

4.3.0. FEATURES OF AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES IN THE NEW GUINEA AREA IN GENERAL IN CONTRAST WITH OTHER AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF MELANESIA

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following abbreviations are used in this chapter:

AN	Austronesian
CNH	Central New Hebridean (or - Hebrides)
EIN	Eastern Indonesia(n)
EO	Eastern Oceanic
IN	Indonesia(n)
NAN	Non-Austronesian
NC	New Caledonia(n)
NGAN	New Guinea Austronesian
NNH	Northern New Hebridean (or - Hebrides)
NS	Northern Solomons
OC	Oceanic
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PEA	Proto-Eastern Austronesian
PEO	Proto-Eastern Oceanic
PN	Polynesia(n)
PNG	Papua New Guinea
POC	Proto-Oceanic
PPN	Proto-Polynesian
SEP	South-Eastern Papua
SES	South-Eastern Solomonian (or - Solomons)
SNC	Southern New Caledonia(n)
SNH	Southern New Hebridean (or - Hebrides)
WAN	Western Austronesian
WS	Western Solomons

4.3.0. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In the present context, "Melanesia" is used as a geographical term, including the whole of New Guinea, the islands eastwards to and including Fiji, but excluding Polynesia. There are some features of Micronesian languages which are relevant, and reference is made from time to time to various languages within the political unit of Indonesia, of which western New Guinea is now part.

Although there may be a typical "Austronesian" linguistic structure as against, say, Australian or Mon-Khmer, this structure is not a complete unity. There are sub-structures which it is the business of this chapter to describe. Questions of lexicon must be touched on even though the title of the chapter stresses structure, for the Austronesian (AN) content of the vocabularies is also a feature of the languages.

The features to be examined are therefore four in number:

1. phonetic
2. syntactic
3. morphological
4. lexical

The only attempt as yet (on any large scale and backed by scientific method) is that of Andrew Pawley (Pawley 1972), backed by his later paper (Pawley 1973).

Pawley's "Proto-Eastern Oceanic" (PEO) is subdivided into subgroups as follows:

1. South-east Solomonian
 - (a) Guadalcanal-Nggelic (Nggela, Bugotu, Vaturanga and Inakona)
 - (b) Cristobal-Malaitan (Arosi, Fagani, Kwara'ae, Lau, Oroha, Sa'a)
2. North Hebridean-Central Pacific
 - (a) Northern New Hebridean-Banks (Tolomako, Maewo, Nogugu, Oba, Raga North, Tangoa, Tasiriki; Lakon, Merlav, Mota, Volow)
 - (b) Central New Hebridean (Baki, Tasiko, Nguna, Sesake, Aulua?)
 - (c) Central Pacific (Fijian, Proto-Polynesian (PPN)).

While PEO thus covers a fairly wide area of the Pacific, it is clear that there are large parts still not accounted for. They are provisionally grouped as Proto-Oceanic (POC) or simply "Oceanic" (OC). The present chapter has the purpose of setting out differences in the POC field from PEO and to a certain extent also in the various subgroupings of POC that may emerge.

The areas of Oceania which are not included in PEO are the following:

1. Western Austronesian (WAN).
2. New Guinea Austronesian (NGAN) including the neighbouring islands - Admiralty Islands, New Ireland, New Britain and their dependencies.
3. Northern Solomons (NS) - Buka and Northern Bougainville.
4. Austronesian languages of northern Bougainville.
5. Santa Cruz area languages.
6. Languages of New Caledonia (NC).
7. Such parts of the New Hebrides as are not classed as PEO, viz.,
 - 7a. Southern islands of Aneityum, Tanna and Eromanga.
 - 7b. Eastern Malekula (including the Aulua queried by Pawley).
 - 7c. Some parts of Santo, especially Sakau and the east coast.

The Polynesian outliers, Mae, Mele, Fila, Aniwa, Futuna, are excluded from the present chapter as being Polynesian.

The fact that WAN is not part of PEO is obvious, almost by definition. The problem that has long engaged Oceanic linguists is the question of where "Indonesian" finishes and "Oceanic" begins.

This chapter will discuss the subdivisions on a regional basis in most of its considerations, but there are some subjects which are best treated as features of these languages in contrast to PEO. One such feature is retention of final Proto-Austronesian (PAN) consonants, which is fairly widespread apart from subgroups.

4.3.1. GENERAL FACTS

The first section of this paper will consider some facts which are independent of region and so may be called general. These include sound systems, syllable structure and final consonant retention.

4.3.1.1. SOUND SYSTEMS

Pawley accepts the sound system proposed by Biggs (1965) as representative of Eastern Oceanic in general and of PEO (Pawley 1972:24). This shows certain coalescences of PAN sounds, some at least of which were already presupposed by Stresemann (1927) as the basis for the Seran-Ambon languages. The resultant alphabet shows voiced and voiceless stops coinciding: *p and *b become p; *mp and *mb become mp, *d and *D become d while *nd and *nD become nd; the sibilants coalesce: *s, *z, *c, *j become s, and the nasal combination ns represents *ns, *nz, *ñc, and *nj; *k and *g become k, and the nasal combinations *nk and *ng become nk; *m remains, but *n and *ñ become n; *h becomes ø, but *w, *q, *R and perhaps *y remain. In addition he proposes two

labiovelars, ηm and ηp , orthographically mw and pw in the modern languages.

For the non-PEO languages this is not quite satisfactory, but they would seem to fit in with Stresemann's sound system to a very large degree. In fact, many Oceanic word forms are precisely the same as those found in Eastern Indonesia; the prevailing word for *canoe*, *waka*, is already found in Eastern Indonesian (EIN) as the normal shape; Pawley maintains $*wa\eta ka(\eta)$ largely on the basis of Fijian where the word is *waga*. But as all voiced stops in Fijian are regularly prenasalised (mb , nd and ng are the only phonetic possibilities in Bau Fijian), should it not rather be $*waga$, becoming by regular phonetic rule in Fijian *waga*; the POC form of the root would then naturally be $*waga$, which is the actual form also in some of the more westerly languages, e.g. South-Eastern Papua (SEP).

It would seem that Pawley's PEO sound system is too far advanced (if the term may be used) for POC in general; fewer coalescences had taken place at the earlier stage. Similarly, $*R$ is fairly stable in POC, as witness e.g. Numfor *wa:r water*. Salawati forms such as *wayer* are much closer to PAN $*wayer$ than Polynesian (PN) *wai*, which is also the PEO root of the word.

4.3.1.2. SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

One outstanding feature of PEO is the comparative rarity of syllable final consonants, and still more of word final consonants. While such structures are common enough in WAN, the PEO languages largely appear to avoid them (Pawley 1972:7). The fact that the languages of the Banks Islands do not do this may perhaps argue for their comparative antiquity or at least for a certain conservatism on their part. Certain features of structure, however, do argue for antiquity. Pawley remarks at some length on syllable structure as a factor in establishing phonemic evidence for Eastern Oceanic. There he says:

The only phonological evidence which I have been able to find differentiating PEO from POC consists of the loss of a final consonant or consonant plus vowel in a small group of PEO bases. In each case the base concerned is one reconstructed as ending in a consonant in PAN. As a general rule, PAN final consonants disappear in POC. There are two sorts of exceptions. One category consists of certain transitive verbs in which a final consonant is retained before a transitive suffix, and in fact can be considered part of the suffix, but is lost in all other contexts. The other category consists of noun and intransitive verb bases in which the PAN final consonant is retained in all contexts; in some Oceanic languages this final consonant is supported by a following vowel which usually harmonizes with that preceding the consonant. (Pawley 1972:7)

This is practically a statement of what will be said here in the next few paragraphs, and cannot be controverted. It seems a little unsatisfactory to say that the original final consonant of the stem can be considered part of the suffix; surely this could never be correct. A consonant cannot so dissociate itself from a stem that it belongs to the next morpheme added! Pawley goes on to mention Capell (1971) as providing further discussion on final consonant retention in POC, the reference being to Capell 1971:300-3. It is as well therefore to pass to this subject immediately.

4.3.1.3. FINAL CONSONANT RETENTION

In his discussion of final consonant retention, Pawley (1972:9) gives as examples *enem six*; *ikan fish*; *lumut moss*; *manuk bird*; *quzan rain*; *kulit skin*; *tolur egg*; *papan plank*; *puna root*; *qazan name* as examples. These are by no means a full list, of course. The retention of such final consonants is an outstanding feature of NC and Southern New Hebridean (SNH), and examples will be given below. Pawley lists areas in which this retention feature is found, viz., many languages of Papua New Guinea, Western Solomons, New Caledonia, "and in at least some languages of the north coast of New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland and Southern New Hebrides". He recognises this phenomenon as a differentiating feature, saying, "On these grounds, then, a large proportion of the languages belonging to the Oceanic subgroup can be excluded from Eastern Oceanic". It is clear that retention of final consonants is an important matter in the process of classification. It must also point to a comparatively early period of language movement, for any consonant retained in the SNH must have been present in the particular stage of the proto-language which lies behind these languages.

The retention areas seem to correspond more or less to the geographical regions of south-eastern Papua, northern Solomons, and western Solomons, although not wholly so. There are lacunae in SEP, e.g. the Suau and Motu regions, a separate subgrouping in SEP (Capell 1943). So there are in the retention areas. There are also clear boundaries. The retention area stops at the western Solomon Islands boundary in the centre of Ysabel Island, and reappears in SNH and southern New Caledonia. Its north-western boundary is also fairly clear. In the Rabaul (Tuna or Tolai) region it is present but not in the rest of New Ireland, although the loss of final syllables is observable resulting in e.g. **manuk bird* > *man* as against Banoni *manuyu*, *mana?u*. The New Guinea north coast as a whole represents one of these "shortening" areas which rules it out from the retention area. Each area has its characteristic

word shapes, e.g. *ikan *fish* > retention areas *ikana- but other areas *ian. There seems to be always loss of *-k- in this case. Also *manuk *bird* > retention area *manugu, but loss area *manu, *man. In this case there is never any loss of the middle consonant so that *mau results. /k/ seems to be weaker than /n/.

In some languages final -*C is not permitted, and here such forms as manu or man may appear. Certain consonant losses seem to go along with this -*C loss, e.g. possessive 1.sg. -ku, -u, while the retention area forms often have -ku, -gu. Mota allows -*C; *my father* is na tama-k. Fijian does not allow -*C; *my father* is na tama-ŋgu or in some dialects tama-ku. In New Guinea a language such as Malol allows -*C and has ama-k *my father*.

It thus appears that although the process of -*C retention may seem to be sporadic, certain other phenomena are linked with its presence or absence. The uncertain or "mixed" position of some languages also becomes noticeable when the phonetic phenomena are taken into account. Yakumul (Meyer 1932) eo *I* < *aku with consonant loss in the -*k-; *i wood* < *kayu, along with the presence of -*C in the group; the related Suain *it we* < *kita; *rum house* < ru(ŋ)maq; *djal road* < *Zalan. Sometimes a group of languages which show these phenomena may also share common non-Austronesian (NAN) roots, such as *wiyar *good* in Manus, cf. Suain *hjin*; or *ruvei > *taboi give*; *pwayi *speak*, cf. Sio *poro say*.

At the same time some of the correspondences seem to be closer to PAN than might be expected from the generally "broken down" type of the words. Words that illustrate this shortness are, e.g., *sun* PAN *a(n)daw > Sisano, Malol *arau* but Sori *yau*, contrast Bel, Swit *ad*.

Some roots receive a distinctive treatment in the two areas, e.g. PAN *binay, *babinay *woman*: the longer forms coming into PN as *wahine*, is present in Manus as *pihin, *bihin, and in Wogeo as *veine*, Manam *aine*, Bel *pain* < *pahine, Swit etc. *pen*. It is very likely that western languages of the type of Numfor and Windesi where bin is common, may represent this longer form with loss of the ba- element, but it is easier to take them as derivatives of *binay.

Two of the most important retention areas are the north-east coast of SEP: Wedau-Mukawa-Ubir area, and some of the neighbouring islands: the coast west of Samarai is not such an area. The first named area is illustrated in Capell 1971:301, Table X. In most cases the -C is supported by a vowel added, e.g. *(qa)barat *north-west monsoon* > Bwaldoga *yavalata*; in some languages the consonant is lost but the supporting vowel is present, e.g. *namuk *mosquito* > Dobu *namu-a* (as against *ma+takut *fear* > Dobu *matauta*, where *-k-, as usual, is lost, as also in *iana fish*. This contrasts with Numfor *mkak*, which would seem to

represent *ma+ta(ku)t, as *t is usually > k in Numfor). In the SNH and Southern New Caledonia (SNC) such retention is normal: *manuk *bird* becomes menuk, etc.; *hiDup *live* gives Eromanga nom-urep *live, life*, as against the usual Melanesian Austronesian and PN mauri.

A case can well be made out on these grounds for separating Mota and the Banks Islands as a whole from Pawley's PEO group and including it in the wider POC languages. It is a region in which final consonants are allowed, and in many cases the whole root is kept as such, e.g. Mota lumut-a *moss* < *lumut; wen-a *rain* < *huzan. The subject of the historical interpretation of retained finals is worth more space than can be given it here; it needs to be made the subject of a separate essay which still waits to be written.

