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ЧАСТО ЦИТИРУЕМАЯ РАБОТА Р. ЯКОБСОНА ИЛИ ПОЧЕМУ МАМА И ... МАМА?

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R. JAKOBSON REVISITED OR WHY MAMA AND...MAMA?

Anatoly Zeldin

A closer look at the often cited Roman Jakobson's work "Why Mama and Papa?" reveals that the concept of 'mama' does not always refer to Motherhood. The paper focuses on some aspects related to the derivation of the basic maternal term and describes how it developed into 'father'/'dad'/'person', etc. social labels, which are a prevalent (although not an exclusive) part of the inchoative verbal development of baby speech. The lexemes, comprising similar semantics and phonological contours, were taken from 1000 languages from around the world and this phenomenon is studied globally and cross-linguistically. Among the parental terms, "mama" lexemes meaning "dad", "father", "husband", "male", "man", "person", and "human being" (due to semantic shifts), manifest less of a worldwide tendency for cross-linguistic distribution than "mama" "mam" and "mother"; nevertheless, they are widely represented in lexicon on the global language map. The noted lexico-semantic universals of family terms' domains may serve as useful tools for semantic shifts' study in lexical-semantic typology. We argue that the mentioned greatly overlooked tendency bears world-wide significance, deeply rooted in human psychology, and influences the semantic development of an individual speaker and a language community. Thus, we assume that certain language paradigms are naturally determined.

Keywords: nursery words, development of baby speech, semantics and phonological contours, cross-linguistic, world-wide significance.

Внимательное прочтение часто цитируемой работы Романа Якобсона «Почему мама и папа?» показывает, что концепт «мама» не всегда относится к материнству. В статье рассматриваются некоторые аспекты, связанные с происхождением основного термина, относящегося к материнству, и описывается, как он превратился в «отца» / «папу» / «человека» и т. д., в социальные ярлыки, которые являются преобладающей (хотя и не исключительной) частью начального вербального развития детской речи. Лексемы, содержащие схожую семантику и фонологические контуры, были взяты из 1000 языков со всего мира и изучались с точки зрения глобального и кросс-культурного подхода. Среди терминов, обозначающих родителей, лексема *tata* в значении «папа», «отец», «муж», «мужчина», «человек» и «человеческое существо» (семантический сдвиг) в меньшей степени отражает общемировую кросс-лингвистическую тенденцию, чем *tata* в значении «мама» и «мать». Тем не менее, они широко представлены в лексике языковой карты мира. Отмеченные лексико-семантические универсалии доменов семейных терминов могут служить полезным инструментом для изучения семантических сдвигов в лексико-семантической типологии. Мы утверждаем, что упомянутая и в значительной степени игнорируемая тенденция имеет общемировое значение с глубокими корнями в психологии человека и влияет на семантическое развитие как отдельного говорящего, так и языкового сообщества. Таким образом, мы предполагаем, что некоторые лингвистические парадигмы природообусловлены.

Ключевые слова: термин материнства, развитие детской речи, семантический и фонологический контур, кросс-лингвистический, общемировой.

INTRODUCTION

Most scholars maintain that human language emerged somewhere 150–200,000 years ago [Bickerton, 1995], [Chomsky, 2002], [Fitch, 2010], [Hurford, 2011]. The diachronic depth, at which the comparative-historic method has been applicable, is no more than 10,000 years old; however, many ex-

perts in the field are more conservative, setting the limits of the comparative-historical depth at 5–7000 years before the present time. In other words, from 90% to 95% of the language evolution timescale is "a total mystery" (as Chomsky put it). The few attempts of proto-human etymologies [Bengston, 2010], [Bengston & Ruhlen, 1994] were met with

profound scepticism by mainstream researchers, because these results were neither confirmable nor refutable.

The search for the phonetic contours of certain primordial roots, which belong to the so-called “ultraconserved words” [Pagel et al., 2013], seems justified with respect to research into the origins of speech.

In this light, it is important to cite three premises: 1. The rate of word retention in vocabulary is in inverse proportion to its use in everyday speech [Pagel et al., 2007]; 2. The Gekkel principle is partly applicable to the emergence of language [Bickerton, 1995], [Jakobson & Halle, 1956], [Locke, 1994], [Szemerényi, 1960], i.e. language evolution can be exhibited by the baby speech development - from babbling to a full-scale speech production; 3. Language evolution is conditioned, among other things, by the vocal tract anatomy and the cognitive abilities of a child who learns its native language from its environment.

Thus, it is reasonable to assume that certain language paradigms are naturally determined.

1. WHAT IS THE PROBLEM WITH GEORGIAN?

Even within the most conservative layers of the human lexicon, parenting terms fulfill a special position. This position went as far as denying to *mom* and *dad* what would seem to be their intuitively privileged position in human mind. To wit: they are not included in Swadesh 100-word list. Although statistically *mama* and quite often *papa* or *dad* are usually found among the first ten words learned and used by babies [Tardif et al., 2008].

A classic theory of language origins [Jespersen, 1922] says it is quite plausible that *mama/papa* represent the natural sounds of human vocalism, like *meaw* or *cockle-do*.

The title of the paper is actually a paraphrase of the well-known work “Why ‘Mama’ and ‘Papa’?” by R. Jakobson, which delves into the phenomenon of similar phonological contours within the confines of parenting terms in genetically unrelated languages [Jakobson, 1960]. Many researches were devoted to *mama* in baby talk, whereas *papa* (to pay homage to fathers as well!) was believed to be the first word in the primordial tongue of humanity, so called Proto-Human or Proto-Sapiens [de l’Etang & Bancel, 2005]. The *raison d’être* of the present paper is to pinpoint another common regularity of such kind.

“Sometimes some quite specific correspondences have been noted, such as the tendency for languages to express ‘mother’ with a nasal, and ‘father’ with an oral front consonant...” [Crystal, 1991, p. 175]. The mentioned ‘tendency’ is global: J. Mur-

dock collected 1072 parenting terms (531 designates of ‘mother’ and 541 of ‘father’) to justify his thesis of the ‘*alleged tendency* [italics are mine – A. Z.] of unrelated languages to develop similar words for father and mother on the basis of nursery forms’ [Jakobson, 1960, p. 124].

In an earlier work, we discussed the psychological and physiological processes that gave rise to the vocal pattern *mama* and how it was secured in lexicon [Zeldin, 2018]. In the past, a number of researchers noted “a mystical belief in the weak *m*” “suited to name a woman...” [Jakobson, 1960, p. 130]. Additionally, an even more bizarre ‘*théorie du ‘miam-miam’*’ was put forward, stating “on a constaté que tout autant que la A, le M avait de droit pour être considéré comme le son mere” [Quillier, 1996, p. 215]. Here we can cite also Jewish and Christian mystics who discussed the inherent quality of the /m/-phoneme to symbolize mother/woman [Ginzburgh, 1992], [Suarèz, 1992]. Still, “the pattern is not universal. In Georgian, *mama* means ‘father’ and in a number of South Asian languages (e.g. Tamil, Telugu), *mama* means ‘mother’s brother’” [Crystal, 1991, p. 175]. Or “... English has *mama*, French *maman*, German *mama*, Italian *mamma*, Swahili *mama*, and Chinese *mah*. But the sounds are not always given the same meaning by adults. In Georgian... *mama* perversely [sic! – A. Z.] stands for *father*, and *dada* [*deda* – A. Z.] for *mother*” [Wilkinson, 1971, p. 54].

