

Towards Tawala Reflexes of Proto Oceanic

Bryan Ezard

Summer Institute of Linguistics

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A.N.U. Canberra

PREFACE

This paper was prepared as a Semester essay for the Department of Linguistics of the School of General Linguistics at the Australian National University. I have tried to steer a course between preparing a polished paper ignoring the difficult data, and spending so much time on the complete data that all other subjects would suffer. The appendices in particular are an effort to record the data I have glossed over the the pressure of time.

While there is much work still to be done, presumably the majority of correspondences presented in this paper will not change with new evidence, though hopefully some of the more problematical cases will have new light thrown on them.

The large number of irregular correspondences in the data seem to point to successive layers of borrowing which have resulted from a central contact position in relationship to many languages and to have been accelerated by the custom of word tabooing. In collecting a word list on Basilaki Island I was told of some half dozen words which had been borrowed from East Cape within living memory. It is possible that borrowing may have been so prolific that it is no longer possible to reclaim the true line of genetic descent.

I wish to express my thanks to Dr. William Folley for the inspiration and insight I have found in his lectures on "Introduction to Historical and Comparative Linguistics". I also express my thanks to my wife for her typing of this manuscript, along with the detailed editing of my hieroglyphics.

ABBREVIATIONS

BITER	Unlabelled reconstructions
PAMS	Proto-Ambronese
PAN	Proto-Austronesian
PCP	Proto-Central Papuan
PEO	Proto-Eastern Oceanic
PEP	Proto-East-Central Papuan
PML	Proto-Malaitan
POC	Proto-Oceanic
PPN	Proto-Polynesian
PTS	Proto-Tsou

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0.1 INTRODUCTION

The vocabulary presented in this paper is that of the Diwinai village of the Tawala language. Tawala is spoken by some 10,000 people living around the shores of Milne Bay and nearby islands of the easternmost tip of Papua New Guinea. It includes the languages referred to in earlier literature as Basilaki, Bohila'i, (Bohira'i¹), Kehelala, (Keherara¹) and Tavara¹, but does not include Maiwara as suggested by Dutson (1973), which is a dialect of the Taupota language, though most of the Maiwara people speak Tawala as a second language.

Tawala is a member of the Oceanic division of the Austronesian language family. The Austronesian languages of Milne Bay are considered a subgroup (Grace 1955 and Dyen 1965) though the basis of the division seems to be as much geographical as linguistic. I have been studying Tawala since early 1974 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, working in two closely related dialects, Diwinai and Labe.

0.2 EARLY TAWALA WORD LISTS

MacGregor 1890

Five word lists were published in the "Papua, Annual Report of 1889-90" by the Government anthropologist W.

¹y and r do not appear in any present day Tawala dialects; these sounds reflect Dohu and Suau spelling.

MacGregor. Included was a 600 word list from Awaiama. To date I have not been able to examine this list so can make no comment on it here.

Ray 1907

In 1907 the "Report of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits" was published. In vol. III Sidney H. Ray presented comparative vocabularies and grammars of the coastal and island languages of Papua.

154 lexical items are listed from 39 languages. The Tawala list is somewhat deficient having only 109 items from two separate and not always accurate sources. The points at which these words differ from the present day forms have been noted in the comments column with "1907" preceding the form. Of particular note is the evidence he presents for the phoneme r in Tawala.

Armstrong 1922

A comparative word list of some 250 items in 14 languages was published posthumously by the Assistant Government Anthropologist W.E. Armstrong in the "Papua, Annual Report of 1921-22". Three Tawala dialects - Eohilai, Tawala and Kehelala - were included though Armstrong recognised that they were "really better regarded as a single dialect, Tawala, in spite of its strange distribution".

Unfortunately Armstrong follows his own advice and for the second half of his lists omits the Tawala and Kehelala forms, making comparison with the present day dialect less meaningful.

This list is helpful firstly for confirming the distinction (found in Ray) between l and r which is no longer found in Tawala. This is an interesting loss in view of the growing acceptance of English during this same period.

A second feature of interest to this paper are the three lexical items which are recorded as having changed since 1922. These new lexical items (along with different spellings) have been noted in the column with '1922' introducing the gloss. Two of the lexical items continue alongside the borrowed form and I had already suspected one as being a borrowing before I examined Armstrong's list. These changes are all discussed in their respective places below.

Ray 1938

This paper is useful in solving part of the l and r problem. Only some 30 vocabulary items are presented, however we now have 6 Tawala dialects compared. The first point to note is that l has already taken over some of the r uses (it is now the Tawala and not Tavara language).

Secondly, some words are l in some dialects and r in others.

E.g. 'man' is variously recorded as lau, lawa and raua.

Finally, the contrast between l and r is still found in all dialects.

Capell 1943

Arthur Capell's monumental work has laid the foundation for all subsequent work in Milne Bay. For the Tawala language he claims to have used Armstrong's vocabularies plus a shorter list for a further dialect by the Rev. A. W. Guy, but in fact his list is at times quite different from Armstrong's, e.g. no mention is made of Armstrong's reflex for 'blood' uhena; instead he reverts to Ray's tala (which is also the present day form). He compares 110 words with his Proto Austronesian. He mentions, "It will be noticed that the flapped r is again in evidence." Using 4 dialects has enabled him to find more cognates than would have been possible with a single dialect. Some of his cognate sets are extremely tenuous.

e.g.	PIN	Tawala
	<u>əmpu</u> 'ancestor'	> <u>au</u> 'mother's brother'
	<u>kaxat</u> 'bite at'	> <u>mayau</u> (fire) <u>araratanana</u> 'flame'
	<u>-akan</u> instrumental	> <u>-ái</u> locative

However, most of his data is more transparent than these examples and many items are parallel to those found below. He makes a comment I have also found to be true, "The irregularities are numerous, and not always to be explained". The problem is compounded for Capell by his habit of accepting a correspondence on the basis of a single example. Fortunately, he does not carry this method to extremes but rather, "intuitively" selects what seem to him to be the most likely correspondences. For most phonemes he finds distinct correspondences between initial and medial positions not born out by the data in this paper.

Capell did a tremendous job in collecting and displaying date, but failed to apply the comparative method in the rigorous manner required of scientific studies.

Williams c.1935

The "Keherara Grammar and Dictionary" of H. T. Williams is of special interest to our present study as his dictionary proved to be most helpful in the initial stages of language study and also formed a basis for the Tawala Dictionary which is the source of the Tawala cognates in this paper. In his notes on orthography he notes "l and r are interchangeable letters". As his example of r he gives the borrowed form robia 'sago'.

Personally I am not convinced there ever was an r in Tawala. The l is retroflexed and therefore difficult for Europeans to pronounce and hear. Mission work was carried out in Suau and Dobu, both of which have an r and being the ^{superstate} languages had not a small influence on the written form of Tawala. Finally, that this distinction should be lost while English was having growing influence seems to me totally untenable.

0.3 METHOD

A list of Tawala words with their possible historical sources is given in section 1. This list was used as the data for the study of sound changes in Tawala and was selected simply on the basis of phonetic similarity with the reconstructed forms. Thus I am not claiming that these words are all genetically related to POC.

The list of 160 words was selected from a list of some 260 possible cognates selected on the basis of a quick comparison of more than 4,000 Tawala words with Grace's (1969) POC finder list. The 160 words were singled out as being more feasible cognates than the remaining 100 (which are examined below in section 3.). Grace's reconstructed forms are given in the column marked POC. A separate list

based on English meaning was prepared from Wurm and Wilson's (1975) Finderlist. This resulted in a slightly larger list which has not been used in this paper apart from the spelling variations presented in the Comments column with an asterisk.

