

Historical Reconstruction through Comparison of Meaning

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Proposal

- Under a strongly extensionalistic definition of meaning, variation in meaning becomes readily measurable
- Define the meaning of a linguistic form as the set of all contexts in which it occurs
- The differences in meaning between cognate forms reveals historical processes

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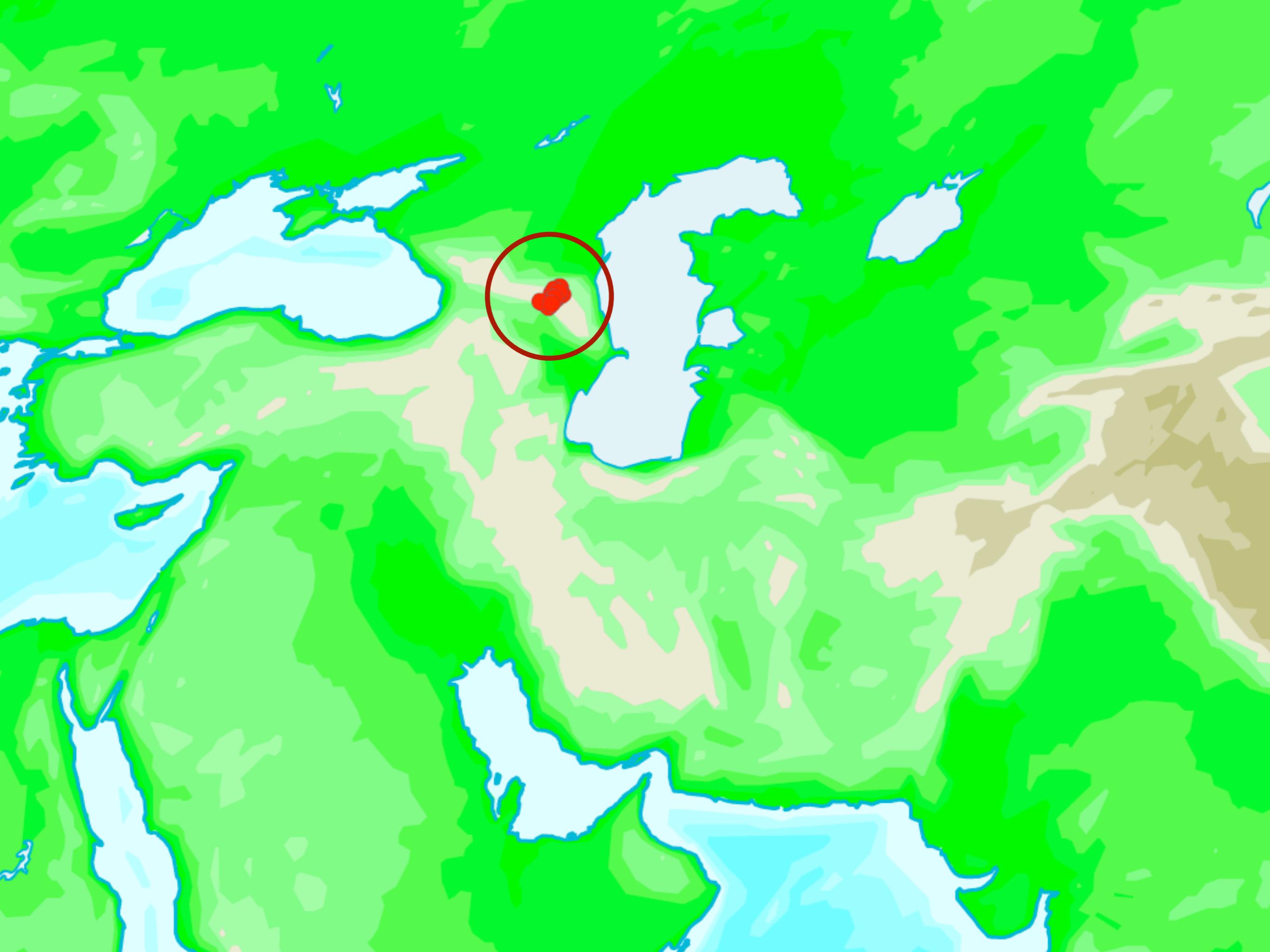
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- Under a strongly extensionalistic definition of **property M**, variation in **property M** becomes readily measurable
- Define the **property M** of a linguistic form as the set of all contexts in which it occurs
- The differences in **property M** between cognate forms reveals historical processes

Non-spatial usage of spatial case marking in Tsezic

(with Diana Forker)





Tsezic

West Tsezic

East Tsezic

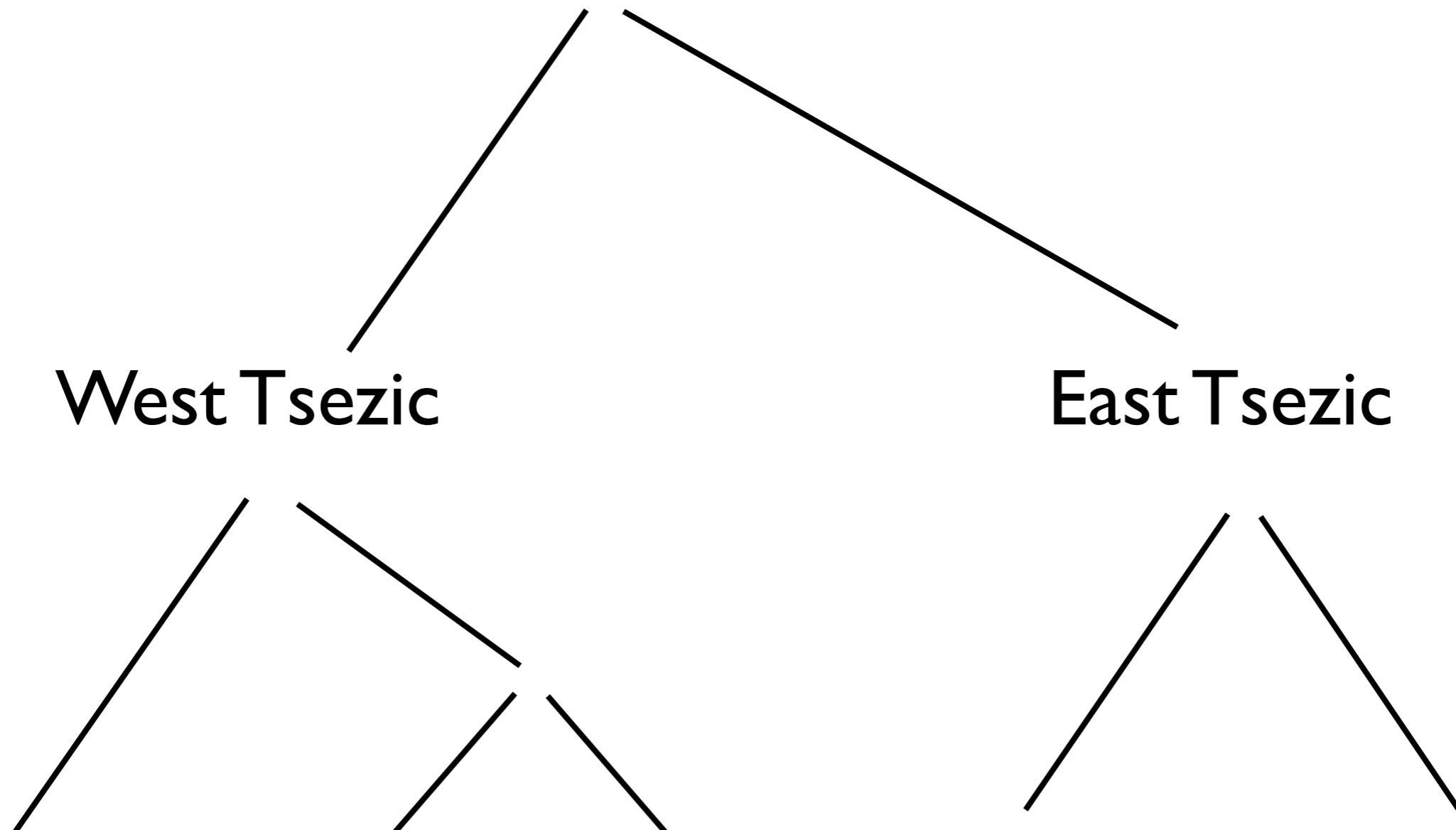
Khwarshi

Tsez

Hinuq

Hunzib

Bezhta



Hinuq	CONT	IN	SUB	SPR	AT	APUD	AD
Essive	-ł	-V/ma	-λ	-λ'o	-qo	-de	-ho
Lative	-ł-er	-V/ma-r	-λ-er	-λ'o-r	-qo-r	-de-r	-ho-r
Ablative/Genitive	-ł-es	-V/ma-s	-λ-es	-λ'o-s	-qo-s	-de-s	-ho-s
Ablative	-ł-ezo	-V/ma-zo	-λ-ezo	-λ'o-zo	-qo-zo	-de-zo	-ho-zo
Directive	-ł-edo	-V/ma-do	-λ-edo	-λ'o-do	-qo-do	-de-do	-ho-do
Tsez	CONT	IN	SUB	SPR	AT	APUD	AD
Essive	-ł	-ā	-λ	-λ'(o)	-q(o)	-de	-x(o)
Lative	-ł-er	-ā-r	-λ-er	-λ'o-r	-qo-r	-de-r	-xo-r
Ablative	-ł-āy	-ā-y	-λ-āy	-λ'-āy	-q-āy	-d-āy	-x-āy
Versative	-ł-xor	-ā-yor	-λ-xor	-λ'-āyor/'ār	-q-āyor/ār	-d-āyor/ār	-x-āyor/ār
Khwarshi	CONT	IN	SUB	SPR	AT	AD	NEAR
Essive	-ł	-(m)a	-λ	-λ'o	-qo	-ho	-yo
Lative	-ł-ul	-(m)a-l	-λ-ul	-λ'o-l	-qo-l	-ho-l	-yo-l
Ablative	-ł-zi	-(m)a-zi	-λ-zi	-λ'o-zi	-qo-zi	-ho-zi	-yo-zi
Versative	-ł-γul	-(m)a-γul	-λ-γul	-λ'o-γul	-qo-γul	-ho-γul	-yo-γul
Translative	-ł-γužaz	-(m)a-γužaz	-λ-γužaz	-λ'o-γužaz	-qo-γužaz	-ho-γužaz	-yo-γužaz
Terminative	-ł-q'a	-(m)a-q'a	-λ-q'a	-λ'o-q'a	-qo-q'a	-ho-q'a	-yo-q'a
Bezhta	CONT	IN	SUB	SPR	AT	APUD	NEAR
Essive	-ł	-?	-λ	-λ'a	-qa	-doy	-ya
Lative		-?-il		-λ'a-l		-doy-l	-ya-l
Ablative/Genitive	-ł-so	-?-is	-λ-so	-λ'a-s	-qa-s	-doy-s	-ya-s
Ablative	-ł-la	-?-la	-λ-la	-λ'a-la	-qa-la	-doy-la	-ya-la
Directive	-ł-daa	-?-daa	-λ'a-la	-λ'a-daa	-qa-daa	-doy-da	-ya-daa
Translative	-ł-laλ'ā	-?-laλ'ā	-qa-la	-λ'a-laλ'ā	-qa-laλ'ā	-doy-	-ya-laλ'ā
Hunzib	CONT	IN	SUB	SPR	AT	APUD	
Essive	-ł	-V	-λ	-λ'(o)	-g(o)	-dər	
Ablative/Genitive	-ł-sə	-V-s		-λ'o-s	-go-s	-dər-sə	
Translative	-ł-λ'i	-V-λ'		-λ'o-λ'		-dər-λ'i	
Directive	-ł-do	-da-α				-dər-do	

Proto-Tsezic reconstruction	Approximate meaning in spatial domain	Gloss
*-t-	contact	CONT
*-?a-	in, inside	IN
*-λ-	under	SUB
*-λ'o-	on top, above	SPR
*-qo-	attached to	AT
*-de-	near, by (animates)	APUD
*-ho-	near, by (inanimates)	AD
*-yo	near, close	NEAR

Proto-Tsezic reconstruction	Approximate meaning in spatial domain	Gloss
*-∅	essive ('location')	NULL
*-r/l	lative ('orientation towards a goal')	LAT
*-s	ablative ('movement from, or out of')	GEN

Role	Label	Construction
Addressees	TALK	talk [<i>to somebody</i>]
	TELL	tell [<i>to somebody</i>]
	SHOUT	shout [<i>at somebody</i>]
	SAY	say [<i>to somebody</i>]
	ASK	ask [<i>somebody</i>]
	BEG	beg [<i>somebody</i>]
	EXPLAIN	explain [<i>to somebody</i>]
	TEACH	teach [<i>to somebody</i>]
	ORDER	order [<i>somebody</i>]
Human objects	MARRY	marry [<i>a man</i>]
	FEAR	fear [<i>somebody</i>]
	BELIEVE	believe [<i>somebody</i>]
	LISTEN	listen [<i>to somebody</i>]
Recipients	GIVE (PERMANENTLY)	give X as a gift [<i>to somebody</i>]
	GIVE (TEMPORARILY)	give X to hold [<i>to somebody</i>]
	SHOW	show X [<i>to somebody</i>]
Possessors	INALIENABLE POSSESSION	[<i>somebody</i>] has a daughter
	ALIENABLE POSSESSION	[<i>somebody</i>] has money
Subjects	AGE	[<i>somebody</i>] is X years old
	NAME	[<i>somebody</i>] is called X
	FIND	[<i>somebody</i>] finds X
Objects	EXCHANGE	give X away [<i>for something else</i>]
	PURPOSE/GOAL	go with the goal to get [<i>something</i>]
	LOOK	look [<i>at something</i>]
	METAPHORICAL LOCATION	talk [<i>about something</i>]
Causees	CAUSATIVE	cause [<i>somebody</i>] to do X
Potential agents	POTENTIAL	[<i>somebody</i>] can do X
	ABLE	[<i>somebody</i>] is able to do X
Reasons	NATURAL FORCE	[<i>because of something</i>] X happened
Converbs	SIMULTANEOUS	[<i>while X happened</i>] ...
	TERMINATIVE	[<i>until/before X happened</i>] ...
	CAUSAL	[<i>because X happened</i>] ...
	POSTERIOR	[<i>after X happened</i>]...
Time indications	TIME SPAN	something happened [<i>during period X</i>]
	TIME POINT	something happened [<i>at time X</i>]

(1) Khwarshi (Z. Xalilova, p.c.): recipient of GIVE

- a. *ise heⁿše iłe-l tuł-i*
he.ERG book she.OBL-LAT give-PST.W
'He gave her the book.' (forever, as a gift)
- b. *ise heⁿše iłe-yo-l tuł-i*
he.ERG book she.OBL-NEAR-LAT give-PST.W
'He gave her the book.' (only for a certain time)

(2) Hunzib (van den Berg 1995: 69): subject of AGE

otu-s oq'e-n rig λi li
s/he.OBL-GEN four-and ten.OBL year be
'S/he is fourty years old.'

(3) Tsez (B.Comrie, fieldnotes): subject of FIND

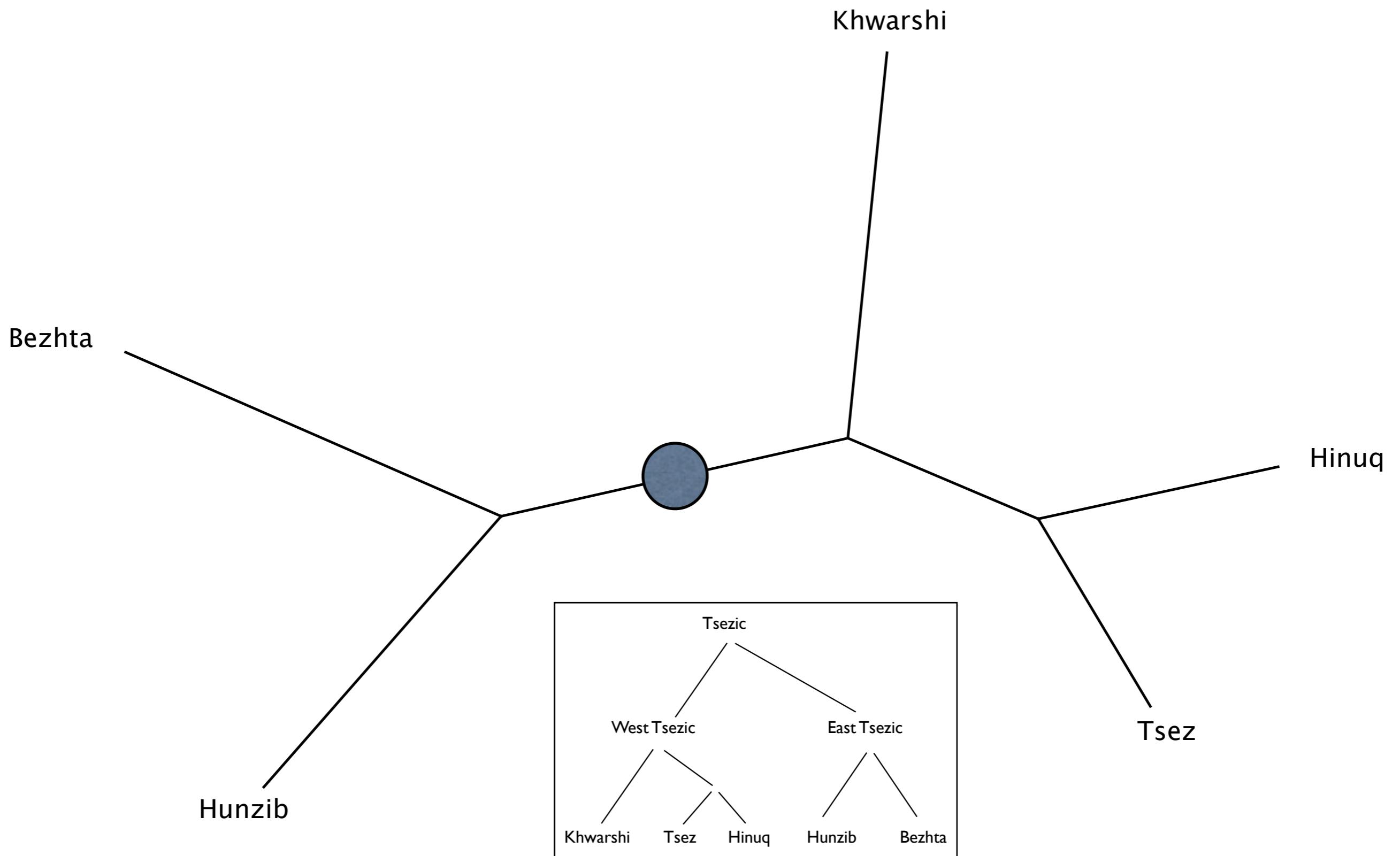
elo yiła-r bercinaw kid y-esu-n
there she.OBL-LAT beautiful girl(II) II-find-PST.UNW
'She found a beautiful girl there.'

(4) Hunzib (Van den Berg 1995: 108): causee of CAUSATIVE

maduhan-li-l abu-g si b-ił'e-k'-er
neighbour-OBL-ERG father-AT.ESS bear(III) III-kill-CAUS-PRET
'The neighbour made father kill the bear.'

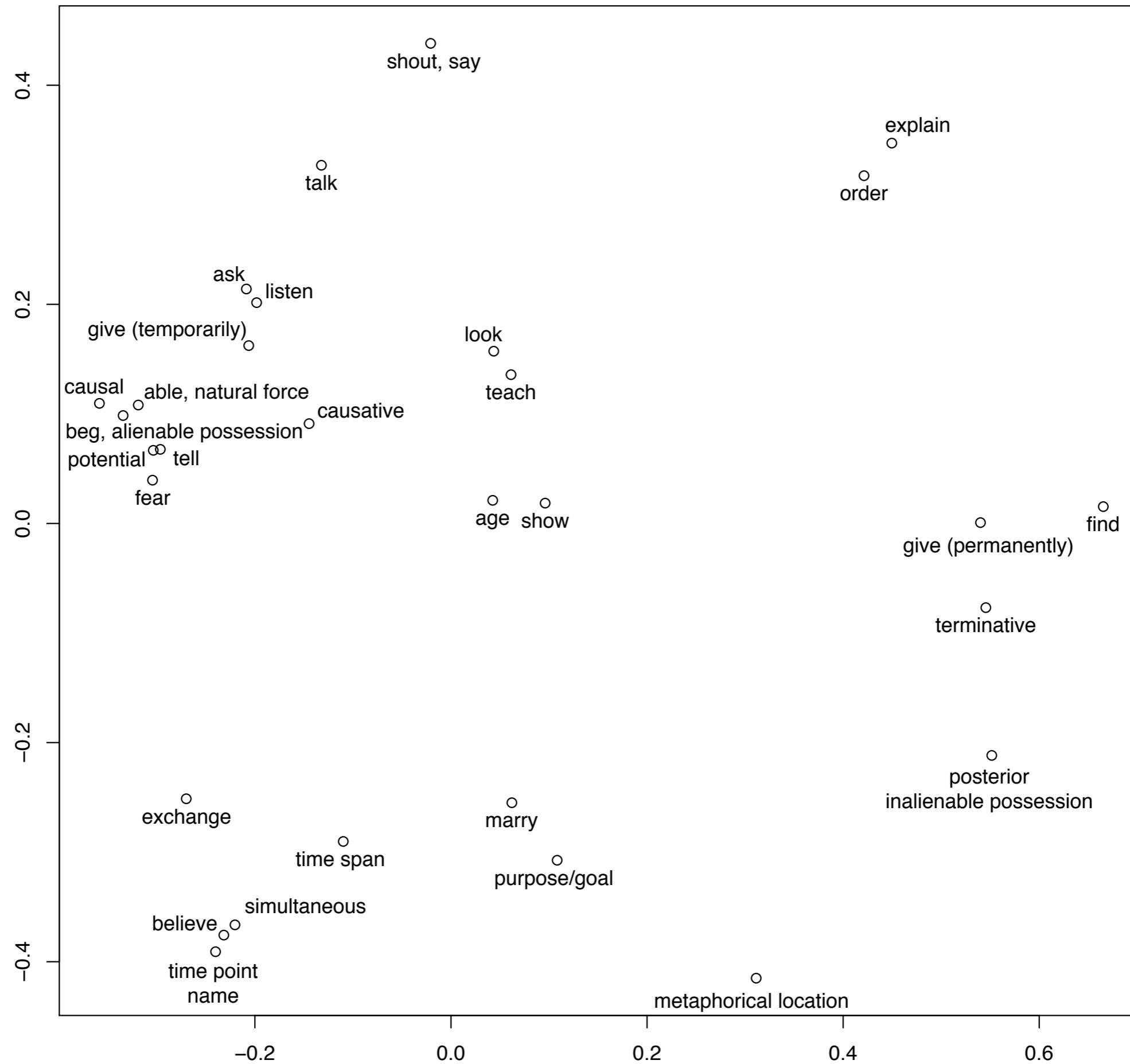
Function	Hinuq		Tsez		Khwarshi		Bezhta		Hunzib	
	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir
able	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
age	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	NULL	LAT	NULL	GEN
alienable possession	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-
ask	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
beg	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-
believe	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL
causal	-	-	AT	NULL	-	-	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
causative	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	NUL	INSTR	AT	NULL
exchange	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL
explain	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	-	-
fear	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	SPR	NULL
find	NULL	DAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	-	-
give (permanently)	NULL	DAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	IN	NULL
give (temporarily)	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	NEAR	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
inalienable possession	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN
listen	AT	NULL	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-
look	SPR	LAT	SPR	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
marry	AD	NULL	AD	NULL	AD	NULL	NUL	LAT	IN	NULL
metaphorical location	SPR	NULL	CONT	ABL	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	SPR	GEN
name	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	-	-
natural force	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
order	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	-	-
posterior	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN
potential	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-	-	-
purpose/goal	SPR	NULL	SPR	LAT	AD	NULL	IN	LAT	SPR	NULL
say	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
shout	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
show	NULL	DAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	NULL	LAT	IN	NULL
simultaneous	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	IN	NULL	IN	NULL
talk	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
teach	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	IN	NULL
tell	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	IN	NULL
terminative	SPR	LAT	SPR	LAT	AD	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT
time point	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	-	-
time span	CONT	NULL	CONT	NULL	NULL	INSTR	IN	NULL	CONT	NULL

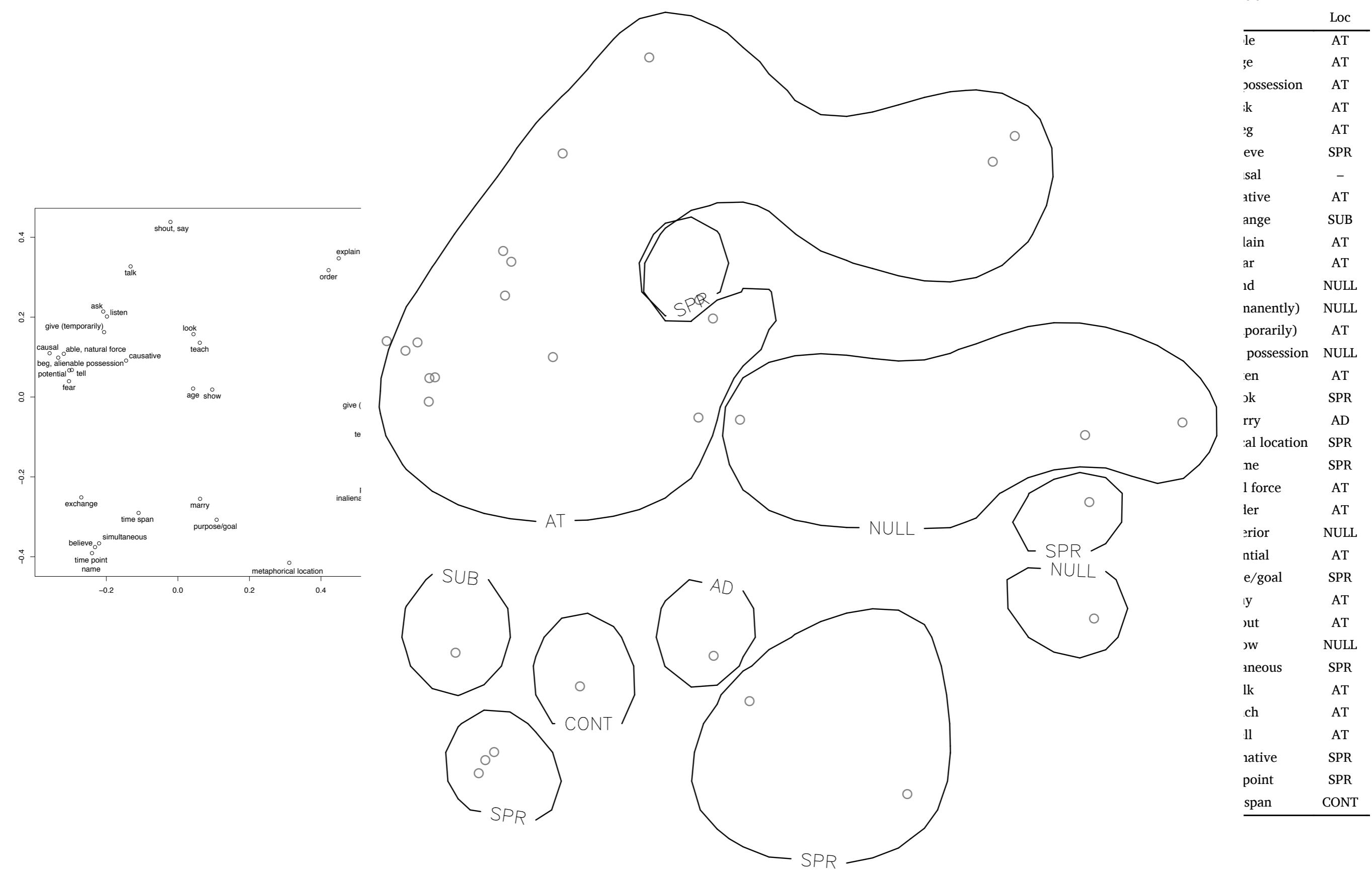
Optimal maximum parsimony tree for case marking



