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I : 一般原理 ; II : 共時言語学 ;

III : 通時言語学 ; IV : 言語地理学 ; V : 回顧言語学の諸問題

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17. Written Records; 18. The Comparative Method; 19. Dialect Geography;

20. Phonetic Change; 21. Types of Phonetic Change;

22. Fluctuation in the Frequency of Forms; 23. Analogical Change; 24. Semantic Change

25. Cultural Borrowing; 26. Intimate Borrowing; 27 Dialect Borrowing

言語学の教科書の歴史言語学の部分

『フロムキンの言語学』 第7版 (原著は第10版まで)

全体12章のうち

第10章 : 方言

第11章 : 言語の変化

第12章 : 文字

V. Fromkin, R. Rodman, and N. Hymas, *An introduction to language*, 10th ed.,  
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Chapter 7: Language in society: Dialects, Language in contact

Chapter 8: Regularity of sound change; phonological change; Morphological change

Syntactic change, Lexical change, Reconstructing “dead” languages

Extinct and endangered languages, The genetic classifications of languages,

Types of languages, Why do languages change?

Chapter 12: The ABCs of language

History of writing

韻鏡  
内転才一南

	齒音 清濁	舌音 清濁	音 清濁	喉音 清濁	齒音 濁清	齒音 濁清	齒音 濁清	齒音 濁清
東	龍 戎	龍 隆	洪 雄	洪 雄	撮 崇	撮 崇	撮 崇	撮 崇
重	龍 融	龍 融	龍 融	龍 融	龍 融	龍 融	龍 融	龍 融
送	弄 送	弄 送	弄 送	弄 送	送 送	送 送	送 送	送 送
屋	祿 肉	祿 肉	祿 肉	祿 肉	速 縮	速 縮	速 縮	速 縮

音 清濁	牙 次清	音 清濁	舌 次清	音 清濁	唇 次清	音 清濁	唇 次清
峴 野	空 窮	公 弓	同 蟲	通 仲	東 中	蒙 普	蓬 馮
孔	孔	孔	孔	孔	孔	孔	孔
控 燿	貢 燿	驪 仲	洞 仲	痛 仲	凍 仲	夢 鳳	棗 鳳
哭 駟	穀 麴	獨 腦	禿 遂	穀 蓄	木 行	暴 目	扑 蝮

-uy -uk 類

仄

声調	韻目	等	半齒音		喉音		齒音		牙音		舌音		唇音											
			次濁	全濁	次濁	全濁	次濁	全濁	次濁	全濁	次濁	全濁	次濁	全濁										
平	韻の名	1	l		fi	h	s	dz	ts'	ts	ɲ	k'	k	n	d	t'	t	m	b	p'	p			
		2	l		fi	h	ʃ	dʒ	tʃ'	tʃ	ɲ	k'	k	n	d	t'	t	m	b	p'	p			
		3	f	l	fi	(h)	h	ʒ	ʃ	dʒ	tʃ'	tʃ	ɲ	g	k'	k	n	d	t'	t	m	b	p'	p
		4	l		y	h	z	s	dz	ts'	ts	ɲ	g	k'	k	n	d	t'	t	m	b	p'	p	
上	韻の名	1	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		4	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		1	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		4	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
去	韻の名	1	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		4	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		1	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		4	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
入	韻の名	1	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		4	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		1	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		
		4	同上		同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上	同上		

平  
上  
去  
入

xiàng 向 xiàng <sup>去</sup> キアソ ○→○	wǎn 晚 wǎn <sup>上</sup> ヴワン ○→○	yì 意 yì <sup>去</sup> ・イイ ○→○	bù 不 bù <sup>上</sup> フオツ(ト) ○→○	shì 適 shì <sup>去</sup> シアツ(ク) ○→○
qū 驅 qū <sup>平</sup> キユ ○→○	chē 車 chē <sup>平</sup> シヤ ○→○	dēng 登 dēng <sup>平</sup> トキソ ○→○	gǔ 古 gǔ <sup>上</sup> クウ ○→○	yuán 原 yuán <sup>平</sup> グイアン ○→○
xī 夕 xī <sup>去</sup> シヤツ(ク) ○→○	yáng 陽 yáng <sup>平</sup> イヤソ ○→○	wú 無 wú <sup>平</sup> グイユ ○→○	xiàn 限 xiàn <sup>上</sup> ガン ○→○	hǎo 好 hǎo <sup>上</sup> カウ ○→○
zhī 只 zhī <sup>平</sup> シイ ○→○	shì 是 shì <sup>上</sup> シイ ○→○	jìn 近 jìn <sup>上</sup> ギン ○→○	huáng 黄 huáng <sup>平</sup> グアソ ○→○	hūn 昏 hūn <sup>平</sup> クオン ○→○

李商隱「楽遊原」(五言絶句、韻字は原・昏)



は、少しばかりの簡単な正書法規則、例えば「長い o [o:] は中世英語では oo と綴られた」などを学ぶことだけであり、そうするとチ ヨーサーの言葉が頭の中に響き始めるのである。

それと比べると、中国の古典詩は何も語ってくれない。現代の読者は、唐代の詩を、それが書かれた時の響きのままには耳にすることができない。その代わりに、習慣上、その文字を官話の（または福建語や広東語、上海語であるかも知れない）発音で読み、そして、そうすることであたかもその詩が現代の中国方言で書かれていたかのように扱うのである。これではその詩を書かれた時から一千年以上も引き離すことになる。もし我々が、チ ヨーサーの冒頭行の最後の語を *shoures soote* ではなく *shouers sweet* と発音しても、大したずれは無いであろう。ところが、このような方法で読んだならば、唐詩は事実上、古代の統語構造で書かれた現代の詩となってしまう。中国古典詩の音声は、『カンタベリ一物語』がそうであるような意味では、記録されなかつた。そしてその結果として、決して同程度の確かさでは、その音声を知ることが出来ない。

『切韻』の反切と宋代の韻図に見られるその再解釈は、抽象的にしか音声の証明を与えることがない。それらは、唐詩の音韻体系がどんなものであったかを非常に細かく示してくれる。つまり、何が何と対立しており、何が何と押韻可能であったかということである。しかし、陸法言または彼以後の唐代の詩人たちが、実際どのような標準語を発音していたかということは明らかにしていない。それらは、A という文字が B という文字と同じ子音をもっていて、B という文字は C という文字と同じ子音をもっていた……等々のことを教えてくれ、この情報から、A = B = C というような形の一連の等式を作ることが出来る。しかし、これらの実体は数学的抽象概念に過ぎず、反切の体系それ自身も、この概念を互いに関係づける巨大な等式の行列に過ぎない。言い替えば、『切韻』は、七世紀の讀書音の規範について、大量の構造的な情報を与えてくれるのだけれども、それについて、何等具体的なものは教えてくれないのである。

陸法言の言語を、その本来の形にいくらかでも近く復元するためには、

『切韻』以外の証拠から、その音価が推論されねばならない。この課題は、今世紀の始め、一人のスウェーデンの若い学生によって初めて成し遂げられたのであった。

B. Karlgren (1889-1978)

ベルンハルト・カールグレンの業績

中世中国語を再構するためには、カールグレンは、宋代の音韻家の設定した声母と韻母の各類を一覧表にすることから始めた。それから、これらを現代方言の発音と比較したのであった。韻図に整理された『切韻』の反切（または『広韻』の反切）は、このようにして、彼の方言資料によって肉付けされるための骨組みとなった。作業の全工程は、もちろん非常に複雑なものであったが、ここにはその手順を説明するため、カールグレンがどのようにして舌音の3声母の音価を得るに至ったかを示す、いくつかの簡単な例を挙げよう。

声母 1 をもつ漢字	北京	上海	福州	広東	日本字音 (呉音)
多	t	t	t	t	t
當	t	t	t	t	t
帶	t	t	t	t	t

声母 2 をもつ漢字	北京	上海	福州	広東	日本字音 (呉音)
挖	tʰ	tʰ	tʰ	tʰ	t
湯	tʰ	tʰ	tʰ	tʰ	t
泰	tʰ	tʰ	tʰ	tʰ	t

声母 3 をもつ漢字	北京	上海	福州	広東	日本字音 (呉音)
駝	tʰ	d	t	tʰ	d
唐	tʰ	d	t	tʰ	d
大	t	d	t	t	d

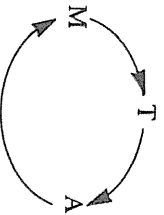
これらの例から、声母の 1 が \*t であり、声母の 2 が \*tʰ であったに違いないことは十分に明らかである。現代中国方言はすべてこれらの音価を保存している。唯一の困難は、声母 3 の発音を再構することにある。しかし、上海語と日本の呉音が、これらの読音に一貫して d をもっているのだから、カールグレンは本来の子音もそれと同様の有声音であったに違いないと確信したのである（カールグレンはまた、これらの子音が有気音であったとも考えていたが、その理由に関してはここでは立ち入らないことしよう）。

which are expected to contain a sibilant in Baltic and Slavic, have a velar; for example: Lith. *akmuō*, OCS *kamy* versus Skt *asman*, Av. *asman* "stone," Gk *ákmon* "anvil." If Proto-Indo-European had been completely regular and dialect-free, all of these forms except Greek should have a sibilant rather than a velar. Although the comparative method ideally requires us to reconstruct a dialect-free Proto-Indo-European, such irregularities suggest that the parent language already had dialects. With care we may apply the comparative method in all rigor and, from forms like those for "stone," assume dialects within the parent language. Much as the results of typological study have permitted us to extend our conclusions based on the comparative method, the findings from research on linguistic communities have provided means to interpret those conclusions. Yet the method itself is not designed to yield anything other than a dialect-free corpus.

## 7.6 REFINEMENT OF THE COMPARATIVE METHOD BY STUDY OF THE GERMANIC OBSTRUENTS

The comparative method was being refined throughout the nineteenth century. We may illustrate its development by observing the increasing precision applied to the description of the obstruent system of Germanic in its relation to that of Proto-Indo-European and those of the other dialects.

In 1822 Jacob Grimm published general statements on the relations between Germanic obstruents and those in the other languages. Labeling *p* *k* *Tenuis*, *bh* *dh* *gh* (and *f* *θ* *χ*, etc.) *Aspiratae*, *t̥* *ð* *g* and *b* *d* *g* *Mediae*, he stated that Indo-European  $T >$  Germanic *A*, Indo-European *A*  $>$  Germanic *M*, Indo-European *M*  $>$  Germanic *T* producing a circular scheme:



On the basis of subsequent changes in the High German area, where *r* became *ʁ*, as in Germ. *zu* pronounced [su] versus Eng. *to*, he assumed that this change repeated itself in the Germanic languages. The shifts, then, were taken to be the results of a law. Thereupon the formulation has been called **Grimm's law**; as such it is widely known, included even in desk dictionaries. Although other linguists have gained a somewhat restricted renown through the discovery of a "law" that states a minute change in some language, the term law is overblown for a statement of correspondences. Today we may retain the label for established "laws," like Grimm's, but otherwise we avoid the term in this sense.

As one of the excellences of Grimm's account in 1822, the words that did

not comply with the rules were listed. The lack of correspondences came to be known as "exceptions" to Grimm's law. Subsequent accounting for them contributed greatly to the development of historical method in the nineteenth century.

### 7.6.1 Solution of the first set of exceptions to Grimm's law

The first exception to be solved concerned the maintenance of Proto-Indo-European voiceless stops after Germanic fricatives, as in the following examples:

PIE <i>pt</i>	Goth. <i>hafis</i> "married"	=	Lat. <i>captus</i> "captured"
<i>sp</i>	<i>speiwan</i> "spew"	=	Lat. <i>spuō</i> "spit"
<i>st</i>	<i>ist</i> "is"	=	Lat. <i>est</i> "is"
<i>sk</i>	<i>skadus</i> "shadow"	=	Gk <i>skótos</i> "darkness"
<i>kt</i>	<i>nahis</i> "night"	=	Lät. <i>nox</i> , <i>noctis</i> "night"

In these and other examples the stop after the Germanic fricative did not change. The lack of change was ascribed to the environment. Within decades after Grimm had published his rules, linguists accounted for the first exception by stating that voiceless stops remained unchanged when they followed Germanic voiceless fricatives.

This solution indicated the importance in historical linguistics of examining immediate environments and observing phonetic characteristics. Although Grimm himself showed little interest in phonetics, his successors studied the production of sounds thoroughly. As a result, articulatory phonetics was greatly developed in the nineteenth century, reaching a high level in the works of Maurice Grammont, Otto Jespersen, Eduard Sievers and Henry Sweet.

### 7.6.2 Solution of the second set of exceptions to Grimm's law

Explanation of the second group of exceptions gave rise to a further advance in method. Involved here were Germanic voiced fricatives and stops that seemed to correspond irregularly to Indo-European voiced stops rather than to voiced aspirated stops, as in:

PIE <i>bh</i> . . . <i>dh</i>	Goth. <i>-biudan</i> "offer"	=	Skt <i>bódhāmi</i> "notice"
<i>dh</i> . . . <i>gh</i>	<i>dauhtar</i> "daughter"	=	<i>duhitā</i> "daughter"
<i>gh</i> . . . <i>gh</i>	<i>gagg</i> "street"	=	<i>jāngghā</i> "leg"

If the correspondences had been in accordance with Grimm's rules, the cognates in Sanskrit should have had initial aspirates.

As we have observed in chapter 2, Hermann Grassmann accounted for the lack of correspondence by pointing out that all such forms contained Proto-Indo-European aspirates in two successive syllables; further, that in Indic and Greek one of the two successive aspirates had been dissimilated

to an unaspirated stop. The irregularity was then not to be ascribed to Germanic, but rather to the supposedly more archaic Sanskrit and Greek.

We will examine the Sanskrit and Greek dissimilation of aspirates at great length in the next chapter. Here we are chiefly concerned with the further refinement of the comparative method based on Grassmann's findings. Observing that his explanation was based on examination of the elements in successive syllables, linguists now learned that they could not deal only with entities and their immediate environments, for sounds might be affected by other noncontiguous sounds. Grassmann's observation led them to examine entire syllables and words, as well as individual sounds.

### 7.6.3 Solution of the third set of exceptions to Grimm's law

Accounting for the third set of exceptions led to another refinement. These exceptions comprise forms in which a Proto-Indo-European voiceless stop had become a voiced fricative in Germanic rather than a voiceless fricative. Voiced fricatives can be assumed from OSax. *sibun*, OIcel. *faðer*, OE *sweġer*, as the other dialects indicate, these often became stops later. Examples are:

- PIE *p'* > PGmc. *b*: Goth. *sibun*, OE *seofun*, OSax. *sibun*, OHG *sibun*; Skt *sapitá*, Gk *hepitá* "seven"  
 PIE *t'* > PGmc. *ð*: Goth. *faðar*, OIcel. *faðer*, OE *fæder*, OHG *fater*; Skt *pitā*, Gk *patēr* "father"  
 PIE *k'* > PGmc. *g*: OE *sweġer*, OHG *swiġur*; Skt *svaśrīś*, Gk *hekurá* "mother-in-law"

The Danish linguist, Karl Verner, observed that the accent in Sanskrit and Greek never preceded the obstruents that corresponded in Germanic to voiced fricatives. He formulated a law to account for these developments, including PGmc. *z* < PIE *ǵ* (this *z* became *r* in all Germanic dialects but Gothic):

- PIE *s'* > PGmc. *z*: OIcel. *snǫr*, OE *snoru*, OHG *snuru*;  
 Skt *snusā*, Gk *nudós* < \**snusós* "daughter-in-law"

We may restate Verner's law as follows: Proto-Indo-European voiceless stops became Proto-Germanic voiceless fricatives; in voiced surroundings these voiceless fricatives, plus the already existing voiceless fricative *s*, became voiced when not immediately preceded by the accent.