0.4 NOTES ON TAWAIÀ PHONOLOGY

The following 20 phonemes occur in the Diwinai dialect.

<u>Consonants</u>		Bilabial	Dental	Velar
Plosives	voiceless	p	t	k
	voiced	b	d	g
Labialised Plosive	voiceless			k ^w
	voiced			g ^w
Grooved fricative			s	
Nasal		m	n	
				Alveolar
Retroflex lateral			l	
Semi-consonants		w	y	h
<u>Vowels</u>		Front	Central	Back
High	i			u
	e	a		o

Notes

- (1) The s/t distinction has been recently introduced as a result of contact with English. Historically s/_i and t elsewhere.
- (2) There is negligible phonetic variation of Tawala phonemes.
- (3) The eastern dialects have three further labialised consonants, pw, bw and mw, gained through contact with the island languages, where five labialised consonants are common. The mw is occasionally heard in Diwinai, but always in fluctuation with m. Speakers recognise that they are using the East Cape dialect. Words with labialised consonants are of low frequency in all dialects.
- (4) The Labe (formerly Rabé) dialect has a glottal stop as found in the neighbouring Taupota dialects. Only two words have been found with glottals at Diwinai. One of these has a glottal with most speakers, uma'ala 'goanna type'.
- (5) Tawala has only one closed syllable, ending in m. No mu syllables are found and the m closed syllable has historically developed from mu. (Yamalele has mu in some dialects with corresponding m in others.)

1. A TAWALA VOCABULARY WITH POSSIBLE HISTORICAL SOURCES

The forms in the TOC column of the following list were taken from Grace 1969. The reconstructed forms in the comments column were taken from Wurm and Wilson 1975.

Appendix 2 presents the complete evidence culled from Wurm and Wilson's Finderlist.

Appendix 3 contains the words culled from Grace's list, not included in the following 160 words.

	TAWALA	ENGLISH	TOC	COMMENTS
1	ala	loin cloth	*malo	*mala
2	alugo	soul	*qadua	
3	ama	father	*tama	
4	amokobe	stomach	*kaputu	
5	ani	eat	*kani	
6	apu	burn	*api	(fire)
7	apala	hair	*pulu	*palu
8	apape	feather	*lawe	
9	apape	wing	*kapa(k)	
10	ate	liver	*gate	
11	au	mother's brother	*apu	Yamalele <u>aku</u>
12	awa	mouth	*awan	
13	awai	what?	*nsapa	
14	awala	shoulder	*qapaRa	
15	balabala	empty place	*ŋmalala	
16	bani	bait	*pani	
17	boda	sap	*mpulu(t)	

	Tawala	English	PCC	Comments
18	boho	extinguish	*mpoko	
19	buhoho	navel	*mpuso(s)	
20	bulili	run	*puru	
21	buncbune	pigeon	*mpune	
22	dala	swim	*ndanu(m) (bathe)	
23	dani	scratch	*dadasi	
24	daodao	long	*lowas (poss. lowas)	
25	dumoli	calm	*malino	
26	eno	lie down	*eno	
27	gahu	mist	*kampu(t)	
28	gahu	haze	*qasu (smoke)	
29	gatowa	thatch	*qatop	
30	giu	tail	*iku	
31	gobu	dirty	*somo(dr)	
32	goho	rub	*solo	
33	golu	cut off	*salu (cut out)	
34	gota	arrive	*toka	
35	gugu	breast	*susu	
36	gulai	broth	*suRu(q)	
37	gulawa	vine	*waRo	
38	habohabo	sea urchin type	*nsopa (sea urchin)	
39	halala	dig	*sa(dr)(ae) *sara	
40	halima	outrigger	*nsama *sarima 1922 <u>arima</u>	
41	hina	mother	*tina *sina	
41a	hini	body	*tini	
42	hini-maya	be ashamed	*maRa (poss. maha)	
43	hogo	full	*oso	
44	hopu	descend	*solo(p) *sopo	
45	huma	wrap	*qempa (cover up)	
45a	i	he, she, it	*i	
46	ilama	axe	*kiRam	
47	ipili	lower lip	*mpimpi(R) 1907 <u>eipili</u> 1922 <u>epili</u>	

	Tawala	English	POC	Comments
48	iyana	fish	*ika(n)	
49	iwa	(man's) brother-in-law	*ipaR	
50	kabu	splash	*sepu	
51	kadau	voyage	*parau	
52	-keke	bad	*sese	(wrong)
53	kiki	finger	*kuku	
54	kiki	small	*(dl)iki	1907 <u>keikei</u>
55	kima	chew sugar cane	*kimi	(bite) *kima
56	kodila	staff	*toko(n)	
57	kokoe	finish	*kua	
58	kulita	octopus	*kuRita	
59	kuwe	rattan cane	*quwe	
60	kweilolo	worm	*qulo(s)	
61	kweilolo	worm	*mpalolol	
62	labiya	sago	*rampia	1922 <u>ginahi</u>
63	laga	branch	*daqa(n)	
64	lamesi	kunai	*palisi	(grass)
65	lawi	marry	*laki	
66	lekawa	shore	*sawa	
67	liwa	take out	*lapi	(take from)
68	lowo	flee	*Popo	(fly)
69	lu-boni	dream	*nipi	
70	lu-hogala	love	*qaro-qopa	
71	lu-mowa	yawn	*mawap	
72	lupa	flee	*lupa	(set free)
73	luwaga	two	*dua	1922 <u>ruaga</u>
73a	-m	yours (sing.)	*-mu	
74	ma	and, with	*ma	
75	-mai	come	*mai	
76	mayau	tree	*kau	

	Tawala	English	POC	Comments
77	manini	power	*manan̊	
78	manuwa	bird	*manu(k)	
79	mata	eye	*mata	
80	matouta	afraid	*mataku(t)	
81	meda	vomit	*muta(q)	
82	mena	tongue	*(a)me(a)	*maya
83	meyagai	village	*malaqe	
84	mogaya	crocodile	*puqaya	
85	moło	semen	*monak	
86	monamona	fat	*mona(k)	
87	mota	snake	*ŋmata	
88	muli	behind	*mudi	
89	mutu	promontory	*ŋusu(n)	
90	-na	his, hers, its	*-na	
91	nabugala	fly	*namu(k)	(moskito)
92	nac	go	*lako	Yamalele <u>nago</u>
93	namala	shine	*pula(n)	
94	nao	front	*nako	
95	natu	child	*natu	
96	naya	flying ant	*ane	(white ant)
97	neula	coconut	*niu(R)	1907 <u>neura</u> 1938 <u>neula</u>
98	nima	hand	*lima	
99	niwo	tooth	*lipon	*nipon
100	nonoli	bear	*(\n)doro	1907 <u>nonori</u>
101	numa	house	*Rumma(q)	
102	oga	wipe	*uku	
103	omi	you (pl)	*kamu	
104	oya	mountain	*solo	*kor(ao)
105	pata	shelf	*pata(ŋ)	
106	piloma	oyster	*tiRo(m)	
107	polo	pig	*mpoRp	1907 <u>poro</u>