Functions	proto-Hinuq/Tsez		proto-West Tsezic		proto-East Tsezic		proto-Tsezic	
	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir
able	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
age	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
alienable possession	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
ask	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
beg	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
believe	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL
causal	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
causative	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
exchange	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL
explain	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT
fear	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
find	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT
give (permanently)	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT
give (temporarily)	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
inalienable possession	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN
listen	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
look	SPR	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
marry	AD	NULL	AD	NULL	-	NULL	-	NULL
metaphorical location	-	-	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN
name	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL
natural force	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
order	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT
posterior	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN
potential	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-	AT	NULL
purpose/goal	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL
say	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
shout	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
show	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
simultaneous	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	IN	NULL	-	NULL
talk	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
teach	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	NULL	-	NULL
tell	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
terminative	SPR	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT
time point	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL
time span	CONT	NULL	CONT	NULL	CONT	NULL	CONT	NULL

Function	Hinuq		Tsez		Khwarshi		Bezhta		Hunzib	
	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir	Loc	Dir
able	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
age	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	NULL	LAT	NULL	GEN
alienable possession	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-
ask	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
beg	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-
believe	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL
causal	-	-	AT	NULL	-	-	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
causative	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	NULL	INSTR	AT	NULL
exchange	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL	SUB	NULL
explain	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	-	-
fear	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	SPR	NULL
find	NULL	DAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	-	-
give (permanently)	NULL	DAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	IN	NULL
give (temporarily)	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	NEAR	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
inalienable possession	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN
listen	AT	NULL	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-
look	SPR	LAT	SPR	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
marry	AD	NULL	AD	NULL	AD	NULL	NULL	LAT	IN	NULL
metaphorical location	SPR	NULL	CONT	ABL	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	SPR	GEN
name	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	-	-
natural force	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
order	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT	-	-
posterior	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN	NULL	GEN
potential	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	-	-	-	-
purpose/goal	SPR	NULL	SPR	LAT	AD	NULL	IN	LAT	SPR	NULL
say	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
shout	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
show	NULL	DAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	NULL	LAT	IN	NULL
simultaneous	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	IN	NULL	IN	NULL
talk	AT	LAT	AT	LAT	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL
teach	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	LAT	NULL	LAT	IN	NULL
tell	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	AT	NULL	IN	NULL
terminative	SPR	LAT	SPR	LAT	AD	LAT	NULL	LAT	NULL	LAT
time point	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	SPR	NULL	-	-
time span	CONT	NULL	CONT	NULL	NULL	INSTR	IN	NULL	CONT	NULL





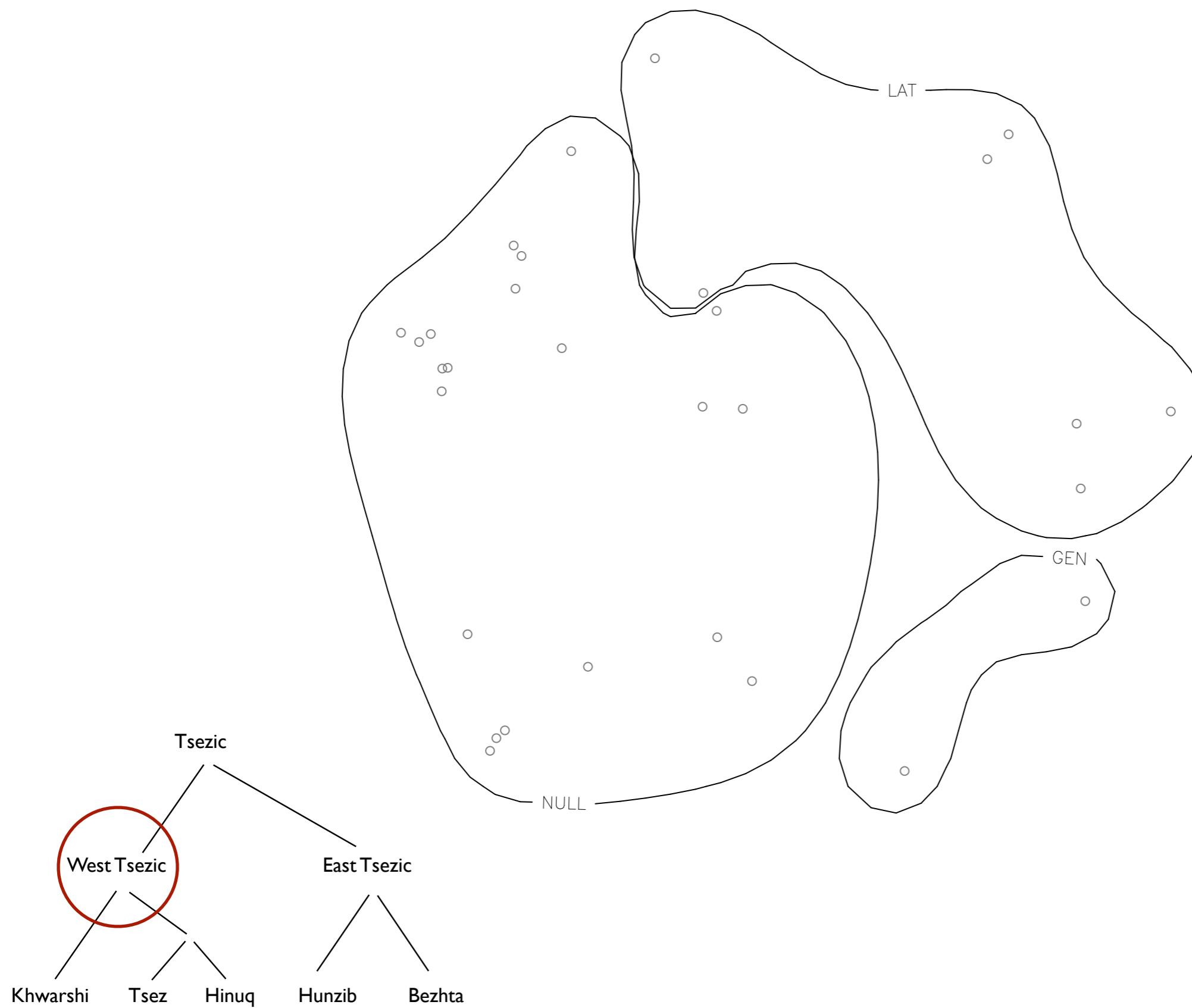
Proto-Tsezic

“directional”



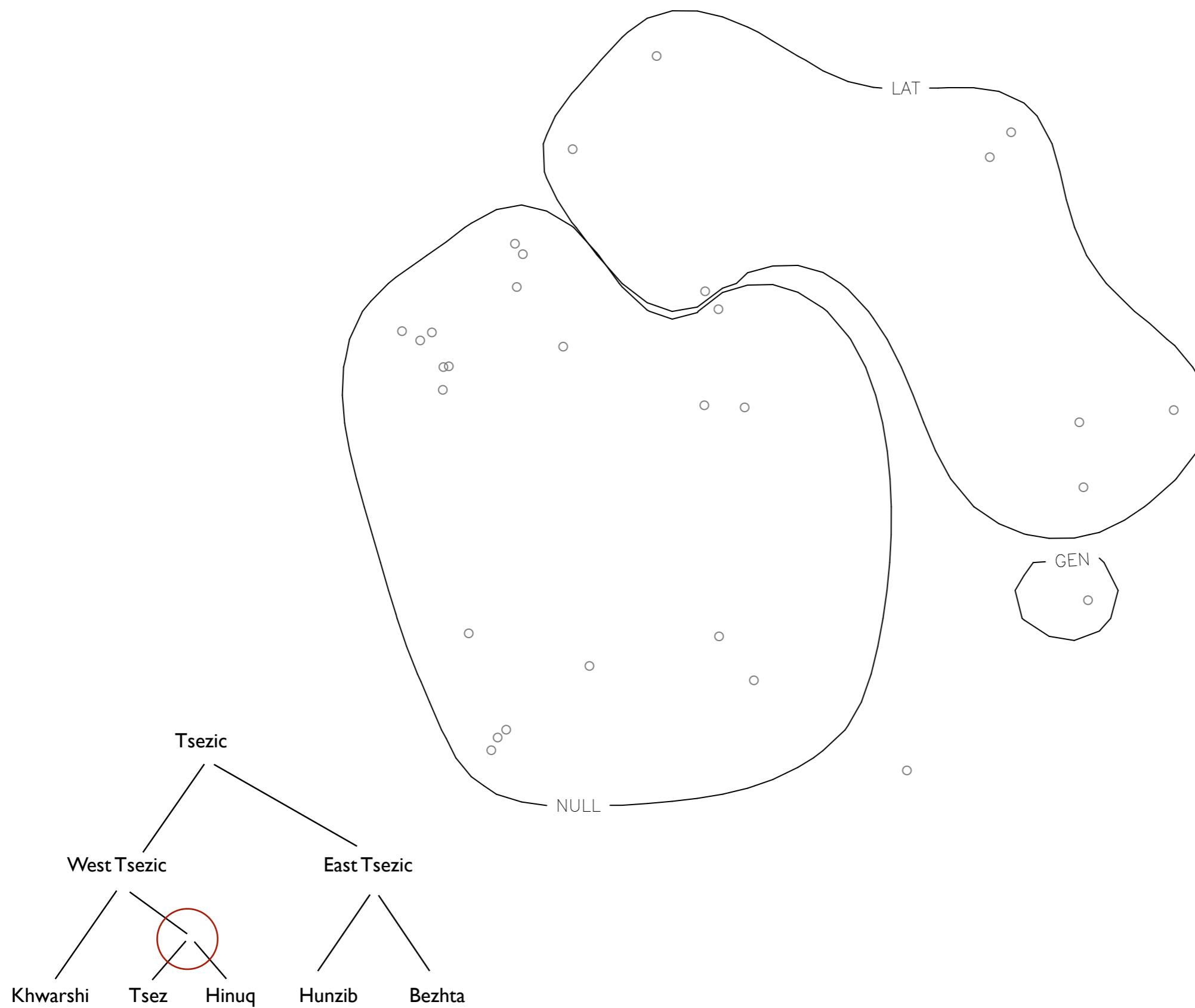
Proto-West-Tsezic

“directional”



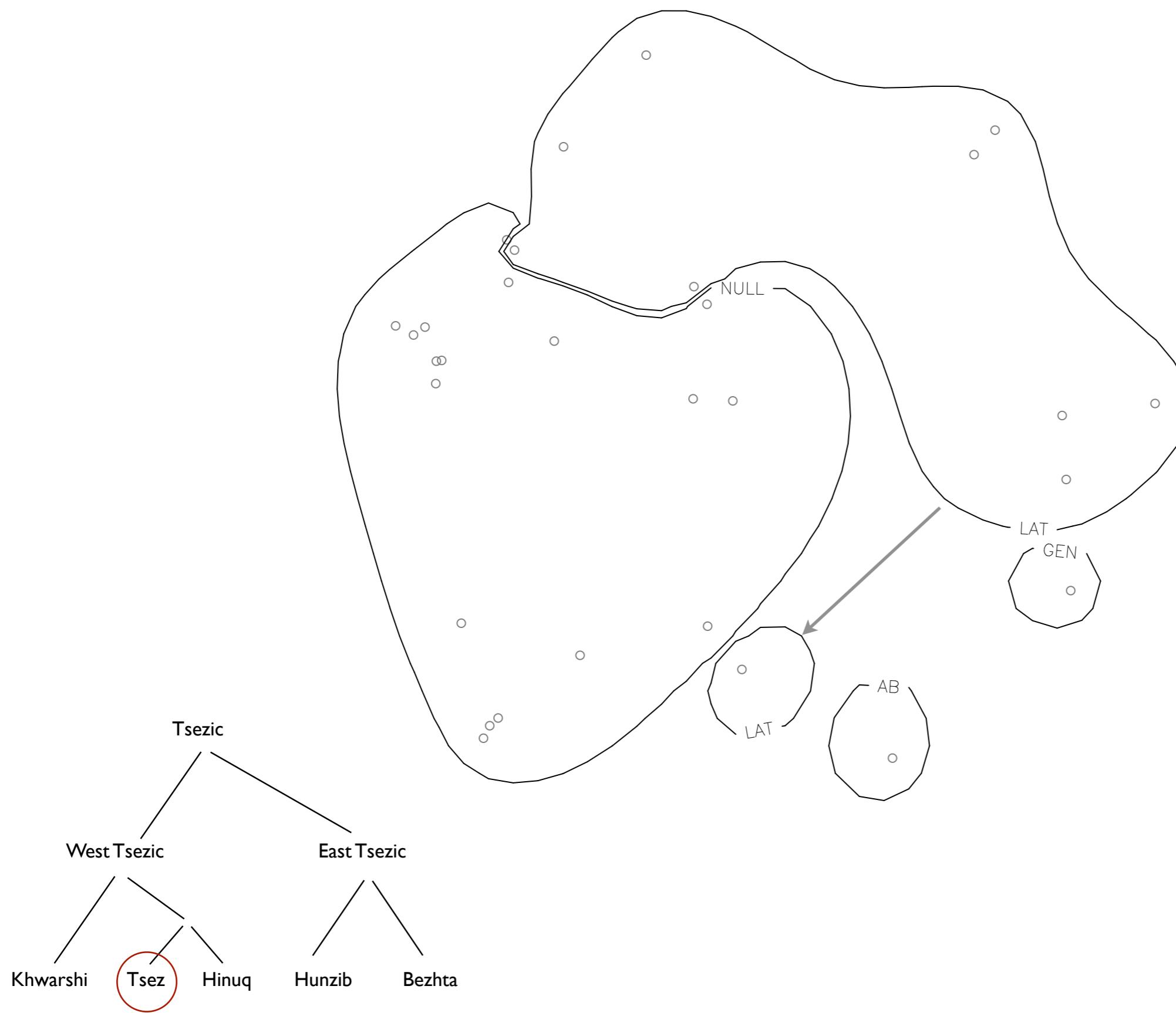
Proto-Hinuq-Tsez

“directional”



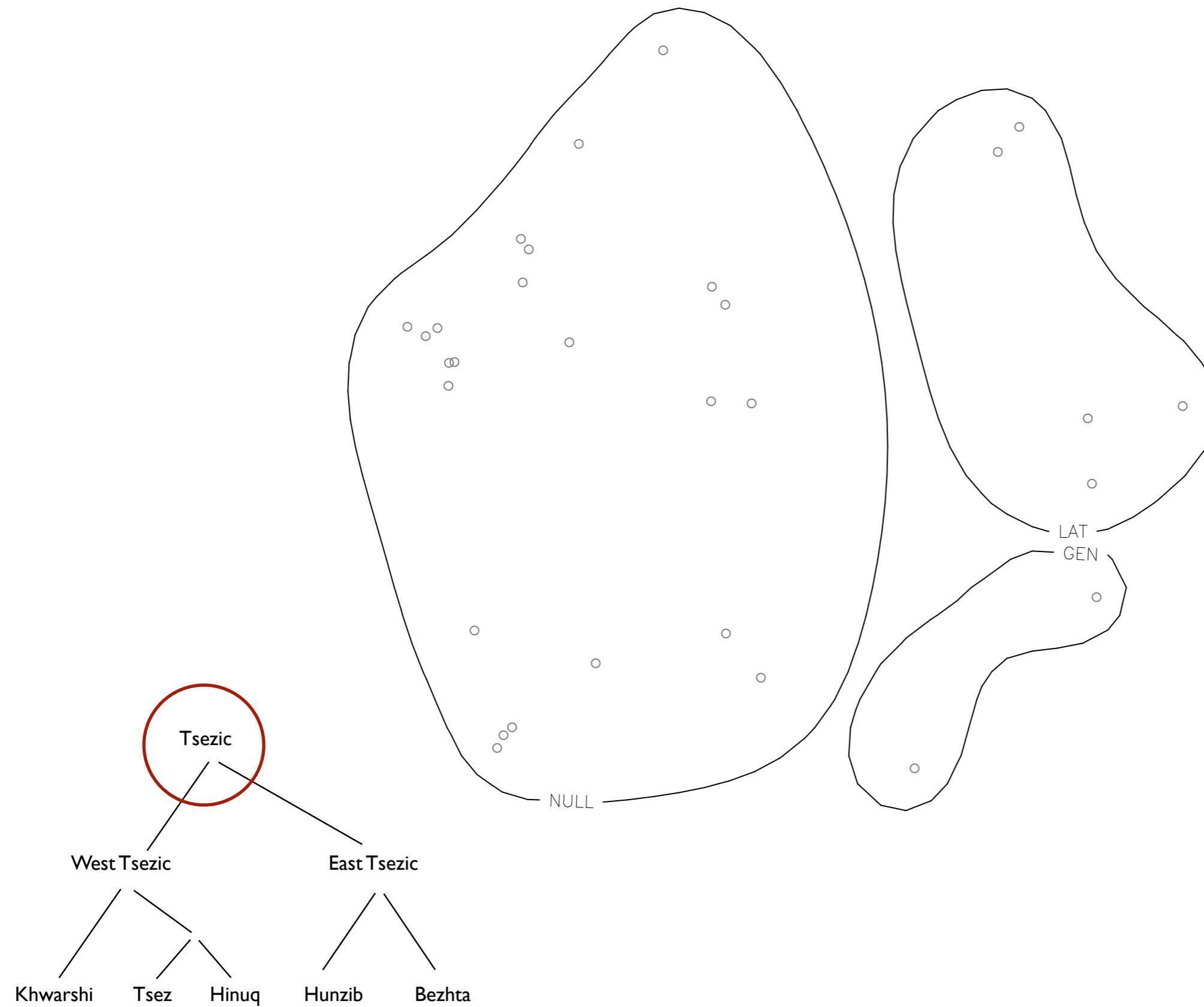
Tsez

“directional”



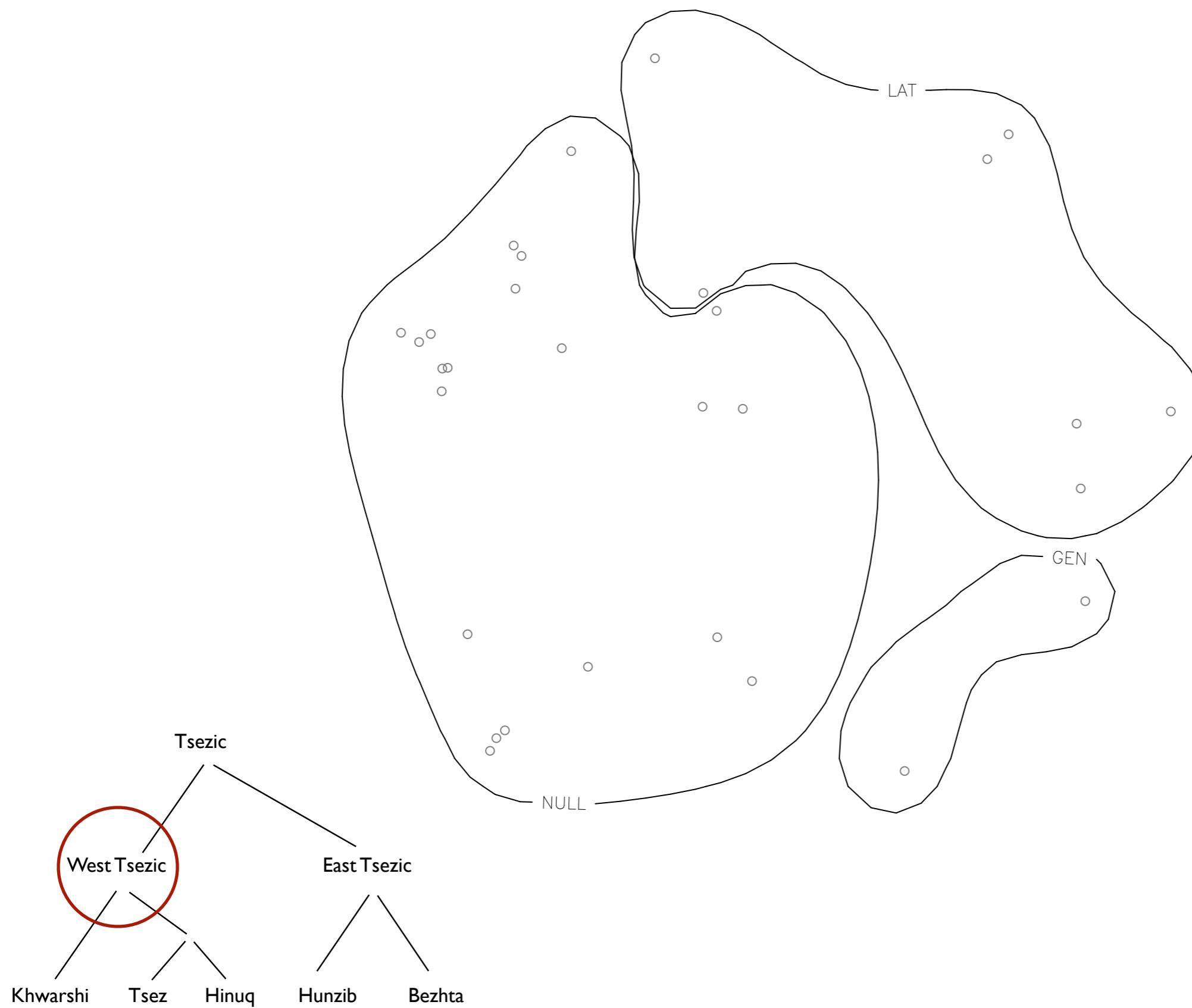
Proto-Tsezic

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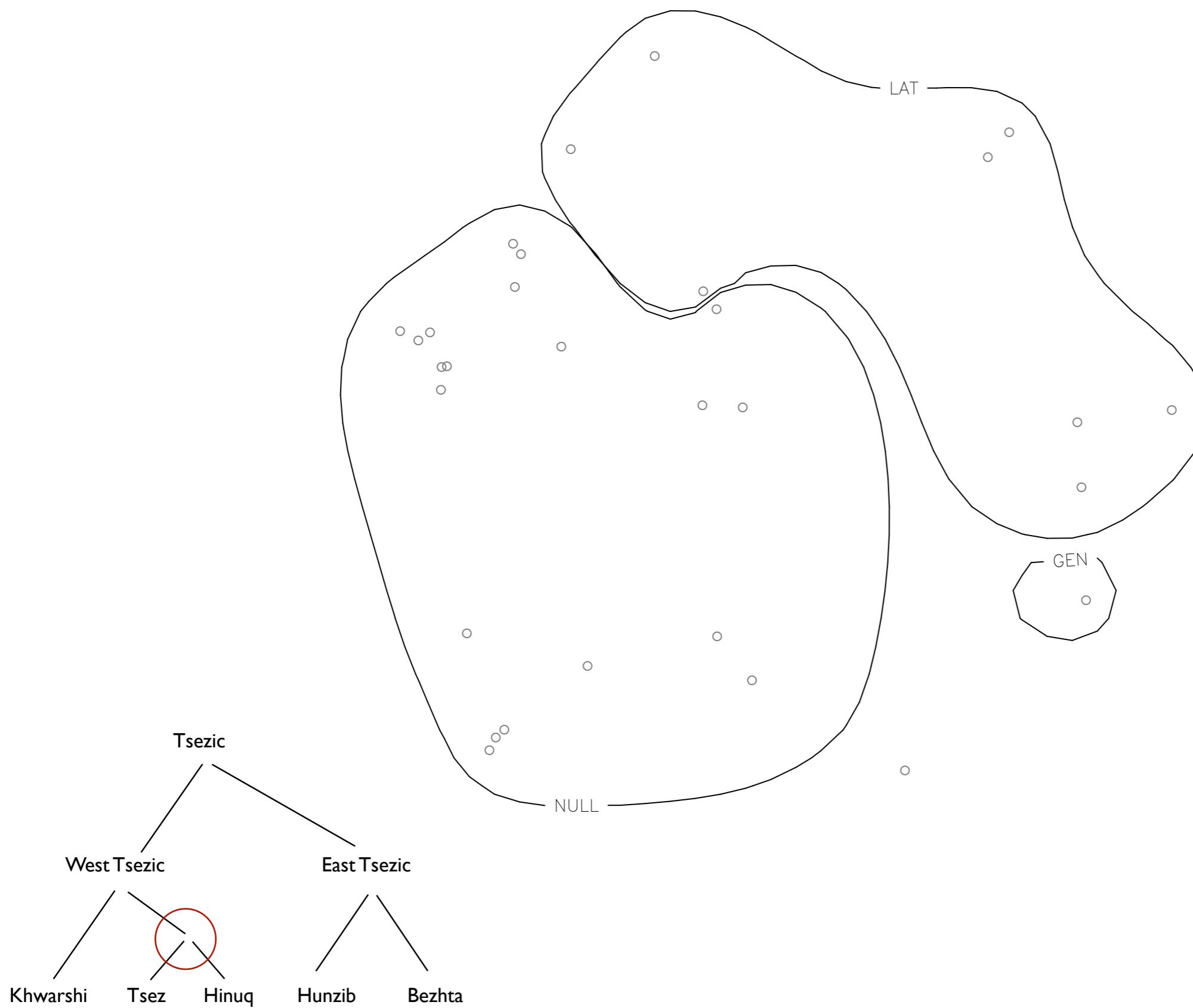
Proto-West-Tsezic

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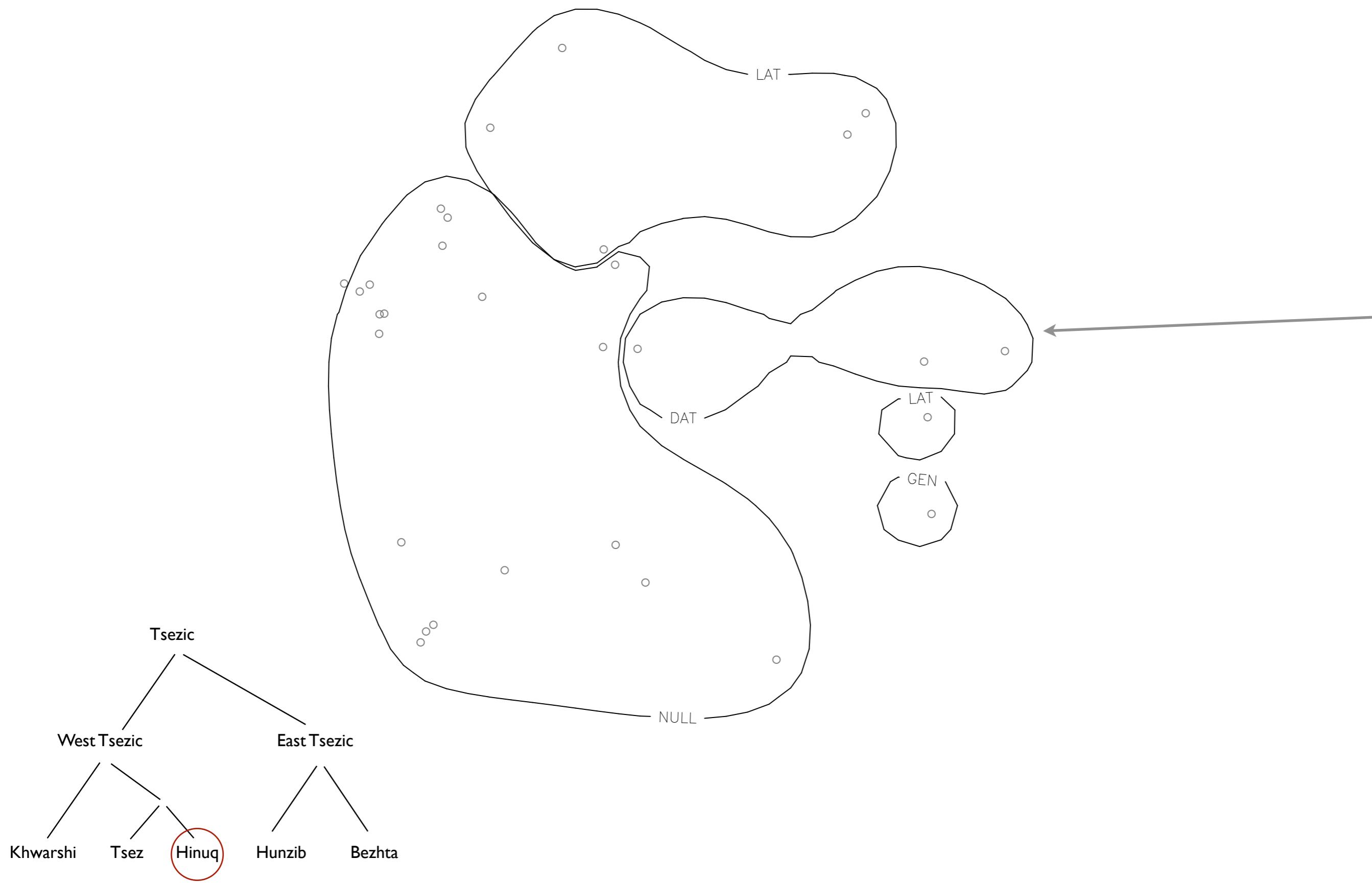
Proto-Hinuq-Tsez

