

PROTO-OCEANIC *qi

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1. INTRODUCTION

In a recent paper, "Proto-Austronesian genitive determiners", Lawrence Reid (1981:98-104) reconstructs a Proto-Austronesian (PAN) genitive phrase of the form Noun $-\{n_i\}$ - Noun. Adding to evidence presented by Blust (1974, 1977) he suggests that *i and *ni were phonologically conditioned alternants, *ni occurring after vowel-final nouns, and *i after consonant-final nouns.

The reconstruction of PAN *ni has been accepted by linguists since Dempwolff on the basis of widespread reflexes, but less attention has been paid to *i. The evidence assembled by Reid and Blust in their papers is taken largely from Western Austronesian languages. There is in fact far more widespread evidence for a genitive linking particle *i (or *qi) in Oceanic languages than is indicated by the examples from Oceanic quoted by Blust (1977:4). However Oceanic witnesses provide no indication whatsoever that this linker was merely a phonological variant of *ni.

Pawley (1972, 1973) reconstructed a particle *(q)i for Proto-Eastern Oceanic and more tentatively for Proto-Oceanic (POC), and suggested that it was used to mark inalienable possession. The evidence he cited was of three kinds:

1. The use of i before suffixed pronominal possessors in Standard Fijian and in Kuanua (1973:158), and before personal names (1972:34; no languages cited).
2. The suffix -i or -gi on 'independent' forms of nouns that are usually inalienably possessed in Northern New Hebrides-Banks Islands languages, e.g. Mota mata-i *eye* (1972:115; 1973:158).
3. A linking particle in phrases embodying certain numeral classifiers such as *mata or *pua, indicating an item in a group or series. This particle has the form (')i or (')e in the South-East Solomon Islands, and 'i in Tongan, pointing to POC classifiers *mataqi and *puaqi (1972:34,109).

Now these are three rather different structures. The first and second share the notion of inalienable possession; the first and third share the use of i or 'i to link two nouns, though in very different kinds of phrase. More evidence is required before one can reach any firm conclusion on the distribution and function of *qi in the genitive system of POC, and the nature of the contrast, if any, between *qi and *ni. The object of this paper is to supply that evidence by examining possible reflexes of *qi in a number of Oceanic languages.¹

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After some notes on phonology in section 2, I discuss in section 3 the use of *i* as a genitive preposition with personal noun and pronoun possessors in a number of languages. Section 4 deals with the classifiers found in Tongan and South-East Solomons languages, and the widely dispersed idiomatic expressions derived from these classifiers. Next, in section 5, I examine the function of reflexes of **qi* in the genitive systems of certain Solomon Islands and Vanuatu languages, and finally in section 6, examples in which **qi* is reflected in certain idiomatic or frozen collocations, suggestive of earlier more widespread use, notably the 'independent suffix' of Banks Islands languages. After stating my conclusions in section 7, I briefly discuss the relationship between **qi* and **ni*, and the possibility that the **qi* - **ni* contrast existed in PAN.

Throughout this paper I use the terms alienable and inalienable possession in the familiar way, but with the understanding that the domains referred to by these terms will differ slightly from language to language.

All examples are given in the orthography of the sources, except in the case of Lonwolwol, where I have written Paton's *ε* as *e* and *ο* as *o*.

The following list gives abbreviations of language names cited in the text, and the main sources for those languages:

ARS	Arosi	Capell 1971
BUG	Bugotu	Ivens 1933
FIJ	Standard Fijian	Churchward 1941, Capell 1941
KWM	Kwamera	Ray 1926
KWO	Kwaio	Keesing 1975
KWR	Kwara'ae	Deck 1933
LIF	Lifu	Ray 1926
LON	Lonwolwol	Paton 1971
LUA	Luangiua	Salmond 1976
MTA	Mota	Codrington 1885
NUK	Nukuoro	Carroll 1973
OBA	Aoba	Ivens 1940a, Codrington 1885
PAA	Paama	Crowley 1982
REN	Rennell	Elbert 1975
SAM	Samoan	Pratt 1911, Milner 1966
TIG	Tigak	Beaumont 1979
TOL	Tolai (Kuanua)	Franklin 1962, Mosel 1977
TON	Tongan	Churchward 1953, 1959
TSR	Tasiriki	Ray 1926

2. PHONOLOGY

I shall assume the correctness of the reconstruction **qi* as the POC form of a linking particle cognate with at least some of the forms cited by Pawley (1972 and 1973). There are however some irregularities not accountable for in terms of the established sound correspondences.

2.1 Variation in the consonant

The chart below shows reflexes of POC **q* and **k* in a number of Oceanic languages:

POC	MTA	MRL	KWR	PPN	TON	SAM
*q	∅	∅	∅	?	?	∅
*k	g	g	k	k	k	?

(g = velar fricative)

POC *q disappears from all daughter languages except Proto-Polynesian, where it is reflected as glottal stop. This phoneme is retained in Tongan and a small number of other Polynesian languages. The form 'i which occurs in Tongan is thus a regular reflex of *qi. However this form 'i also appears in some languages in which *q is regularly lost, for example in Kwaio and Kwara'ae, and in Kwara'ae genitive 'i is phonemically distinct from the locative preposition i and the feminine personal article i. Some Samoan collocations involving the classifiers also unexpectedly exhibit glottal stop, for example fua'i fai a *single banana*.

North Vanuatu languages show variation in the form of the independent noun suffix between Mota -i, Merlav -i ~ -gi, and Lakon -gi ~ -n. (The -n suffix probably derives from a different particle, and will not be discussed here.) The conditions governing these alternations are not clear from Codrington's data, but g is a regular reflex of *k and a plausible if irregular reflex of *q.

An alternative hypothesis, that POC had a genitive particle with variants *qi, *ki, would account for the occurrence of -gi in North Vanuatu languages, and 'i in Samoan. However the rarity of a reflex ki in Oceanic languages makes this an unsatisfactory solution. Schütz (1969:41) describes Nguna genitive prepositions ki and ni, with functions similar to o and a; and in the Arosi counting system the following forms occur: rau ki haru *ten thousand* (lit. *leaf-ki-tree*), rawa i niu *one hundred thousand* (lit. *leaf-i-coconut*), and raurau ni ha'aro *one million* (lit. *leaf-ni-tree*) (Capell 1971:52).

In view of the erratic nature of this variation in the consonant phoneme, it seems wisest to assume a sporadic change of the form *q > k.

