

*The linguistic history of
southern Vanuatu*

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The linguistic history of southern Vanuatu

John Lynch



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1 *Introduction*

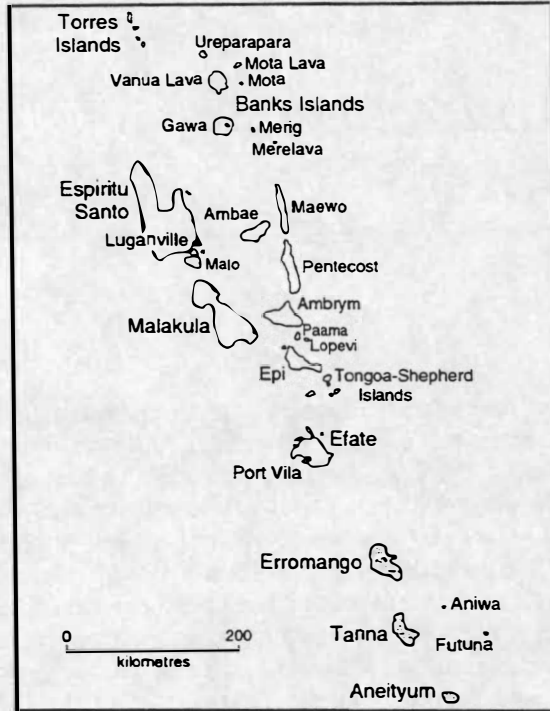
Arthur Capell once said that ‘the languages of Eromanga [sic], Tanna, and Aneityum diverge most of all from the rest of the New Hebrides, *while not agreeing among themselves*’ (1962:383; my emphasis). Certainly, there is a reasonable amount of truth in this statement, as will be seen in the chapters which follow. However, there is much more information available on these languages now than was available to Capell in the 1950s and 1960s. It is clear, for example, that these languages do form a closed subgroup of Oceanic (Lynch 1978a, 2000b), and that they share many more similarities than he or other contemporary observers recognised; it will also be pointed out here that these languages are rather more conservative under their veil of phonological radicalism than many scholars might expect.¹ The aim of this work is to reconstruct the protolanguage ancestral to these languages, to show its development from Proto Oceanic, and to elucidate the linguistic history of Southern Vanuatu.

1.1 The islands of Southern Vanuatu

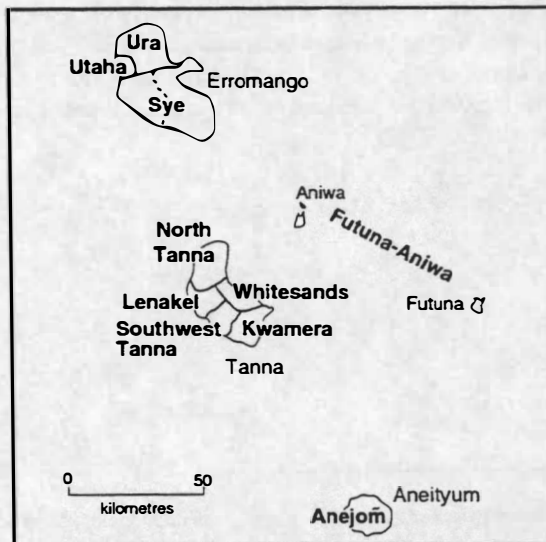
Vanuatu is a republic in the southwest Pacific. Formerly the Anglo-French Condominium of the New Hebrides, it achieved political independence in 1980. The current population of close to 200,000 lives on a dozen or so largish islands and many more smaller ones.² The capital, Port Vila, is located on the island of Efate in the south-central part of the archipelago.

¹ I am indebted to Malcolm Ross for the very apt phrase “veil of phonological radicalism”.

² A census is in progress as I write. The last census was in 1989 (Government of Vanuatu 1989), and this figure of approximately 200,000 is an estimate based on the assumed rate of population increase.



Map 1: Vanuatu



Map 2: Languages of Southern Vanuatu

South of Efate is the Tafea Province (formerly the Southern District), consisting of five inhabited islands: Erromango, Tanna, Aniwa, Futuna and Aneityum (see Maps 1 and 2). Table 1.1 shows the area and population (as of 1989) of these five islands:³

	Area in sq. km.	Population
Erromango	900	1,700
Tanna	592	27,000+
Aniwa	8	400
Futuna	11	500
Aneityum	160	700

These figures do not necessarily represent the number of people indigenous to each island. There has been considerable in- and out-migration from the islands of Tafea, with on the one hand ni-Vanuatu from other islands living in Erromango and Tanna, and on the other many people from the Tafea islands living and working in Port Vila, elsewhere in the archipelago, and overseas – especially in New Caledonia.

The Tafea Province was probably first settled about 3,000 years ago, with Erromango probably the first island to be settled (Bedford, Spriggs, Wilson & Regenvanu 1998). The presumption is that the settlement of Vanuatu proceeded roughly north-south, so one might reasonably assume that Erromango was the first of the Tafea islands to be settled, although there is likely to have been no significant pause before people moved to the other islands of the province, as any two islands are within sight and a day's sailing. Later – probably within the last four to seven hundred years – the islands of Futuna and Aniwa received further settlers from western Polynesia who came to dominate those islands linguistically.

Although Erromango is the largest of the three islands with which I am concerned, it also has one of the lowest population densities in Vanuatu – a little less than two people per square kilometre. Aneityum too is sparsely populated (just over four per sq. km.), at least in comparison with Tanna (around 45 per sq. km.). This is due to severe depopulation in the nineteenth century, the result largely of introduced European diseases.⁴ Spriggs (1997:258-259), for example, shows for Aneityum the effects on population of a series of epidemics between the 1850s and the early years of the twentieth century: from an approximate population of about 3,600 in 1857, outbreaks of influenza, measles, whooping cough and dysentery – often exacerbated by cyclones – took their toll to the extent that the population of Aneityum fell to 186 in 1941. Similar stories can be told for Erromango (see, for example, Lynch 1983a), where an 1850s population of about 5,000 fell to a low of 381 in 1931. Tanna, of course, also experienced some of these epidemics and natural catastrophes, but the population did not decline nearly so drastically.

³ Population data in Tables 1 and 2 are from Lynch and Crowley (*f/c*), extrapolated from the 1989 census; areas are from Chambers (1992:29).

⁴ See, for example, Spriggs (1997:255-263) for a discussion of depopulation in Tafea and elsewhere in Melanesia, and also McArthur and Yaxley (1968).

1.2 The languages of Southern Vanuatu

There are nine languages currently spoken in the Tafea Province. These are listed below in Table 1.2, together with approximate numbers of speakers and the major sources of data I have used in this monograph. More detailed information is given following the table, and in Lynch and Crowley (*f/c*).

	No. of speakers	Major data sources
Erromango		
Sye	1,900	Crowley 1998a, 2000b
Ura	5±	Crowley 1998b, 1999
Tanna		
North Tanna	3,500–5,000	own notes
Whitesands	5,500–7,500	own notes
Lenakel	8,500–11,000	Lynch 1975a, 1977a, 1978b
Southwest Tanna	4,000–5,000	Lynch 1982a
Kwamera	3,300–3,500	Lindstrom 1986; Lindstrom & Lynch 1994
Aneityum		
Anejoñi	900	Lynch 1982b, 2000a; Lynch & Tepahae 2001
Futuna and Aniwa		
Futuna-Aniwa	1,500	Capell 1958, 1984; Dougherty 1983

1.2.1 Futuna-Aniwa

Futuna and Aniwa are occupied by speakers of a single Polynesian Outlier language, known in the literature variously as West Futuna, West Futuna-Aniwa, or Futuna-Aniwa. This language is the source of a number of loanwords in the languages of the other Tafea islands (see especially §8.4 below), but it is not the main focus of this study, which is concerned with the languages of Erromango, Tanna and Aneityum.

Although the population of the two islands is only about 900, there are probably almost as many speakers of this language – and especially of the Futuna dialect – living in Tanna, Aneityum and Port Vila as there are in Futuna and Aniwa, giving a figure of at least 1500 speakers for this language.⁵

1.2.2 Erromango

The recent linguistic history of Erromango has been discussed in some detail by Lynch (1983a) and Crowley (1997). A number of languages – possibly five – were spoken on the island in the early nineteenth century, but with the drastic reduction in the population the

⁵ Clark's (1994:110) figure of 350 speakers for this language is clearly a severe under-estimate.

linguistic situation has become considerably simplified. Named speech-traditions (whether languages or dialects) which have become extinct include Sorug, Utaha, Uravat and Novul-Amleg. Ura, originally the language of northern Erromango, is now spoken by no more than half-a-dozen elderly people. The only viable remaining Erromangan language is Sye, spoken by all Erromangans, numbering possibly 1900 (Crowley 1998a:1).

Sye itself may be something of a mixed language, as a result of speakers of different speech-traditions being moved into central mission stations once villages ceased to be self-supporting after the ravages of epidemics and cyclones. Modern Ura also shows strong Sye influence: given that individual Ura speakers have probably only three or four other people to speak the language to, and that they thus speak Sye far more frequently – and fluently? – than they do Ura, it is not surprising that Sye lexical items have been incorporated wholesale into modern Ura. It is unfortunate that very little of this language was recorded before the number of its speakers was substantially reduced.

1.2.3 *Tanna*

Tanna is generally regarded (Lynch 1978a) as having five languages, all of which are dialectally complex. The situation is complicated further by dialect-chaining, especially in the northern half of the island, which makes drawing language-boundaries and estimating numbers of speakers quite difficult. These five languages, with approximate populations and major sources of data, were listed in Table 1.2.

Three of these languages – Lenakel, Whitesands and Kwamera – have been used as church languages for over a century, and they have thus acquired considerable prestige on the island. There is evidence that the two other languages have undergone a certain amount of influence from these languages – North Tanna from Whitesands and Lenakel, and Southwest Tanna from Lenakel and Kwamera. In addition, because of the similarities in grammatical structure between all Tanna languages, most Tannese are passively bilingual in some or all of the other languages on the island.

1.2.4 *Aneityum*

There is only one indigenous language spoken on Aneityum, and dialectal variation today is very small. The situation before depopulation may have been rather more complex than this: certainly, Inglis (1882) commented on greater dialect variation, and there is also oral tradition that there were once two ‘languages’ on the island (Lynch & Tepahae 1999). Anejom̄ has been written for over a century, and was in fact one of the better-known Oceanic languages in the nineteenth century.

1.3 Previous research

As elsewhere in the Pacific, explorers provided the first information on the languages of Vanuatu (e.g. Forster 1778; Bennett 1831, 1832), with the early missionaries providing some grammatical and more detailed lexical data (e.g. Inglis 1854, 1882; Turner 1861; Gray 1891). The most recent descriptive studies are listed in Table 1.2.

Building on the published and unpublished work of these missionaries, Codrington (1885), Kern (1906) and Ray (1926) initiated comparative work in this area. Tryon's general survey of Vanuatu languages included the southern area (see Tryon 1972, 1973, 1976, 1981). More recent comparative work has been done by Lynch (1977b, 1978a, 1983e, 1986, 1991, 1992a, 1994b, 1996b, 1999a, 2000c).

A fuller survey of descriptive and comparative studies can be found in the appropriate sections of Lynch and Crowley (*f/c*).

1.4 Organisation

The Southern Vanuatu (SV) languages belong to the Oceanic subgroup of the Austronesian family. Members of other subgroups are spoken in Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia and Malagasy. Members of the Oceanic subgroup, all of whom share certain innovative developments from Proto Austronesian, are spoken in Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia.

The internal subgrouping of Proto Oceanic is still not absolutely clear. It is probable that there are three major first-order branches: an Admiralty Islands branch (which may or may not include Yapese), a Western Oceanic branch (New Guinea area and the western Solomons), and an Eastern Oceanic branch (the remainder). Eastern Oceanic itself – sometimes referred to as Central-Eastern or Remote Oceanic (not always with exactly the same membership) – apparently divides into a number of branches, including Southeast Solomons, Utupua-Vanikoro, Micronesian, Central Pacific (Fijian, Polynesian, and Rotuman), and Southern Oceanic (Vanuatu and New Caledonia). It is to this last branch, Southern Oceanic, that the Southern Vanuatu languages belong (Lynch 1999a, 1999b).

This volume begins with a reconstruction of Proto Southern Vanuatu (PSV) phonology and its development from Proto Oceanic (POc). Chapter 2 deals with the consonants of PSV, Chapter 3 with the vowels, and Chapter 4 with a variety of other issues relating to morpheme structure, stress, vowel deletion, rule ordering, and the behaviour of POc **q* in PSV.

The next three chapters deal with the reconstruction of PSV grammar. Chapter 5 deals with pronouns, nominal morphology, and the syntax of the noun phrase; Chapter 6 with verbal morphology and verb phrase morphosyntax; and Chapter 7 with clause-level and sentence-level grammar.

Chapter 8 deals with historical reconstruction. In that chapter, I examine the internal relationships of the Southern Vanuatu languages and their external links, and attempt to reconstruct something of the linguistic history of the area, including a significant section on contact with Polynesian languages.

1.5 Phonological systems and orthographies

This section briefly outlines the phonemic inventories of the modern Southern Vanuatu languages and of Proto Oceanic and Proto Southern Oceanic, the orthography used in this monograph, general phonotactic patterns and rules regarding stress assignment. More detailed descriptions of the phonological systems of certain individual languages can be found in the sources listed in Table 1.2.

1.5.1 Consonants

Erromango

The two extant Erromangan languages, Sye and Ura, have the following consonant phonemes:

Sye Consonants			Ura consonants			
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	
			<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	
	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
<i>v</i>		<i>ɣ</i>	<i>v</i>		<i>ɣ</i>	
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
	<i>l</i>			<i>l</i>		
	<i>r</i>			<i>r</i>		
<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>		

Ura /b d g/ are prenasalised. Terry Crowley (1999:110-111) says of the Ura liquids that,

despite the fact that there is a phonemic contrast between the two liquids, I have encountered a considerable amount of variation between [l] and [r] in transcriptions both within my own data, and between my data and that recorded by Jerry Taki, William Mete, John Lynch and Arthur Capell... This can sometimes be put down to lack of clarity in articulation due to the old age of the speakers... It may also be, however, that /l/ and /r/ are phonetically closer to each other in Ura than in Sye.

These comments will need to be taken into account when the liquids are examined in §2.4.

Tanna

The five Tanna languages have similar phonological systems, though there are differences. Below are the consonant phonemes of two of these languages:

Lenakel consonants				Kwamera consonants				
<i>p^w</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p^w</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k^w</i>
	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>(f^w)</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>h</i>
	<i>v</i>				<i>v</i>			
<i>m^w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>m^w</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
		<i>l</i>						
		<i>r</i>				<i>r</i>		
<i>w</i>								

Whitesands has the same system as Lenakel except that it may also have the labialised fricative /f^w/. Some dialects of North Tanna (see e.g. Blaymires 1995) have the same system as Lenakel, but the dialect on which I have the most material, and the one cited here, has, in addition to the voiceless stops, an incomplete set of prenasalised voiced stops /b^w b d/.⁶ Southwest Tanna has the same system as Kwamera, except that most dialects have /l/ instead

⁶ It is not clear whether North Tanna and Whitesands have the phoneme /w/: see the discussion in §2.2.3 below.

of /r/. In all Tanna languages, nasals, liquids, /v/ and semivowel allophones of the high vowels devoice when adjacent to /h/, which is then lost: thus underlying /mh/ and /hm/ clusters, for example, surface as voiceless [m̥], while /uh/ and /hu/ in environments where /u/ becomes a glide surface as [w].

Aneityum

The consonant system of Anejoṃ is:

Anejoṃ consonants

<i>p</i> ^w	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	(?)
	<i>f</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>
	<i>v</i>		<i>ɟ</i>	
<i>m</i> ^w	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ṅ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
		<i>l</i>		
		<i>r</i>		
<i>w</i>		<i>y</i>		

1.5.2 Vowels, phonoactics and stress

Anejoṃ and the languages of Erromango have five surface vowel phonemes /i e a o u/: Sye also has an underlying sixth vowel /ə/ which surfaces as /o/ in some contexts and zero in others (see §3.2.5 for further discussion). The Tanna languages have six phonemic vowels: /i e ə a o u/. Vowel length is contrastive in Anejoṃ and the Tanna languages, though this contrast is found more frequently in the final syllable than anywhere else. High vowels have non-syllabic allophones when adjacent to vowels in certain contexts.

There are few restrictions on the occurrence of consonants and vowels in relation to position in the word, or in relation to participation in consonant or vowel clusters. Any relevant specific restrictions will be noted in the appropriate sections in Chapters 2 and 3.

Syllables may be open or closed in all SV languages, thus allowing word-medial two-consonant clusters. In Anejoṃ and the Tanna languages, no initial or final surface consonant clusters, and no medial three-consonant clusters, are allowed in non-borrowed words; where these occur in underlying forms, vowel epenthesis generally resolves the unacceptable cluster (although the Tanna rule devoicing certain consonants before /h/ applies before the epenthesis rule). So Anejoṃ underlying /nyat/ 'basket' surfaces as *inyat*, while Lenakel underlying /nruw/ 'sugarcane' surfaces as *nəruw*. In Sye, there is a wide range of allowable initial and medial two-consonant clusters, and a smaller range of medial three-consonant clusters, but only /nr/ and /nt/ may occur finally. Ura, on the other hand, allows a smaller range of medial clusters than Sye, and disallows initial and final clusters.

Clusters of two vowels occur, though clusters of more than two vowels are rare. In Anejoṃ, there appear to be no principled restrictions on vowel clustering, though not all possible clusters have been recorded. The languages of Erromango and Tanna are more restrictive: in Erromango, only clusters of non-high vowel + high vowel may occur; while in Tanna, high vowels may be followed by any vowel, but there are restrictions on clusters in which the first vowel is non-high, and /ə/ may not occur as a member of a surface cluster.

Primary stress is invariably on the penultimate syllable in Erromango. In Anejoḿ and the Tanna languages, it is normally penultimate, but (a) final if the vowel of the final syllable is long, and (b) antepenultimate in certain very restricted contexts. Secondary stress normally occurs two syllables to the left of the primary-stressed syllable.

1.5.3 Orthography

Normal IPA symbols are used in citing language data, except that I use:

- (a) *j* to represent the affricate /tʃ/ in Anejoḿ,
- (b) *b^w*, *b*, *d*, *g* to represent the prenasalised stops in Ura and North Tanna;
- (c) *ə* to represent the central vowel in Tanna (and Sye); and
- (d) double vowels (*ii*, *aa* etc.) to represent vowel length.

Published sources generally use the standard orthographies, and the following 'translations' need to be made in comparing data cited here with those sources:

- (a) /ŋ/ is represented by *g* in the orthographies of all SV languages;
- (b) /ʃ/ is represented by *c* in Sye, Ura and Anejoḿ;
- (c) in Sye, the sequence /nr/ is traditionally written *nd*;
- (d) the labialised consonants /p^w m^w k^w/ are written with a following *w* in Tanna (*p^ww*, *m^ww*, *k^ww*); the first two of these are written as *p̄* and *m̄* in Anejoḿ;
- (e) the Tanna central vowel /ə/ has been written as *i* in some publications; and
- (f) in Anejoḿ orthography, /θ/ is represented by *d*.

1.5.4 Proto Oceanic and Proto Southern Oceanic

Proto Oceanic (Ross 1988, *inter alia*) is reconstructed as having had the five vowels **i*, **e*, **a*, **o* and **u* and the following consonants:

Proto Oceanic consonants

<i>*p^w</i>	<i>*p</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*c</i>	<i>*k</i>	<i>*q</i>
<i>*b^w</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*d</i>	<i>*j</i>	<i>*g</i>	
			<i>*r</i>		
			<i>*dr</i>		
			<i>*s</i>		
<i>*m^w</i>	<i>*m</i>	<i>*n</i>	<i>*ñ</i>	<i>*ŋ</i>	
		<i>*l</i>			<i>*R</i>
<i>*w</i>			<i>*y</i>		

Proto Oceanic probably had penultimate stress, but apparently did not distinguish vowel length. Both open and closed syllables were permitted, though open syllables were far more frequent, especially in non-final syllables.

Sources of POC lexical items are diverse, but include Osmond (1996), Pawley (1996), Ross (1995, 1996), as well as various papers in Pawley and Ross (1994) and Ross, Pawley and Osmond (1998). Proto Polynesian reconstructions are from Biggs (2000).

Proto Southern Oceanic is the putative ancestor of the languages of Vanuatu and New Caledonia. Ross Clark (n.d.) has reconstructed the phonology and lexicon of Proto North-Central Vanuatu (PNCV). However, it now appears that there may *not* be a North-Central Vanuatu subgroup per se. Nevertheless, it does seem – at least until further research contradicts this – that the phonological system Clark reconstructs for PNCV is actually attributable to PSOc. PSOc had the same five vowels as POc and the following consonants:⁷

Proto Southern Oceanic consonants

		*t		*k	*q
*b ^w	*b	*d	*z	*g	
		*r			
		(*dr?)			
	*v	*s			
*m ^w	*m	*n	(*ñ?)	*ŋ	
		*l			*R
*w		*y			

Note (i) that the POc voiceless labial stop *p has become *v, (ii) that there has been a merger of some POc palatals and (iii) that there has also been a merger of some liquids.

1.6 Conventions and abbreviations

I use the following conventions and abbreviations throughout the text.

Language names

Three-letter abbreviations are used for modern language names (with the Futuna and Aniwa dialects of Futuna-Aniwa being labelled separately where necessary).⁸ Abbreviation conventions for both modern languages and protolanguages follow Reid (1992).

<i>Modern languages</i>		<i>Protolanguages</i>	
Anj	Anejoñ	PEOc	Proto Eastern Oceanic
Anw	Aniwa	PEr	Proto Erromango
Kwm	Kwamera	PNCV	Proto North-Central Vanuatu
Len	Lenakel	PNT	Proto Northern Tanna
NTn	North Tanna	POc	Proto Oceanic
SWT	Southwest Tanna	PPn	Proto Polynesian
Uth	Utaha	PSOc	Proto Southern Oceanic
WFu	West Futuna	PST	Proto Southern Tanna
Wsn	Whitesands	PSV	Proto Southern Vanuatu
		PTn	Proto Tanna

⁷ Clark uses different symbols from Ross (*g for *ŋ, *q for *g, *ʔ for *q), but I will follow Ross's POc orthography in writing PSOc phonemes. Clark is unsure at this stage of research about the phonemic status of *dr and *ñ.

⁸ Note that Sye and Ura do not need to be abbreviated.

In lists of data, where column headings specify a subgroup (e.g. Erromango) or an intermediate protolanguage (e.g. Proto Tanna), then only initial letters are used for language names, for reasons of space. Thus S under the (Proto) Erromango column refers to Sye but under the (Proto) Tanna column S refers to Southwest Tanna.

In citation of data and sound correspondences

- * marks a protoform which is an established reconstruction.
- * marks a protoform which is a new or varied POC reconstruction based on data presented in this work; a full list of these is presented in Appendix IV.
- x.y.z* *x* in one language corresponds with *y* in another and *z* in a third. The order of the languages will usually be obvious in each section: for example in dealing with Proto Erromangan, Sye forms are always cited first, Ura forms second; thus 'the *s:h* correspondence' in this section means 'the correspondence between Sye *s* and Ura *h*'. Where any ambiguity might arise the languages involved will be specified.
- x-y-z* *x-*, *-y-*, *-z* (i.e. initial *x*, medial *y* and final *z*).
- / separates non-cognate material from cognate material.
- x ~ y* in charts of correspondences, means 'x or y, but more often x'.
- else in charts of correspondences, means 'elsewhere'.
- { } (i) in discussion of sound correspondences, a form so enclosed is cognate but does not show the correspondence under discussion. For example in the discussion of reflexes of POC **p*, the notation POC **topu* > {Sye *ne/t-*}, NTn *ne/tap*, SWT *na/tuk* 'sugarcane' indicates that Sye *net-* is derived from **topu* but does not reflect the second syllable (which contains **p*).
- (ii) in the discussion of morphology, the form so enclosed is not cognate. For example, POC **[i]au* > Sye *yau*, Len *io*, {Anj *añak*} 'I'.
- = clitic boundary.
- < > typical subject/object/possessor (e.g. '<pig> grunt' – pig is the typical subject of grunt).
- + a + sign indicates that other similar subjects, objects, or possessors are allowed (e.g. 'dry <clothes+> by placing in the sun' – clothes and similar things, like mats or towels, are the typical objects).
- unexpl. unexplained.

In reconstructions

- [*x*] the item is reconstructible in two forms, one with and one without **x*.
- [*x,y*] the item is reconstructible in two forms, one with **x* and the other with **y*.
- (*x*) **x* may or may not have been present.
- (*x,y*) either **x* or **y* was present.
- [] a segment was present, but there is no evidence as to what it was.
- V a vowel was present, but there is no evidence as to which vowel it was.

In lexical glosses

k.o.	kind of
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
sp.	species
w.	with

In morpheme glosses

ADJ	adjectiviser	FUT	future	OPT	optative
AOR	aorist	GEN	general possessive	PERF	perfective
BENEF	benefactive	HAB	habitual	PL	plural
CAUS	cause, causative	HORT	hortative	POSS	possessive
COMIT	comitative	IMP	imperative	PRES	present
CONC	concurrent	INC	inclusive	PROHIB	prohibitive
COND	conditional	INDEF	indefinite	PURP	purpose
CONT	continuous	INTEN	intentional	REC	recent
CS	construct suffix	INTR	intransitive	REFL	reflexive
DAT	dative	IRR	irrealis	REL	relative
DEM	demonstrative	ITER	iterative	SEQ	sequential
DEP	dependent	LOC	locative	SG	singular
DIST	distant	NEG	negative	SM	subject marker
DL	dual	NOM	nominaliser	SUBORD	subordinator
ECHO	echo-subject	NONSG	non-singular	TL	trial
EXC	exclusive	OBJ	object	TR	transitive
FOOD	food possessive	OBL	oblique		

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2 *Consonants*

In this and the following two chapters, I reconstruct the phonological system of Proto Southern Vanuatu (PSV) and two of its daughter languages, Proto Erromangan (PEr) and Proto Tanna (PTn), and describe the development of the Proto Oceanic (POc) phonemes and morpheme structure in the Southern Vanuatu languages. I assume for the purposes of this discussion that (a) there are three subgroups of the Southern Vanuatu family, Erromango, Tanna and Anejōm̄, and (b) that within Tanna there are two subgroups, Northern and Southern – although this will not be explicitly justified until Chapter 8.

I have tried to give adequate illustration of each sound correspondence set without burdening the reader with successions of unnecessarily long lists. In addition, because of the sequential nature of the presentation of PSV protophonemes, the reader is asked to take on trust reflexes of those protophonemes not as yet discussed. A full chart of sound correspondences appears as Appendix I, while Appendix II contains reconstructed PSV lexical items, where further illustrations of reflexes of POc phonemes may be found. In the lists of POc forms in these chapters, I have sometimes given a Proto Southern Oceanic (PSOc) form instead: these forms, a full list of which appears in Appendix IV, have known POc antecedents but both North-Central Vanuatu and Southern Vanuatu languages show the same innovation. In general, I have not cited in the text PSOc forms with no apparent external cognates.

In discussing the phonemes of Proto Erromango, I have generally not included data from the extinct language Utaha, but I have included Utaha reflexes in the tables of sound correspondences. These are highly tentative, based as they are on the most fragmentary of data, but they give some indication of the way in which the phonology of that language developed.

2.1 Overview of Proto Southern Vanuatu

Proto Southern Vanuatu will be reconstructed as having had the phonemes listed in Table 2.1. The consonants will be discussed in this chapter (with more on **q* in Chapter 4), and the vowels in Chapter 3.

Consonants						Vowels		
*p ^w	*p	*t	*c	*k	*q	*i		*u
*b ^w	*b	*d		*g		*e	*ə	*o
	*v	*s	*j	*ɣ			*a	
*m ^w	*m	*n		*ŋ				
		*l						
		*r						
*w			*y					

Although changes in the structure of POC morphemes will not be elaborated on until Chapter 4, some brief mention needs to be made here, so that reflexes of POC forms will be more recognisable.

1. POC word-final consonants were generally retained in PSV, though the Erromangan languages tend to lose final nasals and Anejoñ appears to have lost most final consonants other than *r; e.g. *saqat 'bad' > Sye *sat*, Lenakel *taat*, Anejoñ *has*.
2. POC *q was regularly lost: *luaq 'vomit' > Sye *e/lwo*, Southwest Tanna *lua*, Anejoñ *a/lou*.
3. POC vowels in absolute word-final position were regularly lost, but a vowel was retained before word-final *q: compare *mate 'die' > Sye *mah*, Lenakel *məs* with *mataq 'raw' > Sye *e/mte*, Lenakel *a/mra*.
4. Certain unstressed pretonic vowels were also lost: *na *lima-ña* 'his hand' > Lenakel *nelmən*, Anejoñ *nijman*.
5. The majority of verbs have accreted an initial vowel: *toka 'sit, stay' > Sye *e/te*, Lenakel *a/rək*, Anejoñ *a/teɣ*, *e/teɣ*.
6. The majority of nouns have accreted either the POC article *na or some other noun-marker as part of the root: *na *Rum^waq* 'house' > Sye *n/imo*, Lenakel *n/im^wa*, Anejoñ *n/iom^w*.

All other conventions used in this and the next two chapters are explained in §1.6.

2.2 Labials

Proto Southern Vanuatu made a distinction between velarised and simple labial stops and nasals, and between voiceless and prenasalised voiced stops. I thus reconstruct in this section PSV *m^w, *m, *p^w, *p, *b^w and *b. In addition, there is clear evidence for a voiced labial fricative *v and for a phoneme *w whose phonetic characteristics are not completely clear.

2.2.1 Labial nasals

The Erromangan languages have only a single bilabial nasal /m/, and I reconstruct Proto Erromangan *m for the correspondence Sye *m*: Ura *m*: Utaha *m*. Anejoñ and the Tanna

languages, however, make a phonemic distinction between the velarised labial nasal /m̥/ and the simple labial /m/, and this distinction can be reconstructed for Proto Tanna.

PTn *m̥

NTn m̥	Wsn m̥	Len m̥	SWT m̥	Kwm m̥	
<i>m̥alam̥ala</i>	<i>m̥alam̥ala</i>	<i>m̥eam̥ea</i>	<i>m̥alam̥ala</i>	<i>m̥aram̥ara</i>	'ant'
<i>eruh/am̥ain</i>	<i>eh/am̥ein</i>		<i>om̥hen</i>	<i>av/am̥hen</i>	'choose'
<i>nim̥a</i>	<i>nim̥a</i>	<i>nim̥a</i>	<i>nim̥a</i>	<i>nim̥a</i>	'house'
<i>nəm̥ij</i>	<i>nəm̥ij</i>	<i>m̥ij</i>	<i>m̥ij</i>	{ <i>n-amiuv-ien</i> }	'earthquake'

PTn *m

NTn m	Wsn m	Len m	SWT m	Kwm m	
<i>məne</i>	<i>məne</i>	<i>məne</i>	<i>məne</i>	<i>məne</i>	'and (with NPs)'
<i>maul</i>	<i>moul</i>	<i>mul</i>	<i>maul</i>	<i>mour</i>	'left (hand)'
<i>nəme</i>	<i>nəmei</i>	<i>nəm</i>	<i>nəmel</i>	<i>nemer</i>	'breadfruit'
<i>am</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>ami</i>	<i>aam</i>	<i>ami</i>	'urinate'
<i>ietemim</i>	<i>ietamimi</i>	<i>ieramiim</i>	<i>ielmama</i>	<i>iermama</i>	'person'
<i>fum</i>	<i>fum</i>	<i>uhum</i>	<i>uhum</i>	<i>visim</i>	'closed'

There are some cases of variation in these reflexes – either most languages reflect one but one or two reflect the other, or because final *m̥* has not been recorded.¹ (The same situation applies with the labial stops – see below.) For example, the following probably reflect **m̥*, although some cases are more clear-cut than others:

PTn *m̥

NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
<i>m̥anə-</i>	<i>nəm̥anə-</i>	<i>nəm̥anə-</i>	<i>nam̥anə-</i>	<i>pumani-</i>	'(female) brother' ²
<i>nəm̥am̥ei-</i>	<i>nəmom̥ei-</i>	<i>nəmom̥i-</i>	<i>numl-</i>	<i>num̥heri-</i>	'feather'
<i>təm</i>		<i>tam</i>	<i>təmtəm</i>	<i>etum̥</i>	'be high tide'
<i>asum</i>	<i>asum</i>	<i>asum̥</i>	<i>asim</i>	<i>amhu</i>	'to garden'
<i>nəm</i>	<i>amnəm</i>	<i>amnuum̥</i>	<i>anəm</i>	<i>anum̥i</i>	'drink'

Proto Southern Vanuatu also had both velarised and simple bilabial nasals (and, as the next section will show, this distinction occurred in the stops as well). The development of these nasals is as follows:

¹ The velarised labial nasal *m̥* occurs word-finally in Lenakel and Kwamera; it probably does in the other languages as well, but poor recording may be responsible for the fact that it has not been identified in this position. Where Lenakel or Kwamera final *m̥* corresponds with final *m* in other Tanna languages, I assume PTn **m̥*.

² Previous descriptions of the Tanna languages had roots like these as consonant final, with the schwa being inserted by regular phonological rule: for example, Lenakel underlying {*nəmwan-n*} 'her brother' > /*nəmwanən*/. However, on historical grounds there is no motivation for the loss of the root-final vowel, and on synchronic grounds there is no strong evidence that the vowel was not there in underlying forms. I thus write forms like these with root-final schwa.

POc	<i>*m^w</i> ; <i>*m</i> / <i>__*u</i>	<i>*m</i> else
PSV	<i>*m^w</i>	<i>*m</i>
PEr	<i>*m</i>	<i>*m</i>
PTn	<i>*m^w</i>	<i>*m</i>
Anj	<i>m^w</i>	<i>m</i>

In the illustrative examples below, note the occasional fluctuation between *m* and *m^w*.

POc **m^w* > PSV **m^w*

	Sye <i>m</i>	Len <i>m^w</i>	Kwm <i>m^w</i>	Anj <i>m^w</i>	
<i>*Rum^waq</i>	<i>n/imo</i>	<i>n/im^wa</i>	<i>n/im^wa</i>	<i>n/iom^w</i>	'house'
<i>*ta-m^waqane</i>	<i>na/tman</i>	<i>ie/ram^waan</i>	<i>ie/rman</i>	<i>na/tam^wañ</i>	'man'
<i>*m^walo</i>				<i>n/m^woje</i>	'reef'
<i>*m^watue</i>		<i>a/m^wta</i>	<i>a/m^weta</i>		'sneeze'

POc **m* / **u* > PSV **m^w*

	Sye <i>m</i>	Len <i>m^w</i>	Kwm <i>m^w</i>	Anj <i>m^w</i>	
<i>*mutusi</i>	<i>o/mti</i>	<i>murh</i>	<i>m^werās</i>	<i>a/m^wot</i>	'broken'
PSOc <i>*gomu</i>	<i>a/ŋkm-i</i>	<i>a/kum^w</i>	<i>a/k^wm^w-i</i>	<i>a/kum^w</i>	'put in mouth'
<i>*qumun</i>	<i>-n/um</i>	<i>n/um^wan</i>	<i>n/em^wən</i>	<i>-n/um^w</i>	'earth oven'
<i>*ñamuk</i>	<i>yomoy</i>	<i>mumuk</i>	<i>m^wi</i>	<i>n/yam^w</i>	'mosquito'

POc **m* else > PSV **m*

	Sye <i>m</i>	Len <i>m</i>	Kwm <i>m</i>	Anj <i>m</i>	
<i>*manuk</i>	<i>menuy</i>	<i>menuk</i>	<i>menu</i>	<i>n/man</i>	'bird'
<i>*matuqa-</i>	<i>meta-</i>	<i>məra-</i>	<i>mare-</i>	<i>mata-</i>	'uncle'
<i>*mataq</i>	<i>e/mtē</i>	<i>a/mra</i>	<i>a/mera</i>	<i>mat</i>	'raw'
<i>*maRi</i>	<i>n/mar</i>	<i>nə/m</i>	<i>ne/mer</i>	<i>nma</i>	'breadfruit'
<i>*mimiR</i>	<i>evla/mi</i>	<i>a/mi</i>	<i>a/mi</i>	<i>a/mi-i</i>	'urinate'
<i>*mono</i>	<i>na/men</i>			<i>a/men</i>	'stay/residue'
<i>*molis</i>	<i>ne/mli</i>	<i>nə/malh</i>	<i>nə/mərhi</i>	{ <i>ne/pjeθ</i> }	'citrus' ³

As in Proto Tanna, there are some correspondence sets where we find variation between **m* and **m^w*, like those below; these generally occur adjacent to POc or PSV **u*.

POc	Sye	Len	Kwm	Anj	
<i>*tanum</i>	<i>e/tenom</i>	<i>renəm</i>	<i>num^w-i</i>	<i>a/tenom</i>	'bury'
PSOc <i>*munim</i>	<i>o/mon/ki</i>	<i>a/mnuum^w</i>	<i>a/num^w-i</i>	<i>a/m^woñ, a/m^wñi-i</i>	'drink'
	<i>nomol</i>	<i>nəməl</i>	<i>namur</i>	<i>nom^woj</i>	'Cycas sp.'

³ The Anejoñ form *ne/pjeθ* shows irregular development of **m* as *p*.

2.2.2 Labial stops

I will show in this section that PSV had four labial stops, $*p^w$, $*p$, $*b^w$ and $*b$, reflecting a contrast between velarised and simple stops and between voiceless oral and voiced prenasalised stops.

2.2.2.1 Proto Erromango

Regular correspondences involving the labial stops suggest two separate stop phonemes in Proto Erromango, which I will write as $*p$ and $*b$, the latter being prenasalised. This contrast is clear in initial position:⁴

PEr $*p$ -

Sye p-	Ura p-	
<i>poŋkevre</i>	<i>pogevre</i>	'k.o. large snapper'
<i>poki</i>	<i>poki</i>	'sea eel'
<i>purou</i>	<i>purou</i>	'hat'

PEr $*b$ -

Sye p-	Ura b-	
<i>pentop</i>	<i>bedop</i>	'ashes'
<i>poɣup</i>	<i>boɣup</i>	'heaven'
<i>potni-</i>	<i>bohni/n</i>	'base'
<i>pwayah</i>	<i>balayis</i>	'daytime'

In Sye, medial $*p$ and $*b$ merge as p post-consonantly, and the unit phoneme $*b$ has been reanalysed as the cluster mp elsewhere; this reanalysis, as will be seen below, has occurred with the other prenasalised stops as well. In Ura, medial $*p$ and $*b$ merge as b intervocally, and the prenasalised stop loses its stop quality pre-consonantly. Thus the medial correspondences are as follows:

PEr	$*-p-$	$*-b-$
Sye	p	$p / C_; mp$ else
Ura	$b / V_V; p$ else	$m / _C; b$ else

These are illustrated below.

PEr $*-p- / V_V$

Sye -p-	Ura -b-	
<i>aleipo</i>	<i>ahleiba</i>	'sleep'
<i>taipotɣonei</i>	<i>daiboryeni</i>	'k.o. yam'
<i>taipelay</i>	<i>taibelek</i>	'open'
<i>toputwai</i>	<i>doburwai</i>	'bush'

⁴ Some forms cited here for Erromangan languages may differ from those listed in the lexical sources. Crowley has generally given citation forms for verbs, which consist of the root with the nominalising prefix $n-$; I give just the root.

PEr *-p- else

Sye -p-	Ura -p-	
<i>nepleple</i>	<i>nepleple</i>	'canoe-tree'
<i>ehpe</i>	<i>espe</i>	'reflexive verb'
<i>etpin</i>	<i>etpin</i>	'win a point'
<i>arpor</i>	<i>arpor</i>	'numb'
<i>ahpi</i>	<i>aspi</i>	'lick'
<i>ulpei</i>	<i>ulpei</i>	'k.o. fish'
<i>yaypon</i>	<i>yaypon</i>	'egret'

PEr *-b- / C__

Sye -p-	Ura -b-	
<i>ehpi</i>	<i>isbi</i>	'count'
<i>enpar</i>	<i>enbar</i>	'quiet, silent'
<i>moypo-</i>	<i>boybo/n</i>	'grandchild'
<i>potpot</i>	<i>burbut</i>	'near, close'

PEr *-b- / __C

Sye -mp-	Ura -m-	
<i>amplehi</i>	<i>amlesi</i>	'stick on to'
<i>empyu</i>	<i>emyu</i>	'dance'
<i>nompwau</i>	<i>nomwau</i>	'cloud'
<i>nimrap</i>	<i>nimrap</i>	'multi-pronged spear'

PEr *-b- / V__V

Sye -mp-	Ura -b-	
<i>ulompot</i>	<i>lobut</i>	'croton'
<i>somponj</i>	<i>abanj</i>	'snore'
<i>empai</i>	<i>abai</i>	'make a fence'
<i>nampinti</i>	<i>nabidi</i>	'edible fungus'

There is only one correspondence set in final position. Since neither the Sye cluster *mp* nor the Ura phoneme *b* occurs word-finally, I assume that the examples below reflect **p*, and that **b* did not occur in this position in Proto Erromango.

PEr *-p

Sye -p	Ura -p	
<i>nousap</i>	<i>nousap</i>	'flood'
<i>oyep</i>	<i>erkep</i>	'to fly'
<i>nevahrip</i>	<i>nesvarip</i>	'tabu place'
<i>potnetop</i>	<i>bohnetop</i>	'k.o. fish'
<i>nup</i>	<i>nup</i>	'yam'

Thus the reflexes of the two labial stops are as set out below. The Utaha reflexes are, as throughout this chapter, extremely tentative and based on just a few comparisons.

PEr	*p	*b
Sye	p	mp / V __; p else
Ura	b / V __ V; p else	m / __ C; b else
Uth	p	p-, -mp-

2.2.2.2 Proto Tanna

There is adequate evidence supporting the reconstruction of the four labial stops *p^w, *p, *b^w and *b in Proto Tanna. Only North Tanna data support the oral/prenasalised distinction, since the prenasalised and oral stops merge in the other four languages; however, the oral/prenasalised distinction is also reconstructed for other orders of Proto Tanna stops, and for Proto Erromango. The regular correspondences are listed below; recall that the notation *b ~ b^w* means ‘usually *b* but sometimes *b^w* with no apparent conditioning’.

PTn	*p ^w	*p	*b ^w	*b
NTn	p ^w	p	b ~ b ^w	b
Wsn	p ^w	p	p ^w	p
Len	p ^w	p	p ^w	p
SWT	p ^w	p	p ^w	p
Kwm	p ^w	p	p ^w	p

The correspondence sets above are exemplified below:

PTn *p^w

NTn p ^w	Wsn p ^w	Len p ^w	SWT p ^w	Kwm p ^w	
ap ^w ia		p ^w ia	əp ^w ia	p ^w ia	‘smooth’
ap ^w ia	ap ^w a	ap ^w a	ap ^w a	ap ^w a	‘bald’
təp ^w ei-	təp ^w eua	təp ^w eua	təp ^w eua	təp ^w eua	‘stomach/large intestine’

PTn *p

NTn p	Wsn p	Len p	SWT p	Kwm p	
pukəs	pukah	pukas	pukah	pukah	‘pig’
petan	pətan	peravən	pilavən	pran	‘woman’
uulpəs	-ulpəs	uulpəs	k ^w əlpəs	kurpas	‘heel’
kəpaas	kəpas	kəpaas	kəpas	paha	‘axe’
-m ^w aniip	-m ^w anipi	-m ^w aniip	-m ^w aniip	m ^w anipi/tare	‘dorsal fin’

PTn *b^w

NTn b ~ b ^w	Wsn p ^w	Len p ^w	SWT p ^w	Kwm p ^w	
nəbənəŋa- aŋaban	nəp ^w anaŋə-	nəp ^w anakə- akap ^w an	nəp ^w ana- ap ^w an	nəp ^w ana- ap ^w an	‘forehead’ ‘hot’
kabiel	kap ^w iel	kop ^w iel	kop ^w iel	kəp ^w ier	‘stone’
eb ^w ət	ep ^w ət	ip ^w ər			‘large’
aub ^w ən	aup ^w ən	aup ^w ən	ok ^w up ^w ən	kup ^w ən	‘in front’

PTn *b

NTn b	Wsn p	Len p	SWT p	Kwm p	
<i>nəbikə-</i>	<i>nəpikə-</i>	<i>nəpikə-</i>	<i>nəpikou-</i>	<i>nəpiki-</i>	'tail'
<i>abul</i>	<i>apuli</i>	<i>apul</i>	<i>apəl</i>	<i>apri</i>	'sleep'
<i>ahbel</i>		<i>hapel</i>	<i>əspiil</i>	<i>apərhi</i>	'to clean'
<i>nabən</i>	<i>napən</i>	<i>napən</i>	<i>nepən</i>		'clothes'
<i>ətəb</i>	<i>etapu</i>	<i>arap</i>			'cold'

As with the nasals, there is a certain amount of fluctuation between velarised and simple labials. A comparison of such cases in Lenakel and Kwamera, for example, shows a tendency in Kwamera for **p* or **b* to be reflected as *p*^w adjacent to a high back vowel:

Len p	Kwm p^w	
<i>alpən</i>	<i>erup^wun</i>	'exchange, swap'
<i>apuk</i>	<i>ap^wuk</i>	'<(cow) low, <(engine) hum'
<i>asiakapun</i>	<i>ahiap^wun</i>	'light up'

On the other hand, there are numerous cases of Kwamera *p* adjacent to *u*, like:

Len p	Kwm p	
<i>apus</i>	<i>apus</i>	'drunk'
<i>epu</i>	<i>epui</i>	'break off'
<i>əpkəpək</i>	<i>pukpeki</i>	'fail'

as well as cases where the *p:p^w* (or *p^w:p*) correspondence has no obvious conditioning:

Len	Kwm	
<i>arhapək</i>	<i>ares-ip^wi</i>	'request, ask for'
<i>p^wia-</i>	<i>piav-</i>	'(elder) same-sex sibling'
<i>koulap^wəŋ</i>	<i>kaurapəŋ</i>	'k.o. tree'

2.2.2.3 Proto Southern Vanuatu

The four PSV stops have the reflexes as shown below (recalling that there is often some fluctuation between velarised and simple stops in individual lexical items):

PSV	<i>*p^w</i>	<i>*p</i>	<i>*b^w</i>	<i>*b</i>
PEr	<i>*p</i>	<i>*p</i>	<i>*b</i>	<i>*b</i>
PTn	<i>*p^w</i>	<i>*p</i>	<i>*b^w</i>	<i>*b</i>
Anj	<i>p^w</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p^w</i>	<i>p</i>

As with the nasals, the distinction between simple and velarised stops was lost in Erromango. Anejoṃ has lost the voicing distinction but has retained the simple/velarised distinction.

The PSV voiced stops have quite clear POc antecedents. PSV **b^w* has three separate sources: POc **b^w* and **p^w* in all environments, and POc **b* before **u*. Reflexes appear to be fairly regular in Erromango and Anejoṃ; in Tanna, however, there seems to be more variation between simple and velarised stops, and expected *p^wu* or *p^wə* often becomes *pu*; I thus treat Tanna forms as being less reliable witnesses in this area.

POc *b*, *p > PSV *b*

	PEr *b	PTn *b*	Anj p*	
*lab ^w at		N eb ^w ət, K rəpu-	a/lp ^w as	'big'
*(q)ab ^w aji		K i/ap ^w as		'coconut fruit bud'
*b ^w oto-	U boh/ni-			'base'
*kup ^w ena	S no/ɣpon	W na/kap ^w ən, K nə/pun	no/up ^w on	'fishing net'

POc *b/_*u > PSV *b*

	PEr *b	PTn *b*	Anj p*	
*bulut	S a/mpleh-i	L a/p ^w iit	a/p ^w ol	'stick to, sticky'
*kabu	U n/ab/aveŋ	K, S n/ap ^w	n/ɣap ^w	'fire'
*makubu-	U boybo-	L m ^w ip ^w ə-, S mukupu-	m ^w ap ^w o-	'grandchild'
*butoŋ-	U yo/but	N nə/but, L nə/prəŋə-	no/p ^w o	'navel'
*tabu	U dobo/r	L ho-a/ɾpu/l	itap ^w	'tabu'

Other cases of PSV *b* where I do not know of a POc source are as follows:

POc ? PSV *b*

	PEr *b	PTn *b*	Anj p*	
	S ompuɣ	N abəŋam, K ap ^w am	op ^w oɣ	'heavy'
	S nempɣu	N nəb ^w ən, L nap ^w uk		'a dance'
		N aub ^w ən, S ok ^w ub ^w ən	uhup ^w	'be in front'
	S nampo	K nap ^w esən	nap ^w oθ	'whitewood'
	U nobo		np ^w oθeθ	'bush spirit'
	U lobot	K niepur	nlop ^w oi	'croton'
	S mompol		nmop ^w ol-hat	'Garcinia sp.'
	S nompyor		nop ^w oi	'k.o. lawyer-cane'
		N aba, S ap ^w a	yap ^w	'cooked'

PSV *b derives from POc *b when not before *u. The list below gives first those forms which have a known POc antecedent, then other cases of PSV *b; recall that the notation * as in *(p,b)ikuR implies a modification to a POc reconstruction; all of these are detailed in Appendix IV.

POc *b else > PSV *b

	PEr *b	PTn *b	Anj p	
*ba(q,k)un	S ni/mpa	N nə/bən, L nə/pən		'banana'
*bak(i,e)wa	U u/beu	W pau/ŋən, K pave/ŋən	ne/pɣev	'shark'
*baga	U bogu	L ne/pək, K nə/pek	n/pak	'banyan'
*balur			pela-ñ	'mix'
*(p,b)alapu			o/pra	'long'
*bonji 'night'		N a/bən, S a/pəŋ	a/peñ	'black'
*boni	U i/bin	N ə/bien, L ə/pien	i/pñi-i	'smell (INTR)'
*bo-	U ibu			'smell (INTR)'

<i>*bokasi</i>	S <i>no/mpyahi</i>	N <i>pukəs</i> , L <i>pukas</i>	<i>pikaθ</i>	'pig' ⁵
<i>*(p,b)ikuR-</i>	S <i>novlai-mpyo-</i>	N <i>nə/bikə-</i>	<i>n/iye-</i>	'tail'
	U <i>obahlini</i>	N <i>ahbel</i> , L <i>hapel</i>		'to clean, repair'
	S <i>nempel</i>	L <i>nepe</i>	<i>nepel</i>	' <i>Pseuderanthemum</i> '
	S <i>nempli</i>	K <i>pire</i>	<i>neprij</i>	'banded rail'
	S <i>nempon</i>		<i>nepek</i>	'green-snail'
	S <i>yempa</i>	K <i>iapa</i>	<i>nyepeγ</i>	'unicornfish'
	U <i>burbut</i>		<i>upotpotet</i>	'near'
	U <i>nenbarata</i>		<i>niŋpa</i>	'peace'

PSV **p* and **p** occur less frequently than their voiced counterparts, and have less obvious sources. Below is a near-complete list of unambiguous cases of these two protophonemes:

POc	PSV <i>*p*</i>			
	PEr <i>*p</i>	PTn <i>*p*</i>	Anj <i>p*</i>	
<i>*tubuq</i>	U <i>e/rpo</i>	K <i>rupu</i>	<i>atop*</i>	'grow, swell up'
	U <i>yay/pon</i>	L <i>p*an</i>	<i>np*añ</i>	'reef bird'
	S <i>youpat</i>		<i>nup*ut</i>	'k.o. tuber pudding'

POc	PSV <i>*p</i>			
	PEr <i>*p</i>	PTn <i>*p</i>	Anj <i>p</i>	
<i>*bati-</i> 'tooth'		N, L <i>kə/paas</i>	<i>n/pas</i>	'axe'
<i>*tob*a-</i>	S <i>ne/tpo/lu</i>	N <i>n/əpə-</i> , L <i>ne/tpə-</i>		'belly'

I will show in §2.2.3 that POc **p* became a fricative, PSV **v*. It may well be that, after this took place, there was the beginning of a drift from voiced to voiceless stops – a drift which is complete in Anejoŋ and in all Tanna languages except North Tanna. Alternatively, it is possible that the distinction between PSV **p* (and **p**) and **v* may simply reflect a fortis/lenis distinction which developed independently in a number of post-POc languages (Ross 1988:47ff.) – i.e. that fortis **p* became PSV **p* and lenis **p* became PSV **v*.

2.2.3 Other labials

While *three* other labial consonants can be reconstructed for Proto Erromango (a voiceless fricative **f*, a voiced fricative **v*, and a semivowel **w*), there is evidence for only two such consonants in PSV, **v* and **w*. None of these phonemes occur word-finally.⁶

⁵ The North Tanna form suggests PTn **p-* rather than **b-*.

⁶ There is only one word in Crowley's (1999) mini-dictionary of Ura with initial *f*, and *f* does not occur in Sye, so the support for **f* in initial position is weak (though it is quite strong in medial position).

PEr *f

Sye p-, -v-	Ura f-, -f-	
<i>pehnikri</i>	<i>fihniyre</i>	'little finger/toe'
<i>aruvo</i>	<i>arufa</i>	'sing'
<i>eveli</i>	<i>efeli</i>	'stop, end'
<i>navoroni</i>	<i>naforoni</i>	'fishing-line'
<i>nevi</i>	<i>nefi</i>	'girl'
<i>nivir</i>	<i>nifir</i>	'(fruit) bunch'
<i>ovwaki</i>	<i>ofwaki</i>	'pray'
<i>telvi</i>	<i>telfi</i>	'drink through lips'

PEr *v

Sye v	Ura v	
<i>vasi</i>	<i>vasi</i>	'buy, pay'
<i>vetponr</i>	<i>verpon</i>	'stones unsuitable for cooking with'
<i>vormus</i>	<i>vormus</i>	'k.o. fish'
<i>ovanj</i>	<i>avanj</i>	'agape, open'
<i>evoy</i>	<i>evok</i>	'have haemorrhoids'
<i>novolvol</i>	<i>novolvol</i>	'tangled roots'
<i>helnivi</i>	<i>selnivi</i>	'beam at top of roof'
<i>evinte</i>	<i>evida</i>	'look after'
<i>avyat</i>	<i>avyat</i>	'fight'

PEr *w

Sye w	Ura w	
<i>wai</i>	<i>wai</i>	'step on'
<i>wonte</i>	<i>wode</i>	'sea-urchin'
<i>elwo</i>	<i>elwa</i>	'vomit'
<i>niwau</i>	<i>niwau</i>	'k.o. cane'
<i>nompuwo</i>	<i>nobuwa</i>	'island'

The reflexes of these protophonemes are given below. Utaha data are insufficient to determine whether *f was reflected differently from *v.

PEr	*f	*v	*w
Sye	<i>p-, -v-</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>
Ura	<i>f</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>
Uth	<i>v</i>	<i>w</i>	

However, we can reconstruct only two other labial phonemes for Proto Tanna – a fricative *v, and what may have been a labialised velar stop which I write as *k̠. There is no evidence for a protophoneme *f: the phoneme *f* is rare in all Tanna languages, and *f̥* in those languages in which it occurs is rarer still, and its phonemic status is marginal. Many occurrences of *f* are in words which are borrowings from Polynesian languages or Bislama; for example:

Kwamera	<i>təfra</i>	'whale'	< Futuna	<i>tafora</i>
	<i>nafata</i>	'platform, bed'	< Futuna	<i>fata</i>
	<i>fatu</i>	'vatu (currency)'	< Bislama	<i>vatu</i>
	<i>fifa</i>	'fever'	< Bislama	<i>fiva</i>

A number of other occurrences of *f* seem to be recent developments resulting from the devoicing of *p*^h, *p* or *v* when the following syllable contained *h*:

NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
<i>alp^hah</i>	<i>alp^hah</i>	<i>alfa</i>	<i>elfa</i>	<i>arpaha</i>	'lazy'
		<i>avhəl</i>		<i>afri</i>	'paint (face+)'
		<i>tavha</i>		<i>tafa</i>	'young coconut'

I therefore do not believe that there is sufficient evidence to support the reconstruction of a voiceless labial fricative in Proto Tanna. Indeed, a similar explanation can be given for the development of PEr **f*. Although there are only a couple of cases of words reconstructed with PEr **f* which have cognates in other SV languages, these suggest that PEr **f* derives from PSV **v* when an adjacent syllable contained a sibilant, reflected as *h* in at least some languages:

PSV	Erromango	Tanna	Anejoṃ
* <i>a-vaseli(p)</i>	S <i>savel</i> , U <i>afel</i>	L <i>avhəl</i> , K <i>averh/əp</i>	<i>aheθej</i> 'whistle'
* <i>a-v(u)(s,j)aki</i>	S <i>ovwaki</i> , U <i>ofwaki</i>	L <i>ahuaak</i> , K <i>afaki</i>	'pray'

There is strong evidence, however, for the reconstruction of the voiced labial fricative PTn **v*.⁷ This is reflected as *v* in all environments in all languages, except that it is lost before *i* in North Tanna:

PTn **v* / __i

NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
Ø	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	
<i>i</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi</i>	<i>vi</i>	'pull'
<i>aier</i>	<i>avier</i>	<i>aviet</i>	<i>əviaha</i>		'defecate'
<i>ailəŋ</i>		<i>aviləŋ</i>	<i>aviləŋ</i>	<i>avirəŋ</i>	'thin, wasted'
<i>iin</i>	<i>ivin</i>	<i>ivək</i>	<i>iva</i>	<i>iva</i>	'to fly'

PTn **v* else

NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	<i>v</i>	
<i>van</i>	<i>vaan</i>	<i>vaan</i>	<i>vaan</i>	<i>vani</i>	'burn (TR)'
<i>vənəs</i>	<i>vənəs</i>	<i>vənəs</i>	<i>vənəs</i>	<i>vənis</i>	'flying-fish'
<i>nivən</i>	<i>nivən</i>	<i>nivən</i>	<i>nivən</i>	<i>nivən</i>	'a sail'
<i>nəvea</i>	<i>nəvea</i>	<i>nəvea</i>	<i>nəvea</i>	<i>nəveia</i>	'a paddle'
	<i>arəvarəv</i>	<i>ləvləv</i>	<i>arəvrəv</i>	<i>aruveruv</i>	'red'

⁷ The phoneme /*v*/ in Tanna languages is actually a high central glide [i] in which the two lips approximate but do not touch. Since it derives from a labial historically, however, I will treat it as such here. Note also that the high back vowel *u* has a semivowel allophone [w] in a variety of contexts adjacent to another vowel.

There is sporadic variation between *v* and labial stops or *u* (= [w] adjacent to a vowel), as in:

NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
<i>ajuən</i>	<i>auŋən</i>	<i>auŋən</i>	<i>əvŋən</i>	<i>aveŋən</i>	'eat (INTR)'
<i>vənə-</i>	<i>nəvnə-</i>	<i>nouinə-</i>	<i>navinə-</i>	<i>pini-</i>	'(male) sister'
<i>nelva-</i>	<i>nelu-</i>	<i>nelu-</i>	<i>kʷəlu-</i>	<i>kʷarevu-</i>	'(canine) tooth'

Southwest Tanna and Kwamera have a labialised velar stop phoneme *kʷ* which does not occur in the northern Tanna languages. Lenakel, however, has been analysed as having a phoneme *w* which (i) corresponds with Southwest Tanna and Kwamera *kʷ* in cognate forms and (ii) does not contrast phonetically with the semivowel allophone [w] of the vowel *u*. Underlying *w* is posited in Lenakel for two reasons:

- (a) *o*-initial verbs form the dual by prefixing *ia-* and the plural by prefixing *ar-*; while *a*-initial verbs form the dual by prefixing *u-* and the plural by infixing *-i-*.⁸

Phonetic		Singular	Dual	Plural	Underlying
[oti]	'separate'	<i>oti</i>	<i>ia-oti</i>	<i>ar-oti</i>	/oti/
[akar]	'speak'	<i>akar</i>	<i>u-akar</i>	<i>a-i-akar</i>	/akar/

Certain verbs which begin with phonetic [ow] behave as if they were *o*-initial, while others behave as if they were *a*-initial: the former are treated as beginning with *ou*, the latter with *aw* (with subsequent rounding of the vowel). For example:

Phonetic		Singular	Dual	Plural	Underlying
[owyek]	'change skin'	<i>ouiek</i>	<i>ia-ouiek</i>	<i>ar-ouiek</i>	/ouiek/
[owas]	'be old'	<i>owas</i>	<i>u-owas</i>	<i>a-i-was</i>	/awas/

- (b) There is a contrast in final position in Lenakel between [u] and [ʊ], as in [nu] 'water', [nʊ] 'yam'. Normally, [ʊ] only occurs in a closed syllable, and I suggest that final [ʊ] reflects underlying /uw/ – i.e. that the form meaning 'yam' is underlying /nuw/.

There is comparative evidence supporting both of these decisions. The underlying form *awas* 'old' in (a) above, which was analysed as having the phoneme *w*, has cognates SWT, Kwm *akʷas*, while the form *nuw* 'yam' is cognate with SWT *nekʷ*, Kwm *nuk*.

Because detailed phonological analyses have not been undertaken for North Tanna and Whitesands, it is not clear whether there is in fact a phoneme *w* in those two languages as well. Even if there were, there is no way of deciding whether the vast proportion of surface manifestations of [w] in all three northern languages derive from *u* or from *w*; and traditionally they have been written as *u*.

Given this background, I reconstruct for Proto Tanna a labialised velar stop **kʷ*. I reconstruct this as a stop (rather than, say, a semi-vowel) partly because of the stop reflexes in the southern Tanna languages, but also because it is reflected word-finally as *p* in North Tanna. Word-finally after *u* we find the following correspondences (with Kwamera showing sometimes *kʷ*, sometimes *k*):

⁸ The 'phonetic' forms below are underspecified, omitting phonetic details irrelevant to the present discussion (e.g., [oti] is more accurately [ʊdyi]).

PTn *k^w / u_#

NTn p	Wsn Ø	Len Ø ~ w	SWT k ^w	Kwm k ^w ~ k	
	-aru	-atu	-atuk ^w	-atuk ^w	'reflexive'
<i>eduadəp</i>	<i>ərhuarhu</i>	<i>etuatu</i>	<i>etik^watuk^w</i>	<i>atuk^watuk^w</i>	'straight'
<i>nup</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>nuw</i>	<i>nek^w</i>	<i>nuk</i>	'yam'
<i>suadəp</i>	<i>suaru</i>	<i>suatu</i>	<i>suatuk^w</i>	<i>suatuk</i>	'road'

Before *u*, *k^w is usually lost in the northern languages and reflected as *k* in Kwamera:

PTn *k^w / _u

NTn Ø	Wsn Ø	Len Ø ~ w	SWT k ^w	Kwm k	
<i>ouh</i>	<i>ouh</i>	<i>awh</i>	<i>k^wuh</i>	<i>kusi</i>	'weave'
	<i>noum^wus</i>	<i>naum^wus</i>	<i>nuk^wumus</i>	<i>nukumha</i>	'hunger'
<i>iou</i>	<i>iou</i>	<i>iau</i>	<i>iak^w</i>	<i>iaku</i>	'turtle'
<i>aub^wən</i>	<i>aup^wən</i>	<i>aup^wən</i>	<i>ok^wup^wən</i>	<i>kup^wən</i>	'in front'

Elsewhere, *k^w has the following reflexes (with occasional loss before *a* in North Tanna):

PTn *k^w else

NTn u-u-p	Wsn u	Len u ~ w	SWT k ^w	Kwm k ^w	
<i>roi<u>u</u></i>	<i>rouei</i>	<i>toue</i>	<i>tak^wtak^wun</i>	<i>tak^wtak^wnu</i>	'now'
<i>ai<u>ia</u>h</i>	<i>aiia<u>h</u></i>	<i>aihia</i>	<i>ak^wlha</i>	<i>ak^weis</i>	'yellow'
<i>au<u>o</u>p</i>	<i>uou</i>	<i>auou</i>	<i>uok^w</i>	<i>auak^w</i>	'burn (INTR)'
<i>oa<u>ŋ</u></i>	<i>oua<u>ŋ</u></i>	<i>awa<u>ŋ</u></i>	<i>ok^wa<u>ŋ</u></i>	<i>ak^wa<u>ŋ</u></i>	'be open'
<i>nə<u>m</u>ta<u>p</u></i>	<i>nə<u>m</u>ta<u>u</u></i>	<i>nə<u>m</u>ra<u>u</u></i>	<i>nə<u>m</u>lak^w</i>	<i>nə<u>m</u>rak^w</i>	'ashes'

The following table summarises this discussion:

PTn	*v	*k ^w
NTn	Ø / _i; v else	Ø / _u; u-u-p else
Wsn	v	Ø / u; u else
Len	v	Ø ~ w / u; u ~ w else
SWT	v	k ^w
Kwm	v	k / _u; k ^w ~ k / u_#; k ^w else

For Proto Southern Vanuatu, I reconstruct the phonemes *v and *w, whose origins and reflexes are:

POc	*p / *u	*p else	*w
PSV	*v	*v	*w
PEr	*v-v-p	*v-v-p	*w-w-u
PTn	*k ^w	*v	*k ^w
Anj	h-h-Ø	h-h-Ø	v

PSV *v derives from POc *p; PTn has *k^w when POc *p was adjacent to *u, and *v elsewhere:

POc *p / u > PSV *v

	PEr *v-v-p	PTn *k ^w	Anj h-h-Ø	
*paqus-i	S e/vi	L o/wh, K kus-i	a/hoθ	'weave' ⁹
*punuq	S a/vni-i	L a/uni-in	i/hni-i	'finish'
*puaq	S o/vwo	L o/ua, K kua	o/hou	'bear fruit'
*puaq-	S no/vwa- 'seed'	L no/ua-, K nə/k ^w a-	no/howa-	'fruit'
*iupa		K a/ruk ^w -	a/the-i	'bury'
*iput	S o/vos-i	N ep, K ek ^w -i	aihoi	'blow'
*topu	{S ne/t-}	N ne/təp, S nə/tuk ^w	ne/to	'sugarcane'
*kasupe	S ula/kis	N kahap, K i/esuk ^w	n/yeθo	'rat'
*qupi	S n/up	N n/up, S n/ek ^w	n/u	'yam'
*tapuR	U be/dop	N nəm/tap, S nəm/lak ^w		'ashes'

POc *p else > PSV *v else

	PEr *v-v-p	PTn *v	Anj h-h-Ø	
*pano	S a/van	L vən, a/vən	han	'go'
*paŋan	S vaŋ, U e/veŋ	L a/vŋən, K a/veŋən	haŋ, heŋaŋ	'eat (INTR)'
*paqan-	S n/va-	L nə/va-, K nu/va-	nha-	'thigh'
*pekas	S e/vyah	L a/vhe, S ə/vkaa		'defecate'
*pisiko-		L nu/vhakə-	no/həθye-	'meat'
*piRaŋ	S ne/vie	L, K nu/via		'taro sp.'
*pican	S nr/ve	W ku/vah, K ke/va	e/heθ	'how many?'
*qapat(a,o)	S n/avat		n/ahat	'wood-grub'
*lipon-	S ne/lve-	N ne/lva-, K revu-	ne/jhe-	'tooth'
*kapika		L nə/kəvək, K n/ova	n/yehey	'Syzygium sp.'
*qunap-i	S n/iŋevi-	n/inehe-		'scale'
*rarap	S n/arap	L n/aiəv	nara	'coral tree'
*kapak	S o/yep 'to fly'	L nə/kavkavə- 'wing'		'wing/to fly'

Note the following cases where *v is reflected as Anejom̄ final *h* rather than zero, suggesting that *v may also have been originally reflected as *h* finally but that it underwent deletion in this environment:

POc	PEr *-p	PTn *-v	Anj -h	
*mapo		L a/məv	mah	'heal(ed)'
	S nemlap	L nəmhiəv	nemlah	' <i>Melochia odorata</i> '

There is also a fairly clear case for POc *w > PSV *w, although the reflexes in Proto Tanna are variable:

⁹ Presumably, *p came to be adjacent to *u after pretonic vowel deletion and regular loss of *q - i.e. *paqus-i > Pre-PSV *a-pqus-i > *a-pus-i.

POc *w > PSV *w

	PEr *w-w-u	PTn *k*? *u?	Anj v	
*qalawa-	S <i>alwo-</i> 'nephew'		<i>n/halav</i>	'child'
*tawan	S <i>n/tau</i>		<i>ne/tva</i>	'lychee'
*bak(i,e)wa	U <i>u/beu</i>	W <i>pau/ηən,</i> K <i>pave/ηən</i>	<i>nepyev</i>	'shark'
*lawaq	S <i>yatri/lwa</i>	<i>nilva</i>		'spider(web)'
*waRisa	S <i>wisa/s</i>	N <i>n/iah,</i> K <i>n/eis</i>	<i>n/viθ</i>	'two days hence/ago'
*kawe-			<i>n/yeve-</i>	'(octopus) tentacle'
	S <i>enwi</i>		<i>anev, anvi</i>	'say, name'
	S <i>nenru</i>		<i>nejev</i>	'kauri'
	S <i>nimtu</i>	L <i>netuan</i>	<i>nemtav</i>	' <i>Dysoxylum</i> sp.'
		S <i>luan-tahik</i>	<i>nijvañ</i>	'crayfish'
	S <i>ninu</i>	W <i>neniəv,</i> K <i>neiv</i>	<i>iyenev</i>	'yesterday'

There are, however, some cases where the Anejoñ reflex is *w* or *u* rather than *v*:

POc *w	Erromango	Tanna	Anejoñ	
*waiR	S <i>n/u</i>	L <i>n/u,</i> K <i>n/ui</i>	<i>n/wai</i>	'water'
*kawil	S <i>nan̄kau</i>		<i>n/γowoj</i>	'fish-hook'
*kawiti			<i>ni/γowos</i>	'fruit-crook'
*[ma]lawa	U <i>lau/pe</i>		<i>lau, laulau</i>	'long'
*ma-wiRi	S <i>mor</i>	L <i>mul,</i> K <i>mour</i>	<i>n/m^wawu-</i>	'left hand'
			<i>m^wau</i>	'left-handed'

I am unable to specify the conditioning of the *v* and *u* ~ *w* reflexes in Anejoñ.

It is unclear from these data exactly what kind of sound **w* was. It is reflected as a semivowel in Erromango, as a fricative in Anejoñ (which also has a /*w*/ phoneme, < **u*), and variously as a stop and a semivowel in Tanna. Just as there is a simple/velarised contrast in the stops and nasals, it is possible that PSV **w* was the velarised equivalent of **v* – i.e. something like /*v^w*/. The symbol **w*, however, seems the most satisfactory one at this stage of research.

2.2.4 Summary

The labial phonemes of Proto Southern Vanuatu are as follows:

	velarised	simple
voiceless stops	* <i>p^w</i>	* <i>p</i>
voiced stops	* <i>b^w</i>	* <i>b</i>
nasals	* <i>m^w</i>	* <i>m</i>
others	* <i>w</i>	* <i>v</i>

The development of these phonemes is summarised in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Proto Southern Vanuatu labial correspondences

POc	*b ^w , *p ^w , *b/_*u	*b else	*p ^w	*p fortis?	*p/*u lenis?	*p else lenis?	*w	*m ^w , m/_u	*m else
PSV	*b ^w	*b	*p ^w	*p	*v		*w	*m ^w	*m
PEr	*b		*p		*v-v-p		*w-w-u	*m	
PTn	*b ^w	*b	*p ^w	*p	*k ^w	*v	*k ^w	*m ^w	*m
Anj	p ^w	p	p ^w	p	h-h-Ø		v	m ^w	m

2.3 Velars

The velars in Proto Southern Vanuatu parallel the simple labials, in that there is a contrast between an oral voiceless and a prenasalised voiced stop, and there is a voiced fricative and nasal. The PSV velar phonemes reconstructed in this section, then, are *k, *g, *ɣ and *ŋ.

2.3.1 Velar nasal

A velar nasal *ŋ can be reconstructed for Proto Southern Vanuatu – and for Proto Erromango and Proto Tanna – with the reflex ŋ in all languages in all environments except as specified below.

POc *ŋ > PSV *ŋ

	Sye ŋ	Len ŋ	Kwm ŋ	Anj ŋ	
*ŋiŋis	no/ŋosiwo	n/iŋhə-	n/iŋaha-		'gums'
*paŋan	vaŋ	a/vŋən	a/vəŋən	haŋ, heŋaŋ	'eat (INTR)'
*laŋo	w/laŋ	k/iaŋ	iaŋ	n/laŋ	'a fly'
*[ka]ŋaRi	n/aŋai	n/aŋe	n/aŋe	n/aŋai	' <i>Canarium</i> sp.'
*taliŋa-	n/telŋo-	-telŋə-	nakwa-reŋi-	n/tiŋa-	'ear'
*(ŋ)awaŋ	ovaŋ	owaŋ	ak ^w aŋ		'open'
*yaŋo	mel/yaŋ			yaŋ	'yellow'

The exception referred to above is that, before *i (and *e?), the Anejoŋ reflex of *ŋ is ñ:

POc *ŋ / __ *i,(*e?)

	Sye ŋ	SWT ŋ	Anj ñ	
*taŋis	toŋi		tañ	'cry'
*boŋi		ie-n/pəŋ	n-e/peñ	'night'
*liŋi			i/jñi-i	'put'

Anejoŋ also shows an ñ reflex of POc *n in the same environment, and I will leave discussion of this broader phenomenon of nasal palatalisation until §2.5.1.2.

2.3.2 Velar obstruents

The same kind of ‘slippage’ that occurred with the labial stops occurred also with the velars. That is, the voiced stop seems to have remained a voiced stop in PSV, the voiceless stop became a fricative, but a voiceless stop apparently developed at some later stage or through some other process. In this discussion of the velars, it will be useful to make reference to the developments of the Proto Oceanic velars at each stage, since the conditioning factors are quite complex. I will begin the discussion here with Anejoṃ, where the development of the POc velars is clearer than in the other languages.

2.3.2.1 Anejoṃ

Anejoṃ has two velar obstruents, *k* and *ɣ*. Both unambiguous occurrences of POc **g* in my data became *k* in Anejoṃ:

POc * <i>g</i>	Anj <i>k</i>	
*- <i>gu</i>	- <i>k</i>	‘my’
* <i>baga</i>	<i>n/pak</i>	‘banyan’

However, there are three other forms which have been reconstructed for PNCV with **g*, even though their POc antecedents had **k*, and Anejoṃ (and other SV languages) also suggest that PSoc had **g* in these forms:

POc	PSoc	Anj	
*[<i>i</i>]ko[<i>e</i>]	* <i>igo</i>	<i>a/ek</i>	‘you SG’
* <i>kita</i>	* <i>gida</i>	<i>a/kaj-</i>	‘we INC’
* <i>komu</i>	* <i>gomu</i>	<i>a/kum^w</i>	‘put in mouth’

In looking at the two focal pronouns, it is important to point out that most of the POc pronouns reconstructed as containing **k* appear to have changed this **k* to **g* at some Pre-PSV stage. Compare the POc pronouns below with those reconstructed for Proto North-Central Vanuatu (Clark 1985, n.d.),¹⁰ and with those that I will reconstruct for PSV in Chapter 5:

	POc	PNCV	PSV
2SG	*[<i>i</i>]ko[<i>e</i>]	* <i>n/igo</i>	* <i>igo(e)</i>
1INC.NONSG	* <i>kita</i>	* <i>kida</i>	* <i>gadi-</i>
1EXC.NONSG	* <i>ka[m]i</i> , * <i>kamami</i>	* <i>gam[am]i</i>	* <i>gam(i)-</i>
2NONSG	* <i>ka[m]u</i> , * <i>kamiu</i>	* <i>gamuyu</i>	* <i>gami(u)-</i>

I suggest that Anejoṃ *a/ek* ‘2SG’ and *a/kaj-* ‘1INC.NONSG’ reflect Pre-PSV forms **igo* and **gida* respectively. We are thus on fairly sure ground in suggesting that POc/PSoc **g* became Anejoṃ *k*.

¹⁰ Recall that I use POc orthography for PSoc/PNCV and not the orthography used by Clark. Note that the first exclusive and second person non-singular pronouns have undergone separate developments in Anejoṃ.

POc *k, like most other POc consonants, seems to have been lost in Anejoñ when it was in absolute final position in POc. The vast majority of occurrences of non-final *k in my data become Anejoñ y; for example:

POc *k	Anj y	
*kani	yĩn	'eat (TR)'
*kaRaka	a/yɾay	'creep'
*keli	a/yji-i	'dig'
*kita	e/yet, e/yta-i	'see'
*kona	a/yen, e/yni-i	'bitter, poison'
*kutu	ne/yet	'louse'
*liko(s)	a/jye-i	'hang up'
*(p,b)ikuR-	n/iye-	'tail'
*bak(i,e)wa	ne/pyev	'shark'
*pisiko-	no/hothye-	'flesh'
*tokon	i/seɣ	'walk w. stick'
*ma-takut	e/mtay	'fear'
*toka	a/teɣ, e/teɣ	'stay'
*rakum̃a	n/raʔ	'k.o. crab'
*siko	ne/θey	'kingfisher'

There is a small group of words in which non-final POc *k is inexplicably lost; I attempt to note parallels with other SV languages in the list below, where the symbol — means that the form is not reflected:

POc *k	Anj Ø		Erromango	Tanna
*masakit	e/mθa	'sick'	—	lost
*matakut	e/mtit/a-ñ	'fear'	lost	—
*makubu-	m̃ap̃o-	'grandchild'	PEr *ɣ	PTn *ɣ
*kup̃ena	no/up̃on	'fishing net'	PEr *ɣ	PTn *k
*kurat	no/uras	' <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '	PEr *ɣ	lost
*kape	n/ahe/leθ	'k.o. crab'	lost	PTn *ɣ
*tuqaka-	e/twa-	'same-sex sibling'	—	lost

There is also a small group of words in which POc *k is reflected as *k:

POc *k	Anj k		
*karis	a/kreθ	'scratch (a person)'	but cf. a/yreθ 'scrape (a thing)'
*potak	a/htak/wai	'split (wood)'	may not be cognate
*tabakau	ni/jip-akau	'special k.o. mat'	may be a loan?
*bokasi	pikaθ	'pig'	

With the last form, *bokasi, Tanna languages also show *k for expected *ɣ, though Erromango has a *ɣ reflex.

Thus it appears that *g > k and *k > y, though there were some cases in which *k was lost, and some in which *k > k.

2.3.2.2 Proto Erromango

Proto Erromango is reconstructed as having had three velar phonemes, **k*, **g* and **ɣ*, a system which matches the velar obstruents of Ura. In the Erromangan languages, velar consonants are not particularly common word-initially, and this is especially true of the fricative *ɣ* (except for the 3SG verbal prefix *ɣ-*). In final position, Sye disallows *ŋk* and *k* is rare, while Ura disallows *ɣ*.

PER **k* is reflected as *k* in both Sye and Ura in all positions, except that in final position the Sye reflex is *ɣ* rather than *k*:

PER **k*

Sye <i>k-k-ɣ</i>	Ura <i>k</i>	
<i>kilkil</i>	<i>kilkil</i>	‘fish-hook’
<i>kompaloŋi</i>	<i>kobahlini</i>	‘thank you!’
<i>kou</i>	<i>kou</i>	‘but’
<i>ulakih</i>	<i>ulakis</i>	‘rat’
<i>netukus</i>	<i>netukus</i>	‘salt’
<i>etikum</i>	<i>etikum</i>	‘close the mouth’
<i>etvurakŋi</i>	<i>ervurakŋi</i>	‘share out’
<i>navsokikrai</i>	<i>navsokikrai</i>	‘bat’
<i>nehkil</i>	<i>neskil</i>	‘snake’
<i>selkivan</i>	<i>selkivan</i>	‘bear children at close intervals’
<i>atoɣ</i>	<i>atok</i>	‘salty’
<i>esomsay</i>	<i>esomsak</i>	‘breathe’
<i>nevoɣ</i>	<i>nevok</i>	‘haemorrhoids’
<i>yamoy</i>	<i>yamek</i>	‘k.o. banana’

The prenasalised voiced stop **g* behaves similarly to its labial counterpart. In initial position, it is reflected as Sye *k*, Ura *g*:

PER **g-*

Sye <i>k-</i>	Ura <i>g-</i>	
<i>kahai</i>	<i>gasu</i>	‘only, alone’
<i>kam</i>	<i>gim</i>	‘we EXC’
<i>koh</i>	<i>gis</i>	‘we INC’
<i>ku</i>	<i>gu</i>	‘or’

Medially, it is reflected as *ŋk* in Sye, and as *g* in Ura except when it is preconsonantal, in which environment it loses its stop quality and is reflected as *ŋ*:

PER **g-* / __C

Sye <i>-ŋk-</i>	Ura <i>-ŋ-</i>	
<i>naŋkrai</i>	<i>uŋlai</i>	‘flying-fox’
<i>tuŋklah</i>	<i>duŋlas</i>	‘sea-snake’
<i>taŋkli</i>	<i>talŋi</i>	‘ask’ [subsequent metathesis in Ura – <i>taŋli</i> > <i>talŋi</i> ?]

PER *-g- else

Sye -ŋk-	Ura -g-	
<i>aŋkau</i>	<i>agau</i>	'crooked, bent'
<i>naŋku</i>	<i>nago</i>	'if'
<i>moŋkum</i>	<i>mogum</i>	'parrotfish'
<i>nevloŋko-</i>	<i>nevlege/n</i>	'piece, part'
<i>toŋkilnau</i>	<i>togilnau</i>	'juvenile mackerel'

One comparison, Sye *namkai*, Ura *namgai* 'dry coconut', suggests that Sye *ŋk* loses the nasal when preceded by another nasal. In final position, PER *g appears to be reflected as Sye *ŋ*, Ura *k*:¹¹

PER *-g

Sye -ŋ	Ura -k	
-ŋ	-k	'my; 1SG possessive suffix'
<i>nivsoŋ</i>	<i>nivsek</i>	'midrib of coconut leaf'

The third velar obstruent, *ɣ, is reflected as *ɣ* in all environments in Sye except before *i*, where it is reflected as *k*. In Ura, it is reflected as *ɣ* non-finally but as \emptyset finally:

PER *-ɣ- / __*i

Sye -k-	Ura -ɣ-	
<i>mor-uki</i>	<i>mor-uɣe</i>	'k.o. breadfruit'
<i>soki</i>	<i>eyi</i>	'climb up, copulate'
<i>oryoki</i>	<i>eleyi</i>	'pick up, carry'
<i>atki</i>	<i>aryi</i>	'knock'
<i>workirki</i>	<i>worɣiryi</i>	'narrow'

PER *ɣ else

Sye ɣ	Ura ɣ-ɣ- \emptyset	
<i>yorevenwo</i>	<i>yorevenuwo</i>	'k.o. yam'
<i>ɣ-</i>	<i>ɣ-</i>	'3SG verbal prefix'
<i>aɣup</i>	<i>aɣup</i>	'cloudy, about to rain'
<i>nayah</i>	<i>nayas</i>	'cool season'
<i>noyvat</i>	<i>noyvat</i>	'plantar wart'
<i>noyri-</i>	<i>noyri/n</i>	'side'
<i>telyor</i>	<i>delyor</i>	'(spear) point'
<i>tampyai</i>	<i>tamyai</i>	'brace self when walking downhill'
<i>utyol</i>	<i>netyol</i>	'k.o. fish'

¹¹ I have found two cases of *k:k* in final position: Sye, Ura *tokak* 'cluck', and Sye, Ura *nakik* 'foam, froth'. The first of these is suspiciously onomatopoeic, and I suggest that the second be treated as irregular unless more such cases can be identified.

<i>ntoy</i>	<i>de</i>	'sea'
<i>movoy</i>	<i>ni/mova</i>	'outrigger pole'
<i>nomyuy</i>	<i>nomye</i>	'earthquake'
<i>omnuγ</i>	<i>omne</i>	'wet'

There are also a number of instances of sporadic loss of medial velar consonants in one of the Erromangan languages, a feature which occurs also in Tanna; for example:

	Sye	Ura	
<i>k:∅</i>	<i>noki</i>	<i>nei</i>	'coconut'
<i>k:∅</i>	<i>mehikai</i>	<i>misai</i>	'six'
<i>k:∅</i>	<i>sukrim</i>	<i>suworem</i>	'five'
<i>k:∅</i>	<i>omonki</i>	<i>omni</i>	'drink'
<i>k:∅</i>	<i>elki</i>	<i>elei</i>	'hang up'
<i>∅:k</i>	<i>telouni</i>	<i>telkouni</i>	'go over'

To summarise, the velar obstruent correspondences are as follows. (I do not have sufficient data to decide how *γ was reflected in Utaha.)

PER	*k	*g	*γ
Sye	<i>k-k-γ</i>	<i>k-ŋk-ŋ</i>	<i>-k- / __ i; γ</i> else
Ura	<i>k</i>	<i>ŋ / __ C; g-g-k</i>	<i>γ-γ-∅</i>
Uth	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i> or <i>ŋk</i>	

I now turn to examine the reflexes of the POc velars in Proto Erromango. PER *g derives from POc or PSOc *g:

POc *g > PER *g

	Sye <i>k-ŋk-ŋ</i>	Ura <i>g-, -ŋ- / __ C, -g- else, -k</i>	
PSOc * <i>gam[am]i</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>gim</i>	'we exclusive'
PSOc * <i>gida</i>	<i>koh</i>	<i>gis</i>	'we inclusive'
PSOc * <i>igo[e]</i>	<i>kik</i>	<i>ga</i>	'you SG'
PSOc * <i>gomu</i>	<i>a/ŋkmi</i>	<i>a/ŋmu</i>	'put in mouth'
* <i>baga</i>	<i>n/paŋ</i>	<i>bogu</i>	'(k.o.) banyan'
* <i>-gu</i>	<i>-ŋ</i>	<i>-k</i>	'1SG.POSS'

Note also that PSOc **gamiu* 'you PL' develops regularly in Sye as *kimi* but irregularly in Ura as *ŋimi* (for expected *gimi*).

By far the commonest reflex of POc *k is PER *γ:

POc *k > PER *γ

	Sye <i>-k- / __ i; γ</i>	Ura <i>γ-γ-∅</i>	
* <i>kaRaka</i>	<i>n/arayaray</i>		'k.o. creeper'
* <i>keli</i>	<i>o/γəl-</i>	<i>o/γli</i>	'dig'
* <i>kita</i>	<i>o/γhi</i>	<i>o/γsi</i>	'see'
* <i>kilala</i>	<i>o/kili</i>	<i>o/γori</i>	'know'
* <i>kona</i>	<i>a/γan</i>		'bitter'
* <i>kopu</i>	<i>a/γup</i>	<i>a/γup</i>	'rain, cloudy'
* <i>kuliti</i>	<i>no/yleh-ntan</i>	<i>no/yles dan</i>	'skin'

<i>*kurat</i>	<i>no/yrat</i>		' <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '
<i>*tuki</i>	<i>a/tki</i>	<i>a/ryi</i>	'hit'
<i>*makubu-</i>	<i>moypo-</i>	<i>boybo-</i>	'grandchild'
<i>*(p,b)ikuR</i>	<i>novlai-mpyo-</i>	<i>nevli-mye-</i>	'tail'
<i>*bokasi</i>	<i>no/mpyahi</i>	<i>u/myas</i>	'pig'
<i>*tabakau</i>	<i>teyayau</i>	<i>devayau</i>	'k.o. coconut mat'
<i>*rakumu</i>	<i>n/royum</i>		'k.o. crab'
<i>*taku-</i>	<i>n/toy-, n/toyu-</i>		'back of'
<i>*tasik</i>	<i>n/toy</i>	<i>de</i>	'sea'
<i>*namuk</i>	<i>(u)/yomoγ</i>	<i>u/youmu</i>	'mosquito'

When initial **ku* was preceded by the animate prefix *u-* in Ura, the sequence **uku* appears to have become *wi*. That is, I suggest that although the Sye forms below accreted **na-*, the Ura forms derive from **u-kuRita* and **u-kutu* respectively.¹²

POc	Sye	Ura	
<i>*kuRita</i>	<i>no/ywoh</i>	<i>wis</i>	'octopus'
<i>*kutu</i>	<i>no/yut</i>	<i>wit</i>	'louse'

There is also a handful of words in which POc **k* is unpredictably lost in the Erromangan languages, though it is retained in at least one other SV language; the first example below refers to initial **k* only.

POc **k* > PEr Ø

	Sye	Ura		Compare
<i>*kaRaka</i>	<i>n/arayaray</i>		'k.o. creeper'	A <i>a/yray</i>
<i>*matakut</i>	<i>e/metet</i>	<i>e/metet</i>	'fear (INTR)'	A <i>e/mtay</i>
<i>*toka</i>	<i>e/te</i>	<i>e/ra</i>	'stay'	A <i>a/tey</i>
<i>*kani</i>	<i>eni</i>	<i>eni</i>	'eat (TR)'	A <i>yiñ</i>
<i>*kape</i>	<i>n/ev/lah</i>	<i>w/av/lis</i>	'k.o. crab'	L <i>kəv/ləs</i>
<i>*bak(e,i)wa</i>	<i>ne/mpou</i>	<i>u/beu</i>	'shark'	A <i>ne/pyev</i>
<i>*kayu</i>	<i>n/ei</i>	<i>n/i</i>	'tree'	A <i>n/yai</i>

There are only a very few cases in which POc **k* > PEr **k*:

POc **k* > PEr **k*

	Sye k-k-γ	Ura k	
<i>*sake</i>	<i>say</i>	<i>yok</i>	'(go) up'
<i>*kasupe</i>	<i>ula/kih</i>	<i>ula/kis</i>	'rat'
<i>*tasik</i>	<i>a/toy</i>	<i>a/tok</i>	'salty'

With the last item above, compare **tasik* > Sye *ntoy*, Ura *de* 'sea', in which **k* regularly becomes PEr **γ*.

¹² Ura seems to have prefixed *u-* to a much wider range of animate nouns than Sye – see §5.2.1.

It thus appears that, at least as far as Proto Erromango is concerned, we have a similar situation as with the labial stops: the voiced stop remained a voiced stop; the voiceless stop became a fricative, but a small number of occurrences of POC *k developed into voiceless stops.

2.3.2.3 Proto Tanna

The distribution of prenasalised stops in North Tanna – the criterion Tanna language for the oral/prenasalised distinction – is defective: there are prenasalised stops corresponding to p^w , p and t , but none corresponding to k . In addition, note that, unlike in the Erromangan languages, there is no velar fricative phoneme in any modern Tanna language.

The evidence suggests, however, that Proto Tanna was like Anejoñ: it had a voiceless stop and another velar obstruent, almost certainly a fricative. There are *five* reasonably regular sets of velar correspondences, but four of these reflect PTn * γ :

PTn	*k	* γ	* γ	* γ	* γ
NTn	k	η	η	\emptyset	\emptyset
Wsn	k	η	η	\emptyset	\emptyset
Len	k	k	k	k	\emptyset
SWT	k	k	\emptyset	\emptyset	k
Kwm	k	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset	\emptyset

I reconstruct * γ for the four sets on the right – whose conditioning will be discussed below – since it appears to represent a more lenited phoneme than *k, with stop, nasal and zero reflexes. Positing * γ , even though this phoneme does not occur in any Tanna language, seems the best hypothesis on both internal and external evidence.

I reconstruct Proto Tanna *k for the correspondence set which has k in all positions in all Tanna languages:

PTn *k	Wsn k	Len k	SWT k	Kwm k	
kit-	kit-	kat-	kət-	kət-	'we inclusive'
kəi	kei	kəl	ki/avən	kiri	'flying-fox'
kan	kani	kani	kəni	kəni	'and (clausal)'
kabiel	kap ^w iel	kop ^w iel	kop ^w iel	kəp ^w ier	'stone'
aikuaas	aikuaas	eikuaas	aikuaas	aikuaas	'wash (TR)'
makəl	makali	makal	m ^w akal	ka/mkari	'k.o. spider'
aak	aki	aki	aki	əki	'scratch'
askasək	asək	ausək	əvsək	avahak	'be dry'

This phoneme derives from POC (or PSOC)*g and corresponds with Proto Erromango *g. Note first the following:

POc *g > PTn *k

	NTn k	Wsn k	Len k	SWT k	Kwm k	
PSOc *gida	kit-	kit-	kat-	kət-	kət-	'we INC'
PSOc *gam[am]i			kam-	kəm-	kəm-	'we EXC'
PSOc *gamiu			kami-	kəmi-	kəmi-	'you NONSG'
PSOc *gomu			a/kum ^w		a/k ^w m ^w -i	'put in mouth'
*logu			ləku/n		ruku/vn	'carry under arms'
PSOc *igo[e]	ik	ik	iik	iik	ik	'you SG'
*baga		na/pək	ne/pək		nə/pek	'banyan'
*-gu	-k	-k	-k	-k	-k	'1SG POSS'

There are also the following additional cases where PTn *k corresponds with PEr *g:

PEr *g		PTn *k					
Sye ŋk	Ura g	NTn k	Wsn k	Len k	SWT k	Kwm k	
moŋkum	mogum			makəm		məkəm	'parrotfish'
na/ŋkrai	u/ŋlai	kəi	kəi	kəl	kil/avən	kiri	'flying-fox'
aŋkau	agau			ikoiko	akou	ikou	'crooked, bent'

There is a large group of words which show POc *k > PTn *γ. There is a complex set of correspondences here, and I am not wholly satisfied that I clearly understand the conditioning. However, it appears to be as follows.

