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Some Comparative Notes on Proto-Oceanic *mana: Inside and Outside the Austronesian Family

Juliette Blevins

MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE FOR EVOLUTIONARY ANTHROPOLOGY

In a recent article, Blust (2007) presents a comprehensive summary of the etymology of Proto-Oceanic *mana ‘potent, effectual; supernatural power’, highlighting an ancient association between this word and the powerful forces of nature. Here I present new lexical data from Oceanic, Central Malayo-Polynesian, and South Halmahera–West New Guinea languages that support the reconstruction of Proto–Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian *mana ‘supernatural power, associated with spirits of the ancestors and the forces of nature’. Lexical comparisons from non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea suggest significant prehistoric contact between Austronesian and non-Austronesian speakers, and may support a connection between the meaning of Proto–Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian *mana, and the semantics of Proto–Western Malayo-Polynesian *mana(q) ‘inherit(ance)’.

1. INTRODUCTION.¹ In a recent article, Blust (2007) presents a comprehensive summary of the etymology of Proto-Oceanic *mana ‘potent, effectual; supernatural power’. Blust (2007) highlights an ancient association between Proto-Oceanic *mana ‘supernatural power’ and the powerful forces of nature by demonstrating cognate sets meaning ‘thunder’ in Northern Vanuatu and Rotuma-Fiji-Polynesia, and distinct sets in languages of the D’Entrecasteaux Archipelago where reflexes of *mana mean ‘wind’.² He reviews Capell’s (1938–39) attempts to link POc *mana with non-Oceanic Austrone-

1. I am grateful to Bob Blust, Andy Pawley, and John Lynch for comments on earlier versions of this paper. I offer this study to a fourth person, who wishes to remain anonymous, as a tribute to his skills in the areas of reconstruction and revitalization.
2. An association between supernatural and natural powers was first made explicit by Burrows (1938:64–65), who, speaking of the word *mana* in the Polynesian outliers, says that it is “... used with a connotation of the mysterious and portentous,” but that it “seems to be less explicit ... less abstract. It is applied rather to specific phenomena such as thunder, omens, and spells, than to generalized power embodied in divinities or human beings.” Capell (1938–39:93–94) also comments briefly on a connection between *mana* and wind: “In many of the languages of the islands off the south-east of Papua, the word *mana* means wind...” He notes Dobu *mana* ‘wind’ with derived form *bo-mana* ‘magic power’ (reanalyzed as *boma/na* ‘his magic power’); this derived form is not found in Lithgow and Lithgow’s (1998) Dobu–English dictionary, nor is the word *boma*, though we do find *obo/boma* ‘favor, gift, present; love’.

sian cognates, and terms it “unsuccessful.” Though not stated explicitly, Blust implies that *mana can not be traced farther back than Proto-Oceanic.

Here I present new lexical data from Central Malayo-Polynesian and South Halmahera–West New Guinea languages that support the reconstruction of Proto–Central–Eastern Malayo-Polynesian *mana ‘supernatural power, associated with spirits of the ancestors and the forces of nature’. Lexical comparisons from non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea suggest significant prehistoric contact between Austronesian and non-Austronesian speakers in the area of New Guinea, and may solidify the connection between the meaning of Proto–Central–Eastern Malayo-Polynesian *mana, and the semantics of Proto-Western Malayo-Polynesian *mana(q) ‘inherit(ance)’.

To my knowledge, this is the first place where data from all major divisions of Malayo-Polynesian (WMP, CMP, SHWNG) are shown to have potential cognates of Proto-Oceanic *mana.³ It is also the first place where all of these forms are compared to potential cognates in non-Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area. Before turning to this data, I briefly review the results presented in Blust (2007) and show that, within Oceanic, cognates of *mana are more widespread than previously thought. Throughout, data sources follow relevant forms; slashes are used to separate word-internal comparanda, where necessary.⁴

2. MORE OCEANIC REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC *MANA.

Blust’s (2007) study is concerned with the etymology of Proto-Oceanic *mana and, more specifically, the conceptual origins of its reflexes in Oceanic languages. As he demonstrates, a large number of languages have the meanings widely known in the anthropological literature, referring to power, potency, effectuality, and supernatural powers. This meaning, or slight variations on it, is found in languages of the Western Solomons, the Central and Southeast Solomons, Micronesia, Northern Vanuatu, and Rotuma-Fiji-Polynesia. However, in some of these languages, reflexes of *mana are also associated with the natural forces of wind or thunder. For example, in Tongan, *mana* is glossed as ‘supernatural, superhuman, miraculous; attended or accompanied by supernatural or apparently supernatural happenings; to thunder’ (Churchward 1959). Blust goes on to show that in Northern Vanuatu, many languages show only the meaning ‘thunder’, while in languages of the D’Entrecasteaux Archipelago, a great number show only the meaning ‘wind’. On the basis of these semantic distributions, Blust suggests that Proto-Oceanic *mana referred to powerful forces of nature that were conceived of as the expression of an unseen supernatural agency. As Oceanic culture spread, the meaning of this word, in some cases, came to be associated with powers that could be possessed by humans and other objects.

3. The following abbreviations are used for linguistic groups: WMP, Western Malayo-Polynesian; CMP, Central Malayo-Polynesian; CEMP, Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian; EMP, Eastern Malayo-Polynesian; SHWNG, South Halmahera–West New Guinea. The abbreviations that are preceded by “P” refer to a protolanguage: thus PCMP, Proto–Central Malayo-Polynesian. In addition, the following abbreviations are used for other protolanguages: PMP, Proto–Malayo-Polynesian; POC, Proto-Oceanic.

4. The following abbreviations are used for data sources: ABVD, Greenhill, Blust, and Gray (2003–8); ACD, Blust (1995); CAD, Tryon (1995); LP01, Ross, Pawley, and Osmond (1998); LP02, Ross, Pawley, and Osmond (2003). I am grateful to Michael Cysouw for assistance with Dutch translations.

Geographic gaps in the distribution of *mana reflexes have often been noted in the literature. In Blust (2007), no mention is made of the languages of New Caledonia, nor of Southern Vanuatu languages. Here, I present evidence for reflexes of *mana in both Oceanic subgroups. Additional gaps in known reflexes of *mana are found in the Western Oceanic subgroup. Though Blust (2007) presents data from Papuan Tip languages for forms meaning ‘wind’, additional material is presented in 2.3 from Meso-Melanesian languages. A final point of interest is the geographic extent of reduplicated, metathesized reflexes of *mana. These are reported for Central and Southeast Solomons languages (e.g., Kwaio, ‘Are’are, Sa’a *nanama*) and one Micronesian language (Carolinian *lemelem, nemenem*) (Keesing 1984, Blust 2007). Below, I show that there are at least two additional languages that may show regular and metathesized reflexes. It should be emphasized that the data presented in the following subsections is entirely consistent with the general arguments presented in Blust (2007), and merely demonstrates a wider distribution of *mana reflexes within Oceanic.

2.1 REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC *MANA IN NEW CALEDONIA.

Though the languages of New Caledonia have undergone a range of unusual sound changes, which in many cases obscure obvious cognates (Ozanne-Rivierre 1992), there appear to be regular sound correspondences between the forms in (1) and Proto-Oceanic *mana.