	Tawala	English	FCC	Comments
108	potapota	thick	*matolu	
109	pou	egg	*mpou	
110	puli	bind	*ŋjor(i)	
111	sipolo	citrus fruit	*molu	
112	tabu	growing tip of plant	*tumpu(q)	(grow)
113	tahaya	road	*sala(n)	1907 <u>taeaha</u> 1922 <u>taiaha</u>
114	tae	excrement	*taqi	
115	tala	cut	*sele	
116	tala	blood	*daRa(q)	1907 <u>tala</u> 1922 <u>uhena</u> 1943 <u>tala</u>
117	tali	rope for pignet	*tali	(rope)
118	taniga	ear	*taliŋa	
119	tano	garden	*tano(q)	(earth)
120	tapatapana	falling water	*sapu	*sapa
121	(a)tapuhi	whole	*qapusā	
122	tau	I	*au	
123	tauhi	they	*sida	
124	tau-ta	we (incl)	*kinta	
125	tewine	marry	*(dr)awa	
126	deba	bald	*ndayma	(forehead)
127	togo	bathe	*suku	
128	togowa	wind	*tokalau	(trade wind)
129	tom	sugar cane	*topu	
130	tonuga	three	*tolu	
131	tou	weep	*tayi(s)	
132	towolo	stand up	*tuqu(d)	
133	tugo	older brother	*tuqa	
134	tula	friend	*tuRan	1922 <u>herian</u>
135	tuna	eel	*ntuna	
136	tunu	shine	*sulu	

	Tawala	English	POC	Comments
137	tutu	joint	*turu	(knee)
138	tupo	part	*tampa(k)	
140	-u	my	*-ŋku	
141	uta	penis	*uti(n)	
142	uma	drink	*inu(m)	
143	une	trade	*qunsi	
144	ununu	head	*qulu	
145	upom	night	*ŋpoŋi	
146	utu	louse	*kutu	
147	wagewa	shark	*pakiwak	
148	wai-kanikaniyoga	yellow	*yano	
149	wali	stingray	*paRi	
150	wam	canoe	*waŋka(ŋ)	
151	wawala	start	*manawa	(conceive)
152	wawine	woman	*papine	
153	waya	take	*clap	*pala
154	wenawi	fish-scale	*quna(p)	
155	wi-	caus. prefix	*pa-	
156	wili	revolve	*wiri	
157	woe	paddle	*ponse	1922 <u>woi</u>
158	wohepali	four	*pat	1922 waipari
159	wo-momota	hold	*sampa(t)	
160	yalugen'i	current	*qaRu(s)	

2. TAWALA REFLEXES OF PROTO OCEANIC

The sound changes by which the Tawala vocabulary developed from its Proto Oceanic ancestor language are discussed in this section.

2.1 DIAGRAM OF SOUND CHANGES

Table 1 gives the major correspondences between POC and Tawala. Phonemes with inadequate data are omitted but will be discussed below. The table is remarkable chiefly for the large number of Tawala reflexes of the POC phonemes. This situation is very different from the almost one to one relationship found in Motu (Pawley 1975a) or Biliau (Simons 1977) but is similar to the situation found in the New Hebrides e.g. North Tanna (Tryon 1976). These systems are listed in Table 2.

FCC				TAWALA			
p	t	k	q	p	t	k	g
w		h		g		ø	
m				ø			
mp	nt	n		p	t		g
nd				b	d		
^m ŋ ^m	n			m	l		
				n			
					h		
s					r		
					ɛ		
l					l		
r					l		
					d		
R							
d					l		
dr							
w	y			w	y		
u	o	a	e	i	u	o	a
						e	i

TABLE 1 - The regular correspondences

Major consonantal phonemes compared with other oceanic languages.

PCC	*p	*t	*k	*g	*mp	*nt	*nd	*ŋk	*m	*n	*ŋ	*s	*l	*R	*r	*d	*v
Motu	h s	t	∅	∅	b	d	r	g k	m	n	ŋ	d	l	r	r	v	
Biliau	p f ∅	t	k	∅	b	c	c	g	m	n	∅	s	l	r	r	w	
Tawala	p w m	t	k	ɛ	p g ∅	r	d	m	m	n	ɛ	h t ∅	l	l	l	w	
Tanna	v f w ∅ p	t	k	∅	mp s n ∅	t	t	k	m mw	n ŋ	ŋ	s h n ∅	l y	l y	∅ t		

TABLE 2 - Sound changes in selected Oceanic languages.

2.2 EVIDENCE FOR SOUND CHANGES

This section lists the evidence for initial and medial reflexes. Where a correspondence is established beyond any doubt only four examples are given for initial and for medial positions. Where the situation is more problematical and there is no real way of choosing between contenders, the evidence is given in full. In the next section (2.3) evidence is presented for reflexes that have been rejected, but which have more than casual evidence in their favour.

2.2.1 Consonants - initial and medial positions

We now give evidence for the reflexes of each of the POC phonemes in turn.

POC *p

*p>m/_u

*kaputu	amokobe 'stomach'
*puqaya	mogaya 'crocodile'
*pula(n)	namala 'shine'
*topu	tom 'sugar cane'

*p>w and p/in all other environments. Both w and p are well attested and there is no apparent conditioning.

(1) Evidence for w

*pakiwak	wagewa 'shark'
*papinc	wawine 'woman'
*alap	waya 'take'
*pa-	wi- 'causative prefix'
*ponse	woe 'paddle'

*nsapa	awai 'what?'
*qapaRa	awala 'shoulder'
*ipaR	iwa '(man's) brother-in-law'
*Ropo	lowo 'fly' - 'flee'
*nipon	niwo 'tooth'
*qatop	gatowa 'roof thatch'

(2) Evidence for p

*pulu	apala 'hair'
*pata(ŋ)	pata 'shelf'
*pat	wohepali 'four'
*api	apu 'fire' - 'burn'
*kapa(k)	apape 'wing'
*lupa	lupa 'set free' - 'fly'
*sapu	tapatapanā 'falling water'
*qapusa	(a)tapuhi 'whole'

POC *t These reflexes are well established.

*t>h/_i

*tina	hina 'mother'
*tini	hini 'body'
*uti(n)	uhī 'penis'

*t>t/elsewhere

*tuRaŋ	tula 'friend'
*tolu	tonuga 'three'
*tali	tali 'rope' - 'rope for pignet'
*taliŋa	taniga 'ear'
*natu	natu 'child'
*mata	mata 'eye'
*qatop	gatowa 'thatch'
*qate	ate 'liver'

POC *k The evidence for the 3 reflexes of k is quite strong, but not without problems. The environments given show the tendency of the data.

$*k > \emptyset / \# - v$ (low)

<u>*kaputu</u>	amokobe	'stomach'
<u>*kani</u>	ani	'eat'
<u>*kapa(k)</u>	apape	'wing'
<u>*kamu</u>	omi	'you (pl.)'
<u>*lako</u>	nae	'go'
<u>*nako</u>	nao	'front'
<u>*ika(n)</u>	iyana	'fish'
<u>*kau</u>	maya <u>u</u>	'tree'

 $*k > k / \# - v$ (high)

<u>*kuku</u>	kiki	'finger'
<u>*(dl)iki</u>	kiki	'small'
<u>*kimi</u>	kima	'bite'-'chew sugar cane'
<u>*toko(n)</u>	kodila	'staff'
<u>*kua</u>	kokoe	'finish'
<u>*kuRita</u>	kulita	'octopus'

 $*k > g / \text{medial}$ $k > \dot{g} / v - v$

<u>*iku</u>	giu	'tail'
<u>*toka</u>	goia	'arrive'
<u>*uku</u>	oga	'wipe'
<u>*pakiwak</u>	wagewa	'shark'
<u>*tokalau</u>	togowa	'trade wind' - 'wind'
<u>*suku</u>	togo	'bathe'
<u>*namu(k)</u>	nabugala	'mosquito'- 'fly'

FOC *q reflexes are reasonably well established

 $*q > \emptyset / \# -$

<u>*qadua</u>	alugo	'soul'
<u>*qate</u>	ate	'liver'
<u>*qapaRa</u>	awala	'shoulder'
<u>*qempa</u>	huma	'cover up' - 'wrap'