- (a) Adjacent to a front vowel, *γ is reflected as *k* in Southwest Tanna and is lost in the other languages. (The last form in the examples below shows the same correspondence set, but in a different environment).

POc *k / *i, *e > PTn *γ

	NTn Ø	Wsn Ø	Len Ø	SWT k	Kwm Ø	
*keli	il	el	il	kəl	eri	'dig'
*-akini	-in	-in	-in	-kən	-in	'TRANS'
*likos	ə/liis		ə/liis	ə/lkəs	ə/rihi	'tie'
*tasik	dehi	nə/tehi	tehe	tahik	təsi	'sea'
*paliji(k)	-n/vəhl	-n/vəhli	nə/vhaal	nə/vhilək	n/urhi	'grass' ¹³
*pekas			a/vhe	ə/vkaa	ə/viesi	'defecate'
	nien	nien	nien		nəkien	'coconut'
*makubu-		m ^w ip ^w ə-	m ^w ip ^w ə-	mukupu-	m ^w ip ^w u-	'grandchild'

- (b) Although there is not a great deal of evidence, *γ in absolute initial position (before a non-front vowel), or root-finally before a possessive suffix, was apparently lost in all Tanna languages except Lenakel, which retains it as *k*.

¹³ This form may have had a final *k in some Pre-PSV language.

POc *k/#, __-POSS > PTn *ɣ

	NTn Ø	Wsn Ø	Len k	SWT Ø	Kwm Ø	
*kaRat-i	us	us	kəs	as	ahi	'bite'
*kani	un	on	kən	aan	ani	'eat (TR)'
*qutok	no/uta- nəb ^w ətə-	no/uhta- nəp ^w atə-	nenō/urek nup ^w elakə-	-kula nəplaa-	k ^w era nəpra-	'brain' 'body'

(c) In final position other than as outlined above, *ɣ is reflected as ŋ in North Tanna and Whitesands, k in Lenakel, and was lost in Southwest Tanna and Kwamera.

POc *k/# > PTn *ɣ

	NTn ŋ	Wsn ŋ	Len k	SWT Ø	Kwm Ø	
*toka	a/təŋ	a/təŋ	a/rək	a/lə	a/ra	'stay'
*kapak	iŋ	ivŋ	ivək	iva	iva	'to fly'
*manuk	menŋ	menəŋ	menuk	mana	menu	'bird'
*nāmuk	kə/maŋ	mu/m ^w aŋ	mu/muk		m ^w i	'mosquito'
	mouŋ	mouŋ	mouk	makua	mak ^w a	'moon'
	aiŋ	aiŋ	aik, aiuk	al	aru	'swim'
	metmetiŋ	mətmətiŋ	məruk	malamala	məru	'slow'

(d) In other environments, *ɣ is reflected as ŋ in North Tanna and Whitesands, as k in Lenakel, and is normally lost in Kwamera (though there are one or two instances of k); in Southwest Tanna it is sometimes lost and sometimes reflected as k.

POc *k > PTn *ɣ

	NTn ŋ	Wsn ŋ	Len k	SWT k ~ Ø	Kwm Ø	
*kutu	kə/ŋət	kə/ŋət	kur	kel	ur	'louse'
*kapak		nəŋəvŋəvə-	nəkavkavə-	nəkavkavə-		'wing'
*kayu	nə/ŋ	nə/ŋi	nə/k	n/ai	n/ei	'tree'
	ətəŋ	ətəŋ	ərki-	alki-pən		'push'
	nəŋanməbə-	nəŋanməpə-	nakanməpə-	nakanməpə-	nakanməp ^w u-	'liver'
	amnahəŋ	əmnahəŋ	amhnok			'sweat'
	aŋaban		akap ^w an	ap ^w an	ap ^w an	'hot'
		n/eŋo	n/iko	lau		'canoe'
	nəbənəŋə-	nəp ^w anəŋə-	nəp ^w anakə-	nəp ^w ana-	nəp ^w ana-	'forehead'
	abəŋam	afəŋom	pkom	p ^w am	ap ^w am	'hot'

However, there is also a sizeable number of cases where POc *k is reflected as PTn *k – i.e. as k in all languages (with sporadic loss):

POc *k > PTn *k

	NTn k	Wsn k	Len k	SWT k	Kwm k	
*kalo	ma/kəl	ma/kali	ma/kal	m ^w a/kal	kam/kəri	'spider'
*katu(m,ŋ)	katəm	katəm	karəm			'basket'
*kasupe	kahap	kahau	kahau	i/ahuk ^w	i/esuk ^w	'rat'
*kup ^w ena		na/kap ^w ən	na/kapun	na/kapun	nəpun	'fishing net'
*bokasi	pukəs	pukah	pukas	pukah	pukah	'pig'

*tokon	k-a/skən	k-a/skən	k-a/skən	k-a/skən	k-a/skən	'crutch'
*panako		ə/vnak	ə/vnak			'steal'
*(p,b)ikuR	nəb/ikə-	nəp/ikə-	nəp/ikə-	nəp/ikou-	nəp/piki-	'tail'

In summary, then, we have the following reflexes of the POc velar stops in Tanna:

POc	*g, *k (fortis?)	*k (lenis?)
PTn	*k	*ɣ
NTn	k	∅ / *i, *e; ∅ / # __; ɲ else
Wsn	k	∅ / *i, *e; ∅ / # __; ɲ else
Len	k	∅ / *i, *e; _ else
SWT	k	∅ / # __, __ #; k else
Kwm	k	∅

2.3.2.4 Proto Southern Vanuatu

I suggest that the development of the velar obstruents in the SV languages was as shown in Table 2.3 which, for completeness, also includes the reflexes of POc *ɲ.

POc	*g	*k fortis?	*k lenis?	*ɲ / _ *i, *e	*ɲ else
PSV	*g	*k	*ɣ		*ɲ
PEr	*g	*k	*ɣ		*ɲ
PTn		*k	*ɣ		*ɲ
Anj	k		ɣ	ɲ̄	ɲ

PSV *g derives from POc *g, and the regular reflex of POc *k was PSV *ɣ. However, after the lenition of POc *k to *ɣ, a third velar obstruent, PSV *k, developed. It is difficult to see what the conditioning was, and it may reflect the same kind of fortis/lenis distinction which I mentioned in relation to the labial stops (§2.3.3; see Ross 1988:47ff.).

2.4 Liquids and Proto Oceanic *R

Proto Southern Vanuatu is reconstructed as having had two liquids, *l and *r. These derive from the POc liquids *l, *r, *R (and possibly also *dr – see §2.4.5), all of which show interesting developments in the Southern Vanuatu languages.

2.4.1 Proto Oceanic *R

Proto Oceanic *R has long been of interest to Oceanists because of the sporadic and unpredictable nature of its reflexes in many languages. Geraghty (1990:51), for example, prefaces his thorough study of Proto Eastern Oceanic *R by saying that,

in the historical phonology and classification of Oceanic languages, probably no phoneme has been more extensively studied and used than **R*... Because of its varied reflexes, there is uncertainty as to its original phonetic nature, though the most recent appraisal (Ross 1986 [published as Ross 1988]) argues that it was a uvular fricative in Proto Oceanic. In any case, it must have been a highly unstable sound, since it is nowhere retained as a distinct phoneme.

It is possible to make the generalisation that POC word-final **R* was lost in the SV languages. The only apparent exception is the following:

POC **mimiR* 'urinate' > Wsn *a/mialili*, Len *a/miamiil*, SWT *a/mialil*

This set of forms may actually derive from the transitive form **mimiR-i* 'urinate on', in which **R* was not word-final; note that **mimiR* has another set of reflexes which do show loss of **R*: NTn *a/m*, Wsn, Len, Kwm *a/mi*, SWT *aa/m*, *a/mi*.

Of the non-final occurrences of etyma containing POC **R* which have reflexes in the Southern Vanuatu languages, about half show a merger of **R* with **r* (as PSV **r*), while the other half show zero reflexes in all languages which reflect that etymon. Further, there seems to be no way of predicting the retention of non-final **R*. The examples in Table 2.4 will illustrate this. In that table, the labels E, T and A stand for Erromango, Tanna and Anejoñ; R indicates retention of **R*, Ø indicates loss, -# indicates regular loss of word-final PSV **r* in Anejoñ, and a blank indicates no reflex. In the discussion which follows, therefore, expressions such as 'the reflexes of **R*' are to be interpreted as 'the reflexes of POC non-final **R* in those etyma in which it is retained'.

Table 2.4: POC **R* in Southern Vanuatu

POC <i>*R</i> retained	POC <i>*R</i> lost						
	E	T	A				
<i>*Rapi</i> 'evening'	R	R	R	<i>*Ropok</i> 'fly'		Ø	Ø
<i>*maRi</i> 'breadfruit'	R	R	-#	<i>*waRisa</i> 'two days away'	Ø	Ø	Ø
<i>*paRa</i> 'wall'	R			<i>*taRaq-i</i> 'cut'	Ø	Ø	Ø
<i>*tuRi</i> 'sew'	R	R	R	<i>*tapuRi</i> 'conch shell'	Ø	Ø	Ø
<i>*yaRu</i> ' <i>Casuarina</i> sp.'	R	R	-#	<i>*paRu</i> ' <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> '	Ø	Ø	Ø

2.4.2 Proto Erromango

There are three correspondence sets involving liquids in the Erromangan languages, suggesting three protophonemes, which I will write as **l*, **r* and **L*. The basic correspondences are:

PEr	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*L</i>
Sye	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>
Ura	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>

The following illustrate these correspondences:

PEr *l

Sye l

lator
levsau
elani
nilar
tali
helnivi
alyap
nelpo-
amplehi
noyleh ntan
naṅal
savel
nehkil

Ura l

lator
levsau
elani
nilar
tali
selnivi
alyap
nelpo/n
amlesi
noyles dan
naṅal
afel
neskil

'line'
 'disciple'
 'avoid'
 'a light'
 'satiated'
 'beam at top of roof'
 'attach(ed)'
 'trunk, main part'
 'stick on to'
 'skin'
 'arrow'
 'whistle through pursed lips'
 'snake'

PEr *r

Sye r

ra
amarat
orari
oraṅi
aryar
avruy
aromprom
nivir
ahor
ayur

Ura r

ra
amarat
arare
erṅi
aryar
avruk
aromrom
nifir
asor
ayur

'oblique preposition'
 'sick'
 'flow'
 'hear'
 'jealous'
 'cough'
 'shy'
 '(fruit) bunch'
 'shout'
 'wilt, mourn'

PEr *L

Sye r

n/renyuṅ
n/rau
n/retwo-
n/romo
narep
nr/uru
noromuntan
norop
narvin
nevre
netrihoṅ
etri
ovronṅi

Ura l

lanyeṅ
lau
lere-
lama
nalip
g/elu
nilomudan
nelip
nalvin
nevla
netlisoṅ
ehli
ovlehṅi

'wild cane'
 'heliconia'
 'paternal aunt'
 'strong'
 'vein, tendon'
 'two'
 'dorsal fin'
 'k.o. roof beam'
 'sand, beach'
 'sprouting coconut'
 '(house) back wall'
 'pierce, sew'
 'call'

<i>naŋkrai</i>	<i>uŋlai</i>	'flying-fox'
<i>nampr-</i>	<i>nimleŋe/n</i>	'snot'
<i>nəmar</i>	<i>nimal</i>	'breadfruit'
<i>yowar</i>	<i>yawil</i>	'thunder'
<i>etayor</i>	<i>arail</i>	'sweep'

There is also correspondence between Sye *nr* and Ura *d* in non-final position, which I suggest derives from an **n + *r* cluster. In final position, **nr* becomes Ura *n*.

PEr **n + *-r-*

Sye <i>nr</i>	Ura <i>d-, -d-, -n</i>	
<i>nroŋroŋo-</i>	<i>deŋleŋe/n</i>	'finger'
<i>nrompon</i>	<i>dobon</i>	'juice, oil'
<i>nrovu-nei</i>	<i>dovu-ni</i>	'rotten tree-trunk'
<i>emenroŋ</i>	<i>emedoŋ</i>	'to rest'
<i>senri</i>	<i>sedi</i>	'unload'
<i>senromsi</i>	<i>sedomsi</i>	'clean'
<i>nomponre</i>	<i>ubuda</i>	'fruit dove'
<i>neitanroyroy</i>	<i>nitadeyrek</i>	'chafing between legs'
<i>etponr</i>	<i>urpon</i>	'cold'
<i>vetponr</i>	<i>verpon</i>	'stones unsuitable for cooking with'

I suggest that **r > Ura t* after **n*, with *nt* regularly coalescing as *d* (see §2.5.2.2). The following example suggests that this analysis may be correct:

Sye <i>nr</i>	Ura <i>t / C__</i>	
<i>imnru</i>	<i>imturu</i>	'feel pity'

The Ura form above suggests underlying *imnturu*, with the *n* being deleted in the middle of the three-consonant cluster, and *nt* not undergoing the change to *d* in this case.

Thus the preliminary set of correspondences given above can be modified as follows:

PEr	<i>*l</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*L</i>
Sye	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>r</i>
Ura	<i>l</i>	<i>t / n__V; Ø / n__#; r</i> else	<i>l</i>
Uth	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>

There are a few *l:r* correspondences, which may involve the *l ~ r* variation mentioned by Crowley (cf. §1.5 above):

Sye <i>l</i>	Ura <i>r</i>	
<i>ilampe</i>	<i>erpa</i>	'over there'
<i>elpo</i>	<i>erpo</i>	'bald'
<i>okili</i>	<i>oyori</i>	'know'
<i>nelu-</i>	<i>nouri/n</i>	'penis'

POc **l* is reflected as PEr **l* in all environments:

POc *l > PEr *l

	Sye l	Ura l	
* <i>laŋo</i>	<i>w/laŋ</i>	<i>w/leŋ</i>	'a fly'
* <i>likos</i>	<i>e/lki</i>	<i>e/lei</i>	'tie up'
* <i>luaq</i>	<i>elwo</i>	<i>elwa</i>	'vomit'
* <i>bulut</i>	<i>a/mplet</i>	<i>a/mlesi</i>	'sticky, stick to'
* <i>kali, *keli</i>	<i>o/ɣəl</i>	<i>o/ɣli</i>	'dig'
* <i>kuliti</i>	<i>no/ɣleh-ntan</i>	<i>no/ɣles dan</i>	'skin'
* <i>quloc</i>	<i>n/ilah</i>	<i>ila</i>	'maggot'
* <i>lisaq</i>	<i>ne/lis</i>	<i>i/lis</i>	'nit'
* <i>talise</i>	<i>n/teli</i>	<i>dile</i>	'k.o. tree' ¹⁴

POc *R (when retained) merges with *r, but there appear to be two reflexes – PEr *r (Sye, Ura r) and PEr *L (Sye r, Ura l). Below I give the relevant forms.

POc *r,*R > PEr *r

	Sye r	Ura r	
* <i>roŋoR</i>	<i>o/rəŋ-</i>	<i>e/rŋ-i</i>	'perceive'
* <i>rarap</i>	<i>n/arap</i>	<i>dev/arap</i>	'coral tree'
* <i>maqurip</i>	<i>o/murep</i>	<i>o/morop</i>	'live'
* <i>m^waruŋen</i>	<i>nuv-mori</i>	<i>nup-mori</i>	'k.o. yam'
* <i>qaRa(r)</i>	<i>n/ar</i>	<i>n/ar</i>	'boundary'
* <i>paRi</i>	<i>u/var</i>	<i>u/var</i>	'stingray'

POc *r,*R > PEr *L

	Sye nr-r-r	Ura l	
* <i>rua</i>	<i>nru/ru</i>	<i>ge/lu</i>	'two'
* <i>ra(n,ŋ)i</i>	<i>n/ran</i>	<i>ne/lin</i>	'day'
* <i>Rapi</i>	<i>pwa/rap</i>	<i>balwa/lip</i>	'afternoon'
*= <i>ra</i>	<i>-or</i>	<i>-il</i>	'them; 3SG object pronoun'
* <i>(k)ira</i>	<i>iror</i>	<i>leil</i>	'they; 3PL focal pronoun'
* <i>paraq</i>	<i>ne/vre</i>	<i>ne/vla</i>	'sprouting coconut'
* <i>maRi</i>	<i>nə/mar</i>	<i>ni/mal</i>	'breadfruit'
* <i>iuRi</i>	<i>e/tri</i>	<i>e/hli</i>	'sew'

I am unable at this stage to account for this variation. However, I note again Crowley's comment (see §1.5 above) concerning unaccountable variations between *l* and *r* in transcriptions of Ura data. There may have been some fluctuation between these two phonemes in Ura, or a partial change from *r* > *l* in that language. For our purposes here, I will treat PEr *r and *L as variant reflexes of PSV *r.

Note also the following comparison, which shows the reverse mismatch (Sye *l*, Ura *r*): POc *(w,v)ele > Sye *ve/lŋah*, Ura *ni/ver/ŋi* 'Barringtonia edulis'.

¹⁴ The POc and Sye terms refer to *Terminalia catappa*, the Ura to *Inocarpus* sp.

2.4.3 Anejoñ

In Anejoñ, POc **r* and **r* merge as *r* initially and medially; with the single exception of **paRi* > *n/har* ‘stingray’, both **R* and **r* are lost word-finally:

POc * <i>r</i> , * <i>R</i> > Anj <i>r</i> -, - <i>r</i> -, Ø		
* <i>rarap</i>	<i>n/ara</i>	‘coral tree’
* <i>raqan-</i>	<i>n/ra-</i>	‘branch’
* <i>rakum^wa</i>	<i>n/ray</i>	‘k.o. crab’
* <i>rua</i>	<i>e/rou</i>	‘two’
* <i>Rapi</i>	<i>n/jup-ura</i>	‘afternoon’
*= <i>ra</i>	- <i>r-</i>	‘3NONGS object suffix’
* <i>karis</i>	<i>a/kreθ</i>	‘scratch’
	<i>a/γreθ</i>	‘scrape’
* <i>kaRaka</i>	<i>a/γray</i>	‘creep’
*(<i>k</i>) <i>ira</i>	<i>a/ar-</i>	‘3NONGS focal pronoun’
* <i>irip</i>	<i>e/rerei</i>	‘fan’
* <i>kurat</i>	<i>no/uras</i>	‘ <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> ’
* <i>maRi</i>	<i>n/mar-</i> , <i>n/mer-</i>	‘breadfruit (in compounds)’
	<i>n/ma</i>	‘breadfruit’
* <i>ñoro</i>	<i>ya</i>	‘flow uncontrollably’
* <i>maqurip</i>	<i>w/mu</i>	‘live’
* <i>balur</i>	<i>pela-ñ</i>	‘mix’

Anejoñ has two reflexes of **l* conditioned by the following vowel. Before POc **i*, **e* and **o*, POc **l* is reflected as *j*:

POc * <i>l</i> /__ * <i>i</i> , * <i>e</i> , * <i>o</i> > Anj <i>j</i>		
* <i>kali</i> , * <i>keli</i>	<i>a/γji-i</i>	‘dig’
* <i>likos</i>	<i>a/jyei</i>	‘tie up, hang’
* <i>lima-</i>	<i>ni/jma-</i>	‘hand’
* <i>lipon-</i>	<i>ne/jhe-</i> , <i>ni/jho-</i>	‘tooth’
* <i>molis</i>	<i>ne/pjeθ</i>	‘citrus’
* <i>talise</i>	<i>n/tejeθ</i>	‘ <i>Terminalia catappa</i> ’
* <i>taliŋa-</i>	<i>n/tijŋa-</i>	‘ear’
* <i>paliji</i>	<i>na/pjes</i>	‘grass’
* <i>mule</i>	<i>aθu/m^woj</i>	‘return’
* <i>b^wilo</i>	<i>ne/pje-</i>	‘container’
* <i>quloc</i>	<i>n/ija</i>	‘maggot’
* <i>m^walo</i>	<i>n/m^woje</i>	‘reef’

There is also the comparison **kawil* > *n/γowoj* ‘fish-hook’. This may involve palatalisation of word-final **l* after **i*. On the other hand, the POc source may have had the transitive suffix (with the meaning ‘fish with a hook’) which was later lost – i.e. **kawil-i* > *n/γowoj*.

In other environments, **l* is reflected as Anejoñ *l*:

POc *l else > Anj l

*lab ^w at	a/lp ^w as	'big'
*laŋo	n/laŋ	'a fly'
*lawaq	ni/lva	'spider'
*[ma]lawā	lau	'long'
*luaq	a/lou	'vomit'
*bulut	a/p ^w ol	'sticky, stick to'
*paluca	a/heleθ	'to paddle'

There are only a few exceptions to these rules. POc *l does not undergo expected palatalisation in *lisaq > na/laθ 'nit' nor in *tolo > a/tleŋ, e/tleŋ 'to swallow'. The form ne/lom^w 'algae, moss' looks as if it derives from POc *lumut, though forms in other SV languages apparently derive from the doublet *limut.

2.4.4 Proto Tanna

In Northern Tanna, there are two correspondence sets involving liquids (other than those involving *r* as a reflex of a stop or a sibilant in some Tanna languages); in Southern Tanna, however, there is only one. I will show below that POc *l, *r and *R all merged in Proto Tanna, and I reconstruct the protophoneme as *r for reasons I will explain in §2.4.6. This phoneme was continued as *r in Proto Southern Tanna (PST), but split in Proto Northern Tanna (PNT) into *i (often phonetically [y]) and PNT *l; the conditioning of the split will be discussed below.¹⁵

PTn *r > PNT *i, PST *r

NTn i	Wsn i	Len i	SWT l	Kwm r	
n/ian	n/ian	n/ian	ie/lan	ia/ran	'daytime'
aiŋ	aiŋ	aik	al	aru	'swim'
aeh	aiah	aih		arəs	'flow'
iim ^w aiim ^w	iim ^w aiim ^w	iim ^w aiim ^w	iim ^w aləm	im ^w arəm	'nakamal'
amimta	amemta	amimra	amləmla	amrəmera	'green'
nəme	nəmei	{nəm}	nəmel	nemer	'breadfruit'

PTn *r > PNT *l, PST *r

NTn l	Wsn l	Len l	SWT l	Kwm r	
aklah	akələh	aklha	aklha-kən	akres	'steal'
aŋuəhl	aŋuəhli	ahiŋəl	əhualu	erŋhara	'(person) old'
alp ^w ah	alp ^w ah	alfa	elfa	arpaha	'lazy'
alməəl	alməli	alməəl		arməri	'mad'
kəsəl	kəsəl	kəsil	kəsisəl	kahar	'three'

¹⁵ The SWT reflex of *r is *l* in the dialect I have most data for, but *r* in another (*l*-less) dialect for which I also have some data. Note also (i) that *ai* often coalesces as *e*, and (ii) that Lenakel has lost the final VC in the word meaning 'breadfruit', and thus does not retain PTn *r here.

<i>atul</i>	<i>etuul</i>	<i>ail</i>	<i>alel</i>	<i>arer</i>	'stand'
<i>teləŋ</i>	<i>teləŋ</i>	<i>leləŋ</i>	<i>leləŋ</i>	<i>rerəŋ</i>	'come back'
<i>nəŋəl</i>	<i>nəŋəl</i>	<i>nəŋəl</i>	<i>nəŋəl</i>	<i>nəŋar</i>	'salt'
<i>maul</i>	<i>moul</i>	<i>mul</i>	<i>maul</i>	<i>mour</i>	'left (hand)'

As I said above, POc **l*, **r* and **R* all merge as PTn **r*. Before POc **i*, **e* and **o*, PTn **r* is reflected as PNT **l*:

POc **l, *r, *R* / **i, e, o* > PTn **r*, PNT **l*

<i>*kali, *keli</i>	L <i>il</i> , K <i>eri</i>	'dig'
<i>*likos</i>	L <i>ə/liis</i> , K <i>a/rihi</i>	'tie up, hang'
<i>*lima-</i>	L <i>ne/lmə-</i> , S <i>k^wa/lmə-</i>	'hand'
<i>*lipon-</i>	L <i>ne/lu-</i> , K <i>k^wa-revu-</i>	'tooth'
<i>*limut</i>	L, S <i>ləmus</i>	'moss, seaweed'
<i>*lisaq</i>	L <i>ki/lha</i> , K <i>k^wa-resa</i>	'nit'
<i>*molis</i>	L <i>nə/məlh</i> , K <i>nə/mərhi</i>	'citrus'
<i>*talise</i>	L <i>telh</i>	' <i>Terminalia catappa</i> '
<i>*talina-</i>	L <i>nəm^watelŋə-</i> , K <i>nak^wa-reŋi</i>	'ear'
<i>*paliji</i>	L <i>nə/vhaal</i> , K <i>nurhi</i>	'grass'
<i>*kalo</i>	L <i>makal</i> , K <i>ka/mkəri</i>	'(k.o.) spider'
<i>*b^wilo</i>	L <i>ui/pəl</i>	'container'
<i>*quloc</i>	S <i>n/ilah</i>	'maggot'
<i>*logu</i>	L <i>ləku/n</i> , K <i>ruku/vn</i>	'carry under arms'
<i>*irip</i>	L <i>il-il</i> , K <i>eri-eri</i>	'to fan'
<i>*tuRi</i>	L, S <i>əllel</i>	'sew'
<i>*ma-wiRi</i>	L <i>mul</i> , K <i>mour</i>	'left (hand)'
PEOc <i>*buRe</i>	L <i>a/p^wol-a/p^wol</i> , K <i>a/p^wor</i>	'bubble, boil'

There is also some evidence that POc **l*, **r* and **R* became PNT **l* immediately following **i*. The PSV oblique preposition **ira-* is reflected as Lenakel *le*, and there are also the cases below:

POc **l, *r, *R* / **i*__ > PTn **r*, PNT **l*

<i>*(k)ira</i>	L <i>il-</i> , K <i>ir-</i>	'3NONGS focal pronoun'
<i>*b^wilo</i>	L <i>ui/pəl</i>	'coconut shell container'

In other environments, PTn **r* is reflected as PNT **i*:

POc **l, *r, *R* else > PTn **r*, PNT **i*

<i>*lab^wat</i>	L <i>ip^wər</i> , K <i>rəpu-</i>	'big'
<i>*laŋo</i>	L <i>k/iaŋ</i> , S <i>e/laŋ</i>	'a fly'
<i>*luaq</i>	L <i>eua</i> (< <i>a-ia</i>), S <i>lua</i>	'vomit'
<i>*bulut</i>	L <i>a/p^wiit</i>	'sticky, stick to'
<i>*quraŋ</i>	W <i>ie-rəhi</i> , S <i>luan-tahik</i>	'crayfish' ?
<i>*rarap</i>	L <i>na/iəv</i>	'coral tree'
<i>*rakum^wa</i>	L <i>iakəm</i>	'crab sp.'
<i>*ra(n,ŋ)i</i>	L <i>n/ian</i> , K <i>ia/ran</i>	'day'
<i>*paraq</i>	L <i>nien-u/via</i> , K <i>nu/vera</i>	'sprouting coconut'

<i>*rua</i>	L <i>k/iu</i> , K <i>kə/ru</i>	'two'
<i>*Rapi</i>	L <i>lenha/iu</i> , K <i>na/ruv-aruv</i>	'afternoon'
PEOc <i>*voRa</i>	L <i>e/via</i> , K <i>vera</i>	'spring up, grow'
<i>*qaRu(c,s)</i>	L <i>a/ih</i> , K <i>a/rəs</i>	'flow'

There are, however, some cases in Northern Tanna where we find **i* for expected **l* or **l* for expected **i*. Most of these seem to be, in other respects, fairly clear cognates, and I have no explanation for the 'wrong' reflexes:

POc **l*, **r*, **R* / *_* **i,e,o* > PNT **i* for expected **l*

<i>*ialos</i>	W <i>nə/rei</i> , S <i>nə/tel</i>	'taro'
<i>*maRi</i>	W <i>nə/mei</i> , K <i>ne/mer</i>	'breadfruit'
<i>*liqo-si</i>	L <i>e/iv/aŋ-</i> , S <i>e/lha-</i>	'look in certain direction'

POc **l*, **r*, **R* else > PNT **l* for expected **i*

<i>*malaso</i>	L <i>mhal</i> , S <i>a/mla</i>	'cold'
<i>*quluŋ-an</i>	L <i>aluŋa</i>	'lay head on pillow' (may be a Futuna loan)
<i>*marama</i>	L <i>a/məl</i> , K <i>mer</i>	'shine'
<i>*uRat</i>	L <i>noua-n/ul</i> , S <i>na/ur</i>	'vein'
<i>*yaRu</i>	L <i>n/iel</i> , K <i>n/ier</i>	' <i>Casuarina</i> sp.'

2.4.5 Proto Oceanic **dr*

I have so far not discussed the reflexes of POC **dr*. This an infrequently occurring phoneme in POC, and etyma reflecting it are particularly infrequent in the SV languages. A few etyma suggest that **dr* merged with POC **r* and **R* as PSV **r*:¹⁶

POc **dr* > PSV **r*

	Sye	Ura	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
<i>*=dra</i>	<i>-nr</i>		<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-ni/l-</i>	<i>-li-</i>	<i>-n/r-</i>	<i>-r</i>	'3PL.POSS'
<i>*drudru</i>							<i>e/rur</i>		'shake'
<i>*madraR</i>	<i>morei</i>	<i>ni/morei</i>						<i>na/marai</i>	'fermented breadfruit'

However, there are other etyma showing **dr* > PTn **d*, Anj *j*, suggesting a merger with POC **d*:

POc **dr* > PSV **d*

	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
<i>*draRaŋ</i>	<i>n/ta-</i>	<i>nə/ra-</i>	<i>nə/ta</i> , <i>nə/taa-</i>	<i>nə/tau-</i>	<i>ne/ta</i> , <i>nə/te-</i>	<i>n/ja</i>	'blood'
PEOc <i>*ma-dreu</i>						<i>e/mjav</i>	'ripe(n)'

¹⁶ The PSV 3SG possessive pronoun is reconstructed as **-nira*, so initial *n(V)* in various languages reflects the first syllable of the PSV root.

The following forms for which I know of no POC reconstruction also suggest a merger with **d* in Tanna and Anejoñ, though Sye has medial *nr*, which is neither the medial reflex of **d* nor of **r*:

PSV	Sye	Len	Kwm	Anj	
<i>*na-dVw</i>	<i>nenru</i>			<i>nejev</i>	'kauri, <i>Agathis</i> sp.'
<i>*na-dani</i>	<i>nanre</i>	<i>netan</i>	<i>nətan</i>	<i>najeñ</i>	'wild nutmeg, <i>Myristica fatua</i> '

Sye also has *nre* 'blood' (see above): it is not clear to me whether *nr* in this etymon reflects **dr*, or whether this is *n* (article) + *re* < **draRaq*. (Ura *uga* 'blood' is presumably not cognate.)

All of this fairly limited and confused information suggests that **dr* may have been a cluster – perhaps **nr*? – in (pre-)PSV, and that that cluster simplified sometimes as **d* and sometimes as **r*.

2.4.6 Proto Southern Vanuatu

The discussion in this chapter has established the reconstructions and correspondences listed in Table 2.5 (bearing in mind that POC final **R* was lost, and that there are many cases of non-final **R* > \emptyset).

POc	<i>*l</i> / $_*$ <i>i,*e,*o</i>	<i>*l</i> else	<i>*r,*R</i> / $_*$ <i>i,*e,*o</i>	<i>*r,*R</i> else	<i>*dr</i>
PSV	<i>*l</i>		<i>*r</i>		<i>*d ~ *r</i>
PEr	<i>*l</i>		<i>*r ~ *L</i>		<i>*r ~ *L</i>
PTn	<i>*r</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*d ~ *r</i>
PNT	<i>*l</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*l</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*d ~ *l</i>
PST	<i>*r</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*r</i>	<i>*d ~ *r</i>
Anj	<i>j</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r-r-\emptyset</i>		<i>j, r</i>

Now while **l* > Anejoñ *j* before front vowels (and **o*) is very clearly palatalisation,¹⁷ since the reflex is a palatal, the POC **l* > Proto Northern Tanna reflex **i* seems less like the result of palatalisation since, although the *reflex* can be considered palatal, the *environment* is the direct opposite of a normal palatalising one. Bhat (1978), however, notes that there is a tendency for non-lateral liquids to palatalise as liquids: that is, **r* > *l* before front vowels is in fact a regular kind of palatalisation, and it is at least partly for this reason that I reconstruct the PTn reflex as **r* rather than **l*. There would then have been a subsequent change of **r* > Proto North Tanna **i* (phonetically [y] adjacent to another vowel) in a non-palatalising environment; although this is a somewhat unusual change, it does occur in at least some other Oceanic languages (Lynch 1996b:89-90).

¹⁷ Just why **l* should palatalise before **o* is a matter I will leave until the next chapter.

Liquid palatalisation in Tanna only occurs in the Northern Tanna languages, and only occurred after the merger of POc **l*, **r* and **R*. In Anejoṃ, **l* did not merge with **r* or **R*, and only **l* underwent palatalisation. It appears therefore that, although Anejoṃ and Northern Tanna liquid palatalisation are quite similar on the surface, they were actually two quite independent developments.

2.5 Other coronals

Proto Southern Vanuatu is reconstructed as having had the coronal stops **t* and **d*, the stop, affricate or sibilant **c*, the sibilants **s* and **j*, the nasal **n* and the glide **y*. I begin with the last two, since they are the simplest to deal with. I will then deal with the stops, which pose more problems, and finally with the sibilants, which pose more problems still.

2.5.1 Coronal nasals and **y*

The evidence suggests that POc **n* and **ñ* were distinct in PSV: POc **n* is reflected as PSV **n*, while POc **ñ* merges with **y* as PSV **y*.

2.5.1.1 POc **ñ* and **y*

Proto Southern Vanuatu **y* is reflected as **y* (occasionally **i*) in PEr, as **i* in PTn, and as *y* in Anejoṃ. PEr and PTn **i* will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 3; PEr **y* is reconstructed on the basis of the following cognates:

PEr **y*

Sye y	Ura y	
<i>yau</i>	<i>yau</i>	'I, me'
<i>yomput</i>	<i>yobut</i>	'navel'
<i>eyar</i>	<i>eyar</i>	'(weather) clear up'
<i>nimpyau</i>	<i>nimyau</i>	'a wave'
<i>nivenye</i>	<i>nivenya</i>	'tree fern'

It appears that POc **ñ* and **y* merged as PSV **y*, as suggested by the following, although the Tanna evidence is far from adequate:¹⁸

POc **y* > PSV **y*

	Sye y ~ i	Len i	Kwm i	Anj y	
<i>*bayani</i>		<i>nə/pien</i>	<i>nə/piien</i>	<i>nepyān</i>	'bait'
<i>*yaRu</i>	<i>n/yar</i>	<i>n/iel</i>	<i>n/ier</i>	<i>n/ya</i>	' <i>Casuarina</i> sp.'
<i>*yaŋo</i>	<i>me/yāŋ</i>			<i>yaŋ</i>	'yellow'

¹⁸ The palatal nasal in the 3SG possessive suffix **-ña* is an exception to this, being reflected as *n* in all SV languages. However, this development is found in a wide range of Oceanic languages which otherwise distinguish the reflexes of **ñ* from **n*, and this suggests that the form was inherited as **-na* in the SV languages.

POc **n̄* > PSV **y*

	Sye <i>y ~ i</i>	Len <i>i</i>	Kwm <i>i</i>	Anj <i>y</i>	
* <i>n̄</i> at <u>u</u> q	yetu	<i>n/ier</i>		<i>n/yat</i>	'Burckella sp.'
* <i>n̄</i> u <u>ñ</u> u	or-a/yu			<i>a/iyu</i>	'shade, shadow'
* <i>n̄</i> amuk	yomoy	{ <i>mumuk</i> }	{ <i>m^wi</i> }	<i>n/yam^w</i>	'mosquito'
* <i>n̄</i> oRo				<i>ya</i>	'flow (swiftly)'
	<i>ninu</i>	<i>nenav</i>	<i>neiv</i>	<i>i/yenev</i>	'yesterday'

A comment is necessary on the last set. Two forms have been reconstructed with the meaning 'yesterday' in POc: **n̄*oRap and **qana-napi*. In addition, Clark reconstructs a PNCV form **nanovi*. I reconstruct PSV **na-yan(a,u)v*, which suggests an earlier ***n̄*ana(v,w)V (preceded by the article **na-* in Erromango and Tanna and by a locative/temporal prefix in Anejoñ), which appears to be some kind of blend of the two POc forms.

2.5.1.2 POc **n* and nasal palatalisation

Proto Erromango and Proto Tanna both had the coronal nasal **n*, which is reflected as *n* in all environments in all daughter languages and which derives from POc **n* in all environments. Like its velar counterpart **ŋ*, however, POc **n* underwent palatalisation in Anejoñ, being reflected as *n̄* before a front vowel and *n* elsewhere:

POc **n* / __ **i*, **e*

	Sye <i>n</i>	Len <i>n</i>	Kwm <i>n</i>	Anj <i>n̄</i>	
* <i>kani</i>	<i>eni</i>	<i>kən</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>yiñ</i>	'eat (TR)'
* <i>bayani</i>		<i>nə/pien</i>	<i>nə/piien</i>	<i>nəpyañ</i>	'bait'
* <i>boni</i>	<i>e/mpen</i>	<i>ə/pien</i>	<i>a/pein</i>	<i>e/peñ</i>	'smell (INTR)'
PSOc * <i>munim</i>	<i>o/mor/ki</i>	<i>a/mnuum^w</i>	<i>a/num^w-i</i>	<i>a/m^woñ</i>	'drink'
* <i>ta-m^waqane</i>	<i>na/ɪman</i>	<i>ie/ram^waan</i>	<i>ie/rman</i>	<i>na/tam^wañ</i>	'man'
* <i>bune</i>	<i>no/mpon</i>	<i>pun/huua</i>	<i>pən-</i>	<i>no/pña</i>	'fruit dove'
* <i>ta-pine</i>	<i>na/hiven</i>	<i>pe/ravən</i>	<i>p/ran</i>	<i>na/taheñ</i>	'woman'

POc **n* else

	Sye <i>n</i>	Len <i>n</i>	Kwm <i>n</i>	Anj <i>n</i>	
* <i>natu-</i>	<i>nitu-</i>	<i>nerə-</i>	<i>neru-</i>		'child'
* <i>nasu(q)</i>	<i>nahwo-num</i>				'steam'
* <i>tanum</i>	<i>e/tenəm</i>	<i>renəm</i>	<i>num^w-i</i>	<i>a/tenom</i>	'bury'
* <i>pano</i>	<i>a/van</i>	<i>vən</i>	<i>vən</i>	<i>han</i>	'go'
* <i>tanoq</i>	<i>U dena</i>	<i>tən</i>	<i>təna</i>	<i>n/tan</i>	'land, earth'
* <i>kup^wena</i>	<i>no/ɣpon</i>	<i>na/kapun</i>	<i>n/əpun</i>	<i>no/up^won</i>	'fishing net'
* <i>punuq</i>	<i>a/vni</i> 'last'	<i>a/uni-in</i>		<i>i/hni-i</i>	'finish, end'

Recall from §2.3.1 that POc **ŋ* underwent the same palatalisation in Anejoñ; that is:

POc * <i>n</i> , * <i>ŋ</i> / __ * <i>i</i> , * <i>e</i>	>	Anj <i>n̄</i>
POc * <i>n</i> else	>	Anj <i>n</i>
POc * <i>ŋ</i> else	>	Anj <i>ŋ</i>

Nasal palatalisation must have preceded final vowel loss, since final front vowels condition the palatalisation of a nasal before they are lost.¹⁹ However, nasal palatalisation clearly followed the merger of **n̄* and **y* as PSV **y*, Anj *y*, since *n̄* < POC palatalised **n* does not merge with **n̄* (and **y*).

2.5.1.3 Velarisation of **n*

There are a few etyma in which POC **n* is reflected as *ŋ* in the SV languages. This appears to have taken place when there was a **q* in an adjacent syllable and when the intervening vowel was lost by one of the vowel loss rules: thus **nq* and **qn* both became *ŋ*. The following Lenakel examples illustrate this (the rules themselves being discussed in more detail in Chapter 4):

POc	* <i>qanusi</i>	* <i>na tinaqe-n̄a</i>
Pre-PSV	<i>a-qa'nusi</i>	<i>na-tina'qe-na</i>
PRE-DELETION RULES	---	<i>na-sina'qe-na</i>
MEDIAL V DELETION	<i>a-q'nusi</i>	<i>na-sin'qe-na</i>
ARTICLE REDUCTION	---	<i>n-sin'qe-na</i>
* <i>n</i> -VELARISATION	<i>a'ŋusi</i>	<i>n-si'ŋe-na</i>
FINAL V DELETION	<i>'aŋus</i>	<i>n-'siŋe-n</i>
OTHER RULES	<i>'aŋh</i>	<i>nəs'ŋaa-n</i>
	'spit'	'his intestines'

Some examples of the velarisation of POC **n* are given below, with braces surrounding items which reflect **n* as *n*, and square brackets surrounding cognates in which the **n* is not reflected.

POc	Sye	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
* <i>qanusi</i>		<i>aŋah</i>	<i>aŋah</i>	<i>aŋh</i>			<i>aŋθe-i</i>	'spit'
* <i>tinaqe-</i>		<i>nə/sŋa-</i>	<i>nə/səŋaa-</i>	<i>nə/sŋaa-</i>	{ <i>nə/sinau-</i> }	{ <i>na/ninha-</i> }	<i>ne/sŋa-</i>	'guts'
* <i>qunap-i</i>	<i>n/iŋevi-</i>						{ <i>n/inehe-</i> }	'scale'

In the case of POC *(*q*)*aca(n,ŋ)* 'name' > NTn, Wsn *n/erŋə-*, SWT *n/harŋə-*, Kwm *n/aŋhu*, it is not clear whether the form was inherited with **ŋ* or **n*; if the latter, then **q* is responsible for velarisation of **n* here as well. (POc **q* is also responsible for the stop reflexes of **c* in the Northern Tanna languages – see §2.5.3.3.). These and other aspects of the behaviour of POC **q* in the Southern Vanuatu languages will be discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁹ It should also be pointed out that modern Anejiōm allows sequences of *n* or *ŋ* + a front vowel, and that in these cases there is no palatalised allophone; for example:

<i>aŋapnin</i>	'(sickness) affect (s.o.)'	<i>aθaθŋiŋ</i>	'to plug'
<i>nenes</i>	'coconut leaf sheath'	<i>aŋeθ</i>	'write'

The front vowels in words like these developed from a non-front vowel after the palatalisation rules had ceased to apply. For example, **qunap-i* > *n/inehe-* '(fish) scale' and **paŋoda* > *a/harŋej* 'forage on reef' show **n* > *n* and **ŋ* > *ŋ* before *e* in the modern language, but this *e* derives regularly from a POC non-front vowel in each case.

2.5.2 Coronal stops in non-palatalising environments

POc **r* (and possibly **d*?) underwent palatalisation before front vowels, and the reflexes in this environment are similar to those of the POc sibilants: e.g. **mate* ‘die’ > Sye *mah*, Lenakel *mās*, Anejoñ *mas*. For this reason, I will deal with the palatalised reflexes of POc **r* and **d* along with the sibilants, in §2.5.3. In this section, references to POc **r* and **d* are thus to their occurrences in a non-palatalising environment. I have very few cases of etyma containing POc **d* in my data. However, there is clear evidence to suggest that PSV had two coronal stops, **r* and **d*.

2.5.2.1 Anejoñ

Anejoñ reflects POc **d* as *j*:

POc **d* > Anj *j*

* <i>paŋoda</i>	<i>a/haŋej</i>	‘forage on reef’
* <i>-da</i>	<i>-j-</i>	‘1INC.PL.POSS’
PSOc * <i>gida</i>	<i>a/kaj-</i>	‘we INC’

POc initial and medial **r* are reflected in Anejoñ as *r*:

POc **t-* > Anj *t*

* <i>tama-</i>	<i>e/tma-</i>	‘father’
* <i>tanum</i>	<i>e/tenom</i>	‘bury’
* <i>taliŋa-</i>	<i>n/tiŋa-</i>	‘ear’
* <i>tawan</i>	<i>ne/tva</i>	‘lychee’
* <i>toka</i>	<i>a/tey</i>	‘sit’
* <i>tuki</i>	<i>a/tya-ñ</i>	‘pound’
* <i>mutusi</i>	<i>a/m^wot</i>	‘broken’
* <i>kita</i>	<i>e/yeŋ, e/ya-i</i>	‘see’
* <i>mataq</i>	<i>mat</i>	‘raw’
* <i>matuqa</i>	<i>metou</i>	‘ripe’

POc final **r*, when retained in absolute final position, seems to have been reflected as Anejoñ *s*:²⁰

POc **-t* Anj *s*

* <i>lab^wat</i>	<i>alp^was</i>	‘big’
* <i>kurat</i>	<i>nouras</i>	‘ <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> ’
* <i>kaRat</i>	<i>a/γas, a/γes</i>	‘bite’
* <i>saqat</i>	<i>has</i>	‘bad’

²⁰ There is some problem with the correspondence **saqat* > *has* ‘bad’, in that **s* > *h* is an apparently irregular correspondence found in just a few lexical items; while *aγas, aγes* ‘bite’ may derive from the form with the transitive suffix (**kaRat-i*).

The comparison **ma-takut-akini* > *e/miita-n̄* ‘fear (TR)’ suggests that it was only *word-final* (not morpheme-final) **t* which became *s*.

The following summarises this discussion:

POc	<i>*t-t-</i>	<i>*-t</i>	<i>*d</i>
Anj	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>j</i>

2.5.2.2 Proto Erromango

The process of Article Reduction (see Chapter 4) involves loss or reduction of the vowel of the accreted article **na* when the first vowel of the noun root was **a*. With **ta*-initial nouns in the Erromangan languages, **na-ta...* became **n-t...*, which regularly developed into an *nt* cluster in Sye but into the prenasalised stop *d* in Ura, as the first five examples below show. I presume that other cases of this initial correspondence also represent earlier *ta*-initial nouns.

POc <i>*t-</i>	Sye <i>nt-</i>	Ura <i>d-</i>	
<i>*tawan</i>	<i>n/tau</i>	<i>dau</i>	‘lychee’
<i>*talos</i>	<i>n/tal</i>	<i>dal</i>	‘taro’
<i>*taliŋa-</i>	<i>n/telŋo-</i>	<i>delŋe-</i>	‘ear’
<i>*talise</i>	<i>n/teli</i>	<i>dire</i>	‘ <i>Terminalia catappa</i> ’ (see footnote 14)
<i>*tasik</i>	<i>n/toŋ</i>	<i>de</i>	‘sea’
	<i>ntit</i>	<i>dit</i>	‘slinging stick’
	<i>ntorani</i>	<i>dorani</i>	‘rifle’
	<i>tample</i>	<i>damle</i>	‘in-law’

Other than these cases (which represent POc and PSV clusters of **n + *t*), if we adopt a strict bottom-up approach, then there is evidence for both PER **t* and **d*. In word-initial position, we find the following correspondences:

PER **d-*

Sye <i>t-</i>	Ura <i>d-</i>	
<i>tali</i>	<i>dayali</i>	‘shadow’
<i>tetovu</i>	<i>detovu</i>	‘mound’
<i>tetnay</i>	<i>dehnak</i>	‘k.o. cicada’
<i>tori</i>	<i>dori</i>	‘a mark’
<i>tru</i>	<i>duru</i>	‘k.o. vine’
<i>tujklah</i>	<i>dunlas</i>	‘sea snake’

PER **t-*

Sye <i>t-</i>	Ura <i>t-</i>	
<i>tavi</i>	<i>tavi</i>	‘practise sorcery’
<i>tetai</i>	<i>tarai</i>	‘flick with finger’
<i>torpehi</i>	<i>torpesi</i>	‘pour’
<i>tuvtup</i>	<i>tuvtup</i>	‘sip’

While the set labelled **t-* consists entirely of verbs, the set labelled **d-* consists entirely of nominals, and it is possible that this also represents initial **nt-*, and that there has been sporadic simplification of initial *nt* as *t* in Sye.

In medial position, there is evidence which, on initial inspection, supports the reconstruction of two stops, though only Ura maintains a distinction between them. At the same time, however, it would appear that both PEr stops derive from POc **t*, and I am unable to establish any conditioning. I will give the data first and then discuss the implications for this apparently unconditioned split.

In one set of correspondences, POc **t*, Sye *t*, correspond with Ura *d* after *m* and *t* elsewhere:

POc *t	>	Sye -t-	Ura -d- / m__	
<i>*mutusi</i>		<i>o/mti</i>	<i>o/mde</i>	'break'
		<i>amtut</i>	<i>amdut</i>	'attract attention'
POc *t	>	Sye -t-	Ura -t- else	
<i>*tasik</i>		<i>a/toy</i>	<i>a/tok</i>	'salty'
		<i>metuy</i>	<i>metuk</i>	'slowly'
		<i>nervote</i>	<i>netvote</i>	'possessions'
		<i>netyol</i>	<i>netyol</i>	'k.o. fish'
		<i>netrihoŋ</i>	<i>netlisoŋ</i>	'back wall of house'
		<i>evtiit</i>	<i>evtiit</i>	'meet'
		<i>noytip</i>	<i>utap</i>	'a tick'

In the other set, POc **t*, Sye *t* corresponds with Ura *h* before *n* and with Ura *r* elsewhere:

POc *t	>	Sye -t-	Ura -h- medially before n²¹	
<i>*tunu</i>		<i>e/tni</i>	<i>e/hni</i>	'cook, burn'
<i>*b^woto-</i>		<i>pot/ni-</i>	<i>boh/nin</i>	'base'
		<i>itnom</i>	<i>ihn^wom</i>	'quick'
		<i>natnei</i>	<i>nahnei</i>	'former garden site'
		<i>netnap</i>	<i>nehnap</i>	'calf'
POc *t	>	Sye -t-	Ura -r- else	
<i>*natu-</i>		<i>nitu-</i>	<i>neru-</i>	'child' ²²
<i>*matuqa</i>		<i>etwo</i>	<i>erwa</i>	'ripe'
		<i>atau</i>	<i>arau</i>	'hang (INTR)'
		<i>itais</i>	<i>irais</i>	'grandfather; moon'
		<i>it^wis</i>	<i>iris</i>	'smile'
		<i>neteme</i>	<i>yerema</i>	'person'
		<i>nempati</i>	<i>nabare</i>	'(pig) tusk'
		<i>witit</i>	<i>urit</i>	'grated squeezed coconut'

²¹ There is also one example of this correspondence before *r/l*: Sye *etri*, Ura *ehli* 'pierce, sew' < POc **tuRi*.

²² The 3SG possessed form is *nehni*, confirming the *r ~ h* alternation.

<i>etponr</i>	<i>urpon</i>	'cold'
<i>ervani</i>	<i>arvani</i>	'spit'
<i>umpatmonuy</i>	<i>ubarmonuk</i>	'heart'
<i>arŋap</i>	<i>arŋap</i>	'taste'
<i>tevtap</i>	<i>tavrap</i>	'(fish on shore) shake'

Note also the reflexes of POc **tama-* 'father': Sye *e/tme-*, Ura *rimi/n*. There is evidence (see §5.2.1) for a personal/kin prefix **e-*, which would suggest that the Ura reflex of **t* in this form was originally word-medial, and that Ura subsequently lost this prefix in this word (though it is retained in **e-tina-* 'mother' > *ehne/n*).

In final position, the only regular correspondence is *t:t*, which suggests that **t* (but not **d*) occurred word-finally:

POc **t* > PEr **-t*

	Sye -t	Ura -t	
<i>*buton</i>	<i>yo/mput</i>	<i>yo/but</i>	'navel'
<i>*matakut</i>	<i>e/metet</i>	<i>e/metet</i>	'be afraid'
	<i>noŋvat</i>	<i>noŋvat</i>	'plantar wart'
	<i>evtit</i>	<i>evtit</i>	'meet'

This is confirmed by the cognates Sye *potpot*, Ura *burbut* 'near, close', which seem to be reduplicated forms, suggesting earlier **botbor*: note that the medial occurrence of **t* is reflected as *r* in Ura but the final occurrence is reflected as *t*.

Let me now return to the problem of Ura medial *t* and *r* both reflecting POc **t*. The following doublet is instructive in this regard:

POc **taRaŋ-i* 'cut' > Sye *e/tai* 'cut out, excise; write; sharpen (end of stick)'
 Ura *a/rai* 'sharpen (end of stick)', *e/tai* 'write'

What I suggest is that POc **t* developed regularly as PEr **t*, with the medial reflexes Sye *-t-*, Ura *-r* (*-h-* before *n*). Subsequently, however, because Sye became the prestige language on the island due to religious reasons, and because the drastic depopulation means that an Ura-speaking population of less than ten speak Sye more frequently than they speak Ura, large numbers of Sye words were subconsciously incorporated into the vocabulary of Ura-speakers. Cases of **t* > Ura *-t-*, therefore, are likely to be Sye loans, and the two Ura reflexes of **taRaŋ-i* tend to support this: *a/rai* 'sharpen (end of stick)' is presumably the directly inherited form, whereas *e/tai* 'write' is suggestive of borrowing on both phonological and semantic grounds.

There is however an additional correspondence set which occurs only intervocalically:

POc	Sye -nt-	Ura -d-	
<i>*tapuR</i>	<i>pen/top</i>	<i>be/dop</i>	'ashes'
	<i>wonte</i>	<i>wode</i>	'sea-urchin'
	<i>evinte</i>	<i>evida</i>	'look after'
	<i>nampinti</i>	<i>nabidi</i>	'edible fungus'
	<i>tantumpwi</i>	<i>tadumwi</i>	'ask permission'
	<i>noromuntan</i>	<i>nilomudan</i>	'dorsal fin'

There is some evidence to suggest that this correspondence – like the initial *nt:d* correspondence – may involve a cluster of nasal + stop rather than a unit protophoneme.

There are only a dozen or so words showing this correspondence. Of these, the following are, or appear to have once been, compounds in which the second element begins with **n* + coronal stop:

Sye	Ura		
<i>noromuntan</i>	<i>nilomudan</i>	'dorsal fin'	cf. Sye <i>nta-n</i> 'his/its back'
<i>tavuntan</i>	<i>tavudan</i>	'gossip about'	cf. Sye <i>nta-n</i> 'his/her back'
<i>wonte</i>	<i>wode</i>	'sea-urchin'	cf. Ura <i>de</i> 'sea'

On the other hand, other examples of this correspondence do not admit of this kind of explanation. I suggest that what we have here is a reflex of PEr **d*, at least in those cases which cannot be explained by compounding.

Finally, the only apparent reflex of POc **d* in my data is:

POc **-da* > Sye *-t ~ -nt* '1EXC.PL.POSS'

Thus the directly inherited coronal stops seem to have developed as follows:

POc	<i>*d, *t / n__</i>	<i>*t</i> else
PEr	<i>*d</i>	<i>*t</i>
Sye	<i>t-nt-nt</i>	<i>t</i>
Ura	<i>d</i>	<i>-h- / _n; t-r-t</i> else
Uth	<i>t ?</i>	<i>t ?</i>

2.5.2.3 Proto Tanna

The discussion of the coronal stops in the Erromangan languages will help us make sense of a similarly complex situation in Tanna, and I will suggest that Proto Tanna, like Proto Erromango, had two coronal stops, **t* and **d*.

Proto Tanna **t*, which derives from POc **t*, can be reconstructed on the basis of the following correspondences:

POc **t* > PTn **t*

	NTn t	Wsn t	Len r	SWT l	Kwm r	
<i>*tanum</i>	<i>təm</i>	<i>tənəm</i>	<i>renəm</i>			'bury'
<i>*ta-pine</i>	<i>pe/tan</i>	<i>pə/tan</i>	<i>pe/ravən</i>	<i>pi/lavən</i>	<i>p/ran</i>	'woman'
<i>*tapuR</i>	<i>nəm/tap</i>	<i>nəm/taau</i>	<i>nəm/raau</i>	<i>nəm/lak^w</i>	<i>nəm/rak^w</i>	'ashes'
<i>*natu-</i>	<i>netə-</i>	<i>nətə-</i>	<i>nerə-</i>	<i>nalə-</i>	<i>neru-</i>	'child'
<i>*toka</i>	<i>atəŋ</i>	<i>atəŋ</i>	<i>arək</i>	<i>alə</i>	<i>ara</i>	'stay'
<i>*kutu</i>	<i>kə/ŋət</i>	<i>kə/ŋət</i>	<i>kur</i>	<i>kel</i>	<i>ur</i>	'louse'
	<i>iet</i>	<i>iet</i>	<i>ier</i>	<i>iel</i>	<i>ier</i>	'come/go out'
	<i>nabət</i>	<i>nap^wət</i>	<i>nap^wər</i>	<i>nap^wəl</i>	<i>nap^wər</i>	'wall'

PTn **t* assimilates to an *l* in a following syllable in Lenakel, with **tVl* > *lVl* rather than expected *rVl*:

POc *t > PTn *t

	NTn t	Wsn t	Len l	SWT l	Kwm r	
*tuRi		<i>ətel</i>	<i>ələl</i>	<i>ələl</i>	<i>arəri</i>	'to braid'
	<i>teləŋ</i>	<i>teləŋ</i>	<i>leləŋ</i>	<i>leləŋ</i>	<i>rerəŋ</i>	'come back'
	<i>netual</i>		<i>nelual</i>			'laplap'

POc *d seems to be reflected as *t* in all Tanna languages, which I suggest below derives from PTn and PSV *d:

POc *d > PTn *d

	NTn t	Wsn t	Len t	SWT t	Kwm t	
PSOc *gida	<i>kit-</i>	<i>kit-</i>	<i>kat-</i>	<i>kət-</i>	<i>kət-</i>	'we INC'
*-da	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	'1INC.PL.POSS'
*donu					<i>a/tuən</i>	'straight(en)'
	<i>təm</i>		<i>təm</i>	<i>təmtəm</i>	<i>etum^w</i>	'full'
	<i>nəmət</i>	<i>nəmtəŋ</i>	<i>namtəŋ</i>	<i>namtəŋai</i>	<i>nəmtəŋei</i>	'mud'
	<i>matikalo</i>	<i>m^watikalo</i>	<i>m^watikalo</i>	<i>m^watikalo</i>	<i>m^watikaro</i>	'worm'

Although Proto Tanna *d is generally reflected as *t* in all Tanna languages, it has other, conditioned, reflexes in North Tanna and Whitesands:

POc *d > PTn *d / __ŋ

	NTn k	Wsn r	Len t	SWT t	Kwm t	
	<i>əkŋe</i>	<i>arŋai</i>	<i>təŋai</i>	<i>təŋai</i>	<i>atəŋai</i>	'swallow'
	<i>akŋe</i>	<i>arŋa</i>	<i>atəŋəl</i>	<i>etəŋəl</i>		'cough'

POc *d > PTn *d / __*Vk^w

	NTn d	Wsn r ~ rh	Len t	SWT t	Kwm t	
	<i>eduadəp</i>	<i>ərhuarhu</i>	<i>etuatu</i>	<i>etk^watuk^w</i>	<i>atuk^watuk^w</i>	'straight'
	<i>m^wadəp</i>	<i>maru</i>	<i>m^watu</i>	<i>matuk^w</i>	<i>m^watuk</i>	'right' ²³
	<i>suadəp</i>	<i>suaru</i>	<i>suatu</i>	<i>suatuk^w</i>	<i>suatuk</i>	'road'

There are not many cases of coronal stops in strict noun-initial position. There are some items which reflect noun-initial POc *t as PTn *d, and I suggest that what happened here is the same as what happened in Erromango – Article Reduction applied to *na-ta... sequences, giving *n-t... which fused as PTn *d:

POc *t- > PTn *d-

	NTn t	Wsn t	Len t	SWT t	Kwm t	
*tanoq	<i>tən</i>	<i>tən</i>	<i>tən</i>		<i>təna</i>	'land'
		<i>tapən</i>	<i>tapən</i>	<i>tapəŋ</i>	<i>tapinha</i>	'door'
		<i>tup^walukaluk</i>	<i>tup^walukaluk</i>	<i>təp^woluelua</i>	<i>təparuvareva</i>	'lungs'

²³ This might possibly derive from POc *matuqa-. However, we would not only need to explain the unmotivated change POc *t > PTn *d, but also the labial reflex of *q.

A second set, however, show a slightly different set of correspondences, and these suggest that initial **nu* remained as a cluster, at least in North Tanna (where it then became *d*) and Whitesands:

POc **t* > PTn **d*-

	NTn <i>d</i>	Wsn <i>-t-</i>	Len <i>t</i>	SWT <i>t</i>	Kwm <i>t</i>	
<i>*tasik</i>	<i>dehi</i>	<i>nə/tehi</i>	<i>tehe</i>	<i>tahik</i>	<i>təsi</i>	'sea'
<i>*taliŋa-</i>	<i>-delŋə-</i>	<i>-telŋə-</i>	<i>-telŋə-</i>	<i>-telŋə-</i>		'ear' ²⁴
PNCV <i>*tavua</i>	<i>doat</i>	<i>nə/touat</i>	<i>touar</i>	<i>tuk^was</i>	<i>tak^wər</i>	'mountain'

POc **tama-* 'father', shows neither of these patterns, but this is probably because it was originally prefixed with **e-* (see §5.2.1) and the **t* was not noun-initial; its reflexes are NTn, Wsn *təmə-*, Len *rəmə-*, SWT *ləmə-*, Kwm *remu-*, suggesting PTn **t*, not **d*.

These data are summarised below; note that PTn **d* probably did not occur word-finally.²⁵

POc	<i>*d, *t / n__</i>	<i>*t</i> else
PTn	<i>*d</i>	<i>*t</i>
NTn	<i>k / __ŋ; d / __*Vk^w; t</i> else	<i>t</i>
Wsn	<i>r ~ rh / __ŋ, *Vk^w; t</i> else	<i>t</i>
Len	<i>t</i>	<i>l / __V(V)l; r</i> else
SWT	<i>t</i>	<i>l</i>
Kwm	<i>t</i>	<i>r</i>

2.5.2.4 Proto Southern Vanuatu

In general terms, the following correspondences between the POc and PSV coronal stops in non-palatalising environments have been established:

POc	<i>*d</i>	<i>*t / *n__</i>	<i>*t-, *-t-</i>	<i>*-t</i>
PSV	<i>*d</i>	<i>*nt</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>
PEr	<i>*d?</i>	<i>*d</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>
PTn	<i>*d</i>	<i>*d</i>	<i>*t</i>	<i>*t</i>
Anj	<i>j</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>

In initial position in nouns which took the article **na*, a process of nasal accretion took place. This developed initially as *nt-* or *nVt-*, but began to merge with **d* in at least some words in Proto Erromang and Proto Tanna.

²⁴ This form only occurs as the second element in compounds – e.g. Lenakel *nəm^wa-telŋə-* 'the outside of the ear', *nəp^waŋ-telŋə-* 'the inside of the ear, the earhole'.

²⁵ There is a further correspondence set, *r:r:t:h:h*, which I will deal with in the section on sibilants, since this derives from POc **s*.

2.5.3 Coronal sibilants

The sibilants form an area of considerable complexity in the Southern Vanuatu languages; I will show here that Proto Southern Vanuatu can be reconstructed as having had the three sibilant phonemes *c, *s and *j.

2.5.3.1 Some problem areas

Before discussing the origin of the sibilants in detail, however, a couple of more general points need to be examined.

First, even though all SV languages make a phonemic distinction between *s* and *h* (and Anejoṃ also distinguishes these from *θ*, which derives from a proto-sibilant), there is nevertheless a certain amount of fluctuation between them in most of the modern languages (with Sye showing the most fluctuation, and only Ura and Anejoṃ apparently immune from it). To take two examples:

- (a) According to Crowley (1998b:4-5), while /s/ and /h/ contrast in modern Sye, there is 'massive variation between [h] and [s] in the corpus'. This variation is particularly common in initial, intervocalic and final positions, though 'some words appear to be more amenable to this kind of free variation than others'. On the other hand, [s] frequently occurs as the second member of a consonant cluster, but [h] almost never occurs in this position; while [h] frequently occurs as the first member of a consonant cluster but [s] almost never does.
- (b) In Lenakel, although *s* and *h* clearly contrast, there is free variation between them in word-final position in some words (usually those in more frequent use). This appears to be a change in progress, since the number of words which allow word-final *s* ~ *h* appears to have increased considerably since my first contact with Lenakel-speakers in 1970.

In addition, there also seems to have been some fluctuation in the past, with the effect that the reflexes of proto-sibilants are often somewhat blurred.

The second problem area is this. The major source of one of the sibilants, PSV *c, is POc *t in a palatalising environment. So while POc *t became PSV *t before, say, *a and *u, it became PSV *c before *i and *e. For example:

POc	Ura	SWT	Anj	
*tina-	e/hne/n	nə/sənə-	ri/si-	'mother'
*mate	i/mis	mha	mas	'die'

However, before POc *o the reflexes vary; and I will use just Lenakel to illustrate this, although the same is true of the other languages. There is one set of words in which, as one might expect, POc *t > PSV *t before *o; e.g.:

POc *t / __o	>	Len r (< PSV *t)	
*butoŋ		nə/prəŋə-	'navel'
*topu		nə/ruw	'sugarcane'
*toka		a/rək	'stay'

There is another set of words, however, where POc *t before *o is reflected as PSV *c:

POc *t / __o > Len s (< PSV *c)		
*tokon ‘crutch’	a/skən	‘limp’
	k-a/skən	‘walking-stick’
*ma-tolu	asuul	‘large’
*tolu	kə/sil	‘three’

Now the words in the second set may have undergone a vowel change. Clark reconstructs for PNCV *tiko ‘crutch, walking-stick’, which suggests that the vowel had changed in Proto Southern Oceanic. However, he reconstructs *ma-tolu ‘thick’ and *tolu ‘three’, with no change in the vowel. But there are languages in his sample and others in North and Central Vanuatu which reflect the *o as a front vowel – e.g. Paamese *matetelu* ‘thick, deep’, Paamese and Lewo *telu* ‘three’ – which suggest that *o may have been in the process of changing to *e in these words, or that there were in fact doublets in PSV. Indeed, they may have been triplets, since there is evidence from both SV and other Southern Oceanic languages supporting final *i as well as final *u, like Anejoṃ *esej*, Tambotalo *toli* ‘three’. In what follows, I will assume the latter, and suggest that Lenakel *kə/sil* ‘three’ derives from a competing PSoc form *teli.

Because of all of this, this discussion of the SV sibilants will proceed in a slightly different manner from the way in which other consonants have been handled. I will take more of a top-down approach, since this will allow us to pinpoint idiosyncratic variation in a single language or subgroup; and I will also present more data than in other sections, because of the general confusion. I will begin by looking at the POc reflexes in Anejoṃ, since it shows no synchronic and very little diachronic fluctuation between the sibilants.

2.5.3.2 Anejoṃ

The two Anejoṃ consonants that I am mainly concerned with here are *s* and *θ*.²⁶ Anejoṃ *s* appears to have two major sources: POc *t (and possibly *d?) in certain palatalising environments and (as I showed in §2.5.2.1) in word-final position, and POc *j, although I will leave any discussion of *j until I have dealt with the Tanna languages.

POc *t / __*i,e > Anj s		
*tina-	ri/si-	‘mother’
PSoc *tikon	i/səy	‘walk w. stick’
*maqati	mas	‘low tide’
	mesei	‘dry’
PSoc *mateli	a/mesej	‘thick’
PSoc *teli	e/sej	‘three’
*bati ‘tooth’	n/pas	‘axe’
*mate	mas	‘die’
*alito(n)	n/ijis	‘torch’

²⁶ I will also briefly mention *h* as an irregular reflex of the proto-sibilants, though recall that the main source of Anejoṃ *h* is PSV *v, POc *p.

With the following, it is not clear whether we are dealing with final **t* > *s* or whether the root-final **t* was followed by a transitive suffix:

POc *t	>	Anj s	
<i>*kawit(-i)</i>		<i>ni/ɣowos</i>	‘breadfruit-picker’
<i>*kaRat(-i)</i>		<i>a/ɣas</i>	‘bite’
<i>*pilit(-i)</i>		<i>hujis</i>	‘peel’

The only case of POc **d* before **i* is **pudi* > *no/hos* ‘banana’. I will show later, however, that the PSV 1INC focal pronoun has to be reconstructed as **gadi*, and the Anejōm̄ reflex of this is *a/kaj-*. It is possible, then, that the form for banana derives from a Pre-PSV form **puti* rather than **pudi*. In any case, the data available are so few that we cannot be sure what happened to **d* in this environment.

Anejōm̄ *θ* also has two main sources: POc **s* and **c*.

POc *s	>	Anj θ	
<i>*karis</i>		<i>a/kreθ, a/ɣreθ</i>	‘scratch, scrape’
<i>*masakit</i>		<i>e/mθa</i>	‘sick’
<i>*susu</i>		<i>e/θeθ</i>	‘suck’
<i>*susu-</i>		<i>na/θe-</i>	‘breast’
<i>*qanusi</i>		<i>aŋθe-i</i>	‘spit’
<i>*sipo</i>		<i>a/θe</i>	‘go down’ (but cf. <i>*sipo</i> > <i>-se</i>)
<i>*paus-i</i>		<i>a/hoθ</i>	‘plait’
<i>*asu</i>		<i>ni/aθ</i>	‘bailer’
<i>*suRuq-</i>		<i>ni/θi-</i>	‘juice’
<i>*suRi-</i>		<i>ne/θuo-</i>	‘bone’
<i>*bokasi</i>		<i>pikaθ</i>	‘pig’
<i>*molis</i>		<i>ne/pjeθ</i>	‘citrus’
<i>*nusi</i>		<i>niθ</i>	‘octopus, squid’
<i>*kasupe</i>		<i>n/ɣeθo</i>	‘rat’
<i>*pisiko-</i>		<i>no/hoθye-</i>	‘flesh’
<i>*siko</i>		<i>ne/θey</i>	‘kingfisher’
<i>*talise</i>		<i>n/tejeθ</i>	‘ <i>Canarium</i> sp.’
<i>*waRisa</i>		<i>n/viθ</i>	‘two days from today’
<i>*sei</i>		<i>θi</i>	‘who?’

POc *c	>	Anj θ	
<i>*paluca</i>		<i>a/heleθ</i>	‘to paddle’
<i>*(q)aca(n,ŋ)-</i>		<i>n/iθa-</i>	‘name’
<i>*(q)ana-ŋican</i>		<i>i/niθ</i>	‘when?’
<i>*pican</i>		<i>e/heθ</i>	‘how many?’

So we have the following correspondences:

POc	<i>*s, *c</i>	<i>*t / ___*i,e</i>
PSV	<i>*s</i>	<i>*c</i>
Anj	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>

I write the PSV protophonemes as **s* and **c*: the first seems to reflect a genuine voiceless fricative; the second involves palatalisation of a POc stop, and it may well have been a palatal stop or affricate in PSV.²⁷

There is, however, some ‘slippage’ in this system. First, there are a few possible cases of proto-sibilants having the reflex *h*, although I will leave these for the present (but see §2.5.3.6). Second, there is a residual group of reflexes which appear to show *s* < **s*:

POc *<i>s</i>	>	Anj <i>s</i>	
* <i>wasi(n)-</i>		<i>n/asi-ntal</i>	‘taro stem for planting’
* <i>masi</i>		<i>na/mas</i>	‘tapa cloth’
* <i>sinaR</i>		<i>naje/sja</i>	‘sun’
* <i>sipo</i>		<i>-se</i>	‘down (suffix)’ (but cf. * <i>sipo</i> > <i>a/θe</i> in the list above)

All of these involve **s* before **i*, although there are other cases of **s* before **i* where the reflex is *θ* (cf. the reflexes of **qanusi*, **paus-i*, **bokasi*, **nusi*, **pisiko* and **siko* in the list above). Note also the doublet reflexes of **sipo* ‘(go) down’: the verb *aθe* and the verbal suffix *-se*. It may be that *θ* began to change to *s* before **i* in some words, but that this change did not work its way through the whole lexicon.

2.5.3.3 Proto Tanna

The Tanna languages show some synchronic fluctuation between *s* and *h*, particularly in word-final position. Even excluding obvious cases of synchronic fluctuation, however, there are *five* regular correspondence sets involving *s* and/or *h*. The nature of the problem can be illustrated by the following examples, each of which reflects a frequent correspondence between Lenakel and Kwamera:

	Len	Kwm	
<i>s:s</i>	<i>asanən</i>	<i>asanən</i>	‘strong, powerful’
<i>h:h</i>	<i>ahak</i>	<i>ak/ahak</i>	‘(day) dawn’
<i>h:s</i>	<i>əmha</i>	<i>amisa</i>	‘painful’
<i>s:h</i>	<i>kəpaas</i>	<i>paha</i>	‘axe’
<i>t:h</i>	<i>aviet</i>	<i>əviaha</i>	‘defecate’

Generally, where Lenakel has *s* the other Tanna languages (except Kwamera) have *s*, and where Lenakel has *h* the others (again except Kwamera) also have *h*. Thus it appears that we have two major sets of correspondences (two *s*-sets and two *h*-sets), with Kwamera having made subsequent changes.²⁸

I will leave the *t:h* set till later. The two *s*-sets are illustrated below:

²⁷ The reflex *s* is of course not palatal. Presumably, **r* before **i* first palatalised as *tʃ* or *ʃ* (as it has done in many Oceanic languages), and then developed further as *s* (as it has done in many others). I will, however, retain the term palatalisation here, slightly inaccurate though it may be.

²⁸ In addition to these five sets of correspondences, there are sporadic cases of loss in one language but not the other; and of course, there are some crossovers where, for example, one language has *s* for expected *h* or *h* for expected *s*. I will ignore these for the moment.

NTn s	Wsn s	Len s	SWT s	Kwm s	
<i>suadəp</i>	<i>suaru</i>	<i>suatu</i>	<i>suatuk</i> ^w	<i>suatuk</i>	'road'
<i>asanən</i>	<i>asanən</i>	<i>asanən</i>	<i>asanən</i>	<i>asanən</i>	'strong'
<i>nəsiuu</i>	<i>isiui</i>	<i>nəsiuu</i>	<i>nəsiuu</i>	<i>nəsiui</i>	'lake'
	<i>asiasiasi</i>	<i>asiisasiis</i>	<i>asiisasiis</i>	<i>asisi</i>	'be fat'
<i>vənəs</i>	<i>vənəs</i>	<i>vənəs</i>	<i>vənəs</i>	<i>vənis</i>	'flying-fish'
<i>uulpəs</i>	<i>-ulpəs</i>	<i>uulpəs</i>	<i>k^wəlpəs</i>	<i>kurpas</i>	'heel'
<i>aikuaas</i>	<i>aikuaas</i>	<i>eikuaas</i>	<i>aikuaas</i>	<i>aikuaas</i>	'wash (TR)'

NTn s	Wsn s	Len s	SWT s	Kwm h	
<i>us</i>	<i>us</i>	<i>kəs</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>ah/i</i>	'bite'
<i>es</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>es</i>	<i>ehi</i>	'copulate'
	<i>noum^wus</i>	<i>naum^wus</i>	<i>nuk^wumus</i>	<i>nukumha</i>	'hunger'
<i>əskasək</i>	<i>asək</i>	<i>a usək</i>	<i>əvsək</i>	<i>avahak</i>	'dry'
<i>nəsja-</i>	<i>nəsjaa-</i>	<i>nəsjaa-</i>	<i>nəsinau-</i>	<i>naninha</i>	'intestines'
<i>asum</i>	<i>asum^w</i>	<i>asum^w</i>	<i>asim</i>	<i>amhu</i>	'to garden'
<i>kəpaas</i>	<i>kəpas</i>	<i>kəpaas</i>	<i>kəpas</i>	<i>paha</i>	'axe'
<i>kəsəl</i>	<i>kəsəl</i>	<i>kəsil</i>	<i>kəsisəl</i>	<i>kahar</i>	'three'

Below also are examples of the two *h*-sets:

NTn h	Wsn h	Len h	SWT h	Kwm h	
<i>nemaha</i>	<i>niemaha</i>	<i>niamha</i>	<i>niamha</i>	<i>niamaha</i>	'anger'
<i>nohlə-</i>	<i>nohlə-</i>	<i>nhulə-</i>	<i>nhelə-</i>	<i>t^wərhu-</i>	'mouth'
	<i>eaharj</i>	<i>eherj</i>	<i>ehiarj</i>	<i>eaharj</i>	'breathe'
<i>arjua^hl</i>	<i>arjə^hli</i>	<i>ahinjəl</i>	<i>əhualu</i>	<i>erj^whara</i>	'⟨person⟩ be old'
<i>alp^wah</i>	<i>alp^wah</i>	<i>alfa</i>	<i>elfa</i>	<i>arpaha</i>	'lazy' ²⁹

NTn h	Wsn h	Len h	SWT h	Kwm s	
<i>ouh</i>	<i>ouh</i>	<i>awh</i>	<i>k^wuh</i>	<i>kusi</i>	'weave'
<i>-naharjə-</i>	<i>-naharjə-</i>	<i>-naharjə-</i>	<i>-nhinjə-</i>	<i>-serji-</i>	'nose' ³⁰
	<i>amha</i>	<i>amha</i>	<i>əmha</i>	<i>amisa</i>	'painful'
<i>nuhuən</i>	<i>nuhuan</i>	<i>nihin</i>	<i>nehen</i>	<i>nesən</i>	'rain (n.)'
	<i>iahuuei</i>	<i>hiau</i>	<i>iahul</i>	<i>iasur</i>	'volcano'
<i>alah</i>	<i>alah</i>	<i>əlhieelh</i>	<i>aalh</i>	<i>arəs</i>	'laugh'
<i>abomah</i>	<i>apom^wah</i>	<i>p^womh</i>	<i>aliv^wepomh</i>	<i>apomus</i>	'long'
<i>aklah</i>	<i>akəlah</i>	<i>aklha</i>	<i>aklha-kən</i>	<i>akres</i>	'steal'
<i>uunghən</i>	<i>uunghən</i>	<i>uunghin</i>	<i>k^wunghen</i>	<i>k^wum^wesin</i>	'god'
<i>auiah</i>	<i>auiah</i>	<i>auhia</i>	<i>ak^wlha</i>	<i>ak^weis</i>	'yellow'
<i>dehi</i>	<i>nə/tehi</i>	<i>tehe</i>	<i>tahik</i>	<i>təsi</i>	'sea'

²⁹ The Len and SWT forms also reflected **h* as *h* in this form, but seem to have undergone a subsequent development in which *pVh* has become *fV*; see §2.2.3.

³⁰ This form occurs as the second member of a compound expression; for example, Len *nəp^warj-naharjə-* = 'hole-nose'.

Although one might assume that the two *s*-sets reflect one proto-phoneme and the two *h*-sets another, it seems impossible on the basis of synchronic data to condition the occurrence of *s* and *h* in Kwamera in either set. Theoretically, therefore, one would be required to reconstruct *four* Proto Tanna phonemes here. However, it would appear from all of the languages except Kwamera that only two phonemes are involved; and I will explore this line of reasoning first, trying subsequently to account for the variation within Tanna.

Let us look first of all at the two *s*-sets. Their origins appear to be as set out below (note that I have no data on the behaviour of POc **d* before a front vowel in Tanna languages):

POc *t / __*i,e	> Others s	Kwamera s	
PSOc * <i>tikon</i>	L <i>a/skən</i>	<i>a/skən</i>	'walk w stick'
PSOc * <i>mateli</i>	L <i>asuul</i>	<i>asori</i>	'big'
POc *t / __*i,e	> Others s	Kwamera h	
* <i>kaRat-i</i>	L <i>kəs</i>	<i>ahi</i>	'bite'
* <i>maqati</i>	W <i>a/mas</i>	<i>maha</i>	'low tide'
* <i>maqati</i>	S <i>məsia</i>	<i>mhia</i>	'dry'
PSOc * <i>teli</i>	L <i>kə/sil</i>	<i>ka/har</i>	'three'
* <i>tina-</i>	S <i>nə/sənə-</i>	<i>ri/nhə-</i>	'mother'
* <i>bati</i> 'tooth'	L <i>kə/paas</i>	<i>paha</i>	'axe'
* <i>mate</i>	L <i>məs</i>	<i>e/mha</i>	'die'
* <i>tinaqe-</i>	L <i>nə/sɲaa-</i>	<i>na/ninha-</i>	'intestines'
* <i>quti(n)-</i>	N <i>n/usə-</i>	<i>n/ihi-</i>	'penis'
* <i>pati</i>	S <i>k/uas</i>	<i>ke/fa</i>	'four' (Kwm form via ** <i>kevah</i>)

It would appear that the most frequent reflex of palatalised **t* is *h* in Kwamera, *s* in the other languages.

Now let us turn to the two *h*-sets.

POc *s,(*c?)	Others h	Kwamera h	
* <i>sake</i>	L <i>a/hak</i>	<i>aka/hak</i>	'(sun) rise'
* <i>susu-</i>	L <i>na/ha-</i>	<i>nan/hə-</i>	'breast' (but cf. below)
* <i>molis</i>	L <i>nə/məlɥ</i>	<i>nə/mərhi</i>	'citrus'
* <i>ɲiɲis-</i>	L <i>n/iɲhə-</i>	<i>n/iɲaha-</i>	'gums; smile'
* <i>masawa</i>	W <i>nə/m^wahan</i>	<i>k^wa-n/mahan</i>	'open space'

POc *s	Others h	Kwamera s	
* <i>masakit</i>	L <i>a/mha</i>	<i>a/misa</i>	'sick'
* <i>mutusi</i>	L <i>murh</i>	<i>m^werəs</i>	'broken off'
* <i>paus-i</i>	L <i>o/wh</i>	<i>kusi</i>	'weave'
* <i>qasu-</i>	L <i>n/ha-</i>	<i>n/əse-</i>	'smoke'
* <i>suRuq-</i>	L <i>ni/hi-</i>	<i>nə/se-</i>	'juice'
* <i>suRi-</i>	S <i>nu/hu-</i>	<i>nə/su-</i>	'bone/leg'
* <i>susu-</i>	L <i>na/ha-</i>	<i>na/s</i>	'breast' (but cf. above)
* <i>nusa</i>	L <i>ihi</i>	<i>is</i>	'octopus, squid'
* <i>kasupe</i>	L <i>kahau</i>	<i>i/esuk^w</i>	'rat'
* <i>lisaq</i>	L <i>ki/lha</i>	<i>k^wa/resa</i>	'nit'

* <i>tasik</i>	S <i>tahik</i>	<i>təsi</i>	'sea'
* <i>qusan</i>	L <i>n/ihin</i>	<i>n/esən</i>	'rain'
* <i>wasa</i>	L <i>nu/hua</i>	<i>nu/vas</i>	'edible greens'
* <i>waRisa</i>	L <i>n/ihi/n</i>	<i>n/eis</i>	'two days from today'
* <i>sei</i>	L <i>pe/he</i>	<i>si</i>	'who?'
* <i>pisiko-</i>	L <i>nu/vhakə-</i>	<i>n/əsa-</i>	'flesh'

POc *c	Others h	Kwamera s	
*(<i>q</i>) <i>ana-ŋican</i>	W <i>na/ŋhən</i>	<i>n/esən</i>	'when?'
* <i>icuŋ-</i>	L <i>-n/haŋə-</i>	<i>-seŋi-</i>	'nose'
* <i>taci-</i>	L <i>no/rhə-</i>	<i>p/rəsi-</i>	'younger same sex sibling'

Once again, we have one set of reflexes which seems to predominate (**s*, **c* > Kwamera *s*, other Tanna languages *h*) and another, the *h:h* set, which is marginal. I take the *h:s* set to be the predominant one, and thus suggest the following reconstructions:

PTn	* <i>s</i>	* <i>h</i>
NTn	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>
Wsn	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>
Len	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>
SWT	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>
Kwm	<i>h</i> (~ <i>s</i>)	<i>s</i> (~ <i>h</i>)

It is not clear what gave rise to the variability in the Kwamera reflexes (and similar comments will have to be made in the next section for Erromango). There is a slight tendency for Kwamera to prefer *s* initially, finally and before *i*, and to prefer *h* adjacent to consonants; but this seems to be only a slight tendency. The situation is further complicated by other irregular correspondences. For example, POc **bokasi* 'pig' is regularly reflected as Wsn and SWT *pukah*, but irregularly as NTn *pukəs*, Len *pukas* and Kwm *pukah*; while POc **asu* 'bail' is regularly reflected as Kwm *i/as* but irregularly as Len *os-ni/es*.

In general terms, though, the Anejoŋ and Tanna data given above suggest the following:

POc	* <i>t</i> / <i>_i,*e</i>	* <i>s</i> , * <i>c</i>
PSV	* <i>c</i>	* <i>s</i>
PTn	* <i>s</i>	* <i>h</i>
Anj	<i>s</i>	<i>θ</i>

I have not as yet discussed the reflexes of POc **j* in Anejoŋ and Tanna. Below is an apparently complete list of reflexes containing this proto-phoneme in Anejoŋ and the Tanna languages:

POc *j	Tanna	Anj	
*(<i>q</i>) <i>ab^wa ji</i>	K <i>i/ap^was</i>		'coconut fruit bud'
* <i>paliji</i>	N <i>m^wa-n/vəhl</i> , W <i>nəm^wa-n/vəhli</i> , L <i>nə/vhaal</i> , S <i>nə/vhilə/k</i> , K <i>n/urhi</i>	<i>na/pjes</i>	'grass'
*(<i>s</i>) <i>juli(q)-</i>	L <i>ne/halə-</i>	<i>ni/sji-</i>	'(plant) shoot (n.)'
* <i>rajim</i>		<i>a/tes</i>	'sharpen'
* <i>laje</i>		<i>n/las</i>	'coral'
*[<i>jo</i>] <i>joŋ-a(n,ŋ)</i>	L <i>io/səŋ</i> , K <i>ruk^wa/haŋən</i>	<i>a/θaθŋi-ñ</i>	'plug, stop up'

The last form seems to have aberrant reflexes in both Tanna and Anejoṃ. Ignoring this form, *j seems to be reflected as PTn *h but as Anejoṃ s. This suggests that *j was kept distinct from *c and *s, and it seems simplest to keep the symbol *j here for the PSV phoneme. The full set of reflexes of the POc sibilants in Tanna and Anejoṃ, then, is:

POc	*t / __*i,*e	*s, *c	*j
PSV	*c	*s	*j
PTn	*s	*h	*h
Anj	s	θ	s

As I mentioned earlier, there is a further set of correspondences involving h in some Tanna languages, reflecting what I reconstruct as Proto North Tanna reflex *z of PTn *h. This is exemplified below:

PTn *h > PNT *z, PST *h

POc	NTn r	Wsn r	Len t	SWTh	Kwm h	
*(q)aca(n,ŋ)-	n/erŋə-	n/erŋə-	n/etŋə-	n/haŋə-	nahju-	'name'
*saqat	a/raat	ə/ra	taat	a/ha	era/ha	'bad'
	a/ier	a/vier	a/viet		ə/viaha	'defecate'
	eranəm		eitanəm		arhanum	'look at reflection' ³¹
	əvər	əvər	vət	vha		'good'
	aruan	əruən	tuan	hauan		'white'
	air	air	ait	alha		'wake up (INTR)'

The POc source for this appears to be *s or *c in the environment of the glottal stop *q in an adjacent syllable.³²

2.5.3.4 Proto Erromango *s and *h

Given the relative consistency of the sibilant reflexes in Tanna and Anejoṃ, it is probably logical to assume that the Proto Southern Vanuatu sibilants developed from Proto Oceanic as outlined in the previous section. I will therefore start with the initial assumption that Proto Erromango also originally reflected this PSV system, and will try to account for subsequent changes. An examination of the reflexes of the POc sibilants (including *t in a palatalising environment) shows the following reflexes occurring:

POc	>	PSV	>	Sye	Ura
*t / __*i,*e		*c		s, h	s, h
*s		*s		s, h, Ø	s, Ø (y?)
*c		*s		h, Ø	Ø
*j		*j		s, Ø (y?)	s

³¹ The first part of this root may possibly derive from POc *leqos, though one would expect NTn and Len to reflect *t in this environment as l and not i; if this is correct, I do not know where the -anum might derive from.

³² Note, however, that this does not occur with reflexes of *qusan 'rain' (e.g. Lenakel *nihin*, Kwamera *nesən*), for reasons which I cannot explain here.

I mentioned the nature of the variation between *s* and *h* in Sye in §2.5.3.1. There is no such synchronic variation in Ura. However, *h* has a restricted distribution in Ura: it does not occur initially or finally, and its occurrence in intervocalic and post-consonantal environments is extremely rare – in other words, almost all occurrences of *h* in Ura are in pre-consonantal position.³³ Table 2.6 outlines the occurrence of *s* and *h* in these two languages. The situation is complicated further by zero reflexes of the same POC phonemes which, in other etyma, have developed into *s* or *h*.

	Initial	Intervocalic	Before C	After C	Finally
Sye	<i>s</i> (<i>h</i>)	<i>s, h</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s, h</i>
Ura	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s, h</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>

Although the distinction between Sye and Ura *s* and *h* is neutralised in a wide range of environments, there is still sufficient evidence to reconstruct **s* and **h* for Proto Erromangan. This evidence is discussed in this section. Where possible, I will give POC etyma or Tanna and/or Anejoñ cognates to identify which PSV protophoneme is involved.

In initial position, there are two frequent correspondence sets, *s*:*s* and *s*:∅. While the former occurs across a wide range of word classes, including verbs, the latter appears to occur only in verbs, for reasons I cannot explain here. I suggest that the former reflects PEr **s* and the latter PEr **h*.³⁴

PEr **s*-

Sye <i>s</i> -	Ura <i>s</i> -		POC, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>si-</i>	<i>si/n</i>	‘excrement’	<i>*taqe-</i> , L <i>nəsii-</i>	<i>*c</i>
<i>selai</i>	<i>selai</i>	‘shine light on’	L <i>sel</i>	<i>*c</i>
<i>sorvat</i>	<i>sorvat</i>	‘remove stones from fire’	L <i>asul</i>	<i>*c</i>
<i>surju</i>	<i>surju</i>	‘kiss’		
<i>sanwis</i>	<i>sanwis</i>	‘wild boar’		
<i>sesi</i>	<i>sesi</i>	‘show’		
<i>sesimaŋsi</i>	<i>sesimaŋsi</i>	‘index finger’		
<i>soyurwavoh</i>	<i>soyurwavos</i>	‘dolphin’		
<i>sam</i>	<i>sam</i>	‘retract foreskin’		
<i>sukrim</i>	<i>sworem</i>	‘five’		

³³ Recall also that some cases of pre-consonantal *h* in Ura derive from non-palatalised **t* – cf. §2.5.2.2.

³⁴ Two comments are necessary here. First, I have identified two cases of an initial *h*:*s* correspondence: Sye *hai*, Ura *sai* ‘one’, and Sye *hoŋku*, Ura *soku* ‘like, as; too, also’. I take these to represent a more recent change of *s* > *h* in Sye: indeed, when I first studied Sye in 1968, I recorded these two forms as being *s*-initial. Second, with the *s*:∅ set, note that, with one exception (the last example), any Sye vowel following *s*- appears to be neutralised as *a* in Ura.

PEr *h-

Sye s-	Ura Ø- only in verbs		POc, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>sei</i>	<i>ai</i>	'spear'	* <i>sua</i> , A <i>aθwu-i</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>sat</i>	<i>arw-at</i>	'bad'	* <i>saqat</i> , L <i>taat</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>savel</i>	<i>afel</i>	'whistle'	L <i>avhəl</i> , A <i>aheθej</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>sompat</i>	<i>abit</i>	'shut, close'	L <i>uhum</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>somponj</i>	<i>abarj</i>	'snore'	L <i>asierap</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>semsi</i>	<i>amsi</i>	'choose'		
<i>sayaunji</i>	<i>aɣounji</i>	'extend (leg)'		
<i>seswai</i>	<i>aswai</i>	'support'		
<i>sentvi</i>	<i>anvu</i>	'wipe'		
<i>sauselyo</i>	<i>auselɲo</i>	'twitch'		
<i>sempyai</i>	<i>amyai</i>	'turn round'		
<i>soputɲo-</i>	<i>aburɲen</i>	'push into fire'		
<i>soki</i>	<i>eyi</i>	'climb up, copulate'		

And note also:

Sye s

<i>say ~ hay</i>	'go up'	* <i>sake</i> , L <i>ahak</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>se</i>	'what?'	* <i>sei</i> , A <i>θi</i> 'who?'	* <i>s</i>

Despite the paucity of external cognates, we seem to have reasonable grounds for proposing that, in initial position, PSV **c* > PEr **s* (Sye, Ura *s*), and PSV **s* > PEr **h* (Sye *s*, Ura Ø).