Keeping to the brief statement needed at present, it can be said that there are three stages of phonetic development involved:

- (1) the retention of the original -*C;
- (2) permitting a final -*C but with the rejection of the entire syllable after it, as when *lanit *sky* becomes lan;
- (3) rejection of final consonants in all cases. This is the stage which Pawley accepts as normal PEO.

On this basis, then, POC languages would include all those that come under (1) and (2) above, and the Banks Islands certainly do this. So do some other areas of the New Hebrides, some of which Pawley accepts as PEO - the north-eastern islands, for instance such as Omba, and parts of Malekula including Aulua and the other eastern and southern languages of the island. It is profitable to read in this connection the relevant pages of Ray's *Melanesian Island Languages* (Ray 1926), especially those in which he discusses the characteristics of each group as he comes to it.

The matter of thematic revivals must not be overlooked here. Thematic consonants are such as originally belonged to a stem, but are now lost except when a suffix is added, e.g., *tanit *weep*, which may become tan or tani, but when made transitive, *weep for* becomes tani-s-i, reviving the original final consonant as s. Where this happens, it means that at the time when the given language developed a separate existence, the original final consonant was still present but in process of dropping out unless supported by a following syllable, which would be the case only in transitive verbs. The forms of nouns that do not take suffixes are probably safer criteria to use in this connection. The criterion consonants appear to be final *t, *k, *q and *n of the PAN forms - and they may incidentally provide material to determine whether -*q is to be restored for a given root or not. Mota has the possibility also to add an ending to an original final vowel, as in the case of kpwatu-i

head, as the independent form (cf. *kwatu-k my head* < POC *(n)patu *head*, < PAN *batu. However, this is a subject of large possibilities, which cannot be pursued here.

Areas showing stage 1 (finals retained) include Tuna and New Ireland, SNC, SNH, Banks Islands in some instances at least; areas showing stage 2 (finals supported) include parts of SEP, southern Bougainville (Banoni, Uruava), northern Bougainville-Buka and the western Solomons (Mono, Mandegusu, Roviana, etc.).

Most other parts show stage 3 (loss of final original -*C, and rejection of finals as a pattern). SEP shows regional distribution of 1 and 2, and along the south coast (Suau-Motu) it shows stage 3 - no final consonants at all.

Certain phonetic features are linked by Pawley with his chosen group of PEO languages. These involve the following features:

(1) PEO **r* and **l* fall together in the South-east Solomonic (SES) languages, and **q* is lost. In Fiji **r* is lost; this happens also in Northern New Hebridean (NNH), and Central New Hebridean (CNH).

(2) San Cristobal and Malaita languages agree in that **t* > \emptyset , **r* and **l* merge, **s* and **ns* > *s* before high vowels and become *t* elsewhere. No other Eastern Oceanic (EO) language reflects **s/ns* as *t*.

(3) Accretion of *s* before **a* in a number of words (apparently a closed set). In these Fiji seems to accrete *y*-, although Pawley does not mention this. It may be connected with fricative or palatal onset to **a*. In Motu (Papua) initial **a*- seems to accrete *l*- very commonly (Capell 1971:304-5). Special words picked out in this connection are **qate liver*; **ane white ant*; **ampe body, presence, near*; **ansan name*; **qasu smoke*; **wanso sun*, which becomes *sato*; **tansi younger brother*; **qatu bonito*. Some at least of these words are treated with accretion of *l*- in Motu - which is not mentioned as a PEO language.

4.3.2. SUMMARY OF PEO GRAMMAR

In terms of its contents the following summary follows Pawley's setting out; in terms of its arrangement it represents some recasting. It deals first with the syntactic arrangement, then with the verb phrase, then with the noun phrase. Tables 1 and 2 given below represent tabulated summaries of Pawley's findings for PEO. He is not responsible for the shape they have taken here, but it seems a convenient shape in which contrasts with other types of Oceanic language may be demonstrated.

4.3.2.1. THE PROPOSITION

4.3.2.1.1. Verbless Sentences

Verbless sentences occur widely in Oceanic languages as in many other language groups, and they are important. Strangely enough, Pawley passes over them with the statement that "sentences without a verb probably occur, but their structure has not been investigated" (Pawley 1972:40). Something needs to be said about them here, just because they are an essential part of all the languages - with very few exceptions. They consist mainly of two types: identifications, in which $A = B$, forming an equation, as in '*this man is my father*', and descriptives, in which A is B but the two are not the same thing, e.g., '*the house is green*'. Not all OC languages have both types; in some cases, especially the descriptive, a "verbal pronoun" of some kind is needed.

4.3.2.1.1.1. $A = B$, Equational Sentences

These are normal in a large number of languages within OC and were probably not only PEO but POC as well. They are illustrated in Mota of Banks Islands, *iniko natuk you (are) my child. o piy tayai the relish not, i.e., there is no relish (with the food)*. The writer recalls coming home to his house to find two Mota-speakers had called in his absence, and left a message saying they had called but *iniko tayai you (were) not (there)*. In Fijian again, *o iko na luvengu you (are) my child; o ōei na rinamu? who is your mother?; and in South-East Papua, Wedau tauna amau he is my father; tauna eya he (is or was) not (there)*. This usage is fairly widespread and is found in WAN also; it may certainly be taken as part of PAN also. In other areas, such as Gilbertese there are other ways of expressing the same idea, although equational sentences exist also.

4.3.2.1.1.2. Descriptive Sentences

These may take the $A = B$ form, but less commonly. As a rule, they require a verbal particle, so that the "adjective" really functions as a verb, e.g., Fijian: *sa lalana na sala the road is divided* which is *sa lalana na sala vm. wide the road, vm. being "verb marker"*. Similarly, Mota *o matesala we tawela the road is wide; Wedau eta i dabora like Gilbertese e rababa te kawai*.

4.3.2.1.2. The Verb Phrase in PEO

The regular features of the verb phrase in PEO are summarised in Table 1 where, in this re-writing, the verb phrase as stem and base

TABLE 1
FEATURES OF PEO STRUCTURE: THE PEO VERB PHRASE

Definition	Contents	Markers
Verb: Kind	Active or stative: see below	Stative verbs may carry a prefix or be unmarked
quantifiers	numerals; some related terms	Not subject to transitivity
prepositional	Limited class often used as carriers for object indication	
Morphological transformations		
1. causative	Shows source or cause of activity; with quantifiers indicates number of times	Prefix *paka-; in other areas *pa-
2. stative	Suffix indicates abundance of quality mentioned	*ka- prefix, in some cases *ma-; activiser -*(C)i-m, -* (c)aki
3. reciprocal	Mutual action or effect	*paɾi-
4. spontaneity	A state self-caused	*ta-, *tapa-
5. nominalisation	Nouns from verbs	*-na nouns of quality; *-ŋa nouns of action
6. instrument	The tool etc. which produces the action	*i- is very common
Morphology		
Aspect	Complete aspect is frequently marked	No one marker, but usually a particle after the verb, some are WAN as well as PEO
Tense	Marking is often vague, but in some areas tense is clear	e indefinite, non past; i future; ∅ hortative, imperative
Participles	Largely coincide with stative form	*ma, *ta-, *ka-, but not formed at will of speaker
Imperative	A simple base may often be used	See "Tense"
Negation	A free form as a rule	Derivatives of PAN *si are frequent

are taken first, because it is certainly true for Oceanic (and perhaps for most other areas of the world's languages) that the verb is basic to the sentence. While this is true, it is also true that Oceanic verbs are not used as bare stems, except occasionally as imperatives. A Fijian parent may say to a child *kania! eat it!* when the child hesitates or refuses - but even this has the object suffix *-a* added to the stem; the imperative marker *mo* is omitted from before the verb. Even *go away* would be *lako yani-* - with the direction marker added.

In Oceanic languages of today a verb phrase usually consists of:

$$VP = \pm Pr_s + Pr_v + S(B) [\pm T + Pr_o]$$

which is to be read, "verb phrase consists of an optional personal pronoun, followed by an obligatory verbal pronoun (or verb marker, *vm.*) an obligatory stem or base, with an optional transitive suffix and an optional pronoun object". In practice the two last go together - hence the square brackets. If there is to be an object there will be a transitive suffix, but not otherwise. The optional personal pronoun is used only for emphasis but the person marker is obligatory whether the separate subject pronoun is used or not. In the more westerly languages the person marker is not always used if the subject of a noun, but in the island languages it is - and this one difference between PEO and some NGAN languages might serve as one characteristic of PEO as against non-PEO languages. Sio is one such language in northern New Guinea.

If *vm.* as "verb marker" may be substituted for "person marker" in the formula given above, the formula then becomes:

$$VP = \pm Pr_s + vm + S(B) [\pm T + Pr_o]$$

Pawley calls these markers "unemphatic subjective pronouns" in his section 4.1.54.4. (Pawley 1972:42).

In this formula, the first item for convenience of consideration is the verbal stem or base. These terms are not used interchangeably: the stem is the bare lexical form; the base is the same form with the relevant transitive suffix added. The Fijian would say *au sa rai rawa I can see*, but *au sa raiða rawa na tamata I can see the man*; *au na raiði iko I shall see you*. The stem will appear in an intransitive sentence, the base in a transitive one.

Apart from a distinction of stem and base, there will also be a distinction between simple and derived verbs; Fijian *rai see* is simple; *vaka-rai-ða show* is derived. Each of these is not only PEO but apparently PAN and therefore POC of all possible kinds. Examples for all parts of WAN could be adduced also.

The verb stems themselves will divide into (1) stems intransitive by nature, such as *go, come*, but these will not always coincide with

the English classification; (2) stems transitive by nature, always implying an object even if one is not mentioned, e.g., 'teach' always implies someone taught. These normally take the transitive suffixes but sometimes can be used without; as in English '*thou shalt not kill*', it is possible to say in Fijian *mo kakua ni lamba*, without the transitive suffix used in *mo kakua na lambata na tamata koya thou shalt not kill that man*. In Nggela, on the other hand, the same commandment is stated as *ko mbei lambutahu tinoni you shall not kill men*.

Transitive suffixes are treated by Pawley as "subclassification of verbs" and this is satisfactory to a degree. Formally they consist of a consonant added to the intransitive stem, followed by a vowel: -Ci for direct objects and -(C)aki for indirect or remoter objects. A pronoun object is usually added to these suffixes as an anticipatory object: Fijian *au sa rai-ō-a na tamata I see the man*, literally '*I see him the man*'.

Verb bases are formed by the addition of an affix, normally a prefix, which modifies its meaning in some way, and these are not only PEO but traceable back into PAN, and as a rule are to be found in most of the languages included in this chapter. Pawley gives two such, *pari- 'reciprocal' and *paka- 'causative', and *ka- and *ma- stative verb derivatives. A shorter causative, *pa- will be noticed in the non-PEO groups.

Another category of apparently verbal constructions listed by Pawley are "quantifiers" including such words as *pinsa *how many* and *^mpalu *some*. In most of the languages numerals will come under this category, but in some, numerals are not quantified but classed with prefixes that fit them into the noun phrase and not the verb phrase. This already has happened in EIN, where some languages have at least two class prefixes to numerals. For the bulk of non-PEO languages it is doubtful whether a special class of quantifiers is needed, although it is in some of them. In other areas, again, numerals are not only quantified but become verbs entirely, and are marked for tense, as in some languages of Malekula.

In PEO the morphology of the verb is of the analytical type, the elements of which, in the written forms of the languages, have generally been written apart from the verb stem. Tense is not in all or even most of the languages, the most highly developed feature. Certainly it is not marked in such detail and such gradations as are found in the NAN languages of New Guinea. But this is not an essential feature even of a NAN language, for those in Alor, Timor and the Vogelkop do not have the elaborate tense systems of central New Guinea. Some Austronesian languages lay more stress on aspect, but these tend to be languages in fairly close touch with NAN languages, e.g. Dobu amongst the languages of SEP.

For tense, Pawley gives *e 'non-past, indefinite'; *i 'future'; and 'zero, plus imperative intonation in verb base': 'hortative'. Actually there is much more variation in Pawley's own examples than this list suggests. He himself shows a fairly wide occurrence of *ma as 'non-future' and there are still others, more common perhaps in POC than in the eastern groups but not altogether absent from PEO. One such is a form of the PAN verb *panaw *go* marking future action, and this does occur in Pawley's NNH group.

The feature of direction marking is also common in PEO: mai shows movement towards the speaker and atu movement away from him. These are found on the IN side of the border also as well as being common to both PEO languages and non-PEO, and they can probably be read into PAN itself as elements even if perhaps not in the earliest stages of PAN which are not reconstructible. Other directives are *nsipo *down*, *nsake *up*, and less commonly (ka)ṛaka *upwards, eastwards*. The last is not WAN, although it is so widely used in eastern OC.

