# Bioinformatische Methoden in der historischen Linguistik

Historische Linguistik: Lautwandel und lexikalischer Wandel

> Gerhard Jäger Forum Scientiarum 18. Januar 2013

#### Gotisch

Atta unsar bu in himinam, weihnai namo bein. gimai biudinassus beins. wairbai wilia beins. swe in himina jah ana airbai. hlaif unsarana bana sinteinan gif uns himma daga. jah aflet uns batei skulans sijaima, swaswe jah weis afletam baim skulam unsaraim. jah ni briggais uns in fraistubnjai,

#### Althochdeutsch

Fater unseer, thu pist in himile, uuihi namun dinan, qhueme rihhi din, uuerde uuillo diin, so in himile sosa in erdu. prooth unseer emezzihic kip uns hiutu, oblaz uns sculdi unseero, so uuir oblazem uns sculdikem, enti ni unsih firleiti in khorunka, uzzer losi unsih fona ubile.

#### Mittelhochdeutsch

Got vater unser, da du bist in dem himelriche gewaltic alles des dir ist,

geheiliget so werde din nam,

zuo müeze uns komen daz riche din.

Din wille werde dem gelich hie uf der erde als in den himeln, des gewer unsich.

nu gip uns unser tegelich brot und swes wir dar nach dürftic sin

Vergib uns allen sament unser schulde.

also du wilt, daz wir durch dine hulde vergeben der wir ie genamen dekeinen schaden, swie groz er si:

vor sünden kor so mache uns vri

und loese uns ouch von allem übele.

#### Neuhochdeutsch

ak lausei uns af þamma ubilin.

Vater unser im Himmel

Geheiligt werde dein Name.

Dein Reich komme.

Dein Wille geschehe,

wie im Himmel, so auf Erden.

Unser tägliches Brot gib uns heute.

Und vergib uns unsere Schuld,

wie auch wir vergeben unsern Schuldigern.

Und führe uns nicht in Versuchung,

sondern erlöse uns von dem Bösen.

Denn dein ist das Reich

und die Kraft und die Herrlichkeit

in Ewigkeit.

#### tooth and tongue in the germanic languages According to ASJP

0	AFRIKAANS	tant	toN
1	ALSATIAN	con	cuN
2	BERNESE_GERMAN	coN	cuNe
3	BRABANTIC	tant	tuN
4	CIMBRIAN	_	suNa-gaprext
5	DANISH	tEn7	toN3
6	DUTCH	tant	toN
7	EASTERN FRISIAN	tan	_
8	ENGLISH	tu8	t3N
9	FAROESE	todn	tuNga
10	FRANS VLAAMS	tant	tuN3
11	FRISIAN WESTERN	tosk	toN3-toNg3
12	GJESTAL NORWEGIAN	ton	toNa
13	GOTHIC	tun8us	tuNgo
14	ICELANDIC	thEn	thuNka
15	JAMTLANDIC	than	thuN
16	LIMBURGISH	tanty-tanC	
17	LUXEMBOURGISH	cant	coN
18	NORTH FRISIAN AMRUM	tus	toN
19	NORTHERN LOW SAXON	ten-tEn	tuN
20	NORWEGIAN BOKMAAL	ton	t3N3
21	NORWEGIAN NYNORSK TOTEN	tEn	tuN3
22	NORWEGIAN RIKSMAL	tan	tuNe
23	OLD ENGLISH	to8	tuNe
24	OLD FRISIAN	to8-tusk	tuN3
25	OLD HIGH GERMAN	cand	cuNa
26	OLD LOW FRANCONIAN	tand	tuNa
27	OLD NORSE	ton	tuNga
28	OLD SAXON	tant	tuNa
29	PLAUTDIETSCH	tan	tuN
30	SANDNES NORWEGIAN	ton	toNa
31	SAXON UPPER	con	cuN3
32	SCOTS	te8-ti8	toN
33	STANDARD GERMAN	chan	chuN3
34	STELLINGWERFS	tan3	toN3
35	SWABIAN	can	cuN-cuNE
36	SWEDISH	tEnd	t3NE
37	WESTVLAAMS	tant	toN3
38	YIDDISH EASTERN	con	cuN
39	YIDDISH WESTERN	tson	tsung
40	ZEEUWS	tant	tuN3
			1310