“directional”



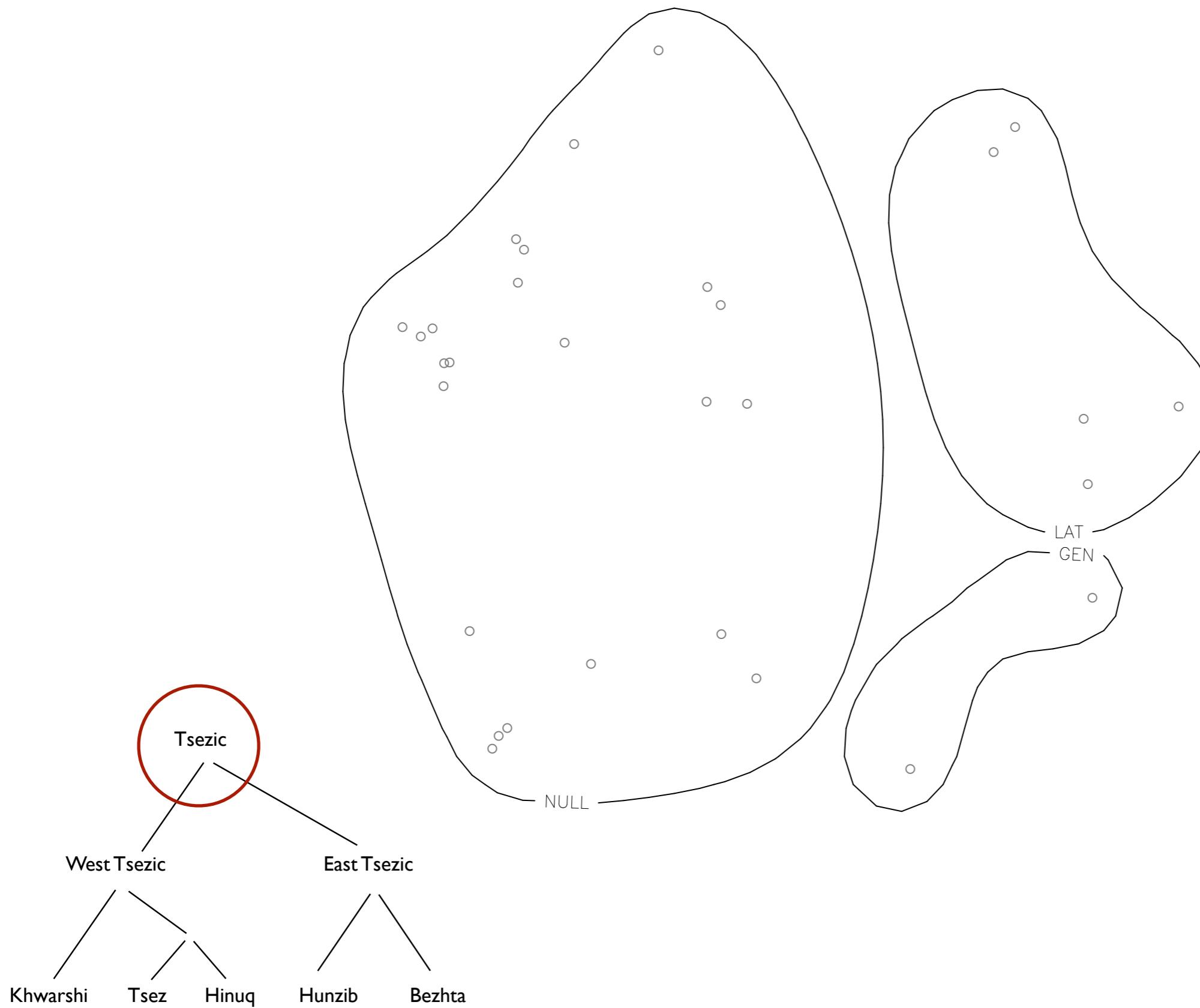
Hinuq

“directional”



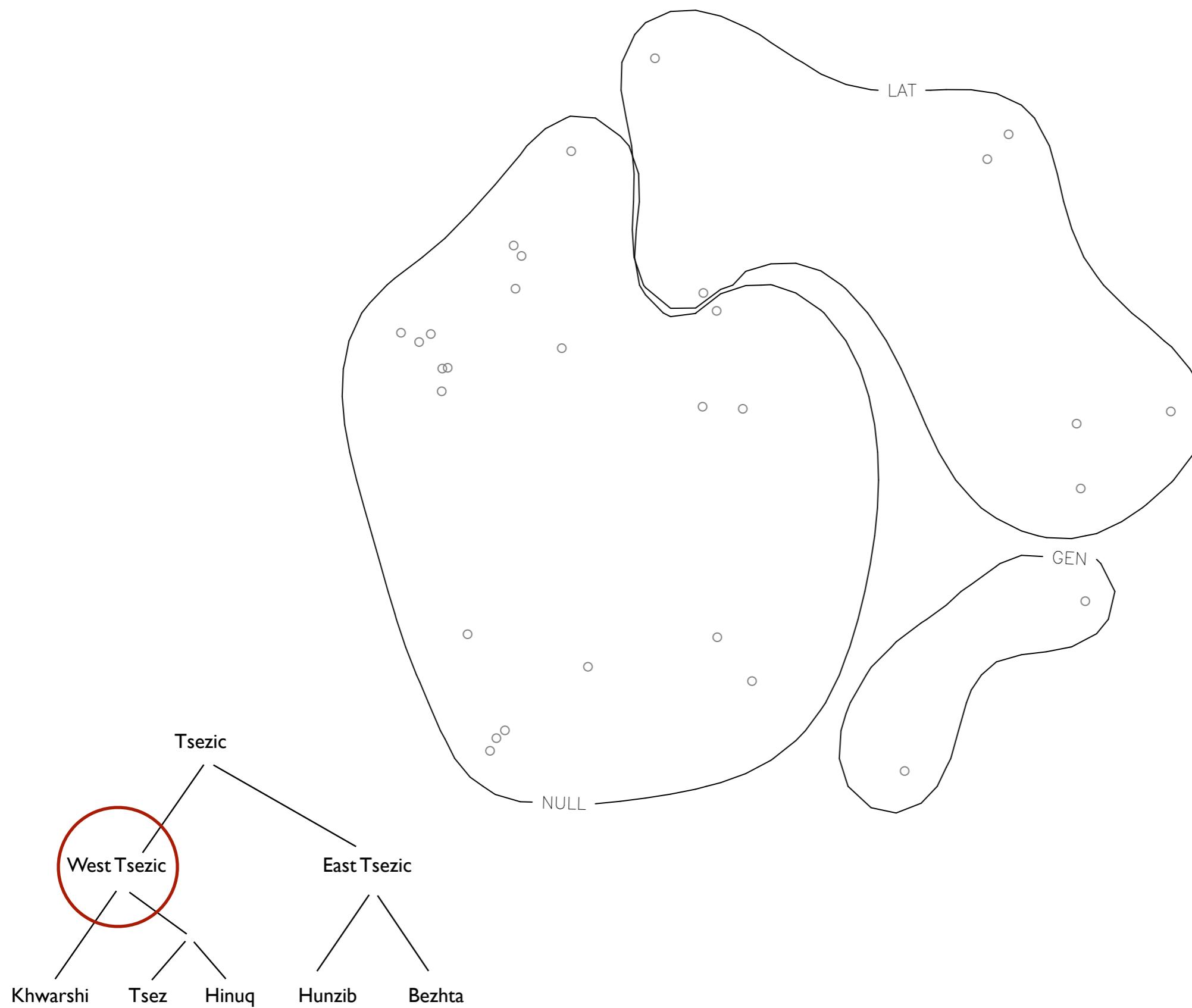
Proto-Tsezic

“directional”



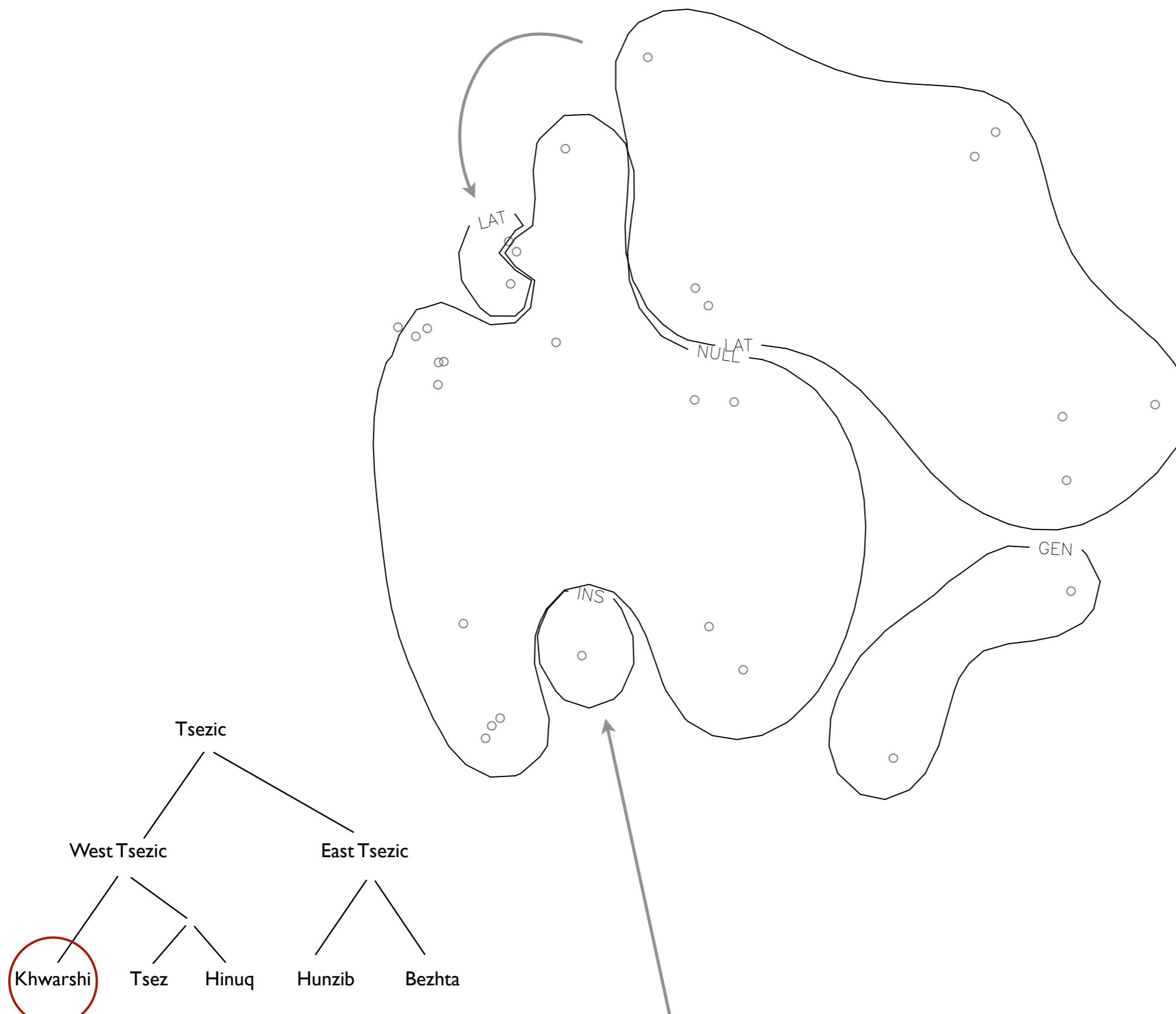
Proto-West-Tsezic

“directional”



Khwarshi

“directional”





“go” periphrasis in Tsezic



The Intercontinental Dictionary Series

Founding Editor:

Mary Ritchie Key (University of California, Irvine)

General Editor:

Bernard Comrie (Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology, Leipzig)

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Purpose: The purpose of the IDS is to establish a database where lexical material across the continents is organized in such a way that comparisons can be made. Historical studies, comparative, and theoretical linguistic research can be based on this documentation. This is a long term cooperative project that will go on for the next generation or so and will involve linguists all over the world. It is aimed towards international understanding and cooperation. This is a pioneering effort that will have global impact. The purpose also contributes to preserving information on the little-known and "non-prestigious" languages of the world, many of which are becoming extinct.

Rationale: Information on languages of the world is scattered over all the continents and islands and published in dozens of languages and scripts. There is need of a database where one can find comparable material to formulate hypotheses and test and validate those theories. For example, theories on intercontinental connections have been proposed on the basis of the distribution of 'sweet potato' and yet there is no single source, where words with this meaning can be found in many languages. Good quantitative and statistical studies are almost impossible to do now in non-Western languages. The IDS will provide a quantitative base for a scientific approach to language analysis and comparisons. The IDS will provide the research tools necessary for expanding studies such as phonological theory, word formation, language change, lexical distribution, symbolism and onomatopoeia, classification, and other ideas that have to do with history of people and migrations. The IDS will serve not only as a synonym dictionary but as an index to meaning and to cultures of various people around the earth.

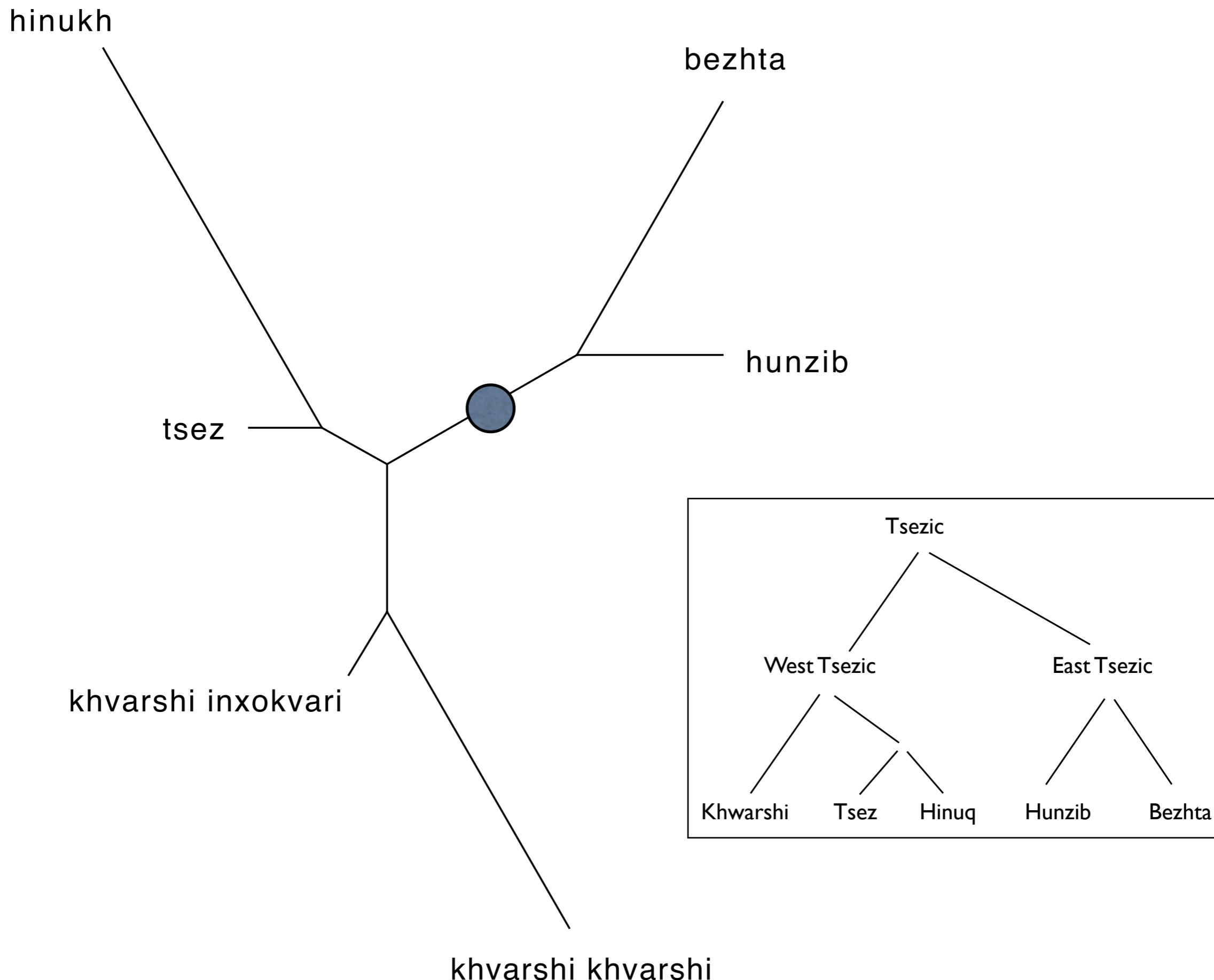
Plan of Series: The IDS series may appear as 1) a volume with 25 or more languages recorded; 2) a fascicle with 5 to 10 languages recorded; 3) in single WordLists, which are archived until enough are gathered to make up a fascicle or volume. A list of fascicles and volumes in progress is available from the general editor.

Procedure: The IDS is developed in cooperation and complementation with other research projects. Throughout the world there are linguistic activities from establishing of databases in universities and think-tanks to publishing grammar series and literacy materials, to individual projects such as the Tibetan dictionary project. Many projects seek to make linguistic data accessible in a format that will allow generalizations to be made. The computer now gives us the potential for tying together linguistic databases. The IDS editors will continue to monitor linguistic activity around the world, both for choosing the languages for forthcoming compilations and for collaboration with other research teams.

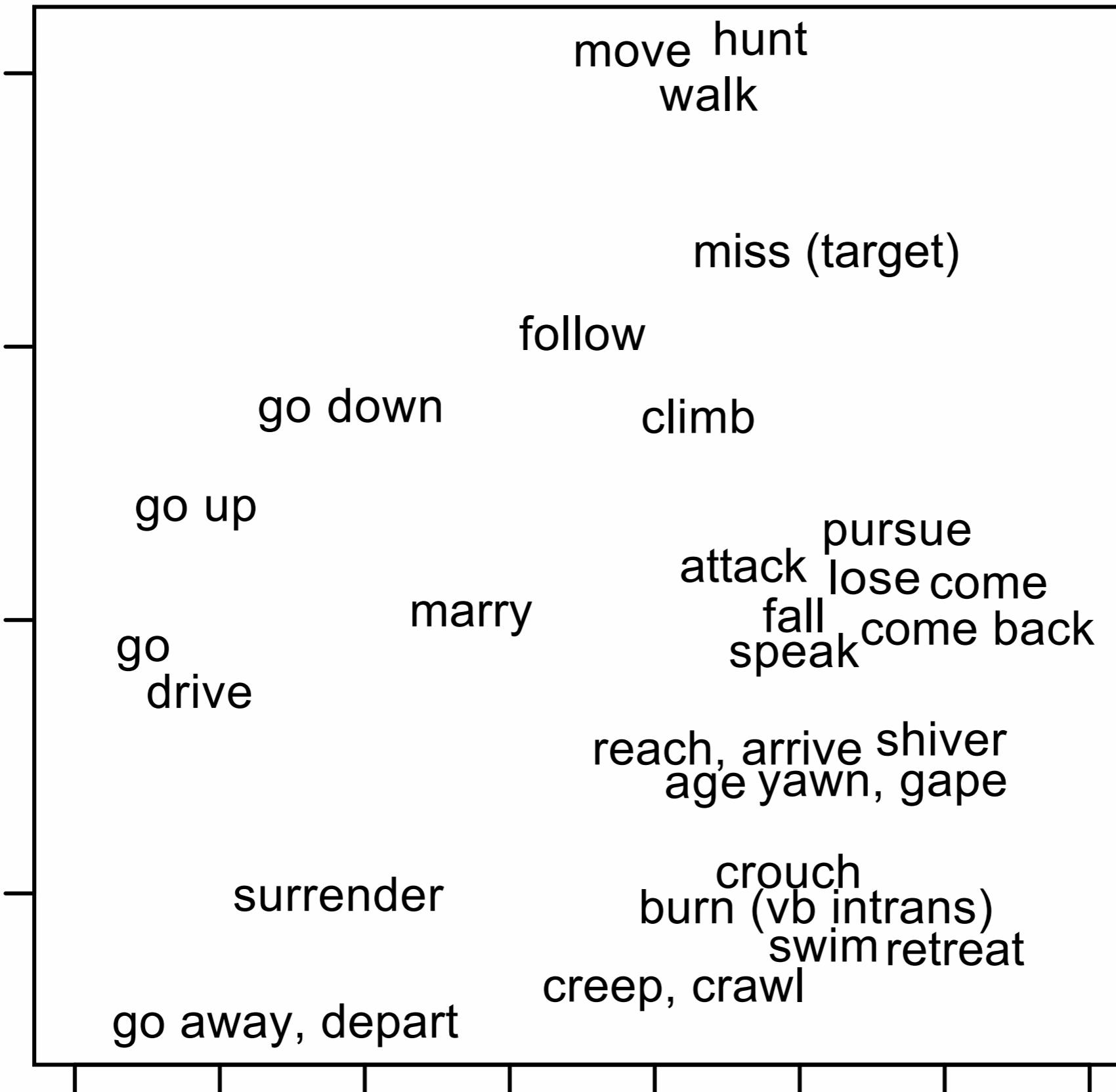
<http://lingweb.eva.mpg.de/ids/>

IDS number	English	Hinukh
2.330	marry	xoddoho yi᷑'a
10.470	go	i᷑'a
10.471	climb	šid i᷑'a
10.472	go up	toššid i᷑'a
10.473	go down	λ'iyo i᷑'a
10.520	follow	hezzo i᷑'a
10.530	pursue	xalbun hezzo i᷑'a
10.650	drive	mašinaλ'o i᷑'a
10.660	ride	guluλ'o i᷑'a
18.210	speak	a᷑'i i᷑'a
20.430	attack	k ^w erer bi᷑'a
20.460	surrender	k ^w ar bi᷑'a

	bezhta	hinukh	hunzib	khvarshi inxokvari	khvarshi khvarshi	tsez
burn	0	0	0	0	0	0
marry	I	I	0	0	0	I
yawn	0	0	0	0	I	0
shiver	0	0	0	0	I	0
move	I	0	I	0	0	0
fall	0	I	0	0	0	0
swim	0	0	0	0	0	0
creep	0	0	0	0	0	I
crouch	0	0	0	0	0	0
walk	I	0	I	0	0	0
go	I	I	I	I	I	I
go up	I	I	I	I	0	I
climb	0	I	I	0	0	0
go down	I	I	I	0	0	I
come	0	0	0	0	0	0
come back	0	0	0	0	0	0
go away	0	I	I	I	I	I
follow	I	I	0	0	0	I
pursue	0	I	0	0	0	0
arrive	0	0	0	I	0	0
drive	I	I	I	I	I	I
ride	I	I	I	I	I	I
lose	0	I	0	0	0	0
age	0	0	0	0	I	0
speak	0	I	0	0	0	0
attack	0	I	0	0	0	0
retreat	0	0	0	0	0	0
surrender	0	I	I	I	0	I
hunt	I	0	I	0	0	0
miss	I	0	0	0	0	0



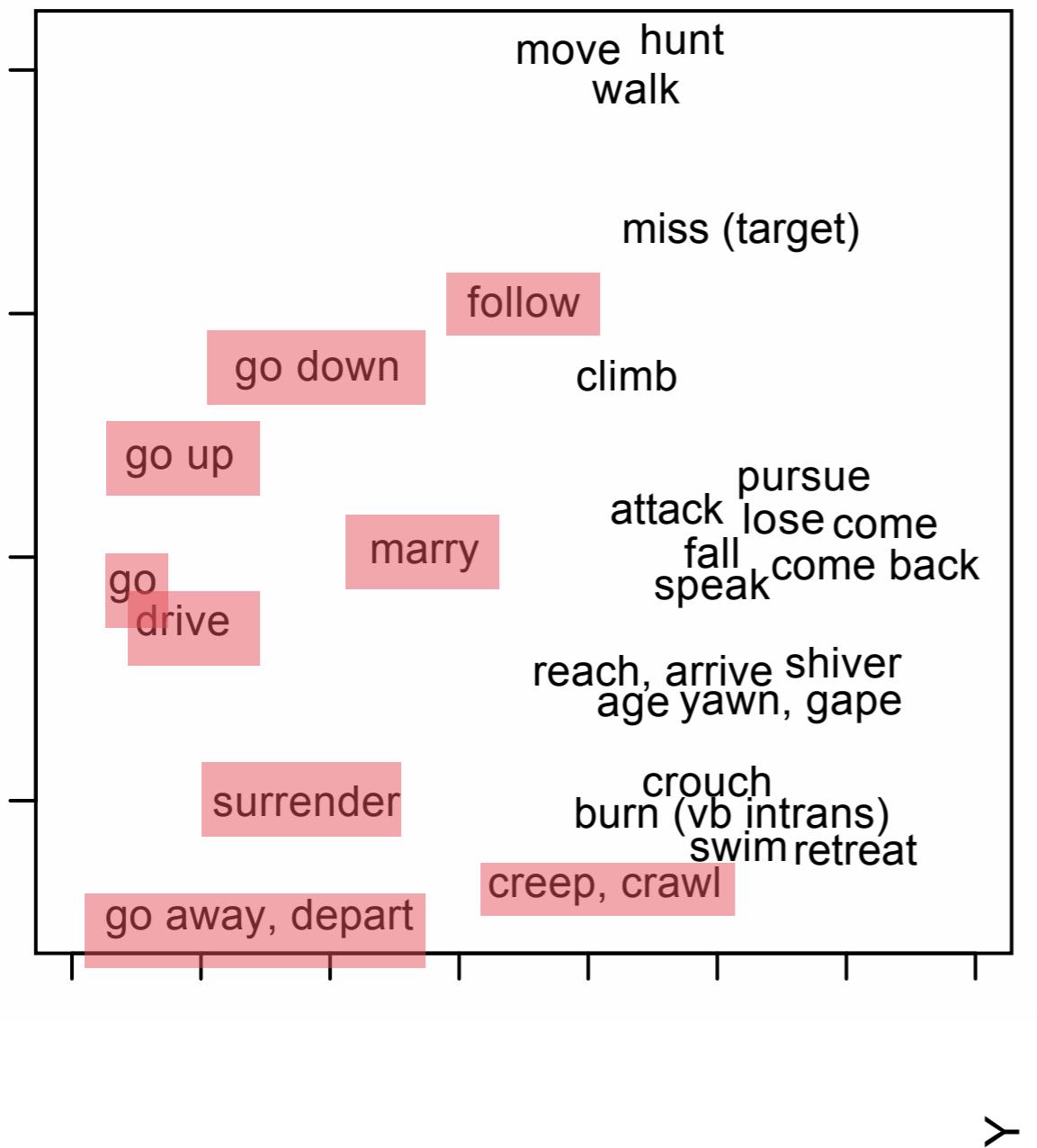
	bezhta	hinukh	hunzib	khvarshi inxokvari	khvarshi khvarshi	tsez
burn	0	0	0	0	0	0
marry	I	I	0	0	0	I
yawn	0	0	0	0	I	0
shiver	0	0	0	0	I	0
move	I	0	I	0	0	0
fall	0	I	0	0	0	0
swim	0	0	0	0	0	0
creep	0	0	0	0	0	I
crouch	0	0	0	0	0	0
walk	I	0	I	0	0	0
go	I	I	I	I	I	I
go up	I	I	I	I	0	I
climb	0	I	I	0	0	0
go down	I	I	I	0	0	I
come	0	0	0	0	0	0
come back	0	0	0	0	0	0
go away	0	I	I	I	I	I
follow	I	I	0	0	0	I
pursue	0	I	0	0	0	0
arrive	0	0	0	I	0	0
drive	I	I	I	I	I	I
ride	I	I	I	I	I	I
lose	0	I	0	0	0	0
age	0	0	0	0	I	0
speak	0	I	0	0	0	0
attack	0	I	0	0	0	0
retreat	0	0	0	0	0	0
surrender	0	I	I	I	0	I
hunt	I	0	I	0	0	0
miss	I	0	0	0	0	0