Finally, there are what Pawley calls "prepositional verbs" illustrated by Mota mule suri-*a go to him*; mule expresses the motion, suri- its direction, the suffixed pronoun object being added. Certain of these directional verbs are widespread, such as su(d,ɿ)ṛi *motion to or after a person*; *(n)tani *motion from*; *muri *to, for, with*. Others occur in more limited areas, such as vani- *for*.

4.3.2.1.3. The Noun Phrase in PEO

The regular features of the noun phrase in PEO are summarised in Table 2, which, like Table 1, represents a tabulation of Pawley's discussion of the most commonly found forms in PEO.

Nouns may be derived or simple as far as form is concerned. Most of the languages provide suffixes to verb stems by which nouns can be derived, and some of these are quite widespread. One of them Pawley gives as -(C)a, -(C)ana which "transforms" verbs into nouns and concrete common nouns into nouns with abstract meaning, as Kwara'ae ta'a-ṛa'a *badness*, from ta'a *bad*. There are less common methods that cannot be ranked as PEO. It is interesting, however, to find -ṛa, the common PN formative of similar function, performing this task in Manam, to the north of New Guinea, well outside the PN area.

Common nouns fall into a number of subclasses, which need not be expanded here, except to remark that many "prepositions" are at base nouns. Pawley's

*i lalo-ϕ-na na tamwane
at *inside-his* art. man

TABLE 2
 FEATURES OF PEO STRUCTURES: THE NOUN PHRASE

Definition	Contents	Markers
Class - common	Non-persons, animate or inanimate	na before noun; replacement (n)sapa <i>what?</i>
personal	Persons only and only when named	a, i before noun; replacement (n)sai <i>who?</i>
location	Certain specified relations of place	ta, lalo, papo, etc.
time	Certain specified relations of time	mponi, napi, nora, warinsa, etc.; 'ana-, 'a
number	Pluralisers of various kinds mark various types of plural	Human noun with preposed 3rd pl. pronoun. Absence of pronoun in singular
focus		
subject	Indicated by pm before verb; in some cases also sm after noun	Short form of pronoun independent of tense; in some areas special form of noun
object	Only if noun is definite is there special marking	Suffixed pronoun as anticipatory object added to governing verb
possession	(a) Subclass of inalienable possession (b) Subclasses of alienable: 1. neutral; 2. food; 3. drink Others sporadically	A short or 'construct' form in some languages; special carriers of suffixes in all

inside the man, lit. '*at his inside the man*' illustrates this, and a corresponding construction is often found even in languages that are not only not PEO but have postpositions instead of prepositions, so that Motu, for instance, can produce *tauna lalo-na-i man the-inside-his-at* as the equivalent. Even the roots involved are the same, but their arrangement is quite different. This category is by no means limited to PEO, but occurs in such definitely non-PEO languages as Eromanga in SNH. Here the use is seen in *ra tan on the ground* (*tan ground* < PAN **taneh*); but there is also Eromanga *ra kita-n at back-my, 'behind me'* and other examples. These categories are nouns in POC also, because they can add possessive suffixes and be preceded by prepositions.

The chief category distinction is that between personal and non-personal nouns. This is made plain by the noun markers used with each class and the distinction is found in all areas of OC and widely in WAN also. It undoubtedly belongs to an early stage of PAN but not, presumably, the earliest, before any words of particular function appeared. It is better to speak of 'noun markers (nm)' than 'articles' since it is not a matter of definition between '*a*' and '*the*'. In Mota *o vat* is just *stone - a* or *the*. If this occurred as a personal name, it would be *i vat Mr Stone*, *wirh iro vat for Mrs Stone*, and *ira vat* for the whole Stone family. These distinctions within the group are not commonly taken so far as in Mota but *i* is a very common person marker of this kind, and can be traced back to IN **si-* so that the distinction of personal and non-personal nouns is common PAN. Otherwise there is no common noun marker in PAN, though *na-* is certainly POC and not entirely absent from the west.

Morphological number marking is not common, but the tendency to use a third personal plural pronoun as marking plural number, especially for people, is widespread. Pawley has reconstructed for PEO **ida na tamwane they + nm + man*, but the use of **na tamwane siDa* represents another strand, which is found in the far west (Numfor *snu:n-si people*) and the central Solomons. This second usage is not common enough to be called POC; its application to PEO seems to be right, but although Numfor and its neighbours could hardly be called PEO, they do have this usage, and it is found also in the eastern parts of Indonesia.

Possession is the most characteristic part of the noun phrase in Austronesian languages. Here Pawley provides a good basis, though refinements will appear as the other subgroups are studied. Nouns are divided into possessive classes, marked by morphemes to which suffixed pronouns are attached. Pawley gives:

- **ka-* when the head noun denotes something edible;
- **ϕ-* when the head noun indicates something inalienable;
- **no* when the head noun denotes something neutral.

The inalienable form functions as a direct suffix to the noun stem, and it would have been better to state this: there seems to be no basis for treating it as a zero suffix which simply results in the addition of the suffix to the noun: *lima-ku is the normal form in many areas, and *lima-ŋku in WAN. It is not that a previously existing catalyst stem has been eliminated, but subsequent discussion will show that in PAN suffixation was the original method of indicating possession of all types of nouns, and this itself would appear to have developed from juxtaposition of noun and pronoun. Of this more in its place.

It is, in fact, in WAN that the development of the system can be seen, and undoubtedly Pawley would have developed his sections on this subject had he been dealing with wider Austronesian (AN) regions than PEO. In such a WAN language as Malay - though this is actually far from typical - any noun can take suffixed pronouns, whether it indicates something 'inalienable' or not: rumah-ku *my house*, buah-ku *my fruit*, as much as kepala-ku *my head*. (It also has rumah saja but not rumah aku but saja = sahaja, a Sanskrit word for *slave, your servant*.) As one moves east one can see the PEO system developing, and in parts of Oceania, even of Pawley's region, it is more elaborate than he gives as PEO. A 'drinkable' class (ma-) is found in some areas, but Pawley is doubtful whether this should be accepted as PEO or not.

Even in PEO itself the grammar of possession can be quite complicated and Pawley's assignments must be summarised here even if they do require some space, so that those found in other parts of OC can be better understood. Thus:

1. Inalienable possession: Direct suffixation to the noun (eliminating Pawley's * ϕ - as unjustified); *na tama-mu *your father*; note that the noun marker is retained.
2. General possession ('neutral'), *no-: Fijian na no-ŋgu koro 'no possession-*my village*', *my village*. This is very widespread, even outside PEO, e.g. found in Mindiri on the Rai Coast of New Guinea.
3. Food possession, *ka-, linking with PAN *ka-ni *eat*, and with some 'reference' uses developed, e.g., Fijian na kena i talanoa *the story of him* as against na nona i talanoa *the story he tells*. These developments are not PEO.
In some regions again, as in Fiji:
4. Drink possession, *ma-, linking with PAN *ma+inum *drink*.

In Mota one may vary the possessive according to meaning: no-k o matiŋ *my coconut* (possessed but not specified in use); ʔa-k o matiŋ *my coconut, to scrape and eat*; m^wa-k o matiŋ *my coconut, to drink the juice*.

Moreover, special features are found in the syntax of possession when the possessor is a person. Pawley gives:

- *ki when the head noun denotes something edible;
- *qi when the head noun indicates something inalienable;
- *ni when the head noun denotes something neutral.

Differences result also as between inanimate and animate possessors. Here Pawley's examples show *na ndau ni kayu *the leaf of the tree*; *na ka-na ntalo na tam^wane *the man's hand*; but in some areas one can also say *na ntalo ni tam^wane for alienable possession only. In Fijian one says na liⁿa i Pita *Peter's hand*, using an i which seems to be the personal noun marker not occurring otherwise in the language.

Mention is made also of numeral classification, which was found, as Pawley holds, in PEO, and this is correct. It will be disregarded generally in the present study, as it seems to be more closely common with PEO than with other parts of OC. In WAN it occurs very widely but not universally, and it occurs in Mon-Khmer and Sinitic languages as well as in other parts of the world.

Finally, the pronominal system must be mentioned under the present heading, as it is part of the noun phrase even though it plays a part in the verb phrase also. Pawley's setting out of the pronominal system as it appears in PEO is given as Table 3 because of its extreme importance in the present study.

TABLE 3

PEO PERSONAL PRONOUNS AS RECONSTRUCTED BY PAWLEY

		Focal	Object	Subject	Possession
Sing.	1.	i-nau	-au, nau	(ŋ)ku	(ŋ)ku
	2.	i-koe	-ko, koe	ko, o	-mu
	3.	inia, ia	-a	na	-na
Pl.	1.excl.	kami	kami	(k,m)ami	-mami
	1.incl.	ki(n)ta	ki(n)ta	(n)ta	-(n)ta
	2.	kam(i)u	kam(i)u	m(i)u	-m(i)u
	3.	(k)ida	-da	da	-nda
Dual	1.excl.	kamidua	kamidua	(ka)midua	-madu
	1.incl.	ki(n)tadua	ki(n)tadua	(n)tadua	-(n)tadua
	2.	kamudua	kamudua	mudu	-mudu
	3.	(k)idadua	(k)idadua	dadua	-ndadua
Tripl.	1.excl.	kamitolu	kamitolu	(ka)mitolu	-mitolu
	1.incl.	ki(n)tatolu	ki(n)tatolu	(n)tatolu	-(n)tatolu
	2.	kamutolu	kamutolu	mutolu	-mutolu
	3.	(k)idatolu	(k)idatolu	datolu	-ndatolu

Note (to Table 3 on previous page): Pawley describes column 3, subject pronouns, as "the unemphatic subjective personal", noting also that focal forms can also mark subjects. (Pawley 1972:37.)

4.3.3. SUBGROUPS OF THE NON-PEO LANGUAGES

The non-PEO languages will be surveyed from south to north, because in many cases the curious fact is true that they show a form of both word and structure that is closer to the PAN than the more northerly ones. This is particularly true in many instances concerning the shapes of words, because here we find the PAN final consonants more often preserved than further north and west. This seems to be a sort of 'areal' linguistic field in Bonfante or Bartoli's sense and incidentally helps to give some added plausibility to the theory of 'areal linguistics'. The first two groups therefore to be considered are the languages of New Caledonia and the southern New Hebrides. These groups both preserve many PAN final consonants, and perhaps it was that which gave the impression that the two might be fairly closely connected as a subgroup. However, this is not so; in many ways they contrast rather than agree in structure and certainly in phoneme systems. They will be referred to here as NC and SNH respectively. They include:

(a) New Caledonia

These languages have been studied at varying depth over a considerable period, latterly with considerable thoroughness by A.G. Haudricourt, whose analysis (Haudricourt 1965 and 1971) is treated as basic here, but much help in matters of detail may be gained from earlier work by Leenhardt (1946). The languages of the Loyalty Islands are included by both authors, but have been more recently described in detail by Tryon (1967a,b; 1968a,b) with the exception of the PN language of Uvea spoken side by side with Iai. Connection between NC languages and those of Santa Cruz were discussed briefly by Wurm (1970b). No study has yet been made of the relationships of NC languages to those of SNH.

(b) Southern New Hebrides

The languages involved here are those of Aneityum, Tanna and Eromanga. PN languages are spoken on Futuna and Aniwa and these are excluded. Again there is a considerable amount of literature and translated material, but none reaches a high standard, especially for Eromangan.

While all these languages are classified as "Melanesian", they differ greatly amongst themselves in phonetics, morphology, syntax and lexicon, and they diverge widely from PEO. Tryon (1973) gives a very useful preliminary study of the patterning throughout the whole New Hebrides, including the SNH.

4.3.3.1. LANGUAGES OF NEW CALEDONIA

These languages divide conveniently into a northern and a southern group, of which the latter is phonetically the more archaic. They differ, however, so much from common OC forms that it has even been questioned whether they are more than non-Austronesian (NAN) languages with Austronesian (AN) borrowings. Although many roots are monosyllabic, and often the PAN material discernible is reduced to its lowest terms, the southern languages tend to retain PAN final consonants, which are as a whole lost in the north. The root *ma+huDip (*living*) is one example of such retention. Haudricourt proposes *mauip for Proto-NC; for SNH the form would be *murep, found in Eromanga as no-murep *life, live*, in Aneityum as umoh, and in Tanna less well preserved. For PAN *ñamuk *mosquito*, Proto-NC (PNC) *na^mbuk is probably related, and so is Eromanga nyomuɣ, while Aneityum i-nyum fits the picture, but there is no common Tanna form.

Structurally the NC languages differ very markedly from any form of OC. Leenhardt's study is helpful here, undertaken as it is from the native viewpoint as far as possible. There is no inflection, but a number of independent particles, which are arranged in various ways in the verb phrase. For Wailu, a not atypical language, Leenhardt writes:

The interplay of these morphemes is infinite, and allows the expression of aspects of time different from those of our languages. Old people's conversation uses more original morphemes than those of the young. The latter, whose language is impoverished, make use of many adverbs of time, or even verbs which they juxtapose to the action, to give it a place in time.

