of PPn **h*, as in Marquesan, and in one instance (PPn **hangafulu* 'ten' reflexes) such potential residue occurs in the same word.

2.3.8 FREE AND DIALECT VARIANTS IN MARQUESAN AND HAWAIIAN

Dordillon (1931:72-76) gives many pairs of Marquesan words, most being cases where the Northern dialect differs from the Southern dialect. Most of the differences in consonants are explained by the differences between the historical changes of the two dialects as set out in Table 2.2. Some which are not include the equivalence of Northern *m* to Southern *n* and *p*, Northern *n* to Southern *t*, Northern *p* to Southern *t*, Northern *t* to Southern *n*, Northern *v* to Southern glottal stop, Northern glottal stop to Southern *k* and *t* (Dordillon 1931:75). While Tryon (1987) speaks to the confusion of **k* and **r*, the other irregularities are not addressed in the literature and mainly seem to be some kind of reaction of one dialect to the other. There seem to be no doublets in either dialect and, as the pronunciations are different, these are not dialect borrowings.

Elbert (1982) wondered if these irregular agreements were cases of lexical diffusion where sounds were changing one at a time and related those observations to certain doublets in Hawaiian where sonorants, especially, seemed to have various pronunciations in certain words such as both '*ele'ele* and '*ene'ene* 'black', *nalu* and *nanu* 'wave', and *ani* and *ali* 'beckon'. But the Marquesan cases are dialect variants where the regular correspondences to Proto Nuclear Marquesan are upset in one or the other dialect. The Hawaiian cases are free variants whose stylistic usages remain undescribed and in few instances is the regular correspondence to the reconstruction absent. So I am inclined to think of the Marquesan and Hawaiian situations as being similar but not, with any certainty, related.

3. VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

3.1 OVERVIEW

The story of the vowels in the living languages is mostly one of unremarkable continuity from Proto Polynesian. About 65 per cent of the *Pollex* 1992 reconstructed lexemes showed no differences at all in any of the vowels¹, not counting length, between any of the living languages and the reconstruction.² The cases in which at least one language changed a vowel were dominated by assimilations of low to higher vowels in Tongic and Nuclear Marquesic and by word final vowel changes in Kapingamarangi. Regular vowel correspondences are tabulated on the following page and discussed in the following section. Diffused change is then considered followed by sections on low vowel raising and lengthening. Finally, sporadic changes are considered.

There are five Polynesian vowels of the Latin type. Two characteristics are sufficient to speak of the contrasts in Polynesian vowels: height and backness. The Polynesian vowels come in three heights: low, mid and high and three degrees of backness: front, central and back.

In some cases sporadic changes, especially assimilations, can be traced to an interstage but no regular changes affecting large numbers of similar forms simultaneously can be attributed to any of the interstages other than Proto Tongic and Proto Nuclear Marquesic. Vowels that change are almost always unstressed or only secondarily stressed. Polynesian languages usually have penultimate stress which was certainly a feature of Proto Polynesian. Thus PPn **mata* 'face' and **tama* 'child' were pronounced **máta* and **táma*. The main formal exception was word final long vowels or double morae where the long vowel or double morae as a whole was stressed.

¹ All vowel changes apparent in *Pollex* (Biggs 1992) were organised by first copying *Pollex* (Biggs 1992) and deleting all entries in which no vowel had changed in any language

² Based upon the crude file size of *Pollex* 1992 and a file extracted from it which contained cognate sets having at least one vowel change in one language.

TABLE 3.1: POLYNESIAN VOWEL CORRESPONDENCES

PPn	*a	*e	*o	*i	*u
PTo	*a, *e ¹ , *o ^{1,2,-3}	*e	*o	*i, u ⁴	*u, i ⁴
Ton	a, e ^{5,6,7} , o ^{2,6,7,-3}	e	o	i	u
Niu	a, e ⁸ , o ⁸	e, i ⁹	o	i	u
PNP	*a	*e	*o	*i	*u
Most Outliers	a	e	o	i	u
Kap	a, e ¹⁰ , o ¹⁰ e ^{11,12} , o ¹¹ , i ¹¹	e, a ^{13,14}	o, u ¹⁵ , a ¹⁶	i	u
Sam	a	e	o	i	u
PEP	*a, oo	*e	*o	*i	*u
Eas	a	e	o	i	u
PCE	*a	*e	*o	*i	*u
Eas	a	e	o	i	u
PMq	*a	*e	*o	*i	*u
Haw	a, oo ¹⁷ , e ¹⁸ , o ¹⁸ ,	e	o	i	u
PNM	*a, *e ^{19,20} , *o ¹⁹	*e	*o	*i	*u
Mqa	*a, *e ^{19,20} , *o ¹⁹	e	o	i	u
Mva	a	e	o	i	u
PTa	*a	*e	*o	*i	*u
Tah	a, e ²¹ , o ²¹	e	o	i	u
Mao	a, e ²¹ , o ²¹	e	o	i	u
Rar	a, e ²¹ , o ²¹	e	o	i	u
Tua	a, e ²¹ , o ²¹	e	o	i	u

These notes refer only to changes that happened generally or commonly. These and all other vowel changes for each language are given in the present chapter or Appendix B.

Numbered notes: 1. When unstressed, preceded by a front consonant and followed by a stressed high vowel of similar backness. 2. In a few instances where there was *-ua. 3. Sometimes lost before *o in a diphthong. 4. Backness is sometimes reordered where *i and *u occur in sequence with a consonant between them. 5. When unstressed, preceded by a back consonant and followed by a stressed high vowel of similar backness. When secondarily stressed and followed by an unstressed high vowel of similar backness. 6. In a few instances with primary stress and followed by an unstressed *i. 7. In most instances before a following stressed mid vowel of similar backness. 8. Where stressed and followed by a mid vowel of similar backness. 9. Where unstressed and followed by (stressed) *i. 10. Numerous instances in both stressed and unstressed position before high vowels of similar backness. 11. In word final position there are multiple examples of assimilating completely to a preceding *e, *o or *u. 12. In word final position there are three examples of assimilation in height to a mid vowel with a following *i and one with a following *u. 13. In two cases where *a followed. 14. In word final position where *i preceded. 15. In a few instances in word final position. 16. In word final position where *a or *i preceded. 17. *(C)a(a)(C)V(C)V forms go to *(C)oo(C)V(C)V in a few cases and are due to morphological reanalysis. 18. A few cases of assimilation to mid vowel when followed by a high vowel of similar backness (but not the general pattern). 19. Unstressed, secondarily stressed and, occasionally, stressed become mid when followed by a high vowel of similar backness. Numerous such changes between PMq and PNM and more between PNM and Mqa. 20. "Low vowel raising" ((C)aCa(C)V > (C)eCa(C)V). A few such changes between PMq and PNM and a regular occurrence between PNM and Mqa. 21. Assimilation to mid vowels with following high vowels is common in all Ta but are largely sporadic developments in individual languages. None can be attributed to PTa.

The stress patterns of quadrisyllabic and longer words took their stress placement from the disyllabic model, stress occurring on every second vowel counting back from the penultimate vowel. Trisyllabic words had a single locus of stress on the penultimate vowel. Monosyllabic words had short (and unstressed) vowels only in the case of articles, location markers and other grammatical lexemes that never occurred by themselves in an utterance. Other Polynesian monosyllabic words require a long vowel. Being universal features in the languages, such features are attributed to Proto Polynesian and lower order interstages.

Bickmore (1995) has recently produced a detailed treatment of stress in a Polynesian language (Tahitian), Hovdhaugen (1992) has done phonetic work on Samoan and Condax (1989, 1990) has produced detailed treatments of certain phonetic phenomena in two Polynesian languages (Tongan and Samoan). Many of the newer and older Polynesian grammars comment on stress to some extent as well. If we assert that 1) vocalic morae with primary or secondary stress resisted assimilation, and 2) that vocalic morae with primary stress often did not assimilate while morae with secondary stress did, we can infer a general model of Polynesian stress that is very much the same as Bickmore's conclusions concerning modern Tahitian. Judging by the history of the vowels, I construct Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2: GENERALISED PPN WORD STRESS PATTERNS

(C)a	(C)á:	(C)á(C)a	(C)a(C)á(C)a	(C)à(C)a(C)á(C)a
		(C)a(C)á:	(C)a(C)á:(C)a	
		(C)á:(C)a	(C)à:(C)á(C)a	

Notes: a is used to represent "any vowel", a: represents a long vowel, C is used to represent "any consonant" and (C) is used to show that presence or absence of a consonant does not interrupt the pattern. á indicates a vowel with primary stress. à indicates a vowel with secondary stress.

As mentioned in a previous footnote, *Pollex* 1992 was copied and from it were deleted forms which showed no vowel change, other than length, in any language. The resulting file was then about 35 per cent the size of the original. Copies of the resulting file were then made for each language, deleting entries for which no vowel had changed in that language. After attribution of certain vowel changes to certain proto languages, the number of words indicated in Table 3.3 were found with a vowel change for the Polynesian languages and protolanguages.

TABLE 3.3: NUMBER OF WORDS FOR INDIVIDUAL LANGUAGES WHICH SHOW A CHANGE IN VOWEL QUALITY COMPARED TO RECONSTRUCTED FORMS

Proto Tongic	32-34	Sikaiana	11
Tongan	57-59	Takuu	21
Niuean	25-27	Tokelauan	20
Proto Nuclear Polynesian	3	Tuvalu	13
Anutan	6	Proto East Polynesian	1
East Uvean	13	Rapanui	10
Mae	11	Proto Central East Polynesian	4
Mele-Fila	19	Proto Marquesic	5
Pileni	1	Hawaiian	33
Pukapuka	7	Proto Nuclear Marquesic	42
Rennellese	11	Marquesan	36
Tikopia	7	Mangarevan	6
West Futunan	14	Proto Tahitic	9 ¹
West Uvean	9	Maori	39
Proto Ellicean	3	Mooriori	5
Samoaan	22	Rarotongan	22
Proto Ellicean Outlier	none known	Tahitian	21
Kapingamarangi	66	Tongareva	11
Nukuoru	20	Tuamotuan	17
Ongtong Java	1		

1. Some are weak cases in the sense that cognates are known from only two or three Ta languages.

Those languages that show regular vowel change (Proto Tongic, Tongan, Niuean, Kapingamarangi) or diffused change (Proto Nuclear Marquesic and Marquesan) have the highest number of overall changes because large numbers of words were affected by *regular* kinds of changes. Otherwise, less than about twenty vowel changes are presently known for any of the other languages, except for particularly well described languages such as Hawaiian and New Zealand Maori. Most of the changes in those languages defy generalisation in the form of invariable or even diffused rules. The majority of those vowel changes are sporadic or occur amongst a small group of similar words. I know of very few sporadic changes for the protolanguages and they are given in Table 3.30. The following sections present the most regular changes (3.2), diffused changes (3.3) and sporadic change (3.4).

3.2 REGULAR VOWEL CHANGES

As all the Polynesian vowel changes apparent in *Pollex* 1992 were gathered in one place and organised in the present work, they are presented by language in Appendix B

where they do not repeat material in the following sections. In this section I give an overview of regular change for those languages that had such.

3.2.1 PROTO TONGIC, TONGAN AND NIUEAN

Numerous words were affected by regular vowel changes between Proto Polynesian and Proto Tongic and are attested in both Tongic daughter languages. All but two or three exhibit assimilations of unstressed low vowels in trisyllables towards the height and backness of following stressed high vowels:

TABLE 3.4: PROTO POLYNESIAN TO PROTO TONGIC VOWEL CHANGE TYPES

PPn *fafine >	PTo *fefine >	Ton fefine, Niu fifine 'woman'
PPn *talinga >	PTo *telinga >	Ton, Niu telinga 'ear'
PPn *mauku >	PTo *mouku >	Ton, Niu mouku 'grass'
PPn *maqunga >	PTo *moqunga >	Ton mo'unga, Niu mounga 'mountain'

All examples of these assimilations are words beginning with Proto Polynesian anterior consonants (**p*-, **m*-, **f*-, and **t*-) although I found no examples beginning in PPn **s*- or **n*-. Tongan but not Niuean later expanded this rule to include similar forms beginning with other consonants, e.g.:

TABLE 3.5: SOME PROTO POLYNESIAN VOWELS THAT HAD NOT ASSIMILATED IN PROTO TONGIC

PTo *kafika >	Ton fekika (metathesis), Niu kafika 'Malay apple'
PTo *qafinga >	Ton faa-'efine, Niu afine 'armpit'
PTo *qaitu >	Ton 'eitu-, Niu aiti 'ghost, spirit'

Otherwise, expansion of this rule in Tongan is limited to forms for which I could find no Niuean cognate and in these cases it is not certain whether change took place by Proto Tongic times. Such assimilations are seen in unstressed vowels and secondarily stressed initial vowels of quadrasyllables, e.g.:

TABLE 3.6: SOME TONGAN ASSIMILATIONS THAT ARE INDETERMINATE FOR PROTO TONGIC

PPn *saputu >	Ton hoputu 'fish sp.' (Niu cognate not known)
PPn *tafuti >	Ton tofusi 'run (away)' (Niu cognate not known)
PPn *kalu-kalu >	Ton kolukalu 'jellyfish' (Niu cognate not known)

The Proto Tongic rule experienced no similar expansion or generalisation in Niuean.

Proto Tongic also raised and backed the low vowel before stressed *-o-. This happened regardless of the quality of the initial consonant and may not have regularly occurred when a consonant other than the glottal stop intervened, e.g.:

TABLE 3.7: SOME ADDITIONAL KINDS OF PROTO TONGIC VOWEL ASSIMILATIONS

PPn *maoha >	PTo *moho >	Ton, Niu moho 'cooked'
PPn *maqoli >	PTo *moqoli >	Ton mo'oni ¹ , Niu mooli 'true, genuine'
PPn *ta(a)qona		Ton to'onga 'treasured possession', Niu taonga ² 'goods'
PPn *ngaofie >	PTo *ngofua >	Ton, Niu ngofua 'easily'
PPn *taqu-fufu >	PTo *toqu-fufu >	Ton to'ufuu, Niu toufufu 'ridgepole'

1. Irregular Post-PPn Western Polynesian consonant development. 2. This may be a borrowing from East Polynesian. Niu *toonga* 'Samoan mats' is clearly a borrowing from a WP language such as Sam.

Other regular vowel changes occurred in Tongan and Niuean, usually assimilations of the low to higher vowels, but are distinct between the two languages and had not occurred by PTo times. Tongan had a regular assimilation of final *-a* to *-o* when preceded by *-u(C)-, e.g.:

TABLE 3.8: *CU(C)A > CU(C)O IN TONGAN

PTo *kua >	Ton kuo 'perfect aspect' (Niu kua)
PTo *puka >	Ton puko 'tree sp.' (Niu puka)

Vowel changes other than those mentioned above seem sporadic in Tongan and are listed in the vowel appendix. In Niuean, the rule affecting the most new forms was one that raised stressed *-a- where it was followed by a non-low vowel, e.g.:

TABLE 3.9: EXAMPLES OF PRIMARILY STRESSED *A RAISING IN NIUEAN

PTo *malage >	Niu malee 'meeting place' (Ton mala'e 'open place')
PTo *tau >	Niu totou 'count' (Ton tatau 'to be equal')
PTo *waqe >	Niu vee 'leg' (Ton va'e)
PTo *wahe >	Niu wehe 'divide' (Ton vahe)

Otherwise, the only change known to me that applied to more than one word in Niuean was a change of *-mo to *-mu in two forms:

TABLE 3.10: EXAMPLES OF *-MO > -MU IN NIUEAN

PPn *amo >	Niu amu 'prepare fibres for string making' (Ton cognate not known)
PTo *malemo >	Niu malemu 'drown' (Ton melemo)

3.2.2 KAPINGAMARANGI

The only Nuclear Polynesian language which had regular vowel changes other than Proto Nuclear Marquesan and its daughters is Kapingamarangi. The 66 vowel changes I found for Kapingamarangi consist mainly of cases in which *-a assimilated completely to any preceding vowel other than *-u-:

TABLE 3.11: EXAMPLES OF ASSIMILATIONS OF FINAL *-A TO PRECEDING VOWELS IN KAPINGAMARANGI

PPn *fia- >	Kap hii- 'desirative prefix'
POc *kimoa >	Kap gimoo 'rat'
PPn *meqa >	Kap mea (Ebt), mee (Lbr) 'thing'

This seems a diffused sort of change as there are examples of where such change did not occur (e.g., PPn *malia > Kap maria 'good') and there were alternate pronunciations at the time of Elbert's work (e.g., PPn *soa > Kap hoa ~ hoo 'friend'). Similarly, final *-o regularly became -a when preceded by *-a-, e.g.:

TABLE 3.12: EXAMPLES OF *-A(C)O > *-A(C)A IN KAPINGAMARANGI

PNP *ao >	Kap aa 'fleshless coconut'
PPn *fano >	Kap hana 'go', hani 'come'
PPn *malo >	Kap mala 'loin garment'

A change of the present century has been the shift of *-o to *-a when preceded by *-i-. The change may have been completed between Elbert's work after the World War II and Lieber's work in the late 1960s and early 1970s:

TABLE 3.13: EXAMPLES OF RECENT *-ITO > -ITA IN KAPINGAMARANGI

PPn *pito >	Kap pito (Ebt) ~ pita (Ebt) ~ bida (Lbr ¹) 'navel'
PPn *hifo >	Kap iho (Ebt) ~ iha (Lbr) 'downward'

1. The difference in the consonants of Elbert and Lieber's presentations are differences of orthography and not differences of pronunciation.

Kapingamarangi has other changes to final vowels and some assimilations of unstressed penultimate vowels which are given in the vowel appendix.

3.2.3 PROTO NUCLEAR MARQUESIC AND MARQUESAN

Marquesan and Mangarevan have many regular or diffused vowel changes in common that are shared with no other languages. Here I count the Nuclear Marquesan rules as diffused because, in most instances, of residue.

3.3 DIFFUSED VOWEL CHANGES

Simple assimilations that occur in two or three words in any given language are simply listed in Appendix B. They may represent the beginnings of diffused change but may simply be sporadic assimilations. The main example of a diffused vowel change that has affected multiple forms is an assimilation that began by Proto Nuclear Marquesan times, was not complete, continued in Marquesan but was arrested in the independent development of Mangarevan.

3.3.1 NUCLEAR MARQUESAN

Nuclear Marquesan is defined by at least the following agreements between Marquesan and Mangarevan which are the result of an assimilation that applied to unstressed and secondarily stressed low vowels before high and mid vowels but had not applied to all eligible forms at the time of the disintegration of Proto Nuclear Marquesic. The assimilation also applied in a single instance to a penultimate vowel (in the first form given below) but this is in a preposition and the assimilating vowel wasn't stressed in its normal use. The assimilation's application is an example of lexical diffusion, did not apply to all possible forms and seems to have ceased applying altogether in Mangarevan after its divergence from Marquesan. In Marquesan it continued to spread to further forms and some further forms are yet in free or dialect variation.

TABLE 3.14: DIFFUSED ASSIMILATIONS OF THE LOW VOWEL TO HIGHER VOWELS IN PROTO NUCLEAR MARQUESAN

PPn *mai > PNM *mei > Mqa, Mva mei 'from'

PPn *fafie > Mqa, Mva vehie 'firewood'

PPn *fafine > PCE *wahine > PNM *vehine > Mqa, Mva³ vehine 'woman'

PPn *kafika > PNM *kehika > Mqa kehika, Mva ke'ika 'Malay apple'

PCE *karere > Mqa ke'e'e, Mva kerere 'messenger'

PNP *kau-ru > Mqa kou'u, Mva kouru 'head of a tree'

PPn *kaute > Mqa koutei, Mva koute 'flowering shrub'

PNP *maika > PNM *meika > Mqa, Mva meika 'banana'

PPn *malino > PNM *melino > Mqa menino, Mva merino 'calm (of sea)'

PPn *matofi > PNM *motohi > Mqa, Mva motohi 'night of the moon'

PPn *mauku > PNM *mouku > Mqa, Mva mouku 'grass'

PCE *mauri > Mqa moui(hahaka), Mva mouri 'twenty-ninth night of the moon'

PNP *sakali > PNM *erehi⁴ > Mqa e'ehi, Mva erehi 'flesh of mature coconut'

PPn *saqele > Mqa he'e, Mva here 'go, walk'

PPn *tahina > PNM *teina > Mqa, Mva teina 'younger same-sex sibling'

PNP *tafito > PNM *tehito > Mqa tehito, Mva te'ito 'base, origin'

PPn *takele > PNM *tekere > Mqa teke'e, Mva tekere 'keel of canoe'

PPn *taqonga > PNM *tonga > Mqa tona, Mva tonga 'treasured possession'

PPn *taume > PNM > *toume > Mqa, Mva toume 'spathe of coconut palm'

PPn *tauqa > PNM *touqa > Mqa, Mva toua 'war'

PPn *taura > PNM *tura > Mqa tou'a, Mva toura 'rope'

PPn *fai-manu > PNM *(hei)heimanu > Mqa (he)heimanu, Mva 'ei'eimanu 'eagle ray'

PCE *kaunati > PNM *kounati > Mqa, Mva kounati 'fire-bed with fire-plough'

PCE *kau-rima > PNM > Mqa kou 'i'ima, Mva kourima 'fire-plough'

PPn *kausanga > PNM *kouhanga > Mqa koihaka, Mva kou'anga 'groin, crotch'

PCE *maitaki > PNM *meitaki > Mqa meita'i, Mva meitetaki 'good, pleasant'

PEP *tapairu > PNM *tepeiru > Mqa tepei'u, Mva tepeiru 'woman of high rank'

PPn *taqu-fufu > PNM *too-huhu > Mqa tohuhu, Mva too'u'u 'ridgepole'

PPn *tua-hine > PNM *tue-hine > Mqa tuehine, Mva tueine 'sister of a male'

Mangarevan has a number of additional forms showing assimilations of this kind:

TABLE 3.15: OTHER ASSIMILATIONS OF LOW VOWELS IN MANGAREVAN

PNP *ngangie > Mva gegie 'tree sp.'

PPn *qalili > Mva eriri 'univalve mollusc'

PPn *talinga > Mva teriga 'ear'

PCE *kaufau > kouhau 'ordered list'

PCE *tai-mafa > Mva teimaha 'heavy'

PNP *kau-matua > Mva koumatua 'elderly man'

³ There is also Mva 'a'ine 'wife' which follows neither the PCE consonant changes nor the PNM vowel change and is tentatively here explained as non-CE substratum.

⁴ Metathesis and loss of *k.

Marquesan cognates are unknown for this group so none can be shown to be an independent development in Mangarevan. More generally there are no cases where Mangarevan has made an assimilation that Marquesan did not when cognates from both are available for comparison. The assimilated Marquesan forms for which Mangarevan cognates are not known are:

TABLE 3.16: OTHER ASSIMILATIONS OF LOW VOWELS IN MARQUESAN

PPn *malingi > Mqa me'iki 'split'
PPn *maluu > Mqa mo'u 'soft'
PCE *makere > Mqa meke'e 'fall'
PEP *kauvage > Mqa kouva'e 'cheek, chin'
PPn *tau-raki > Mqa tou'aki 'dry in sun'

The following assimilations in Marquesan clearly occurred after the divergence of Mangarevan as there are Mangarevan cognates that do not show the assimilation:

TABLE 3.17: MARQUESAN ASSIMILATIONS AFTER THE DIVERGENCE OF MANGAREVAN

PPn *maalie > me'ie 'good, worthy' (Mva marie)
PPn *manini > menini 'convict fish' (Mva manini)
PPn *matike > Mqa metike 'stand up' (Mva matike)
PPn *tafuti > tohuti 'run (away)' (Mva tahuti)
PPn *maqunga > mouka 'mountain' (Mva maga)
PPn *maa-unu > mounu 'bait' (Mva maunu)
PNP *sawaiiki > Mqa havieke 'traditional homeland' (Probably *sawaiiki > PNMq *haveiki > Mqa havieke (metathesis)) (Mva avaiiki).

The following forms show the assimilation continues to apply in Marquesan (free variants are found) or has affected dialects differently (see also Dordillion (1931:72)):

TABLE 3.18: FREE OR DIALECT VARIANTS IN MARQUESAN

PPn *taiko > tai'o ~ tei'o 'sea bird sp.'
PPn *makulu > maku'u ~ moku'u 'to fall (of fruit)'

3.3.2 LOW VOWEL RAISING

Low vowels tend to raise under certain conditions in many Polynesian languages and this may have been a process which affected some forms in some of the Polynesian protolanguages. Low vowel raising occurs in two kinds of situations. In the first an ante-penultimate low vowel may raise and front when followed by one or more low vowels. In the second there is the tendency of low vowels to raise and front when a **u* followed. These are different processes, the first, perhaps, being an attempt to shed some of the vowel's sonorancy (*a* being the most sonorous vowel, see below) and the

second being a combination of that and a partial assimilation to the height of the following **u*.

Not all Polynesian languages exhibit low vowel raising but some members of most major and minor subgroups do. There is little overlap between languages in the words that show low vowel raising, indicating it has to a large extent operated independently in each language in which it has occurred. Such is the choicest of grist for generalisations about "naturalness" in language, the observation that the same thing has happened independently in more than one instance. Low vowel raising is also known from nearby Nuclear Micronesian (Sohn 1971, Rehg and Marck 1991). There it has been thought of as an attempt by an unstressed vowel to shed some of its sonorance (Rehg personal communication). Amongst the vowels, there is a hierarchy of sonorancy. The vowels *i* and *u* are very close to the semivowels or semiconsonants *y* and *w*. The vowels *i* and *u* are "minimally" sonorant in the hierarchy, the next closest thing to not being vowels at all, while *a* is "maximally" sonorant and *e* and *o* fall in between.

It is observed that raising always occurs in unstressed vowels and a stressed low vowel commonly follows (a maximally sonorant segment). The high sonorancy of the unstressed *a* comes under attack by the phonological system (K. Rehg personal communication). It is already unstressed (but highly sonorant). Raising seems a way of reducing its sonorancy and thereby reducing ambiguity as to whether it is stressed or unstressed, which also seems to be the motive for the lengthening of low vowels (next section, this chapter). Geraghty (1983:68) describes a similar situation for some Fijian dialects.

In some cases PPn $*(C_1)a-$ seems to have become $(C_1)aa-$, $(C_1)oo-$, $(C_2)aa-$ or $(C_2)oo-$ where it occurred as the initial vowel in a trisyllabic root. Commonly the second vowel was also PPn $*-a-$. While it is prudent to suspect morphological reanalysis under such circumstances (e.g. that $*koo-$ ($(C_2)aa-$) was a prefix in the language concerned at the time), this is not always possible to demonstrate in each language which shows such changes and a phonological explanation may be required. The following table lists forms where low vowel raising has been observed.

TABLE 3.19: LOW VOWEL RAISING IN POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

PPn *ka(a)tafa	Niu kootaa 'frigate bird'
PPn *maqa	EFu meqaa 'clean'
PNP *pakakau	MFa pekkau 'wing'
PPn *mamafa	WFu ¹ momafa 'heavy'
PNP *mamae	WFu mumae 'pain'
PPn *mamaqo	WFu mumao 'distant'
PPn *fa(a)tai	Sam fetai 'plant sp.'
PPn *maa-sanga	Sam maehanga 'twin'
PPn *fa(a)tai	Ece fetai 'plant sp.'
PPn *kakala-luu	Haw 'eleluu 'roach'
PNP *katafa	Haw 'aakaha ~ 'eekaha 'bird's nest fern'
PPn *masame	Haw mehame 'tree sp.'
PCE *hakamata	Haw ho'omaka 'begin'
PPn *tafa-nga	Haw kohana 'naked'
PCE *takao	Mqa tekao 'speech'
PNP *makawe	Mqa mekave 'hair (of head)'
PNP *mamae	Mqa mamae ~ memae 'pain'
PNP *manawa	Mqa menava 'breathe'
PNP *takafi	Mqa tekahi 'tread'
PPn *kafa	Mqa keha 'strong'
PPn *kalaa	Mqa ke'aa volcanic stone'
PPn *ma(a)taqu	Mqa metau 'fishhook'
PPn *malanga	Mqa meaka 'rise up'
PPn *malaqe	Mqa me'ae 'meeting place'
PPn *mamaqo	Mqa mama'o ~ mema'o 'distant'
PPn *mataku	Mqa meta'u 'afraid'
PPn *mataku	Mqa meta'u 'afraid'
PPn *matala	Mqa meta'a 'untied'
PPn *matala	Mqa meta'a 'untied'
PPn *palau	Mqa pe'au 'boast'
PPn *palau	Mqa pe'au 'boast'
PPn *takafi	Mqa Mqa tekahi 'tread on'
PPn *tamanu	Mqa temanu 'tree sp.'
PPn *tamanu	Mqa temanu 'tree sp.'
PPn *ka(a)tafa	PTA *kootaha > TAH 'ootaha, TUA kootaha, RAR koota'a, MIA kota'a 'frigate bird'a
PNP *katafa	PTA *kootaha > TAH 'ootaha, TUA kookaha, RAR kota'a 'bird's nest fern'
PPn *tangaqu	Tah to'au 'fish sp.'
PNP *falau	Tua foorau ~ hoorau 'canoe house'
PPn *kakala-luu	Mao kekereruu 'roach'
PNP *anake	Mor enaki 'alone'
PNP *falau	Rar 'oorau 'canoe house'

1. Note that all of these WFu changes are to round vowels and occur between **m_m*- in reduplicated initial syllables of disyllabic roots (the reduplicated vowel is unstressed) (Biggs 1994a, Biggs and Clark 1996).

3.3.3 **(CA)CACU(C)(A,E) CHANGES*

There is another set of sounds that changes under conditions resembling the conditions under which low vowel raising occurs. These are trisyllabic roots of the form **(C)a(C)u(C)(a,e)* where the first low vowel raises and fronts. Thus there is the question of whether it has assimilated towards the height of the following *u* or whether it might more properly be thought of as following the low vowel raising pattern, i.e. the raising is a case of reduction in sonorancy rather an assimilatory process.

An initial example is a word whose history has been difficult to reconstruct precisely in Polynesian languages. There is commonly change and the agreements between Polynesian languages are inconsistent with the subgroups as they are otherwise defined. The word is known with the same vowel configuration from Western Austronesian languages as we would reconstruct for Proto Polynesian on the basis of evidence internal to Polynesian and there is little doubt that those were the vowels as the word came into Pre Polynesian. Yet we find the following vowel situation in modern Polynesia:

TABLE 3.20: POLYNESIAN LANGUAGE REFLEXES OF PPN *FANUA 'LAND, PLACENTA'

PPn	*fanua	
PTo	*fanua	*fonua
Ton	fanua ⁴	fonua
Niu		fonua
PNP	*fanua	*fenua
Puk		wenua
EFu		fenua
EUv		fenua
Anu		penua
Mae		fenua
MFa		fenua
Ren		henua
Tik		fenua
Wfu	fanua	
WUv		fenua
PEC	*fanua	*fenua
Sam	fanua	
Ece	fanua	fenua
Kap		henua
Lua		hengua
Nan	fanua ²	fenua ³
Nkr		henua
Sik		henua
PEP		*fenua
Eas		henua
Haw		honua
MqN		henua
MqS		fenua
Mva		'enua ¹
Pen		henua
Rar		`enua
Tah		fenua
Tua		fenua

Source: Biggs (1992) and: 1. (Ren). 2. 'placenta' (Rby). 3. 'land' (Rby). 4. 'old form of *fonua*, as still used occ. in poetry' (Cwd).

Clearly, the old **fanua* word became *fonua* in Tongic and commonly became *fenua* in Nuclear Polynesian. Still, the word remains *fanua* in a few Polynesian languages (at least Samoan and West Futunan) and *fanua* plus a doublet in others (Vaitapu, Nanumean and and Tongan). Only in Tuvalu (Ece and Nan) are there said to be differences in the meanings of the doublets. For Vaitapu (Ece) Biggs (1992) has *fanua* 'land, placenta' and *fenua* 'land, country' and for Nanumea Ranby (1980) has *fanua* 'placenta' and *fenua* 'land'. The "placenta" sense is an apparent Proto Polynesian innovation whereby one Proto Oceanic word for "fresh water" had become synonymous

with "amniotic fluid" and "land" had become synonymous with "placenta" (cf. Biggs 1993). The two senses of **fanua/*fenua* ("land" and "placenta") occur through all the subgroups and most of the individual languages. In Tongan there is a relic of **fanua* without the vowel change. The Tongan dictionary (Churchward 1959) notes *fanua* to be an old form of *fonua* preserved in poetry.

Other **CaCu(C)(a,e)* forms show similar drift towards **CoCu(C)(a,e)* in Tongic and **CeCu(C)(a,e)* in Nuclear Polynesian. The Tongic case could be dismissed on the basis of observations made earlier that PPn **Ca(C)u(C)V* forms commonly occur as *Co(C)u(C)V* in Tongic but the tendency towards *CeCu(C)a* from PPn **CaCu(C)a* in Nuclear Polynesian is unique:

TABLE 3.21: PROTO POLYNESIAN **CACU(C)A* SPORADICALLY GOING TO *COCU(C)A* IN TONGIC AND *CECU(C)A* IN NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN

Eng	parent	deity	sea urchin	fish sp.	fish sp.
PPn	*matuqa	*qatua	*watuke		*qatule
PTo	*motuqa	*qatua	*vatuke		*qatule
Ton	motu'a	'otua	vatuke		'otule
Niu	motua	atua			atule
PNP	*matuqa	*qatua	*watuke	*nanue	*qatule
Sam	matua	atua	vatu'e	nanue	atule
EFu	matu'a	'atua		nanue	'atule
EUv	matu'a	'atua	vatuke		'atule
PEP	*matuqa	*(q)atua	*fatuke ¹	*nanue	*(q)atule
Eas	matu'a	atua	hatuke	nanue	ature
PCE	*matua	atua	*fatuke	*nanue	*ature
PMq	*matua	*atua	*hatuke	*nanue	*ature
Haw	matua	akua	haa`uke	nanue	akule
Mqa	motua	atua	hatuke	nenu	etu'e
Mva	motua	etua	etuke	nanue	
PTa	*matua	*atua	*fatuke	*nanue	*ature
Rar	metua	atua	`atuke	nanue	aature
Mao	matua	atua			
Pen	matua	atua	hetuke		
Tah	metua	atua	fetu`e	nanue	ature
Tua	metua	atua	fatuke	nanue	ature

Notes: 1. PNP **w-* > PEP **f-*, a rare kind of development for PNP **w-*.

The change also occurs in Nuclear Polynesian in quadri-syllabic forms where unstressed *a* is followed by stressed *u*:

TABLE 3.22: PROTO POLYNESIAN *(C)ACACU(C)A SPORADICALLY > (C)ACECU(C)A

Eng	legendary mother	sneeze
PPn		*mafatua
PTo		*mafatua
Ton		mafatua
PNP	*apakula	*mafatua
Sam	apa'ula	mafatua
Aan		mapetua
MFa		mafetue
Nkr		mahedua
Ren		mahetua
Sik		mahetua
Tik		mafatua
PEP	*apakura	*mahatua ¹
Eas		mahatua ¹
PMq	*ap(a,e)ku(r)a	
Mqa	apekua	
PTa	*apakura	
Mao	apakura	
Mor	apukura	
Rar	apakura	

Notes: 1. Known only from a placename and may not be related. "Sneeze" sense unknown from EP.

There are at least three similar cases involving stressed *a* before unstressed *u*:

TABLE 3.23: PROTO POLYNESIAN *CACU SPORADICALLY > CECU

Eng	blow nose	mutter	scrape, comb
PPn	*fangu	*nanu	*salu
PTo	*fangu	*n(a,e)nu	*halu
Ton	fangu	nenu	halu
Niu	fangu		halu
PNP	*fangu	*nanu	*salu
Sam	fogi	nani	salu
EFu	fengu	nanu	
EUv	fagu	nanu	halu
Ece		nanu	halu
Puk			yalu
PEP	*hangu	*nanu	*heru
Eas	hangu		heru-
PMq	*hangu	*nanu	*heru
Haw	hanu		helu
Mqa			he`u
Mva		nanu	`eru
PTa	*fengu	*nanu	*heru
Tah	fengu-	-nanu	heru
Tua	hengu-		heru
Mao	whengu	nanu	heru
Pen		nanu	heru-
Rar	'engu	nanu	`eru

3.3.4 LOW VOWEL LENGTHENING

Certain sources for contemporary languages do not always indicate vowel length consistently (or at all) but it is clear that Proto Polynesian had many words with long vowels. A further problem in reconstructing vowel length in certain contexts in Proto Polynesian and its daughter interstages is a diffused phonological process that has affected ante-penultimate low vowel length in most Polynesian languages continuously since Pre Polynesian times, namely lengthening the unstressed first vowel of a trisyllable ((C)V(C)V(C)V). Such lengthening has also occurred with vowels *e*, *i* and *o* (but not, apparently, *u*) in some languages but these are quite rare. Reconstruction of long vowels in other positions of words is less problematic, as the sources more commonly record vowel length properly in those positions. For instance, note the final low vowel in:

- (3.1) KALAA
- | | |
|------|--|
| *Pn* | :Hard, black, volcanic stone |
| Ece | (Fatu)/kalaa/. :Hard, black stone |
| EFu | Fatu/kala/. :Stone, black, with holes, from Uvea |
| Haw | 'Alaa. :Volcanic stone |
| Mao | Karaa. :Dark basaltic stone |
| Mqa | Ke'aa. :General word for stone |
| Niu | Fatu/kalaa/. :Black stone |
| Pen | Kara/ea. :Kind of coral |
| Puk | Kala. :Imported volcanic stone (Bge) |
| Rar | Kara. :Black basaltic stone |
| Sam | 'Alaa. :Volcanic stone (Mnr) |
| Tah | 'Araa. :Loose volcanic stone rubble |
| Ton | Fatu/kala/. :Hard black stone. |
| Tua | Karaa. :Hard round stone. |

Some typical secure reconstructions for length in the ante-penultimate position in Proto Polynesian are:

TABLE 3.24: SOME LONG LOW VOWEL RECONSTRUCTIONS FOR PROTO POLYNESIAN

	parents ¹	twins	culture hero	kava bowl
PPn	*maatua	*maahanga	*Maui	*taanoqa
Anu		mataanga		
Ece	maatua	maahaga		taanoa
EFu		maasaga	Maui(alonga)	taano'a
EUv	maatu'a	maahaga		taano'a
Haw	maatua	maahana	Maui	kaanoa
Kap		maehanga		
Mao	maatua	maahanga	Maui	
MFa		maasanga	Mau(-tikitiki) ²	
Mqa		maahaka	Maui(-tikitiki) ²	taanoa
Mva		maa'aga		taanoa
Niu		mahanga	Maui	
Nuk		maasanga	maui 'give birth' ³	
Pen		maasanga		
Rar		maa'anga	Maui	
Ren	maatu'a	maasanga	Maui	
Sam	maatua	maasanga	Maui	taanoa
Tah		maeha'a	Maui	
Tak		maasana		
Tik	maatua	maasaga		taanoa
Tok	maatua			
Ton	maatu'a	maahanga	Maui	taano'a
Tua	matuua	mahanga	Maui	
WFu		maasanga		

Notes: 1. The short vowel form, PPn *matuqa was the singular. 2. Note the short form for the vowel when it is not in ante-penultimate position. 3. The birth of Maui is often a focus of myths and generally concerns a difficult birth or ill-formed child when present.

The first example in Table 3.24 shows a Proto Polynesian plural noun made by lengthening the first vowel of the singular (cf. Pawley 1985). This was not the usual mode of making plural nouns in Proto Polynesian although the plural of at least one other common noun was made in the same manner, PPn **fafine* 'woman' versus PPn **faafine* 'women'. Mosel and Hovdhaugen (1992:237-238) present a list of Samoan plurals formed with vowel lengthening but they are mostly verbs.

Other Proto Polynesian long vowels in Table 3.24 represent the more common kind of situation with which we will now deal: one in which lengthening, in Proto Polynesian and many of its daughters, was due to phonological processes or a combination of phonological processes and reinterpretation of the morphology. The change occurred where an initial short low vowel of a trisyllable lengthened. This may have been due to the acoustics of such sounds where it was natural over time for the

low vowel (which is not high pitched but is a loud, sonorant vowel) to be interpreted as long (and stressed) due to its amplitude (cf. Price 1980).

Lengthening had occurred in some words by Proto Polynesian times but this process *seems* everywhere to be more advanced in Nuclear Polynesian than in Tongic languages. There is an abundance of cognate sets in Biggs (1994a) for which lengthening is common or universal amongst Nuclear Polynesian languages but not apparent in Tongic. However, this may represent a reversal of the process in Tongic. Consider the data in the following table.

TABLE 3.25: LOW VOWEL LENGTHENING IN NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN BUT NOT TONGIC

PNP *faafine 'women'	Ton <i>fafine</i> 'id.'
PNP *faaliki 'cover floor with mats'	Ton <i>faliki</i> 'floor', Niu <i>faliki</i> 'spread on ground'
PNP *faalolo 'stretch, tighten'	Ton <i>faloo</i> 'id.', Niu <i>faloo</i> 'lashed strake'
PNP *kaanoni 'mix by adding'	Ton <i>kanoni</i> 'id.', Niu <i>kanoni(a)</i> 'full'

In the first example above, there is internal evidence from Tongan that the first vowel used to be long. While PPn **fafine* 'woman (sg.)' became Tongan *fefine* 'id.', there has been no height assimilation in the first vowel of the plural, suggesting it was long at one time. It is also mysterious that no assimilation has occurred in the second form above as the first (low) vowel of Tongan and Niuean normally becomes *e* where the next vowel is *i* with primary stress. Perhaps those sounds still are long and were recorded improperly.

Within Nuclear Polynesian, Rapanui, Sikaiana and Tikopian seem amongst the most likely to show short *a* where other Nuclear Polynesian have *aa*. This may be due to deficiencies in some sources but there is at least: PNP **faaliki* 'cover floor' > Eas *heriki* 'floor covering' that suggests reversal of the change as Rapanui rarely shows assimilations and would presumably do so only if the vowel was short. It is possible that there are reconstructable morphophonemic alternates (possibly a verb with a long vowel and a noun with a short vowel) but the matter was not found to be critical to other aspects of the present work and was not pursued.

Samoan has a few unique low vowel lengthenings. Some examples are:

TABLE 3.26: LOW VOWEL LENGTHENINGS IN SAMOAN

PPn * <i>faliu</i> 'turn round' > Sam <i>faaliu</i> 'look back'
PPn * <i>fanake</i> 'ascend' > Sam <i>faana'e</i> 'rise (of moon/tide)'
PPn * <i>masani</i> 'know well' > Sam <i>maasani</i> 'accustomed to'

NZ Maori and Hawaiian are languages that: 1) have good lexical description with 2) reliable representations of vowel length and 3) seem to have more of these lengthenings than most other languages. Examples from NZ Maori are:

TABLE 3.27: LOW VOWEL LENGTHENINGS IN NZ MAORI

PEP *ae 'yes' > Mao, Rar aae 'id.'
PCE *auta 'tired, restless' > Mao aauta 'id.'
PPn *faqeale 'mother of newborn' > Mao whaaere(ere) 'dam'
PPn *laqqa 'to be choked' > Mao raaoa 'id.'
PNP *mangio 'itch(y)' > Mao, Rar maangio(ngio) 'nettle-like weed'
PPn *manifi 'thin' > Mao, Ren maanihi 'id.'
PPn *masalo 'think about' > Mao macharo 'wonder about'
PPn *qafato 'grub sp.' > aawhato 'larva sp.'

Hawaiian has a fair number of similar but independent developments. Lengthening seems to be less common than in NZ Maori but more common than in other languages. The impression that NZ Maori and Hawaiian have a particular abundance of these forms may simply be due to their larger dictionaries. Some Hawaiian examples are:

TABLE 3.28: LOW VOWEL LENGTHENINGS IN HAWAIIAN

PPn *falala 'lean, stoop' > Haw haalala 'bend low', Nkr haalala 'stand leaning'
PEP *fatuke 'slate-pencil sea urchin' > Haw haaku'e 'id.'
PPn *kalaka 'tree sp.' > Haw 'aala'a 'id.'
PPn *katafa 'bird's nest fern' > Haw 'aakaha, 'eekaha 'id.', PTa *kootaha 'id.'
PCE *katau 'right (not left)' > Haw 'aakau 'id.'
PPn *katea 'side opposite outrigger' > Haw 'aakea 'outer hull of double canoe'
PPn *mafola 'spread out flat' > Haw, Sik maahola 'id.'
PPn *mafole 'peeled' > Haw maahole 'scrape'
PPn *mai-kuku 'fingernail' > Haw maai-'u'u 'id.'
PPn *malanga 'rise up' > Haw maalana 'bouyant', Tik maaranga 'to rise'
PNP *palafa 'flat' > Haw paalaha 'broad'
PPn *tamole 'plant sp.' > Haw kaamole 'id.'

A few Hawaiian forms have changed to 'oo- rather than 'aa-, possibly by reanalysis as or analogy to 'oo- 'similitude prefix ("-ish")' or some other *koo-* prefix:

TABLE 3.29: POSSIBLE ANALOGICAL LENGTHENINGS IN HAWAIIAN

PPn *kafika 'Malay apple' > Haw 'oohia('ai) 'id.'
PEc *kapuqa 'cloud' > Haw 'oopua 'id.'
PPn *taqe-tuli 'ear wax' Haw <i>koo-kuli</i> 'id.'

Other vowels, or at least PPn *i, *e and, more rarely, *o lengthen but not generally under the same conditions as *a and most examples discovered come from languages whose vowel representations in the sources are sometimes suspicious, most commonly Stimson and Marshall's (1964) Tuamotuan. As there were no issues with respect to these forms in the subgrouping and cultural chapters, I did not look further at the forms concerned.

