

AUSTRONESIAN AND THE VOCABULARY OF LANGUAGES OF THE REEF AND SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS - A PRELIMINARY APPROACH

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. General Remarks

The Reef and Santa Cruz Islands are situated in the extreme south-eastern part of the British Solomon Islands Protectorate, about 250 miles to the east of San Cristobal, the easternmost island of the Solomon Islands chain. Already early students of the languages of Melanesia, who obtained some information on the languages spoken on these islands, e.g., Codrington who provided sketchy grammar notes and vocabularies of two of them (Codrington 1885) and Ray (1926) who evaluated Codrington's materials, regarded them as aberrant in many ways when compared with other languages of Melanesia. This view was upheld by later students of these islands.

In 1954, the present writer collected a substantial amount of information on the Reef Islands language from a Reef islander, James Natei, who was then a member of the crew of S.S. "Southern Cross" of the Melanesian Mission which was at anchor in Sydney Harbour for a week. Pressure of other work prevented him at that time from making a detailed assessment of his materials, but a cursory study of its structure with which he was primarily concerned, revealed that it was basically Austronesian in a number of respects - though many of the details were unusual - but some apparently non-Austronesian structural features were also observable. In the vocabulary a large number of obviously Polynesian words were noticed and regarded as loans from the neighbouring Polynesian languages, especially Pileni. The remainder of the vocabulary could be divided into a comparatively small number of recognizably Austronesian items, and a large balance displaying, upon inspection, no apparent connection with Austronesian.

On the basis of these cursory observations, the author was first inclined to regard this language which had erroneously been called Nifilole (i.e., the Polynesian name of the northern-most major island of the Reef Islands which is inhabited by Polynesian speakers) by Codrington (1885), as a highly aberrant Austronesian language (Wurm 1957).

A later evaluation of his own sketch findings, and of the very limited information available to him mostly in the form of Codrington's (1885) materials, on one of the languages of Santa Cruz which appeared to be relatively closely related to the Reef Islands language, made him come to the preliminary conclusion that these languages were basically non-Austronesian, i.e., Papuan languages which had been subjected to very strong Austronesian influence with a resulting approximation of their structural features to those of Austronesian, and the incorporation of Austronesian items into their vocabulary (Wurm 1971).

This view was also held by Capell (1962) and earlier by Elbert (1958) and Fox (1958), and by Davenport (1962), and Dyen excluded the languages of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands from his lexico-statistical classification of the Austronesian languages (1965) probably because of what appeared to be their very low percentage of that Austronesian vocabulary element which was not clearly attributable to loans.

In 1965, the present writer had the opportunity of undertaking six weeks' fieldwork in the Solomon Islands in the course of which he was able to collect and record quite extensive materials in the Reef Islands language (chief informants David Davea, Johnson Boni and Mathew Natei), the Malo dialect of the language spoken in northern Santa Cruz (chief informant John Mealue), and the Nanggu dialect of that located in the south-eastern part of the island (chief informant William Piaito). This was, through the good offices of the Melanesian Mission in the Solomon Islands, supplemented by materials written by Reef Islands pupils at Mission Schools, and subsequently recorded on tape, and by materials collected by A. Capell from Reef Islands speakers in the field, and kindly put at the disposal of the author. In addition, valuable written and recorded information, in the form of vocabularies, sentences and paradigms, on the Nemboi dialect of the language found in south-western Santa Cruz (chief informant Joshua Mendealue), was kindly put at the disposal of the author by B. Hackman of the Geological Survey Department, Honiara. Some limited information on other dialects, and on the distribution of languages and dialects in Santa Cruz, was also obtained by the present writer.

The preliminary assessment of a limited portion of the author's new materials from various points of view has resulted in a greater clarification of the linguistic picture in the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands, and has given greatly improved insights into the structures of the languages, and their structural similarities and differences. At the same time, the preliminary comparative-historical study of about three hundred vocabulary items, constituting an extended basic vocabulary list, in each of the languages showed, rather surprisingly, that

a very much larger portion of their vocabularies appeared to be of Austronesian origin than had previously been believed to be the case. This paper will be concerned with this aspect of the languages - apart from a few short remarks on the grouping of the languages, other results of this preliminary assessment will be discussed elsewhere (e.g., Wurm 1969).

1.2. List of Abbreviations

AN	proto-Austronesian (from Dempwolff 1934-38; if from another source, this will be indicated, e.g., AN (Dyen) (= Dyen 1953).
AN?	Vocabulary items in RSC languages for which regular sound correspondences with AN forms cannot be established, but which show a slight formal similarity to such forms.
F	Fergus Island (d'Entrecasteaux Islands)
Ind	Vocabulary items in RSC languages showing formal similarities with their equivalents in individual Austronesian languages of the south-western Pacific, but in the sources listed in 4.1., no pO and/or AN forms underlying the lexical items in the languages involved can be found.
Ind?	Same as Ind, but the formal similarities are only slight.
L	Loyalty Islands.
M	Malo dialect of the Nambakaengö language.
Me	Menjembelo dialect of the Nea language.
N	Nemboi dialect of the Nea language.
Na	Nanggu dialect of the Nanggu language.
nA	Apparently not Austronesian.
NB	New Britain (mostly kindly supplied by A. Chowning).
NC	New Caledonian (from Haudricourt 1970).
Nel	Nelua dialect of the Nambakaengö language.
NH	New Hebrides.
Other	Other languages.
pM	proto-Malaitan (from Levy and Smith 1969).
pO	proto-Oceanic (unless otherwise indicated, from Grace 1969).
pO?	Vocabulary items in RSC languages for which regular sound correspondences with pO forms cannot be established, but which show a slight formal similarity to such forms.

R	Reef Islands language (Reefs)
RSC	Reef Islands-Santa Cruz
SC	Santa Cruz
Sol	South-eastern Solomon Islands
total	the total percentage of those words in a RSC language which show considerable formal similarity to their equivalents in individual Austronesian languages of the south-western Pacific - this percentage figure excludes that listed against Ind?

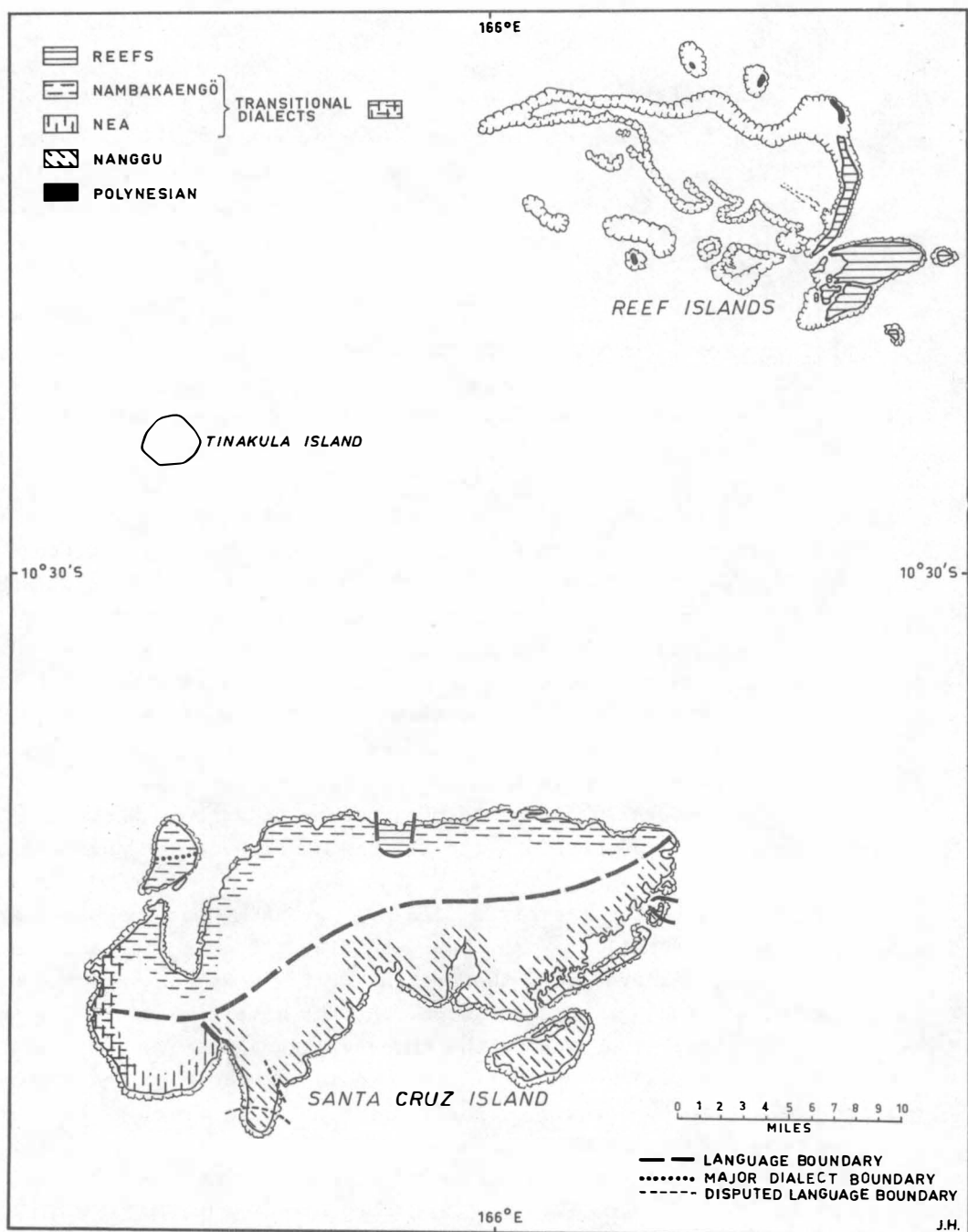
2. THE REEF ISLANDS-SANTA CRUZ FAMILY

Some unresolved problems exist concerning the question of the exact number, and extent of interrelationship, of the languages of the Reef and Santa Cruz Islands (Wurm 1969, 1970). In the present writer's view, one language referred to as "Reefs" (3,500 speakers) is located on the Reef Islands - apart from Polynesian dialects spoken on Nifilole, Pileni, Sand and Matema Islands - and three, called Nambakaengö (1,450 speakers), Nea (600 speakers) and Nanggu (560 speakers), on Santa Cruz - disregarding two enclaves of Reefs speakers on the north coast and on an off-shore island in the east. These four languages constitute a family consisting of the Reefs and the Santa Cruz sub-Families. In the latter, the Nambakaengö and Nea languages are connected by a dialect chain, but the Malo dialect of the former, and the Nemboi and Menjembelo dialects of the latter, differ quite markedly in structure, though sharing about 70% and 63% basic vocabulary cognates. In several respects, the latter two dialects are structurally closer to Nanggu than to Malo of Nambakaengö, though they share only about 60% and 53% basic vocabulary cognates with Nanggu.

The problems of the classification of the Santa Cruz languages are discussed in some detail in Wurm 1969 - suffice it to mention here that Davenport (1962) believes that the present writer's Nambakaengö and Nea languages constitute a single language. At the same time he claims that a separate language is spoken in the three villages near Cape Mendaña and in the single village on Tömotu Noi, an island close to the south-eastern coast of Santa Cruz. In the present writer's view, these four villages belong to the Nanggu language area.

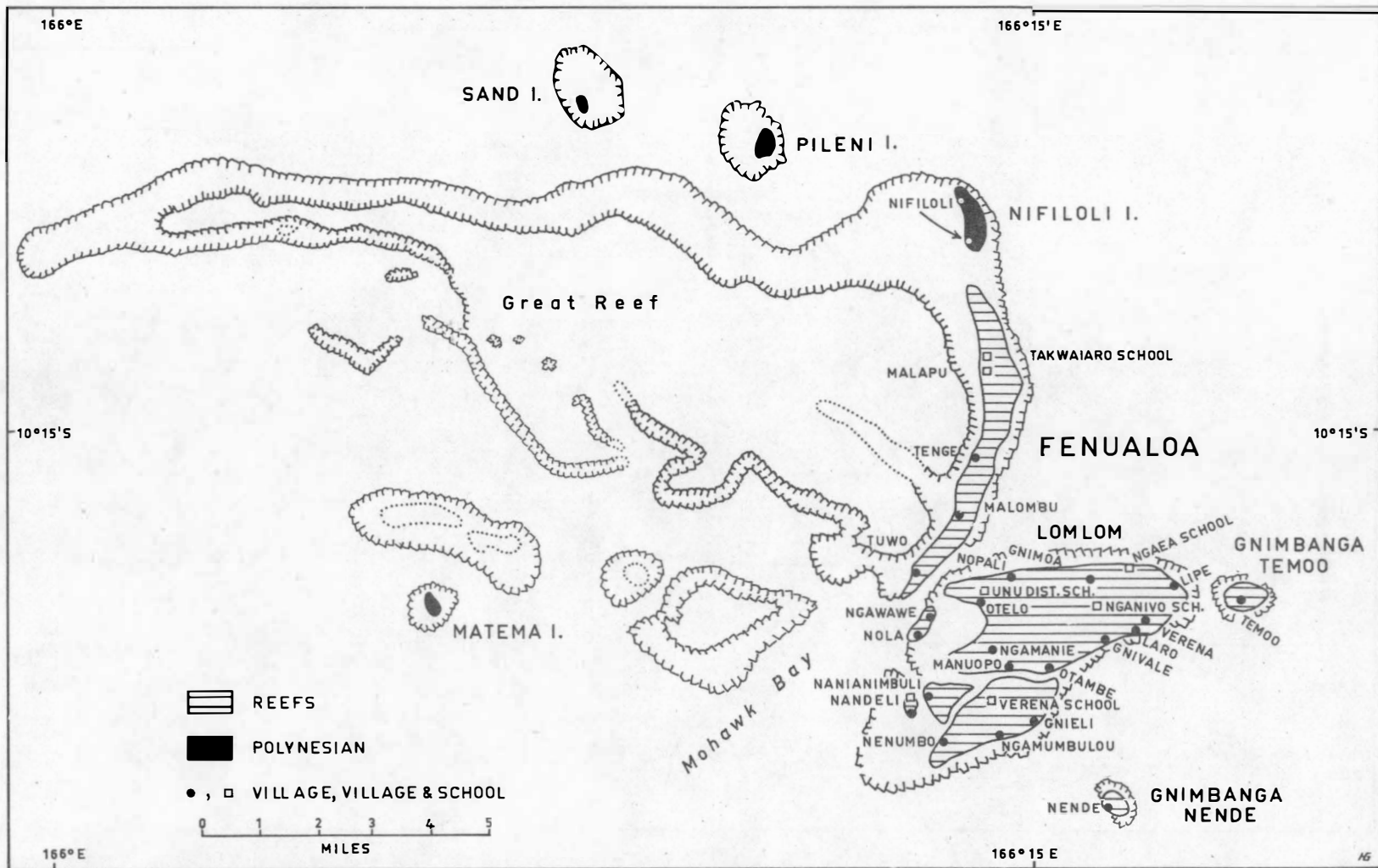
In this paper, the following abbreviations will be used for the language and dialect names:

LANGUAGES, REEF AND SANTA CRUZ ISLANDS



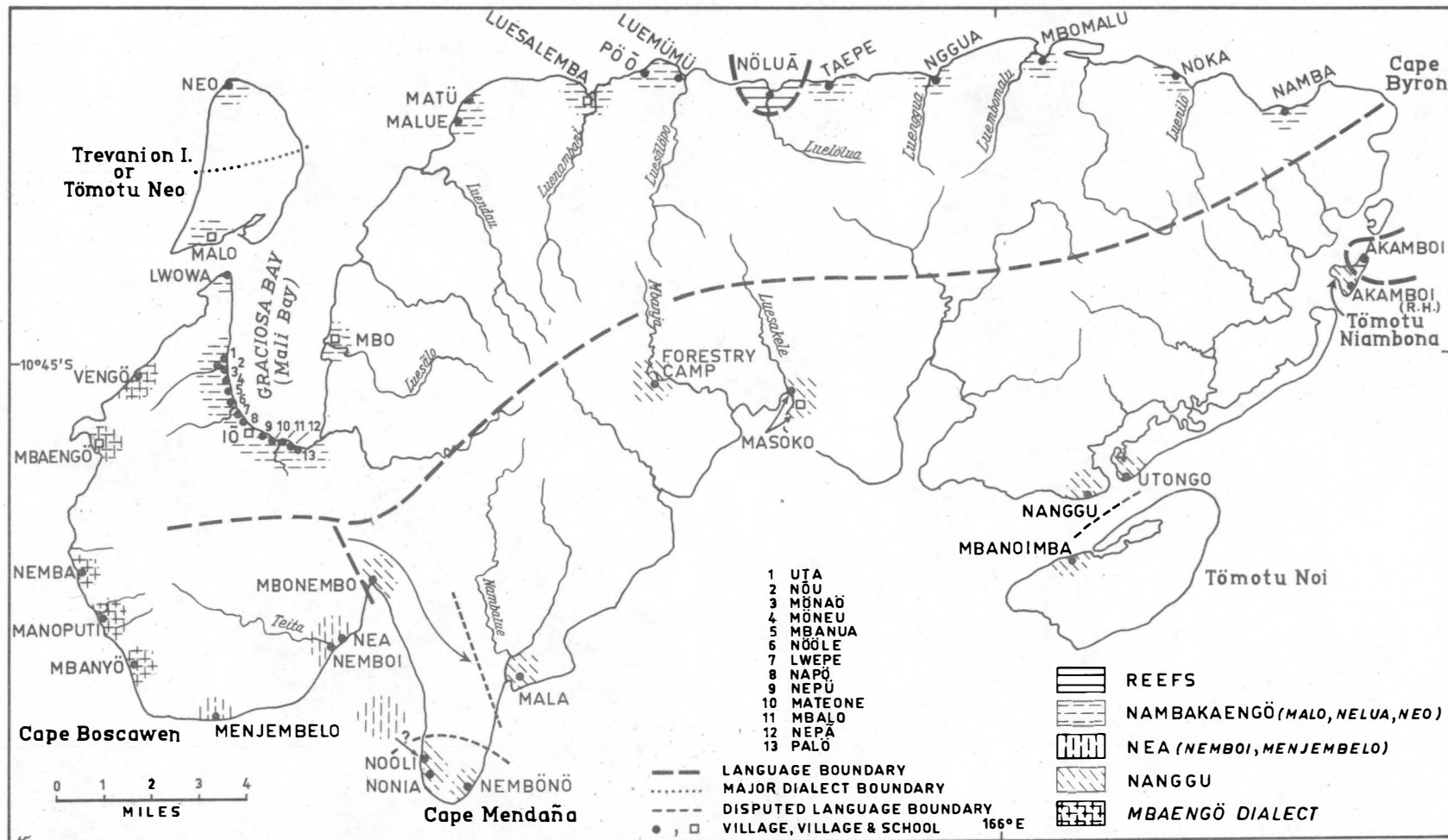
MAP 1

LANGUAGES, REEF ISLANDS



DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

LANGUAGES, SANTA CRUZ ISLAND



DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, A.N.U.

MAP 3

R	=	Reefs	
M	=	Malo	} Nambakaengö
Nel	=	Nelua	
Me	=	Menjembelo	} Nea
N	=	Nemboi	
Na	=	Nanggu	

In the discussions given below, M and Nel will represent the Nambakaengö language, and Me and Ne the Nea language. Nel is an extinct Nambakaengö dialect documented by Codrington (1885) - its previous area is today occupied by R speakers.

To show the degree of lexical interrelationship between the languages and dialects named, a chart of percentages of shared basic vocabulary cognates is given below, based on, and rectified to, a 220 items list:

R					
43	Nel				
39	76	M			
39	55	62	Me		
37	63	70	82	N	
38	56	54	53	60	Na

The languages of Utupua and Vanikolo Islands, south of Santa Cruz, will not be included in this paper - insufficient work has been done by the present writer to form his own opinion on them, and their status is disputed: Davenport (1962) regards them as Austronesian, whereas Capell (1962) expresses doubt in their Austronesian status.

3. REMARKS ON THE PHONOLOGIES

Before discussing diachronic problems, some brief remarks on the phonologies of the languages involved may be of value as background information.

