## GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY

Lexicostatistics: The study of vocabulary statistically for historical inference.
M. Swadesh (1949) proposed a method for determining the time when two related languages became independent: GLOTTOCHRONOLOGY.

Glottochronology (one of several possible lexicostatistic methods): Method of lexicostatistics for determining degrees of relationship between languages, based on counting the number of cognates in a particular set of vocabulary items.

Assumption: the common words in languages are maintained at a definite rate, i.e., some parts of the vocabulary are much less subject to change than other parts.

The basic (core) vocabulary consists of words for concepts assumed to be a necessary part of all human cultures. The semantic field represented by the lexical items includes pronouns, numerals, adjectives (e.g. big, long, small), kinship terms (mother, father), living beings (dog, louse), body parts (head, ear, eye), events and objects in nature (rain, stone, star), and common activities (see, hear, come, give).

There exist several versions of Swadesh's list: the two of them that are most commonly used are the 100 -word list and the 200 -word list.

Swadesh made several further assumptions:
i. the rate of retention of vocabulary items in the basic core is constant through time
ii. the rate of loss of basic vocabulary is approximately the same in all languages. The rate of loss was arrived at by testing lexical loss in languages with a long series of texts (e.g., Latin and the Romance languages). On the basis of theses tests, there is a $80-85 \%$ loss over 1000 ys.). See p. 175-176.
iii. if the percentage of cognates within the core vocabulary is known for any pair of languages, the length of time that has elapsed, since the two languages began to diverge from a single language, can be computed by a formula: p. 176.

Example: animal, four, head, I, sun (pp. 175-176)
In German: Tier, vier, Kopf, ich, Sonne
The first and third words are unrelated, there is thus $60 \%$ agreement between English and German.

Next step: compare this percentage with the rate of loss - pp. 175-176.

At least three problems have to be considered before glottochronology can be accepted as a valid technique:
i. Is the list representative?
ii. Are the words contained in the list really the common core shared by all languages?
iii. Is it a fact that the items in the list are not culture-bound?

## Criticisms of glottochronology

i. the existence of a basic vocabulary is culture-bound, e.g., in the cultures of South Asia some items referring to natural objects (such as natural objects, e.g. sun) are not part of the core vocabulary (see p. 176)
ii. duplication of elements in the core vocabulary in some languages, e.g., in Navaho, see pp. 176-177)
iii. the rate of retention is not constant from language to language, e.g. the rate of loss in English is slower than the rate of loss in the Gypsy dialect of Armenian, see p. 177)
iv. recognition of true cognates is often difficult:
as far as the phonetic shape of words is concerned, there are two possibilities:
a. either true cognates may not be recognizable because of sound changes (e.g. English tooth $=$ German Zahn)
b. chance similarities may be interpreted as evidence for the presence of the true cognate pair (e.g. Latin habere and German haben ( Gmc *khaben) both mean 'to have' but are not cognates)

Result: overestimation of cognates results in underestimation of time depth and vice versa.

# Lexicostatistics applied to determine the oldest relationships among language families 

H. Pedersen proposed a proto-language from which Indo-European, Hamito-Semitic, Uralic, Altaic and possibly other language families have descended: NOSTRATIC (see above)
A. Dolgopolsky proposed a "mathematically rigorous procedure" to examine the Nostratic hypothesis. He made a list of 15 items (see p. 179), assumed to be essential in every language.

Difficulties with the list:

- taboo words -- the word tongue has several forms in IE languages
- 1 st and 2 nd person markers may not be stable, as there are languages where they don't even occur (e.g. Japanese, Chinese)
- the verbal negative may be replaced, e.g. French

French ne ( < Latin non ) was originally the only negative, and was placed before the verb. Later it became reinforced by the word pas 'step' after the verb, which was added for emphasis: "not a step" (compare English not at all). Over the centuries, the emphatic negative became the norm: Je ne sais pas.
Eventually, the reinforcement pas came to be thought of as the main negative, and this has led to the omission of ne in casual speech: Je sais pas.

Conclusion: when considering the rate of retention after six millennia, the number of maintained cognates is comparable to that of items similar by chance (see p. 179)

The reliability of glottochronology as a method for establishing time depths remains to be confirmed.

