

PROTO-SOUTH HEBRIDEAN AND PROTO-OCEANIC

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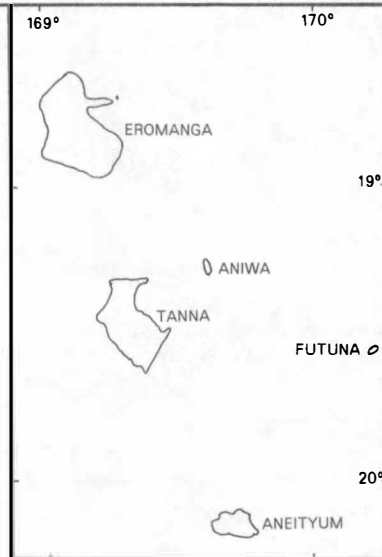
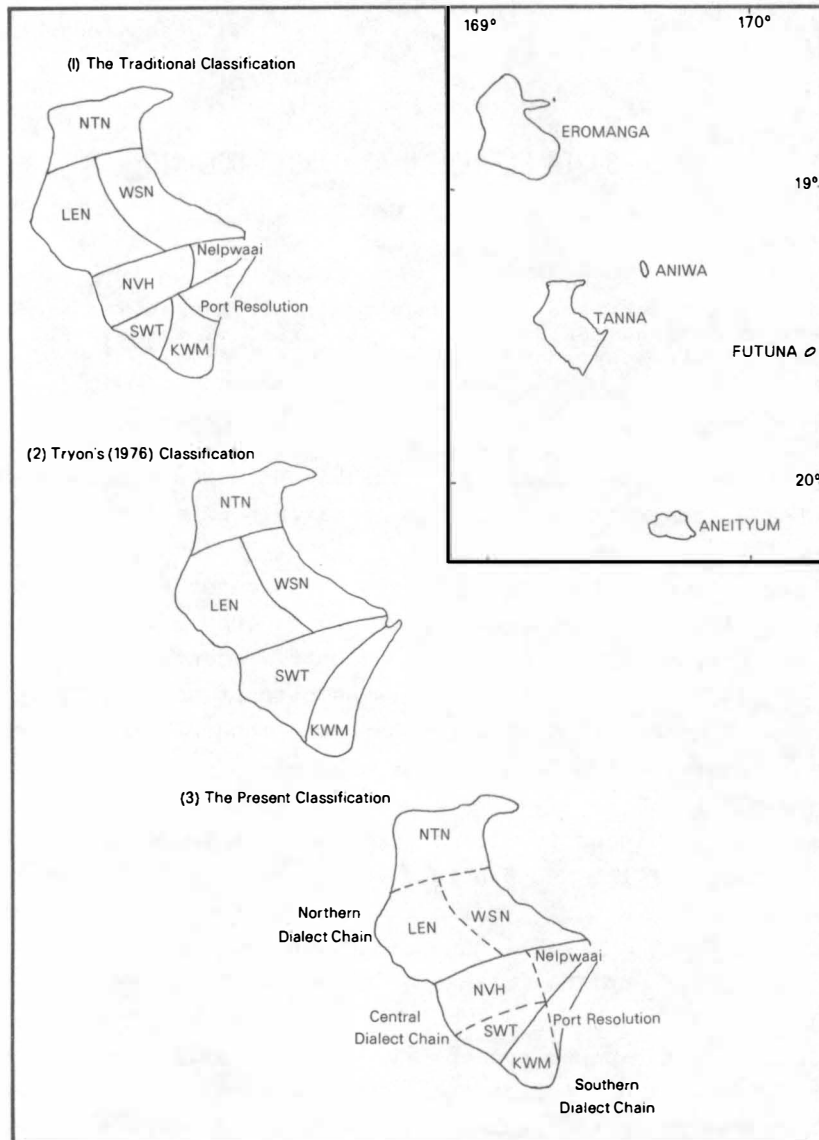
Southern New Hebrides: The languages of Eromanga, Tanna, and Aneityum diverge most of all from the rest of the New Hebrides, while not agreeing among themselves. (Capell 1962:383)

0. INTRODUCTION

The position of the languages of the Southern New Hebrides (SNH) within the Austronesian (AN) family has never been clear. The comparative linguist's job has been made difficult by a complex series of sound changes, and by the frequent non-retention of common Proto-Austronesian (PAN) and Proto-Oceanic (POC) reconstructed lexical items. The difficulties have been exacerbated, until recently, by the unavailability of useful data. This paper is an attempt to rectify this situation. I will endeavour to present here the internal and external relationships of the SNH languages as completely as can be done using the data available.¹

The area under discussion is coterminous with the southern administrative district of the New Hebrides Condominium, with the exception that the Polynesian-speaking islands of Futuna and Aniwa are outside the scope of this study. I will thus be dealing here with the languages and dialects spoken on the islands of Eromanga, Tanna, and Aneityum (see Map).

Section 1 of this paper presents the data on which the conclusions are based: background information on the languages concerned, and reflexes of POC reconstructed etyma. Section 2 discusses in detail the development of the POC proto-phonemes in SNH. In section 3 I discuss the evidence which suggests that all the languages under discussion belong to a single, probably closed, subgroup of Oceanic and thus derive



from a single common ancestor, Proto-South Hebridean (PSH). Finally, in section 4, certain implications for the phonology, morphology, and lexicon of POC are discussed.

1. THE DATA

1.1. THE LANGUAGES

Eromanga (also Erromanga, Erromango) is the largest and most northerly of the three islands under discussion, although its population is only about 600. Only two languages remain on Eromanga (although Capell n.d. suggests that in earlier times more than two languages were spoken): Ura (URA), spoken now by only half-a-dozen elderly people, and Sie or Eromangan (ERO), spoken by the rest of the population.²

Tanna (also Tana) lies to the south of Eromanga. It is the most populous of the southern islands, with a population approaching 15,000 (of whom perhaps 1,000 or more are from Futuna, Aniwa, or other islands of the New Hebrides). The linguistic situation is quite complex, and the number of distinct languages is difficult to determine. The Tannese themselves recognise eight major speech-traditions: North Tanna, Lenakel, Whitesands, Nivhaal, South-west Tanna, Nelpwaa, Kwamera, and Port Resolution; of these, Lenakel, Whitesands, and Kwamera are the most prestigious, since scriptural material has been published in only these three. Tryon (1976, esp. p.88) recognises five languages: North Tanna, Lenakel, Whitesands, South-west Tanna, and Kwamera, all with relatively complex dialect situations. My own feeling is that there are basically three discrete dialect-chains: (1) a northern chain, comprising Lenakel (LEN), North Tanna (NTN), and Whitesands (WSN); (2) a central chain, comprising Nivhaal (NVH), South-west Tanna or Nivai (SWT), and a dialect spoken by the Nelpwaa people; and (3) a southern chain, comprising Kwamera (KWM) and the Port Resolution dialect. I have a reasonable amount of data on LEN, NTN, WSN, NVH, SWT, and KWM; data from Nelpwaa (Tryon's Imreang) and Port Resolution are available in Tryon 1976. These three different views of the classification of the Tanna languages are shown on the map; in this paper, I will be concentrating on the six for which I have adequate data, and will ignore the language/dialect distinction as far as the discussion in section 2 is concerned.³

Aneityum is the southernmost, smallest, and least populous of the three islands under discussion. Only about 300 people now speak the language which was, in earlier times, one of the best-known AN languages of Melanesia (Gabelentz 1861-73, Inglis 1882, Codrington 1885, Kern 1906, and Ray 1926). There are reports of an earlier differentiation

into northern and southern dialects (e.g. Tryon 1976:88), but depopulation, movement of most of the remainder of the population to the southern part of the island, and considerable settlement by Futunese have all contributed to the levelling of dialect distinctions.⁴

Lexicostatistical data for all the languages surveyed are given below; (note ANT = Aneityumese). The first table are my own figures, and represent mid-points of a minimax range. The second table are Tryon's (1976) figures, and represent averages (to the nearest whole number) of the figures obtained for each of the subdialects representing the one speech-tradition.⁵

	ERO									
URA	44		URA							
NTN	30	23	NTN							(Lynch)
WSN	29	22	83	WSN						
LEN	33	24	76	78	LEN					
NVH	30	24	64	67	73	NVH				
SWT	34	24	60	61	68	82	SWT			
KWM	31	24	57	60	63	67	68	KWM		
ANT	23	20	26	26	28	27	27	28	ANT	

	ERO									
URA	59		URA							
NTN	26	26	NTN							(Tryon)
WSN	27	28	73	WSN						
LEN	28	28	74	69	LEN					
NVH	28	28	54	58	61	NVH				
SWT	29	28	48	53	55	78	SWT			
KWM	27	26	47	51	50	62	65	KWM		
ANT	27	27	28	27	29	31	32	29	ANT	

1.2. PHONOLOGIES

Eromanga. ERO has the following phonemes:

pw	p	t	k		i	u
		d			e	o
mw	m	n	ŋ			a
	f	s		h		
	v		x			
		r				

The symbol /t/ represents a voiceless dental stop, while /d/ is a prenasalised voiced alveolar stop; /x/ is a voiced velar fricative. There is considerable free variation between /s/ and /h/, such that the distinction between them may no longer be significant. The vowels /i/ and /u/ are realised as glides adjacent to vowels.

No phonological analysis has as yet been done for URA, due to the small amount of information so far collected. My impressions are that URA's phonological system is essentially the same as that of ERO, although it appears to have three voiced prenasalised stops /b d g/. I have written y and w distinct from i and u in URA, although they may ultimately prove to be allophones of the vowels, as in ERO.

Tanna. LEN has the following phonemes (Lynch 1975a):

pw	p	t	k	i	u	
mw	m	n	ŋ	e	+	o
	f	s			a	
		l				
		r				
	w	v	h			

The phoneme /v/, probably at one stage a bilabial fricative, is now a voiced central glide ([ɹ]); /h/ adjacent to a sonorant consonant devoices that sonorant; /+/ is a central vowel with high and mid allophones; and /i/ and /u/ become glides when adjacent to other vowels, with the [w] allophone of /u/ being phonetically identical with, but phonologically distinct from, the phoneme /w/.

The phonology of WSN is similar to that of LEN except that (a) the phoneme /w/ has not been established, and (b) there may be a phoneme /fw/ as distinct from /f/. NTN also lacks the /w/, but in other ways it is similar to LEN except that, alone of the Tanna languages, NTN has an incomplete series of prenasalised stops /mpw mp nt/.

The languages of the central chain show two significant departures from LEN: (a) the replacement of /w/ by a labialised velar stop /kw/; and (b) only one liquid - /l/ in NVH and /r/ in SWT. The phonology of KWM is almost identical to that of SWT: i.e. no /l/ and /kw/ in place of LEN /w/. Like WSN, KWM may also have a phoneme /fw/.

Aneityum. ANT has the following phonemes (Hewitt 1966, Lynch 1976b):

b	p	t	j	k	i	u
ḃ	m	n	ṇ	ŋ	e	o
	f	θ	s		h	a
	v			x		
		l	r			
	w		y			

The symbol /b/ represents a velarised bilabial stop, /m̥/ a velarised bilabial nasal, and /x/ a voiced velar fricative. (In the traditional orthography, /θ/, /x/, and /ŋ/ are written d, c, and g respectively.)

1.3. REFLEXES OF POC ETYMA

Below is given a list of POC reconstructed forms with reflexes occurring in at least one SNH language. This list will form the basis of the discussion of the development of the POC proto-phonemes in the SNH languages. The following conventions will be used:

- (1) Each correspondence is numbered. In the discussion in succeeding sections, individual forms will normally be referred to by their number.
- (2) POC forms are written as in Grace 1969, or subsequent publications, with the following exceptions: (a) I follow the now generally accepted view that there was no distinction between POC *d and POC *r, writing both as *d; (b) I accept Blust's (in press) hypothesis that POC retained the palatal nasal *ñ; (c) I have written final consonants without parentheses, and have added in final consonants in a few other forms, for reasons which will be discussed in section 4; (d) I have generally omitted one of two proto-phonemes reconstructed within parentheses if it is obvious that the SNH language(s) concerned reflect one of the pair and fairly clearly do not reflect the other.⁶ POC forms have been alphabetised as follows: a d nd e i k ŋk l m ŋm n ñ ŋ o p mp ŋp q R s ns t nt u w y.
- (3) Hyphens indicate synchronic morpheme-boundaries. A hyphen following a noun representing a body-part or kinship term indicates that that noun is obligatorily followed by a possessor. Hyphens following other forms indicate that they occur as the first member of a compound; a hyphen preceding a form indicates that it occurs as the second member of a compound.
- (4) Pluses indicate presumed historical morpheme-boundaries. In this connection, it should be noted that verbs have often accreted an initial vowel and often also occur with a fused transitive suffix (usually +i); many nouns show a fused article in prefixed position, usually of the form n+ or nV+, although ANT also has in+, and other forms also occur; and numerals also show a fused prefix (ERO d(V)+, URA g(V)+, the Tanna languages k(V)+, and ANT e+).
- (5) The gloss given is that gloss of the POC form which most nearly corresponds to the meaning of the reflex(es). Where the meaning of the reflex(es) differs sufficiently from the meanings of the POC form, the POC meaning has been placed in parentheses.⁷

(6) To facilitate consultation of the lists, notes on any particular item in a list are given at the bottom of the page on which that item occurs, and do not appear at the end of this paper like other footnotes.

	POC	ERO	URA	NTN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
1.	*a(ŋ)me(a)	nelu+am-	nalu+am-	n+am-	ntam-	ntam-	nel+am-	ner+am-	ner+am-	ntama-	'tongue'
2.	*ansawa	asau-							-suatru		'spouse'
3.	*au	i+au	y+au	i+to	i+ou	i+to	i+ou	i+ou	i+ou		'I'
4.	*awaŋ			oaŋ	ouaŋ	owaŋ	okwaŋ	okwaŋ	okwaŋ		'be open'
5.	*-da	-d		-l-	-l-	-ni-l-	-li-	-ri-	-n-r-	-ra	'their'
6.	*dadasi		ana+le+ti								'scratch'
7.	*dan(i)	dan		n+ian	ntian	ntian	ie-lan ¹	ie-ran	ie-ran		'day'
8.	*dano									na+ren-wai	'lake'
9.	*daqan									in+ran-xai	'branch'
10.	*daRaq	de		n+ta-	ni+tra-	ni+taa-	ni+tau-	ni+tau-	ni+te-	in+ja	'blood'
11.	*dono	o+rŋ+ti	e+lŋ+ti				i+lŋ	a+rŋ	reŋ+ti	iŋ+ti, ataha+jŋ ²	'hear'
12.	*dua	du+ru	ge+lu	ki+tiu	ki+tiu	k+tiu	ki+la+lu ³	k+ra+ru ³	ki+tru	e+rou	'two'
13.	*duan									ni+jou	'hole'
14.	*ndapu	pen+top		ni+m+tap	ni+m+taau	ni+m+raau	ni+m+lakw	ni+m+trakw	ni+m+trakw		'ashes'
15.	*ndaun									na+lau	'hair, feather; (leaf)'
16.	*ida	iro+tr	le+il	il-	il-	il-	ili-	iri-	ir-	atar-	'they'
17.	*idiR			k-elel	k-eileil	k-ilil	k-ilil	k-eireir	k-irir		'a fan'
18.	*iku	novlai+mp+xo-		ni+mp+ik-	ni+p+ik-	ni+p+ik-	ni+p+ikou-	ni+p+ik-	ni+p+ik-	ni+ixe-	'tail'
19.	*inum			a+nim	a+m+nim	a+m+nuumw	nim	a+nim	a+nmw+ti	a+m+ni+i	'drink'
20.	*isun			-na+thŋ-	-na+thŋ-	-n+thŋ-	-n+thŋ-	-n+thŋ-	ni+p+ti+seŋ-		'nose'
21.	*kada	no+xori-				ni+k+kal-	ni+k+kal-		ni+k+ka-		'side, edge; (point, sharp edge)'
22.	*kai	n+ei	n+ii	ni+ŋ	ni+ŋi	ni+k	n+ai	n+ai	n+ei	in+xai	'tree'
23.	*kali	o+xl+ti	o+xol+ti	il	el	il	k+il	k+ir	er+ti	a+xj+ti	'dig'

1. 'Daytime' only.

2. 'Listen'.