# Types of sound change

#### Lenition and fortition

Stronger	Weaker	
	<b>.</b>	$oldsymbol{s}$ .
р	b	
p	$\mathbf{f}$	
f	h	$a > e$ , $\epsilon > o > i$ , $u > rhotics > laterals > nasals > voiced fricatives > voiceless$
x	$\mathbf{h}$	fricatives > voiced stops > voiceless stops
· <b>b</b>	w	
V	W	
a ·	<b>ə</b>	
· <b>d</b>	1	
S	r	•
k	3	

## Types of sound change Lenition

	Kara special o			ca	case: rhotazism			
*bulan	>	fulan	'moon'			l otin		
*tapine	>	tefin	'woman'	Latin		-		
*punti	>	fut	'banana'	*ami:ko:som	>	amīcōrum	'of the friends'	
*topu	>	tuf	'sugarcane'	*genesis	>	generis	'of the type'	
		·		*hono:sis	>	honōris	'of the honor'	
Kara: Aus	stror	nesian I	anguage	*flo:sis	>	flōris	'of the flower'	

## Types of sound change Lenition

- Subtypes
  - geminate → simplex
  - stop → fricative
  - stop → liquid
  - oral stop → glottal stop eng. water → dialect wa?er
  - non-nasal → nasal
  - voiceless → voiced

- lat.  $cuppa \rightarrow spn. copa$
- lat.  $habebat \rightarrow it$ . haveva
- eng. water  $\rightarrow$  ae. wa[r]er
- lat. *sabanu* → bsq. zamau
- lat. strata → it. strada

## Types of sound change Fortition

- much rarer than lenition, but still quite common
- subtypes:
  - **gemination** lat. aqua [akwa] → it. aqua [akkwa]
  - denasalization bsq. musti → dialct. busti
  - devoicing pie. duo → onrs. tweir
  - fricative → stop

grm. Wasser → cmbr. basar

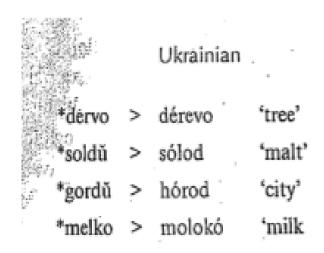
	Initially	Medially	Finally
Addition	prothesis	epenthesis	paragoge
Removal	aphaeresis	syncope	аросоре

#### Prothesis

- rather rare, mostly involves vowels
- lat. statu → spn. estado 'state'

	Initially	Medially	Finally
Addition	prothesis	epenthesis	paragoge
Removal	aphaeresis	syncope	apocope

#### Epenthesis



	Initially	Medially	Finally
Addition	prothesis	epenthesis	paragoge
Removal	aphaeresis	syncope	apocope

### Paragoge

- mostly involves consonants after another consonant
- eg.
  - mengl. amonges → engl. amongst
  - ahg. manin → nhg. Mond

	Initially	Medially	Finally
Addition	prothesis	epenthesis	paragoge
Removal	aphaeresis	syncope	apocope

#### Aphaeresis

#### Angkamuthi

*maji	>	aji	'food'
*nani	>	ani	'ground'
*ŋampu	>	ampu	'tooth'
*nukal	>	uka:	'foot'
*yantu	>	antu	'canoe'
*wapun	>	apun	'head'

Angkamuthi: Australian language

	Initially	Medially	Finally
Addition	prothesis	epenthesis	paragoge
Removal	aphaeresis	syncope	apocope

### Syncope

```
Proto-North Sarawak
```

```
*eledaw > *eldaw

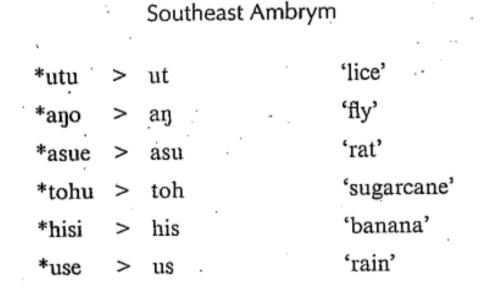
*baqeRu > *baqRu 'new'

*eRezan > *eRzan 'notched log ladder'
```

