

## BANONI, PIVA, AND PAPUANIZATION

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### 0.1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I present samples of texts, of words, and of grammatical analysis from several varieties of the two Austronesian languages of southwest Bougainville, Banoni and Piva. These data are meant to be representative of these languages and useful for wider comparisons with other Austronesian languages. I do not undertake such comparative work here. I do compare Banoni and Piva with available lexical and grammatical information on Rotokas in order to test the claim that "Piva is a Banoni dialect strongly influenced in vocabulary by Rotokas" (Oliver 1949: 10) or that "Piva [is] Papuanized Banoni" (Oliver 1949: 10, Capell 1962: 168, 173).

I intend to show that Oliver's explicit claim about the relation of Piva and Rotokas vocabulary is incorrect. In the process I attempt a

general, explicit statement of the concept of Papuanization. I also try to test the more general claim that Piva is Papuanized.

Most of the information currently available is lexical, and that part of the test is quite satisfactory. The less detailed information on other facets of the languages involved entail weaker conclusions about the general claim.

## 0.2. DEFINITIONS

Banoni is an Austronesian language spoken from the Puriaka River to the Laruma River on the southwest coast area of Bougainville.

Piva is an Austronesian language spoken inland from the northern Banoni area from Laruma River toward Mount Bangana, also in Amun village to the north.

Papuanization is the process through which Austronesian linguistic devices of lexicon, grammar, and phonology are modified or distorted toward, or abandoned in favour of Papuan linguistic devices.

Papuan here refers to non-Austronesian indigenous languages of Papua New Guinea. In the Bougainville context, the Papuan languages are: Rotokas, Konua, Keriaka, Eivo (North Bougainville Phylum); and Siwai, Buin, Nasioi, and Nagovisi (South Bougainville Phylum) (See Allen and Hurd 1965).

Proto Oceanic refers to the language ancestral to all members of the Oceanic subgroup of Austronesian languages. Banoni, Piva, and several hundred other Melanesian, Polynesian, and Micronesian languages comprise this subgroup. Reconstructions are cited from Grace (1969).

## 0.3. ORTHOGRAPHY

I will use the Rotokas orthography established in *Vocabulary of Rotokas, Pidgin, and English* (abbreviated VRPE) by Firchow, Firchow, and Akoitai (1973). The vowels i, e, a, o, u represent the normal phonetic values; repeated letters represent long vowels.

p, t, k represent voiceless stops. s is a voiceless fricative which occurs only before i and could be treated as an allophone of /t/.

v represents [β] and in some varieties also [b] and [m].

r represents [ʀ] and in some varieties also [d] and [n].

g represents [ɣ] and in some varieties also [g] and [ŋ].

(See also Firchow and Firchow 1969.)

For Piva and Banoni, I will use the orthography proposed in Lincoln (1975). Briefly, p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, i, e, a, o, u represent

normal phonetic values; ts [tʃ] or [ts], dz [dʒ] or [dz], va [βa], [βæ], or [wa], vo or gho [β<sub>o</sub>], vu or ghu [β<sub>u</sub>], otherwise v [β], gh [ɣ], ng [ŋ], ' [ʔ], r [ʀ] or [l], and s [ʃ] or [s]. Pitch and stress are not marked. Repeated letters represent long vowels or nasals.

#### 1.0. LEXICAL COMPARISON OF BASIC VOCABULARY

The meanings represented in the Swadesh 100 Word List were chosen to facilitate quantitative statements of relationship among languages of a single family. One principle involved in the selection was to avoid words that were likely to be borrowings. The list is used here to test if the claimed heavy influence of Rotokas on Piva shows up in these most basic words. If the claim is true, it should be verified by this comparison. If the claim is not true, we will have to look further for evidence to decide the issue. We will see that the claim is not verified here and we will look at other evidence in a later section.

Now I would like to explain the structure and purposes of basic data presented in this section. Table 1 is arranged in eight columns. The first gives the gloss for the items in each row. The other columns show words with these meanings as found in three Banoni villages, three Piva villages, and the Rotokas dictionary. The words in the column labelled Mariga were collected during my field work in 1973 from a speaker representing the Mabas-Mariga cluster of villages. The words in the column labelled Matsunke were collected by Jerry Allen and Conrad Hurd, both of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, during their survey of the Bougainville District in 1963. The words in the column labelled (GWG) were collected by G. W. Grace during the Tri Institute Pacific Project in 1955. The village represented may be Koiari but that is my speculation, because the list was collected in Rabaul and the village is not known. The words in the column labelled Koromaketo were collected by Allen and Hurd in 1963, the Piva words were collected by me in 1973, and the Amun words, perhaps better called Buruve, were collected by Allen and Hurd in 1963. The Rotokas list was compiled by me from VPRE. I chose some synonyms for single meanings to be sure I got the right meaning and to be sure that I did not overlook any obvious borrowings.

The primary purpose of Table 1 is to conduct a limited search for shared words between Banoni or Piva and Rotokas. I will discuss individually each possibly shared word, but I would like to point out here other actual and potential uses of this table. I present in a later section a lexicostatistical study of the Banoni and Piva varieties. I

intend that the interested reader will be able to compare these lists with similar lists published for related languages, e.g. Hooley (1971).

There are several reasons for presenting so many lists. One is the internal comparison mentioned already. A second is that my observations of and information gathered about other villages speaking these languages indicates that all significantly different varieties of Banoni and Piva are represented. This forestalls the objection that the crucial Papuanized dialect might have been overlooked. The third reason is that the agreement among these reports by various collectors indicates that elicitation problems have been minimal for all (See Laycock 1970 for discussion of such problems and also design of SIL and TRIPP lists used).

Table 1 is presented on pages 81 to 85.

### 1.1. SHARED WORDS

#2 P: ghavutana R: gavuta *ashes*

The first two syllables may reflect Proto-Oceanic (POC) \*apu *ashes* with an unexplained initial consonant. A similar form of the word is found among several other Austronesian languages in Bougainville: Saposaa kuaf, Halia koahu, Uruava koavu (data courtesy of J. Allen, C. Hurd, and Summer Institute of Linguistics), and even as far away as Rabaul: Tolai kabu (Franklin, Kerr, and Beaumont 1974). These possible cognate words of wide distribution strongly suggest that the word comes to Rotokas from Piva.

#14 B: nukuta, nukuita R: rukuta *cloud*

This looks very much like Rotokas influence – but on Banoni and not Piva. /r/ and /n/ represent a single phoneme in Rotokas. (The Amun word was said to be the name of Mount Bangana rather than the word for *cloud*. However, I did not have a chance to go to Amun to verify this report by Piva speakers.)

#20 B,P: raga, ragha R: raka *dry*

The Rotokas word raka has the meaning *dry up* and also *reef*. Since the Rotokas mostly live in the mountains we should be suspicious that the word comes from coastal Austronesians. The correspondence of /gh/ or /g/ to /k/ is not what we would expect (compare #14). The answer may be that the Rotokas borrowed the word from their neighbours to the northeast, the Teop, where the word for *dry* is raka. This word is probably cognate with the Banoni and Piva forms but Teop is the more likely source for the Rotokas borrowing.