It is appropriate to focus on another scholarly discussion regarding ‘mother’: “The initial syllable *ma* enters the Proto-Indo-European word for ‘mother’, which has given English *mother*, Spanish *madre*, Russian *mat’*, Sanskrit *mātā*. In Mandarin Chinese, the equivalent word is *mā*, while in Wigaw (Harui) (Papua New Guinea) it is *mam*... Presumably, the frequency of the syllable *ma* in the ‘mother’ word across languages simply reflects the fact that this is typically one of the first syllables that babies articulate clearly; therefore, it is interpreted by adults as the word for ‘mother’. (In the South Caucasian language, Georgian, *mama* means ‘father’ – and ‘mother’ is *deda* – so there are other ways of interpreting the baby’s first utterance)” [Comrie, 1987, pp. 8-9].

Needless to say, that the scholars, cited herein, called attention to the Georgian glosses due to the fact that they contradict the world-wide tendency to express parenting terms as syllables with the nasal m/n for ‘*mama*’ and with the stops for ‘*papa*’ (both groups are labial or coronal). However, if we view the lexicon of parenting terms cross-linguistically, we discover that the Georgian *mama* ‘father’ is not unique at all (the Georgian *deda* ‘mother’ will be considered later).

Austroasiatic: Pacoh *a-ám* ‘father’ (cf. *ai* ‘mother’), Ong *am* ‘father’ (*oy* ‘mother’), Ir *um* ‘father’ (*oy* ‘mother’), Ta’Oih *əm* ‘father’ (*əy* ‘mother’), Ngeq (Kriang) *um*, *uəm* ‘father’ (*əy*, *uy* ‘mother’), Car *ma-mā* ‘daddy!’ (‘child’s cry’, cf. *po-pō* ‘mammy’), Remo (Bonda) *mamu*, *mamuG* ‘uncle’, Gutob (Gadsaba) *mama* ‘father-in-law (mother’s brother, husband of father’s sister)’, Sora *mamaG* ‘maternal uncle’;

Austronesian: Amis *mama* ‘father’, Hoanya *mau-o*, *mauwa*, *amau*, *ma’o*, *mau*, *mama* id., Rukai *mama* id., Tsou *amó* id., Thao *ʔá:maʔ* id., Yami *ama*, *amaʔ* id., Cham *amō* id., Cebuano *amáy* id., Mansaka *amà* id., Ivatan *amâ* id., Kalinga *ama* id., Tboli *mà* id., Maranao *amaq* id., Muna *ama* id., Komodo *mamo* id., Alor *mama* id., Rongga *ma* id., Tetun *ama* id., Talur *aman* id., Luang *amə* id., Dai *amon* id., Imroing *ume* id., Waropen *imai* id., Motlav *imam* id.;

Penutian: Wasco-Wishram *áma-ma* ‘father!’ (voc.), Siuslaw *mətaa* ‘father’, Takelma *ma-* id. (possessive form);

Salishan: Bella Coola *man* ‘father’, Clallam *man* ‘father’, Saanich *men* id.;

Hokan: North Pomo *a-mee* ‘father’, Central Pomo *me-de* id.;

Kiowa-Tanoan: South Tiwa *meme* ‘uncle’, North Tiwa (Taos) *mi-mí-nâ* id.;

Uto-Aztecan: Tübatulabal *a-na* ‘father’;

Oto-Manguean: Mazatec Jalapa de Diaz *na’mi* ‘father’;

Mayan: East Q’anjob’al *mam* ‘father’, North Mam *mamb’aj* ‘papá’, Mam Todos Santos Chuchumatán *man* ‘father’;

Tucanoan: Guanano *maí* ‘¡papá!’ (voc.);

Carib: Chaima *amo* ‘your father’, *umo* ‘my father’, *yaman* ‘father’, Apalai ‘avó’;

Arawakan: Yanesha *moy* ‘papa’, Chamicuro *ma’kona* ‘papa’, ‘sacha-papa’;

Witotoan: Ocaina *moon* ‘tu papá’, Huitoto Minica *moo* ‘padre’, ‘¡padre!’;

Panoan: Matis *ma’ma* ‘father’;

Arauan: Dení *ime’i* ‘pai’;

Tupi: Xetá *mai* ‘pai’, Apaká *oñma* ‘father’;

Nambiquaran: Latundê *mi* ‘father’;

Seri (isolate) *am* ‘her father’;

Waorani (isolate) *moempo* ‘papá’;

Tsimane (Moseten) (isolate) *mama* ‘father’;

Yamana (Yagan) (isolate) *ymú* ‘padre’;

Pume (unclassified) *amãĩ* ‘father’;

Andamanese: Aka-Kede *ma* ‘father’, Aka-Kora *amaye* id., Aka-Jeru –*amai* id., Jarawa *moma:t t ε*, –*mo*, *ume* ‘father’;

Australian: Banjarlang *ma:maŋ* ‘father’, Dyirbal *ɟuma* id., Ngarluma *mama* ‘father’, son of a son’s son, Panytyima *mama* ‘father’, Nyungara *mam* ‘fa-

ther’, ‘man’, Ngaanyatjarra *mama* ‘father’, Pintupi-Luritja *mama* ‘father’, ‘father’s brother’, Putijarra *mama* ‘father’, ‘father’s brother’, Nhanda *ama* ‘father’;

Trans New Guinean: Baruya *maanai* ‘father’, Aeka *mama* id., Binandere *mamo* id., Ewage-Notu *mama*, *mamo* id., Orokaiva *mamana*, *mama* id., Suena *mama* id., Guhu-Samane *mai* id., Gobasi *mam* id., Mape *mam-*, *mama* id., Migabac *mamac* id., Kube *maŋgi* id., Tobo *mam-* id., Gende *nomoa* ‘father’, Siane *me-* id., Bau *mem* id., Mosimo *mama* id., Mirupi *mam-*, *mama-* id., Nake *mama* id., Rempi *mam-* id., Dimir *maŋ* id., Bargam *amam* ‘father’, Daga *maman!* ‘father!’, Kanasi *mama* ‘father’, Koiali *mama* id.,

Central Solomons: Savosavo *mao*, *mau* ‘father’, Bilua *mama* ‘father’;

East Bird’ Head - Sentani: Demta (Sowari) *mami* ‘father’, Tabla *məmai*, *məmai* id.;

East Geelvink Bay: Demisa *amca* ‘father’;

East New Britain: Quaquet *mam*, *mamak*, *mamök* ‘father’, Taulil *mama*, *mamu* id.;

Kaure: Kaure *migye* (dial.) ‘father’;

Pauwasi: Karkar-Yuri *mom narbal*, *mam narbal* ‘father’;

Ramu – Lower Sepik: Angoram *amam*, *ano*, *apa* ‘father’, Rao *mamə* ‘brother-in-law’;

Sepik: Bahinemo *mahuwa* ‘father’;

South Bougainville: Siwai (*bu*)*mo*, *umoka*, *unəka* ‘father’, Terei *mo:ka*, *mo-kanu*, *mo-umo* id., Koromira *uma* id., Naasioi *ma*, *mma* id.;

South-Central Papuan: Tabo *mani* ‘father’, Maklew *ɣima* id.;

Torricelli: Urim *mamiin* ‘grandfather’;

West Papuan: Galela *ama* (dial.) ‘father’, Loloda *ama*, *ama* id., Tobelo *ama* id., Kalabra –*eman-* id., Moi –*mam-*, *mom*, *mum* id., Moraid *nəma* id.;

Yele – West New Britain: Yele *M: aa* ‘daddy’, ‘my father’, Pele-Ata *mami-* ‘father’;

Abun (isolate) *nyam* ‘uncle’;

Kuot (isolate) *mamo* ‘father’;

Taiap (isolate) *omo* ‘father’.

2. MAMA ‘FATHER’ IN A BROADER SENSE

Before considering these phenomena, it is worth taking a closer look at the Georgian (or Kartvelian) forms, which are frequently cited as spurious and regarded as statistical deviations.

