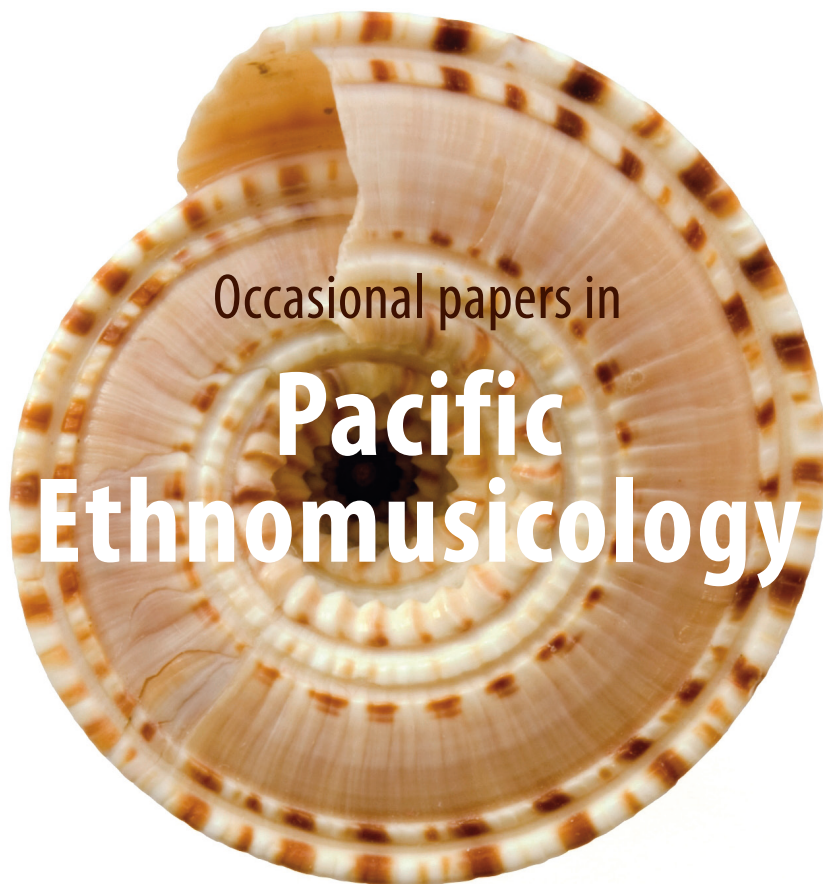


MUSIC, DANCE, AND THE POLYNESIAN ORIGINS:
THE EVIDENCE FROM POc AND PPh
MERVYN MCLEAN

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Occasional papers in
**Pacific
Ethnomusicology**

ARCHIVE OF MĀORI AND PACIFIC MUSIC

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

MUSIC, DANCE, AND POLYNESIAN ORIGINS

THE EVIDENCE FROM
POc AND PPn

Mervyn McLean

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Archive of Māori and Pacific Music
Centre for Pacific Studies
The University of Auckland
Private Bag 92019
Auckland 1010
New Zealand



**THE UNIVERSITY
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FACULTY OF ARTS

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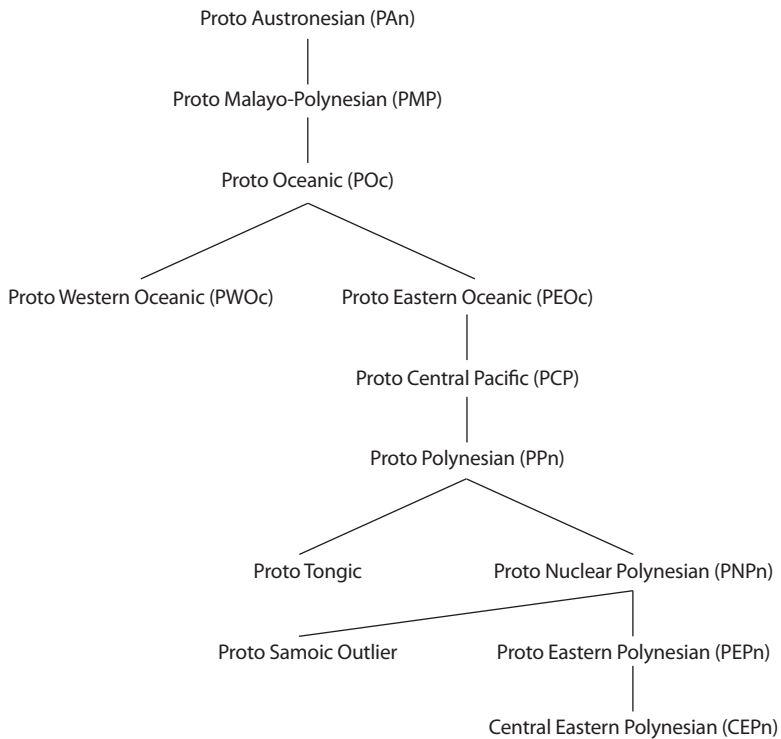
INTRODUCTION

A ground-breaking effort on the part of Pacific linguists over the past few decades has been the reconstruction of lexical items in languages ancestral to present-day Polynesians. Best known among them is the POLLEX or Proto Polynesian Lexicon pioneered by the late Professor Bruce Biggs at the University of Auckland, and another is an Oceanic Lexicon project initiated by Professors Malcolm Ross and Andrew Pawley at the Australian National University. Some resulting subgroups are set out in Figure 1, and cognate sets from the two projects form the basis of 35 tables of musical terms in the present paper (v. Biggs & Clark 1996-98; Ross *et al.* 1998).

Even to the layman, it is apparent that the further one moves back in time through a tree of linguistic subgroups the less chance there is of finding terms that are still in use. No one expects to find many terms surviving from Proto Austronesian (PAN) to Proto Malayo Polynesian (PMP) or from Proto Malayo Polynesian to Proto Oceanic (POc). Nearer to the present in the tree, however, the odds increase, and it is at these levels that distributional evidence will be found, if any exists, of relationships of music and dance terms among the languages spoken by Lapita potters and/or the Polynesian ancestors who gave rise to the subgroup of Proto Polynesian (PPn). It is apparent also that to determine the status of a particular term, it is necessary to find out at what level in the tree the term was coined or borrowed as the case may be. In the following tables, therefore, strict distributional criteria have been applied, with the object of pinpointing the exact areas within which the various terms are found. POc should be less important in this respect than the next subgroup, Proto Eastern Oceanic (PEOc), where one can expect a reasonable spread of daughter languages through Island Melanesia, some terms from which could

potentially end up also in PPn. But this expectation has mostly not been met, and comparisons between POc and PPn must therefore suffice. It is important also to distinguish between genuine POc terms in the area of POC origin before differentiation into PEOc, and terms which belong rather to the more recent subgroup of Proto Western Oceanic (PWOC), which developed in the area after the departure of Lapita potters. Attention is drawn to such distinctions in the notes to the tables.

Figure 1: Linguistic subgroups referred to in the text



I have assumed that if a reconstruction is made from only a few terms, it may or may not represent the term as actually spoken in the proto language, but only as it might have been spoken if the term were actually present. Such terms have accordingly been excluded as a basis for analysis.

Among the benefits of this approach is identification of the probable area of origin of Lapita potters who are believed to have been ancestral to Polynesians, as well as inventories of music and dance terms they may or may not have introduced.

The tables in the next section compare items from published POc and PPn cognate sets (POLLEX and Lexicon) with entries from McLean area files (McLean MS. 2009), together with entries from published dictionaries of Oceanic languages. The tables are arranged in alphabetical order of commonly occurring musical instruments (conch, drum, flute, jews harp, and slit gong), followed by tables relating to dance and song. In column 1 of the tables, entries from POLLEX are distinguishable from others by the three-letter language codes used in POLLEX (e.g. SAM = Samoa), and entries from Lexicon by two or three-letter codes representing linguistic areas such as Papuan Tip (PT), Meso Melanesia (MM), and Northern Central Vanuatu (NCV). McLean terms in column 2 are drawn from a variety of sources including early travel and missionary accounts, as well as ethnographic literature. Terms are given as originally spelt, and have not been formally tested for linguistic cognacy. If or when this is done, some may prove to be a result of borrowing or may even be coincidental. Most, however, are at least indicative of a connection of some kind.

Map codes in many of the entries refer to New Guinea maps published with McLean 1994. Most are in the Bismarck Archipelago (see Figure 2).

Comments follow each table and provide a basis for conclusions at the end of the paper. Citations for the McLean entries have not been reproduced from the card files, but are referenced in full in McLean 1995.

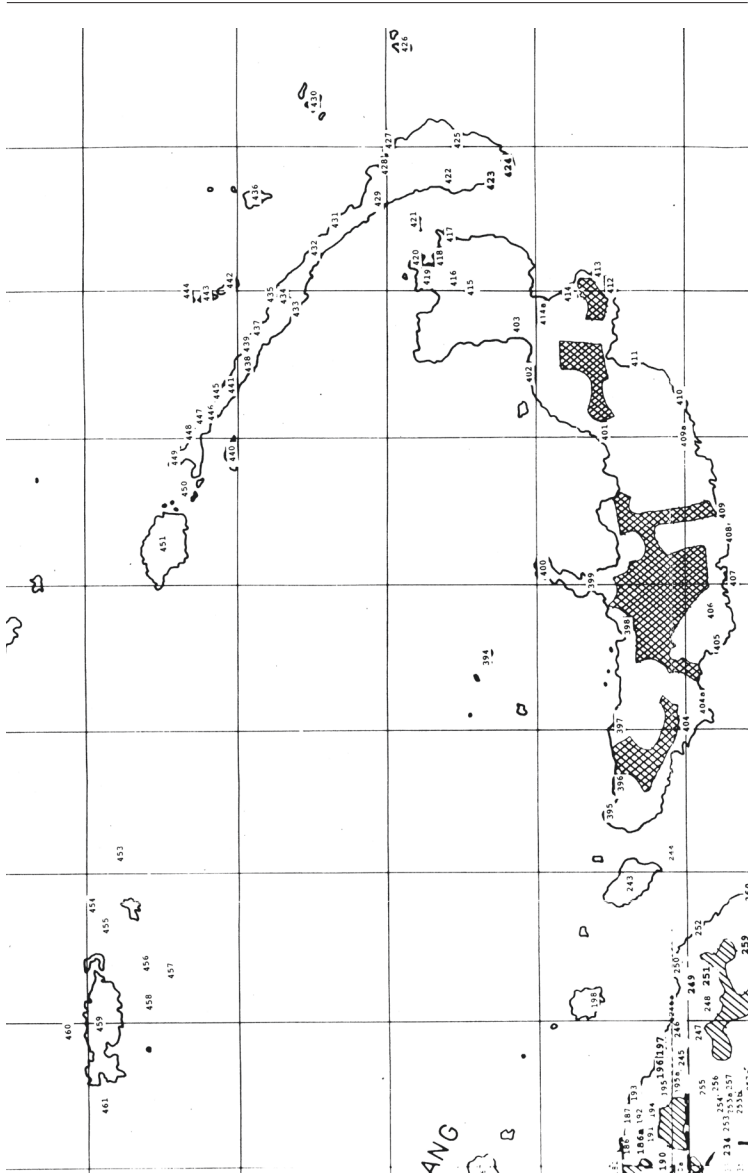
To facilitate comparison, table entries are in order of area codes based on Murdock's *Outline of World Cultures* (1963), sorted alphabetically.

A list of Murdock codes has been provided as an appendix to the paper. Note that these codes are in alphabetical order running south-eastwards from New Guinea through Island Melanesia to Fiji (OJ New Guinea, OK Melanesia (unspecific), OL Massim, OM Bismarck Archipelago, ON Solomon Islands, OO Vanuatu, OP New Caledonia and Loyalty Islands, OQ Fiji), and thence to Micronesia (OR), Polynesia (unspecific) (OS), Polynesian Outliers (OT), Western Polynesia (OU), Eastern Polynesia (OX), Easter Island (OY), and finally New Zealand and its former dependencies from both Eastern and Western Polynesia (OZ).

Codes for New Guinea and the Bismarck Archipelago have been modified to take account of area as follows: OJ1: West Papua; OJ2A1) Sepik; OJ2A2) Madang; OJ2A3) Morobe; OJ2A5) Highlands; OJ2B1) Western; OJ2B2) Gulf; OJ2B3) Central; OJ2B4) Milne Bay; OJ2B5) Northern; OM2A4) Bismarck Archipelago followed by the language name and, in most cases, map reference.

For background on musical instruments of Oceania, see McLean entries in Sadie 1984 where there is extensive information including references. Further information about the spread of music and dance in Polynesia can be found in Chapter 28 of the writer's book *Weavers of Song* (McLean 1999).

COGNATE SETS



Bismarck Archipelago showing language map codes

CONCH

Table 1

Lexicon vol.1:106-7	McLean
<p>PMP *tambuRi(q) 'conch shell trumpet' (ACD)</p> <p>POc *tapuRi(q) 'triton shell: Charonia tritonis, used as trumpet'</p> <p>OJ2A2)042 Map code 152 NNG Manam tauru 'conch shell; used as a horn for calling village meetings with the councillor'</p> <p>OJ2A2)060d Map code 167 NNG Takia taur, taul 'conch shell horn (used for sending messages)'</p>	<p>afuri, ahuri, davui, hau, hawi, jowi, ntovu, saui, savi, sewi, sowi, tabura, tabure, tau, taule, taur, tauru, tauya, tauwe, ta'uya, tavio, tavua, tavua, tavue, tavui, tavuli, tavulu, tavur, tavure, tavus, tavur, tawi tawore, tawul, tawur</p> <p>OJ Pidgin English taur conch</p> <p>OJ1:134 Serui-Laut Map code 055 tabura conch shell trumpet</p> <p>OJ10 Bukaua Map code 265 tau shell trumpet</p> <p>OJ2A2)036 Kaian Map code 153 taur conch</p> <p>OJ2A2)042 Manam Map code 152 tauru conch</p> <p>OJ2A3)110 Tami I Map code 267 tawul shell trumpet</p> <p>OJ2B4)062 Mailu Map code 367 tavui conch</p>

Lexicon vol.1:106-7	McLean
<p>OM2A4)046 Map code 428 MM Sursurunga taur 'shell type blown to send messages, triton shell'</p> <p>OM2A4)050a Map code 419 MM Tolai tavor 'triton shell'</p>	<p>OJ2B4)090 Wedau Map code 378 taure conch OJ28 Jabim Map code 266 tau shell trumpet OL4:17 Map code 382 kaula shell trumpet OL6 Map code 386 tauya, ta'uya shell trumpet OM2A4)006 Bariai Map code 396 taule conch OM2A4)009 Bola Map code 399 tavure conch OM2A4)011 Duke of York Is Map code 421a tavor shell trumpet OM2A4)011 Duke of York Map code 421a tavor, uru conch OM2A4)026a Londip Map code 417 tauru conch</p> <p>OM2A4)047a Talasea Map code 399 taule, na taule conch OM2A4)047a Talasea Map code 399 tavor conch OM2A4)050a Kuanua Map code 419 a tavua 'conch' (Mannering n.d.:15)</p>

Lexicon vol.1:106-7	McLean
<p>OM7 Map code 452 Adm Mussau taue 'triton shell'</p> <p>ON9 SES Sa'a ahuri 'conch shell, triton, used to summon people'</p> <p>ON12 SES Arosi ahuri 'conch shell, triton'</p> <p>OO4 NCV Lonwolwol taviu 'conch shell (and sound)'</p>	<p>OM2A4)050a Raluana Map code 419 tauru 'conch ' (Lanyon- Orgill 1960:531) OM2A4)050a Tolai Map code 419 tavor conch OM4 taburu conch</p> <p>OM8 tabure shell trumpet OM8 tawur conch OM10 tawore conch OM16 Map code 401 tavus conch ON8 Florida tavulu 'conch shell used as trumpet' (Ivens 1940:63) ON9 Sa'a ahuri 'conch' (Ivens 1929:361) ON12 Arosi ahuri 'conch' (Fox 1970:500) ON12 afuri shell trumpet ON12 ahuri 'au bamboo trumpet ON15 ahuri shell trumpet ON16 tavuli 'conch shell used as trumpet' (Ivens 1940:63) OO4 taviu, tavjo, taviu 'conch shell, (often, used with hole, to make the bubu sound)' (Paton 1973:193)</p>

Lexicon vol.1:106-7	McLean
<p>009 NCV Lewo tapuru ‘shellfish Trochus spp.’</p> <p>Q10 Fij Bauan davui ‘trumpet shell or triton’</p> <p>OQ11 Fij Wayan tavui ‘triton shell; Pacific or Triton’s Trumpet’</p> <p>OR16 Mic Ponapean sewi ‘conch shell, trumpet’</p> <p>OR6 Mic Kiribati tau ‘triton conch, trumpet shell’</p>	<p>007 Mota tauwe ‘conch, conch used as a trumpet’ (Codrington & Palmer 1896:(2)293, 209)</p> <p>0010 ntovu ‘conch’ (Crowley 2000:173)</p> <p>0011 tavue conch</p> <p>0012 tavua shell trumpet</p> <p>OQ davui shell trumpet</p> <p>OQ10 davui conch</p> <p>OQ10 davui ‘a large univalve shell-fish, the trumpet shell or triton, used as a horn or trumpet, chiefly on canoes’ (Capell 1983:47)</p> <p>OR9 Saipan hawi, sawi ‘conch shell trumpet’ (Jackson & Marck 1991:243)</p> <p>OR12 jowi ‘conch shell’ (Harrison & Salich, 1977:104)</p> <p>OR16 sowi shell trumpet</p> <p>OR16 sewi conch, conch shell trumpet (Rehg & Sohl 1979:146)</p> <p>OR17 hawi, hawi shell trumpet</p> <p>OR17 hawi ‘trumpet, conch’ (Elbert 1972:191)</p>

Lexicon vol.1:106-7	McLean
	OR19 saui, sewi shell trumpet OR19 sewi 'trumpet made from Triton shell' (Goodenough & Sugita 1990:415) OR21 tau shell trumpet OR21 tawi (tawii) 'conch shell, trumpet' (Sohn & Tawerilmang 1976:147, 213)

The conch trumpet is of very early distribution, possibly preceding all others. In McLean 1994 and McLean 2008 it is referred to as part of Distribution D and is found there to be associated with leaf oboes, together with stamping tubes and struck tubes in areas where bamboo is grown. Placing available map codes for New Guinea into sequence yields the following from west to east: West Papua 055; North coast PNG 152, 153, 167, 265, 266, 267; South coast PNG 367; Papuan tip 378; Massim 382, 386; New Britain North coast 396, 399, 401, 417, 419, 421; New Ireland 428; Admiralty Is 452. The core area is the New Britain north coast Lapita homeland, with excursions northwards into Micronesia, and southward through the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu as far as Fiji, except for New Caledonia, where the name for the conch is different. There can be little doubt that a term similar to this would have been the one used by Lapita potters. It is highly significant, however, that the Polynesian name for shell trumpet (see Table 2) differs from the POc one which appears everywhere else. Why, then, did Polynesians not retain the earlier term? This question will be taken up later.

