An Introduction to the Study of the Oceanic Languages.

—BY—

C. E. FOX, M.A.

Of the Melanesian Mission.
Sometime "Senior Scholar," New Zealand University.

Price TWO SHILLINGS.

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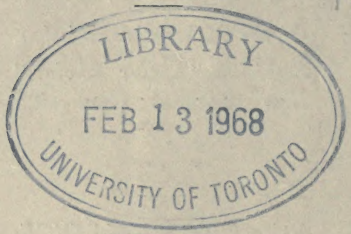
To
John Bain McLeod
and
John Ryall Oakley.



PREFACE.

This brief account of the Oceanic languages is meant as a general introduction to the study of them. It has been written because there is, so far as I know, no general sketch of the family, and books on special groups or languages, are expensive and sometimes very difficult to obtain.

It contains little that is original. I have quoted freely from well known writers, but of course the setting in which quotations appear alters to some extent the sense, so that the writers quoted might not approve of my interpretations and are not responsible for them. With this proviso I wish to acknowledge how much my essay owes both directly and indirectly to the writings of Dr. Codrington and Mr. Ray.

No doubt I am mistaken on some points, though I hope there are few errors in facts—in the interpretation of facts there may be allowable differences of opinion; and criticisms and corrections will be welcome.

Although it is a disadvantage to be far from all libraries, on the other hand I have been able to verify Melanesian words quoted in these pages by an appeal to the natives themselves.

My thanks are due especially to Dr. Comins and Mr. Palmer for help in reading through the proofs. Both were able to make many corrections and improvements, the former from his wide experience of Melanesian languages, and the latter from his accurate knowledge of Mota.

I have also to thank Miss Coombe and Miss Wilson for reading through the manuscript, and trying bravely, if ineffectually to mend my stumbling sentences.

Norfolk Island, July, 1910. C. E. F.

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ERRATA.

Page 6, second line from bottom, for *ãssimilar* read *dissimilar*.

Page 8, eleventh line from bottom, for *use* read *change*.

Page 18, fifth line from top, omit *.

Page 18, last line, omit *other*.

Page 23, fifteenth line from bottom, for *enforce* read *force*.

Page 26, seventh line from top, for *Phillipines* read *Philippines*.

Page 30, fourteenth line from bottom for *Phillipines* read *Philippines*.

Page 45, fourteenth line from bottom, for *a* read *as*.

Page 56, eighth line from bottom, for *unusual* read *usual*.

Page 60, note, for *siana* read *siany*.

Page 73, tenth line from top, for *beard* read *moustache*.

Page 74, sixth line from top, for *white of eye* read *pith of rushes*.

Page 90, fourth line from top, for *Polynesian* read *Maori*.

1. THE OCEANIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

NAME. This family of languages has been called by various names. At one time the most common name for it was the *Malayo-Polynesian*, the reason being that the Malay and Polynesian languages were the first to be known. But the word Polynesian has come to be restricted in meaning to the languages of the Eastern Pacific, and by general agreement the whole family has now been called the *Oceanic*. No better name could be chosen, for this group of languages includes those spoken on most of the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans; and all the members of it are island tongues except the languages of the Malay Peninsula.

ORIGIN. It cannot be said that the original home of the family is known. All the lands bordering on these oceans have been in turn described as the home whence the Oceanic mother tongue was derived. Efforts have been made to show that it has affinities with Aryan, Semitic, American Indian, or Japanese. Some of these attempts have failed because wrong methods of comparison have been followed. Most of them were premature, comparisons being made before the Oceanic family had been sufficiently studied as a whole. Few were based on grammar, which in such cases must always form the ground-work of comparison. Nevertheless these attempts have brought to light many new facts regarding the languages.

DIVISIONS. The languages belonging to the family are divided into four groups, each group having its own characteristics.*

*Common Origin of the Oceanic Languages. *S. H. Ray.*

1. The Indonesian Group.—This includes the languages of Madagascar (called Malagasy), Malacca, Sumatra, Java, the S. E. Sunda Isles, Borneo, Celebes, the Philippines, and Formosa. These languages were the first studied. A Spanish dictionary of Tagala, a Philippine language, was published in 1832 and contained nearly 17,000 words. But the best known Indonesian languages are Malay, Javanese and Malagasy.

2. The Micronesian Group.—This includes the languages of the Palau, Caroline, Marshall and Gilbert Groups in the North Pacific. They have not until lately been much studied.

3. The Melanesian Group.—This includes the languages of the long chain of islands to the east of Australia: the Bismarck Archipelago, portions of New Guinea, the Solomon, Fiji, Torres, Banks, New Hebrides, and Loyalty Groups and New Caledonia. Many of these are unknown. The best known are the languages of Fiji, Efate in the New Hebrides, and Mota in the Banks Islands.

4. The Polynesian Group.—This includes the languages of the Eastern Pacific from Hawaii, Marquesas and Easter Island to Samoa, Tonga and New Zealand. It also includes the languages of Tokopia, Rotuma and other islands in the Melanesian Group. Many of these languages are fairly well known. A comparative grammar is much to be desired.

EXCEPTIONAL LANGUAGES. A few languages in these groups are thought to belong to another type of language. Even these however have many words in common with the Oceanic languages. These exceptional languages are: (1) The languages of Halmahera in the Moluccas, in the Indonesian Group. (2) The language of Paumotu in the Polynesian Group. (3) A few languages in the Northern Solomons and perhaps in the Southern New Hebrides in the Melanesian Group.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GROUPS. Speaking generally the languages of the Indonesian and Melanesian Groups are probably the least altered. They show on the whole less phonetic decay, and a more primitive grammar. In some respects the Melanesian Group is intermediate between the Indonesian and the Polynesian.

LITERATURE. The majority of these languages were unwritten until they were learnt by Europeans. Consequently the Roman alphabet has been used and the words spelt phonetically. But in the Indonesian Group many of the languages had native alphabets and some had a native literature. In Malay and Javanese for example there is a native literature written in native characters. It consists mainly of romances and fables comparable with the well known "Arabian Nights Entertainments," the authors unknown. The other groups possess no literature, but have a considerable amount of oral tradition. This is especially the case in the Polynesian Group, and much has been done of late years in collecting this material, and using it as evidence of the history and origin of the people.* Since the advent of Europeans many of the languages have been reduced to writing, and the Bible and other books have been translated into them.

SPELLING. The spelling has been on the whole phonetic and consistent. A few sounds however have been written differently in different groups. For example a soft guttural trill has been written g in the Solomon, Torres, Banks and Northern New Hebrides, omitted in other languages, and written x in the Loyalty Group. The sound ng in "sing" has been written g in Fijian, Tongan and Southern New Hebrides, and *n* in the Solomon, Torres, Banks and Northern New Hebrides. Q represents ng in "finger" in Fiji, and kpw, kw, pw, or bw in other parts of Melanesia. Th is written c in Fiji. The letters b and d often represent mb and nd. In

*Hawaiki. *S. Percy Smith*, etc.

Malagasy o is sounded u and at the end of a word y replaces i.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The characteristics of the languages will become plain as we come to describe their grammar and vocabulary. They all agree in a certain vagueness and looseness both of grammar and phonology, as compared with European languages. Parts of speech are not so clearly defined. Inflections are absent. Sounds are shifting and uncertain. Phonetic decay is very marked. Reduplication of syllables is a favourite device for expressing an adjective, a plural, continued action, or to exaggerate or depreciate the meaning of a word. A native account of a canoe floating on and on says that it *sale sale sale sasasale*, *sale* meaning "to float." Narrative in these languages is vivid and terse accompanied with gestures often very expressive. Words of direction are in general use, pointing up and down, seawards and shorewards, hither and thither, nearer or farther. The languages have however many felicities of grammar, exceedingly useful in exact speaking or writing. Some of these are a personal article, used to personify common objects; numerous forms of the personal pronoun, with inclusive and exclusive forms, (that is including or excluding the person spoken to); dual and trial numbers as well as singular and plural; the use of special words with numbers to mark the kind of object referred to; and causative and reciprocal prefixes to verbs. While many of them lack abstract expressions, they have resources for creating them; and in concrete terms they are exceedingly rich. Thus in Tagala there are twelve names for the coco-nut, eleven words to express the word "to boil," and seventy five to express the word "to go;" * just as in Mota there are more than twenty ways of expressing "to carry," as on the shoulder, under the arm, round the neck and so on. In the verbs there are no true passives: tense, number and person are expressed by the aid of particles. In the nouns gender and

*Crawfurd's Malay Grammar.

number are expressed by qualifying words and case by prepositions. The order of words varies, but adjectives always follow the nouns they qualify. The languages are on the border line between agglutinative and inflectional languages, and have long passed the isolating stage.

METHODS OF COMPARISON. It has been said that those who have tried to find a source for this family of languages, have failed in some cases through following wrong methods. The wrong method has been thus described by Mr. Ray*. "The student takes some word or words in one group of languages. He then supposes some phonological changes which may or may not take place according to rule in the languages discussed. He next finds some words similar in sound and meaning to the altered words in the first group of languages, and then finally he asserts positively that the two sets of words are related." The right method is very different. "The student sets to work to discover the process by which thoughts are expressed and the changes of form and position by which the words of a sentence are fitted to one another in the languages he wishes to compare. If these are identical a relationship is established, but even a similarity in the structure of sentences is not evidence of linguistic connection unless there is also an identity of formative particles. The witness of vocabulary is entirely of a secondary character. If the languages in question are already proved akin by identity of grammatical construction and by identity of particles then an agreement in words strengthens the argument for kinship."

To put shortly and tersely the Golden Rule for the comparative philologist:—Take care of the grammar and the words will take care of themselves.

EVIDENCE FROM VOCABULARY. The strength of the evidence for kinship from vocabulary depends on three things—the class of words which seem to be alike, their number, and the

*Torres Straits' Expedition, Vol. III., pp. 505-507.

extent of their likeness. Names of common articles of trade may easily drift from place to place. A large number of such words held in common by two languages shows trade intercourse rather than kinship. Again a few words alike are probably mere chance resemblances, of which there are always some to be found, or they are onomatopoetic words which are alike everywhere. And lastly, if words are very much alike in two languages geographically far apart, this is in itself a suspicious circumstance; for words are continually altering by growth or decay, or becoming disused, fresh terms taking their place; so that if two languages really akin have been long separated, the words of their vocabularies are sure to be unlike one another both in form and meaning. But if the steps by which these words have altered can be shown, either by historical evidence or by the languages of intermediate islands, and these words then appear to have a common origin, we have real evidence of kinship. For example if we compare the well-known Maori word *kai* "food" or "to eat food," with other similar words, we can easily prove that *kai* has lost a consonant, that the original form was *kani*, as we find it in the New Hebrides. The Malagasy word for food is *hanina* and here we know *na* to be only a suffix. The word for food in Mota is *sinaga*, but in neighbouring Banks Island dialects it is *sina*, *sana*, *hana* or *hina*, showing *ga* to be a suffix (a suffix indeed common in Mota as *na* in Malagasy). Between *hani*, *kani*, and *hana* there is so little difference that we may fairly take them to be variant forms of one root, and *hanina*, *kai*, *sinaga* to be related to one another. In languages such as Maori, Mota and Malagasy so far apart and yet derived from a common source, we should expect to find for a much used word like "food," three forms a good deal different from one another and yet traceable to a common root.

The first step then is always to compare the grammars of two languages. If kinship is proved between them by means of grammar, the next step is to compare the vocabularies. If they appear at first sight totally dissimilar the case is really hopeful, for no other result

could with any probability be expected in the case of languages long separated.

When one family is compared with another these considerations have even more force. And the comparison must be with the grammar and words of the family as a whole, not with those of a single language belonging to it.

DIFFERENT STRATA. It is well known that in a language like English there are several dialectic strata, for instance the literary language, the spoken language, and the language spoken by a particular class. The same thing is found in the Oceanic languages, although not to such an extent.

(1) *Kawi.* In Java there is a dialect of Javanese called Kawi. It is the language used in ancient inscriptions and in the chief literary productions of Java, and is written in an obsolete character. Although it differs considerably from modern Javanese it is said to be no more than an archaic form of it. The ancient form in which it is written is never used in Java, nor even in Bali where Kawi is the language of law and religion.*

(2) *Ceremonial Language.* In some Polynesian languages there is what is called the chief's language. Certain words are used when speaking to the chiefs which are not used on other occasions. These words are often of great interest to the philologist. When speaking of the chief a highly metaphorical and courtly style is employed. At Tahiti for instance, his houses were called the *aorai* the clouds of heaven, his canoe *anuanua*, the rainbow, his voice was called thunder, the glare of torches in his dwelling was named the lightning; and when the people saw them in the evening as they passed near his abode, they would remark that the lightning was flashing in the clouds of heaven.† Further, the Tahitians used not to employ in the common language those words which were part or the whole of the reigning sovereign's name. Sometimes this went further and affected syllables of similar sound in other words. Thus the name of one of

*Crawfurd's Malay Grammar, XXXV. †Ellis' Polynesian Researches.

the kings being *Tu*, not only was this word which means "to stand" changed into *tia*, but *fetu* "a star" became *fetia*, *tui* "to strike" *tiai*, and *tupapau* "a corpse" *tiapapau*. Changes of this kind though generally only temporary might sometimes become permanent, and at all events would cause some words in the language to lie fallow from time to time.

In Madagascar on the death of a sovereign, supposing his or her name to contain any word in common use, this must henceforth be considered *fady* (taboo) and some new word must be coined to take its place. On the death of Queen Ra Soherina in 1868 the word *soherina* which means chrysalis was thus tabooed, and *zana-dandy* which means "child of the silkworm" was ordered to be used instead.* Among the Sakalava of Madagascar if a member of a family dies, the words connected with his name are used no longer by his relatives, while if a king or prince dies such words are tabooed throughout the whole kingdom.‡

Still more remarkable is the ceremonial language of Java, of which Crawfurd gives an interesting account.† It is different from the ordinary language in all common words—nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, prepositions and even grammatical particles. These words, according to Crawfurd, are either borrowed or coined. Sometimes they are borrowed from Malay or Sanscrit, but sometimes they are native words not otherwise used, or only slightly altered by the use of a letter or two. Thus in the ordinary language the word for ten is *puluh*, in the ceremonial language it is the Sanscrit word *dasa*; "source" in the ordinary language is *mula*, in the ceremonial it is *mila*. Or an epithet may be used, "sugar-cane" being called in the ceremonial language *rosan* "the thing with joints" and "a duck" *kambangan* "the object that floats on the water." The eye is called ceremonially "a gem," and the teeth are "steel." The language is that used by courtiers to the sovereign, and it is also used in letter writing except to persons of very inferior rank; but the

*Antananarivo Annual, Vol. II., p. 265.
‡Antananarivo Annual, Vol. II., p. 242.
†*Crawfurd's* Malay Grammar XXVI.

sovereign himself uses the vulgar tongue, in which edicts and proclamations are also made.

In the Melanesian Group there could be nothing corresponding to the ceremonial languages of the Indonesian and Polynesian Groups, because there were no hereditary chiefs. But there is a like custom of forbidding a man to use words which form the name or part of the name of a relation by marriage; and there is a stock of words, otherwise unused, to be drawn upon in such cases. In Mota to use such special words is to *un*. The un word for *panei* "a hand" is *lima*, and for *maligo* "a cloud" *kalokalo*.

To such customs we may attribute the complete loss of certain common words in some languages. When we find the Malagasy calling fish "water-game" and birds "feathered creatures" instead of using the common words *ika* and *manu*, we can explain it in this way.

(3) *Song Language*. It is well known that children are very careful to hand on unchanged the apparently unmeaning jumble of words they use in their games, and in this way they sometimes preserve old uses and forms of words. In the Melanesian Group there are many children's games, which all have their accompanying songs. The words of these songs are not wholely modern, they may be borrowed, coined or archaic.

Song Mota in Children's games.	*Modern Mota equivalent.*
I.	I.
Wolwol we gave	Wulwul o gave
To man mile wore,	Te van kel wora
Natuma. welwel we gave,	Natuma, o gave wulwul
Si qe vet si ras mule,	Si qe vet si we ras mulang
Ra tane te pesi qal pe ware sure.	Ra tuana te varpis alo panoi.
II.	II.
We al totorak.	We al, kokorako
Ni* savai? ni rango.	Mun o sava, mun o rangoi
Mewu, we al totorake,	Mewu, we al kokorako
Saie, vaie, kokokoko.	We so ae, we va ae, kokokoko.

*An instrumental preposition only found now in *ni a* "by means of it" but common in other languages, making usually a genitive.

III.	III.
Gisigisi	Gisigisi
Gis pepewu save	Gis malumlum o sava
Gis pepewu golegole	Gis malumlum golegole
Ol rowo	Va rowo
Gis mat*an*t*an*	Gis malumlum
Me gisia	Me gisia.

The children's game songs are not the only ones which contain unusual words. There is throughout the whole of this group, though not in every part of it, a regular song dialect for each island different from the spoken language.

(4) *Secret Society Language.* Many of the secret societies found in some parts of all the different groups, seem to have had special dialects known only to the initiated. Thus in the Dukduk Society of New Pomerania songs are chanted "in an unknown tongue." In Micronesia too the Uritoi used a "mysterious language."* In the Suqe of the Banks and Northern New Hebrides the members have a secret dialect, giving unknown names to common objects,† so that they cannot be understood by those not belonging to the Suqe.

FOREIGN ELEMENT. The foreign element is naturally most abundant in those languages which have been brought into close touch with foreign tongues. Thus in Madagascar there is a considerable Swahili and Arabic element (even, according to some, including grammatical particles). This has been explained as due to an original African settlement.‡ In Malay there are many Sanscrit words. In the Melanesian Group some New Guinea languages have clearly a Papuan element; some Solomon Island and a few other Melanesian languages certainly appear to contain a foreign, perhaps a Papuan, element; and it is conceivable that there is a small Papuan element throughout this Group, comparable with the Celtic element in English. All

Webster's Primitive Secret Societies, p. 42.

†These words are said not to be coined terms, but very old forms handed down carefully for many generations. Some however are similar forms *negneg* (nake), *wio'* (wia).

‡Antananarivo Annual, Vol. II., p. 216.

the languages now contain introduced English words, generally, and quite properly, spelt phonetically, and sometimes so altered in form and meaning as to be unrecognisable. *Alezapo* and *goana* in Malagasy are really the English "Heads up!" and "go on." At Norfolk Island the Mota word for pheasant is *kavana* which is the English word Governor. The pheasant was, by the boys, connected with the Governor and called first *manu kavana* "the governor's bird" and then simply *kavana*.* The Maories at one time called introduced mice *toronaihi* (from *toronaihi* a sickle, because the mice had become a pest cutting down the ripened wheat with their sharp teeth). But *toronaihi*, used in the translation of the Bible for sickle, was really the English word "draw-knife," the knife which the early whalers use to cut up blubber.† It is clear that the foreign element in all these cases is wholely or almost wholely verbal. It is different entirely from the foreign element in Savo and other "exceptional languages." Savo has a general tendency in its grammar to suffix rather than prefix; it has postpositions instead of prepositions,‡ the noun follows the adjective instead of preceding it, and cases of the noun are shown by postpositions or suffixes§; the possessives are formed by a suffix added to the pronouns‖; in the verb tense and mood are shown by suffixes¶; and so on. These are Papuan characteristics and cannot properly be called a foreign element in Savo because they are grammatical usages. Rather we should call Savo a Papuan language with a Melanesian (foreign) element in the words.

*Sometimes the sense changes slightly; *kuk* in the Banks Group now means "to boil."

†Te Ika a Maui.

‡*Doi tagata*, on the ground.

§*Na* Nom; *la* Loc.

‖*iva* mine; *nova* your; *lova* his.

¶*I* present and past; *tai* future; *a* imperative.

2. THE COMMON ORIGIN OF THE OCEANIC LANGUAGES.

Although it is taken for granted that these languages from that of Madagascar in the Indian Ocean to that of Easter Island in the Pacific, are all akin and belong to one Family; and although this fact will become more and more evident as we come to describe the chief characteristics of the languages especially in their grammar; yet it will be useful to point out here the converging lines of evidence which have led to the general acceptance of this fact. It will not be possible or even desirable to go fully into the details: it will be sufficient to give examples of the *kind* of evidence which has been brought forward.

The evidence is of two kinds, from grammar and from vocabulary: the former by far the more important and reliable. Three instances may suffice to illustrate the kinship shown by grammar (1) The personal article (2) The possessive pronouns (3) The noun-forming prefix *ta*.

EXAMPLES FROM GRAMMAR. (1) *The Personal Article.* The great majority of the languages of this family, possess what has been called a personal article. Shortland calls it in Maori "the particle *a*" and says that it is used as a prefix to personal pronouns, and replaces the article before words which represent persons, or things to which special names have been given, so that they may be regarded somewhat in the light of persons, such as trees, canoes, ships, *meres*. "A" is used in precisely the same way in the Solomon Islands. In another part of Melanesia, the Banks Islands, the same work is done by the particle *i*. It is a most useful particle for by means of it any common noun may become a proper noun; *o Vat* is in Mota a stone, *i Vat* is Stone,

a man's name. There is also an effective use of it in personification, to deceive is *gale*, *i gale* the deceiver. So also *o gene* means a thing, while *i gene* means a person, whose name you cannot recall, but whom you speak of vaguely as *i gene*, "so-and-so." The particle *i* doing the same work is found in Malagasy, *i.e.*, it is used before proper names of persons, before common names of relationship, and sometimes before common nouns used as names of persons. In New Guinea, a personal article is not so common as elsewhere, still certain particles are found which are used before proper names. Here then is a practice common to the widely separated members of the Oceanic Family. Not the same particle is used everywhere, but the use of some particle in this manner may be said to be general, and examples may be found in every division of the family,

(2) *The Possessive Pronouns.* By these are meant the equivalents in the Oceanic Languages of the English my, thy, his. They are in a great majority of the languages *ku*, *mu*, *na*; but they are not always used in quite the same way. In the western division of the family, in Indonesia, they are usually added directly to the noun they qualify. Thus in Malay *darah-ku* is my blood, *bapa-mu* thy father, *mata-na* his eye. In the middle division of the family, in Micronesia and Melanesia, they are only added directly to certain classes of nouns; in the case of other nouns they are added to what may be called a possessive noun which is in apposition to the noun qualified, thus in Mota *nara-k* is my blood, but my lamp is not *pul-k* but *no-k pul*, *no* being a noun in apposition with *pul*. In the eastern division of the family, in Polynesia, the pronouns are always added in this manner to a possessive noun and never directly to the noun they qualify: Maori *ta-ku patu* my weapon, *ta* being a noun in apposition with *patu*.