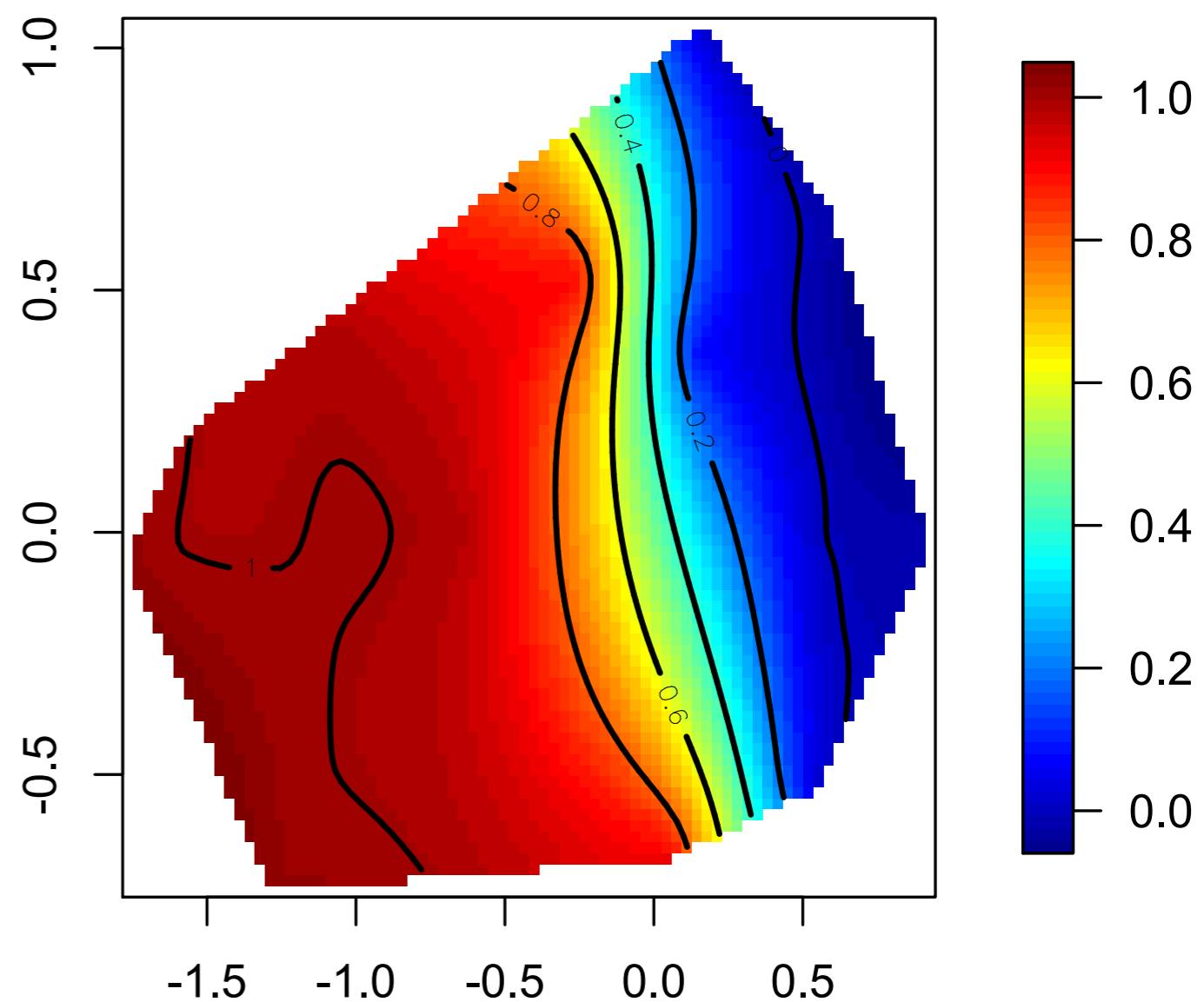
A scatter plot showing the distribution of verb meanings across a 2D space defined by two axes. The vertical axis has tick marks at the top and bottom. The horizontal axis has tick marks at the left and right. The plot area is bounded by a black rectangular frame.

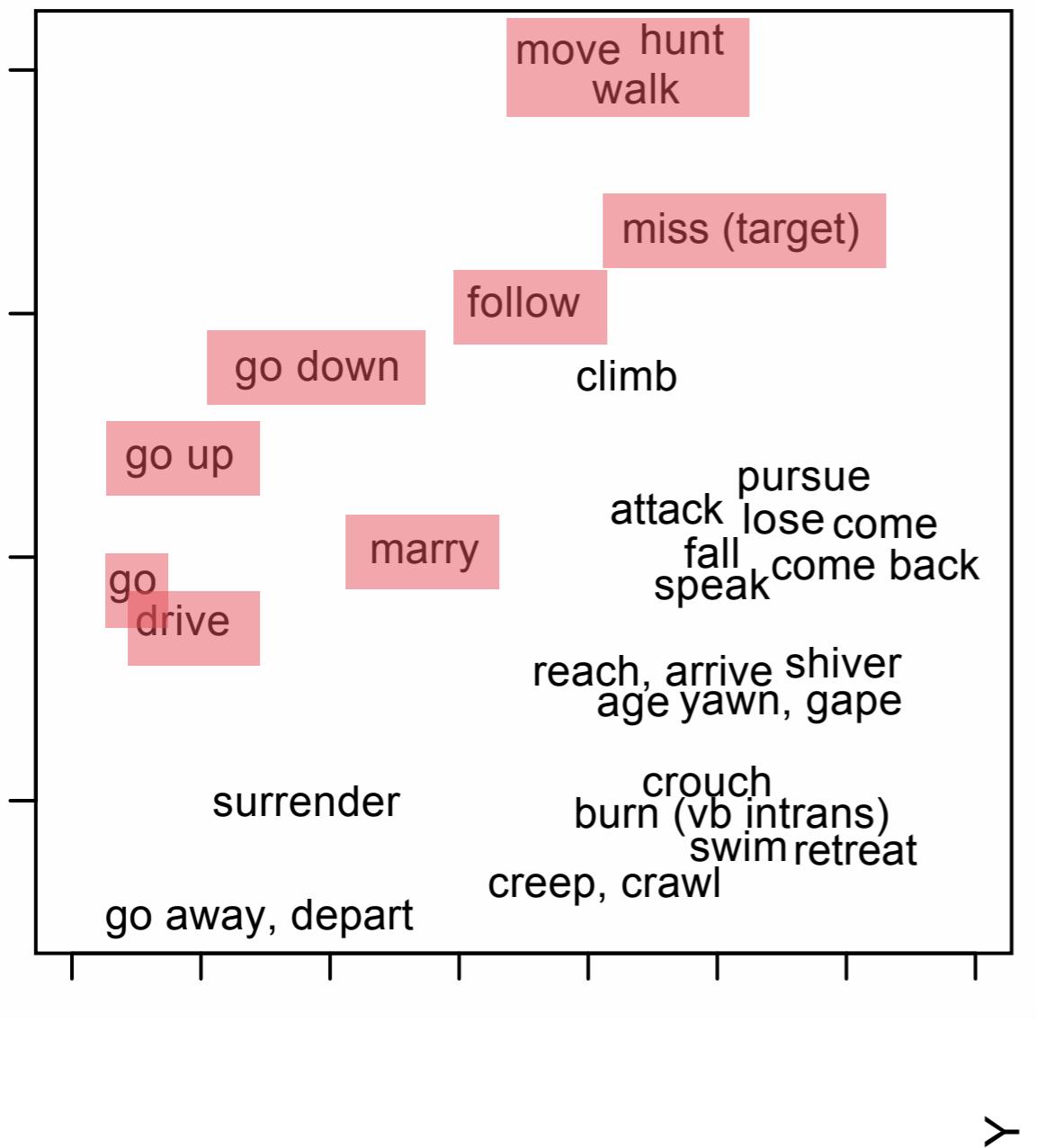
The verbs are plotted as follows:

- Top row: move, hunt, walk
- Second row: miss (target)
- Third row: follow
- Fourth row: go down, climb
- Fifth row: go up
- Sixth row: attack, pursue, lose, come
- Seventh row: fall, speak, come back
- Eighth row: marry
- Ninth row: reach, arrive, shiver, age, yawn, gape
- Tenth row: drive
- Eleventh row: crouch, burn (vb intrans), swim, retreat
- Twelfth row: surrender
- Thirteenth row: creep, crawl
- Bottom row: go away, depart

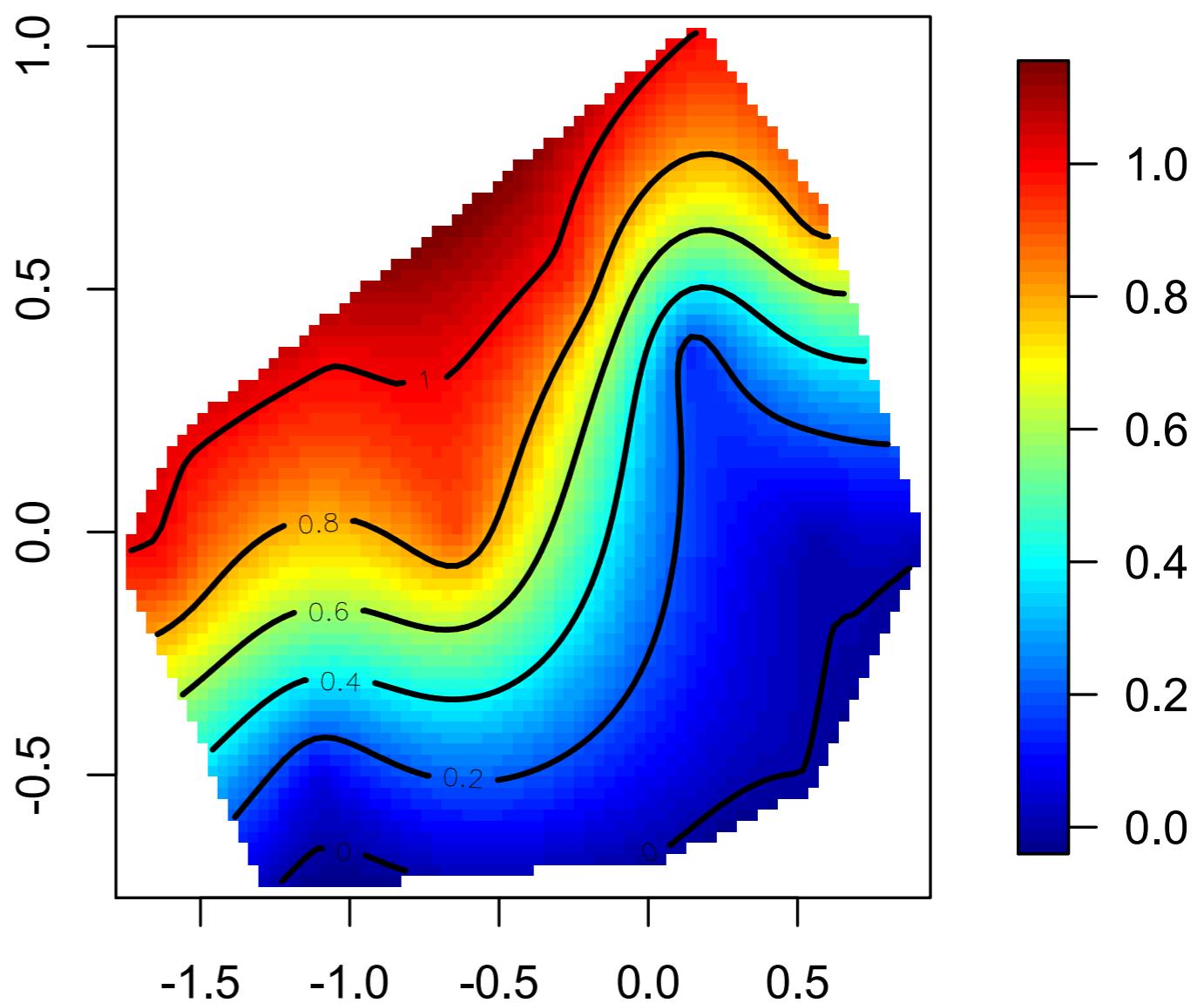


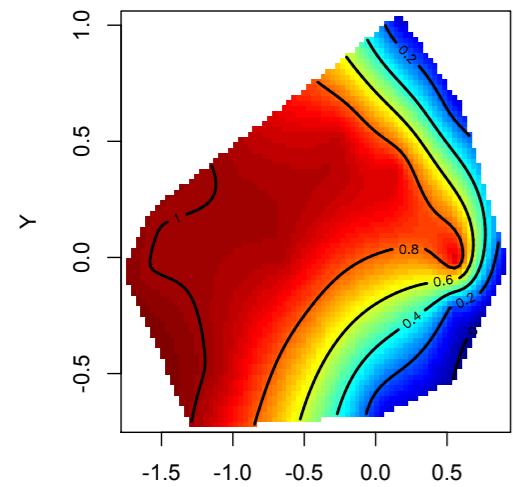
Tsez



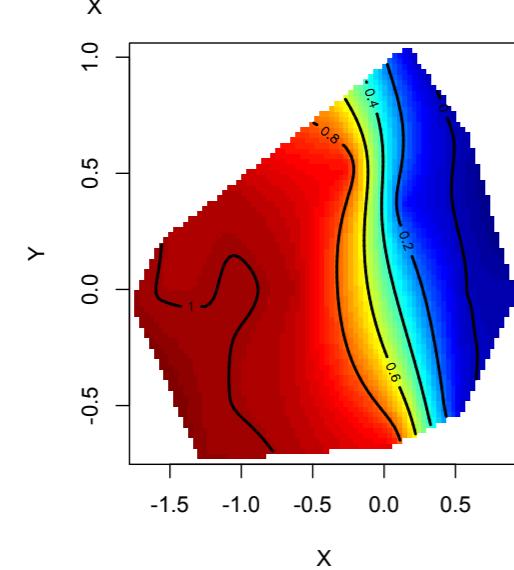


Bezhta

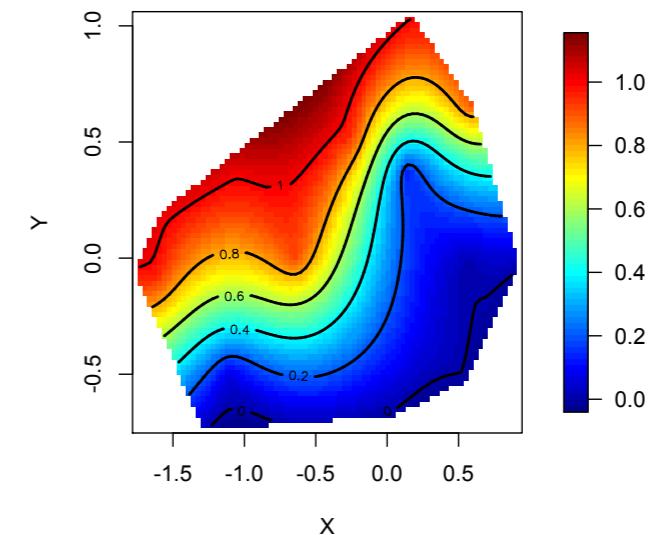




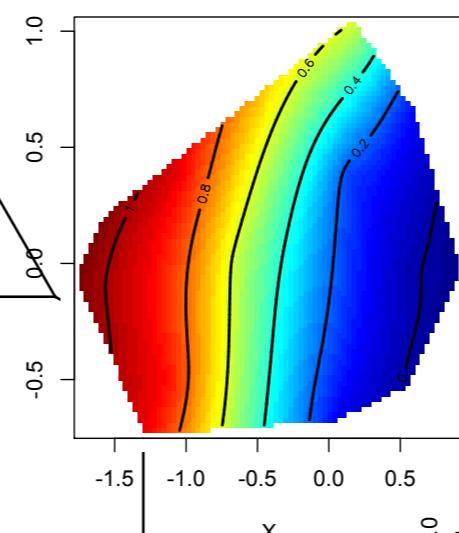
hinukh



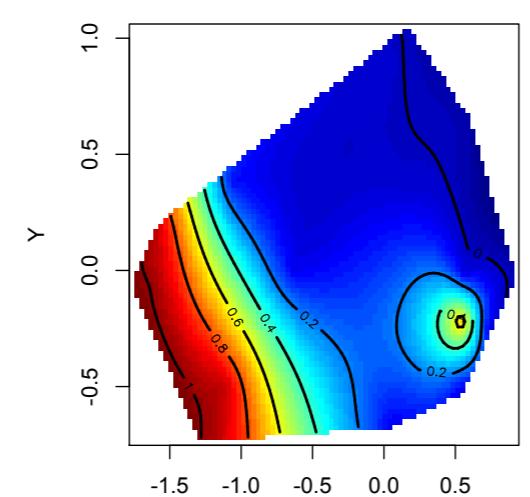
tsez



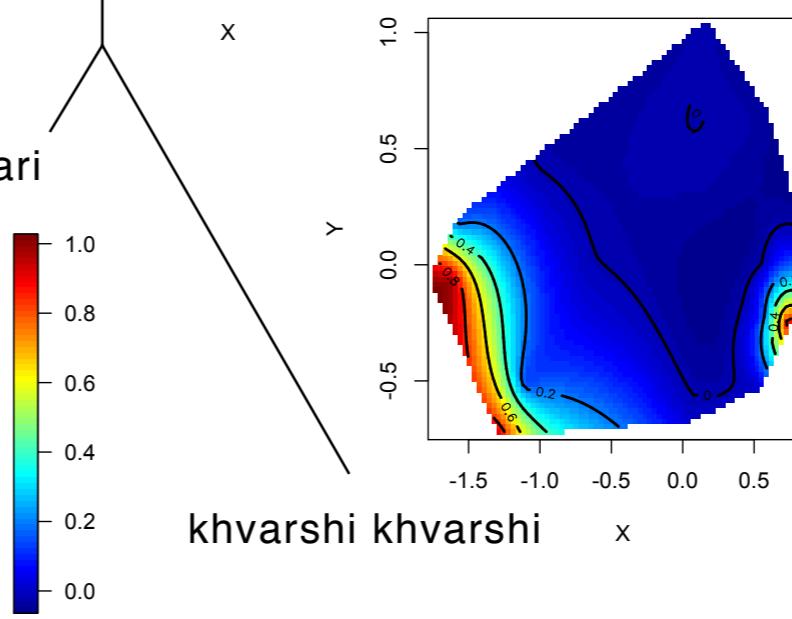
bezhta



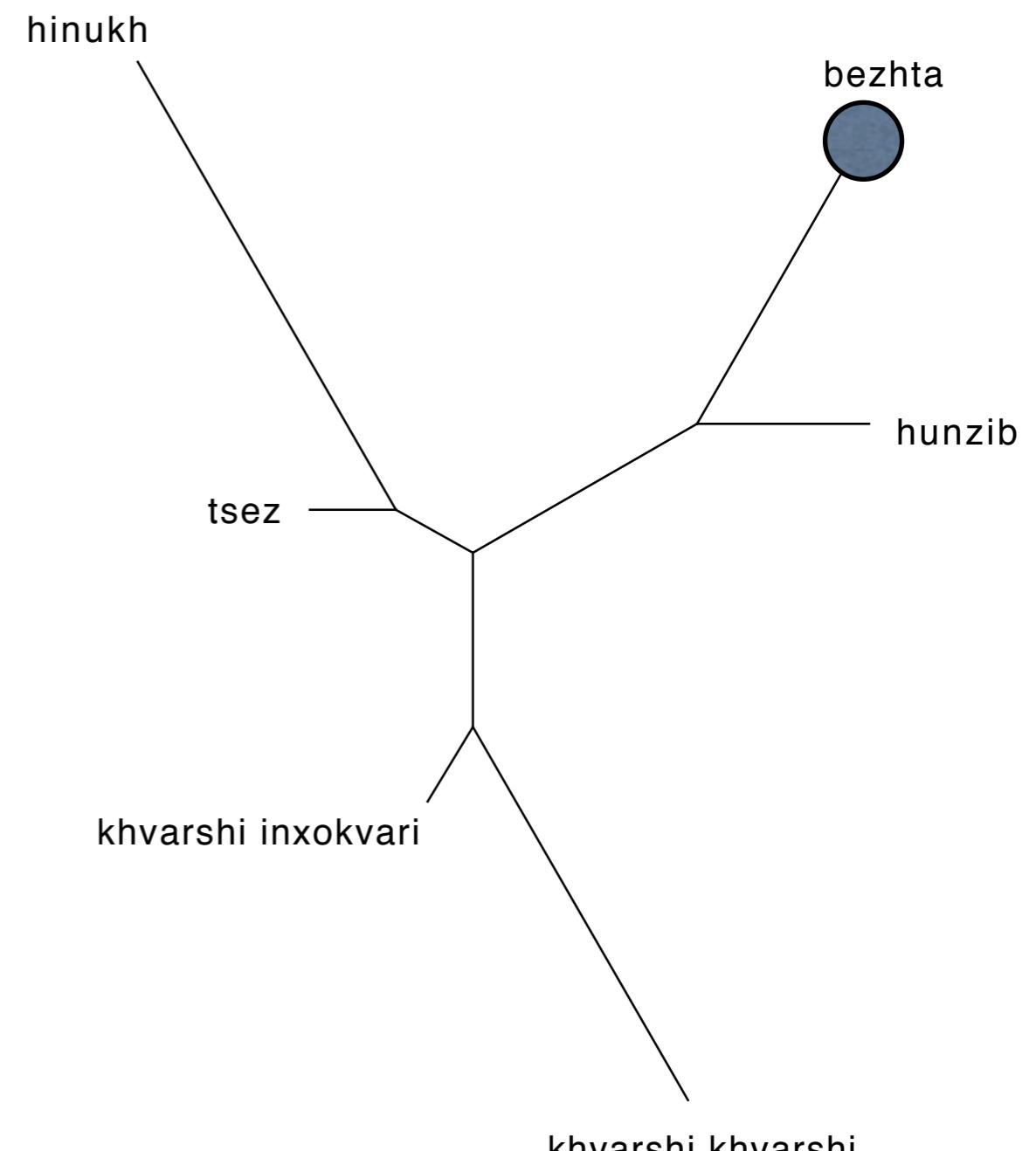
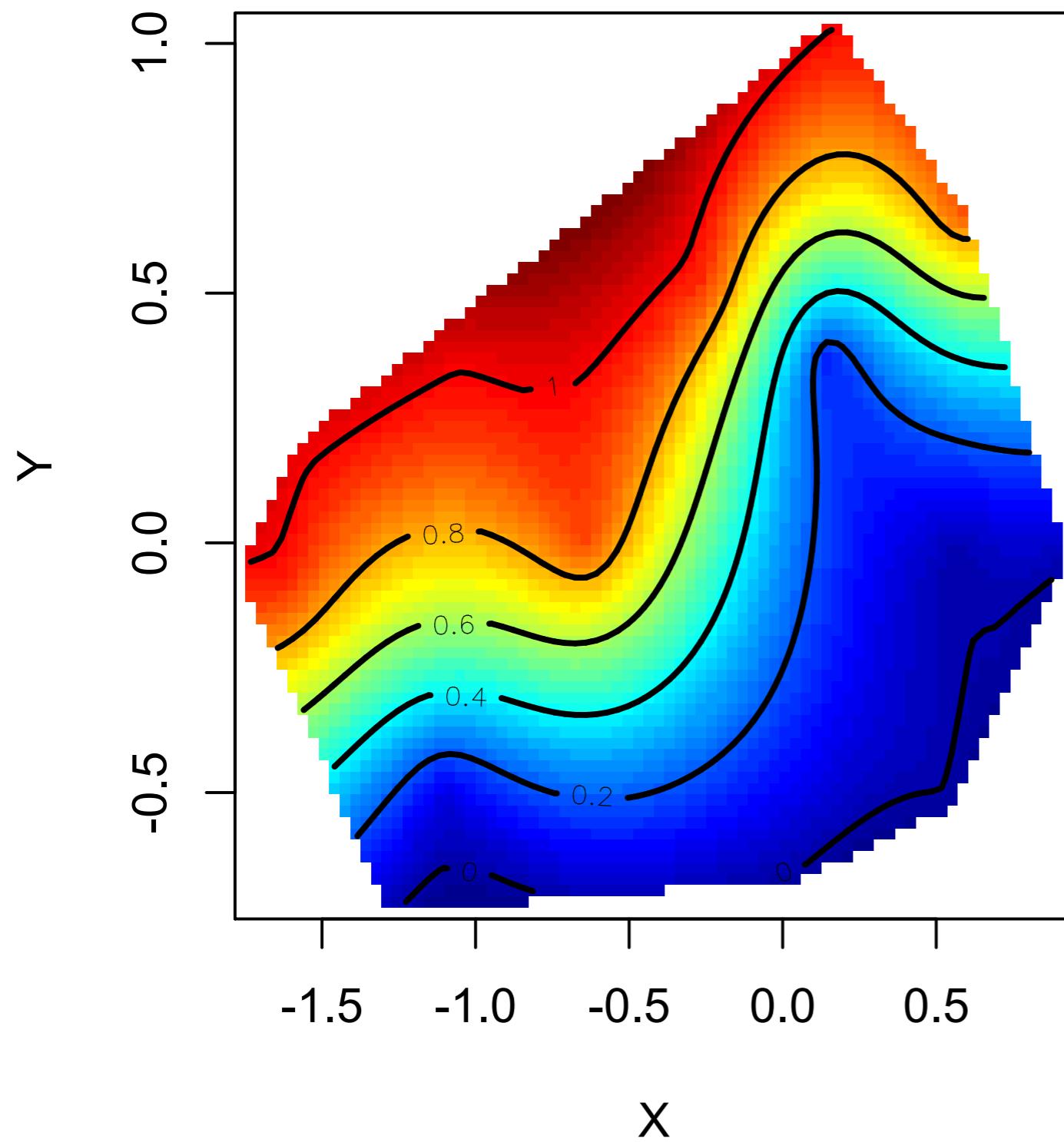
hunzib