TABLE 1: SWADESH 100 WORD LISTS

Gloss	B A N O N I			P I V A			Rotokas
	Mariga	Matsunke	(GWG)	Koromaketo	Piva	Amun	
1 <i>all</i>	ke <u>kota</u> <sup>1</sup>	na <u>kota</u> <sup>1</sup>	na <u>kota</u> <sup>1</sup>	ane <u>kota</u> <sup>1</sup>	ane <u>kota</u> <sup>1</sup>	ane ne <u>goda</u> <sup>1</sup>	vara rutu
2 <i>ashes</i>	kavinoka	pona <sup>1</sup>	pona <sup>1</sup>	ghavutana <sup>2</sup>	ghavutana <sup>2</sup>	ghavutana <sup>2</sup>	gavuta <sup>2</sup> purukai
3 <i>bark</i>	kabun-na <sup>1</sup>	kabun-na <sup>1</sup>	kabun-na <sup>1</sup>	kabunu-na <sup>1</sup>	kabunu-na <sup>1</sup>	rageana	kakauoa, rakari rakari
4 <i>belly</i>	kore-na <sup>1</sup>	kore-na <sup>1</sup>	kore-na <sup>1</sup>	sopa-na <sup>2</sup>	sopa-gu <sup>2</sup>	siopa-na <sup>2</sup>	siare
5 <i>big</i>	bangana <sup>1</sup>	bangana <sup>1</sup>	bangana <sup>1</sup>	roghata <sup>2</sup>	roata <sup>2</sup>	vosa'ana	riro, rei
6 <i>bird</i>	manughu <sup>1</sup>	manugu <sup>1</sup>	manughu <sup>1</sup>	manughu <sup>1</sup>	manughu <sup>1</sup>	manu'u <sup>1</sup>	kokioto
7 <i>bite</i>	kanatsi <sup>1</sup>	kanata <sup>1</sup>	kanata <sup>1</sup>	kanatsi <sup>1</sup>	kanata <sup>1</sup>	kaanata <sup>1</sup>	avu, kotu
8 <i>black</i>	dotsi	nunumini <sup>1</sup>	nunumini <sup>1</sup>	ninupi <sup>2</sup>	ninupi <sup>2</sup>	tsibitsibi	sigarupa
9 <i>blood</i>	ngatsi <sup>1</sup>	ngatsi-na <sup>1</sup>	ngatsi <sup>1</sup>	maranaa-na <sup>2</sup>	marana <sup>2</sup>	makana	revasiva
10 <i>bone</i>	sipan-na <sup>1</sup>	sipan-na <sup>1</sup>	sipan-na <sup>1</sup>	spana-na <sup>1</sup>	sipan-na <sup>1</sup>	sipana-na <sup>1</sup>	keru
11 <i>breast</i>	<u>su</u> -na <sup>1</sup>	<u>su</u> -na <sup>1</sup>	<u>su</u> -na <sup>1</sup>	vi- <u>su</u> -na <sup>1</sup>	vi- <u>su</u> <sup>1</sup>	vi- <u>su</u> -na <sup>1</sup>	roroua
12 <i>burn</i>	bu <sup>1</sup>	bu <sup>1</sup>	vanangi	tomokou <sup>2</sup>	tsumoko <sup>2</sup>	bu <sup>1</sup>	piu, kasi
13 <i>claw</i>	—	kari tenge-na	—	kapai nae manughu	—	vighuna	—
14 <i>cloud</i>	kamo	kabu <sup>2</sup> nukuta <sup>1</sup>	vi-kabu <sup>2</sup> nukuita <sup>1</sup>	vi-kabu <sup>2</sup>		(a bangana)	rukuta <sup>1</sup>
15 <i>cold</i>	misangono	tootonoko <sup>1</sup>	totonoko <sup>1</sup>	vinogoro	omenaga	toonoko <sup>1</sup>	uteo, vukusi
16 <i>come</i>	tai- <u>ma</u> <sup>1</sup>	tai- <u>ma</u> <sup>1</sup>	tai- <u>ma</u> <sup>1</sup>	nu- <u>mai</u> <sup>1</sup>	nu- <u>mai</u> <sup>1</sup>	nu- <u>mai</u> <sup>1</sup>	urio
17 <i>die</i>	mate <sup>1</sup>	mate <sup>1</sup>	mate <sup>1</sup>	mate <sup>1</sup>	mate <sup>1</sup>	mate <sup>1</sup>	kopi
18 <i>dog</i>	bekeu <sup>1</sup>	bekeu <sup>1</sup>	bekeu <sup>1</sup>	bekeu <sup>1</sup>	vi-daga	bekeu <sup>1</sup>	kaakau
19 <i>drink</i>	kuu <sup>1</sup>	ku <sup>1</sup>	ku <sup>1</sup>	kuu <sup>1</sup>	ku <sup>1</sup>	ku'u <sup>1</sup>	roroo, ukaio
20 <i>dry</i>	ragha <sup>1</sup>	raga <sup>1</sup>	ragha <sup>1</sup>	raagha <sup>1</sup>	raga <sup>1</sup>	matsi	posiposi, raka <sup>1</sup>

Gloss	B A N O N I			P I V A			Rotokas
	Mariga	Matsunke	(GWG)	Koromaketo	Piva	Amun	
21 <i>ear</i>	tangina <sup>1</sup>	tangina <sup>1</sup>	tangina <sup>1</sup>	taghina-na <sup>1</sup>	tagina <sup>1</sup>	tangina-na <sup>1</sup>	uvareoua
22 <i>earth</i>	gomono <sup>1</sup>	gomono <sup>1</sup>	gomono <sup>1</sup>	vi-paata <sup>2</sup>	vi-peta <sup>2</sup>	e-peeta <sup>2</sup>	rasito
23 <i>eat</i>	tam <sup>1</sup>	tam <sup>1</sup>	tam <sup>1</sup>	tam <sup>1</sup>	tam <sup>1</sup>	tam <sup>1</sup>	aio,gata
24 <i>egg</i>	panusu <sup>1</sup>	panusu <sup>1</sup>	panusu <sup>1</sup>	panusu <sup>1</sup>	panusu <sup>1</sup>	panus <sup>1</sup>	takura
25 <i>eye</i>	mata <sup>1</sup>	mata <sup>1</sup>	mata <sup>1</sup>	mata <sup>1</sup>	mata <sup>1</sup>	mata <sup>1</sup>	osireito
26 <i>fat</i>	maringi <sup>1</sup>	maringi <sup>1</sup>	maringi <sup>1</sup>	maringi <sup>1</sup>	miringi <sup>1</sup>	maringi <sup>1</sup>	sisiera,tuuga
27 <i>feather</i>	pun-na <sup>1</sup>	puata <sup>2</sup>	puata <sup>2</sup>	puata <sup>2</sup>	puata <sup>2</sup>	vunu <sup>1</sup>	orupa
28 <i>fire</i>	dzai <sup>1</sup>	dzai <sup>1</sup>	dzai <sup>1</sup>	dzai <sup>1</sup>	dzai <sup>1</sup>	vi-abi <sup>1</sup>	erava,eto,tuitui
29 <i>fish</i>	bosi <sup>1</sup>	bosi <sup>1</sup>	bosi <sup>1</sup>	bosi <sup>1</sup>	bosi <sup>1</sup>	vi-igana	atarito
30 <i>fly</i>	burunu <sup>1</sup>	burunu <sup>1</sup>	burunu <sup>1</sup>	bururu <sup>1</sup>	bururu <sup>1</sup>	bururu <sup>1</sup>	papa,vokapie
31 <i>foot</i>	taban-na <sup>1</sup>	tabana <sup>1</sup>	napini	vana <sup>1</sup>	taghana <sup>1</sup>	pitopito	tasiua
32 <i>full</i>	—	busa	--	vonu <sup>1</sup>	ko tsubu	bonu <sup>1</sup>	agasi
33 <i>give</i>	mana-a <sup>1</sup>	mana <sup>1</sup>	mana <sup>1</sup>	mana <sup>1</sup>	mana <sup>1</sup>	mana <sup>1</sup>	vate,roopie
34 <i>good</i>	daame <sup>1</sup>	dame <sup>1</sup>	daame <sup>1</sup>	daame <sup>1</sup>	rovi <sup>2</sup>	vi-rovi <sup>2</sup>	rekoreko
35 <i>green</i>	kiaka	bubune <sup>1</sup>	bune <sup>1</sup>	vi-buune <sup>1</sup>	bebune <sup>1</sup>	bunebune <sup>1</sup>	uriko
36 <i>hair</i>	pun-na <sup>1</sup>	pun-na <sup>1</sup>	pun-na <sup>1</sup>	vunu <sup>1</sup>	vunu <sup>1</sup>	buno <sup>1</sup>	purukou,orui
37 <i>hand</i>	numa-na <sup>1</sup>	kamarigina	numa <sup>1</sup>	vi-ghuuna	numa <sup>1</sup>	vi-numa <sup>1</sup>	vavae,vuvuko
38 <i>head</i>	tope-na <sup>1</sup>	tope <sup>1</sup>	tope <sup>1</sup>	topene <sup>1</sup>	tope <sup>1</sup>	tapine <sup>1</sup>	kukueva
39 <i>hear</i>	nongono <sup>1</sup>	nongono <sup>1</sup>	nongono <sup>1</sup>	nongono <sup>1</sup>	nongono <sup>1</sup>	nongono <sup>1</sup>	uuva
40 <i>heart</i>	momono <sup>1</sup>	vuvasa-na <sup>2</sup>	momo <sup>1</sup>	vughasana <sup>2</sup>	momo <sup>1</sup>	vugavugasa <sup>2</sup>	vovouisi
41 <i>horn</i>	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
42 <i>hot</i>	monoghu	vaisisiki <sup>1</sup>	vaisiki <sup>1</sup>	vaisisiki <sup>1</sup>	vaisiki <sup>1</sup>	vasikisiki <sup>1</sup>	kasirao
43 <i>I</i>	na <sup>1</sup>	na <sup>1</sup>	na <sup>1</sup>	ana <sup>1</sup>	ana <sup>1</sup>	ana <sup>1</sup>	ragai
44 <i>kill</i>	<u>tsuna</u> <sup>1</sup> na ke mate	<u>tsunu</u> <sup>1</sup> va mate	<u>tsunu</u> <sup>1</sup> nna	<u>atsunu</u> <sup>1</sup> wa mate	<u>atuna</u> <sup>1</sup>	ba mate	roveu kepipie