”C(ommon)K(artvelian) ***mama-** ‘father’: Georg. *mama-* ‘father’; Megr. *muma-*...; Laz [muma-]; Svan *mū*. ... The word belongs to the nursery lexicon... [Klimov, 1998, p. 114]. Furthermore: “G(eorgian) Z(an) **nana-* ‘mummy’: Georg. *nana-* ‘lullaby; Megr. *nana-* ‘mummy’; Laz *nana-* ‘mother’” [Ibid., p. 137]. Later on we shall reex-

amine the Georgian (and Kartvelian) parenting lexicon, but first the answer to the question posed in the title should be provided. To put it differently, why and how ‘mama’, ‘mother’ (sometimes ‘grandmother’, ‘aunt’, ‘(elder) sister’), which is common on all continents and might even be called ‘the vocabulary universal’, gets another, and, in certain respects, the opposite meaning, i.e. ‘dad’, ‘father’? Roman Jakobson studied how the dichotomy of meanings reflects the phonetic dichotomy (that is to say, the different places of articulation), and the results are noted in the statistics of parenting terms (“The first consonantal opposition is that of nasal and oral stop (e.g., *mama-papa*), which is followed by the opposition of labials and dentals (e.g., *papa-tata* and *ma-ma-nana*). These two oppositions form the minimal consonant system of the languages in the world. These are the only oppositions that cannot be lacking everywhere” [Jakobson, 1968, p. 48]), thus, we can follow this phenomenon globally and cross-linguistically. Jakobson did not consider *mama* ‘dad’, ‘father’ at all. These lexemes did not escape the scholars’ attention; however, surprisingly, they failed to attract great interest. Evidently, *mama* ‘dad’ was considered as a lexical unit existing within the limits of a statistical error. Still, *mama* ‘dad’ cross-linguistically occurs rather frequently, although by far, it is outnumbered by *mama* ‘mam’. We may go as far as to posit that in a matrilineal society fathers are in charge of child-caring. It may seem extraordinary, however, that in Western Samoa “the primary care-givers may not be the parents at all” [Crystal, 1991, p. 235]. It should be noted that *mama* in the Samoan language, which belongs to the Austronesian family (Malayo-Polynesian branch, Oceanic sub-branch), stands for ‘father’. The sound-gesture *mama!*, employed to signal the moment when a baby’s physiological need arises, may easily go beyond the limits of the semantic domain *mother* and be directed towards her father or another close family member [Greenfield & Smith, 1976, pp. 91-92]. The nearest socium member may adopt ‘*mama*’ and semantically misinterpret it. Eventually, this semantic shift is anchored verbally. “The transitional period when *papa* points to the parent present, while *mama* signals a request for the fulfillment of some need or for the absent fulfiller of childish needs, first and foremost but not necessarily for the mother, is thoroughly described by Grégoire: “Edm. A paru réclamer sa maman, absente ce jour-là, en disant *mam*: *am:am*; or, c’est *papa* qu’il émet, lorsqu’il la voit rentrer...Edm. me voit lui préparer une tartine; il énonce *mama*, et non *papa*”. Likewise, Smoczyński’s children in the middle of their second year, when begging for something from their father, addressed him: *mama ma-ma ma:-ma:-ma*”

[Jakobson, 1960, p. 131]. Obviously, social stratification is very unstable, particularly when compared with such a conservative, intricate and slow-changing system as human language. As a consequence, a more logical explanation is demanded – a psycholinguistic one. Below, we consider the layer of Austroasiatic lexemes in its extended version (not being restricted by the ‘dad’/‘father’ semantics).

Austroasiatic: Jehai *mnra?* ‘human being’, Semai *mnii?*, *mnuu?*, *mnəə?*, *nni?*, *nnə?* ‘father’, *mai* ‘people’, Tampuan *mai?* ‘mother’, ‘leader’, ‘boss’, Cua *manih* ‘person’, Rengao *manUyh* ‘person’, Sedang *məngə* ‘person’, Pacoh *a-ám* ‘father’ (cp. *a-i* ‘mother’), Ong *am* ‘father’ (*oy* ‘mother’), Irum ‘father’ (*oy* ‘mother’), Ta’oih *əm* ‘father’ (*əy* ‘mother’), Ngeq *um*, *uəm* ‘father’ (*əy*, *uy* ‘mother’), Car *ma-mā* ‘daddy!’ (‘child’s cry’, cf. *po-pō* ‘mummy’), Palaung Shwe *i-mē* ‘man’, ‘husband’, Lawa *mo* ‘group of people’, Darang *i-mai* ‘man’, ‘husband’, *i-mē* id., Remo (Bonda) *mamu*, *mamuG* ‘uncle’, Gutob (Gadaba) *mama* ‘father-in-law (mother’s brother, husband of father’s sister)’, *mamaG* ‘maternal uncle’.

It is easy to verify that the cited lexemes phonetically appear quite similar (cf.: Jehai *mnra?* ‘human being’ and Semai *mnii?* ‘father’), so it seems reasonable to form the semantic domain ‘man’, ‘people’, ‘male’, ‘husband’, ‘father’. This domain (as well as other domains) is not strictly delineated – cf. Semai *mai* ‘people’, Tampuan *mai* ‘mother’, ‘leader’, ‘boss’ (sic! – an anthropologist or an ethnographer can draw some intriguing conclusions!). Other language families may offer similar cases. First of all, the Kartvelian glosses come to mind, due to the fact that the Georgian parenting terms are so often cited as an exception to the rule. The aforementioned Kartvelian Etymologic Dictionary provides:

“C(ommon)K(artvelian) ***mama** ‘father’...

G(eorgian)Z(an) ***mama-l** ‘male’: Georg. *mamal-* ‘male’, ‘cock’; Megr. *mumul-*; Laz *mumul-*, *mamul-*...

G(eorgian)Z(an) ***mama-m-til-** ‘father-in-law’“ [Klimov, 1998, p. 114].

We may compare the cited Kartvelian etymologies to the lexemes related to the *woman* semantic domain.

“C[ommon] K[artvelian] ***deda-** ‘mother’: Georg. *deda* ‘mother’; Megr. *dida-*; Laz. *dida* ‘old woman, grandmother’; Svan *di-* ‘mother’...It is an obvious nursery word widely documented in Old Georgian where it also meant ‘woman’...

CK(?) ***deda-l** ‘female’: Georg. *dedal-* ‘female, hen’, Megr. *dadul-*; Laz. *dadul-*; Svan *dädw*, *dedw(?)*” [Ibid., p. 39].

“CK ***da-** ‘sister’” [Ibid., p. 36].

We posit that *mV*-(-*mV*) ‘mommy’ and *dV*-(-*dV*) ‘daddy’ essentially did not interchange their social status and/or semantics in some mystical way, but rather these lexemes (*deda* ‘mother’/*mama* ‘father’) are just the evolutionary outcome of Proto-Kartvelian glosses ‘woman’, ‘female’/‘man’, ‘male’ (as well as the affiliated units within the same semantic field – like ‘husband’, ‘male’, ‘human’, ‘person’). Quite plausibly, the Car (Austroasiatic family, Mon-Khmer branch) pair of parenting terms *ma-mā* ‘daddy!’/*po-pō* ‘mammy!’ evolved diachronically in a similar way.

As was noted above, the Proto-Kartvelian **nana*- does not negate the overall picture of the worldwide distribution of the MAMA phonological contour, formed by the nasal consonants. The same could be argued about the Proto-Austronesian forms **ama* ‘father’ [Blust, 1979, p. 206], **mamah* ‘mother’s brother’ [Blust, 1999, p. 362], **ina* ‘mother’ [Blust, 1999, p. 361].

