

THE DUAL REFLEXES OF PROTO-POLYNESIAN *S IN ANUTA

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In his recent paper on the position of Anuta in the Polynesian language family Bruce Biggs (1980) has supplied further evidence that Anuta (ANU) is a member of Pawley's (1966) Nuclear Polynesian (NP) subgroup with a large number of borrowings from Tongan (TON) which have probably entered ANU via East Uvea (EUV), a language which Biggs shows to have borrowed heavily from TON. Concerning the two reflexes, *t* and \emptyset , of proto-Polynesian **s* in ANU (see Table 1) Biggs concludes, on the grounds that the basic vocabulary contains twice as many items with \emptyset as with *t*, that \emptyset is the directly inherited reflex and that *t* is an indirectly inherited or borrowed reflex from a NP language with *s* from **s*. In this paper I shall argue that ANU reflected both **t* and **s* as *t* and borrowed *h* as \emptyset from a language which reflected **s* as *h* (see Table 2). Biggs notes (1980:122) in support of his hypothesis that in loanwords from English, *s* becomes *t* in ANU (English *pussy*, ANU *puti*). We note also that TON and EUV *si* from PPN **ti* becomes *ti* in ANU (Tables 2 and 3). This is compatible with Biggs' hypothesis, i.e., that ANU reflected **t* as *t* and **s* as \emptyset and borrowed *s* as *t* from a language which reflected **s* as *s*, but it is also compatible with the hypothesis advanced here. The merging of **t* and **s* in ANU is unique in Polynesia, but so is the merger of **p* and **f* as *p* (see Tables 4 and 5 for examples). If the present hypothesis is correct it allows the generalisation that in ANU voiceless fricatives merge with stops at the same point of articulation.¹

The merger of **s* and **t* as *t* would lead to the merger of ANU *se* 'indefinite article singular' with *te* 'definite article singular' resulting in *te* 'singular article', eliminating a distinction in the article system which could be re-established by the addition of *e*, the present indefinite article which must now be considered a borrowing from EUV *he*. Biggs has displayed in his Tables 6 and 7 those morphological innovations in ANU

which are of NP origin and those which are of Tongic origin. To the latter list may be added ANU *eni* 'this, here' and *ena* 'that, there' which Feinberg (1977) calls pronouns and which co-exist in ANU with the reflexes of the NP innovations *nei* 'this, here' and *na* 'that, there' which Feinberg calls adjectives. So although the morphological system of a language is, as Biggs points out, generally not susceptible to penetration by borrowed forms, that this has taken place in ANU cannot be doubted, and the borrowing of an indefinite article to complete the system should occasion no surprise.

Our count of the two reflexes in the ANU vocabulary provides no conclusive evidence for choosing between the two hypotheses. We find 43 cases of PPN and sub-PPN *s reflected as t (see Table 4) of which nine are from the basic vocabulary (sing, come, left, yellow, tail, pierce, give, one in 'just one', ocean) and 34 cases of \emptyset from *s (see Table 5) of which nine are from the basic vocabulary (split, nose, scratch, big, moon, dry, walk, come, one).²

There is no doubt that ANU has borrowed from EUV. Biggs has positively identified many TON loanwords in both languages using such criteria as loss of PPN *r, vowel assimilation (which is a feature of TON), sporadic consonant change and the fact that some vocabulary and morphological items are otherwise unique to TON. EUV, rather than TON, is identified as the source of these loanwords in ANU as '...virtually all of the identifiable Tongic borrowings in ANU are also to be found in EUV though the converse does not apply.' (Biggs 1980:123).

Examples of loanwords so identified are ANU *paa* 'pandanus' (PPN *fara, TON, EUV *faa*), ANU *uno* 'fish-scale' (PPN *?una, TON, EUV 'uno), ANU *nima* 'hand' (PPN *lima, TON, EUV *nima*), ANU *mo* 'and, with' (PPN *ma, TON, EUV *mo*) and ANU *kairo* 'no' (TON *kai?iloa*, EUV *kailoa* 'lost, missing').