Gloss	B A N O N I			P I V A			Rotokas
	Mariga	Matsunke	(GWG)	Koromaketo	Piva	Amun	
45 <i>knee</i>	—	tsungu-na <sup>1</sup>	tsuguna <sup>1</sup>	tsunguna <sup>1</sup>	tsughuna <sup>1</sup>	vi-tunguna <sup>1</sup>	kotupiu
46 <i>know</i>	kuki <sup>1</sup>	kuuki <sup>1</sup>	kuuki <sup>1</sup>	kiinai <sup>2</sup>	kinai <sup>2</sup>	kinar <sup>2</sup>	taraisia
47 <i>leaf</i>	nanna <sup>1</sup>	nanna <sup>1</sup>	nanna <sup>1</sup>	vagini <sup>2</sup>	vagini <sup>2</sup>	vagivagindi <sup>2</sup>	vagai, vakia <sup>2</sup>
48 <i>lie down</i>	tsereghe <sup>1</sup>	vivitsi tserege <sup>1</sup>		te <sup>2</sup>	kapurona	te <sup>2</sup>	gere
49 <i>liver</i>	date-na <sup>1</sup>	tsebara date <sup>1</sup>	sabara date-na <sup>1</sup>	vi-ate <sup>1</sup>	vi-ate <sup>1</sup>	vi-ate <sup>1</sup>	tokata
50 <i>long</i>	gaarusu <sup>1</sup>	garusu <sup>1</sup>	ghaarusu <sup>1</sup>	ghegharege <sup>2</sup>	gheghareghe <sup>2</sup>	ghareghareghe <sup>2</sup>	kaekae, riro
51 <i>louse</i>	ghutsu <sup>1</sup>	vutsu <sup>1</sup>	ghutsu <sup>1</sup>	ngisa <sup>2</sup>	ngisa <sup>2</sup>	vi-ghotsu <sup>1</sup>	irui
52 <i>man</i>	tamata <sup>1</sup>	tamata <sup>1</sup>	taavana <sup>2</sup>	tsioni <sup>3</sup>	tsioni <sup>3</sup>	vi-tavana <sup>2</sup>	oirato
53 <i>many</i>	kabang <sup>1</sup>	kabang <sup>1</sup>	vadzumare <sup>2</sup>	pipisi <sup>3</sup>	pipisi <sup>3</sup>	vadzumare <sup>2</sup>	riroara
54 <i>meat</i>	kogana <sup>1</sup>	kogana <sup>1</sup>	kogana <sup>1</sup>	sigho-na <sup>2</sup>	sigho-na <sup>2</sup>	bi-sigho-na <sup>2</sup>	siope to
55 <i>moon</i>	madava <sup>1</sup>	madava <sup>1</sup>	madava <sup>1</sup>	madava <sup>1</sup>	madava <sup>1</sup>	pigina	utavai kekira
56 <i>mountain</i>	tonoso <sup>1</sup>	tonoso <sup>1</sup>	mete	tonoso <sup>1</sup>	tonoso <sup>1</sup>	vi-tonoso <sup>1</sup>	toisikova pukui
57 <i>mouth</i>	mango-na <sup>1</sup>	manga <sup>1</sup>	mango-na <sup>1</sup>	asene <sup>2</sup>	vi-asene <sup>2</sup>	papana	gisipo
58 <i>name</i>	dase-na <sup>2</sup> vasanga-na <sup>1</sup>	vasanga <sup>1</sup>	vasanga-na <sup>1</sup>	wasanga <sup>1</sup>	wasanga <sup>1</sup>	wasanga <sup>1</sup>	vaisia
59 <i>neck</i>	kokoromo-na <sup>1</sup>	kokoromo <sup>1</sup>	kokoromo <sup>1</sup>	ngio-na <sup>2</sup>	ngiom <sup>2</sup>	vinio	kairo kopairo
60 <i>new</i>	ghoom <sup>1</sup>	ghom <sup>1</sup>	ghom <sup>1</sup>	evaunu <sup>1</sup>	vaunu <sup>1</sup>	marekun	airepa
61 <i>night</i>	bongi <sup>1</sup>	bongi <sup>1</sup>	bongi <sup>1</sup>	bongi <sup>1</sup>	bongi <sup>1</sup>	bongi <sup>1</sup>	rupa voki
62 <i>nose</i>	vivitsi-na <sup>1</sup>	bisu-na <sup>2</sup>	vivitsi <sup>1</sup>	visu-na <sup>2</sup>	visu <sup>2</sup>	viisu-na <sup>2</sup>	iruvaoto

