

# Historical Linguistics

One of the morals of this class:

- language is complicated.

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wh-movement,  
the Projection Principle,  
binary branching.....

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how do we figure stuff like this out?

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wh-movement,  
the Projection Principle,  
binary branching.....

how do we figure stuff like this out?

-->claim: in many cases, it's innate.

# Innateness Hypothesis:

we don't start with a blank slate, but rather with a rich body of linguistic knowledge.

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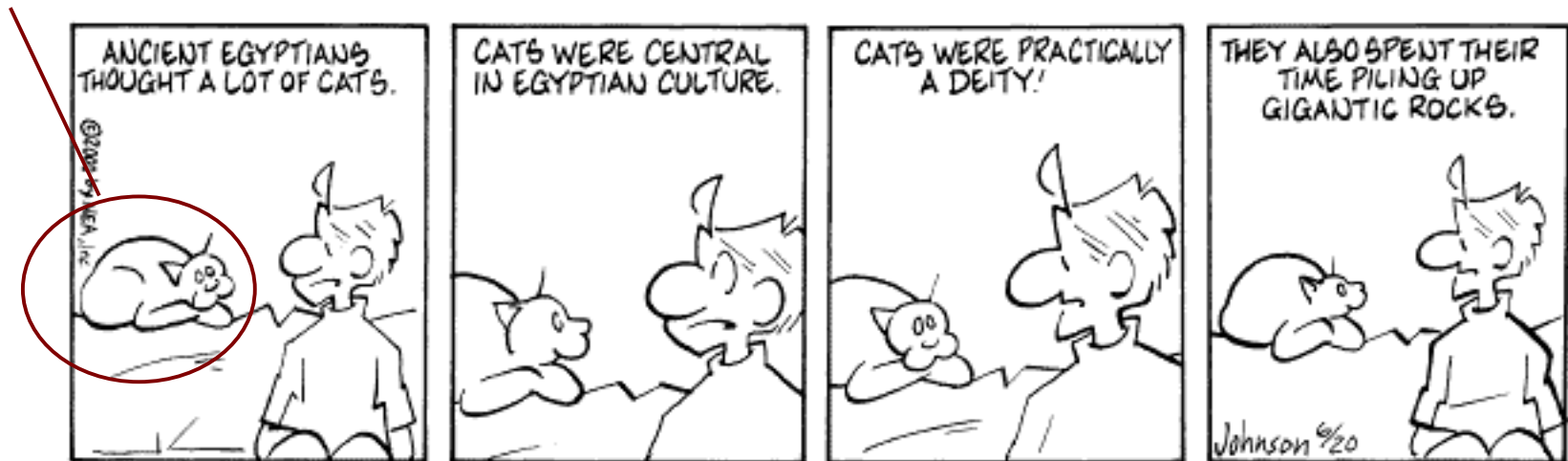
we don't start with a blank slate, but rather with a rich body of linguistic knowledge.

as a result, we don't have to figure some things out...and for things that we do, we have help.

on the other hand...

...clearly, not everything is innate.

/k<sup>h</sup>æt/





...and, in fact, kids do make mistakes about things like this.

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- what does 'livid' mean?

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- what does 'livid' mean?  
white? red? angry?

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- what does 'livid' mean?  
white? red? angry?
- the verb 'misle': I used to believe  
in this verb...

...and, in fact, kids do make mistakes about things like this.

- what does 'livid' mean?  
white? red? angry?
- the verb 'misle': I used to believe in this verb...but I'd been **mised**.

Sometimes these 'mistakes' catch on,  
in the form of:

- various kinds of semantic drift

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OE (*ge*)*bed* 'prayer'

(cf. German *beten* 'pray')

> ModE *bead*

("I'm counting my *beads* on this rosary")

Sometimes these 'mistakes' catch on,  
in the form of:

- various kinds of semantic drift  
OE *(ge)bed* 'prayer' > ModE *bead*

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



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- various kinds of semantic drift  
OE *(ge)bed* 'prayer' > ModE *bead*  
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Fr. *nègre* 'black man' >  
Haitian Creole *nèg* 'man'

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OE *steorfan* 'die' > ModE *starve*

Fr. *nègre* 'black man' > HC *nèg* 'man'

OE *cniht* 'boy, servant'

(German *Knecht*) > ModE *knight*

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OE *huswif* 'housewife'

> ModE *hussy*

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  - OE *cniht* 'servant' > ModE *knight*
  - OE *huswif* 'housewife' > ModE *hussy*
  - PAN *\*wada* 'there is'
    - > Tagalog *wala* 'there isn't'

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PAN \**wada* 'there is'

**reconstructed** > Tagalog *wala* 'there isn't'

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- recuttings (like *misled* > *misle-d*)

ME an ekename >

ModE a nickname

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ME an ekename >

ModE a nickname

ME pease (mass noun) >

ModE pea-s (plural count noun)

Sometimes these 'mistakes' catch on,  
in the form of:

- various kinds of semantic drift
- recuttings (like *misled* > *misle-d*)

OE neah 'near'

OE nearra 'nearer'

OE neahsta 'nearest'



Sometimes these 'mistakes' catch on,  
in the form of:

- various kinds of semantic drift
- recuttings (like *misled* > *misle-d*)

OE neah 'near' > ModE nigh

OE nearra 'nearer' > ModE near

OE neahsta 'nearest' > ModE next

in the form of:

- various kinds of semantic drift
- recuttings (like *misled* > *misle-d*)

OE neah 'near' > ModE nigh

OE nearra 'nearer' > ModE near

OE neahsta 'nearest' > ModE next

doesn't look much like a comparative...

in the form of:

- various kinds of semantic drift
- recuttings (like *misled* > *misle-d*)

OE neah 'near' > ModE nigh

OE nearra 'nearer' > ModE **near**

OE neahsta 'nearest' > ModE next

reanalysis: **near, near-er, near-est**

Sometimes these 'mistakes' catch on,  
in the form of:

- various kinds of semantic drift
- recuttings (like *misled* > *misle-d*)
- sound changes!

some numbers:

	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Gthc.</i>	<i>O.Ir</i>	<i>Lith.</i>	<i>OCS*</i>	<i>Bsque</i>	<i>Tkish</i>
1.	ékas	hei:s	u:nus	ains	oín	víenas	jedinŭ	bat	bir
2.	dvaú	dúo:	duo	twai	da	dù	dŭva	bi	iki
3.	tráyas	trei:s	tre:s	θreis	tri	try:s	trĭje	hiru	üç

\*Old Church Slavonic

some numbers:

	<i>Skt.</i>	<i>Greek</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Gthc.</i>	<i>O.Ir</i>	<i>Lith.</i>	<i>OCS*</i>	<i>Bsque</i>	<i>Tkish</i>
1	ékas	hei:s	u:nus	ains	oín	víenas	jedinŭ	bat	bir
2	dvaú	dúo:	duo	twai	da	dù	dŭva	bi	iki
3	tráyas	trei:s	tre:s	θreis	tri	try:s	trĭje	hiru	üç

cognates

in fact, we can be more systematic than this:

Grimm's Law (Rasmus Rask, Jakob Grimm)

	<u>Latin</u>	<u>Greek</u>	<u>English</u>
d-t	<u>d</u> uo	<u>d</u> úo	<u>t</u> wo
	e <u>d</u> -o	é <u>d</u> -o	ea <u>t</u>
	<u>d</u> ecem	<u>d</u> éka	<u>t</u> en
g-k	<u>g</u> enus	<u>g</u> enos	<u>k</u> in
	a <u>g</u> er	a <u>g</u> rós	a <u>c</u> re
b-p	lab <u>b</u> ium	--	li <u>p</u>
	cannab <u>b</u> is	kánnab <u>b</u> is	hemp <u>p</u>
	lub <u>b</u> ricus	--	slipp <u>pp</u> ery

Once we've figured out all the sound laws we need for a bunch of related languages, we can posit the 'underlying forms' that underwent the sound changes: protolanguage



Sanskrit

Latin

English

ad-

ed-

eat

....