Direct and Indirect Reflexes of PPN *h in Anuta

Amongst the forms identified as borrowings from EUV by using the above criteria, Biggs lists the following which show the ANU \emptyset reflex of PPN *h: ANU *uu* 'enter' (PPN *huru, PNP *ulu, TON, EUV *huu*), ANU *ui* 'bone' (PPN *hui, PNP *ivi, TON, EUV *hui*). To these may be added ANU *mamai* 'pain' (PNP *mamae, TON, EUV *mamahi*). As ANU, along with all other NP languages, regularly reflects PPN *h as \emptyset in directly inherited forms, it follows that this feature is not in itself diagnostic of loanwords. Fortunately, in the cases above, the presence of other features enables us to confirm firstly, that ANU has borrowed from EUV and secondly, that PPN *h, which EUV reflects as h in borrowings from TON, is reflected as \emptyset in ANU borrowings from EUV.

*Direct and Indirect Reflexes of PPN *s in Anuta*

With such well-attested borrowings from EUV in ANU it would be surprising if ANU had not borrowed items with PPN *s. This being so, we must ask how this proto-phoneme is reflected in such borrowings. It has been shown by Biggs that for ANU t to be from EUV h is impossible. This is basically because in EUV *h and *s had merged as h in forms borrowed from Tongan; so ANU which we know to have borrowed EUV h from *h as ANU \emptyset , could not have distinguished between the merged reflexes, and therefore could not have borrowed *s as t. Accordingly Biggs had to posit ANU borrowing from a second, unidentified NP language.

The other candidate for the ANU reflex of *s in borrowings from EUV is \emptyset . A different conclusion is reached when the same test is applied to the possibility that ANU \emptyset from *s is indirectly inherited. First, recall that it has been established by Biggs and exemplified above that EUV h from TON h from *h is reflected as \emptyset in ANU. Other occurrences of EUV h are the direct or indirect reflex of *s. It was claimed above that ANU could not possibly exhibit two reflexes of EUV h depending upon whether that h was a reflex of *s or *h. The converse claim is made here. As EUV reflects both *s and *h as h, whether directly or indirectly inherited, it is impossible that in the ANU raid on the EUV lexicon only items with h from *h were borrowed. Items with EUV h from *s were almost certainly borrowed at the same time, providing the ANU lexicon with numerous items reflecting *s as \emptyset . This leaves t as the directly inherited ANU reflex of *s and does away with the need to search for a second donor language to explain its presence.³

*Additional Observations on the Feasibility of EUV as the Source of ANU \emptyset from PPN *s*

The above claim is based on inference, and the positive evidence in support of it is extremely slender. When Biggs attributed ANU loss of *r to borrowing from EUV he was fortunate that this feature in a NP language is indicative of borrowing from a Tongic language and that all but two of the ANU words with \emptyset from *r are also found in EUV with \emptyset from *r. Further confirmation was provided by the concurrent presence of another diagnostic feature, vowel assimilation, in ANU uo 'crayfish' (PPN *?ura, TON, EUV 'uo). The same kind of positive evidence in support of a claim that ANU \emptyset from *s is indicative of borrowing from EUV is not available, as EUV is only one of a number of Polynesian languages reflecting PPN *s as h. Furthermore, in the ANU forms exhibiting loss of *s none of the criteria referred to as being diagnostic occur. The same

is true of ANU forms with *t* from **s*. On the positive side we note that all but two of the words in Table 5 also occur in EUV. That two words do not do so is not of serious significance. Biggs did not feel it necessary to suggest that ANU *mamaa* (PPN **mara*, TON *maa*) 'fermented' was not borrowed from EUV, even though the form is not now found in EUV (see Biggs 1980:128). It should be noted that the two ANU forms in question do have cognates in TON *laho* 'testicle' and TON *hingano* 'kind of pandanus'.

