## Historical Change



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Sir William Jones
(1746-1794)

The Sanskrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit; and the old Persian might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of Persia.

SIR WILLIAM JONES
THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY DISCOURSE, ON THE HINDUS
Delivered 2 February, 1786, to the Royal Asiatick Society

|  | Sanskrit | Greek | Latin | Gothic | Old <br> Irish | Lithuanian | Old <br> Church <br> Slavonic | Basque | Hungarian | Turkish |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1. | ékas | hei:s | u:nus | ains | oín | víenas | jedinŭ | bat | egy | bir |
| 2. | dvaú | dúo: | duo | twai | da | dù | dŭva | bi | ketto | iki |
| 3. | tráyas | trei:s | tre:s | Oreis | tri | try:s | trĭje | hiru | három | üç |
| 4. | catvá:ras | téttares | quattuor | fidwor | cethir | keturì | četyre | lau | négy | dört |
| 5. | páñca | pénte | quinque | fimf | cóic | penki | pętĭ | bost | öt | bes, |
| 6. | sát | héx | sex | saihs | sé | šeši | šestı̌ | sei | hat | alti |
| 7. | saptá | heptá | septem | sibun | secht n- | septynì | sedmĭ | zazpi | hét | yedi |
| 8. | astaú | októ: | octo: | ahtau | ocht n- | aštuonì | osmĭ | zortzi | nyolc | sekiz |
| 9. | náva | ennéa | novem | niun | noí n- | devynì | devętĭ | bederatzi | kilenc | dokuz |
| 10. | daśa | déka | decem | taihun | deich n - | de:šeimt | desetǐ | hamar | tíz | on |

## Which of these languages are related?

## Jacob Grimm



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Iacob $\mathfrak{G r i m m}$ formulates "dramm's $\mathfrak{Z} \mathfrak{a m}$ ".

Grimm's lam describes a reqular correspondence between the sitop consonants of:
Inatin, ©rack and Sanskrit
and the consonants of the
Germamic lanquaxes.

| p~f | Latin <br> ped-e <br> pisc-is | Greek pod-e | English <br> foot | b~p | Latin <br> labium | Greek | English <br> lip |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | fish | d~t | duo <br> decem | deka | $t$ wo |
|  |  | pyr | fire |  |  |  | ten |
|  | pater | pater | father | g~k | genu |  | knee |
| t~0 | tres | treis | three |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | dent-e | dont-e | tooth |  | gno-sco |  | know |
| k~h | cord-e | kard-ion <br> kuon <br> kannalbis | heart hound | $\mathbf{p}^{\mathrm{h}} \sim \mathbf{b}$ | fer-o | pher-o | bear |
|  |  |  |  |  | frater | phrater | brother |
|  | cannabis |  | hemp | $\mathbf{t}^{\text {h }} \sim \mathbf{d}$ |  | erythr-os | red |
|  | cornu |  | horn |  | vidua | (w)eitheos | widow |
|  | centum | hekaton | hundred | $\mathbf{g}^{\text {h }} \sim \mathrm{g}$ | hostis |  | guest |

Reality check:
we know these languages are all related:

| French | Italian | Spanish | Portuguese |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| cher | caro | caro | caro |
| champ | campo | campo | campo |
| chandelle | candela | candela | candeia |

(French $\operatorname{ch}$ is $\Omega$ )
and a regular sound law does distinguish French from the others!

## Two lexical items that share a common ancestor are called cognates.

| French <br> cher | Italian <br> caro | Spanish <br> caro | Portuguese <br> caro |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | "French cher and Italian caro are cognates" |  |  |

## Some Indo-European languages

Albanian: Geg, Tosk dialects
Armenian
Balto-Slavic: Baltic: Latvian, Lithuanian
Slavic: East (Russian, Ukrainian, Byelorussian), West (Czech, Slovak, Polish, Sorbian/Wendish, Old Prussian), South (Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian)
Celtic: Brythonic: Welsh, Breton, Cornish Goidelic: Irish, Scottish Gaelic, Manx Continental: Gaulish
Germanic: Gothic
Scandinavian: Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian, Danish, Swedish
West Germanic: German, Dutch, Frisian, English, Afrikaans, Yiddish
Hellenic: Greek
Anatolian: Hittite, Luwian, Lydian, Carian, Palaic
Indo-Iranian: Iranian: Farsi [Persian], Pashto [Afghanistan], Kurdish Indic: Hindi-Urdu, Bengali, Punjabi, Marathi, Gujarati, Romany
Italic: Ancient: Latin, Oscan, Umbrian.
Modern (= Romance) Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, French, Occitan, Provençal, Romansch, Sardinian, Italian, Romanian, Haitian
Tocharian: Tocharian A, B

## Indo-European languages spoken here (non-gray)

Image removed due to copyright restrictions. To see an Indo-European language map, please go to: https://www2.bc.edu/~stantoro/en307/handouts/ie.htm.