 $q > g / v - v$

<u>*puqaya</u>	mogaya	'crocodile'
<u>*daqa(n)</u>	laga	'branch'
<u>*tuga</u>	tugo	'older brother'
<u>*qaro-qopa</u>	luhogala	'love'

*k>∅ / #_ V (low)

*kaputu	amokobe	'stomach'
*kani	ani	'eat'
*kapa(k)	apape	'wing'
*kamu	omi	'you (pl.)'
*lako	nae	'go'
*nako	nao	'front'
*ika(n)	iyana	'fish'
*kau	maya	'tree'

*k>k / #_ V (high)

*kuku	kiki	'finger'
*(dl)iki	kiki	'small'
*kimi	kima	'bite'-'chew sugar cane'
*toko(n)	kodila	'staff'
*kua	kokoe	'finish'
*kuRita	kulita	'octopus'

*k>g / medial

*iku	giu	'tail'
*toka	gota	'arrive'
*uku	oga	'wipe'
*pakiwak	wagewa	'shark'
*tokalau	togowa	'trade wind' -'wind'
*suku	togo	'bathe'
*namu(k)	nabugala	'mosquito'-'fly'

POC *q reflexes are reasonably well established

*q>∅ / #_

*qadua	alugo	'soul'
*qate	ate	'liver'
*qapaRa	awala	'shoulder'
*qempa	huma	'cover up'-'wrap'

q>g / V - V

*puqaya	mogaya	'crocodile'
*daqa(n)	laga	'branch'
*tuqa	tugo	'older brother'
*qaro-qopa	luhogala	'love'

POC *mp reflexes have reasonable support.

*mp > b / _u	<i>With some argument as far as you like</i>
*mpulu(t)	boda 'sap'
*mpune	bunebune 'pigeon'
*mpuso{s}	buhoho 'navel'
*tumpu{q}	tabu 'grow'-'growing tip of plant'

*mp > p / elsewhere

*mpimpi(R)	ipili 'lower lip'
*mpou	pou 'egg'
*mpoRo	polo 'pig'
*tampa(k)	tupo 'part'

POC *nt has only two examples in our data.

*nt > t

*ntuna	tuna 'eel'
*kinta	tau-ta 'we (incl)'

POC *nd has only two examples with one counter example.

*nd > d

*ndanya	deba 'bald'
*ndanu(m)	dala 'bathe'-'swim'
*(n)dopo	nonoli 'hear'

POC *ŋ has several competing phonemes, with equal numerical evidence. Our choice was made on the strength of the cognates with the least irregularities. Appendix 1 may be consulted for reflexes rejected.

*ŋ > g

*talina	taniga 'ear'
*yano	wai-kanikaniyoga 'yellow'

POC *m is well established.

*m > m

*manu(k)	manuwa	'bird'
*mata	mata	'eye'
*ma	ma	'and, with'
*mai	-mai	'come'

*ŋm > m

*Rumma(q)	numa	'house'
*ŋmata	mota	'snake'

POC *n is well established; while the first reflex has only 4 examples there are no counter examples.

*n > l / V₁_V₁

*monak	molō	'semen'
*ndanu(m)	dala	'bath'-'swim'
*manawa	wawala	'conceive'-'start'

*n > n / elsewhere

*namu(k)	nabugala	'moskito'-'fly'
*nako	nao	'front'
*natu	natu	'child'
*niu(R)	ncula	'coconut'
*-na	na	'his, hers, its'
*manu(k)	manuwa	'bird'
*eno	eno	'sleep'
*tina	hina	'mother'

POC *s Three reflexes are equally attested here. One reflex is limited to a single environment but does not completely contrast with the other two reflexes, which also apparently have no conditioning.

*s > g / _V (back)

S>L>Z>g
g>ly I
at the
at day

*somo(dr)	gobu	'dirty'
*solo	goħo	'rub'
*salu	golu	'cut out'-'cut off'
*susu	gugu	'breast'
*suRu(q)	gulai	'broth'
*oso	hogħo	'full'
*qaRu(s)	yalugeni	'current'

*s > h

*mpuso(s)	buhoho	'navel'
*qasu	gahu	'smoke'-'haze'
*sa(dr)(ae)	hala	'dig'
*sole(p)	hopu	'descend'
*sala(n)	tahaya	'road'
*sida	tauhi	'they'

*s > t (s / _i cf 0.4 note (1))

*ŋusu(n)	mutu	'promontory'
*sele	tala	'cut'
*sapu	tapatapana	'falling water'
*suku	togo	'bathe'
*sulu	tunu	'shine'
*palisi	lamesi	'grass'-'kunai'

POC *l The evidence for this reflex is somewhat ambiguous.

Evidence is given in Appendix 1, l>y / V₁V₁ and l>n / #_i. However the contrary evidence made this evidence insufficiently compelling to be included here.

*l>l None of the evidence has a perfect correlation of reflexes and meaning. Thus all examples are presented here.

*malo	ala	'loin cloth'
*pulu	apala	'hair'
*malino'	dumoli	'calm'
*salu	golu	'cut out'-'cut off'
*qulo(s)	kweilolo	'worm'
*mpalolol	kweilolo	'worm'
*palisi	lamesi	'grass'-'kunai'
*molu	sipolo	'citrus fruit'

POC *r The evidence here is very weak.

*r > d / a _ a

*parau	kadau	'voyage'
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*r > l / elsewhere.

*puru	bulili	'run'
*qaro-qopa	lu-hogala	'love'
*ŋjor(i)	puli	'bind'
*wiri	wili	'revolve'

POC *R This reflex is well established though there is only one example for word initial position.

*R > l

*Ropo	lowo	'fly'-'flee'
*qapaRa	awala	'shoulder'
*suRu{q}	gulai	'broth'
*tiRo(m)	piloma	'oyster'
*mpoRo	polo	'pig'

POC *d The evidence is strong here, though not plentiful.

*d > l

*daqa(n)	laga	'branch'
*dua	luwaga	'two'
*qadua	alugo	'soul'
*mudi	muli	'behind'
*tuqu(d)	towolo	'stand up'

POC *dr There is only one example of this reflex, however it fits the pattern well enough.

*dr > l

*sa(dr)(ae)	hala	'dig'
-------------	------	-------

POC *w This is a well established reflex.

*w > w

*wanka(ŋ)	wam	'canoe'
*wiri	wili	'revolve'

*awan	awa 'mouth'
*quwe	kuwe 'rattan cane'
*sawa	lekawa 'shore'
*mawap	lu-mowa 'yawn'

POC *y The evidence here is scanty but reasonably points in the direction suggested.

*y > y

*puqaya	mogaya 'crocodile'
---------	--------------------

POC *ns, *ŋj, *ŋk, *ŋp The evidence for these remaining reflexes is so ambiguous that more data need to be examined before intelligent decisions can be made. A listing of the evidence for the reflexes of these proto phonemes is given in Appendix 1. Note that Pawley (1975) omits *ŋj altogether. Certainly a Tawala reflex of p does little to restore confidence in *ŋj.

2.2.2 Consonants - final position

48 of the POC words of the 160 word vocabulary in Section 1 end with closed syllables. Of these 48 words, 31 lose their final consonant in the Tawala cognate. In all 11 consonants are lost, though in our data only *k, *q, *n and *ŋ are lost in a regular way.

Of the 9 consonants retained none (with the possible exception of *m) appear to be regular reflexes.

Apart from the fact of a clear preference (65%) for omitting final consonants no clear pattern emerges. The data are summarised in the following table.