- (1) Reflexes of *mana in languages of New Caledonia
 - a. Iaii *mæn* ‘puissant, puissance, force’ [powerful, power, strength—JB]; *mænik mæn* ‘ma puissance’ [my power—JB]; ... *at a e mæn* ‘homme puissant’ [powerful man—JB]; *mæniny ang* ‘la force du vent’ [the power of the wind—JB] (Ozanne-Rivierre 1984)
 - b. Tîrî (aka Grand Couli) *mã* ‘recognized, famed, acclaimed for ability or force of character’ (Grace 1976)
 - c. Xârâcùù (aka Canala) *mã* ‘recognized, acclaimed for remarkable abilities or force of character’ (Grace 1975; Moysse-Faurie and Néchérö-Jorédié 1989)

Iaii usage supports Blust’s suggestions above: *mæn* ‘powerful, power, strength’ is something that can be possessed by humans, as well as something attributed to forces of nature, in this case the wind.

2.2 REFLEXES OF PROTO-OCEANIC *MANA(Q) IN SOUTHERN VANUATU.

In the languages of Southern Vanuatu, reflexes of Proto-Oceanic *mana are somewhat obscure. However, as pointed out by Lynch (2001:1), under their ‘veil of phonological radicalism,’ these languages are more conservative than they seem. After stripping off fossilized articles typically of the form #(n)V-, and running regular sound changes backwards, cognates of *mana can be discovered. Two sound changes discussed by Lynch (2001:118–20) are expected to target inherited *mana in all Southern Vanuatu languages. One is low vowel dissimilation, which will take the first vowel to something other than /a/. A second is medial vowel deletion (syncope), a sound change that targeted antepenultimate unstressed (noninitial) vowels; this will apply in case the

first or second vowel is antepenultimate and unstressed. Finally, note that most verbs in Lenakel and other Southern Vanuatu languages are vowel initial (Lynch 2001:106ff, 143–45). Initial vowels in verbs from *mana, then, are expected. In (2), a range of Lenakel words related to divination in Lynch (1977) appear to contain reflexes of Proto-Oceanic *mana.⁵

- (2) Lenakel /-mna-/: a veiled reflex of *mana
- a. *e/mna/it* ‘divine the cause of an illness through a dream’ (cf. *-it* ‘directional suffix to verbs, indicating movement upwards’)
 - b. *i-e/mna/it* ‘diviner, sorcerer who divines the cause of an illness through dreams’
 - c. *i-e/mna/vier* ‘a brave or brazen person’ (cf. *e/vier/ap* ‘stormy’)
 - d. *ə/mna/it* ‘to restore the sight’ (e.g., of someone who was blind)

In these examples, the predicted Lenakel reflex ***-māna-* has undergone medial vowel deletion, as expected. The semantic connection should be clear: a diviner is efficacious, and the effective divination is *mana*.

In another Southern Vanuatu language, Kwamera (Lindstrom 1986), the verb occurs without its association with the spirit world: *-amāna* ‘work, produce, enlarge, or improve (as one’s resources)’. Compare this with Radin’s (1937:12–14) quote of a Fijian nonreligious pragmatist on the meaning of *mana*: “a thing has *mana* when it works; it has no *mana* when it does not work.”

An interesting phonological feature of the Lenakel and Kwamera reflexes is their maintenance of final *a*.⁶ Lynch (2001:103–5) shows that Proto-Oceanic word-final vowels were generally lost in Southern Vanuatu languages. While the Lenakel forms in (2) might show the inhibiting effect of suffixation on final vowel loss, Kwamera *-amāna* shows a final vowel intact. The absence of final vowel loss in Kwamera suggests reconstruction of a Proto-Oceanic final consonant; historically, final vowel loss preceded regular loss of final *q and *R. Where Kwamera shows apparent final vowel retention, a final *q or *R has been lost: POc *mataq, Kwamera *a/mera* ‘raw’; POc *tanoq, Kwamera *tāna* ‘earth’; POc *paraq, Kwamera *nu/vera* ‘sprouting coconut’ (Lynch 2001:104). Here, then, is the first small piece of evidence for Proto-Oceanic *mana(q). Potential connections to PWMP *mana(q) ‘inherit(ance)’ are discussed in sections 5 and 6.

2.3 WESTERN OCEANIC REFLEXES OF *MANA. Western Oceanic languages are grouped by Ross, Pawley, and Osmond (2003) into a Papuan Tip subgroup, and two other groups, North New Guinea and Meso-Melanesian, neither of which has an exclusively shared common ancestor. Within the Meso-Melanesian group, reflexes of *mana are well attested with meanings related to supernatural power: Roviana *mana* ‘be potent, effectual’ (also verbal imperative used in prayer and magic) (Waterhouse 1949); Halia *mana* ‘true’ (ABVD); Teop *mana* ‘truth’, *mamana* ‘real’ (ABVD); Nehan *man* ‘true’ (ABVD); Tolai (aka Raluana, Kuanua, Tuna) *mana-ina* ‘free, esp. from tapu’ (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:254).⁷ A semantic connection to the forces of nature may also be apparent if

5. In (2b) and (2c), initial /i-/ is a human/agentive prefix (John Lynch pers. comm., 2008).

6. I am grateful to John Lynch for bringing the significance of final vowels in these forms to my attention.

Madak *lam/manman* ‘wind’ (ABVD), and Tolai *mamane* ‘lightning’ (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:252) are cognate. An additional question that arises is whether there are metathesized reflexes of *mana in this group, as there are in the Central and Southeast Solomons (e.g., Kwaio, ‘Are’are, Sa’a *nanama*). In Sa’a *nanama* means ‘to be powerful, to exercise force’, and in related Ulawa one speaks of ghosts as being *nanama* ‘spiritually powerful’ (Blust 2007:418). In this context, it is possible to view Halia *namname* ‘spirit, image, ghost’ (Allen et al. 1982), Petats *namname* ‘soul’ (Allen and Beaso 1975:57), and Hakö (aka Haku) *name-na* ‘ghost’, *namnamu* ‘spirit of living’, *namenname* ‘spirit, soul’ (Allen et al. 1982) as possible cognates of the Sa’a/Ulawa words.

In the Papuan Tip languages remarked on by Blust (2007:420), the primary semantic association of *mana reflexes is with forces of nature, and more specifically ‘wind’. Dobu *mana*, Bwaidoga *mala*, Panakrusima *mana*, Suau *mana*, Tubetube *mana-*, Saliba *mana*, Panayati *mana*, and Misima *mana* all refer to ‘wind’. Interestingly, in at least one language, a reduplicated metathesized form occurs with meanings overlapping with those found in so many Oceanic languages. In Tubetube (aka Bwanabwana), we find *mana-* ‘wind’, along with *nam^wanam^wa* ‘be efficacious; “work”, be good, be true, have positive qualities, fulfil potential (that is, of an animate or inanimate entity, to manifest qualities appropriate to one’s nature)’ (Keesing 1984:147).⁸ While Blust (pers. comm. 2008) suggests that Tubetube *nam^wanam^wa* could simply be a chance resemblance, the semantic match is so precise in its range of meanings as to suggest double inheritance (of nonmetathesized and metathesized/reduplicated forms) or borrowing as a source of *nam^wanam^wa*.