In an earlier paper, we have cited the instances of 163 languages related to 86 language families/macrolanguages or isolates, in which *mama* ‘mother’ root was expressed by the nasal consonants (/m/ or /n/ in 95,1% cases) [Zeldin, 2018]. The list of *mama* ‘father’ lexemes is less expansive, but sufficiently long anyway. This phenomenon is easy to explain – the parenting terms are very stable considering their ontogenic emergence in human speech. These glosses, as well as pronouns, seem to be the most conservative layers in the lexicon. They are rarely replaced by the affiliated lexemes within the scope of the same semantic domain (like ‘father’ ↔ ‘male’ ↔ ‘husband’ or ‘mother’ ↔ ‘aunt’ ↔ ‘grandmother’). To advance this conjecture, we composed a list of the genetically unrelated but phonologically similar forms with the semantics ‘person’, ‘man’, ‘human being’, ‘male’, ‘husband’. The results are remarkably comparable in their size with the *mama* ‘mother’ list.

Indo-European: Sanskr. *mānu*-, *mānus* - ‘man’, Avest. *manuš*, Proto-Germanic. **mannā* -, Old Church Slav. *мѣньсь*.

Basque (isolate): *maketo* ‘non-Basque’, ‘foreigner’;

Afro-Asiatic: ‘man’, Ugaritic *mutu* ‘man’, Old Egyptian *imy* ‘actor/door prefix’, Gadames *iman* ‘man’, Zenaga *mīn* id., Hausa *mùtum* id., Bole *mēmu* id., Baram *nyam* id., Oroma (Galla) *nama* id., Caffa *anāmo* id.;

Mongolic: Dagur *man* ‘group of people’;

Turkic: Chuvash *ami* ‘friend’, ‘brother’;

Tungusic: Nanai *mānə* ‘self’;

Koreanic: *mom* ‘body’, ‘self’;

Japanese: *mono* ‘man’;

Yukaghir: South Yukagir (Kolyma Yukagir) *omni*: ‘people’;

Dravidian: Kannada *mandi*, *mande* ‘people’, Tulu *mandi*, *mandè* id., Telugu *mandi* ‘crowd’, Kalami *mandī* ‘men’;

Burushaski (isolate): *muuyar* ‘husband’;

Kusunda (isolate): *mādu*, *mādu* ‘elder sister’s husband’, *mom* ‘elder brother’;

Kartvelian: see above;

Nakh-Daghestanian: Lezghi *menseb* ‘provenance’, ‘clan’;

Sino-Tibetan: Old Chinese 民 *mǐn*, *mǐn* ‘people’, Mandarin 民 *mín* id., Ming 民 *mín*², *mǐn*², *mǐn*² id., Sherpa *mī* ‘man’, ‘people’, Garo *man-de*, *man-di* ‘person’, ‘human being’, *me-a*, *mī-a* ‘man’, ‘male’, Boro *mansi*, Belhare *maḍi* ‘person’, *manua* ‘human’, Thulung *mini* ‘person’, *mytsy* ‘human’, ‘man’, Limbu *māna*, Bantawa *muna* ‘people’, Dhimal *mī* ‘human classifier’;

Hmong-Mien: Hmong Njua (Green Miao) *món* ‘Mong’, ‘Hmong’, ‘Miao’, ‘Meo’, or Maeo (ethnic name);

Kra-Dai: Buyang *ma^oij³¹* ‘person’, Phu Thai *muu³* ‘group’, Lue (Tai Lü) *muang* ‘nation’;

Austronesian: Atayal: *mama* ‘uncle’, *umas* ‘man’, Siraya *amama*, *ama* ‘man’, ‘male’, Basai *manaina* ‘male’, Pazeh *mamah* ‘elder brother’, *mamaleng*, *mamarun* ‘male’, Saisiyat *mae’y:ae* ‘person’, Puyuma *mainaen* ‘man’, ‘male’, Rukai *umasə*, *umas* ‘person’, *omas* ‘people’, Tsou *mamameoi* ‘elder’, ‘old people’, *mameoi* ‘old man’, Bali *muani* ‘male’, ‘man’, Mualang *mensia* ‘human’, Wolio *mia* ‘person’, Wanukaka *moni* ‘male’, Kei *mensia* ‘person’, Alor *ama* ‘man’, Kabola *ma’mē* ‘human being’, Tetun *mane* ‘male’, Biak *man* ‘male’, Kurudu *iman* ‘man’, Kiribati *mm’aane* ‘man’, Kairiru *mongan* ‘male’, Manam *moane* ‘man’, Malango *mane* ‘man’;

Niger-Congo: Loko -*mə* ‘person’, Mende *numu* ‘person’, *nu* ‘man’, Bambara *ma* ‘homme en général’, ‘homme de, gens de’, *mama* ‘humain’, Avatime *onyimé* ‘male’, *ô-nò* ‘man’, Ewe *āmē* ‘person’, Siya *onyimé* id., Bangangte (Medumba) *men* ‘man’, ‘person’;

Nilo-Saharan: Kanuri *ām* ‘people’, *ámá* ‘fellows’, Ik *ám* ‘person’, ‘human’, Moru *manago*, *manvago* ‘man’, Logo *mā^ondá*, *mā^ondí* ‘person’, Me’en *mē²en-it* (pl. *mē²en*) ‘people’, self-name, Bodi *mē²en* id., Muguji *umu* ‘husband’, Mursi *mai* ‘person’, ‘man’, Tama *ma* ‘homme’, Merarit *mo* ‘male’, Dinka *mīny*, *muony* ‘man’, Masai *ol-Maā* ‘traditional name of Maasai nation’, Kadugli *amidī* ‘person’, *miide* ‘man’, Katcha *emidī* ‘person’, *miide* ‘man’;

Hadza (isolate): *ḡúnù-* ‘person’;

Sandawe (isolate): *ɲlémésé*, ‘person’ (masc., sing.), *ɲlémésú* id. (fem., sing.), *ɲlòmósô* (pl.);

Khoe-Kwadi: *!Ani -mà* masculine suffix;

Banggi Me (isolate): *yamba* ‘people’, *yaame* ‘child’;

Laal (isolate): *mùán* ‘people’;

Chukotko-Kamchatkan: Alyutor *nəm* ‘man’;

Eskimo-Aleut: Greenlandic Inuktitut *nayminiq* ‘self’, ‘himself’;

Wakashan: Nootka *ma-*, *maʔas* ‘tribe’, ‘clan’, *maʔayil* ‘family’;

Tsimshianic: Sm'algyax (Coast Tsimshian) *mansm'ooygit* ‘leading chief’;

Algic: North-East Cree *mônîyâw* ‘white person’, Powhatan *nimatew* ‘man’, Cheyenne *má'haeso* ‘old man’, ‘husband’, *mana* ‘band member’, ‘person of the group’;

Maiduan: North-East Maidu *mai'düm* ‘man’, men’, ‘people’, Nisenan *majdyK* ‘man’, *mania* ‘boy’;

Coosan: Coos \Hanis dial.\ *me* ‘person’;

Takelman: Kalapuya *mɛʔnma'*, *amim* ‘people’; Takelma *ma-* ‘father (possessive form)’;

Siuslaw (isolate) *māta* ‘father’, *mat'ii* ‘elder brother’, *muuskw* ‘younger brother’;

†**Alsea (Yakonan)** (isolate?) *ám* ‘husband’;

Sahaptian: Nez Perce *-maaman* ‘people’;

Miwok-Costanoan: North Ohlone \Soledad dial.\ *muhue* ‘man’, *mue* ‘person’, *mu'-wě* ‘married man’, \Rumsen dial.\ *ama* ‘people’, \Monterey dial.\ *ama* ‘person’;

Yokutsan: Yokuts *mai*, *nòno* ‘man’, ‘person’;

Salish: Bella Coola *ʔimlk* ‘man’, *-mx*, *nu-* ‘human being’, ‘person’, Squamish *man* ‘father’, Clallam *man* ‘father’, Saanich (Salish Straits) *men* id.;

Iroquoian: Huron (Wyandot) *anəmáʔq* ‘one-self’;

Siouan: Mandan *numaʔk* ‘man’, Nakota *mnoka* ‘male’, Tutelo *mañki* ‘husband’;

