

are the essential tones and tone relationships and to present these as simply as such a complicated system allows, for the practical student of the language to learn.

## DISCUSSION :

Prof. MARCEL COHEN (Paris) :

L'emploi du tambour parlant existe-t-il seulement chez les populations ayant des langues à tons?

ANSWER of Miss WARD :

I have no experience of this.

Prof. W. HEINITZ (Hamburg) :

Die „Tonhöhe“ in den behandelten Sprachen ist überwiegend an die Vokale gebunden. Vokale können geflüstert werden. In der Flüstersprache können seitens des Hörers die verschiedenen beabsichtigten Tonhöhen nicht sicher unterschieden werden. — Können sich die Eingeborenen in einer Tonsprache flüsternd verständigen? — Wenn ja, dann müssten mindestens in diesen Fällen die akustisch wahrnehmbaren Tonhöhen gegenüber etwaigen (womöglich optisch wahrzunehmenden) Intensitätsunterschieden nur sekundäre Verständigungsbedeutung haben.

ANSWER of Miss WARD :

The difference in tone cannot be heard in whisper, but it is possible that some kind of extra breath-force may give the clue as to what form of the word is meant.

58. Mr. T. EARL PARDOE (PROVO) : *African Tonal Patterns... Extant in Present Day Afro-American Speech.*

(Summary ; complete text not having been sent in.)

The use of phono-photographic technics is fast developing as a material aid in linguistic and dialect study. The peculiar melody of Afro-American speech in the isolated southern districts of the United States has not been phono-photographically analyzed until the present study.

By selecting negro subjects whose parents or grand-parents were slaves brought over directly from Africa, we find tonal patterns and speech cadences, similar to present day African pitch-patterns, dominating the Afro-American dialect. The study shows that the first negroes, when brought to America, did not

degenerate into the low forms of English dialects, but adapted the new language to their African traditions and linguistic forms. This marks a new approach to the study of Afro-English dialects.

59. Mr. N. C. SCOTT (London) : *The Vowel System of the Tagalog Language of the Philippine Islands.*

Excluding dialects, GABRIEL FERRAND names more than twenty languages of the Indonesian branch of the Malayo-Polynesian family spoken in the Philippine Islands. Of these, Tagalog is said to have 1½ million speakers, including the native population of Manila, the capital. At the present time, this language has a particular interest, for with the promise of political independence a movement has grown up in favour of a national language, and in competition with a number of others, including Bisaya, which has a greater number of speakers, but, I understand, a considerable diversity of dialects, Tagalog has been chosen as the lingua franca of the Islands.

In 1917, Professor BLOOMFIELD of Illinois published in the *University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature*, Vol. III, Nos 2-4, a detailed study of the speech of a Tagalog speaker from Balacán Province, P. I. My own observations have been made on the pronunciation of Mr. R. A. RODRIGUEZ of Sariaya, Tayabas, P. I., a lawyer practising in Manila. Mr. RODRIGUEZ is interested in the adoption of Tagalog as the national language, and uses it in private, though, in accordance with common practice, he uses Spanish in the Courts and on formal occasions. In general, his pronunciation appears to be very similar to that Prof. BLOOMFIELD's informant, with certain differences that are probably dialectal.

To phoneticians, Tagalog is interesting for the fewness of the phonemes it uses ; probably nineteen, and possibly eighteen, in all. In the case of vowels, there appears to be the remarkably small number of three. In writing according to Spanish tradition, the letters *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*, are used ; but the sounds represented by *o* and *e* seem to belong, in Tagalog words, to the same phonemes as those designated by *u* and *i* respectively.

The *u* that is used in non-final stressed syllables is, compared with Cardinal *u*, more open and advanced ; it resembles the short *u* of English Received Pronunciation. In the same phoneme, are sounds that are between this and one that lies between Cardinal *o* and Cardinal *ɔ*. I have discovered no simple rule for the distribution of the members of this phoneme, but, in general, the situation is as follows :

An *u* of the type first mentioned is used in non-final stressed

syllables, and in unstressed syllables preceding the stress. Thus in non-final stressed syllables we have such examples as : 'sunog, *fire*; 'buhaj, *life*; 'puso?, *heart*; and in pretonic syllables; luk'so, *jump*; su'balit, *but*; pu'rok, *people*. On the other hand, in final stressed syllables, and syllables following the stress (which are, in effect, final), an opener vowel is used. So we have ba'lon, *a well*; ba'to, *stone*; wa'lo, *eight*, with stressed final syllables, and 'bao, *shell*; 'ilog, *river*; 'sino, *who*, with unstressed final syllables. There is a general tendency to use a closer vowel when j precedes, as in 'tajo, *we*; 'najon, *village*; and to use the most open variety in final open syllables, as in a'ko, *I*. Exceptionally, Mr. RODRIGUEZ pronounces u in the final syllable of the words su'su?, *snail*; tu'ju?, *dried*; sinu'sunug, *burning*. Prof. BLOOMFIELD also found exceptional cases of this type, but in a different set of words.