In such words as *no-k*, *ta-ku* "the suffix is the pronoun, the radical to which the pronoun is suffixed, is from the nature of the case, a Noun. It may be called a Possessive Particle or a Possessive Preposition, or a

Possessive Sign. But it is in fact a noun. Because it is a noun it does not follow that we can translate it by an English noun; there is no English word perhaps meaning thing-belonging-to. But we talk of a man's belongings. Let us take the word "belonging" and use it as the English equivalent of the Mota *no*, and then the nature of the Melanesian Possessive will be clear. *No-k*, then, is my belonging, *no-k siopa* is my garment, a garment my belonging, in Pigeon English 'shirt belong-a-me.'"*

This then is the case: In Indonesia these possessive nouns are rarely found, but they do occur, as in Malagasy and Borneo, where they exactly resemble the possessive nouns elsewhere; in Melanesia and Micronesia what was rare in Indonesia becomes the rule, although what was the rule in Indonesia is still found occasionally in Melanesia and Micronesia; and finally in Polynesia, what was rare in Indonesia, and common in Melanesia, becomes here universal.

MALAY:

darah-ku my blood *bapa-mu* thy father *mata-na* his eye

MOTA (Banks):

nara-k my blood *tama-ma* thy father *mata-na* his eye

MOTU (New Guinea):

rara-gu my blood *tama-mu* thy father *mata-na* his eye

MOTA: *no-k siopa* my clothes.

MAORI: *o-ku kakahu* my clothes.

to-ku toto my blood *to-u papa* thy father *to-na kanohi* his eye

TONGA:

ho-ku toto my blood *ho-u tamai* thy father *ho-na mata* his eye

(3) *The noun-forming prefix "ta."*† This is a single example out of many where the same particle is used in the same way throughout the whole Oceanic Family of languages although not in every member of it.

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*Codrington Melanesian Languages.

†This does not mean that the function of *ta* is to form nouns, but that many nouns consist of *ta* plus a root word.

In Malagasy *ta* is "a prefix joined to many roots making nouns, indicating those things having essentially the property of the root," *ta-buaka* a bubbling spring, *ta-fuaka* a blow pipe, *ta-fufuana* bellows, *ta-fotsini* the white of an egg.

In Mota *ta* is used similarly, *ta-pera* a plate, *ta-werai* palm of the hand (the root in both cases being the same and meaning flat), *ta-kelei* a little bit, *ta-lau* a cobweb.

In Santa Cruz the same particle is not uncommon, *ta-pao* metal, *ta-matau* hook, *ta-kato* basket, *ta-vau* feather money.

In Maori examples may be found of *ta* used in the same way, *ta-kere* bottom of deep water, keel or hull of canoe, stragglers from party, bed of river, *ta-turi* wax in the ear, *ta-kakau* a stalk, *ta-kohu* mist.

The following are examples from Tonga, *ta-bili* fan, *ta-buni* a lid, *ta-funga* a mound, *ta-hifo* descent, *ta-bulu* one way of tattooing.

The force of the argument lies in the fact that all these languages use *ta* in the same way *but not in the same words*. Thus Mota *kere* means the bottom or the keel of a ship, etc., but Mota has no word *takere*. In Maori however, *ta-kere* means the bottom or the keel of a ship, but there is no word *kere*. So the Tongan *tabulu* is one way of tattooing, but there is no Tongan word *bulu* to tattoo, while in Mota *pul* is a tattoo mark, but Mota has no word *tapul*. It is a common thing in all these languages to prefix *ta* to root-words to form nouns. They must have possessed this power before they became separated from each other.

These then are three examples of the arguments for a common origin based on grammar. The languages agree in using a particle before proper nouns and before common nouns personified: they agree in their method of showing possession and form their possessive pronouns on the same principle; they have in common a prefix *ta* which they add to root words, thus forming nouns. It must be borne in mind that these are no more than

examples of the *kind* of evidence given by grammar. As this is not intended to be a proof of the common origin of the languages, so it is needless to multiply examples, and we may turn to the evidence derived from vocabulary.

EXAMPLES FROM VOCABULARY.

The argument for a common origin based on the evidence of vocabulary is, shortly put, as follows. The vocabularies of the various languages bear just such a resemblance to one another as we should expect if, originally one, they have for centuries been isolated one from the other, *i.e.*, very few words are exactly the same in the languages of two islands far from one another (it would be a suspicious circumstance if they *were*); but very many words are seen on closer examination to be derived from a common source. The changes they have undergone are according to well-known laws of language. On the other hand, as we should expect, we come across instances of words remaining almost unchanged, so that languages of islands separated by many thousands of miles, where accidental borrowing the one from the other has been impossible, yet contain identical or almost identical word-forms with the same meaning. In short, it is rare, though not impossible, to find in any two of the languages words exactly the same both in form and meaning: it is not so difficult to find similarities either in form or meaning; but it is usual, and of course natural, to find both form and meaning altered and yet not so much altered, but that they may be traced back to their common source by means of other words in intermediate languages.

These observations may now be illustrated by examples.

(1) Words remaining the same in form and meaning in languages geographically far apart.

These, though often the names of common things, such as might be spread by trading, are not always so, but are sometimes the names of trivial things which would not be learnt by mere visitors.

(a) Moss, seaweed, and especially the green growth on anything damp.

Malagasy *lumu-tra*. Malay *lumut*. Celebes *lumu*. Banks Islands (Mota) *lumu-ta*. Maori *rimu*.

(b) Wax of the ear.

Malay *tuli*. New Pomerania *tula*. Banks Islands *tul*. Maori *ta-turi*.

(*c*) There is in Malagasy a prefix *tafa* implying that the subject of the sentence has come into the state described by the word to which *tafa* is prefixed, either by its own action or undesignedly. Thus *tafa lentika izi* means it is sunk, *i.e.*, of its own accord.

There is in the Banks Islands a prefix *tava* with precisely the same signification, a rope is said to *tava-ul* become undone of its own accord, a box is said to *tava-raka* slip up of its own accord, no one having touched it.

"The resemblance between this Malagasy *tafa* and the Banks Islands *tava* is so complete in form and signification, and this in a fine point of meaning, that, considering the space of Ocean that separates the languages, it is a matter of astonishment that it should exist. It is impossible that it should be accidental; it could not be introduced by Malays or Polynesians who have it not: it must have survived no one can tell what vicissitudes and changes, in a course of years which no one can number; and presents itself like a rare species of plant or flower in isolated and widely separated localities, a living and certain proof of common origin and kindred.*

(2) *Words remaining the same in form but with an altered meaning.*

(*a*) New Hebrides, *toto* glue.
Maori, *toto* blood.
San Cristoval, *toto* congealed blood, *totoo* sap.
Florida, *mimi toto* a blood disease, haematuria *tave toto* dysentery.

*Codrington's Melanesian Languages.

Banks Islands *toto* a poisoned arrow. "The arrow is called after the tree with the viscous sap with which it has been smeared, and the tree has its name from the abundance of its sap, *totoai* in Mota, in a dialect of Fiji *dotoa.*"* The words are really all derived from a root *toka*, meaning to exude or drip as a thick fluid; the first syllable is reduplicated and the last wholely lost except in Mota *totoa-i*, and Fiji *dotoa*. The Malay form is *titek*, to fall in drops.

(*b*) Celebes, *tasi*, sea, salt.

Banks Islands, *tas-maur*, the name of the windward side where the sea breaks; *tas-mate*, of the leeward side where the surf is quiet. Quite another word is used for sea and salt in the Banks Islands. The Polynesian form is *tai*, the s having been lost.

Malay, *lau-t* the sea.
Mota, *lau* the sea shore.
Tahiti, *rau one* sandy shore.

(*c*) Fiji, *lawa* a net
Bisaya, *lawa* a cobweb.
Malay, *lawalawa* a spider.
San Cristoval, *rawa* spider or cobweb.
Mota, *ma-rawa* spider, *ta-lau* cobweb.
The Polynesian form is *leveleve*, or this transposed.
Sam., *aponga leveleve* spider or cobweb.
Haw., *puna welewele* cobweb.

(*d*) Java, *kumi* beard.
Malay, *kumi-s* moustache.
Maori, *kumikumi* beard.
Bellona (Solomons), *kumikumi* chin.
San Cristoval, *kumukumu* three tufts of hair left standing on shaven head, a small village standing out on a promontory.*

(*e*) Malay, *kula-t* mushroom or fungus.
Malagasy, *kula* a Provincial word for ringworm.
Mota, *kula* a hump, *kulai* the back.
Vanikolo, *kula-moe* a village (*moe* meaning house).†
Solomon Islands, *kuli* the ear.

The last may seem fanciful, but ~~other~~ similar changes of

*This illustration and other San Cristoval words I owe to Mr. F. H. Drew, who will recognise in these pages the fruit of our discussions.
†*Cf.* Maori *moe* to sleep.

meaning are found in other roots; as in Mota where *qoro-i* means ear and *qero* mushroom or fungus, and the New Hebrides *qero*, *qerogi* ear, show them to be the same; *qoroi* also meaning in Mota a knot on the bow, tendril of a plant, young bud, pectoral fin of a fish; Maori *poro* butt end, a block of wood, a boy's top, or anything round; *poroporo* (in modern use) a bracelet.

Another very common word for ear is *taringa* or *talinga*; and in Guadalcanar *talinge* is a mushroom, *talinga* ear; in San Cristoval *karina* is mushroom, *karinga* ear.*

(3) *Words remaining the same in meaning but with an altered form.*

(*a*) Malagasy, *sula* bald,
New Hebrides, *ma-sua* bald.
Tonga, *tula* bald.
Maori *tura* bald.

(*b*) Florida, *halo* iron.
Ulawa, *hao* iron.
Hawaii, *hao* iron.
Santa Cruz, *ta-pao* iron.
Tonga, *fao* iron.
Malaita, *salo* iron.

(*c*) Mota. *gil* dig.
Malagasy, *hadi* dig.
Malay, *gali* dig.
New Hebrides, *kili* dig.
Maori, *keri* dig.
Tonga, *keli* dig.
Marquesas, *kei* dig.
San Cristoval, *giri* and *eeri* dig.
Florida, *gegeli* dig.

(4) *Words whose meaning and form are both different, but which may be traced to a common source.*

(*a*) Maori, *tuturu* to leak or drip.
Mota, *sur* down, *sur-mata* tears, *ma-turu* sleep, *tir* to drip.

(*b*) Malagasy, *vurivuri* round, circular.
Samoan, *fuli* roll along.
Maori, *huri* turn round.

*The root is probably seen in Mota *taliu* a ring; Maori, *tari* a noose; Malay, *taring* a pig's tusk.

Fijian, *wiri* turn round.
Mota, *ga-vir* wring.
Tongan, *vili* a gimblet.
Mota, *wiri-ta* an octopus.
Malagasy, *huri-ta* an octopus.
Hawaian, *hili* to plait.
New Hebrides, *biria* to plait.
Malaita, *tata-hiruhiru* revolve.
Mota, *wil* to turn over, to peel (turning the fruit).
Ysabel, *wuli-ti* to peel.
Nifilole, *mibuli* a spider.
Fijian, *viri-ta lawalawa* cobweb
Mota, *vivis* bandage, twist round.
Samoan, *fisi* entwine.
Efate, *fisia* bandage, bind round.
Malay, *guling* to roll.
Guadalcanar, *guli-ta* an octopus.
New Hebrides, *gui-ta* an octopus.
Nukapu *pilipili* an octopus.

(c) Maori *puku* swelling, *puke* hill, *ta-puke* heap up earth, bury.
Torres Islands, *pwug* the knee.
Mota, *pugiu* hip joint, *vug* cluster, crowd together, *ta-vig* heap up earth, bury.
Efate, *buk* a band of men.
Tonga, *buke* hillock.
Mangareva, *puke* heap, pile, pinnacle.
Anaiteum, *puke* a mound for yams.
Malay, *bukit* a hill, *buku* joints, knots in wood, lumps.
Marquesas, *puku* fruit, knot in wood, abcess.
Malagasy, *puke-tra* ankle bone, *vuhi-tra* a hill, *bunga* a lump, *bungu* a hill, *bungun-uluna* a mass of people.
Fiji, *buku* end of heel and elbow, *bukebuke* mound of earth.
Hawaian, *puku* knob, knuckles, small round hill.
Florida, *puku* foundation, origin, beginning.

(d) Maori, *rangi* sky, *angi* breeze.
San Cristoval, *dangi reho* storm, *rangi* rain.
Samoan, *langi* sky.
Mota, *lang* wind.
Hawaian, *lani* upper air, sky, anything high up in position or character.
New Hebrides, *rani* the light, *tutu rani* white people.
Guadalcanar, *tutu langi* fair race supposed to inhabit interior.
Malagasy, *lani-tra* sky, *ani-na* wind.
Tagala, *hangin* wind.
Malay, *langit* sky, *angin* air, wind,

(e) Maori, *mati-kara* a claw, finger.
Mota, *karui* tentacles of octopus.
Malagasy (Provincial), *havi-tra* a hook,

Malaita, *karu* a crab.
Ulawa, *kari* an octopus.
Malay, *garis* a scratch.
Mota, *gagarat* the itch.

The force of such examples is only seen after the way in which the roots decay and alter has been mastered; and when the words in intermediate languages are known, and are seen to gradually alter in form or meaning or both.

RAVU. For example, both in Polynesia and the Banks Islands it is obviously the same word which means ashes and mist or dusk (Tahitian *rahu* ashes, *rehurehu* dusk). Keeping this double meaning in view we find in Malagasy *ravu-na* mist or fog, and *rahu-na* cloud; in Malay, *abu* ashes; in New Guinea, *rabu* ashes and *rahurahu* ashes; in Melanesia San Cristoval, *rafu* ashes, and Fijian *dravu* ashes; New Hebrides *avuavu-ga* grey. We have not quite this form for ashes in Polynesia but we have Tahitian *a-rahu* charcoal, (Marquesas *ka-ahu*, Maori *nga-rahu*); while going back to Melanesia we have Mota *ma-rav* mist, *ravrav* evening. If we follow the Mota *marav* through the neighbouring languages of the Banks Islands we shall find it changing to *merev* in Ureparapara and *morov* and *morow* in Vanualava, which not only makes us understand the Polynesian forms, Maori *rehu* mist, Samoan *lehu* ashes, Hawaian *lehu* ashes (and the highest number in counting), but also the Mota *ta-rowo* ashes. And we can also follow the Mota *ravrav*, evening, in all directions. In the Banks Islands "evening" is usually *revrev*, in the Solomons *lavi* or some compound *(nu-lavi, su-rahi*, etc.); in Polynesia *ahiahi*. This brief sketch of the word for ashes, will serve as an example of the manner in which forms and meanings are so interwoven in all the languages as to make it impossible that one group or language has merely borrowed from another.

3. THE GRAMMAR OF THE OCEANIC LANGUAGES.

PRIMITIVE GRAMMAR. Max Muller in Bunsen's "*Philosophy of History*" has a happy description of the ancient divergence of the main divisions of human speech. "In the times when the three principal tongues which we may represent as the three sons of Feridun were not yet separated, it may be of interest to catch at least one glimpse of them as they are leaving their common home and starting off in different directions. What they carried away from home were roots and pronouns. Two of them, Selim and Irij, seem both to have held the secret how a root could be divided and changed so that it might be used as a subject or predicate. Tur also may have known it; but he either forgot it, or he did not like to tamper with those sacred relics which he had carried away from his father's house. Under his care they remained the same, without addition or diminution; and when they had to be used, they were only set and framed like precious jewels and neither divided nor polished down."

Let us imagine the progenitor of the Oceanic races with no more linguistic treasure than Tur; and we can then follow the course of events, as he and his descendants set to work to make the most of their possession, differentiating the parts of speech and improving by many devices the powers of the tongues they spoke, so that they might the better express the thoughts they felt, till at last we get Oceanic grammar, with its many local modifications and its common general principles. It was a process by which the function of words in a sentence came to be marked by their form, a result which has been achieved differently in different families of languages.

Soon after this mythical family had left its home, the members of it learnt to distinguish between nouns and verbs. They did not however resort to the Aryan device of reduplicating the root in order to express action; they did not alter it at all; but they marked it out as a verb by using certain particles, which they prefixed, and which came after a time to coalesce with the root in some of the languages. This is a distinguishing mark of the Family and must be carefully kept in mind. These particles are by no means the same in every language, but vary considerably from place to place although some are more common than others; but the principle of employing particles prefixed to the root to give it a verbal character is a principle common to all the languages of the Family.

"It is highly probable that words generally are, in the mind of these speakers, names or Nouns. The thing, the action, or the state, receives its name. Words thus are Nouns or Verbs, and they receive discriminating marks, Articles or Verbal Particles in these languages, according to their use; but there is no such distinction in the native mind between the visible object and the visible act, as to enforce them to think the name of an action a different sort of word from the name of a thing."*

NOUN AND VERB. This is a primitive state of language and it is natural to find that originally personal pronouns might be added to either verbs or nouns. "There are many primitive languages in which there is no distinction between the personal element in "he has" and the possessive "his house," both being expressed by adding the same personal pronoun or pronominal suffix to a noun or noun-equivalent, *i.e.*, to the name of a thing or the name of an action; as in Old Egyptian where *meh-a* "I fill," literally "filling of me" has the same form as *per-a* "my house." A later step is to use different forms of the pronominal endings for the two kinds of names: the names of things and the names of actions; as in Finnish

*Codrington's Melanesian Languages.

kate-ni "my hand," *kate-si* "thy hand"; here the endings are distinct from and yet evidently allied with those of *sano-n* "I speak," *sano-t* "thou speakest."*

Now although the Oceanic Family of languages had soon passed this stage, and had differentiated verb and noun by proper particles, yet there are interesting traces of this primitive method, found chiefly in the Indonesian, occasionally in the Melanesian, and not at all in the Polynesian group.

The so-called "root passives" of Malagasy furnish the best known examples; they are really no more than verbal-nouns, *hita-ku ni vuruna* "I saw the birds" or "the birds were seen by me," is literally "my seeing the birds," just as *ra-ku* is "my blood"; the pronoun *ku* is suffixed either to the name of an action or the name of a thing. So the Malay phrase, *aku-di-lihat-na* which may be rendered "I am seen by him," properly means "I in sight his."† In these Malagasy forms no verbal particle seems to be used. In Melanesia however, where the same method is employed, a particle already marks the verbal character of the root to which the pronoun is suffixed. Thus in Florida, a language of the Solomon Islands, one may use the simple verbal root, not yet in form a verbal noun, with the set of pronouns which are also suffixed to nouns; one may say either *nau tu liona na kabe* "I desire it the belt" or *e dio gu na kabe* "the belt is desired by me," the latter phrase exactly corresponding to the use of Malagasy "root passives."

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE. In these languages the verb is originally either active or passive, it is merely the name of an action. Then suffixes are added, making participles. In some languages these will be active participles, in others passive participles, their sense becoming fixed in each language. Then by adding the article these participles become verbal nouns. By an extension of meaning they may become ordinary nouns,

*Sweet. History of Language, p. 57.
†Dr. Kern quoted by Mr. Dahle in Antananarivo Annual, Vol. II., p. 270.

lumu moisten, *lumu-ta* the moistened or moist thing, the thing which is always moist, moss or seaweed.

Thus the verbal substantives in Maori are either active or passive and the sense is only known by the context. For instance, from *hopu* is formed *hopu-kanga* which may mean the act of catching or being caught, and the meaning must be gathered from the use of the possessives *taku* (active) and *toku* (passive)* In Melanesia suffixes form in some languages active, in others passive, verbal nouns. "In Samoan the passives are actives when the noun precedes, that is they are passives or actives according to the construction of the sentence."† The important fact that *originally* the name of the action was very general and vague‡ must be kept clearly in view in our study of the languages.

But after a time each language, as it developed, used for special purposes the suffixes which it had in common with all the members of the family. This led to divergence of usage. At the present time many of the languages have "forms available for expressing the passive," others have none.

To form participles with a passive meaning the Malagasy language adds to the root one of the following suffixes: *hina, fina, rina, tina, mina, ina,* or variants of them. The Samoan language adds *gia, sia, fia, tia, mia, ia, ina;* and other Polynesian languages use similar suffixes. Thus from the root *ana* Malagasy makes a passive participle, *ana-rina* "advised, corrected," from *velu, velu-mina,* "made alive, quickened" from the root *si'o* Samoan makes a passive participle *si'o-mia* surrendered; from the root *pulu, pulu-tia* "glued." A comparison of the endings suggests a common origin for the Malagasy and Polynesian forms; and an analysis of the former shows them to consist of two suffixes *hi-na, fi-na,* etc., so that we may conclude Polynesian forms also to be really *two* suffixes

Shortland's Maori Grammar.
†Pratt quoted by MacDonald Oceanic Languages, p. 60.
‡In Fiji the simple root may be either active or passive; but the suffix *i* is now used to give a passive sense.

ti-a, *fi-a*, etc. We may go further and affirm that what really gives the sense of the passive is the *na* or *a*; for this alone is sufficient to form a passive participle; and in Samoan from *pulu* we get two forms—*pulu-ti* "to glue or fasten," a transitive verb, or, if we prefer to call it so, an active participle, and *pulu-ti-a*, "glued" or "fastened," the passive participle. In Tagala (Phillipines) *in*, *na* form passives; *tulug* sleep; passive, *ka-tulug-an*; verbal noun, *katutulugan*.

In Melanesia we find these passive participles only as verbal nouns. Thus in Mota from a root *no* we have *nono-mia* "thought"; and in Efate we find such phrases as *na-bulu-tian ni nasuma* "the plastering (or 'the being plastered') of the house." If we compare this with the Maori *te puri-tia* "the being detained," (formed by prefixing the article *te* to the passive form of *puri*), we shall see clearly that the Malagasy and Polynesian passives are really the same in origin as these Melanesian verbal nouns.

We may also compare with advantage such forms as the following: Florida, *tangi* cry, *tangi-hi* cry for; Maori, *tangi-hi-a* passive form of *tangi*. Efate, *bunu* close, *bunu-ti* plug, stop; Samoan, *punu-tia* passive form of *puni*, shut.

It is plain that the Polynesian forms are the same as the Melanesian, with the addition of *a*, that is to say the Polynesian forms are built up of two particles.