Verner's article probably had a greater effect on historical linguistics than has any other single publication. As one result, linguists recognized that they could no longer limit their attention to consonants and vowels but that they had to consider accent as well. The suprasegmentals now were taken into account. In the last decades of the nineteenth century many articles in the linguistic journals deal with the suprasegmental patterns manipulated in verse. Many other articles attempted to explain sound

changes by recourse to suprasegmentals. Although some of these were overly enthusiastic, after 1876 linguists paid attention to the pitch and stress patterns of language, as fourteen years earlier they had learned to take into account entire words, and several decades earlier, immediate environments. Accordingly, after Verner, linguists dealt with all the phonological entities of an utterance.

### 7.7 THE NEOGRAMMARIAN HYPOTHESIS, A CONCLUSIVE BASED ON SUCCESSFUL USE OF THE COMPARATIVE METHOD

Verner's explanation of the last large group of exceptions to Grimm's law had the further effect of giving linguists complete confidence in their rules and laws. Observing that greater attention to the matter of language permitted them to account for residues and for diverse developments, a group of linguists after 1876 proclaimed that "sound change takes place according to laws that admit no exception." These linguists, referred to as neogrammarians by somewhat scornful elders, proclaimed that if one assembled all the facts, and analysed them accurately and thoroughly, one could state exceptionless principles or laws for the development of language.

This assumption is known as the **neogrammarian hypothesis**. The principles of the neogrammarians are stated in an article written by Karl Brugmann (1878) that is often referred to as the neogrammarian manifesto. It should still be read by every linguist. Among Brugmann's criticisms of linguists is their concentration on abstract patterns with lack of attention to living languages. In keeping with his stress on language as it is used, he and the other neogrammarians did not assume that sound changes operated without exception in all lexical sets. For example, they excluded nursery words such as Goth. *atta* "father" and onomatopoeic words such as NHG *kikeriki* as well as its equivalent *cock-a-doodle-do*. The extent of such sets has been one of the hotly argued problems of historical linguistics.

The new movement centered around Leipzig. Its leading young scholars, Brugmann, Delbrück, Osthoff, Leskien and others adopted the label neogrammarian for themselves. Encouraged by their new scientific method, they proceeded to deal with many problems and to publish handbooks that have been in use since their day. Braune's *Gotische Grammatik*, subsequently revised (Braune and Ebbinghaus 1981), provided the pattern for most historical grammars of the past century and is still the standard handbook for the language after many editions.

For decades the neogrammarians also attracted to Leipzig brilliant young students, such as Leonard Bloomfield. Through their students and their publications, the neogrammarian school exerted a great effect on linguistics. The principle that sound laws operate without exception

	'one'	'two'	'three'	'head'	'ear'	'mouth'	'nose'
Breton	ünan	dau	tri	penn	skuarn	genu	fri
Welsh	in	dai	tri	pen	klist	keg	truin
Irish	ōn	do	tri	kyan	kluəs	byal	srōn
Icelandic	eidn	tveir	þrír	höfud	eira	münnür	nēf
Danish	en	tō?	trē?	hōðə	ōrə	mon?	nāsə
Norwegian I	ēn	tō	trē	hōvəd	ōrə	mund	nāsə
Norwegian II	ein	tvō	trī	hōvud	öyra	munn	nos
Swedish	ēn	tvō	trē	hūvud	ōra	mun	nāsa
Dutch	ēn	tvē	drī	hōft	ōr	mont	nōs
English	wan	tuw	θriy	həd	ɪr	mawθ	nowz
German	ʔains	tsvai	drai	kopf	ōr	munt	nāzə
French	œ/ün	dō	trwa	tēt	orēy	buš	ne
Spanish	uno	dos	tres	kaβeθa	orexa	boka	nariθ
Portuguese	ũ	doš	treš	kəbesə	orela	bokə	nariz
Italian	un(o)	due	tre	testa	orəkkyo	bokka	naso
Romanian	un	doy	trey	kap	ureke	gurə	nas
Albanian	nʔe	du	tre	kokə	veš	goya	hundə
Greek	énas	ðyo	tris	kefáli	aftí	stóma	míti
Bulgarian	yedan	dva	tri	glava	uxo	usta	nos
Serbo-Croatian	yedan	dva	tri	glava	uho	usta	nos
Czech	yeden	dva	tři	hlava	uxo	usta	nos
Polish	yeden	dva	tři	gwova	uxo	usta	nos
Russian	adʔin	dva	trʔi	galavá	úxo	rot	nos
Lithuanian	vʔienas	du	trʔis	galvá	ausʔis	burná	nósʔis
Latvian	viens	divi	trīs	galva	auss	mute	deguns
Finnish	üksi	kaksi	kolme	pā	korva	sū	nenä
Estonian	üks	kaks	kolm	pea	wilya-pea	sū	nina
Hungarian	ēj	kēt	hārom	fő/fey	fül	sāy	orr
Turkish	bir	iki	üç	baş	kulak	ayız	burun
Basque	bat	bi	hirür	bürü	belari	aho	südür

(Notes: (a) Norwegian I and II are the two officially recognized languages of Norway, Bokmål and Nynorsk, respectively. (b) Except for French 'one', the numerals are cited without gender variation.)

Chart 1.3. Language relationship (Major European languages)  
(adapted from Greenberg 1957)

### 初頭音の再建

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
サンスクリット	sapta	śun	daśa	bhar-	trayas	pra
ギリシア語	hepta	kuōn	déka	pher-	treis	pro
ラテン語	septem	canis	decem	fer-	tres	pro
ゲルマン語	sibun	hund	taihun	baíra	prēo	fra
リトアニア語	septyni	šun-	dešimtis	bėrnas	trỹs	pra
古アイルランド語	secht	con-	deich	biru	trī	ro
	<七>	<犬>	<十>	<運ぶ>	<三>	<前に>

印欧祖語



## AN EXAMPLE OF RECONSTRUCTION

Before proceeding with a survey of the lexicon and culture of the Indo-Europeans (see page 2084), it may be helpful to give a concrete illustration of the method used to reconstruct the Proto-Indo-European vocabulary, followed by a brief description of some of the main features of the Proto-Indo-European language. This example will serve as an introduction to the comparative method and indicate as well the high degree of precision that the techniques of reconstruction permit.

A number of Indo-European languages show a similar word for the kinship term "daughter-in-law": Sanskrit *snuṣā*, Old English *snoru*, Old Church Slavonic *snūkha* (Russian *snokhá*), Latin *nurus*, Greek *nuós* and Armenian *nu*. All of these forms, called *cognates*, provide evidence for the phonetic shape of the prehistoric Indo-European word for "daughter-in-law" that is their common ancestor. Sanskrit, Germanic, and Slavic agree in showing an Indo-European word that began with *sn-*. We know that an Indo-European *s* was lost before *n* in other words in Latin, Greek, and Armenian, so we can confidently assume that Latin *nurus*, Greek *nuós* and Armenian *nu* also go back to an Indo-European *\*sn-*. (Compare Latin *nix* [stem *niv-*], "snow," with English *snow*, which preserves the *s*.) This principle is spoken of as the *regularity of sound correspondences*; it is basic to the sciences of etymology and comparative linguistics.

Sanskrit, Latin, Greek, and Armenian agree in showing the first vowel as *-u-*. We know from other examples that Slavic *ū* regularly corresponds to Sanskrit *u* and that in this position Germanic *o* (of Old English *snoru*) has been changed from an earlier *u*. It is thus justifiable to reconstruct an Indo-European word beginning *\*snu-*.

For the consonant originally following *\*snu-*, closer analysis is required. The key is furnished first by the Sanskrit form, for we know there is a rule in Sanskrit that *s* always changes to *ṣ* (a *sh*-like sound) after the vowel *u*. Therefore a Sanskrit *snuṣ-* must go back to an earlier *\*snuṣ-*. In the same position, after *u*, an old *s* changes to *kh* (like the *ch* in Scottish *loch* or German *ach*) in Slavic; hence the Slavic word, too, reflects *\*snuṣ-*. In Latin always, and in Germanic under certain conditions, an old *-s-* between vowels went to *-r-*. For this reason Latin *nurus* and Old English *snoru* may go back to older *\*snuṣ-* (followed by a vowel) as well. In Greek and Armenian, on the other hand, an old *-s-* between vowels disappeared entirely, as we know from numerous instances. Greek *nuós* and Armenian *nu* (stem *nuo-*) thus regularly presuppose the same earlier form, *\*snuṣ-* (followed by a vowel). All the comparative evidence agrees, then, on the Indo-European root form *\*snuṣ-*.

For the ending, the final vowels of Sanskrit *snuṣā*, Old English *snoru*, and Slavic *snūkha* all presuppose earlier *-ā* (*\*snuṣ-ā*), which is the ordinary feminine ending of these languages. On the other hand, Latin *nurus*, Greek *nuós* and Armenian *nu* (stem *nuo-*) all regularly presuppose the earlier ending *\*-os* (*\*snuṣ-os*). We have an apparent impasse; but the way out is given by the gender of the forms in Greek and Latin. They are feminine, even though most nouns in Latin *-us* and Greek *-os* are masculine.

Feminine nouns in Latin *-us* and Greek *-os*, since they are an abnormal type, cannot have been created afresh; they must have been inherited. This suggests that the original Indo-European form was *\*snuṣos*, of feminine gender. On the other hand, the commonplace freely formed ending for feminine nouns was *\*-ā*. It is reasonable to suggest that the three languages Sanskrit, Germanic, and Slavic replaced the peculiar feminine ending *\*-os* (because that ending was normally masculine) with the normal ordinary feminine ending *\*-ā*, and thus that the oldest form of the word was *\*snuṣos* (feminine).

One point remains to be ascertained: the accent. Of those four language groups that reflect the Indo-European accent, Sanskrit, (Balto-)Slavic, Greek, and Germanic, the first three are agreed in showing a form accented on the last syllable: *snuṣā*, *snokhá*, *nuós*. The Germanic form is equally precise, however, since the rule is that old *-s-* went to *-r-* (Old English *snoru*) only if the accented syllable came after the *-s-*.

On this basis we may add the finishing touch to our reconstruction: the full form of the word for "daughter-in-law" in Indo-European is *\*snuṣos*.

It is noteworthy that no single language in the family preserves this word intact. In every language, in every tradition in the Indo-European family, the word has been somehow altered from its original shape. It is the comparative method that permits us to explain the different forms in this variety of languages by the reconstruction of a unitary common prototype, a common ancestor.

C. Watkins

印欧祖語 daughter-in-law の  
再建のワキ

フィン・ウゴル語の例

Livonian	Finnish	Estonian	
säv	savi	savi	'clay'
tämm	tammi	tamm	'oak'
säpp	sappi	sapp	'bile'
lüm	lumi	lumi	'snow'
o:da	hauta	haud	'grave'
umal	humala	humal	'hops'
ja:lga	jalka	jalg	'foot'
ne:l'a	neljä	neli	'four'
ä:rga	härkä	härg	'ox'
o:r'a	harja	hari	'brush'

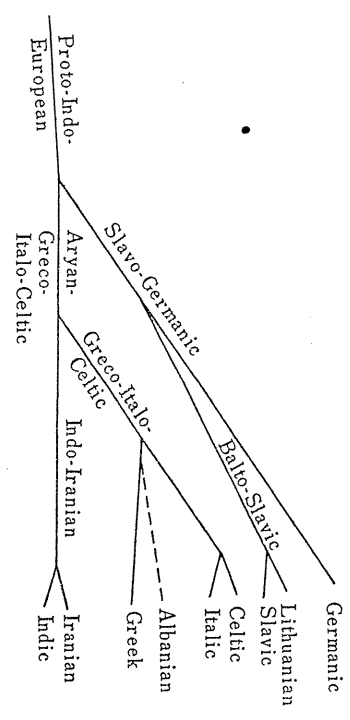


**August Schleicher (1821-1868)** The 'family tree' theory (*Stammbaumtheorie*) was introduced by the German linguist Schleicher, who thought of language as an organism which could grow and decay, and whose changes could be analysed using the methods of the natural sciences.

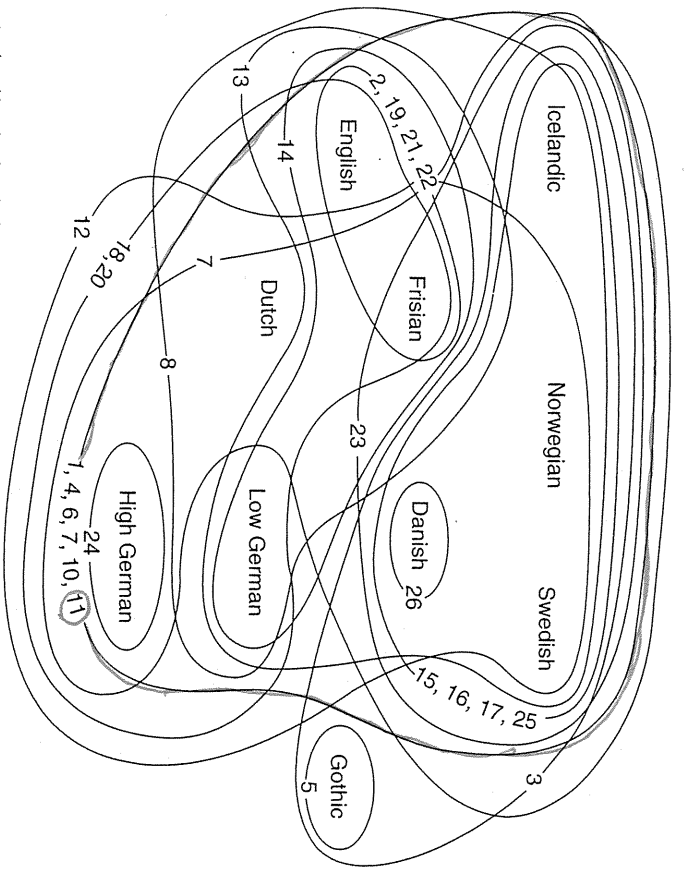
シュライヒナー	Avis akvāsas ka
フランスクリット	avis asvās (as) ca 羊 と 馬たち
ヘルト	owis ekwōses-kwe owis, yasmīn varnā na ā ast, dēdarika avis, yasmīn tirnā na āsit, dēdarā 毛が(刈られて)ない 羊が 馬たちをみた, owis, yasmīn welanā ne ēst, dēdorīce
	akvams, tam, vaḡham garum vaḡhantam, asvān, tam, vāham gurum vahanantam, ある(馬)は 重い 車を ひいてゐるのを, ekwōns, tom, woghōm gʷarum weghontm,
	tam, bhāram maḡham, tam manunḡā) āku tam, bhāram mahāntam, tam janam āśu ある(馬)は 大きな 荷物を, ある(馬)は 人をすばやく tom, bhōrom megam, tom, ḡhamonḡ ōkū
	bharantam. bharantam. 運んでいくのを. bherontm.
	avis akvabhyaṃ ā vaavakat : kard aḡnutaita avis asvabhyaṃ avocat : hīdayam dupkhitam 羊は 馬たちで いった 心が 痛む owis ekwōmos ewekwet : kērd aḡnutait
	mai vidanti manum akvams aḡantam me paśyate janam asvān ajantam. 人が 馬たちを 駆りたてるのをみているわたしには moi widontei ḡhemonḡ ekwōns aḡontm.
	Akvāsas ā vaavakant : krudhi avai, kard asvās (as) avocan : śrudhi ave, hīdayam 馬たちは いった きけ, 羊よ, 心が ekwōses ewekwet : kludhi, oweī, kērd

aghnutai vivīdvant-svas : manus patis dūkhītam vidvasu : janas patis 痛む, (次のことを)み知った(おれわれ)には. 人間の主人が aḡnutai widontmos : ḡhemo, potis, varnām avisāms karnauti svabhyaṃ ūṛṇām avinām kṛpōti svasmai 羊たちの 毛を 自分のために あたたかな welanām ovyōm kʷrīneuti sebhōi ḡharmam <sup>⑥</sup> vāstram avibhyaṃ ka varnā na uṣṇam vāstram avibhyas ca ūṛṇā na 衣服にしてしまふ. そして 羊たちには 毛が gʷhermom westrom owimos-kwe welanā ne asti. asti. ない. esti.
Tat kakruvantis avis agram ā bhugat. <sup>(4)</sup> Tat śūśruvān avis ajram pṛāpālayat. これをきいて 羊は 野へ 逃げていった. Tod kekruwos owis aḡrom ebhuget.