In the North New Guinea group, no clear reflexes of *mana have been reported, and I have been unable to find any in currently available published and unpublished materials.⁹ In Manam, *marou* ‘perform magic on sb/st’ (Lichtenberk 1983:613), refers to supernatural power inherited from the ancestors that enables individuals to perform canoe magic, influence the winds, ensure an abundance of tobacco, etc. (World Culture Encyclopedia, 2007). Whether or not this term is itself related to Proto-Oceanic *marau ‘southeast trade wind’ (Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2003:134) remains unclear. Compare Manam *marou* with Bariai *marau* ‘wind’, Vitu (aka Mduapa) *marau* ‘north wind’, Kove *marau* ‘light

7. Ross, Pawley, and Osmond (2003:213) list Lau *ma-mana* ‘true’ as a reflex of Proto-Oceanic *m^wane-m^wane ‘straight, direct; flat, level’. However, given the forms listed here for Meso-Melanesian languages, the Lau form seems better treated as a reflex of POc *mana. Note that similar semantics are also found in some Southeast Solomonian languages: Toqabaqita *mamana*; Nggela *maemane* ‘true, correct’ (ABVD).

8. Keesing (1984:154, footnote 9) notes that Tubetube /m^w/ corresponds to /m/ in neighboring languages. Compare Tubetube *nam^wanam^wa* with Motu, Roro *namo*, Vilirupu, Doura *nama/na* ‘good’. While this correspondence might hold in some cases, Ross (1998:198–99) shows Tubetube /m^w/ reflecting POc *m^w. Hence, the form is doubly irregular, showing metathesis and an irregular reflex of POc *m. See Lithgow (1987) on lexical change in Tubetube, including the effects of word-taboos. He reports that, due to taboo, *nam^wanam^wa* ‘good’ has been replaced by *dewadewa* everywhere except on Tubetube Island.

This Tubetube form should not be confused with reflexes of PNGOc *lamar ‘lightning’ (Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2003:145). Compare (North New Guinea) Malalamai *lem* ‘lightning’, Manam *lama-lama* ‘thunder’; (Papuan Tip) Molima *namala* ‘lightning’, Tawala *nama-namala* ‘lightning’, Saliba *namanamali* ‘thunder’.

9. Vitu (van den Berg and Bacht 2006) does have *mana* ‘story’. Compare glosses of non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea discussed in section 6, including Huli *mana* ‘myth; custom’ and Duna *mana* ‘custom, tradition, instructions of the elders’.

wind from the sea' (Ross, Pawley, and Osmond 2003:134). This suggests possible replacement of Proto-Oceanic *mana with *marau in Proto-North New Guinea.

2.4 YAPESE. In Yapese, the reflex of Proto-Oceanic *aŋin 'wind' has acquired meanings very similar to *mana. Compare Yapese *-aŋiin* 'n. effect, strength, effectiveness'; *p-aŋiin* 'n. psd. its effect, action work; his behavior, personality'; *m-aŋii'ŋ* 'adj. effective, powerful (e.g., of medicine)' (Jensen 1977). This etymology is important for two reasons. First, it highlights the cultural association emphasized by Blust (2007) between forces of nature and supernatural powers that humans and other objects may control, possess, or transfer. A word that clearly referred originally to 'wind' has come to have a more general association to power and efficacy. This shift in meaning can be related to the Yapese cultural tradition of exchanging supernatural protection, including control of harmful winds, for goods from those in their empire (Blust 2007:416). At the same time, the etymology is important because it shows a direction of change consistent with Blust's (2007:416) general observation that "cultural traditions that initially may appear to be arbitrary creations of the human mind turn out on closer inspection to be inspired by the natural world."

3. SOUTH HALMAHERA–WEST NEW GUINEA. Very few languages of the South Halmahera–West New Guinea group are well described, and extensive lexical data for these languages is difficult to find. A notable exception is the Numfor dictionary compiled by van Hasselt and van Hasselt (1947). A possible cognate of Proto-Oceanic *mana is the Numfor word *mòn* 'spirit, soul, ghost' shown in (9). Note the reference to *stamouders* 'ancestors' in the last line of the dictionary definition.

- (3) Numfor *mòn* 'spirit, soul, ghost' (van Hasselt and van Hasselt 1947:158)

Daemon. Geest (goede en kwade). Geesten-bezweerder. Beeld voor 'n daemon. De Papoea denkt zich 't luchtruim bewoond door daemone. Menschen kunnen de hulp van zoo 'n geest verkrijgen door middel van een afgestorvene. Men meent, dat de geest van 'n afgestorvene zich in betrekking kan stellen met den daemon en dien tot den levende leiden kan, die zijn hulp begeert. Dergelijke, van een daemon bezeten menschen, heet men eveneens *mòn* en dezen zijn het, die zeggen door middel van den hun dienstbaren *mòn* zieken te kunnen genezen. Deze *mòn* zijn het ook, die de geesten der afgestorvenen in de voor hen vervaardigde karwars (zie ald.) brengen en zich zoo noodig door middel van die karwars met de afgestorvenen in betrekking stellen. Voor de daemone worden ook beelden gemaakt, die zelve ook "mòn" genoemd worden. Tot de daemone rekent men ook stamouders.

[Spirit. Ghost (good and evil). Shaman. Spirit statue. The Papuan people imagine the world populated by spirits. People can receive help from such spirits through souls of the deceased. People possessed by spirits are called 'mon', and they say that they can heal the sick by their servant

‘mon’. These ‘mon’ are also the ones who bring the spirits of the dead to a specially made karwars, and if needed, make contact with the dead through these ‘karwars’. Statues are also made for the spirits, and these are also called ‘mon’. The **ancestors** also belong to the spirits. [Tr. and emphasis—JB]

The entry also indicates that the same term exists in Windesi, a neighboring SHWNG language. An additional possible cognate is Irarutu *gə/mɔnə* ‘ghost’ (CAD, Part 4:746). However, a weak aspect of this comparison set is the irregular vowel correspondence. The expected reflex of a Proto–Eastern Malayo-Polynesian *mana is SHWNG *man(V).¹⁰ With this caveat recognized, one might cautiously reconstruct Proto–Eastern Malayo-Polynesian *mana ‘supernatural power, associated with the forces of nature and spirits of the ancestors’, SHWNG *mona ‘spirit of ancestors, soul, ghost’, and, more cautiously still, move up the Austronesian family tree to examine whether any potential cognates of this term are found in Central Malayo-Polynesian languages.

However, external comparisons show that the SHWNG *mona ‘spirit of ancestors, soul, ghost’ is probably not cognate with Proto-Oceanic *mana. Here, as in many other Austronesian languages, a reflex of PMP *unah ‘precede, first, earlier, former’ (Blust 1995), in its prefixed form *um-unah, with initial vowel loss, gives rise to a *mana look-alike. In (4) I provide data showing how widespread this development is.¹¹ Though comparisons with Proto-Oceanic *mana may look superficially valid, the vowel quality of the initial syllable, combined with related meanings like ‘first’, ‘former’, suggest a source in PMP *unah ‘precede, go first’.

