



Protopoploca Internal Relationships

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não, 73. vermelho, 74. areia, 75. pequeno, 76. pedra, 77. rabo, 78. árvore, 79. quente, 80. branco, 81. mulher, 82. amarelo, 83. corno, 84. joelho, 85. dizer, 86. queimar, 87. estrada, 88. garra, 89. homem, 90. nadar, 91. sentarse, 92. caminhar, 93. êste, 94. aquele, 95. estar deitado, 96. estar em pe, 97. quem, 98. que, 99. banha, 100. peito.

RHETO-ROMANCE: 1. tut, 2. tschendra, 3. scorsa, 4. mordé, 5. saun, 6. ies, 7. nibla, 8. vanyí, 9. murí, 10. báiber, 11. urelya, 12. eyf, 13. ely, 14. fiuk, 15. pesch, 16. skulá, 17. bíen, 18. vert, 19. maun, 20. yu, 21. pluly, 22. um, 23. num, 24. neyf, 25. notg, 26. nas, 27. in, 28. pleyvya, 29. risch, 30. vazáy, 31. sem, 32. pial, 33. durmí, 34. fem, 35. steyla, 36. sulely, 37. te, 38. líunga, 39. díant, 40. dus, 41. awa, 42. nus, 43. playn, 44. radón, 45. lyina, 46. vyántar, 47. gront, 48. utschí, 49. nayr, 50. frayt, 51. tgaun, 52. sec, 53. tyara, 54. malyé, 55. plema, 56. pay, 57. da, 58. tgavely, 59. tgau, 60. udí, 61. cor, 62. matsá, 63. saváy, 64. fely, 65. dir, 66. lyunk, 67. bye, 68. tgarn, 69. kuelm, 70. buka, 71. kulíets, 72. betg, 73. tgetschen, 74. sablun, 75. pints, 76. crapa, 77. cua, 78. plonta, 79. tgaut, 80. alf, 81. femna, 82. mélan, 83. tgern, 84. ganúlya, 85. di, 86. arder, 87. sulada, 88. branca, 89. karstgáun, 90. — — —, 91. sey, 92. — — —, 93. kwel, 94. tschel, 95. — — —, 96. — — —, 97. tgi, 98. tge, 99. píun, 100. pets.

It will be seen that the greatest divergence time, that found by comparing Sardinian with Rheto-Romance, is in the ninth century A.D., well after the early Romance documents which already show a considerable degree of divergence. Equally improbable are the dates for Proto-Italo-Western (Vulgar Latin) of 1003 A.D. (actually within the early literary period of several of the languages), and Proto-Ibero-Romance of 1440 A.D.¹⁰ The figure of 75 percent for

Rumanian-French is likewise amusing when it is recalled that Swadesh found a percent of 71.6 for Rumanian-Latin, and of 74.2 for French-Latin, and that he considers (IJAL 21.130-1) these two cases, along with 'Athenian,' to be the most accurate ones in his revised pilot study.

Although I agree with most Romance scholars, and other historical linguists, in hesitating to specify precise dates for linguistic splits, there is no reason to disagree with a date of around 100 A.D. as the latest time when there was any remaining phonemic uniformity, and it is likewise generally accepted that there was already some divergence in both morphology and VOCABULARY as early as 250 to 200 B.C.¹¹ Thus the Romance languages have been diverging lexically for close to 2.2 millenia, and the figure of 1.08 millenia obtained by the use of lexicostatistics is too far from known facts to indicate that this method of dating linguistic splits has any usefulness or validity even for the languages upon which it is based.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

PROTOPOLOCA INTERNAL RELATIONSHIPS

ERIC P. HAMP

1. María Teresa Fernández de Miranda, in her *Reconstrucción del protopoploca*, *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos* 12.61-93(1951), has given us an excellent ground-breaking essay at the systematic and solidly based classification of these cognate languages. Her methodology for the recovery of the greater part of the phonemic pattern of the parent language is admirable, and the results are highly trustworthy.