Chimakuan: Chemakum *ámāas* ‘grandparent’;

Kutenai (isolate) *-am-* ‘indefinite human affix’;

†**Atakapa** (isolate?) *mon* ‘all’;

†**Karankawa** (unclass.) *jámawe* ‘man’, *-mai* ‘body (‘todo el cuerpo’);

Chumash: Cruzeño *al-amün* ‘man’, Ventureño *'amamə* ‘body’, Chumash *s-mano~l-mano* ‘man’;

Cochimí-Yuman: Cochimi *-mí*, *-ma* ‘man’, ‘male’;

Palaihnihan: Atsugewi *a-mun* ‘grandfather’, ‘grandson’;

Pomoan: South-East Pomo *ūmti-mfo* ‘person’, *mafo* ‘man’, *immek* ‘elder brother’, East Pomo *mex-a* id., North Pomo *a-mee* ‘father’, Central Pomo *me-de* id.;

Washo (isolate) *mé:Ln* ‘old man’, *mí:flew* ‘everybody’;

Kiowa-Tanoan: South Tiwa *meme* ‘uncle’, North Tiwa (Taos) *mi-mí-nâ* id.;

Chimariko (isolate) *mV-* (*ma-*, *mā-*, *mi-*, *mè-*) ‘kin and family members classifier’;

Salinan (isolate) *ama* ‘grandfather’;

Uto-Aztecan: Pipil *-manu(h)* ‘brother’, South-East Tepehuan *ma'ncam* ‘person’, North Tepehuan *imóko* ‘someone (of a group)’, Hopi *mongwi* ‘leader’, Shoshoni *nūm* ‘person’, Comanche *numu* ‘Comanche’, ‘human being’, ‘the people’, South Paiute *numu* ‘Indian’, Cupeño *memye-m* ‘white person, people’;

Tarascan: Purepecha *uám̐ba* ‘marido’ (husband), ‘esposo’ (spouse);

Oto-Manguean: Chiapanec (Mangue) *manku*, *mambo* ‘brother’, *manku* ‘friend’; Chinantec Comaltepec *moʔia* ‘Comaltepec people’, Mazatec Chiquihuitlan *-míʔyoʔ* ‘friend (male)’, Mazatec Jalapa de Díaz *na'mi* ‘father’, Zapotec Loxicha *men* ‘person’, ‘people’;

Mixe-Zoque: Mixe Popoluca Sayula *máj tsuc* ‘hermano menor’, *mašan* ‘gente de alta sociedad’ (high society people), *mu n* ‘gente de razon’ (reasonable people), *m̐ t* ‘yerno’ (son-in-law), *m̐ tna* ‘suegro’ (father-in-law), Zoque Copainalá *mban* ‘man’;

Huavean: Huave San Mateo del Mar *miteataeran* ‘padre’ (father), *minoharan*, *mintaharān* ‘marido’ (husband), ‘marida’ (one’s wife), *moel* ‘gente de fuera’ (strangers);

Mayan: East Q'anjob'al *mam* ‘father’, Mam Todos Santos Chuchumatan *man* ‘father’, Q'eqchi *mama* ‘grandfather’, Central Kaqchikel *mama* ‘old man’, Central K'iche *ama'* ‘male’, *mam* ‘grandfather’, Classic (Hieroglyphic) Maya *mam* ‘grandfather’, ‘grandson’, ‘old man’, ‘ancestor’;

Hinka: *amù*, *ʔamu* ‘abuelo’ (grandfather), *-umu* ‘male’;

Lenka: Salvador Lenka (Chilanga) *máiu* ‘mari’, *máyu* ‘fils’;

Misumalpan: Miskito *manuka* ‘brother’;

Jicaqueran: Tol *mac* ‘non-Indian’, ‘ladino’;

Chibcha: Kogi *mama* ‘lider espiritual’, Tunebo *umá* ‘papa, mama (usado de la misma sangre)’ (said of the members of the same family), Bribri *yàmĩ* ‘pariente’ (relative);

Chocoan: Emberá-Catío *mákirá* ‘hombre’ (man), Epena *imi'k'hîra* ‘man’, ‘male’, Emberá-Chamí *muk'hî ra* ‘man’, Emberá-Tadó *imik'hîrã* id.;

Guajibaoan: Cuiba *amo* ‘grandfather’, *monae* ‘people’, ‘family group’, Guajibao *-mónae* ‘familia de...’, *-momori* ‘descendientes de...’, Guayabero *ʔám* ‘grandfather’;

Salivan: Sáliba *imegudi* ‘hermano menor’ (younger brother), *embá* ‘mâle’;

Tucanoan: Tuyuca *umtu* ‘hombre’ (man), Wajiará *umuarê* ‘hombres’ (men), Carapana *u_mua* ‘hombres’, *majã* ‘clan’, ‘gente’, Siriano *ʔimi_ɲi* ‘varon’ (male), ‘hombre’, Koreguaje *umtu* ‘hombre’, Siona *ʔimígi* ‘man’, Secoya *ẽmẽ* ‘hombre’;

Puinavean: Hupdẽ *mõy ki' tẽ_h dẽh* ‘nombre de un clan’ (name of a clan), *mõ_h chẽh tẽ_h dẽh* id.; Puinave *-tii-min-ak* ‘to beget (of father) (-tii ‘to be born’);

Yanomaman: Yanomámi *yãñomãmi* ‘person’, ‘human being’, Ninam *ninam* ‘person’, ‘human being’, Yanomamö *yah-no-mah-mah* ‘human being’;

Barbacoan: Colorado *mi'ya* ‘chief’, ‘chieftain’, *mãpi* ‘uncle’;

Cariban: Chaima *amo* ‘your father’, *umo* ‘my father’, *yuaman* ‘father’, Wayana *õmõ* ‘man’, Carib *mati* ‘friend’, ‘black man’, *omo* ‘relative’;

Paezan: Pa'ez *nmi'* ‘esposo’, ‘marido’ (husband);

Maipurean (Arawakan): Yavitero *enami* ‘man’, Piapoco *minanái* ‘habitantes’, Guana *imam* ‘marido (husband)’, Terêna *îma* ‘her husband’, Ashéninka *noime*, *noimi* ‘esposos’ (spouse), ‘marido’ (husband), ‘mi esposo’, ‘mi marido’, Irántxe *miya* ‘man’, Resígaro *múúbe* ‘marido’ (husband), ‘hermano’ (brother);

Witotoan: Muinane *miyáminaa* ‘gente’ (people), *-minaa* ‘gente’, Ocaina *moon*, *móónjon* ‘tu papá’, ‘tu padre’ (your father), *imónjonh!* ‘¡hijo!’ (son!), ‘¡padre!’ (father!), Huitoto Minica *moo* ‘padre’, ‘¡padre!’, Huitoto Murui *iima*, *imie* ‘hombre’, ‘macho’, Huitoto Nüpoke *iima* ‘hombre’, *mo* ‘papá’;

Sapé (Caliana) (isolate) *mĩnõ* ‘man’, ‘person’, *imone* ‘father-in-law’;

Quechuan: Quechuan Huallaga Huánuco *manyapita* ‘all (of a group)’, Quechuan Tena Lowland *minga* ‘reunión de gente invitada para algún trabajo’ (group of persons assembled for a common labour);

Bororoan: Bororo *imedu* ‘man’, *media*, *meduia*, *mede* ‘friend’, Umotina *mánapo'* ‘homens’, *mánondo'* ‘pai da esposa falando’, *manũdo'*, *manondo'* ‘criança (filho)’ (son);

Jean: Kayapó *memy* ‘man’, Kaingang *mén* ‘esposos’;

Maxakalian: Maxakalí *mũn* ‘self’, *mũnõpxox* ‘large group of people from the same category’;