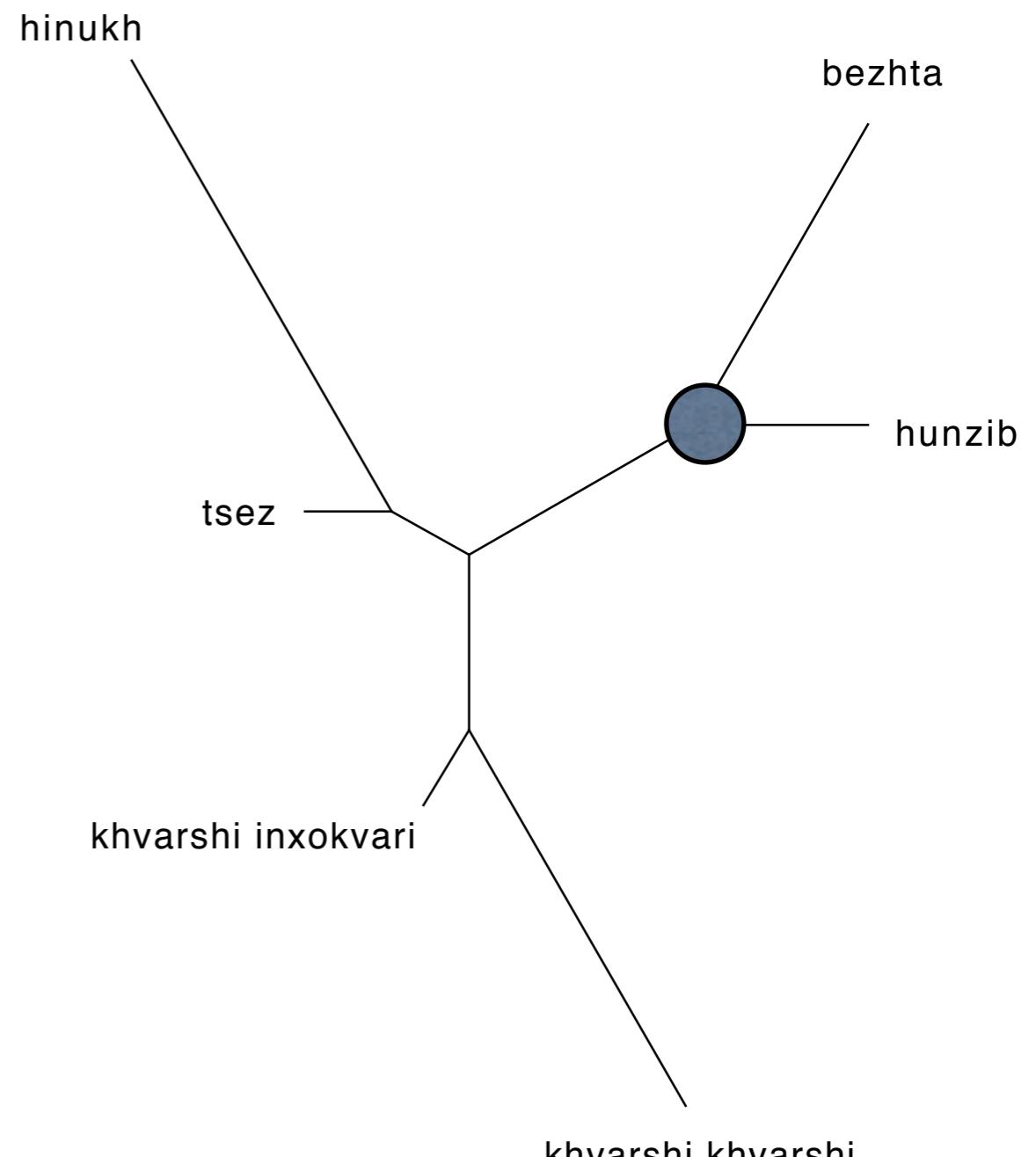
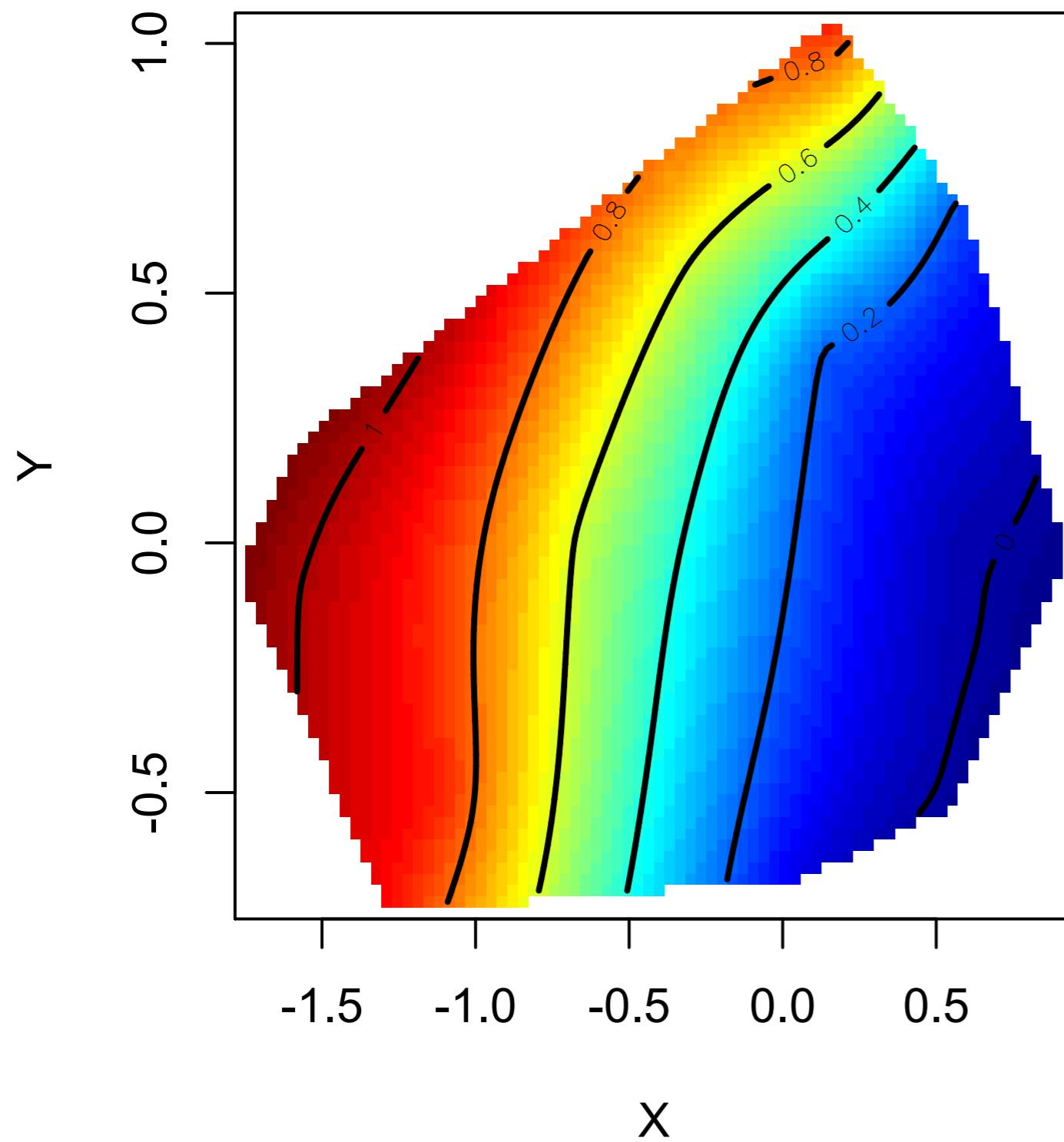


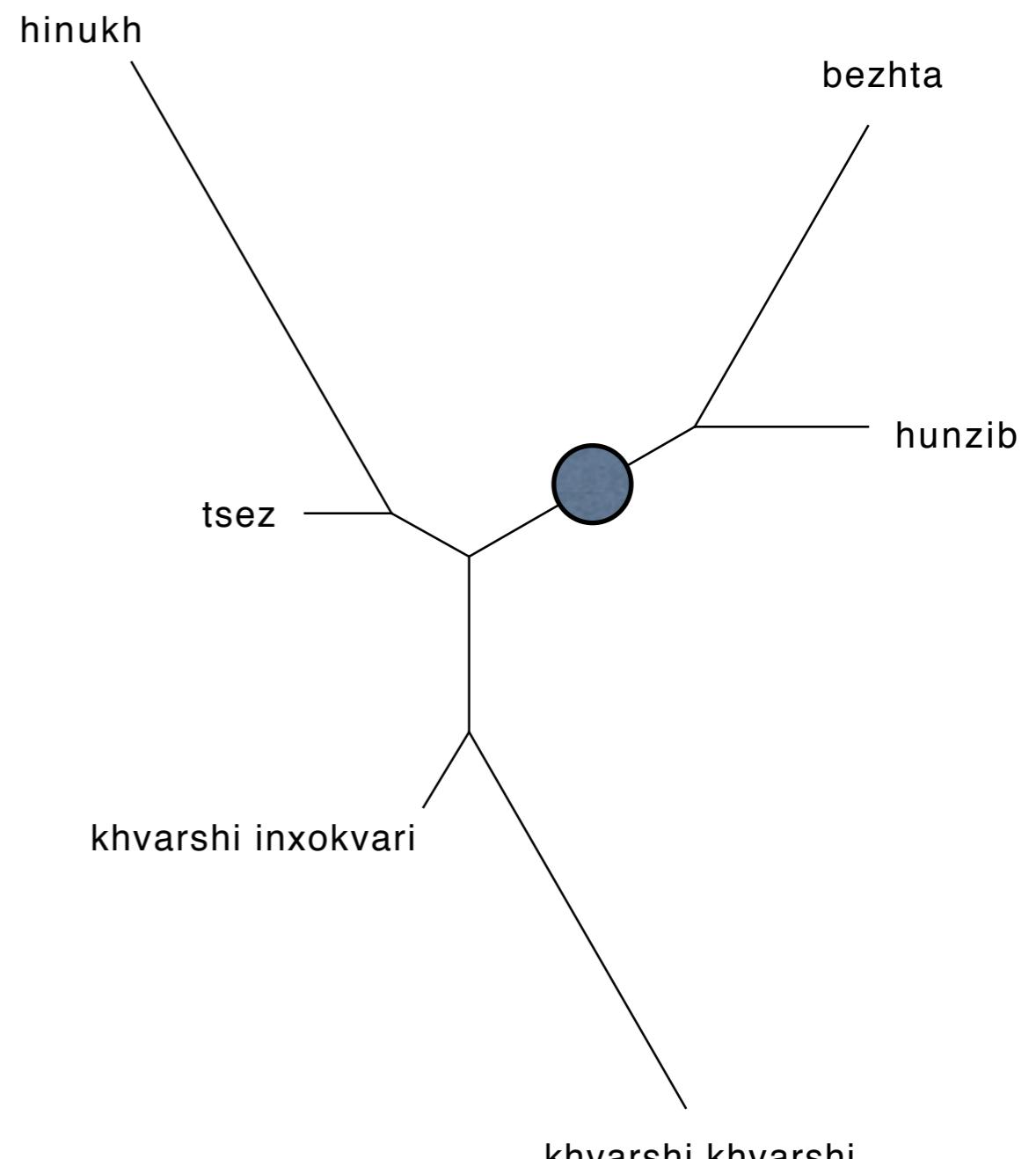
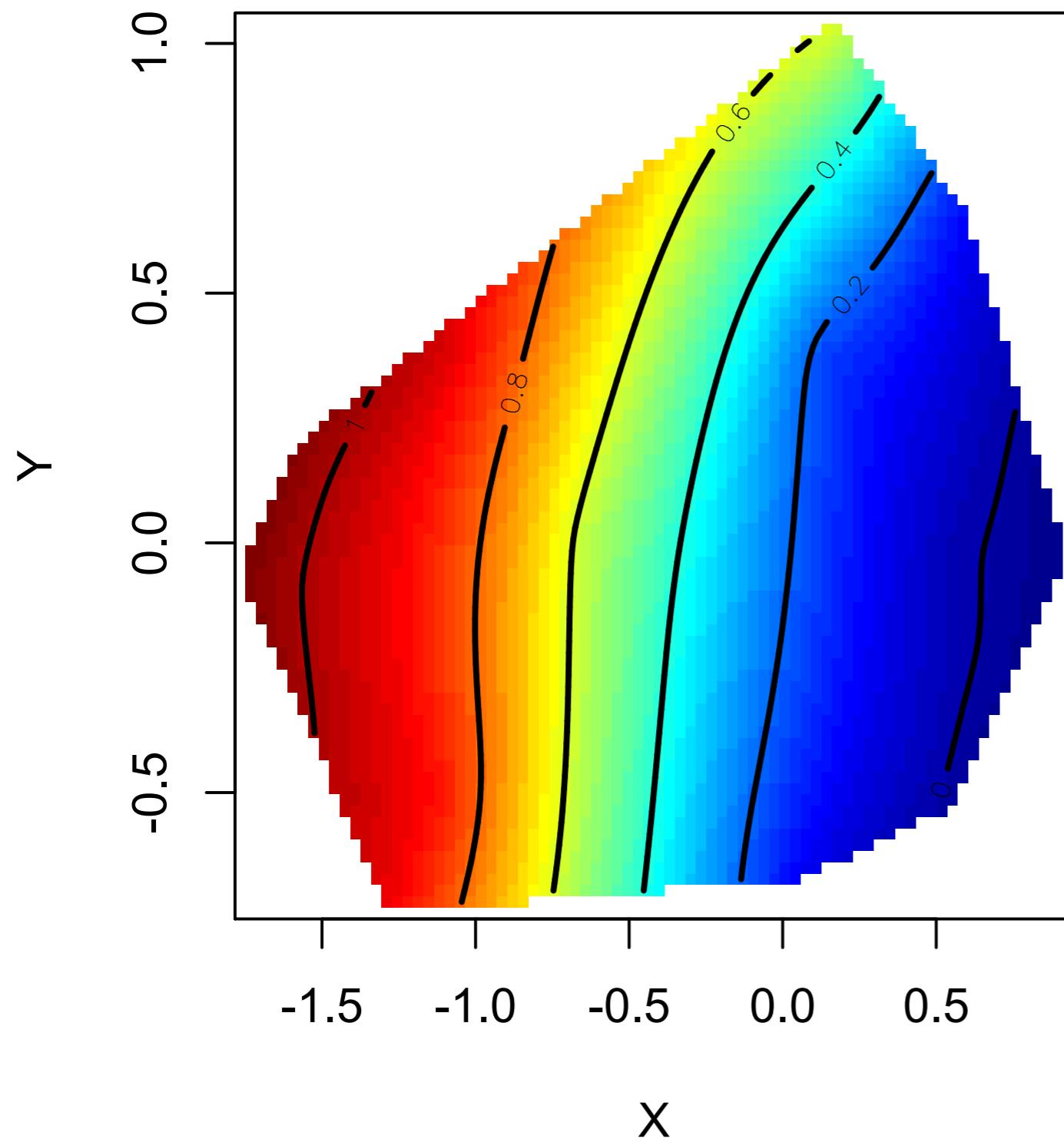
khvarshi inxokvari

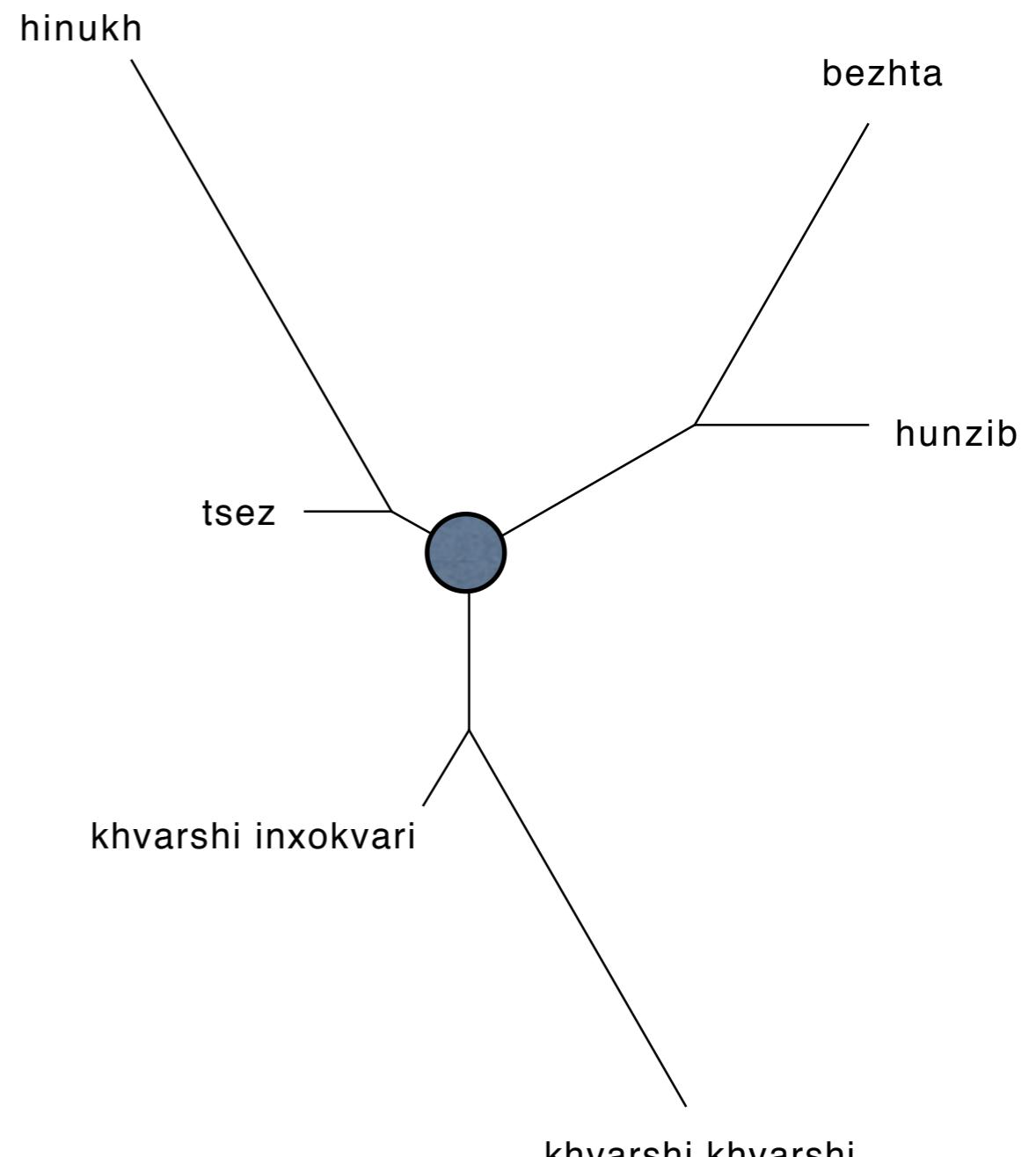
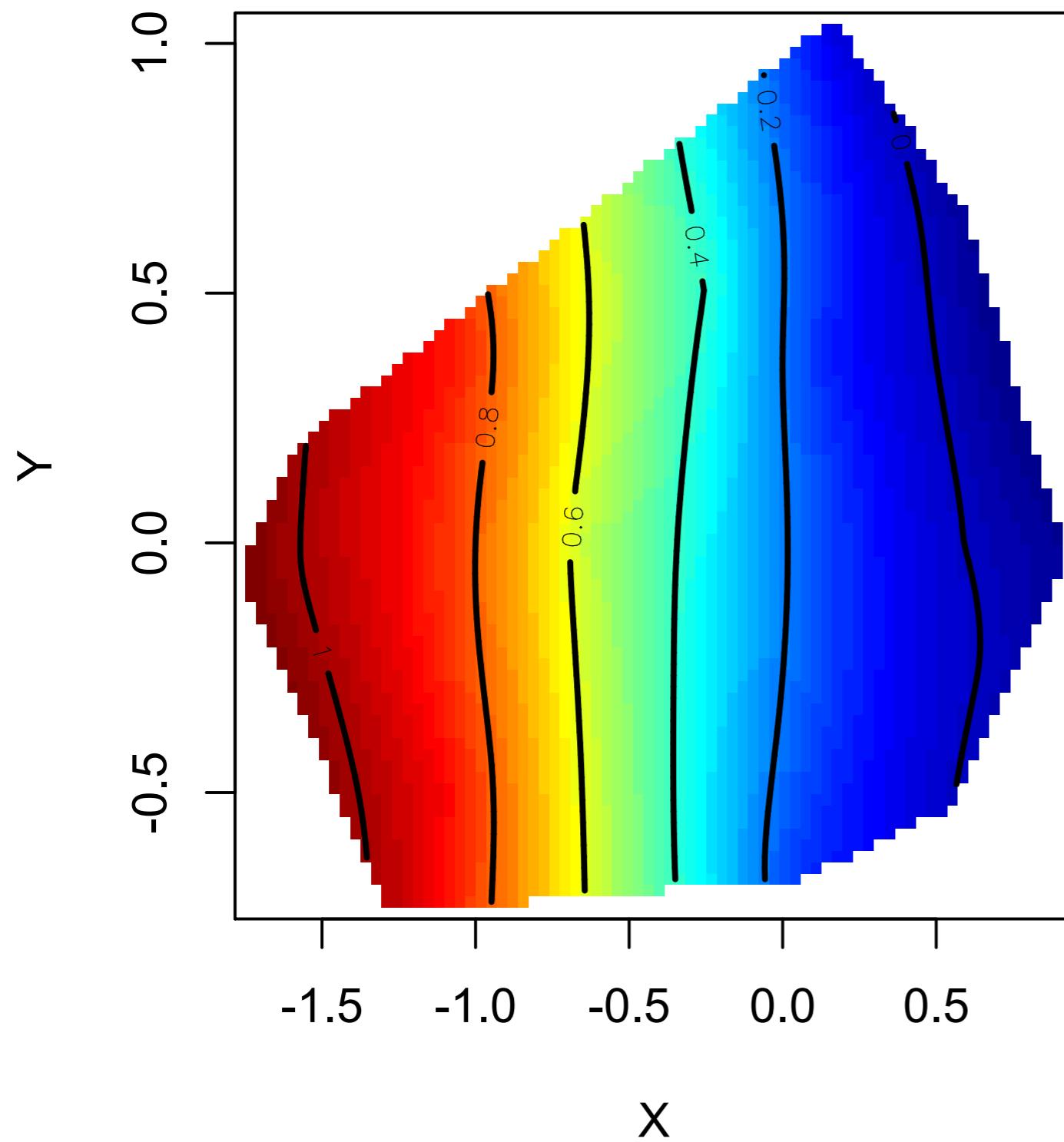


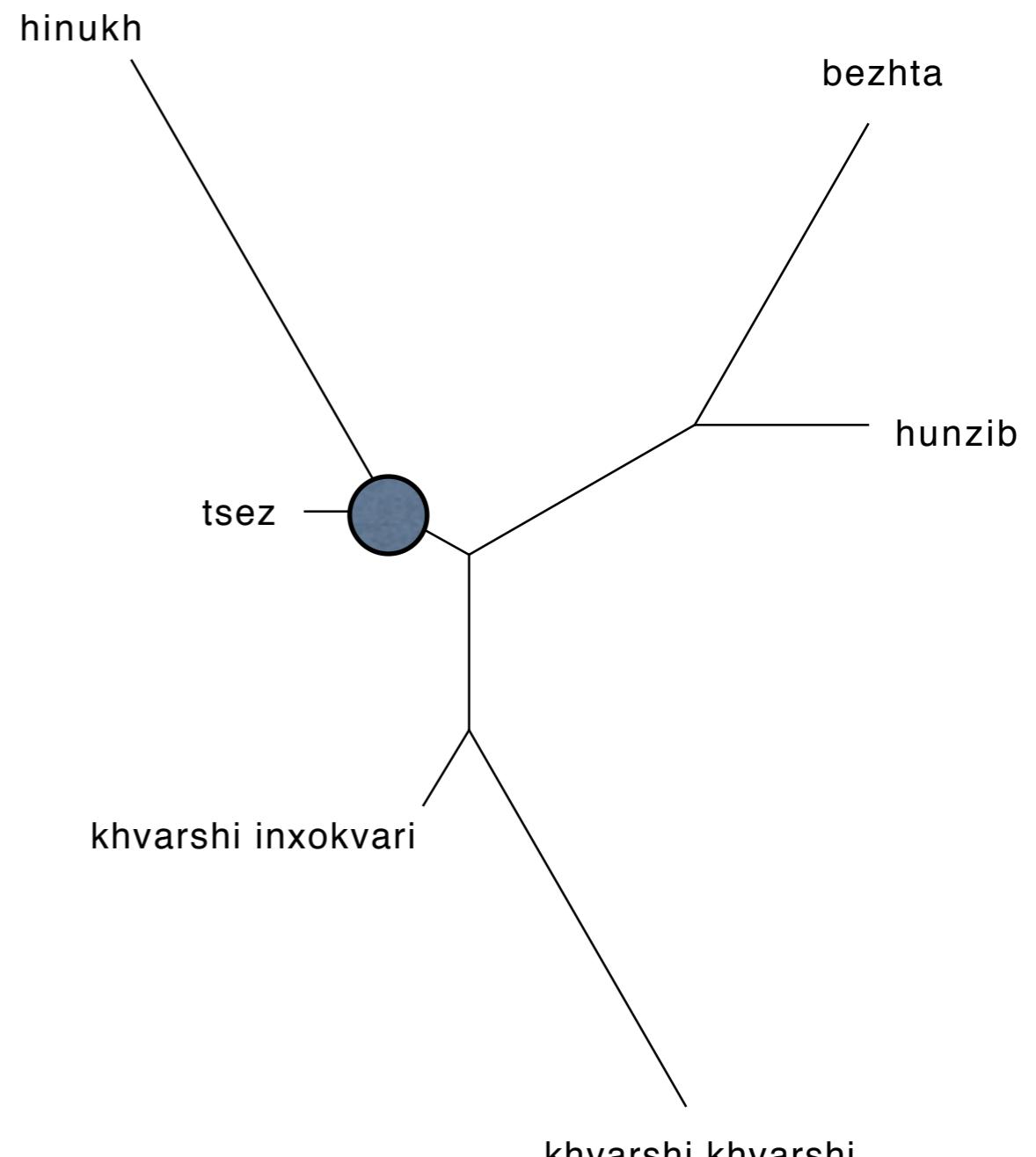
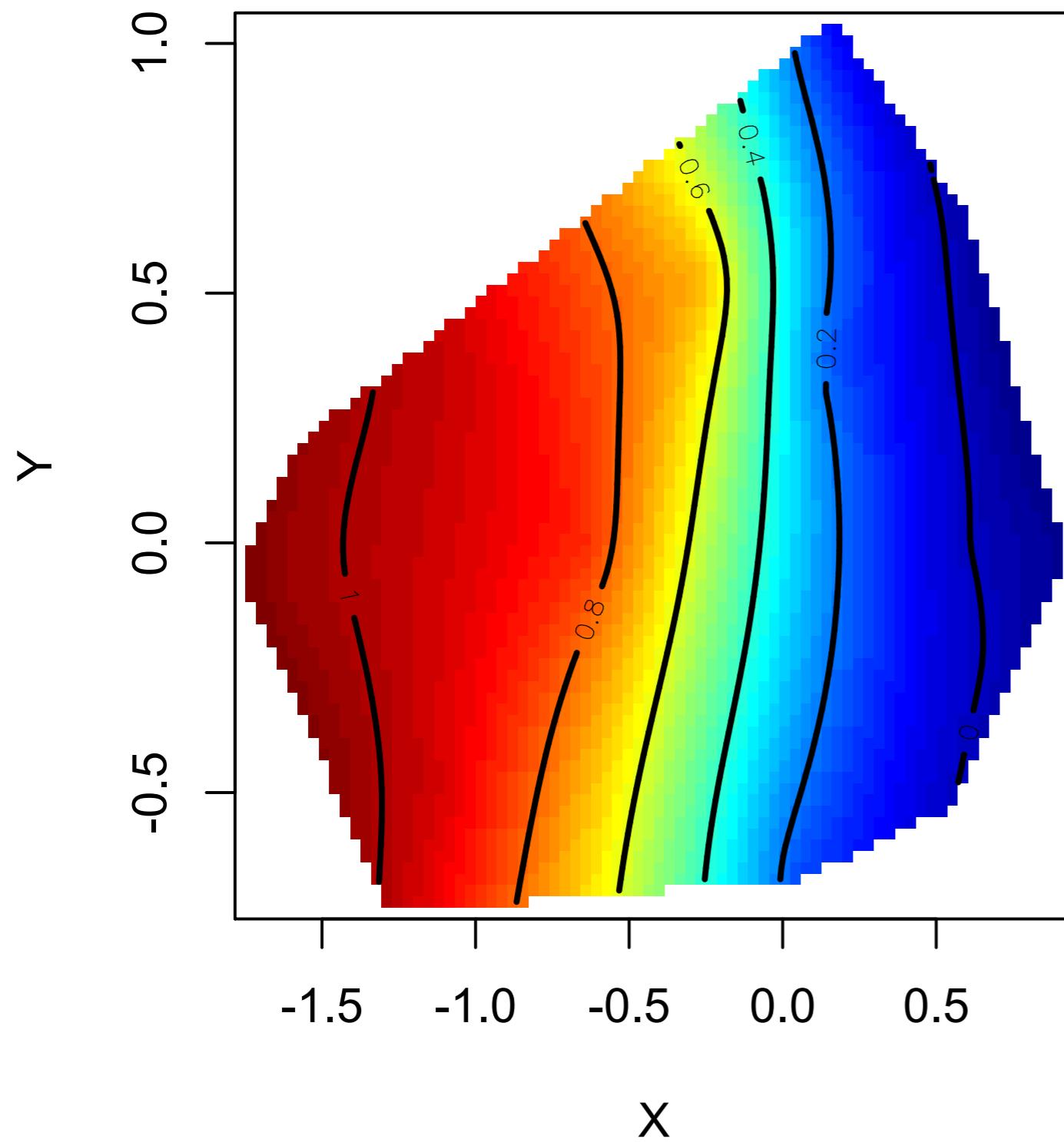
khvarshi khvarshi

