Announcements

• HW5 is now posted (last one 😊). It is due a week from today: 8pm on Mon Dec 7 (by email only).
• Presentation on Wednesday (last one 😊).
  1. The Anatolian theory
  2. The steppe theory
  3. Article from the NYT on the issue

Let’s listen to some English!

• English 1
• English 2
• English 3

Riddle 32

Whan that Aprill with his shoures soote
The droghte of March hath perced to the roote,
And bathed every voyne in swich licour
Of which vertu engendred is the flour,
Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth
Inspired hath in every holt and heeth
The tendre croppes, and the yonge sonne
Hath in the Ram his halve cours yronne,
And smale foweles maken melodye,
That slepen al the nyght with open ye
(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 Engeland to Caunterbury they wende,
The hody blissful martir for to seke,
That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke.
Shall I compare thee to a summer’s day?

Shall I compare thee to a summer’s day?
Thou art more lovely and more temperate:
Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May,
And summer’s lease hath all too short a date:
Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
And often is his gold complexion dimm’d,
By chance, or nature’s changing course untrimm’d:
But thy eternal summer shall not fade,
Nor lose possession of that fair thou ow’st,
Nor shall death brag thou wander’st in his shade,
When in eternal lines to time thou grow’st,
So long as men can breathe, or eyes can see,
So long lives this, and this gives life to thee.

Languages change over time

• So, you get the obvious point: Languages do change over time.
• There are two main questions with regard to language change:
  ‐ First, how does a language change?
  ‐ Second, why does a language change?
• We start talking about this today.

Group discussion

• In small groups, discuss how your language is different from that of your parents or grandparents in both the lexicon and the grammar. Give examples!

Exercises on language change

• Examples of lexical change: Slang
• Examples of semantic change
• Examples of phonological, morphological, and syntactic change.

Language = Lexicon + Grammar

• Remember that a language has two components: a lexicon (simply a list of words) and a grammar (a system that manipulates the lexicon in several ways).
• The grammar of a language includes rules that affect pronunciation (phonology), word formation (morphology), sentence structure (syntax), and meaning (semantics).
• As we should expect, language change occurs in all these areas.
Lexical change

• The lexicon of a language undergoes change in either one of two ways: “word gain” or “word loss”.

Word gain

• New words are always added to the lexicon of every language, almost on a daily basis. We have already seen in our discussion of word-formation that there are systematic word-formation processes that create new words and add them to the dictionary of every language:
  - derivation, word coinage, conversion, clipping, blending, acronyms, borrowing and loan translations, compounding, back-formation, and eponyms.

Word loss

• So, Shakespeare used *beseem* (= to be suitable), *wot* (= to know), *fain* (= gladly).
• And technology might drive some words out of use, e.g., *buckboard*, *buggy*, *dogcart*, *hansom*, etc.

Two bits?

• Euphemisms can also eventually lead to loss of words:
  - lavatory, bathroom, restroom, lady’s room/men’s room, etc.
• Hugh Rawson’s *Dictionary of euphemisms and other doubletalk* includes:
  - ‘act of God’ for disaster
  - ‘administrative assistant’ for secretary
  - ‘associate’ for co-worker of lower rank

Iceboxes?
Semantic change

- Language change may also take the form of changing the meanings of existing words. There are three such cases: **broadening** (*dog*), **narrowing** (*meat*), and **semantic shift**.
- There are two basic types of semantic shift: **elevation** (*knight*, *chivalrous*) and **degradation** (*lust*, *silly*).

Morphological change

- Languages also change morphologically over time. And morphological rules may be lost, added, or changed.

Loss of morphology

- Latin had case markings on nouns. Romance languages do not have any of these today.
- Old English (OE) actually did have case markings.

Case-marking in OE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Neuter</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>hund</td>
<td>'dog'</td>
<td>gief 'gift'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>hund</td>
<td>ditor</td>
<td>gief-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>hund-es</td>
<td>dine-es</td>
<td>gief-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>hund-e</td>
<td>dine-e</td>
<td>gief-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>hund-as</td>
<td>ditor</td>
<td>gief-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>hund-as</td>
<td>ditor</td>
<td>gief-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>hund-a</td>
<td>dine-a</td>
<td>gief-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>hund-em</td>
<td>dine-em</td>
<td>gief-em</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Loss of morphology in OE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Old English</th>
<th>Middle English (r = /r/)</th>
<th>Modern English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>hund</td>
<td>hund</td>
<td>hound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>hund</td>
<td>hund</td>
<td>hound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>hund-es</td>
<td>hund-(e)s</td>
<td>hounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>hund-e</td>
<td>hund-(e)</td>
<td>hound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>hund-as</td>
<td>hund-(e)s</td>
<td>hounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>hund-as</td>
<td>hund-(e)s</td>
<td>hounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>hund-a</td>
<td>hund-(e)</td>
<td>hounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>hund-em</td>
<td>hund-(e)</td>
<td>hounds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Loss of morphology in OE

- The loss of the case system was compensated by the use of prepositions, particularly “to” for the dative, and “of” for the genitive. It also led to restrictions on word order, making English an SVO language.

