Late 19th Century Linguistics: Triumphs and Failures

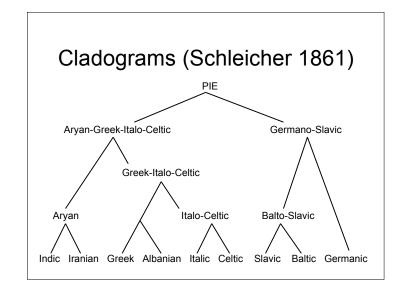
David W. Lightfoot
Assistant Director
National Science Foundation

Sir William Jones (1786)

- Greek, Latin and Sanskrit are similar in ways that indicate that they descended from a common source, which might no longer exist
- Origin should not necessarily be found in other, currently observable languages like Hebrew or Sanskrit

Correspondences

- French père, Spanish padre, Italian padre, Sardinian patre, Catalan pare, Portuguese pai. Trans-mogrifications of Latin pater,
- English *father*, Dutch *vader*, German *Vater*, Danish *fader*. Gothic *fadar*.
- Chinese *fuqin*, Japanese *titi-oya*, Basque *aita*, Finnish isä, Korean *apeci*
- A two-syllable word, and the initial segment is a labial consonant (/p/ in Romance, /f/ in Germanic), followed by an open vowel and an alveolar consonant, then some kind of vocalic r.



Homologies/analogies

- Homologies: features from a common ancestor.
- Analogies: features evolving independently, in response to life in similar environments.
- Humans share hair and a warm-blooded physiology with chimpanzees and mice as a result of evolutionary history, or homology.
- Birds and bats both fly by analogy; they have a very different evolutionary history, bats being mammals.

Language history

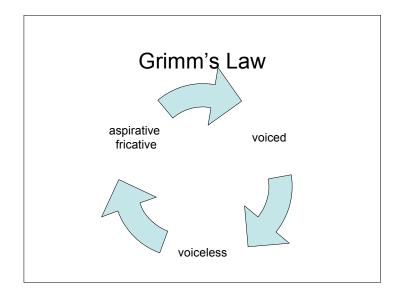
- How did a language get to be the way it is?
- It has been objected that there is another view of language possible besides the historical. I must contradict this. Hermann Paul

Nostratic and Proto-World

- Henry Sweet: Indo-European, "Ugrian" (Finno-Ugric), "Altaic" (Turkic, Mongolian, Tungusic, Japanese).
- Nostratic: Indo-European, Kartvelian (south Caucasus), Afro-Asiatic, Uralic-Yukaghir, Elamo-Dravidian, Sumerian (maybe a Korean-Japanese family and a new Chukchi-Eskimo)

Sound change

	Sanskrit	Greek	Latin	_	<u>Gothic</u>	<u>English</u>
Voicei	ess stops					
р		pod-	ped-		fotus	foot
t	trayas	treis	tres		threis	three
k		kardia	kor		hairto	heart
Voiced stops						
b		turl	be	turba		thaurp
thorp						
d	daśa	deka	decem			ten
g		agros		ager		akrs
acre						
Aspirates						
b^h	b ^h arāmi	p ^h ero	fero		baira	bear
d^h	dhā-	tit ^h ēmi	facio			do
gh	stigh-	steik ^h o			steiga	"go"



Exceptions

- Voiceless stop stays, if preceded by a fricative: est, esti, asti: ist
- Grassmann's Law: duhītā: dauhtor; bodhāmi: -biudan
- Verner's Law: pitar: fadar; bhrātā: brōbar

Annus mirabilis 1876

Neogrammarians

- · Sound change is phonetically conditioned
- Sound change is regular and exceptionless

Explanations

- · Newtonian mechanics
- · Darwinian natural selection
- Psychological forces
- Hegelian Sprachgeist

Grimm's explanation

... connected with the German's mighty progress and struggle for freedom ... the invincible German race was becoming ever more vividly aware of the unstoppability of its advance into all parts of Europe ... How could such a forceful mobilization of the race have failed to stir up its language at the same time, jolting it out of its traditional rut and exalting it? Does there not lie a certain courage and pride in the strengthening of voiced stop into voiceless stop and voiceless stop into fricative?

Directionality

- · Languages become simpler
- Isolating languages become agglutinating, become inflectional
- Problems: circularity and no explanation for the timing of changes

Historicism

- · Principles of history
- Darwin, Marx, Hegel. Their 18th century predecessors, and Hobbes, Spinoza
- Virulent anti-historicism in Boas, Bloomfield, Sapir

What happens when language emerges in a child?

Children don't learn "English"

- she might could see it.
- bin her happy?

And they don't just imitate what they hear.

They acquire a finite *system* ranging over infinity, an I-language: recursive and compositional

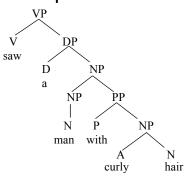
Recursion

RELATIVIZATION This is the cow that kicked the dog that chased the cat that killed the rat that caught the mouse that nibbled the cheese that lay in the house that Jack built.