Table 2

POLLEX; Lexicon vol.1:110	McLean
<p>PNPn Pu(')u :Trumpet</p> <p>OT Emai MAE Puu 'Conch shell' (Clk)</p> <p>OT Mele Fila MFA Puu 'Conch shell' (Clk)</p> <p>OT3 KAP Puu 'Trumpet' (Ebt)</p> <p>OT3 KAP1 Buu 'Sea shell other than bivalve, trumpet shell; (Lbr)</p>	<p>bu, buki, fu, pu, pupuhi, puu</p> <p>OJ1:013 Asmat Map code 035 fu bamboo signal horn</p> <p>OJ2A1)047a Kwanga Map code 113 fu conch</p> <p>OJ2B5)015c Kokoda fu conch</p> <p>OJ24 Torres Strait Is bu conch</p> <p>OM2A4)031 Mengen Map code 412 pula or bu 'side-blown Triton conch' (Laade 199:160)</p> <p>OO4 bu, bubu 'the sound of the (holed) conch shell being blown, as a signal' (Paton 1973:22)</p> <p>OO13 bu panpipe</p> <p>OT Mele Fila puu 'conch shell trumpet' (Biggs 1975:40)</p> <p>OT West Futuna pu 'conch, conch shell trumpet' (Dougherty c.1979:(1)582)</p> <p>OT2 pu trumpet</p> <p>OT3 buu 'trumpet' (Lieber 1974:18)</p>

POLLEX; Lexicon vol.1:110	McLean
OT4 TAK Puu 'Conch or Trumpet-shell' (Hwd)	OT4 puu 'n. Conch or trumpet shell'; puu te reo 'Correct singing of the melody of a song' (RMTD)
OT7 NKO Buu 'Shell trumpet'	OT7 buu 'a bladder, balloon, ball, the head of the octopus, a net on a long handle; a conch shell trumpet; or any other round, hollow, inflatable object' (Carroll 1973:29)
OT8 OJA Puu 'Trumpet shell' (Tpe)	OT8 pu conch signalling instrument OT9 buki 'trumpet shell; to blow such' (Elbert 1965:(1)40)
OT10 SIK Puu 'Trumpet' (Sps)	
OT11 TIK Puu 'Trumpet' (Fth)	OT11 pu 'trumpet of large univalve shell' (Firth 1985:360) OT11 pu shell trumpet used to call meetings
OU5 ECE Puu 'Horn (blown to summon people)' (Nks)	OU5 pu cassis shell conch OU5 pu 'horn, megaphone' (Noricks 1981:(1)139)
OU7 NIU Puu 'Trumpet'	OU7 pu conch, & leaf oboe OU7 pu 'univalve mollusc shell; trumpet; horn of a motor car' (McEwen 1970:283)
OU8 SAM Puu 'Trumpet'	OU8 pu shell trumpet (7 refs) OU8 pu 'name given to molluscs . . . the shells of which some are used for shell trumpets': pu ilitasi 'conch, shell-trumpet' (Milner 1993:189)

POLLEX; Lexicon vol.1:110	McLean
OU9 TON Puu 'To fart'	OU9 fu type of hand-clapping
	OU10 fu hand-clapping
OV5 HAW Puu 'Trumpet'	OV5 pu conch (6 refs)
	OV5 pu 'large triton conch
	or helmet shell as used for
	trumpets; any wind instrument'
	(Pukui & Elbert 1986:349, 344)
	OX4 pu end blown triton
OX5 MVA Puu 'Trumpet'	OX5 pu shell trumpet
OX6 MQA Puu 'Toute sorte	OX6 pu wind instruments,
d'instrument a vent' (Dln)	horn, type of hand-clapping
	suggestive of trumpet (5 refs)
OX7 TAH Puu 'Trumpet'	OX7 pu shell trumpet (4 refs)
OX9 TUA Puu 'Trumpet'	
OY EAS Puu 'Trumpet' (Chl)	OY pu conch, trumpet, leaf oboe
OZ4 MAO Puu 'Trumpet'	OZ4 pu moana shell trumpet
	OZ4 pu 'blow gently; pipe, tube,
	flute; term entering into the
	names of many wind instruments'
	(Williams 1975:300)
	OZ9 shell trumpet (3 refs)
OZ9 RAR Puu 'Trumpet'	OZ9 Rarotonga pu 'trumpet
	made from sea shells such as
	the triton; also foreign wind
	instruments' (Savage 1962:268)
	OZ10 pu side blown triton conch
	OZ11 pu end-blown conch
OZ12 TOK Puu 'Trumpet'	OZ12 pu end-blown conch
	OZ12 pu 'conch, shell trumpet
	(blown as horn)' (Office:276)
OZ13 PEN Puu 'Trumpet'	

The word *pu* or *puu* is generally accepted to be an onomatopoeic imitation of the sound made by a trumpet and, except for a scattering of similar and related terms, is overwhelmingly Polynesian (except for absence most notably in Tonga, where the term is different), qualifying *puu* on this account as at least PNPn. Co-occurrence in most areas, with the obviously related term *puhi* or *pusi* 'to blow' (see next table) confirms the term as almost exclusively Polynesian. Elsewhere it is probably either a borrowing from Polynesia or results from an independent use of onomatopoeia.

Table 3

POLLEX	McLean
PMP *pusi :To blow air from the mouth	buki, pu, puhi, pupuhi, puia, pusi, pussug, vusia OM2A4)050a Kuanua Map code 419 pu 'blow' (Mannering n.d.:9) OM2A4)050a Raluana Map code 419 pu 'Small sort of bamboo, when hollowed out used as a blowpipe through which berries are shot at birds; to blow berries at birds in this way; To blow as an egg (Lanyon-Orgill 1960)
ON9 Lau LAU Pusi 'Semen' (Fox) ON9 Lau LAU1 Pusu 'Flow out, burst out; puff, explode' (Fox)	007 Mota vusia 'blow' (Codrington & Palmer 1896:(2)290)
0Q7 ROT Pusi 'Burst, splash'	

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OT Emae MAE Pusi/a 'Spew, blow out, spit out' (Clk)</p> <p>OT Mele Fila MFA Pusi/a 'Squirt'</p> <p>OT3 KAP Puhī/u 'Breathe deeply, exhale'</p> <p>OT7 NKR Busi 'Blow with mouth'</p> <p>OT9 REN Pusi 'Blow, as flute or the wind' (Ebt)</p> <p>OT11 TIK Pusi 'Spit, squirt, spray from the mouth' (Fth)</p> <p>OT11c Anuta ANU Pu/pui 'Blow' (Yen)</p> <p>OU5 ECE Puhī 'Blow with mouth'</p> <p>OU6 EFU Pu/pusi 'Blow (as a wind instrument)'</p>	<p>OR9 Saipan pussug 'to spirt out, especially of blood' (Jackson & Marck 1991:141)</p> <p>OR19 puu ' Be blown strongly, blow strongly' (Goodenough & Sugita 1980:286)</p> <p>OT Mele Fila pusi 'to blow' (Biggs 1975:41)</p> <p>OT West Futuna puia 'blow conch shell' (Dougherty c.1979:(2)810)</p> <p>OT7 pusi 'blow with the mouth' (Carroll 1973:29)</p> <p>OT9 pusi 'to blow, as a flute or as the wind; to blow out'; buki 'shell trumpet, to blow such'; ghubi 'to blow, as on a wind instrument, conch' (Elbert 1975: (1)240, 40, 75)</p> <p>OT11 pusi 'spit, squirt, spray (as water from mouth)' (Firth 1985:370)</p> <p>OU5 puhī, puhīpuhī, pusi 'blow with the mouth' (Noricks 1981:(2)208)</p>

POLLEX	McLean
OU7 NIU Puhi 'Blow (I), spurt out, blow out' (Mce)	OU7 puhi 'to spurt out, to blow out (as a candle etc.)' (McEwen 1970:284)
OU9 TON Puhi 'Blow'	
OU10 EUV Pu/puhi 'Souffler' (Rch)	
OV5 HAW Puhi 'Blow'	OV5 puhi 'to blow, puff, blow from the mouth' (Pukui & Elbert 1986:349, 403) OV5 pu puhi conch [properly 'blow conch' MMcL]
OX5 MVA Pu'i 'Souffler' (Jnu)	
OX6 MVA Puhi 'Souffler' (Dln)	
OX7 TAH Puhi/puhi 'Blow with mouth'	
OX9 TUA Puhi 'Blow'	
OY EAS Puhi 'Blow'	
OZ4 MAO Pu/puhi 'Blow (as the wind, a whale); shoot (as a gun)'	OZ4 puhi 'wind'; pupuhi, puhia 'blow'; pupuha 'blow, as a whale' (Williams 1975:304)
OZ9 RAR Pu'i 'Blow'	OZ9 Rarotonga pui 'the sound made in whistling, to whistle; to blow; to sound as a wind instrument' (Savage 1962:274)
OZ11 PUK Pupuyi 'Blow' (Mta)	
OZ12 TOK Puhi 'Blow out (alight), puff, smoke (cigarette)' (Sma)	OZ12 pupuhi 'blow (with ones mouth)' (Office 1986:84)

A comparison of Tables 3 and 4 shows that the term *pusi* 'to blow' co-occurs throughout most of Polynesia with the term *pu* for 'shell trumpet'. The few appearances of the word elsewhere, though

including some within Polynesia itself, mostly lack this association and carry the different though related meaning ‘to spurt, explode, or burst out’, suggesting that this was its original or general meaning. Presence of the meaning ‘to squirt’ in distant Saipan and of the meaning ‘to blow’ in both New Britain and Truk in Micronesia – where the term is truncated to *pu* – suggests presence in POc, with the Caroline Islands as a possible vector for introduction into Polynesia.

DRUM

Table 4

Lexicon vol.1:109	McLean
POc *kude ‘hourglass drum’	See note below.
OM14 Map code 394 MM Vitu kude ‘hourglass) drum’	
OM16 Map code 401 MM Nakanai kude ‘hourglass drum’	
OM2A4)009a Map code 400 MM Bulu kude ‘(hourglass) drum’	
OM2A4)016 Map code 395 NNG Kilenge kure ‘slitgong drum’	
OM2A4)042 Map code 429 MM Patpatar kudu ‘drum’	
OM2A4)050a Map code 419 MM Tolai kudu ‘a long drum, the end of which is covered with the skin of an iguana’	

Kudu/kunndu in this table is the Pidgin English term for the New Guinea hourglass drum. Besides the Bismarck references provided above, scores more, including examples from the New Guinea mainland, could probably be added from McLean files, but there would be no point in doing so. The instrument is almost universal

in Papua New Guinea and the pidgin English name for it is similarly ubiquitous. There is no reason to suppose, however, that this term or one resembling it was in general use in proto times. At best it would have been just one of a multitude of local names for the instrument, adopted most likely from one of the languages used by traders and missionaries as a lingua franca at the time of first European contact, and disseminated only from this time onwards. The Lexicon terms in the table are in adjacent areas within the PWOC language area as follows: 394, 395, 398, 400, 401, 419, 429.

Table 5

POLLEX; Lexicon vol.1:110	McLean
PNPn *pasu :Drum n; PNPn *pasu :To pound, thump v. (POLLEX) PCP *(v,b)asu 'a drum; to drum, thump' (Lexicon)	pahu, pasu, pa'u, payu, peu
OQ FIJ Vacu 'Pound with fist' OQ10 Fij Bauan vacu 'punch with the fist' (Lexicon)	OR12 peu drum OR16 pau drum OR16 peu hourglass drum
OU7 NIU Pahu 'Drum (I); bang, stamp, dash down' (McE) OU7 Pn Niuean pahu 'drum' (Lexicon) OU9 TON Pahu 'Thump' OU9 Pn Tongan pahu 'thump' (Lexicon)	OU7 pahu a drum OU7 pahu 'a drum' (McEwen 1970:258)
OV5 HAW Pahu 'Drum'	OU10 pahu resonant sound OV5 pahu drum (22 refs)

POLLEX; Lexicon vol.1:110	McLean
OV5 Pn Hawaiian pahu 'drum' (Lexicon)	
OX5 MVA Pa'u 'Tambour' (Rch)	OX5 pahu a drum OX5 pa'u drum (3 refs)
OX6 MQA Pahu 'Tambour' (Dln)	OX6 pahu drum (4 refs)
OX7 TAH Pahu 'Drum, thumping blow'	OX7 pahu drum (9 refs)
OX7 Pn Tahitian pahu 'drum; thumping blow' (Lexicon)	
OX9 TUA Pahu 'Drum, thump'	OX9 pahu drum
	OY pahu a drum
OZ4 MAO Pahu/u 'Wooden gong'	OZ4 pahu slit gong (32 refs)
OZ4 Pn Maori pahu 'wooden gong' (Lexicon)	OZ4 pahu 'alarum made of stone or wood, and beaten like a gong; formerly used in time of war'
	(Williams 1975:248)
OZ9 Pn Rarotongan pa'u 'drum formed from a hollowed block and covered with shark skin' (Lexicon)	OZ9 pa'u drum (7 refs)
	OZ9 Rarotonga pa'u, pahu 'a drum' (Savage 1962:243)
OZ9 RAR Pa'u 'Drum'	
	OZ10 pahu drum
OZ11 PUK Payu 'Single-ended drum' (Bge)	OZ11 pau double ended drum
	OZ11 payu drum (3 refs)
	OZ12 pahu drum (3 refs)
	OZ12 pasu drum (2 refs)

For both PNPn and PCP, 'thump' can be accepted as a gloss but not 'drum'. The *pahu* is a drum in Eastern Polynesia, where the term plainly derives from 'thump', because this is the kind of sound these drums produce. Western Polynesia, however, does not have the drum

as an instrument, except as a late European borrowing. It follows that if the term was present in proto times it meant simply ‘thump’ and not ‘drum’. This raises an important point of principle. There are numerous examples throughout Oceania of terms from general vocabulary applied either metaphorically or otherwise to an aspect of music, usually – unlike ‘pahu’ – with little or no indication of when the new use may have arisen. It is obviously inadmissible to assign such terms to an earlier period than the one in which they originated. The reconstruction method clearly works only if there are a number of instances in daughter languages with no possibility of borrowing among them, and disregard of this principle may lead to error.

Except for the New Guinea *kundu* (see Table 4), drums are absent in Melanesia. Cognates of the *pahu* term do, however, occur in Micronesia, albeit applied to drums of PNG hourglass design, different from the cylindrical drums characteristic of Eastern Polynesia. A relationship of some kind must exist, and will be taken up in discussion later in the paper.

FLUTE

Table 6

Lexicon vol.1:108 & POLLEX	McLean
POc *kopi ‘bamboo; bamboo flute’ (Lexicon)	kofe, kohe, ko’e, ohe, ‘ohe, ‘ofe, oe, ove
PPn *kofe :bamboo sp (POLLEX)	
OJ PT Gumawana ko’e kopi ‘flute’	
OT8 OJA ‘Ohe ‘Bamboo whistle’ (Tpe)	OT8 ohe nose flute (Moyle 1990:29)
OT8 Pn Luangiua ‘ohe ‘bamboo whistle’	

Lexicon vol.1:108 & POLLEX	McLean
<p>OT9 Pn Rennellese kohe 'bamboo'</p>	<p>OT9 kohe 1. bamboo, 2. flute OT9 kohe 'nose flute' (Moyle 1990:29) OT9 kohe 'bamboo believed not ancient and to have drifted in; flute as a papaya stalk or as the European instrument, formerly blown by women to attract men' (Elbert 1975:(1)13) OT11 kofe 'bamboo' (Firth 1985:189)</p>
<p>OU7 NIU Kofe 'Flute'</p>	<p>OU7 kofe nose flute (5 refs) OU7 kofe 'nose flute' (Moyle 1990:29) OU7 kofe 'nose flute; any musical instrument' (McEwen 1970:132)</p>
<p>OU8 Pn Samoan 'ofe 'bamboo sp.'</p> <p>See also POLLEX for numerous further entries grouped under Kofe.A bamboo sp. and Kofe.B bamboo knife. Only those relating to musical instruments are reproduced above.</p>	<p>OU8 'ofe flute OU8 'ofe 'nose flute' (Moyle 1990:29) OU9 kofe, kofe, name for fangofango flute (?) OU10 kofe 'nose flute' (Moyle 1990:29) OV5 ohe nose flute (5 refs) OV5 'ohe 'nose flute' (Moyle 1990:29) OX9 kohe 'nose flute' (Moyle 1990:29) OZ9 ko'e Aitutaki bamboo mouth flute</p>

Lexicon vol.1:108 & POLLEX	McLean
	OZ9 Mangaia ove small slit gong OZ9 Mangaia ko'e bamboo nose flute OZ9 Mangaia oe bell OZ9 Mangaia ko'e musical bow OZ9 Rarotonga ko'e bamboo flute or pipe OZ9 Rarotonga ko'e 'bamboo'; ko'e, kohe 'a flute, a pipe'; tangi ko'e 'music of a wind instrument, more especially that of the flute or pipe' (Savage 1962:109) OZ12 kofe 'bamboo' (Office 1986:142)

Apart from a single New Guinea entry in Lexicon vol.1 there is no evidence here for a reconstruction to POc, much less either the term as reconstructed or its gloss as 'flute' at the proto level. If this entry is ignored the POLLEX reconstruction of the remaining entries to PPN kofe and limitation of meaning to bamboo is seen to be entirely realistic. The application of the term to 'flute' or 'nose flute' in Polynesia is another example of a general term extended to a specific use. Other objects made from bamboo such as stamping tubes in some areas and the small slit gong of Mangaia, which would have been made from bamboo in the first instance, are examples of the same process at work.

