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MEETINGS HELD IN 1959.

April 13. An exploratory survey of some Polynesian borrowings in New Caledonia was presented by Dr. K.J. Hollyman.

May 4. Mr. M.E. Reizenstein analysed the work done in the comparative reconstruction of Proto-Austronesian, and in the study of its relationship with other language groups.

July 27. Mr. D.R. Simmons discussed the consonant mutations in modern Breton, and Dr. Hollyman read on behalf of Dr. S.T.H. Scoones a paper on the etymology of French garçon.

August 10. Some problems of the phonemics of Rotuman were analysed by Dr. B.G. Biggs, and Professor A.C. Keys discussed the origin of the expression "Nos Français".

October 12. The Annual General Meeting was followed by a general discussion on New Zealand English, introduced by Dr. J.C. Reid, and with the participation of members of the English Association and the Association of Language Teachers.

The following committee was elected for 1960:

Patron: Dr. Gilbert Archey
 President: Professor A.C. Keys
 Vice-Presidents: Dr. B.G. Biggs, Dr. E.A. Sheppard,
 Mr. V.F. Fisher
 Honorary Secretary: Dr. K.J. Hollyman
 Honorary Treasurer: to be chosen by the Committee
 from its members, the Hon. Secretary to act in
 the meantime.
 Committee: Dr. J.A. Asher, Dr. A.H. West,
 Mr. W.J. Kirkness, Mr. D.R. Simmons.

Subscription rates were amended as follows:

Auckland residents	:	£1-10-0.
Student members	:	5-0.
Other members	:	10-0.

The address of the Society is :

c/o Department of Romance Languages,
 University of Auckland,
 AUCKLAND, New Zealand.

SOME POLYNESIAN WORDS IN NEW CALEDONIA

(Summary of a paper** read to the Linguistic Society of New Zealand on 13 April, 1959)

K.J. Hollyman

Leenhardt's survey of the languages of New Caledonia covered 37 languages and dialects which he classified as "Austro-Melanesian", and one Polynesian language (on Uvea, Loyalty Is.). On the main island of New Caledonia, the languages fall into two groups, a northern one which he classified as MN, with an overlaid IN element, and a southern which might be pre-MN. Ray considered it difficult to classify the Loyalty languages as MN. Dempwolff's reconstruction of Austronesian has played little part in the classification of NC languages until recent times, when Haudricourt has shown that the mainland languages are MN, and Lenormand has illustrated the phonetic correspondences between Lifu (Loyalties) and Malay and Indonesian. Statements about PN borrowings have been made without reference to the factor of common membership of the one language group by NC languages and PN languages, and this paper is concerned with establishing the difference between cognates and borrowings. It is as yet too early in AN studies to attempt any full-scale survey of PN borrowings.

The division of borrowings into those antedating and those postdating European contact is an important one, in view of the well-established tradition of pre-European arrivals of Polynesians. The PN speakers on Uvea came from the Wallis group some time in the second half of the 18th century, probably before Cook's discovery of New Caledonia in 1774. They are the source of PN elements in the population of north-coast villages such as Pwebo, Yengen, Tuho, Wagap, Kanala, etc. in New Caledonia. There are traditions of small arrivals of Tongans in the Loyalties and on the Isle of Pines. These traditions do not exist in Tonga itself. There are also details of post-European arrivals by drift voyage of small groups of Tongans. The major source of PN influence is undoubtedly the Uveans, and it is through the effects of their settlements that Europeans were able to establish early contact with the MN-speaking New Caledonians.

Typical of the difficulties caused by non-recognition of cognates as against borrowings is the word for coconut. In most NC languages, this is nu or ni, which is claimed to be a borrowing from PN niu, although no explanation is given of the phonetic changes. In fact, niu is also MN, and nu or ni are found in many other AN areas. All these words are cognates, deriving from AN *niuR.

**A revised and considerably expanded version of this paper was published with full bibliography and 7 maps, in the Journal of the Polynesian Society 68 (1959), 356-389.

Among the genuine borrowings which can be classified as pre-European are the following words. In several NC languages the FN hele "bamboo knife" is found. In general, the European knife is given the same name as the traditional oyster-shell knife, but some northern languages use either ele, or the name of the native bamboo: this indicates that the FN word is old-established in the North, and suggests Uvean as the source of the loan-word. The Pan-FN term for the booms joining the outrigger to the canoe is kiato, which appears to have no MN cognates. Kiario is recorded at Wailu, and kioto at Poneriwen. Botanists consider that the kumara was introduced into New Caledonia by Polynesians. The most common form of the name is kumala but most Southern languages, including some having both l and r, have kumara. This seems to reflect, rather than borrowing from more than one FN dialect, the fact that r is an allophone of FN l. The meaning of the word has also been extended to "scrofulous glands" in the neck.

Borrowings after European contact, and particularly after the beginning of missionary operations (Protestant in the Loyalties, Catholic on the mainland), may be classified in several ways. Borrowings from Samoan are through medium of the Samoan teachers used by the Protestant missionaries. These would include Mare beno (hebeno "straw padding on roof ridge", gubeno "square platter of coconut leaves") from Samoan fen: "make a join in plaiting" (Mare has no f or v). Lifu has borrowed the word from Mare: behno "mat". In the Loyalties, and earlier (1880s) on the mainland, katia was a common word for "leprosy", borrowed from Sam. 'atia "eaten away" (of flesh by ulcers, etc.). The Sam. greeting talofa is used on Mare, and the ethnic name Samoa (samua) is used in a number of languages for introduced varieties of the banana. Other loan-words reflect European borrowings in FN, e.g. Mare samala "hammer", or the adaptation of FN words to name objects introduced by Europeans, e.g. laulau "table", tusi "paper, letter, book", kili "saw".

FN words in NC French reflect firstly beach-la-mar (pidgin) usage and secondly Tahitian influence (traders and missionaries): some if not all of these were undoubtedly current in MN usage for a time, but few have remained as permanent loans in MN. Among the words attributable to beach-la-mar usage are some of pan-FN use such as Fr. calcaï "meal, feast", calcayer "to eat" (FN kai, pidgin kaikai); Fr. tapa "short fringed skirt"; Fr. manou "European coloured material, loincloth" (also MN, but not in NC); others reflect a contribution from specific FN dialects, e.g. Hawaiian kanaka, Fr. Canaque "native of New Caledonia"; Maori kauri, Fr. kaori "New Caledonian Agathis". Some of the meanings are peculiar to New Caledonia, as with pan-FN tapu, where the Fr. tabou has in NC usage the sense of a sculptured figure (often used to mark a taboo). One of the most interesting words is Fr. popinée "native woman or girl", which is a borrowing from Uvean fafine through north-coast NC languages having no f: this reflects the habit of chiefs in that area of going to Uvea to choose wives of part-FN descent.

