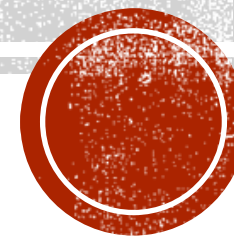


# М.А. ЖИВЛОВ ЯЗЫКИ ЮЖНОЙ НОВОЙ КАЛЕДОНИИ И СРАВНИТЕЛЬНО-ИСТОРИЧЕСКИЙ МЕТОД

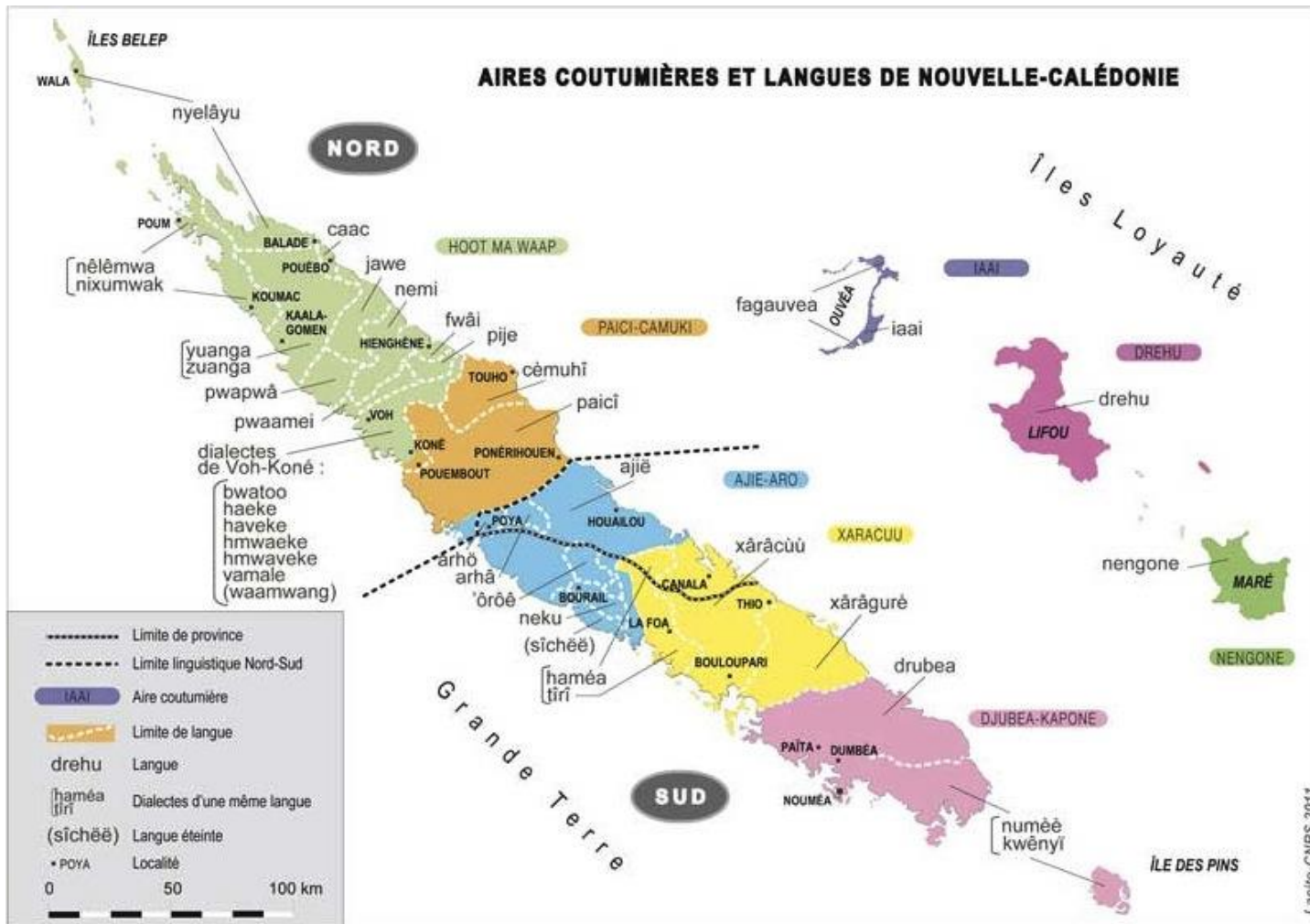
Ностратический семинар им. В.М. Иллич-Свитыча

4 июня 2020



# НОВАЯ КАЛЕДОНИЯ

- Новокаледонская группа океанийской ветви австронезийской семьи
- 33 языка
- придыхательные смычные
- Тоны
- сложные системы вокализма