TRANSITIVE TERMINATIONS. It has been said that the simple root is merely the name of the action or state. Very commonly in Melanesia, occasionally in Polynesia and Indonesia, this meaning is modified by suffixes. These really make verbal nouns or participles. They are not different in origin from the demonstrative particles added to nouns; but by defining and determining the action they limit and intensify it; and thus they often give a transitive force to an intransitive verb, or determine the force of a verb already transitive upon some particular object. But the original function of these suffixes—to make verbal nouns or participles—must

not be lost sight of, if we are to understand them. Thus Mota *toga* means "to dwell," but *toga-g* is a dwelling, a *continuous* dwelling, and thus means "to inhabit," and is followed by an object. So *singa* is to shine, but *singar* to enlighten; *mata* is an eye, but *matag* to watch. A thing which goes on shining is apt to enlighten, and an eye used steadily of course watches. The Mota suffixes are *ta, ra, sa, la*; *ga, nga*; *ma, va** or these compounded with *g (ga)—tag, rag*, etc. Sometimes a root takes more than one suffix, with different shades of meaning; so *mata* an eye, *matag* to watch, *matan* to want, in Mota. That these are not originally "transitive terminations" seems plain from their use, for (in Mota):

(1) They are not needed when the name of the action itself suggests an object;

(2) The verbs they make are sometimes either transitive or intransitive (*anumag* worry, *lingarag* hide);

(3) They are often equivalent to reduplicated stems, *poro* to chaff, *porosag* or *poroporo* to be always chaffing;

(4) The stem with or without the suffix may be followed by prepositions, *nin* a partition, *nin goro* or *nining goro* to partition off.

The shorter forms are the same as those which ordinarily make verbal nouns: *toga-ra* a continuous abiding, a way of life; *vano-ga* a continuous going, a journey, *tape-va* a propiating, propitiation. The usual force indeed of the suffixes is to show continuous action. Thus *tut* is to thump, *tut-gag* to keep on thumping up and down, like a boat on a rock, *linga* is to conceal or be concealed, *lingarag* is to hide, either transitive or intransitive, as the meaning of the root is either active or passive, a continuous concealing or being concealed; *kar* is to scratch, *kar-mag* to scratch a hole, by keeping on scratching, *goro* to cut, *goro-tag* to cut a quantity, *koe* to pull out, *koe-sag* to loosen, *pura* to smash, *pura-rag* to smash in quantities, *nam* to beat, *nam-sag* to beat small, *mata-n* to eye (*mata*) steadily, *i.e.*, to desire, *mava-t* to continue being heavy (*mava*) *i.e.*, to weigh upon, and so on. We may compare

*Used alone the vowel drops according to the idiom of the language.

such Maori forms as *heke-tanga* the act of descending *(heka)*, *inu-manga* a drinking *(inu)*. The Polynesian suffixes (*nga*, *ha-nga*, *ka-nga*, *ma-nga*, *ra-nga*, *ta-nga*) are generally compound ones like the Melanesian verbal suffixes, and are the same in origin. It is not difficult to see that these suffixes may often make what are classed as nouns (Samoan *talo-nga* prayer, *talo* to pray; *anu-sanga* spittle, *anu* to spit; Maori, *moe-nga* a bed, *moe* to sleep.)

VERBAL PARTICLES. The verbal particles which mark out a word as a verb in almost all the languages, have no common form but vary from place to place. They have been divided into three classes:—

(1) Those which simply indicate that the word is a verb;

(2) Those which express also the tense but make no change for person or number;

(3) Those which not only show that the word is a verb but express also number, person and tense.

In the Indonesian Group particles of various kinds are combined into one verbal prefix; in the Melanesian and Polynesian Groups the particles are generally separated from the verb; while in the Micronesian Group particles are rarely used at all.*

Examples from three groups will show the nature of the particles.

1. Malagasy, *sulu* substitute.

   Verbal form *mi sulu*, to have a substitute, present tense.
   ni sulu past tense.
   hi sulu future tense.

2. Mota, *siwo* down.

   Verbal form *we siwo*, to go down, present tense.
   me siwo past tense.
   te siwo future tense.

S. H. Ray, Common Origin of the Oceanic Languages.

3. Tahitian, *mau* seize.

Verbal form *te mau* to seize, present tense.
i mau na past tense.
e mau future tense.

A further example from the Melanesian group will show how the particle may change to express person and number as well as tense.

Florida, *tona* go.

Present tense, *tu tona* (I) go.
to tona (thou) goest.
te tona (he) goes.
ta tona (we, inclusive) go.
tai tona (we, exclusive) go.
tau tona (you) go.
tara tona (they) go.

Future tense, *ku tona* (I) shall go.
ko tona (thou) wilt go.
ke tona (he) will go.

THE ARTICLE. As the verb is distinguished from other words by the use of particles before it, which may be modified to express time, person, number and mood, the noun is also marked out in the same way by particles, which are usually called in this case Definite Articles. It appears probable that they were originally no more than demonstratives. In the Wedau language of New Guinea *na* is added to nouns and is called a definite article, but its character is here plain from the fact that it is used: (1) When referring to a preceding noun; (2) In relative sentences, *rava-na e nene lana* the man who came. Usually in the Melanesian Group, *na* is the particle prefixed to nouns, but not always to all nouns. Thus in Anaiteum it has been noted that "very many nouns begin with n," yet there is no article.* In Santa Cruz many nouns begin with *na* or *ne* and many with *ta* or *te*, but there is no article. In Florida however, *all* nouns begin with *na*

*It is the custom only to call *prefixes* articles; but if a suffix is always added to mark a noun, why not call it an article? Many nouns end in *i* in Mota, just as many nouns begin with *n* in Anaiteum.

and to new nouns such as the English *kau* (cow) *na* is prefixed, so that this may fairly be called an article and written separately. We may suppose that several demonstrative forms could be used originally with nominal bases; then in some cases one form got the upper hand, ousted the others, and became the article; in some cases two forms held their ground, one being used as a definite, the other as an indefinite article. In some languages again, one form was used for a particular class of nouns and other forms for other classes. Thus in Mota *na* is used with nouns to which pronouns are suffixed, but *o* in other cases. Generally speaking, however, words in the Oceanic Family are marked out as nouns by special particles, in origin doubtless demonstratives.

It is very characteristic of this family of languages to employ numerous demonstrative particles to direct the view near the speaker, near the person spoken to, further away, hither or thither. The use is general but the meaning of the same particle is usually different in different islands.

Besides these particles there are others used with proper nouns or to personify common nouns, and this as we have noted earlier is a very characteristic feature of the languages. In Polynesia *kai* is used. The Maori prefix *kai* denotes the agent, *hoe* paddle, *kai-hoe* one who paddles; Mangareva, *reo* speech, *kai-reo* herald; Tahitian, *ai*: *ani* to beg, *ai-ani* a beggar. In Tagala (Phillipines) *ang* is the personal particle, *ma-aral* to teach, *ang ma-aral* a teacher. But these are not always in origin mere demonstrative particles. In the Melanesian Group some of them may be observed in a transition stage. In the New Guinea region in the Louisiade Islands, the particle *to* is commonly prefixed to a word to form a personal noun, while in New Pomerania and Duke of York Island, *to* precedes men's names; this is elsewhere *tau* and may well be the same as the common New Guinea word for "man" or "person" which is *tau*. Similarly in many Banks Island languages and in the Solomon Islands, *wo*, *wa*, or *we* is prefixed to shortened personal names, and thus serves to personify; *gale* is to deceive; *Wogale* is a man's name. This particle,

is thought to be the same in origin as the *wo*, *wa* or *we* prefixed in languages throughout the whole family to many nouns which are conceived of in the native mind as globular. These are forms of *vuka* "fruit," and make probably, with names, a term of endearment. We may suppose the personal particles to be often in origin nouns such as these.

CASE. Cases are not anywhere expressed by inflections. Either they are known by the position of the noun in the sentence, or they are shown by prepositions. There is however, both in the Indonesian and Melanesian Groups, a way of showing possession by what may almost be called inflection. Thus in Malagasy in the sentence "hat of the soldier," *satroka* "hat" is altered to *satroki*, while in Mota, in the Banks Islands, in the phrase "eye of the house" (door), *matai* eye is altered to *mate*. This alteration is only made with certain nouns, those which end in a. The possessive case may be formed in Malagasy by suffixing *n* as *ran osi*, goat's blood, *ra* meaning blood, but this *n* is regarded as the shortened form of the suffixed pronoun *ni*, his. There is then no inflection to express case, for the alteration of the final vowel is only a weakening of it when two nouns make a compound and are pronounced as one word. But ordinarily cases are shown by prepositions, which vary very much in different languages. Indeed many of them have probably become prepositions comparatively lately, after the separation of the languages, and their origin is plainly from nouns or verbs.

The following declension of a noun in Tongan will serve as an example:

Nominative, *Ha tangata* a man.
Genitive, *O ha tangata* of a man.
Dative, *Ki ha tangata* to a man.
Accusative, *Ha tangata* a man.
Ablative, *E ha tangata* by a man.
Locative, *I ha tangata* in a man.

The sign of the genitive has elsewhere been shown

to be a noun in origin, and no doubt the decayed forms ki, i and e, come from nouns or verbs.

GENDER. Gender is only shown by separate words in a very few cases, as in man and woman, boy and girl. Otherwise it is marked by the use of words meaning male and female, which come after their noun like other adjectives.

Tonga, *buaka* a pig, *buaka tangata* boar; *buaka fefine* sow. In some languages there are two pairs of these words; one for men and the other for animals. Tahiti, *tane* and *vahine* for men; *ona* and *ufi* for animals.

NUMBER. There are no inflections to mark number. The context shows whether a noun is singular or plural, and if this is not sufficient words are used (either before or after the noun), which really mean "many," a "number," a "flock." Thus in Tonga *ngaahi* is used before any noun to form a plural, *kau* before personal nouns, *fanga* before names of animals and fish, *fuifui* before birds and waves of the sea, *otu* speaking collectively of lands, islands and reefs, and *tuunga* of personal nouns. In some cases however, these words have decayed and their original meaning cannot be ascertained. Occasionally the plural is shown by reduplication.

ADVERBS AND ADJECTIVES. So far we have seen that Oceanic root words may give us either nouns or verbs, which are distinguished from each other by the use of distinctive particles. Little needs to be said of Adverbs or Adjectives, the former being usually the simple root or if the adverb is a common one, a very much decayed form of it, and the latter the simple root with very often a prefix or suffix marking it out as an adjective.

All the languages are rich in adverbs of place, and those pointing here or there are frequently combined with the demonstrative particles. The direction pointed out by

adverbs does not correspond with our ideas of the points of the compass. In the Melanesian Group they are usually from roots which mean "going," "leaping," "up," "down," etc., but besides their primary meaning they give to a native a clear idea of direction. Many adverbs are compounds of a preposition and a noun.

Adjectives are very often simple roots qualifying nouns, they are shown to be adjectives by following the nouns which they qualify. In the Melanesian Group especially they often appear in verbal form *i.e.*, with the particles which mark a word as a verb. Thus in Tahitian one may say *atua mana* "a powerful god," but this would be expressed in Mota, a Melanesian language, by *o vui we mana*, *we* being the verbal particle. An adjective is sometimes reduplicated to extend its meaning (spreading it so to speak over a wider surface), and so this reduplicated form comes to be used with plural nouns; but indeed the ordinary form of an adjective is very often the reduplicated form of the simple root, *lumu* is moss, *lumlum* or *malumlum* is anything having the qualities of moss, *i.e.*, soft; *sulu* or *sili* is to cover or a covering, *silsili-ga* is anything covered in, and then anything dark, so *silsiliga* means black. The prefixes and suffixes which mark words as adjectives will be given with the rest of the formative particles, in a later chapter. The commonest of them are *ma* (prefix), and *ka* or *ga* (suffix) as in the two examples given above.

A few adjectives come before nouns, but these are plainly nouns in origin, and probably the native view is rather different from ours. In Mota *nat* small, *vat* lumpy, *qat* chief, *mala* bad or inferior, *matai* good, come before a noun, but *natu* child, *vatu* stone, *qatu* head are nouns in common use, *mala* is a noun in other languages (Tonga *mala* foolishness, misfortune, evil; *cf.*, Malay *malang* unfortunate, wretched); and *matai* has the common noun ending *i*. When a native says *nat gasal* a small knife, *gasal* is perhaps to his mind the adjective, "a small thing of the knife kind"; he is thinking of its smallness, not of

its being a knife; *mala tanun* is "a poor thing of the man kind"; as in Maori *he tangata pai* is a good man, but *he pai tangata* manly excellence.

REDUPLICATION OF WORDS. The reduplication of the whole or part of a word is a natural device to express shades of meaning and plays a large part in these languages. If the word is a simple root like Mota *pute* to sit, the word may be altered in three ways, *putepute*, *put-pute*, or *pupute*; and these three words express in Mota different shades of meaning, the first meaning a repeated act, the second an intensified act, "to sit close," the third a dwelling on the act.* If the word is a compound of a prefix and a root word like *va-tira*, part of the root remains in reduplicating: *vat-vatira* not *vavatira* (and this fact is a help in separating roots from prefixes). The Bugotu *va-rongo* becomes *varva-rongo*. Sometimes letter changes take place with reduplication, either consonants, (Santa Cruz *labu* becoming *tabulabu*), or vowels (Tongan *hina* becoming *hinehina*).

It has been already noted that very many adjectives are formed by reduplicating the root and thus spreading out its meaning. Reduplication also makes verbal nouns or participles equivalent to those formed by suffixes; Mota *galegale* deception or to deceive habitually, having a meaning like *gale-va* or *gale-sag*.† It also gives the sense of a plural (*pispisui* the legs, of a centipede): magnifies or intensifies the meaning of nouns (Wedau, *laga* a mantis, *lagalaga* a large mantis), or sometimes depreciates (Fiji, *vale*, house, *valevale* inferior houses; Mota, *qeta*, taro, *qetaqeta* wild taro).‡ It is sometimes said to form plural verbs and adjectives (Samoan *sina* white, *sisina* white, if plural; the Tagala adjectives are reduplicated after plural nouns).

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*Codrington's Melanesian Languages.

†*Cf.* Malay, *mata* eye, *matamata* policeman.

‡Sometimes reduplication alters the meaning completely: Mota, *matig* a coco-nut palm, *matigtig* a palm of similar appearance, but useless.

PREPOSITIONS. The forms used as prepositions *i.e.*, words used with a noun or pronoun to give the force of an adjective or adverb, are sometimes nouns in origin and sometimes verbs, but many of them are so continually in use that their original form and meaning are both quite unknown, and perhaps untraceable. These simple prepositions have so much work to do, that they are generally worn down to monosyllables; and in the Polynesian Group they are even worn down to single letters such as *i* or *e*, "to," "by."

Sweet remarks that all prepositions must be referred back ultimately to full-words, that is, all prepositions were originally secondary. In Chinese the words which serve as prepositions are generally phenomenon-words; thus the instrumental *with* is expressed by *i* "take," as in *fat jin i jin*, "to kill a man with a sword," literally "kill man take sword."* The Oceanic languages have advanced far from this simple plan, and yet many of their prepositions may be traced to such a source. In Mota there is a preposition *vag* "with," which may be the Florida *vahe* "to take or bring"; another Mota preposition *goro* "towards," is from the verbal root found in neighbouring languages, *koro*, "to encircle, enclose," and it is a knowledge of its origin which alone enables a foreigner to use it idiomatically; another Mota preposition *alo* "in," is a compound of *a* and *lolo* "the inside," while *ape* or *apen* "at, near," is perhaps a compound of *a* and *panei* "hand," *a* having a locative sense. A noun following the first two of these four prepositions has an article, because in fact it follows a verb; while a noun following the two latter has no article, because it is really a noun in apposition with a preceding noun, *alo tano* is really *a lolo tano* at the inside of the earth, while *vano vag o tapera* is translateable as "go, take a plate," *i.e.*, go with a plate. Thus Mota prepositions may be judged to be originally verbs or nouns as they require or not the article after them.

In the Indonesian and Melanesian Groups there is a

*History of Language.

common practice of prefixing *a* or some other simple locative preposition to names of places, whereas in the Polynesian Group, what has been called the personal article is used. Both practices have led to confusion in the spelling of names on the map, the islands Aoba, Araga, Efate in the New Hebrides, being really Oba, Raga and Fate; while Tahiti has often been written, in Captain Cook's time and since, Otaheite.

It is very important to note that the mind of the people who speak these languages "does not regard the locality of actions as we do"; they do not therefore use prepositions as we do. "It may seem to us strange that *ta na vale* should mean at once into a house and from a house, but this to them is natural, not from indistinctness of conception, or poverty of expression, but from a different way of looking at the matter. If a man standing on a cliff sees a ship on the sea, we should say that he sees the ship from the cliff. To them it has quite another meaning to say "from" in such a case; they would say that the man sees it "at" the cliff. It is he who sees and whose position is in view. We ask, "Where a thing comes from?" they ask, "At what place a thing comes hither."?*

The vagueness in meaning of many Oceanic prepositions, from a European standpoint, may be well illustrated by the Malagasy *ami*. "*Ami* has to do service for many prepositions in English. Indeed, it would be more correct to say that it has no meaning of its own, but serves simply to indicate an indirect object, or an adjunct of a verb."

Miteni amini ahu—I spoke *to* him.
Miaraka amini ahu—I go *with* him.
Mba amini—together *with* him.
Miala amini ahu—I go away *from* him.
Natsipi tami ni ranomasina izi—I was cast *into* the sea.
Amin izato Alakamisi ho avi—*On* Thursday next.
Nutsindrumin tami ni sabatra izi—He was pierced by them *with* the sword.†

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*Codrington's Melanesian Languages.
†Cousin's Malagasy Grammar, LV.

In the New Guinea division of the Melanesian Group, and occasionally elsewhere in Melanesia as at Savo and Bugotu, prepositions come after, not before, the noun; that is, they are really postpositions: *izu-ai* means at or in the house in the Koro language, *ai* being the postposition; *tavi-la* at or in the house, in Savo. But perhaps this is due to Papuan influence.

It has been said that this family of languages when separating from its kith and kin, the other great families of languages, brought away with it, as its linguistic treasure, roots and pronouns. We have seen how it used one part of the treasure, the root words. The languages soon marked off with particles nouns from verbs, and both from other parts of speech; they made use of the roots to form adverbs and adjectives with the help sometimes of prefixes and suffixes; they formed prepositions from nouns and verbs and then wore them down by use till they were unrecognisable.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS. We now come to the second part of the treasure with which the family came to its Oceanic home—the Pronouns. Anyone who wishes to read a thorough analysis of the forms of the Oceanic personal pronouns, may consult "The Melanesian Languages." It must suffice here to say that there are in this family two sets of pronouns, and that the former set is used as the subject or object of a sentence, while the latter is suffixed to nouns and verbs with a possessive meaning.

The Pronouns of the first set are generally compounded with a personal article and a demonstrative particle. Thus, in Mota the first person singular "I" is *inau*, *i* is the personal article, *na* a demonstrative particle and *a* the pronoun. So the Maori *ahau* "I," *a* is the personal article, *ha* a particle and *u* the pronoun. The Malagasy *ahu* is similarly formed. Whether *ha*, *h* are strictly demonstrative particles may be doubted, but analogy with many other Oceanic languages shows the pronoun to be *u*.

This set of pronouns, when stripped of articles and demonstrative particles is as follows :—

I	*u*	we	*ta* (inclusive), *ma* (exclusive)
Thou	*ko, o*	you	*mu, mi*
He	*ia, a*	they	*ra*

The dual and trial forms, used when two or three persons are spoken of, are compounds of the pronoun with the numerals *rua* two, *tolu* three. Sometimes the trial forms also the plural especially in Polynesia, but also in Melanesia. Thus the Maori *tatou, matou* "we" inclusive and exclusive, are really *ta, ma* with *tou, i.e., tolu* "three," and are the equivalents of the Mota *nina, kamam* (*ni* and *ka* are demonstratives).

The second set of pronouns, which is suffixed, is as follows :—

I	*ku*
Thou	*mu*
He	*na*

This set of pronouns is not complete, since only the singular forms are found, the plural forms of the former set being used when plural suffixes are needed. These forms are translated often as though they were possessives, but they merely come to have this sense from the fact that a genitive relation is expressed in the Oceanic languages by simple juxtaposition of words. As has been said they are suffixed to verbs in Malagasy, Santa Cruz and Florida, a survival from the time when verbs and nouns were not yet clearly differentiated.

Malagasy,	*vunu-ku*	I kill (my killing)
Santa Cruz,	*mope-ngë*	I see (*ngë*=*ku* : my seeing)
Florida	*e lio-gu*	I desire (my desiring)

In the last case the particle marks *lio* as a verb, *na* would mark it as a noun, *na lio gu* meaning "my heart." Here then *gu* is clearly suffixed to either noun or verb. Usually however, these pronouns are suffixed to either nouns, or prepositions which were originally nouns. In the Indonesian Group they are suffixed to all nouns, in

the Melanesian Group to certain classes of nouns; in the Polynesian Group they are not suffixed directly to nouns, but to the possessive particles which accompany nouns. It matters little whether we call these particles prepositions or nouns so long as we recognise their origin. This method is also common in Melanesia, and occurs in a few Indonesian languages. Thus *ra-ku* is "my blood" in Malagasy; *nara-k* "my blood" in Mota; *to-ku toto* "my blood" in Maori.

POSSESSIVES. The "possessives" have been already referred to, but two facts regarding them may be noted. In the Melanesian Group they have run riot, so that a language in the Loyalty Isles contains no less than eleven, while in the Polynesian Group they have become specialised so that forms containing the vowel *a* have an active, those containing *o* a passive sense. These two points may be illustrated.

1. In Mota there are five possessive nouns to which the pronouns *k, ma, na* are added: namely *ga, ma, mo, no, pula*. *Ga* refers to food or anything belonging in an intimate sense to a person, almost a part of himself, *ma* to drink, *mo* has an active sense, a thing one acts upon, a knife one works with, a burden one carries; *no* a passive sense, a thing which acts upon one, one's clothes, sleeping mat, etc.; *pula* any prized possession, especially animals.

(a) ga-k o vetal, my banana.
(b) ma-k o ti, my tea.
(c) mo-k o gasal, my knife.
(d) no-k o siopa, my clothes.
(e) pula-k o manu, my bird.

This number, however, is exceeded in the language of Iai, where each class of nouns has its appropriate possessive to the number of eleven, thus :—

(*a*) Food, *ha; ha-ok kumara*, my sweet potato.

(*b*) Possessions generally and weapons, *anyi ; anyi-k ha'e*, my knife.

(*c*) Things containing juice or liquid, *beli ; beli-k wanu*, my drinking coco-nut.

(*d*) Animal possessions, *hale ; hale-k buaka*, my pig (as property).

(*e*) Burdens carried, *o*, *ok buaka*, my pig, (as a load).

(*f*) Lands, fields, *i*, *ga ; ik nyei*, *ga-k nyei*, my field.

(*g*) Paths, *de ; de-k gethen*, my way.

(*h*) Bags, boxes, baskets, *tang : tang-uk tang*, my bag.

(*i*) Seats, *tab* ; *tab-uk tau*, my seat.