3. Partial reduplication; cf. also 198. *tolu 'three'.

POC	ERO	URA	NTN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
24. *kalo			mati+kolo	mwati+kalo	nwati+kalo	mwati+kalo		nwati+karo		'worm'
25. *kami	kam	gim			kam-	kim-	i+kam-	kim-	a+jam-	'we(excl.)'
26. *kamiu	kimi	gimi			kami-	kimi-	i+kami-	kimi-		'you(pl.)'
27. *kananse									ne+xna	'mullet'
28. *kani	enti	ken+ ⁴	un ⁴	on ⁴	kin ⁴	a+an ⁴	an ⁴	enti ⁴	xin ⁴	'eat'
29. *kapak	o+xep ⁵			ni+ŋiv+ŋiv-	ni+kav+kav-	ni+kav+kav-		t+kav-		'wing'
30. *kapika					ni+kiv+k					'Malay apple'
31. *kapit	av+ ⁱ		ev+r	av+r	av+t	ivt+etela+kin	av+t			'squeeze'
32. *kapudu			ni+m+oulul	ni+m+oulul	ni+m+oulul	ni+m+okwlu+l	ni+m+okwru+r	ni+m+okwru+r		'dust'
33. *kampu						n+apw	n+ap	n+ap	i+n+xab	'fire;(burn)'
34. *kansupe	ula+kis	la+kih	kahap	kahau	kahau	i+ahukw	i+ahakw	i+esuk	i+n+xeθo	'rat'
35. *kati			us	us	kis	as	as	ah+i	a+xes	'bite'
36. *kato			kat+i+m	kat+i+m	kar+i+m				i+n+xat	'basket'
37. *kawil	div+kau								i+n+xowoj	'hook'
38. *kianto			ni+kiatu	ni+ŋiatu	ni+kiatu	ni+kiatu	ni+kiatu	n+eatu	na+kianto	'outrigger boom'
39. *[ki]kit			aa+k	a+ki	a+ki	a+ki	a+ki	i+ki	e+xexe+i	'scratch'
40. *kilala		no+xor+i								'know'
41. *kita	o+xh+i	o+xos+i							e+xet, e+xta+i	'see'
42. *kinta	koh	gis	kit-	kit-	kat-	kit-	i+kat-	kit-	a+kaj-	'we(incl.)'
43. *ko(e)	ki+k	ga	i+k	ii+k	ii+k	ii+k		ii+k	aa+k	'you(sg.)'
44. *koko			i+kiku	a+kaku						'narrow'
45. *kona									a+xen	'sour, bitter; (drunk, poison)'
46. *kosop									a+xse+i	'cut'

4. Transitive form only; cf. 107. *paŋa for intransitive.

5. 'To fly'.

POC	ERO	URA	NIN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
47. *koti									a+xas+vii	'cut off taro top; (cut)'
48. *kumi			nou+ni+km-	na+kmw-	ni+kmw-		ni+kim-			'chin'
49. *kupaŋa	na+upwan				na+kapun	na+kapun			no+ubon	'net'
50. *kuRita		wis								'octopus'
51. *kutu	no+xut	wit	ki+ŋit	ki+ŋit	kur	kel	kur	uir	ne+xet	'louse'
52. *-ŋku	-ŋ		-k	-k	-k	-k	-k	-k	-k	'my'
53. *lano	u+lan	u+len	k+ian	k+ian	k+ian	e+lan	ie+ran	e+ran	in+lan	'a fly'
54. *lase									in+las	'coral'
55. *lawa	iatri+lua								ni+iva	'spider'
56. *lima	ne+ima+n ⁶	ne+lima+n ⁶	ne+lm-	neh+lm-	ne+lm-	kwa+lm-			ni+jma-	'hand'
	suk+rim	suot+rem	kari+līm	kari+līm	kati+lum			ki+ri+rim		'five'
57. *liŋa		leŋe+n								'wing; (hand)'
58. *lipon			ne+iva-	ne+lu-	ne+lu-	kw+lu-	kwatru-	kwatrev-	ni+jho-	'tooth'
59. *loan									lau	'long (of time)'
60. *luaq	e+lua	a+lua	eoā	eua	eua	lua	rua		a+lou	'vomit'
61. *lumut				li+mis	li+mus	li+mus		iamh+a		'seaweed'
62. *ma	m		m- ⁷	m- ⁷	m- ⁷	m- ⁷	m- ⁷	m- ⁷	m- ⁷	'and'
63. *makumpu	moxop-			mwipw-	mwipw-	mukupu-		mwipw-	mābo-	'grandchild'
64. *malaso				i+mtah	a+mra	i+mla		i+mera		'cold'
65. *malino	a+marinu		i+melinu	i+melinu	a+melinu	a+melinu	i+marinu	a+merinu		'calm, peaceful'
66. *malon	n+mar		ni+me	ni+mei	ni+m	ni+mel	ni+mar	ne+mir	in+ma	'breadfruit'
67. *malu	ne+melu+x+lux		met+meti+ŋ	mit+miti+ŋ	miru+k+miru+k	malat+mala	mar+maru	mir+miru		'soft'
68. *mama					a+mati				a+mati	'chew'
69. *ma-masa	n+mah		as	a+mas	mha	mas	mas	a+maha	in+mas, mese+ ⁸	'low tide; (dry)'

6. 'Outrigger'.

7. Verbal prefix, indicating same subject.

8. 'Dry'.

	POC	ERO	URA	NTN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
70.	*-mami	-mam				-m-	-m-, -ma-	-m-, -mu-	-m	-m	'your(pl.)'
71.	*manuk	menux	menuk+u	meniŋ	meniŋ	menuk	mana	mian	minu	in+man	'bird'
72.	*mañawa	pat+monu o+manu+inam				a+miŋ					'heart' 'breathe'
73.	*mapo				a+miv	a+miv	a+miv		a+miv	mah	'heal'
74.	*maqudip	a+murep	o+morop						a+mru	u+mu	'alive'
75.	*masakit			misəŋ	a+mha	a+mha	i+mha	a+mha	i+mi sa	e+mθa ⁹	'sick'
76.	*mata	ni+mt-	nihi+mt-	niŋi+mt-	ni+mt-	ni+mr-	ni+ml-	ni+mīr-	neni+me-	nesŋa+ne+mta-	'eye'
77.	*matakut	e+metet	e+metet							e+mtax	'fear'
78.	*mataq									mat	'new, raw'
				ami+mta	ame+mta	ami+mra	amli+mīa	imre+mra	amri+mra	emel+mat	'green'
79.	*ma-taqu			nwantip	maru	mwatuw	matukw	matukw	mwatuk	in+mata-	'right (hand)'
80.	*mate	mah	in+mis	mis	mis	mis	mha	miah	e+mha	mas	'die'
81.	*matuqa					mira-	mīla-		mire+n-	mata-, in+metou ¹⁰	'mother's brother'
82.	*mauRi	mor	mor	maul	moul	mul	maul	maur	mour	in+mawu-	'left (hand)'
83.	*mimiR	ovla+mi		a+m	a+mi, amia+mīl+i	a+mi, amia+mīl	aa+m	a+m	a+mi	a+mi	'urinate'
84.	*moli				-n+mīl+i+h	ni+mīl+i+h	kwat+n+mīl+i+h		kwat+n+mīr+i+h		'citrus'
85.	*motu			tin+muta+h	tin+muta+h	tin+mur+h		tana+mre	tin+i+mwer+i+s		'island'
86.	*-mu	-m		-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	'your(sg.)'
87.	*ŋmalo									in+mōje	'reef'
88.	*ŋmane	nat+man man-		iete+maan	ier+mwaan	iera+mwaan	iel+maan	ier+man	ier+mwaan	nata+māñ	'male'
				nwan-	ni+nwan-	na+nwan-	nwan-	nwan-	pi+nwan-		'woman's brother'
89.	*ŋmata			mati+kolo	mwati+kalo	mwati+kalo	mwati+kalo		mwati+karo		'worm'
90.	*napo					napo+peau					'wave (n.)'

9. 'Be in pain'; imehe 'sick' probably a loan.

10. 'Older brother'.

	POC	ERO	URA	NIN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
91.	*natu	nit-		net-	nitt-	ner-	nal-	nar-	nir-		'child'
92.	*nipon		nivan								'tooth'
93.	*nuns (io)			ii+ah	i+ah	i+hi	i+hi	i+hi	i+ts	niθ	'octopus'
94.	*-ñā	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n	-n, -ni	-n, -ni	-n	'his'
95.	*ñamuk	u+iomux	yomox	ki+maŋ	ki+mwaŋ	mu+tnuk	mu+tnuk	mu+tnuk	mwi	in+yam	'mosquito'
96.	*ñamuR									niñā+ñ	'dew'
97.	*ñatu	net-									'offspring; (egg)'
98.	*ñainsa	ni+ŋoi		na+ŋha+n	na+ŋhi+n	n+aha+n	na+ŋhi+n	na+ŋaha+n	n+esi+n		'when?'
99.	*ñase			a+ŋu+hi+l	au+ŋi+hi+l	a+hi+ŋi+l			er+ŋha+ra		'old'
100.	*pada	no+var		na+mpit	na+pwit	na+pwir	na+pwil	na+pwir	na+pwir	ta+para	'fence, wall; (mat, pandanus)'
101.	*pakiwak	ne+mpou	u+beu							ne+pxev	'shark'
102.	*panaq	ne+vani		ni+fana	ni+fana	ni+vhaŋa	ni+vhaŋa	ni+vhaŋa	ni+fana	ne+fana	'bow; (shoot)'
103.	*panas	a+uan									'hot'
104.	*pani					ni+pien					'bait'
105.	*pano	a+van	i+va	v+in	v+in	v+in	v+in	i+v+in	e+v+in	a+pan ¹¹	'go'
106.	*panua				lah+uanu	na+uanu	lu+kwanu		ru+kwanu		'village'
107.	*paŋa		ne+veŋ ¹²	a+ŋu+in	a+uŋi+n	a+uŋi+n	i+vŋi+n	o+uŋi+n	a+veŋi+n	haŋ	'eat (intr.)'
108.	*papine ¹³	vevn-									'man's sister'
109.	*paqa	nompu+n+va-		n+ua-	ni+va-	ni+va-	-ni+va-	n+va-	n+ua-	in+ha-	'thigh'
110.	*paqoRu	it+vau									'new'
111.	*paRi	u+var			vi+la+u	vi+raa+u	vi+laa+kw	vi+ra+kw	vi+raa+kw	in+har	'stingray'
112.	*paRu									in+bal	'hibiscus'
113.	*pasili			mwa+n+v+hi	ni+mwa+n+vehli	n+vhaal	mwa+n+vhi+ik	mwa+n+vheri+ik	n+uhri		'grass'
114.	*pat ¹⁴	d+vat		ku+v+it	ku+v+it	ku+v+ir					'four'

11. cf. also aha 'escape'.

12. 'Food'.

13. cf. also 120. *pine and 186. *tapine.

14. cf. also 117. *pati.

	POC	ERO	URA	NTN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
115.	*patan			ni+mpwat-	ni+pwat-		ni+plaa-	ni+pra-	ni+pra-		'body; (tree-trunk)'
116.	*patan				nimwa+ti+fata	ti+vhata	ti+vhata		nimwa+ti+fata	ne+fata ¹⁵	'shelf'
117.	*pati						k+uas	k+uas	ke+fa		'four'
118.	*patu		ni+vat							in+hat	'stone'
119.	*penako				i+vnak						'steal'
120.	*pine		yar+vin		pera+vin	pila+vin	pi+vin				'woman'
121.	*pinsa	de+ve		vin-	ni+vn-	na+uin-	na+uin-	pin-	pin-		'man's sister'
122.	*pinsiko			k+uah	ku+vah	k+uhu	k+uhu	k+uhu+n	ke+va	e+heθ	'how much?'
123.	*pinta									no+hoθxe-	'flesh, meat'
124.	*poñu	na+vu	ya+vu	io+u	io+u	ia+u	ia+kw	ia+kw	ia+kw	a+hta+kwai	'split'
125.	*ponse			ni+vea	ni+vea	ni+vea	ni+vea	ni+vea	ni+vea	na+hou	'turtle'
126.	*puaq	no+vu	ni+va+n	no+a-	no+ua-	no+ua-	nu+kwa-	kwa+n+kwa-	nu+kwa-	no+hwa-	'a paddle'
127.	*puliq	vol									'fruit'
128.	*pulu	no+vl+ira-	no+vl+iran								'turn'
		no+vl+ompu-	no+vl+inompun								'body hair'
129.	*punuq		nar+vu			ho+a+pwn+in	hu+o+pn+ii		ousi+a+pane		'head hair'
130.	*puna		ne+vqu+n	na+qu-	no+uq-	no+uq-					'kill'
131.	*puti	no+voh						nu+kwas		no+hos	'flower'
132.	*mpaka	paŋ			ni+pik	ni+pik	ni+pi+n		ne+pik	in+pak	'banana'
133.	*mpaŋa			ni+pwaij-	ni+pwaij-	ni+pwaij-	ni+pwaij-				'banyan'
					ti+pwaij-	ti+pwaij-	ti+pwaij-				'opening'
134.	*mpeempee			po+k+pau+k	papau+ŋ	pwapwau+k	pwopwau+k	pwapwau+k	pwapwau+k		'crotch'
135.	*mpo[]	a+mpu	ni+bi+n	i+mpie+n	i+pie+n	a+pie+n	a+pie+n	a+pie+n	a+pie+n	i+p+n̄i	'butterfly'
											'smell, stink'

15. 'Copra bed'.

	POC	ERO	URA	NTN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
136.	*mpola	ta+vl+onji				ari+pia+i	ali+plaa+i	ari+prati			'split'
137.	*mponot									ata+pnes	'shut'
138.	*mpoñu									at+pu	'hidden'
139.	*mpua				na+pwo+k	na+pwo+k	na+pwo+k		na+pwo+k		'betel nut'
140.	*mputo	io+mput	yo+but	ni+mput-	ni+ptt-	ni+prti+ñ-	ni+plti+ñ-	ni+prti+ñ-	nu+pware+ñ-		'navel'
141.	*ñponji			l-a+mpin	l-a+pín	l-a+pín	ie-n+pín	ie-n+pín	ie-n+pín	ne+peñ	'night'
				a+mpin	a+pín	a+pín	a+pín	a+pín		a+piñ	'dark, black'
142.	*qalawa	ntalau	y+alu							in+halav	'child; (man's sister's child)'
143.	*qanus i			añah	añah	agh				añθe+i	'spit'
144.	*q(ae)mpa									n+ap	'mat'
145.	*qas(ou)			n+aha-	n+ah-	n+ha-	n+he-	n+he-	n+ise-		'smoke'
146.	*qansan			n+erij-	n+erñ-	n+etij-	n+han-	n+añ-	n+ahñ-	n+iθa-	'name'
147.	*qau	n+au	n+au	n+ao	n+au	n+au	n+au	n+au	n+au	n+awu+n+au	'bamboo'
148.	*qulunga			k-o+ulunga		k-a+lunga				n+i lañ	'pillow'
149.	*quma			astum	astum	astumw	astim	estumw	oh+mu		'to garden'
150.	*qumu			-n+umwa+n	-n+umwa+n	-n+umwa+n	-n+emwa+n	-n+umwa+n	-n+emwa+n		'earth oven'
151.	*qupi	n+up	n+up	n+up	n+u	n+uw	n+ekw	n+ukw	n+uk	n+u	'yam'
152.	*qunsan			n+uhuñ	n+uhuan	n+ihin	n+ehen	n+uahan	n+esin		'rain'
153.	*qutok			no+uta-	no+uhta-	nen+urik	-kula	-kura		in+hutu+ma	'brain'
154.	*Rapi	pwa+rap									'evening'
155.	*Ropo									a+e	'to fly'
156.	*Ruap									na+jab+a+jab	'tidal wave'
157.	*Ruñmaq	n+imo		n+imwa	n+imwa	n+imwa	n+imwa	n+imwa	n+imwa	n+iom	'house'
158.	*Ruqa	-no+ua-	n+a+n	n+ua-		n+ua-	n+ua-	-n+ua-		n+awa+n+wa-	'neck'

	POC	ERO	URA	NTN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
159.	*sa	sa+i	sa+yan								'one'
160.	*s(ae)du				sul	sul	sul		suir+i		'to comb'
161.	*saet	e+sei									'stab'
162.	*salaton			a+sia	a+sia	a+sia	e+sia	a+sira			'sharp'
163.	*saqit								a+θe+i		'tie;(bind)'
164.	*sasa								e+θua		'hunt'
165.	*sauq	i+su+t		i+sou	i+sou	i+sou	i+sokw				'far'
166.	*siŋaR									naŋe+sŋa	'sun;(shine)'
167.	*sius				sio+sio	sio+sio	sio+sio		sio+sio		'whirlpool'
168.	*solop									a+suol+se	'go down'
169.	*sudup			a+ulu	a+ulu	a+ulu	a+ulu	a+uru	a+uru		'enter'
170.	*suRi									ne+θuo-	'bone'
171.	*sunsu			na+ha-	na+ha-	na+ha-	na+hi-	na+hi-	na+s	na+θe- e+θe ¹⁶	'breast'
172.	*nsai	se+ma (what)				ne+ta (what)			si (who)	θi (who)	'who?, what?'
173.	*nsake	sax					hak+ta	ak+ta			'go up'
174.	*nsaman			ri+in				tem+in	tem+in		'outrigger'
175.	*nsaqat		arw+at	a+raat	i+ra	taat	a+ha	a+h	era+ha		'bad'
176.	*nsipo									a+θe	'go down'
177.	*nsiul				a+hl+apu	hal	hel	her+apu			'blow'
178.	*taa	ta+i									'hit'
179.	*takai	e+tk+i									'tie'
180.	*taku								taku+taa-	in+tax	'back, behind'
181.	*taliŋa	teluŋu-	deŋe+n	-telŋ-	-telŋ-	-telŋ-	-telŋ-	-terŋ-		in+tiŋa-	'ear'
182.	*tama	e+tm-		tim-	tim-	rim-	lim-	rim-	rem-	e+tm-	'father'
183.	*tanaq		dena	nip+ttiŋ	nafu+ttiŋi	ttiŋ	nimop+tana	mop+tana	nika+tana ¹⁷	nopoh+tan	'land'

16. 'Suck'.