The remaining evidence is to do with two ANU forms borrowed from EUV. In each case there is some uncertainty about the reconstruction, which seems unlikely to be resolved. Not listed in Table 5 because of this uncertainty are ANU *uu* and TON *huu* from PPN **(s,h)uru* 'put on clothes'. The cause of the uncertainty is the inconsistency with which the Samoic-Outlier languages attest an initial PPN **s* or **h*. The following data are sufficient to exemplify this inconsistency: Samoa, East Futuna *sulu*, Tokelau *hulu* attest **s*, and Samoan *fa'amaulu*, Kapingamarangi *ulu*, Tikopia *uru* attest **h*. The TON form *huu* may descend from either **suru* or **huru* as PPN **s* and **h* have fallen together in TON as *h*. If this uncertainty should be resolved in favour of **suru* we will have an example of ANU \emptyset from **s* in a word, the status of which as a borrowing is attested by the \emptyset from **r*.

More telling perhaps is the reflex of PPN **(s,h)apo* 'to catch, take in the hand' (TON, EUV *hapo*, ANU *tapo*, Samoan, East Futuna *sapo*, Maori, Tahiti *apo*). Just three languages TON, EUV and ANU share the meaning 'hit', for this item. If the ANU form, *apo*, with \emptyset from **(s,h)* is borrowed from EUV *hapo*, which, considering the restricted distribution of the meaning 'hit', seems to be highly likely, then the ANU doublet *tapo* which shares in the more widely distributed meaning 'catch' is left as the regular reflex of PPN **(s,h)apo*, and *t* is seen to be the regular reflex of **s*. If this hypothesis can be maintained it has the advantage of obviating the need to look for a second source of borrowing for EUV forms with *t* from **s*.

APPENDIX

Table 1

	<u>Phoneme Correspondences</u>												
PPN	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ	*m	*n	*ŋ	*f	*s	*h	*w	*l	*r
PTO	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ	*m	*n	*ŋ	*f	*s	*h	*w	*l	*∅
PNP	*p	*t	*k	*ʔ	*m	*n	*ŋ	*f	*s	*∅	*v	*l	*r
TON	p	t	k	ʔ	m	n	ŋ	f	h	h	v	l	∅
EUV	p	t	k	ʔ	m	n	ŋ	f	h	∅/h	v	l	l/∅
ANU	p	t	k	∅	m	n	ŋ	p	t/∅	∅	v	r	r/∅

Table 2

Reflexes of PPN *s, *h, *t in TON, EUV and ANU

PPN	*s	*h	*t
TON	h	h	t/s
EUV	h	∅	t
ANU	t	∅	t
EUV	h	(h)	(s)
ANU	(∅)	(∅)	(t)

- Notes: 1. Parentheses in the last two lines indicate a borrowed reflex. EUV borrowings are from TON, and ANU borrowings are from EUV.
2. TON s reflects *t before i.

Table 3

TON and EUV s from PPN *t reflected as t in ANU

PNP	TON & EUV	ANU
*ʔiti 'small'	siʔi	tii
*tamaʔiti 'child'	tamasiʔi	tamatii
*tilo 'see, look'	sio	tio

Note: Reconstructions in this and the following tables are from Biggs 1979 or Ranby 1980.

