

## NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF THE BRITISH SOLOMONS\*

A. CAPELL

Geographically the Solomon Islands form part of Melanesia, and the bulk of the languages in the Group belong to the Melanesian section (as at present accepted) of the Austronesian (AN) family of languages. In fact, one of them - Saʔa - was used by Dempwolff as a criterion language in the establishment of his 'Urmelanesisch' (Proto-Melanesian). There are a few small Polynesian-speaking settlements, but by and large the languages are MN. Not only so, but at the end of last century, P.W. Schmidt regarded them as the most distinctively and clearly MN languages of the whole section, and the south-eastern languages as stepping stones to Polynesia.

C.E. Fox, indeed, has gone a stage further, and regarded the Solomon Islands not Indonesia or the Asian mainland, as the place of origin of the AN languages, see his "Phonetic Laws in Melanesian Languages", *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 56 (1947), 58-118, especially the first pages.

The problem of linguistic strata in the Solomon Islands is complicated by the fact that the AN element itself does not seem to be a unity. This has been discussed in my paper on the Choiseul languages at this Congress. Apart from AN languages of any sort, however, there are non-Austronesian (NAN) languages, and these form the subject of the present paper. The island of Bougainville, in the Australian Administration, is largely non-AN. It will not be considered here apart from comparisons that will be briefly made in the concluding section of the paper. Those here discussed are found in the British Solomon Islands Protectorate. There are at present four of them, and from northwest to south-east they are Bilua (Vella Lavella), Bañata (Rendova I.), Lavukáleve (Russell I.)

---

\* Paper read at the Canberra 1964 meeting of the Australian and New Zealand Association for the Advancement of Science (ANZAAS).

and Savosavo (Savo I.). On New Georgia there were previously Kazúkuru and Galiguli and apparently Dororo as well, but in modern times they have been replaced by Roviana and it is now difficult to get information about them. Some brief vocabularies have been published (1) but practically no structural detail. Very little will be said of them in this paper, except for suggestions that point to a system of noun-classification at least in Kazúkuru. The details of locations appear in the accompanying map. The bulk of the discussion will be concerned with Bilua, Bañata, Lavukáleve and Savosavo under the abbreviations Bi., Ba., La. and Sa. respectively.

These languages share some common vocabulary, but it is small, and they are more outstanding for their differences not only from AN but amongst themselves. In all cases there are AN loanwords, but the present paper does not attempt to study these. A short vocabulary was given by S.H. Ray as a specimen, another is subjoined, which takes a different, a rather less common group of words which will show the differences between the languages at this level. It is based on the author's own fieldwork. There are points of contrast that will be of interest.

ENGLISH	BILUA	BAÑATA	KAZÚKURU	LAVUKÁLEVE	SAVOSAVO
<i>banana</i>	naka	vabu	vinovo	sa:	sou
<i>betel nut</i>	sangala	(heta)	piku	lɛo	bekeni
<i>crocodile</i>	esoro	seoto	biŋabiŋa	katalea	(vua)
<i>door</i>	veutu	ua feano	sinama	hoa	ngolo
<i>fly (n)</i>	salosalo	uruzu	zinogo	sou	kuvuyindi
<i>food</i>	sailao	e:maso	sinimai	ui	samu
<i>house</i>	pande	va	valou	tail	tuvi
<i>lip</i>	bauta	tevere	mono	leuman	napu sembe
<i>moon</i>	kamboso	indi	retulu	kua	kuye
<i>mosquito</i>	kerokero	i:muzu		mulukuíta	nonokea
<i>paddle (n)</i>	vozi (AN)	(voze,AN)	avi	kera	kajia
<i>pig</i>	bolo	bo	purono	foe	polo
<i>rat</i>	ruzi	siro		kusukui	kuzi
<i>sugarcane</i>	sisá	eu	mizamiza	sera	kemo
<i>taro</i>	ngoliti	ngoliti	mekohoni	suma	kake
<i>weep</i>	zia	ia:ia		lae	nei
<i>yam</i>	inari	mboe		(uvi,AN)	(uvi,AN)

A few AN loanwords are bracketed; and there are one or two Roviana loans in Bañata. The small degree of cognation must be left at the present to rest on observation; there is no space available to discuss degrees of relationship lexicostatistically.