What has been said so far applies to words in isolation; in connected speech, the final o is frequently replaced by u when there is no pause. This seems to depend on the closeness of the connection that is felt between the words. The word lu'god has the form lu'gud in the sentence.

si'laj lu'gud na lu'gud nan maki'kitan mu'li?.

*They were very happy when they met again,*

and 'tuŋo is replaced by 'tuŋu in

'saan an 'tuŋu 'mo?

*Where are you going?*

There is besides a class of words to which the general rule does not in every case apply. In the words 'poon, *lord*; 'pook, *place*; 'poot, *surly*; 'loob, *will*; tu'too, *true*; 'oo, *yes*; do'on, *there*; 'majro'on, *there is*, in which two vowels of this phoneme are separated only by a non-distinctive glottal stop, Mr. RODRIGUEZ makes the first only a little closer than the second. In forms such as nakapan,lo'loob, in which reduplication occurs, an o may be found before the stress. The form of these words is constant; o is not replaced by u in connected speech. In contrast with these cases, Mr. RODRIGUEZ usually pronounces 'suot, *dress*; 'tuos, *settlement of accounts*; 'buo?, *whole*, in conformity with the general rule, as well as the words su'ot and tu'os, which are distinguished from 'suot and 'tuos by the place of the stress.

I think I am right in saying that Prof. BLOOMFIELD's informant used the open vowel in both syllables of all the words of this type that he quotes except tu'os and the word bu'o?, which he sometimes pronounced so, and sometimes bo'o?. It seems, too, that he put the stress on the second syllable in all cases but that of 'oo.

The most frequently used member of the a phoneme is an

open vowel closer to Cardinal a than to Cardinal ɑ. The most striking variant is one that may be as close as Cardinal ɛ. It is somewhat retracted from the front position, and occurs in certain cases before j. In rapid speech, the words aj, *is*; and maj and 'majro'on, *there is*, are pronounced ej, mej, mejron. Similarly, the pronouns si'ja, *he*; and si'la, *they*; and the interrogative particle ba, when they are followed by the predicative particle j, appear as sjej, si'lej, bej.

'sjej tumiti'ra

*he dwells*

nan si'lej duma'tiŋ do'on la'hat ej wa'lan 'tao sa 'bahaj

*When they all arrived there, nobody was in the house.*

'mejron ka 'ban 'bukid?

*Have you got an estate?*

ijan 'bej ban'ka? ?

*Is that a boat?*

The closer vowel is occasionally used in other words in rapid speech, but I have never heard it in final position.

Adjacent vowels are usually separated by a non-distinctive glottal stop. When, however, the locative particle sa, or the attributive na, precedes a word that begins with an unstressed i, it frequently happens that the stop is omitted and the closer vowel used, so that the effect is quite similar to that of the previous examples.

u'wi ka 'ba ŋajuŋ 'araw nej'to? (broader transcription : na i'to)

*Are you going home to-day?*

'dapat kan mag'tuŋu sejban 'daan (sa iban)

*You must go the other way.*

In stressed non-final syllables, the vowel i is not quite as close as Cardinal i. In final syllables, it is somewhat opener still, and often a little retracted, especially in closed syllables. This is illustrated in the words 'isip, *intelligence*, and i'sip, *taking thought*.

In one word, the word ba'bae, Mr. RODRIGUEZ uses a much opener vowel apparently belonging to this phoneme. It lies between Cardinal e and Cardinal ɛ. Prof. BLOOMFIELD found that his informant used a vowel of this type in final position in a number of words, such as tutu'be, *dragon-fly*; kam'ben, *goat*; u'le?, *again*, in all of which Mr. RODRIGUEZ uses i. Curiously enough, he gives ba'bai for the one word in which Mr. RODRIGUEZ uses e. I have found no explanation for this exceptional case.

A considerable number of Spanish words occur. Some of them are pronounced in the Spanish way, with o and e appearing in positions in which they would be replaced by u and i in

Tagalog words. Thus we have 'bobo, *stupid*, and re'seta, *prescription*. On the other hand, the word for *mad* was sometimes pronounced 'loko, but sometimes, in accordance with Tagalog habits, 'luko. The word for *chemist's shop* was sometimes bo'tika, and sometimes bu'tika, though spelt with o. In some cases, Tagalog suffixes are added to incompletely assimilated Spanish words, as in boto'san, *polling*, with o occurring before the stress.