Table 7

Lexicon vol.1:108	McLean
<p>PAn *qauR 'bamboo sp' (ACD) POc *kauR 'bamboo; bamboo wind instrument'</p> <p>OJ NNG Bing kau(mahay) 'bamboo sp.; flute, long bamboo wind instrument (2.7 m x 5 cm)' OJ NNG Lukep (Pono) kaur 'flute: traditional musical instrument made out of bamboo (monomono)'</p> <p>OM2A4)050a Map code 419 MM Tolai kaur 'bamboo' kaur goragoro 'k. o. bamboo of which flutes are made'</p> <p>OM7 Map code 452 Adm Mussau kauru 'bamboo'</p>	<p>a kaur; 'au, kaur</p> <p>OM2A)031 Mebgen Map code 412 kaur 'bamboo slit gong'; 'Pidgin name for bamboo'; 'bamboo raft panpipe' (Laade 1999;140,152, 154) OM2A4)11 Duke of York Is Map code 421 kaur bamboo slit gong OM2A4)11 kaurpille panpipe OM2A4)19 a kaur end-blown bamboo flute OM2A4)43 kaur panpipe OM2A4)050a Ralluana Map code 419 kaur 'mamboo' (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:515) OM2A4)50a akaur notched flute OM2A4)50a kaur bamboo slit gong OM4 kaur notched flute</p>

Lexicon vol.1:108	McLean
<p>ON9 SES 'Are'are 'au 'bamboo; generic name for music and musical instruments; panpipes'</p>	<p>OM8 kaur bamboo flute, panpipe, and jews harp OM10 kaur panpipe ON6:0 ka'ur panpipe ON9 'au musical instruments of bamboo ON9 'Are'are 'au 'bamboo; generic name for musical instruments (Geerts 1970:44) ON9 'Are'are 'au 'Bamboo'; 'musical instruments made of bamboo, including panpipe ensembles'; (by extension) 'instruments which can produce a melody, including European musical instruments, radios, record players and tape recorders' (Zemp 1978:37) ON9 Kwaio au 'bamboo' (Keesing 1975:258) ON9 Lau au 'bamboo' (Ivens 1934:110)</p>
<p>ON9 SES Sa'a au 'panpipes'</p>	<p>ON9 Sa'a au 'bamboo; panpipe' (Ivens 1929:40, 392, 413)</p>
<p>ON12 SES Arosi 'au (uhi-uhi) 'panpipes of bamboo' (uhi 'blow, breathe')</p>	<p>ON12 Arosi 'au 'bamboo' (Fox 1970:486) OO Paamese eau 'bamboo' (Crowly 1992:211)</p>
<p>OO NCV Namakir 'o 'bamboo; panpipe'</p>	

Lexicon vol.1:108	McLean
OO NCV Paamese e-au 'bamboo; knife; slitgong fixed in ground' OO8 NCV Nguna na-au 'wild cane, reed; flute, mouth organ'	

On the above evidence, this term for bamboo is prevalent only in the Bismarck Archipelago, Solomon Islands, and Vanuatu. In Fijian the term is *bitu*, which appears to be related to neither POC nor PPn. If *kaur* is POC, then, as in the case of shell trumpets, here is yet another prevalent item for which the term is completely different in POC and PPn. It is doubtful whether the term can be glossed as 'musical instrument' in POC as well as 'bamboo'. Again 'bamboo' is the general meaning but the extension of meaning to objects made of bamboo is not universal and is not limited to musical instruments. The best known application of the word to musical instruments is by the 'Are'are of Malaita in the Solomon Islands whose bamboo panpipe ensembles are extensively reported by Hugo Zemp (See McLean entry on Panpipes in Sadie 1984 for a summary).

Table 8

Lexicon vol.1:107-8 & POLLEX	McLean
POc *upi/*ipu 'blow; native flute' (Lexicon) PPn *ifi 'Blow' (POLLEX) OJ PT Kilivi1a (y)uvi 'blow'	ifi, ifia, ifu, ili, ipi, ivi, ivu, ivua, nifu, piu, piuvu, uf, ufi, ufi, uhi, up, uti, uvu OJ2A3)120a Wampur Map code 236a uhi bamboo flute OJ2B3)011 Gabadi Map code 236 ivirikou trumpet

Lexicon vol.1:107-8 & POLLEX	McLean
<p>OJ2B3)025 Map code 352 PT Motu ivi(likou) 'a reed musical instrument, a flute'</p> <p>ON9 SES Kwaio ufi 'play panpipes' ON9 SES Sa'a uhi 'blow with the mouth upon an object'</p>	<p>OJ2B3)025 Motu iviliko panpipe</p> <p>OM2A4)004a Arawe Map code 404 iviekeu bamboo water flute OM2A4)050a Raluana Map code 419 ipi 'to blow of the wind' (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:161) ON4 Teop piuvu panpipe ON6 Buka Passage piu panpipe ON9 Kwaio ufi 'play panpipes'; ufi 'au 'play panpipes; ufia 'blow on (e.g. a flute)' (Keesing 1975:218) ON9 Lau ufi 'blow'; ufi bungu 'to blow a conch' (Ivens 1934:111, 21) ON9 Sa'a uhi, uhiuhi 'to blow with the mouth upon an object'; ahuri 'to blow the conch' (Ivens 1929:361) ON9 To'amba'ita uufia 'blow into in order to produce a sound (e.g. conch shell, panpipes, whistle); play a wind instrument' (Lichtenberk 2008:339) ON10 ivivu trumpet ON10 ivivuana flute ON10 ivua a blowing method of a bamboo war bassoon</p>

Lexicon vol.1:107-8 & POLLEX	McLean
	ON10 ivua 'to blow as a flute or bassoon' (Lanyon-Orgill 1969:80)
ON10 MM Roviana ivu 'blow, as a conch shell' iv-ivu(ana) a native flute'	ON10 Roviana ivu 'blow, to blow as a conch shell'; ivuana 'a native flute' (Waterhouse 1949:194,44)
ON12 SES Arosi uhi-uhi 'panpipes of bamboo' (uhi 'blow, breathe')	ON12 Arosi uhi, uhu 'to blow, to breathe on, to puff out from a panpipe; uhiuhi,'au uhiuhi 'panpipes' (Fox 1970:453, 361)
ON16 SES Bugotu ifu 'blow, of fire or panpipes; panpipes'	ON16 ifu 'blow'; ifu tabuli 'to blow the trumpet'; ifi 'panpipes' (Ivens 1940:80,63, 92) ON16 ifu 'blow; play a wind instrument' (White 1988:74) ON16 nifu 'panpipe or other wind instrument' (White 1988:174) OO12 Avava up 'blow' (Crowley 2006:181) OP4 Dubu uf 'blow' (Tryon 1967:10) OP4 Nengone uti 'to blow'; uti cucu 'to blow a shell horn' (Tryon & Dubois 1969-71:(1)393)

Lexicon vol.1:107-8 & POLLEX	McLean
OQ[10] FIJ Uvu 'Blow with mouth' OQ10 Fij Bauan uvu 'blow with the mouth'	OQ10 uvu 'to blow with the mouth'; uvu davui 'to blow the shell trumpet'; uvu bitu-vakatagi 'to play the native flute' (Capell 1968:249) OR9 Saipan uhi 'to blow air (of a person or of the wind)' (Jackson & Marck 1991:218)
OT West Futuna WFU Ifi/a 'To blow' (Dty)	OT West Futuna ifia 'to blow' (Dougherty c.1979:344) OT3 ili 'to blow (with mouth; to fan)'; ili di buu 'to blow a trumpet shell' (Lieber 1974:109)
OU6 EFU Mo/ifi 'Fart' (Bgs) OU7 NIU Ifi 'Blow' OU8 SAM Ifi 'Blow smoke' OU9 TON Ifi 'Blow with mouth'	OU9 ifi to blow as into a musical instrument
OU10 EUV Ifi 'Blow with mouth' (Btn) OZ4 MAO Ihi 'Blow, of wind'	

This is another example of specific use of a general term, in this case the term 'to blow' transferring to blown musical instruments, including flutes, trumpets, and panpipes, in a number of areas, but not flutes in general as suggested in the Lexicon gloss, though this is plausible in terms of contrast with *pusi* (Table 3), if this was the term for to blow as a trumpet. The distribution seems convincingly POC, but the preponderance of terms in the Solomons suggests an origin there, with diffusion into Western Polynesia south to Fiji and New Caledonia through the Outliers rather than via Vanuatu. If, as seems likely, Maori *ihi* is unrelated, the term cannot be PPn.

Table 9

POLLEX	McLean
<p>*?? *fag(o,u) :blow nose, snort</p> <p>OQ7 ROT1 Fag/fagu 'A nose flute' [Borrowing from Polynesian. See note]</p> <p>OT Emae MAE Faagisu 'Blow one's nose (Clk)</p> <p>OT Mele Fila MFA Fago 'Any musical instrument, but esp. mouth-organ'</p> <p>OT West Futuna WFU Fago 'Pipe, flute'</p> <p>OU5 ECE Fago 'Blow nose'</p>	<p>fago, fagufagu, fango, fangofango, fangu, fangufangu, funguri, hano, whango</p> <p>OR9 Saipan funguri, ofongofong 'to blow the nose' (Jackson & Marck 1991:218)</p> <p>OR19 fongo 'sniff blow through the nose' (Goodenough & Sugita 1990:38)</p> <p>OT Mele Fila fago 'musical instruments, especially mouth organ' (Biggs 1975:16)</p> <p>OT West Futuna fago 'pipe or flute'; 'to blow through reeds to make a whistling noise, to whistle' (Dougherty c.1979: (1)237)</p> <p>OT2 fango ma sira flute</p> <p>OT2 fango vava flute</p> <p>OT11 fango 'sniff; smell; awaken, stir' (Firth 1985:103)</p> <p>OU6 fangufangu bamboo nose flute</p> <p>OU7 fangu 'to blow (as the nose)' (McEwen 1970:33)</p>

POLLEX	McLean
OU8 SAM Fagu/fagu 'Flute'	OU8 fagufagu flute, nose flute (6 refs) OU8 fangofango nose flute OU8 fangufangu bamboo flute
OU9 TON Fangu(fangu) 'Nose-flute'	OU9 fangofango nose flute OU9 fangufangu nose flute (8 refs)
OU9 TON Fangu 'Blow one's nose' (Cwd)	OU10 fangufangu bamboo nose flute
OV5 HAW Hano 'Humming-sound, nose-flute'	OV5 hano 'hoarse, humming sound of chanting; nose flute (probably PPN fango)' (Pukui & Elbert 1986:57) OV5 hano, ohe hano bamboo nose flute
OX5 MVA1 'ago 'Kind of sound in singing' (I)	
OY EAS Hagu 'Breathing'	OZ4 whango hoarse, inarticulate, having a nasal sound' (Williams 1975: 488) OZ12 fangufangu flageolet OZ12 fagufagu 'flute' (Office 1986:458)
OZ13 PEN Hingo 'Blow through the nose' (Rmn)	

In its primary sense of 'blow with the nose', albeit diluted to "nasal sound" by the time it reached New Zealand, this term is PPN, and provenience much further back to POc or even PAn is conferred by the associated term *fafagu* in Table 10 (next). In reduplicated form

as *fangofango* or *fangufangu* it becomes a nose flute. The distribution is markedly similar to that of the complementary term *pusi* ‘to blow from the mouth’ in Table 3, with the two terms appearing together in no fewer than 14 places, stretching from Western Micronesia through the Polynesian Outliers, deep into the remainder of Western Polynesia.

The OQ7 entry has been identified as a borrowing by Andrew Pawley as follows:

ROT *fag-fagu* ‘nose flute’ must be a borrowing from Polynesian. The directly inherited Rotuman form would be *hag-hagu*, with *h*. Compare Rotuman *hagu* ‘awaken’ in Table 10, which is a regular reflex (AP).

Table 10

POLLEX	McLean
<p>PAn *<i>bangun</i> (Dpf) POC *<i>pang(ou)(n)</i> (Gce.) PPN *<i>fafago</i> “awaken someone” Note: Outliers have <i>o</i>, Metropolitania has <i>u</i>, Tuvalu has both, FIJ and MOT have <i>o</i> but PAN has <i>u</i> (Clk)</p> <p>OO7 Mota MOT <i>Vavango/v.</i> ‘To awaken’ OQ FIJ <i>Vago/na</i> ‘Awaken someone’ (Hzd) OQ7 ROT <i>Hagu</i> ‘Awaken, arouse from sleep’ (Cwd)</p>	<p><i>fafango, fafangu, fangiuli,</i> <i>fengufeng, lifang</i></p> <p>OR9 Saipan <i>lifang</i> ‘to awaken, wake up’ (Jackson & Marck 1991:95)</p>

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OT Mele Fila MFA Faago/na. 'Wake up' (tr.) (Clk) OT3 KAP1 Haangona 'Wake up someone' OT3 KAP Hanga 'Wake up someone' OT7 NKR Hhango 'Wake up someone' OT10 SIK Hhano 'Awaken someone' OT10 SIK1 Ffano 'Awaken someone' (Sps) OT11 TIK Fafago 'Waken someone' OU5 ECE Fafango 'Awaken someone' (Niutao) OU5 ECE1 Fafagu 'Awaken someone' (Niutao and Nanumanga) (Bsr) OU6 EFU Fafagu 'Awaken someone'</p>	<p>OR19 fengufengu 'rouse someone from sleep, waken someone up'; fenguni 'rouse (someone), waken (someone) up' (Goodenough & Sugita 1990:433) OR21 fangiuli (fangiulii) 'wake him up, awake him, rouse him' (Sohn & Tawerilmang 1976:23)</p>

POLLEX	McLean
OU7 NIUFafangu 'To awaken; breathe, breath' (McE)	OU7 fafangu 'to breathe, to awaken, breath' (McEwen 1970:33)
OU8 SAM Fafagu 'Waken, rouse from sleep' (Prt)	
OU9 TON Fafangu 'To awaken, rouse from sleep' (Cwd)	
OU10 EUV Fafagu 'Awaken someone'	
OZ12 TOK Fafangu 'Awaken someone'	OZ12 fafangu 'wake or arouse someone (from sleep)' (Office:57)

Except for a single Vanuatu entry, this distribution is exclusively Western Polynesian. The table, however, is probably far from complete, and should be considered in association with the primary term *fango* in the previous table which has a broader distribution. When the two tables are merged it is found that the *fango* terms for nose flute and the *fafango* one for 'to awaken' occur together in numerous places, just as also happens with *pu* 'conch' and *pusi* 'to blow with the mouth', in the *fangu* case with duplication of the first syllable of the base word conferring the separate meaning. The connection between the two becomes explicit in Tonga, where the nose flute (*fangufangu*) is used traditionally to gently awaken royalty and nobility (Moyle 1987:83). It may be that *fangu* 'to blow with the nose' is the original general term, with *fafangu* 'to awaken' and *fangufangu* 'nose flute' deriving from it. On the other hand, this status may belong also with the 'awaken' term which, if Dempwolff's reconstruction of PAN *bangun 'arouse' is correct (Dempwolff 1971:(3)20), suggests association with nose flute terms reported for Puluwat and Truk in the Caroline Islands as follows:

OR17 yangin 'nose flute'

OR17 yangin 'nose flute' (Elbert 1972:332)

OR19 aangyn, angin, anin, angun 'nose flute'

OR19 aangun 'nose flute' (Goodenough & Sugita 1990:255)

Table 11

	McLean
PAn *tulani 'bamboo flute' (Blust 1995:496)	dulali, dulall, talal, tulal, tulala, tulall, tullal, tutuli, yoguli
PMP *tulali 'nose flute' (Blust 1995:496)	Also Micronesian djillil, dschilil, jilil OJ2B1)008 Gogodala Map code 314 tutuli conch shell trumpet OJ2B4)021 Dobu Map code 384 yoguli conch shell OM2A4)011 Duke of York Is Map code 421 talal 'music' (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:576) OM2A4)011 Mioko, Duke of York Is, Map code 421 ntulall long flute OM2A4)031 Mengen Map code 412 tulala 'notched mouth flute', 'raft panpipe', and also 'the Maenge name for all bamboo' (Laade 1999:152-4) OM2A4)23a Unidentified. Between Muliama (map code 427) and King/Lamasa (422) tullal bamboo mouth flute

	McLean
	<p>OM2A4)026a Londip, New Britain, Map code 417 dulall long flute</p> <p>OM2A4)030b Matupit, New Britain, map code 420 dulall motched mouth flute</p> <p>OM2A4)040 Pala, New Ireland, Map code 431 tulal bamboo mouth flute</p> <p>OM2A4)031 Mengen Map code 412 tulala 'notched mouth flute', 'raft panpipe', and also 'the Maenge name for all bamboo' (Laade 1999:152-4)</p> <p>OM2A4)23a Unidentified. Between Muliama (map code 427) and King/Lamasa (422) tullal bamboo mouth flute</p> <p>OM2A4)026a Londip, New Britain, Map code 417 dulall long flute</p> <p>OM2A4)030b Matupit, New Britain, map code 420 dulall motched mouth flute</p> <p>OM2A4)040 Pala, New Ireland, Map code 431 tulal bamboo mouth flute</p> <p>OM2A4)043 Siar, New Ireland, Map code 425 tulall long flute</p> <p>OM2A4)043 Siar, New Ireland, Map code 425 tull triton horn</p>

	McLean
	OM2A4)050a Raluana Map code 419 tulal 'music, musical pipe, to make music' (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:424) ON16 duduli 'a bass drum of bamboo; to drum'; duulali 'to sound, resound, a sound' (Ivens 1940:9) OQ dulali nose flute OQ10 dulali 'the Fijian nose- flute' (Capell 1983:63) OR11 djillil, dschilil, jilil, conch trumpet OR11 jilel 'conch, conch trumpet' (Abo <i>et al.</i> 1976:329)

Reconstruction of the *tulali* term to PAn and PMP, coupled with subsequent appearance in the Bismarck Archipelago, together with extensions north to Micronesia and south to the Solomons and Fiji, is evidence also of inheritance in POc.