At the end of the article (93) the author

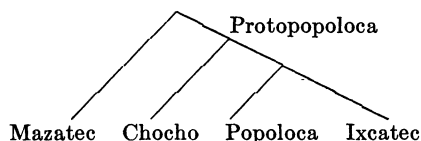
tible original of all the languages cited here except Sardinian (Southern Romance) and Rumanian (Eastern Romance). Proto-Ibero-Romance is the reconstructible original of Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan, each well attested long before the 'Age of Discovery'.

¹¹ Hall, *Language*, 26.19-20.

¹⁰ The stemma used by Robert A. Hall, Jr., on page 24 of his article *The Reconstruction of Proto-Romance*, *Language* 26.6-27, gives a suitable idea of the sub-groups within the Romance languages. Proto-Italo-Western is a reconstruc-

points out that Mazatec is more distantly related to Ixcatec, Popoloca, and Chocho than any of the latter three is to any other, because Mazatec cannot be immediately accommodated by the reconstruction that successfully accounts for the others. Miss Fernández is clearly correct.

She then goes on to say: 'Los idiomas más semejantes entre sí parecen ser el ixcateco y el popoloca, los más alejados el ixcateco y el chocho, y éste el más cercano al popoloca; pues del total de formas utilizadas para este trabajo, el ixcateco y el popoloca mostraron semejanza en 43 casos, el chocho y el popoloca en 35 y el ixcateco y el chocho en 32.' Accordingly, the stemma of relationships would appear as:



2. Now, it is not quite clear from Miss Fernández' exposition in what sense we are to understand 'semejanza', as she uses it. The only criterion for genetic proximity consists in the recognition of a decisive set, either in number or in structural placement, of shared structural innovations; and these must be innovations by addition or replacement, rather than by loss.¹ Let us inspect the phonemic correspondences set up by Miss Fernández.

3.1. Possible Ixcatec-Popoloca innovations (the numbers after each correspondence refer to Miss Fernández' cognate sets).

IP1. Ch. d	Ix. s	Po. s	*{č...}st	103, 106, 199, 188.
IP2. d	{čʔ/č ² tʔ ³	{s ² t ³ }	*č(ʔ)	95, 100, 119, 125.
IP3. čhV	hnV	hnV	*čhnV	5.
IP4. ñ-	ñ-/n(i)-	n-/ni-	*ñ-	3, 116, 131, 133, 190.

¹ For a more explicit statement of the principle, see E. P. Hamp, Morphological Correspondences in Cornish and Breton, *The Journal of Celtic Studies* 2.5-24 (1953), esp. 8-9.

² Before front vowel.

³ Before back vowel.

Remarks: IP4 looks superficially promising, but it will be seen to be at least balanced out by CP11 below. What is more, on closer inspection (which any interested reader may pursue for himself) the only shred of shared innovation turns out to be the correspondence n(i)-:n-; and here we see the Popoloca phenomenon dovetails more exactly with the general loss of the palatal distinction, and the concomitant collapse of these (*tʔ, *ñ) with the dentals in Popoloca. IP1 seems to involve differential dissimilations; while we see an undeniable agreement, the change is isolated and does not structure with any larger group. IP2 looks interesting, particularly because of the matching dependence on a following vowel; but Miss Fernández remarks (67) that this correspondence is not very sure because of other problems in the same forms. We are therefore reduced, for Ixcatec-Popoloca, to IP1 and IP3.⁴

3.2. Possible Chocho-Ixcatec innovations.

CI1. Ch. th	Ix. th	Po. hñ	*thñ	45.
CI2. th	tʔh	hn	*tʔhn	57.
CI3. h	h	kh	*kh	39, 123.
CI4. š/ř/č/r	č/č	r/th	*r	12, 13, 65, 104, 143, 168, 200.
CI5. ∅	∅	-ʔ	*-ʔ	Many exx.