Sarawak: Austronesian language

	Initially	Medially	Finally
Addition	prothesis	epenthesis	paragoge
Removal	aphaeresis	syncope	apocope

#### Apocope



Ambrym: Austronesiain

## Types of sound change Metathesis

change in the order of segments

- dt. Brunnen, ndl. bron fries. boarne, nds. born
- dt. Brust, engl. breast ndl. borst, nds. bost
- dt. Christ, Christian ndl. kerstmis, kerstenen, Karsten, nds. Kerst, Kerstin, Kir
- dt. Dorf, nds. dörp, ndl. dorp nds. Bot-, Cas-, Finnen-, Frin-, Hön-, Sut-, Walt
- dt. Frosch, engl. frog ndl. kikvors, nds. vorsch
- dt. Frost, engl. frost, fries. froast ndl. vorst
- nds. frucht, skand. frygt, engl. fright dt. Furcht
- dt. Jakob fries. Jabik, Japik
- dt. Nadel, engl. needle, fries. nuddel ndl. naald
- dt. Presse, engl. press ndl. pers
- dt. Ross, nds. ros engl. horse, späteres nds. ors
- dt. Warze, engl. wart ndl. wrat, nds. wratte
- dt. brennen engl. to burn, nds. bernen
- dt. dreschen, nds. dröschen ndl. dorsen, nds. döschen
- dt. trennen ndl. tornen
- engl. to wrestle ndl. worstelen
- dt. dreißig, norweg. tretti, fries. tritich ndl. dertig, engl. thirty, nds. dörtig
- dt. frisch, engl. fresh, ndl. fris 'kalt' ndl. vers
- dt. Werk ndl. gewrocht, doorwrocht
- dt. bersten ndl. bres
- dt. Kreuz norweg. Bokmål kors (aber: norweg. Nynorsk. kross)

# Types of sound change Fusion, fission and breaking

#### Fusion

- two separate sounds merge into one
- fairly frequent

		Attic Greek					Old Írish	
*g*ous	>	bous	'cow'		*magl-	>	ma:l	'prince'
*gwatis	>	basis	'going'		*kenetlo-	>	kene:l	'gender'
*g <sup>w</sup> asileus	>	basileus	'king'		*etno- *ag-mo-	· >	0124	'bird' 'a moving back and forth'
*leik <sup>w</sup> o:	>.	leipo:	'I leave'	٠,٠	ag-mo-		WILLIA .	a moving back and form
*je:k <sup>w</sup> ar	>	he:par	'liver'					

# Types of sound change Fusion, fission and breaking

#### Fission

- one sound is split into two
- both inherit some features from original sound
- eg.
   lmbrd. balko(n) (cf. grm. Balken) → fr. balkon [balkõ] → grm. Balkon [balkoŋ]
- special case: vowel breaking (diphtongization)

```
*pale > pial 'house'

*manuk > mian 'bird'

*pamuk > niam 'mosquito'

*ranum > rian 'water'

*lako > liak 'go'
```

Kairiru

## Types of sound change Assimilation

- two (or more) sounds that occur close together (but not necessarily adjacently) become more similar
- highly frequent
  - It.  $nocte \rightarrow it$ . notte
  - grm. \*entfangen → empfangen, \*habte → hatte
  - grm. Umlaut, eg.
     ohg. gastiz → nhg. Gäste, ohg. wurfil → nhg.
     Würfel, ohg. skoni → ngh. schöne

## Types of sound change Assimilation

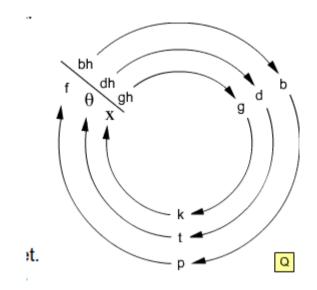
- especially common type: palatalization
- non-palatal sound becomes palatal before a front vowel
  - grm. Kinn engl. chin
  - grm. Kirche engl. church
  - It. Cicero, Caesar, coeli, circus: klassisch It. [k] → spätlt. [ts]