## All languages change:

1. lexicon (all fields of the database)
2. phonology
3. morphology
4. syntax

## Relatedness is best established on the basis of the lexicon:

- Because there are an unbounded number of possible words, finding the same sets of words in multiple languages is low-probability. Also: UG doesn't say anything (as far as we know) about the sound-meaning correspondences in lexical entries except that they exist.
- UG limits the range of variation among syntactic systems. There is a substantially smaller number of possible syntactic systems, so finding the same syntax in multiple languages is higher-probability. Recall the discussion of V2 on four continents.


## But be careful!

## A sound-change in Italian

## Latin Italian

| flamma | fjamma | flame' | 9. kla:ma:re | kjamare | 'shout' (L), 'name' (I) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2. flokkus | fjokko | 'flock of wool' | 10. kla:rus | kjaro | 'clear' (L), |
|  |  |  |  |  | bright' (I) |
| 3. flumen | fjum | 'river' | 11. ekkle:sia | kjeza | 'assembly'(L), <br> 'church' (I) |
| 4. ple:nus | pjeno | 'full' | 12. klawstrum | kjostro | enclosure' |
| 5. plakere | pjatfere | 'please' | 13. klawdere | kjudere | close' |
| 6. plumbus | pjombo | 'lead' (= Pb) | 14. glakies | gjat $\int 10$ | ice' |
| 7. plu:ma | pjuma | 'feather' | 15. glu:to(ne) | gjottone | 'glutton' |
| 8. klawis | kjave | 'key' |  |  |  |

(Same chart in Latin and Italian orthography)

## Latin Italian

| 1. flamma | fiamma | flame' | 9. clamare | chiamare | 'shout' (L), |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | 'name' (I) |
| 2. floccus | fiocco | 'flock of wool' | 10. clarus | chiaro | 'clear' (L), <br> 'bright' (I) |
| 3. flumen | fiume | 'river' | 11. ecclesia | chiesa | 'assembly'(L) <br> 'church' (I) |
| 4. plenus | pieno | 'full' | 12. claustrum | chiostro | 'enclosure' |
| 5. placere | piacere | 'please' | 13. claudere | chiudere | 'close' |
| 6. plumbus | piombo | 'lead' (Pb) | 14. glacies | ghiaccio | ice' |
| 7. pluma | piuma | 'feather' | 15. gluto(ne) | ghiottone | glutton' |
| 8. clavis | chiave | 'key' |  |  |  |

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| 7. plu:ma | pjuma | 'feather' | 15. glu:to(ne) | gjottone | 'glutton' |
| 8. kla:vis | kjave | 'key' | 16. pla:kare | plakare | 'calm' |
|  |  |  | 17. floridus | florido | 'flowery' |
|  |  |  | 18. albus | bjanko | 'white' |
|  |  |  | 19. servus | skjavo | 'slave' |

Which two languages are related?


Which two languages are related?

|  | Mandarin | $\checkmark$ Armenian | $\checkmark$ Greek |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 'two' | er | erku | duo |

"Looking similar" is neither necessary nor sufficient to establish a genetic relationship.

## Proto-Indo-European *dw $>$ Armenian erk

|  | Armenian | Greek |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 'two' | erku | duo |
| 'fear' | erki- | dwi- |
| 'long' | erkar | dwa:ron |


\section*{| Mbabaram | English |
| :--- | :--- |
| dog < *gudaga | $\operatorname{dog}<\mathrm{OE}$ docga | <br> 'mastiff' <br> Yidiñ gudaga Dyirbal guda}

"Looking similar" is neither necessary nor sufficient to establish a genetic relationship.

## Mbabaram dog <br> English dog

## Persian bad <br> English bad

Malay
Greek mata 'eye' mati 'eye'

| English | Kaqchikel |
| :--- | :--- |
| mess | mes |
| man | ači |
| mouse | č'oy |
| moon | qatiît |

## Proto-World? <br> maliq'a 'swallow' (Ruhlen \& Greenberg)

| Arabic | m-l-j | 'suckle' | (Afro-Asiatic) |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| English | milk | 'milk' | (Indo-European) |
| Saami | mielga | 'breast' | (Finno-Ugric) |
| Tamil | melku | 'chew' | (Dravidian) |
| Yupik | melug- | 'suck' | (Eskimo-Aleut) |
| Kutenai | u'mqolh 'swallow' | (Almosan) |  |
| Tfaltik | milq | 'swallow' | (Penutian) |
| Akwa'ala milqi | 'neck' | (Hokan) |  |
| Cuna | murki | 'swallow' | (Chibchan) |
| Quechua | malq'a | 'throat' | (Andean) |

## False cognates:

English have<br>Latin habere

In fact:
English have is related to Latin capere 'take' by a known sound law - called...