Remarks: CI5 is an innovation by loss, and is therefore not very significant. CI4 is so complex, and in some respects unclarified, that the area of putative agreement is scarcely important. CI1 and CI2 support one another in a neatly patterned way that is most convincing; but for the rarity of their occurrence, this is the kind of agreement that is important for genetic indications. CI3 is noteworthy, since Chocho and Ixcatec in general tend to preserve a cluster of stop plus h intact; clearly the velar cluster (was */h/*[x]ʔ) behaved differently.

⁴ An apparent agreement (but by loss) is Ch. y, Ix. čʔ (before back V) čʔy (before central V), Po. čʔ→*čʔy: 14, 16, 41, 51. It should be noted that these all occur before u and a. I see no reason why the correspondence may not be equally well captioned *čʔ.

In this connection, we find support in the parallel: CI3a. Ch. h Ix. šh Po. kh *šk 135,166. But we shall see below that this last is susceptible of a different interpretation.

one shared item, namely, loss of *s/š(C). The other aspects of behavior in CP1 (ie. č as against t) are not strictly parallel. CP2 and CP6, while not strong points, are mildly

CP1.	Ch. č/t/tʷ	Ix. št	Po. t/č	*-št-	46, 112, 151
CP2.	-g-	-k-	-g-	*-k-	31, 134, 141.
CP3. (=CI3a)	h	šh	kh	*šk	135, 166.
CP4.	k	sk	k	*sk	7, 164.
CP5.	k	šk	k	*šk	20, 34, 74, 89, 113, 124, 196.
CP6.	č	e	č	*(ei/u)	101.
CP7.	h	šh	hy	*šh	130, 187.
CP8.	h/ɔ	-h-	h/ɔ	*-h-	2, 3, 22, 77, 79, 116, 121, 188.
CP9.	hn/n(i)	hn	hn-, -n-, n(i)-	*hn	87, 89, 120, 186, 192.
CP10.	ɔ	hñ	ɔɔ	*hñ	48.
CP11.	-ñ- -n(i)- -ɔɔ-	-ñ- -ñ- -ñ-	-n- -ñ- ɔɔ	*-n-	{ 85 113 61.
CP12.	-i-	-i-	-i-	*-i-	73, 79, 153.
CP13.	-i-	-a-	-i-	*-e-	11, 26.
CP14.	-u-	-a-	-u-	*-o-	14, 59, 90, 102, 178.
CP15.	e	a	i	*e	17, 36 (doubtful).
CP16.	u	uu	u	*uu	122
	e	ee	e	*ee	81, 127, 129.
	a	aa	a	*aa	7, 62, 83.

Chocho-Ixcatec is thus supported by CI1, CI2, CI3, and perhaps CI3a.

3.3. Possible Chocho-Popoloca innovations.

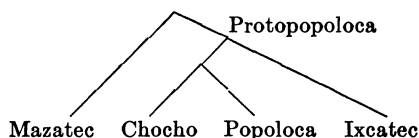
Remarks: The sheer number of agreements is upheld by the pervasive occurrence throughout the structure in both consonants and vowels. CP16 is an innovation by loss, and is not important. CP15 is a doubtful correspondence, but if true perhaps shows a parallel treatment (raising) of old allophones. CP13 and CP14 are highly important; they are parallel both in detail of behavior and in their symmetrical properties. CP12 is isolated. CP11 shows striking parallel detailed in allophonic development. CP10 is a loss in part, yet involves these sensitive nasal and h phenomena that are paralleled elsewhere; thus CP8, CP9, and CP10 support one another mutually. CP1, CP3, CP4, CP5, and CP7 all involve loss of initial clustered sibilants. Though this is a loss, it is significantly patterned; to recognize its unitary behavior we will regard these collectively as

supporting by their similar changes in phonemic allegiance of old allophones.