3.4 SPORADIC VOWEL CHANGES

Nearly all the Polynesian languages have a few sporadic vowel changes that are not part of some larger regular or diffused set of changes. These are listed in Appendix B except for those instances when the sporadic change can be attributed to one of the protolanguages, i.e. where it is shared by members of a subgroup. Those changes attributable to one or another of the protolanguages are listed in Table 3.30 below and the evidence for each is given in the following sub-sections.

TABLE 3.30: SPORADIC VOWEL CHANGES OF THE PROTOLANGUAGES

PPn *sinu	PTo *huni	'1. oil 2. shrub'
PPn *hui	PNP *iwi	'bone'
PPn *kui	PNP *kiwi	'blind'
PPn *tafu-raqa	PNP *tafo-laqa	'whale'
PNP *fuqanga	PEc *foqanga	'whetstone'
PNP *kiu*	PEc *kiwi	'bird sp.'
PNP *mafo	PEc *mafu	'heal'
PEc *kumi	PEP *kimi	'seek'
PEc *salu	PEP *seru	'scrape'
PEP *hungawai	PCE *hungowai	'parent-in-law'
PEP *kai	PCE *koi	'sharp'
PEc *kumi	PCE *kumu	'strangle'
PEc *kau-natu	PCE *kau-nati	'fire-plough'
PEP *tafo-raqa	PCE *tofo-raa	'whale'
PCE *taiti	PMq *teiti	'child'
PCE *tao-kete	PMq *tokete	'ego's same-sex sibling-in-law'
PCE *toke-lau	PMq *toko-lau	'north'
PCE *tua-ngaane	PMq *tu-ngaane	'woman's brother'
PPn *hulufe	PTa *aruhe	'fern sp.'
PCE *k(a)tafa	PTa *kootaha	'bird's nest fern'
PCE *mutie	PTa *matie	'grass'
PCE *nonu	PTa *nono	'plant sp.'
PCE *rimu	PTa *remu	'seaweed'
PCE *tanga-a-mimi	PTa *tonga-a-mimi	'bladder'
PCE *toko-mauru	PTa *toko-mauri	'hiccough'
PCE *tufunga'	PTa *tahunga ²	'1. expert 2.priest'

3.4.1 PROTO TONGIC

I found only one sporadic change for Proto Tongic and this occurred in the following homophonous forms where PPn **sinu* became PTo **huni*:

(3.2) SINU.1

Pn	:Oil, grease.
Niu	Huni. :Greasy.
Ton	Huni. :Having grease/oil floating on surface.
Ece	Hinu. :Oil, grease.
EFu	Sinu/sinu. :Oil.
EUV	Huni. :Huile cuite avec des pierres rougie au feu (Btn).
Fij	Sinu. :Residue of unscented coconut oil after boiling.
Haw	Hinu. :Oil, grease, ointment.
Kap	Hunu. :Anoint, oil the body.
Mao	Hinu. :Oil, grease.
Mqa	Hinu `ama. :Huile noiratre qui decoule de lama (Dln).
Mva	Hinu. :Oil, grease.
Nkr	Sunu. :Oil slick.
Oja	Su9u. :Grease.
Pen	Sunu. :Fat, grease.
Puk	Yinu. :Oil.
Rar	`inu. :Oil, fat.
Ren	Sinu/sinu. :Greasy, fat, rich.
Sik	Sinu(Sinu). :Greasy, fat, rich.
Tah	Hinu. :Oil, grease, fat.
Tak	Sunu. :Grease, fat (Hwd).
Tik	Sinu. :Oil, cooked coconut cream.

(3.3) SINU.2

*3	PEO <i>*sinu</i> "shore tree with scented, white flowers" (Gty.1983).
*7	Cf. PTO <i>*suni.*</i> "shrub sp.".
Pn	:A shrub (Phaleria sp.).
Niu	Huni. :A tree (Hernandia moerenhoutiana) (McE).
Ton	Huni. :Flowering bush sp (Phaleria disperma) (Ykr).
EFu	Sinu. :A flowering shrub (Hoya bicarinata).
EUV-	<Huni. :A shrub (Drymispermum burnett) (Rch)>.
Fij	Sinu. :Several trees whose sap is irritating (Phaleria).
Mae	Sinu. :A tree sp. (Clk).
MFa	Sinu. :A tree with irritating sap (Clk).
Sam-	<Suni. :(Cestrum sp.), (Phaleria sp.) (Mnr). (Prt)>.
WUV	Sinu. :A tree.
Wfu	Sinu. :A tree whose sap said to cause blindness.

Here, as R. Clark (personal communication) would put it, rounding was reassigned between the vowels. The change is taken to have occurred in Proto Tongic and the East Uvean forms in both groups are taken to be borrowings from Tongan as is the Samoan form in the second group.

3.4.2 PROTO NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN

I have identified three sporadic changes for Proto Nuclear Polynesian. The first was mentioned by Pawley (1966), the third by Marck (forthcoming) and the second is reported for the first time here. In the first, PPn **hui* became PNP **iwi*:

(3.4)	HUI.1	
	*3	PEO <i>*zuri</i> "bone" (Gty. 1983).
	*4	POC <i>*suri</i> "bone" (Ltk. 1985).
	*41	PCEMP <i>*zuRi</i> "bone" (Bst. 1993a).
	Pn	:Bone.
	Niu	Hui. :Fishbone (Mce).
	Niu-	<Ivi. :Fishbone B.>.
	Ton	Hui. :Bone.
	Anu-	<Ui. :Bone (Yen) B.>.
	Eas	Ibi. :Bone; needle (Fts).
	Ece	Ivi. :Bone; energy; strong (of people) (Rby).
	EFu	Ivi. :Bone.
	EUv-	<Hui. :Os (Btn) B.>.
	Fij	Sui. :Bone.
	Haw	Iwi. :Bone.
	Kap	Iwi. :Bone.
	Mae-	<Sui. :Bone (Cpl) B.>.
	Mao	Iwi. :Bone.
	MFa	Ivi. :Bone.
	Mqa	Ivi. :Bone (Bgs).
	Mva	Ivi. :Bone.
	Nkr	Ivi. :Bone.
	Oja	Ivi. :Bone.
	Pen	Ivi. :Bone.
	Rar	Ivi. :Bone.
	Ren	Ibi. :Bone.
	Rot	Sui. :Bone, skeleton.
	Sam	Ivi. :Bone (Mnr).
	Sik	Ivi. :Bone.
	Tah	Ivi. :Bone.
	Tak	Ivi. :Bone (Hwd).
	Tik	Ivi. :Bone (Fth).
	Tok	Ivi. :Bone (Sma).
	Tua	Ivi. :Bone.
	WFu	Ivi. :Bone.
	WFull	Iui. :Bone (ANI) (Dty).
	WUv	Ivi. :Bone.

As can be seen, only Tongic, amongst Polynesian languages, reflect the Proto Oceanic vowels regularly. The change is taken to have occurred at the Proto Nuclear Polynesian level. The East Uvean form is taken to be a borrowing from Tongan, the Anutan form a borrowing from East Uvean or Tongan, the second Niuean form a borrowing from East Polynesian and the Mae form a borrowing from Melanesian Oceanic.

The second change is of the same type, PPn **kui* 'blind' became PNP **kiwi*:

(3.5) KUI.A
 *3 PEO *kuR(iu) "blind" (Gty. 1990:63).
 Pn :Blind.

Niu Kui/a. :To fail (of sight).
 Niul Faka/kivi/kivi. :Close the eyes.
 Ton Kui. :To be blind, shut one's eyes.
 Ton1 Kivi. :Sunken and sightless, of eyes.

EFu Kivi. :Blind.
 Kap Giwi. :Squint v (used only in compounds) (Lbr).
 Ren Kibi. :Blind, to be, see imperfectly, blind in one eye (Ebt).
 Sam `Ivi. :Blind in one eye, wink.
 Tik Kivi. :Grimace, screw up the face (Fth).
 Tok Kivi. :Blind (in one eye).

Here the second Tongan and Niuean forms are taken to be borrowings from Nuclear Polynesian.

By the definition of "sporadic" taken here, these related forms qualify as only one or two words make the change. Similar forms that did not make the change include the following:

TABLE 3.18: PPN *(#,-)UI(-,#) FORMS WHICH DID NOT CHANGE IN PNP

PPn *kui	PNP *kui	'old woman'
PPn *puiipui	PNP *puiipui	'shut off'
PPn *tui	PNP *tui	'thread, sew'

The third sporadic vowel change of Proto Nuclear Polynesian consists of the change of *a to o in PPN *tafu-raqa to PNP *tafo-laqa. I divide the cognate set into three groups as there was also a change of PEP *tafo-raqa to PCE *toho-raa:

(3.6) TAFU-RAQA

*7	Cf. PNP *tafolaa "whale".
Pn	:Whale.
Fij	Tavu/to. :Sperm Whale.
Niu	Tafuaa. :Whale.
Ton	Tofua`a. :Whale.
Yas	Tavuto. :Sperm Whale (Ply).
Anu	Taporaa. :Whales, dolphins (Fbg).
Eas	Taoraha. :Whale (Fts).
Ece	Tafolaa. :Whale.
EFu	Tafola`a. :Whale.
EUv	Tafola`a. :Whale.
Kap	Tohuraa. :Whale.
Mae	Tafuraa. :Whale (Clk).
MFa	Tafuraa. :Whale (Clk).
Nkr	Daholaa. :Whale.
Puk	Tawola. :Right whale (Bge).
Ren	Tahoga`a. :Whale.
Sam	Tafolaa. :Whale (Mnr).
Sik	Taholaa. :Whale.
Tak	Taforaa. :Whale (Hwd).
Tik	Taforaa. :Whale (Fth).
WFu	Tafora. :Whale.
WUv	Tafolaa. :Baleine.
Haw	Koholaa. :Whale.
Mao	Tohuraa. :Whale (Wms).
Mqa	Toho`aa. :Whale.
Mva	Tohoroa. :Whale (Tgr).
Rar	To`oraa. :Whale.
Tah	Tohoroa. :Whale.
Tua	Tohuraa. :Whale.

The change of the first vowel in Tongan is regular while the change of the first vowel in Kapingamarangi is taken to be an independent sporadic development.

3.4.4 PROTO ELLICEAN

While investigating the hypothesis of an Ellicean Outlier group (Bayard 1966, 1976, Pawley 1967, Howard 1981) I found that all sporadic changes (all amongst the vowels) shared by Tuvalu and other Ellicean Outliers were also shared with Samoan, Tokelauan and East Polynesian (Marck forthcoming), an observation that supported Wilson's (1985) suggestion of a group composed of Samoan, Ellicean Outlier and East Polynesian exclusive of other Nuclear Polynesian languages. There are three such changes.

The first is the change of **fuqanga* to **foqanga*:

(3.7) FUQAGA

- *8 Note: EAS hu`a (Fts), which is not in (Egt) or (Chl), is considered to be borrowed from TAH hu`a < PNP *fu9a.2 "crumb, grain, or scrap from crumbling or scraping".
- *Pn* :Whetstone, grindstone.
- Anu Puanga. :Sharpening stone (Fbg).
- Eas- <Hu`a. :To grind very finely (Fts) B.>.
- EFu Fuaga. :Meule a aiguiser.
- EUv Fu`aga. :Pierre ponce; Pierre a aiguiser (Rch).
- Tak Fuana. :Kind of rock used for a rubbing stone; pumice.
- Tik Fuanga. :Whetstone (Fth).
- Tok Fuaga. :Grinding stone, whetstone (Sma).
- Ton Fu`o/fu`anga/. :Pumice (Cwd).
- WFu Fuaga. :Grindstone.
- WEv Fuanga. :Meule.

(3.8) FOQAGA.*

- *7 Cf. PPN *fuqa9a "whetstone, grindstone".
- *NP* *fo(o)(q)anga. :Abrasive stone, grindstone.
- Haw Hoana. :Hone, whetstone, grindstone.
- Kap Hooanga. :Pumice stone (found as driftwood).
- Mao Hooanga. :Kind of sandstone used in cutting and grinding.
- MFa Foaga. :Pumice.
- Mqa Hoaka. :Espece de petrin pour battre la popoi (Dln).
- Mva Hoaga. :Volcanic stone used as sharpener; grindstone (Tgr).
- Nkr Hoohanga. :Pumice stone (found as driftwood).
- Sam Foaga. :Grindstone.
- Rar `Oanga. :Grindstone.
- Tah Hoa`a. :A fine polish on wood, pearl-shell (Dvs).
- Tak Foana. :Light-coloured pumice-stone used for fine sanding (Hwd).
- Tok Foa. :Make, carve or shape something out of rock, coral (Sma).

Here the agreement is imperfect in the sense that Tokelau and Takuu have doublets and Mele-Fila would be seen as having made the change independently.

In the second case, the agreements are clearer and PNP **kiu* became PEc **kiwi*:

(3.9) KIU.1

- *5 PMP *kiuk "peep, cheep" (Bst.1980).
- *7 PNP *kiwi.1 "probably the Bristle-thighed Curlew.
- *Pn* :Plover or other wading bird.
- Anu Kiu/i. :A small bird which comes during monsoon season (Fbg).
- EUv Kiu. :Oiseau, sorte de b,cassine, pluvier (Rch).
- Mae Kiu. :Shore bird sp.
- Niu Kiu. :Plover.
- Puk Kiu. :A variety of Plover (Bge).
- Tik Kiu. :Bristle-thighed Curlew (Numenius tahitiensis) (Fth).
- Ton Kiu. :(Pluvialis dominica) and other waders.
- WFu Keo. :A bird (Dty).

(3.10) KIWI.1*

- *7 Cf. PPN *kiu "plover or other wading bird".
 NP :Probably the Bristle-thighed Curlew (*Numenius tahitiensis*).
 Haw `Iwi. :Scarlet Hawaiian Creeper, (*Vestiaria coccinea*)
 Mao Kiwi. :Apteryx.
 Mao1 Tutu/kiwi. :Snares Island Snipe (Wms).
 Mki Kihi. :Bristle-thighed Curlew (*Numenius tahitiensis*) (Hlk).
 Mqa Kivi. :Shorebird which cries "kivi".
 Mva Kivi(kivi). :Bristle-thighed Curlew (*N. tahitiensis*) (Rch).
 Oja `Ivi. :A bird.
 Pen Kiwi. :Bristle-thighed Curlew (*Numenius tahitiensis*).
 Nkr Givi/givi. :Ruddy turnstone (*Arenaria interpres*).
 Rar- <`Uru/kivi/. :Feathers marked with grey and white (Bse)>.
 Sik Kivi/aitu. :A bird.
 Tak Kivi. :a bird.
 Tua Kivi. :Curlew.

The third is the change of PNP **mafo* to PEc **mafu*:

(3.11) MAFO

- *2 PCP **mapo* "healed, as a sore or wound".
 *4 POC **mabo* "to heal" (Mke.1968).
 *4 POC **mapo* "heal (of a wound or sore); poultice" (Gce).
 Pn :Healed, as a sore or wound.
 EFu Mafo. :Plaie ferm,e, blessure cicatris,e (Gzl).
 EUV Mafo. :Plaie ferm,e, blessure cicatris,e (Btn).
 Fij Mavo. :Healed, of a sore.
 MFa Mafo. :Healed, as a sore (Clk).
 Ren Mafu. :Freshly healed and scarred (Ebt).
 Tik Mafu. :Become healed, get well (Fth).
 WFu Mafo. :Healed, well (Dty).
 WUV Mafu. :Plaie guerie (Hmn).
 Mao Mahu. :Healed, cicatrised (Wms).
 Nkr Mahu. :Healed, of sore.
 Tah Mahu. :Cease, stop flowing (e.g. of blood) (Mte).
 Tak- <Mafo/ra. :Recovered from sickness (Hwd)>.
 Sam Mafu. :Heal, of wound or ulcer.
 Tok Mafu. :Heal, dry up (of wounds) (Sma).

Here the Takuu form is taken to be irregular (as Biggs has marked it) and the Rennellese, Tikopian and West Uvean changes are taken to be developments independent of Ellicean (and probably each other).

3.4.4 PROTO EAST POLYNESIAN

I have found only two sporadic vowel changes specific to Proto East Polynesian. The first is the assimilation of the first vowel to the second in the reflexes of PPn **kumi*:

(3.12) KUMI.2

- *Pn* :Seek.
 ANU Kumi. :Seek (Yen).
 EUV Kumi/kumi. :chercher, rechercher.
 NIU Kumi. :To seek.
 TON Kumi. :Seek.

- (3.13) KIMI.*
 *7 Cf. PPN *kumi "seek".
 EP :Seek.
 EAS Kimi. :Seek.
 HAW `Imi. :Seek.
 MAO Kimi. :Look for something, seek (Wms).
 PEN Kimi. :Seek.
 RAR Kimi. :Seek.
 TAH `Imi. :Seek.
 TUA Kimi. :Seek.

The second is the change of PEc *salu to PEP *selu:

- (3.14) SALU
 Pn :Scrape aside, clear, smooth by scraping or planing.
 Ece Halu. :Comb.
 Ecel Halu/halu. :Scrape, rub hand over face.
 EUV Halu. :Racler, peigner.
 Fij Saru. :Strike grass and weeds with a heavy stick.
 Kap Haru. :Scrape off smooth with a knife (Ebt).
 Kap1 Halu. :Plane, scrape (Lbr).
 Mot Sal. :Cut with a slashing cut.
 Niu Halu. :Scrape, peel.
 Nkr Salu. :Scrape, plane, peel.
 Puk Yalu. :Straighten out a pandanus leaf before coiling (Mta).
 Ren Sagu. :Chop, as branches with axe or knife (Ebt).
 Rot Saru. :Till, dig, break up finely.
 Sam Salu. :Scrape out, brush up (as rubbish).
 Tik Saaru. :To clear, e.g. undergrowth (Fth).
 Tok Salu. :Scratch, scrape.
 Ton Halu. :Scarify (of soil); slit, shred (Cwd).

 Eas Heru/heru. :Scrape or scratch (of fowls).
 Haw Helu. :Scratch the earth, as a hen.
 Mqa He`u. :Gratter, racler, froter (Dln).
 Mva `Eru. :Throw aside with hands or feet (Jnu).
 Pen Heru/heru. :Dig, rake, scrape.
 Rar `Eru. :Scrape (Aside), slash.
 Tah Heru. :Dig.
 Tua Heru. :Scratch the earth, scrape, dig out.

3.4.5 PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN

I have identified four sporadic vowel changes that can be attributed to Proto Central East Polynesian. The first, PEP **hungawai* > PCE *hungwoai*, is odd at first glance as NZ Maori has the Proto East Polynesian vowel pattern but notice Biggs' note on the second line of the second entry indicating a regular source for the "reversal" in NZ Maori.

- (3.15) FUGAWAI
 Pn :Parent-in-law.
 Eas Hugavai (Chl), hu9abai (Fts). :Parent-in-law.
 Niu Fungavai. :Parent-in-law (McE).
 Ren Hungabai. :Parent-in-law (Ebt).
 Note: Level of reconstruction from Chapter 8.

(3.16) HUGOWAI.*

- *8 Note rule PCE *u(C)o > MAO u(C)a.
 CE :Parent-in-law.
 Haw Makua/huunoowai/. :Parent-in-law (Pki).
 Mao Hungawai. :Parent-in-law (Bgs).
 Mqa Mot/ukoai/. :Beau-pere, belle-mere (Dln).
 Mqa1 Mot/u`oai/. :Beau-pere, belle-mere (Dln).
 Mqa2 Mot/unoai/. :Beau-pere, belle-mere (Dln).
 Rar `Ongovai. :Parent-in-law (Sve).
 Tah Ho`ovai. :Beau-pere (Mte).
 Tua Hu9ovae. :Great-grandparent-in-law (Stn).
 Note: Biggs reconstructs "**fungowai*".

The second is the change of PEP **kai* to PCE **koi*:

(3.17) KAI.7

- *NP* :Sharp.
 Anu Kakai. :Sharp (as a knife) (Fbg).
 Eas Ka`ika`i. :Sharp.
 Ece Kai. :Sharp (Rby).
 EFu Kakai. :Affile, aiguise, tranchant (Gzl).
 EFu1 Fakakaa. :Sharpen.
 Kap Gaa. :Sharp (Knife).
 Mae Ma/kakai/. :Sharp.
 MFa Maji/kai/. :Sharp (Clk).
 Nkr Ha/kaa. :To sharpen (a knife).
 Oja `Aa. :Sharp.
 Pil Mda/khaa/. :Sharp (Try).
 Ren Kakai. :To be sharp.
 Ren1 Hakakaa. :Sharpen.
 Sam Ma/`ai. Sharp.
 Sik Kaa. :Sharp (Sps).
 Tak Kaa. :Sharp (of an edge only).
 Tik Mata/kai/. :Sharp (of blade, of claw) (Fth).
 Tok- <Kakaha. :Sharpness, keenness (Sma)>.
- Haw `Oi. :Sharp.
 Mao Koi. :Sharp.
 Mqa Koi. :Sharp.
 Rar Koi. :Sharp.
 Tah `Oi. :Sharp.
 Tua Koi. :Sharp.

The third is the change of PEc **kumi* to PCE **kumu*:

(3.18) KUMI.3A

Pn	:Squeeze in the hand.
Anu	Kukumi. :Squeeze or compress something between the hands (Fbg).
Ece	Kukumi :Squeeze, strangle (Rby).
EFu	Kukumi. :Squeeze with hands, grasp (Bgs).
EUv	Kukumi. :Strangle, squeeze strongly.
Fij	Qumi/a. :Clench, grasp in fist.
Haw	`U(`)umi. :Strangle, choke.
Kap	Khumi. :Grasp (Ebt).
Kap1	Kumi. :Grab, grasp, handle, obtain (Lbr).
Mae	Kumi/a. :To grasp (Cpl).
MFa	Kumi/a. :Strangle.
Mqa	Kukumi. :Kill.
Mva	Kukumi. :Strangle (I).
Nkr	Kumi. :Squeeze by grabbing.
Oja	`Umi. :Squeeze.
Pen	Kumu. :Wring out.
Rar	Ku/kumi-`ia. :Wrestle, assault (esp. a woman), rape (Bse).
Rar2	Kuumia. :A passive form of kukumi (Bse).
Ren	Kukumi. :Clench, squeeze, shut, as scissors (Ebt).
Rot	`Umi. :Be caught in a trap, on a hook, nail etc. (Cwd).
Sam	`Uumia. :Passive of `u`u "hold, grip, clutch".
Sik	K/kumi/. :Squeeze.
Tah	`U`umi. :Squeeze, strangle.
Tak	Kumi. :Squeeze, pinch (Hwd).
Tik	Kumi/a. :Strangled.
Ton	Kuumi/a. :Clench, grasp in fist.
Tua	Kukumi. :Strangle.
Wfu	Kumi/a. :Seize, grasp.
WUV	Kukumi. :Squeeze.
WUV1	Kumi/a. :Grasp.

(3.19) KUMU.1*

CE	:Express, wring out.
Mao	Kumu-a, -tia. :Clench, close (as hand) (Wms).
Mqa	Kumu(kumu). :Mettre en petis paquets; petit paquet (Dln).
Mva1	Kumu. :Fist, closed hand.
Mva2	Kumukumu. :Prepare food pressed with the hand (Tgr).
Pen	Kumu. :Wring out.
Rar	Kumu-a, -`ia. :Express, wring out (Sve); clench (fist) (Bse)..
Tah	`Umu. :Express, wring out (I).
Tua	Kumu. :Express, wring out.

Note: Biggs' semantic reconstruction seems more appropriate to some Post Proto Tahitic interstage than Proto Central East Polynesian.

The fourth sporadic change I know of for Proto Central East Polynesia is found in the correspondence of PEc **kau-natu* to PCE **kau-nati*:

(3.20) KAU-NATU

Pn	:Fire-plough.
EFu	Kaunatu. :Petit morceau de bois on se sert pour frotter un autre afin de produire de feu (Gzl).
EUv	Kaunatu. :Fire-plough.
Mae	Kaunatu. :Fire-plough (Clk).
Sam	Natu. :Fire-plough (Mnr).
Tik	Kaunatu. :Fire-stick.
Tok	Kaunatu. :The fire-plough (Sma).
Ton	Kaunatu. :Fire-plough (Cwd).

(3.21) KAU-NATI.*

CE	:Fire-bed used with fire-plough to produce fire by friction.
Haw	`Aunaki. :Firestick (Pki).
Mao	Kaunoti. :Fire-bed (Bst).
Mao1	Kauati. :Fire-bed (Wms).
Mao2	Kaueti. :Fire-bed (Wms).
Mao3	<Kauahi. :Fire-bed (Bst)>.
Mor	Kahunaki. :Fire-bed (Shd).
Mki	Kaunati. :Bed for fire-plough (Bck).
Mqa	Kounati. :Bois avec lequel on frotte avec le kou `i`ima pour obtenir le feu (Dln).
Mva	Kounati. :Lower firestick(Bck).
Puk-	<Kaunati. :Rubbing stick in making fire (Bge) B.>.
Tah	Aunati. :A piece of wood used for friction (Dvs).
Tua	Kaunati. :Lower frictioning stick of fire-plough (Stn).
Tua1	Kauati. :Lower frictioning stick of fire-plough.

Finally, PEP **tafo-raqa* became PCE **tofo-raa* 'whale'. There had been a previous sporadic change to this word and the data can be viewed in data group 3.6.

3.4.5 PROTO MARQUESIC

I know of four sporadic changes in the Proto Marquesic vowels. The first is the following case of low vowel assimilation:

(3.22) TAITI

CE	:Young male child.
Rar	Taiti. :Fellow, person, term of endearment for child (Sve).
Tua	Taaiti. :Young boy or girl.
Haw	Keiki. :Child, offspring, boy, son (Pki).
Mva	Teiti. :Child.

The second involves loss of the first vowel, probably through assimilation (making a long vowel) with later shortening of the long vowel:

(3.23) TAQOKETE.B

*8	Note. EAS accepted as directly cognate although glottal-stop missing. PUK considered, on distributional grounds, to be borrowed from another Cook Islands dialect.
EP	:Sibling-in-law of the same sex.
Eas	Taokete. :Brother-in-law, sister-in-law (Fts).
Mao	Taokete. :Brother-in-law of a m., sister-in-law of a f. (Wms).
Pen	Tookete. :Brother-in-law.
Puk-	<Taokete. :Sibling-in-law>.
Rar	Taokete-taane. :Brother-in-law.
Rar1	Taokete-va`ine. :Sister-in-law.
Tah	Tao`ete. :Wife`s brother, husband`s sister.
Tua	Taokete. :Wife's brother, husband's sister.
Haw	Kai/ko`eke. :Brother-in-law of a m., sister-in-law of a f.(Pki).
Mqa	Tokete. :Brother-in-law of a male, sister-in-law of a female.
Mva	Tokete. :Brother-in-law, sister-in-law.

The third change is the rounding of the second vowel in the following abbreviated set of cognates:

(3.24) TOKE-LAU

Pn	:Northerly quarter and wind from that quarter.
Eas	Tokerau. :Wind.
Mao	Tokerau. :Eastern (WD5); northern (WD6); north-eastern ? (Bgs).
Rap	Tokerau. :West wind (Green J.L.).
Rar	Tokerau. :North-west wind (Sve).
Tah	To`erau. :Westerly or north-westerly wind (Dvs).
Tua	Tokerau. :Winds from north-east to north-west (Stn).
Haw	Ko`olau. :Toponym; windward (NE) sides of Hawai`ian islands.
Mqa	Toko`au. :North or north-west wind (Dln).
Mva	Tokorau. :North, northerly wind (Jnu)

Finally, the final vowel of the first morpheme was lost in a compound as seen in the following abbreviated group of cognates, possibly through assimilation and then shortening the resulting long vowel:

(3.25) TUA-GAQANE.A

Pn	:Brother of a woman.
Man	Tuangane. :Brother of a woman.
Mao	Tungaane. :Brother or male cousin of a female (Wms).
Pen	Tuangane. :Brother of a woman.
Rar	Tungaane. :Brother or male cousin of a female.
Rng	Tua'ane. :Brother of a woman.
Tah	Tua'aane. :Brother of a woman.
Tah1	Tu'aane. :Brother of a woman.
Tua	Tu9aane. :Brother of a woman (Stn).
Haw	Kunaane. :Brother or male cousin of a woman (Pki).
Mqa	Tukane. :Brother of a woman.
Mqa1	Tunane. :Brother of a woman.
Mva	Tugane. :Brother of a woman.

Note: 1. Data from Chapter 8.

We can note that this is also a common loss amongst Tahitic languages and that there is a doublet in Tahitian, but that these certainly occurred independently or are the result of a doublet in Proto Tahitic.

3.4.5 PROTO TAHITIC

I know of eight cases of sporadic vowel change for Proto Tahitic. The first is the irregular lowering of the first vowel in the following groups of cognates:

(3.26) HULUFE

PN	:A fern (<i>Dicranopteris linearis</i>).
EFu-	<Sulufe. :Kind of fern B.>.
EUv-	<Hulufe. :Nom de plusieurs fougères (<i>Nephrodium</i>) B.>.
Haw	Uluhe. :(<i>Dicranopteris</i>), (<i>Hicriopteris</i>), (<i>Sticherus</i>).
Haw1	Unuhe. :(<i>Dicranopteris</i>), (<i>Hicriopteris</i>), (<i>Sticherus</i>).
Mqa	U`uhe. :(<i>Dryopteris nukuhiuensis</i>), (<i>Diplazium polyanthos</i>).
Nkr	Luhe. :Swordfern (Crl).
Ton	Hulufe. :(<i>Asplenium nidus</i>) (Ykr).
Ton1	Hulufe uhi. :(<i>Pteris ensiformis</i>) (Ykr).
Ton2	Holufe. :(<i>Dennstaedtia parksii</i>) (Ykr).

(3.27) ARUHE.*

- *7 Cf. PPN *hulufe "a fern".
 Ta :A fern.
 Mao Aruhe. :The edible rhizome of Bracken (*P. esculentum*) (Bgs).
 Mao1 Rau/aruhe/. :Bracken (*Pteridium esculentum*).
 Mao2 Rarauhe. :Bracken (*Pteridium esculentum*) (Tuuhoe) (Bgs).
 Mor Aruhe. :(*Pteridium esculentum*).
 Rar Tuanu'e. :The False Staghorn Fern (*D. linearis*) (Whr).
 Tah Anuhe. :(*Gleichenia dichotoma*).
 Tah Anuhe. :(*Dicranopteris linearis*) (Whr).
 Tua Anuhe. :Mountain fern variety.

The second is the change of the first vowel in the following group of cognates:

(3.28) KATAFA.B

- *5 PMP *katapa9 "name eines baumes" (Dpf. 1938).
 Pn :Bird's Nest Fern, (*Asplenium nidus*).
 Anu Katafa. :A kind of plant (Fbg).
 Anu1 Rau katapa. :(*Asplenium nidus*) (Fbg).
 Ece Lau katafa. :Bird's Nest Fern.
 EFu Katafa. :Une plante a longues feuilles.
 EUv Katafa. :(*Asplenium nidus*) (Btn).
 Haw `Aakaha. :Bird's nest Fern (Pki).
 Haw1 `Eekaha. :Bird's nest Fern (Pki).
 Mqa `Au ketaha. :Plante a longues feuilles (Dln).
 Nkr Lau gadaha. :Bird's Nest Fern, (*Asplenium nidus*).
 Puk- <Lau /kotawa/. :Bird's Nest Fern (*Asplenium nidus*) (Whr) B.>.
 Ren Kataha. :Bird's Nest Fern, (*Asplenium nidus*) (Ebt).
 Tik Katafa. :Bird's Nest Fern, (*Asplenium nidus*) (Fth).
 WUv Katafa. :(*Asplenium nidus*) (Hmn).
 Rar Kota`a. :Bird's Nest Fern (*Asplenium nidus*) (Whr).
 Tah `Ootaha. :Bird's Nest Fern (Mte).
 Tua Kookaha. :Tree fern, (*Asplenium nidus*) (Stn).

The third change is the unexpected change of the first vowel in:

(3.29) MUTIE

- *Pn* :Grass.
 EFu Mutie. :Pelouse, gazon.
 EUv Musie. :Pelouse, gazon, herbe trainante (Btn).
 Mqa Mutie. :Herbe, gazon, foin (Dln).
 Mva Mutie. :Grass (Bck1938:240).
 Ren Mutie. :General name for grasses (Ebt).
 Rot- <Mutia. :Lawn-grass (Cwd)>.
 Sam Mutia. :Grass.
 Tok Mutia. :Grass (Sma).
 Ton Musie. :Grass, especially lawngrass (Cwd).
 Mao Maatie. :A seaside plant (Wms).
 Rar Matie(e). :Green; grass (Bse)
 Tah Matie. :A species of matted grass (Dvs).

The fourth is the lowering of the final vowel in the following abbreviated cognate set:

126 JEFF MARCK

(3.30) NONU

Pn	:Tree sp. (Morinda citrifolia).
Ece	Nonu. : (Morinda citrifolia).
EFu	Nonu. :Tree sp. (Morinda citrifolia).
EUv	Nonu. : (Morinda citrifolia).
Fij	Noni. :Tree sp. (Morinda citrifolia).
Haw	Noni. :Tree sp. (Morinda citrifolia).
Mae	Nonu. : (Morinda citrifolia).
MFa	Nunu. : (Morinda citrifolia).
Mia	Nonu. : (Morinda citrifolia).
Mqa	Nono. :Tree species.
Mqa1	Noni. :Espece d'arbuste (Dln).
Mva	Nonu. : (Morinda citrifolia).
Niu	Nonu. :Tree sp. (Morinda citrifolia) .
Puk	Nonu. : (Morinda citrifolia) (Bge).
Sam	Nonu. :Tree sp. (morinda citrifolia).
Tik	Nonu. :Morinda citrifolia (Fth).
Ton	Nonu. :Tree sp. (morinda citrifolia).
WUv	Nonu. : (Morinda citrifolia).
Ait	Nano. : (Morinda citrifolia) (Whr).
Mao	Nono/kia. :Shrub sp. (Pomaderris apatela).
Rar	Nono. :Indian Mulberry (Morinda citrifolia) Whr).
Tah	Nono. :Tree sp. (morinda citrifolia) (Jsn).
Tua	Nono. :Tree sp. (morinda citrifolia).

As can be seen, one of the Marquesan doublets shows the same change. Possibly it is a Tahitic loan (the plant was introduced aboriginally).

The fifth change affected the first vowel of the following group where a second common pronunciation seems to have developed by Proto Tahitic times and may have been used to distinguish the sense of the word:

(3.31) LIMU

Pn	:Moss, seaweed.
Anu	Rimu. :Seaweed, algae, moss (Fbg).
Eas	Rimu. :Kind of seaweed (Dried).
Ece	Limu. :Seaweed, moss, fungus on trees.
EFu	Limu. :Seaweed, moss, freshwater algae (i).
EUv	Limu. :Seaweed, moss, freshwater algae (i).
Fij	Lumi. :Seaweed, moss.
Haw	Limu. :Seaweed, moss.
Mae	Rimu. :Seaweed (Clk).
Mqa	`imu. :Seaweed, moss.
Niu	Limu. :Seaweed, moss.
Oja	Limu. :Seaweed.
Ren	Gimu. :Kinds of seaweed (Ebt).
Sam	Limu. :Seaweed, moss.
Sik	Limu. :Seaweed, moss.
Tik	Rimu. :Coralline growth on reef (Fth).
Tok	Limu. :Mosses, lichens, algae, seaweed (Sma).
Ton	Limu. :Seaweed, moss.
WFu	Rim/rimu/. :Moss.
WUv	Limu. :Seaweed, moss, freshwater algae (i).
Yas	Lumi. :Edible seaweed.
Mao	Rimu. :Seaweed, moss.
Rar	Rimu. :Moss, seaweed.
Tah	Rimu. :Seaweed, moss, lichen.
Tua	Rimu. :Seaweed, moss.

- (3.32) LEMU.2
 *7 Cf. PPN *limu "moss, seaweed".
 Ta :Moss.
 Mao Remu/remu. :Plant sp.
 Pen Remu. :Moss, seaweed.
 Rar Remu. :Moss, seaweed.
 Tah Remu. :Moss, seaweed, lichen.
 Tua Remu. :Moss.

The sixth change is seen in the first vowel of the following compound:

- (3.33) TAGA-A-MIMI
 Pn :Bladder.
 Eas Tagamimi. Bladder (Chl).
 EFu Taga mimi. :Bladder (Bgs).
 EUv Taga mimi. :Bladder.
 Mqa Tuumimi. :Bladder.
 Sam Tagaamimi. :Bladder (Mnr).
 Ton Tangamimi. :Bladder (Cwd).

 Mao Toongaamimi. :Bladder (Wms).
 Rar Toongaamimi. :Bladder (of animals) (I).
 Tua To9aamimi. :Bladder (Stn).

The seventh is the change of the final vowel in:

- (3.34) TOKO-MAHURU
 Pn *toko-mahuru. :Hiccough.
 EFu Tokamoulu. :Hoquet (Gzl).
 Haw- <Mauli-`awa. :Hiccough>.
 Kap Dogomounu. :Hiccough (Lbr).
 Niu Mohuu. :Hiccough (McE).
 Nkr Leia /togo mouli/. :Hiccough (Crl).
 Ren Tokamaugu. :To have hiccoughs (Ebt).
 Sam To`omaunu. :Hiccough (Mnr).
 Tik Tokomauri. :Hiccough (Fth).
 Tok Tokomaunu. :Hiccough.
 Ton Tokomohuu. :Hiccough.

 Mao Tokomauri. :Hiccough.
 Rar Tokomauri. :Hiccough.

Tahitic forms for the above are minimal and P_{Ta} *toko-mauri is taken to be only a preliminary reconstruction. Note also that Nukuria, Tikopian and Hawai'ian have also made the change, possibly by reinterpretation of the base as coming from *mauri 'life'.

Finally the first vowel changes in the Tahitic reflexes of P_{Pn} *tufunga 'priest':

128 JEFF MARCK

(3.35) TUFUGA

Pn	:Expert, priest.
Anu	Tipunga. :Carpenter (Fbg).
Ece	Tufuga. :Expert (Rby).
EFu	Tufuga. :Carpenter (Bgs).
Mqa	Tuhuka. :Wise man (I).
Niu	Tufuga. :One clever in any kind of work (McE).
Puk	Tuwunga. :Expert (Bge).
Sam	Tufuga. :Craftsman, expert, specialist (Mnr), carpenter (Prt).
Tik	Tufunga. :Expert, master craftsman (male only) (Fth).
Tak	Tifuna. :Craftsman, skilled person (Hwd).
Tok	Tufuga. :Craftsman (Sma).
Ton	Tufunga. :Skilled workman, artisan (Cwd).
Haw	Kahuna. :Priest, sorcerer, expert in any profession (Pki).
Mao	Tohunga. :Priest, expert, artisan (Bgs).
Rar	Ta`unga. :Priest, accomplished craftsman (Sve).
Tah	Tahu`a. :Skilled person.
Tua	Tahuu9a. :Expert, priest (Stn).
Tua1	Tohuu9a. :Priest.

I take the Proto Tahitic form to be **tahunga* and assume the NZ Maori and second Tuamotuan pronunciations came about through assimilation. I take the Hawaiian form to be a borrowing from Tahitic as it has both the changed pronunciation and the specific Tahitic meaning of "priest".

4. CONFOUNDING FACTORS: MORPHOLOGICAL REPLACEMENT, CONFLATION AND BORROWING

Changes in words through replacement of their morphological components, conflation and introduction of vocabulary through borrowing can provide important subgrouping evidence. But the particular focus of the present study has been sporadic sound change and when some other sort of change was the likely source of change in a word, I moved on to other materials. Examples of the kinds of change that were considered before accepting a change as constituting a sporadic change are given in the materials that follow.

4.1 MORPHOLOGICAL REPLACEMENT

The most common sort of morphological replacement seen in considering the *Pollex* data was the replacement of final **-na* with **-nga*. The former was the third person possessive marker and the latter the main nominalizer. Examples can be found in Chapter 2.2.6-7. These were not counted amongst the cases of sporadic sound change.

Another example of the kind of change excluded can be seen in the words for “right” and “left” amongst Central East Polynesian languages. Changes to these words were certainly related but happened to some extent due to diffusion and analogy so the level of protolanguage in which change first occurred is elusive.

Minimally, a change of PTa **ma-iii* ‘left’ to a widely reflected Post Proto Tahitic **ka-iii* seems to have followed a change in Post Proto Central East Polynesian **ma-tau* ‘right’ to PTa **ka-tau*. Biggs (1993) marks the changed forms as PTa and PCE respectively. I would agree that the second changed first and that the change of the first was modeled on the second but it would seem that the changes are more recent than Biggs’ (1993) levels of reconstruction suggest.

In the case of PPn **ma-taqu*, Biggs’ (1993) evidence is:

130 JEFF MARCK

(4.1) MA-TAQU.1

*7	Cf. PCE *ka-tau.* "right (not left)".
Pn	:Right (not left).
Eas	Mata`u. :Right (not left).
Tuv	Matau. :Right (not left).
EUv	Mata`u. :Right (not left).
Fij	Matau. :Right (not left).
Kap-	<Tau tonu. :Right (not left)>.
Mae	Matau. :Right (not left) (Clk).
Mao	Matau. :Right (not left).
MFa	Matau. :Right (not left).
Mva-	<Matau. :To be easy>.
Niu	Matau. :Right (not left).
Nkr	Madau. :Right (side).
Puk	Maatau. :Right (not left) (Bge).
Rar	Matau. :Right (not left) (Mka).
Rot	Mafau. :Right (not left).
Sam	Matau. :Right (not left).
Tik	Matau. :Right-hand (Fth).
Ton	Mata`u. :Right (not left).
WFu	Matau. :Right (not left).
WUv	Matau. :Right (not left).

For the PCE *ka-tau reconstruction, Biggs' (1993) entry is:

(4.2) KA-TAU.*

*7	Cf. PPn *mataqu "right, not left".
CE	:Right (not left).
Aki	Katau. :Right (not left).
Haw	`Aakau. :Right (not left) (Pki).
Mao	Katau. :Right (not left).
Mor	Katau. :Right (not left) (GNZMMSS18).
Rar	Katau. :Right, not left (Sve).
Tah	`Atau. :Right (not left).
Tua	Katau. :Right (not left).

For the PPn *ma-iii reconstruction, Biggs (1993) entry is:

(4.3) MA-UII

*3	PEO *mau(i)ri "left-hand" (Gty. 1990:65).
*7	Cf. *ka-iii "left".
Pn	:Left (not right).
Aki	Mauii. :Left (not right) (Bse).
Tuv	Mau. :Left (not right).
Fij	Mawii. :Left (not right).
Lau	Mou(mou)li. :Left hand, be left-handed (Fox).
Laul	Ma(ma)uli. :Left hand (Fox).
Mao	Mauii. :Left (not right).
Mqa	Mau`i. :Left (not right) (Dln).
Ngg	Mauli. :Left (not right).
Rar	Mauii. :Left (not right) (Sve) (Etn).
Ren	Mavi. :Right (Ebt).
Saa	Meuli. :Left (not right).
Tak	Mauii. :Left (not right) (Hwd).
Tua	Maui. :Left (not right).
MFa-	<Masui. :Left (not right)>.
Nkr-	<Masui. :Left (not right)>.
WFu-	<Masui. :Left (not right)>.

Notes: The second consonants of the final three languages' forms are mysterious and an explanation was not pursued. The Mqa form is taken to represent a case of glottal stop insertion rather than retention of the PEO consonant *R, which was regular lost in PPn.

The Biggs (1993) entry for **ka-iii* is:

- (4.1) KA-UIII.*
 *1 PPn *ma-iii "left, not right".
 Ta :Left (not right).
 Pen Kauii. :Left.
 Rar Kauii. :Left (Bse).
 Tah `Aui. :Left (Mte).
 Tua Kaaui. :Left.

Marquesic evidence other than Hawaiian is absent for the **ka-tau* group while a Marquesic cognate exists for **ma-tau* (Mva). As Hawaiian has otherwise borrowed from Tahitic (Chapter 4.3.10 below) we must question if the Hawaiian in the **ka-tau* group is a borrowing. This cannot be determined through a comparison of sounds for this etymological group. Both Tahitic and Hawaiian had phonological systems much more like Proto Central East Polynesian at the time Hawaiian borrowed from Tahitic and either a directly inherited PMq **ka-tau* or an indirectly inherited early Ta **ka-tau* would be 'a(a)kau in modern Hawaiian. Mangarevan *ma-tau* means "to be easy" as Biggs indicates but also has the senses of "adroit, expert" (Rensch 1991) which are common extensions of the "righthandedness" notion in Polynesian and other languages. As the Mangarevan cognate is good, reconstruction of **ka-tau* to Proto Tahitic rather than Proto Central East Polynesian seems the more cautious interpretation at this time. It is also possible that there was PMq ***ma-tau* 'adroit' and PMq ***ka-tau* 'right (not left)'. If such was the case, Hawaiian need not be a Tahitic loan and **ka-tau* 'right (not left)' would be reconstructed to Proto Central East Polynesian. The matter is indeterminate and reconstruction to the Proto Tahitic level is the more cautious assertion.

The reconstruction of **ka-iii* to the Proto Tahitic level is inconsistent with the regular NZ Maori reflex of PPn **ma-iii*, Mao *ma-iii*. Unless NZ Maori has borrowed from other Polynesian or reverted to **ma-* our simplest explanation for these distributions is that Proto Tahitic retained **ma-iii* which NZ Maori inherited directly and regularly, and that **ma-iii* later changed to **ka-iii* in the Tahitic homeland area by analogy to **ka-tau*. M. Ross (personal communication) notes that:

There is reasonable evidence that Proto Oceanic had both **ma-* and **ka-* as stative derivatives, with competing forms occurring sporadically in daughter languages.