(4) Some reflexes of PMP *unah, *um-unah ‘precede, first, earlier, former’			
W. Oceanic	Tolai	<i>mun</i>	‘first, firstly; formerly’
E. Oceanic	Tahitian	<i>muna/aiho,</i> <i>muta/aiho</i>	‘formerly, anciently, first’
SHWNG	Numfor,		
	Windesi	<i>mòn</i>	‘spirit of ancestor, soul, ghost’
CMP	Buru	<i>mamena</i> <i>mena</i>	‘ancestor’ ‘front’
	Nuauulu	<i>mon-ne</i>	‘tradition’
Philippines	Mansaka	<i>mona</i>	‘first; ancestor’

If Proto-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian *mana ‘supernatural power, associated with the forces of nature and spirits of the ancestors’ is reconstructible, what appears to have occurred in SHWNG languages is that reflexes of *mana have merged with those of PMP *ma-Ruqanay ‘man, male’ as well as with PMP *manuk ‘chicken, fowl’. In both Numfor (van Hasselt and van Hasselt 1947) and Biak (van den Heuvel 2006), the independent forms for ‘bird’ and ‘fish’ are *man* and *in* respectively. In both languages,

10. For example, PMP *m-atay m-atay ‘die in throngs’, Buli *mat-mat* ‘dead body, corpse’ (ACD). SHWNG *o*, on the other hand, regularly reflects a stressed PMP *e: PMP *enem ‘six’, Buli *wonam*, Numfor *wonem*, Waropen *ghono*. However, in at least one known cognate set, there is a PMP/SHWNG *a/o* correspondence: PMP *qabaRa ‘shoulder’, Waropen *awaro* (ACD).

11. Data sources for (4) are: Tolai (Lanyon-Orgill 1960:274); Tahitian (London Missionary Society 1851); Numfor, Windesi (van Hasselt and van Hasselt 1947:158); Buru (Grimes 1991); Nuauulu (Bolton, 1990); Mansaka (Svelmoe and Svelmoe 1990:302).

an opposition of ‘man/bird’ vs. ‘female/fish’ is expressed by the formatives *man-* vs. *in-* as first members of compounds: compare Biak *mansár* ‘old man’ vs. *insár* ‘old woman’, or *mankoko* ‘chicken’, *mansórom* ‘heron’, etc. with *inarar*, *insis*, etc. referring to kinds of fish. However, not all compounds beginning in *man-* that are not bird types have corresponding feminine *in-* forms: examples are Biak *manwen*, Numfor *mànowin* ‘ghost, spirit’, or Biak *mananwir*, Numfor *mànanur* ‘village chief’. Furthermore, the compound member *man-* in both languages is sometimes associated with special powers or abilities, leading van Hasselt and van Hasselt (1947:136) to remark that: “Mogelijk verband houdend met het Melanesische ‘mana’” [Perhaps related to Melanesian “mana”—JB]. In both languages, nouns of interest are those that are neither gender-specific and neither fish nor fowl. Some examples are: Numfor, Biak *mambri* ‘hero’ (*man* + *vri* ‘angry’); Biak *mansusú* ‘type of canoe that can move forward and backwards’ (*man* + *susú* ‘withdraw’); Biak *mandyaw* ‘kind of canoe with double outrigger’ (*man* + *dyaw* ‘part of outrigger’); Biak *mankampinarar* ‘kind of fish (which can “fly”):¹²

With this caveat recognized, one might cautiously reconstruct Proto-Eastern-Malayo-Polynesian *mana ‘supernatural power, associated with the forces of nature and spirits of the ancestors’, whose SHWNG reflex *man-* is found only in compounds where it may be inextricably linked with masculine strength and power. More cautiously still, we can move up the Austronesian family tree to examine whether any potential cognates of *mana are found in Central Malayo-Polynesian languages.

4. PROTO-CENTRAL MALAYO-POLYNESIAN *mana ‘SPIRIT, SPIRITUAL POWER’. To date, data from Central Malayo-Polynesian languages have not figured prominently in the etymology of Proto-Oceanic *mana. It is unclear whether this is due to the spread of nonnative cultures and religions in this part of the world and their influences on the lexicon, the fact that these languages have received much less study in modern times than those of Oceania, historical accident, or some combination of these. Whatever the reason, a careful dictionary search reveals a handful of terms with the appropriate sound-meaning correspondence, as shown in (5).¹³ Based on these, it is possi-

12. Of course, in this last word, the compound member *man-* could represent ‘bird’ and refer to the birdlike property of flight in these fish. Without a more nuanced understanding of Biak and Numfor culture, and the many associations of the *man-* vs. *in-* contrast, many examples remain ambiguous, referring either to masculine-like strength and power, physical and spiritual properties of birds, or some more general *mana*-like notion.

13. For other Central Malayo-Polynesian languages, there are forms with similar semantic range that may reflect *man, *maje, *maju, or *sa-maju (cf. PMP *sumajed ‘soul, spirit of the living, life-force’), including: Ngadha *mae*, *mahe* ‘soul, spirit; magic, sorcery; reason, use; lucky, have success; recover from deathly illness’ (Arndt 1961; Djawanai 1983); Sika *mae/ŋ*, *uher manar* ‘soul, spirit’, *maja* ‘strong, mighty, powerful’ (CAD:16.110, 4.810); Kambera, Mangili, Lewa *maju* ‘soul, spirit’ (Onvlee 1984:270); Wewewa *mawo* ‘(levens)kracht, geest(kracht), aard’ [(life)force, spirit, power, spiritual power; nature, character—JB] (Onvlee 1984:270); Kambera, Mangili, Lewa *ha/maju*; Anakalangoe *sa/maju*; Mbamboroe *sa/mawu*; Kodi *ha/magho* ‘(levens)kracht, geest(kracht), aard’ [(life)force, spirit, power, spiritual power; nature, character—JB] (Onvlee 1984:59). If we assume *man (with irregular final vowel loss), Kambera final *-n > ŋ, followed by excrescence of a word final u (*man > maj > maju), are regular developments.

ble to reconstruct a Proto–Central Malayo-Polynesian noun *mana ‘spirit, spiritual power, ancestor spirit’, with much the same range of meaning as Proto-Oceanic *mana.

- (5) A new PCMP reconstruction: *mana ‘spiritual power; efficacious’
 Roti (D) *mana* ‘spirit, soul’ (Jonker 1908)
 Buru *emkana* (< *ek-mana*) ‘firm, rigid; sufficient; spiritually powerful’
 (Devin 2007; Grimes 1991:103)
 Tetun *k/mane/k* ‘good, goodness’ (Morris 2003)¹⁴

In Buru, a Central Malayo-Polynesian language of Central Maluku, a stem /-mana/, /-mane/ is found in at least two morphologically complex forms in Devin (2007): *emkana* (< **ek-mana*) ‘firm, rigid; sufficient; spiritually powerful’ (Grimes 1991:103); *far/mana*, *far/mane* ‘call upon God; to pray’ (cf. *faran* ‘n. physical strength’, *ekfara* ‘strong’).¹⁵

None of the forms in (5) has the irregular initial vocalisms of those in (4), nor do they share a meaning of ‘first, former’. Though evidence for *mana precursors were difficult to detect in SWHNG languages, the cognate set in (5) suggests that *mana reconstructs at least as far back as Proto–Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian.