## Types of sound change Chain shifts

- often different sound change processes are correlated
- a shift may lead
  - to an overcrowded slot in phonetic space, causing the original inhabitant to move away (push-chain), or
  - to a gap in phonetic space, which causes another sound to move into the empty space (pull-chain)

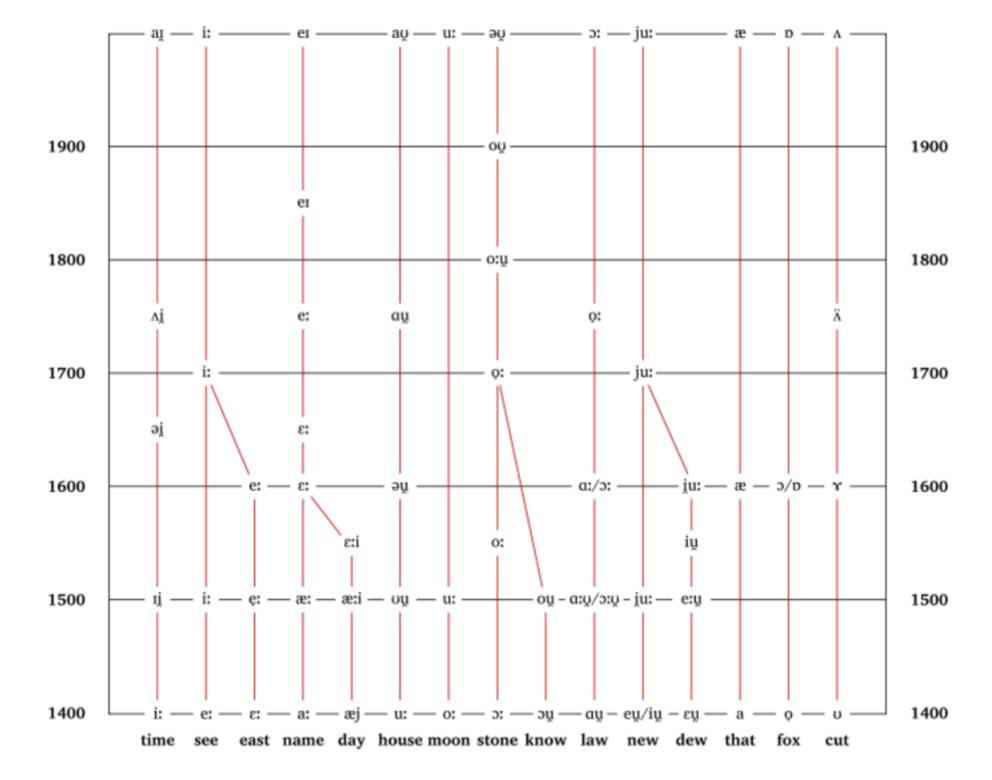
## Types of sound change Chain shifts

- examples:
  - germanic sound shift



English Great Vowel Shift

$$(ax \rightarrow) x \rightarrow ex \rightarrow ix (\rightarrow əi) \rightarrow ai und$$
  
 $0x \rightarrow 0x \rightarrow ux (\rightarrow əu) \rightarrow au$ 



- sound changes usually affect all instances of a sound, in all words of a language
- may be phonetically conditioned though
  - high German sound shift:

```
p/t/k \rightarrow f/s/x between vowels and at the end of a word after a vowel (water \rightarrow Wasser, ik \rightarrow ich, dat \rightarrow das)
```

 $p/t/(k) \rightarrow pf/ts/(kch)$  in other contexts (appel  $\rightarrow$  Apfel, tegula  $\rightarrow$  Ziegel, kind  $\rightarrow$  (Swiss Grm) Kchind

Neogrammarians hypothesis:

A sound **law** affects all words of the language for all speakers of the speech community at a specific point in time.