# GEORGE W. GRACE

- Grace, George W. *Canala Dictionary (New Caledonia)*. Pacific Linguistics Series C 2. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 1975.
- ———. *Grand Couli Dictionary (New Caledonia)*. Pacific Linguistics Series C 12. Canberra: Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, The Australian National University, 1976.
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# GRACE (1996)

- I expected that the number of valid correspondences for any phoneme in either language would almost always be quite small—probably one or two in most cases. I further expected that any correspondence which was found in more than a few items would be a valid one—that is, it would reflect either direct inheritance or a pattern of heavy borrowing from a single source. In short, I expected that most of the valid correspondences would be quite conspicuous and also that the invalid hypotheses would generally be so infrequent as to be clearly implausible. I realized that borrowing might complicate the picture somewhat, but I expected the number of problematic correspondences to be quite small. In sum, I anticipated a number of valid correspondences not much greater than the number of phonemes in either language, and expected that most of these would be more or less self-evident.





# GRACE (1996)

- These expectations bore little resemblance to the actual results. Each language, as we have seen, has 26 consonants (not counting probably borrowed ones in Grand Couli); each also has 18 vowels (10 are oral and 8 nasalized in each language; however, it should also be noted that two of the 18 in Grand Couli are rare and probably to be regarded as suspect). However I found 140 consonant correspondences (counting 24 in which a consonant in one language corresponded with zero in the other) and 172 vowel correspondences (counting 26 in which a vowel in one language corresponded with zero in the other). These figures, of course, include many correspondences which occurred only once and others which occurred only two or three times.



# GRACE (1996)

- It was remarkably difficult to find even the approximate place to draw the line between clearly valid and clearly invalid correspondences. What was particularly discouraging was that *no obvious conditioning—no indications of complementation among any of these correspondences—was apparent.*



# GRACE (1996)

- I even considered the possibility of trying to make a start toward reconstructing the last common protolanguage of these two languages by accepting the most frequently occurring correspondences as hypothetically valid and assigning a symbol to represent each (or if complementary distribution could be found between any, to represent each complementary set). This would have required a large number of symbols, but might have led to an overdifferentiated sort of reconstructed vocabulary, I thought. As long as I considered only the consonants, the idea seemed to have some attractiveness. However, when I turned to the vowels, it seemed clearly hopeless. I could not imagine that it could ever lead to my being able to carry out my original program. That is, I could not imagine ever being able to reconstruct such recent protolanguages in enough detail that they could be used as the basis for reconstructing the next earlier stage in a process that would lead eventually back to Proto Oceanic. What makes these results particularly discouraging is that these languages appear on other criteria to be very closely related.



# HARRISON (2003)

- If time is one great adversary of the comparative method, prolonged socioeconomic intercourse amongst small-scale (genetically related) linguistic communities is another. Language contact and borrowing are a normal occurrence, and make comparative linguistics interesting. But most instances of borrowing can be recognized as such, and factored out. Even cases of massive borrowing (as a consequence of some cataclysmic event like invasion) can often be teased out. There is, for instance, the classic Oceanic case of Rotuman, as reported in Biggs (1965), where two distinct sets of correspondences ultimately revealed themselves, one native and one imposed from outside.





# HARRISON (2003)

- Grace's New Caledonian case is not like that. It appears to have been the result of a slow but relentless dissolving of lexical resources into a common pool. The effect on comparative historical method is profound too. We “know” the languages are related, but can't demonstrate that they are by using the logic of the comparative method.
- ...
- The languages are grammatically quite similar, often admitting of morpheme-by-morpheme translation. The lexica look comparable. But the method doesn't work.



# ХАРАЧЫЫ (КАНАЛА)

## Consonants:

voiceless fricatives		f	ʃ	ç	x	x <sup>w</sup>
voiceless stops	p <sup>w</sup>	p	t	c	k	k <sup>w</sup>
prenasalized stops	b <sup>w</sup>	b	d	j	g	g <sup>w</sup>
nasals	m <sup>w</sup>	m	n	ñ	ŋ	
other:	w, v, y, r.					