17. 'Valley'.

	POC	ERO	URA	NIN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
184.	*tanum	tenm+i, 18 e+tenom		tīm	tīnīm	renīm	num	nīm	numw+i	a+tenom	'bury'
185.	*tanis		a+den							tañ	'cry'
186.	*tapine	na+hiven								na+taheñ	'woman'
187.	*tapuR	tovu			tou+i					in+tohou	'conch'
188.	*taqe	si-		nī+s, nī+si-	nī+si, nī+si-	nī+sii-	nī+s, nī+si-	nī+s, nī+si-	nī+hi, nī+hi-		'excrement'
189.	*taRam					a+ram					'answer'
190.	*tansi			taha-	noua+taha-	no+rh-	nou+lahi-	pī+raha-	pī+rī+s-		'younger sibling of same sex'
191.	*tansik	tox	de	n+tehi	nī+tehi	tehe	tahik	tahak	tī+si		'sea'
192.	*tina	din+m-	e+hine+n	i+t-	i+t-	in-	nī+sīn-	nī+sīn-	ri+hn-	ri+s i-	'mother'
193.	*tinaqe	nouse+n+si-	nouse+n+si+n	nī+sqa-	nī+sīqaa-	nī+sīqaa-	nī+sīnau-	nī+sīnau-	neni+thnee-		'intestines'
194.	*toka	e+te		a+tīq	a+tīq	a+rīk	a+lī	a+ra	a+ra	e+tex	'sit, stay; (arrive, settle down, etc.)'
195.	*tokalau					tokolau	tokolau		tokorau		'prevailing wind'
196.	*toko					tīk	tīk		tīk		'hiccough'
197.	*tokon			k-a+skīn	k-a+skīn	k-a+skīn	k-a+skīn	k-a+skīn	k-a+skīn	ni+sex	'crutch; (staff, pole)'
198.	*tolu	de+hel	ge+hlī	kī+sīl	kī+sīl	kī+sīl	kī+sītsel	k+si+ser	kathar	e+sej	'three'
199.	*toñol	e+toñol+i		i+kqe	a+rqa+i	tīqa+i	tīqa+i	a+tīqa+i	tīqa+i	a+tlēq	'swallow'
200.	*topu			nī+tīp	nī+tu	nī+ruw	nī+ttukw	nī+ttukw	nī+ruk	ne+to	'sugarcane'
201.	*toqa									in+jaa	'fowl'
202.	*tudu	nomp+ne+tru-	nohum+ne+tre-	nu+ul-	noua+no+ul-	no+ul-	nu+kwulu-	nu+kwur-	nu+kuru-	ni+jī-	'knee'
203.	*tuki	a+tk+i									'to pound'

18. 'Dive'.

	POC	ERO	URA	NIN	WSN	LEN	NVH	SWT	KWM	ANT	Gloss
204.	*tunu	o+tn+i								a+tn+amoθ	'cook, burn'
205.	*tumpu				tipw-	rip-	lipu-		ripw-	e+tpo-	'grandparent'
206.	*tuqa	ta-	da+n	nimwa+n+taa-	nimwa+n+taa-	nimwa+taa-	nimwei+taa-	nimwei+taa-	taku+taa-		'back'
207.	*tuqa	nompu+me+tuθ		o+a+s	o+ua+s	o+wa+s	a+kwat+s	o+kwath	o+kwat+s	imti+twu	'old'
208.	*tuqa									e+tua-	'sibling same sex; (older sib. same sex)'
209.	*tuqud	e+tur	a+de	a+tuI	e+tuur	a+il	a+leI	a+rur	a+rer	a+ji	'stand'
210.	*tuRi	e+tr+i				tiI		a+tir	tir+i	e+tje+i	'sew, thread'
211.	*-nta	-nt		-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-		'our(incl.)'
212.	*ntalos	tal	dal	n+te	ni+rei	ni+te	ni+tel	ni+tir		in+tal	'taro'
213.	*ntonu									a+to	'straight'
214.	*uRa			na+uul, noua+no+uI ¹⁹		n+uI		na+ur			'sinew, rope, vein'
215.	*utin			n+us-				n+usi-	kwat+n+ihi-		'penis'
216.	*waiR	n+u				n+u	n+u	n+u	n+ui	in+wai	'water'
217.	*waka	no+ua+tni-		n+ok-	n+ua-	n+uk-	n+ua-	n+ua-	n+ua-	ne+xva-	'root'
218.	*wanʔkaŋ				n+eŋo	n+iko					'canoe'
219.	*waRo		no+we							in+wou	'rope'
220.	*yaŋo		armel+yaŋ							yaŋ	'yellow'

19. Nauul = 'rope', nouanoul = 'vein, sinew'.

2. HISTORICAL PHONOLOGY OF THE SNH LANGUAGES

Considerations of space, time, and the number of languages involved have prevented me from discussing the full sequence of sound changes which have occurred in the SNH languages in the same detail as Blust (see pp.181-234 in this volume) has done for Buli and Numfor. Ideally, a complete description of the historical phonology of a language or a group of languages should include the presentation of such a series of ordered rules. In this section of the paper, however, I will restrict myself to the more important aspects of rule ordering in the development of the phonologies of the SNH languages.

It will have been observed from the wordlists that certain vowels in certain positions are usually lost in the languages I am considering. It will thus be convenient to divide the discussion of the historical phonology into three basic groups of rules:

- (a) rules which operated before the various vowel deletion rules came into force. There are a number of crucial rules in this category, and I will be at pains to outline both the nature of the rules and the various ordering relations which obtain among them.
- (b) the vowel loss rules themselves.
- (c) rules which began to operate after the vowel loss rules had ceased to apply. These are more numerous and intrinsically less interesting than the rules mentioned under (a) and (b), and will be dealt with more cursorily.

In presenting these rules, the abbreviations E, T, and A after the rule indicate that the rule applies to the Eromangan, Tanna, and Aneityum languages. Should a rule be more restricted in its application, then the abbreviations for the particular language or languages will be used. Following the rule, the numbers refer to the examples in the wordlist which show the rule's application.

2.1. PRE-VOWEL LOSS RULES

(1) METATHESIS (E)

*kiCa > kaCi : 40, 41, 42.

Notes: This rule appears to have applied in NTN and WSN in 42, though at some later stage (and certainly after rule (4)). It has also applied in ANT in 42, though not in 41.

(2) *n-VELARISATION (NTN WSN LEN)

*n > ŋ / *qV ____; ____*Vq : 102, 143, 193.

Exceptions: 183; also 129 in LEN.

Notes: Appears to have applied in 102 in NVH SWT KWM, and in 143 in ANT. May also have applied in Tanna in 146 (though cf. 152 where it has not applied).

(3) MEDIAL **v*_q LOSS (E T)

c*₁*v*₁*qv*₂ > *c*₁*v*₂ : 74, 79, 81, 109, 110, 158, 175, 188, 193, 206, 209.

Exceptions: 207; 158 in ERO and all Tanna; 175 in NTN and LEN; 209 in WSN.

Notes: (1) Also occurs in 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, and 153 in cases where **q*-initial words are preceded by a fused syllable (article or verb-initiator).

(2) A more general rule deleting **q* occurs in ANT.

(4) **t*-SPIRANTISATION (E T A)

t* > *s* / ____i*; ____**e* : 35, 41, 47, 80, 117, 131, 188, 192, 193, 215.

Exceptions: 192 in ERO, NTN, WSN, LEN.

Notes: (1) **t* > *h* in this environment. There are also some cases of ERO and URA *h* in the data, but recall that in the modern languages *s* and *h* are now in free variation.

(2) **t* > *s* in 31 (ERO), 61 (WSN LEN NVH KWM), 137 (ANT): in each case a suffix -*i* may be postulated.

(3) **t* > *h* in 186 (ERO), suggesting that the POC form was inherited as ***tepine*.

(4) Note **nt* > *s* (or *h*) in this environment in ERO URA in 42, and **nt* > *j* in ANT in same item.

(5) PALATALISATION RULES (A T)

(5a) **n* > *ñ* / ____**i*, ____**e* : ANT 19?, 28, 88, 186.

(5b) **ŋ* > *ñ* / ____**i* : ANT 141, 148?, 185.

(5c) **l* > *j* / ____**i*; **i* ____# : ANT 23, 37, 56, 58, 181, 193?

(5d) **l* > *l* / ____^v_{+hi}]; [_{+hi}]^v : NTN WSN LEN 23, 56, 58, 61, 65, 84, 113, 148, 177, 181, 198.

**l* > *i* elsewhere: 53, 66, 136, 199, 212.

Exceptions to (5d): 24, 60, 64, 67, 162, 195.

(6) **R*-RETENTION (E T)

R* > {*r*} / ____i* : {ERO URA SWT KWM 82, 111, 210
NTN WSN LEN NVH 82, 111, 210

Exception: lost in 50 in URA.

Notes: **R* > *l* in WSN in 83, due probably to suffix *i*.

(7) *u-FRONTING (A NVH)

(7a) *u > i / *C ____ Cu : ANT 51, 148, 171, 202, 209.

Notes: In 51 and 171 the i later becomes e by regular rule.

(7b) *u > e / *C ____ Cu; *quC ____ : NVH 51, 61, 150, 151, 152, 205, 209.

Exceptions: 63, 149 (*u > i); 169, 202 (*u > u).

(8) *t-SPIRANTISATION II (A)

*t, *nt > j / ____ *i : 42, 202, 209.

(9) *a-FRONTING (A)

*a > i / ____ [^C_{+pal}] i : 28, 181.

Exception: 185.

(10) *iw-VOCALISATION (E)

*iw > u : 101.

(11) *a-RAISING (E KWM)

(11a) *a > e / ____ * [^C_{+cor}] u : E 67, 71, 77, 97, 184.

Exceptions: 34, 91 (*a > i); 118 (*a > a).

(11b) *a > o / ____ * [^C_{-cor}] u : E 14, 63, 95, 101, 187.

(11c) *a > e / ____ *Ca : KWM 10, 64, 76, 78, 98, 105, 107, 132, 174, 182.

Exceptions: 29, 89, 102, 116 (*a > a in what are probably Polynesian loans); 21, 133 (*a > e / *aC ____); 69, 75, 81.

(12) *p-SHIFT (T)

(12a) *p > kw / ____ *u : 14, 32, 126, 130, 131, 187, 200.

Exception: 129.

(12b) *p > kw / *u ____ : 34, 151.

Exceptions: 49, 169.

(12c) *p > kw / ____ *VCu : 106, 124.

Note: kw is subsequently variously reinterpreted as u, w, and k in NTN, WSN, LEN, and KWM; see section 2.3. below.

(13) *ñ-DELETION (E T A)

*n > Ø / *o ____ u : 124, 138.

(14) FINAL CONSONANT DELETION (A)

*C > Ø / ____ # : 10, 13, 15, 19, 39, 46, 58, 59, 60, 66, 71, 74, 75, 77, 78, 83, 95, 96, 101, 102, 116, 126, 146, 153, 157, 163, 166, 168, 183, 185, 187, 197, 209, 212, 216.

Exceptions: 8, 37, 137, 156, 184, 199.

Notes: Other SNH languages show sporadic loss of final consonants, as follows:

ERO: 29, 37, 66, 101, 103, 127, 212, 216.

URA: 101, 129, 185, 212.

NTN: 39, 58?, 66, 75, 115, 162, 212, 215.

WSN: 29, 39, 58, 66, 75, 115, 162, 212.

LEN: 29, 39, 58, 66, 75, 129, 162, 212, 216.

NVH: 29, 39, 58, 66, 75, 129, 162, 175, 212, 216.

SWT: 39, 58, 66, 75, 162, 175, 212, 216.

KWM: 29, 39, 58, 66, 74, 75, 175, 212.

Apart from these cases, final consonants are normally retained in all SNH languages except ANT.

(15) *q-DELETION (A)

*q > Ø : 9, 74, 79, 81, 109, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 151, 158, 163, 201, 207, 208, 209.

Exceptions: 142, 153 (*q > h).

Notes: Final occurrences of *q are deleted by rule (14).

(16) SPLIT OF *s AND *ns (NTN WSN LEN)

(16a) *s > s / *# ___ a; *a ___ a : 69, 75, 160, 162, 165.

Exceptions: 69 (LEN), 75 (WSN LEN) (*s > h)

(16b) *ns > NTN WSN r, LEN t / *# ___ a; *a ___ a : 146, 172, 174, 175.

(16c) *s, *ns > h elsewhere : 20, 34, 64, 93, 98, 99, 113, 121, 143, 145, 152, 171, 177, 190, 191.

Exceptions: *s > s in 167 (WSN LEN); *s > Ø in 64 (LEN), 125 and 169.

(17) *t-SPLIT (LEN NVH SWT KWM)

(17a) *t > t / ___ # : 31, 175.

Exceptions: lost in 75, also in 175 (except LEN); > r in 114 in LEN.

(17b) *t > LEN SWT KWM r, NVH l / *# ___ in kinship terms, when morpheme-initial in the daughter-language : 182, 190, 205.

(17c) *t > t if morpheme-initial in the daughter-language : 181, 183, 187, 191, 195, 196, 199, 206, 210.

Exception: *t > r in 184 in LEN.

(17d) *t > LEN SWT KWM r, NVL l, elsewhere : 36, 51, 76, 78, 81, 85, 91, 115, 140, 153, 189, 194, 200, 209.

Exceptions: *t > t in 79, 89, 116, 199 (SWT), 200 (NVH SWT), and 210 (SWT);

*t > s in 197, 198;

*t > Ø in 162, 209 (LEN);

*t > LEN Ø, NVH SWT KWM kw in 202, 207.

Each of these rules must precede the rules of Vowel Loss, and, in particular, rule (19), which deletes final vowels. The list which follows shows this by predicting non-attested outputs of the reverse ordering relation. Thus the first line is to be read as follows: "Rule (1) precedes the Vowel Loss Rule, since 42. *kinta yields ERO koh and not the predicted but non-attested form **kint".

- (1) 42 *kinta > ERO koh; if not, > **kint.
- (3) 188 *taqe > ERO si-; if not, > **ta-.
- (4) 80 *mate > ERO mah; if not, > **mat.
- (5a) 28 *kani > ANT xiñ; if not, > **xan.
- (5b) 141 *ŋponi > ANT ne+peñ; if not, > **ne+peŋ.
- (5c) 23 *kali > ANT a+xj+i; if not, > **a+xl+i.
- (5d) 23 *kali > WSN el; if not, > **ei.
- (6) 82 *mauri > ERO mor; if not, > **mo.
- (7a) 202 *tudu > ANT ni+j-i; if not, > **nV+tu-.
- (7b) 51 *kutu > NVH kel; if not, > **kul.
- (8) 42 *kanti (< *kinta by Rule (1)) > ANT a+kaj-; if not, > **a+kat-.
- (9) 28 *kani > ANT xiñ; if not, > **xañ.
- (11a) 97 *ñatu > ERO net-; if not, > **nat-.
- (11b) 14 *ndapu > ERO pen+top; if not, > **pen+tap.
- (11c) 182 *tama > KWM rem-; if not, > **ram- (or **r+m-).
- (12a) 14 *ndapu > NVH n+m+lakw; if not, > **n+m+lav.
- (12b) 151 *qupi > NVH n+ekw; if not, > **n+ev.
- (12c) 124 *poñu > NVH ia+kw; if not, > **ia+v.
- (13) 124 *poñu > ANT na+hou; if not, > **na+ho.
- (14) 71 *manuk > ANT in+man; if not, > **in+manu.
- (15) 79 *ma-taqu > ANT in+mata-; if not, > **in+matou-.
- (16a) 69 *ma-masa > WSN a+mas; if not, > **a+mah.
- (17d) 51 *kutu > LEN kur; if not, > **kut.