We also find evidence for a distinction between PEr **s* and **h* intervocally and preceding a semivowel. Here, however, the PSV (and POc) antecedents show more variability:

PEr *-s-

Sye -s-	Ura -s-		POc, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>nouse-</i>	<i>nesou-</i>	'intestines'	* <i>tinaqe</i> , L <i>nəsɲaa-</i>	* <i>c</i>
<i>tesi</i>	<i>tesi</i>	'sharpen'	* <i>tajim</i> , A <i>ates</i>	* <i>j</i>
<i>nusyē</i>	<i>nusyē</i>	'waterfall'	L <i>nuhia</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>asyasyē</i>	<i>tasyasyē</i>	'smooth'	L <i>ehiahia</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>asau</i>	<i>asau</i>	'moan'		
<i>ususu</i>	<i>ususu</i>	'fantail'		
<i>wosila</i>	<i>wosila</i>	'k.o. banana'		
<i>nesur</i>	<i>nesur</i>	'clam shell'		
<i>amiswo</i>	<i>amiswa</i>	'sneeze'		
<i>seswai</i>	<i>aswai</i>	'support, hold up'		
<i>teswai</i>	<i>teswai</i>	'tell lie'		
<i>nusya-</i>	<i>nusya/n</i>	'large one'		

PEr *-h-

Sye -h-	Ura -s-		POc, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>ehelwo</i>	<i>eselwa</i>	'tasteless, bland'	L <i>siu</i> ??	* <i>c</i> ?
<i>savlehakŋi</i>	<i>savlasakŋi</i>	'turn right way up'	W <i>oulh-in</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>mehen</i>	<i>tu/mesen</i>	'k.o. fish'	L <i>mihin</i> , A <i>n/m^waθa</i> ?	* <i>s</i>
<i>ehyan</i>	<i>asyan</i>	'pregnant'	* <i>tiana</i> , L <i>sinən</i>	* <i>c</i>
<i>nahwonum</i>	<i>naswonum</i>	'steam'	* <i>nasu(q)</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>mehikai</i>	<i>misai</i>	'six'	* <i>sakai</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>ahor</i>	<i>asor</i>	'shout'		
<i>elehi</i>	<i>elesi</i>	'chase'		
<i>nahimnalam</i>	<i>nasimnalam</i>	'chief's wife'		
<i>netrihoŋ</i>	<i>netlisoŋ</i>	'back wall of house'		
<i>telnehau</i>	<i>delnesau</i>	'juvenile parrotfish'		
<i>empahiwoŋi</i>	<i>ebasiwoŋi</i>	'send on errand'		
<i>itnohoŋ</i>	<i>ahneseŋ</i>	'true'		
<i>ahi</i>	<i>asai</i>	'just do'		
<i>tehwo</i>	<i>teswa</i>	'to lean'		

In other environments where there is more than one correspondence set, these appear to be in complementary distribution. For example, in pre-consonantal position, we find the following:

Before *r* and *n*:

Sye -h-	Ura -h-		POc, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>ehrem</i>	<i>ehrem</i>	'collapse'		
<i>tovahri</i>	<i>tavahri</i>	'tear, rip'		
<i>pehnikri</i>	<i>fihniyre</i>	'little finger/toe'		
<i>pehnuri</i>	<i>behnuri</i>	'after(wards)'		

Before *l*, *m* and *ŋ*:

Sye -Ø-	Ura -h-		POc, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>alei</i>	<i>ahlei</i>	'lie down'	L <i>alhaau</i> , A. <i>aleθ</i>	* <i>s</i>
<i>kompaloŋi</i>	<i>kobahlini</i>	'thank you!'		
<i>talei</i>	<i>tahlei</i>	'make dirty'		
<i>ntamah</i>	<i>dahmas</i>	'very, a lot'		
<i>omol</i>	<i>ohmol</i>	'fall'		
<i>poŋi</i>	<i>bohŋi</i>	'dative preposition'		
<i>enw-avsoŋi</i>	<i>ovl-avsehŋi</i>	'teach right from wrong'		
<i>ovroŋi</i>	<i>ovlehŋi</i>	'call'		

Before any other consonant:

Sye -h-	Ura -s-		POc, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>ehpe</i>	<i>espe</i>	'do reflexively'	A. <i>isp[*]a-</i>	* _c
<i>nehrop</i>	<i>nesrop</i>	'drinking coconut'	L. <i>nausilu</i>	* _c
<i>elehvi</i>	<i>alasvi</i>	'pick (fruit)'	L. <i>alh</i> , A. <i>alhei</i>	* _s
<i>ahpi</i>	<i>aspi</i>	'lick'		
<i>nehkil</i>	<i>neskil</i>	'snake'		
<i>nehmar</i>	<i>nesmar</i>	'k.o. tree'		

And in word-final position, we have almost complete complementary distribution of correspondences, with only a couple of exceptions:

Sye -s	Ura -s / i,u ___#		POc, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>asis</i>	<i>asis</i>	'fart silently'	* <i>sii</i> , A <i>aθel</i>	* _s
<i>nelis</i>	<i>ilis</i>	'nits'	* <i>lisaq</i> , L <i>kilha</i>	* _s
<i>sanwis</i>	<i>sanwis</i>	'wild boar'		
<i>itais</i>	<i>irais</i>	'grandfather; moon'		
<i>itis</i>	<i>iris</i>	'smile'		
<i>uvwis</i>	<i>uvwis</i>	'small grouper'		
<i>netukus</i>	<i>netukus</i>	'salt'		
<i>vormus</i>	<i>vormus</i>	'k.o. fish'		

Sye -h	Ura -s / e,a,o ___#		POc, Other SV	Suggests PSV
<i>noyleh-</i>	<i>noyles</i>	'skin'	* <i>kuliti</i>	* _c
<i>mah</i>		'low tide'	* <i>maqati</i> , S, A <i>mas</i>	* _c
<i>mah</i>	<i>imis</i>	'die'	* <i>mate</i> , L <i>məs</i> , A <i>mas</i>	* _c
<i>koh</i>	<i>gis</i>	'we INC'	* <i>kita</i> > ** <i>gati</i>	* _c
<i>natmah</i>	<i>yarmis</i>	'devil'	L <i>iarməs</i> , A <i>natmas</i>	* _c
<i>aveh</i>	<i>avis</i>	'add coconut milk'	* <i>pisa</i> , L <i>avət</i>	* _s
<i>noywoh</i>	<i>wis</i>	'octopus, squid'	* <i>nusi</i> , L <i>ihi</i> , A <i>niθ</i>	* _s
<i>nemah</i>	<i>namas</i>	'cloth(es)'	* <i>masi</i> , A <i>namas</i>	* _s ?
<i>evyah</i>	{ <i>ivek</i> }	'defecate'	* <i>pekas</i> , L <i>avhe</i> , <i>aviet</i>	* _s
<i>nevlah</i>	<i>wavlis</i>	'rock crab'	L <i>kəvləs</i> , A <i>naheleθ</i>	* _s ?
<i>ŋinmah</i>	<i>ŋinimis</i>	'many'		
<i>pwayah</i>	<i>balayis</i>	'daytime'		
<i>telwoh</i>	<i>delwis</i>	'k.o. yam'		
<i>teveh</i>	<i>deves</i>	'k.o. banana'		
<i>-veh</i>	<i>-ves</i>	'well (adv.)'		
<i>tormeveh</i>	<i>tormeves</i>	'do unintentionally'		
<i>unmeh</i>	<i>unmes</i>	'early'		
<i>nayah</i>	<i>nayas</i>	'cool season'		
<i>neimah</i>	<i>neimas</i>	'cassia'		
<i>tunklah</i>	<i>dunlas</i>	'sea-snake'		
<i>unorah</i>	<i>unoras</i>	'oval stone'		
<i>uvrah</i>	<i>uvras</i>	'brain'		

<i>wampleplah</i>	<i>wamlamlas</i>	‘small freshwater prawn’
<i>avoh</i>	<i>avos</i>	‘happy’
<i>soyurwavoh</i>	<i>soyurwavos</i>	‘dolphin’
<i>netrovohvoh</i>	<i>arusvasvas</i>	‘tinea’
<i>temah</i>	<i>ohmus</i>	‘hungry’

We can probably assume, then, that Proto Erromangan **s* and **h* were distinct in initial and intervocalic positions, and there is a reasonable amount of evidence – particularly in initial position – to suggest that PSV **c* > PEr **s* and PSV **s* > PEr **h*. It would also seem that, at some quite early stage, PEr **s* and **h* merged (probably as *s*) finally and adjacent to a consonant. Subsequently:

- medial *s* in Ura became *h* before a continuant consonant;
- medial *s* in Sye became *h* before any consonant, and was lost before *l*, *m* and *ŋ*;
- final *s* in Sye became *h* when preceded by a non-high vowel.

It may well have been this complex conditioned shifting of *s* to *h* which led to more unconditioned shifting in Sye.

2.5.3.5 Proto Oceanic sibilant reflexes in Erromango

All of this makes it exceedingly difficult to describe exactly what has happened to palatalised POC **t* (and **d*) and to POC **s*, **c* and **j*! The only environments which distinguish PEr **s* and **h* are initial and intervocalic, and therefore these are the only ones we can seriously consider in deciding on the development of the POC phonemes in PEr.

The following examples suggest that POC **s* > PSV **s* > PEr **h*:

POC * <i>s</i>	>	PEr * <i>h</i>		
		Sye <i>s</i> -, <i>-h</i> -	Ura Ø-, <i>-s</i> -	
* <i>waRisa</i>		[<i>no</i>]wisas	wisas	‘some days from today’ ³⁵
* <i>sei</i> ‘who?’		<i>se</i>		‘what?’
* <i>saqat</i>		<i>sat</i>	<i>ar-w/at</i>	‘bad’
* <i>sua</i>		<i>sei</i>	<i>ai</i>	‘to spear’
* <i>nasu(q)</i>		<i>nahwo-num</i>	<i>naswo-num</i>	‘steam’
* <i>bokasi</i>		<i>no/mpyahi</i>	<i>w/myas</i>	‘pig’

As in Anejoñ (there is no evidence from Tanna), there is one case of **d* in a palatalising environment (**pudi* > Sye *no/voh*, Ura *no/vus*, ‘banana’), which is insufficient to base any hypothesis on.

There seems to be just one example, **tage* ‘excrement’, supporting the development POC **t* / __ **i*, **e* > PSV **c* > PEr **s*. In the case of **tage*-, the **aq* sequence was lost (as it was also in Tanna), and **t* palatalised before **e*.

³⁵ The POC form and most of its reflexes in Southern Vanuatu refer to ‘two days from today’. The Sye and Ura forms, however, means ‘five days from today’, with the Sye prefixed form *nowisas* referring to the past.

POc *t / __*i,*e > PEr *s

	Sye s	Ura s	
*taqe-	si-	si/n	'excrement'

Virtually all other reflexes do not distinguish PEr *s and *h. Further, there are many cases of loss.

POc t / __*i,*e >	Sye s, h	Ura s, h	
*maqati	mas		'low tide'
*tina-	{nrinme-}	e/hne/n	'mother'
*pitik	tor/pis	dor/pis	'lightning' ?
*kuliti	no/yleh-ntan	no/yles dan	'skin'
*mate	mah	i/mis	'die'
PSOc *teli	nre/hel	ge/hli	'three'

POc *j, when reflected, occurs as s in both languages:

POc *j >	Sye s	Ura s	
*tajim	a/tes	tes	'sharpen'
*[jo]lon-a(n,ŋ)	i/sjin		'to plug'
*paliji	novlovsi		'(k.o.) grass' ?

There are, however, two cases where *j is lost in Sye (there being no Ura reflex that I am aware of):

POc *j >	Sye Ø	Ura	
*(s,j)uli(q)-	ne/lye-		'a shoot'
*jalatonj	n/elyat		'nettle tree'

Except in the first Sye form below, POc *c seems to be lost:

POc *c >	Sye Ø (h)	Ura Ø	
*(q)aca(n,ŋ)-	n/i-		'name'
*quloc	n/ilah	ila	'maggot'
*(q)ana-ŋican	ni/ŋoi	ni/ŋei	'when?'
*pican	nrə/ve	gi/va	'how many?'

POc *s also shows sporadic reflexes. In this first set of words, it is retained in both languages:

POc *s	Sye s, h	Ura s	
*sii	a/sis	a/sis	'fart (silently)' [reduplication?]
*masi	ne/mah	na/mas	'(tapa) cloth'
*saŋa	nem/soŋ		'fork'
*ŋiŋis	no/ŋos/iwo	no/ŋos/iwo	'gums'
*kasupe	ula/kih	ula/kis	'rat'
*lisaq	ne/lis	i/lis	'nit'

The second set shows retention of *s in Sye but not in Ura, with the last two items suggesting that Ura has accreted a locative marker PSV *i:-³⁶

POc *s >	Sye s,h	Ura Ø	
*qasawa-	ahwo-	awi/n	'spouse'
*pekas	e/vyah	i/vek	'defecate'
*sake	say ~ hay	-yok	'up there, rise'
*sipo	-sep ~ -hep	-yip	'down'

Finally, the third set – by far the largest – shows loss of *s in both languages:

POc *s >	Sye Ø	Ura Ø	
*sulug	ilwo		'(make a) torch'
*likos	e/lki, o/lki	e/lei	'tie, hang up'
*mutusi	o/mti	o/mde	'broken'
*leqos	e/la-	e/l-	'look at/for'
*suRi-	no/ura-	no/wira/n	'bone'
*susu-	n/i-	n/a/n	'breast' ?
*molis	ne/mli		'citrus'
*tasik	n/toy	de	'sea'
	a/toy	a/tok	'salty'
*talise	n/teli	dire	'Terminalia catappa'

It is difficult to make any statements about the conditioning of these reflexes, since *s, for example, is retained in some etyma but lost in others in almost identical phonological environments. I would presume that, where *s and *c were lost, this probably involved a change *s, *c > h > Ø, which in itself implies a wider distribution of h in some earlier form of Ura.

2.5.3.6 Proto Southern Vanuatu

This long and fairly complex discussion suggests the relationship between the POc and PSV coronals as shown in Table 2.7.

³⁶ Supporting this are the following cognates, most of which are locatives of some kind:

Sye s, h	Ura y		Sye s, h	Ura y	
-say	-yek	'up, above'	empi-hep	oube-youp	'down over there'
empi-hay	oube-yok	'up over there'	yehep	youp	'down there'
yahay	yok	'up there'	-su	-ye	'every; perfective'
-sep	-yip	'down'	isuma	yomo	'that's all!'

Table 2.7: Proto Southern Vanuatu coronal correspondences

POc	* <i>t</i> / ₋ * <i>i</i> , * <i>e</i>	* <i>t-t</i> - else	* <i>-t</i>	* <i>d</i>	* <i>s</i> , * <i>c</i>	* <i>j</i>	* <i>n</i> / ₋ * <i>i</i> , * <i>e</i>	* <i>n</i> else	* <i>n̄</i> , * <i>y</i>
PSV	* <i>c</i>	* <i>t</i>		* <i>d</i>	* <i>s</i>	* <i>j</i>	* <i>n</i>		* <i>y</i>
PEr	* <i>s</i>	* <i>d</i> / _{n-} ; * <i>t</i>		* <i>d</i>	* <i>h</i>	* <i>s</i> ?	* <i>n</i>		* <i>y</i> ~ * <i>i</i>
PTn	* <i>s</i>	* <i>d</i> / _{n-} ; * <i>t</i>		* <i>d</i>	* <i>z</i> / <i>*q</i> ; * <i>h</i>	* <i>h</i>	* <i>n</i>		* <i>i</i>
Anj	<i>s</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>θ</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>n̄</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>y</i>

Although Proto Erromangan (of the earlier languages) and Sye and Kwamera (of the modern ones) provide the most extreme examples of apparently unexplained variation between *s* and *h*, no SV language seems to have escaped this. Even Anejōm̄, which seem to be the ‘best-behaved’ of these languages in this regard, is not immune. Although *h* is not the regular reflex of any of the proto-palatals or -sibilants – indeed, Anejōm̄ *h* derives from **p* – there are apparent cognates showing an *h* reflex of a palatal/sibilant:

POc **s*, **j* > Anj *h*

* <i>saŋa</i>	<i>nem/haŋ</i>	‘fork’
* <i>saqat</i>	<i>has</i>	‘bad’
* <i>kojom-i</i>	<i>a/yhem</i>	‘to husk’

Thus the sets of correspondences given here must be read in the light of this fluctuation.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has provided evidence for the PSV consonant system as outlined in Table 2.1 with the exception of PSV **q*. POc **q* seems to have been retained in PSV, but was subsequently lost in all SV languages. The main argument for its retention will be presented in Chapter 4, since it is tied in with the deletion or non-deletion of vowels in certain environments; however, minor arguments in favour of its retention were proposed in this chapter in the discussion of reflexes of **n* and the sibilants.

The development of the POc and PSV protophonemes, including full sets of sound correspondences, are given in Appendix I. In the table there, I have added in Proto Northern and Southern Tanna forms, although except in the discussion of the liquids and sibilants these were not specifically mentioned. Conditioned reflexes are given in parentheses, and the reader is referred to the relevant sections above for details of the conditioning.

3 Vowels

In this chapter and the next, I will be examining developments in the POc vowels. Chapter 4 examines morpheme structure, which involves the deletion of POc vowels in certain contexts, and the accretion of initial elements to nouns and verbs. Before looking at that, however, it will be useful to continue our discussion of segmental phonology and examine the reflexes of the POc vowels in those contexts and roots in which they are reflected. Note that I will be concerned only with root-internal vowels in this chapter; the behaviour of the **a* of the accreted article **na* and the accreted initial vowel on verbs will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Although POc had a five-vowel system, PSV probably had a six-vowel system. There is strong evidence for PSV **i*, **ə*, **a* and **u*, quite strong evidence for PSV **e* as a conditioned reflex of POc **a*, and weaker evidence for PSV **o*. This six-vowel system matches the surface systems of the Tanna languages and the underlying system of Sye. Some interesting developments have occurred in individual subgroups: for example, Anejoṃ lowers the high vowels to *e* and *o*, and in Anejoṃ *i* and *u* occur only as conditioned reflexes of POc vowels; Proto Tanna, on the other hand, seems to have raised the mid vowels and (partly) merged them with the corresponding high vowels, and PTn **e* and **o* occur only as conditioned reflexes of POc **a*. The development of the POc and PSV vowels is briefly outlined in Table 3.1, with the more important conditioned reflexes in brackets.

Table 3.1: POc and PSV vowels

POc	<i>*i</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>*a</i>			<i>*o</i>	<i>*u</i>
PSV	<i>*i</i>	<i>*e</i>	<i>*a</i>	[<i>*e</i>]	[<i>*ə</i>]	<i>*o</i>	<i>*u</i>
PEr	<i>*i</i> [<i>*y</i> , <i>*e</i>]	<i>*e</i>	<i>*a</i>	[<i>*e</i>]	[<i>*ə</i>]	<i>*a</i>	<i>*u</i> [<i>*w</i>]
PTn	<i>*i</i>	<i>*i</i>	<i>*a</i> [<i>*o</i>]	[<i>*e</i>]	[<i>*ə</i>]	<i>*u</i> , <i>*ə</i>	<i>*u</i>
Anj	<i>e</i> [<i>i</i>]	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	[<i>e</i>]	[<i>e</i>]	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i> [<i>u</i>]

Fairly clear statements can be made about the development of four of the POc vowels in PSV and its daughter languages. The exception is POc **e*: most occurrences of **e* are word-final in POc, and a fair proportion of non-final occurrences were pretonic in (pre-)PSV; but most word-final and pretonic vowels are lost in PSV. There are thus very few etyma containing **e* in which the vowel is actually retained, and this means that statements of its development are tentative.

3.1 Anejom̃

Anejom̃ has the five vowels *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u*, all of which occur both short and long. The unconditioned reflexes of the POC vowels in Anejom̃ are:

POc	*i	*e	*a	*o	*u
Anj	e	e	a	e	o

3.1.1 The POC high vowels

Both POC high vowels underwent lowering in Anejom̃. The unconditioned reflex of POC *i is *e*:

POc *i	>	Anj e	
*ibe		n/ep	'k.o. mat'
*karis		a/kreθ	'scratch (a person)'
*karis		a/γreθ	'scrape'
*kita		e/γet	'see'
*sipo		a/θe	'go down'
*sipo		-se	'down'
*ta-pine		na/tahēñ	'woman'
*[i]ko[e]		a/ek	'you SG'
*bakiwa		ne/pγev	'shark'
*siko		ne/θey	'kingfisher'
*talise		n/tejeθ	'Terminalia catappa'
*paliji		na/pjes	'grass'
*pican		e/heθ	'how many?'
PSOc *tikon		i/seγ	'walk w. stick'

and the unconditioned reflex of *u is *o*:

POc *u	>	Anj o	
*bulut		a/p ^w ol	'sticky, stick to'
*ipu(t)		a/iho-i	'blow'
*mutusi		a/m ^w ot	'broken'
PSOc *munim		a/m ^w oñ	'drink (INTR)'
*tanum		a/tenom	'bury'
*tubuq		a/top ^w	'swell up'
*tubu-		e/tpo-	'grandparent'
*makubu-		m ^w ap ^w o-	'grandchild'
*butoŋ-		no/p ^w o	'navel'
*Rum ^w aq		n/iom ^w	'house'
*kasupe		n/γeθo	'rat'
*lumut		ne/lom ^w	'moss'
*pudi		no/hos	'banana'

POc **i* has a number of conditioned reflexes. It appears to be reflected as *o* following **w* or **u*:

POc <i>*i</i>	>	Anj <i>o / u, w</i>	__
<i>*kawil</i>		<i>n/ɣwoj</i>	'fish hook'
<i>*suRi-</i>		<i>ne/θuo-</i>	'bone'
<i>*kawit-i</i>		<i>ni/ɣowos</i>	'breadfruit-picker'

There is a tendency for **i* to be reflected as *i* rather than *e* in a couple of environments. One is morpheme-finally before a suffix (usually a possessive suffix or the transitive suffix *-i*):

POc <i>*i</i>	>	Anj <i>i / __</i>	-SUFFIX
<i>*tina-</i>		<i>ri/si-</i>	'mother'
<i>*(s,j)uli(q)-</i>		<i>ni/sji-</i>	'shoot, of plant'
<i>*wasi(n)-</i>		<i>n/asi-ntal</i>	'taro stem'
<i>*kali</i>		<i>a/ɣji-i</i>	'dig'
<i>*piri</i>		<i>ai/hi-i</i>	'weave'
<i>*mimiR</i>		<i>a/mi-i</i>	'urinate'
PSOc <i>*munim</i>		<i>a/m*ñi-i</i>	'drink (TR)'

However, the following show the development of **i* > *e* in this context:

POc <i>*i</i>	>	Anj <i>e</i>	
<i>*qunap-i</i>		<i>n/inehe-</i>	'scale'
<i>*irip</i>		<i>erere-i</i>	'fan'
<i>*qanusi</i>		<i>aŋθe-i</i>	'spit (TR)'

Similarly, although there are some cases of POc morpheme-initial **i* being reflected as *e* (like **irip* > *erere-i* 'to fan' or **[i]ko[e]* > *a/ek* 'you SG'), there are other cases where morpheme-initial **i* remains *i*: **ipu(t)* > *a/iho-i* 'blow', **ikuR-* > *n/iye-* 'tail'.

POc **u* also has other reflexes, the conditioning of which is difficult to determine. It appears to be reflected as *e* adjacent to *θ* or following *ɣ*, though there are counter-examples:

POc <i>*u</i>	>	Anj <i>e / θ, / ɣ</i>	__
<i>*susu</i>		<i>e/θeθ</i>	'suck'
<i>*susu-</i>		<i>na/θe-</i>	'breast'
<i>*susu</i>		<i>ne/θeθ</i>	'breast'
<i>*qanusi</i>		<i>elw-aŋeθ</i>	'spit (INTR)'
<i>*paluca</i>		<i>a/heleθ</i>	'to paddle'
<i>*kutu</i>		<i>ne/ɣet</i>	'louse'
<i>*ikuR-</i>		<i>ni/iye-</i>	'tail'

It seems to be reflected as *u* in two contexts:

- when it was morpheme-initial in POc (after loss of **q*, **k* or **R*), and
- when it immediately preceded another vowel, *u* sometimes becoming *w* here:

POc *u	>	Anj u ~ w	
(a) *qumun		nm ^w a-n/um ^w	'oven'
*qupi		n/u	'yam'
*kup ^w ena		no/up ^w on	'fishing net'
*kurai		no/uras	' <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '
*Ruqa-		nawu-n/ua-	'neck'
(b) *supa		a/θua	'spit in a spray'
*suRi-		ne/θuo-	'bone'
*tuqaka-		e/twa-	'same-sex sibling'
*sua		a/θwu-i	'to spear'

There is a residue of cases where *u > i, whose conditioning I cannot determine at this stage:

POc *u	>	Anj i	
*punuq		i/hni-i	'finish'
*suRuq-		ni/θi-	'juice'
*quloc		n/ija	'maggot'
*qunap-i		n/inehe-	'scale (of fish)'
*nusa		niθ	'octopus'

There are also other etyma where *i and *u are reflected in some unexpected way, for example:

POc *i	>	Anj		
*alito(n)		n/ijis	'torch'	[i for expected e]
*(q)ana-ŋican		i/ñiθ	'when?'	[i for expected e]
*tuk-i		a/tya-ñ	'pound'	[a for expected e]
*(k)ira		a/ar-	'they, focal'	[a for expected e]
*pili		hujis	'peel'	[u and i for expected e]
*pisiko-		no/hothye-	'flesh'	[o for expected e]

POc *u	>	Anj		
*baluR		pela-ñ	'mix'	[a for expected o]
*tuRi		e/te	'to string'	[e for expected o]
*ñuñu		a/iyu	'be shady'	[u for expected o]
*n opu		nahau	'scorpion'	[au for expected o]

3.1.2 POc vowel sequences

Most vowel sequences involve one of the two high vowels. POc *ai sequences (some of which result from the loss of *q or *R between *a and *i) tend to be reflected as ai finally (but as i before a consonant?):

POc *ai	>	Anj ai / __#, i / __C	
*[ka]ŋaRi		n/aŋai	' <i>Canarium</i> sp.'
*waiR		n/wai	'water'
*waRisa		n/viθ	'two days from today'

Note also however POC **sei* > *θi* 'who?'.
 POC **ua* (or maybe **uV*) sequences are regularly reflected as *ou* finally and as *ow* before a following vowel:

POC *ua	>	Anj ou, ow	
<i>*luaq</i>		<i>a/lou</i>	'vomit'
<i>*rua</i>		<i>e/rou</i>	'two'
<i>*puaq</i>		<i>o/hou</i>	'bear fruit'
<i>*puaq-</i>		<i>no/howa-</i>	'fruit'
<i>*matuqa</i>		<i>metou</i>	'ripe'

POC *uV	>	Anj ou	
<i>*puRe</i>		<i>no/hou</i>	'k.o. beach vine'
<i>*iapuRi</i>		<i>n/tohou</i>	'conch'

POC **au* sequences, however, are less predictable, with the reflexes *au*, *o*, *a* and *u* all being found:

POC *au	>	Anj	
<i>*qauR</i>		<i>n/au</i>	'bamboo'
<i>*paRu</i>		<i>n/hau</i>	' <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> '
<i>*paus-i</i>		<i>a/hoθ</i>	'weave'
<i>*mataqu-</i>		<i>n/mata-</i>	'right hand'
<i>*maqurip</i>		<i>u/mu</i>	'alive'

3.1.3 POC mid vowels

The unconditioned reflex of POC **o* is *e*:

POC *o	>	Anj e	
<i>*boŋi</i>		<i>a/peñ</i>	'black'
<i>*boŋi</i>		<i>ne/peñ</i>	'night'
<i>*boni</i>		<i>e/peñ-</i>	'smell'
<i>*kona</i>		<i>a/ŷen</i>	'bitter'
<i>*kojom-i</i>		<i>a/ŷhem</i>	'husk a coconut'
<i>*likos</i>		<i>a/jye-i</i>	'hang'
<i>*mono</i>		<i>a/men</i>	'stay'
<i>*roŋoR</i>		<i>eŷe-i</i>	'hear'
<i>*toka</i>		<i>a/tey</i>	'sit'
<i>*toka</i>		<i>e/tey</i>	'be, exist'
<i>*paŋoda</i>		<i>a/hanej</i>	'forage on reef'
<i>*Ropok</i>		<i>a/e</i>	'to fly'
<i>*lipon-</i>		<i>ne/jhe-</i>	'tooth' [but cf. also <i>nijho-</i>]
<i>*m^walo</i>		<i>n/m^woje</i>	'reef'
<i>*pisiko-</i>		<i>no/hoθye-</i>	'flesh'

There are very few exceptions to this generalisation. There are some cases of **o > a*, which I cannot explain:

POc *o >	Anj a		
<i>*quloc</i>	<i>nija</i>	‘maggot’	
<i>*ñoro</i>	<i>ya</i>	‘flow uncontrollably’	
<i>*leqos</i>	<i>e/laθ</i>	‘look at’	[<i>a</i> may reflect <i>*eo</i>]
<i>*jojoŋ-a(n,ŋ)</i>	<i>a/θaθŋi-ñ</i>	‘to plug’	

Most other apparent exceptions, however, have a plausible explanation:

POc *o >	Anj		
<i>*komu</i>	<i>a/kum^w</i>	‘put in mouth’	[<i>*o > u / __m^w?</i>]
<i>*lipon-</i>	<i>ni/jho-</i>	‘tooth’	[but cf. also <i>nejhe-</i>]
<i>*topu</i>	<i>ne/to</i>	‘sugarcane’	[<i>o</i> may be < <i>*u</i>]
<i>*toqa</i>	<i>n/jaa</i>	‘fowl’	[<i>*oqa > aa?</i>]
<i>*bokasi</i>	<i>pikaθ</i>	‘pig’	

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, there are few secure reflexes of forms which contain **e*. Some comparisons suggest that the unconditioned reflex of **e* may be *e*:

POc *e >	Anj e		
<i>*qebal</i>	<i>n/epa</i>	‘pandanus mat’	
PSOc <i>*teli</i>	<i>e/sej</i>	‘three’	
PSOc <i>*ma-teli</i>	<i>a/mesej</i>	‘thick’	
<i>*kape</i>	<i>n/ahe/leθ</i>	‘crab sp.’	[Unexplained loss of <i>*k</i> ; cannot source the accretion <i>-leθ</i> ; may not be cognate]
<i>*peliR-</i>	<i>n/hele-</i>	‘penis’	[Expect <i>*l > j / __ *i</i> ; may not be cognate]

though there are a couple of cases where the reflex is *a*:

POc *e >	Anj a	
<i>*bune</i>	<i>no/pña</i>	‘fruit dove’
<i>*leqos</i>	<i>e/laθ</i>	‘look at’

POc **puRe > no/hou* ‘k.o. beach vine’ shows the regular development of **uV* as *ou*. Two other forms apparently showing reflexes of **e* are:

POc *e	Anj		
<i>*kup^wena</i>	<i>no/up^won</i>	‘fishing net’	[Rounding due to preceding <i>*p^w?</i>]
<i>*taqe-</i>	<i>n/ti, n/ti-</i>	‘excrement’	[<i>*a(q)e > i?</i>]

3.1.4 POC *a

POc **a* is the most frequently occurring vowel. I have already dealt with sequences of vowels one of which is **a*. When not part of a vowel cluster, the unconditioned reflex of **a* is Anejoñ *a*:

POc *a	Anj a	
*(p,b)alapu	<i>o/pra</i>	'long'
*kaRat-i	<i>a/γas</i>	'bite' [also <i>a/γes</i>]
*kita	<i>e/γta-i</i>	'see (TR)'
*kaRaka	<i>a/γray</i>	'creep'
*lab ^w at	<i>a/lp^was</i>	'big'
*maqati	<i>mas</i>	'low tide'
*mamaq	<i>a/ma-i</i>	'chew'
*maqanur	<i>a/man-a/man</i>	'float'
*mataq	<i>mat</i>	'raw'
*mapo	<i>mah</i>	'heal'
*matakut	<i>e/mtaγ</i>	'fear (INTR)'
*masakit	<i>e/mθa</i>	'sick'
*supa	<i>aθua</i>	'spit in a spray'
*tapine	<i>na/taheñ</i>	'woman'
*taRaq-i	<i>a/tai</i>	'cut'
*pano	<i>a/pan, han</i>	'go'
*paŋan	<i>haŋ</i>	'eat (INTR)' [cf. *paŋan > heŋañ discussed below]
*paŋoda	<i>a/haŋej</i>	'forage on reef'
*tama-	<i>e/tma-</i>	'father'

There are, however, other reflexes of *a. Each appears to occur in a definable environment, though there are contradictory cases where the reflex is *a* in the same environment.

First, there is a strong tendency for *a > e / __*Ci,*Cu:

POc *a >	Anj e / __*Ci,*Cu	
*kaRat-i	<i>a/γes</i>	'bite' [but note also <i>a/γas</i>]
*tajim	<i>a/tes</i>	'sharpen'
*paRiu	<i>ne/heyo</i>	'cyclone'
*kapika	<i>n/yehey</i>	'Malay apple' [*k > y irregular]
*qunap-i	<i>n/inehe-</i>	'scale'
*talise	<i>n/tejeθ</i>	' <i>Terminalia catappa</i> '
*tanum	<i>a/tenom</i>	'bury'
*paluca	<i>a/heleθ</i>	'to paddle'
*matuqa	<i>metou</i>	'ripe'
*kasupe	<i>n/yeθo</i>	'rat'
*balur	<i>pela-ñ</i>	'mix'

This *e* < *a was sometimes further raised to *i* when immediately preceding an Anejom̄ palatal consonant:

POc *a >	Anj i / __PALATAL	
*kani	<i>yiñ</i>	'eat (TR)'
*taliŋa-	<i>n/ijŋa-</i>	'ear'
*alito(n)	<i>n/ijs</i>	'torch'

However, there are a number of other examples of $*a > a$ in the same environment, like $*maqati > mas$ 'low tide' or $*manuk > n/man$ 'bird'.

POc $*a$ seems to have sometimes become i when preceded by a consonant cluster and followed by the transitive suffix $-i$:

POc $*a >$	Anj i / CC__- i	
$*kona$	$e/\gamma ni-i$	'make s.o. drunk'
$*tapa$	$a/thi-i$	'cut off'
$*tapa$	$i/thi-i$	'cut into strips'

There is also a tendency for $*a > o$ in the environment of labials:

POc $*a >$	Anj o / LABIAL	
$*gapu(l)$	$n/\gamma op/\theta a$	'rain'
$*kawil$	$n/\gamma owoj$	'fish hook'
$*m^*alo$	n/m^*oje	'reef'
$*tapuRi$	$n/tohou$	'conch'
$*kawit-i$	$ni/\gamma owos$	'breadfruit-picker'

Finally, some words show $*a > e$ (occasionally i) / __Ca, though there are exceptions:

POc $a >$	Anj e / __ $*Ca$	
$*pa\eta an$	$he\eta a\tilde{n}$	'eat (a lot)'
$*maya$	$nalau-me$	'flame'
$*(q)aca(n,\eta)-$	$n/i\theta a-$	'name'
$*sapa$	n/he	'what?'

3.1.5 Summary

These facts are summarised in Table 3.2. Conditioned reflexes are in square brackets.

POc	$*ai$	$*au$	$*uV$	$*i$	$*e$	$*a$	$*o$	$*u$
Anj	$i? ai?$	$au [a,o,u]$	ou	$e [i,o]$	e	$a [i,e,o]$	e	$o [e,u]$

3.2 Proto Erromango

Although both Erromangan languages have five *surface* vowels, there is a sixth underlying vowel in Sye. In this section, I will show that PEr needs to be reconstructed with six vowel phonemes – $*i$, $*e$, $*ə$, $*a$, $*o$ and $*u$ – and I will also discuss their development from the POc vowels. Many more than six frequently attested vowel correspondence sets can be found, however: while the conditioning of some of these is clear, for others it is not. There is a considerable amount of 'unpredictability' about the vowels across the Southern Vanuatu family generally and, in addition, the sociolinguistic situation on Erromango may well have led to considerable borrowing, thus further complicating the situation. In what follows, I will be concerned with regular correspondences and with clearly statable tendencies.

The unconditioned correspondences of the Proto Erromango vowels are as follows; the conditioning of the reflexes of *ə will be explained below.

PEr	*i	*e	*ə	*a	*o	*u
Sye	i	e	/ə/ = o, Ø	a	o	u
Ura	i	e	i, Ø	a	o	u

These reflect Proto Oceanic vowels as follows:

POc	*i	*e	*a	*o	*u
PEr	*i [*e]	*e	*ə, *a [*e]	*a?	*u [*o]

Except for *ə, numerous examples of the Sye:Ura vowel correspondence sets can be found in the previous chapter, and I will give just a few here (with reconstructed PEr lexical items):¹

PEr	Sye	Ura	
*ayup	ayup	ayup	'cloudy, about to rain'
*etni	etni	ehni	'cook, burn'
*iriri	iriri	iriri	'climb to end of branch'
*ofwaki	ovwaki	ofwaki	'pray'
*unoras	unorah	unoras	'stone at river mouth'
*neiteve-	neiteve-	neiteve-	'shin'
*netuyo	netuyo	netuyo	'reef'
*ninvo	ninvo	ninvo	'driftwood'
*sugu	sugu	sugu	'kiss'
*itnom	itnom	ihnom	'quick'
*ita	ita	ita	'OK, alright'

3.2.1 The POc and PEr high vowels

I leave discussion of the reflexes of the high vowels in vowel sequences until the next section. The unconditioned reflexes of POc *i and *u are PEr *i and *u – i.e. *i > i and *u > u in both Sye and Ura. (When adjacent to another vowel, the reflexes are frequently y and w.)

POc *i > PEr *i (~ *y)

	Sye i (~ y)	Ura i (~ y)	
*sii	a/sis	a/sis	'fart'
*kamiu	kimi	ɲimi	'you PL'
*[i]ko[e]	k/ik	{ga}	'you SG'
*[k]ira	ir/or	le/il	'they'
*pitiik	tor/pis	dor/pis	'lightning'
*[ka]ŋaRi	n/aŋai	n/aŋai	'Canarium sp.'
*bokasi	no/mpyahi	{umyas}	'pig'
*molis	ne/mli		'citrus'

¹ Reconstructions given for Proto Erromango (and, later in this section, Proto Tanna) are given in their post-vowel deletion form. It is likely that many of these forms may have had an additional final vowel – see Chapter 4.

*qunap-i	ni/ŋevi-	ni/ŋevi-	'scale'
*lisaq	ne/lis	i/lis	'nit'
*piRaq	ntal-e/vye	dal-ni/vya	'k.o. taro'

POc *u > PEr *u (~ *w)

	Sye u (~ w)	Ura (u ~ w)	
*qumun	-n/um	-n/um	'oven'
*qupi	n/up	n/up	'yam'
*butoŋ	yo/mput	yo/but	'navel'
*natu-	nitu-	neru-	'child'
*kuRita	noy/woh	wis	'squid, octopus'
*rakum*a	n/roŋum		'k.o. crab'
*taku 'back'	n/toŋu-nta-		'shoulder-blade'
*manuk	menuy	{man-}	'bird'

There are, however, a number of etyma in which *i is lowered to *e* in one or both of the Erromangan languages. There appears to be reasonably clear conditioning of this change in the development of Proto Erromangan *i: lowering occurred in Sye when *i was adjacent to (*s plus) a labial obstruent:

POc *i > PEr *i / *(s)b, *(s)v

POc	Sye e	Ura i	
*tapine	na/hiven	ya/rvin	'woman'
*pisa	a/veh	a/vis	'squeeze'
*papine	veve-n	vin-	'sister of man'
*sipo	-sep ~ -hep	-yip	'down'
	ehpi	isbi	'count'
	evivat	ivivat	'thick'
	evram	ivram	'(fish) stir up water'
	ehvi	isvi	'bury'
	nempyo-	nimye/n	'buttocks'
	nevloy	nivlek	'bed, shelf'
	nevram	nivram	'starting-point in weaving a wall'
	nevri	nivri	'roofing-style'

There are other cases which are less clear:

POc *i >	Sye i	Ura e	
*mimiR	evla/mi	evil/me	'urinate'
*lima	suk/rim	suwo/rem	'five'
*talise	n/teli	dire	'Terminalia catappa'

POc *i >	Sye e	Ura e, a	
*kuliti-	no/yleh	no/yles	'skin'
*pican	nr/ve	gi/va	'how many?'

Just as *i showed sporadic lowering to *e* in one or both languages, so *u shows sporadic lowering to *o*, most commonly adjacent to a labial:

POc *u / LABIAL > PEr *u

	Sye o	Ura u	
*bune	no/mpon-re	u/buda	'fruit dove'
*puti	no/voh	no/vus	'banana'
*ñamuk	u/yomoy	u/youmu	'mosquito'

	Sye u	Ura o	
*tapuRi	n/товu	u/rovo	'conch'
*tubuq	e/tpu	e/rpo	'grow'
*maqurip	o/murep	o/morop	'alive'

	Sye o	Ura o	
*sulug	ilwo		'torch'
*ipu(t)	o/vosi	o/vosi	'blow'
*ianum	e/tenom	e/tenom	'dive'
*tubu-	re/tpo- 'wife'		'grandparent'
*makubu-	moypo-	boybo-	'grandchild'
*tabu	tompор	dobor	'sacred'
*nasu(q)	nahwo-num	naswo-num	'steam'

There is also a tendency for PEr word-final *uy to be reflected as Ura e (*y being regularly lost in this position in Ura):

PEr *u > / __ *y#

Sye	Ura	
nomuyy	nomye	'earthquake'
oruy	ele	'swim, bathe'
omnuy	omne	'wet'
emeluylyuy	ar/umelile	'soft'
natmonuy	yarumne	'chief'

In addition to the reflexes described above, there is also an unexplained residue:

POc *i	Sye	Ura	
*kilala	o/kili	o/yori	'know'
*tasik	n/toy	de	'sea'
*(q)ana-ñican	ni/ñoi	ni/ñei	'when?'
*suRi-	no/ura	no/wira-	'bone'
*ñijis-	no/ños/iwo	no/ños/iwo	'gums'
*maqurip	o/murep	o/morop	'alive'

POc *u	Sye	Ura	
*tuqur	e/tur	wa/de	'stand'
*ñatu(q)	yetu	ni/yere	' <i>Burckella obovata</i> '
*bulut	a/mplet, a/mplesi	a/mlesi	'sticky, stick to'
*matakut	e/metet	e/metet	'fear'
*mutusi	o/mti	o/mde	'broken'

*m ^w aruŋen	nuv-mori	nup-mori	'k.o. yam'
*(p,b)ikuR	-mpyo-	-mye-	'tail'
*quloc	n/ilah	ila	'maggot'
*qunap-i	n/iŋevi-	n/iŋevi-	'scale'
*munim	o/mon/ki	o/mni	'drink'
*tanum	tenəm		'bury'
*kuRita	noy/woh	wis	'squid, octopus'
*matuqa-	meta-	mara-	'mother's brother'

3.2.2 POc vowel sequences

Unlike in Anejoñ, where the reflexes of some vowel sequences are different from the reflexes of both component vowels (e.g. *ua > ou), the reflexes of vowels in a sequence in the Erromangan languages do not seem to differ from the reflexes of those same vowels in other environments. For example:

POc *Vi, *iV	>	Sye	Ura	
*[i]au		yau	yau	'I'
*sei 'who?'		se		'what?'
POc *Vu, *uV	>	Sye	Ura	
*[i]au		yau	yau	'I'
*paRu		n/vau	-n/vau	' <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> '
*rua		nru/ru	ge/lu	'two'
*paqoRu		it-vau	ar-vau	'new'
*qauR		nau	le/nau	'bamboo'
*puaq		o/vwo		'bear fruit'
*puaq-		no/vwa-	na/va-	'seed'
*luaq		e/lwo	e/lwa	'vomit'
*Ruqa-		no/wa-	n/a-	'neck'
*tabakau		tevayau	devayau	'k.o. mat'

3.2.3 The POc and PEr mid vowels

As in Anejoñ, the reflexes of the fairly rare phoneme *e are confused, though there is a tendency for *e to be reflected as e in both languages. Note the following:

POc *e	>	PEr *e		
		Sye e	Ura e	
*(w,v)ele		vel/ŋah	ni/ver/ŋi	' <i>Barringtonia edulis</i> '
*papine-		vevne-	{vin-}	'sister of man'
*pekas		{e/vyah}	i/vek	'defecate'
*sei 'who?'		se		'what?'
PSOc *teli		nre/hel	{ge/hli}	'three'

There are some cases of POc *e, however, which show irregular developments in at least one Erromangan language:

POc *e >	Sye	Ura	
*bakewa	ne/mpou	w/beu	'shark'
*keli	o/yal	o/yli	'dig'
*taqe-	si-	si-	'excrement'
*leqos	e/la-	e/l-	'look at'
*kup ^m ena	no/ypon		'fishing net'
*m ^m aqane-	mano-		'brother of woman'

The following also suggest Proto Erromangan *e:

PEr *e

Sye e	Ura e	
empyu	emyu	'dance'
empahiwonji	ebasiwonji	'send on errand'
ehpe	espe	'reflexive verb'
evorwar	evorwar	'braid (hair)'
nevyarep	nevyarep	'boy, youth'

There is a general tendency for PEr *e to be reflected as *o* in Sye but to remain *e* in Ura (i) adjacent to a velar consonant and (ii) (verb-)initially before *r:

PEr *e / Velar

Sye	Ura	
oŋ	eŋ	'copulate'
oryon	eryen	'mixed'
oryoki	eleyi	'pick up'
ntoy	de	'sea'
nempŋon	nimŋen	'time, when'
nevlonko-	nevlege/n	'piece, part'
neitanroyroy	nitadeyrek	'chafing between legs'
tevayoy	tavayek	'crawl'
uleyelon	uleyelen	'k.o. tree'

PEr *e / # ___ *r

Sye	Ura	
oryon	eryen	'mixed'
oryoki	eleyi	'pick up'
orŋi	erŋi	'hear'

These are both assigned to PEr *e since they contrast with an *o:o* set in the same environment, reflecting PEr *o.

There is a reasonably strong tendency for POc *o to be reflected as *a* in Ura and as either *e* or *a* in Sye, suggesting PEr *a:

POc *o	>	Sye e, a	Ura a	
*mono		'stay'	na/men	'residue'
*toka		e/te	e/ra	'stay'
*lipon-		ne/lve-		'tooth'
*kona		a/yan		'bitter'
*quloc		n/ilah	ila	'maggot'
*tanoq			dena	'land'
*[i]ko[e]		{k/ik}	ga	'you SG'

However, note also:

POc *o	>	Sye	Ura	
*roŋoR		o/rəŋ-i	e/rŋi	'hear'
*paqoRu		it-vau	ar-vau	'new'
*toqa		ne/two	u/rwa	'fowl'
*boni		e/mpen	i/bin	'smell'
*bo-		e/mpu	i/bu	'smell'

3.2.4 POc and PEr *a

I exclude discussion of the sources of PEr *ə from this section. The unconditioned reflex of *a is a in both Sye and Ura. There are many examples of this, and only a few are listed below:

POc *a	>	PEr *a		
		Sye a	Ura a	
*mamaq		e/ma-i	a/ma-i	'chew'
*taRaq-i		e/tai	a/rai	'cut, write'
*(ŋ)awan		ovan	avan	'open, agape'
*[i]au		yau	yau	'I'
*masi		ne/mah	na/mas	'cloth(es)'
*tawan		n/tau	dau	'lychee'
*[ka]ŋaRi		n/aŋai	n/aŋai	' <i>Canarium</i> sp.'
*nasu(q)		nahwo-num	naswo-num	'steam'
*saqat		sat	ar-w/at	'bad'
*pat		nr/vat	sini/vat 'nine'	'four'
*paqoRu		it-vau	ar-vau	'new'
*paqan-		n/va-	ni/va-	'thigh'
*paRi		u/var	u/var	'stingray'
*patu		n/vat	ni/vat	'stone'
*paRu		n/vau	-n/vau	' <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> '
*qapat(a,o)		n/avat	n/avat	'edible wood-grub'
*bokasi		no/mpyahi	u/myas	'pig'
*puaq 'fruit'		no/vwa-	na/va-	'seed'
*maRi		n/mar	ni/mal	'breadfruit'
*talos		n/tal	dal	'taro'

There is a tendency for Sye to reflect *a as o especially after w, m or ŋ:

POc *a	>	PEr *a / w,m,ŋ ŋ__		
		Sye o	Ura a	
*luaq		e/lwo	e/lwa	'vomit'
*paŋan		a/vŋon-i		'feed'
*puaq		o/vwo		'bear fruit'
*matuqa		etwo	erwa	'ripe'
*toqa		ne/two	u/rwa	'fowl'
*lawaq		yari/lwo	yari/lwa	'spider(web)'
		ahwo	aswa	'row (canoe)'
		monoywo	monoywa	'yes'
		noywo	noywa	'how?'
		ŋinromo	ŋilama	'very'
		ituŋo	tuŋa	'foreign'
		nautuŋo	nawituŋa	'knife'

There is also a reasonably frequent trend for final POc *a after other consonants to become e in Sye (though there are exceptions):

POc *a	>	PEr *a / __#		
		Sye e	Ura a	
*mataq		e/mte		'raw'
*mataq		tele/mte	tele/mda	'green'
*paraq		ne/vre	ne/vla	'sprouting coconut'
*piRaq		ntal-e/vye	dal-ni/vya	'k.o. taro'

There are a number of cases where POc *a is reflected as PEr *e. Many of these involve a high vowel in the next syllable (though there are other cases of *aCi or *aCu in which POc *a is reflected as PEr *a).

POc *a / __ *Ci, *Cu	>	PEr *e		
		Sye e	Ura e	
*matakut		e/metet	e/metet	'fear (INTR)'
*tajim		tesi	tesi	'sharpen'
*tanum		e/tenom	e/tenom	'dive'
*tanum		tenəm		'bury'
*kani		eni	eni	'eat (TR)'
*qunap-i		n/iŋevi-	n/iŋevi-	'scale'
*n̄atu(q)		yetu	ni/yere	'Burckella obovata'
*taliŋa-		n/telŋo-	delŋe-	'ear'

There are also a few cases where POc *a is reflected as PEr *e before *Ca:

POc *a / __ *Ca	>	PEr *e		
		Sye e	Ura e	
*tabakau		tevaŋau	devaŋau	'k.o. mat'
*maya-		nelwa/me-	nalwa/me-	'tongue'
*kapak		o/ŋep	er/kep	'to fly'

3.2.5 Proto Erromango *ə

There is no surface schwa in the Erromangan languages. Terry Crowley (1998:7-9), however, has posited an underlying schwa in Sye to account for \emptyset -*o* alternations like the following:

POc > PEr *ə

	Sye				
* <i>tanum</i>	<i>etenm-or</i>	'bury them!'	<i>etenom-yau</i>	'bury me!'	
* <i>kali</i>	<i>oyl-i</i>	'dig it'	<i>oyol</i>	'dig!'	

On the basis of synchronic phonological considerations, initial *n* or *nr* and a following heterorganic consonant could also be reconstructed in Pre-Sye as having been separated by schwa (e.g. surface *nvat* 'stone' and *nrve* 'how many?' are underlying *nəvat* and *nrəve*). Only a few such forms have cognates in Ura, and here Ura *i* corresponds with Sye *ə*:

POc *a > PEr *ə

	Sye /ə/ = \emptyset		Ura <i>i</i>	
* <i>na maRi</i>	<i>/nəmar/ nmar</i>		<i>nimal</i>	'breadfruit'
* <i>na bou</i>	<i>/nəpau/ npau</i>		<i>nibau</i>	'post'
* <i>na patu</i>	<i>/nəvat/ nvat</i>		<i>nivat</i>	'stone'
* <i>na paqan-</i>	<i>/nəva-/ nva-</i>		<i>niva/n</i>	'thigh'
	<i>nye</i>		<i>niya</i>	'k.o. vine'
	<i>nyar</i>		<i>niyar</i>	'muscle, flesh'
	<i>nwampun</i>		<i>niwabun</i>	'ridge-capping'

This suggests that *ə needs to be reconstructed for Proto Erromango.

One of the sources of PEr *ə is the Low Vowel Dissimilation and Article Reduction rules (see §4.3), by which the *a* of the fused article POc **na* became PEr (and PSV) *ə when the initial syllable of the noun root began with **Ca*, and where many other occurrences of POc **aCa* (like the first three examples below) become PEr *ə*Ca*. For example:

POc *aCa > PEr *əC(V)

	Sye \emptyset (=ə?)		Ura \emptyset (i)	
* <i>qalawa</i>	<i>alwo-</i>	<i>alwi-</i>	'nephew'	
* <i>qasawa</i>	<i>ahwo-</i>	<i>awi-</i>	'husband'	
* <i>tama-</i>	<i>e/tme</i>	<i>rimi-</i>	'father'	

In other examples, however, it is not clear under what conditions PEr *ə developed. The reflexes of **kita* suggest metathesis (Pre-PEr **kati*), not only because of the *ə reflex of the first vowel but also because of the palatalisation of **t*.

POc *? > PEr *ə

	Sye ə		Ura \emptyset	
* <i>kita</i>	<i>/oʔəh-/</i>	<i>oysi</i>	'see'	
* <i>roŋoR</i>	<i>/oʔəŋ-/</i>	<i>erŋi</i>	'hear'	
* <i>kali</i>	<i>/oʔəl-/</i>	<i>oyli</i>	'dig'	
	<i>/sentəv-/</i>	<i>anvu</i>	'wipe'	
	<i>/avər-/</i>	<i>avri</i>	'help'	

There is a third set of words in which Sye *o* corresponds with Ura *i*, and this correspondence set also, I suggest, reflects **a*, since *o* is the only surface manifestation of **a* in Sye. The following are some examples:

POc ?	>	PEr * <i>a</i>		
		Sye <i>o</i>	Ura <i>i</i>	
* <i>gasawa-</i>		<i>ahwo-</i>	<i>awi/n</i>	'husband'
PSOc * <i>gida</i>		<i>koh</i>	<i>gis</i>	'we INCL. PL.' [probably PEr * <i>gadi</i>]
*= <i>ra</i>		<i>-o/r</i>	<i>-i/l</i>	'3PL object suffix'
		<i>nalwo-</i>	<i>nalwi/n</i>	'handle'
		<i>taloŋi</i>	<i>tahlini</i>	'kill'
		<i>telwoh</i>	<i>delwis</i>	'k.o. yam'
		<i>etayor</i>	<i>arail</i>	'sweep'

Note also (a) the pair Sye /*nrəve*/, Ura *giva* 'how much/many?', where the initial *nr* or *g* is an historical prefix, and (b) the pair Sye *mah*, Ura *imis* 'die, be dead', which *may* point to initial *a*.

It therefore appears that POc **aCa* sequences became **aC(a)* in Proto Erromango, but that **a* in some other contexts, as well as other POc vowels, also occasionally became **a*.

3.2.6 Summary

This discussion is summarised in Table 3.3, with conditioned reflexes enclosed within square brackets. (Utaha data are insufficient to make any firm conclusions.)

POc	* <i>i</i>		* <i>e</i>	* <i>a</i>			* <i>o</i>	* <i>u</i>	
PEr	* <i>i</i> ~ * <i>y</i>	[* <i>e</i>]	* <i>e</i>	* <i>a</i>	[* <i>e</i>]	[* <i>a</i>]	* <i>a</i>	* <i>u</i> ~ * <i>w</i>	[* <i>o</i>]
Sye	<i>i</i> ~ <i>y</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o, Ø</i>	<i>a? e?</i>	<i>u</i> ~ <i>w</i>	<i>o</i>
Ura	<i>i</i> ~ <i>y</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i> ~ <i>w</i>	<i>o, e</i>

3.3 Proto Tanna

As in Erromango, there is considerable fluctuation between vowels in Tanna: that is, although there are some regular sets of sound correspondences, there are also many examples of irregular correspondence sets. Once again, then, I will speak here of 'general tendencies' rather than strictly regular correspondences.

A detailed examination of the vowel correspondences in the Tanna languages strongly supports the view that Proto Tanna had six phonemic vowels: **i*, **e*, **a*, **a*, **o* and **u*. The unconditioned reflexes of these six vowel phonemes are as follows:

PTn	*i	*e	*ə	*a	*o	*u
NTn	i	e	ə ~ Ø	a	o	u
Wsn	i	e	ə ~ Ø	a	o	u
Len	i	e	ə ~ Ø	a	o	u
SWT	i	e	ə-ə-a ~ Ø	a	o	u
Kwm	i	e	e-e-a	a	o	u

The unconditioned reflexes of the POc vowels in Proto Tanna are:

POc	*i	*e	*a	*o	*u
PTn	*i	*i	*a	*u, *ə	*u

The examples below show words containing these vowels, together with Proto Tanna reconstructed forms. (Note that in some cases an unstressed vowel may be reflected as ə – see §3.3.1 below.)

*PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
*vi	i	vi	vi	vi	vi	'pull'
*nim ^w a	nim ^w a	nim ^w a	nim ^w a	nim ^w a	nim ^w a	'house'
*-siu(i)	nəsiuu	isiui	nəsiuu	nəsiuu	nəsiui	'lake'
*or	ol	ol	ol	ol	o	'do'
*təmə-	təmə-	təmə-	rəmə-	ləmə-	remu-	'father'
*avəŋan	aŋuən	aŋəŋ	aŋəŋ	əvəŋ	aveŋən	'eat (INTR)'
*na-(p,b)ək		napək	nepək		nəpek	'banyan'
*n-der	de	nərei	nəte	nətel		'taro'
*ami	am	ami	ami	aam	ami	'urinate'
*ayab ^w an	aŋaban		akap ^w an	ap ^w an	ap ^w an	'hot'
*m ^w adikaro	matikalo	m ^w atikalo	m ^w atikalo	m ^w atikalo	m ^w ətikaro	'worm'
*kauŋa	-kauŋa		-kauŋa	-kauŋa	kauŋa	'chin'

3.3.1 Some preliminary issues

Before looking in detail at the reflexes of individual POc vowels in the Tanna languages, however, a couple of more general issues need to be examined.

Tanna languages have a phonemic central vowel /ə/, phonetically [i] after a coronal consonant and [ə] elsewhere. This appears to have at least two historical sources (as I will show in more detail in §3.3.5). One is dissimilation of POc *a before *Ca, though Kwamera alone among Tanna languages seems to have subsequently fronted this to e. The other is related to the fact that unstressed vowels – especially but by no means only /a/ – often weaken to schwa, at least optionally, and this weakening may have been frequent enough to bring about phonemic changes in some words. For example, PTn *ab^wom^wah 'long' > NTn a'bomah, Wsn a'pom^wah, shows the expected a:a correspondence in both pretonic and post-tonic position; PTn *amnahay 'sweat' > NTn am'nahan, Wsn əm'nahan, however, shows an a:ə correspondence in pretonic position. Although both of these words were presumably *a-initial originally, the phonetic weakening of pretonic a brought about a phonemic change in some words in some languages (as in *amnahay in Whitesands) but not in others (like *ab^wom^wah in Whitesands and both of these forms in North Tanna).

Schwa also occurs as an epenthetic vowel in Tanna languages, to break up underlying initial or final clusters of two consonants and medial clusters of three consonants. This epenthetic schwa is not simply an open transition, but may carry stress. For example:

Lenakel	/t-r-ol/	[t̪irɔl]	'he will do it'
	/əs-əŋn-aan/	[ʰəs̪iŋˈna:n]	'don't be afraid'
	/r-əm-əŋn/	[r̪iˈməŋn]	'he was afraid'
	/nruw/	[ˈn̪iɾʊ]	'sugarcane'
	/nm̩ˈa-nruw/	[n̪iˈm̩ˈɔnrʊ]	'sugarcane leaf'

While it is possible in cases like that of *nəruw* 'sugarcane' above to show that the schwa is epenthetic, since it only occurs when the root is unprefixated, it is not always possible to identify if other occurrences of morpheme-internal schwa are epenthetic or phonemic.

A second issue concerns *h*. There are two phonotactic problems relating to the phoneme *h* in the Tanna languages which need to be raised here. First, *h* seems to move to the left of its expected position in at least some words, particularly in Lenakel (and also to some extent in Southwest Tanna). Look first at the following examples for which we have fairly unambiguous POc reconstructions:

POc	Lenakel	Other	
*malaso	<i>mhal</i>	<i>S əmla</i>	'cold'
*maqati	<i>mha</i>	<i>K maha</i>	'be low tide'

Examine also the following cognates:

Lenakel	Other	
<i>alhaau</i>	<i>W aləhu</i>	'put down'
<i>am̩ˈha</i>	<i>W əm̩ˈah, K amas</i>	'suck'
<i>hapel</i>	<i>K apərhi</i>	'to clean'
<i>hal</i>	<i>K ərhi</i>	'send'
<i>ho</i>	<i>W, S uh, K osi</i>	'hit'
<i>avhe</i>	<i>K əviaha</i>	'defecate'
<i>hiuan</i>	<i>K kusan</i>	'green-snail, <i>Turbo</i> sp.'
<i>hiau</i>	<i>W iahuae, K iasur</i>	'volcano'
<i>ahiqəl</i>	<i>N aŋuəhl, W auŋəhli, K erŋhara</i>	'(person) be old'

Given this kind of movement, I take the more leftward occurrence of *h* as being a recent development, and reconstruct the phoneme which gives rise to it more to the right – for example, the first four sets of forms in the list immediately above would suggest the Proto Tanna reconstructions **arəhu* 'put down', **am̩ˈah* 'suck', **aperh(-i)* 'clean' and **arh(-i)* 'send'.

In addition to these changes brought about by *h* – and of more relevance to the topic of this chapter – there is another strong tendency, particularly in the northern Tanna languages, for some form of vowel-copying to occur in the environment of *h*, even when the vowels adjacent to *h* were non-identical in POc (and presumably PTn). For example:

POc	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
*susu-	<i>naha-</i>	<i>naha-</i>	<i>naha-</i>	<i>nahi-</i>	<i>nanhə-</i>	'breast'
*kasupe	<i>kahap</i>	<i>kahau</i>	<i>kahau</i>	<i>iahuk̩ˈ</i>	<i>iesuk</i>	'rat'
*taci-	<i>taha-</i>	<i>noua-taha-</i>	<i>norh-</i>	<i>nou-lahi-</i>	<i>p/rəsi-</i>	'younger same-sex sibling'
*qusan	<i>nuhuən</i>	<i>nuhuan</i>	<i>nihin</i>	<i>nehen</i>	<i>nesən</i>	'rain (n.)'

In such cases, I take the southern Tanna languages as more accurately reflecting the original PTn vowels. The following rule appears to have applied in northern Tanna: $*V_ihV_j > V_ihV_j$.

In the sections which follow, therefore, when I say that (for example) POC $*i$ is *regularly* reflected as i in all five languages, I will treat as regular correspondences both cases where some languages have i and others a , and also cases where northern languages may have some vowel other than i when adjacent to h .

3.3.2 The POC high vowels

POC $*i$ is reflected as PTn $*i$ and appears to have no other conditioned reflexes:

POC $*i >$ PTn $*i$

	NTn i	Wsn i	Len i	SWT i	Kwm i	
<i>*tasik</i>	<i>n/tehi</i>	<i>nə/tehi</i>	<i>tehe</i>	<i>tahik</i>	<i>təsi</i>	'sea'
<i>*(p,b)ikur-</i>	<i>nə/bikə-</i>	<i>nə/pikə-</i>	<i>nə/pikə-</i>	<i>nə/pikou-</i>	<i>nə/piki-</i>	'tail'
<i>*likos</i>	<i>ə/liis</i>		<i>ə/liis</i>	<i>ə/lkəs</i>	<i>a/rihi</i>	'tie up'
<i>*mimiR</i>	{ <i>a/m</i> }	<i>a/mi</i>	<i>a/mi</i>	<i>a/mi</i>	<i>a/mi</i>	'urinate'
<i>*taci-</i>	<i>taha-</i>	<i>-taha-</i>	<i>no/rhə-</i>	<i>nou-lahi-</i>	<i>p/rəsi-</i>	'younger same-sex sibling'
<i>*uti(n)-</i>	<i>n/usə-</i>	<i>n/usi-</i>	<i>k^wa-n/ihi-</i>			'penis'
<i>*-pine</i>	<i>vənə-</i>	<i>nə/vnə-</i>	<i>no/uinə-</i>	<i>na/uinə-</i>	<i>pini-</i>	'man's sister'
PSOc <i>*[i]go</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>iik</i>	<i>iik</i>	<i>ik</i>	'you:SG'

POC $*u$ is generally reflected as u in all Tanna languages:

POC $*u >$ PTn $*u$

	NTn u	Wsn u	Len u	SWT u	Kwm u	
<i>*tanum</i>	<i>təm</i>	<i>tənəm</i>	<i>renəm</i>	<i>num</i>	<i>num^w-i</i>	'bury'
<i>*tubu-</i>		<i>təp^wə-</i>	<i>rəpə-</i>	<i>ləpu-</i>	<i>rəpu-</i>	'grandparent'
<i>*suRi-</i>				<i>nu/hu-</i>	<i>nə/su-</i>	'leg'
<i>*uRat</i>		<i>-no/ul</i>	<i>-n/ul</i>	<i>na/ur</i>		'vein'
<i>*butoŋ-</i>	<i>nə/butə-</i>	<i>nə/pətə-</i>	<i>nə/prəŋə-</i>	<i>nə/pləŋə-</i>	<i>nə/pureŋi-</i>	'navel'
<i>*kasupe</i>	<i>kahap</i>	<i>kahap</i>	<i>kahau</i>	<i>i/ahuk^w</i>	<i>i/esuk^w</i>	'rat'
<i>*mataqu</i>	<i>m^wadəp</i>	<i>maru</i>	<i>m^watu</i>	<i>matuk^w</i>	<i>m^watuk</i>	'right hand'

However, there are some cases where POC $*u > e$ in Southwest Tanna and Kwamera. This appears to occur (i) as dissimilation of the first $*u$ in a $*uCu$ sequence, and (ii) adjacent to $*q$.²

² In a couple of cases, one of the southern languages has e but the other has u : comparisons like **gutok >* SWT *-kula*, Kwm *k^wera* 'brain' suggest that the rounding of the consonant has been transferred to the vowel – i.e. that Pre-SWT *-k^wela* became *-kula*.

POc *u > PTn *u / *__Cu, / *q

	NTn u	Wsn u	Len u	SWT e ~ u	Kwm e ~ u	
*mutusi	mutah	mutah	murh		m ^w erəs	'broken off'
*tuqur	a/tul	e/tuul		a/ləl	a/rer	'stand'
*kutu	kə/ŋət	kə/ŋət	kur	kel	ur	'louse'
*qasu	n/aha-	n/ah-	n/ha-	n/he-	nəse-	'smoke'
*qusan	n/uhuən	n/uhuan	n/ihin	n/ehen	n/esən	'rain'
*qupi	n/up	n/u	n/uw	n/ek ^w	n/uk	'yam'
*quitok	no/uta-	no/uhta-	nen/ourək	-kula	k ^w era	'brain'
*qumun	-n/um ^w an	-n/um ^w an	-n/um ^w an	-n/em ^w ən	-n/umun	'earth oven'

In a few cases where *e* might be expected as the reflex of **u* we find *i* instead; the two SWT and Kwm forms in the second item below represent different dialects.

POc *u > PTn *u / *__Cu, / *q

	NTn u	Wsn u	Len u	SWT i ~ u	Kwm i ~ u	
*suRuq-	na/ha-	na/ha-	ni/hi-	na/hi-	nə/se-	'juice, fluid'
*quma	as/um	as/um	as/um ^w	as/iim, es/um ^w	as/im, a/mhu	'garden (v.)'

And note also:

POc *u >	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
*manuk	menij	menəŋ	menuk	mana	menu	'bird'
*makubu-		m ^w ip ^w ə-	m ^w ip ^w ə-	mukupu-	m ^w ip ^w u-	'grandchild'
*uti(n)-	n/usə-			n/usi-	k ^w a-n/ihi-	'penis'

3.3.3 POc vowel sequences

The vowels in POc sequences involving **u*, when they are retained, appear not to be reflected differently from the same vowels in other environments, except that North Tanna often has *o* < **u* when it is adjacent to another vowel:

POc *uV, *Vu >	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
*luaq	eoā	eua	eua	lua	{eua}	'vomit' ³
*panua	lat/uānu	lah/uānu	na/uānu	lu/k ^w ānu	ru/k ^w ānu	'village'
*qauR	n/ao	n/au	n/au	n/au	n/au	'bamboo'
*Ruqa-	n/ua-	n/ua-	n/ua-	n/ua-		'neck'
*rua	kə/iu	kə/iu	k/iu	kəla-lu	ka/ru	'two'

There is occasional raising of **a* to *e* in **ai* and **ia* sequences:

³ The Kwamera form is probably a loan from Lenakel or, more likely, Whitesands: the expected reflex is (V)rua.

POc *iV, *Vi > NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm		
*piRa _q		<i>nu/via</i>		<i>nu/via</i>	'k.o. taro'	
*waRisa	<i>n/iah</i>	<i>n/ih/n</i>		<i>n/eis</i>	'2 days away'	
*(q)ana-ŋican	<i>na/ŋhan</i>	<i>na/ŋhən</i>	<i>n/ahan</i>	<i>na/ŋhən</i>	<i>n/esən</i>	'when?'
*waiR	<i>na/ui-</i>	<i>n/u</i>	<i>n/u</i>	<i>n/ui</i>	'water'	

3.3.4 The POc mid vowels

POc *e appears to be reflected as PTn *i, with widespread reduction to ə in all languages except Kwamera:

POc *e >	NTn i ~ ə	Wsn i ~ ə	Len i ~ ə	SWT i ~ ə	Kwm i	
*m ^w aqane-	<i>m^wanə-</i>	<i>nəm^wanə-</i>	<i>nə/m^wanə-</i>	<i>na/m^wanə-</i>	<i>pu/mani-</i>	'woman's brother'
*kape			{ <i>kəv/ləs</i> }		<i>i/avi/ra</i>	'k.o. crab' ⁴
*taqe-	<i>nə/si-</i>	<i>nə/si-</i>	<i>nə/sii-</i>	<i>nə/si-</i>	<i>ni/hi-</i>	'excrement'
*pine	<i>vənə-</i>	<i>nə/vnə-</i>	<i>no/uinə-</i>	<i>na/uinə-</i>	<i>pini-</i>	'man's sister'
*sei					<i>si</i>	'who?'

POc *o appears to become PTn *u in some cases:

POc *o > PTn *u	NTn u	Wsn u	Len u	SWT u	Kwm u	
*bokasi	<i>pukəs</i>	<i>pukah</i>	<i>pukas</i>	<i>pukah</i>	<i>pukah</i>	'pig'
*topu	<i>nə/təp</i>	<i>nə/tu</i>	<i>nə/ruw</i>	<i>nə/tuk^w</i>	<i>nə/ruk</i>	'sugarcane'
PSOc *gomu			<i>a/kum^w</i>		<i>u/kum^w-i</i>	'hold in mouth'

However, in most cases it becomes PTn *ə, which is reflected as Kwamera *e-e-a* and as Southwest Tanna *ə-ə-a*:⁵

POc *o > PTn *ə	> NTn ə	Wsn ə	Len ə	SWT ə-ə-a	Kwm e-e-a	
*roŋoR				<i>a/ləŋ</i>	<i>a/reŋ</i>	'perceive'
*butoŋ-	<i>nə/butə-</i>	<i>nə/pətə-</i>	<i>nə/prəŋə-</i>	<i>nə/pləŋə-</i>	<i>nə/pureŋi-</i>	'navel'
*Ropok	<i>i/iŋ</i>	<i>i/viŋ</i>	<i>i/vək</i>	<i>i/va</i>	<i>i/va</i>	'fly, jump' ⁶
*ioka	<i>a/təŋ</i>	<i>a/təŋ</i>	<i>a/rək</i>	<i>a/la</i>	<i>a/ra</i>	'stay'

There are some cases, however, where Kwamera *e* < *ə has further weakened to ə.

POc *o > NTn ə	Wsn ə	Len ə	SWT ə	Kwm ə		
*boŋi	<i>l-a/bən</i>	<i>l-a/pən</i>	<i>l-a/pən</i>	<i>ie-n/pəŋ</i>	<i>nə/pən</i>	'night'
*iob ^w a-	<i>n/əpə-</i>	<i>ne/ɽ^wə-</i>	<i>ne/ɽpə-</i>	<i>təpu-</i>	<i>təpu-</i>	'belly'
*molis			<i>nə/məl^h</i>	<i>k^wa-n/məl^h</i>	<i>nə/mərhi</i>	'citrus'
PSOc *tikon	<i>a/skən</i>	<i>a/skən</i>	<i>a/skən</i>	<i>a/skən</i>	<i>a/skən</i>	'walk w. stick'

⁴ This form appears to be a compound: note also Sye *nevlah*, Ura *wavlis*, Anejoŋ *naheleθ*, which suggest a PSV form something like *-(γ)avi-lVsi.

⁵ With *boni 'smell' > NTn ə/bien, Wsn, Len, SWT ə/pien, Kwm a/pein, there appears to have been metathesis (i.e. *bəni > biən), and it may be that earlier ə became e adjacent to i.

⁶ The NTn and Wsn forms appear to show assimilation of expected ə to the initial i.

No mention has been made so far of PTn *o. We can reconstruct this protophoneme based on data like those given below. There is some evidence to suggest that it derives from POc *a adjacent to a labial/labialised consonant and/or *u.

POc	NTn o	Wsn o	Len o	SWT o	Kwm o	
*paRu			nu/vo		ne/vo	'hibiscus'
*(ə)wə	oaŋ	ouaŋ	awaŋ	ok*aŋ	ak*aŋ	'be open'
	e/tout-in		a/товət	e/tout	a/tot-i	'wear lavalava'
	pokpauk	papauŋ	p*ap*auk	p*op*auk	papauk	'butterfly'
		noum*us	naum*us	nuk*umus	nukumha	'hunger'
			iko(iko)	akou	ikou	'bend, crooked'
	aliuok	aliuok	aliuok	eliuok		'walk'
	etou	etou	arou			'know'
	ol	ol	ol	ol	o	'do'
	matikalo	m*atikalo	m*atikalo	m*atikalo	m*ətikaro	'worm'
	asool	asoli	asuul		asori	'large' ⁷
	abomah	apom*ah	əp*omh	apomh	apomus	'long, loud'

3.3.5 POc *a and PTn *a and *ə

Although the unconditioned reflex of POc *a is PTn *a, a high or low vowel in the following consonant-initial syllable often causes a change to some vowel other than PTn *a. However, if that consonant was *q, these changes seem not to have taken place.

POc *a is often reflected as PTn *e (occasionally shifting to *i*) when the next syllable contained *i:

POc *a / _*Ci > PTn *e

POc	NTn e	Wsn e	Len e	SWT e	Kwm e	
*bayani			nə/pien		nə/piien	'bait'
*maRi	nə/me	nə/mei	{nə/m}	nə/mel	ne/mer	'breadfruit'
*tasik	n/tehi	nə/tehi	tehe	tasik	təsi	'sea'
*talise			telh			' <i>Canarium</i> sp.'
*taliŋa-	-n/telŋə-	-telŋə-	-telŋə-	-telŋə-		'ear'

In the next example there has been further raising to *i* in some Tanna languages:

POc	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
*kali	il	el	il	kəl	eri	'dig'

However, there are a number of cases where POc *a remained *a in this environment (the last few below showing shifts to some other vowel):

POc *a / _*Ci > PTn *a

POc	NTn a	Wsn a	Len a	SWT a	Kwm a	
*maqati	as	a/mas	nə/mha	mas	maha	'low tide' ⁸
*masakit		a/mha	a/mha	ə/mha	a/misa	'sick'

⁷ Possibly from POc *ma-tolu, PSO *ma-teli 'thick'.

⁸ The Lenakel form means 'reef'.

* <i>ta-pine</i>	<i>pe/tan</i>	<i>pə/tan</i>	<i>pe/ravən</i>	<i>pi/lavən</i>	<i>p/ran</i>	'woman'
* <i>kamiau</i>			<i>kami-</i>	<i>kəmi</i>	<i>kəmi-</i>	'you:NONSG'
* <i>bokasi</i>	<i>pukəs</i>	<i>pukah</i>	<i>pukas</i>	<i>pukah</i>	<i>pukah</i>	'pig'
* <i>taci-</i>	<i>taha-</i>	<i>noua-taha-</i>	<i>no-rhə-</i>	<i>nou-lahi-</i>	<i>p/rsi-</i>	'younger same-sex sibling'
* <i>paliji</i>	<i>-n/vəhl</i>	<i>-n/vəhli</i>	<i>nə/vhaal</i>	<i>nə/vhilək</i>	<i>nurhi</i>	'grass'
* <i>kani</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>kən</i>	<i>aan</i>	<i>ani</i>	'eat (TR)'
* <i>kapika</i>			<i>nə/kəvək</i>		<i>n/ova</i>	' <i>Syzygium</i> sp.'

Similarly, while there are some cases of POC **a* > PTn **e* when the next syllable contained **u*:

POC **a* / _ **Cu* > PTn **e*

	NTn <i>e</i>	Wsn <i>e</i>	Len <i>e</i>	SWT <i>e</i>	Kwm <i>e</i>	
*(<i>m,m</i> *) <i>atue</i>			<i>a/m^wta</i>		<i>a/m^weta</i>	'sneeze'
* <i>tanum</i>	<i>təm</i>	<i>tənəm</i>	<i>renəm</i>	{ <i>num</i> }	{ <i>num^w-i</i> }	'bury'
* <i>manuk</i>	<i>meniŋ</i>	<i>menəŋ</i>	<i>menuk</i>	<i>mana</i>	<i>menu</i>	'bird'
* <i>qasu</i>	<i>n/aha-</i>	<i>n/ah-</i>	<i>n/ha-</i>	<i>n/he-</i>	<i>nəse-</i>	'smoke'

there are other cases where **a* remained **a*:

POC **a* / _ **Cu* > PTn **a* or some other vowel

	NTn <i>a</i>	Wsn <i>a</i>	Len <i>a</i>	SWT <i>a</i>	Kwm <i>a</i>	
* <i>qanusi</i>	<i>aŋah</i>	<i>aŋah</i>	<i>aŋh</i>			'spit'
* <i>panua</i>	<i>la/uanu</i>	<i>lah/uanu</i>	<i>na/uanu</i>	<i>lu/k^wanu</i>	<i>ru/k^wanu</i>	'village'
* <i>matuqa-</i>			<i>məra-</i>	<i>məla-</i>	<i>mare-</i>	'mother's brother'
* <i>makubu-</i>		<i>m^wip^wə-</i>	<i>m^wip^wə-</i>	<i>mukupu-</i>	<i>m^wip^wu-</i>	'grandchild'

The comparison **asu* 'bail' > Len *os-n/ies*, Kwm *ias* shows fronting in Lenakel but not in Kwamera.

The dissimilation that I noted in the other SV languages is even more pervasive in Tanna, with most POC **aCa* sequences becoming PTn **əC(V)*. (The last comparison below shows further raising of Kwamera *e* to *i*.)

POC **a* / _ **Ca* > PTn **ə*

	NTn <i>ə</i> ~ Ø	Wsn <i>ə</i> ~ Ø	Len <i>ə</i> ~ Ø	SWT <i>ə</i> ~ Ø	Kwm <i>e</i>	
* <i>mataq</i>	<i>ami/mta</i>	<i>ame/mta</i>	<i>ami/mra</i>	<i>am/ə/mla</i>	<i>amrə/mera</i>	'green'
			<i>a/mra</i>	<i>a/mera</i>		'raw'
* <i>marama</i>			<i>a/məl</i>		<i>mer</i>	'shine'
* <i>tama-</i>	<i>təmə-</i>	<i>təmə-</i>	<i>rəmə-</i>	<i>ləmə-</i>	<i>remu-</i>	'father'
* <i>draRaq</i>	<i>n/ta-</i>	<i>nə/ra-</i>	<i>nə/taa-</i>	<i>nə/tau-</i>	<i>nə/te-</i>	'blood'
* <i>mata-</i>	<i>nəŋə/mtə-</i>	<i>nə/mitə-</i>	<i>nə/mrə-</i>	<i>nə/mlə-</i>	<i>neni/me-</i>	'eye'
* <i>baga</i>		<i>na/pək</i>	<i>ne/pək</i>		<i>nə/pek</i>	'banyan'
* <i>paraq</i>			<i>nien-u/via</i>		<i>nu/vera</i>	'sprouting coconut'
* <i>paŋan</i>	<i>a/ŋuən</i>	<i>a/uŋən</i>	<i>a/uŋən</i>	<i>ə/vŋən</i>	<i>a/veŋən</i>	'eat (INTR)'
* <i>masakit</i>		<i>a/mha</i>	<i>a/mha</i>	<i>ə/mha</i>	<i>a/misa</i>	'sick'

In other environments, POC **a* became PTn **a* (with the usual caveats about *ə* n unstressed position):

POc *a > PTn *a elsewhere

	NTn a	Wsn a	Len a	SWT a	Kwm a	
*qusan	n/uhuən	n/uhuan	n/ihin	n/ehen	n/esən	'rain'
*luaq	eoə	eua	eua	lua	{eua}	'vomit'
*qauR	n/ao	n/au	n/au	n/au	n/au	'bamboo'
*Ruqa-	n/ua-	n/ua-	n/ua-	n/ua-		'neck'
*piRaq			nu/via		nu/via	'k.o. taro'
*m ^w aqane-	m ^w anə-	nə/m ^w anə-	nə/m ^w anə-	na/m ^w anə-	pu/mani-	'woman's brother'
*kape			kəv/ləs	i/avi/ra		'k.o. crab'
*tinaqe-	nə/sja-	nə/səŋaa-	nə/səŋaa-	nə/sinau-	nan/inha	'intestines'
*lisaq			ki/lha		k ^w a-resa	'nit'
*saqat	a/raat	ə/rah	taat	ha	era/ha	'bad'
*paqan-	n/ua-	nə/va-	nə-va-	-nə/va-	nu/va-	'thigh'

3.3.6 Summary

The reflexes of the POc and PTn vowels are shown in Table 3.4; again, square brackets enclose conditioned reflexes.

POc	*i	*e	*a				*o	*u	
PTn	*i	*i	*a	[*e]	[*ə]	[*o]	*ə	*[u]	*u
NTn	i	i [ə]	a	e	ə	o	ə	u	u [o]
Wsn	i	i [ə]	a	e	ə	o	ə	u	u
Len	i	i [ə]	a	e	ə	o	ə	u	u
SWT	i	i [ə]	a	e	ə-ə-a	o	ə-ə-a	u	u [e,i]
Kwm	i	i	a	e	e-e-a	o	e-e-a	u	u [e,i]

3.4 Proto Southern Vanuatu

Table 3.5 below shows the reflexes of the POc vowels in PSV and its three subgroups.

POc	*i	*e	*a	*o	*u
PSV	*i	*e	*a [*e/_ *Ci,*Cu; *ə/_ *Ca]	*o	*u
PEr	*i ~ *y [*e]	*e	*a [*e, *ə]	*a	*u ~ *w
PTn	*i	*i	*a [*e, *ə, *o]	*ə [*u]	*u
Anj	e [i,o]	e	a [i,e, o]	e	o [e,u]

The PSV vowels **i*, **e*, **a* and **u* fairly clearly derive from POC **i*, **e*, **a* and **u* respectively. PSV **e* also occurs as a conditioned reflex of POC **a*, and PSV **ə* occurs as a conditioned reflex of **a*. In each of these cases, the reflexes in the daughter languages are reasonably transparent: i.e. PSV **i* (or **u*), for example, is reflected as *i* (or *u*) in most SV languages.

There is a problem with what I have reconstructed as PSV **o*, however, whose reflexes are rather 'messy' – PER **a*, PTn **ə* (occasionally **u*), and Anejōm̄ *e*. To look at it another way, it merges with POC **a* in Erromango, with one reflex of POC **a* (or **e*?) in Tanna, and with POC **i* and **e* in Anejōm̄. I have labelled this correspondence set PSV **o*, because it derives from POC **o* and because it fills a gap in the system. However, its reflexes suggest that **o* may not have been phonetically [o]. Further, recall (i) that POC **l* in Anejōm̄ and **l* and **r* in Tanna undergo palatalisation before POC **o* as well as before **i* and **e*, which suggests fairly strongly that PSV **o* was not a back rounded vowel (§2.4.3, §2.4.4), and (ii) that certain cases of **o* have become **e* in Proto Southern Oceanic (§2.5.3.1).

POC **o* derives from Proto Malayo-Polynesian **e*, which is reasonably interpreted as a central vowel. It may be that in the dialect of POC from which PSV derives, **o* was also central (and see in this connection Lynch 1976). PSV **o* may thus have been somewhat more front (and high?) than its POC source, possibly phonetically [ə̟] or [i̟]; with the development of PSV **ə*, it got pushed lower in Erromango, more front in Anejōm̄, and possibly both lower and more front in Tanna.

4 *Morpheme structure, stress and rule order*

The last chapter discussed the reflexes of the Proto Oceanic vowels in lexical roots, where these vowels are retained. Two factors which complicate the analysis of Proto Southern Vanuatu phonology, however, are the loss of vowels in a number of environments, and the accretion of initial elements to most Proto Oceanic roots. In this chapter, I will discuss the regular loss of vowels in certain environments, accretions to verbs and nouns, other changes in the shapes of POc inherited morphemes, and PSV stress. I will also show that, although POc **q* is not regularly reflected as a segment in any modern SV language, it must have been present in PSV.

4.1 Changes in canonical forms

In this section I look at the fate of final consonants and vowels, and also in a preliminary way at the loss of certain word-medial vowels. This latter discussion is preliminary at this stage because medial vowel deletion is closely related to the accretion of verb-initial vowels and noun-initial articles, which I will discuss in §4.2 and §4.3, returning to medial vowel deletion in §4.4.

4.1.1 Final consonants

POc final consonants are lost in a wide range of Oceanic languages. Indeed, there is a number of POc forms which have been reconstructed with a final consonant in parentheses, indicating a certain amount of doubt as to whether the original Proto Austronesian consonant was or was not retained in POc.

Final consonants, however, were generally retained in PSV. (I ignore here **q* and **R*, but will return to them in §4.1.2 below.) Transitive verbs were probably marked by a suffix **i*, and directly possessed nouns were followed by a possessive or construct suffix. In such cases, the root-final consonant was not in absolute word-final position, and so was protected from loss. The only exception here appears to be that root-final **n* in directly possessed nouns was lost; since the 3SG possessive suffix is also **n*, root-final **n* could easily have been lost before **n* and, by paradigmatic analogy, before other possessive suffixes. That is, since **lipon-na*

'his/her tooth' could easily have become **lipona*, this may have been reinterpreted as **lipo-na*, with loss of root-final **n*. Some examples:

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ	
* <i>lipon-</i>	<i>ne/lve-</i>	<i>ne/lu-</i>	<i>ne/jhe-</i>	'tooth'
* <i>paqan-</i>	<i>n/va-</i>	<i>nə/va-</i>	<i>n/ha-</i>	'thigh'

Compare:

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ	
* <i>butoŋ-</i>	{ <i>yo/mput</i> }	<i>nə/prəŋə-</i>	{ <i>no/p^wo</i> }	'navel'
* <i>icuŋ-</i>		<i>-n/haŋə-</i>		'nose'

Thus a root-final consonant occurred in absolute final position mainly in intransitive verbs and in nouns which are not directly possessed. Table 4.1 lists cases of POc etyma with final consonants which are reflected in at least two SV subgroups. The data show fairly regular retention of the final consonant in the Tanna languages, less regular retention in Erromango, and fairly regular loss in Anejoṃ. In Anejoṃ particularly, when the final consonant was lost the vowel immediately preceding it was also often lost.

Table 4.1: POc final consonants in SV languages

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ	
Retained in all				
* <i>kurat</i>	<i>no/yrat</i>	<i>na/uias</i>	<i>no/uras</i>	' <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '
* <i>tanum</i>	<i>tenəm</i>	<i>renəm</i>	<i>a/tenom</i>	'bury'
* <i>saqat</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>taat</i>	<i>has</i>	'bad'
* <i>lab^wat</i>		<i>ip^wər</i>	<i>a/lp^was</i>	'big'
* <i>kaRat</i>		<i>kəs</i>	<i>a/γas</i>	'bite'
* <i>kojom</i>	<i>e/hm/in</i>		<i>a/γhem</i>	'husk'
* <i>matakut</i>	<i>e/metet,</i> <i>e/mtit/oŋi</i>		<i>e/mtit/a-ṅ</i>	'fear'
Retained in Erromango and Tanna				
* <i>manuk</i>	<i>menuy</i>	<i>menuk</i>	<i>n/man</i>	'bird'
* <i>paŋan</i>	<i>a/vŋon-i</i>	<i>a/uŋən</i>	<i>haŋ, heŋa-ṅ</i>	'eat (INTR)'
* <i>raraŋ</i>	<i>n/araŋ</i>	<i>n/aiəv</i>	<i>n/ara</i>	' <i>Erythrina</i> sp.'
* <i>quloc</i>	<i>n/ilah</i>	<i>S n/ilah</i>	<i>n/ija</i>	'maggot'
* <i>tasik</i>	<i>n/toy</i>	<i>S tahik</i>		'sea'
* <i>bulut</i>	<i>a/mplet</i>	<i>a/p^wiit</i>	<i>ap^wol</i>	'sticky, stick to'
* <i>pekas</i>	<i>e/vyah</i>	<i>a/vhe</i>		'defecate'
* <i>ṅamuk</i>	<i>yomoy</i>	<i>mumuk</i>	<i>n/yam^w</i>	'mosquito'
* <i>ŋiŋis</i>	<i>noŋos/iwo</i>	<i>niŋhə-</i>		'gums'
* <i>tuqur</i>	<i>e/tur</i>	<i>S a/ləl</i>		'stand'
* <i>(ŋ)awaŋ</i>	<i>ovaŋ</i>	<i>owaŋ</i>		'be open'

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ	
Retained in Tanna and Anejoṃ				
* <i>molis</i>	<i>ne/mli</i>	<i>nə/məlh</i>	<i>ne/pjeθ</i>	'citrus'
* <i>polas</i>	<i>alei</i>	<i>alhaau</i>	<i>aleθ</i>	'put down'
* <i>qutup</i>		<i>əru</i>	<i>atho-i</i>	'draw water'
* <i>liqo(s)</i>	<i>e/la-</i>	<i>eit-</i>	<i>e/laθ</i>	'look at/for'
Retained in Tanna only				
* <i>tokon</i>		<i>k-a/skən</i>	<i>n-i/sey</i>	'crutch'
* <i>ba(k,q)un</i>	<i>ni/mpa</i>	<i>nə/pən</i>		'banana'
* <i>butoŋ-</i>	<i>yo/mput</i>	<i>nə/prəŋə-</i>	<i>no/p'o</i>	'navel'
* <i>likos</i>	<i>e/lki</i>	<i>ə/liis</i>	<i>a/jye-i</i>	'hang, tie up'
* <i>(q)ana-ŋican</i>	<i>ni/ŋoi</i>	<i>W na/ŋhən</i>	<i>i/niθ</i>	'when?'
* <i>katu(m,ŋ)</i>		<i>karəm</i>	<i>n/ɣat</i>	'basket'
* <i>l(i,u)mut</i>		<i>ləmus</i>	<i>ne/lom^w</i>	'moss, seaweed'
* <i>qumun</i>	<i>-n/um</i>	<i>-n/um^wan</i>	<i>-n/um^w</i>	'oven'
* <i>qusan</i>		<i>n/ihin</i>	<i>nyop/θa</i>	'rain'
* <i>qutok</i>		<i>nen/ourək</i>	<i>n/hutu/ma</i>	'brain'
* <i>qasan</i>	<i>ni-</i>	<i>netŋə-</i>	<i>niθa-</i>	'name'
* <i>inum</i>	<i>o/mon/ki</i>	<i>a/mnuum^w</i>	<i>a/m^woñ</i>	'drink'
* <i>Ropak</i>		<i>ivək</i>	<i>ae</i>	'to fly'
Retained in Erromango only				
* <i>maqurip</i>	<i>o/murep</i>	<i>K muru</i>	<i>u/mu</i>	'be alive'
Lost in all				
* <i>talos</i>	<i>n/tal</i>	<i>nə/te</i>	<i>n/tal</i>	'taro'
* <i>taŋis</i>	<i>toŋi</i>		<i>tañ</i>	'cry'
* <i>tawan</i>	<i>n/tau</i>		<i>ne/tva</i>	'lychee'
* <i>pitik</i>	<i>tor/pis</i>	<i>N ə/bət ?</i>	<i>-napet</i>	'lightning'
* <i>kapak</i>	<i>o/ɣep</i> 'to fly'	<i>nə/kavkavə-</i>		'wing'
* <i>lipon</i>	<i>ne/lve-</i>	<i>ne/lu-</i>	<i>ne/jhe-</i>	'tooth'
* <i>paqan</i>	<i>n/va-</i>	<i>nə/va-</i>	<i>n/ha-</i>	'thigh'
* <i>tajim</i>	<i>tesi</i>		<i>a/tes</i>	'sharpen'
* <i>irip</i>		<i>ilil</i>	<i>ererei</i>	'fan'
* <i>masakit</i>		<i>a/mha</i>	<i>e/mθa</i>	'sick'

Since POc final consonants were generally retained in Proto Tanna, we can presume that they were also generally retained in Proto Southern Vanuatu. In Proto Erromango there is a marked tendency for final stops to be retained but for final nasals to be lost. In Anejoṃ, final **t* was retained (and also **s*?), but almost all other final consonants were lost.