<u>FCC lost</u>	<u>FCC retained</u>
*k 85, 86, 78, 138, 147	*k 91
*t 17, 27	*t 80
*m 22	*m 46, 106, 142
*s 24, 60, 131	*s 19, 160
*dr 31	
*q 36, 81, 101, 112, 116, 119	
*l 61	
*R 49	*r 47, 97
*p 71	*p 29, 154
*n 63, 89, 93, 99, 113, 141	*n 48, 56
*ŋ 105, 12, 134, 150	*ŋ 77
	*d 132

TABLE 3 - Tawala Reflexes of Final FCC Consonants.

Only one closed syllable occurs in Tawala. This is not related to the POC closed syllables. A single example occurs in our data, i.e. *topu > tom (> tomu). (See 0.4 note (5))

2.2.3 Tawala reflexes of POC vowels

POC *i > i / all environments

*i	i 'he, she, it'
*ika(n)	iyana 'fish'
*ipaR	iwa '(man's) brother-in-law'
* kiRaM	ilama 'axe'
*tini	hini 'body'
*lima	nima 'hand'

POC *e > e / all environments

*sese	-keke 'bad'
*eno	eno 'lie down'
*lawe	apape 'feather'
*kapa(k)	apapc 'wing'
*(a)me(a)	mena 'tongue'
*ponse	woe 'paddle'

POC *a > a / all environments

*tama	ama 'father'
*gate	ate 'liver'
*apu	au 'mother's brother'
*awan	awa 'mouth'
*ŋmalala	balabala 'empty place'
*sala(n)	tahaya 'road'

POC *o > o / medial and final

*mpoko	boho 'extinguish'
*eno	eno 'lie down'
*toka	gota 'arrive'
*nako	nao 'front'
*(n)doŋo	nonoli 'hear'
*mporo	polo 'pig'

POC *u > u / all environments

*qadua	alugo 'soul'
*mpune	buncbung 'pigeon'
*ntuna	tuna 'eel'
*uti(n)	uhu 'penis'
*qulu	ununu 'head'
*kutu	utu 'louse'

3 WORDS LISTED BY NUMBER OF IRREGULAR REFLEXES

The fewer the number of irregular reflexes a word contains the more reliable it is for the regular reflexes it does contain. This means that a word with no irregular reflexes is more likely to be descended directly from the given POC form than a word with irregular reflexes. Simons (1977) mentions several possible explanations for irregularities. Firstly, they may indicate that the list of regular correspondences may be wrong, or incomplete. Then the individual words as they developed may have been subject to sporadic change or borrowing. The possibility is that these irregularities are common in other Oceanic languages, either as an areal characteristic or throughout Oceania. Further investigation of such cases could lead to the reconstruction of alternate POC forms with widespread distribution, or of forms confined to a particular subgroup of Oceania.

Sections 3.2 and 3.3 give additional reconstructed forms in parenthesis. These reconstructions are the hypothetical Tawala forms using only the rules given in Section 2.

The following lists are remarkable chiefly for the large numbers of irregular correspondences. Only 25% of a carefully selected word list have no irregular correspondences. Many of these words have the same form over large areas of Milne Bay. They could easily have been borrowed.

Another question nagging at me throughout the research done for this paper is, where do the irregular correspondences come from? Should we always assume the irregular to be borrowed and the regular to be original. A look at the other languages of Milne Bay shows that the irregular forms in Tawala would be just as irregular anywhere. If there are 3 or 4 good examples $*l \geq n$ can we afford to ignore this data for a larger number of $*l \geq l$ correspondences where few of the examples have the same persuasive appearance as the former?

Much more work needs to be done in the realm of determining what cognate sets should be used and which ones should be abandoned. Unless this question is answered the whole case rests on quicksand.

3.1 Words with no Irregular Reflexes

- POC *kani == ani "eat"
 *gate == ate 'liver'
 *awanj == awa 'mouth'
 *qapaRa == awala 'shoulder'
 *mpuso(s) == buhoho 'navel'
 *mpune == bunebune 'pigeon'
 *eno == eno 'lie down'
 *susu == gugu 'breast'
 *sa(dr)(ae) > hala 'dig'
 *tina == hina 'mother'
 *tini == hini 'body'
 *ipaR == iwa '(man's) brother-in-law'
 *kuRita == kulita 'octopus'
 *daqa(n) == laga 'branch'
 *Ropo == lowo 'flee'
 *dua == luwaga 'two'
 *ma == ma 'and, with'
 *mai == -mai 'come'
 *kau == mayau 'tree'
 *mata == mata 'eye'
 *mataku(t) == matouta 'afraid'
 *mona(k) == monamona 'fat'
 *mudi == muli 'behind'

POC	*-na	>	-na	'his, hers, its'
	*natu	>	natu	'child'
	*nipon	>	niwo	'tooth'
	*pataŋ	>	pata	'shelf'
	*mpoRo	>	polo	'pig'
	*mpou	>	pou	'egg'
	*tali	>	tali	'rope'
	*tano(q)	>	tano	'garden'
	*sapu	>	tapatapana	'falling water'
	*topu	>	tom	'sugar cane'
	*tuRaŋ	>	tula	'friend'
	*ntuna	>	tuna	'eel'
	*uti(n)	>	uhi	'penis'
	*paRi	>	wali	'stingray'
	*papine	>	wawine	'woman'
	*wiri	>	wili	'revolve'
	*sarima	>	halima	'outrigger'
	*-mu	>	-m	'yours (sing)'

3.2 WORDS WITH ONE IRREGULAR REFLEX

POC	* <u>kaputu</u> -(amu)		<u>amokobe</u>	'stomach'
	*api >-(api)		apu	'fire/burn'
	*apu >-(apu)		au	'mother's brother'
	*pani >-(pani)		bani	'bait'

FOC *gasu >-(ahu)	gahu	'smoke/haze'	(g)	late addition
*qatop>-(atowV)	gatowa	'thatch'		
*iku >-(igu)	giu	'tail'		(metathesis)
*solo >-(golo)	goho	'rub'		
*salu >-(galu)	golu	'cut off'		
*toka >-(toga)	gota	'arrive'		(metathesis)
*suRu(q)>(gulu)	gulai	'broth'		
*maRa >-(mala)	maya	'shame'		
*oso >-(ogo)	hogo	'full'		
*kiRam>-(kilama)	ilama	'axe'		
*mpimpi(R)>(pipili)	ipili	'lower lip'		
*ika(n)>(igana)	iyana	'fish'		
*parau >-(padau)	kadau	'voyage'		
*kuku >-(kuku)	kiki	'finger'		
*kimi >-(kimi)	kima	'bite/chew sugar cane'		
*sala >-(hala)	tahaya	'path/road'		
*quwe >-(uve)	kuwe	'rattan cane'		
*rampia>-(lapia)	labiya	'sago'		
*laki >-(lagi)	lawi	'marry'		
*sawa >-(hawa)	lekawa	'shore'		
*lapi >-(lawi)	waliwa	'take out'		(metathesis)
*mawap >-(mawa)	lu-mowa	'yawn'		
*lupa >-(nupa)	lupa	'set free/flee'		
*manu(k)>-(manu)	manuwa	'bird'		