2.2 Variation in the vowel

The forms 'e and e occur in several South-East Solomon Islands languages, not as the only reflex of *qi, but alternating with 'i or i. In Kwaio the phonological conditions are clear: 'i occurs after nouns with final high vowels, 'e after mid and low vowels. There are exceptions, such as fo'i. (See Keesing 1975: xxx-xxxii.) In other languages the variation on present evidence seems unpredictable, as in the Kwara'ae classifiers ma'e, fa'i and gwa'i (Deck 1933: 8-9).

In Standard Fijian, by a fortunate accident of phonological history, POC *(q)i *locative preposition* (Pawley 1972:85) is reflected irregularly, but consistently, as e, and is thus clearly differentiated from surviving examples of POC genitive *qi, which is reflected as i:

- (1) e mua i liu
 loc. *front* of *forward*
 at the bow (of a ship)

In Tongan, Samoan, and some Polynesian Outlier languages, some collocations involving reflexes of the classifier *mataqi have the form mataa- instead of the expected mata'i- or matai-. Reasons for this variation are discussed below, section 4.1.

3. PERSONAL NOUN POSSESSORS WITH i

In a few languages i occurs in noun-genitive-noun phrases before what I shall call personal noun possessors (PNP). The set of nouns designated by this term varies from language to language, but always includes proper nouns which are names of persons. The languages considered here are Lifu from Loyalty Islands, Standard Fijian, and two Tolai-New Ireland languages, Tigak and Tolai. Table I shows the structure of genitive phrases with personal noun possessors and common noun possessors (CNP) in these languages.

3.1 Lifu

In this language, PNP refers to proper nouns and to words like 'chief' and 'father' when used to refer to individuals (Ray 1926:119). In Lifu, i occurs in all genitive phrases in which the possessor is a PNP, and also before second and third person pronoun possessors. (First person pronoun possessors are indicated by a suffix on the head noun.) No distinction appears to be made between alienable and inalienable possession:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (2) la he i loane
art. head of I.
<i>John's head</i> | (3) la nekö i joxu
art. son of chief
<i>the chief's son</i> |
| (4) la uma i kaka
art. house of father
<i>father's house</i> | (5) la uma i 'ö
art. house of
<i>your house</i> |
| (6) la ite inyö i angate
art. pl. teeth of
<i>their teeth</i> | |

In the case of CNPs, part nouns and other inalienable nouns are followed directly by the genitive noun, as in (7) and (8), whereas alienable nouns are followed by the genitive preposition ne, as in (9) and (10):

- | | |
|--|---|
| (7) la hni ate
art. heart man
<i>the heart of man</i> | (8) la wene la nöjei sinöe
art. fruit art. pl. tree
<i>the fruit of the trees</i> |
| (9) la uma ne la ate
art. house of art. man
<i>the man's house</i> | (10) la nöjei sinöe ne la hlapa
art. pl. tree of art. garden
<i>the trees of the garden</i> |

3.2 Standard Fijian

In Standard Fijian, PNP refers to proper names of persons. The possessive marking before PNPs reflects the complexity of the pronominal possessive system. Four distinct possessive markers occur: i (inalienable possession), nei (general

possession), *kei* (alimentary and subordinate possession), and *mei* (drinkable possession). The last three can be analysed into a possessive classifier (see Lichtenberk, in this volume) plus *i*:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (11) na ulu i Cakobau
art. head of C.
Cakobau's head | (12) na vale nei Pita
art. house class-of P.
Peter's house |
| (13) na uvi kei Pita
art. yam class-of P.
Peter's yam | (14) na sucu mei Pita
art. milk class-of P.
Peter's milk |

In addition, in the paradigm of suffixed possessive pronouns used to indicate inalienable possession, *i* appears before non-singular first person exclusive forms only (Pawley 1973:158; Churchward 1941:27):

- (15) na tina i-keimami
art. mother 1 pl.excl
our mother

CNPs, if animate, normally follow the appropriate pronominal possessive construction:

- (16) na no-dratou waqa na cauravou
art. class-their canoe art. young man
the young men's canoe

However a prepositional construction with *ni* is also available to CNPs, and this neutralises the distinction between the different types of possession as well as expressing genitive relationships other than possession:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (17) na yaca ni gone oqō
art. name of child this
the child's name | (18) na vale ni vuli
art. house of learn
the school house |
|---|---|

Note also that a non-productive pattern of genitive phrases with a linking particle *i* before CNPs does occur in Fijian. I will discuss these in a later section.

3.3 Tigak

In Tigak, the PNP category includes proper nouns and kinship nouns. If the genitive phrase expresses inalienable possession, the PNP is introduced by *i* and the head noun carries a possessive suffix:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (19) tang lingi-na i Gamsa
art. voice-his of G.
Gamsa's voice | (20) na tiga -na i Gamsa
art. brother-his of G.
Gamsa's brother |
| (21) a patu-na i tiga -na
art. head-his of brother-his
his brother's head | |

If the genitive phrase expresses alienable possession, the PNP is introduced by *i* or *te*:

- (22) ta sasapulai i tiga -k
art. payment of brother-my
payment for my brother

- (23) tang lui te Makeo
 art. *house of M.*
Makeo's house

For CNPs, the genitive noun directly follows the suffixed noun in cases of inalienable possession, as in (24), or is introduced by the prepositions *ina* or *tana* in cases of alienable possession, as in (25) and (26):

- (24) tang lingi-na tang ulina gura
 art. *voice-her art. woman this*
this woman's voice
- (25) a aisok tana vap (26) mamana ot ina masut
 art. *work of people* pl. *thing of bush*
people's work *things of the bush*

(The distinction between *i* and *ina* on the one hand and *te* and *tana* on the other, is not clear from the few examples in Beaumont 1979.)

3.4 Tolai

In Tolai (Kuanua) PNP refers to human nouns. In this language the PNP category selects *i* when inalienable possession is expressed, and *kai* in cases of alienable possession. *Ka* is the possessive morpheme or classifier to which pronominal possessive suffixes are attached, and I would analyse *kai* as composed of *ka* plus *i*. This construction is thus similar to the corresponding one in Standard Fijian:

- (27) a nuknuk i To Kadik (28) a kak i ra tutana
 art. *thought of T. K.* art. *leg of art. man*
the plan of To Kadik *the man's leg*
- (29) lima i dat (30) a pal kai ra tutana
 art. *hand of 1 pl.incl* art. *house class-of art. man*
our hands *the man's house*
 (cf. *ka-ugu pal my house*)

CNPs, on the basis of the data available to me, must be divided into animate and non-animate. Part-nouns with animate but non-human possessors are followed directly by the CNP, as in (31) and (32), whereas inanimate possessors in phrases expressing product, substance or part-whole relationships are introduced by the connective particle *na*, which I have here glossed *of* although it has a number of other functions:

- (31) a ulu ra eu (32) a kau ra pap
 art. *head art. fish* art. *leg art. dog*
the head of the fish *the dog's leg*
- (33) a mapi na davai (34) a kap na tava
 art. *leaf of tree* art. *cup of water*
the leaf of a tree *the cup of water*

A gap in this set of data for Tolai is the category of alienable possession with common noun possessors. This may be a function of the fact that PNP in Tolai includes all human nouns. Relationships which can be unequivocally classed as alienable do not occur freely with entities other than human possessors.