4.1.2 Final vowels

POc final vowels, on the other hand, were generally lost in Southern Vanuatu languages. The following will exemplify this general rule:

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ	
* <i>pano</i>	<i>a/van</i>	<i>vən</i>	<i>han</i>	'go'
* <i>baga</i>	<i>n/paŋ</i>	<i>ne/pək</i>	<i>n/pak</i>	'banyan'
* <i>ta-m^waqane</i>	<i>na/iman</i>	<i>ie/ram^waan</i>	<i>na/tam^wañ</i>	'man'
* <i>kutu</i>	<i>no/ɣut</i>	<i>kur</i>	<i>ne/ɣet</i>	'louse'
* <i>kup^wena</i>	<i>no/ɣpon</i>	<i>na/kapun</i>	<i>no/up^won</i>	'fishing net'
* <i>mate</i>	<i>mah</i>	<i>məs</i>	<i>mas</i>	'die'
* <i>laŋo</i>	<i>u/laŋ</i>	<i>k/iaŋ</i>	<i>n/laŋ</i>	'a fly'

There are, however, a number of contexts in which Final Vowel Deletion did not operate.

First, when the vowel was not in absolute word-final position it was usually retained. Thus if a vowel-final root was a directly possessed noun, a transitive verb taking a suffix, or the first element of a compound, then the vowel would not have been word-final and would thus not have been deleted. A simple example will illustrate this. POc **kita* 'look, see' has two reflexes in Anejoṃ: *e/ɣet* (transitive with definite human object), with deletion of a word-final vowel; and *e/ɣta-i* (transitive with indefinite or non-human object), where the transitive suffix *-i* protects the root-final **a* from deletion. Some other examples of retention:

POc	Sye	Kwamera	Anejoṃ	
* <i>tama-</i>	<i>e/tme-</i>	<i>remu-</i>	<i>e/tma-</i>	'father'
* <i>tubu-</i>	<i>re/tpo-</i> 'wife'	<i>rəpu-</i>	<i>e/tpo-</i>	'grandparent'
* <i>makubu-</i>	<i>moypo-</i>	<i>m^wip^wu-</i>	<i>m^wap^wo-</i>	'grandchild'

Second, POc **q* and **R* were generally lost in PSV (though there are some situations in which they were retained – cf. Chapters 2 and 3). However, final **q* (and **R*, where it was lost) must have been lost *after* the Final Vowel Deletion rule ceased to operate, since the preceding vowel is *not* lost in SV languages. A simple comparison will illustrate this: **topu* 'sugarcane' > Kwamera *nə/ruk*, with loss of final **u*, but **tubuq* 'grow' > Kwamera *rupu*, with retention of the **u*. Some other examples are given below. Recall that Anejoṃ generally loses any final consonant, including **q* and **R*, and thus I give no Anejoṃ examples here.¹

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Kwamera	
* <i>mataq</i>	<i>e/mte</i>	<i>a/mra</i>	<i>a/mera</i>	'raw'
* <i>luaq</i>	<i>e/lwo</i>	<i>eua</i>	<i>eua</i>	'vomit'
* <i>puaq</i>	<i>o/vwo</i>	<i>o/ua</i>	<i>kua</i>	'bear fruit'
* <i>qauR</i>	<i>n/au</i>	<i>n/au</i>	<i>n/au</i>	'bamboo'
* <i>lawaq</i>	<i>yatri/lwo</i>			'spider(web)'
* <i>Rum^waq</i>	<i>n/imo</i>	<i>n/im^wa</i>	<i>n/im^wa</i>	'house'
* <i>lisaq</i>	{ <i>ne/lis</i> }	<i>ki/lha</i>	<i>k^wa-rəsa</i>	'nit'
* <i>tanoq</i>	U <i>dena</i>	{ <i>tən</i> }	<i>təna</i>	'earth'
* <i>paraq</i>	<i>ne/vre</i>	<i>nien-u/via</i>	<i>nu/vera</i>	'sprouting coconut'
* <i>ñatu(q)</i>	<i>yetu</i>	{ <i>n/ier</i> }		' <i>Burckella obovata</i> '

¹ In the data below, Sye *ne/lis* < **lisaq* 'nit', and Lenakel *tən* < **tanoq* 'earth' and *n/ier* < **ñatu(q)* '*Burckella obovata*', show unexpected loss of the vowel preceding final **q*.

Third, the behaviour of word-final vowel clusters – including clusters which developed after loss of intervocalic *q or *R – is inconsistent. Anejoĩm seems to regularly retain both vowels in these clusters (note that *ua, *ue > Anejoĩm ou). The other languages lose the final vowel in this first set of words:

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Kwamera	Anejoĩm	
PSOc *gamiu	kimi	kami-	kəmi-		'you PL'
*panua		na/uanu	ru/kʷanu	n/henou	'village' ²
*rua	nru/ru	k/iu	kə/ru	e/rou	'two'
*sei	se		si	θi	'who?'

but appear to retain it in this set:

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Kwamera	Anejoĩm	
*matuqa	e/two		mare	metou	'ripe'
*puRe			nə/fua	no/hou	'beach creeper'
*tabakau	tevayau			ni/jip-akau	'k.o. coconut mat'
*toqa	ne/two			n/jaa	'fowl'
*paRu	n/vau	nu/vo	ne/vo	n/hau	'Hibiscus tiliaceus'
*[i]Jau	yau	io	iou		'I'

4.1.3 Medial vowel deletion: a first approximation

There was also a rule which deleted the vowel in the syllable preceding the stressed syllable, as long as this pretonic syllable was not the first syllable in the word. I assume that, at least with vowel-final words, primary stress was penultimate (but see §4.4); final long vowels (most commonly verb-final *i* followed by transitive suffix *-i*) were treated as two syllables for the purpose of this rule.

The operation of this rule and also the Final Vowel Deletion rule are illustrated below with separate examples from Sye, Lenakel and Anejoĩm. Accreted initial material will be discussed in more detail later. 'Other Rules' are rules whose ordering with respect to the vowel deletion rules is not significant.

1. Sye

POc	*kona	*e tama-ñā	*kuliti	*makubu-ñā
Pre-PSV	a-'kona	e-ta'ma-na	na-ku'łiti	maku'bu-na
(PRE-DELETION RULES)	---	e-tə'ma-na	no-ku'łisi	moku'bu-na
MEDIAL V DELETION	---	e-t'ma-na	no-k'łisi	mok'bu-na
FINAL V DELETION	'a-kon	'e-tma-n	no-k'łis	'mokbu-n
(OTHER RULES)	'ayan	'etme-n	no'yleh	'moypō-n
	'bitter'	'his father'	'skin'	'his grandchild'

² Anejoĩm *nhenou* means 'taro swamp', but derives from *panua, among whose meanings are 'territory, (cultivated) land'.

2. Lenakel

POc	<i>*komu</i>	<i>*panako</i>	<i>*na lima-nā</i>	<i>*na bayani</i>
Pre-PSV	<i>a-ḡomu</i>	<i>a-pa'nako</i>	<i>na-li'ma-na</i>	<i>na-ba'yani</i>
(PRE-DELETION RULES)	<i>a-ḡom^wu</i>	<i>a-pə'nako</i>	<i>ne-li'ma-na</i>	<i>na-bə'yani</i>
MEDIAL V DELETION	—	<i>a-p'nako</i>	<i>ne-l'ma-na</i>	<i>na-b'yani</i>
FINAL V DELETION	<i>'a-gom^w</i>	<i>'a-pnak</i>	<i>'ne-lma-n</i>	<i>'na-byan</i>
(OTHER RULES)	<i>'akum^w</i>	<i>'əvna-k</i>	<i>'nelma-n</i>	<i>'nəpiən</i>
	'put in mouth'	'steal'	'his hand'	'bait'

3. Anejoṃ

POc	<i>*boŋi</i>	<i>*keli</i>	<i>*na lima-nā</i>	<i>*na bayani</i>
Pre-PSV	<i>a-'boŋi</i>	<i>a-ke'li-i</i>	<i>na-li'ma-na</i>	<i>na-ba'yani</i>
(PRE-DELETION RULES)	<i>a-'beñi</i>	<i>a-ke'ji-i</i>	<i>ne-ji'ma-na</i>	<i>ne-bə'yañi</i>
MEDIAL V DELETION	—	<i>a-k'ji-i</i>	<i>ne-j'ma-na</i>	<i>ne-b'yañi</i>
FINAL V DELETION	<i>'abeñ</i>	—	<i>'ne-jma-n</i>	<i>'ne-byañ</i>
(OTHER RULES)	<i>'apeñ</i>	<i>ay'ji-i</i>	<i>'nijma-n</i>	<i>'nepyañ</i>
	'dark'	'dig (TR)'	'his hand'	'bait'

These two rules must have been ordered as set out above. If the reverse ordering applied, then medial vowel deletion must have applied to the primary-stressed vowel – an unlikely event.

I will have more to say about the order in which these and other rules applied in §4.4. In addition, the process of medial vowel deletion is more complex than I have described it here, and I will return to those complexities later as well. First, however, I want to look at initial accretions to verbs and nouns, since these have some bearing on these complexities.

4.2 Verb-initial vowels

Most verbs in SV languages begin with a vowel, due to the historical accretion of a vowel onto a POc root. With one or two extremely minor exceptions,³ the vowel is no longer removable from the root; and in no modern SV language does it seem to perform any function. Its origin will be discussed in §6.1.

The following examples illustrate this particular accretion:

POc		Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ
<i>*bulut</i>	'stick to'	<i>a/mplet</i>	<i>a/p^wiit</i>	<i>a/p^wol</i>
<i>*leqos</i>	'look at'	<i>e/la</i>	<i>e/it-</i>	<i>e/laθ</i>
<i>*likos</i>	'hang'	<i>e/lki</i>	<i>ə/liis</i>	<i>a/jɣe-i</i>
<i>*toka</i>	'stay'	<i>e/te</i>	<i>a/rək</i>	<i>a/teɣ, e/teɣ</i>
<i>*taRaq-i</i>	'cut'	<i>e/tai</i>	<i>a/rai</i>	<i>a/tai</i>
<i>*tuRi</i>	'sew, string'	<i>e/tri</i>	<i>ə/ləl</i>	<i>e/te</i>

Most POc verbs are consonant-initial. The few vowel-initial verbs which have reflexes in the SV languages often show coalescence of initial **a* plus the vowel: e.g. **ipu(t)* 'blow' > North Tanna *ep* (< *a-ip*). However, note Anejoṃ *a/iho-i* < **ipu(t)*.

³ In Lenakel, for example, the vowel is lost following *certain* number-of-subject prefixes, but in no other environment.

4.2.1 Productivity of accretion

Many verbs which have been recently borrowed from some other language also show this accretion. Anejoṃ verbs borrowed from Futuna, for example, take a fused initial vowel, usually *a* but sometimes *e* or *o*:

Anejoṃ		<	Futuna
<i>afakamana</i>	'imitate action humorously'		<i>fakamana</i>
<i>apuuu</i>	'bring (pig+) to funeral or marriage feast'		<i>putu</i>
<i>arapakau</i>	'skilful'		<i>rapakau</i>
<i>efaŋa</i>	'crooked, bent as a bow'		<i>faŋa</i>
<i>ofono</i>	'eat food after drinking kava'		<i>fono</i>

Some Bislama verbs borrowed into Anejoṃ come in essentially unchanged (like *taanes* 'dance', *vo* 'vote' or *win* 'win', from Bislama *danis*, *vo* and *win*), but many others take an initial *e*-:

Anejoṃ		<	Bislama
<i>ekomplen</i>	'complain'		<i>komplen</i>
<i>ekonfusim</i>	'confuse s.o.'		<i>konfusim</i>
<i>eplei</i>	'play		<i>plei, pleplei</i>
<i>eroŋ</i>	'be drunk'		<i>droŋ</i>

But despite the apparent productivity of this process, not all verbs show an accreted initial vowel: 40% of Sye verbs, 21.5% of Lenakel verbs and 13% of Anejoṃ verbs begin with consonants (Crowley 1998:2; Lynch 1992a; Lynch & Tephahae 2001). The following examples show the same POC verb with an accreted vowel in one or two of these three languages but not in the other(s):

POc		Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ
<i>*mataq</i>	'raw'	<i>e/mte</i>	<i>a/mra</i>	<i>mat</i>
<i>*mutusi</i>	'broken'	<i>o/mti</i>	<i>murh</i>	<i>a/m^wot</i>
<i>*tanum</i>	'bury'	<i>tənəm</i>	<i>renəm</i>	<i>a/tenom</i>
<i>*tabuR</i>	'sacred'	<i>tompor</i>	<i>-a/rpul</i>	<i>i/tap^w</i>

There are also cases where the same POC verb has been reflected in the same language with and without the accretion:

POc			Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ
<i>*paŋan</i>	'eat, feed'	>	<i>vaŋ</i> 'eat (INTR)'	<i>a/vŋoni</i>	'feed'
<i>*pano</i>	'go'	>	<i>vən</i> 'go'	<i>a/vən</i>	'walk around'
<i>*mate</i>	'die'	>	<i>mas</i> '⟨SG⟩ die'	<i>e/mesmas</i>	'⟨PL⟩ die'

In Anejoṃ, there are also some pairs of verbs which are semantically identical (or very similar) and differ only in the initial vowel, or in whether there is an initial vowel or not:⁴

⁴ Translations of both forms are given only when there is sufficient semantic difference to warrant this.

Anejoṃ

<i>ajṇaṅ</i>		<i>ejṇaṅ</i>	'wait for'
<i>asṇiṅ</i>		<i>esṇiṅ</i>	'lean against, trust'
<i>asjii</i>		<i>isjii</i>	'shoot, stone'
<i>atleṅ</i>		<i>eileṅ</i>	'swallow'
<i>esjii</i>		<i>isjii</i>	'fish with net'
<i>γas</i>	'burn'	<i>ayas</i>	'(s.t. sharp-tasting) bite'
<i>γoho</i>	'difficult'	<i>ayoho</i>	'be tentative'
<i>henhen</i>	'warm up'	<i>ahenhen</i>	'be too hot for'

4.2.2 The accreted vowel

Table 4.2 shows the proportion of initial vowels among the vowel-initial verbs in Sye, Lenakel and Anejoṃ. Lenakel and Anejoṃ data would suggest that the vowel was probably PSV **a*, and that other verb-initial vowels are regular conditioned variants of **a*. Sye, however, presents a more complex situation.

	Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ
<i>a</i>	26	55	60
<i>e</i>	39	16	23
<i>ə</i>		10	
<i>i</i>	3	3	11
<i>o</i>	31	15	4
<i>u</i>	1	1	2
	100	100	100

In the Erromangan languages, there is variation in the initial segments of some verbs. Although this will be discussed in more detail in §6.2.3, a brief summary is necessary here. All Sye verbs occur in both a 'basic' and a 'modified' form, each form being used with certain tense-aspects. For the majority of verbs, the modified form is marked simply by prefixing *n-*. For the remaining verbs, however, the modified form is marked by a change in the initial vowel and/or a change in the consonant which follows it; for example:

Sye

Basic	Modified	
<i>etponr</i>	<i>anṭponr</i>	'cold'
<i>evyah</i>	<i>amṭyah</i>	'defecate'
<i>oryai</i>	<i>anṛyai</i>	'bathe'
<i>oyhi</i>	<i>aṅhi</i>	'see'

Thus although Table 4.2 shows a higher proportion of *e-* and *o-*initial 'basic form' verbs in Sye than in the other SV languages, many of these alternate with an *a-*initial modified form.

In addition, there is comparative evidence within Erromango showing at least some cases of Sye verb-initial *e* and *o* corresponding to *a* in Ura:

PEr *a > Sye o, Ura a / # ___ *v, *r

Sye	Ura	
<i>orari</i>	<i>arare</i>	'flow'
<i>oryai</i>	<i>alyai</i>	'swim to'
<i>orvi</i>	<i>arvi</i>	'cut'
<i>ovaŋ</i>	<i>avaŋ</i>	'agape, open'
<i>ohovli</i>	<i>avli</i>	'rub'

PEr *a > Sye e, Ura a / ___ *t

Sye	Ura	
<i>etai</i>	<i>arai</i>	'sharpen, cut'
<i>etayor</i>	<i>arail</i>	'sweep'
<i>etehep</i>	<i>arap</i>	'sit'
<i>ervani</i>	<i>arvani</i>	'spit'

Finally, in all SV languages there are sporadic cases of initial *a becoming *e before *Ci or *Cu, *o before *Cu or a labial, and *ə before *Ca:

POc

*likos	>	Sye <i>e/lki</i> , Ura <i>e/lei</i>	'hang'
*tuRi	>	Ura <i>e/hli</i>	'sew'
*drudru	>	Kwm <i>e/rur</i>	'shake'
*mutusi	>	Ura <i>o/mde</i>	'break, be broken'
*puaq	>	Anj <i>o/hou</i>	'bear fruit'
*mate	>	Ura <i>i/mis</i> , Kwm <i>e/mha</i>	'die'

Thus I assume that the accreted initial vowel was PSV *a-.

4.3 Article accretion and reduction

Most noun roots also show evidence of an historical prefix, and the most frequent of these derives from the POc common article *na. This initial accreted article is usually inseparable from the noun except in certain very specific contexts (for example when the noun is the second element of a compound and, in Anejoŋ only, when the noun is non-singular and non-specific).⁵ Some examples:

⁵ Indeed, there seems to have been some reanalysis involved here in Anejoŋ, since it is only the *n* of the accreted article which is dropped in the non-specific non-singular. For example, *nepyev* 'shark' derives from *na *bakiwa*, and initial *ne-* reflects the article. However, the non-specific non-singular form is *epyev*, which retains the vowel of the article. This even applies in loanwords which are *n*-initial: Anejoŋ *naifi* 'introduced/metal knife' (< Samoan *naifi* < English *knife*) has the non-specific non-singular form *aifi*.

POc		Sye	Lenakel	Anejoĩm
*mata-	'eye'	ni/mtu-	nə/mrə-	ne/mta-
*paqan-	'thigh'	n/va-	nə/va-	n/ha-
*lipon-	'tooth'	ne/lve-	ne/lu-	ne/jhe-
*qauR	'bamboo'	n/au	n/au	n/au
*Rum ^w aq	'house'	n/imo	n/im ^w a	n/iom ^w

Some nouns with animate reference appear to have taken no prefix. However, there is variation between languages here, with the same animate noun apparently accreting *na in some languages but not in others. Compare:

POc		Sye	Lenakel	Anejoĩm
*matuqa-	'uncle'	meta-	məra-	mata-
*bokasi	'pig'	no/mpyahi	pukas	pikaθ
*manuk	'bird'	menuy	menuk	n/man

Other initial accretions appear on nouns, but I will discuss these in §5.2.1.

4.3.1 Dissimilation and the Article Reduction rule

When the article *na was accreted on to a noun beginning with *Ca (but not *qa), then there was dissimilation and in some cases total loss of the *a of the article. I will look at each of the subgroups in turn, since there are slight differences between them. (There are also cases of the *a being retained in this context; since this has to do with stress patterns, I will leave it until §4.4.)

In Anejoĩm, we find total loss of the *a of the article in this environment:

POc	Anj	
*na waiR	nwai	'water'
*na kawil	nyowoj	'fish hook'
*na m ^w alo	nm ^w oje	'reef'
*na tapuRi	niohou	'conch'
*na patu	nhat	'stone'
*na yaRu	nya	'casuarina'
*na ñamuk	nyam ^w	'mosquito'
*na laŋo	nlaŋ	'a fly'
*na бага	npak	'banyan'
*na raqan	nra-	'branch'

In Erromango, when the noun began with a non-coronal consonant + *a, the vowel underwent dissimilation to PER *ə, which is reflected as Ø (underlying ə) in Sye and as i in Ura.⁶

⁶ I write Sye underlying ə only in those forms in which it has so been identified by Crowley; however, other cases of Sye Ø may also in fact have underlying ə.

POc	Sye	Ura	
*na paqan-	nva-	niva-	'thigh'
*na patu	nəvat	nivat	'stone'
*na maRi	nəmar	nimal	'breadfruit'
*na ŋatu(q)	{yetu}	niyere	' <i>Burckella obovata</i> '
*na yaRu	nyar		'casuarina'
*na бага	npaŋ	{bogu}	'banyan'
*na madraR	{morei}	nimorei	'fermented breadfruit'

When the noun began with a coronal consonant + *a, the vowel of the article was lost, and in Ura resulting *nt* becomes *d*:

POc	Sye	Ura	
*na tawan	ntau	dau	'lychee'
*na talos	ntal	dal	'taro'
*na taliŋa-	ntelŋo-	delŋe-	'ear'
*na talise	nteli	dire	' <i>Terminalia catappa</i> '
*na draRaq	nre		'blood'
*na rakumu	nroyum		'k.o. crab'

In Tanna, the situation is slightly more confused, and slightly more complex. It appears that, when the noun was of the form *CaCa..., the first *a of the root dissimilated to *ə (> Kwamera *e*), and the *a of the article subsequently reduced to schwa:

POc	NTn	Len	Kwm	
*na draRaq	da-	nəta-	nəte-	'blood [possessed]'
*na бага		nəpək	nəpek	'banyan'
*na kapak	nəŋəŋəŋə-	nəkavkavə-		'wing'
*na maia-	{nəŋə/mtə-}	nəmɾə-	nəmɾhi-	'eye'
*na bayani		nəpien	nəpien	'bait'

When the first segment of the root was *v* (< *p, *w) or *u* (< *w), the schwa of the article assimilated in rounding and generally became *u*; while before *y, which becomes PTn *i, it seems to have been lost altogether:

POc	NTn	Len	Kwm	
*na waiR	nai	nu	nui	'water'
*na wakaR	nokə-	nukə-	nua-	'root'
*na wasa		nuhua	nuvas	'edible greens'
*na paraq		{nien-u/via}	nuvera	'sprouting coconut'
*na paqan-	nua-	nəva-	nuva-	'thigh'
*na paRu		nuvo	nevo	' <i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> '
*na paliji	m ^w a-nvəhl	nəvhaal	nurhi	'grass'
*na yaRu		niel	nier	'casuarina'

Otherwise, the vowel of the article dissimilated to *ə when the noun was *Ca-initial but, when the initial consonant was a coronal stop, North Tanna generally fused this with *n, as *d*:

POc	NTn	Len	Kwm	
*na talos	de	næte	nere	'taro'
*na tasik	dehi	{tehe}	{təsi}	'sea'
*na draRaq	da-	næta-	næte-	'blood [possessed]'
*na draRaq-		neta	neta	'blood [unpossessed]'
*na ba(k,q)un	nəbən	nəpən		'banana'
*na taqe-	nəsi-	nəsii-	nih-	'excrement'
*na kayu	nəŋ	nək	{nai}	'tree'
*na kapika		nəkəvək	{nova}	' <i>Syzygium</i> sp.'
*na maRi	nəme	nəm	nemer	'breadfruit'
*na n̄atu(q)		nier		' <i>Burckella obovata</i> '

4.3.2 Retention of the vowel of the article

When the article **na* was accreted on to a noun whose first vowel was not **a*, then (i) the vowel of the article was normally retained, but (ii) there seems to have been fairly regular assimilation of that vowel to the following vowel.

In Anejōm̄, **na* became *no-* when the root began with a labial consonant followed by **u*, or when it began with **ku* and **k* was lost. For example:

POc *na-	>	Anj no- / _	*LABIAL + u
*na puaq		nohowa-	'fruit'
*na butoŋ-		nop ^o	'navel'
*na bune		noḡā	'fruit dove'
*na pudi		nohos	'banana'
*na puRe		nohou	'k.o. beach vine'
*na kup ^o ena		noup ^o on	'net'
*na kurat		nouras	' <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '

Otherwise, **na* became *ne-* when the first vowel of the root was **i*, **u* or **o*; for example:

POc *na-	>	Anj ne-	elsewhere
*na siko		neθey	'kingfisher'
*na b ^o ilo		nepje-	'container'
*na kutu		neyet	'louse'
*na tinaqe-		nesŋa-	'intestines'
*na lumut		nelom ^o	'moss'
*na suRi-		neθuo-	'bone'
*na boŋi		nepeñ	'night'
*na topu		neto	'sugarcane'

There was a tendency for this *e* to raise further to *i* preceding a palatal consonant:⁷

⁷ **na tabakau* > *nijipakau* 'special k.o. mat' shows a similar development, though I cannot account for the retention of the vowel of the article in this case.

POc *na- > Anj ni- / __ PALATAL

*na lima-	nijma-	'hand'
*na lipon-	nijho-	'tooth'

There is (of course!) a residue of cases which do not fit these rules, like:

POc *na- > Anj

*na suRuq-	niθi-	'juice'
*na (s,j)uliq-	nisji-	'shoot'
*na susu-	naθe-	'breast'

In Erromango, POc *na > PER *ne- if the first vowel of the root was *i, and *na > *no- if the first vowel of the root was *u; for example:

POc *na- > PER *ne- / __ *Ci

	Sye	Ura	
*na piRaq	ntal-eyye	dal-nivya	'k.o. taro'
*na lima- 'hand, arm'	nelman	nelman	'outrigger'
*na lipon-	nelve-		'tooth'
*na lisaq	nelis	{ilis}	'louse'

POc *na- > PER *no- / __ *Cu

	Sye	Ura	
*na pudi	novoh	novus	'banana'
*na puaq- 'fruit'	novwa-	nava-	'seed'
*na kuliti	noyleh-ntan	noyles dan	'skin'
*na kurat	noyrat		' <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '
*na kuRita	noywho	{wis}	'octopus'
*na kutu	noyut	{wit}	'louse'
*na bune	nompon-re	{ubuda}	'fruit dove'

Two cases I have where the first vowel was *o are contradictory: *na molis > Sye nemli 'citrus', but *na bokasi > Sye nompyahi 'pig'. (Ura umyas 'pig' has accreted initial u-.)

In Tanna, there was often rounding assimilation to a following labial, and there is also evidence of fronting of the vowel to *e* when the first vowel of the root was *i:

POc *na > PTn *no-, *nu- / __ LABIAL

	NTn	Len	Kwm	
*na puaq-	noa-	noua-	nək ^w a-	'fruit'
*na pisiko		nuvhakə-	nasa-	'flesh'
*na piRaq		nuvia	nuvia	'k.o. taro'

POc *na > PTn *ne- / __ *Ci

	NTn	Len	Kwm	
*na lima-	nelmə-	nelmə-		'hand'
*na lipon-	nelva-	nelu-	{revu-}	'tooth'

Elsewhere, however, *na- appears to have either remained *na-* or weakened to *nə-*, where the source of ə could be any PTn vowel:

POc *na > PTn *na- elsewhere (often > nə-)

	NTn	Len	Kwm	
*na kup ^w ena		nakapun	napun	'fishing net'
*na suRuq-	naha-	nih-	nəse-	'juice'
*na susu-	naha-	naha-	nanhə-	'breast'
*na kumi-	-nəkmə-	nəkm ^w ə-	nəkumu-	'chin'
*na suRi-			nəsu-	'bone'
*na butoŋ-	nəbutə-	nəprəŋə-	nəprəŋi-	'navel'
*na tinaqe-	nəsŋa-	nəsŋaa-	naninhə-	'intestines'
*na tob ^w a-	{nəpə-}	nətpə-	{təpu-}	'stomach'
*na molis		nəməlħ	nəmərhi	'citrus'
*na iopu	nətəp	nətuw	nəruk	'sugarcane'

There seems, then, to have been a strong tendency for the vowel of POc *na to assimilate to some feature of the initial syllable of the root, and we could suggest that a following labial consonant and/or *u in the first syllable was likely to cause a change from POc *na to PSV *no-, while *na frequently became PSV *ne- when the following syllable contained *i.

4.3.3 *q-initial nouns

The comments made so far apply to noun roots whose first consonant was *not* *q. With *q-initial nouns, there seems to have been a general tendency for the *a of the article and the *q of the root to both be lost:

POc *na qV > PSV *nV

	Sye	Tanna	Anejoŋm	
*na qaRa(r)	nar			'boundary'
*na qasu		N naha-, K nəse-		'smoke'
*na qauR	nau	L nau	nau	'bamboo'
*na qebal			nap, nep	'k.o. mat'
*na quin-		N nusə-, K k ^w a-nih-		'penis'
*na qumun	-num	L -num ^w an, S -nem ^w ən	-num ^w	'oven'
*na qusan		N nuhuan, K nesən		'rain'
*na qupi	nup	L nuw, K nuk	ru	'yam'

Note, however, the following cases where there has been a change in the vowel:

POc	Sye	Tanna	Anejoŋm	
*na quloc	nilah	Snilah	nija	'maggot'
*na qunap-i	ninevi-		ninehe-	'scale'
*na (q)aca(n,ŋ)-	ni-	L netŋə-, K nahəŋ	niθa-	'name'

4.4 Medial vowel deletion, article reduction and stress

The Medial Vowel Deletion rule deleted an antepenultimate unstressed vowel providing it was not the first vowel in the word. However, the rule appears to have applied differently in verbs and nouns. In addition, there is evidence that the position of stress depended on the

nature of the final syllable in the PSV form: if it was open, stress was penultimate; if it was closed, stress was final. (I suggest in Lynch 2000b that this was also the Proto Oceanic stress pattern.)

4.4.1 Medial vowel deletion in verbs

Medial pretonic vowels were regularly deleted: see §4.1.3 and numerous examples elsewhere. When a verb took an accreted *a-, the first vowel following the accretion in a trisyllabic verb⁸ whose final syllable was open was normally deleted. Given that stress was penultimate, this vowel would have been in pretonic position. Some examples are given below; POc forms are given with initial *a- and with the stress marked.

POc

*a-bu'lut-i	>	Sye amplehi	'stick to'
*a-pa'ŋan-i	>	Sye avŋoni	'feed'
*a-pa'nako	>	Len əvnak	'steal'
*a-pu'nuq-i	>	Anj ihni-i	'finish'
*a-ba'lapu	>	Anj oprā	'long' ⁹
*a-ki'ta-i	>	Anj eyta-i	'see'
*a-ka'raka	>	Anj aɾɾay	'creep, crawl'

There is another quite regular pattern, however, involving deletion of the first vowel in a disyllabic verb root whose final syllable was closed. Kwamera reflexes suggest that, when the first vowel of the root was *a, dissimilation to *ə took place first, and this *ə was then deleted in all languages except Kwamera, where it became e. The following is a fairly complete list. I have marked stress on the final syllable in anticipation of the discussion below.

POc	Erromango	Tanna	Anejoŋ	
*a-bu'lut	S amplet	L ap'iit	{ap*ol}	'sticky, stick to'
*a-ti'kon		L askən	{iseɣ}	'walk w. stick'
*a-su'luq	S ilwo	L asia		'make a torch'
*a-ka'ris			akreθ	'scratch (s.o.)'
			ayreθ	'scrape (s.t.)'
*a-ko'jom			ayhem	'husk (coconut)'
*a-la'b*at		L ip*ər	alp*as	'large'
*a-li'kos	S elki	S əlkəs	ajyei	'hang, tie up'
*a-ma'taq	S emte	L amra, K amera	{mat}	'raw, new'
PSOc *mu'him	U o/mni	L amnuum*	{am*oŋ}	'drink'
*a-jo'ŋan	S isŋin		{aθaθŋi-ŋ}	'plug, cork'
a-tu'buq	S etpu	{K rupu}	{atop}	'grow'
*a-pa'ŋan	{S vaŋ}	S əvŋən, K aveŋən	{haŋ}	'eat (INTR)'
*a-pe'kas	S evyah	S əvkaa		'defecate'

There is only one apparent exception: *a-tanum > Sye etenom, Anejoŋ atenom 'bury'.

⁸ Such a trisyllabic verb may have been either a trisyllabic root or a disyllabic root + a transitive suffix.

⁹ Recall that POc *p is lost in word-final position in Anejoŋ.

Now Medial Vowel Deletion seems to have operated to delete an unstressed vowel which occurred before the primary stressed vowel in the word. The obvious deduction to make from these two sets of data is that, although stress was penultimate if the final syllable was open, it must have occurred on the final syllable if that syllable was closed.¹⁰ (And, indeed, very similar comments can be made for nouns.) So words ending in open syllables had the stress pattern ...'CVCV#, but words ending in closed syllables had the stress pattern ...CV'CVC#. I will defer further comment on this until I have discussed Medial Vowel Deletion in nouns.

4.4.2 Medial vowel deletion in nouns

With nouns, the interaction of the Article Reduction and Medial Vowel Deletion rules makes for slightly more descriptive complexity. (In this section, I will occasionally also give examples of nouns which were prefixed with markers other than **na* if these are relevant to elucidating the operation of Medial Vowel Deletion.)

I will deal first with POc nouns ending in open syllables (in many cases this is a possessive suffix), which presumably were stressed on the penultimate syllable. In the case of nouns whose first vowel was not **a*, the same patterns occur as in verbs:

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ	
* <i>na</i> li'ma- <i>nā</i>	<i>nelman</i> 'outrigger'	<i>nelmən</i>	<i>nijman</i>	'his hand'
* <i>na</i> to'b'a- <i>nā</i>	<i>netpo/lu</i>	<i>netpən</i>		'his stomach/belly'
* <i>na</i> bu'toŋ- <i>nā</i>	{ <i>yo/mput</i> }	<i>nəprəŋən</i>	{ <i>nop'o</i> }	'navel'
* <i>e</i> ta'ma- <i>nā</i>	<i>etmen</i>	{ <i>rəmən</i> }	<i>etman</i>	'his father'

Article Reduction occurred if the first syllable of the root was stressed and contained **a*. (Only Sye and Anejoṃ data are given here; Tanna data are inconclusive, since initial *nə* may reflect either retention of **a* or an epenthetic ə.)

POc	Sye	Anejoṃ	
* <i>na</i> 'patu	<i>nvat</i>	<i>nhat</i>	'stone'
* <i>na</i> 'baga	<i>npaŋ</i>	<i>npak</i>	'banyan'
* <i>na</i> tali'ŋa- <i>nā</i>	<i>ntelŋon</i>	<i>ntijŋan</i>	'ear'

It is apparent that the Medial Vowel Deletion rule must have preceded Article Reduction, since the **a* of the article did not reduce when followed by root-initial **Ca* if that **Ca* was the pretonic syllable, which would have led to an unacceptable word-initial three-consonant cluster. Instead, it appears that in this case the vowel of the article became *e* (occasionally *i* in Sye).¹¹

POc	Sye	Anejoṃ	
* <i>na</i> ma'ta-gu	<i>nimtuŋ</i>	<i>nemtak</i>	'my eye'
* <i>na</i> ba'yani		<i>nepyañ</i>	'bait'
* <i>na</i> ba'kiwa	<i>nempou</i>	<i>nepyev</i>	'shark'
* <i>na</i> ka'nase		<i>neyna</i>	'mullet'

¹⁰ And presumably, **tanum* must have been an exception to this general rule; either it was stressed as *a-tanum* rather than as *a-ta-num*, or else the first vowel of the root had already undergone a change.

¹¹ There are, however, a couple of exceptions to this statement: POc **na talise* > Sye *nteli*, Anj *ntejeθ* 'Terminalia catappa', and POc **na rakumu* > Sye *nroyum*, {Anj *nray*} 'k.o. crab'.

This can be illustrated with the development of Anejoṃ *nepɣev* 'shark' < **na bakiwa* in comparison with *n/hat* 'stone' < **na patu*:

Pre-PSV	* <i>na-ba'kiwa</i>	* <i>na-'patu</i>
Low V DISSIMILATION	<i>nə-ba'kiwa</i>	<i>nə-'patu</i>
MEDIAL V DELETION	<i>nə-b'kiwa</i>	---
ARTICLE REDUCTION	---	<i>n-'patu</i>
<i>a > e</i>	<i>ne-b'kiwa</i>	---
FINAL V DELETION	<i>'ne-bkiw</i>	<i>n-'pat</i>
(OTHER RULES)	<i>nepɣev</i>	<i>nhat</i>

Now let us examine noun roots with final closed syllables. (I omit from consideration here **q*-initial nouns, since as we have seen a slightly different set of rules appears to apply to these.) The data below again suggest that stress was final, and that the unstressed vowel – which was the first vowel of the root – was lost, possibly via **a*, as Kwamera *nuvera* < **na paraq* 'sprouting coconut' suggests.

POc	Sye	Tanna	Anejoṃ	
* <i>na mo'lis</i>	<i>nemli</i>	L <i>nəmɔlh</i>	<i>nepjəθ</i>	'citrus'
* <i>na ta'wan</i>	{ <i>nɔau</i> }		<i>netva</i>	'lychee'
* <i>na la'waq</i>	{ <i>yatri/lwo</i> }	<i>nilva</i>		'spider(web)'
* <i>na ŋi'can</i>	{ <i>ninjoi</i> }	W <i>naŋhən</i>	{ <i>i'niθ</i> }	'when?'
* <i>na ku'rat</i>	<i>noyrat</i>	{L <i>nauias</i> }	{ <i>nouras</i> }	' <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '
* <i>na pa'raq</i>	<i>nevre</i>	K <i>nuvera</i>		'sprouting coconut'
* <i>na ba'qun</i>	<i>nɪmpa</i>	L <i>nəpən</i>		'(k.o.) banana'

However, **na kawil* > Anj *nyowoj* 'fish hook' and **na kawit* > Anj *niyowos* 'breadfruit-picker' are exceptions (of different kinds) to this generalisation.

4.4.3 Proto Southern Vanuatu stress

The pattern of medial vowel deletion lends strong support to the hypothesis that, in Proto Southern Vanuatu, primary stress occurred on the penultimate syllable if the final syllable was open, but on the final syllable if that syllable was closed. Secondary stress apparently occurred two syllables to the left of the primary-stressed syllable. Although this appears to be a well motivated conclusion – and, indeed, I have suggested elsewhere (Lynch 2000b) that this is the POc stress system – it does not match the facts of the daughter languages, all of which have regular penultimate stress, irrespective of whether the final syllable was open or closed. The exceptions to this general statement are not relevant to the issue under discussion. Long vowels in final syllables attract stress, and there are a couple of restricted environments in some SV languages which require antepenultimate stress; however, there is nothing in the phonologies of modern SV languages paralleling the proposed final stress in words ending in closed syllables.

A comparison with the SV family's nearest relative, however, is instructive. Thieberger (1997) says that, in South Efate, 'stress is usually on the last syllable in two syllable words, and on the penultimate in words of three syllables'. Although this is not identical to what I am proposing, it does suggest that in the language ancestral to the South Efate and Southern Vanuatu languages, stress did occur on final (short) syllables in some contexts.

4.5 Rule ordering and ‘incipient vowel deletion’

The discussion in the preceding section has established that all Southern Vanuatu languages shared the following rules, which must have applied in the order given:

1. Low Vowel Dissimilation
2. Medial Vowel Deletion
3. Article Reduction
4. Final Vowel Deletion

Not only do all SV languages share these four rules, in this order, but so does the South Efate language (Lynch 1999b), the only significant difference being that non-final *a* was not subject to deletion:

Pre-South Efate	<i>*na'su^hma</i>	<i>*na'sama</i>	<i>*napa'ti-gu</i>	<i>*naki'ni-gu</i>
LOW V DISSIMILATION	---	<i>ne'sema</i>	<i>nepa'tigu</i>	---
MEDIAL V DELETION	---	---	---	<i>nak'nigu</i>
ARTICLE REDUCTION	---	<i>n'sema</i>	<i>npa'tigu</i>	---
FINAL V DELETION	<i>nasu^hm</i>	<i>nsem</i>	<i>npatig</i>	<i>naknig</i>
(OTHER RULES)	<i>nasu^hm</i>	<i>nsem</i>	<i>npatik</i>	<i>naknik</i>
	‘house’	‘outrigger’	‘my tooth’	‘my finger’

On the surface, this looks like very strong evidence in support of a subgrouping hypothesis which assigned the SV languages and South Efate to a single subgroup.

However, there is clear evidence that this is *not* the case – at least not in this form. There are, as we have seen, a number of palatalisation rules in the Southern Vanuatu languages:

- (i) palatalisation of POc **t* (and **d*) as PSV **c*;
- (ii) palatalisation of POc **l*, **r* and **R* as PNT **r*;
- (iii) palatalisation of POc **l* (but not **r* or **R*) as *j* in Anejoṃ, and
- (iv) palatalisation of POc **n* and **ŋ* as *ñ* in Anejoṃ.

All of these must have preceded the vowel loss rules, since a deleted vowel conditions palatalisation. However, South Efate shows no palatalisation at all. For example:

(i)	POc		Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ	S. Efate
	<i>*mate</i>	‘die’	<i>mah</i>	<i>məs</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>mat</i>
	<i>*mataq</i>	‘raw’	<i>e/mte</i>	<i>a/mra</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>met</i>
(ii)	POc			Lenakel		S. Efate
	<i>*laŋo</i>	‘a fly’		<i>k/iaŋ</i>		<i>laaŋ</i>
	<i>*lima-</i>	‘hand, five’		<i>ne/lmə-</i>	‘hand’	<i>i/lim</i> ‘five’
(iii)	POc				Anejoṃ	S. Efate
	<i>*laŋo</i>	‘a fly’			<i>n/laŋ</i>	<i>laaŋ</i>
	<i>*lima-</i>	‘hand, five’			<i>ni/jma-</i>	‘hand’
						<i>i/lim</i> ‘five’
(iv)	POc				Anejoṃ	S. Efate
	PSOc <i>*munim</i>	‘drink’			<i>a/m^woñ</i>	<i>mìn</i>
	<i>*tanoq</i>	‘ground’			<i>n/tan</i>	<i>n/tan</i>
	<i>*laŋo</i>	‘a fly’			<i>n/laŋ</i>	<i>laaŋ</i>
	<i>*boŋi</i>	‘night’			<i>ne/peñ</i>	<i>p^won</i>

So on the one hand we have a complex sequence of dissimilation, reduction and vowel loss rules shared by South Efate and the Southern Vanuatu languages. On the other hand, apparently *preceding* these rules, we have:

- (i) palatalisation of coronal stops, shared by all SV languages but not South Efate;
- (ii) palatalisation of *l, *r and *R, shared only by the northern Tanna languages;
- (iii) a different *l-palatalisation rule, found only in Anejoñ; and
- (iv) palatalisation of *n and *ŋ, also only in Anejoñ.

At first glance, these suggest that the dissimilation-reduction-vowel loss process must have occurred very late, and operated independently in each low-level subgroup.

However, I believe that this is not correct. What I suggest in fact took place was this. The language ancestral to South Efate and the Southern Vanuatu family had underlying pretonic and word-final vowels, which may well have occurred on the surface as well in that language. There may well have been a difference between casual and careful speech, with the former showing vowel deletion while in the latter the vowels were retained. That is:

POc *na tali'ŋa-gu > Careful: na'tali'ŋagu
 'my ear' Casual: n'talŋag

Indeed, there is evidence from at least the Erakor dialect of South Efate that parts of this process are still at work. Thieberger (1997), in discussing Clark's (1985) posited vowel deletion rule for South Efate, says that 'this rule is still productive in current usage in Erakor. The following are examples of words which have an extra syllable when pronounced carefully':

South Efate

Careful	Casual	
<i>natokon</i>	<i>natkon</i>	'village'
<i>tili</i>	<i>tli</i>	'tell'
<i>selat</i>	<i>slat</i>	'take, carry'
<i>melanr</i>	<i>mlanr</i>	'cold'

I thus treat the two vowel deletion rules and the Article Reduction rule as 'incipient' in the language ancestral to South Efate and the SV languages. That is, the process had begun in that language, but was not completed in the Southern Vanuatu languages until much later (and seems still not absolutely complete in South Efate). As far as Southern Vanuatu itself is concerned, the careful speech forms remained the underlying forms until at least the time when Anejoñ separated from the other SV languages and the northern and southern Tanna languages diverged from each other. However, since there is no evidence in any modern SV language of the kind of alternation found in South Efate, we have to assume that the vowel deletion process was completed, and that the underlying forms in these languages are now the casual speech forms.

This would imply that changes as a result of palatalisation, for example, were 'transferred' from the underlying to the casual forms. That is, I propose the following derivation for Anejoñ *ntijŋak* from POc *na-taliŋa-gu 'my ear', which illustrates the point I am making here:

	Underlying/Careful	Casual
Proto Oceanic	*na 'tali'ŋa-gu	*na 'tali'ŋa-gu
Pre-PSV	*na-'tali'ŋa-gu	*na-'tali'ŋa-gu
LOW V DISSIMILATION	nə'tali'ŋa-gu	nə'tali'ŋa-gu
MEDIAL V DELETION	---	nə-tal'ŋa-gu
ARTICLE REDUCTION	---	n-tal'ŋa-gu
FINAL V DELETION	---	n-talŋa-g
VOWEL RAISING I	nə-'teli'ŋa-gu	n-telŋa-g
*l-PALATALISATION	nə-'teji'ŋa-gu	n-tejŋa-g
VOWEL RAISING II	nə-'tiji'ŋa-gu	n-tijŋa-g
CASUAL → UNDERLYING	LOST	n-tijŋa-g = Underlying
Anejoṃ	ntijŋa-k	

4.6 Retention of POc *q

Proto Oceanic *q is not regularly reflected as a phonemic segment in any Southern Vanuatu language. However, there are a couple of etyma which suggest that POc *q may have been irregularly reflected as PSV *v:

POc	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
*mataqu	m ^w adəp	maru	m ^w atu	matuk ^w	m ^w atuk	{n/mata-}	'right hand'
*qutok	no/ua-	no/uhtā-	nen-ourək	-kula	k ^w era	n/hutu/ma	'brain'

However, there is fairly strong evidence that POc *q was lost in SV languages only *after* it had affected the shape of PSV morphemes and brought about some changes in PSV consonants; and thus the phoneme *q needs to be reconstructed for PSV.

First, there are two environments where *q has an effect on a neighbouring consonant. As I showed in §2.5.1.3, POc *n is often reflected as ŋ, not as n, if the adjacent syllable contained POc *q. Examples are given below, with braces surrounding items which reflect *n as n, and square brackets surrounding cognates in which the *n is not reflected.

POc	Sye	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
*qanusī		aŋah	aŋah	aŋh			aŋθe-i	'spit'
*tinaqe-		nə/sŋa-	nə/səŋaa-	nə/sŋaa-	{nə/sinau-}	{nə/ninha-}	ne/sŋa-	'guts'
*qunap-i	n/iŋevi-						{n/inehe-}	'scale'

And as I showed in §2.5.3.3, POc *s and *c are reflected as PNT *z, not as *h, if the adjacent syllable contained POc *q. For example:

POc	Sye	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
*(q)aca(n,ŋ)-	[n/i-]	n/erŋə-	n/erŋə-	n/etŋə-	n/harŋə-	n/arŋu-	[n/iθa-]	'name'
*saqat	sat	a/raat	əra	taat	ha	era/ha	has	'bad'

There is, however, an exception to this:

POc	Sye	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
*qusan		n/uhuən	n/uhuan	n/iħin	n/ehen	n/esən	nyop/θa	'rain'

I also showed in §4.1.2 that word-final vowels were regularly lost in PSV, but that a vowel preceding word-final **q* was retained. I briefly illustrate this with Kwamera data.

POc *V#	>	Kwm Ø	
<i>*rua</i>		<i>kə/ru</i>	'two'
<i>*mate</i>		<i>mas</i>	'die'
<i>*kuu</i>		<i>ur</i>	'louse'

POc *Vq#	>	Kwm V	
<i>*ianoq</i>		<i>təna</i>	'ground'
<i>*mataq</i>		<i>a/mera</i>	'raw'
<i>*tubuq</i>		<i>rupu</i>	'grow'

The reconstruction of Proto Southern Vanuatu lexical and grammatical morphemes must therefore take into account (i) the difference between underlying and casual-speech forms and (ii) the retention of **q*, and the former especially poses a number of problems regarding the form of such reconstructions.

5 *Nominal morphosyntax*

This chapter will deal with various aspects of nominal and pronominal morphology, with closed classes of words which occur in noun phrases, and with the structure of nominal phrases in Proto Southern Vanuatu. All POc reconstructions come from Lynch, Ross and Crowley (*f/c*).

5.1 Pronominal forms

Under the heading of pronominal forms I will deal with focal, objective and possessive pronouns; preverbal markers of the person of the subject will be dealt with in §6.2 and interrogative pronouns in §7.3. All of the SV languages distinguish inclusive and exclusive first person in the non-singular, and all except those of Erromango distinguish singular, dual, trial and plural number. The non-singular pronouns in the Tanna languages and Anejoñ are historically (but not synchronically) bi-morphemic, consisting of a pronominal root and a number suffix, neither of which can occur alone. Thus the Lenakel first person exclusive forms are dual *kamlau*, trial *kamhel* and plural *kamar*, while the corresponding second person forms are *kamilau*, *kamhiel* (with metathesis) and *kamiar*, suggesting the underlying pronominal roots *kam-* 1EXC:NONSG and *kami-* 2NONSG and the number suffixes *-lau* 'dual', *-hel* 'trial' and *-ar* 'plural'. However, none of these morphemes can occur alone.¹

Focal pronouns occur (i) as subjects in Anejoñ and as emphatic subjects in the other languages,² (ii) as answers to questions in verbless sentences, and (iii) in Ura (except for the third person plural) and in all Tanna languages except Southwest Tanna, as objects of verbs and verbal prepositions. Objective pronouns occur as verbal suffixes in Sye³ (and in 3PL only

¹ In addition to the metathesis in the 2TL form *kamihel* > /kamhiel/, there are various other morphophonemic changes in other persons and numbers in most languages – e.g. Lenakel underlying *kar-lau* 1INC:DL and *il-lau* 3DL surface respectively as /kalau/ and /ilau/. The comparisons here, and in the rest of this chapter, will be with underlying forms, morphophonemic changes being referred to only when they are reconstructible at some level: cf. §5.1.4 below.

² Since all SV languages have a set of preverbal markers of the person and number of the subject, a pronominal subject does not normally occur except in cases of contrast or emphasis. The only exception is Anejoñ, which requires an overt pronoun subject.

³ Some Sye verbs take focal pronominal objects.

in Ura) and as postposed free morphemes in Southwest Tanna and Anejoṃ (which, however, has suffixed allomorphs of the 2SG and 3SG pronouns). Possessive pronouns occur as suffixes to nouns in direct constructions and to possessive markers in indirect constructions.

The development of Proto Oceanic pronouns in the SV languages will be discussed in detail in §5.1.5 below. However, I will need to make reference to some of those forms in the intervening discussion, and thus list the POc pronouns here for convenience.

Proto Oceanic pronouns

	Focal	Objective	Possessive
1SG	*[i]au	*=au	*-gu
2SG	*[i]ko[e]	*=ko	*-mu
3SG	*ia	*=a	*-ña
1INC.NONSG	*kita	*-da	
1EXC.NONSG	*ka[m]i, *kamami	*-ma[m]i	
2NONSG	*ka[m]u, *kamiu	*-m[i]u	
3NONSG	*(k)ira	*=ra	*-dra

5.1.1 Focal pronouns

All focal pronouns in Anejoṃ are *a*-initial: it is likely that this is the animate subject marker *a* which occurs before all animate subjects except *f* or pronouns; for example:

Anejoṃ

Et am jeŋ a etma-k.
3SG:AOR sleep SM father-1SG:POSS
'My father is sleeping.'

*Et am jeŋ (*a) aen.*
3SG:AOR sleep (*SM) he/she
'He/she is sleeping.'

I thus treat Anejoṃ pronoun-initial *a* as an accretion. It is also likely that some pronouns in the Tanna languages have accreted an initial *i* (which may derive from a POc personal article **i*), though this is more sporadic.

The following singular focal pronouns are reconstructed for Proto Southern Vanuatu:

	POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj
1SG	*[i]au	*ia <u>u</u>	* <u>y</u> au	* <u>i</u> ou	{a ^h ak}
2SG	*[i]ko[e]	*igo(e)	*(i)go(e)	*ik	a/ek
3SG	*ia	*in	{*iyi}	*in	a/en

The Proto Erromangan and Proto Tanna reconstructions are based on the following pronouns in the daughter languages:

	PEr	Sye	Ura	Uth	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
1SG	*yau	yau	yau	yo	*iou	iio	iiou	io	iou	iou
2SG	*(i)go(e)	k/ik	ga	go	*ik	ik	iik	iik	iik	ik
3SG	*iyi	iyi	iyi	iyi	*in	in	in	in	in	in

With the 2SG form, Ura and Utaha apparently retain *o which has been lost in all other SV languages; final *(e) is reconstructed since it would have protected *o from deletion in these two languages. Sye, the Tanna languages and Anejoṃ show the initial *i, which is lost in Ura and Utaha. And Sye has accreted an initial *k* onto this pronoun.

While the non-singular pronouns in the Erromangan languages are free forms, in the other SV languages they consist of a root plus a number-marker. I will leave until §5.1.4 a discussion of the antiquity of this marker, and concentrate here on the pronominal roots. I reconstruct the following non-singular focal pronouns for Proto Southern Vanuatu, and will comment on the two first exclusive and second person forms later.

	POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj
1INC:NONSG	* <i>kita</i>	* <i>gadi</i>	* <i>gəs</i>	* <i>k(a,i)dV-</i>	<i>a/kaj-</i>
1EXC:NONSG	* <i>ka[m]i, *kamami</i>	* <i>gam(i)</i> *(i) <i>damV</i>	* <i>g(a,i)m</i>	* <i>kam(i)-</i> *(i, <i>t,d</i>) <i>əmV-</i>	<i>a/jam-</i>
2NONS	* <i>ka[m]u, *kamiu</i>	* <i>gami(u)</i> *(i) <i>da[m]u(V)</i>	* <i>gimi(u)</i>	* <i>kami(u)-</i> *(i, <i>t,d</i>) <i>əm^wV-</i>	<i>a/jou-</i>
3NONS	*(<i>k</i>) <i>ira</i>	* <i>ira</i>	* <i>iLeL</i>	* <i>iri-</i>	<i>a/ar-</i>

The forms in the Erromangan languages are free forms. The Proto Erromangan reconstructions are based on the following:

	PEr	Sye	Ura	Uth
1INC:PL	* <i>gəs</i>	<i>koh</i>	<i>gis</i>	<i>gis</i>
1EXC:PL	* <i>g(a,i)m</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>gim</i>	<i>kum</i>
2PL	* <i>gimi(u)</i>	<i>kimi</i>	<i>ḡimi</i>	<i>kimi</i>
3PL	* <i>iLeL</i>	<i>iror</i>	<i>leil</i>	<i>yoril</i>

There were obviously some sporadic changes taking place in the initial consonant of the first and second person forms, with the velar nasal in the Ura 2PL form particularly unexpected. I reconstruct initial **g* in all three forms.

The Proto Tanna forms are based on the following cognate sets:

	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
1INC:NONSG	* <i>k(a,i)dV-</i>	<i>kit-</i>	<i>kit-</i>	<i>kat-</i>	<i>kət-</i>	<i>kət-</i>
1EXC:NONSG	* <i>kam(i)-</i> *(i, <i>t,d</i>) <i>əmV-</i>	<i>itmi-</i>	<i>itəm-</i>	<i>kam-</i>	<i>kəm-</i>	<i>kəm-</i>
2NONS	* <i>kami(u)-</i> *(i, <i>t,d</i>) <i>əm^wV-</i>	<i>itəm-</i>	<i>itəm^w-</i>	<i>kami-</i>	<i>kəmi-</i>	<i>kəmi-</i>
3NONS	* <i>iri-</i>	<i>il-</i>	<i>il-</i>	<i>il-</i>	<i>ili-</i>	<i>ir-</i>

The innovative Proto Tanna 1EXC and 2 non-singular forms **i(t,d)əmV-* and **i(t,d)əm^wV-* are reconstructed on a top-down basis, since they are cognate with the Anejoṃ forms *ajam-* and *ajou-*; I will discuss these innovative forms in more detail in §5.1.5.

5.1.2 Objective pronouns

Objective pronouns which are formally distinct from focal pronouns occur only in Sye and Ura (and then only with some verbs), Southwest Tanna and Anejoṃ. In Sye and Ura they are suffixed to verbs; in Anejoṃ, they are generally postposed free forms, but the second and

third singular forms have suffixed allomorphs which may occur after vowel-final verbs; while in Southwest Tanna there is no formal distinction between focal and objective pronouns in the singular. Southwest Tanna and Anejoñ non-singular objective pronouns take the same number suffixes as do the focal (and possessive) pronouns.

The following reconstructions can be made:⁴

	POc	PSV	Sye	Ura	SWT	Anj
1SG	*= <i>au</i>	*= <i>ia</i>	- <i>yau</i>	- <i>yau</i>		{ <i>ñak</i> }
2SG	*= <i>ko</i>	*= <i>yo</i>	- <i>oy</i> , {- <i>kik</i> }	- <i>ka</i>		<i>yiγ</i> , - <i>γ</i>
3SG	*= <i>a</i>		- <i>i</i>	-∅		<i>yin</i> , - <i>n</i>
1INC:PL		*= <i>γad(i)</i>	- <i>γoh</i>	- <i>kis</i>	<i>at-</i>	<i>γaj-</i>
1EXC:PL		*= <i>γam(i)</i>	- <i>γam</i>	- <i>kim</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>γam-</i>
2PL		*= <i>γamiu</i>	- <i>γum</i>	- <i>mi</i>	<i>ami-</i>	<i>γou-</i>
3PL	*= <i>ra</i>	*= <i>ara</i>	- <i>or</i>	- <i>l</i>	<i>ali-</i>	<i>r-</i>

I reconstruct these forms as enclitics, for two reasons: (i) because they were enclitics in POc, and (ii) because their behaviour in the languages which have them (suffixes in some, postposed free morphemes in others) suggest that they probably were enclitics in PSV.

The 1SG form is reconstructed on a top-down basis, with Sye and Ura -*yau* reflecting POc *=*au*. For the 2SG form, I treat the Sye vowel *o* as epenthetic (and the alternative form -*kik* as being the focal pronoun). No reconstruction for the 3SG form can be made; and note specifically that there is no reflex of the POc 3SG form *=*a*.

In comparison with the focal forms, the non-singular objective pronouns show lenition of the initial consonant (**g* > **γ*) in the first and second persons. Of particular interest here are the Anejoñ forms. The Anejoñ focal 1EXC and 2NONSG pronouns are innovative, with initial **g* being replaced by **d*. However, the corresponding objective forms have initial **γ* which, as I have just suggested, represents lenition from an initial *velar* stop. (Both 2NONSG forms, however, show unexpected loss of medial **m*.)

5.1.3 Possessive pronouns

The following singular possessive suffixes are reconstructed for Proto Southern Vanuatu:

	POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj
1SG	*= <i>gu</i>	*= <i>g(u)</i>	*= <i>g</i>	*= <i>k</i>	- <i>k</i>
2SG	*= <i>mu</i>	*= <i>mu</i>	*= <i>m(u)</i>	*= <i>m</i>	- <i>m^w</i>
3SG	*= <i>ña</i>	*= <i>n[i]</i>	*= <i>n[i]</i>	*= <i>n[i]</i>	- <i>n</i>

The PEr and PTn forms are based on the forms below. Note that Ura has largely lost the possessive pronouns, employing a construction with free pronouns; however, there are vestiges of the earlier system, and these forms are listed here.

⁴ The Anejoñ 2SG and 3SG suffixed forms -*γ* and -*n* are optional variants of *yiγ* and *yin* after a vowel.

	PEr	Sye	Ura	Uth	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
1SG	*-g	-ŋ	-k	-ŋ	*-k	-k	-k	-k	-k	-k
2SG	*-m(u)	-m,-mu	-m	{-ko}	*-m	-m	-m	-m	-m	-m
3SG	*-n[i]	-n,-ni	-n	-n	*-n[i]	-n	-n	-n	-n,-ni	-n,-ni

The 2SG form is reconstructed as *-mu. The Erromangan and Tanna languages regularly lose the final vowel. However, although the most frequent Sye 2SG form is -m, there is an allomorph -mu, which occurs following a labial consonant in some morphemes; compare

Sye

<i>nompun</i>	'my head'	<i>nompum</i>	'your (SG) head'
<i>retpun</i>	'my wife'	<i>retpmu</i>	'your (SG) wife'

The 3SG form *-n[i] is reconstructed ambiguously. The southern Tanna languages have two forms, one with and one without final *i*. In Kwamera, for example, -ni occurs after kin terms and possessive markers, and -n occurs elsewhere. In Sye, although the most frequent form is -n, there are some morphophonemic contexts in which a final *i* appears. Again compare:

Sye

<i>nompun</i>	'my head'	<i>nompun</i>	'his/her head'
<i>nitun</i>	'my child'	<i>nitni</i>	'his/her child'

However, Anejoñ -n must reflect *-n, not *-ni, since the nasal does not undergo palatalisation.

The following non-singular possessive suffixes can be reconstructed:

	POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj
1INC:NONSG	*-da	*-da	*-(n)ta	*-d-	-j-
1EXC:NONSG	*-ma[m]i	*-mami	*-mam	*-m-	-m-
2NONSG	*-m[i]u	*-mi(u)	*-mi(u)	*-mi-	-mi-
3NONSG	*-dra	*-nira	*-nira	*-(ni)r-	-r-

The first three Proto Erromangan forms are based entirely on the Sye forms (-t ~ -ni, -mam, and -mi), since there are no data from the other language. The 3NONSG form is based on Sye -nr, Utaha -ira. The Proto Tanna forms are reconstructed on the basis of the following:

	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
1INC:NONSG	*-d-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-	-t-
1EXC:NONSG	*-m-	{-tm-}	{-təm-}	-m-	-m-	-m-
2NONSG	*-mi-	{-təm-}	{-təmʷ-}	-mi-	-mi-	-mi-
3NONSG	*-(ni)r-	-l-	-l-	-nil-	-li-	-nr-

Note that North Tanna and Whitesands continue the innovative 1EXC and 2NONSG forms into the possessive system, but Anejoñ does not.

5.1.4 Number suffixes and morphophonemics

The Tanna languages and Anejoñ mark the number of non-singular pronouns by a suffix. These suffixes can be reconstructed as follows:

	PSV	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj
DUAL	*-rau	*-rau	-lao	-lhau	-lau	-lau,-lu	-rau	-rau
TRIAL	*-(t,s)ali	*-ahari	-ahal	-ahal	-hel	-asəl,-səl	-r/ahar	-taj
PLURAL	*-at	*-at	-at		-ar			-a ?
	*-a(s,c)a	*-ah(a)		-ah		{-aua},-a	-aha	

Before discussing the forms of these number suffixes, it is worth looking briefly at the forms of the numerals 'two' and 'three' and the two forms for 'four' which I reconstruct in §5.5.2 below (each of which has the numeral prefix *ga- ~ *gə-):

POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj	
*rua	*ga-rua	*ga-Lua	*kə-ru(a)	e-rou	'two'
PSOc *teli	*ga-sili	*ga-heli	*ka-sir	e-sej	'three'
*pat	*gə-vat	*gə-vat	*kə-vat	{e-manohowan}	'four'
*pati	*gə-vac		*kə-vas		'four'

It will be seen from a comparison of the numerals and the number suffixes that there are distinct similarities, but that the forms are certainly not identical. Note also that the ambiguity in the final consonant in the Proto Tanna plural suffix is also found in the form meaning 'four'. Now since the Tanna and Anejoñ number-markers are cognate, and since they are not formally identical to the corresponding numerals (and therefore since the non-singular pronouns are not transparently 'you + two', 'they + three', etc., as they are in many other Oceanic languages), I suggest that PSV had the same system as the Tanna languages and Anejoñ, and that this has subsequently been simplified in Erromango. The fact that Erromangan languages mark dual in subject prefixes (see §6.2.3) lends support to the hypothesis that those languages have simplified a system which was originally more like that of Tanna and Anejoñ.

The dual suffix PSV *-rau shows *r > PNT *l where *i would be expected. This may be due to the fact that some pronominal roots are *i-final, and this preceding *i would condition palatalisation of *r as *l.

The combination of coronal consonants across the morpheme boundary in non-singular pronouns leads to deletion of one of these. Examine the following forms in Lenakel (representing the process as it operates in Tanna) and Anejoñ; underlying forms are within slashes, surface forms are unmarked:

	Lenakel	Anejoñ
1INC:DL	/kat-lau/ kalau	/akaj-rau/ akajau
1INC:TL		/akaj-taj/ akataj
3:DL	/il-lau/ ilau	/aar-rau/ aarau
3TL		/aar-taj/ aattaj

Lenakel shows deletion of a root-final coronal consonant before a suffix-initial coronal. Anejoñ also shows a dislike for the combination of two coronals, but the patterns of deletion (and in one case gemination) are more complex. From all of this, I assume that PSV probably

did not tolerate the coronal-coronal sequence in non-singular pronouns, but I cannot be precise as to what deletion rules were involved.

5.1.5 POc and PSV pronominal forms

This section briefly looks at the development of the POc pronouns in the SV languages.

The POc and PSV focal pronouns are as follows:

	POc	PSV
1SG	*[i]au	*iau
2SG	*[i]ko[e]	*igo(e)
3SG	*ia	{*in}
1INC.NONSG	*kita	*gadi
1EXC.NONSG	*ka[m]i, *kamami	*gam(i), *(i)damV
2NONSG	*ka[m]u, *kamiu	*gami(u), *(i)da[m]u(V)
3NONSG	*(k)ira	*ira

Neither the PSV 3SG form **in* nor the PEr form **iyi* directly reflect POc **ia*. PSV **in* has the accreted **i* and also looks as if it may be related to PNCV reconstruction **naia* (which seems to incorporate POc **ia*). The **y* in the PEr form could derive from POc **ñ*, suggesting **i-ñi(a)*. Obviously, these forms are similar, and may ultimately have the same source.

As I have mentioned earlier, PSV, like the North-Central Vanuatu languages, has changed the **r* of the 1INC.NONSG form to **d* and the initial **k* in the 1EXC and 2NONSG forms to **g*; PSV has gone further and generalised this latter change to the 1INC form (thus POc **kita* > PNCV **kida*, PSV **gadi*).

The innovative 1EXC and 2NONSG forms **(i)damV* and **(i)da[m]u(V)* are reflected in Anejoñ and two of the three northern Tanna languages. This suggests that some kind of change may have been in process at some early stage, but that it did not find acceptance in some of the dialects. (It may have, however, in at least some New Caledonian languages: see Lynch 2000c.)

The POc and PSV objective pronouns are:

POc	PSV	
1SG	*=au	*=iau
2SG	*=ko	*=yo
3SG	*=a	
1INC.NONSG		*=yad(i)
1EXC.NONSG		*=yam(i)
2NONSG		*=yamiu
3NONSG	*=ra	*=ara

There is little to comment on here, apart from the loss of the POc 3SG form **=a*. The Sye 3SG suffix *-i* is probably the transitive suffix reinterpreted as an object marker, while the Anejoñ 3SG *yin* ~ *-n* may derive either from the focal or the possessive pronoun. Note also the lenition of the initial velar in the non-singular pronouns.

The POc and PSV possessive pronouns are:

POc	PSV	
1SG	*-gu	*-g(u)
2SG	*-mu	*-mu
3SG	*-ñā	*-n[i]
1INC.NONSG	*-da	*-da
1EXC.NONSG	*-ma[m]i	*-mami
2NONSG	*-m[i]u	*-mi(u)
3NONSG	*-dra	*-nira

Again, there is very little to comment on here. As is common in Oceanic, the *ñ in POc *-ñā '3SG' is not reflected in the same way as *ñ in other morphemes, while the 3NONSG form has accreted initial *ni in some languages (which may derive from the 3SG form, or which may involve a reinterpretation of POc *dr as a cluster – i.e. *dra > nra > nira).

5.2 Nominal morphology

This section covers historical accretions to nouns, as well as productive affixation. I exclude, however, possessive morphology, which I will cover separately in §5.3. There is a problem in drawing the line between historical and productive affixation, since in some cases what was originally the same morpheme is found both as a fossilised accretion and as a productive affix. For example, the POc common article *na has been accreted onto many nouns, and is an integral part of those nouns. At the same time, there is a productive prefix PSV *n- which nominalised verbs, and this presumably also derives from POc *na. I will separate these two categories for discussion purposes, but will note any overlap.

5.2.1 Accretions to nouns

I discussed in some detail in previous chapters the accretion of the POc article *na to many nouns in the Southern Vanuatu languages, and this needs little further discussion here. The distribution of the accreted article roughly parallels that found more generally for the common article in Oceanic by Crowley (1985) – i.e. it is found on most inanimate nouns, some non-human animate nouns, but few human nouns.

Although most kin terms show no initial accretion, some kin terms in the Erromangan languages and Anejoñ have a reflex of initial *e- (deriving from POc *e 'personal article' – cf. Ross 1988:99-100); and there is also evidence for a feminine kin prefix *ri-. PSV *e- probably marked senior male kin of the same moiety, while PSV *ri- probably marked senior female kin:

POc		Sye	Ura	Kwamera	Anejoñ
*tama-	'father'	e/tme-	{rimi/n}	{remu-}	e/tma-
*tuqaka	'same-sex sibling'			{p/rea-}	e/twa-
*tubu-	'grandparent'	re/tpo-	'wife'	{rəpu-}	e/tpo-
*tina-	'mother'	nr/in/me-	e/hne/n	r/inh-	ri/si-

It is possible that PSV **ri-* reflects a putative POc feminine article or prefix **dri*, with reflexes in some New Ireland and northern Vanuatu languages.⁵ As far as the New Ireland languages are concerned, Beaumont (1979: 58) says that Tigak *ri* is an honorific article used 'before proper nouns which...refer to a person who is, or has been, a mother'. Tungag *ri* has similar functions (Malcolm Ross, pers. comm.). In northern Vanuatu, reflexes of putative **drV-* occur prefixed to a number of female kin terms (for further details, see Lynch 1996: 70-76):

- (a) Mosina (Banks) *re/tno-*, Northeast Ambae (Lolsiwoi dialect) *ri/si-* and Tolomako (Santo) *ra/tina-* 'mother' all reflect POc **tina-* 'mother' with an *r*-initial prefix;
- (b) Northeast Ambae (Wailengi and Lolomatua dialects) *re/tahi-*, Duidui (Ambae) *re/tahi-* and Raga (Pentecost) *ra/tahi-* 'mother' all reflect POc **taci-* 'younger same-sex sibling' with an *r*-initial prefix;
- (c) Mores (or Roria) (Santo) *rie/tpu-* 'mother' reflects POc **tubu-* 'grandparent' with an *r*-initial prefix.

It thus appears that there may have been a form **dri* of some antiquity which applied to mothers and wives – perhaps to senior female kin. POc **tubu-* 'grandparent' and **tuqaka-* 'older same-sex sibling' would be excluded, since they refers to both males and females, and one assumes that the male interpretation would be the default one.

In some SV languages, especially Ura and the Tanna languages, many human (or animate) nouns seem to have taken a prefix **ia-*, which is obviously cognate with a productive agentive prefix in the Tanna languages (e.g. Lenakel *ia-* before consonants, *i-* before vowels). There is no evidence of this prefix as a productive morpheme elsewhere in the SV languages, and indeed Sye and Anejoṃ usually have **na-* with the same items. Some examples:

POc	Ura	Lenakel	Sye	Anejoṃ	
<i>*ia-m^waqane</i>	<i>ya/rmon</i>	<i>ie/ram^waan</i>	<i>na/tman</i>	<i>na/tam^wañ</i>	'man'
<i>*ia-pine</i>	<i>ya/rvin</i>	{ <i>pe/ravən</i> }	<i>na/hiven</i>	<i>na/taheñ</i>	'woman'
	<i>ye/rema</i>	<i>ie/ramim</i>	<i>ne/teme</i>		'person'
<i>*ia-mate</i>	<i>ya/rmis</i>	<i>ia/rmās</i>	<i>na/tmah</i>	<i>na/tmas</i>	'evil spirit, devil'

There is also evidence supporting the reconstruction of an accreted locative/temporal prefix PSV **i-*, probably deriving from the POc locative/temporal preposition **i*, which is found (i) in many place names (especially in Tanna); (ii) in alternations like Lenakel *nelukə-* 'middle', *ilukə-* 'between', or Lenakel *tehe* 'sea', *irhe* 'to/in the sea'; and (iii) also in forms like the following:

POc	Sye	Lenakel	Anejoṃ	
PSOc <i>*marani</i>	{ <i>mran</i> }		<i>i/mrañ</i>	'tomorrow'
PSOc <i>*tuai</i>	<i>e/twai</i>		<i>i/tuwu</i>	'long ago'
<i>*toŋa</i> 'south'	<i>i/tuŋo</i>	<i>i/tuŋa</i>	<i>i/tooŋa</i>	'foreign'

⁵ The form is reconstructed with **dr* since Tigak and Tungag *r* reflect POc **dr* (not **r*, **l* or **R*) (Ross 1988: 267).

Two lower-level nominal affixes can also be reconstructed. A form which can be reconstructed as PTn **pi-* (or perhaps **(p,p^w)i-*) is found prefixed to a number of kin terms in Tanna languages. It is found in all Tanna languages on two kin/personal terms:

POc	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
<i>*iapine</i>	<i>pe/tan</i>	<i>pə/tan</i>	<i>pe/ravən</i>	<i>pi/lavən</i>	<i>p/ran</i>	'woman'
PSV <i>*avV-</i>	<i>p^wū/a-</i>	<i>p^wū/a-</i>	<i>p^wū/a-</i>	<i>pi/a-</i>	<i>pi/avə-</i>	'same-sex sibling'

It is also found in a number of other, usually female, kin terms in Kwamera:

POc	>	Kwm	
<i>*iuqaka</i>	<i>p/rea-</i>		'older same-sex sibling'
<i>*taci-</i>	<i>p/rəsi-</i>		'younger same-sex sibling'
<i>*-pine</i>	<i>p/ini-</i>		'(man) sister'
<i>*m^waqane</i>	<i>pu/mani-</i>		'(woman) brother'

Proto Erromango appears to have accreted a marker **u-* (**w-* before a vowel) on to many animate non-human nouns (i.e. animals, birds, insects, fish and other marine life), with Ura showing more occurrences of this prefix than Sye. Some examples:

POc	Sye	Ura	
<i>*laŋo</i>	<i>u/laŋ</i>	<i>u/leŋ</i>	'a fly'
<i>*ñamuk</i>	<i>(u)yomoy</i>	<i>u/yomuu</i>	'mosquito'
<i>*paRi</i>	<i>u/var</i>	<i>u/var</i>	'stingray'
<i>*kanase</i>	<i>w/ane</i>	<i>w/ana</i>	'mullet'
PSV <i>*matara(n)</i>	<i>(u)mitar</i>	<i>u/mitar</i>	'rainbow'
PSOc <i>*garai</i>	<i>na/ŋkrai</i>	<i>u/ŋlai</i>	'flying-fox'
<i>*bokasi</i>	<i>no/mpyahi</i>	<i>u/myas</i>	'pig'
<i>*manuk</i>	<i>menuy</i>	<i>u/man-at</i>	'Cardinal honeyeater' 'bird'

5.2.2 Nominal affixation

I examine now productive nominal affixation in Southern Vanuatu languages.

In Erromango and Anejoŋ, verbs are nominalised by prefixing *n-*, which clearly derives from the POc common article **na*. A few verbs in Tanna languages are also nominalised in this way, but most take a discontinuous affix which is *n-...-an* in North Tanna, *n-...-aan* in Lenakel and *n-...-ien* in the other Tanna languages. A number of North-Central Vanuatu languages also show a similar discontinuous morpheme. For example:

- Lewo *na-...-ena*
- Namakir *na-...-ean*
- Nakanamanga *na-...-ana*
- South Efate *na-...-ien ~ na-...-wen*.

Others, however, just use a suffix:

Paamese *-ene*
 Big Nambas *-ien*⁶
 Port Sandwich *-ian*.

This suggests that PSV (and PSOc) had a nominaliser **-iana*, deriving from POc **-an*, and that nominalised verbs also took the article **na-*.

Although the SV languages all have a number of other nominal affixes, relatively few can be reconstructed for PSV. These are:

1. PSV **un-* 'locative'. PER **u-* (Sye *u-* before *n*, *un-* elsewhere, Ura *u-*) adds a locative or goal meaning to a closed set of locational nouns (e.g. Sye *veli* 'cave', *un-veli* 'to/in the cave'). Anejoñ has a locative preposition *u*, which behaves morphologically like the general possessive marker, but which is used in a restricted range of locative constructions; and in addition, a considerable number of place names in Aneityum are *u-* initial.
2. PSV **r(ə,u)-* 'non-singular kin': PER **rə-* (Sye *ro-...-me*, Ura *ri-*) 'plural kin', Anejoñ *o-* 'dual kin'.
3. PSV **=mi[]* '(human) non-singular': Sye has the suffix *-me* 'human plural', with Ura *-mila* presumably cognate, suggesting PER **-mi[la]*. The Tanna languages have the following postnominal particles marking non-singular number of (human and non-human) nouns; the morpheme break is historical, not synchronic:

PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
<i>*mi-r</i>	<i>mi-l</i>		<i>mi-l</i>	<i>mi-l</i>	<i>mi</i>	'dual'
<i>*mi-(ra)hel</i>			<i>mi-hel</i>	<i>mi-səl</i>	<i>mi-rahār</i>	'trial'
<i>*mi-na</i>	<i>mi-n</i>		<i>mi-in</i>	<i>mə-na</i>	<i>me</i>	'plural'

There is also the following interesting comparison. Sye has a vestigial prefix *it-* which converts nouns to adjectives; e.g. *natman* 'man', *it-natman* 'male'. Ura has the prefix *aru-* which converts stative verbs to adjectives: *abas* > *arw-abas* 'heavy'. Tanna languages have a formally cognate prefix which, however, converts adjectives to nouns: Lenakel *esuaas* 'small', *ir-esuaas* 'a/the small one'.

5.3 Possessive marking

Ura seems to have undergone fairly radical simplification in the area of possession: direct constructions (in which inalienable nouns take pronominal suffixes) have been almost completely replaced by constructions where the noun has a fused final *n* (the former 3SG suffix) and is followed by the focal pronoun. Similar reductions have taken place in the indirect constructions. These may have been fairly recent changes, but so little data is available on pre-contact Ura that we cannot be sure when these changes took place.⁷

⁶ Port Sandwich *-ian* forms abstract nouns, while the prefix *na-* forms concrete nouns.

⁷ For a fuller discussion, see Crowley (f/c:a).

5.3.1 Direct constructions and the construct suffix

PSV, like POc, had a number of nouns, most of which refer to concepts that are inalienable in some way, which occur in what are known as direct possessive constructions. When the possessor is a pronoun, the possessive pronoun (§5.1.3) is suffixed to the noun. When the possessor is a noun, in most SV languages the noun takes a construct suffix (CS). For example, in Anejoñ:

Anejoñ

<i>niθa-k</i>	<i>niθa-i risi-k</i>
name-1SG:POSS	name-CS mother-1SG:POSS
'my name'	'my mother's name'

We can reconstruct a PSV construct suffix **-i* on the basis of the suffix *-i* in Southwest Tanna, Kwamera and Anejoñ. The northern Tanna languages have lost the suffix completely;⁸ compare:

Lenakel	Kwamera
<i>rəmə Nau</i>	<i>remu-i Nau</i>
father Nau	father-CS Nau
'Nau's father'	'Nau's father'

Sye has also lost this suffix, and has replaced it with the 3SG suffix *-n* which, however, should probably be synchronically analysed as a (homophonous) construct suffix in this context, since it does not vary for number:

Sye

<i>noru-n</i>	<i>noru-n itais</i>	<i>noru-n ovn-itais</i>
hand-3SG	hand-CS old:man	hand-CS PL-old:man
'his/her hand'	'the old man's hand'	'the old men's hands'

5.3.2 Indirect constructions

In indirect constructions in PSV (where the possessed noun is usually alienable), the possessed noun was followed by a possessive marker, to which was suffixed either a pronominal possessor or the construct suffix (which was then followed by a nominal possessor).⁹ The following Anejoñ examples illustrate this:

⁸ In previous analyses of these languages, I treated forms like Lenakel /rəmən/ 'his father' as consisting of a root /rəm/ + suffix /n/, with obligatory schwa-insertion; and I thus treated phrases like /rəmə nau/ 'Nau's father' as consisting of root /rəm/ + construct suffix /ə/ + noun. I do not now believe that this is justified, since (following the discussion in Chapter 4) there is no historical motivation for deleting the second vowel of POc **tama-ñā*, from which *rəmən* derives. I therefore treat the root as being /rəmə/, which means that there is no construct suffix.

⁹ The Tanna languages allow the possessive marker + pronoun suffix constituent to either precede or follow the possessed noun, as in Lenakel *taha-k nimwa* (POSS:GEN-1SG:POSS house) or *nimwa taha-k* 'my house'. However, since this option does not appear to be used in other SV languages, I take it to be a later development.

Anejoṃ*ntal nya-k*

taro POSS:FOOD-1SG:POSS

'my taro (as food)'

ntal nya-i

taro POSS:FOOD-CS who

'whose taro (as food)?'

θi?

There is a small number of possessive markers used in indirect constructions.¹⁰ In Anejoṃ, the possessive markers are:

AnejoṃFOOD *nya-*DRINK *lum^wa-*PLACE *um^wa-*JUICE *liθa-*PASSIVE *a, era-*GENERAL *u, uwu-, u-, uñu-*

The passive marker (in all SV languages, not just Anejoṃ) is in fact the general oblique preposition, which will receive fuller discussion in §5.4.1. Before noun possessors in Anejoṃ, neither the passive marker when it has the form *a* nor the general marker *u* take the construct suffix.

The following possessive phrases will exemplify the semantics of these markers (and similar markers in Tanna):

Anejoṃ*neañ nya-n* 'his/her coconut (as food)'*neañ lum^wa-n* 'his/her coconut (as drink)'*nemnem um^wa-n* 'his/her village (on his/her traditional land)'*neto liθa-n* 'his/her sugarcane (to suck the juice from)'*nyip^wal era-n* 'his/her story (told about him/her)'*nyip^wal uwu-n* 'his/her story (told by him/her)'

Possessive markers in the Tanna languages mark an almost identical set of categories; however, they lack the juice category, but have a plant category (referring to things which one has planted). We can make the following reconstructions on a bottom-up basis:

	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
FOOD	*nə-ya-	naŋa-	nəŋə-	nəkə-	na-	sa/na-, sa/nə-
DRINK	*nə-m ^w a-	nəm ^w ə-	nəm ^w ə-	nəm ^w ə-	{ni-}	sa/nm ^w u-, sa/nm ^w ə-
PLANT	*n-ai-	nai-	nai-	ne-	ni-	{sap ^w ə-, sapwasə-}
PLACE	*i-im ^w a-	iim ^w a-		iim ^w a-	iim ^w a-	im ^w a-
PASSIVE	*ira, *ira-	e	ie, la-	le, la-	ie, ila-	ia, ira-, ian(i)ra-
GENERAL		raha-	raha-	taha-, tə-	kapa-, kafa-, kapaha-	sava-, sa-, se-, sei-, save-

¹⁰ Many of the markers in SV languages show allomorphic variation. I will generally just list the allomorphs without comment.

The Erromangan languages have lost all markers except general and passive, and indeed passive is only attested in Sye (Crowley's 'removed inalienable possession'), where it is *ra* before nouns and *ira-* with pronouns. However, we can still reconstruct the following non-general markers for Proto Southern Vanuatu:

	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj
FOOD	* <i>nə-ya-</i>		* <i>nə-ya-</i>	<i>nya-</i>
DRINK	* <i>nə-m^wa-</i>		* <i>nə-m^wa-</i>	<i>lu/m^wa-</i>
PLACE	* <i>ium^wa-</i>		* <i>i-im^wa-</i>	<i>um^wa-</i>
PASSIVE	* <i>(i)ra, *ira-</i>	* <i>ra-, *ira-</i>	* <i>ira, *ira-</i>	<i>a, era-</i>

The food and drink markers derive from the POc possessive markers **ka-* and *(*m, m^w*)*a-* with an accreted article. The place marker clearly derives from PSV **n-ium^waq* 'house' (< POc **Rum^waq*), minus the accreted article and **q*.

I turn now to the general marker. Unlike POc **ka-* food and *(*m, m^w*)*a-* drink, which have been retained in PSV, the most common of the POc general markers, **na-* (often *no-* in North-Central Vanuatu languages), has been completely lost in Southern Vanuatu. The Anejoñ general marker *u* has no cognates in SV languages (though it may derive from PSV **un-* locative).

Sye has *two* general forms, and there is apparently no semantic difference between them:

1. *horV-* before first and second person pronouns, *ihe-* before third person pronouns, *ihen* before nouns. The pronouns are possessive suffixes. The full paradigm is:

		IINC.PL	<i>hore-t</i>
1SG	<i>horu-ŋ</i>	1EXC.PL	<i>hor-mam</i>
2SG	<i>horo-m</i>	2PL	<i>hor-mi</i>
3SG	<i>ihe-n</i>	3PL	<i>ihe-nr</i>

2. (*h*)*en-* (becoming (*h*)*enŋ* before *k*-initial pronouns), (*h*)*en* before nouns. The pronouns are the same in form as the *focal* forms except that they occur here as suffixes. Some examples:

<i>nimo horu-ŋ</i>	=	<i>nimo (h)en-yau</i>	'my house'
<i>nimo ihe-nr</i>	=	<i>nimo (h)en-iror</i>	'their house'
<i>nimo hore-t</i>	=	<i>nimo (h)enŋ-koh</i>	'our (INC) house'
<i>nimo ihen ov-atmonuy</i>	=	<i>nimo (h)en ov-atmonuy</i>	'the chiefs' houses'

Given that the (*h*)*en-* form is used with focal pronouns, I suspect that this construction is a later development, and will treat it as such here. Indeed, it looks as if it may have originated from *ihe-* + *n* construct suffix.

Ura has a single possessive marker *ar-* and Utaha the form *eti-* ~ *ete-*, both of which are followed by forms which either are, or are very similar to, the focal pronouns. Ura *ar* is also used with noun possessors, though there is no data for Utaha in this area. These appear not to be cognate with the Sye form, though I will show shortly that they may be partly cognate.

The Tanna general markers all show a certain amount of morphophonemic alternation; for example, Lenakel *taha-* > *tə-* before non-singular pronoun suffixes, Kwamera *sa-* > *sava-* before third person pronoun suffixes. However, we are unable to reconstruct a *single* Proto Tanna form.

There is, however, evidence that the markers in Erromango and Tanna – and thus presumably PSV – are (a) bi-morphemic, and (b) include as one of these morphemes one of the POc general markers – *sa-, which I reconstructed as marking indefinite general possession (Lynch 1996c). Assuming POc *sa- > PSV *sa- > PEr *ha-, PTn *ha- (PNT *za- in the environment of *q), then we could posit the following developments (where those parts of the forms which are cognate are underlined):

PEr *ha- > Sye hə/rV-, i/hə- Ura ə/r-

PTn *ha- > NTn, Wsn ra/ha- Len ia/ha- SWT kapa/ha- Kwm sa/(va)-

PNT *za- > NTn, Wsn ra/ha- Len ia/ha-

In addition, note from the data above that Kwamera seems to have accreted *sa-* onto a number of other possessive markers. It thus appears that POc *sa- was inherited in PSV as *sa-, but that this form then combined with another morpheme (though this additional morpheme cannot be reconstructed for PSV, PEr or PTn).

5.4 Prepositions

Following Crowley (1998a), I classify prepositions in the Southern Vanuatu languages as being of three types. FREE PREPOSITIONS are followed by nouns or focal pronouns. NOMINAL PREPOSITIONS behave morphosyntactically as directly possessed nouns, taking pronominal suffixes or the construct suffix when followed by a noun phrase. And VERBAL PREPOSITIONS behave morphosyntactically as verbs, taking pronominal objects.

The Erromangan languages have a large number of prepositions – Crowley (1998a) lists over twenty in Sye – but Anejoŋ (with seven) and the Tanna languages (with about five) have more modest inventories. It is likely that Proto Southern Vanuatu had just a small number of prepositions, and that the Erromangan languages have developed new ones. For example, the Sye nominal preposition *rampo-* ‘inside (a place)’ fairly obviously derives from the general oblique preposition *ra + nampo-* ‘trace, place, perch’, while the relationship between the Sye verbal preposition *poŋ-* ‘dative’ and the verb *ovoŋ-i* ‘give’ is also quite obvious.

5.4.1 The general oblique preposition

We can reconstruct a general oblique preposition for Proto Southern Vanuatu, which had two allomorphs – one free, the other nominal. The preposition has a wide range of functions, including location, goal, source, time, comparison, and content of locution; in Anejoŋ and Tanna, it also marks instrument, and in Erromango it marks cause and purpose. In addition, as I mentioned above, it marks passive possession in all SV languages. I will deal with the two forms first, and then the distribution of the allomorphs. The forms are:¹¹

¹¹ The Ura form *aran* is presumably *ara-* + *-n* construct suffix.

Sye	Ura	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
<i>ra</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>ie</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>a</i>	Free
<i>ira-</i>	<i>ara/n</i>		<i>la-</i>	<i>la-</i>	<i>ila-</i>	<i>ira-, ian(i)ra-</i>	<i>era-</i>	Nominal

The nominal form suggests a PSV reconstruction **ira-*, with the northern Tanna languages irregularly losing **i*, but only after it had conditioned palatalisation of **r* as PNT **l*. The free form was probably either **ra* or **ira* – i.e. **(i)ra* – which experienced a certain amount of erosion and/or reanalysis.

The distribution of the allomorphs is as follows:

- (i) In Erromango, *ira-/ara-* governs a pronominal object, *ira-n/ara-n* (with the construct suffix) governs a human noun, *ra* governs other nouns.
- (ii) In Southwest Tanna (the only Tanna language which has formally distinct objective pronouns), *ila-* governs pronominal objects and is used with *possessive* pronouns in the singular but *objective* pronouns in the non-singular (where it has the form *il-*), while *ie* is used with nouns.
- (iii) In the other Tanna languages, the suffixed form is used with singular pronouns only, the free form with nouns and non-singular pronouns.
- (iv) In Anejoñ, *era-* governs pronouns, *a* governs *n*-initial nouns, and *era-i* (with the construct suffix) governs nouns not beginning with *n*.

We can probably assume, therefore, that in PSV **ira-* governed pronouns (and possibly human nouns) and **(i)ra* governed other nouns.

5.4.2 Other prepositions

Because of the large number of prepositions in the Erromangan languages, I will not detail them all here, but will only cite those which are relevant to reconstructions. I will begin by listing the remaining prepositions in Anejoñ and Tanna. The Anejoñ prepositions are:

<i>ehele-</i>	personal locative/directional	Nominal
<i>imta-</i>	benefactive	Nominal
<i>u</i>	locative (in certain restricted contexts)	Nominal (= GENERAL possessive)
<i>va-</i>	causal	Verbal
<i>imi</i>	dative/benefactive	Verbal

In Tanna, we find the following:

NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm		
<i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kəmi</i>	<i>mə, məne</i>	dative, benefactive	Verbal
<i>o, on</i>	<i>o, on</i>	<i>to, ton</i>	<i>tuk^w</i>	<i>tuk^w, tə</i>	dative, cause, purpose	Verbal ¹²

¹² With the dative/causative/purposive preposition, the second form in each case (e.g. NTn, Wsn *on*) is used before singular pronouns, the first form elsewhere. With 3SG objects, there are some unpredictable forms: *on in* > *on*, *ton in* > *ton*, Kwamera *tuk^w in* > *tuk^we*.