Putting map codes from the table into consecutive order yields the following: 314, 384, 412, 417, 419, 420, 421, 422, 425, 427, 431. Most of these are concentrated along the north coast of New Britain, inclusive of known Lapita sites. This is a highly local distribution, suggesting on the one hand that it may be relatively recent, but on the other, because of the proximity of so many Lapita sites and a probable origin in POc, that the prevalence of the term here may be a survival from Lapita times.

Questions must be raised, however, about Blust's gloss of 'nose flute' for his reconstructions to PMP and PAn.

In 1995 Blust provided a reconstruction of PAN *tulani, PMP *tulali “flute” (F, P, WIN, OC) which he said “almost certainly referred to a bamboo nose flute, as it still does in several descendant communities” (Blust 1995:496), and a decade and a half later he more positively glossed the term to ‘bamboo nose flute’, “based on Fijian /dulali/ and cognates in Taiwan, the Philippines and Indonesia.” (Blust 2000:187). In neither paper, however, did he offer evidence in support of the claim. The present writer has no information for Taiwan but the following cognates have been found from elsewhere, with mouth and nose-blowing about equally represented, suggesting that ‘flute’ rather than ‘nose flute’ would be a more appropriate gloss for the PMP and PAN terms:

- Central Asia tulak ‘duct flute’ (Sadie 1984:(3)674)
- Dusun, Borneo turali ‘nose flute’ (Marcuse 1964:551)
- Sabah, Malaysia turali ‘transverse nose flute’ (Sadie 1984:(3)681)
- Celebes [Sulawesi], Indonesia tulali, tujali ‘exterior duct ring flute’ (Marcuse 1964:549)
- Kalinga, northern Philippines tongali ‘nose flute’ (Sadie 1984:(3)606)
- Ilonggot, Philippines, tulani or tulale ‘external duct fipple mouth flute’ (Roger Blench (pers.comm.))
- Sulod, Panay Island, Philippines, tulali ‘external duct fipple mouth flute’ (Roger Blench (pers.comm.))

Also probably related is Javanese tulup ‘to shoot with a blow-pipe’ (Dempwolff 1971:(3)168)

Next to be considered is the question of the Fijian *dulali*, which Blust took into account in his gloss of ‘nose flute’ for the *tulali*.

A recent paper by Ammann (2007) has disproved the existence of nose flutes in New Caledonia and, with the exception of Fiji, has thrown doubt on their presence anywhere else in Island Melanesia

except possibly Manus. The term *dulali* and its cognates is applied to nose flute only in Fiji and is a mouth flute in its presumed area of origin in New Britain, with no credible presence, following Ammann, of nose flutes anywhere along the migration path from the Bismarcks to Fiji. This requires explanation and will be referred to again later in the paper.

Finally, it will be noticed that the *tulali* term is not exclusive to flutes. Among the Dobu and in the Marshall Islands it is applied to the conch, and the same is true of one of the New Britain areas where the term is used for both flute and conch.

Table 12

POLLEX	McLean
CEPn *wiwo :Flute	hio, vivo, whio
	OX4 vivo mouth flute, formerly nose flute
	OX5 vivo bamboo whistle of probably late introduction
OX6 MQA Vivo 'Flute' (Dln)	OX6 vivo mouth flute
OX7 TAH Vivo 'The native nasal flute' (Dvs)	OX7 vivo nose flute (19 refs)
OX9 TUA Viivoo 'The nose flute' (Stn)	OX9 vivo a flute
	OY hio bamboo flute
	OZ4 whio 'whistle' (Williams 1975:496)
	OZ4 whio wooden flute; also term for albatros bone flute; (8 refs)
OZ9 Rarotonga RAR Vivo 'A flute' (Sve)	OZ9 Rarotonga vivo a flute
	OZ9 Rarotonga vivo, wiwo 'a flute' (Savage 1962:460)

POLLEX	McLean
OZ11 PUK Vivo 'Leaflet Jew's harp' (Bge)	OZ12 vivo coconut leaflet jews harp
OZ13 PEN Vivo 'To whistle' (Rmn)	

As indicated in the POLLEX reconstruction, this term for flute is exclusive to Eastern Polynesia. Andrew Pawley notes as problematic the inclusion of Maori *whio* 'whistle' and OY *hio* 'bamboo flute': "These two forms would have to come from PEPn *fio, not *wiwo" (AP).

JEWS HARP

Table 13

	McLean
	aqapa, hab, gap, tuap, hapa, mangap, nap, ngab, ngap
	OM2A4)11 Duke of York, Mioko Map code 421 ngab jews harp
	OM2A4)16b King Map code 422 ngab jews harp
	OM2A4)19 = OM2A4)50a Kuanua Map code 419 aqapa jews harp
	OM2A4)22a Lamassa Map code 423 ngab jews harp
	OM2A4)26a Londip Map code 417 ngab, ngap jews harp
	OM2A4)40 Namatanai, Pala Map code 431 ngap jews harp

	McLean
	OM2A4)050a Kuanua Map code 419 gap 'jews harp' (Mannering n.d.:49)
	OM2A4)050a Raluana Map code 419 gap, guap 'jews harp' (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:565)
	OM4 Gazelle Pen. Map code 415 gap, nap jews harp
	OM4 Gazelle Pen. Map code 415 ngap jews harp
	OM8 New Britain mangap jews harp
	OM8 New Britain ngap jews harp
	OM10 New Ireland ngab jews harp
	OT9 hapa metal jews harp believed to be from the Solomon Islands. (Elbert 1975:(2)48)

Placing known area codes in order yields the following: 415, 417, 419, 421, 422, 423, 431. These are all consecutive, indicative of a highly local distribution in the same general area as *dulali* flute cognates in Table 11, with five of the specific languages coinciding. Merging the two together yields a string with hardly any gaps and nothing else on either side of it: 314, 384, 412, 415, 417, 419, 420, 421 422, 423, 425, 427, 431, stretching from the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain north eastwards in a string of coastal locations around the easternmost tip of New Ireland. The overlap between the two tables is not absolute, however, as the jews harp terms are limited to the Bismarcks portion of the distribution, consistent with attribution of Table 11 to POC, with forerunners even as far back as Taiwan, and

attribution of the jews harp terms to the post-Lapita subgroup now known as Proto Western Oceanic (PWOc). Search of the McLean files has revealed only a handful of cognates outside of the Bismarcks, suggesting that the Table 13 terms may indeed belong to PWOc. There are plenty of jews harps south of this area, all the way to Fiji, but they have different names with no noticeable uniformities. Note, however, the Rennell borrowing of *hapa* from the Solomon Islands which, if the term is cognate with *gap*, suggests that the latter is a transliteration of the English word ‘harp’.

Table 14

POLLEX	McLean
<p>PPn *Tete :Shiver, tremble</p> <p>See POLLEX for numerous entries with this general meaning to which the jews harp and mouth bow term seems to be related.</p>	<p>ukeke, utete</p> <p>OU6 utete coconut leaflet midrib jews harp</p> <p>OU8 utete coconut leaflet midrib jews harp (4 refs)</p> <p>OU9 utete coconut leaf jews harp (5 refs)</p> <p>OU10 utete coconut leaf jews harp</p> <p>OV5 ukeke mouth bow (23 refs)</p> <p>OX6 utete mouth bow (6 refs)</p> <p>OZ12 utete jews harp</p>

With two different applications in Eastern and Western Polynesia respectively this term does not qualify for reconstruction to PPn as a musical instrument. It would seem that the primary term for ‘to shiver’ was applied independently to the jews harp in Western Polynesia and to the musical bow, which operates on a similar principle, in Hawai’i and the Marquesas Islands. This is nevertheless another case of an instrument the terms for which are complementary within POC and PPn respectively.

SLIT GONG

Table 15

Lexicon vol.1:109-10	McLean
POc *garamut 'slitgong' OJ2A2) NNG Bing giram 'garamut, log drum' OJ2A2) NNG Kairiru giram 'slit gong' OJ2A2)042 Map code 152 NNG Manam giramo 'slit gong' OM16 Map code 401 MM Nakanai galamo 'slit gong' OM2A4)017 Map code 398 NNG Kove yilamo 'slitgong' OM2A4)050a Map code 419 MM Tolai garamut 'native log drum' OM7 Map code 452 Adm Emira galamutu 'slitgong' ON4 MM Halia (Haku) garamuc 'slit gong' ON4 MM Tinputz kamus 'drum/ slit drum'	See note below

Garamut is the Pidgin English term for slit gong in New Guinea and adjacent areas. Like the Pidgin term *kundu* for hourglass drum (Table 4), its origin is unknown but all or most of the examples of it are self-evidently post-European. Again, like *kundu*, the term may have been adopted from one of the areas where European contact was first made, but there is little point in trying to find out where this might have been. Marcuse (1964:200) lists 13 variants of the name ('angremut, dangamut, galamutu, garamudu, geramo, gerom, karamut, kolamut, naramut, ngaramut, ngilamo, qaramut, terremut'), any one or none of

Lexicon vol.1:110; Blust 2000; & POLLEX	McLean
<p>OQ FIJ Lali 'Wooden drum, bell'</p> <p>OQ10 Fij Bauan lali 'native wooden drum, beaten with two sticks' (Lexicon)</p> <p>OT Emae MAE lali. 'Small slit-gong' (Clk)</p> <p>OT9 REN gagi 'Begin a group song'</p> <p>OU5 ECE Lali 'Bell, wooden gong'</p> <p>OU5 Pn Tuvalu lali 'bell, wooden gong' (Lexicon)</p> <p>OU6 EFU Lali 'Gong'</p> <p>OU8 Pn Samoan lali 'middle-sized wooden gong, drum' (Lexicon)</p> <p>OU8 SAM lali 'Drum, wooden gong' (Mnr), 'small wooden hand-drum introduced (Prt)</p>	<p>OM6 Manus Map code 459 ndral, ndemi slit gong</p> <p>OM6 Titan ndrami slit gong</p> <p>OQ lali slit gong (24 refs)</p> <p>OQ6 lali slit gong</p> <p>OQ8 lali slit gong</p> <p>OQ9 lali signalling instrument</p> <p>OQ10 lali slit gong (9 refs)</p> <p>OQ10 lali 'the native wooden drum, and in modern use, a bell' (Capell 1983:111)</p> <p>OT Mele Fila lali 'drum' (Biggs 1975:24)</p> <p>OU6 lali wooden gong shaped like a canoe</p> <p>OU8 lali slit gong (7 refs)</p>

Lexicon vol.1:110; Blust 2000; & POLLEX	McLean
<p>OU9 Pn Tongan lali 'wooden drum (Fijian style)' (Lexicon)</p> <p>OU9 TON Lali 'Gong'</p> <p>OU10 EUV Lali 'Tambour en boise' (Btn)</p> <p>OZ4 MAO Rari/i 'Instrument used as gong/alarum, (Make) an uproar'</p>	<p>OU9 lali slit gong (11 refs)</p> <p>OU10 lali slit gong</p> <p>OX6 rari song type (8 refs)</p> <p>OX6 rari, nani, or ru'u honorific chant</p> <p>OZ4 rari 'Make an uproar; disturbance, uproar; some instrument used as an alarum or gong.' (Williams 1975:327)</p> <p>OZ12 lali slit gong imported from Samoa</p>

There is an apparent connection here between the Admiralty Islands and Fiji, with appearances elsewhere limited largely to Western Polynesia. Presence of the *lali* in areas adjacent to Fiji does not imply PCP status for these areas as all are known to have borrowed both the instrument and the name for it from Fiji. As explained in McLean 2008, this type of slit gong would have been adopted from the use of paired *lali* as time-keepers for scullers in Fijian trading canoes, resulting in the addition of the *lali* to existing types of slit gong in the areas where trading took place. The NZ Maori *rari* is probably unconnected unless a primary meaning in Fijian is also 'disturbance or uproar', but there is no such suggestion in Capell's Fijian dictionary. Andrew Pawley comments:

The McLean column lists forms that appear to belong to at least two different cognate sets: the *lali*, *dral*, *dran* set and the *drami* set. The latter sets seems to be confined to the Manus region. I agree that Maori *rari* or *rarii* is unrelated (AP).

Table 17

POLLEX & Lexicon vol.1:110	McLean
PPn *nafa :A wooden drum (POLLEX) PPn *nafa 'a wooden drum' (Lexicon)	nafa, napa, nawa
OT11 Pn Tikopia naf a 'large bowl-shaped trough' (Lexicon) OT11 TIK Nafa 'Large bowl-shaped trough (sometimes canoe hull serves)' (Fth)	OT11 nafa wooden trough beaten as a sounding board OT11 napa sounding board OT11 nafa 'sounding board' (Firth 1985:284)
OU5 ECE Nafa 'Piece of broken canoe used as a drum' (Rby)	OU5 nafa large slit gong
OU6 EUV Nafa 'Tambour' (Btn)	
OU7 NIU Nafa 'Small, wooden drum shaped like a canoe, with a narrow slot on one side' (McE)	OU7 nafa wooden slit gong (6 refs)
OU7 Pn Niuean nafa 'small wooden drum shaped like a canoe, with a narrow slot on one side' (Lexicon)	OU7 nafa 'small wooden drum (shaped like a canoe, with a narrow slot on one side)' (McEwen 1970:233)
OU8 Pn Samoan naf a 'native drum' (Lexicon)	OU8 nafa slit gong (9 refs)
OU8 SAM Nafa 'A native drum' (Prt)	
OU9 TON Nafa 'Drum' (Cwd)	OU9 nafa wooden slit gong. Also applied to modern skin drum (11 refs)
OU10 EUV Nafa 'Tambour' (Btn)	OU10 nafa slit gong

POLLEX & Lexicon vol.1:110	McLean
OX5 MVA Naha 'Tronc d'arbre creuse pour recevoir de l'eau' (Jnu) [= hollowed out trunk of a tree used as a water container]	
OX6 MQA Naha 'Creux' (Dln) [= hollow]	
OX7 TAH Naha 'A sort of native cistern made of leaves; a receptacle for some liquid' (Dvs)	
OZ11 PUK Nawa 'Small, wooden gong' (Bge)	OZ11 nawa slit gong, also double ended drum

The *nafa* is the Tongan form of slit gong, and is commonly recognised as indigenous to Tonga. As a slit gong or sounding board the term is limited to Western Polynesia so cannot be PPn, and must have meant something different at the PPn level. It would seem probable that as a general term the meaning was the same as the one still existing in Tahiti, the Marquesas Islands, and Mangareva, and was applied to the slit gong in Tonga only after the departure of Eastern Polynesian colonists from the west.

Table 18

POLLEX	McLean
CEPn *tookere :Percussion instrument of wood	To'ere, tokele, tokere,
OV5 HAW Ko'ele 'Tapping sound (wood on wood)' (Pki)	
OX5 MVA Tookere 'Gong' (I)	

POLLEX	McLean
OX7 TAH Too'ere 'Gong (of wood, bamboo, kerosine tin, etc.)'	OX7 to'ere small drum, historically tall skin drum, modern drum, slit gong
OX9 TUA Tookere 'Wooden gong' (Stn)	
OZ4 MAO Tookere 'Castanets (of wood or bone)' (Wms)	OZ4 tokere clappers OZ4 tokere 'pieces of wood or bone used, a pair in each hand, as castanets' (Williams 1975:433)
OZ9 Mangaia MIA Tookere 'Slit gong', also AIT, ATIU (Bse)	OZ9 Aitutaki tokere slit gong OZ11 tokele small slit gong used as substitute for tini (kerosene tin)

As indicated in the POLLEX reconstruction, this term is limited to Eastern Polynesia. The general meaning was probably 'to tap'.

Table 19

POLLEX	McLean
PNP *paatee :Wooden gong	pate
OT Western Uvea WUV Paate 'Tambour' (Hmn)	OU5 batti slit gong OU5 pate small slit gong OU5 pate 'drum' (Noricks 1981:(1)131)

POLLEX	McLean
OU8 SAM Paatee 'A small wooden drum carried on the arm. Introduced from Tahiti' (Prt) [according to Buck, but actually from Rarotonga MMcL]	OU8 pate slit gong (5 refs)
OX7 TAH Paatee 'Sonner, tinter' (Mte)	OX4 pate slit gong
OX9 TUA Paatee 'Cause to emit clinking, metallic, tapping sound; ring (as bell)' (Stn)	
OZ9 RAR Paatee 'Slit gong' (Bse)	OZ9 pate small slit gong (7 refs) OZ9 Rarotonga pate 'wooden gong' (Savage 1962:240) OZ10 pate 'to strike a gong'
OZ11 PUK Paate 'Wooden drum' (Mta)	OZ11 pate wooden slit gong
OZ12 TOK Paatee 'Small, wooden drum; beat a drum' (Sma)	OZ13 pate slit gong

The OU5 dictionary reference to 'drum' is misleading as the instrument is a slit gong which can only loosely be described as a drum. Reconstruction to PNP is wrong, based as it must be on the presence of the instrument in Western Polynesia, where it is, in fact, a borrowing from Rarotonga at the hands of LMS missionaries who took the *pate* first to Samoa for use as a church bell and then elsewhere within Western Polynesia. They also introduced Cook Islands style hymn singing into Papua New Guinea, where these hymns are known as 'prophet songs' and are still sung.