Tahitian influence is reflected in such French words as bourao "hibiscus" (Tah. purau); tamanou "tree (*Calophyllum*)" (Tah. tamanu); pareo "loincloth" (Tah. pareu); tayo "friend", "native (man, as opposed to popinée)" (Tah. taio, claimed to be a borrowing from Eng. sailor, but this should have given something like *teira); and taoura "cord", used by Baudoux (Tah. taura).

That the influences have in some cases been very mixed, with an overlaying of one by the other, is shown by the various words for the pig, which is not native in New Caledonia. The PN puaka is found, as is poaka (PN borrowing from Eng. porker, or possibly a MN reduction of puaka, cf. French rendering poika 1882): a better rendering of PN poaka is poka (whence NC French poca). Piki in Dumbea is from Eng. pig. It seems likely that these strata would begin in pre-European times and run up to the period of strong English influence in the South.

Borrowings from PN dialects are in fact not nearly as numerous as writers such as Rey-Lescure and Cané have suggested. Pre-European loans appear to be essentially Uvean in origin. After European contact, PN borrowings occur mainly through European mediation: Samoan missionaries, Tahitian-experienced traders, missionaries and officials, Pacific traders and whalers.

Because the MN languages are richer in phonemes than the PN, the phonemic changes undergone by borrowings are minimal, and generally occur only where an unfamiliar phoneme is met, e.g. f in fenu, or the glottal stop (which becomes k) in 'atia.

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THE COMPARATIVE LINGUISTICS OF OCEANIC LANGUAGES:A REVIEW OF WORK DONE

(Summary of a paper read to the Linguistic Society of New Zealand on 4 May, 1959.)

M.E. Reizenstein

The purpose of this paper is to give a historical survey of the work done on the genetic relationships of the Austronesian Languages. As some of the most important works have been written in German and are in some cases difficult of access, I have devoted particular attention to them, without however neglecting other contributions. For reasons of space, 19th century work has been treated rather summarily.

This language family was first called Malayo-Polynesian by W. von Humboldt, in 1836, when he discovered the relationship between Old Javanese (Kawi) and Polynesian. Bopp tried to establish its relationship with Indo-European. The first pioneer investigators of the Indonesian languages were Dutch scholars: van der Tuuk, Brandes, Kern, and later Adriani and Jonker. These men laid the basis of the phonology and grammar of these languages. The MN languages were first treated by Helmuth von der Gabelentz from 1860 on, and he was followed by Codrington, with his great work, "The Melanesian Languages". Gabelentz held MN and FN to be two different members of Malay, but Codrington, while including MN in the Malayo-Polynesian family, did not commit himself clearly on any close distinctions within the family.

As early as 1884, Brandes pointed out in his Comparative Phonetics that there were significant differences between Western and Eastern IN languages (e.g., in the genitive relationship between nouns). The Brandes Line, which follows a similar course to the Wallace Line, brings Eastern Indonesia close to Melanesia: a point whose importance has never been fully recognised.

By the beginning of this century, Kern had already succeeded in a phonetic analysis of difficult MN languages such as Aneityum (S. New Hebrides) and Mafoor (N.W. New Guinea).

By this time three main themes were evident in the work being done: the internal relationships of MN and PN within the Malayo-Polynesian family; the wanderings of both groups in the Pacific; the relationship of the whole family with other (Asian) groups and families. Bypassing the work of Schmidt, Fink and Churchill, I must next mention the material gathered by Ray, in particular the results of the Torres Straits expedition,

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which enabled him to "discover" the MN languages of Papua. In his work on MCN pronouns (1907), Thalheimer proved the basic relationship of MN and MCN. The East Indonesia-Melanesia link appeared again in Friederici's work (1913), which traces some 180 words from Ceram, Buru, N.E. Celebes, etc., across Northern New Guinea to Melanesia.

As the most important of Brandstetter's essays on IN were translated by Blagden, I mention only here what I feel to be the most important achievements of his great work: firstly, the establishment of a system of phonetic laws covering all West IN languages; secondly, the resulting analysis of IN word structure; thirdly, the elaboration of a Common IN; and finally, his distinction of the root from the mainly dissyllabic word-base (e.g. word-bases pilih "choose", kulih "appropriate" olih "acquire", ulih "get": root lih). In this way Brandstetter was the first to give IN linguistics a proper foundation and form, but he did not go beyond IN.

This strictly IN outlook was continued by Ray in his "Melanesian Island Languages" (1926): the MN languages are regarded as a sort of IN pidgin, a very unsatisfactory theory from a man whose contribution was otherwise very great.

It was another twelve years before the nature of the original Austronesian language was established, by Otto Dempwolff in his Vergleichende Lautlehre des Austronesischen Wortschatzes (Hamburg 1934-38). This work was and remains the foundation of all further scientific study in the field (the term Austronesian actually goes back to a paper by Schmidt in 1899). Before discussing Dempwolff's reconstruction, however, it will be useful to review the work done on the external relationships of the whole Austronesian family.

Schmidt, who had worked extensively on both the Austronesian and the Austro-Asian families, had endeavoured to establish an Austric group covering these two. Similarity in word-structure helped Schmidt to show similarities in the roots, for example: AN kulit "skin"; Austro-Asian kalit (Munda), liet (Khmer), lit (Kasi), with rather diverse meanings, "smooth", "rubbing softly", "sharpen"; or again AN pitam, hitam, item, etc., "black"; AA gadam, kadam, hatom, dam, bta, "night", "dark". Schmidt compared about 220 words in this way, but his thesis has been only partially accepted.

Comparisons were made by Conrady between AN, Austro-Asian, Indo-Chinese, and Tibeto-Burman. His work was followed up by a well-known Sinologist, K. Wulff, in two books. Wulff's work is based on Karlgren's Analytical Dictionary of Chinese and his own work on Thai, and his comparisons drew the conclusion that the Austro-Asian languages are an intermediate member group between the AN and Chinese-Thai, while the Tibeto-Burman group stands further away. Wulff, unfortunately, could not use

Dempwolff's work for AN, but nevertheless he showed the soundness of working with whole families and with word groups. So to the kulit group of Schmidt he adds Siamese klet "scale, scurf", other Thai languages ket, kiat. The phonetic reduction of words is characteristic of Thai, but the process was more radical still in Chinese, and it was only Karlgren's ingenious reconstruction of Old Chinese which made comparison possible. It was thus possible to compare, for example, AN susuk, tusuk, djukdjuk, etc. "to sting", with Old Chinese ts'iak, tsiek "thorn, to sting". It remains to be seen of course whether this carefully reconstructed initial consonant and the following deceptive vowel cluster do not themselves represent a reduction of an originally dissyllabic word which is still to be found in AN, but has in Indo-Chinese, Chinese and Tibeto-Burman been phonetically reduced to the appearance of a root.