The first set suggests Proto Tanna **(ka)mi* ‘dative, benefactive’, while for the second I reconstruct both **o* and **duk* ‘dative, cause, purpose’. This latter preposition is interesting in that it occurs in exactly these two forms (i) as a future tense marker (see §6.2.1) and (ii) as a future prefix to certain temporal nouns (e.g. Whitesands *nanhən* ‘when (past)?’, *o-nanhən* ‘when (future)?’). I reconstruct PTn **o* on the basis of cognation with the Erromangan *future* marker.

The following PSV reconstructions can be made:

POc	PSV	Sye	PTn	Anj		
	<i>*wa-ŋi</i>	<i>wəŋ-</i>		<i>va, va-n̄</i>	cause	Verbal
	<i>*(ka)mi</i>		<i>*(ka)mi</i>	<i>imi</i>	dative, benefactive	Verbal

Note also that Sye *mavel-*, Ura *mafeli, mefeli*, Anejoṃ *ehele* appear to be cognate on formal grounds, suggesting **m-avelV-*. However, the Erromangan forms mean ‘until’, while Anejoṃ *ehele-* is a personal locative or directional.

5.5 Demonstratives and other modifiers

5.5.1 Demonstratives

All SV languages have a set of spatial demonstratives and another set of discourse-tracking demonstratives. With both sets of demonstratives, the Erromangan languages distinguish only proximate and distant:

	PEr	Sye	Ura
Spatial:			
Proximate		<i>iyih, yih, ihi</i>	
Distant		<i>ima, yima</i>	
Discourse:			
Proximate	<i>*mori</i>	<i>mori</i>	<i>mori, morima</i>
Distant	<i>*ma</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mo</i>

Tanna languages distinguish proximate, intermediate and distant; they also have a category I label ‘indicated’, often used when pointing to a specific place.

	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
Spatial:						
Proximate	<i>*uy</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>uk</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>u, i</i>
Intermediate	<i>*una</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>ikonu</i>	<i>un</i>	<i>en</i>	<i>nah, naha</i>
Distant	<i>*ahan</i>	<i>aha</i>	<i>aha</i>	<i>aan</i>	<i>aan</i>	<i>{f^we}</i>
Indicated	<i>*k^wusa[]</i>			<i>hua</i>	<i>k^wuse</i>	<i>ha, {fa}</i>
Discourse:						
General	<i>*ika(i)</i>	<i>ia</i>	<i>iko</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>{te}</i>
Locative	<i>*a{b^w, p^w}a</i>			<i>ap^wa</i>	<i>ap^war</i>	<i>{fa, ha}</i>

The Anejoñ demonstratives vary for number. The demonstrative *pronouns* are as listed below; demonstrative modifiers are formed by prefixing *e-* (*i-* in some phonological contexts) to these bases:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Spatial:			
Proximate	<i>niñki</i>	<i>rañki</i>	<i>jiñki</i>
Intermediate	<i>naanai</i>	<i>rañka</i>	<i>jeknaa</i>
Distant	<i>naikou</i>	<i>rañkou</i>	<i>jeknaikou</i>
Discourse:			
Proximate	<i>yiiki</i>	<i>raaki</i>	<i>jiiki</i>
Distant			<i>jekeñ</i>

It is difficult to segment these forms historically. However, we can probably suggest that the forms are composed of a marker of number plus the following:

Spatial:	Proximate	<i>-ki</i>
	Intermediate:	<i>-naa</i>
	Distant:	<i>-kou</i>

Now the probable POC forms (Lynch, Ross & Crowley f/c) are:

Proximate:	<i>*=ne</i>	<i>*(n)i ~ *(n)e</i>	
Intermediate:	<i>*=ta</i>	<i>*(n)a</i>	<i>*ri</i>
Distant:	<i>*=wa</i>	<i>*(n)o ~ *(n)u</i>	<i>*rai</i>

The only apparent points of comparison are:

POc <i>*i</i>	'proximate'	>	PSV <i>*i</i>	>	Sye <i>i/yih, yi/hi, i/hi</i>
POc <i>*na</i>	'intermediate'	>	PSV <i>*na</i>	>	PTn <i>*u/na, Anj -naa</i>

5.5.2 Numerals

Some of the numeral systems in the SV languages have undergone unexpected changes: Ura, for example, seems to have replaced the inherited word for 'four' with a 'two + two' form, while in modern Anejoñ, numerals above 'three' are remembered only by the oldest speakers, with Bislama loans being used by most speakers (Lynch & Spriggs 1995). However, there is enough data to allow us to reconstruct the PSV numeral system, including the interrogative numeral.

The PSV system was basically quinary. In Tanna and Anejoñ, numerals above five were formed by compounding on the base five (e.g. Lenakel *katilum-katilum-karena* 5-5-1 = 'eleven'), and there was no word for 'ten'. In Erromango, the form for six seems to derive from a compound 'and-five'; the forms for seven to nine are compounds on the base five in Sye but on a different base in Ura (see below); and there is a word for ten, but it appears to derive from 'two-fives'. I reconstruct the PSV system as follows; note that numerals appear to have taken a prefix PSV **ga-* ~ **gə-* (presumably from the POC counting prefix **ka-*; I will have more to say about this prefix below).

POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj	
*sa-kai	*sV-kai	*(s,h)ai, *(s,h)a(i,e)kai			'one'
*tai	*i(ai,ia)		*ka-tia(na)	{ithii}	'one'
*rua	*ga-rua	*ga-Lu(a)	*kə-ru(a)	e/rou	'two'
PSOc *teli	*ga-sili	*ga-heli	*ka-sir	e/sej	'three'
*pat	*gə-vat	*gə-vat	*kə-vat	{emanohowan}	'four'
*pati	*gə-vac		*kə-vas		'four'
*lima	*-lima	*suk-rem	*ka-(z,r)i-rum	ni/jma/n	'five'
*pican	*gə-vis	*gə-va[]	*kə-vah	e/heθ	'how many?'

Anejom̃ *emanohowan* 'four' is an innovation, while *nijman* 'five' is formally identical to 'his/her hand'.

The Proto Erromangan reconstructions are based on the following numerals in Sye, Ura and Utaha:

PEr	Sye	Ura	Uth	
*(s,h)ai, *(s,h)(i,e)kai	<i>haiten, haihi</i>	<i>sai, saiyan</i>	<i>soyoi</i>	'one'
*ga-Lu(a)	<i>nru/ru</i>	<i>gelu</i>	<i>kalu</i>	'two'
*ga-heli	<i>nre/hel</i>	<i>gehli</i>	<i>kihili</i>	'three'
*gə-vat	<i>nr/vat</i>	{ <i>lemelu</i> }	{ <i>lemelu</i> }	'four'
*suk-rem	<i>sukrim</i>	<i>suworem</i>	<i>sukrim</i>	'five'
*me-(s,h)ai, *me-(s,h)(i,e)kai	<i>mehikai</i>	<i>misai</i>	<i>miseyai,</i> <i>simsoyoi</i>	'six'
5-2	5-2	<i>sinelu</i>	<i>simnalul</i>	'seven'
5-3	5-3	<i>sinehli</i>	<i>simniheli</i>	'eight'
5-4	5-4	<i>sinivat</i>	<i>simnivat</i>	'nine'
*na-Lu-rem	<i>narwolem</i>	<i>lurem, durem</i>	<i>narolem</i>	'ten'
	<i>nalem</i>			'hundred'
*gəva[]	<i>nr/ve</i>	<i>giva</i>		'how many?'

Proto Erromango numerals are reconstructed with the prefix *ga- on the basis of PSV and Ura and Utaha forms. I reconstruct both *(s,h)ai and *(s,h)(i,e)kai for 'one', the former on the basis of the Sye and Ura forms for 'one' and the Ura form for 'six', the latter on the basis of the Utaha form for 'one' and the Sye and Utaha forms for 'six'. The root *-vat 'four' is found in both Ura and Utaha in the compounds meaning 'nine', though the meaning 'four' is conveyed by a compound meaning 'two-and-two' in these languages. PEr *suk-rem 'five' is probably bi-morphemic, with the second element occurring again in the form for 'ten' (= two-five).¹³

The Proto Tanna forms are based on the following:

¹³ Whether this may have been *su-ga-rem, with the numeral prefix *ga-, I am unable to say; in any case, I can not track down the origin of the first syllable.

PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
*ka-tia(na)	kətia	katia	karena	kəlikiana	iti, k ^w atia	'one'
*kə-ru(a)	kəiu	kəiu	kiu	kəlalu	kəru	'two'
*ka-sir	kəsəl	kəsəl	kəsil	kəsisəl	kahar	'three'
*kə-vat	kuvət	kuvət	kuvər			'four'
*kə-vas				kuas	kefa	'four'
*ka-(z,r)i-rum	kariləm	kariləm	katilum	{kəlkəlap}	kərirum	'five'
*kə-vah	kuah	kuvah	kuhu	kuhu	keva	'how many?'

Two forms for 'four' are reconstructed, reflecting two POc reconstructions – POc *pat and *pati.

The numeral prefix PSV*ga- regularly dissimilates to *gə- in the form for 'four' because the first vowel of the root is *a. The Proto Tanna reflex *ka- is similar in form to the 3NONGS subject prefix to verbs. Sye has replaced PSV *ga- with nrV-, which is one of the 3PL subject prefixes, while *ga- has also been lost in Anejoñ and replaced by e- (i- in *ithii* 'one'), possibly the verb-initial accreted vowel (since numerals are stative verbs in Anejoñ).

5.6 Noun phrase structure

The structure of the noun phrase in PSV was:

(PREMODIFIER) + NOUN + ({ ADJECTIVE }) + (QUANTIFIER) + (DEMONSTRATIVE)
 { MODIFIER }

Tanna languages allow no premodification of a noun phrase head, and Sye and Anejoñ have only a handful of premodifiers – usually markers of indefiniteness or plurality. None appear to be reconstructible at the PSV level.

The class of ADJECTIVES includes words which may take verbal morphology and function as the head of a verb phrase, and may also function as a postmodifier to nouns without such morphology. For example:

Lenakel

Nim^wa taha-m r-vət.
 house POSS:GEN-2SG 3SG-good
 'Your house is good.'

nim^wa vət nəvin
 house good some
 'some good houses'

Anejoñ

Et upnii niom^w uñu-m^w.
 3SG.AOR good house POSS:GEN-2SG
 'Your house is good.'

hal niom^w upnii
 some house good
 'some good houses'

The class of MODIFIERS, on the other hand, may not take verbal morphology: for example, Lenakel *nim^wa vi* 'a new house' but not **nim^wa r-vi* (**'the house is new'). Under this definition, Erromangan languages have no adjectives, and what Crowley (1998a) calls adjectives in Sye are, in this terminology, modifiers. Thus the adjective/modifier distinction is supported only by Tanna and Anejoñ data.

The class of QUANTIFIERS includes the numerals and other non-numeral forms like Lenakel *petəm*‘, Anejoĩm *asŋa* ‘all’, or Sye *nokon*, Lenakel *nəvin* ‘some’. In Anejoĩm, however, numerals always occur in a relative clause following the noun phrase; compare:

Lenakel	Anejoĩm
<i>pukas kəsil</i>	<i>pikaθ et esej</i>
pig three	pig 3SG.AOR three
‘three pigs’	‘three pigs’

The class of DEMONSTRATIVES was discussed in §5.5.1.

6 *Verbal morphosyntax*

In the Erromangan and Tanna languages, verbs consist of a root and a number of affixes marking, inter alia, person and number of the subject, tense/aspect/mood (TAM), polarity, transitivity, direction, and other categories. Verb phrases (indeed, clauses as well) thus very often consist simply of an inflected verb. There is a small category of postverbal modifiers, and certain noun phrase modifiers may also occur in verb phrases. Anejoṃ, on the other hand, marks most of the grammatical categories mentioned above by preverbal particles. I will argue below that PSV was probably more like Anejoṃ, in that it had preverbal and postverbal clitics or particles which have become prefixes in Tanna and Erromango.

6.1 Verbal derivation

This section will look at the form of verbs and at various derivational affixes found on verbs.

6.1.1 *Verb-initial *a-*

As I noted at some length in Chapter 4, verb roots in the SV languages have accreted an initial *a-. Most, but not all, verbs in all SV languages take this accretion, suggesting that it was a productive process. This innovation seems to be unique to Proto Southern Vanuatu. However, it is difficult to identify a function for this morpheme: it has no function in the modern languages (indeed, it is an integral part of the root), and there is no apparent synchronic syntactic, morphological, phonological or semantic basis for its presence or absence on particular verbs or in particular languages.

In previous analyses, I have suggested that *a- simply marked a root as being a verb. Indeed, there are few cases of what were POc noun roots being converted to verbs in this way (e.g. POc **ta-m^waqane* > Anejoṃ *atam^wañ* 'be male'), and there are (as pointed out in §4.2.1) cases of verbs borrowed from other languages being prefixed with a vowel. This would tend to support the idea that initial *a- marked, or has come to mark, a root as a verb. But it does not explain why, although many verbs reflect *a-, a considerable number do not.

I now believe that the process of verb-initial vowel accretion was quite different from what I outlined above, at least historically. I believe that the vowel is in fact the **a* of the accreted article/nominalising prefix **na-*, which has been reanalysed as part of the root. Consider first nouns like the following in Anejoṃ:

POc	>	Anejoṃ	
		Specific (SG or NON-SG)	Non-specific NON-SG
		Non-specific SG	
<i>*na kayu</i>	'tree'	<i>nyai</i>	<i>yai</i>
<i>*na patu</i>	'stone'	<i>nhat</i>	<i>hat</i>
<i>*na maRi</i>	'breadfruit'	<i>nma</i>	<i>ma</i>
<i>*na bakiwa</i>	'shark'	<i>nepɣev</i>	<i>epɣev</i>
<i>*na pudi</i>	'banana'	<i>nohos</i>	<i>ohos</i>
<i>*na kutu</i>	'louse'	<i>neyet</i>	<i>eyet</i>

The non-specific non-singular is formed by deleting noun-initial *n*.¹ In the first three examples above, where the vowel of the article is regularly lost, this leaves the bare root. In the other three, however, where the vowel of the article is regularly retained, this process leaves the root preceded by what was the vowel of the article. In other words, **na-CVCV...* has been reinterpreted as *n-aCVCV...*

I suggest that the same process occurred with verbs. Crowley (1998:116-117) says that, for most Erromangan verbs, there is a 'citation' form which is the same as the nominalised form – i.e. with initial *n-*; and in all SV languages, nominalisations are frequent. Southern Tanna languages, for example, negate a verb with the negative verb *apwah* followed by the nominalised form of the root (see §6.2.1 below), which means that nominalisations occur with high frequency; while in Erromango, many auxiliaries are followed by the nominalised form of verbs. A de-nominalised form, following the process outlined above for Anejoṃ, would then have deleted only initial *n* (and any suffixed nominalisers in the Tanna languages). Where the vowel of the article/nominaliser had been deleted, this would leave a bare consonant-initial root; but where the vowel of the article was retained, this would leave a vowel-initial root. I illustrate this general process with some Sye verbs; the first three rules below are Low Vowel Dissimilation, Medial Vowel Deletion and Article Reduction; OTHER includes the proposed morphological reanalysis. The first three examples show consonant-initial roots, the next four show the accretion.

POc	PSV	<i>aCa</i> > <i>əCa</i>	<i>-V-</i> > <i>∅</i>	<i>nə-</i> > <i>n-</i>	OTHER	DENOMINALISATION
<i>*na mate</i>	<i>*na-'mase</i>	<i>nə-'mase</i>	---	<i>n-mas</i>	<i>n-mah</i>	<i>mah</i> 'die'
<i>*na-tanum</i>	<i>*na-'tanum</i>	<i>nə-'tanum</i>	---	<i>n-tanum</i>	<i>n-tenəm</i>	<i>tenəm</i> 'bury' ²
<i>*na sake</i>	<i>*na-'sake</i>	<i>nə-'sake</i>	---	<i>n-sak</i>	<i>n-saɣ</i>	<i>saɣ</i> 'ascend'
<i>*na luaq</i>	<i>*na-lu'aq</i>	---	---	---	<i>n-elwo</i>	<i>elwo</i> 'vomit'
<i>*na mataq</i>	<i>*na-ma'taq</i>	<i>na-mə-'taq</i>	<i>na-mtaq</i>	---	<i>n-emte</i>	<i>emte</i> 'raw'
<i>*na pekas</i>	<i>*na-pe'kas</i>	---	<i>na-pkas</i>	---	<i>n-evyah</i>	<i>evyah</i> 'defecate'
<i>*na keli</i>	<i>*na-'keli</i>	---	---	---	<i>n-oyəl-i</i>	<i>oyəl-i</i> 'dig'

¹ This is somewhat unusual typologically. However, it does seem to be the logical analysis.

² Recall from Chapter 4 that **tanum* seems to have been irregularly stressed on the penultimate syllable.

This, as I said, appears to have been the general process. There are numerous exceptions, however – either where the same root is reflected differently (as far as the accreted vowel is concerned) in different languages, or where forms do not ‘follow’ these rules. And it may be that the initial vowel was subsequently reinterpreted as some kind of verb marker, which would explain its presence on borrowed verbs and might also explain many of these exceptions.

6.1.2 Other derivational prefixes

Proto Oceanic had a number of derivational prefixes, including **pa[ka]-* ‘causative’, **pa[R]i-* ‘reciprocal, collective action’, **ta-* ‘spontaneous, anti-causative intransitive’ and possibly **ma-* ‘dynamic anti-causative intransitive’. All of these have been lost in the languages of Erromango and Tanna, which do not have derivational prefixes to verbs. In Tanna, for example, the causative is expressed by the fully inflected verb PTn **or* ‘do, make’ + complement clause, the reciprocal (and reflexive) by the verbal suffix PTn **-aduk**, and collective action by the verbal suffix PTn **-k*(a,i)s* (see §6.3.3 for a discussion of these suffixes). In Erromango, the causative is expressed by (i) a compound of the bound verb PER **ovyu-* plus a following verb and (ii) by the verb PER **om-* + pronoun object + uninflected root; reflexive is also expressed by an auxiliary verb PER **espe*. Some examples of some of these constructions are:

Kwamera

Iou t-ak-o Nirua t-r-anum-i nəkava.*
 I FUT-1-make Nirua FUT-3SG-drink-TR kava
 ‘I made Nirua drink kava.’

R-əməki-atuk.*
 3SG-hate-REFL
 ‘He hates himself/she hates herself.’

Sye

Yam-ovy-oruy nalau.
 1SG.DIST.PAST-cause-bathe child
 ‘I bathed the child.’

Yesu yi-mah m-om-koh omurep.
 Jesus 3SG.DIST.PAST-die ECHO-cause-us:INC live
 ‘Jesus died and he made us live.’

Ura

K-espe n-elei ga.
 2SG.REC.PAST-do.reflexively NOM-scratch you.SG
 ‘You scratched yourself.’

Two of these POC prefixes, however, seem to have been retained in Anejoñ (and thus PSV). Earlier studies (e.g. Capell’s manuscript grammar) record these as *ehy-* and *ehr-*, with *h* < **p*; but in the modern forms there is now some phonological irregularity:

POc **pa[ka]*- > Anj *ey*- multiplicative

POc **pa[R]**i*- > Anj *eri*- mutual action, multiple subject

Both of these show loss of **p*, but otherwise appear phonologically regular enough. One of the functions of the POc causative prefix was to mark multiplicatives when attached to numerals (e.g. **pa[ka]*-*tolu* > Anj *ec-esej* 'three times'). The other functions of the POc causative have been taken over by a new causative prefix *awo*-. We therefore need to reconstruct PSV **a(va)γ*- causative (or perhaps just multiplicative) and PSV **a(va)r*- mutual action/multiple subject, noting that these were lost in PEr and PTn.

6.2 Subject, tense-aspect and negation

As I mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the Erromango and Tanna languages mark person and number of the subject, tense-aspect, negation, and a few other adverbial meanings by a series of prefixes to the verb. For example:

Sye

Yam-um-etu-tovop.

1SG.DIST.PAST-ITER.SG-NEG-laugh

'I didn't laugh again.'

Lenakel

K-əm-am-u-aamh.

3NONGSG-PAST-CONT-DL-see

'They two saw.'

Anejoṃ, on the other hand, marks these same categories by a series of preverbal particles:

Anejoṃ

Et m^wan lep iθim apan.

3SG.AOR PERF again really go

'He/she has really gone.'

In modern Anejoṃ, there is a tendency for some markers, especially those of tense-aspect and negation, to become cliticised to a following vowel-initial particle or to the root:

ek itiyi atou > *k=itiy=atou*
1SG.AOR NEG know 1SG.AOR=NEG=know

'I don't know'

is apan > *s=apan*
3SG.PAST go 3SG.PAST=go

'he/she went'

This suggests that what are now prefixes in the other languages may have developed from clitics or free particles in the same way as is happening in Anejoṃ (and as is widely distributed in Oceanic). I will make this assumption for PSV.

6.2.1 Proto Tanna

Prefixes to the root in Proto Tanna were as follows:

$$(\text{INTENTION}) + (\text{FUT}) + \text{PERSON} + \left. \begin{array}{l} \text{TENSE-ASPECT} \\ \text{NEGATIVE} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{CONTINUOUS}) + (\text{INTERROG})$$

This order is found in all Tanna languages. In addition, there is a prefix of NUMBER, which occurs (i) between Person and Tense-Aspect in Kwamera, (ii) between Continuous and Interrogative in Southwest Tanna, and (iii) between Interrogative and the root in Northern Tanna languages. On the basis of the discussion below, I will suggest that Proto Tanna had the same order as Kwamera – i.e. the obligatory category of NUMBER came between PERSON and TENSE-ASPECT/NEGATIVE, and that other languages have moved this further to the right.

Proto Tanna verbal prefixes and their reflexes are listed in Table 6.1. Some comments on some of these reconstructions are necessary.

Future. I reconstruct two prefixes here: **duk**- on purely internal evidence, and **o-* on the basis of cognacy with the Erromangan forms (see §6.2.3). Note also the virtually exact formal parallels between these prefixes and the dative/causal/purposive prepositions reconstructed in §5.4.2.

Person. Note the formal identity of the 1INC and 3NONG prefixes. I reconstruct PTn **iak-* first person as well as **ak-* concurrent tense. In Lenakel and Kwamera at least, 1SG.CONCURRENT is frequently *iakak-*, but also frequently *iak-*. However, it appears that this reduced form has been reanalysed as *i-ak-* in languages like Lenakel but as *iak-Ø-* in Kwamera. The Kwamera second person prefix *ik-* appears to be derived from the focal pronoun *ik*, and Kwamera has also developed grammatically conditioned allomorphs of the 1INC and 3NONG prefixes.

Number. The reconstructions here are underlying forms. In many cases, these have allomorphs conditioned by the initial segment of the root; e.g. the Lenakel dual marker is *u-* before mid and low vowels and *ia-* before consonants and high vowels; and the Southwest Tanna plural marker is *s-* before low and mid vowels and *h-* and *ha-* before high vowels and consonants. In the plural (which is probably formally related to the numeral 'four'), we have two forms, paralleling the two forms of the numeral and the number suffix to pronouns and ultimately related to the fact that both **pat* and **pati* 'four' were inherited from POC.

Tense-Aspect. I have reconstructed two distinct perfective markers, **aku-* and **an-*. These seem to have combined to form the single perfective marker *akuan-* in Southwest Tanna. The sequential prefix also looks as if it may have been a compound of two different morphemes; but though I can identify **eb**- as the first, there is no consistency about the second.

Negative. The northern Tanna languages suggest a negative prefix **as-* and a suffix which is, or is formally identical to, the nominalising suffix (§5.2.2) **iana*. Kwamera has a fairly rare negative suffix *-mha*. The commonest form of negation in Kwamera, and the only one in Southwest Tanna, is to use the negative verb *ap^wah* followed by the nominalised form of the verb being negated. Thus:

Kwamera

lak-ap^wah n-arai-ien nei.
 1EXC-negative NOM-cut-NOM wood
 'I didn't cut the wood.'

The verb *ap^wah* is cognate with northern Tanna forms like Lenakel *kap^wa* which is the free form negative 'no'.

Table 6.1: Tanna verbal prefixes

	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
Intentional	* <i>na-</i>			<i>na-</i>	<i>na-</i>	<i>na-</i>
Future	* <i>o-</i> * <i>duk^w-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>o-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-, tuk^w-</i>	<i>t-</i>
Person						
1INC	* <i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i> (DL), { <i>sa-</i> }
1EXC	* <i>iak-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>iak-, ia-</i>
2	* <i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	{ <i>ik-, i-</i> }
3SG	* <i>t-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>l-</i>	<i>r-</i>
3NONSG	* <i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i> (DL), { \emptyset -}
ECHO	* <i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>m-</i>
Number						
dual	* <i>rau-</i>	<i>u-</i> <i>ia-</i>	<i>u-</i> <i>ia-</i>	<i>u-</i> <i>ia-</i>	<i>u-</i> <i>la-</i>	<i>rou-, rau-</i> <i>r-</i>
trial	* <i>hal-</i>	<i>hal-</i>	<i>lh-</i>	<i>hal-</i> <i>hai-, ha-</i>	<i>lh-</i>	<i>har-</i>
plural	* <i>at-</i> * <i>ha-</i>	<i>ot-</i>	<i>ot-</i> <i>oh-</i>	<i>ar-</i> <i>ai-, a-</i>	<i>s-, ha-</i>	<i>ha-</i>
Tense-Aspect						
concurrent	* <i>ak-</i>	<i>ak-</i>	<i>ak-</i>	<i>ak-</i>	} <i>ak-</i> <i>amn-</i>	\emptyset -, <i>ak-</i> { \emptyset -}
past	* <i>am^w(n)-</i>	<i>am^w-</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>am-</i>		
perfective ¹	* <i>aku-</i>	<i>ok(ok)-</i>		<i>n-</i>		
perfective ²	* <i>an-</i>		<i>ən-</i>	<i>ep-</i>	<i>akuan-</i>	<i>ən-, {uv-}</i>
sequential	* <i>eb^w[]-</i>	<i>eban-</i>	<i>ap^wan-</i>		<i>epi-</i>	<i>pk-</i>
conditional						<i>p-</i>
Negative	* <i>as-..-iana</i>	<i>as-..-an</i>	<i>es-..-ien</i>	<i>əs-..-aan</i>		
Continuous	* <i>am-</i>	{ <i>an-</i> }	{ <i>at-</i> }	<i>am-</i>	<i>am-</i>	<i>am-</i>
Interrogative	* <i>azu-</i>	<i>arh-</i>	<i>arhu-</i>	<i>etu-</i>	<i>hau-</i>	{ <i>əf-</i> }

6.2.2 *Anejom̃*

Anejom̃ has a number of portmanteau preverbal particles which mark person and number of the subject and tense. The system has been showing signs of collapse and reorganisation into a much simpler system (Lynch 1995). The modern system 'pre-collapse' is given in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2: Anejom̃ subject-TAM markers

	Aorist	Past	Inceptive
SG 1	<i>ek</i>	<i>kis</i>	<i>ki</i>
2	<i>na</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>an</i>
3	<i>et</i>	<i>is</i>	<i>yi</i>
DL 1INC	<i>tau</i>	<i>tus</i>	<i>tu</i>
1EXC	<i>ekrau</i>	<i>ekrus</i>	<i>ekru</i>
2	<i>erau</i>	<i>arus</i>	<i>aru</i>
3	<i>erau</i>	<i>erus</i>	<i>eru</i>
TL 1INC	<i>taj</i>	<i>tijis</i>	<i>tiji</i>
1EXC	<i>ettaj</i>	<i>ettijis</i>	<i>etiji</i>
2	<i>ettaj</i>	<i>atijis</i>	<i>atiji</i>
3	<i>ettaj</i>	<i>etijis</i>	<i>etiji</i>
PL 1INC	<i>ta</i>	<i>tis</i>	<i>ti</i>
1EXC	<i>ekra</i>	<i>ekris</i>	<i>ekri</i>
2	<i>eka</i>	<i>akis</i>	<i>aki</i>
3	<i>era</i>	<i>eris</i>	<i>eri</i>

These modern portmanteau morphemes seem to derive from a sequence of particles, which were probably as listed below. I assume that the non-singular forms in fact marked plural (i.e. there was no plural marker as such), although they are all *a*-final, which suggests that *a* may have been a yet earlier plural marker. The dual and trial markers seem to have been added to these plural forms.

Person		+	Number	+	Tense
1SG	<i>ek</i>		∅	SG	∅ aorist
2SG	<i>(a)na</i>		<i>u</i>	DL	<i>is</i> past
3SG	<i>et</i> (AOR), <i>y</i>		<i>taj</i>	TL	<i>i</i> inceptive
1INC.PL	<i>ta</i>		∅ (<i>a</i> ?)	PL	
1EXC.PL	<i>ekra</i>				
2PL	<i>eka</i> (AOR), <i>aka</i>				
3PL	<i>era</i>				
ECHO	<i>m=</i>				

Following these markers are a number of sets of preverbal particles, as follows:

Aspect-mood		Adverbial		Reflexive	Negative	Adverbial	
<i>pu</i>	FUT	<i>iθim</i>	'really'	<i>isp^wa-</i>	<i>itiyi</i>	<i>fī</i>	'(not) yet'
<i>mu</i>	HORT	<i>lep</i>	'again'			<i>upiyi</i>	'first(ly)'
<i>p^war</i>	SEQ	<i>top^w</i>	'only'				
<i>m^wan</i>	PERF						
<i>jim</i>	PROHIB						

6.2.3 Proto Erromango

Erromangan verbs are extraordinarily complex morphologically and morphophonemically. I will first outline with very little modification (but with rather less detail) Crowley's description of Sye and Ura (Crowley 1998a, 1999), and comment later on possible reanalyses and developments from Proto Erromango.

Verb roots occur in two forms, 'basic' and 'modified'. Modified roots occur in the future, present, past habitual and, in Sye, in the realis and irrealis conditional (categories not recorded for Ura); basic roots occur elsewhere – i.e. in the imperative, recent past, distant past, dependent past, past continuous and optative (and also the counterassertive in Sye), as well as with derivational prefixes, in reduplications, and as the second member of a compound. The only disagreement appears to be that the subjunctive takes the modified root in Ura but the basic root in Sye. It is difficult to give a *single* characterisation of the grammatical environment in which modified roots are used.

As far as the actual modification is concerned, Crowley classifies Erromangan verbs as being 'weak' or 'strong'.³ Weak verbs consist of all verbs beginning with glides (*y* and *w*) and alveolars (*t*, *s*, *l*, *r*). In Sye, verbs beginning with non-mid vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*), and about one-third of verbs beginning with *e* and *o*, are also weak; whereas in Ura, most *e*- and *o*-initial verbs are weak, but so also are about one-third of *i*- and *u*-initial verbs, and a handful of *a*-initial verbs. Strong verbs consist of the remaining vowel-initial verbs in each language and all verbs beginning with labials (*p*, *v*, *m*). (Note that no verbs begin with *k*, *γ*, *ŋ*, *h* or *n*.)

Weak verbs form their modified root by adding underlying *n* to the root; *n* > Ø before *y*, *w*, *s* and *l*. Thus in Sye:

Sye

BASIC	<i>yep</i>	<i>lau</i>	<i>tovop</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>avan</i>	<i>esomsay</i>
MODIFIED	<i>yep</i>	<i>lau</i>	<i>ntovop</i>	<i>nran</i>	<i>navan</i>	<i>nesomsay</i>
	'descend'	'be dry'	'laugh'	'be day'	'go'	'breathe'

Strong verbs add *n*- to the first consonant of the verb (whether or not this is preceded by a vowel). This *n*- then undergoes assimilation to the point of articulation of the consonant (except that *n* > Ø before *m*), which may also change in manner of articulation. Consonant-initial verbs add initial *a*, and *e*- and *o*-initial verbs (and also Ura *u*-initial verbs) change the initial vowel to *a*. Examples:

³ The only verb-initial consonants in Ura are *w*, *y*, *s*, *t* and *v*. Other consonants discussed in what follows therefore refer only to Sye.

Sye

BASIC	<i>vaŋ</i>	<i>mah</i>	<i>oyep</i>	<i>oruy</i>	<i>evsor</i>	<i>etehep</i>
MODIFIED	<i>ampaŋ</i>	<i>amah</i>	<i>aŋkep</i>	<i>anruy</i>	<i>amsor</i>	<i>antehep</i>
	'eat'	'die'	'fly'	'bathe'	'wake up'	'sit'

Ura

BASIC	<i>ivek</i>	<i>urpon</i>	<i>oyo</i>	<i>ovli</i>	<i>evenj</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>oysi</i>
MODIFIED	<i>ibek</i>	<i>anbon</i>	<i>ago</i>	<i>amli</i>	<i>abeŋ</i>	<i>ada</i>	<i>aŋsi</i>
	'fly'	'cold'	'say'	'tell'	'eat'	'stay'	'see'

Preceding the root is a set of prefixes marking subject, tense-aspect and polarity. These prefixes are:

SUBJECT/TAM + (PRIOR PAST) + (ITERATIVE) + (NEG) + (**am-*) + (ROOT-MODIFICATION)

The prefix **am-* (Sye *eme-* before a modified root, *em-* elsewhere, Ura *am-* ~ *em-*) presents 'a serious analytical difficulty in that it is not possible to assign any particular meaning' to it (Crowley 1998a:107). It combines with various sets of subject prefixes and with the basic or modified form of the verb root 'to express a number of morphologically discontinuous inflectional categories', but there is no element of predictability involved. In both Ura and Sye:

Distant past	+	<i>*am-</i>	+ Basic root	=	Dependent past
Distant past	+	<i>*am-</i>	+ Modified root	=	Past habitual
Recent past	+	<i>*am-</i>	+ Basic root	=	Past continuous
Recent past	+	<i>*am-</i>	+ Modified root	=	Present

and in Sye:

Optative	+	<i>*am-</i>	+ Modified root	=	Realis conditional
Counterassertive	+	<i>*am-</i>	+ Modified root	=	Irrealis conditional

I will follow Crowley in treating it as a meaningless morpheme in Sye and Ura, but will suggest that it may have marked continuous aspect in Proto Erromangan.

Ura subject prefixes distinguish only singular and plural. Apart from the imperative, about which I will say more below, Crowley lists five sets of Ura prefixes marking subject, whose underlying forms are shown in Table 6.3.⁴ Under the markers are the various forms of the root (basic or modified) plus whether the prefix *em-* ~ *am-* is present or not, and the tense-aspect(s) marked by the combination of each of sets I-V with form of root plus *em-* ~ *am-*.

⁴ This is a slight reinterpretation of Crowley's analysis.

Table 6.3: Ura subject-TAM markers

	Set I	Set II	Set III	Set IV	Set V
Singular					
1	<i>yau-</i>	<i>ya(u)-</i>	<i>ya-</i>	<i>yaumi-</i>	<i>yaupi-</i>
2	<i>ki-</i>	<i>ki-</i>	<i>ke-</i>	<i>kami-</i>	<i>kapi-</i>
3	<i>(ɣ)i-</i>	<i>(ɣ)i-</i>	<i>(ɣ)e-</i>	<i>(ɣ)i-</i>	<i>pi-</i>
Plural					
1INC	<i>(g)ur-</i>	<i>(g)ura-</i>	<i>(g)ure-</i>	<i>(g)ur-</i>	<i>gispir-</i>
1EXC	<i>gimir-</i>	<i>gimra-</i>	<i>gimire-</i>	<i>gimir-</i>	?
2	<i>gir-</i>	<i>gira-</i>	<i>gire-</i>	<i>gir-</i>	<i>gipir-</i>
3	<i>(ɣ)ir-</i>	<i>(ɣ)ira-</i>	<i>(ɣ)ire-</i>	<i>(ɣ)ir-</i>	<i>pir-</i>
BASIC	Recent past			Distant past	Optative
<i>em-</i> + BASIC	Past continuous			Dependent past	
MODIFIED		Future			Subjunctive?
<i>em-</i> + MODIFIED			Present	Past habitual	
NOTES	Final <i>i</i> > Ø / __ V.	1. Final V > Ø / __ V. 2. Final V harmonises with V / __ CV.	1. Final <i>a</i> > <i>e</i> / __ (C) <i>e</i> , (C) <i>i</i> . 2. <i>em-</i> > Ø / <i>n</i> __.	Final V > Ø / __ V.	Final V > Ø / __ V.

Now the imperative is marked by a zero prefix in the singular and *ir-* in the plural; this, plus a comparison of the plural forms in Table 6.3, suggests that *ir-* probably marked plural number. The echo-subject marker is *m-* before vowels, with *mV-* in various preconsonantal environments. (This is often *mi-*, but Ura *i* is often excrement, deriving as it does from **a*.)

I suggest that the following were the Pre-Ura subject/TAM-marking prefixes:

Subject	+	Tense-aspect ₁	+	Number	+	Tense-aspect ₂
1SG	<i>yau-</i>	Ø- recent past		Ø- SG		<i>a-</i> present/future
2SG	<i>k-</i>	<i>m-</i> distant past		<i>ir-</i> PL		
3SG	<i>ɣ-</i> (> Ø-)	<i>p-</i> optative/subjunctive				
1INC.PL	<i>gu-</i>					
1EXC.PL	<i>gim-</i>					
2PL	<i>g(i)-</i>					
3PL	<i>ɣ-</i> (> Ø-)					
ECHO	<i>m-</i>					

I suggest also that the *i* following many of the modern markers is epenthetic, and is inserted between a consonant-final morpheme and a following consonant-initial morpheme. The

prefix *m-* marking distant past is now only used in the singular; Sets I and IV are identical in the plural, but this may have been a recent development.

Root-modification may have had the function of marking some kind of irrealis: it is used with future, subjunctive, present, and past habitual (which I suppose could be considered as irrealis, in that the action is no longer practised). The prefix *am-* – *em-* may have marked continuous aspect: its presence distinguishes present from future, past continuous from recent past, and dependent and habitual past from distant past.

Although Erromangan pronouns distinguish only singular and plural, Sye subject prefixes distinguish a dual as well, though only in first person.⁵ Table 6.4 shows the subject prefixes in Sye, as analysed by Crowley.

	Set I	Set II	Set III	Set IV	Set V	Set VI
Singular						
1	<i>yayo-</i>	<i>yayo-</i>	<i>yam-</i>	<i>yapi-</i>	<i>yaki-</i>	<i>yakin-</i>
2	<i>ko-</i>	<i>ko-</i>	<i>kim-</i>	<i>kipi-</i>	<i>kipi-</i>	<i>kin-</i>
3	<i>yo-</i>	<i>yo-</i>	<i>yi-</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>pi-</i>	<i>n-</i>
Dual						
1INC	<i>koku-</i>	<i>kokwo-</i>	<i>komu-</i>	<i>kopu-</i>	<i>kopu-</i>	<i>konu-</i>
1EXC	<i>kaku-</i>	<i>kakwo-</i>	<i>kamu-</i>	<i>kapu-</i>	<i>kapu-</i>	<i>kanu-</i>
Plural						
1INC	<i>kokli-</i>	<i>kokle-</i>	<i>komli-</i>	<i>kopli-</i>	<i>kopli-</i>	<i>konli-</i>
1EXC	<i>kakli-</i>	<i>kakle-</i>	<i>kamli-</i>	<i>kapli-</i>	<i>kapli-</i>	<i>kanli-</i>
2	<i>ku-</i>	<i>kwo-</i>	<i>kimu-</i>	<i>kipu-</i>	<i>kipu-</i>	<i>kinu-</i>
3	<i>yu-</i>	<i>ywo-</i>	<i>nru-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	<i>pu-</i>	<i>nu-</i>
BASIC	Recent past		Distant past	Optative	Subjunctive	Counter-assertive
<i>em-</i> + BASIC			Dependent past			
MODIFIED		Future				
<i>em-</i> + MODIFIED	Present		Past habitual	Realis conditional		Irrealis conditional

The imperative is marked by \emptyset - in the singular and *u-* in the plural, suggesting that these (as in Ura) are number markers. However, in the first person non-singular, *u-* marks dual and *li-* marks plural. It appears that this may have been the original state of affairs, with the dual/plural distinction subsequently being lost in non-first person, and the dual marker taking on the more general role as a marker of non-singular.

Crowley describes the form of the Sye echo subject prefixes as follows:

⁵ Interestingly, this is also true of South Efate.

	Before modified root	Elsewhere
SG	<i>me-</i>	<i>m-</i>
DL	<i>mo-</i>	<i>mu-</i>
PL	<i>mle-</i>	<i>mli-</i>

This suggests *m-* echo subject + number markers as above, with an excrescent vowel occurring before a modified root. This vowel *may* have been PEr *ə.

There is further evidence that the number-markers were separate morphemes. With the morphemes following the subject, dual and plural markers often occur more distant from the subject, and in some cases occur twice: for example, *komli-um-li-iovop* (1INC.PL.DISTPAST-ITER-PL-laugh) 'we kept on laughing'. This suggests that number was a separate category. The commonest form of a verb would have been SUBJECT/TAM + NUMBER + ROOT. When other morphemes intervened, the propinquity of both SUBJECT/TAM + NUMBER and NUMBER + ROOT may have caused number to be marked either twice or variably; that is:

SUBJECT/TAM + OTHER MORPHEMES + NUMBER + ROOT, or
SUBJECT/TAM + NUMBER + OTHER MORPHEMES + ROOT, or
SUBJECT/TAM + NUMBER + OTHER MORPHEMES + NUMBER + ROOT

The variability in the position of the Tanna number markers referred to in §6.2.1 above may have a similar explanation.

Now although synchronically these prefixes have to be analysed as single portmanteau morphemes, historical analysis suggests that they were probably composed of the following discrete elements.⁶

Subject	+	Tense-aspect ₁	+	Number	+	Tense-aspect ₂
1SG	<i>ya-</i>	<i>k-</i> immediate	Ø-	SG	o-	(*ə ?) future
2SG	<i>ki-</i>	<i>m-</i> distant past	u-	DL		
3SG	<i>γ- (> Ø-)</i>	<i>p(i)-</i> optative/subjunctive	li-	PL		
1INC.NONSG	<i>ko-</i>	<i>n-</i> counterassertive				
1EXC.NONSG	<i>ka-</i>					
2NONSG	<i>ki-</i>					
3NONSG	<i>γ- (> Ø-)</i>					
ECHO	<i>m-</i>					

There are clearly some problems still to be solved, among them the excrescent *o* in the singular in Set I, the 3NONSG form *nr-* in Set III, the relationship between Sets IV and V which differ only in the 1SG form, the intrusive *k* in the 1SG form in Set VI, and the conditions under which *γ-* 3SG is lost.

Bearing these in mind, however, I propose that the subject markers in the modern Erromangan languages derive from the Proto Erromangan prefixes/particles given in Table 6.5.

⁶ This analysis relies partly on Crowley (n.d.).

	PEr	Sye	Ura
Subject			
1SG	*ya-	ya-	yau-
2SG	*ki-	ki-	k-
3 (SG + NONSG)	*y- (> Ø-)	y- (> Ø-)	y- (> Ø-)
1INC.NONSG	*g(o,u)-	ko-	gu-
1EXC.NONSG	*ga-	ka-	gim-
2NONSG	*gi-	ki-	gi-
ECHO	*m-	m-	m-
Tense-Aspect ₁			
immediate	*k-	k-	Ø-
distant past	*m-	m-	m-
optative/subjunctive	*p(i)-	p(i)-	p-
counterassertive	*n- ?	n-	?
Number			
SG	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-
DL	*u-	u-	
PL	*iLi-	li-	ir-
Tense-Aspect ₂			
future (+ present?)	*a-	o- (ə-?)	a-

The 1EXC.NONSG prefix is reconstructed as *gi-. Ura has *gim-*, but this (unlike other non-singular prefixes) seems simply to be the focal pronoun. I reconstruct the immediate tense-aspect marker *k- on the basis of Sye data and similar data in other SV languages (e.g. Proto Tanna *ak- concurrent). The counterassertive prefix *n- may or may not have been in Proto Erromango: Terry Crowley (pers. comm.) says that he has not elicited any counterassertive forms in Ura as yet, and there are no data from anywhere else in SV to confirm this.

This complex of subject-tense-number markers was optionally followed by the following prefixes (with a parenthesised vowel occurring before a modified root). Note, however, that the behaviour of future iteratives and negatives in Sye suggests that Tense-aspect₂ came quite late in the series of prefixes.

	Prior past	+ Iterative	+ Negative	+ Continuous	+ Irrealis
Sye	<i>epm(e)-</i>	<i>um(e)-</i>	<i>etu-, etwo-</i>	<i>em(e)-</i>	<i>n-</i>
Ura	<i>ehm-</i>	<i>oum-</i>	<i>etu-</i>	<i>em- ~ am-</i>	<i>n-</i>

Sye medial *t* corresponds regularly to Ura medial *r*, so the Ura negative form is suspicious. Nevertheless, I tentatively reconstruct the following:

	Prior past	+ Iterative	+ Negative	+ Continuous	+ Irrealis
PEr	* <i>epm-</i>	*[<i>jum-</i>	* <i>etu-</i>	* <i>am-</i>	* <i>n-</i>

6.2.4 Proto Southern Vanuatu

The order of preverbal elements in Proto Erromango, Proto Tanna and Anejoñ is given below. Note that although in the Erromangan and Tanna languages number markers are fairly flexibly ordered, that flexibility is, as I mentioned above, a later development; and in both Proto Erromango and Proto Tanna the prefix marking number had a fixed ordering relative to the other preverbal elements.

PEr PERSON + TAM₁ + NUMBER + PRIOR PAST + ITERATIVE + TAM₂ + NEG + CONT + IRREALIS

PTn INTENT + FUT + PERSON + NUMBER + TENSE/NEG + CONT + INTERROGATIVE

Anj PERSON + NUMBER + TENSE + ASPECT + ADV + REFLEXIVE + NEG + ADV

The fluidity of at least some items in the list above suggests that the forms were particles rather than prefixes; I suggest this because it seems more likely for free particles to change ordering than for prefixes to do so. An examination of the orders above suggests that the following was the likely order in Proto Southern Vanuatu:

PERSON + NUMBER + TENSE + [ASPECT/ADVERBIAL CATEGORIES] + NEGATIVE + CONTINUOUS

Proto Oceanic had the following three sets of subject proclitics:⁷

	Set I	Set II	Set III
1SG	*au=	*ku=	*[y]a=
2SG	*ko=	*mu=	*o=
3SG	*i=	*(y)a=, *ñā=	*e=
1INC.PL	*ta=	*ta=	—
1EXC.PL	∅= (?)	∅= (?)	*ka[i]=, *mi=
2PL	∅= (?)	∅= (?)	*kau=, *m[i]u=
3PL	*ra=	*ra=	—

The following appear to the PSV person markers and their Proto Oceanic antecedents:

POc	>	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj	
*ya=, *ku=		*iak-	*ya-	*iak-	ek-	1SG
*ko=		*ki-	*ki-			2SG
		*n(a)-		*n-	(a)/na-	2SG
*i=, *(y)a=, *ñā=		*y-	y (variant)		y-	3SG
		*t-		*t-	e/t-	3SG
*ta=		*ta-			ta-	1INC.NONSG
		*gV-	*g(o,u)-	*k-		1INC.NONSG
*ka[i]=		*ga-	*ga-		{ekra-}	1EXC.NONSG
*kau=		*gia-	*gi-		e/ka-, a/ka-	2NONSG
*ra=		*ra-			e/ra-	3NONSG
		*(k,y)-	*y-	*k-		3NONSG
*ma 'and'		*m-	*m-	*m-	m=	ECHO

⁷ These may have been competing forms in early POc. Lynch, Ross and Crowley (*f/c*) suggest that Set I may have marked intransitive subject and Set II transitive subject in Proto Malayo-Polynesian (though there is no evidence that this distinction was maintained in POc). Set III may be reduced forms of focal pronouns.

The number markers can be reconstructed as follows:

PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj	
Ø=	Ø-	Ø-	Ø-	SG
*[ra]u=	*u-	*rau-	u-	DL
*(t,s)ali=	*iLi- PL	*hal-	taj-	TL
?		*at-, *ha-	Ø- (a- ?)	PL

The similarity between these and the number suffixes to pronouns (see §5.1.4) should be obvious.

TAM markers of various kinds include the following:

PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj	
*ak=	*k-	*i/ak-		immediate/concurrent
*(a)m ^w an=	*m-	*am ^w n-	m ^w an	(distant) past
*(e)b ^w []=		*eb ^w []-	p ^w ar	sequential
*am=	*am-	*am-		continuous
*p(i,u)=	*p(i)- OPT	K p- COND	pu FUT	future/optative/irrealis
*n(a)=	*n- IRR	*na- INTEN		intentional/irrealis
*a=	*a-	*o-		future

As far as negation is concerned, PTn *as- may derive from either Proto Malayo-Polynesian *(q)ati (thus suggesting POc *(q)ati), or else from the first syllable (morpheme?) of the POc negative marker *tikai. In either case, PSV *aci= is suggested. There may be a relationship between PEr *etu- and Anj itiyi, but it is hard to see what it was, and also to see whether either or both of these forms have any connection with POc *tabu.

Finally, the Anejoñ reflexive verb *isp^wa-* is clearly cognate with the PEr reflexive verb *espe (Sye *ehpe*, Ura *espe*). They derive from POc *tibo, and suggest PSV *a-c(p^w,b^w)a.

6.3 Other verbal affixes and particles

Other affixes to be discussed include transitive and directional suffixes. In addition, PSV seems to have had a few other suffixes or particles.

6.3.1 Transitive suffixes

Proto Oceanic appears to have obligatorily marked transitive verbs as being transitive, except when a verb was disyllabic and ended in *i (or perhaps some other vowel – see Ross 1998:23). It had pronominal object enclitics (see §5.1) and also had two transitive suffixes: the ‘close’ transitive suffix *-i and the ‘remote’ transitive suffix *-aki(ni) (sometimes called the ‘applicative’). An object enclitic was added directly to vowel-final verbs, but consonant-final verbs took *-i + object enclitic.

In Southern Vanuatu languages, however, there are quite a number of verbs which take no transitive suffix when used transitively; and indeed there are pairs of verbs like Lenakel *aunjan* ‘eat (INTR)’ and *kən* ‘eat (TR)’, or Anejoñ *ayil* ‘tell lies (INTR)’ and *ayik* ‘lie to (TR)’

which distinguish transitivity lexically and have no overt morphological marking.⁸ There are also verbs which end in /i/ which, though it probably derives from the close transitive suffix, is no longer functioning as such. However, many other verbs do mark transitivity morphologically.

The Tanna languages have only one transitive suffix: NTn, Len *-in*, Wsn *-i*, SWT *-kən*, Kwm *-ia* (with allomorphs *-i* and *-ian*). These suggest PTn **-yin*, which derives fairly regularly from POc **-aki(ni)*, and which suggests that the final syllable was present in PSV (and thus I write the POc form as **-akini* from now on). The Kwamera form looks as if it may reflect the POc close transitive suffix **-i* + the POc 3SG object enclitic **=a* (which, as I mentioned earlier, is not found in any SV language).

Anejoṃ and the Erromangan languages, however, have two transitive suffixes. In Sye, the 3SG object suffix is *-i*. Crowley says that verbs with nominal objects are also marked by the suffix *-i*, irrespective of whether the noun is singular or plural. This suggests that *-i* was a transitive suffix; and in morpheme glosses of Erromangan examples I will gloss *-i* as being the transitive suffix, even though Crowley analyses it differently. For example:

Sye

γ-ohroŋ-i *ovn-kuri*
 3SG.REC.PAST-look.for-TR PL-dog
 's/he looked for the dogs'

A number of transitive verbs are also derived by suffixing *-ŋi* (sometimes *-oŋi*). Crowley notes the formal and functional parallels between this suffix and the instrumental preposition (*o*)*ŋi*, and this suggests that the Pre-Sye form was a remote transitive suffix:

Sye

Ø-emenroŋ-oŋi *nevar horo-m*
 2SG.IMP-rest-TR load POSS-2SG
 'have a break from (carrying) your load'

Ura also has *-i* and *-ŋi*, suggesting PEr **-i* 'close transitive' and **-ŋi* 'remote transitive'.

Anejoṃ has the transitive suffixes *-i* and *-ñ*. Some verbs take *-i* with both animate and inanimate objects; other verbs take *-i* with animate objects and *-ñ* with inanimate objects. Any earlier morphosyntactic distinction between these two suffixes seems to have become lexicalised, since there appears to be no semantic basis for deciding which verb will take which suffix; for example:

Anejoṃ

ati-i-se *napelm^mai*
 put-TR-down clothes
 'put the clothes down'

etha-ñ-se *napelm^mai*
 put.to.soak-TR-down clothes
 'put the clothes down (in the water) to soak'

⁸ Ross (1998:30) says that the POc pair **paŋan* and **kani* – from which Lenakel *aŋaŋ* and *kən* derive – “is evidence that some relic of the [Proto Malayo-Polynesian] focus system may have continued to exist until shortly before the break-up of POc, **paŋan* reflecting the actor focus in this system, **kani* the patient focus”.

Anejoṃ *-n̄* could derive from either PSV **-ni* or **-ŋi*. The obvious source, though, is the final syllable of POc **-akini*.

There are no cognates outside Erromango of the instrumental preposition **ŋi*. It is likely, though typologically unusual, that **-ŋi* was originally the remote transitive suffix in Erromango, and that it has been reanalysed as a preposition, although it still occurs with some verbs as a suffix. Again, the most likely source of PEr **-ŋi* is POc **-akini*, but there is a problem with the consonant correspondence. I did note in §2.5.1.3 that POc **n* became PSV **ŋ* when an adjacent syllable contained **q*, and the only thing I can suggest is that this occurred irregularly in this morpheme as well adjacent to the velar **k*. If this is the case, then we have the following developments:

POc **-i* ‘close transitive’ > PSV **-i* > PEr **-i*, Kwm *-i/a*, Anj *-i*
 POc **-akini* ‘remote transitive’ > PSV **-yini* > PEr **-ŋi*, PTn **-yini*, Anj *-n̄*

6.3.2 Directional suffixes

The Tanna languages and Anejoṃ have quite a number of directional suffixes to verbs, while the Erromangan languages have a smaller number. Deictic directionals mark proximate, intermediate (in some languages) and distant direction/location. In all SV languages, these seem to be related to verbs meaning ‘come’ and ‘go’. These directionals, which are listed in Table 6.6, are true suffixes in at least the Tanna languages and Anejoṃ. However, the Erromangan data suggest that Proto Southern Vanuatu probably had a serial-type construction, with the second member being *m-* ‘echo subject’ + the verbs ‘come’ and ‘go’, with the initial **b* in what is now the suffix deriving from Pre-PSV **m-v*.

Table 6.6: PSV directionals

	Proximate	‘come’	Intermediate	‘go towards hearer’	Distant	‘go’
PSV	<i>*-ba[]</i>	<i>*va</i>			<i>*-ban</i>	<i>*van</i>
PEr	<i>*-be(l,n)Vm</i>	<i>*ve(l,n)Vm</i>			<i>*-ba</i>	<i>*va</i>
Sye	<i>-mpelom</i>	<i>velom</i>			<i>-mpe</i>	<i>ve</i>
Ura	<i>-mesi/benim</i>	<i>venim</i>			<i>-mesi/ba</i>	<i>va</i>
PTn	<i>*-pa</i>	<i>*va</i>	<i>*-pəna</i>	<i>*vəna ?</i>	<i>*-pən</i>	<i>*vən</i>
NTn	<i>-pa</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>-pəna</i>		<i>-pən</i>	<i>vən</i>
Wsn	<i>-pa</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>-pəna</i>		<i>-pən</i>	<i>vən</i>
Len	<i>-pa</i>	<i>va</i>	<i>-pna</i>	<i>vəna</i>	<i>-pən</i>	<i>vən</i>
SWT	<i>-p^wa</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>-pna</i>		<i>-pən</i>	<i>vən</i>
Kwm	<i>-pehe</i>	<i>vehe</i>			<i>-pen</i>	<i>vən</i>
Anj	<i>-pam</i>	<i>ham,</i> <i>apam</i>			<i>-pan</i>	<i>han,</i> <i>apan</i>

This hypothesis is supported by another set of directional suffixes. Note first PEr **-belak* (Sye *-pelay*, Ura *-belek*) ‘outwards’, PEr **velak* (Sye *velay*, Ura *velek*) ‘go ahead’. Now examine the following Tanna directionals:⁹

	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
inland	*-paqasi	-paar	-pari	-paat	-pihiak	{-arei ?}
seawards	*-p[ir]aha	-pah	-pah	-paha	-vila	-eraha
clockwise	*-pahiu		-pahau	-hiu	-pihiu	-esu
anti-clockwise	*-prasi		-pesi	-piis	-plaaH	-ræhi

I have no data on corresponding verbs in North Tanna or Whitesands, and only the verb *vhiak* ‘go inland’ in Southwest Tanna. However, corresponding to the Lenakel suffixes are the verbs *vaat* ‘go inland’, *vaha* ‘go seawards’ and *viis* ‘go southwards’. These again suggest earlier **m-v*, with subsequent loss of the stop in Kwamera.

Of those listed above, Anejoṃ *-pahai* ‘inland’ may be cognate with PTn **paqasi*, suggesting PSV **-baqasi*. Anejoṃ *-p^wok* ‘seawards’, however, does not seem to have a Tanna cognate.

The remaining directional suffixes in Tanna languages are:

	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm
upwards	*-(u,i)da	-æd		-æt, -it	-hak/ta	-uta
downwards	*-iahav	-hap	-iahou	-hiaav	-iehou	{-irap ^w }
interrogative	*-hie			-hie	-hie	{-aku}

For Proto Erromango, we can reconstruct the following additional directional suffixes which also have verbal connections; the Ura forms seem to have taken a locative element *y-*.

PEr **-sak* ‘upwards’ > Sye *-say* (cf. *say* ‘ascend’), Ura *-y/ek* (cf. *erek* ‘ascend’)

PEr **-sev* ‘downwards’ > Sye *-sep* (cf. *yep* ‘descend’), Ura *-y/ip* (cf. *ip* ‘descend’)

The following PSV reconstructions can be made:

POc <i>*uta</i>	>	PSV <i>*-(u,i)dai</i>	‘upwards’	>	PTn <i>*-(u,i)da</i> , Anj <i>-jai</i>
POc <i>*sake</i>	>	PSV <i>*-sa(k,y)</i>	‘upwards’	>	PEr <i>*-sak</i> , SWT <i>-hak/ta</i>
POc <i>*sipo</i>	>	PSV <i>*-jev</i>	‘downwards’	>	PEr <i>*-sev</i> , PTn <i>*ia/hav</i> , Anj <i>-se(h)</i>
		PSV <i>*-[]davua</i>	‘outwards’	>	Len <i>iatəv</i> , Anj <i>-(pu)jhou</i>

6.3.3 Other postposed particles

The following postverbal morphemes can be reconstructed for Proto Erromangan:

⁹ The forms meaning ‘clockwise’ and ‘anti-clockwise’ were glossed ‘northwards’ and ‘southwards’ respectively in my earlier work on Lenakel, and indeed these meanings coincide – in Lenakel. However, Lindstrom noted in Kwamera (which is spoken on both the east and west coasts of South Tanna) that the form meaning ‘northwards’ on one coast meant ‘southwards’ on the other coast. His glosses, then, are ‘clockwise = when facing the sea, to one’s right’ and ‘anti-clockwise = when facing the sea, to one’s left’.

PEr	Sye	Ura	
*-sV	-su	-ye	perfective
*-lav	-lap	-lap	precedentive ('first'), facilitative ('please')
*-wi	-wi	-wi	partitive
*-ŋə	-ŋo	-ŋi	misdirective
*-ves	-veh	-ves	ameliorative
*-nri	-nri	-di	pejorative

The following forms can be reconstructed for Proto Tanna:

PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
*-aduk ^w		-aru	-atu	-atuk ^w	-atuk ^w	reciprocal, reflexive
*-k ^w (a,i)s			-uas	-k ^w is	{-peri}	comitative, associative
*ro			ru	lu	ro	facilitative, politeness
*m ^w in			mun	mun	m ^w i	'again'
*ida			ita	ta	{raka}	perfective
*ama			am	əma	a	'only, just'

Anejom̃ seems to show no cognates with any of these. About the only PSV reconstruction that might be made is *-lav 'facilitative' (PEr *-lav, PTn *ro).

7 *Clause and sentence-level morphosyntax*

In this chapter I deal with the structure of the clause, and with coordination, relativisation and subordination. In addition, §7.3 will discuss interrogation.

7.1 Basic clause structure

Clauses may be verbal or verbless. This section deals mainly with verbal clauses, and looks at the basic order of core arguments, at peripheral phrases, and at marking of subject and object. In §7.1.4 I look briefly at imperative clauses, and in §7.1.5 at verbless clauses, affirmative and negative.

7.1.1 Verbal clauses: core arguments

The Erromangan and Tanna languages have basic SV(O) order in verbal clauses:¹

Sye

Hai nemetaŋi oron̄ yi-ta-i nur Vila.
INDEF.SG cyclone big 3SG.DIST.PAST-strike-TR place Vila
'A great cyclone struck Vila.'

Lenakel

Kuri ker r-əm-kən menuk taha-k.
dog INDEF.SG 3SG-PAST-eat chicken POSS:GEN-1SG
'A dog ate my chicken(s).'

¹ I will generally use Sye and Lenakel examples to represent Erromango and Tanna languages in this chapter. However, examples from other languages will be used when necessary. The morpheme glosses under Sye verbs basically follow Crowley's synchronic analysis (with a few exceptions, notably the glossing of *-i* as a transitive suffix), and not the diachronic reanalysis of Chapter 6.

Because transitivity is marked on the verb (either morphologically or lexically), and because person and number of the subject (and in some SV languages the object as well) are also indexed on the verb, a clause very often consists of an affixed verb alone. Focal pronoun subjects are usually not used unless the pronoun is in focus as in the second Lenakel example below, and NP subjects and objects can be omitted in context. (Non-3SG pronoun objects, however, are normally not omitted.) Examples:²

Sye

Yi-ta-i.

3SG.DIST.PAST-strike-TR

'He/she hit him/her/it.'

Lenakel

R-əm-əŋŋ-in.

3SG-PAST-fear-TR

'He/she/it was afraid of him/her/it.'

In rəm-əŋŋ-in.

he/she/it 3SG-PAST-fear-TR

'It was he/she/it who was afraid of him/her/it.'

There are two major variations on this SVO order in Erromango, and one in Tanna. First, in both subgroups, an object (or indeed any peripheral phrase) may be promoted to sentence-initial position to give it higher pragmatic salience – the same kind of salience that passivisation would provide in languages with passives. Thus we find cases of OSV order like the following (with the object underlined); in such clauses, there is often a phonological pause between the object and the rest of the clause.

Sye

Nayave ma *yi-vai* *nromo.*

kava that 3SG.DIST.PAST-get strong

'The kava he got was strong.'

Lenakel

Menuk raha-k *kuri ker* *r-əm-kən.*

chicken POSS.GEN-1SG dog INDEF.SG 3SG-PAST-eat

'My chicken(s), a dog has eaten it/them.'

Second, there are cases of V(O)S order in Sye.³ Crowley (1998a:241) says that 'while clauses of this type are reasonably frequently attested in the corpus, there is a preference for postposed noun phrases to be structurally complex'. The subject is underlined in the following examples.

Sye

Kam-avan *yau m-iyi.*

1EXC.DL.DIST.PAST-walk I and-he/she

'He/she and I walked.'

² The unspecific nature of these translations would, of course, be clarified in context.

³ Ura data are insufficient to decide whether this is a feature of Proto Erromango or simply of Sye; I will assume the former here. I have no evidence of such constructions in any Tanna language.

Kaml-omonki makas kam-nral Nelayan.
 1EXC.PL.DIST.PAST-drink leftovers we.EXC-COMIT Nelacan
 ‘Nelacan and us drank the leftovers (of kava).’

There are, however, cases of structurally simple NP subjects also being postposed (underlined in the example below), with V(O)S here encoding subjects or topics that could be seen as afterthoughts:

Sye

Yi-velom retpo-n nayem.
 3SG.DIST.PAST-become wife-3SG emerald.dove
 ‘The emerald dove became his wife.’

Anejoṃ presents a quite different picture. First, basic phrase order is V(O)S, and second, focal pronoun subjects may not be deleted:⁴

Anejoṃ

Et awoθ yin a Tagipe.
 3SG.AOR hit 3SG.OBJ SM Tagipe
 ‘Tagipe hit him.’

Ek ayreθ ntal enai añak.
 1SG.AOR scrape taro DEM I
 ‘I’m scraping this taro.’

When the object is structurally complex and the subject is not, VSO order is common. The object in the example below (which includes a relative clause) is underlined.

Anejoṃ

Is itiiyi atou aen intas kis asañ añak.
 3SG.PAST NEG know he/she word 1SG.PAST say I
 ‘He/she didn’t understand what I said.’

Indefinite subjects (marked as such by indefinite premodifiers, and underlined here) often occur preverbally, however:

Anejoṃ

Tah nitai enaa et iji.
 INDEF thing DEM 3SG.AOR stand
 ‘There’s something standing (there).’

Objects (though apparently not subjects) may be promoted to sentence-initial position to give greater salience; the object is underlined in the example below.

Anejoṃ

Ntal enai ek ayreθ añak.
 taro DEM 1SG.AOR scrape I
 ‘This taro, I’m scraping it now.’

⁴ This is true even in imperative clauses (§7.1.4), where deletion of a second person pronoun subject is a very widespread phenomenon among the world’s languages.

However, there is more to the problem than this. Proto Southern Vanuatu, as I have shown elsewhere (Lynch 2000c) and will show in Chapter 8, is a branch of Proto Southern Oceanic.⁵ One of Proto Southern Oceanic's sister-languages, Proto Southeast Solomons, has been reconstructed as being verb-initial (Simons 1980, quoted in Ross 1988:384-385). Another intermediate protolanguage, Proto Central Pacific, may have been either a sister-language or a high-order daughter-language of Proto Southern Oceanic, and it too has been reconstructed as having been verb-initial. While Proto New Caledonian can probably be reconstructed as having been verb-initial (Moyses-Faurie & Ozanne-Rivierre 1983), neither South Efate nor any of the languages in any of the linkages in Northern or Central Vanuatu show verb-initial ordering, *unless* we consider Proto Central Pacific to be one of the Northern Vanuatu linkages.

We thus have the following three possible hypotheses:

1. **Proto Southern Oceanic was SVO, and so was Proto Southern Melanesian.** This would imply:
 - (a) that Anejoñ and Proto New Caledonian changed SVO to VOS – either as a single shared innovation or as parallel developments; and
 - (b) that all other Vanuatu languages, including Proto Erromango and Proto Tanna, have made no change to the preferred order.

There is no particularly strong link between Anejoñ (as opposed to other SV subgroups) and New Caledonia. This would thus imply two separate changes of SVO > VOS, one in Anejoñ and one in New Caledonia (plus also a partial change in Erromango). This seems the weakest of the three hypotheses.

2. **Proto Southern Oceanic was SVO, but Proto Southern Melanesian changed this to VOS.** This would imply:
 - (a) that Anejoñ and Proto New Caledonian retain the VOS order from Southern Melanesian; and
 - (b) that Proto Erromango and Proto Tanna changed VOS to SVO.

Under this hypothesis, there would have been only one change from SVO to VOS, and only two occurrences of the natural change from VOS to SVO. Further, VOS structures in Erromango could well be explained as residues from an earlier stage where VOS was the preferred order. On the other hand, under this hypothesis (as in the previous one), we have to explain the change from POc VOS order to SVO order at the Proto Southern Oceanic level, and this becomes more problematic *if* Proto Central Pacific was a 'Northern Vanuatu linkage'.

⁵ A skeleton family tree of Proto Southern Oceanic and *some* of its relatives is given in Figure 7.1. The dotted line connecting Proto Central Pacific (PCP) with the Northern Vanuatu languages reflects the *possibility* that PCP may be one of the northern Vanuatu linkages. The grouping labelled 'Erakor-Kwenyii' is named after the two extremes of this putative subgroup: Erakor is the largest South Efate speaking village, and Kwenyii is the name of the language spoken on the Isle of Pines, the southernmost language in New Caledonia.

3. Proto Southern Oceanic was verb-initial (let us say VOS). This would imply:

- (a) that Proto Southern Melanesian, Proto New Caledonian and Proto Southern Vanuatu were all verb-initial, with Proto Erromango and Proto Tanna (or, possibly, Erromango and Tanna languages on a more individual basis) later changing from VOS to SVO; and
- (b) that South Efate and all the various northern and central linkages also changed VOS to SVO.

Although there is a large number of individual cases of VOS > SVO involved in this hypothesis, it does explain verb-initial order in the Southern Melanesian languages. We would, of course, expect to find *some* northern and central languages retaining this order, or at least some cases of residual verb-initial order (as in Erromango), and we don't, or at least not to my knowledge. This is a problem with the hypothesis – unless it can be shown that Proto Central Pacific was part of Southern Oceanic.

I tentatively reconstruct PSV (and by implication Proto Southern Melanesian) as having had VOS preferred clause structure, since I believe that hypothesis 3 best describes the facts of wider Oceanic clause order.

7.1.2 Verbal clauses: peripheral arguments

Peripheral phrases consist of (i) noun phrases marked with a preceding preposition (§5.4), (ii) unmarked temporal and locative phrases, and (iii) a small number of adverbial modifiers which may occur outside the verb phrase.

As a general rule, peripheral phrases follow the core arguments. Thus in Erromango and Tanna, peripheral phrases normally follow the verb in an intransitive clause and the object in a transitive clause. Each peripheral phrase is underlined in the examples in this section.

Sye

Kole-ntorilki u-ntemne marima.
 1INC.PL.FUT-return LOC-village now
 'We will return to the village now.'

Lenakel

I-am-arai nək ka le nəkinhamra le kəpaas taha-m.
 1EXC-PAST-cut tree DEM OBL bush OBL axe POSS:GEN-2SG
 'I cut down the tree in the bush with your axe.'

In Anejoṃ there is more variability, with peripheral phrases seeming to occur either before or after the subject. About the only general rule which can be stated is that peripheral phrases consisting of just a preposition plus pronominal suffix are much more likely to precede the subject (and, in the case of indirect objects, the object as well). Examples:

Anejoṃ

Top^w atŋe-i pikaθ aek a nelop^w!
 just kill-TR pig you.SG OBL club
 'Just kill the pig with a club!'

Et asañ tas-aktit-pan ehele-n a etwa-m̃.
 3SG.AOR tell talk-tie-there DAT-3SG SM brother-2SG
 ‘Your brother made an agreement with him/her.’

Et esje imta-i nupu-toona ntas Anejom̃ a Tepahai.
 3SG.AOR teach DAT-CS person-foreign language Aneityum SM Tepahae
 ‘Tepahae is teaching the foreigner the Aneityumese language.’

Thus the preferred order in Proto Southern Vanuatu *probably* was:

$$\text{VERB} + (\text{OBJECT}) + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} (\text{PERIPHERAL PHRASES}) + \text{SUBJECT} \\ \text{SUBJECT} + (\text{PERIPHERAL PHRASES}) \end{array} \right\}$$

Temporal and locative phrases occur post-core, as some of the examples above will illustrate. However, temporal phrases frequently occur clause-initially, and locative phrases sometimes do as well. For example:

Anejoṃ

A noup̃an iniñ eris eyohos-pan aarau a nteptaŋ...
 OBL time DEM 3DL.PAST come.up-there they.DL OBL nakamal...
 ‘At this time, the two of them came upon a nakamal...’

Sye

Pumroy nru-vai-pelay.
 night 3PL.DIST.PAST-take-out
 ‘At night, they removed it.’

Ra navlutni-n yi-velom armai.
 OBL end-3SG 3SG.DIST.PAST-come good
 ‘In the end, things came good.’

7.1.3 Subject and object marking

Subject and object are marked by strict order relations: SVO in Erromango and Tanna, VOS in Anejoṃ. In addition, (i) there is person and number concord between the subject and the verb, and (ii) PSV focal, subject and object pronouns were all formally distinct.

There is no formal morphological marking of non-pronominal object NPs in any SV language, nor any such marking of subject NPs (within the NP) in Erromango or Tanna. In Anejoṃ, however, animate subjects (whether of transitive or intransitive verbs) are marked by a preposed *a*,⁶ though inanimate subjects are unmarked. Compare:

Anejoṃ

Et apam a kuri.
 3SG.AOR come SM dog
 ‘The dog is coming.’

⁶ ‘Animate’ refers to humans and higher-level animates. Recall from §5.1.1 that Anejoṃ focal pronouns are not preceded by a separate subject-marker *a*, but appear to have accreted this *a* as part of the root.

*Et apam (*a) plen.*
 3SG.AOR come *SM plane
 'The plane is coming.'

Proto Oceanic is reconstructed as having had two common articles, **na* and **a*. Whether they were allomorphs of a single morpheme, or whether they had contrasting functions, is not clear. However, Proto Malayo-Polynesian apparently had three common articles, as follows:⁷

- (1) **a* marked subject of a verb, whether transitive or intransitive, active or passive;
- (2) **na* marked agent of a passive verb; and
- (3) **ta* marked object of an active transitive verb.

Whether the Anejoñ subject-marker derives from POc **a* and/or from Proto Malayo-Polynesian **a* is also not clear, but it is a possibility worth further investigation.

7.1.4 Imperative clauses

Verbs in imperative clauses contain no person or tense-aspect markers. In Erromango and Tanna, they do take a number-prefix, this being further evidence that number is marked by a separate affix from person in Erromango (see §6.2.3). In Anejoñ, number markers are inseparable from person markers, and imperative verbs have no preverbal particles marking subject/TAM, though adverbials may occur. Focal second person pronouns are optional in Erromango and Tanna, obligatory in Anejoñ.

Sye	Lenakel	Anejoñ
<i>U-yevi!</i>	<i>Ar-kən!</i>	<i>Lep awoθ ajowa!</i>
PL-pull	PL-eat	again hit you.PL
'Pull (all of you)!'	'Eat it (all of you)!'	'Hit (it) again (all of you)!'

I reconstruct PSV as marking number but not person in verbs in imperative clauses.

In Erromango and Tanna, prohibitions or negative imperatives simply use the negative prefix to the verb (with number-marking), and this appears to have been the PSV system. Kwamera and Southwest Tanna use the imperative form of the negative verb *ap^hah* followed by a nominalisation:

Sye	Lenakel	Kwamera
<i>U-etu-tapmi!</i>	<i>Ar-əs-kən-aan!</i>	<i>Ø-apwah n-o-ien!</i>
PL-NEG-try	PL-NEG-eat-NOM	SG-negative NOM-do-NOM
'Don't you all try!'	'Don't you all eat it!'	'Don't do it!'

Anejoñ, however, has apparently innovated a prohibitive particle *jim*:

Anejoñ

Jim aθia aek!
 PROHIB go.away you.SG
 'Don't go away!'

⁷ For a fuller discussion of this system see Chapter 4 in Lynch, Ross and Crowley (*f/c*).

7.1.5 Verbless clauses

The core of a verbless clause in Erromango and Tanna languages consists of a nominal topic (sometimes with a pronominal copy) and a non-verbal comment. Anejoṃ appears to allow both topic-comment and comment-topic orders. This core can, of course, be followed by peripheral phrases. Comments are underlined in all examples below.

Sye

Natmah ma natmah it-nahiven.
 devil DEM devil ADJ-woman
 ‘That devil is/was a she-devil.’

Morei iyi hai nvaŋ nra-n nemetaŋi.
 fermented.breadfruit it INDEF food PURP-CS cyclone
 ‘Fermented breadfruit is a food for times of cyclone.’

Lenakel

Norhā-milau ihie?
 younger.brother-2DL where
 ‘Where is your younger brother?’

Nəpən miin nəvin nenav.
 banana PL some yesterday
 ‘There were some bananas yesterday.’

Anejoṃ

Niθa-i nataheñ iyiiki Inmohoy.
 name-CS sister DEM Inmohoc
 ‘The sister’s name was Inmohoc.’

Nyip^wal Anejom^w niñki.
 story Aneityum this.one
 ‘This is an Aneityumese story.’

It appears that the PSV preferred order was Topic-Comment, given the frequency of this order in Anejoṃ. Anejoṃ Comment-Topic clauses may result from the influence of VOS preferred order in verbal clauses.

Negation of verbless clauses takes various forms. Erromangan languages use the free form negative (e.g. Sye *tawi* ‘no’, which is *ta-* before the indefinite premodifier *hai*):

Sye

<i>Yau tawi nahiven.</i>	<i>Ta-hai nomu.</i>
I no woman	no-INDEF.SG fish
‘I am not a woman.’	‘There are no fish.’

Tanna languages use a negative existential verb to encode the fact that something does not exist or is not there. Other kinds verbless sentences use the negative of the verb PTn **or* ‘do, make’ (in Kwamera, this takes the sequential prefix and the otherwise rare negative suffix *-mha*).

Lenakel

Nuw r-aka.
yam 3SG-not.exist
'There are no yams.'

Wus ka r-əs-ol-aan rəmā-k.
fellow DEM 3SG-NEG-do-NOM father-1SG
'That fellow is not my father.'

Kwamera

Nuk r-ian.
yam 3SG-not.exist
'There are no yams.'

Iema fa r-pk-o-mha remu-k.
fellow DEM 3SG-SEQ-do-NEG father-1SG
'That fellow is not my father.'

Anejoñ has a negative existential verb *tii*. Other kinds of verbless sentences when negativised treat the comment as the head of a verb phrase preceded by subject/TAM markers and the negative particle *itiiyi*:

Anejoñ

Et tii nu.
3SG.AOR not.be yam
'There are no yams.'

Et itiiyi etma-k nat enaa.
3SG.AOR NEG father-1SG fellow DEM
'That fellow is not my father.'

Anejoñ *tii* and *itiiyi* probably derive from the same source. Whether PEr **da(va)wi* (Sye *tawi*, Ura *davawi*) also derives from this source is less clear.

7.2 Noun phrase expansions

Three kinds of NP expansions will be briefly examined here: coordination, NPs which include possessive phrases, and relative clauses.

7.2.1 Coordination

Proto Southern Vanuatu had the two NP-coordinating conjunctions **m* (~ **im*) 'and' and **gua* 'or':

POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj	
<i>*ma</i>	<i>*m ~ *im</i>	<i>*m= ~ *im</i>	<i>*m-ne</i>	<i>im</i>	'and'
	<i>*gua</i>	<i>*gu</i>	<i>*ua</i>	<i>ka</i>	'or'

The Proto Erromango forms are based on the following:

PEr	Sye	Ura	
<i>*m= ~ *im</i>	<i>m= (~ im, mi)</i>	<i>m(i)=, im</i>	'and'
<i>*gu</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>gu</i>	'or'

Sye at least also allows the comitative prepositions *nru* 'with one other' and *nral* 'with several others' to occur as suffixes to a focal pronoun in a coordinate NP, that focal pronoun expressing the person and number of the whole NP:⁸

⁸ Final *u* and *l* in the markers *nru* and *nral* are reminiscent of the dual and plural verbal prefixes discussed in §6.2.3, suggesting that these forms may be compounds.

Sye

koh-nral ave-nt-hai-me
 we.INC-COMIT brother-IINC.PL-brother-PL
 'I and my brothers'

The basic forms of the Tanna coordinating conjunctions are as follows. I comment on details in Lenakel and Kwamera below.

PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
* <i>m-ne</i>	<i>māne</i>	<i>māne</i>	<i>māne, m, ne</i>	<i>māne</i>	<i>māne, mā</i>	'and'
* <i>ua</i>			<i>ua</i>	<i>ua</i>	<i>ua</i>	'or'

Kwamera *māne* and *mā* are apparently in free variation. In Lenakel, however, the forms listed above have slightly different distributions: *m* is used to link nouns whose referents are seen as almost inseparable (e.g. *Kati m Koukau*, the names of twin brothers); *ne* is used when more than two NPs are coordinated, and in this case *māne* often follows the last (thus *A ne B ne C ne D māne*). This all suggests (a) that surface *māne* may in fact be, or have been, two morphemes, and (b) that the *a* in the initial syllable is epenthetic, not part of the root.

7.2.2 NPs with possessive constituents

Possessive morphology is discussed in §5.1.3 and §5.3.

The structure of a noun phrase whose head is modified by a direct construction is:

$$(\text{PREMODIFIER}) + \text{NOUN} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{POSS. PRON.} + \text{POSTMODIFIER} \\ \text{CONSTRUCT SUFFIX} + \text{NP} \end{array} \right\}$$

When the head of the NP takes a pronominal suffix, then postmodifiers may follow this constituent:

Anejoṃ

neri-n asṇa
 leaf-3SG all
 'all its leaves'

When, however, it takes a construct suffix, the possessor NP must immediately follow. Postmodification to the head is thus ruled out, since any postmodifier is ambiguous as to whether it refers to the head of the whole NP or the head of the possessor NP (and indeed this is the preferred interpretation):

Anejoṃ

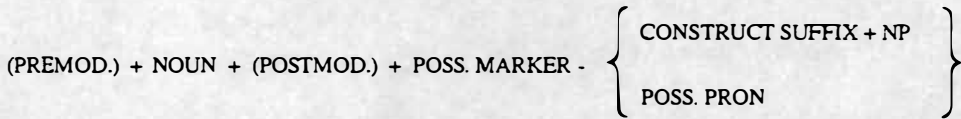
neri-i nyai asṇa
 leaf-CS tree all
 'the leaves of all the trees' (*? 'all the leaves of the tree')

Instead, the unacceptable meaning above can only be expressed by a following appositional phrase consisting of the same head with a pronominal suffix followed by a postmodifier:

Anejoñ

neri-i nyai, neri-n asŋa
 leaf-CS tree leaf-3SG all
 'all the leaves of the tree'

The structure of an NP whose head is modified by an indirect construction is



In the case of indirect constructions, because the head noun takes no suffix, then postmodifiers may intervene between that noun and the possessive marker:

Anejoñ

pikaθ alp^was iyiiki uña-k
 pig big DEM POSS:GEN-1SG
 'that big pig of mine'

This order (possessed + possessor) is obligatory in Erromango and Anejoñ, and I reconstruct it for PSV. Tanna languages, however, allow some flexibility in that the possessive marker + pronoun suffix constituent may also precede the possessed noun:

Lenakel

<i>nim^wa taha-k</i>	~	<i>taha-k nim^wa</i>
house POSS:GEN-1SG		POSS:GEN-1SG house
'my house'		'my house'

7.2.3 Relative clauses

I suspect that relative clauses in PSV were unmarked, and that what overt marking strategies there are in some SV languages are more recent developments. (All relative clauses in the examples in this section are set off from the rest of the sentence by square brackets.)

The most common form of relativisation in Erromango is to use the relative-clause introducer PEr **mori* with a pronominal trace at the point of extraction. However, it is possible to omit it:

Sye

Kem-aŋkil-i neteme [mori yam-navan ra noyujɔ]?
 2SG.PRES-know-TR person REL 3SG.PRES-walk LOC road
 'Do you know the person who is walking on the road?'

Kamli-tenəm-i [ovoteme nru-ta-loŋ-onr].
 1EXC.PL-DIST.PAST-bury-TR PL.person 3PL.DIST.PAST-hit-to.death-3PL.OBJ
 'We buried the people who they killed.'

Now PEr **mori* is a demonstrative postmodifier (§5.5.1). I suspect that what may have occurred in PEr is that relative clauses were unmarked, but that (as is not uncommon) the head noun was marked with a demonstrative. This structure was thus reanalysed as follows:

[HEAD + **mori* + [RELATIVE CLAUSE]] > [HEAD + [**mori* + RELATIVE CLAUSE]]

I do not have adequate data on relativisation in North Tanna and Whitesands. Southwest Tanna and Anejoṃ simply append the relative clause with no marking whatever:

Southwest Tanna

l-əmn-aan nek^w na-i k^wan ai [l-əmn-uh kafa-k pukah].
 1EXC-PAST-eat yam POSS.FOOD-CS man DEM 3SG-PAST-kill POSS-1SG pig
 'I ate the yam(s) of the man who killed my pig.'

Anejoṃ

Is itiyi eŋe-ktit nitiniñ [is asañ aen].
 3SG.PAST NEG hear-badly something 3SG.PAST say he
 'He didn't hear clearly what he said.'

Lenakel has a relative clause introducer *ieram* (cf. *ieramim* 'person') which seems to be totally optional, and whose use is not restricted to animate noun heads:

Lenakel

R-n-arai ita nək ka le kəpaas [(ieram) i-əm-ol].
 3SG-PERF-cut already tree DEM OBL axe (REL) 1EXC-PAST-make
 'He has cut down the tree with the axe I made.'

Kwamera, on the other hand, has a relative proclitic *sa=* which attaches to the first word in the clause, but appears to be totally optional:

Kwamera

T-ak-vahi teki-nari [(sa=)in r-ən-o].
 FUT-1EXC-take skin-thing (REL=)he/she 3SG-PERF-make
 'I will take the pot which he/she made.'

It appears that relative clauses in PSV may thus have been unmarked, though the head may have been (obligatorily?) followed by a demonstrative, and that different languages developed different relativisation strategies more recently.

7.3 Interrogative sentences

Polar questions are marked in all SV languages in two ways, and presumably were so marked in PSV. One is final rising intonation on a declarative clause. The other is postposing PSV **gua* 'or' (with or without a following free-form negative) to a declarative clause:

Anejoṃ

Et apam aen ka (a'o)?
 3SG.AOR come s/he or no
 'Did he/she come?'

Lenakel

N-ak-am-olkeikei m-amnuum^w nəkava ua (kap^wa)?
 2-CONC-CONT-want ECHO-drink kava or (no)
 'Do you (sg.) want to drink kava?'

The structure of content questions depends on the syntactic function of the interrogative morpheme in each case: e.g. forms meaning ‘what?’ function as noun phrases in the appropriate slot in the sentence, forms meaning ‘when?’ function as temporal adverbials, etc. The following interrogative morphemes present no reconstructual problems:

POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj	
*pican	*gə-vis	*gə-va[]	*kə-vah	e/heθ	‘how much/many?’ (§5.5.2)
*(q)ana-ŋican	*na-ŋisan	*niŋai	*nanhan	iñiθ	‘when?’
	*i-sia	S iya	*i-hia	eθa	‘where?’ [Adverbial] ⁹
	*=sia	S =ya	*-hia		‘where?’ [Verbal clitic]
*ku(y)a	*-yu(v)a	*no/ɣwa		eyha	‘how? be how?’

The PEr and PTn reconstructions above are based on the following reflexes:

PEr	Sye	Ura				
*gə-va[]	nrə/ve	giva				‘how much/many?’
*niŋai	niŋoi	niŋei				‘when?’
*noɣwa	noɣwo	noɣwa				‘how’

PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
*kə-vah	kuah	kuvah	kuhu	kuhu	keva	‘how much/many’
*nanhan	nanhan	nanhən	nahan	nanhən	nesən	‘when (past)?’ ¹⁰
*i-hia	ihia	ihia	ihie	ihia	isa ‘which’	‘where?’
*-hia			-hie	-hie	{-aku}	‘where?’ (§6.3.2)

A few other lower-level reconstructions can be made:

PEr *Vtoya ‘which?’ > Sye itoy(o), Ura atu.

PTn *aqsu- ‘how’ > NTn arh-, Wsn arhu-, Len etu-, SWT hau- (§6.2.1).

Terms meaning ‘who?’ and ‘what?’, however, present a more confused picture. The following have been reconstructed for Proto Oceanic:

POc	
*sai	‘who?’
*sapa	‘what?’
*pai, *pia	‘which? where?’

Below are the terms for ‘who?’ and ‘what?’ in all SV languages:

Sye	Ura	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj	
mei	wi	pa	pah	pehe	pa	si, sin	θi	‘who?’
se	da	naka	nak	neta	naha	nəfe	nhe	‘what?’

On the basis of these data, I suggest the following:

⁹ Ura *duwa* ‘where?’ is not cognate, but it follows the same pattern as Sye in having a reduced form *=wa* as a verbal clitic.

¹⁰ A future temporal interrogative is formed by prefixing the dative preposition/future tense marker – PTn *o- in NTn and Wsn, PTn *duk- in the other languages (§5.4.2, 6.2.1).

1. Kwm *si* and Anj *θi* ‘who?’ derive from POc **sai* ‘who?’, and suggest PSV **si* ‘who?’.
2. Sye *se* and SWT *na/ha* ‘what?’ probably derive from (the first syllable of) POc **sapa* ‘what?’, and suggest PSV **sa* ‘what?’.
3. All Tanna forms for ‘who?’ apart from Kwm suggest PTn **pahV*, PSV **pasV*. This may be **pa* (unidentified) + POc **sai* ‘who?’, or it may be a metathesis of the two syllables of POc **sapa* ‘what?’.
4. The Kwm and Anj forms for ‘what?’ suggest PSV **na-va(s)* ‘what?’, which may be related to **pasV*.
5. Ura *da* and Len *neta* ‘what?’ suggest PSV **nə-da[]* ‘what?’.

In summary, we have evidence for the following PSV reconstructions:

‘who?’: **si*, **pasV*

‘what?’: **sa*, **na-va(s)*, **nə-da[]*

7.4 Clause coordination

Southern Vanuatu languages have a few coordinating conjunctions. But they also have an unusual echo-subject/switch-reference construction, which I will discuss in §7.4.2.

7.4.1 Coordinating conjunctions

The alternative conjunction PSV **gua* ‘or’, which is used with noun phrases (cf. §7.2.1), is also used to coordinate alternative clauses.

The PSV conjunctive coordinators can be reconstructed as follows:

POc	PSV	PEr	PTn	Anj	
<i>*ma</i>	<i>*im</i>	<i>*im</i>		<i>am^w</i>	‘and’
<i>*ka</i>	<i>*ka[]</i>	<i>*kou</i> ‘but?’	<i>*ka/ni</i>		‘and’

The Proto Erromangan and Proto Tanna forms above, as well as reconstructed contrastive coordinators, are based on the following:

PEr	Sye	Ura				
<i>*im</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>im</i>	‘and’			
<i>*kou</i>	<i>kou</i>	<i>kou</i>	‘but’			

PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
<i>*kani</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kani</i>	<i>kani</i>	<i>kəni</i>	<i>kəni</i>	‘and’
	<i>meto</i>	<i>metou</i>	<i>merou</i>	<i>meləŋ</i>	<i>mata, mreŋi</i>	‘but’

The Tanna forms for ‘but’ are interesting. They appear to consist of the echo-subject prefix plus a verb of perception: ‘know’ in Northern Tanna, ‘hear’ in Southwest Tanna, and two forms in Kwamera – *ata* ‘see’ and *reŋi* ‘hear’.

Anejoŋ has two contrastive coordinators: *jam* when the subjects of the conjoined clauses are the same, and *ja(i)* when they are different. The form *jam* is likely historically *ja-m* (but + echo-subject), but I know of no cognates within SV of *ja(i)*.

7.4.2 Echo-subject

One of the morphosyntactic features which defines the Southern Melanesian subgroup is the development of the echo-subject marker, which in Proto Southern Vanuatu was a verbal proclitic **m=*. This I presume derives from POc **ma* ‘and’, and is reflected as *m-* (or *m=*) in all languages (with normal epenthesis before a consonant).¹¹

Common to all SV languages is the fact that **m=* marks the verb to which it is attached as having the same subject as that of the previous verb. With third person subjects, therefore, the contrast between echo-subject and other subject markers operates like a switch-reference system:

Sye

γ-avan *m-ervani*.
 3SG.REC.PAST-walk ECHO-spat
 ‘He/she walked and spat.’

γ-avan *im* *γo-etvani*.
 3SG.REC.PAST-walk and 3SG.REC.PAST-spat
 ‘He/she walked and he/she (somebody else) spat.’

Note also the presence of the conjunction in the second sentence but not in the first.

Probably because they have an overt and easily segmentable marker of number-of-subject, the Tanna languages allow somewhat greater flexibility. When participants of different numbers occur in a clause, the verb of a following clause may be marked with **m-* even if it refers to a noun phrase which is not the subject of the preceding clause. Thus the examples below show (i) a plural echo-subject referring to the plural *object* of the previous clause whose subject is singular, and (ii) a dual echo-subject referring to *both* the singular subject and the singular object of the previous clause.

Lenakel

Lomhan rəm-ho *kuri miin m-əm-ai-akəm**.
 Lomhan 3SG-PAST-hit dog PL ECHO-PAST-PL-run.away
 ‘Lomhan hit the dogs and they ran away.’