Gloss	B A N O N I			P I V A			Rotokas
	Mariga	Matsunke	(GWG)	Koromaketo	Piva	Amun	
63 <i>not</i>	ghinava <sup>1</sup>	inama <sup>1</sup>	ginayama <sup>1</sup>	ka ana <sup>2</sup>	ka'ana <sup>2</sup>	kana <sup>2</sup>	viapau
64 <i>one</i>	kadaken <sup>1</sup>	kadaken <sup>1</sup>	kadaken <sup>1</sup>	kadakeni <sup>1</sup>	kadaken <sup>1</sup>	kiisina	katai
65 <i>path</i>	sanana <sup>1</sup>	sanana <sup>1</sup>	sanana <sup>1</sup>	raimi <sup>2</sup>	raimi <sup>2</sup>	vi-raimi <sup>2</sup>	raiva <sup>2</sup>
66 <i>person</i>	tavana <sup>1</sup>	tabana <sup>1</sup>	taabana <sup>1</sup>	tawana <sup>1</sup>	na-tavana <sup>1</sup>	vitsionikatsu	oiravure
67 <i>rain</i>	gharau <sup>1</sup>	gharau <sup>1</sup>	gharau <sup>1</sup>	gharavu <sup>1</sup>	gharaghu <sup>1</sup>	vi-garao <sup>1</sup>	kokeva, rauriva
68 <i>red</i>	bubu <sup>1</sup>	bubu <sup>1</sup>	bubu <sup>1</sup>	memerana <sup>2</sup>	memerana <sup>2</sup>	ebubu <sup>1</sup>	turuea, revasi
69 <i>root</i>	baghara <sup>1</sup>	baghara <sup>1</sup>	baghara <sup>1</sup>	bagharai <sup>1</sup>	viaputu	bagara <sup>1</sup>	vavurupa
70 <i>round</i>	—	papadaka <sup>1</sup>	papadaka <sup>1</sup>	papadaka <sup>1</sup>	—	papadaka <sup>1</sup>	kororo:si
71 <i>sand</i>	pitsima <sup>1</sup>	pitsi <sup>1</sup>	piitsima <sup>1</sup>	buini <sup>2</sup>	vuini <sup>2</sup>	buini <sup>2</sup>	rogara
72 <i>say</i>	dara <sup>1</sup>	dara <sup>1</sup>	dara <sup>1</sup>	visaava daagha <sup>2</sup>	vi-dagha <sup>2</sup>	tsiuro	pura
73 <i>see</i>	reghe <sup>1</sup>	rega <sup>1</sup>	reghe <sup>1</sup>	reghe <sup>1</sup> kato <sup>2</sup>	katoa <sup>2</sup>	romai	keke
74 <i>seed</i>	<u>vana</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>vara</u> <sup>1</sup>	kamari	nganiina <u>vaana</u> <sup>1</sup>	kakumu	<u>vaana</u> eviago <sup>1</sup>	vurua
75 <i>sit</i>	gona <sup>1</sup>	gona <sup>1</sup>	gonna <sup>1</sup>	gona <sup>1</sup>	gona <sup>1</sup>	napa	pau
76 <i>skin</i>	kabuna <sup>1</sup>	kabuna <sup>1</sup>	kabun <sup>1</sup>	kabunu <sup>1</sup>	ghuni	vitua	rakari, kakauoa
77 <i>sleep</i>	matsure <sup>1</sup>	tserege	matsure <sup>1</sup>	tekunungu	tee <sup>2</sup>	tee <sup>2</sup>	uusi
78 <i>small</i>	kisarikunu	kiikinaki <sup>1</sup>	kikinaki <sup>1</sup>	pasuru <sup>2</sup>	pasuru <sup>2</sup>	kakisaka	kakai, gare kakapikoa
79 <i>smoke</i>	dasa <sup>1</sup>	dzaso <sup>1</sup>	daso <sup>1</sup>	vi-aso <sup>1</sup>	vi-aso <sup>1</sup>	vi-aso <sup>1</sup>	kupareto
80 <i>stand</i>	tsigom <sup>1</sup>	tsigom <sup>1</sup>	tsighong <sup>1</sup>	tsughonu <sup>1</sup>	tsughonu <sup>1</sup>	tsuvonu <sup>1</sup>	tore
81 <i>star</i>	pipito <sup>1</sup>	pipito <sup>1</sup>	pipito <sup>1</sup>	pipito <sup>1</sup>	pipito <sup>1</sup>	pipito <sup>1</sup>	visiuriko, aviko
82 <i>stone</i>	paratsi <sup>1</sup>	paratsi <sup>1</sup>	paratsi <sup>1</sup>	paratsi <sup>1</sup>	paratsi <sup>1</sup>	paratsi <sup>1</sup>	aveke
83 <i>sun</i>	para <sup>1</sup>	para <sup>1</sup>	nanga	para <sup>1</sup>	para <sup>1</sup>	para <sup>1</sup>	ravireo

Gloss	B A N O N I			P I V A			Rotokas
	Mariga	Matsunke	(GWG)	Koromaketo	Piva	Amun	
84 <i>swim</i>	sum <sup>1</sup>	su <sup>1</sup>	kasa	tso kapene	sisiu	tsubu	aata
85 <i>tail</i>	kokoreka <sup>1</sup>	kokoreka-na <sup>1</sup>	kokoreka-na <sup>1</sup>	vavivurna	kurena	kokoreka <sup>1</sup>	kookoopi ,tope tope
86 <i>that</i>	nana	nabo <sup>1</sup>	nabo <sup>1</sup>	aneya	eia vua	rii rani	eva
87 <i>this</i>	ie <sup>1</sup>	ie <sup>1</sup>	nabe	ane- <u>ie</u> <sup>1</sup>	nanai	ebaare	vao
88 <i>thou</i>	no <sup>1</sup>	no <sup>1</sup>	no <sup>1</sup>	aghoi <sup>2</sup>	aghoi <sup>2</sup>	aghoi <sup>2</sup>	vi
89 <i>tongue</i>	mea-na <sup>1</sup>	mea <sup>1</sup>	mea <sup>1</sup>	mea <sup>1</sup>	mea <sup>1</sup>	mea <sup>1</sup>	arevuoto
90 <i>tooth</i>	niki-na <sup>1</sup>	nuki <sup>1</sup>	nuki <sup>1</sup>	noki <sup>1</sup>	noki <sup>1</sup>	vi-noki <sup>1</sup>	reuri ,ketato
91 <i>tree</i>	napini <sup>1</sup>	naapini <sup>1</sup>	naapini <sup>1</sup>	ghau <sup>2</sup>	ghau <sup>2</sup>	vi-ghao <sup>2</sup>	asiao ,evaova
92 <i>two</i>	toom <sup>1</sup>	tom <sup>1</sup>	toom <sup>1</sup>	tonua <sup>1</sup>	tonua <sup>1</sup>	toonua <sup>1</sup>	erao
93 <i>walk</i>	tai <sup>1</sup>	tai <sup>1</sup>	tai <sup>1</sup>	nau	taghana <sup>2</sup>	tagana <sup>2</sup>	voka
94 <i>water</i>	koromo <sup>1</sup>	koromo <sup>1</sup>	koromo <sup>1</sup>	koromo <sup>1</sup>	koromo <sup>1</sup>	vi-koromo <sup>1</sup>	uukoa
95 <i>we</i>	ghata <sup>1</sup>	ghata <sup>1</sup>	ghata <sup>1</sup>	aghaita <sup>1</sup>	aghaita <sup>1</sup>	aghaita <sup>1</sup>	vigei
	ghamam <sup>2</sup>	—	ghamam <sup>2</sup>	—	amam <sup>2</sup>	—	igei
96 <i>what</i>	hoa <sup>1</sup>	sua <sup>1</sup> paringi	ke sava	eka aeka <sup>2</sup>	eka?e <sup>2</sup>	—	eakea <sup>2</sup>
				e paringi	—	pairingini	apeisi
97 <i>white</i>	kakata <sup>1</sup>	kakata <sup>1</sup>	kakata <sup>1</sup>	kakata <sup>1</sup>	kakata <sup>1</sup>	kavokavo	kaapo
98 <i>who</i>	hee <sup>1</sup>	<u>se</u> <sup>1</sup>	no <u>see</u> <sup>1</sup>	asiaghoi <sup>1</sup>	<u>asee</u> <sup>1</sup>	<u>sie</u> ni <sup>1</sup>	iroua
99 <i>woman</i>	moon <sup>1</sup>	mono <sup>1</sup>	moon <sup>1</sup>	maunu <sup>1</sup>	maunu <sup>1</sup>	maunu <sup>1</sup>	riakova
100 <i>yellow</i>	kakarasa <sup>1</sup>	kakarasa <sup>1</sup>	marekatsi	ghari <sup>2</sup>	ghari <sup>2</sup>	maamisa	kesie