## PHONETIC STRUCTURE

In spite of the radical differences in vocabulary and structure between these languages, the phonetic and phonemic patterns are remarkably homogeneous, and the peculiarities, such as the occurrence of /z/ are shared with the AN languages of the Western Solomons. A composite Table of Phonemes of the languages would look as follows:

	Labial	Denti- alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
stops	p, b	t, d		k, g	ʔ
nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
fricatives	f, v	s, z	ɲj		
laterals		l			
rolled		r			
semivowels	(w)		y		h
Vowels:					
		i		o	u
		e		ɔ	
		ɛ	ɤ		
			a		
			ā		
			a		

The voiced stops are prenasalised, and /j/ varies between (nz) and (ndz). The vowels have an additional component of nasality in Bañata, but this is being disregarded by speakers under about 40 years of age. Both length and stress may be phonemic in a given language, but tone is not so in any of them. As this paper is not a comparative grammar of the languages, it is not necessary to enlarge on the phonetic structure at this point, beyond remarking on the similarity of the Table of Phonemes in each, and adding that none of the languages permits either initial consonant clusters nor syllable final clusters. Some do not permit a final consonant at all - in fact, Lavukáleve is the only one that does so. The chief interest of this paper lies in the presentation of the morphological types of the languages, each of which will now be treated separately.

## MORPHOLOGY OF THE LANGUAGES

### (a) MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN

Unlike the MN languages by which they are surrounded, these four languages all possess noun classes - at least the first four on the list do, and indications will be given later that Kazúkuru also

probably does. Of the other languages, Bilua and Savosavo are two-class languages; Lavukáleve has three classes, and Bañata five. The expression of number is linked with that of class. In some of the languages each class has a dual and plural form, and in Bañata a trial also.

The systems of classification differ completely from language to language. Even Bilua and Savosavo, though each possesses two classes, do not appear to work on identical patterns. Lavukáleve with its three classes seems to be just a language like German with 'grammatical gender'. Bañata classifies according to principles quite different from any others. The languages of southern Bougainville also classify the nouns, but in a much more elaborate manner: Nasioi, for instance, has 50 noun classes. A brief language by language survey follows.

(i) BILUA

Here there are two classes of nouns, marked by the occurrence of the particles *vo* and *ko* before the noun: *vo maba*, 'man', *ko ñaña*, 'mother'. These are not articles, simply class markers. They recur with adjectives and certain other qualifiers, and with verbs, though sometimes in allomorphic forms: *runge ala maba*, 'bad man'; *runge ama ñaña*, 'bad mother'. Number is marked by an invariable *madu* or *poso* after the noun, irrespective of class: *maba poso*, *maba madu*, 'men'. An occasional reduplicated plural is found: *reko*, 'woman' > *rekoreko*, 'women'. The verb also carries class markers in the singular number, third person: *vo* and *o* for the one class, *ko* for the other: *o meake se*, 'he saw them' (*o*, 'he'; *m-ea-ke*, 'them-see-did', *se*, 'they', 'them' as subject or object); *vo ta o veake vo*, 'he saw him'; *ko ta ko vavingake vo*, 'she heard of him'. The key markers are *vo* and *ko*, which recur also in the possessive expressions: *maba vo méngora*, 'man's son'; *maba ko váto*, 'man's wish'. The particle used depends on the object possessed, not on the possessor. An adjective takes a special allomorph between it and a following noun: *vo* nouns require *ala*, *ko* nouns require *ama*, and the plural for both is *amu*. Examples have occurred above. The class markers may therefore be tabulated as follows:

	with noun	with adjective	with verb
I sing.	<i>vo</i>	<i>ala</i>	<i>vo, o v-</i> (object)
II sing.	<i>ko</i>	<i>ama</i>	<i>ko k-</i> (object)
I & II plur.	--	<i>amu</i>	<i>se m-</i> (object)

Actually certain other markers occur with the verb, which will be mentioned below.