(*j*) Dwellings and caves, *um ; um-uk uma*, my house ; *um-uk op* my cave.

(*k*) Words, *hwa ; hwa-k hofuj*, my saying.*

2. In the Polynesian Group nice distinctions are possible from the use of the two forms in *a* and *o*. "The distinction in meaning between *ta-ku* and *to-ku*, *ta-u* and *to-u*, *ta-na* and *to-na* and other like forms in Maori is that the *a* form denotes that the thing referred to is to be acted on, or has been caused by the possessor, as, for instance, food to be eaten, a weapon to strike with, a man's own children ; the *o* form, on the contrary, denotes that the action is from the thing on the possessor, as a man's drinking water (for man is revived by water which is swallowed without effort), his clothes, or his illness (which he suffers)."†

INTERROGATIVE AND DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS.

The Interrogative Pronouns in these languages are usually two, one referring to proper the other common nouns, and the same stems are in use throughout the whole family. Thus :—

Malagasy	*apa* what	*si apa* who (*si* personal article)
Maori	*aha* what	*wai* who
Roro (New Guinea)	*tava* what	*tai* who

These forms are also used as Indefinite Pronouns.

*S. H. *Ray*, Common Origin of the Oceanic Languages.
†*Shortland's* Maori Grammar.

The Demonstrative Pronouns are formed by means of the demonstrative particles, which have been already referred to. Thus in Maori with the article *te* are combined the particles *nei (te-nei*, that here, referring to the speaker), *na* (*te-na*, that there referring to the person spoken to), *ra* (*te-ra* that yonder, without reference to speaker or person spoken to).

In Malagasy these demonstrative pronouns are very numerous. Here again the use of one or the other is regulated by the distance of the object pointed out. Not only do they become plural by the insertion of the syllable *re*, but also by inserting *za* another class is formed to express the *unseen*, *the remembered*, *the conceived*, etc., as opposed to what is seen and actually pointed out. Altogether there are no less than twenty-one forms, with corresponding adverbs.

COMMON BASIS OF THE GRAMMAR. The Oceanic Family before it became divided possessed roots and personal pronouns, which are to be found now among all its members. All the members have also in common certain primary particles, those which are now glued to the roots. The separable particles however such as those used to distinguish verbs and nouns from other parts of speech, vary from language to language, though some of them are widespread. But even where the particles of the different members of the family are different in form, the principles of their grammar are the same —the marking out of the words as verbs by prefixed particles liable to change for tense, number, person and even mood; the marking out of nouns by another set of prefixed particles; the use of a personal article; of two sets of pronouns, one of which is suffixed to nouns to mark possession; the vigorous use of demonstratives (particles, pronouns and adverbs); and the absence of all inflections. In the order of words too there is a general agreement.

The prefixes and suffixes, many of which have been passed over in this brief account of the grammar, will be considered in a later chapter.

4. SOUND CHANGES IN THE OCEANIC FAMILY.

TRANSMISSION OF SOUNDS. "The sounds of any one period of a language are transmitted to the next generation almost entirely by imitation. In reality each individual will vary slightly from others in the sounds he makes, but the imitation of the sounds of a language by those born where it is spoken, is for practical purposes perfect."* This is because every condition is so favourable in childhood that imitation becomes easy, and mis-pronunciations are continually corrected and laughed at. We might then expect sounds to be handed down unchanged through many generations. Nevertheless, a great many changes take place, so that after a comparatively short time two languages descended from a common stock, are so different that they are mutually unintelligible to the people of the two places. Indeed in many parts of the Pacific it is possible to point to small islands with a population of only a few hundreds, where several languages are spoken, so different that the different villages cannot understand one another.

VARIATION AND DECAY. There are two kinds of changes which sounds undergo, which it is well to distinguish. These two kinds have been called dialetic variation and phonetic decay. By the former we mean those changes which we cannot rightly call decay, and which may be in origin different from the changes caused by the wearing down of words. An example will make the point clear. There is a very widespread Oceanic word for hand, which in Mota is *lima*. This is also the Samoan form, but in San Cristoval

*Sweet History of Language.

the word appears as *rima*, in Ulawa as *nima*, in Bellona as *ngima*, in Guadalcanar as *kima*, in Maori as *ringa*. These are dialetic differences in pronouncing the original word whatever it may have been, but they can hardly be called examples of the decay of the word. In a New Guinea language however, hand is *ima*, evidently a worn down form of the original and therefore a case of decay.

We have first to deal with cases of dialetic variation, and to try to discover in what way such changes took place, and also if possible to note any instances so regular and uniform as to enable us to enunciate a sound-law in the changes which occur between any particular languages; such as that known as Grimm's Law in the Aryan Family of languages.

LAX PRONUNCIATION. It is possible that these letter changes which lead to diversity of dialects may be due to a primitive state of language in which there was considerable laxity of pronunciation, so that a sound was not one definite point, so to speak, but an indefinite number of points within a circle.* A word might begin with any one of a group of allied consonants instead of with a particular consonant. This has been said to be the case actually at Santa Cruz. "The sounds of *k* and *g* are continually interchanged, it is either *na kae*, or *na gae*. The indifferent use of p, b and v is very confusing. It may be *pe*, *be* or *ve* in the mouth of the same person, and in the same sentence."† Thus the word *bika* to spit, might be pronounced at different times by the same person as *bika*, *pika*, *vika*, *biga*, *piga* or *viga*. But as the pronunciation became fixed in different villages, we might expect to find several different dialects. In Santo, an island in the New Hebrides, m and n are often used indifferently by different speakers or even by the same speaker.‡ It has been recorded of the natives of Samoa, "that they are exceedingly careless and incorrect in the pronunciation of

*Sweet History of Language.
†*Codrington's* Melanesian Languages.
‡*Macdonald's* Oceanic Languages, p. 27.

consonants, and even exchange or transfer them without confusion, and almost unnoticed by their hearers, as in *manu* for *namu*, a scent; *lagoya* for *lagona*, to understand; *lavaau* for *valaau*, to call; but they are very particular about the pronunciation of the vowels."*

INDISTINCT SOUNDS. Somewhat similar to this is the case of sounds which are really indistinct, now inclining to one letter, now to another. Whether this be a primitive state of language, matters little for our present argument. Such cases of indistinct sounds may well be fruitful sources of diversity in dialects.

In Wedau, Mukawa, and the neighbouring languages on the North East coast of New Guinea, there is an *l* sound which is 'pronounced with the tongue between the lips.' But it is evidently an indistinct sound, for in the first vocabulary of the language *th* was written where *l* is now used, and in Awalama this *l* has been heard as *y*, words which one missionary had written as *malau* and *talaha* appearing in the Annual Report as *mayau* and *tayaha*.†

In the little island of Vanikolo there exists a very indistinct sound, which has been written both as *r* and *t*; and though the majority of the people use this indistinct sound in speaking, some say *t*, while others say *r*. In South Santo there is a sound represented by *t*, which is described as *tp* or a sound between the two. It is a half *t*, half *p* sound. On the opposite coast of Malekula there is a sound which makes the same confusion between *f* and *t*. One hears what is at once labial and dental.‡

A still better example of an indistinct sound, which has been written in a variety of ways is the Melanesian *g*. It is a guttural trill. "That it resembles *r* has been shown by the spelling of visitors to the islands, who have spelt

*Pratt's Samoan Grammar.
†Torres Straits Expedition, Vol. III.
‡Macdonald's Oceanic Languages, p. 27.

Gaeta, *Lifu*, and Mota *garu* to swim, *raru*. On the other hand, in the Mota printing when the language was first committed to writing, the words *takai* for *tagai*, and *ate* for *gate*, show that the sound seemed sometimes very different from r, and sometimes was not caught. It has been written *g* (hard) *r*, *gh*, *rh*, and *k*."* In New Guinea it has in some cases not been recognised, although present; and it has been described as an aspirated *k*. In words which began with this sound originally, it might be represented in dialects which were offshoots of the primitive one, by *k* or by *r*; or might be lost completely. From the earlier language with the word *garu* to swim, might come three dialects in which 'to swim' was respectively *raru*, *karu*, *aru*.

But there is a yet more interesting example of an indistinct sound leading to diversity of dialect in the Oceanic Family of Languages. This is the sound which is neither *k* or *t*, but halfway between them. "Either through carelessness or imperfectly exercised faculties, a guttural sound will sometimes be made, not quite in the throat, and a dental a good way from the teeth, and what is produced is neither distinct *k* nor *t*. A Sandwich Islander being away from his own home pronounced the printed *k* of his own language sometimes as *t*, *maikai* he read *maitai*; in other words he read *k* with the guttural tenuis clearly pronounced; in many words it was difficult, and in some impossible, to distinguish whether it was *k* or *t*, the sound was so obscure. The man himself believed the sounds to be all the same."* "No two consonants would seem to be more distinct than *k* and *t*, yet in the language of the Sandwich Islands, the two sounds run into one, and it seems impossible for a foreigner to say whether what he hears is a guttural or a dental. The same word was written by Protestant missionaries with *k*, by French missionaries with *t*. It takes months of patient labour to teach a Hawaian youth the difference between *k* and *t*, *g* and *d*."† Some confusion

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**Codrington's* Melanesian Languages.
†*Max Muller*, Science of Language.

between the two sounds is recorded by Max Muller in other languages, but not to the same extent, for to replace *k* by *t* seems a characteristic of certain Oceanic languages; and even where the change is not a regular one there are numerous cases of its occurring in some words. Captain Cook wrote down the Maori words *ariki* chief, and *rakau* a tree, as *areete* and *ratou*. The Maori *tito* "to invent, to compose a song or romance, a fable," is the Florida *kiko* "to deceive"; *kokorako* and *totorako* both mean "to crow" in Mota.

In the following cases, the change is so regular and constant that we may call it a sound-law. It may be observed that one example is taken from Polynesia, one from Melanesia, and one from Indonesia.

1. Polynesia.

Maori t appears in Hawaii as k.

Maori, *mata* eye.	Hawaii, *maka* eye.
Maori, *tane* male.	Hawaii, *kane* male.
Maori, *tai* sea.	Hawaii, *kai* sea.
Maori, *mate* death.	Hawaii, *make* death.
Maori, *taina* younger brother.	Hawaii, *kaina* younger brother.

etc.

2. Melanesia (New Guinea).

Motu t appears in Kabadi as k.

Motu, *mata* eye.	Kabadi, *maka* eye.
Motu, *tadi* younger brother.	Kabadi, *kadi* younger brother.
Motu, *tau* man	Kabadi, *kau* man.
Motu, *turia* bone.	Kabadi, *kuria* bone.
Motu, *hode* paddle.	Kabadi, *poke* paddle.

etc.

3. Indonesia.

Malay t appears in Kisa as k.

Malay, *mata* eye.	Kisa, *makan* eye.
Malay, *mati* dead.	Kisa, *maki* dead.
Malay, *ati* heart.	Kisa, *akin* heart.
Malay, *watu* stone.	Kisa, *wahku* stone. etc.

These two causes are probably the chief source of the wonderful diversity of dialects; either *(a)* a laxity of pronunciation allowing the use of any one of a group of related sounds, or *(b)* the habit of using indistinct sounds, which, becoming distinct, may give either one letter or the other to the resulting dialects. There are, however, other sources of diversity.

COMPOUND SOUNDS. Diversity of dialects may be caused by the use of compound sounds, which in later periods become simplified in different ways. In Malagasy there is a very common suffix seen in many nouns, the syllable *tra*. This is not found elsewhere in the Oceanic languages in its full form, but it is common when simplified into *ta* or *ra*.

A better example is the Mota sound written as *q*, but a compound of *kpw*, so that *goqo*, "many," is pronounced *kpwokpwo*, and in the neighbouring speech of Volow *ni qil* "a candle," is pronounced *ni ngymbwil*, not by any means an easy sound. In certain languages one or other element becomes conspicuous; and either the guttural or labial is lost. In San Cristoval the sound is *bw*, Mota *kpwea* is in San Cristoval *bwea*; in Florida where there is no *w*, the sound is further simplified into *b*, Mota *kpwea*, Florida *bela*. We may suppose the Mota sound to be the original one, and the others to be dialetic variants of it.

The full sound is nowhere found in New Guinea. On the mainland the sound is always a compound of a guttural with *w*, *kw* or *gw*. Whereas *bw* and *pw* are not found on the mainland, they are very common in the Louisiade Islands, not far away.* The Mota *q* is usually represented by *p* or *b* alone in Polynesia and Indonesia, if it is the first letter of a word (*goroi* appears in Maori as *poro*); but if *q* is medial, it is often represented in Polynesia by *k*, *g* or *ng*. Obviously many dialectic variants might arise from this parent sound.

*Torres Straits Expedition, Vol. III.

NEW FASHIONS. Another source of diversity may be seen in mere fashion, by which one letter is regularly, or in certain cases, substituted for another. This may seem extraordinary but the thing has actually taken place. Some years ago at Wango in San Cristoval, "the people began to use *f* instead of *h*, in imitation no doubt of their neighbours at Fagani, who use *f*."* The practice was discontinued but, had it become established, we should have an excellent example of a mere caprice by which one letter was regularly substituted for another. Among Melanesian languages the transposition of letters is not uncommon, but generally only in particular words. In Rowa, a small island a few miles from Mota, the people appear to have agreed to transpose the last two letters of many of their words, though of course there is no record of any such agreement. Thus:—

Mota, *liwo* tooth.	Rowa, *liew*.	
Mota, *lito* wood.	Rowa, *liet*.	
Mota, *qilo*, pool.	Rowa, *qiel*.	
Mota, *singa* shine.	Rowa, *sieng*.	
Mota, *siwo* down.	Rowa, *siew*.†	etc.

"In Samoan, one of the Polynesian languages, the consonant *k* existed only in the single word *puke* catch! It was then substituted more and more for *t* in some of the Samoan Islands, and spread rapidly over the whole group."‡

Although the vowels in Oceanic languages are far more stable than the consonants, many cases of vowel changes do occur, and perhaps in part from the same causes, for in Oba in the New Hebrides, the same word may be sounded *na* or *ne*; *he* or *hi*; *vae* or *vei*; *lai* or *lei*; *vi* or *ve*, etc.

LAWS OF CHANGE. Thus it is clear that in the Oceanic Family of languages pronunciation of sounds is by no means uniform even now in some places; and we may easily picture to ourselves how in the long

*Codrington's Melanesian Languages.
†*Cf.* Rotuma; where *hula* is *hual*, *lima*, *lam*, etc.
‡*Sweet's* History of Language.

past countless varieties of dialect might arise, either from looseness of pronunciation, or from indistinct or compound sounds, or even merely as a new fashion. But these changes have only in some rare cases been regular enough to allow us to call them sound laws. Some few operating in small areas have been cited above. Others might be mentioned. The Maori *r* is uniformly represented by *l* in Samoa. "There is a certain law of change between the letters *g*, *h*, *s*, in Florida and Guadalcanar. The Florida *g* is always *h* in Guadalcanar (Vaturanga). No *g* therefore remains in the latter. The Florida *h*, into which *g* has changed, becomes in Vaturanga *s*."*

But these Oceanic sound laws are few, and limited to particular languages. There is nothing yet observed which may be said to correspond with Grimm's law. Malagasy *d* is often *l* in Mota, and *r* in Maori, but by no means always. The same word will appear in many languages in various forms. The reason for this probably is that the various languages and dialects have been brought irregularly into their present seats, except in Polynesia and Madagascar; "not in successive and considerable migrations from one quarter or another, but by chance and petty movements of peoples."* Possibly too, we may look upon a carelessness and indolence in pronouncing words as characteristic of the Oceanic peoples generally, a characteristic which comes out in the extraordinary phonetic decay of their words, with which we have next to deal. "Among the island populations of the Pacific, the tendencies to careless articulation which exist everywhere are allowed greater scope, partly from the intellectual indolence of the speakers; partly from the want of external restraint. In small scattered communities which are constantly liable to be broken up into still smaller ones, the instability of external circumstances reflects itself in the language. Such languages are like the language of children: they are always starting afresh and are in a constant ferment of experiment and phonetic

*Codrington's Melanesian Languages.

license, checked only by the necessity of being intelligible to a small circle of hearers."*

CAUTION IN COMPARING WORDS. Caution is very necessary in comparing words of different Oceanic languages. It is true many sound changes do take place, but only among related sounds. Any sound does not interchange with any other. The Bellona word for house is *hangai*, while the Maori is *whare*. That $h = wh$ may be assumed, but it cannot be assumed without proof that $ng = r$. In this case proof is forthcoming, since *ng* to *r* is a regular change between Bellona and Maori words; but in all such comparisons proof of unusual changes should be given. It has been pointed out that the New Guinea words *gugu* (hard g) and *nunu* are only changed forms of the Mota *sus*; and the reason for thinking this to be the case is given, *i.e.*, that the hard *g* is a change from the Melanesian *g*, a guttural trill,† and through this the change from a sibilant is intelligible. If the Kisa *akin*, heart, is compared with Anaiteum *hadin*, heart, it must be explained (as it can be explained), how a guttural can be represented by a dental.

The following facts should be remembered in comparing words:—

(1) That languages are shown to be related by their *grammar*, and similarity in *words* can never be taken as sufficient to prove relationship; it merely strengthens proof founded on grammar. *For this reason it is unfruitful to compare words of languages which have not been already shown to be connected by grammar.*

(2) That when comparing languages already shown to be related by grammar we must not take it for granted that any sound can change into any other sound. Sounds physically related to each other interchange; and sometimes other sounds also interchange, but an explanation of such a change must always be given.

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*Sweet History of Language.
†Torres Straits Expedition, Vol. III.

(3) That it is very unlikely that languages long separated contain words exactly alike in form and meaning. The opposite is almost certain to be the real state of things.

(4) That it is impossible to compare Oceanic words without a knowledge of the forms of Oceanic roots, of Oceanic prefixes and suffixes, of the sound changes known to occur in the languages, and, most important of all, of the manner in which the roots decay; for to compare two decayed forms is the most fruitful source of error.

The manner in which the roots decay till the Malagasy *havitra* is worn down to the Loyalty Islands *ge*; and the San Cristoval *bara* to the Tongan *a*, is the next question which we have to consider.

5. ROOT WORDS AND PHONETIC DECAY.

GRAMMAR AND WORDS.

We now come to the most difficult part of the subject: the comparison of words; so full of traps for the unwary; yet so fascinating; and apparently so simple, that everyone attempts it. We shall need to go very carefully step by step.

First we must keep ever in mind that to *establish* relationship between languages, grammar is more useful and important than words are. The reason is that grammar is not easily able to cross from one language to another, while words may. We do not, for example, find Polynesians or Melanesians adopting our grammar, though they do adopt freely enough our words. We may compare two distinct languages to the islands Bali and Lombok in the Malay Archipelago. Between the two lies a deep though narrow sea. The land animals have not been able to cross, but the plants have. So the grammatical forms cannot cross the gulf that separates some languages, while every drifting wind of trade and every sailing canoe will carry the words from one to the other.

But upon the whole in the region we are viewing, words have not been carried about a great deal. An exception must be made in the case of Indonesia, where Malay has become well known everywhere through trade. The result of isolation has been the quiet change and decay of of words from generation to generation, till languages springing from a common source seem to have little in common. We have already seen how the sounds have changed. It is now our business to trace the decay of the words. Along with the sound changes this has led to new species and new varieties of the original roots. When we

remember that both isolation and alteration have probably been at their maximum in this language area, the former owing to the geography and the latter owing to the characteristics of the race of people who inhabit it, we shall hardly be surprised that all observers have remarked on the "confusion of tongues," and the number of distinct languages in so small a compass.

ROOTS. What are roots? One usually finds in the grammar of any language a number of words given as roots, because they are the shortest forms and other words are seen to be derived from them by addition of particles or other alterations. But we are here dealing with the word-roots of a whole family, not of one language; and we mean by them the names either of actions or objects in the form these had, so far as we can tell, in the original language from which all modern Oceanic languages have been derived. By this definition we exclude the pronouns and the particles although we may very well call them the demonstrative roots. The prepositions, adjectives and adverbs we have seen to be derived from these name-roots; the demonstrative words may have been also, but of this we have not any evidence. It should be noted too that we do not necessarily mean the *shortest* form, but the *original* form; which may of course be often longer than later ones. Nor do we attempt to go back to the origin of language itself, but only to the root words of this one family of languages.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY ROOTS. Besides the sound changes, resulting from imperfect imitation or carelessness, there are two processes always at work in the languages—growth and decay. In addition to the name-roots, there are a number of demonstrative-roots—*ta*, *ra*, *sa*, *ka*, *na*, being the chief ones. These are affixed to the name roots, and thus the latter grow longer. On the other hand, words are always decaying, especially by the dropping of final letters, and so the name roots grow shorter. It is chiefly decay that has taken place since the languages separated, though there has also been building up throughout their history.

First then we have to reconstruct till we come to the forms from which the words, as now used, have decayed. These we can call *Secondary Roots*. Then we have to cut away the demonstrative-roots remaining till we have only the name-roots left. These we can call *Primary Roots*. The general result of building up will be that we shall find the Secondary Roots of this family of languages are dissyllabic words, consisting of two consonants and two vowels—words such as *vula* the moon; while the Primary Roots are monosyllables such as *vu* to shine.