- (1) インドでは神話的人間の祖に mānu- という形がある. 英雄 諸の man, Mann など参照. ヘルトの ḡhemon- はラテン homo (仏 homme), エート guma などの対応に基づく.
- (2) aḡnutait はギリシア aḡhnutai 参照.
- (3) aḡnutait はギリシア ḡharmā- は名詞. ギリシア thermos 参照.
- (4) ebhuget はギリシア éphuge 参照. なおヘルトが複数所に示す ekwōmos の -mos は, ヴルサン, ヘルト, スラヴ語の格語尾を採用したもの.



Schleicher's family tree.



- 1 /ae:/ backed to /a:/
- 2 /a:/ from earlier /ae:/ restored
- 3 'sharpening'
- 4 /z>/h/
- 5 /h->θ/
- 6 masculine singular -s lost
- 7 masculine plural -s lost
- 8 reflexive pronoun lost
- 9 reduplicating verbs lost
- 10 inflected passive lost
- 11 umlaut introduced
- 12 dental fricatives lost
- 13 /n/ lost before /s/
- 14 /n/ lost before any voiceless fricative
- 15 extensive assimilation of consonant clusters
- 16 suffixed definite article introduced
- 17 mediopassive introduced
- 18 verbal infinitive becomes a noun
- 19 vowel 'breaking' introduced
- 20 consonant germination in certain circumstances
- 21 palatalization and assibilation of /k, g/ before front vowels
- 22 metathesis of /r/
- 23 final /-n/ lost in inflections
- 24 High German consonant shift
- 25 pitch accent introduced
- 26 pitch accent converted to glottalization

分枝後的变化 drift

Fig. 7.8 A wave diagram of the Germanic family

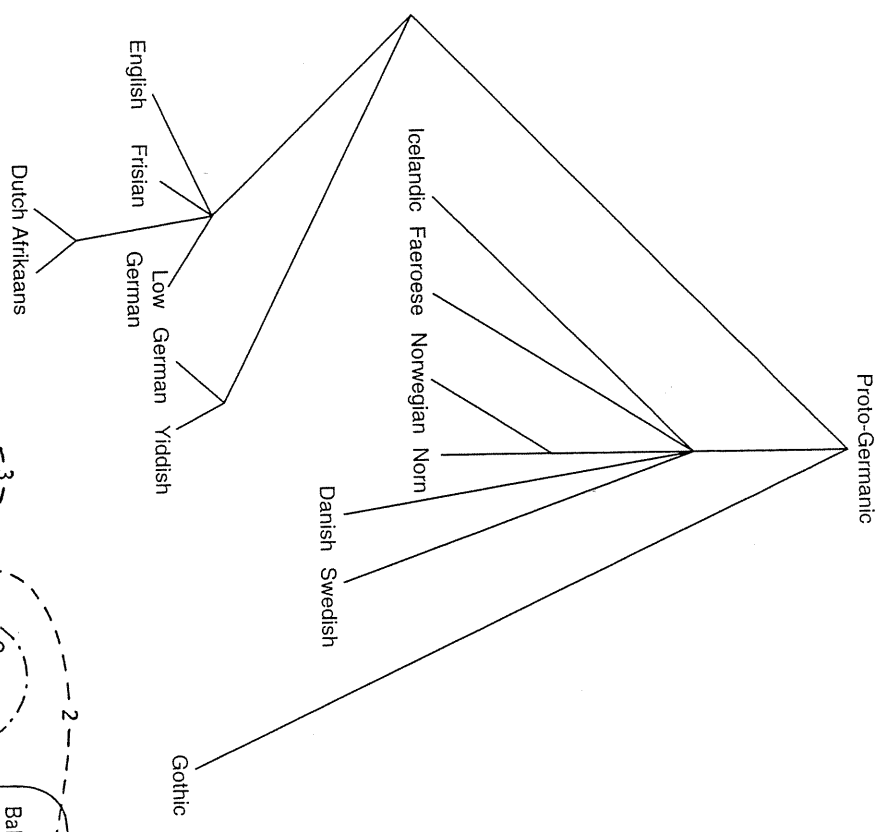


Fig. 7.6 The Germanic family tree

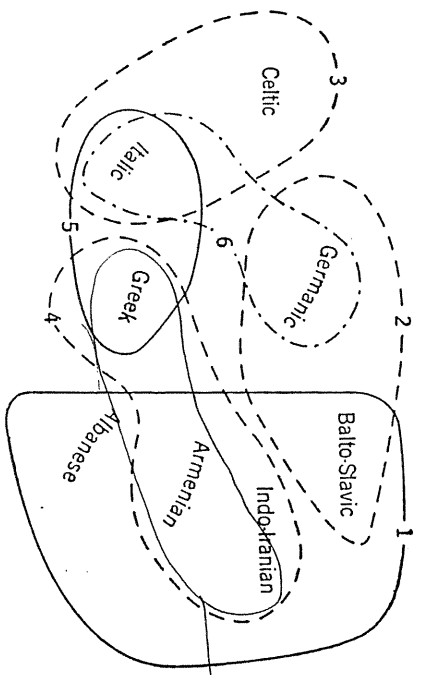


Figure 3. Some overlapping features of special resemblance among the Indo-European languages, conflicting with the family-tree diagram.— Adapted from Schrader.

1. Sibilants for velars in certain forms.
2. Case-endings with [m] for [ʃh].
3. Passive-voice endings with [r].
4. Prefix [e-] in past tenses.
5. Feminine nouns with masculine suffixes.
6. Perfect tense used as general past tense.

conflict

10

3 > 1

印欧語の

方言?

サテムと

ケント語

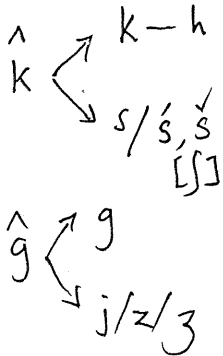
In dealing with earlier stages of the Indo-European languages the groups we have so far discussed are often classed together as one of the two large subdivisions of Proto-Indo-European. The chief basis for this classification is a contrast of sibilants in these branches versus velars in the remaining branches. For example, in the word for "ten" we find:

Skt <i>daśa</i>	Av. <i>dasa</i>	Arm. <i>tasn</i>	OCS <i>desęti</i>	Lith. <i>dęsimt</i>
vs. Gk. <i>dęka</i>	Lat. <i>decem</i>	OIr. <i>deich</i>	Goth. <i>taihun</i>	

In the word for "hundred" we find:

Skt <i>śatām</i>	Av. <i>satəm</i>	OCS <i>sęto</i>	Lith. <i>šimtąs</i>
vs. Gk. <i>hekatón</i>	Lat. <i>centum</i>	OIr. <i>cęt</i>	Goth. <i>hund</i>

The eastern languages are labeled **satem** after the Avestan form for "hundred"; the western are labeled **centum**. When this classification was first proposed, scholars assumed that the speakers of Proto-Indo-European had split into two groups and that in the eastern group a sound change took place that differentiated the eastern from the western dialects.



子取

7.3.1. k

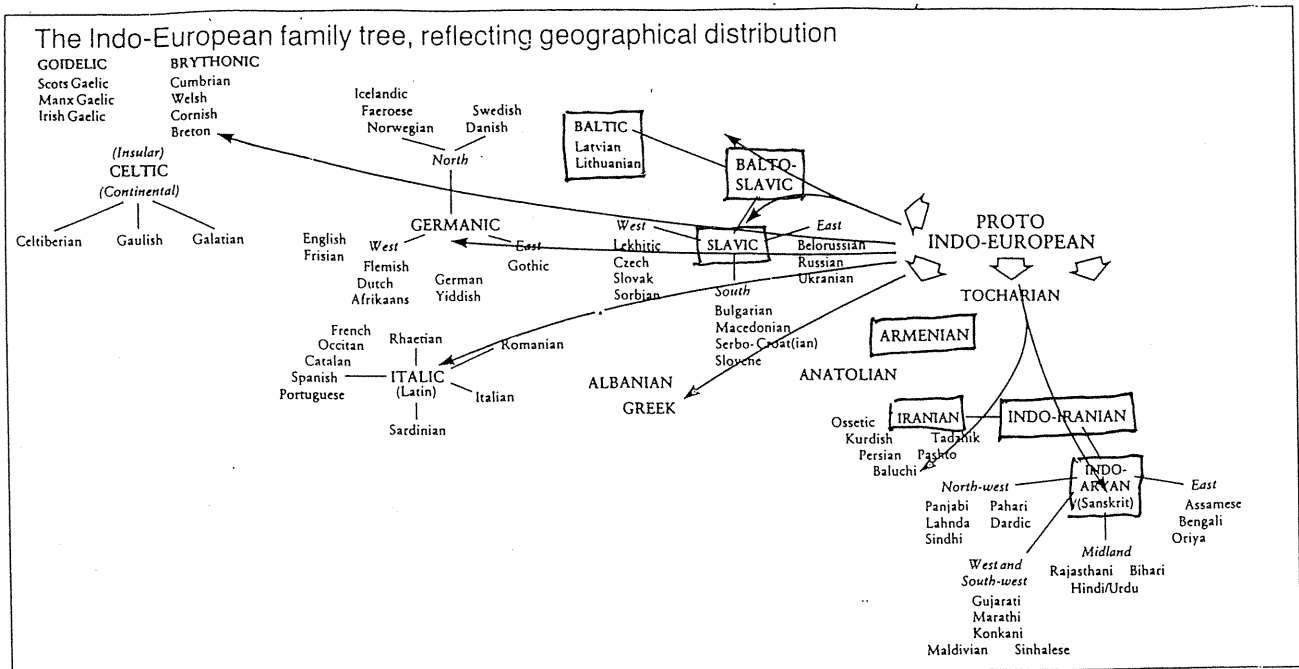
- \**kerd-*, \**kęd-*, 'Herz': gr. *καρδία*, hom. *κęρ*, lat. *cor cordis*, got. *bairtō*, air. *cride*, lit. *širdis*, aks. *srędice*;
- \**porkos*, 'Ferkel': lat. *porcus*, mir. *orc*, zhd. *far(a)b*, lit. *paršas*;
- \**ekwos*, 'Pferd': lat. *equus*, got. *aibwa-tundi*, 'Dornstrauch' ('Pferdezahn'), asächs. *ebu-skalk*, 'Pferdeknecht', skt. *aśvas*;
- \**ōku-*, 'schnell': gr. *ὠκύς*, lat. *ōcior*, skt. *āśu-*.

7.3.2. g

- \**agō*, 'treibe': gr. *ἀγῶ*, lat. *agō*, skt. *afāmi*;
- \**agros*, 'Feld': gr. *ἀγρός*, lat. *ager*, got. *akers*, skt. *afras*;
- \**genu*, \**gonu*, 'Knie': gr. *γόυυ*, lat. *genu*, heth. *genu*, skt. *jānu*;

印欧語の主要語族の分布  は satem (東方にわたることに注意)

トカ語の分布の問題

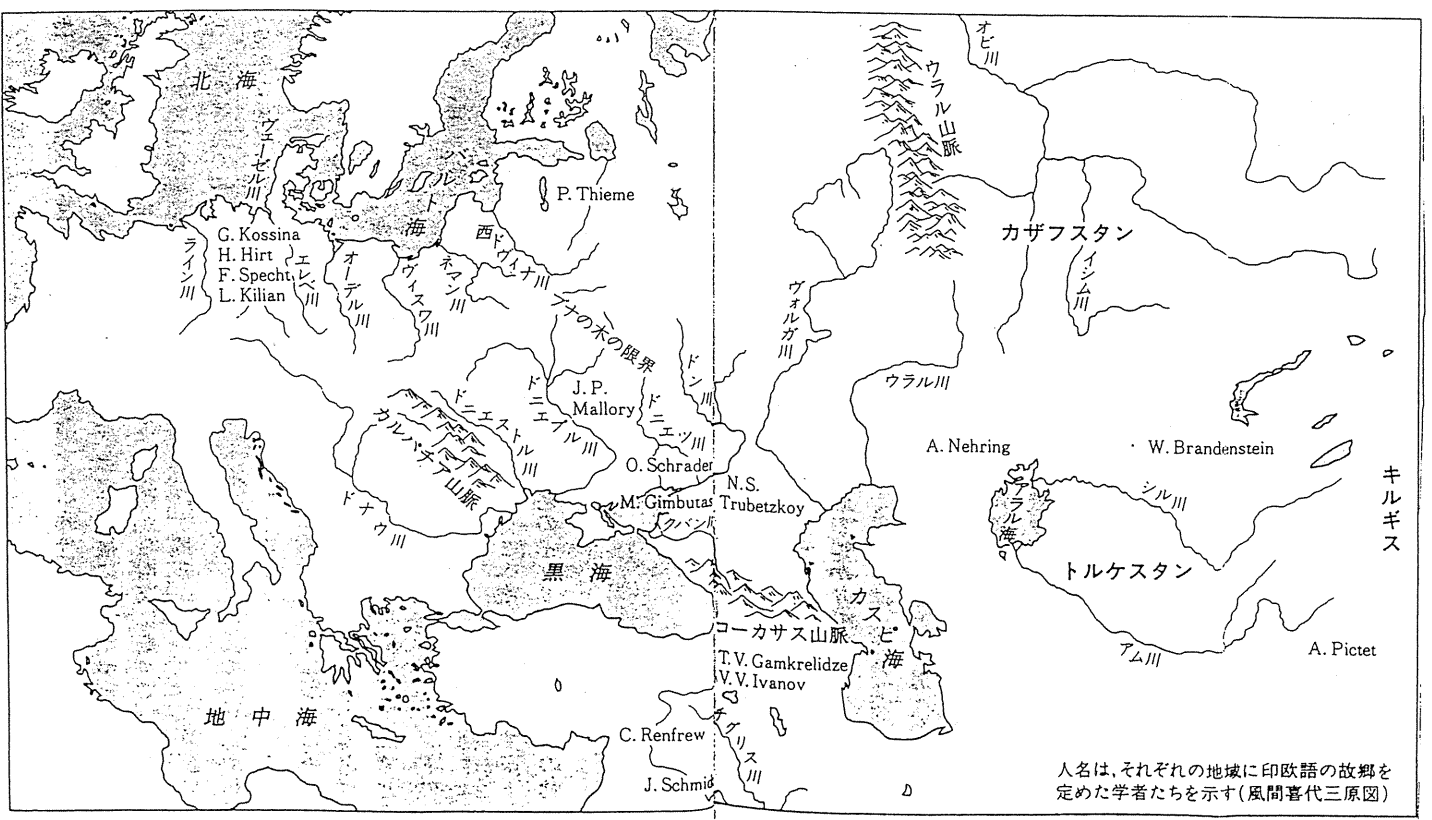


Consider the following Proto-Indo-European reconstructions. Conspicuously, no word for 'sea' can be reconstructed for Proto-Indo-European.