As two stative derivational morphemes were probably competing we should not classify these as irregular sound change. Other potential cases of morphological replacement were similarly excluded from the counting of sporadic sound changes.

4.2 CONFLATION

Conflation is historical process whereby similar words get confused with each other over time. We are concerned with it here as it confounds the search for sporadic sound change. An example is what may be a confusion of fish names, PPn **(s,t)apatuu* ‘barracuda’ and **saputu* ‘Lutjanus sp.’, names which differed in at least their medial vowel and the length of the final vowel. Whether they also differed in their initial consonants is not certain. It is clear that there was Proto Ellicean **tapatuu* ‘barracuda’. All Ellicean Outlier and East Polynesian languages which have the word pronounce it with word initial *t*:

(4.4) TAPATUU.*

NP	:Fish (Sphyraena sp.) (Hpr).
Ece	Tapatuu. :Barracuda sp. (Hwd) (Ablennes hians) (Bsr).
Haw-	<Kaakuu. :(Sphyraena barracuda)>.
Kap	Dabaduu. :(Sphyraena sp.).
Mqa	Tapatu. :(Sphyraena sp.).
Mva	Tapatu. :Name of a fish (Tgr).
Nkr	Dabaduu. :Fish sp..
Lua	Kapaku. :Barracuda (Sphyraena sp.).
Sik	Tapatu. :Barracuda sp. (Hwd).
Tak	Tapatuu. :Barracuda sp. (Hwd).
Tok	Tapatuu. :Sea-pike barracuda (Sphyraena f.) when young.

The core Western Polynesian languages have this same word for barracuda but it begins with reflexes of **s-* rather than **t-*.

(4.5) SAPATUU

Pn	:Fish (Sphyraena sp.).
EFu	Sapatuu. :Fish sp. (Bgs).
EUv	Hapatuu. Fish sp. Barracudas (Sphyraenidae) (Rch).
Sam1	Sapatuu. :Barracuda (Sphyraena sp.) (Mnr).
Ton	Hapatuu. :Sphyraena sp. (Hpr); kind of Parrotfish (Cwd).

“Futunic” Outliers don’t seem to have the word and non-Polynesian cognates are known. Our knowledge that pronunciations have changed locally around Western Polynesia after the divergence of the Outliers and East Polynesian (Chapter 4.3.1) means that we cannot reconstruct the initial Proto Polynesian consonant with any certainty as we do not know the direction of change.

The similar fish name, PPn **saputu* 'Lutjanus sp.', has an external cognate in at least Fijian and is found in "Futunic" Outlier, Ellicean Outlier, East Polynesian and in Tongan but is not reported for any other Western Polynesian language:

(4.6) SAPUTU

Pn	:Fish sp. (Lutjanus sp.).
Fij	Sabutu. :Lathrinus spp. Like a Bream (Cpl).
Mae	Saaputu. :A snapper (Lethrinus lentjan) (Clk).
Nkr	Saabudu. :Fish sp..
Rar	`Aputu. :Deep-sea fish, dark grey, up to 2 feet long (Bse).
Rot-	<Saputu. :A fish B.>.
Sik	Saaputu. :A fish.
Tah	Haaputu. :Name of a fish that is often poisonous (Dvs).
Tah1	Haputu. :Lutjanus rivulatus (Rdl).
Tak	Saaputu. :Fish sp. (Hwd).
Tik	Saputu. :L. rivulatus or Lethrinus kallopterus) (Fth).
Tok	Saaputu. :Maori snapper (lutjanus rivulatus) (Hpr).
Ton	Hoputu. :Snapper sp (lethrinus miniat).
Tua	Haaputu. :Blue cod (cephalopholis argus).

If there was Proto Polynesian ***tapatuu* 'barracuda' we could venture that Western Polynesian languages (Ton, Sam, EFu and EUv) changed the first consonant to *s-* as a result of confusion with Proto Polynesian **saputu* 'Lutjanus sp.' or as part of a reinterpretation of the two words properly differing only in their vowels. This would be or resemble conflation. If there was Proto Polynesian ***sapatuu* 'barracuda', we might venture that Ellicean other than Samoan changed the initial consonant to **t-* to expand the differences in pronunciation beyond just the vowels. In any event, it is better understood as conflation than a possible sporadic sound change (which I earlier suggested for this word (Marck forthcoming)).

4.3 BORROWING

Biggs (1993, 1994a) contains abundant evidence for the following instances of borrowing, many of which have previously been reported in the literature, often by Biggs, Ross Clark or the archaeologist Roger Green:

1. A drift away from active sharing of innovations to a period of occasional borrowings, some clearly marked, between Tongan and Samoan during and after the disintegration of Proto Nuclear Polynesian, here referred to as Post Proto Nuclear Polynesian Western Polynesian or Post Proto Ellicean Western Polynesian.
2. Massive borrowings from Tongan by East Uvean (Biggs 1980).
3. Abundant borrowings from East Uvean and Tongan in Anutan (Green 1971, Ranby 1982, Feinberg 1989) and, to a lesser extent, Tikopian.
4. Borrowings from Eastern Polynesian in Pukapukan (Clark 1980).
5. Borrowings from Eastern Polynesian in Niuean (McEwen 1970).

6. A history of Post Proto Nuclear Polynesian and Post Proto Ellicean sharings between Samoan and Tokelauan which I prefer to think of as genetic unity (Chapter 5.7).
7. A very few demonstrable borrowings from Tongic in Proto East Polynesian or Proto Central East Polynesian, one of which can be shown to come specifically from Niuean.
8. Borrowings from Tahitian by Rapanui in the historical period.
9. A difficult situation in Hawaiian where loans from ancient Tahitic are demonstrable but probably few in number relative to those that cannot be detected.
10. A situation in NZ Maori where there may have been multiple inputs from disparate sources as the language first became established (Harlow 1994).

4.3.1 POST PROTO NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN AND POST PROTO TONGIC DISTRIBUTIONS IN WESTERN POLYNESIA

Casting about for metropolitan Western Polynesian vocabulary which may constitute Post Proto Tongic and/or Post Proto Nuclear Polynesian borrowings around Western Polynesian, I find 123 forms in Biggs (1994a) that occur in Tongan and Samoan, East Uvean or East Futunan which do not occur in Niuean, the Outliers (other than Tuvalu or Tokelau) or East Polynesian when including only regularly corresponding words. Many of these are simply shared retentions. The number falls to 99 if we exclude forms with known external cognates. We must assume that these are retentions from Proto Polynesian unless other evidence can be developed to demonstrate borrowing. There is an absence of rich loan phonology opportunities (cf. Hovdhaugen 1992) and there is normally no logical basis on which to distinguish an exclusively shared retention from a borrowing, so the examination of such vocabulary is often foregone in because it is inherently indeterminate. The 99 words in question were identified in reference to Tongan. We should note that any relatively well described language, which Tongan is, may appear to share many words exclusively with other groups in comparison to its nearest relative(s). Hawaiian, for instance, shares 34 words with Western Polynesian and Outlier languages that no other East Polynesian language is known to share. Similarly, NZ Maori shares 235 words with Western Polynesian and Outlier languages that other East Polynesian languages are not presently known to share. The best explanation for the many words they uniquely share with Western Polynesian and the Outliers compared to other East Polynesian languages is the breadth and quality of available descriptions. In the instance of NZ Maori there is the additional factor of Biggs' intimate knowledge of the language and his exceptional efforts to account for its vocabulary relative to other Polynesian languages (e.g. Biggs 1994b).

As the 99 cases are indeterminate as to their status as shared retentions or loans, I turn again to shared sporadic sound changes. The data groups below represent the best evidence I have been able to develop from *Pollex* that Western Polynesian languages were still sharing sporadic sound changes after the disintegration of Proto Tongic, Proto Nuclear Polynesian and/or Proto Ellicean.

Data group 4.7 clearly shows a sporadic change shared around Western Polynesia after the divergence of “Futunic” Outliers, Ellicean Outlier and East Polynesian. By the evidence of Ellicean Outliers, Rennellese and East Polynesian, the Proto Nuclear Polynesian form was **fai-ngaofie* ‘easy’. Western Polynesian languages that retain the form reduced the second diphthong and reflect **fai-ngofie*. Tongic shows a further change in the final two vowels (possibly through morphological replacement), reflecting **fai-ngofua*, a change in pronunciation borrowed by East Uvean and then Anutan.

(4.7) FAI-GAOFIE

Pn Easy, not difficult.

Anu-	<Pai9apua (Fbg) B.>.
EUv-	<Fai9afua (Rch) B.>.
Mao	Wai9oohia (Wms). ¹
Nkr	Hai9aohie (Crl).
Lua	Hai9ahie (Tpe).
Ren	Hai9aohie (Ebt).
Sik	Hainaohie (Dnr).
Ece	Fai9ofie (Rby).
EFu	Fai9ofie (Rch).
Sam	Faigofie. :To be obedient (Prt).
Tok	Fai9oofie (Sma).
Ton	Fai9ofua (Cwd).
Niu	ngofua 'be alled, free to do s.t.'

Data group 4.8 is another clear case of Post Proto Ellicean change in Western Polynesia. By the evidence of Niuean, “Futunic” Outliers, Ellicean Outliers and East Polynesian, the Proto Polynesian form was **maaqoli* ‘true, genuine’ while the final consonant changed irregularly to **maaqoni* around Western Polynesia. Anutan, Sikaiana and Takuu follow the innovative pronunciation of the Western Polynesian languages. Samoan reflects both **maaqoni* and **maaqoki*. The second is shared with East Futunan. With two sporadic changes associated with a single word, neither with phonological motivations, I suspect that the Proto Polynesian pronunciation (with **l*)

¹ Excluded as this is a common change in Mao.

became taboo or otherwise came to be socially unacceptable. The evidence for these changes is found in the following *Pollex* entries:

(4.8) MAAQOLI

Pn	:True, right, genuine.
Anu	Maori. :Indigenous, true, close of kin (Fbg).
Eas	Ma`ori. :Skilled, old.
EFu-	<Maa`oki. :True (Bgs)>.
Haw	Maoli. :Native, indigenous, native, true, real (Pki).
Kap	Maori. :Well.
Mao	Maaori. :Indigenous, ordinary, natural(Bgs).
MFa	Maori. :True, real.
Mqa	Mao`i. :Indigenous.
Mor	Mooriori. :Indigenous people of the Chatham Islands (Bgs).
Mva	Maori. :Right (not left) (Jnu).
Niu	Mooli. :True.
Nkr	Maoli. :Suspicion which proves true.
Rar	Maori. :Indigenous; native origin.
Rar1	Moori. :Indigenous.
Ren	Maa`oli. :Right, true, real (Ebt).
Tah	Maaori. :True, genuine, indigenous.
Tik	Maori. :True, truth; feel sure of.
Tok	Moni. :True, sincere, honest.
Tua	Maori. :Indigenous.
WUv	Maaoli. :Vrai, verite (Hmn).

(4.9) MAQONI.*

Pn	:True, genuine.
Ece	Faka/maoni. :Reliable (Rby).
EUv	Ma`oni/`oni. :Juste, vrai, sincŠre, sans d,faut (Rch).
Sam-	<Moni. :True, speak truth (Prt). Be true (Mnr)>.
Sam-	<Fa`a/moni. :Tell the truth, be certain (Prt)>.
Sam	Fa`a/maoni/. :True, loyal.
Sam1	Moni. :True (Prt).
Sam2	<Mo`i. :True (Prt)>.
Sam3	<Maa`i. :Real, genuine (Mnr)>.
Tok-	<Moni. :True, sincere, honest (Sma)>.
Ton	Mo`oni. :True, genuine, real (Cwd).
Anu-	<Mooni. :True, as opposed to a lie (Fbg) B.>.
Sik	Maaoni. :True, genuine (Sps).
Tak	Maoni. :True, real (Hwd).

Note that Biggs gives Sam "moni" twice, marking it "- <" ("Not Counted as Cognate") in one instance but allowing that it might be regular in the other.

Data group 4.10 shows that by the evidence of Niuean, Rennellese, Tikopian, Ellicean Outliers and Rarotongan, there was PNP or PPn **takua* 'fish sp.' Western Polynesian languages reflect an innovative **takuo*.

(4.10) TAKUA

Pn :A pelagic fish sp.

Kap Taku(w)a. :Tuna fish, Yellowfin (Ebt).
 Kap1 Dagua. :Yellowfin Tuna (*Neothynnus macropterus*) (Lbr).
 Niu Takua. :Bonito (McE).
 Nkr Dagua. :Yellowfin tuna (Crl).
 Rar Takua. :A kind of goatfish (Bse).
 Ren Takua. :Kind of very rare porpoise or fish (Ebt).
 Tak Takua. :Tuna sp. (Hwd).
 Tik Takua. :Swordfish spp. (Fth).

 Ece- <Takuo. :Tuna fish (Nks) B.>.
 Sam- <Ta'uo. :Fish sp. (Prt) B.>.
 Tok- <Takuo. :Very lg Yellowfin Tuna (*Thunnus albacares*) B.>.
 Ton Takuoo. :Fish sp.

 Tua <Taakuo. :Fish sp.B.>.

Data group 4.11 may have experienced some historic or late prehistoric adjustments to becoming the common word for "cotton" (Langdon 1982) but the form goes back to PPn **wawai* 'plant producing cotton-like flowers' while a latter change shared around West Polynesia was **wawae*.

(4.11) WAWAI

cf Cf.PTO **vavae* "plant producing cotton".

Pn :Plant sp., perhaps (*Gossypium* sp.); cotton.

Eas Babai. :Cotton (Fts).
 EFu Vavai. :Cotton (Gzl).
 Mva Vavai. :Nom d'une herbe (Jnu).
 Pen Vavai. :Cotton (Rmn).
 Puk Vavai. :A creeper (*Triumfetta procumbens*) (Bge).
 Rar Vavai. :Cotton Plant (*Bombax malabaricum*) (Cmb).
 Tah Vavai. :(*Gossypium religiosum*) or (*G. hirsutum*) (Mte).
 Tua Vava(a)i. :Vine (*Triumfetta procumbens*) whose fibres used to make cordage and clothing (Stn).

 Ece Vavae. :Milkweed (*Asclepius curassavica*).
 EFu- <Vavae. :Mantle of pressure-lamp B. (Bgs)>.
 Euv- <Vavae. :Coton (*Gossypium*) (Btn) B.>.
 Niu Vavae. :Kapok tree (*Ceiba pentandra*); cotton, wick (McE).
 Sam Vavae. :(*Gossypium* sp.) (Mnr); lamp wick (Prt).
 Ton Vavae. :Cotton plant; wick of a lamp (Cwd).

See also **saputu* versus **sapatuu* and **tapatuu* (Chapter 4.2).

4.3.2 EAST UVEAN BORROWINGS FROM TONGAN

East Uvean and Tongan are said to have a high degree of mutual intelligibility by Tongans and East Uveans but East Uvean is demonstrably a Nuclear Polynesian language, the Tongan component of its lexicon emerging from a fairly recent period of intense borrowing (Biggs 1980). Pawley (1967) had earlier noted that in cases where

East Uvean agrees with Tongan, as opposed to Nuclear Polynesian, the semantic agreement is nearly complete, indicating recent borrowing, where agreements with Nuclear Polynesian show more of the semantic drift typical of more ancient relations. East Uvean is also classified as a Nuclear Polynesian language based upon on the observation that where its words follow the Tongan pronunciation, such words commonly occur as doublets. Their alternate pronunciation and the great majority of other words in the lexicon follow Nuclear Polynesian patterns. By Biggs' (1980) analysis, retention of PPn **h* or loss of PPn **r* are hallmarks of Tongan loans in East Uvean. To that we can add that vowel assimilations are diagnostic of Tongan loans in East Uvean. East Uvean is otherwise very conservative in its vowel histories apart from those words that follow Tongan patterns.

Rensch (1987) thought that there might be something wrong with the tree model of linguistic relationships in Western Polynesia. He pointed to many doublets and unexpected losses as evidence that something was amiss in the interpretation of the phonological history and subgrouping of East Uvean. He made the unusual suggestion that sound changes were spreading incompletely around Western Polynesia, East Uvean, for instance, partially sharing the retention of PPn **h* with Tongic. If, however, (lexical) diffusion of sound changes around Western Polynesia were the cause of the multiple reflexes, why would the result nearly always be semantic doublets? Lexical diffusion does not result in semantic doublets in the Polynesian instances identified to date. A lexical borrowing solution is clearly more elegant.

Rensch (1987) looked only at the outcome of the consonants. This was the most basic weakness in developing his argument that the East Uvean lexicon is the result of an incomplete sharing of Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian sound changes over time. Due to the many vowel assimilations of Tongan since Proto Polynesian times, it becomes clear that the Tongan influence on East Uvean was recent and profound rather than long and insidious.

The list of words showing shared sound changes, usually exactly, with Tongan is very long. These occur exclusively in those words for which Tongan is known to have made the same change (except in those cases where Tongan forms are simply unknown). It is a simple matter to ask if the general pattern of vowel histories is

different in those East Uvean words which show the characteristic Nuclear Polynesian consonant reflexes of Proto Polynesian as opposed to those whose reflexes are characteristic of Tongan. In fact the pattern is very different indeed. East Uvean *always* has the Nuclear Polynesian vowels when the consonants are of the Nuclear Polynesian type and *always* has the Tongan vowel assimilations when the consonants are of the Tongan type. A few examples are:

TABLE 4.1: SOME EAST UVEAN WORDS SHOWING BOTH TONGAN VOWELS AND CONSONANTS

PPn	*hangafulu	ten	PPn	*mahuku	grass
Ton	hongofulu	ten	Ton	mohuku	grass
EUv	hogofulu	ten	EUv	mohuku	grass
PPn	*hui	bone	PPn	*maaqoli	true, genuine
PNP	*iwi	bone	PNP	*maaqoli	true, genuine
Ton	hui	bone	Ton	mo'oni	true, genuine
EUv	hui	bone	EUv	mo'oni	true, certain
PPn	*tahina	ygr s-sex sibling			
Ton	tehina	id.			
EUv	tehina	same-sex sibling			

Retention of **h* is taken to identify a Tongan source for these East Uvean words. In the left column regular vowel change has applied to Tongan but has applied to East Uvean only in words such as these for which we can show identical changes in Tongan. In the first case in the second column, East Uvean irregularly shows the PPn **h* and the Tongan vowel pattern. In the final example, East Uvean has borrowed both the irregular consonant change of Tongan and the regular Tongan vowel change. It is clear that Tongan consonant and vowel change patterns have entered East Uvean in the same words at the same time and not as part of a general process of partially sharing sound changes as Rensch suggested.

4.3.3 ANUTAN AND TIKOPIAN BORROWINGS FROM EAST UVEAN AND TONGAN

Anutan remained a poorly described language until Feinberg (1977). It was first classified, mainly due to lexicostatistical scores, as possibly Tongic (Bayard, 1966:15, 80, 89) but Green (1971) soon showed that it was Nuclear Polynesian with abundant borrowings from East Uvean. Biggs (1980) produced further evidence in support of Green's interpretation as did Ranby (1982). Green's and Biggs' arguments were largely

developed by reference to Tongan loans in East Uvean. East Uvean phonological correspondences to Proto Polynesian, other than the Tongan loans, are quite similar to those of Anutan and borrowing cannot otherwise be distinguished from common inheritance. Feinberg (1989) ultimately showed that some of the forms concerned in Anutan were borrowed directly from Tongan rather than East Uvean and related the Anutan borrowings from East Uvean and Tongan to events in Anutans' oral histories.

In the course of the present project J. Fox and R. Feinberg examined a draft of the kin terms chapter and noted that some of my reconstructions were based solely on agreements between Tongan, Anutan and Tikopian. I then went back to *Pollex* and found that many of the irregularities of Tikopian are clearly East Uvean or Tongan loans, although they do not appear so abundant as in Anutan. The most obvious cases are doublets of PPn **r* or **h* or those with distinctive vowels:

TABLE 4.2: EAST UVEAN OR TONGAN LOANS IN TIKOPIAN

PPn	*tiro	*hui kahokaho	*fohi	*ngaofie
PTo	*tio	*hui kahokaho	*fohi	*ngofua
PNP	*tilo	*ivi kaokao	*foi	*ngaofie
Tik	tiro(tiro)	kaokao		ngaofia
Tik < EUv or Ton	tio	kasokaso	(ma)fosi(fosi)	ngafua
	look at	ribs	peel, skin	easily

4.3.4 NIUEAN BORROWINGS FROM EAST POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

McEwen (1970:viii-ix) gives a number of examples of East Polynesian borrowings in Niuean. At least some of the borrowings appear to be specifically from the Southern Cooks and Tahitian. Two of the apparent East Polynesian loans in Niuean have no consonant where PTA **h* occurred suggesting they were borrowed from a language where PTA **h* had gone to glottal stop. PCE **f* and **h* have fallen together as the glottal stop in Southern Cook dialects such as Raratongan and Mangaian but have not otherwise done so in Tahitic. The two cases are given in Table 4.3.

TABLE 4.3: SOME NIUEAN BORROWINGS FROM SOUTHERN COOK LANGUAGES

PPn * <i>katafa</i> 'frigate-bird' became PTA * <i>kootaha</i> > Rar <i>koota`a</i> . Both Niu <i>kootaa</i> and Puk <i>kotawa</i> have the PTA vowel change and Niu lacks the third consonant.
POc * <i>sabe</i> 'deformity of the foot' (Mke) became PPn * <i>sape</i> 'malformed (of foot)' > Rar <i>`ape</i> and occurs as Niu <i>ape(ape)</i> 'crooked legs'.

Otherwise, there are two Niuean words which retain the sound: Niu *hula* 'dance' which is otherwise known only from East Polynesian and PCE **pasu* 'drum'

which occurs outside of Central East Polynesian only in Niu *pahu*. These retentions of PEP and PCE *s suggest either older borrowings or different sources (such as N.Z Maori, Tahitian or Tongarevan). One would want to know more about the early historical period before suggesting these are pre-European loans.

Another again refers to a material culture item: PCE **loki* ‘bed, couch’ and occurs as Niu *loi* ‘mattress’. A Tahitian source is suggested as Tahitian is the only Tahitic language to have changed **k* to glottal stop. Rarotongan has its own regular reflex of the reconstruction, *roki*, and a Tahitian loan, *ro’i*, and could also be the source of the Niuean form. Niuean also has doublets of PPn **hui* ‘bone’: Tongic *hui* and the Nuclear Polynesian *ivi*. Another probably borrowing involves PPn **kainanga* ‘people of a place, social group such as a clan’ which became PCE **mata-kainanga*. Niuean is the only non-Central East Polynesian language to show addition of **mata*.

On the other hand, PCE **wehe* ‘divide, separate’ may specifically be a borrowing from Niuean and not Proto Tongic or Tongan (cf. PTo **wahe*, Ton *wahe*, Niu *wehe*). It contrasts with its regularly inherited doublet PCE **wae* ‘divide, separate’. The doublets continue to exist in all Central East Polynesian languages and dialects for which there is adequate description to make a determination (although no source gives any indication as to how they differ in use).

4.3.5 TONGAN BORROWINGS FROM NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN

Tongan has abundant doublets where the expected Tongan form is found along with an unexpected form of the Samoan type (sometimes with a meaning similar to the Samoan meaning). The possibility of Tongan borrowing lexical items from Nuclear Polynesian has never received major treatment. The most telling borrowings are those Tongan forms in which both PPn **r* is retained and PPn **h* is lost. Biggs’ (1994a) reconstructions include only five words with both PPn **r* and **h*. Only one has a doublet in Tongan and has been noted by Rensch (1987:570) (Tongan *ulu*). There is, however, a second form that may be borrowed from Nuclear Polynesian and is not mentioned by Rensch or found in Biggs (1994a) (Tongan *foeluolua*) (Table 4.4). There seem to be no Niuean doublets of such words in McEwen (1970).

TABLE 4.4: POSSIBLE BORROWINGS BY TONGAN FROM NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN I

POc	<i>*suru(p)</i>	enter	<i>*pose</i>	paddle
PPn	<i>*huru</i>	enter	<i>*fohe</i>	paddle
Ton	<i>huu</i>	enter	<i>fohe</i>	paddle
Ton < NP	<i>ulu</i>	enter	<i>foelulua</i> ¹	use two paddles
			<i>foefoelua</i>	paddle and sail at once
Niu	<i>huu</i>	enter	<i>fohe</i>	paddle
Sam	<i>ulu</i>	enter	<i>foe</i>	paddle
EFu	<i>ulu</i>	enter	<i>foe</i>	paddle
EUv	<i>ulu</i>	enter	<i>foe</i>	paddle
EUv < Ton	<i>huu</i>	enter ²		

Note: 1. I found no **fohe-lua-lua* forms in the standard sources for Sam, EUv or EFu. May involve one of the odd retentions of PPn **r* in Ton compounds but why would it also lose PPn **h*? Here counted as as borrowing from NP. 2. “enter stooped down”, a respectful thing to do.

The forms in Table 4.4 are certainly borrowings of Nuclear Polynesian in Tongan. In the first instance there is a simple doublet (Ton *huu* and *ulu*) where in the second the irregular members of the triplet have the additional irregularity of the retained PPn **r* further marking the form as Nuclear Polynesian in origin.

The three etymological groups in Table 4.5 again seem to involve borrowings from Nuclear Polynesian in Tongan. As Niuean seems not to share such Tongan doublets we must attribute most such developments to a time after Niuean had diverged from Tongan. If Niuean shared in the doublet formation period, as we saw that it may have to a limited extent for **r* and **l* doublets, it would commonly have a few retentions involving only the member of the pair with the irregular correspondence (as both the regular and irregular forms are subject to the same ravages of time). But I have found no such forms and Rensch (1987) gives none. Additional apparent borrowings of Tongan from Nuclear Polynesian are given in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5: POSSIBLE BORROWINGS BY TONGAN FROM NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN II

POc	<i>wase</i>	divide			<i>*jalan</i>	road
Fij	<i>wase</i>	divide	<i>Yas cuu</i>	hidden		
PPn	<i>wahe</i>	divide	<i>*huu</i>	refuge	<i>*hala</i>	road
Ton	<i>vahe</i>	divide	<i>huu-fanga</i>	refuge	<i>hala</i>	road
	<i>vaahenga</i>	division				
Ton < NP	<i>vae</i>	divide in two	<i>uu²</i>	sheltered	<i>ala-</i>	in pl. names
Niue	<i>vehe</i>	divide	<i>huu</i>	refuge	<i>hala</i>	road
	<i>vahenga</i>	division				
Sam	<i>vae</i>	divide			<i>ala</i>	path, road
	<i>vaaega</i>	division				
	<i>vase</i>	draw line				
	<i>vasega</i>	a class				
EFu	<i>vae¹</i>	divide	<i>uu</i>	shelter	<i>ala</i>	road
	<i>vaaega</i>	division				
EUv	<i>vae</i>	divide	<i>uu</i>	sheltered	<i>ala</i>	road
	<i>vaenga</i>	division				
EUv < Ton	<i>vahe</i>	divide	<i>huu-faga</i>	protective	<i>hala</i>	in pl. names
PCE	<i>*wehe³</i> & <i>*wae</i>	divide				

Note: 1. EFu also has *vasi* 'divide' but this comes regularly from PPn **fasi* 'split'. This word seems not to be found in Ellicean (Sam, EcO and EP) or in "Futunic" Outliers. 2. Probably from PPn **ruru* 'shelter, calm'. 3. Borrowing from Niu (doublet in PCE with regularly agreeing form).

The two etymological groups in Table 4.6 are again from Biggs (1994a) by way of following up on Rensch's (1987:571) observation of PPn **h* doublets in Tongan. In the first we have a doublet in Niuean as well but not one that has much semantic similarity to the Tongan doublet.

TABLE 4.6: POSSIBLE BORROWINGS BY TONGAN FROM NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN III

POc	<i>*tasi</i>	sea			
Fij	<i>taci</i>	sea			<i>moce</i> sleep
PPn	<i>*tahi</i>	sea			<i>*mohe</i> sleep
Ton	<i>tahi</i>	sea			<i>mohe</i> sleep
	<i>tahitahi</i>	wet from sea			
Ton < NP	<i>taitai</i>	brackish			<i>moe-</i>
Niu	<i>tahi</i>	sea			<i>mohe</i> sleep
Niu < NP?	<i>taitai</i>	industrious (normally in ref. to fishermen)			
Sam	<i>tai</i>	tide			<i>moe</i> sleep
EFu	<i>tai</i>	sea			<i>moe</i> sleep
	<i>taitai</i>	wet from sea water			
EUv	<i>tai</i>	sea			<i>moe</i> sleep
	<i>taitai</i>	wet from sea			

Niuean irregularities often occur due to borrowings from East Polynesian but not, apparently, in this case. I could find no East Polynesian words of the **taitai* form that had anything to do with industriousness or even activity at sea.

4.3.6 SAMOAN BORROWINGS FROM TONGAN

Samoan seems to have borrowed from Tongan less than Tongan borrowed from Samoan but in a few cases Tongan loans in Samoan are clear or strongly indicative. Four possible cases are given in Table 2.36 and involve unexpected retention of PPn **h*. Another is the apparent Samoan borrowing of Ton *sun*i, which reflects an irregular change from PPn **sinu* 'shrub sp.' (Sam *sun*i, see data group 3.3).

4.3.7 PUKAPUKAN BORROWINGS FROM EAST POLYNESIAN

Pukapukan borrowings from East Polynesian have been considered by Clark (1980) who assigns numerous borrowings to both the prehistoric and the mission and colonial periods which mainly saw borrowings from Rarotongan. The borrowings occur in both cultural and "core" vocabulary and may also exist in the general grammar.

4.3.8 THE POST PROTO ELLICEAN RELATIONS OF SAMOAN AND TOKELAUAN

Hovdhaugen (1992) has recently expressed some exasperation over the possibility that Tokelaunan might ever be classified in its relationship to Samoan by the tree model. He relates that subgrouping is frustrated because there is no loan phonology except for very recent borrowings. Until the late change of PPn > PNP > PEc **k* to glottal stop in Samoan, there were no differences in the regular consonant reflexes of Samoan and Tokelaunan. He showed many recent loans based upon that and more subtle loan phonology. I here classify Samoan and Tokelaunan in a subgroup of their own and consider their relationship with the subgrouping materials (Chapter 5.8).

4.3.9 EAST POLYNESIAN BORROWINGS FROM TONGIC

I presently know of only three words which seem to be borrowings from Tongic in East Polynesian languages. The first is the appearance of PPn **toro* 'sugarcane' as PEP **too*, as Langdon (1989) has noted. The second is the appearance of PPn **wase* 'divide, separate' as both PCE **wae* and **wehe*, doublets which continue into most East Polynesian languages. The second pronunciation is specifically Niuean and not Proto Tongic or Tongan. None of the sources give differing definitions for the doublets. Possibly there is some difference of register or other variable that has maintained this doublet in so many languages. The third case involves doublets in Proto Nuclear

Marquesan of PPn **mara* ‘preserved breadfruit’ (Langdon 1989): PNM **mara* ‘acidic (or perhaps rotten)’ > Mqa *ma'a* ‘rotten’, Mva *mamara* ‘sharp in flavour, acid’; and PNM **maa* ‘preserved breadfruit’ > Mqa, Mva *maa* ‘id.’ The significance of the first and third examples is considered in Langdon (1989) and Marck (1996e). The second, the doublet from Niuean is from Biggs (1994a).

4.3.10 RAPANIUI BORROWINGS FROM TAHITIAN

Tahitian missionaries were an important social force on Rapanui from early in the historical period and some Tahitian vocabulary was borrowed by the Rapanui people. The difference between directly inherited Rapanui vocabulary and that borrowed from Tahitian is clearest in words containing reflexes of PEP **k* or **ng* which are unchanged in regular Rapanui reflexes but became the glottal stop in Tahitian.

Persons compiling dictionaries of Rapanui were able to identify some vocabulary borrowed from Tahitian on the basis of irregular sound correspondences or on the basis of Rapanui speakers’ knowledge of specific words having come from Tahitian. Biggs (1992, 1993, 1994a) marks many Rapanui kin terms “Not Counted as Cognate”, apparently out of concern for borrowings from Tahitian (and not due to any clues from loan phonology). Biggs may be too cautious. Speaking from the experience of having worked with the kin terms, there is reason for believing those terms are directly inherited and not borrowed from Tahitian (Chapter 8) and the few elements of cosmogony shared between Rapanui and other Polynesian traditions are specifically not at all like Tahitian traditions.

Rapanui words “Not Counted as Cognate” in Biggs (1994a) which are tagged in his notes as borrowings from Tahitian (or otherwise seem to be such) include the following (I have omitted most kin terms “Not Counted as Cognate” as I believe they are most commonly the directly inherited Rapanui forms (Marck 1996d and Chapter 8 below)):

TABLE 4.7: SOME RAPANUI BORROWINGS FROM TAHITIAN

		Rapanui	Tahitian
PPn *kamu	chew, munch	<`amu. :Eat. B. (Fts)>.	`amu. :Eat (Mte).
PTa *pakari	hard, strong	<pa`ari. :Adult, firm, hard, strong (Fts) B.>.	pa`ari. :Dur, resistant (Mte).
PCE *parangi	smudge or blur	<parai. :To smudge, soil (Fts) B.>.	parai. :Daub, blot, obliterate (Dvs).
PCE *hakamata	begin	<ha`amata. :Begin, start (Fts) B.>.	ha`amata. :Begin (Mte).
PNP *sau-nga	unpleasant odour	<hau`a. :Odour, scent, smell (Fts) b.>.	hau`a. :Odour, smell, taste.
PNP *soko	buy, sell	<ho`o. :Buy, sell, trade, exchange B. (Fts)>.	ho`o. :Buy, sell.
PPn *ta(a)qonga	treasured possession	<tao`a. :Goods, merchandise, load, supplies (Fts) B.>.	tao`a. :Objet, bien, propriete, richesse; riche; etre riche (Mte).
PPn *tau-lekaleka	youth; young man; handsome	<taure`are`a. :Bachelor, single B.>.	taure`are`a. :Young people (Dvs).

4.3.11 HAWAIIAN BORROWINGS FROM TAHITIAN

Hawaiian is classified as a Marquesic language and the kin terms are most commonly Marquesic rather than Tahitic when such matters can be determined (Marck 1996d and Chapter 8 below). But the oral history and cosmogony of the Hawaiians seem only to recall Kahiki (Tahiti) and Hawai'i (*Sawaiki, Savai'i (Samoa)).

Green (1966:29) reviews the linguistic evidence which had been developed to that time in support of Tahitic > Hawaiian loan hypotheses and added some observations of his own. The evidence was variously lexicostatistical patterns, uniquely shared words, a mixture of Marquesic and Tahitic names for nights of the moon, and a couple of possible borrowings of other vocabulary. Little work has been done on the question since that time.

Marquesan, Tahitian and Hawaiian are not very different from each other even today and they would have been much more similar and directly intelligible with each other at about A.D. 1200, the approximate time of significant Tahitian demographic and cultural influences upon Hawai'i.² More specifically, there may have been no regular phonological differences between Tahitian and Hawaiian at the time. Thus we are reduced to identifying loans through sporadic sound changes or distributional evidence.

No Hawaiian borrowing from Tahitian stands out quite so boldly as the Hawaiian word *kahuna* ‘priest’. This word began its journey to Hawai’i in the form of PPn **tufunga* which meant not “priest” but “expert, craftsman”, apparently in the context of carpentry and other artisan activities. Only Tahitic languages and Hawaiian are known to have the “priest” sense and there was an odd (sporadic) change in the first vowel of the word in Proto Tahitic such that the pronunciation had come to be **tahunga*. Such changes of unstressed PPn **u* > PTa or other EP **a* or *a* are otherwise unknown and it is profoundly unlikely that Proto Tahitic and Hawaiian made this change independently. The fact that Proto East Polynesian, Proto Central East Polynesian and Proto Marquesic had not made such a change is confirmed by reference to Mqa *tuhuka* ‘wise man’. Mao *tohunga* could be descended from **tahunga* but would not have resulted from **tuhunga*, further confirming the level of the innovation as PTa rather than PCE.

PPn **wele* ‘weed, clear away scrub’ became PTa **waele* (Tah *vaere*, Mao, Rar, Pen *waere*). Proto Marquesic had **wele* (Mqa *ve'e(ve'e)*, Mva *vere*, Haw *wele*). The change of PPn **we-* > **wae-* is otherwise unknown in East Polynesian except for the Hawaiian doublets *wele* and *waele* (Biggs 1994a), the former being its regularly inherited form as a member of Marquesic, the latter clearly borrowed from Tahitic.

Identifying Hawaiian borrowings from Tahitic on distributional grounds is confounded by the limited membership of Marquesic. It is not of great moment when only two languages seem to lack a cognate for a any particular word. Since Marquesic has only three members, Hawaiian being the best described, a Ta + Haw distribution might be the result of borrowing in Hawaiian or might just as easily be due to loss or lack of description in Marquesan and Mangarevan. When evaluating the possibility of a Tahitic loan into Hawaiian such distributions are indeterminate as there is no method to distinguish between a directly inherited Proto Central East Polynesian word and a Proto Tahitic innovation borrowed into Hawaiian. There are 219 such cognate groups in Biggs (1994a).

² The date of circa A.D. 1200 is here adduced by reference to the approximate time of New Zealand’s settlement from the Tahitic heartland as I have found no ordering arguments to place the divergence of NZ Maori or the Tahitic influences on Hawaiian speech either before or after one another.

4.3.12 POSSIBLE MULTIPLE STRATA IN NZ MAORI

Biggs (1994b) has recently asked if Maori can be shown to have a closest relative in Tahitic. Biggs found little reason to subgroup NZ Maori specifically with the Southern Cooks or the Societies. My conclusion is that no sporadic sound changes tie NZ Maori to any other individual Tahitic language. The evidence is that Tahitic had many unique innovations when NZ Maori diverged and that Tahitic was not internally diverse at the time. In the same volume Harlow (1994) asked a slightly different question: Did NZ Maori experience multiple inputs from the beginning? Harlow then gave a evidence in support of linguistic inputs from Marquesic as well as Tahitic.

5. SUBGROUPING

The results of the present work have supported some parts of the previous conventional subgrouping of the Polynesian languages and have led us to modify other parts of it (Figure 2.1 versus 2.2). The most basic division (Elbert 1953, Pawley 1966) remains the one between Tongic (Tongan and Niuean) and Nuclear Polynesian (all other Polynesian languages). The internal subgrouping of Nuclear Polynesian supported by the present work follows Wilson (1985) who placed Ellicean Outliers (including Tuvalu and Tokelau) in a group with Samoan and East Polynesian. All other Nuclear Polynesian languages (East Futunan, East Uvean, the so-called "Futunic" Outliers and Pukapukan) have yet to be further subgrouped¹ and remain unclassified within Nuclear Polynesian by the present analysis. Samoic-Outlier, originally suggested by Pawley (1967) on the basis of exclusively shared features, is here (and by Wilson (1985)) abandoned and those shared features taken to be shared retentions. Work by Hovdhaugen (1992) shows that the Tokelauan relationship to Samoan is marked by much recent borrowing due to mission activities. However, evidence is presented here to show that Tokelauan and Samoan also uniquely share sporadic sound changes from some time deeper in its past. Neither Tuvalu, East Futunan nor East Uvean show the persistent influences of Samoan over time as Tokelauan.

The evidence for East Polynesian (Elbert 1953, Pawley 1966) was expanded as was the evidence for Marquesic and Tahitic (Elbert 1953, Green 1966). A "Nuclear Marquesic" group consisting of Marquesan and Mangareva but not Hawaiian was identified in the present work. The histories of a bare two or three words hint that NZ Maori diverged from all other Tahitic before other Tahitic diverged from each other. I am suggesting the name "Nuclear Tahitic" for the group left behind by NZ Maori but the evidence is so scant I have been reluctant to treat it as a group in the present work..

The method used here for defending previously defined groups, abandoning them or refining them has been the comparison of uniquely shared sporadic sound changes. Only Nuclear Marquesic is not yet supported by uniquely shared sporadic sound changes and that group is well supported by uniquely shared regular and diffused vowel changes.

¹ Except for the Vanuatu group of "Futunic" Outliers.

It is only recently (Pawley 1996) that anyone has given a detailed account of the innovations defining the Polynesian subgroup. The group is so obvious upon inspection that there has been little motive. Pawley did so in the context of contesting the idea (Irwin 1992) that exploration and discovery of Polynesia was more or less continuous from the arrival of Oceanic speaking peoples in the area. In support of the "pause" hypothesis (Chapter 9), Pawley (1996:392-395) gives an extensive inventory of regular, diffused and sporadic sound changes, lexical innovations, morphological innovations, and syntactic innovations for Proto Polynesian. He argues that about a thousand years of common development would have been required to account for those changes (Pawley 1996:395). This is by comparison to "a range of historically attested cases" (of (non-Polynesian) languages that have developed in unity for about a thousand years). It is not a lexicostatistical/glottochronological estimate but it is consistent with such estimates. Pawley (1996:401) also makes the point that:

To say that the Polynesian branch underwent a long period of common development apart from its closest relatives is not to say that the development was free of regional variation.

5.2 THE DISINTEGRATION OF A COMMON LANGUAGE BETWEEN TONGA AND SAMOA

Fiji and Western Polynesia (less Niue and probably Tuvalu and Tokelau) were settled more or less at once at about 900 B.C. (Chapter 9). Fijian and Polynesian centres of linguistic innovation developed rather soon after settlement (Geraghty 1983, 1996). Tongan, Samoan then actively shared innovations for a long period of time (Green 1981, Pawley 1996). Pawley speaks of Northern and Southern Pre Polynesian dialects. Here I puzzle through what we might say about how and when Samoan (of Northern Pre Polynesian) and Tongan (of Southern Pre Polynesian) stopped sharing innovations.

There are abundant failures of regular agreement between Tongan and Samoan and these have never been properly analysed. Rensch (1987) made valuable original observations on these matters but his suggestion that these languages were *partially* sharing innovations of the other's phonological system seems premature. I have already reviewed the situation in East Uvean and shown that East Uvean was borrowing Tongan words and not its sound changes (Chapter 4.3.2). Rensch's other observations

turn out mainly to involve lexical borrowing by ancient Tongan from ancient Nuclear Polynesian.

One can detect prehistoric borrowing between related languages (Chapter 4.3) only if the languages differ from each other in at least one of their reflexes of the common ancestral sound system. At some point in time before the dispersals of Pukapukan, Outlier and East Polynesian languages, Tongan and Samoan had each developed one distinct sound agreement with Proto Polynesian which merged different Proto Polynesian sounds. These were the merger of PPn **s* and **h* in Tongic (where Nuclear Polynesian retained **s* and lost **h*) and the merger of PPn **l* and **r* in Nuclear Polynesian (where Tongic retained **l* and lost **r*) as in Table 5.1.

TABLE 5.1: CRITERIA SOUNDS FOR IDENTIFYING BORROWING AROUND WEST POLYNESIA

Proto Polynesian	<i>*r</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*h</i>	<i>*s</i>
Proto Tongic	∅	l	h	h
Tongic borrowings from Nuclear Polynesian	l	NA	∅	NA
Proto Nuclear Polynesian	l	l	∅	s
Nuclear Polynesian borrowings from Tongic	∅	NA	s	NA

Notes: "∅" indicates that the agreement to Proto Polynesian is loss. "NA" indicates potential borrowings that cannot be detected as there would be no difference between the regular and the borrowed correspondences to the protolanguage, something which is always true of most other sounds.

In addition, we can search out sporadic changes of Proto Polynesian words. A very few demonstrable cases of Post Nuclear Polynesian or Post Ellicean borrowings of sporadic sound changes between Tongan and Samoan are presently known to me (Chapter 4.3.1). Otherwise, we would be looking for the kinds of differences in Table 5.1: the unexpected retention of PPn **r* as *l* in Tongic (rather than loss) or loss of PPn **h* (rather than retention as *h*); and the unexpected retention of PPn **h* as *s* in Samoan (rather than loss) or loss of PPn **r* (rather than retention as *l*). We can also search out differences in vowel correspondences as Tongic and particularly Tongan had many vowel assimilations (Chapter 3.2.1) while Samoan, East Uvean and East Futunan did not.

5.2.1 TONGIC PATTERNS OF LOSS AND RETENTION OF PROTO POLYNESIAN **R* AND **L*

In pairs of doublets ultimately descended from words with PPn **r*, Tongan and Niuean show loss in one form along with retention as *l* in the second. Were both Tongan and

Niuean to have doublets of the same word, we would wonder if one of the doublets may be the result of borrowing in Pre Tongic from Nuclear Polynesian. If Proto Tongic doublets were the source of *all* the modern doublets we would expect a normal distribution² through Table 5.2. But I found no examples of patterns 7, 8 and 9 and cases are otherwise not normally distributed.

TABLE 5.2: DOUBLE REFLEXES OF PROTO POLYNESIAN *R AND THEIR POSSIBLE OUTCOMES IN MODERN TONGAN AND NIUEAN

	Tongan		Niuean	
	Loss	Retention	Loss	Retention
1	+	+	+	+
2	+	+	+	∅
3	+	+	∅	+
4	+	+	∅	∅
5	+	∅	+	+
6	+	∅	∅	+
7	∅	+	+	+
8	∅	+	+	∅
9	∅	∅	+	+

"+" indicates a form with loss or retention is known. "∅" indicates a form with loss or retention is unknown.