Tentative phonologies have been established as a result of the preliminary assessment of the materials, but a number of problems remain unresolved, and further study is expected to affect the tentative findings to a considerable extent. Conditioned and free allophonic variation is very extensive in all the languages, and morphophonemic changes are elaborate. The following are tentative phoneme charts:

3.1. Reefs

p	t	k
		(kh)?
p ^w		k ^w
p ^y ?		
mb ¹	nd	ŋg
mb ^w		ŋg ^w ?
	nd ^y ?	
m	n ^y ?	n
m ^{w2}		ŋ
		ŋ ^w
v	s	
	l	
w	y	
	i	u
	e	
		o
	ä	
		ɔ
	a	
	eɪ	ou

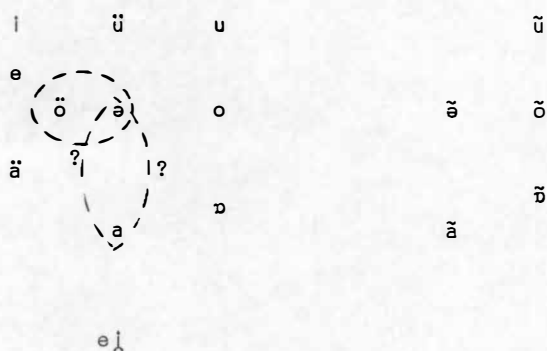
Vowel length appears to be phonemic, and long vowels are frequent. They manifest themselves phonetically as repeated articulation of their short equivalents, with the first articulation more prominent, and will be written here as double vowels, e.g., oo [ʰo, ɔ]. Vowel length and stress appear to be connected in many instances. Stress is predictable in most cases, and some of the apparent exceptions can be explained on historical grounds. A small number of as yet unexplainable instances remains - stress may still prove to be phonologically relevant. A special form of close juncture manifesting itself phonetically as ^u occurs between mb + l.

¹ In a phonemic representation in a descriptive study, the prenasalized phonemes could preferably be rendered by b, d, g, etc. in all the languages. However, for diachronic purposes, it seems more appropriate to indicate the homorganic nasals in writing to make words containing prenasalized stops more directly comparable with proto-forms in which the homorganic nasals of prenasalized stops are usually indicated in writing.

² The labialization of m^w is often almost imperceptible. The sound represented by m^w is phonetically a velarized, slightly labialised m with prolonged articulation.

3.2. Malo

p		t		k
ph		th		kh?
p ^w		t ^w		k ^w
mb		nd		ŋg
mb ^w		nd ^w		ŋg ^w
mb ^v ?				
m	n ^v	n		ŋ
m ^w l		n ^w ?		ŋ ^w ?
v		s ~ tʃ ~ tʲ		
		l		
w		y		



Vowel length appears to be phonemic, but long vowels are very rare. Phonetically they correspond to the long vowels in Reef (see 3.1.), and will be written as double vowels. Some features of the stress pattern are predictable, but others are apparently not, and stress may be phonemic. A special form of close juncture manifesting itself phonetically as ^u occurs between bilabials + n or l, l + v, and ŋ and bilabials + y.

¹ Malo m^w corresponds to Reef m^w (see 3.1.).

3.3. Nelua

On the basis of Codrington's (1885) materials the following tentative - and obviously incomplete - phonemic chart can be drawn up for Nelua:

p		t		k
p ^w				
mb		nd		ŋg
m	n ^y	n		ŋ
m ^w ¹				
v		tʃ(ʌ s?)		
		l		
	i	ü		u
e	ö	ə		o
		a		

¹ Codrington remarks about m^w: The m is more marked by suspended pronunciation than by the subsequent explosion of the breath. w is not suggested by the sound. Wadrokai says it is identical with Nengone m. Tryon (1967a) describes this Nengone sound as a (voiced) syllabic m and writes it mm; Haudricourt (1970) disagrees with Tryon and regards it as an unaspirated voiceless m with double glottal and bilabial occlusion. Of these two descriptions, Tryon's is more appropriate for the sound heard by the present writer in languages of the Reef Islands-Santa Cruz Family, and written here as m^w. From Codrington's description, it may seem that the Nelua sound which he represented by m is comparable to that rendered by m^w in the other languages of the family, though his term "suspended pronunciation" is not absolutely clear.

3.4. Nemboi = Menjembelo

p		t	k
p ^h		t ^h	k ^h
p ^w		t ^w	k ^w ?
p ^y			
(m)b	(n)d ^y ? ~ (n)dʒ?	(n)d	(ŋ)g
(m)b ^w		(n)d ^w ?	(ŋ)g ^w
m	n ^y	n	ŋ
m ^w ¹		n ^w	ŋ ^w ?
v		s	
		l	
w	y		



Vowel length is apparently phonemic, though long vowels are rare. Phonetically they correspond to the long vowels in Reefs (see 3.1.) and will be written as double vowels. Some of the features of the stress pattern are predictable, but some are as yet inexplicable, and stress may prove to be phonemic.

¹ Corresponds to Reef m^w (see 3.1.).

3.5. Nanggu

p		t	k
ph		t ^h	k ^h
p ^w		t ^w	k ^w
p ^y	t ^y ~ t ^s ~ tʃ		k ^y
(m)b		(n)d	(ŋ)g
(m)b ^w		(n)d ^w	(ŋ)g ^w
(m)b ^y	(n)d ^y ~ (n)dʒ		
m		n	ŋ
m ^w ¹			ŋ ^w
m ^y	n ^y		
	ɭ ^y	ɭ	
w	ɣ		

In addition, ɭ, (ŋ)ɖ, ŋ and ɭ are found in a number of words, but they seem to be allophonic variants. ʔ occurs, mainly in word-final position, and may perhaps prove to be phonemic, though in some instances it seems to be in free variation with -Ø.

ɪ	ü	u	ũ
e	ö	o	ẽ
	ə		ẽ
ä	ɔ		
	a		ä
	əɪ	ou	au

Vowel length is phonemic, and long vowels are frequent. They manifest themselves phonetically as lengthened versions of the short vowels, and will be written here as V. Some of the features of the stress pattern are predictable, but a few cannot yet be explained, and stress may be phonemic.

¹ Corresponds to Reef m^w (see 3.1.)

4. DIACHRONIC ASPECTS

4.1. Sources for proto-forms

In the preliminary historical-comparative approach mentioned above in 1., extensive use was made of the revised version of Grace's proto-Oceanic Finder list (1969) and of Dempwolff's (1934-38) and Dyen's (1953, 1971) studies in proto-Austronesian. The source materials used for Grace's Finder list were themselves consulted to a considerable extent. In addition, reference was made to Biggs 1965, Levy and Smith 1969, Pawley 1969a and Haudricourt 1971 for regional proto-forms. A large number of vocabulary sources for various languages of Melanesia was consulted, and the author is indebted to A. Chowning for very useful lexical information on some languages of New Britain. The abbreviations used in this diachronic section are listed in 1.2. However, to facilitate reading, a few of the more important ones are given below:

- pO proto-Oceanic (unless otherwise indicated, from Grace 1969).
- AN proto-Austronesian (from Dempwolff 1934-38; if from another source this will be indicated, e.g., AN (Dyen) (= Dyen 1953).
- pM proto-Malaitan (Levy and Smith 1969).
- NC New Caledonian (Haudricourt 1971).
- NB New Britain (mostly kindly supplied by A. Chowning).

4.2. Composition of the Vocabulary of the Reef Islands-Santa Cruz (RSC) Languages

4.2.1. General Remarks

As has been pointed out in 1., the preliminary comparative-historical assessment of about three hundred lexical items in each of the RSC languages discussed here has shown that a large proportion of them is apparently of Austronesian origin. In all the languages and dialects, considerably more than half of the items, which could be shown to be reflexes of, in the wider sense, Austronesian non-regional proto-forms, could be derived from proto-Oceanic as listed by Grace (1969). However, the number of those items which are reflexes of AN, mainly as established by Dempwolff (1934-38) and Dyen (1953), without showing connections with Grace's pO forms, is astonishingly large, e.g., *burn* (*intr.*): R 'pulo, N plo < AN [']u]ub, but pO = ŋmari; *break* (*tr.*): M ö-'plame], N 'planglo < AN [j]apuh, but pO = motu; *sore, wound*: Na na-'(m)bʷaka < AN bayəh, but pO = manuka.

Different traditions can be observed in the reflexes in the various languages, with the main contrast found between R and the SC languages on one hand, and between Na and the remaining SC languages on the other (see 4.31.).

In all the RSC languages, about 20% of the total vocabulary assessed shows closer formal similarity (amounting in cases to formal identity) with equivalents in individual Austronesian languages of the south-western Pacific, than with pO or AN forms, though in about two-thirds of these cases, the lexical items can be recognized as constituting reflexes of listed pO and/or AN forms. Such similarities with languages of central New Britain (including some islands to the south of it, especially Ferguson Island, d'Entrecasteaux Islands) and with languages of the New Caledonia area (including the Loyalty Islands) amount to approximately half of this 20%. When thinking of languages of other regions in Melanesia and elsewhere, the only other similarities of some numerical significance within this 20% are with languages of the south-eastern Solomons - the balance is made up of scattered and sporadic similarities with languages of various areas, such as parts of the New Hebrides and the Banks and Torres Islands, Fiji, Polynesia and also Micronesia. Many of the probable Polynesian loanwords have been included in the percentage figure referring to the pO reflexes, and therefore do not constitute a prominent part of this 20%. At the same time, the great majority of the quite numerous Polynesian loanwords which are especially frequent in R, denote cultural objects, many of them associated with the sea and with dwellings, as well as animals, mostly from the sea or flying. A few of them indicate material phenomena associated with the sea, and some very few refer to body parts. In view of their semantic range, Polynesian loan words do not figure nearly as extensively in the basic vocabulary-type lists assessed as in the overall vocabulary of the RSC languages. It has been indicated above that in approximately one-third of the cases making up this 20% of the vocabularies of the RSC languages, no pO and/or AN forms underlying the lexical items in the languages involved can be found in the sources listed in 4.1. They have nevertheless been regarded as potentially Austronesian, because their formal equivalents occur in recognized Austronesian languages.

Before giving a few examples to illustrate this 20% element in the vocabulary of the RSC languages, it must be mentioned that in the RSC languages, the pO and AN reflexes have often changed from the proto-forms beyond easy recognition, and only the presence of regular sound-correspondences betrays their origin. At the same time, there is a considerable number of instances amounting to almost another 20% of the

total assessed vocabularies in the SC languages, and to rather less in R, in which regular sound correspondences with pO and AN forms cannot be established, but a slight formal similarity to such forms exists. Such lexical items may perhaps prove to be of Austronesian origin when more extensive diachronic studies have been carried out - at this stage, they can only be regarded, with very considerable doubt, as perhaps of Austronesian origin, and will be referred to by pO? and AN? Similarly, there are quite a few lexical items which show only some slight formal resemblance to their equivalents in Austronesian languages of the Melanesian area while at the same time, they and their other-language equivalents do not seem to constitute reflexes of any pO and/or AN forms listed in the sources consulted. Such lexical items may also ultimately prove to be of Austronesian origin - but this is even more doubtful than is the case with the pO? and AN? items mentioned above.

4.22. *The Non-Austronesian Lexical Element*

All the RSC languages contain a lexical element, amounting in the Santa Cruz languages to about 25%, and in R to about 34%, which cannot at this stage be connected with Austronesian in any way. Comparisons of this element with vocabulary lists of Papuan languages of the Solomon Islands, as carried out by the present writer, have yielded very meagre results: only in four instances can some perhaps significant formal similarity be found, i.e.,

child Laumbe vovo, Savo vo, Baniata (orou)ve = *fruit (tree's child)*;
N, Me 'ombwε, Na 'o(m)bʷα

ear Baniata oqoto; M 'ndöthü, N 'lötü, Na lo-'ndoto

many Bilua kullo, M 'külu, Na 'i-kiu

nose Savo ŋoko; R nu-ŋgoko = *ear*. (In the RSC languages, the equivalents of *nose* and *ear* are somewhat randomly distributed in the various languages, e.g., M 'ndöthü = *ear*, N 'ndothu = *nose*).

In all other observed instances of formal similarity between lexical items in the RSC languages, and Solomon Island Papuan languages, the items involved are either definitely or potentially pO or AN reflexes, or similar in form to vocabulary items found in non-adjacent Austronesian languages, e.g., in New Britain or the New Hebrides. It may be pointed out that of the twenty-one comparison sets listed by Greenberg (1971) in support of his assumption of a relationship between Solomon Islands Papuan languages and the RSC languages, nineteen are definitely or possibly Austronesian.

4.23. Close Similarities between RSC languages and other languages in Melanesia

A few examples of close similarities between vocabulary items of the RSC languages, and other individual languages of Melanesia may be given here for illustration (proto-forms will be added for comparison; the AN forms generally as given in Dempwolff 1934-38).

4.23.1. Central New Britain (NB) and Islands to the south of it, especially Ferguson Island (F) (d'Entrecasteaux Islands) (Chowning 1969, and personal communication):

hear N *ve-¹lele*, M *'ö-lä*, Na *wö-¹le*; Lakalai (NB) *lolo*; pO *doŋo*, AN *dəŋəɣ*

morning M *'mal*, Lakalai (NB) *malgi* = *cold*; pO *ma(n)di(n)diŋ* = *cold*, AN *qinŋin* = *cold*

mouth M, N *'na-(w)o*; Sengseng (NB) *wo*; pO *maŋa*, AN *babah*

salt M *'¹plə*; Kove (NB) *piapia* = *brackish*; pO *ma-asi*, *malin*, AN *'at'in*

tail Na *'nu-ŋgütlu*; Sengseng (NB) *küt*; pO *iku*, AN *ikuy*

tooth M *'ni-ŋl*, N *'ni-ŋu*, Na *'nū-ŋū*; Sengseng (NB) *ŋi* (compare also Iai, Loyalty Islands: *nʷu*); pO *niŋon*, AN *gigi*

different M *'mulö*, Molima (F) *mall*; pO *?*, AN *'ibah*

taro R *nu-¹mbole*; Molima (F) *boŋo* (in spells only); pO *ntalo*, AN *talət'*

4.23.2. New Caledonia (NC) and the Loyalty Islands (L) (Haudricourt 1971, Tryon 1967a,b,c, 1968a,b, Tryon and Dubois 1969)

The similarities with NC and L languages are particularly interesting, and a larger number of them will be given:

bone Na *'andu*; Far North, North and Central Group NC languages *ⁿdu(u)*; proto-NC *ⁿjuwl*, pO *to(dr)l*, *tu(dr)l*, AN *ulan*

(*female*) *breast* Na *'nö-thl*; Far North Group and North Group NC languages *thl*; proto-NC *cucu*, pO *susu*, AN *t'ut'u'*

coconut R *'nä-nu*; NC generally *nu*; proto-NC *niu*, pO *niu(R)*, AN *niɣuɣ*

die R *'numbo*, M *mbə*, N, Na *mbʷə*; Ponérihouen (NC) - *^mbʷ*; proto-NC *maɣə*, pO *mate*, AN *pataj*

- fish* M nɔ, Nel nɔ, N nɔ, Na 'nɛtə; Niélaïou (NC) nɔ, Houailou (Poya plain dialect) (NC) nɔ, in other NC languages nɔ̃, nok, etc.; proto-NC lauq, pO turi(a), ikan, nsansa, AN la'uk = *fish as a side-dish*
- forehead* Na 'pweleuno; some Southern Group NC languages ^mbwara-; proto-NC ⁿdəqe, pO nta(dr)a, AN [dɔ]ahaj
- head* M 'na-(v)ö, Nel vö, N 'na-wö, Mi 'na(w)o, Na 'na(w)o; Iai (L) hawo (Tryon 1968b), bwa- (Haudricourt 1970); most Far North Group and North Group NC languages ^mbwa, some Southern Group NC languages ^mbua; proto-NC ^mbua, pO qulu, AN 'ulu
- house* M, Nel mwa¹; Far North, North, Central and Southern Group NC languages mwa, mwā, Nengone (L) 'ma (Haudricourt 1971), mma (Tryon 1967a, Tryon and Dubois 1969); proto-NC umua, pO ruṃma(q), AN yumah
- leaf* M, Nel 'leu, N 'leŋu, Na 'lepɯ, 'leu; Iai (L) la; proto-NC ⁿdau, pO ndau(n), AN [dɔ]avən
- left* R 'mou, M mo; Youanga (NC) mɔ, Hyenghène (NC) moo-; proto-NC mau/mamaui, pO mauri (ma-wiri), AN viyi'
- long* R eombu'lou, M 'mboi, N i-'(m)bɔi, Na i-'mbuki, Touho and Wagap (NC) ^mbwali, Dialect of Noumea (NC) -^mbwa; proto-NC ^mbualu (compare Fijian mbalavu), pO lowas, AN pan'd'an
- mouth* R 'nu-pa, M, N 'na-(w)o, Nel na-o, Na 'na-mbwa; Iai (L) wā, Far North Group NC languages phwa, phwɛɛ, North Group NC languages hwa, fwa, Houailou (NC) -wā; proto-NC papua, pO maṃa, AN babah
- night* R mbu, M mbü, Nel vambu, N 'no-mbu, Na 'no:-mbu; Houailou (NC) ^mboe; proto-NC ^mbueŋi, pO ŋponi, AN bæŋ[i']
- ray* R to-'poe, M tö-'pae, Na tö-'pʷae; proto-NC pai, pO pari, AN payi'
- small* M 'thopwe, N, Me 'l-thɔ, Na 'lu:-tha; Dehu (L) cʷo (Tryon 1967b, c); pO (dl)iki, AN [']iʃik t'ə(m)pit = *narrow*
- star* R 'nɣi-(v)u, M 'vei, N 'vei, Na 'lpi; Far North Group and North Group NC languages piɔ, piiju, pilu, piluk, Noumea dialect (NC) veoo; proto-NC piʃuqu, pO pituqu, AN bintan

Another important similarity between the RSC languages, and L languages can be observed in the form of the adjective introducer which is mi- in R and me- in Nengone (L), and kã- in M, kɛ- in N, Me, and ka- in Na which compares well with Dehu (L) ka-.

¹ See footnote on mʷ in 3.1.

4.23.3. South-eastern Solomon Islands

(proto-Malaitan - pM - Levy and Smith 1969)

fire R nʷ-e: (ni-e:), M, N nʷ-ö, Nel nʷie; Wango (San Cristobal) eu
(similar forms also in the Banks and Torres Islands); pO api, AN
‘apuj

put down M ʼyölü-o-, N ʼölu-, Na ʼeluä-; pM ʼalu; ? pO, AN tanəm,
(Dyen taruq)

sea Na (n)daʼkawü; pM ma-takwa (compare Roro, south coast of Papua
aku); pO tansi(k) = *salt water*, AN [t]atʼik = *salt water*

thigh R nu-(v)otoʼwau; pM thafa; pO paqa, AN paha

4.23.4. New Hebrides

(Codrington 1885 and other vocabulary sources)

head R nu-(v)oʼtau; Magam (Ambrym) botu (compare also Savo bota!);
pO qulu, AN ʼulu

sun R ʼna-le; widespread forms in the New Hebrides, Banks and Torres
Islands elo, lo and similar; pO siŋa(ɾ), AN vaɣiʼ

4.23.5. Micronesian

(Bender 1971, Capell 1969)

tooth M ʼni-ŋi, N ʼni-ŋu, Na ʼnũ-ŋũ; General Micronesian ŋli (see also
tooth in 4.23.1.); pO nipon, AN gliɣi

see R äʼmoli-kä, M ʼmoliä-, N, Na ʼmola; Sonsorol meali = *look at*; pO
kita = *see*, tido = *look at*, AN kita = *see*, tilik = *look at*

4.24. Vocabulary Content Percentages in RSC Languages

To illustrate in some detail what has been said above in 4.21.-23.
about percentages of various vocabulary elements in RSC languages, more
exact percentage figures will be given below:

4.24.1. Notes to the tables (see also 1.2. and 4.1.)

PO? } possibly proto-Oceanic or proto-Austronesian, see 4.21.
AN? }

Ind Vocabulary items in RSC languages showing formal similarities
with their equivalents in individual Austronesian languages of
the south-western Pacific, but in the sources listed in 4.1., no
pO and/or AN forms underlying lexical items in the languages
involved can be found (see 4.21.).

Ind? Same as Ind, but the formal similarities are only slight (see 4.21.).

nA Apparently not Austronesian (see 4.22.).

4.24.2.