In other words, the NC languages, unlike those of Tanna and Eromanga, are not inflectional in regard to time or aspect. While Aneityum stands apart, there is in Tanna and Eromanga a rigid and elaborate prefix conjugation which is quite different from NC and OC in general, so that NC and SNH contrast rather than compare on the structural level.

On the phonemic level, NC consonant systems are elaborate. Haudricourt presupposed for PNC six orders of consonants, so modifiable that for Nenema in the north there are 35 phonemes, and Wailu and the deep south still have 25. For the Loyalty Islands, Tryon finds 30 consonants for Nengone, 27 for Dehu and 33 for Iai, including, as in NC, retroflex stops which are not found elsewhere in Melanesia. Stops may be unaspirated or aspirated, pre- or post-nasalised, and nasals may also be unvoiced, and semi-vowels nasalised. Many of these complications are missing from SNH, but Tanna has some of them. In Aneityum there are 19 consonants, in Tanna the Lenakel dialect has 14, without admitting semi-vowels, and western Eromangan 16. In NC all vowels can usually be nasalised. The discussion of these languages will be involved in that

of the SNH group following. In vowel systems, NC languages are much richer than those of SNH. In NC nasal vowels are frequent, in fact in many cases all vowels can be nasalised: Wagap has 10 oral and the same 10 nasalised vowels, the Isle of Pines 12 oral and 7 nasals. SNH languages do not use nasalised vowels, although Eromanga has subphonemic [õ], and the mixed vowels are very much rarer.

4.3.3.2. SOUTHERN NEW HEBRIDES SUBGROUP

It is doubtful whether the term 'subgroup' is quite in place here. The languages do form a subgroup in terms of shared departures from POC patterns, but vary tremendously amongst themselves. Aneityum stands quite apart in the method of conjugation of its verbs and in its PN type of syntax, with the verb normally first in the sentence, whereas the other languages have a normally SVO order.

Aneityum agrees syntactically better with NC. Thus for NC Wailu will serve as an example (D = demonstrative; obj. = object; pl. = pluralizer; pm. = person marker; pro. = pronoun; S = stem; sub. = subject):

- (1) Wailu go wa na géña
 pm. S obj. pro.
 I do it I = 'I am doing it'.
- (2) Aneityum ek aŋo ʔaiñák
 pm. S pro.
 i do I = 'I am doing it'.
- (3) Wailu cére wa na pai re
 pm. S obj. sub. D
 they do it man this = 'these men do it'.
- (4) Aneityum era aŋo a ʔatimi inŋki
 pm. S pl. sub. D
 they do the men these = 'these men do it'.

This type is Fijian syntax also, but in Fijian the VOS order applies only to 3rd person; in SNH Aneityum uses it for all persons, and so does NC.

In the noun phrase, there is a distinct NC pattern, shared by Aneityum but not by Tanna or Eromanga and it is certainly not PEO. In NC and Aneityum there are only two classes of nouns for purposes of indicating possession, those that take a suffixed pronoun and those that do not. The following examples show the two classes: Wailu *goa-ña father my*; *moru ʔiña life my*; Aneityum *etma-k father my*; *nano u-nak action my*. Eromangan has the same classes, as also has Efate and most of the Central NH; Eromanga shows *kita-ŋ back my*; *nomurep enyau life my*. Tanna departs from this dichotomy and has more classes of possession.

Syntactically, then, NC and Aneityum agree fairly closely, and show links with the types of Fiji and Polynesia; Tanna and Eromanga follow the

more common type known as 'Melanesian' which is also PEO, and incidentally, general Oceanic and largely IN.

In its method of conjugation, Tanna is completely at variance with the other languages. It shows a complex system of conjugation that is practically agglutinative; Tryon (1973) quotes in Lenakel dialect *tneparapēkīpa you (pl.) will bring it here soon*; *tiashalvənan we three (excl.) will not try to go*; six sets of morphemes may occur before the verb and two after it. Eromangan is just as complex as Tanna, but works on a different system. The point of interest about Eromangan is that the components of the verb complex are mostly AN in origin, but frequently extremely difficult to place owing to phonemic changes; those of Tanna usually do not seem to be AN at all.

Moreover, these SNH languages seem to link with parts of Malekula, usually the south-west - Mewun area in particular. Tryon has made what seems to be a correct summary in his 1973 paper, when he writes:

An examination of noun classification suggests that the North NH subgroup may be separated from the remainder on the basis of shared innovations. The remainder of the NH reveals a diversity of noun classification, with the exception of South Malekula, Efate, Eromanga, and Aneityum, the languages of which manifest only two noun classes.

At the same time it is true to say that Aneityum presents a system which is unique to the NH, but has parallels in Fiji and PN, as well as in NC.

There is, then, little basis for including NC and SNH in one subgroup, but there is certainly a relationship amongst these languages which only lexicostatistical study could help to clear up - and that is not possible in the present space. For fuller detail reference should be made to Tryon's 1973 paper, and as a preliminary his earlier paper of 1972.

Table 4 takes the vocabulary used by Haudricourt (1971) and adds the Loyalty Islands languages and those of the southern New Hebrides, to show the resemblances and differences between them. The Loyalty Islands languages show perhaps the smallest agreement of any.

Vocabulary of AN origin in the NC and SNH alike is less than in the PEO regions. It is often well disguised. It would seem that in general one set of PAN vocabulary items has migrated; from this set: (1) certain words appear to be practically universal in Oceanic, or at least in 'Melanesia'; (2) other words occur in certain areas only; (3) other words appear scattered, and these may possibly prove to be constantly associated sets though not necessarily systematically linked; (4) others again - a large proportion - are limited to WAN and do not come into the present study, while (5) again others - a small group -

were lost to WAN altogether - words such as *sakay up, but some of these appear in the eastern part of WAN. An example of such a word is the root shown in Fijian veka *excrete*, which appears in Tuna pekpek and re-appears in Wetar (near Timor) as peka - but there is no accepted PAN root *peka, as probably there ought to be.

In SNH there is a complication in that much compounding of roots seems to have taken place. In some cases both the elements of a compound are AN, in some only one and in some neither - so that this compounding would seem to be largely a local peculiarity of the underlying pre-AN language(s).

A few examples of this principle of compounding may be given. The PAN *telur *egg* reaches the New Hebrides, but in SNH each language has a compound expression, lit. *the little one (of the) bird*: Eromanga na ylan netuy, Aneityum nakəlin ca, Lenakel neannahli menuk. In Lenakel the second element is AN *manuk *bird* but in Aneityum and Eromanga this root does not appear (although Eromanga has menuy, and Lenakel menuk, while Aneityum has in-man. The first two have kept the AN final consonant, Aneityum has not done so, but in each case the word for *little one* is not AN). The words for *ear* also illustrate this principle. PAN *taliŋa is represented by Eromanga teliŋo- and Tanna has the same root, but compounded with a second element that presumably means *hole*: Lenakel nepaŋteliŋo- will illustrate the Tanna dialects. One part of the compound is AN, the other is not. For *eye* Aneityum has nesŋanimtan, which Kern saw was n-esŋa-ni-mta-n *the innermost of his eye*, and he compared with -esŋa- Javanese (also PAN) teŋah *interior*. Western Eromangan for *sun* has nipmi-nen *eye of day*, which is precisely Malay mata-hari, but presumably not actually derived from it. Possibly Lenakel mit *sun* is just *eye*, for northern Tanna dialects have miti-ŋar, where the second element is unexplained. Aneityum na-ŋesəŋa remains as either a compound that cannot be analysed or a NAN word. The -saŋa part seems to represent PAN *siŋar *shine*, but this is uncertain.

4.3.3.3. OTHER AREAS OF THE NEW HEBRIDES

Pawley includes in his PEO what he calls Proto-North New Hebridean, which takes in Tolomako on Santo along with Nogugu on the same island, i.e. north Santo as a whole, Tangoa and Tasiriki in south Santo, and in Banks Islands, Mota, Merlav, Lakon, and Volow; among the north-eastern islands he includes Maewo, Oba and north Raga. This is the northern section. He also includes Proto-Central New Hebridean, which he thinks may include Aulua on eastern Malekula, and does include Baki and Tasiko on Epi, and Sesake and Nguna farther south. This is a rather eclectic set of languages.

TABLE 4: COMPARISON OF SOUND CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN NEW CALEDONIA AND THE SOUTHERN NEW HEBRIDES
(ADAPTED FROM HAUDRICOURT 1971:359-97)

