

THE SOUND SYSTEM OF PROTO-CENTRAL-PACIFIC

Paul Geraghty

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The theory that the languages of Fiji, Rotuma, and Polynesia form a closed subgroup was first proposed by Grace (1959). He later (1967) named the subgroup "Central Pacific", and the name has become generally accepted.

Blust (1976), Pawley (1972, 1979), Geraghty and Pawley (1981), and Wilson (1982), among others, have assumed the Central Pacific (CP) hypothesis, and some Proto-Central-Pacific (PCP) lexical items have been reconstructed in Blust 1976 and Geraghty and Pawley 1981.¹ However, as I have argued (Geraghty 1983:352-366), a compelling case for Central Pacific has yet to be made, all of the innovations claimed by Grace (1959) and Pawley (1972) to characterise PCP being either shared only by Polynesia and parts of eastern Fiji, or invalid in some other way. It is not my intention here to discuss further the validity of the CP subgroup, but to provide a firm basis for further discussion by attempting to reconstruct the sound system of PCP, and outlining its development in the daughter languages. No internal subgrouping is as yet assumed, so forms witnessed in two of the three major witnesses, or in any of these plus an external witness, are reconstructed.² This reconstruction is largely based on proposals made in Geraghty 1983 with respect to Proto-Eastern-Oceanic, with one additional phoneme, some phonetic and orthographic modifications, and considerable additional data, especially from Rotuman.

1.2 ORTHOGRAPHY AND SOURCES

Unless otherwise indicated, phonetic values in all data and reconstructions in this paper, regardless of source, are as follows: a,e,f,h,i,k,l,m,n,ñ,o,p,r,s,t,u,w,y,z,? as written; b[mb],c[ð],d[nd],dr[ndr],g[ŋ],j[tʃ],q[ŋg],v[v] or [β],x[x]; vowel length is indicated by a macron.

All glosses are written according to the conventions described in Geraghty 1983:8-13.

In choosing symbols for reconstructed PCP phonemes, I have been guided by two major considerations: phonetic suitability (but with preference for single letters of the Roman alphabet over digraphs and exotic phonetic symbols), and orthographic usage in daughter languages.

Fijian data are from my fieldnotes, and written in the orthography described in Geraghty 1983:4-8. Proto-Fijian reconstructions are likewise my own.³ Note

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290 PAUL GERAGHTY

that one of the major differences between Proto-Fijian and Standard Fijian ('Bauan') is that Standard Fijian (SF) has undergone Eastern Fijian Apical Pre-nasalisation (Geraghty 1983:74-96), resulting in SF d, dr, and s from PFJ *t, *r, and *c, respectively, in initial position in many common nouns.⁴

Proto-Polynesian (PPN) data are mostly from Biggs 1978, 1979, Ranby 1980, and Geraghty 1983.

Occasional reference is made to the following external witnesses: Proto-Southeast-Solomons (PSS) (Levy n.d.), Proto-Micronesian (PMC) (Bender et al n.d.), and Proto-North-Central-Vanuatu (PNCV) (based on data in Guy 1978, Clark 1985, and Walsh 1984).

Rotuman data are from Churchward 1940, with some additional definitions from informants. Diacritics for umlaut, which is predictable in all citation forms, are omitted. Unless otherwise stated, Rotuman forms cited are "directly inherited" (Biggs 1965), that is, not Polynesian loans. (PN?) after a form means that, on purely phonological grounds, it may be a Polynesian loan.

2.1 THE SOUND SYSTEM

The sound system proposed is shown in Table 1.⁵

Table 1: The PCP sound system

	bilabial	dental	liquids	alveolar	fricatives	palatal	velar	labio-velar	glottal
fricatives	v			c	z	x	k	kw	?
stops	p	t	r						
prenasalised	b	d	dr	s	j	q	qw		
obstruents	m	n	l		ñ	g	gw		
nasals	w				y				
glides									

Note that the table has been compressed somewhat, so the place and mode of articulation labels are not necessarily to be interpreted strictly. For example, it is not claimed that *s was phonetically prenasalised, or that *l was a nasal.

In the following sections, we will examine the system by place of articulation, discussing phonetic values and reflexes. Examples will, as far as data permit, illustrate reflexes of consonants in both initial and medial position, and before front, low, and back vowels.

2.2 BILABIALS

Table 2: The reflexes of the PCP bilabials

PCP	v	p	b	m	w
PFJ	v	p	b	m	w
PPN	f		p	m,Ø	w
ROT	h,Ø/?	p	p	m,Ø	v

Examples:

v-

- *vitu seven: PFJ *vitu, PPN *fitu, ROT hifu
- *vanua land: PFJ *vanua, PPN *fanua, ROT hanua
- *vutu k tree, Barringtonia asiatica: PFJ *vutu, PPN *futu, ROT hifu

-v-

- *avi fire: PFJ *yavu burn, PPN *afi, ROT rahi
- *tuva k vine, Derris trifoliata: PFJ *tuva, ROT fuha
- *mava heavy: PPN *mamafa, ROT maha
- *tavu set fire: PFJ *tavu, PPN *tafu, ROT fahu

p-

- *pisi-k squirt: PFJ *pisi-k, PPN *pisi-k, ROT pusi burst, splash
- *pā trolling hook: PFJ *pā, PPN *pā
- *popo (wood) rotten: PFJ *popo, PPN *popo, ROT popo (PN?)

-p-

- *ripi sharp edge: PFJ *ripi shin, PPN *lipi
- *sape (foot) malformed: PFJ *sape, PPN *sape, ROT tape (for *sape) kick w toe

b-

- *bebē butterfly, moth: PFJ *bebē,⁶ PPN *pepe, ROT pepe (PN?)
- *bā wall, fence: PFJ *bā, PPN *pā, ROT pā (PN?)
- *buto- navel: PFJ *buto-, PPN *pito, ROT pufa

-b-

- *kabe string: PFJ *kabe string from coconut stem, ROT ?ape
- *tubā k land crab, Cardisoma: PFJ *tubā, PPN *tupa,⁷ ROT fupa⁷
- *tubu grow: PFJ *tubu, PPN *tupu, ROT fupu

m-

- *miji suck: PFJ *misi, PPN *miti
- *mata- eye, face: PFJ *mata-, PPN *mata, ROT mafa
- *moze sleep: PFJ *moze, PPN *mohe, ROT mose

-m-

- *kumete bowl: PFJ *kumete, PPN *kumete, ROT ?ume
- *cama outrigger float: PFJ *cama, PPN *hama, ROT sama
- *ñamu mosquito: PFJ *ñamu, PPN *namu, ROT ramu

- w-
- *wī *k tree, Spondias dulcis*: PFJ *wī, PPN *wī, ROT vī (PN?)
 - *weka *bird, Rallus*: PPN *weka, ROT ve'a
 - *waqa *canoe*: PFJ *waqa, PPN *waka, ROT vaka (PN?)

