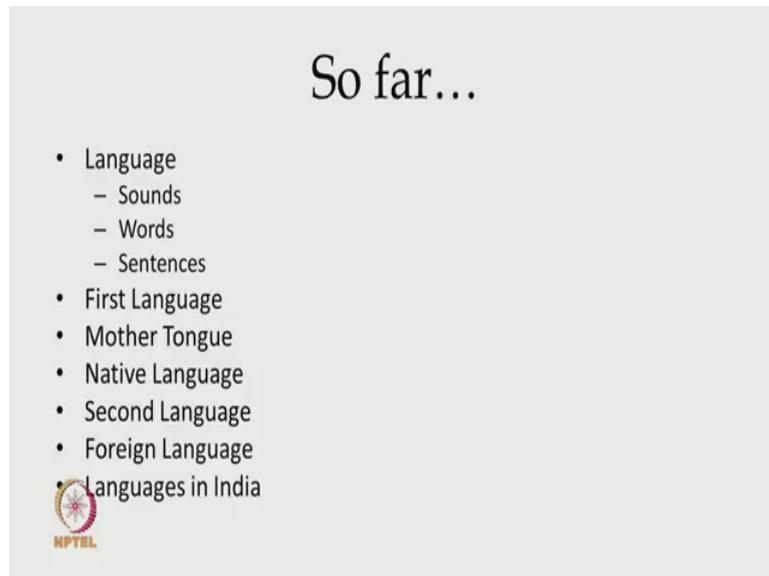


Subject name: Language and Society
Professor name: Prof.Rajesh Kumar
Department: Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Institute name: IIT Madras
Lecture number: Module -11
Lecture title: India as a Linguistic Area

We will be looking at india as a linguistic area in the course language and society today. The idea of linguistic area is an important aspect in understanding the complexities involving the two term language and society. We have seen languages in details and then we have tried to understand society. When we put it to together and that is the way language exists. The term becomes more complex and when we tried to understand such a complexity there comes a point, where we need to understand what we mean as linguistic area. We are going to be looking at this aspect with few examples to understand how it is relevant and broader understanding of the term language and society.

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Besides this, we have been looking at language and we have primarily tried to understand language from the prospective of sounds, words and sentences. That is, we have looked at very briefly, three aspects to understand the internal and underlying aspects, underlying properties of language, underlying rules of language. Then we have understood associated terms like first language, mother tongue, native language. These terms we use many a times without much deliberations on these. however here in the context of language learning and acquisition of language we have seen terms in details. then became relevant was second language, foreign language and then languages in India.

The intersection between learning of first language and learning of second language where we need to make the distinction between acquisition in learning is relevant in understanding the intersections between language and society. And to give a give an idea of how complex it becomes that is the question of language and society. we have also briefly look at questions of languages in India. We have defined what we mean by languages and we have also defined what we mean by languages and we have established that in a society when we are in performance. Nobody speaks just one language. That is to say in other words, everybody is multi lingual.

The. in the micro sense the ability to navigate two different varieties of language is also part of multi linguality which will be pushing time and again to get the real definition of language. Now looking at the last part, Languages in India, we will extend our discussion to the parts of linguistics area and here is where we are going to be looking at the point languages in India is also very interesting because it is believed that one third of the languages of the world are spoken in the sub continent.

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Languages of the world

- Two types of classifications
 - Genetic Classification
 - Based on common origin
 - Typological Classification
 - Based on the properties of linguistic structure.


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There are approximately 6000 languages in the world and around 2000 of them were assumed to have been spoken in Indian sub continent. However, a note of caution is important here, that nobody knows the total number of languages spoken in the world given the difficulties involved in counting languages and that becomes another technical point which believe a site for the time being.

Even a statistically, we do not know total number of languages spoken in the world or total number of languages spoken in India. Grierson's Linguistic survey of India claims something around 1652 however a modern attempt. An attempt in recent time by what is termed as people's linguistic survey of India claims only 790 that is approximately 800 spoken living languages in Indian sub continent.