DANCE

Table 20

POLLEX	McLean
PNPn *kapa :Dance	kapa
OT9 REN Kapa 'Ritual dance'	OJ2B3)9 Keapara kapa drum OJ2B3)12 Keakolo kapa drum OJ21 Namau kapa drum OT9 kapa dance/song, ritual dance and song OT9 kapa 'ritual dance and chant' (Elbert 1975: (1)120) OU7 kapakapa 'to flutter' (McEwen 1970:114)
OX5 MVA Kapa 'Chant'	OX5 kapa song type
OX6 MQA Kapa 'Chant, paien, espece d'uta' (Dln)	OX6 kapa song recounting exploits of a hero
OX7 TAH 'Apa/rima 'Seated dance with no leg movement'	
OX9 TUA Kapa 'Dance'	OX9 kapa narrative dance
OZ4 MAO Kapa 'Row, line'	OZ4 kapa 'stand in a row or rank' (Williams 1975:95)
	OZ8 kapa dance OZ9 kapa dance
OZ9 RAR Kapa 'Dance'	OZ9 Rarotonga kapa 'ancient tribal dance performed to a chant or song by the dancers sitting down in rows' (Savage 1962:85) OZ10 kapa dance OZ11 kapa chant type associated with death and the underworld
OZ13 PEN Kapa 'Dance'	OZ13 kapa dance

The OJ entries in the McLean files are obviously unrelated words that happen to be the same. The others, occurring as they do in both Eastern and Western Polynesia confirm the term as at least PNPn. The Niuean term suggests an original meaning related to arm movement. It is of interest that in present-day New Zealand the term *kapa* is used in association with the more familiar term *haka*, as *kapa haka* to designate festival performances of *haka*.

Table 21

POLLEX	McLean
PMP *dangkah 'stride, hop' (Dempwolff 1938) PNPn *saka :Dance	'aka, ha'a, haka, sa'a, saka, yaka
OQ FIJ Caka 'Work, do' OQ7 ROT Saka 'To display vigour' (Cwd) OT3 KAP Haka 'Stride along vigorously'	OT6 haka mourning songs
OT7 NKO Saga 'Glide in air' OT8 OJA Sa'a 'Song sung when someone is dying' OT9 REN 'Saka 'Song without instruments or clapping' (Ebt)	OT8 sa'a mourning song OT9 saka tattooing songs
OT11 TIK Saka 'Perform rites in traditional ritual system' (Fth)	OT10 saka disparaging/praise song OT11 saka 'perform rites in trad. religious system; invoke (spirits of dead ancestors)' (Firth 1985:417)
OU5 ECE Haka 'Actions of dance'	

POLLEX	McLean
OU6 EFU Saka 'Dance with hand and foot action'	OU6 saka a dance OU7 haka o me 'the man standing on the left of the leader in the traditional dance called <i>me fa'</i> (McEwen 1970:69)
OU8 SAM Sa'a 'Dance'	OU8 sa'asa'a to dance
OU9 TON Haka 'Hand action while singing'	
OU10 EUV Haka 'Dance'	OU10 haka gestures or movements of a dancer
OV5 HAW Ha'a 'Dance'	OV5 ha'a 'a dance with bent knees; dancing. Called hula after mid 1800s (PPN saka)' (Pukui & Elbert 1986:44)
OX5 MVA 'Aka 'To dance in traditional fashion; dance accompanied by chant, usually of a warlike nature' (Bgs)	
OX6 MQA Haka 'Danse, danser' (Dln)	OX6 haka sexual dance
OX9 TUA Haka 'Dance'	OX9 haka mixed standing dance
OZ4 MAO Haka 'Dance'	OZ4 haka dance type (64 refs) OZ4 haka 'dance' (Williams 1975:31)
OZ9 RAR 'Aka 'Dance'	OZ9 'aka tribal dance OZ9 Rarotonga aka 'ancient form of tribal dance' (Savage 1962:13)

POLLEX	McLean
OZ11 PUK Yaka 'A style of dancing' (Mta)	OZ11 yaka old form of dancing accompanied by singing and drumming
OZ12 TOK Haka 'Dance'	OZ12 haka dance
OZ13 PEN Saka 'Kind of dance' (Yda)	OZ13 saka dance type

In view of only marginally related meanings in Tonga and Niue, the POLLEX reconstruction to PNPn 'dance' seems reasonable. Dempwolff's PMP reconstruction (Dempwolff 1971: (3)47) is on the basis of Malay and Javanese with no terms elsewhere except Western Polynesia. It is glossed as 'stride, hop or skip', which could have given rise to dance terms, but a migration path for it is not clear, despite the presence of the very same meaning of 'stride' in Kapingamarangi, which takes the term to Micronesia. But it does not appear to be present anywhere in Melanesia, except in Fiji, where it is not associated with dance. Also to be noted is that hopping and striding are not characteristic of any Polynesian dances except in Easter Island where there was a so-called 'hopping dance', called *upaupa* (McLean 1999:283), a term which could be a variant of *hula* and in this case applied to a dance of possible phallic display. If the PMP connection to *haka* is accepted, it would seem there are distributional gaps to be filled before the term can be admitted to POc, and its meaning must have undergone radical change during its transit through Polynesia.

Andrew Pawley comments:

Table 21 *saka. If I understand you correctly you consider the genuine cognates to be confined to Polynesian, possibly to Nuclear Polynesian. I agree. Rotuman saka is clearly marked as a loan from Polynesian. A genuine cognate would have the form sa'a. Fijian caka and the reconstruction proposed by Dempwolff can be discounted (AP).

Table 22

POLLEX	McLean
<p>PNPn *(f, s)ula :Dance</p> <p>OT Mele Fila MFA Fura 'Run'</p> <p>OT4 TAK Fula 'Type of dance' (Hwd)</p> <p>OT8 OJA Hula 'Dance'</p> <p>OU7 NIU Hula 'To dance about' (McE)</p> <p>OU9 TON Hula 'Hawaiian dancing'</p> <p>OV5 HAW Hula 'Dance, throb, twitch'</p> <p>OX7 TAH Hura 'Dance'</p> <p>OY EAS Hura/hura 'Dance'</p> <p>OZ4 MAO Hura 'Twitch'</p>	<p>hula, hura, 'ula, 'ura</p> <p>OR6 ura = hula borrowed from Hawai'i</p> <p>OT4 hula '1. n. a women's dance with guitar or ukulele accompaniment reputedly introduced from Nukumanu in the 1950s; 2. vi Dance in this style' (RMTD)</p> <p>OT10 hula modern couple dance in European style</p> <p>OU7 hula 'to dance about, jump about' (McEwen 1970:97)</p> <p>OU8 ula dance; poula 'night dance', aoula 'day dance'</p> <p>OU9 hula modern dance accompanied by European instruments; women's dance, modern, introduced from Hawai'i</p> <p>OU9 ula women's dance (8 refs)</p> <p>OV5 hula dance (37 refs)</p> <p>OX7 hura dance (7 refs)</p> <p>OY hura modern Tahitian dance</p> <p>OZ9 'ura 'to dance'</p>

POLLEX	McLean
OZ9 RAR 'Ura 'Act of dancing'	OZ9 Rarotonga ura 'the act of dancing; to dance, to move with measured steps to music or to the accompaniment of the drum and wooden gongs' (Savage 1962:437)
OZ13 PEN Hura 'Dance'	

Great care needs to be taken with this term to avoid false attributions as a result of modern borrowing from Hawai'i, where this dance genre is indigenous. Presence as a traditional dance genre in Tonga and Samoa would seem sufficient, along with presence also in Niuean, to qualify the term as PPn, but appearances in this case are deceptive. Pawley provides the following corrective which includes justification for reconstruction to PNPn:

Table 22. You cite the PNPn reconstruction *(f,s)ula 'dance' from POLLEX. I'd say the form should be *fula, because *f is unambiguously reflected in Mele-Fila, Takuu and Ontong Java. The sole problem lies in Niuean hula but as Niuean is known to have borrowed from EPn I would discount the Niuean comparison.

Table 23

POLLEX	McLean
PPn *siwa :Dance and sing	eiva, eva, haeva, haiva, heava, heavah, heeva, heiva, heva, hiva, siva, yiva OP4 Nengone ciwa 'song' (Tryon & Dubois 1969-71:(1)95)

POLLEX	McLean
OT Emae, Vanuatu MAE Siva 'Bounce' (Clk)	
OT West Futuna WFU Siva 'A traditional style of dancing' (Dty)	
OT West Uvea WUV 'Siva Plumet de danse' (Hmn)	
OT10 SIK Siva 'A type of song' (Sps)	OT10 siva song type
OT11 TIK Siwa 'Dance said to be a dance of the spirits' (Fth)	OT11 siva 'archaic dance form' (Firth 1985:442) OU5 siva dance borrowed from Samoa OU5 siva, hiva dance OU5 siva 'dance' (Noricks 1981:(1)52)
OU6 EFU Siva 'Se dit d'une personne qui danse bien' (Gzl)	OU6 siva a person who dances well
OU8 SAM Siva 'To dance' (Mnr)	OU8 siva, sheva girls' dance, women's dance, song, dance (23 refs) OU9 haiva entertainment and part singing OU9 heavah song and dance OU9 heeva singing in parts OU9 hiva song (6 refs)
OU9 TON Hiva 'To sing' (Cwd)	OU9 hiva 'to sing' (Moyle 1987:34)
OU10 EUV Hiva 'Chant; cantique' (Btn)	OU10 hiva song (3 refs)

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OV5 HAW Hiwa/hiwa 'Precious, beloved, esteemed' (Pki)</p>	<p>OV5 heeva song in chorus OV5 heeva song, music OX6 heva dance OX7 eiva, eiva-eoura = hiva e hura dance or festival OX7 heava entertainment of music and dancing with drum accompaniment OX7 heeva amusement, play OX7 heva dance OX7 hiva, heiva diversion, music, dance (5 refs) OX9 heva song of lament</p>
<p>OZ4 MAO Hiwa 'Light-heartedness as shown in singing, laughing; wakeful, alert; a charm recited over a new-born child' (Wms)</p>	<p>OZ4 hiwa 'light-heartedness, shown in singing, laughter, and jesting; watchful, alert; a charm recited over a new-born child' (Williams 1975:54) OZ9 Mangaia eva mens' songs, mourning songs and dance (5 refs) OZ9 Rarotonga eiva sacred dance OZ9 Rarotonga eva 'general term for mourning and other ceremonies' (Savage 1962:65)</p>
<p>OZ11 PUK Yiva 'A type of chant' (Mta)</p>	<p>OZ11 yiva memorial chant</p>
<p>OZ12 TOK Hiva 'Dance, dancing, ball' (Sma)</p>	<p>OZ12 hiva song dance type OZ12 siva song</p>

POLLEX	McLean
	OZ12 hiva 'dance, dancing, ball' (Office:319) OZ13 hiva shaking dance

Presence of numerous cognates for *hiva* in both Western and Eastern Polynesia, and testimony from the earliest European observers from Cook's voyages onwards, confirms this term as PPn. In view of multiple seeming terms for dance in PPn, however, it seems likely that the original meaning of this particular term is the one still preserved in Eastern Polynesia, namely 'entertainment' which generally includes dance. At a later time, especially in Western Polynesia, it would have lost its general meaning after application to specific forms of dance. In New Caledonia it is probably a borrowing from a Polynesian neighbour.

Table 24

POLLEX	McLean
PPn *mako :Dance	mako
	OO14 Lenakel amako 'dance' (Lynch 1970-1(1):6)
OQ7 ROT Maka 'Sing, chant, recite, intone' [borrowing (see note)]	
OT West Futuna WFU Mako 'To dance' (Ani)	OT West Futuna mako 'dance' (Dougherty ko'e.1979: (2)813)
OT West Uvea WEV Mako 'Song'	
OT4 TAK Mako 'Kind of dance' (Hwd)	OT4 mako 'n. 1. Dance; 2. dance song' (RMTD) OT6 mako dance type OT9 mako dance, dance-song

POLLEX	McLean
OT9 REN Mako 'Dance, dance-song, dance' (Ebt)	OT9 mako 'dance, dance song, to dance' (Elbert 1975: (1)161)
OT10 SIK Mako 'Songs'	OT10 mako dance-song
OT11 TIK Mako 'Dance song, dance, to dance' (Fth)	OT11 mako dance
OT11c ANU Mako 'Dance' (Yen)	OT11 mako 'dance, dance song' (Firth 1985:219)
OU5 ECE Mako 'Formal dance'	OU5 mako song
	OU5 mako 'dance' (Noricks 1981:(1)95)
OU6 EFU Mako 'Dance'	OU6 mako dance
OU9 TON Mako 'Type of dance'	OU9 mako mixed dance said to have been from Uvea
OU10 EUV Mako 'Dance'	
OZ11 PUK Mako 'Chant' (Bge)	OZ11 mako song type
	OZ12 mako love songs

Except for an appearance in Tanna, which is probably a borrowing, this dance term is exclusively Western Polynesian. Its absence in Eastern Polynesia, as well as Samoa and Niue, throws doubt on the reconstruction to PPN. It seems more likely to have originated somewhere within Western Polynesia in post-PPn times. It is commonly attributed in the area to Uvea.

Pawley comments on the OQ7 entry as follows:

Table 24. Rotuman maka 'sing, chant, etc' is marked as a borrowing by having k for expected glottal stop (AP).

Table 25

POLLEX	McLean
PCPa *se(q)a :A kind of dance	hea, sea, seasea
OQ7 ROT Sea 'Native song' (Cwd)	OQ6 seasea women's dance
OQ[10] FIJ Sea/sea 'Kind of meke danced by women with fans'	OQ8 seasea women's dance OQ10 seasea 'a kind of meke danced with fans by the women' (Capell 1983:189) OT6 hea young men's dance OT8 sea young men's dance (5 refs)
OT10 SIK Sea 'A kind of dance' (Sps)	
OT11 TIK Sea 'Type of dance and associated song with elaborate hand and foot movement' (Fth)	OT11 sea 'a type of dance and associated song' (Firth 1985:430) OU9 he'a entertainment, obsolete dance

With distribution limited to Fiji, near neighbours to Fiji, and a few Polynesian Outliers, reconstruction of the term to PCPa may be appropriate. The *seasea*, however, is preeminently a dance of Fiji, and it could be that it has been borrowed directly or indirectly from there into all of the other areas in which cognates for it are now found.

SONG

Table 26

POLLEX	McLean
PNPn *pese :Sing, song	pe'e, pehe, pese, pete, pihe
OQ7 ROT Fak/peje 'Make a short ceremonial speech'	OT4 pese 'n. Song, anything that is sung. Now almost totally replaced by mako' (RMTD)
OT7 NKO Bese 'Harmony part in old chants'	
OT9 REN Pese 'Clapping song' (Ebt)	OT9 pese clapping song
OT10 SIK Pese 'Sing' (Sps)	OT10 pese 'to sing'
OT11 TIK Pese 'Sing, chant' (Fth)	OT11 pese 'sing, chant' (Firth 1985:345) OT11a pete song
OU5 ECE Pehe 'Sing'	OU5 pese 'song, sing' (Noricks 1981:(1)134)
OU8 SAM Pese 'Song, sing' (Mnr)	OU8 pese song, ballad
OX5 MVA Pehe 'Cat's cradle'	OX5 pihe 'national chant' as in New Zealand. Pihenga invocation to announce a death
OX6 MQA Pehe 'Sound recording, record'	
OX7 TAH Pehe 'Song, sing'	OX7 pehe, pehay song type. Applied today to drum rhythms based on the songs (9 refs)
OX9 TUA Pehe 'Song'	OX9 pehepehe rhythmic recitative

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OZ4 MAO Pihe 'Dirge accompanied by waving of arms'</p> <p>OZ9 Rarotonga RAR Pe'e 'Song'</p> <p>OZ11 PEN Pese-a 'A chant (usually commemorating some historical event); to chant such' (Bse)</p> <p>OZ12 TOK Pese 'Sing'</p>	<p>OZ4 pihe 'dirge accompanied with waving of the arms in token of grief' (Williams 1975:280)</p> <p>OZ4 pihe song sung over the bodies of the slain; funeral dirge (19 ref)</p> <p>OZ8 Moriori pehe phallic dance</p> <p>OZ9 Rarotonga pe'e, pehe 'an ancient historical song' (Savage 1962:244)</p> <p>OZ9 pe'e song type (Atiu, Mangaia, Mauke, Rorotonga). Also applied as in Tahiti to drum dance rhythms based on the songs (7 refs)</p> <p>OZ10 pehe rhythmically recited text accompanying children's games</p> <p>OZ12 pehe old dance song</p> <p>OZ12 pehe 'song' (Office:267)</p> <p>OZ13 pese song arising out of a quarrel</p>

The distribution of this term, which excludes Tonga and Niue, but extends from Samoa into the Polynesian Outliers in Western Polynesia, and from Tahiti as far as the Maori and Moriori of New Zealand, unquestionably confirms reconstruction to PNPn and to a common

homeland which, on this evidence, is likely to have been Samoa.

Pawley adds:

Table 26. PNPn *pese ‘sing, song’. I doubt if Rotuman fak/peje ‘make a short ceremonial speech’ is related to this. And I doubt if Maori pihe ‘dirge, etc.’ is related.