- if we find an exception to a sound law, we have made a mistake
- attractive hypothesis for historical linguistics, because it allows reconstruction of older stages by running the sound laws backward

 Grimm's law about sound change from PIE to Proto-Germanic:

• 
$$p \rightarrow \phi$$
,  $t \rightarrow \theta$ ,  $k \rightarrow x$ 

however:

```
pie. ph2t\bar{e}r \rightarrow pgmc. fader 'father' pie. b^hr\bar{a}t\bar{e}r \rightarrow pgmc. br\bar{o}b\bar{e}r
```

- Verner's Law: PIE voiceless stops become voiced in non-initial syllables if the preceding syllable is unstressed.
- Explains why Grimm's law does not apply to 'father'.

- This strategy taking apparent exceptions as indicative of a yet undiscovered effect such as a preceding sound shift – proved highly successful.
- still, there is evidence that not all sound shifts are law-like in this sense:
  - metathesis is not law like
  - also other shifts may affect only parts of the lexicon (socalled <u>lexical diffusion</u>), cf.

```
ent-fangen \rightarrow empfangen ent-fehlen \rightarrow empfehlen ent-fachen \rightarrow entfachen
```

 still, most sound changes are regular, and it is a good heuristic to assume regularity if there is no evidence to the contrary

- a lexeme consists of a sound component and a meaning component
- as we saw, the sound component is apt to change
- so is the meaning component
- additionally, entire lexemes may be lost or added to a language

- frequent types of changes in word meaning:
  - broadening:
    - grm. Fahrt + -ig → fertig
    - original meaning: prepared for a trip
    - now: prepared, finished, exhausted,...
    - grm. Sache: original meaning 'legal issue'
    - engl. ride: originally 'riding on horseback'

- frequent types of changes in word meaning:
  - split:
    - engl. gay, originally 'cheerful', now additional meaning 'male homosexual'
    - surfen

- frequent types of changes in word meaning:
  - narrowing:
    - grm. fahren: originally: 'all kinds of human travel'
    - grm. fällen: originally 'cause to fall', applicable to all kinds of objects (not just trees)

- frequent types of changes in word meaning:
  - meaning shift:
    - witzig : 'smart' → 'funny'
    - billig: 'appropriate' → 'inexpensive' → 'low quality'
    - Frau: 'noble woman, lady' → 'female adult'; Weib 'female adult' → derogatory term
  - these are cases of pejoration; shift may also involve amelioration, cf. marshall 'staple boy' → 'highest military rank'
  - other frequent subtypes: metaphor, metonomy, implicature, hyperbole, folk etymology

- meaning change is much less orderly than sound change → harder to reconstruct
- still, there are certain regularities
  - common unidirectional cline 'cup' → 'head' → 'chief'
  - 'something' → 'nothing'
  - verb of movement → directional preposition
  - verbs of possession or movement → auxiliaries

•

- semantic change may lead to synonymy
- likewise, conventionalization of morphological processes like compounding may lead to synonymy
- synonymy is often unstable
  - either the two lexemes differentiate their meaning, or
  - one of the two lexemes goes extinct

German words that are close to extinction:

abermals, blümerant, etepetete, frohlocken, garstig, hanebüchen, ingrimm, knorke, Labsal, schurigeln, Vetter, Base, Zierrat, ...

- sources of new lexemes:
  - semantic change (sometimes in combination with sound change)
  - morphology and syntax
  - shortening of existing words (to be distinguished from sound change); acronyms
  - borrowing

## Loanwords

- most conspicuous effect of language contact
- may affect large portions of the lexicon of a language (cf. English, Romanian)
- mostly words for cultural concepts, but basic vocabulary may also be affected

```
engl. their ← onrs. þeir fin. tytär ← est. tütar
```

## Loanwords

 loanwords undergo same sound shifts as inherited words

lat.  $tegula \rightarrow ohg$ .  $ziegal \rightarrow ohg$ . Ziegel

- after sufficient time, loan words are phonologically indistinguishable from inherited words
- major obstacle for identifying genetic relationships between languages

## Language contact

- language contact affects all aspects of a language, not just its lexicon
- example: "Balkan-Sprachbund"
  - Albanian, Romanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian and Greek share several grammatical features even though they belong to different sub-families of Indo-European
  - for instance: article after the noun, no infinitive constructions, periphrastic future with 'want'
- such areal phenomena a probably quite common
- may be hard to distinguish from features that indicate common descent