These are the matters of discussions and debates, however whether 800 or 1600, they are huge numbers and that is what is relevant for us to understand the significance of language in our society. We will be looking at why we speak so many languages and how it is related to origin of languages in shortly. But when we try to look at the languages spoken in the world, there are two ways to classify

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Languages of the world

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All of them, one is Genetic classification and the other is Typological classification. Genetic classification is based on common origins along languages, whereas, Typological classification is based on common properties of linguistic structure that is common properties of sentences. Common properties of types of features available in languages.

We have these two types of ways to look at the languages of the world. We will focus ourselves on languages in India. We call here, the title here, is given as Languages of the world, because we can look at all languages spoken in the world from these two prospective however we will focus ourselves in languages in India and hence I introduce

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India as a linguistic area

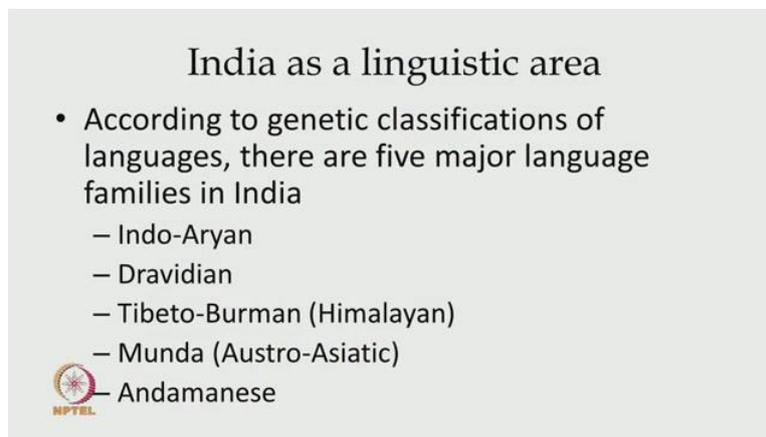
- This term was used first by MB Emeneau in 1956.
- Refers to common traits/features across language families



The term India is a Linguistic area as the term was first introduced by Emeneau in 1956. A great and known scholar of study of South Asian Languages, came up with this idea and he defined it as the term refers to its about common traits and features that are across language families. To elaborate, there are certain features of languages of one family that transcends the family boundary and there are also available in the other languages of the other family. So, such common features are helpful in defining linguistic area.

Therefore we would like to look at both Genetic and Typological classifications of languages spoken in India and then we can come back to the term India is a linguistic area. One what Emeneau meant by this and what are the features that he is referring to. The features that are common across members of the language families.

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India as a linguistic area

- According to genetic classifications of languages, there are five major language families in India
 - Indo-Aryan
 - Dravidian
 - Tibeto-Burman (Himalayan)
 - Munda (Austro-Asiatic)
 - Andamanese

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Genetically speaking there are five major language families in India, that is, whether we believe in the counting done by George Greashall of 1652 living or dead languages spoken in the sub continent or a modern estimate of 800 by people's linguistic survey of India. All of them will be classified in five major language families. These, the terms referred to these families are called Indo Aryan family of languages. Dravidian family of languages, Munda which is also called Austro Asiatic family of languages and Andamanese.

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The word of caution here, most of the language spoken in this sub continent, that is, the main land belongs to either Indo Aryan or Dravidian family of languages. The two other families Tibeto- Burman and Munda, however they are considerable number of languages and very significantly and diverse languages spoken in these families, stay still stay on the margins. We will be looking at the details and some of the names of these languages as well.