- w-
- *kauki *sand crab*: PFJ *kauki, PPN *kawiki, ROT ?avi?i
 - *kawi *fish-hook*: ROT ?avi (POC *kawil)
 - *tawa *k tree, Pometia pinnata*: PFJ *tawa, PPN *tawa, ROT fava

The reasons for reconstructing *v rather than *f are not strong, simply that *v is a more common cognate in external witnesses (PSS, PNCV) than *f (PMC). The distinction between PCP *b and *p is maintained only in PFJ, and only on evidence from parts of eastern Fiji, but is supported by evidence from the Solomons (Geraghty 1983:103-114).

Some instances of PCP *v become Ø or ? in Rotuman:

INITIAL

- *vaka-V *causative* > a?a
- *vu(cz)u *box, punch* > ?usu
- *vusi *tie in a bunch* > usi
- *vu?u- *tree* > u- *prefix to some tree names*

MEDIAL

- *V(cz)ivo *down* > sio
- *tovu *sugarcane* > fo?u
- *uvi *blow* > ui
- *vavine *woman* > haina

It is probably significant that the most common environment is before a high back vowel, with two before a high front vowel, and only one each before o and a. Both cases of glottal stop are before u.

Perhaps related to this change is the sporadic loss of intervocalic *m before *u, which occurs in both PPN and Rotuman:

- *kamu IIp > ROT ?au (Hale 1846:472 also recorded ?amu)
- *malumu *soft* > PPN *malū
- *N-mu III > PPN *-u, ROT -u

The same change occurs sporadically in Waidina, eastern Vitilevu (Geraghty 1983: 178-179).

2.3 DENTALS

Table 3: The reflexes of the PCP dentals

PCP	t	d	n
PFJ	t	d	n
PPN	t	t	n
ROT	f/j/s	t/j	n

Examples:

t-

- *tina?e *intestines*: PPN *tina?e, ROT finae
- *taliga- *ear*: PFJ *taliga-, PPN *taliga, ROT faliga
- *tuna *Anguillidae, freshwater eel*: PFJ *tuna, PPN *tuna, ROT funa

-t-

- *?oti *finished*: PFJ *oti, PPN *?oti, ROT ofi
- *mata?u *right-hand*: PFJ *matau, PPN *mata?u, ROT mafau
- *?atu *line, row*: PFJ *yatū, PPN *?atu, ROT afu

d-

- *degu *nod*: PFJ *deguvacu *raise eyebrows in assent (vacu eyebrow)*, ROT tegi
- *dagwa *loose, slack*: PFJ *dagwa, PPN *tagataga
- *dañudañu *fallow*: PFJ *da(nñ)uda(nñ)u, ROT taitai (POC, PPN *talu)
- *dui *different*: PFJ *duidui, ROT tū

-d-

- *vidi *spring*: PFJ *vidi, PPN *fiti, ROT hiti *start w surprise*
- *voda *rocks in sea*: PFJ *voda, PPN *fota
- *mudu *cut off, sever*: PFJ *mudu, PPN *mutu, ROT mutu (PN?)

n-

- *niu *coconut*: PFJ *niu, PPN *niu, ROT niu (PN?)
- *na(czs)u *roast, bake*: ROT nasu
- *natu *mash, knead*: PFJ *natu, PPN *natu
- *novo *sit, stay*: PFJ *novo *lie still*, PPN *nofo, ROT noho

-n-

- *kini *pinch*: PFJ *kini, PPN *kini, ROT ?ini
- *kanace *k fish, Mugil, mullet*: PFJ *kanace, PPN *kanahe, ROT ?anasi (for *?anase) by boiling
- *tunu *cook*: PFJ *tunu *reheat (food)*, PPN *tunu *cook on open fire*, ROT funu *cook*

The j and s reflexes in Rotuman are somewhat problematic. It appears that *t, before shifting to f (via an intermediate stage [θ], recorded by Hale (1846) and Turner (1884)), assimilated to a following j or s (from *c, *s, or *z):⁸

- *ta(cz)i *sea* > sasi
- *tazi-ña *his/her younger sibling* > sasiga

*tali(cz)e k tree, *Terminalia catappa* > salisa k edible almond-shaped fruit
 *taji shave > jaji
 There are no counter-examples in my data. The same rule applies to *d in the one eligible form:
 *du(cj)(iu) point > juju

and to *s before *j:

*sije k fish, *Hemiramphus*, garfish > jija

There are, however, two further cases of *d becoming Rotuman j where assimilation does not appear to be involved:

*dult k bird, plover > juli
 *donu right, correct > nojo (metathesis)

Two hypotheses suggest themselves. That j is the regular reflex of *d before *u is, however, contradicted by tū different (< *dui) and tutu'u k fish, small, black (< *duku k fish, *Abudefdup* sp.). It is more likely that j reflects *d before l or n. Although not a particularly plausible environment, the only apparent counterexample, tulou millipede (< *dolou earthworm) may have been ineligible for the change because of stress placement, or may be a loan from an unknown source. The problem, of course, requires more data.