3.5 Conclusions

In these four languages, PNPs are preceded by *i*, whereas CNPs are not. More significantly, it is apparent that it is the genitive noun which selects *i*, not the head noun nor the type of possession. Pawley (1972:58) reconstructs a POC personal and pronominal article **i*, and a possible connection between this article and the use of *i* before personal nouns and pronouns seems an obvious possibility. However, in none of these languages does *i* occur as a form of the personal article. I will leave this question for the moment and return to it in section 6.

Table 1			
Structure of noun-genitive-noun phrases in Lifu, Standard Fijian, Tigak and Tolai.			
LIFU	PNP		CNP
	Inalienable	NP <i>i</i> NP	NP NP
	Alienable	NP <i>i</i> NP	NP <i>ne</i> NP
STANDARD FIJIAN	PNP		CNP
	Inalienable	NP <i>i</i> NP	NP <i>ni</i> NP
	Alienable	NP <i>nei</i> <i>kei</i> NP <i>mei</i>	NP <i>ni</i> NP
TIGAK	PNP		CNP
	Inalienable	NP-suff. <i>i</i> NP	NP NP
	Alienable	NP <i>i/te</i> NP	NP <i>ina/tana</i> NP
TOLAI	PNP		CNP
	Inalienable	NP <i>i</i> NP	NP NP (animate) NP <i>na</i> NP (inanimate)
	Alienable	NP <i>kai</i> NP	

4. THE CLASSIFIERS

Pawley (1972:35,59 and 109) reconstructs three numeral classifiers for Proto-Eastern Oceanic: *po-qi and *pua-qi, evidently non-contrasting variants "selected by nouns denoting spherical objects", and *mata-qi, glossed *individual unit of series or class*. Reflexes of these classifiers are found in Polynesian (PN) languages, particularly Tongan, and in Cristobal-Malaitan languages of South-East Solomonic.

4.1 Polynesian

The classifier functions referred to by Pawley are directly reflected in the following Tongan examples, showing special counting forms used for different commodities:

- (35) ha fo'i niu / 'ufi / au 'e taha
 art. class. *coconut yam piece of thatch* num.part. *one*
one coconut / yam / piece of thatch
- (36) ha mata'i ika 'e taha
 art. class. *fish* num.part. *one*
one fish
- (37) fua'i ika
 class. *fish*
fish roe
- (38) fua'i 'ufi
 class. *yam*
fruit-like excrescences of yam plant

In addition, Tongan has other classifiers which incorporate the particle 'i: taua'i *pair of*, and lau'i *sheet of*, the latter applied to flat objects (cf. lau *leaf*):

- (39) ha taua'i niu 'e hiva
 art. class. *coconut* num.part. *nine*
nine pairs of coconuts
- (40) ha lau'i papa
 art. class. *timber*
a plank
- (41) ha lau'i sio ata
 art. class. *glass*
a sheet of glass

Example (41), and (42)-(44) below, show that this structure has been productive in post-contact times:

- (42) mata'ifika
 class-*figure*
numeral
- (43) mata'itohi
 class-*write*
letter of alphabet
- (44) mata'ipeni
 class-*pen*
pen nib

Compounds of similar structure occur in Samoan, although reflexes of these classifiers are not a productive part of the counting system as in Tongan:

- (45) mata'inūmela
 class-*number*
numeral
- (46) fua'ifa'i
 class-*banana*
a single banana

- (47) fuaitau
class- ?
a line of a song

In both Tongan and Samoan, mata'i- and a variant matā- occur in a wide range of idiomatic expressions. The erratic nature of this variation is clear from the following examples:

(48)	TONGAN	SAMOAN	
	mata'italo	matātalo	<i>taro tops for planting</i>
	mata'ihuhu	matāsusu	<i>nipple</i>
	matātangata	mataitagata	<i>fine-looking man</i>
	mata'ikoloa	mata'i'oloa	<i>most highly esteemed item</i>
	matāfanga	matāfaga	<i>beach</i>

There are a number of possible explanations of the matā- forms (which are prevalent in PN Outlier languages), none of them entirely satisfactory:

1. i has been assimilated to the preceding vowel, with concomitant lengthening of the a. This does not seem a particularly natural sound change.
2. The long ā may represent assimilation of the PN genitive prepositions a or o. It is quite plausible that the PN genitive particle should be substituted for 'i or i, of which the function is opaque in PN, but not at all apparent why this should have happened in some cases but not in others.
3. The matā- forms are nominal compounds of the kind that are common throughout Oceanic, composed of head noun + modifier noun. Although lengthening of the final vowel of the first element in a compound is not a general rule in PN there are cases where this occurs. For example, in Tokelau suffixed nominalisations of transitive verbs, if compounded with an incorporated object, regularly show such vowel-lengthening:

- (49) vali *to paint*, valiga *painting*, valigāfale *housepainting*

This explanation seems the most satisfactory. See also my comment on Kwara'ae nominal compounds below, end of section 5.1.