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India as a linguistic area

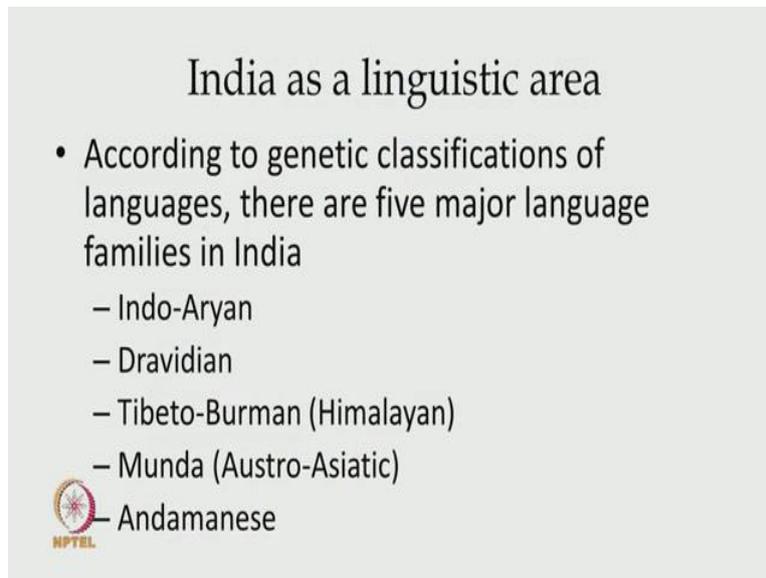
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To get an idea, languages like Kashmiri, Mandiyali, Punjabi, Hariyanvi, Hindi, Marwari, Mevari, Gujarati, Mundane Kandi, Oriya, Brajhasha, Makahi, Maithili, Awadhi, Bhojpuri, Bengali, Marathi all of them belong to Indo Aryan family of languages. I am only counting names here for the purpose of simplicity. Languages like Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam will primarily, these four languages belong to Dravidian family of languages, which also includes two. Languages like Manipuri, Naga, Mar, Meso, Angami and huge host

of languages is spoken in north eastern states of India like Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and also in large parts of Assam are spoken are called Tibeto-Burman languages. They are also called Himalayan, because languages are because lot of languages is spoken in Himalayan ranges are also part of Tibeto-Burman languages.

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India as a linguistic area

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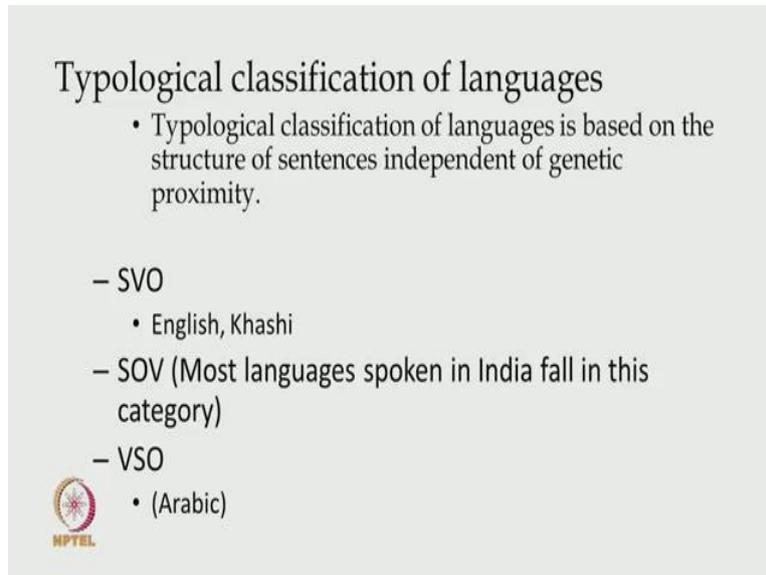
Munda which is called Austro Asiatic family of languages, languages of Santali, Poo, Guran and several other languages spoken in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, South East of West Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh are is are part of Munda family of languages and huge bunch of languages is spoken in Andaman Nicobar Islands are group together as Andamanese languages that is the genetic spread.

That is the spread of languages according to its genetic classifications. Now as it was mentioned before, language is a family. One family is supposed to have common origins. Languages of a family which share certain common linguistic property as well. However, to point it out again when one feature shared by host of languages, within one family spreads to another family, that is, because the languages from the other family are also spoken in close proximity are in such a case, what we get is, what we call a linguistic area. So even though India speaks languages from five different families there are features that all these five families share.