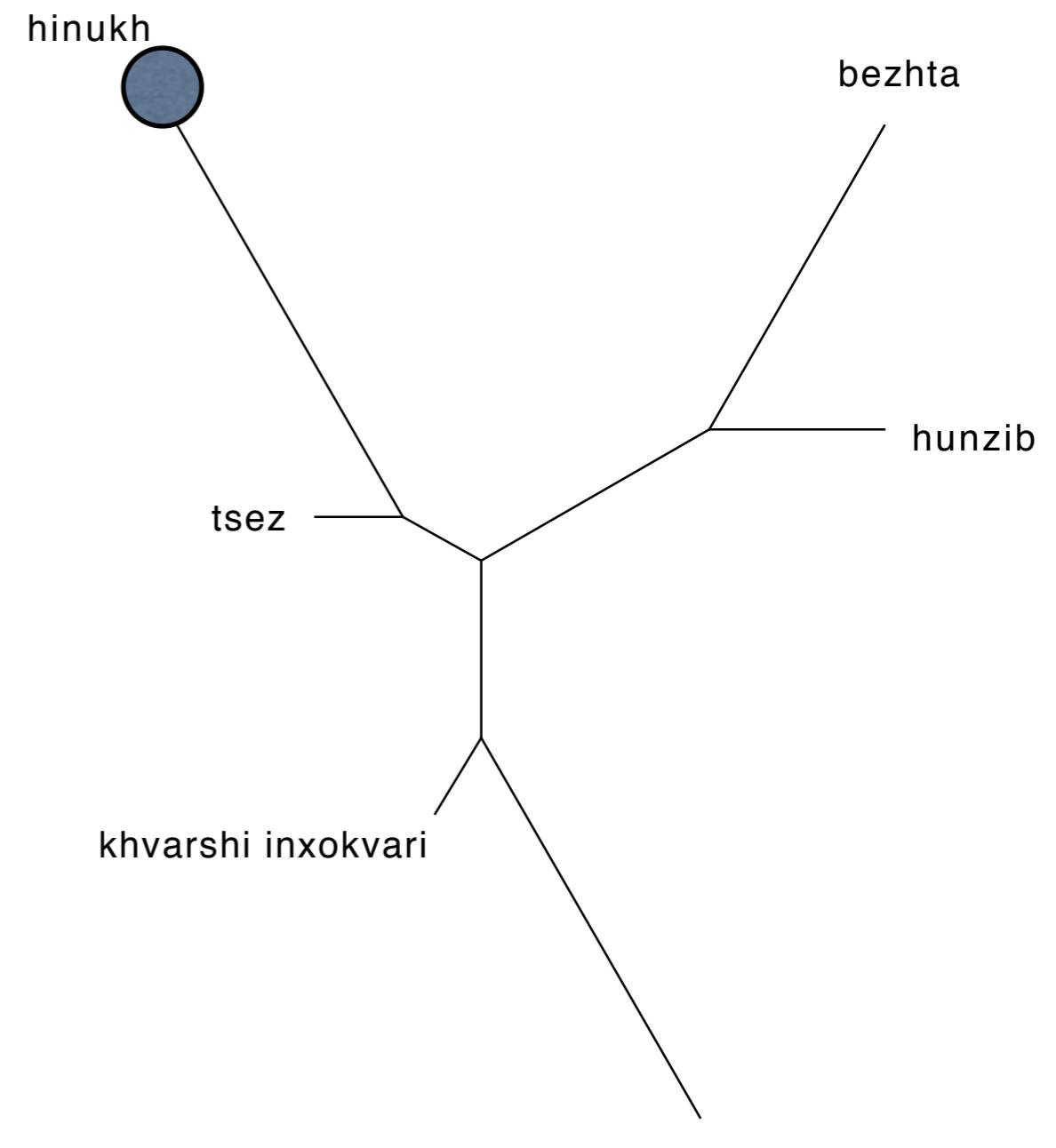
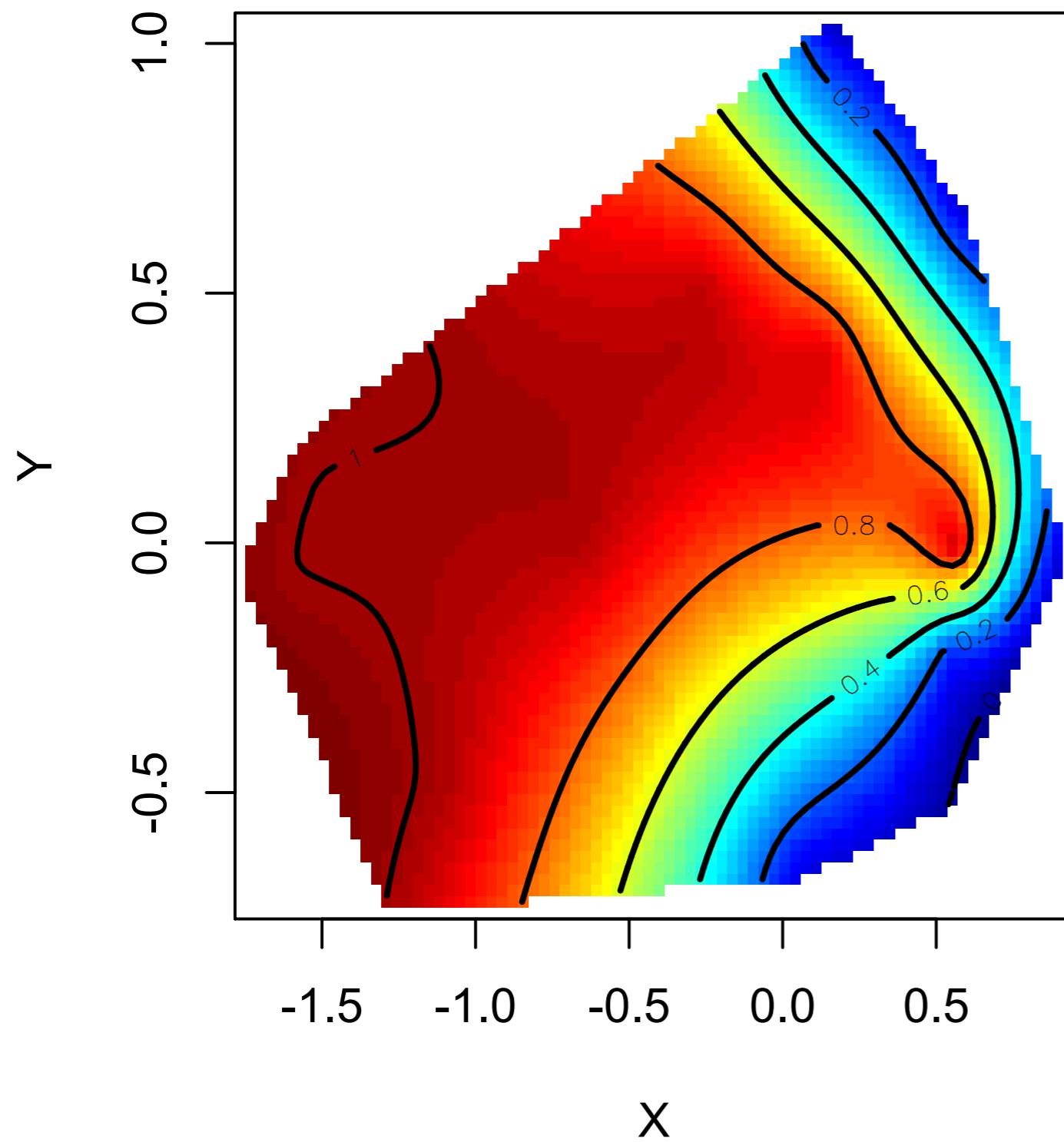


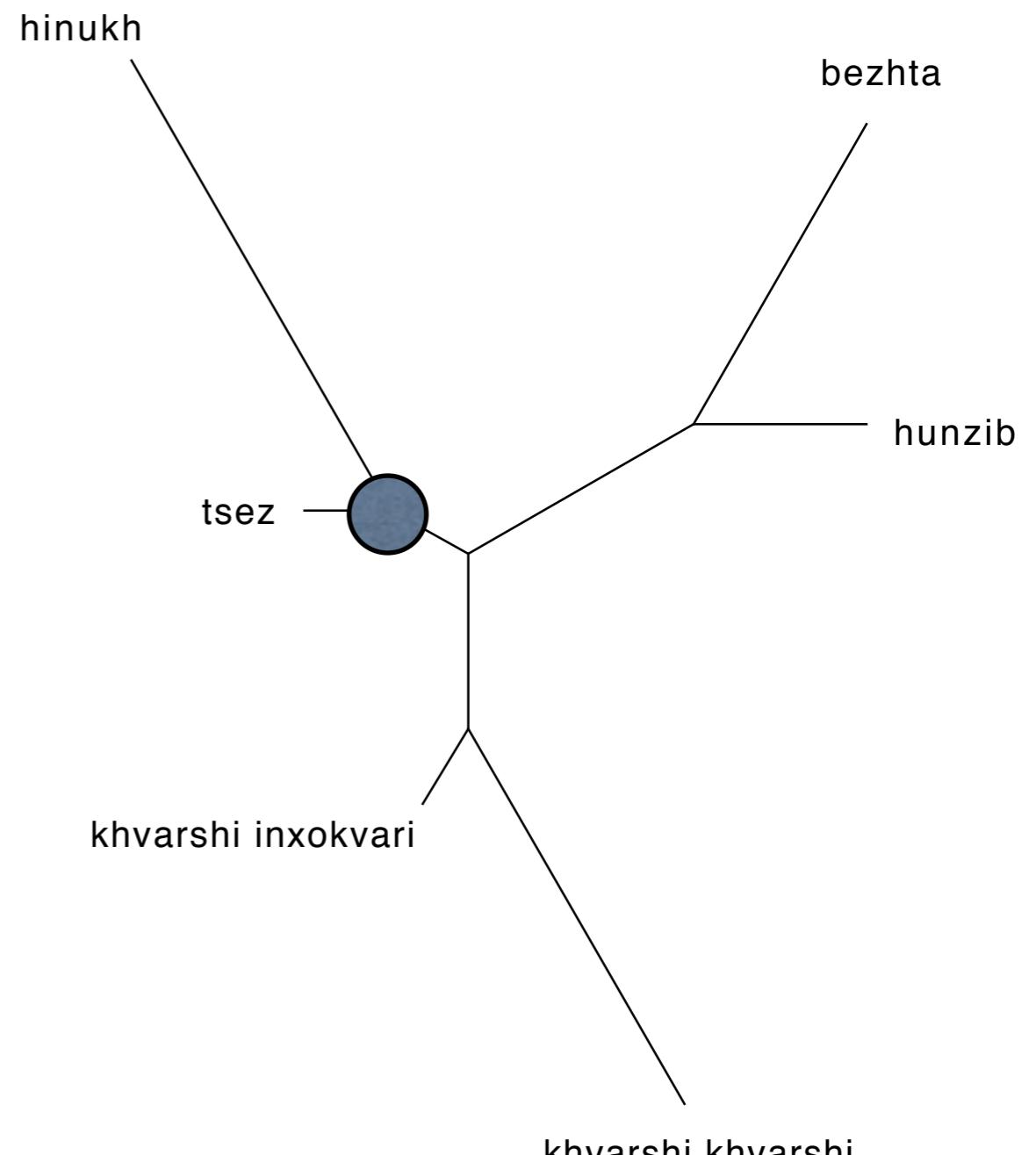
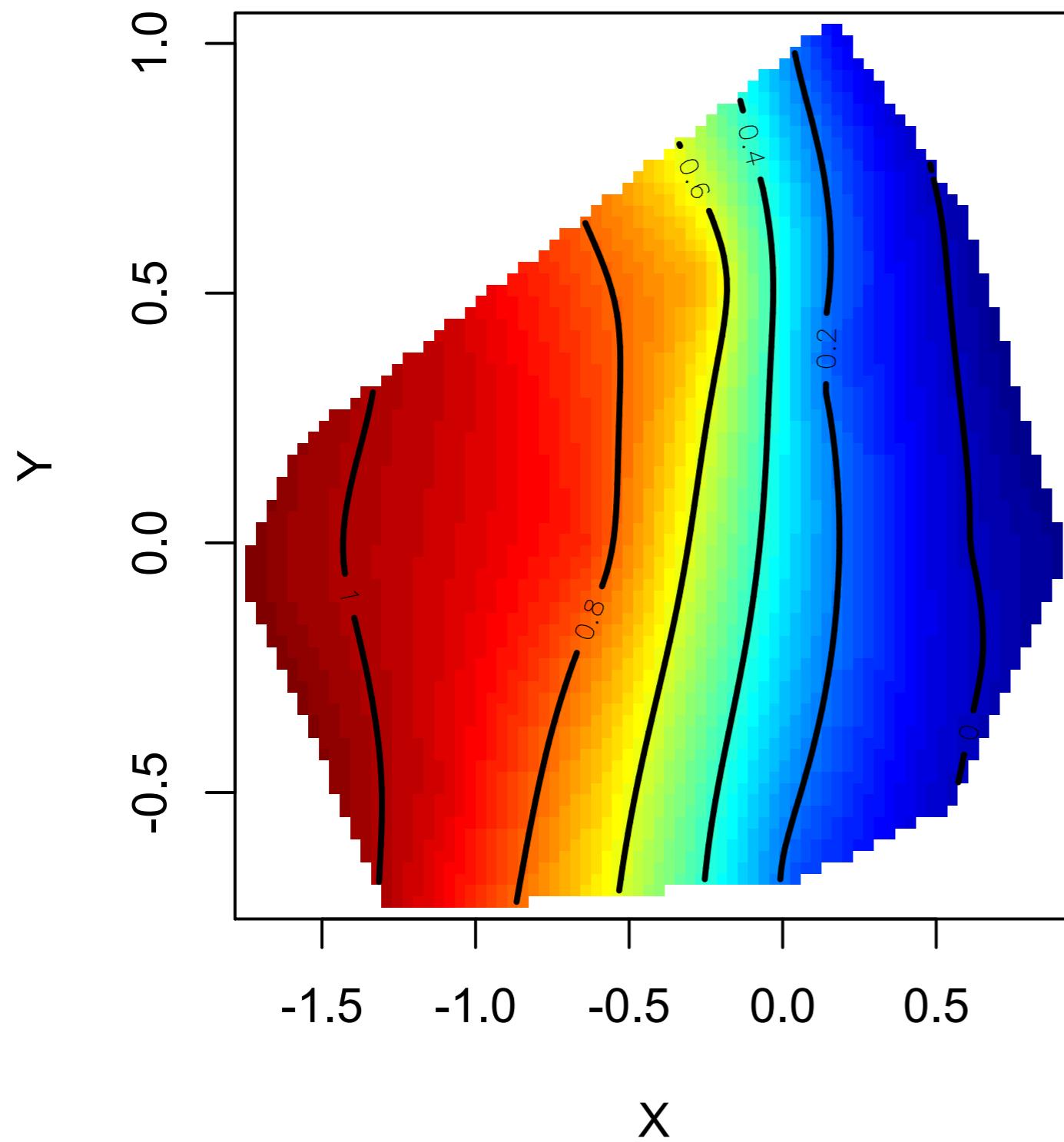


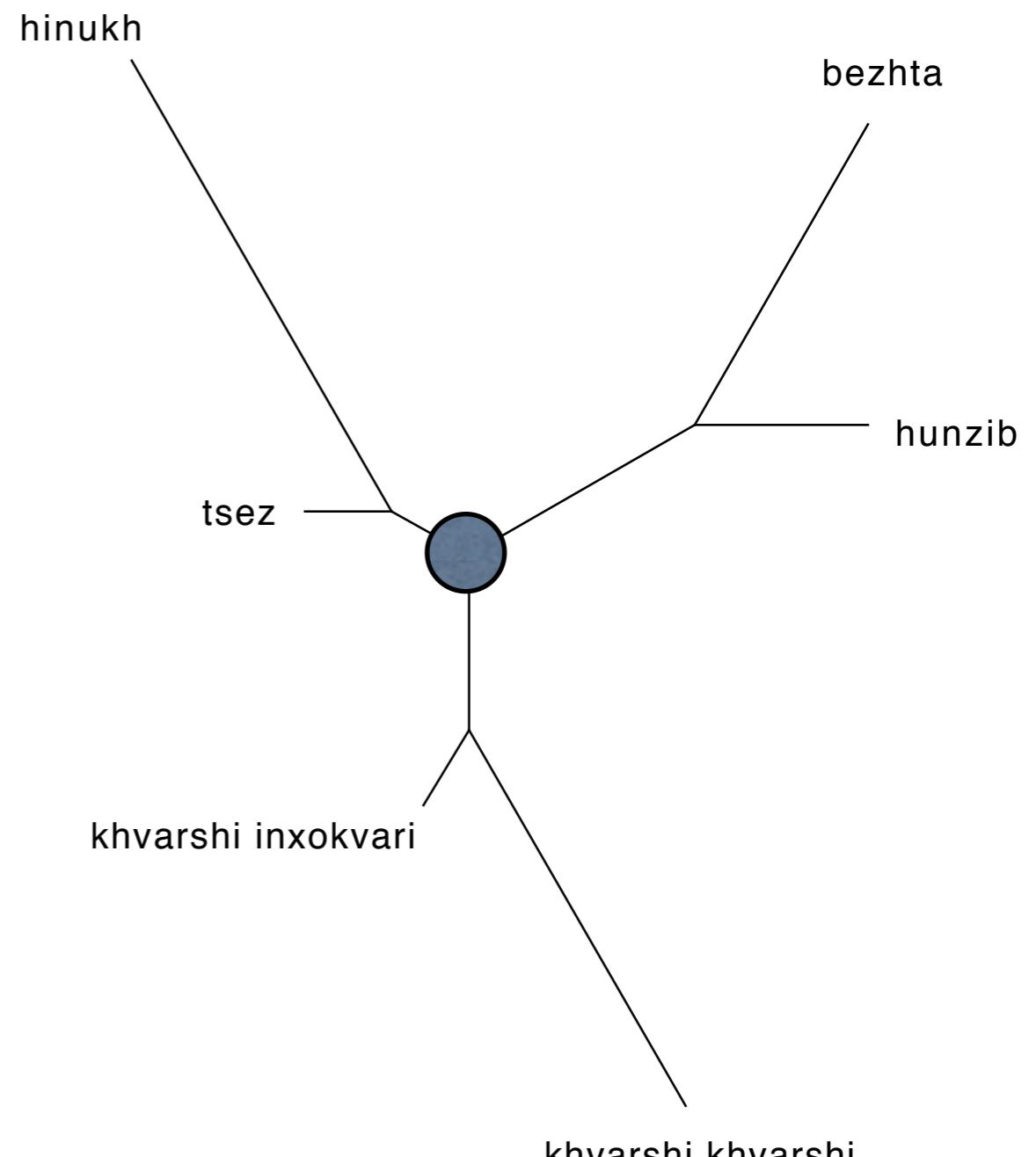
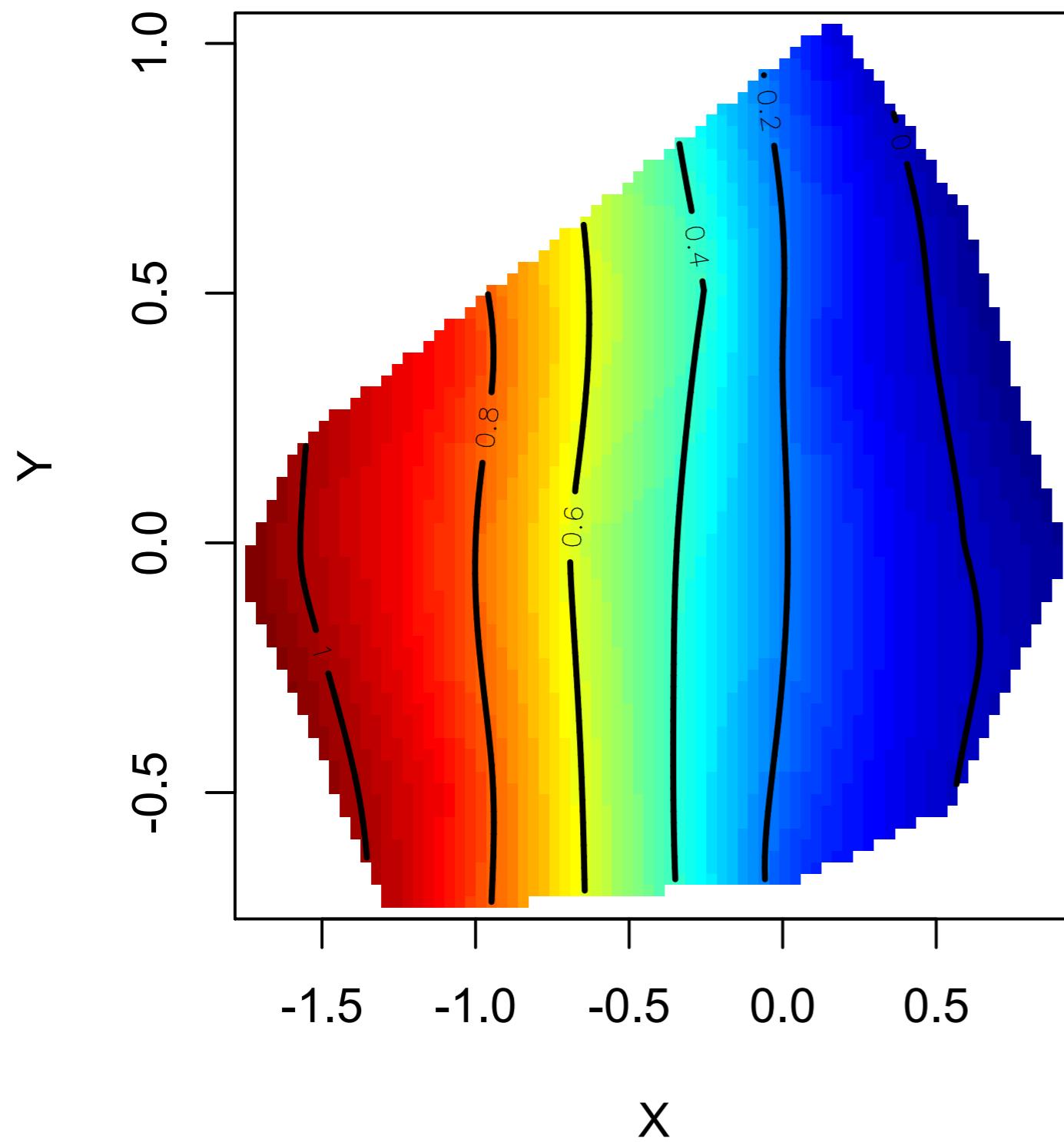