Table 27

POLLEX	McLean
PPn *langi :Sing	laam, laga, lagi, laaga, lagi, langi, rangi, lani, rani
OQ FIJ Laga ‘Sing’	ON16 rangi ‘to dance up and down; a dance’ (Ivens 1940:51) OQ laga to sing OQ10 laga ‘to pitch a tune, begin a song’ (Capell 1983:109) OR9 Saipan laam ‘tune, melody of a song’ (Jackson & Marck 1991:404)
OT3 KAP Langi daahili ‘Start a song’ (Lbr)	OT3 langi dahili ‘to start a song’ (Lieber 1974:13)
OT4 TAK Rani ‘Song form’ (Hwd)	OT4 lani, rani ‘1. n. Song (mako) taxon. Uniquely in Takuu’s performance repertoire, the songs have two voice parts: a lower drone and an upper melody’; ‘2. vi. Sing such a song’ (RMTD)
OT7 NKO Langi ‘Start (of singing, fighting)’	
OT8 OJA Langi ‘Love song’	OT8 langi love songs with erotic texts

POLLEX	McLean
OT11 TIK Rangi/anga 'Air of dance song' (Fth)	OT11 rangianga 'leading notes of a song'; te rangianga o te mako 'the air of a dance song' (Firth 1985:381)
OU5 ECE Lagi, lagi 'Sing to someone'	
OU6 EFU Lagi 'Chant, form'	
OU8 SAM Lagi 'Sing'	OU8 lagi to sing
OU9 TON Langi 'Singing, song (especially accompanying a dance)'	OU9 langi type of dance song
OX7 TAH Rai/fa 'Native song'	
OY EAS Ragi 'Call, cry out'	
OZ4 MAO Rangi 'Tune, air, portion of a song'	OZ4 rangi air or tune OZ4 rangi 'air, tune' (Williams 1975:324) OZ12 lagi 'sing' (Office:176)

The gloss 'sing' in PPn is based on just five examples (Fiji, Tuvalu, Samoa, Tonga, and Tokelau); in six areas it is a song or dance type (Ysabel, Takuu, Ontong Java, Tonga, Futuna, Tahiti); in three areas it means to start a song (Fiji, Kapingamarangi and Nukuoro): and in four areas it means an air or tune (Saipan, Tikopia, and NZ Maori) or to pitch a tune (Fiji, where there is the greatest diversity of meaning). It is not possible to determine with any certainty which of these meanings, if any, is the primary one, but in view of the distance apart of Saipan, Tikopia and New Zealand, 'air or tune' seems most likely with change to a different term for 'tune' becoming current later in Western Polynesia (see Table 30). It is a surprise to find an apparent cognate in Saipan. If this passes linguistic tests for cognacy, it could be that the term will eventually be found in an earlier subgroup than PPn.

Pawley has doubts about the inclusion of Fiji:

Table 27. PPn *langi ‘sing’. Inclusion of Fijian langa here is problematic. It has the wrong final vowel (AP).

Table 28

POLLEX	McLean
<p>POc *dongo to hear, listen, obey (Jackson & Marck 1991:146) [In current orthography *rongo (AP)]</p> <p>PPn *rongo :to hear (POLLEX)</p> <p>See POLLEX for numerous Western and Eastern Polynesian entries of longo/rongo and similar terms with the primary meaning ‘hear, listen, or news’, with reconstruction to PPn.</p>	<p>dredreng, gogongo, gongo, logo, lologo, lolongo, o’ono, ro, rogorogo, ron, rong, ronga, rongo, rongorong, roro, rorogo, rorong, rororo</p> <p>ON9 Lau rongo ‘to listen to, to perceive’ (Ivens 1934:90)</p> <p>ON9 Lau ro ‘hear’ (Ivens 1939:293)</p> <p>ON9 Lau rongo ‘to hear, listen’ (Fox 1974:163)</p> <p>ON9 Sa’a rongo, rorong, rongorong ‘to hear, to listen, to hear tidings of, to understand’ (Ivens 1939:293)</p> <p>ON12 Arosi rongo dances</p> <p>ON12 Arosi rongo ‘to hear, listen, obey’; rongogoro ‘sweet, musical of sound’ (Fox 1970:380)</p>

POLLEX	McLean
	<p>ON16 rorongo 'to hear, receive a report; news, tidings' (Ivens 1940:53)</p> <p>ON16 rororo 'sing in opening or closing many ballads' (White 1988:168)</p> <p>007 Mota rono; to feel, hear, smell, taste, apprehend by senses' (Codrington & Palmer 1896:(1)147)</p> <p>OP4 Nengone dredreng 'to listen to, hear, understand' (Tryon & Dubois 1969-71:(1)111)</p> <p>OR9 Saipan roong, rongo 'knowledge, specialty, medicine, lore, learning' (Jackson & Marck 1991:146)</p> <p>OR11 ron 'to hear' (Abo <i>et al.</i> 1976:252)</p> <p>OR11 roro hauling songs</p> <p>OR12 rong to 'hear, to understand (what is said)'; rongda 'to find out by hearing'; rongdi 'to learn by hearing' (Harrison & Salich, 1977:79)</p> <p>OR17 rongorongo 'to hear' (Elbert 1972:159)</p> <p>OR19 rong 'to hear, obey, listen etc.' (Goodenough & Sugita 1980:311)</p>

POLLEX	McLean
	<p>OR19 rongga 'any endeavour that requires special knowledge and instruction to perform' (Goodenough & Sugita 1980:311)</p> <p>OR21 rong (rongo) 'n. tradition knowledge that passes down from father to son, heritage in terms of wisdom'; rorongongo (rongo-rongo) 'v.i. to hear, listen to'; rongiiy (rongii-a) 'v.t. sing it, recite it, relate it, verbalize it'; rongirongi (rongi-rongi) 'v.n. to sing, recite, relate, verbalize' (Sohn & Tawerilmang 1976:124)</p> <p>OT9 gogongo song of praise or thanks to a god</p> <p>OT9 gongo 'to hear, listen, feel, taste'; gongogongo 'to listen carefully' (Elbert 1975: (1)62)</p> <p>OU5 longo 'perceive, feel (the stress of work etc.)'; 'learn some specialist skill' (Noricks 1981:(1)88)</p> <p>OU6 lolongo chorus grouped around rolled mats</p> <p>OU7 lologo chanted songs</p> <p>OU7 lolongo ancient songs</p> <p>OU7 lolongo v. to sing; n. song, hymn' (McEwen 1970:164)</p>

POLLEX	McLean
	<p>OU7 longo 'n. bell; drum hollowed out of wood' (McEwen 1970:165)</p> <p>OU8 logo 'sound or noise' (Moyle 1988:36)</p> <p>OU8 logo 'large slit gong used for announcing church services' (Moyle 1988:35)</p> <p>OU8 logo 'perceive (by hearing or some other sense, other than sight); large wooden gong (used for calling people to church); bell or other device used for the same purpose'. fa'alogo 'hear; listen, pay attention, obey, feel' (Milner 1993:110)</p> <p>OU10 lolongo chorus grouped around rolled mats</p> <p>OX5 rogorogo class of experts</p> <p>OX5 rongorongu priestly caste charged with religious chants and stories</p> <p>OX6 tuhuna o'ono tribal bards and professional chanter (Métraux 1957:187-8)</p> <p>OX7 rongorongu used for chanting of prayers</p> <p>OX9 rongo formal chants about exploits of a hero; mourning chant for a deceased hero</p> <p>OX9 rorongu to sing in war</p>

POLLEX	McLean
	OY rongorongo class of chanters OZ4 rongo ‘apprehend by the senses, except sight; tidings, report, fame’; rarango ‘repeat the commencement of a song’; rongoa ‘preserve, take care of’ (Williams 1975:346) OZ12 logo ‘bell, large wooden gong’ (Office 1986:142)

Represented in both POC and PPn, here is an almost full range of cognates, present in its primary sense of ‘hear, listen, obey’ in Micronesia, the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, the Polynesian Outliers, the remainder of Western Polynesia, and extending from there to Eastern Polynesia, including the famous *rongorongo* men of Easter Island, and, even as far afield as New Zealand. It may be significant, however, that, except in the Solomon Islands, musical associations of the term do not appear in the Melanesian areas traversed by Lapita potters on their way to Fiji. Such associations become prominent only in Micronesia and the Outliers, doing so by duplication and reduplication of the primary term to add meanings relating to acquisition of knowledge. The significance for music lies in the use of song as a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge from generation to generation in societies whose only means of doing so was through oral tradition. By and large this seems to have been a Polynesian and perhaps Micronesian trait rather than a Melanesian one, accounting for the regional differences in the above table, and again suggesting a Micronesian rather than Melanesian connection to Polynesia.

Table 29

POLLEX	McLean
PAn *c1angis (Tda. 1ng76) PAn *t2angit' "weep" (Dhl. 1ng81) POc *tangi(n)s "weep, cry" (Ltk. 1ng85) PPn *tangi :Cry, weep	angi, dangi, fruatang, hang, kangi, kanikau, tagi, tang, tangi, tanhi, tani, togi
ON8 Nggela NGG Tangi 'weep' ON9 LAU Aangi 'Cry'	OM2A4)050a Kuanua Map code 419 tangi 'cry' (Mannering n.d.:18) OM2A4)050a Raluana Map code 419 tagi 'cry' (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:534) ON8 tangi lament ON9 Lau angi 'to cry, produce a sound' (Fox 1974:18) ON9 Kwaio ani 'sorrowful' (Keesing 1975:11) ON9 To'amba'ita angi 'cry' (Lichtenberk 2008:358)
ON16 Bugotu BGO Tangi 'Cry, cry aloud, lament, wail' (Ivs)	ON16 tangi 'to cry, cry aloud, lament, wail, crying, lamentation' (Ivens 1940:61) ON16 tanhi 'cry, shed tears, whine' (White 1988:183)
OQ7 ROT Fagi 'To cry aloud' (Cwd)	007 Mota tani 'cry' (Codrington & Palmer 1896:(2)294) 0010 togi 'cry for, bewail' (Crowley 2000:136)

POLLEX	McLean
OQ[10] FIJ Tagi 'Give out sound; (of humans) cry, weep, lament' (Cpl)	OQ10 tagi 'to give out sound: of humans, to cry, weep, lament; of clocks and musical instruments, to give out their sound' (Capell 1983:212)
OQ11 Waya WYA Tagi 'Cry' OQ11 YAS Tagi 'Cry'	OR9 Saipan heng, sang 'to cry, weep; crying, weeping' (Jackson & Marck 1991:250-1) OR17 hang 'cry' (Elbert 1972:318) OR21 tang (tangi) 'to weep, cry, sob' (Sohn & Tawerilmang 1976:144)
OT Emae MAE Tagi 'Weep' OT Mele Fila MFA Tagi 'Weep'	OT Mele Fila tagi 'weep' (Biggs 1975:50)
OT Nguna NGU Tagi 'Cry' (Stz) OT West Uvea WEV Tangi 'Cry' OT West Uvea WFU Tagi 'Cry' OT3 KAP Tangi 'Cry, weep' (Ebt)	OT West Futuna tagi 'cry' (Dougherty c.1979: (2)813) OT3 dangi 'cry, to wail, to apologise' (Lieber 1974:27)
OT3 KAP1 Dangi 'Cry, weep' (Lbr) OT4 TAK Tani 'Cry, cry out' (Hwd)	OT7 dangi 'cry' (Carroll 1973:47)
OT7 NKO Dangi 'Cry, weep' OT8 OJA Kamgi 'Weep' OT9 REN Tangi 'Cry, weep, sound, ring' (Ebt)	OT8 kangi dirge OT9 tangi lament (6 refs)

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OT11 TIK Tangi 'Cry, wail, sing mourning song' (Fth)</p> <p>OT11c ANU Tangi 'Weep'</p> <p>OU6 EFU Tagi 'Pleurer, gemir, cris d'animaux' (Gzl)</p> <p>OU7 NIU Tagi 'To weep, cry' (Mce)</p> <p>OU8 SAM Tagi 'Cry, weep, make a characteristic noise' (Mnr)</p> <p>OU9 TON Tangi 'Cry, weep, make a characteristic sound' (Stn)</p> <p>OV5 HAW Kani 'Cry out, sound' (Pki)</p> <p>OX5 MVA Tagi 'Cry'</p> <p>OX6 MQA Taki 'Son, sonner, chanter' (Dln)</p>	<p>OT9 tangi to 'cry, weep; a type of chant or lament' (Elbert 1975:(2)287)</p> <p>OT10 tangi lament</p> <p>OT10 tani lament</p> <p>OT11 tangi wailing at funerals</p> <p>OT11 tangi 'cry; emit sound; chant, especially as lament in formal mourning' (Firth 1985:442)</p> <p>OT11 fuatangi 'lament, dirge, funeral song' (Firth 1985:136)</p> <p>OU5 tangi 'cry' (Noricks 1981:(2)228)</p> <p>OU6 tangi song within story</p> <p>OU7 tangi 'to weep, cry; a wake over the dead' (McEwen 1970:309)</p> <p>OU8 tagi song within story</p> <p>OV5 kanikau dirge</p> <p>OX5 tagi lament for the dead used as an alternative for the more usual term tau</p>

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OX6 MQA1 Tani 'Son, sonner, chanter' (Dln)</p> <p>OX7 TAH Ta'i 'Pleurer, sonner' (Mte)</p> <p>OX9 TUA Tangi 'Weep, cry, groan, make characteristic sound' (Stn)</p> <p>OX4 MAO Tangi 'Cry, weep'</p> <p>OX9 RAR Tangi 'Any noise or sound, but especially of weeping'</p> <p>OX11 PUK Tangi 'Cry, complain' (Bge)</p> <p>OX12 TOK Tagi 'Cry, sound' (Sma)</p> <p>OX13 PEN Tangi 'Cry'</p>	<p>OZ4 tangi 'sound, give forth a sound, cry; lamentation, mourning, dirge' (Williams 1975:379)</p> <p>OZ4 waiata tangi lament</p> <p>OZ9 pe'e-tangi = pe'e-eva a mournful ballad</p> <p>OZ9 Rarotonga tangi 'any noise or sound; to cry, to lament, to weep' (Savage 1962:347)</p> <p>OZ12 tangi 'weep' (Office:450)</p> <p>OZ12 tagi song within a story</p>

This is a huge category and in its primary meaning 'to cry' there is not the least doubt of its provenience all the way back to PAn. In its application to song, meaning 'dirge' or 'lament', performed as a rule in association with mourning or funeral ceremonies, examples are many fewer. They are limited largely to Eastern and Western Polynesia, in the latter case with extension of meaning to encompass songs within a story.

Table 30

POLLEX	McLean
	fasi, fati, fatifati, hati OQ6 fasi one who starts the singing OT4 hati '1. n. Chorus, refrain of a song; 2. vi. Sing the chorus or refrain of a song' (RMTD) OU6 fatsi tune OU7 fati lolongo 'to compose songs, a poet' (McEwen 1970:35) OU8 fati a tune OU9 fasi melody, voice part in tenor range OU9 fasi 'melody or song leader' (Moyle 1987:253) OU10 fasi tune or air of a song OZ10 fatifati improvisation OZ12 fati 'tune, melody' (Office 1986:497)

No published reconstruction has been found of this term. It serves principally as a Western Polynesian equivalent of the probably older term *rangi* (Table 27) as a word for 'melody or tune'.

Table 31

POLLEX	McLean
PPn *Pulotu :Composer of songs	porutu, pugotu, puloto, pulotu, purotu, purutu OQ6 pulotu chorus

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OT4 TAK Purotu ‘Hymn-leader’</p> <p>OT9 REN Pugotu ‘Song composer; to sing, as to practice, or while working’ (Ebt)</p> <p>OT10 SIK Pulotu ‘Dance drum; beat dance drum’</p> <p>OT11 TIK Purotu ‘Expert, especially in song and dance, but also general’</p> <p>OU6 EFU Pulotu ‘Maitre de danse, de chant; pr, tendu demeure des dieux, ciel des anciens Futuniens’</p> <p>OU8 SAM Pulotu ‘The native drum; residence of the gods’ (Prt)</p> <p>OU9 TON Pulotu ‘Composer of songs and dances’</p> <p>OU10 EUV Pulotu ‘Demeure des anciens dieux Polyn siens; celui ko’e dirige les chants et danses’</p>	<p>OT4 purotu, ‘n. Hereditary performing arts specialist. (A male expert in performing and teaching a clan’s entire song and dance repertoire, and also beating the slit drum on the ritual arena to accompany them’ (RMTD)</p> <p>OT6 puloto leading dancer</p> <p>OT9 pugotu composer</p> <p>OT9 hakapugotu ‘song composer’ (Elbert 1975:(1)237)</p> <p>OT11 porutu expert, song and dance leader, composer</p> <p>OT11 purotu expert, leaders, composer</p> <p>OT11c purotu composer</p> <p>OU6 pulotu song and dance leader</p> <p>OU8 pulotu sounding board (6 refs)</p> <p>OU9 pulotu composer</p> <p>OU10 pulotu dance leader</p>

POLLEX	McLean
OZ12 TOK Pulotu 'Song composer'	OX5 porutu laudatory song OX7 purotu = hura dance OZ12 pulotu composer

Although the term reconstructs to PPn, the gloss of 'composer of songs' is far from uniform and is confined to Western Polynesia.

Table 32

POLLEX	McLean
PPn *sua :Commence a chant or song	hua, huanga, sua
OQ7 ROT Sua 'Start, lead a song' (Cwd)	
OT3 KAP Hua 'Sing, chant' (Lbr)	OT3 hua 'to sing, to chant' (Lieber 1974:104)
OT4 TAK Sua/mere 'A type of dance' (Hwd)	OT4 hua 'vtr. Sing (a song); npl. Songs in general' (RMTD)
OT7 NKO Hua 'Sing a song' (CrI)	OT7 hua 'sing a song' (Carroll 1973:245)
OT9 REN Hua 'To sing a song; song' (Ebt)	OT9 hua historical songs OT9 huaa 'to begin'; hakahu'a song, to sing a song' (Elbert 1975:(1)97)
OT10 SIK Sua/mele 'Type of song'	
OU6 EFU Sua 'Sing' (Bgs)	OU6 sua leader solo, introduction to a song OU7 huanga 'entry, entrance' (McEwen 1970:95)

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OU9 TON Hua ‘Begin song’ OU10 EUV Hua ‘Entonner; chanter’ (Btn) OV5 HAW Hua ‘Word, letter, figure, watchword, speak’ OX5 MVA Hua ‘Begin a story, an account, a prayer, and continue with assistants’ OX6 MQA Hua ‘Le meme, renvenir, recommencer, refrain d’un cantique’ (Dln) OX9 TUA1 Hua/a ‘Commence to chant’</p> <p>OZ4 MAO Whaka/hua ‘Pronounce, recite’ OZ9 RAR Uuaa ‘Second supporting part of a song’</p>	<p>OU8 sua ‘denotes a gentle movement, but suali a sudden or violent movement’ (Milner 1993:217) OU8 afua ‘begin’ (Milner 1993:6)</p> <p>OU10 hua leader solo, introduction to a song</p> <p>OX9 hua leader solo, introduction to a song</p> <p>OZ9 Rarotonga ua ‘the second supporting part of a song’ (Savage 1962:427)</p>

This term is unquestionably PPn with a gloss, as suggested in POLLEX, of ‘commence a chant or song’ at the proto level and change of meaning in Western Polynesia after the separation of Eastern Polynesia.