The semantic range of Tongan and Samoan mata- compounds embraces *point* or *prominent part of something*, where the connection with mata *eye* is most apparent, as in the words for *nipple* and *taro-tops*; or *foremost and best*, as in Samoan mataitōga *the most valuable fine mat of a collection*. Other terms are semantically opaque, suggesting considerable antiquity:

- (50) SAM mata'ifale
house
incest

Cognates of many of these forms, and other very similar compounds, occur in PN Outlier languages:

(51)	NUK	LUA	TON	REN	
	madaa ua	makaa ko'i	mata'iuha		<i>raindrop</i>
	madaa moni	makaa va'a		mataabaka	<i>canoe prow</i>
	NUK hua i gadea	<i>side of canoe away from outrigger</i>			
	REN huaa ga'akau	<i>fruits</i>			

4.2 Cristobal-Malaitan

These classifiers are retained in the Cristobal-Malaitan languages, along with a number of other classifying particles which incorporate the linker (')i or its variant (')e (see section 2.2). The following examples are representative:

- (52) *mata-qi
- | | | |
|-----|-------------|--------------------------------------|
| KWR | ma'e 'ai | <i>stick</i> |
| | ma'e fera | <i>a particular space in a house</i> |
| | ma'e fata'a | <i>a word</i> |
| KWO | maa'e mae | <i>descent group</i> |
| | maa'e obi | <i>wrist length of shell money</i> |
| SAA | maai nume | <i>house door</i> |
| | maai deni | <i>a wind</i> |
- (53) *po-qi
- | | | |
|-----|------------------|---------------------------|
| KWR | fa'i nui | <i>a coconut</i> |
| | fa'i dangi | <i>a particular day</i> |
| | fita fa'i leka'a | <i>how many journeys?</i> |
| KWO | fo'i bata | <i>a small bead</i> |
| | fo'i ka'o | <i>a bamboo internode</i> |
- (54) *pua-qi
- | | | |
|-----|-----------|----------------|
| ARS | hua i i'a | <i>a fish</i> |
| | hua i hau | <i>a stone</i> |
- (55) KWR gwa'i fau *big boulder* (cf. gwa head)
gwa'i salo *cumulus cloud*
- | | | |
|-----|-------------|---|
| KWO | tofu'i boo | <i>piece of pork</i> (cf. tofu cut) |
| | fuu'i wane | <i>group of men</i> (cf. fu'u bunch) |
| | lafa'e alo | <i>portion of taro</i> (cf. lafa portion) |
| SAA | polo i ha'a | <i>strand of shell money</i> |
| | pwire i eu | <i>length of bamboo</i> |
| | mola i uhi | <i>10,000 yams</i> |
| | rau i helu | <i>10,000 coconuts</i> |
| ARS | kora i uhi | <i>Haliotis shell</i> (cf. kora round object) |
| | kora i hau | <i>skull</i> |

Whereas the particle 'i which occurs in the Tongan classifiers is not a productive element in the grammar of that language, Cristobal-Malaitan classifier phrases with (')i are examples of a structure that is part of the genitive system of a number of South-East Solomonian languages. This structure is examined in the next section.

5. GENITIVE PHRASES IN SOME SOUTH-EAST SOLOMONIC AND NORTH AND CENTRAL VANUATU LANGUAGES

In certain South-East Solomonian and North and Central Vanuatu languages, reflexes of the particle *qi occur in phrases of a very different type from those of the languages considered in section 3, and frequently contrasting

with another genitive particle, *ni*. Ivens' attempts to distinguish *i* from *ni* in languages where both occur are all confusion. Capell, writing of Arosi, refers to "the relators *i* and *ni*, *of*, between which there does not seem to be any meaning difference, *gare i noni child of man ... madora i dangi time of day*. These nouns seem to belong to the part-whole sub-group, and perhaps *ni* forms are just a little more separate ... *dangi ni mamaro day of rest* (as against the above *time of day* which is inherent in the day, while *rest* is not)" (1971:61).

The most complete and coherent published description of the genitive system of a South-East Solomonian language is that of Deck for Kwara'ae. Moreover it describes a contrast between *i* and *ni*. I start with a summary of his account (Deck 1933:11, 15-16).

5.1 Kwara'ae

In inalienable relationships such as part-whole or body part, the possessed noun carries the third person singular possessive suffix *-na*, and the genitive noun follows directly, as in (56) and (57):

- | | |
|---|--|
| (56) 'ae-na sa Pita
leg-suff. art. P.
Peter's leg | (57) rara -na 'ai
branch-suff. tree
the branch of the tree |
|---|--|

If an alienable noun has an animate possessor, the genitive noun follows the possessed noun directly, without any intervening suffix or particle. This construction expresses true possession or ownership:

- (58) luma sa Pita
house art. P.
Peter's house

When the genitive noun is inanimate, an alienable noun is followed by the particle *ana*, composed of the possessive classifier *a-* and the third person singular suffix:

- (59) buka ana isufuta'a
book class-suff. genealogy
the book of the genealogy

Fourthly, the genitive preposition *ni*, says Deck, is used when the head noun does not take the possessive suffix *-na*, that is, is classed as alienable. "This preposition *ni* ... expresses not possession, but association or designation":

- | | |
|---|---|
| (60) wae ni rao
man of work
servant | (61) 'aba fola ni lukata'ilana
class paper of divorce
bill of divorcement |
|---|---|

Finally, according to Deck, "the genitive preposition '*i* ... becomes the substitute for the possessive suffix *-na* when abstract expressions are desired":

- | | |
|--|--|
| (62) 'ae 'i wae
leg of man
human leg | (63) mafolo 'i 'ai
block of tree
block of wood |
| (64) fakala 'i kwaro
egg of k. shell
pearl | |

Two points of interest emerge. Firstly, *ni* is associated with alienable relationships, and *i* with inalienable relationships. Secondly, nouns introduced by *i* or *ni* are non-specific, and function purely as modifiers of the head noun. I think this is what Deck means by the phrase "abstract expressions". Compare example (56) with (62), and (57) with (63). A variety of relationships may be expressed by these genitive phrases: body parts, substance, product or attribute, but the genitive noun is always non-specific or generic, and the whole phrase is a lexicalised compound referring to a recognised entity. Nominal compounds with the same connotations also occur in Kwara'ae, and Deck provides the following comparisons:

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|--|-----|--|
| (65) | maga 'ai | | cf. | maga-na 'ai |
| | <i>seed tree</i> | | | <i>seed-suff. tree</i> |
| | <i>seed</i> | | | <i>the seed of a tree under discussion</i> |
| (66) | ngisingisi 'ai | | cf. | ngisingisi-na 'ai |
| | <i>chip tree</i> | | | <i>chip -suff. tree</i> |
| | <i>chips</i> | | | <i>chips of a particular tree</i> |

Deck explains these nominal compounds as cases where the 'i is dropped "though originally there". It seems more likely that both structures are available to speakers, and that in different cases one or the other form has become lexicalised.