Sanskrit

Latin

English

adu-

edu-

eatu

....

Sanskrit

adḍ-

Latin

edḍ-

English

eatḍ

**Grimm's Law (Germanic):**

d->t (also, b->p, and g->k)

Sanskrit

Latin

English

ad-

ed-

eat

Sanskrit

Latin

English

ad-

ed-

eat

Sanskrit

Latin

ad-

ed-

'eat'

danta

dent-

'tooth'

avi-

ovi-

'sheep'

dva-

duo

'two'

ajra

ager

'field'

Proto-Indo-European: \*ed- 'eat'

Sanskrit (\*e>a) ad-

Latin ed-

English (G.L...) eat

Proto-Indo-European: \*ed- 'eat'

Sanskrit (\*e>a) ad-

Latin ed-

English (G.L...) eat

**careful!** The proto-form doesn't have to be the same as any daughter form.

w-->gw in Chamorro:

**Tagalog**

aswa

dalwa

wala 'there isn't'

**Chamorro**

asagwa 'spouse'

hugwa 'two'

gwaha 'there is'

...



w-->gw in Chamorro, and...

**Tagalog**

asawa

dalawa

wala 'there isn't'

**Chamorro**

asagwa 'spouse'

hugwa 'two'

gwaha 'there is'

**PIE**

\*wir

**Welsh**

gwir 'man'

**Proto-Germ.**

\*werra

\*ward-

**Late Latin**

\*gwerra 'war'

\*gward- 'guard'

big discovery:  
sound change is regular.

(Neogrammarian Hypothesis)

big discovery:  
sound change is regular.

-->shifts emphasis away from looking for lists of words that 'look similar'; now what we're looking for is lists of words that can be related by regular sound laws.

"looking similar" is not necessary to prove relationship:

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>
'two'	er	erku	duo

"looking similar" is not necessary to prove relationship:

	<u>Mandarin</u>	<u>Armenian</u>	<u>Greek</u>
'two'	er	erku	duo

"looking similar" is not necessary to prove relationship:

	<u>Mandarin</u>	<u>Armenian</u>	<u>Greek</u>
'two'	er	erku	duo
'fear'		erki-	dwi-
'long'		erkar	dwa:ron

"looking similar" is not **sufficient** to  
prove relationship:

**Mbabaram**

**English**

"looking similar" is not **sufficient** to  
prove relationship:

**Mbabaram**

**English**

dog



"looking similar" is not sufficient to prove relationship:

Mbabaram

dog

English

dog

"looking similar" is not **sufficient** to prove relationship:

## **Mbabaram**

dog

(<\**gudaga*:

Yidiny *gudaga*,

Dyirbal *guda*)

## **English**

dog

(<OE *docga*

'mastiff')

"looking similar" is not sufficient to prove relationship:

Mbabaram

dog

Persian

bad

Malay

mata 'eye'

English

dog

English

bad

Greek

mati 'eye'

"looking similar" is not **sufficient** to  
prove relationship:

**English**

mess

**Kaqchikel**

mes

"looking similar" is not **sufficient** to prove relationship:

**English**

mess

man

mouse

moon

**Kaqchikel**

mes

ač'i

č'oy

qatiʔt

<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoan</u>	
kalo	taro	talo	talo	'taro'
piko	pito	pito	pito	'navel'
moko	moto	moto	moto	'punch'
aka	ata	ata	ata	'dawn'
kai	tai	tahi	tai	'sea'
nuku	ŋutu	ŋutu	ŋutu	'beak'

<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoan</u>	
<u>k</u> alo	<u>t</u> aro	<u>t</u> alo	<u>t</u> alo	'taro'
pi <u>k</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	'navel'
mo <u>k</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	'punch'
a <u>k</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	'dawn'
<u>k</u> ai	<u>t</u> ai	<u>t</u> ahi	<u>t</u> ai	'sea'
nu <u>k</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	'beak'

<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoaan</u>	
<u>k</u> alo	<u>t</u> aro	<u>t</u> alo	<u>t</u> alo	'taro'
pi <u>k</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	'navel'
mo <u>k</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	'punch'
a <u>k</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	'dawn'
<u>k</u> ai	<u>t</u> ai	<u>t</u> ahi	<u>t</u> ai	'sea'
nu <u>k</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	'beak'

## Hawaiian:

t → k



<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoaan</u>	<u>P-Pol</u>
<u>k</u> alo	<u>t</u> aro	<u>t</u> alo	<u>t</u> alo	*talo 'taro'
pi <u>k</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	pi <u>t</u> o	*pito 'navel'
mo <u>k</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	mo <u>t</u> o	*moto 'punch'
a <u>k</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	a <u>t</u> a	*ata 'dawn'
<u>k</u> ai	<u>t</u> ai	<u>t</u> ahi	<u>t</u> ai	*tahi 'sea'
nu <u>k</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	ŋu <u>t</u> u	*ŋutu 'beak'

## Hawaiian:

t → k

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kalo	taro	talo	talo	*talo	'taro'
piko	pito	pito	pito	*pito	'navel'
<u>ʔ</u> ele	<u>k</u> ere	<u>k</u> ele	<u>ʔ</u> ele		'black'
<u>ʔ</u> ula	<u>k</u> ura	<u>k</u> ula	<u>ʔ</u> ula		'red'
a <u>ʔ</u> e	a <u>k</u> e	ha <u>k</u> e	a <u>ʔ</u> e		'up'
<u>ʔ</u> apo	<u>k</u> apo	--	<u>ʔ</u> apo		'grasp'

**Hawaiian:**

t → k

<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoaan</u>	<u>P-Pol</u>
kalo	taro	talo	talo	*talo 'taro'
piko	pito	pito	pito	*pito 'navel'
<u>ʔ</u> ele	<u>k</u> ere	<u>k</u> ele	<u>ʔ</u> ele	*kele 'black'
<u>ʔ</u> ula	<u>k</u> ura	<u>k</u> ula	<u>ʔ</u> ula	*kula 'red'
a <u>ʔ</u> e	a <u>k</u> e	ha <u>k</u> e	a <u>ʔ</u> e	*hake 'up'
<u>ʔ</u> apo	<u>k</u> apo	--	<u>ʔ</u> apo	*kapo 'grasp'