Similar comparative work between AN, Austro-Asian and Old Japanese was carried out by Matsumoto, and revealed that certain strata of Japanese do justify comparison, e.g., AN puser, pusat (whence PN uho) "navel", and the following words for "navel" in AA: pchet (Khmer), puset, pusa (Negrito, Malay Peninsula), pusu, putsu, fusu (Ryukyu Is.); and Old Japanese *pozo, *poso (reconstructed from hozo, hoso).

Then there is Rivet's attempt to compare Sumerian with Austro-Asian, AN, Australian and Tasmanian. The work is done in such a loose and imprecise way that the few pearls are not easy to locate in the ocean of uncertainties. One such pearl, however, appears to be Sum. kuš "skin" which he compares (indirectly through variant IN forms) with AN kulit. The comparison is based on the principle that the predominantly disyllabic word-base of AN in fact represents root + root, only here the comparison is made with the first root, whereas most comparisons have been made with the second (e.g. the AA parallels of Schmidt). This second root is reduplicated in AN itself in lilit "to wrap round". But the first root ku(1) also appears in other word-bases: likup "surround", likol "encircle", bungkul "sphere, knob", bekung "to vault". There is therefore the likelihood that AN combined two roots from possibly quite different original sources.

Very different from Rivet's imprecise work is Benedict's Thai, Kadai and Indonesian (1942), based on Dempwolff's reconstructions. Here the linguistic connections established with some degree of credibility are not incidental but basic. The Kadai group is a stock of geographically unconnected pre-Chinese languages, including Li on Hainan, Lati, Kelao and Laqua on the mainland. Examples of the comparisons are: AN *matay, *patay "to die"; Thai t'ai, tai, hai; Kadai tie (Laqua); AN *(h)ipen "tooth"; Thai van; Kadai p'en (Li); AN *taRum "indigo"; Thai g'ram (borrowed from the next); OChinese glâm; Tibetan ram-s. In all these examples the sound correspondences were carefully checked, and provide therefore a firm basis.

Returning now to Dempwolff, the first point to be made is that while he recognised the importance of the root (as opposed to the word-base), he did not proceed on this basis in his reconstruction of AN. This was because his strictly inductive method of comparison did not allow him to depart from the actual words in the languages used as the foundation of his reconstruction. Such a restriction was of course essential from the point of view of reconstructing AN, which therefore consists mainly of dissyllabic word-bases. However, this does not mean that further comparative work with other language families may not in fact establish the root more firmly in AN than Schmidt and Brandstetter were able to do. Dempwolff's starting point was the observation that although the grammatical structure of the AN languages is not as uniform as that of say the Semitic or the Bantu languages, their vocabulary is. His purpose therefore was to work out the original word stock on the basis of strictly phonetic comparisons. Dempwolff therefore restricted himself to those languages which promised the best from this point of view: these were, he said, West-IN languages "owing to their differentiated sounds and the resulting clearer construction of the words". Six WIN languages were chosen: Malay, Javanese, Toba-Batak in Sumatra, Ngadju-Dayak in Borneo, Tagalog in the Philippines, and the more archaic Hova or Merina in Madagascar, and they were called Test Languages. Fijian and Sa'a for Melanesian, and Tongan, Samoa and Futunan (again all western) for FN, served as Criterion Languages against which the IN-based reconstructions were checked. Thus the original phonemes of IN included *t- because all the test languages have it, e.g. tanim, tanom, tanam, "bury". The FN languages confirm it: Tongan, Fut. tano, Sam. tanu. The word has not survived in Fijian, but the t- occurs in other words, while in Sa'a the *t- is lost: 'ano. It will be noted that the medial *-n- is retained everywhere, but that both MN and FN avoid final consonants. The original word is reconstructed as *tanem. If we check with languages not used by Dempwolff, we find that in East IN the languages of Ceram provide tahu, talū, tane, rane, where the partly aberrant features are in conformity with local sound shifts and are reconcilable with Proto-IN. Similarly, with MN we have Mota tanu, Malo tano(mia). Not all the phonemes were as simple as this of course, and more complex conditions were evident with the prenasalised and liquid consonants.

Further discussion of the AN phonemic system has naturally led to modifications. The most important work is that of Dyen on the laryngeals. While his main purpose was to check on the laryngeals as reconstructed by Dempwolff, Dyen reached a position of some doubt as to whether or not "some Proto-Malayo-Polynesian words ended in a vowel". Apart from Fox's revolutionary paper on the phonetic laws in MN, the postulated final consonant of AN has never been considered a problem. Dyen's doubt about some of the final laryngeals reconstructed is an indication that there is indeed a problem here. The fact remains, however, as Capell has said, that "no work on Oceanic linguistics which does not

take Dempwolff's findings into account can hope to claim serious attention in future studies of linguistics of this region."

Capell himself has exemplified this point in his work on SE Papuan languages. Though he is opposed to Dempwolff's postulation of a Proto-MN, he based his work phonetically on Dempwolff and provided an excellent foundation for further comparison in a vocabulary of 320 words. The three chief movements from Indonesia into Oceania which Capell infers (the second of them corresponds to Friederici's "sub-Philippine" migration) need not necessarily be interpreted as contrary to the theory of a Proto-MN. His first movement, starting from Borneo, brings the main word stock into Melanesia: it is therefore, according to Capell, "Indonesian". But it could equally well be interpreted as Proto-MN, or even -- to use Speiser's term -- "Austro-MN".

There have also been three important works in the FN field, all based on Dempwolff.

Burgmann in his work on "Syntactical Problems in FN" is concerned with clarifying the relationship between IN and FN by studying the phonetic correspondences between FN and the Philippine-Celebes group, where there is a close phonetic conformity not found elsewhere in IN. At the same time, he stresses the uniform linguistic character of FN among the AN languages, a character defined by the extensive unification (convergence might be a better historical term) of phonemes and by its syntax. Among the comparative features mentioned by Burgmann may be noted: the sporadic loss of l in FN and in the Central Celebes languages Tontoli and Bo(1)ano. Certain particles such as the locative ko, ka, still used syntactically as particles in FN and the Central Celebes, also appear in FN as part of the word base and are recognisable as particles only by comparison with AN, e.g. Maori kohu "steam" ko + ahu (AN * asu) "smoke". Another interesting feature is vowel assimilation, e.g. AN *kulit, FN kili, Loinan (Central Celebes) kilit; this form appears in NE Indonesian only in a few marginal points, e.g. Mysol kine, while it is usual in the Marshalls: gil, kil and Mortlock: kili, whereas the Gilberts have the original vowel: kun. The various divergencies from AN common to FN and the Central Celebes lead Burgmann to the conclusion that they were already in use before the emigration of the Polynesians from the Indonesian area. Actually the assimilated form of *kulit appears to be isolated in the Celebes, where the predominant form is with -u-, so that the relationship could well be the reverse of that deduced by Burgmann.