5. WESTERN MALAYO-POLYNESIAN. Blust (2007) does not discuss potential Western Malayo-Polynesian cognates for Proto-Oceanic *mana apart from those suggested in Capell (1938-39). Of this set, two are notable, because they (i) have the proper sound correspondences, and (ii) are in a general semantic domain that overlaps with some of the meanings of *mana* found in other parts of Oceania. The two potential cognates are **mana*(?) ‘inherit, inheritance’, with reflexes in a range of Western Malayo-Polynesian languages shown in (6), and Old Malay/Javanese *manah* ‘heart, feelings, spirit’.¹⁶ The first term is discarded by Blust on the basis of its semantic distance, and the second can be excluded from further consideration on the basis of its status as a Sanskrit loan.¹⁷

14. The semantic shift from ‘efficacious’ to ‘good’ assumed for Tetun is attested elsewhere, e.g., for Lau *mamana* ‘efficacious (of medicine), spiritually or magically powerful; grow well, of trees; be good, of news; prosperous, lucky, in good health; be true, come true, be fulfilled; to impart spiritual or magical power’ (Fox 1974).

15. In *emkana*, a prefix /ek-/ (passive causative) has undergone historical metathesis. Compare *mana* ‘man’, *emhana* ‘masculine prowess’, and *milu* ‘sour’, *emqilu* ‘sour’. A similar synchronic metathesis is described by Grimes (1995:631) for the prefix /en-/ when followed by /f k s t/. Blust (pers. comm., 2008) notes that the Grimes addition to the definition of *emkana* was not in an earlier version of Devin’s dictionary.

16. Blust (2007) cites Wilkinson (1959) as listing Malay *manah* ‘prized, valued; heirloom, survival from the past’, however, Schmidgall-Tellings (2004) attributes this form to Minangkabau. Blust (2007) also notes that this Malayic form appears cognate with *mana* ‘inherit(ance)’ found in Bare’e and other languages of Sulawesi. In fact, the distribution of this cognate set appears to be wider as shown in (6), though still consistent with the reconstruction proposed in Blust (1995).

17. There is good evidence that Old Malay and Javanese *manah* are loans from Sanskrit /*manas-* ‘mind’ as first suggested by Tregear (1891). In Javanese *manah* means ‘heart, soul, feelings’ (Loeb 1944), and in Yogyakarta Javanese it means ‘liver’ (ABVD), the source of feelings in many Austronesian cultures. Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings’ (2004:612) Indonesian–English dictionary attributes *manah* to classical Malay. Blust (2007:407) notes a similar form given by Tregear (1891): Malay *manah* ‘the heart or mind’ under his Mori entry *mana*. In addition to these attestations, there is also Sundanese *manah* ‘heart, mind’ (Eringa 1984).

However, I suggest that the data in (6) be reconsidered, in light of two factors. First, recall from 2.2 that data from at least two languages of Southern Vanuatu suggest reconstruction of Proto-Oceanic **manaq*, with a matching final consonant. Second, the semantic distance between ‘inherit(ance)’ and ‘supernatural power, associated with spirits of the ancestors and the forces of nature’ would be diminished if languages were found where **mana* cognates covered both semantic domains. Data of this kind from non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea are presented in section 6.

(6) Proto–Western Malayo-Polynesian **mana*(q) ‘inherit(ance) from ancestors’¹⁸

I. PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES¹⁹

- Casiguran Dumagat *mana* ‘heir, inheritance; to will, leave, give property to someone’ (Headland and Headland, 1974)
 Kapampangan *mana* ‘inherit, inheritance’ (Forman 1971)
 Tagalog *mana* ‘inheritance’, *ma-mana* ‘to inherit’, *mana-mana* ‘hereditary’, *pa-mana* ‘inheritance, legacy’ (English 1986)
 Bikol *mana* ‘to inherit’, *an m-in-ana* ‘an heirloom’ *magpa-mana* ‘to bequeath’, *pa-mana* ‘bequest, inheritance; heritage’ (Mintz 2004)
 Hanunóo *pa-ma’na* ‘inheritance’ (Conklin 1953)
 Masbatenyo *mana* ‘inheritance’ (Wolfenden 2001)

II. SUNDIC LANGUAGES

- Malay *manah* ‘prized, valued; heirloom, survival from the past’ (Wilkinson 1959)
 Minangkabau *manah* ‘wealth, riches, property (inherited from one’s ancestors), heirlooms’ (Schmidgall-Tellings 2004; Moussay 1995)
 Ambon Malay *mana* ‘inherit, inheritance’ (Adriani 1928:425)
 Toba Batak *por-mano-mano-an* ‘remembrance gift’ used, for example, of the goods that a girl receives after the death of her father (girls may not inherit) (Warneck 1977)

III. SULAWESI LANGUAGES

- Bare’e *mana* ‘inheritance, heritage; inherited position or rank, quality of spirit or body that one has from one’s forebears’ (Adriani 1928; Capell 1938–39)
 Buginese *mana*, *mana?* ‘inheritance, heritage’ (Adriani 1928), *iomamana* ‘inheritor’ (Capell 1938–39)
 Togian (N. Sulawesi) *mana?i* ‘inheritance’ (Adriani 1928)
 Toraja Sa’dan (aka Tae’, S. Sulawesi) *mana?* ‘inherit, inheritance, bequest, legacy’ (Tammu and van der Veen 1972)

18. Blust (1995) provides PWMP **mana*, **manaq* ‘inherit; will; custom; tradition’.

19. Blust (pers. comm., 2008) suggests that certain irregularities in the Philippine forms (e.g., lack of expected final glottal stop in Tagalog) may indicate borrowing from Malay /*manah*/.

Ifugao as spoken in Batad is a Central Cordilleran Philippine language spoken in the east central part of the northern Luzon Cordillera. Newell (1993) builds on decades of study, translation, and interpretation of this variety of Ifugao. In this dictionary, all but one word beginning with the phonological sequence /*mana...*/ are clear derivatives involving the role marking affix *maN-*. The one exception is the word *mana?ha.ut* ‘a class of nature spirits’ (p.385), ‘spirits of celestial bodies’ (p.419). However, as no other Philippine language appears to have a class of nature spirits associated with reflexes of **mana*(q), the Batad Ifugao form must be viewed as a chance resemblance.

A surprising aspect of the distribution of PWMP *mana(q) reflexes is the lack of Borneo witnesses. Blust (2007:407) rejects Iban *manaj* ‘shaman’ as a potential reflex based on semantic distance and the final -j. However, given Graham’s (1987:2) gloss of Iban *manaj* as ‘one who exercises power’, the semantic match may be worth reconsidering, especially if a morphological source can be found for the final -j.

Though PWMP *mana(q) ‘inherit(ance) from ancestors’ is widely supported, a lexeme in the same general semantic field with a final coronal stop is also in evidence, as illustrated by the data in (7). In this case, as brought to my attention by Blust (pers. comm., 2008), an Arabic loan, /amanat/, has been borrowed into Malay, and then borrowed further into other languages of western Indonesia.

- (7) Malay /amanat/ ‘instruction, instructions; last will’ (< Arabic)
 Simeulue (aka Simalur) *amana^d*, *umana^d*, *mana^d* ‘entrusted good; rule, instruction, command; last will’, *ba-umana^d* ‘an oral legacy’ (Kähler 1961:14, 127, 223)²⁰
 Gajo, Middle Karo-Batak *manat*, Malay *manat*, *amanat* ‘instructions; last will’ (Kähler 1961:14, 127, 223)
 Proto-Seko *manaC; Seko *mana?* ‘inheritance’ (Laskowske 2006)²¹

Before discarding the set in (6) from further consideration, a few notes are in order. First, the PWMP reconstruction is directly related to ancestors, because it is from ancestors that goods and spiritual qualities are inherited. Second, in Bare’e, the definition explicitly mentions “quality of spirit or body that one has from one’s forebears,” creating an overlap with the meaning conveyed by the proposed PCEMP *mana, whose reflexes include reference to, e.g., ‘spiritual power, nature, character’.