#36 B: pun- P: vunu, buno R: purukou *hair*

If this is a borrowing, and the extra syllable in Rotokas suggests that this may be chance resemblance, then the borrowing is surely from Austronesian, reflecting Proto-Oceanic \*pulu *body hair*.

#47 P: vagini, vagivagindi R: vagai, vakia *leaf*

The Piva forms may be borrowed from Rotokas; however, I cannot explain the differences. Further, I cannot explain the differences between the two Rotokas words. We have already noted that variation in voicing is not likely in the Rotokas system. There is another Rotokas word for leaf, guruva. It would seem that none of these had a direct relation to the Piva words.

#54 P: sigho- R: siopeto *meat*

Again, there is a similarity, but the Rotokas word has extra unexplained syllables, making this probably a chance resemblance.

#64 B,P: kadaken R: katai *one*

There is similarity here too, but again it is likely a chance resemblance. Recall that the Rotokas system relies heavily on the voiced-v.-voiceless distinction. So while we can accept correspondences among voiced consonants as being regular, we should not expect correspondences between voiced and voiceless consonants. Thus, /d/:: /t/ correspondence is likely due to chance. Further, dropping /k/ and final /n/ would be possible, but if the influence were from Rotokas to Piva we would need to know why these consonants were added. Such problems are avoided if we conclude that this is a chance resemblance.

#65 P: raimi R: raiva *path*

The match here is quite good (recall that the Rotokas spelling may be pronounced [raima]). Since the Banoni form reflects POC \*salan or \*njalan, it is quite likely that the Piva word is borrowed from Rotokas displacing an Oceanic word.

#96 P: eka aeka, eka'e R: eakea *what*

This is perhaps the best and most significant example of Rotokas influence on Piva, because it appears to have displaced a high-frequency and usually stable Austronesian word that might be considered a grammatical morpheme.

#97 P(Amun): kavokavo R: kaapo *white*

This looks like a possible early loan, either to or from Rotokas. The Amun now live up the coast not in direct contact with Rotokas speakers.

## 1.2. EXTENT OF INFLUENCE

To evaluate the extent of influence in basic vocabulary, we can classify the shared vocabulary according to source and goal of influence.

Rotokas to Piva: #96 *what*, #65 *path*, less likely #54 *meat*, #47 *leaf*.

Rotokas to Banoni: #14 *cloud*.

Rotokas to Amun: Possibly #97 *white*.

Rotokas to Banoni and Piva but not Amun: Possibly #64 *one*.

Piva to Rotokas: #2 *ashes*.

Banoni to Rotokas: Perhaps #36 *hair*.

Teop to Rotokas: Probably #20 *dry*.

The basic 100-word vocabulary is at least 90% free of influence in either direction.

There are two clear examples of Rotokas influence on Piva. Even accepting the less likely cases as influence rather than chance resemblance would not verify the claim of strong influence. On the other hand, since the sample is not really representative, we must examine further evidence to disprove the claim. Let us first consider possible influence on grammar.

## 2.0. GRAMMATICAL COMPARISON

Banoni and Piva have such surprisingly different tense/aspect marking that I was not able to make much sense out of the latter in my brief exposure. They both use similar sets of preverbal particles but with quite different effect.

### 2.1. SKETCH OF BANONI ASPECT

#### Completive

The most used aspect is the one showing completion of activity or state of being:

/ko/ with first or second person singular,

/ke/ with third person singular, and

/ka/ with all persons in plural.

With active verbs:

na ko tai *I went.*

no ko tai *Thou went.*

nna ke tai *He went.*

ghata ka tai *You and I went.*

With stative:

numa ke daame *The house is good.*

Future tense

Other markings are not inflected for person:

/ta/ immediate or definite future; all persons.

na ta geroo *I will go back.*

Completive and future

Completive and future may be combined, giving the idea of something in progress that is about to be completed.

na ko ta geroo *I am going back.*

With statives, this combination emphasizes progress:

Ken ke bangana *Ken is big.*

Ken ke ta bangana *Ken has become big/Ken is getting big.*

Indefinite future

Indefinite future is expressed by /ma/.

ghata ma ngasa kang *Let's chew some betel.*

na ma geroo *I should return.*

Negation

Negation of completive is expressed by /to/.

na ko to tai *I did not go.*

sigana ke to daame *The pepper catkin is no good.*

Negation of indefinite future also involves /to/.

na ma to geroo *I should not return.*

Negation in present is expressed by /ghinava maa/.

na ghinava maa kuki *I don't know.*

This very brief sketch is of course incomplete, but gives a glimpse of the high points of Banoni aspect and should be sufficient to interpret most of the text in a later section.

## 2.2. NOTES ON ASPECT IN PIVA

/ko/ past for all persons.

aria ko nau *They went.*

e ko pee *Then he said.*

/tsa/ future for all persons.

agham tsa nau *You go.*

/tso/ present all persons.

ana tso kina *I know.*

/tso/ also past.

ana tso nau *I went.*

ana ko taghana *I walked.*

/ka/ future (dependent?).

keni mai ghom ebuva<sup>gha</sup>, ana ka repi  
 Bring some betel nut, {<sup>I</sup>for me} {will}to chew.

/ka/ is used with negative.

tavana ka'ana ka butsi ane e bekeu  
 The man did not hit the dog.

These notes are incomplete and somewhat inconsistent, but one can see that a different system is at work even though some of the markers look very much the same in Piva and Banoni.

In both languages, verbal prefixes correlate with the subject or agent of the verb, e.g. /va-/ (causative prefix) and verbal suffixes relate to objects. With these facts in mind, let us look at Rotokas.

### 2.3. ROTOKAS VERB SKETCH (from VRPE)

Rotokas verbs are marked with suffixes for

- (a) continuing action /-pa/,
- (b) subject: person, number and gender, and
- (c) time.

time	intransitive	transitive
remote past	/-epa/	/-va/
distant past	/-era/	/-vora/
near past	/-erao/	/-vorao/
immediate past	/-e/	/-vo/
present	/-ei/	/-voi/
near future	/-vere/	
distant future	/-verea/	

### 2.4. CONCLUSION

We can see that Rotokas marks the verb in a totally different way for different categories than either Banoni or Piva. This means no influence detected.

### 2.5. COMPARISON OF WORD ORDER

Banoni and Piva have much the same word order options. Basically,  
 (Time)(Subject)Verb(Subject)Object(Time)(Place)....