The following crucial internal ordering requirements are also apparent. (Statements like the first line are to be read as follows: "Rule (1) precedes rule (4) since 42. *kinta yields ERO koh; if rule (4) preceded rule (1), the predicted outcome would be the non-attested form **kant".)

- 1,4: 42 *kinta > ERO koh; if 4,1, then **kant.
- 2,3: 193 *tinaqe > LEN ni+snaa-; if 3,2, then **ni+snaa-.
- 3,4: 188 *taqe > ERO si-; if 4,3, then **ti-.
- 4,7&8: 202 *tudu > ANT ni+j-i; if 7&8,4, then **ni+si-.
- 4,17: 35 *kati > LEN k+s; if 17,4, then **k+tr.
- 5,9: 28 *kani > ANT xiñ; if 9,5, then **xañ.
- 7,8: 202 *tudu > ANT ni+j-i; if 8,7, then **ni+ti-.

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7,15: 209 *tuqud > ANT a+ji; if 15,7, then **a+tu.
10,11b: 101 *pakiwak > ERO ne+mpou; if 11b,10, then **ne+mpau.

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2.2. VOWEL LOSS RULES

There are three major rules by which vowels (or, occasionally, syllables) are lost in the SNH languages.

(18) PRETONIC VOWEL LOSS (E T A)

All antepenultimate vowels are lost in words of four or more syllables, providing the antepenultimate vowel is not a member of a vowel cluster. That is.

... (C) V C V C V' (C) V (C) #
 ↓
 0

(19) FINAL VOWEL LOSS (E T A)

The final vowel of a root is lost if it is in morpheme-final position, and if it is preceded by a consonant or by any vowel except *a.

That is,

*V > Ø / C ____ [-seg]; [₋₁^V0] ____ [-seg].

Note: In ANT the vowel is not lost if a suffix follows: i.e. vowels are only lost in absolute final position.

There are numerous examples of both of these rules in the lists, and only a few exceptions, many of which can be explained as being loan-words and not as inherited etyma. An example or two of the operation of these two rules is given below:

23	*v+kali+i		56	*na+lma+ña
	v+kli+i	RULE (18)		na+lma+ña
	v+kli+i	RULE (19)		na+lm+ñ
ERO	o+xli+i	OTHER CHANGES	LEN	ne+lm-n

There is also a considerable number of cases where the final vowel is retained, but with a supporting consonant. These include: 2, 16, 32, 36, 56, 57, 67, 79, 81, 84, 89, 90, 98, 99, 107, 111, 113, 130, 134, 135, 139, 140, 150, 159, 180, 181, 192, 207. In certain cases, the final consonant is an obvious suffix of some kind; in other cases, it is a retention of a PAN final consonant; in yet others, I am unable to explain the presence of the consonant.

(20) REDUPLICATION SIMPLIFICATION (E T)

$$c_i, v_i, c_i, v_i, c_x^\# > c_i, v_i, \# : 39, 68, 83.$$

Exception: 44 (possibly a loan).

Note: This rule may be ordered before (19) in NTN, since NTN loses the final vowel as well.

2.3. POST-VOWEL LOSS RULES

I have not attempted to order the rules which applied after the rules of vowel loss. In many cases, such ordering is not apparent from the data available, and most of these rules concern the interpretation of single POC segments with little or no regard to their phonological environment. Accordingly, I will take a more traditional approach here, and look at the development of particular POC proto-phonemes in the SNH languages.

PROTO-OCEANIC *p, *mp, AND *ŋp

Excluding cases of POC *p handled by the *p-SHIFT and FINAL CONSONANT DELETION rules, the following rule seems fairly general:

- *p > ERO, URA v-, -v-, -p
- > All Tanna v-, -v-, -v
- > ANT h-, -h-, -Ø

Examples: 14, 29, 30, 31, 34, 58, 73, 74, 92, 102, 105, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 130, 131, 151, 154, 155, 176, 186, 187, 200.

In addition, cases of kw which derive from *p-SHIFT develop as follows:

- kw > NTN -Ø- near a, -u- elsewhere, -p
- > WSN -u-, -u
- > LEN -u-, -u or -w
- > KWM -k after u, otherwise kw

Examples: 14, 32, 34, 106, 124, 126, 130, 151, 187, 200.

There are certain exceptions to these rules. Some clearly show that what is reconstructed as *p is behaving as if it were *mp, and will be left until later. Other exceptions:

- *p > u : 58 (WSN LEN NVH SWT), 103 (ERO), 107 (NTN WSN LEN SWT), 109 (NTN KWM), 113 (KWM), 117 (NVH SWT), 120 (LEN NVH), 121 (NTN LEN NVH SWT).
- *p > f (or vh) : 117 (KWM), 102 and 116 in Tanna and ANT.
- *p > p : 90 (LEN), 105 (ANT), 120 (SWT KWM).
- *p > -h : 73 (ANT).
- *p > Ø : 33 (ERO URA), 74 (KWM), 169 Tanna.

POC *ŋp > NTN mp, WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM ANT p in the one word in which it occurs (141); there are no ERO or URA reflexes.

POC *mp occurs in the following etyma: 33, 63, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 205. In addition, POC *p behaves like *mp in 49, 101, 104, 112, 115, 156, and also in 100 and 129 in all except ERO and URA, where *p > v. (Note also *mp > ERO v in 136.)

Apart from URA, each language has at least two reflexes of POC *mp: ERO mp, pw, and p; NTN mp, mpw, pw, and p; the other Tanna languages pw and p; and ANT b and p. URA shows only b, but this corresponds in each case to ERO mp. There is a suggestion that some occurrences of the velarised stop (variously written as pw, mpw, and b) developed adjacent to POC *u, but there is no firm evidence for this.

PROTO-OCEANIC *t AND *nt

All cases of POC *t occurring in most of the Tanna languages are handled by the rules of *t-SPIRANTISATION and *t-SPLIT.

In ERO, URA, NTN, WSN, and ANT, certain cases of POC *t are handled by the rules of *t-SPIRANTISATION, *t-SPIRANTISATION II, and FINAL CONSONANT DELETION. For the other cases, the following general rule applies:

*t- > URA d

*-t-, *-t > URA t

*t > ERO NTN WSN ANT t

Examples: 36, 41, 51, 76, 77, 78, 79, 81, 85, 98, 91, 97, 114, 115, 116, 118, 140, 153, 175, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 190, 191, 194, 199, 200, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210.

There are a few exceptions to these rules, as follows:

*t > s (or h) : 50 (URA), 61 (NTN WSN), 137 (ANT), 186 (ERO), 197 (NTN WSN ANT), 198 (ERO URA NTN WSN ANT)

*t > j : 201 (ANT).

*t- > t : 202 (URA).

*t > NTN WSN Ø : 75, 202, 207.

*t > r : 31 (NTN WSN), 79 (WSN), 199 (WSN).

*t > k : 199 (NTN).

Cases of POC *nt not accounted for by *t-SPIRANTISATION II develop according to the following general rule:

*nt > t in all languages.

Examples: 38, 42, 123, 211, 212, 213.

The following are exceptional:

*nt > ERO -nt : 211.

*nt > URA d- : 212.

*nt > ERO, URA s (or h) : 42. (This occurs before *i, and is similar to the *t-SPIRANTISATION II rule in ANT).

PROTO-OCEANIC *d AND *nd

Except for cases to which FINAL CONSONANT DELETION applies, POC *d behaves as follows:

*d- > NTN WSN LEN l
 *-d-, *-d > NTN WSN LEN l
 *d > ERO d-, -r-, -r
 > URA NVH l
 > SWT KWM ANT r

Examples: 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 21, 32, 74, 100, 160, 169, 202, 209.

The following cases are exceptional:

*d > ERO -d : 5.
 *d > r : 74 (URA), 209 (WSN).
 *d > ANT Ø : 74, 202.
 *d > NTN WSN t, LEN r : 100.
 *d > NTN LEN NVH SWT KWM t, WSN r : 10.
 *d > ANT j : 10, 11, 13.

There are only two cases of POC *nd in these data. In 14, *nd > ERO NTN WSN t, NVH l, LEN SWT KWM r; in 15, *nd > ANT l.

PROTO-OCEANIC *k AND *ŋk

POC *k is lost in all languages in 29 (final *-k only), 31, and 32. Excluding cases of *k in ANT lost by FINAL CONSONANT DELETION, the following general statements can be made:

1) LEN and ANT have a single rule:

*k > LEN k, ANT x

Examples: 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 71, 77, 95, 101, 119, 122, 151, 180, 194, 195, 196, 197, 217.

The following are exceptional:

*k > Ø : 23 (LEN), 49 (ANT), 63 (LEN ANT), 75 (LEN ANT), 191 (LEN).
 *k > ANT k : 38 (probably a PN loan).
 *k > ANT j : 25.

2) ERO and URA show a complex situation:

*k- > ERO k, URA g in pronouns : 25, 26, 42, 43.
 *k- > URA w before *u : 50, 51.

Otherwise, each language has three reflexes for which I am as yet unable to find the conditioning:

*k > x : 18, 21, 23, 29, 40, 41, 51 (URA w), 63, 71 (URA k), 95, 173, 191 (URA Ø).
 *k > k : 34, 37, 179, 203.
 *k > Ø : 22, 28 (URA k), 49, 77, 101, 194, 217.

3) The other Tanna languages apart from LEN also show a complex situation. There appear to be two basic patterns:

*k > NTN WSN NVH SWT KWM k : 18, 21, 24, 25, 26, 39, 42, 43, 48, 180, 195, 196, 197.

In addition, *k > k in NTN and WSN only in 36 and 44, in NVH and SWT only in 173, and in NVH only in 49.

*k > NTN WSN ŋ, NVH SWT KWM Ø : 22, 33, 71, 75 (WSN Ø), 194.

I am unable to explain the conditioning of these sets of reflexes, nor can I explain the following variations on the patterns:

*k > NTN WSN NVH SWT KWM Ø : 28, 35, 153.

*k > NTN WSN ŋ, NVH SWT k, KWM Ø : 38 (NTN k), 51, 95.

*k > NTN WSN Ø, NVH SWT k, KWM Ø : 23, 63, 191.

*k > NTN WSN k, NVH SWT KWM Ø : 34, 217 (WSN Ø).

*k > WSN ŋ, NVH KWM k : 29.

POC *ŋk occurs only in 52, in which it is reflected as ERO ŋ and as k in the other languages. It is probable that the *k in 132 is being treated as *ŋk, due to the ŋ in the ERO reflex.

PROTO-OCEANIC *m AND *ŋm

Except where *m has been deleted in ANT by FINAL CONSONANT DELETION, the following general rule applies:

*m > ERO URA NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM ANT m

Examples: 1, 19, 25, 26, 48, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 95, 149, 174, 182, 184, 189.

There are certain exceptional cases where the reflex of *m is mw (ANT m̄): 19 (LEN KWM), 48 (WSN LEN), 63 (WSN LEN KWM ANT), 79 (NTN LEN KWM), 85 (KWM), 95 (WSN KWM), 96 (ANT), 149 (LEN SWT), 150 (all Tanna), 184 (KWM). In many of these cases, the *m occurs adjacent to *u; however, there are other cases (e.g. 61, 86, etc.) where *m adjacent to *u becomes m and not mw (or m̄).

There are only four cases of POC *ŋm in these data: 87, 88, 89, and 157. ERO shows only m, and WSN LEN and KWM show only mw as the reflex of *ŋm; NTN, NVH, and SWT show mw in some words and m in others, while ANT shows m in some and m̄ in others.

PROTO-OCEANIC *n, *ñ, AND *ŋ

Various occurrences of these proto-phonemes are subject to the rules of *n-VELARISATION, PALATALISATION, *ñ-DELETION, and FINAL CONSONANT DELETION. Other cases of *n develop according to the following rule:

*n > ERO URA NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM ANT n.

Examples: 7, 8, 9, 19, 27, 28, 45, 65, 71, 88, 90, 91, 92, 93, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 108, 119, 120, 129, 137, 152, 174, 184, 186, 192, 193, 197, 204.

The following are exceptional cases:

*n > Ø : 93 (Tanna), 105 (URA), 129 (URA), 184 (NTN), 192 (NTN WSN ANT),
213 (ANT), 215 (NTN SWT KWM).

*n > ŋ : 143 (ANT), 146 (Tanna).

*n > ñ : 19 (ANT; by metathesis and PALATALISATION?).

There is no consistent reflex for POC *ñ. In 72, *ñ > ERO n, LEN ŋ. In 94, *ñ > n, while in 199 *ñ > ŋ in all languages. In 95, *ñ > i or y in ERO, URA, and ANT, and Ø in Tanna. POC *ñ also becomes n in 96 (ANT) and 97 (ERO).

POC *ŋ develops according to the following rule:

*ŋ > ERO URA NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM ANT ŋ.

Examples: 4, 11, 20, 53, 57, 98, 99, 107, 130, 133, 141, 148, 166, 181, 185, 220.

The following are exceptions:

*ŋ > n : 49 (ERO LEN NVH ANT), 141 (NTN WSN LEN SWT KWM).

*ŋ > Ø : 98 (LEN KWM); also in all Tanna languages in 115, 116, 162, and 218 - in each of these cases, *ŋ is final in POC; however, 4 and 20 are examples of POC final *-ŋ being retained.

PROTO-OCEANIC *s AND *ns

Cases of POC *s and *ns in NTN, WSN, and LEN develop according to the SPLIT OF *s AND *ns rule.

In the other Tanna languages, the following rules apply:

*s- > NVH SWT KWM s

Examples: 160, 162, 165, 167, 171.

*-s- > NVH SWT -h-, -s

Examples: 20, 69, 75, 113, 145.

*-s- > KWM s (20, 75, 145), h (69, 99, 113), Ø (64) - conditioning not apparent.

*ns > NVH SWT h, KWM s

Examples: 2, 34, 93, 98, 121, 146, 152, 172, 173, 175, 177, 190, 191.

The following are exceptions to these rules:

*s- > NVH SWT KWM Ø : 169.

*s- > NVH SWT h : 171.

*-s- > NVH SWT Ø : 64 (also lost in KWM).

*ns > Ø : 121 (KWM), 146 (SWT), 173 (SWT), and also in 125 and 171 in NVH SWT KWM.

*ns > KWM h : 146, 175.

*ns > SWT KWM t : 174 (probably a loan).

In ERO and URA the following rules apply:

*s, *ns > ERO URA Ø adjacent to *i : 6, 98, 121, 191.

*s, *ns > ERO URA s (or h) elsewhere : 2, 34, 69, 159, 161, 165, 172, 173.

The only exception is the loss of *s in 175 in URA.

In ANT the following rules apply:

*s > ANT θ / ____ *a; ____ *u; *u ____ : 75, 143, 163, 164, 170, 171.

*s > ANT s elsewhere : 46, 54, 166, 168.

*ns > ANT θ : 34, 93, 121, 122, 146, 171, 172, 176.

The only exceptions are *s > s (for expected θ) in 69, and the loss of *ns in 27.

PROTO-OCEANIC *l AND *R

All cases of *l in NTN, WSN, and LEN, and some cases in ANT, develop according to the PALATALISATION RULES. Otherwise, the following general rule applies:

*l > ERO URA NVH ANT l, SWT KWM r

Examples: 24, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 84, 113, 127, 128, 136, 142, 148, 162, 168, 177, 181, 195, 198, 199, 212.

The following are exceptions:

*l > Ø : 37 (ERO), 66 (ANT), 199 (NVH SWT KWM).

*l > ERO URA r : 40, 56 (in meaning 'five' only), 65, 66.

*l > KWM i : 61.

*l > ANT j : 87, 198.

POC *R is retained as r in ERO, URA, SWT, and KWM, and as l in NTN, WSN, LEN, and NVH, before *i in 82, 111, and 210; see the *R-RETENTION rule. In other environments in these languages, the following rule operates:

*R > ERO URA NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM Ø

Examples: 10, 83, 110, 157, 158, 187, 189, 216, 219.

The following are exceptional in that *R is retained as l or r : 17 (all Tanna), 83 (WSN LEN, one form only), 154 (ERO), 214 (NTN LEN SWT).

The *R-RETENTION rule does not operate in ANT; instead, the following rule operates:

*R > ANT Ø.

Examples: 10, 82, 83, 96, 155, 157, 158, 170, 187, 219.

*R is irregularly retained as r in 111, as l in 112, and as j in 156 and 210

PROTO-OCEANIC *q, *w, AND *y

Most cases of POC *q are deleted by the rules of MEDIAL *Vq LOSS in Eromanga and Tanna, and by the FINAL CONSONANT DELETION and *q-DELETION rules in ANT. These account for all cases of *q in ANT.