Kähler's "Studies in FN Morphology" may be regarded as an AN comparative grammar and syntax, despite the fact that it deals only with FN and IN, and that the Celebes languages predominate for IN. Two criteria -- the regular sound correspondences between IN and FN grammatical forms, and the agreement

in function of the main PN and IN grammatical features -- lead Kähler to the conclusion that one cannot speak either of different PN languages, or of a PN type or character. Even to designate the PN languages as "particle languages", as Burgmann does, is in his view a misinterpretation, as all the particles, and their functions, can be paralleled in IN. Kähler declares: "Even the name PN dialects is no longer, linguistically speaking, justifiable. They must be classified as IN, since they do not possess anything essential, in structure or vocabulary, which cannot be proved to exist in IN idioms." The term "PN dialects" is therefore for Kähler purely a geographical one. The structural features which characterise these languages today exist in IN not as characteristic but as unusual traits, so he concludes that these "normalised" features of PN were drawn from different IN regions. As an example, we may quote the PN articles. AN *se, which is the prototype of PN te and Central Celebes te, 'e, is also found as a singular (rarely plural) article in Mentaway tay and Pangasinan (Philippines) say. The Eastern PN ta is paralleled by a Gorontalo (Central Celebes) form which follows the noun; in Western PN, it is found in words such as ta/'ahine (Uvean), ta/moti (Futunan: moti = "to drop", tamoti = "rain-water"). The Samoan le has an IN parallel in Hova (Madagascar) lai as in ilai "a certain", "this one", e.g. ilai tukana "the only child". The counterpart of West PN si is the widespread IN si (Philippines, Mod. Javanese, Sunda), but the identity of function occurs only in Tontemboan (Central Celebes). Finally, Gorontalo has still in common use an article u which appears only in fossil form in PN: e.g. Sam. u/tila, Tong. u/hila, Marq. u/i'a, "lightning".

Both Burgmann and Kähler therefore continue the old idea of PN "dependence" on IN, which is phonetically based on West IN as the fountainhead of all the AN languages. I cannot believe that this is the last word of wisdom on the matter.

Elbert's paper on the "Internal Relationships of the PN Languages" is based on the method of glottochronology developed by Swadesh. As I have had no opportunity to study this method, I must restrict myself to some of Elbert's conclusions. From a comparison of 202 basic words in 20 PN languages, including the outliers, Elbert and his collaborators worked out a table of percentages of cognates which showed that the West PN languages shared 86% of the list, the East 71%. Between East and West, only 45% were cognate. Elbert's conclusion was that "West and East became distinguished before the differences developed among languages in either area." Other points are that the outliers cannot be regarded as "colonies established by the original migrants moving eastward"; that Dempwolff's view of Tonga as the original PN home within Polynesia is confirmed, but the settlers were forerunners, restricted to a small area: it is the archaic phonology of Tongan which made possible the reconstruction of Proto-PN.

If Swadesh's method is sound, then its application to IN, and to the relationships between IN and FN, may well throw a different light from that cast by the work of earlier scholars. This is perhaps a useful introduction to my conclusions which will no doubt have a somewhat heretical air. Dempwolff's Proto-AN is entirely based on West IN languages, which are commonly, but not invariably, characterised by word-bases ending with a consonant. The entire stock of languages east of the Brandes Line -- East IN, MN, MCN, FN -- have normally no final consonant. It is Fox's strong point that in many of the Eastern languages a grammatical suffix appears which corresponds to the apparent final consonant in the West IN languages: this suffix is in the form of consonant + vowel. I have myself worked through many examples, and found Fox's argument in the main confirmed. Dyen's work, as mentioned earlier, also supports this view. A problem of considerable significance for AN linguistics may be hidden here, for one may well ask: if the final consonant is not archetypal, then can the West IN languages, despite their more differentiated phonemes, be considered still as the only fundamental ones for reconstruction purposes? Or should we not then turn to the languages East of the Brandes Line for the original word-bases?

At the moment, there are two contrasting schools of thought. One which admits as the immediate descendant of Austronesian only West Indonesian, from which are descended all the other members of the AN group. The other sees as the descendants of Austronesian three languages: Proto-IN, Proto-MN, Proto-PN, and of these Proto-IN remained closest to AN. There is a third possibility, discussed above, that of the three intermediate-stage languages, the non-IN ones may in fact prove to be the more archaic. As yet this third possibility is little more than a suggestion for further study. But unless it is tested, the traditional view will continue to be not wholly satisfactory.

Discussion. Dr. Hollyman pointed out that one of the conclusions suggested by the work of Haudricourt and Lenormand on New Caledonian languages was that MN should be regarded as the most conservative member group of AN, a view tentatively put forward by Codrington and Schmidt. Dr. Biggs briefly indicated the results published to date of the comparative work undertaken by Grace.

Postscript. Wilhelm Milke, in Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 83 (1958), 58-62, has recently presented a promising classification of the Oceanic group of AN Languages. It is based on AN *l, *d, *R and their various convergent developments in the Oceanic languages, and contrasts with Grace's classification.

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CONSONANT MUTATION IN MODERN BRETON

(Summary of a paper read to the Linguistic Society of New Zealand on 27 July, 1959)

The Breton language is one of the Indo-European family of Celtic. It is closely akin to Welsh and Cornish, the original speakers having been pushed out of Britain, mainly from Devon and Cornwall, into the Gallo-Roman province of Armorica.

Of the two main dialectical groups of Brittany, the northern or K-L-T, spoken in Leon, Tregor and French Cornwall is derived from Great Britain, but the second main group, that of Vannes and the Morbihan has been clearly demonstrated by Professor Falc'hun and Dr. Trépos of the University of Rennes to be a mixture of predominantly northern dialects on a sub-stratum of what appears to be a Gaulish dialect.

Numerically, Breton is predominant over the other Celtic languages, there being approximately 100,000 native speakers of Welsh, Irish and Scots Gaelic and 1,000,000 native speakers of Breton. Over the years the Breton language has developed freely in a country where the official language has for a long time been French. The net result is that there are a number of dialects and sub-dialects with a grammatical flexibility that is astonishing. There is a certain basis which is common to all the dialects and a tolerance of deviant forms from a speaker of another dialect. As a result of the official attitude to Breton the majority of speakers cannot read or write their language with any ease.

Before going on to the everyday mutations in the language I would like to dwell for a moment on the historical mutations from original Indo-European. Without going into details the historical consonant mutations are:

1. qu has become Celtic p.
e.g. pemp (five) corresponds to Latin quinque
2. The primitive p has fallen.
e.g. leun (full) corresponds to Latin plenus
3. S has become h.
e.g. heul (sun) corresponds to Latin sol
4. Celtic z corresponds to pt, kt, tt in other languages.
e.g. kaez (poor man) corresponds to Latin captus

These historical mutations are of course complex phenomena having been produced by evolution over a series of stages and are different from the living mutations of modern Breton. A profound study of these latter has helped in understanding the

historical mutations of other Indo-European languages by showing some of the reasons why, and how the evolution of languages took place.