*rtko	'bear'	*peisk	'fish'
*laks	'salmon'	*sper	'sparrow'
*er	'eagle'	*trozdo	'thrush' ㇿ<~ㇿ
*gwou	'cow/bull'	*sū	'pig'
*kwon	'dog'	*agw <sup>h</sup> no	'lamb'
*mori	'lake'	*sneigw <sup>h</sup>	'snow'
*b <sup>h</sup> eræg	'birch' 樺	*grāno	'corn'
*yewo	'wheat'	*med <sup>h</sup> u	'honey'
*weik	'village'	*sel	'fortification'
*sē	'to sow'	*kerp	'to collect (food)'
*yeug	'to yoke'	*web <sup>h</sup>	'to weave'
*snē	'to spin'	*arə	'to plow'
*ayes	'metal'	*agro	'field'

- (A) Describe in detail what these reconstructions (or lack of reconstruction) tell us about the Proto-Indo-Europeans, the environment in which they lived, and their activities.
- (B) Based on these reconstructions and on what you know about the current distribution of Indo-European languages, which area or areas of the world would be the best candidates as the homeland of the Proto-Indo-Europeans?

linguistic palaeontology  
 印欧(祖)言語)民族の原郷問題



人名は、それぞれの地域に印欧語の故郷を定めた学者たちを示す(風間喜代三原図)

There have been a number of attempts to determine principles for establishing conditions under which changes of the type discussed in this chapter might be precipitated. The most well known, and perhaps the best, such attempt was made by Jerzy Kuryłowicz in a 1940s article entitled "La nature des procès diachroniques." The following are the four principles he proposed in that article.

1. A twofold morphological marker tends to replace one that is single. As an example, consider the -e plural of German nouns, which is also associated with umlaut in some nouns. Both the -e suffix and umlaut mark the plural in some nouns. This constitutes a twofold morphological marker. Umlaut is extended to other -e plurals where it did not originally occur. Thus on the analogy of *Gast/Gäste*, umlaut is extended to *Baum/Bäume* (originally *Baume*).

2. Analogy proceeds from base forms (*formes de fondation*) to derived forms (*formes fondées*). Consider the so-called fleeting vowels in Russian, which appear in the nominative, but are syncopated in certain oblique cases. The vowels are reintroduced into the oblique case forms by paradigmatic leveling. A regular alternation would be nom. sg. masc. *son* 'dream'; gen. sg. masc. *сна* 'of the dream'. In a word like *zov* 'call', the genitive *zva* persisted until 1847, after which the innovative form *zova* began to spread.

3. Any construction consisting of a constant plus a variable is used as a pattern for an isolated entity in the same function. Thus in English, an adverb is normally formed from an adjective with the addition of the suffix -ly. There are isolated, monomorphemic adverbs as well; these tend to be replaced by pleonastic formations with -ly. The pattern is established by correspondences like *wrong: wrongly:: slow: X; X → slowly*. From a historical point of view, *slow* might be expected to have the same history as *fast*, which still functions both as an adjective and an adverb. As another example recall the change from MHG sg. *wort*: pl. *wort* to MSG *Wort: Wörter*.

4. A new analogical form takes over the primary function of a contrast, while the replaced form is used for secondary functions. In English, for example, consider pairs like *brothers-brethren*, where the regularized form is the normal, semantically unmarked plural, while *brethren*, the replaced form, assumes a peripheral, specialized function. Similarly, the comparative *older* is the general form, while the replaced *elder* has a special and restricted meaning in Modern English.

In Polish only the third persons singular and plural are direct reflexes of the Proto-Indo-European forms. The other forms of the paradigm have been built on the third person singular form as if it were the basic stem and for which, instead of the 'correct' segmentation *jes-t* (< \*es-tj), we must presuppose a reanalysis *jest-ø*, with a zero suffix. A parallel change must have occurred in Persian, where the third person singular *hast* is again inherited but must also have been re-analysed as *hast-ø* at some stage. In both cases this reanalysis has achieved the integration of the verb into the productive conjugational system of the language, so that the inflectional endings of the other persons (except for the third plural in Polish) are those found in other verbal paradigms.

In order to explain these and parallel changes in other languages the principle has been advanced that of the three grammatical persons – speaker, addressee and person or thing talked about – it is the last (the so-called third person) that is to be considered as the semantically unmarked member of the group, the person that is neither speaker nor addressee. And, it is suggested, it is because of this absence of markedness at the functional level that it has often been reinterpreted as being unmarked at the formal level also thus coming to form the basis of a new paradigm (Watkins 1962: 90ff., 1969 passim; Kuryłowicz 1964: 148ff.). We have here, then, an example of the restructuring of a paradigm on the basis of the functional reinterpretation of forms, a renewal of connection between inherited forms and the basic speech situation (speaker, addressee and topic). This is the kind of explanatory principle which is required in order to account for that component of morphological change which is not ascribable to phonological change.

Proto-Indo-European	Gothic
*es-mi	im
*esi < *es-si	is
*es-ti	ist
*s-mes	(sijum)
*s-the	(sijup)
*s-enti	sind
Polish	Persian
jest-em	hast-arn
jest-eś	hast-i
jest	hast
jest-ěsny	hast-im
jest-ěście	hast-id
sg	hast-and
sg. 1	
2	
3	
pl. 1	
2	
3	

**Types of sound change**

The processes which affect sound change are many and various. This list illustrates some of the types which regularly occur.

- Assimilation.** Probably the most important type of change, in which one sound is influenced by the pronunciation of a neighbouring sound (p. 164).  
Example: Latin *noctem* (*nɪktɪm*), which became *note* in Italian, the /k/ being assimilated to the following /t/.
- Disimilation.** A sound moves away from the pronunciation of a neighbouring sound.  
Example: German *Kartoffel*.
- Merger or coalescence.** Two sounds become one.  
Example: Old English /e:/ and /æ:/, which became Modern English /i:/, as in (sweet) (OE *sweete*) and (clean) (OE *clæne*).
- Split.** One sound becomes two.  
Example: Old English /s/, which was realized as [z] only between voiced sounds, as in *thousand* (OE *thūsens*); in Modern English, /z/ has split off from /s/, becoming a phoneme in its own right.
- Loss.** A sound disappears from the language.  
Example: Old English velar fricative [x], which was a variant of /h/, as in *eahra* (*eiġh*); this sound had disappeared by early Modern English.
- Haplogy.** The loss of a sound, because of its similarity to a neighbouring sound.  
Example: Modern English *England*, from Old English *Englaland* (land of the Angles).
- Metathesis.** Two sounds change places.  
Example: English *third*, from Anglo-Saxon *þrida*.
- Syncope.** The loss of medial sounds.
- Example:** Latin *domina* becoming Italian *donna* (*lady*).
- Apocope.** The loss of final sounds.  
Example: Modern English *help*, from Old English *helpe*.
- Prothesis.** The introduction of an extra initial sound.  
Example: Latin *schola* (*school*) becoming Spanish *escuela*, Old French *escole*, etc.
- Epenthesis.** The introduction of an extra medial sound.  
Example: Old Icelandic *ofn*, alongside Old English *ofen*, Modern English *oven*.

> école  
代價延長  
lovensater  
lengthing

13

15

4.11 Causes of Sound Change

Finally we come to the question of why sounds undergo change at all. To begin with, we must distinguish between factors which are inherent to a language and those which are external to it.

One of the inherent factors which has a role to play is the tendency for sound change to make the pronunciation easier for those who speak them: this is certainly an important factor in many cases of sound change. Whenever features disappear, whenever assimilation makes two features identical, fewer articulatory movements are necessary; such developments justify the theory of easier pronunciation as a probable cause of sound change. On the other hand, there are many examples of sound change which cannot be explained on this basis, as for example in cases where diphthongization has taken place.

It is equally certain that stress is often an important cause of sound change. In the Germanic languages it is the strong initial accent which has caused syncope, and the weakening or entire disappearance of final syllables. Again, however, there are many sound changes which cannot be explained on this basis, either.

A very important factor that underlies sound change is the phonemic system. We often notice that whenever it discloses a 'hole', that hole tends to be filled up, that asymmetries in the system tend to be made regular through time. The Dutch language, for example, has  $r : d, p : b$ , but no  $g$  next to  $k$  (Dn.  $g$  is a sibilant,  $g$ ). Still, it doesn't seem that this could be a cause of sound changes. In the first place, there are phonemic systems with 'holes' which have continued in that way for a long time without problems, as in the Dutch example. An instructive case is the Greek vowel system. Because in Ionic-Attic the  $\iota, \bar{\iota}$  became  $\bar{\iota}, \bar{\iota}$  an asymmetrical system came into being (the forms in parentheses came into existence later):

$\iota$	$\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\iota}$
$e$	$o$	$(\bar{e})$	$\bar{e}$	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$
$a$	$o$	$(\bar{a})$	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$

Because of the monophthongization of  $e$  and  $\bar{e}$  came into being (written as  $e$  and  $\bar{e}$ ). One would then expect  $\bar{e}$  to develop out of  $ou$  (which would give symmetrical  $\bar{e} : \bar{e}$ ). It is quite easy to understand, however, that  $ou > \bar{e}$  became  $\bar{a}$ , because the change achieves 'maximum differentiation', which is to say, the most efficient possible use of the available physical space whereby differences are as great as possible and the sounds thus as clear as possible. In this way an asymmetrical 'hole' came into being besides the new  $\bar{e}$ . (This would only be eliminated in the late-classical period when the opposition long : short disappeared, and [among other changes] the long  $e$  sounds became  $i$  so that only one  $e$  remained.)

In the second place it is difficult to see how the desired *result* could be the cause of sound changes. It does seem that sound change is made easier when a 'hole' exists in the phonemic system. In Dutch there could be a  $g$  as allophone which in this situation 'would like' to become phonologized.

Another factor in the system is its 'goal' of achieving with as few features as possible the preservation of as many oppositions or phonemes as possible. For PIE, linguists reconstructed the system  $p : b : b^h$ , but it was seen that a system of this kind was hardly if ever found in any of the world's existing languages: linguists did find  $p : ph : b$  (or  $p : ph : b : bh$ ). The explanation for this is that the  $b$ , with respect to  $p$ , distinguishes itself by +voice, and the  $b^h$  by +voice, +aspiration). If the system has a  $p^h$  instead of  $b^h$ , then the third term is only marked by +asp and that is sufficient. (Shortly afterwards it was seen that the system was different than had been thought; see section 11.4.8).

On the border between internal and external factors we have the language acquisition of children. It is thought by some that children never learn their own language 100% correctly. Others doubt whether this fact, even if true, could play any role of significance. It has been noticed that sound changes among children spread more quickly than they do among adults.

Among external factors there are the influences exerted by other languages and dialects. An extreme case is that whereby a substratum is involved, the situation thus of a new language which comes into a particular area and is influenced by a previous language which is still present in that area. A situation of this kind implies that considerable numbers of people of all ages begin to speak another language, but in so doing still use the articulatory habits of their original language. Studying this phenomenon is complicated by the fact that the substratum languages in question mostly no longer exist. For this reason, not many cases can be 'proven'. A case which does seem certain, however, is the emergence of the retroflexes ( $\ddot{r}, \ddot{t}, \ddot{d}, \ddot{n}, \ddot{s}$ ) in Sanskrit, for no other IE language has them, whereas the non-IE substratum languages of India do have them. The development of these sounds can be explained from the Indian material itself, but the fact that they actually became phonemes in this case can hardly be coincidental.

It is not only, or chiefly, a question of substratum languages. There were also superstratum languages, such as the Germanic Frankish that overran Latin in France only to disappear later on (the language incorrectly became known as 'French'; the ones who really speak 'French' = Frankish are the Dutch). This situation occurs less often. When two languages live side by side they are called 'adstrates.' This situation is found everywhere, as are dialects. It should be noted that it is quite usual for people to speak a dialect or another language beside their own. When words are taken over from one language (or dialect) into another, new phonemes can come into being (think of *goal, garage, garcon* with  $g$  in Dutch). That languages which are spoken in adjacent areas also fall under each other's influences can be seen from 'areal phenomena, similar sounds, corresponding categories of form and constructions which appear over a large area in different, even unrelated languages. This is also certainly a factor of importance in the process of sound change.

To conclude, we can point to a number of different factors which contribute to or favor sound change. Insofar as purely internal factors are concerned, all languages would long ago have reached a condition of 'permanent rest' if no other factors were involved. This seems indeed to be the case: languages which are isolated, and depend for change on internal factors only, undergo little change. On the other hand, it has been noticed that languages can undergo rapid change in a relatively short period, especially in times of social and political upheaval. We may conclude that the influence of other language systems remains the single most important factor underlying sound change.

As an afterthought, it should be admitted that comparative linguistics is not able to tell us why the changes that do occur, occur at this particular place at this particular point in time, and not somewhere else or some time later.