Subjects may come after the verb, showing subjunction of a previous clause to show sequence of events. For example,

nna ke kotsi. ke kotsi-a nna, nna ke ghoitsi.  
 He cut (it). Having cut-it he, he carried (it).



- 2  
T: ke tovi-ria tsina-ri  
P: ko tovi-ria a-tsinaria  
M: tsina-ri ke tovi-ria na-natsu-na ghe-ri ghinima.  
G: mother-their P send-them pl-child-her their five A-mother-their
- 3  
T: (ma taigham) mo sisi. " gham ta sisi  
P: sisiu. " tsa sisiu  
M: ka tai mo sisi. "rubasa-na sisi me-gham,  
G: P go to bathe finish-its you F bathe your
- 4  
T: ghammi ghotsu-  
P: wa-ruba' agham, vi agham ko ghotsu  
M: mami  
G: cause-finish you, then you P return
- 5  
T: -ma nna tsunaka  
P: gero- -mai ane tsuna  
M: toghoso -ma paghe-mi toton-na  
G: back go up hither him but don't-you lose-him
- 6  
T: kasi-mi kikinaki paghe-mi totom."  
P: a-kasi-miu pasuru kenakena  
M: kasi-mi kina."  
G: bro.-your small don't-you lose get-get-him
- 7  
T: nari ka tai naanaa.  
P: nuvu aghame." vi aria ko nau.  
M: ka ghuru  
G: pull you then they P go so go down
- 8  
T: ka ne sisi naanaa. ka si-sisi.  
P: vi aria ko sisiu. ko sisiu  
M: mo sisi.  
G: then they P come and to bathe so P (pl)bathe
- 9  
T: ka si-sisi. vi kasi-ri gari  
P: ko sisiu a-kasi-ria rooghata  
M: rubasa-na sisi man-nari kasi-ri bangana  
G: finish-its P (pl)wash their then A-bro.-their big
- 10  
T: ke va, "be-batava ba"  
P: ane ko pee, "be-batava'ita agham"  
M: ke va-i-ri, "to-toghoso"  
G: he P say-D-them pl-get {<sup>out</sup><sub>up</sub>} us you !
- 11  
T: ka batava nana vi nna ke va  
P: vi aria ko batava vi ane ko pee  
M: ke va  
G: then they get out that then he P say

- 12 T: "vai-se -ta kam. ghata te ghe-ra ghinima-nuu."  
 P: "vai-se -ta 'om. aghaita te ghe-ra nima-nuvu."  
 M: kerui-ta. ghe-ra ghinima-nuu te."  
 G: recip.-count-us first we are our five-only are
- 13 T: vi ke se nana-i gari  
 P: vi ko se 'ikaa kasi-ria rooghata  
 M: kasi-ri ke tanegha mo se  
 G: bro.-their then P begin to count this-D bro.-their big
- 14 T: "kadaken, toom, dapisa, tovatsi, ee  
 P: "kadakeni, tonua, topisa, vavatsi, ee  
 M: "kadaken, toom, dapisa, tovatsi, naghama  
 G: one two three (ord)four listen
- 15 T: va-ghinima ba ghinava-ni."  
 P: va- nima-ra ka'aana."  
 M: va-ghinima-ra te ba ghinava-ni."  
 G: ord-five-our is ! not-here
- 16 T: ka sane nobe.  
 P: vi aria ko suku mai.  
 M: nari ka kobo gero nobe mo sane.  
 G: then they P go-down back again to search again hither
- 17 T: ka hatawa gero nobe.  
 P: vi aria ko batawa gero mai karaia  
 M:  
 G: then they get-out back hither again [?]
- 18 T: ghe-na kadaken ke wa, "e ko reke na mo  
 P: "  
 M: " vatana i na ko  
 G: his one P say O.K. this time I P see I to
- 19 T: se -ta."  
 P: aghaita ka vai-se gero-mai 'om."  
 M: se -ta ta."  
 G: we P recip.-count-us is back-hither-first
- 20 T: ke se nobe, vasi katsu ta  
 P: vi ane ko va-se-mai vasi-na katsu-mai  
 M: nna ke vasi katsu ta-u-va  
 G: then he P cause-count-hither again just-it only-hither is-there-it
- 21 T:  
 P:  
 M: kasi-na bangana mo se. ghe-ri tovatsi katsu ta.  
 G: bro.-his big to count their four only are

- 22  
T: vi nari ka ghotsu naanaa.  
P: aria katsi ko ghotsu  
M: rabaka-ri mo ram  
G: then they just P return-their just to village
- 23  
T: tsina-ri ke va nau, "kave?"  
P: a-tsina-ri ko pee nau, "gere?"  
M: tsina-ri ke va-i-ri, "vai vasi?"  
G: A-mother-their P say- -them there "How's it?"
- 24  
T: "e ba kadaken wa-ghinima-mam ke karikoto."  
P: "vi kadaken-ni -mam ko karikoto."  
M: " kadaken-ni -mam te ba ke soko."  
G: well one-of ord-five-ours is ! P loose
- 25  
T: vi tsina-ri ke va nau  
P: ko vasi-na ane a-tsina-ria. a-tsina-ria ko pee  
M:  
G: P say?her he A-mother-their then A-mother-their P say there
- 26  
T: "para, ko reke na mo se -mi  
P: "aia, ana ka se panamae-mi 'om  
M: " ko se -mi ta naa.  
G: O.K. I F P see I to count [?] you first is {<sup>O.K.?</sup><sub>I</sub>
- 27  
T: vi nna ke se nau "kadaken, toom, dapisa,  
P: vi a-tsina-ria ko vasi "kadaken, tonua, va-topisa,  
M: "kadaken, toom, dapisa,  
G: then A-mother-their then she P count there one two three
- 28  
T: tovatsi, va-ghinima, aa, gham kota-i  
P: va- vatsi, va- nima, aa, agham kota tee'e  
M: tovatsi, ghinima, gham kota te  
G: (ord)-four (ord)-five ah you all-D is
- 29  
T: ka ghotsu -ma ba nna katsu nanaba.  
P: ko ve-ghotsu -mai vi ane katsu ba na.  
M: (kami) ghotsu -ma  
G: P (you) recip.-return -hither then ! it only that!

TRANSLATIONS (Numerals refer approximately to lines of original text.)

Torikina: The five of them went. (2) Their mother sent them (3) to bathe. "You will bathe, (4) then return (5) here; but (6) don't lose your little brother." (7) So they went. (8) They went and bathed. They bathed and bathed. (9) They bathed and bathed. Then their eldest brother (10) said, "get out of the water!" (11) So they got out. Then he said (12) "Let's count up first. We are only five." (13) Then the oldest counted, (14) "One, two, three, four; oh, oh! (15) the fifth one isn't here!" (16) They searched again. (17) They got back out of the water again. (18) One of them said, "O.K. I'll see if I can (19) count us." (20) He counted just like before. (22) So they went back. (23) Their mother called out to them, "How was it?" (24) "Well, one

of us, our fifth, got lost." (25) Their mother said to them, (26) "All right, I'll see if I can count you." (27) She counted out "One, two, three, (28) four, fifth; ah, you're all (29) back now." So that's all (there is to this story).