Patterns 1, 2 and 6 are dominant when there is no *a priori* reason³ to expect patterns 3, 4 and 5 to be diminished or patterns 7, 8 and 9 to be absent. The distributions of Patterns 1-6 come from regular and irregular reflexes of the following words:

TABLE 5.3: WORDS KNOWN TO TYPIFY PATTERNS 1-6 AND THEIR PROTO POLYNESIAN ORIGINS

1	*firo 'mix, mingle', *miro 'twist (by hand)', *muri 'behind', *qaro 'front', *riki 'small', *rongo 'hear'
2	*fara 'pandanus', *marama 'light', *refu 'ashes', *rua 'two'
3	*rara 'heat over fire', *tere 'sail, be afloat'
4	*maquri 'alive'
5	*raku 'scratch'
6	*firi 'braid, plait', *fore 'peel or strip (as skin or bark)', *kora 'dregs', *qara 'awake', *raqa 'branch', *rau 'k. of net', *tara(q)i 'hew', *turi 'knee', *uru 'arrange hot stones', *waru 'scrape'

² In the statistical sense. The distribution should be determined by rates of loss/replacement in general and this should effect all cells in a similar way.

³ Except relative size of the dictionaries (the Ton dictionary is larger).

Pattern 1 (doublets in both Ton and Niu)

- *firo 'mix, mingle' > Ton, Niu filo 'twist (as a rope, thread)', Ton, Niu fio 'mix'
 *miro 'twist (by hand)' > Ton milo 'twist by hand', Niu milo(i) 'restless at night', Ton mio 'twist', Niu miomio 'writhe about'
 *muri 'behind' > Ton mooli¹ 'abaft', Niu muli 'follow', Ton, Niu mui 'behind'
 *qaro 'front' > Ton 'alo 'belly (of fish)', Niu aloalo 'belly', Ton, Niu ao 'front'
 *riki 'small' > Ton -liki, Niu likiliki 'small', Ton iiki, Niu ikiiki 'small'
 *rongo 'hear' > Ton longo 'silent', Niu fakalongolongo 'silence', Ton ongo 'heard', Niu ogo 'report, message'

Note: 1. Perhaps *muli*. From Biggs (1994a) citing "(Mtn)".

While these would seem to be the best evidence for doublets in Proto Tongic, only two of the six existed at that level with any certainty: PTo *fio 'mix', *filo 'twist cord' and PTo *qao 'front', *qalo 'belly' are securely reconstructed on the basis of doublets with semantic agreement of Tongan and Niuean for each pair. Three others are possible Proto Tongic doublets but the semantics of the Tongan and Niuean doublets do not match closely enough to attribute particular meanings to a Proto Tongic pair. Those pairs are the would-be Proto Tongic doublets *mio/*milo 'twist cord', *mui/*muli 'behind, after',⁴ *ongo/*longo 'hear'. The sixth pair (variants of PPn *riki 'small') occurs due to a residual Tongan retention in compounds and a difference in Niuean dialects so there are actually doublets with contrasting semantics in neither language.

Pattern 2 (doublet in Ton and loss in Niu)

- *fara 'pandanus' > Ton, Niu faa 'pandanus', Ton fala 'mat (gen.)'
 *marama 'light' > Ton, Niu maama 'light', Ton malama 'v.i. shine, give light'
 *refu 'ashes' > Ton, Niu efu-efu 'ashes', Ton lefu-lefu 'grey bird'
 *rua 'two': Ton, Niu ua 'two', Ton -lua 'two (in some compounds)'

As this pattern exhibits loss in Niuean, we wonder if the Tongan forms with *l* are Post Proto Tongic borrowings from Nuclear Polynesian in Tongan. In the first three there is no semantic argument for Nuclear Polynesian influence. The fourth (Ton *-lua*) is clearly a borrowing from Nuclear Polynesian (Table 4.4) as the form to which it suffixes in the sources is a borrowing from Nuclear Polynesian (Ton *foe-* 'paddle', as opposed to the common free form Ton *fohe*).

⁴ Further weakened by an irregular vowel in the possible Ton cognate of the second form.

Pattern 3 (doublet in Ton and retention in Niu)

*rara 'heat over fire' > Ton aa 'heat leaves over fire', lala 'half-cooked', Niu la(ngi) 'smoke over fire'

*tere 'sail, be afloat' > Ton tee 'float, go visiting', tele 'graze, touch', Niu tele 'float, creep'

Note that the second Ton form in the second group (*tele*) is at best a dubious cognate and that this group really consists of only one certain example (and may belong in Pattern 6).

Here again I could find no particular congruence of Nuclear Polynesian semantics in those Tongic words retaining **r* as *l*. In the second case Niuean retains the Proto Polynesian sense in an *l* form while Tongan retains that sense in the form with loss and has a quite different meaning for the form with the (potentially borrowed) retention of **r*.

Pattern 4 (doublet in Ton and no known cognate in Niu)

*maquri 'alive' > Ton mo'ui 'alive', maa'uli 'practise midwifery'

This Tongan doublet has no apparent Nuclear Polynesian semantic source. It would not be a recent borrowing from Samoan as it retains the glottal stop.

Pattern 5 (loss in Ton and doublet in Niu)

*raku 'scratch' > Ton (v)aku 'scratch', Niu (v)aku-aku 'scratch', laku 'mix with hands'

The Niuean form that retains **r* as *l* in this groups has only a weak semantic agreement to the others and may not be cognate.

Pattern 6 (loss in Ton and retention in Niu)

*firi 'braid, plait' > Ton fii, Niu fili

*fore 'peel or strip (as skin or bark)' > Ton (au)foe, Niu (fo)fole

*kora 'dregs' > Ton koa, NIU kola

*qara 'awake' > Ton 'aa, Niu ala

*raqa 'branch' > Ton va'a, Niu laa

*rau 'k. of net' > Ton au, Niu lau

*tara(q)i 'hew' > Ton taa'i, Niu talai

*turi 'knee' > Ton tui, Niu tuli

*uru 'arrange hot stones' > Ton uu, Niu uulu

*waru 'scrape' > Ton vau, Niu volu

This group is of interest due to its size (it is the largest by a third) and its definition as the one in which there is never a retention as *l* in Tongan and there is never a loss in Niuean. This group may constitute evidence that Niuean diverged from Tongan retaining at least some PPN **r* as distinct from **l*, and later merged some **r* with **l* rather than losing them. Alternatively, the "retentions" in Niuean could be borrowings from East Polynesian.

Conclusion

In some instances (Pattern 1) these may be cases of Nuclear Polynesian loans in Proto Tongic. Others could be as well (Patterns 3 and 4). Pattern 2 has the distribution expected for Nuclear Polynesian loans in Tongan after the divergence of Niuean. Pattern 6 may be a residue of retained PPn **r* in Niuean (from a residue in PTo). Some Pattern 6 forms could be East Polynesian loans in Niuean but there are no doublets, a common result of borrowing.

5.2.2 IRREGULARITIES OF NIUEAN

Here I review some unexpected agreements in Niuean. Rensch (1987:575) suggests that any "missing" PPn **h* sounds in Tongan and Niuean occurred (under Nuclear Polynesian influence) incipiently or diffusely over a long period of time. We have already seen (Chapter 4.3.5) that such losses in Tongan are surely loans from Nuclear Polynesian; Samoan, presumably. Here I show that Rensch's (1987:573-574) examples of loss in Niuean are very limited and largely in error. The examples Rensch puts forward for loss in Niuean are:

TABLE 5.4: SOME NIUEAN DOUBLETS WITH AND WITHOUT /H/ (RENSCH 1987)

Retention		Loss	
holo	to grind, grate	olo	to smoothen
hola	to flee, escape	ola	life
pihi	to splash, splatter	pii	to sprinkle
hiloa		iloa	I don't know
hinafi		inafi	scale of fish
hafangi		afangi	to open
hafua		afua	fine (of weather)
fuihi		fui	bunch, cluster
kakaha		kakaa	burn
hafule		afule	clear dead leaves from plant
haloka		aloka	to talk

These can be shown to involve a loss of PPn **h* in only two instances. The other cases involve:

1. doublets which existed in Proto Polynesian and are not unique to Niuean,
2. residues of the Proto Polynesian glottal stop as *h* in only one of the Niuean dialects (rather than following the more common pattern of loss),
3. only more rarely diffused losses of PPn **h*.

The instances of Proto Polynesian doublets are the first three above and consist of PPn **holo* 'grate, grind', versus PPn **olo* 'to smoothen'; PPn **sola* 'flee', versus PPn

**ola* 'life' and PPn **pihi* 'squirt, spurt', versus PPn **pii(pii)* 'sprinkle water'. The next four had initial glottal stop in Proto Polynesian and the Niuean form with a corresponding *h* is from the Niuean Motu dialect when the source dialect is indicated by Biggs, McEwen or other sources (PPn **qilo* 'to know', **qunafi* 'scale a fish', PPn **qafa* 'open, apart', PTo **qafua* 'fine (of wealth)'). These seem not to be insertions after the loss of the PTo glottal stop as I find no such insertions for Niuean in Biggs (1994) when there was no glottal stop. Niuean *h* (Motu dialect) is therefore a residue of the PTo glottal stop in these instances. Other examples (from Sperlich 1997) are *hagohago* 'of suitable proportions' (PNP **qago* 'thin'), *hapi(ni)* 'carry under arm' (PPn **qafi* 'carry under arm'). Only Niu *fuhi~fuifui* (PPn **fuhi* 'bunch') and *kakaha~kaka* (PPn **kaha* 'burn') were found to be examples of what Rensch was actually talking about. But these are localised losses of PPn **h* in alternate pronunciations, not a general encroachment of Nuclear Polynesian phonological processes as Rensch suggested. The final two examples in Table 5.4 could not be related to evidence external but are typical of alternations in Niuean where one pronunciation shows word initial *ha-* and the other *a-* (Sperlich 1997:25), possibly as a result of old dialect differences which are now said to have "virtually disappeared" (Sperlich 1997:25). I take them to be old glottal stop forms which have residual retention of the glottal stop as *h* in one dialect because, as mentioned previously, I can find no insertion rules or sporadic losses of PTo **h* which would otherwise explain their histories.

5.2.3 WESTERN POLYNESIAN VOCABULARY AGREEMENTS

Here I mention a particular a phenomenon involving vocabulary agreements around Western Polynesia (excluding Niuean). Tongan, Samoan, East Uvean and East Futunan share a higher portion of general vocabulary with each other than, for instance, Tongan does with Niuean, or Samoan with any of the Outliers or East Polynesian languages,⁵ which are their more immediate relatives (Table 5.5). So we are left with the question of whether this is due to Post Proto Tongic, Post Proto Nuclear Polynesian and Post Proto Ellicean borrowings among the languages of Western Polynesia or to the tendency of these languages to have similar retentions from Proto Polynesian. I posit

⁵ With the exception of rather high scores of Sam with Tik.

that these agreements are mainly due to the latter as there is actually very little vocabulary unique to Western Polynesia (less Niuean).

There are only about one hundred words shared between Tongan and other Western Polynesian languages (less Niuean) that are not known from the Outliers and/or East Polynesia and loan phonology does not allow for their evaluation as Post Proto Polynesian loans (Chapter 4.3.1). But this is a very small number and indicates that active sharings or borrowings between ancient Tongan and Samoan must mainly have ceased before the divergences of Pukapukan, the Outliers and East Polynesian. On the other hand one would like to account for the generally higher agreements in vocabulary of Western Polynesian (than with their closest genetic relatives). Pawley (1970) does so by suggesting a tendency for larger language communities, like Tongan and Samoan, to be more conservative while the Outliers have smaller populations (Pawley 1970) and, similarly, the the initial East Polynesian speech community may have been very small and a founder effect may have occurred there there. I would also suggest that it occurred through a certain level of continuing social contacts around Western Polynesia, a consequent recognition of cosmopolitan vocabulary and a bias towards its retention.

Here I crunch the numbers to show what linguists are talking about when they mention the high vocabulary agreements of Western Polynesian languages (excluding Niu, Tuv and possibly Tok which was not tabulated). The raw figures for known cognates between some of the languages are given in Table 5.5.

TABLE 5.5: NUMBER OF KNOWN COGNATE VOCABULARY ITEMS FOR SOME POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

	Ton	Niu	EFu	EUv	Sam	Tuv	Eas	Mqa	Haw	Tah	Mao
CWA ¹	2043	1333	1842	1459	1939	1313	732	1422	1688	1804	2462
Ton		1099	1437	1268	1466	952	442	785	813	870	1100
Niu	1099		947	817	998	718	375	642	649	691	847
EFu	1437	947		1214	1369	951	420	733	750	786	987
Euv	1268	817	1214		1105	814	362	599	614	648	814
Tik	1042	784	1055	829	1062	852	388	689	691	730	871
Sam	1466	998	1369	1105		961	451	802	826	902	1116
Tuv	952	718	951	814	961		369	584	601	626	773
Tok	760	553	704	585	810	622	283	477	480	521	616
Nuk	714	550	689	562	734	595	332	545	538	571	654
Eas	442	375	420	362	451	369		516	516	537	599
Mqa	785	642	733	599	802	584	516		981	976	1118
Haw	813	649	750	614	826	601	516	981		1103	1395
Tah	870	691	786	648	902	626	537	976	1103		1405
Rar	914	738	829	669	931	662	540	1000	1127	1351	1491
Mao	1100	847	987	814	1116	773	599	1118	1395	1405	

Notes: 1. "CWA": words for a language known to be "cognate with any" other language (varies by size of dictionaries and amount of work Biggs has done on a given language). Source: author's machine counts from Biggs' (1994a) data base.

"CWA" (words cognate with any other language) are variable due at least to the extent of description, Pawley's (1970) "large island" effect and a founder effect common to East Polynesian. So I also present the calculations in Table 5.6 where each score is weighted. The average CWA for the 11 languages in Table 5.5 was 1640. Each language was then assigned a weight based upon whether it had more or less than the average. Tongan, for instance, with 2043 CWA had a weight of 1.25 while Rapanui, with 732 CWA had a weight of 0.45. The weights of the two languages compared were, in each instance, used as denominators with their scores from Table 5.5 as the numerator. So, for instance, the Table 5.6 score for Tonga with Rapanui is 786 ($442/(1.25 \times 0.45)$). These are simple lineal denominators where in reality correction should be on some incalculable exponential curve based upon dictionary size, the fact that some vocabulary is more conservative than others, the amount of time Biggs spent working on each language and other factors. The most obvious distortions are the "overloading" of languages with low CWA (e.g. Eas) and the "underloading" of languages with high CWA (e.g. Ton, Sam and esp. Mao).

TABLE 5.6: NUMBER OF KNOWN COGNATE VOCABULARY ITEMS FOR SOME POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES - WEIGHTED BY EACH LANGUAGE'S KNOWN COGNATES WITH ANY OTHER LANGUAGE

	Ton	Niu	EFu	EUv	Sam	Tuv	Eas	Mqa	Haw	Tah	Mao
Ton		1086	1026	1140	994	952	786	722	631	633	586
Niu	1086		1044	1133	1044	1108	1028	911	778	775	698
EFu	1026	1044		1218	1036	1062	833	753	650	638	588
EUv	1140	1133	1218		1052	1144	903	774	670	662	609
Sam	994	1044	1036	1052		1018	849	782	680	695	630
Tuv	952	1108	1062	1144	1018		1025	839	730	712	644
Eas	786	1028	833	903	849	1025		1318	1114	1084	887
Mqa	722	911	753	774	782	839	1318		1095	1020	857
Haw	631	778	650	670	680	730	1114	1095		974	903
Tah	633	775	638	662	695	712	1084	1020	974		852
Mao	586	698	588	609	630	644	887	857	903	852	

Notes: See discussion in text above for how calculations were run and what biases resulted.

In any event, this is what we know of general vocabulary agreements amongst Polynesian languages at this point in time and as with the lexicostatistics (Dyen 1965, Biggs 1978) the scores are as fairly much as high (or higher) amongst the Western Polynesian languages than they are with the languages to which they are more closely related (i.e., Ton with Niu; Sam with EP). As noted above, this is due to shared retentions of Proto Polynesian rather than much uniquely Western Polynesian vocabulary.

5.2.4 CONCLUSION

Our family tree of Polynesian languages showing Nuclear Polynesian as a group distinct from Tongic implies that East Polynesian and the Ellicean Outliers originated in ancient Samoan speech rather than ancient Tongan. Our classing of linguistic sharings between Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian *before* those divergences as "shared innovations" and *afterwards* as "borrowings" is a terminological convention.

That distinction seems less pertinent after the present study as it now seems quite clear that the period of intense and even casual sharing of innovations between ancient Tongan and ancient Samoan had ended by the time of the disintegration of Proto Nuclear Polynesian. Social contacts may have been more or less intense but sharing linguistic innovations had mostly ceased. Mainly we are able to show some Proto Tongic and Tongan borrowings from Nuclear Polynesian. Candidates for Post Proto Ellicean borrowings from Tongic in Samoan are relatively rare and less certainly loans.

Pawley (1966:57-59) first set out evidence of shared innovations for this group (Tongan and Niuean) while Elbert (1953) suggested a group of Tongan, Niuean, East Futunan and East Uvean based upon less diagnostic evidence. Pawley's arguments for Tongic will be reviewed presently. From the present study of sporadic consonant changes we can add the evidence for Tongic in Table 5.7.

TABLE 5.7: SPORADIC CONSONANT CHANGES OF PROTO TONGIC

PPn *(t,k)amata ¹	PTo *kamata	'taste, attempt, try'
PPn *mamawa	PTo *mamao	'yawn'
PPn *qaoa	PTo *qovava	'banyan tree'
PPn *qafinga	PTo *qafine	'armpit'

Notes: 1. Direction of change uncertain.

In the case of the first pair of agreements, we cannot be sure what the Proto Polynesian form was but in the other three it is quite certain and Tongan and Niuean share innovations which are unique with respect to the reconstructed forms (Chapter 2). I know of no shared sporadic vowel changes unique to Tongic but there are many vowel change rules which must be so narrowly specified for Tongan and Niuean together (Chapter 3.2.1) that common history is the only appealing solution. Regular consonant changes common to Proto Tongic and no other Polynesian languages are the merger of PPn **h* and **s* and the loss of PPn **r* (Elbert 1953).

Pawley (1966:57-59) put forth the following shared innovations and uniquely shared features to define a Tongic subgroup:

1. Certain innovations as compared to the PPn pronouns:

PPn	*kitato(l)u	*kimato(l)u	*kilato(l)u
PTo	*kitautolu	*kilautolu	*kitautolu
	1pip	1pep	3pp

2. Use of *-*utolu*⁶ as the pronominal trial marker versus PNP and Fij **tou*.
3. "Several cases of grammatical markers in which PPn **a* has become PTO **o* or **e*:"
 - a. "PPn **ha-nga-* 'stem formative' in **hangafulu* 'ten' is reflected by PTO **ho-ngo-* in **hongofulu* 'ten'...; PPn **rua-nga-rau* 'two hundred' is reflected by **-nge-* in PTO **ua-nge-au*..."
 - b. "PPn **ma* 'and, with, plus'... is reflected by PTO **mo*..."
 - c. PPn **-na-* 'past time' is reflected by PTO **-ne-* in the following: PPn **nanafi* 'yesterday'... is reflected by PTO **-neafi*...; PPn **nafee* or **nafea* 'when? (past time)'... reflected by PTO **-nefee*...; PPn **napoo* 'last night'... is reflected by PTO **-nepoo*..."

⁶ Pawley (personal communication). Pawley (1966) read "-*tolu*".

4. PTO "here", "there" and "specified location" "differ from the PTO demonstratives only in the presence of initial *h-.", i.e. PTO *eni, *ena and *ee versus *heni, *hena and *ee.
5. Certain uniquely shared features, not all of which can be shown to be innovations against PPn.

Dyen (1981:97) notes that "[t]here is little reason to quarrel with the notion that Tongan, Niuean and probably also East Uvean formed some kind of grouping within the Polynesian speech types..." As in earlier portions of that work, Dyen's main argument for the inclusion of East Uvean in Tongic was lexicostatistical. A telling passage in Dyen (1981:83) states that "[s]urely either the lexicostatistics must be widely in error or Biggs' subgrouping must be in error" with reference to Biggs (1978) classification (which follows Pawley's). Rates of lexical retention and loss are variable and there is no reason to expect that the lexicostatistical scores of any group of languages will closely match classifications obtained through the demonstration of uniquely shared innovations (such as sporadic sound changes or shared innovations in morphology).

5.4 NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN

Pawley's definition of Nuclear Polynesian⁷ has been attacked by Dyen (1981). Harrison (1981:204) points out that Dyen's main attack was lexicostatistical but also contained a qualitative attack on the "six major innovations proposed by Pawley" (Harrison 1981:205). Harrison notes that that "[t]hough they all merit comment... the alternatives he proposes are, in many instances, no more plausible or persuasive than those he attacks". The word "opportunistic" comes to mind as Dyen's alternant explanations seem *ad hoc* compared to the postulation of Tongic and Nuclear Polynesian groups (and the implications that flow from that). Here I shall return to the method of subgrouping of the present work (shared sporadic sound changes) and note the changes of PPn *hui > PNP⁸ *iwi 'bone', PPn *tafu-raqa > PNP *tafo-laqa 'whale', and PPn *kui > PNP *kiwi 'blind' (Chapter 3.4.2). I know of no uniquely shared sporadic consonant changes defining Nuclear Polynesian

⁷ Pawley's (1966, 1967) definition of Nuclear Polynesian based chiefly upon shared innovations in morphology was to some extent presaged by Elbert's (1953) where all languages now considered Nuclear Polynesian together, other than East Futunan and East Uvean, were blocked together in a table of sound correspondences and linked in a family tree.

⁸ East Uvean does not share the vowel change of the first but it also retains the PPn *h as h in that word so on the basis of both the consonants and the vowels, EUv hui 'bone' is irregular and a borrowing from Tongan.

Other phonological evidence for Nuclear Polynesian is the merger of PPn **r* and **l* and the loss of PPn **h* (Elbert 1953, Pawley 1966).

5.5 UNCLASSIFIED NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN LANGUAGES

East Uvean, East Futunan, Pukapukan and the "Futunic" Outliers are unclassified Nuclear Polynesian languages by the present analysis. There is no regular or sporadic sound change shared by "Futunic" Outliers languages that could be demonstrated other than a few sporadic vowel changes amongst two or three adjacent languages. Those sharings overlap through the group but are rather rare suggesting some dialect chaining or local borrowings. There are some uniquely shared lexemes through some "Futunic" Outliers (cf. Biggs 1994). The only one that is fairly well distributed is **nofine* 'wife' (Anu, Mfa, Pil, Tik, WFu). There are two problems with suggesting it could be an innovation of a "Futunic" Outlier group. The first is that the form could be a shared loss amongst other Polynesian languages. The second is that such cultural vocabulary is borrowed rather easily and the form could have arisen locally in one of the Outliers and come into usage elsewhere as a part of cultural contacts that otherwise had little other linguistic impact. Pawley (1967) suggested a smaller group consisting of the Vanuatu-Loyalty Outliers (WFu, MFa, Mae and WUv) but no other clusters are yet apparent except a group within that group consisting of Mele-Fila and Futuna-Aniwa (Clark 1978).

"Samoic-Outlier" ("Futunic", Ellicean Outlier, East Uvean, East Futunan, Samoan and Tokelauan) (Pawley 1967) is abandoned in the present study as no uniquely shared sporadic sound changes could be found to support it and because evidence in the following section demonstrates that Ellicean (Ellicean Outlier, Samoan-Tokelauan and Eastern Polynesian) continued to share innovations after their divergence from "Futunic" Outliers, Pukapukan, East Uvean and East Futunan. See also Marck (forthcoming).

5.5 ELLICEAN

This group, Samoan, Outlier Ellicean, Tuvalu, Tokelauan and East Polynesian was first defined by Wilson (1985) on the basis of uniquely shared changes in pronominal systems. The method employed here, that of isolating uniquely shared sporadic sound

changes, resulted in a different, more general, internal subgrouping, but both studies agree on overall membership of the group.

Ellicean languages have no attested uniquely shared sporadic consonant changes. There are at least three sporadic vowel changes common to Ellicean as seen in Table 5.8. The evidence for them is given in Chapter 3.4.4. Some of those vowel changes occur in a few other languages but they only occur *en masse* amongst the Ellicean languages.

TABLE 5.8: SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF ELLICEAN

PPn > PNP *maf <u>u</u>	PEc *maf <u>o</u>	'to heal'
PPn > PNP *fu <u>ang</u> a	PEc *fo <u>ang</u> a	'whetstone'
PPn > PNP *ki <u>u</u>	PEc *ki <u>i</u>	'bird sp.'

5.6 ELLICEAN OUTLIER

Pawley (1967:286) found the evidence for Ellicean Outlier to that time "considerably below that needed to establish a subgroup". Although materials presented established Northern (Nuk, Kap) and Central (Sik, Ong, Tak) groups, he could not link the two with each other or with Tuvalu (Vai, Nan) as closed groups with what he felt were conclusive arguments.

Howard (1981) had a good deal of published data on Outlier languages not available to Pawley (1967) and his article remains the most solid basis for suggesting a closed group. The paper asked if a group composed of Tuvaluan and the Central and Northern Outliers could be supported. A few uniquely shared sporadic sound changes or uniquely shared lexemes were found to be strongly suggestive of such a group. Aside from a sporadic sound change mentioned above below, Howard (1981:111-114) gives:

TABLE 5.9: POSSIBLE SHARED SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF ELLICEAN OUTLIER FROM HOWARD (1981)

PPn	*futu	*paqikea	*saqele	*(t,s)apatuu	*sau-pulu (Ton)	*qaukau
PEcO	*kafusu	*kaipea	*saale	*tapatuu	*tau-pulu	*u(u)kau
	Barringtonia	crab sp.	go, walk	barracuda	chalk	pus
	1	2	3	4	5	6

Most of the items in Table 5.9 have problems that weaken their value as potentially shared innovations. Several have doublets of the older pronunciations in one or more languages (1, 2, 3 and 6). Doublets are a common consequence of borrowing and examples of sporadic sound changes presented as evidence in the present work do not

involve doublets. Item 4 may be a case of conflation (Chapter 4.2) rather than a shared sporadic sound change and the direction of change is uncertain. Item 5 may be composed of different initial morphemes and is attested only in Tongan, Tuvalu and Takuu (and may be a local development in each instance).

Howard was not able to give much consideration to Tokelauan as extensive word lists and the current dictionary were not available. He did, however, find three uniquely shared features between Tokelauan and the "Equatorial Outliers" (Nuk, Kap, Nkr, Tak, Nkm, Ong and Sik). However, these are not demonstrably innovations and may be uniquely shared retentions.

I know of only one shared sporadic sound change that imperfectly defines an Ellicean Outlier (Nuk, Kap, Nkr, Tak, Nkm, Ong, Sik, Tuv) group (PPn > PNP > **faqelu* > PEcO **failu* 'wipe anus' (Howard 1981)). The innovative form is known from the Ellicean Outliers (including, as Howard did, Tuvalu and Tokelauan) but no cognate is known to me from Samoan. The change of the second vowel is shared with Tahitian but no other East Polynesian language. Proto Polynesian and Proto Ellicean and Proto East Polynesian were clearly still **faqelu* on the basis of all other East Polynesian agreements. In the context of trying to find more such shared changes I came to observe that all other cases of such sporadic sound changes amongst Ellicean Outlier languages are also shared with Samoan, Tuvalu, Tokelauan and East Polynesian. Thus the definition of Ellicean Outlier depends upon a single sporadic vowel change, upon Bayard's (1966) initial lexicostatistical observations and upon the more diagnostic work of Pawley (1967) and Howard (1981).

Overall, there is still little evidence for a subgroup composed only of Ellicean Outliers and Tuvalu and even less for one that would include those languages and Tokelauan. The strongest evidence is Howard's PPn **faqelu* > PEcO **fa(a)ilu* 'wipe anus' as East Polynesian languages retain the Proto Polynesian vowel configuration. Even this form has a doublet with regular agreements to Proto Polynesian (Tuv *faaelu*). The doublet could exist there as a loan or alternate pronunciation⁹ from Western Polynesian neighbours.

⁹ Hovdhaugen (1992) mentions register and other social variables surrounding the use of Sam pronunciations in Tok. No one has addressed such issues for Tuv.

5.7 SAMOAN-TOKELAUAN

Hovdhaugen (1992) has considered the history of Tokelauan with respect to Samoan in some detail. He concludes that:

The contact between Samoan and Tokelauan has mainly taken place in the last one hundred and fifty years. During this period, most of the contact has taken place in Tokelau, where all Tokelauans have acquired a fluent, passive command and a more or less good active command of Samoan through reading the Samoan Bible, singing Samoan psalms and songs, and listening to Samoan pastors. The result of this contact with Samoan is that many Tokelauans on certain occasions use Samoan words and phrases as a stylistic device... and that a number of Samoan loanwords have entered the Tokelauan vocabulary (Hovdhaugen 1992:62-63).

Hovdhaugen (1992:63-68) then gives a list of 137 Tokelauan borrowings from Samoan. In some instances they are identifiable loans as there are doublets, because Tokelauan does not have its regular correspondence to a proto language (and follows Samoan) or because Tokelauan people are simply aware that they are recent borrowings. But I also find four forms in Biggs (1994) where Tokelauan shares a sporadic vowel change with Samoan and only the second has a doublet:

TABLE 5.10: SOME SHARED SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF SAMOAN AND TOKELAUAN

PEc		Sam	Tok
*fatu-tili	thunder	faititili	faititili
*loo	ant	loi	loo, loi
*mutie	grass	mutia	mutia
*taqahine	girl	teine	teine

Where Hovdhaugen identified recent borrowings, the above sharings probably constitute the insidious results of contact over a long period of time as they constitute such a large share of Samoan's vowel irregularities overall. Why would these particular odd pronunciations be adopted at once in the recent past when the Tokelauan lexicon remains so distinct from Samoan? By the present method of focusing on shared sporadic sound changes, I suggest a subgroup. Samoan has experienced very few sporadic sound changes since the demise of Proto Nuclear Polynesian and Proto Ellicean. There are only seven which do not seem to be shared with Tokelauan (Appendix B).

There are two attested sporadic sound changes of East Polynesian languages: one sporadic vowel change and one sporadic consonant change. These are given in Table 5.11 and the evidence for them can be found in Chapters 2.2.7 and 3.4.4 respectively.

TABLE 5.11: SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF PROTO EAST POLYNESIAN

PEc *manga-wai	PEP *mana-wai	'tributary water course'
PEc *salu	PEP *seru	'scrape, comb'

The group has been argued by Elbert (1953), Green (1966) and Pawley (1966), and more recently by Green (1988) with an additional summary by Marck (1996a). As the group is marked by very few sporadic sound changes, I list the most compelling morphological innovations in Table 5.12.

TABLE 5.12: PROTO EAST POLYNESIAN MORPHOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS

***i** 'past, past position': a tense marker regularly replacing PPn *ne or *na: Eas, Haw, Mao, Mqa, Mva, Pen, Rar, Tah i. Green (1988) and Pawley (1966) have PPn *ne'e or *na'a but there is little evidence for the second syllable in either form: PPn *na: Ton na'a, Efu, Mfa, Niu, Ren, Sam na, Euv nana, Lua ngaa, Tok naa. PPn *ne: Anu, Ece, Euv, Kap, Niu, Nuk, Tik, Ton ne.

***kore** 'negative': Eas, Mva, Pen, Rar, Tua kore, Haw 'ole, Mao kore, Mqa ko'e, Tah 'ore. Pawley (1966:60) and Green (1988:Table 1) have PEP *kaa-ore/kore, the first based on: Mao kaahore/kaaore, Rar kaare, Tah 'aore, Haw 'a'ole, Mqa ka-ko'e, Mva ka-kore.

I would reconstruct *kakore as a variant of *kore for PMq and *kaa-ore for PTa.

***pe-aha** 'conjecture, perhaps (postposed marker)': Eas peaha, Haw paha, Mao pea, Rar pa'a, Tah paha, Tua paha 'perhaps' (and Fij beka 'polite uncertainty, perhaps', Ton apee 'conjecture', Sam pea 'persisting', Tok pea 'nevertheless, still; continuously').

Pawley (1966:61) has PEP *paha, Green (1988:Table 1) has PEP *pafa and Biggs (1993) has PEP *pe-aha, cross referencing the form to PPn *pe(e) 'be alike, resemble', PCE *paha 'perhaps' and to the irregularly corresponding forms from Fij, Ton, Sam and Tok above. I have accepted Biggs PEP reconstruction in this case on the basis of the EAS form as well as the more tenuous external evidence.

***aha** 'what': Eas, Haw, Mao, Mqa, Pen, Tah, Tua aha, Mva a'a, PPn *hafa, Fij cava, POC *nsapa, PAN *sapa 'what'. Cf. Ton haa, Sam aa, but also Kap, Nuk, WFu aha, MFa afa.

Pawley (1966:61) and Green (1988:Table 1) contrast this with TON and SAM which have unexpectedly lost the second PPn consonant. In that case it would be a shared retention of EP languages rather than a shared innovation. At any rate it needs to be dismissed as a shared retention, too, as several Outliers also retain the second consonant. There is nothing unique about this PEP form.

***he aha...ai** 'why': Mao, Tah, Mva he aha ... ai, Eas he aha "with indefinite article *he, corresponding to PSO *ko te aa te mea...ai, PTo *ko e haa...ai, with initial specifier *ko plus definite article" (Pawley 1966:61).

***e...qana** discontinuous marker meaning 'habitual or progressive tense-aspect' Haw, Mao, Mqa, Mva, Rar, Tah, Tua e...ana; Eas e... 'ana/a.

***he(i)** future position, purposive Mao, Mva, Rar, Tua hei; Eas he.

After Pawley (1966:59-61) and Green (1988:Table 1) with additional data from Biggs (1992). Reconstructions here are the author's interpretation and do not necessarily agree with all of Pawley, Green and Biggs. Reproduced from Marck (1996a:List 1).

Marck (1996a:List 2) also gives 23 of 112 uniquely shared lexemes from Biggs (1992).

5.9 CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN

Proto Central East Polynesian is well defined by sporadic sound changes and I shall not list other evidence from Green (1966, 1988), Pawley (1966) or Marck (1996a). There are three attested uniquely shared sporadic consonant changes (Chapter 2) and four uniquely shared sporadic vowel changes¹⁰ (Chapter 3.4.5). There is also a uniquely shared borrowing from Niuean:

TABLE 5.13: SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN

PCE *hungawai	PMq *hungowai	'parent-in-law'
PEP *nguu-feke	PCE *muu-feke	'squid'
PEP *ngau 'chew'	PCE *ngau	'chew', *ngahu 'bite'
PEP *faahua	PCE *paahua	'Tridacna (giant clam)'
PEP *kai	PCE *koi	'sharp'
PEP *kumi	PCE *kumu	'strangle'
PEP *kau-natu	PCE *kau-nati	'fire-plough'
PEP *wae	PCE *wae	'divide'
	Niu wehe > PCE *wehe	

Central East Polynesian dictionaries all seem to give the **wae/*wehe* doublet, defining them in more or less the same words and cross-referencing them to each other without commenting on how their use differs. Possibly it is a matter of register (formality, social context, etc.).

5.10 MARQUESIC

There are no attested sporadic consonant changes shared uniquely by Marquesic from Chapter 2 but as the work drew to a close I noticed an irregular loss (PCE **hungowai* 'parent-in-law' > PMq **matua-hungoai* > Haw *makua-huunooai*, Mqa *motukoai* 'id.'). Marquesic languages share the six sporadic vowel changes given in Table 5.14 (evidence for these changes is given in Chapter 3.4.5).

¹⁰ Biggs (1994) and Biggs and Clark (1996) also give PCE **aute* 'paper mulberry tree' from PPn **kaute* but Tah and Rar contain regular reflexes of the initial consonant while Mao and Mq lack such reflexes. With both Mao and Mq lacking a regular initial consonant, borrowing from Ta (where **k* > glottal stop) could be the Mao and Mq source or there could have been an irregular loss in Mq and another in Mao (or a Mao borrowing from Mq, cf. Harlow 1994). In any event it is apparently not a sporadic sound change of PCE.

TABLE 5.14: SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF PROTO MARQUESIC

PCE *haere	PMq *here	'go, walk'
PCE *muka	PMq *muko	'growing tip'
PCE *taiti	PMq *teiti	'child'
PCE *tao-kete	PMq *to-kete	'ego's same-sex sibling-in-law'
PCE *tokelau	PMq *tokolau	'north'
PCE *tua-ngaane	PMq *tu-ngaane	'woman's brother'

Source: Green (1966), Marck (1996a) and Chapter 3.4.5.

Other arguments for Proto Marquesic from Green (1966) are updated and expanded by reference to Biggs (1992) in Marck (1996a).

5.11 NUCLEAR MARQUESIC

Nuclear Marquesic (Marquesan and Mangarevan) is attested by one case of uniquely shared metathesis (PMq **hakari* > PNM **erehi* 'mature coconut') (Table 2.10) in which **k* was sporadically lost. Nuclear Marquesic is also defined by a diffused sound change which affected the same words in those languages (Chapter 3.3.1). The change had affected many Proto Nuclear Marquesic forms and then went on to affect additional forms in Marquesan (but no more in Mangarevan) after their divergence from each other.

5.12 TAHITIC

Tahitic was first defined by Elbert (1953) and then more clearly by Green (1966). Marck (1996a:505-507) lists Green's arguments and gives a sample of exclusively shared lexemes from Biggs (1992). I cannot show any sporadic consonant changes for Tahitic but ten shared sporadic vowel changes are given in Table 5.15 and the evidence for those changes can be found in Chapter 3.4.5. See also Chapter 4.1 for a discussion of a couple of shared morphological changes in Tahitic.

TABLE 5.15: SHARED SPORADIC SOUND CHANGES OF TAHITIC

PCE *kumi	PTa *kimi	'seek' ¹
PCE *urufe	PTa *aruhe	'fern sp.'
PCE *ka(a)tafa	PTa *kootaha	'frigate bird'
PCE *katafa	PTa *kootaha	'bird's nest fern'
PCE *rimu	PTa *remu	'moss, seaweed'
PCE *mutie	PTa *matie	'grass'
PCE *nonu	PTa *nono	'plant sp.'
PCE *tanga-amimi	PTa *tongaamimi	'bladder'
PCE *toko-mauru	PTa *tokomauri	'hiccough'
PCE *tuhunga 'expert'	PTa *tahunga	'priest' (Haw <i>kahuna</i> 'priest' considered a borrowing from Ta)

Notes: 1. Also Eas *kimi* and Haw *'imi* which may be Ta loans, given Mqa *'umi*-.

5.13 NUCLEAR TAHITIC

Biggs (1994b) asked if NZ Maori had a closest relative. He concluded (Biggs 1994b:104) that "[i]mpressions that Ratotongan is closer than Tahitian to Maori may be due to the innovative nature of Tahitian rather than a special relationship between Rarotongan and Maori". Harlow (1994) considered evidence of multiple inputs during the establishment of Tahitic in New Zealand, suggesting, among other things, that there may have been Marquesic mixing with a Tahitic dialect during the development of South Island Maori.¹¹ His conclusions are, as are Biggs', consistent with a Tahitic heartland (Cooks, Societies, Astrals and Tuamotus) without much internal diversity at the time NZ Maori diverged.

Although I have not indicated a subgroup in Figure 1.2, I would like to suggest that NZ Maori may have been the first to diverge from other Tahitic (that other Tahitic went on to share further innovations apart from NZ Maori). The evidence is indicative and problematic rather than conclusive in any way but it suggests an additional dimension to an elusive problem, the origins of NZ Maori. As I have named Nuclear Marquesan along the same lines as Nuclear Polynesian (i.e., the group remaining after the divergence of the first language from the others), I propose that should the present suggestion be sustained by better evidence, Tahitic languages other than NZ Maori be named "Nuclear Tahitic (NT, PNT)".

The evidence is a single sporadic sound change and a single morphological reinterpretation. The sporadic sound change is PTA **taina* > PNT **teina* 'younger

same-sex sibling' (Tah, Rar, Pen *teina*, Tua *teeina*) where NZ Maori retains the older pronunciation in one of its dialects (Eastern Maori *taina*, Western Maori *teina*). The morphological reinterpretation is the change of PCE **ma-iii* 'left, not right' to the form **ka-iii* in all Tahitic but NZ Maori and the Aitutaki dialect of the Southern Cooks, which reflect the PCE pronunciation.

As Biggs (1994b) and Harlow (1994) have shown, the answer to a question depends very much on how the question is asked. So perhaps we should ask if we can find retained features of Proto Central East Polynesian (and hence define the situation in Proto Tahitic) in NZ Maori where all other Tahitic show a uniquely shared innovation. I have not begun that search as the question only occurred to me as the present work was coming to a close.

5.14 CONCLUSION

The Polynesian language family developed its distinctive characteristics during a long period of common development *in situ* in Western Polynesia (Pawley 1996). Some shared innovations mark a group consisting of Polynesian and Fijian, especially Lau Fijian (Geraghty 1983, 1996), but different centres of linguistic and cultural innovation seem to have been established from the earliest centuries of settlement in the area. Proto Polynesian disintegrated when Tongic (Southern Pre Polynesian) and Nuclear Polynesian (Northern Pre Polynesian) dialect areas stopped sharing innovations (Green 1981, Pawley 1996). The "Futunic" Outliers, Ellicean Outlier, Pukapukan and East Polynesian languages emerged from the Northern rather than Southern centre. Tongic loans are known from East Polynesian and Central East Polynesian but the main linguistic input to the incipient East Polynesian speech community was clearly from Samoa and/or Tokelau and Tuvalu. Tuvaluan is the apparent source of Ellicean Outlier while Tokelauan continued to share innovations with Samoan after the divergence of Tuvaluan, Ellicean Outlier and East Polynesian.

East Polynesian had a period of unified development after its divergence from other Ellicean languages. Unlike Central East Polynesian, East Polynesian itself is not heavily marked by innovations. This may reflect to some extent the fact that Rapanui is

¹¹ Parenthetically, neither Biggs nor Harlow speaks of "Proto NZ Maori" and such has never been demonstrated.

the single member of its own first order East Polynesian subgroup. So there is only one language to offer any evidence from the subgroup at all and the situation is further exacerbated by Rapanui being less well described than most other East Polynesian languages.

Central East Polynesian appears to have had an extended period of common development compared to all other East Polynesian protolanguages (PEP, PMq, PNM and PTa) because it exhibits the largest number of sporadic sound changes amongst East Polynesian proto languages (Table 2.3.2).

It is a significant contribution of linguistics to have ascertained that Rapanui was settled at a time when the progenitor language was continuing in unity in central East Polynesia. It may have been spread through what would become the Marquesic and Tahitic heartlands or it may have been nucleated in one or the other. More will be said about the two possibilities in Chapters 6 and 9.

Marquesic clearly developed in the Marquesas and early North Marquesan and South Marquesan may have been dialectally distinct at the time Hawaiian diverged and abruptly ended the Pre Proto Marquesic period. The divergence of Mangarevan from Marquesan came later than the divergence of Hawaiian but may have been rather soon afterwards. There was a period of shared diffused vowel changes and a case of metathesis after the divergence of Hawaiian and before the divergence of Mangarevan but other (sporadic, diffused and regular) sound changes of Marquesan and Mangarevan compared to Proto Marquesic are idiosyncratic.

Tahitic loans in Hawaiian show innovations of Proto Tahitic and none which seem particular to any of the Tahitic languages. Those Hawaiian borrowings cannot be ordered relative to the breakup of Tahitic and apparently occurred at about the time NZ Maori diverged and before the remaining Tahitic languages developed their separate innovations.

Marquesic is not as heavily marked by sporadic sound changes as Tahitic and this may indicate a relatively shorter period of common development. This would be *consistent* with Hawaiian diverging from other Marquesic before NZ Maori diverged from other Tahitic but our method does not actually *confirm* such an order.

6. CONCLUSIONS REGARDING LANGUAGE HISTORY

The regularity hypothesis is sustained by this study of Polynesian languages. The search for sporadic, irregular change produced only the smallest handful of exceptions. Sporadic sound changes are wisps and threads of things that are buried in time against a background of massive regular and diffused agreements. Early in the present research I wondered if sporadic sound changes were fairly subtle aspects of speech which only spread through tightly integrated speech communities. But in the end, two Post Proto Ellicean¹ diffusions of sporadic sound changes were clear for Western Polynesia (i.e., with Tongan, Samoan, East Futunan and East Uvean agreeing on an innovative pronunciation) as were numerous Tokelauan agreements with Samoan. Clearly these kinds of sound changes can travel great distances and may have done so between sister speech traditions that had diverged past the language limit.

Linguists assume more or less continuous *regular* change amongst all languages.² Here we have seen evidence of more or less continuous, though profoundly rare, sporadic sound changes. Casting about for some reason why languages might make sporadic sound changes an obvious suggestion in Polynesia would be that in some instances such may have been due to avoidance of words sounding like or homophonous with names of high chiefs. Most of the vowel changes need no social explanation at all as they are sporadic assimilations and have a simple linguistic explanation. But the consonant changes rarely have an obvious phonetic motive.

Consider the case of PPn **maqoli* 'true, genuine'. In this word PPn **l* was irregularly replaced by *n* or *k* amongst a group of dispersed daughter speech traditions which were at least highly distinct dialects at the time of the innovations. Instead of **maqoli*, East Futunan and Samoan reflect **maqoki* and Tongan, East Uvean, Samoan, Tokelauan, Tuvaluan and Sikaiana reflect **maqoni* (Sam having forms from both the innovative pronunciations but none of the languages listed having a regular reflex of PPn **maqoli*). These changes cross-cut the established subgroups and are evidence of Post Proto Ellicean borrowing around Western Polynesia. Samoan has four related forms: a **maqoki* reflex (*maao'i* 'real, genuine'), a **maqoni* reflex (*faka-maoni* 'true, loyal'), a **maqoni* reflex that follows the Tongan (*mo'oni* 'true, genuine') vowel

¹ "Post Ellicean": in the time after East Polynesian and Ellicean Outlier diverged from Samoan.