A more promising semantic comparison might be made with the cognate set shown in (8), whose geographic distribution appears to be more limited than reflexes of PWMP *mana(q). The semantics of suggested PWMP *maŋat match those of PCMP *mana in (6), as does the widespread prefixation of *se-.²² However, phonological correspondences are not regular. Final -t is expected in some CMP languages (cf. Kambara *binitu* ‘pull on, pull out’ < PMP *binit, ACD); and, of course, the quality of the medial nasal differs.

- (8) Proto–Western Malayo-Polynesian *maŋat ‘spirit, soul, ancestor spirit’²³
 Proto–Moken–Moklen–Aceh–Chamic–Malayic *maŋa(:)t ‘spirit, soul’
 (Moken *maŋat*, *maŋa:t* ‘spirit, soul’)
 Malay *se/maŋat* ‘zest, spirit, enthusiasm; spirit as opposed to body’
 (Larish 1999)
 Aceh *se/maŋat* ‘soul, spirit’ (CAD:268); Muna *su/maŋa* ‘spirit of dead person, ancestor spirit’ (van den Berg 1996:521)

20. Simeulue superscript *d* represents an unreleased stop.

21. Laskowske (2006) reconstructs Proto-Seko *mana? ‘inheritance’, but notes that attested glotal stop in the living languages could be a reflex of any of *p, *t, *b, *d, *g, *s, *j, or *r, but not of *q or *R. The Proto-Seko reconstruction, then, could be *mana(t,d), consistent with other reflexes in (7). It is possible that future historical work will show more of the Sulawesi languages reflecting a consonant other than PMP *q.

22. Because it is doubtful that WMP languages form a true subgroup, the label PWMP is used as a general way of talking about cognates that, in turn, will have implications for reconstructions of PMP.

23. Compare Blust’s (1995) noncompositional *sumaed ‘soul, life force’. Because, as with data in footnote 13, forms are found with and without the *sV- prefix, I reconstruct the unprefixed form, witnessed in Moken.

In contrast, the strongly supported reconstruction in (6), for which sound correspondences of PCEMP *mana would be regular, appears to lack the appropriate semantic center ... or does it?

The association of reflexes of Proto-Oceanic *mana with inherited power of ancestors is most prominent in languages of the southeastern Solomons, where it overlaps with other meanings attributed to the Proto-Oceanic form by Blust (2007). As shown in (9), Kwaio, Toqabaqita, and Gela all have reflexes of Proto-Oceanic *mana with meanings that overlap with some of those listed for the Western Malayo-Polynesian languages above. All data in (9) are from Keesing (1984), with the glosses of special interest in bold.

- (9) Some Southeastern Solomons reflexes of *mana, relating to ancestors and inheritance

TOQABAQITA

mamana 'be true, real, fulfilled; be successful (of a man); impart spiritual or magical power'

mamana-a 'blessing, prosperity; **ancestrally conferred power**'

KWAIO

nanama 'be effective, fulfilled, confirmed, realized; **of ancestor**, support, protect, empower'

nanama fa- '**of ancestor**, support, protect, empower (a person)'

nanama-nge 'e-ni '**of ancestor**, support, protect, empower (a person)'

GELA (Fox 1955)

mana '[be] efficacious; from spiritual power, obtained from charms, prayers, intercourse with [**ancestors** or spirits]'

Imagining a PMP *mana(?) 'inherit(ance) from ancestors; custom, tradition', it seems possible that a shift of meaning to Proto-Oceanic *mana 'inherited supernatural power' can be understood as a semantic extension of inheritance from the physical world (where concrete objects, properties, knowledge, and spiritual power can be inherited from ancestors) to the spirit world, where concrete objects and humans can themselves inherit or embody supernatural powers.

As I show below, the same link between ancestral inheritance and supernatural power may receive support from unexpected sources.

6. MANA IN NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF THE NEW GUINEA AREA.

Austronesian loanwords in non-Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area have received attention in both general works (e.g., McElhanon and Voorhoeve 1970, Wurm et al. 1975, Blust 1976, Lynch 1981, Chowning 1987, Ross 1988:21), work on the typology of contact-induced change (e.g., Ross 1996), and grammatical descriptions (e.g., Donohue 1999 on Warembori). All of these works suggest contact between speakers of Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages in prehistoric times. In some cases, as described by Ross (1996) and Donohue (1999), contact-induced change is so extreme, affecting lexicon and grammar, that traces of linguistic family affiliation may be difficult to retrieve. In other cases, like the trail of borrowings of Proto-

Oceanic *boRok ‘pig’ in Papuan languages (Blust 1976:26), loans may be circumscribed and provide interesting clues to the spread of material culture.

Despite the large amount of work that has been done on non-Austronesian lexemes with possible Austronesian/Oceanic origins, there has been, to my knowledge, little published regarding potential cognates with Proto-Oceanic *mana.²⁴ This is surprising, because, as shown in table 1, some non-Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area have words that are strikingly similar in form and meaning.

The most striking range of meanings matching those seen in Austronesian languages is found in Middle Wahgi. Middle Wahgi is a dialect of Wahgi, a language of the Mt. Hagen region. It has been classified as a member of the Trans–New Guinea phylum, and more narrowly, as a member of the East New Guinea Highlands stock, in the Central (Chimbu) family (Gordon 2005). In her culturally detailed dictionary, Ramsey (1975) gives numerous details of the use of /man/. As a noun, it refers to ‘ritual’, and as a verb with the verbal roots *e-* ‘do, make, work’ or *to-* ‘hit’, it means ‘to perform a ritual’. Combined with *kunje* ‘magic, done for the purpose of helping a person’, it is used to refer to traditional medicine or magic, but it can also be used without this term to refer to religious rituals. With the exception of the Warembori meaning ‘good’, Middle Wahgi shows derived terms with /man/ covering the full set of meanings covered by the other non-Austronesian languages in table 1 on page 267. Especially noteworthy here are references to customs, rituals, traditions, and knowledge passed down by elders (Duna, Huli, Enga *mana*, Middle Wahgi *man*); inheritance (Hua *manu*, Middle Wahgi *ke/man*); and spiritual power and effectiveness (Mi, Middle Wahgi *man*; Selepet *manman*).

In fact, Pawley (2008:55–56) has reconstructed a lexeme *mana for the Trans–New Guinea phylum (TNGP). The cognate set is shown in (10).²⁵

(10) Proto–Trans–New Guinea *mana ‘instructions, customary practices, e.g., ritual, taboo rule’

I. FINISTERRE-HUON

Kâte *mamana* ‘act of hearing, feeling, understanding; knowledge’,
manazo ‘hear, feel, understand, know’, *ma^a* ‘the inside, mind,
heart, soul, conscience’

Selepet *man* ‘to live, practise (custom, etc.)’, *manman* ‘life-sustaining
power’; *lok manman* ‘existence’

II. MADANG

Kobon *manö* ‘speech, language’

Korak *men-* ‘talk to’

Waskia *man-* ‘talk to’

24. One exception is Biersack (1995, 1996).

25. I am grateful to Andy Pawley for sharing his comparative work on Trans–New Guinea languages with me. As his cognate set arrived after I had put table 1 together, it seemed best to keep the two separate. The table is merely a list of suggestive look-alikes put together by a nonspecialist in Papuan languages. The set in (10), on the other hand, is based on the comparative method, part of numerous sets showing relevant sound correspondences, and has been built up over the course of many years by one of the foremost Papuan specialists of our time.