On the basis of those features, India has been defined or called a linguistic area. Typologically speaking where the fundamental basis for classification of languages is the structure of sentence which is completely independent of their genetic proximities, there are only three types of languages across the world they are either SVO where S refers Subject V

to Verb and O to Object. and SVO primarily means the order of words in a sentence is going to be Subject, Verb and Object.

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Typological classification of languages

- Typological classification of languages is based on the structure of sentences independent of genetic proximity.

– SVO

- English, Khashi

– SOV (Most languages spoken in India fall in this category)

– VSO

- (Arabic)



The order of the fundamental words in a sentence in the other type is going to be SOV, that is, Subject, Object and verb. And then there are some languages that are VSO. Now as we know there are two parts of sentence, one is Subject and the other is Predicate. In the predicate, what is more important is word. So if we want to look at the structure of sentence, the position of a verb in a sentence, we have to say three things. Some languages are verb medial like English and Kashi.

It is an important footnote to mention here, that most of the languages spoken in India across five language families are verb final languages. That is, they belong to second category. However, one language spoken in Garo hills of Meghalaya named Kashi is like English as it happens to be a verb medial language. Where the verb occurs in the middle of the sentence and then the languages like Arabic are verb initial languages.

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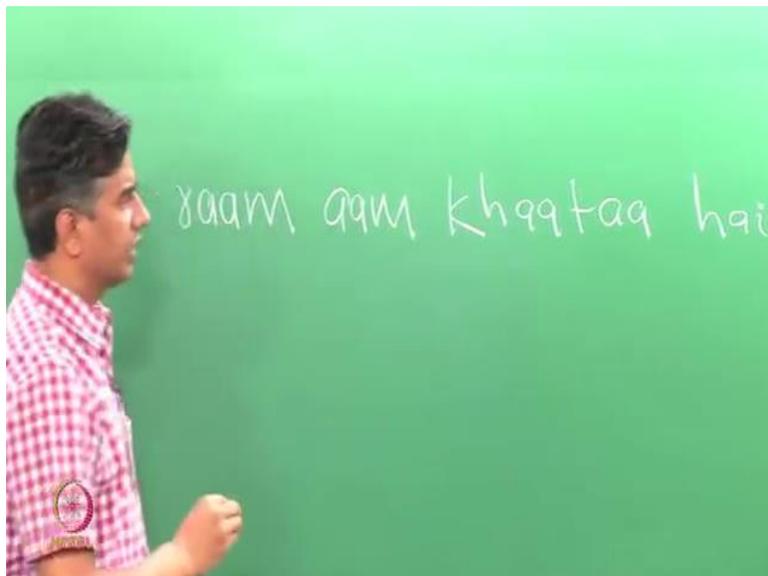
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Which is in the verb is very important in classifying languages and in typological lines depending upon the structure of sentences. I want to give you two examples of what we mean by typological classification. so here is a sentence which is raam aam khaataa hai.

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Taking economical simple Hindi sentence to demonstrate this point and let us look at the point. this is how a sentence is transcribed with simplicity induced in phonetic transcription. So this is raam, this is mango, this is, eat plus habitual aspect, which also indicative of singular number and masculine gender. This much is at least visible information that the verb is loaded with and this is verb be in its present form which indicates present tense marker also has singular number on it.

Does not have gender on it but definitely has singular number on it together they create a verbal complex, where the tense marker happens to be an independent morpheme, independent verb, independent word. But it is part of the verbal complex and then the sentences ram eats a mango.

This is the way to represent sentences which are from languages other than English, first we put the sentence in transliteration, then we put clauses and just specify as possible and then we put the English sentence. So in the context of the Typological classification, with this example itself, what I want to point out is, the following, the this is the verb in English and this is the object in English this is the verb and this happens to be the subject.