² Continuous but not constant amongst languages or in the history of an individual language.

assimilation (Sam *moni* 'true') and a **maqoki* reflex which also exhibits vowel assimilation (Sam *mo'i* 'true'). East Uvean has both a regular reflex of **maqoni* (*ma'oni-oni* 'juste, vrai') and one whose vowel shows the Tongan pronunciation (EUv *mo'oni* 'vrai, certain'). Tokelauan has only the **maqoni* form (Tok *moni* 'true, sincere') as do Tuvaluan (*faka/maoni* 'reliable') and Sikaiana (*maaoni* 'true, genuine'). Other Outliers and East Polynesian have only reflexes of the original **maqoli* (Chapter 2.2.12). If we take the Sikaiana pronunciation to be a late influence from Tuvalu,³ we can posit that after the divergence of Outlier and East Polynesian speech, some social force was responsible for altering the more ancient pronunciation around Western Polynesia and that such happened twice, probably in two different geographical centres, such as Tonga and Samoa. The royal lineages of Tonga and Samoa were intermarrying a great deal at the time of Western contact. Possibly some chief of these lineages once had a name which contained "**maqoli*", Western Polynesian irregular sound changes of the common word being developments in accordance with avoidance of that name. Most of the sporadic consonant changes (Chapter 2) were losses, insertions and changes of manner or place (but not both) and the possibility of a phonetic motive for change would be higher in those cases than in the relatively radical change of **maqoli* to **maqoki*.

A different kind of situation is one in which there was an irregular change in one of a set of homonyms: the change of Proto East Polynesian **kai* 'sharp' to Proto Central East Polynesian **koi* 'sharp'. No vowel change occurred between those languages in the homonyms PEP/PCE **kai* '1. negative imperative, 2. eat, food, 3. spread, erode (of an ulcer or sore)', 4. points scored in a game, 5. prefix marking persons of a place (or lineage?), 6. games, riddles'. So we might also wonder if the change was simply a reaction to so much polysemy. Other examples of sporadic vowel changes (Chapter 3) had clearer phonetic motivations and polysemy was not so apparent.

For whatever reasons, the consonant changes occurred at a rate of about one every two or three centuries (for the better described languages; cf. Table 2.34 and associated discussion) and, with the sporadic vowel changes, leave us a revised subgrouping for Polynesian as compared to the most commonly reproduced family trees

³ As is otherwise known from oral traditions.

of Polynesian, the "standard" subgrouping, which has not changed much since Pawley (1966, 1967) and Green (1966) (Figure 1.1 versus Figure 1.2). Wilson's (1985) suggestion of an Ellicean group has found further support by the present method, a weakly defined Nuclear Marquesic group has been isolated and the question of a Nuclear Tahitic group raised.

We now have a picture of Western Polynesia being settled more or less simultaneously around the beginning of the first millennium B.C. by speakers of a single language who then retained a high degree of linguistic unity for all or most of a thousand years (Pawley 1996). In the present study we have learned a little more about how the drift to different languages between Tonga, Samoa, East Uvea and East Futuna had progressed by the time Pukapukan, Outlier and East Polynesian speech had separated from Samoan. Two conclusions became clear: 1. the period of intense sharing between Tongan and Samoan had ceased by that time (Chapter 5.2) and 2. Ellicean, the branch of Nuclear Polynesian consisting of East Polynesian, Ellicean Outliers and Samoan, was only lightly marked by innovations not shared with East Uvean, East Futunan or even Tongan (Marck forthcoming and Chapter 5.5). A period of only two or three centuries may have passed between the disintegration of Proto Polynesian and the disintegration of Proto Ellicean or we may be observing markings of local dialects from Pre Polynesian times. I cannot presently order the divergence of Ellicean Outlier, East Polynesian and Samoan-Tokelauan from one another suggesting that the divergence of Ellicean Outlier and Eastern Polynesian from Samoa may have been part of the same cultural process of geographical expansion.

Tongan and Samoan borrowed sporadic sound changes from one another only rarely after the Outlier and East Polynesian languages separated from Samoan (two cases are presently identified, see Table 2.32). But Pawley's (1996) "Northern and Southern Pre Polynesian" dialect areas had shared innovations, including most of their sporadic sound changes, up until not long before that time. Tongan, Samoan, East Futunan and East Uvean tended to share a relatively high proportion of similar retentions from Proto Polynesian up to the present. This common body of shared retentions accounts for their high lexicostatistical scores (as given in Biggs 1978:692) and counts of total cognates (Table 5.2) in a situation where we can show few Post

Proto Ellicean borrowings (other than the massive borrowings by East Uvean from Tongan (Chapter 4.3.2)) between these languages.

"Futunic" Outliers has been given in quotation marks through the present work for ease of reference to the geographical group but I find no shared sporadic sound changes to define a genetic group. Pukapukan and the "Futunic" Outliers remain enigmatic in the sense that no shared sporadic sound changes can be shown to connect any of them with any other languages, such as Samoan, East Uvean or East Futunan, that are not simply shared innovations of Nuclear Polynesian as a whole. We might have the impression that Pukapukan and the "Futunic" Outliers diverged from their sources in Western Polynesia before East Polynesian, Ellicean Outlier and Samoan diverged from each other but this is only because we wonder why we cannot link them with anything else, not because they were necessarily the first to diverge. They could, for instance, have diverged from East Futuna or East Uvea at about the time Ellicean disintegrated, or even later. But, if that were true we then wonder why there are no sporadic changes marking such connections and are left with the impression that "Futunic" Outliers and Pukapukan diverged from other Nuclear Polynesian before it was internally diversified.

We cannot be as clear about the language geography of early central East Polynesia (the Cooks, the Societies, the Australs, the Tuamotus and the Marquesas) as we can for Western Polynesia. The archaeologists agree that Fiji and Western Polynesia were settled more or less at once and we have little option but to conclude that Pre Proto Polynesian was spoken over Western Polynesia as a whole (excluding Niue and probably Tuvalu and Tokelau) (Green 1981, Pawley 1996). But it is not clear from the archaeology where and when East Polynesia came to be settled. We (as linguists) have evidence for a long period of unity for Pre East Polynesian and or at least Pre Central East Polynesian speech. Five hundred years would be the approximate time needed to account for the innovations between Proto Ellicean and Proto Central East Polynesian in my estimation. That or a profound founder effect. Such unity may have occurred on a single island or group or the innovations may have spread through central East Polynesia in the manner of Tonga and Samoa in their initial millennium of settlement. The linguist has no way to tell.

Once ancestral East Polynesian speech had been established in East Polynesia, the initial period of common development was followed by the divergence of Rapanui speech, something which clearly preceded the differentiation of speech between the Marquesas, the Societies, the Tuamotus, the Astrals and the Cooks. After the divergence of Rapanui speech, there continued some centuries of common development between the languages of central East Polynesia (in a locality or localities that we cannot isolate due to strictly linguistic arguments). Proto Nuclear Marquesic is more lightly marked by known innovations than Proto Tahitic. This is consistent with Proto Marquesic disintegrating before Proto Tahitic.

We can also note that what we reconstruct as Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic may only be dialect differences between varieties of Central East Polynesian. Each has a fair number of distinct sporadic sound changes but vocabulary does not seem to have been very different. There are only 31 uniquely shared lexemes of Marquesic in Biggs (1994) and 141 uniquely shared lexemes of Tahitic (see Table 1.2), figures which are again consistent with Proto Marquesic disintegrating earlier than Proto Tahitic. No sporadic sound changes or lexical innovations shared between Marquesan/Mangarevan and any Tahitic language can be shown to post-date the divergence of Hawaiian. So those stages of Tahitic and Marquesic may not have differed greatly from one another but they seem not to have been borrowing further innovations from one another. There may have been significant cultural contacts between the two but there was no obvious linguistic consequence.

By the measure of shared sporadic sound changes, the period of common development of Nuclear Marquesic (Marquesan and Mangarevan) was the shortest of all East Polynesian subgroups. The divergence of Mangarevan from Marquesan must have occurred soon (within a few centuries) after the divergence of Hawaiian.

Proto Tahitic was probably a dialect chain extending through the Southern Cooks, the Societies, Tuamotus and Astrals at the time NZ Maori diverged. But Proto Tahitic was unmarked by locally distinct sporadic sound changes when NZ Maori diverged so far as could be determined in the present study. Here (Chapter 5.13) I have offered the guess that the disintegration of Tahitic occurred most decidedly with the divergence of N.Z. Maori. The divergence of N.Z. Maori from other Tahitic cannot be

ordered with respect to Tahitic influences on Hawaiian and both events probably occurred at about the same time or within a few centuries of each other.

Borrowing was reviewed in Chapter 4.3 and a list of the main cases given on pages 133-134. Amongst the Outliers there has been borrowing between neighbours and from Melanesian Oceanic due to cultural contacts. Anutan and Tikopian have borrowed from East Uvean and Tongan due to intrusions of speakers of the latter onto the islands of Anuta and Tikopia. This happened in prehistory but recently enough that there are clear memories of the new arrivals in Anutan and Tikopian oral histories.

Amongst the Western Polynesian languages, Tongan has Samoan loans and Proto Tongic might have had Nuclear Polynesian loans; East Uvean shows massive Tongan loans and Niuean shows many clearly East Polynesian loans. Tokelauan shows agreements with Samoan that I have categorised as indicative of a subgroup rather than borrowing but there are also abundant Samoan loans due to missionary activities and other contacts in the historic period. Samoan may have Tongan loans but they are few in number and such candidates as there are may better be explained by perplexing sound changes in Samoan (mainly having to do with the lenition of PPn *s, see Chapter 2.3.4) than by borrowing from Tongan.

The clearest case of prehistoric loans in East Polynesia is that of Tahitic loans in (Marquesic) Hawaiian. There may have been Marquesic substratum in parts of New Zealand mixed with a predominance of Tahitic speech (Harlow 1994). Rapanui has borrowed a great deal from Tahitian in the historic period due to missionary influences as has Pukapukan from Rarotongan. Some Pukapukan borrowings from East Polynesian may be prehistoric (Clark 1980).

7 COSMOGONY¹

And yet it is somewhat surprising that the grand old epic of the New Zealand Maoris relating the birth of the gods as the offspring of the Sky-father (Rangi) and the Earth-mother (Papa), does not seem to have held the same important place in the beliefs of the Rarotongans.....This is a question that might well occupy the attention of the younger generation of Polynesian scholars now gradually coming to the fore... There can be little doubt that the belief in the origin of all living things originating from the Sky-father and Earth-mother, was the primary belief of the Aryan-speaking people of India, dating probably from times antecedent to their migration into India... (S. Percy Smith 1919a:55)

7.1 PURPOSE, METHOD AND SOURCES

There is a recurring Polynesian cosmogonic tradition whereby the primordial world was transformed into the modern world by a series of events often consisting first of vague cosmic beings² (whose names and nature are not generally cognate) giving rise to a Primordial Pair, or vice versa, who then gave rise to first order anthropomorphic gods. The Primordial Pair in Tonga were "Seaweed" and "Sediment/Slime". In Nuclear Polynesian, or at least Proto Ellicean, we find evidence for the male and female being named *Papa-adj.* in both Proto Nuclear Polynesian and Proto Central East Polynesian. "*Papa-adj.*" are thought of as physical strata or rock in Samoa while in Central Eastern Polynesia there was commonly the notion that *Papa* (the female) was the earth itself and that her mate was the sky or the space between the sky and the earth. It was, however, only amongst NZ Maori that the male was specifically given the name "Sky". An alternate name for the male in the Marquesas is "Sky Father" but this is not the name used in recitations and seems a (lexical) development independent of the NZ Maori as will be reviewed presently. Typically the primordial parents had a child or children who constituted the first order of anthropomorphic gods. Following the present discussion of purpose, method and sources, the Primordial Pair and their children, the first order anthropomorphic gods, are the topics of this chapter.

¹ This chapter is taken from Marck (1996b, 1996c). Chapter 7.1 combines introductory material from both, 7.2 presents the results of Marck (1996b) and 7.3 presents the results of Marck (1996c). There is much rephrasing but only significance variances from the main presentations of those two works are mentioned in footnotes.

² "Cosmic beings" is a term applied by many of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century descriptive and comparative sources to a recurring element in Polynesian cosmogonic traditions. These are often the earliest "beings" in creation. The cosmic beings lack deeds, consciousness, and sometimes even form. It might be appropriate to speak of them as personifications in sense of "embodiment" but not in the sense of anthropomorphic form as they haven't such form in any instance.

The conclusions of this chapter result mainly from a comparison Tongan, Samoan, Marquesan, NZ Maori, and one group of Cook Island Maori traditions. Traditions which differ, such as Tahitian, Tuamotuan, other Cook Islands and Hawaiian, would seem to have developed out of the basic pattern seen in the previously mentioned groups. Little is known of Rapanui or Polynesian Outlier cosmogonic traditions and it is the traditions of the other groups with which we will be most concerned.

Specifically I will address the question of how old may be the NZ Maori concept of a Primordial Pair involving Sky Father or Father Sky (*Rangi*) and Earth Mother or Mother Earth (*Papa*). Handy (1927) viewed NZ Maori cosmogony in general as somewhat archetypal, truer to the past than others, and held that the Sky Father concept seemed to be of great antiquity and a pattern from which other Polynesian cosmogonies emerged (Handy 1927:312-313). Here I will suggest that it was not, at least in linguistically reconstructable patterns of naming.

It may seem odd to hark back to such dated materials but it seems that no Polynesianist has ever returned to the subject of attempting a reconstruction of Polynesian cosmogony. It is with Handy (1927) that such attempts appear to have begun and ended. Williamson (1933a, 1933b) soon produced a broader comparative work than Handy on these and related matters. He speculated about the past but was not so specifically preoccupied with reconstruction as Handy. Craig (1989) is the only work since Williamson's to present extensive comparative materials on Polynesian pantheons and cosmogonic traditions for all the major groups. Like Williamson, Craig did not attempt to reconstruct earlier systems or stages. Hiroa (1938a) compared Central East Polynesian memories of "Hawaiki"³ but he did not consider those aspects of cosmogony presently under discussion: the conceptualisation of the Primordial Pair and their progeny.

Whether for lack of interest or lack of an acceptable method, further attempts at reconstruction seem entirely lacking in the literature. Here I shall suggest a method, apply it, and compare the conclusions to some of those reached by Handy. It follows

³ Spelt "**Sawaiki*" in contemporary PEP and PCE orthographies.

from an initial incursion into the materials where I found it quite remarkable that certain cosmogonic traditions occur only within specific linguistic subgroups.

Here I employ the premise that there may be a phylogeny of creation traditions that developed and differentiated something along the lines of the linguistic phylogeny for the area. There is nothing in the comparative linguistics literature that gives one permission to proceed exactly along the lines I shall suggest. As Goodenough puts it:

Nothing as neat as the Grimm's law kind of correspondence has been worked out for cultural forms other than linguistic ones. The closest anthropologists have come to a comparable degree of precision in establishing cognate forms has been in technology...

But attempts to do this with other sectors of culture have been much less precise and often unconvincing... (Goodenough 1980:128)

Goodenough (1980:128) goes on to suggest a method for comparing certain cultural traits but in that work he was speaking of traits as they are examined in functional interpretations. The present work makes no claims about function or evolutionary tendencies. Rather it is a simple historical examination of distributions of names and concepts or motifs surrounding the Primordial Pair and their children as compared to the linguistic phylogeny of Polynesia (Chapter 5 above).

I shall be concerned that borrowing ideas might occur more readily than, for instance, words naming material culture. There is no linguistic method for evaluating whether borrowing ideas has occurred when the names associated with those ideas have not been borrowed. Convergence is another issue that must be addressed and linguists have no method for recognising convergence except with our own materials.

The possibility of borrowing can reasonably be ruled out in many Polynesian instances by the great distances involved. If, for instance, a belief is universal within Polynesia, it becomes very complex to explain its distribution by borrowing. Economy of explanation lies with the inference that the belief existed in the common ancestral community. On the other hand, if a trait is known only from Tonga and Samoa we would be quite happy to entertain the possibility of borrowing as we know there were regular contacts in pre-European times. But, for instance, a highly specific agreement of an idea and its name between Samoa and the Marquesas would suggest that the belief and name for it existed in the common ancestral community since borrowing over such

a distance would be difficult and convergence unlikely in a named detail of structure where the names were cognate.

Convergence, the independent development of common characteristics, is unlikely in the instance of shared cosmogonic identities who have linguistically cognate names and highly specific identical deeds. But convergence is more difficult to dismiss in the instance of structured beliefs which have no particular name to test for cognation and may be similar due to universal tendencies in the transformation of cosmogonic beliefs. It is especially at this point that we leave the methods of comparative linguistics behind and must state our assumptions and methods explicitly.

What follows are proposed standards for the task at hand. These cannot be claimed to have the support of comparative linguists in general. They do, however, resemble Clark's (1976) "distributional method" for reconstructing grammatical components of Polynesian protolanguages.

The following guidelines are the basis for the suggestions in the rest of the chapter:

1. *If a feature of the cosmogonies is universal or occurs in Tonga and East Polynesia the feature will be suggested to have occurred amongst the beliefs of the Proto Polynesian speakers.* (Agreements between Tongan and Samoan will be considered possible borrowings unless there is agreement from Eastern Polynesia as well). An example of a Tongan-Samoan-East Polynesian agreement that we will see is the belief that the sky was close to the earth at the time of creation and that this caused great inconvenience to early anthropomorphic gods and people and that an early act of these gods was to raise the sky. This would seem to have been a belief of the Proto Polynesian speakers.
2. *Similarly, if a feature occurs in two widely separated groups not otherwise known to have borrowed from each other, the feature will be suggested to have occurred in the community of speakers of their common proto language rather than to be borrowed.* An example that we will see is the naming of the male of the Primordial Pair as *Papa-adj.* in both Samoa and the Marquesas.

The method may be in error. It assumes that cosmogonies were transmitted and differentiated amongst prehistoric communities in the same general way as languages. This may not always have been true. Still, it seems to produce a more plausible result than seen in Handy (1927) and provides a different point of departure that some students of the situation might find more appealing.

Sources employed are a mix of primary and secondary materials. Handy (1927) and especially Williamson (1933a, 1933b) have already been mentioned as secondary sources containing much useful material as is Craig (1989), a recent comparative dictionary of Polynesian mythology. Handy, Williamson and Craig largely agree on

what the most valuable primary material is, up to date of their own publication. In fact it is an agreement upon what extant material has any value at all and the materials concerned added up to only about 300 titles by the time of Craig (1989). Many of those sources are very short, and those concerning cosmogony (rather than religion or general mythology) are very few indeed. Amongst these many will not be mentioned here because they seem traditions that have developed locally having neither actants nor motifs in common with other groups. Others are not mentioned because they are peripheral to the present topic. There is a need to remain focused. There is much that must await further study.

There is a general problem with specific cosmogonic materials being lacking in otherwise comprehensive works. Firth (1967) on Tikopia, for instance, concerns religious practices. Religious practices in Polynesia seldom had much to do with the Primordial Pair or first order anthropomorphic gods. Rather, ancestors were commonly worshipped as they were genealogically closer to the gods that first created or procreated people. These ancestors were seen as capable of interceding with these and other gods on behalf of living people. The earliest gods were distant and not the subject of much ritual. Thus a work describing Polynesian religious practices need not deal with cosmogonic notions and many of them do not.

Firth's (1961) earlier work on Tikopian oral history and traditions addresses the issue of cosmogony but there we encounter a problem common to what little we know of the Polynesian Outliers cosmogonies: they little resemble the traditions of Tonga or Samoa which is similar to what Geraghty (1993:344 fn. 3) has noted in reference to the absence of the Tongan and Samoan *Pulotu* 'Paradise' word and notion amongst the Outlier groups.

While cosmogony was neglected in favour of descriptions of religious life in some localities, another source of neglect was a preoccupation with general mythology. For example, von Steinen (1898, 1899, 1925-1928, 1933, 1934, cf. also Langridge and Terrell 1988) collected a great deal of Marquesan mythology and oral history but little of the cosmogony is mentioned in those materials. From a short passage in Christian (1895:187-188) supported by a few paragraphs from Handy (1923:244-245) we find that there are many similarities between the basic Marquesan conceptualisation of

creation and those of Tonga, Samoa and especially NZ Maori. But that is about all we know: just those few paragraphs.

There is sometimes a problem with loss or transformation of cultural memory under Christian influence and the absence of interested European parties to document cosmogonies prior to their loss or transformation. This seems to have affected cosmogonic traditions more than general mythology. An example is the common source for Tahitian traditions (Henry 1928). Henry's traditions were collected after a period of contact with Christians and it is questionable how much Henry's detailed cosmogony pre-dated European times (cf. Barrère 1966, Marck 1996c and 7.2.1.10 below). Yet there is no more comprehensive earlier record of Tahitian traditions and we must search for elements of the past in a highly transformed set of traditions.

Similarly, Fraser (1892) appears to have been told a Christianised Samoan tradition not long after traditions more in keeping with the general Polynesian pattern were collected (e.g., Turner 1861, 1884).

Barrère (1966) suggests some criteria for distinguishing authentic Polynesian traditions from those transformed by Christianity and specifically addresses the question of whether a would-be supreme being from around the Tahiti area and New Zealand (variously *Io*, *Iho*, *'Iho* or *Kiho*) is a post-Christian development. Williamson (1933a, 1933b) barely mentions those traditions even though many were known by the time of his work, so possibly he, too, considered them suspect. In addition to Barrère's arguments we can note that NZ Maori *Io* lacks both the consonants of the would-be cognates around Tahiti, sounds which are otherwise almost never lost in NZ Maori (Chapter 2.2.9 and 2.2.10) borrowings or directly inherited words.⁴ The absence of consonants strongly indicates that different ancient words were involved, that any borrowing was through the agencies of non-Polynesian speakers or that it was late prehistoric.⁵

In addition to the cautions Barrère (1966) mentions we can suggest that Christian influence is to be suspected when there is a pre-existing supreme being at all

⁴ See also Emory (1938:48-52) on the equivalence of Mao *Io* or *Iho* and Tah *'Iho-'Iho*.

⁵ We can, for instance, wonder about the possible role of "h-less" English dialect speakers passing the Tah word and notion on to Mao. But Tah *'Iho* > Rar *'I'o* > Mao *Io* would be a possible pre-European borrowing sequence.

and when early acts of such supreme beings were creation of the land and waters and heavens. Comparisons made in the present work suggests that ancient Polynesian cosmogonies conceived of the primordial condition⁶ as one in which the land, sea and sky pre-existed, the sky was hugging the earth, and the primordial period was interrupted by actions of cosmic beings or the Primordial Pair. Pre-existing male anthropomorphic creators are found in Fraser's (1892) Samoan tradition and around the Tahiti area. In both cases reflexes of the male PPn **Tangaloa* 'first order anthropomorphic god' (Chapter 7.3.4.6) are involved. But the Samoan tradition has few other elements or actants known from elsewhere nor do the traditions of *Ta'aroa/Tangaroa* as creator god around Tahiti have elements or actants known from beyond the Tuamotus... not even amongst the NZ Maori with which Tahiti is closely linked linguistically nor amongst Hawaiians who may have borrowed some elements of their cosmogony from early Tahitic. Thus some traditions cited by Handy (1927), Williamson (1933a, 1933b) or Craig (1989) are not mentioned here because their main elements have no counterparts outside of a local area and these elements sometimes seem suspiciously similar to Judeo-Christian cosmogonic concepts.

7.2 THE PRIMORDIAL PAIR

7.2.1 THE PRIMORDIAL CONDITION, THE PRIMORDIAL PAIR AND CREATION IN POLYNESIAN COSMOGONIES

In the main, Polynesians conceived of the primordial condition as one in which the sky was a stratum hugging close to the earth. The Primordial Pair gave rise to cosmic beings, or vice versa, who gave rise to first order anthropomorphic gods. An early act of the first order anthropomorphic gods, their offspring and contemporaries was to raise the sky to make the earth more habitable in the sense of such modern conveniences as being able to walk upright, living on an earth bathed in sun and starlight, and being able to see to the horizon as it is known today. These beliefs are common in varying degrees to Tongan, Samoan, Marquesan, NZ Maori, Tahitian, Cook Island, Tuamotuan and Hawaiian traditions (cf. Beckwith 1970:230, 379, Fornander 1916-1917:18, Gill 1876:58-60, Grey 1885:2, Handy 1923:245, Henry 1928:419-415, Williamson 1933a:1-45). Thus, by our present method, we conclude that these were beliefs of Proto

⁶ Or at least the condition at the time of the Primordial Pair.

Polynesian, Proto Nuclear Polynesian, Proto Ellicean, Proto East Polynesian, Proto Central East Polynesian, Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic speakers.

In Tongan and Samoan traditions the primordial condition was interrupted by the union of a Primordial Pair, male and female, that gave birth to cosmic beings who in turn gave birth to the first order anthropomorphic gods. NZ Maori traditions have the cosmic beings giving rise to the Primordial Pair whose direct offspring were the first order anthropomorphic gods. Marquesan traditions do not seem to remember a period of cosmic beings and have the primordial condition interrupted directly by the union of the Primordial Pair whose immediate offspring are the first order anthropomorphic gods as in NZ Maori traditions. Tahitian traditions and those of Hawai'i diverge in various ways from this pattern as do some Tuamotuan and Southern Cook Island traditions. There the Primordial Pair are found in different roles but are recognisable as they retain their old names and sometimes issue forth the same first order anthropomorphic gods. Other Cook Island traditions follow more the NZ Maori and Marquesan pattern. The names of the Primordial Pair for the languages under discussion and suggested reconstructions for some of the proto languages are given in Table 7.1.

TABLE 7.1: THE PRIMORDIAL PAIR AND POSSIBLE REMNANTS OF THE PRIMORDIAL PAIR IN POLYNESIAN COSMOGONIES.

	Male	Female
Tongan	Limu	Kele
PEc (PNP?)	*Papa- <i>adi</i> .	Papa- <i>adi</i> .
Samoan	Papa-Tuu	Papa-'Ele
PEP/PEP/PCE/PMq	*Papa- <i>adi</i> .	*Papa- <i>adi</i> .
N. Marquesas	Papa-'Uka	Papa-'A'o
S. Marquesas	Papa-'Una	Papa-'A'o
Hawaiian	Waakea ¹	Papa
PTa	*Aatea	*Papa
Tahitian ²	Tumu	Papa-Raha-Raha
	Papa-Tuu-'Oi	Aatea
	Aatea	Ha'a-Hotu
Tuamotuan	Tumu ²	Papa ²
	Vaatea	Hotu
Rarotongan	Tumu	Papa
	Vaatea	Papa
Mangaian	Vaatea/Avaatea	Papa
Tongareva	Aatea	Haka-Hotu
NZ Maori	Rangi-Aatea	Papa

Notes: 1. Here suggested to be a loan from Early Tahitian. 2. Not the Primordial Pair but hold a similar position.

7.2.1.1 PROTO POLYNESIAN

As can be observed, I have suggested no Proto Polynesian reconstructions. This is due to the absence of agreement between Tongan and Nuclear Polynesian. While there is the partial agreement of Tongan *Kele* with Samoan *Papa-'Ele* this could be a borrowing. The Tongan Primordial Pair, *Limu* and *Kele*, translate to "Seaweed (male)" and "Sediment (female)". The second has traditionally been translated as "Slime" (cf. Williamson 1933a, Craig 1989) but Tongan *kele* refers to water borne or water deposited soil and not the particular state that it is in (cf. Churchward 1959:260). In Tongan traditions *Limu* and *Kele* become the parents of a rock in one version or simply pass by it in the water in another and the rock begins to spew forth cosmic beings from whom ultimately descend the first order anthropomorphic gods, the half-brothers *Tangaloa*, *Maui* and *Hiku-Leqo*.⁷

7.2.1.2 PROTO NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN

Nuclear Polynesian⁸ traditions, specifically those of Samoan and Central East Polynesian, are quite distinct from Tongan and differ in that the Primordial Pair are conceived of as lower earthly geological strata or the earth itself in the case of the female and upper earthly geological strata, the sky (which was a stratum hugging the earth), or the stratum of space between the sky and the earth in the case of the male.

Both Samoan and Marquesan name the Primordial Pair *Papa*. PNP **papa*, as a common noun, derives from Proto Austronesian for which **papan* 'board, plank' is reconstructed. It came into Proto Polynesian regularly by way of Proto Oceanic for which **ba(b,p)an* 'plank' is reconstructed. Biggs (1994) reconstructs PPn **papa* 'flat hard surface'. This is a cautious, minimal semantic reconstruction but the word means "board" in several Polynesian language (e.g. East Futunan, Hawaiian, Samoan and Tongan), as it did in Proto Austronesian and Proto Oceanic so certainly it had that

⁷ Several Tongan creation traditions are known and differ somewhat, one having *Limu* and *Kele* in sexual union producing the rock *Toui-A-Futuna* from which burst forth cosmic beings (Williamson 1933a:9-11 and Craig 1989:28-29) while another (Collocott (1921:152-153) has *Limu* and *Kele* passing by *Toui-A-Futuna* which is a rock in the sea and magically causing it to burst forth with cosmic beings. Gifford (1924:19) relates a third where *Limu* and *Kele* produce a male and a female child which mate and begin creation. All agree that *Limu* and *Kele* are the beginning and *Hiku-Le'o*, *Tangaloa* and *Maui* the first order anthropomorphic gods that ultimately emerge. Gifford (1924:14) mentions other minor variations.

⁸ More precisely, Ellicean as supporting evidence from non-Ellicean Nuclear Polynesian is lacking.

meaning in Proto Polynesian and polysemy in Proto Polynesian seems to have evolved out of that older meaning.

It seems possible **papa* had a "stratum" sense in Proto Nuclear Polynesian or at least Proto Central East Polynesian and that this is the sense in which it was used to name the Primordial Pair, *Papa-Tuu* 'Standing Stratum, male' and *Papa-'Ele* 'Earth Stratum, female' in the case of Samoan and *Papa-'Una/Uka* 'Upper Stratum, male' and *Papa-'A'o* 'Lower Stratum, female' in the case of the Marquesas. "Stratum" is not such a different concept than "board" or "flat surface" if we think of them as being capable of being stacked.

Neither Samoan nor Marquesan dictionaries give a "stratum" meaning for *papa* so this is largely conjecture. But linguists would be inclined to search for some commonality as the words are presently identical but are said to mean somewhat different things to the Samoans and the Marquesans in their naming of the Primordial Pair. The traditional translation of the Samoan meanings (cf. Williamson 1933a:3-4, 6) is "Great Rocks" or "Standing Rocks" for the male and "Earthy Rocks" or "Earth Rock" for the female. Several Samoans living in Canberra in 1995 agree that this is what the names mean to them: *papa* is "rock", *tuu* is "standing" and *'ele* is "dirt, soil". *Papa-'Ele* means, to them, "Earth Rock" and *Papa-Tuu* means "Standing Rock" such as might be found in the mountains. These speakers state specifically that there is no notion familiar to them of *Papa-Tuu* being the sky. They think of it/him as a part of the earth.

On the other hand, in the Marquesas there is the question of whether *Papa-'Una/Uka* represents the sky itself and *Papa-'A'o* the earth itself. Williamson (1933a:26) citing Christian (1895:187) states that the Marquesan *Papa-'Una/Uka* and *Papa-'A'o* were believed to be the sky and the earth, respectively. However, Christian (1895:187) actually translates them as "World Above" and "World Below" so the equation of these names with "sky" and "earth" is uncertain on the basis of Christian alone. Handy (1927:38) speaks to this issue stating that *Papa-'Una* was sometimes referred to as *'Ani-Motua* which is literally "Sky Father".

In addition to this difference in the conceptualisation of their male *Papa*, there is a basic difference in the sky raising story between Samoa and the Marquesas. In Samoa it was the sky itself that was hugging the earth and it was called by the "sky" name in

the sky raising stories (cf. Turner 1884:198, Pritchard 1866:114) rather than *Papa-Tuu*. In the Marquesan traditions (Handy 1923:244) it was specifically *Papa-'Una/Uka* which was hugging close to *Papa-'A'o* and had to be lifted so Marquesan *Papa-'Una/Uka* was the sky even though it wasn't called by that name in the formal recitation of the main traditions.

7.2.1.3 PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN

The outstanding feature of Central East Polynesian speaking groups is the common naming of the Primordial Female as **Papa* and the belief that she was the earth itself. Her children would seem to have been at least **Tangaroa*, **Taane*, **Tuu*, **Rongo* and perhaps **Aatea*, **(H)aumia*, **Tonga-Fiti*, and **Mauri* and other nights of the moon (cf. Williams 1928, Stimson 1928, Green 1985, Marck 1996c and Chapter 7.3.4 below). Only Tahitian, Tongarevan and certain Tuamotuan traditions name the Primordial Female something different than by a reflex of **Papa* and all of these name her by reflexes of **Faka-Fotu* ("to make appear"). This seems a recent innovation in the region around the Tahiti, one that extended somehow to Tongareva, possibly due to the divergence of Tongarevan from Tahiti or the Southern Cooks at a time when the usage was current there.

Hiroa (1938b:418-424, 508-509) reports nothing like the Primordial Pair for Mangareva. Hawaiian traditions may be a mixture of Marquesan and Tahitian traditions. Hawaiian *Papa* was wedded to *Waakea* (PCE **Waatea* or **Awatea*) which is true elsewhere only in some Tahitic groups. The pronunciation and meaning of Hawaiian *kahuna* 'priest' is clearly a borrowing from Tahitic (Chapter 4.3.10) so Tahitic influence is certain in one instance and seems quite possible in another as regards matters of religion and cosmogony. Possibly there are additional borrowings of religious terms from Tahitic but I have not examined those materials.

The absence of a Primordial Pair in Mangareva traditions and the possible borrowing of Tahitic elements into Hawai'i do not allow for speculation about the situation in Proto Marquesic on the basis of Marquesic materials alone.⁹ Reconstruction is dependent upon agreement of the one reliable witness (Marquesan) with some

language or group outside Marquesic. As Marquesan agrees with Samoan in the noun portion of their terms for both members of the Primordial Pair, the noun with indeterminate adjectives are reconstructed. The suggestion being made is that this terminology existed, minimally, in Proto Ellicean and that it continued into Samoan, Proto East Polynesian, Proto Central East Polynesian, Proto Marquesic and Marquesan.

7.2.1.5 PROTO MARQUESIC

While it is possible that Samoan, Marquesan or both could have extended the relatively constant female name to the male (with a different adjective), there is the question of why Marquesan speakers would do this when the entity involved seems to have been the sky itself. The reconstructions in Table 7.1 suggest that while the Marquesans thought of *Papa-'Una/Uka* as being the sky, they retained an older name. By this solution Tahitic and Hawaiian are seen as changing the name to higher elements of the primordial universe as they conceptualised it. That is, the **Aatea* suggested for Proto Tahitic in Table 7.1 meant "Space (deified/personified)" and refers to the space between the earth and the sky.

In one Marquesan tradition *Aatea* was the first order anthropomorphic god (offspring of the Primordial Pair) that first succeeded in breaking out into open space from the cavern in which he and his siblings dwelt (cf. Williamson 1933a:25-26, Langridge and Terrell 1988:66). Although another Marquesan tradition attributes this to *Taane* (Williamson 1933a:26), the *Aatea* tradition seems more in line with *Aatea*'s name, as it refers to the open space onto which they burst. After these heroic events *Aatea* was the "progenitor of all natives with Atanua his wife" (Handy 1923:245, cf. also Williamson 1933a:68). Handy (1923:244) names him first when recounting the offspring of the Primordial Pair but does not state specifically that he was most senior.

In the suggested Proto Marquesic reconstruction, I have set aside the agreement of the first component of the alternate Marquesan name, '*Ani-Motua* with NZ Maori *Rangi*. Our logic would seem to suggest a competing Proto Marquesic ***Rangi* and attribute this to Proto Central East Polynesian and Proto Tahitic as well. However, the

⁹ Marck (1996b:16) phrases this as a problem in the limits of "internal reconstruction", which was a flawed use of that linguistic term (which refers to phonological reconstruction using evidence from a single language to suggest what may have existed in its own past).

evidence internal to Tahitic seems not to favour this solution and they seem independent developments.

7.2.1.6 PROTO TAHITIC

The recurrent male partner of the female *Papa* in Tahitic groups is *Aatea*, *Waatea*, *Awatea*, *Watea*¹⁰ and the like, including that found in the NZ Maori variant *Rangi-Aatea* and the possible Tahitic loan in Hawaiian: *Waakea*. As Barère says in reference to Tahitic groups:

...Tane, Tu, Tangaroa, and Rongo, present in most cosmogonies as children of the "Sky Father" (Atea) and the "Earth Mother" (Papa)... (Barrère 1966:104)

But the situation is varied and complex, as seen in Table 7.1, and our main criteria in searching out remnants of the Primordial Pair tradition in much of Tahitic and Hawai'i involve asking:

1. Was the female called **Papa* or the male called **Aatea* and
2. were their offspring such first order Central East Polynesian anthropomorphic gods as **Tangaroa*, **Taane*, **Tu* and **Rongo*?

While *Tumu* is paired with *Papa* in some highly transformed Tahitian, Tuamotuan and Southern Cook Island traditions, there is also a pairing of a female *Aatea* with a different *Papa* in Tahiti, then a change in gender of *Aatea* and a new spouse, *Ha'a-Hotu* (Henry 1928:356), who is also the (female) spouse of *Aatea* (male) in some Tuamotuan traditions (Caillot 1932:51) and the main Tongarevan tradition known (Hiroa 1932:85). It seems there was a great deal of change centred in and emanating from the Tahiti area, the first the pairing of **Aatea* with **Fa'a-Hotu* rather than or after **Papa* and the second the pairing of the main **Papa* figure with **Tumu*. But for Tahiti, the anthropomorphic siblings are generally the children of **Aatea*, variously by his wife **Papa* or **Fa'a-Hotu*. I will consider the traditions of the various Tahitic localities and summarise at the end.

7.2.1.7 NZ MAORI

It is interesting to note that, while Atea as a proper name does not appear to have been known in New Zealand, the Sky Father was sometimes called Rangi-atea (Hongi 1920:25).

¹⁰ Marck 1996b:17 reads "*Aatea, Waatea, Awatea, Watea*" but "w" is more consistent with Proto Tahitic.

In compound names in Polynesian languages it is sometimes a parent that is named in the second word. Thus, NZ Maori *Rangi-Aatea*¹¹ may have meant "*Rangi* son of *Aatea*". One of the islands in the Societies is named *Ra'iatea* (**Rangi-Aatea*) and Biggs (1994) notes the same compounded place name in New Zealand and Hawai'i so the name seems old with Tahitic and possibly borrowed by Hawaiian. Another NZ Maori tradition (Tregear 1904:436) identifies *Rangi-Awatea* as a woman but the adjectives are formally different and the Tregear tradition refers to actants and events some time later in the course of creation. There seems therefore to have been both *Rangi-Aatea* and *Rangi-Awatea*, the former a member of the Primordial Pair and the latter not.

There is one reference that I know of that contradicts Handy's statement that *Awatea* or *Aatea* did not occur independently in NZ Maori. This comes from Andersen (1928:356) which states that "Awatea or Atea takes the place of Whaitua as the eighteenth age". The *Whaitua* age was the final age of cosmic beings, ages which gave rise to *Rangi* and *Papa* so this tradition supports the notion of *Aatea* as a parent or ancestor of *Rangi* in NZ Maori traditions.

In any event, the NZ Maori absence of **Aatea* as the spouse of *Papa* as in other Tahitic or as a first order anthropomorphic god (child of the Primordial Pair) as in Marquesan is quite remarkable and some kind of explanation is called for. The solution suggested here is that **Aatea* was lost from NZ Maori, or relegated to a distant memory as a cosmic being ancestral to *Rangi* and *Papa*, because he was replaced by *Rangi*.

There is a hierarchy of what Polynesians remember about and attribute to beings involved in creation. They remember a great deal about the first order anthropomorphic gods and attribute many deeds to them and there are many cognate names as is discussed in later sections of the present chapter. They usually remember a Primordial Pair and some names are cognate but deeds, other than union and procreation leading to the first order anthropomorphic gods, are not attributed to them except in the instance of Hawai'i and NZ Maori. Cosmic beings in the traditions of the main groups for which they are reported (Tonga, Samoa and NZ Maori) have not yet been shown to have

¹¹ The cosmogonic sources rarely indicate the vowel length in reflexes of **Aatea* but the dictionaries of the individual languages and Biggs (1994) normally do.

cognate names¹² and deeds other than procreation are not attributed to them. Thus if **Aatea* was elevated to a cosmic being by NZ Maori or some early Tahitic group with which they share a history, it is not surprising that deeds ceased to be attributed to him and his name was all but forgotten.

7.2.1.8 THE COOK ISLANDS

An examination of Cook Island traditions lends some support for the notion that **Aatea* was the spouse of **Papa* in Proto Tahitic. This was the belief current in Mangaia when Europeans first recorded such things (Gill 1876:7-11). *Waatea* and *Papa* are not pre-existing primordial entities in this Mangaian tradition nor the offspring of cosmic beings but they are the direct parents of the first order anthropomorphic gods as are the Primordial Pair in the Marquesas and amongst the NZ Maori.

Gill (1911:135-137) relates a Rarotongan tradition where *Aatea* was the creator of all things, his wife was *Papa-Roa-I-Te-Itinga* (*Papa-Roa* of the Sunrise) and their child was *Te Tumu* who married *Papa-Roa-I-Te-Opunga* (*Papa-Roa* of the Sunset). In a Rarotongan tradition, *Tumu* and *Papa* are said to have dwelt in 'Awaiki ("Hawaiki"¹³) where *Tumu* was an *ariki* 'chief, royal'. Their children were numerous and among them were many of the standard first order anthropomorphic gods seen in other Central Eastern Polynesia groups: *Rongo*, *Taane*, *Tuu*, *Tangaroa*, *Aatea* and others. Te Arikitarā-are (1919:61) calls this same Rarotongan *Tumu* the "Sky Father" but *tumu* around Tahitic generally means "origin, base, trunk". The "Sky Father" rendering is neither literal nor is it explained. "*Atea*" in this tradition is not expanded upon except to mention him as a child of *Tumu* and *Papa*.

Amongst the NZ Maori traditions the name *Tumu-adj.* was carried by several ancestors from *Hawaiki* (cf. Craig 1989:299) while in the Tuamotus *Tumu-adj.* was the name for several regions of the sky (Stimson 1964:572, cf. Craig 1989:298-299) and the Tuamotuan name *Tumu* without adjectives named "the Tuamotuan god of life who rewards spirits according to their earthly deeds" (Craig 1989:298 citing Henry

¹² At least Mqa, Mao and Haw agree on **Poo* 'Darkness' and **Ao* 'Light' as cosmic beings. There is the question of whether these occurrences of "Darkness" and "Light" came into being under Christian influences but the Marquesan tradition (Christian 1895:191), in particular, seems to have been well isolated from European influences so possibly there was PCE **Poo* 'Darkness (cosmic being)' and **Ao* 'Light (cosmic being)'. (Revision of Marck 1996b:18 fn. 37).

¹³ As spelled by Hiroa (1938a), "**Sawaiki*" in the current PEP and PCE orthography.

1928:349). Tua *Tumu-Ruuia* was "supreme lord of the sky world" (Craig 1989:299 citing Stimson 1964:572) but many gods became lord of various skies¹⁴ around Polynesia and this Tuamotuan *Tumu-adj.* was apparently not the spouse of *Papa*.

The Primordial Pair in Tongareva were *Aatea* and *Haka-Hotu* (Hiroa 1932:85). They were the parents of the first order anthropomorphic gods *Taane*, *Tangaroa*, *Rongo-Nui*, and others. *Haka-Hotu* seems Post Proto Tahitic Tahitian given the *Papa* of the NZ Maori, some of the Southern Cooks and certain Tuamotuan traditions.

7.2.1.9 THE TUAMOTUS

The Tuamotus cover a vast area and many creations traditions are reported from various islands. I will first mention one from Caillot (1932:50-51) because it seems more complete and to involve older notions than those mentioned by Williamson (1933a:15-16), Stimson (1933:9-69) or Henry (1928:347-349) which was Craig's (1989:29) source.

By Caillot's account *Waatea* and *Hotu*, whose origins are not mentioned, sleep together with the result being a number of children: "Ru, Pigao, Tope, Tane, Tagaroa, Titi, Tiki, Ruanuku, Maui, Gaohe, Vaerua" (1932:50-51). Clearly *Waatea* and *Hotu* are the Primordial Pair in this tradition by our present criteria.

Williamson (1933a:15-16) relates a few paragraphs about "Paumotu" (now a mainly non-English appellation for "Tuamotus") from Montiton (1874) coming from the islands Fangatau and Takoto.

It began with a reference to the original close embrace of sky and earth with a race of giants living within or between them, and went on to tell of fighting between two of these children, Oatea [Atea] and Tane, in which Tangaroa also took part, and of Tane's raising of the sky (Williamson 1933a: 15-16).

These elements seem broadly consistent with Central East Polynesian traditions from pre-Christian times. This particular Tuamotuan tradition has a Marquesan flavour in the sense that *Aatea* is said to have anthropomorphic characteristics and actions. Names for the Primordial Pair, however, cannot be clearly established from this tradition. *Tumu-Henua* is the earliest entity in one tradition giving birth to *Tumu-Nui* (male) and *Tumu-Iti* (female) who have a child *Tangaroa*, amongst others not named.

¹⁴ Most Polynesian groups, for which such things are specified, believed in multiple skies. Eight and ten are common numbers.

Then the islands of Fiji, Samoa, Tongatapu, Vava'u, Tahiti, others and numerous of the Tuamotus appear¹⁵ (Williamson 1933a:16). *Tumu* is a name or place in many creation traditions around the Tuamotus, Societies and Cooks all the way down to New Zealand but there are usually other candidates for the Primordial Pair or remnant memories thereof.