III. EASTERN HIGHLANDS

Agarabi *mono?* 'religion'Siane *mona?* 'base'Gahuku *mono?* 'religion'Yagara *mono?* 'speech, admonition, sermon, instruction'Gimi *monokaina* 'sermon'Middle Wahgi *man* '(magic) ritual'Enga *mana* 'instructions, rule, way of doing'Wiru *mane* 'instructions, incantations'

IV. CENTRAL HIGHLANDS

Fasu *maneraka* 'make the law, give instructions'Bosavi *man* 'behavior, customary practices, traditional rules and taboos'

V. WESTERN HIGHLANDS

Ekagi *mana* 'talk, word'

While forms like those in table 1 and the reconstruction in (10) could be taken as chance resemblances to the Oceanic/Austronesian forms discussed above, there are three reasons to believe they are not chance resemblances.

First, a central question guiding this exploration is the following: could a reconstruction like PWMP *mana(?) 'inherit(ance) from ancestors; custom, tradition' given in (6) be cognate with PCEMP *mana 'inherited supernatural power'? We now have found one language, Middle Wahgi, where these meanings clearly overlap, and are associated with a central lexeme *man*, and another language, Selepet, where *man* 'to live, practise (custom, etc.)' reduplicates as *manman* 'life-sustaining power'. Though one or two examples of a broad lexical semantic domain in one or two languages is not enough to justify its existence in another, the Wahgi and Selepet facts show that it is not implausible to posit a PMP *mana(?) 'inherit(ance) from ancestors; custom, tradition; (inherited) supernatural power'.

Second, if even some of the forms in table 1 and (10) are the result of early contact between speakers of Austronesian and non-Austronesian languages, then one might expect to find other words of cultural/material importance that constitute potential loans from an early Austronesian language into Middle Wahgi and Selepet or vice versa. Because Selepet has had long and sustained contact with neighboring Austronesian languages, Oceanic loans are numerous, and not difficult to identify: *waga* 'canoe, ship, wooden trough' (cf. POC *waga), *mātu/a* 'island' (cf. POC *motus); *kapi* 'bamboo tongs' (cf. POC *kapit 'tongs', Yabem *kapi(ŋ)* 'clamp made of two pieces of wood tied together [used in sago washing]; scissors, pincers, tweezers' with -ŋ nominalizer) (LPO1, LPO2). In fact, because none of these forms reconstructs farther back than Proto-Oceanic (Pawley 2007), and because in some cases (e.g., *kapi(ŋ)*), the loan appears to be more recent, it seems clear that these loans are no older than Proto-Oceanic. Given the possibility of pre-Proto-Oceanic *mana referring not only to inherited supernatural power, but also customs and other inheritance from ancestors, a question that arises is whether there is any evidence for pre-Proto-Oceanic loans in New Guinea.

TABLE 1. SOME *mana* LOOK-ALIKES
IN NON-AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES OF THE NEW GUINEA AREA

LANGUAGE	AREA	DATA SOURCE	LOOK-ALIKE	GLOSS
Warembori	Yapen-Waropen, Jayapura	Donohue (1999)	ma/mana	'good'
Ipili-Paiela	Enga Province	Biersack (1996:90-91)	mana	'knowledge'
Enga	Enga Province	Lang (1973)	mána	'instruction, rule, way of doing'
Kyaka Enga	W. Highlands Province	Draper and Draper (2002)	mana mana makande	'mind, learning, capacity' 'habit, custom, trend'
Melpa, Nii	Mt. Hagen, W. Highlands Province	Strauss (1990)	man man-ek	'powerful, might; working through magic' 'powerful, effective speech'
Middle Wahgi	Mt. Hagen, W. Highlands Province	Ramsey (1975)	man man (e-/to-)	'n. ritual' 'v. to perform a ritual'
			kunje man (e-/to-)	'v. to work good magic; especially the ritual by which one works magic' (<i>kunje</i> 'magic, done for the purpose of helping a person')
			nu/man	'n. thought, mind, will'
			ke/man yu	'n. words of instruction, spoken request as to the disposition of one's goods after death' (<i>ke-</i> 'send', <i>yu</i> 'words, language')
			mam/bnem minman	'n. instructions, customs, source' 'n. spirit or soul of living person'
Duna	S. Highlands Province	Modejeska (1977:164)	mana	'custom, tradition, instructions of the elders'
Huli	S. Highlands Province	Glasse (1965), Goldman (1993)	mana	'custom, way, norms, laws; myth'
Kewa	S. Highlands Province	Franklin and Franklin (1978)	mana ta	'to advise well, give admonitions, instructions'
Pinai-Hagahai	Madang Province border	Biersack (1996:90-91)	mana	'to learn'
Hua (aka Yagaría)	E. Highlands Province	Haiman (1991)	manu manu gzo-	'n. last wishes, will' 'v. singing'
Fore	E. Highlands Province	Scott (1980)	amaná/ne amaní/ne amaní kámanane	'spirit of dead person, departed soul' 'demon, elf, spirit, spiritual, supernatural' 'folk-lore, fable, myth, legend' (cf. <i>kámanane</i> 'talk, speech, language, story, conversation, words')
Kâte	Morobe Province	Flierl and Strauss (1977)	ma/mana	'v/n. the act of hearing, feeling, understanding, knowing; knowledge'
Selepet	Morobe Province	McElhanon and McElhanon (1970)	man- manman	'to live, practice (a custom)' 'life-sustaining power'
Buin	Bougainville	Laycock (2003)	mana (N.), mara (S.)	'n. spirit, devil, nonhuman creature'
Siwai (Motuna)	Bougainville	Onishi (2002)	mo:no manu/nu	'magical corner of taro garden' 'wealth, possession'

Following Pawley (2007), approximate dating of protolanguages making use of linguistic and archaeological evidence suggests Proto-Austronesian spoken by neolithic cultures of Taiwan about 5,000–4,000 BP; Proto-Malayo-Polynesian spoken by neolithic cultures of the Batanes Islands and Northern Luzon c. 4,000–3,600 BP; and Proto-Oceanic spoken by early Lapita cultures of the Bismarcks c. 3,400–3,100 BP. Austronesian loans from Pre-Proto-Oceanic into non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea, then, are likely to have been borrowed at least 3,500 years ago. In Middle Wahgi, some possible loans from this period are listed in (11).²⁶