TABLE 1

	R	M	Nel	N	Na
pO	34.1	33.7	42.8	26.4	28.5
pO?	8.2	11.3	9.5	13.2	13.6
AN	9.9	14.6	15.2	17.5	15.4
AN?	4.4	6.3	4.7	7.1	6.0
Ind	7.2	7.3	8.5	6.8	5.6
Ind?	2.4	1.6	2.9	2.3	4.7
nA	33.8	25.2	16.4	26.7	26.2

Note: the figures for Nel, especially those for pO, Ind and nA, appear to be rather aberrant when compared with those given in the other columns. This is attributable to the fact that the assessed material in the Nelua dialect was of necessity, restricted to Codrington's (1885) limited materials which consist more predominantly of nouns and adjectives than the materials assessed in the other languages and dialects. In all RSC languages, the pO and Ind element is considerably higher in nouns and adjectives than in verbs and the remaining word classes. In addition, Codrington's materials show a higher number of words which are very similar to words in Austronesian languages of Melanesia, especially of the New Hebrides, than is the case with the other languages and dialects. The use of Mota, a Banks Islands language, as the Mission language in the Nelua area, may explain this phenomenon: the informants used for obtaining Codrington's materials were Mission school pupils.

No figures have been included for Menjembelo, because the material available to the author in this dialect is too limited to give meaningful results.

4.24.3. The information given in Table 1 will be further elaborated on below (4.24.4.). Table 2 following here demonstrates the distribution of the percentages of those vocabulary elements in the RSC languages which show considerable formal similarity with their equivalents in Austronesian languages of Melanesia, irrespective of whether the words involved can be regarded as pO or AN reflexes or not. The percentage figure for Ind? (see 4.24.1.-2.) has been repeated in the table.

An explanation for the low percentage figure of the quite numerous RSC words of Polynesian origin in Table 2 - these words have been included in the figure given for "other languages" - has been given in 4.21.

Notes to Table 2 (see also 1.2.):

total	The total percentage of those words in a RSC language which show considerable formal similarity to their equivalents in individual Austronesian languages of the south-western Pacific - this percentage figure excludes that listed against Ind?
Ind?	see 4.24.1., 4.21.
NB, F, NC, L, pM	see 4.23.1.-3.
NH	New Hebrides
Sol	South-eastern Solomon Islands
other	other languages

TABLE 2

	R	M	Nel	N	Na
total	19.5	23.2	32.2	19.9	21.5
Ind?	2.4	1.6	2.9	2.3	4.7
NB (+F)	6.5	6.6	8.4	5.7	5.1
NC (+L)	3.4	5.0	5.7	4.1	6.5
Sol	3.8	3.7	2.9	4.7	2.8
NH	1.7	3.3	6.4	2.1	3.3
other	4.1	4.6	8.8	3.3	3.8

The figures for Nelua bear out what has been said about it in 4.24.2. Its higher percentage figure of NH, and for "other languages", is of particular interest in the light of those statements. At the same time, almost all the figures for Nel are proportionately higher than those applicable to the other languages and dialects: they reflect the proportionately higher pO and lower nA content of Nel.

4.24.4. The information given in 4.24.2. in Table 1 is open to various forms of presentation and interpretation some of which will be given below:

TABLE 3

	R	M	Nel	N	Na
pO+AN	44.0	48.3	58.0	43.9	43.9
pO?+AN?	12.6	17.6	14.2	20.3	19.6
nA	33.8	25.2	16.4	26.7	26.2
Ind	7.2	7.3	8.5	6.8	5.6
Ind?	2.4	1.6	2.9	2.3	4.7

This table demonstrates that with the exception of Nel, the reasonably well ascertained Austronesian lexical content of the RSC languages which can be derived from known pO and AN forms makes up just under half of the material assessed. It can be suggested that, when disregarding Polynesian cultural loanwords (see 4.21.), the figures given above reflect the extent of the almost certainly Austronesian lexical element in the RSC languages fairly accurately - the special case of Nel has been discussed in detail in 4.24.2.-3.

It appears that the figures for Ind can, with a good measure of probability, also be regarded as reflecting an Austronesian element in the RSC languages (see 4.21.). When adding up the figures for pO, AN and Ind, the result is as follows:

TABLE 4

	R	M	Nel	N	Na
pO+AN+Ind	51.2	55.6	66.5	50.7	49.5
pO?+AN?	12.6	17.6	14.2	20.3	19.6
nA	33.8	25.2	16.4	26.7	26.2
Ind?	2.4	1.6	2.9	2.3	4.7

This procedure raises the size of the probable Austronesian lexical content in the RSC languages to the half-way mark or just beyond.

The position of the pO?, AN? and Ind? elements is doubtful (see 4.21.), and while it is possible and even likely that some of the items constituting these elements are of Austronesian origin, it would be rather bold to suggest that all these elements are probably fully Austronesian. The opposite suggestion, i.e., that they are all completely non-Austronesian, would perhaps appear to be more acceptable. In all probability, some of the items from which these elements are composed are Austronesian, and others are not - at this stage, it would be premature to go any further than this.

In any event, the picture presented by the two extreme suggestions made above would be as follows:

TABLE 5

	R	M	Nel	N	Na
probably Austronesian	66.2	74.8	83.6	73.3	73.8
not Austronesian	33.8	25.2	16.4	26.7	26.2

TABLE 6

	R	M	Nel	N	Na
probably Austronesian	51.2	55.6	66.5	50.7	49.5
probably not Austronesian	48.8	44.4	33.5	49.3	50.5

The truth is likely to be somewhere between these two extremes, and the best way of representing the situation may be as follows:

TABLE 7

	R	M	Nel	N	Na
probably Austronesian	51.2	55.6	66.5	50.7	49.5
of doubtful status	15.0	19.2	17.1	22.6	24.3
probably not Austronesian	33.8	25.2	16.4	26.7	26.2

This table could be altered by including the Ind element with the "doubtful" items: this would lower the "probably Austronesian" figures to the level of the pO+AN figures in Table 3.

One basic fact emerges from the tables given above: the Austronesian lexical content of the RSC languages is large. It amounts to at least half of their vocabulary, and probably more. Some features of that part of this Austronesian element which seem to constitute reflexes of pO and AN will be discussed next.

4.3. Proto-Oceanic (pO) and proto-Austronesian (AN) Reflexes

4.31. *Introductory Remarks*

In this section, no attempt at reconstructing proto-SC or proto-RSC will be made, because the material assessed so far is not extensive enough for a detailed study of this kind.

One interesting point which emerges from the preliminary assessment is the fact that in a number of cases, Austronesian vocabulary elements in Na reflect pO and AN proto-forms more closely than is the case in other languages. A few examples will demonstrate this tendency:

grass Na 'lǎ:pm, AN lumput; R nē-'mbo, M, N 'na-mbö
ground Na kə-'təno, pO tana(q); M ndö'thǝ, N 'me'thə /
morning Na mwa'(n)dʏi(n)dʏi, pO ma(n)dɪ(n)dɪŋ = *cold*; M 'mai
sore Na na-'(m)bʷaka, AN bayəh; R to-'palu
sugarcane Na 'təpʷa, AN təbuʻ, pO topu; R 'na-(v)u

In quite a few instances, semantically equivalent vocabulary items in the various languages reflect different proto-forms.

Examples:

house R nu-'(v?)opʷä < pO panua; M mʷa, N 'mbəma, Na 'ma:thu < pO
 ruŋma(q)
morning Na mwa'(n)dʏi(n)dʏi, M 'mai < pO ma(n)dɪ(n)dɪŋ = *cold*; N
 'mbəle < pO malaso = *cold*
pandanus M 'tö-kiö, N mə-'tö-kiö < pO kiekie; R nʏ-a'wande < pO pada,
 AN paŋdan
seven N l-'thu-mütü, Me 'thu-mutu, Na thǝ-'thü: < pO pitu; M ö-ii-mə <
 pO dua + lima = *two + five* (M ii = *two*)
take R a'lo-kä (or lu'a-kä) < pO alap; M, N 'tuə, Na 'təya < pO taqaki
thunder R mb'le [mbʷle], M mb'lömeɿ < pO pila(k); Na tö-'kila < AN
 kilat = *lightning*

In some cases, semantically equivalent lexical items in the various languages recognisably reflect listed proto-forms in one or two languages, but the forms appearing in the other languages do not seem to be obviously derived from one of the proto-forms listed in the sources, though they are similar to semantically equivalent vocabulary items found in some Austronesian language or languages. In a few cases, formally different, but semantically equivalent, lexical items found in the various RSC languages are each similar to semantically equivalent vocabulary items met with in different Austronesian languages, but none of them constitutes very obvious reflexes of listed proto-forms.

Examples:

black M, Nel mbo, Na mbo < pO *somo(dr)* = (*stained*) *black*; N i-¹biü,
compare pM bulu

bone N ¹na-andu, Na ¹andu, compare New Caledonian languages of the
Far North, North and Central Groups which have ¹du(u) < proto-NC
¹juwi; R ¹ne-ve, M ¹nö-vö may be comparable with proto-NC ¹juw¹,
with loss of the first syllable. At the same time, they compare
well with Sesake *vatu*. It seems quite possible that all these
forms constitute reflexes of pO *tu(dr)*i

fire R n^y-e:, M, N n^y-ö < pO *api*; Na ¹a:khu, compare Motu *l-ahl*,
Vaturanga, Nggela *l-ake* (? < pO *api*)

4.32. *Individual Reflexes*4.32.1. *General Observations*

In this preliminary study, no chart comprising all the sound correspondences between pO and AN forms, and the forms encountered in the RSC languages, has been given, because the materials assessed are far too limited to allow such a procedure. Only a number of individual sound correspondences will be listed.

A number of phenomena is quite strikingly obvious when comparing RSC vocabulary items of Austronesian origin with pO and AN forms:

A) In RSC reflexes, initial and final syllables of pO or AN forms are very frequently absent, and medial syllables less commonly, e.g.,

a) Initial syllable lost:

arm pO *lima*; M mü, Nel mu, R ¹n^yi-me, N, Na ¹nü-mü

ashes pO *apu*, or *ndapu*; M mbü, Nel mbu, N ¹nü-mbü, Na ¹nü-mbu

day AN *təlaŋ* = *be bright*; M ¹nö-¹ɔ, N ¹nö-¹ɔ; AN *d'əmu[!]* = *put in sun*,
R ¹nu-mbla

hair pO *pulu*; R n^yi-¹luu

hear pO *doŋo*; R ŋo-

skin pO *tipl*; M, Nel mbe

b) Final syllable lost:

back pO *ŋpoto*; M, N ¹ni-mbö

eye pO *mata*; R ¹n^yi-mbe, M mə, N ¹nü-m^wə, Me m^wə

hot pO *pana(s)*; R ¹vepe, M pü, N ¹i-pü

navel pO mputo; R 'nvi-mbu

shoulder pO para; M 'na-mbä, N 'na-mbʷε, Na 'na-mbʷε

c) Medial syllable missing:

new pO paqoru; N na-'(m)bɔlu

B) In RSC reflexes of pO and AN forms, metathesis phenomena play an important part:

Examples:

break (tr.) AN [ɪ]apuh; M ö-p'lameɿ, N 'planglo

burn (intr.) AN ['u]ub; R 'pulo, N plo (but see 4.32.2.5. *ŋm > p:
pO ŋmarɪ)

crocodile pO puqaya; R kako'pili, M kha'khopli, N, Na kha'khopli
(y > i)

fly (v) pO ropo; N vlo (but M i'vɔ [i'vɔ])

six pO onom; Na 'the-mũ:

woman AN binaj; M 'olva (-j > i)

It may be pointed out that in comparing RSC languages with each other, metathesis is frequently observable:

Examples:

fly (v) M i'vɔ, R 'luo, N vlo, Nel volö < pO ropo

tie (rope) N vɛ, Na 'lawl < pO pusi (AN d'alɪn); compare pM firi

woman M 'olva, Nel 'ovia, Na 'ɔ:pla < AN binaj (i < j)

C) Some other immediately apparent phenomena in RSC languages are: AN j (pO y) > i, complex sound correspondences of pO labial *C in RSC languages, pO open vowels > closed vowels, pO VnV > Ṽ. These and other phenomena will be illustrated below in 4.32.2. and 4.

4.32.2. Proto-Oceanic (pO) Reflexes

The rules given below are provisional and tentative, and subject to revision in the light of further study. The discussion will be given in the form of attestations for the individual languages which will contain a large number of repetitions to enhance comparability. These will be followed in some instances by summary statements, without examples, of the sound correspondences between pO and RSC languages, highlighting the similarities and differences between the individual RSC languages in this respect.

4.32.2.1. pO *p

Reefs

*p > mb

a) In *-pu, *-pi: *dream*: pO nipi, R me^lmbeta; *ashes*: pO apu (or ndapu), R nu-mb^llese [nu-mb^ulese]

Notes:

1) *-pi = R pV if *u precedes *-pi, e.g., *yam*: pO qupi, R u^lpondvi
 2) *-pu > R (v)u if of the pO form, only the reflex of the syllable *-pu is preserved in R, e.g., *sugarcane*: pO topu, R ^lna-(v)u

b) In *p- + *V + *C: *shoulder*: pO para, R na-mb^llo [na-mb^ulo];
thunder: pO pila, R mb^llo [mb^ulo]; *grass*: pO palisi, R ne-^lmbo

Note: This rule is severely restricted, and does not apply in the following instances:

1) In the R reflex of pO pakiwak = *shark*, pO *p > R mb^w, i.e., nu-^lmbwa. This may be attributable to the pO form containing *-w-, and it must also be kept in mind that a fairly common form for *shark* in Austronesian languages of Melanesia is puaka, though this would suggest R p^w (see *p > p^w, a))

2) If the pO form contains a nasal *C, pO *p = R p, e.g., *go away*: pO pano, R pu; *hot*: pO panas, R ^lvepe; *turtle*: pO ponu, R to-^lponu

3) If the pO form is *pan-+*u+*V or pana-+*C except *s (if the *C is *s, rule 2) applies), pO *p > R p^w, e.g., *arrow*: pO pana(q), R nvi-^lopwa; *house*: pO panua, R nu-^l(v?)opwä

4) If the *V in pO *p-+*V+*C is *u, pO p* = R p, e.g., *crocodile*: pO puqaya, R kako^lpili (with metathesis); *moon*: pO pula(n), R ^lne-(e)pe (also covered by 2) above); *swell up (skin)*: pO puku, R pu. This exception rule and 2) above do not appear to apply in all instances in which metathesis is observable, e.g., *die*: R ^lnumbo, could be derived from pO punu(q) = *kill*, through *p > mb (see above, b)) and metathesis. It could perhaps, though less likely, also be derivable from pO mate = *die* (see 4.32.2.4., Reef *m > mb, a)).

5) If the pO form contains *R, and the vowels in it are not identical, pO *p = R p, e.g., *stingray*: pO pari, R to-^lpoe. If the vowels are identical, pO *p > R mb (see above, b)).

6) If *C in pO *p-+*V+*C is *t, pO *p > R v, e.g., *four*: pO pat, R ^luve; *star*: pO pituqu, R ^lnvi-(v)u ~ vu; *stone*: pO patu, R ^lnvi-ivä

7) If *C in pO *p-+*V+*C is *d, pO *p > R w, e.g., *pandanus*: pO pada, R nvi-a^lwande

8) If the pO form begins with *put- (which, according to 4) and 6) above should produce pO *p = R p, or perhaps R v), and *-i follows,

pO *p > R pʸ, e.g., *white*: pO putl, R ʰopʷa (but see also 4.32.2.7.
Reef *t > y)

c) In *-p-+*V+ final nasal *C: *tongue*: pO ʰlpon = *tooth*, R na-ʰiʰmbilio
v (na)ʰlimbia = *tongue*

*p > mbʷ

See *p > mb, Note b1)

*p = p

a) In *-p-+*i+*V: *good*: pO pia, R ʰpäko

b) In *-p-+*V+ nasal *C+*V: *net*: pO kupaŋa, R ʰnu-po

c) See *p > mb, Notes a1) and b2,4,5)

*p > pʷ

a) In *-p-+*u+*V: *flower*: pO pua = *fruit*, R ʰnu-upʷa

b) *-p- between two vowels of which one is rounded: *throw (v)*: pO
sopa(dr), R ʰoopʷä

c) See *p > mb, Note b3)

*p > pʸ

See *p > mb, Note b8)

*p > v

a) In the reflexes of pO forms containing *R and having *-p- between
two identical rounded vowels, pO *p > R (v), e.g., *fly (v)*: pO ropo,
R ʰlu(v)o

b) See *p > mb, Notes a2) and b6)

*p > w

See *p > mb, Note b7)

Maʔo

*p > mb

a) In *-pu, *-pi: *ashes*: pO apu (or ndapu), M mbü; *dream*: pO nipi,
M nə-ö-mʷimbʰle-ŋö [nə-ö-mʷimbʰle-ŋö]; *skin*: pO tɪpi, M mbe

Note:

1) pO *-pi = M pV if the pO form contains *R, and the vowels in it are
not identical, e.g., *evening*: pO rapl, M mlʰləpü

b) In *p-+*V+*C: *palm of hand*: pO pala, M na-'mbaiva; *place(n) underneath*: pO papa, M 'na-mbæ; *shoulder*: pO para, M 'na-mbä; *thunder*: pO pila, M mb'lömei [mb^U'lömei]; *grass*: pO pallsi, M 'na-mbö

Note: This rule is severely restricted, and does not apply in the following instances:

- 1) In the M reflex of pO paklwak = *shark*, pO *p > M mb^w, i.e., mb^wa (see Reef, *p > mb, Note b1), though puaka would suggest M ph (see *p > ph)
 - 2) If the pO form contains a nasal *C and the vowel following *p- is not *-o (see *p > v, c)), pO p* = M p, e.g., *arrow*: pO pana(q), M 'ni-pna; *hot*: pO panas, M pü
 - 3) In the reflex of pO pano = *go away*, pO *p > M v, i.e., vø. This may be attributable to the fact that pO pano is a reflex of AN panav, with *-v playing a role in the form of the M reflex.
 - 4) If the *V in pO *p-+*V+*C is *u, pO *p = M p, e.g., *crocodile*: pO puqaya, M kha'khopli (with metathesis); *feather*: pO pulu, M 'nö-plö; *moon*: pO pula(n), M 'ne-pi = *sun* (also covered by 2) above); *swell up (skin)*: pO puku, M 'pümbu; *tie (rope)*: pO pusi, M ö-'pe; *white*: pO puti, M 'pöki. This exception rule does not apply in all instances in which metathesis is observable, e.g., *turn (oneself)*: pO pull(q), M ao'lembü (with metathesis).
 - 5) If the pO form contains *R, and the vowels in it are not identical, pO *p = M p, e.g., *stingray*: pO pari, M tö-'pae. If the vowels are identical, pO *p > M mb, *shoulder*: pO para, M 'na-mbä
 - 6) If the *C in pO *p-+*V+*C is *t, pO *p > M v, unless this *t is the final consonant of the pO form (see 7)) or this pO *t > M l (see 8)), e.g., *star*: pO pltuqu, M 'vel
 - 7) If in pO *p-+*V+*t, the *t is the final consonant, pO *p > M p^w, e.g., *four*: pO pat, M p^wä
 - 8) If in pO *p-+*V+*t, pO *t > M l, pO *p = M p, e.g., *stone*: pO patu, M (l)-'æpla
- c) In *-p-+*V+ nasal *C+*V: *net*: pO kupena, M mbö

*p > mb^w

See *p > mb, Note b1)

*p = p

- a) If pO forms contain *-pu-, pO *p = M p, e.g., *lime*: pO apur, M 'päi = *betel leaf*
- b) In *-p-+*V+ final nasal *C: *tongue*: pO lipon = *tooth*, M na-'läpü = *tongue*

c) See *p > mb, Notes a1) and b2,4,5,8)

*p > p^w

See *p > mb, Note b7)

*p > ph

In *p-+*V+*V: *flower*: pO pua = *fruit*, M 'nö-phü

*p > v

a) In reflexes of pO forms containing *_R, and *-p- between two identical rounded vowels, pO *p > M v, e.g., *fly* (v): pO ropo, M 'lv̄ [l^ulv̄] (with metathesis)

b) See *p > mb, Notes b3,6)

c) If pO forms contain a nasal *C and the vowel following *p- is *-o, pO *p > M v, e.g., *turtle*: pO ponu, M 'nə-(v)ü