- FOC *(a)me(a)>(mea) mena 'tongue'
- *puqaya >(mugaya) mogaya 'crocodile'
- *ŋmata >(mata) mota 'snake'
- *ŋusu(n)>(gutu) mutu 'promontory'
- *niu(F)>(niula) neula 'coconut'
- *Rŋuma(q)>(luma) numa 'house'
- *tiRo(m)>(hilom)V piloma 'oyster'
- *tumpu(q)>(tubu) tabu 'grow/growth point'
- *taqi > (tai) tae "excrement"
- *sele > (tele) tala 'cut'
- *daRa(q)>(lala) tala 'blood'
- *talina >(taliga) taniga 'car'
- *au > (au) tau 'I'
- *suku > (tuəu) togo 'bathe'
- *tolu > (tolu) tenuga 'three'
- *tuə > (tuga) tugo 'older brother'
- *sulu > (tulu) tunu 'shine'
- *turu > (tudu) tutu 'joint'
- *kutu > (kutu) utu 'bounce'
- *pakiwakw(wagiwa) wagewa 'dark'
- *yano > (yago) wai-kanikaniyoga 'yellow' (metathesis)
- *pa- > (wa-) wi- 'causative prefix'
- *pat > (pata) wohepali 'four'
- *sampa(t)>(lapata) wo-momota 'hold'
- *qaRu(s)>(alugV) yalugen'i 'current'

- POC *~~p~~malala ➤ (malala balabala 'empty place'
 *lima ➤ (lima) nima 'hand'
 *lipon ➤ (liwo) niwo 'tooth'

3.3 WORDS WITH TWO OR MORE IRREGULAR REFLEXES

- POC *malo ➤ (malo) ala 'loin cloth'
 *qadua ➤ (alua) alugo 'soul'
 *pulu ➤ (mulu) apala 'hair'
 *lawe ➤ (nawe) apape 'feather'
 *kapa(k) ➤ (apa(k)) apape 'wing'
 *mpulu(t) ➤ (bulu) boda 'sap'
 *mpoko ➤ (pogo) boho 'extinguish'
 *puru ➤ (mulu) bulili 'run'
 *ndanu ➤ (danu) dala 'bathe'
 *dadasi ➤ (lalahi) dani 'scratch'
 *lawas ➤ (nawa) daodao 'long'
 *malino ➤ (malino) dumoli 'calm' (metathesis)
 *kampu(t) ➤ (abu) gahu 'mist' *prob for
final f a t u*
 *somo(dr) ➤ (gomo) gobu 'dirty'
 *waRo ➤ (walo) gulawa 'vine'
 *solo(p) ➤ (holo) hopu 'descend'
 *qempa ➤ (epa) huma 'wrap'
 *sepu ➤ (hebu) kaba 'splash'
 *sese ➤ (hehe) -keke 'wrong/bad'

- POC *toko(n)>(togona) kodila 'staff' (metathesis)
- *kua > (kua) kokoe 'finish'
- *qulo > (ulo) kweilolo 'worm'
- *mpalolol>(palolo) kweilolo 'worm'
- *palisi>(palisi) lamesi 'grass/kunai' (metathesis)
- *nipi > (nipi) lu-boni 'dream' (metathesis)
- *qaro-qopa>(alogopa) lu-hogala 'love' (metathesis)
- *manaq > (mana) manini 'power'
- *muta(q)>(muta) meda 'vomit'
- *malaqe >(malage) meyagai 'village'
- *monak > (mona) molo 'semen'
- *ŋmalala >(malala) balabala 'empty place'
- *namu(k)>(namugV) nabugala 'mosquito/fly'
- *lako > (lago) nae 'go'
- *pula(n)>(mulana) namala 'shine' (metathesis)
- *ane > (ane) naya 'white ant/flying ant'
- *(n)dono > (logo) nonoli 'hear'
- *uku > (ugu) oga 'wipe'
- *kamu > (am) omi 'you (pl)'
- *solo > (holo) oya 'mountain'
- *matolu > (matolu) potapota 'thick' (metathesis)
- *molu > (molu) sipolo 'citrus fruit'
- *qapusa > (apuha) (a)tapuli 'whole'
- *sida > (hida) tau-li 'they'
jewa ~ / / }

POC	*kinta > (kita)	tau-ta	'we (incl)'
	*(dr)awa>(lawa)	tawine	'marry'
	*ndan̡ma> (dama)	deba	'forehead/hald'
	*tokalau > (togalau)	togowa	'trade wind/wind'
	*taji(s)>(tagi)	tou	'weep'
	*tuqu(d)>(tugulv)	towolo	'stand up'
	*tampa(k)>(tapa)	tupo	'part'
	*inu(m)> (inumV)	uma	'drink'
	*qulu > (ulu)	ununu	'head'
	*manawa > (mnanawa)	wawala	'start' (metathesis)
	*quna(p)>(unawa)	wenawi	'fish-scale'
	*alap > (alaw)	waya	'take' (metathesis)
	*lako > (lago)	nao	'front'

3.4 WORDS WITH UNCERTAIN REFLEXES

POC	*nsapa > (Cawe)	awai	'what?'
	*(dl)iki>(Ciki)	kiki	'small'
	*ŋjor(i)>(Coli)	puli	'bind' <i>mpul, f</i>
	*-ŋku > (Cu)	-u	'my'
	*qunsi > (uci)	une	'trade'
	*ŋponi > (Coŋi)	upon	'night'
	*waŋka(y)> (waCa)	wam	'canoe'
	*ponec > (poCc)	woe	'paddle'

APPENDIX 1

This is a complete listing of the Tawala reflexes of the POC reconstructions, as listed in section 1. Section 2 is my interpretation of the data. The appendix will prove especially valuable in further work where reflexes are not very certain. It will also prove a useful reference tool for work on the wider question of Proto Massim.

POC *p>w 13, 14, 29, 49, 68, 90, 147, 152, 153, 155

>p 6, 7, 9, 72, 105, 120, 121, 158

>b 16, 20, 50, 38

>m 4, 84, 93, 129

>n 69

>k 51

POC *t>t 10, 29, 34, 70, 80, 87, 58, 95, 105, 108,
112, 114, 117, 118, 119, 128, 129, 130, 131,
132, 133, 134, 137, 138

>d 56, 81

>h 41, 141

>p 106

>g 3

POC *k >g 30, 34, 27, 91, 100, 127, 128, 147
 >p 4, 5, 9, 92, 94, 103, 46
 >k 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58
 >y 48, 76
 >w 65, 78

POC *q >∅ 2, 10, 14, 45, 44, 81, 101, 114, 143, 144
 >g 28, 29, 63, 70, 83, 84, 133
 >w 132, 154
 >k 59, 60
 >y 16, 160
 >t 121
 >h 45

POC *mp >b 17, 18, 19, 21, 62, 112
 >p 47, 109, 138, 107
 >m 45, 152
 >l 27
 >kw 61

POC *nt >l 135, 124

POC *nd >d 22, 126
 >n 100

POC * η >g 118, 148

>n 77, 100

>m 89, 145

> \emptyset 131

POC * m >m 3, 25, 40, 46, 55, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80,
81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 88, 98, 103

>p 108, 111

>b 31, 91

>w 151

POC * η_m >m 87, 101

>b 15, 126

POC *n >n 5, 16, 26, 41, 41a, 21, 69, 78, 86, 90, 91,
94, 95, 96, 97, 99, 119, 135, 152

>l 22, 85, 151, 154

POC *s >g 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 43, 160

>h 19, 26, 39, 44, 113, 123

>t 89, 115, 120, 127, 136

>s 64

>n 23

>k 50, 52, 66

POC *l >1 1, 7, 15, 25, 33, 60, 61, 64, 65, 67, 72
93, 111

>y 83, 104, 113, 153

>n 92, 98, 144

>d 17, 24

>h 32

>ø 8, 44, 61

POC *r >1 20, 70, 110, 156

>a 51

>t 137

POC *R >1 14, 46, 47, 58, 68, 106, 107, 97, 149, 134,
116, 160

>y 42

>n 101

POC *d >1 2, 63, 73, 88, 132

>d 23,

>t 116

>n 100

POC *dr >1 39

>t 125

POC *w > w 12, 59, 66, 71, 125, 147, 150, 156, 37

> Ø 24

> p 8

POC *y > y 84

> n 82

POC *ns > Ø 13, 157

> h 38, 40

> n 143

POC *yj > p 110

POC *yk > Ø 140

> m 150

POC *yp > up 145

APPENDIX 2

The following list is the evidence taken from Wurm and Wilson 1975. Cognate sets which present additional evidence to that presented in the listing given in section 1 are preceded by a red dash. Much of the relevant data is found in the notes column where aforms not found in PCC are listed. Of particular importance are the forms found in TWH, PML and PCP because of the light they may throw upon subgrouping. The lack of time has prevented me from making use of any of the data in this present paper.