ENGLISH	PAN	PNC	DREU	NEKSONE	IAI	ANEITYUM	LENAKEL	ISOMERA	IKYAU	E. TANNA	N. TANNA	W. ERONGA	N. ERONGA
1. <i>um</i>	ubi	qupɩq	koko	(wa)koko	u	nu	nu	nuk	(n)uk	nu	nanup	nup	nup
2. <i>rain</i>	hud'an	quca	manɩ	lele	we	(in)gopɔa	nɩhɩn	nesan	nehen	nuyan	nuyan	nehe, nevip	nerer'nip
3. <i>hater</i>	hate	qate	gafit	gu'at	ak	mopon	nakanmap	nakanopon	kahip	nagnmapun	nagan namɩk	mo	majk'lemɩ
4. <i>sand</i>	henɩ	qone	ɣoni	gumin	on	nauanavɩɣ	nomakalakal	nepaker	negakalakal	napakil	'makalakal	'naravin	'nalavɩl
5. <i>voat, dum</i>	tunu	ɩunu	uf	adjoni	o	ahen	-van	-avani	-avan	-avan	-uan	netul	
6. <i>ead</i>	DIAI, (t)uhud	ɩuru	ɛlle	puca	to:t	alci	-ail	-arer	-tel	-atul	-atul	-tur, -tuy	-(wan)de
7. <i>younger sibling</i>	a(n)zi	ɩaci	ɛipa	ɛeiwayen	keiɩ	etuan	nogan	pian	pian	pian	pln	ava(n) sai	ava(n) sai
8. <i>ear</i>	telliɣa	'daliɣa	garɛpɔ	adaivo	ɣikonen	intikyan	(nema)teigan	neprejen	namataligan	nomataligan	mandaljan	'telejan	'deliɣin
9. <i>belly</i>	tiyan	ɩyan	gi	ur	nekan	netjan	netpan	kuɔon	taɔon	narfvan	nanapan	netnin	dovon
10. <i>three</i>	telu	ɩelu	koni	ten	kun	eseic	kopi	kahar	kasaisai	kasal	kasal	de:sal	(ɣ)gehell
11. <i>eat</i>	ka(e)n(i)	kani	xen	kaka	han	ɣalɣ	-kan	-ani	-an	-an	-nvan	-eni	-geni
12. <i>tree</i>	kayu	kai	sinɔ	arel	uɔ	(in)yal	nak	nei	nai	nirɣ	noɣ	ne:	geni
13. <i>house</i>	kutu	kutu	ɔtɔ	ote	uto	(ne)yet	kur	ur	kel	kaɣɩt	kuri	no'yut	wit
14. <i>skin</i>	kullɩ	kull	kupeln	nenun	unen	narasin	neviɣ	teken	tekin	nosin	nalosin	nɔyois	noyodesin
15. <i>breadfruit</i>	kulu(L)	kulu	wenon	yeon	ɔun	nohowanma	nge	nemar	namel	name	name	na'mar	
16. <i>mosquito</i>	namuk	na'buk	tesit	nine	minɔ	inyum	mumuk	mi	maak	ma'arɣ	kamaɣ	nomuy	yonoy
17. <i>bird</i>	manuk	manuk	waɔ	ladede	meno	(in)man	menuk	manu	mana	manɩɣ	manɩɣ	ma'noy	'unuva
18. <i>leaf</i>	Dau	ndau	ɣon	rume	lan	nerin	naa	naa(i nel)	naalin	naa nati	naali naɣ	noywan ne:	niba'iligan ni
19. <i>ashes</i>	Dabuk	ndapu	gatesid	zekol	don	nohpa	na'm'rau	na'm'gak	na'mlau	na'gak	na'map	noykevu	
20. <i>blood</i>	Danah	ndaa	maɣa	da	da	(in)ɛa	na'ta	na'ta	na'tau	na'ran	ndan	(n)de:	(n)de:
21. <i>forehead</i>	Daqey	ndaqe	gopadi	gubadi	barin	nipɛnimtan	na'pa:nan-	na'pa:nen	nupunan	nepanaɣan	ra'kamɔa	na'fi:nin	na'funin
22. <i>two</i>	Duwa	ɩua	lua	ruwe	lo	ero	kiju	karu	kalalu	kaɣu	kaɣu	(n)duru	(ɣ)gelu
23. <i>road</i>	Zalan	ndjala	goɔeɩ	lene	geben	nefalalɣ	suatu	suatuk	suatuk	suaru	suandap	sa'lat	nale'lan
24. <i>axear</i>	culligi	ndjau	lɔ	ɛaɛ	ɔ	(in)mopul	suk	nitel	kwagau	no'rau	suk	sa	
25. <i>bone</i>	(Dumi)	ndjwi	ɔun	dun	djɔ	neθon	nakalkolin	nokak kirin	nokalkolin	nokik kilin	nakiikilin	no'wi:	
26. <i>breast</i>	susu	cucu	θi	mimi	basin	(in)riɩin	naha-n	nagon	nahin	nahan	nahan	ni:	
27. <i>who?</i>	sayi	cal	deti	la	(a)ði		pehe	sin	pae	pah	ipa	me:	
28. <i>name</i>	azan	jaca	eɛen	yelen	len	niɔan	netjan	naryen	garjen	'narigan	narjan	nin	nivan
29. <i>ooconut</i>	nijun	nɩu	nu	wa-nu	wa-nu	nesjanevalɣ	nien	napue ɣia	naklan	nien	nien	noy	
30. <i>mosquito</i>	namuk	na'buk	tesit	nine	minɔ	inyum	mumuk	gi	maak	ma'arɣ	kamaɣ	nomuy	jomuy
31. <i>child</i>	(natu)	natu	nekon	moro	nokon	(in)haɩav	neri	nare	nali	netl	netin	netni	nehni
32. <i>fly (n.)</i>	layaw	layo	neɣ	neɣo	wa-ɩon	inlaɣ	kiarɣ	lay	yelarɣ	kiarɣ	kiarɣ	uloɣ	uleɣ
33. <i>fish</i>	ikan, lahu	lauq	i	wa'i	wo	numu	nam	namu	ka'maɩ	namu	nom	nomu	unomu
34. <i>five</i>	lima	lima	ɩipi	(wase)ɔoɣ	θaburɣ	meleθ	katilum	kerɩram	kaikailp	karilom	karilom	sukrim	suelem
35. <i>stringray</i>	paɩ	paɩ	e	wabeɩɣo	nirinaro	va'rau	waraku	laku	pelaw	matkatem	uvar		
36. <i>turtle</i>	paɩuh	ponu	dalue	(gu)cowan	uɩ	nahau	lau	laku	lau	na'vau	na'vau	ja'vu	
37. <i>stone</i>	batu	paɩu	eɛ	ete	ueto	(in)hat	koɩiel	kaɩur	kaɩiel	kaɩiel	kaɩiel	na'vat	na'vat
38. <i>hair</i>	buhuk	puɩu	ihe	ie-hawo	leun	nurmin	nouanun	nuKanan	nuKonen	nunanun	nunan	nove'lim-pu	nava'lligan
39. <i>four</i>	empat	pate	eke		uak	miɛnan	kuvar	kata	kuvas	kawet	kawet	(n)da'vat	'lemeɩu
40. <i>star</i>	bi tureen	paɩuqu	watesiθ	wadjekol	oxu	(in)moɩɛv	manau	kahamau	kaɩau	kaɩau	kaɩau	mosi	umse
41. <i>die</i>	matay	mate	meɩin	tapo	mokeu	mas	-mas	-ama	-aa	-mis	-mas	-mas	-nis
42. <i>left (hand)</i>	na'wirɩ	(ma)maui	wami	ɣoroɣ	meɩ	(in)maun	mul	maur	maul	maul	maul	mo:r	
43. <i>bird</i>	manuk	manuk	waɔ	wa'ia	meno	(in)man	menuk	manu	mana	manɩɣ	manɩɣ	ma'nuy	'uruwe
44. <i>bat</i>		mbueke	θiɣa	wateto		nekrei		kiri	kiɩvan	kel	kai	naɣkaral	
45. <i>night</i>	banɣ	mbueɣi	θid	rid	lit	(ne)ɩɩi	l-apan	napan	ɣanpaɣ	leɣalyu	lanben	pumroy	benbeia
46. <i>long</i>	(planɣaɣ)	mbualu(lu)	yea	lwe	beu	opra	aɔohun	-aɔa'mes	lapag	aɔa'ma	kaɣjampamaɩ	tantop	laupe
47. <i>head</i>	uɩu	mbua	he	hawo	ban	(ni)pen	kaɩa	nuKapen	kapakaɩa	kaɩa	kamba	nompun	nompun
48. <i>mouth, hole</i>	babah	papua	ɣa	tubenepoɔ	ɣimen	(n)ɔysen	noua-	naKa-	nelan	nauɩin	noɣin	navaran	navaran
49. <i>house</i>	umeh	uma	ga	uma	(ne)im, (ne)yon		(n)ia	niia	niia	niia	niia	nimo	uvurek
50. <i>live</i>	ma-thuɩip	maup	mei	roi	moɩ	(u)moh	ami'uh	-aɩuru	-aɩarɣ	-aɩarɣ	-aɩarɣ	-murep	-murep
51. <i>fish</i>	ikan, lahu	lauq	i	wa'i	wo	numu	nam	namu	ka'maɩ	namu	nom	nomu	unomu
52. <i>win</i>	layuy	kakamu	aθ	al	hai	aɣaɣ	-aik, -sal	-alai	-vinal	-ayɩ	womaln	-ay	
53. <i>leaf</i>	Dau	ndau	ɣon	rume	lan	(ne)rin	naa-	naa(i nel)	naalin	naa nati	naali naɣ	noykolin ne:	niba'iligan ni

¹meni = cut

Tryon, in his 1972 paper, had made a division into what he called the Oceanic type and the Melanesian type. The former agreed roughly with Pawley's PEO languages, the other embraced all the remainder. He characterised the latter group by certain features: (1) often a complex phonology with up to ten vowels; (2) complex consonant clustering; (3) complex noun morphology; (4) complex verb morphology; (5) a rather different word store from the other languages.

This second grouping of Tryon's has been examined in the preceding section as far as the SNH was concerned. An examination of the languages of Malekula would show that these also belong to the same group. There is some vocabulary agreement between Eromanga and Mewun (S.W. Malekula) that demands explanation, but the structures of the two languages are not very closely alike.

In this connection, however, the present writer feels inclined to disagree about the Banks Islands and NNH languages as parts of PEO. They show a considerable amount of vocabulary in common which is not common elsewhere. In his comparative vocabulary Pawley (1972:91-7) sets out thirty-three words in each of the languages which he accepts as PEO. Of these, a number are common to the Banks Islands languages and to most of the NNH languages. These number twenty-two, which do not in most cases even resemble the PPN, and could not have been components of the language from which PPN is derived. As a matter of fact, it seems very difficult to accept the whole theory on which such 'proto-' restorations are based. Something will be said about this at the end of the chapter. Accepting it meanwhile, the differences between these NNH and Banks Islands languages and the others (especially Central Solomons) are much greater than Pawley seems to have reckoned.

In Pawley 1972:91-7, vocabularies of words in each of the languages treated as PEO are given. There are thirty-two words, for which equivalents are given in Proto-Polynesian (PPN) and then in the individual languages. The languages of the Banks Islands and those of the NNH form a fairly solid block as far as vocabulary is concerned, and of the words in the lists, thirty-three in number, no less than twenty-three differ from the common stock. These words are as follows:

1. <i>banana</i>	vetal	8. <i>finger</i>	pisu
2. <i>belly</i>	topwa	9. <i>fowl</i>	toa
3. <i>black</i>	naeto	10. <i>good</i>	(p)wia
4. <i>body</i>	turi-	11. <i>hand</i>	pane-/gave
5. <i>coconut</i>	mati	12. <i>man</i>	ta-nun, ta-tun
6. <i>ear</i>	qoro	13. <i>mouth</i>	vala-
7. <i>face</i>	nago	14. <i>nose</i>	matu-

15. <i>rain</i>	<i>raŋi</i>	20. <i>spear</i>	<i>sari-</i>
16. <i>rat</i>	<i>gasuwe</i>	21. <i>spit</i>	<i>anus(u), loto</i>
17. <i>road</i>	<i>mate-sala</i>	22. <i>sun</i>	<i>aso</i>
18. <i>sea</i>	<i>lama</i>	23. <i>tongue</i>	<i>me-</i>
19. <i>skin</i>	<i>vini-</i>		

It is not being said that these are not good AN words - they are, but simply that they do not fit in the surroundings assigned them, in other words, they are not part of the PEO complex being presented and that as far as vocabulary alone is concerned, these languages do not belong to the PEO group; they are one of the 'other groups'. In fact some of the words have Solomon Islands occurrences; in one instance - No.12, *man*, the forms are of historical interest. For *man* a common WAN form is **taw* + **matah person-ripe*, i.e. *adult*. This form occurs in eastern WAN as *taumata*, *tamata*, and in that form reaches Fiji and in a slightly variant form is PN *taŋata*. This is also one of the PAN words subject to the labiovelarisation implied in the use of *ŋm* in Grace's script. But the Mota word *ta-nun* is *man real*, a different compound. Likewise, *raŋi* is PAN **laŋit sky*, but with a change of meaning which is found elsewhere - e.g. in *Buka*. It does not belong in the same series as **taŋata*. For No.11, *hand*, forms of *pane-* go back to a meaning *wing*, and forms of *gave-* seem to go back to a verb *grasp* (Eromangan *no-γoven*, and have nothing to do with the **llma* root which characterises PEO). No.17, *road mate-sala*, is the *eye of the way*, a local compound. No.21, *loto*, for *spit*, is found in *Roviana loro* and again is in the wrong company.

The word for *man* in the NNH is a form of *atatu(n)*, reduced in *Tolomako* (*Santo*) to *ta* or *ata*. This recalls *ata*, the word for *man* in the Eastern Indonesian areas - *Seran*, *Flores*, *Timor*, etc. If this indication can be accepted, *atatu(n)* is then to be regarded as **ata man* + **tu-na true, real* and compared with *Tolai tu-na*, of the same meaning, and so equivalent to Mota *ta-nun*, in which the second component is different but looks like a verbalised form of *tuna* (i.e. (*ŋ*)*tuna*). If the initial vowel of (*a*)*ta* is disregarded, then it may leave *ta* < **taw* and so fit better with Mota, but the problem then would be to explain where the initial vowel comes from. In any case, both words for *man* should be dissociated from **taŋata*. Another word that is not PEO, Mota *lama sea* has a direct comparative in *Roviana lamana*.

It should in all this be said that *Pawley* shows a deal of hesitation about the *Banks Islands-NNH* subgroup. He writes (after declaring for the subgrouping):

Still, it must also be said that a few bits of conflicting evidence were encountered. These seem to be most satisfactorily

accommodated by assuming that Proto-North Hebridean-Central Pacific was a dialect complex, spoken in the New Hebrides, and that North Hebridean languages remained part of a dialect chain for a period after separating from Central Pacific. (Pawley 1972:136)

On the other hand, it does seem extremely risky to base a difference of subgroups on the loss of *r as the one criterion, especially as this seems to have been rather a weak phoneme in OC as a whole.

It is perhaps worth considering that Banks Islands-NNH may not be a part of PEO. There can be no disagreement with Pawley's verdict on SNH when he says on the same page:

We also differ from Grace in excluding the Southern New Hebrides languages from our North New Hebridean-Central Pacific group. Indeed, these languages do not even meet the criteria for inclusion in Eastern Oceanic.

The implication of this last statement will be considered in the summary (4.3.4.1.). In the present chapter they are definitely not regarded as part of PEO but as belonging to something much older, to the very first movement of Austronesians into the Pacific. This may actually lend support to the idea of the New Hebrides as a 'homeland' although it is not intended to do so. It is clear that Aneityum has been influenced from a source very close to PPN. The presence of four numbers in the SNH pronouns, including formations in Tanna with final consonant representing a quadruple number would link this with the PN Futuna-Aniwa (but not Mele or Mae) showing the full pronoun set, while other traits which cannot be detailed here would suggest that the Philippine stratum (to be mentioned in 4.3.4.1.) would be involved with this.

The grammatical listings on the preceding pages also suggest that although the Banks Islands-NNH languages belong to the same Oceanic family as the PEO group they form in themselves a consistently different grammatical pattern to be separated from it. They, for instance, present the reciprocal prefix *pari- in its longer form, which is found in New Britain, Roviana and other places to the west, but nowhere else in the eastern region - not east of the Solomons, and in fact the only occurrence east of New Georgia is the occasional use of hari- in Arosi to indicate combined action. Futures involving i are found in Waya Fijian and then in Tolomako (north Santo), Oba and NNH, fairly generally in a few spots in the south-eastern Solomons; they are the final break-down of the PAN *panaw go, as appears when the NNH forms are studied in detail. The use of ma as a tense formant, usually past or at least aorist, is a feature of these languages, found more or less fossilised in parts of Fiji (it is now found only in the older poetry such as the Nakauvandra suite) and does not belong anywhere else in the PEO complex. Quite a number of other features in these pages which cannot be dealt

with here in detail also seem to justify setting these languages in a separate group, rather than classing them with PEO.

4.3.3.4. SANTA CRUZ AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES

The languages of Santa Cruz and the Reef Islands which are believed to be Papuan (and members of the East Papuan Phylum - see (I) 2.13.1.), though very heavily influenced by Austronesian are dealt with in a separate chapter of this volume by S.A. Wurm (4.5.3.) and therefore need not be discussed in this chapter. The Austronesian languages of the islands of Vanikoro and Utupua do at any rate appear not to be parts of the PEO group, but standing very largely by themselves.