Loss of derivational morphemes

- A derivational rule may be lost with or without remnants. If there are many remnants, we say that the rule has become unproductive. This is what happened to the suffix -t, which was once used to derive nouns from verbs in English:
  
  $\begin{align*}
  \text{draw} & \rightarrow \text{draft} \\
  \text{drive} & \rightarrow \text{drift} \\
  \text{shove} & \rightarrow \text{shift}
  \end{align*}$

Grammaticalization

- Grammaticalization is a process whereby a lexical item acquires a grammatical function in the language:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old English word</th>
<th>Modern English Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hid</td>
<td>-hood (childhood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>don</td>
<td>-dom (domain)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ger(e)ic</td>
<td>-ly (iliary)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

  lexical ‘do’ $\rightarrow$ grammatical ‘do’

New affixes from “false” analysis

- New affixes may arise from a false analysis of words that have a morphological structure. The process is also called folk etymology:

  alcoholic $\rightarrow$ workaholic, chocaholic, shopaholic

  hamburger $\rightarrow$ cheeseburger, fishburger, chickenburger

New affixes out of “nowhere”

- In some cases, there’s no morphological structure at all, or at least not one that falls within the realm of English morphology:

  watergate leads to irangate, contragate
Extending affixes to new categories

- Sometimes, morphological change takes place when an affix is used with categories that it normally does not apply to, thereby deriving new words:
  - *able* in *objectionable*
  - *ese* in *motherese* and *journalesse*

Syntactic change

Syntactic change: Word Order

- Word order in a language could change over time. For example, Old English (OE) had more variable word order than Modern English (ModE) does.
- So, we do find SVO order in simple transitive clauses:
  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OE</th>
<th>ModE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hē geseah þone mann</td>
<td>Hē saw þone man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He saw the man</td>
<td>He saw the man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic change: Word Order

- When the clause began with an element such as þa (="then"), the verb would follow that element, therefore preceding the subject:
  - þa sende sē cyning þone disc
  - then sent the king the dish
  - "Then the king sent the dish."

Syntactic change: Word Order

- The same SOV word order also prevailed in embedded clauses, even when the object was not a pronoun:
  - þa hé þone cyning sóhte, hé bèotode
  - when he the king visited, he boasted
  - "When he visited the king, he boasted."
Syntactic change: Word Order

• As we noted earlier, case markings were lost during the Middle English (MidE) period, and, as you should expect, SVO order became the unmarked word order in the language.
• The following table shows the change in word order frequency that took place around 1300 and 1400:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>1000</th>
<th>1200</th>
<th>1300</th>
<th>1400</th>
<th>1500</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OV %</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VO %</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Syntactic change: Negation

• Negation in OE was done by placing the negation marker ne before a verbal element: 
  ἦν αὐτὸς ἵππος ἵππος ἱππαρχεῖν ἤ γενέσθαι 
  that he never after born not would-be
  “that he should never be born after that”
• Notice word order and the use of double negatives.

Phonological change

• Perhaps the most noticeable change in the grammar of a language happens in pronunciation.
• Even though change can affect all areas of phonology (e.g., tone, stress, and syllable structure), we will focus here primarily on change involving individual sounds as they occur in sequence. This is called sequential change.
Assimilation in place or manner

Early Latin [impossiblis] → Late Latin [impossiblis]
Early OE [stefn] → Later OE [stemn] “stem”
Latin [octo] (c = k) → Italian [otto] “eight”

Affrication

• Affrication is a form of assimilation in which palatalized stops become affricates, either [ts] or [tʃ] if the original stop was voiceless, or [dz] or [dʒ] if the original stop was voiced, e.g.,
  - Latin centum [k] → Old French gent [ts] “one hundred”
  - Latin medius [d] → Italian mezzo [dz] “half”

Nasalization

• Vowels may get nasalized before nasal consonants, followed by deletion of that nasal consonant (typically when it is final). This is how nasal vowels were created in French and Portuguese, e.g.,

Dissimilation

Late Latin [amna] → Spanish [alma] “soul”
Late Latin [arbor] → Spanish [arbol] “tree”
  - Italian [albero]
  - (but cf. French arbre).

Epenthesis

Earlier OE [ganra] → Late OE [gandra] “gander”
Latin [schola] → Spanish [escuela] “school”

Metathesis

Earlier OE waps → Late OE wasp “wasp”
Earlier OE fēridda → Late OE fērdda “third”
• Also at a distance:
  - Latin mīrāculum → Spanish milagro
Vowel deletion

- A vowel may be deleted from a word, resulting in **apocope** (if the vowel is final) or **syncope** (if the vowel is medial):
  - Apocope:
  - Syncope:

Vowel reduction

- Vowel deletion is frequently preceded by vowel reduction, where a vowel is reduced to schwa, followed by syncope or apocope, e.g.,
  - OE MidE Early ModE
    - stânas [a] stones [â] stones [o]
    - namg [a] name [â] name [o]

Consonant deletion

- Consonants may also delete from a word giving rise to another instance of pronunciation change, e.g., Old and Middle English had [kn] and [gn], but the initial consonant underwent deletion.
- And of course French provides a great example of loss of word-final consonant deletion:
  - *gros* [gro] “large”
  - *chaud* [o] “warm”

Substitution

- Substitution involves the replacement of one segment with another similar-sounding segment:
  - MidE [x] → ModE [f] in “laugh”
  - Standard English [θ] → Cockney [f] in “thin”

Phonological Shift

- A phonological shift is a change in which a series of sounds is systematically modified so that their organization with respect to each other is altered.
- A well known example of this phonological change is the so-called **Great Vowel Shift** (GVS) in the history of English, where the seven long vowels underwent a series of modifications between 1400-1600, as shown in the following table:
Next class agenda

- Also read the section on ‘The Genetic classification of languages’ on pp. 374-381.
- And follow the links on the syllabus table online for the articles on the origin on Endo-European.