Living Mutations in Breton.

A Breton speaker makes the mutations in changing the initial consonant of a word, completely unconsciously, because of the preceding word, and if that word is a noun or has a certain gender or number. So that after the possessive he will say: ho penn - your head; e benn - his head; ma venn - my head.

Before considering the mutations themselves it is as well to consider the following tables of the consonants in Breton.

Aspirated Occlusives	pf	ts	k	c'h
Unvoiced Occlusives	p	t	k	
Unvoiced Aspirants	f	s	c'h	ch
Voiced Occlusives	b	d	g	
Voiced Spirants	v	z	h	j
<u>l, m, n, r</u> are liquids.				

Table of Breton Mutations. (Capital letters show mutable consonants)

1. Mutations by weakening -- the most common and affecting all the mutable consonants:

↓ P	T	K	B	D	G	M	S	Ch	
b	d	g	v	z	h	-	v	z	j

2. Mutation by strengthening -- affects only the voiced occlusives which become unvoiced:

p	t	k
↑ B	D	G

3. Mutation by aspiration -- affecting only unvoiced occlusives:

f	s	c'h	(pf)	(ts)	(kc'h)
V	Z	H	P	T	K

An overall table would be as follows:

				p	t	k								
			↓ P	T	K	↑	B	D	G	M	S	Ch		
↓	f	s	c'h	b	d	h	v	z	h	↓	↓	v	z	j
↓	v	z	h											

weakening ↓

strengthening ↑

Mixed Mutations.

Those produced by the verbal particles e (middle Breton ez),

o (middle Breton oz); and the conjunction ma (my) (Middle Breton ma, ez, maz). These weaken B, G, M, to v, h, v.

	t		
	↑		
B,	D,	G,	M
↓		↓	↓
v		h	v

but strengthen D to t.

Note: There are other mutations which are not noted in writing but which can be heard quite easily, that is of the liquids l, r, n. e.g. he lod, e llod (cf. Welsh ll); he rod, e rhod (cf. Welsh rh) he nadoz, e nnadoz.

Reasons for the Mutations.

A. Phonetic Reasons for Weakening:

1. When passing from a strong buccal pressure to a weak pressure. That is to say from a vowel or a liquid to consonant there is weakening of the consonant. E.g. me a peg which obliges a change from a weak pressure of the a to the strong pressure necessary for pe, a vocal gymnastic is necessary, so that the p becomes b and we have me a beg. This is then a mutation to accommodate the vowel, i.e. a vowel weakens a consonant.

2. A relatively strong breath is needed to produce f, c'h, v, z, h. A brusque occlusion is necessary when these are followed by the unvoiced b, d, g and the air is not freed except for the following vowels so that b, d, g, become p, t, k. e.g. kreiz deiz, kreiz teiz (midday). At the same time in preparing to pronounce two consonants z and d the pressure has mounted so that the vocal cords cannot vibrate and the vibrations are stopped after krei- with the result that two unvoiced consonants are produced, e.g. kreisteiz. Equally, two consecutive voiced consonants become unvoiced, e.g. lagad du becomes lagathu (dark eyes).

3. Mutations are most easily produced after a palatal, i.e. when the buccal cavity is reduced to its minimum by the tongue against the palate and consequently pressure is great. This explains certain peculiarities of Breton mutations, e.g. merc'h gaer is merc'h kaer; eur vas teo for eur vaz deo (big stick); eun ilis fihan for eun iliz vihan. (from teo and bihan).

4. Some apparent mutations are produced without reason, e.g. ho preur for ho breur but ho was formerly hoz which still produces the mutation. Even though the fall of a consonant has left a vowel or the fall of a vowel has left a consonant, the mutation is still produced because the pattern has already been set.

5. Certain words produce mutation by weakening. There are many of these but only a few examples are given: a, aba, ad-, am-, ar-, berr, hanter, he-, gour-, rann, etc. Some of these words are particles, other nouns or adjectives. Many of these only

provoke mutations when used as prefixes, e.g. mamm (mother), thus serving to distinguish the composite word.

B. Mutation by Strengthening: This takes place after a consonant.

1. After the final z of the second person plural of the singular possessive or its composed forms. e.g. daz + breur -- daz preur; ez + genou -- ez kenou.

2. After the possessive second person plural ho, formerly middle Breton hoz, e.g. ho + breah -- ho preah.

3. When the initial of certain words is preceded by h, z, d, b or g the two consonants strengthen, e.g. c'hweh + gwech -- c'hwec'h kwech; seiz + gwech -- seis kwech.

4. After certain words such as hent (road) b strengthens to p. e.g. hent + braz -- hent praz.

5. d becomes t after the verbal particles e, formerly ez, o, formerly oz, and the conjunction ma formerly ma + oz -- maz: e.g. emei o tond (she comes); ma teu (if he comes).

C. Mutation by Aspiration: Produced by consonants and consonant-vowels or liquids.

1. After the first person singular, ma, va, m, and its composites, e.g. ma + penn -- ma venn (my head); dam + ti -- dam zi (at my house).

2. Third person singular feminine he (English her), e.g. he + paotr -- he faotr (her boy); he + ki -- he hi (her dog).

3. Third person plural o, e.g. o + tad -- o zad (their dad); o + plac'h -- o vlah (their girl).

4. K by itself mutates by aspiration after the articles ar and eur and the first person plural of the possessive hon, heur, e.g. ar + karr -- ar hirri (carts).

D. Mixed Mutations: These are produced by the verbal particles already noted -- e, o and the conjunction ma. They weaken b, g, m to v, h, but strengthen d to t.

E. Mutations Due to Numbers:

1. The indefinite article eun, eur, al, provokes mutation by weakening and aspiration but the only one of interest here has been noted, i.e. aspiration of k. The other mutations will be noted in the grammatical section.

2. The numbers, 3, 4 and 9 in their masculine and feminine forms provoke mutations in different ways in different areas, either causing no mutation, sometimes aspiration or more generally, weakening.

e.g.	<u>Masculine form</u>	<u>Feminine form</u>
3	tri	teir
4	pevar	peder
9	nao	nao

F. Certain words in colloquial expression provoke a mutation of irregular form, e.g. avel + krenv -- avel grenv; c'hwez + mad -- c'hwez vad but c'hwez moked; milier + kerc'h -- milier gerh; leur + ti -- leur zi (but leur di in another meaning); c'hoari + kilhou -- c'hoari hilhou, etc.

Grammatical Reasons for Mutation.