4.3.3.5. WESTERN SOLOMONS AND SOUTH BOUGAINVILLE

The languages of the area between Isabel Island and Bougainville Island in the Solomon Islands stand out as non-PEO in a number of aspects. They are not particularly different in their sound systems, but a number of phonological features are to be noticed. Their morphology is different from that of languages farther south and farther west, and so, for that matter, does their syntax, although this last may not be diagnostic. Vocabulary items are very different from those that were thought of in 4.3.3.3., although there are some obvious connections with the Banks Islands and NNH languages to be seen in Roviana.

The subjects to be considered in the present section are (1) Phonology, (2) Morphology, and (3) Lexicon. Any of these could be studied in greater detail; the present section is an indication rather than an exposition.

4.3.3.5.1. Phonologies of the Western Solomons

The languages here grouped for convenience sake as 'Western Solomons' are by no means a unity. The languages of New Georgia are distinct from those of Choiseul, although there are resemblances that link them rather closely. The Mono languages of the Bougainville Straits stand quite apart from both New Georgia and Choiseul though just as far from PEO. The few Austronesian languages of southern Bougainville are different again but show traits that suggest close connection with, if not origin from, the Western Solomon Islands. Another fairly well documented language is Mandegusu of Eddystone Island.

A short lexicostatistical study of the languages of New Georgia and Choiseul was published by Capell (1968), and notes are included in the same author's 'Austronesian Languages of Australian New Guinea' (Capell 1971:274-82) for Buka and Bougainville only.

The phonologies of these languages show agreement in having /z/, which is otherwise rare in Oceania and is not presumed to be part of PEO. It is limited to the Western Solomons (WS) and does not appear either in Mono or in Bougainville. The Choiseul languages also have a mixed vowel transcribed generally as *ö*, which is an unrounded centralised vowel that varies slightly in different areas. Kuboro on Choiseul shows also *ü*. The languages agree in rejecting closed syllables and final consonants.

The lexicostatistical study showed an 11.5% agreement between Roviana and Babatana, 22% agreement between Roviana and Kia on the western end of Ysabel, and 17% agreement between Kia and Babatana. Mono, however, registers only 6% with Babatana and 13% with Kia. It is noteworthy that almost all the cognates on which these figures rest are AN words. Although the percentage of AN in all the languages seems to be comparatively small, it depends almost wholly on AN; if they were uninfluenced by AN sources, and were "NAN" languages, they would appear to be almost totally unrelated. S.H. Ray made a similar remark, concerning Babatana: he wrote: "The vocabularies show a connection with Roviana in which a majority of similar words are apparently of Indonesian (= AN) origin". (Ray 1926:567).

Of the Babatana words in Capell's 100-word list, only about half a dozen can be regarded as AN and this allows for some difficult sound changes. It is presumed for instance that **kutu louse* is represented in Babatana *vutu*, Ririo *vüc*, Sisingga *votu*, through Kuboro and Varise *utu*. The percentage of AN in Mono seems higher, but again there are difficult sound changes, e.g. *lulu breast*, would represent **susu* only through a mediating **ruru*, which is documented elsewhere than in the Western Solomons. Similarly, *uill skin* < **kullt* raises problems, as does *voi night* if it is to be linked with *(*m*)*beñi*. Roviana, on the other hand, shows 21 AN roots in the 100-word list. For Kia the number of AN roots does not seem to be more than 15, and the phonetic changes are not as great as in Mono.

The retention of final consonants from AN words has already been mentioned in this chapter in several connections, and this Western Solomons region is characterised by this type of word. PAN **ikan fish*, for instance occurs as *iyana*, *l'ana* throughout most of the region and in the Bougainville, Buka languages also (Capell 1971:278). Languages that do not permit final consonants must either drop them or strengthen them, and in the Western Solomons region the preferred choice is their strengthening through the addition of a vowel that tends to harmonise with the root vowel, as in Roviana *matayutu fear* < PAN **ma+takut*. In some cases there have been shifts of meaning: one such is *Vagua* (Choiseul)

manava *liver*. This root is treated by Dempwolff as *ma+ñawa, and it comes into Polynesian as manawa *belly*, which is entered by Grace (1969) in his finder list as a PEO root in this sense. The change of meaning may have something to do with local ideas about the seat of life: the question has apparently not been asked. The word manawa occurs very sporadically in Oceanic as *belly* apart from PN - for instance in some languages of the north-eastern coast of Papua, but in Melanesia it remains rather rare. *Liver*, however, is in Babatana mōmōni, and Kuboro mūmūni, which seems to compare with PAN *miñak, POC *mona(k) *fat*. The normal PAN *qatay *liver* is found only in Mono in this region.

On the whole the differentiating feature is not the type of sound system - apart from the mixed vowels that mark off the Western Solomons languages, but the small proportion of observable AN words. This indicates that some attention should be given to the lexicon, as has been said above, but structure will be considered briefly first.

4.3.3.5.2. Morphology of the Western Solomons Languages

Of the many points in morphology where the Western Solomons languages do not agree with PEO, the first outstanding point is the pronoun. A few examples are given in the following Table 5:

TABLE 5
PRONOUNS IN SOME WESTERN SOLOMONS LANGUAGES

English	Kia	Roviana	Varise	Babatana	Mono	Teop	Halia
<i>I</i>	aro	arau	ira	ra	maha	ena	alla
<i>thou</i>	ago	agee	aro	re	malto	ean	alö
<i>he</i>	mani	asa	ia	göi	-	eve	all
<i>we</i> (incl.)	igita	gita	ita	zita	maita	eara	ara
<i>we</i> (excl.)	gai	gami	rami	rami	mami	enam	alam
<i>you</i>	gau	gamu	ramu	ramu	maaq	eam	alimiu
<i>they</i>	maneri	arini	lra	zira	-	eori	nori

The g's in the above are all fricatives; Kia 3rd singular and plural are loans from Bugotu.

These sets of pronouns are characteristic of the Western Solomons including Bougainville and Buka languages, in their deviation from the common AN forms, but the types of the deviations differ from language to language. The differences are chiefly in the singular forms. The southern languages have introduced an -r- before the stem: Roviana a-r-au for PAN *aku, for which the PEO is *i-n-au. In each case the PAN *aku has shrunk to -au, which in PEO is preceded by the 'personal article' i, plus an -n- which could represent the common noun marker na

(though one would not commit oneself to this); the Western Solomons languages have added *a*, another very common 'personal article'. The *-r-* is peculiar and so far not explained. If Roviana *arini* *they* is broken down into *a- + rini*, the *-ri-* would invite comparison with PEO **(k)ida + ni*, which latter could be a demonstrative. It lies within the PEO group rather than the *si* group of Papua and EIN. In the northern Bougainville series, Teop uses a base *e-* on which to construct its pronouns; the endings, *-na*, *-an*, *-ve* are suffixed pronouns which serve as possessives: with *e-ve* *he* compare *te-ve his*. The change of *-t-* to *-r-* in the 1st plural inclusive is shared by the northern languages but not by the southern. Mono, again, has its own forms; a base *ma-* serves to build the pronouns on, and the roots undergo certain changes. In fact *ma-ha I*, even if divided *m-aha* (less likely) would not seem to be cognate with **aku*. The Torau *inau* is quite PEO, but Uruava *aria* fits the Western Solomons pattern better.

None of these languages except New Georgia seem to have the food and drink possessives *ke-* and *ma-* and even New Georgia does not have the drink forms. In fact, Roviana has quite deviant forms of possessive expression, which cannot be studied here. They seem to be purely local formations and are certainly not in the PEO tradition, nor for that matter in any other OC tradition either.

Verbal systems also are peculiar to the area; they differ from region to region and do not seem to be of AN origin, by and large, at all. Roviana marking of future time by preposed *kangu* and complete by preposed *ele* are examples of these differences. The northern languages of Teop and Buka have different systems again, all of which appear to be local formations, probably pre-AN. For brief remarks on these see Capell 1971:276-7. The Buka systems are particularly interesting. Petats is illustrated in the article just mentioned; Halia is simpler and is shown in Allen 1971:65. It is based on a division of past and non-past, in which the past is unmarked except for the occurrence of a verbal pronoun before the verb. Non-past is marked by the same verbal pronouns, but a suffix is added to the verb - it is identical with the possessive suffixes used with inalienably possessed nouns.

The Oceanic SVO order prevails in the syntax of all these languages, whose morphological structure and syntax are both quite simple. They draw the student's attention by the extent of their departure from PEO types.

What has been said above is sufficient to mark these Western Solomons languages off as a group by themselves. The southern and northern sub-groups do not seem to be dependent on each other, and grouping them both together here as Western Solomons languages is linguistically

inaccurate and not final. It is done only by way of exclusion from PEO. The problem of their real nature has not yet been considered.

4.3.3.5.3. Lexicon in the Western Solomons Languages

The discussion of sound systems has already carried with it incidentally some discussion of the words in which the phonemes occur. The point was made that the AN content in the Western Solomons languages seems to be relatively small - Ray made this observation in his *The Melanesian Island Languages* (Ray 1926) - and it is necessary to add that a different selection of AN vocabulary seems to have been made in different parts of the western islands. This point is brought out in Capell 1968, where it is remarked in one place that

The Mono-Sisingga comparison is also 12% but the content of the agreements is considerably different from those of the previous lists; the (shared) words are almost all AN, but are a different set, including now 'ashes', 'belly', 'ear', 'head' and 'tree' which have not appeared before. (Capell 1968:16)

This means of course that they are chosen from a whole POC language, not just words picked up from passers-by. Moreover, the words as they came to this region were complete, inasmuch as some final consonants are strengthened with the usual added harmonic vowel, as in Mono lamutu root PAN *be hairy*, which is an alternative to *vaka|, and the only occurrence of this root in the Western Solomons: *vaka| did not obtain currency anywhere, but *lambut did so in this one language.

Of the twenty words in these languages given in Capell 1971:277-8, most of the Western Solomons languages seem to agree in having or not having a certain PAN root; thus *RUMAH occurs in all of them for *house* and the other possible roots *balay and *banuma do not appear. On the other hand *bulan *moon* does not appear at all - the words are all NAN. In the case of *quzan *rain* the word occurs only in the north (Timputs and Hahon) and south of Bougainville (Torau and Uruava), but the bulk of the Buka languages use *lanjit *sky* as lanjits in a transferred meaning and with retention of final consonant with a supporting vowel only in Lontis lanjitsi. Words for *water* are based on *danum, not on *wayer where they are AN at all, and this recalls northern New Guinea usage.

Some less common AN roots (as far as Oceania is concerned) appear here also; for *dog* *asu is found in Buka and north Bougainville, whereas Grace's PEO *(ŋ)kaun seems to be present in Torau kaukau and possibly in Mono auwau (which suggests Wedau - Papua - auwou, Mukawa kakou and Gapapaiwa koukou). There is a chance, however, that these words are onomatopoeic rather than derivatives of the PEO root. The general Western Solomons word for *dog* is siki, which is NAN. *Head*, *ear*, and