Piva: Once upon a time, the five of them went out (2) their mother sent them (3) bathing. (4) When you finish bathing, then come (5) back here, but (6) you must bring your little brother back too. (7) Then they went out. (8) Then they bathed and bathed (9) and bathed. Their eldest brother (10) said, "Let's get out of the water, you guys." (11) Then they got out. And then he said, (12) "Let's count up first. We are only five." (13) Then the eldest brother counted, (14) "One, two, three, fourth, oh, oh! (15) our fifth isn't (here)." (16) Then they looked around. (17) Then they got back out of the water. (18) "We will count ourselves again first." (20) Then he counted but it was just like before. (22) Then they just went back. (23) Their mother called out to them, "How was it?" (24) "Well, one of us got lost." (25) said one to their mother. Their mother said, (26) "O.K., I will count you now." (27) Then she said, "One, two, third (28) fourth, fifth. Well, you're all (29) back here now." And that's all (there is to this story).

Mabes: (2) Their mother sent them her children, the five of them. (3) They went to bathe. "Having finished your bathing (4) you (5) come back up here. Don't forget (6) your little brother." (7) They went down (8) to bathe. (9) Having finished their bathing, their big brother (10) said to them, "Get up (on dry land)." (11) He said, (12) "Let's count, there are only five of us." (13) Their brother started to count. (14) One, two three, four, hark! (15) It's our fifth one that's not here." They went back down (to the water) again to search. (18) "This time (19) it is I who will count us." (20) It was just like before (21) when the eldest brother counted. There were only four of them. (22) Having gone back to the village, (23) their mother asked them, "How was it?" (24) "It is one of us who got lost." (26) "It is I who will count you, O.K.?" (27) One, two, three, (28) four, five. That's all of you. (29) You have come back."

### 3.2. TEXTUAL COMPARISON OF SYNTAX

The purpose of this text is to highlight some of the different syntactic processes in these three varieties; hence the more or less tabular arrangement of morpheme-by-morpheme translation. A full analysis of these processes is beyond the scope of the paper. It should be quite clear that the Torokina and Piva versions generally show the same patterns. In lines 6-7, the Piva version deviates somewhat to paraphrase the /paghe-mi/ *don't* construction. I have other evidence that Piva speakers use /paghe-mi/, but I understood from the discussion at the time of translating into Piva that the speakers involved did not think that it was a good Piva expression.

There are some nominalizations in the Mabes version that do not occur in the others.

M3 /rubasa-na sisi me-gham/

M9 /rubasa-na sisi man-nari/

M22 /rabaka-ri mo ram/

These nominalized sentences are used as time adverbials. The more normal or traditional way of subjoining the clause as a time adverbial is to invert subject-verb order as in P3-4 /t<sub>s</sub>a s<sub>i</sub>siu wa-ruba' agham/. It is difficult to see that the nominalization comes from English influence, when the traditional process is closely paralleled in the archaic English subjunctive: *Had I only known,.....* I have translated the M3, M9, and M22 with gerundive approximations, e.g. M3 *Having finished their bathing*, but I am not satisfied that such approximations served as model for the Mabas syntax.

Another possibility for English influence is found in M26 /ko se-mi ta naa/. This may be a cleft structure paralleling English *The one who counts you will be me*. The problem here and in examples collected from other speakers is identifying the last two morphemes correctly. /ta/ is glossed as *is* but I am not clear on its exact function and its possible relation to future marker /ta/. /naa/ may be *I* or a tag question *O.K.?* The fact that other speakers, not familiar with English, use possibly similar structures (as in the frequent parting Tai nau ta! *go thither/fare thee well.*), argues against attributing M26 to English influence.

### 3.3. FURTHER LEXICAL COMPARISON

In the absence of a Rotokas translation of the text,<sup>1</sup> I have compiled a glossary of words used in these versions, omitting most strictly grammatical morphemes, and I have culled from VRPE the corresponding words in Rotokas. This gives us another chance for limited lexical comparison that is free from the semantic constraint of words chosen because of low probability of borrowing. Rather, it is a manageable sample of words from everyday conversation and narrative.

### 3.4. GLOSSARY OF TEXT WITH ROTOKAS EQUIVALENTS

Abbreviations: R = Rotokas  
P = Piva  
T = Torokina  
M = Mabas

(Omission indicates word missing from that version.)

<i>arrive</i>	R: pouviro	<i>bathe, wash</i>	R: s <sub>i</sub> siu
	M: rabaka		P: s <sub>i</sub> siu
<i>again</i>	R: ita		T: s <sub>i</sub> si
	T: nobe		M: s <sub>i</sub> si
		<i>begin</i>	R: rovo, rogo, pirupako
			M: tanegha

*big, elder*

R: riro (= elder?)  
 P: rooghata  
 T: gari  
 M: bangana

*brother-your*

R: araoko  
 P: a-kasi-miu  
 T: kasi-mi  
 M: kasi-mi

*children-her*

R: oviirara oo  
 M: na-natsu-na

*count/count-us*

R: vetavetasia  
 P: se/vai-se-ta  
 T: se/vai-se-ta  
 M: se/kerui

*don't-you*

R: opeita  
 T: paghe-mi  
 M: paghe-mi

*finish/cause-finish*

R: opesi/opesi-pie  
 P: -/va-ruba'  
 M: rubasa/-

*five/fifth*

R: vovavae/-  
 P: nima/va- nima  
 T: ghinima/va-ghinima  
 M: ghinima/va-ghinima

*four*

R: voresiura  
 P: (va)vatsi  
 T: tovatsi  
 M: tovatsi

*get*

R: ou  
 P: kena

*get out of water*

R: kosiviro (of water?)  
 P: batava  
 T: batava

*go*

R: ava  
 P: nau  
 T: tai  
 M: tai

*go back, return*

R: kare  
 P: gero  
 T: gero

*go down, descend*

R: usireo  
 M: ghuru

*go up, ascend*

R: varu  
 M: toghoso

*how are you?*

P: gere?  
 T: kave?  
 M: vai vasi?

*little, younger*

R: kakae  
 P: pasuru  
 T: kikinaki  
 M: kina

*lose*

R: kavo  
 T: totom  
 M: toton-na

*mother-their*

R: aako oaive  
 P: a-tsina-ria  
 T: tsina-ri  
 M: tsina-ri

*no, not*

R: viapau  
 P: ka?ana  
 T: ghinava  
 M: ghinava

*one*

R: katai  
 P: kadaken  
 T: kadaken  
 M: kadaken

*only*

R: raga  
 P: katsu  
 T: katsu  
 M: katsu

*pull*

R: ivu  
 P: nuvu

*return-hither*

R: kare-vore  
 P: ghotsu-gero-mai  
 T: ghotsu -ma

*say*

R: pura, tavi  
 P: pee  
 T: va  
 M: va

*search*

R: tara  
 P: suku  
 T: sane  
 M: sane

*see*

R: keke  
 T: reke

*send-them*

R: sipo  
 P: tovi-ria  
 T: tovi-ria  
 M: tovi-ria

*two*

R: erao  
 P: tonua  
 T: toom  
 M: toom

*three*

R: vopeva  
 P: va-topisa  
 T: dapisa  
 M: dapisa

*village*

R: uruia  
 M: ram

## 3.5. EXTENT OF INFLUENCE IN NARRATIVE VOCABULARY

The clearest shared word is *bathe sisiu*. But the Mono-Alu word *sisile* (Wheeler 1926:395) suggests that this is an Austronesian word and the borrowing is from Piva into Rotokas.

*Go back kare*, *gero* and *pull ivu*, *nuvu* are too different to be recent loans.

*One katai*, *kadaken*, as we have seen, may be mere chance similarity; but even if it is due to Rotokas influence, that leaves us with an unimpressive total.