**Hawaiian:**

t → k

k → ʔ

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<u>ʔ</u> ele	<u>k</u> ere	<u>k</u> ele	<u>ʔ</u> ele	*kele 'black'
<u>ʔ</u> ula	<u>k</u> ura	<u>k</u> ula	<u>ʔ</u> ula	*kula 'red'
a <u>ʔ</u> e	a <u>k</u> e	ha <u>k</u> e	a <u>ʔ</u> e	*hake 'up'
<u>ʔ</u> apo	<u>k</u> apo	--	<u>ʔ</u> apo	*hapo 'grasp'

**Hawaiian:**

k → ʔ

t → k

<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoaan</u>	<u>P-Pol</u>
kalo	taro	talo	talo	*talo 'taro'
ʔele	kere	kele	ʔele	*kele 'black'
aka	ata	ata	ata	'dawn'
ihu	ihu	ihu	isu	'nose'
ao	ao	<u>ʔ</u> aho	ao	'day'
aloha	aroha	<u>ʔ</u> alo <u>ʔ</u> ofa	alofa	'love'
wae	wae	va <u>ʔ</u> e	vae	'leg'
leo	reo	le <u>ʔ</u> o	leo	'voice'
hau	hau	hau	sau	'dew'
wai	wai	vai	vai	'water'

<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoaan</u>	<u>P-Pol</u>
kalo	taro	talo	talo	*talo 'taro'
ʔele	kere	kele	ʔele	*kele 'black'
aka	ata	ata	ata	*ata 'dawn'
ihu	ihu	ihu	isu	*isu 'nose'
ao	ao	<u>ʔ</u> aho	ao	*ʔaho'day'
aloha	aroha	<u>ʔ</u> alo <u>ʔ</u> ofa	alofa	*ʔaloʔofa 'love'
wae	wae	va <u>ʔ</u> e	vae	*vaʔe'leg'
leo	reo	le <u>ʔ</u> o	leo	*leʔo 'voice'
hau	hau	hau	sau	*sau 'dew'
wai	wai	vai	vai	*vai 'water'

<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoaan</u>	<u>P-Pol</u>
kalo	taro	talo	talo	*talo 'taro'
ʔele	kere	kele	ʔele	*kele 'black'
aka	ata	ata	ata	*ata 'dawn'
ao	ao	<u>ʔ</u> aho	ao	*ʔaho 'day'

### Hawaiian:

k → ʔ ('black')

t → k ('taro')

ʔ → ∅ ('day')

<u>Hawaiian</u>	<u>Maori</u>	<u>Tongan</u>	<u>Samoaan</u>	<u>P-Pol</u>
kalo	taro	talo	talo	*talo 'taro'
ʔele	kere	kele	ʔele	*kele 'black'
aka	ata	ata	ata	*ata 'dawn'
ao	ao	<u>ʔ</u> aho	ao	*ʔaho 'day'

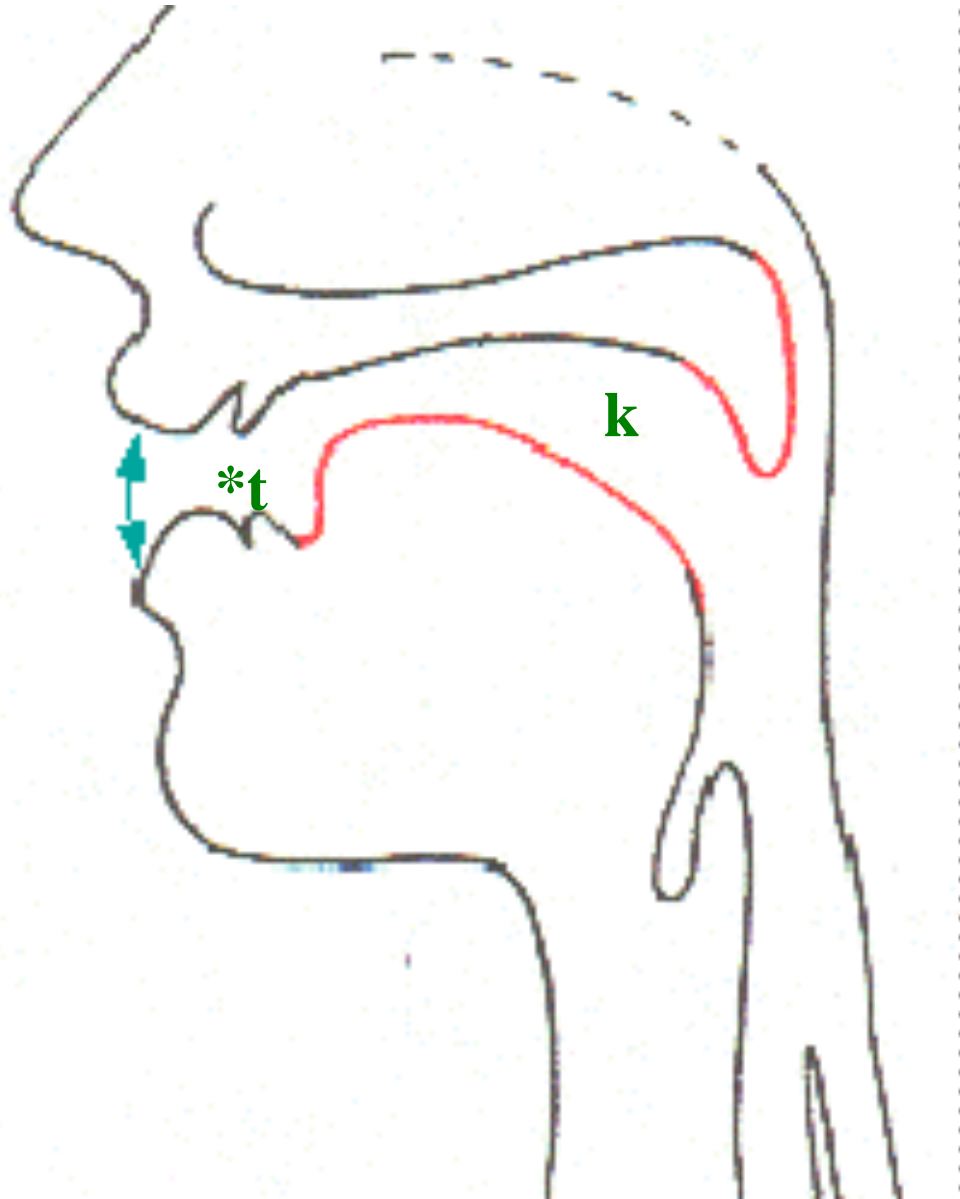
### Hawaiian:

ʔ → ∅ ('day')  
k → ʔ ('black')  
t → k ('taro')