2.4 LIQUIDS

Table 4: The reflexes of the PCP liquids

PCP	r	dr	l
PFJ	r	dr	l
PPN	r,l	r,l	l
ROT	r/θ	t	l

Examples:

r-
 *riki small: PFJ *riki, PPN *riki, ROT riri?i (plural)
 *rano lake: PFJ *(rdr)ano, PPN *rano +swamp, ROT rano swamp
 *rua two: PFJ *rua, PPN *rua, ROT rua

-r-
 *iri fan: PFJ *iri, PPN *iri, ROT iri (PN?)
 *viri plait: PFJ *viri lash (fence, raft+), PPN *firi, ROT hiri
 *mara fermented food: PFJ *mara stench, PPN *mara, ROT mara (Hale 1846) (PN?)
 *curu enter, go through: PFJ *curu, PPN *huru, ROT suru

dr-

*driudriu k small ant: PFJ *driudriu, ROT tuitui (metathesis)
 *dram(iu) chew: PFJ *dram(iu) lick, PPN *lam(iu), ROT tami
 *dranu bathe in fresh water: *dranu, PPN *ranu
 *drumani k edible sea-anemone: PFJ *dr(ou)mani, PPN *rumane, ROT nunami (meta-thesis and assimilation)

-dr-

*vadra *Pandanus*: PFJ *vadra, PPN *fara, ROT hata
 *madra cooked, fermented: PFJ *madra, PPN *mara
 *tadruku Chiton: PFJ *tadruku (PSS *tadux(iu))

l-

*lima five: PFJ *lima, PPN *lima, ROT lima
 *lago k insect, fly: PFJ *lago, PPN *lago, ROT laga
 *lua vomit: PFJ *lu(ae), PPN *lua, ROT lua spit

-l-

*taliga- ear: PFJ *taliga-, PPN *taliga, ROT faliga
 *zala path, road: PFJ *zala, PPN *hala, ROT sala
 *walu eight: PFJ *walu, PPN *walu, ROT valu

PCP *r apparently becomes Rotuman Ø between high vowels, though there is some contradictory evidence:

*buru present food: PFJ *buru(a), PPN *pulu(a), ROT pū
 *puru- abdomen, thorax: PFJ *poro-, ROT pū (PMC *pur(iu)a aesophagus, gullet,
 *riri shed, hut: PFJ *riri, ROT rī house
 *tiri: PPN *ti(rī)i (woman) fertile, ROT fī (woman) prolific
 *turu- knee: PFJ *turu-, PPN *turu, ROT fū
 *xuru rumble: PFJ *kuru, PPN *?ulu, ROT ?ū bang

The contradictory data are:

*curu enter, go through: PFJ *curu, PPN *huru, ROT suru
 *viri plait: PFJ *viri lash (fence, raft+), PPN *firi, ROT hiri
 *vuvuru catch (fish, animal) w hand: PFJ *buburu, ROT huhuru

There is no evidence that PCP *r and *dr remained distinct in PPN; *dr, like *d and *q, merged with its non-prenasalised counterpart. The resultant *r merged partially with *l, under conditions yet to be determined. The merger was completed in Proto-Nuclear-Polynesian, but not in Proto-Tongic, where *r became Ø. Data available offer some suggestions as to conditions for the merger, but as yet no clear pattern can be discerned.

Examples of PCP *r and *dr > PPN *l:

r-
 *riri boil: PFJ *riri, PPN *lili
 *rau- leaf: PFJ *rau-, PPN *lau, ROT rau
 *rogō quiet, silent: PFJ *rorogo, PPN *logo

296 PAUL GERAGHTY

-r-

*marari k fish, wrasse: PPN *malali, ROT marari (PN?) (PMC *merari)
 *gara scream, howl: PFJ *gara, PPN *gala
 *turu drip: PFJ *turu, PPN *tulu

dr-

*dreu ripe: PFJ *dreu, PPN *leu, ROT toutou
 *dranu fresh water: PFJ *dranu, PPN *lanu, ROT tanu water
 *druma shy: PFJ *druma, PPN *luma

-dr-

*modri smooth, hairless: PFJ *modri, PPN *molemole
 *(cz)(eo)dra asthma: PFJ *(cz)odra, PPN *sela

2.5 ALVEOLAR FRICATIVES

Table 5: The reflexes of the PCP alveolar fricatives

PCP	c	s
PFJ	c	s
PPN	h,s	s
ROT	s	s/j

Examples:

c-

*cina illuminate, fish by torchlight: PFJ *cina, PPN *hina, ROT sina
 *cakau coral reef: PFJ *cakau, PPN *hakau, ROT sa?au rocks and coral on sea
 bottom
 *cucu- breast: PFJ *cucu-, PPN *huhu, ROT susu

-c-

*kanace k fish, Mugil, mullet: PFJ *kanace, PPN *kanahe, ROT ?anasi
 *vuca rotten: PFJ *vuca, ROT husa pus
 *cucu- breast: PFJ *cucu-, PPN *huhu, ROT susu
 *vacu- eyebrow: PFJ *vacu-, ROT hasu

s-

*sikwa net-needle: PFJ *sikwa, PPN *sika, ROT si?a
 *saga: PFJ *saga attempt, work on, PPN *saga work, make, do, ROT saga act quickly
 (PN?)
 *sua scull: PFJ *sua, PPN *sua, ROT sua (PN?)

-s-

*asi k tree, Santalum, sandalwood: PFJ *yasi, PPN *asi
 *wasa open sea: PFJ *wasa, PPN *wasa, ROT vasa far out at sea
 *lasu: PFJ *lasu false, tell lie, PPN *lasu trick, deceive

PCP *s, like *t and *d, assimilates to a following *j in Rotuman:

*sije k fish, Hemirhamphus, garfish > jija

As with PCP *r > PPN *r, there is no obvious conditioning for PCP *c > PPN *h,s - the partial merger of PCP *c with *s in PPN. PFJ *c is taken as a true witness to PCP *c because of its close correlation with cognates in the Southeast Solomons (see Geraghty 1983:130-148).

Examples of PCP *c > PPN *s:

c-

*cici k edible mollusc, inc. Neritidae; PFJ *cici, PPN *sisi, ROT sisi
 *cakule search for lice: PFJ *cakule, PPN *sakule, ROT sa?ule
 *cunu: PFJ *cunu steam (st), PPN *sunu singe, ROT sunu hot

-c-

*cici scoop out, gouge out, peel: PFJ *cici, PPN *sisi, ROT sisi peel, strip off (skin)
 *macaki illness, disease: PFJ *macake k disease, thrush, PPN *masaki, ROT masai?

Note that PCP *c is considered to be the non-prenasalised member of the *c-s pair. The reasons are that *c occurs as the final consonant in PCP bases while *s, like the phonetically prenasalised obstruents, does not; and that when East Fijian Apical Prenasalisation occurred, *c became s under exactly the same conditions that *t and *r became phonetically prenasalised (Geraghty 1983:90-95). This view was in fact held, for Fijian, by Dempwolff (1934-1938:II:138), but later reversed, apparently by Elbert (1953), followed by Biggs (1965:385) and Pawley (1972:27), presumably for phonetic reasons, the voiced member taken to be more likely to reflect a prenasalised obstruent. The old position here reaffirmed has more recently been argued for by Milke (1961), Hockett (1976:191-192), and Haudricourt and Ozanne-Rivierre (1982:31).