Nemboi

*p > mb

a) In *-pu, *-pi: *ashes*: pO apu (or ndapu), N 'nü-mbü; *dream*: pO nipi, N 'mwi(m)ble-na; *skin*: pO tīpi, N 'mbel̄ə

Note:

1) pO *-pi = N p^w if the pO form contains *_R and the vowels in it are not identical, e.g., *evening*: pO rāpi, N mi'lāp^wu

b) See *p > mb^w, Note 7)

*p > mb^w

a) In *p-+*V+*C: *palm of hand*: pO pala, N na-(m)bwa'lāqö; *place(n) underneath*: pO papa, N 'no-mb^wə; *shark*: pO pakiwak, N nü-lmb^wa; *shoulder*: pO para, N 'na-mb^wε; *grass*: pO palisi, N 'na-mb^wö

Note: This rule is severely restricted and does not apply in the following instances:

1) If the pO form contains a nasal *C, pO *p = N p, e.g., *hot*: pO panas, N 'l-pü

2) In the reflex of pO pano = *go away*, pO *p > N v, i.e., və (see Malo *p > mb, Note b3))

3) If the *V in pO *p-+*V+*C is *u, pO *p = N p, e.g., *crocodile*: pO puqaya, N kha'khopli (with metathesis); *feather*: pO pulu, N 'nö-plö; *moon*: pO pula(n), N 'ne-pl = *sun* (also covered by 1) above); *white*:

pO putl, N l-¹pökl. However, if in *p-+*u+*C the *C is *s or *l (followed by *i), pO *p > N v, e.g., *tie (rope)*: pO pusl, N vliε; *turn (oneself)*: pO pull(q), N ¹vεlεævlü

4) If the *C in pO *p-+*C+*V is *t, pO *p > N v, unless this *t is the final consonant of the pO form (see 5)) or this pO *t > N l (see 6)), e.g., *star*: pO pltuqu, N ¹væl

5) If in pO *p-+*V+*t, the *t is the final consonant, pO *p > N p^w, e.g., *four*: pO pat, N p^wε

6) If in pO *p-+*V+*t, pO *t > N l, pO *p = N p, e.g., *stone*: pO patu, N ¹oplæ

7) If the *C in pO *p-+*V+*C is *q, pO p > N mb, e.g., *new*: pO paqoru, N na-¹(m)bolu; *high*: pO paqa, N ¹na-mbö

b) In *-p-+*V+ nasal *C+*V: *net*: pO kupeŋa, N ¹nu-mb^wö

*p = p

a) If pO forms contain *-pu-, pO *p = N p, e.g., *lime*: pO apuR, N ¹pue = *betel leaf*

b) In *-p-+*V+ final nasal *C: *tongue*: pO l|pon = *tooth*, N na-¹læpə = *tongue*

c) See *p > mb^w, Notes 1,3,6)

*p > p^w

See *p > mb, Note 1, and *p > mb^w, Note 5)

*p > p^h

In *p-+*V+*V: *flower*: pO pua = *fruit*, N ¹nö-phü

*p > v

a) In reflexes of pO forms containing *R or *dr, and *-p- between two identical rounded vowels or two vowels of which one is rounded, pO *p > N v, e.g., *fly (v)*: pO ropo, N vlo; *throw*: pO sopa(dr), N vo¹lane

b) See *p > mb^w, Notes 2,3,4)

Nanggu

*p > mb

In *-pu, *-pl: *ashes*: pO apu (or ndapu), Na ¹nü-mbu; *skin*: pO t|pl, Na (m)be¹notu

*p > mb^w

a) In *p-+*V+*C: *shoulder*: pO para, Na 'na-mb^wa

Note: This rule is severely restricted and does not apply in the following instances:

1) If the pO form contains a nasal *C, pO *p = Na p, e.g., *moon*: pO pula(n), Na 'nə:-pi = *sun* (also explainable by rule 4)); *turtle*: pO ponu, Na 'nə-pü

2) In the reflex of pO pano = *go away*, pO *p = Na w, i.e., wö-n-

3) If the *V in pO *p-+*V+*C is *u, pO *p > Na p^w, unless the *C is *l (see 4)) or *s (see *p > w, a)), or the pO form contains a nasal *C (see 1)), e.g., *white*: pO puti, Na 'u-p^wa

4) If the *C in pO *pu-+*C is *l or >Na l, pO *p = Na p, e.g., *crocodile*: pO puqaya (*y > Na l), Na kha'khɔpli (with metathesis); *feather*: pO pulu, Na 'nö-plü

5) If the *C in pO *p-+*V+*C is *t, pO *p > Na p^y, unless this *t is the final consonant of the pO form (see 6)) or the *V is *l (see 7)), e.g., *stone*: pO patu, Na 'ɔ:p^ya (see also 4.32.2.7., Nanggu, *t > y, b))

6) If in pO *p-+*V+*t, the *t is the final consonant, pO *p > Na p^w, e.g., *four*: pO pat, Na th^u-l^pɔ

7) If in pO *p-+*V+*C, pO *V is *l, pO *p = Na p, e.g., *star*: pO pituqu, Na 'l^pipi

8) If the pO form contains *R, and the vowels in it are not identical, pO *p = Na p^w, e.g., *stingray*: pO parl, Na tö-l^pɔae

b) In *-p-+*V+ nasal *C: *net*: pO kupɛŋa, Na 'nu-mb^wɔ; *tongue*: pO lɪpon = *tooth*, Na 'na-la(m)b^wa = *tongue*

*p = p

See *p > mb^w, Notes 1,4,7)

*p > p^w

a) If pO forms contain *-pu-, pO *p > Na p^w, e.g., *lime*: pO apur, Na p^weɭ = *betel leaf*

b) See *p > mb^w, Notes 3,6,8)

*p > p^y

a) In pO *-pu which is preceded by a rounded vowel, pO *p > Na p^y, e.g., *sugarcane*: pO topu, Na 'tɛp^ya

b) See *p > mb^w, Note 5)

*p > w

a) If the *C in pO *pu-+*C is *s (followed by *i), pO *p > Na w, e.g., *tie (rope)*: pO pusi, Na lawi (with metathesis)

b) See *p > mb^w, Note 2)

*Summary of RSC reflexes of pO *p*

Because of the complexity of the sound-correspondences between pO *p and its RSC reflexes, a summary of what has been discussed above may be useful:

pO *p in pO forms containing or consisting of:

-pi

-pi in pO forms containing ɾ

-pu

-pu preceded by a rounded vowel

-pu which is the only remaining syllable in a reflex of the pO form

p-+V+C (restricted rule)

-p-+V+ nasal C+V

-p-+V+ final nasal C

-upl

pakiwak

forms containing a nasal C

forms containing a nasal C and having -o follow p-

panu-+V

pana-+C except s

pu-

pu-+l

pu-+C > l in reflexes

pano

forms containing ɾ and non-identical vowels

pVt-

pVt (with -t final)

pVt > l in reflexes

put-l

pus-l

pul-l

plt-

pVd-

appear as:

R, M, N, Na mb

M p, N p^w

R, M, N, Na mb

Na p^y

R v

R, M mb, N, Na mb^w

R p, M mb, N, Na mb^w

R mb, M, N p, Na mb^w

R p

R, M, N mb^w

R, M, N, Na p

M v

R p^w

R p^w

R, M, N p, Na p^w

M, N, Na pl

M, N pl

R p, M, N v, Na w

R, M p, Na p^w

R, M, N v, Na p^y

R v, M, N, Na p^w

M, N p

R p^y, M, N p, Na p^w

N v, Na w

M mb (with metathesis), N v

R, M, N v, Na p

R w

pVq-	N mb
-pu-	M, N p, Na p ^w
p-+u+V	R p ^w , M, N p ^h
p-+i+V	R p
-p- between identical rounded vowels	R, M, N v
-p- between vowels of which one is rounded	R p ^w , N v

4.32.2.2. pO *mp*Reefs**mp > mb

- a) *mp- (unless followed by *e, see below *m > p): *lip*: pO mpimpi(ɾ), R nu-mb^llendu [nu-mb^ul^llendu]; *smell* (v.tr.): pO mpo-, R mbo
- b) *-mpV if preceded by *CV-: *go up*: pO nsa(m)pe, R ^lɲambe

*mp > m

*-mpV if preceded by *V-: *near*: pO ampe, R ^lvama

*mp > p

*mp- before *e : *bat*: pO mpenka, R te-^lpeka = *large fruit bat*

*Malo**mp > mb

*mp-, unless it is followed by *e (see *mp > m, b)) *ou or *u+ a non-nasal *C except *t (see *mp > m, a)): *fence*: pO mpaa, M na-^lmbämbö; *lip*: pO mpimpi(ɾ), M mbe; *navel*: pO mputo, M nö-pu-^lmbalo; *pidgeon*: pO mpune, M ^lmbona

*mp > m

- a) *mp- followed by *ou or *u+ a non-nasal *C: *buttocks*: pO mpu(dr)it, M ^lndame; *egg*: pO mpou, M ^lnä-lmö
- b) *mp- before *e : *bat*: pO mpenka, M ^lməlipə = *fruit bat*
- c) *-mpV if preceded by *CV-: *fog*: pO kampu(t), M öka^lmömbö; *go up*: pO nsampe, M mə

*mp > p

*-mpV if preceded by V-: *near*: pO ampe, M a^lepa

Nemboi

*mp > mb

*mp- unless it is followed by *e (see *mp > m), *o (see *mp > p^w) or *ou (see *mp > p): *buttocks*: pO mpu(dr)it, N 'ndəmbe; *lip*: pO mp!mp! (ɾ), N (m)be'niŋu; *pidgeon*: pO mpune, N 'mbɔna

*mp > m

*mp-+*e : *bat*: pO mpeŋka, N 'mökɔ = *fruit bat*

*mp > p

- a) *mp-+*ou : *egg*: pO mpou, N 'ta-plö
 b) -mpV: e.g., *fog*: pO kampu(t), N ö'kapömbö; *go up*: pO nsa(m)pe, N 'löpe; *near*: N lveso'töpū ? > pO ampe

*mp > p^w

*mp-+*o : *smell (v.tr.)*: pO mpo-, N p^wö

Nanggu

*mp > mb

*mp- unless it is followed by *e (see *mp > m), *a or *u + a nasal *C (see *mp > mb^w) or by *u + a non-nasal *C (see *mp > p^y): *lip*: pO mp!mp! (ɾ), Na 'mbenuŋũ

*mp > mb^w

*mp-+*a or *u + a nasal *C: *fence*: pO mpaa, Na 'na-mb^wə ~ 'nu-mb^wə; *pidgeon*: pO pune, Na 'na-(m)b^wö

*mp > m

*mp-+*e : *bat*: pO mpeŋka, Na 'mömb^ya = *fruit bat*

*mp > p^y

*mp-+*u + a non-nasal *C: *buttocks*: pO mpu(dr)it, Na ɔp^ya'ndou

Summary

pO *mp in pO:	appears as:
mp-	R, M, N, Na mb
mpa-	Na mb ^w
mpe-	R p, M, N, Na m
mpu + nasal C	Na mb ^w
mpu + non-nasal C except t	M m, N mb, Na p ^y
mpo-	N p ^w
mpou	M m, N p
CV-mpV	R mb, M m, N p
V-mpV	R m, M, N p

4.32.2.3. pO *np

*np- > mb

In R, M, N, Na, e.g., *back (n)*: pO npoto, M, N 'nl-mbö, Na nɔ-'tʷɔ:mbö; *night*: pO npoŋi, R mbu, M mbü, N 'no-mbu, Na 'nɔ:-mbu. Exception: *pig*: pO npo(e), R, M 'pol, N pɔ, Na 'pɔl; (R nu-'mʷaŋu = *back (n)*), < AN balakaŋ)

4.32.2.4. pO *m

Reefs

*m = m

If pO forms show the following vowel sequences in successive syllables: *a-*u, *a-*i, *u-*i, *i-*a, or the pO form is -*mi or *-mu: *mosquito*: pO namuk, R 'namo; *salt*: pO maliŋ or ma-asl, R 'mami; *behind something*: pO mudi, R 'umu; *arm*: pO lima = *hand*, R 'nʷl-me; *2nd person pl. possessive suffix*: pO -mɪ, R -mɪ; *2nd person sg. possessive suffix*: pO -mu, R -mu

Note: This basic rule requires some elaboration for those instances in which the pO forms contain more than two syllables and vowels:

- 1) If the *V's in such pO forms are *a and *i, and the *a predominate, pO *m = R m, but if the *i predominate, pO *m > R mb, e.g., *pain*: pO masakɪt, R kɪ-'mande; *salt*: pO ma-asl (or maliŋ, see above), R 'mami; but: *left (hand)*: pO ma-wɪrɪ, R 'mbalɪnu'mou
- 2) If the *V's in such pO forms are *a and *u, and the *u predominate, pO *m = R m, but if the *a predominate, pO *m > R mb, e.g., *sleep (v)*: pO matudu(ɾ), R meɭ; but: *be afraid*: pO matakɪ(t), R ku-mbou
- 3) If the *V's in such pO forms are *a, *u and *i, pO *m > R mb, e.g., *left (hand)*: pO maurɪ, R 'mbaɪnu'mou (see also 1) above)

*m > m^w

If in a bisyllabic pO form, both vowels are *a, pO *m > R m^w, e.g.,
bite: pO maŋa = (open) mouth, R ^lm^waŋe; *father*: pO tama, R ^ltum^wo;
new: pO mata(q), R m^waya

Note: This rule does not apply in the following instances:

- 1) If the pO form has an initial *l-, pO *m > R mb, e.g., *pond*: pO laman, R nu-^lmbuno
- 2) The R reflex of pO mata = *eye*, is ^ln^vl-mbe
- 3) R ^lnu-pa = *mouth* is apparently a reflex of pO maŋa, but constitutes a tradition (Polynesian ?) different from that mentioned above in *m > m^w in connection with pO maŋa

*m > mb

- a) If pO forms show vowel sequences which are different from those mentioned in *m = m, e.g., *a-*e ? (see 4.32.2.1., Reef *p > mb, Note b4)), *u-*a, or, in the case of pO forms containing more than two syllables, *a-*a-*o etc., e.g., *die*: pO mate, R ^lnumbo; *spit (v)*: pO muta(q), R ^lmbol; *cold*: pO malaso, R ku-mba^llälo
- b) See *m = m, Notes 1,2,3), and *m > m^w, Notes 1,2)

Malo

*m = m

If pO forms show the following vowel sequences in successive syllables: *a-*a (but see *m > (w)ø?), *a-*u, *u-*l, *l-*a, *l-*u, or the pO form is *-mu or *-ml : *bite*: pO maka(s) = *tooth*, M ^lmakä; *eye*: pO mata, M mæ; *new*: pO mata(q), M möna; *eat*: pO samu, M mu; *mosquito*: pO namuk, M mɔ-^lnindu (mɔ = *fly (n)*); *behind something*: pO mudl, M mü; *arm*: pO lima = *hand*, M ö-^lmale (with metathesis); *drink (v)*: pO inu(m), M ö-m^lnü (with metathesis); *2nd person sg. possessive suffix*: pO -mu, M -m; *2nd person pl. possessive suffix*: pO -ml, M -mu

Note: Elaboration of this rule for those instances in which the pO forms contain more than two syllables and vowels:

- 1) If the *V's in such pO forms are *a, *a and *l, or *a, *u and *l, or *a, *u and *a, pO *m = M m, e.g., *morning*: pO ma(n)d^l(n)d^lŋ = *cold*, M ^lmal; *left (hand)*: pO ma-w^lrl ~ maur^l, M mo; *sibling of same sex*: pO matuqa, M ^lmale
- 2) If the *V's in such pO forms are *a, *a and *u, pO *m > M m^w, e.g., *be afraid*: pO maku(t), M ^lm^wälö-

*m > m^w

See *m = m, Note 2)

*m > mb

If pO forms show vowel sequences which are different from those mentioned in *m = m, such as *a-*e, *u-*a, etc., and in general, if *o is present in them: *die*: pO mate, M mbə (perhaps derivable from pO punu(q) = *kill*, see 4.32.2.1., Reefs *p > mb, Note b4)); *spit* (v): pO muta(q), M mbia; *black*: pO somo(dr) = (stained) black), M mbo = *black*; *man*: pO tamole, M 'nɔ-mblo ['nɔ-mb^ulo]; *cold*: pO malaso, M 'mbao

*m > (w)Ø ?

The M reflex of pO maŋa = *mouth* is 'na-(w)o ~ 'na-o ? (*m-+*a + nasal *C+*a ?)

Nemboi

*m = m

a) If pO forms show the following vowel sequences in successive syllables: *a-*a, (but see *m > (w)Ø ?), *u-*a, *i-*a, e.g., *bite*: pO maka(s) = *tooth*, N ma'kɛli; *spit* (v): pO muta(q), N 'mapü; *arm*: pO lima = *hand*, N 'nü-mü

b) See *m > p^w

Notes:

1) The N reflex of pO mata = *eye*, is 'nü-m^wə

2) If, in pO forms with more than two syllables, the *V's are *a, *i and *i, or *a, *u and *i, or *a, *u and *a, pO *m = N m, e.g., *left* (*hand*): pO ma-wiri ~ mauri, N 'numo; *sibling of same sex*: pO matuqa, N 'mənde

3) If, in pO forms with more than two syllables, the *V's are *a, *a and *u, pO *m > N m^w, e.g., *be afraid*: pO matakut), N m^wɛ-

c) If the pO form is *-mu: *2nd person possessive suffix*: pO -mu, N -m

*m > m^w

a) If pO forms show the vowel sequence *a-*u in successive syllables, or the pO form is *-mi, e.g., *mosquito*: pO namuk, M m^wɔ-'kilələ ('nu-m^wo = *fly* (n)); *eat*: pO samu, N m^wə; *2nd person pl. possessive suffix*: pO -mi, N -m^wi

b) See *m = m, Note a1)

c) See *m = m, Note a3)

d) N *hold in hand*, which is derived from pO *lima* = *hand*, by metathesis, shows *m > mʷ, i.e., mʷaɬə, in contrast to the reflex ¹nū-mū = *arm*, < pO *lima* = *hand* (see *m = m, a))

*m > mb

If pO forms contain *o: *black*: pO *somo(dr)* = (*stained*) *black*, N ¹l-(m)biü = *black*; *morning*: pO *malaso* = *cold*, N ¹mbɔɬə

*m > mbʷ

If pO forms show the vowel sequences *a-*e or *u-*u: *die*: pO *mate*, N mbʷə (perhaps derivable from pO *punu(q)* = *kill*, see 4.32.2.1., Reefs *p > mb, Note b4)); *earth oven*: pO *qumu*, N ¹na-mbʷə

*m > pʷ

*-m- in pO forms which show the vowel sequence *i-*u: *rain*: pO ¹tɪmu(ɾ), N ¹lpʷü. If, in such forms, *m is final, pO *m = N m: *drink (v)*: pO ¹nu(m), N ə-m¹nu- (with metathesis)

*m > (w)Ø ?

The N reflex of pO *maŋa* = *mouth* is ¹na-(w)ɔ ~ ¹na-ɔ ? (*m-+*a + nasal *C+*a ?)