## Vowels:

i	ɨ	u	ĩ	ɣ	ũ
e	ə	o		ẽ	
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ	ẽ	ĩ	õ
a			ã		



# ТИНРИН (ГРАН-КУЛИ)

voiceless continuants	f <sup>w</sup>	f		š		h	h <sup>w</sup>
voiced continuants	w	v	ð	r	ɣ		
voiceless stops	p <sup>w</sup>	p	t̪	t	k		
prenasalized stops	b <sup>w</sup>	b	d̪	d	g		
nasals	m <sup>w</sup>	m	ɲ	n	ŋ		
other:	ɣ, ʁ						
The vowels are as follows:							
i	ɨ	u	ɪ	ʔ	ũ		
e	ə	o		ẽ			
ɛ	ʌ	ɔ	ẽ	ĩ	õ		
a			ã				



# СТРУКТУРА КОРНЯ

ХАРАЧЫЫ	ГРАН-КУЛИ
CV	CV
CVV	CVV
CVtV	CVřV
CVrV	





# ФОНОТАКТИКА

- ХАРАЧЫЫ

- /i̯, ə, ʌ, i̯, ẽ, ã, u, o, ɔ, ỹ, õ/ запрещены после /p<sup>w</sup>, b<sup>w</sup>, m<sup>w</sup>/
- /i̯/ запрещено после /с, j, ñ/
- преназализованные /b<sup>w</sup>, b, d, j, g/ крайне редки перед назальными гласными
- гласные автоматически назализуются перед назальными и преназализованными согласными

- 

- ГРАН-КУЛИ

- /u, o, ỹ, õ/ запрещены после /p<sup>w</sup>, b<sup>w</sup>, m<sup>w</sup>/
- /v, y/ запрещены перед назальными гласными
- гласные автоматически назализуются перед назальными и преназализованными согласными



# ДВЕ СИСТЕМЫ СООТВЕТСТВИЙ

X	GC 1	GC 2		X	GC 1	GC 2
p <sup>w</sup>	w	p <sup>w</sup>		m	b	m
p	v/m/Ø	p		n	d	n
t	t	t		ŋ	g	g
c	y/Ø	t̪		f	f	f
k	Ø	k		š	š	š
k <sup>w</sup>	w	k <sup>w</sup>		ç	t̪	t̪
b <sup>w</sup>	p <sup>w</sup>	b <sup>w</sup>		x	h	h
b	p	b		x <sup>w</sup>	f <sup>w</sup>	h <sup>w</sup>
d	t	d		m <sup>w</sup>	m <sup>w</sup>	m <sup>w</sup>
j	ɲ̪	d̪ ~ t̪		m	m	m
g	k	g		n	n	n
m <sup>w</sup>	b <sup>w</sup>	m <sup>w</sup>		ñ	ɲ̪	ɲ̪



# ГЛУХИЕ СМЫЧНЫЕ

	X	GC	X > GC
*p <sup>w</sup>	p <sup>w</sup>	w	p <sup>w</sup>
*p	p	v/m/Ø	p
*t	t	t	t
*c	c	y/Ø	t̪
*k	k	Ø	k
*k <sup>w</sup>	k <sup>w</sup>	w	k <sup>w</sup>



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- $*p^{wə} > X p^{we}$  ‘high’, GC  $wə$  ‘1. high, tall. 2. high ground, on high ground’
- $*p^{wə} > X p^{we}$  ‘the belly, the center or interior’, GC  $wə$  ‘the belly, the interior, the center’
- $*p^{wĩ} > X p^{wĩ}$  ‘banana’, GC  $wĩ$  ‘banana’
- $*p^{wii} > X p^{wii}$  ‘to open (as a pot, door, book)’, GC  $wii$  ‘to open (as a pot, book, door)’





# ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *p<sup>w</sup>aŋara* ‘European’ > GC *p<sup>w</sup>agaŋa* ‘European’
- 
- X *p<sup>w</sup>ãrə* ‘to cultivate (taro field)’ > GC *p<sup>w</sup>ãrə* ‘to cultivate (taro field)’
- 
- X *p<sup>w</sup>ẽ* ‘turtle’ > GC *p<sup>w</sup>ẽ* ‘turtle’



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- $*pe > X pe$  ‘sting ray’, GC  $vi$  ‘sting-ray’
- $*pe > X pe$  ‘to take, to carry, convey, carry out, perform’, GC  $ve$  ‘to take, carry, convey’
- $*pi > X pi$  ‘fish roe’, GC  $vi$  ‘fish roe’
- $*p\tilde{it} > X p\tilde{it}$  ‘seed, in general, grain of sand, etc.’, GC  $m\tilde{it}$  ‘seed, in general, grain (of sand), etc.’
- $*pua > X poa$  ‘to bear (of fruit tree)’, GC  $ua$  ‘to bear (of fruit tree)’
- $*p\tilde{o} > X p\tilde{o}$  ‘hole, hollow, depression’, GC  $\tilde{o}$  ‘low lying ground, hollow, depression’



# ЗАЙМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *penãã* ‘mast’ > GC *penãã* ‘mast’
- X *pẽrẽ* ‘a fence’ > GC *pẽřẽ* ‘a fence’
- X *põ* ‘1. joint of bamboo used as cooking vessel. 2. The species of bamboo so used.’ > GC *põ* ‘a kind of bamboo with long joints’



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- $*ca > X ca$  ‘clear field with hatchet or machete’, GC  $ya$  ‘clear field with hatchet or machete’
- $*ci > X ci$  ‘to dig up, extract (as tubers), harvest’, GC  $yə$  ‘to dig up, extract (tubers)’
- $*c\tilde{u} > X c\tilde{u}$  ‘to jump, fly’, GC  $\tilde{u}$  ‘to fly, jump, dance’





# ЗАЙМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *caa* ‘to glare, be glaring (of light)’ > GC *ṭaa* ‘to glare, a glaring light that hurts the eyes’
- X *cεε* ‘border of mat where weaving ends’ > GC *ṭee* ‘border of mat where weaving ends’
- X *cĩ* ‘a group of things’ > GC *ṭĩ* ‘a group of things’



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- *\*kaa* > X *kaa* ‘to wade, to ford’, GC *aa* ‘to wade, to ford’
- *\*kē* > X *kē* ‘to burn, be consumed by fire’, GC *ē* ‘to burn, to be consumed by fire’
- *\*ku* > X *ku* ‘yam’, GC *u* ‘yam’
- *\*kũ* > X *kũ* ‘upper end of a valley’, GC *ũ* ‘upper end of a valley’
- *\*kiti* > X *kiti* ‘louse’, GC *əřə* ‘louse’



# ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *kãã* ‘thin, gaunt’ > GC *kãã* ‘thin, having become thin (of a person)’
- X *kabae* ‘lizard totem of Koh village’ > GC *kabae* ‘lizard totem’
- X *kii* ‘kind of tree, chêne-gomme’, GC *kii* ‘kind of tree, chêne gomme’
- X *kũ* ‘tree that grows in red soil, hardwood’ > GC *kũ* ‘a hardwood that grows in the red earth’



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- $*k^w\tilde{a} > X k^w\tilde{a}$  ‘boat’, GC  $w\tilde{a}$  ‘boat’
- $*k^wee > X k^wee$  ‘image (sculpture, reflection in water, etc.), spirit, soul’, GC  $wii$  ‘image (sculpture, reflection), spirit, soul’
- $*k^wi\varepsilon > X k^wi\varepsilon$  ‘rain’, GC  $wie$  ‘rain’





# ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *k<sup>w</sup>arii* ‘grasshopper’ > GC *kəřii* ‘grasshopper’
- X *k<sup>w</sup>iitaa* ‘kind of sea fish (caranx), carangue’, GC *k<sup>w</sup>iiraa* [M] ‘a sea fish, carangue’



# ПРЕНАЛИЗИРОВАННЫЕ СМЫЧНЫЕ

	X	GC	X > GC
*b <sup>w</sup> / _V	b <sup>w</sup>	p <sup>w</sup>	b <sup>w</sup>
*b <sup>w</sup> / _ $\tilde{V}$	m <sup>w</sup>	b <sup>w</sup>	m <sup>w</sup>
*b / _V	b	p	b
*b / _ $\tilde{V}$	m	b	m
*d / _V	d	t	d
*d / _ $\tilde{V}$	n	d	n
*j / _V	j	ɲ	ɟ
*j / _ $\tilde{V}$	ɲ	ɲ	ɲ
*g / _V	g	k	g
*g / _ $\tilde{V}$	ŋ	g	g



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- $*b^{w_{\epsilon}t\epsilon} > X b^{w_{\epsilon}t\epsilon}$  ‘some, a number of’, GC  $p^{w_e\check{r}e}$  ‘some, a number of’
- $*b^{w_{\tilde{e}}r\tilde{e}} > X m^{w_{\tilde{e}}r\tilde{e}}$  ‘close’, GC  $b^{w_{\tilde{e}}\check{r}\tilde{i}}$  in:  $t\check{o}b^{w_{\tilde{e}}\check{r}\tilde{i}}$  ‘to close something’
- $*b^{w_{\tilde{i}}(r\tilde{e})} > X m^{w_{\tilde{i}}}$  ‘the mark left by something, the scar’, GC  $b^{w_{\tilde{e}}\check{r}\tilde{e}}$  ‘a mark representing something’
- $*b^{w_{\tilde{a}}} > X m^{w_{\tilde{a}}}$  ‘to shine, as the sun’, GC  $p\check{o}$  ‘to shine, as the sun’



# ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *b<sup>w</sup>aiti* ‘mushroom with a black powder used as black paint for dancers. Also black paint from burned candlenut.’ > GC *b<sup>w</sup>airi* ‘black paint’
- X *b<sup>w</sup>ii* ‘variety of taro’ > GC *b<sup>w</sup>ii* ‘variety of taro’



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- $*b\varepsilon > X\ b\varepsilon$  ‘rear end, bottom’, GC  $pe$  ‘rear end, bottom’
- $*b\dot{t} > X\ b\dot{t}$  ‘flying fox’, GC  $p\partial$  ‘flying fox’
- $*bu > X\ bu$  ‘to smell (perceive odor), an odor’, GC  $pu$  ‘odor’
  
- $*b\tilde{\varepsilon} > X\ m\tilde{\varepsilon}$  ‘arm, fin (of tortoise), branch (of tree), stalk’, GC  $b\tilde{\varepsilon}$  ‘arm, fin of tortoise, branch of tree’



# ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *ba* ‘boiled taro stalk given to babies to suck’ > GC *ba* ‘boiled taro stalk given to babies to suck’
- X *bata* ‘to fear’ > GC *bařa* ‘to fear’
- X *bɔ* ‘to boil’ > GC *bo* ‘to boil’



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- *\*de* > X *de* ‘sugarcane’, GC *ti* ‘sugarcane’
- *\*dɔɔ* > X *dɔɔ* ‘earth’, GC *too* ‘earth’
- *\*dããwã* > X *nãwã* ‘sand’, GC *dããwã* ‘sand’
- *\*dõõ* > X *nõõ* ‘the top, at the top’, GC *dõõ* ‘the top, at the top’





# ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *dəə* ‘a kind of curved flute. The reed from which it is made.’ > GC *doo* ‘a kind of reed (used to make the flute, pešau)’
- X *dəyaa* ‘whale’ > GC *dəyaa* ‘whale’



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- $*g\varepsilon > X\ g\varepsilon$  ‘thou’, GC *ke* ‘second person singular subject pronoun’
- $*g\omega > X\ g\omega$  ‘to vomit’, GC *koo* ‘to vomit’
- $*g\tilde{a} > X\ \eta\tilde{a}$  ‘to crawl on the stomach’, GC *g\tilde{o}* ‘to crawl on the stomach’
- $*g\tilde{r}\tilde{i} > X\ \eta\tilde{r}\tilde{i}$  ‘black’, GC *pu-g\tilde{o}\check{r}\tilde{o}* ‘black’



# ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *gara* ‘spider’ > GC *gařa* ‘spider’
- X *gεε* ‘grandmother’ > GC *gεε* ‘grandmother’



# ИСКОННЫЕ СЛОВА

- $*j\varepsilon > X j\varepsilon$  ‘what?’, GC  $n_{\varepsilon}$  ‘what?’
- $*j\sigma > X j\sigma$  ‘spear, thorn’, GC  $n_{\sigma}$  ‘spear, thorn’
- $*j\tilde{i} > X \tilde{n}\tilde{i}$  ‘liquid (as juice of fruit, etc.)’, GC  $n_{\tilde{i}}$  ‘liquid (as juice of fruit, etc.)’



# ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ

- X *je* ‘snare for birds or rats’ > GC *d̥e* ‘a trap, snare, etc.’
- X *jora* ‘giant clam’ > GC [T̚] *t̚ořo*, [M] *d̥ořa* ‘giant clam’
- X *jike* ‘kind of fish (probably a lutjanid), bec de cane’ > GC [T̚] *t̚iga*, [M] *d̥iye* ‘a fish, bec de cane’
- X *jaa* ‘kind of fern that grows in forest clearings’ > GC *t̚aa* ‘a kind of fern that grows in forest clearings’



# ГЛАСНЫЕ

	Х	GC			Х	GC
*i	i	i		*ĩ	ĩ	ĩ
*ĭ	ĭ (i после P <sup>w</sup> )	ə		*ĩ̃	ĩ̃ (ĩ после палатальных)	ĩ̃
*u	u (*ua > oa)	u		*ũ	ũ	ũ (õ после *k)
*e	e	i		*ẽ	ẽ	ĩ
*ə	ə (e после P <sup>w</sup> )	ə		*ã	ã	ɔ
*ɛ	ɛ	e		*ẽ̃	ẽ̃	ẽ̃
*Λ	Λ	o		*ĩ̃̃	ĩ̃̃	ĩ̃̃
*ɔ	ɔ	o		*ĩ̃̃̃	ĩ̃̃̃	ĩ̃̃̃
*a	a	a		*ã̃	ã̃	ã̃



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# СПАСИБО!