# Hawaiian

\*ata 'dawn'  
aka



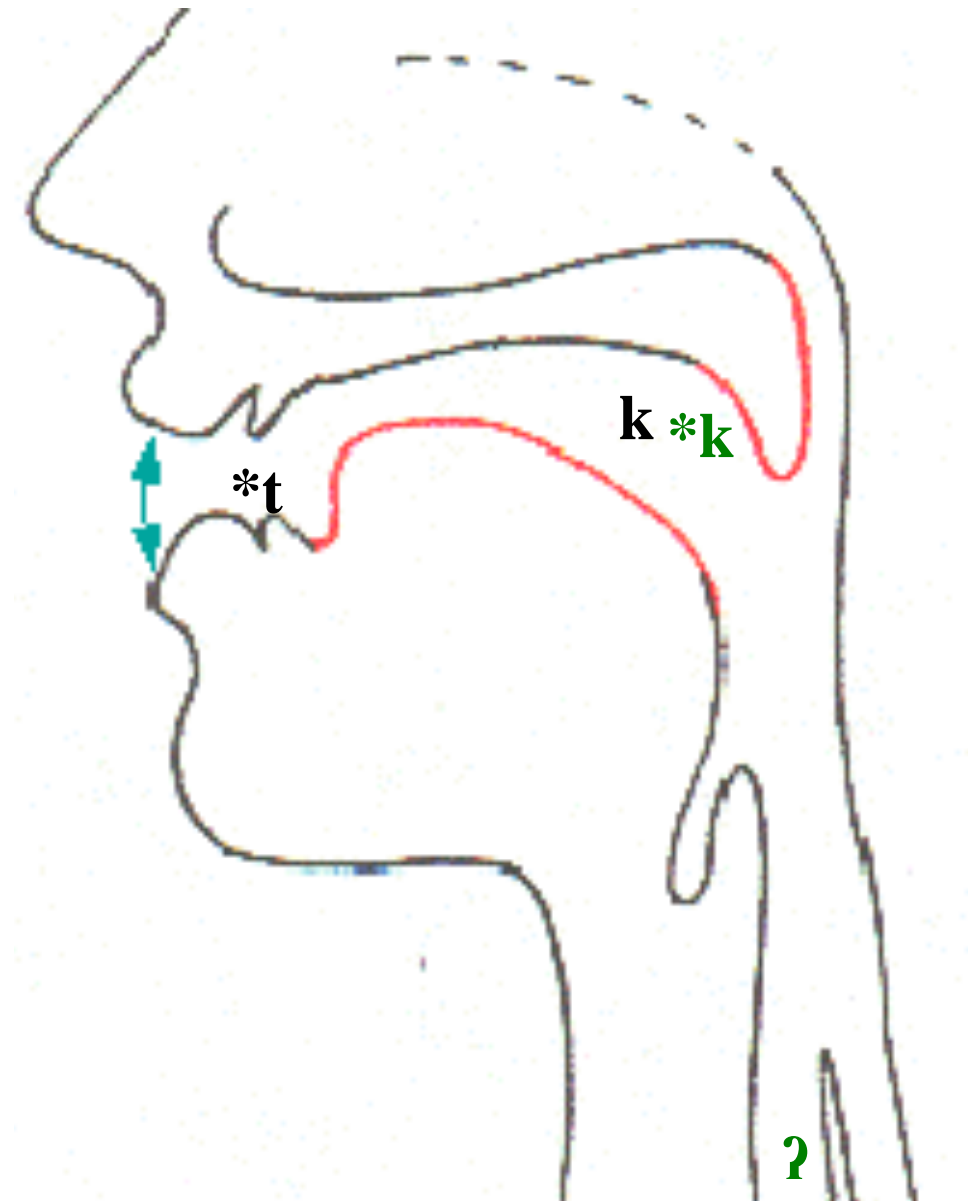
# Hawaiian

\*ata 'dawn'

aka

\*kula 'red'

ʔula



# Hawaiian

\*ata 'dawn'

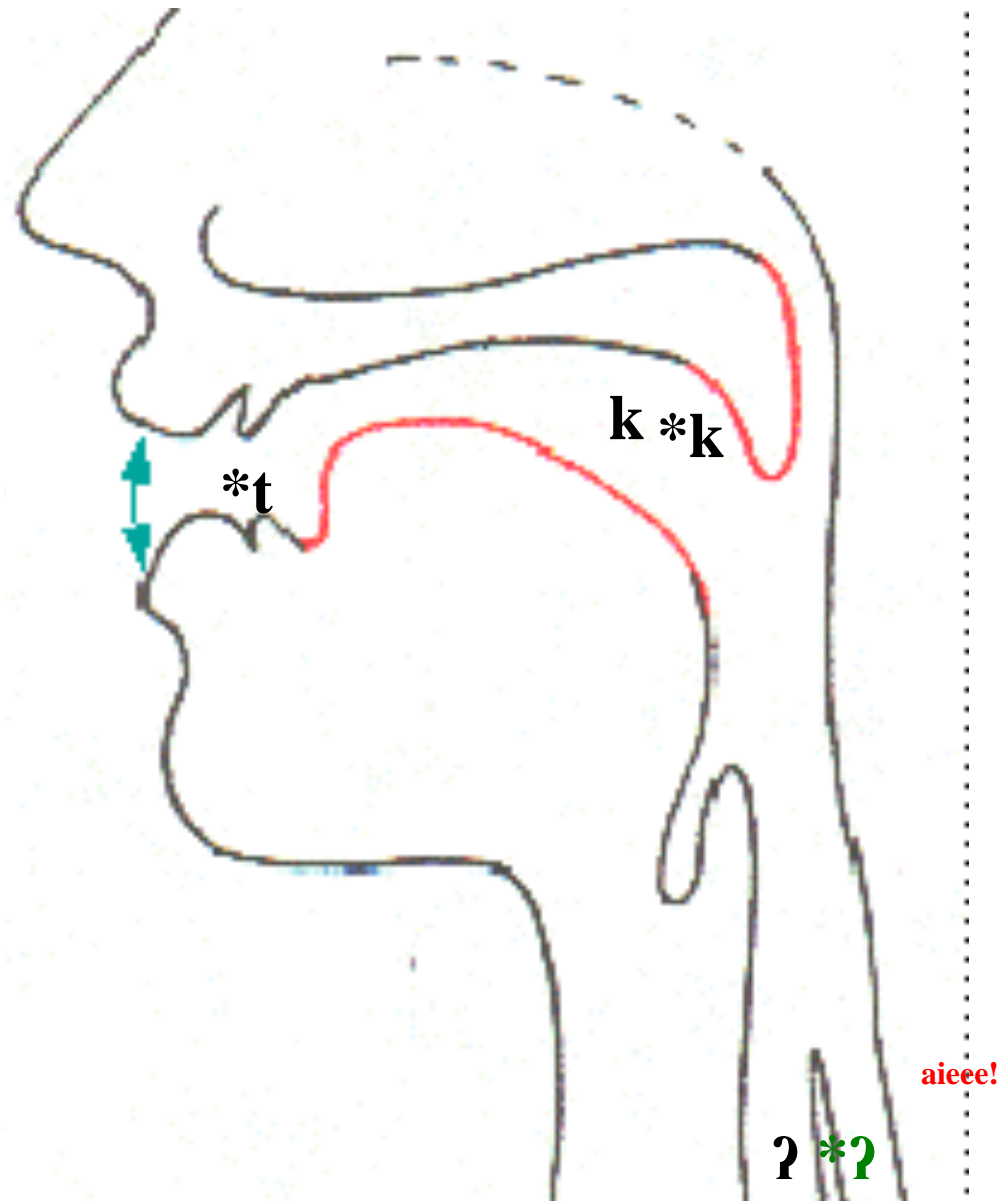
aka

\*kula 'red'