- (11) a. Middle Wahgi *tapel* ‘n. grass skirt’; PMP **tapis* ‘woven skirt’ (ACD)
 b. Middle Wahgi *kir se-/si-* ‘to make a rapid back and forth motion’ (*se-* ‘to put’, *si-* ‘to take’); PMP **kir* ‘file, rasp’; POC **kiri* ‘file, rasp, saw’ (LPO1)
 c. Middle Wahgi *as* (to-) ‘to look after, care for, of animals’, *tu* ‘dog; class name for nonnative animals that size’; PMP **asu* ‘dog’ (Blust 2002)
 d. Middle Wahgi *kapil* ‘n. stick for fighting or for hitting a person or for killing a pig’; PMP **pekul* ‘club’;²⁷ cf. Banjarese Malay *pukul* ‘hit’ (ABVD), Molbog *pukul* ‘club’ (CAD), Guinaang Bontok *pakʔul* ‘hit’, Tetun *baku* ‘hit with stick’ (ABVD), Biga *es/bagal* ‘hit’ (ABVD), Yapese *guul* ‘to club, hit with a club’ (Jensen 1977), Raluana *pəkul* ‘flat club’ (Lanyon-Orgill 1960); POC **gapi* ‘club’ (LPO1:227)

If Middle Wahgi *tapel* ‘n. grass skirt’ in (11a) is an Austronesian loan, it predates Proto-Oceanic, for PMP **tapis* is not continued in Proto-Oceanic (Pawley 2007). Likewise, if Middle Wahgi *kir* ‘file, rasp’ (11b) is an Austronesian loan, it could reflect a final consonant that was eliminated in Proto-Oceanic by a final copy-vowel. However, in this case, some Oceanic languages of the New Guinea area also show *kir* < **kiri*, e.g., Mangseng *kir* ‘rub, file’ (LPO 2:95). In (11c), two Middle Wahgi words, *as* ‘to look after, care for’ and *tu* ‘dog’, are potential loans from a descendant of PMP **asu* ‘dog’. In (11d), there is a suggestion that Middle Wahgi *kapil* ‘n. stick for fighting or for hitting a person or for killing a pig’ may be a loan from the pre-Proto-Oceanic lexeme that gave rise to POC **gapi* ‘club’. In short, there may be evidence of Austronesian loans in Middle Wahgi, consistent with the view that *man* ‘ritual’ is an Austronesian loan as well. Some of these loans may date to the earliest arrival of Austronesian-speaking people in the New Guinea area, approximately 3,500 years ago, at a time when the non-Austronesian-speaking populations borrowing these terms were in coastal areas. Unfortunately, such hypotheses must remain speculative until more systematic investigation of Austronesian loans in New Guinea languages is undertaken. Chowning’s (1987:123) summary remarks made over twenty years ago still hold true: “For the present, the tentative nature of suggestions about the influence of AN languages on the TNGP should continue to be stressed.”

26. I write the Middle Wahgi velar lateral with the IPA symbol “l̠”. Ramsey (1975), which predates adoption of this symbol into the IPA, writes it as “l”.

27. This PMP reconstruction is my own. If the Middle Wahgi term is borrowed, it shows consonant metathesis. Alternatively, the POC form may have been **gapil*, and the source of borrowing for Middle Wahgi.

Nevertheless, there is a third reason to doubt that the forms in table 1 are chance resemblances. Here I refer to the fact that the geographic distribution of these languages is nonrandom. More concretely, all languages in table 1, with the exception of Hua, are or were (i) spoken adjacent to areas where Austronesian languages are or were spoken; or (ii) spoken adjacent to a non-Austronesian language that also has an apparent *mana* cognate.

Five languages in this list are spoken adjacent to Austronesian languages. On Bougainville, Siwai is spoken adjacent to Banoni (Western Oceanic/Papuan Tip), while Buin, on the south coast, borders Eastern Oceanic languages of the more southerly Solomons, once spoken as close as 10–20 kilometers offshore. Warembori, a language of the northern coast of west Papua (Irian Jaya), was already mentioned as a language with many Austronesian loans (see Donohue 1999). In this case, the Warembori appear to have a long history of contact with speakers of Austronesian languages of the Cenderwasih Bay region, due to trade and marriage patterns. Kâte, of coastal Morobe Province, is bordered to the south by Yabem, a Western Oceanic language, while Selepet has Oceanic neighbors to the east (Karnai) and west (Sio). Two geographically close languages of the Eastern Highlands Province, Hua and Fore, are separated by only a handful of Papuan languages from one of the westernmost of the Western Oceanic Huon Gulf languages, Adzera.

Ten additional languages form a more or less unbroken geographic area. From Middle Wahgi, there is Nii to the north; northeast of Nii is Melpa; west of Melpa is Kyaka Enga; northwest of Kyaka Enga is Enga; northeast of Enga is Pinai-Hagahai; east of Enga is Ipili; southwest of Enga is Huli; and northwest of Huli is Duna. Kewa might also be included in this class of contiguous (or near-contiguous) languages of the New Guinea Highlands, as it is separated from Huli to the west by just one or two languages (Angal Enen, Angal Heneng), and from Kyaka Enga, to the north, by just two or three languages (Imbongu, Mno-Ung, Umbu-Ungu). In addition to their geographic contiguity, these ten languages are all classified as members of the Trans–New Guinea Stock, as is Hua. A plausible prehistoric scenario then is Oceanic/Trans–New Guinea Stock contact somewhere in the Markham River valley, with spread of Trans–New Guinea languages to the west.

The distribution of *mana look-alikes in non-Austronesian languages of the New Guinea area is consistent with its borrowing from early Austronesian languages. The range of meanings found in these look-alikes is interesting in mirroring the range of meanings found in potential *mana cognates within the Austronesian family, including those outside of the Oceanic subgroup. Papuan forms referring directly to inheritance (of goods or knowledge), possibly comparable with PWMP *mana(q) ‘inherit(ance)’, are: Duna, Huli, Enga *mana* ‘custom, tradition, instructions of the elders’; Middle Wahgi *ke/man yu* ‘words of instruction, spoken request as to the disposition of one’s goods after death’; Hua *manu* ‘last wishes, will’; Bosavi *man* ‘behavior, customary practices, traditional rules and taboos’.

On this basis, the tentative etymology in (12) is proposed, keeping in mind that the link between PWMP *mana(q) and PCEMP *mana is one that may ultimately hinge on future advances in the reconstruction of prehistoric cultural contact between speakers of Austronesian and non-Austronesian speakers in the New Guinea area.

- (12) PMP *mana(q) ‘supernatural power, associated with spirits of the ancestors and the forces of nature; inherit(ance) from ancestors, including qualities of spirit or body, customs and laws’
- PWMP *mana(q) ‘inherit(ance) from ancestors, including quality of spirit or body that one has from one’s forebears’
- PCEMP *mana ‘supernatural power, associated with spirits of the ancestors and the forces of nature’
- PCMP *mana ‘spirit, spiritual power, ancestor spirit’
- PEMP *mana ‘supernatural power, associated with spirits of the ancestors and the forces of nature’
- PSHWNG *man- ‘bird; male, man; special power’,
- POC *mana ‘supernatural power, associated with spirits of the ancestors and the forces of nature’

If the etymology in (12) can be firmly established, the distribution of look-alikes in the non-Austronesian languages of New Guinea shown in table 1 and (10) will take on new meaning. These words may suggest not only sustained language contact, but also cultural exchange of significant depth, reaching back at least 3,500 years.

If additional connections to PWMP *mana(q) are not forthcoming, it seems that *mana can still be traced back conservatively to PCEMP, and that reflexes are more widespread than previously thought. Both of these small points enhance a larger one: that *mana has an ancestry as ancient and potent as the many words inheriting its sound, meaning, and power.

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