Panoan: Shipibo-Conibo *-mee* ‘a (mí, tí, nos, sí) mismos’ (for me myself, tu yourself, our ourselves, he/she himself/herself), Matís *ma'ma* ‘father’, Kasinawa (Cashinahua) *mae* ‘caserío’ (farm, small village), ‘comunidad’, ‘pueblo’;

Arauan: Dení *ime'i* ‘pai’, *makhi* ‘masculino’, ‘macho’, ‘homem’ (person), ‘marido’ (husband);

Harákmbut: Huachipaeri *mi* ‘término para dirigirse a una persona’ (a form to address a person), ‘hermana’ (brother), ‘hermano’ (sister);

Jivarooan: Achuar-Shiwiari *umáim*, *umájim*, *májim* ‘tu hermano (de mujer)’ (your brother, of a woman), ‘tu hermana (de hombre)’ (your sister, of a man);

Yaguan: Yagua *may* ‘extranjero’ (stranger), ‘forastero’ (foreigner), ‘foráneo’, ‘gente blanca’ (white people), *munuñu* ‘nativos no civilizados’;

Zaparoan: Arabela *maanu* ‘grupo’, ‘miembros de una entidad’ (members of a unity), ‘manada’ (horde, crowd), Záparo *maníno* ‘a youth’;

Tupian: Karitiãna *mãn* ‘marido’ (husband), Aché *ime* ‘husband’, Tupi (Classic) *mena* ‘marido’, Asurini Tocantins *ímena* ‘husband’, Parakanã *men* ‘marido’ (husband), Kayabí *-men* ‘marido’, Jurúna *ama* ‘grandfather’, ‘people’, *uma* ‘friend’;

Aymaran: Aymara *mal'ku* ‘chief’, ‘authority’, Jaqaru *mayni* ‘human counter’, ‘mate’;

Chapacuran: Wari (Pakaas novos) *mon* ‘sing., masc.’, *momon* ‘pl., masc.’, *mam* ‘sing., fem.’, *mamam* ‘pl., fem.’, *main* ‘neater’;

Nambikwara: Latundê *mi* ‘father’, Mamaindê *mamãimsi* ‘Mamainde’;

Tacanan: Araona *mama* ‘hermano mayor de un hombre’ (man’s elder brother);

Mosetenan: Tsimané *mintyi* ‘man’, *mama* ‘father’;

Matacoan: Wichí Lhamtés Güisnay *mam'se* ‘young man’;

Chipaya-Uru: Chipaya *mati* ‘offspring’, *maç* ‘son’;

Mascoian: Guana *emmanabie* ‘man’;

Mapudungu (Araucanian): Mapadungun (Mapuche) *mangel* ‘guest’;

Kaweskaran: Qawasqar *jema* ‘hombre blanco’ (white man);

Chon: Tehuelche (Aoniken) *iamenz* ‘raza’;

Seri (isolate) *am* ‘her father’, *amaac* ‘her older brother’, *amahaj* ‘his/her pat. uncle’;

Warao (isolate) *moana* ‘people’, *moanna* ‘persons’;

Munìche (isolate) *ñima*, *mima*, *ma?ta* ‘esposos’ (husband);

Pankararú (isolate) *umã* ‘old man’;

Cayubaba (isolate) *ma'miasi* ‘young man (adolescent)’;

Itonama (isolate) *u-mu* ‘man (vs. woman)’;

Kunza (Atacameño) (isolate) *am-mu* ‘dueño’, ‘patron’;

Movima (isolate) *mah-mah-nina* ‘to beget (of father)’, *-mah* les gens de’, ‘ceux de’;

Urarina (isolate) *enamanáa* ‘young man’;

Yuracare (isolate) *manchijsha* ‘self’;

Yámana (Yagan) (isolate) *ymú* 'padre', *yámana* 'hombre' (man);

†**Jirajare:** Ayaman *ayoman* 'husband';

†**Pucina** *miñ, mana* 'hombre' (forma generica), Callajuaya *mana* 'person';

†**Catacao:** Colan -*m* 'human afiiix';

†**Huarpe:** Allentia *ñuchum yam, yam-ñuchum* 'hombre' (man), *yam* 'varon' (male), Millkayak *yam* 'hombre';

Pume (unclassified) *amãĩ* 'father', *ayi-mãĩ* 'older brother', *ayĩ-mãĩ* 'younger brother';

Kunza (Atacameño) (isolate) *am-mu* 'dueño', 'patron';

Arára (unclassified) *ymanoé* 'fellow';

Andamanese:

- **Great Andamanese:** Aka-Bea *maia* 'uncle', *mâma* 'brother-in-law';

- **South Andamanese:** Jarawa *mɔɣɔɖale* 'brother', *mammayet_t_ay* 'husband';

Trans New-Guinean: Ankawe *a'ma* 'man', 'person', 'human', Hamtai *amä'ä* 'man', 'person', Menya *amä* 'uncle', Suena *ema* 'man', Orokaiva *namei* 'brother', *mamei* 'friend', Damal *me, mē, meal* 'man', Erave *ame* 'brother', Kewa *amé* id., *mae* 'uncle', Finongan *ama* 'man', Rawa *mine* 'head man', Nukna *ámna* 'man', Awara *amin* 'person', Wantoat *amin* id., *maan* 'cousin', Dedua *muna* 'younger brother', Hoyahoya *ama* 'man', Mubami *ama, ami* 'man', Tamagario *nim* 'man', Ndom *namun* 'husband', Amele *manahal* 'man', Raping *me, mē?* 'man', Malas *mañ* 'brother', *munu* 'man', Bargam *amam, mam* 'father';

Border: Imonda *yima* 'person', Waris *mundil* 'mature man';

Central Solomons: Bilua *maba, mamba* 'man';

East Bird's Head-Sentani: Meyah *mona* 'man', Sentani *ma* 'father';

East Geelvink Bay: Demisa *amca* 'father';

Fas: Fas *yime-* 'man', Baibai *yimēni* id.;

Kaure: Kosare *nimiréka* 'man';

Lower Mamberano: Warembori *mambuete* 'brother', *mando, man-do* 'man', Yoke *mamb, maomba* 'man';

Nimboran: Kemtiuk *mamdat* 'grandchildren';

Pauwasi: Karkar Yuri *nomarop^h* 'person', *mē^w nə'əp, mōm nē'nəp^h, mām nē'nəp^h* 'brother';

Piawi: Haruai *nambə* 'man';

Ramu-Lower Sepik: Yimas *nama-awt* 'person', Kire *ma* 'husband', Awar *mamúsughat* 'man';

Senagi: Angor *anamindi* 'male', 'husband', amonggo 'older sibling';

Sepik: Ngala *amu, amw, jamwac* 'brother', Nukuma *ma* 'husband', 'man', Bahinemo *ima, ŷuma* 'man', Mehek *mam* 'uncle', *nemna* 'husband';

Skou: Isaka *mini* 'man', Skou *moe* 'person', 'Papuan';

Somahai: Momuna *meé aroo* 'person';

South Bougainville: Siwai *nɔmmae?* 'person';

South-Central Papuan: Agob *maun, močen, mosen, muina, munyen* 'brother', *monde, jumua* 'husband';

Tor-Kwerba: Kwerba *manna, ana, ana?* 'man';

Torricelli: Mufian *ama* 'men', Kombio *mentit, mendit^h* 'man', *minkan* 'husband', Yambes *mingan* 'husband', Buna *ami* 'man', Elkei *monol* 'man', One-Molmo *mama, mana* 'man', Seta *oma* id., Seti *manyko, maŋko* 'man';

West Papuan: Tidore *manusia nonau?* 'man' (dial.); Moi *naa-molo, na-molo, ne-mòlo, memòlo* 'person';

Yele – West New Britain: Pele-Ata *mene* 'friend', Yele *moo* 'husband';

Abinomn (isolate): *moi* 'father's father';