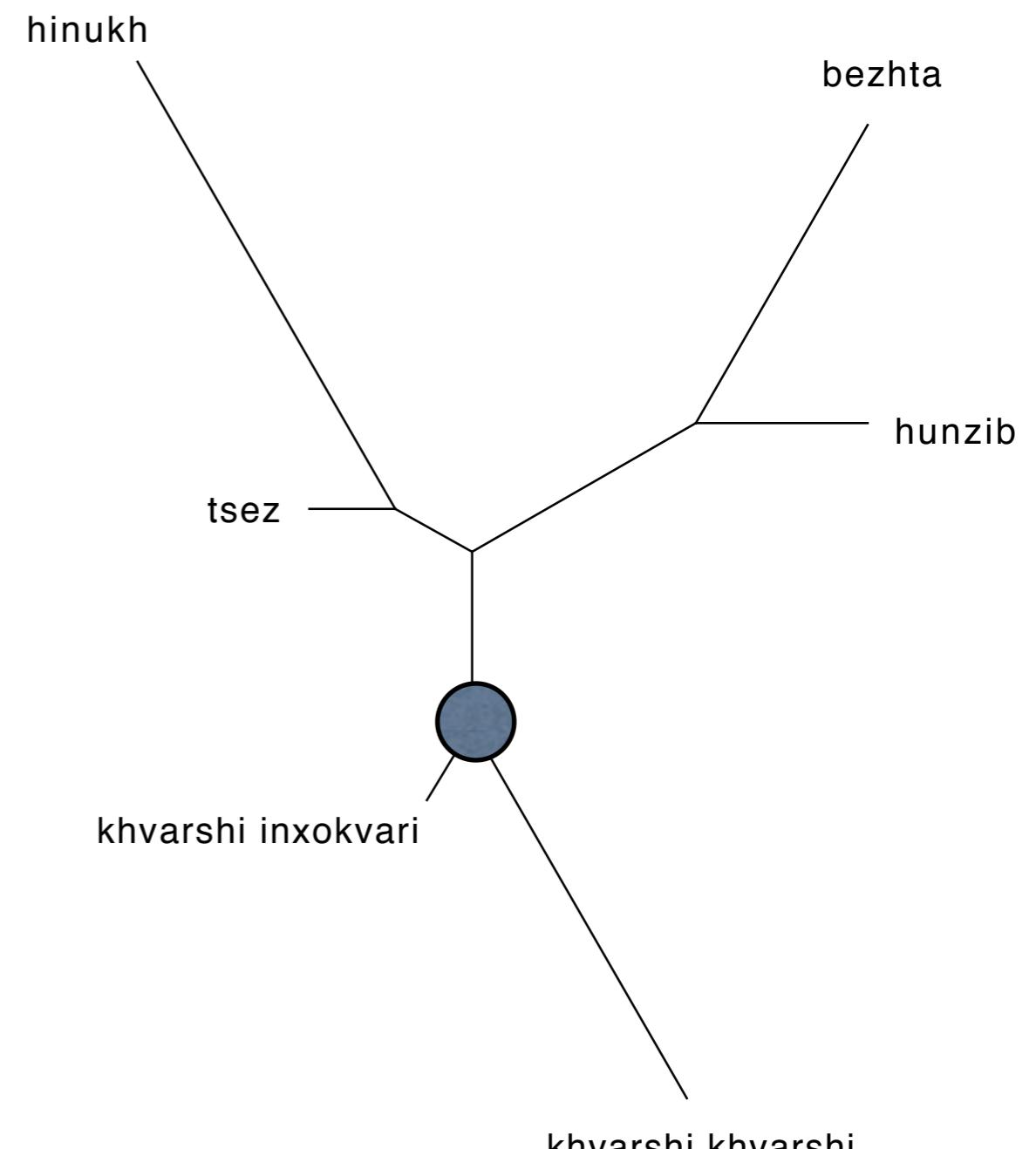
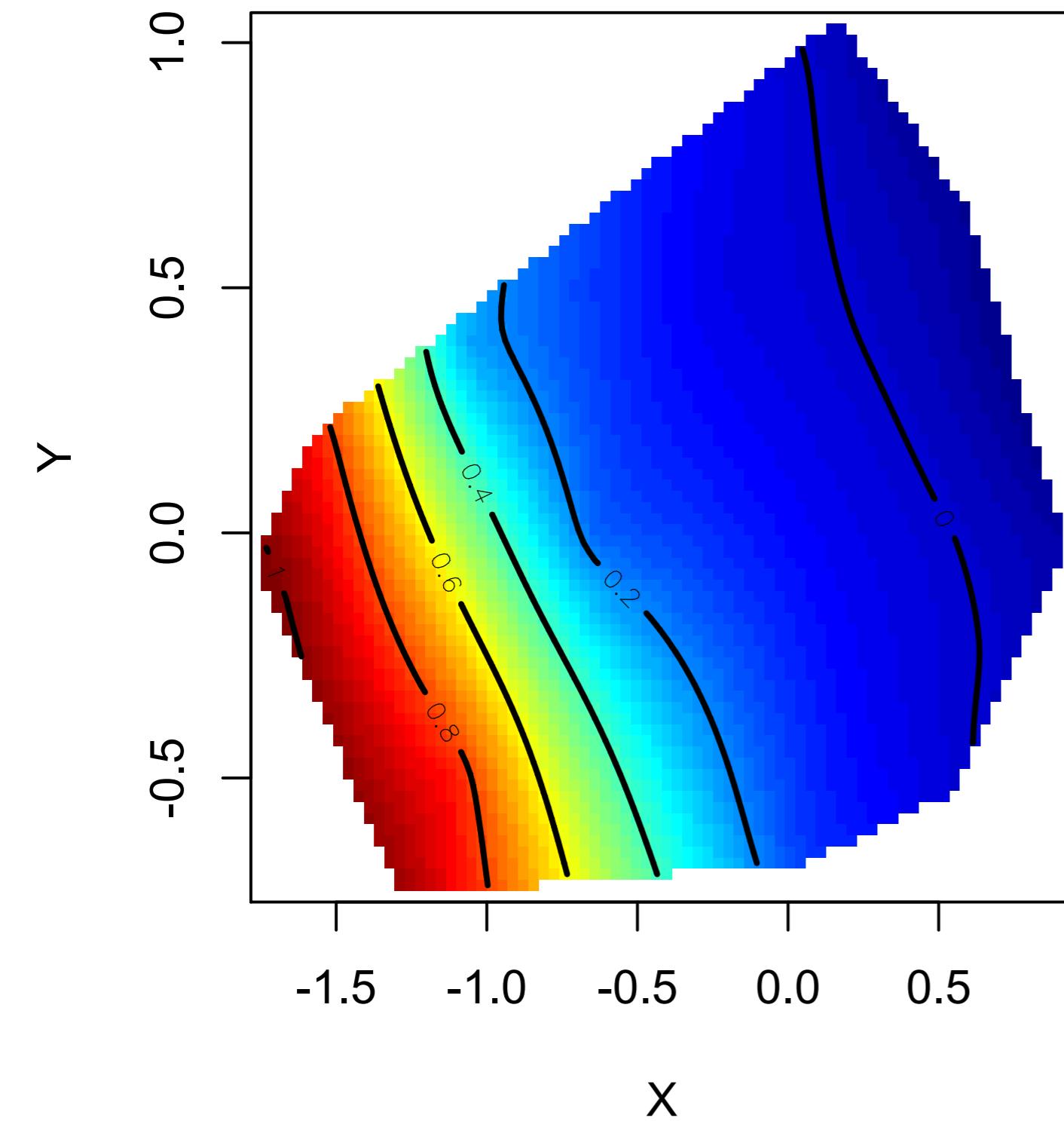


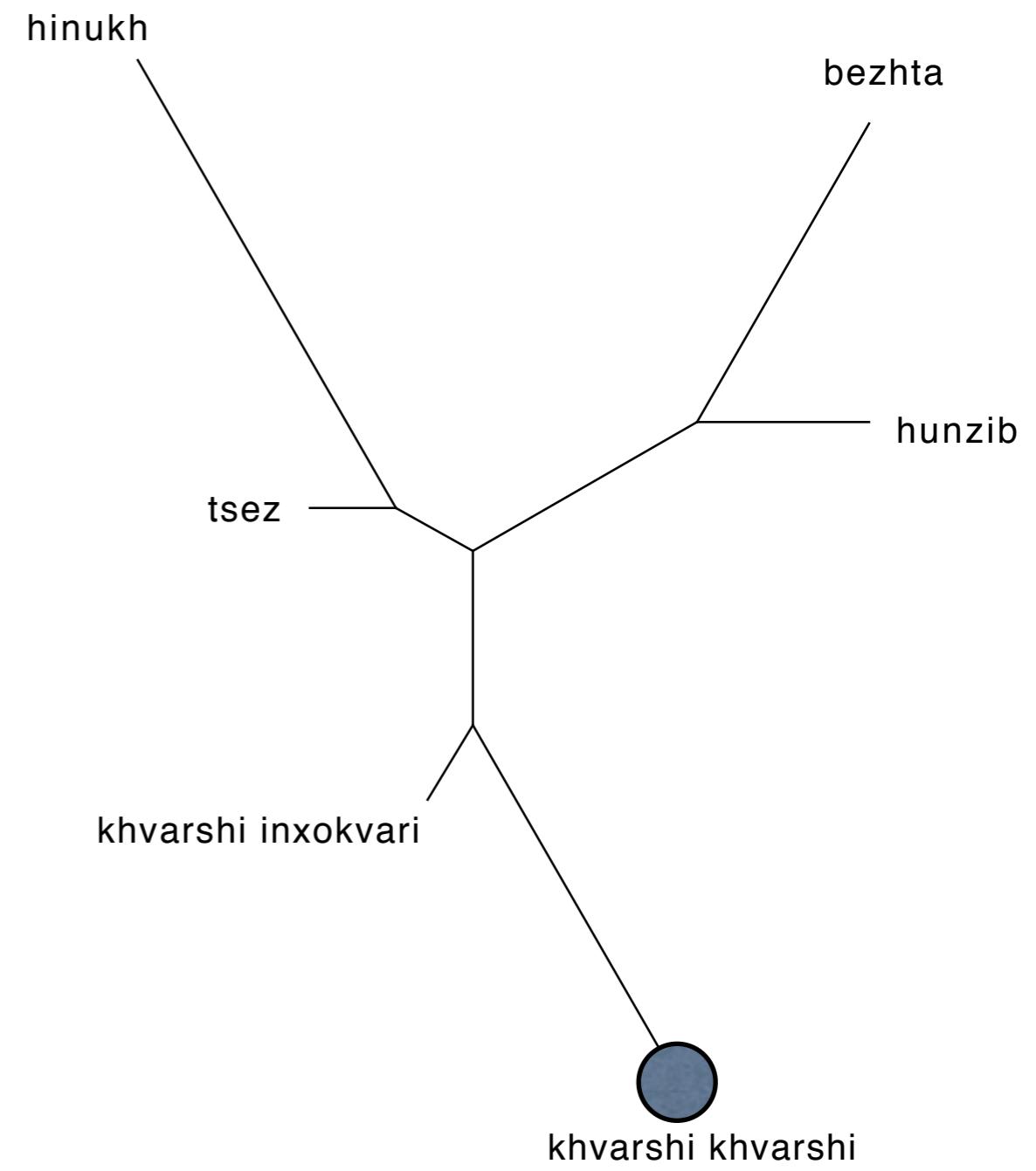
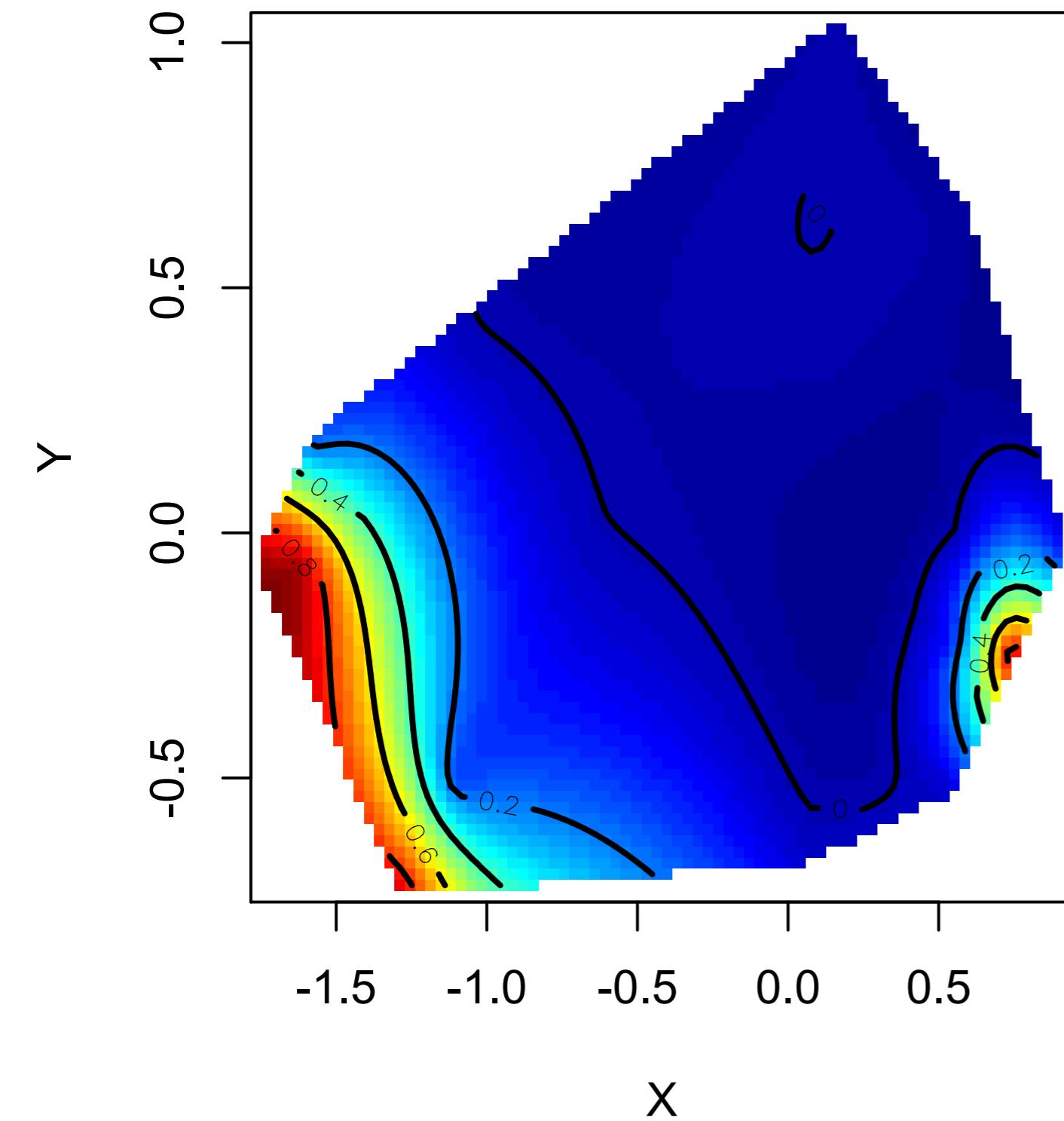


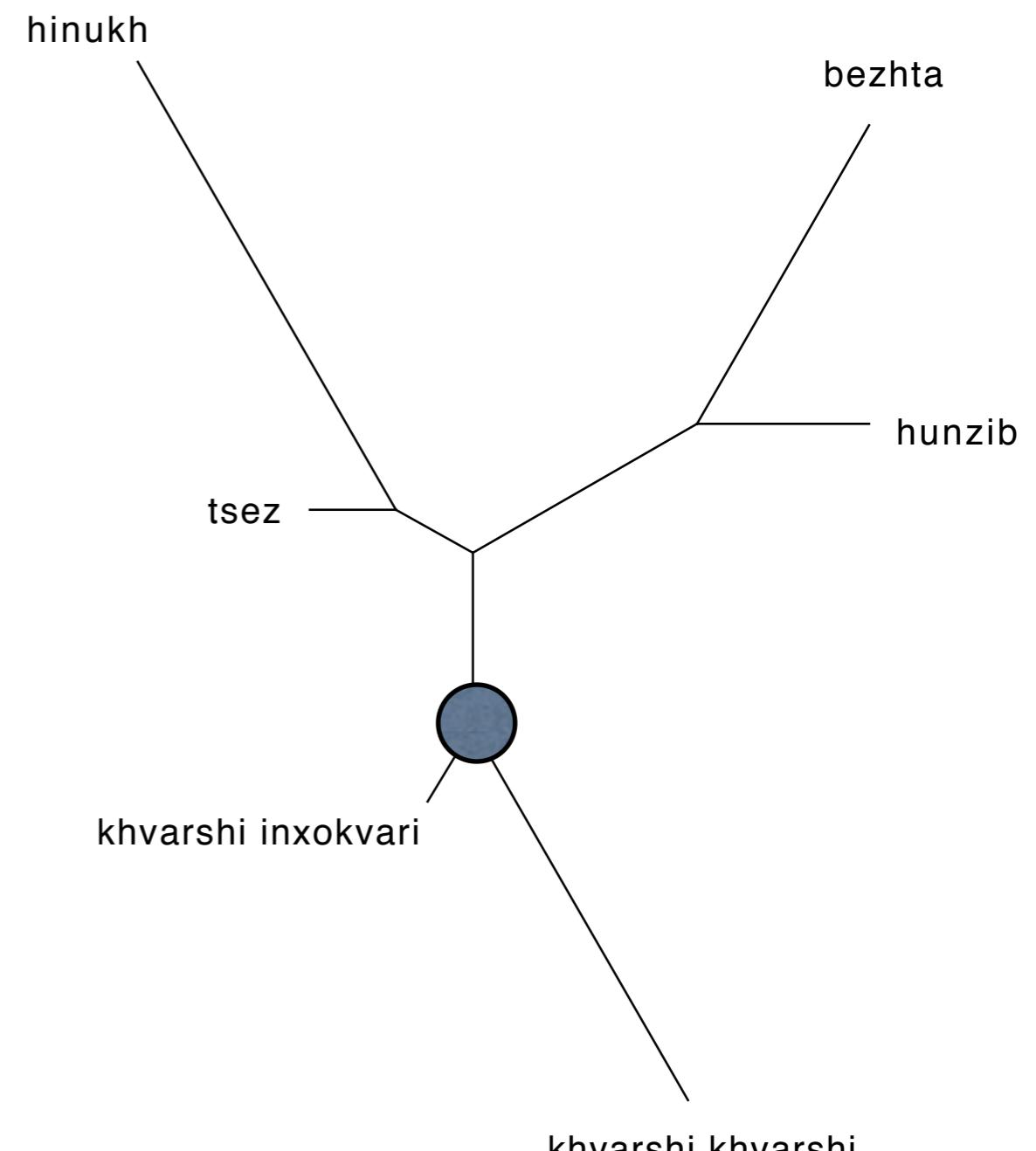
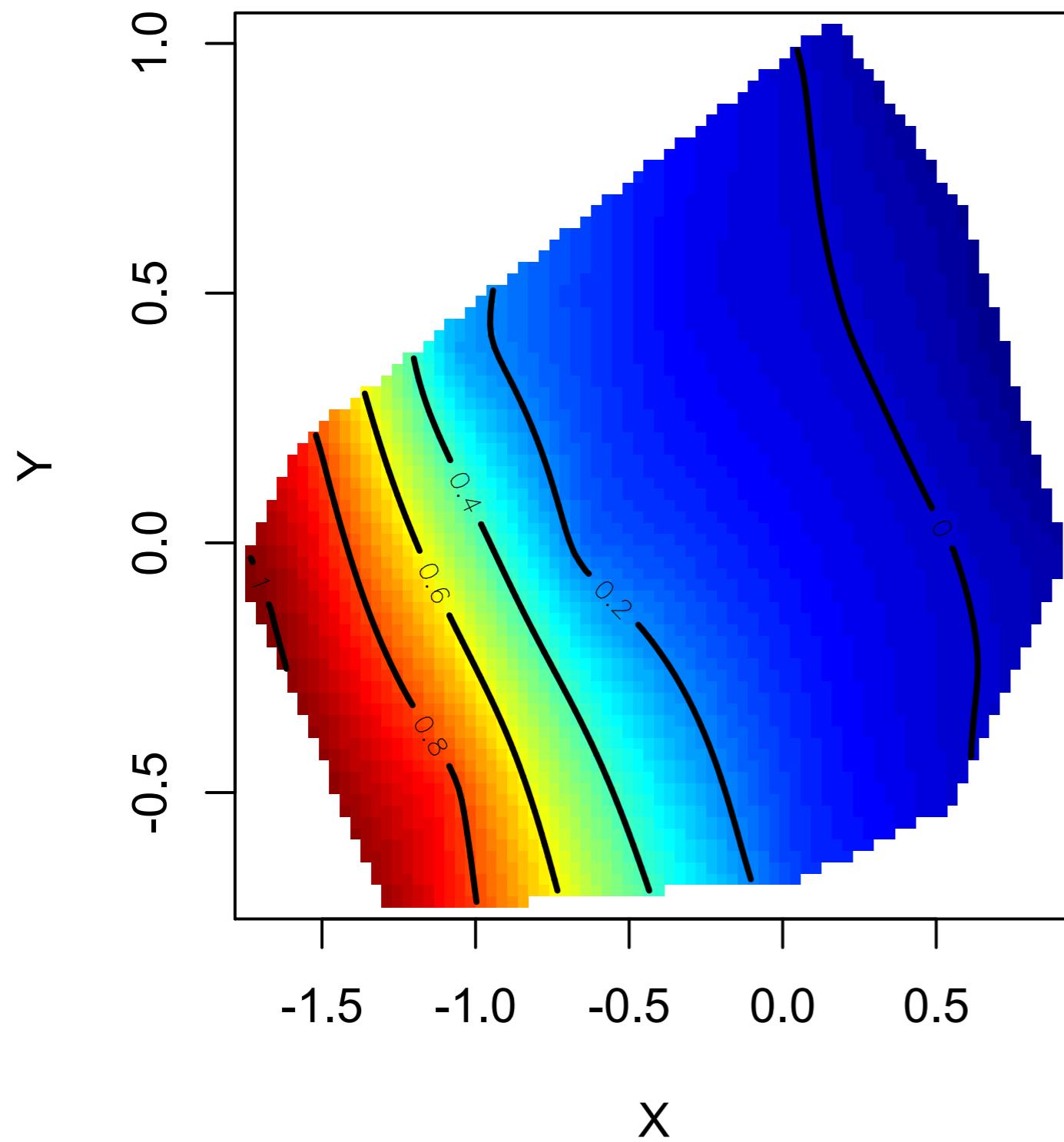


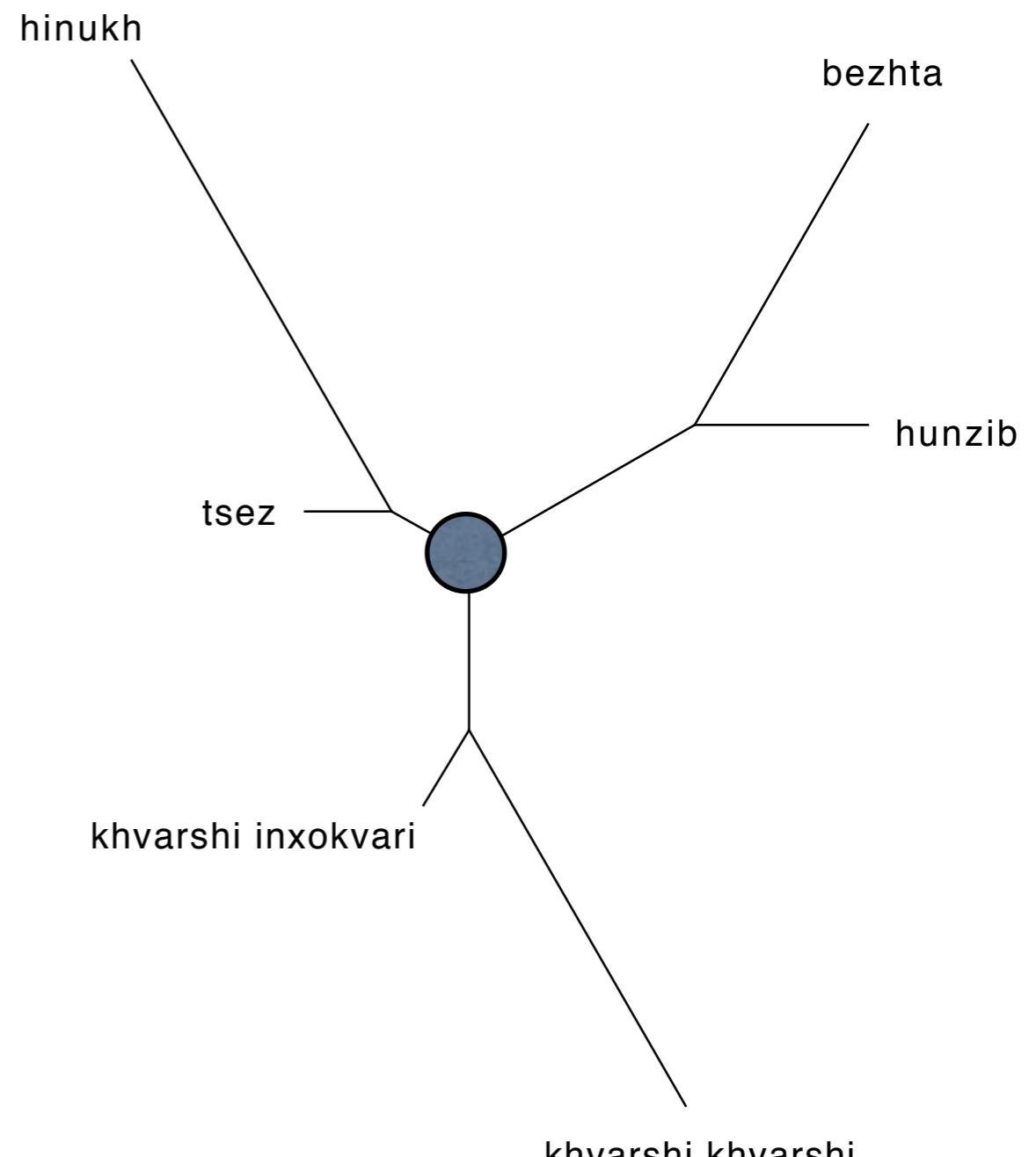
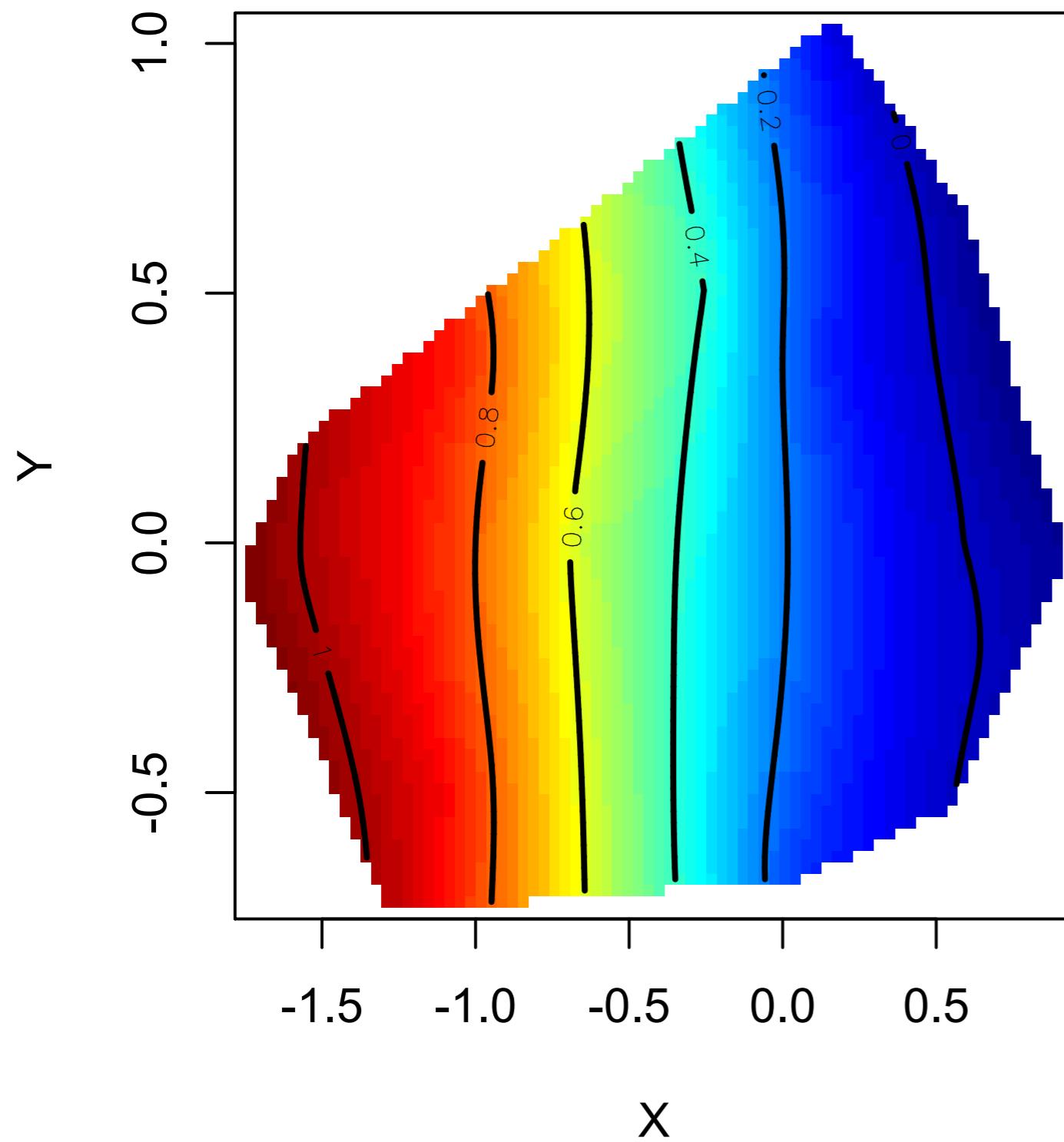