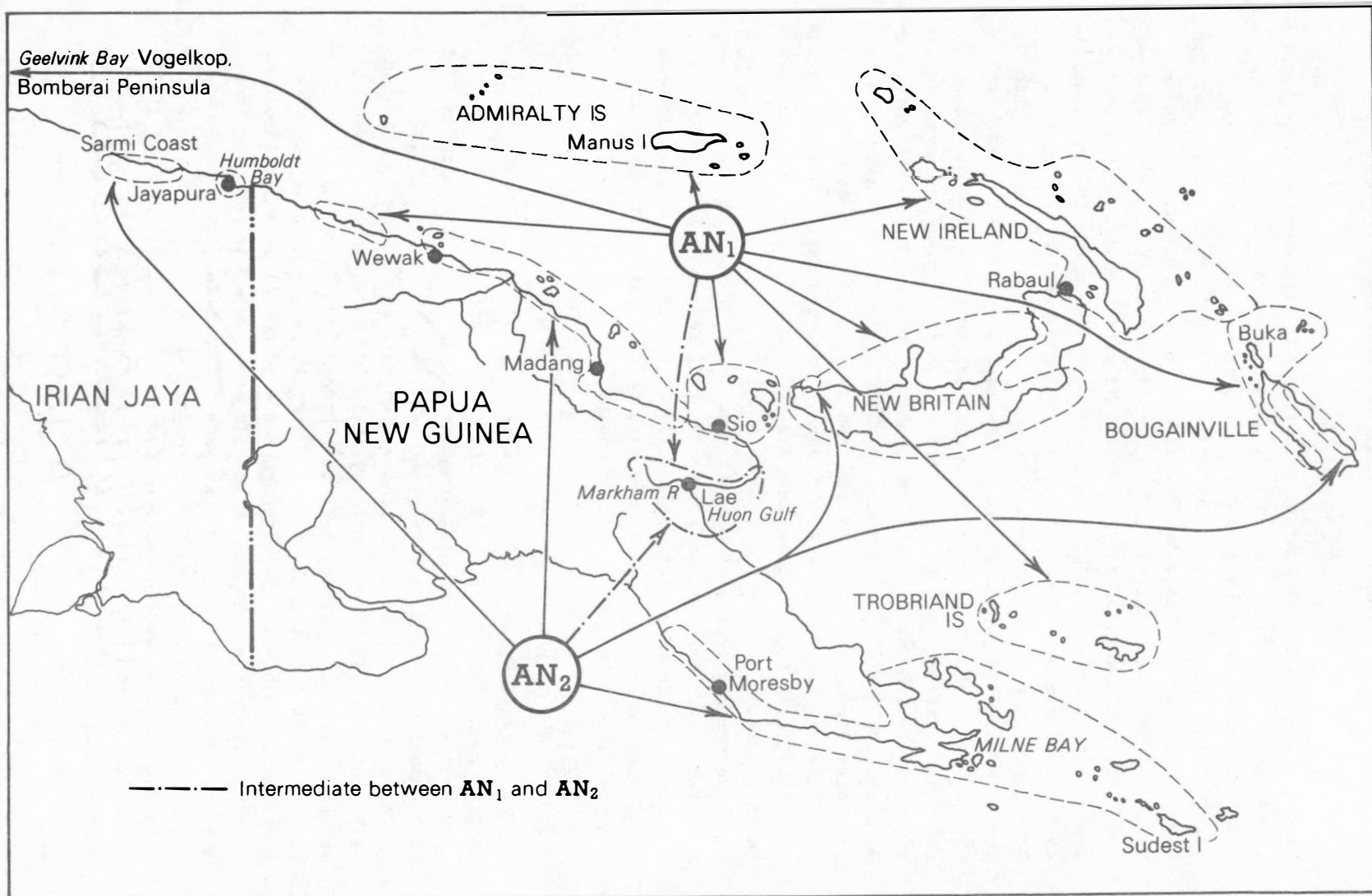
hand are present almost without exception but with considerable phonetic change in some areas of the Buka-Bougainville subgroup. In New Georgia all three roots are present but with exceptions; in Choiseul *hand* is rare but the other two words are common, while in Mono and the islands west of New Georgia the situation is much as in Choiseul. Torau and Uruava contrast strongly with Buka both in structure and in vocabulary. Teop provides a sort of stepping-stone between them. It has been suggested that the Torau people and their relatives along the Bougainville east coast have come from the Western Solomons region as migrants. Considering the older warfare, carried out in large and well-fitted canoes - whose very manufacture is now largely forgotten - this could well be true, though there is no direct evidence for it. One important point in assessing this is the existence in the Western Solomons of the infix -in- which, so frequent in Indonesia and especially the Philippines as a passive formant, is present in the Western Solomons languages as an active formant of verbal nouns, and is applied to words which are NAN: Babatana *kera sing*; k-in-era *song*. The root **kera* is found in the Bougainville area, but no evidence is shown for **kinera*, but this may be only part of the imperfect documentation.

These remarks are sufficient to make it clear that in Buka-Bougainville-Western Solomons there is a different 'basic' AN involved, one that is widespread and apparently originally in use as a language, from which the local peoples have taken a good deal, but which they seem to have learned only indifferently.

4.3.3.6. NEW GUINEA AUSTRONESIAN

The present writer has already written so much about NGAN both in earlier work (Capell 1969, 1971) and in this present volume (see 4.1.) that only a more or less diagrammatical summary is called for now, with some comments where necessary.

First, with regard to his subdivision into AN₁ and AN₂. This has been controverted by some writers, including those in the present volume. It does, however, seem to represent something real. As a phenomenon it is certainly a fact. Some languages do have an SVO order and some do have SOV. Even though there is not a complete dichotomy, it will seem clear that SOV is usually accompanied by postpositions and SVO by prepositions, and there are often different arrangements in the equational and descriptive sentences, so that if it is recognised that AN₂ may involve a complex of features, the absence of one of them does not invalidate the division. It is therefore maintained in the present chapter, and it does serve to point out certain specific types



MAP I: AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES, PAPUA NEW GUINEA

of AN languages which have had different histories from others. In fact, all these AN₂ languages would be candidates for being classed as 'mixed' if the term is accepted as used in chapter 4.5.1. of this volume, in which the idea of 'mixed language' is treated. In all the AN₂ languages the AN element seems to be more superficial than in the AN₁. Whether it is also quantitatively less cannot be said until full lexical studies have been done on a much larger scale than at present. Structurally the situation is as indicated above, and seems to justify subgrouping. In AN₁ types there is usually a difference between equational and descriptive sentences from the corresponding forms in AN₂; AN₂ verbal systems tend to be more complex - e.g. Dobuan or Mukawan verbal systems compared with Tuna or Manus are much more complex. The verb in Bel is much more complex than in Vogelkop Peninsula languages to the far west.

The AN₂ subgroups consist of:

- 1) South-eastern Papua, divisible into (a) mainland and (b) islands off South Cape as far as Sudest. (a) is again subdivisible into (a.i) coast from Yule Island eastwards to South Cape and Milne Bay, and (a.ii) north-east coast from north side of Milne Bay to Tufi (Cape Nelson).
- 2) North-eastern coastal Bougainville.
- 3) Bariai in Western New Britain.
- 4) North-eastern areas: (a) Some Rai Coast languages such as Swit and others, less so Mindiri, (b) languages of the Madang area, as well as languages further west as far as Kairiru, north-west of Wewak.
- 5) North-western areas; (a) Humboldt Bay, (b) Sarmi Coast.

The languages of the Huon Gulf area and of the Markham Valley such as Yabêm, Atsera and others occupy an intermediate position between AN₁ and AN₂ in containing features of both types.

The remainder of the NGAN area will then be AN₁, divided into the following subgroups:

- 1) Northern New Britain, and New Ireland, with the islands off New Ireland certainly separate from the New Ireland mainland languages.
- 2) North-western Solomons: (a) Buka Subgroup, (b) Bougainville Subgroup.
- 3) Remainder of New Britain (except Bariai, see above) with subdivisions: see A. Chowning's contribution in this volume (4.4.6.).
- 4) Trobriand area: Kiriwina and dependencies.
- 5) Sio and adjacent areas north of the Huon Peninsula.

6) Admiralty Islands.

7) Northern coastal and insular languages in Papua New Guinea, west of Kairiru near Wewak.

8) Western Irian Jaya: (a) Geelvink Bay and Vogelkop, (b) Bomberai Peninsula. These link more closely with EIN.

A few comments on these groups are in place. As stated, the languages of western Irian Jaya are more closely akin to those of Eastern Indonesia such as Buli, and to the languages of Buru, Seran and Amboyna, and possibly those of the Kei and Tanimbar Islands. These, along with Aru, still await linguistic examination. There are very clear differences in type between the Vogelkop Peninsula languages (Numfor, etc.) and those of Geelvink Bay area - Windesi on the west and the Waropen area on the east, and the Bomberai languages; some of the latter seem to incline more towards the Numfor type.

Another area on which analytical work is still required is that about New Britain. Chowning's contribution to the present volume, as well as earlier papers, have shown that there is considerable diversity in New Britain, and demonstrated that it is still too early to make definitive statements about them. The language of the Rabaul area, variously known as Kuanua, Tuna or Tolai, is the best known. One point of interest in regard to this is the number of Philippine features involved, such as infixes *-in-*, plural indication by means of *umana*, which seem to link with Philippines *maŋa*, Wolio (South Celebes) *maŋa*, and to be taken up in its turn in the Central New Hebrides by Nguna *maŋa*, all of them markers preposed to the noun, but following the article. Even the syntax of these pluralisers is the same as in the Philippines.

Even the AN₁ languages often contain features which are rather deviant from Oceanic types in general. Yabêm which shows AN₁ and AN₂ characteristics has developed tones which can be semantic. One example is a reflex of PAN **kulit skin*, and another of PAN *(m)beŋl *buy*. In Yabêm *skin* is óí and *buy* is òí. The original initial voiceless consonant is lost but results in a high tone; the original initial voiced consonant, although lost, is replaced by a low tone. This phenomenon tends to happen elsewhere in languages where tone is involved. Yet in this case surrounding NAN languages are not tonal. At what point this intonation system (two tones) developed it is not possible to say, but at least the initial consonants of the AN roots were still present when the words came into this region - quite likely the final consonant of **kulit* also was still present. At the same time, the Markham Valley languages represent a somewhat different tradition, in which **t*, kept in Yabêm, becomes *r*, as in Wampar *naro-n child, son* < POC **natu* (PEA **natu*) (Blust 1974).

Classification of the Admiralty Islands is indicated in Healey's contribution to this volume (see 4.4.5.). Here there is much more information to hand, but unfortunately most of it has not yet been published. The languages of the Sissano region are not well known, but a paper by Laycock (1973) has added to previous knowledge.

None of these languages can be fitted into the PEO group. One outstanding feature is the fact that NGAN as a whole uses as person markers of the 2nd sg. and pl. the morphemes *l* and *si* respectively, as against the *na* and *ra-* established by Pawley for PEO. This feature links them directly with the eastern group of WAN languages: those of the Moluccan region almost without exception have third person pronouns of this shape. So does Tuna, but east of New Britain *ra* marks the 2nd person pl., although *l* still appears for the singular *i* in many of the more easterly AN languages. In Eromanga, for instance, the 3rd sg. marker is *yi-* or *ye-* for past tense (*u-* for present), and *du-* for 3rd pl. past (*u-* for present). It would look as though the AN source for SNH might also be EIN, but this would need to be proved by examination of the lexicon which has not yet been done.

4.3.4. SUMMARY

In the present sections the discussions of the earlier sections will be summarised and an attempt made to suggest some results of the examination. These will be only tentative, because the examinations themselves have not been as thorough as final conclusions would necessitate, and in many cases the information available must be added to before finality can be hoped for. They will deal with the subgrouping suggested above, representing Oceanic (or Eastern Oceanic, if the term proves to be justified) and the results here put forward will be compared with those of Pawley in his 1972 work. The more recent works of Pawley and Green (1973) are less fully integrated, although their importance is not intended to be minimised in any way.

4.3.4.1. THE NON-PEO LANGUAGES

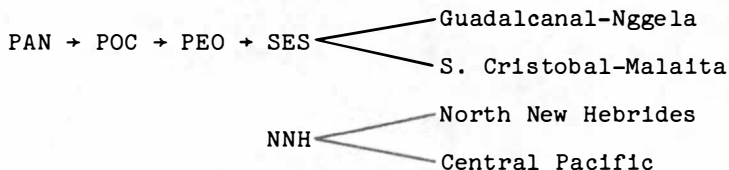
The preceding discussion was based on the presumption that there was something to be called Proto-Eastern Oceanic. Pawley is commendably clear as to what is involved in such a term:

First the term 'proto-language' refers only to the *end-point* in the period (*italics his*) of common development shared by a group of languages. Proto-X, then, is the stage immediately prior to the differentiation of the languages of group X into separate languages, and does not refer to the entire period of ancestral unity. For this the term pre-X is properly used and refers to the period of development up to the point of

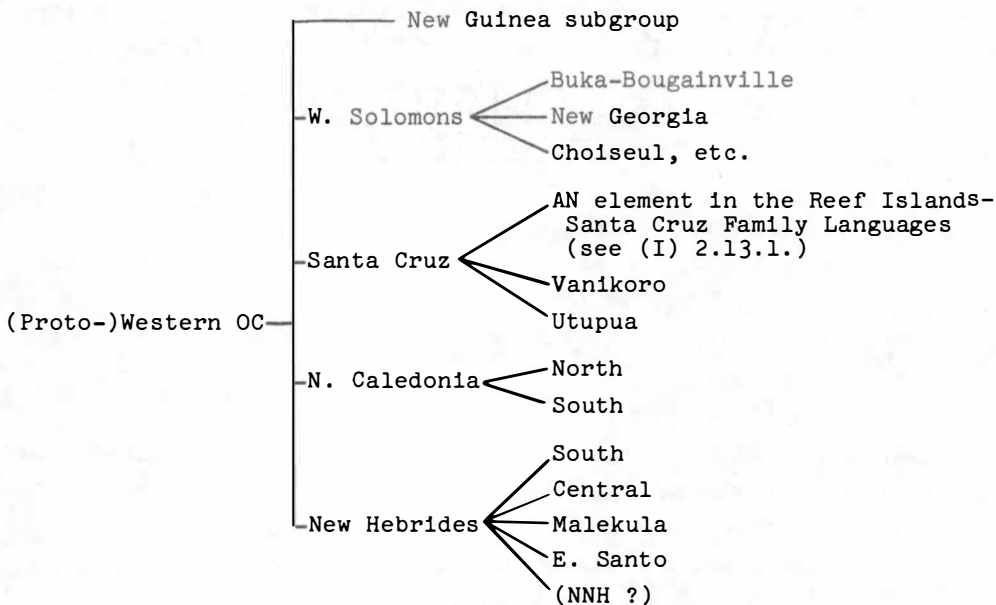
differentiation. The claim that Tonga is the homeland of the Polynesian languages is no more than the assertion that at the time of separation Proto-Polynesian was spoken in Tonga. It does not entail the claim that some earlier stage of Polynesian was also spoken in Tonga. (Pawley 1972:140)

The importance of this definition lies in the fact that it is generally understood - through earlier usage - that the 'homeland' of the Polynesians would be the area from which they originally dispersed into Oceania. In fact, a question will be asked on this subject at a later point of this section.