Non-medial occurrences of *q are handled by the following rule in Eromanga and Tanna:⁸

*q > ERO URA NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM Ø

Examples: 10, 60, 78, 102, 126, 127, 129, 142, 143, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 157, 165, 183.

There are only a few cases of POC *w in my data. The following rule appears to be accurate:

*w- > ANT w

*-w- > ANT v

*w > ERO WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM u, URA u or w, NTN Ø

Examples: 2, 37, 55, 72, 142, 216, 217 (by metathesis in ANT), 219.

The following are exceptional:

*w > Ø : 72 (LEN), 218 (WSN LEN).

*w > LEN w, NVH SWT KWM kw : 4.

*-w- > ANT w : 37.

There is only one case of POC *y in these data; it is reflected as y in URA and ANT (220).

PROTO-OCEANIC *e AND *o

There are very few cases of POC *e which are retained in the SNH languages, most occurrences being lost by one of the Vowel Loss rules. What reflexes there are show no consistency: there is only one case in ERO, 49, where *e > a; there are only two in ANT, with *e > a in 1 and *e > o in 49. In Tanna, *e is reflected in 49, 125, 134, 188, and 193, and the following reflexes are found: a, au, o, ee, i, and u.

The situation with POC *o is a little clearer. In ANT, the following rule applies:

*o > ANT e

Examples: 11, 45, 46, 87, 122, 137, 141, 155, 194, 197, 198, 199.

There are a few exceptional occurrences: i in 11 and 141; o in 38, 58, 124, 200, and 213; a in 47 and 201; u in 138, 153, and 219; and uo in 168. In 59, *oa > au.

In ERO and URA, *o > u finally: 65, 124, 135. The medial reflexes are confused: e in 194 and 198; a in 45, 92, and 110; o in 199; and i in 135.

The following rules seem to apply in Tanna:

*o > u / ____ #; ____ w, kw, u : 38, 44, 65, 200.

*o > e / ____ v : 125.

*o > a before a suffix : 145, 153, 199.

*o > i / ____ c# : 36, 141, 194, 196, 197, 198, and also in 11 (NVH SWT) and 84 (LEN NVH).

*o > i (KWM e) elsewhere : 44, 85, 140, 145, 149, and also in 11 (KWM) and 84 (WSN).

There are a few exceptions to these rules: *o is reflected as o (probably through loaning) in 24, 90, and 195; and *o has irregular reflexes in at least one Tanna language in 44, 84, 85, 135, 145, 198, and 199.

PROTO-OCEANIC *i

In Eromanga, those cases of POC *i which are retained develop by the following rule:

*i > ERO e / *p ____; ____ *p : 74, 121, 186.

*i > ERO URA i elsewhere : 16, 22, 26, 56, 65, 83, 92, 98, 120, 192, 193.

There are a few exceptions: *i > URA e (56, 57); *i > ERO u (181); *i > URA o (74); and *i lost (ERO 191).

In ANT, POC *i is reflected as i before a morpheme-boundary (but not if the first phoneme after the morpheme-boundary is i): 22, 83, 172, 192, 216. Elsewhere, POC *i is reflected as e : 39, 41, 101, 121, 143, 176, 186, 210. There are a few exceptions to this latter rule: *i > i in 18, 19, and 38; *i > o in 37 and 122; and *i > a in 16.

In the Tanna languages, *i is usually reflected as ɪ in a closed unstressed final syllable after a consonant: 30, 31, 56, 84, 113, 120. Elsewhere, it is reflected as i: 16, 18, 21, 22, 26, 38, 39, 42, 65, 83, 111, 113, 120, 167, 172, 190, 191, 192, 193, 215, 216. There are few exceptions to these rules, and most of these involve the assimilation of *i to the other vowel in ihV or Vhi clusters (cf. 121, 190, and 191 in NTN, WSN, LEN, SWT, and KWM).

PROTO-OCEANIC *u

Recall that certain occurrences of POC *u were fronted by the rule of *u-FRONTING in NVH and ANT. With a few exceptions, the following rules apply in other cases:

*u > ANT o in a morpheme-final syllable which includes a labial consonant (34, 63, 131, 157, 184, 205).

*u > NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM ɪ in a closed final syllable.

*u > ERO URA NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM ANT u elsewhere.

PROTO-OCEANIC *a

As with POC *u, there are a large number of occurrences of POC *a, and I will not attempt to detail examples of each reflex. Recall also that certain occurrences of *a have already been dealt with by the *a-FRONTING and *a-RAISING rules (by which *a becomes ANT i, ERO URA e and o, and KWM e in various environments), and also by the Vowel Loss rules.

There is a tendency in the Tanna languages for *a to reduce to ɪ in a final closed syllable; similarly, there appears to be a rule in URA whereby *a > e adjacent to ŋ (53, 57, 107, 181, 185). Otherwise, the following rule is fairly general:

*a > ERO URA NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM ANT a.

Of the exceptional cases, many show evidence of raising before a syllable containing *i, or raising or rounding before a syllable containing *u.

These rules are reminiscent of the *a-RAISING rule in Eromanga, although it is only in ERO and URA that such rules operate with any consistency.

2.4. SUMMARY

It is difficult to summarise the various rules discussed in 2.1. through 2.3. into a table, due to the fact that many of them apply in sequential order. However, it will be useful for the discussion in the next section for some summary of the observations in this section to be presented in a concise and consultable form.

The following table attempts to do that. I have omitted all irregular reflexes, and have also left out the conditioning factors. Reflexes which are the result of rules operating before the Vowel Loss rules are italicised; reflexes which are the result of a limited conditioning environment are underlined; non-italicised, non-underlined reflexes are the general reflex which is the result of a rule operating after the Vowel Loss rules had ceased to apply. Question marks indicate that the reflex has not been adequately established; blanks indicate no (or insufficient) data; $\emptyset$ indicates loss. Parentheses enclose two or more reflexes whose conditioning has not as yet been determined.

POC	*v/ <u> </u> c'v	*v#	*C#	*p	*mp	*np	*t	*nt
ERO	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	C#	v- -v- -p	(mp pw p)		s t	t
URA	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	C#	v- -v- -p	b		s <u>d</u> t	t
NIN	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	C#	- $\emptyset$ - -u- -p v	(mpw mp pw p)	mp	s t	t
WSN	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	C#	u v	(pw p)	p	s t	t
LEN	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	C#	u w v	(pw p)	p	s <u>t</u> r	t
NVH	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	C#	kw v	(pw p)	p	s <u>t</u> l	t
SWT	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	C#	kw v	(pw p)	p	s <u>t</u> r	t
KWM	$\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	C#	kw k v	(pw p)	p	h <u>t</u> r	t
ANT	$\emptyset$	<u>v</u> $\emptyset$	$\emptyset$	h- -h- - $\emptyset$	(b p)	p	s <u>j</u> t	j t

POC	*d	*nd	*k	*ŋk	*m	*ŋm	*n	*ñ	*ŋ	*s
ERO	d- -r- -r	t	<u>k</u> (x k Ø)	ŋ	m	m	n	Ø ?	ŋ	<u>Ø</u> s
URA	l		<u>q</u> (x k Ø)		m		n	?	ŋ	<u>Ø</u> s
NIN	<u>i</u> l	t	(k ŋ)	k	m	(m mw)	ŋ n	Ø ?	ŋ	<u>Δ</u> h
WSN	<u>i</u> l	t	(k ŋ)	k	m	mw	ŋ n	Ø ?	ŋ	<u>Δ</u> h
LEN	<u>i</u> l	r	k	k	m	mw	ŋ n	Ø ?	ŋ	<u>Δ</u> h
NVH	l	l	(k Ø)	k	m	(m mw)	n	Ø ?	ŋ	<u>s</u> -h- -s
SWT	r	r	(k Ø)	k	m	(m mw)	n	Ø ?	ŋ	<u>s</u> -h- -s
KWM	r	r	(k Ø)	k	m	mw	n	Ø ?	ŋ	<u>s</u> (s h)
ANT	r	l	x	k	m	(m ñ)	ñ n	Ø ?	ñ ŋ	<u>Ø</u> s

POC	*ns	*l	*R	*q	*w	*y	*i	*e	*a	*o	*u
ERO	<u>Ø</u> s	l	ŋ Ø	Ø Ø	u		<u>e</u> i	?	e o a	-u ?	u
URA	<u>Ø</u> s	l	ŋ Ø	Ø Ø	(u w)	y	i	?	e o e a	-u ?	u
NIN	<u>ŋ</u> h	<u>l</u> i	l Ø	Ø Ø	Ø		<u>i</u> i	?	<u>i</u> a	<u>u</u> e a i	<u>i</u> u
WSN	<u>ŋ</u> h	<u>l</u> i	l Ø	Ø Ø	u		<u>i</u> i	?	<u>i</u> a	<u>u</u> e a i	<u>i</u> u
LEN	<u>ŋ</u> h	<u>l</u> i	l Ø	Ø Ø	u		<u>i</u> i	?	<u>i</u> a	<u>u</u> e a i	<u>i</u> u
NVH	h	l	l Ø	Ø Ø	u		<u>i</u> i	?	<u>i</u> a	<u>u</u> e a i	e <u>i</u> u
SWT	h	r	ŋ Ø	Ø Ø	u		<u>i</u> i	?	<u>i</u> a	<u>u</u> e a i	<u>i</u> u
KWM	s	r	ŋ Ø	Ø Ø	u		<u>i</u> i	?	e <u>i</u> a	<u>u</u> e a i e	<u>i</u> u
ANT	Ø	<u>j</u> l	Ø	Ø	<u>w</u> v	y	<u>i</u> e	?	a	e	i o u

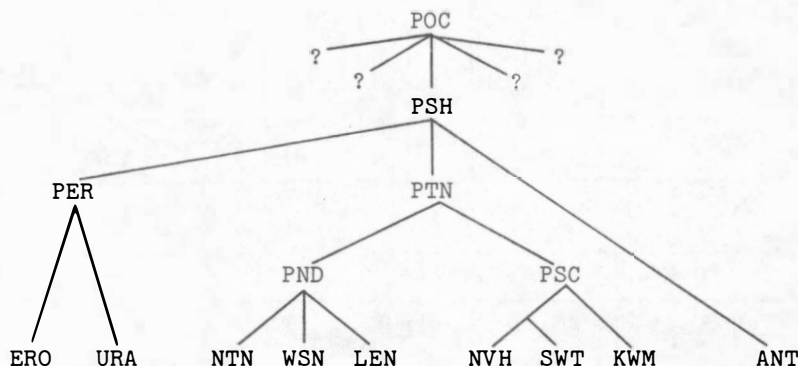
3. PROTO-SOUTH HEBRIDEAN

In his major classification of the New Hebrides languages, Tryon (1976) is ambivalent about the relationships of the SNH languages, although he favours the interpretation that the languages of each of the three islands form a distinct subgroup:

The three southern islands ... constitute higher order groupings, separate from each other and from other New Hebrides languages. The phonological evidence adduced supports the separation of the southern languages from the remainder of the languages to the north. The phonological evidence, however, is not sufficient to allow any positive statement concerning the homogeneity or otherwise of the Southern New Hebrides subgrouping. (Tryon 1976:168)

In this section I will attempt to show that phonological and other evidence does indeed show that the southern languages form a single family within Oceanic, and that this family contains three major

subgroups corresponding to the three islands within the region under study. That is, I will show that the relationships between the languages may be represented by the following family tree (where, in addition to the abbreviations already used, PSH = Proto-South Hebridean, PER = Proto-Eromangan, PTN = Proto-Tannan, PND = Proto-Northern Dialect Chain, and PSC = Proto-South-Central Dialect Chain).



I will present evidence supporting the separate status of each of the three subgroups in section 3.1., and then give evidence for the whole SNH family in section 3.2.

3.1. LOWER-ORDER SUBGROUPS

There is a certain amount of lexicostatistical, phonological, and grammatical evidence supporting the existence of three subgroups of SNH - Eromangan, Tannan, and Aneityumese.⁹ Within the Tannan subgroup, there is also evidence for a division between the northern and the southern languages. This evidence will be presented below.

3.1.1. The Eromangan Subgroup

The Eromangan subgroup consists of ERO and URA. It is well defined lexicostatistically:¹⁰ ERO and URA share 44% cognates by my count (59% on Tryon's list), with the highest percentage shared with any other SNH language being 34% cognates shared by ERO and SWT (Tryon has 29% for this comparison).

Phonologically, ERO and URA share the following features exclusive of other SNH languages:¹¹

- (1) The Metathesis rule (rule (1) in section 2.1.);
- (2) The raising of POC *a before a syllable containing *u (rule (11) in 2.1.);
- (3) Retention of *p as a stop finally but a fricative non-finally;

- (4) Retention of *k as a stop initially (in at least some environments) but as a fricative non-initially;
- (5) Merger of *m and *ɲm;
- (6) Complete merger of *s and *ns (this merger being only partial in the other languages).

Little grammatical work has been done on URA, so that not very much can be said at this stage regarding the grammatical features which show that the Eromangan subgroup is distinct from the others. Both ERO and URA have lost dual and trial pronouns (which are present in Tanna and ANT), and have also lost edible and drinkable possessive markers. Perhaps the most significant feature of the Eromangan subgroup is the indication of the realis/irrealis distinction by changing from the oral to the nasalised reflex of the POC consonant involved: e.g. *kita > o+xh+i (realis), a+ɲh+i (irrealis), 'see' (cf. Lynch 1975b). This grammatical feature is totally absent from the other SNH languages.

3.1.2. The Tannan Subgroup

The Tannan subgroup consists of NTN, WSN, LEN, NVH, SWT, and KWM. It is also lexicostatistically well-defined: the lowest cognate percentage between any two Tannan languages is 57% shared between NTN and KWM (Tryon has 47%), while the highest cognate percentage shared between any Tannan language and any other SNH language is 34% shared between SWT and ERO (Tryon's highest is 32% shared between SWT and ANT).

Phonologically, the Tannan subgroup is characterised by the following features exclusive of other SNH languages:

- (1) The *p-Shift rule (rule (12) in section 2.1.);
- (2) Development of a sixth vowel, ɪ, which reflects POC *o in non-final position, and other POC vowels in unstressed closed final syllables;
- (3) Merger of medial *d, *l before POC high vowels, and *R before *i.

Grammatically, a number of features or morphemes can be reconstructed for PTN which do not occur in other SNH languages;¹²

- (4) Dual, trial, and plural prefixes to verbs;
- (5) A plantable possessive morpheme PTN *nai (NTN WSN nai, LEN ne, NVH ni);
- (6) An interrogative verbal prefix PTN *ansu- (NTN arh-, WSN arhu-, LEN etu-, NVH hau-, SWT au-);
- (7) A reciprocal/reflexive verbal suffix PTN *-atup (LEN -atu, NVH -atukw, KWM -atuk);¹³
- (8) A benefactive preposition PTN *kam(i) (NTN WSN LEN kam, NVH kɪmi, KWM m);

- (9) A dative preposition PTN **(n)tup* (NTN WSN *o*, LEN *to*, NVH *tukw*, KWM *tuk*) which also functions as a future prefix to verbs;
- (10) Four directional suffixes to verbs:
- PTN **-mpVsiu* '*northwards*' (WSN *-pahau*, LEN *-hiu*, NVH *-pihiu*, KWM *-pesu*);
- PTN **-mpVliti* '*southwards*' (WSN *-pesi*, LEN *-piis*, NVH *-plaaH*, KWM *-prehi*);
- PTN **-mpa[nsi, tVi]* '*eastwards*' (NTN *-paar*, WSN *-pari*, LEN *-paat*, KWM *-parei*); and
- PTN **(m)pi[(tdl)a](n)sV* '*westwards*' (NTN WSN *-pah*, NVH *-vila*, KWM *-pīraha*).

Within the Tannan subgroup, there is further evidence for a division into a northern grouping and a south-central grouping.

3.1.2.1. *The Northern Dialect Chain Grouping (NDC)*

This grouping consists of NTN, WSN, and LEN. The grouping is not well defined lexicostatistically: the lowest cognate percentage within the group is 76% cognation between NTN and LEN, while the highest percentage shared by a member and a non-member is 73% shared by LEN and NVH. Since LEN and NVH border each other, however, and since LEN is the prestige mission language of that part of Tanna, it is distinctly possible that this figure has been inflated by borrowing from LEN into NVH. Tryon's figures provide only a slightly sounder lexicostatistical basis for the NDC: the lowest percentage within the group is 69% shared by WSN and LEN, while the highest outside the group is 61% shared by LEN and NVH.

