

Kiribati-Nauruan linguistic connections

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Goals of the talk:

- Identify phonological criteria of Kiribati loans in Nauruan
- Identify the loans

Importance of the question:

- Loans obscure regular Nauruan correspondences
- Evidence of long-standing cultural contact

Micronesian languages (Marck 1986)

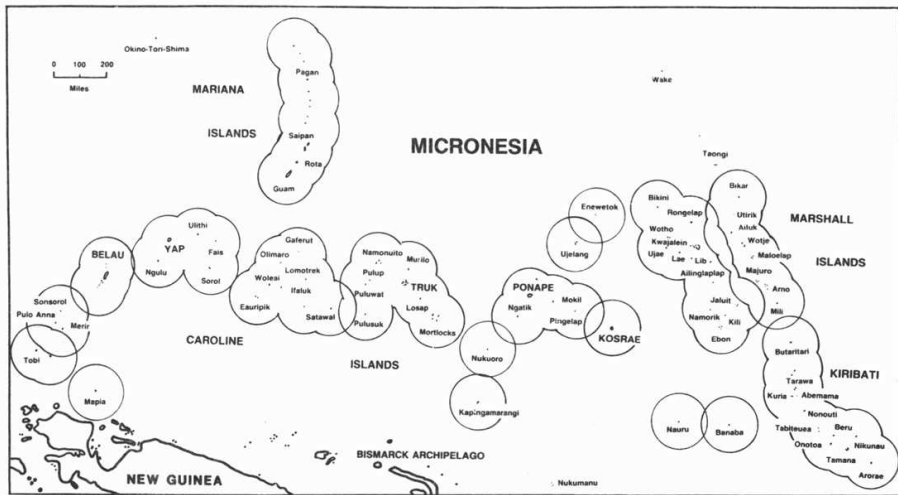


FIGURE 1.

Outline

1 Nauruan phonological history

2 Kiribati loan diagnostics

3 Vocabulary

Nauruan in Micronesian

- Nauruan is a member of the Micronesian family and a descendant of Proto-Micronesian (Hughes 2020)
- Attachment within the Micronesian family tree not firmly established
- Sound changes established in by Hughes (2020), Blumenfeld (2022a)

POc	*b	*b,b ^w	*p	*m,m ^w	*m ^w	*k	*g	*ŋ	*y	*w
PMc	*p	*p ^w	*f	*m	*m ^w	*k	*x	*ŋ	*y	*w
Nau	b	b ^w	∅	m	m ^w	k,t,w,∅	∅	ŋ,m ^w	∅	∅

POc	*t	*s,c	*z,j	*d,dr	*r	*R	*l	*n	*ñ
PMc	*t	*s	*S	*c	*r	*r,∅	*l	*n	*ñ
Nau	t,j,∅	d,g		ř	r	r,∅	j,ŋ,n,∅	n,ŋ	n

- The rhotic contrast between /r/ and /ř/ is based on “the degree of constriction” (Hughes 2020:92), with the latter showing greater constriction;
- Phonologically, /ř/ patterns with front consonants /b,m,p/, /r/ with back consonants /b^w,m^w,p^w/ (Blumenfeld 2022b).
- Conditioned changes:
 - *k > w: adjacent to u
 - *k > t: before i
 - *l > j: adjacent to high Vs
 - $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} *s, S > g \\ *l > \eta \\ *n > \eta \\ * \eta > m^w \end{array} \right\} : \{ \#, a, o \} \text{---} \{ a, o \}$ (not fully regular)
- Details in Blumenfeld 2002a.

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Nominal prefix

- Nau: *e-*, *i-*
- Kir: *te-*, *de-*, *do-*, from Kir *te-*

Strong positive diagnostic:

- All items with *te-*, *de-*, *do-* are loans

Many loans lack it:

- Kiribati loans: *e-dagua* 'dolphin', *uwada* 'burden'
- English loans: *e-reit* 'rice', *e-pat* 'fat'
- German loans: *mak* 'money', *firmament*, *kamel*, *palme*, *schafe*...

Nauruan unanalyzed monomorphemic items with morphologically complex Kiribati correspondents:

- Nau *te-monibæ* 'chief, Lord, God', Kir *moa-ni-ba* 'first of the land; excelling'
- Nau *de-adinimara* 'bastard', Kir *nati-ni-marae* 'child of open space'
- Nau *taramawir* 'worship', Kir *taro-mauri*, cf. Kir *mauri* 'health; alive', Nau cognate *(ti-)mor*.

Correspondences where Kir shows a different reflex from Nau (Bender et al. 2003, Blumenfeld 2022a):

PMc	*w	*s,*S	*c	*r
Nau	∅	d,g	ř	r
Kir	w	r	r	∅

- Kir *r* cannot correspond to Nau *r*; such correspondence indicative of loans
 - Nau *t-enauro*r, Kir *anaororo* ‘garfish’
 - Nau *toroŋab*, Kir *toroŋabu* ‘story, narrative’

Orthographic Kir *t, k* are often borrowed as *d, g* in Nau, resulting in an apparent PMc **t*, **k* > Nau *d*, *g* correspondence, impossible in native vocabulary

- Nau *dΛ-gaidu*, Kir *te kaitu* ‘*Vitex negundo*’
- Nau *te-dΛbΛge*, Kir *tabakea* ‘turtle’

Loans failing to undergo expected Nau developments:

- Final Vs are lost in Nau, retained in Kir except for high Vs after nasals
- *k* > *t* before *i*
- *k* > *w* adjacent to *u*
 - *dogiga* ‘octopus’ < Kir *kika* (also showing Kir *t* > *k*; PMc **kuyita*)
 - *dogiebu* ‘spider lily, *Crinum asiaticum*’ < Kir *kiebu*, PMc **kiepwu*
 - *e-dagua* ‘dolphin’ < Kir *takua*

Examples of clear loans undergoing Nau developments:

- *i-tirir* 'Nauru red warbler, *Acrocephalus rehsei*' (Buden 2008) < Kir *kiriri*
 - Loan because of Kir *r*: Nau *r* correspondence
 - The Kir form is a Polynesian loan; cf. POc *kVlili '*Heteroscelus incanus*' (POc *l > Kir *n* expected)
 - Undergoes final vowel loss and *ki* > *ti*
- ⟨*te-wuiw*⟩ (Hambruch 1914) < Kir *ikuku* 'mallet for pounding pandanus'
 - Undergoes both final vowel loss and *k* > *w* adjacent to *u*
 - Cf. more recent doublet from same source, Nau *Eigigu* 'mallet; personal name'

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Data sources:

- Fieldwork
- Jacob et al. 1996 dictionary draft
- Thaman et al. 1994, Buden 2008
- Hambruch 1914, Kayser 1937
- Items only known orthographically are enclosed in angled brackets
- Kiribati: Trussel and Groves, *Combined Kiribati-English dictionary* (online)

Plants (cf. Thaman et al. 1994)

Wild:

- *dogiebu* 'spider lily, *Crinum asiaticum*' < Kir *kiebu*
- ⟨*de-reiongo*⟩ 'Cerbera sp.' < Kir *reianggo*
- *dΛ-keanj* 'sword fern, *Nephrolepis biserrata*' < Kir *keang*
- *dΛ-gaidu* 'Vitex negundo' < Kir *kaitu*

Cultivated:

- *da-magmag* 'Polynesian arrowroot' < Kir *makemake*
- ⟨*da-babai*⟩ 'giant swamp taro' < Kir *babai*
- *de-meria* 'Plumeria' < Kir *meria*
- *de-me* 'breadfruit' < Kir *mai*

Marine:

- *t-enauro* 'garfish sp.' < Kir *anaroro*
- *dΛ-giga* 'octopus' < Kir *kika*
- *te-dΛbΛge* 'turtle' < Kir *tabakea*
- *e-dagua* 'dolphin' < Kir *takua*

Land:

- *di-mininnir* 'mosquito' < Kir *maninnara*
- *i-kumudodo* 'rat' < Kir *kimoatoto* (Pn)
- *æřeow* 'spider' < Kir *areau i-tirir* 'Nauru red warbler, *Acrocephalus rehsei*' (Buden 2008) < Kir *kiriri*
- *dΛ-gigiæ* 'white dove; black-naped tern' < Kir *kiakia*
- *do-mo* < Kir *moa* (Pn)

Dwellings

- *te-kawa* 'village' < Kir *kawa*
- *dΛ-maneb* 'meeting house' < Kir *maneaba*
- *⟨de dangang⟩* 'large horizontal beam' < Kir *tatanga*
- *do-rogi* 'fence, enclosure, curtain, screen' < Kir *roki*
- *de-bae* 'platform' < Kir *bao*

Household items, clothing

- *⟨te-wuiw⟩* 'mallet for beating pandanus' < Kir *ikuku*
- *de-ibu* 'coconut shell bottle' < Kir *ibu*
- *ridi* 'grass skirt' < Kir *riri*
- *uba* 'breast plate' < Kir *uba*
- *de-neΛŋ* 'mast, flagpole' < Kir *aneang*
- *uwada* 'burden' < Kir *uota*

- ⟨*de-daru*⟩ ‘dance’ < Kir *teru*
- *toroŋab* ‘story’ < Kir *torongabu*
- *e-aŋabaj* ‘tax’ < Kir *angabai*
- *e-karewe* ‘toddy’ < Kir *karewe*
- *dΛ-mæŋi* ‘drunkenness’ < Kir *manging*
- *de-birinok* ‘children’s outdoor game’ < Kir *ka-burinako*

Religion

- *tetaro* ‘pray’ < Kir *tataro* (Pn)
- *taramawir* ‘worship’, Kir *taro-mauri*
- *ruwo* < Kir *ruoia*
- *aduw-in* ‘god, idol’ < Kir *atua* (Pn)

The body, health

- *rab^wΛdΛ*- 'body' < Kir *rabata*
- *ařΛg* 'sick' < Kir *aoraki*
- *bia* 'swollen; lump' < Kir *bia*
- *kim^wam^wa* 'suckle; breast' < Kir *kamamma*
- *b^wereto*- 'belly' < Kir *bareto*
- *dΛ-ginΛga* 'wound, sore' < Kir *kinaka*

Other general vocabulary

- *gonæ* 'can; catch' < Kir *kona*
- *m^wΛgĩř* 'work' < Kir *makuri*
- *buΛg* 'help' < Kir *buoka*
- *dogi* 'end' < Kir *toki*
- *iřuwa* 'stranger' < Kir *irua*

- Many loans: land plants, large marine animals, social structure
- Few loans: fish names, fishing, canoe vocabulary

Using sound change such as final vowel loss as a diagnostic, the following **very approximate** division emerges:

- Older layer: building vocabulary; land animals
- Newer layer: plants; marine animals; religious vocabulary; disease

tib^wæ!

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