60. Dr. TING-MING TCHEN (Paris) : *L'emprunt des mots étrangers dans la langue chinoise.*

L'évolution du vocabulaire est soumise avant tout à des conditions sociales qui représentent non pas des facteurs isolés et immuables, mais des actions réciproques et variables de l'ensemble des forces sociales dont les résultats peuvent être fort divers d'une époque à l'autre. Cependant, les facteurs externes qui conditionnent les faits linguistiques d'une langue ne peuvent agir qu'à travers les éléments internes de l'idiome linguistique auquel elle appartient.

De la présence de deux actions opposées à l'intérieur du système linguistique du chinois résultent les diverses tendances particulières au cours de l'évolution de notre langue. Ce mouvement contradictoire se manifeste en effet dans l'opposition entre le caractère conservateur de l'écriture idéographique et la tendance au polysyllabisme de la langue parlée.

Depuis quelque temps, l'expression de „monosyllabisme” ou „langue isolante” est employée assez couramment par certains linguistes pour caractériser la langue chinoise. Nous nous permettons de réfuter tout d'abord en quelques mots cette assertion.

En analysant les phonèmes composés d'une chaîne parlée nous voyons qu'il est faux de croire qu'il existe une langue au monde où chaque phonème puisse être indépendant des autres. Au point de vue phonétique, les éléments sonores d'une phrase parlée, tant dans le chinois que dans les autres langues, sont intimement liés les uns aux autres et s'influencent réciproquement dans leur forme phonétique.

D'autre part, si l'on remarque les vocables de la langue chinoise, il n'en existe guère qui soient formés par un simple monosyllabe. Au contraire, une grande quantité de mots sont formés par des polysyllabes. Nous en avons d'ailleurs des exemples dans la langue classique. Le fait est que plus la langue évolue, plus la tendance au polysyllabisme se manifeste davantage.

Cependant, malgré la tendance au polysyllabisme de la langue parlée, le chinois écrit conserve toujours son système idéographique. Or, ce système particulier de l'écriture chinoise

n'indique pas la prononciation du mot. Mais il représente des signes visuels des images d'objets et de symboles. Chacun de ces signes ne représente qu'une syllabe simple de la langue parlée. Ce qui donne au chinois écrit l'aspect de langue isolante ou monosyllabique. Aussi devons-nous dire que l'idée de parler du monosyllabisme de la langue chinoise est venue d'une considération unilatérale de l'écriture, sans penser à la langue parlée. Car, chaque caractère chinois représenté dans la langue écrite ne constitue pas un mot proprement dit. Au contraire, un seul mot est représenté souvent dans la langue écrite par deux ou plusieurs caractères.

Tel est le fait qui nous montre une contradiction entre la langue parlée et la langue écrite. L'instabilité du système linguistique du chinois n'est que la conséquence de l'opposition entre le caractère idéographique de l'écriture et la tendance au polysyllabisme de la langue parlée dont la réaction se reflète profondément dans l'emprunt des mots étrangers.

D'une part, la langue parlée, malgré les particularités de son système phonique, tend à introduire les mots étrangers sous leur forme brute. C'est pourquoi elle recourt autant que possible à la transcription phonétique des mots étrangers. D'autre part, la langue écrite, par son caractère idéographique, ne peut assimiler facilement les mots étrangers à son propre vocabulaire. Cette dernière, tout en conservant l'unité du langage, exerce constamment une influence sur la langue parlée. La force de persistance de la langue écrite provoque la transformation des emprunts bruts de la langue parlée en emprunts sémantiques. Ce procédé permet en effet, une naturalisation parfaite des mots étrangers dans le vocabulaire indigène.

Prenons ici seulement trois exemples pour justifier ce que nous venons de dire. Donnons d'abord un exemple de l'emprunt ancien. Un mot tel que : *bousa*, est venu du Sanscrit, le mot de *bouddha* (1). C'est un emprunt brut dans la langue classique, mais il a été ensuite représenté dans la langue écrite par un seul signe qui est devenu alors un monosyllabe (parce que chaque signe de l'écriture chinoise ne représente qu'une syllabe de la langue parlée). Ce signe se prononce *fo* en pékinois et *fe* en dialecte du Sud. Cependant la langue parlée conserve jusqu'ici les deux phonèmes *bousa*, tant dans la langue officielle que dans tous les autres dialectes.

(1) Le mot *bousa* < *bjuieudo* est venu du sanscrit *budhisattva* et le mot *fo* < *vuiet* < *bjuiet* est venu du sanscrit *búddha*. Les deux mots ont une étymologie commune en sanscrit. Ils se sont introduits en chinois, par deux mots différents qui représentent les deux termes bouddhistes. Mais la distinction de ces deux mots est moins claire dans la langue populaire d'aujourd'hui.