Nanggu

*m = m

- a) If pO forms show the vowel sequence *i-*a, or if, in the case of forms with more than two syllables, the *V's are *a, *u and *u, or *a, *u and *a: *arm*: pO *lima* = *hand*, Na ¹nū-mū; *sleep (v)*: pO *matudu(ɾ)*, Na ¹tumu (with metathesis); *sibling of same sex*: pO *matuqu*, Na m¹¹yeɭ
- b) If the pO form is *-mu: *2nd person sg. possessive suffix*: pO -mu, Na -m
- c) See *m > mb, Note 2)

*m > mʷ

If pO forms show the vowel sequence *a-*u, or if, in the case of forms with more than two syllables, the *V's are *a and *i: *mosquito*: pO *namuk*, Na mʷa¹lǎɬa (¹mumʷɔ = *fly (n)*); *morning*: pO *ma(n)dɪ(n)dɪŋ* = *cold*, Na mʷa¹(n)dʷɪ(n)dʷɪ

*m > mb

If pO forms contain *o: *black*: pO *somo(dr)* = (*stained*) *black*, Na *mbɔ* = *black*

Notes:

- 1) If such forms contain *l, pO *m > Na mʷ, e.g., *cold*: pO *malaso*, Na *ʼl-mʷa*
- 2) In Na *ʼthe-mũ*: = *six*, < pO *onom*, pO *m = Na m (*-m + metathesis)

*m > mbʷ

If pO forms show the vowel sequence *a-*e or *a-*a, pO *mate* = *die* is *mbʷe* (perhaps derivable from pO *punu(q)* = *kill*, see 4.32.2.1., Reefs *p > mb, Note b4)); *mouth*: pO *maŋa*, Na *ʼna-mbʷa*

*m > mʷ

See *m > mb, Note 1)

*m > pm

If pO forms show the vowel sequence *l-*u: *rain*: pO *ʼtimu(r)*, Na *ʼl:pmũ*

Summary

pO *m in pO:

appears as:

forms containing a-a	R mʷ, M, N m, Na mbʷ
forms containing a-u	R, M m, N, Na mʷ
forms containing a-i	R m
forms containing a-e	R ?, M mb, N, Na mbʷ
forms containing u-a	R, M mb, N m
forms containing u-i	R, M m
forms containing u-u	N mbʷ
forms containing i-a	R, M, N, Na m
forms containing i-a + metathesis	M m, N mʷ
forms containing m-ta + nasal C+a	R mʷ, M, N (w)Ø?, Na mbʷ
forms containing l-u and *-m-	N pʷ, Na pm
forms containing i-u and *-m	M, N m
forms containing a-a and initial l mata	R mb R mb, M m, N mʷ
forms containing o	R, M, N, Na mb
forms containing o and l	R, M, N mb, Na mʷ
tri-syllabic forms containing a-a-i	R m

tri-syllabic forms containing a-l-l	R mb, M, N m, Na m ^w
tri-syllabic forms containing a-u-u	R, Na m
tri-syllabic forms containing a-a-u	R mb, M, N m ^w
tri-syllabic forms containing a-u-a	M, N, Na m
tri-syllabic forms containing a-u-l	R mb, M, N m
-ml	R, M m, N m ^w
-mu	R, M, N, Na m
onom	Na m (pO -m + metathesis)

4.32.2.5. pO *qm*qm- > m

In R, M: *man*: pO si-qmane, R si-me; *snake*: pO qmata, M mæ; *sharp*: pO qmata, M malɔ. Also in N and Na, if the pO form contains a nasal *C: *sibling of the same sex*: pO (Milke 1969) qmane, N 'mænde, Na m'l'ye| (also derivable from pO matuqa (see 4.32.2.4., Nemboi *m = m, Note a2), and Nanggu *m = m, a)). At the same time, N (and Me) 'nü-qə = *man* may also be derivable from pO qmane if *qm > q is postulated.

*qm- > m^w

In N, Na: *snake*: pO qmata, N 'nü-m^wə, Na 'nu-m^wa; *sharp*: pO qmata, N m^walo

*qm- > p

In R, N if followed by *R: *burn (v)*: pO qmarl, R pulo, N plo. (These reflexes may perhaps be explainable more easily as derived from AN ['lu]ub through metathesis. pO qmarl may in itself constitute a reflex of AN ['lu]ub)

*-qm- > m

In N, Na if preceded by *u: *house*: pO ruqma, N 'mbəma, Na 'ma:thu

*-qm- > m^w

In M if preceded by *u: *house*: pO ruqma, M m^wa

*qm > q ?

N 'nü-qə = *man* may perhaps be derived from pO qmane (see above, *m > m).

Summary

pO *ŋm in pO forms containing or consisting of:

appears as:

ŋm-	R, M m
ŋm- in forms containing a nasal C	M, N, Na m
ŋm-+V+R	R, N p ?
ŋmata = <i>snake</i>	N, Na m ^w
ŋmane	N, Me ŋ in <i>man</i> ?
-ŋm- after u	M m ^w , N, Na m

4.32.2.6. pO *w

*w = w

a) *w- in R, M, N: *water*: pO wai(ŋ), R nu-^l(w)oi, M ^llu-(w)e, N ^lnü-we; *string, rope*: pO waro, R nu-^l(w)ale, N ^lnü-wl; *canoe*: pO waŋka, M ^lnu-(w)ə, N ^lnu-(w)a

Note: If the pO V* following *w becomes M l, pO *w > M v, e.g., *string, rope*: pO waro, M ^lnü-vi

b) *-w- between identical *V's in R, Na: *sibling of the opposite sex*: pO qalawa, R ^lsi-we, Na u^lwe

*w > mb

*-w- between non-identical vowels one of which is rounded, in R, M, N, Na: *long*: pO lowas, R eomb^llou [eomb^u^llou] (with metathesis), M ^lmboi, N i-^l(m)boi, Na i-^lmbuki

*w > m

*w-+*a+*l in Na: *eight*: pO walu, Na ^lthu-m(u)li:

*w > Ø

*-w- between identical *V's in M, N (i.e., *VwV > VV): *sibling of opposite sex*: pO qalawa, M ^ll^{nue}, N ^ll^{lue}

Summary

pO + *w in pO forms containing or consisting of:

appears as:

w-	R, M, N w
w-+V > i	M v
-w- between identical V's	R, Na w, M, N Ø
-w- between non-identical V's of which one is rounded	R, M, N, Na mb
walu	Na m

4.32.2.7. pO *t*Reefs*

As a general principle, *t > Ø in the great majority of those cases in which vocabulary items in R constitute reflexes of pO forms containing *t. In most of the R items reflecting pO forms with *t, this *t is medial, and the few instances in which it is initial do not display a considerably greater tendency towards its preservation than is observable with pO items containing medial *t. This is in contrast to the SC languages (see below). Final pO *-t in pO forms is always lost.

*t = t

- a) *t-+*V + nasal *C+*V (but see *t > s): *father*: pO tama, R 'tum^{wo}
- b) *-t- between *a and *e if the pO form has initial *q- : *liver*: pO qate, R te-'ate
- c) *-t- between *l and *a : *see*: pO kita, R itä-kä

*t > s

- a) *t-+*l + nasal *C+*a : *mother*: pO tina, R 'lso (with metathesis)
- b) *-t- between *e and *e : *belly*: pO kete, R nu-(w)osa ~ nu-(w)eso (see also 4.32.2.13., Reefs, *k > w(Ø)?)

*t > nd ?

*t-+*awa- in *bird*: R ndä'kuluo which could be derived from pO tawake = *tropic bird*. However, it seems much more likely that R ndäkuluo can be explained as ndä- = semantic thing (and small animals) class marker + -ku- = continuous aspect marker + -lu(v)o = *fly (v)*. There is a considerable number of nouns in R which are formed in exactly the same manner, e.g., ndäkum^{wane} = *mosquito* (m^{wane} = *bite (v)*), etc.

*t > y (or palatalisations of preceding C)

- a) *-t- between *u and *l : *white*: pO putl, R 'opva
- b) *-t- between *a and *a, with *q following: *new*: pO mata(q), R 'm^{waya}

*t > Ø

*t- and *-t- in all other instances, notably *-t- between *a and *a without *q following, *-t- between *a and *e in pO forms without initial *q, etc.: *eye*: pO mata, R 'nvl-mbe; *die*: pO mate, R 'numbo

(see also 4.32.2.1., Reefs, *p > mb, Note b4)); *bad*: pO tika, R 'äa;
cry (v): pO tani(s), R 'eni; *egg*: pO tolu(ɾ), R nu-o'lie; *louse*: pO
 kutu, R no-'uu; *navel*: pO mputo, R 'nɣl-mbu; *sleep*: pO matudu(ɾ), R
 meɿ; *spit*: pO muta(q), R 'mbol; *star*: pO plituqu, R 'nl-(v)u; *stone*:
 pO patu, R 'nɣl-lvā

Malo

In M reflexes, pO *t show much less tendency to disappear than in
 R, and initial *t is preserved in most instances, mostly as M t or th.

*t = t

a) *t-+*a + nasal *C or *w+*a : *father*: pO tama, M 'töte; *bird*: pO
 tawake = *tropic bird*, M 'utɔ = *bird*

Note: If such a form is followed by *q, pO *t > M th, e.g., *ground*:
 pO tana(q), M ndö'thɔ̃

b) *t- and *-t- in pO forms containing no other *V's but *u : *stand up*:
 pO tuqu(d), M tu-; *louse*: pO kutu, M tö'-kutu; *straight*: pO tusu(q),
 M mi'æetü

c) *t-+*a and *u, or +*o and *u : *bury*: pO tanum, M yö-'təmü; *right*
 (*hand*): pO (ma-)taqu, M ö'tɔ; *three*: pO tolu, M tü

d) *-t- between *a and *e, if the pO form has initial *q- : *liver*:
 pO qate, M sate

*t > th

a) *t-+*o+*C+*l : *body*: pO to(dr)l, M 'ndöthü (with metathesis)

b) *t-+*i+*C+*a : *bad*: pO tika, M 'thöka

c) See *t = t, Note to a)

*t > k

*-t- between *u and *i : *white*: pO putl, M 'pöki

t* > l

This sound correspondence has been observable almost exclusively with
 medial *t, except for pO tina = *mother*, which is M 'läe

a) *-t- between the following *V's: *e and *e, *u and *o, *a and *u :
belly: pO kete, M 'nö-le; *navel*: pO mputo, M nö-pu-'mbɔlo; *stone*: pO
 patu, M (l)-'æplæ; *sibling of same sex*: pO matuqa, M 'mæle

b) *-t- > l in pO ηmata = *sharp*, i.e., M 'maɪɔ, but > Ø in pO ηmata = *snake*, i.e., M mə. No reason for this is apparent.

c) In the reflex of pO matakut = *be afraid*, i.e., M 'mʷäɪö

*t > n

*-t- between *a and *a, with final *-q following: *new*: pO mata(q), M 'möna

*t > y

*t-+*a + nasal *C+*l : *cry (v)*: pO taŋl(s), M 'yönl-

*t > Ø

With the exception of pO tɪpɪ = *skin*, M mbe, *t > Ø has been found to affect only medial *t, notably *-t- between *a and *e in pO forms without initial *q, and between *a and *a without *q, following, etc.: *die*: pO mate, M mbe; *eye*: pO mata, M mə; *back*: pO ηpoto, M 'nɪ-mbö; *buttocks*: pO mpu(dr)ɪt, M 'ndəme (with metathesis); *spit*: pO muta(q), M 'mbia; *star*: pO pituqu, M 'vei

Nemboi

In N reflexes, pO *t shows a somewhat more pronounced tendency to disappear than in M. At the same time, all observed instances of t and tʰ in N reflect only pO initial *-t-. ..

*t = t

a) *-t- in pO forms containing no other *V's but *u : *stand up*: pO tuqu(d), N tu; *go down*: pO tuku, N tu-; *straight*: pO tusu(q), N l-'tu(m)bə

b) *t-+*o and *u, or *a + nasal *C+*u : *three*: pO tolu, N 'a-tü; *bury*: pO tanum, N ö-'təmu

c) *t-+*a+*w+*a : *bird*: pO tawake = *tropic bird*, N 'uto = *bird*

*t > tʰ

a) *t-+*o+*C+*l : *body*: pO to(dr)ɪ, N 'ndethü (with metathesis)
Note: N 'na-andu = *bone*, also seems to be derived from pO to(dr)ɪ, with *t > Ø. No explanation can be offered at this stage.

b) *t-+*l+*C+*a : *bad*: pO tika, N l-'tʰüka

c) *t-+ *a + nasal *C+*a, if followed by *q : *ground*: pO tana(q), N 'mɛɪtʰə

*t > k

*-t- between *u and *i : *white*: pO putl, M 'pökɪ

*t > l

This sound correspondence has been observable almost exclusively with medial *t, except for pO tina = *mother*, which is N 'laɣɪə

a) *-t- between the *v's *e and *ə, and *a and *u unless *-Ca follows (see *t > nd): *belly*: pO kete, N 'ne-lla ~ (m)be'lella; *stone*: pO patu, N 'opɪə

b) *-t- > l in pO ɣmata = *sharp*, i.e., N 'mʷalo, but > Ø in pO ɣmata = *snake*, i.e., N 'nü-mʷə. No reason for this is apparent.

*t > nd

a) *-t- between *a and *u+*-Ca : *sibling of same sex*: pO matuqa, N 'mande

b) See *t > tʰ, Note to a)

*t > Ø

*t- and *-t- in all other instances, notably *t-+*a + nasal *C+*a without *q following, etc.: *father*: pO tama, N 'ɪmbʷu; *skin*: pO tɪpɪ, N 'ɪmbɛɪŋə; *rain*: pO tɪmu(ɾ), N ɪpʷü; *cry (v)*: pO taŋɪ(s), N 'önɪ; *eye*: pO mata, N 'nü-mʷə; *back*: pO ɣpoto, N 'ɪɪ-mbə; *buttocks*: pO mpu(dr)it, N 'ɪndɛmbɛ (with metathesis); *star*: pO pɪtuqu, N 'vɛɪ; *die*: pO mate, N mbʷə; *be afraid*: pO matakutɪ, N mʷɛ; *spit*: pO muta(q), N 'mapü

Nanggu

In Na, *t shows less tendency to disappear than in N, but it is stronger than in M. With two exceptions, all observed instances of t and tʰ in Na reflect only pO initial *t-.

*t = t

a) *t-+*o and *u : *sugarcane*: pO topu, Na 'tɛpʷa; *three*: pO tolu, Na tʰü-ɪtü:

b) *t-+*a + nasal *C+*a, if followed by *q : *ground*: pO tana(q), Na kɔ-ɪtɔɔ

c) *-t- between *l and *u : *seven*: pO pltu, Na thũ-^lthũ:

d) *-t- between *a and *u in tri-syllabic pO forms in which the *v of the third syllable is *u : *sleep*: pO matudu(ɾ), Na ^ltumu (with metathesis)

*t > th

*t-+*l + non-nasal *C+*a : *bad*: pO tika, Na l-^lthũka

*t > nd

*t-+*a+*w+*a : *bird*: pO tawake = *tropic bird*, Na ^lndoke = *bird*

*t > l

*-t- between *e and *e : *belly*: pO kete, Na ta-^lpolo

*t > s

*t-+*l + nasal *C+*a : *mother*: pO tina, Na l^lse (with metathesis)

*t > y (or palatalisation of preceding C)

a) *t-+*a + nasal *C+*a : *father*: pO tama, Na l^lye

b) *-t- between *a and *u in bi-syllabic pO forms, and in tri-syllabic ones in which the vowel of the third syllable is not *u : *stone*: pO patu, Na ^lɔ:pva; *sibling of same sex*: pO matuqa, Na m^lye^l

*t > Ø

With the exception of pO tɪpi = *skin*, Na (m)be-^lnotu, *t > Ø has been found to affect only medial *t : *back*: pO npoto, Na nɔ-^ltɔ:-mbö; *buttocks*: pO mpu(dr)it, Na ɔpva^lndou; *die*: pO mate, Na mbwə; *snake*: pO ŋmata, Na ^lnü-mwə; *star*: pO pltuqu, Na ^lpɪpɪ; *white*: pO putɪ, Na ^lu-pwə

Summary

pO *t in pO forms containing or consisting of:

appears as:

t-+uCu

M t

t-+aCu

M, N t

t-+aCo

M, N, Na t

t-+oCi

M, N th

t-+oCu

R Ø, Na t

t-+awa

R nd?, M, N t, Na nd

t-+l+ non-nasal C+a

M, N, Na t^w

t-+l+ nasal C+a	R, Na s, M, N l
t-+V (except l)+ nasal C+a	R, M t, N Ø, Na y
t-+V + nasal C+aq	M, N th, Na t
t-+a + nasal C+l	R, N Ø, M y
-t-, with all V's only u	M, N t
-t- between e-e	R s, M, N, Na l
-t- between a-a	R, M, N Ø
ŋmata = <i>sharp</i>	M, N l
-t- between a-aq	R y, M n
-t- between a-a+Cu	R, N, Na Ø, M l
-t- between l-a	R t
-t- between l-u	Na t
-t- between u-i	R y, M, N k, Na Ø
-t- between u-o	R Ø, M l
-t- between a-e, with q-	R, M t
-t- between a-e, without q-	R, M, N, Na Ø
-t- between a-u	R Ø, M, N l, Na y
-t- between a-u+Ca	M l, N nd, Na y
-t- between a-u+Cu	R Ø, Na t

In all other observed occurrences of t- or -t-, *t is R, M, N, Na Ø.

4.32.2.8. pO *nt

*nt > t

*nt-, in M, N, Me: *forehead*: pO nta(dr)a, M 'öt|ö, N 'ötölö, Me 'otulö;
taro: pO ntalo, M 'taki

*nt > nd

*-nt- in R, Na: *we (incl.)*: pO k|nta, R l'u-nde, Na n|-'nda-mʷe

*nt > Ø

*nt- in R: *flow (v)*: pO ntape, R pe

4.32.2.9. pO *d

*d > l

*d- in R, M, N, Na, unless the pO form contains *_R (> l) (see *d > nd):
two: pO dua, R l'illu, M ll, N 'a-ll, Na 'thü-ll; *hear*: pO dono, M
 'ö-lä, N vε-'l|εlε, Na wö-'l|ε

*d > nd

- a) *-d- in R : *pandanus*: pO pada, R nʔl-a^lwande
 b) *d- in pO forms containing *_R (> l) in R: *blood*: pO dara(q), R
 ʔndela

*d > Ø

*-d, and *d in those instances in which entire pO syllables disappear in RSC reflexes, e.g., *sea*: pO lau(d), R ʔnä-lo; *hear*: pO doŋo, R ŋo-. In *stand up*: pO tuqu(d), pO *-d appears to be preserved as -l- in M and N in the directional suffix added to the verb stem: M, N ʔtu-la

4.32.2.10. pO *nd*nd > l

*nd in M, N, Na: *leaf*: pO ndau(n), M ʔleu, N ʔleŋu, Na ʔleɸ ~ ʔleu

4.32.2.11. pO *dr*dr > th

*dr-+*l in M, N, Na: *porpoise*: pO (dr)l(dr)lko, M, N ʔnə^lthu, Na
 ʔnö-thü

*dr > l

- a) *dr-+*o in M, N: *darkness*: pO (dr)odo, M ʔnö-lɔ, N ʔnəlo
 b) *-dr- after *a in M, N, Me: *forehead*: pO nta(dr)a, M ʔötliö, N
 ʔötöliö, Me ʔotulö; *push (v)*: pO sa(dr)(æ), M a^lluɸ-o-, N -ov^llo-;
scratch (skin): pO ka(dr)a, M ʔkayɸlə-, (N ʔka-ŋgɤe :-dr- > Ø)
 c) *-dr after *o, *a in N, and after *u in M: *black*: pO somo(dr) =
 (stained) black, N ʔl-(m)bla = black; *throw (v)*: pO sopa(dr), N vɔ^llanə;
sew up: pO susu(dr), M ö-lvə^lsilvə

*dr > nd

*-dr- after *u, *o in M, N, Na: *buttocks*: pO mpu(dr)lt, M ʔndame (with
 metathesis), N ʔndəmbe (with metathesis), Na ɸɸan^ldou; *body*: pO
 to(dr)l, M ʔndöthü (with metathesis), N ʔndethü (with metathesis);
bone: pO to(dr)l, N ʔna-andu, Na ʔandu (for the two reflexes from pO
 to(dr)l in N see 4.32.2.7., Nemboi, *t > th, Note to a)).

*dr > Ø

*-dr after *a in R, and after *o in M, Na: *throw*: pO sopa(dr), R 'oopwä;
black: pO somo(dr) = (stained) *black*, M mbo, Na mbo = *black*

Summary

pO *dr in pO forms containing:	appears as:
dr-+l	M, N, Na t ^h
dr-+o	M, N l
-dr- after a	M, N l
-dr- after a,o	M, N, Na nd
-dr after a	R Ø, N l
-dr after o	M, Na Ø, N l
-dr after u	M l

4.32.2.12. pO *dl*dl > l

*dl > l in R: *small*: pO (dl)lkl, R la'kwayu

4.32.2.13. pO *k*Reefs*

In contrast to the SC languages (see below), *k frequently disappears in R. It is preserved in the following instances:

*k = k

- a) *k-+*a+*V, and *k-+*e (unless it is followed by another *e in the next syllable, see *k > w(Ø)): *swim*: pO ka(ou), R o'kpu; *this*: pO ke, R 'kele
- b) *-k- between *a and *a, *a and *e, and *u and *u : *root*: pO aka, R nl-'l'kile; *sea gull*: pO (ŋ)kana(k)e, R tö-'ake; *bird*: R ndäku'l'uo ? < pO tawake = *tropic bird* (but see 4.32.2.1., Reefs *p > mb, Note b4)); *wash oneself*: pO uku, R o'konl

*k > kw

*-k- between *l and *l : *small*: pO (dl)lkl, R la'kwayu

*k > ŋg

- a) *k-+a nasal *C: *fog*: pO kampu(t), R nʏl-'ŋga-w(o)l

b) *-k- after *s-+*V: *tail*: pO siku, R napa-si-^lnglle; *sick*: pO ma-sakit, R a^lngowe

*k > w (Ø) ?