Lomhan r-əm-ho *Iatəv m-əm-u-akəm**.
 Lomhan 3SG-PAST-hit Iatev ECHO-PAST-DL-run.away
 ‘Lomhan hit Iatev and they both ran away.’

In addition, even when the subject and object are of the same number, Tanna languages can use *m-* on a verb whose subject is the *object* of the preceding clause if it is the only semantically possible subject of the verb:

Kwamera

R-arup[~]-i *menu ia nitei m-arouaraau*.
 3SG-throw-TR bird OBL spear ES-fly.away
 ‘He threw a spear at the bird and it flew away.’

¹¹ POc **ma* thus appears to have undergone multiple developments in PSV: as the NP coordinator **m*, **im* (§7.2.1), as the clausal coordinator **im*, and as the echo-subject proclitic **m=*.

I take the Tanna structures to be more recent developments, and reconstruct a proclitic PSV **m=* which marked a verb as having the same subject as that of the previous clause. These structures could thus be classed as ‘coordinate-dependent’ (Foley 1986:177ff.) – that is, the **m*-marked clause is *coordinate* with the preceding clause but *dependent* on it for subject and TAM marking.

7.5 Complex clauses

7.5.1 The quotative verb and subordinating conjunctions

All SV languages have a quotative verb, which as a lexical verb introduces direct quotations. We find the following forms in the SV languages:¹²

PEr	Sye	Ura	PTn	NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	Anj
<i>*oy(o,u)</i>	<i>oyu</i>	<i>oyo</i>	<i>*am^wah</i>	<i>əmah?</i>	<i>am^wa</i>	<i>əm^wa</i>	<i>əmah</i>	{ <i>ua</i> }	<i>ika</i>

The use of the quotative verb in introducing a direct quotation can be seen as follows:

Sye

Nitni yem-oyu: “Nate, hai nam yoyoy-vai nisyo-m namou
 son.3SG 3SG.DEPPAST-say father INDEF talk 1SG.REC.PAST-take BENEf-2SG mother

yo-enpo-yau.”

3SG.REC.PAST-say.to-1SG

‘His son said: “Father, I have got something for you that Mother said to me”.’

No single form can be reconstructed for PSV.

The quotative verb is widely attested with the echo-subject proclitic, and in this form – which I will refer to as **m=QUOTATIVE* – it has become grammaticalised as the introducer of a range of subordinate clauses, with the functions listed below. (Note that in Tanna at least it has become so grammaticalised in this context that number-prefixes do not appear on it, and there are slight phonological changes – for example, Lenakel *m-əm^wa* ‘ECHO-say’ but *mam^wa* ‘subordinator’.) In all languages of the subgroup for which we have adequate data, **m=QUOTATIVE* introduces:

- (a) reported speech;
- (b) clausal complements after verbs of locution (e.g. ‘sing’, ‘call’, ‘shout’);
- (c) clausal complements after verbs expressing mental processes (‘think’, ‘know’, ‘remember’, etc.);
- (d) intentional clauses (after verbs like ‘want’, ‘persuade’, etc.); and
- (e) purpose or result clauses.

A couple of examples are given below:

¹² The PEr form is **agu* (Sye *aŋku*, Ura *aqo*) when the root is in modified form. In Sye and Anejoŋ at least, the quotative verb meaning ‘say’ also has a secondary meaning ‘want, intend’.

Lenakel

Iatəv r-əm-aamh mam^wa nerə-n r-əm-am-aik.
 Iatev 3SG-PAST-see SUBORD son-3SG 3SG-PAST-CONT-swim
 'Iatev saw that his son was swimming.'

Peravən taha-k r-am-viin nuw mam^wa t-k-ar-kən.
 woman POSS-1SG 3SG-CONT-cook yam SUBORD FUT-1INC-PL-eat
 'My wife is cooking yams for us to eat.'

In Erromango and Tanna, there are apparently further grammaticalised uses of this verb. PER **nagu* (Sye *naŋku*, Ura *nago*) marks a conditional clause. Crowley (1998a:270) suggests that this may derive from the 3SG counterassertive prefix *n-* plus the modified form of the root. Example:

Sye

Naŋku hai uvulyoru viroy yem-ampelom nrum-nahor.
 if INDEF wind small 3SG.DISTPAST-come 3PL.PAST.HAB-shout
 'If a gust came, they would shout.'

In Tanna, the forms introducing conditional clauses are:

NTn	Wsn	Len	SWT	Kwm	
<i>əmah</i>	<i>okom^wa</i>	<i>takam^wa</i>	<i>tuk^wmah</i>	<i>tuk^wa ~ tuk^wo</i>	'if': real condition
		<i>kapam^wa</i>	<i>kipimah</i>	[see below]	'if': unreal condition

Except in North Tanna, the form introducing a real condition looks like an impersonal form of the quotative verb with future morphology;¹³ the Lenakel and Southwest Tanna introducers of unreal conditions look like non-future sequential impersonal forms of the same verb. In addition to the form *tuk^wa ~ tuk^wo* above (which may derive from a future impersonal of the quotative verb *ua*), Kwamera also uses regularly inflected forms of *ua* to introduce both types of conditions:

Kwamera

R-p-ua iak-ata Taim^werən, tuk^wo iak-ni-pen tuk^we.
 3SG-COND-say 1EXC-see Taimweren then 1EXC-say-there DAT.3SG
 'If I see Taimweren, then I'll tell him.'

R-ən-ua ia-p-ən-ata Taim^werən, ia-p-uv-ni-pen tuk^we.
 3SG-PERF-say 1EXC-COND-PERF-see Taimweren 1EXC-COND-PERF-say-there DAT.3SG
 'If I had seen Taimweren, I would have told him.'

7.5.2 Other subordinate constructions

In SV languages, some subordinate clauses are introduced by grammaticalised verbs with the echo-subject proclitic:

¹³ Impersonal verbs in Tanna languages take the 3NONGS subject prefix but no marker of number.

Ura	<i>mafeli ~ mefeli</i> ‘until’	cf. <i>efeli</i> ‘end, conclude’
Sye	<i>maveli</i> ‘until’	cf. <i>eveli</i> ‘stop, go as far as’
Len	<i>maroatis</i> ‘until’	cf. <i>aroatis</i> ‘reach, arrive at’

Some are introduced by prepositions, with the following clause being treated syntactically (and in Anejoñ morphologically also) as a nominalisation:

Sye

Nimo y-omol ra nemetañi y-elims-i.
 house 3SG.DIST.PAST-fall OBL wind 3SG.DIST.PAST-blow-TR
 ‘The house fell over because the wind blew it down.’

Anejoñ

Et upni va n-amenjina-i atimi jii.
 3SG.AOR good CAUS NOM-look.after-TR people DEM
 ‘It is useful for the purpose of taking care of these people.’

Still others can be considered as relative clauses based on head nouns meaning ‘day, time’ and ‘place’:

Sye

Nran etme-n yem-torilki pruvyum m-velom mem-atau
 time father-3SG 3SG.DEP.PAST-return morning ECHO-come ECHO-hang

m-elahep m-oyəh-i nitni.
 ECHO-look.down ECHO-see-TR son.3SG
 ‘When his father came back in the afternoon and hung upside down he saw his son.’

Kwamera

In r-ata-pui k^wopun ik-am-apri ikən.
 he 3SG-see-discover place 2-CONT-sleep LOC.REL
 ‘He discovered where you were sleeping.’

The last example shows not only the noun *k^wopun* ‘place’ as head of the locative clause, but also the form *ikən*, which is a kind of locative relativiser and which in Kwamera occurs at the end of the clause. In other Tanna languages, locative clauses may be introduced and closed by *ikən*; both occurrences of *ikən* may occur, and one must occur. Thus:

Lenakel

I-əm-vən ikən nam r-əka ikən.
I-əm-vən nam r-əka ikən.
I-əm-vən ikən nam r-əka.
 **I-əm-vən nam r-əka.*
 1EXC-PAST-go LOC.REL fish 3SG-not.exist LOC.REL
 ‘I went where there were no fish.’

Note, however, phrases like *ikən vət* ‘a good place’, *ikən taat* ‘a bad place’, showing that *ikən* also functions as a locative noun.

Of strict subordinating conjunctions which have no other function or derivation, then, there are none in Erromango and Tanna; Anejoñ has the following:

- wut* 'when': temporal irrealis
- wat* 'when': temporal realis
- el* 'if': conditional
- wuri* 'for, in order to': purposive

I am not aware of any POc or similar sources for any of these.

8 *The history of the Southern Vanuatu languages*

This chapter outlines the internal and external relationships of the Southern Vanuatu languages, looks at contact with Polynesian languages, and attempts to provide, on the basis of linguistic evidence, a possible history of settlement and dispersal of populations in the area.

8.1 The Southern Vanuatu family

The Southern Vanuatu family can be established on the basis of a number of shared innovations of different kinds. The following innovations are shared by all Southern Vanuatu languages, and constitute strong evidence for subgrouping. (I will comment in §8.3 below on which of these are *exclusively* shared innovations.) The column headed ‘Reference’ in these and similar lists in this chapter gives the section(s) in this work where aspects of the innovation are discussed.

The family shares the following phonological innovations.

	Innovation	Reference
(1)	Split of POc <i>*m</i> and <i>*b</i> , with the reflexes before <i>*u</i> merging with <i>*m^w</i> and <i>*b^w</i> , but with <i>*m</i> > PSV <i>*m</i> and <i>*b</i> > PSV <i>*b</i> elsewhere.	§2.2.1, §2.2.2
(2)	Sporadic loss of <i>*R</i> , and merger of POc <i>*r</i> and retained cases of <i>*R</i> (as well as possibly <i>*dr</i>) as PSV <i>*r</i> .	§2.4.1, §2.4.5, §2.4.6
(3)	Merger of POc <i>*ñ</i> and <i>*y</i> as PSV <i>*y</i> .	§2.5.1.1
(4)	Frequent velarisation of POc <i>*n</i> as PSV <i>*ŋ</i> adjacent to POc <i>*q</i> .	§2.5.1.3
(5)	Palatalisation of POc <i>*t</i> before <i>*i</i> and <i>*e</i> as PSV <i>*c</i> .	§2.5.2, §2.5.3
(6)	Merger of POc <i>*s</i> and <i>*c</i> as PSV <i>*s</i> .	§2.5.3
(7)	Development of a sixth vowel, PSV <i>*ə</i> .	§3.4
(8)	POc <i>*a</i> > PSV <i>*e</i> when the following syllable contained a high vowel.	§3.1.4, §3.2.4, §3.3.5
(9)	Low Vowel Dissimilation: POc <i>*a</i> > PSV <i>*ə</i> before <i>*Ca</i> .	§4.3.1
(10)	The ordered sequence of the Low Vowel Dissimilation, Medial Vowel Deletion, Article Reduction and Final Vowel Deletion rules.	§4.5

Some of these innovations – for example (1), (5), (6) and (8), and probably also (2) – are reasonably natural and/or frequent within Oceanic. Others, however, are much less natural or frequent; and in this category I would place (3), (4), (7), (9) and (10).

Languages of the family also share a number of morphosyntactic innovations:

	Innovation	Reference
(11)	Metathesis of POc * <i>kiia</i> , PNCV * <i>kida</i> ‘we.INC’, as PSV * <i>gadi</i> .	§5.1.1, §5.1.5
(12)	Development of number suffixes to pronouns (and number prefixes to verbs) which are not full or abbreviated forms of the numerals.	§5.1.4
(13)	POc * <i>ia</i> ‘he, she, it’ replaced by PSV * <i>in</i> .	§5.1.1
(14)	PSV * <i>ia</i> - ‘human/animate prefix’.	§5.2.2
(15)	PSV *= <i>mi</i> [] ‘human non-singular’.	§5.2.2
(16)	Oblique preposition *(<i>i</i>) <i>ra</i> , * <i>ira</i> -, and its use to mark passive possession.	§5.3.2, §5.4.1
(17)	Development of a PLACE possessive marker.	§5.3.2
(18)	Accreted initial vowel on verbs.	§6.1.1
(19)	Accreted article on common nouns.	§5.2.1
(20)	Development of POc * <i>ma</i> ‘and’ as an echo-subject proclitic * <i>m</i> =.	§6.2.4
(21)	Combination of POc * <i>ya</i> = and * <i>ku</i> = as 1SG subject prefix PSV * <i>iak</i> -.	§6.2.4
(22)	Development of * <i>m</i> =QUOTATIVE as a multifunctional subordinator.	§7.5.1

Again, while some of these may not be of great moment, others are sufficiently unusual to support the existence of the Southern Vanuatu subgroup – in particular (12), (16), (17), (18), (20) and (22).

In addition, there is a number of shared irregular developments in POc lexical items, among them the following (see Appendix II for further details):

(23)	POc * <i>puŋa</i> ‘flower’ shows metathesis of vowels > PSV * <i>na-vŋu</i> :-: for example, Sye <i>novŋu</i> - ‘edible fruit of any tree except Tahitian chestnut’, NTn <i>naŋu</i> -.
(24)	Accretion of final velar obstruent on POc * <i>paliji</i> ‘grass’ > PSV * <i>na-(p,v)alijiy</i> : for example, SWT <i>nəvhilək</i> .
(25)	Accretion of initial * <i>s</i> on POc * <i>quma</i> ‘garden (n.)’ > PSV * <i>a-su(m.m)</i> ‘to garden’: for example, NTn <i>asum</i> , Len <i>asum</i> *, SWT <i>asim</i> .
(26)	Reinterpretation of consonants in POc * <i>tono</i> , * <i>tolo</i> ‘to swallow’ > PSV * <i>a-(t,d)Vŋol-i</i> : for example, Sye <i>etŋoli</i> , Kw m <i>atəŋai</i> , Anj <i>atleŋ</i> , <i>etleŋ</i> (with metathesis).
(27)	Accretion of final * <i>r</i> on POc * <i>tabu</i> ‘sacred, tabu’ > PSV * <i>tabur</i> ‘sacred, tabu’: for example, Sye <i>tompōr</i> , Len <i>ho-a/rpul</i> ‘put a tabu on’.

Further, the SV languages show loss of a number of POc etyma which are widespread in the family and retained in most POc subgroups. Among these are **niuR* ‘coconut’, **ikan* ‘fish’, **waga* ‘canoe’, **layaR* ‘a sail’, **pituqun* ‘star’, and **qaqe* ‘leg’.

I have shown elsewhere (Lynch 2000c) that there is a case for a wider grouping involving the Southern Vanuatu and the New Caledonian families, as well as the South Efate language, and some of the innovations listed above – especially (9), (10), (11), (20) and (23) – are shared with one or both of these groups. I will discuss this hypothesis at a little more length in §8.3 below. However, there are sufficient *exclusively* shared phonological and morphosyntactic innovations to support the existence of the Southern Vanuatu family as a closed subgroup.

8.2 Internal subgrouping

The innovations detailed below support the subgrouping hypothesis outlined in Figure 8.1. The Northern Tanna grouping consists of North Tanna, Whitesands and Lenakel, while Southern Tanna consists of Southwest Tanna and Kwamera.

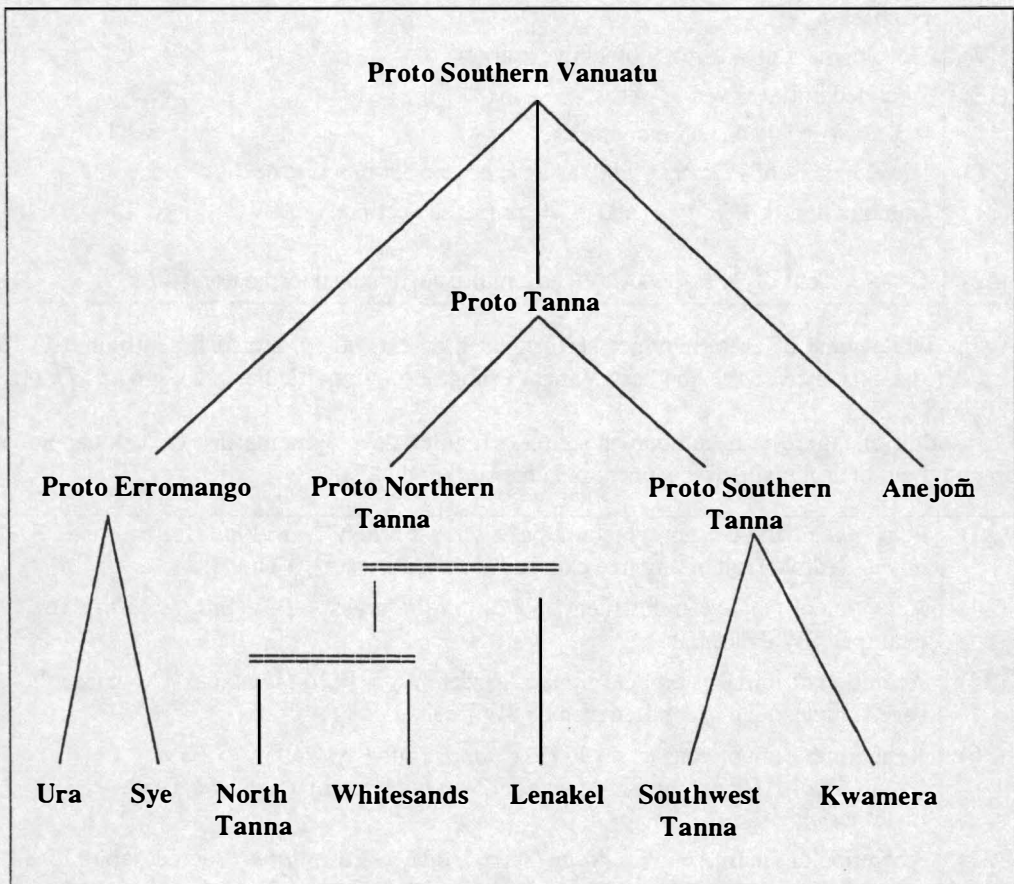


Figure 8.1: Southern Vanuatu Subgrouping

Developments in the PSV phonemes show strong phonological and morphosyntactic evidence for Anejoñ being treated as a separate subgroup of PSV and also for a Tanna subgroup (and, within that, Northern and Southern Tanna sub-subgroups). The phonological evidence supporting an Erromangan subgroup is not as strong, but there is strong morphosyntactic evidence for this subgroup.

8.2.1 Erromango subgroup

The Erromangan languages share the following phonological innovations exclusive of all other SV languages:

	Innovation	Reference
(28)	Merger of the velarised and simple bilabials, as simple bilabials: i.e., PSV <i>*m*</i> and <i>*m</i> merge as PEr <i>*m</i> , <i>*p*</i> and <i>*p</i> as <i>*p</i> , and <i>*b*</i> and <i>*b</i> as <i>*b</i> .	§2.2.1, §2.2.2
(29)	Apparent merger of PSV <i>*a</i> and <i>*o</i> as PEr <i>*a</i> .	§3.2.3, §3.2.4

They also share a number of morphosyntactic innovations, among them being:

	Innovation	Reference
(30)	POc <i>*ia</i> , PSV <i>*in</i> replaced by PEr <i>*iyi</i> '3SG focal pronoun'.	§5.1.1
(31)	Loss of the PSV dual/trial/plural distinction in pronouns.	§5.1.4
(32)	Loss of the construct suffix PSV <i>*-i</i> .	§5.3.1
(33)	Loss of the food and drink possessive markers.	§5.3.2
(34)	Development of root modification in verbs.	§6.2.3
(35)	A unique combination of pre- and post-verbal categories and morphemes within those categories.	§6.2.3, §6.2.4

Innovations (31), (32) and (33) are based on loss, and it might be argued that (31) itself is not an innovation at all, but rather a retention, since it is possible that Tanna and Anejoñ *may* have developed number distinctions in pronouns after PSV broke up.¹ However, (32) and (33) represent loss of a POc feature which has been retained in both Tanna and Anejoñ, and so these are reasonably solid innovations.

So too are (28) and (34). Although (28) is not particularly unusual in broad Oceanic terms, Erromangan languages are the only SV languages which lose the velarised/simple distinction in the bilabials. And innovation (34), the development of root modification in verbs, is strikingly unusual when compared with the rest of the SV family.²

¹ This seems highly unlikely, as the discussion above showed that these number-markers are not simply additions of the numerals 'two', 'three' etc. but involve quite radically modified forms of these numeral roots.

² Root-modification also occurs in Central Vanuatu languages (Crowley 1991). However, the root-modification in the Erromangan languages seems to be unrelated to the Central Vanuatu pattern – if indeed there is a single such pattern.

8.2.2 Tanna subgroup

The Tanna languages share the following phonological innovations exclusive of all other SV languages:

	Innovation	Reference
(36)	Split of PSV * <i>p</i> , with the reflex adjacent to * <i>u</i> merging with PSV * <i>w</i> as PTn * <i>k</i> *, but with * <i>p</i> > * <i>v</i> elsewhere.	§2.2.2, §2.2.3
(37)	Merger of PSV * <i>l</i> and * <i>r</i> as PTn * <i>r</i> .	§2.4.4

They also share the following morphosyntactic innovations:

	Innovation	Reference
(38)	Loss of POc * <i>e</i> - 'personal marker'.	§5.3.1
(39)	Development of a PLANT possessive marker.	§5.3.2
(40)	PTn * <i>o</i> and * <i>duk</i> * as both a dative preposition and a future tense marker.	§5.4.2, §6.2.1
(41)	A unique combination of pre- and post-verbal categories and morphemes within those categories.	§6.2.1, §6.2.4
(42)	Use of the echo-subject marker * <i>m=</i> to mark a verb whose subject is the same as some NP in the previous clause which is <i>not</i> the subject of that clause.	§7.4.2

The two phonological innovations constitute reasonably strong evidence in support of the Tanna subgroup. Of the morphosyntactic innovations, (39)–(42) are also reasonably strong evidence. Together with the evidence given below for the two subgroups of the Tanna family, they mark the Tanna languages off from the rest of the SV family quite clearly.

8.2.2.1 Northern Tanna sub-subgroup

Within Tanna, the Northern Tanna subgroup has made the following phonological innovations:

	Innovation	Reference
(43)	Split of PTn * <i>r</i> , as PNT * <i>l</i> before * <i>i</i> , * <i>e</i> and * <i>o</i> and as PNT * <i>i</i> elsewhere.	§2.4.4
(44)	Split of PSV * <i>s</i> (and * <i>c</i> ?), PTn * <i>h</i> , with the reflex PNT * <i>z</i> when adjacent to PSV * <i>q</i> . Merger of the other reflex of PSV * <i>s</i> , * <i>c</i> with PSV * <i>j</i> as PTn, PNT * <i>h</i> .	§2.5.3

These are quite unusual developments, and alone would establish the Northern Tanna subgroup reasonably convincingly. Proto Northern Tanna does not seem to have made any significant morphosyntactic developments from Proto Tanna.

Within Northern Tanna, there is lexical and grammatical evidence suggesting that North Tanna and Whitesands form a linkage somewhat separate from Lenakel. One piece of phonological evidence supporting this is the velar nasal reflex of PSV **γ* (POc **k*).

8.2.2.2 Southern Tanna sub-subgroup

The Southern Tanna subgroup has made the following phonological innovations:

	Innovation	Reference
(45)	Loss of the voicing distinction in the stops: i.e. PTn *p ^w and *b ^w merge as p ^w , *p and *b as p. [also Lenakel and Whitesands, but not PTn; also Anejoṃ].	§2.2.2
(46)	Merger of PTn *t (in non-palatalising environment) with PTn *r as PST *r.	§2.4.4, §2.5.2
(47)	PTn *u > PST *e adjacent to *q or before *Cu.	§3.3

These languages have also made the following morphosyntactic innovation:

	Innovation	Reference
(48)	Loss of PSV *as-...-iana as a negative marker, and development of PST *ap ^w ah as a negative verb.	§6.2.1

Once again, the subgrouping hypothesis relies heavily on the phonological evidence, which appears quite strong.

8.2.3 Anejoṃ subgroup

Anejoṃ has made the following phonological innovations which do not occur in any other SV subgroup:

	Innovation	Reference
(49)	Loss of the voicing distinction in the stops: i.e. PSV *p ^w and *b ^w merge as p ^w , *p and *b as p. [also most Tanna, but not PTn].	§2.2.2
(50)	PSV *v reflected as h non-finally and lost finally.	§2.2.3
(51)	Palatalisation of PSV *n and *ŋ before *i and *e, and merger as ñ.	§2.3.1, §2.5.1
(52)	Palatalisation of PSV *l as j before *i and *e.	§2.4.3
(53)	Split of PSV *t (in non-palatalising environment) into non-final t and final s.	§2.5.2
(54)	Merger of PSV *c and *j as s.	§2.5.3
(55)	PSV *ua became ou.	§3.1.2
(56)	Regular lowering of PSV *i and *u as e and o.	§3.1.1

Anejoṃ also has a large number of grammatical morphemes and lexical items not found in the other two subgroups or in POc. Since it is a one-language subgroup, any morphological or lexical difference could be interpreted as an innovation. In any case, the phonological evidence in (49)–(56) above is particularly compelling.

8.2.4 Inter-subgroup relations

There are a few innovations apparently shared by two subgroups but not the third. These are as follows:

	Innovation	Reference
Erromango and Tanna		
(57)	Loss of POc <i>*pa[ka]-</i> 'causative' and <i>*pa[R]i-</i> 'reciprocal'.	§6.1.2
(58)	Change from VOS to SVO basic clause order.	§7.1.1
Tanna and Anejoṃ		
(59)	Merger of <i>*i</i> and <i>*e</i> .	§3.1.1, §3.3.2
(60)	Development of the innovative pronouns <i>*(i)damV</i> 'we.EXC' and <i>*(i)da[m]u(V)</i> 'you.NONSG'.	§5.1.1

There are apparently no innovations shared by Erromango and Anejoṃ exclusive of Tanna.

Of the apparent shared innovations listed above, the only one of any real significance is (60) which, as will be seen below, may also be found in New Caledonia. This provides very weak evidence for subgrouping Tanna and Anejoṃ as against Erromango. However, since this innovation itself has not spread through all of Tanna, it is difficult to evaluate.

8.3 External relationships

A detailed investigation of the external relationships of the Southern Vanuatu languages, and in particular their connections with the languages of New Caledonia, is to be the subject of a cooperative research project between Claire Moyse, Françoise Ozanne-Rivierre, Jean-Claude Rivierre and myself. It is hoped that the results of this research will become available in the next few years. What I have to say in this section, then, is fairly brief and preliminary, and is based largely on Lynch (1999a, 2000c).

8.3.1 Proto Southern Melanesian

There is some evidence that the Southern Vanuatu and New Caledonian (NC) languages form a subgroup which I refer to as SOUTHERN MELANESIAN. The evidence for this is as follows:

1. NC languages apparently share with SV languages innovation (20) – the development of POc **ma* as a marker of 'same subject'. Drehu *me* and Ajië *ma*, for example, conjoin clauses but *only* clauses whose subjects are identical.
2. NC languages may share in the innovative phonological developments in the non-singular pronouns (see (11) and (60) above). There is evidence from at least some NC languages (a) for the metathesis of vowels in the IINC form (POc **kita* > **kati* or **gadi*), and (b) for the change from **k* to **d* in the IEXC and 2 pronouns. Jawe, for example, has the forms listed below; PSV forms are given for comparison:

POc		Pre-Jawe	Jawe	PSV	
*kita	1INC	*(dr,c)atV	deye	*gadi	
*ka[m]i	1EXC	*(dr,c)apV	deve	*(i)damV	[also *gam(i)]
*kamiu	2	*daa	jaa	*(i)da[m]uV	[also *gami(u)]

3. There are also a number of shared irregular phonological developments in individual lexical items (e.g. the metathesis of vowels in POc **puna* ‘flower’ – see (23) above).

8.3.2 The South Efate language

Just as New Caledonia and the Loyalty islands are the SV subgroup’s immediate neighbour to the southeast, so the island of Efate is their immediate neighbour to the north. The South Efate language appears to share a number of innovations with the SV languages (which it does not share with its northern neighbour Nakanamanga or North Efate); whether these are also shared with NC languages is not quite so clear.

1. South Efate and the SV language share in innovation (9) above, by which a low vowel dissimilated to a mid vowel when followed by *Ca – e.g. **na-saman* ‘outrigger’ > South Efate *n-sem*. (This innovation is *not* found in the North Efate language.) It is not clear whether NC languages also share this innovation.
2. As pointed out in §4.5, South Efate and the SV languages both have the following ordered sequence of rules: Low Vowel Dissimilation, Medial Vowel Deletion, Article Reduction and Final Vowel Deletion. This is a powerful subgrouping argument. NC data suggest that Proto New Caledonian may have also had this sequence of rules, but further investigation is needed to establish this.

There thus seems to be fairly strong evidence linking South Efate with Southern Vanuatu, and possibly also with New Caledonia. I suggested in Chapter 7 (see Figure 7.1) that this relationship was as shown in Figure 8.2(a), but it may well have been as shown in Figure 8.2(b). Further research is necessary – and, as I mentioned above, this is planned.

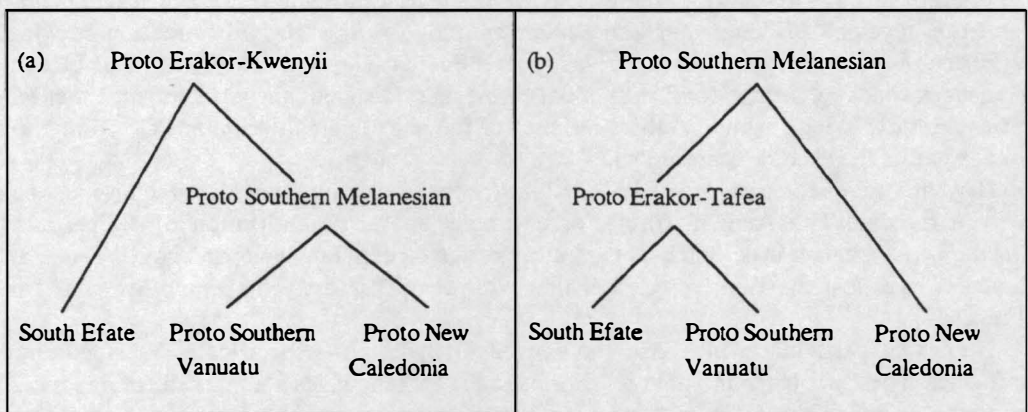


Figure 8.2: External relatives of Proto Southern Vanuatu

8.3.3 Proto Southern Oceanic

Some evidence was also adduced in Lynch (1999a, 2000c) supporting the view that *all* of the languages of Vanuatu and New Caledonia form a single family, which I referred to as SOUTHERN OCEANIC. I will not go into detail here. However, on geographic grounds the hypothesis makes sense, though a considerable amount of further research – both descriptive and comparative – is needed before we can be sure as to whether this hypothesis has some validity. The hypothesis in its present state is outlined in Figure 7.1 in the previous chapter.

In this context, it is worth pointing out that there is probably no North-Central Vanuatu subgroup *per se*, and thus no such language as Proto North-Central Vanuatu (PNCV). This subgroup was originally proposed by Pawley (1972), and a set of lexical reconstructions for PNCV has been proposed by Clark (n.d.). If the Southern Oceanic hypothesis is valid, then Clark's reconstructions which include northern Vanuatu evidence are actually attributable to PSOc.

8.4 The Polynesian connection

There has been considerable contact between speakers of Southern Vanuatu languages and speakers of Polynesian languages. Some of this has been quite recent: a number of religious and other terms, for example, were introduced into various SV languages by Samoan missionaries in the nineteenth century. Perhaps of more interest are terms which were introduced into these languages from a Polynesian source – West Futuna-Aniwa being the logical candidate – *before* European contact. In this section, I will focus on terms of this nature and, in general, will look only at Polynesian loans which occur in at least two SV subgroups. The reason for this is that widespread loans should tell us rather more about the nature of areal contact than would an isolated loan in a single language.

Winds, etc.

In Appendix II I reconstruct the PSV term **ne-ma(t,d)aji* 'wind', with reflexes like Sye *nemetaji* 'cyclone', NTn *metaŋ*, Len *nəmataaŋ* and Anj *nemtañ-jap** 'direction of wind'. WFu has *mtaji* ~ *mataji*, which derives from PPn **ma-taji*. I know of no other Oceanic languages which reflect the form with initial **ma-*; most Oceanic languages reflect either POC **aŋin* or **jaŋi* 'wind', while in others reflexes of the phonologically similar POC form **laŋit* 'sky, weather' have come to mean 'wind'.

If what I have reconstructed as PSV **ne-ma(t,d)aji* is a Polynesian loan, then it must be a very early one. The Anejoŋ form, for example, shows palatalisation of **ŋ* before **i* (*nemtañ-jap**), which is definitely not a feature of the modern language; and North Tanna and Lenakel have lost the final vowel, Lenakel with compensatory lengthening/irregular final stress.

Names of particular winds also show strong Polynesian – specifically West Futuna – influence. These are listed in Table 8.1. Forms in the SV languages are marked for direction in parentheses *only* if the direction they refer to is different from that referred to by the Futuna source. There are a number of comments that can be made on these terms:

Table 8.1: Terms for winds				
Proto Polynesian	Futuna	Erromango	Tanna	Anejoñ
?	<i>ruetu</i> (N)	Sye, Ura <i>norwotu</i> (E)	Len <i>luatu</i> , SWT <i>luatu</i> (NE), Kwm <i>ruatu</i>	<i>narutu</i>
+ ?	<i>retuamlai</i> (ENE)	Sye <i>norwotamlai</i> (ESE)	Len <i>luatuamlaai</i> (NE), Kwm <i>ruatu</i> <i>amrai</i> (NE), SWT <i>luatuamlaai</i> (N)	<i>narutuamlai</i> (NE), <i>narutumatau a njap</i> ^{**}
+ ?	<i>retuarari</i> (NNW)			<i>narutuarari</i>
+ * <i>matua</i> 'full-grown'	<i>retmatua</i> (NW)		Len SWT <i>luatum</i> ^{**} <i>atua</i>	<i>narutu-efatimi</i>
* <i>toke-lau</i> 'northerly wind'	<i>tokorau</i> (WSW)	Sye <i>natoγrau</i> (SE)	Len <i>tokolau</i> (S), SWT <i>tokolau</i> (SE), Kwm <i>tak</i> ^{**} <i>arau</i> (SSE)	<i>natokorau</i> (WNW)
+ <i>tuqu</i> 'stand' ?	<i>tokorau tu</i> (W)			<i>natokorauto</i>
?	<i>parapu</i> (W)	Sye <i>nomporavu</i> ~ <i>nemporavu</i> (N), Ura <i>noboravu</i> (N)	Len <i>nəp</i> ^{**} <i>elaap</i> ^{**} (S), SWT <i>nəpelaap</i> , Kwm <i>nəparapu</i>	
*(<i>q</i>) <i>uli</i> 'steer' ? + ?	<i>urifafa</i> (W)		Len <i>uriphapha</i> (SW)	
*(<i>q</i>) <i>uli</i> 'steer' ? + * <i>toja</i> (below)	<i>uritoja</i> (S)	Sye, Ura <i>nouritujo</i> (W)	Len <i>uritoja</i> (SE), Kwm <i>uritoja</i>	<i>nauritooja</i> , <i>nauritooja a</i> <i>nwai</i> (SW)
+ * <i>-fine</i> 'female'	<i>uritoja fine</i> (SSW)			<i>nauritooja-ataheñ</i> (SW)
+ * <i>-tane</i> 'male'	<i>uritoja tane</i> (SW)			<i>nauritooja-atam</i> ^{**} <i>aiñ</i> (SSW), <i>nauritooja-efatimi</i> (SSE)
* <i>toja</i> 'south(east) trade'	<i>toja</i> (SE)	Sye, Ura <i>natuja</i> (S)	Len SWT Kwm <i>natoja</i> (E)	<i>natooja</i> (E), <i>natooja a nwai</i> , <i>natoojauwunnejcap</i> ^{**}
+ ?	<i>toja rari</i> (SE)			<i>natoojaarei</i>

1. Most terms for particular winds in all SV languages are borrowed from Futuna, and most of these have added the article **na*.
2. Many Futuna terms which are transparently morphologically complex in Futuna are borrowed as single morphemes in SV languages: for example, WFu *tokorau tu* (WSW.wind exactly) 'west wind' > Anj *natokorauto*; WFu *toŋa rari* (SE.wind exclusively) 'southeast wind' > Anj *natoŋaarei*.
3. Three Anejoŋ forms are partial calques on Futuna forms, in that the basic root has been borrowed but the modifier has been translated:

WFu	>	Anj	
<i>ret-matua</i> (N.wind-adult)		<i>narutu-efatimi</i> (N.wind-big.man)	'NW wind'
<i>uritoŋa fine</i> (S.wind female)		<i>nauritoŋa-ataheñ</i> (S.wind-female)	'(S)SW wind'
<i>uritoŋa tane</i> (S.wind male)		<i>nauritoŋa-atam^aañ</i> (S.wind-male)	'(S)SW wind'

4. While the Tanna and Anejoŋ forms are basically semantically identical with their Futuna sources, the Erromangan languages seem to have turned all wind directions clockwise about 90 degrees. This is exemplified in Figure 8.3, where Anejoŋ represents the remaining SV languages.

This complex of wind terms suggests that speakers of Southern Vanuatu languages may well have lost what sailing and navigational skills they must have once possessed, and that they were reintroduced to these skills by speakers of West Futuna-Aniwa. This hypothesis is supported by the next set of terms. (See Lynch (1994b) for more detailed discussion of Polynesian loans within single SV subgroups.)

Other maritime terms

'bay, harbour'	PPn * <i>[faqi]awa</i> > WFu <i>feiava</i> , Anw <i>fiava</i> Tanna: NTn <i>na/feafa</i> , Wsn SWT Kwm <i>na/feafe</i> , Len <i>nu/heafe</i> Anejoŋ: <i>na/fayava</i>
'(sea) calm'	PPn * <i>malino</i> > WFu <i>marino</i> Erromango: Sye <i>e/morinu</i> , <i>o/morinu</i> Tanna: NTn <i>a/malinu</i> , Wsn <i>a/melinu</i> , Len SWT <i>a/melinu</i> , Kwm <i>a/marinu</i>
'a wave'	PPn * <i>peau</i> > WFu, Anw <i>peau</i> Erromango: Sye <i>ni/pyau</i> , <i>nim/pyau</i> , Ura <i>ni/myau</i> Tanna: NTn Wsn Len SWT Kwm <i>peau</i> Anejoŋ: <i>ne/peau</i>
'outrigger-float'	PPn * <i>kiato</i> > WFu <i>kiato</i> Tanna: NTn Len SWT Kwm (-) <i>na/kiatu</i> , Wsn <i>-na/ŋiatu</i> Anejoŋ: <i>na/kiato</i>
'paddle, row'	PPn * <i>sua</i> > WFu <i>sua</i> Erromango: Sye <i>a/hwo</i> , Ura <i>a/swa</i> Tanna: Len <i>a/sua</i> , Kwm <i>a/sua</i>

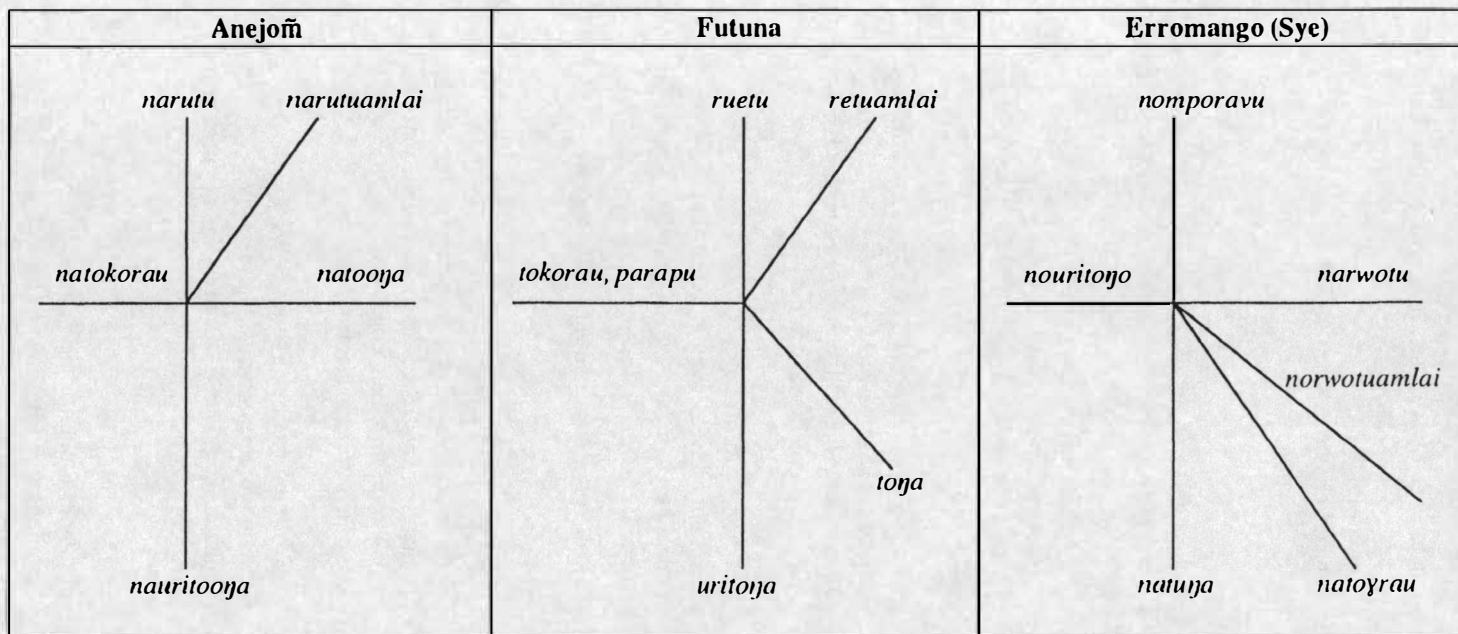


Figure 8.3: Wind directions

- 'whale' PPN **tafuraqa* > WFu *tafora*, Anw *tafara*
 Erromango: Sye *tovura*, Ura *tofura*
 Tanna: NTn *təpla*, Wsn *tafla*, Kwm *tafra*, (Len SWT *toulhaai* ?)
- 'barracuda' WFu *tatao*
 Tanna: Len *tetau*, Kwm *tataua*
 Anejoṃ: *tatau*

Kava

I have shown elsewhere in some detail (Lynch 1996a) that kava and kava-drinking came into Tanna from a Polynesian source – probably West Futuna. The following selection of terms supports this view.

- 'kava' PPN **kawa* > WFu *kava*
 Erromango: Sye *na/ɣave*, Ura *na/ɣava*
 Tanna: NTn *nə/ka*, Wsn Len SWT Kwm *nə/kava*
 Anejoṃ: *kava*
- 'strainer' WFu *fao* 'coconut branch (used as kava-strainer)'
 Erromango: Sye *nevu*
 Tanna: Len *nəvhau* 'k.o. kava strainer', Kwm *nafau* 'k.o. kava-bowl'
 Anejoṃ: *nafau* 'kava-strainer'
- 'food eaten w.
 or after kava' PPN **fono* > WFu *fono*
 Erromango: Sye *o/vunu* (v.), *no/vunu* (n.)
 Tanna: Len *a/hunu*, Kwm *a/funu* (v.); Len *na/hunu*, Kwm *na/funu* (n.)
 Anejoṃ: *o/fono* (v.), *no/fono* (n.)

Some other widespread Polynesian loans are noted below:

Artefacts

- 'platform' PPN **fata* > WFu *fata*
 Erromango: Sye *ne/vate* 'yam storage bench, altar'
 Tanna: Len *nəm^a-ti/vhata* 'flat surface, shelf',
 Kwm *nə/fata* 'bed, copra-bed'
 Anejoṃ: *ne/fata* 'platform, copra-bed'
- 'bow (weapon)' PPN **fana* '(shoot w. a) bow' > WFu *fana*
 Erromango: Sye *ne/vane*, Ura *ne/fena*
 Tanna: Len *nə/vhaŋa*, Kwm *nə/faŋa* [ŋ unexpl.]
 Anejoṃ: *ne/fana*

Other

- 'volcano' PPN **soata* 'pumice' > WFu *soata* 'volcano'
 Erromango: Sye *ne/hwate*, Ura *ne/swate*
 Anejoṃ: *soata*

'help'	WFu <i>situ</i> Erromango: <i>Sye e/situ</i> Tanna: Len Kwm <i>a/situ</i> Anejoṃ: <i>a/situ, i/situ</i>
'clever, skilful'	PPn <i>*lapakau</i> > WFu <i>rapakau</i> Tanna: Kwm <i>a/rpakau</i> 'wise' Anejoṃ: <i>a/rapakau</i> 'skilful'
'to dance'	PPn <i>*mako</i> > WFu <i>mako</i> Tanna: Len <i>a/mako</i> '(woman) dance' Anejoṃ: <i>na/mako</i> 'k.o. dance'
'dog'	PPn <i>*kulii</i> > WFu <i>kuri, kuli</i> Erromango: <i>Sye kuri</i> Tanna: all have <i>kuri</i> Anejoṃ: <i>kuri</i>

8.5 Origin and dispersal of Southern Vanuatu languages

8.5.1 Settlement and dispersal

Linguistic evidence – in the form of the right-branching Southern Oceanic family tree in Figure 7.1 – would strongly suggest a general north-to south settlement pattern for the whole of the Vanuatu archipelago, and thus that Southern Vanuatu was settled from the north. The fact that one of the Southern Vanuatu family's closest relatives is its neighbour immediately to the north, South Efate, supports this view. Archaeological evidence suggests that this initial settlement probably occurred about three thousand years ago (Bedford, Spriggs, Wilson & Regenvanu 1998).

It is probable that this north-to-south pattern continued within the Tafea Province. That is, it is likely, on geographical grounds, that Erromango was settled first, then Tanna, and then Aneityum – although there is no linguistic (or archaeological?) evidence for this. The internal subgrouping of the Southern Vanuatu family (see Figure 8.1), however, would suggest a fairly rapid dispersal across the three main islands. If there was, for example, a pause in the settlement pattern after the Erromango-to-Tanna movement, with the settlement of Aneityum from Tanna being significantly later, then we would expect to find linguistic evidence in the form of shared innovations supporting the hypothesis that the Tanna languages and Anejoṃ form a single subgroup coordinate with Erromango. However, there is no such evidence,³ and thus the rapid dispersal hypothesis seems the best on the basis of the available data.

The major boundary within Tanna is between the three northern and the two southern languages. This boundary coincides roughly with fairly rugged mountains across the centre of the island and, in the far east, with the volcanic ash plain. Given that settlement must have been from coastal to inland areas, this mountainous area would have been a deterrent to easy

³ Apart, that is, from innovation (60) above – the development of the non-singular pronouns – which provides a small piece of evidence in favour of a Tanna-Anejoṃ subgroup.

north-south communication. (Something similar was probably true of Erromango; what evidence we have suggests that there may have been a north-south split in the original Erromangan language, though available data are insufficient to decide whether this was really the case.)

It is possible that Futuna and Aniwa were also settled at about the same time by the same people who settled the three main islands of the Tafea Province. Since there is no record of any pre-Polynesian languages on these islands, however, there is little that we can say about this settlement.

It is also likely that the Loyalty Islands and mainland New Caledonia were settled from Southern Vanuatu. Two possible hypotheses in this area might be as follows:

- (a) Aneityum *may* have been the original source of these migrants, since it is geographically the closest; and
- (b) the Loyalty Islands *may* have been the point of first arrival, for the same reason;

These are likely on geographical grounds, although in both cases I am not aware of any compelling linguistic evidence supporting these views. The available evidence again suggests that the fairly rapid dispersal of peoples continued, since there appears, at this stage of research at least, to be no particular link between New Caledonian languages and any one subgroup in Southern Vanuatu.

To complete the picture, we know that Polynesian speakers came into this area more recently, probably within the last thousand years. They settled on Futuna and Aniwa, and also on Ouvéa in the Loyalty Islands; and there has been considerable contact between their languages and cultures and those of neighbouring non-Polynesians.

8.5.2 Culture and contact

An examination of both the reconstructed lexicon (Appendix II) and the extent of Polynesian borrowing (§8.4) allows us to make a number of comments on cultural retention and changes between initial settlement and modern times.

8.5.2.1 Kinship system and social organisation

The SV languages appear to have retained the Oceanic kinship system relatively intact, suggesting that there were no major structural changes in the system over the past three millennia. However, there is little *lexical* evidence for any chiefly structure. (Reconstructions in §5.1 and §5.2 of Appendix II are relevant here.) POC kinship terms continued in PSV are as follows:

POC		PSV
* <i>tubu-</i>	'grandparent'	* <i>e-i(p,b)u-</i>
* <i>tama-</i>	'father, father's brother'	* <i>e-tama-</i>
* <i>tina-</i>	'mother'	* <i>ri-(t,c)inV-</i>
* <i>matuqa-</i>	'mother's brother'	* <i>mata-</i>
* <i>tuqaka-</i>	'older same-sex sibling'	* <i>tua-</i>
* <i>taci-</i>	'younger same-sex sibling'	* <i>(na)-tasi-</i>

POc		PSV
* <i>papine</i>	'man's sister'	* <i>na-[va]vine-</i>
* <i>m^waqane-</i>	'woman's brother'	* <i>na-m^wane-</i>
* <i>natu-</i>	'child'	* <i>natu-</i>
* <i>qalawa-</i>	'nephew'	* <i>alwə-</i>
* <i>makubu-</i>	'grandchild'	* <i>mayub^wu-</i>
* <i>qasaqa-</i>	'spouse'	* <i>aswa[]-</i>

Only two terms to do with social organisation can be reconstructed. PSV **na-layau* is reconstructed with the meaning of both 'canoe' (see §8.5.2.3) and 'major social group'; in Tanna, this group is a moiety, though it is not clear if this is, or was, also the case in Erromango and Aneityum. There is also a term for 'chief' which seems (a) to be a compound and (b) not to continue any POC reconstruction. The term is PSV *(*n,i*)-*at-manuy*, apparently a compound of roots meaning 'person' and 'bird'. It appears that the traditional Oceanic chiefly system was transformed (though to different degrees on different islands): Matthew Spriggs (pers. comm.) notes that Aneityum maintained the strongest hierarchical chiefdoms, Tanna's systems were the most transformed and eroded from the original forms, while Erromango's chiefly system was intermediate between the two in terms of chiefly powers and responsibilities.

8.5.2.2 Food plants, etc.

Section 4 of Appendix II outlines a number of reconstructions for trees, root crops and other food items. The following conclusions can be made about what has been retained from Proto Oceanic and what seems to have been innovated.

Much of the usual array of Oceanic food crop terms were retained in the SV languages – among them:

* <i>maRi</i>	'breadfruit'		
* <i>pudi</i>	'banana'	* <i>ba(q,k)un</i>	'k.o. banana'
* <i>qupi</i>	'yam'	* <i>m^waruqen</i>	'greater yam' * <i>p^waiik</i> 'aerial yam'
* <i>talos</i>	'taro'	* <i>piRaq</i>	'giant taro'
* <i>topu</i>	'sugarcane'	* <i>wasa</i>	' <i>Abelmoschus manihot</i> '

Also retained are a number of names of fruit- or nut-bearing trees:

* <i>raqup</i>	'dragon plum'	* <i>quRis</i>	' <i>Spondias dulcis</i> '
*(<i>w,v</i>) <i>ele</i>	' <i>Barringtonia edulis</i> '	* <i>[ka]ŋaRi</i>	' <i>Canarium</i> '
* <i>talise</i>	' <i>Terminalia catappa</i> '	* <i>bakuRa</i>	' <i>Calophyllum</i> '
* <i>kapika</i>	'Malay apple'	* <i>kurat</i>	' <i>Morinda citrifolia</i> '
* <i>molis</i>	'citrus'	* <i>tawan</i>	'lychee'

along with **paRu* '*Hibiscus tiliaceus*' and **baga* 'banyan'.

Conspicuous by its absence from the above list is POC **niuR* 'coconut'. No SV language reflects this term, all (except Kwamera) showing a reflex of PSV **na-ɣiani*, for which I know of no POC source.⁴ There are coconuts in the Tafea islands, however! – and indeed other terms

⁴ Kwamera has *napuei*, *napui*, which might possibly derive from POC **puaq* 'fruit'.

connected with coconuts have been retained, like POc **paraq* ‘sprouting coconut and/or its pith’ and **(q)ab*aji* ‘coconut fruit bud’. I have no explanation for the wholesale loss of **niuR*, which is retained in South Efate and at least some New Caledonian languages.

8.5.2.3 Canoes, sailing and maritime technology

Proto Southern Vanuatu has lost much of the Proto Oceanic canoe and sailing terminology, and replaced these terms in the main with Polynesian loans (though in some cases with new creations). (See §6.2 and §8.1 of Appendix II for reconstructions in this semantic area.)

The POc term for ‘canoe’, **waga*, is not reflected in any SV language, though **waga* is reconstructible for PNCV and is also reflected in New Caledonia. POc **waga* has been replaced by the PSV term **na-layau*, for which I know of no POc source.⁵ The only POc term for a part of a canoe which *seems* to have been retained is POc **saman* ‘outrigger, outrigger-float’. However, its reflexes are unusual:

- (a) no SV language shows the expected accreted article **na-*;
- (b) NTn *rəmən* and Kwm *temən* have the ‘wrong’ initial consonant – the expected forms would be something like NTn ***nəhmən*, Kwm ***nəsemən*.
- (c) Wsn, Len *rəmər* and SWT *ləməl* have the ‘wrong’ initial *and* final consonant – the expected forms would be Wsn, Len ***nəhmən*, SWT ***nhemən*.

It may well be that POc **saman* was not inherited by PSV at all; rather, it is possible that one Tanna language borrowed this term from some language outside the family, and it was then re-borrowed by the other Tanna languages. (The term appears not to be reflected in Erromango or Anejoṃ.)

Terms for parts of the canoe are either semantic expansions of existing terms (e.g. **lima* ‘hand, arm’ acquiring the additional meaning ‘outrigger’), or else Polynesian loans (e.g. PPN **kiato* ‘outrigger’, **tīla* ‘mast’, etc.) On the other hand, PSV seems to have retained a couple of POc *verbs* to do with sailing: **paluca* ‘to paddle’, and **asu* ‘to bail water’.

It is not clear what conclusions can be drawn from this. Given the discussion in §8.4 about the range of terms for winds and other maritime terms which have been borrowed into SV languages – and the number is significantly greater than listed there if one takes into account Polynesian loans into individual languages – it seems logical to suggest that, some time after the settlement of the Tafea islands (*and* after the initial settlement of the New Caledonia-Loyalties area), speakers of SV languages pretty much abandoned large canoes, deep-sea fishing and ocean-going voyages. They may well have restricted themselves to riverine fishing and to exploiting the marine resources close to the shore. The fact that they retain terms like POc **paṅoda* ‘forage on the reef’, **suluq* and **alito(n)* ‘(make a) torch (for fishing)’, **kup*ena* ‘fishing net’, and **kawil* ‘fish-hook, to hook’ suggests that they did not abandon exploitation of the sea; but these terms are compatible with ‘paddling in the shallows’ rather than with deep-sea fishing.

⁵ POc **waga* is reflected in the Anejoṃ term *tivakativaka*, which is the name of ocean-going canoes which sail from north Aneityum to Futuna, but this is palpably a Futuna loan (note even the accretion of the article *ti-*).

Supporting this view is the fact that very few POC terms for marine life are retained – indeed, the generic term for ‘fish’, POC **ikan*, is lost, and replaced by PSV **namu* (possibly **na-mu*). About all that are retained are the following:

- (a) crabs: **kape* ‘crab taxon’, **rakumu* and **tubaRa* ‘k.o. land-crab’, and **qum^warj* ‘hermit-crab’;
- (b) molluscs: **tapuRi(q)* ‘conch shell’, **kuRita* ‘octopus’, **nus(a)* ‘squid’, and **kawe-* ‘octopus tentacle’;
- (c) marine vertebrates: **bak(i,e)wa* ‘shark’, **paRi* ‘stingray’, and **kanase* ‘mullet’.

Many terms for marine life in SV languages appear to be either Polynesian loans or to have no known cognates elsewhere (see Lynch 1994b for more detailed discussion).

Non-linguistic evidence does not support this hypothesis as strongly, however: there is archaeological (i.e. artefactual) evidence of contact between New Caledonia and Efate/Tafea up until about 1500/1200 BP, leaving only a fairly small temporal gap to the time of the Polynesian arrival (Matthew Spriggs pers. comm.). It is, of course, possible that the Tafea people were passive recipients of this contact: i.e. that pre-Efate and New Caledonian people maintained their ocean-going traditions, during which they made contact with the more sedentary Tafea people.

8.5.2.4 Fauna

Only three terms for land animals can be reconstructed for PSV. Two of these continue POC reconstructions – **kasupe* ‘rat’ and **bokasi* ‘pig’ – while a third, PSV **na-girai* ‘flying-fox’, is cognate with a PNCV reconstruction **garai*.

No reconstruction can be made for ‘dog’. As noted in §8.4, all SV languages except Ura have a form *kuri*, which clearly has a Polynesian source. Nor can any reconstruction be made for ‘snake’ (or ‘sea-snake’); Erromangan languages and Anejoñ have innovative forms,⁶ while Tanna languages have borrowed *ηata* ‘(land-)snake’ and *taηaroa* ‘(sea-)snake’ from Futuna. On the other hand, Futuna has a term *pakasi* for ‘pig’, which suggests a loan from some SV language rather than inheritance from PPN **puaka*.

Quite a few POC bird terms are retained, and many more reconstructed PSV bird terms are cognate with PNCV reconstructions, suggesting retentions of forms of some antiquity. Similarly, POC terms for flies, lice, mosquitoes and other ‘bugs’ are retained in number.

8.5.2.5 Kava

Kava (*Piper methysticum*) seems to have been domesticated in northern Vanuatu, and Clark has reconstructed PNCV **maloku* with this meaning. The plant and its use seem to have spread throughout the north and central parts of the archipelago (but *not* immediately into the south), and thence to Fiji and Polynesia (as well as other more northerly areas which are not relevant here).⁷

⁶ The forms in Sye are *nehkil* ‘land-snake’ and *tunḡkrah* ‘sea-snake’, while in Anejoñ they are *nimāiv* and *nispev* respectively.

⁷ See Crowley (1994) for a summary of linguistic and botanical data relevant to this overview.

As noted in §8.4 above, terms for 'kava', 'kava-strainer' and 'food eaten with or after kava' in the SV languages have a Polynesian (probably Futuna) source. In addition, in Tanna at least there are terms relating to varieties of kava, to kava-bowls, and to ritual spitting after consumption of kava which also have a Futuna origin (Lynch 1996a). The conclusion is fairly inescapable that kava and kava-drinking were not introduced from the north as part of the general spread throughout Vanuatu, but rather were more recent introductions from a Polynesian source, almost certainly Futuna.

8.6 Summary

The Southern Vanuatu languages form a discrete family within Oceanic, and the family is composed of three subgroups, each occupying a single island. It is likely that the area their speakers occupy was settled from the north, probably from the southern part of Efate, and that settlement of all three islands (plus also Futuna and Aniwa?) took place with very little pause. It is also likely that this movement of peoples continued, again probably with little pause, into the Loyalty Islands and mainland New Caledonia. The closest external relatives of the Southern Vanuatu family appear to be the South Efate language to the north and the New Caledonian family to the southeast, though the exact nature of these relationships – and wider relationships with the remaining languages of Vanuatu – remain to be worked out.

The initial migration into the Tafea Province probably pre-dated the domestication of kava. Most other 'standard' Oceanic horticultural consumables were brought along with the initial immigrants, although the sweet potato was a late introduction (possibly from the Loyalty Islands – see Lynch 1999b), and the POc term for coconut, **niuR*, was unaccountably lost – although there is no evidence that there was a period when the people of the area had no coconuts.

The traditional Oceanic kinship system seems to have been maintained, though it appears that the traditional Oceanic chiefly system was transformed (though to different degrees on different islands). Maritime skills may also have been eroded. There seems to be fairly strong *linguistic* evidence that, once settled on the islands, the Southern Vanuatu people became horticulturists and coastal fishermen, and seem to have lost the art of open-sea sailing – until re-introduced to this by speakers of Futuna and Aniwa, who arrived in the area perhaps seven hundred years ago – though, as noted above, non-linguistic evidence does not support this view so strongly. The early inhabitants of Futuna and Aniwa (or their Polynesian relatives) also introduced the dog, though there is evidence that they acquired the pig from one of the Southern Vanuatu communities.

Appendix I

Sound correspondences

1 Consonant correspondences

POc	*p ^w	*p fortis?	*b ^w , *p ^w , *b/_*u	*b else	*p / *u lenis?	*p else lenis?	*w
PSV	*p ^w	*p	*b ^w	*b	*v		*w
PEr	*p (*f)		*b		*v-v-p (*f)		*w-w-u
Sye	p (v)		p (mp)		v-v-p		w-w-u
Ura	p (b, f)		b (m)		v-v-p (f)		w-w-u
Uth	p		p-mp-				
PTn	*p ^w	*p	*b ^w	*b	*k ^w	*v	*k ^r
PNT	*p ^w	*p	*b ^w	*b	*k ^w	*v	*k ^w
NTn	p ^w	p	b ~ b ^w	b	u-u-p (∅)	v (∅)	u-u-p (∅)
Wsn	p ^w	p	p ^w	p	u (∅)	v	u (∅)
Len	p ^w	p	p ^w	p	u ~ w (∅)	v	u ~ w (∅)
PST	*p ^w	*p	*b ^w	*b	*k ^w	*v	*k ^w
SWT	p ^w	p	p ^w	p	k ^w	v	k ^w
Kwm	p ^w	p	p ^w	p	k ^w (k)	v	k ^w (k)
Anj	p ^w	p	p ^w	p	h-h-∅		v (w)

POc	*t / *_i,e	*s, *c	*j	*t / *n__	*d else	*t-t-t else
PSV	*c	*s	*j	*n _i	*d	*t
PEr	*s	*h	*s?	*d		*t
Sye	s (h, ∅)	s-h- (∅)	s (h, ∅)	t-nt-nt		t
Ura	s (h, ∅)	∅-s- (∅, h)	s (h, ∅)	d		t-r-t (h)
Uth						
PTn	*s	*h		*d		*t
PNT	*s	*h (*z)		*d		*t
NTn	s	h (r)		t (d, k)		t
Wsn	s	h (r)		t (r, rh)		t
Len	s	h (t)		t		r (l)
PST	*s	*h		*d		*r
SWT	s	h		t		l
Kwm	h (s)	s (h), (h)		t		r
Anj	s	θ	s	t	j	t-t-s

POc	*k fortis?	*k lenis?	*g	*q
PSV	*k	*γ	*g	*q
PEr	*k	*γ	*g	*q
Sye	k-k-γ	γ (k)	k-ηk-η	∅
Ura	k	γ-γ-∅	g-g-k (η)	∅
Uth	k		g / ηk	∅
PTn	*k	*γ	*k	*q
PNT	*k	*γ	*k	?
NTn	k	η (∅)	k	∅
Wsn	k	η (∅)	k	∅
Len	k	k (∅)	k	∅
PST	*k	*γ	*k	?
SWT	k	k ~ ∅	k	∅
Kwm	k	∅	k	∅
Anj	γ		k	∅

POc	*V/_*i,e,o	*l else	*r/_*i,e,o	*r else	*R/_*i,*e,*o	*R else	*dr
PSV	*l		*r		∅, *r		*d ~ *r
PEr	*l		*r ~ *L		∅, *r ~ *L		*r ~ *L
Sye	l		r		∅, r		r, nr
Ura	l		r (t, ∅) ~ l		∅, r (t, ∅) ~ l		r?
Uth	l		r ~ l		∅, r ~ l		
PTn	*r				∅, *r		*d ~ *r
PNT	*l	*i	*l	*i	∅, *l	∅, *i	*d ~ *l
NTn	l	i	l	i	∅, l	∅, i	t, l
Wsn	l	i	l	i	∅, l	∅, i	r, l
Len	l	i	l	i	∅, l	∅, i	t, l
PST	*r				∅, *r		*d ~ *r
SWT	l				∅, l		t, l
Kwm	r				∅, r		t, r
Anj	j	l	r-r-∅		∅, r-r-∅		j, r

POc	*m ^w , *m/_*u	*m else	*n / __*i,e	*n else	*ñ, *y	*ŋ / __*i,e	*ŋ else
PSV	*m ^w	*m	*n		*y	*ŋ	
PEr	*m		*n (*ŋ)		y ~ i	ŋ	
Sye	m		n (ŋ)		y ~ i	ŋ	
Ura	m		n			ŋ	
Uth	m		n			ŋ	
PTn	*m ^w	*m	*n (*ŋ)		*i	*ŋ	
PNT	*m ^w	*m	*n (*ŋ)		*i	*ŋ	
NTn	m ^w	m	n (ŋ)		i	ŋ	
Wsn	m ^w	m	n (ŋ)		i	ŋ	
Len	m ^w	m	n (ŋ)		i	ŋ	
PST	*m ^w	*m	*n (*ŋ)		*i	*ŋ	
SWT	m ^w	m	n (ŋ)		i	ŋ	
Kwm	m ^w	m	n (ŋ)		i	ŋ	
Anj	m ^w	m	ñ	n (ŋ)	y	ñ	ŋ

2 Vowel correspondences

POc	*i	*e	*a			*o	*u	
PSV	*i	*e	*a	[*e]	[*ə]	*o	*u	
PEr	*i	*e	*a	[*e]	[*ə]	*a	*u [*w]	
Sye	i ~ y [e]	e	a	e	o, ∅	a? e?	u ~ w [o]	
Ura	i ~ y [e]	e	a	e	i	a	u ~ w [o,e]	
PTn	*i	*i	*a [*o]	[*e]	[*ə]	*ə	[*u]	*u
PNT	*i	*i	*a	*e	*ə	*ə	*u	*u
NTn	i	i [ə]	a	e	ə	ə	u	u [o]
Wsn	i	i [ə]	a	e	ə	ə	u	u
Len	i	i [ə]	a	e	ə	ə	u	u
PST	*i	*i	*a	*e	*ə	*ə	*u	*u
SWT	i	i [ə]	a	e	ə-ə-a	ə-ə-a	u	u [e,i]
Kwm	i	i	a	e	e-e-a	e-e-a	u	u [e,i]
Anj	e [i,o]	e	a [i,e,o]	e	e	e	o [e,u]	

Appendix II

Proto Southern Vanuatu

lexical reconstructions

This appendix contains a fairly complete listing of lexical reconstructions for Proto Southern Vanuatu, organised by semantic categories. The listing is organised as follows:

1 Sky and weather

- 1.1 The sky and planetary bodies
- 1.2 Clouds and rain
- 1.3 Winds and cyclones
- 1.4 Day and night

2 The natural environment

- 2.1 The earth
- 2.2 Water
- 2.3 The sea

3 Fauna

- 3.1 Land animals
- 3.2 Birds
- 3.3 Insects, spiders, etc.
- 3.4 Marine invertebrates
- 3.5 Marine vertebrates

4 Trees and plants

- 4.1 Trees – general
- 4.2 Coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*)
- 4.3 Breadfruit (*Artocarpus* spp.)
- 4.4 Bananas (*Musa* cultivars)
- 4.5 Yams (*Dioscoreae*)
- 4.6 Taro (*Araceae*)
- 4.7 Sugarcane, bamboo, etc.
- 4.8 Vines
- 4.9 Other trees and plants

- 5 Human beings**
 - 5.1 Kinds of people
 - 5.2 Kinship terms
 - 5.3 Body parts
 - 5.4 Bodily fluids, exudations, etc.
- 6 Artefacts**
 - 6.1 Village, house and household
 - 6.2 Sailing, fishing, hunting and gathering
 - 6.3 Fire and food
 - 6.4 Mats, baskets, rope
 - 6.5. Other
- 7 Spiritual and intellectual activity**
 - 7.1 Living and dying
 - 7.2 Perception
 - 7.3 Locution
- 8 Human and animal physical activity**
 - 8.1 Food gathering and preparation
 - 8.2 Eating and drinking
 - 8.3 Excretion, illness, sexual activity, etc.
 - 8.4 Motion and posture
 - 8.5 Weaving, sewing, etc.
 - 8.6 Cutting, splitting, etc.
 - 8.7 Forceful impact: hitting, breaking, etc.
 - 8.8 Carrying, throwing, taking, etc.
 - 8.9 Fastening and unfastening
 - 8.10 Setting down, covering, burying
 - 8.11 Cleaning, bathing, drying, etc.
 - 8.12 Other activities
- 9 States, qualities and attributes**
 - 9.1 Colour and brightness
 - 9.2 Size and weight
 - 9.3 Taste, smell and quality
 - 9.4 Temperature
 - 9.5 Integrity
 - 9.6 Other

A form is treated as reconstructible for PSV either (a) if there are cognates in at least two first-order branches of PSV or (b) if a form in one first-order branch is cognate with a form

reconstructed for POc, PNCV, or some other protolanguage.¹ (A form given as PNCV is in all likelihood the same, phonologically and semantically, as a putative PSOc reconstruction.) A PSV form is reconstructed with an unambiguous phoneme if the SV data suggest one of two possibilities and the POc form is reconstructed with one of these – for example, if the data suggest PSV **(l,r)* but the POc form is reconstructed unambiguously with **r*, then I reconstruct PSV **r*. Other conventions and abbreviations may be found in §1.6.

1 Sky and weather

1.1 The sky and planetary bodies

The following terms relating to the sky, the sun, the moon and stars can be reconstructed for PSV.

PSV **na-yai* ‘sky’

Sye	<i>neyai</i>	
Ura	<i>u/nayai</i>	‘above, on top’
Wsn	<i>neai</i>	
Len	<i>neai</i>	
SWT	<i>neai</i>	
Kwm	<i>neai</i>	

PSV **nə-m^wasan* ‘sky, open space, sleeping place’

NTn	<i>noa-nim^wahan</i>	‘sky’
	<i>nəm^wahan</i>	‘mat’
Wsn	<i>nəm^wahan</i>	‘mat’
Kwm	<i>k^wá-nmahan</i>	‘bed, place to sleep, storage place, space, nothingness, an opening between the clouds’

POc, PNCV **masawa* ‘space, sky, open sea’. (Final **n* might possibly be the 3SG possessive suffix.)

PSV **(a)-(c,j)ŋa[]* ‘to shine’; *(məta)-(a)(c,j)ŋa[]* ‘sun’

NTn	<i>mət-ŋar</i>	
Wsn	<i>mət-əŋar</i>	
Len	<i>mət</i>	
Anj	<i>aŋesŋa</i>	‘⟨sun⟩ shine’
	<i>naŋesŋa</i>	‘sun’

The form for ‘sun’ includes PSV **na-mta-* ‘eye, face’. POc **sinaR*, PNCV **sina* ‘⟨sun⟩ shine’. (Cf. Mota *singa-r*, Sak *səŋer* suggesting **ŋ* rather than **n*.)

¹ Recall that PNCV – and also PEOc – forms are translated into standard POc orthography. Thus Clark’s PNCV **q*, **ʔ* and **g* are written here as **g*, **q* and **ŋ* respectively.

PSV **(nə)-mavuya* ‘moon, month’

Sye	<i>mov-</i>	‘prefix to numerous month names’
Ura	<i>mova</i>	
NTn	<i>mouŋ</i>	
Wsn	<i>mouŋ</i>	
Len	<i>mouk</i>	
SWT	<i>makua</i> [expected <i>mak^wa</i>]	
Kwm	<i>mak^wa</i>	
Anj	<i>nmohoy</i>	

PSV **a-mər* ‘(moon) shine’

Len	<i>aməl</i>
Kwm	<i>mer</i>

POc, PNCV **marama*.

PSV **-m^wa(s,j)au* ‘star’

Sye	<i>mosi</i>
Ura	<i>u/mse</i>
NTn	<i>m^wahao</i>
Wsn	<i>mahau</i>
Len	<i>mahau</i>
SWT	<i>kə/mhau</i>
Kwm	<i>ku/mhau</i>

Cf. also Anj *n/m^wojev*, suggesting PSV **m^wadawV*. PNCV **m^wazoe*.

PSV **na-[l,n]umu-* ‘shadow, reflection’

Sye	<i>namoli-</i>	[metathesis?]
Ura	<i>namoli/n</i>	[metathesis?]
Len	<i>nanm^wə-</i>	
SWT	<i>nanm^wə-</i>	
Kwm	<i>nanumu-</i>	
Anj	<i>nalmu-</i>	

1.2 Clouds and rain

PSV had a number of words for ‘cloud’, ‘rain’, and associated phenomena.

PSV **na-b^wat* ‘cloud’

Anj	<i>nap^wat</i>
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POc **bata* ‘rain cloud, raindrop’. Cf. also PSV **a-b^wat* ‘dark, deaf’.

PSV **nə-ya(p,b)(u)* ‘raincloud’

Sye	<i>aɣup</i>	‘dark and cloudy as when about to rain’
Ura	<i>aɣup</i>	‘cloudy, dull’
Anj	<i>n/ɣop/θa</i>	‘rain (n.)’

POc **gapu(l)* ‘mist’, **kopu* ‘low cloud, mist’? PNCV **govu* ‘hazy, cloudy, obscure’. The element *θa* in the Anj form derives from POc **qusan* ‘rain’ – see below under PSV **n-usan*.

PSV **a-viv* ‘to rain’

Sye	<i>evip</i>
Anj	<i>ehe</i>

Ura *erevni* may also be cognate, though intrusive *r* and *n* are unexplained.

PSV **n-usan* ‘rain (n.)’

NTn	<i>nuhuən</i>
Wsn	<i>nuhuan</i>
Len	<i>nihin</i>
SWT	<i>nehen</i>
Kwm	<i>nesən</i>
Anj	<i>nɣop/θa</i>

POc **qusan*, PNCV **qusa*. The element *nɣop* in the Anj form derives from POc **kopu* – see PSV **nə-ya(p,b)u* ‘raincloud’ above.

PSV **(k,g)arua(q)ruaq* ‘thunder’

Sye	<i>yowar</i>
Ura	<i>yawil</i>
Wsn	<i>kalualua</i>
Len	<i>kalvəlva</i>
SWT	<i>kalualua</i>
Kwm	<i>karuarua</i>

POc **kuru[ru]*, **guru[ru]*.

PSV **a-bi(t,c)* [v.], **na-bi(t,c)* [n.] ‘lightning’

Sye	<i>tor/pis</i>	[v.]
	<i>ntor/pis</i>	[n.]
Ura	<i>dor/pis</i>	[n.]
NTn	<i>əbət</i>	[v.]
Kwm	<i>oapər</i>	[v.]
Anj	<i>nowai-napet</i>	[n.]

POc **pitik*.

PSV **matarā(n)* 'rainbow'

Sye	<i>mitar, umitar</i>
Ura	<i>umitar</i>
NTn	<i>mātaamātaa</i>
Len	<i>maraimarai</i>
SWT	<i>melaimelai</i>
Kwm	<i>mārarān</i>

PSV **a-nVm^wani* [v.], **na-nVm^wani* [n.] 'dew, be dewy; water on grass or leaves'

Sye	<i>enman</i>	[v.]
	<i>nenman</i>	[n.]
NTn	<i>am^wen-tān</i>	[v.]
Wsn	<i>erm^wan</i>	[v.] [r unexpl.]
Len	<i>nenm^wan</i>	[n.]
SWT	<i>enm^wan</i>	[v.]
Anj	<i>nim^wañ</i>	[n.]
POc	<i>*(n,ñ)amuR</i>	?

1.3 Wind and cyclones

Two words for wind can be reconstructed:

PSV **ne-ma(t,d)añi* 'wind'

Sye	<i>nemetañi</i>	'cyclone'
NTn	<i>metañ</i>	
Wsn	<i>nəmetañi</i>	
Len	<i>nəmataañ</i>	
SWT	<i>nəmataañ</i>	
Kwm	<i>nəmatañi</i>	
Anj	<i>nemtañ-jap^w</i>	'direction of wind'

POc **añin*, **jañi*, PNCV **lañi* 'wind'; POc **lañit* 'sky, weather'.

PSV **na-vi-* 'wind (n.)'

Len	<i>navi-</i>	'power, current, wind of s.t. passing'
POc	<i>*upi</i> , <i>*ipi</i>	'blow'

The form **ne-ma(t,d)añi* may be an early Polynesian loan. Polynesian languages reflect POc **jañi* 'wind' with a historical prefix **ma-* (i.e. PPn **ma-tañi*, Tongan, Samoan *matañi*). WFu now has *mitañi* (with loss of the first vowel) alternating with *matañi*. If the form is a loan, its antiquity can be established by, inter alia, the palatalisation of **ŋ* in Anejoñ. (Cf. §8.4 for further discussion.)

Other terms in this category include:

PSV **a-vayu[]* [v.], **na-vayu[]* [n.] ‘cyclone’

Anj *eheyo* [v.]
neheyo [n.]

PAn **baRiuS*, POc **paRiu* ?

PSV **na-nibar(ata)* ‘peace, calm’

Sye *nenparata*
Ura *nenbarata*
Anj *niñpa*

1.4 Day and night

A number of terms for ‘day’ and for periods during the day can be reconstructed.

PSV **ran(i)* ‘be day, daylight; <day> break’

Sye *ran*
Len *ian*
Kwm *ran*

POc **(d)ra(n,ŋ)i*, PNCV **rani*.

PSV **nə-ran(i)* ‘day, daylight; time, occasion’

Sye *nran* + ‘time of the clock’
Ura *nelin*
NTn *nian*
Wsn *nian*
Len *nian*
SWT *ielan* ‘day, daytime’
Kwm *iaran* ‘daytime’

POc **(d)ra(n,ŋ)i*, PNCV **rani*.

PSV **mrani* ‘tomorrow’

Sye *mran*
Anj *i/mrañ*

PNCV **marani*.

The form meaning ‘tomorrow’ is presumably related to the POc root **(d)ra(n,ŋ)i* ‘(be) day’ plus a prefix **ma-*. Final **i* can be reconstructed here on the basis of Anejoñ final *ñ*. However, since Anejoñ does not reflect PSV **ran(i)* ‘be day’ or **nə-ran(i)* ‘day’ with these meanings (see above), there is no evidence for PSV final **i* in those reconstructions.

PSV **na-r(a,u)v[ar(a,u)v]* ‘afternoon, evening’

Sye	<i>pwa/rap</i>	
	<i>arap, aravarap</i>	‘begin to get dark in late afternoon’
Ura	<i>balwa/lip</i>	
Wsn	<i>le-nhaiu</i>	[<i>h</i> unexpl.]
Len	<i>le-nhaiu</i>	[<i>h</i> unexpl.]
Kwm	<i>naruvaruv</i>	
Anj	<i>njup-ura</i>	(cf. <i>njupki</i> ‘early afternoon’)
	<i>njup-ki</i>	‘early afternoon’

POc **Rapi*, PNCV **ravi, raviravi*.

PSV **na-bo(n,ŋ)i* ‘night’

NTn	<i>l-abən</i>	
Wsn	<i>l-apən</i>	
Len	<i>l-apən</i>	
SWT	<i>ie/npəŋ</i>	‘night’
Kwm	<i>nəpən</i>	‘night, measure of time (24 hours); point in time’
Anj	<i>nepeñ</i>	

POc, PNCV **boŋi*. Cf. PSV **a-bo(n,ŋ)i* ‘black’.

PSV **na-bo(n,ŋ)i-bo(n,ŋ)i* ‘morning’

Wsn	<i>l-aplapən</i>
Len	<i>l-akapnəpən</i>
SWT	<i>ie/npəŋenpəŋ</i>
Kwm	<i>nəpnəpən</i>

Reduplication of POc, PNCV **boŋi*, PSV **na-bo(n,ŋ)i* ‘night’.

No term for ‘today’ seems to be reconstructible, but a number of other terms for days before or after today can be reconstructed.

PSV **na-yan(a,u)v* ‘yesterday’

Sye	<i>ninu</i>
Ura	<i>ah/ninu</i>
NTn	<i>neniap</i>
Wsn	<i>neniəv</i>
Len	<i>nenav</i>
SWT	<i>niəv</i>
Kwm	<i>neiv</i>
Anj	<i>iyenev</i>

POc **ñoRap*, **qana-napi*, PNCV **nanovi*.

PSV **n(a,ə)-w(a)ias* ‘two days from today (past or future)’

Sye	<i>nowisas</i>	‘five days ago’
	<i>wisas</i>	‘five days hence’
Ura	<i>wisas</i>	‘five days hence’
NTn	<i>niah</i>	[past]
	<i>o-niah</i>	[future]
Len	<i>nihin</i>	[past]
	<i>io-nhi</i>	[future]
Kwm	<i>neis</i>	[past]
	<i>tə-neis</i>	[future]
Anj	<i>nviθ</i>	
	<i>ho/viθ</i>	‘three days from today’

POc, PNCV **waRisa* ‘two days hence’.

PSV **na-(u)b*(η)an* ‘time’

Sye	<i>nempjon</i>
Ura	<i>nimjen</i>
Kwm	<i>nəpən</i>
Anj	<i>noup*an</i>

Note also that in §1.1 above, the form PSV **(nə)-mavuya* was reconstructed with the meanings of both ‘moon’ and ‘month’.

2 The natural environment

2.1 The earth

Several terms relating to the earth and other geological phenomena are reconstructed for PSV. There are two PSV forms for ‘earth, ground, land’, one with a POc source and the other without; in many languages, the form is a compound of both roots.

PSV **nə-mapu(v)* ‘earth, ground, land’

Sye	<i>nmap</i>
NTn	<i>nəp-tən</i>
Wsn	<i>nafwu-təni</i>
Len	<i>nəmop-tən</i>
SWT	<i>nəmop-tana</i>
Anj	<i>nop*oh-tan</i>

PSV **nə-tanaq* ‘earth, ground, land’

Ura	<i>dena</i>	
NTn	<i>tən-mutah</i>	‘island’
	<i>nəp-tən</i>	
Wsn	<i>tən-mutah</i>	‘island’
	<i>nafwu-təni</i>	

Len	<i>tən</i>	'Tanna; land, homeland, country, island'
	<i>nəmop-tən</i>	
SWT	<i>nəmop-tana</i>	
Kwm	<i>təna</i>	'earth, ground, land, island, country'
Anj	<i>nop^woh-tan</i>	
	<i>ntan</i>	'red clay'

POc **tanoq*, PNCV **tano*.

Other terms in this semantic domain include:

PSV **nə-tavuət* 'mountain'

Sye	<i>ntovat</i>	'cliff'
NTn	<i>ntoat</i>	
Wsn	<i>nətouat</i>	
Len	<i>touar</i>	
SWT	<i>tuk^was</i> [s unexpl.]	
Kwm	<i>tak^wər</i>	

PNCV **tavua*. Paul Geraghty (pers. comm.) notes that the PCP forms meaning 'volcano' seem to have been either **tavua* or **tavuqanə* (or both), obviously nominalisations of the PCP verb **tavu* 'burn'. This hypothesis would not, however, account for the final **t* in the PSV form.

PSV **nə-vatu(q)* 'stone'

Sye	<i>nvat</i>
Ura	<i>nivat</i>
Anj	<i>nhat</i>

POc **patu*, PNCV **vatu*. Len *i/aru* 'k.o. large stone used in earth oven' may be cognate.

PSV **na-m(a,i)t* 'quicksand'

Sye	<i>nmit</i>	
Len	<i>nəmət</i>	'swamp'
Anj	<i>neme</i>	

PSV **na-uvu(c,s,j)* 'pumice'

Sye	<i>nouvoh</i>
Anj	<i>nuhu</i>

PSV **na-m^wiu(γ,v)* 'earthquake'

Sye	<i>nomyuc</i>
Ura	<i>nomye</i>
NTn	<i>nəm^wiη</i>
Wsn	<i>nəm^wiη</i>
Len	<i>m^wiη</i>
SWT	<i>m^wiη</i>
Kwm	<i>əmiuv</i> [v.]

Anj *nom^woi*

PEOc *[ma]vuR(iu)ke, PNCV *muki. Final *ŋ* in NTn and Wsn could derive either from **ɣ* or **ŋ*; while Len and SWT have final *ŋ*, these forms have no accreted article, suggesting that they may be loans from a northern Tanna language and that the consonant is PSV **ɣ* < PEOc **k*.

PSV **nə-p^wanV*- 'hole'NTn *nəp^wanə*- [in compounds]Wsn *nəp^wonə*- [in compounds]Len *nəp^wan* 'hole (in s.t but not ground)'*nəp^wan-noua-* 'mouth'SWT *nəp^wanə-* 'hole in s.t.'Kwm *nəpən, nəpənji-* 'hole, cave, indentation, empty space in s.t.'PNCV **b^wanə* 'face, mouth, front'.PSV **na-vur(u)a*- 'hole, opening'Sye *navra-*Ura *navra/n*Kwm *k^warua, k^warue-* 'door(way), aperture, hole'POc **buru* 'bore a hole'.

2.2 Water

The following terms relate to fresh water:

PSV **nə-wai* '(fresh) water, river'Sye *nu*Ura *ne*NTn *nai-nənəmətə-* 'tears'Len *nu*SWT *nu*Kwm *nui*Anj *nwai*

POc **waiR*, PNCV **wai*. Cf. also NTn *nahou*, Wsn *nahu*, which may be a compound whose first element derives from PSV **na-si*- 'juice, fluid'.

PSV **n-usya(q)* 'waterfall'Sye *nusye*Ura *nusye*Len *nuhia*PNCV **savu* or **sevu* ?PSV **na-tVŋi* 'pool'Kwm *teŋi*

'water hole, puddle, container of water, bowl'

PNCV **tunju*.

PSV **a-ras* '(water) flow'

NTn	<i>aeh</i>
Wsn	<i>aiah</i>
Len	<i>aih</i>
Kwm	<i>arəs</i>
Anj	<i>areθraθ</i>

PSV **ya(r)* 'flow uncontrollably'

Anj	<i>ya</i>	'flow everywhere, out of control'
POc	<i>*ñoro</i>	'swift flowing'.

2.3 The sea

There is a number of terms referring to the sea, to tides, and to reefs:

PSV **nə-tasiy* 'sea'

Sye	<i>ntoy</i>	
Ura	<i>de</i>	
	<i>a/tok</i>	'salty'
NTn	<i>ntehi</i>	
Wsn	<i>nətehi</i>	
Len	<i>tehe</i>	
	<i>i/rhe</i>	'towards the sea'
SWT	<i>tahik</i>	
Kwm	<i>təsi</i>	
	<i>pe/raha</i>	'towards the sea'

POc **tasik*, PNCV **tasi*.

PSV **a-ruvaruv* 'be high tide'

Len	<i>eluelu</i>
Kwm	<i>arəruk^w</i>

POc **Ruap*, PNCV **Rua*.

PSV **(ə)-mac(a)* 'be low tide'

Sye	<i>mah</i>
NTn	<i>as</i>
Wsn	<i>amas</i>
Len	<i>mha</i>
SWT	<i>mas</i>
Kw	<i>maha</i>
Anj	<i>mas</i>

POc, PNCV **maqati* 'low tide, exposed reef'.

PSV **nə-mac(a)* '(exposed) reef'Len *nəmha* 'reef'Kwm *nəmaha* 'reef'POc, PNCV **maqati* 'low tide, exposed reef'.PSV **nə-m^waloq* 'reef'Anj *nm^woje*POc, PNCV **m^walo* 'coral head'.PSV **nə-laj* 'coral'Anj *nlas* 'live coral on a reef'POc **laje* 'k.o. coral', PNCV **laze*, **lazi* 'coral'.

3 Fauna

3.1 Land animals

Only a small number of terms for land animals can be reconstructed. (Note that the dog, for example, appears to be a Polynesian introduction, with the form *kuli* or *kuri* in most SV languages.)

PSV *-(*k,y*)*asuv* 'rat'Sye *nakih, ulakih*Ura *ulakis*NTn *kahap*Wsn *kahau*Len *kahau*SWT *iahuk^w*Kwm *iesuk^w*Anj *nyeθo*POc **kasupe*, PNCV **kasuve*.PSV **na-girai* 'flying-fox'Sye *naŋkrai*Ura *u/ŋlai*NTn *kəi*Wsn *kei*Len *kəl*SWT *kil/avən*Kwm *kiri*Anj *nekrai*PNCV **garai*.

PSV **(na)-bo(k,y)asi* 'pig'

Sye	<i>nomyahi</i>
Ura	<i>umyas</i>
NTn	<i>pukəs</i>
Wsn	<i>pukah</i>
Len	<i>pukas</i>
SWT	<i>pukah</i>
Kwm	<i>pukah</i>
Anj	<i>pikaθ</i>

POc **bokasi* 'sow?', PNCV **bukasi*.

The next three terms refer to parts of animals that have no human analogues. (Body parts which are similar in humans and animals – heads, teeth, feet, etc. – are listed in §5.3.)

PSV **nV-ba(ɪV,di)-* 'tusk (of pig), horn (of animal)'

Sye	<i>nepati, nempati</i>	'tusk, canine tooth, horn, pincer of crab'
Ura	<i>nabare</i>	'tusk'
Len	<i>tə/napaat</i>	'tusk, horn'
Kwm	<i>nəpati-</i>	'tusk, horn'
Anj	<i>nipat</i>	'tusk, horn; tusked pig'

POc, PNCV **bati* 'upper canine tooth'.PSV **na-bi(k,y)u-* 'tail'

Sye	<i>novl(a)ĩ/mpyo-</i>	
Ura	<i>nevlĩ/mye/n</i>	
NTn	<i>nəbikə-</i>	
Wsn	<i>nəpikə-</i>	
Len	<i>nəpikə-</i>	
SWT	<i>nəpikou-</i>	
Kwm	<i>nəpiki-</i>	
Anj	<i>niye-</i>	'tail (of fish only)'

POc **ikuR*. This form appears to reflect POc **ikuR* but with an initial labial stop, and I have suggested the modified POc reconstruction **(p,b)ikuR*. Anejom̄, however, does not reflect this labial stop.

PSV **na-lubʷ* '(base of) tail'

Anj	<i>nelopʷ</i>	'base of fish tail where it joins the body'
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PNCV **labʷe* 'appendage (root, tail)'.

The last two forms in this section are verbs pertaining to exclusively animal activities:

PSV **a-vuas-i* '(animal) bear young, give birth'

Wsn	<i>əvah</i>
Len	<i>ahua</i>
SWT	<i>uokʷus</i>
Kwm	<i>kʷahi, əkʷahi</i>
Anj	<i>ahaθ</i>

PNCV **vasusu*. Cf. also Len *vaih* '(human or animal) give birth'.

PSV **a-il* 'moult, shed the skin'

Sye	<i>eil</i>
Anj	<i>yil</i>

3.2 Birds

The generic term for bird is:

PSV **manuy* 'bird'

Sye	<i>menuy</i>	
Ura	<i>u/man-at</i>	'Cardinal honeyeater (<i>Myzomela cardinalis</i>)'
NTn	<i>meniḡ</i>	
Wsn	<i>menəḡ</i>	
Len	<i>menuk</i>	
SWT	<i>mana</i>	
Kwm	<i>menu</i>	
Anj	<i>nman</i>	

POc **manuk*, PNCV **manu*.

A number of specific terms can also be reconstructed, and these are listed alphabetically by genus.

Accipitriformes

PSV **nə-mal(i,e)* 'hawk, swamp harrier'

Anj	<i>nmej/yap^w</i>	'goshawk, swamp harrier, <i>Accipiter</i> sp., <i>Circus approximans</i> '
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PNCV **mala* 'hawk, bird of prey'. Note that the element *yap^w* = 'red'.

Apodiformes

PSV **ka(p^w,b^w)V* 'k.o. swiftlet'

Kwm	<i>kiri/kapou</i>	'glossy swiftlet'
Anj	<i>nohop^w/yap^w</i>	'white-bellied swiftlet, white-rumped swiftlet (<i>Collocalia esculenta</i> , <i>Aerodramus spodiopygius</i>)'

PNCV **kabakaba*. Cf. also Sye *nimpem*, Ura *nibem* 'white-rumped swiftlet (*A. spodiopygius*)'.

Ciconiiformes

PSV *(*nə*)-*p^wan(i,e)* 'reef-bird'

Sye	<i>yay/pon</i>	'egret'
Ura	<i>yay/pon</i>	'egret'
Len	<i>p^wan</i>	'crane [sic, probably 'heron']'
Kwm	<i>pan</i>	'heron'
Anj	<i>np^wañ</i>	'reef heron (<i>Ardea</i> sp.)'

Columbiformes

PSV **na-bune*[] 'fruit dove, *Ptilinopus* sp.'