How these classes may be denominated is a difficult question to

which no final answer has been given. The first missionary to describe the language, Rev. R.C. Nicholson, was content to call *vo* nouns masculine and *ko* nouns feminine, on the analogy of French divisions. It is true that *vo maba* is 'a man', and *ko reko* 'a woman' but it is not just a matter of the assignment of a noun to one of two genders. In Bilua, names of male beings (rational or irrational) take *vo*, all other nouns take *ko*, no matter what their significance, i.e. all the nouns traditionally 'neuter' or 'feminine' in English take *ko* in Bilua. The distinction here is rather masculine v. non-masculine. For practical purposes it is perhaps satisfactory to speak simply of classes I and II. Savosavo, with the same number of classes, justifies the use of the gender terms masculine and feminine better than does Bilua. In nearly all the languages here studied, noun-classification is marked by particles in the free form, not by bound morphemes. Lavukáleve has endings, and Bañata frequently both particle and ending. In the languages of Bougainville I., classes are marked chiefly by suffixes, and if the suggestion that Kazúkuru has a form of classification is correct, this would be a matter of suffixation also, as will be shown later.

(ii) BAÑATA

Classification in Bañata is a very different phenomenon from that in any of the other languages, and much more complicated. Both free forms and suffixes are used, and four numbers are marked in all but one class. Thus: 'man': singular, *zo fino<sub>o</sub>zo*, plural, *mo<sub>o</sub> finomo<sub>o</sub>*; dual, *zere fino<sub>o</sub>-zere*, trial, *no<sub>o</sub> finono<sub>o</sub>*. Not all nouns, however, carry the suffix in the singular. This is particularly true for the *vo* class (which is not masculine as it is in Bilua, but contains *vo ngohe*, 'woman'). One never says \**vo ngohevo*. The exceptional class that is indicated by *no* is the class of 'imponderables' to use a Bantu term, such as liquids, that cannot be subdivided and therefore has no dual, trial or plural, e.g. *no<sub>o</sub> fio*, 'water'; *no<sub>o</sub> ti*, 'tea'.

The Bañata classes may be tabulated as follows:

Class	Singular	Dual	Trial	Plural
I	<i>zo</i>	<i>zere</i>	<i>no<sub>o</sub></i>	<i>mo<sub>o</sub></i>
II	<i>vo</i>	<i>robe</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>me</i>
III	<i>no<sub>o</sub></i>	<i>rede</i>	<i>no<sub>o</sub></i>	<i>no<sub>o</sub></i>
IV	<i>na</i>	<i>rede</i>	<i>fio</i>	<i>zo</i>
V	<i>no<sub>o</sub></i>	--	--	--

Noun classification in Bañata is a very difficult matter. Tendencies may be noticed but overall rules cannot be stated. A few definite

usages stand out: male beings belong to the zo class and female beings to vo, but those classes are not limited to such obvious categories. Similarly the no class contains indivisibles or uncountables such as 'water', 'sand', 'steam' but also many others that are not really of this nature. Body parts are fairly wide in their distribution between the classes, as in most noun-classifying languages, and are as usual a disturbing feature. Some classes are conspicuous for the absence of certain types of nouns, e.g. the no class does not contain nouns relating to clothing, household or occupational utensils relationships, or nouns relating to magic or religion; the vo class similarly does not include the latter, most of which seem to be grouped with na.

Out of a sample of 266 nouns taken more or less randomly (from an alphabetically arranged English-Bañata vocabulary) the following table shows the occurrence in the various classes of each of the following groups of nouns: I. Body parts; II. Clothing; III. Objects about the house; IV. Relationship between people; V. Articles used in native occupations; VI. Fauna; VII. Flora; VIII. Geographical and astronomical objects; IX. Pathologies; X. Religious objects and terminology; XI. Miscellaneous.

na - 80	no - 25	no - 38	vo - 60	zo - 63
I - 6	I - 3	I - 2	I - 4	I - 5
II - 1	II - 0	II - 2	II - 1	II - 3
III - 5	III - 0	III - 4	III - 5	III - 2
IV - 3	IV - 0	IV - 0	IV - 2	IV - 7
V - 9	V - 0	V - 8	V - 10	V - 5
VI - 3	VI - 2	VI - 3	VI - 12	VI - 9
VII - 5	VII - 4	VII - 6	VII - 3	VII - 5
VIII - 12	VIII - 1	VIII - 2	VIII - 4	VIII - 5
IX - 2	IX - 0	IX - 1	IX - 0	IX - 0
X - 7	X - 0	X - 1	X - 0	X - 3
XI - 27	XI - 15	XI - 9	XI - 18	XI - 23