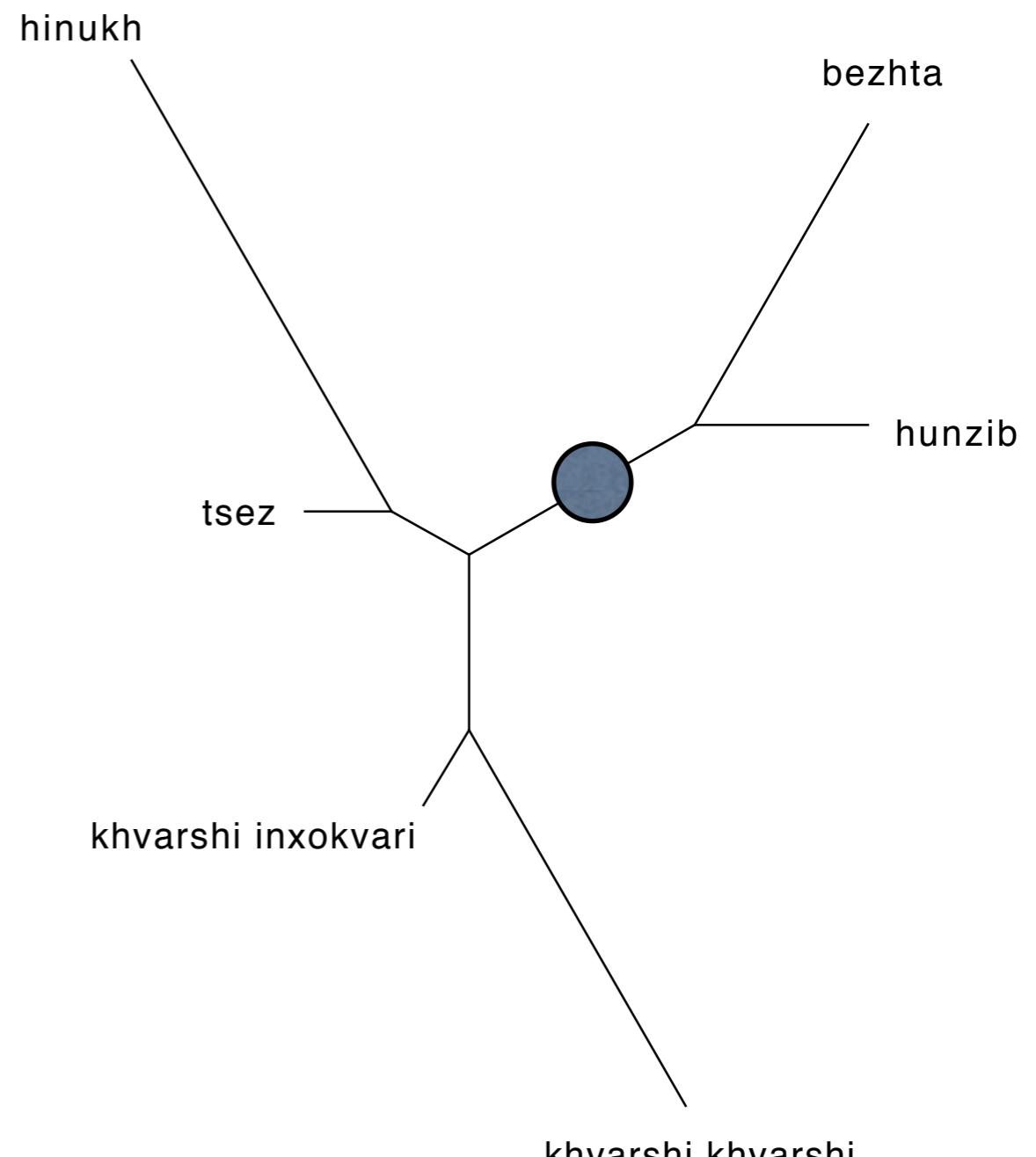
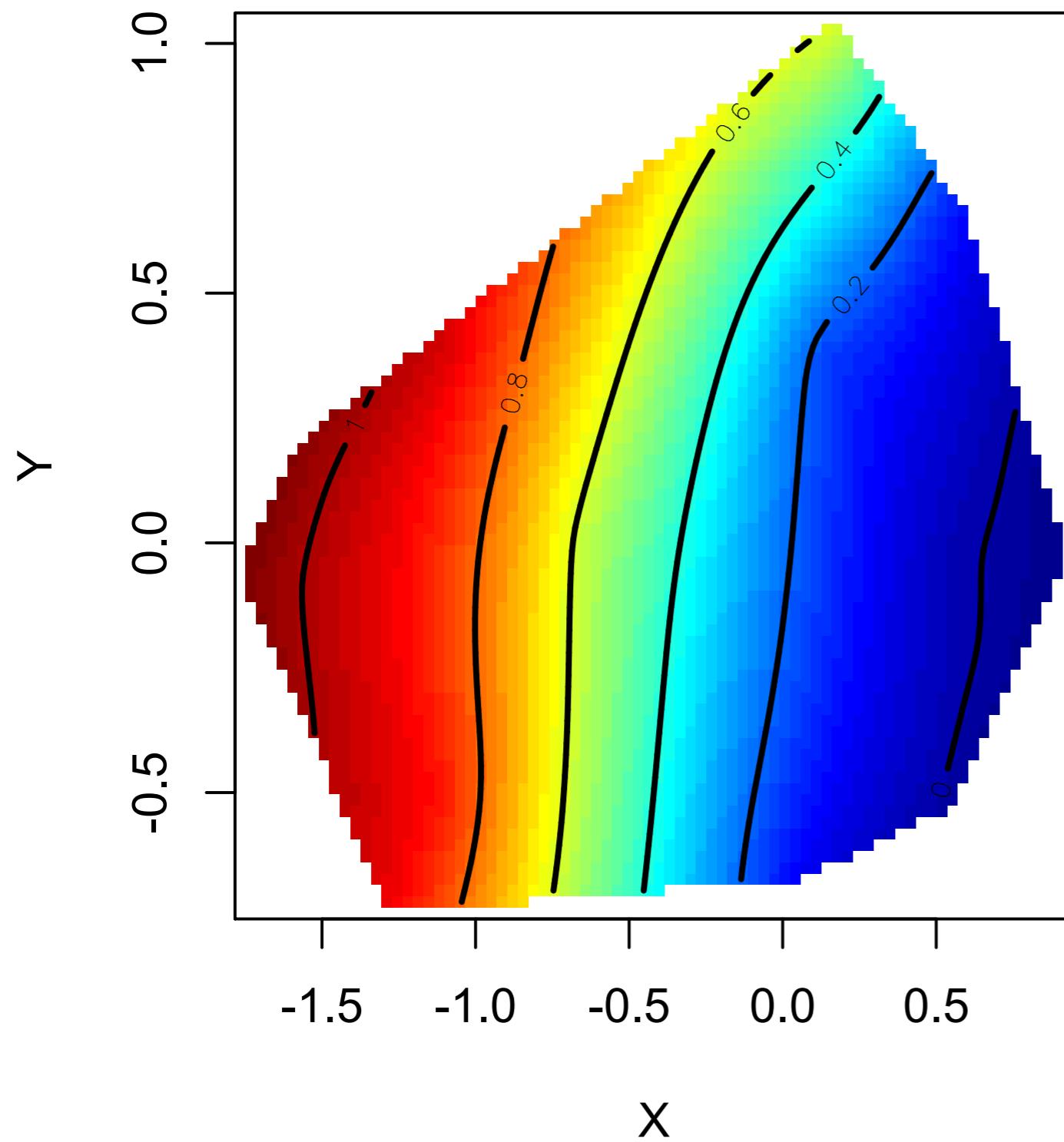


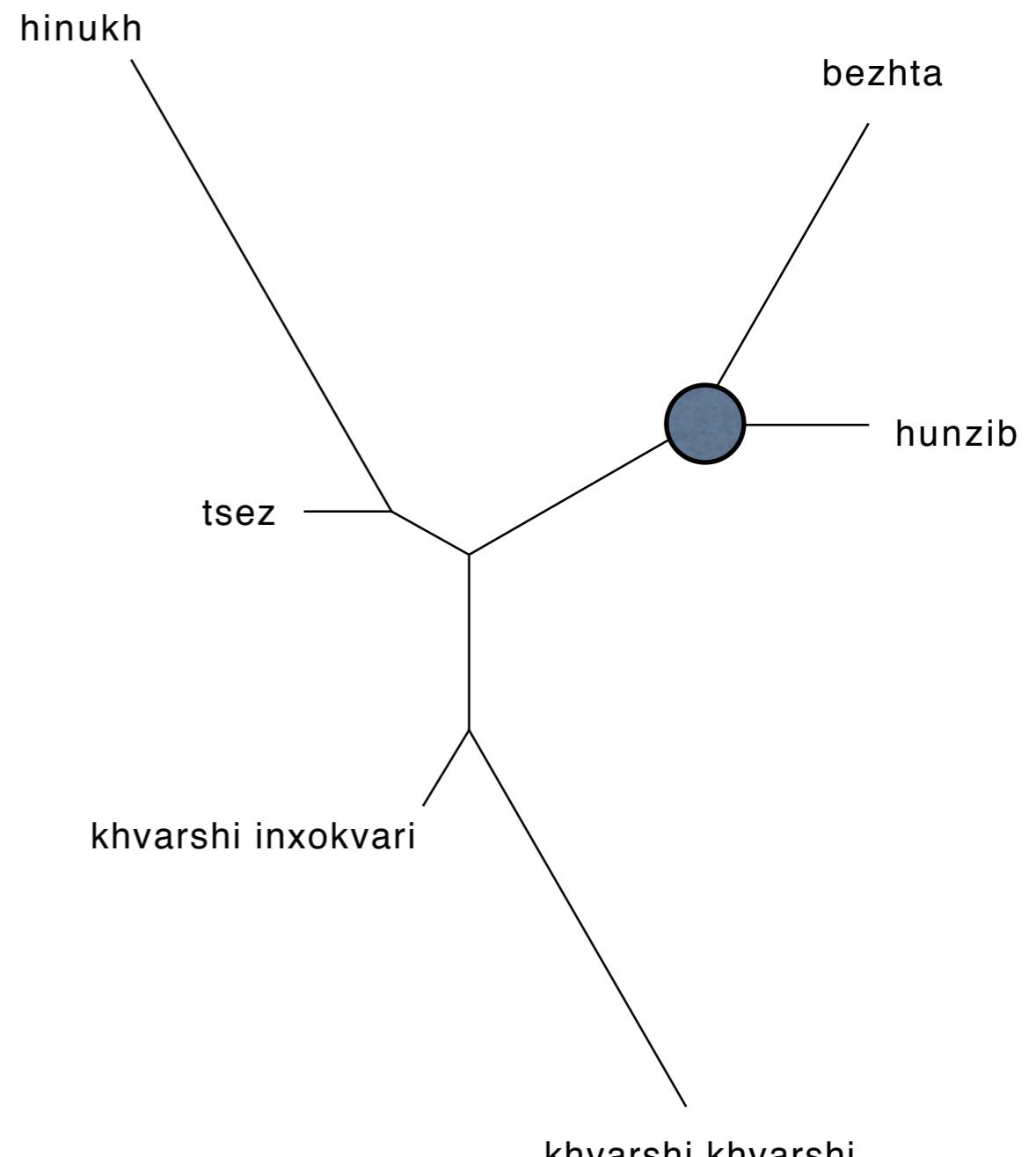
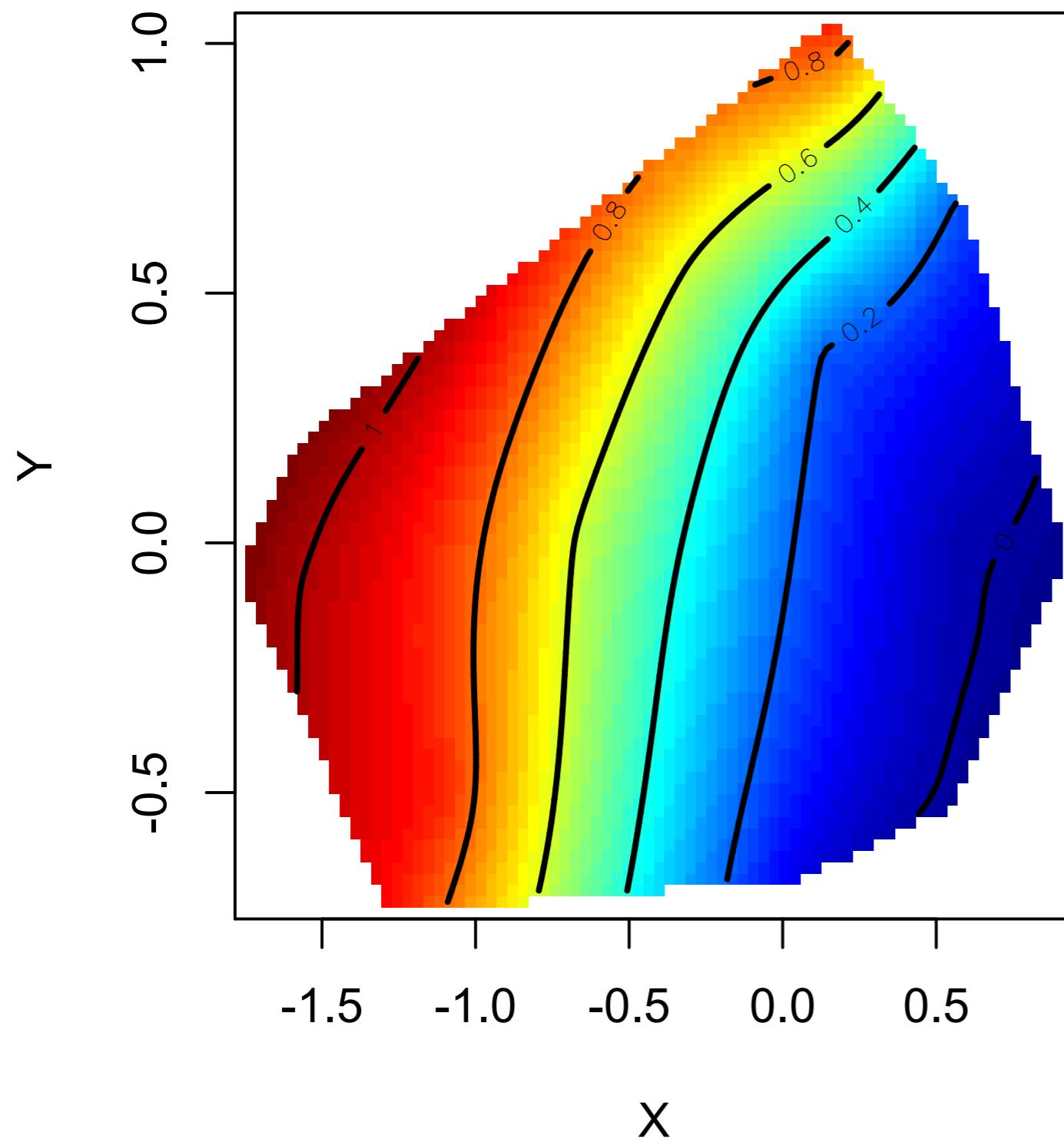


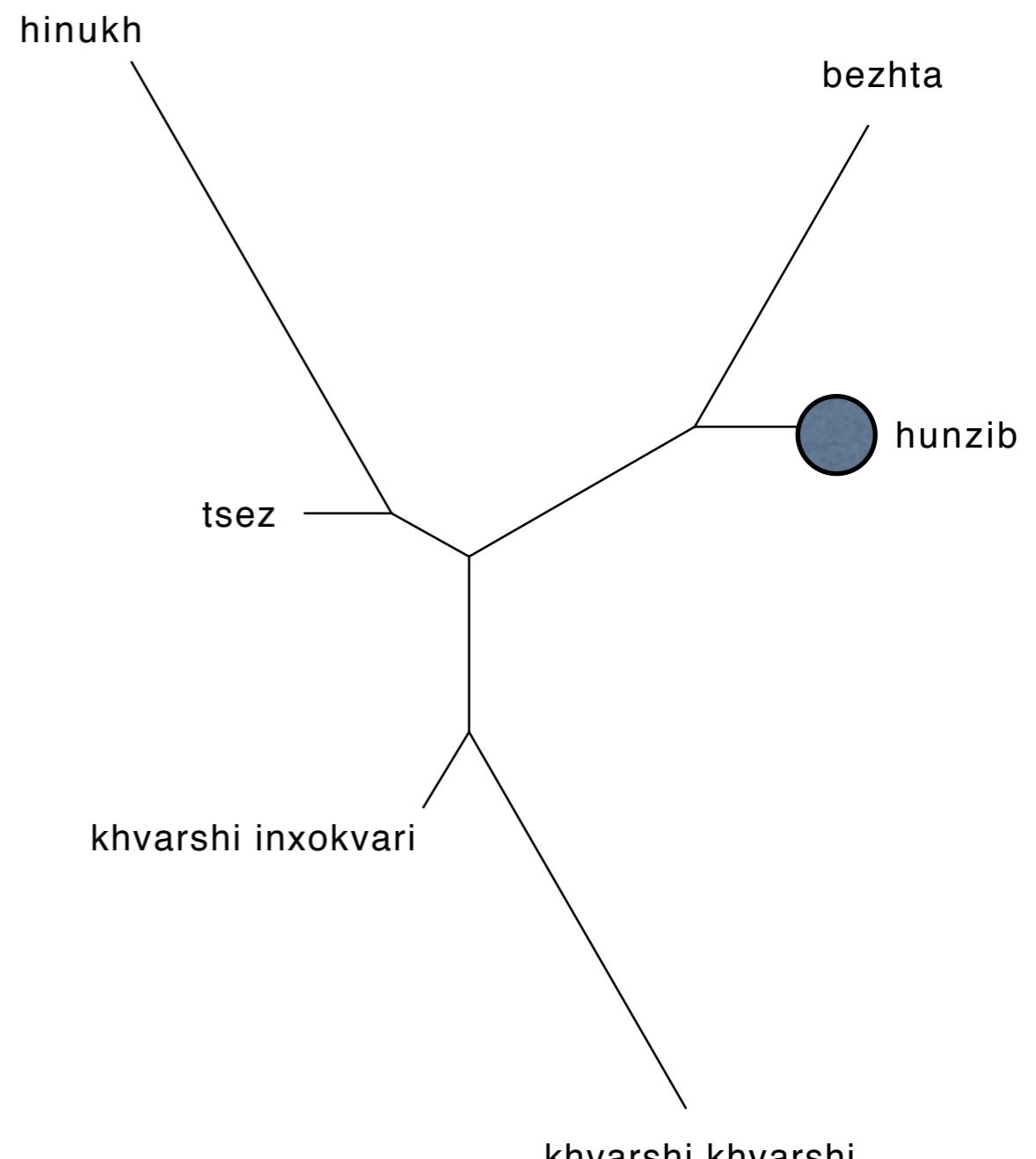
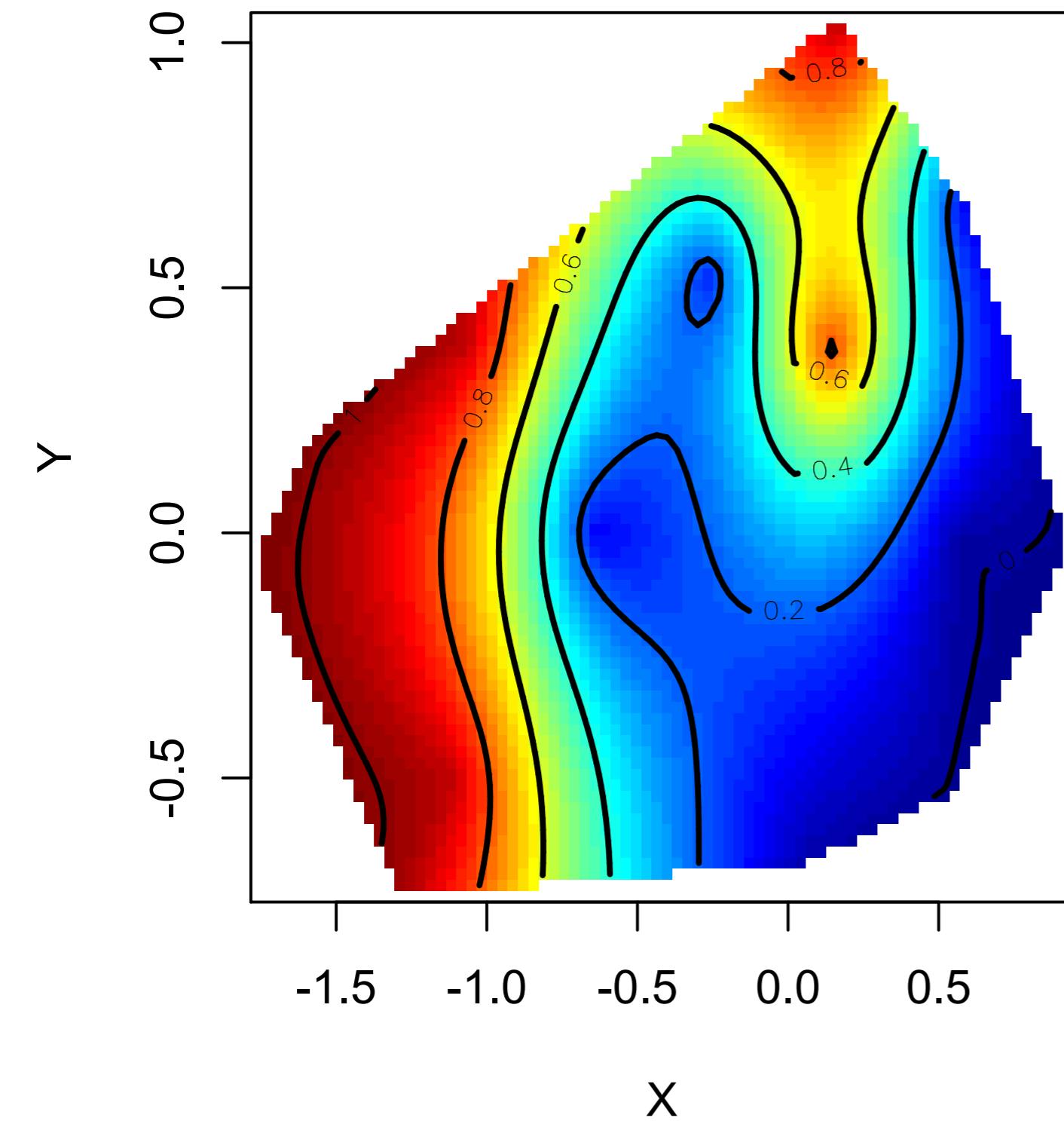












Universal Declaration of Human Rights

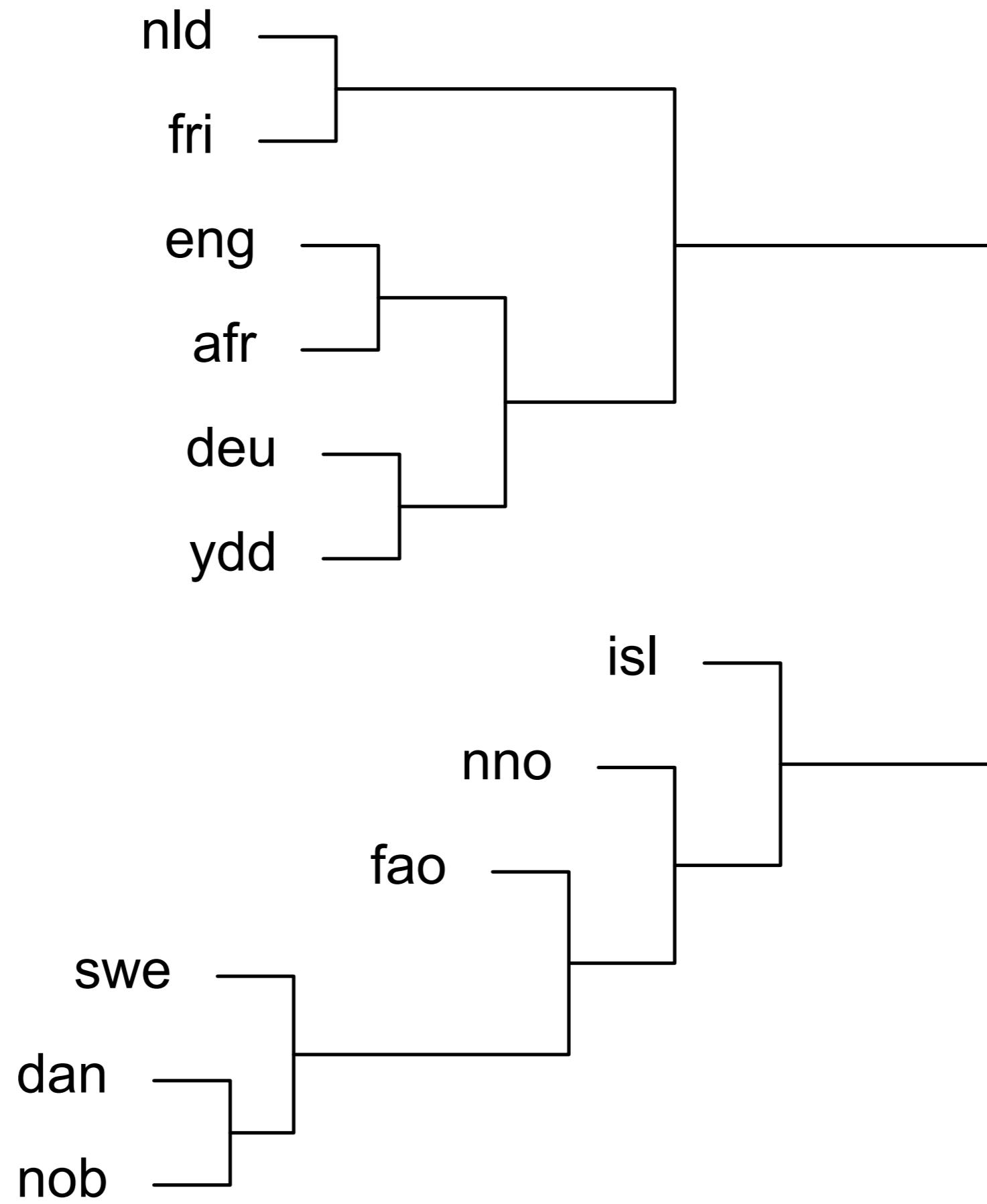
English: whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted **in** barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind , and the advent of a world **in** which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people ,

Dutch: overwegende , dat terzijdestelling van en minachting voor de rechten van de mens geleid hebben tot barbaarse handelingen , die het geweten van de mensheid geweld hebben aangedaan en dat de komst van een wereld , **waarin** de mensen vrijheid van meningsuiting en geloof zullen genieten , en vrij zullen zijn van vrees en gebrek , is verkondigd als het hoogste ideaal van iedere mens ;

Frisian: **yn** betinken nommen dat it oan 'e kant skownen en lytsachtsjen fan 'e rjochten fan 'e minske laat hawwe ta barbaarske dieden , dy't it gewisse fan it minskdorn faksearre hawwe en dat de komst fan in wrâld dêr't minsken vrijheid fan mieningsutering en leauwe barre mei , en hja frij wêze sille fan eangst en ferlet , ferkundige is as it heechste ideaal fan elk minske ;

German: da die nichtanerkennung und verachtung der menschenrechte zu akten der barbarei geführt haben , die das gewissen der menschheit mit empörung erfüllen , und da verkündet worden ist , dass einer welt , **in** der die menschen rede- und glaubensfreiheit und freiheit von furcht und not genießen , das höchste streben des menschen gilt ,

in, im	German
in	Dutch
in	English
yn	Frisian
in	Afrikaans
i	Danish
í	Icelandic
i	Swedish
i	Nynorsk
i	Bokmål
í	Faroese
אין	Yiddish



Conclusion

- Traditional comparative-historical linguistics is a great method, but it only deals with one aspect: changes in the phoneme system
- Changes in meaning are normally only considered a nuisance
- But: using details of difference in meaning, more independent evidence for historical relationships can be uncovered