The largest collection of Tuamotuan creation traditions are those from Stimson (1933:9-69), were taken down after many generations of Christianity and centre around *Kiho*, the supreme being that Barrère (1966) suggests may be a post-European contact development around New Zealand, the Societies and areas immediately adjacent to the Societies. Thus in Stimson's collections we are looking for what remnants of the Primordial Pair might be found in a highly transformed traditions. The first major god made and empowered by Stimson's *Kiho* is *Aatea* ("Atea" or "Atea-Rangi"). Three heavenly spheres emerge, *Kiho* reigned over the night sphere, *Aatea* over the day sphere and *Taane* ("Tane") over the sky sphere (Stimson 1933:13). *Taane* is later said to be the son of *Aatea* (Stimson 1933:23). *Aatea* is a great creator god and is specifically credited with bringing *Tangaroa*, *Rongo-Nui*, *Tiki* and the clan of *Ru* into existence (Stimson 1933:21). But he does this without a spouse and his creation of *Taane*, *Tangaroa* and *Rongo-Nui*¹⁶ is our main evidence from this tradition for believing he may have once been the Tuamotuan male of the Primordial Pair. This is not too disturbing since a central part of the transformation of traditions that Barrère (1966) reviews is the replacement of a cosmogonic tradition that has creation commencing with the sexual union of primordial physical elements with one in which creation commences with deeds of primordial (pre-existing) anthropomorphic male creator beings.

7.2.1.10 TAHITI

As mentioned previously, Tahitian traditions differ most markedly from other Polynesian traditions. Therefore they are presented penultimately, traditions of Hawai'i being last of all because they may be a mix of Marquesic and Tahitic. There are three

¹⁵ Note that there are memories through the Cooks and Societies all the way over to the Marquesas of having come from the Samoa, Tonga, Fiji area, however dim. The names of specific islands in Fiji, Tonga and Samoa are remembered in as ancestors in genealogies and as places visited in certain chants and other oral history. Easter Islanders, Hawaiians and possibly the NZ Maori seem not to have such memories. See Chapter 7.3.3.7.

¹⁶ First order anthropomorphic gods amongst NZ Maori and in the Marquesas.

possible remnants of a Primordial Pair of the Proto Ellicean, Proto Central East Polynesian and Proto Tahitic type in the main Tahitic traditions from Henry (1928). The pairs are *Tumu* and *Papa-Raha-Raha*; *Papa-Tuu-'Oi* and *Aatea*; and *Aatea* and *Ha'a-Hotu*. *Papa-Tuu-'Oi* is a possible cognate of Samoan *Papa-Tuu* but it is also possible that it is a local Tahitian innovation. As will be seen below, these are highly transformed traditions and the main agreement in naming with other Tahitic is the *Aatea/Ha'a-Hotu* pair. I will begin by outlining what is known of Tahitian traditions.

In two Tahitian traditions related by Henry (1928:336-340) *Ta'aroa* (PPn **Tangaloa*) was a pre-existing being rather than a first order anthropomorphic god. He existed since primordial times in a shell like that of an egg which revolved in primal darkness. Ultimately he broke out of his shell. In one of the traditions *Tumu-Iti* is mentioned and translated as "Little-Foundation" which is a locality within the broken shell that existed in a primordial world that included sky, ocean, land and fresh water. In the longer of the two traditions, *Ta'aroa* takes another *Tumu*, *Tumu-Nui*, translated as "The-Great-Foundation-of-the-Earth" and makes him the husband of *Papa-Raha-Raha* which Henry (1928:338) renders as "Stratum-Rock" (Tahitian *raha* means "flat, broad"). That longer tradition ends with mention of *Tumu-Ra'i-Fenua* ("Foundation-of-Earthly-Heaven"), an octopus that held the sky down close to the earth. We will note, for the moment, that *Tumu* is the first party in creation to be espoused to any *Papa*, that *Papa* meant "earth, the Earth" and that *Tumu* meant "foundation", but didn't seem to be associated with deified chiefs as in New Zealand or sky gods, as in the Tuamotus.

Henry (1928:340-344) then relates a tradition of a chaotic period during which time *Ta'aroa* creates (calls forth) *Tuu*¹⁷, plants took root, and *Ta'aroa* fixed the sky (part of his egg shell) on pillars which *Tumu-Nui* and *Papa-Raha-Raha* helped him obtain. The space created was *Aatea* and *Ta'aroa* invoked a spirit to fill it. *Aatea* is wedded to *Papa-Tuu-'Oi* "Basaltic-Peak" in a following tradition (Henry 1928:356) and they have a child *Ra'i-Tupua-Nui-Te-Fanau-'Eve* ("Great-Sky-Developer-Born-in-Commotion") who caused "the laying out of the world". In these traditions *Aatea* is female and *Papa-Tuu-'Oi* a male. In a following tradition (Henry 1928:364) *Aatea* and *Papa-Tuu-'Oi*

¹⁷ A first order anthropomorphic god and child of the Primordial Pair in other Tahitic and Marquesic traditions.

have another child, *Taane*. But *Aatea* and *Papa-Tuu-'Oi* apparently sire no more of what are otherwise first order anthropomorphic gods in Marquesan and other Tahitic traditions and there are various other gods and craftsmen in existence by this time. These seem highly transformed traditions, compared to the Marquesas, NZ Maori, and even the Cooks and Tuamotus. There is then a tradition of *Aatea* trading her feminine nature with *Fa'a-Hotu* who was female but had a masculine nature (Henry 1928:372-374). *Aatea* then goes on to father children with *Fa'a-Hotu* while *Ta'arua* and *Papa-Raha-Raha* had numerous daughters. Other gods are conjured forth at this time. None of the children of *Aatea* or *Ta'arua* have names cognate with first order anthropomorphic gods of the Marquesas, the Cooks, the Tuamotus or New Zealand except *Taane* and *Ro'o*, respectively.

Henry's traditions were collected after some years of regular European contact and those with which we are presently concerned were collected in 1822 by Orsmond, the year William Ellis left the island. Ellis (1829b:42-43) was interested in what he said was a "Hindu" notion that creation began with an egg. Try as he might, he could not find people who related similar notions to him in Tahiti at that time. In Henry (1928:336-344) is the specific notion of *Ta'arua* as a pre-existing being, living out the primordial eternity inside a kind of egg shell out of which he finally broke and fashioned the world as we know it today. We can raise the possibility that Ellis' asking after an egg tradition motivated this Tahitian innovation. Ellis (1829a:5) first embarked for Tahiti in 1816 and last left those islands on 31 December 1822 (1829b:574). The "egg" traditions were first collected in 1822 and later so it is possible that Ellis made inquiries about an egg tradition and that this inspired further revision of cosmogonies that were already seeing some European notions creeping in (cf. Barrère 1966:104). In any event, the egg notion is found in Polynesia and outside the Societies only in certain of the Tuamotus and cannot be shown to be of general antiquity around Polynesia. Otherwise, Ellis (1929a, 1929b) relates bits of cosmogonic traditions where *Ta'arua* is a pre-existing creator god, somewhat in the fashion of Henry's sources.

7.2.1.11 SUMMARY OF TAHITIC TRADITIONS AND FURTHER THOUGHTS ON PROTO TAHITIC

PTa **Aatea* 'Primordial Male' is reconstructed in Table 7.1 on the basis of NZ Maori, Mangaian, Tongarevan, certain Rarotongan and certain Tuamotuan traditions. PTa **Papa* 'Primordial Female' is reconstructed in Table 7.1 on the basis of NZ Maori, Tuamotuan, Mangaian and Rarotongan traditions, which agrees with external evidence from the Marquesas and Samoa and with the ambiguous (Tahitic or Marquesic) evidence from Hawai'i.

7.2.1.12 HAWAII

The local transformations of Hawaiian creation traditions are well known from Beckwith (1970). The outstanding characteristic is a trilogy consisting of *Kaane*, *Kuu* and *Lono* (PCE **Taane*, **Tuu* and **Rongo*) in which *Kaane* was supreme. Craig (1989:101) has *Kaane* emerging directly from "the eternal *poo* (darkness)" as does Beckwith (1970:42-43), his source. But neither mention¹⁸ passages in Fornander more in keeping with the general Central East Polynesian pattern that specifically have *Kaane* and *Kanaloa* (PCE **Tangaroa*) (Fornander 1916-1917:17-18) and *Ku*, *Lono*, *Kaane* and *Kanaloa* (Fornander 1919-1920:360)¹⁹ as the offspring of *Waakea* and *Papa*. Due to these neglected passages, I think we can question²⁰ much of what has passed for Hawaiian tradition in Fornander (1917-1918), Beckwith (1970) and Craig (1989). Rather we see in the passages from Fornander cited above the last dying gasp of an aboriginal pattern which cascaded towards Christian motifs soon after the arrival of Europeans.

To ask whether these small bits of unblemished tradition are more Tahitic or more Marquesic is probably not very meaningful. The Hawaiian Primordial Pair is more in keeping with Tahitic and the Hawaiian memory is one of *Waakea* and *Papa* coming from Tahiti, *Kaane*, *Kanaloa* and the others being born in Hawai'i. The memory of *Kanaloa* being a child of the Primordial Pair does not have a counterpart in the Marquesas but it does in Mangareva so the Mangarevan evidence leans towards a Proto Marquesic first order anthropomorphic god **Tangaroa* and Hawaiian *Kanaloa* may

¹⁸ Marck (1996c:231) read "both ignore".

¹⁹ This second Fornander passage was not mentioned in Marck (1996c:231-232).

²⁰ Marck (1996c:232) read "dismiss".

come from that tradition, the Tahitic tradition, or both (because they did not conflict). There is no linguistic method for suggesting whether the Hawaiian tradition of *Waakea* and *Papa* is a transformation of an inherited Marquesic tradition or a borrowing from Tahitic. Since the Hawaiians specify that those gods or godly people came from Tahiti, it is tempting to favour the Tahitic loan possibility and Hawaiian "*Waakea*" follows the common Tahitic pronunciation rather than PMq **Aatea*.

7.2.2 RESULTS

The element of the cosmogonies most clearly reconstructable to the beliefs of the Proto Polynesian speaking community was the notion that the primordial condition involved a sky that was hugging close to the earth. The sky raising story is part of a general complex of reconstructable beliefs. While the Primordial Pair was named as being the sky and earth in NZ Maori, this is unique in Polynesia and seems the end of a long progression, within Maori's line in Ellicean, of naming the male after first terrestrial, then atmospheric, then heavenly entities and strata. The male of the Primordial Pair may have been thought of as the sky itself as early as Proto Central Eastern times, but he seems to have been called by older names. Samoans specifically do not think of their *Papa-Tuu* as being the sky. In Tonga the Primordial Pair are minor earthly elements and the "union of strata" theme of Ellicean cannot be reconstructed to Proto Polynesian.

Handy (1927) looks for the NZ Maori Sky Father elsewhere and when it isn't found, assumes a direct equivalence must exist: "In begetting the islands *Waakea*'s part corresponds to that of *Taaroa* and *Tangaloa* (who played the part of Sky Father in Tahiti and Samoa)" (Handy 1927:104). But Handy's work was done at a time when the dispersal of people into the far corners of the earth was presumed to be fairly recent and Polynesian mythology was hoped to connect somehow to that of the Indus and areas further west as the quote from Smith before the introduction of this chapter indicates (see also Smith 1919b). The comparative method of social anthropology, as employed in Handy's generation,²¹ may have favoured a unilineal interpretation moving from simplicity of the Primordial Pair notion, such as in Tonga, to grander notions such as ultimately achieved in NZ Maori. But Handy (1927) took the position that the Sky

²¹ And so eloquently dismissed by Evans-Pritchard (1963).

Father notion was the original and other groups had somehow lost it or retained it with a different terminology.

If Polynesian creation traditions differentiated according to a phylogeny similar to that of Polynesian linguistic traditions, our present method suggests that **Aatea* 'Primordial Male' and **Papa* 'Primordial Female' were the parents of the first order anthropomorphic gods in the beliefs of the Proto Tahitic speakers and that NZ Maori *Rangi-Aatea* was a local development as was Marquesan *Ani-Motua* ('Sky-Father').

Tahitian traditions reflect major transformations of what we reconstruct for Proto Tahitic on the basis of comparison of NZ Maori and some Cook Island and Tuamotuan traditions with Marquesan. Some of these transformations appear to have spread into the Tuamotus and some of the Southern Cooks. Some aspects of these transformations were pre-European. Others are clearly influenced by Christianity and there may even be a "Hindu" influence in the possibility of the Tahitian egg notion developing under the influence of Ellis' questioning after such beliefs.

Hawaiian traditions may be directly inherited from Marquesic or borrowed from Tahitic. Our method cannot distinguish as the vocabulary concerned would be pronounced in the same manner in historic Hawaiian in either event, except that the addition of initial *W-* in Hawaiian *Waakea* is otherwise only known from Tahitic. The Hawaiians have only memories of coming from Tahiti and this is intimately tied to their cosmogony so there are reasons beyond our method for suspecting a Tahitian element. The naming of the Hawaiian Primordial Pair is shared with Tahitic rather than Marquesic.

It is possible that some reconstructions in Table 7.1 are in error. In the first instance, **Aatea* might have been the male of the Primordial Pair as early as Proto Central East Polynesian times. There are some advantages to this solution. It would mean that Hawaiian could have inherited that belief from Proto Marquesic speakers rather borrowing from Tahitic and it would support the Proto Tahitic **Aatea* reconstruction. But there are two disadvantages to this solution. One is that it would require the demotion of the Primordial Male to a first order anthropomorphic god in Marquesan and Mangarevan and we have no other certain example of a male of the Primordial Pair coming to be an anthropomorphic god (more often they are elevated to

ancestral cosmic beings or simply forgotten). The other is that it requires the independent naming of the Primordial Male as *Papa* in Marquesic and Samoan. In the first instance we have no precedence and in the second we can suggest no motive.

Secondly, we must consider the possibility that language traditions and creations traditions did not differentiate along a similar phylogenetic paths. If they did not this chapter need not have been written. But we have asked what a linguist might say if they did and the result seems more plausible, at least, than the notion that the most ancient beliefs involved a Sky Father and Earth Mother who somehow came to take different names everywhere but amongst the NZ Maori. The most significant distributions at variance with a cosmogonic phylogeny similar or identical to the linguistic phylogeny are Post Proto Tahitic distributions where some of the Tuamotus and Southern Cooks seem to have been adopting new traditions from Tahiti.

Our result suggests no reconstruction of names for the Primordial Pair to Proto Polynesian as the Tongan and Ellicean (Nuclear Polynesian?) conceptualisations of the Primordial Pair and their names for them are so different. For Proto Nuclear Polynesian or at least Proto Ellicean there may have been a situation in which constituents of the earth, higher and lower rock strata, comprised the Primordial Pair. By Proto Central East Polynesian times the female seems to have been conceived of as the earth itself although it was still called *Papa* 'rock, stratum'. If the male was *thought* of as the sky he did not to have had the "Sky" name in Proto Central East Polynesian, Proto Marquesan or Proto Tahitic.

PCE **Aatea* was the deification of the space between the earth and the sky and seems to have been the Primordial Male in Proto Tahitic. If so, there was a kind of progression of naming the male after higher and higher physical elements in the prehistory of NZ Maori. Something that was not clearly thought of as a non-terrestrial stratum (PEc (PNP?) **Papa-adj.*) came to be thought of as an atmospheric or celestial stratum but was still named in the old way (PCE **Papa-adj.*) then took on the name of the atmospheric stratum (PTa **Aatea*) and then took on the name of the sky itself (NZ Maori *Rangi*). Perhaps this is the history of the NZ Maori Sky Father *Rangi* and Earth Mother *Papa*.

7.3 THE FIRST ORDER ANTHROPOMORPHIC GODS

The Polynesian race of the Eastern Pacific has an elaborate system of Cosmogony, which aims at explaining how the heavens were created and sustained, how gods and men came to be, how their own islands arose; but the details thereof vary much as given by the wise men in the various groups....
Fraser (1892:165)

7.3.1 INTRODUCTION

This section compares and reconstructs notions of who the first order of anthropomorphic gods were, how they came to be and what may have been their position in the cosmogonies of Proto Polynesian, Proto Nuclear Polynesian and/or Proto Ellicean, and Proto Central East Polynesian speakers.

While Tongans regard a group of half siblings as being the first anthropomorphic gods (*Tangaloa*, *Maui* and *Hiku-Le'o*), Samoans have a different tradition in which *Tagaloa* was the *only* first order anthropomorphic god and seems to have had no siblings save other *Tagaloa* incarnations. For Proto Central East Polynesian speakers a set of beliefs distinct from Tongan and Samoan is reconstructed where a large group of full siblings was involved including at least **Tangaroa*, **Taane*, **Tuu* and **Rongo* and possibly **Aatea*, *(*S*)*aumia*, **Tonga-Fiti* and **Mauri*. Some of what is here reconstructed for Proto Central East Polynesian has been presaged by Stimson (1928) and Green (1988:Table 4) in the context of observations and reconstructions, respectively, about Tahitian and Proto East Polynesian names for nights of the moon, which were named after the gods; first order anthropomorphic gods in some instances.

7.3.2 PROTO POLYNESIAN AND PROTO NUCLEAR POLYNESIAN

The first order anthropomorphic gods of Tonga were half-brothers by the same father, a cosmic being descended from the Primordial Pair, and cosmic being mothers also descended from the Primordial Pair (Williamson 1933a:10-11). The brothers were *Hiku-Le'o*, *Tangaloa* and *Maui*.²² *Tangaloa* governed the sky, *Maui* governed *Lolo-Fonua* ('Land or Country Below') and *Hiku-Le'o* governed *Pulotu* ('Paradise', cf. Geraghty 1993).

²² PPn **Maui* is reconstructed (Biggs 1994). The "a" is short in Ton but not Niu.

Craig (1989:28), Handy (1927:15) and Williamson (1933a:3) all cite Turner (1861, 1884) as their primary source on Samoan creation traditions. Creation begins with a genealogy of unions between cosmic beings such as "Nothing", then "Fragrance", then "Dust" and others which gradually merge with the genealogies of people (Turner 1884:3-9). In the first union mentioned in the genealogies of people, *Papa-Tuu* 'Standing Rocks (male)' and *Papa-'Ele* 'Earth/Soil Rocks (female)' pair, produce cosmic beings and seven generations later *Tagaloa* was born (Turner 1884:4).²³

While Turner's (1884:4) genealogical table gives no siblings of *Tagaloa*-the Originator-of-Men the next page mentions another child of the same father ("Cloudless Heavens", a cosmic being): *Tagaloa*-the-Dweller-in-Lands who is said to have a different mother ("The Eighth Heavens" rather than "Spread Out Heavens"). *Tagaloa*-the Originator-of-Man is said to have sired *Tagaloa*-of-the-Heavens while *Tagaloa*-the-Dweller-in-Lands is said to have sired *Tagaloa*-the-Explorer who in turn sired *Vale-Vale-Noa* ('Space' deified/personified).²⁴ Thus Turner (1884:3-9) mentions siblings or half siblings named *Tagaloa* as the first anthropomorphic gods and does not indicate that they had siblings not named *Tagaloa*. But the source is a genealogy which would not mention ancestors other than those in a direct line back to *Papa-Tuu* and *Papa-'Ele*.

What we know of the ancient Samoan pattern cannot be shown to be similar to Tongan or much of Central Eastern Polynesia where the union of the Primordial Pair resulted in groups of siblings. While we might suspect the "group of siblings" theme was a Proto Polynesian or Proto Nuclear Polynesian feature, we cannot demonstrate this by comparison of the Tongan half-siblings with Central East Polynesian as only PPn **Tangaloa* can be reconstructed with the "first order anthropomorphic god" status. Tonga's *Maui* is not a first order anthropomorphic god in Nuclear Polynesian and Tonga's *Havea-Hiku-Le'o* is known elsewhere only from Samoa, where he seems not to

²³ Craig (1989:28), citing Turner (1884:3-5,10) and Kramer (1902:7), would seem to have "power demons Saolevao and Saveasi'uleo" born directly to *Papa-Tuu* and *Papa-'Ele*. This is not supported from Turner (1884:3-5,10) and Craig's own wider reading of Kramer has "Saolevao (or Salevao)" as a child of *Tua-Faile-Matagi* and *Papa-Tea* (Craig 1989:242 citing Kramer 1902:8,23,75,79-80,105,115) and *Savea-Si'u-Leo* as a child of *Taufa* and *Alao* (Craig 1989:243 citing Kramer 1902:104-108 and Turner 1884:259). Craig's (1989:28) characterisation therefore seems an abbreviation for his dictionary purposes and cannot be taken literally.

²⁴ The personification or deification of space is common in Central Eastern Polynesia but the name, PCE **Aatea*, is not cognate with Samoan *Vale-Vale-Noa*.

have been of the order of *Tagaloa* and may, on distributional grounds, be a borrowing. In fact, Samoan *Si'u-Leo* is "Said to come from Tonga" (Turner 1884:52).

There may have been an early Nuclear Polynesian tradition of **Tangaloa* siring **Maui-Tiki-Tiki-A-Talanga*. But that is a different story. The point to be made here is that **Maui-Tiki-Tiki* is not a first order anthropomorphic god in Nuclear Polynesian, as in Tonga, so his position at the Proto Polynesian level is indeterminate. The first order subgroups do not agree on this matter and there is no external evidence in agreement with either subgroup. In fact, Polynesian cosmogonies seem particularly Polynesian. No similarities of actants and deeds are known other than possible borrowings from Polynesian Outliers by other Melanesians.

After their birth, in both Tonga and Samoa, **Tangaloa* and **Maui* occupy themselves with bringing the world as we know it into existence. They fish up islands, **Maui* raises the sky, **Tangaloa* sends worms or maggots to earth that become people and **Maui* goes into the bowels of the earth and obtains fire for gods and people²⁵ (Williamson 1933a:2-11, 41-42, 47-58, 1933b:184-191). The story of people coming from worms or maggots is not known from Central Eastern Polynesia so this is a possible borrowing between Tonga and Samoa. The sky raising story is also told around Central Eastern Polynesia. **Maui* is the most consistent hero of these traditions so we have good reason to suspect that such was the belief amongst speakers of Proto Polynesian and all the main interstages. There is a specific agreement between Tongan, Samoan and Hawaiian that **Maui* raised the sky in return for a drink of water from a mortal woman who asked him to do so. By our present method, this belief is then reconstructed to the cosmogony of Proto Polynesian, Proto Tongic, Proto Nuclear Polynesian, Proto Ellicean, Proto East Polynesian and Proto Central East Polynesian speakers. Whether it should be reconstructed to Proto Marquesic, Proto Tahitic or both is not clear as Hawaiians may have inherited the belief directly as members of Marquesic or may have borrowed the belief under later Tahitic influence.

At least two other names for Samoan gods have cognates with first order anthropomorphic status elsewhere. They are *Logo* and *Tuu* who are discussed below

²⁵ It is a particularly Nuclear Polynesian tradition that **Maui* obtains fire from PNP **Mafuike*. It is also *Maui* who obtains fire in Tonga but a name similar to **Mafuike* is not reported from Tonga. I specify Nuclear Polynesian rather than Ellicean as the **Maui* and **Mafuike* traditions occur in Rennell/Bellona.

under the reconstructions **Rongo* and **Tuu* but in Samoa they are not anthropomorphic gods of the first order.

There are numerous other cognate god names between Tongan, Samoan and Central East Polynesian groups, e.g., Samoan *Luu* and PCE **Ruu*; Tongan *Sinilau*, Samoan *Tinilau*, and PCE **Tinira;u* and Tongan *Hina*, Samoan *Sina* and PCE **Sina* are cognate. But these were not first order anthropomorphic gods in any of the traditions and detailed comparison of those figures was not attempted for the present work.

Reconstruction of additional first order anthropomorphic gods to the Proto Polynesian level is frustrated by a lack of further agreements between Tongan and Nuclear Polynesian. Reconstruction of additional first order anthropomorphic gods to the Proto Ellicean level is frustrated by a lack of further agreements between Samoan and Central East Polynesian.

7.3.3 PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN TRADITIONS

The reconstruction of beliefs to the Proto Central East Polynesian level proceeds most conveniently by the comparison of Marquesan and NZ Maori traditions which have much in common. When members of two first order subgroups agree in form and meaning, one can reconstruct the agreement to the common proto language if borrowing or convergence are implausible. Marquesan and NZ Maori traditions agree on the Proto Central East Polynesian first order anthropomorphic gods in Table 7.2. Additional agreements with Marquesan are taken from Mangaian in the case of PCE **Tonga-Fiti* and Tongarevan in the case of PCE **Mauri*. Finally, there is the agreement of NZ Maori, Mangaian, Tongarevan and Samoan in the case of PCE **Tangaroa*.

TABLE 7.2: PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN FIRST ORDER ANTHROPOMORPHIC GODS

PCE	Marquesan	NZ Maori	Mangaian	Tongarevan	(Samoan)
*Mauri	Moui ²			Mauri	
*Rongo	'Ono	Rongo	Rongo	Rongo	
*(S)aumia ¹	Aumia	Haumia			
*Taane	Taane	Taane	Taane	Taane	
*Tangaroa		Tangaroa	Tangaroa	Tongaroa	Tagaloa
*Tonga-Fiti	Tono-Fiti		Tonga-'Iti		
*Tuu	Tuu	Tuu			

As deduced from the comparison of Marquesan with NZ Maori and Cook Island traditions. Sources: Marquesan: Christian (1895:187-188) and Handy (1923:244-245); NZ Maori: Best (1925:746), Grey (1885:1-11) and Tregaer (1904:462); Mangaian: Gill (1876:9-12), Tongarevan: Hiroa (1932:85). Notes: 1. The agreement between Mqa and Mao is imperfect. If the reconstruction is correct, Mqa has irregularly lost the initial consonant. The Mqa source (Handy 1923) is not otherwise known to have omitted initial *h*- in his transcriptions, Mqa is not otherwise known to have lost an initial **h*- nor does Mao commonly insert one so PCE *(S)aumia is the proper reconstruction. 2. We would expect ***Mou'i* but the single source (Handy 1923:244) did not record Marquesan glottal stops.

PPn **Tangaloa*, while elevated in Tahiti to a pre-existing being, was apparently demoted in Marquesan. He is not a first order anthropomorphic god in Marquesas but was relatively important to the Mangarevans (cf. Hiroa 1938b:16,17-18,19,111). The possible reconstruction of **Aatea* to the male of the Primordial Pair in Proto Tahitic (Chapter 7.2.1.11 above), the possible borrowing of that status into Hawaiian and the position of *Aatea* as a first order anthropomorphic god amongst Marquesans (Christian 1895:188, Handy 1923:244) suggests a high status for **Aatea* amongst Proto Central East Polynesian speakers but one that is indeterminate. He did not necessarily become the male of the Primordial Pair in Proto Tahitic due to being a first order anthropomorphic god in Proto Central East Polynesian, although this seems a possible scenario.

It is difficult to speak of the first order anthropomorphic gods of Central Polynesia all at once as they are different from place to place and even when they are the same their deeds and roles sometimes differ between localities. Thus it is convenient to first present an outline of their origin for the major localities and then return to consider the individual reconstructions of Table 7.2 along with that for PCE **Aatea*.

We will note here and refer the reader to Hiroa (1938a) that Central East

Polynesian creation traditions are rarely autochthonous²⁶ as they are in Tonga and Samoa. Creation is remembered as having occurred in PCE **Sawaiki*. Traditions through the Cooks, Societies and the Tuamotus have specific memories of the creation of various islands of Samoa, Tonga and Fiji and Marquesan and Tuamotuan genealogies name individual islands of those archipelagoes among the first ranks of godly ancestors in the descent of people from the first order anthropomorphic gods. Such memories may be vaguer amongst the NZ Maori and Hawaiians but the present point is that they, too, remember creation as occurring elsewhere (in **Sawaiki*) and think of people coming to New Zealand and Hawai'i after creation and the beginnings of human existence elsewhere.

7.3.3.1 MARQUESIC TRADITIONS

7.3.3.1.1 THE MARQUESAS

Williamson (1933a:15) and Craig (1989:29) mention only two primary sources concerning the end of the primordial era and the origin of the first order anthropomorphic gods: Christian (1895:187-188) and Handy (1923:244-245). Even Handy (1927) provides no further information on this specific question. In both Christian and Handy *Papa-'Una/Uka*²⁷, the "Level Above" or "World Above" (male) unites with *Papa-'A'o*, the "Level Below" or "World Below" resulting in the birth of the first order anthropomorphic gods. Christian names a sibling group of twelve, Handy nineteen. Those whose names have cognates outside the Marquesas are: *Aatea*, *Taane*, *Tono-Fiti/Toko-Hiti*, *Tiki*, *Aumia*, *Moui*, *Tuu* and *'Ono*. Of the preceding, only *Aatea*, *Taane* and *Toko-Hiti* are mentioned by Christian the rest coming from Handy. The others mentioned by Christian and Handy have no cognates in other Polynesian of which I am aware.

Christian (1895:187) tells us that at first these siblings lived in a subterranean cave, longing for light and that it was *Aatea* who broke them out of the cave by stamping his foot through the earth to open space. Thus, we might presume, his name, which translates freely as "clear space" or "clear illuminated space". Christian's tradition

²⁶ As used in the cosmogony literature: "creation occurred locally and people, locally, are directly descended from gods and/or humans created, locally, at the end of the primordial period".

then goes on to speak of the lands over which *Aatea* and his eleven siblings came to hold dominion.

Handy's tradition does not mention the "breaking out" motif and focuses more upon the areas of human affairs over which the more important siblings held sway. *Aatea* is said to be "progenitor of all natives with Atanua his wife... Tu is a legendary character and patron of war. His name does not appear in the genealogies". '*Ono* (PCE **Rongo*) "was of no importance in the actual worship – at least not under this name." "Tane was of little importance in the Marquesas. His name appears in legend and chants, but not in genealogies" (Handy 1923:245).

"Tana-*oa*" (*Tana'oa* from PCE **Tangarooa*) is mentioned at the end of these materials (Handy 1923:245) but recall that neither Christian nor Handy mention him as a member of the first order siblings: "Tana-*oa* is mentioned elsewhere as a god of the wind and sea and patron of fishing." Handy (1923:245) credits *Tono-Fiti* with thrusting apart the "level above" and "level beneath" but this seems unique in Polynesia where it was more often **Maui* who did so and this was the belief in Mangareva (Williamson 1933a:44).

The island raising stories of the Marquesas and Central Polynesian groups in general concern *Maui*²⁸ (Williamson 1933a:35-36) and not **Tangaloa* together with **Ma(a)ui* as in Tonga and Samoa. In general, the position of the Marquesas' *Tana'oa/Taka'oa* is diminished compared to other Polynesian. Williamson (1933a:20-21) gives a translation of a Marquesan tradition from Fornander (1878:214-218) in which *Tana'oa* represents something like primal darkness and is defeated by *Aatea*. Elsewhere Williamson (1933b:235-236) notes the general dearth of materials concerning *Tana'oa* for the Marquesas and wonders if he is a recent introduction.

Cosmic beings, such as we have seen in Tonga and Samoa are not mentioned in Handy's (1923:244-245) account for Marquesan but something of the sort seems part of Christian's genealogies (cf. 1895:191) which follow his cosmogonic tradition. There such entities as "Po" (*poo* 'darkness, night') and "Ao" (*ao* 'light, day') are named as are various Western Polynesian and Fijian localities: "Havaii", "Vevau", "Fiti", "Fiti-tapu"

²⁷ Mqa has northern and southern dialects, the northern dialect reflecting PCE **ng* as *k* and the southern dialect reflecting PCE **ng* as *n*. Both reflect PCE **r* as glottal stop and PCE **f* as *f* or *h*.

and "Tona-Tapu". Modern people stand in a genealogical line between the Primordial Pair, their immediate offspring *Aatea*, these cosmic beings or lands (descendants of *Aatea*), and then (pre)historical people (descendants of the cosmic beings or lands).

7.3.3.1.2 MANGAREVA

Hiroa (1938b:20-96) relates the traditional history of Mangareva. Only the first few pages have much to do with the current topic and relate quite a different kind of story than the autochthonous traditions of Tonga and Samoa or Central East Polynesian traditions which view creation as occurring in PCE **Sawaiki* (*Savai'i* in Samoa, spelt "*Hawaiki*" by Hiroa 1938a and others). In the tradition related by Hiroa (1938b:20-21) more or less mortal people are the first to arrive in Mangareva and have come from the Marquesas. Named Miru and Moa, they return to the Marquesas. Other people come to Mangareva and *Tagaroa-Huru-Papa* figures in this tradition. Other gods with cognate names elsewhere are not mentioned.

In later materials Hiroa (1938b:418-425) relates details of the primary gods: *Aatea*, *Tagaroa* and a few others not cognate with first order anthropomorphic gods elsewhere. They have origins "so remote that they are termed gods without beginning" (Hiroa 1938b:418). There is no Primordial Pair or sibling group parented by them. Some of the gods commonly found as first order anthropomorphic gods elsewhere are said to be the children of *Tagaroa*, including *Tuu* and *Rogo* (Hiroa 1938b:422).

I find no other sources on the cosmogonic traditions of Mangareva except for very limited notes, such as in Smith (1918:115-131) who mentions that "Maui-matavaru" fished up the islands of Mangareva (pp. 131) and that "Tiki" was the first man and husband of "Ina" (pp. 129).

7.3.3.1.3 HAWAII

Hawaiian cosmogonic traditions are highly idiosyncratic. There are many competing traditions and Beckwith (1970:42-46) relates five of which two are from Fornander (1916-1920) and seem the least influenced by Christianity. But there, too, is a suspicious trinity involving *Kaane*, *Kuu* and *Lono* (PCE **Taane*, **Tuu* and **Rongo*) and Beckwith (1970:46) acknowledges a Biblical "coloring" in all of them. In the longer of the two Fornander traditions:

²⁸ The first vowel is short in Mqa.

The three gods Kane, Ku, Lono come out of the night (po) and create three heavens to dwell in, the uppermost for Kane, the next below for Ku, and the lowest for Lono... Next they make the earth to rest their feet upon... Kane then makes sun, moon, and stars, and places them in the empty space between heaven and earth... Next an image of man is formed out of red earth... A law is given him but he breaks the law and is then known as Kane-la'a-(kah)uli, "a god who fell because of the law."

In the original garden... [is found] A tapu tree, sacred apples which cause death if eaten by strangers... (Beckwith 1970:43)

As Beckwith would agree, this does not seem the place to look for remnants of aboriginal Polynesian traditions. As mentioned earlier in the citation of neglected passages from Fornander (Chapter 7.2.1.12), I think we can dismiss much of what Hawaiian cosmogonic tradition in Craig (1989) and Beckwith (1970) as late developments under the influence of Christianity.

Waakea and *Papa* are said to be thought of as people in the Hawaiian traditions (Beckwith 1970:294) but their offspring, some of the Hawaiian islands themselves, suggest a magical sort of people. The passages from Fornander mentioned in 7.2.1.12 above calls into doubt any notion that they were thought of as people rather than gods before Christian influence (as they were the parents of the gods *Kuu*, *Lono*, *Kaane* and *Kanaloa*).

7.3.3.2 TAHITIC TRADITIONS

7.3.3.2.1 NZ MAORI

I will consider NZ Maori cosmogonic traditions first. By comparison to evidence external to Tahitic, notions concerning the first order anthropomorphic gods seem the most conservative Tahitic traditions. It is also the case that they have been recorded in greater detail than for many other Tahitic groups. The most widely reported cosmogony of the NZ Maori is quite clear and has many elements in common with other Polynesian: cosmic beings began evolving and their ultimate progeny, *Rangi* 'Father Sky' or 'Sky Father' and *Papa* 'Mother Earth' or 'Earth Mother', are the direct ancestors of the first order anthropomorphic gods. There are competing traditions that *Tangaroa* was the spouse of *Papa* and that *Rangi* absconded with her (c.f. Tregear 1904:462, Biggs n.d.) but the union of *Papa* amongst Nuclear Polynesian groups is normally with a terrestrial, atmospheric or sky stratum and not an anthropomorphic god.

Consequently, the *Tangaroa-Papa* tradition seems a local development.

There are many sources for the *Rangi-Papa* tradition (e.g., Shortland 1856, 1882, Clark 1896, Tregear 1904, Cowan 1910, 1930a, 1930b, Best 1924, 1925, Andersen 1928) which seem to come from a limited array of primary sources (primarily Grey 1885 and previous editions of that work). A passage from Cowan (1910) seems most useful for our present purpose:

who are the chief gods of the Polynesians and Maoris: Rangi and Papa, the Sky-Father and Earth-Mother, were the parents of the following deities,
 Rongo (God of Cultivations).
 Tane (God of Man, also Forests and Birds).
 Tangaroa (God of the Ocean and Fish).
 Tawhiri-matea (God of the Wind and Storms).
 Haumia (God of Fern-root and Uncultivated Foods).
 Ruai-moko (God of Volcanoes and Earthquakes).
 Tu-mata-uenga (God of Man and of War).

... Following upon the begetting of their seven children (there are many others mentioned in legends and genealogies, but the foregoing are the principal and deified ones), came the separation of Heaven and Earth... It was Tane-mahuta who forced his parents apart by standing on his head and thrusting Rangi upwards with his feet (Cowan 1910:105).

Amongst Cowan's list of the most important first order anthropomorphic gods we find all the gods with cognate names in other localities so we will not mention the others. There are very basic similarities with the Marquesan cosmogony, the main differences being in the naming of the Primordial Male, the inclusion of *Tangaroa* as amongst the first order progeny, and the role of *Taane* instead of Marquesan *Tono-Fiti* or Mangarevan *Maui* in lifting the sky. These events are conceived of as occurring in *Hawaiki* in both the Marquesas and amongst the NZ Maori. The discovery and settlement of New Zealand is viewed as being done by mortal people.

7.3.3.2.2 COOK ISLANDS

The reconstruction of **Aatea* as the Primordial Male for Proto Tahitic (Chapter 7.2) is based on agreements between certain Cook Island and Tuamotuan traditions and the *Rangi* alternate *Rangi-Aatea* from NZ Maori. It is not supported by evidence external to Tahitic. Still it is these same Tuamotuan and Cook Islands that tend to have the most resemblances to Marquesan and NZ Maori as concerns the first order anthropomorphic gods. So I will present first what seem the most conservative Cook Island traditions and

then those that seem more influenced by transformed Tahitian traditions.

7.3.3.2.2.1 TONGAREVA (PENRHYN)

These Northern Cook Island people recall creation as being the result of the union between *Aatea* and *Haka-Hotu*.²⁹ Their children were *Taane*, *Tangaroa*, *Te Kapua*, *Mauri*, *Rongo-Nui*, *Tahaki*, *Te Porou-Rangi*, *Te Tou*, *Maru*, *Haka-Peka*, and *Putahi-Aitu* (Hiroa 1932b:85). Hiroa (1932b) does not mention a sky raising story or the fishing up of the islands nor do I know of other sources on such matters for Tongareva. Gill (1876:48), however, relates a Mangaian myth that Tongareva was raised by *Vaatea* while he was fishing. This seems unusual in two respects. Firstly, it is not common for a member of the Primordial Pair to be attributed anthropomorphic acts and secondly PCE **Aatea* is not mentioned elsewhere in Polynesia in the context of the fishing up of the islands.

7.3.3.2.2.2 MANGAIA

Gill (1876:1-22) relates an outline of creation from Mangaia and Williamson (1933a:11-14) summarises it. The creation tradition is quite different than other Polynesian, even other Tahitic, but a number of familiar figures are present. First there is a complex notion of the universe resembling a coconut with a root extending downward and with a single hole in the top:

At various depths, in the interior of the coconut, which Gill calls *Avaiki*, was a series of floorings or lands, one above another, and communicating with each other... ..in the lowest depth of *Avaiki*, where the sides of the shell nearly met, lived a woman, a demon of flesh and blood... She was the great mother...

This great mother, being desirous of offspring, plucked a piece of her right side, and it became a human being - the first man - *Avatea* or *Vatea* (Noon). This being, the father of gods and men, was half man and half fish... (Williamson 1933a:12-13)

The name of *Vaatea's* mother (*Vari-Ma-Te-Takere*) is not cognate with any creation name that I know of outside of Mangaia. *Vaatea* eventually weds *Papa* (which

²⁹ We can reconstruct **Faka-Fotu* on the basis of a *Tua Hotu*, *Tah Ha'a-Hotu* and *Pen Haka-Hotu*. But the era to which it is reconstructed is Post Tahitic: after the time of PTa (in which language the Primordial Female was certainly **Papa*). Thus the Pen name is probably taken from the Tahiti area at a time after the divergence of Mao either as a later cultural borrowing or because the settlement of Tongareva occurred after the settlement of New Zealand (and **Faka-Fotu* was the Primordial female around Tahiti at the time).

Williamson translates as "Foundation"):

Vatea and Papa had five sons [all gods]. The first two, Tangaroa and Rongo, were twins; they were the first beings of perfect human form, having no second shape; the third was Tonga-iti, incarnate in the white and black spotted lizards; the fourth was Tangiia; and the fifth was Tane-papa-kai (Tane-piler-up-of-food). Rongo had three grandsons - Rangi and two others who dragged up the island of Mangaia from *Avaiki* to the light of day... (Williamson 1933a:14)

So here we see a familiar set of relationships between the Primordial Pair and some of the early gods. Hiroa relates:

In Mangaia there is no exploratory period, for the sons of the well known god, Rongo, drew the island out of an under-seas spiritual *Avaiki* to its present material position, with themselves upon it. With them commences the settlement period which thus links directly with the mythical period... As the period becomes more remote, details disappear, and the pedigree becomes a single list of names. The single list merges into the mythical period, from which it is often not clearly defined (Hiroa 1932b:16).

Ruu and *Maui* are associated with the raising of the sky in Mangaia (Gill 1876:58-60, Williamson 1933a:43).

7.3.3.2.2.3 RAROTONGA

Williamson (1933a:14-15) relates two Rarotongan versions of creation. The first:

A genealogy of the royal (Makea of Karika) family of Rarotonga commences with references to Papa (the earth), which grew, became beautiful, budded, became mature, had duration, and became a parent; and its child, regarded apparently as a spirit or human being. This child married Ina [this is the same as Sina of Samoa and Hina of Tahiti], the daughter of the god Rongo, and it was from this first marriage that the Makea or Karika family's ancestry was traced (Williamson 1933a:14).

The second:

According to another Rarotongan account of the opening up of Papa (the earth), it was said that a person or being called Te Tumu [*tumu* means the "root", "origin", "source" or "foundation" of a thing] took Papa to be his wife and had by her three children - Te Uira, Te Aa, and Te Kinakina... After this Papa gave birth to the gods Rongo, Tane, Ruanuku, Tu, and Tangaroa. We are then told of a descendant of Te Tumu who begat the god Atea and others... Williamson (1933a:14)

Overall, the Rarotongan legends are somewhat unique, individually, and as a group and are not always consistent with each other. Whereas there is no male ancestor of *Tumu* in the tradition related by Williamson above, there are some brief passages from Gill (1911:134-136) which indicate that *Tumu* was the child of *Aatea* and *Papa-*

Roa-I-Te-Itinga, while *Tumu's* wife was *Papa-I-Te-Opunga*. *Tumu* was the spouse of *Papa* in Tahiti (Chapter 7.2.1.10), something we did not see in Tongareva or Mangaia or for the NZ Maori. Thus some Rarotongan traditions blend with some seemingly recent Tahitian traditions in a way that Tongarevan and Mangaian traditions known to me do not. *Maau* is associated with the raising of the sky in Rarotonga (Te Arikitarare 1899:70-72) rather than *Taane* as amongst the NZ Maori and Caillot's (1932) Tuamotuan tradition.

7.3.3.2.3 TAHITI

Since the cosmogonies of the NZ Maori, some of the Tuamotus and much of the Cooks have so much in common with that of the Marquesas, it will be appreciated that the very different concepts concerning creation in Tahiti, for which similarities are to be found in only some of the Tuamotus and Rarotonga, must be local developments as Hiroa (1938a:150) suggested.

The outstanding feature of Tahitian cosmogonies is the elevation of *Ta'aroa* (PCE **Tangaroa*) to a pre-existing being and supreme creator of the world as we know it today. Barrère (1966:104) attributes this to an adoption of Ra'iatean beliefs. The assertion is unreferenced but Williamson (1933a:379), also in an unreferenced assertion, also places the "centre of the Tangaroa-Oro cult" in Ra'iatea.

Henry (1928) is the common source for Tahitian cosmogonic traditions (cf. Handy 1927,³⁰ Craig 1989) and there are a smattering of others (cf. Williamson 1933a:34 ft.nt. 4, 35 ft.nts. 1-6, Ellis³¹ 1829a, 1829b). Henry's (1928:336-334) traditions were collected in 1822, 1824, and 1833. Barrère (1966:104-107) provides an overview, mainly in the context of questioning whether the belief in *Ihoiho* was ancient (see Chapter 7.2.1.10 above).

Within these highly transformed traditions the search for remnants of a Primordial Pair and first order anthropomorphic gods of the Marquesan or NZ Maori variety is fruitful only in bits and pieces. Of the three possible remnants of the Primordial Pair in Henry's (1928) traditions (see Table 7.1), none produce a sibling

³⁰ Handy (1927) and Henry (1928) were both published by the Bishop Museum and Handy had access to Henry's manuscript while his book was in preparation.

³¹ Ellis' source was Orsmond which was ultimately published by Henry (1928) (Niel Gunson, personal communication).

group of first order anthropomorphic gods in the typical fashion of Central East Polynesian speaking groups' traditions.