Thus assignment of nouns to a class is not a matter which can be treated definitively in a paper like this. While Class I is apparently chiefly masculine and Class II chiefly feminine in the native mind, native information states that round things, parts of body, leaves, birds and animals may be found in the vo Class, also, e.g. vo oroma, 'a log'; 'tree', however, is no orono. Class III includes places and times, and its marker is in fact used as a suffixes to express either location or time: area, 'together' > aro-no, 'in one place'; but this is not entirely the situation, for many nouns that are not locatives go into this class. The AN loanword mano-, 'bird' < (AN manuk) becomes

manon<sub>o</sub>. Even here there are complications: manon<sub>o</sub> is really a generic singular, a bird as an item in the landscape. The plural is no mano, birds as a class; specific birds spoken of are mo manomo, Class I plural. Class IV is a locative and contains nouns such as ?avo, 'garden', onga, 'floor', enefea, 'village', va 'house', but also a number of others, even nisa-na, 'slave', ?oro, 'rain', and obi, 'hand'. The word na ta:fo 'wall', gives a dual ta:forodo and trial ta:fofio, but plural like Class III singular, n<sub>o</sub> ta:fozo, but with nasalisation of the vowel preceding the suffix -zo- and this occurs usually before this ending. Clearer statements and lists of nouns contained in each class must await the preparation of a Grammar of the Bañata Language which is projected.

There is a fairly full sentence concord in Bañata, but the allomorphic forms of the different class markers need careful attention. The classifying particles occur in environments such as the following:

1. with numerals: a-zo habiri, 'one hambiri (fish)'  
a-no iyana, 'one fish' (< an ikan, 'fish')  
a-ná va, 'one house'.
2. with possessives: n<sub>o</sub> ere boen<sub>o</sub>, 'our yam'  
no no uno<sub>o</sub>, 'your taro'  
vo zo ngohe, 'his wife'.
3. with demonstratives de-na fefa-na, 'this book' (fefa < Engl. 'a paper')  
nge-mi uve, 'this fruit'.
4. with verbs -
  - (a) in some stative constructions: na ziraen<sub>o</sub> 'it (cloth) was torn';
  - (b) in relative clauses: zere finozere oi hinadi nodo-ro- 'the two men whom I saw yesterday'.

The concord used with verbs is quite different in principle from that found in the Bilua verb, as will appear later.

### (iii) LAVUKÁLEVE

This is the language of the Russell Islands, which has previously been called Laumbe. Laumbe is actually the name given to the Group by the Ysabel people opposite, and not the local name. The correct name is used here.

In La. there are three noun classes. The word for 'man' belongs to Class I, that for 'woman' to Class II, and just to that extent these classes may be denominated masculine and feminine respectively.

Class III does not appear to contain names of living creatures and to that extent is 'neuter'. However, Class I and II do contain inanimates, and so if the gender terminology is used, it must be recognised as 'grammatical gender' much as in German. Here a system of number ring will be used without prejudice to future decisions. Concord is extensive, taking in all kinds of attributes and a number of the verbal forms, and such expressions of locality as "where?", "here" and "there".

Class markers are postposed and unstressed: Class I sing. na, Class II la, Class III ya. These are subject to changes for dual and plural numbers, and - unlike the Bilua and Bañata noun - the noun changes to so. The dual forms of the markers are: Class I nála, Class II la, and Class III va|a. The plurals are Class I and II va, Class III does not occur. The essential element in the dual seems to be /|/ which recurs in the dual suffix -| added to nouns: mitakéu ne, 'the dog', mitakéu nála, 'the two dogs'. These number formations in nouns are, however, extremely irregular. Some correlation between suffix and particle in the plural is likely but has not yet been established.