Table 4

PPN *s reflected as t in ANU

PPN	ANU
*kasi 'shellfish sp.'	kati 'shell used to grind coconut'
*kaso 'rafter'	paka/kato 'roof support'
*maasaŋa 'twin'	matana
*masimasi 'dolphin'	matimati
*pese 'sing'	pete
*saa 'appear'	paka/taa
*sakulaa 'swordfish'	takura
*sala 'err, error'	tara
*samu 'eat one food only'	tamu 'eat fish only'
*sapo 'catch, take in hand'	tapo
*saputu 'fish sp.'	taaputu
*SO *sasave 'flying fish'	tatave
*NP *sauna 'odour'	tauna
*sa?amoa 'Saamoa'	Taamoa
*sa?u 'come'	tau 'bring'
*sei 'garland'	tei
*sele 'cut'	teretere 'remove charred portions'
*sema 'left'	tema
*SO *seŋaseŋa 'yellow'	teteŋa
*seŋi(seŋi) 'indistinct vision'	teteŋi
*sifo 'down'	tipo 'place <u>maa</u> in pit'
*si(i)sii 'hiss'	titii
*sii 'fish w. line'	tiiti
*sika ¹ 'net needle'	tika
*sika ² 'use fireplough'	tika
*siku 'tail'	tikutiku
*sinu 'oil'	tinu 'bottle'
*sisi 'scoop out coconut flesh'	tiiti
*soa 'friend'	toa
*soka 'pierce'	toka
*soko 'join'	toko
*sola 'flee'	tora
*soli 'give'	tori
*sopo 'jump'	topo
*suki 'pierce'	tuki
*sulu 'lavalava'	туру 'cloth'
*sumu 'triggerfish'	tumu
*suu 'watery'	tuu 'watery of a tuber'

(cont/d)

Table 4

PPN

ANU

*NP *tau tasi 'just one'

tau tati

*tusi 'mark, draw'

tuti 'write'

*SO *vaasia 'space or time between'

vatia 'time, interval, duration'

*wasa 'ocean'

vata

*?oso 'provisions for journey'

oto

Note: The EUV and ANU orthographic velar nasal, g and ng respectively, are normalised here as ŋ.

Table 5

PPN *s reflected as ø in ANU

PPN	EUV	ANU
*fasi 'split'	fahi	pai
*ise 'fish sp.'	ihe	ie
*isu 'nose'	ihu	iu
*kalakala?apusi 'Acalypha grandis'	karapuhi	karakarapui
*kaso 'reed'	kaho	kao
*kasoā 'necklace'	kahoā	kaoā
*lasi 'big'	lahi	rai
*laso 'testicle'	----	rao
*ma(a)losi 'strong'	malohi	maaroī
*maasāna 'twin'	maahaŋa	maāna
*maasina 'moon'	mahina	maaina
*masa 'dry'	maha	ma 'empty'
*moso 'cooked'	moho	mo
*ŋasu 'Scaevola taccada'	ŋahu	ŋau
*pusi 'blow w. mouth'	puhi	pui
*sa(a)pai 'carry'	hapai 'lift'	aapai 'carry'
*safu 'waterfall'	hafu 'flow, drip'	apu 'spring forth'
*sa?ele 'walk'	haele	aere
*sa?u 'come'	ha?u	au
PNP *se 'indef.art.'	he	e
*seke 'slip, slide'	heke	paka/eke 'body surf'
*sele 'snare'	hele	ere
*sii 'semen'	hii 'pollution, se polluer'	ii 'ejaculate semen'
*siki 'lift'	hiki	iki
*siko 'coil string'	hiko	iko
*sina 'white (of hair)'	hina	ina
*siŋano 'k. of pandanus'	----	iŋano
PSO *somo 'grow'	homo	omo
*soŋi 'press noses'	hoŋi	oŋi
*suke 'uncover'	huke	uke
*suki 'pierce'	huki	uuki 'thrust'
PNP *tasi 'one'	tahi	tai
*tusi 'point w. finger'	tuhi	tui
*?aso 'day'	aho	ao

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NOTES

- ¹ I wish to thank Andrew Pawley, Ross Clark and Bruce Biggs for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.
- ² The use of a slightly different list of basic words and the unearthing of a few more cognates are responsible for the difference between these figures and those of Biggs.
- ³ It is assumed here that ANU borrowed from EUV after the change *s>h* had occurred.