A. Mutation by weakening can indicate in a noun its qualifying word and its complement.

1. The feminine singular

e.g. p -- pluenn (pen) eur bluenn zir; plural -- plu dir.
t -- taol (table) eun doul vraz; plural taoliou braz.
k -- kador (chair) eur gador goad; plural kadoriou koad.
b -- bag (boat) eur vag vihan; plural bagou bihan or bigi bihan.
d -- delhenn (leaf) eun delenn zu.
g -- geotenn (grass) eur heotenn verr, or eur geotenn verr, or eur yeotenn verr.
m -- micher (work) eur vicher denn; plural micheriou tenn.
s -- silienn (eel) eur zilienn veo; plural siliou beo.
ch -- chidouarn (cauldron) eur jidouard goz; plural chidouarnou koz.

This regularity of these mutations is impeded by certain phonetic factors. The article an, eun, before a vowel or dental stops the mutation of d to z; e.g. eun delhenn zu. Formerly the n of the article assimilated the d as in an douar which was an nouar. This remains in place names like Nervouet for An Dervouet and in the form an nor for dor (door).

B. When the word is terminated by a consonant which ordinarily provokes mutation by strengthening, this consonant opposes mutation by weakening of the following consonant, e.g. eur votez koad; eur vamm-gaer; droug kalon.

C. In the groups sp, st, sk the mutable consonant is protected from mutation by the unvoiced occlusive which follows it, e.g. eur stal vihan; eur spilhenn vleo.

D. Certain feminine words behave as masculine after the article. These are plac'h, greg, gar. Whilst two masculine words tra and mad and the masculine words commencing by s followed by a vowel undergo the mutation as if they are feminine: e.g. eun dra (tra); eur vad (mad); eur zoudard (soudard).

2. The masculine plural of names and places:

p -- paotred (boys) : ar baotred.
t -- toerien (roofers) : ar doerien.

- k -- kemenerien (tailors) : ar gemenerien.
b -- beleg (priest) : ar veleien.
d -- dialouled (adults) : an diaouled (protected by the n).
g -- gwazed (servants) : ar wazed.
s -- soudarded (soldiers) : ar zoudarded.
ch -- charetourien (carters) : ar charetourien (no mutation is made).
m -- martoloded (sailors) : ar vartoloded.

Again phonetic considerations alter some of the expected mutations in dealing with these words:

- (a) The qualifying word following these plurals is usually protected from mutation by the d of the ed of the plural of personal nouns.
- (b) When exceptionally these personal plurals have the impersonal -ou plural, they behave as impersonal pronouns and do not undergo mutation: e.g., ar meniou (the major); an tadou (the fathers).
- (c) On the other hand the plural of an impersonal noun undergoes mutation: e.g., ar mean (the stone); ar vein (the stones).

3. Some masculine singulars provoke mutation by weakening. These are masculine Christian names in compound words, e.g. Yann-Vari -- Jean Marie.

4. When numbers are used as prefixes, that is, apart from 1, 3, 4, 9 they weaken the consonant following, e.g., deg vraz -- deg + braz.

We have seen in general that weakening mutations are provoked by vowels and liquids, and strengthening mutations by the consonants. As the vowel is the mark of the feminine singular and of the masculine plural of personal nouns, the mutation by weakening has taken on a grammatical significance.

Two points remain to be made:

Firstly mutations may not take place in speech if the speaker is using a strong accentuation because of wishing to convey his meaning. This can be summarised as follows:

- (a) When the word which should be affected introduces a group of words forming a unity and is consequently strongly accented, there is no mutation, e.g. ar brasa maouez (the biggest women); or, if there are two qualifying adjectives, the first is not affected.
- (b) When to express a certain meaning the speaker stresses the word, e.g. eur mamm.

Secondly in ordinary speech the mutations of simple words are arrested at a certain stage so as not to make the words unrecognisable. It is the same in composed words which retain the meaning of their parts, e.g., pen-gwele (head of the bed)

where each part is clearly understood. This is not so however, in other composed words where the meaning of the parts is forgotten, as in penwele, pennvele (pillow).

In place names no care is necessary in preserving the sense and it has usually been forgotten. Consequently, mutation has proceeded to such a degree that much careful study is needed to re-establish the root words which are completely unrecognisable.

We have not time to enter into their study here, but as a general principle the mutations are of the same order as those briefly covered in this paper.

(Summary of a paper delivered to the Linguistic Society of New Zealand on 27th July, 1959)

S.T.H. Scoones

Many studies of the word garçon have been made, but their unsatisfactory results justify further consideration. The aim of this paper is to determine the early meanings of the word, and to suggest a new etymology.

The word gars, g(u)arcun, garsun, guasun, appears in French texts from the latter part of the 11th century onwards, and has two common meanings. As "servant" (Roland, 2437; Cour. de Louis, 2270; Charroi de Nîmes, 388; Aspremont, 2392, 2901, 10677; Beroul, 3689; etc.), it is often used in conjunction with words such as esquier, serjent, pautonier, jumentier, and no doubt had more precise meanings related to specialised activities such as military life, stable work, etc. The meaning "young man, boy" is generally regarded (Dauzat, Pauli) as a 13th century development, but is clearly present in earlier texts such as the "Couronnement de Louis", where it is applied to Louis during his minority (1816, 1110; cf. Enéas, 8572; Aspremont, 6378). The senses "child" and "servant" are commonly found together for a number of words in Classical and medieval times, as Pauli has shown.

It seems to be from the meaning "servant" that a secondary pejorative sense developed, which is found quite early (Gormont, 356; Marcabru, ed. Dejeanne, No. 9, v. 24; Aspremont, 3562, 9117).

There is no differentiation of meaning associated with the two forms, gars, garsun; the former is more common in adjectival function.

The Latin word garcio, after the checking of Du Cange's sources, cannot be dated earlier than the first quarter of the 12th century, the earliest use found being in Gautier de Thérrouanne's De vita et martyrio beati Caroli (Migne, P.L., 166, col. 932), dated 1120-30. The meanings are those characteristic of the French word: "servant" and "child", and there are no others. The word appears as a proper name of the King of Navarre in Ordericus Vitalis (Hist. eccl., XIII, 23), dated 1141.

The etymologies proposed have been many: carduus (Diez), gardsveinn (Trana), Garsindis (Suchier) gart, gartja (Vising), gwerc'h (Littre), *wartja (Körting, Meyer-Lübke), *wartio (Nicholson), *Wrakjo (Bloch-Wartburg). These are all to be rejected on phonetic and/or semantic grounds. The last-mentioned, which is the currently accepted etymology, is unacceptable on semantic grounds. Foerstermann links the Frankish proper name Wracchio with Germanic and Slav words meaning "pursuer," "enemy," "outlaw," "hero," etc., which are far removed from the sense of the O.Fr. word. Wartburg links *wrakjo with Germanic words meaning "outlaw," "foreign mercenary soldier" and "rogue", which again are out of keeping with the earliest French uses. There is indeed a very clear distinction in the French texts between the soldiers and their servants, the garçons (cf. Aspremont, 7302-05), and in the Latin texts there is no justification for interpreting the gartio as anything more than "a paid servant" -- he is not a "mercenary soldier".