In addition to the particle following it, the noun itself may bear a class suffix, Class I -m, pl. -y. The other classes carry suffixes not for nouns but for attributives:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>big man</i>	ali kuraim	airal kuraimal	malav kuraiv
<i>big woman</i>	homela kuraiyo	homelaol kuraiyal	homelav kuraiv
<i>big house</i>	tail kurai	tailal kuraiye!	tailav kurair

Suppletive plurals as shown above are not uncommon. The concord extends through the domain of a whole phrase: tailav koisovev ruvalev vuti:v 'many big new houses' exactly as in Latin and Greek. Similarly with locatives: ɲo volu vasiam? 'your gardens are where?'; na tail fo-ya, 'my house (is) here'; na kalem fo-na, 'my father (is) here'; ɲo kala fo:, 'my mother (is) here'. It will be seen that some words take the suffixial indicators, others take the particles as appended, unstressed suffixes.

There is no space to deal with the question of number indication by suffix; a few illustrations must suffice:

English	Class	Singular	Dual	Plural
<i>chief</i>	I	sulu-m	sulu-m-al	sulu-v-erav
<i>child</i>	I	vovou	vovou-l	tula-v
<i>crocodile</i>	II	katelea	katelea-l	katelea-v-il
<i>hill</i>	II	solo	solo-l	solo-v-il or solo-m-al
<i>house</i>	III	tail	tail-al	tail-av



The class markers are again not 'definite articles', though they often do seem to add a degree of definiteness. In combination with the class suffixes, their main purposes are:

i. to indicate a subject in a subject-predicate sentence: o sosa ya → hale, '*his neck + is broken*'.

ii. to indicate the subject in a complex phrase: felakoe of sulum na ve-m, '*village its chief has-gone*'; sulu-v-erav va ve-v, '*the chiefs have gone*'.

iii. the object of a transitive verb, usually definite: ami hin foe na akurum, '*who the pig he-has-killed?*'

iv. to indicate that an entire clause or phrase is to be taken as a composite subject or object: akove ŋo me-m na/ hoka tamu, '*he-whom-you-see is not here*'; in the local Prayerbook occurs the phrase god kia-m o o loe tamu o-me-m na, '*God strong-one and (o) his (o) end not he-is*', '*Almighty and eternal God*', with class marker -m throughout and a final unstressed na.

v. the class sign may also serve as a relative pronoun: talu sevoa la o loe tamu o-me-m na, '*the word holy has-come, which (la) was promised*'.

It is the syntax rather than the morphology of the la class markers that is complex, although the allomorphs of the number signs also raise difficulties for the learner. The use of the class suffixes in certain forms of the verb has appeared in the above examples. More will be said of it later. In general terms, their presence marks a stative or imperfective aspect.

#### (iv) SAVOSAVO

The earliest account of this language was given by R.H. Codrington in 1885 in his famous *The Melanesian Languages*, pp.559-565. He, however, could not believe that there could be a non-Melanesian language in the middle of Melanesia, as none had then been discovered. So he tried to force Savo into a Melanesian mould, although it was a "remarkably different language", and thus he missed the honour of being the first to find an NAN language in the group.

This language is generally simpler in structure than the other three. It has two noun classes, marked by preposed particles:

Class	Singular	Dual	Plural
I	lo	to	lo
II	ko	to	lo

That is to say, that a formal distinction is made only in the singular, but the other numbers are marked by distinct suffixes for the classes:

	Class I	Class II
Singular	'make' lo pepeí	'woman' ko adaki
Dual	to pepeílo	to adakízalo
Plural	lo pepeíya	lo adakíya

In this language the attribute precedes the nucleus and there is no concord. The markers lo and ko, however, are 'he' and 'she' as pronouns in the verbal phrase; to is 'they two' for both sexes, but 'they' is ze or zepo. The only concord found is in the possessive form of the pronoun, where Cl.I has -va and Cl.II has -ma, e.g. ai-va tone lo-va molae, 'me-of brother him-of canoe', 'my brother's canoe'. Number does not enter into the question, because attributes precede: 'my two houses' is ai-va edo tuvi, 'me-of two house'; to-va vobula, 'them-two-of midst-in', 'between them two'; 'the spirits' houses' is taruna ze-va tuvi, 'spirit them-of house(s)' (taruna is a AN loanword). If, however, a number forms a subject, then the marker may appear: edo to na pa solalala boi pafu, *the two of them have come to the village* (edo, 'two', to, 'dual', na, 'subject'). Demonstratives also contain the class markers as suffixes: ailo, aiko, 'this', matilo, matiko, 'that'; matito adakízalo, 'those two women'. The possessive signs va (sometimes a) and ma occur in a few other settings also, e.g. from dai, 'good'; daito(v)a angutayu lavae, 'he works well'; daitoma angutuýu lamae, 'she works well'. With some kinship terms the particles are omitted: ai mama, 'my mother'.