IMITATIVE WORDS. Before we discuss this statement however, an exception should be made of a fairly large class, the onomatopœtic or imitative words. These are often the same in all parts of the world, and though, when once adopted, they follow the laws of change and decay which other words in these languages follow, yet both in form and in their mode of origin, they must be distinguished from the great mass of the roots. When a heavy shower of rain is preceded by a few heavy drops, this in Mota is *wena tumtum*. The Sanscrit *kshu* to sneeze, is obviously an imitative word, but so probably is the Mota *ma-tia*, the Maori *tihe*. In many Indonesian languages one finds from the vocabularies that a cat is a *miau*. In Mota a turkey is *pipi*, in Samoan a sheep is *mamoe*, both lately introduced words, and both imitative, like those used by children. In Mota *amiami*, in Maori *mimiti*, is to lick, and the root *mi* is here again imitative. Similar words are Mota *ngora* snore, *sus* suck, *kakakac* chatter, *mum* speak indistinctly; and words very like them will be found in Maori and many other Oceanic languages. According to Tylor, the Malay *karat*, to clench the teeth (the Mota *garat* has the same meaning), is an imitative word. *Riri* or *rere* to tremble or shiver, is probably imitative in origin, but is also doubtless an original Oceanic word, judging from the manner in which it has been altered, both in form and meaning, *e.g.*, Mota, *mama-rir* cold; Maewo, *ma-ka-riri* waterfall; Maori, *ma-ka-riri* cold; Oba, *ga-ma-didi* cold; Formosa, *pa-didi* to shiver in ague. Probably parallel meanings are those found in Mota,

rere a current, *rere aka* the wake of a boat; Malay, *leleh* current. These simple forms seem to imitate the sound of shivering with cold or the rippling of the water; and then the word might be used of trembling, shivering, shaking generally; as in Mota, *rir* earthquake; Maori, *riri* to be angry, *rirerire* a mirage; Hawaian, *lili* quivering air; Maori, *ru* to shake, an earthquake; Mangareva, *ru* tremble with cold or fever. Another imitative word which is also an original root in this family is Santa Cruz *vu* to blow. This is of course in many languages, as in Chinese, *fung* to blow; South America, *pub* a blowpipe; English, *puff*; but it has been used a great deal in Oceanic languages. Thus in Mota we have *uw* to blow the fire, *vus* a violent puff of wind, and *pupus* to puff out of the mouth; in Malagasy, *fufutra* blowing of bellows; in Malay, *pupu-t* to blow, *pupu-tan* bellows, *ambusi* blow, breathe out, used of wind; in Maori, *puhi* to blow, *puia* a geyser, *pu* a gun; in Tahitian, *pupuhi* blow out a candle, a gun; in Guadalcanar, *bubusu* a whale: Malaita, *pusu* an explosion; Florida, *puputu* to boil. Then with particles we get the Raga *mabu* to breathe; Samoan, *mamapu* flute; Maori, *mapu* to pant; Mota, *mapsag (mapusag)* to rest; Mota, *sa-wu* to blow; Maori, *ha-u* the wind*; perhaps Samoan *pu-na* to boil, bubble, a spring, and Mota, *ga-pu-na* a spring, *vu-ra* to bubble up as a spring; *vu-ro* a geyser. A root like *vu* is the parent of hundreds of words.

Then there is thought to be something imitative in words like *ngit* to bite, all roots meaning "to bite," being supposed to contain dentals. Words also spring up from mere interjections; as in Mota *are*! is an exclamation of pain, and *awo*! an exclamation of surprise, and there are words *areare* loud crying; *arelan* a pain in the back caused by staying on the beach *(lau)*, *aresag*, to make game of, annoy; *awoawo* to shout, make a noise. And then there are a few words like *mama*, *tata* for father or mother, which seem to be universal, being

*In Maori *hau* is either wind or dew, but comparison with Mota shows that this likeness is accidental. *Hau* wind is in Mota *sawu*, but *hau* dew, is in Mota *mewu*, either dew or fine mist, and therefore related to *ma-rav* mist, and Maori *rehu*.

possibly the easiest, and therefore the first sounds made by children. All such words we exclude when dealing with Oceanic root words. It is not denied that all languages *may* have originated in such ways, but we can trace Oceanic words to a number of roots which do not seem to be imitative sounds as far back as we can go, and at the time when the mother tongue was spoken.

That the Secondary Roots are dissyllables, such as the word *vula* is shown by the fact that when we come across *shorter* forms, such as *tai* the sea, or *uta* the shore, we can nearly always find longer forms in other languages (in these cases *tasi* and *buta)*; while where we have *longer* forms we can always separate them into the root plus a well known particle.

RECONSTRUCTION OF ROOTS. A knowledge, indeed, of the ways in which the dissyllabic roots decay, enables us to construct the real root from the decayed forms. Thus when we have Java *atus* a hundred, and Tahitian *rau* a hundred, we could reconstruct the root *ratu*, even if we had not the Malay *ratus* a hundred, and Florida *hanga-latu* a hundred; from the San Cristoval *angi* to cry, and the Tahitian *tai* to cry, we could reconstruct the true root *tangi*, without knowing the full form *tangi* found in Mota, Maori and Malay. Sometimes two such forms will occur in a single language with a difference of meaning. Thus in Mota we have *lia* a cave and *ima* a house, and the common root is *lima* a cave or house, as we know from other languages; the Solomon Islands *luma* meaning either a cave or house, and the Loyalty Islands *um* being a possessive applied to either caves or houses. And this shows us that though *luma* or *ruma*, so unusual a word for house in Melanesia or Indonesia, is absent with that meaning in Polynesia, yet it is well represented by the common forms *lua* and *rua*, a cave. Sometimes we have no known form quite like the root. Thus from Malagasy, *ali-ka*, Indonesian *asu*, Florida *kau* a dog, we can reconstruct the root *kasu* or *kali*. There is no such form known, but the Mota *kuru-t* and Polynesian *kuli* seem to be parallel

forms. Sometimes, indeed, the true root seems to have been entirely lost as in the word *ika* a fish, the reason being probably that in such a very common word, decay has been universal. Even here, however, we can with some confidence affirm what the root is from the comparison of various forms. The Malagasy *fia-na* a kind of fish, *fia futsi* a white fish, and the Maori *ika* a fish, gives us *fika* or *pika* as the root meaning fish.* But such cases are very rare. Even words like *niu* a coco-nut palm, yield their roots after search (Vella Lavella *niru*), and probably with a better knowledge of the languages most words might be traced to the fuller dissyllabic forms.

Taking then these forms as our starting point we have to see in what ways they decay; and we may first note the vowel changes, and then the decay of the whole word, till perhaps only a single letter remains, not at all an unknown occurrence.

DECAY OF ROOTS. (1). Let us begin with the root *vata*, giving it for the present the meaning of a lump. In Mota we have it without its final vowel in compounds: *vat tangae* a log, *vat tanun* a short thick-set man. In Malagasy we have the full form *vata* a box, trunk, chest, *vatana* a chopping block, trunk of a tree, body of a man. But the last vowel easily alters or weakens. Thus we have the common *vatu* a stone,† New Georgia *batu* the head (Vanikolo, *baza* the head, or a rounded hill, retains the *a*); Efate, *batu* the knee; Tahitian, *patu* a little wooden mallet; Guadalcanar, *vatu-na* a seed; Vella Lavella, *vati* the knee; Samoan, *fatu* the heart. The middle vowel occasionally alters, in the Banks Group frequently, and there we find Mota *qatu* the head (*q* = *kpw*), replaced by such forms as *qotu* and *qetu*.

(2) The next great change which the word undergoes

*Malagasy, *ka-pika* is a species of fish; Tahitian, *piha* the name of a small fish. So in a language of Guadalcanar *jeje* has replaced *ika* the common word for fish, but *ika* remains in *iha mea* the name of a species of fish.

†*Vatu* seems to refer to its shape. There is another common word for stone: Tonga *maka*, Vanikolo *vaga*, which has given us the Indonesian word for hard, *maka-na* (Mota, *vavaka* strong).

is the loss of the second consonant. Thus we have Mota *qau* the knee; Efate, *bau* the head; San Cristoval, *hau-rae* the forehead, *hau* a stone; Malaita, *fau* a stone. This is the change that we usually find in Polynesia, but it is very common everywhere. Other examples are *tai* the sea, *kei* to dig, *reo* the voice, *rua* a cave, *fai* four, which are elsewhere found as *tasi*, *keli*, *reko*, *ruma*, *fati*, with the same meanings.

(3) An equally common change is the loss of the first consonant. The following examples will be sufficient: Malay, *harus* or *arus* a current; San Cristoval, *asi* the sea (Tagala, *tasik* salt water); Mota, *ura* full; (Efate, *bura* full); Malagasy, *afu* fire (Sesake, *kapu* fire); Tahitian, *eri* undermine (Maori, *keri* dig); San Cristoval, *aro* string (Florida, *galo* string); Polynesian, *iva* nine (Indonesian, *siwa* nine); Tahitian, *ite* know (Maori, *kite* know); Florida, *aho* sun (Malaita, *sato* sun).

(4) These last two forms of decay are very common everywhere. In languages which tolerate consonants at the end of words it is common to lose the last vowel. Thus *tai*, *kei*, *reo*, *fai* are not found in Mota as *tasi*, *keli*, *reko*, *fati*, but as *tas* the sea (in names only), *gil* to dig, *va-reg* to command, *vat* four.

(5) A language may proceed further. Instead of casting out one consonant, it may cast out both. Thus we have Maori, *au* a current (Malay *harus*); Wedau, *ai* fire (Raga *gapi*); Rarotonga, *ao* line (Florida *galo*); Motu, *au* a tree (Efate, *kasu*); Marquesas, *eo* voice (Paumotu *reko*); Nifilole, *oo* cloud (Oba *roto*); Maori, *ao* day (Malaita, *sato* sun).

(6) By another method of decay we are left with only the first syllable, and the second is lost altogether—Maori, *tu* stand (Mota *tura*); *ra* the sun (Kayan, *laso* heat); *pa* a fence (San Cristoval *bara*); Marshall Islands, *ni* coco-nut palm (Vella Lavella *niru*); Maori, *po* night (Fiji *bongi*); Santa Cruz, *ma* the eye (Mota *mata*). Such forms *may* not be cases of decay as we shall see later.

(7) Sometimes in languages which can end in a consonant we have only the middle of the word—Mota, *ar* current

(Malay *harus*); *av* fire (Raga *yapi*); *as* smoke (Alite *rasu*). This is common in the Banks Islands.

(8) Very rarely we find only the last syllable. This of course is not likely to happen, because the end of the word decays more easily than the beginning owing to careless and lazy speaking. It may be doubted whether the supposed cases of such decay cannot be otherwise explained, or are not the result of a previous transposition of the root. Vanikolo, *nu* to drink (Fiji *gunu*); Santa Cruz, *lu* to live (Malagasy *velu-na*). Codrington gives Santa Cruz, *ma* house (Efate *suma*) and Tregear gives Nicobar, *ka* fish (root *pika*).

(9) Sometimes all but the first vowel is lost—Tahitian, *o* enclosure (Efate, *koro* enclose); Marquesas, *a* the sun (Kayan *laso*); Tonga, *u* shelter (Efate, *suma* house); *i* a fan; *ta-bili* to fan; *a* a fence (San Cristoval *bara*); *a* in Tonga also means awake, open, liquid, to heat and to melt, these five meanings of *a* representing five different roots.

(10) Besides such forms of decay we have another very common one. The first syllable is reduplicated and then the second is partially or completely lost. Thus we have in Mota *kokor* and *koko* enclose (Efate *koro*); *roro* news, from *rongo* to hear; *roro* deep (Maori, *roto* deep); *memea* red, from *mera*; *rara* scorch (Kayan, *laso* heat); Malekula, *ror* dark (Malaita, *rodo* night); Paumotu, *ruru* cage (San Cristoval, *ruma* house); Samoan, *lala* shine (Tonga *lama*); Mota, *pup* back, of house, (Maori, *muri* behind); San Cristoval, *baba* cheek (Oba *bale*); Santo, *vava* mouth (Mota *valai*). But these again are not always cases of decay. They may be the reduplication of primary roots.

Such forms, however, are very common and important, because they often account for final consonants. They may be examples both of growth and decay, the root growing longer by the reduplication of the first syllable, and then shorter, by the loss of the last.

(11) Besides these forms of decay we must note the transposition or partial transposition of the letters of the root, a change by no means uncommon. Pratt even writes

that "the Samoans transpose consonants almost unnoticed by their hearers, saying *namu* for *manu*"; but generally, a form once transposed becomes permanent. The vowels are not often transposed; thus we have Fiji, *liva* lightning; Mota, *vila* lightning; Mota, *toro* deep; Maori, *roto* deep; Maori, *raku* scratch, Mota *karu* scratch; Malagasy (Provincial), *kili* small; Maori, *riki* small; Tonga, *pelupelu* fold; Mota, *ma-lupelupe* folded; Maori, *kupe-nga* a net; Malay, *puka-t* a net. Sometimes it is only one syllable that is affected (Rowa *sieng*, Mota *singa* to shine)*; or only the vowels (Mota, *wola-kaukau* hooked climbing palm Malaita, *walo*† a climber); but it is a common change, and the new form may in turn decay, giving rise to numerous shorter ones. Nevertheless, the transposed form may generally be distinguished from the original form, owing to the fact that the former is local in use, and (being later) has decayed very much less.

COMPLEX CHANGES. We have, however, very many complex cases, where change and decay, dialectic variation and phonetic loss, have both played a great part. Thus we shall find many dialectic variations, of Kayan, *laso* heat. Malaita, *salo* the sky may be a transposed form of it: but Malaita, *sato* the sun; Guadalcanar, *pa-rako* the sky; Florida, *pa-rako* a cloud; Celebes, *da-saho* hot, seem all to be variants of it. Probably we may say the same of Mota, *kalokalo* a cloud, *kalo* up, above; and Fiji, *kalokalo* a star. When however we come to the decayed forms, either of the original or transposed word, their number seems at first rather bewildering, (Florida, *aho* the sun; Salibabo *alo*; Guadalcanar *aso*; New Guinea *aro*; San Cristoval, *aro* the sky; Efate, *aso* heat; Malagasy, *adro* day; San Cristoval, *raorao* hot; Raga, *ma-hao* the sky; Malaita, *ako* hot; Anaiteum, *lah* the day; Ceram, *wo-leh* the sun, and perhaps Mota and Maori *maro* a famine, or time of drought, (?*ma-aro* "scorched"); Mota, *sar* to shine; Maori, *ra* the sun; Mota, *rara* to scorch.

*Perhaps Malay, *sia-na* daylight, day. *siang*

†A stem that has also reached Mota as *gae* a creeper, for *gae* is in neighbouring dialects *gau* or *gao*; in Florida *galo*; in San Cristoval *aro* or *waro*; in Malaita *walo*.

But the root may also with a slight change of meaning, set out, as it were, on another course. We feel inclined to bring under this root Mota *garo* hard scorched ground; Hawaian, *hao* any hard substance; Malaita, *salo* iron, and the many decayed forms of this, meaning iron or any metal. Either iron was thought to be merely hard scorched ground, or the people thought it had to do with the sky as coming "from the heavens."* When Mota natives first saw iron they called it *gar-tuka (tuka*, sky), and the Maori name for it *pi-haronga*,† seems to contain a similar idea.

Or again, if the original meaning was the sun or sky, and if the dead were thought to go to a home in the skies, they might be addressed as beings of the *raho* or sky. Turner mentions many cases especially in Micronesia of islands where the people said that their dead went to the sky, especially the dead chiefs. At Manahiki the chiefs' souls were supposed to go to the heavens and send down thunder, lightning and rain, although the common people merely went to *Pofafa*, a place in the east. The people of Savage Island had a subterranean region for the souls of the dead, but also believed that the dead went to the land of *Sina* in the skies, where perpetual day reigned. The stars, said the Tanna people, "are the eyes of our dead ancestors looking down upon us." "When I die," said a Fijian chief, "I shall be *kalou*,"‡ a spiritual being to whom prayers are offered. In the Solomons all the dead are called *ti-dalo* or *a-daro*, a word which may well mean "being of the heavens." The Florida dead passed to *beti-dalo* the heavenly waters. In the Banks all prayers to the dead or to spiritual beings, began with the word *ta-taro*, the general name of the dead, so addressed; but *tataro* has *now* come to be a general word for prayer—(Gilbert Islands, *tataro* prayer; Samoa, *tatalo* prayer;

*The word, may however, come from a Primary Root *ro* the inside, *garo* meaning the ground underneath, beneath the soft soil.

†*Pi* alone means iron; *cf.* Maori, *wi* iron; Malagasy, *vi* iron; Santa Cruz, *pe-viki* axe.

‡*Cf.* Fiji, *ka-lok-lo* a star. But it must be noticed that *kalou* is unlike *kalokalo* in form and is more likely perhaps to be connected with Tongan, *lotu* worship, and to be a decayed form of *ka-lotu* an object of worship. At least the *u* of *kalou* must be explained.

Hawaian, *kalokalo* prayer); while in Maori, *Haro-nga* is the sky god who begat sun and moon.

We seem to have a parallel case in the Maori, *ruka* up, above; New Guinea, *a-rua* a spiritual being; Mota, *tuka* the sky; Santa Cruz, *duka* a ghost; Maori, *a-tua* a spiritual being or ghost; Malay, *tuha-n*, the common name for God. If it was the chiefs and great warriors only who were thought to go to the sky, (common people perishing or going to an underworld), only chiefs would become *tataro* or *kalou* or *atua*.*

Then all such main paths followed by a root word will branch off into many side tracks; from *garo* hard ground we get in Mota *tine-garo* energy (steel-hearted), and *mata-garo* cruel (stoney-eyed) and so on. To work out the ramifications of a single root is obviously a matter of great difficulty, for not only must we have a tight rein on our imagination lest we should connect too ingeniously words not really related (as perhaps some reader will think we have just done); but the more decayed the root is, the more careful we have to be. Indeed half the confusion which reigns in Oceanic comparisons of words, is caused by decayed forms being freely compared when their roots are unknown. For example: the Maori word *ra* the sun (whose resemblance to the Egyptian *ra*, the sun, is usually pointed out) is very probably a decayed form, the first syllable only of a root; but there is more than one root it may come from. In Raga, *rani* is light, and we have also in Mota, *ma-ran* day, and Malagasy, *ma-rai-na* light. Might not *ra* come from this root? However, in this case, putting aside the query whether there may not really be a connection between *rani* and *raho*, we have some guide in Anaiteum, *lah* the day, and Ceram, *wo-leh* the sun. Still it must be admitted that the comparison of decayed forms, especially if geographically far apart, is very dangerous, and the parent of many errors. A decayed form should, if possible, be traced to a fuller form close

*In Meli (Efate), a human being on dying becomes a *te-tua*, a word which is also used generally for any supernatural being.

at hand; and the gradual alteration of words from island to island is a thing to be most carefully noted.

We have not yet exhausted all the forms of decay to which Oceanic roots are liable. The particles which are called primary are often so firmly glued to the root as to seem part of it, and have doubtless come to be considered so by the people who use the words. When this takes place and root and particle become one word, which decays just as as a single root does, we have indeed a difficult tangle to unravel. Thus in Maori we have the word *rite** like, equal, corresponding to; in Rarotongan this is *a-rite*, the root with a prefix; in Mota this is *sa-rita* or *sasa-rita*; and probably *sarita*, decaying, gives us Mota *sar* equal, opposite to, corresponding to. The particle too may effect the root. Thus the root *tika* straight, reduplicating and prefixing *ta* gives us Mota *ta-niniga* straight, where *t* has altered to *n*, by influence of the prefix.†

"On crossing over to Lombock," writes Wallace in his *Malay Archipelago*, "separated from Bali by a strait less than twenty miles wide, I naturally expected to meet with some of these birds again, but I never saw one of them, but found a totally different set of species." So might the philologist write who is familiar with the chief Oceanic roots and their mode of decay. He may pass from language to language in the Oceanic family and meet with hundreds of familiar genera and even species of words, but cross to a Papuan language, separated for ages or it may be never united, and, perhaps to his surprise, he does not find a single species of the hundreds he is familiar with.

RESULT OF DECAY. We may summarise the ways in which a secondary root may decay as follows. The root, we will suppose, is *sato*.

(1) The first vowel will probably remain unchanged; the second will very likely weaken.

(2) The first consonant may be lost, *ato*.

(3) The second consonant may be lost, *sao*.

*A variant probably of the root *rata*, even, a plain, etc., *cf.* Mota *va-sa-rata-g* level, even.

†Codrington derives *taniniga* from *ninin* smooth; but the primary root seems to be *tu* or *ti*.

(4) Both consonants may be lost, *ao*.
(5) The last vowel may be lost, *sat*.
(6) The second syllable may be lost, *sa*.
(7) In this case, the syllable is probably doubled, *sasa*.
(8) It is possible, but rare, for the first syllable to be lost, *to*.
(9) Only the first vowel may remain, *a*.
(10) Only the middle of the root may remain, *at*.
(11) The root may be transposed, *taso*.
(12) This may then decay as before.
(13) Prefixes and suffixes glued to the word become indistinguishable from it, and the new form decays as before.

It should be observed that we cannot say that *any* consonant may be lost by decay. Some are very persistent, such as an initial *m*; we do not find *ata* for *mata*, or *ate* for *mate*; yet even initial *m* if it is changed to *b* or *p* and then later to *h* may drop away completely (Maori *muri*, Java *buri*, Tagala *huli*, Bisaya *uliny*). We have only considered the decay of the words in the most general terms.

PRIMARY ROOTS. The first step then must be to reconstruct these secondary roots, consisting of two syllables. It can only be done by the patient comparison of forms in neighbouring languages. When it has been done, we may perhaps go a step further? We may consider some of these secondary roots in groups.

The root *ru-mu* means moss, or seaweed, or any green damp growth, or coco-nut oil and fluids generally—something wet in fact. The common word *ua* or *uha* rain is found in Indonesia as *hu-ra* or *huran* (Malay *hujan*). Then too we have the Malagasy *hu-na* and the North Malaita *kukunu* meaning swamp. If we put these side by side a monosyllabic primary root is at once suggested *hu* or *ru*,* meaning wet. In Samoan *su* means wet, (in Mota *su-g* to bathe). The Samoan word is a primary

Cf. the Polynesian *ra-ri* "wet" which, like *ruma*, means "soft" in some Oceanic Languages.

root. Probably it has grown by addition of particles and then decayed back to its old form. Still we see from a comparison of several secondary roots, that *SU*, (*HU*, *RU*,) is really a primary root meaning wet. All the primary roots are monosyllables like this one.

The word for "drink" varies greatly but there is a very wide-spread primary root *nu*. In the New Hebrides, Malay and New Guinea we have *mi-nu* as the secondary root, in Fiji *gu-nu*, in New Guinea *nu-ma*. Another secondary root of great interest is *ra-nu* "water," found in Malagasy, Java, New Guinea, Melanesia and Polynesia. Yet another wide-spread secondary root is *ha-nu* or *ka-nu* "spittle." Grouping these together we get a primary root *NU* "wet."*

Or we may take another group of more importance. *Ka-bu* means mist, darkness, smoke, cloud; a covering, skin, wrapper, a garment. *Ra-bu* means ashes, mist, fog, cloud, dust, dusk, twilight, evening. *Bu-lu* means to cloak, cover, a husk or skin, dark, black, dirty; hair, down, wool, feathers. *Bu-nu* means to conceal, hide, cover, shroud, envelope, enclose, deceive. From these we gather that there is a primary root *BU*, to cover; *ra*, *ka* are demonstrative roots, *lu*, *nu* also; but in the latter case the vowels have become assimilated to the root vowel.

Vu-ka means fruit, or, generally speaking, anything like a ball in shape, *ka-pu* means concave, curved, hollow, a cup or goblet (in Santa Cruz *te-pu)*; *vu-ri* means to revolve, turn round, twist round, *vu-su* means a bow, *pu-to* the navel, *pu-ku* a hill, knob, mound, swelling, lump, *si-fu* a round shell.