5.2 Bugotu

Bugotu genitive phrases collected from an informant also show clearly a contrast between possession by a specific possessor, indicated by the suffix *-ña* on the head noun, and non-specific possession, indicated by the use of the linker *i*. The *i* form does not however appear to be used with human possessors:

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------------------|--|-----|------------------------------|
| (67) | ulu -ña fei | | cf. | ulu i fei |
| | <i>head-suff.</i> | | | <i>head of fish</i> |
| | <i>the head of the fish</i> | | | <i>a fish head</i> |
| (68) | legu -ña hore | | cf. | legu i hore |
| | <i>stem-suff. canoe</i> | | | <i>stem of canoe</i> |
| | <i>the stem of the canoe</i> | | | <i>canoe-stem</i> |
| (69) | kaukau-ña na mane | | cf. | kaukau mane (+kaukau i mane) |
| | <i>finger-suff. man</i> | | | <i>finger man</i> |
| | <i>the man's finger</i> | | | <i>human finger</i> |

Ivens (1933:150) gives what he calls "abstract" genitive phrases from Bugotu, such as *na aheahe i* have *the breath of life*. He comments that the particle *ni* occurs only rarely in Bugotu, whereas in some other South-East Solomonic languages, such as Nggela and Longgu, it appears to have supplanted *i*. It seems probable that a clear semantic distinction which formerly obtained between ('*i*) and *ni* has become neutralised in many languages.

5.3 Lonwolwol

Relevant data for the Vanuatu languages have not been easy to find. There is evidence of a tendency for the reflex of **qi* to disappear from the environments where we might expect it. The contrast between specific and non-specific

genitives is fully documented in the case of Lonwolwol (Paton 1971:32-34). This language, like others of the region, has lost the final vowel of the third person singular possessive suffix, which is reflected as -n. Inalienable possession by specific possessors is expressed, as in the languages considered above, by the use of this suffix on the head noun:

- (70) hela -n vanten
brother-suff. man
the man's brother

However there are also phrases in which the head noun is followed directly by the possessor noun: "These shorter forms are found to be compact compound nouns almost technical terms, denoting things which are entities by their own right, and not to be analysed as denoting things or persons as related to other things or persons" (Paton 1971:30). Note the following comparisons:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|----------|-----|-------------------|
| (71) | neti-n | vanten | cf. | neti vanten |
| | <i>baby-suff. man</i> | | | <i>baby man</i> |
| | <i>the man's son</i> | | | <i>baby</i> |
| (72) | alu -n | barbar | cf. | alu barbar |
| | <i>skin-suff. pig</i> | | | <i>skin pig</i> |
| | <i>the pig's hide</i> | | | <i>pigskin</i> |
| (73) | meta-n | mak susu | cf. | mete susu |
| | <i>eye -suff. my breast</i> | | | <i>eye breast</i> |
| | <i>my nipple</i> | | | <i>nipple</i> |

I think we can assume that the compound forms show phonetic loss of a linking *i*. Two kinds of evidence support this view. Firstly, loss of genitive *i* appears to be a synchronic process in Aoba and Paama, as we shall see shortly. Secondly, the modification of the second vowel in *mete susu* (cf. *meta-eye*) is consistent with assimilation to a following *i*. Note the following Lonwolwol dictionary entries:

- (74) vera- *hand of* (suffix-taking)
 vere- *handle* (compound forming)
 vere woh *paddle handle*

I do not have sufficient data to know if this is a regular process in Lonwolwol, but it is similar to the assimilation which takes place in Kwaio genitive phrases (see section 2.2 above), of which the following is a typical example:

- (75) KWO lafa *portion* lafe'e alo *portion of taro*

The Lonwolwol cognate of *ni* is *ne*, and as in Kwara'ae it occurs after a head noun which is not "suffix-taking", that is, after alienable nouns, with meanings *of*, *to do with*, or *for the purpose of*:

- (76) gehan ne tel
work of garden
gardening work
- (77) we ne mūnan
water of drink
drinking water

To summarise, the genitive noun in both these types of phrase is non-specific, and the semantic contrast between the two types is the same as that between Kwara'ae *i*-phrases and *ni*-phrases.

5.4 Aoba

In their descriptions of Aoban, both Ivens and Codrington refer to the optional use of the particle *i* between the two nouns of a genitive phrase:

- (78) qatu boe, qatu i boe
 head pig
 pig's head

Ivens also gives a disorganised account of phonological modification of the final vowel of the head noun of the genitive phrase, which in every case is compatible with assimilation to a following *i* (1940:349).

Codrington makes the following very relevant comment: "If the hand of a definite man, or the wing of a definite bird, is in view the Pronoun of the Third Person is suffixed to the former Noun" (1885:422). Here again we see the suffixed form for specific possessors contrasted with non-specific or generic genitive phrases, some of which exhibit the linker *i*.

5.5 Paama

More detailed evidence of the instability of *i* in Vanuatu languages is provided by Crowley's (1982) study of Paama. Inalienable possession by animate possessors is marked by the suffix *-n* on the head noun. Inalienable relationships in which the genitive noun is inanimate, that is the part-whole, product and substance relationships with which we are now familiar, are expressed by juxtaposition of head noun and genitive noun, except in a certain restricted set of phonological environments in which there is a linking particle *i*:

- (79) mete i tan
 eye ground
 mound made over planted yam
- (80) valenge i hat
 hollow rock
 cave
- (81) soko i āv
 remains firewood
 firewood chips

Crowley devotes some space to the mystery of this *i* (1982:91,103f). He refers to the independent noun suffix of North Vanuatu languages, and to the use of *i* with proper noun possessors in Fijian, but appears unaware that *i* is an element in the genitive system of several North Vanuatu and South-East Solomonian languages, with a function similar to that of Paama *i*. We can assume that in Paama it was once used in a wider range of non-specific inalienable genitive phrases, although now retained in only a few phonological environments.

5.6 Miscellaneous

Finally, fragments of relevant information are to be found in Ray (1926). Ray's analysis of genitive phrases in Tasiriki is curious: in the expression of inalienable possession, *ni* is the particle used if the *genitive noun* is also inalienable, *i* if the genitive noun is alienable. This dubious rule is not in

fact supported by his examples, which do however suggest a contrast between specific and non-specific possessors, the former marked with *ni*, the latter with *i* (1926:374):

- (82) 'ere ni tama -mim
face of father-2 sg.
your father's face
- (83) ima ni no -mim tavasao
house of class-2 sg. servant
your servant's house
- (84) venatu ni Leban
daughter of L.
Leban's daughter
- (85) venatu i takuni
daughter of man
daughter of a man
- (86) ra'u i 'au
leaf of tree
leaf of a tree

In (83), *tavasao* is certainly not an inalienable noun, as the use of the possessive classifier *no-* indicates. It does however have definite reference.

Ray's account of Kwamera, South Vanuatu, includes the following examples of *i*-phrases:

- (87) numa i nei
leaf of tree
leaf of a tree
- (88) rer i yerama
heart of man
heart of man
- (89) me i fage
handle of shooter
bow

Note that Ray's glosses are not inconsistent with a non-specific interpretation of the genitive noun.