Table 32

POLLEX	McLean
<p>PNPn *oli-oli :A chant</p> <p>OT3 KAP Oriori 'Prayer' (Obs.)</p> <p>OT7 NKO Olioli 'Put to sleep by singing lullaby'</p> <p>OT8 OJA Olioli 'A type of singing and song'</p> <p>OT9 REN Ogiogi 'Worship, comfort (a child)' (Ebt)</p> <p>OT10 SIK Olioli 'A type of chant'</p> <p>OT11 TIK Oriori 'Formula of thanks by abasement; a funeral dance song' (Fth)</p> <p>OU5 ECE Olioli 'Prayer for good fishing catch'</p>	<p>oli, olioli, ori, oriori</p> <p>OJ2B4)53 =OJ15 Mailu Map code 367 oriori wife marrying spell</p> <p>OT3 oriori spells, prayers</p> <p>OT4 oriori '1. n. Song type, introduced from Nukumanu in the 20th century; 2. A song type performed while striking lengths of hollow bamboo tubing on the ground for accompaniment; 3. vi. Perform an oriori song; sing songs beside a corpse; 4. vi. Comprise funerary rites' (RMTD)</p> <p>OT8 olioli victory songs for winners of canoe races, mixed chorus songs devoted to the sea</p> <p>OT10 olioli song type</p> <p>OT11 oriori funeral dance</p> <p>OT11 oriori 'recite formula of thanks; funeral dance' (Firth 1985:320)</p> <p>OU5 oli game song</p>

POLLEX	McLean
<p>OU7 NIU Olioli 'Rejoice' (Mce)</p> <p>OV5 HAW Oli(Oli) 'A chant that was not danced to'</p> <p>OX9 TUA Ori 'Revive by incantation'</p> <p>OZ4 MAO Oriori 'Chanted lullaby'</p>	<p>OU7 olioli 'the movement of the legs in swimming' (McEwen 1970:253)</p> <p>OV5 oli chant not for dancing (9 refs)</p> <p>OV5 olioli type of chanting</p> <p>OZ4 oriori 'chant, song, a lullaby' (Williams 1975:241)</p> <p>OZ4 Song type in the form of a lullaby</p>

The apparent association between Mailu and Kapingamarangi is surprising, and no explanation can be offered. Elsewhere the term has several meanings of which those relating to types of chanting are the most common and are reconstructed in POLLEX to PNPn. It will be noted that although the term *oli* relates to dance in some areas, in Hawai'i it designates absence of dance. In its reduplicated form of *olioli* in Hawaiian it refers to a quavering or shaking of the voice at the ends of song phrases, known also as *i'i*. In New Zealand, the cognate, *oriori*, of the Hawaiian term, besides referring to a song type generally glossed as 'lullaby' has a not widely known second meaning descriptive of vowel alternation at the ends of song lines in the Waikato region, the effect of which is similar to the Hawaiian *olioli*. There may be a relationship between 'shaking' in this sense and applications of the term to dance.

Table 34

POLLEX & Lexicon vol.1:81-2	McLean
<p>PMP *batur 'to plait, weave (as mats, baskets)' (Bst.1ng86)</p> <p>POc *patu(R), *patuR-i- 'tie, plait, weave (mats, baskets)' (Lexicon)</p> <p>PPn *fatu 'to fold, bend, lash' (Elbert 1975: (1)86)</p> <p>PPn *fatu :Weave, compose (e.g. a song) (POLLEX)</p> <p>OJ NNG Lukep -watu 'tie a pig up preparatory to slaughter'</p> <p>OJ PT Kilivila vatunu 'rope, line' (borrowed from elsewhere in PT)</p> <p>OJ2B3)025 Map code 352PT</p> <p>Motu hatu- 'plait (mats +), weave; twist a small rope'</p> <p>OM7 Map code 452 Adm</p> <p>Mussau atu 'plait (mats, baskets)'</p> <p>OM10 MM Banoni pacu 'tie'</p> <p>ON8 SES Tolo vatuli- 'weave (s.t.)'</p> <p>ON9 SES Lau faoli 'weave (s.t.)'</p> <p>ON12 SES Arosi hauri- 'plait (s.t.)'</p> <p>OO6a NCV Ambae vatu 'weave'</p> <p>OO11a NCV Tamambo vatu 'weave, plait'</p> <p>OQ11 Fij Wayan vatu 'be formed or built in a certain way'</p>	<p>atu, fatu, fayu, haku, hatu, watu, whatu</p>

POLLEX & Lexicon vol.1:81-2	McLean
<p>OT4 TAK Fatu 'Fold, bend, roll up' (Hwd)</p>	<p>OR9 Saipan fayu 'to weave or plait it (of cloth)' (Jackson & Marck 1991:447)</p>
<p>OT9 REN Hatu 'Compose, as a song' (Ebt)</p>	<p>OT4 hatu, fatu 'compose, fabricate' (RMTD) OT9 hatu me'a composer, poet, to compose songs and poetry OT9 hatu to compose a song OT9 hatu 'to compose, as a song' (Elbert 1975: (1)86)</p>
<p>OT11 TIK Fatu 'Plait; make a song about' (Fth)</p>	<p>OT11 fatu 'join cord or other elements, as by plaiting or weaving; make a song about' (Firth 1985:109)</p>
<p>OU6 EFU Fatu 'Compose'</p>	<p>OU5 fatu 'compose (e.g. a song)' (Noricks 1981:(1)22)</p>
<p>OU6 EFU1 Fatu/a 'Weave'</p>	
<p>OU7 NIU Fatu 'Compose, only of a group composing a song' (I)</p>	<p>OU7 fatu, fatufatu 'to fold' (McEwen 1970:36)</p>
<p>OU8 Pn Samoan fatu 'assemble (s.t.) with the hands'</p>	<p>OU8 fatu dirge in honour of a dead chief</p>
<p>OU8 SAM Fatu 'Plait, compose'</p>	<p>OU8 fatu pese song writer</p>
<p>OU9 Pn Tongan fatu 'fold; begin the making of a mat; construct the framework of a house'</p>	
<p>OU9 TON Fatu 'Begin making a mat, compose'</p>	
<p>OU10 EFU1 Fatu/a 'Weave'</p>	
<p>OV5 HAW Haku 'Weave, compose'</p>	<p>OV5 haku mele master of song (6 refs)</p>

POLLEX & Lexicon vol.1:81-2	McLean
OV5 Pn Hawaiian haku 'compose, put in order, arrange; weave (flower necklace +)'	OV5 haku to arrange or put song words in order
OX6 MQA Hatu 'Composer, inventer, mettre les feuilles sur une case' (Dln)	
OX7 TAH Fatu 'Compose' (?)	
OX9 TUA Fatu 'Weave, compose'	OY hatu song leader or choir director
OZ4 MAO Whatu 'Weave'	OZ4 whatu 'weave' (Williams 1975:492)
OZ9 RAR 'Atu 'Weave, compose'	OZ9 atu to compose OZ9 Rarotonga atu 'to compose, to arrange, as a song or poetry; to put together, as a wreath' (Savage 1962:27)
OZ11 PUK Watu 'Compose song, chant etc.' (Mta)	OZ11 watu kupu to compose a love chant
OZ12 TOK Fatu 'Weave; compose' (Sma)	OZ12 fatu pehe composition OZ12 fatu 'Weave, (of songs) compose' (Office 1986:113)

This is the term that provides the title for the McLean book *Weavers of Song* (1999). It is one of the most consistent and striking of the musical terms present in both Western and Eastern Polynesia, and there is not the least doubt that it is of PPn provenience. Equally striking is that although the term reconstructs in its primary sense of 'to weave' as far back as PMP, it does not pick up its connotation of 'to compose' until it reaches Polynesia, becoming a prime example of use of a general term in specialised context. There are no clues here, however, to indicate the direction taken by pre-Polynesians after leaving their POC area of origin. For a discussion of the weaving image as applied to composition see McLean 1999:384-5.

Table 35

POLLEX	McLean
CEPn *karioi :Idle, devoted to sensual amusement; such a person	'Arioi, kariei, karioi
OX5 MVA Karioi 'Profession de la luxure; lieu ou elle se commet' (Jnu)	OX5 karioi entertainers
OX6 MQA Ka'ioi 'Lubrique, sensuel, luxurieux' (Dln)	
OX7 TAH 'Arioi 'Certain fraternity of players, that travelled thru the islands' (Dvs)	OX7 'Arioi society of entertainers (24 refs)
OX9 TUA Karioi 'Young man/ woman prior to permanent marriage at the period of free sexual intercourse'	
OZ4 MAO Karioi 'Loiter, idle, linger' (Wms)	OZ4 karioi 'loiter, idle, linger' (Williams 1975:101)
OZ9 Mangaia MIA Karioii 'Profligate, debauched' (Chn)	
OZ9 Rarotonga RAR Kariei 'Revelry' (Bse)	OZ9 Rarotonga kariei or karioi House of entertainment
OZ9 RAR1 Are kari'oi 'House for dances and amusements' (Sve)	OZ9 Rarotonga kariei, karioi 'a house'; are kariei or karioi 'house set aside for holding dances and other tribal amusements' (Savage 1962:89)

For accounts of the famous Arioi society of entertainers of Tahiti and Ka'ioi of the Marquesas Islands, see McLean 1999:21ff, 260. As indicated by the reconstruction the term is exclusive to Eastern Polynesia.

CONCLUSIONS

USE OF GENERAL TERMS

As pointed out in the notes for Table 5, where the term *pahu* 'drum' in Eastern Polynesia is found to have derived from the PPn term *pasu* 'to thump', a notable tendency throughout Oceania is the application of general terms to specific uses in some but not all of the areas in which the word occurs. Two well-known examples of this in Oceania, described by ethnomusicologists Hugo Zemp and Steven Feld, are the use of bamboo terms for musical instruments by the 'Are'are of Malaita in the Solomon Islands, and the use of waterfall terms to designate music structure by the Kaluli people of the Papua New Guinea Highlands (McLean 2006:306-7 where further examples are also given). When, as is usually the case, such extensions of term are area specific, it is inappropriate to include them in the gloss at the proto level. Some further examples from the PPn reconstructions of musical instruments in the first few tables above are:

Table 6 *kofe* bamboo but not 'flute'; Table 9 *fangufangu* 'blow through nose' but not 'nose flute'; and Table 14 *tete* 'to shiver' but not 'jews harp' or 'musical bow', which are independent applications of the general term. In the domain of song, an outstanding example of extended use is PPn **fatu* 'to weave' (Table 34), with the metaphorical meaning also of 'compose a song', in this case at the PPn level along with the primary term.

DISTRIBUTIONAL EVIDENCE FOR RECONSTRUCTIONS

In the tables, three principles underlie the assessments made there of putative POC and PPn reconstructions. First, an effort is made to determine the exact geographical locations of language groups and their relation to each other. Second, before a reconstruction to POC can be accepted as significant it is considered essential for a reasonable spread of daughter languages to be present. And third, before accepting a reconstruction to PPn, it is regarded as necessary for cognates to be present in both Western and Eastern Polynesia. Absence in both Tonga and Niue relegates the reconstruction to PNPn.

RECONSTRUCTION TO PNPn

Four terms have been found unequivocally in this category, two related to dance, and two to singing. The implication for these terms is that they originated in an area that became Samoic.

PNPn *kapa :Dance (Table 20)

PNPn *saka :Dance (Table 21)

PNPn *pese :Sing, song (Table 26)

PNPn *oli-oli :A chant (Table 33)

Other terms which have been reconstructed to PNPn fall on either side of a divide, belonging in some cases to Eastern Polynesia alone, or in others qualifying as fully PPn.

PNPn Puu :Trumpet (Table 2) could be PPn

PNPn *pasu :Drum (Table 5) should be CEPn

PNP *paatee :Wooden gong (Table 19) should be CEPn

PNPn *(f, s)ula :Dance (Table 22) could be PPn

SONG AND DANCE

The indigenous music and dance terms in the tables are a fraction only of those known for Oceania at large. In Polynesia alone it is not unusual

to find 30 or more named song and dance types associated with a particular culture. The McLean files include terms for numerous song use categories inclusive, as may be expected, of incantations, laments, and love songs, but ranging from birth and boasting songs through to war songs and work songs as follows:

Birth songs, boasting songs, children's songs, courting songs, divinatory songs, entertainment songs, enumeration songs, erotic songs, farewell songs, fighting songs, food-bearing songs, funeral songs, game songs, greeting songs, hauling songs, incantations, initiation songs, insulting songs, juggling songs, laments, love songs, marriage songs, narrative songs, obscene songs, paddling songs, praise songs, satirical songs, spirit songs, tattooing songs, taunting songs, teasing songs, toddy songs, top-spinning songs, topical songs, war songs, welcome songs, and work songs.

Most are local, spreading further, if at all, only to adjacent island groups as a result of borrowing relationships, and are accordingly mostly unrepresented in the present study.

TERMS FOR SINGING

In Polynesia there are two forms of singing, designated in musicological terms as sung and recited respectively, and represented in the tables by PNPn *pese :Sing, song (Table 26) for the recited form, and PPN *langi :Sing (Table 27) as its sung counterpart when referring to songs that are melodically as well as rhythmically organised.

Additionally, three tables include entries with glosses 'to sing' which result from extension of different but related general terms. They are *hiva/siva* (Table 23) which involve singing and dancing but initially probably meant 'entertainment'; *pulot/purotu* 'composer or leader: (Table 31), in this sense specific to Western Polynesia; and *hua/sua* 'to lead a song' (Table 32).

Although linguistic techniques have been worked out to identify proto terms, uncertainties can surround the gloss if the term has more than one meaning in daughter languages, and again it is distributional evidence that can provide a solution. A case in point is the *rangi* term for ‘to sing’ which in three widely separated areas means ‘air or tune’, suggesting that this may be the original meaning (Table 27). In this sense it has been overtaken in Western Polynesia by an alternative term *fasi* or *fati* (Table 30). Comments on other cases can be found in the table notes.

TERMS FOR DANCE

As noted for song types, there are a huge number of terms for types of dance in Oceania, including scores for Micronesia alone, but with no obvious cognates elsewhere except for adjacent areas. Some exceptions are PPn *kapa (Table 20), PPn *saka (Table 21), PNPn *hula (Table 22), PPn *siwa (Table 23), and PPn *mako (Table 24). All are PPn or PNPn and, with the possible exception of Table 21 (see Table note), have no apparent affiliations with POc.

CONTRAST BETWEEN POC AND PPn

A major finding of the present study, turning up, in fact in the very first tables, is that music terms in POc and PPn tend to be mutually exclusive. Table 1 features a set of over 30 related terms for shell trumpet, reconstructed to both PMP and POc, beginning in West Papua and along the north coast of Papua New Guinea and stretching from there through the Bismarck Archipelago, into Micronesia, and through Island Melanesia to Fiji. There, however, it stops, to be supplanted by a complementary distribution for the same instrument. Beyond Fiji, throughout both Western and Eastern Polynesia, the conch is known by the different name *pu*, (Table 2) and reconstructs not to POc but to PPn. This could perhaps be dismissed as an oddity were it not that similar distributions occur also for other items of cultural inventory as follows:

Table 7 POc *kaur 'bamboo' but not 'musical instruments'.

Contrasts with PPn *kofe 'bamboo' Table 6.

Table 13 *gab, bap* 'Jews harp'. Contrasts with *ukeke, utete* and

PPn *Tete 'Shiver, tremble' Table 14 for Polynesia.

Table 16 POc *dali 'slit gong' incl. Fiji *lali*. Contrasts with Polynesian terms (Tables 17-19).

A dichotomy also exists between Melanesia and Polynesia with regard to flutes, though not in this case marked by reconstructions in POc and PPn. Melanesia is characterised by mouth flutes and Polynesia by nose flutes, with Micronesia standing between as a kind of halfway house, with both forms of instrument present, and a variety of names are applied to flutes in all areas.

TERMS FOR 'TO BLOW'

There are three terms with the meaning 'to blow' as applied to musical instruments. Two are of primary significance in Polynesia and one in Melanesia; the first is associated with conch trumpets, the second with nose flutes, and the third with both trumpets and mouth flutes; and all have affiliations at POc level or earlier. They are *pusi* (Table 3), *fango* (Table 9), and *ifi/ufi* (Table 8), as follows:

- *Pusi* co-occurs in Polynesia with the term *pu* for shell trumpet or conch (Table 2) and because of this contrasts with the Melanesian term for the same instrument (Table 1). It reconstructs at the earliest level to PMP **pusi* :To blow air from the mouth, but except in most of Polynesia has the different though related meaning of 'to squirt', suggesting that this may have been its original meaning at the proto level.
- As observed in the table notes, the distribution of *fango* or *fangu* 'blow nose' is similar to that of the complementary term *pusi* 'to blow from the mouth', appearing in the reduplicated form of *fangofango* or *fangufangu* in Polynesia as 'nose flute', just

as '*pusi*' appears in cut-down form of *pu* as shell trumpet. The distribution of the term also correlates with the related term *fafagu* 'to awaken' (Table 10), tracking back in this incarnation to POC and PAn.

- Although entering into Polynesia like the other two terms, the *ifi/ufi* term for 'to blow' is fundamentally Melanesian, appearing extensively in the Solomon Islands as a term for blowing mouth flutes, trumpets, and panpipes, and migrating from there into the Polynesian Outliers and thence further into Western Polynesia, most likely long after Lapita times if panpipe diffusion can be taken as a guide.