Something curved or round is a common *meaning* to all these very widespread Secondary Roots, while *pu* or *vu* is a common *syllable*. That the other syllables are merely the primary demonstrative particles seems likely in the case of *vu-ka*, *ka-pu*, and not impossible in the other cases where the vowel has assimilated with the vowel of

*Mota *nima* wet.

the root—*pu-to*, for example, is *pu-sat* in Malay. We find then by comparing a number of these Secondary Roots that *vu*, *pu* is a Primary Root meaning something round.* *Ma-ta*, again, means a disk, the face, the eye, a mesh of a net, etc., *va-ta* means a stone, a lump, a seed, the head, the heart, etc., *va-ka* means a boat or ship, *ma-ka* or *va-ka* a stone. *Ma* or *va*, then, means something round. This may be related to *vu*. We suppose then a Primary Root *MU* or *MA* leading to many derived forms, and connecting such apparently unrelated words as Rarotongan *ua* a seed, and Mota *matan* to desire.

We may take one more example. *Ka-pu* means a fire. It is one of the Secondary Roots and has decayed to *apu*, *api*, *av*, *ai*, *eu*, etc. *Pu-ra* means shining, white, bright, the lightning, phosphorescent, silver, gold, *Mu-ra* means to flash, blaze, golden. *Vu-la* means the moon (it seems best to connect it with this root, not with *vu* round). We thus get a root *PU* or *MU* meaning bright†.

In the same manner we find a root *RO* or *LO* meaning the inside, *SO* or *RO* meaning heat, and many others. All these we call Primary Roots.

METHOD OF FINDING PRIMARY ROOTS.

But it may be asked, could we not find these much more easily by noting the monosyllabic words of the languages? Not by any means; for these are, very often at least, decayed forms of secondary roots and not primary roots at all.‡ We have, for example, some reason for thinking that Maori *ra* the sun, and *ka* to burn, are decayed forms of the secondary roots *raho*, *kapu*. But by bringing together groups of secondary roots we find *ho*

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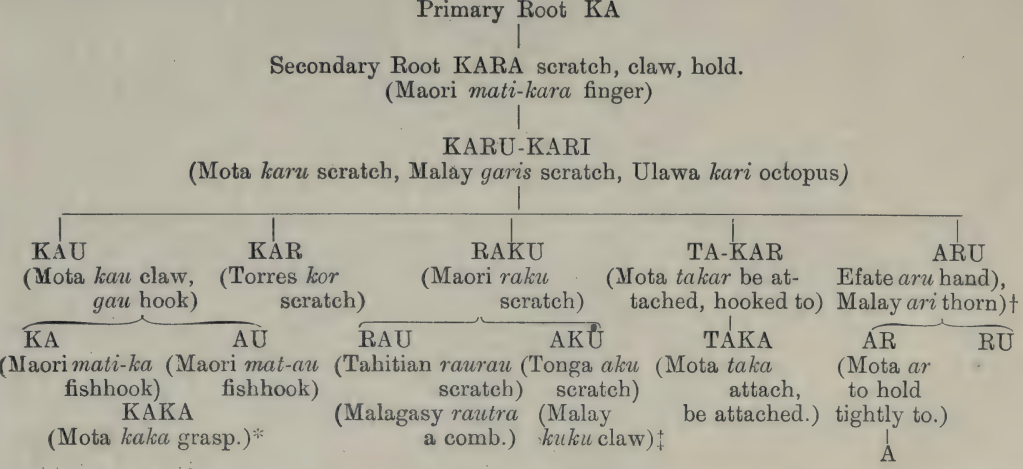
*Amusing mistakes occur from confusion of roots. On a certain Melanesian island *vui* means "a spirit, an unseen being," from the Primary Root *vu* "to cover." A writer in a magazine remarked on the names of villages which were all called, he said, after spirits—"the spirit of the nettle," "the spirit of the nut-tree," and so on. But *vui* in this language also means "a tree-trunk," from the Root *vu* "a round thing."

†*Cf.* Fiji, *bu-ka* fire.

‡For example, the Provincial Malagasy *havitra* a hook, has been shown to alter gradually eastwards till in the Loyalty Islands it is *ge* a hook. We might say that *ge* has grown by addition, till it gives us *havitra*, but the objections to this view are so great, that the converse is certainly the truth.

and *pu* to be the primary roots in *raho* and *kapu*, and *ra* and *ka* to be only particles. Thus instead of the Maori monosyllables being roots, they are mere particles once added to roots. So the Mota *us* a bow, Tahitian *ia* fish, are not primary roots, but each consists of a part of a root with part of a particle. In fact there are no short cuts to finding out the earliest forms of the language. We must first build up, putting back what has been lost by decay. Often a knowledge of the Primary Roots will explain anomalous forms such as Solomon Islands, *ra-ro* the inside, or Malay, *mu-ka* the face, the ordinary forms for which are *roto* and *mata*. Many reduplicated monosyllables are true Primary Roots, such as *lolo* the inside, *kaka* to grasp, *vava* an opening; but not all of them are so. Transposed forms may often be accounted for by supposing different particles to have been added to a common root.

In speaking of these primary roots we have gone very far back. In the Mother Tongue from which the Oceanic Languages sprang, the words had already assumed the forms called here Secondary Roots. The Primary Demonstrative Roots had already been added to Primary Name Roots. After the languages became separated the former were freely added again to the Secondary Roots, which at the same time steadily decayed; till by a strange inversion, the particles sometimes alone remained.



Cf., San Cristoval, *kakau* a finger.
Florida, *kakau* a crab; *kaka-vere* a spider.
Maori, *kakau* a stalk; Savo, *kakau* the hand.
Mota, *gagar* scratch; *gagarai* the itch
Perhaps Malay *kakatua* English *cockatoo*, (derived from the Malay). Skeat says this is an imitative word "from the birds cry." If so it is a very bad imitation.

Since *kaka* means "to grip" and *kaka-tua* "pincers," (Malay, *dua* two) may not the bird have been named from its grip rather than its cry? Its grip is unforgettable.

†Mota, *sa-kar*, scratch; *sa-kariu* thorn.

‡*Ku* is probably another form of *ka*; *cf.* Mota *ta-kuk* to grasp, *ta-kul* catch hold of; Maori, *raku* may be from this.

6. THE OCEANIC PARTICLES, PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES.

Languages are roughly divided into three groups: *isolating* consisting of strings of independent words without inflections and without particles, *agglutinative* where grammatical relations are shown by prefixing, suffixing, or infixing sounds and syllables which are no longer independent words, and *inflectional* where the stem and the modifiers have become still more closely united.

Now the Oceanic languages are on the border land between the last two groups. Perhaps a language which has passed the isolating and reached the agglutinating stage is apt to pass on to the third group if the particles it possesses are suffixes rather than prefixes; but if its genius is to prefix particles rather than to suffix them, then it is likely to remain in the second group.* The Oceanic languages seem once to have been at the meeting of the ways. They had reached the agglutinating stage, and the particles which they possessed they could put either before or after the root words.† But their genius inclined more and more to prefix rather than suffix, to prefix verbal and nominal particles and prepositions. We have seen that this tendency was resisted in some cases, but generally it was followed, and the languages have remained agglutinating.

GROUPS OF PARTICLES. We shall find that there are several waves or generations of particles, some shown to be older than others; and that the oldest have been glued so firmly to the stem, as prefixes or suffixes, that they are often thought to be

*Some Papuan Languages are inflectional; the result of a tendency to suffix.
†Even now the Rotuma language can either prefix or suffix the article *at*.

part of it, especially in the Polynesian Group. Thus in the Tahitian *mamapu* a flute, *mama* has been so firmly glued to the decayed root, that it is not recognised as a prefix, but by comparing the form *mapu* with the Maori *mapu* to whiz, hum, pant, squirt; and the Raga *mabu* to breathe, the breath; we are led on to the Mota form *mapusag* to breathe, the breath, to pant, to rest; and it is plain that this is the prefix *ma*, the root *pu* and a suffix; the same imitative root to which we have already referred. Similarly in the Santa Cruz *tema* a disk ornament or the moon, we really have a prefix and a decayed form of *mata*, as we also have in the Nifilole word *nome* the face. The Samoan *sapai* to hold in the hands, is seen to be *pai* with a prefix if we compare the Mota forms *sa-pan* to lead, *panei* a hand.

PRIMARY PARTICLES. Let us go to mineralogy for an illustration. Many rocks show several generations of crystals, formed as the molten material cools. First large crystals appear which are often broken and corroded by mechanical and chemical action within the still liquid mass, and then later a second group of smaller crystals appears, moulded round the earlier and larger ones. So in these languages. First appear the particles of the earlier group, and then round them a later group. The earlier particles are a group particularly well represented in Malagasy by *tra*, *ka*, *na* and *ma*; although *tra* is not found elsewhere, *ta*, *ra* and *sa* represent it. The later group consists of such particles as the Banks Islands *i*, which have overlaid the former group. It may be that *ta*, *ra*, *sa*, *ha* are only variants of one particle, and even, as Dr. Macdonald believes, that *ka* and *na* should be included. For the present it will be better to consider all the particles as a group, leaving their identity doubtful. These particles are seen in all the languages, generally firmly glued to the stems and unrecognized. They form nouns, verbs, verbal nouns and adjectives; they may be the origin of the articles; they are identical with the "transitive" and "passive" suffixes; and they occur both as suffixes and prefixes.

They are the oldest particles in the language, and are shown to be so by the following facts. In the first place, as has been shown earlier, they are so firmly fixed to the stem, form so much a part of it, that they are often unrecognised. Then too, other particles have overlaid them. In the Banks Islands the particle *i* is a sign of a word being a noun; from the roots *mata*, *qatu*, *ulu* the nouns *matai* eye, *qatui* head, *ului* hair, are formed, but this *i* is also added to a root to which a primary particle has already been suffixed; *saye* is a root meaning to sit, *saye-ra* is a perch, *saye-ra-i* is the foundation of a house, that on which it sits; in Opa, *bale* means the "cheek," the root has been strengthened by a primary suffix in Raga where *bala-he* means cheek; to this form *i* has been added in the Banks Islands where *pala-sa-i* is cheek. While all the languages possess these primary particles, which were therefore part of the original linguistic treasure of the family, yet when the languages became divided they used their common treasure for different purposes. Thus Malagasy has *ali-ka* a dog, while Mota has *kuru-t*; Mota has *aro-sa* hoarse, while Java has *garo-k*; Samoan has *ta-lo-fa*, where Mota has *maga-ro-sa*; and often the particle is present in one language but not in another: Anaiteum, *munu-ka* thunder, Mota, *manu* thunder; Vanikolo, *menu-ga* bird, Maori, *manu* bird, Ambrym, *bue* pig, Tongan, *bua-ka* pig; Tongan, *fao* metal, Santa Cruz, *ta-pao* metal; Malagasy, *fela* palm of the hand, Mota *ta-wera-i* palm of the hand, Florida, *pera* palm of the hand; Mota, *ta-pera* a flat plate.

THEIR ORIGINAL MEANING. Granting then these particles to be primary ones, can we assign any meaning to them? They date back to the time when there was a certain vagueness as to parts of speech; may not their own meaning have been vague also? We may suppose that they were demonstrative particles which in a general way made nouns by limiting the vague meaning attached to the root; and they might also make participles or adjectives. A root word *lumu* means to be moist. If the primary particles are added the sense be-

comes less general *lumu-ta* moss (a particular moist thing), *lumu-ra* to moisten something, *lumu-ga* moistened,* *i.e.* wet, and thus we should get a noun, a transitive verb or an adjective. After a time one particle would gradually be used to make nouns, another to make adjectives. This seems to have happened after the languages became divided where it happened at all; but occasionally a use may be general, as is the case with *ga* which is a common adjectival affix in all the languages. The use of *-ma* also to give the sense of a past participle to a root word seems to be very general

THEIR FUNCTION. However we may account for it, the particles *ta, ra, sa; ka, ga; na; ma* or *va* are used in all the languages of the family, and a stem plus a particle, either prefixed or suffixed, is sometimes a noun, sometimes an adjective, sometimes a "transitive" or "passive" verb. It seems probable that these uses all have a common origin. All the examples of trisyllabic words in Malagasy end in the light terminals *tra, na, ka* and the Rev. W. E. Cousins shows that there is reason to think these are only affixes because (1) they are sometimes disused (2) in some words they are interchanged—*fasi-ka, fasi-na, fasi* all having the same meaning (3) like forms with different terminals show allied meanings—*ria-ka* small streams of water, *ria-na* cascades. The suffixes added to such root words to form passives are these suffixes with the syllable *na*, but the vowel of the terminals is often weakened to *i* and the consonant altered in the process. Thus from *haru-ka* hollow, we get *haru-kina* hollowed. We thus get a set of passive terminations *hina, fina, tina, rina, mina* or the same with *a* instead of *i*. If there is no light terminal, the passive ending is simply *ana* or *ina*. Now the Maori passive endings are *gia hia, whia, tia, ria, mia; ina* or *na*. We can scarcely doubt that these are only decayed forms of the Malagasy endings, and that *hi, whi, ti, ri, mi* correspond to the "light terminals" so commonly closing Malagasy words. Thus Maori *waru* to scrape, makes its

*The last two are imaginary words.

passive *waru-hia*, while Malagasy *havitra* a fish hook, makes a passive verb *havi-tina*; *hautra* a scratching, *hau-rina*; Samoan, *malulu* cool, passive *malu-gia*; Malagasy, *malu-ka* cloudy, passive *malu-fana*. These light terminals are seen in Malagasy nouns (*ali-ka* a dog, *raha-ka* a branch, *lua-ka* a hole, *lumu-tra* moss, *tau-na* year), and in adjectives or participles (*vara-ka* split, *puri-tra* crushed, *hara-ka* scorched, tired).

They are common in Malay (*lumu-t* moss, *ora-ng* man, *sina-r* sunbeam, *mura-k* gold, *kumi-s* beard) and in Melanesia (Mota, *pua-ka* swamp, *lago-ta* giant, *koko-ta* narrow, *kuru-t* a dog, *lumu-ta* moss, *pua-sa* a lizard, *lako-sa* disturbed, *sage-ra* a perch, *we-na* rain,* *gau-n* sinnet). They even occur occasionally in these fuller forms in Polynesia (Maori, *piri-ta* supplejack; *tia-ka* a mother, dam; *tupu-na* an ancestor; *tai-na* younger brother).

By comparing such forms as Florida, *tangi-hi* cry for, and Maori *tangi-hia* passive of *tangi* to cry; Efate, *buni-ti* plug up, and Samoan *punu-tia* passive of *puni* to shut, we see clearly that the verbal suffixes in Melanesia correspond to the first syllable of the Polynesian passives and that therefore the former are in origin identical with the Malagasy *tra, ka, na;* and, speaking generally, that all these suffixes have a common source and are all demonstrative particles originally. Sometimes also the terminations are found in Polynesia apart from the passives. Maori, *ara-hi* to lead the way; *rua-ki* to vomit (Mota *lua-g*); *mata-ki* to watch (Mota *mata-g*). Besides those already mentioned *va* and *ma* are common suffixes.

PREFIXED OR SUFFIXED. But these primary suffixes are very ancient and date back to a time, we must believe, when the languages could either prefix or suffix demonstrative particles; for the same particles play a great part as prefixes. Their work as prefixes may be illustrated from three typical languages: Malagasy, Mota and Maori.

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*I.e., *ue-na*, Polynesia *ua*, *cf.*, Santa Cruz *tewa* rain, *i.e. te-ua*.

1. In Malagasy *ta* is "a prefix joined to many roots indicating those things having essentially the property of the root" (*ta-fua-ka* blowpipe, *ta-bua-ra* a species of gourd, *ta-varivari* round), *sa* is "a prefix joined to many primary roots," *ka* is "a prefix somewhat modifying the root meaning" (*ka-futsi* white of egg, *futsi* white); *ma* is an adjectival and verbal prefix (forming transitive verbs).

2. Mota *ta—ta-kau* grasp, *ta-vun* conceal, *ta-vig* mound up, *ta-wene* spark, *ta-pan* lead.

sa—sa-pan lead, *sa-karu* rough, *sa-kau* catch, *sa-vula* wash.

**ga—ga-rere* current, *ga-mal* club house, *ga-sal* knife, *ga-pil-wanga* lightning, *ga-pulu-t* glue, *ga-nawono* calamity, *ga-puna* a spring of water, *ga-lava* long.†

ma—ma-lumlum soft, *ma-vin* obsidian, *ma-kaliu* example, *ma-rawa* spider, *ma-tia* sneeze, *ma-rav* mist, *m-ewu* fine rain, *ma-wora* spread out, come apart, *ma-raga-i* trembling, *ma-lalalaka* joyful.

3. Maori *ta—ta-horo* crumble down, *ta-here* snare, *ta-kiri* heart of tree, *ta-kere* bottom, *ta-miro* twisted, *ta-puke* mound up, *ta-puni* conceal, *ta-piri* join, *ta-turi* wax in ear.

ha—ha-pai lift, carry, *ha-rau* grope for, *ha-popo* crowding together, *ha-koko* concave, *ha-para* cut, *ha-tepe* cut off, *ha-wera* burnt spot.

ra—ra-hui flock, *ra-hiri* rope, *ra-kau* tree.

ka—ka-hui flock, *ka-pura* fire, *ka-maka* rock, *ka-hera* spade, *ka-piti* close together, *ka-rau* grapnel, *ka-tau* right hand.

na—na-hau quick, *na-mata* former times.

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*It is this prefix which appears in the adopted English word gutta percha, a Malay word properly spelt *getah percha*. *ga-tah* meaning "that which exudes." *Cf.* Maori, *toto* blood; San Cristoval, *tongatonga* sap; Tahitian, *toto* clot of blood).

†Oceanic languages form adjectives frequently by affixing *ga* to a root; and it is as often a prefix as a suffix. In Florida it is suffixed to almost any word to form an adjective (a room lighted by candles, *bulu*, is said to be *bulugaa*); while in Santa Cruz it is prefixed (*ba* to die, *kaba* dead).

ma—*ma-tangi* wind, *ma-hana* warm, *ma-kere* to drop, *ma-kura* trickling, *ma-hora* spread out, *ma-pura* fire, *ma-pua* bearing fruit, *ma-tua* parent.

In all the languages but especially in Polynesia the vowel of these prefixes is often weakened; Maori, *ti-mata* begin, *ti-hao* catch. In Polynesia on the other hand there is often a fuller form, or two particles joined together:—

Maori, *tau-weke* separated, *kai-puke* ship (Santa Cruz *te-puke*), *taka-wiri* twisted, *taka-ritarita* vexed, *taka-he* go wrong.

In all the languages examples are found of the simple prefix or suffix *a*, which may be a worn-down form of any of the former (Tongan *fatufatu-a* stony, Mota *mate-a* death).

Often two particles are combined, Mota, *ga-pulu-t* glue; Maori, *ma-ka-riri* cold.

In the Mota *ma-ga-ro-sa* pity, we even have three. The Hawaian form is *lofa*, but the Tongan *aloofa* pity, compassion, shows the root to be *roto* or *loto* (Mota *lolo* the heart, affections). The word has been built up gradually till now three fourths of the whole consists of demonstrative particles.

CAUSATIVE PREFIX. The Causative Prefix *ma* or *va* is found throughout the family. It frequently occurs in a fuller form *maka* or *vaka* which has led to the supposition that the word is identical with the Maori *hanga* to do, make, work; but perhaps we have in the fuller form a compound prefix.

Malagasy, *mi-teni* to speak, *ma-mpi-teni* to cause to speak.
Mota, *esu* to live, *va-esu* to save.
Maori, *tika* straight, *wha-ka-tika* straighten.

The Causative Prefix may, in practice, make adjectives, and it seems likely that the common "conditional" prefixes *ma*, *pa*, *va* are the same in origin:—

Maori, *pa-koko* shrunk (Mota, *gogo* to shrink).
Mota, *ma-wora* broken (*wora* to come apart).
Malagasy, *ma-diu* pure (*diu* purity).

The Causative Prefix may also make nouns (Malagasy, *va-huhu* a vice, *huhu* a claw; Motu, *siahu* hot, *va-siahu* hot water, *i.e.*, "the heated thing"; Mota, *ma-rawa* spider, perhaps "the spread out thing"); and often is unrecognised (Maori, *ma-kuru* trickling; Mota, *tur* to drip or drop). The vowel is sometimes weakened, as with the other prefixes (Maori, *pi-ngongo* or *pa-koko* shrunk, *pi-koko* hungry; Mota *pi-roro* deep).

It may even be thought that the suffixes *va*, *ma* are not unrelated to the Causative Prefix; since the latter must date back to primitive times, when particles might be either prefixed or suffixed (Mota, *vano* to go, *vano-v* to put or send, *i.e.*, to make to go).

In describing the root words it became evident that the Secondary Roots were themselves formed of earlier monosyllabic roots with particles; *ranu* water, and *numa* wet, giving us a Primary Root *nu*, with particles *ra* and *ma*. But very often in the case of these secondary roots the vowel of the particle had become assimilated to the vowel of the root; Maori, *ro-to* deep, being the root *ro* (Mota *roro* deep), with a particle. These particles appear to be the same as the later group. They are simply an earlier crystallisation and have often been too corroded by time to be recognisable. They are the earliest group of particles, and are as truly demonstrative in origin as the later ones, but the meaning they once gave has been almost entirely obliterated by successive additions of similar demonstrative roots.

RECIPROCAL PREFIX. If the origin of the Causative Prefix be a matter of doubt we are on surer ground when we come to another prefix, the Reciprocal. Its origin seems to be found in a root *vali* or *vari* which means to match or pair. Thus the Malagasy *vadi* (*vali* in the Provinces) means "a partner, a husband,

a wife, a companion, one of a pair, one of a set of two, a mate; a saucer is the *vadi* of a cup, a bead like another bead is called its *vadi*"; while *vali* is "an answer, recompense, revenge." So in Mota *valui* is an answer, a fellow, match: *val* is to match, *valu-g* to set in pairs and *var* is a reciprocal prefix to verbs: *var-vus* beat one another, *vari-ara* chase one another. The idea of relation to one another is at the bottom of these words; so in Fiji, *vei* is the Reciprocal; *vei-keve* means to nurse, and *vei* comes to be a prefix of plurality, *vei-vale* houses (not scattered singly); as *valval* comes to mean "all" or "every" in Mota.

In Malagasy *fa* is the Reciprocal (*man-ka-tia* to love, *mi-fan-ka-tia* love one another). In Tongan and Samoan the form is *fe* (Tonga, *ofa* love; *fe ofa aka* love one another). There is then a widespread particle, found in Indonesia, Melanesia and Polynesia, whose origin we can probably trace, and whose idiomatic use moreover (making a plural), unites languages far apart; for "a kind of plural denoting a number of things mutually related, is made by this prefix in Dayak, Fiji and the Loyalty Islands, and in Samoa a similar plural of verbs is also expressed by the same particle."*

TWO DIFFERENT PARTICLES. Two more particles may finally be considered, because not only are they widespread, but they belong to a different class from those hitherto before us. These are the prefixes *ra*, and *wa* or *wo*.