As in Bilua, there seems to be in Savosavo a simple dichotomy, which does not correspond to a masculine-feminine division, and is not a system of grammatical gender as in French. In Bilua, male beings belong to Cl.I (vo), all others to Cl.II (ko), all others to Cl.I (lo). The moon, however, is ko kuye, and this undoubtedly derives from earlier mythology; but there is also ko kuzi, 'rat'. The few exceptions such as these, stand out clearly. In general it may be said that while in Bilua the classification is male beings as against all others, here the classification is all others against female beings.

Those very brief notes set out the general lines of noun classification in the four languages under discussion. As already said, nothing is known of the grammar of Kazúkuru, Guliguli and Dororo on New Georgia. The Kazúkuru vocabulary, however, shows a number of recurrent noun terminations, which, in view of the class systems in the neighbouring NAN languages, might well prove to be class markers if the morphology of the languages could be investigated. The following list

of endings and examples will at least suggest this possibility within the limitations of the available lists. The vowel endings are doubtful, but these are only 3 out of 14 possible endings:

1. -i (?) *basket*: sukina-i (see No.3 also); *food*: sinina-i; *leaf*: nilo-i; *vine*: sero-i. These are all vegetable products.
2. -o: *dog*: pilipu-o; *spear*: zatoba-o.
3. -u: *basket*: sukono-u; *club*: vendoro-u; *house*: valo-u; *neck*: ningo-u; *leg*: nukolo-u; *valley*: leno-u. Some wooden or wooded objects and body parts.
4. -na: *flower*: ruvo-na; *husband*: lanasa-na; *woman*: kaza-na; *opossum*: hina pou-n; *stone axe*: taunou-na. Mostly living beings.
5. -ni: *fire*: hika-ni; *name*: zepo-ni; *rain*: makuhu-ni; *taro*: mekoho-ni; *road*: ritani; *stone*: pito-ni; *tongue*: lepa-ni; *water*: koli-ni; *wing*: siporo-ni. Objects and one or two body parts.
6. -no: *foot*: neu-no; *mother*: mama-no (cf. *father*: mama-to); *mouth*: nona-no; *pig*: puro-no; *sow*: gopi-no; *tree*: vudo-no; *yam*: miño-no; *shield*: lovi-no; *feast*: seoraña-no.
7. -ni: *lime*: sine-ŋi.
8. -ŋo: *egg*: lino-no; *fly*: zino-ŋo.
9. -ri: *bone*: sino-ri.
10. -ro: *hill*: miro-ro.
11. -si: *river*: sirati-si.
12. -ti: *blood*: rina-ti; *body*: vini-ti; *death*: metale-ti.
13. -to: *father*: mama-to; as against mama-no, *mother*.
14. -tu: *child*: rino-tu; *father*: ŋginu-tu.

These are only suggestions of a possibility; Guliguli and Dororo are sufficiently like Kazúkuru, according to Lanyon-Orgill's brief vocabularies, to make a similar possibility worth considering in those languages also.

#### (b) MORPHOLOGY OF THE VERB

The present paper does not permit of a statement of verbal morphology as full as that given of the noun. There is less homogeneity in verbal systems, and much more detail would be required to make them clear. The

few remarks that are made here are therefore included only for the sake of presenting as full a picture as possible of the languages within the compass of the available space.