元音化  
容易化

音韻  
體系

字別  
字序

言語學

基礎

上層

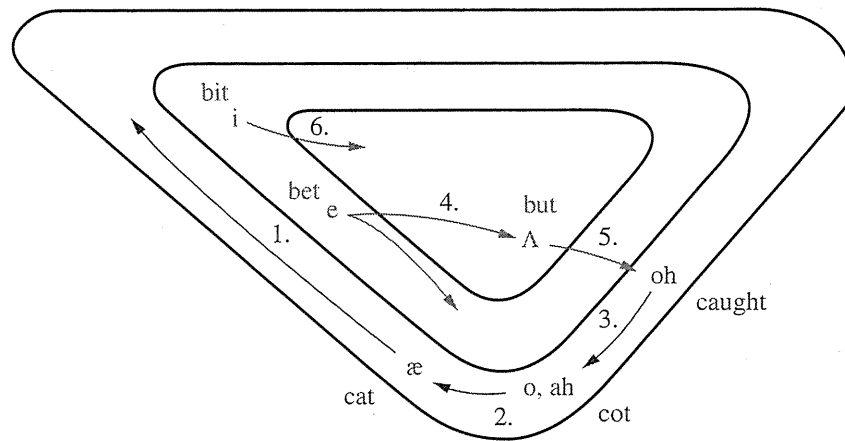


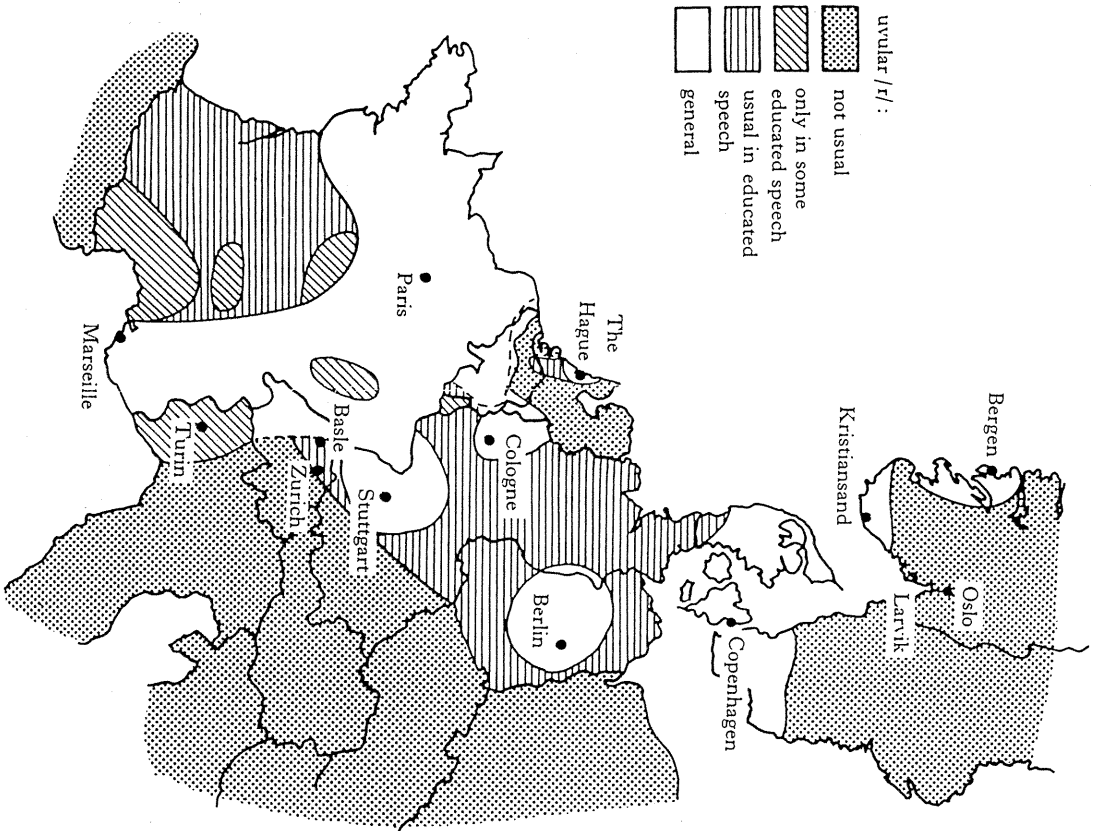
Figure 3.2. *The Northern Cities Vowel Shift* (source: Figure 14.1 in Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006)

1. The first shift was the raising of /æ/, as in *cat*. This raising is more extreme before a nasal, as in *sandal*, and after a palatal, as in *Jackie*. Figure 3.2 shows this vowel moving from a low front position up past the mid vowel position. As there is still much variation, different speakers may have a more or less raised vowel. This vowel can even be phonetically realized as a diphthong with a high nucleus and a centralized offglide [i<sup>ə</sup>]. Labov characterizes this part of the change as near completion.
2. The second phase is also present in the oldest speakers studied. It involves the fronting of [ɑ] as in *cot* or *Don* to [a] (a low front vowel) or even [æ]. In the figure, the phonemic symbols /o/ and /ah/ are used for this vowel.
3. The third phase is the centralization and fronting of /ɔ/ (phonemically represented in the figure as /oh/) to [a] or [a] as in *caught* or *bought*.
4. Fourth, the [ɛ] vowel in *bet* (represented as /e/) has been traveling towards the central region of the vowel space, giving pronunciations such as [drʌs] for *dress*, and [rʌst] for *rest*. As shown in the figure, for some speakers the vowel is even lower (Labov 2001: 473). This shift and the next two are described by Labov 1994 as “new and vigorous” changes.
5. The central vowel /ʌ/, as in *but* or *strut*, is moving towards the back, where the vowel of *caught* /ɔ/ used to be.
6. The lax high vowel /ɪ/ (represented in the figure as /i/) is becoming lower, approaching the position of where /ɛ/ used to be.

Now it should be clear that this set of changes constitutes a chain shift, and that furthermore at least parts of it make up a drag chain. The raising of /æ/ opened up a space in the lower front region and /ɑ/ has moved towards that space. Then the back vowel /ɔ/ moved into the space vacated by /ɑ/.

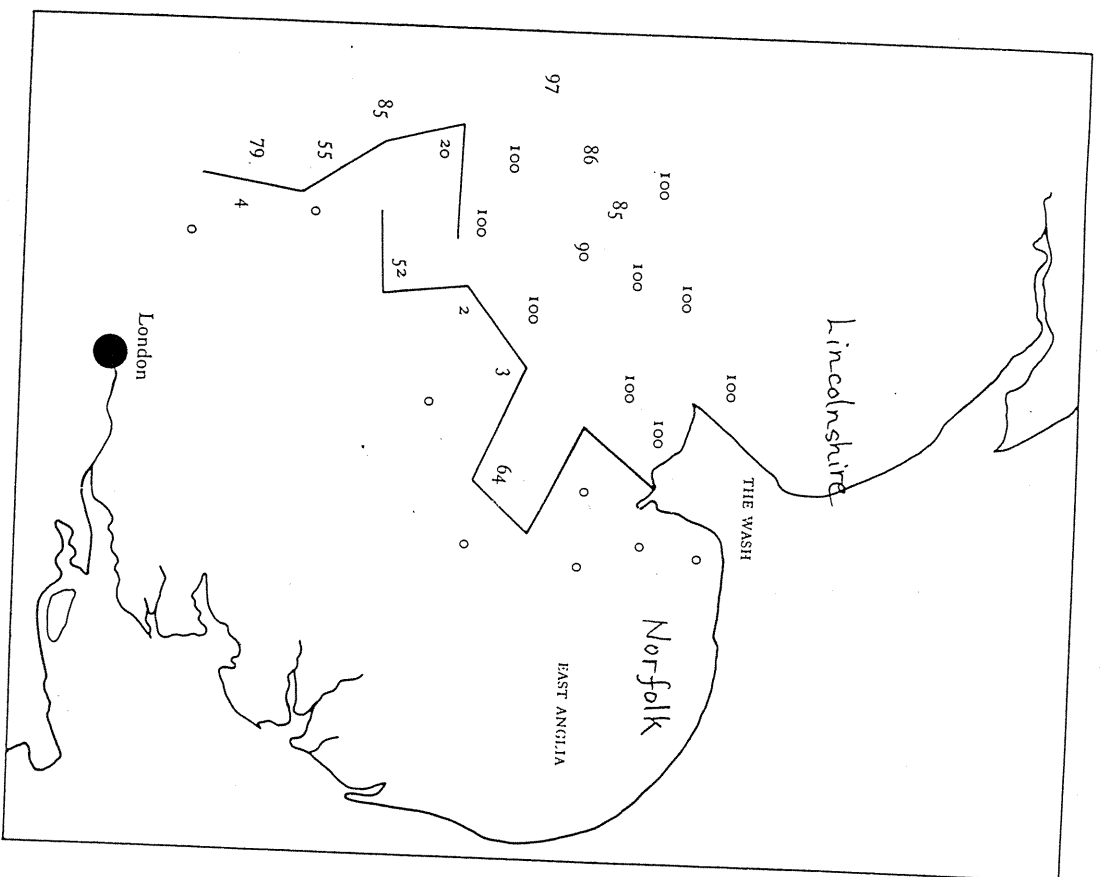
Shifts such as these – in which phonemes encroach on or take the space formerly occupied by a different phoneme – can cause misunderstandings across





Map 11-6. Uvular /r/ in greater social detail (after Trudgill 1974c)

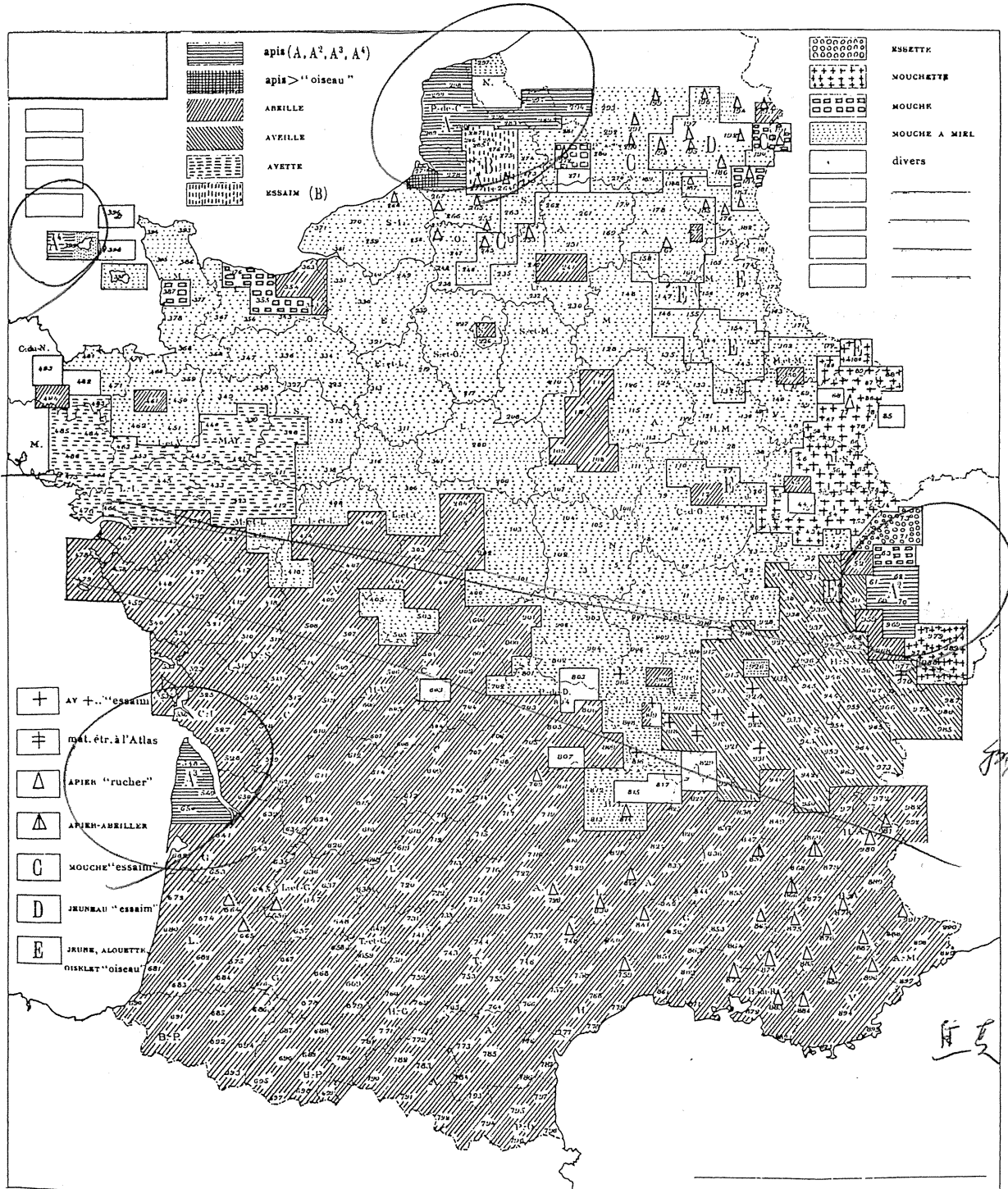
偉麗の風景



Map 8-2. East Anglia and the east midlands, showing occurrences of [ɯ]. Each number is an index for one SED informant, showing the percentage of words with [ɯ] in a list of sixty-five items such as *brother*, *gutter*, *rubbish* and *us*. The solid line is an attempt to reduce the variability to an isogloss.