We have seen that in one set of Oceanic pronouns the third person plural is *ra*. This in Mota is used as the object of a verb or after a certain class of nouns *ilo-ra* see them, *pane-ra* hands of them. This, no doubt, is the plural prefix found with personal nouns, *ra-tasik* my brothers; it is also found in the form *re* or *rere*, *re-lumagav* the young men, *rere-mera* the boys. There is a curious use of it with the words for mother and wife, *ra-vevek* my mother, *ra-soak* my wife. This is believed

*S. H. Ray, Common Origin of the Oceanic Languages.

to point back to a state of communal marriage, of which the people themselves have no recollection. The population is divided into two sets or divisions *veve*, the same word is used for mother because the whole *veve* was looked upon as the parent, the women of the set are the mother. The New Hebrides *ra-tahi* mother may be explained in the same way as meaning "they of the division," "the sister-hood." In the same language however, *ra-tahigi* means a king, and is hardly likely to mean the brotherhood. It contains however, the same particle; for in Efate the third person plural is used by way of politeness in speaking of a distinguished individual. To say "they the King" instead of "he the King" is a form of honour. The same custom seems to obtain in Fiji where *ratu* is a respectful title added to a person's name; and *ranadi* means queen. *Ra* in Malagasy seems to be also used in this way. It is prefixed to proper names, and some others; *anabavy* is a man's sister, *autra* his sister-in-law, and *andriana* his sovereign; to these words and a few others *ra* is prefixed respectfully.* *Re* makes the demonstratives plural in the same language; *iti* this, *ireti* these, *io* that, *ireo* those.

The prefix *wa*, *wo* comes from a root *buka*, which means a globe or ball, often decayed to *bua*, *wua*, *wa*, *wo*, etc., in many Oceanic languages. In Melanesia there is a use of it as an affix to any noun which signifies something like a globe or lump—which is conceived of by the native mind in this way. In Nengone, *wa-nu* is a coco-nut, *wa-baiwa* the ear, *wa-tei* an egg, *wa-ie* the fist, *wa-gekole* the moon. So in Mota *wa-reai* is the forehead, in Vanikolo *wo-ie* the sun (Celebes, *wo-leh* the sun), in Santa Maria *wa-jekole* a star; in Wedau (New Guinea) *wa-gogo* is a spider, *wa-gura* a cray-fish. In Malagasy *vua*, besides being the prefix to names of plants and trees, is also used with many names of beetles and other insects; also *vua-vitsi* is the calf of the leg, *vua-pe* the upper part of the thigh,

*This *ra* may be originally the numeral *rua*, two. In Mota the dual number is used in speaking to a relation by marriage or a person specially respected.

vua-vula round silver ornaments, *vua-puhi* a spider, *vua-lavu** a rat. With this may be compared the Malay use of *bua* in counting globular objects, and the Melanesian use of *wa, wo* before personal names (with the meaning "fruit" probably). These have been already described.

Taking a general view of the primary Oceanic particles, we see in them all a limiting, determining force.† The root words are either name-words or demonstrative-words. The verbal root (the name of an action) had either a passive or an active sense. From these name-words nouns and adjectives, participles and verbal nouns might be formed by the addition of particles. The action or state expressed by the verbal root was thus limited; from *lumu* to be moist, we get *lumu-ta* a particular moist thing; from *moe* sleep, we get *moe-nga* a particular place for sleeping. So while *singa* in Mota is to shine and *singa-r* to enlighten, the general sense of "shining" being limited to shining on something and intensified, *sina-r* in Malay is a sunbeam, the particular thing which is shining. Numerous in form, and capable of combination, the particles had this in common that they all limited the very general sense of the root. Later on particular languages or groups of languages came to use one particle for passive participles, other particles for adjectives and nouns; a prefix in one case, a suffix in another; and in other ways to specialise. When a prefix or suffix had become firmly fixed to the stem, it was taken as an integral part of the word and the whole used with a fresh, living, particle.‡

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*Exactly the same form does not seem to occur in any other language except Nifilole near Santa Cruz, where *lavu* is a rat. Perhaps *vua-lavu* means the dusky, grey ball, or a creature of the dusk. *Cf. ante* Ch. II., p. 21.

†That particles with different functions may be one in origin is very well exemplified in the case of the Papuan language of Mabuig. The particles used with verbal roots in that language are often identical with those used with nouns, in form and probably in origin. *Mu la-na* in the house, *ima-na* has seen, sees now, that is *is in the act* of seeing, etc. Torres Straits Expedition, Vol. III.

‡"It is clearly established that the Indo-Germanic languages abound in suffixes, each of which was intended originally slightly to modify the meaning of the root to which it was added, so as to express the radical idea in a new relation. The languages delighted in adding suffix to suffix."—W. W. Skeat.

7. THE NUMERALS AND METHOD OF COUNTING.

In dealing with the Numerals used in these languages it will be convenient to describe first the method of counting, which is common to all of them; then the numerals themselves, which generally speaking, are the same in all of them; and finally to throw as much light as possible on the origin of the words which are used.

METHOD OF COUNTING. The method of counting, which is common to all of them, is to count by fingers and toes. To count the fingers of one hand up to five, and then go on with a second five, is a notation by fives or as it is called a quinary notation. To count by the use of both hands to ten, and thence to reckon by tens, is a decimal notation. To go by hands and feet to twenty, and thence to reckon by twenties is a vigesimal notation. All these ways of counting are used by the Oceanic people, but a decimal notation is most common.

Though this method of counting is common to all the languages, it cannot be said to be a characteristic feature of the family, because it is a natural primitive way of counting practised all over the world, *e.g.*, among the Zulus, the Greenlanders and the South Americans. Yet it is not the universal method, and strangely enough it forms a means of distinguishing Oceanic languages from their nearest neighbours in one direction, the Papuan languages of New Guinea.

In these Papuan languages counting does not go beyond five, that is there are no regular numerals beyond that; and the people who speak these languages count by the

parts of the body taken in a definite order, after reaching five. Thus in the language spoken by the Western Islanders of Torres Straits, six is *perta* wrist, seven *kudu* elbow joint, eight *zugu kuwik* shoulder, and so on; in Bugi (a Papuan New Guinea language), after using fingers for the first five, the people continue thus: *gaben* wrist, six; *trakqibe* elbow, seven; *poder* shoulder, eight; *nama* neck, nine; *dala* ear, ten.

Moreover the mode of showing the numbers with the fingers differs among different peoples. Tylor mentions that the Otomacs, to say "three" unite the thumb, forefinger and middle finger, keeping the others down; whereas the Tamanacs show the little finger, the ring finger and the middle finger, and close the other two. In the Oceanic islands the people usually count in a similar way, however far apart they may be. They do not hold up a finger to mark one, as we do; they close it. No clearer description of Oceanic counting has been given than that by Mr. Elsdon Best; for though he is only speaking of the Maories his remarks will apply equally well to the great majority of Oceanic peoples. "When a Maori proceeds to count on his fingers in the ancient manner, he holds up his left hand open, fingers straight in front of him. In beginning to count he takes hold of the top of the little finger of the left hand with the thumb and forefinger of the right. As he counts 'one' he turns down the little finger until it touches, or nearly so, the palm of the hand. He then in like manner takes hold of the top of the next finger, and turns that down as he counts 'two,' and so on until he reaches five when he turns the thumb in."*

A pure quinary notation is found in the Melanesian Group, *e.g.*, in Tanna where *lima* is five, and *re lima (re= rua* two) is ten. A vigesimal notation also appears in this group, although the first twenty is reached by fives. Many cases occur where the notation is a mixed one. A decimal notation may be said, however, to be the rule. In Mota where the notation is quinary, except that there

*Transactions, N. Z. Institute, Vol. XXXIX. In some islands, however, the fingers are turned up.

is a separate word for ten, a decimal system of numerals is used in a game played by the children.

THE UNIT ABOVE TEN. A feature of Oceanic counting which requires to be carefully noted, is the use of a word meaning "the sum over" with the unit above ten, and occasionally a different word for the unit above twenty. Not only is this practice general, but forms of the same word are found in widely separated languages of the family. Thus in an Indonesian language (Bouru), *polo* is ten, *rua* is two, and *polo tem rua* is twelve; in Mota, a Melanesian language, *sanga-vul* is ten; *ni-rua* is two, *sanga-vul o numei nirua* is twelve; in Tahitian, a Polynesian language, *churu* is ten, *rua* is two and *churu tuma rua* is twelve. The words *tem*, *numei*, *tuma*, are forms of one root. The word that precedes the unit is not in every language the same as this, but it is always a noun, and is used in a similar way.* Sometimes by a similar idiom a noun is used after the hundred.

DESCRIPTIVE PREFIXES. A remarkable custom may be illustrated from each group of the Oceanic Family, that of prefixing to the numerals certain words which point out the kind of thing counted, much as we say so many "sail" of ships, or so many "head" of cattle.

In Malay *alai* is applied to leaves, grasses, hairs, feathers; *batang* to trees, logs, spars, spears, javelins; *bantak* to objects such as rings; *bidang* to mats, carpets, thatch, sails, skins and hides; *biji* to corn, seeds, stones, pebbles, gems, eggs, eyes of animals, lamps and candlesticks; *bilah* to cutting instruments, knives, daggers, swords; *butir* to grain, pepper, beads, cushions, pillows, brooks and rivers; *buwah* to fruit, loaves, mountains, countries, lakes, boats, ships, houses, palaces and temples; *ekor* to beasts, birds, fishes and reptiles; *kayu* to objects rolled up; *orang* to human beings; *puchuk* to cannon and small arms, candles, torches and letters; and *rawan* to all description of cordage.†

E.g., Malagasy *ambi* means excess, surplus and *rua ambi ni fulu* is twelve

†*Crawfurd's* Malay Grammar.

In Kiriwina, a New Guinea Melanesian Language, many such descriptive prefixes are given:—*tai*, persons; *na*, animals; *kai*, things; *ia*, thin things; *kala*, days.*

In Mota there are similar prefixes:—*pul*, persons; *pepe*, canoes; *sogo*, bunches; *tal*, strings.

In Polynesia it is common to prefix *toko* to numerals when persons are spoken of. In Samoa *fua* is a particle suffixed to units in counting bread-fruit, shell-fish, etc.; prefixed in counting tens.

In Micronesia such words are suffixed. In Ponape, *ri-um*, two yams or bananas; *ri-akop*, two bundles of long things; *ri-el*, two strings (of beads, wreaths); *ri-atun*, two bunches of things tied together.†

It will be seen that there are no words used in common; each language has selected different expressions; what is common is the practice of using such words, sometimes in profusion.

There are other words in many of the languages which are not used in counting, but which signify so many. Thus in Florida, *na pangga* means ten, either ten pigs or ten birds or ten fish or ten opossums, while *parego* is a collective noun for ten of anything. The same thing is found in New Guinea Melanesian languages, and here again the word used generally means ten of something. In Maori, *hoko* is a word prefixed to numerals to multiply them by ten so that *hoko rua* is twenty.‡ In some Melanesian languages words are prefixed to double the numerals three and four, and thus form six and eight. Thus in Motu, *taura-toi* is three pairs or "double three," *taura-hani* "four pairs" or "double four." But this is a device in languages which have words for the first five numerals but not for all the second five. Such languages may also form words for the second five by addition ("five-one" for six, "five-two" for seven), or

*Torres Straits Expedition, Vol. III.
†S. H. *Ray*, Common Origin of the Oceanic Languages.
‡But *hoko* may apparently mean a score, *hoko rua*, forty, etc. *Cf. Best* Transactions N. Z. Institute, Vol. XXXIX., pp. 154, 155.

by subtraction ("unit less than double four" for seven). In Polynesia there was a regular method of counting by pairs, indeed it was the ordinary way of counting. When numerals were used, so many pairs were meant. Sometimes island races have words which show carefully how many people are referred to. Thus in the language of the little island of Loh, in the Torres Group, *hemera* means many people of both sexes; *horaga*, many women only; *hoqera*, many men only; *quqera*, three people; *horiata*, two men; *hitela*, two men and one woman; *huqera*, one man and two women; *horamera*, one man and one woman.*

NUMERAL FORMS. The cardinals are essentially verbs according to the idiom of all these languages. They are usually shown to be so by being used with verbal particles, which are often in the grammars written with the numerals. These are generally the ordinary verbal particles of the languages, but sometimes there is a separate set for the numerals, as in Mota where the verbal particles in ordinary cases are *we*, *me*, *te*, *qe*, *ta*, but with numerals *ni*.

The ordinals, on the other hand, are nouns, and are shown to be so by the use of demonstrative particles or definite articles with them. Thus in Maori, *rua* is two, *te rua* second; in Efate, *rua* is two, *ka rua* second (*ka* being a prefix which marks nouns). Sometimes *va* the causative prefix is added:—

Malagasy, *fa-ha-rua* second (*ha*, prefixed to stems, forming nouns); Mota, *va-ga-rue-i* second.

Very often a demonstrative particle is suffixed, which we may, if we please, call the definite article, and often this is *na*, *ne* or *ni*. In the Banks Islands the ordinals have the usual noun termination *i* or *iu*.

The causative prefix usually makes multiples.

The numerals do not vary much in form; the following may represent them:—

*I owe this note and much other information about the languages to the Rev. W. J. Durrad, Missionary in the Torres and Banks Groups.

One—*Tasi*	Five—*Rima*	Nine—*Siva*
Two—*Ruka*	Six—*Wono*	Ten—*Tangahuru*
Three—*Tolu*	Seven—*Vitu*	Hundred—*Ratu*
Four—*Vatu*	Eight—*Varu*	

THE ORIGIN OF THE NAMES. The origin of this set of numerals is unknown, but the meaning of some of them is evident. Tylor describes how cultivated peoples have sometimes invented sets of numerals, choosing words for reasons still evident. Thus "moon" or "earth" expressed one, there being but one of each; two might be called "eye," "wing" as going in pairs; and so on. And this throws light on the origin of numerals generally, for "there lie at the root of all numerals such metaphors as these, though they cannot be traced." What metaphors lie at the root of the Oceanic set, different people will differently decide, but all will agree as to the meanings of "five" and, in a general sense, of "ten."

FIVE. Oceanic races counting by fingers have agreed to call five the hand. In many places the same word is both the numeral and the noun; in some there is a slight difference in form (Maori, *rima* five, *ringa* hand); in some the word has only one meaning.

TEN. The word for ten is not universally the same, but there is one form, *tanga-huru*, which is very general. The meaning of this is not so certain. The full form is sometimes not found, for instance *ngahuru* is the Maori word, but Mr. Easton tells us that even in Maori the fuller form is known, an old man giving him *tekau ma hanga-huru* as the ancient expression for thirty. The first part of the word, *tanga*, *sanga*, *hanga*, has been explained by Dr. Codrington as meaning "double," and he illustrates it by the Mota *sanga*, fork of a tree, and Fiji *sanga*, a crotch, the thighs, because they branch off from the body. This is no doubt the true meaning of *sanga*, which is allied to *wanga*. *Sanga* in the Solomon Islands means to open; in Samoa *masanga* is a twin,

Another common meaning of *tanga* is the hand, that which holds or grasps (Malay, *tanga-na* the hand; Malagasy, *tana-na*); perhaps of two synonyms for hand, one was chosen for five, the other for ten. *Huru* is explained as meaning the closed fist both by Dr. Codrington and Mr. Elsdon Best, though quite independently. Dr. Codrington says it means a handful, and illustrates from the Mota *pulu-ng*,* to take a handful. Mr. Best says it means contracted, from the Maori *huru* to contract. Obviously these meanings are allied.† But *huru* may also mean "the end," since that is a quite common meaning of the root *huru, vulu*. Perhaps an islander simply said "the hands are ended" or "the end" when he came to ten. He may have done so in Vanikolo where ten is *gau uluga, gau* a form of *kau* or *karu*, often meaning hand, "that which seizes," or handful; (the Maori *te kau*, "ten"; Motu, New Guinea, *qau-ta* "ten"; are no doubt the same in origin). In Santa Cruz both five and ten are forms of *na-vulu*. *Vuru* is used indeed to express five, ten, twenty or even (in Vella Lavella) a thousand. The Malay for ten is *sa-puloh*, twenty *dua-puloh*; to call ten "one handful" seems odd; to say you have come to the end once or twice is natural. Moreover it is an idiom of these languages to call the last number in counting "the conclusion." In Nengone three is *tini*, but this in Fiji is ten and is said to signify conclusion. In Wedau, New Guinea, five is *ura i qa* "the hand is finished," while ten is *ura ruagi i qa* "the other hand is finished." In the Torres a hundred is *na won*, the close or completion; in fact when we come to large numbers it is a common expression. If *huru* means the end or completion, its common use for ten, points to the time when ten was as far as the people counted.

A HUNDRED. The word for hundred is commonly *ratu*, or *rau* the decayed form of it. Its meaning is explained by Dr. Codrington with the help of the Mota expression *mel nol* a hundred. *Melnol* means

Cf. Mota *wul* to close the fingers over something, *wulung* to shut up, as an umbrella.

†The Carolines *sia-pugu* ten, must mean "one closed fist," *cf.* Hawaian *puku* knob, and see Ch. II., p, 20.

the whole *mele*, and the *mele* is a kind of cycas, a palm which has about fifty pinnules on each side of the the midrib of the leaf. "To count the days after a death a *mele* frond was taken and beginning on one side of it a leaflet was counted for each day, one being pinched down as a tally for every tenth. The frond when treated in this way on both sides furnished tallies for a hundred, and the final death-feast was commonly held on the hundredth day; the whole *mele*, *mel nol*, was used and done with. The same practice is found in the Solomon Islands where in Ulawa and San Cristoval, not the simple *rau* but *tanga rau* is the word in use, corresponding to their word *tanga huru* ten; that is to say the word for hundred means double frond, counted on both sides, as the word for ten means double handful of fingers."* In Florida the word for hundred is *hanga latu*; in Malagasy *zatu*; elsewhere in Indonesia *hatu*, or some similar form; while generally in Melanesia and Polynesia the *t* has dropped out. The word *ratu (rau)* means originally a leaf.

FOUR. It is not easy to see the meanings of the other numerals. The universal word for four, *vatu*, is perhaps the word so commonly meaning a lump; either a rock or stone, the head (which we call vulgarly a person's "knob"), the knee, a rounded hill, a yam mound, a wooden mallet, the body, the shoulder, and so on.† For in turning down the fingers in counting, when four was reached the hand formed a lump or knob, *vatu*; then the thumb was turned down, and five called the hand, *lima*.

Tasi and *ruka*, the fullest forms of the first two numerals, are roots which in many languages mean sea and land. It is possible (but pure conjecture) that sea and land formed, with an island race, the most natural words to begin a numeral series.

**Codrington's* Melanesian Languages.

†*Wai-g* means in Mota "the fist," as a lump, with fingers closed. The word for "four" varies from *vati* through *vat.* and *vai* to *va*.

8. CONCLUSION.

GRAMMAR, WORDS AND IDIOMS.

We have now come to the end of our review of the Oceanic Family of Languages. Although they are not spoken by many people, they are spoken over a very wide area. We have seen that they are essentially one; one in grammar and in words also. The main features are everywhere the same. Their mode of showing stems to be verbal or nominal; the general order of the words in a sentence; their mode of marking tense, mood and person in the verb, and gender, number and case in the noun; their love of reduplication and the uses they make of it; their mode of counting; their possessives; their pronouns; their primary particles; their numerals; and many other grammatical distinctions, are all substantially the same. Their words too, when reconstructed from the decayed forms and separated from the particles which have been glued on to them, show a common stock. In methods and idioms the languages are never far apart. For instance, it is a common custom to use words which mean the inner part, or the belly, or the bowels, to express the emotions. The Samoan *loto* means the interior, the midst, the heart, etc.; this by regular change becomes in Mota *lolo* with the same meaning, but it is prefixed to other words to express the emotions, *lolo-uria* to favour, *lolo-tatas* to hate, *lolo-tiina* to be eager. So the Maori *tia*, the belly, means in Malagasy to love, and is often joined to other verbs in the sense of wishing, desiring, etc.* The fuller form *tina* or *sina* which means the middle, the entrails, is also used in the New Hebrides (Raga) to express emotions.

Belief in the common origin of the languages very quickly grows on the student of them by the continual

Cf. Mota, *tia-na* pregnant, *tia-s* beseech.

accumulation of likenesses often small in themselves, and yet stronger in their mass than any formal proof would probably be to him. Yet there is no lack of proof.

COMPARISON OF WORDS. We have seen how important a place grammar holds when comparing one language with another; and how easily one may mislead and be misled by comparisions between words, more especially before the knowledge of the roots and particles and their decay and change, has been thoroughly mastered. Obviously when we begin to compare Oceanic words with the words of some other family we have to be more than ever on our guard. We cannot in such cases compare the words of a particular Oceanic language with the words of an alien family, we must make a comparison, if one is really to be made, between the word stocks of the two families. We can no more compare Maori with Aryan words, than we could compare English words with those of some non-Aryan family; it must be a comparison of family with family.

CHANCE RESEMBLANCES. Chance likenesses we shall always find in plenty, it could scarcely be otherwise. The reader will find excellent examples of such likenesses in Taylor's interesting "*Te Ika a Maui*," where Maori words are compared with words from Latin, Sanscrit, Sclavonic, Greek, Gothic, English, Hebrew, Welsh, Gaelic, French, Celtic, Turkish, Chinese, Mexican, Australian, North American, Burmese, Egyptian, and other languages. The author has thus anticipated many much later discoveries, and probably some future ones.

Thus he compares Maori *hari* with English *carry*; *haro* comb flax, with English *harrow*; *kete* a basket, with Chinese *katty* a small box: *kauwa* fire, with Greek *pur* and Hebrew *ur*; *ika* fish, with Greek *ikthus*; *kuri* a dog, with English *cur*: *marama* light, with Turkish *marahna* light; *mate* death, with Hebrew *moth* and Latin *mors*; *ra* the sun, with Egyptian *ra*

the sun; *rae* the forehead, with Celtic *brai*: *wata* with Burmese *watt* a storehouse, and so on.

We might add to these very many more such as the Meralava *butu* to kick, the Mota *sike* to seek, the Polynesian *poaka* a pig, the Hawaian *pina* a pin; which are all chance resemblances. The Mota *riga* to rule, is not very unlike the Latin *rego*, the Mota *si* if, *tam* as, are the same in form as the Latin words. In fact we can prove in this way anything we have a mind to.