ʔula

\*leʔo 'voice'

leo



# Hawaiian

\*ata 'dawn'

aka

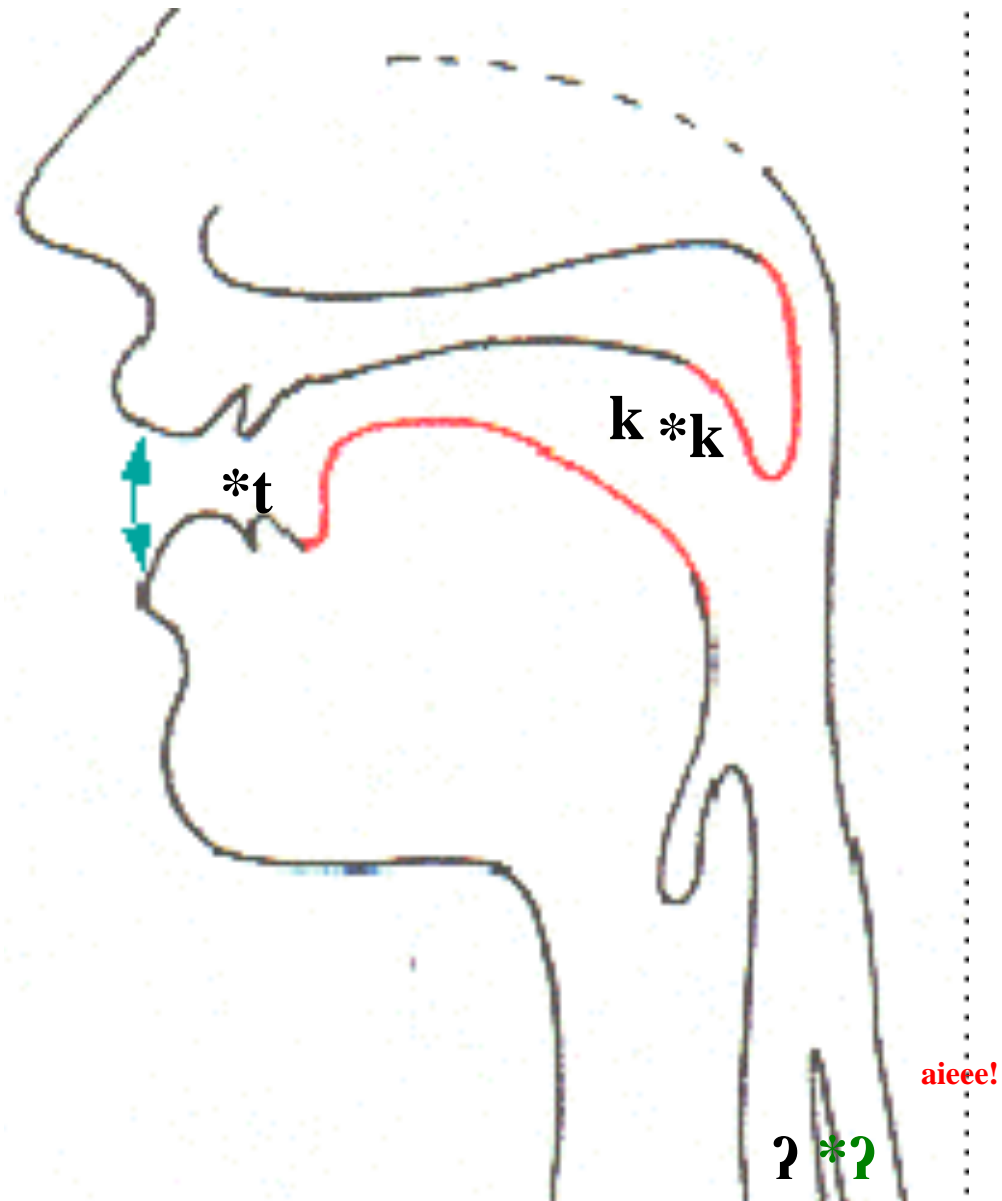
\*kula 'red'

ʔula

\*leʔo 'voice'

leo

**Chain Shift**



Another famous chain shift:  
*The English Great Vowel Shift*

# *The English Great Vowel Shift*

English long vowels, circa 14<sup>th</sup> century:

i

u

e

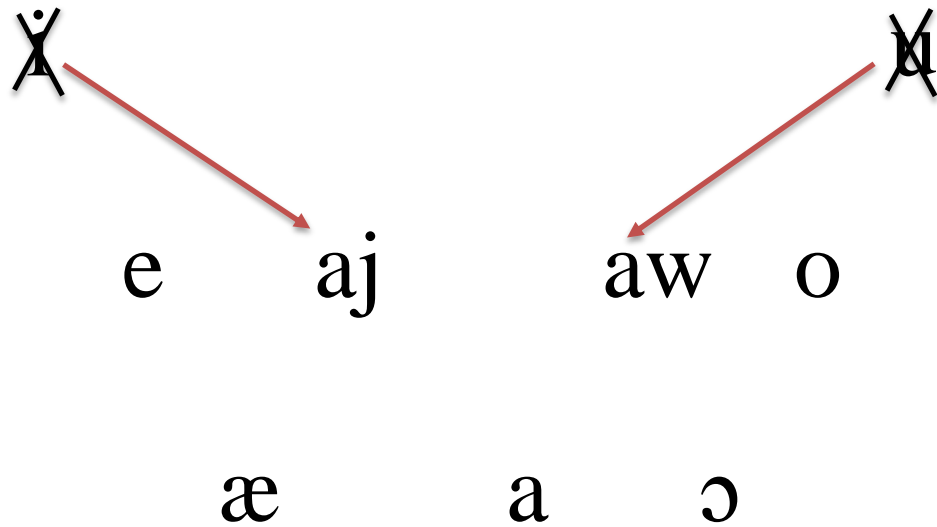
o

æ

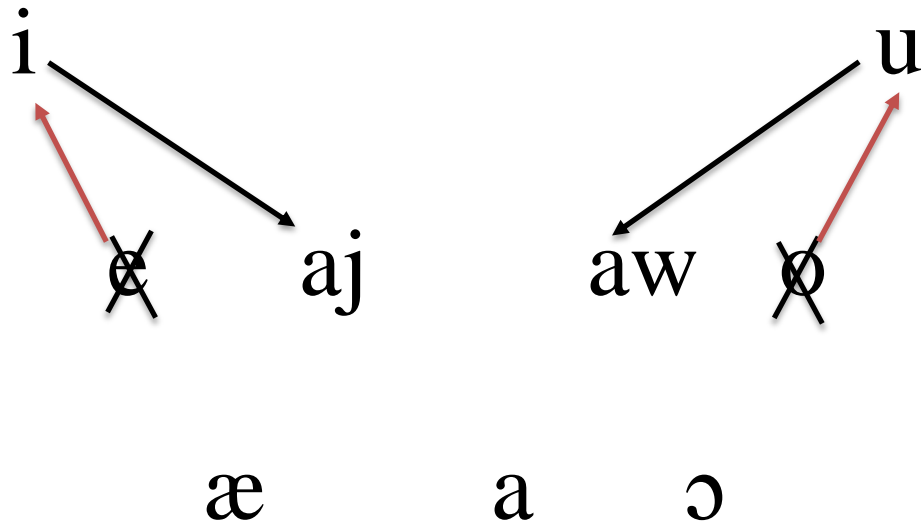
a

ɔ

# *The Great English Vowel Shift*



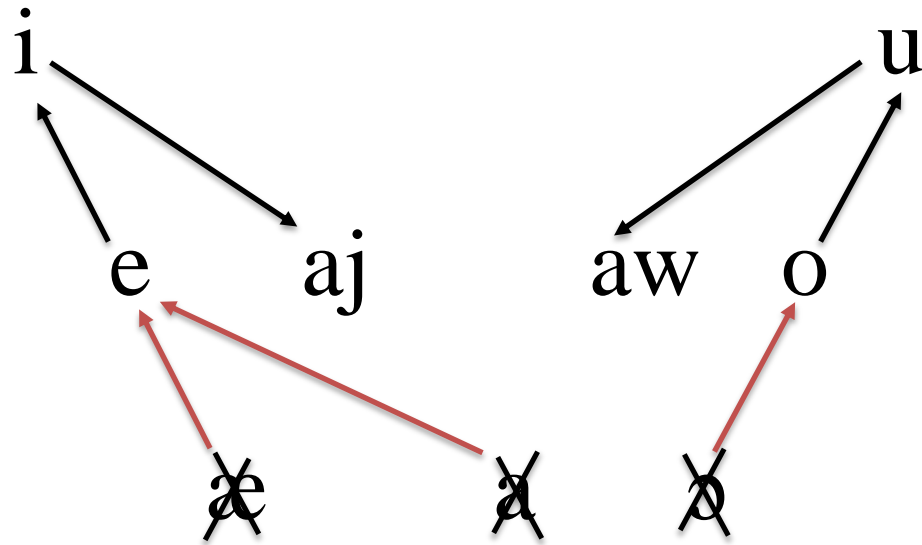
# *The Great English Vowel Shift*





# *The Great English Vowel Shift*

English long vowels, circa 18<sup>th</sup> century:



Sound changes are a common source of ‘irregularity’ in inflectional systems.

Sound changes are a common source of ‘irregularity’ in inflectional systems.

Latin rex ‘king’      nox ‘night’      vox ‘voice’

Sound changes are a common source of ‘irregularity’ in inflectional systems.

Latin	rex ‘king’	nox ‘night’	vox ‘voice’
	reg-is (GEN)	noct-is (GEN)	voc-is (GEN)
	reg-em (ACC)	noct-em (ACC)	voc-em (ACC)

Sound changes are a common source of ‘irregularity’ in inflectional systems.

Latin	<del>rex</del> ‘king’	<del>nox</del> ‘night’	<del>vox</del> ‘voice’
	*reg-s ‘king’	*noct-s ‘night’	*voc-s ‘voice’
	reg-is (GEN)	noct-is (GEN)	voc-is (GEN)
	reg-em (ACC)	noct-em (ACC)	voc-em (ACC)

Sound changes are a common source of ‘irregularity’ in inflectional systems.

Latin	<del>rex</del> ‘king’	<del>nox</del> ‘night’	<del>vox</del> ‘voice’
	*reg-s ‘king’	*noct-s ‘night’	*voc-s ‘voice’
	reg-is (GEN)	noct-is (GEN)	voc-is (GEN)
	reg-em (ACC)	noct-em (ACC)	voc-em (ACC)

→ plus sound changes that turn final \*gs and \*cts to x (ks).

Sound changes are a common source of ‘irregularity’ in inflectional systems.

Proto-Eskimo

iglu ‘house’

tumə ‘footprint’

tavsi ‘belt’

iglu-t ‘houses’

tumə-t ‘footprints’

tavsi-t ‘belts’

Sound changes are a common source of ‘irregularity’ in inflectional systems.

Proto-Eskimo → Iñupiaq

iglu ‘house’            iglu-t ‘houses’

tumə ‘footprint’      tumə-t ‘footprints’

tavsi ‘belt’            tavsi-**tʃ** ‘belts’

- . t became tʃ after i



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- . t became tʃ after i
- . ə became i
- (in some dialects, tʃ then changed back to t...)

The Iñupiaq case is a good example of another consequence of a history of sound changes: *opacity*.

## Remember Lardil?

final *u* → *a* (*kandu* → *kanda* ‘blood’)

final *k* drops (*wangalk* → *wangal* ‘boomerang’)

## Remember Lardil?

final  $u \rightarrow a$  ( $kandu \rightarrow kanda$  ‘blood’)

final  $k$  drops ( $wangalk \rightarrow wangal$  ‘boomerang’)

...crucially, in that order:

$ngaluk \rightarrow ngalu$  ‘story’

(which doesn’t become *ngala*,  
because the first rule applies first  
and the second rule applies second)

Passamaquoddy underwent a sound change that deleted odd-numbered short vowels, depending on the consonants around them (*syncope*).

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nə-pətihik ‘I hook a fish’

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nə-pətihik → ~~nə~~-pə~~t~~hik  
(npəthik 'I hook a fish')



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(ptihike ‘he/she hooks a fish’)

Passamaquoddy underwent a sound change that deleted odd-numbered short vowels, depending on the consonants around them.

nə-məsahkey-in ‘I’m sorry about it’

Passamaquoddy underwent a sound change that deleted odd-numbered short vowels, depending on the consonants around them.

nə-məsahkey-in      → ~~nə~~-~~məs~~ahkey-in  
(nməskeyin 'I'm sorry about it')

Passamaquoddy underwent a sound change that deleted odd-numbered short vowels, depending on the consonants around them.

nə-məsahkey-in      → ~~nə~~-~~məsah~~key-in  
(nməskeyin 'I'm sorry about it')

məsahkey-u 'he/she's sorry'

Passamaquoddy underwent a sound change that deleted odd-numbered short vowels, depending on the consonants around them.

nə-məsahkey-in → ~~nə~~-~~məs~~ahkey-in  
(nməskeyin 'I'm sorry about it')

məsahkey-u → ~~məs~~ahkey-u  
(psahkeyu 'he/she's sorry')

(here there's another sound change:  
m becomes p before s)

Opacity again!

The Passamaquoddy syncope rule sure *looks* like the result of a stress system:

Passamaquoddy underwent a sound change that deleted odd-numbered short vowels, depending on the consonants around them.

nə-p<sup>́</sup>ət<sub>ə</sub>ih<sub>í</sub>k → n~~ə~~-p~~ə~~thik  
(npəthik ‘I hook a fish’)

pət<sub>í</sub>hik-é → p~~ə~~thihik-e  
(ptihike ‘he/she hooks a fish’)



The Passamaquoddy syncope rule sure *looks* like the result of a stress system...

...which would be fine, except that Passamaquoddy's stress system is not "stress the even-numbered vowels":

léwéstu	's/he talks like that'
wíkewéstu	's/he likes talking'
séhtáyewéstu	's/he talks while walking backwards'
kwíkéwestúpon	'you and I like talking'

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...it's "stress the first syllable, and every other syllable counting backwards from the end" (more or less)

The Passamaquoddy syncope rule sure *looks* like the result of a stress system...

...which would be fine, except that Passamaquoddy's stress system is not “stress the even-numbered vowels”.

Plausible conclusion:

Passamaquoddy *used* to have a different stress system, during which the syncope rule applied...