6. RELICS

Many Oceanic languages which have no reflex of *qi in the possessive system, retain as lexical items a number of compound words which contain a linker *i*. Many of these items are idiomatic, metaphorical, or obscure.

In Tongan, in addition to the many compounds with *mata'i-*, we find the following:

- (90) matala 'i akau
flower of tree
flower
- (91) kapakau 'i kava
?wing of ?
variety of yam
- (92) tefito 'i ngāue
base of work
principal work
- (93) tupu'a 'i lao
ancient of law
ancient law
- (94) ko e mata'i hele
foc. art. class. knife
the knife-blade
- cf. ko e mata 'o e hele
of
the blade of the knife

- (95) ko e ngako 'i puaka cf. ko e ngako 'o e puaka
 foc. art. fat pig of
 the lard the fat of the pig

Examples (94) and (95), from Churchward (1953:249), show a contrast between a lexicalised genitive phrase with non-specific possessor introduced by 'i, and the regular possessive structure in which a specific possessor noun is introduced by 'o.

Fijian is also a rich source of these survivals. The productive pattern for genitive phrases in Standard Fijian is NP-ni-NP, and Churchward comments (1941:35) that i before common nouns in the genitive phrase is found only after vula *month*, as in na vula i katakata *the hot months*. There are however numerous other forms with i:

- | | |
|--|--|
| (96) na mua i liu
art. front of forward
the bows of a ship | (97) vua i cake
wind of upwards
East wind |
| (98) nātu i cake
line of upwards
the East, windward islands | (99) gauna i liliwa
time of cold
cold season |
| (100) vasu i taukei
moBroSo of indigenous
mother's brother's son, born in mother's village | |
| (101) vatavata i ra lako
? of pers.art. fly
riddle | |

Standard Fijian also has a number of compounds with mata, most having ni but some i as the linking particle. There is no suggestion of the classifier use of mata, except perhaps in the phrases liu mata i rua, mata i tolu *go ahead in two ranks, or in three ranks*. However the semantic connection with *eye* or *point* is usually apparent:

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| (102) mata i lalai | <i>fine-textured</i> |
| mata i lelevu | <i>coarse-textured</i> |
| mata i taliga | <i>large axe; hammerhead shark</i> |
| mataitūtū | <i>people of the same yavusa (clan)</i> |
| matādravu, mata ni dravu | <i>fireplace</i> |

The relic which has caused most comment is the so-called independent noun suffix of North Vanuatu languages. This suffix is attached to inalienable nouns when they occur as free forms rather than bound to a suffixed pronoun:

- (103) MTS qatu-i head na qatu-na *his head*
 sasa-i name na sasa-na *his name*

It seems likely, on the basis of evidence from the other languages we have examined that this suffix formerly linked two nouns in a 'genitive relation'.

It is reasonable to assume that in North Vanuatu languages an inalienable possessive particle *qi "became attached to the noun as a suffix and was then reinterpreted, either as part of the noun base, or as a gender marker rather than a possessive" (Pawley 1972:115). There is less evidence for the suggestion made in the same paragraph, that this independent noun suffix originally occurred before personal noun possessors.

While it is the case that in a few North and Central Vanuatu languages, including Aoba (Codrington 1885:422) and Lonwolwol (Paton 1971:34), the head noun does not carry the possessive suffix if the possessor is a personal name, nevertheless the weight of evidence indicates that the usual possessive structure with personal name possessors was the noun stem plus possessive pronominal suffix, with or without a personal article before the proper noun. The following examples from diverse languages justify a POC reconstruction of this possessive structure:

(104)	Tigak:	tang lingi-na i Gamsa	<i>Gamsa's voice</i>
	Roviana:	tasi-na e lone	<i>John's brother</i>
	Bugotu:	toga-ña Mere	<i>Mary's sister</i>
	Kwara'ae:	'ae-na sa Lysias	<i>Lysias' foot</i>
	Merlav:	na lima-n Wenag	<i>Wenag's hand</i>
	Paama:	hei-n Meri	<i>Mary's head</i>
	Eromanga:	iteme-n Simon	<i>Simon's father</i>

The independent suffix derives from a very different kind of phrase. Codrington's description is significant:

The Independent Substantives are so called because these are names of parts, members, things in relation to something which possesses or includes them, but are by this special termination shown to be in thought and in grammar free for the time from this dependence. Thus an eye is in the true form *mata* ... and when any one's eye is spoken of ... this is the stem to which the suffix is applied; *namatana* his eye. But if an eye is spoken of independently of any person, or any organization, the word assumes the termination *i* and becomes *matai* not *mata*.

(1885:260)

We have here a rather well-concealed case of the specific - non-specific contrast. Deck, writing of Kwara'ae, uses wording that is strikingly similar:

When the part of the body is used in the abstract, without reference to any particular person, the possessive suffix is dropped and the genitive preposition 'i is used: 'aena wae the leg of a particular man in view, but 'ae 'i wae, the leg (of man).

(1933:11)

In Mota the expression of non-specific possession has gone a step further, with the dropping of the second noun phrase.²

7. CONCLUSIONS

7.1 The function of POC *qi

I now look at genitive phrases in Arosi, where the two structures which have concerned us exist conveniently side by side. Phrases with specific NP possessors follow the common pattern for South-East Solomonian languages: an inalienable head noun carries the possessive suffix, as in (105) and (106); an alienable head noun is followed by the possessive classifier *a-* plus the appropriate possessive suffix, as in (107) and (108). In both cases the noun-marker or article *i*, termed 'non focus' by Capell (1971:61), precedes the genitive noun:

- (105) ia gare-na i noni
 art. child-suff.art. man
the man's child
- (106) na uwa -na i noni
 art. foot-suff. art. man
the man's foot
- (107) na ruma ana i noni
 art. house class-suff. art. man
the man's house
- (108) mwaeraha adaau i Wango
 chief class-suff.3pl. art W.
the chief of the Wango people

The genitive prepositions *i* and *ni* also occur in Arosi, with the same connotations noted above for other languages:

- (109) ruma ni maho i ngau
 house of thing of eat
storehouse
- (110) nunu i 'abe
 shape of body
carved image
- (111) gare i noni
 child of man
human child
- (112) gare i maa
 child of eye
pupil
- (113) na hereho i ngau 'ana i gare
 art. thing of eat food-class.-suff. art. child
the child's food

Although in Arosi the reanalysis has not taken place, these examples, in particular (113) and the contrasting pair (105) and (111), suggest conditions under which a noun marker or article *i* could be reinterpreted as a possessive marker. This is what I suggest has happened in the four languages considered in section 3, in which *i* occurs as a genitive preposition in phrases with personal noun possessors, which are, of course, highly *specific*.