Sye	<i>nompon, nompon/re</i>	'red-bellied fruit dove (<i>P. greyii</i>)'
Ura	<i>ubuda</i> [=ubun/ta]	'adult red-bellied fruit dove'
Len	<i>pun/huua</i>	'k.o. bird, blue w. red breast'
Kwm	<i>pən-uas, pən-harov</i>	'red-bellied fruit dove (<i>P. sp.</i>)'
Anj	<i>noḗna</i>	'Vanuatu fruit dove (<i>P. greyii, P. tannensis</i>)'

POc, PNCV **bune*.

Coraciiformes

PSV *(*na*)-*siyo(q)* 'kingfisher, *Halcyon* sp.'

Sye	<i>uki</i>	' <i>H. chloris</i> '
Ura	<i>uce</i>	
Kwm	<i>kak* a/sia</i>	
Anj	<i>neḗey</i>	

POc, PNCV **siko*.

Galliformes

PSV **na-(d,t)uaq* 'fowl'

Sye	<i>netwo</i>
Ura	<i>urwa</i>
Anj	<i>njaa</i>

POc, PNCV **toqa*. Cf. also Kwm *reia*.

PSV **na-l(i,e)v* 'incubator bird, megapode, *Megapodius freycinet*'

Sye	<i>nilep</i>
Len	<i>ialu</i>
Anj	<i>nije</i>

Gruiformes

PSV **na-bi(l,r)a(dV,li)* 'banded rail, *Gallirallus philippensis*'

Sye	<i>nempli</i>
Kwm	<i>pire</i>
Anj	<i>neprij</i>

PNCV **bilake*.

Passeriformes

PSV **na-(va)ləyav* 'white-eye, *Zosterops flavifrons*'

Sye	<i>ulyap, welyap, nelyap</i>
Ura	<i>ulyap</i>
Anj	<i>nhuley</i>

PNCV **laka, *lakalaka*.

*Psittaciformes*PSV **sivori* 'rainbow lorikeet, *Trichoglossus haemotodus*'Sye *ure*Kwm *sivur*PNCV **siviri*.*Strigiformes*PSV **na-(IV)sm^mit* 'barn owl, *Tyto alba*'Sye *nomit*Ura *nemit*Len *him^mir* 'chicken hawk?'Anj *naleθmot*

In §5.3 I reconstruct the term PSV **na-[m^ma,mu]rai* with the meaning of both 'body hair' and 'feather'. The following terms also refer specifically to parts of birds:

PSV **[ta]taŋ* '(fowl) wattles'Kwm *kə/rəŋ* 'comb and wattle of fowl'PNCV **daŋa*.PSV *-(*k,y*)*av(V)* 'wing; to fly'Sye *oyep* 'to fly'Ura *erke* [r unexpl.] 'to fly'Wsn *nəŋəvŋəvə-* 'wing'Len *nəkavkavə-* 'wing'SWT *nəkavkavə-* 'wing'POc **kapak*, PNCV **kaba-u* or **kabawa*.**3.3 Insects, spiders, etc.**

In this category, I include flying insects, spiders, ants, lice, and similar life-forms.

PSV **laŋ* 'a fly'Sye *w/laŋ*Ura *w/leŋ*NTn *k/iaŋ*Wsn *k/iaŋ*Len *k/iaŋ*SWT *e/laŋ*Anj *n/laŋ*

POc, PNCV **laŋo*. (Kwm *iaŋ* is almost certainly a loan < Len or Wsn.)

PSV **(nə)-yamuy* 'mosquito'

Sye	(u)/yomoy
Ura	u/youmu
NTn	kə/maŋ
Wsn	mum ^w aŋ
Len	mumuk
SWT	mumuk
Kwm	m ^w i
Anj	nyam ^w

POc **ñamuk*, PNCV **namu-ki*. The Tanna languages have lost the first syllable of the root, and a number of them show reduplication of the CV of the second syllable.

PSV **makali* 'k.o. spider'

NTn	makəl	
Wsn	makali	
Len	makal	'large brown spider'
SWT	m ^w akal	
Kwm	ka/mkəri	'wolf-spider'

POc **kalo* 'ant, cockroach', PNCV **makala* 'ant, crawling sensation'.

Two forms for 'spiderweb' can be reconstructed. These apparently derive from different, though related, sources (as the PNCV cognates indicate).

PSV **na-lawaq* 'spiderweb'

Anj	nilva
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POc **lawaq*, PNCV **lawa* 'spider, spiderweb'. The Tanna languages have possible cognate forms: Wsn, Len, SWT *lielie* 'spiderweb'; SWT *iielia* 'spider'. These would, however, derive from something like **liaq*, which shows considerable divergence from the POc and PNCV forms.

PSV **ia-t(r)ilwaq* 'spiderweb'

Sye	yatrilwo	
Ura	yarilwa	'spider'

POc **lawaq*, PNCV **talawa* 'spider, spiderweb'.

Other terms in this category include:

PSV **m^walaaq-m^walaaq* 'ant (generic?)'

Sye	u/mole, mole	
Ura	mola	'sugar ant'
NTn	m ^w alam ^w ala	
Wsn	m ^w alam ^w ala	
Len	m ^w eam ^w ea	
SWT	m ^w alam ^w ala	
Kwm	m ^w əram ^w əra	

Anj *m^waram^wara* is acknowledged to be a loan from Kwm.

PSV **kacik* 'black biting ant'

Ura	<i>w/asek</i>	'small black stinging ant'
Len	<i>kasək</i>	'soldier ant'
	<i>kasək-louhia</i>	'black ant'
SWT	<i>kasək</i>	'k.o. large ant'
Anj	<i>nyas</i>	'fire-ant'
PNCV <i>*kadi</i> 'black biting ant'.		

PSV **na-yut* 'louse'

Sye	<i>noyut</i>
Ura	<i>wit</i>
NTn	<i>kə/ŋət</i>
Wsn	<i>kə/ŋət</i>
Len	<i>kur</i>
SWT	<i>kel</i>
Kwm	<i>ur</i>
Anj	<i>neyet</i>
POc, PNCV <i>*kutu</i> .	

PSV **na-lisaq* 'nit, louse egg'

Sye	<i>nelis</i>
Ura	<i>ilis</i>
Len	<i>k/ilha</i>
Kwm	<i>k^wa-resa</i>
Anj	<i>nalaθ</i> [l for expected j].
POc <i>*lisaq</i> , PNCV <i>*lisa</i> .	

PSV **n-avat* 'edible wood-grub'

Sye	<i>navat</i>
Ura	<i>navat</i>
Anj	<i>nahat</i>
POc <i>*qapat(a,o)</i> , PNCV <i>*avato</i> .	

PSV **navau* 'scorpion'

Anj	<i>nahau</i>
POc <i>*nopu</i> , PNCV <i>*novu</i> 'scorpion, venomous fish'.	

PSV **n-ilo(s,c,j)* 'maggot'

Sye	<i>nilah</i>
Ura	<i>ila</i>
SWT	<i>nilah</i>
Anj	<i>nija</i> [unexpl. loss of final sibilant]

POc **quloc*, PNCV **qulo-si*. (Note also Len *silət*, Kwm *irər*, *hirər*, suggesting PSV **cilo(t,d)*.)

PSV **na-vine(q)* ‘cockroach’
 Sye *w/avne, wav/nivne*
 Anj *neheñ*

3.4 Marine invertebrates

Arthropoda (class *Crustacea*)

PSV **na-liwa[ni]-tasiy* ‘crayfish, lobster’

Sye *nali-ntoy*
 Ura *y/ali-de*
 NTn *e-dehi*
 Wsn *ie-rāhi*
 Len *hile-the* [*h* unexpl.]
 SWT *luan-tahik* ‘salt-water lobster’
 Kwm *i/aren* ‘fresh- and salt-water crayfish, rock lobster’
 Anj *nijvañ*

Probably PSV **liwa[ni]* + **tasiy* ‘sea’. (May just possibly derive from POc **quraŋ*, PNCV **qura*.)

PSV **na-pmí(vi)* ‘k.o. lobster’

Sye *napmi* ‘slipper lobster (*Parribaous caledonicus*)’
 Anj *nap* ‘k.o. short lobster’
 napmehe ‘k.o. lobster’

PSV **iə-yara(u,v)* ‘k.o. crab’

Sye *yoyou* ‘small land crab’
 Len *ieievaiev* ‘k.o. land crab w. black shell’

PNCV **kaRuve* ‘ghost crab’. The Len form is probably a reduplication. (Cf. also Anj *nya* ‘k.o. crab’.)

PSV *-(*γ*)*avilās* ‘k.o. crab’

Sye *nevlah* ‘k.o. rock-crab’
 Ura *wavlis*
 Len *kəvlās* ‘k.o. green reef crab’
 Kwm *iavira*
 Anj *naheleθ* ‘k.o. freshwater crab’

POc **kape* ‘crab taxon’, PNCV **kave* ‘crab’ ?

PSV **nə-ra(k,γ)um* ‘k.o. land-crab’

Sye *nroyum* ‘hermit crab’
 Len *iakəm*
 Anj *nray*

POc **rakumu*, PNCV **rakum(u)*.

PSV **tu*pa[] 'k.o. large land-crab'Sye *tu*poPOc **tuba*Ra.PSV **n-um*^wa(*n,ŋ*) 'hermit-crab'Anj *num*^wan 'k.o. small hermit-crab'POc **qum*^waŋ.PSV **-gut*(V) 'k.o. freshwater crab'Sye *w/ŋ*kuAnj *ne*/ket*Mollusca*PSV **nə-tavu*(*r,i*)(*a*) 'conch shell, *Charonia tritonis*'Sye *ntovu*Ura *urovo, rovo*Wsn *toui*Anj *ntohou*POc **tapu*Ri(*q*), PNCV **tavui*.PSV **na-bə*g 'green-snail, *Turbo* sp.'Sye *nem*poŋAnj *nepek* '*T. marmoratus*'PNCV **baiga*.PSV **vusani* 'k.o. green-snail, *Turbo* sp.'Len *hiuan*Kwm *kusan*Anj *nepek-hu*θa^ñThe Len form probably has the animate prefix *i(a)-* which metathesises regularly with *h*.PSV *(*na*)-*γu*əc 'octopus'Sye *noywoh*Ura *wis*POc **ku*Rita.PSV *(*n,i*)(*a*)*ij*(*i*) 'octopus, squid'NTn *iih*Wsn *iah*Len *ih*SWT *ih*Kwm *is*Anj *ni*θPOc **nus*, **nusa* ? Possibly reinterpreted as PSV **na-ij*(*i*) ?

And note also the following:

PSV **nə-yawe-* ‘(octopus) tentacle’

Anj *nyeve-*

POc **kawe*.

Echinodermata

PSV **na-m̃eni* ‘k.o. sea-urchin’

Sye *nomin*

Anj *nim̃aṅ*

PSV **na-vən* ‘k.o. sea-urchin’

Anj *nahen* ‘k.o. sea-urchin w. small spikes’

PCP **vana* ‘*Diadema* sp.’ (?)

PSV *(*na*)-*cikavua*(*c,s*) ‘bêche-de-mer, sea-cucumber, *Holothuria* sp.’

NTn *sikou*

Len *səkou*

SWT *səkavh*

Anj *nisyahou*

3.5 Marine vertebrates

PSV **namu* ‘fish (generic)’

Sye *nomu*

Ura *uh/nomu*

NTn *nom*

Wsn *namu*

Len *nam*

Kwm *nəmu*

Anj *numu*

Cf. also SWT *kamaam*. Possibly PSV **na-mu* or **n-amu*.

Acanthuridae

PSV **nə-yeboy* ‘unicornfish, *Naso* sp.’

Sye *yempa*

Kwm *iəpa*

Anj *nyepey*

Anguillidae

PSV **na-vini* ‘(freshwater?) eel’

Sye *neven* ‘eel’

Len *vin* ‘eel’

Anj *neheñ* ‘freshwater eel’

*Balistidae*PSV **na-su(m̃, mu)* ‘triggerfish, *Rhinecanthus* sp.’Anj *neθom̃*PEOc, PNCV **sumu*.*Bothidae*PSV **n-ali-ali* ‘flatfish’Anj *naja*PCP *(*y*)*ali*, PPn **ali**Carangidae?*PSV **mesen* ‘k.o. fish’Sye *mehen* ‘kingfish (family *Carangidae*)’Ura *tu/mesen* ‘k.o. fish’Len *mihin* ‘rabbitfish’Kwm *minhin* ‘rabbitfish’Anj *nm̃ aθa* ‘k.o. fish’ [may be cognate].*Carcharhinidae***na-byaw* ‘shark’Sye *nempou*Ura *w/beu*Wsn *pau/ηən*Kwm *pav/εηən*Anj *nepyev*POc **bak(i,e)wa*, PNCV **bakewa*.*Dasyatidae***nə-var* ‘stingray’Sye *w/var*Ura *w/var*Anj *nhar* [*nher-* in compounds]POc **paRi*, PNCV **vaRi*. (Note also NTn *vəraau*, Wsn *vilau*, Len *vəraau*, SWT *vəlaak̃*, Kwm *vəraku* (w. confused liquid reflexes), suggesting PTn **v(ə,i)ra[qa]vu*.)*Diodontidae*PSV *(*na*)-*b̃yai* ‘porcupinefish, spiny puffer, *Diodon hystrix*’Kwm *p̃ei*Anj *no p̃yai*PNCV **b̃akaRe*. Cf. also Sye *umpoiyu*.

Exocoetidae

PSV *-vənis 'flying-fish'

NTn	vənəs	
Wsn	vənəs	
Len	vənəs	
SWT	vənəs	
Kwm	vənis	
Anj	nohowan/heneθ	' <i>Cypselurus opisthopus</i> '

*Kyphosidae*PSV *na-vulai 'rudderfish, *Kyphosis cinerascens*'

Sye	novle	
Anj	noholai	

PSV *na-vulai-mVb^u 'rudderfish, *Kyphosis* sp.'

Sye	novle-m ^{pou}	' <i>K.</i> sp., long and white in colour'
Anj	noholai-mup ^u	' <i>K.</i> sp., short and dark in colour'

*Mugilidae*PSV *na-ɣna[] 'mullet, *Mugil* sp.'

Sye	w/ane	'freshwater mullet'
Ura	w/ana	'freshwater mullet'
Kwm	i/anər	
Anj	neyna	' <i>M. cephalus</i> '

POc, PNCV *kanase.

*Scaridae*PSV *(nə-)magum 'parrotfish, *Scaridae*'

Sye	moŋkum	'(family <i>Scaridae</i>)'
Ura	mogum	
Len	məkəm	
Kwm	məkəm	'a blue fish'
Anj	nmokom	'(<i>Scarus</i> , <i>Scarops</i> spp.)'

Tetraodontidae

PSV *na-bubu(a,e) 'puffer fish'

Anj	nupupou	' <i>Arothon</i> sp., <i>Canthigaster</i> sp.'
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PNCV *buebue. Anj *p* for expected *p^u* unexpl.

Other related terms include the following:

PSV **(n,i)-avu(a)* 'turtle'

Sye	<i>navu</i>
Ura	<i>yavu</i>
NTn	<i>iou</i>
Wsn	<i>iou</i>
Len	<i>iau</i>
SWT	<i>iak^w</i>
Kwm	<i>iaku</i>
Anj	<i>nahau</i>
PNCV	<i>*qavua</i> .

PSV **na-qnavi-* 'scale (of fish)'

Sye	<i>niŋevi-</i>
Ura	<i>niŋevi/n</i>
Anj	<i>ninehe-</i>
POc	<i>*qunap, *qunap-i</i> .

4 Trees and plants

4.1 Trees – general

This section lists reconstructions for 'tree', parts of trees, fruit, and ripeness or ripening of fruit.

PSV **nə-yai* 'tree, wood'

Sye	<i>nei</i>
Ura	<i>ni</i>
NTn	<i>nəŋ</i>
Wsn	<i>nəŋi</i>
Len	<i>nək</i>
SWT	<i>nai</i>
Kwm	<i>nai</i>
Anj	<i>nyai</i>
POc	<i>*kayu, *kai, *kau, PNCV *kayu</i> .

PSV **na-rva-* 'sapling'

Sye	<i>netva-</i>
Anj	<i>natha-</i>

Two terms for 'branch' can be reconstructed:

PSV **nə-ra-* 'branch'

Anj	<i>nra-</i>
POc	<i>*raqan, PNCV *raa</i> .

PSV **nə-raŋV-* ‘branch, hand’

Sye *nroŋo-*
 Ura *leŋe-, loŋu-, deŋe-* ‘hand’
 Kwm *rəŋi-, rərəŋi-*

POc **raqan*, PNCV **raŋa*.

These terms are formally similar, and may be ultimately related. It is possible that the **ŋ* in the PSV form I have reconstructed as **nə-raŋV-* derives from **n* in the environment of **q* (i.e. from POc **raqan* rather than PNCV **raŋa*), and that the PSV reconstruction is **nə-raŋV-*.

We can also reconstruct two PSV forms for ‘root’:

PSV **nə-w(a)(k,ɣ)a-* ‘root’

NTn *nokə-*
 Wsn *nua-*
 SWT *nua-*
 Kwm *nua-*
 Len *nukə-*

POc **wakaR*. Wsn, SWT and Kwm *nua-* could derive from either this PSV form or the next.

PSV **na-ɣwa-* ‘root’

Sye *noyɣve-* ‘branch’
 Wsn *nua-*
 SWT *nua-*
 Kwm *nua-*
 Anj *neyva-*

PNCV **kawa-ri* (< POc **wakaR* by metathesis?). Wsn, SWT and Kwm *nua-* could derive from this PSV form or the previous one.

Other reconstructions include:

PSV **na-jVli-* ‘shoot of plant’

Sye *nelye-* ‘sucker, shoot’
 Len *nelʋhalə-* ‘offspring of animals, sapling, new shoot’
 Anj *nisji-* ‘shoot of plant’

POc **(s,j)uli(q)*, PNCV **suli*.

PSV **nə-ta[(c,j)i](c,j)ia-* ‘a flower’

Sye *tasisi*
 Ura *dasisi*
 SWT *tihi-*
 Kwm *tihi-*
 Anj *ntesia-*

PSV *na-vVŋu- ‘a flower’

Sye	<i>novŋu- ovŋun</i>	‘edible fruit of any tree except Tahitian chestnut’ ‘(vine) to flower’
NTn	<i>naŋu-</i>	
Wsn	<i>nouŋə-</i>	
Len	<i>nouŋə-</i>	
POc *puŋa, PNCV *vuŋa.		

PSV *na-vuaq ‘fruit’

Sye	<i>novwa- novwa/haŋ</i>	‘seed’ ‘fruit of any tree’
Ura	<i>nava/n</i>	‘seed, fruit’
NTn	<i>noa-</i>	
Wsn	<i>noua-</i>	
Len	<i>noua-</i>	
SWT	<i>nuk^wa-, k^wa-nk^wa-</i>	
Kwm	<i>k^wa-, nək^wa-, k^wa-nk^wa-</i>	
Anj	<i>nohowa-</i>	
POc *puaq, PNCV *vua.		

PSV *a-vuaq ‘bear fruit’

Sye	<i>ovwo</i>
Len	<i>oua</i>
Kwm	<i>kua</i>
Anj	<i>ohou</i>
POc *puaq, PNCV *vua.	

PSV *na-(p,v)(c,j)e- ‘seed’

Sye	<i>novse-</i>
Anj	<i>nopse-</i>

PSV *nə-ŋavo- ‘bunch’

Sye	<i>niŋavo-</i>	(of bananas)
Anj	<i>neŋa-</i>	(of fruit)

Two forms for ‘fork, crotch’ can be reconstructed:

PSV *na-msaŋ ‘fork, crotch’

Sye	<i>nemsaŋ</i>
Anj	<i>nemhaŋ</i>
POc, PNCV *saŋa.	

PSV **(s,t)ap^waŋ(e,i)* ‘fork, crotch’

Wsn	<i>təp^waŋe-</i>	
Len	<i>sap^waŋ</i>	‘lowest branches of a tree’
SWT	<i>təpaŋe-</i>	‘crotch’
Kwm	<i>sapáŋ, pəsani, nəpəsani</i>	‘fork of a tree’
POc, PNCV <i>*saŋa</i> .		

There may have been doublets of the form **saŋa* and **p^waŋa*, with the second form above combining both forms.

Note also (i) the term PSV **na-si-* ‘juice, fluid’ reconstructed in §5.4 below, and (ii) the following terms to do with the ripeness or ripening of fruits:

PSV **a-mətaq* ‘raw, unripe, uncooked’

Sye	<i>emte</i>	‘raw, uncooked, (wood) green’
Len	<i>amra</i>	‘(fruit) green, unripe’
Kwm	<i>amera</i>	‘uncooked, raw, (land) fertile’
Anj	<i>mat</i>	‘new, raw’

POc **mataq*, PNCV **mata*. Cf. also PSV **a-(ma)la-mataq* ‘green, blue’.

PSV **a-mdaw* ‘ripe, ripen’

Anj	<i>emjav</i>	‘(breadfruit) ripen’
PEOc <i>*ma-dreu</i> ‘ripe’.		

PSV **matuaq* ‘ripe’

Sye	<i>etwo</i>	‘ripe, ready to pick’
Ura	<i>erwa</i>	‘ripe’
Kwm	<i>mare</i>	‘ripe, ready to eat, (leaves) yellow’
Anj	<i>metou</i>	‘(fruit) ripe, mature, ready to pick’

POc, PNCV **matuqa*. Cf. also Len *matak* ‘ready to be eaten: ripe, cooked’.

4.2 Coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*)

PSV **nə-yiani* ‘coconut (generic)’

Sye	<i>noki</i>
Ura	<i>nei</i>
NTn	<i>nien</i>
Wsn	<i>nien</i>
Len	<i>nien</i>
SWT	<i>nəkien</i>
Anj	<i>neañ</i>

Almost certainly *not* cognate with POc **niuR*, PNCV **niu*, though it might just possibly derive from POc **na-kai-niuR* (ART-tree-coconut).

PSV **na-(u)cilop* ‘young/drinking coconut’

Sye	<i>nehrop</i>	‘green drinking coconut w. soft edible flesh’
Ura	<i>nesrop</i>	‘drinking coconut’
Len	<i>nausilu</i>	‘coconut w. firm flesh’
	<i>nausilu-pəkom</i>	‘coconut whose flesh is softer than <i>nausilu</i> and whose water is drinkable’

PSV **na-vəraq* ‘sprouting coconut and/or its pith’

Sye	<i>nevre</i>
Ura	<i>nevla</i>
Len	<i>nien-uvia</i>
Kwm	<i>nuvera</i>
POc	* <i>paraq</i> , PNCV * <i>vara</i> .

PSV **na-(n,ŋ)ot(c)* ‘sheath of coconut leaf, used as kava-strainer’

Sye	<i>nuŋat</i>
Len	<i>niŋəs</i>
Kwm	<i>nenha</i>
Anj	<i>nenes</i>

PSV **i-ab^waj* ‘coconut fruit bud’

Kwm	<i>iap^was</i>
POc	* <i>(q)ab^waji</i> .

4.3 Breadfruit (*Artocarpus* spp.)

PSV **nə-mar* ‘breadfruit (generic), *Artocarpus* sp.’

Sye	<i>nmar</i>	
	<i>mel-</i> , <i>mor-</i>	[used in compounds]
Ura	<i>nimal</i>	
	<i>mor-</i>	[used in compounds]
NTn	<i>nəme</i>	
Wsn	<i>nəmei</i>	
Len	<i>nəm</i>	
SWT	<i>nəmel</i>	
Kwm	<i>nemer</i>	
Anj	<i>nma</i>	
	<i>nmar-</i> , <i>nmer-</i>	[used in compounds]
POc	* <i>maRi</i> .	

PSV **nə-mar-ab(ia,ai)* ‘k.o. breadfruit’

Sye	<i>mel-ampei</i>	‘k.o. breadfruit w. large fruit and distinctive leaf’
Anj	<i>nmer-apia</i>	

PSV **nə-mar-uyiq* 'k.o. breadfruit'

Sye	<i>mor-uki</i>	'k.o. breadfruit, small w. yellow fruit'
Ura	<i>mor-uce</i>	
Anj	<i>nmer-u</i>	

4.4 Bananas (*Musa cultivars*)

PSV **na-vuc* 'banana (generic)'

Sye	<i>novoh</i>
Ura	<i>novus</i>
Anj	<i>nohos</i>
POc	* <i>pudi</i> , PNCV * <i>vudi</i> .

PSV **nə-ban* 'k.o. banana'

Sye	<i>nimpa</i>	'k.o. banana w. long fruit'
NTn	<i>nəbən</i>	
Wsn	<i>nəpən</i>	
Len	<i>nəpən</i>	
SWT	<i>nəp^wan</i>	
POc	* <i>ba(q,k)un</i> 'k.o. banana'.	

PSV **na-ri(v)ram* 'k.o. banana'

Sye	<i>narevram</i>
Ura	<i>narivram</i>
Kwm	<i>nariram</i>
Anj	<i>nariram</i>

Cf. also Sye *naram* 'banana'. Len *nariram* 'k.o. banana' is probably a Kwm loan, since the expected form would be ***nali(vi)am*.

PSV **nə-taiki* 'k.o. banana'

Sye	<i>ntaiki</i>	
Kwm	<i>taik</i>	'banana (generic)'
POc	* <i>tawai</i> 'k.o. banana' ?	

4.5 Yams (*Dioscoreae*)

PSV **n-uv* 'yam, *Dioscorea* sp. (generic)'

Sye	<i>nup</i>
Ura	<i>nup</i>
NTn	<i>nup</i>
Wsn	<i>nu</i>
Len	<i>nuw</i>
SWT	<i>nek^w</i>

Kwm *nuk*
 Anj *nu*
 POc **qupi*, PNCV **quvi* 'Dioscorea alata'.

PSV **na-ra[(k,g)au]ŋ* 'k.o. (wild?) yam'
 Sye *naraŋ* 'k.o. wild yam'
 NTn *lakaun* 'k.o. wild yam'
 Len *nelakaun* 'k.o. wild yam'
 Anj *naraŋ* 'k.o. yam'

PSV **-m^wariq* 'k.o. yam'
 Sye *nuv-mori*
 Ura *nup-mori*
 POc **m^waruqen* 'k.o. greater yam'.

PSV **nə-tai-b^watyV-* 'k.o. yam'
 Sye *taipotyo-nei*
 Ura *daiborye-ni*
 POc **p^watik* 'potato, aerial yam, *Dioscorea bulbifera*'.

4.6 Taro (*Araceae*)

PSV **nə-talV* 'taro (generic), *Colocasia esculenta*'
 Sye *ntal*
 Ura *dal*
 NTn *nte*
 Wsn *nərei*
 Len *nəte*
 SWT *nətel*
 Kwm *nere* [loan from Wsn?]
 Anj *ntal*
 POc **talos*.

PSV **n-asi-* 'taro-stem for planting'
 Anj *nasi-ntal*
 POc **wasi(n)*.

PSV **na-b^wet* 'k.o. taro'
 Anj *nap^wat*
 PNCV **b^weta* 'taro'.

PSV **na-viaq* ‘k.o. taro – wild?’

Sye	<i>nial/evye</i>	‘Fiji taro’
Ura	<i>dal nivya</i>	‘k.o. taro’
Len	<i>nuvia</i>	‘k.o. taro’
Kwm	<i>nuvia</i>	‘wild taro, <i>Crytosperma</i> sp.’
Anj	<i>nehei</i>	‘wild taro’

POc **piRaq* ‘giant taro, *Alocasia macrorrhiza*’, PNCV **via* ‘wild taro (*Alocasia*)’.

4.7 Sugarcane, bamboo, etc.

PSV **na-tuv* ‘sugarcane’

Sye	<i>net-</i>	[only in compounds]
NTn	<i>nətəp</i>	
Wsn	<i>nətu</i>	
Len	<i>nəruw</i>	
SWT	<i>nətuk^w</i>	
Kwm	<i>nəruk</i>	
Anj	<i>neto</i>	

POc **topu*, PNCV **tovu*.

PSV **n-au* ‘bamboo; bamboo knife or s.t. made from bamboo’

Sye	<i>nau</i>	‘bamboo’
	<i>nau/tuŋo</i>	‘knife’
Ura	<i>le/nau</i>	
NTn	<i>nao</i>	
Wsn	<i>nau</i>	
Len	<i>nau</i>	
SWT	<i>nau</i>	‘knife’
	<i>təki/nau</i>	‘bamboo’
Kwm	<i>nau</i>	
Anj	<i>nau</i>	

POc **qauR*, PNCV **qau*.

PSV **n-au-vat* ‘k.o. (strong?) bamboo’

Sye	<i>nauvat</i>	‘k.o. bamboo’
Anj	<i>nauhat</i>	‘k.o. strong bamboo’

Cf. PSV **nə-vatu(q)* ‘stone’.

PSV **n-i(u,w)au* ‘river cane, *Poeaceae* sp.’

Sye	<i>niwau</i>	
Ura	<i>niwau</i>	
Anj	<i>nauwau</i>	‘bulrush’
	<i>niau</i>	‘reed, rushes’

PSV **na-b**(*io,oi*)r 'lawyer-cane, *Flagellaria* sp.'

Sye	<i>nomp̄yor</i>	'k.o. lawyer-cane, <i>Flagellaria indica</i> '
Anj	<i>nop̄^woi</i>	'lawyer-cane, <i>Flagellaria</i> sp.'

PSV **na*-(*v*)*iun̄* 'wild cane, *Poeaceae* sp.'

Sye	<i>nre/nyun̄</i>
Ura	<i>la/nyen̄</i>
Len	<i>nuvin̄</i>
Kwm	<i>nin̄</i>
Anj	<i>niyen̄</i>

4.8 Vines

PSV **na*-[(*p,b*)*V*]lwa- 'vine (generic?)

Sye	<i>nalwo-</i>	'vine (of yam, sweet potato, etc.)'
Anj	<i>nepelva-</i>	'vine, climbing plant, tip of tree or plant'

PSV **na-lima*(*q*) 'k.o. vine w. medicinal properties'

Sye	<i>nalim</i>	'k.o. vine'
Anj	<i>najima</i>	'k.o. vine whose sap is used to treat sore eyes'

Cf. also Sye *nalim mohpau*, *nalim movsi*, two kinds of vine whose sap staunches bleeding.

PSV **na-vua*(*c,s,j*) 'k.o. vine or creeper which grows on the beach'

Kwm	<i>nafua</i>	'k.o. beach vine w. yellow trumpet-shaped flowers'
Anj	<i>nohou</i>	'k.o. vine on beach w. purple flower'

POc **puRe*, PNCV **vue*. (Final PSV *(*c,s,j*) conditions **v* > *f* in Kwm.)

PSV **na-vup* 'k.o. vine'

Sye	<i>navup</i>
Anj	<i>nohop/yev</i>

4.9 Other trees and plants

Acanthaceae

PSV **na-bel* 'k.o. tree, *Pseuderanthemum* sp.'

Sye	<i>nempel</i>	' <i>P. carruthersii</i> '
Len	<i>nepe</i> ?	
Anj	<i>nepel</i>	

*Agavaceae*PSV **nə-rawus* 'ti plant, *Cordyline* sp.'

Sye	(u)lo/reh	' <i>C. terminalis</i> '
Len	<i>naravh/iuvh</i>	
Kwm	<i>tuk/rós</i>	
Anj	<i>nrowoθ</i>	

*Anacardiaceae*PSV **na-yilas* 'poisonwood, *Semecarpus* sp. (*vitiensis*?)'

Sye	<i>noule</i>	
Len	<i>nilha</i>	[l for expected i]
Kwm	<i>kərha, nurha</i>	'k.o. tree'
Anj	<i>neylaθ</i>	

PNCV **walasi*.PSV **nə-ray (i)* 'dragon plum, *Dracontomelon* sp. (*vitiensis*?)'

Sye	<i>naray</i>	' <i>D. vitiensis</i> '
Kwm	<i>nərai</i>	'k.o. tree w. sticky fruit'
Anj	<i>nhu/ri</i>	' <i>D. vitiensis</i> ' ?

Possibly from POc **raqu(p)*, PNCV **raqu*, though POc **q* > PSV **y* is not a regular development.PSV **na-viwi(s)* 'k.o. tree, *Spondias dulcis*'

Sye	<i>neviwi</i>
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POc **quRis*, PNCV **uri-si*.*Annonaceae*PSV **na-tVŋri* 'k.o. tree (*Cananga odorata*?)'

Kwm	<i>nurəŋri</i>	'k.o. tree, wood used for pierced ear and septum ornaments'
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PNCV **diŋori* 'perfume tree'.*Araliaceae*PSV **liwi(c,s,j)* 'k.o. plant, *Polyscias cissodendron*'

Sye	<i>i/lawih</i>
Anj	<i>nap^wo/jev</i>

Maybe related to PNCV **lalaso* 'plant sp. (possibly *Polyscias*)'.PSV **na-vi(t,dr)au* 'k.o. tree, *Meryta* sp.'

Sye	<i>navinru</i>	' <i>Meryta neo-ebudica</i> '
Anj	<i>nahitau</i>	'k.o. tree'

Proto Malayo-Polynesian **bitaquR* '*Calophyllum inophyllum*'?

*Araucariaceae*PSV **na-dVw* 'kauri, *Agathis* sp.'Sye *nenru*Anj *nejev* 'A. *macrophylla*'*Barringtoniaceae*PSV **nə-velŋV(c,s,j)* 'k.o. tree, *Barringtonia edulis*'Sye *velŋah*Ura *niverŋi*POc *(*w,v*)*ele*, PNCV **vele*.*Berseraceae*PSV **n-aŋai* 'almond, *Canarium* sp.'Sye *naŋai*Ura *naŋai*NTn *naŋ*Wsn *naŋe*Len *naŋe*SWT *naŋe*Kwm *naŋe*Anj *naŋai*POc **[ka]ŋaRi*, PNCV **qaŋaRi*.*Caricaceae*PSV **neci[]* 'pawpaw, *Carica papaya*'Sye *nesi*Ura *nesi*Len *kesi*Kwm *kesi*Anj *nese*

Probably an early loan.

*Casuarinaceae*PSV **nə-yar* 'k.o. tree, *Casuarina* sp. (*equisetifolia*?)'Sye *ntel/yar, nyaryar* 'C. *equisetifolia*'Len *niel*Kwm *nier*Anj *nya* 'C. *equisetifolia*'POc **yaRu*, PNCV **yaru*.

Combretaceae

PSV **nə-talis* 'sea almond, *Terminalia catappa*'

Sye *nteli*

Ura *dire*

'Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus* sp.'

Len *telh*

Anj *ntejeθ*

POc, PNCV **ɾalise*.

Cunoniaceae

PSV **na-gVrav* 'k.o. tree, *Geissois denhamii*'

Sye *noŋkrop*

Len *nakaiu*

Anj *nekro*

Cycadaceae

PSV **na-m^w(e,o)le* 'cycad, *Cycas circinnalis*'

Sye *nomol*

Len *nəməl*

Kwm *namur*

Anj *nom^woj*

PNCV **m^wele*.

Dilleniaceae

PSV **na-dy(o,u)l* 'k.o. tree, *Dillenia biflora*'

Sye *netyul*

Anj *nejyel*

Elaeocarpaceae

PSV **na-(sj)u(v,w)as* 'k.o. tree, *Elaeocarpus augustifolia*'

Sye *neyoh*

Kwm *nəsuvas*

'k.o. tree w. edible seeds in a hairy pod'

Anj *nawoθ*

PSV **na-(va)tau* 'k.o. tree, *Aceratium* sp.'

Sye *nevatau*

Anj *ntoutau*

'*A. oppositifolium*'

*Euphorbiaceae*PSV **nə-vayan* 'Java cedar, *Bischofia javanica*'

Sye	<i>nouyo</i>	
Kwm	<i>navan</i>	'k.o. tree used for house posts'
Anj	<i>nhay</i>	

PSV **na-mel(p)au* 'k.o. tree, *Glochidion* sp.'

Sye	<i>namelpau</i>	' <i>G. ramiflorum</i> '
Anj	<i>namlau</i>	' <i>G. perakense</i> '

Paul Geraghty suggests PEOc **m(e,o)la(q)u* on the basis of this reconstruction plus Fijian *molau*.

PSV **na-teta(q)* 'k.o. tree, *Exoecaria agallocha*'

Sye	<i>ya/te</i>
Len	<i>təra</i>
Anj	<i>netet</i>

PSV **na-yini(u,o)b^wVs* 'k.o. tree, *Acalypha* sp.'

Sye	<i>noynompi</i>
Anj	<i>neyñop^woθ</i>

PSV **nə-lab^wut* 'croton, *Codiaeum variegatum*'

Sye	<i>lompot, ulompot</i>
Ura	<i>lobut</i>
Kwm	<i>niepur</i> [<i>i</i> unexpl.; possibly a loan from a northern Tanna language]
Anj	<i>nlop^wot</i>

PSV **na-m^wli* 'k.o. tree, *Breynia* sp.'

Sye	<i>namli</i>	' <i>B. disticha</i> '
Anj	<i>nam^wji</i>	

*Goodeniaceae*PSV **nanas* 'k.o. tree, *Scaevola* sp.'

Sye	<i>naninani</i>	
Kwm	<i>nanes</i>	'k.o. tree'
Anj	<i>nanaθ</i>	' <i>S. cylindrica</i> '

Possibly **na-nas*. Paul Geraghty notes PPn **ŋasu*, Proto Micronesian **nanasu*.

*Guttifereae*PSV *(*nə*)-*mab^w(o,u)l* '*Garcinia* sp.'

Sye	<i>mompol</i>	' <i>G. sessiis</i> '
Anj	<i>nmop^wol-hat</i>	' <i>G. platyphylla</i> '

PSV **(nə)-(p,b)ayur* 'k.o. tree, *Calophyllum* sp.'

Sye	<i>poγur</i>	' <i>C. neo-ebudicum</i> '
	<i>poγur untoγ</i>	' <i>C. inophyllum</i> '
Anj	<i>npeye-lelyai</i>	' <i>C. neo-ebudicum</i> '
	<i>npeye/peke</i>	' <i>C. inophyllum</i> '

PEOc **bakuRa*, PNCV **bakura*. The Anejoṃ form is probably a compound of *npeye* < **bakuRa* + *npeke* 'island'.

Heliconiaceae

PSV **nə-mavu(η)* '*Heliconia* sp.'

Sye	<i>mevoŋ</i>	'k.o. <i>Heliconia</i> w. large leaf'
Ura	<i>nimovu</i>	' <i>Heliconia</i> w. very large leaf'
Anj	<i>nmehei</i>	' <i>Heliconia indica</i> '

Leguminosae

PSV **nə-m^wab^w* 'Tahitian chestnut, *Inocarpus* sp.'

Anj	<i>nm^wap^w</i>
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PNCV **m^wab^we*.

PSV **nə-mari(u)* 'k.o. tree, *Acacia* sp.'

Sye	<i>mori</i>	' <i>Acacia</i> spp., <i>Racosperma spirorbe</i> '
Ura	<i>nimli</i>	'barrel tree'
Kwm	<i>nəmori</i>	
Anj	<i>nmerei</i>	' <i>Acacia spirorbis</i> '

PNCV **mariu* '*Acacia spirorbis*'.

PSV **na-rap* 'Indian coral tree, *Erythrina* sp.'

Sye	<i>narap</i>	
Ura	<i>dev/arap</i>	
Len	<i>naiəv</i>	'k.o. flame tree'
Anj	<i>nara</i>	

Possibly **n-arap*. POC **rarap*, PNCV **rara-vi*.

Malvaceae

PSV **nə-vau* 'burao, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*'

Sye	<i>nvau, (o)re/nvau</i>
Ura	<i>novli/nvau</i>
Len	<i>nuvo</i>
Kwm	<i>nevo</i>
Anj	<i>nhau</i>

POC **paRu*, PNCV **vaRu*.

PSV **nə-b^hal* ‘*Hibiscus* sp.’Anj *np^hal*PNCV **b^hakala*.PSV **nə-(v,w)as* ‘*Abelmoschus manihot*’Len *nuhua*Kwm *nuvas*POc **wasa*.*Meliaceae*PSV **nə-mtaw[an]* ‘k.o. tree, *Dysoxylum* sp.’Sye *nimtu* ‘*D. aneityense*’Len *netuan* ‘*D. gaudichaudianum*’.Kwm *nətuan* ‘*D. gaudichaudianum*’.Anj *nemtav* ‘*D. gaudichaudianum*’*Moraceae*PSV **nə-bag(u)* ‘banyan, *Ficus* sp.’Sye *npaŋ* ‘*F. proxima*’ *poŋku* ‘*F. subcordata*’Ura *bogu, nobogu*Wsn *napək*Len *nepək*Kwm *nəpek*SWT *nəpən* [*n* unexpl.]Anj *npak*POc, PNCV **baga*.PSV **na-riviriv* ‘k.o. tree, *Ficus obliqua*’Sye *narevrep, nrivrip*Kwm *ruviru*Anj *nerere*PSV **na-təŋ* ‘k.o. tree, *Ficus* sp.’Sye *natoŋ* ‘*F. granatum*’Len *nareŋ* ‘*F. granatum*’Kwm *nerəŋ* ‘k.o. tree w. stinging leaves’Anj *naterŋ* ‘*F. adenosperma*’PSV **na-bVbas* ‘k.o. tree, *Ficus* sp.’Anj *neppaθ*POc **[b(a,o)]bos(i)*.

*Myristicaceae*PSV **na-dani* 'wild nutmeg, *Myristica fatua*'

Sye	<i>nanre</i>
Len	<i>netan</i>
Kwm	<i>nətan</i>
Anj	<i>najeñ</i>

*Myrtaceae*PSV **nə-yaviy* 'Malay apple, *Syzygium malaccense*'

Len	<i>nəkəvək</i>
Kwm	<i>nova</i>
Anj	<i>nyehey</i> [y unexpl.]

POc **kapika*, PNCV **kavika*. Cf. also Sye *weve*.PSV **nə-mʷanu* 'k.o. tree, *Syzygium* sp.'

Sye	<i>nimonu</i>
Anj	<i>nmʷan/pas</i> 'S. <i>nomoa</i> '

*Nyctaginaceae*PSV **na-byai* 'k.o. tree, *Pisonia* sp. (*umbelliflora*?)'

Sye	<i>nampyai</i>	' <i>P. umbelliflora</i> '
PNCV	* <i>buka</i> .	

PSV **na-(p,b)ia(q)* 'k.o. tree, *Pisonia* sp. (*grandis*?)'

Len	<i>nəpio-tuan</i>	' <i>P. grandis</i> ' [<i>tuan</i> = 'white']
Anj	<i>nepia</i>	' <i>P. grandis</i> '

Pandanaceae?PSV **na-via(q)* 'k.o. pandanus'

Len	<i>nuvie</i>
PNCV	* <i>vaiva</i> .

*Piperaceae*PSV **lu(b,v)u(b,v)a(m,pʷ)* 'wild kava, *Piper wichmannii*'

Sye	(<i>u</i>) <i>lompumpam</i>
Len	<i>nakivam</i>
Anj	<i>nouhapʷ</i>

Proteaceae

PSV *na-igam 'k.o. tree, *Finschia cloroxantha*'

Sye neijkom

Anj nikam

Rhamnaceae

PSV *na-b*us(Vn) 'whitewood, *Alphitonia zizyphoides*'

Sye nampo

Kwm nap*esən

Anj nap*oθ

Rhizophoraceae

PSV *na-donja(q) 'mangrove, *Rhizophora* sp.'

Sye netuŋo

Anj nejeŋ

POc *toŋo.

Rubiaceae

PSV *na-(y)ura(t,c) 'Indian mulberry, *Morinda citrifolia*'

Sye noyrat

Len nauias

Kwm noueis

Anj nouras

POc *kurat, PNCV *kura-ti.

PSV *na-bi(n,ŋ)i 'k.o. tree, *Neonauclea forsteri*'

Sye nempe

Len napa ?

Anj nepeñ

Rutaceae

PSV *ne-molis 'citrus, *Citrus* sp.'

Sye nemli

Len nəməlh

SWT k*a-nməlh

Kwm nəmərhi

Anj nepjeθ [p unexpl.]

POc *molis, PNCV *moli.

PSV **ne-(s,t)nanji* 'k.o. tree, *Euodia* sp.'

Sye *nitnaŋ*

Anj *neθnañ*

PSV **na-γ(u)(c,j)a(m,p)* 'k.o. tree, *Halfordia kendack*'

Sye *noysam*

Anj *noysap*

Sapindaceae

PSV **nə-tawa[]* 'lychee, *Pometia pinnata*'

Sye *ntau*

Ura *dau*

Anj *nerva*

POc **tawan*, PNCV **dau* (though Mota *tawan* might suggest PNCV **dawan* ?).

Note also Len *natəm*, Kwm *nətum**i.

Sapotaceae

PSV **nə-yatuq* 'k.o. tree, *Burckella obovata*'

Sye *yetu*

Ura *niyere*

Len *nier*

Anj *nyat*

POc **nətu(q)*, PNCV **natu*.

Sterculiaceae

PSV **na-mlav* 'k.o. tree, *Melochia odorata*'

Sye *nemlap*

Len *nəmhiəv* [*h* unexpl.]

Anj *nemlah*

PSV **na-(n)lm^wai* 'k.o. tree, *Pipturus* sp.'

Sye *nanrmai* '*P. argentus*'

Anj *nelm^wai*

Urticaceae

PSV **n-alyat* 'nettle tree, *Dendrocide* sp.'

Sye *nelyat*

Anj *nelyat*

POc **jalaioŋ*, PNCV **galato*.

PSV **uosuas* '*Sterculia* sp.'

Sye *wowo*

Anj *wəθwaθ*

*Zingiberaceae*PSV **na-li(c,j)ei* 'ginger, *Zingiber* sp.'

Sye	<i>leseī, uleseī</i>	
Kwm	<i>nəre</i>	
Anj	<i>nijisei</i>	'k.o. ginger'

Other reconstructions in this semantic domain are the following:

PSV **(na)-(i,u)muc* 'moss, algae'

Wsn	<i>ləmās</i>
Len	<i>ləmus</i>
SWT	<i>ləmus</i>
Kwm	<i>iamha</i>
Anj	<i>nelom*</i>

POc **limut*, PNCV **lumū*. The Tanna forms suggest initial **li* (since **l* before **u* would be reflected as *i* in the North Tanna languages), while the Anj form suggests initial **lu* (since **l* before **i* is reflected as *j*). The Kwm form may be a borrowing from a northern Tanna language in which, however, **l* was reflected as *i*.

PSV **na-(p,v)alijiγ* 'grass'

Sye	<i>novlovsī</i>	'buffalo grass'
NTn	<i>m^wa-nvəhl</i>	
Wsn	<i>nəm^wa-nvəhli</i>	
Len	<i>nəm^wa-nvhaal</i>	
SWT	<i>nəvhilək</i>	
Kwm	<i>nurhi</i>	
Anj	<i>napjes</i>	'k.o. grass'

POc **paliji*, PNCV **valisi*.**5 Human beings****5.1 Kinds of people**PSV **n-at* 'person'

Anj	<i>nat</i>
POc, PNCV	<i>*qata</i> .

PSV **(n,i)a-tamVmaq* 'person'

Sye	<i>neteme</i>
Ura	<i>yerema</i>
NTn	<i>ietemim</i>
Wsn	<i>ietamimi</i>
Len	<i>ieramim</i>
SWT	<i>ielmama</i>
Kwm	<i>iermama</i>

PSV **n-atavine* ‘woman, female’

Sye	<i>nahiven</i>	
Ura	<i>yarvin</i>	
NTn	<i>p/etan</i>	
Wsn	<i>p/ətan</i>	
Len	<i>p/eravən</i>	
SWT	<i>p/ilavən</i>	
Kwm	<i>p/ran</i>	
Anj	<i>ataheñ</i>	‘be female’
	<i>nataheñ</i>	‘girl, female; (man) sister’

POc **ta-pine*, PNCV **qata* + **vavine*.

PSV **(n,i)a-tam^wane* ‘man, male’

Sye	<i>natman</i>	
Ura	<i>yarmon</i>	
NTn	<i>ietemaan</i>	
Wsn	<i>ierm^waan</i> [r unexpl.]	
Len	<i>ieram^waan</i>	
SWT	<i>ielmaan</i>	
Kwm	<i>ierman</i>	
Anj	<i>atam^wañ</i>	‘be male’
	<i>natam^wañ</i>	‘man, male, (woman) brother’

POc **ta-m^waqane*, PNCV **qata-m^waqane*.

PSV **nə-v(u)alawV* ‘child (young person, not offspring)’

Sye	<i>nalau</i>	
Ura	<i>y/alu</i>	
SWT	<i>pu/k^woria-kaskah</i>	‘small child’
Anj	<i>nhalav</i>	

Possibly POc **qalawa* ‘uncle, nephew’.

PSV **nə-m^wal* ‘twins’

Sye	<i>(u)mal/me</i>
Ura	<i>u/mal/me</i>
Len	<i>m^wilm^wil</i>
Kwm	<i>m^wirm^wir</i>
Anj	<i>nm^wal</i>

PNCV **malava*. If these derive from a form like **malawa*, then Len *l* is unexpl.

PSV **(n,i)-at-manuy* ‘chief’

Sye	<i>natmonuy</i>
Ura	<i>yarumne</i>
Kwm	<i>iermənu</i>

This appears to be a compound of the forms for ‘person’ + ‘bird’.

The following reconstructions pertain to the spirit world:

PSV **(n,i)-at-mac* 'spirit, ghost'

Sye	<i>natmah</i>	
Ura	<i>yarmis</i>	
Len	<i>iarməs</i>	'malevolent spirit'
Kwm	<i>ieremha</i>	
Anj	<i>natmas</i>	

PNCV **qatamate* (= **qata-mate*). Cf. PSV **n-at* 'person' + **(ə)-mac* 'die'.

PSV **nə-b^wasVs* '(evil)bush spirit'

Sye	<i>nompo</i>	'evil spirit inhabiting a forbidden place'
Ura	<i>nobo</i>	'spirit that inhabits a taboo place'
Anj	<i>np^woθeθ</i>	'bush spirit'

5.2 Kinship terms

PSV **e-t(p,b)u-* 'grandparent'

Sye	<i>r/etpo-</i>	'wife'
Wsn	<i>təp^wə-</i>	
Len	<i>rəpə-</i>	
SWT	<i>ləpu-</i>	
Kwm	<i>rəpu-</i>	
Anj	<i>etpo-</i>	
POc, PNCV	<i>*tubu-</i>	

PSV **e-təma-* 'father, father's brother'

Sye	<i>etme-</i>
Ura	<i>rimi/n</i>
NTn	<i>təmə-</i>
Wsn	<i>təmə-</i>
Len	<i>rəmə-</i>
SWT	<i>ləmə-</i>
Kwm	<i>remu-</i>
Anj	<i>etma-</i>
POc, PNCV	<i>*tama-</i>

PSV **ri-(t,c)inV-* 'mother, mother's sister'

Sye	<i>nrinme-</i>
Ura	<i>ehne/n</i>
NTn	<i>itə-</i>
Wsn	<i>itə-</i>
Len	<i>inə-</i>
SWT	<i>nəsənə-</i>

Kwm *rinhə-*
 Anj *risi-*
 POC, PNCV **tina-*.

PSV **mata-* 'mother's brother'

Sye *meta-*
 Ura *marə/k* 'my paternal uncle'
 Len *məra-*
 SWT *məla-*
 Kwm *maré-*
 Anj *mata-*
 POC, PNCV **matuqa*.

PSV **(p*)avV-* 'older same-sex sibling'

Sye *ave-POSS-hai* 'sibling of same sex'
 Ura *avuksai, avinsai* 'my/his (her) sibling of same sex'
 NTn *p^hia-*
 Wsn *p^hia-*
 Len *p^hia-*
 SWT *pia-* 'same-sex sibling unmarked for relative age'
 Kwm *piavə-* 'same-sex sibling unmarked for relative age'

PSV **-tua-* 'older same-sex sibling'

SWT *no/ule-* [metathesis?]
 Kwm *p/rea-*
 Anj *e/twa-* 'same-sex sibling unmarked for relative age'
 POC **tuqaka-*, PNCV **tuaka-*.

PSV **(na)-tasi-* 'younger same-sex sibling'

NTn *taha-*
 Wsn *noua-taha-*
 Len *norhə-*
 SWT *nou-lahi-*
 Kwm *p/rəsi-*
 POC **taci-*, PNCV **tasi-*.

PSV **na-[va]vine-* 'man's sister'

Sye *vevne-*
 Ura *vinuk, vin* 'my/his sister'
 NTn *vənə-*
 Wsn *nəvnə-*
 Len *nouinə-*
 SWT *nauinə-*

Kwm *pini-*
 Anj *nataheñ* + 'woman, female'
 POc **papine*, PNCV **vavine* 'woman, female; male's sister'.

PSV **na-m^wane-* 'woman's brother'

Sye *mano-*
 NTn *m^wanə-*
 Wsn *nəm^wanə-*
 Len *nəm^wanə-*
 SWT *nam^wanə-*
 Kwm *pu/mani-*
 Anj *nata^wañ* 'man, (woman) brother'
 POc **m^waqane*, PNCV **m^wane*.

PSV **aswa*[]- 'spouse'

Sye *ahwo-, asu-* 'husband'
 Ura *awi/n* 'husband'
 Kwm *sueru*
 POc **qasawa*, PNCV **asoa*.

PSV **natu-* 'child, son, daughter'

Sye *nitu-* [3SG *nitni*]
 Ura *neru/k* [3SG *nehni*] 'my child'
 NTn *netə-*
 Wsn *nətə-*
 Len *nerə-*
 SWT *nalə-* [1SG and 2SG only]
 ti- [other possessors]
 Kwm *neru-* [1SG and 2SG only]
 ti- [other possessors]

POc, PNCV **natu*. The *ti-* forms in SWT and Kwm suggest that **natu-* was reanalysed as **na-tu-*, and that **na* (homophonous with the article) was then deleted.

PSV **alwə-* 'nephew'

Sye *alwo-* '(man) nephew, niece'
 Ura *alwi/n* '(man) nephew'
 POc **qalawa*, PNCV **aloa* 'uncle, nephew'.

PSV **mayub^wu-* 'grandchild'

Sye *moypo-*
 Ura *boybo/n* [unexpl. initial *b*]
 Wsn *m^wip^wə-*
 Len *m^wip^wə-*

SWT	<i>mukupu-</i>
Kwm	<i>m^wip^wu-</i>
Anj	<i>m^wap^wo-</i>

POc, PNCV **makubu*. Initial *m^w* a secondary development following loss of **y*.

5.3 Body parts

The body – general

This first set of forms deals with the body generally.

PSV **nə-b^wataya-* ‘body’

NTn	<i>nəb^wətə-</i>
Wsn	<i>nəp^watə-</i>
Len	<i>nup^welakə-</i>
SWT	<i>nəplaa-</i>
Kwm	<i>nəpra-, nəpri-</i>

POc, PNCV **abe* (but note Namakira *batoko-*, Nguna *nap^watoko*).

PSV **na-y(u)lic* ‘skin’

Sye	<i>noyleh/ntan</i>
Ura	<i>noyles dan</i>

POc **kuliti*, PNCV **kuli*.

PSV **na-vVsayo-* ‘meat, flesh’

Len	<i>nuvhakə-</i>
Kwm	<i>nəsa-</i>
Anj	<i>nohoθye-</i>

POc **pisiko*, PNCV **visiko*.

PSV **na-vali-* ‘side, other side’

Wsn	<i>nəve-</i>
Anj	<i>nahaje-</i>

PNCV **tavala* ‘side, other side’, **tavalu* ‘side, moiety’; Fijian *tavale-* ‘cross-cousin’.

The head

The next set of reconstructions are forms referring to the head or parts of the head (except for the mouth, which is dealt with separately below).

PSV **na-(k,g)ab^wa[]* ‘head’

Sye	<i>nompū-</i>
Ura	<i>nompū/n</i>
NTn	<i>-kaba</i>
Wsn	<i>-kap^wa</i>

Len	-kap ^w a
SWT	-kap ^w a
Kwm	kap ^w a

POc, PNCV *b^watu. While the Erromangan forms suggest that this was a regular directly possessed noun (*na-(k,g)ab^wa-), the Tanna forms take prefixed possessives (e.g. Len *ia-k-kap^wa* (POSS-my-head) 'my head').

PSV *nə-v(a)utoy 'brain'

NTn	<i>nouta-</i>
Wsn	<i>nouhta-</i>
Len	<i>nenourək</i>
SWT	<i>-kula</i>
Kwm	<i>k^wera</i>
Anj	<i>nhutu/ma</i>

POc *qutok. Sye *uvrah*, Ura *uvras* might be cognate.

PSV *na-(v,b^w)Vnaya- 'forehead'

Sye	<i>navine-</i>
Ura	<i>navune/n</i>
NTn	<i>nəbənəŋa-</i>
Wsn	<i>nəp^wanaŋ</i>
Len	<i>nəp^wanak-</i>
SWT	<i>nəp^wana-</i>
Kwm	<i>nəp^wana-</i>

PSV *na-m(ə)ta- 'eye, face'

Sye	<i>nimtu-</i>	[3SG <i>nipmi</i>]
Ura	<i>nihmi</i>	
NTn	<i>nəŋə/mtə-</i>	[cf. <i>mət/ŋar</i> 'sun']
Wsn	<i>nəmtə-</i>	[cf. <i>mət/əŋar</i> 'sun']
Len	<i>nəmrə-</i>	[cf. <i>mət</i> 'sun']
SWT	<i>nəmlə-</i>	[cf. <i>məl</i> 'sun']
Kwm	<i>ne/nime-, nəmrhi-</i>	[<i>h</i> unexpl.; cf. <i>meri</i> 'sun']
Anj	<i>nesŋa-nemta-</i>	

POc, PNCV *mata-.

PSV *n-ula-m(ə)ta- 'part of eye'

Sye	<i>nulimte-</i>	'eyebrow, eyelash'
Anj	<i>nalimta-</i>	'eyelid'

Cf. PSV *n-Vli-m(ə)ta- 'tear(s)'.

PSV **n-Vli-m(ə)ta-* ‘tear(s)’

Sye *nulimte-*

Anj *najimta-*

Cf. PSV **n-ula-m(ə)ta-* ‘part of eye’

PSV **nə-taliŋa-* ‘ear’

Sye *ntelŋo-*

Ura *delŋe/n*

NTn *nəm^wa-ntelŋə-*

Wsn *nəm^wa-telŋə-*

Len *nəm^wa-telŋə-* ‘outside of ear’

nəp^waŋ-telŋə- ‘inside of ear’

SWT *m^wa-telŋə-*

Kwm *nəfɾeŋi-* [f unexpl.] ‘outside of ear’

nak^wa-reŋi- ‘inside of ear’

Anj *ntijŋa-*

POc **taliŋa*, PNCV **daliŋa*.

PSV **na-(s,j)ijV-* ‘nose’

NTn *nəp^waŋ-nahŋə-*

Wsn *nəp^woŋ-nahŋə-*

Len *-nahŋə-* [second element in various compounds]

SWT *nəp^waŋ-nhiŋə-*

Kwm *nəpa-seŋi-*

POc **icuŋ*, PNCV **ganisu*.

PSV **na-(k,g)u(mu,m^wV)-* ‘chin’

NTN *nou-nəkmə-*

Wsn *nakm^wə-*

Len *nəkm^wə-*

Kwm *nəkumu-* ‘chin and upper throat’

POc **kumi*, PNCV **kum^wi* ‘beard’.

PSV **n(a)-ua-* ‘neck’

Sye *nowa-*

Ura *na/n*

NTn *nua-* ‘back of neck’

Len *nua-* ‘top of shoulder near the neck’

nemulke/nua- ‘neck’

SWT *nua-* ‘shoulder and part of the neck near the shoulder’

nəp^watak/nua- ‘neck (front and back)’

Kwm *nua-*

Anj *nawunua-*

POc **Ruqa*, PNCV **noqa*.

The mouth

The next set of forms are reconstructions to do with parts of the mouth. The first two are related forms for 'tongue' (also with the meaning 'flame'); both derive from POc **maya*, though in the first this root is the second element of a compound.

PSV **na-luame-* 'tongue, flame'

Sye	<i>nelwame-</i>	'tongue, flame'
Ura	<i>nalwame/n</i>	'tongue'
SWT	<i>nelamə-</i>	'tongue'
Kwm	<i>naramə-</i>	'tongue, flame'
Anj	<i>nalaume</i>	'flame'

POc **maya*, PNCV **mea*.

PSV **na-ma-* 'tongue, flame'

NTn	<i>namə-</i>	'tongue'
Wsn	<i>namə-</i>	'tongue'
Len	<i>namə-</i>	'tongue'
	<i>namnamə-</i>	'flame'
Anj	<i>nama-</i>	'tongue (archaic)'

POc **maya*, PNCV **mea*.

PSV **na-livo-* '(incisor) tooth'

Sye	<i>nelve-</i>	'incisor tooth'
NTn	<i>nelva-</i>	'tooth'
Wsn	<i>nelu-</i>	'tooth'
Len	<i>nelu-</i>	'tooth'
SWT	<i>k^wəlu-</i>	'tooth'
Kwm	<i>revu-, k^wa-revu-</i>	'incisor tooth'
Anj	<i>nejhe-, nijho-</i>	'tooth'

POc **lipon*, PNCV **livo*.

PSV **na-ŋasV-* 'gums'

Sye	<i>noŋosi/wo</i>
Ura	<i>noŋosi/wo</i>
Len	<i>nijhə-</i>
Kwm	<i>nijaha-</i>

POc **ŋiŋis*, PNCV **ŋisa* 'smile'.

The trunk

In addition to the forms PSV **na-msaŋ* and **(s,t)ap^waŋ(e,i)*- 'fork, crotch' listed in §4.1, a number of forms referring to the trunk and parts of the trunk can be reconstructed. The first two are probably related terms meaning 'back'.

PSV **nə-taa-* 'back'

Sye	<i>nta-</i>	
NTn	<i>nəm^wadaa-</i>	
Wsn	<i>nəm^wantaa-</i>	
Len	<i>taa-, nəm^wa-taa-</i>	
SWT	<i>nəm^wei-taa-</i>	
Kwm	<i>taku/taa-</i>	'back, backside'
POc	* <i>taku</i> , PNCV * <i>takuRu</i> .	

PSV *(*nə*)-*ta(k, γ)u-* 'back'

Sye	<i>ntoγ-noki</i>	'back of skull'
	<i>ntoγu-nta-</i>	'shoulder blade'
Kwm	<i>taku/taa-</i>	'back, backside'
Anj	<i>i/taγ</i>	'behind, far, beyond'
POc	* <i>taku</i> , PNCV * <i>takuRu</i> .	

PSV **na-ɾpu-* 'stomach, belly'

Sye	<i>netpolu</i>	'stomach, gizzard'
NTn	<i>nəpə-</i>	
Wsn	<i>nerfwə-</i>	
Len	<i>netpə-</i>	
SWT	<i>təpu-</i>	
Kwm	<i>təpu-</i>	
POc	* <i>tob^wa</i> , PNCV * <i>tab^wa-i</i> .	

PSV **na-butŋi-* 'navel'

Sye	<i>yomput</i>	
Ura	<i>yobut</i>	
NTn	<i>nəbutə-</i>	
Wsn	<i>nəpətə-</i>	
Len	<i>nəprəŋə-</i>	
SWT	<i>nəpləŋə-</i>	
Kwm	<i>nəpreŋi, nəpureŋi-</i>	
Anj	<i>no^wo</i>	'umbilical cord'
POc	* <i>butŋ</i> , PNCV * <i>buto</i> (however, cf. Raga <i>butongi</i>).	

PSV **botni-* 'bottom, buttocks, base'

Sye	<i>po^wni-</i>	'base, bottom'
Ura	<i>bohni/n</i>	'base'
POc	* <i>b^woto</i> , PNCV * <i>boto</i> .	

PSV **n-uci-* 'penis'

NTn	<i>nusə-</i>
SWT	<i>nusi-</i> (Nəvai dial.)
Kwm	<i>k^wa-nihi-</i>
POc	<i>*quti(n)</i> , PNCV <i>*quti</i> .

PSV **na-valu-* 'penis'

Sye	<i>nelu-</i> [loss of <i>*v</i> unexpl.]
Anj	<i>nhele-</i>
	Possibly from POv <i>*peliR</i> .

PSV **na-(m^wa,mu)rai* 'body hair, feather'

NTn	<i>nəm^wa-m^wei-</i>
Wsn	<i>nəm^wo-m^wei-</i>
Len	<i>nəmo-m^wi-</i>
SWT	<i>numlə-</i>
Kwm	<i>num^wheri-</i>
Anj	<i>numri-</i>

Internal organs

The following terms refer to internal organs:

PSV **lolo-* 'heart = seat of emotions'

Kwm	<i>veri-</i>	'internal portion, insides, heart, mind, feeling, emotion'
Anj	<i>lele-</i>	'heart, seat of emotions'
	PNCV <i>*lolo</i> .	

PSV **na-ur* 'vein, artery, sinew'

NTn	<i>noa-noul</i>
Len	<i>noua-nul</i>
SWT	<i>naur</i> (Nəvai dialect)
POc	<i>*uRat</i> , PNCV <i>*uRa-ti</i> 'vein'.

PSV **ne-rauc* 'sinew, rope'

Wsn	<i>nelous</i>	'rope'
	<i>noua-nelous</i>	'sinew'
SWT	<i>nelaus</i>	'rope'
	<i>k^wa-nelous</i>	'sinew'

Possibly from POc **uRat*, PNCV **uRa-ti* 'vein'.

PSV **na-cin(V)qa-* ‘intestines’

Sye *nouse/nsi-*

Ura *nesou/sin*

NTn *nəsŋa-*

Wsn *nəsŋaa-*

Len *nəsŋaa-*

SWT *nəsinau-*

Kwm *naninha-*

Anj *nesŋa-* ‘nucleus, focal part, soul, spirit’

POc, PNCV **rinaqe*. The second element in the Sye and Ura forms is the word for ‘excrement’.

PSV **mab^wV-* ‘liver’

NTn *nanjan/mampə-*

Wsn *nanjan/mopə-*

Len *nakan/mopə-*

SWT *nakan/mopu-*

Kwm *nakan/mapwu-*

Anj *n/mop^wo-*

PNCV **m^wab^we*. Cf also Sye *mou*.

Limbs

In addition to PSV **nə-raŋV-* ‘branch, hand’, listed above in §4.1, the following terms for limbs can be reconstructed:

PSV **na-lima-* ‘hand, arm’

NTn *nelmə-*

Wsn *nehlmə-*

Len *nelmə-*

SWT *k^wa/lmə-*

Anj *nijma-*

POc, PNCV **lima-*.

PSV *(*nə*)-(*m,m^w*)*antuv* ‘right hand(ed)’

NTn *m^wadəp*

Wsn *maru*

Len *m^watu*

SWT *matuk^w*

Kwm *m^watuk*

Anj *nmata-*

POc **mataqu*, PNCV **matuqa*.

PSV **(nə)-(m,m^w)aur* 'left hand(ed)'

Sye	<i>mor</i>	
NTn	<i>maul</i>	
Wsn	<i>moul</i>	
Len	<i>mul</i>	
SWT	<i>maul</i>	
Kwm	<i>mour</i>	
Anj	<i>nm^wawu-</i>	'left hand'
	<i>m^wau</i>	'left-handed'

POc **ma-wiRi*, PNCV **mawiri*.PSV **na-su(r)V-* 'bone, foot, leg'

Sye	<i>noura-</i>	'bone'
Ura	<i>nowira-</i>	'bone'
SWT	<i>nuhu-</i>	'leg'
Kwm	<i>nəsu-</i>	'leg'
Anj	<i>neθuo-</i>	'bone, foot, leg'

POc, PNCV **suRi*.PSV **nə-va-* 'thigh'

Sye	<i>nva-</i>	
Ura	<i>niva/n</i>	
NTn	<i>nua-</i>	
Wsn	<i>nəva-</i>	
Len	<i>nəva-</i>	
SWT	<i>nəp^watak/nəva-</i>	
Kwm	<i>nuva-</i>	
Anj	<i>nha-</i>	

POc **paqan*.PSV **(na)-pisV-* 'finger, toe'

NTn	<i>pis-əkəku</i>	'little finger'
Wsn	<i>pəs/iuul</i>	'fingernail, toenail'
Len	<i>pəspəs</i>	
SWT	<i>pəspəs-</i>	
Kwm	<i>pəs-</i>	[used in compounds referring to 'finger', 'fingernail']
Anj	<i>nopse-</i>	'fruit, seed'
	<i>nopse-jma-</i>	'finger'
	<i>nopse-θuo-</i>	'toe'

PNCV **bisu* 'finger, toe, nail'.

Other

PSV **na-vu(y,r)a-* ‘voice’

Sye	<i>navya-</i>
Ura	<i>navya/n</i>
NTn	<i>nouia-</i>
Wsn	<i>nouia-</i>
Len	<i>nouiaa-</i>
Kwm	<i>nak^wa-</i>
Anj	<i>nohora-</i>

PSV **na-qsanV-* ‘name’

Sye	<i>ni-</i>
NTn	<i>nerŋə-</i>
Wsn	<i>nerŋə-</i>
Len	<i>netŋə-</i>
SWT	<i>nhaŋə-</i>
Kwm	<i>nahaŋ, naŋhu-</i>
Anj	<i>niθa-</i>

POc **(q)aca(n,ŋ)*, PNCV **asa*.PSV **na-m^w(i,la)-* ‘track (of s.t.), footprint’

Len	<i>nam^wi-</i>
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PNCV **m^wele* ‘sole of foot, footprint’ ?

5.4 Bodily fluids, exudations, etc.

PSV had two terms for both ‘blood’ and ‘excrement’, one of which involves a specific possessor (e.g. Len *nətaa-k* ‘my blood’), while the other refers to the substance in isolation without being linked to any possessor (e.g. Len *nəta* ‘blood’).

PSV **nə-da(a)-* ‘blood (specific possessor)’

NTn	<i>nta-</i>
Wsn	<i>nəra-</i>
Len	<i>nətaa-</i>
SWT	<i>nətau-</i>
Kwm	<i>nəte-</i>

POc **draRaq*, PNCV **daRa*.PSV **nə-da(q,V)* ‘blood (no specific possessor)’

Sye	<i>nre</i>
Len	<i>nəta</i>
Kwm	<i>neta</i>
Anj	<i>nja</i>

POc **draRaq*, PNCV **daRa*.

PSV **nə-(c,t)i(V)*- ‘excrement (specific possessor)’

Sye	<i>si-</i>
Ura	<i>si/n</i>
NTn	<i>nəsi-</i>
Wsn	<i>nəsi-</i>
Len	<i>nəsii-</i>
SWT	<i>nəsi-</i>
Kwm	<i>nihi-</i>
Anj	<i>nti-</i>
POc, PNCV	* <i>taqe</i> .

PSV **nə-(c,t)i(V,q)* ‘excrement (no specific possessor)’

Wsn	<i>nəsi</i>
Len	<i>nəs</i>
Kwm	<i>nihi</i>
Anj	<i>nti</i>
POc, PNCV	* <i>taqe</i> .

Other terms in this semantic domain are:

PSV **no-vsar* ‘pus’

Sye	<i>novsar</i>
Ura	<i>novsar</i>
Anj	<i>noθa</i>

PSV **nə-maya(p^w,b^w)* ‘a sore’

SWT	<i>nəm^wap^w</i>
Kwm	<i>nəm^wap^w</i>
Anj	<i>nmoyop^w</i>

PSV **na-si-* ‘juice, fluid’

NTn	<i>naha-</i>	
Wsn	<i>naha-</i>	
Len	<i>nihi-</i>	
SWT	<i>nahi-</i>	
Kwm	<i>nəse-</i>	‘body fluid, pus, liquid essence, sap, juice, water of’
Anj	<i>niθi-</i>	
POc	* <i>suRuq</i> , PNCV	* <i>suRu</i> .

6 Artefacts

6.1 Village, house and household

The first set of terms below refer to the village and its surrounds.

PSV **nə-(u)vanua* 'village'

NTn	<i>la/tuanu</i> [<i>t</i> unexpl.]	
Wsn	<i>la/huanu</i> [<i>h</i> unexpl.]	
Len	<i>nauanu</i>	
	<i>la/uanu</i>	'to/at/in the village'
SWT	<i>l/uk^wanu</i>	
Kwm	<i>r/uk^wanu</i>	'home, residence, house, village, hamlet'
Anj	<i>nhenou</i>	'taro-swamp'

POc **panua* 'inhabited area or territory, community and its land', PNCV **vanua* 'land, village, place'. The initial *lV* or *rV* in Tanna languages is probably an historical locative prefix.

PSV **n-alan(i,e)* 'road, path'

Anj	<i>nef-alañ</i>	
	<i>nalañ</i>	'a single row in weaving'

POc **salan*, **jalan*, PNCV **sala*. Loss of the proto-sibilant unexpl.

PSV **n-ar* 'boundary-marker'

Sye	<i>nar</i>
Ura	<i>nar</i>

POc **qaRa(r)*, PNCV **ara* 'fence, wall'.

PSV **nə-wari-* 'a place'

Sye	<i>nur</i>
Anj	<i>nwore-</i>

PSV **na-sag* 'dirt, rubbish'

Kwm	<i>nahák</i>	'dirt, mote, scrap, food scrap'
	<i>nəm^wi-nahák</i>	'dirt, rubbish'
Anj	<i>nohok</i>	

PNCV **sago* 'rubbish, spoil'.

Note also in this context PSV **na-layau* (see §6.2 below), reconstructed with the meaning of 'canoe' but also 'major social group'.

The next set of terms refers to the house and parts of houses.

PSV **n-ium^waq* 'house'

Sye	<i>nimo</i>
Ntn	<i>nim^wa</i>
Wsn	<i>nim^wa</i>
Len	<i>nim^wa</i>
SWT	<i>nim^wa</i>
Kwm	<i>nim^wa</i>
Anj	<i>niom^w</i>

POc **Rum^waq*, PNCV **yum^wa*.

PSV **i-im^warum^w* 'men's house, nakamal'

NTn *iim^waiim^w*

Wsn *iim^waiim^w*

Len *iim^waiim^w*

SWT *iim^waləm*

Kwm *im^warəm*

POc **Rum^waq*, PNCV **yum^wa* 'house'.

PSV **na-livin(t,r)i-* 'top, roof'

Sye *(u)nelvinri, livinlivin* 'top, brink'

Anj *nijhinti-* 'top, roof'

PSV **nə-ta(p,b)ina(c,j)* 'door, doorway'

Wsn *tapən*

Len *tapən*

SWT *tapəŋ* [ŋ unexpl.]

Kwm *tapinha*

Anj *ntapnes*

PSV **nə-var* 'wall'

Sye *novar* 'close-woven meeting-house wall'

POc **paRa*.

The final set of terms in this section contains things found in houses. This includes PSV **nə-m^wasan* (see §1.1 above), among whose meanings is 'sleeping place', and also the following:

PSV **na-t(a)i* 'thing'

NTn *nat*

Wsn *nati*

Len *nar*

SWT *nal*

Kwm *nari*

Anj *nitai*

PSV **n-aluji* 'pillow, headrest'

Anj *nilañ*

POc **qulurŋ-an*, PNCV **ulu-ŋa*. NTn *k-ouloŋo*, Len *k-aluŋa* may be Polynesian loans, suggested both by retention of the final vowel and failure of **l* to become *i* before **u*.

PSV **na-ma(c,j)* 'cloth, clothes; tapa'

Sye *nemah* 'cloth, clothes'

Ura *namas* 'clothes, clothing'

Anj *namas* 'tapa'

POc **masi* '*Broussonetia papyrifera*, loincloth'.

PSV **nə-(vu)(p,b)ilo* 'coconut shell used as liquid container'

Len	<i>uipəl</i>	'flask made from coconut, bottle'
Anj	<i>nhupej</i>	'coconut shell, water container'
	<i>nepje-</i>	'shell, container'

POc **b^wilo*.

6.2 Sailing, fishing, hunting and gathering

The first set of terms in this section deals with the canoe and other artefacts associated with sailing and fishing.

PSV **na-layau* 'canoe, major social group'

Sye	<i>lou</i>	'canoe, ship; nation, country, kingdom'
Ura	<i>nelou</i>	'canoe, ship'
Wsn	<i>nəŋo</i>	'canoe, ship; politico-military division of society'
Len	<i>niko</i>	'canoe, ship; politico-military division of society'
SWT	<i>lau</i>	'canoe, ship; politico-military division of society'
Anj	<i>nelyau</i>	'canoe, chiefdom'

PSV **na-liman(i,e)* 'outrigger, outrigger-float'

Sye	<i>nelman</i>
Ura	<i>nelman</i>
Anj	<i>nijmañ</i>

POc, PNCV **lima-* 'hand'. Cf. PSV **na-lima-* 'hand, arm'.

PSV *[*]**aman* 'outrigger, outrigger-float'

NTn	<i>rəmən</i>
Wsn	<i>rəmər</i> [final <i>r</i> unexpl.]
Len	<i>rəmər</i> [final <i>r</i> unexpl.]
SWT	<i>ləməl</i> [final <i>l</i> unexpl.]
Kwm	<i>temən</i>

POc **saman*, PNCV **zama*. Initial consonant shows extreme variability, suggesting PSV **sVq* or **qVs*, or **t*, or possibly **l* or **r*; possibly contamination from PSV **na-lima-* 'hand, arm' and/or PSV **na-liman(i,e)* 'outrigger, outrigger-float'.

PSV **n-i(p,v)an* 'a sail'

NTn	<i>nivən</i>
Wsn	<i>nivən</i>
Len	<i>nivən</i>
SWT	<i>nivən</i>
Kwm	<i>nivən</i>
Anj	<i>nipan</i>

PNCV **kabani* ?

PSV **nə-vai(w)a* 'a paddle'

NTn	<i>nəvea</i>
Wsn	<i>nəvea</i>
Len	<i>nəvea</i>
SWT	<i>nəvea</i>
Kwm	<i>nəveia</i>
Anj	<i>nehev</i>

PSV **n-ias* 'bailer'

Len	<i>nies</i>
Kwm	<i>nias</i>
Anj	<i>niaθ</i>

POc **asu*, PNCV **asu-vi*, **rasu*. Cf. PSV **ias* 'bail (water)'.

PSV **na-kup^w(e,u)n* 'net, fish-net'

Sye	<i>noɣpon</i>
Wsn	<i>nakap^wən</i>
Len	<i>nakapun</i>
SWT	<i>nakapun</i>
Kwm	<i>nəpun</i>
Anj	<i>noup^won</i>

POc **kup^wena*.

PSV *(*a*)-*kil-i* 'hook (n. and v.), fish-hook'

Sye	<i>kilkil</i>	'fish hook (esp. store-bought)'
Ura	<i>kilkil</i>	
Kwm	<i>akiri</i>	'hook down (coconuts)'
	<i>kə-kir</i>	'a hook'

POc **kawil*, PNCV **gau*.

PSV **nə-(k,g)awil* 'hook (n.), fish-hook'

Sye	<i>naŋkau</i>	
	<i>nriv/kau</i>	'k.o. vine w. hooks that used to be used for fishing'
Anj	<i>nyowoj</i>	

POc **kawil*, PNCV **gau*.

PSV **n-alic* 'torch'

Anj	<i>nijis</i>
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POc **alito(n)* 'firebrand'.

The next set of terms deals with hunting and gathering.

PSV **na-yawVc* ‘fruit-picker’

Anj *niyowos*

POc **kawit-i* ‘fruit crook’.

PSV **nə-(sj)au* ‘a spear’

Sye *sau*

SWT *k^wa-nhau*

POc **sao(t)*. Ura *nau* may be cognate, but cf. PSV **n-au* ‘bamboo’.

PSV **-pac(V)* ‘axe’

NTn *kəpaas*

Wsn *kəpaas*

Len *kəpaas*

SWT *kəpas*

Kwm *paha*

Anj *npas*

POc, PNCV **bati* ‘(upper canine) tooth’ ?

PSV **na-taliv* ‘a sling’

Sye *telip*

Len *teliv*

Kwm *təriv*

6.3 Fire and food

Terms dealing with fire and ovens include the following:

PSV **nə-yab^w* ‘fire’

Ura *nab/aveŋ* ‘fire, firewood’

SWT *nap^w*

Kwm *nap^w*

Anj *nyap^w*

POc, PNCV **kabu*.

PSV **nə-yam* ‘fire’

Sye *nom*

tel/yam ‘warm self by fire’

Ura *tel/yam* ‘warm self by fire’

NTn *nəŋam*

Wsn *nəŋom*

Len *nəkom*

POc, PNCV **kabu*, possibly via **kampu* ?

PSV **n-as(r)a-* ‘smoke (n.)’

NTn	<i>naha-nəŋam</i>
Wsn	<i>nah-nŋom</i>
Len	<i>nha-nkom</i>
SWT	<i>nhe-nap^w</i>
Kwm	<i>nəse-nap^w</i>
Anj	<i>naθra-</i>
POc, PNCV	<i>*qasu.</i>

PSV **nə-(m)ɪavu* ‘ashes’

Sye	<i>pe/niop</i>
Ura	<i>be/dop</i>
NTn	<i>nəmtap</i>
Wsn	<i>nəmtaau</i>
Len	<i>nəmraau</i>
SWT	<i>nəmlak^w</i>
Kwm	<i>nəmrák^w</i>

POc **qapu(k)*, **rapu(R)*, PNCV **avu*. Elsewhere I suggest the POc modified reconstruction **tapuR*. Cf. also Anj *nop^wp^wa*.

PSV **na'-sua-* ‘steam (n.)’

Sye	<i>nahwo-num</i>
Ura	<i>naswo-num</i>

POc **nasu(q)* ‘boil, steam (v.i.)’. The second element is the root for ‘earth oven’ (see immediately below).

PSV **n-u(mu,m^wa)n* ‘earth oven’

Sye	<i>nompompw/num</i>
Ura	<i>niveri/num</i>
NTn	<i>noa-num^wan</i>
Wsn	<i>noua-num^wan</i>
Len	<i>noua-num^wan</i>
SWT	<i>k^wa-nem^wən</i>
Kwm	<i>nak^wa-numun</i>
Anj	<i>nm^wa-num^w</i>

POc **qumun*, PNCV **qumu*.

And note also PSV **na-luame-*, **na-ma-* ‘tongue, flame’, listed in 5.3.

Below are two terms referring to kinds of food:

PSV **na-marai* ‘fermented breadfruit’

Sye	<i>morei</i>
Ura	<i>mori, nimorei</i>
Anj	<i>namarai</i> [possible Pn loan?]

POc **madraR*, PNCV **mara*.

PSV	*(na)-up ^w at	'(k.o.) laplap or tuber pudding'
Sye	yo/upat	'k.o. laplap w. no added filling'
Anj	nup ^w ut	'k.o. laplap made from mashed taro'

6.4 Mats, baskets, rope

PSV	*n-eba[]	'pandanus mat'
Anj	nepa	'pandanus mat for carrying a child'
POc	*qebal	'pandanus mat', PNCV *eba. Cf. also Anj nap 'pandanus mat'.

PSV	*(na)-de(p,v)a(k, γ)au	'k.o. mat'
Sye	tevaγau	'single-sided coconut mat'
Ura	devaγau	'k.o. coconut leaf mat'
Anj	nijip	'single thickness coconut mat'
	nijipakau	'chief's single thickness coconut mat w. large spine'
POc, PNCV	*tabakau.	

PSV	*na-to(p,v)i	'basket'
Sye	(w)or/тови	'small pandanus basket'
SWT	nətəp	
Kwm	tə/nərup	

PSV	*(nə)-(k, γ)atVm	'basket'
NTn	katəm	
Wsn	katəm	
Len	karəm	
Anj	nyat	'pandanus; basket'
POc	*katu(m,η), PNCV *kato.	

PSV	*-del	'rope'
Len	kə/tel	'rope on a woman's skirt'
POc, PNCV	*tali.	

And note also PSV *ne-lauc 'sinew, rope' (see §5.3).

7 Spiritual and intellectual activity

7.1 Living and dying

PSV	*ə-muru(p,v)	'be alive'
Sye	omurep	
Ura	omorop	
Kwm	murū	
Anj	umu	
POc	*maquirip, PNCV *maquri.	

PSV **a-mraŋa(sj)* 'be alive'

NTn	<i>ameŋah</i>	
Wsn	<i>əmiaŋah</i>	
Len	<i>amiuh</i>	
SWT	<i>mlaŋh</i>	
Anj	<i>omraŋ</i>	'(person) be old, live a long time'

PSV*(ə)-*mac* 'die, be dead'

Sye	<i>mah</i>
Ura	<i>imis</i>
NTn	<i>məs</i>
Wsn	<i>məs</i>
Len	<i>məs</i>
SWT	<i>mha</i>
Kwm	<i>emha</i>
Anj	<i>mas</i>
POc, PNCV <i>*mate</i> .	

7.2 PerceptionPSV **a-rəŋV-i* 'hear, perceive'

Sye	<i>orəŋi</i>	
Ura	<i>erŋi</i>	
SWT	<i>aləŋ</i>	
Kwm	<i>areŋ, reŋi-</i>	'feel, hear, smell, taste, perceive'
Anj	<i>eŋei</i>	
POc <i>*roŋoR</i> , PNCV <i>*roŋo</i> .		

PSV **a-tou* 'hear, perceive'

NTn	<i>etou</i>	
Wsn	<i>etou</i>	
Len	<i>arou</i>	
Anj	<i>atou</i>	'know'

PSV **(a-ta)va(n)doŋ* 'listen'

Sye	<i>vanroŋ</i>
Anj	<i>atahajeŋ</i>

PSV **a-yita-i* 'see'

Sye	<i>oyhi</i>	[underlying <i>oyəh-i</i>]
Ura	<i>oyŋi</i>	
Kwm	<i>ata, ati</i>	
Anj	<i>eyet, eyta-i</i>	

POc, PNCV **kita*. The Sye and Ura forms suggest either metathesis (**a-yita-i* > **a-yəti-i* > **a-yəc-i*) or loss of root-final **a* and palatalisation of **t* as **c* before the suffix **-i*.

PSV **e-laqVs* 'look at, look for'

Sye	<i>ela-sac</i>	'look up'
	<i>ela-mpya</i>	'look away'
Ura	<i>el-paŋi</i>	'look away'
NTn	<i>air/aŋh-in</i>	
Len	<i>ei/aŋ-</i>	'look in distance'
SWT	<i>elha-kən</i>	'look for'
	<i>elhelha</i>	'look back'
Anj	<i>elaθ</i>	'look in certain direction'

POc **leqo*, **liqo(s)*, **liqo-si*, PNCV **leqo-si* 'see, look at'. Sye has a number of other verbs w. initial *ela-* involving looking in addition to those cited here.

PSV **a-(k, γ)il-i* 'know'

Sye	<i>okili</i>
Ura	<i>oyori</i>

POc **kilala*; PNCV **kila-la* 'know, see'. Cf. also Kwm *kurən* 'know, understand'.

Two forms meaning 'fear', one intransitive, the other transitive, reflect POc **ma-takut*, though with quite different sound changes:

PSV **a-met(ay)et* 'to fear (v.i.), be afraid'

Sye	<i>emetet</i>
Ura	<i>emetet</i>
Anj	<i>emtay</i>

POc **ma-takut*, PNCV **mataku*.

PSV **a-mtita-ŋi* 'to fear (v.t.), be afraid of'

Sye	<i>emtiŋi</i>
Anj	<i>emtiita-ñ</i>

POc **ma-takut*, PNCV **mataku*.

7.3 Locution

PSV **a-nəw-i* 'say, identify'

Sye	<i>enwi</i>	'say, tell'
Anj	<i>anev</i>	'identify'
	<i>anvi</i>	'to name'

PSV **a-sai(n)* 'ask (for)'

Sye	<i>esen</i>	'ask for'
SWT	<i>haio</i>	
	<i>aiahua</i> (Nəvai dialect)	
Kwm	<i>esi</i>	'request, ask for (substantial gift)'
Anj	<i>aho/θa-ñ</i>	

May possibly be related to POc, PNCV **usi*.

PSV **a-tam[(c,s,j)i]* 'to answer, reply'

Sye	<i>tamsi</i>
Ura	<i>tamsi</i>
Wsn	<i>atam</i>
Len	<i>aram</i> ^w

Possibly PNCV **taRam[anj]* 'allow, accept, agree'; cf. PEOc **taRama*, **taRa-mi* 'answer call'.

PSV **a-s(b,v)i-* 'count'

Sye	<i>ehpi</i>
Ura	<i>isbi</i>
NTn	<i>añi-in</i>
Wsn	<i>añi-in</i>
Len	<i>avhín</i> [= <i>avhi-in</i>]
SWT	<i>avhe-kən</i>
Kwm	<i>avsi-ni</i>
Anj	<i>isvi-i</i>

PNCV **eve* ? Metathesis of **s* and the labial in Tanna?

PSV **a-ca(k,g)* 'cry, call out'

NTn	<i>asək</i>	'cry'
Wsn	<i>asak</i>	'cry'
Len	<i>asak</i>	'make a sound, (animal) call'
SWT	<i>asak</i>	'cry'
Kwm	<i>asək</i>	'make a sound, (animal) call'

PNCV **oso* ?

PSV **auni-auni* 'call out'

NTn	<i>aun-in</i>
Wsn	<i>aun-i</i>
Len	<i>aun-in</i>
Kwm	<i>ak^wa-in</i>
Anj	<i>auñawoñ</i>

PSV **(a)-taŋi* 'weep, cry'

Sye	<i>toŋi</i>	'cry for'
Ura	<i>ereŋ</i>	
Anj	<i>tañ</i>	

POc **taŋis*, PNCV **taŋi-si*.PSV **a-l(i,e)(s,j)* 'laugh'

NTn	<i>alah</i>	
Wsn	<i>alah</i>	
Len	<i>əlhieelh</i>	
	<i>əlhi-apnin</i>	'laugh at'
SWT	<i>aalh</i>	
Kwm	<i>arəs</i>	
PNCV	<i>*uru</i> ?	

PSV **a-v(u)(s,j)aki* 'pray'

Sye	<i>ovwaki</i>
Ura	<i>ofwaki</i>
Len	<i>ahuaak</i>
Kwm	<i>afaki</i>

PSV **a-səra(b,v)aŋ* 'snore, grunt'

Sye	<i>sompoŋ</i>	
Ura	<i>abaŋ</i>	
Len	<i>asierap</i>	
Anj	<i>aθrahaŋ</i>	'(pig) grunt loudly'

POc **siwa* ? PNCV **soro-vi* 'snort, grunt (at)'.PSV **a-vaseli(p)* 'to whistle'

Sye	<i>savel</i> [metathesis?]
Ura	<i>afel</i> [metathesis?]
Len	<i>avhəl</i>
Kwm	<i>averhəp</i>
Anj	<i>aheθej</i>

PSV **a-gal(i,e)* 'tease'

Anj	<i>imy-akijkij</i>
PNCV	<i>*kale</i> 'tease, joke, deceive'.

Two exclamations can also be reconstructed:

PSV **i(t,d)a* 'OK, goodbye'

Sye	<i>ita, inta</i>	
Ura	<i>ita</i>	
Len	<i>ita</i>	+ 'already'
Kwm	<i>ita</i>	

PSV **ga(i)* 'is that so?'

Sye	<i>kai</i>
Anj	<i>ka</i>

8 Human and animal physical activity

8.1 Food gathering and preparation

Gardening terms which can be reconstructed include the following:

PSV **a-su(m,m^w)* 'to garden'

NTn	<i>asum</i>
Wsn	<i>asum</i>
Len	<i>asum^w</i>
SWT	<i>asim</i> (Nəvai dialect <i>esum^w</i>)
Kwm	<i>asiim, amhu</i>

POc **quma* 'garden (n.)', PNCV **qum^wa*.PSV **a-γəli(-i)* 'dig'

Sye	<i>oγol</i> [v.i], <i>oγli</i> [v.t] (i.e. underlying <i>oγəl</i>)
Ura	<i>oγli</i>
NTn	<i>il</i>
Wsn	<i>el</i>
Len	<i>il</i>
SWT	<i>kəl</i>
Kwm	<i>eri</i>
Anj	<i>ayji-i</i>

POc **kali, *keli*, PNCV **keli, *kili*.PSV **-rovo(cj)* 'clear undergrowth'

Sye	<i>rovoh, orovoh</i>
Anj	<i>awo-rohos</i>

PSV **a-(r)uw-i* 'to plant'

Sye	<i>owi</i>	
Ura	<i>owi</i>	
Kwm	<i>ruk^wi</i>	'plant (seed)'

PNCV **ruvi*.PSV **a-vwi(-i)* 'to water, pour water on'

Sye	<i>avwi</i>	'wet, pour water over'
Len	<i>vi</i>	
SWT	<i>vi-pən</i>	
Kwm	<i>vi</i>	
Anj	<i>ahwi-i</i>	'water (plants)'

PEOc **vuRi*, PNCV **vui*.