Pawley admits that there are many languages in the AN area that are excluded from his PEO. In fact they are not really the major group in Oceania. This paper has examined some of these in outline. A combination of Pawley's work and the present extension of it would present a diagram of the following type:



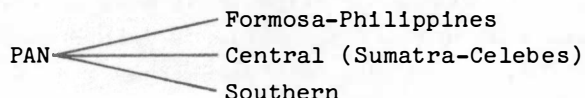
The additional study in the present chapter would diagram in the following way:



Always, of course, on the presumption that there was such a unity as (Proto-)Western Oceanic. It might then be possible to combine the two diagrams thus:



The stage intended by POC is difficult to relate directly with PAN, largely because there is no agreement yet as to what POC or even PAN really means. In diagram form it would seem:



The content of 'southern' was dealt with in an unpublished paper by Capell at the First International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics, at Honolulu in 1974 (Capell 1974). Roughly it comprises the islands west of Sumatra, and the whole trail of southern islands from Flores-Timor to Seran, Halmahera (south) and those about New Guinea. This is a possible analysis in terms of present knowledge, and it allows for the close connection between the AN languages of New Guinea (especially western New Guinea but also the eastern half) and those of eastern Indonesia. The question now is, which of these most nearly represents POC, if any do?

Seeing that NGAN leans quite heavily on southern PAN, then NGAN would derive largely from the more easterly languages, which differ in many regards from the others. In southern PAN we already begin to find words compounded in ways that carry over into Oceania. One of the best known examples is the word **tamata man*, which is found as far east as Fiji, and seems to be the basis of PN **taŋata*: when and why it changed *-m-* into *-ŋ-* is not known, but this matter is linked with the problem of OC /ŋm/ and other labiovelars. This still is not decided. The pronouns *l/si* of 3rd sg. and pl. - and the mixed set *l/da* all belong to this southern or eastern part of PAN.

There is also strong evidence for a movement using a Philippine type of language passing through the Pacific. It is not fully a 'Philippine' language, but something in which certain elements that are today present chiefly in the Philippines, were present then. Its marks are: (1) the infix *-ln-* which usually forms a noun from a verb. In Tuna (Tolai) and Roviana this is still a fully productive infix: Tuna *mat die* > *m-ln-at death* is a normal process in the language; so is Roviana *mae come* > *m-ln-ae arrival*. In Babatana of Choiseul there is *kera sing* > *k-in-era song*. It is so much part of the languages that it is not limited to AN

roots. Farther east, it occurs in a petrified form in some words, such as Nguna, *v-ln-aŋa food* which is < *p-inaŋan < *paŋan < pa + ka(e)n *eat*. (2) The pluraliser *maŋa* found in the Philippines and Wolio (Celebes), Tuna and Nguna. (3) Mutations of some verbs in the Epi-Nguna languages and apparently in Eromanga also - although the last has not been worked out in detail yet. For instance in Makura, Tryon (personal communication) points to *nindow I went or go*, future *nimbarow*; *nlllo'ohiak I see or saw you*, future *nimbaio'ohiak* showing the future marker *-mba-* used when no mutation is allowed; in Tasiko, *nepano I went*, but *nevano I will go*. Mutation here seems actually to mark irrealis as against realis, not simply future as against past-present. In Eromanga there is a complicated use of all these devices: *oriŋi hear* > *ya yumandiŋi I hear*, *ya yandiŋi I shall hear*, but *yau moriŋi I heard* - note a cardinal pronoun, not a verbal pronoun in this past tense: it seems to be a nominalisation *I am he who heard*. A full study of these changes, their effects and their origins, still waits to be done, but they seem to link with processes that are active chiefly in Philippine languages.

The last feature is geographically limited, but it was pointed out by Dempwolff fifty years ago in a discussion of Epi grammar, and it should not have been overlooked by linguists as it has been. Sufficient material about it is to be found in Ray 1926:240-1; 251-2 to make the situation fairly clear. It was discussed further by Capell in a paper presented to the Pacific Science Congress in Bangkok in 1957 (Capell 1963), but in this case a blind eye seems to have been turned to it by linguists, who have never even tried to controvert it. Philippine influences could not have been present so far east. Also in his 1943 work Capell discussed a "Philippine movement" as a possibility. At that time also the claim was largely rejected but not formally refuted. It still stands.

If all these points have any cogency at all, the picture presented by a gradual development of one basic language from PAN through what might be called natural stages to the present-day Oceanic languages becomes more difficult to accept.

4.3.4.2. POLYNESIA AND PROBLEMS OF MIGRATIONS

Polynesia provides another problem. Difficulties arise in regard to deriving PN from PEO or any other intra-Oceanic source. Since the development of comparative Oceanic studies along the lines set out by Dempwolff, it has been taken for granted that PN developed from some branch of PAN already located in the Central Pacific. Many assumptions involved in this theory have been bypassed or disregarded. Some of

these deserve mention if only to be brought into daylight and disposed of - or else allowed a weight hitherto denied them. They may possibly have more serious content than has been admitted, especially as archaeologists and prehistorians, so far as the present writer can ascertain through conversing with them, are not happy with a theory that derives PPN from PEO sources anywhere about the New Hebrides.

The physical character of the Polynesians is a difficulty, even when it is admitted that language and race do not coincide. Yet to brush these questions aside as irrelevant to the linguist is merely to close one's eyes to a real problem. It may be a matter for the physical anthropologist; language may vary independently of race - but sometimes it does not. AN languages spoken by two types of peoples so different physically as New Hebrideans and Polynesians - especially Central New Hebridean peoples: the northern ones seem to be closer to the Polynesians in physical type - needs explanation.

Secondly, and more strongly, the theory at present current regarding PN origins implicitly denies any possible element of truth in the accounts Polynesians themselves traditionally give of themselves. In part, this may be a swing of the pendulum against the overemphasis laid on these at the beginning of the present century. Perhaps the pendulum has swung too far against the overemphasis of the earlier period, and the claim of autonomy for linguistics has been advanced too strongly. The archaeologist and the linguist are learning to be friends and fellow workers. Polynesian tradition begins at Savaiki. This would be the 'homeland' in the older sense of the word, not in the sense that sees the location of proto-X as a 'homeland'. Perhaps there has been some misunderstanding by reason of a double use of the same word. Yet Tonga or any other part of modern Polynesia could not be Savaiki, even if the earlier interpretation of the word as 'Little Java' is rejected and a spot in modern Indonesia is not looked upon as any sort of 'homeland'. On the other hand there may well be a 'Savaiki' somewhere, and it is very unlikely to be in the New Hebrides. The word *savaiki* is common Polynesian: all the languages have a form of it. Samoan has *Savai'i* as one of the island groups; Hawai'i is well known, Maoris refer to *Hawaiki*. The basic form would be **savaiki*. This term yet exists in Futuna and Aniwa of the New Hebrides, and it is nearer the source, phonetically, than any other including Samoan. It is the only spot where such a form is still kept.

It is in western Futuna that PN pronouns still have four numbers: singular *avau I*; dual incl.: *akitaua you and I*; trial incl.: *akitatou we three*, and in addition a plural *akitea (a'kitia) all of us*. The last is a lineal descendant of PAN *kita*. It could not possibly be a

reverse reception from eastern Polynesia, because no other Polynesian language has it. It could not be a borrowing from Tanna, because although Tanna languages have four numbers, their plurals are quadruples, not the original PAN plurals: East Tanna has incl. katar, excl. kamar, which do not resemble the Futuna-Aniwa forms. The only explanation of them is that they are retentions from the earliest stratum of the language, and there seems to be no way of circumventing this conclusion. But to any current theory of PN movements it is disastrous to admit such a conclusion. A 'throw-back' cannot bring with it something it does not possess. Until that fact is recognised the PN question cannot be solved. The Futuna-Aniwa forms make it more than likely that the Polynesians who settled the eastern Pacific still had four numbers in their pronouns - or had lost them in the New Hebrides!

This is not to deny local influences on Futuna-Aniwa - they can be traced; it is only to postpone them till after the settlement of the islands. The intensely PN pattern of Aneityum syntax should not be overlooked, especially as it contrasts so sharply with Tanna, Eromanga and the rest of the New Hebridean languages.

In Dempwolff's vocabulary, of the approximately 2,200 PAN words, some 600 are found only in IN and PN, i.e. they miss 'Melanesia' altogether. This is about one quarter of the word store. With the recognition of PAN roots not accepted by Dempwolff because they do not occur in IN languages, the proportion may decrease somewhat, but not appreciably.

PN grammar has important elements that have no correspondences farther west: (a) apart from the cardinal pronouns lacking a true plural (their roots are PAN but their developments are different), PN articles differ: ta, te, ke, le, re have no counterparts in the west, either in Indonesia or Melanesia (using the term Melanesia as a geographic rather than a linguistic term for the moment). The commoner *na does not appear - unless the PN plural article ŋa is to be equated with it. Personal articles are similar in both areas, but not the common articles. (b) The suffixed pronouns survive only as a petrified element in a few kinship terms of third person singular, as Samoan telna *younger brother* < PAN (t)ag'i + -na. Futuna-Aniwa has a full set at least in the singular: what has happened to them elsewhere in PN? They are not borrowed in Futuna-Aniwa from surrounding languages, for these have -mu in the 2nd sg. while Futuna-Aniwa has the typical PN -u. (c) The system of noun classification in PN is quite different from that of other PN languages. Again, why? Where did the 'active-passive' classification come from, no matter whether this name or some better one is applied to it? (d) PN verbal systems do resemble some of those farther west,

especially those of South-East Solomonic, but the differences are still quite deep. Can they all be explained in terms of historical development? (e) PN syntax is very different from 'Melanesian' types. The difficulty here is that Futuna-Aniwa has a principally SVO order, while Aneityum and NC have VOS or VSO - all this needs investigation before a decision is made.

In addition to these purely linguistic matters, the anthropologist is no more to be disregarded than the archaeologist. PN kinship, chieftainship, and other organisations must surely rest on history, not to mention other elements of PN social life.

It is, of course, possible that all this can be fitted into a theory that allows the PN languages to have developed in the New Hebrides. At least the attempt should be made. At present linguistic theory is operating under bias very similar to that which led Dempwolff to reject any roots that did not appear in IN languages. He is acknowledged to have been wrong in imposing that limitation. The least the linguist can do is to take other possible origins of PN into account in his researches.

An article by S.A. Wurm (1967) might well be reviewed in this connection. In this he suggested that the AN immigrants may have come first into the islands, and been followed by non-ANs (Papuan). This seems very unlikely, but one point of grammar at least may become explicable on this basis. It was pointed out in the discussion of the Western Solomons languages that the infix *-ln-* is applicable to NAN roots, e.g. Roviana *zama say*, *zinama speech*; it is just possible that this type of application might operate more easily if the infix came in earlier than the special vocabulary of the language - if, that is to say, it was already there and was applied to incoming words, rather than vice versa. The whole theory of migration, as it were in reverse (as compared with other theories) is not easy, but is at least worth reconsideration, and it does help to account for the different physical bases of speakers of PN and other AN languages. It also avoids some of the difficulties of a general pidginisation theory, while providing a special type of 'pidginisation' that may be completely possible.

In the course of his argument, Wurm suggests by way of criticism of the earlier theory put out by Grace, that the latter

does not mention the presence in Melanesian languages of Austronesian words with petrified prefixes still living in Indonesian languages, though they require explanation. Above all, it is not answered why the Polynesians on the one hand, and the Fijians and Central New Hebrideans on the other, are racially different from each other. (Wurm 1967:32)

Later he says:

Whether the members of the Melanesian geographical race who migrated into the areas occupied by the Austronesian speakers spoke Papuan languages or had already adopted an Austronesian language in a modified form cannot be established with any degree of certainty...

- if so, that would be the original pidginisation. That there has been, somewhere and at some time, some pidginisation, is hard to deny. He does add, however, a little later:

In some areas the melanid immigrants may not have encountered and mixed with a local population, or may have killed it off, and these may be the areas in which the present-day Melanesian languages show the smallest Austronesian word content, aberrant phonologies, and in some cases even aberrant grammatical structures. Significantly, perhaps, the author has gained the impression that the highest Austronesian word content in Melanesian languages is found in some areas in which the admixture of the Polynesian geographical race in the (speakers of) present-day Melanesian languages is rather marked. (Wurm 1967:34)

Dempwolff himself found a Papuan substratum in Sa'a - see his *Vergleichende Lautlehre*, 2:192-3 (Dempwolff 1937). The idea of 'mixture' is thus recognised by the man whose work has turned most later students away from the idea. There is yet much to be done before the answer to the questions raised here can be firmly established.

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PART 4.4.

INDIVIDUAL AUSTRONESIAN GROUPS IN THE NEW GUINEA AREA