POST 2000 BP DISTRIBUTIONS

After about 2000 BP, when Eastern Polynesia was colonised from a Western Polynesian homeland, each of the now separate areas continued to develop, both internally and in terms of interactions with other areas. In Micronesia, even the settlement of the eastern Nuclear Micronesian language area is believed to have taken place largely after this date, and both Western and Eastern Polynesia went their own separate ways. The inventory of terms in the respective areas reflect the process. Innovations which took place in Eastern Polynesia subsequent to settlement from Western Polynesia include development of the *pahu* form of cylindrical drum, already referred to (Table 5), the *pate* (Table 19) and *tokere* (Table 18) forms of slit gong, the name *vivo* applied to the nose flute (Table 12), and the rise of the famous '*Arioi* society of Tahiti in the Society Islands (Table 35).

In its song and dance terminology, Western Polynesia is much more homogeneous than Eastern Polynesia, and some terms are exclusive or near exclusive to it. Examples include the term *fangufangu* as applied to nose flutes (Table 9); the *nafa* form of slit gong or sounding board (Table 17); *mako* 'dance, or dance type' (Table 24); the term *pulotu/purotu* as 'composer of songs' (Table 31); and numerous

others not in the tables, reflecting ongoing intercommunication and exchange of items following separation of the two areas (see McLean 1999 for further examples).

Finally, an important finding from the writer's earlier studies concerns instruments typical of New Guinea which diffused in successive waves southwards into Island Melanesia during this same period.

Some, along with elements of music structure belonging to the core Melanesian complex, reached as far as Western Polynesia but are not present in Eastern Polynesia, showing that they were acquired by Western Polynesians from Melanesians subsequent to the departure of Eastern Polynesian settlers around 2000 BP, and accounting for most of the musical differences now distinguishing Western Polynesia (McLean 2008:14).

IMPLICATIONS FOR POLYNESIAN ORIGINS

Most readers will be aware of the currently orthodox view of Polynesian origin from Lapita potters who entered Oceania more than 3000 years ago, leaving traces of themselves in the form of characteristically dentate-stamped pottery. These relics have been found in numerous archaeological sites, the oldest of which are in the Bismarck Archipelago, with others occurring throughout Island Melanesia to Fiji, and extending from there as far as Tonga and Samoa in Western Polynesia.

According to the orthodox view of Polynesian origin, after reaching Fiji from the Bismarck Archipelago, a small group of Lapita potters entered a "bottleneck" somewhere in Western Polynesia. They remained there in relative isolation for a period of about 1000 years, during which they became Polynesian, diverging culturally and in other ways from those who were left behind. This view of Pacific settlement history has been challenged on musical and other grounds in a recent paper (McLean 2008) for which the present study provides

additional support. Focus in the current study is on distribution of terms within broad geographic areas, with the object of determining migration paths that could have been traversed by pre-Polynesians. This approach has resulted in the re-emergence of Melanesia as a still useful ethnographic unit along with Polynesia and Micronesia, contrary to a now prevalent linguistic perception of Melanesia as a “category error” (AP), after adoption by most scholars of the terms Near and Remote Oceania as a substitute for the older terms. This concept is an outcome of ideas advanced almost 20 years ago by the archaeologist Roger Green (1991), and rejection by Green and his colleague Patrick Vinton Kirch of the terms Melanesia and Micronesia as “outdated” and “fatally flawed” (Kirch & Green 2001:63). Some reappraisal of this stance appears now to be necessary. For present purposes, the Near and Remote Oceania terms have proved far too broad and imprecise, obscuring both differences and uniformities that are present in the data but are beyond description if the Kirch and Green terms are adopted. Despite vast regional differences marked by linguistic subgroups and in some cases by musical areas, some overarching uniformities can also be demonstrated.

Conch

As an example of areal differentiation, the two radically different and mutually exclusive terms for shell trumpet in Tables 1 and 2, representing POc except for PPn and PPn alone respectively, is almost enough on its own to invalidate the conventional theory of Polynesian origin from Lapita potters. These early settlers must have belonged to the cognate family of Table 1, present both in Fiji and antecedent areas as far back as proto MP. So if Polynesians originated in this group why did they not use the POc term, with which they would have been familiar, and which is without trace anywhere in Polynesia? If even some of the pre-Polynesians came from this group surely they would have retained the term used by everyone else at this time. Instead they adopted the term *puu* (Table 2), which occurs almost universally throughout both Western and Eastern Polynesia, but is all but absent

elsewhere. Nor, as will be seen, is this the only apparent loss of terms from POC.

The explanation most commonly advanced for apparent attrition and replacement of lexical terms is that this results from “bottlenecking” or “founder effect” after a small group of speakers becomes separated from the parent group and subsequently develops in isolation. This self-evidently took place in Eastern Polynesia after this area was colonised by one or more canoe loads of settlers who made a one-way voyage from Western Polynesia. As a process it is more problematic as an explanation for extinction of terms in the Proto Polynesian homeland, where water gaps were not as daunting, and opportunities for intercommunication were present. The necessary isolation would more readily have occurred either if separation from Proto Oceanic took place earlier than supposed, or did so out of Micronesia rather than Island Melanesia, and also to be taken into account is the possibility that some of the terms currently attributed to POC in fact emerged after Proto Polynesian had already begun to develop and were absent from PPn at the outset.

Flute

In addition to the conch, three other complexes of instruments are mutually exclusive in POC or PWOc and PPn. They are the flute, the jews harp, and the slit gong, all present in the Lapita area of New Britain and, except for the jews harp, extending as far as Fiji, but taking a different form with different terminology in Polynesia. Of these instruments, the flute is the most contentious. As already indicated, Polynesia is characterised by nose flutes and Melanesia by flutes that are mouth blown. There is, however, a notable exception in Fiji where a nose flute, termed *dulali*, is present. Table 11 lists *dulali* cognates which are found to occur in the area of Lapita origin in New Britain, and the term has been reconstructed with antecedents as far back as Taiwan to PAn *tulani ‘bamboo nose flute’. Moreover, the Fijian *dulali* turns out to be almost identical in structure, playing method and even scale of notes to the Tongan nose flute (Crowe 1984). At first sight this

seems supportive of the Lapita hypothesis of Polynesian origins, with derivation of the Polynesian nose flute from the Fijian *dulali*. With closer scrutiny, however, the argument begins to unravel. First, the gloss of nose flute at the proto level turns out to be probably mistaken (see note for Table 11). Second, if nose flutes were indeed introduced into Polynesia through Fiji, one would expect a substantial presence of nose flutes in the Bismarck area of origin, as well as a trail of both nose flutes and the *tulali* term on the way to Fiji. But they are not there. Instead, flutes are mouth-blown throughout the area, including those with the *tulali* name. It would seem probable, therefore, that the nose flute was not introduced into Polynesia from Fiji but that the contact went the other way, with Fiji receiving the nose flute from Tonga, and each area continuing to use its own accustomed name for flute which would initially have been a mouth flute in Fiji.

Where, then, did Polynesian nose flutes come from if not from the *tulali* and Lapita potters? The answer lies with the most common Polynesian term for nose flute, namely *fangufangu*, which derives from the term *fangō* ‘to blow with the nose’ (Table 9) and is associated also with *fafango* ‘to awaken’ (Table 10). The two tables together form an interrelated complex with results pointing unequivocally to Micronesia as the area of origin for Polynesian nose flutes, with direct connection between Micronesia and Western Polynesia, and no cognates of any kind in Melanesia, including the area of Lapita origin in the Bismarck Archipelago. Dempwolff’s reconstruction of PAn **bangun* (Dempwolff 1975:(3) 20) for the ‘awaken’ term is especially significant because of the plainly related terms *yangin*, *aangyn*, *angin*, *anin*, *angun* for ‘nose flute’ in Puluwat and Truk in the Caroline Islands of Micronesia. Readers of the writer’s earlier paper may recall that this is the very area found by Herzog to exhibit Polynesian-type music structure (McLean 2008:17-20). Taken together, this is compelling evidence for a Micronesian rather than Island Melanesian migration path for Polynesians, with no involvement on the part of Lapita potters, and no suggestion that the introduction of nose flutes could

have been a late rather than early event or took place in the opposite direction as a borrowing from Polynesia.

Jews harp

In the same general area as *tulali* flute cognates, but in a highly local portion of it limited to New Britain and New Ireland, are terms of evidently post-Lapita origin, possibly of PWOc provenience, and, like flutes, contrasting with terms in Polynesia. In this case, however, even though the reconstruction suggests an origin later than Lapita, it may not be nearly late enough, judging from the term *hapa*, which looks plainly cognate with *gapa*, but in this case refers to a European jews harp, and is just as plainly cognate with 'harp'.

Slit gong

Special significance is attached to the slit gong. Its distribution identifies it along with the conch as one of the most widespread instruments to be associated with speakers of Austronesian languages and, as such, with the Lapita people and/or their immediate successors.

The sole credible reconstructed POC term for slit gong is POC *rali or *dali (Table 16) with a starting point in the Admiralty Islands, an end point with the Fijian *lali*, and intermediate cognates only in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu. This coincides absolutely with the currently accepted route for Lapita potters which took them through central Vanuatu, where slit gongs are still to be found, bypassing southern Vanuatu and New Caledonia, where slit gongs are absent from the traditional inventory of instruments (McLean 2008:45). Again, however, Fiji represents an end-point for the term, with both the Fijian form of slit gong and the Fijian name for it spreading further not by descent from lineal ancestors but by known later borrowing into Western Polynesian areas with their own forms of slit gong which thenceforth co-existed with the *lali*. Slit gongs are not in contention in Micronesia as they are absent there, and in Eastern Polynesia the slit gong takes an independently derived form which evolved from beaten bamboo.

The only convincing explanation for all of the above is that PPn is not connected to POc through Island Melanesia as proposed in the now standard view of Polynesian origin, but developed independently having reached its home area by a different path which must have included Micronesia. Detailed arguments favouring Micronesia rather than Melanesia are set out in the writer's earlier paper (McLean 2008) and will not be reiterated here. Some further observations, however, are in order. First, in terms of the present paper, the case for a Micronesian rather than a Melanesian path for Polynesians rests largely on the absence of evidence for the latter. From this it may seem that the musical data rule out settlement through Island Melanesia while providing less weight of evidence for or against migration out of Micronesia as an alternative. The answer, however, lies partly with the differing nature of the two potential pathways. The route through Island Melanesia is furnished at every point with a succession of substantial land masses including the Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, and New Caledonia, where one would expect to find evidence of the traverse. The route from Micronesia, on the other hand is predominantly open sea with no intermediate stops except for atolls, including the offshore islands now collectively known as Polynesian Outliers. Most of the Outliers are populated by speakers of Samoic languages, who are generally agreed to have reached the area in a backwash movement from Samoa. But, except for an absence of sufficiently early radio carbon dates, the older idea of movement in the opposite direction need not entirely be ruled out. The Outliers are mostly atolls which could have served as staging posts for settlers from Micronesia whose peoples are likewise mostly atoll dwellers, and some of the Outliers could have been occupied more than once, initially on the way to Samoa, when sea levels made living conditions less favourable, and later on the way back. The absence of radiocarbon dates is a not insurmountable objection to the idea, given the nature of the atoll environment, which would not favour retention of datable remains, especially as pre-Polynesians who came this way would have lacked pottery, leaving no pottery sherds in occupation sites

to mark their passage, and acquiring pottery only later after contact with Lapita people.

The above affirms the possibility at least of a Micronesian path to Polynesia and, despite a paucity of Micronesian data compared with the rest of Oceania, some links of a positive nature exist. A prime example, as already shown, is served by the nose flute, which most likely began its journey in the Philippines, moving from there to western Micronesia and thence to Western Polynesia via the Outliers.

Another example is the term *rongo* 'to hear', present in both POC and PPn but evidently unrepresented in the Bismarck Archipelago. As set out in the notes to Table 28, it is widespread in its primary sense of 'to hear, listen, obey', but assumes musical significance in Polynesia and connotations of transmission of traditional lore in Micronesia, culminating with the famous *rongo* men of Easter Island who served as guardians of the island's oral tradition, but apparently absent in this sense in Island Melanesia. It looks very much as if this manifestation of the POC distribution reached Polynesia not through Island Melanesia but again through Micronesia and the Polynesian Outliers.

Also of possible significance is the appearance of the term *pahu* for drum in Eastern Polynesia together with cognates in Micronesia (Table 5), in this case with no links at all in Western Polynesia or elsewhere. The assumption here is that there must have been a direct post-2000 BP link of some kind between Eastern Polynesia and Micronesia, perhaps from Hawai'i if Haddon and Hornell are right about similarities of canoe type which link Hawai'i and the Caroline Islands (Hornell 1936:340, 408, 440, cited McLean 2008:30).

SUMMARY CONCLUSION

In the writer's earlier paper on the subject of Polynesian origins, the current conventional view of Polynesian descent from Lapita

potters was rejected on the basis of combined evidence from music, physical anthropology, genetics and canoe types, which pointed overwhelmingly to Micronesia rather than Melanesia as a primary path for Polynesians. A dual hypothesis of origin was instead proposed as follows:

The Lapita people were Melanesians who settled all of the currently Melanesian areas of both Near and Remote Oceania. After arriving in Fiji, they may indeed have been among Polynesian ancestors, but were not primarily or exclusively so. Instead, Polynesians developed independently within Western Polynesia, most likely in Samoa, after migrating there from Micronesia, and only later began to intersect with descendants of the Lapita potters (McLean 2008:54).

In its findings on POc and PPn distributions of music and dance terms, the present study provides support at every turn for the above hypothesis of Polynesian origins, and none at all for the standard Lapita alternative.

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Office	Office of Tokelau Affairs
POLLEX	Biggs & Clark 1996-98
RMTD	Moyle in press

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APPENDIX: KEY TO MURDOCK CODES

Area codes from Murdock, George Peter, 1963. *Outline of World Cultures*. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, Inc.

(Note: Listed as in Murdock and in older literature. Some language and country names now differ.)

OJ	New Guinea	ON10	New Georgia
OK	Melanesia	ON11	Nissan
OL4	D'Entrecasteaux	ON12	San Cristobal
OL5	Louisades Archipelago	ON13	Santa Cruz
OL6	Trobriand Is	ON14	Shortlands
OM	Bismarck Archipelago	ON15	Ulawa
OM4	Gazelle Peninsula	ON16	Ysabel
OM6	Admiralty Islands	OO	Vanuatu
OM7	Mussau	OO4	Ambrym
OM8	New Britain	OO5	Aneityum
OM9	New Hanover	OO6	Aurora
OM10	New Ireland	OO6a	Aoba = Ambae
OM11	Ninigo	OO7	Banks Islands
OM12	Tabar Islands	OO8	Efate including Nguna
OM13	Umboi Islands	OO9	Epi
OM14	Vitu Islands	OO9a	Tongoa
OM15	Wuvulu	OO10	Eromanga
ON	Solomon Islands	OO11	Espiritu Santo
ON4	Bougainville	OO11a	Malo
ON5	Buin	OO12	Malekula
ON6	Buka	OO13	Pentecost
ON7	Choiseul	OO14	Tanna
ON8	Guadalcanal including Florida and Savo	OO15	Torres Islands
ON9	Malaita	OP4	New Caledonia
		OP5	Loyalty Islands

OQ	Fiji	OT3	Kapingamarangi
OQ5	Kandavu	OT4	Marqueen including Takuu
OQ6	Lau Islands	OT5	Nuguria
OQ7	Rotuma	OT6	Nukumanu
OQ8	Vanua Levu	OT7	Nukuoro
OQ9	Viti-i-Loma	OT8	Ontong Java
OQ10	Viti Levu including Bau	OT9	Rennell & Bellona
OQ11	Yasawa Islands including Waya	OT10	Sikaiana
OR	Micronesia	OT11	Tikopia
OR5	Chamorro	OT11a	Reef & Duff Islands including Pileni
OR6	Gilbert Islands	OT11b	Kilinailau
OR7	Guam	OT11c	Anuta
OR8	Kusaie	OU	Western Polynesia
OR9	Mariana Islands	OU4	American Samoa
OR10	Losap	OU5	Tuvalu
OR11	Marshall Islands	OU6	East Futuna
OR12	Mokil	OU7	Niue
OR13	Nauru	OU8	Samoa
OR14	Nomoi	OU9	Tonga
OR15	Palau	OU10	East Uvea
OR16	Ponape	OV5	Hawai'i
OR17	Puluwat	OW	Pitcairn Island
OR18	Tobi	OX	French Polynesia
OR19	Truk	OX4	Austral Islands
OR20	Ulithi	OX5	Gambier Islands including Mangareva
OR21	Woleai	OX6	Marquesas Islands
OR22	Yap	OX7	Society Islands
OS	Polynesia	OX8	Tahiti
OT	Polynesian Outliers	OX9	Tuamotu Islands
OT2	Aniwa	OY	Easter Island

OZ	New Zealand former dependencies
OZ4	NZ Maori
OZ8	Moriori
OZ9	S. Cook Islands
OZ10	Manihiki & Rakahanga
OZ11	Pukapuka
OZ12	Tokelau
OZ13	Tongareva



Mervyn McLean has a long-standing interest in Pacific ethnomusicology, and is the author of numerous publications on the subject. He is a retired associate professor of ethnomusicology from The University of Auckland, where he pioneered the teaching of ethnomusicology as an academic discipline in New Zealand, and served as founder head of the University's Archive of Maori and Pacific Music from its inception until his retirement in 1992. His research has been based on archival collections, including his own extensive field

collections of Maori and Cook Islands music, supplemented by information from travel, missionary, and ethnographic literature brought together and organised on the model of George Murdock's Human Relations Area Files (HRAF). The result is an Oceanic music resource containing books and xerox files of more than 3500 references to Pacific music, culminating with *An Annotated Bibliography of Oceanic Music and Dance* (McLean 1995), and a card index of topics and terms occupying 20 file drawers. These have been drawn upon for the present paper as a sequel to McLean's earlier publication in the same series: 'Were Lapita Potters Ancestral to Polynesians? A View from Ethnomusicology.' *Occasional Papers in Pacific Ethnomusicology*, No.7. Auckland: Archive of Maori and Pacific Music. 2008.