2.6.1 Palatals

Table 6: The reflexes of the PCP palatals

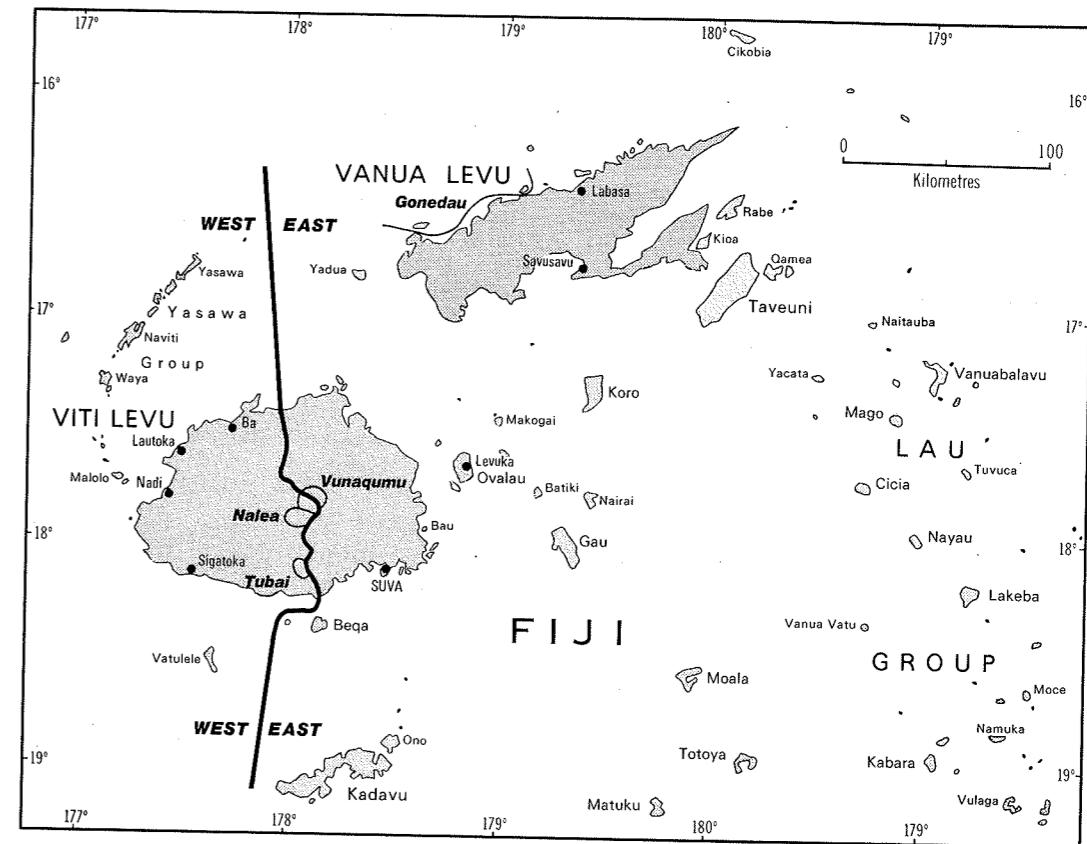
PCP	z	j	ñ	y
PFJ	z	s	ñ/n	c
PPN	h,s	t,s	n	Ø
ROT	s	j	Ø/r,g,n	Ø/r

Only in PFJ is *z distinguished from *c, since both yield *h,s in PPN and s in Rotuman. The evidence for PFJ *z was first presented in Geraghty 1983:125,126, 153-155, where it was tentatively labelled *C. In most Fijian communalects it is regularly realised as c, which is also the reflex of PCP *c. Where *z differs from *c is that in four communalects, two belonging to the Western subgroup, two to the Eastern, it is realised as s (or y/Ø), not c. The two Western communalects, Nalea and Tubai, are historically closely related, but now separated.

Tubai is not a totally reliable witness, containing many loans from both Eastern and Western communalects acquired during the prehistoric wanderings of its speakers. One of the Eastern communalects, Vunaqumu, is contiguous to Nalea, but is considered an independent witness because it belongs to a different first-order subgroup of Fijian. Data from Vunaqumu are, however, sketchy, because the last speaker died about 50 years ago, and the data have been culled from the memories of old people who heard it in their youth. The fourth witness is Goneda, spoken on the islands of Yaqaga, Galoa, Tavea, and Macuataiwai, off the northern coast of Vanualevu. Map 1 shows the locations of these witnesses to PCP *z, and the evidence is presented in Table 7. Reconstructions based only on y in Vunaqumu or Tubai and c elsewhere are not very secure, since y is also a fairly common sporadic reflex of PFJ *c (Geraghty 1983:126-128). Since PCP *z becomes either c or s, but can hardly have been either, [z] seems to be a reasonable guess at its phonetic nature.

There are five instances of PCP *z becoming PPN *s, rather than the usual *h: PPN *tagi-s cry, *fusi irrigated taro bed, *kese (doublet *kehe) different, *masa (doublet *maha) dry, and *sole (for *sola) carry on shoulder. It is not possible to tell whether or not the PPN *s reflex of *z occurs under similar conditions to the *s reflex of *c.

PCP *j is the reflex of PEO *j as proposed in Geraghty 1983:149-153 on the basis of the correspondence: Fiji s, PPN *t or *s, Rotuman *j, PSS *d.¹⁰ It approximates to the POC *nj proposed by Milke (1968), and the PCP *c of Blust (1976). Only in Rotuman is it retained as a distinct phoneme. In PSS it merges with the reflexes of *d and *dr, in PFJ with *s, and in PPN with *s and *t or *d. Given this pattern of mergers, it seems likely that *j was the 'prenasalised' counterpart of *z. PCP *j was probably [tʃ] or [ts], like its only unique reflex, Rotuman j (Churchward 1940:13,83). The evidence for PCP *j is presented in Table 8. A number of items included in Geraghty 1983 only on the strength of external evidence, usually PSS *d, are omitted here. As with PCP *r, *c, and *z, the PPN split reflex is problematic. There is no obvious conditioning, only a tendency to *t before back vowels and *s before front vowels.



Map 1: Fiji

showing the East-West language division, and the approximate location of the communalects crucial to the reconstruction of PFJ *z

Table 7: Evidence for PFJ *z

Forms that are only reconstructable to Proto-Western-Fijian or Proto-Eastern-Fijian are marked (W) and (E), respectively. Forms in brackets are presumed to be borrowed. A dash means the form with that meaning is not cognate.

