

Lecture 4: Properties of sound changes continued

1. Assimilation

- In general, segments need not be adjacent: vowel harmony

foot > feet

*fōt	*fōti	pre-OE
*fōt	*føti	i-mutation
fot	fēt	OE
fu:t	fī:t	Great Vowel Shift
fut	fit	ME

cf. *mouse* > *mice*, *goose* > *geese*

- Palatalisation = common assimilatory change: C, [+FRONT] vowel
- Drags point of articulation of consonant further forward.
- Term used with three meanings: [k] > [c] or [k] > [kⁱ] or any fronting
- Latin *centum* [kentu] > Fr. *cent* [s-], It. *cento* [tʃ]-, Sp. *ciento* [θ-]
- Also PIE *k^u > Gk. τ- (in most dialects) before a [+FRONT] vowel:
cf. Lat. *-que, quis* vs. Gk. τε, τίς.
- Can be full or partial, e.g. *ad-similare*, ἐμβαίνω
- Greek shows examples of both

Partial assimilation:

- A nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of a following stop
- [+nasal] > [position X] / __ [+stop, position X]
- Generally noted in internal sandhi
- In inscriptions usually also noted in external sandhi
- When the words are closely associated in sense (e.g. def. art. + noun or preposition + noun), when the second word starts with a labial or when the first word is ἐν: ΕΜ ΠΟΛΕΙ, ΕΓ ΚΥΚΛΟΙ
- Occasionally found also in looser combinations:

ΙΕΡΟΓ ΧΡΕΜΑΤΟΝ, ΣΤΕΣΑΜ ΠΡΟΣΘΕ

Full assimilation

- A nasal assimilates completely to a following continuant.
- [+nasal] > [-nasal, -stop, position X] / __ [-stop, _ position X]

ΤΟΛ ΛΟΓΟΝ = τὸν λόγον

ΕΡ ΡΟΔΟΙ = ἐν Ῥόδῳ

- Compare Mod. Gk. treatment of the -v of the def. art.

Before a stop: written as -v

assimilates in place of articulation

τον πατέρα [tom ba'tera]

- Before a continuant: not written

not pronounced

[ton 'logon] > [tol 'logo] > [to 'logo], το λόγο

- Lack of full assimilation of nasals before β, δ, γ in classical Greek is evidence that these are stops not fricatives.

2. Weakening (lenition) and loss

- Relaxation of articulatory effort: mechanically efficient

Example 1: Latin rhotacism

- *flōs, flōris*
- a-stem gen.pl. in [-āsom] > [-āzom] > [-ārum].

Example 2: Greek [s]

- Between vowels weakened first to [h] then further to zero
- Hence [-āsōm] > [-āhō] > Attic [-ōn], -ōν

Example 3: Latin word final [s] is lost after a short vowel

- Hence inscr. spellings:

Cornelio(s)

militare = militaris

- Common in Ennius
- Restored from end of C3 BC

Example 4: Simplification of Greek consonant clusters involving [n] and [s]

- Often with compensatory lengthening of a preceding short vowel
- In Attic and Ionic:

$\check{V}Ns > \bar{V}s$ and $\check{V}sN > \bar{V}N$

NB $\alpha > \bar{\alpha}$, $\epsilon > \epsilon\iota$, $o > o\upsilon$

Acc plural *-āns (Doric -ανς) > -āς, *-ōns > ος

Infinitive of 'to be': *es-nai > εἶναι

Note that $\epsilon\iota$ [e:] and $o\upsilon$ [o:] > [u:] = 'spurious diphthongs'

Other dialects assimilate e.g. Aeolic ἐμμεν

Example 5: Latin simplification of clusters involving nasals and fricatives

- *consol* [kõnsol] > [kõ:sol] > [ko:sol], later [ko:sul]
- *censor* [kěnsor] > [ke:sor] > [ke:sor]
- Hence inscr. spellings

cosol (whence standard abbrev. *cos.*)

cesor

cosentiont

- Cf. Lat. *mensis* > It. *mese*, Lat. *sponsa* > It. *sposa*.
- *n* spellings used historically, especially in official inscriptions.
- Leads to reintroduction of pronunciation of [n]
- But not uniformly reintroduced, leading to utter confusion:

Grammarians Caper: '*omnia adverbia numeri sine n scribenda sunt, ut milies, centies, decies; quotiens, totiens per n scribenda sunt.*'

- Also hypercorrections eg. *thensaurus, occansio, Herculeus*.
- Lost nasal sometimes restored analogically
- Eg. in the perf. of *sumo*, *sum-s-i* [sumsi] > [sũ:si] > [sũsi]
- But *m* then restored by analogy with present, (with epenthetic *p*)

Example 6: Fricativisation of the Greek voiced stops

- In class. period, β, δ, γ = [b, d, g], i.e. voiced stops.
- In Mod. Gk. these are [v, ð, ɣ], i.e. voiced fricatives.
- No clear evidence when this change took place.
- C2 AD: Jewish inscriptions at Rome use β for L.<V> ([v])
βιξιτ = vixit [vixit]
But NB what else would they use?
- Some evidence for change in some dialects in C4 BC
omission of γ after a front vowel
e.g. ολιος = ὀλίγος
cf. Mod. Gk. ἔφαγε 'he ate' = ['efaye]
BUT the Mod. Gk. phenomenon is palatalisation before a front vowel
ALSO grammarian Herodius: ολιος phenomenon was not standard.
- C4 AD: Wulfila adopts Greek alphabet for Gothic
- Uses β, δ, γ for Goth. [b~v, d~ð, g~ɣ]
- BUT stops as well as fricatives
- C9 AD: Cyrillic alphabet adapted from Greek
- Uses <В в> (=beta) for [v] and a modified sign <Б б> for [b]
- Terminus post quem
- Mod. Gk. uses digraphs μπ, ντ, γκ for [b, d, g]
- These originate in voicing assimilation of the voiceless stop to the preceding nasal (with γ = [ŋ]).

Example 7: Fricativisation of Greek aspirated stops

- In class. period, ϕ , θ , χ = [p^h, t^h, k^h] i.e. aspirated stops.
- In Mod. Gk. these are [f, θ, x] i.e. voiceless fricatives.
- We assume that [ph] > [φ] > [f] = oral depletion
- First clear evidence comes from C1 AD spellings at Pompeii:

DAFNE = Δάφνη

LASFE = λάσθη (cf. Cockney English)

- From C2 AD Latin frequently uses <F> to represent Gk. ϕ
 - Inscr. from Jewish catacombs in Rome use <F> for ϕ
 - But <TH>, <KH> for θ , χ
 - May suggest ϕ had become fricative earlier than θ , χ
 - Greek script confuses θ , τ and χ , κ but not ϕ , π
- EΘΩΝ = ἑτῶν
- ΠΑΡΤΕΝΟΣ = πάρθενος
- Possibly the change of θ takes place earlier in Doric
- σιός for θεός in Spartan ambassador's speech in *Lysistrata*

Bibliography

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