As elsewhere, the sky is said to be held down against the earth. In at least one Tahitian tradition it is an octopus which holds down the sky. Williamson, citing Tyerman (1831a:526) relates:

There was a belief in the Society island of Ra'iatea that the sky originally lay flat on the face of the earth and ocean, being held down by the "legs" (? tentacles) of a huge cuttle-fish; but Maui dived down to the bottom of the sea and dismembered the cuttle-fish, whereupon the sky flew up, became convex, resting on the horizon and having the vertical sun as its keystone (Williamson 1933a:42).

Ellis (1829:43) relates a tradition that "at the first the heavens joined the earth, and were only separated by the *teva* plant, *Draconitum pollyphillum*, till their god, *Ruu*, lifted up the heavens from the earth" and Henry (1928:409-413) relates a similar story involving both *Ruu* and *Maui*. Williamson (1933a:34-35 citing Hale 1846:23,25, Moerenhout 1837a:450, Young 1898:109, Forster 1778:159,541, Smith 1903:239, Ellis 1829a:167, Cuzent 1872:44, and Bovis 1863:274) relates that in the Societies *Maui* is credited with raising the islands from the sea. These are the Society Islands sources of which I am aware for traditions concerning the raising of the sky and the fishing up of the islands. It is consistent with the common notion of Central East Polynesian speaking groups that **Maui* was responsible for these deeds. But first order anthropomorphic gods in the common Central East Polynesian pattern are absent but for the glorification of *Ta'aroa* (**Tangaroa*),

7.3.3.2.4 THE TUAMOTUS

The Tuamotus are numerous and cover a vast area. As the traditions to be related here come from only a few of those islands, it is important not to view these Tuamotuan traditions to be indicative of the archipelago as a whole.

Craig (1989:29) mentions only Henry's (1928:347-349) Tuamotuan creation tradition which does not give the home island of Paiore, "the chief and regent", from which it was collected (Henry 1928:347, ft.nt. 30). Young (1919) also mentions Paiore but does not mention the area of the Tuamotus from which he came. Williamson (1933a:15-16) mentions Tuamotuan creation traditions collected by Montiton (1874) from the islands of Fangatau and Takoto and another collected by Smith (1903:221-42)

for which the source island is not mentioned. Caillot (1932:37-57) is another primary source and some of those traditions were recorded on Makemo and Hao though it is not clear if those to be mentioned here were.

The account of Paiore collected by X. Caillet³² in 1890 and published by Henry (1928:347-349) is notable in that it contains elements of the transformed Tahitian traditions as well as elements that had not undergone such extreme transformations. In that tradition *Tumu* and *Papa*, not *Tangaroa*, were contained inside the primordial egg which burst open "and produced three layers, one below propping two above. Upon the lowest layer remained Te-Tumu and Te-Papa, who created man, animals, and plants" (Henry 1928:347). In this account, *Tangaroa* is born to other early anthropomorphic gods or godlike people (neither with cognate names from elsewhere in Polynesia) and an initial raising of the sky occurs before the birth of *Tangaroa*. *Tangaroa's* realm is darkness and the netherlands, which is reminiscent of Marquesan.³³ The only *Tangaroa* mentioned is the father of the only *Maui* mentioned.³⁴ Another Tuamotuan tradition follows in Henry (1928:349-353) but no date or home island of the narrator is given. It concerns *Aatea*, *Taane* and *Maui*, giving parents of *Taane* that are not reported elsewhere and not counting any of the three as siblings or descendants of *Tumu* and *Papa* and there is nothing further in that tradition to link with the "group of siblings" theme in the conceptualisation of the first order anthropomorphic gods amongst some other Central East Polynesian speaking groups.

The traditions mentioned by Williamson (1933a:15-16) are covered in two paragraphs, the Moniton tradition including an account of a battle between *Aatea* and *Taane* (mentioned also in Henry (1928:349-353)) and of *Taane's* raising the sky. The Smith (1903) tradition is highly abbreviated in Williamson (1933a:16) but, as usual, very true to the source. There is no sibling group in the typical Central East Polynesian pattern in the primary source.

³² Note that there was a X. Caillet and an A.-C.E. Caillot who both worked on matters concerning the Tuamotus and that they were different individuals.

³³ And Hawaiian traditions after some years of contact. I am, however, inclined to believe that the Hawaiian demotion of *Kanaloa* is a post-European development. See section on Hawai'i.

³⁴ This sentence ended with "much in the mould of Nuclear Polynesian traditions as a whole" in Marck (1996c:238). While it is true that **Tangaloa* was the father of **Maui* in some Samoan and Central East Polynesian traditions, competing traditions have **Talanga/*Taranga* as the father (or mother) of **Maui* (in both Samoa and Central East Polynesia).

The Tuamotu tradition of *Taane* raising the sky, as amongst the NZ Maori, is a quite mysterious similarity and may be due to independent developments or some kind of borrowing between certain of the Tuamotus and the NZ Maori, or Tuamotuans having a part in the settlement of New Zealand.

In a very short passage (Caillot 1932:50-51), *Aatea* is mentioned as sleeping with *Hotu*, the result being the sibling group "Ru, Pigao, Tope, Pepe, Tane, Tagaroa, Titi, Tiki, Ruanuku, Maui, Gaohe, Vaerua". Caillot (1932:51) mentions that *Vaatea*, *Taane* and *Tagaroa* are "trois formes d'une meme divinité" so it would seem that older traditions, based on the Primordial Pair-sibling group pattern, were current but being transformed in light of Christian notions.

7.3.4 PROTO CENTRAL EAST POLYNESIAN RECONSTRUCTIONS

Having summarised the general character of the sources for the various islands, I now consider the evidence for individual reconstructions.

7.3.4.1 *AATEA

PCE, PMq **Aatea*, Mqa *Aatea*
 'space deified/personified and first order anthropomorphic god',
 Haw *Waakea* 'space deified and Primordial Male',
 PTa **Aatea*, Var.: **Waatea* 'space deified and Primordial Male',
 Tua *Aatea*, *Vaatea*, Pen *Aatea*,
 Mia *Vaatea* 'space deified and Primordial Male',
 Mao *Rangi-Aatea* 'sky deified and Primordial Male'
 Tah *Aatea* 'space deified and father of *Taane*'

Biggs (1994): PPn **qaho-qatea*, PCE **awatea* 'midday',
 PPn **qaho*, PCE **ao* 'day', PPn **qaatea*, PCE **aatea* 'clear, unobstructed'

The Proto Central East Polynesian name **Aatea* denoted the space between the sky and the earth which was a compressed stratum in the primordial state due to the sky's hugging close to the earth. Reconstruction of a precise status to the Proto Central East Polynesian level is not possible due to a basically different conceptualisation of **Aatea*'s role in creation between the two Central East Polynesian subgroups and an absence of external cognate names or even a similar type of entity with similar deeds.³⁵ In the instance of Marquesic, we have a clear statement of his origin for the Marquesas (a child of the Primordial Pair), an origin so ancient it was forgotten in Mangareva and

³⁵ Save Sam *Vale-Vale-Noa*, mentioned in the section on Proto Polynesian and Proto Nuclear Polynesian. But there is no similarity in his deeds or role to that of **Aatea* around Central East Polynesian groups.

one that seems influenced by Tahitic in Hawai'i where, amongst other things, a Tahitic rather than Marquesic pronunciation is found. In the instance of Tahitic, we have agreement amongst many of the Cooks and at least one Tuamotuan tradition that **Aatea* was the Proto Tahitic Primordial Male while NZ Maori traditions conceptualise creation in a similar way but have largely forgotten the **Aatea* name except in the *Rangi* 'Primordial Male' variant *Rangi-Aatea*. A basically transformed conceptualisation of creation is all that is recorded for Tahiti and this is shared to some extent with some of the Tuamotus and some of the Southern Cooks.

Marquesan *Aatea* is a first order anthropomorphic god in the sibling group who were the children of *Papa-'Uka* and *Papa-'A'o*, the Primordial Pair in the widespread Polynesian pattern. From their birthplace within the earth he kicked through to open space so he and his siblings could reside on the earth's surface; thus, apparently, his name ("Clear Space"). All Marquesans trace their ancestry to him and his wife *Ata-Nua*.

A rather transformed Hawaiian set of traditions agrees to some extent with the Proto Tahitic Primordial Pair of **Aatea* and **Papa* in that *Waakea* and *Papa* were great creator anthropomorphic gods in Hawai'i, responsible for the origin of many of the islands, and the parents of *Kuu*, *Lono*, *Kaane* and *Kanaloa*. This fits with Tahitic notions but *Waakea* and *Papa* are remembered as the progenitors of all Hawaiians, very much as the Marquesans remember *Aatea* and *Ata-Nua* as their ancestors. Tahitic groups do not trace their ancestry to PTa **Aatea* except through one of the first order anthropomorphic gods so the Hawaiian memory of being descended from *Waakea* may be Marquesic.

It is not clear which group has changed what, since Proto Central East Polynesian times. Two possibilities can be imagined without much difficulty, both with two possible explanations for the situation in Hawai'i:

1. There was a Primordial Pair named **Aatea* and **Papa* in Proto Central East Polynesian and this continued into Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic but was modified in Marquesan where **Aatea* came to be amongst the first order offspring of the Primordial Pair. In this instance Hawaiian *Waakea* and *Papa* could be either from direct inheritance of Proto Marquesic speakers' beliefs or indirect inheritance (a borrowing) from Tahitic.

2. There was a Proto Central East Polynesian Primordial Pair *Papa-adj.* and *Papa-adj.* and **Aatea* was amongst their first order anthropomorphic offspring. Proto Tahitic speakers elevated him to the status of the Primordial Male while Marquesan simply did not change. The Hawaiians' *Waakea* and *Papa* would then be either a borrowing from Tahitic or a local transformation of earlier Marquesic notions.

The first solution is not very satisfying and was not adopted in Marck (1996b and Chapter 7.2 above) as it requires a renaming, in Marquesan, of the Primordial Male as *Papa-adj.* and the claim that the similarity to the naming of Samoa's Primordial Male, also *Papa-adj.*, is an independent development. The solution taken (Chapter 7.2) is the second above because it does not require independent identical developments in Samoan and Marquesan. By this solution, the *Waakea-Papa* pair of the Hawaiians could be a Tahitic loan or independent local development of *Waakea* as *Papa*'s husband. The Tahitic loan hypothesis is appealing because the Hawaiians remember them as coming from Tahiti and their pronunciation, "*Waakea*", is Tahitic. The hypothesis that has this as a Hawaiian transformation of old Marquesic beliefs is appealing because it is a particularly Marquesan notion that *Aatea* is the ancestor of all people and this is shared with Hawaiian traditions. **Taane* is more commonly the ancestor of people in the Tuamotus, Societies and amongst the NZ Maori. So Hawaiian traditions seem a blending of Marquesic and Tahitic as we might expect.

Again, the position of **Aatea* at the Proto Central East Polynesian level is indeterminate by our method but he may have been one of the first order anthropomorphic gods and is mentioned here for that reason.

7.3.4.2 *(S)AUMIA

PCE, PMq, PTa *(S)*aumia*, Mqa *Aumia* 'first order anthropomorphic god',
Mao *Haumia* 'god of fern root, first order anthropomorphic god'

This is a marginal reconstruction with only two cognates which agree imperfectly. *Haumia* is well known from NZ Maori traditions as a first order anthropomorphic god who was the god of the fern root, an important source of starch to the NZ Maori as taro and breadfruit do not flourish in their southern environment. Handy (1923:244) mentions *Aumia* among the Marquesan siblings of *Aatea*, *Taane*, *Tuu*, *'Ono* and others but does not mention his (or her) realm and other primary and secondary sources

mention a Marquesan *Aumia* not at all. If they are cognate, the NZ Maori *Haumia* agreement with Marquesan *Aumia* is irregular in that NZ Maori has irregularly inserted an initial consonant or Marquesan has irregularly lost one. It is also possible that Handy did not transcribe an initial *h* (although we otherwise know he heard and transcribed that sound in that environment in that language). The possibility of a chance resemblance would be about one in six thousand³⁶ so certainly they are cognate. Possibly there was a time around central East Polynesian when fern root was an important food and Marquesans remember it for that reason. Such may have been the case before breadfruit and taro were abundantly available.

Craig (1989:53) equates NZ Maori *Haumia-Tiki-Tiki* with Hawaiian *Haumea*, Marquesan *Haumei*, and Tuamotuan *Faumea* and calls NZ Maori *Haumia-Tiki-Tiki* a "goddess" in the "Haumea" entry while calling *Haumia-Tiki-Tiki* a "god" and son of *Rangi* and *Papa* in the "Haumia-Tikitiki" entry. This linguist's inclination is to suggest that at least three names are involved in those and an associated entry: the *Haumea* of Hawai'i and the *Faumea* of the Tuamotus, which seem regularly cognate names but share nothing of the same deeds as related in Craig (1989:38, 53); the *Haumei* of the Marquesas whose form is regularly cognate with none of the others and seems (Craig 1989:53) to share no deeds with the others; and the *Haumia-Tiki-Tiki* of the NZ Maori which is probably not cognate with the others but possibly cognate with the Marquesan *Aumia* mentioned above.

³⁶ There are five vowels and about ten consonants in those two languages. If all vowels were equally common and all consonants equally common, the likelihood of chance identity of the "*aumia*" portion of the reconstruction would be $5 \times 5 \times 10 \times 5 \times 5$ (one chance in 6250).

7.3.4.3 *MAURI

PCE **Mauri*, Mqa *Moui*,
Pen *Mauri* 'first order anthropomorphic god'

Biggs (1994): PPn **maquri*, PCE **mauri* 'life, alive'

This reconstruction is almost as obscure as the previous one, only two groups remembering PCE **Mauri* as a first order anthropomorphic god.³⁷ We would expect ***Mou'i*³⁸ for Marquesan but the source (Handy 1923) did not record Marquesan glottal stops. Neither Handy (1923:244) for Marquesan nor Hiroa (1932b:85) for Tongarevan describe a realm or deeds for this god, only that he was amongst the sibling group first born to the Primordial Pair. We must note the reconstruction as weak. It is possible both the Marquesans and Tongarevans raised a more junior god to first order status as many siblings of the main gods are mentioned (but not realms or deeds) and they are rarely cognate between groups (for groups that have the "group of siblings" theme).

7.3.4.4 *RONGO

PCE, PMq, PTa **Rongo*,
Mqa '*Ono/Oko*, Haw *Lono*, Tua *Rogo*,
Rar, Pen, Mia, Mao *Rongo* 'first order anthropomorphic god',
Tah *Ro'o* 'one of the earliest gods'

Biggs (1994): PPn, PCE, PMq, PTa **rongo* 'to hear'

PCE **Rongo*, probably PCE **Rongo-Nui*, is remembered as a messenger god in Tahiti, a role in which the Samoan god with a partially cognate name, *Logo-Noa*, is also found (Fraser 1892:265), although not as a first order anthropomorphic god as he often is around Central East Polynesian groups. In Samoa he was the messenger of *Tagaloa* (Craig 1989:142) and in Tahiti the messenger of *Taane* (Henry 1928:369-371). He was often a god of food around Tahitic, e.g., Tongareva (Hiroa 1932b:87), Mangaia (Gill 1876:11-12) and amongst the NZ Maori (Tregear 1904:462) and this was also true of Mangareva (Hiroa 1938b:422) so possibly he was the god of food amongst Proto Central East Polynesian speakers. Little is known of him from the Marquesas (Handy

³⁷ This is a rephrasing of Marck (1996:242) which said that more groups have reflexes of **Mauri*, though not as a first order anthropomorphic god. Both assertions were in error.

³⁸ "***" is used here to indicate an expected but unattested form.

1923:245) and he is not mentioned as a god of food in the Tuamotus and Tahiti in sources I have seen. Still, the agreement of Mangarevan and Cooks/NZ Maori is enough to establish his status as god of food in Proto Central East Polynesian if this is not a borrowing. There is an interesting passage in Gill (1876:10-14) which states that *Rongo* and *Tangaroa* were twins and the first born of *Vaatea* and *Papa* in Mangaia. "Tangaroa should have been born first, but gave precedence to his brother Rongo" (Gill 1876:10). There followed a great deal of competition between the two as to who would have dominion over what. The passage is significant mainly because it says something about the birth order of the first order anthropomorphic gods, something which is otherwise left to the imagination in Central East Polynesian accounts of these gods (unless we take their order in being named to be the birth order which does not seem an entirely safe assumption). In Hawai'i he was a first order anthropomorphic god (Fornander 1919-1920:360). *Ro'o* in Tahiti was an early god, as early as most others in these highly transformed traditions, but they are not known to be offspring of the Primordial Pair in those localities.

7.3.4.5 *TAANE

PCE, PMq, PTa **Taane*, Mqa *Taane*, Haw *Kaane*,
Tua, Pen, Mia, Rar, Mao *Taane*,
'first order anthropomorphic god'
Tah *Taane* 'early god'

Biggs (1994) PPn **taqane*, PCE, PMq, PTa **taane* 'male'

The evidence for PCE, PMq, PTa **Taane* 'first order anthropomorphic god' is abundant and unequivocal. He is a child of the Primordial Pair in at least one tradition from the Marquesas, the Tuamotus, *NZ Maori, Rarotonga, Mangaia and Tongareva.³⁹ Many books could be written about **Taane* in Tahitic. Our purpose here is complete with the simple demonstration of his status amongst Proto Central East Polynesian speakers and some mention of his status in Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic. He is not known from Tonga or Samoa.

There are basic differences between the Marquesan *Taane* and that of Tahitic. I

³⁹ He is even a child of *Papa-Tuu-'Oi* and *Aatea* in Henry's (1928) traditions... the only member of the common sibling group not simply conjured forth by *Ta'aroa* in these highly transformed traditions.

will comment upon *Kaane* in Hawai'i after mentioning some of *Taane's* characteristics in Marquesan and Tahitic.

Tregear (1904:453) wonders that the "sublime Trinity-worship" of *Taane*, *Rongo* and *Tuu* is not found in New Zealand whereas it was conducted "with such solemn ritual and embodied in such magnificent hymns... in the Hawaiian Islands and the Marquesas." I am aware of some motive for his question in the case of Hawai'i but have found nothing to support his assertion of a *Taane*, *Rongo* and *Tuu* "trinity" in the case of the Marquesas. Handy relates that:

Tane was of little importance in the Marquesas. His name appears in legend and chants, but not in genealogies... The concepts of a male principle and light belong to Atea rather than to Tane here, though Tane was regarded as a "light" god in the sense that he was believed to have had light skin and hair and to have been the ancestor of the white race (Handy 1923:245).

He is described as "of little importance" by Handy but first order anthropomorphic gods are often described as such (cf. Craig 1989:99 on Samoa's *Tagaloa*), usually because they are not associated with much religious ritual. A single Marquesan tradition of which I am aware credits the raising of the sky to *Taane* in association with *Aatea* and a similar story is known from the Tuamotus (Williamson 1933a:26-27, cf. also Caillot 1932:60) but another credits Marquesan *Tono-Fiti* (Handy 1923:245) while closely related Mangarevan has memories of *Maau* having done so (Williamson 1933a:44) which seems the older pattern, given the agreement with Tongan, Samoan, Hawaiian and some Cook Island traditions on the matter. Hiroa (1938b:424) mentions a rather marginal status for *Taane* in Mangareva.

In Tahitic, on the other hand, *Taane* is normally quite prominent. The Tahitian traditions are generally idiosyncratic and knowledge of Tuamotuan traditions quite limited so we shall turn to the Cooks for our first look at *Taane* in Tahitic. Starting with Tongareva in the north, Hiroa (1932b:85-86) notes that *Taane* was a child of *Aatea* and *Haka-Hotu* and an active god at the time of creation. *Taane*, or a *Taane* incarnation, is in one of three main lines of descent in the genealogies (Hiroa 1932b:17-19). Other than this, nothing is said of him in that work.

Gill (1876:11) relates that *Taane* was a principal god of Mangaia along with *Tangiia*, a Mangaian first order anthropomorphic god for whom I know of no cognates

around Polynesia.⁴⁰ Gill does not expand upon his assertion that *Taane* was a principal god of Mangaia. There is no description of deeds attributed to him but for a tradition concerning him marrying "Ina" (*Ina* from PCE **Sina*) (Gill 1876:107-114) but **Sina* is not generally associated with **Taane* outside of Tahitic so much as **Tangaloa* and **Maau* and the story line has no elements which seem similar to those other traditions. It would seem to be *Rongo* rather than *Taane* to whom the "original" Mangaian trace their ancestry (Gill 1876:17).

Taane in Rarotonga is mentioned briefly by Te Arikitarā-are (1919:57-61). We find there only the mention of his being amongst the first order anthropomorphic gods along with *Rongo*, *Tuu*, *Tangaroa* and *Rua-Nuku*.

Taane is relatively well known from NZ Maori sources. He separated *Rangi* and *Papa* (Grey 1885:1-3, Tregear 1904:461, Best 1924:37-38, 1925:745), adorned "the breast of heaven (his father, *Rangi*) with stars" (Tregear 1904:435, cf. 461; cf. Best 1924:39) and covered the earth (his mother, *Papa*) with trees (Andersen 1928:403-404), was the god of forests (Grey 1885:2, Tregear 1904:439), made the first woman (Andersen 1928:407, Cowan 1930a:8), made the first man (Tregear 1904:464) or was the "Father of Man" (Cowan 1930b:44) or "God of Man" (Cowan 1910:105), and fought battles with other gods (Grey 1885:5, Tregear 1904:478-479). Altogether, there is a great deal of content against which we can begin to evaluate the prehistory of traditions around Tahiti and in Hawai'i.

I will consider Tuamotuan traditions briefly before going on to Tahitian. The material I will cite is from Caillot (1932) which has been mentioned in the summary of Tuamotuan sources as more conservative in some respects than others. Recall that in those materials *Taane* is amongst a sibling group of first order anthropomorphic gods in the broad Central Polynesian pattern, children of *Vaatea* and *Hotu* in this instance (Caillot 1932:50-51). In a following passage (Caillot 1932:60) a number of things are attributed to *Taane*. Roughly translated from Caillot's French, they include the raising of the sky, the covering of the barren earth (with plant life), holding the status of the

⁴⁰ Although Gill (1876:19, 23) mentions a mortal chief by that name from Rarotonga and another (possibly the same person) from Tahiti.

principal force of life in all beings, fathering universal life, responding to needs of the heart, and arbitrating the destiny of people's lives (while living but not after their death).

In Tahiti there is no sibling group of first order anthropomorphic gods nor a clear Primordial Pair in the broader Polynesian pattern. Nevertheless, *Taane* is the sole child of *Aatea* and *Papa* who are the Primordial Pair elsewhere around Tahitic even though their genders are reversed in the tradition related by Henry⁴¹ (1928:364-369). Henry's (1928:353-371) traditions have a great deal to say about *Taane*, though little of it resembles what has been seen for NZ Maori's *Taane* or that of the Tuamotus. Aside from *Ta'arua* who is elevated to a pre-existing creator god, *Taane* figures most prominently in these traditions. Often they are adulations reminiscent of Judeo-Christian eulogisation about the glory of their deity or a setting out of the world in a fashion more similar to the Old Testament order than other Polynesian traditions of creation. Nothing is very similar to other Tahitic as regards *Taane* except for his high status.

The question of what Hawaiian *Kaane* traditions most resemble beyond Hawaii is muddled by 1) the local transformation of Hawaiian traditions, much of it apparently after European contact, 2) the probable transformation of Tahitian traditions after early borrowings by Hawaiians, and 3) the dearth of materials from the Marquesas. Beckwith (1970:60-80) relates a number of traditions concerning *Kaane* in which *Kanaloa* is normally involved somehow. In one (Beckwith 1970:60-61) *Kaane* and *Kanaloa* are said to draw men in the earth and *Kaane's* lives while *Kanaloa's* does not. Beckwith's rendition of this tradition varies somewhat from the source (Fornander 1919-1920:267-268) but the present observation is that *Kaane* is associated with the origin of people which is a Tahitic belief but not a Marquesan belief (where *Aatea* is the progenitor of people). There is a fight between *Kaane* and *Kanaloa* (Fornander 1919-1920:268) in which *Kaane* prevails. It was *Aatea* that fought off *Tana'oa* in the Marquesas

⁴¹ Craig (1989:101-102) misstates the sex of *Aatea* and *Papa-Tuu-'O'i*, which he has as male and female, respectively. His source (Henry 1928:364-369) has them as female and male, respectively. While *Aatea* later changes gender (Henry 1928:372-376) and has more children as a male, none of the latter have names cognate with first order anthropomorphic gods elsewhere. Possibly Craig has glossed over this Tahitian idiosyncrasy for brevity. It is noteworthy that the female Tah *Aatea* changes gender by exchanging natures with *Fa'a-Hotu*, also a woman but with a masculine nature, and that *Hotu* is the name of the male *Aatea's* wife in Caillot's (1932) Tuamotuan materials (Chapter 7.2.1.9). *Haka-Hotu* is the female spouse of the male *Aatea* in Tongareva as well (see Table 7.1).

(Fornander 1878:214-218) where *Tana'oa* was thought of as a god of darkness as was Hawai'i's *Kanaloa*, something which happens nowhere in Tahitic, nor, apparently, in Mangareva. But like the Marquesan *Tana'oa*, Hawaiian *Kanaloa* is still god of the sea. So there are a few resemblances to Marquesan in Hawai'i as concerns *Tana'oa* and *Kanaloa* but the prominent role of *Kaane* cannot be identified as having a Marquesic source and seems most similar to Tahitic *Taane*.

While the role of *Kaane* in Hawai'i resembles that of **Taane* in Tahitic, there seem to be no specific resemblances of *Kaane* traditions from Hawai'i and **Taane* traditions from Tahitic localities. The activities of *Kaane* and *Kanaloa* generally seem to take place in Hawai'i itself, rather than **Sawaiki* as in Tahitic traditions so there is little to compare other than prominence of the role itself which could have arisen independently.

Finally, the Hawaiians remember *Maau* rather than *Kaane* lifting the sky (Beckwith 1970:230, 379). This could be either a Marquesic memory or one from around Tahiti. *Taane* took that role in the Tuamotus and New Zealand (but not around some of the Cooks and Tahiti which still remember *Maau* as having done so).

Thus we find no compelling reason to suggest Hawaiian *Kaane*'s high status is a loan from early Tahitic, a retention from early Marquesic or an independent development. Superficially there is the greater resemblance to Tahitic but there is an absence of specific similar elements in the conceptualisation and deeds of Hawaiians' *Kaane* other than the notion of the creation of the first man. With the borrowing of the Tahitic pronunciation for "priest" into Hawaiian⁴² and the possible borrowing of the Hawaiian names for the Primordial Pair from Tahitic we might be inclined to view the role of *Kaane* as a further Tahitic influence. But we cannot demonstrate such by our method. It could just as well be an independent development or developments out of Hawai'i's Marquesic heritage.

PCE **Taane* may have had a high status that was displaced by *Aatea* in the Marquesas or he may have been the relatively obscure god that he was in the Marquesas and been elevated to greater prominence in early Tahitic. In any event, he seems

⁴² Haw *kahuna* 'priest' < PTa **tahunga* 'priest' not PMq **tuhunga* 'expert', see Chapter 4.3.10.

definitely to have been among the first order anthropomorphic siblings born to the Primordial Pair in the cosmogony of Proto Central East Polynesian speakers.

7.3.4.6 *TANGAROA

PPn, PNP **Tangaloa*, PCE, PMq, PTa **Tangaroo*,
 Ton *Tangaloa*, SAM *Tagaloa*, Mqa *Taka'oa/Tana'oa*, Mva *Tagaroo*, Haw *Kanaloa*,
 Tua *Tagaroo*, Pen, Mia, Rar, Mao *Tangaroo*
 'first order anthropomorphic god'
 Tah *Ta'aroo* 'pre-existing creator god'

Biggs (1994) PPn **Tangaloa* 'a principal god of the pantheon',
 PPn **tanga* '1. bag, 2. drive into enclosure, surround',
 PPn **loa* 'long'

It is tempting to reconstruct "senior first order anthropomorphic god" for PCE **Tangaroo* but the "senior" turns out to be difficult to support from within Central East Polynesian. While it is true that *Tangaloa* was the senior of three half-sibling first order anthropomorphic gods in Tonga, the only anthropomorphic god of first rank in Samoa and elevated to pre-existing creator god in Tahiti, Central East Polynesian traditions do not generally specify that he was senior. Gill's (1876) account for Mangaia, mentioned above in the context of PCE **Rongo* specifically has *Tangaroo* and *Rongo* as twins and first born of the Mangaian sibling group of first order anthropomorphic gods. But he seems not otherwise specifically mentioned as the eldest around Central East Polynesian groups though his name is often given first which would normally imply the birth order. We might suspect that the Tahitians took him to be their pre-existing being because he was the most senior of the siblings but I cannot presently suggest that he was most senior with materials internal to Central East Polynesian but for the Mangaian account. We might also mention that he was the only god or man common to Central East Polynesian traditions other than *Tiki* to be remembered by the Rapanui people. *Tangaloa* is said to have died on Rapanui in those traditions (Englert 1970).

Unlike Tonga and Samoa, **Tangaroo* seems never to be associated with the fishing up of the islands in Central East Polynesian groups. Caillot (1932:60) mentions him as finishing the sky raising work of *Taane* but I know of no other mention of him in connection with the sky raising story around Polynesia except Fraser's (1892) suspicious Samoan tradition.

Tongaroa is the god of craftsmen in the Tuamotus (Caillot 1932:60-61) so given the agreement with Tonga (Collocott 1921:153) on this matter we can reconstruct that status to Proto Polynesian through the various interstages to Proto Tahitic. He is the god of the sea amongst the NZ Maori (Tregear 1904:462) as in the Marquesas (Handy 1923:245) so we can reconstruct that status to Proto Central East Polynesian, Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic.

His loss of rank in the Marquesas is curious. There he is remembered as a thirty-ninth generation offspring of the Primordial Pair but not so in Mangareva where he is one of the gods so ancient in the genealogies that previous ancestors are unknown and their origin is unspecified. The diminution of *Kanaloa* in Hawai'i may be recent and independent of Marquesan. As mentioned previously, Beckwith (1970) mentions only the "trinity" of *Kaane*, *Kuu* and *Lono* while neglected but more authentically Polynesian sorts of traditions can be found in Fornander (7.2.1.12 above) which has *Kanaloa* a full sibling of *Kaane*, *Kuu* and *Lono* born of *Waakea* and *Papa*. Beckwith (1970:cf. 60, 62) remarks more than once that *Kaane* and *Kanaloa* are normally mentioned in the same breath and her sources extend far beyond Fornander (1878-1885, 1916-1920) often in the context of propitiatory recitations which would seem to indicate *Kaane* and *Kanaloa* held similar sway over human affairs before *Kanaloa*'s apparent demotion in the *Kaane-Kuu-Lono* "trinity" of the historic period.

7.3.4.7 *TONGA-FITI

PCE **Tonga-Fiti*,
Mqa *Tono-Fiti*, Mia *Tonga-'Iti*
'first order anthropomorphic god',
Rar *Tonga-'Iti* 'early god'

Biggs (1994): PPn, PNP, PCE, PMq, PTa **tonga* 'south, south wind',
Marck: PPn, PNP, PCE, PMq, PTa **Tonga* 'Tonga'
PPn, PNP, PCE, PMq, PTa **Fiti* 'Fiji'

This is a marginal reconstruction. The second vowel of Marquesan does not agree with that of the others and the glottal stops of Mangaia and Rarotonga are assumed (the sources, Gill (1876:9-12) and Te Arikitarā-are (1919:58), do not mark glottal stops). The only deeds attributed to any of them is the lifting of the sky by *Tono-Fiti* in the Marquesas (Henry 1923:245) and that of *Tongo-'Iti* parenting the children who "opened up" *Papa*, the earth, in Rarotonga (Te Arikitarā-are 1919:58). Langridge and Terrell

(1988:194-197) also recount a tale about Marquesan *Tono-Fiti* but not one which comments on cosmogony. Christian (1895:187) relates that his domain was "Havaiki" in the Marquesas, i.e., the afterlife or paradise.

While the reconstruction is marginal, it allows us to recall the topic of the extent to which Tonga and Fiji, in addition to **Sawaiki*, were remembered around central Eastern Polynesia. It seems that Marquesans, Tuamotuans, Tahitians and Cook Islanders all remembered the Tonga/Fiji area, more or less. In the Marquesas the islands of "Tona-Tapu", "Vevau", "Fiti", "Fiti-tapu" and "Havaii" are remembered as ancestors in genealogical recitations in the ninth to eleventh generations after the Primordial Pair. Borabora ("Pai-o-Poapoa") is remembered as an ancestor in the twenty-fifth generation after the Primordial Pair (Christian 1895:191). Specific Marquesan memories of these localities as real-world geographical places can be seen in Langridge and Terrell (1988, cf. 104-109).

If the Marquesans remember these places it should not be surprising that Tuamotuans and people progressively closer to Samoa/Tonga/Fiji might also do so and such references are found from time to time in the cosmogonic materials of at least the Tuamotus, Societies and Cooks. I will not present them here but simply want to make the point that if there is any reluctance to accept Hiroa's (1938a) assertion that the Central East Polynesian memory of *Sawaiki* refers specifically to Savai'i in Samoa, how then can we dismiss specific associated memories of individual Fiji and Tongan islands as well?

7.3.4.8 *TUU

PNP **Tuū* 'primary god of war',
 PCE, PMq, PTa **Tuū*,
 Mqa, Mao, Tua *Tuu* 'first order anthropomorphic god; primary god of war',
 Tah *Tuu* 'early god and artisan',
 Haw *Kuu* 'first order anthropomorphic god and god of growth, rain, forests',
 Mva *Tuu* 'god of breadfruit'

Biggs (1994): PPn, PNP **tuqu*, PCE, PMq, PTa **tuu* 'stand, be upright'

There can be little doubt that PCE **Tuū* was a first order anthropomorphic god and that his status as god of war in Proto Central East Polynesian continued the status he held in

Proto Nuclear Polynesian and/or Proto Ellicean communities for which we can be less certain about his parentage. He was the primary god of war but not a child of the Primordial Pair in Samoa (Turner 1884:61). In Hawai'i *Kuu* was part of what had become a trinity by the early years of European contact (Beckwith 1970) but his position was not generally so illustrious elsewhere. Specific deeds are not mentioned for him in many localities although he had a major role in the argument with his siblings about raising the sky in the case of the NZ Maori (Grey 1885:1-7). In the Marquesas he is mentioned simply as a first order anthropomorphic god, patron of war and as absent from the genealogies (Handy 1923:245). In Mangareva he was patron of breadfruit rather than war (Hiroa 1938b:422). He is not mentioned as among the children of the Primordial Pair in Tongareva (Hiroa 1932:85) nor is he for Mangaia (Gill 1876:1-22) or Rarotonga (Te Arikitarā-are 1919:57-61). Caillot (1932:62-64) mentions *Tuu* as a first order anthropomorphic god for one Tuamotuan locality and a *Tuu* incarnation as god of the sea but does not mention him as god of war in that locality.

7.3.4 CONCLUSION

We have examined a topic that is, perhaps, more meaningful for Central East Polynesian groups than for Tonga and especially Samoa. We have reconstructed a sibling group of first order anthropomorphic gods, children of the Primordial Pair, for Proto Central Eastern Polynesia. The sibling group, or at least three half-brothers, is also found in Tonga but not with names cognate with what we have reconstructed for Proto Central East Polynesian other than in the case of PCE **Tangaroa*. Samoa's *Tagaloa* is also a first order anthropomorphic god but seems to have had no siblings not also named *Tagaloa*. Thus the sibling group may be independent developments in Tongan and Proto Central East Polynesian cosmogonies.

PCE **Rongo* and **Tuu*, part of the sibling group in Proto Central East Polynesian, are clearly cognate with Samoan *Logo* and *Tuu* and reconstruct to Proto Nuclear Polynesian or Proto Ellicean but not as first order anthropomorphic gods. PCE **Taane* is the final member of the sibling group about whom we can express a high level of confidence, occurring in both Marquesic and Tahitic with widely agreeing

attributes mainly in Tahitic. PCE **(H)aumia*, **Mauri* and **Tonga-Fiti* are relatively marginal reconstructions but allowed by our method.

The reconstruction of **Aatea* as a first order anthropomorphic god in Proto Central East Polynesian is supported only by Marquesic, Tahitic evidence suggesting that he was the male of the Proto Tahitic Primordial Pair. If we take Hawaiian traditions to be mainly Marquesic, then we need to reconstruct PCE **Aatea* as the Primordial Male. But Hawaiians seem to have borrowed their pronunciation "*Waakea*" from Tahitic and they only remember him coming from Tahiti. Furthermore, reconstruction of **Aatea* as the Primordial Male in Proto Central East Polynesian displaces an appealing agreement between Samoan *Papa-adj.* and Marquesan *Papa-adj.* for the Primordial Male from which agreement PEP, PCE and PMq **Papa-adj.* 'Primordial Male' is reconstructed (Chapter 7.2).

7.4 RETROSPECTIVE ON THE METHOD

The outstanding characteristic of this kind of work is its multiplicity of facets. There are many actants. There are many localities. There are competing traditions within those localities. I have here tried to reduce the problem to a manageable level by choosing small questions about which we have some hope of giving comprehensive treatment, or at least of mentioning those Polynesian traditions or motifs from traditions which occur in more than one locality.

The availability of encyclopedic secondary sources, especially Williamson (1933a, 1933b) and Craig (1989) has greatly facilitated the work. Not all primary sources were available during the course of this work and not all primary sources at hand were searched as exhaustively as they might have been. On the other hand, relevant material on the present topic tends to be limited to a very few paragraphs or pages in each source except the shortest sources such as chants, genealogies or individual legends.

The purpose of this presentation was to revive hope that work on such topics might be fruitful. The distributions that confounded earlier students of the situation, especially Handy (1927) and Williamson (1933a, 1933b), can now be seen in a different light given the current linguistic phylogeny for Polynesia. It is now clear that certain distributions of cosmogonic notions, actants and their deeds occur exclusively within

certain linguistic subgroups and that languages and cosmogonies may have differentiated along similar lines during the prehistory of the area.

In applying the method proposed here I have felt least secure about the notion that there was a unified Proto Tahitic cosmogony in the same sense that there seems to have been a unified Proto Tahitic language. Certain elements of some Cook Island traditions seem quite conservative compared to developments common to Tuamotuan, the Societies and the NZ Maori. An example is the central status of *Taane* in the latter groups, while the Cooks have rather less interest in *Taane* and some, along with Tahitian, retain a belief that *Maau*i and not *Taane* raised the sky. These traditions were (and are) maintained mainly by families and their political networks. Our modeling will probably approximate reality more closely if it assumes a certain amount of diversity in the past. Such was not done here as there were no competing traditions clearly reconstructable.⁴³ More generally, it was the purpose of the present chapter to identify central cosmogonic themes in the speech communities of the various subgroups and in accomplishing this other interesting material was neglected as being beyond the scope of the present narrow concerns.

⁴³ Except for the ancestry of **Maau*i, upon which I have not elaborated here as he was not a first order anthropomorphic god except in Tonga.

8. KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES¹

Kin terms are reconstructed for Proto Polynesian, Proto Tongic, Proto Nuclear Polynesian, Proto Ellicean, Proto Ellicean Outlier, Proto East Polynesian, Proto Central East Polynesian, Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic. The Proto Polynesian system seems to have contained about as many distinctive terms as some of the more "complex" systems of today, such as those found in Tongan, Rennellese, Taumako, and East Polynesian languages, where "complex" refers to a language that names more distinctions. It is suggested that languages with fewer distinctions, such as Samoan and the Ellicean Outliers, have simplified over time. Some of the reconstructions are questionable, especially at the Proto Polynesian level, because of distributions that are limited to Tongic and languages that have clearly or potentially borrowed from Tongic (East Uvean, Anutan, Tikopian, and, to a lesser extent, East Futunan). Rennellese seems particularly conservative among the Outliers and has a number of agreements with Tongic not otherwise known from Nuclear Polynesian except for languages that may have borrowed from Tongic. At least three explanations are possible for the conservatism of Rennellese: (1) the larger scale of its society in terms of numbers of people and in terms of named roles or relations of importance, and (2) it may include undetected borrowings from Tongic or, more plausibly, it may have diverged from other Nuclear Polynesian at a very early time. Hawaiian kin terms are exclusively Marquesic where such matters are determinate. Hawaiian shares a number of demonstrable sporadic sound changes in kin terms with its Marquesic relatives (Marquesan and Mangarevan). It may share some such changes with Tahitic, but all such cases are indeterminate because the forms concerned are lacking in Marquesan and Mangarevan. This is consistent with comparisons of general vocabulary which suggest that, despite the prominence of Tahiti in the oral history of Hawai'i, Hawaiian remained a language dominated by its Marquesic roots.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports on an examination of Polynesian kin terms from a linguist's point of view. Although some aspects of kinship behaviour are mentioned, the main concern is with the terms themselves, and the overall ancestral terminological system.² Terms of reference are the central concern. Terms of address (vocatives) are mentioned only incidentally. Terms for the following Polynesian protolanguages are reconstructed: Proto Polynesian, Proto Tongic, Proto Nuclear Polynesian, Proto Ellicean, Proto Ellicean Outlier, Proto East Polynesian, Proto Central East Polynesian, Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic.

The results indicate that the Proto Polynesian system had:

¹ This chapter was published much as in the present form (Marck 1996d) except that certain introductory materials are here omitted and there is a great deal rewording for greater clarity. The most significant variances with Marck (1996d) are footnoted. Richard Feinberg, James Fox, Paul Geraghty, Andrew Pawley and Malcolm Ross read and commented upon earlier versions of this paper/chapter and I am deeply indebted to all of them. The present arguments are my own, but they have been shaped by all the above-mentioned people, especially in those parts of the work where personal communication from one or more of them is cited.

A special convention of this chapter is to note definitions as 's.r.' ("same as reconstruction") when they are the same as for the main reconstruction for the table in which they occur.

² Most of the reconstructions to be mentioned below can already be found in *Pollex* (Biggs 1994a). Much of the kin term work there is credited to Ross Clark. But the present work gathers data from a larger range of ethnographic sources, reconstructs more forms and argues the list of reconstructable forms for each protolanguage (rather than just reconstructing to the highest level possible).

(1) One pair of sibling terms that distinguished relative age among same-sex siblings, and another pair that distinguished cross-sex siblings. These were: PPn **tua-fafine* 'man's sister', **tua-ngaqane* 'woman's brother', **tuakana* 'elder same-sex sibling', **tahina* 'younger same-sex sibling' (Clark 1975). Additionally, there were generic terms for cross-sex siblings and same-sex siblings: PPn **kawē* or **weka* 'cross-sex sibling' and **taqo-kete* 'same-sex sibling'.

(2) An absence of special terms for cross- or parallel-cousins, and used sibling terms for all cousins (Firth 1970:281–282). There may have been prefixes to the sibling terms to specify cousins in general, but the sources do not report on this consistently, and reconstruction has not been attempted.

(3) Naming of father's sister (PPn **masaki-tanga*³ 'sick-nominaliser') in apparent reference to her cursing power⁴ over men of the family. Naming of mother's brother as PPn **tuqa-tina*, which together with the father's-sister reconstruction constitute exceptions to the pattern of generational naming of first-ascending-generation consanguines as "father" or "mother".

(4) Naming of a man's sister's child as **qilamutu*, which constitutes the only exception to the generational pattern of naming first-descending-generation consanguines as "child", "son" or "daughter". There is also a form that would reconstruct as PPn ***faka-fotu* 'woman's brother's child', but the evidence is geographically restricted, and the question of whether it was a Proto Polynesian usage is indeterminate.

(5) Differential terms of reference for children on the part of mothers as opposed to fathers in Proto Polynesian.

I embarked on this project with a pronounced sense of trepidation. The trail of exploration toward a theory of early Polynesian, Oceanic, and Austronesian kin term systems has not been straightforward. Several attempts at reconstruction on the part of anthropologists have been found by linguists to be defective. Epling, Kirk, and Boyd's (1973) discussion of the "genetic relations" of Polynesian kinship systems was dismissed on methodological grounds by Clark (1975). Marshall's (1984) central

³ The double asterisk indicates a problematic reconstruction.

conclusions concerning the Proto Oceanic sibling-term system were similarly dismissed by Bender (1984), Blust (1984), Chowning (1984), and Clark (1984). Even Murdock's (1949) widely-cited assertions about the early Malayo-Polynesian kinship system have now been broadly challenged (Blust 1980). In each instance, agreements between languages in critical subgrouping relationships to one another allowed the linguists to demonstrate that the terminological system reconstructed at certain levels by standard methods of comparative linguistics was different from that proposed by anthropologists for the same levels.

Since these criticisms from the linguists, work on early Polynesian, Oceanic, Malayo-Polynesian, and Austronesian kin terms has not flourished as the vibrant intellectual exercise that many of us would like to see. The Oceanic, and especially Polynesian anthropologists, are, perhaps, waiting for a definitive statement of what the linguistic data suggest on their own. Like the linguists, they are actually rather few in number.

A few linguistic contributions have been made or are in progress. Blust (1980) has produced a linguistic analysis of early Austronesian social organisation in which the kinship system was of central concern, and has more recently (Blust 1994) considered Proto Malayo-Polynesian sibling terms and their reconstruction in detail, as did Fox (1994). The Proto Oceanic lexicon project at the Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University, includes work on kin terms that was made available to me. It is hoped that the present report moves the comparative linguistic situation in Polynesia a step forward. The results are given for the various Polynesian protolanguages in Table 8.1 and justified in the sections that follow.

⁴ i.e. PPn **masaki* 'sick' + *-(C)*anga* 'nominaliser'.