PSV **a-las(v)a-i* 'pick (fruit)'

Sye	<i>elehvi</i>
Ura	<i>alasvi</i>
Len	<i>alh</i>
Kwm	<i>esi</i>
Anj	<i>alθei</i>

The next set of reconstructions consists of terms to do with sailing, fishing and hunting.

PSV **a-valus* 'to paddle'

Anj	<i>aheleθ</i>
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POc **paluca*, PNCV **valuse*.

PSV **ias* 'bail (water)'

Len	<i>os-n/ies</i>
Kwm	<i>ias</i>
Anj	<i>iaθ</i>

POc **asu*, PNCV **asu-vi*, **rasu*. I am unable to explain the initial **i* in the PSV form.

PSV **a-vaŋod* 'forage on reef'

Anj	<i>ahaŋej</i>
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POc **paŋoda*, PNCV **vaŋoda*.

PSV **a-clua* 'torch; make a torch'

Sye	<i>ilwo</i>	'make a torch'
NTn	<i>asia</i>	'make a torch'
Len	<i>asia</i>	'make a torch'
	<i>nouasia</i>	'torch'

POc **suluq*, PNCV **sulu*.

PSV **a-sua-i* 'to spear'

Sye	<i>sei</i>
Ura	<i>ai</i>
Anj	<i>aθwu-i</i>

POc **sua*.

PSV **nə-(p,b)Vyani* 'bait'

Len	<i>nəpien</i>
Kwm	<i>nəpiien</i>
Anj	<i>nəpyañ</i>

POc **bani*, **bayan*, PNCV **bea*. In Appendix IV I suggest the POc reconstruction **bayani*.

Note that the PSV term **(a)-kil-i* 'hook (n. and v.), fish-hook' is listed in §6.2.

There is also a number of terms concerned with food preparation which can be reconstructed for PSV:

PSV **a-γ(s,j)omi(n)* 'to husk (coconuts)'

Sye *ehmin*

Anj *ayhem*

POc **kojom[-i]*, PNCV **koso-mi*. Note Anj *h* occasionally < **s*.

PSV **ə-ras-i* 'scrape, grate'

Sye *orei*

Ura *elei*

Kwm *əraši*

POc **(r,R)asik*, PNCV **rasa*. Cf. **a-(k,γ)ris* 'scrape', **a-gris* 'scratch'.

PSV **a-rəŋ-i* 'singe, dry over a fire'

Sye *oroŋi* 'singe on a fire, heat over fire to dry'

Kwm *arəŋi* 'singe, burn (hair off pig), warm, dry by fire'

PNCV **raŋa* 'roast over fire, singe'.

PSV **a-vis(a)q-i* 'squeeze (liquid from)'

Sye *aveh* [v.i.], *avsi* [v.t.]

Ura *avis* [v.i.], *avsi* [v.t.]

NTn *evər*

Wsn *avər*

Len *avət*

SWT *əvi/etlakən*

POc **pisa*, **pipi(t)* ?

PSV **a-t(u)vu-i* 'draw or collect water'

Len *əru nu* (*nu* = 'water')

Anj *atho-i*

POc **qutup*, PNCV **qutu-vi*.

And note also PSV **na-(n,ŋ)o(t,c)* 'sheath of coconut leaf, used as kava-strainer' in §4.2.

Reconstructed terms for cooking include:

PSV **a-cor* 'remove hot stones from fire'

Sye *sor/vat*

Ura *sor/vat*

Len *asul*

PSV **a-rVn-i* 'cook'

Sye *etni* 'cook, burn, boil, heat'

Ura *ehni*

Anj *itiñ* 'put hot stones on leaves in earth oven'

inhat-atni 'cooking stones'

POc, PNCV **tunu*.

PSV **a-uavu* 'burn (v.i.), cooked'

Sye	<i>au</i>	'cooked'
NTn	<i>auop</i>	'burn'
Wsn	<i>uou</i>	'burn'
Len	<i>auou</i>	'burn'
SWT	<i>uok^w</i>	'burn'
Kwm	<i>auak^w</i>	'burn'

PSV **a-van* 'burn (v.t.), roast, cook'

NTn	<i>van</i>	'roast'
Wsn	<i>vaan</i>	'roast'
Len	<i>vaan</i>	'burn, roast, cook over open fire'
SWT	<i>vaan</i>	'roast'
Kwm	<i>van-i</i>	'cook (boil, roast, broil)'
	<i>avan</i>	'cook (except in earth-oven)'
Anj	<i>ahen</i>	'roast'
	<i>yap^w-ahan</i>	'cook, roast'

PNCV **vani*.

PSV *(*a*)-*tovom* 'cook'

Sye	<i>tovom</i>	'cook food'
Anj	<i>atho</i>	'cook in oven'

Two other terms in this general semantic category are:

PSV **a-(ya)b^wa(c)* '<food> be cooked, ready'

NTn	<i>aba</i>
Wsn	<i>ap^wa</i>
SWT	<i>ap^wa</i>
Kwm	<i>afa</i>
Anj	<i>yap^w</i>

Final **c* would account for **b^w* > Kwm *f*.

PSV **a-las* '<food> be left over'

Anj	<i>eleθ</i>	'be left over after equal division or distribution of food'
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PNCV **malazi* 'mouldy, leftover food'.

8.2 Eating and drinking

PSV **a-v(a,ə)ŋan(-i)* 'eat (v.i.)'

Sye	<i>vaŋ</i>	
	<i>avŋoni</i>	'feed'
Ura	<i>evenŋ</i>	
NTn	<i>aŋuən</i>	
Wsn	<i>auŋən</i>	
Len	<i>auŋən</i>	

SWT	<i>əvɣən</i>
Kwm	<i>aveɣən</i>
Anj	<i>haɣ</i> [v.i.]
	<i>heɣaṅ</i> [v.t., pl. obj.]
POc * <i>paɣan</i> , PNCV * <i>vaɣa-ni</i> 'feed'.	

PSV *(ə)-*ɣani* 'eat (v.t.)'

Sye	<i>eni</i>
Ura	<i>eni</i>
NTn	<i>un</i>
Wsn	<i>on</i>
Len	<i>kən</i>
SWT	<i>aan</i>
Kwm	<i>ani</i>
Anj	<i>ɣiṅ</i>
POc, PNCV * <i>kani</i> .	

PSV **a-ɣac(-i)* 'bite'

NTn	<i>us</i>
Wsn	<i>us</i>
Len	<i>kəs</i>
SWT	<i>as</i>
Kwm	<i>ahi</i>
Anj	<i>aɣas, aɣes</i>
POc * <i>kaRat</i> , PNCV * <i>kaRa-ti</i> .	

PSV **a-mai* 'chew'

Sye	<i>emai</i>
Ura	<i>amai</i>
Len	<i>amai</i>
Anj	<i>amai</i>
POc * <i>mamaq</i> , PNCV * <i>mama-qi</i> 'chew food for baby'.	

PSV **a-m^wuni(m,m^w)* 'drink'

Sye	<i>omon/ki</i>
Ura	<i>omni</i>
NTn	<i>anəm</i>
Wsn	<i>amnəm</i>
Len	<i>amnuum^w</i>
SWT	<i>nəm</i>
Kwm	<i>anum^wi</i>
Anj	<i>am^woṅ</i> [v.i.]
	<i>am^wṅi-i</i> [v.t.]
POc * <i>inum</i> , PNCV * <i>muni</i> , * <i>uni</i> .	

PSV **a-s(u)mu-i* 'suck'Anj *aθmoi*PNCV **zimi* 'suck', **zumi* 'kiss'. Len *təm*, Kwm *tum^wi* 'suck on, savor' suggest initial PTn **d*.PSV **a-gum^w-i* 'put or hold in mouth, suck (on)'Sye *aŋkmi* 'suck'Ura *aŋmu* 'suck'Len *akum^w* 'hold s.t. in the mouth'Kwm *ak^wm^wi* 'suck on, savor, keep in one's mouth'*ukum^wi* 'gag, choke'Anj *akum^w* 'put in the mouth'POc **komu*, PNCV **gogo-mi*.PSV **a-lVcik* 'slurp, suck'Sye *alsik* 'slurp while chewing sugarcane to keep the juice in one's mouth'Anj *liθa-* 'possessive marker for nouns referring to things from which the juice is sucked'PSV **a-(m^wa)sis* 'suck, feed at breast'NTn *əm^wah*Wsn *əm^wah*Len *am^wha*SWT *am^wha*Kwm *amas*Anj *eθeθ*POc, PNCV **susu*. Cf. **na-si-*, **na-sis* 'breast, milk'.PSV **a-(t,d)Vŋol-i* 'to swallow'Sye *eŋoli*Ura *eŋeli*NTn *əkŋe*Wsn *aŋai*Len *təŋai*SWT *təŋai*Kwm *atəŋai*Anj *atleŋ, etleŋ*POc **tono*, **tolo*, PNCV **dolo-mi*, **dono-mi*. Erromangan languages suggest a root **tVŋoli*; Tanna languages suggest **dVŋai*, with unexpl. loss of **l*; Anejoŋm may have metathesised this form, since the Anj forms suggest **tVloŋ*. In all cases, PSV has *ŋ* where POc and PNCV have **n*.

PSV **a-tɲav* 'taste'

Sye	<i>atɲap</i>
Ura	<i>arɲap</i>
Anj	<i>atɲe</i>

And note also:

PSV **na-(t,v)um^wac* 'hunger'

Sye	<i>ntemah</i>
Ura	<i>nohmus</i>
Wsn	<i>noum^wus</i>
Len	<i>naum^wus</i>
SWT	<i>nuk^wumus</i>
Kwm	<i>nukumha</i>

PSV **na-b^wuyan* 'a dance, a feast'

Sye	<i>nemɣyu</i>	
Ura	<i>emɣu</i>	'to dance'
NTn	<i>nəb^wən</i>	
Wsn	<i>napuən</i>	
Len	<i>nap^wuk</i>	'a men's dance'
SWT	<i>nəpe</i>	
Kwm	<i>nupu</i>	

8.3 Excretion, illness, sexual activity, etc.

There are two reconstructed verbs with the meaning 'urinate'; the second may have been transitive (with the suffix **-i*), though there is no suffix in the modern languages.

PSV **a-mi* 'urinate'

Sye	<i>evl/ami</i>
Ura	<i>evil/me</i>
NTn	<i>am</i>
Wsn	<i>ami</i>
Len	<i>ami</i>
SWT	<i>aam, ami</i>
Kwm	<i>ami</i>
Anj	<i>ami-i</i>

POc **mimiR*, PNCV **meme-re*.

PSV **a-mia(m)riri* 'urinate'

Wsn	<i>amialili</i>
Len	<i>amiamiil</i>
SWT	<i>amialil</i>

POc **mimiR*, PNCV **meme-re*.

Similarly, there are also two reconstructions with the meaning 'defecate'. The first clearly derives from POc **pekas*; although the second does not derive *clearly* from **pekas*, there are phonological similarities:

PSV **a-veyas* 'defecate'

Sye	<i>evyah</i>
Ura	<i>ivek</i>
Len	<i>avhe</i>
SWT	<i>əvkaa</i>

POc **pekas*.

PSV **a-viqVs* 'defecate'

NTn	<i>aier</i>
Wsn	<i>avier</i>
Len	<i>aviet</i>
Kwm	<i>əviaha</i>
Anj	<i>ayiθ</i>

Other verbs in the general area of expelling effluvia include:

PSV **a-(si)sil* 'fart'

Sye	<i>asis</i>	
Ura	<i>asis</i>	
Kwm	<i>asi</i>	'break wind, fart, (octopus jet) squirt'
Anj	<i>aθel</i>	

POc **zii*, PNCV **sii* or **siRi*.

PSV **a-sua[]* 'spit'

Anj	<i>aθua</i>	'spit (kava) in a spray'
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POc **supa* 'spittle'.

PSV **aqnVs-i* 'spit'

NTn	<i>aŋah</i>	
Wsn	<i>aŋah</i>	
Len	<i>aŋh</i>	
Anj	<i>elw-aŋeθ</i>	[v.i.; cf. <i>elwa</i> 'vomit']
	<i>aŋθe-i</i>	[v.t.]

POc **qanusi*.

PSV **a-m^ma(t,c)ua* 'sneeze'

Sye	<i>amiswo</i>
Ura	<i>amiswa</i>
Len	<i>am^mta</i>
Kwm	<i>am^meta</i>

POc **(m,m^m)atue*, PNCV **m^matue* or **m^matuya*.

There are a number of terms related to illness of some kind or another:

PSV **a-misa* 'be sick, in pain'

Wsn	<i>amha</i>
Len	<i>amha</i>
SWT	<i>əmha</i>
Kwm	<i>amisa</i>
Anj	<i>emθa</i>

POc **masakit*, PNCV **masaki*. Cf. Sye, Ura *amarat*, which may show irregular development of the **s* in **masakit*.

PSV **ə-məda[]* 'bleed'

Sye	<i>omnre</i>
Len	<i>əmta</i>
Kwm	<i>meta</i>
Anj	<i>ja</i>

PNCV **madaRa*; cf. POc **draRaq*, PSV **nə-da-*, **nə-da(q,V)* 'blood'.

PSV **a-luaq* 'vomit'

Sye	<i>elwo</i> [v.i.]
	<i>elwoŋi</i> [v.t.]
Ura	<i>elwa</i> [v.i.]
	<i>elwaŋi</i> [v.t.]
NTn	<i>eoā</i>
Wsn	<i>eua</i>
Len	<i>eua</i>
SWT	<i>lua</i>
Anj	<i>alou</i>

POc **luaq*, PNCV **lua*.

PSV **a-mav* 'heal, be healed'

Wsn	<i>aməv</i>
Len	<i>aməv</i>
SWT	<i>aməv</i>
Kwm	<i>ama</i>
Anj	<i>mah</i>

POc **mapo*, PNCV **mavo*. Unexpl. loss of **v* in Kwm; unexpl. retention of **v* in Anj.

Three verbs to do with sexual activity and its consequences are listed below; the first two are phonologically very similar, and may have a common origin.

PSV **a-ivi(cj)* 'copulate'

Sye	<i>evis</i>
Anj	<i>iīhis</i>

PSV **a-ic-i* 'copulate'

Sye	<i>isi</i>
NTn	<i>es</i>
Wsn	<i>es</i>
Len	<i>es</i>
SWT	<i>eis</i>
Kwm	<i>eh-i</i>

PSV **a-cian[an]* 'be pregnant'

Sye	<i>ehyan</i>
Ura	<i>asyan</i>
Len	<i>sinən</i>

PNCV **tiana*.

8.4 Motion and posture

The first set of verbs in this section refer to motion of one kind or another.

PSV **va* 'come, go'

Sye	<i>ve</i>	'go, arrive'
Ura	<i>va</i>	'go'
NTn	<i>va</i>	'come'
Wsn	<i>va</i>	'come'
Len	<i>va</i>	'come'
SWT	<i>ua</i>	'come'
Kwm	<i>(V)ve/he</i>	'come'
Anj	<i>ha/m</i>	'come'

PNCV **vaa* 'go'.

PSV **van* 'go'

Ntn	<i>vən</i>
Wsn	<i>vən</i>
Len	<i>vən</i>
SWT	<i>vən</i>
Kwm	<i>vən</i>
Anj	<i>han</i>

POc **pano*, PNCV **vano*.

PSV **a-(v,p)an* 'go, walk'

Sye	<i>avan</i>	'walk'
Len	<i>avən</i>	
SWT	<i>avən</i>	
Kwm	<i>avən, uvən, evən</i>	
Anj	<i>apan</i>	

POc **pano*, PNCV **vano*.

PSV **a-c(i,o)kon* 'walk w. a stick'

NTn	<i>askən</i>
NTn	<i>askən</i>
NTn	<i>askən</i>
NTn	<i>askən</i>
NTn	<i>askən</i>
Anj	<i>isey</i>

POc **tokon*, PNCV **tiko*. Possibility of some borrowing between Tanna languages.

PSV **aliuok* 'walk, walk about'

NTn	<i>aliuok</i>
Wsn	<i>aliuok</i>
Len	<i>aliuok</i>
SWT	<i>eliuok</i>
PNCV	* <i>ali</i> .

PSV **a-(k,g)VI* 'climb'

Len	<i>əkiləkil</i>	'climb hand over hand'
POc	* <i>kalo</i> , PNCV * <i>galo</i> .	

PSV **a-sa(k,y)* 'rise, go up'

Sye	<i>say</i>	'go up, go upstream, (tide) rise'
Len	<i>ahak</i>	'(sun) have already risen'
SWT	<i>hak/ta</i>	'upwards'
Kwm	<i>aka/hák</i>	'(sun) rise, (day) dawn'
POc, PNCV	* <i>sake</i> .	

PSV **a-sa(u,v)* 'go down'

Len	<i>la/hau</i>	'down'
SWT	<i>-ie/hou</i>	'downwards'
Anj	<i>aθe</i>	'go down, go west'

POc **sipo*, PNCV **sivo*. Note also Sye *yep*, Ura *ip* 'go down'; Len *-hiaav* 'downwards, north'.

PSV **a-(su)m^wule* 'return'

Anj	<i>aθum^woj</i>
POc, PNCV	* <i>mule</i> .

PSV **a-yray* 'creep, crawl'

Sye	<i>n/arayaray</i>	'k.o. ground plant (<i>Cupaniopsis leptobotrys</i>)'
Anj	<i>ayray</i>	

PEOc **kaRaka* 'climb', PNCV **karaka* 'climb, crawl'. Cf. also Kwm *ərko* (unexpl. *k*).

PSV **a-tua(γ)i* 'go astray'Kwm *aruéi* 'go astray, lose one's way, walk off a trail'PNCV **tua-ki* 'leave (s.t.), go away'.PSV **(a,i)viγ* 'to fly'NTn *iij*Wsn *iviγ*Len *ivək*SWT *iva* 'fly, jump'Kwm *iva*Anj *ae*POc **Ropok*; PNCV **rovo* 'run, flow, jump, fly'.PSV **a-[]b*uyu* 'to dance'Sye *empyu*Ura *emyu*Len *ausap*uk* (of men only)SWT *orpu* (Nəvai dial.)Kwm *orupu*Cf. also Anj *aurupu*, possibly a loan from Kwm.PSV **sui* 'follow'Kwm *sui* 'chase, run after, follow, occur as consequence of'POc **suRi*, PNCV **usuri* 'follow (along)'.PSV **tasi* 'slip, slide'Kwm *resi* 'slide along or against, slip into'PNCV **tasa* 'slip'.

The remaining reconstructions in this section are verbs of posture.

PSV **a-men* 'stay'Sye *n/amen* 'crumbs, small pieced, residue'Anj *amen*POc **mono*.PSV **a-toγ* 'sit, stay, live at, be at'Sye *ete* 'stay, live, be'Ura *era* 'stay, live'NTn *atəγ* 'live, dwell'Wsn *atəγ* 'live, dwell'Len *arək* 'live, dwell, be in a place, be engaged in an activity'SWT *ala* 'live, dwell'Kwm *ara* 'live, stay at, exist at'Anj *ateγ* 'sit'*eteγ* 'be, exist; (inanimate) stay'POc **toka*, PNCV **toka*, **toko*.

PSV **a-ili* 'stand (up)'

Len	<i>ail</i>	
Anj	<i>aji</i>	[animate subject]
	<i>iji</i>	[inanimate subject]

PSV **a-tu(u)r* 'stand'

Sye	<i>etur</i>	'stand, step on'
Ura	<i>wade</i>	
NTn	<i>atul</i>	
Wsn	<i>etuul</i>	
SWT	<i>alél</i>	
Kwm	<i>arér</i>	'stand (on)'
POc <i>*tuqur</i> , PNCV <i>*tu-ra</i> .		

PSV **a-vub^wan* 'be in front'

NTn	<i>aub^wən</i>
Wsn	<i>aup^wən</i>
Len	<i>aup^wən</i>
SWT	<i>ok^wup^wən</i>
Kwm	<i>kup^wən</i>
Anj	<i>uhup^w</i>

Cf. also Sye *mampum*, Ura *mabum* 'beforehand, earlier'.

PSV **a-(m^wa)bus* 'to rest'

Kwm	<i>apus</i>
Anj	<i>atu/m^wap</i>

PNCV **mabu-si* 'breathe deeply, rest'.

PSV **botbot(et)* 'near, close (to)'

Sye	<i>potpot</i>
Ura	<i>burbut</i>
Anj	<i>upotpotet</i>

PSV **a-vtit* 'meet'

Sye	<i>evtit</i>
Ura	<i>evtit</i>
Anj	<i>ettet</i>

Note: Anj *ettet* < earlier *ehtet*.

PSV **sua(q)* 'meet'

Len	<i>hua-fuḡən</i>	'meet or gather together, assemble' [cf. <i>afuḡən</i> 'all at once']
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POc, PNCV **sua* 'meet, encounter'.

8.5 Weaving, sewing, etc.

PSV **a-ivi-i* 'weave, plait'

Sye	<i>evi</i>	
Ura	<i>ivi, ibi</i>	
Anj	<i>aihi-i</i>	'begin to plait (mat)'
POc <i>*piri</i> , PNCV <i>*viri</i> ?		

PSV **a-vus-i* 'weave, plait'

NTn	<i>ouh</i>
Wsn	<i>ouh</i>
Len	<i>owh</i>
SWT	<i>k^uuh</i>
Kwm	<i>kusi</i>
Anj	<i>ahoθ</i>

POc **paus-i* 'bind, lash, construct by tying together', PNCV **vau-si*.

PSV **a-li(sj)a-i* 'to sew, string, braid'

Sye	<i>eleh</i>	'braid (rope), plait (hair)'
NTn	<i>əlh</i>	'sew, string'
Wsn	<i>əlhi</i>	'sew, string'
SWT	<i>lhi</i>	'sew'
Anj	<i>ejhei</i>	'sew, string'

The next two verbs are phonologically quite similar, and there may be some connection between them:

PSV **a-iVr-i* 'to sew, string, braid'

Sye	<i>etri</i>	'pierce, sew'
Ura	<i>ehli</i>	'pierce, stick into'
Len	<i>ələl</i>	'braid'
SWT	<i>ələl</i>	'braid'
Anj	<i>ete</i>	'string (fish)'

POc **tuRi*, PNCV **turu*.

PSV **a-(t,d)il-i* 'to sew, string, braid'

Wsn	<i>ətəl</i>	'braid'
Len	<i>til</i>	'sew, string, put on a string'
SWT	<i>til</i>	'string (fish)'
Kwm	<i>atiri</i>	'sew, weave, string beads, shuffle'
Anj	<i>atij</i>	'braid rope'

8.6 **Cutting, splitting, etc.**PSV **a-tam^was* 'cut'Anj *atam^woθ*PNCV **taRa-qi* 'cut, chop' + **masi* 'knife, cut' ?PSV **a-kic-i* 'cut, saw'Len *kəs* 'saw'*akəs* 'cut (hair)'Kwm *kihi* 'pick, cut, hew'*əkihi* 'shave, cut up, dice'Anj *ayse-i* 'cut w. sawing motion'POc, PNCV **koti* ?PSV **a-tai* 'cut, slice'Sye *etai* 'cut out, excise, write'Ura *arai* 'write'NTn *ete* 'cut'Wsn *ətei* 'cut'Len *arai* 'cut'SWT *əlai* 'cut'Kwm *arai* 'cut, slice'Anj *atai* 'slice, cut without raising knife'POc **taRa-q-i*, PNCV **taRa-qi* 'cut, chop'.PSV **a-ta(d)v(i,u)-i* 'cut off'Sye *tantvi*Ura *tanvu*Len *arou* 'remove foreskin'Anj *athi-i* 'cut (s.t. off s.t. else)'*ithi-i* 'cut into strips'Possibly from POc **tapa* 'cut lengthwise', or maybe **tepe* 'slice flesh, circumcise';PNCV **teve* 'cut, circumcise'.PSV **a-vV(t,c)ak* 'split, break off'Len *oti* 'divide, separate, cut up, sort out, allot tasks',Kwm *əvəse* 'snap off, break off'.Anj *ahtak/wai* 'split wood'POc **potak* 'crack open, split open', PNCV **vota* 'divide, break'.PSV **a-taji* 'sharpen'Sye *tesī*Ura *tesī*Anj *ates* 'to chip'POc **tajim*.

PSV **a-va[ɣa]-i* 'sharpen'

Kwm *avai* 'hone, sharpen, grind down'

PNCV **vakali*.

PSV **a-gris* 'scratch'

Anj *akreθ* 'scratch (a person)'

POc **karis*, PNCV **garu*; and see next item. Cf. PSV **a-ras-i* 'grate, scrape'. Note also NTn *aak*, Wsn Len SWT *aki*, Kwm *aki*.

PSV **a-(k,y)ris* 'scrape'

Anj *ayreθ*

POc **karis*, PNCV **karo-si*; and see previous item. Cf. PSV **a-ras-i* 'grate, scrape'.

8.7 Forceful impact: hitting, breaking, etc.

PSV **a-tka-i* 'hit'

Sye *atki* 'bang, knock'

Ura *aryi* 'knock, tap on'

Anj *atyei* 'hit, punch, fight, hammer +'

etyai 'feel, touch'

POc **tuk-i*, **tutuk* 'pound, hammer +', PNCV **tutu-ki* 'pound, hammer, hit w. fist'.

PSV **a-tu-i* 'hit'

Wsn *əti*

Len *əru*

Kwm *əru-i*

POc **atu*, PNCV **qatu*. Cf. also NTn *əhd*.

PSV **a-tu(p^{*},b^{*})-i* 'hit'

SWT *arəp* (Nəvai dialect)

Kwm *árup^{*}i* 'clap, applaud, pat'

PNCV **tib^{*}a*.

PSV **a-(u,w)Vs* 'hit'

Wsn *uh*

Len *ho*

SWT *uh*

Kwm *os-i*

Anj *awoθ*

PSV **a-vo(ɣ)* 'hit'

Kwm *eva* 'hit, sock, fight'

PNCV **voka* 'attack'.

PSV **γənəm* 'pinch'Wsn *γənəm*Len *kənəm*

POc **kini(t,p)*, PNCV **kini-ti*. If this reflects the POc form, then there has been an unexpected development in the final consonant.

PSV **a-ki* 'poke, touch w. finger'Len *ek* 'touch w. finger'Kwm *aki* 'push down, poke down'*ieki* 'touch, nudge, kick'Anj *akke* 'poke a hole in the reef when looking for fish'PNCV **kizi*? Anj *kk* unexpl.PSV **a-(s,j)a(p^w,b^w)u(ra)* 'smash'Wsn *ahap^wu*Len *hap^wu* 'smash, break, tear down'SWT *ahip^wu*Kwm *əpárua* 'smashed+'PNCV **bura*. Cf. also Kwm *parəs* 'smashed+'.**8.8 Carrying, throwing, taking, etc.**PSV **a-curia* 'carry on pole or shoulder'Sye *surie* 'tie pig by legs to a pole so it can be carried by two people'*ehurya/ru* 'carry on ends of pole slung over shoulder'Ura *esurye* 'carry on shoulder'Len *asulie* 'carry on stick over shoulder'Kwm *asoria* 'carry by hanging on an elongated object, carry on a pole or a finger'PNCV **solo* or **zolo*. Cf. also Anj *ahelui-i* 'carry on shoulder'.PSV **lu(k,g)u(v)n* 'carry under arms'Len *ləkun* + 'fold the arms'Kwm *rukuvn*POc **logu*, PNCV **lugu*.PSV **a-ya(u)* 'throw to make fly or spin'Sye *ayau* 'throw *niit* [sharpened stick used in a game] so that it misses the ground before flying'Anj *aya* 'throw s.t. to spin through the air'

PSV **le(v)* 'take'Anj *le* 'take (sg. subject)'POc **alap* 'take', PNCV **lavi* 'carry, take'.PSV **ə-vnak* 'steal'Wsn *əvnak*Len *əvnak*POc **panako*, PNCV **vanako*.PSV *(*a*)-*tava-* 'discard, lose'Sye *tavo-ŋi*Anj *etha-n̄***8.9 Fastening and unfastening**PSV **a-itiit* 'tie knot'Sye *eiti*Ura *iri*Anj *itiit* [geminate medial *t* unexpl.]PSV **a-liy(e,i)c-i* 'tie up, hang'Sye *elki* 'tie to s.t., choke on s.t., hang up'*olki* 'hang (v.t)'Ura *elei* 'hang'NTn *əliis* 'tie'Len *əliis* 'tie, tie up'SWT *əlkəs* 'tie'Kwm *arihi, rihi* 'tie up, attach, bind, wrap in leaves, wear s.t. tied on'Anj *ajye-i* 'hang s.t.'POc **liko(s?)* 'hang', PNCV **liko-ti* 'tie up, tether, strangle, hang'.PSV **a-vis[vis]-i* 'fasten; tight'Sye *-avsivsi* 'tightly, securely' [occurs as second element in a number of verbal compounds]Anj *ahiθ* 'fasten'PSV **a-(t,d)o(u,v)Vt-i* 'wear a belt, tie a lavalava'Sye *etouti* 'wear a belt, wear around the waist'*netouti* 'belt, loincloth'NTn *etoutin* 'tie a lavalava'Len *atovət* 'put on clothing by wrapping it around self'*k-atovət* 'belt'SWT *etout* 'tie or wear a lavalava'

Kwm	<i>atoti</i>	'wear a belt'
	<i>k-atoti</i>	'belt'

PNCV **tuva*.

PSV **a-vac* 'untie, unwrap'

Len *avəs*

POc **pasi*.

And note also the following:

PSV *(*a,i*)-*sVsŋVn(i)* 'to plug'

Sye *isŋin*

Anj *aθaθŋi-ñ*

niθiθŋiñ 'stopper'

POc **joŋ-a(n,ŋ)*, *[*jo*]*joŋ*, **joŋi* 'plug, bung, stopper'.

8.10 Setting down, covering, burying

The first set of verbs in this section are verbs of putting or setting down.

PSV **a-(vu)lasu* 'put down, set down'

Sye *alei* 'lie down'

Ura *ahlei* 'lie down'

NTn *aləhu*

Wsn *aləhu*

Len *alhaau*

SWT *ləhu*

Kwm *kure*

Anj *aleθ* 'lay out on the ground'

POc **polas*, PNCV **vola-si* 'spread (mat)' ?

PSV **a-liŋi-i* 'put, leave'

Anj *ijñi-i* [pl. subject]

PNCV **liŋi*.

PSV **a-ti-* 'put down'

Sye *eti-hep*

eti 'give birth'

Ura *ereŋi* 'give birth'

Anj *ati-i, ati-i-se*

And note also:

PSV *(*i,u*)-*bau(ap)* 'deep, down'

Sye *ipwap, impwap*

Ura *buwip*

Anj *upou*

The next three verbs relate to the idea of covering or burying.

PSV **a-(t,c)uva-i* 'bury, cover'

Sye	<i>ehvi</i>	
Ura	<i>isvi</i>	'bury'
Kwm	<i>aruk^w/afa</i>	'bury, conceal' (cf. <i>afafa</i> 'hidden')
	<i>aruk^w/evur</i>	'submerge, dunk, drown at sea'
Anj	<i>athe-i</i>	'cover laplap w. earth'
POc	<i>*tupa</i>	'lid, cover'.

PSV **(a)-se(n,ŋ)a-i* 'cover, wear on head'

Sye	<i>seni</i>	'cover'
Len	<i>hin</i>	'put up (umbrella), hold (leaf) over head as protection against rain'
Kwm	<i>seni</i>	'cover, put over, shelter under, wear (hat)'
Anj	<i>aθŋaŋ</i>	'put on head as protection'
PNCV	<i>*suni</i>	'carry or wear on head'.

PSV **(a)-tenum* 'bury'

Sye	<i>etenom</i>	'dive, swim under water'
	<i>tenəm</i>	'bury'
Ura	<i>etenom</i>	'dive, swim under water'
NTn	<i>təm</i>	
Wsn	<i>tənəm</i>	
Len	<i>renəm</i>	
SWT	<i>num</i>	
Kwm	<i>num^w-i</i>	
Anj	<i>atenom</i>	
POc	<i>*tanum</i>	'plant, bury'.

8.11 Cleaning, bathing, drying, etc.

PSV **a-ba(s,j)ali* 'to clean'

Sye	<i>ompa/ŋi</i>	
Ura	<i>obahli/ni</i>	'repair'
NTn	<i>ahbel</i>	
Wsn	<i>afəl</i>	
Len	<i>hapəl</i>	
SWT	<i>əspiil</i>	
Kwm	<i>apərhi</i>	
Anj	<i>eppeθ</i>	'clean (food)'

PSV **a-ruya* 'swim, bathe (v.i.)'

Sye	<i>oruy</i>	
	<i>oryai</i>	'swim to'
Ura	<i>ele</i>	
	<i>alyai</i>	'swim to'
NTn	<i>aiŋ</i>	
Wsn	<i>aiŋ</i>	
Len	<i>aik, aiuk</i>	
SWT	<i>al</i>	
Kwm	<i>aru</i>	
Anj	<i>erey</i>	

Probably metathesised form of POc **kaRu*, PNCV **karu*. Paul Geraghty (pers. comm.) notes Lauan Fijian *ruku* 'rinse (hair)', PPn **huku* 'dive'.

PSV **e-tva-i* 'soak (tr.)'

Sye	<i>etvi</i>
Anj	<i>etha-ñ</i>

PSV **a-man* 'to float'

Anj	<i>amanaman</i>
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POc **maqanur*.

PSV **a-teli* 'dry or warm oneself'

Sye	<i>tel/yam</i>	'warm self by fire'
	<i>etel/ah</i>	'dry/warm self in the sun'
Ura	<i>tel/yam</i>	'warm self by fire'
Kwm	<i>arei</i>	'warm, dry by fire'
Anj	<i>atij/yap*</i>	'warm self by fire'
	<i>atij/ŋa</i>	'warm self in sun'

PNCV **teli*.

PSV **a-iri-iri* 'fan (n. and v.)'

NTn	<i>k-elel</i> [n.]
Wsn	<i>k-eileil</i> [n.]
Len	<i>ilil</i> [v.]
	<i>k-ilil</i> [n.]
SWT	<i>k-ilil</i> [n.]
Kwm	<i>erieri</i> [v.]
Anj	<i>ererei</i> [v.]

POc **irip*, PNCV **iri-vi*. Initial *k-* in the Tanna nouns is an instrumental prefix.

8.12 Other activities

This is a residual set of active verbs which do not fit into the categories above.

PSV **a-(u,w)o[(u,w)o]* 'do what?'

Sye *owo*
Anj *owowo*

PSV **a-bulVt(-i)* 'stick to, sticky'

Sye *amplet* 'sticky'
amplehi 'stick on to'
Ura *amlesi* 'stick on to'
Len *ap^wiit* 'stick fast to'
Anj *ap^wol* 'stick to'

POc **bulut* 'stick to, sticky', **bulit* 'gum, resin'; PNCV **bulu-ti*. Note also Kwm *ap^wit* 'sticky, gluey, tacky'.

PSV **a-ivu(c,s,j)i* 'blow'

Sye *ovosi* 'blow (fire)'
Ura *ovosi* 'smoke (cigarette)'
NTn *ep*
SWT *ek^wek^w* '(wind) blow'
Kwm *ek^wi* 'blow, move aside, break wind noisily, (wind) blow'
Anj *aihoi* 'blow during incantation'
POc **ipu(t)*, **pusi*.

PSV **a-l(a)i[]* 'blow (v.t.)'

Sye *elimsi* 'blow (instrument)'
Ura *elumsi* 'blow (instrument)'
Anj *alai* 'blow up (balloon+)'

PSV **a-(r)ayu[]* 'to shade, be shady'

Sye *orayu* 'shelter in shade'
n-orayu 'shade'
Anj *aiyu* 'be shady'
n-aiyu 'shade, shadow'

POc **ñuñu*, PNCV **nunu-a* 'shadow, image, soul'.

PSV **a-rur* 'shake'

Kwm *erur* 'shake, shake down (fruit from tree), fizz'

POc **drudru* 'shake', PNCV **ruru* 'earthquake, to shake'.

PSV **san-i* 'show'

NTn *hanhan*
Wsn *ahanahan*
Len *hinhin*
Kwm *sani*

PNCV **visa-ni*.

PSV **a-(u)(s,j)əŋ-i* 'wake (s.o.) up'

Sye	<i>ouyoŋi</i>
NTn	<i>aŋh-abul</i> (<i>abul</i> = 'sleep')
Wsn	<i>aŋhi</i>
Len	<i>səŋ</i>
SWT	<i>səŋ</i>

PSV **a-mu(γ)av* 'yawn'

Sye	<i>amwap</i>
Anj	<i>amuγa</i>

PSV **a-vni-i* 'finish'

Sye	<i>avni</i>	'be last'
	<i>ovni</i>	'extinguish'
Ura	<i>avni</i>	'last'
Len	<i>auni-in</i>	'finish building a house'
	<i>nauni-in</i>	'end, completion'
Anj	<i>ihni-i</i>	'finish completely'

POc **punuq* 'kill, extinguish', PNCV **vunu* 'finished, all, full'; cf. PNCV **bunu-qi* 'kill, extinguish'.

PSV **a-(c,s,j)a(v,w)ula(s,j)ak* 'turn (v.t.)'

Sye	<i>savlehak-ŋi</i>	'turn right way up'
Ura	<i>savlasak-ŋi</i>	'turn right way up'
NTn	<i>oulh-in</i>	'turn round'
Wsn	<i>oulh-in</i>	'turn round'
Len	<i>vhin</i> (= <i>vhi-in</i> ?)	'turn (self or s.t.)'
SWT	<i>oklhe-kən</i>	'turn self'
Kwm	<i>uvsini</i>	'turn, turn over, twist'

POc **pulo*, **puli*, PNCV **vilu-si*. Tanna languages show some unexpected developments with regard to **l*: NTn and Wsn have *l* for expected *i*, while Kwm shows unexplained loss of **l*.

PSV **a-yevi* 'pull'

Sye	<i>yevi</i>	
Ura	<i>yevi</i>	
NTn	<i>i</i>	
Wsn	<i>vi</i>	
Len	<i>vi</i>	
	<i>evi</i>	'pull out'
	<i>evievi</i>	'pull in jerks'
SWT	<i>vi</i>	
Kwm	<i>vi, evi, əvi</i>	
Anj	<i>ayihi-i</i>	

PSV **iŋVs* ‘smile’

Len *iŋh* ‘smile’

POc **ŋiŋis*, PNCV **ŋisa*. Cf. PSV **na-ŋasV-* ‘gums’.

9 States, qualities and attributes

9.1 Colours and brightness

PSV **a-bo(n,ŋ)i* ‘black’

NTn *abən*

Wsn *apən*

Len *apən*

SWT *apəŋ*

Anj *apeñ*

POc **boŋi*. Cf. PSV **na-bo(n,ŋ)i* ‘night’.

PSV **a-(ma)la-mataq* ‘green, blue’

Sye *t/elemtē* ‘green’

Ura *t/elemda* ‘green’

NTn *amimta* ‘green’

Wsn *amemta* ‘green’

Len *amimra* ‘blue, green’

SWT *amləmla* ‘blue, green’

Kwm *amrəmera* ‘green, light blue; raw, uncooked’

Anj *emelmat* ‘blue, green’

POc **mataq*, PNCV **mata*. Cf. PSV **a-mataq* ‘raw, unripe, uncooked’.

PSV **yaŋ* ‘yellow’

Sye *mel/yeŋ*

Ura *arum/yaŋ*

Anj *yaŋ*

POc **yaŋo* ‘turmeric’, PNCV **aŋo* ‘yellow, turmeric’.

PSV **sel(ai)* ‘to shine, glow’

Sye *selai*

Ura *selai*

Len *sel* ‘glow’

selsel ‘phosphorescence’

Kwm *ser*

serser ‘firefly, phosphorescence’

PNCV **sulu* ‘shine light on; set on fire’.

PSV **i-lar* 'bright'

Sye	<i>ilar</i>	'shine'
	<i>ilarilar</i>	'bright'
Anj	<i>la</i>	

PSV **a-b^wat* 'dark, deaf'

Sye	<i>pat</i>	'(body part) blocked [refers to deafness, constipation, etc.]'
	<i>s/ompat</i>	'shut, close'
Ura	<i>abit</i>	'shut, close'
Anj	<i>ap^wat</i>	'dark, hidden, secret, ignorant, blind, deaf'

PNCV **butu* 'deaf, mute'.

PSV **ne-m(ə)ta-b^wat* 'blind'

Sye	<i>nimtipat</i>
Anj	<i>nemtap^wat</i>

Cf. PSV **na-m(ə)ta-* 'eye' + **a-b^wat* 'dark'.

9.2 Size and weight

PSV **a-tup^wuq* 'grow, swell up'

Sye	<i>etpu</i>	'grow, form; be a glutton'
Ura	<i>erpo</i>	'grow, overeat'
Kwm	<i>rupu</i>	
Anj	<i>atop^w</i>	'enlarge, swell up (as from sore)'

POc **tubuq*, PNCV **tobu*.

PSV **a-(p,b)rav* 'long, tall'

Anj	<i>opra</i>	'tall, (thing, time) long'
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PNCV **baravu* (POc **(p,b)alapu* ?).

PSV **a-b^wuy(d)am* 'heavy'

Sye	<i>ompuy, ompuyntom</i>
NTn	<i>abəŋam</i>
Wsn	<i>afəŋom</i>
Len	<i>pkom</i>
SWT	<i>p^wam</i>
Kwm	<i>ap^wam</i>
Anj	<i>op^woy</i>

PSV **a-(i,r)vuy-a(i,r)vuy* 'light (in weight)'

Sye	<i>arvarve</i>
Ura	<i>av/arverva</i>
NTn	<i>oiŋoiŋ</i>
Wsn	<i>oueuəŋ</i>

Len	<i>alukaluk</i>
SWT	<i>eluelua</i>
Kwm	<i>aruvareva</i>
Anj	<i>aiheyaihey</i>

PSV **a-lab^wat* 'big'

NTn	<i>eb^wət</i>
Wsn	<i>ep^wət</i>
Len	<i>ip^wər</i>
Anj	<i>alp^was</i>

POc **lab^wat*, PNCV **laba*. Kwm *rəpu-* 'quality of largeness or substantiality' may be the same term as 'grandparent'.

PSV **a-(ma)c(o,e)li* 'big, thick'

NTn	<i>asool</i>	'big'
Wsn	<i>asoli</i>	'big'
Len	<i>asuul</i>	'large in size or number'
SWT	<i>amha</i>	'thick'
Kwm	<i>asori</i>	'big, large, grand, important, significant, tall'
Anj	<i>amesej</i>	'(flat object) be thick'

POc **ma-tolu*, PNCV **matolu*.

PSV **a-re(k,g)a* 'thin'

Sye	<i>arka</i>	'bony, malnourished'
Ura	<i>elek</i>	
Anj	<i>erek</i>	'(animate) thin, wasted'
	<i>rek</i>	'very thin'

PSV **a-(v)ilVŋ* 'thin'

Sye	<i>eloŋ</i>	'thin, skinny'
Ura	<i>ileŋ</i>	
NTn	<i>ailəŋ</i>	
Len	<i>aviləŋ</i>	
SWT	<i>aviləŋ</i>	
Kwm	<i>avirəŋ</i>	

PSV **lau* 'long'

Ura	<i>laupe</i>	'long, tall'
Anj	<i>lau, laulau</i>	'long (of time)'

POc **[ma]lawa*.

9.3 Taste, smell and quality

PSV **a-toIV* 'hungry'Anj *etele*POc **pitolon*, PNCV **vitolo*.PSV **a-yon(V)* 'bitter, poisonous; drunk, affected by kava'Sye *ayan* 'bitter'*ayune* 'begin to feel the effects of kava'Len *aŋən* 'sour, bitter' [*ŋ* unexpl.; < Whitesands?]SWT *nukna* 'poison (n.)'Anj *ayen* 'poisonous, sour, bitter, salty'*eyni-i* '(kava+) make s.o. drunk'POc, PNCV **kona*.PSV **a-(l)mVl(i,u)* 'drunk, affected by kava; crazy, mad'Sye *emlu* 'drunk, affected by kava'NTn *alməəl* 'crazy, mad'Wsn *alməli* 'crazy, mad'Len *alməəl* 'crazy, mad'Kwm *arməri* 'crazy, mad'PNCV **maloku* 'kava' (see also POc **logu* 'bent').PSV **ə-b(i)eni* 'smell (v.i.)'Sye *empen*Ura *ibin*NTn *əbien*Wsn *əpien*Len *əpien*SWT *əpien*Kwm *apein*Anj *epeñ*POc **bo-*, PNCV **bo-ni*.PSV **a-bu[]* 'smell (v.i.)'Sye *empu*Ura *ibu*POc **bo-*, PNCV **bo-ni*.PSV **(ə)-sqat* 'bad'Sye *sat* 'badly; problem, trouble'Ura *ar-w/at*NTn *araat*Wsn *ərah*

Len *taat*
 SWT *ha*
 Kwm *era/ha, era/has*
 Anj *has*
 POc **saqat*, PNCV **saqa-ti*.

PSV **a-hia-hia* 'smooth'

Sye *asyasye*
 Ura *v/asyasye*
 Len *ehiahia*

PSV **mac(ai,ia)* 'dry'

SWT *nækien mäsia* 'dry coconut'
 Kwm *napui mhia* 'dry/dried out coconut'
 Anj *mesei*
 POc **maqati*.

PSV **matuy* 'slow, slowly'

Sye *metuy*
 Ura *metuk*
 NTn *metmetiŋ*
 Wsn *mätmätŋ*
 Len *mæruk*
 SWT *malamala*
 Kwm *mæru*

Cf. PSV **matuy-matuy* 'soft, easy'.

PSV **matuy-matuy* 'soft, easy'

Len *mærukmæruk*
 Kwm *mærumæru*

Cf. PSV **matuy* 'slow, slowly'.

PSV **vau* 'new'

Sye *it-vau* 'new, clean'
 Ura *ar-vau*
 Len *vi*
 SWT *vi*
 Kwm *vi*

POc **paqoRu*, PNCV **vaqou*.

PSV **(a,ə)-m^watət* 'rotten'

Wsn *amnam^wət* [n unexpl.]
 Len *amramər*
 SWT *əmətət*

Kwm *mərər*
 Anj *m^wotet* '(wood) rotten'

PNCV **mada-da*. The Wsn and Len forms appear to show partial reduplication.

PSV **a(k,y)ən* 'very'

Sye *w/oγon*
 Ura *b/aγan*
 Len *akən*
 Anj *aγen*

9.4 Temperature

PSV **a-yab^wan* 'hot, warm'

NTn *aγaban*
 Len *akap^wan*
 SWT *ap^wan*
 Kwm *ap^wan*
 POC **[ma]panas*.

PSV **ə-malas* 'be cold'

Len *mhal* 'have a cold sore'
 SWT *əmla*
 POC, PNCV **malaso*.

PSV **a-(t,d)abod* 'cold'

Sye *etponr*
 Ura *urpon*
 NTn *ətəb*
 Wsn *etapu*
 Len *arap*

9.5 Integrity

PSV **a-d(o,u)Vn* 'straight'

Kwm *atuən* 'verbal adjunct, implies straightening'
 POC **donu*, PNCV **tunu*.

PSV **a-(i)gau* 'crooked'

Sye *aγkau*
 Ura *agau*
 Len *iko, ikoiko*
 SWT *akou* 'bend'
 Kwm *ikou*

POC **logu* 'bent'; see also PNCV **maloku* 'kava'.

PSV **a-mutVs* 'broken, separated'

Sye	<i>omii</i>	'break, broken'
Ura	<i>omde</i>	'break, broken'
NTn	<i>tən-mutah</i>	'island'
Wsn	<i>tən-mutah</i>	'island'
Len	<i>mər</i>	'(rope+) broken'
	<i>tən-murh</i>	'island'
Kwm	<i>m^werəs</i>	'(elongated objects) broken, separated'
Anj	<i>am^wot</i>	'(yam vine+) broken because it has dried out'
POc <i>*mutusi</i> , PNCV <i>*mutu</i> .		

PSV **tet* 'break, broken'

Sye	<i>tet</i>
Anj	<i>tes</i>

PSV **a-vuar* 'full'

Sye	<i>ovwar</i>	
Ura	<i>ovwar</i>	
SWT	<i>ak^wil/iin</i>	'(thing) be full'
Kwm	<i>kuar</i>	'full (of liquid)'
Anj	<i>ohowa</i>	
PNCV <i>*vura</i> .		

PSV **a-yon* 'be caught'

Anj	<i>eyen</i>	'be caught (in net, string, web)'
PNCV <i>*kona</i> 'caught, tangled'.		

PSV **a-vin* 'be joined'

Len	<i>avin</i>
PNCV <i>*viniti</i> 'join mat at seam'.	

PSV **a(v,w)aŋ* 'be open'

Sye	<i>ovaŋ</i>	'open mouth, be agape'
Ura	<i>avaŋ</i>	'open mouth, be agape'
NTn	<i>oaŋ</i>	
Wsn	<i>ouaŋ</i>	
Len	<i>owaŋ</i>	
SWT	<i>ok^waŋ</i>	
Kwm	<i>ak^waŋ</i>	
POc <i>*(ŋ)awaŋ</i> , PNCV <i>*waŋa</i> .		

9.6 Other

PSV **i(t,d)oŋa(q)* ‘foreign’

Sye	<i>ituŋo</i>
Ura	<i>tuŋa</i>
Len	<i>ituŋa</i>
Kwm	<i>itoŋa</i>
Anj	<i>itoŋa</i>

PPn **toŋa* ‘southeast trade wind’; possibly an early Polynesian loan, in which case there would have been no final **q*.

PSV **tabur* ‘sacred, tabu’

Sye	<i>tompōr</i>	
Ura	<i>dobor</i>	
Len	<i>ho-arpul</i>	‘put a tabu on’
Anj	<i>itap^w</i>	

POc, PNCV **tabu*.PSV **i-konan* ‘sacred’

Kwm	<i>ikənan</i>
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PNCV **kona*.

PSV **a-roŋ[arŋ]* ‘be quiet’

Kwm	<i>arəŋarəŋ</i>	‘denotes stillness’
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PNCV **roroŋo* ‘be quiet, pay attention’.

PSV **i-luaq* ‘outside’

Len	<i>ilua</i>
Kwm	<i>irua</i>

POc **luaq*, PNCV **lua* ‘out, away (post verbal)’.PSV **a-tuai* ‘long ago’

Sye	<i>etwai</i>	‘recently’
	<i>it-etwai</i>	‘long time ago’
Ura	<i>at-irwai</i>	‘long time ago’
Kwm	<i>tui</i>	‘old, previous, of the past, ago, long ago’
Anj	<i>ituwu</i>	‘long ago’

PEOc **tuaRi*, PNCV **tuai*.

Appendix III

English index of Proto Southern Vanuatu reconstructions

1EXC.NONSG.SUBJ *ga-
 1INC.NONSG.SUBJ *gV-, *ta-
 1SG.SUBJ *iak-
 2NONSG.SUBJ *gia-
 2SG.SUBJ *ki-, *n(a)-
 3NONSG.SUBJ *(k,y)-, *ra-
 3SG.SUBJ *t-, *y-

Abelmoschus manihot *nə-(v,w)as
Acacia sp. *nə-mari(u)
Acalypha sp. *na-ɣni(u,o)b^wVs
Aceratium sp. *na-(va)tau
 afraid *a-met(ay)et
 afraid of *a-miita-ŋi
 afternoon *na-r(a,u)v[ar(a,u)v]
Agathis sp. *na-dVw
 algae *(na)-l(i,u)muc
 alive *a-mraŋa(sj), *ə-muru(p,v)
 almond *n-aŋai
Alphitonia zizyphoides *na-b^wus(Vn)
 and
 (with clauses) *im, *ka[]
 (with NPs) *m ~ *im
 animate prefix *ia-
 answer *a-tam[(c,s,j)i]
 ant *kacik, *m^walaq-m^walaq
 arm *na-lima-
 artery *na-ur

Artocarpus sp. *nə-mar
 ashes *nə-(m)tavu
 ask (for) *a-sai(n)
 aunt (maternal) *ri-cinV-
 axe *-pac(V)
 back *nə-taa-, *(nə)-ta(k,y)u-
 bad *(ə)-sqat
 bail (water) *ias
 bailer *n-ias
 bait *nə-(p,b)Vyani
 bamboo, bamboo implement *n-au
 kind of bamboo *n-au-vat
 banana (generic) *na-vuc
 kinds of bananas *nə-ban,
 *nə-ri(v)ram, *nə-taiki
 banded rail *na-bi(l,r)a(dV,li)
 banyan *nə-bag(u)
 barn owl *na-(lV)sm^wit
Barringtonia edulis *nə-velŋV(c,s,j)
 base *bomi-
 of tail *na-lub^w
 basket *(nə)-(k,y)atVm, *na-to(p,v)i
 bathe (v.i.) *a-ruya
 be at *atoy
 beach creeper *na-vua(c,s,j)
 bear
 fruit *a-vuaq

- young (animal) **a-vuas-i*
 bêche-de-mer *(*na*)-*cikavua(c,s)*
 benefactive preposition *(*ka*)*mi*
 belly **na-ṭpu-*
 belt see **a-(t,d)o(u,v)Vi-i*
 big **a-lab^wat*, **a-(ma)c(o,e)li*
 bird **manuy*
Bischofia javanica **nə-vayan*
 bite **a-ṭac(-i)*
 bitter **a-ṭon(V)*
 black **a-bo(n,ŋ)i*
 bleed **ə-məda[]*
 blind **ne-m(ə)ta-b^wat*
 blood **nə-da(a)-*, **nə-da(q,V)*
 blow **a-ivu(c,s,j)i*, **a-l(a)i[]*
 blue **a-(ma)la-mataq*
 body **nə-b^wataya-*
 bone **na-su(r)V-*
 bottom **botni-*
 boundary-marker **n-ar*
 braid (v.) **a-li(s,j)a-i*, **a-(t,d)il-i*,
 **a-tVr-i*
 brain **nə-v(a)uroy*
 branch **nə-ra-*, **nə-raŋV-*
 breadfruit (generic) **nə-mar*
 kinds of breadfruit **nə-mar-ab(ia,ai)*,
 **nə-mar-uyiq*
 break **tet*
 of day **ran(i)*
 break off **a-vV(t,c)ak*
 breast **na-si-*, **na-sis*
Breynia sp. **na-m^wli*
 bright **i-lar*
 broken **a-mutVs*
 brother
 of man, older *(*p^wi*)*avV-*, **-tua-*
 of man, younger *(*na*)-*tasi-*
 of woman **na-m^wane-*
 bunch **nə-ṭavo-*
 burao **nə-vau*
Burckella obovata **nə-yatuq*
- burn
 (v.i.) **a-uavu*
 (v.t.) **a-van*
 bury *(*a*)-*tenum*, **a-(t,c)uva-i*
 buttocks **botni-*

 call out **a-ca(k,g)*, **auni-auni*
 calm **na-nibar(ata)*
Calophyllum sp. *(*nə*)-(p,b)*ayur*
Cananga odorata ? **na-tVŋri*
Canarium sp. **n-aŋai*
 cane in river **n-i(u,w)au*
 canoe **na-layau*
Carica papaya **neci[]*
 carry
 on pole/shoulder **a-curia*
 under arms **lu(k,g)u(v)n*
Casuarina sp. (*equisetifolia*?) **nə-yar*
 caught (as in net) **a-ṭon*
 causative prefix **a(va)y-*
 cause preposition **wa-ŋi*
Charonia tritonis **nə-tavu(r,i)(a)*
 chew **a-mai*
 chief *(*n,i*)-*at-manuy*
 child **natu-*, **nə-v(u)alawV*
 chin **na-(k,g)u(mu,m^wV)-*
 citrus **ne-molis*
 clean (v.) **a-ba(s,j)ali*
 clear undergrowth **-rovo(c,j)*
 climb **a-(k,g)Vl*
 close (= near, close to) **botbot(et)*
 close transitive suffix **-i*
 cloth, clothes **na-ma(c,j)*
 cloud **na-b^wat*, **nə-ṭa(p,b)(u)*
 cockroach **na-vine(q)*
 coconut (generic) **nə-ṭiani*
 young, for drinking **na-(u)cilop*
 coconut fruit bud **i-ab^waj*
 coconut-shell **nə-(vu)(p,b)ilo*
Codiaeum variegatum **nə-lab^wut*
 cold **ə-malas*, **a-(t,d)abod*
 collect water **a-t(u)vu-i*

- Colocasia esculenta* *na-talV
 come *va
 conch shell *nə-tavu(r,i)(a)
 concurrent tense-aspect *ak=
 construct suffix *-i
 container *nə-(vu)(p,b)ilo
 continuous aspect *am=
 cook *a-tovom, *a-tVn-i, *a-van
 cooked *a-uavu, *a-(ya)b*(a)c
 copulate *a-ic-i, *a-ivi(c,j)
 coral *nə-laj
Cordyline sp. *nə-rawus
 count *a-s(b,v)i-
 cover (v.) *(a)-se(n,ŋ)a-i, *(a)-(t,c)uva-i
 crab varieties *-gut(V), *(y)avilas,
 *iə-yara(u,v), *nə-ra(k,y)um,
 n-um(a(n,ŋ)), *iupa[]
 crawl *a-yray
 crayfish *na-liwa[ni]-tasiy
 crazy *a-(l)mVl(i,u)
 creep *a-yray
 crooked *a-(i)gau
 crotch *na-msaŋ, *(s,t)ap*(a)ŋ(e,i)-
 croton *nə-lab*ut
 cry *a-ca(k,g), *(a)-taŋi
 cut *a-kic-i, *a-tai, *a-tam*(a)s
 cut off *a-ta(d)v(i,u)-i
 cycad, *Cycas circinnalis* *na-m*(e,o)le
 cyclone *a-vayu[], *na-vayu[]
 dance
 (n.) *na-b*uyān
 (v.) *a-[]b*uyū
 dark *a-b*at
 dative preposition *(ka)mi
 daughter *natu-
 day, daylight *ran(i), *nə-ran(i)
 dead *(ə)-mac
 deaf *a-b*at
 deep *(i,u)-bau(ap)
 defecate *a-veyas, *a-viqVs
Dendrocnide sp. *n-alyat
 dew *a-nVm*(a)ni, *na-nVm*(a)ni
 die *(ə)-mac
 dig *a-γəli(-i)
Dillenia biflora *na-dy(o,u)l
Diodon hystrix *(na)-b*(a)γai
Dioscorea sp. *n-uv
 dirt *na-sag
 discard *(a)-tava-
 distant directional *-ban
 (distant) past tense-aspect *(a)m*(a)an=
 do what? *a-(u,w)o[(u,w)o]
 door(way) *nə-ta(p,b)ina(c,j)
 down *(i,u)-bau(ap)
 downwards *jēv
Dracontomelon sp. (vitiensis?)
 *nə-ray(i)
 dragon plum *nə-ray(i)
 draw water *a-t(u)vu-i
 drink *a-m*(a)uni(m,m*)
 drink possessive marker *nə-m*(a)-
 drunk = affected by kava *a-γon(V),
 *a-(l)mVl(i,u)
 dry *mac(ai,ia)
 dry oneself *a-teli
 dry over a fire *a-rəŋ-i
 dual pronominal suffix *-rau
 dual subject *[ra]u=
Dysoxylum sp. *nə-mtaw[an]
 ear *nə-taliŋa-
 earth *nə-mapu(v), *nə-tanaq
 earth-oven *n-u(mu,m*(a)n
 earthquake *na-m*(a)iu(γ,v)
 easy *matuy-matuy
 eat *(ə)-yani, *a-v(a,ə)ŋan(-i)
 echo-subject *m-
 eel (freshwater?) *na-vini
Elaeocarpus augustifolia
 *na-(s,j)u(v,w)as
Erythrina sp. *na-rap
Euodia sp. *ne-(s,t)naŋi
 evening *na-r(a,u)v[ar(a,u)v]

excrement **nə-(c,t)i(V,q)*, **nə-(c,t)i(V)-*

Exoecaria agallocha **na-teta(q)*

eye **na-m(ə)ta-*

part of eye **n-ula-m(ə)ta-*

face **na-m(ə)ta-*

facilitative **-lav*

fan **a-iri-iri*

fart **a-(si)sil*

fasten **a-vis[vis]-i*

father, father's brother **e-təma-*

fear (v.) **a-met(ay)et*, **a-mtita-ŋi*

feast (n.) **na-b"uŋan*

feather **na-(m"a,mu)rai*

feed at breast **a-(m"a)sis*

female **na-tavine*

feminine article? **rV-*

fermented breadfruit **na-marai*

Ficus sp. **nə-bag(u)*, **na-bVbas*,
**na-təŋ*

Ficus obliqua **na-riviriv*

finger *(*na*)-*pisV-*

finish **a-vni-i*

Finschia cloroxantha **na-igam*

fire **nə-yab"*, **nə-yam*

fish (generic) **namu*

unidentified kind of fish **mesen*

fish-hook *(*a*)-*kil-i*, **nə-(k,g)awil*

fish-net **na-kup"(e,u)n*

five **-lima*

Flagellaria sp. **na-b"(io,oi)r*

flame **na-luame-*, **na-ma-*

flatfish **n-ali-ali*

flesh **na-vVsayo-*

float (v.) **a-man*

flow (of water) **a-ras*

uncontrollably **ya(r)*

flower (n.) **na-vVŋu-*,

**nə-ta[(c,j)i](c,j)ia-*

fluid **na-si-*

fly

(n.) **-laŋ*

(v.) *(*a,i*)*viŋ*, *(*k,y*)*av(V)*

flying-fish **-vənis*

flying-fox **na-girai*

follow **sui*

food possessive marker **nə-ya-*

foot **na-su(r)V-*

footprint **na-m"(i,la)-*

forage on reef **a-vaŋod*

forehead **na-(v,b")Vnaya-*

foreign *(*i,t,d*)*oŋa(q)*

fork **na-msaŋ*, *(*s,t*)*ap" aŋ(e,i)-*

four **gə-vac*, **gə-vat*

fowl **na-(d,t)uaq*

front, be in **a-vub"an*

fruit **na-vuaq*

fruit dove **na-bune[]*

fruit-picker **na-ŋawVc*

full **a-vuar*

future tense-aspect **a=*, **p(i,u)=*

Gallirallus philippensis

**na-bi(l,r)a(dV,li)*

Garcinia sp. *(*nə*)-*mab"(o,u)l*

garden **a-su(m,m")*

Geissois denhamii **na-gVrav*

general possessive marker ? **sa-*

ghost *(*n,i*)-*at-mac*

ginger **na-li(c,j)ei*

give birth (animal) **a-vuas-i*

Glochidion sp. **na-mel(p)au*

glow **sel(ai)*

go **a-(v,p)an*, **va*, **van*

go astray **a-tua(y)i*

go down **a-sa(u,v)*

go up **a-sa(k,y)*

goodbye *(*i,t,d*)*a*

grandchild **mayub"u-*

grandparent **e-t(p,b)u-*

grass **na-(p,v)alijiy*

grate **ə-ras-i*

green **a-(ma)la-mataq*

green-snail **na-bəg*, **vusani*

- ground **nə-mapu(v)*, **nə-tanaq*
 grow **a-tup^wuq*
 grunt **a-səra(b,v)əŋ*
 gums **na-ŋasV-*
 hair – on body **na-(m^wa,mu)rai*
Halcyon sp. *(*na*)-*siyo(q)*
Halfordia kendack **na-γ(u)(c,j)a(m,p)*
 hand **na-lima-*, **nə-rəŋV-*
 hang **a-liy(e,i)c-i*
 hawk **nə-mal(i,e)*
 he, she, it **in*
 head **na-(k,g)ab^wa[]*
 headrest **n-aluŋi*
 heal, healed **a-mav*
 hear **a-rəŋV-i*, **a-tou*
 heart **lolo-*
 heavy **a-b^wuy(d)am*
Heliconia sp. **nə-mavu(ŋ)*
 her **-n[i]*
 hermit-crab **n-um^wa(n,ŋ)*
Hibiscus sp. **nə-b^wal*
 Hibiscus tiliaceus **nə-vau*
 high tide **a-ruvaruv*
 his, her, its **-n[i]*
 hit **a-tka-i*, **a-tu-i*, **a-tu(p^w,b^w)-i*,
 **a-(u,w)Vs*, **a-vo(γ)*
 hold in mouth **a-gum^w-i*
 hole **nə-p^wəŋV-*, **na-vur(u)a-*
Holothuria sp. *(*na*)-*cikavua(c,s)*
 hook *(*a*)-*kil-i*, **nə-(k,g)awil*
 horn **nV-ba(tV,di)-*
 hot **a-yab^wan*
 house **n-ium^waq*
 how? be how? **-yu(v)a*
 how many? **gə-vis*
 human prefix **ia-*
 hunger **na-(t,v)um^wac*
 hungry **a-tolV*
 husk (coconut) (v.) **a-γ(s,j)omi(n)*
 identify **a-nəw-i*
 immediate tense-aspect **ak=*
 incubator bird **na-l(i,e)v*
 Indian coral tree **na-rap*
 Indian mulberry **na-(γ)ura(t,c)*
 inland **-baqasi*
Inocarpus sp. **nə-m^wab^w*
 intentional tense-aspect **n(a)=*
 intermediate demonstrative **na*
 intestines **na-cin(V)qa-*
 irrealis tense-aspect **n(a)=*, **p(i,u)=*
 is that so? **ga(i)*
 it **in*
 its **-n[i]*
 Java cedar **nə-vayan*
 joined **a-vin*
 juice **na-si-*
 kauri **na-dVw*
 kava (wild) **lu(b,v)u(b,v)a(m,p^w)*
 kava-strainer **na-(n,ŋ)o(t,c)*
 kingfisher *(*na*)-*siyo(q)*
 know **a-(k,γ)il-i*
Kyphosis sp. **na-vulai-mVb^wu*
 Kyphosis cinerascens **na-vulai*
 land **nə-mapu(v)*, **nə-tanaq*
 land-crab **nə-ra(k,γ)um*, **iupa[]*
 laplap (tuber pudding) *(*na*)-*up^wat*
 laugh **a-l(i,e)(s,j)*
 lawyer-cane **na-b^w(io,oi)r*
 leave **a-liŋi-i*
 left hand(ed) *(*nə*)-(m,m^w)*aur*
 left over, of food **ə-las*
 leg **na-su(r)V-*
 light (in weight) **a-(i,r)vuy-a(i,r)vuy*
 lightning **a-bi(t,c)*, **na-bi(t,c)*
 listen *(*a-ta*)*va(n)doŋ*
 live at **atoγ*
 liver **-mab^wV-*
 lobster **na-liwa[ni]-tasiy*

kind of lobster **na-pmi(vi)*
 locative prefix **i-*, **un-*
 long **a-(p,b)rav*, **lau*
 long ago **a-tuai*
 look at/for **e-laqVs*
 lose *(*a*)-*tava-*
 louse **na-yut*
 low tide *(*ə*)-*mac(a)*
 lychee **nə-tawa[]*

 mad **a-(l)mVl(i,u)*
 maggot **n-ilo(s,c,j)*
 Malay apple **nə-γaviγ*
 male, man *(*n,i*)-*a-tam^wane*
 mangrove **na-don(a)q*
 mat *(*na*)-*de(p,v)a(k,γ)au*, **n-eba[]*
 me *=*ia*
 meat **na-vVsayo-*
 meet **a-vtiit*, **sua(q)*
 megapode, *Megapodius freycinet*
 **na-l(i,e)v*
Melochia odorata **na-mlav*
 men's house **i-im^warum^w*
Meryta sp.? **na-vi(t,dr)au*
 milk **na-si-*, **na-sis*
 month *(*nə*)-*mavuya*
 moon *(*nə*)-*mavuya*
Morinda citrifolia **na-(γ)ura(t,c)*
 mosquito *(*nə*)-*yamuy*
 moss *(*na*)-*l(i,u)muc*
 morning **na-bo(n,η)i-bo(n,η)i*
 mother, mother's sister **ri-(t,c)inV-*
 mother's brother **mata-*
 moult **a-il*
 mountain **nə-tavuat*
 mullet, *Mugil* sp. **na-yna[]*
 multiple subject prefix **a(va)r-*
 mutual action prefix **a(va)r-*
 my *-*g(u)*
Myristica fatua **na-dani*
 nakamal **i-im^warum^w*

name **na-qsanV-*
Naso sp. *(*nə*)-*yeboγ*
 navel **na-butonji-*
 near **botbot(et)*
 neck **n(a)-ua-*
 negative marker **aci=*
Neonauclea forsteri **na-bi(n,η)i*
 nephew **alwə-*
 net **na-kup^w(e,u)n*
 nettle tree **n-alyat*
 new **vau*
 night **na-bo(n,η)i*
 nit **na-lisaq*
 nominaliser **na-*, **iana*
 non-singular kin prefix **r(ə,u)-*
 non-singular postclitic *=*mi[]*
 nose **na-(s,j)ijγV-*
 numeral prefix **ga-*, **gə-*

 oblique preposition *(*i*)-*ra*, **ira-*
 occasion **nə-ran(i)*
 octopus *(*na*)-*γuəc*, *(*n,i*)(*a*)*ij(i)*
 OK **i(t,d)a*
 one **sV-kai*, **t(ai,ia)*
 open (v.i.) **a(v,w)aγ*
 open space **nə-m^wasan*
 opening **na-vur(u)a-*
 optative tense-aspect **p(i,u)=*
 or **gua*
 other side **na-vali-*
 our.EXC **mami*
 our.INC **da*
 outrigger (float) **na-liman(i,e)*,
 **[]aman*
 outside **i-luaq*
 outwards *-*[]davua*
 oven **n-u(mu,m^wa)n*

 paddle
 (n.) **nə-vai(w)a*
 (v.) **a-valus*
 pain, be in **a-misa*

- pandanus (variety?) **na-via(q)*
 parrotfish *(*nə*-)magum
 passive possessive marker *(*i*)ra, *ira-
 past tense-aspect *(*a*)m^wan=
 path **n-alan(i,e)*
 pawpaw **neci[]*
 peace **na-nibar(ata)*
 penis **na-valu*-, **n-uci*-
 perceive **a-rəŋV-i*, **a-tou*
 person **n-at*, *(*n,i*)a-tamVmaq
 personal article ? **e*-
 pick (fruit) **a-las(v)a-i*
 pig *(*na*)-bo(*k,y*)asi
 pillow **n-alunji*
 pinch **γənəm*
Piper wichmannii **lu(b,v)u(b,v)a(m,p^w)*
Pipturus sp. **na-(n)lm^wai*
Pisonia sp. **na-byai*, **na-(p,b)ia(q)*
 place (n.) **nə-wari*-
 place possessive marker **ium^wa*-
 plait (v.) **a-ivi*, **a-vus-i*
 plant (v.) **a-(r)uw-i*
 plug (v.) *(*a,i*)-sV^{sŋ}Vn(*i*)
 plural pronominal suffix **a(s,c)a*, **-at*
Poeaceae sp. **na-(v)iuŋ*, **n-i(u,w)au*
 poisonous **a-γon(V)*
 poisonwood **na-γilas*
 poke **a-ki*
Polyscias cissodendron **liwi(c,s,j)*
Pometia pinnata **nə-tawa[]*
 pool **na-tVŋi*
 porcupinefish *(*na*)-b^wγai
 pour water on **a-vwi(-i)*
 pray **a-v(u)(s,j)aki*
 pregnant **a-cian[an]*
 proximate demonstrative **i*
 proximate directional **-ba[]*
Pseuderanthemum sp. **na-bel*
Ptilinopus sp. **na-bune[]*
 puffer fish **na-bubu(a,e)*
 pull **a-yevi*
- pumice **na-uvu(c,s,j)*
 pus **no-vsar*
 put **a-liŋi-i*
 put down **a-ti-*, **a-(vu)lasu*
 put in mouth **a-gum^w-i*
- question-tag **gua*
 quicksand **na-m(a,i)t*
 quiet **a-roŋ[arəŋ]*
- rain
 (n.) **n-usan*
 (v.) **a-viv*
 rainbow **matar(a)n*
 rainbow lorikeet **sivori*
 raincloud **nə-ya(p,b)(u)*
 rat **-(k,y)asuv*
 raw **a-mətaq*
 ready, of food **a-(ya)b^wa(c)*
 reef **nə-mac(a)*, **nə-m^waləq*
 reef-bird *(*nə*)-p^wan(*i,e*)
 reflection **na-[l,n]umu*-
 reflexive verb **a-c(p^w,b^w)a*
 remote transitive suffix **γini*
 remove hot stones from fire **a-cor*
 reply **a-tam[(c,s,j)i]*
 rest (v.) **a-(m^wa)bus*
 return **a-(su)m^wule*
Rhinecanthus sp. **na-su(m^w,mu)*
Rhizophora sp. **na-doŋa(q)*
 right hand(ed) *(*nə*)-(m,m^w)antuv
 ripe **a-mdaw*, **matuaq*
 rise **a-sa(k,y)*
 river **nə-wai*
 road **n-alan(i,e)*
 roast **a-van*
 roof **na-livin(t,r)i*-
 root **na-γwa-*, **nə-w(a)(k,y)a-*
 rope **-del*, **ne-rauc*
 rotten *(*a,ə*)-m^watət
 rubbish **na-sag*
 rudderfish **na-vulai*, **na-vulai-mVb^wu*

- sacred *i-konan, *tabur
 sail (n.) *n-i(p,v)an
 sapling *na-tva-
 saw (v.) *a-kic-i
 say *a-nəw-i
Scaevola sp. *nanas
 scale (n.) *na-qnavi-
Scaridae *(nə-)magum
 scorpion *navau
 scrape *a-(k,γ)ris, *ə-ras-i
 scratch *a-gris
 sea *nə-tasiy
 sea almond *nə-talis
 sea-cucumber *(na)-cikavua(c,s)
 sea-urchin varieties *na-m^weni, *na-vən
 see *a-yita-i
 seed *na-(p,v)(c,j)e-
Semecarpus sp. (vitiensis?) *na-yilas
 separated *a-mutVs
 sequential tense-aspect *(e)b*[]=
 set down *a-(vu)lasu
 sew *a-li(s,j)a-i, *a-tVr-i, *a-(t,d)il-i
 shade, shady *a-(r)ayu[]
 shadow *na-[l,n]umu-
 shake *a-rur
 shark *na-byaw
 sharpen *a-taji, *a-va[γa]-i
 she *in
 sheath of coconut leaf *na-(n,η)o(t,c)
 shell (of coconut) *nə-(vu)(p,b)ilo
 shine *a-mər, *(a)-(c,j)ηa[], *sel(ai)
 shoot of plant *na-jVli-
 show *san-i
 sibling
 older, same sex *(p^wi)avV-, *-tua-
 younger, same sex *(na)-tasi-
 sick *a-misa
 side *na-vali-
 sinew *ne-rauc, *na-ur
 single *a-rəη-i
- sister
 of man *na-[va]vine-
 of woman, older *(p^wi)avV-, *-tua-
 of woman, younger *(na)-tasi-
- sit *atoy
 skin (n.) *na-γ(u)lic
 sky *na-yai, *nə-m^wasan
 sleeping place *nə-m^wasan
 slice *a-tai
 slide *tasi
 sling (n.) *na-taliv
 slip *tasi
 slow, slowly *matuy
 slurp *a-lVcik
 smash *a-(s,j)a(p^w,b^w)u(ra)
 smell (v.i.) *ə-b(i)eni, *a-bu[]
 smile *iγVs
 smoke (n.) *n-as(r)a-
 smooth *a-hia-hia
 sneeze *a-m^wa(t,c)ua
 snore *a-səra(b,v)əη
 soak *e-tva-i
 social group *na-layau
 soft *matuy-matuy
 son *natu-
 sore (n.) *nə-maya(p^w,b^w)
 spear
 (n.) *nə-(s,j)au
 (v.) *a-sua-i
 spider *makali
 spiderweb *ia-t(r)ilwaaq, *na-lawaaq
 spiny puffer *(na)-b^wyai
 spirit *(n,i)-at-mac, *nə-b^wasVs
 spit *aqnVs-i, *a-sua[]
 split *a-vV(t,c)ak
Spondias dulcis *na-viwi(s)
 spouse *aswa[]-
 sprouting coconut *na-vəraq
 squeeze (liquid from) *a-vis(a)q-i
 squid *(n,i)(a)ij(i)
 stand *a-ili, *a-tu(u)r

- star **m^wa(s,j)au*
 stay **a-men*, **a-toy*
 steal **ə-vnak*
 steam (n.) **na-sua-*
Sterculia sp. **uosuas*
 stick to, sticky **a-bulVt(-i)*
 stingray **nə-var*
 stomach **na-tpu-*
 stone **nə-vatu(q)*
 straight **a-d(o,u)Vn*
 string (v.) **a-li(s,j)ə-i*, **a-tVr-i*,
 **a-(t,d)il-i*
 suck **a-gum^w-i*, **a-lVcik*, **a-(m^wa)sis*,
 **a-s(u)mu-i*
 sugarcane **na-tuv*
 sun *(*mata*)-(a)(*c,j*)*ŋa[]*
 swallow (v.) **a-(t,d)Vŋol-i*
 swamp harrier **nə-mal(i,e)*
 swell up **a-tup^wuq*
 swiftlet **ka(p^w,b^w)V*
 swim **a-ruya*
Syzygium malaccense **nə-yaviy*
Syzygium sp. **nə-m^wanu*

 tabu **tabur*
 Tahitian chestnut **nə-m^wab^w*
 tail **na-bi(k,y)u-*
 take **le(v)*
 tall **a-(p,b)rav*
 tapa **na-ma(c,j)*
 taro **nə-talV*
 kind of taro **na-b^wet*
 wild taro? **na-viaq*
 taro-stem **n-asi-*
 taste **a-tŋav*
 tear(s) **n-Vli-m(ə)ta-*
 tease **a-gal(i,e)*
 temporal prefix **i-*
 tentacle of octopus **nə-yawe-*
Terminalia catappa **nə-talis*
 their **nira*
 them *=*ara*
- they **ira*
 thick **a-(ma)c(o,e)li*
 thigh **nə-va-*
 thin **a-re(k,g)a*, **a-(v)ilVŋ*
 thing **na-t(a)i*
 three **ga-sili*
 throw **a-ya(u)*
 thunder *(*k,g*)*arua(q)ruaq*
 ti plant **nə-rawus*
 tide
 high **a-ruvaruv*
 low *(*ə*)-*mac(a)*
 tie
 knot **a-itiit*
 lavalava **a-(t,d)o(u,v)Vt-i*
 tie up **a-liy(e,i)c-i*
 tight **a-vis[vis]-i*
 time **nə-ran(i)*, **na-(u)b^w(ŋ)an*
 toe *(*na*)-*pisV-*
 tomorrow **mrani*
 tongue **na-luame-*, **na-ma-*
 tooth (prob. incisor) **na-livo-*
 top **na-livin(t,r)i-*
 torch **a-clua*, **n-alic*
 touch **a-ki*
 track **na-m^w(i,la)-*
 transitive suffix **-i*, **-yini*
 tree **nə-yai*
 trial pronominal suffix *(*t,s*)*ali*
 trial subject *(*t,s*)*ali=*
Trichoglossus haemotodus **sivori*
 triggerfish **na-su(m^w,mu)*
Turbo sp. **na-bəg*, **vusani*
 turn (v.t.) **a-(c,s,j)a(v,w)ula(s,j)ak*
 turtle *(*n,i*)-*avu(a)*
 tusk **nV-ba(tV,di)-*
 twins **nə-m^wal*
 two **ga-rua*
 two days from today **n(a,ə)-w(a)ias*
Tyto alba **na-(lV)sm^wit*

uncle

maternal *mata-

paternal *e-tama-

uncooked *a-mataq

unicornfish *(nə)-yeboy

unripe *a-mataq

untie *a-vac

unwrap *a-vac

upwards *-sa(k,y), *-(u,i)dai

urinate *a-mi, *a-mia(m)riri

us.EXC *=yam(i)

us.INC *=yad(i)

vein *na-ur

very *a(k,y)ən

village *nə-(u)vanua

vine (generic?) *na-[(p,b)V]lwa-

kinds of vine *na-lima(q), *na-vup

voice *na-vu(y,r)a-

vomit *a-luaq

wake (s.o.) up *a-(u)(s,j)əŋ-i

walk *aliuok, *a-(v,p)an

w. a stick *a-c(i,o)kon

wall *nə-var

warm *a-yab'an

warm oneself *a-teli

water

(n.) *nə-wai

(n.), on grass/leaves *na-nm'ani

(v.) *a-vwi(-i)

waterfall *n-usya(q)

wattles of fowl *[ta]taŋ

we.EXC *gam(i), *(i)damV

we.INC *gadi

wear

a belt *a-(t,d)o(u,v)Vt-i

on head *(a)-se(n,ŋ)a-i

weave *a-ivi-i, *a-vus-i

weep *(a)-taŋi

what? *sa, *na-va(s), *nə-da[]

do what? *a-(u,w)o[(u,w)o]

when? *na-ŋisan

where? *i-sia, *=sia

whistle (v.) *a-vaseli(p)

white-eye *nə-(va)ləyav

whitewood *na-b'us(Vn)

who? *si, *pasV

wild cane *na-(v)iunŋ

wild kava *lu(b,v)u(b,v)a(m,p')

wild nutmeg *na-dani

wild taro? *na-viaq

wild yam? *na-ra[(k,g)au]ŋ

wind (n.) *ne-ma(t,d)əŋi, *na-vi-

wing *-(k,y)av(V)

woman *na-tavine

wood *nə-yai

wood-grub *n-avat

yam *n-uv

yam varieties *-m'ariq,

*na-ra[(k,g)au]ŋ, *nə-tai-b'atŋV-

yawn *a-mu(y)av

yellow *yaŋ

yesterday *na-yan(a,u)v

you.NONSG.FOCAL *gami(u)

you.NONSG.OBJ *=yamiu, *(i)da[m]u(V)

you.SG.FOCAL *igo(e)

you.SG.OBJ *=yo

your *-mu

your.NONSG *-mi(u)

Zingiber sp. *na-li(c,j)ei*Zosterops flavifrons* *nə-(va)ləyav

Appendix IV

Other reconstructions

This Appendix contains three separate lists.

1. suggested alternates to established POc reconstructions based on SV and other data;
2. proposed PSOc reconstructions which involve a phonological innovation shared by PNCV and PSV; and
3. additional PSOc reconstructions based on cognates in PSV and PNCV (and occasionally other protolanguages) for which to my knowledge there is no POc reconstructed source.

1 Possible additional/alternate Proto Oceanic reconstructions

Below are three proposed alternates to Proto Oceanic reconstructions, marked with * rather than **, which I suggested at various places in the text might need to be adopted. The supporting evidence is given here.

- **bayani* 'bait'
- There are three POc reconstructions: **bani*, **banji* and **bayan* (Ross, Pawley & Osmond 1998:218-219).
 - PSV has **nə-(p,b)Vyani* (reflected as Len *nə/pien*, Kwm *nə/püen* and Anj *ne/pyañ*).
 - This suggests the composite POc reconstruction **bayani*.
- **(p,b)ikuR* 'tail'
- The POc reconstruction is **ikuR*.
 - PSV has **na-bi(k,y)u-* (for example Sye *novlai-mpyo-*, NTn *nə/bikə-*), with an initial labial stop. (Anj *n/iye-*, however, reflects **ikuR* with no initial labial.)
 - Other Oceanic languages which reflect the initial labial include Tomoip *piuk*, Roviana, Nduke *pikutu*.
 - Malcolm Ross (pers. comm.) points out that there is evidence supporting a POc reconstruction **i(p,b)ut* or **(p,b)iut* 'tail'. There may have been some conflation of this form with the **ikuR* form, as the Roviana and Nduke evidence suggest **pikut*.
 - I propose here, however, that the conflation may have yielded POc **(p,b)ikuR*, at least in the dialect of POc which was ancestral to PSV.

- **tapuR* 'ashes'
- POC has both **qapu(k)* and **rapu(R)*.
 - PSV has **nə-(m)tavu* (for example Ura *be/dop*, NTn *nəm'/iap*, SWT *nəm/lakw*) with a root-initial **t*, possibly preceded by a reflex of the POC stative prefix **ma-*.
 - One other Oceanic language has this initial **t*, and also reflects final **R*: this is Tolai *tavul-iap*.
 - These data thus suggest a third POC form **tapuR*.

2 Proto Southern Oceanic reconstructions involving innovations

In various places in the text, I attributed some reconstructions to Proto Southern Oceanic. These are normally forms which are inherited from Proto Oceanic, but where an innovation has taken place, and where that innovation is shared by PNCV and PSV. These are listed below. I assume that PSOC had the same phonemic system as reconstructed by Clark for PNCV, except I write the PSOC proto-phonemes in the same orthography as POC (thus PNCV **q*, **ʔ* and **g* correspond to PSOC **g*, **q* and **ŋ* respectively).

PSOC	POC	PNCV	PSV	Innovation
* <i>gam[am]i</i> 'we EXC'	* <i>kamami</i>	* <i>gam(am)i</i>	* <i>gam(i)</i>	POC * <i>k</i> unexpectedly reflected as * <i>g</i>
* <i>gamiu</i> 'you PL'	* <i>kamiu</i>	* <i>gamuyu</i>	* <i>gami(u)</i>	POC * <i>k</i> unexpectedly reflected as * <i>g</i>
* <i>(k,g)ida</i> 'we INC'	* <i>kita</i>	* <i>kida</i>	* <i>gadi</i>	POC * <i>t</i> unexpectedly reflected as * <i>d</i> ; some NCV languages also show a reflex of * <i>g</i> rather than * <i>k</i> .
* <i>gomu</i> 'hold in mouth'	* <i>komu</i>	* <i>gogo-mi</i> , * <i>gumi</i>	* <i>a-gum^w-i</i>	POC * <i>k</i> unexpectedly reflected as * <i>g</i>
* <i>igo(e)</i> 'you SG'	* <i>[i]ko[e]</i>	* <i>n/igo</i>	* <i>igo(e)</i>	POC * <i>k</i> unexpectedly reflected as * <i>g</i>
* <i>ma-teli</i> 'thick'	* <i>ma-tolu</i>	* <i>matolu</i> , but some reflect * <i>mateli</i>	* <i>a-(ma)c(o,e)li</i>	POC * <i>o</i> > * <i>e</i> and * <i>u</i> > * <i>i</i>
* <i>munim</i> 'drink'	* <i>irum</i>	* <i>muni</i>	* <i>a-m^wuni(m,m^w)</i>	Unexpected initial * <i>m</i> and metathesis of vowels
* <i>teli</i> 'three'	* <i>tolu</i>	* <i>tolu</i> , but some reflect * <i>teli</i>	* <i>ga-sili</i>	POC * <i>o</i> > * <i>e</i> and * <i>u</i> > * <i>i</i>
* <i>nikon</i> 'walk w. stick'	* <i>tokon</i>	* <i>tiko</i>	* <i>a-c(i,o)kon</i>	First POC * <i>o</i> unexpectedly > * <i>i</i>

3 Other Proto Southern Oceanic reconstructions

The bulk of the PSOc forms listed here have cognates in PNCV and PSV, but no POC reconstruction has as yet been made. PSOc orthography is as described in §2 immediately above. Occasionally, forms in other protolanguages appear in the PNCV column; these are always preceded by the name of the protolanguage.

PSOc		PNCV	PSV
*ali[ali]	'flatfish'	PCP *(y)ali	*n-ali-ali
*baiga	'green-snail, <i>Turbo</i> sp.'	*baiga	*na-bəg
*bila[]	'banded rail, <i>Gallirallus philippensis</i> '	*bilake	*bila(dV,li)
*buebue	'puffer fish'	*buebue	*na-bubu(a,e)
*buka(i)	'k.o. tree, <i>Pisonia</i> sp.'	*buka	*na-byai
*(b,b ^w)ura	'smash'	*bura	*a-(s,j)a/(p ^w ,b ^w)ura
*(bu,b ^w)tu	'deaf, mute; dark'	*butu	*a-(p ^w b ^w)at
*b ^w a[ka]la	'hibiscus'	*bwakala	*nə-b ^w al
*b ^w akaR(e,i)	'porcupine fish'	*bwakaRe	*(na)-b ^w yai
*b ^w eta	'(k.o.) taro'	*bweta 'taro'	*na-b ^w et 'k.o. taro'
*diŋori(q)	'perfume tree'	*diŋori	*na-tVŋri
*g(a,i)rai	'flying-fox'	*garai	*na-girai
*ka(b,b ^w)a[ka(b,b ^w)a]	'swiftlet'	*kabakaba	*ka(p ^w ,b ^w)V
*kadik	'black biting ant'	*kadi	*kacik
*(k,g)ale	'tease'	*kale	*a-gal(i,e)
*kaR(a,u)ve	'k.o. crab'	*kaRuve	*iə-yara(u,v)
*kawa-ri	'root'	*kawa-ri	*na-ywa-
*kizi	'poke'	*kizi	*a-ki
*kona	'caught, tangled'	*kona	*a-yon
*konan(V)	'sacred, tabu'	*kona	*i-konan
*(k,w)Vlasi	'poisonwood, <i>Semecarpus</i> '	*walasi	*na-yilas
*lab ^w e	'(part of) tail'	*labwe	*na-lub ^w
*lakav[]	'white-eye, <i>Zosterops</i> sp.'	*laka[laka]	*nə-(va)ləyav
*lolo	'heart +'	*lolo	*lolo-
*(m,m ^w)abusi	'to rest, (breathe)'	*mabu-si	*a-(m ^w a)bus
*(m,m ^w)ab ^w e	'liver'	*mwabwe	*-mab ^w V-
*(m,m ^w)adada	'rotten'	*mada-da	*(a,ə)-m ^w atət
*ma-daRa	'bleed'	*madaRa	*ə-məda[]
*(m,m ^w)ala[va]	'twins'	*malava	*nə-m ^w al
*ma-lazi	'be left over; leftovers'	*malazi	*ə-las
*maloku	'kava; drunk on kava'	*maloku 'kava'	*a-(l)/mVl(i,u) 'drunk, crazy'

PSOc		PNCV	PSV
*malV	'hawk'	*mala	*nə-mal(i,e)[]
*m ^w ab ^e	'chestnut, <i>Inocarpus</i> sp.'	*mwabwe	*nə-m ^w ab ^w
*m ^w azVV	'star'	*mwazoe	*-m ^w a(s,j)au
*m ^w ele	'cycad'	*mwele	*na-m ^w (e,o)le
*(p,b)isu	'finger, toe, nail'	*bisu	*na-pisV
*(p ^w ,b ^w)aŋo-	'hole, mouth (also face?)'	*bwaŋo	*nə-p ^w aŋ-
*qata-mate	'spirit, ghost'	*qatamate	*(n,i)-at-mac
*qavua	'turtle'	*qavua	*(n,i)-avu(a)
*raŋa-	'branch'	*raŋa	*nə-raŋV-
*raŋa-si	'roast, singe'	*raŋa-si	*a-raŋ-i
*ru(v,w)i	'to plant'	*ruvi	*a-(r)uw-i
*siv(i,o)ri	'rainbow lorikeet'	*siviri	*sivori
*su(n,ŋ)(a)i	'put/wear on head'	*suni	*a-se(n,ŋ)a-i
*sumu	'triggerfish'	*sumu	*na-su(m ^w ,mu)
*tas(a,i)	'slip'	*tasa	*tasi
*tavalV	'side, other side'	*tavala, *tavalu	*na-vali-
*tavuat	'mountain'	*tavua	*nə-tavuat
*teli	'dry/warm oneself'	*teli	*a-teli
*tiana(n)	'pregnant'	*tiana	*a-cian[an]
*tib ^w a-i	'hit'	*tibwa	*a-tu(p ^w ,b ^w)-i
*tug(u,i)	'pool'	*tugu	*na-tVŋi
*tuaki	'go away/astray'	*tua-ki	*a-tua(γ)i
*tuvat, *tuvat-i	'(wear) belt, (tie) lavalava'	*tuva	*a-(t,d)o(u,v)Vt-i
*[vi]san-i	'show'	*visa-ni	*san-i
*v(u)asusu	'bear young'	*vasusu	*a-vuas-i
*vakali	'sharpen'	*vakali	*a-va[γa]-i
*vana	'sea-urchin'	PCP *vana	*na-vən
*van-i	'cook'	*vani	*a-van
*viniŋi	'join(ed)'	*viniŋi	*a-vin
*voka	'hit, attack'	*voka	*a-vay
*vura	'full'	*vura	*a-vuar
*zum(u)i	'suck, (kiss)'	*zumi, *zimi	*a-s(u)mu-i

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