

attention only on the nasals. What will you reconstruct for these? How many nasals do you postulate for Proto-Tulu? State your evidence.

NOTE: $j = [j]$, IPA [dʒ]; $n =$ IPA [ŋ].

Shivalli	Sapaliga	gloss
1. a:nɪ	a:nɪ	'male'
2. unɪ	a:nɪ	'dine'
3. mannɪ	mannɪ	'soil'
4. ko:nɛ	ko:nɛ	'room'
5. e:nɪ	ya:nɪ	'r'
6. ninɛ	ninɛ	'wick'
7. ja:nɛ	da:nɛ	'what'
8. sanɛ	tanɛ	'conceiving'

(Bhat 2001: 11)

Exercise 5.3 Polynesian

The Polynesian languages of the Pacific form a subgroup of the Oceanic branch of the Austronesian family of languages. (1) What are the sound correspondences found in these data? What sound do you reconstruct for the proto-language to represent each sound correspondence set? (2) What sound change or changes have taken place in each of these languages? (3) What is the best reconstruction (proto-form) for 6, 16, 20 and 32? Show how your postulated sound changes apply to each of these to produce the modern forms.

NOTE: <'> = [ʔ].

Maori	Tongan	Samoa	Rarotongan	Hawaiian	gloss
1. tapu	tapu	tapu	tapu	kapu	'forbidden', 'taboo'
2. pito	pito	pito	pito	piko	'navel'
3. puhi	puhi	—	pu'i	puhi	'blow'
4. taha	tafa	tafa	ta'a	kaha	'side'
5. tae	ta'e	tae	tae	kae	'excrement'
6. tagata	tagata	tagata	tagata	kanaka	'man, person'
7. tai	tahi	tai	tai	kai	'sea'
8a. kaha	kafa	'afa	ka'a	'aha	'strong'
8b. maro-hi-malohi	malosi	malosi	ma-ro'i	—	'strong'

Maori	Tongan	Samoa	Rarotongan	Hawaiian	gloss
9. karo	kalo	'alo	karo	'alo	'dodge'
10. aka-	aka	a'a	aka	a'a	'root'
11. au	'ahu	au	au	au	'gall'
12. uru	'ulu	ulu	uru	ulu	'head'
13. uhi	ufi	ufi	u'i	uhi	'centre'
14. ahi	afi	afi	a'i	ahi	'yam'
15. fa:	fa:	fa:	a:	ha:	'fire'
16. feke	feke	fe'e	'eke	he'e	'four'
17. ika	ika	i'a	ika	i'a	'octopus'
18. ihu	ihu	isu	puta-i'u	ihu	'fish'
19. hau	hau	sau	'au	hau	'nose'
20. hika	—	si'a	'ika	hi'a	'dew'
21. hiku	hiku	si'u	'iku	hi'u	'firemaking'
22. ake	hake	a'e	ake	a'e	'tail'
23. uru	—	ulu	uru	ulu	'up'
24. manga	manga	manga	manga	mana	'enter'
25. mau	ma'u	mau	mau	mau	'branch'
26. mara	—	mala	mara	mala	'constant'
27. noho	nofo	nofo	no'o	noho	'fermented food'
28. ʔaru	ʔaru	ʔalu	ʔaru	nalu	'sit'
29. ʔutu	ʔutu	ʔutu	ʔutu	nuku	'wave'
30. waka	vaka	va'a	vaka	wa'a	'mouth'
31. wae	va'e	vae	vae	wae	'canoe'
32. raho	laho	laso	ra'o	laho	'leg'
33. rou	lohu	lou	rou	lou	'scrotum'
34. roŋo	(loŋo-)	loŋo	roŋo	lono	'fruit-picking pole'
35. rua	(loŋo-a:'a 'noise', loŋo-noa 'silence')	lua	rua	lua	'hear'
	(in compounds)	lua	rua	lua	'two'

Table 1. Polynesian consonants correspondence sets and reconstruction.

	Mao	Ton	Sam	Rar	Haw	PP
C1	t	t	t	t	k	*t
C2	p	p	p	p	p	*p
C3	h	h	s	ʔ	h	*s
C4	h	f	f	ʔ	h	*f
C5	∅	ʔ	∅	∅	∅	*ʔ
C6	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ	n	*ŋ
C7	∅	h	∅	∅	∅	*h
C8	k	k	ʔ	k	ʔ	*k
C9	m	m	m	m	m	*m
C10	r	l	l	r	l	*L
C11	ϕ	f	f	ʔ	h	*f
C12	n	n	n	n	n	*n
C13	w	v	v	v	w	*V