TAWALA	ENGLISH	POC	NOTES
- ae	leg		PEO * wage
ala	loincloth	* mala	
- alahi	burn		PCP * aRa
- alata	flame		PAN * ñala'
alugo	spirit	*qadus	PPN * Vai-lua
- ama	father	*tama	PAN * ama PMLS * tama
- amaka	sufficient	* maka(s)	POC meaning - hard
ani	eat	* koni	
- ani	thing		PML * ai
apala	hair		PEO * pulu (?)
apape	wing	* kapa(k)	
- apu	burn (bake)		PCP * Gabu PEO+api 'fire'
ate	liver	* qate	
au	uncle (maternal)	* apu	
awai	what	* nsapa	PAN * 'apa' PPN * afa
awala	shoulder	* qapaRa	
balabala	empty place	* ñmalala	
bani	bait	* pani	
- baubau	bamboo	* qau	
- bauli	north wind	*marak	
beiha/biha	to search		
- bela	blossom		PAN * be(ŋ)ka D
- bilibili	wall	* ndindi	POC * mpampa
- binama	hornbill		PML * bina
- bogahu	smoke	* qasu	PPN * oahu
boho	quench/extinguish	*mpoko	
- boi	bundle	* poko	
- boli	cut through long object	* koti, soni, tosí	
- bonabona	island	* motu	
- buda	rot, rotten		PAN * buRuk PML * fura PCP * boda
buhoho	navel, ñerx	* mpuso	
- buhu	bore	* soro	PML * sufu
- bui	turn over		PPN * fuli
- bulili	run	* puru	PPN * lele
- bunama	body oil	*sama	

TAWALA	ENGLISH	POC	NOTES
bunebune	pigeon	* mpune	
-buwa	mad, fool		PPN * bugan
-buyo	squeeze, wring out		PCP * mui
-daguga	sound, noise		PAN * gu(n)duh
-dagula	feather		PPN * kula (feathers of species of bird)
-dala	crawl	* kalo	
-dalu	praise		PAMS * taru
-damana	cross (bay)		PAN * tamban
dani	scratch	* dadasi	
dao	long	* lawes	PPN * loa
-datu	ebb tide		PPN * d'uru
-dewadewa	good	* pia	PML * dia
-diko	kingfisher(generic)		PML * ki'o
-dubola	high tide	* Ruap	
-dubudubu	dust		PAN Dabuk
-duhuna	sit	* noho	PPN * noho
-ebala	flame		FLL * mela
-e'ega	negative		PPN * te'e
eno	sleep		FML * eno
-gadou	neck		PCP * ado
gahu	mist, fog		PEO * (g)aizo, kapu PCP * (g)avu
-gahuwei	ash	* apu	PEP * kavu
-gali	shave	* kori	
-galugalu	shoot		PHL * g ^w eno
-gani bola	glowing coal		PAN * bulaw PPN * pula
gatowa	thatch	* qatop	
-gaogao	gap		PPB * fno
-gaula	cave		PPN * qana
-gigi	claw	*gugu	
giu	tail	* iku	PCP * (g)igu
gugu	breast	* susu	
-haga	thigh	*paqa, seŋa	
hala	dig	* sara	
-hala	dance		BITER * huha
halima	outrigger	* sarima	
-hilo	mirror		PML * iro

TAWALA	ENGLISH	POC	NOTES
hogo	full	* oso	
- holu	fall	*solo(p)	
hopu	descend	*solo(p)	PEO * sipo
- howa	to spit		PAN * luwaq PPN * fufa
- himogo	conch shell		PPN * pu(q)u
hina	mother	* tina	
hini	skin	* tini	
- huxa hota	completely	* oti (adj./v.)	
- houga/hauga	weather/period		PPH * hawa
- huhu	elbow (bay)	* siku(n)	PMLS * su'u
- huhula	spring		PEO *vuRa PML * fula
ilama	axe	* kiRan	
ipili	lower lip	* mpimpi(R)	
- itala	rat	*mpita	
itutu	knee	* turu	
iwa	brother-in-law		PANS * ipay
- iyai	who	* zai	
iyana	fish	* ikan(a), ika(n)	
kadau	voyage/journey	* parau	
- kamota	catch	* sampo	
- katawi	mango		PML * 'athai
- keyalu	casuarina	* (y)oru - (y)eru (Pawley & Green 1974)	
- kile	scratch	* kari(s)	
- kilekile	pandanus	* kie kie	
kima	bite	* kima	
- koiba	belly		PTW * kopu PANS * kabu
- kom	green seed		PML * 'obu
kulita	octopus	*kuRita	
- kumala	sweet potato		PPH * ku(u)mala
kuwe	rattan	*quwe	
- kwakwawi	empty		PML * g ^w a'u
kwelolo	worm	* oulo(s)	
- labe	near	} * ampe	
labi	stay together}		
labiya	sago	* rumpia	
- labini	friend	* lavan	

TAWALA	ENGLISH	POC	NOTES
laga	branch	* taga(n)	PEO * da'a
-lagita	tie	* snuit	PAN * Ra(H)kit
-lalana	dry		PML * lana
-lauma	crab (large)		PML * roma
-lawa	person		PPN * l-ava PAN * [t]əvu[']
-lawi	bind	*wiri	
-lewo	lick	* samu(k)	PPN * qemo
-lili	chant		PPN * oli oli
-liyepa	mat (pandanus)	* empa	
lowo	flee		PALS * lowa
?-[ludala	leaning		PPH * hiDiR (no other forms given)
-lugu	leaf		PML * 'ulu
-lu-mowa	yawn	* mawap	
-lupa	to fly	* Ropo, kopa	PPH * kopa
-lupa	to jump		PAN * lumpat
-luwaga	two	* dua	PEO * rua PCP * Ruu
-mae	stay		PAN * miyan (Yamalele miomia)
-maga	many		PCP * mako
-megula	mature	* ma/tuga	(vulture - old)
-mhula	harvest	{	
-mai	come	* mei	
-manago	belly	* manawa	
menini	supernatural power	* manuy	
monuwe	Bird	* monu(k)	(Yamalele monuga)
ntata	eye	* note	
natouto	foot		PEO * natoxyu
-mayuu	tree	* kai * tayu	Conc. different PTH * kai * tayu
-meda	vomit	* mutu(a)	
-mei	like, as		PEO * pe(e), iW
moan	tougue	* (e)re(e)	PPH * mola
mooyya	crocodile	* dugayn	
moloo	seren	* monok	
monoma	crane		PAN * məñök
-motu	snake	* yuata	PEO * mwata PCP * nota