*k-+*e+*C+*e : *belly*: pO kete, R nu-^l(w)osa. It is possible that *k > Ø in this item, and that R (w) appears only as a hiatus filler between the -u of the article and the initial o- of the noun.

*k > Ø

*k- and *-k- in other situations, e.g., *and*: pO ka, R ^leä; *louse*: pO kutu, R no-^luu; *see*: pO kita, R ^ltä-; *bad*: pO tika, R ^läa; *mosquito*: pO namuk, R ^lnamo

Malo

In M, *k is preserved in most instances, usually as k.

*k > ng

*k- after *s- or *ns-+*V: *tail*: pO siku, M ^lni-nglü (l < AN γ : ^lkuγ); *look for*: pO nsakule, M ö-ta^lngel-
Note: if the *-k- is followed by *l, pO *k > M ng^w : *sick*: pO ma-sakit, M ^lyangwäpe-

*k > ng^w

See *k > ng, Note

*k > Ø

*k- in pO ka *and*: M ä

*k = k

*k- and *-k- in other cases, e.g., *cut (rope)*: pO koti, M ö-^lniki; *finger nail*: pO kuku, M to-^lkovl; *fog*: pO kampu(t), M öka^lmömbö; *louse*: pO kutu, M tö-^lkutu; *scratch (skin)*: pO ka(dr)u, M ^lkayplæ-; *swim*: pO ka(ou), R ka-; *this*: pO ke, M ^lköl; *bad*: pO tika, M ^ltöka; *bite*: pO maka(s) = *tooth*, M ^lmakö = *bite*; *sore*: pO manuka = *wound*, M kä-^lsükl = *sore*

Nemboi

As in Malo, *k is preserved in N in most instances, usually as k.

*k > ŋg

*-k- after *s-+V: *tail*: pO siku, N 'nü-ŋglü (l < AN γ : 'ikuγ).

Note: if the *-k- is followed by *l, pO *k > N ŋgʷ : *sick*: pO ma-saklɪ, N 'saŋgʷɛ-

*k > ŋgʷ

a) *-k- between *a and *l : *shark*: pO paklwak, N 'nü-ŋgʷa

b) See *k > ŋg, Note

*k > Ø

*k- in pO ka and, N ɛ

*k = k

*k- and *-k- in other cases, e.g., *cooked*: pO kasaŋ, N ku; *cut (rope)*: pO kotl, N 'pʷeki; *finger nail*: pO kuku, N bene'kōpiö; *fog*: pO kampu(t), N ō'kapömbö; *scratch (skin)*: pO ka(dr)u, N 'kaŋgʷɛ; *swim*: pO ka(ou), N 'kɪpʷü; *bad*: pO tika, N l-'thüka; *sore*: pO manuka = *wound*, N 'kakl = *sore*; *bite (v)*: pO maka = *tooth*, N ma'kell = *bite*

Nanggu

In Na, *k is very often preserved (usually as k), but somewhat less frequently than in M and N.

*k > ŋg

*-k- after *s-+*V, and *-k- between *a and *l : *tail*: pO siku, Na 'nu-ŋgütlu (tl < AN γ : 'ikuγ); *shark*: pO paklwak, Na 'nü-ŋgʷa

*k > Ø

a) *-k- between *l and *a : *bad*: pO tika, Na l-'thua

b) *k- in pO ka = *and*, Na e

*k = k

*k- and *-k- in other cases, e.g., *breadfruit*: pO kulu(r), Na 'to:klu; *cut (rope)*: pO kotl, Na 'pʷakl; *finger nail*: pO kuku, Na 'l(m)benakö; *this*: pO ke, Na 'eke ~ (e)'kä; *bird*: pO tawake = *tropic bird*, Na 'ndoke = *bird*

Summary

pO *k in pO forms containing:	appears as:
k-ta + nasal C	R ŋg, M, N k
k-tuCu	R Ø, M, N, Na k
k-ta+V	R, M, N k
k-te (with no e in the next syllable)	R, M, Na k
k+iCa	R Ø
ka = and	R, M, N, Na Ø
k-teCe	R w(Ø)?
-k- after s-+V	R, M, N, Na ŋg
-k- after ns-+V	M ŋg
-k- between a-l	N, Na ŋg (R, M Ø) ¹
-k- between l-a	R, Na Ø, M, N k
-k- between a-a	R k
-k- between a-e	R, Na k (M, N Ø) ¹
-k- between u-u	R k (M, N, Na Ø) ¹
-k- between l-l	R k ^w
-k	R, M, N, Na Ø

4.32.2.14. pO *ŋk*ŋk > ŋg

*ŋk- in R if the pO form contains another *ŋk : *finger*: pO ŋkaŋka, R na-¹ŋgango

*ŋk > k

- a) *ŋk in M, Na: *finger*: pO ŋkaŋka, M nō-ā¹tokl, Na ¹na¹mboke
- b) pO *-ŋk- in R, N: *fruit bat*: pO mpeŋka = *bat*, R te-¹peka = *fruit bat*, N ¹mōko = *fruit bat*

*ŋk > ŋ

*ŋk- in N: *finger*: pO ŋkaŋka, N ¹nə-ŋl

4.32.2.15. pO *q

Reefs

In R, final *-q is always lost, and initial *q- is only preserved, as ŋg-, if the pO form contains *s. Medial *q > R k.

¹ Loss of the entire syllable containing *k.

*q > ŋg

*q- if the pO form contains *s : *smoke*: pO qasu, R nʷl-ʷŋgase

*q > k

*-q- : *crocodile*: pO puqaya, R kako¹pIII (with metathesis)

*q > Ø

*-q, and *q- and *-q- in other instances, e.g., *liver*: pO qate, R te-¹ate; *yam*: pO qupl, R u¹pondʷl; *fly* (n): pO laŋo or qulo, R ¹nu-la; *new*: pO mata(q), R ¹mʷaya; *die*: pO punu(q) = *kill*, R ¹numbo = *die* (but see 4.32.2.1., Reef, *p > mb, Note b4)); *blood*: pO dara(q), R ¹ndela

Malo

In M, final *q is always lost, but initial *q- is preserved, as k and ŋg, in a larger number of instances than in R. Medial *-q- is lost between identical vowels.

*q > k

*q-+*V+*C which is not *t or *l (see *q > s, q > w(Ø) and *q > Ø for these cases): *smoke*: pO qasu, M esl¹kapu; *yam*: pO qupl, M ¹lä-kü

*q > kh

*-q- between *u and *a : *crocodile*: pO puqaya, M kha¹khoplI (with metathesis)

*q > s

*q-+*V+*t : *liver*: pO qate, M ¹sate

*q > w(Ø)?

*q-+*u+*l+*u : *head*: pO qulu, M ¹na-(w)ö

*q > Ø

*-q, *q- and *-q- in other instances, notably *q-+*V+*l (but see *q > w(Ø)?), and *-q- between identical vowels: *sibling of opposite sex*: pO qalawa, M ¹l¹nue; *stand up*: pO tuqu(d), M tu-; *take*: pO taqakl, M ¹tue; *right (hand)*: pO (ma-)taqu, M ö¹tp; *new*: pO mata(q), M ¹möna; *arrow*: pO pana(q), M ¹nl-pna; *ground*: pO tana(q), M ndö¹thö; *die*: pO punuq = *kill*, M mbə = *die* (but see 4.32.2.4., Malo, *m > mb)

Nemboi

In N, final *-q is always lost, but as in M, initial *-q- is often preserved, as k. Medial *-q- is lost between identical vowels.

*q > k

*q-+*V+*C which is not *l (see *q > Ø and *q > w for these cases): *smoke*: pO qasu, N nə-^lkapə; *yam*: pO qupl, N ^llɛ^lkō; *current*: pO qarʊ(s), N pə^ltūka

*q > kw

*-q- between *u and *a : *crocodile*: pO puqaya, N kha^lkhəpli (with metathesis)

*q > w

*q-+*u+*l+*u : *head*: pO qulu, N ^lna-wō

*q > Ø

*-q, *-q- and *-q- in other instances, notably *q-+*V+*l (but see *q > w) and *-q- between identical vowels: *sibling of opposite sex*: pO qalawa, N ^llɛ; *take*: pO taqaki, N ^ltue; *ground*: pO tana(q), N ^lmɛ^lthə; *die*: pO punuq = *kill*, N mbʷə = *die* (but see 4.32.2.4., Nemboi *m > mbʷ)

Nanggu

The situation in Na is comparable to that observable in M, except that medial *-q- between identical vowels > y.

*q > k

*q-+*V+*C which is not *l (see *q > Ø and q > w(Ø)? for these cases): *smoke*: pO qasu, Na ^lɔ:kɔ; *yam*: pO qupi, Na (n)da-^lla-ku

*q > kh

*-q- between *u and *a : *crocodile*: pO puqaya, Na kha^lkhəpli (with metathesis)

*q > y

*-q- between identical *V's: *take*: pO taqaki, Na ^ltəya-

*q > w(∅)?

*q-+*u+*l+*u : *head*: pO qulu, Na 'na-(w)ɔ

*q > ∅

*-q and *q- in other instances, notably *q-+*V+*l (but see *q > w(∅)?):
sibling of opposite sex: pO qalawa, Na u'we (the entire syllable containing *q- is lost); *ground*: pO tana(q), Na kɔ-'tɔnɔ; *die*: pO punu(q) = *kill*, Na mbʷə = *die* (but see 4.32.2.4., Nanggu *m > mbʷ)

Summary

pO *q in pO forms containing:	appears as:
q-+V+C (not t or l)	R ∅ or s, M, N, Na k
q-+V+t	R ∅, M s
q-+V+l (except u+l+u)	M, N, Na ∅
q-+ulu	M, Na w(∅)?, N w
q-+V+s	R ŋg
-q- between u-a	R k, M, N, Na kh
-q- between identical vowels	M, N ∅, Na y
-q	R, M, N, Na ∅

4.32.2.16. pO *q*q > ŋg

*g- in R : *sand*: pO gone, R nu-ŋgo'nyaaano (? < nu-ŋgoni- + ano < pO tana(q) = *ground* ?)

4.32.2.17. pO *ŋg*ŋg > ŋ

*-ŋg- in M : *dig*: pO (Milke 1968) sɪŋgi = *move*, M 'yöŋi-ti = *dig*

4.32.2.18. pO *n*Reefs*

In R, *n is preserved as n in most observed instances, though *n > l, nd, ∅ occurs.

*n > l

*-n- between *a and *l : *wing*: pO pan(l), R na-mb'lo [na-mb^ulo]

*n > nd?

*n-+*l+*p : *tooth*: pO nIpon, R nu-(w)o^lteende

*n > Ø

*-n- between *a and *a : *arrow*: pO pana(q), R n^{vi}l-^lopwa

*n = n

*n-, *-n- and *-n in other observed instances: *coconut*: pO nIu(ɾ), R ^lnä-änu; *mosquito*: pO namu(k), R ^lnamo; *turtle*: pO ponu, R to-^lponu; *sand*: pO gone, R nu-ŋgo^ln^{va}aano (? < nu-ŋgonl-ano, see 4.32.2.16.); *drink (v)*: pO lnu(m), R nu; *die*: pO punu(q), R ^lnumbo (but see 4.32.2.1., Reefs *p > mb, Note b4)); *pond*: pO laman, R nu-^lmbuno; *possessive suffix 3rd person sg.*: pO -na, R ^lna(ŋa) = *personal pronoun 3rd person sg.*

Malo

*n = n

*-n- between *a and *a, and *l and *u : *arrow*: pO pana(q), M ^lnI-pna, also *shoot (v)*: pO pana(q), M ö-p^lnē-; *drink (v)*: pO lnu(m), M ö-m^lnü- (with metathesis)

*n > nd

(Syllable-) initial *-n- before *a, unless *-ns- follows (see *n > Ø): *possessive suffix 3rd person sg.*: pO -na, M -nde

*n > l

*-n- between *a and *a in pO ŋmane (Milke 1968) = *sibling of the same sex*: M ^lməle (but see 4.32.2.7., Malo *t > l, a))

*n > ŋ

*n- before *l : *tooth*: pO nIpon, M ^lnI-ŋI

*n > Ø

*n-+*V+ns : *cook (tr.v.)*: pO nansu, M ^lasu-

Nemboi

*n = n

*-n- between *a and *a, and *l and *u : *shoot (v)*: pO pana(q); N pne;

drink (v): pO lnu(m), N ə-m^lnu- (with metathesis)

*n > nd

a) (Syllable-) initial *n- before *a : *possessive suffix 3rd person sg.*:
pO -na, N -nde

b) *-n- between *a and *e in pO ŋmane (Milke 1968) = *sibling of same sex*:
N ^lmānde (but see 4.32.2.7., Nemboi, *t > nd, a))

*n > l

*-n- between *a and *u, and *l and *a : *person*: pO panua, N ^lle-pele;
mother: pO tina, N ^llayle

*n > ŋ

*n- before *l : *tooth*: pO nlpon, N ^lnl-ŋu

Nanggu

*n = n

a) (Syllable-) initial *n- before *a : *possessive suffix 3rd person sg.*: pO -na, Na -nde

b) *-n- between *a and *a, and *a and *o : *ground*: pO tana(q), Na
kə-^ltono; *go away*: pO pano, Na wö-n-

*n > l

*-n- between *a and *u : *person*: pO panua, Na ^lle-plə

*n > ŋ

*n- before *l : *tooth*: pO nlpon, Na ^lnũ-ŋũ

*n > y

*-n- between *a and *e in pO ŋmane (Milke 1968) = *sibling of same sex*:
Na ml^lye^l (but see 4.32.2.7., Nanggu *t > y, b))

Summary

pO *n in pO forms containing or
consisting of:

appears as:

n-ta

R n, M, N, Na nd

n-ta+ns

M Ø

n-tl+p

R nd, M, N, Na ŋ

-n- between a-a	R Ø, M, N, Na n
-n- between a-l	R l
-n- between a-u	N, Na l
-n- between a-o	Na n
-n- between l-a	N l
-n- between l-u	R, M, N n
-n	R n
ɲmane = <i>sibling of same sex</i>	M l, N nd, Na y

4.32.2.19. pO *ɲ

In many instances, *ɲ is preserved as ɲ in the RSC languages, but it changes to n or k in M and N in some cases.

*ɲ > n

*-ɲ- between *a and *l in M and N : *cry* (v): pO taŋl(s), M 'yönl-, N 'önl-; *wind*: pO laŋl or nsaŋl, M 'ne-nü, N 'ne-nü;

Note: if a stop *C follows the *l in such pO forms, pO *ɲ = M ɲ, (and Na ɲ) and > N k : *sky*: pO laŋl(t), M mbo-'ŋäve, N (m)bo-'kawə, Na (m)bo-'ŋa:wə

*ɲ > k

See *ɲ > n, Note

*ɲ = ɲ

In other observed instances in R, M, N, Na, notably *-ɲ- in R between *a and *l : *cry* (v): pO taŋl(s), R 'eŋl; *wind*: pO laŋl or nsaŋl, R 'nʷ-eeŋl; *bite* (v): pO maŋa = (*open*) *mouth*, R 'mʷaŋe; *eat*: pO paŋa, R 'vǎŋä, Na ɲa; *food*: pO paŋa, R nda'klll-ŋä, M nda'känaŋ (with metathesis), N ndake'la-ŋü, Na ndake'la-ŋö; *hear*: pO doŋo, R ɲo

Summary

pO *ɲ in pO forms containing:	appears as:
-ɲ- between a-l	R ɲ, M, N n
-ɲ- between a-l+stop C	M, Na ɲ, N k
-ɲ- in other observed instances	R, M, N, Na ɲ

4.32.2.20. pO *l

pO *l is preserved as l in most instances in R, M, N, Na. It only disappears in M, Na (or > in M) in certain instances between pO *a-a(-a)

*l > Ø

*-l- between *a and *a in Na if another *a follows the syllable containing the second *a, and in M, Na if an *s follows the second *a : *sibling of opposite sex*: pO qalawa, Na u^lwe; *cold*: pO malaso, M ^lmbao, Na ^ll-m^{va}

*l > n

*-l- between *a and *a in M if another *a follows the syllable containing the second *a : *sibling of opposite sex*: pO qalawa, M ^ll^{nue}

*l = l

*l- and *-l- in other observed instances, notably *-l- between *a and *a in N if another *a follows the syllable containing the second *a, and in R, N if *s follows the second *a : *sibling of opposite sex*: pO qalawa, N ^ll^{ue}; *cold*: pO malaso, R mba^llälo; *morning*: pO malaso = *cold*, N ^lmbolä = *morning*; *breadfruit*: pO kulu(r), Na ^lto:-klu; *crab*: pO kalo, R nu-^llel, M lo, N ^llombö, Na ^lloŋu; *egg*: pO tolu(r), R nu-o^llle; *eight*: pO walu, Na ^lthu-m(u)ll; *fall (from standing)*: pO solo, R om^lbol; *feather*: pO pulu, R n^{yl}-^lluu, M, N ^lnö-plö, Na ^lnö-plü; *fly (n)*: pO laŋo or qulo, R ^lnu-la; *long*: pO lowas, R eomb^llou [eomb^ulou]; *man*: pO tamole, M n^o-mb^llo [n^o-mb^ulo]; *palm of hand*: pO pala, M na-^lmbalve, N na-(m)b^{wa}lanä; *sea*: pO lau(d), R ^lnä-lo; *take*: pO alap, R lu^la-kä ~ a^llo-kä; *taro*: pO ntalo, R nu-^lmbwole; *three*: pO tolu, Me ^ltolue; *thunder*: pO pila, R mb^lle [mb^ule], M mb^llöme^l [mb^ulöme^l]; *tongue*: pO lilon = *tooth*, R na-lim^lbillo ~ (na)-^llmbila, M na-^llöpü, N n^o-^llöpö, Na ^lna-la(m)b^{wa}; *turn (oneself)*: pO pull(q), M ao^llembü; *vomit*: pO lua, R ^llaa

Summary

pO *l in pO forms containing:	appears as:
-l- between a-a+Ca	R, Na Ø, M, N l
-l- between a-as-	R, N l, M, Na Ø
l-, -l- in other cases	R, M, N, Na l

4.32.2.21. pO *_R

pO *_R is preserved as l in most instances in R, M, N, Na, except for *-_R- between *a and *l in R, M, Na.

*_R > Ø

*-_R- between *a and *l in R, M, Na : *stringray*: pO paɾl, R to-^lpoe, M tö-^lpae, Na tö-^lpʷae

*_R > l

In R, M, N, Na in other observed instances, notably in N between *a and *l : *stingray*: pO paɾl, N ^lnö-lu; *big*: pO mora, R e^lolo; *blood*: pO dara, R ^lndela; *evening*: pO rapl, R mo^lnala, M ml^ləpü, N ml^ləpʷu, Na ^lmʷl:l; *fly (v)*: pO ropo, R ^llu(v)o, M ^llvɔ [^l^u^lvɔ], N vlo; *high tide*: pO ruap, R ^lloolo, M, N, Na ^lnö-lö; *shoulder*: pO para, R na-mb^llo [na-mb^u^llo]; *string*: pO waɾo, R nu-(w)ale; *sun*: pO siŋa(R), R ^lna-le.

At the same time, the fact that *_R is preserved as l between *a and *l in N plo, and in R ^lpulo = *burn (v)*, ? < pO ŋmaɾl, gives added weight to the suggestion that these N and R forms constitute reflexes of AN [^ʰu]ub (with metathesis) rather than of pO ŋmaɾl (see 4.32.2.5., *_{ŋm} > p), because usually *_R > Ø between *a and *l in R (see above *_R > Ø).