Phonologically, however, there is considerable evidence supporting this grouping:

- (1) The **n*-Velarisation rule (rule (2) in 2.1.);
- (2) The split of **s* and **ns* (rule (16) in 2.1.);
- (3) The split of **d*, with initial **d* becoming *i* (often phonetically [y]) and medial **d* becoming *l*.¹⁴

Grammatically, NTN, WSN, and LEN share the following features exclusive of other SNH languages:

- (4) A discontinuous negative affix to the verb (NTN WSN *as-...-ien*, LEN *ʔs-...-aan*);
- (5) A distinct neutral alienable possessive morpheme PND **nsa(n)sV* (NTN WSN *raha*, LEN *taha*);
- (6) The phenomenon of valued possession, in which the fused article is lost: e.g. LEN *taha-k nau* '*my knife*', but *taha-k au* '*my favourite*'

knife', in which the fused article *n* (from POC **na*) has been deleted from the possessed noun *nau*.

3.1.2.2. *The South-Central Dialect Chain Grouping (SDC)*

The members of the south (KWM) and central (NVH SWT) dialect chains form a second grouping which, though not lexicostatistically well defined, due to the borrowing by NVH from LEN described earlier, is phonologically well defined:

- (1) The innovation of a labialised velar stop *kw* as a reflex of both **p* in the environment of **u* and also of **w* in some environments;
- (2) Ø as a conditioned reflex of **k* (although the conditioning factors have not as yet been precisely established);
- (3) Merger of **d*, **nd*, **l*, medial **t*, and **R* before **i* as NVH *l*, SWT KWM *r*.

The major piece of grammatical evidence supporting the SDC grouping is the existence of a negative verb PSC **ampa*. Compare NVH *i-akn-ol* 'I did it' with *i-akn-apwa n-ol-ien* 'I didn't do it', where the verb *apwa* is the negative, while *ol* 'do' is nominalised by the discontinuous affix *n-...-ien*.¹⁵

3.1.3. *The Aneityumese Subgroup*

The Aneityumese subgroup, consisting of only one member (ANT), is lexicostatistically well defined as an isolate: on my list, its closest relatives within SNH are LEN and KWM, with which it shares only 28% cognates; on Tryon's list, its closest relative is SWT, with which it shares 32% cognates.

Phonologically, ANT is characterised by the following features exclusive of other SNH languages:

- (1) Palatalisation of both **n* and **ŋ* before POC front vowels (rules (5a) and (5b) in 2.1.);
- (2) A stop reflex *j* for **l* before **i* (rule (5c) in 2.1.);
- (3) *i* as a conditioned reflex of **u* (rule (7) in 2.1.);
- (4) The **t*-Spirantisation II rule (rule (8) in 2.1.);
- (5) The **a*-Fronting rule (rule (9) in 2.1.);
- (6) Almost complete loss of POC final consonants (rule (14) in 2.1.);
- (7) Loss of **p* finally, and retention non-finally as *h*;
- (8) Fricative reflex *v* for medial **w*;
- (9) *e* as the regular reflex for both **i* and **o*.

Grammatically, ANT is characterised by the following features exclusive of the other SNH languages:

- (10) A series of plural prefixes to nouns, including at least *ilpu-* (human), *nupu-* (other animate), and *niji-* (inanimate);
- (11) Subject prefixes varying for tense/aspect;¹⁶
- (12) VOS as preferred sentence order (other SNH languages having SVO).

3.2. PROTO-SOUTH HEBRIDEAN

In this section I will suggest that all the SNH languages form a single subgroup of Oceanic, deriving from a single ancestor, Proto-South Hebridean (PSH). The evidence on which this view is based, is largely phonological, although a certain amount of lexical and grammatical evidence will also be used.

3.2.1. Quantitative Lexical Evidence

The lexicostatistical evidence for the subgrouping is not strong. The lowest cognate percentage shared by two SNH languages on my list is the 20% shared by URA and ANT; if URA is discounted because of its sub-adequate list, the lowest is 23% shared by ERO and ANT. A number of cognate percentages greater than this shared by one SNH and one non-SNH language can be found in Tryon 1976. Nevertheless, Tryon (this volume) has more recently suggested that an examination of cognate densities higher than 25% supports, albeit weakly, the existence of a SNH subgroup.

3.2.2. Phonological Evidence

Two kinds of phonological evidence will be examined in this section: regular phonological development - i.e. the common regular development of POC proto-phonemes in the SNH languages; and shared phonological irregularities - i.e. the common irregular development of particular POC proto-phonemes in particular lexical items in the SNH languages.

3.2.2.1. Regular Phonological Development

The following apparent phonological innovations are found in all subgroups - though not necessarily in all languages of all subgroups - of the putative SNH grouping:

- (1) Unconditioned loss of POC *q;
- (2) The *t-Spirantisation rule (rule (4) in 2.1.);
- (3) Loss of POC final vowels (rule (19) in 2.1.);
- (4) A probable merger of the t-like reflex of POC *t with POC *nt (Eromangan evidence not conclusive);
- (5) Merger of POC *s and *ns in at least some environments.

- (6) Loss of pretonic POC vowels (rule (18) in 2.1.);
- (7) Split in the reflexes of POC *s, though the conditioning factors vary;
- (8) Retention of POC *o as a non-back, non-round vowel in non-final environments;
- (9) Loss of POC *R except in one environment, which may be roughly characterised as 'near a POC high vowel' (ANT evidence not conclusive);
- (10) Loss of POC *ñ between *o and *u (rule (13) in 2.1.), and a number of unpredictable reflexes of *ñ in other environments.

Of these ten features, the first five are not particularly surprising, as they are found in other Oceanic groups (see, e.g., Pawley 1972, 1975; Ross 1977; Tryon 1976). The other features, however, are less common. Feature (8), for example, is rare in Oceanic, although some languages of the Loyalties/New Caledonia region, and a few languages of other parts of the New Hebrides show e as a conditioned (or, rarely, unconditioned) reflex of *o. In the SNH languages, *o is almost never reflected as o in inherited words, although o < *o does occur in words which are probably Polynesian loans.

Feature (9) - specifically the retention of POC *R before *i - is also fairly rare. Tryon (1976:27) notes that *R is retained in some cases in a number of languages of the Banks, Maewo, and Aoba, and although

no conditioning factor has so far been found [for the loss or retention of *R] ... *R appears to be more stable near high vowels than non-high vowels, though not always, as the wordlists show.

Feature (10), the loss of *ñ between *o and *u, also seems to be quite rare. I am unable to explain at this stage the varying reflexes for *ñ. It does appear that, at the time PSH broke up, *ñ may still have been distinct from the other nasals, though obviously it was becoming quite unstable in PSH, as can be seen from the fact that, although *ñ has different reflexes in different words, it has similar reflexes across all languages in the same word.

Features (6) and (7) are probably also quite rare in Oceanic. The presence of the five uncommon features (6)-(10), plus the unique combination of the ten features, is probably sufficient grounds to justify the existence of the SNH grouping.

There are certain phonological features which are shared by two of the subgroups but are not found in the third. None of these features are strong enough, either singly or collectively, to allow two of the

subgroups to be assigned to a higher-order grouping exclusive of the third. Collectively, however, they add a little more weight to the phonological evidence supporting the existence of the SNH subgroup.

The Eromangan and Tannan groups share the following phonological development:

- (11) POC *o is reflected in final position as u.

The Eromangan and Aneityumese groups share the following phonological developments:

- (12) Split of POC *p into a final and a non-final reflex;
 (13) Fricative reflex x for POC *k in most positions.

The Tannan and Aneityumese groups share the following phonological development:

- (14) Split of POC *l, with POC *i being the conditioning factor. (This split occurs only in the NDC subgroup of Tannan.) Interestingly, while both subgroups show l as one reflex and a palatal as the other, they do not show the same reflex in the same environment:

	*l before *i	*l elsewhere
Tanna-NDC:	l	i
Aneityumese:	j	l

The regular phonological evidence, then, supports fairly strongly the existence of a SNH family.

3.2.2.2. Shared Phonological Irregularities

In this section I will be presenting cases where the expected development of a particular POC sound has not taken place in a particular SNH morpheme, but where the SNH languages agree in the irregularity of the development of the POC proto-phoneme concerned. The more significant cases will be presented first. Since it has been pointed out above that there is no compelling evidence to allocate two of the subgroups to a single higher-order grouping as against the third, cases where an innovation is found in any two subgroups will be included here.

- (1) POC *t > s or h (for expected t, l, or r) before *o in just two items: 197 *tokon 'crutch, staff, pole', and 198 *tolu 'three'. Whatever the explanation for this irregular development (and I will attempt to propose one in section 4.) the fact remains that the irregularity is shared by all SNH languages and is thus strong evidence for subgrouping.
- (2) The metathesis rule (rule (1) in 2.1.) is found as a general rule only in the Eromangan subgroup. However, metathesis of the vowels

in a word of the form *kiCa does occur in one item in all subgroups: 42 *kinta > PSH *kanti. The evidence here is of two kinds. First, some languages show a reflex for *nt which is identical or similar to the reflex of *t before front vowels: ERO koh, URA gis, ANT a+kaj-. Second, although URA, NTN and WSN show i in the first syllable, ERO koh, LEN kat-, SWT i+kat-, and ANT a+kaj- suggest that the vowel in the first syllable was *a.¹⁷

- (3) A large number of verbs in all SNH languages show accretion of an initial vowel onto a consonant-initial stem. This initial vowel was probably *a, although it has subsequently undergone the various conditioned and unconditioned changes to which *a is subject.
- (4) Similarly, a large number of nouns show accretion of initial n onto POC vowel-initial stems, and nV onto consonant-initial stems.¹⁸ This appears to involve fusion with the root of the POC reconstructed article *na.
- (5) Despite the regular retention of final consonants in at least the Eromangan and Tannan subgroups, four POC forms (29 *kapak, 66 *malon, 75 *masakit, and 212 *ntalos) show unexplained loss of the final consonant (and thus regular loss of what came to be a final vowel) in all SNH languages.
- (6) Eromangan and Tannan show accretion of *mp onto 18 *iku 'tail', suggesting PSH *mpiku.
- (7) Irregular development of at least *ŋ, and probably also *p, in 49 *kupaŋa 'fishing net' (suggesting PSH *ku(m)pena?).
- (8) Irregular development of POC *q in 153 *qutok 'brain', suggesting PSH *putok.
- (9) Irregular development of POC *d in 10 *daRaŋ 'blood' (in Tannan and Aneityumese only).

Other irregular developments occur, but they are more sporadically distributed.

3.2.3. Grammatical Evidence

There is not a great deal of grammatical evidence which supports the putative grouping of the SNH languages. ANT, for example, shows both VOS word order and subject-prefixes which vary for tense/aspect; neither of these features occur in the other SNH languages. The Eromangan and Tannan languages show a complex system of verbal affixes. However, many of these affixes are not comparable; and those that are comparable derive from already reconstructed POC forms. Similarly, while the

Tannan and Aneityumese languages show both a dual and trial number in the pronouns, and a neutral/edible/drinkable distinction in alienable possession, these features are probably not innovations, but retentions from POC.

A few features of grammar, however, seem to be innovations in the SNH group:

- (1) A functional innovation in the POC conjunction *ma 'and', which in all the SNH languages has become a verbal prefix indicating that the subject of the verb so marked is either identical to the subject of the previous verb or is otherwise an identifiable NP which has already been mentioned: e.g. LEN Siak r-am-kin m-am-amnumw 'Siak is eating and drinking'.
- (2) A continuative prefix to verbs, PSH *am-, can be reconstructed from ERO LEN NVH KWM am-.
- (3) A future verbal prefix, PSH *Vmp[], can be reconstructed on the basis of NTN empan-, WSN epwan-, LEN ep-, NVH epi-, and KWM epk-, all of which indicate that the action follows after the previous action (though not necessarily in the future), and ANT bu 'future'.

3.2.4. Qualitative Lexical Evidence

This is the least reliable area of subgrouping, since it is always possible that an item thought to be an innovation in a particular subgroup will have a cognate located by a future researcher in some other subgroup. Nevertheless, I present here a number of lexical items which appear at this stage to be innovations within the SNH family. Reconstructed forms are given in probable POC shape to allow for easy location of refutatory evidence in other subgroups of Oceanic. Glosses are approximate: details on individual glosses, and possible external cognates, will be given in footnotes. All data in footnotes from other New Hebrides languages are taken from Tryon 1976.

	'ABOVE, UP'	'ANT', ¹⁹	'BECHE-DE-MER', ²⁰	'BETEL NUT'
PSH	*ili[ni]t(ie)	*(ŋ)mV(d)la	*t(ie)(ŋ)kapu	*pali
ERO		u+mole		ni+val
URA				
NTN	ilis	mwalamwala	s+kou	
WSN	ilis	mwalamwala		
LEN	ilis	mweamwea	s+kou	
NVH		mwalamwala	s+kavh	
SWT		mwaramwara		
KWM	irinha	mwaramwara		
ANT	ijiñis	moramora	ni+syahou	na+hoj

	'BURN'	'CHEEK'	'CLUB'	'COCONUT'	'COUNT', ²¹	'EEL'
PSH	*wapu	*kampa	*lumpa	*(ŋ)kian(ie)	*sap[]	*pin[]
ERO	atu			no+ki	e+hap+i	ne+ven
URA						
NTN	a+uop			n+ien	a+f+i+n	
WSN	uou	n+kap-		n+ien	a+f+i+n	
LEN	a+uou	n+kap-		n+ien	a+vh+i+n	vin
NVH	uokw	n+kap-	k-a+lpa	n+ikien	a+vhe+k+i+n	vin
SWT	uok	n+kap-	k-a+rpa	n+ikien	i+vhe+k+i+n	
KWM	a+uok	n+kap-			a+vs+i+ni	
ANT		ntaba	ne+lop	n+eañ	i+sv+i	
	'FINGER, TOE'	'FISH', ²⁵	'FLOWER', ²⁶	'FLYING FISH'		
PSH	*pot(ie)	*(a)m(ou)[]	*tasi[]	*sapi[]		
ERO		n+omu	tasisi	save		
URA		umomu				
NTN		n+om				
WSN	p+si+uul ²²	n+amu				
LEN	p+si+uul ²²	n+am				
NVH	p+si+uul ²³	kam+aam	tihi-			
SWT	n+si+uul ²⁴	kam+am	tihi-	save		
KWM	kwan+p+si+uul ²³	n+amu	tihi-			
ANT	nu+ps-	n+omu	in+tesya-			
	'FLYING FOX', ²⁷	'FOG'	'FULL'	'GROUND', ²⁹		
PSH	*(ŋ)kidai	*(ŋ)masapu	*pua(Ri,d[])	*mamp[]		
ERO	na+ŋkrai	mouap	o+vuar	n+map		
URA						
NTN	k+i			n+si+uul		
WSN	kei			na+fu+t+i+n		
LEN	k+i			n+si+uul		
NVH	kil+av+i+n	a+mhokw ²⁸		n+si+uul		
SWT	kir+av+i+n	i+mahakw ²⁸	u+kwuar	mop+tana		
KWM	kiri	a+mhaku ²⁸	u+kwa			
ANT	ne+krai	in+mōso				

	'HAIR'	'HEAVY'	'HUNGRY', ³⁰	'KIDNEY', ³¹
PSH	*(ŋ)mVdi	*mpVkam[]	*tumasa	*(n)simp[]
ERO		o+mpx+unt+om	temah	ne+sip
URA				
NTN	nɪmwa+mwei-	a+mpɪŋam		
WSN	nɪmwo+mwei-	a+fɪŋom	no+umwus	
LEN	nɪmo+mwi-	pkom	no+umwus	
NVH	nu+ml-	pwam	nu+kumus	
SWT	nɪ+mr-	pwam	nu+kwumah	ka+hip
KWM	nɪ+mwher-	ɪ+pwam	nu+kumwha	
ANT	no+mrɪ-	o+box		
	'MOON'	'NEAR'	'NECK (NAPE)', ³²	'PUT DOWN'
PSH	*ma(p)uka	*mput[]	*pada	*tV(st)(oi)p
ERO		pot+xon	na+vra-noua-	o+tihep
URA				
NTN	mouŋ			
WSN	mouŋ		na+vel-	
LEN	mouk		nɪ+vel-	
NVH	makua		nɪ+vel-	
SWT	makua			
KWM	mokua		nɪ+ver-	
ANT	in+mohox	oh+bot+botet		a+tise
	'SHED SKIN'	'SHUT (adj)'	'TASTE'	'TESTICLES'
PSH	*[]ɪl[]	*[pV]sum[]	*tVŋap	*iatu
ERO	a+ɪl	som+pat	a+tŋap	novse-n+ietu-
URA				
NTN		fum		
WSN		fum		
LEN		uhum		ou+ier+ɪn ³³
NVH		uhum		
SWT		uhum		
KWM		ui sɪm		kwa-n+er-
ANT	yil		a+tŋe	

	'TIE', ³⁴	'VOICE'	'WEAVE'
PSH	*lvkit(ie)	*pia[]	*pus[]
ERO	e+l <i>k</i> +i	na+via-	
URA			
NTN	i+l <i>i</i> is	no+uia-	o+uh
WSN		no+uia-	o+uh
LEN	i+l <i>i</i> is	no+uiaa-	o+uh
NVH	i+l <i>k</i> is		kwuh
SWT			kwuh
KWM	a+ri <i>h</i> +i		kus+i
ANT			a+hoθ

3.3. SUMMARY

It has been suggested in this section that the languages of the SNH form a single family within Austronesian. The supporting evidence consists largely of a number of shared regular and irregular phonological developments, a small number of nevertheless significant grammatical innovations, and - least conclusive - a number of shared lexical innovations. While lexicostatistical evidence in no way strongly supports the existence of this family, I feel that the qualitative evidence is strong enough to override the somewhat negative quantitative evidence. Lexical diversity within the SNH region may be explained other than by suggesting that the languages are not closely related: hamlet rather than village organisation, the existence of very small social groups with little real contact until recently, and other similar social factors may all have contributed to rapid lexical change after the initial break-up of the family.