The new etymology put forward is Celtic wassos "servant" which appears in Latin texts from the Lex Salica on as uassus. The word was Latinised however at an early date, because Gaulish changed w- to gw- early, and *guassus is not found. It is suggested that the word was again borrowed, but from the gw- form, at a later date.

We may justifiably assume that Gaul. gw- would receive the same treatment as Frankish w-, and appear in O.Fr. as gu-, g-. This is the case with the word under discussion. The change of -ss- to -rs- is common in place-names of Celtic origin (Massilia - Marseille, Cadussa - Chacource, Alossia - Alorse, Ussia - l'Ource, Massiliacus - Marsillé, etc.) In addition, a glance at the ALF, and at dictionaries of O.Fr., will show that forms without -r- are also very common, e.g. guason.

The origin of the two forms, gars, garçon, seems to lie in the Gaulish declension system with nom. in -os, acc. in -on, with the flexion surviving in the latter case.

There are no semantic problems attached to this etymology.

Discussion. Dr. Hóllýman pointed out that there was no explanation of the -ti-, -ci- of the Latinised word, to which the ç (= [ts]) of the O.Fr. word corresponded. This could not come from -ss-. An influence of arçun might not be impossible, in view of the rôle of the garçons as stable-boys.

ROTUMAN VOWELS AND THEIR HISTORY

(Summary of a paper read to the Linguistic Society of New Zealand on August 10th, 1959.)

Bruce Biggs

Non-phonemic statements, of which there are several, fail to agree on the number of vowels in Rotuman. Five, seven, ten, twelve, and fourteen have all been suggested. Recent work with an informant in Auckland attested ten contrasting vowel phonemes arranged as follows:

Front		central unrounded	Back
Unrounded	rounded		rounded
i	ɨ		u
e	ɛ		o
æ	ɶ	a	ɔ

/æ/ does not occur finally; /^uɨ,^oɛ,^ɔ/ occur only medially; /a,i,e,u,o,ɔ/, occur in all positions.

Morphology:

Each base (major word) in Rotuman has two forms, called 'long' and 'short'. The short form is predictable from the long form, but the reverse is not the case. Long forms are always stressed on the penultimate syllable, short forms on the last syllable. Since forms differing only in the position of stress occur it is considered to be phonemic. e.g. /fáfa/ await /fafá/ challenge.

A long form is always at least two syllables long. The short form is always one syllable shorter than the corresponding long form.

Vowel pairs occur in long forms only, the first vowel of the pair, if stressed, being phonetically long. Each vowel is best considered as being in a different syllable. e.g. /vói/ [vó:i].

In the corresponding short forms the less sonorous of the two vowels becomes phonetically (and phonemically) a semi-vowel in the same syllable as the other vowel. e.g. /vǒi/ (two syllables) /vóy/ (one syllable).

Both /e/ and /i/ become /y/. Both /u/ and /o/ become /w/.

The history of the vowels:

Rotuman is closely related to Fijian and to Polynesian. The long forms of Rotuman bases are very similar in shape to their cognates in Polynesian, and to the reconstructed Fiji-Polynesian proto-forms. The sound correspondences are regular and fairly simple. Since Rotuman short forms do not have counterparts in any of the closely related languages they can be regarded as unique and fairly recent innovations.

Similarly the vowel system of Rotuman is unique among these languages, and it too, may be regarded as an innovation. At an earlier stage Rotuman had the usual Polynesian five vowel system, consisting of a front-back opposition at high and mid tongue positions, plus a low unopposed vowel.

This low unopposed vowel in Rotuman had positional variants ranging from low front [æ] to low back [ɑ] or [ɔ].

The development of short forms from the long forms of bases seems to have taken place in two stages. The first step (which can only be inferred) involved metathesis of the last syllable. e.g. móse > *moes; ?úli > *?uil; [kǒmi] > *[koim]; ?éfe > *?eef; píko > *piok; [múí] remained the same, etc.

The second step involved the loss of one syllable. This is achieved in one of three ways:

1. The less sonorous of two vowels becomes a semi-vowel. e.g. *piok > pyók; [múí] > /móy/.
2. A vowel is lost from an identical vowel pair. e.g. *?eef > ?éf.

3. A back rounded vowel and a front unrounded vowel coalesce to form a front rounded vowel.
e.g. *moes > m^ʷs; *kɔim > k^ʷm; *ʔuil > ʔ^ʷl.

3. results in the addition of a new series of three front rounded vowels being added to the phonemic inventory. The short forms in general result in the front and back allophones of the hitherto unopposed /a/ phoneme being raised to phonemic status, because of such minimal pairs as [á f] thousand, [ɔf] line; [rɔʷ] carry, [ráʷ] wound.

The adoption of short versus long forms of bases is thus seen as the dynamic which gave Rotuman ten vowel phonemes in place of five. What triggered the morphological change is unknown.

Note: In the discussion that followed this paper Dr. K.J. Hollyman pointed out that secret languages involving metathesis of normal word forms are known from Melanesia, and suggested that some such phenomenon might have provided the initial stimulus towards the Rotuman short forms.

(Summary of a paper read to the Linguistic Society of New Zealand on 10 August, 1959.)

A.C. Keys

The purpose of what follows is to suggest that the formula "nos Français" -- "our Frenchmen(?)" -- arose originally out of "nous Français" -- ModFr. "nous autres Français" -- and is thus due to a possible homonymic collision between the pronominal and adjectival forms of the first person plural.

As the appended list of dated examples will show, this expression, and others like it, have occurred in French from the time of the Chanson de Roland right up to the present day. When we find Calvin using "Gallis nostris" (ex. 5), it is not unnatural to suspect that he had "nos Français" in mind; it is scarcely less so when we find Lessing, the admirer of Diderot, using (exx. 13, 15) "unsern Deutschen". The examples also show that the formula has been extended to other proper names: Grecs, Bourguignons, Asiatiques, Napolitains, etc. (exx. 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 17, 20), and also to the second person, as in "vos Français", "tes Grecs" (exx. 11, 18). By the time we come to "nos Anglais", used by Maupassant as a title to a story, the meaning is obviously something like "the English whom we all know". But what was the original meaning of the formula? Surely not "our Frenchmen", but much more probably "we Frenchmen".

When, in the 16th century, Norton translated Calvin's preface (whether from the Latin or the French is immaterial), the words he used to translate the phrase quoted are "for my countrymen the French". In a modern translation of Le Neveu de Rameau(1), the words "ce que nos Bourguignons appellent un fieffé truand" (ex. 17) are translated: "as they say in Burgundy". In both cases there seems to be an instinctive tendency to avoid the un-English expressions "our Burgundians". To emphasize the stilted and unnatural sound of the latter phrases, let us quote Professor Bruford's less sensitive translation of the passage from Lessing (ex. 16): "If the masterpieces of Shakespeare... had been translated for our Germans". Much more accurate is the modern translation of Rousseau's phrase "vos Français" as "your countrymen the French"(2), which in effect comes down to "you Frenchmen".