None of the systems is simple; perhaps the least complex again is that of Savosavo. Here the verb is preceded by a subject which is marked by a particle *na* after it. Pronoun objects are both prefixed and suffixed: which verbs take which systems has to be learned. A verb which is nominalised by the suffix *-yu* may still take a prefixed object: *ali*, 'hit' > *lo aliyu*, 'a hitting' > *naliyu*, 'a hitting me': *lo na to leyei lo naliyu*, 'he saw the hitting me, he saw me being hit'. The forms of subject and object are as follows:

	PRONOUN SUBJECT	OBJECT PREFIX	OBJECT SUFFIX
Singular 1.	<i>añi</i>	<i>ñ-</i>	<i>-ñi</i>
2.	<i>no</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>-ni</i>
3. I	<i>lo</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>-li</i>
3. II	<i>ko</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>-yi</i>
Dual 1. incl.	<i>aye</i>	<i>mañ-</i>	<i>-yiñi</i>
1. excl.	<i>edo mai</i>	<i>ñ-</i>	<i>-ñi (?)</i>
2.	<i>pe</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>-pi</i>
3.	<i>to</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>-ti</i>
Plural 1. incl.	<i>mai</i>	<i>ñ-</i>	<i>-miñi</i>
1. excl.	<i>ave</i>	<i>ñ-</i>	<i>-viñi</i>
2.	<i>me</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>-mi</i>
3.	<i>ze(po)</i>	<i>z-</i>	<i>-mi</i>

Tense and mood are marked as follows: present: *na +* ; past *te + ... +tu*; future: *+te... tai*; imperative mood: *-a*. There are also some other modal signs.

This is a mere outline but serves to show that the Savosavo verbal system is not really complex. By way of contrast, Lavukáleve, Bañata and Bilua are too complex to be illustrated fully here.

In Lavukáleve verbs, a number of principles occur which may cross each other:

1. a verb may be preceded by a pronoun and carry the suffixed class and number markers: *hoina vo-m*, 'he comes'; *hol-nal vo-mal*, 'they two come', *hoi-v vo-v*, 'they come'. These all appear to be statives or imperfectives. In the perfective the markers are dropped: *mariven a vo*, 'yesterday I came'; *kosora fi á vo*, 'I will come now'.

ii. The class suffixes are added to a verb to mark the relevant

features of the object: e: suni e: le-m, 'we all we see-him'; hoina o le-v, 'he sees plural object'; el o lemal, 'us-two he-sees-two'; na o lai-m, 'me he-told-one-Cl.I': subject and object pronouns both precede the verb, usually object before subject as shown above.

iii. The tense scheme is elaborate, and some only of the forms are illustrated here. The negative is expressed by a syllable -la- before the tense markers. There are many periphrases, and class markers play their parts. A few examples:

*I am coming:* nai-vula-nu; neg. nai vo-la-m me-re-m fo-nai

*I will come soon:* gwafane vo-re-m fo-nai

*If I don't come:* vo-la-m nai siale

*I will come tomorrow:* nai raine vo-re-m fo-nai

*I will not come tomorrow:* nai raine vo-la-m sia-m

*Yesterday I came:* mariyen nai a vo

*I have come (stative):* na(i) vo-m

*I am about to come:* nai vo-ham fi hilame

*I am coming now:* nai vela filame

*I walk:* nai kelea fi; neg. nai kelca-la-m

*I walked:* nai kelea-m; neg. nai kelo-la-m

*I am walking:* nai kolea-nu; neg. nai kelea-la-m me-re-m

*I will walk:* nai kelea-re-m

*If I walk:* nai a kelea-le

The forms marked by fo- or fi- have many other uses which cannot be discussed here.

Object forms appear in the following examples:

*The snake sees us two:* tagio la mel o lemal

*The snake sees us three:* tagio la mesa o lev

*The snake sees the woman:* tagio la aira o lea

*The snake sees two women:* tagio la airaol o loaol

*The snake sees the women:* tagio la homelav o lev

The full analysis of the La. verb still awaits completion. The basic distinction, peculiar to this language, seems to be one of aspect as against tense.

In Bañata the class markers are involved in the verb only as far as relative clauses are concerned, as has already been shown. There is a suffix -feni which forms negatives; a suffix -?atiri which forms past conditionals (ei no are?atiri, *if I you had seen*). The base form of the verb indicates an imperative: rutu, 'make'. The tenses are based on a derived form in -a: horua, 'buy' (apparently a loanword from \*AN beli). This changes to -e in some tense formations and in such phrase compounds as zo horue finozo, 'the buying man, the merchant'. The -a form is used