1.0.3 蜜蜂 (『フランス言語地図』から)

Atlas linguistique de la France 1902~1909



言語

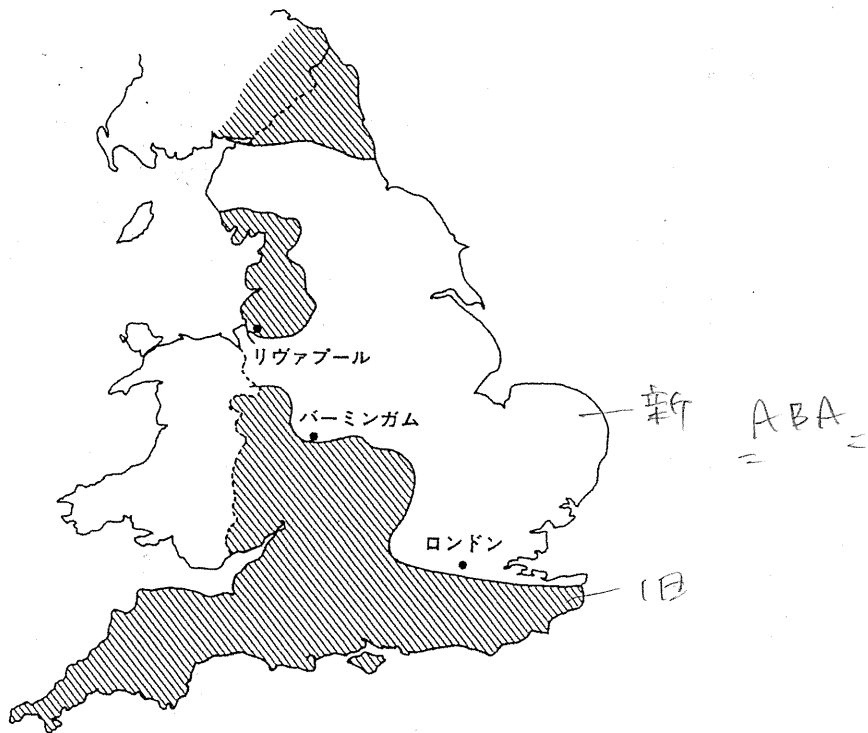


図5.4. イングランドの田舎に住む年配の労働者階級出身者が  
今も/r/を発音しているかもしれない地域(斜線部分)

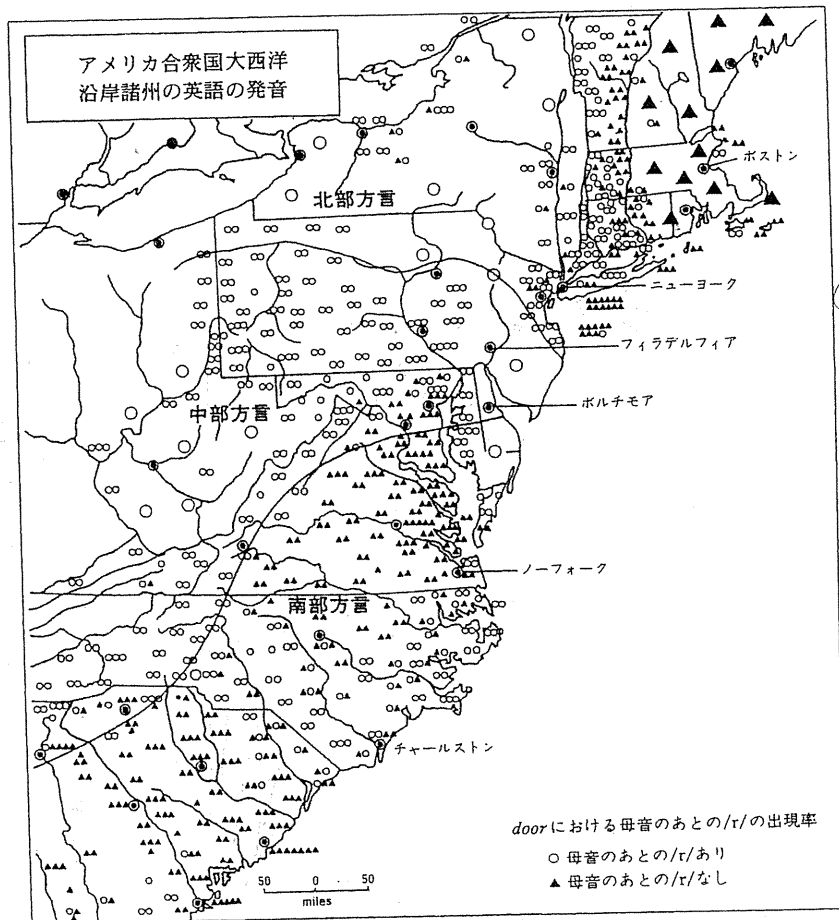
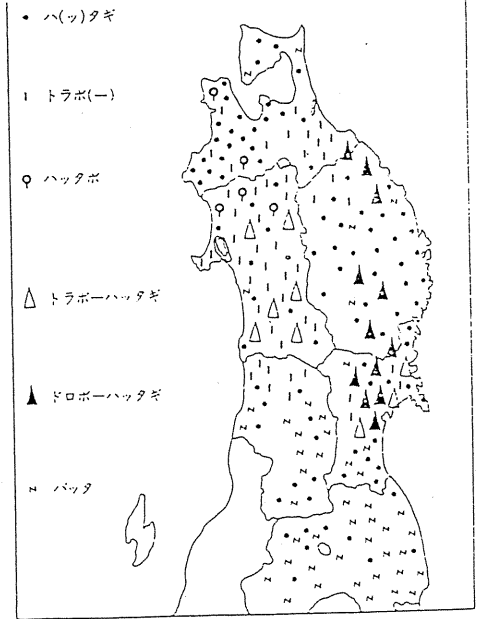
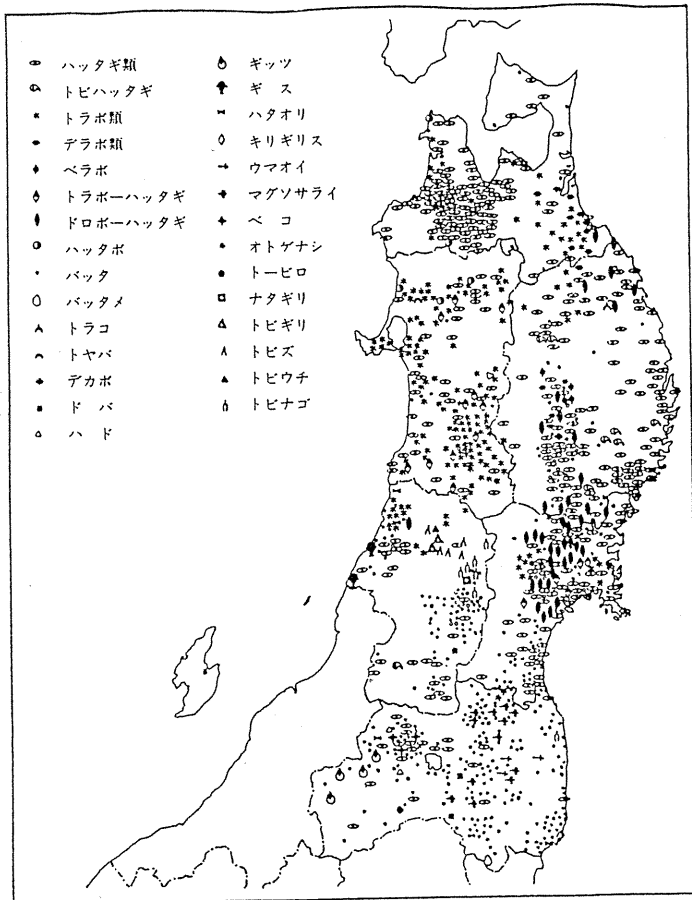
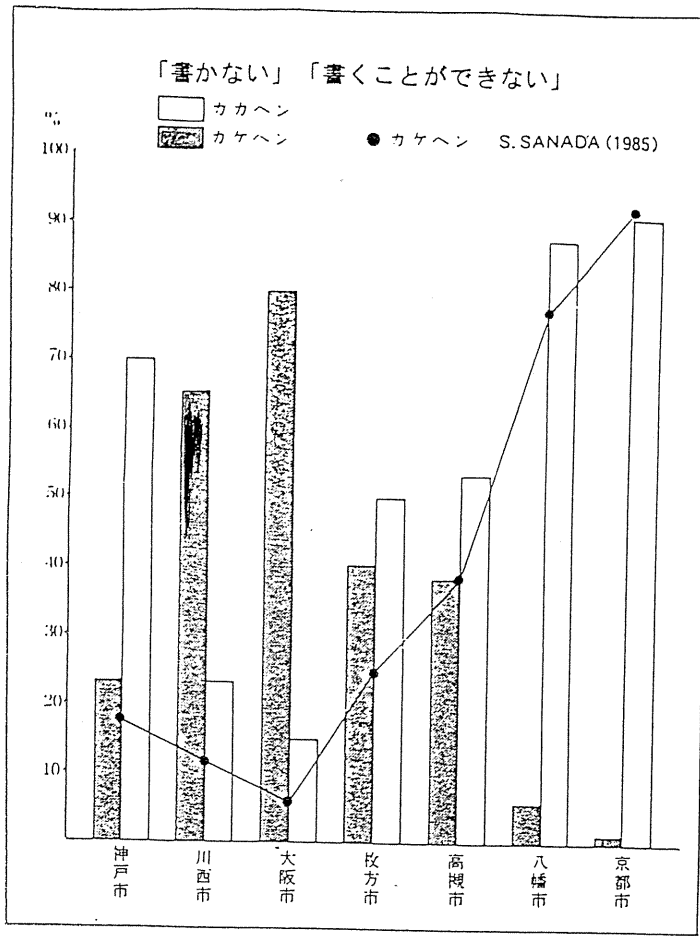


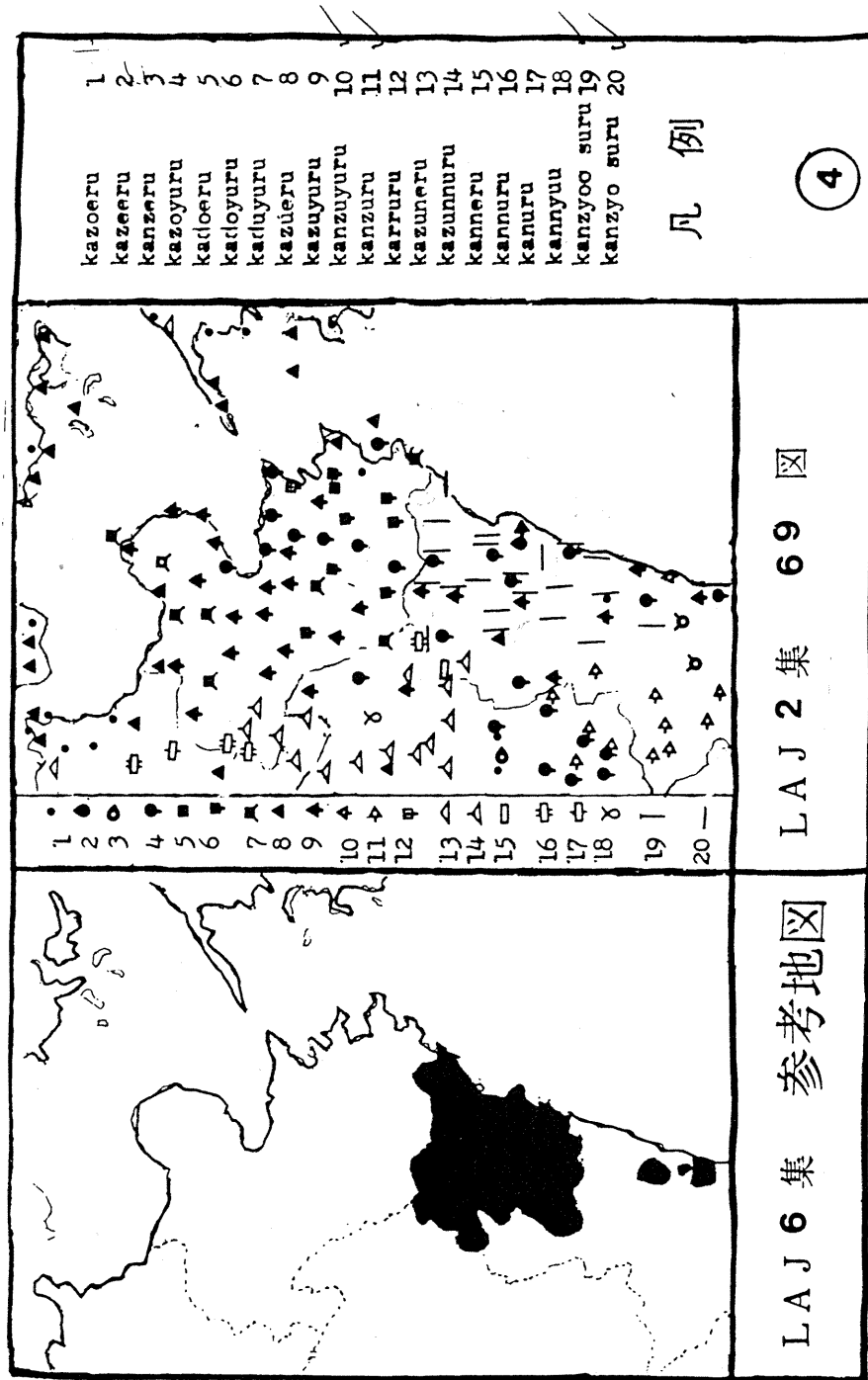
図5.3. 方言区分と母音のあとの/r/の有無——アメリカ合衆国東部



blending  
fdk etymology

2. 方言の伝播 2.6 方言の分布と社会圏

2.6.1 数える



2.6.1 W.A.グロータース「社会と言語地理学」(『日本のことばと文化・社会』昭51, 汐文社) から

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (1) equatable, legible, potable<br>derivation, deliberation, equation<br>deliverance, occurrence | (6 a) beau : plus beau<br>b) beautiful : more beautiful<br>c) long : long-er   |
| (2) equate<br>derive<br>deliver  | (7) Monosyllabic: long : long-er<br>Disyllabic: pretty : pretti-er<br>clever : clever-er/more clever<br>handsome : more handsome |
| (3) trans-duct, trans-ceive-er   |  |
| (4 a) readable, laughable, drinkable<br>b) furtherance, botherance<br>botheration                | Polysyllabic: beautiful : more beautiful   |

cf. 日本語 「より美しい」

Vocabulary borrowing can also introduce new segments, or new environments for established segments. The latter, perhaps more common development is observed in words like *rouge*, *prestige* with [ʒ] in word-final position. (In more established English words, [ʒ] is limited to medial environment, as in *measure*, *leisure*.) The introduction of a new segment is found in the pronunciation of *Bach* as [bax] by English-speaking aficionados of Baroque music. Or consider the New York English expression *yecch* [yex] which seems to be of Yiddish origin. Moreover, as noted in chapter 11, borrowing can lead to the introduction of new phonological rules, such as the [k/s] and [g/j] alternations in *electric*: *electricity*, *allegation*: *allege* which entered English through loans from French.

音素の借用

In addition to individual lexical items, collocations of such items, as well as idioms may be borrowed. Thus, French again is the source of such collocations as *court martial* and *marriage of convenience* (The latter loan involves a reinterpretation of Fr. *marriage de convenance* 'marriage by arrangement or agreement' as 'marriage of convenience'.) Similarly, the idiomatic expression *it goes without saying* is a borrowing from French *il va sans dire*.

連語の借用

The first such contact to be examined is the one with the Old Norse of the so-called Danes who harried the English before the arrival of the French-speaking Normans and, still in pre-Norman times, eventually settled in the so-called Danelaw, intermarrying and otherwise acting as equals with the indigenous English population. From this relationship between equals resulted borrowings like *egg*, *get*, *give*, *guest*, *hit*, *husband*, *like*, *raise*, *skill*, *skin*, *skirt*, *sky*, *take*, as well as the pronouns *they*, *their*, *them*. Clearly these borrowings affected everyday, even basic vocabulary. Moreover, there are no special connotations (either positive or negative) attached to these loans.