In spite of the tantalising agreement in the use of *i* meaning *of* before PNPs in Lifu, Standard Fijian, Tigak and Tolai, and the fact that they are not geographically adjacent, it seems wisest to attribute the similarity to parallel development. In each case the personal article *i* has been reinterpreted as a genitive *i*. The Arosi examples given above show that in terms of surface ambiguity this is a well-motivated change. Significantly, none of these languages appears to make use of personal articles. Secondly, it appears that the older *i*-phrases ceased to be a productive part of the grammar, although in Fijian at least numerous examples of these remain, in phrases of undoubted antiquity. Some curious features of the Tolai genitive system can perhaps be attributed to traces of the formerly productive *i* genitives, for example the including of 'canoe' in the class of nouns which select *i*:

- (114) TOL a lua i ra oaga
 art. front of art. canoe
 the bow of the canoe

The evidence indicates that an early stage of Oceanic had a genitive particle *qi, which indicated non-specific or generic possession of inalienable nouns: entities which are a part of, or composed of, or the product of, or a particular kind of some other thing. We can plausibly add, "unit of a series or class". This type of phrase is a frequent vehicle for metaphor or ritual terms:

- (115) ARS gare i maa pupil
 ruma i bao house in which dead body of child is
 house child preserved
 PAA vola i tas skull
 container sea
 FIJ ulu i meri condolence gift
 head ?

Nominal compounds existed alongside i-phrases in most languages, and the availability of this alternative form with the same semantic structure and order of elements probably explains why i has disappeared from so many languages.

7.2 The *qi - *ni contrast

We can now comment on the contrast between *qi and *ni. This is well documented in Kwara'ae and Arosi. In Lonwolwol, it will be recalled, *ni is reflected as ne, and traces of *qi survive only in certain morpho-phonemic patterns, so that in this language the contrast is between ne and Ø. These witnesses agree in that reflexes of *ni occur in genitive phrases of which the head noun is not 'suffix-taking', i.e. is alienable, and reflexes of *qi in phrases of which the head noun is inalienable. Current subgrouping theory considers South-East Solomonic and North and Central Vanuatu to be different primary sub-groups of Oceanic, so on this basis we may reconstruct the *qi - *ni contrast for POC.

It is obvious that the kinds of relationship expressed by ni-phrases (e.g. purpose, location, occupation, attribute), are sufficiently like those expressed by i-phrases to make coalescence of the two structures a likely development. As we saw earlier, ni is the productive genitive particle of Standard Fijian, i surviving only in some archaic forms. Evidence that ni has generalised the functions of *ni and *qi is provided by the non-contrasting variation in the following pairs:

- (116) gauna i liliwa cf. gauna ni leqa
 time of cold time of distress
 cold season time of shortage
 (117) ulu i meri cf. ulu ni vanua
 head of ? head of land
 condolence gift headland
 (118) matādravu, mata ni dravu
 eye ash
 hearth

Interestingly, both non-specific and specific possession may be expressed by the structure NP-ni-NP, suggesting a tendency for ni to invade the full range of possessive expressions:

- (119) na ulu ni tamata
 art. head of person
 human heads
- na ulu -na na tamata oqō / na ulu ni tamata oqō
 art. head-suff. art. person this
 this person's head

7.3 PAN *qi?

At present, we can only speculate as to whether the contrast between *qi and *ni existed at an earlier stage of Austronesian, or was an innovation of POC. (See Reid 1981 for possible reflexes in Philippine languages of a PAN genitive determiner *i.) It has been shown by Blust (1974) that idiomatic genitive phrases existed in PAN and have survived in daughter languages with the same meanings. To the Toba Batak and Fijian comparisons containing ni presented by him we can now add some Oceanic reflexes with *qi as the genitive particle:

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----|---------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| (120) | TOB | mata ni susu | mata ni ihan | mata ni anin |
| | FIJ | mata ni sucu | mata ni ika | mata ni cagi |
| | TON | mata'i huhu | mata'i ika | matā matangi |
| | LON | mete susu | | SAA maa i deni |
| | | <i>nipple</i> | <i>sore</i> | <i>direction of wind</i> |

Note also:

- | | | | |
|-------|-----|--------------|-------------------------------|
| (121) | TOB | mata ni uvi | <i>yam tops</i> |
| | FIJ | mata ni dalo | <i>taro tops</i> |
| | TON | mata'i talo | <i>taro tops</i> |
| | PAA | mete i tan | <i>mound over planted yam</i> |
| | SAA | maa i aro | <i>taro tops</i> |

Blust assumes on the basis of the Fijian and Toba Batak forms that NP-ni-NP is reconstructable as the PAN form. This is not a logical necessity, as the other reflexes show. NP-i-NP forms in Fijian are quite evidently archaic. As Andrew Pawley has pointed out (personal communication), NP-ni-NP is a productive pattern in Fijian and speakers would be fully capable of using ni where once there had been an i or qi. Tongan, on the other hand, not only has no genitive ni, but also lacks a fully productive pattern with 'i. Hence the Tongan forms offer reliable evidence of archaism.

If *qi were an innovation of Oceanic, we would have to assume that the generalised NP-ni-NP pattern of Fijian was the result of two successive changes. Firstly, at an early stage of Oceanic, an innovation *qi replaces PAN *ni in certain environments. Secondly, in Fijian (and a few other languages such as Nggela) *ni supplants *qi in all but a few phrases. On the other hand, if both *ni and *qi were used in PAN, then one and the same change has taken place in Fijian and Toba Batak: *ni has generalised the functions of *qi and *ni.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Andrew Pawley for innumerable helpful comments and criticisms, for bringing much relevant data to my attention, and for helping to collect the data for Bugotu and Standard Fijian. I also wish to thank Ross Clark and Frank Lichtenberk for making most helpful comments on the final draft. The following informants supplied data from their languages: Alan Marat (Tolai), Trixie Legua (Bugotu), and Timoci Sayaba (Standard Fijian).
2. In Motlav, Volow and Lakon, the independent noun suffix has a variant -n. The examples given by Codrington suggest no consistent semantic or phonological motivation for this variation. For example, in Motlav *ban hand* takes the -ge variant of the suffix, whereas in Lakon *pane hand* takes -n. The genitive particle *ni* or the third person singular possessive suffix, which has the shape -n in all three languages, are possible sources of this form.