COORDINATION Ray and Kay went to the movie and Jay and Fay to the store, while Gay and May and Clay worked where Shay and Jack were watching, but Zach and Mack and Shaq slept.

COMPLEMENTATION Ray said that Kay said that Jay thought that Fay said that Gay told ...

Compositional



Poverty of the stimulus.

Kim is taller.

Kim's taller.

is -> 's (am, are, have, has, had, will, would)

Kim's taller than Jim <u>is</u>.

I wonder what the problem <u>is</u> with him

Deletion of that

Peter said [that Kay left]. The book [that Kay wrote] arrived. It was obvious [that Kay left].

Peter said [Kay left]. The book [Kay wrote] arrived. It was obvious [Kay left].

That -> 0

But not always

The book arrived yesterday [that Kay wrote]. [That Kay left] was obvious to all of us.

The book arrived yesterday [Kay wrote]. [Kay left] was obvious to all of us.

Another poverty of stimulus problem

The linguistic genotype

Something may be deleted, if it is (in) the complement of an adjacent, overt word.

Complements

Peter said [Kay left].
The book [Kay wrote] arrived.
It was obvious [Kay left].

The book arrived yesterday [Kay wrote]. [Kay left] was obvious to all of us.

Empty verbs

Jay spoke at 6pm and Fay spoke at 8pm. Jay spoke at 6pm and Fay $_{
m V}$ e at 8pm. Jay spoke at 6pm and Fay at 8pm

Empty V

Empty verbs and that

Fay said Ray left and Tim ve [that Jim stayed].

Fay said Ray left and Tim $_{\rm V}$ e [Jim stayed]. Fay said Ray left and Tim Jim stayed.

Reducing is

- Is → 's
- NPat+'s

Pat's happy, Doug's happy, and Alice's here.

Failure to reduce

Kim is taller than Tim is tall. Kim is taller than Tim is.

Kim is taller than Tim's **tall**. *Kim is taller than Tim's*.

More failures

I wonder what the problem is what with him. I wonder what the problem is with him.

I wonder what the problem's **what** with him. *I wonder what the problem's with him.

VP ellipsis

- Max left for Rio on Wednesday and Mary did _{V/P}e as well.
- Max left for Rio, although Mary didn't VPe
- Although Max couldn't $_{\rm VP}{\rm e},$ Mary was able to leave for Rio.
- Susan went to Rio. Yes, but Jane didn't $_{\text{VP}}$ e.
- The man who left for Rio knows the woman who didn't $_{\mbox{\scriptsize VP}}\mbox{e}$.
- Don't _{VP}e!

Failures

They denied reading it, although they all had _{VP}e. They denied reading it, although they had all _{VP}e.

They denied reading it, although they often/certainly had _{VP}e.

They denied reading it, although they had often/certainly **vpe**.

I haven't seen that movie, but John has _{VP}e. I haven't seen that movie, but John's _{VP}e.

Triggers

that -> 0 empty V

is -> 's ellipse VP Peter said Kay left Jay saw Ray and Jim Kim Kim's happy Mary didn't

The explanatory schema

- Experience (linguistic genotype → phenotype)
- I-language vs. E-language

An Inflection category He has understood chapter 4.

He has could understand chapter 4.

Understanding chapter 4, ... Canning understand chapter 4, ...

He wanted to understand. He wanted to can understand.

He will try to understand. He will can understand.

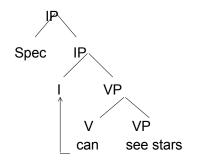
He understands music. He can music.

Modal auxiliaries

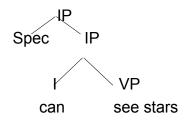
Can, could, must, may, might, will, would, shall, should, do (dare, need)

They became Inflectional elements

Verbs moved to I



Can became an I item



Verb morphology

- Present: fremme, fremst, fremb, fremmab
- Past: fremed, fremedest, fremede, fremedon
- · Present: sēo, siehst, siehb, sēob
- · Present: rīde, rītst, rītt, rīdab
- Past: rād, ride, rād, ridon

Domino effects

earlier morphological changes:

- massive simplification of morphology
- verbs with no -s ending became distinctive

Loss of verb movement

Understands Kim chapter 4?

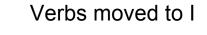
Does Kim understand chapter 4?

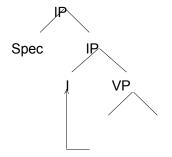
Kim understands not chapter 4.

Kim does not understand chapter 4.

Kim reads always the newspapers.

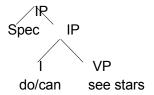
Kim always reads newspapers.





The causes

- · Recategorization of modal verbs
- Introduction of do



Conclusion

- Language acquisition happens as children learn simple structures, which are subject to principles of the linguistic genotype.
- The combination of simple learned structures and simple genotypical principles yields the immense complexity of the human language capacity.
- As different structures are learned, language change takes place catastrophically.
- Acquisition of a complex system grounds understanding of change.

Chaotic Shakespeare

Where didst thou see her? - O unhappy girl! - With the Moor, say'st thou?

I like not that. // What dost thou say?

Alas, what does this gentleman conceive? - How do you, madam?