Summary

pO *_R in pO forms containing or consisting of:

appears as:

-_R- between a-l

R, M, Na Ø, N l

ŋmaɾl

R, N l ?

R-, -_R-, (-_R) in other cases

R, M, N, Na l

4.32.2.22. pO *_s

Reef

*_s is almost always lost in R, except in the doubtful reflex noto of pO usu = *nose*.

*_s > t ?

In R ^lnoto = *nose* which may be a reflex of pO usu

*_s > Ø

In all other observed instances: *throw*: pO sopa(dr), R ^loopʷä; *wash oneself*: pO suku = *bathe*, R o^lkonl = *wash oneself*; *fall (from standing)*: pO solo, R om^lbol; *long*: pO lowas, R eomb^llou [eomb^u^llou]; *sick*: pO ma-sakl, R a^lŋgowe; *salt*: pO ma-asl (also malŋ), R ^lmaml

Malo

*s is often preserved in M as s, y, and perhaps as t in one doubtful instance.

*s > y

- a) *s-+*l : *dig*: pO sɪŋɡl (Milke 1968) = *move*, M 'yöŋl-tl = *dig*
- b) *s-+*V+*s-, unless *dr follows (see *s = s): *breast (of woman)*: pO susu, M 'nä-yö
- c) *-s- between *a and *a : *sick*: pO ma-sakɪt, M 'yangwäpe-

*s > t ?

In M 'notü = *nose* which may be a reflex of pO usu

*s > Ø

- a) *s-+*a, unless *ŋ follows (see *s = s): *push*: pO sa(dr)(ae), M a'luɔ-o-
- b) *-s : *long*: pO lowas, M 'mbol

*s = s

*s- and *-s- in other observed instances, notably *s-+*V+*s with *dr following, and *s-+*a+*ŋ : *sew up*: pO susu(dr), M ö-lvã'silvə-; *smell (tr.v.)*: pO saŋi(t), M si-; *cooked*: pO moso, M su

Nemboi

As in M, *s is often preserved in N, as s, y, l, and perhaps as th in one doubtful instance.

*s > y

*s-+*V+*s : *breast (of woman)*: pO susu, N 'ne-yö

*s > th ?

In N 'ndɔthɯ = *nose* which may be a reflex of pO usu

*s > l

*-s- between *u and *l : *tie (rope)*: pO pusl, N vɪɛ

*s > Ø

- a) *s-+*a+*C+*VV : *push*: pO sa(dr)(ae), N -ov¹lo-
 b) *-s : *long*: pO lowas, N l-¹(m)bɔl

*s = s

In other observed cases, notably *s-+*a+*C+*V : *hungry*: pO sa(dr)a, N ¹sopmæ; *sick*: pO ma-saklt, N ¹sangwε-

Nanggu

in Na, *s is also often preserved, as t^h and l.

*s > t^h

- a) *s-+*V+*s : *breast (of woman)*: pO susu, Na ¹nö-thl
 b) *-s- between *a and *a : *sick*: pO ma-saklt, Na t^ha:-
 c) In Na ¹(n)dɔth^hu(m) = *nose* which may be a reflex of pO usu

*s > l

*-s- between *u and *l : *tie (rope)*: pO pusl, Na ¹lawl (with metathesis)

*s > Ø

- a) *-s- between *a and *u : *smoke*: pO qasu, Na ¹ɔ:kɔ
 b) *-s : *long*: pO lowas, Na l-¹mbukl

Summary

pO *s in pO forms containing or consisting of:

appears as:

s-+l	M y
s-+V+s	M, N y, Na t ^h
s-+V+s+dr	M s
s-+a	M, N Ø
s-+a+ŋ	M s
-s- between a-a	R Ø, M y, N s, Na t ^h
-s- between a-u	Na Ø
-s- between u-l	N, Na l
-s- between o-o	M s
usu ?	R, M t, N, Na t ^h
-s	R, M, N, Na Ø
s-, -s- in other observed cases	R Ø

4.32.2.23. pO *ns*Reefs**ns > s**ns-+*V+*ns : fish: pO nsansa, R sll**ns > t**ns-+*o : carry on shoulder: pO usola, R 'to-**ns > ŋ**ns-+*a+ nasal and stop *C combination: go up: pO nsa(m)pe, R 'ŋambe**ns > nd**ns-+*a+ stop *C : what: pO nsapa, R 'ndola**ns > Ø**ns-+*a+ nasal *C : wind: pO nsanl, R 'nʷ-eenl**Malo**In M, *ns is most commonly preserved as n.**ns > s**-ns- : cook (v): pO nansu, M 'asu-**ns > t**ns-+*a+*k : look for: pO nsakule, M ö-ta'ŋgetl-**ns > Ø**ns-+*a+ nasal *C : wind: pO nsanl, M 'ne-nü**ns > n**ns- in other observed instances: fish: pO nsansa, M nɔ; who: pO nsal, M 'neke; what: pO nsapa, M 'nike ~ na'leke**Nemboi**ns > Ø**ns-+*a+ nasal *C : wind: pO nsanl, N 'ne-nü*

*ns > n

*ns- in other observed cases: *fish*: pO nsansa, N nɔ; *who*: pO nsal, N 'nelö; *what*: pO nsapa, N 'nolö

Nanggu

*ns > nd

*ns-+*a+ stop *C : *what*: pO nsapa, Na ndo^{le}

*ns > n

*ns-+*V+*ns : *fish*: pO nsansa, Na 'neta

Summary

pO *ns in pO forms containing:	appears as:
ns-+V+ns	R s, M, N, Na n
ns-+o	R t
ns-+a+ stop C	R, Na nd, M, N n
ns-+a+k	M t
ns-+a+ nasal C	R, M, N Ø
ns-+a+ nasal and stop C combination	R ŋ
-ns-	M s
ns- in other observed cases	M, N n

4.32.2.24. pO *y*y > l

*-y- in R, M, N, Na : *crocodile*: pO puqaya, R kako^lpili, M kha^lkhopli, N, Na kha^lkhopli

4.32.2.25. pO *a

There is a strong tendency for pO *a to appear in reflexes as R ^u, e, u; M ä, ü, ə; N ε, ü, ə; Na e, ü, ö : *shoulder*: pO para, R na-mb^llo [na-mb^ullo], M 'na-mbä, N 'na-mb^ue, Na 'na-mb^ue; *arm*: pO lima = *hand*, R 'nɣl-me, M mü, N, Na 'nü-mü; *hot*: pO panas, R 'vepe, M pü, N 'l-pü; *go away*: pO pano, R pu-, M, N və, Na wö-n-; etc.

4.32.2.26. pO *awa

In some instances, pO -awa > M v, N, Na o : *bird*: pO tawake = *tropic bird*, M 'utɔ, N 'uto, Na 'ndoke = *bird*. Perhaps also R u (R ndä'kuluo = *bird*), but another derivation for the R word is more likely (see 4.32.2.7., Reefs *t > nd ?)

4.32.2.27. pO *VnV

In a few instances, pO *VnV > Ñ in M, Na : *ground*: pO tana(q), M ndö'thɔ (but Na kɔ-'tɔnɔ); *six*: pO onom, Na 'the-mũ: (with metathesis)

4.32.3. Agreements between RSC languages in reflexes of pO *sounds

4.32.3.1. General Remarks

A large number of the reflexes of pO *sounds in RSC languages as discussed and listed in 4.32.2. allow comparisons to be made between all four, or three, or at least two of the RSC languages with regard to the similarities otherwise of their respective reflexes, and with regard to the pattern of those similarities in the RSC languages.

4.32.3.2. Reflexes comparable in all four RSC languages

Concerning those cases in which reflexes of the same pO *sound in given surroundings and situations are available in all four RSC languages, the following observations can be made:

In 37% of these cases, all four languages show identical reflexes which is indicative of the relative similarity of the RSC languages which belong to the same language family.

In 18% of these instances, M, N and Na show identical reflexes, with R standing apart. This parallels the lexical picture and the distribution of typological and structural similarities in the RSC languages to a considerable extent: while there are quite marked lexical, typological and structural differences amongst the SC languages, they clearly constitute a unit when compared with R whose differences from any SC language are more profound than those present amongst the SC languages themselves.

In 11% of the languages, M and N are identical, with R and Na differing from them and each other. On one hand, this bears out what has been said in the above paragraph, and on the other, it mirrors the presence of a stronger lexical, typological and structural dividing line between Na and the other two SC languages than that observable between M and N.

In another 11%, M and N are identical, whereas R and Na differ from them, but are identical to each other. This does, only to some extent, parallel the lexical, typological and structural picture: $(M = N) \neq Na$ bears out what has been said in the above paragraph, it is, at the same time, true that R and Na show little sharing of typological and structural features over and above those which are characteristic of the RSC languages as a whole. However, R and Na show quite a few striking lexical similarities in cases where M and N differ from them, though these are balanced by considerable differences involving other lexical items which results in the R-Na percentage figure of basic vocabulary cognates not differing significantly from the other R-SC figures, though it is a little higher than the R-N figure (see 2.). In comparing R and Na vocabulary items, the presence of $R = Na \neq M, N$ sound correspondences is immediately noticeable in a number of instances. Nevertheless, the figure of 11% mentioned at the beginning of this paragraph seems surprisingly high.

In 7% of the cases, R, M and N are identical, with Na different. This picture is borne out by some of the typological and structural evidence, though is at variance with the lexical evidence.

Again in 7% of the cases, R and M are identical, with N and Na different from them, but identical to each other. Here again, some of the typological and structural features observed support this, but the lexical evidence is at variance with it.

The remaining 9% are distributed amongst several other statistically non-significant combinations.

4.32.3.3. Reflexes comparable in three RSC languages

In a number of instances, the materials assessed allow the observation of the reflexes of the same pO *sound in given surroundings and situations in only three of the four RSC languages. The following remarks can be made:

In 26% of the cases, M, N and Na are identical, and in 16%, R, M and N are identical. Both these situations support some of the statements made above in 4.32.3.2., as does the fact that the $M = N = Na$ figure is higher than the $R = M = N$ figure.

In 14% of the instances, M and N are identical, with Na different, and in 12%, M and N are identical, with R different. This again parallels much of what has been said in 4.32.3.2.

In 9% of the cases, R and M are identical, with N different. Some of the typological and structural features observed support this, but not to any great extent, and the lexical evidence shows a R-M cognate

percentage figure which is a little higher than the R-N figure. Nevertheless, this figure of 9% is unexpectedly high.

The remaining 23% are distributed amongst a number of other statistically non-significant combinations.

4.32.3.4. Reflexes comparable in two RSC languages

In a number of cases, the materials permit the observation of the reflexes of the same pO *sound in given surroundings and situations in only two of the four RSC languages. Of the percentage figures obtained, only one stands out significantly:

In 26% of the cases, M and N are identical, which is completely in line with what has been said in 4.32.3.2. The remaining 74% are fairly evenly distributed amongst a considerable number of instances the majority of which support the statements made in 4.32.3.2.

4.32.4. Austronesian (AN) Reflexes

It has been mentioned in 4.21. that a considerable portion of the recognisably Austronesian part of the vocabulary of RSC languages constitutes reflexes of AN (Dempwolff 1934-38, Dyen 1953) without showing connections with pO forms, and illustrative percentage figures were given in 4.24.

The present section will deal with the question of AN reflexes and sound correspondences in RSC languages, also taking into account the AN proto-forms of some RSC vocabulary items for which pO forms have been established. However, it is not intended to go into great detail and to give a systematic discussion as has been the case with the presentation of pO reflexes in 4.32.2. Only a few interesting cases will be highlighted and briefly illustrated.

4.32.4.1. AN *j

*j > i

One characteristic diachronic feature of the RSC languages is the frequent occurrence of AN *j > i in them. Examples: *bamboo*: AN jumbi[j]a', M nɔ-mb^ui'övi [nɔ-mb^ui'övi] (or metathesis: M i < j ?); *belly*: AN [t]ijan, M 'nö-le, N 'ne-lla, Na ta-'polo; *blow (fire)*: AN 'ijup, M ä'pulvə-, N 'vüple- (both with metathesis); *coconut*: AN nijuɣ, M, N 'nə-lu (or i < *ɣ ?); *crab*: AN juju', R nu-'lei, M lo, N 'lombo, Na 'loŋu; *crocodile*: AN buhaja', R kako'pili, M kha'khopli, N, Na kha'khopli (all with metathesis); *forehead*: AN [dɔ]ahaj, M 'ötliö, N 'otöliö, Me 'otulö; *mother*: AN bajli', M 'läe, N 'laɣle, Me 'laɣe;

who: AN [t']a[j]l[ʰ], N 'neLö; *woman*: AN binaj, M 'olva (with metathesis), N 'ovla, Na 'o:pla, etc.

4.32.4.2. AN *l

*l > l

break (tr.v.): AN [j]apuh, M ö-p'lamei [ö-p^ulamei], N 'planglo (both with metathesis); *burn* (v): AN [ʰ]ujub, R 'pulo- ~ po'läve, N plo, Na (wo)'lepe; *dance* (v): AN [t]a[j]l[ʰ], M 'eia (Na : iʰ, i.e., -'aiva-); *day*: AN d'əmu[j] = *put into sun*, R 'nu-mbla [nu-mb^ula] = *day*; *dry* (adj.): AN pə[j]aʰ, Na 'l-pia (of coconut); *ripe* (adj.): AN pə[j]əm, M 'plope [p^ullope], N 'plope; *root*: AN aka[j], R nʰl-l'kile; *scratch* (skin): AN ga[j]it', M 'kayple

4.32.4.3. AN *l

*l = l

big: AN labaʰ, R e'olo, Me l-l'öpə, Na l-l'ö:phl; *bush*: AN p/al/upuh, N 'mbə-l-plüwü, Na (kä-l-) 'plüwü; *crooked*: AN kəluk, M 'ḡalu, N l-l'ḡalu, Na l-l'ḡa:lu (all with metathesis); *day*: AN təlaŋ = *be bright*, M 'nö-lə, N 'nö-lə = *day*; *red*: AN bulav, R o'pulo, N 'l-(m)bla; *sore*: AN lu(ḡ)ka = *wound*, R to-l'palu = *sore*; *thunder*: AN kilat = *lightning*, Na tö-l'kila = *thunder*

*l > n ?

ten: AN puluh, M 'nə-pnu, N 'nə-pnū (Assimilation?)

4.32.4.4. AN *y

AN *y appears both as l and k in RSC languages:

*y > l

blood: AN [dɟ]ayah, R 'ndela; *tail*: AN 'lkuy:, M 'nl-ḡglü, N 'nü-ḡglü, Na nu-ḡgütlu; *wing*: AN bayə, R na-mb^llo [na-mb^ulo]

*y > k

sore: AN bayəh, Na na-l(m)bʷaka; *throat*: AN lihly (Dyen: ruqaN), M 'läko; *wash oneself*: AN huɣat', R o'koni

4.32.4.5. AN *t'

*t'+*ə > M, N, Me, Na th : *small*: AN t'əmpit = *narrow*, M l'hopwə, N, Me l'-thə, Na l'u:-tha = *small*

*t'+*a > R Ø, M y, N s, Na th : *sick*: AN t'akit, R a'ŋgowə, M l'yangwäpe-, N l'sangwε-, Na l'tha:-

*t'- between *ə (or *i) and *a, or *a and *u > M s ~ tʷ, N, Me, Na th : *one*: AN 'ət'a' or 'it'a', M l'esa, N l'öthe, Me l'pöthe, Na l'thö-thi:; *smoke*: AN 'a[t']u' + hat'ap, M esi'kapu

*t'- between *u and *u > R, M t, N, Me, Na th : *nose*: AN ŋu(t')u = *lip*, R l'noto, M l'notü, N, Me l'ndothu, Na l'ndothum = *nose*

*t'- between *a and *a > R s, M, N, Na Ø : *smoke*: AN ('a[t']u') + hat'ap, R n'yi-l'ŋgase, M esi'kapu, N nə-l'kapə, Na l'ɔ:kɔ

*t'+*V+*t' > M, N y, Na th : *breast (of woman)*: AN t'ut'u, M l'nä-yö, N l'ne-yö, Na l'nö-thi

4.32.4.6. AN *t

t* = t (unless the AN form has *t- and contains *-n- which disappears in the reflex or manifests itself through the nasalisation of a vowel, in which cases *t > th : e.g., *ground*: AN tanah or tanəh, M ndö'lhə, N l'mə'lhə, (but Na kə-l'təŋɔ); *blind*: AN buta', R l'tape (with metathesis); *hit (with hand)*: AN təpak, R l'təŋgulo, M, N, Na tə-; *see*: AN kila, R l'tä-; *sugarcane*: AN təbu', Na l'təp'ya; *taro*: AN talet', M l'taki; *three*: AN təlu', M tü, N l'a-tü, Me l'toluə, Na thü-tü:

4.32.4.7. AN *nt

*nt > nd

*-nt- in M, N : *spirit*: AN hantu, M l'ndöka, N l'ndüka

*nt > t

*-nt- before *l in M, N : *lower leg*: AN bə(n)tlt', M l'mətövö, N l'(m)bəta'ölə

*nt > n

*-nt- before *l in Na : *lower leg*: AN bə(n)tlt', Na tö-l'(m)b'wa:ne.

M 'ndöthü, N 'ndethü = *body* may be reflexes of AN d'antuḡ = *heart*.
If this is the case, *nt > t^h would have to be postulated.

4.32.4.8. AN *ḡ

*ḡ > t

fall (from standing): AN ḡabuh, M ta-, N tay-; *sit down*: AN ḡukḡuk,
R to^lkoll

*ḡ > l

In *two*: AN ḡuwa^c, R 'llilu, M li, N 'a-li, Na 't^hü-li:

4.32.4.9. AN *ṇḡ

*ṇḡ > nd

*-ṇḡ- in R : *pandanus*: AN paṇḡan, R n^{yl}-a^lwande

*ṇḡ > t

*-ṇḡ- in Na : *short*: AN paṇḡak, Na l-^lmbotu

4.32.4.9. AN *dḡ

*dḡ > t

dḡ-+...-j- > l in M, N, Me : *forehead*: AN [dḡ]ahaj, M 'öt^llō, N
'ötölō, Me 'otulō

*dḡ > nd

*dḡ- before *γ > l in R : *blood*: AN [dḡ]ayah, R 'ndela

*dḡ > l

*dḡ- in M, N, Na (but see *dḡ > t and *dḡ > nd): *branch*: AN [dḡ]ahan,
R nu-^lla, Na 'lō-la:; *leaf*: AN [dḡ]avən, M 'leu, N 'leḡu, Na 'lepo ~
'leu

4.32.4.10. AN *d'

*d' > t ?

*d'- in R : *path*: AN d'alan, R numba-^ltange; *sew up*: AN d'ahl^t, R
^lambo

*d' > nd ?

*d' in R in *tie (rope)*: AN d'alīn, R 'ndoa; and in M, N in *body*: AN d'antuŋ = *heart*, M 'ndöthü, N 'ndethü = *body* (see 4.32.4.7.)