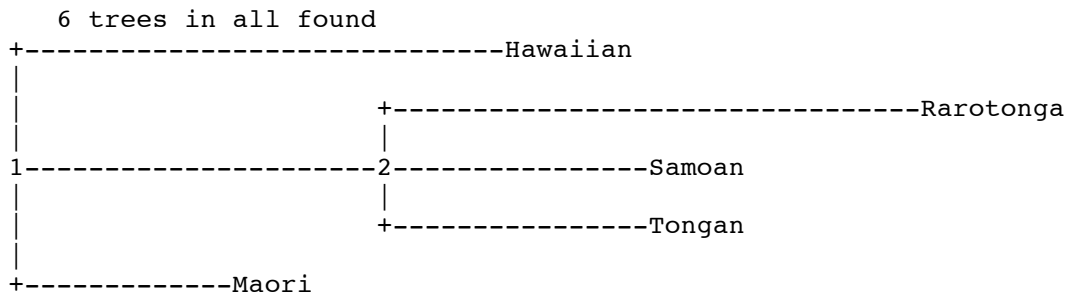
Table 2. ‘Distance’-encoding of Polynesian languages

	Mao	Ton	Sam	Rar	Haw
Mao	0	6	6	4	5
Ton	6	0	4	5	8
Sam	6	4	0	5	6
Rar	4	5	5	0	8
Haw	5	8	6	8	0

Table 3. ‘Character’-encoding of correspondence sets. In total, there are 14 necessary changes. Parsimony results in needing minimally 16 changes

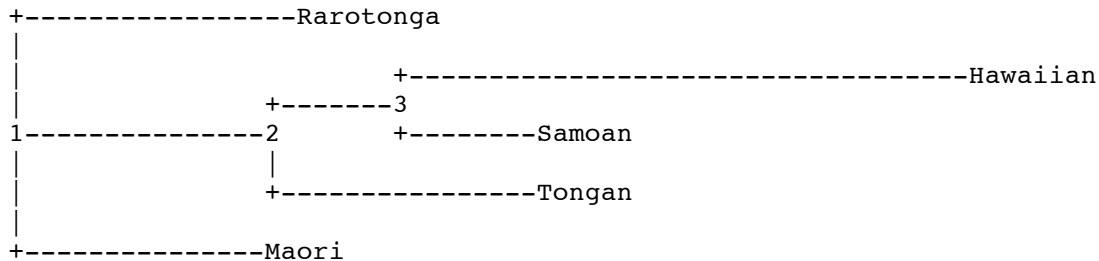
	Mao	Ton	Sam	Rar	Haw
C1	1	1	1	1	2
C2	1	1	1	1	1
C3	1	1	2	3	1
C4	1	2	2	3	1
C5	1	2	1	1	1
C6	1	1	1	1	2
C7	1	2	1	1	1
C8	1	1	2	1	2
C9	1	1	1	1	1
C10	1	2	2	1	2
C11	1	2	2	3	4
C12	1	1	1	1	1
C13	1	2	2	2	1

Discrete character parsimony algorithm, version 3.65



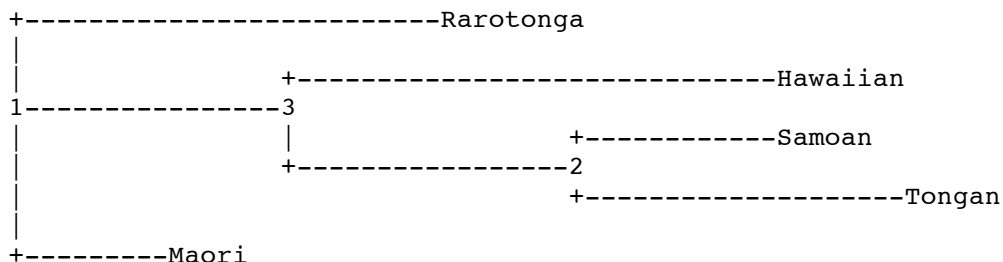
requires a total of 16.000 between and length

between	and	length
1	Hawaiian	3.67
1	2	2.67
2	Rarotonga	4.00
2	Samoaan	2.00
2	Tongan	2.00
1	Maori	1.67



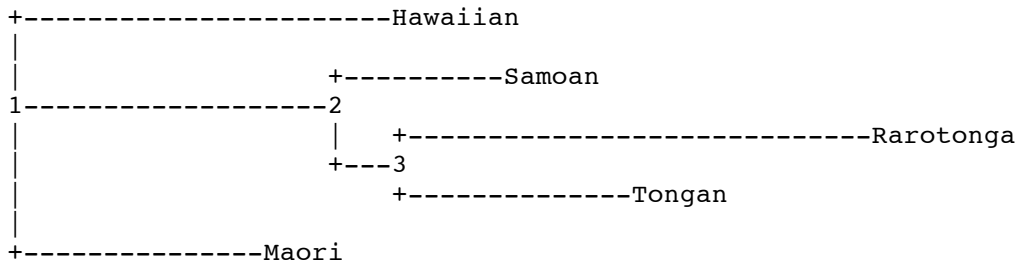
requires a total of 16.000 between and length

between	and	length
1	Rarotonga	2.42
1	2	2.17
2	3	1.00
3	Hawaiian	4.75
3	Samoaan	1.25
2	Tongan	2.25
1	Maori	2.17