PFJ	Nalea	Tubai	other Western	Vunaqumu	Gonedau	other Eastern
INITIAL						
zava what	sava	yava	cava	yava	sava	cava
zei who	sei	(cei)	cei	yei	sei	cei
ziqi divide (food) w fingers (W)	siqi	siqi	cipi	-	-	-
zālevu path, road ¹	sālevu	yālevu	cālevu	sālemu	sālevu	sālevu ²
zola live (W)	solo	-	col(ao)	-	-	-
zavu pronounce, men- tion	savu	yavu	cavu	savu	(cavu)	cavu
zō call (W)	sō	-	cō	-	-	-
zola carry on shoulder	-	soya	-	sola	-	cola
zai copulate (E)	-	-	-	yai	-	cai
zaka do, make (E)	-	-	-	yaka	-	caka
MEDIAL						
moze sleep	mose	mose	moce	mose	moce	
tazi- younger same-sex sibling	tasi-	tai-	taci-	tai-	tasi-	taci-
viza how many	visa	(vica)	vica	visa	vica	
yaza name	yasa	(yaca)	yaca	ya-	yasa	yaca-
buzobuzo white	busobuso	buyobuyo	bucobuco	buyobuyo	-	-buco
la(z)y a sail ³	laya	la(cy)a	laca	lasa	laca	
maza empty of liquid, (tide) low	maza	maza	maca	maza	(maca)	maca
māmaza dry	māmaza	masamasa	macamaca	(māmaca)	māmaca	
naiza when	-	-	-	nesa	naica	
uza when	-	-	-	usa	uca	
Vkeze only, alone	-	-	-	kese	kece	
kuza how	-	-	ku(cy)a	-	kuse-	kuca
vuzi irrigated taro bed	vusi	(vuci)	vuci	vusi	-	vuci
maziv again, adversa- tive	masi		maci	-	-	maci
Vwaza only, merely	-	wasa	-	-	waca	
FINAL						
lua-z vomit - on	lua-s	lua-∅	lua-c	lua-s	lua-c	
mī-z urinate - on	mī-s	mī-∅	mī-c	mī-s	mī-c	
veka-z defecate - on	veka-s	veka-∅	veke-c	veka-s	veka-c	
tagi-z cry - for	tagi-s	tagi-∅	tagi-c	tagi-s	tagi-c	
wavu-z run - for	wavu-s	-	wavu-c	ovu-s	-	
liga-z see	liga-s	-	liga-c	-	liga-c	
b(ou)i-z smell	bui-s	bui-∅	bui-c	-	boi-c	
NOTES						
1. From *zala + *levu big (Vunaqumu lemu big).						
2. s from earlier c by East Fijian Apical Prenasalisation (Geraghty 1983:90-95).						
3. Other than Gonedau, all evidence points to *laya, so the Gonedau form is probably irregular.						

Table 8: Evidence for PCP *j

PCP	PFJ	PPN	ROT
INITIAL			
jamu(?)a (palm) fruit stem	sāmoa	taume spathe (met.)	jamu?a
jamu scraps of food	sabusabu	samu	
jao spear	sā	tao	jao
jara slip, slide	sara	tala put on (clothes)	jara
jau strike, beat	sau +tattoo	tatau tattoo	jau
je(?) (ei) k insect	-	se(?)e locust	jei cricket
jei tear, rip	sei	(sae)	jei
jevu splash water	sevu	sea	
je(?) a k bird, Lalage sp	sexejexe	(hs)e(?)a	jehu drizzle
spp.	sekeseke	teete?	jea
jt k plant, Dracaena	-	-	-
jiko- kingfisher	sikorere Artamus,	tT	jT
jila look sideways, squint	woodswallow	tikotara	-
jila (canoe) sheet	-	sila	jila
jili slip	sila	tila	-
joli pick, gather	sisi	-	joli
jona yaws, (octopus)	sona	tona	jona
sucker	sopu	sopu	jopu
jopu nod	sou	sou	jou ripple
jou (sea) rough	splash	sopu	jopu
jo(bp) u dive	-	tofe	jopu
jove k shellfish	sove barnacle	-	-
MEDIAL			
baja close together	basa meet, opposite	-	
duji point	du(cs)i	tus(iu)	paja
guju- mouth	gusu-	gutu	jūju
gwajala k fish, Epinephelus	kasala (*gwasala)	gatala	nuju
kaja- (kava) stem	kasa-	kata	vajala
ikajo, kiajo outrigger boom	ikaso	kiato	-
keju- back of head	kesu-	-	-
laja tame	lasa	lata	?eju
laje coral	lase	lase	-
majaga- (road+) fork	basaga-	māsaga twin	laje
maja(?) u clever, expert	-	mata(?) u	majaga
mi(ji) suck	misi	miti +lick	majau
muju cut off	musu	mutu	-
sije Hemirhamphus, gar- fish	sise	(ise)	jija
taji shave	tasi	tasi	-
uja transport, carry (cargo)	usa	uta	jaji
xujim(ai), xumij(ai) crave kusima fish or seafood	?umiti	-	-

2.6.2 The source of PCP *z and *j

It was suggested in Geraghty 1983:154-155 that PCP *z may reflect PAN (Proto-Austronesian) *j, notwithstanding certain irregularities, there being some support in the fact that POC (Proto-Oceanic) did distinguish *j (Blust 1978). No PAN source was suggested for PCP *j. With the increase in data, we are now in a better position to look into the PAN source of both PCP *z and *j, along with the other PCP phonemes that derive from the PAN palatal obstruents.

The following list shows the PAN sources for all PCP items with unequivocal *c, *s, *z, and *j. I do not distinguish here between PAN and PMP (Proto-Malayo-Polynesian), and some final consonants have been omitted or simplified.