Within the family, three first-order subgroups were identified: the Eromangan, Tannan, and Aneityumese subgroups. These are well defined phonologically, grammatically, lexically, and lexicostatistically, although for reasons of space the qualitative lexical evidence was not given here. Similar evidence was used to show that the Tannan subgroup consists of two first-order groupings, the Northern and South-Central Dialect Chain Groupings.

4. IMPLICATIONS FOR PROTO-OCEANIC

Although the existence of the SNH family was clearly established in the previous section, I am not as yet in a position to state how the family subgroups within Oceanic. The Southern Melanesia area, comprising the New Hebrides, the Loyalties/New Caledonia region, and possibly Santa Cruz, is recognised as one of the more diverse regions within Oceanic (e.g. Pawley 1975:90ff); however, no systematic investigation of the relationships of all the languages of this area has been carried out. Tryon's (1976) survey, while showing quite clearly the interrelationships of the languages of the New Hebrides, does not concern itself with wider groupings (although it is implicit from his data and conclusions that the SNH languages are not particularly closely related to their northern neighbours). His more recent work (this volume) tentatively suggests that the SNH languages form a closed subgroup, but does not posit any wider subgrouping picture within Oceanic. I have not as yet been able to systematically study the relationships between the SNH languages and their most likely closest relatives - the New Caledonian and Loyalty Island languages to the west, the languages of Santo and Malekula to the north, or the Santa Cruz languages to the far north. Preliminary inspection yields nothing of significance regarding their unity as a subgroup of Oceanic, but the amount of research done so far is insufficient to allow me to state categorically that the SNH languages belong to a distinct group exclusive of any or all of these other languages.

Nevertheless, I am operating under the assumption that the SNH languages form a closed subgroup of Oceanic, and that they may very well prove to be a first-order subgroup of Oceanic. Whatever their genetic position, their nature suggests that some of our earlier ideas on the nature of POC - particularly concerning the POC vowel system and the canonical form of POC words - may have to be changed. In this section I will concentrate on certain implications of a phonological, grammatical, and lexical nature which the establishment of the SNH family has for POC.

4.1. PHONOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Three aspects of POC phonology require some discussion as a result of the facts outlined in earlier sections of this paper: the nature of POC canonical forms; the nature of the POC vowel system; and the nature of certain POC consonants, particularly *ñ and *q.

4.1.1. Canonical Forms

Linguists who have worked mainly with languages of the Eastern Oceanic (EO) subgroup - the 'exemplary' or 'well-behaved' Oceanic languages - have been curiously hesitant in reconstructing POC forms with final consonants. Grace (1969), for example, reconstructed 700 POC etyma, but of these only 53 were reconstructed with a final consonant (although another 121 forms are reconstructed with a final consonant in parentheses, which indicates "that that phoneme may or may not have been part of the form" (Grace 1969:44; emphasis mine)). Pawley is rather more explicit regarding the POC final consonants:

As a general rule ..., PAN final consonants disappear in POC. There are two sorts of exceptions. One category consists of certain transitive verbs in which the final consonant is retained before a transitive suffix, and in fact can be considered part of the suffix ..., but is lost in all other contexts. The other category consists of noun and intransitive verb bases in which the PAN final consonant is supported by a following vowel which usually harmonizes with that preceding the consonant. (Pawley 1972:7; emphasis mine)

Pawley, in fact, reconstructs for POC such forms as *ikan(a) 'fish', *onom(o) 'six', etc. on the basis of the echo-vowel "in some languages", thus assigning to POC a segment not present in PAN, present in only a few regions of Oceanic, and almost always predictable by phonological rules in those regions in which it does occur.

Regarding the retention of final consonants in nouns and intransitive verbs, Pawley finds that "no explanation has been found for the preservation of PAN final consonants in bases of the second category, or for their subsequent loss (in most cases) in EO". (Pawley 1972:7; emphasis mine). The 'explanation' that certain final consonants are preserved because they were directly inherited from PAN, although they were somewhat unstable in POC and/or in a number of its daughter-languages, is apparently rejected.

It is, of course, reasonable to state that, at some stage in the development of Oceanic languages (or of certain subgroups of Oceanic), final consonants in absolute final position began to be lost. This process can be seen in the SNH family: the Eromangan languages retain most POC final consonants; the Tannan languages retain about half, and lose the other half; while Aneityumese shows loss of almost all POC final consonants. A gradual south-north drift could well be postulated, with the southern languages - ANT and the South-Central Dialect Chain Grouping of Tannan - showing considerably more frequent loss of final consonants than the apparently more conservative northern languages.

There is a significant difference, however, between stating that final consonants were unstable in POC or the Oceanic family, and holding the view that final consonants were, as a general rule, lost in POC. Given that a particular PAN form had a final consonant, and that that final consonant is retained in one or more Oceanic languages; and given that there is little likelihood that that form was borrowed by those Oceanic languages from a western AN language; then it is difficult in the extreme to propose that POC may not have reflected that consonant (cf. Grace's view above), or that this form is an unexplained exception to an otherwise general rule of final consonant deletion (cf. Pawley's view above). Despite the fact that PAN final consonants may have come to be unstable in POC, there seems overwhelming evidence to support the view that they were nevertheless retained in POC. The evidence is not as yet sufficient, however, to show whether final consonants were retained in all forms inherited from PAN, or whether this instability dates back to a pre-POC stage of development.

The SNH languages provide a number of interesting types of examples supporting the view that PAN final consonants were retained in POC. The first group to be discussed below are cases in which Grace (1969) reconstructed final-consonants-in-parentheses, and where this consonant is reflected in at least one SNH language. In these cases, I suggest that the parentheses be removed from the reconstructed final consonant. The revised POC form appears in the first column in the examples below, with an approximate gloss and the SNH evidence following.

- | | | |
|--------------|------------|--|
| (1) *inum | 'drink' | NTN SWT a+nɪm, WSN am+nɪm, LEN am+nuumw, NVH nɪm, KWM a+nmw+i. |
| (2) *manuk | 'bird' | ERO menux, URA menuk+u, NTN meniŋ, WSN meniŋ, LEN menuk. |
| (3) *maqudip | 'alive' | ERO a+murep, URA o+morop. |
| (4) *matakut | 'fear' | ERO URA e+metet. |
| (5) *mimiR | 'urinate' | WSN amia+mil+i, LEN amia+mil. |
| (6) *ñamuk | 'mosquito' | ERO u+iomux, URA yomox, NTN ki+maŋ, WSN ki+mwaŋ, LEN NVH SWT mu+muk. |
| (7) *qansan | 'name' | NTN WSN n+erŋ-, LEN n+etŋ-, NVH n+haŋ-, SWT n+aŋ-, KWM n+ahŋ-. ³⁵ |
| (8) *qunsan | 'rain' | NTN n+uhu+n, WSN n+uhuan, LEN n+ihin, NVH n+ehen, SWT n+uahan, KWM n+esin. |
| (9) *qutok | 'brain' | LEN neno+ur+k. |

- (10) *tansik 'sea' ERO tox, NVH tahik, SWT tahak.
 (11) *tokon 'staff, pole' NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM k-a+sk+n
 'crutch, walking-stick'

Two other similar forms should also probably have the parentheses removed from the final consonant:

- (12) *sauq 'far' NVH i+sokw.
 (13) *tuqud 'stand' ERO e+tur, NTN a+tuul, WSN e+tuul, NVH
 a+lel, SWT a+rur, KWM a+rer, (LEN a+il?).

Reconstruction (12) relies on the acceptability of the change POC *q > NVH kw. We have already seen that *q is regularly lost in Tanna. However, there are a few cases of *q adjacent to *u which show similar reflexes to those of *p adjacent to *u, like NVH kw; for example, 79 *mataqu > NVH matukw 'right (hand)', 153 *qutok > NVH -kula 'brain' (with dissimilation of kw to k before u), and possibly 207 *tuqa > NVH a+kwa+s 'old'.

There are two pieces of evidence suggesting that the SNH forms in (13) derive from POC *tuqud and not from POC *tude, thus confirming the presence of the final consonant. One is the WSN form etuul; long vowels occasionally result in Tannan languages from the loss of medial *q: e.g. 175 *nsaqat > NTN a+raat, LEN taat 'bad'; 206 *tuqa > NTN WSN n+mwa-n+taa-, LEN n+mwa-taa-, NVH n+mwei-taa-, KWM taku-taa- 'back'; and so on. More significantly, the NVH form alel shows e as a reflex of *u; but NVH e < *u occurs only as a result of the *u-FRONTING rule (rule (7b) in 2.1.), where *u becomes e before *Cu. Both these pieces of evidence suggest that the POC form from which at least the WSN and NVH forms derive is *tuqud and not *tude.

The second group of lexical items I wish to discuss are cases where Grace (1969) reconstructed final *q in parentheses. Recall that final *q is lost, and final vowels are also lost, in the SNH languages. However, in section 2 it was shown that final vowels were lost first, and the rule deleting final *q applied later. Thus *V-final forms lose the *V, while *Vq-final forms retain the *V and lose the *q. Therefore, items which Grace reconstructed with final *V(q) and which show final *V in SNH languages confirm the presence of final *q.

- (14) *daRaQ 'blood' LEN n+t+taa-, NVH SWT n+t+tau- (with unexplained u).
 (15) *mataq 'green, raw' NTN ami+mta, WSN ame+mta, LEN ami+mra, NVH ami+mra, SWT m+re+mra, KWM amri+mra.

- (16) *panaq 'shoot, arrow' ERO ne+vani (with unexplained i), NTN WSN KWM ni+faŋa, LEN NVH SWT ni+vhaŋa.
- (17) *puaq 'fruit' NTN no+a-, WSN LEN no+ua-, NVH KWM nu+kwa-, SWT kwa-n+kwa-.
- (18) *Ruŋmaq 'house' ERO n+imo, NTN WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM n+imwa.
- (19) *tanaq 'ground' URA dena, WSN nafu+tɪni (with unexplained i), NVH ni+mop+tana, SWT mop+tana.³⁶

A third group to be discussed contain examples of PAN final consonants being reflected in SNH languages, although no such consonant has been reconstructed in the relevant POC form. In these examples, I have added the appropriate consonant to the POC form.

- (20) *maluk 'soft' PAN *lemuk; ERO ne+melux+lux, NTN met+metiŋ, WSN mi+t+mitiŋ, LEN mi+ruk+mi+ruk.
- (21) *motus 'island, cut off' PAN *m-putus; NTN WSN ti+n-mutah, LEN ti+n-murh, KWM ti+ni-mweris.
- (22) *ŋ(a)insan 'when?' PAN *ija(nN); NTN na+ŋhan, WSN NVH na+ŋhiŋ, LEN n+ahan, SWT na+ŋahan, KWM n+es+ŋ.³⁷
- (23) *paŋan 'eat, food' PAN *paŋan; NTN a+ŋu+ŋ (with metathesis), WSN LEN a+uŋiŋ, NVH i+vŋiŋ, SWT o+uŋiŋ, KWM a+vŋiŋ.
- (24) *paRiq 'stingray' PAN *paRih; WSN vilau, LEN vi+raau, NVH vi+laakw, SWT vi+rakw, KWM vi+raakw.³⁸
- (25) *tuqas 'old' PAN *tuqaS; NTN o+as, WSN o+uas, LEN o+was, NVH a+kwas, SWT o+kwah, KWM o+kwas.

The following case is less certain:

- (26) *kato(mŋ) 'basket' PAN *kanTuŋ; NTN WSN ka+ti+m, LEN ka+ri+m.

In addition, the following should be reconstructed with final *q or *R on the basis of (i) final *q or *R in the PAN form and (ii) retention of the last vowel in SNH:

- (27) *luaq 'vomit' PAN *luwaq; ERO e+lua, URA a+lua, NTN eoa, WSN LEN eua, NVH lua, SWT rua.
- (28) *qauR 'bamboo' PAN *qau(rR); ERO URA WSN LEN NVH SWT KWM n+au, NTN n+ao.

- (29) *quluŋaq 'pillow' PAN *quluŋaq; NTN k-o+ulogo, LEN
k-a+luŋa.

In a few other forms, the Tannan languages show accretion of a final consonant which is so far untraceable, but may prove to be of POC origin. I have written these consonants separated by a slash from the POC forms to which they might be added, if confirmatory evidence is forthcoming from other Oceanic languages: thus *moli/s indicates that there is SNH evidence only that the POC form *moli may in fact have been *molis. These forms are:

- (30) *kapudu/(d)l 'dust' NTN WSN LEN n+m+oulul, NVH n+m+okwlul,
SWT KWM n+m+okwrur.
- (31) *moli/s 'citrus' WSN noua-n+m+lh, LEN n+m+lh, NVH
kwa-n+m+lh, KWM kwa-n+m+rh.
- (32) *ŋase/(d)l 'old' NTN a+ŋu+hl, WSN au+ŋ+hl+i, LEN a+hiŋ+hl,
KWM er+ŋhar+a.
- (33) *pasili/k 'grass' NVH mwa-n+vhi+lk, SWT mwa-n+vher+lk.
- (34) *mputo/ŋ 'navel' LEN SWT n+m+pr+ŋ-, NVH n+m+pl+ŋ-, KWM
nu+pwareŋ-.
- (35) *qumu/n 'oven' NTN noa-n+umwan, WSN LEN noua-n+umwan,
NVH kwa-n+emwan, SWT nokwa-n+umwan,
KWM nukwa-n+emwan.³⁹

4.1.2. Vowel System

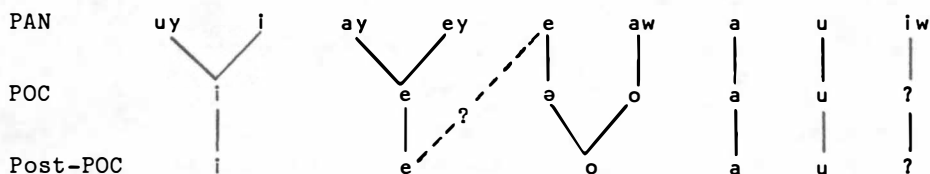
I have argued elsewhere (Lynch 1976a) that there is considerable evidence supporting the view that POC had six, and not five, vowels - i.e. that a vowel *ə should be added to the five already recognised. I do not wish to repeat the evidence in detail here. Briefly, certain types of e/o alternation in Fijian provide one kind of support for the view: e.g. Fijian beta 'be in full bloom' and bota 'ripe, of fruits', both from PAN *betaq. A number of languages also show sporadic o for POC *e (or vice versa): e.g. Kove vovo 'butterfly' < *mpeempee (Ann Chowning, personal communication).

The strongest evidence supporting this view is the apparently unconditioned split in the reflexes of POC *t before *o in the SNH languages. I have shown above that, before front vowels, *t has an s-like reflex, while before *a and *u, *t has a t-like reflex. Before *o, however, some occurrences of *t become s-like (see innovation (1) in 3.2.2.2. above), while others become t-like.

A similar situation exists in certain other New Hebrides languages. Note the following reflexes of POC *tolu 'three': Lehalurup (Banks) has bi-čæl; on Ambrym, Ranon and Fonah have sul, Fali čul, Baiap and Sesive si:, and Port Vato warī-sie; while on Epi Lamenu has selu. In each case the s or č is the regular reflex of *t before front (or high front) vowels. Tryon (1976:16) states, in fact, that as well as occurring as a reflex of *t before front vowels, the č or s in these languages also occur "occasionally before POC o".

I suggest therefore that, while the PAN diphthongs *ay and *ey merged as POC *-e, and PAN *aw became POC *-o, the PAN vowel *e occurring in non-final position remained a central vowel (POC *ə), though quite possibly it had front and non-front allophones. It was only some time after the breakup of POC that non-final *ə merged with one of the final vowels *e and *o; in most cases it merged with *o, although in some words (or in some daughter-dialects) it merged with *e.