英語の中の北欧語

ロシア語の中の教会スラブ語

【語彙】 現代ロシア標準語の語彙は、全体としての東スラブ的ないし大ロシアの特徴と、書きことばとして長い歴史をもつ南スラブ起源の教会スラブ語の要素、および、特に18世紀以降顕著となった近代西欧諸言語からの借用の要素の3つからなっている。ロシア語の語彙の特徴として特に重要なのは、純ロシア語的語彙(R)と教会スラブ語的語彙(CS)の対立ないし相関に基づく語彙の二重性で、たとえば、

- голова (R)「頭」: глава (CS)「首領、(書物、論文の)章」
- порох (R)「火薬」: прах (CS)「屍灰」
- свеча (R)「ろうそく」: свещник (CS)「燭台」
- короткий (R)「短い」: краткий (CS)「簡略な」
- выходить (R)「出て行く、来る」: исходить (CS)「発する、由来する」

などのように、同根の語彙に見られる純ロシア語的語彙の意味の具体性と日常性に対して、教会スラブ語的語彙のもつ抽象性と宗教性の対照が著しい。

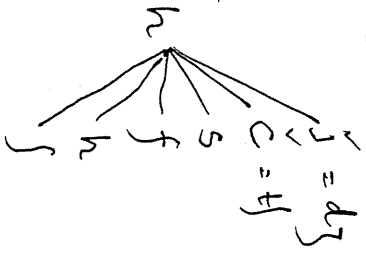
Maori 語の音素

p t k  
 φ r n ŋ  
 i u  
 e o  
 a

長記 Wh = /φ/ ; wŋ = /ŋ/

音節構造 CVCV

- hāhi church
- haina China; sign
- haka haka, Māori dance
- haki flag (< Union Jack)
- hāma hammer
- hānara sandal
- hāngi hangi, oven (hole in the ground with wrapped food placed on heated stones in the pit with fire)
- hānhi harness
- hāpa harp
- hāte shirt
- hēmana chairman
- hereni shilling
- hei shed
- hipi sheep
- hiraka silk
- hirawa silver
- hoeha saucer
- hohipere hospital
- hopa job
- hōro hall
- hū shoe
- hui meeting for discussion
- huka sugar
- hūka hook
- hupa soup
- hūri jury
- īari yard
- ihipa Egypt
- ingarangi England
- ingarahi English
- inhi inch
- iota yacht



子音の結合は...?

→ 木川 語の

英語から入った語

特徴ある...

英語から 米語から?

- \* iwi iwi, Māori tribe
- kāka cork
- kānara colonel
- kapa copper, penny
- kāpara corporal
- kāpata cupboard
- kara collar
- karapehe grass; glassware, tumbler; class
- karāhi glass
- karahipi scholarship
- karaka clock; clerk
- karauana crown
- kāreti college; carrot; carriage
- kāta cart
- kātaroeira castor oil
- kātipa constable
- kaumātua kaumātua, Māori elder
- kauri kauri tree
- kāwana governor
- kea kea (mountain parrot)
- kihi kiss
- kirihimete Christmas
- kiwi kiwi bird
- kōmihana commission
- kōti court (of law); goat
- kuihipere gooseberry
- kūmara kūmara, sweet potato
- kura school
- māhi mast
- mana mana, influence, prestige
- māori Māori, native people (in Māori māori means 'clear, ordinary, native New Zealander')
- marae marae, enclosed meeting area
- marahipi molasses
- moa moa (very large extinct flightless bird)
- mokopuna mokopuna, grandchild
- motokā car, automobile (< motor car)
- nēhi nurse
- ngaio ngaio, coastal shrub
- ōkaha ox
- ōriwa olive

The situation often is much more complex. English is one of only a few European languages that have the voiceless dental fricative [θ]. When words with English [θ] are borrowed, such as the word *thriller*, there is a great amount of variation in the nativization of [θ]. It comes out as [s] in standard French and German, but as [t] in many other European languages, including many non-standard varieties of French and German. These different choices cannot be fully explained by the notion most similar sound. It is difficult to see how in standard German or French [s] is more similar to [θ] than [t], while in other forms of speech, [t] is more similar. Rather, it appears that [θ] is in some ways equally similar – and dissimilar – to both [t] and [s]: Sibilants like [s] are super-fricatives which differ from ordinary fricatives by having extra, ‘sibilant’, friction. The simple fricative [θ] therefore can be considered to take an intermediate position between non-fricative [t] and super-fricative [s]. Under the circumstances, the choice between [t] and [s] is arbitrary; and the fact that different languages opt for one or the other substitution seems to result from something like conventionalization. In fact, some German speakers use neither [s] nor [t], but [ʃ] to nativize [θ], presumably because it is acoustically closer to [θ] than either [s] or [t]. (Russian similarly substituted [ʃ] for Byzantine Greek [θ] in words like *Fyodor* < Gk. *Theódōros* [θ-].)

英語の /θ/ が 各言語で 定着する

Even more “exotic” nativization processes can be observed. One of these can be termed ETYMOLOGICAL nativization. For instance, literate speakers of Russian normally nativize foreign [h] as [g], as in *gospital* ‘hospital’. None of the nativization processes so far discussed would account for this substitution. But once we note that languages like Ukrainian, closely related to Russian and in intensive contact with it, have changed Proto-Slavic *g* to *h*, an explanation is possible: The relationship between native Russian words and their Ukrainian cognates provides a quasi-analogical pattern which suggests that foreign *h* corresponds to native *g*; see (14).

(14) Ukrainian *hospod* : Ru. *gospod* ‘God, Lord’

etc.

Germ. *Hospital* : X = Ru. *gospital* ‘hospital’

etc.

ハサカ) だね      ロシヤ語      h > g (r)

Similarly, foreign borrowings in Japanese are consistently reshaped in order to conform to the syllable structure of Japanese which tolerates only syllables of the type CV, with just one initial consonant (if any), plus a vowel (or syllabic nasal), and with no syllable-final consonants. This is commonly achieved through vowel insertion, as in (15a). But it may be accomplished by other means, such as the reduction of the initial consonant group and the dropping of the final consonant in (15b), or by turning semi-vocalic [w] into the corresponding vowel [u], as in (15c). (The final vowel in *kuizu* (15c), of course, reflects the same insertion as in (15a). Example (15a) additionally offers an instance of a nearest sound substitution, with [r] replacing English [l].)

(15) a. Engl. *baseball* ⇒ Jap. *bēsubōru*

*crawl* ⇒ *kurōru* (a swimming style)

b. *sweater* ⇒ *setā*

c. *quiz* [kwiz] ⇒ *kuizu*

日本語の外来語と音節構造

Gender assignment for borrowings seems to operate in terms of the following parameters: (i) formal criteria; (ii) general semantic criteria; (iii) considerations of the gender of semantically related native words; (iv) a default class to which words are assigned if none of the other criteria provides a solution.

(20) a. Early NFr. *garage* [garaʒə] (m.) ‘garage’ → f, (i) → e

b. Engl. *computer* (女性能動性(動詞)) → m. (i)

*babysitter*

*trend* → m. (i) → n./m. (iii) → ? 意味 X (i) 不慣

*rush hour* → f. (iii) cf. *Uhr* (f)

*panel* → n. (iv)

ドイツ語に導入された名詞の性

cf. *das Playgirl* ~ *Mädchen* (n.)

Nativization



鮮語のような受け入れ側の言語の音韻体系にほぼ同化している。そして中国語の発音がその後どのように変化しても、借用語も字音もそれにあわせて変化することはない。むしろ日本語や朝鮮語内部の音韻変化の影響を受ける。その一方で借用語のほうは、限られた語彙だけが導入されているのに対して、字音のほうは foreign form と同様に、潜在的にすべての語（この場合は漢字）が対象になっている。言い換えれば、すべての漢字が日本語の潜在的な語彙（ないし語構成要素）になったのであって、単に多くの語彙を借用したというのではなく、他言語の辞書あるいは語彙全体が借用されたことになる。その結果、たとえば日本語では漢字を自由に組み合わせる中国語にはない表現を生み出すことができた。この状況を模式的に示すと下のようになる。

	発音の同化	すべての語彙	もとの言語にない組み合わせ
foreign form	X	○	X
字音	○	○	○
借用語	○	X	X

このように字音という借用の様態は、漢字文化圏に特有の現象のように見える。しかし言語接触の一つのパターンとして、文化的な影響を与える側の言語の語彙のすべてが、影響を受ける側の言語の潜在的な語彙として使われている現象は、実は多くの言語に存在しているように思われる。この種の借用をここでは「辞書借用 (lexicon borrowing)」と呼ぶことにする。例えば筆者が研究している言語の一つであるコータン語の場合、根本説一切有部の学僧が用いている語彙が、潜在的に後期コータン語の語彙として使われ得たようだ<sup>(9)</sup>。専門外の言語については、筆者の「勇み足」があるかもしれないが、シルクロードで使われていたトカラ語も同様に梵語の影響を受けていたように見える。ペルシア語の中のアラビア語の要素なども類似の状況であるし、モンゴル語の中の子ベット語などもそのような例に数えることができよう。まれには各言語の古典語が供給源となり得た。ヒンディー語のなかの梵語はそのような関係にある

であろうか<sup>(9)</sup>。英語の歴史の中のラテン語やギリシア語も、そのように位置づけることができよう。英語における phenomenon vs phenomena のように、しばしば元の言語の形態変化すら導入している場合があるのも辞書借用の特徴である。

最近新聞紙上でも盛んに議論されている日本語中の英語起源のカタカナ語の要素は、何時の頃から単純なる語彙借用から辞書借用の段階に達したように見える。当用漢字以外の「難しい漢字」の使用が、基本的に個々の日本人の漢語の知識の度合いと連動するように、個々の日本人の英語の知識に従ってカタカナで表記した英単語の種類や量が異なる。そしてどの単語なら使ってもよいと言うような制限はない。言い換えれば昨今のカタカナ語問題は、漢語の側の「当用漢字」に対応するような「当用英単語」あるいは「当用カタカナ語」のリストを作る段階にきたことを意味しているのかもしれない。注意すべきは、かつてカタカナで表記されたことのない英単語がカタカナ化される場合でも、問題の単語の綴りと発音が与えられれば、誰でもほぼ同じようにカタカナ化することであって、日本語式の英単語の発音方法がほぼ定着してしまっていることである。

NHK の「のど自慢」がハワイで行われたときの番組を見たことがある。そのとき司会者との会話の中で、ハワイ在住の日本人の出演者が「スケナ」という語を使い、司会者が一瞬理解できなかったことがあった。パーコートの自動読みとり機のことを言っていたのだが、日本語なら「スキヤナー」と言うべきところであった。このことは日本式の発音を伴う英語からの「辞書借用」は、英語を知っている日本人に自然に発生するのではなく、英語から一定の距離を置いている言語共同体でしか起こらないことを暗示している。上で引用した庄垣内の言葉の「中国本土から海を隔てた日本と、砂漠を隔てたウイグル」という表現は、この間の事情を見事に表現している。

## (2) ウイグル字音の成立をめぐる諸問題

ウイグル語に字音が存在することを最初に明らかにし、それをウイグル字音

	父	母	おじ	おば	兄弟	姉妹	息子	娘	おい	めい	いとこ
1. 男性対女性	男	女	男	女	男	女	男	女	男	女	男/女
2. 世代: +1, 同じ, -1	+1	+1	+1	+1	同	同	-1	-1	-1	-1	+1/-1/同/-1
3. 直系: +1, +2	直	直	+1	+1	+1	+1	直	直	+1	+1	+2
4. 血縁的/婚姻的	血	血	血/婚	血/婚	血	血	血	血	血	血	血

世代 +1	父	母	おじ	おば	いとこ
世代 0	自己	兄弟	姉妹		
世代 -1	息子	娘	おい	めい	

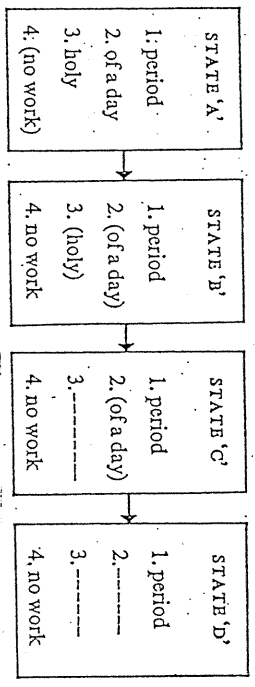
	See lake	Teich	pond	Tümpel	pool	ミズウミ	ヌマ	イケ
自然の物か	+	+	-	+	+( - )	+	+	±
人工の物か	-	+	+	-	-( + )	-	-	±
大きいか	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
小さいか	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
本立に囲ま れ 木 草 が 生 い て い る か	±	±	±	±	±	±	±	±

	with a back	raised above ground	for one person	to sit on	with arms	of solid material
chaise/chair	+	+	+	+	-	+
fauteuil/armchair	+	+	+	+	+	+
tabouret/stool	-	+	+	+	-	+
canapé/sofa	+	+	-	+	+	+
pouf/pouffe	-	+	+	+	-	-

The analyses become more interesting, as the lexemes become more complex. Here, for instance, is a possible matrix for some human motion verbs.

	NATURAL	HURRIED	FORWARD	ONE FOOT	ALWAYS
walk	+	-	+	+	+
march	-	+	+	+	-
run	-	-	+	+	+
limp	-	-	-	+	+

A way out of this sort of quandary for the analyst is to give two or more overlapping definitions for the same word. For present-day English, for example, we may have to regard 'unjustifiability' as an optional feature in the definition of *boast*. Such coexisting overlapping meanings seem to be a common phenomenon, and presumably account for the way in which many words change their meanings in the course of history. Take *holiday*, for example: this has moved from the meaning of 'holy day' (viz., a Sunday or religious feast) to the present-day meaning of 'a period when one is not required to work'. The path it has taken from the one meaning to the other might be reconstructed as follows:

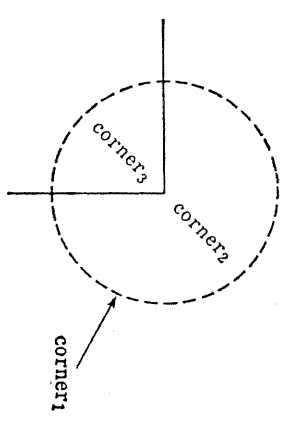


The items outside brackets are assumed to be criterial components, and those within brackets non-criterial, or connotative, properties. The change is here represented as a step-by-step progression, each step involving a change in a feature's status with regard to criteriality, or else the loss of a connotation altogether. The result, over a long period, is a complete shift in the reference of the expression so that the 'no work' aspect, originally no more than a connotation, is now a crucial feature of its meaning. But we cannot explain the change by saying that at given points in history, state 'X' was suddenly superseded by state 'Y': rather, at any historical period, the situation must have been similar to the present-day situation with *boast*: there would be two or more meanings, differing only in the criteriality or presence of one feature, and one of these alternatives would eventually win currency at the expense of the other.