## False cognates:

English fuck<br>Latin futuere

In fact, Germanic *fuk- is probably from earlier
*pug- (*peig-) by Grimm's law
(and may be related to Latin pug- 'fight' though opinions differ)

Sound-Meaning correspondences are themselves unstable:
OE (ge)bed 'prayer'

$>$ ModE bead

OE steorfan 'die' (cf. German sterben)
$>$ ModE starve

OE cniht 'servant'
> ModE knight

Sound-Meaning correspondences are themselves unstable:

## Latin niger, nigra, etc. 'dark-colored', 'black >

Fr. nègre 'black man' >

Haitian Creole nèg 'man'

## Traditional dates for the history of English

## Old English (Anglo-Saxon): 450-1100

Middle English:

1100-1500

Modern English:
1500-
fæder ure pu pe eart on heofonum si pin nama gehalgod tobecume pin rice gewurpe pin willa on eorðan swa swa on heofonum urne gedæghwamlican hlaf syle us to dæg and forgyf us ure gyltas swa swa we forgyfað urum gyltendum and ne gelæd pu us on costnunge ac alys us of yfele soblice.

## Old English (West Saxon Gospels, 10th C.)

9. fæder ure pu pe eart on heofonum
10.si pin nama gehalgod tobecume pin rice gewurbe pin willa on eorðan swa swa on heofonum
11.urne gedæghwamlican hlaf syle us to dæg
12.and forgyf us ure gyltas swa swa we forgyfað urum gyltendum
13.and ne gelæd pu us on costnunge ac alys us of yfele soplice.

## Middle English (Wycliff 1380)

9. Oure fadir pat art in heuenes halwid be pi name;
10.bi reume or kyngdom come to be. Be pi wille don in herpe as it is doun in heuene.
11.yeue to us today oure eche dayes bred.
12.And foryeue to us oure dettis pat is oure synnys as we foryeuen to oure dettouris pat is to men pat han synned in us.
13.And lede us not into temptacion but delyuere us from euyl.

## Early Modern English (King James 1611)

9. Our father which art in heauen, hallowed be thy name.
10.Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heauen.
10. Giue us this day our daily bread.
12.And forgiue us our debts as we forgiue our debters.
11. And lead us not into temptation, but deliuer us from euill. Amen.

## Old English: 450-1100

Verb-second/head-final
pæt hus hæfdon Romane to ðæm anum tacne geworht that building had Roman with the one feature constructed (WIIom 6.52)
...but subject pronouns precede the finite verb and do not necessarily count for verb-second purposes:
scortlice ic hebbe nu gesæd ymb pa prie dælas... briefly I have now spoken about the three parts
(Or 0.18)

Old English: 450-1100
Three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter) Nouns marked for case (subject, object, etc.)

|  | Masculine 'fox' | Feminine 'learning' | Neuter 'animal' | Masculine 'foot' |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| SINGULAR <br> subject <br> object <br> possessive <br> indirect obj <br> PLURAL <br> subj/obj <br> possessive <br> indirect obj | fox <br> fox <br> fox-es <br> fox-e <br> fox-as <br> fox-a <br> fox-um | lar <br> lar-e <br> lar-e <br> lar-e <br> lar-a <br> lar-a <br> lar-um | deor deor deor-es deor-e <br> deor <br> deor-a <br> deor-um | fot <br> fot <br> fot-es <br> fet <br> fet <br> fot-a <br> fot-um |

## Middle English: 1100-1500

## Loss of verb-second, and rise of V-to-I movement...

$\sqrt{ }$<br>pe barnis pat ere yunge pat vnderstandis noht<br>$\qquad$ the children that are young that understand not<br>what paine fallis til cursing what punishment falls to cursing

...which is a feature of (surprise, surprise!) French!

Pierre ne-parle pas $\quad$ français
Pierre ne-speaks not $\quad$ French


Middle English: 1100-1500

Case-marking gradually lost.

compare Old English:

| PLURAL |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| subj/obj | fox-as | lar-a | deor | fet |
| possessive | fox-a | lar-a | deor-a | fot-a |
| indirect obj | fox-um | lar-um | deor-um | fot-um |

Whan that Aprille, with hise shoures soote, The droghte of March hath perced to the roote And bathed every veyne in swich licour, Of which vertu engendred is the flour; Whan Zephirus eek with his swete breeth

Inspired hath in every holt and heeth The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne Hath in the Ram his halfe cours yronne, And smale foweles maken melodye, That slepen al the nyght with open eye-

So priketh hem Nature in hir corages Thanne longen folk to goon on pilgrimages And palmeres for to seken straunge strondes To ferne halwes, kowthe in sondry londes; And specially, from every shires ende

Of Engelond, to Caunturbury they wende, The hooly blisful martir for to seke
That hem hath holpen, whan that they were seeke...
[Geoffrey Chaucer, Canterbury Tales, ca. 1385-1400]

## Modern English

Loss of V-to-I movement, still alive in Shakespeare:


He heard not __ that.


I care not __ for her.


Demetrius loves her and he loves not $\qquad$ you.

V-to-I movement is not completely dead even in Modern English:
"Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country"
...AND NOW...

## THE GRIAT



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