Abun (isolate) *mendjetu* (dial.) 'person';

Kuot (isolate) *miga-na, miɣana* 'man';

Mawes (isolate): *mamenta* 'father';

Mpur (isolate) *mamir, menip, minip* 'man';

Sulka (isolate) *mea, mhad, mhel* 'person';

Taiap (isolate) *mun-dzhár, mung-ro, mun, mun-je-num, munžar, -mür* 'man';

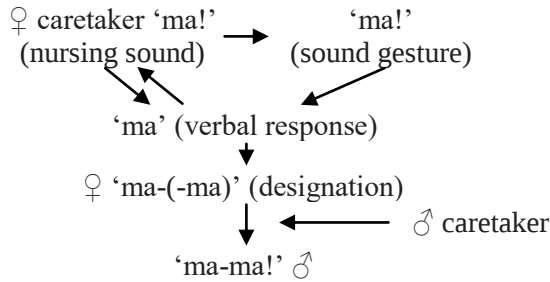
Australian: Maringarr *meme* 'man', Buararra *mumurna* 'elder(s)', 'leader(s)', 'important persons(s)', Djauan *munɣui* 'man', Dyirbal *munɣul* 'brother', Kuuku-Ya'u *mu:yu* 'husband', Atampaya *ama* 'man', 'person', Ngarluma *mayaga* 'person', Yindjibarndi *-man* 'person', Burduna *mimi* 'father-in-law', 'mother's brother', 'uncle', Nyunga *mam* 'father', 'man', Umbugarla *mama* 'brother', Matuyhunira *mimi* 'uncle';

3. A POSSIBLE IMPACT OF SOCIAL PATTERNS - PRO ET CONTRA

The cited forms are enough, in our opinion, to prove that the distribution of the mV-(-N-) lexeme (N stands for a nasal front labial consonant), which possesses the 'man/ 'husband/ male/ person/ human being' semantics (including the variants thereof like 'brother/ uncle/ grandfather/ son/ son-in-law/ chief/ chieftain/ people'; as for 'father' - see above), is world-wide in scale. Likewise, the 'person/man' → 'father' metonymic substitution within the limits of the same semantic field can be ontogenetically considered as a kind of lexical-semantic universal.

Apparently, the long-standing question, raised in this paper's title, has yet to be answered. Is it plausible that the similarity of the phonological contours of the lexemes that belong to the semantic domains *mommy and dad/father/man/person* should be considered fortuitous? Considering the world-wide distribution of these lexemes, the conclusion must be negative. The similarity of this kind, reiterated so many times on all continents, could hardly be coin-

cidental. Quite possibly, there are two scenarios of semantics transformations. According to the first one, in a matrilinear society, men occupy the position traditionally reserved for women. Thus, citing Jakobson, "...in Grégoire's parlance, la grande dispensatrice" (i.e. no one else but mother) [Jakobson, 1960, p. 30], a baby's father ('le grand dispensaire') takes her place. The results of changing gender roles are manifested in semantics and lexicon. The process can be schematically depicted as follows:



This conjecture seems both reasonable and logical, in my humble opinion. A number of anthropologists have indeed detected such a pattern in some culturally isolated communities. For instance, among Aka Pygmies (20,000 in Western CAR and NW Congo), the social structure, including family responsibilities, is subdivided according to the following pattern: women hunt, and men take care of babies (their nipples serve as dummies) [Hewlett, 1991]. Another case is provided by the Yakuana Indians in Venezuelan Amazon – a mother cares for her baby for only four months of the neonate's life, whereupon the burden of rearing the child is given over to her elder children – from 4 to 12 years old [Liedloff, 1989]. In addition, we have the ritual of fosterage (formerly common in the NW Caucasus). According to this custom, a newborn baby (sometimes only three days old!) is adopted by a stranger's family, known as "Atalyk" in the Caucasus, then it is raised up until his/her adolescence and finally returned to the biological parents upon reaching a mature age, ranging from 7 years old or 12 – 13 or 17 – 18 or prior to his/her marriage, depending on the local traditions [Koswen, 1935]. The French explorer Taitbout de Marigny noted in 1818: "Il est fort rare qu'un garçon receive son education sous le toit paternal... L'Atalik emporte le nouveau né, parfois secrètement, le confie à une nourrice; et aussitôt qu'il peut se passer de ses soins, son education commence..." [Taitbout de Marigny, 1821]. This tradition existed in Abkhaz-Adygh (Abkhaz, Abazin, Adygh), Kartvelian (Svans), Turkic (Balkar, Karachai) and Indo-European (Ossetic) ethnic groups. A few European nations practised a similar tradition – fosterage could occur among Irish, Scots,

Welsh and Icelanders [Chonail, 1997], [Hansen, 2008], [Parkes, 2006].

These cases, albeit fascinating by themselves, are not a rule of culture, but rather exceptions to the rule. The fact is that changes in language, especially the basic parenting terms which make up the most conservative domain, occur very slowly taking hundreds of years; and the social matriarchal/matrilineal patterns like the aforementioned ones could hardly be preserved for such a long period of time, especially, on a global scale.

A different version of semantic shift seems much more probable. In the previous paper, the writer discussed the metaphorical verbal syncretism in a baby's mind and speech, and its influence on the lexicon spreading along the vectors toward the adjacent semantic domains mother/feeder → feeding/suck/breast/milk/nursing [Zeldin, 2018].

Here, we consider the process of the formation of a language semantic hierarchy due to a semantic shift from *mama* on to a closely related semantic domain, when the basic phoneme (/m/ is the case) is retained. Nota bene: the cognitive scope continues to widen and comprises basic functions such as 'to suck', 'to eat', 'to drink', 'to lick' etc., as well as such designates as 'mouth', 'lips', 'gums', 'teeth'. Regarding the problem treated here (*mama* ♀ vs. *mama* ♂), another kind of semantic shift and the verbal syncretism associated with it should be emphasized. Still, we have the unpersonified sound gesture *ma!* or *mama!* (i.e. not semantically grasped as 'alma mater'), which is conventionalized with a secondary semantics 'I/me' as contrary to anything else, 'not-I/not-me'. Thus, we both hear a simple verbal response against the natural stimulus '(I) want – eat!' and witness the growth of idiosyncrasy of a more profound sense – i.e. a new semantic field with the nucleus 'ego sum' being formed along with the creation of a dichotomic separation of the 'me' and 'not-me' domains. "Everyone knows how, in the first years of its life, a child loves to repeat the words it hears, to imitate syllables and sounds, even those whose meaning it hardly understands ... But from the point of view of personality, imitation would seem to be... a confusion between the I and the not-I, between the activity of one's body and that of other people's bodies. At its most imitative stage, the child mimics with its whole being identifies itself with its model" [Piaget, 1959, p. 34].

To put it differently, by dealing with the semantic categorization of the 'I/person' concept, we view the conceptualization of a baby's cognitive realm. "The first things that are learned are principles – not items: principles of categorization and pattern perception. The first words refer to classes, not unique objects or events" [Lenneberg, 1968, p. 32]. A baby,

by the end of the first year of its life, forms new designates and integrates them into its own existing concepts [Cheney & Seyfarth, 2005]. Clearly, both verbal syncretism and metaphoric thinking function as the supplement to its rudimentary lexicon – in both phonemic and semantic terms [Bybee, 2006]. Anna Wierzbicka proposed calling this mechanism ‘the universal thought-saving device’ [Wierzbicka, 1996]. It is most likely that after a toddler’s basic needs are fulfilled (i.e. hunger prompts a verbal response which will later be conceptually anchored as a sound symbol/sememe *ma-* and realized lexically as *mama*); its cognitive realm absorbs the semantically indivisible concept person/someone which is, according to Wierzbicka, ‘among the best established semantic primitives’ [Goddard & Wierzbicka, 1994]. This process is well described in the context of Piaget’s “egocentric thinking” which is inherent in a baby up to pre-puberty, a period of seven years [Piaget, 1959]. The important outcome of this process is ‘the need for justification at any price’ [Ibid., p. 156] (i.e. ‘to establish connections between the most heterogeneous objects’ [Ibid.]) and “syncretism...which is the negation of analysis, [that] calls for this effort by which every new perception is connected somehow... with what immediately precedes it” [Ibid., 158].