意-5  
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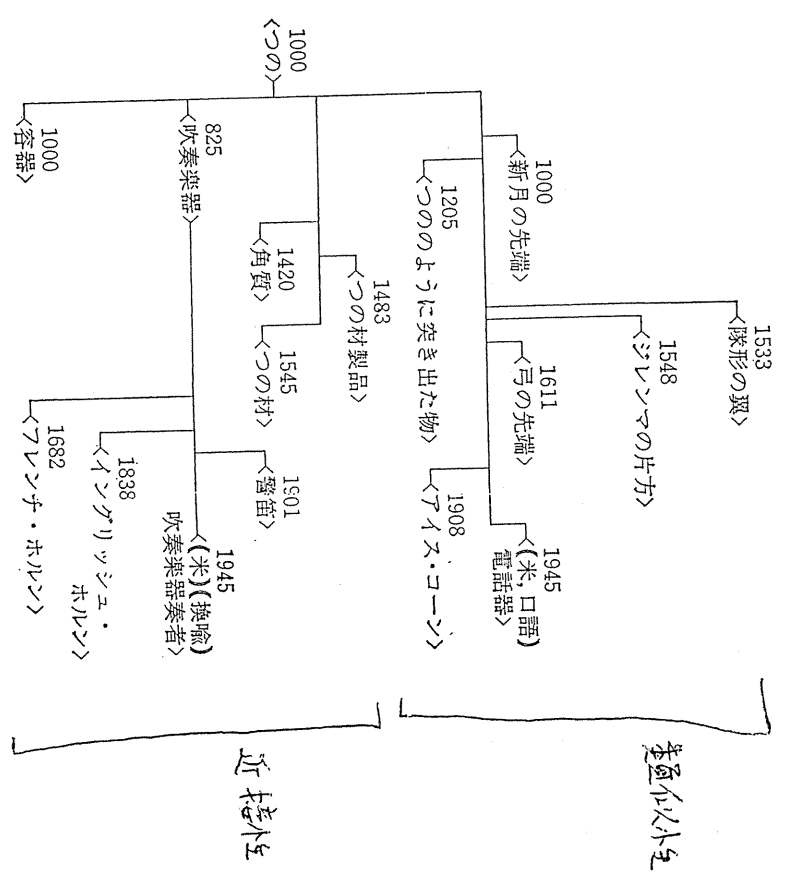
意味変化

心的視点の相違によるもの  
同一の事物を異なった心的視点から眺める時に生じる意味の差を言う。このような相違は、ある言語では多義として現われ、あ

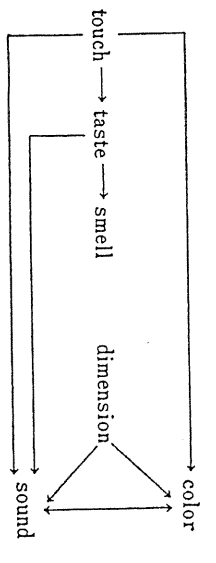


[図10]

多義の発達・多義の整理



人間のひとつの感覚領域で用いられる形容詞を他の感覚領域に流用する用法は「共感覚的比喩」(synaesthetic metaphor) と呼ばれる。この流用の方向に普遍的な原則があるのではないかと、ウィリアムズが J. M. ウィリアムズ (Williams) (1976), "Synaesthetic adjectives: a possible law of semantic change" により提出されている。それは図16により示される。



類似性による多義発生 共感覚メタファー

る言語では別語として現われることがある。(もっとも異言語間の語彙化 (lexicalization) の食い違いはこの種の意味に限らず、あらゆるところに見られる。) 英語の名詞 'corner' は COD に従うと、図10のような平面図形の把握の仕方により三通りを多義的に区別している。その第一は、点線の円で示してあるように、全体を上から見下したような視点からの見え方で、内側、外側の区別のないものである。この第一の捕え方の場合を COD は 'Place where converging sides or edges meet' (ふたつの面あるいはふちが相寄ってきて出会うところ) と定義している。第二は日本語の「カド」と同じく、外側からの視線によるもので、 'projecting angle, esp. where two streets meet' (突出したかど、特にふたつの通りが出会うところ) としている。第三は日本語の「スミ」と同じく内側からの視線によるもので、 'hollow angle enclosed by meeting walls, etc.' (相出会う壁などにより囲まれたかど立った空間) と記述している。あるイギリス人の内省報告によると、「カド」と「スミ」という区別は普通意識していないということ、第一のものが主要な意味であると考えられる。逆に日本語では「カド」と「スミ」の区別を超越した 'corner' 的な視点は非常に取りにくいと思われる。

近接性による多義発生例

気/水 水温 気温

cold	ツメタイ	サムイ
cool	タイ	スズシイ
warm	アタタカイ	
hot	熱イ	暑イ

By contrast, speakers of other languages classify colors in much different ways. In the accompanying diagram, a rough indication is given of the way in which the spectral colors are divided by speakers of English, Shona (a language of Rhodesia), and Bassa (a language of Liberia).

English:

purple	blue	green	yel-low	orange	red
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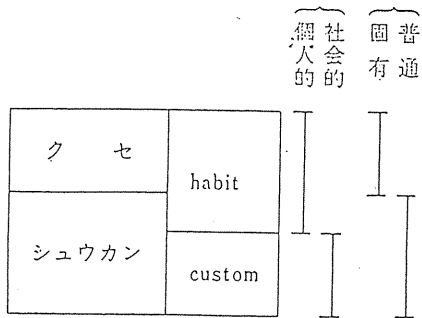
Shona:

cips'uka	citema	cicena	cips'uka
----------	--------	--------	----------

Bassa:

hui	ziza
-----	------

図の形にして示すと図7のような食い違いを示す。



伝統的的色彩語研究

Gleason, Introduction to descriptive linguistics,

日英語の対照研究

語義のずれをウイジュアルに示す。

		古期英語	1300	1500	1800	現代英語
食べ物一般	food	_____				
	meat	_____				
	victuals	_____ フランス語から借用 _____				
食肉	flesh	_____				
	meat	_____				
動物の肉	flesh	_____				

語の意味の変遷

OE, Mod E とも food, meat, flesh の三語をもっているが、  
 食べ物 動物の肉 意味の場は左図のように違う。

	食べ物		動物の肉
	食べ物一般	食肉	
OE	food	meat	flesh
Mod E	food	meat	flesh

この変化は、中期英語の時期にフランス語から victuals が借用され、一つの意味(食べ物一般)を表わす語が三語にもなったため、そのうちの meat が、一語で二つの意味(食肉と動物の肉)を表わしていた flesh の、一方の意味を引き受けるようになって起こったものである。

メカニズムの説明

【意味変化の実例】 意味変化が起こっている証拠としては、第一に、自国語の文献であっても、過去のそれは、読み解くために特別の学習を必要とすることがあげられる。辞書の形式だけでなく、文法的形式の意義も、いわゆる“文語の文法”として学習しなければならないのである。第二に、同系諸言語ないし諸方言の、互に対応する形式の意義の相違があげられる。たとえば、英語の head, town, hound はそれぞれドイツ語の Haupt, Zaun, Hund と対応するが、その意義はおよそ、《頭》:《かしら》, 《町》:《垣根》, 《獵犬》:《犬》のように相違している。

意味変化の実体の例として、今あげた head:Haupt をとり上げると、図式的には、

- 1) ゲルマン祖形の意義が英独それぞれに独自の変化をした、
- 2) head の意義は変化せず、Haupt の意義が変化した、
- 3) Haupt の意義は変化せず、head の意義が変化した、

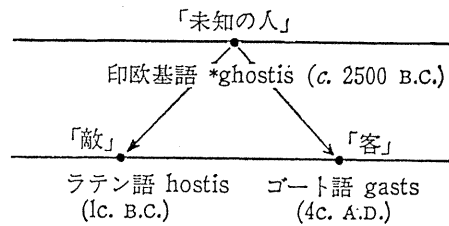
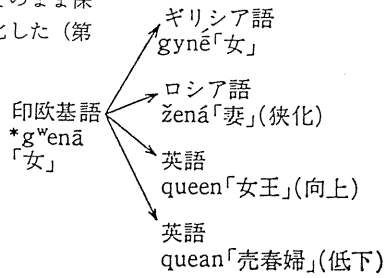
という3つの場合が考えられる。日本語のカシラの歴史を知っている者は、その類推で2を推定するであろう。事実、ドイツ語の過去の文献からそのことが証明されるのであるが、その原因を調べると、後期ラテン語 cuppa《杯》からの借用語であった Kopf(英 cup)が《杯, 鉢》→《頭の鉢》→《頭》と変化した、それにつれて、Haupt は、Kopf に席をゆずる形で、《頭》→《かしら》と変化したことが分かる(このように、借用(borrowing)などによる語彙構造の変化も、意味変化の原因の一つである)。

借用と意味の変化

(意味の野)

意味の変化には (i) 語の意味の適用範囲が拡張する場合と縮小する場合、すなわち意味の一般化と特殊化、(ii) 語の意味が価値に関して向上する場合と低下する場合、の2つの方向、計4つのタイプがある。

ギリシア語においては印欧基語 (B. C. 2500年ごろ) \*g<sup>w</sup>enā の原義「女」がそのまま保たれているが、ほかでは意味が変化した (第2図)。



It must not, on the other hand, be forgotten that the lexicon is the part of a language which has the most direct links with the spiritual and material culture of its speakers and that semantic developments may only be comprehensible by reference to the cultural background. One would probably hesitate to propose an etymological link between English *dish* (meaning both the vessel and its contents) and German *Tisch*, which is the general word for 'table', were it not for Tacitus's report on the eating habits of the Teutons where he describes food as being served to each person individually on 'a wooden plate having its own support' (*Germania* 22). The parallel investigation of *words and things* (*mots et choses*, *Wörter und Sachen*) has thus become a most fruitful branch of research, the importance of which for the possible reconstruction of the natural environment and material culture of prehistoric societies will be discussed in chapter 7.

意味と文化

青からブルーへ—色名の変遷

原始日本語の「あを(青)」は「あか(明・赤)」に対立し、青・紫・緑・灰色などを指す薄ぼんやりした色の意味であった。その痕跡は今も「青菜」「青信号」などの語に残っている。その後、「青」は青系の色を指すように狭められたのである。「緑」は若芽の意味からその色を指すように転じた。

「水色」「空色」「るり色」「紫紫色」などは、それぞれの物の名が色を指すために用いられたものである。

「藍」「紫」など染料に使う植物の名が色名となったものも多い。上代から中古にかけては特に紫が尊ばれ、「濃き色」「薄き色」と言えば紫色について述べているのである。藍染めも染め方によって濃さ・色調が様々変った。それらと呼ばひ分けるために、「あさぎ」「はなだ」「藍」「紺」「かち色」などの語が使われた。

近世以降は流行色の影響が大きい。近世には「藍納戸(藍)」「鉄納戸」などのややくすんだ青が好まれた。

近代に入ってヨーロッパから明るい青が伝えられ、それらの色を指す洋語が新しい感覚のものとして受け入れられた。「青」のかわりに「ブルー」が使われたりする他、「ブルー」の中を「マリンプルー」「ライトブルー」「コバルトブルー」「プルシアンブルー」「スカイブルー」などと細分化するようになった。

Traugott speaks of broad explanatory tendencies:

1. Meanings based on the external situation > meanings based on the internal situation (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive). This would cover, for example, the cases called degeneration and elevation, which involve value judgements on the part of the users of the language. It would also include many of the examples from (5-7) above.

2. Meanings based on external or internal situations > meanings based on textual or (meta)linguistic situations. This would include many instances from (4), (7) and (8) above.

3. Meanings tend to become increasingly based on speakers' subjective beliefs/states/attitudes towards the proposition. Instances of (1), (2) and especially (3) above illustrate the change of meaning involving increase in subjective reaction. Many metonymic semantic changes fall under this. (See Traugott 1989.)

(1) Words having to do with the sense of touch may typically develop meanings involving the sense of taste: *sharp, crisp*.

(2) Words involving the sense of taste may develop extended senses involving emotions in general: *bitter, sour, sweet*.

(3) Obligation > possibility/probability – more precisely, *root* senses of modals, also called *deontic* senses, by which is meant real-world forces, such as obligation, permission and ability, typically develop *epistemic* meanings (where epistemic means 'speaker's assessment' and denotes necessity, probability and possibility involving reasoning). For example, in the history of *may*, the meaning was first physical ability (*Jane may come* = 'Jane is able to come'); then the sense of social permission developed ('Jane is allowed to come'); finally the epistemic, logical possibility sense came about ('it is perhaps the case that Jane will come'). The history of *must* is similar: first, *Bess must sing* had the root meaning 'it is a requirement in her family that Bess sing'; second, an epistemic sense was added, 'that Bess must sing is a reasoned conclusion based on the evidence that her father and mother and brothers and sisters all sing, so it is likely that she, too, sings'. In these examples, the root senses are original and the epistemic senses developed later.

(4) Propositional > textual – things with propositional meanings tend to develop textual and later expressive meanings. For example, *while* in modern English means (1) 'a period of time' (propositional, a specific temporal situation), (2) 'during the time that' and (3) 'although' (textual, connecting clauses); however, *while* comes from Old English *pa hwile þe* [that Accusative while/time; Accusative Subordinate-participle] 'at the time that', which had only the propositional sense, not the later textual one. This phrase was reduced by late Old English times to *wile*, a simple conjunction (Traugott and König 1991: 85).

(5) 'see' > 'know, understand'.

(6) 'hear' > 'understand', 'obey'.

(7) Physical-action verbs (especially with hands) > mental-state verbs, speech-act verbs. For example, verbs such as 'grasp', 'capture', 'get a hold on', 'get', 'catch on to' very commonly come to mean 'understand'; thus, *feel* goes from 'touch, feel with hands' to 'feel, think, have sympathy or pity for'; Spanish *captar*, originally 'capture, seize', added the sense 'to understand'; Finnish *käsittää* 'to comprehend' is derived from *käsi* 'hand'; Spanish *pensar* 'to think' comes from Latin *pensāre* 'to weigh'. English *worry* 'worry, be distressed' formerly meant

'to eat, gnaw' (compare the German cognate *fressen* 'to eat, devour, consume (of animals, or rudely of people)').

(8) Mental-state verbs > speech-act verbs (*observe* 'to perceive, witness' > 'to state, remark').

(9) 'man' > 'husband' (German *Mann* 'man, husband' < 'man').

(10) 'woman' > 'wife'.

(11) 'body' > 'person' (compare *somebody*).

(12) 'finger' > 'hand'.

(13) 'left(-handed, left side)' > 'devious, evil, foreboding' (English *sinister*, ultimately from Latin *sinister* 'left').

(14) 'know' > 'find out', 'taste' (compare Spanish *saber* 'to know, to taste').

(15) animal names > inanimate objects. For example, Spanish *gato* 'jack (for raising cats)' < *gato* 'cat'; in Central American Spanish *mico* 'jack' < *mico* 'monkey'; Spanish *grúa* '(construction) crane' < Old Spanish *grúa* 'crane' (bird) (compare Modern Spanish *grulla*, *grúa* 'crane (bird)' (compare English *crane* 'bird crane', 'building crane').

It is frequently claimed that semantic shifts typically go from more *concrete* to more *abstract*. For example, there are many semantic changes which extend body-part notions to more abstract meanings, but not the other way around, as with German *Haupt* once meaning only 'head' (body part, concrete), but now limited mostly to the meaning 'main' or 'principal', as in *Hauptstadt* 'capital' (*Haupt* 'head' + *Stadt* 'town, city'), *Hauptbahnhof* 'central station' (*Haupt* 'head' + *Bahnhof* 'railway station'). While this is an interesting and important claim, a number of the traditional classes of semantic change, for example narrowing in particular, often involve change towards more concreteness, and therefore the claim needs to be understood as only a broad general tendency which can easily have exceptions.

Spatial/locative words may develop temporal senses: *before, after, behind*. Also, spatial terms often develop from body-part terms, as in *ahead of, in the back of, at the foot of*.