...and then its stress system changed to what it is now.

two bad ideas:

- glottochronology
- megalocomparison

glottochronology (Swadesh, 1950s):  
"carbon dating" of language splits.

take a list of 'basic vocabulary':

I	fish
you	kill
we	swim
this	hot
that	good
man	name

.....

figure out how many cognates the two languages share on the list

(e.g., English and Danish share 59%,  
English and Albanian share 13%)

Assume that 'cognate loss' happens at a constant rate.

(14% every 1000 years)



Do some math.

$$t = \log C / 2 \log r$$

t=time depth in millennia

C=percentage of cognates

r=constant (.86)

problem:

- 'cognate loss' does not in fact happen at a constant rate.

(Icelandic's retention rate: 97%,  
English's retention rate: 68%)

problem:

- 'cognate loss' does not in fact happen at a constant rate.
  - language contact
  - taboos (PIE bears...)

a bad idea:

megalocomparison (Greenberg,  
Ruhlen)

# megalocomparison (Greenberg)

## Proto-World *maliq'a* 'swallow'

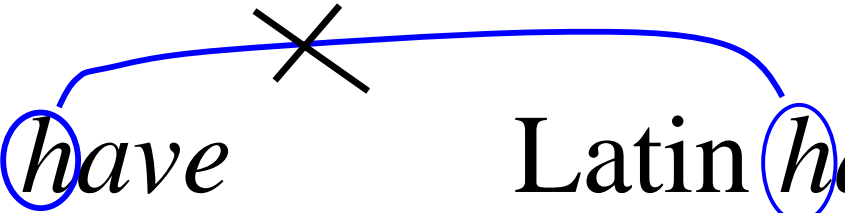
Arabic	m-l-j 'suck a breast'	(Afro-Asiatic)
English	milk	(Indo-European)
Saami	mielga 'breast'	(Finno-Ugric)
Tamil	melku 'chew'	(Dravidian)
Yupik	melug- 'suck'	(Eskimo-Aleut)
Kutenai	u'mqolh 'swallow'	(Almosan)
Tfaltik	milq 'swallow'	(Penutian)
Akwa'ala	milqi 'neck'	(Hokan)
Cuna	murki 'swallow'	(Chibchan)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

This method is guaranteed to give you false positives:

English *have*  
(German *haben*)

Latin *habere* 'have'

This method is guaranteed to give you false positives:

English *have*  Latin *habere* 'have'

h*orn*

h*ear*t

h*emp*

h*undred*

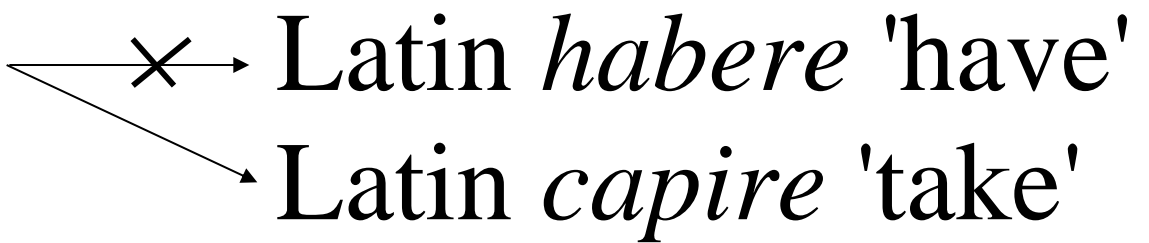
c*ornu*

c*ord-e*

c*annabis*

c*entum*

This method is guaranteed to give you false positives:

English *have*  Latin *habere* 'have'  
Latin *capire* 'take'



...and false negatives:

Armenian *erku*, English *two*

Hindi *panch*, English *five*

- failure to avoid onomatopoeia,  
"nursery words"
- semantic variation  
( 'excrement/night/grass' )
- loose criteria for phonological  
relatedness

- bad data...

## 'Amerind hypothesis'

Tzotzil	<i>tiʔil</i> 'hole'
Lake Miwok	<i>talok<sup>h</sup></i> 'hole'
Atakapa	<i>tol</i> 'anus'
Totonac	<i>tan</i> 'buttocks'
Takelma	<i>telkan</i> 'buttocks'

- bad data...

## 'Amerind hypothesis'

Tzotzil	<i>tiʔil</i> 'hole'	<i>tiʔ</i>	<i>-il</i>
Lake Miwok	<i>talok<sup>h</sup></i> 'hole'	mouth	one's
Atakapa	<i>tol</i> 'anus'		
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Takelma	<i>telkan</i> 'buttocks'		

of course, the comparative method  
has its problems, too:

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis

<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>O.Norse</u>	
adder	Natter	nadr-	naðra	'adder, snake'

English n-->Ø / # \_\_\_?

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

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<u>English</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>O.Norse</u>	
adder	Natter	nadr-	naðra	'adder, snake'

no: a nadder --> an adder

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

	<u>'to choose'</u>	<u>'chose'</u>	<u>'chosen'</u>
OE	ceos <u>a</u> n	ceas <u>a</u>	gecor <u>e</u> n
OHG	kios <u>a</u> n	kaus <u>a</u>	gikor <u>a</u> n



of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

	<u>'to choose'</u>	<u>'chose'</u>	<u>'chosen'</u>
OE	ceo <u>s</u> an	cea <u>s</u>	geco <u>r</u> en
OHG	kio <u>s</u> an	ka <u>u</u> s	giko <u>r</u> an
ModE	choo <u>s</u> e	cho <u>s</u> e	cho <u>s</u> en
ModG	kü <u>r</u> en	ko <u>r</u>	gek <u>o</u> ren

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

PIE \*kwetwer-, \*penkwe-:

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

PIE \*kwetwer-, \*penkwe-:

>English ~~w~~hour, five  
f<sup>↑</sup>

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

PIE \*newn, \*dekm '9, 10'

> Russian ~~n<sup>y</sup>ev<sup>y</sup>at<sup>y</sup>~~, d<sup>y</sup>es<sup>y</sup>at<sup>y</sup>  
d ↗

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

Algonquian ‘2, 3, 4’:

Wampanoag: nees, nuhshw, yâw

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

Algonquian ‘2, 3, 4’:

Wampanoag: nees, nuhshw, yâw

Abenaki: niz, nas, yaw

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

Algonquian ‘2, 3, 4’:

Wampanoag: nees, nuhshw, yâw

Abenaki: niz, nas, yaw

Passamaquoddy-Maliseet: nis, nihi, new

of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy

ME male, femelle--> male, female



of course, the comparative method has its problems, too:

- reanalysis
- analogy
- language contact

# Language contact

Eng. *lampshade* > Tagalog *lamsyed* 'lamp'

Tag. *bundok* 'mountain' > English *boondocks*

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\*PAN peDa? > Malay *perah* 'money'  
Tagalog *pilak* 'silver'

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Tagalog *pilak* 'silver', *pera* 'money'

Somerset *vox*, *vixen* → standard E *vixen*

We've now seen some examples of historical linguistics done badly (megalocomparison, glottochronology), along with some examples of it being done well. Let's end with two other stories of triumph: the story of the PIE laryngeals, and the connection between Yeniseic and Athabaskan.



# Laryngeals

1879:

Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913)  
makes a proposal...