PCP *c

- aca rub, grate < *Sasaq sharpen (blade)
- cabo hold in hand < *sanpe
- caga span < *zanjan (or *sana bifurcation)
- cake climb < *sakay
- cala wrong, err < *salaq
- cama outrigger float < *(cs)a(R)man
- cavu-t pull up, uproot, pull out < *cabut
- i/cawa/i parent-in-law < *qa(cs)awa spouse
- ca?a-t bad < *zaqat
- cici k edible mollusc, inc. Neritidae < *sisi
- ci(kq)o-v catch w hands < *cikep
- cila (sunt)shine < *silak,cilak
- cina torch < *sinar ray of light
- ciwa nine < *siwa
- i/coka house-beam < *se(ŋ)kan crossbar
- cucu- breast < *susu
- cula sew, pierce < *sulam prick, pierce
- culi- (taro,banana) sucker < *suliq
- (g)icu nose < *ijun (or *nusu upper lip)
- kanace k fish, Mugil, mullet < *kanasay
- mac(eo)ru hiccup < *se(dD)u
- tocu cut (leaf) into strips < *testes tear up
- v(iu)cov(iu)co navel, umbilical cord < *pusej
- voce paddle < *be(R)(cs)ay

PCP *s

- (vb)oso squeeze in hand < *becel
- lasu tell lie, deceive < *la(n)cu
- los(ei) squeeze, wring out < *lecit squeeze out, squirt out
- pisi-k squirt < *picik splash, spray, sprinkle
- saba-k slap < *ca(m)pak
- saqa-t oppose, crash into < *ca(ŋ)kaq contradict, oppose
- saqu-m snatch < *ca(ŋ)kem grasp
- si(bp)a cut into strips < *si(ŋ)pak split
- somo mud < *cemed impure
- sova pour, dump ?< *sebar scatter about
- sulu put on clothes < *(cs)ulu
- vuso foam < *buseq

PCP *z

- (?)aza- name < *ajan
- maza dry (tide) low < *maja
- moze sleep ?< *pezem close eyes, sleep
- (nñ)a(?)iza when < *qizan
- tagi-z cry - for < *tagis
- tazi- younger same-sex sibling < *tV-Sua(n)ji
- viza how much < *pija
- z(ae)i who < *(cs)ai
- zala path, road < *Zalan
- zava what < *apa, *sapa
- za?i-t copulate ?< *zaqit sew, join
- ?uza rain < *qu(ŋ)ZaN

PCP *j

- baja close together < *banzar row
- duji point < *tunzuk
- guju- mouth < *nusu upper lip (or *ijun nose)
- laja tame < *Najam
- majaga- (road+) fork < *sana
- taji shave ?< *ta(zZ)im sharpen
- uja transport, carry (cargo) < *(R1)ujan (cf. Proto-Philippines *lújan ride, load (Zorc 1985))

The evidence now accumulated requires a revision of my tentative proposal of 1983, to include PAN *z and *Z with *j, and to include in their reflexes PCP *j as well as *z. The hypothesis now proposed is, therefore, that PAN *s and *z became PCP *c/s, and that PAN *j, *z, and *Z became PCP *z/j. Of the 55 examples above, only eight are in any way contradictory.

If the above hypothesis holds, and if Blust's (1978) claim that POC distinguished *j from the other palatal obstruents is true, then POC must have distinguished three palatal obstruents, the only mergers being of *c and *s, and *z and *Z. Moreover, given the high correlation between PAN *s and PCP *c, and PAN *c and PCP *s, there may yet be a strong case for the retention of the PAN *c/s distinction in POC.

2.6.3 PCP *ñ

PCP *ñ is reconstructed as distinct from *n because of its reflexes in Rotuman (ø/r,g,n rather than n) and Western Fijian (y/n rather than n). The evidence for PCP *ñ is shown in Table 9.

In Western Fijian, PCP *ñ becomes n before u, y before a. In Rotuman, it becomes r initially, and ø medially, usually fronting or raising the following vowel; the n and g reflexes appear to be sporadic. In Eastern Fijian and Polynesian, *ñ merges with *n as n.

304 PAUL GERAGHTY

Table 9: Evidence for PCP *ñ

PCP	PWF	PEF	PPN	ROT
ñamu mosquito	yamu	namu	namu	ramu
N-ña IIII	-ya	-na	-na	-na,-ga ¹
dañudañu fallow ²	danudanu	danudanu	-	taitai
mañawa spirit	-	-	manawa	maeva
meña (breadfruit) ripe ³	mēmē	mona	-	mea
moña- brain	moya	vonu	fonu	hoi
voñu turtle	-vonu ⁴	-	fonu	hoi
voñu full	-	-	wana	vaevae
waña k sea-urchin	-	-	-	-

NOTES

1. -na is productive, but -ga is fossilised in: sasiga younger same-sex sibling (*tazi-ña), ma?piga grandparent, grandchild (*makubu-ña), uluga top, summit (*?ulu-ña), laloga inside (*lalo-ña).
2. Apparently distinct from POC *talu fallow, reflected by PPN *talu.
3. External witness: PSS *me(nña)a ripe.
4. Reflected in tuvonu k turtle, caretta caretta.

2.6.4 PCP *y

PCP *y is realised as PFJ *c, PPN Ø, and Rotuman r-/Ø-. The fact that initial *y becomes r in Rotuman, and that intervocalic *y affects the following vowel in exactly the same way as intervocalic *ñ, suggests that PCP *ñ and *y merged as pre-Rotuman *y. The evidence for PCP *y is presented in Table 10.

Table 10: Evidence for PCP *y

PCP	PFJ	PPN	ROT
yagi wind	cagi	agi (wind) blow	ragi breeze,breath
yago k plant, zingiber sp.	cago	ago	raga
yava storm	cavā	afä	-
yavo fishing-line	cavo	afö	-
kayu wood, tree	kacu	läkau	?ai
laya sail	la(cz)a	lä	lae
maya ashamed	-	mä	mae
?ayawa k tree, Ficus sp.	yacawa	?awawa	aeva

2.7 VELARS

Table 11: The reflexes of the PCP velars

PCP	x	k	kw	q	qw	g	gw
PFJ	k	k	kw	q	qw	g	gw
PPN	?	k	k	k	k	g	g
ROT	Ø/?	?	?	k	k	n/g	v

PCP *x has not been reconstructed before. It is distinguished from *k by the reflexes PPN *? (or occasionally a ?/k doublet) rather than *k (as reported in Geraghty 1983:160-161), and Rotuman Ø or ? rather than ?. It may perhaps turn out to be the result of an incomplete change, rather than an actual PCP phoneme; but it is convenient at this stage to catalogue it as *x, and its inclusion lends symmetry to the system, since the velar series now parallels the labial. The evidence for PCP *x is presented in Table 12. What little Rotuman evidence there is points to the reflex Ø before a and ? before u, with the reflex before o equivocal.