The suggested development of the PAN vowels in Oceanic is diagrammed below:



4.1.3. Consonants

The SNH languages provide few insights into the nature of the POC consonants. The variable reflexes of POC *ñ suggest that, though distinct from other nasals, it may well have been merging with *n at the time that the SNH languages separated from other members of Oceanic. As well as the sporadic reflex y or i (as in ERO u+iomux, URA yomox, ANT in+yam < POC *ñamuk 'mosquito'), SWT and KWM also show -ni as a variant of -n for the third person singular possessive suffix (< POC *-ña).⁴⁰ These reflexes suggest that *n may have been undergoing re-interpretation as nI or ny, and thus add some support to the view that *ñ was a palatal nasal.

POC *q is generally lost. However, it is retained in a few cases (142, 153, and probably 79), and in each case it is reflected in the same way as is *p: i.e. as ANT h, and as kw in various Tannan languages (the reflex of *p in the environment of *u). The presence of *q also conditions the *n-Velarisation rule in some Tannan languages, whereby *n > ŋ. This suggests that *q may well have been a velar or post-velar

stop with labialised allophones in certain environments (i.e. in the environment of *u).

4.2. GRAMMATICAL IMPLICATIONS

There appears to be only one grammatical morpheme which needs to be reconstructed for POC on the basis of SNH evidence:

- (36) **ma*- 'marker of drinkable possession' NTN WSN LEN *nĩ+mw-*, KWM *sen+mw-*, ANT *lu+mā-*; Proto-Eastern Oceanic **ma-*.

Up until now, the distinction between edible and drinkable alienable possession had only been reconstructed for EO. With this SNH evidence, it appears that both the distinction and the form marking drinkable possession can be reconstructed for POC.

4.3. LEXICAL IMPLICATIONS

A number of new or modified POC reconstructions can be made on the basis of lexical items occurring in the SNH languages which have cognates in (genetically or geographically) distant Oceanic languages, or which appear to be cognate with forms reconstructed for PAN, Proto-Eastern Oceanic (PEO), Proto-Polynesian (PPN), or Proto-Philippines (PPH). These forms are in addition to the forms already mentioned in this section - see (1) through (36) above. I reconstruct forms with POC **a* (cf. 3.1.2. above) where either SNH or external evidence is insufficient to decide whether **e* or **o* should be reconstructed.

What follows is a list of new POC reconstructions based largely on SNH evidence:⁴¹

- (37) **ap(aə)(ŋ)* 'brother': PAN **ab(ae)ŋ*; ERO URA *av-*.
- (38) **dimpas[]* 'axe': PAN **(r)imbās*; ANT *in+pas*, NTN WSN LEN *ki+paas*, NVH *ki+pas*, KWM *paha*; Akei, Tasiriki (Santo) *basu*; Narango, Araki (Santo) *ripa*; Tangoa *riḗa*; North Malo *rimba*.
- (39) **(k)adu* 'swim': PAN **an(D)uy*; ERO *oru+ŋi*, URA *ale*, NVH *al*, SWT KWM *aru*; Mota (Banks), Marino (Maewo) *garu*; Baetora (Maewo) *ga+garu*; Wailengi (Aoba) *ka+karu*.⁴²
- (40) **kawa* 'rib': NTN *nouŋ+kau+i*, WSN LEN *noua-na+kau*, NVH KWM *kwa-na+kau*, SWT *na+kau-pwĩs*; Wailengi, Lolomatui (Aoba), Raga *nga+ŋgau*; Tambotalo (Santo) *ka+kao*, etc.; PPN **kawakawa*.
- (41) **kəRi(ŋ)* 'dry, shallow, shore': PAN **keRiŋ*; ERO *i+kri*.⁴³
- (42) **koi* 'sharp': ERO *a+xo*; PPN **koi*.

- (43) *lua(η)me(a) 'tongue' (doublet of *a(η)me(a)): ERO ne+luam-, URA na+luame+n, NVH ne+lam-, SWT KWM ne+ram-; Merig (Banks), Peterara, Navenene, Tam, Nasawa, Narovorovo, Baetora (Maewo) luame-; Merlav, Marino (Banks) lueme-; Aulua (Malekula) leme-; Litzlitz (Malekula) ne+lueme-; Mele, Fila lime+na.
- (44) *ma(η)ku(k) 'cup': PAN *maṅkuk; ANT max.
- (45) *mamis[] 'sweet' (cf. POC *mami): PAN *mamis; ANT a+mθa.
- (46) *manu 'to float': ANT a+man+a+man; PPN *manu.
- (47) *matani 'wind': ERO ne+metan 'hurricane'; NTN metan, WSN KWM ni+mītan, LEN NVH ni+mataaṅ, SWT ni+mītan; PPN *matani.
- (48) *pala[] 'mast': ERO ni+val; PPH *pala(R)i(ṅṅ).
- (49) *pekas 'defecate': PAN *bekas 'residue'; ERO o+vxah, NVH i+vkaa, SWT i+vka; PPN *feka+teka; Fijian veka-c+a; Banoni beghas+a; Tolai (Kuanua) peke; etc.⁴⁴
- (50) *peli(R) 'penis': PAN *peliR; ANT in+hele-; Banoni ta+vore.
- (51) *pəna(η) 'thread': PAN *benan; ANT no+hon 'sennit thread'.
- (52) *pitut 'narrow': PAN *piTut; LEN e+vtet+in, NVH i+vte+lakin, SWT i+vtit+irakin, KWM i+vtet+arini.
- (53) *(m)pu(a)kasi 'pig': ERO no+mpxahi, NTN pukis, WSN NVH SWT pukah, LEN pukas, KWM ptkis, ANT pikaθ; Fijian vuaka; Axamb na+m̄puas, Letemboi n+buas, Maxbaxo na+m̄buas, Port Sandwich m̄buas, Malua Bay m̄bukis (and similarly for other Malekula languages); Lironesa, Faulili fuas, Laul buas (Paama); Vowa (Epi) m̄bukah; Bongabonga, Tongariki, Mataso na+m̄bokah, Makura na+m̄bukah (Shepherds); Mele, Fila pokasi; Aniwa poxasi, Futuna pakasi; PPN *puaka.
- (54) *pulas 'turn': PAN *pules; URA o+vohol (metathesis?), NTN WSN o+ulh+in, NVH o+kwlhe+kīn, SWT kwrhe+kīn.⁴⁵
- (55) *pusi 'blow something': PAN *(qS)enbus; ERO URA o+vosi; PPN *pusi.
- (56) *puta 'blind': PAN *buta; NTN WSN o+u, LEN o+w, NVH o+kw, ANT a+bat.
- (57) *(m)p(aə)lan 'butterfly': PAN *b(ae)le(η)ban; ERO ne+mplan.
- (58) *(m)pa(ln)u 'some': NTN ne+in, WSN ni+vein, LEN ni+vin, KWM ne+pwun, ANT hal; PEO *(m)pa(ln)u.
- (59) *mpeempeek[] 'butterfly' (cf. *mpeempee): NTN po+k+pauk, WSN papauṅ, LEN SWT KWM pwapwauk, NVH pwopwauk; Koro (Banks)

bær+k^pwok, Tavio (Epi) kul+bebongo; Molima pepe?wa, Dobu pepekwā (Ann Chowning, personal communication).

- (60) *mpelas 'open': ERO tai-pelah; PPN *felā.
- (61) *mpuak 'betel nut' (cf. *mpua): WSN LEN NVH KWM na+pwok; Banoni bughav+ta (metathesis).
- (62) *(m)pu(ŋ)ku(R) 'behind, buttocks': PAN *puŋku(r); ERO ne+mpuxu.
- (63) *(m)pulaŋ(ie) 'twist together': PAN *bulaŋ; ANT asva+pelañ.
- (64) *(m)pula(t) 'round': PAN *bulat; ANT pul+pul.
- (65) *(m)puso(s) 'top': PAN *pu(n)c(au)c; ERO ra-mpu-; Fijian vuso 'top of a mountain'.
- (66) *(m)puta(k) 'bald': PAN *buTak; ANT iñ+pet.
- (67) *[qa](nñ)anapi 'yesterday': ERO ninu, NTN neniap, WSN neni+v, LEN nenav, NVH ni+v, SWT nanv+v (with intrusive medial v), KWM ne+v, ANT i+yenev; PEO *qananapl.⁴⁶
- (68) *qu(n)tu 'rainbow': ANT in+hutu+ra; PPH *-quNtu.⁴⁷
- (69) *Ruqan 'neck' (cf. *Ruqa): PAN *RuqaN; ERO ta-no+ua-, NTN LEN n+ua-, SWT n+patak-n+ua-.⁴⁸
- (70) *saŋ(ie) 'turn over': PAN *suŋsaŋ; ANT ahi+θañ.
- (71) *s(e)lat 'enter, entrance': ERO selat, noŋun-selat 'door, bay'; PPH *selat 'enter'.
- (72) *suka 'spear': NTN LEN suk, SWT sukw (with unexplained kw); Proto-Malaitan *su'a.
- (73) *tal 'fight': PAN *(t)al(t)al; ERO tar.⁴⁹
- (74) *talen 'return, come back': NTN WSN tel+ŋ, LEN NVH lel+ŋ (LEN initial l unexplained), SWT KWM rer+ŋ; PEO *tale.
- (75) *taŋmane 'man, male' (cf. *ŋmane): ERO na+tman, NTN ie+temaan, LEN ie+ramwaan, NVH ie+lmaan, SWT ie+rman, KWM ie+rmwaan, ANT na+tañañ.⁵⁰
- (76) *teke(q) 'skin': NVH t+ki-, SWT tiki-, KWM tek-; Proto-Malaitan *te'e.⁵¹
- (77) *tolo(nñŋ) 'swallow' (doublet of *toñol): PAN *telen; ANT a+tlen.
- (78) *tuda 'drag': PAN *tun(D)a; ERO tora+tor+ŋi.
- (79) *tumpu 'swell up': ANT a+tob; PEO *tumpu.

N O T E S

1. I am grateful to Bob Blust, Ann Chowning, George Grace, Pete Lincoln, Andrew Pawley, Malcolm Ross, Darrell Tryon, and David Walsh for comments on earlier drafts of this paper; and to the people of Eromanga, Aneityum, and especially Tanna for their assistance over the years. I reserve all credit for errors, misinterpretations, and the more far-fetched flights of fancy.
2. Data were collected from John Naupa, Tom Kiri, Simeon Louo (ERO) and James Foto (URA). An ERO wordlist was produced as part of Lynch (n.d.). Dialect differentiation within ERO appears to be only slight, although no full survey has been attempted.
3. Data on the various speech-traditions on Tanna were collected from numerous people, among whom I should mention Tom Hiua, Misak, Natou, Koukare, John Kalete, Lomhantení, Nímík Lounímala, and Jimmy Iauiek.
4. Much of this information was confirmed by my Aneityumese informant, Thomas Niditauae.
5. My figures are based on a slightly modified Swadesh 200-word list; the URA list is subadequate. Tryon's list is discussed in Tryon 1976.
6. For example, I have written *kansupe and not *k(au)nsupe for 'rat' since the forms in the SNH languages fairly clearly reflect *kansupe and fairly clearly do not reflect *kunsupe.
7. See for example 15 *ndaun : the gloss of the ANT form is 'hair, feather', while the parenthesised gloss 'leaf' is that of the POC form.

8. The rule deleting *q must occur after the rule deleting final vowels, since the vowel before *q is usually retained, not lost. See examples (14) through (19) in section 4.1.1. below.
9. I exclude qualitative lexical evidence from this discussion on two grounds: (1) the number of lexical items apparently unique to one subgroup is quite large, although (11) their actual uniqueness can only be established by checking all other Oceanic languages, a task which can probably never be satisfactorily completed.
10. Lexicostatistical tables were given in 1.1. above.
11. Innovations (1) and (2) appear to have begun to spread southwards into Tanna at least.
12. PTN and PSH forms are reconstructed in an orthography identical to that of POC, and the forms themselves are identical with forms which would be reconstructible for POC should external evidence be found. In PTN and PSH reconstructed forms, *V and *C stand respectively for a proto-vowel and a proto-consonant whose exact quality cannot be precisely determined.
13. WSN -aru suggests that the PTN form may need to be modified.
14. A similar, though not identical, split of *l into l and i is to a certain extent paralleled by the split of *l in ANT into l and j. This will be discussed in more detail in section 3.2.2.1. below.
15. The form *ampa occurs also in NTN, WSN, and LEN, as k+apwa 'no'; the function of a negative verb, however, does not occur in those languages.
16. These subject markers have undergone a great deal of simplification since Inglis described them in 1882. He showed a number of tenses with different markers for all persons and numbers except in the trial, where only one form was found for all persons. My observations in 1976 (Lynch 1976b) suggest that, in these subject markers, the distinction between dual, trial, and plural has been lost, and that person distinctions in the non-singular have also been almost completely lost.

17. Indeed, the *i* in URA, NTN, and WSN may well derive from **a*, since there are some cases at least of **a* becoming *i* before **Ci* : e.g. 23 **kali* > NTN *il* '*dig*'; 25 **kami* > URA *gim* '*we* (excl.)'; etc.
18. ANT also has *in-* as well as *n-* and *nV-* as fused noun-initial prefixes. I do not as yet understand where each is used.
19. ERO, LEN, and ANT suggest **d*, NTN and WSN suggest **l*.
20. cf. Mele *sukai*.
21. cf. Wusi-Valui (Santo) *hebi*.
22. '*Fingernail*'.
23. '*Finger*' only.
24. '*Hand*'.
25. cf. Bek (Banks) *mwomwo*.
26. Banks languages have *tuwas-*, *tawas-*.
27. Ambrym languages have *ngere*, *ngele*.
28. Verb, '*to be foggy*'.
29. Second element from POC **tanaq*. ANT has *nopohtan* which may be cognate. Tutuba (Santo) has *mabo*.
30. For loss of **t* before POC **u*, see also 202 and 207 in section 1.3.
31. ANT *nowanisperheñ* may be cognate.
32. cf. Malua Bay (Malekula) *^mbərə-*.
33. Verb, '*to have testicles, to be not yet castrated*'.
34. Banks and Malekula languages have *iik*, *leki*, etc.

35. The change $*n > \eta$ is irregular. It may possibly be conditioned by the initial $*q$, though normally $*n > \eta$ only if the consonant in the adjacent syllable is $*q$, and then only in NTN, WSN and LEN.
36. cf. also KWM *nɪkwatana* 'valley'.
37. Unexplained loss of $*\eta$ in LEN and KWM.
38. POC $*q$ reconstructed on the same grounds as for (12) $*sauq$ above (q.v.). The Tannan languages show metathesis of the POC vowels.
39. Ann Chowning (personal communication) informs me that Molima has *ʔumula* for 'earth-oven'; however, Molima ! does not derive from POC $*n$.
40. I have not as yet been able to determine the conditions under which *-n* and *-ni* are used in SWT and KWM, although it appears that *-ni* is used with most kinship terms.
41. All New Hebrides data quoted here are from Tryon 1976.
I have reconstructed a final consonant in parentheses, following Blust (in press), to represent the POC consonant that we would expect to occur on the basis of the PAN evidence, but which has not as yet been observed in any Oceanic language.
42. POC $*u < PAN *uy$ is irregular.
43. A number of Santo languages show *koru*, 'oru, etc., meaning 'dry'. These may be cognate, although the final vowel is suspect.
44. Unexplained loss of $*s$ in NVH and SWT.
45. ERO *vol* may derive from this form, or from $*puliq$ (cf. 127 in 1.3. above).
46. ANT *y* suggests POC $*ñ$. However, NTN, WSN, and NVH *ni* (and also KWM *ne?*) suggests the possibility of a reconstruction $*[qa]nañapi$.
47. For ANT *h < POC *q*, see 3.1.3. above.
48. I suggest that PAN $*RuqaN$, POC $*Ruqaŋ$, was reinterpreted as $*Ruqa$ plus third person singular possessive suffix *-n* in SNH. This explanation

allows us to account for the retention of *a, which would normally be lost if it was morpheme-final.

49. POC *l > ERO r is not a regular development, but does occur sporadically.

50. cf. such forms as natmwan, atamwani, laman, norman, etc., in languages of the Banks, Pentecost, Santo, Malekula, Epi, and the Shepherds; and also forms such as Vitu (West New Britain) tamogane from the New Guinea area. These, plus the pair POC *pine, POC *tapine 'woman', suggest that both *ɣmane and *taɣmane should be reconstructed for POC.

51. Final *(q) is reconstructed on the basis of the retention of the second vowel in the Tannan languages.

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