4.32.4.11. AN *n'd'*n'd' > l ?

*-n'd'- in R : *long*: AN pan'd'aŋ, R eombu'lou

4.32.4.12. AN *g*g > k

scratch (skin): AN ga|it', M 'kaypīe-, N 'ka-ŋgwe

4.32.4.13. AN *k*k > ŋ

*k- in M, N, Na (but see *k = k): *crooked*: AN kəluk, M 'ŋalu, Na l-'ŋa:lu

*k > ŋg

*-k- in R, M, N, Na (but see *k = k): *back (n)*: AN balakaŋ, R nu-'mwaŋgu; *sick*: AN t'akit, R a'ŋgowe, M 'yaŋgäpe-, N 'saŋgwe-; *tail*: AN 'ikuŋ, R napa-si-'ŋgīle, M 'ni-'ŋgīlu, N 'nü-'ŋgīlü, Na 'nu-'ŋgūtlu

*k = k

*k-, *-k- between *a and *a in bisyllabic AN forms, and syllable-final
*-k in R, also *k-+*l in Na : *leg*: AN kuku, R 'nu-ku; *root*: AN aka|, R nyl-'l'kīle; *sit down*: AN dukduk, R to'kolī; *thunder*: AN kilat = *lightning*, Na tö-'kīla = *thunder*

4.32.4.14. AN *ŋk*ŋk > ŋg

pandanus: AN (Dyen 1953): b(ae)NkuqaN (Nk = ŋk), N ŋgwaŋ

4.32.4.15. AN *h*h > k

*h- in M, N, Na, *-h- in M (except between *a and *a, see *h > Ø):

smoke: AN (ʿa[tʰ]uʿ) + hatʼap, M esiʼkapu, N nə-ʼkapə, Na ʼɔ:kɔ;
throat: AN ʼihɪɣ, M ʼlǎko

*h > ŋ

*h- in R except before *u (see *h > Ø): *smoke*: AN hatʼap, R nʏl-ʼŋgase

*h > Ø

*h- between *a and *a in M, N, Me : *forehead*: AN [dɔ]ahaj, M ʼötölö, N ʼötölö, Me ʼotulö; *wash oneself*: AN huɣatʼ, R oʼkonɪ (k < *ɣ)

4.32.4.16. AN *n

*n = n

ground: AN tanah or tanəh, Na kɔ-ʼtɔnɔ; *shoot*: AN panah, M ö-ʼpnə-, N pnə-

*n > m

*n- after *p-, with the intervening vowel elided in the reflex (assimilation), in Na : *shoot*: AN panah, Na pmə

*n > nasalisation of ʋ

In M *ndöʼthɔ̃ = *ground* < AN tanah

4.32.4.17. AN *nʼ

*nʼ > n

turtle: AN pənʼuʿ, R to-ʼponu

4.32.4.18. AN *ŋ

*ŋ- : R, M n, N, Na nd : *nose*: AN ŋu(tʼ)u, R ʼnoto, M ʼnotü, N ʼndɔ̃thɔ̃, Na ʼ(n)ɔ̃thɔ̃(m)

*-ŋ- : R ŋ, M, N n : *wind*: AN aŋʼn, R ʼnʏ-əəŋʼ, M ʼne-nü, N ʼne-nü
 Note: for *flower*, Dempwolff 1934-38) has AN buwah, and Dyen (1953) ʼbuNa (N = ŋ). Dyen's N appears to be reflected in the nasalisation of the vowel in N ʼnö-phü. M has ʼnö-phü.

*-ŋ is lost in most instances, but is preserved in *pandanus*: AN b(ae)NkuqaN (Dyen 1953), N ŋgʷaŋ

4.32.4.19. AN *m

As is the case with pO labial *C's (see 4.32.2.1.-6.), the RSC sound correspondences of AN labial *C's are very complex. Only a few of the correspondences will be noted and illustrated here.

*m > mb

*m-, and *-m- before *u in R; *-m- before *u in Na : *day*: AN d'əmu[] = *put into the sun*, R 'nu-mbla ['nu-mb^ula], Na 'ɔ:mbu = *day*; *eye*: AN mata', R 'nʷi-mbe

*m > mʷ

*m- in N; *-m- in R, M (unless *u follows *-m- in R): *eye*: AN mata', N 'nū-mʷə; *father*: AN 'ama', R 'tʷmʷo; *house*: AN ɣumah, M mʷa

*m = m

*m- in M; *-m- in N, Na; *-m in M, N, Na : *bury*: AN tanem (Biggs 1965), M 'yötəmü-, N ö-'təmu (both with metathesis); *drink (v)*: AN 'inum, M ö-m'nü-, N ə-m'nu- (both with metathesis); *eye*: AN mata', M mə; *house*: AN ɣumah, N 'mbəma, Na 'ma:thu; *six*: AN 'ənəm, Na 'tʰe-mü: (with metathesis)

*m > pʷ

R nu-'opʷä, ? < AN ɣumah; for this, R pʷ < AN -m- has to be postulated

*m > Ø

*-m in R : *drink (v)*: AN 'inum, R nu

4.32.4.20. AN *bReefs

In Reefs, the reflexes of AN *b appear to be largely p and mb, with p predominating:

*b > p

a) *b-+*V other than *ə or *i (see *b > mb): *crocodile*: AN buhaja', R kako'pili; *mouth*: AN babah, R 'nu-pa; *red*: AN bulav, R o'pulo; *sore*: AN bayəh, R to-'palu

Notes: 1) In the R reflex of AN bayə['] *shoulder*, AN *b > R mb, i.e., na-mb'lo [na-mb^ulo]

- 2) In trisyllabic AN forms with *b- in which all vowels are *a,
AN *b > R m^w : *back (n)*: AN balakaŋ, R nu-^lm^waŋu
- 3) R ^lnu-up^wa = *flower* can be derived from AN *flower* = buwah (Dempwolff 1934-38) or buNa (Dyen 1953). The R form seems to reflect Dempwolff's reconstruction, and R -p^w- seems to reflect AN *buw-
- b) *-b : *burn (v)*: AN ujub, R pulo- (with metathesis)

*b > mb

- a) *b-+*a or *i : *bamboo*: AN bæ[t]uŋ, R ^lne-mbⁱ; *night*: AN bæŋ[ⁱ'], R mbu; *lip*: AN biblɿ, R nu-mbⁱlendu [nu-mb^ulendu]
- b) See *b > p, Note 1)

*b > m^w

See *b > p, Note 2)

*b > p^w

See *b > p, Note 3)

Malö

In M, the most common reflex of AN *b appears to be mb, with p and v rather less frequently in evidence, though more prevalent than other reflexes.

*b > p

*b-+*u : *crocodile*: AN buhaja', M khaⁱkhopil; *red*: AN bulav, R oⁱpulo
 Note: M ^lnö-phü = *flower* reflects AN buwah (Dempwolff 1934-38) or buNa (Dyen 1953) and shows AN *b > M p^h

*b > mb

*b-+*v other than *u (see *b > p) or *i (see *b > v), (but see also *b > m and *b > (w)ø?, and *b+*i+ another *b : *back (n)*: AN balakaŋ, M ^lni-mbö; *bamboo*: AN bæ[t]uŋ, M nɔ-mbⁱlövi [nɔ-mb^ulövi]; *night*: AN bæŋ[ⁱ'], M mbü; *shoulder*: AN baɣa[ⁱ'], M ^lna-mbä; *lip*: AN biblɿ, M mbe
 Note: if *b-+*a is followed by another *b, AN *b > (w)ø? : *mouth*: AN babah, M ^lna-(w)o ~ ^lna-o ?

*b > v

*b-+*i : (unless *i is followed by another *b, see *b > mb): *star*: AN bintaŋ, M ^lvei; *woman*: AN binaɟ, M ^lolva [^lol^uva]

*b > m

*b-+*ə + a nasal + stop *C combination: *lower leg (shin)*: AN bə(n)tɪt',
M ɪmətövö

*b > p^h

See *b > p, Note

*p > (w)ø?

See *b > mb, Note

Nemboi

In N, by far the most common reflex of AN *b is mb. Of other reflexes, only AN *b > p shows some prevalence.

*b > p

a) *p-+*u, unless *l follows (see *b > mb): *crocodile*: AN buhaha', N kha'khəpɪl

Note: ɪnō-phū = *flower* reflects AN buwah (Dempwolff 1934-38) or buNa (Dyen 1953), and shows AN *b > N p^h. The nasalisation of the vowel suggests AN buNa for it.

b) *-b : *burn (v)*: AN uɪub, N pɪo

*b > mb

*b-+*v other than *u (see *b > p) or *l (see *b > v), (but see also *b > mb^w and *b > (w)ø?), *b-+*u+*l, and *b-+*l+ another *b : *back (n)*: AN balakaŋ, N ɪnl-mbö; *bamboo*: AN bə[t]uŋ, N ɪmbɪve; *lower leg (shin)*: AN bə(n)tɪt', N ɪ(m)bəta[ö]ə; *night*: AN bəŋ[ɪ'], N ɪno-mbu; *lip*: AN bɪbɪɣ, N (m)bɛɪnɪŋu; *red*: AN buɪav, N ɪi-(m)bɪa

Notes: 1) In the N reflex of AN bayə[ʰ] = *shoulder*, AN *b > N mb^w, i.e., ɪna-mb^wɛ

2) If *b-+*a is followed by another *b, AN *b > N (w)ø? : *mouth*: AN babah, N ɪna-(w)o ~ ɪna-o ?

*b > v

*b-+*l (unless *l is followed by another *b, see *b > mb): *star*: AN bɪntaŋ, N ɪvəɪ

*b > mb^w

See *b > mb, Note 1)

*b > p^w

*-b- : *big*: AN labə^ʰ, N 'l-p^wö

*b > p^h

See *b > p, Note to a)

*b > (w)ø?

See *b > mb, Note 2)

Nanggu

In Na, the great majority of the reflexes of AN *b is fairly evenly distributed amongst mb, mb^w and p, with p somewhat less frequently in evidence than the other two.

*b > p

*b-+*u or *l (unless *b is followed by another *b, see *b > mb):
crocodile: AN buhaja^ʰ, Na kha^ʰkhəpɪl; *star*: AN blintaŋ, Na 'pɪpɪ; *woman*:
 AN blinaŋ, Na 'ɔ:pɪa

*b > mb

*b-+*a in trisyllabic AN forms, *b-+*ə (unless followed by a nasal + stop *C combination), and *b-+*l + another *b : *back*: AN balakaŋ, Na nɔ-'tɔ:mbö; *bamboo*: AN bə[t]uŋ, Na ŋa-'nɪ-mbɪ; *night*: AN bəŋ[ɪ^ʰ], Na 'nɔ:-mbu; *lip*: AN bibɪɣ, Na 'mbenuŋũ

*b > mb^w

*b-+*a in bisyllabic AN forms, and *b-+*ə+ a nasal + stop *C combination:
mouth: AN babah, Na 'na-mb^wa; *shoulder*: AN baɣa[^ʰ], Na 'na-mb^we; *sore*:
 AN baɣəh, Na na-'(m)b^waka

*b > p^h

*-b- between identical *V's: *big*: AN labə^ʰ, Na l-'lō:p^hl

*b > p^y

*-b- between non-identical *V's : *sugarcane*: AN təbu^ʰ, Na 'təp^ya

4.32.4.21. AN *mb*mb = mb

In R, M, N, Na : *bamboo*: AN lumb[ɨ]a', R 'nə-mbɨ, M nɔ-mb'ɨövɨ
[nɔ-mb'ɨövɨ], N 'mbɨve, Na ɲa-'nɨ-mbɨ

4.32.4.22. AN *p

In most instances, AN *p is reflected in RSC languages by mb, or by p in the presence of certain conditions.

*p > mb

*p in R, M, N, Na : *short*: AN paŋɗak, R 'mombo, M 'mombɔ, N 'i-(m)bo, Na i-'mbɔtu; *sole of foot*: AN tapak, M na-'mbälvə, N na-(m)be'ɨəɲno, (these words may perhaps be reflexes of AN paqa = *thigh*, because N *thigh* is na-(m)b'ɨna-ŋɨə); *long*: AN pan'd'aŋ, R eomb'ɨlou [eomb'ɨlou], M 'mbol, N i-'(m)bɔɨ, Na i-'mbukɨ; *pigeon*: AN punaj, M 'mbona, N 'mbɔna; *fence*: AN pagə[ɨ], M na-'mbämbö; *navel*: AN put'əg', R 'nɨi-mbu, M nɔ-pu-'mbalo

Notes: 1) If *ɨ, *ɨ or *ɨ > ɨ occurs in an AN form containing *p, and is separated from *p by only one *v, AN *p = p : *bush*: AN p/aɨ/ɨpuh, M 'peto, N 'mbɛ-i-plüwü, Na (kä-i-) 'plüwu; *break (tr.v.)*: AN [ɨ]apuh, M ö-'plameɨ, N 'planglo (both with metathesis); *ripe*: AN pə[ɨ]əm, M 'plɔpɛ, N 'plope; *ten*: AN puluh, M 'nəpnu, N 'nəpnü; *blow (fire)*: AN ɨjup, M ä'pulvə-, N 'vüple-; *dry (of coconut)*: AN pə[ɨ]a', Na 'i-pla

2) *p-+*u : AN *p > Na mbʷ : *pigeon*: AN punaj, Na 'na-mbʷö

3) *p-+*a+*g : AN *p > Na mbʷ : *fence*: AN pagə[ɨ], Na 'na-mbʷə ~ 'nu-mbʷə

4) The R reflex of AN paŋɗan = *pandanus* is nɨi-a'wande, i.e.,
AN *p > R w

*p = p

a) *-p- in *-puɨ in M, N : *betel leaf*: AN kapuɨ = *betel lime*, M 'päl = *betel leaf*, N 'puɛ = *betel leaf*

b) See *p > mb, Note 1)

*p > mbʷ

See *p > mb, Notes 2,3)

*p > pʷ

*-p- in *-puɨ in Na : *betel leaf*: AN kapuɨ = *betel lime*, Na pʷeɨ = *betel leaf*

*p > w

a) *-p in *-puh in trisyllabic AN forms in N, Na : *bush*: AN p/al/upuh, N ^lmbɛ-l-piüwü, Na (kä-i-) ^lpiüwu

b) See *p > mb, Note 4)

4.32.4.23. AN *mp*mp > mb

*-mp- between *u and *u in R, M : *grass*: AN lumput, R ^lne-mbo, M ^lna-mbö

*mp > mb^w

*-mp- between *u and *u in N : *grass*: AN lumput, N ^lna-mb^wö

*mp > p

*-mp- between *u and *u in Na : *grass*: Na lä:pm

*mp > p^w

*-mp- between *ə and *i in M : *small*: AN t'ə(m)plɪt = *narrow*, M ^lthop^wə

4.32.4.24. AN *v*v > p

laugh (v): AN [t]ava', M yö^lpale, N ö-^lpale

4.32.4.25. AN *w*w > p^w

salt water: AN sawaŋ (Biggs 1965) = *open sea*, R so^lp^woi = *salt water*

4.32.4.26. AN *VnV

In a few cases, AN *VnV > $\tilde{V}$ in M, N : *ground*: AN tanah ~ tanəh, M ndö^lthō; *flower*: AN buNa (Dyen 1953, N = ŋ), N ^lnö-phū

4.32.4.27. AN type Austronesian reflexes in RSC

In a few instances, RSC lexical items which are reflexes of cognate AN and pO forms, appear in shapes more closely reminiscent of AN than pO forms. One item may suffice to illustrate this tendency (see also 4.31., and 4.21.): *tail*: AN ^likuɣ, pO iku, R napa-si-^lŋgile, M ^lni-ŋgliü,

N 'nū-ŋg|ū, Na 'nu-ŋgüt|u. In all cases, AN *γ is preserved as |. Na t cannot be explained at this stage.

4.32.4.28. AN + AN Forms

A few RSC lexical items appear to be combined reflexes of two AN forms, e.g., *lip*: AN b|biγ, or ŋut'u, N (m)bɛ|niŋu, Na 'mbənuŋū. Both the N and Na forms seem to be derived from AN b|biγ + ŋut'u

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The discussion given in this paper has demonstrated that a very substantial portion of the vocabulary of the RSC languages is of Austronesian origin (see 4.24. in particular). At the same time, it appears that the individual RSC languages show in part differing traditions in their Austronesian element, and their different diachronic characteristics go a long way towards parallelling the lexical, structural and typological differences among them (see 4.21., 4.31. and 4.32.3.).

It does not necessarily follow from the fact that much of the vocabulary of the RSC languages is demonstrably of Austronesian origin, that these languages can be regarded as Austronesian. They show a number of structural and typological features which are not Austronesian, and even those which follow the Austronesian pattern in principle differ from other Austronesian languages in matters of detail. These points will be discussed elsewhere (e.g., Wurm 1969). Suffice it to say that the RSC languages appear to belong to a particular category of hybrid Oceanic languages of which there are a number of examples in the New Guinea area, such as Mailu (Saville 1912), Maisin (Ray 1911, Strong 1911) and others. In such languages, some or many of the basic or deep features of their structures and some of their surface features show characteristics typical of Papuan languages, and atypical of Austronesian ones. The majority of their surface features may show a varied number of typically Austronesian characteristics, in addition to traits which are atypical of Austronesian, while their vocabulary is strongly or even predominantly of Austronesian origin.

In the case of the RSC languages, the Austronesian element is very strongly in evidence on all three of these levels, but the non-Austronesian features appear to be more basic than the Austronesian ones, and it seems unlikely that they constitute elements borrowed by an originally Austronesian language - the reverse appears to suggest itself much more.

As far as the Austronesian lexical element is concerned, much of it does not appear to be closely linked with Eastern Oceanic (Pawley 1969b), but to show connections with aberrant Oceanic Austronesian elements present in the New Britain, and the New Caledonia areas. At the same time, a strong element linking more directly with western Austronesian than with Oceanic Austronesian is present in the RSC languages, and the Eastern Oceanic lexical element manifests itself predominantly in the forms in which it is encountered in areas neighbouring the RSC language area - it may therefore be attributable to language contacts and loans of a comparatively recent date, in the area itself.

A small Micronesian lexical element can be observed in the RSC languages, apparently in forms encountered far to the north-west of the RSC area, and a strong Polynesian lexical element, in forms reminiscent of those encountered in Polynesian languages located immediately to the north of the RSC area, completes the picture. It is obviously due to rather recent language contacts in the area itself.

In an attempt to explain these facts from a historical point of view, the following may be hypothesised:

It seems, to some extent, now established that the Austronesians, and their language in a proto-Oceanic form, reached the area east and south-east of New Guinea before the advent of a melanid population element speaking Papuan languages, or an aberrant type of Oceanic Austronesian resulting from language contact (Wurm 1967). In the light of this, it seems possible to suggest that the ancestors of the present-day RSC speakers were Papuan speakers who, probably under Austronesian cultural impact enabling them to build seaworthy craft, migrated eastwards from the Papuan homeland in the New Guinea area. They seem to have been subjected to a strong influence by speakers of an Austronesian language type which was different from the Eastern Oceanic one which appears to have established itself first in the greater part of Melanesia (Pawley 1969b and c), and which made itself felt quite strongly in the New Britain and New Caledonia areas. Whether this influence can be assumed to have taken place in the present RSC area, or elsewhere, is not easy to conjecture on at this stage, but it may have to be taken into account that the eastward migration of the RSC speakers into their present area may well post-date the occupation of the eastern Solomons by Austronesian speakers of Eastern Oceanic who, according to Pawley 1969c, may well have spread out from the Central New Hebrides.

To explain this non-Eastern Oceanic Austronesian element in the RSC languages, it seems tempting to postulate a migration of aberrant Oceanic Austronesian speakers from the assumed original proto-Oceanic -

and in consequence, Oceanic-Papuan contact - area in the north-eastern part of the New Guinea area which includes the New Britain region (Grace 1964) to the RSC and New Caledonia (and some other ?) areas, with subsequent establishment there, at the same time largely by-passing the other areas in Melanesia which at that time may already have been occupied by Austronesian speakers of Eastern Oceanic. The lexical similarities between RSC languages with non-Eastern Oceanic languages of the New Britain and especially the New Caledonia areas are certainly quite striking (see 4.21. and 4.23.1-2.).

The reason for the specific direction of the migration of the ancestors of the RSC speakers may perhaps be sought in the fact that, being originally Papuan speakers, they followed the direction of the drift of the Papuan speakers eastwards into the Solomon Islands chain, going far beyond the point at which their nearest western Papuan neighbours, the Savosavo on Savo Island off north-western Guadalcanal, seem to have come to a halt.

The strong AN element in the RSC languages (see 4.21.) may be attributable to some influence direct from Western Austronesia such as has been postulated by Milke (1958) for Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area.

Once the ancestors of the RSC speakers had established themselves in their present area, linguistic contacts with their Eastern Oceanic speaking neighbours in the west and south appear to have taken place, especially with the former, resulting in the incorporation in the RSC languages, of lexical elements from these Eastern Oceanic languages.

The small, but conspicuous, Micronesian element in the RSC languages may perhaps be explained as resulting from a linguistic contact between RSC speakers and Micronesians during the north-western migration of the latter from the New Hebrides area (Grace 1964).

Whether or not the Polynesian neighbours of the RSC speakers were in the area at the time of the arrival of the latter, the RSC speakers have borrowed a large amount of vocabulary from them, most of it referring to concepts associated with the sea and with dwellings, as well as to animals, mostly from the sea or flying (see 4.21.). These loans can in all probability be regarded as the most recent Austronesian element which has entered the RSC languages.

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