We may summarize the significant shared innovations: CP2, CP6, (CP8-10), CP11, CP13, CP14, and *s/š(C).

3.4. We have found for Ixcatec-Popoloca two noteworthy agreements involving rather trivial clusters. Chocho-Ixcatec yields perhaps four agreements, again involving some rather less-than-pervasive clusters. After severe pruning, Chocho-Popoloca shows seven agreements involving an important part of the vowel system, the allophones of several proto-consonants, as well as a large and homogeneous set of clusters.

4. Good methodology leads us unmistakably to associate most closely Chocho and Popoloca. The stemma therefore now appears as:



A decision on the diffusional relationships amongst these languages, arising from contiguity or long symbiosis after dialect split, must be made on the basis of a different set of procedures (including inspection of residues), and cannot be approached from the present evidence.

Considering that the above conclusion was reached on the basis of phonology alone, the outcome is gratifyingly clear-cut. It will be interesting to see what the morphology shows.

5. It remains to mention the main distinguishing features of Proto-Chocho-Popoloca. */-k-/ had an allophone *[g]; */ç/ had an allophone approaching *[ç] before */u/; */h/ and */ñ/ had certain weakened allophones; */e o/ had faulty distributions, since they did not occur internally; */s/ and */š/ no longer occurred before certain consonants. Taking CI3 into account, Protopopoloca */škh/ had already become */kh/, but this had not yet developed into */h/, as we find it in Chocho. This chain of events now demonstrates that CI3 is not really a true common innovation, but a chance later convergence. Thus the acceptable arguments for Chocho-Ixcatēc are still further reduced. By elaborate argument and more data no doubt further apparent agreements could be set aside.

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THE PLACE OF ISLAND CARIB WITHIN THE ARAWAKAN FAMILY

DOUGLAS TAYLOR

If the Arawakan affiliation of Island Carib should be accepted, there then arises the question as to its place within this linguistic family or stock. A geographical answer is simple enough: Island Carib was spoken, at the time of contact, in those islands lying between the Taino area (beginning at Puerto Rico) to the north-west and the Lokono area (beginning at Trinidad) to the south and south-east. It survives to-day as the everyday home speech of some 30,000 'Caribs' (to

local English-speaking populations) or 'Morenos' (to local Spanish-speaking populations) whose settlements are scattered along the shores of the Gulf of Honduras, descendants of some 5000 'Black Charaibes' who were deported from the island of St. Vincent to Roatán in 1797. A purely linguistic answer is not yet possible because all would-be classifiers of Arawakan so far have based at least their major subgroupings on geographic areas; a procedure which may prove to be linguistically justified more often than not, but which might have resulted, had it been applied to Indo-European, in classifying Rumanian dialects under Slavic and Bohemian dialects under West Germanic. In what follows I can but trace the history and suggest the nearest relationships of Island Carib in so far as these may be known or plausibly surmised from data available to me here.

The British Honduran dialects—i.e., those of Stann Creek, Hopkins, Seine Bight, Punta Gorda and Barranco—undoubtedly differ slightly from one another, and perhaps somewhat more, as a whole, from Guatemalan and Honduranian dialects such as, for example, those of Livingston, Truxillo, or the island of Roatán. But one Central American 'Carib' or 'Moreno' has no difficulty in understanding or in making himself understood by another; although either may use some words and expressions that are unfamiliar to the other, and is almost sure to betray his place of origin or upbringing by his 'accent'. These differences have most probably arisen within the past 150 years; for local varieties of Vincentian could hardly have been perpetuated as such subsequent to the deportation.

In St. Vincent and in Dominica the old language lingered on until about 1920; and there is evidence that while the dialects of these two islands differed phonologically to a considerable extent, their speakers remained mutually intelligible to the end. For Dominican we have a *Catéchisme*, a *Dictionnaire* and a *Grammaire* by Fr. Raymond