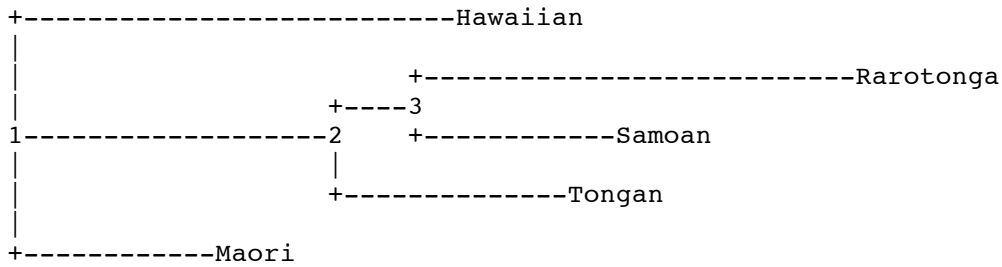


requires a total of 16.000 between and length

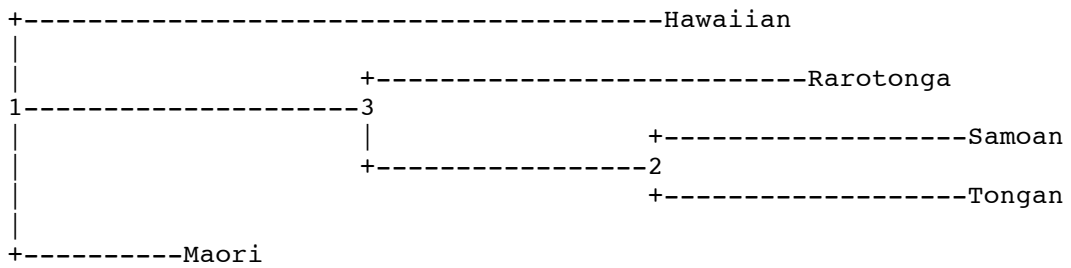
between	and	length
1	Rarotonga	3.12
1	3	2.00
3	Hawaiian	3.62
3	2	2.12
2	Samoaan	1.50
2	Tongan	2.50
1	Maori	1.12



	requires a total of	length
between	and	
1	Hawaiian	3.17
1	2	2.67
2	Samoan	1.50
2	3	0.50
3	Rarotonga	4.00
3	Tongan	2.00
1	Maori	2.17



	requires a total of	length
between	and	
1	Hawaiian	3.67
1	2	2.67
2	3	0.67
3	Rarotonga	3.67
3	Samoan	1.67
2	Tongan	2.00
1	Maori	1.67



	requires a total of	length
between	and	
1	Hawaiian	4.12
1	3	2.17
3	Rarotonga	2.79
3	2	1.79
2	Samoan	2.00
2	Tongan	2.00
1	Maori	1.12

Table 4. Transition probabilities between consonants (intuitive estimation). Only the probabilities presently relevant are given. Direction of change is from row to column.

	t	k	h	s	ʔ	f	ϕ	ø	ŋ	n	r	l	w	v
t		0.5												
k	0.5				0.9									
h				0.2	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.7						
s			0.8		0.8	0.6	0.6	0.9						
ʔ		0.1	0.3	0.2		0.2	0.2	0.7						
f			0.8	0.4	0.8		0.5	0.9						
ϕ			0.8	0.4	0.8	0.5		0.9						
ø			0.3	0.1	0.3	0.1	0.1							
ŋ										0.5				
n									0.5					
r												0.5		
l											0.5			
w													0.5	
v														0.5

Table 5. Most likely probabilities for each correspondence set and each possible root. Informative correspondences are set in boldface. The mean is taken only over the informative sets. Root 6 is the most likely.

	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	R6	R7
C1	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50
C2	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
C3	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.41	0.45	0.45	0.56
C4	0.51	0.51	0.51	0.51	0.64	0.64	0.64
C5	0.30	0.30	0.34	0.34	0.49	0.70	0.49
C6	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50
C7	0.30	0.30	0.34	0.34	0.49	0.70	0.49
C8	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81	0.81
C9	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
C10	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50	0.50
C11	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32	0.32
C12	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
C13	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25
Mean							
Infor.	0.38	0.38	0.40	0.40	0.52	0.62	0.55

References

- Campbell, Lyle. 2004. *Historical Linguistics: An Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Dunn, Michael, Angela Terrill, Ger Reesink, Robert A. Foley, and Stephen C. Levinson. 2005. Structural Phylogenetics and the Reconstruction of Ancient Language History. *Science* 309: 2072-2075.
- Haspelmath, Martin, Dryer, Matthew S., Comrie, Bernard, and Gil, David. eds. 2005. *The World Atlas of Language Structures*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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- Schleicher, August. 1873. *Die darwinsche Theorie und die Sprachwissenschaft*. Weimar: Böhlau.

Software

These are all free software packages that run on a wide variety of platforms:

NJplot: Rerooting of trees

< <http://pbil.univ-lyon1.fr/software/njplot.html> >

SplitsTree: Phylogenetic network analysis

< <http://www.splitstree.org/> >

Phylip: Maximum parsimony (and much more)

< <http://evolution.genetics.washington.edu/phylip.html> >

WALS Interactive Reference Tool: Language Maps

(distributed with Haspelmath *et al.* 2005)