## 3.6. CONCLUSION

Again we must conclude that there is little or no Rotokas influence on the vocabulary of either Piva or Banoni. And this time we can be firmer about the conclusion, because we have chosen words from an ordinary narrative which could be borrowed more easily.

## 4.0. DISCUSSION

We have now seen a small but significant sample of Banoni, Piva, and the Papuan language that was said to have influenced Piva.

This report is meant to set the record straight. It should be clear from the information presented here that Banoni and Piva are closely related languages and neither has been Papuanized to any obvious extent. That is not to say that both have been completely free from Papuan influence. Both Banoni and Piva people live next to, interact with, even marry with their non-Austronesian neighbours. All the people of south Bougainville share many cultural traits, but they also have their identifying and distinguishing traits including language.

## 4.1. A CASE OF PAPUANIZATION

I would like to report on one case of Papuanization in the system of kinship terms. The words for *mother* and *father* are little changed in Piva and Banoni from Proto Oceanic; but if we just consider two more terms for *aunt*, we can see Papuan influence (see Table 2).

TABLE 2: SOME PAPUAN AND AUSTRONESIAN KIN TERMS

Gloss	<i>mother</i>	<i>father</i>	<i>mother's brother's wife</i>	<i>father's sister</i>
Proto Oceanic <sup>1</sup>	*tina	*tama	?	?
Banoni	tsina	tama	kabo	kabo
Piva	tsina	tama	kabo	tama maunu
Fiji <sup>2</sup>	tina	tama	gane i tama	gane i tama
Rotokas <sup>3</sup>	aako	aite	kauo	kauo
Siwai <sup>4</sup>	nuka	umoka	apu	apu
Nagovisi <sup>5</sup>	ngo	mma	kabo	kabo
Nasioi <sup>6</sup>	nko	mma	kaampo	kaampo

Sources: <sup>1</sup>Grace (1969)

<sup>2</sup>Milner (1972) [Note *gane i tama sister of father* may be *vugu in-law*.]

<sup>3</sup>Firchow, Firchow, and Akoitai (1973)

<sup>4</sup>Oliver (1955)

<sup>5</sup>Nash (1974)

<sup>6</sup>Ogan (1966)

We can see that the term *kabo* is probably borrowed from a Papuan language – if recently, most likely from Nagovisi. Notice that Piva appears to retain a term for *father's sister* which means more or less *female father*, which is similar to the Fijian form. We can see that these kinship terms reveal Papuanization of both Banoni and Piva – Banoni more so than Piva. We can also see from this table that Banoni and Piva have retained a basic Austronesian character in the words for *mother* and *father*. It may well be that at the Proto-Oceanic stage several thousand years ago the kinship system did not include a specific word for *aunt*.<sup>2</sup> Thus, we can see that Papuanization here may have been merely filling a gap in the Banoni and Piva lexicons rather than a more forceful replacement of a native word by a foreign word.

#### 4.2. CONCLUSION

I wish to conclude from all of this that Papuanization is possible but that it does not happen to have played a significant role in the history of either Banoni or Piva. Certainly Rotokas has not contributed very dramatically to the Piva lexicon, even though the speakers of these languages may have been in intimate contact, e.g. in some cases married to each other.

I would like to finish by opening up the question of why there is apparently so little influence in spite of close contact.

#### 4.3. DUAL-LINGUALISM AND PAPUANIZATION

One possible explanation may be found in the interesting phenomenon of dual-lingualism. Dual-lingualism is the form of language contact in which a speaker of language A, living in close social contact with a speaker of language B, understands language B, but does not speak B; furthermore, the speaker of B understands A, but does not speak A. Evelyn Todd (personal communication 1973) brought this possibility to my attention. Todd observed one Austronesian-speaking man from Guadalcanal living on Savo Island married to a speaker of the non-Austronesian Savosavo language. She spoke her language, he spoke his, and they learned to understand each other without speaking the other language. I observed the same kind of interaction between a Siwai man and his Banoni wife. He spoke non-Austronesian Siwai and she spoke Banoni. They could understand each other but neither spoke the other's language. In this village all the children learned Banoni. Nearly all the women speak exclusively Banoni. The men usually can speak Banoni, Siwai, and Tok Pisin fluently. Many also know one or more other languages. The point is that the Banoni learn to speak or to understand Siwai to accommodate their relatives or affines who speak Siwai. The Siwai speakers can and do get by without learning to speak Banoni. They can and do avoid speaking an incorrect or pidginized form of Banoni. Such a form of Banoni could be rich in Papuanizations, but it is avoided.

If all contact between Banoni and Piva communities and Papuan communities has been characterized by this asymmetrical pattern of language learning, it might account for the low level of Papuanization in these Austronesian languages.

#### 5.0. APPENDIX: LEXICOSTATISTICS OF BANONI AND PIVA LISTS

The cognates noted in Table 1 yield the following percentages:

Mariga					
86	Matsunke				
77	84	(GWG)			
56	64	56	Koromaketo		
55	55	54	83	Piva	
51	52	50	61	59	Amun

We must be careful in interpreting these results. Just on the basis of these numbers one would suspect that we are dealing with three languages. However, there are two reasons to include Amun within the Piva language. First, in a significant number of comparisons there are two sets of cognates across the lists. Of these, eleven split evenly between the first three and the second three lists. Second, and more important, are the grammatical similarities. Amun and Piva appear to share the tense/aspect system in detail. Also in both, the nouns are marked by articles /a/ and /e/, which correspond roughly to 'human'-v.-'non-human animate' categories. This is in contrast to the Banoni system, where these singular articles are lost except in certain environments. (The plural forms /na/ and /ne/ are retained in both languages.)

There is further reason to be cautious in using lexicostatistics. The highest percentage is between Mariga and Matsunke; but there are two phonetic changes uniting the inland villages of Mariga and Mabas and distinguishing them from Matsunke, Torokina, and the home of Grace's informant.

(1) In Mabas area [a] is fronted to [æ] next to syllables with front vowels. This is quite obvious in the common word of negation:

Torokina	[ɣinawa]	no
Mabas	[ɣinæβæ]	no

(2) In Mabas area /s/ is realized as [h] in a few words — all of them question words:

Torokina	[soa]	[sua]	what;	[ʃe:]	who
Mabas	[hoa]		what;	[he:]	who

The lexical comparisons and cautions noted here lead to the conclusion that Banoni and Piva are closely related languages and that each has two major varieties. Banoni is known to its speakers as Tsunari. The inland variety spoken in Mabas, Mariga, and a few more villages is known as Tsunari Gore. Piva speakers call their language Ravunuia. They know the village of Amun as Buruve and use this name to refer to the speech of that village.

NOTES ADDED IN PROOF

A number of relevant sources have become more available since the submission of this manuscript:

See Laycock (1973) for a similar account of language contact in the Sepik area with a similar lack of Papuanization or Pidginization.

See Lincoln (1976) for more details of Banoni grammar.

See Lincoln (1975b) for some elaboration of the concept of dual-lingualism.

Finally note that in the story of the five children that although /kasi/ *sibling of the same sex* was translated as *brother* there is no marker in any of the three versions indicating the actual sex of the children. Languages of the Bougainville Super-Stock overtly mark the sex of some third person pronominal references making the sexual ambiguity of the Banoni versions impossible.

N O T E S

1. There are some beautifully prepared texts available in Rotokas by Firchow and Akoitai (1974a,b,c), but these are intended more for Rotokas readers than grammatical study.

2. Either in the sense of *Fa Si* or *Mo Br Wi*, \*tina probably included *Mo Si* and *Fa Br Wi*.

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