after the completive iafa: iafa ei zo hua, 'I have told him'; to the -e form class markers are added: zo hofe zo ei hau-e-no, 'he came and told me'; na va e:do reu-e-nonggo, ei ngea i:si-vea, 'the house into when-I-go, I shall sleep-shall'. As shown in this example, tenses are indicated by a number of suffixes (e.g. -vea future) and auxiliaries (e.g. ngea, 'futurity'). Some of these follow the -a form: zo reu-a mosa, 'he is coming'. The -no classifier is used with the -e form of all verbs where time is stated or implied: revo no ngea voize-ve-no (< -vea-no)? 'when will you go?'. zera ei ngea voize-ve-no, 'I will go tomorrow'. The verbal object precedes the verb, and some verbs reflect it in a suffix: ei no nodo-na, 'I see you'; oi zo nodo-ra, 'I see him'; ei vo nodo-va, 'I see her'; ei zere nodo-ra, 'I see them two'; ei mo nodo-ma, 'I see them'. The person of the subject does not affect this ending.

The Bilua verb shares one or two features with Bañata but generally contrasts with the other languages. It is not affected by the noun classes except for a subject indicator. It changes ending for a number of tenses and moods, a few of which are exemplified here: -a, indefinite present; -la, -kala, near past; -ke, general past; -lou, future; -la, imperative; -te, habitual imperative. The language has -a/-e, forms like those of Bañata, each connected with certain suffixes: rongu-a, 'loves'; rongu-e-ke, 'loved'; rongu-e-lou, 'will love'; rongu-e-la, 'love'.

The verbal subject is a complex phrase. A noun subject is generally followed by ta and then by a verbal pronoun; a pronoun by ta and then repeated in a shortened form: aña ta a rongua, 'I love'. This ta seems to be a subject referent, like Japanese wa and ga, 'as for': ño ta ño ziovou, 'you (as for, you) will go'. In certain instances this ta and the second pronoun are omitted: pui a vai ñaña, kiñovou, 'that I don't know him, you will say'; se ke ola keru, 'they were going time, when they went'. There are also morphophonemic abbreviation of ta and the pronoun.

The object is expressed in two ways. In most verbs there is a stem suffix, before the tense marker: vo ta o rongu-e-la, 'he loves me'; rongu-ena, 'loves thee'; rongu-e-ma, 'loves them'; vo ta o rongu-eñ-ou, 'he will love you'. In others, the object is prefixed: v-sa, 'sees him'; l-ea, 'sees me'; l-o-lou, 'me see will'; k-ea, 'sees her'. Some again are compounded with a base ai and an invariable root: -ai ñaña, 'know' or -ati, as in -ati kue, 'bring'. In these cases the same set of prefixes appears: ño ta ño v-ati kuo-ke, 'you brought him'; o m-ai bazu-s-ka, 'he taught them'.

## CONCLUSION

The above sketch of the NAN languages of the British Solomon Islands is extremely inadequate but must serve until full grammars and vocabularies can be prepared. The noun classification is the interesting feature of these languages. Some resemblances to them may be found in the languages of southern Bougainville, although these classify more elaborately and on different principles. Often the different languages use the same markers for quite different purposes: thus,

- so (Siwai), zo (Ba.) mark masculine singular.
- nun, -na (Nasioi), na (La.) mark masculine singular.
- lo (Rotokas), lo (Savo) mark masculine class, singular.
- ko (Bi.) marks non-masculine; ko (Savo) marks feminine, while in Nasioi ko is partitive (*hau ko amoi, give me some taro*).
- ma suffixed marks non-masculine attributives in Bi. and Ba., and feminine possessives in Savo.
- ya in Savo marks plurals of either class; in La. it marks Cl.III singular.

At the same time there are other strange contrasts: in La. la marks feminine nouns, in Bi. it marks masculine attributes: *vo mola kale a-la maba, 'the canoe in man', 'the man in the canoe'*; in Bi. vo marks masculines, in Ba. feminines, while in Savo -va marks masculine possessives, and in La. -va, -v is a general plural marker.

Some of the MN languages of Malaita also have systems of noun classification by means of preposed particles. Kwara?ae, for instance, has 14 of these classes; they are set out in detail in N.C. Deck's "Grammar of the Kwara?ae Language" in *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 42 (1933), 39-42. These have been very little studied, but their interrelationships and any possible relations they may bear to the NAN languages, are worthy of further analysis.