Words that really are common to all languages, or at least to very many, are words that imitate sounds, such as the English cock, cackle [Mota *koko* (cluck), *kakakae*] snore, puff (Maori, *ngoro*, *puhi*). These words cannot be used to show relationship.

CHANGES OF PRONUNCIATION. We have seen that the Oceanic languages show remarkable cases of an indistinct or lax pronunciation of words, a word in some languages beginning with any of a group of consonants rather than with a particular sound. This may quickly lead to variation when one sound or the other becomes fixed. Norfolk Islanders, whose mothers were Tahitians where *r* not *l* is used, cannot now say r, or could not a generation ago. Asked by the doctor what she had been feeding her baby with, "Nothing but lice doctor," one of them replied. And yet in spite of this vague, shifting pronunciation, there is less change than we might suppose. Languages such as that of Vanikolo, quite unaffected by Europeans, have changed little in sounds in the last fifty years. Still we must admit that the languages do show great variety of pronunciation and great phonetic decay.

But they cannot be called barbarous tongues, if indeed, there are any such. Languages which have such ingenious devices for exact expression as we have seen these to possess in the exclusive and inclusive personal pronouns, the personal article, the possessives, the prefixed words in counting, and many other grammatical felicities, do not deserve to be called barbarous, however scanty may be

their literature. But they may more fairly be called primitive, and the study of them will be useful to the comparative philologist.

In whatever home they grew up they have a genius all their own. It may well be that when they are more thoroughly known as a family, relationships between them and other families will be established on sure and sound foundations. Although this may one day be accomplished, what is now needed is rather to lay stress on the individuality of the Oceanic Family and on its differences from others. Then we shall be led to see resemblances and follow still farther the course of its early history.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER FAMILIES.

So instead of pointing out agreement in words or grammar between the Oceanic languages and others, it will be more profitable to mark some of the differences in grammar between the Oceanic Family and two of those nearest it, the Papuan of New Guinea and the Dravidian of Southern India*, which will illustrate its claim to be distinct.

(1). The Dravidian and Oceanic Families.

(1). In the Dravidian languages the distinction of male and female appears in pronouns of the third person and consequently in adjectives and in the third person of the verb, to which the pronouns are suffixed. In the Oceanic languages there is no distinction for gender in the forms of the pronouns.

(2) Dravidian nouns are inflected to show case by postpositions suffixed to them, and by separable particles. In the Oceanic languages prepositions, separable from the noun, are used.

(3). The Dravidian languages generally use postpositions where the Oceanic use prepositions.

(4). Adjectives come before the nouns they qualify in Dravidian languages. In Oceanic languages they come

*In the second edition of "The Islands of the Pacific," a book published at New York in 1908, one reads that the Polynesians are Dravidians, and that both in grammar and words, the Polynesian is similar to "the Dravidian language."

after. Adverbs come before verbs in the former family; in the latter they come after. A Dravidian noun in the genitive case precedes that which governs it; an Oceanic noun in the genitive case follows that which governs it.

(5). To form a verb Dravidian languages suffix tense particles. Oceanic languages prefix particles. Dravidian verbs have a Negative Voice formed by the omission of the tense suffixes. Oceanic negatives are formed by the use of a negative particle coming before the verb.*

(2). The Papuan and Oceanic Families.

(1). Possessive Pronouns are formed by suffixing a particle to the Personal Pronoun in Papuan languages; in Oceanic they are formed by suffixing personal pronouns to possessive nouns.

(2). The cases of nouns are formed by post-positions in the Papuan languages; in the Oceanic by means of prepositions.

(3). The subject of a Papuan transitive verb is usually in the instrumental case.

(4). In the Papuan languages modification of the verbal stem for tense, person and number takes place by means of suffixes. In the Oceanic languages separable particles coming before the root mark it out as a verb; and tense, person and number are sometimes marked by the use of different particles.

(5). The Papuan verb is very complex; the Oceanic verb is not.†

The differences between the grammar of the Oceanic Family and that of the Aryan or the Semitic, are no less clear; rather they are clearer and more numerous. That resemblances are to be found between different families is of course allowed; for instance the Dravidian and Oceanic families have in common exclusive and inclusive forms for the first personal pronoun; but the common grammar

*Caldwell's Dravidian Grammar, pp. 35, 36, etc.
†Torres Straits Expedition, Vol. XII., p. 288.

of the Oceanic languages is quite distinct enough to fully support their claim to constitute a separate family, not a mere offshoot from some other group of languages.

THE RACES. With many the stumbling block in the way of accepting these languages as a single family is the fact that the people who speak them belong to differerent types of mankind. The people of Madagascar, except the Hovas, are said to be of the African type; the Melanesians are Papuan in type and quite different from the Polynesians (although this difference has been exaggerated); while the Polynesians again are a different type from the Malays, who are Mongols.

This, however, is not a unique case of evidence from race and language being in conflict. Professor Sweet remarks that the great difficulty of the Aryan problem, and one of the chief reasons for the prevailing prejudice against the hypothesis of a common origin of Aryan and Finnish, is that the evidence of race seems to contradict that of language; and he goes on to show that the Aryan race borrowed the language they now speak; or rather the Finns invaded Europe and imposed their language on an alien race, probably slowly and peacefully. Professor Sweet thinks that the original home of the Aryan *race* was Scandinavia, but the home of the Aryan *language* was in Asia.

We may in the same way believe that the home of the Polynesian, Malay and Malagasy *races* was not anywhere in Oceania, but the home of the *languages* they speak was —either in Melanesia or more probably in Indonesia. The Polynesian and Malay races, wandering east and south from whatever home, accepted as their own the languages of the people to whom they came. The evidence seems to warrant this view. The difference in race, often exaggerated be it said, is apt to prejudice writers against accepting a common origin for the languages. It is well then to insist on these two lines of evidence being con-

sidered each on its own merits, and to note the fact that people of different races may come to speak the same language.

THE ORIGINAL HOME. A large and very interesting subject thus opens out before us—the home of the undivided languages, the land where those lived by whom the Oceanic mother tongue was spoken. Where was it? What can we learn about it? What sort of people were they who lived in it? We cannot here do more than briefly touch on such questions as these, merely pointing out in a general way how the study of the Oceanic languages may aid us in solving them.

HAWAIKI. There is no written history to help us, and there are few traditions. The Polynesians alone have preserved the name of a traditional home, *Hawaiki* or *Havahiki*. It has often been debated whether this is the name of some particular place. The evidence of language is not clear; but on the whole we may take the word *hawahiki* to mean originally no more than "western" or "westerly," and, if so, it is no more than a vague term, which might be used of many different places by a people travelling eastwards from generation to generation. It is the idiom of the languages to use the same word which means "west" for direction downwards, indeed "west" is the place where the sun goes down; and to people who also believed that this was where the spirits of the dead gathered, the same word often meant Hades. In Malagasy *ava* is "down," "lower"; *ambani* is "under," "beneath," "down," "the west." In Malay *bawah* is "down," "lower"; *barah* "the west." If these forms are parallel to *Hawa*, *Hava* in the name of the Polynesian homeland, then that is no more than a vague description, and we can understand how the Polynesians came to give it not to one spot but to many, and also to use it, as in the Marquesas, for the spirit world, or the world below.

In the Torres Group the name of the most westerly island is given in the maps as *Hiw*; and this is the Mota

siwo, meaning "down" or "west." So too, some islands are named from their easterly position. Crawfurd says the island of Timur is so named, *timur* meaning "east," and that it was probably called so from being the south-eastern limit of the Malay explorations.* The name Tonga means the south land. Many islands are named in this way. We may doubtfully then take *Havahiki*, the fullest form of the name, to mean no more than the westerly or perhaps the distant westerly land. This does not help us beyond showing that the Polynesians came from the west, where the sun went down into the sea.

THE EVIDENCE OF THE WORDS. But we can approach the question in another way. Let us take word forms which are so wide-spread that we can be sure they were part of the mother tongue. They may tell us something of the people who used them. We can say confidently, for instance, that they were sea people. For *tasi* meaning "sea" is in all their languages; it must have been fixed in meaning before they were separated (Malay, *pan-tai*† sea shore; Tagala, *tasik* salt water; Oba, *tahi* sea; Tahitian, *tai* sea, salt water). The sea shore and the upland country are words in common (Malay, *laut* sea; Mota, *lau* sea shore; Tahitian, *rau one* sandy shore; Malay, *utan* interior, forest; Mota, *uta* inland country; Tahitian, *uta* parts towards the interior). Currents and waves of the sea are generally expressed by the same words (*rere* and *haru*). The word for canoe (*haka*, *vaka*,‡ etc.), is everywhere similar; so is the word for paddle (*hote*); the words for anchor (Tagala, *savu*, Malay *sauh*, Raga *ma-tau*, Samoan *tau-la*); for sail (*lara*) and mast (*tura*) are also wide-spread. The people before they became divided were acquainted with fishing (*ika* a fish), which they pursued with hook and line (*kau*), but also with nets (Maori *kupe-nga*, Mota *gape*, Malay *puka-t*). Among the sea creatures known to them were the sting-ray

*There are two Timurs which may have been named in turn as the explorations extended.

†*Cf.* Mota, *pan-lau* sea shore; Santa Cruz, *dai* sea shore.

‡The Malay *kapal*, ship, is perhaps a transposed form. *Cf.* Mota *pakalava*, European ship.

or skate (Malay *pari*, New Guinea *vari*, Mota *var*, Tahitian *fai)*; the turtle (Malagasy *fanu*, Tonga *fonu*, San Cristoval *honu)*; the eel (Malagasy, New Guinea, Raga and Maori *duna, tuna)*; the crayfish or prawn (Malagasy *urana*, Maori *ko-ura*, Mota *ura)*; and perhaps the shark (Mota *pagoa*, Marquesas *mako*). The trees where they lived certainly included the coco-nut palm (Malagasy *nihu*, Florida *niu*, Tonga *niu)*; the banana (Tonga, *fuji*, Indonesia *phudi*, Florida *vudi*, Micronesia *futi)**; the yam *(uvi)*; the sugar cane *(tou)*; the paper mulberry (Java *waru*, Mangaia *au*, Mota *varu)*; and probably the bamboo (Malay *aur*, Vanikolo *gaure*, Mota *au*, ? Ulawa *au* pan-pipes ? Maori *ko-auau* pipe or flute).

As to animals they knew at least dogs *(karu, kuri)* and pigs *(bua)*, as well as birds *(manu)*, and were doubtless tormented by mosquitoes *(namu*†*)*. They used the bow in the chase (Malay, *panah* bow; Tahitian, *fana* bow; Florida, *vana* shoot with bow), and they were accustomed to barter *(boli)*. This is all positive evidence. It would not be fair to infer that they did not use cattle, for instance, or live in a land of rivers, because there are now no common words for such things. Maori has lost the original sense of many words, *niu* does not now mean a coco-nut palm, since there are none in New Zealand, but "a means of divination" (coco-nuts being so used in the South Sea Islands), while *nikau* is the New Zealand palm tree, "the fruitless *niu*." Words may conceivably be lost in whole groups in which the conditions of life are different from those of former times in the old home. But though it would not be fair to argue from negative evidence, it is quite another thing to accept the positive evidence which widespread words offer us. These words cannot have drifted from one area to another. They are too widely used, their forms are too varied, their use with varying primary particles shows them to be part of the original stock of the languages. And these words, of which but a very few have been given, lead us irresistibly to the conclusion

*The island Funafuti takes its name from a species of banana.—*Turner's Samoa.*

†This may be an imitative word, *na-mu*; if so, it is an ancient one.

that the people who spoke the mother tongue were people living by the sea, in some such place as Indonesia—which brings us back by another path to our previous conclusion.

FOREIGN STRAIN. Another enquiry of extreme interest relates to the foreign strain found here and there in the islands. It cannot be said in most cases to be more than a foreign strain, but there are one or two languages which belong to another family and are of quite a different type. Halmaheran, a language in the heart of Indonesia, is not an Indonesian or even an Oceanic language; the people who speak it are a very fair race, said to be like Caucasians in colour and features. One may say fairly confidently that Savo, a language in the heart of Melanesia, is not a Melanesian but a Papuan language.*

These facts lead us to problems yet unsolved regarding the advent of Polynesians, Melanesians and Malays. There are many legends of an earlier race. Are they no more than legends? The Polynesian languages are so alike that they cannot have been long separated from each other, yet they are extremely decayed forms of the original Oceanic language. How are we to explain these two facts—that the people have come recently to their present homes and yet speak the most altered and decayed form of the mother tongue? And if there are Papuan languages or even Papuan words in Melanesia, are Melanesians too, like the Polynesians, late comers—not so late indeed as the Polynesians, yet an invading wave of people driving the Papuans before them? But if earlier than the Polynesians why are their languages less decayed? The study of the languages will throw light on these and similar problems.

PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGE. The view we gain of this family of languages will throw light too on general problems. No one can avoid the conclusion that not only are there a number of simple

*Yet (to give a single instance) the suffixing of *a* to form the Imperative Mood, which seems so unlike a Melanesian idiom, is common to Savo and Malagasy.

imitative words in these languages, but that there are also a number of root words which are imitative in origin, which have however been so altered and decayed, adding particles or losing letters or coming to be pronounced differently, that the hundreds of words derived from them can no longer be recognised as imitative words at all. On the other hand, the larger number of root words do not appear, as far as we can trace them, to be words which imitate natural sounds.

Another fact to be noted is that the distinction between nouns and verbs is not a primary one; and when the action receives a name, it is the name of the action in a general sense, without any distinction as to active or passive, as to the doer or the sufferer. As far back as we can go there are two, and only two, classes of words—root words which are the names of actions or things, and demonstrative words (particles and pronouns), which limit the meaning of the former.

We must admit, moreover, that a very large number (but not all), of what we should call nouns are derived from the names of actions, words which we call verbs.

WORDS FOR ANIMALS. There appear to be two very general words for an animal, *manu* and *buka*.

In Polynesia *manu* is in some languages used only of birds or flying insects, but is in others used also of beasts, as in Tongan, where it is a "generic term for animals, birds or beasts." In Indonesia the word, which is there *manu* or *maru*, is used chiefly of birds, but is sometimes still further specialised to mean only domestic fowls. In Melanesia also *manu* generally means birds, but there is a word in the Northern New Hebrides *mas* or *masi** which means either birds or fish, and remembering the Indonesian *maru* we may take this to be only a form of *manu*.† Thus we have a word in universal use, whose original meaning

*Borneo, *masik* a fish.

†In Mota *manu* means a bird or flying insect, but it is also the name of the large native rat.

perhaps was very vague, including fish, flesh and fowl, but which came to be generally used of birds alone and only occasionally showed signs of the more primitive and wider meaning.

The other general word for an animal is *buka*. This is the Tanna word for a pig. In Polynesia a pig is *bua-ka*, the root with a particle. In Indonesia the form varies immensely, *balue*, *boia*, *babi*, etc., but we still have the same root *bue*, *boi*, *bi*, meaning a pig. In Melanesia many varying forms of this root are found meaning a pig or any animal. We may well suppose *pika* to be a form parallel with this. *Pika*, meaning fish, we have seen to be usually decayed to *ika* or even to *ia*; but in Duke of York Island *pika* is the generic term for all animals (like the Tongan *manu*), and *pika rowo* "the flying *pika*" is a bird, while in Nengone in the Loyalty group *ia* is a bird and *ie* a fish. In Anaiteum *piga-d* is a pig, (in Rotuma *picha* is a rat, but *ch* is soft in Rotuma). Here then we have a word whose forms vary widely indeed, but are apparently related; and whose varying meanings suggest a very vague original sense, usually specialised in the form *puka* to mean a pig, and in *pika* to mean a fish, but sometimes showing signs of its vaguer original meaning. But have we not even then only a specialised use of the root *buka*? For it is the most prolific root in the languages, and takes in anything conceived of as globular; fruit, flowers, hills, swellings, eggs, seeds, grains of sand, gourds and a thousand other objects in the different languages; it forms a prefix in counting globular objects; and is prefixed to many nouns which are so conceived of. With qualifying words or particles it forms part of the name of many animals, such as Malagasy, *vua-lavu* the rat, *vua-puki* the spider; Maori, *punga werewere* the spider; Malay, *bu-aya* the crocodile*. Fiji, *vua-ka* the pig; Mota, *pua-sa* a lizard. A very general word, meaning anything like a ball, might be used of all animals: generally with qualifying words or particles, but sometimes alone; and often specialised in

*Mota *via*, Florida, *vua*, San Cristoval *hua-sa*.

meaning; *punga werewere* is the spinning or snaring *punga* (or perhaps "the spread out" *punga*), *vua-lavu*, the *vua* which comes out at dusk; *bu-aya*, the water *bu*, *pua-ka*, the common *pua*, and so on.

Most Oceanic nouns, it has been said, are derived from verbs. Thus the dog is "the scratcher."* The Florida for dog is *kau*, in Indonesia a differently decayed form: Malay *asu*, Malagasy *ali-ka*, but both from *kasu* or *karu*. A parallel form is the Polynesian and Melanesian *kuri*; and this we may see to be related to the same root by comparing such forms as Mota *ta-kul*, *ta-kuk* to grasp, catch hold of; and the Malay, *kuku* a claw (Marquesas *mai-kuku*!). In Tahiti *pua-a* was applied to all animals having hoofs, and *uri (kuri)* to all animals having claws.

The Malay word *murak* a peacock, means "the glitterer." The root is seen in Maori, *mura* to glow or blaze; Timur, *murak* gold, and is allied to *mera*; Mota, *mera* the red light of dawn; Samoan, *Mata memea* the name of the planet Venus‡.

The spider is in San Cristoval *rawa*, probably "the spinner," or "the snarer." His name in Mota is *ma-rawa*, his web is *ta-law* or *ta-lau*§. His Malay name is *lawalawa*; Vanikolo, *avaava*; New Guinea, *valavala*; Malagasy, *hala*; Maori, *punga werewere*‖, etc.

The octopus is "the entwiner," from the very general root *viri* or *kiri* to twist round, and its allied forms *huli* and *guli* to turn round or revolve. His name in Madagascar is *huri-ta*, in New Guinea *uri-ta*, in the Solomon Islands *huli-ta* and *guli-ta*, in Mota *wiri-ta*, in the Northern New Hebrides *gui-ta*.

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*This is more likely than that *kuri* and *karu* are imitative words, imitating the dog's growl, like the English word cur.

†*Cf.* Malagasy *huhi* scratching holes in the ground like animals, *huhu* claws of birds and animals, *hula-tra* a scar; Guadalcanar, *huhu* a claw.

‡Colours are named in these languages according to their brightness, *mera* is either bright red or yellow.

‖*Cf.* Efate, *ka-lau* a woven thing, *ka-lai* or *ni-lau* a web.

§*Cf.* Maori, *here* tie or fasten; Tahitian *here* a noose; Samoan, *sele* to snare; Mota, *sal* to snare with a line (*gasalsal*), and perhaps Mota, *tal* a rope; Maori *tari* a noose.

RELIGION. We might from similar evidence endeavour to reconstruct the religion of those who spoke the mother tongue. We should make use of such terms as the Borneo *balai*, sacred stone cairns, the Polynesian *marae* sacred enclosures, the Mota *ga-mal* (which in ancient times were large enclosures), the Efate *mala*, the open spaces where the drums were set up and sacrifices offered*; the universal word *tapu* or *tabu* which is probably in full *ta-puni* or *ta-buni*, *i.e.*, "closed†"; the word *mana* spiritual influence; *ata* a shadow or soul; *tataro* already referred to; or the various terms (*Po*, *Ponoi*, *Bulu-ta*, etc.), different in origin but with a common underlying meaning, which are used for Hades. We should find that the evidence would seem to be conflicting, and that in these words we have a suggestion of different strata in the religion of the people, as there are in the religions of most races. Such enquiries however are far beyond the scope of the present chapter. Suffice it to point out that many interesting, if difficult, paths lie open to the philologist.

Cf. Maori, *mara* a cultivation; Hawaian *mala* a field, garden: Mota, *mala-tou* a neglected garden.

†If *tapu* were the root we should probably get reduplicated forms, *tatapu* as well as *taptapu*. Also *cf.* Tonga, *tabui* or *tobui* prohibit, *tabuni* to shut up.

*English writers sometimes call the inhabitants of Torres Straits, between Australia and New Guinea, "Torres Islanders"; but the Torres Islands are a small group of islands N.W. of the Banks Group, often included in the New Hebrides.

BOOKS ON THE LANGUAGES.

GENERAL.

1. The Melanesian Languages—*R. H. Codrington* (Clarendon Press, 25s.); contains a Comparative Grammar of Oceanic Languages and the Grammars in short form of many Melanesian Languages.
2. Maori-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary—*E. Tregear* (Whitcombe & Tombs, 10s. 6d.).
3. Expedition to Torres Straits, Vol. III.—*S. H. Ray* (Clarendon Press, 25s.); contains much information about the New Guinea Melanesian Languages, and also the Papuan Languages.
4. New Malagasy Dictionary—*J. Richardson* (London Missionary Society, 18s.); contains a Malagasy Grammar by *W. E. Cousins*; and a good many comparative words.

Many books quoted by writers on the subject are out of print and not obtainable, e.g., Hazlewood's Fijian Dictionary (contains a full grammar), and Crawfurd's Malay Dictionary and Grammar.

DICTIONARIES, etc.

1. Dictionary of Motu, New Guinea—*Lawes.*
2. Dictionary of Wedau, New Guinea—*Copland Kay.*
3. Dictionary of Anaiteum, New Hebrides—*Inglis.*
4. Three New Hebrides Languages (Efate, Eromanga, Santo)—*Macdonald*
5. The Oceanic Languages (a dictionary of Efate, New Hebrides, with an Essay on the Oceanic Family)—*Macdonald.*
6. Mota Dictionary—*Codrington and Palmer.*
7. Dictionary of Tonga—*Baker.*
8. Dictionary of Tahiti—*London Missionary Society.*
9. Mangareva Dictionary—*E. Tregear.*
10. Maori Dictionary—*Williams.*
11. Grammar of New Zealand Language—*Maunsell.*
12. Dictionary of Samoan—*Pratt.*
13. Vocabulary of Samoan, Fijian, Dobuan (N. Guinea)—*Bromilow.*
14. Hawaiian Dictionary—*Andrews.*
15. Malay Dictionary—*Marsden.*
16. Malay Dictionary—*F. Swettenham.*
17. Malay-French Vocabulary (with Grammar)—*J. Errington de la Croix.*
18. Malay-English Vocabulary—*W. G. Shellabear.*

Most of these books contain grammars; but some of them are out of print and can only be obtained at second-hand.

Printed and Published at the Melanesian Mission Press, Norfolk Island.

Fox, Charles Elliot
An introduction to the study of the Oceanic languages