APPENDIX

This section lists a selection of genitive phrases incorporating classifiers from a number of Oceanic languages. No attempt is made to separate literal from metaphorical or idiomatic expressions.

Arosi

rawa i niu	<i>100,000 coconuts</i>
e siha abe i manu	<i>how many (bodies of) birds?</i>
kora i daro	<i>ankle bone</i>
kora i hau	<i>skull (lit. round thing of stone)</i>
kora i uhi	<i>Haliotis shell</i>
kora i tete	<i>round end of a club</i>
hua i i'a	<i>a fish</i>
hua i hau	<i>a stone</i>

Kwaio (see also section 4.2)

fe'e ba'u	<i>a banana</i>
fe'e golu	<i>heart</i>
olu fe'e wiki	<i>three weeks</i>
k ^w ali'i niu	<i>a single coconut</i>
fu'u'i ba'u	<i>a bunch of bananas</i>
fuu'i wane	<i>a group of men</i>
tofu'i boo	<i>a piece of pork</i>
g ^w e'e i'a	<i>a whole fish</i>
g ^w e'e alo	<i>taro corm</i>

Lau

maae fera	<i>country, village</i>
maae dangi	<i>a day</i>
maae rodo	<i>night, darkness</i>
fai maae ooru	<i>the four winds</i>
maae fote	<i>a paddle</i>
maae furai	<i>a net</i>

Fijian (see also section 6)

mata i tolu	<i>in three ranks</i>
mata i rua	<i>in two ranks</i>
mata i lalai	<i>fine-textured</i>
mata i lelevu	<i>coarse-textured</i>
mata i taliga	<i>large axe; hammerhead shark</i>

Tongan

matāfanga	}	<i>beach</i>
matātahi		
matā'one'one		
matāfefine		<i>fine-looking woman</i>
matātangata		<i>fine-looking man</i>
matā'italo		<i>taro tops for planting</i>
matā'ifika		<i>numeral</i>
mata'i tohi		<i>letter of alphabet</i>
mata'ihuhu		<i>nipple</i>
mata'imoho		<i>seeds of moho vine</i>
mata'ipeni		<i>pen nib</i>
mata'itafa		<i>incision, wound left by incision</i>
mata'iuha		<i>raindrop</i>
mata'ipoto		<i>clever-looking</i>
mata'itofe		<i>pearl of oyster</i>
mata'itevolo		<i>devil-faced</i>
fo'ia'akau		<i>fruit; pill</i>
fo'i 'ao		<i>genitals</i>
lau'i tohi		<i>a page of a book</i>
lau'i pate		<i>the blade of a bat</i>
lau'i matala		<i>a petal</i>
mata'ikoloa		<i>foremost in one's estimation</i>

Samoan

mata'ioloa	<i>the best item of goods</i>
mata'ifale	<i>incest</i>
mata'inumera	<i>numeral</i>
mata'itusi	<i>letter of alphabet</i>
mata'isiva	<i>the best dancer</i>
mataitagata	<i>fine-looking man</i>
mataitōga	<i>the best tōga (fine mat) of the lot</i>
matāutu	<i>point of land</i>
matāfaga	<i>beach</i>
matāmatagi	<i>direction of wind</i>
matāmeli	<i>drop of honey</i>
matāfale	<i>gable of house</i>
matāgāluega	<i>section, department (as in Treasury Department)</i>

Samoan

mata'upu	<i>subject, theme</i>
fua'i'upu	<i>sentence, remark</i>
fua'ifa'i	<i>a single banana</i>
fua'itau	<i>a line of a song</i>
fuaivai	<i>a single water bottle</i>

Nukuoro

madaaduge	<i>top of a duge</i>
madaa gai	<i>first fruits</i>
madaa hadu	<i>metal grater</i>
madaa moni	<i>proW of canoe</i>
madaa sele	<i>loop of noose</i>
madaa ua	<i>drop of rain</i>
hua	<i>classifier (by tens) for fruit</i>
hua i gadea	<i>side of canoe away from outrigger</i>

Kapingamarangi

madaa dogi	<i>plane blade</i>
madaa fale	<i>end of house</i>
madaa li	<i>nipple</i>
madaa hua	<i>narrowing of hull at ends of canoe</i>

Luangiua

makaa ko'i	<i>raindrop</i>
makaa lime	<i>fingers</i>
makaa vae	<i>toes</i>
makaa va'a	<i>fore or aft of canoe</i>
makaa 'uu	<i>nipple</i>

Rennell and Bellona

mataa kape	<i>top of taro</i>
mataa baka	<i>canoe prow</i>
mataa uu	<i>nipple</i>
mataa 'ua	<i>raindrop</i>
mataa	<i>ten small fish (classifier)</i>
huaa biti	<i>beads</i>
huaa 'umanga	<i>planted root crops</i>
huaa ga'akau	<i>fruits</i>

Futuna-Aniwa

matā tui	<i>100 or more fish</i>
matā puke	<i>top of yam mound</i>
foivai	<i>calabash</i>
foimata	<i>eye, face</i>
foifata	<i>crop of fruit</i>

Some semantic sets

Canoe parts

BUG	ulu i hore	}	<i>bow</i>
MTA	qat i aka		
TOL	lua i ra oaga		
FIJ	mua i liu		
	ucu i mua		<i>stays from the masthead</i>
NUK	madaa moni		<i>bow</i>
	hua i gadea		<i>side of canoe away from outrigger</i>
KAP	madaa hua		<i>narrowing of hull at ends of canoe</i>
LUA	makaa va'a	}	<i>bow</i>
REN	mataa baka		
HAW	kama i kahuli wa'a		

Eye

ARS	gare i maa	}	<i>pupil of the eye</i>
TON	tama'i mata		
SAM	tama'i mata		
TOK	io i mata		

Wind

LAU	fai maae oru		<i>the four winds</i>
SAA	maa i deni		<i>a wind</i>
FIJ	mata ni cagi		<i>direction of wind</i>
	vua i rā		<i>west-north-west wind</i>
	vua i cake		<i>east wind</i>
TON	matāmatangi	}	<i>direction of wind</i>
SAM	matāmatagi		

Yam, taro

SAA	maa i aro		<i>taro top for planting</i>
PAA	mate i tan		<i>mound over yam plant</i>
FIJ	mata ni dalo	}	<i>taro top for planting</i>
TON	mata i talo		
SAM	matā talo		
REN	mataa kape		
FUT	matā puke		

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