The third scenario of the semantic shift *mother* → *breast* → *feeding* → *food/to eat/to drink* → *arm/hand (stretched to get some food)* → *me* → *human being* → *man/male/husband/father* is also possible. It will be elaborated in a paper to come.

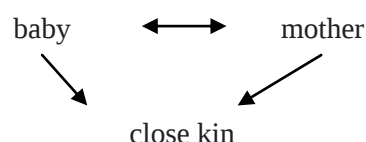
The realization of the lexeme in question in 100-some language families (including isolates), according to the XXIII Ethnologue edition [Eberherd et al., 2020], leads us to believe that the formation of the aforementioned semantic domain, centered around the ♂ *mama* lexeme (which is phonetically similar and frequently not distinguishable from ♀ *mama*), is a determined process. This verbal process is cognitively conditioned in terms of both the baby’s perception and the verbal activity of its adult environment. Taking into consideration the world-wide usage of the parenting terms like *mama*♀ and *mama*♂, we must posit for the universal tendency of their emergence.

In conclusion, it is pertinent to cite the treatise on language origins, advanced by the renowned French economist, philosopher and reformer Anne Robert Turgot (the 18th cent.) before the French Academy: “Un home seul, tel que le suppose ici Maupertuis (a French mathematician, philosopher and man of letters; the Director of the Académie des Sciences), ne serait pas tenté de chercher de marques pour designer ses perceptions; ce n’est que vis-à-vis des autres qu’on cherche” [Turgot, 1971].

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As is evident from the ensuing account, the *ma-ma* ♂ lexeme cross-linguistically appears almost as frequently as *mama* ♀ (bearing in mind not only the ‘mother’ glosses but also the closely related ones ‘granny’, ‘aunty’, ‘(elder) sister’, etc., i.e. lexicostatistically the values are of the same order. It seems clear that this phenomenon has psychological roots. The first and foremost is the idiosyncrasy of the childish mind [Piaget, 1959], which expresses itself in the overextension of a particular word [de Villiers & de Villiers, 1979]. The global distribution of *mama* ♂ as well as *mama*♀ has its origins in the following processes:

- the transformation of the purely emotional sound symbol *mama!* into the referential ‘*mama*’ lexeme;
- the metaphoric shift *mama* ‘mother’ onto the persons of the immediate vicinity i.e. the close kin family members, males included;
- the anchoring of the *mama*♀ and *mama* ♂ lexemes in the vocabulary (not childish!) as the last stage of the sequence: *mama!* sound-symbol → *ma-ma* ‘mother’ → *mama*♀ → *mama* ♂;
- the *mama* ‘dad’, ‘father’ may appear in some languages; this is not a statistical deviation, but a sequence found in a psychological tendency to fill up the empty slots in the lexicon as a result of multiplicity of speech acts in the micro-community, to wit:



We also argue that such a tendency is universal; indeed, lingua-geography supports this premise. We conclude by noting two facts:

- *mama* ♀ and *mama* ♂ coexist in the vocabularies of many languages. To cite just a few examples: Rukai (Austronesian) *ninaa* ‘mother’ - *mama* ‘father’; Aklanon (Austonesian) *mánang* ‘older sister’ - *amá* ‘father’; Bonda (Austroasiatic) *miG* ‘elder sister’ - *mamu*, *mamuG* ‘uncle’; Siuslaw (Oregon Penutian) *məla* ‘mother’ - *mətaa* ‘father’, *misii'ai* ‘elder sister’ - *mat'ii* ‘elder brother’; Esselen (isolate) *ma't-si* ‘mother’ - *maatc* ‘father’, *mechix* ‘aunt’ - *mi'its* ‘elder brother’; Northern Pomo (Pomoan) *a-mīte* ‘mother’ - *a-mee* ‘father *mamūak* ‘father’s sister’; Southern Tiwa (Kiowa-Tanoan) *nana* ‘mother’ - *meme* ‘uncle’; Eastern Hualteco (Mayan) *mi* ‘mother’ - *mam* ‘father’; Okaina (Witotoan) *muntyoongo* ‘man’s sister’ - *moon*, *móónjon* ‘tu papá’, ‘tu padre’;

Salinan (isolate) *nene* ‘grandmother’ - *ama* ‘grandfather’; Kanoë (isolate) *mūj* ‘mother’, *mu* ‘mother!’ - *mūjoteñae* ‘uncle (paternal or maternal)’; Pume (unclassified) *amĩ* ‘older sister’ - *amãĩ* ‘father’; Suena (Trans New Guinean) *mía* ‘mother’ - *mama* ‘father’; Kuaket (East New Britain) *māi-xi* ‘mother’, ‘woman’ - *mam*, *mamak*, *mamök* ‘father’; Sentani (E. Bird’s Head-Sentani) *ana*, *menace*, *menakē* ‘mother’ - *ma*, *meko* ‘father’; Yele (Yele-W. New Britain) *m:aam:aa* ‘auntie’, ‘my aunt’ - *M:aa* ‘daddy’, *mĩ* ‘father’; Angoram (Ramu-Lower Sepik) *mari*, *nana*, *nēngo*, *nəje*, *nīnge*, *nungor* ‘mother’ - *mam*, *ano* ‘father’; Tabo (South-Central Papuan) *maia*, *maier* ‘mother’ - *mani* ‘father’; Kol (isolate) *mo:nay* ‘mother’ - *mo:man* ‘father’; Gunwinggu (Gunwinggu, Australian) *makka* ‘father’s mother’ - *mamamh* ‘father’s father’; Putjarra (Pama-Nyungan) *manumal* ‘mother and child’ - *mama* ‘father’; Aka-Kora (Great Andamanese) *amimi* ‘mother’ - *amaye* ‘father’. These terms belong to adjacent semantic domains, evidently diachronically penetrating to lexicons at different periods;

- there is a wide representation of parenting terms based on affricate consonants (Russian *baba* ‘granny’, *deda* ‘grandfather (voc.)’, *dyadya* ‘uncle’, ‘adult male’, *tyotyā* ‘aunt’, ‘adult woman’, Turkish *baba* ‘father’, Georgian *da* ‘sister’, *bebia* ‘grandmother’, *babua* ‘grandfather’, *deida* ‘(maternal) aunt’), which is due to the impact of speech acts on human primordial lexicons (this process can be phylogenetically illustrated by soothing a child after breast-feeding – *da-da*, *ta-ta*).

CONCLUSIONS

Besides the abundant lexical evidence cited above, we endeavoured to sketch the broad outlines of parenting terms’ emergence in human language. Specifically, the issue of *mama*♂ (‘male’ semantic domain) vs *mama*♀ (‘female’ semantic domain) was considered.

The general picture, which emerges, is that both lexemes enjoy the world-wide and cross-linguistic distribution. If the *mama*♀ arises due to the breast-feeding process, vocal tract anatomy and speech physiology, the arising and propagation of the *mama*♂ (which is antonymic in a certain sense) is based on the psychological prerequisites, such as a metaphoric shift, and interpersonal liaisons in a limited and close-knit society – the family, first and foremost. These data inherently enable us to refine our understanding of the human mind and speech production, especially during the earliest stages.

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Зельдин Анатолий,
соискатель,
Управление государственной службы,
Реховот, Израиль. 76300
anatolyz@moia.gov.il

Zeldin Anatoly,
PhD applicant,
Civil Service Commission,
Rehovot, Israel.
anatolyz@moia.gov.il