# Laryngeals

*ablaut*: sing-sang-sung

(vowel alternations as morphology)

# Laryngeals

## Proto-Indo-European ablaut:

***e*-grade:** \**bher-ō*, Skt. *bharāmi*, Gk. *pherō* ‘I carry’

***o*-grade:** \**bhor-eyō*, Gk. *phoreō* ‘I carry repeatedly’

**extended *e*-grade:** \**e-bher-st*, Skt. *a-bhār* ‘has carried’

**extended *o*-grade:** \**bhor-s*, Gk. *phōr* ‘thief’

**Ø-grade:** \**bhṛ-ti*, Skt. *bhṛti* ‘a carrying’

# Laryngeals

“grades”:

e

o

ē

ō

Ø

\**bhe*r- \**bho*r- \**bhē*r- \**bhō*r- \**bhṛ*- ‘carry’

# Laryngeals

“grades”:

<u>e</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>ē</u>	<u>ō</u>	<u>Ø</u>	
*bh <u>e</u> r-	*bh <u>o</u> r-	*bh <u>ē</u> r-	*bh <u>ō</u> r-	*bh <u>ṛ</u> -	‘carry’
*dh <u>ē</u> -	*dh <u>ō</u> -	*dh <u>ē</u> -	*dh <u>ō</u> -	*dh <u>ṛ</u> -	‘put’

# Laryngeals

“grades”:

<u>e</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>ē</u>	<u>ō</u>	<u>Ø</u>	
* <i>b<u>h</u>er-</i>	* <i>b<u>h</u>or-</i>	* <i>b<u>h</u>ēr-</i>	* <i>b<u>h</u>ōr-</i>	* <i>b<u>h</u>r-</i>	‘carry’
* <i>d<u>h</u>ē-</i>	* <i>d<u>h</u>ō-</i>	* <i>d<u>h</u>ē-</i>	* <i>d<u>h</u>ō-</i>	* <i>d<u>h</u>ǝ-</i>	‘put’
* <i>t<u>e</u>rǝ-</i>	* <i>t<u>o</u>rǝ-</i>	* <i>t<u>ē</u>rǝ-</i>	* <i>t<u>ō</u>rǝ-</i>	* <i>t<u>r̄</u>-</i>	‘cross’

# Laryngeals

“grades”:

<u>e</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>ē</u>	<u>ō</u>	<u>Ø</u>	
*bh <u>e</u> r-	*bh <u>o</u> r-	*bh <u>ē</u> r-	*bh <u>ō</u> r-	*bh <u>ṛ</u> -	‘carry’
*dh <u>ē</u> -	*dh <u>ō</u> -	*dh <u>ē</u> -	*dh <u>ō</u> -	*dh <u>ə</u> -	‘put’
*t <u>e</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>o</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>ē</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>ō</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>ṛ</u> -	‘cross’

Saussure: in the ‘put’/ ‘cross’-type verbs,  
length and ə are in complementary  
distribution...

# Laryngeals

“grades”:

<u>e</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>ē</u>	<u>ō</u>	<u>Ø</u>	
*bh <u>e</u> r-	*bh <u>o</u> r-	*bh <u>ē</u> r-	*bh <u>ō</u> r-	*bh <u>ṛ</u> -	‘carry’
*dh <u>ē</u> -	*dh <u>ō</u> -	*dh <u>ē</u> -	*dh <u>ō</u> -	*dh <u>ə</u> -	‘put’
*t <u>e</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>o</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>ē</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>ō</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>ṛ</u> -	‘cross’

Saussure: in the ‘put’/ ‘cross’-type verbs,  
length and ə are in complementary  
distribution...so let’s give them a common  
origin.



# Laryngeals

e      o      ē      ō      Ø

\**bher-* \**bhor-* \**bhēr-* \**bhōr-* \**bhr·-* ‘carry’

\**dheH-* \**dhoH-* \**dhēH-* \**dhōH-* \**dhH-* ‘put’

\**treH-* \**troH-* \**trēH-* \**trōH-* \**tr·H-* ‘cross’

all verbs have the same ‘grades’, but:

- VH-> V
- CH-> Cə

# Laryngeals

<u>e</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>ē</u>	<u>ō</u>	<u>∅</u>	
*bh <u>e</u> r-	*bh <u>o</u> r-	*bh <u>ē</u> r-	*bh <u>ō</u> r-	*bh <u>r̥</u> -	‘carry’
*dh <u>e</u> H-	*dh <u>o</u> H-	*dh <u>ē</u> H-	*dh <u>ō</u> H-	*dhH-	
*dh <u>ē</u> -	*dh <u>ō</u> -	*dh <u>ē</u> -	*dh <u>ō</u> -	*dh <u>ə</u> -	‘put’
*t <u>e</u> rH-	*t <u>o</u> rH-	*t <u>ē</u> rH-	*t <u>ō</u> rH-	*t <u>r̥</u> H-	
*t <u>e</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>o</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>ē</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>ō</u> r <u>ə</u> -	*t <u>r̥</u> -	‘cross’

all verbs have the same ‘grades’, but:

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# Laryngeals

Everyone laughs at Saussure.

# Laryngeals

Everyone laughs at Saussure.

1913: Saussure dies.

# Laryngeals

Everyone laughs at Saussure.

1913: Saussure dies.

1927: Kuryłowicz demonstrates that Hittite has overt reflexes of H.

## Laryngeals

<u>e</u>	<u>o</u>	<u>ē</u>	<u>ō</u>	<u>Ø</u>	
* <u>t</u> <u>e</u> rH-	* <u>t</u> <u>o</u> rH-	* <u>t</u> <u>ē</u> rH-	* <u>t</u> <u>ō</u> rH-	* <u>t</u> <u>r</u> H-	
* <u>t</u> <u>e</u> r <u>ə</u> -	* <u>t</u> <u>o</u> r <u>ə</u> -	* <u>t</u> <u>ē</u> r <u>ə</u> -	* <u>t</u> <u>ō</u> r <u>ə</u> -	* <u>t</u> <u>r̄</u> -	‘cross’

...Hittite tarh- ‘cross’

2008: Edward Vajda demonstrates that Yeniseic is related to Athabaskan.



# Dene-Yeniseic

## Athabaskan

\**tsi*'

\**tsē*

\**tsəx*

\**ts'əq*

\**ts'u*

## Yeniseic (Ket)

*tu*' 'head'

*tə's* 'stone'

*teγ* 'poke'

*tə'q* 'finger'

*təγa* 'breast'



# Dene-Yeniseic

## Athabaskan

\**ts*, \**ts'*

\**kʸo*

\**kʸon*

\**kʸox*

\**kʸitł*

## Yeniseic (Ket)

*t*

-*qo* ‘die’

*qan* ‘hem’

*qoj* ‘become dry’

*qol-an* ‘ashes’

# Dene-Yeniseic

## Athabaskan

\**ts*, \**ts'*

\**kʷ*

\**q*'əx 'birch'

\**q*'an 'burn'

\**q*'a' 'edge'

\**qaw*

## Yeniseic (Ket)

*t*

*q*

*qu*'j 'birch bark'

-*qan* 'boil'

*qo* 'edge of mouth'

*qa-de* 'hair'

# Dene-Yeniseic

Athabaskan

Yeniseic (Ket)

\**ts*, \**ts'*

*t*

\**kʷ*, \**q*, \**q'*

*q*

...and many others...

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