Table 12: Evidence for PCP *x

PCP	PFJ	PPN	ROT
INITIAL			
xa(bp)a (house) wall	ka(bp)a	(?)apa(?)apa	-
xana-N past	kana-	?ana-	-
xanusi spit	kānusi	?anusi	anusi (PN?)
xata make mark, show clearly	kata	?ata shadow, reflection; (tattoo) bright (REN)	afa
x(a)ua don't, cease	kua	(k?)ua	?u?ua
xavelu,vaxelu wipe anus	kävelu	fa?elu	-
xoda eat raw (flesh)	koda	?ota	-
xola	kola split (fire- wood)	?ola wedge	?olo chop, cut
xota dregs, refuse	kota	?ota	mofa ¹
xōtai fruit salad	kötai	?ōtai	-
xū-t bite off	kū-t	?ū-t	-
xujim(ai),xumij(ai) crave fish or seafood	kusima	?umiti	-
xuru rumble	kuru	?u?ulu	?ū bang
MEDIAL			
axa- jawbone	yaka- mouth	a?a	-
boxoi k pudding	bokoi	po?oi	po?oi (PN?)
jexejexe k fish, Arothron	sekeseke	te?ete?e	-
maxavu Magellan's clouds	makavu	ma?afu	-
maxota k tree, Dysoxylum	mäkota	ma?ota	-
mexe dance	meke	me?e	-
noxa tie up, tether	noka	no?a	-
saxalo scrape (coconut)	i/sakalo coconut scraper	sa?alo,säkalo	-
tānoxa,tāxona k bowl	tākona	tāno?a	-
vaxa-V often	vaka-	fa?a-	-
vaxo peg,nail	vako	fa?o	-

NOTE

1. Sporadic prothesis of m before back vowels in Rotuman is not unlikely; the prothesis of r and g before initial a will be discussed below.

PCP *kw, *qw, and *gw are reconstructed as distinct from *k, *q, and *g, respectively, because of their reflexes kw (or xw), qw, and gw in Western Fijian and the south-east Vitilevu area of Eastern Fijian (see Geraghty 1983:42-50). The labiovelars (*kw, *qw, *gw) only occur before a and, far less frequently, e. PCP *gw is the reflex of POC *mw, and is distinguished also in Rotuman as v, rather than n/g from PCP *g. PCP *qw may be a conditioned reflex of PEO *bw (in addition to PCP *b (Geraghty 1983:120-124)), but the evidence is as yet only suggestive, and is not presented here. External cognates of PCP *kw are the same as those of *k. Some examples of PCP *k, *kw, *q, *qw, and *g are given below, and the evidence for PCP *gw is presented in Table 13.

k-

- *kini pinch: PFJ *kini, PPN *kini, ROT ?ini
- *kati bite: PFJ *kati, PPN *kati, ROT ?afi
- *kuli- skin: PFJ *kuli-, PPN *kili, ROT ?uli

-k-

- *kauki sand-crab: PFJ *kauki, PPN *kawiki, ROT ?avi?i
- *coka husk (coconut): PFJ *coka, PPN *hoka, ROT so?a
- *(cz)akule search for lice: PFJ *(cz)akule, PPN *sakule, ROT sa?ule

kw-

- *kwai say, tell: PFJ *kwai, PPN *kai tell story, ROT ?ea (?< *kwaita)

-kw-

- *sikwa net-needle: PFJ *sikwa, PPN *sika, ROT si?a
- *bekwa fruit-bat: PFJ *bekwa, PPN *peka

q-

- *qiriqiri gravel: PFJ *qereqere (for *qiriqiri), PPN *kilikili
- *qau swim: PFJ *qau, PPN *kau, ROT kau wade
- *qumuqumu k crab: PFJ *qumuqumu, ROT kumkumu

-q-

- *leqileqi k tree, *Xylocarpus*: PFJ *leqileqi, PPN *lekileki, ROT lekileki (PN?)
- *waqa canoe: PFJ *waqa, PPN *waka, ROT vaka (PN?)
- *(y)aquo learn: PPN *ako, ROT rako

qw-

- *qwalae k bird, *Porphyrio*, swamphen: PFJ *qwalā, PPN *kalae, ROT kalae
- *qwele earth, dirt: PFJ *qwele, PPN *kele, ROT kele black, blackish

-qw-

- *nuqwa k tree, *Decaspermum fruticosum*: PFJ *n(iu)qwa, PPN *nukanuka

g-

- *gi(czs)a: ROT nisa mock, jeer (PNCV *gigica smile, grin)
- *gara scream, cry loud: PFJ *gara, PPN *gala
- *guju- mouth: PFJ *gusu-, PPN *gutu, ROT nuju

-g-

- *tagi cry: PFJ *tagi, PPN *tagi, ROT fagi
- *taliga- ear: PFJ *taliga-, PPN *taliga, ROT faliga
- *togo mangrove: PFJ *togo, PPN *togo, ROT fogo

Table 13: Evidence for PCP *gw

PCP	PFJ	PPN	ROT
gwa?ane male	-gwane	-ga?ane	vavane husband
gwa(cz)a(cz)i k fish, <i>Parupeneus</i>	g(w)a(cz)a(cz)i	-	vasasi
gwalu wave, surf	-	galu	valu
gwajala k fish, <i>Epinephelus</i>	kasala (*gwasala)	gatala	vajala
gwata snake	gwata	gata	-
dagwa loose, slack	dagwa	tagataga	-
regwa turmeric	reregwa	rega	-

2.8 GLOTTAL AND ZERO

Table 14: The reflexes of the PCP glottal and zero

PCP	?	Ø/#_a
PFJ	Ø/y(/#_a)	y
PPN	?	Ø
ROT	Ø/?	r,g

The above interpretation is innovative with respect to Rotuman. Biggs (1965: 408-409) claimed Rotuman simply lost PCP *?, and made no reference to prothesis before *a.