TAWALA	ENGLISH	POC	NOTES
muli	behind	* mudi	PEO * muri
mutu	point, cape	* muata	
mutu	upper lip	* nusu (lip)	
nao	front	* nako(n)	
- napa	throw (stick)		PCAC *lapo
natu	child	* natu	
neula	coconut	* niu(R)	
nima	hand	* lima	
nima _{jigi}	finger	* kuku	
nima huhu	elbow	*siku	PML*su'u
- niwo	tooth	* nipon	PEO * nipo PML * nifo
nonoli	hear	*dojo	PAN * loho(n), noho
- nugonugo	heart		PCP * nuanua
numa	house	* Ruma(q)	PEO * Ruma
o _{ga}	wash	* uku	
- opi	skin	* tipi	PEP * kopi
oya	mountain	* kor(əo)	
- paga	sore		PAN*bayəh
- palele	thunder	* pi _{le} (k)	
- paluta	mat	* pada, sala	
pata	shelf	* pata(ŋ)	
- pehi	shoot, sprout		PAN * pifi
piloma	oyster	* tiRo(n)	
- pitapita	forest etc		PEO * quta
polo	pig	* mboRo/mpoRo	
pou	egg	* mpou	
- puwaka	excrement	* tqi	PAN * puaka
tahaya	path	* sala(n)	PAN * ta'e PML * 'ae
- tahi	sharpen		PAN * hat'ah actually *ha(n)t'a
- take	hang		PAN * safe
tala	cut	* salu	
tala	blood	* daRa(q)	
- talu	alight, land		PAN * duRun
taniga	ear	* taliq	
tano	garden	* tulu (fallow land)	
- tawi	dig	* sar-/kali	PCP * tavi
tawine	marry	* (dr)sua	PML * tola

TAWALA	ENGLISH	POC	NOTES	48.
- tēpa	top	* ndama		
- tete	bridge		PPN * te-a PAMS * tita	
- tewela	child (distant possessed form)		PEO * Nwela	
togo	wash	* Suku		
togowa	wind	* tokalau (trade wind)		
tom	sugar cane ^{type}	* topu		
tonuga	three	* tolu		
- tou	weep	* tanj: (*)	PAN * jou	
- toula(i)	load up, bring	* toli		
towolo	stand	* tuqu(d)		
- tubi	gourd		PIS * tavu	
tula	friend	* tuRa		
tuna	eel	* ntuna		
- tupi	knot		PPN * patu	
- tutu	knock		PO/C * tutuk	
tutu	joint (knee)	* turu (knee)		
uhī	penis	* uti(n)		
- ula	heal		PML * gura	
uletam	crayfish	* quda(ŋ)	PML * ura PEO * lura	
uma	drink	* inu(m)		
une	trade	* qunsi		
ununu	head	* qulu		
upom	night	* qponji		
- wagewa	shark	* pekiwak	PEO * bayewa	
- wakoya	mangrove		PAN * bakav	
wali	stingray	* paRi		
wam	canoe(generic)	* waŋka(ŋ)		
- wamahiya	moon		PPN * maasina	
- wao	planting hole		PPN * fao (hole)	
- wawala	conceive(begin)	* manawa		
wawine	female	* papine		
waya	take	* alap		
- wele	give	* pani	PAN * beler	
	(cf ombenena = pani)			
- wila	mix		PPN * firo	

- wipoya	hot	*mapana	
- [poya		*pana]	
- witai	heavy	* mapa	PAN * beRat POC * matau
-- wiyaga	chase	* penako	
- woe	paddle	* ponse, boze	PPN * fohe Biliau foy
- wohepali	four	* pati	PAN * he(m)pat
-- woida	yam		PNL * fana
- wou	new		PPN * fou
- wowoli	crack		PAMS * vola PAN * b>lah
- yalasi	s.w. wind		PPN * laki
- yoli	sink	* solo	PNL * toli

APPENDIX 3

The following list contains the possible cognate material taken from Grace's (1969) finder list which has not been handled in the main part of the paper.

TAWALA	ENGLISH	FCC
tanala	centipede	*(qa)lipan
howa	spit, spittle	*qanusi
waikanikaniyogana	yellow	*ŋŋoano
ago	spouse	*ansawa
ahahe	chin, jaw	*anse
niha	salt, salty	*asi
tepo	to bail	*asu
tepa	on top	*atas
-hi	their	*-da
lampa (borrowing)	lamp, light	*dama(R)
lemo	lick	*ndami
luhaba	chew betelnut	*ndamu
topa	lake, swamp	*dano
lugu	leaf	*ndau(n)
tawinc	to marry	*(dr)awa
uliuliyawa	porpoise	*(dr)i(dr)iko
tatawa	shake (in fever)	*dudu
bunebune	pigeon, dove	*dupe
niu	nose	*isu(ŋ)
maiayau	wood, tree	*kai

Appendix 3 cont.

Tawala	English	FOC
-gigi-	finger	*ŋkaŋka-
ipo	carry on back	*kampi(t)
hala	to dig	*kari(s)
kamakama	scabies	*kasi
gobu	dirt, dirty	*ŋkele
dubu	dust	*kopu(t)
opi	skin	*kuli(t)
gaiba	bowl	*kumete
pugole	pig net	*kupeŋa (fish net)
kila	coral	*lanje
uhi	genitals	*laso
palai	sail	*laya(R)
take	to hang	*liko
tomtom	seaweed	*limu
luyouna	bend, fold	*loku
malo	slime around coconut core	*lolo (coconut cream)
maya	be ashamed	*maa
datu, tawali	ebb tide, reef	*maqati
moita	soft	*mada
mitamita	ripe	*mada
wayau	cold	*ma(n)di(n)din
kapala	hard	*maka(s)
goga	grandchild/parent	*makumpu
hipuli	earth	*ŋmalala

Appendix 3 cont.

Tawala	English	POC
yoli	submerge	*ŋmalo
manago	belly	*manawa
nou	woman's brother	*nou
awa	mouth	*maya
uwe	taro seed	*ŋmao
witai	heavy	*mapa
wipoya	warm	*mapana
awaawa	thin	*mapini
bauli	north wind	*marak
apu	to roast	*ŋmaRi
magomago	plenty	*mansu(rR)
au	mother's brother	*matuqa
alugo	soul	*maqudi(p)
maga	numerous	*moRa
bonabona	island	*motu
na	intent. aspect	*na (future tense)
ulona	to cook	*nansu
dinadina	thin	*nipi(s)
lu-pali	beg	*noŋi
mawi	thigh	*paqa
apape	wing	*pan(i)
wapu	flat land	*mpampa(n) (flat)
awala	shoulder	*paRa

Appendix 3 cont.

Tawala	English	POC
pani	to tie	*paqu
buda	to rot	*pela
kaapeu	butterfly	*mpc(e)mpe(e)
pili	to lash	*pi(dr)i
wawine	woman	*pine
paliyana	coconut mat	*mpola
wadale	turtle	*ponu
beda	areca nut	*mpua
kulekule	pimple	*puku
piya	buttocks	*mpu(dr)i(t)
pani	to tie	*pusi
hapu	to pull out	*puti
baba	base	*puqu(n)
liyaliya	to go close	*Ripa
gadou	neck	*Ruqa
dubola	high tide	*Ruap (rising tide)
awai	what?	*nsai
liyapa	mat	*sala
togowa	wind	*nsanyi
gowa	name	*sasa
halo	to hunt	*sasa
hapi	to chop	*sasa(l)
hopu	go down	*sisi(p)
genagenalili	be jealous	*sisi(p)

Appendix 3 cont.

Tawala	English	FOC
hapi	hack	*soni
hopu	down	*sompu
buyo	squeeze	*soso
nigau	cork	*(n jc)njonol
tepa/depā	forehead	*nta(dr)a
nae	walk	*tale
wawinc	woman	*tapine
kilolo	urine	*tiRi
uputa	outside	*tuqa
omtuturonena	kneel	*turu
uhale	lobster	*quda(ŋ)
pola	seeds	*upe
pitapita	inland, forest	*quta(n)
au	mother's brother	*wawa
oeya	to weed	*wawo

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