TABLE 8.1: KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES

	PPn	PTo	PNP	PEc	PEcO
grandparents	*tupuna	*tupuna	*tupuna	*tupuna	*tupuna
parent	*matuqa	*motuga	*matuqa	*matuqa	*matuqa
parents	*maatuga	*maatuga	*maatuga	*maatuga	*maatuga
father	*tama(na)	*tama(na,i)	*tamana	*tamana	*tamana
mother	*tina(na)	?	*tinana	*tinana	*tinana
mother's brother	*tuqa-tina	*tuqa-tina	*tuqa-tina	*tuqa-tina	**tuqa-tina
father's sister	*masaki-tanga	*masaki-tanga	*masaki-tanga		
elder same-sex sibling	*tuaka(na)	*taqo-kete	*tuakana	*tuakana	
younger same-sex sibling	*tahina	*tehina	*ta(h)ina ¹	*ta(h)ina ¹	*ta(h)ina ¹
woman's brother	*tua-ngaane	*tua-ngaane	*tua-nga(q)ane	*tua-nga(q)ane	*tua-ngaane
man's sister	*tua-fafine	*tu(a,o)-fafine	*tua-fafine	*tua-fafine	*tua-fafine
cross-sex sibling	*kawe or *weka		*kawe	*kawe	*kawe
same-sex sibling	*taqo-kete		*taqo-kete	*taqo-kete	

Notes: 1. A very few PPn *h may have survived in PNP and this may have been one of the words in which this happened. See Chapter 2.3.4 for a discussion of the phonological situation.

TABLE 8.1 (CONT.): KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES

	PEP	PCE	PMq	PTa
grandparents	*tupuna	*tupuna	*tupuna	*tupuna
parent	*matuqa	*matuqa	*matua	*m(a,e)tua
parents	*maatuga	*maatua	*maatua	*maatua
father	*matuqa-(adj.)	*matua-(adj.)	*matua-(adj.)	*m(a,e)tua-taane
mother	*matuqa-(adj.)	*matua-(adj.)	*matua-(adj.)	*m(a,e)tua-wahine
mother's brother				
father's sister				
elder same-sex sibling	*tuakana	*tuakana	*tuakana	*tuakana
younger same-sex sibling	*taina	*taina	*taina	*taina
woman's brother	*tua-nga(q)ane	*tua-ngaane	*tu-ngaane	*tua-ngaane
man's sister	*tua-hine	*tua-hine	*tua-hine	*tua-hine
Unspecified consanguine	*kawe	*kawe	*kawe	*kawe
same-sex sibling				

TABLE 8.1 (CONT.): KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES

	PPn	PTo	PNP	PEc	PEcO
woman's child, esp. son	*tama	*tama	*tama	*tama	*tama
young man			*tama-loa	*tama-loa	**tama-loa
man's son	**fosa	**fosa	**fosa	*ata-liki	**ata-liki
woman's daughter	*tama-qa-fine	*tama-qa-fine	*tama-qa-fine	*tama-qa-fine	*tama-a-fine ¹
man's daughter	**(q)a-fafine	*qo-fafine	*(q)a-fafine	*(q)a-fafine	
man's sister's child	*qilamutu	*qilamutu	*qilaamutu	*qilaamutu	*ilaamutu
firstborn child ²	*qulu-matuga	*qulu-matuga	*qulu-matuga	*(q)ulu-matu(q)a	*ulu-matua
grandchild	*makupuna	*mokopuna	*makupuna	*makupuna	*makupuna
spouse	*qahawana	*q(a,o)hoana	*qaawanga	*qaawanga	*aawanga
husband					
wife					
same-sex sibling-in-law	*maqa	*maqa	*maqa	*maqa	*maqa
child-in-law	*fungaona	*f(i,u)ng(a)ona	*fungaona	*fungaona	*fungaona
parent-in-law	*fungawai	*fungawai	*fungawai	*fungawai	

Notes: "***" - indicates a questionable reconstruction . 1. Man or woman's. 2. Terms for firstborn child and/or son are statuses rather than kin terms but are included in the present work as they are sometimes such an important social role within Polynesian families.

TABLE 8.1 (CONT.): KIN TERMS IN THE POLYNESIAN PROTOLANGUAGES

	PEP	PCE	PMq	PTa
woman's child, esp. son	*tama ¹	*tama ¹	*tama ¹	*tama ¹
young man	*tama-roa ²	*tama-roa ²	*tama-roa ²	*tama-roa ²
man's son	*ata-riki ³	*ata-riki ³	*ata-riki ³	*ata-riki ³
woman's daughter	*tama-(q)a-hine ⁴	*tamaa-hine ⁴	*tamaa-hine ⁴	*tamaa-hine ⁴
man's daughter				
man's sister's child	*(q)iraamutu	*iraamutu	*iraamutu ⁵	*iraamutu
firstborn child		**mata-hiapo	**mata-hiapo	*mata-hiapo
grandchild	*makupuna	*makupuna	*makupuna	*makupuna
spouse				
husband		**taane	**taane	*taane
wife		*wahine	*wahine	*wahine
same-sex sibling-in-law	*ta(q)o-kete	*tao-kete	*to-kete ⁶	*tao-kete
child-in-law	*hungaona	*hungaona	*hungona	*hungaona
parent-in-law	*hungawai	*hungowai	*hungoai	*hungowai

Notes: "***" - indicates a questionable reconstruction . 1. Man or woman's child. 2. Man or woman's son. 3. Firstborn son. 4. Man or woman's. 5. May have meant "cross-sex sibling's child" or may have retained the PPn > PCE meaning. 6. Given as "*ta-kete" in Marck (1996d:Table 1).

8.1.1 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

Total kin terms in each Polynesian locality grade from the most minimal systems in some Ellicean Outlier societies to systems with a larger number of terms in "Futunic" Outliers and Triangle Polynesia. All are "generational." People of the same sex and generation tend to be called by the same term among consanguines.⁵ Granduncles are generally called by the same terms as grandfathers. Parallel aunts and uncles are generally called by the terms for father and mother. Cousins are generally called by the sibling terms. 'Grandchild' always seems to include collaterals and not just one's own grandchildren.⁶

Some elaborations of Polynesian kinship systems that go beyond the mainly generational pattern were reviewed by Firth (1970), as did an inspired and important but unpublished paper by Kuroiwa (1975) in which further commonalities were noted and the findings reconstructed, where appropriate, to Proto Polynesian. Kuroiwa suggested that Proto Polynesian had special terms for 'father's sister', 'man's sister's child', 'mother's brother', 'older same-sex sibling', 'younger same-sex sibling', 'man's sister', and 'woman's brother'. Clark (1975) made those same sibling reconstructions in that same year. The sibling distinctions are fairly well known and are commonly (but not universally) found around Polynesia. Those distinctions, noted by Firth (1970), are now known to have been made in Proto Malayo-Polynesian itself (Blust 1980, 1984, 1994, Fox 1994) and to have continued into Proto Oceanic (Clark 1975, Marshall 1984; see also Bender 1984, Chowning 1984, Clark 1984), and Proto Central Pacific and Proto Polynesian. Additional Proto Polynesian reconstructions are made here for 'same-sex sibling' and 'cross-sex sibling'.

8.1.2 SOURCES

We will be making very few reconstructions not found in Biggs (1994a). But Biggs's semantic reconstructions are generalised, and those that follow are detailed. His semantic reconstruction, for instance, of PPn **tama* is simply 'child', where we will find evidence to reconstruct PPn **tama* 'child of a woman or couple'. Similarly his semantic

⁵ Relatives by blood, as distinguished from "affines", relatives by marriage.

⁶ In some instances, we do not have enough information to say. But in no instance are collaterals said to be excluded from the basic definition of the term involved.

reconstruction for PPn **fafine* is 'woman, female', where we will be interested in the evidence for the more subtle reconstructed meaning of 'wife; wife's sisters and classificatory sisters; brother's wife; women of a man's generation who are not sisters or classificatory sisters' and the question of the highest order protolanguage to which we can reconstruct that sense (which seems to be only Proto Tahitic).⁷

In the search for detailed definitions from the historic societies, many sources have been consulted, most commonly ethnographies and dictionaries. In some instances, numerous sources were consulted, and what is presented in this paper is my own judgment of the most insightful definition coupled with the most reliable spelling. The failure to represent vowel length is the most common problem, as even some dictionaries do not do so, and the ethnographies rarely do. Notes, terms, and definitions from the sources can be found in the kinship database.⁸ Data given in this paper are linked to their sources in the kinship database and, when not from the kinship database, are from Biggs (1994a). The sources used to build the kinship database are found in Table 8.2.

TABLE 8.2: SOURCES UTILISED IN THE KINSHIP DATABASE

Living languages in alphabetical order by lowest level subgroup membership:

- I. Tongic (To)
 - I.1. Niue (Niu): (Loeb 1926, McEwen 1970)
 - I.2. Tonga (Ton): (Gifford 1929:17-9, Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941:72-78, Aoyagi 1966, Decktor Korn 1974, 1978, Rogers 1977, Churchward 1959)
- II. Nuclear Polynesian (NP)
 - II.1. Aniwa (Ani): (Guiart 1961)
 - II.2. Anuta (Anu): (Feinberg 1973, 1977, 1979a, 1979b, 1983, Kaepler 1973)
 - II.3. Bellona (Bel): (Monberg 1976)
 - II.4. East Futuna (EFu): (Burrows 1936:71-80, Moyse-Faurie 1993)
 - II.5. East Uvea (EUv): (Burrows 1937:62-66, Rensch 1984, Bataillon 1932)
 - II.6. Pukapuka (Puk): (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1938:220-263, Hecht 1977, 1979, Mataola et al. 1981, Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1991)
 - II.7. Rennell (Ren): (Hogbin 1931a, Birket-Smith 1956, Elbert 1975)
 - II.8. Taumako (Tau): (Davenport 1968)
 - II.9. Tikopia (Tik): (Firth 1963(1936), 1985)
 - II.10. West Futuna (WFu): (Dougherty 1983, Capell 1960, Capell 1984)

⁷ Biggs's (1994a) reconstructions, many of which are from R. Clark's collaboration on that work, are not often different at all from what is reconstructed here. The main differences are that (1) Biggs' and Clark's reconstructions are made at the highest level possible, whereas those presented here are made at every level possible, (2) their evidence from living languages is generally less complete than what was developed here by reference to a larger number of ethnographic works, and (3) they do not flag PPn and PNP reconstructions as problematic when the main evidence outside Tongic is from Anu and Tik.

⁸ The kinship database is available for viewing and/or copying from an Internet site that has the address: <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/~marck/kinship.htm>.

TABLE 8.2 (CONT.): SOURCES UTILISED IN THE KINSHIP DATABASE

-
- II.11. Ellicean (EC)
 - II.11.1.1. Samoa (Sam): (Mead 1930:126-146, Shore 1976, Pratt 1984(1893), Milner 1993(1966))
 - II.11.1.2. Tokelau (Tok): (Macgregor 1937:45-47, Huntsman 1971, 1979, Huntsman and Hooper 1976, Simona 1986)
 - II.11.2. Ellicean Outliers
 - II.11.2.1. Kapingamarangi (Kap): (Emory 1965:111-118)
 - II.11.2.2. Luangiua (Ontong Java) (Oja): (Hogbin 1931b)
 - II.11.2.3. Nukuoro (Nuk): (Carroll 1973)
 - II.11.2.4. Sikaiana (Sik): (Biggs 1994a)
 - II.11.2.5. Takuu (Tak): Biggs (1994a)
 - II.11.2.6.A. Tuvalu (Tuv) (Vaitupu: Vai): (Kennedy 1931, Besnier 1996)
 - II.11.2.6.B. Tuvalu (Tuv) (Nanumea: Nan): (Ranby 1980, Keith Chambers and Anne Chambers p.c.)
 - II.11.3. East Polynesian (EP)
 - II.11.3.1. Rapa Nui (Easter Island) (Eas): (Metraux 1940:98-101, Churchill 1912, Englert 1938, Fuentes 1960)
 - II.11.3.2. Marquesic (Mq)
 - II.11.3.2.1. Hawai'i (Haw): (Pukui and Elbert 1986)
 - II.11.3.2.2. Mangareva (Mva): (Hiroa 1938:130-140, Tregear 1899, Rensch 1991)
 - II.11.3.2.3. Marquesas (Mqa): (Handy 1923:67-71, Kirkpatrick 1979, Dordillon 1931, 1932)
 - II.11.3.3. Tahitic (Ta)
 - ~~II.11.3.3.1. Rangiroa (N.W. Tuamotus) (Rng): (Ottino 1972)~~
 - II.11.3.3.2. Mangaia (S. Cooks) (Mia): (Hiroa 1934)
 - II.11.3.3.3. Manihiki and Rakahanga (N. Cooks) (Man): (Hiroa 1932a:29-36)
 - II.11.3.3.4. New Zealand Maori (Mao): (Williams 1957)
 - II.11.3.3.5. Rangiroa (N.W. Tuamotus) (Rng): (Ottino 1972)
 - II.11.3.3.6. Rapa (Australis) (Rap): (Hanson 1970)
 - II.11.3.3.7. Rarotonga (S. Cooks) (Rar): (Marshall 1956, Savage 1983(1962))
 - II.11.3.3.8. Tahiti (Tah): (Oliver 1974:688-748, 828-830, Handy 1930:22-24, Hooper 1970, 1976, Andrews and Andrews 1944, Lemaître 1973)
 - II.11.3.3.9. Tongareva (Penrhyn) (N. Cooks) (Pen): (Hiroa 1932b:17-30)
 - II.11.3.3.10. Tuamotus (general) (Tua): (Stimson 1964)
 - II.11.3.3.11. Tubuai (Tub): (Aitken 1930:26-29)
-

The kinship database is a file available for viewing and/or copying over the Internet: <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/~marck/kinship.htm>

8.2 NOTES ON THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF EARLY POLYNESIAN KIN TERMS

We might ask whether Proto Polynesian kin terms occurred within a patrilineal or matrilineal system, both, or neither, or whether there were named descent groups, and so forth. The answers are not readily apparent. Polynesian societies commonly lack rigidly construed clans. The ethnographers have often been loath to call such groups as are encountered "clans" without qualification, because they diverge from classical notions in anthropology of what clans should be. Often they do not call them "clans" at

all, where flexible systems variously called "ambilateral" and "nonunilineal" occur.⁹ Marshall (1983:3–4) mentions something of the history of anthropology that tended to see such Oceanic systems as "fragile," "transient," and "lacking in internal order." Those more familiar with Pacific Island societies know that this is not so, because they understand what those more accustomed to African and other systems once missed: that the land itself is the centre of the system and that identification with that asset systematically emerges from living on it, working it, and participating in decisions surrounding its use and resources.

8.2.1 PPN *KAAINGA 'THE LAND OF A SOCIAL GROUP' AND *KAINANGA 'SOCIAL GROUP'

It is not the purpose of the present work to reconstruct family affiliation or residence rules for Proto Polynesian, and such a reconstruction may be beyond the ability of linguistic methods. Still, we can ask what named components of the ancestral social system might be reconstructed. Clear results were not obtained on this matter, but before moving on to the kin terms themselves, I shall lay out briefly the data and main possibilities concerning the two main terms, PPN **kaainga* and **kainanga*.^{10,11}

PPN **kaainga* probably referred to agricultural and especially residential land of people belonging to a social group, and the dwellings thereon. The word is reflected with those meanings here and there throughout Polynesia and the Outliers. The modern word commonly refers to the inhabitants of such lands in Western Polynesia (including Tuvalu and Tokelau), but this seems to be a Post Proto Ellicean development, and that sense for the word is not known from Niue, the Outliers, or East Polynesia. The people themselves or the social group to which they belong are often called by reflexes of PPN **kainanga*. Pawley (1985:96) reconstructs PPN **kainanga* 'lineage or clan, people acknowledging same ancestor and chief'. I would reconstruct a meaning of 'clan' along with the following secondary senses: 1. 'worshippers or attendants of a deity' (Sam, Ren), 2. 'subjects of a chief' (Ren, PMq), and 3. 'commoners' (Ton, EUv, PMq).

⁹ Although Polynesians themselves often do use the word "clan," because there is no other English word that captures the notion, other than "family" or "extended family."

¹⁰ As with the kin terms, the various spellings and definitions known to me are given and linked to their sources in the kinship database.

¹¹ Green and Kirch (forthcoming) reconstruct more PPN terms for social units but PPN **kainanga* seems to have been the general 'clan' term.

These senses become comprehensible in the context of Polynesian social and religious practices whereby the most commonly worshipped deities were family ancestors, and the most common kind of chief was the ranking male of the kin group (however that group was constructed). Thus if PPn *did* have clans called **kainanga*, it is not difficult to imagine that they were subject to the same chief, and gathered together to worship the same deities under the leadership of that (clan) chief.¹² The 'commoner' sense may have developed over time as the most senior lineages of the **kainanga* came to be remote chiefly people and the old name for the group itself came to refer to the mass of its members who were of common rank.

Biggs (1994a) reconstructs PPn **kainga* 'place of residence, home; people of the place' and PPn **kainanga* 'some social group, perhaps commoners as opposed to aristocracy'. My own more particular definitions and wider evidence for those reconstructions are given in Tables 8.3 and 8.4.^{13,14} As mentioned previously, the 'people of a place' sense for **kainga* is limited to the area from Tonga to Tuvalu and Tokelau, and I do not believe this meaning should be attributed to Proto Polynesian.

¹² Genealogies often go back to first-order anthropomorphic gods or lesser contemporary gods who were rarely worshipped directly. Departed ancestors were the more common object of propitiation, because, in their intermediate position, they were viewed as genealogically closer both to the living people and to the ancestral god, and they were possessed of divine power in their own right, independent of the founding god of the genealogy.

¹³ Those terms as they exist in contemporary Polynesian languages are often suggested by ethnographers to have something to do with food and eating (from PPn **kai* 'to eat'). However, Pawley (1985:96–97) has shown that Proto Oceanic **kai* was a root having to do with people and kinds of people. It seems that these Polynesian forms come from that base rather than the base for 'eat(ing)' (POc **kani* > PPn **kai*). For instance, POc **kani* 'to eat' is found with the nasal in Nuclear Micronesian, a sound that was lost in PPn **-ani-* forms. However, Nuclear Micronesian agrees with PPn **kainanga*, the kin group word, in *not* having a nasal between the first two vowels. Thus a base **kai* and not **kani* must have been involved at the Proto Oceanic level.

¹⁴ Data from languages for which I had no ethnographic sources (kinship database) are from Biggs (1994a) or from dictionaries of those languages.

TABLE 8.3: PPN *KAAINGA 'PLACE, PREMISES, HOUSE AND HOMESTEAD SUCH AS OF A FAMILY AND THE DWELLINGS THEREON'¹

PPN ² * <i>kaainga</i> ³	'place, premises, house and homestead such as of a family and the dwellings thereon'
PTo ¹ * <i>kaainga</i>	's.r.'
Ton <i>kaainga</i>	'relation, relative'
Niu <i>kaina</i>	'premises; house and land adjoining'
PNP ¹ * <i>kaainga</i>	's.r.'
Anu <i>kainga</i>	'home (Yen); not used (Fbg)'
EFu <i>kaaiga</i>	'maison, habitation, famille, parente'
EUv <i>kaaiga</i>	'parent, ami, allie'
Mae <i>kaiga</i>	'yard, home (Clk)'
MFa <i>kaiga</i>	'village, home'
Pil <i>kaena</i>	'village'
Puk <i>kaainga</i>	'sibling of opposite sex; paternal lineage (Bge)'
Ren <i>kaainga</i>	'sleeping place, bed'
Tik <i>kaainga</i>	'village (Fth)'
PEc * <i>kaainga</i>	'land, such as a family might own; the place of that land'
Sam 'aiga	'family, lineage, kin, relatives, home'
Tok <i>kaaiga</i>	'family, relative'
PEcO * <i>kaainga</i>	'land, such as a family might own; the place of that land'
Tuv <i>kaaiga</i>	'family, relative'
Kap <i>keina</i>	'property, division, section of land'
Nuk <i>gainga</i>	'temporary dwelling'
Sik <i>kaaina</i>	'place'
PEP * <i>kaainga</i>	'family land such as one might inherit, esp. the homestead (the land one calls or thinks of as "home")'
Eas <i>kainga</i>	'uterus, womb (Fts); la tierra; pais, isla (Egt)'
PCE * <i>kaainga</i>	'family land such as one might inherit, esp. the homestead (the land one calls or thinks of as "home")'
PMq * <i>kaainga</i>	'land, property, abode'
Haw 'aaina	'land, earth'
Mqa <i>aika</i>	'terre, propriete, domicile, richesses, manoir, foyer domestique'
Mva <i>kaiga</i>	'land, property'
PTa * <i>kaainga</i>	'home and garden, inherited land'
Mao <i>kaainga</i>	'place of abode, country, home'
Mia <i>kainga</i>	'home, residence, house and garden (Chn)'
Pen <i>kaainga</i>	'home'
Rar <i>kaainga</i>	'home land which one owns, place'
Tah <i>aia</i>	'place where one makes his abode, inheritance, portion of land'
Tua <i>kaainga</i>	'homeland, inherited land'.

Notes: 1. Languages and protolanguages are given in the same order as in Table 8.2. The abbreviation 's.r.' marks words whose definition is the same as the main reconstruction of the table. 2. The PPN semantic reconstruction and that of PTo and PNP is based on the agreement of Niu and PEcO. 3. Pre-PPN *(C)a(C)V(C)V often become (C)aa(C)V(C)V in PPN and more often in PNP. This occurred for phonological reasons (Chapter 3.3.4).

From the agreements in Table 8.3, the reconstruction of PPN **kaainga*, it is clear that we can reconstruct the Proto Central East Polynesian, Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic forms and meanings given. The Proto Marquesic and Proto Tahitic senses are reconstructed on the basis of evidence internal to those groups. The Proto Nuclear

Polynesian, Proto Ellicean, Proto East Polynesian and Proto Central East Polynesian senses are reconstructed on the basis of the Proto Tahitic agreement with Pukapukan, Tikopian, and Anutan. On the other hand, we see in Table 8.4 that the PPn 'social group' meaning was carried by **kainanga* as Pawley (1985) argued rather than by **kaainga* as Goodenough (1955) suggested. We see this on the basis of the agreement of Proto Tahitic, Pukapukan, Tikopian, and Anutan with external evidence such as Proto Chuukic (Nuclear Micronesian) **kainanga* 'matrilineal clan'. Note that 'social group' is a term of convenience for the present work. We will not argue precisely what kind of social group it was, but simply note that such groups seem to have had a name from Proto Polynesian times that continued into all the major subgroups other than Ellicean Outlier. It seems commonly to have been lost in "Futunic" Outliers, but does *not* seem a late prehistoric introduction to Tikopian and Anutan by way of East Uvean and Tongan influence, as the semantics are distinct. Although internal evidence is equivocal for the highest level Polynesian protolanguages, the cognates in Micronesia make local innovations (to the same form and general meaning) seem less likely.

Goodenough (1955:77–78) noted the agreement of Micronesian Kiribati¹⁵ *kainga* to the Proto Polynesian **kaainga* as regular and indicative of inheritance from a common ancestral form, but I consider the Kiribatese form a likely borrowing from Polynesian on distributional grounds. Aside from Kiribati, the *kainga* form seems otherwise absent in Micronesia, and it does not seem so clearly a variant of *kainanga* as Goodenough (1955:77) suggested. The Kiribati definition of *kainanga* is also suspiciously identical to much of Western Polynesia: 'a nonunilineal descent group based on parental residence', and contrasts with the exogamous matrilineal clans of the rest of Nuclear Micronesian speaking groups.

¹⁵ Kiribati: the former Gilbert Islands. Immediately north of Tuvalu, its language is riddled with loans from a Polynesian source closely resembling Samoan or Tuvalu (Marck 1975) and the oral traditions of the group recall only coming from Samoa (Grimble 1989:255).

TABLE 8.4: PPN *KAINANGA 'SOCIAL GROUP'

Proto Chuukic (MC) * <i>kainanga</i>	'exogamous matrilineal clan'
PPn * <i>kainanga</i>	'social group'
PTo * <i>kainanga</i>	(semantics indeterminate: probably referred to a social group)
Ton <i>kainanga</i>	'populace, people without chiefly rank (Cwd)'
Niu ¹ (<i>mata-</i>) <i>kainanga</i>	'a man's brother, a woman's sister (McE)'
PNP * <i>kainanga</i>	'social group'
Anu <i>kainanga</i>	'clan (the closest thing to a group whose membership is based, strictly on descent (patrilineal))'
EUv ² <i>kainanga</i>	'people not of chiefly rank'
Puk <i>keinanga</i>	'maternal sub-lineage in a grouping of maternal lineages (Bge)'
Ren <i>kainanga</i>	'worshipper of a deity, subject of a chief, devotee, servant'
Tik <i>kainanga</i>	'a kind of non-exogamous patrilineal clan'
PEc * <i>kainanga</i>	'social group'
Sam <i>ainaga</i>	'1. child given to the gods of chief 2. attendants and ministers of, the <i>aitu</i> (spirits, gods)' (P.) (irregular: initial glottal stop expected)
PEP *(<i>mata-</i>) <i>kainanga</i>	'social group'
PCE * <i>mata-kainanga</i>	'social group'
PMq * <i>mata-kainanga</i>	'people (in general), subjects (of people in power), commoner'
Mqa <i>mata-'eina'a, mata-'einana</i>	'people, gens, sujets; suite (people, subjects (as to a sovereign); retinue'
Mva <i>mata-keinaga</i>	'assembly, a congregation of persons'
Haw <i>maka-'aainana</i>	'commoner, populace, people in general; citizen, subject. <i>Lit.</i> , people that attend the land'
PTa * <i>mata-k(a,e)inanga</i>	'a land and the clan, sub-clan that owns it'
Tah <i>mata-'eina'a</i>	'district (la campagne) (Mte)'
	'1. higher order, ramage, 2. district in which the ramage is located (Pawley 1985:97)'
Rar <i>mata-keinanga</i>	'settlement, inhabitants of a district or, neighbourhood (Bse)'
Tua <i>mata-keinanga</i>	'division of an army; a lands division; a sub-clan'.

Notes: 1. Marked "not counted as cognate" by Biggs (1994a), possibly due to the semantic distance, the possibility of independent development or the fact that it has the *mata-* prefix otherwise known only from East Polynesian and may be a borrowing. 2. Semantics suggest borrowing from Ton.

The forms **kainanga* and **kainga* clearly have distinct histories in Polynesia. It is only from Tonga to Tokelau/Tuvalu that the former term was lost and replaced by the latter (which retained its old meaning as well). Pawley (1985:96–97) shows that both seem to derive from a POc base **kai(n)* "meaning something like 'person'."¹⁶ PPN *-(*Ca*)*nga* was a common noun-deriving suffix and is seen in both PPN **kainga* and **kainanga*. According to Pawley's (1985:97) arguments, **kainanga* is an old form,

because it retains the Proto Oceanic final consonant and was derived by **-anga* rather than **-nga*. Applying the same logic, PPn **kainga* developed later, after the loss of the final consonant, possibly in Proto Polynesian itself. Because these phonological observations suggest that **kainanga* developed in early Oceanic, we can support Goodenough's (1955) original interpretation,¹⁷ that is, that Nuclear Micronesian and Polynesian have descendants of this form due to common ancestry, and that it was used to name some kind of kin group. Forms regularly agreeing with an early MC **kainanga* 'matrilineal clan' occur in Chuukic (Bender et al. 1983), and there are also matrilineal clans in Pohnpei, the Marshalls, and Kosrae,¹⁸ Pohnpeian having an irregularly agreeing form *keinek*.¹⁹ But we hold **kainga* to be distinct and uniquely Polynesian, but for the Kiribatese borrowing.

That is more or less the limit of what linguistic analysis has to offer regarding the forms the two words had in Proto Polynesian, and we are left with Goodenough's (1955:78) original question of how **kainanga* were constituted in the ancestral society.²⁰ He thought the solution might be to suggest an ancestral affiliation system like Kiribati (the Gilberts) "which was derived from parental residence where the residence rule was bilocal" and that "in those societies shifting to regular patrilocal residence, the group automatically became patrilineal. Where matrilineal residence became the rule, the group became equally automatically matrilineal" (Goodenough 1955:78).

The evidence now suggests that the **kainanga* in Proto Nuclear Micronesian meant specifically 'matrilineal clan', and probably 'exogamous matrilineal clan'. The modern term in Pukapuka also refers to matrilineal lineages. While it is possible that this represents a relic of the original sense in Proto Polynesian, Pukapuka also has patrilineal lineages and bilateral kin groups (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1938:219–

¹⁶ Where the ethnographic sources commonly relate it to the word for 'eat' (PPn **kai*), if they speculate about the origin of the form.

¹⁷ Albeit erroneously tied to **kainga* rather than **kainanga*.

¹⁸ The names of many of the clans themselves are cognate through that whole area and constitute, perchance, some of the oldest family names in the nonliterate world. Such agreement of clan names within Polynesia seems lacking except, perhaps, among a few "Futunic" Outliers. (This is an impressionistic statement, for I have not attempted to organise those materials. However, I noticed no agreements when working with related materials, and none have been previously noted in the literature.)

¹⁹ ***keineng* is expected.

²⁰ Which was: "Clearly there was some kind of descent group associated with land in the society from which both Polynesian and Micronesian peoples are jointly descended. But how in the course of history

233). The cautious linguist is loath to attribute a precise semantic reconstruction to Proto Polynesian on the basis of the Pukapukan agreement with Micronesian in the context of what seem fluid kin group concepts in Polynesia. Rather, I think the ravages of time have worn down the agreements to a point where we cannot offer a more specific reconstruction than Pawley's (1985:96) Proto Polynesian semantic reconstruction of 'lineage or clan'. Whether to reconstruct it as patrilineal, matrilineal, nonunilineal, ambilineal, or something else seems beyond the linguistic evidence which remains at this time and must be argued by the social anthropologists on other grounds. In response to Marck (1996d) they have begun to do so, Hage (1998:189) suggesting that, on the basis of the terms considered immediately below, the PPn **kainanga* were "almost certainly unilineal... and probably patrilineal rather than matrilineal." Surely there will be other opinions over time.

8.2.2 THE FATHER'S SISTER, THE MOTHER'S BROTHER, AND THE MAN'S SISTER'S CHILD

Before proceeding to consider Polynesian kin terms by generation I will consider PPn **qilamutu* 'man's sister's child',²¹ **masaki-tanga* 'father's sister', and **tuqa-tina* 'mother's brother', terms that constitute elaborations to the mainly generational system. Kuroiwa (1975) reconstructs these three terms and discusses the first and third in detail. That work is unpublished and remains the only source for the forms other than Biggs (1994a), which is cryptic and also unpublished.

In Tonga, a man's sister's children (*'ilamutu*) have special licence whereby they may appropriate the portable property of the mother's brother (*tu'asina*), take possession of gifts given to him at weddings, and exercise other privileges that tested the mother's brother's generosity (Gifford 1929:23). There is a word for this license, *fahu*, which Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1941:74) define more or less as "one who is above the law" and "the nature of the relationship between *'ilamutu* and their *tu'asina*." Rogers (1977:167–168) reports on Tongan *fahu* practices at a later point in time, and makes certain clarifications. This practice and the word for it are matched throughout Fiji

could this ancestral descent group come to be nonunilinear in some places and unilinear in others? And where it is unilinear, how could it become patrilineal here and matrilineal there?"

²¹ Kuroiwa (1975) and Biggs (1994a) reconstruct a long second vowel for PPn. I do not, for reasons explained in Chapter 3.3.4. It is a part of a larger problem of the interpretation of a lengthening process that affected antepenultimate **a* in NP more than To (and therefore, I argue, not always PPn).

(*vasu*). The word and custom together are not found elsewhere in Polynesia, except in East Uvea, where the *fahu* privilege is "restricted to members of one lineage related to that of the king" (Burrows 1937:63); East Futuna, where the word is *vasu*²² and the custom is a prerogative, not of all men's sister's children, but of all male relatives of the king, and applies only to food brought for distribution to a feast (Burrows 1936:72); and in the Marquesas where *pahupahu* means "parents' cross-sex siblings and their spouses" (Handy 1923:68).²³

Elsewhere in Polynesia, the mother's-brother/sister's-child relationship is marked by ritual relations whereby the mother's brother has ceremonial rights and obligations toward the sister's children. The relationship is characterised by affection of the child for the uncle rather than licence. For example, Firth's (1963:200–206) description of the relationship in Tikopia centres around ritual connections where the *tuatina* is the *iramutu*'s sponsor in certain rites of passage and is the principal in the burial of an *iramutu* who precedes him in death, while the *iramutu* is the principal in the burial of a *tuatina* in the more common circumstance of the *tuatina* preceding the *iramutu* in death.

Hogbin describes the situation in Ontong Java as one in which the mother's brother "owes it to his sister's son to see that he does not lack anything with which he can provide him." He

is on the best of terms with his sister's children and they look upon him as an indulgent relative who assists them whenever they require it. He may, if he wishes, take an active share in their education, and frequently he teaches them religious formulae that their own father does not happen to know. It is not perhaps regarded as strictly the mother's brother's duty to provide for his sister's children when their father is poor, but it is thought highly desirable that he should do so, and he is liable to be regarded by the community as mean if he does not. Sometimes he actually adopts them into his own joint family. When such an adoption occurs, we have an exception to the normal rule of patrilineal descent (Hogbin 1931a:417).

Far away in East Polynesia, the relationship is echoed in the Marquesas, but there extended to the children of all cross-sex siblings:

²² PPn *fVs- > EFu vVs-.

²³ Marck (1996d) did not recognize the Mqa cognate and this paragraph ended with the erroneous suggestion that: "Given the long history of contact between Tonga and Fiji, it seems likely the word and surrounding customs were borrowed by Tongans from Fiji, with East Uveans and East Futunans also

The cross relationships were among the most interesting features in the native system. There was a close ceremonial bond between every child and the father's sisters (*tuehine*) and brothers-in-law (*toete*) and the mother's brothers (*tunane*) and sisters-in-law (*toete*), all of whom were called by the child his *pahupahu*. They in turn spoke of the child as their *i'amutu*. Ceremonially the bond between *pahupahu* and *i'amutu* was closer than that between parents and children (Handy 1923:68).

Kuroiwa (1975) mentioned that many Polynesian languages reflect **masakitanga* 'father's sister', but he did not give evidence or discuss the possible content of the role as he did for 'mother's brother' or 'man's sister's child'. Biggs (1994a) does not yet include the reconstruction in his materials. Evidence was developed here for Kuroiwa's reconstruction, but its origin was not immediately clear to me. Pawley (personal communication) suggests that the form almost certainly comes from PPn **masaki* 'sick' + **-Canga* 'nominaliser' and relates to the common cursing power of the father's sister over her brothers and his children.²⁴ Subsequently, I found specific reference to such powers of the father's sister for Tonga (Rogers 1977:162–163), Samoa (Mead 1930:137, 139–146), Tokelau (Huntsman and Hooper 1976), and Tikopia (Firth 1963:197, 207–208).²⁵ Aside from her cursing powers, there are often clear statements about the elevated rank and status of the father's sister around Western Polynesia and for Tikopia. This may continue some pre-Polynesian institutions (cf. Rivers 1910) and seems to have been a feature of Proto Polynesian society. Possibly it was abandoned in East Polynesia as part of the general relaxation of constraints in the relations of cross-sex siblings. Douaire-Marsandon (1996) has recently reviewed the matter for Tonga. Here we are simply concerned with the reconstruction of terminologies and the general reasons for why certain terms may have existed beyond the generational core. The evidence for the reconstruction is discussed in some detail in Chapter 8.3.2.4 on first-ascending-generation consanguines (see Table 8.17).

borrowing the word and elements of the practices associated with it, either directly from Fiji, or by way of Tonga." I now consider the Mqa word regularly descended from PPn, PNP, PEc, PEP, PCE and PMq.

²⁴ As Rogers (1977:163 fn. 23) mentions in relation to personal communication from R. Clark.

²⁵ Beaglehole and Beaglehole (1938:237–239) and Hecht (1977:196–199) relate a custom on Pukapuka that seems unique in Polynesia, whereby the *mayakitanga* is a "sacred maid," secluded, celibate, and a symbol of the burial lineage. Rather than a father's sister, she was more often the lineage chief's eldest daughter (Hecht 1977:196).

8.3 TERMS FOR CONSANGUINES

The organisation of the following subsections is by generation. The data cited in support of the reconstructions in the various datasets come from the kinship database, wherein the data are linked to their sources.

8.3.1 CONSANGUINES OF THE GRANDPARENTS' GENERATION (-2)

8.3.1.1 PPN *TUPUNA 'GRANDPARENT'

The 'grandparent' term, PPN **tupuna*, follows the pattern of many Proto Polynesian kin terms: it has added the Proto Oceanic third person singular possessive marker to an old root, POc **tubu* in this case. Many other Proto Polynesian kinship terms show the same addition, as seen in Table 8.5. Tables 8.6–8 give the reconstructions for 'grandparent', 'grandfather', and 'grandmother'.

TABLE 8.5: THE COMMON ADDITION OF PPN *-NA TO KINSHIP TERMS.

	grandparent	father	mother	child-in-law	grandchild
POc	* <i>tubu</i>	* <i>tama</i>	* <i>tina</i>	* <i>pungao</i>	* <i>makubu</i>
PCP	* <i>tupu</i>	* <i>tama</i>	* <i>tina</i>	* <i>vungao</i>	* <i>makubu</i>
PPn	* <i>tupuna</i>	* <i>tama(na)</i>	* <i>tina(na)</i>	* <i>fungaona</i>	* <i>makupuna</i>

TABLE 8.6: PPN *TUPUNA 'GRANDPARENT'

PPn **tupuna* 'grandparent', PTo **tupuna* 's.r.¹', Niu *tupuna* 's.r.', PNP **tupuna* 's.r.', Anu *tupuna* 's.r.', Anu (var.) *tapuna* 's.r.', Bel *tupuna* 's.r.', EFu *tupuna* 's.r.', Puk *tupuna* 's.r.', Ren *tupuna* 's.r.', Tik *tapuna* 's.r.', PEc **tupuna* 's.r.', Tok *tupuna* 's.r.', PEO **tupuna* 's.r.', Oja *kipunga* 's.r.', Vai *tupuna* 's.r.', PEP **tupuna* 's.r.', Eas *tupuna* 's.r.', PCE **tupuna* 's.r.', PMq **tupuna* 's.r.', Haw *kupuna* 's.r.', Mqa *tupuna* 's.r.', Mva *tupuna* 's.r.', PTa **tupuna* 's.r.', Man *tupuna* 's.r.', Mia *tupuna* 's.r.', Pen *tupuna* 's.r.', Rap *tupuna* 'great-grandparent', Rar *tupuna* 's.r.', Rng *tupuna* 's.r.', Tah *tupuna* 's.r.', Tub *tupuna* 's.r.'

Notes: 1. "s.r." is used in the tables of this chapter to refer to "same meaning as for main reconstruction".

There are no other reconstructable terms for the "grandparent" and ascending generations for Proto Polynesian although there are for some East Polynesian protolanguages. These are mentioned after the materials on terms for "grandfather" and "grandmother".

TABLE 8.7: POLYNESIAN TERMS FOR "GRANDFATHER"

PPN,¹ PTo,² Niu³ *tupuna taane* 'grandfather', Ton (*kui*) 'grandparent', PNP **tupuna tangata* 's.r.', Anu *tapuna tangata* 's.r.', EFu *tupuna tangata* 's.r.', EUv⁴ (*kui*) *tagata* 's.r.', Puk⁵ *tupuna tane* 's.r.', Ren *tupuna tangata* 's.r.', Tik *pu tangata* 's.r.', PEc **tupuna tangata* 's.r.', PEcO **tupuna tangata* 's.r.', Vai *tupuna tangata* 's.r.', PEP⁶ **tupuna* (adj.), PCE⁷ **tupuna* (adj.), PMq⁸ **tupuna* (adj.), Haw *kupuna kaane* 's.r.', Mqa *tupuna (ahana)* 's.r.', PTa **tupuna taane* 's.r.', Man *tupuna tane* 's.r.', Mia *tupuna tane* 's.r.', Rar *tupuna taane* 's.r.', Tah *tupuna taane* 's.r.', Tua *tupuna taane* 's.r.', Tub *tupuna tane* 's.r.'

Notes: 1. Indeterminate due to lack of agreement between Ton and PNP and possibility of borrowing from EP in Niu. 2. Indeterminate due to lack of agreement between Ton and Niu and possibility of borrowing from EP in Niu. 3. Possible borrowing from EP. 4. "Grandparent" word borrowed from Ton. 5. Not counted as cognate (Biggs 1994a) possibly due to chance of East Polynesian loan, c.f. Clark (1980) and Chapter 4.3.4. 6. Indeterminate adjective due to lack of agreement between Eas and PTa or PMq and lack of agreement of any of them with external evidence. 7. Indeterminate adjective due to lack of agreement between PTa and PMq or either with external evidence. 8. Indeterminate adjective due to lack of agreement between Haw and Mqa and possibility of Haw borrowing from Ta.

Proto Nuclear Polynesian, Proto Ellicean, Proto Ellicean Outlier, and Proto Tahitic terms for 'grandfather' are reconstructed in Table 8.7 above. No complete "grandfather" term can be reconstructed to Proto Polynesian, Proto Tongic, Proto East Polynesian, Proto Central East Polynesian or Proto Marquesic due to various critical failures to agree, especially in Tongic, Marquesic and Rapanui. The Niuean agreement with Tahitic could be an independent development or borrowing from East Polynesian. On the other hand, 'grandmother' was clearly **tupuna fafine* in all the protolanguages other than Proto Tongic (where the pronunciation was **tupuna fefine*)(Table 8.8).

TABLE 8.8: PPN **TUPUNA FAFINE* 'GRANDMOTHER'

PPn **tupuna fafine* 'grandmother', PTo **tupuna fefine* 's.r.', Niu *tupuna fifine* 's.r.', PNP **tupuna fafine* 's.r.', Anu *tupuna papine* 's.r.', EFu *tupuna fafine* 's.r.', EUv¹ (*kui*) *fafine* 's.r.', Puk *tupuna wawine* 's.r.', Ren *tupuna hahine* 's.r.', Tik *pu fine* (*pu+fine*) 's.r.', PEc **tupuna fafine* 's.r.', PEcO **tupuna fafine* 's.r.', Vai *tupuna fafine* 's.r.', PEP **tupuna fafine* 's.r.', PCE **tupuna fafine* 's.r.', PMq **tupuna fafine* 's.r.', Haw *kupuna wahine* 's.r.', Mqa *tupuna vehine* 's.r.', PTa **tupuna wahine* 's.r.', Man *tupuna wahine* 's.r.', Mia *tupuna va'ine* 's.r.', Rar *tupuna va'ine* 's.r.', Tah *tupuna vahine* 's.r.', Tua *tupuna (mukuahine)* 's.r.', Tub *tupuna vahine* 's.r.'

Notes: 1. "Grandparent" word borrowed from Ton.

In all instances where the sources have commented on the issue, **tupuna* reflexes translate most generally as 'grandparents and ancestors of higher generations along with collaterals of grandparents' and higher generations'. Specifications of which generation or line is involved are made by stating 'father's father's brother' or whatever the exact relationship is.²⁶

²⁶ The sources commonly relate that this is how Polynesians specify exact relationships (e.g., Mead 1930:126). It can be a bit amusing when they seem to imply that English is able to accomplish such tasks with greater ease. Mead provides an example: "endless circumlocutory phrases are resorted to" being her

8.3.1.2 (GREAT)-GREAT-GRANDPARENTS

There is an exact agreement between Hawaiian and Manihiki concerning the naming of great and great-great-grandparents, and a partial agreement between these and Tongan, as can be seen in Table 8.9.

TABLE 8.9: A FEW GREAT-GRANDPARENT TERMS OF THE "SECOND", "THIRD" GRANDPARENT TYPE.

	great-grandparent	great-great-grandparent
Ton	<i>kui'-ua</i>	<i>kui-tolu</i>
Man	<i>tupuna tua-rua</i>	<i>tupuna tua-teru</i>
Haw	<i>kupuna kua-lua</i>	<i>kupuna kua-kolu</i>

PPn **kui* 'elderly or barren female' (Biggs 1994a).

The final morphemes in each construction are the numbers 'two' in the case of the **rua* reflexes, and 'three' in the case of the **tolu* reflexes. Thus the constructions translate freely as 'second grandparent' and 'third grandparent', and literally so in the cases of Manihiki and Hawaiian (PPn **tuqa* 'ordinalising prefix'). Fijian has similar constructions (*tubu-vaka-rua*, *tubu-vaka-tolu*). Sources for other languages are often vague at this level, incomplete, or state flatly that the local **tupuna* form refers to grandparents and all higher order ancestors. The result in each instance is an absence of further agreeing forms. The simple addition of 'second' or 'number two' qualifiers could easily have occurred independently, and distributional evidence suggests this is possible in the case of Hawaiian and Manihiki, for there is a competing East Polynesian form.

The competing reconstruction involves the agreements of a number of East Polynesian language compounds involving reflexes of PPn **sina* > PNP > PEc > PEcO, PEP > PCE **sina* 'grey hair' (see Table 8.10). The term may have referred to the color of hair of the senior generations, or **faka-sina* 'to make grey' may have been an early Central East Polynesian idiom having to do with grandchildren (e.g., NZ Maori *whaka-hina* 'poetical expression for grandchildren'). The situation is confused by the more common contemporary use of these terms for great- and great-great-grandchildren around East Polynesia. Possibly there was a term that developed around the senior generations, became a reciprocal term, and then came to be more commonly used in

words, but in fact English is no better equipped to exactly specify "the sister of the father of my mother" (one of her examples) than the typical Polynesian language. All English consistently does "better" than a typical Polynesian system is to distinguish lineals from collaterals. However, the context of such remarks on the part of such authors was the existence of the relatively "exact" systems being discovered in Africa, North America, and Australia.