All instances of PCP initial *a reflected in Rotuman show a prosthetic r or, in two cases, g:

- *agi give instructions, urge on > ragi
- *aka k vine, *Pueraria lobata* > ga?a
- *atu large number > rafu (POC *Ratu hundred)
- *aquo learn > rako
- *au Il > gou/a
- *ava handle > hara (met.)
- *avi fire > rahi

Forms showing initial a in Rotuman derive from PCP *?a or *xa:

- *?ayawa k tree, *Ficus* > aeva
- *?ate liver > afe
- *?atu line, row > afu
- *?atule k fish, *Selar crumenophthalmus* > afule
- *?a(cz)o sun > asa
- *?anuve caterpillar > aniha

*xanusi spit > anusi
 *xata make mark, show clearly > afa
 The fate of PCP *? in other environments is less clear. It is usually lost:

INITIAL

*?o(cz)o provisions for journey > oso
 *?oti finished > ofi
 *?ulu-ña its top, summit > uluga
 *?unavi scale (fish) > unehi
 *?uta inland > ufa
 *?uza rain > usa

MEDIAL

*li?o voice > lio
 *mata?u right-hand > mafau
 *matu?a old > mafua
 *ra?a branch, twig > rā
 *ta?o cook > fao
 *ta?u year > fau
 *tina?e intestines > finae
 *tu?a ridge, (leaf) midrib > fua
 *tu?u stand > fū
 *va?a stalk > hā
 *veta?u k tree, *Calophyllum inophyllum* > hefau

In some cases, however, PCP *? appears to be retained:¹¹

*?uvi yam > ?uhi
 *?o- possessive (PPN *(?)o- (Wilson 1982:73)) > ?o-
 *?i at, in, on > ?e
 *su?i pour water on > su?i

In the light of changes posited earlier in this paper, there now appear certain parallel developments which are best explained by two important mergers in the early history of Rotuman.

(1) PCP *, *x, and some cases of *v (probably via *h) merged as pre-Rotuman *. This phoneme must have been present at the time of r/g prothesis. Subsequently, *? was lost before a, but retained in some cases before other vowels, especially u.

(2) PCP *ñ, *y, and *θ/# merged as pre-Rotuman *y, rarely *g. Subsequently, *y became r initially. Medial *y changed following a to e and u to i, and then was lost.

NOTES

- Hockett (1976) reconstructed a phonology and a large number of lexical items for "Proto Fiji Polynesian", the language ancestral to Fijian and Polynesian, but did not consider Rotuman.
- Pawley has claimed (1979:13) that there is enough evidence to support a Rotuman-Fijian subgroup exclusive of Polynesian.
- There are also problems relating to the reality of Proto-Fijian - Geraghty and Pawley (1981) have suggested that some features now widespread in both major subgroups of Fijian, Eastern and Western, may be the result of diffusion after the break-up of Proto-Fijian.
- Failure to see this development led Biggs (1965) to posit Rotuman f as the regular reflex of PCP *nt in initial position. The examples cited were all in fact of PCP *t.
- A five-vowel system, with phonemic length, is also indicated by the evidence. Its development, though not entirely straightforward, will not be discussed in detail here. A major feature of Rotuman is the lowering of final *o and *e to a (noted in Pawley 1979), under conditions yet to be determined.
- Vowel lengthening is a common sporadic development in Proto-Fijian. Parallel to this example are *m̄Tm̄T urinate (< *mimi) and *qōqō narrow (< *qoqo). PFJ *vāo k tree, *Ochrosia* (< PEO *vaRo) seems to result from avoidance of the vowel cluster *ao (Geraghty and Pawley 1981), instead of the usual simplification. Especially common is the lengthening of pretonic *a, as in PFJ *kānusi spit, *kāvelu wipe anus, *q(w)ālotu egg, and *mā(cz)awa space between.
- Other examples of final long vowels shortened in PPN and Rotuman:
 - *dult plover: PPN *tuli (but SAM tult), ROT juli
 - *takū- back: PPN *tak(uū) tortoiseshell, ROT fa?u
 - *vetu?u star: ROT hefu
 - *tulū k small land crab: PPN *tulu
- A similar assimilation has applied in nunami k edible sea-anemone (< *drumani, with metathesis), and hahi?a Malay apple (< *kavika); and optionally in the loanword saujia, jaujia soldier.
- PCP *v is sporadically reflected as *b in PFJ (or parts of Fiji), e.g.:
 - bā taro stem (< *va?a), bō squeeze (< *vō), buka firewood (< *vuka).
- Probably also Levy's PSS *j, which seems to me may turn out to be a conditioned reflex of *d. Note also my suggestion (Geraghty 1983:193) that PCP *j has a distinct cognate in PSS, because the Sandfly Passage dialect of Nggela, according to Fox (1955), often shows s for d, and the cases cited include cognates of PCP *j, not of PCP *d or *dr.
- These, however, may not be genuine retentions, but cases of intrusive glottal stop, as shown in these forms:
 - *ifi k tree, *Inocarpus fagiferus* > ?ifi (PN)
 - *jamua (palm) fruit stem > jamu?a
 - *mea reddish > mea, mi?a (PN?)
 - *tea white, pale > fea, fe?a
 - *tulou word of apology > turo?u (PN)

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THE CHRONOLOGY OF THREE SAMOAN SOUND CHANGES

Even Hovdhaugen

1. INTRODUCTION¹

In Buck 1930:4-5 we find the following observations on Samoan historical phonology:

Recent changes have taken place in the spoken language in the substitution of *k* for *t* and a loose mutual interchange between the sounds *n* and *ng*. The reintroduction of *k* in place of *t* is extremely interesting as it evidently indicates a Polynesian tendency not confined to one dialect. A similar change has already completely occurred in the Hawaiian dialect in which it passed through two distinct phases. Thus, in the widespread Polynesian word *kumete* (wooden bowl) the first phase was the dropping of the *k* so that the word became '*ume*te'. In the second phase which occurred later, the *t* was changed to *k* and the word became '*umeke*'. Thus the lost *k* came back into the dialect but in no word did it re-occupy its original position. In the process of resurrection, the *k* displaced the *t* sound completely out of the dialect. In Samoa, the first phase of dropping the *k* had been completed before the Bible was printed in Samoan and *kumete* had become '*ume*te'. The second phase of substituting the *k* for *t* is now taking place in everyday speech and a wooden bowl is now more referred to as '*umeke*' than as '*ume*te'. The talking chiefs make the change in official speeches and the retention of the *t* sound is regarded by the public as pedantic. It seems probable that the Samoan *t* like the Hawaiian *t* is doomed to extinction.

The interchange between *n* and *ng*² has become so common that I had to constantly consult Pratt to find which was the original sound used. Thus in spoken speech, it is more usual to hear *paono* instead of the correct *paongo*, and *tafangi* instead of the correct *tafani*.

Buck's treatment does not differ substantially from that of other scholars who have touched on these problems, except maybe that Buck's presentation is a bit more shaded and above all more precise concerning the chronology of the sound changes than other treatments of them are.

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