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1. J. Stewart and J. Kemp in Diderot: Interpreter of Nature, 1957.
 2. Boswell in Holland (1763-64) Research Edition p.319.

If the suggestion here put forward is sound, some account must be taken of the history and incidence of the modern equivalent "nous autres Français", "nous autres femmes". According to Brunot and Bruneau (3), "nous autres" is as early as Joinville, but in the example quoted there is no following noun ("nous autre qui estiens entour li"). When did French begin to insert the word "autres" into the formula? In any case, it appears that the formula "nos Français" existed earlier.

Now what are we to make of the following from the Voyage de Charlemagne (ex. 25): "sire eissistes de France por nos femmes ocire?" These words are addressed to Oliver by the king's daughter; they can scarcely therefore mean "our women" or "our wives". The meaning must surely be what in ModFr. would be expressed by "nous autres femmes", i.e., "... to slay us women!" It is worth noting that in this poem the form nous does not occur; nos does duty for three different cases in their own right (688: "nos savons"; 652: "herseir nos herberjastes"; 844: "donez nos le congiet") and after a preposition (687: "avoec nos"; 188: "entre nos"). Conversely, although examples seem to be rarer, the form nous occurs as the possessive adjective (exx. 26, 27, 30).

If then the forms nous and nos are to some extent interchangeable, may not "nos femmes", before the emergence of the formula "nous autres femmes", mean "us women"? If this is so, then "nos Français" could mean "we (us) Frenchmen".

There are, admittedly, features of the foregoing explanation that require further investigation, e.g., the occurrence in the Roland of the nominative form "nostre Franceis" (exx. 28, 29; the second of these is translated by Dorothy Sayers: "our French will light them down on foot", and by Jessie Crosland: "our countrymen of France shall dismount from their horses"). If the oblique form nos was commoner -- as in all probability it was -- it is conceivable that the formula with the nominative nostre could have arisen by analogy. Also in ModFr., "nous autres Français" and "nos Français" no longer mean quite the same thing. If the foregoing hypothesis is correct, when did the divergence of meaning appear?

Examples

1. De nos Francais i fist essart. (c. 1080: Gormont et Isembart, 579).
 2. De nos Franceis mi sembleit avoir mult poi. (c. 1100: Roland, 1050).
 3. De noz Franceis vait disant si mals moz:
"Feluns Franceis, hoï justerez as noz." (Ibid., 1190-91)
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3. Précis de grammaire historique, 3e. éd., p. 293.

4. Et quant noz François les voient, si saillent as armes de toutes parz. (c. 1206: Villehardouin).
5. Atque hunc laborem Gallis nostris potissimum desudabam, quorum permultos esurire et sitire Christum intelligebam. (1536: Calvin, Preface to Institutio).
6. Et principalement vouloye par ce mien labour servir à nos François, desquels i' en voyoye plusieurs avoir faim et soif de Jesus Christ... (Ibid., French version).
7. Hé bien, mon Dieu: nos François, si souvent redressés. (1661: Molière, Les Fâcheux, I,1).
8. Voilà de nos François l'ordinaire défaut. (1662: Id., Ecole des Femmes, III, 3).
9. ... Il expire et nos Grecs irrités
Ont lavé dans son sang ses infidélités. (Racine, Andromaque, 1496-7).
10. J'ai couru vers le temple, où nos Grecs dispersés
Se sont jusqu'à l'autel dans la foule glissés. (Ibid., 1499-1500).
11. Va faire chez tes Grecs admirer ta fureur. (Ibid., 1535).
12. Si les Européens disent qu'il n'y a pas de générosité à rendre malheureuses les personnes qu'on aime, nos Asiatiques répondent qu'il y a de la bassesse aux hommes de renoncer à l'empire que la nature leur donne sur les femmes. (1720: Montesquieu, Lettres persanes, XXXVIII).
13. Je ne me laisserai point de crier à nos Français La Verité!
La Nature! Les Anciens! Sophocle! Philoctète! (1757: Diderot, Entretiens sur 'le Fils Naturel').
14. Il n'y a rien de moins singe que nos Bourguignons. (1757: Piron, Lettre à Dumay du 1er août).
15. Nos Français voudront que leur poète sache davantage. (1758: Diderot, De la poésie dramatique).
16. Wenn Man die Meisterstücke des Shakespeare, mit einigen bescheidenen Veränderungen, unsern Deutschen übersetzt hätte, ich weiss gewiss, es würde von bessern Folgen gewesen sein... (1759: Lessing, Literaturbrief 17).
17. Vous savez que je suis un ignorant, un sot, un fou, un impertinent, un paresseux. Ce que nos Bourguignons appellent un fieffé truand, un escroc, un gourmand. (after 1761: Diderot, Neveu de Rameau).

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18. Il faut avouer que vos Français sont un peuple bien servile, bien vendu à la Tyrannie... (1764: Rousseau à Deleyre).
 19. Quelle idée donneraient un jour de nos Français d'aujourd'hui les drames de fabrication nouvelle, si nous les voyions sur nos théâtres aussi fréquemment que sous la presse. (1773: Bret, Oeuvres de Molière, Discours préliminaire).
 20. Dites ceci à Diderot, dites-lui que nos Napolitains sont convaincus que sa pièce est la meilleure de tout le théâtre français... (1773: Galiani à Mme d'Épinay).
 21. Ami, chez nos Français ma muse voudrait plaire. (c. 1789: Chénier, Épître II).
 22. Nos Anglais. (1885: Maupassant, Toine).
 23. Nos Français ont toujours aimé ces anecdotes. (1952: J. Plattard, La Renaissance des lettres en France, p.17).
 24. Ces têtes-la ont plus de feu que de pensée... Celles de nos Balesta, dures et obstinées, n'avaient pas une bonne réputation dans la famille. (1956: H. Bosco, Les Balesta, p. 61).
 25. Sire, eissistes de France por nos femmes ocire? (1149: Voyage de Charlemagne, 711).
 26. Envers nous amis en Jhésu Crist. (13th cent. translation of a charter of 1261 -- Godefroy).
 27. Qui a nous maulx a sceu si bien pourvoir. (early 16th cent., Chanson: Doulce mémoire).
 28. Nostre Franceis n'unt talent de fuir. (c. 1100: Roland, 1255).
 29. Nostre Franceis i descendrunt a pied. (Ibid., 1746).
 30. ... un de nous embassadeurs, qui asseure l'avoir veu jurer. (early 15th cent.: Commines, Lettre).