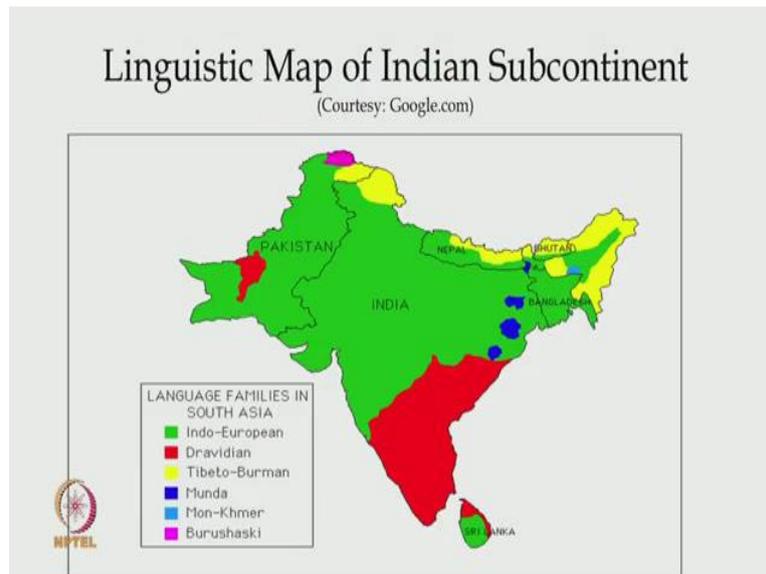
This is why a language like English is called a SVO language whereas what you see in a language like Hindi is this is the verbal complex. This one is the object, this is the subject so a language like Hindi is so in Hindi you have a S Subject you have an O Object and you have a V Verb. so a language like Hindi is called SOV.

That's about Typological classification of languages. So English will be a verb medial language all the time, and Hindi and most of the languages spoken in Indian sub continent is going to be verb final languages and that this example helps you to understand this point the this point. Now what is interesting to note here is the specification on agreement.

As you can see the clause in two languages indicates the agreement pattern but while let us take to only the classification in terms of the structure of the word and in terms of the order in which constituents of a sentence appear in the language, in a language like Arabic what is expected is the verb becomes the first constituent.

Now most of the languages spoken in the sub continent across language families being word final languages is also or could be could possibly be attributed to one of the features of India as a linguistic area. However, so this is the map

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of languages spoken in Indian sub continent, is a larger map and is not a political map it is a linguistic map of Indian sub continent and please see the spread of languages according to the families in the map.

Everything that you see in green, is part of what is, widely we termed it as Indo European and here we would like to call it Indo Aryan because Indo Aryan is smaller part of indo European and all these languages spoken in these parts are Indo Aryan languages.

So see, beginning from this part, some parts of Afghanistan and Pakistan to the huge range of mainland of India and going all the way to Assam and also in parts of Tripura and all the way down that you see parts of Southern Sri Lanka speaks Indo Aryan languages. The language which is Indo Aryan in Sri Lanka is Sinhalese and this is how we see the spread of Indo Aryan language.

Look at the spread of the Dravidian languages which is indicated in red. This is the main part of our geography, which speaks dravidian languages also parts of Sri Lanka speak Dravidian languages patches in Pakistan which speaks Dravidian languages as well you see pink mark here this marks Burushaski and there is a debate that this not much of difference of pink mark and red mark in the sense that this is also one of the Dravidian language. Interesting to note here is the blue patches, they are indicative of Munda languages, and then yellow patches are indicative of Tibeto-Burman languages which are in them.

This is the part of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Manipur and Tripura. The huge part of Assam also speaks some of the other Tibeto-Burman languages and then it is also the languages from Tibeto-Burman family also spoken in the Himalayan ranges of Nepal that this map of Indian sub continent shows the spread of language families in the geography.

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Common Features Across Languages

- Retroflex Sounds (Sounds)
- Compound Verbs (Words)
- Conjunctive Participles (Sentences)



Now I want to talk about few features which are common across language families and they are unique features of particular language families, but they are spread all over. They are counted as a India as a part of features defining India as a linguistic area the first thing and please look at the point here.

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Common Features Across Languages

- Retroflex Sounds (Sounds)
- Compound Verbs (Words)
- Conjunctive Participles (Sentences)



I have organised this, these features in terms of Sounds, Words and Sentences at the level of sound. We have some retroflex sounds like ta, dha this is retroflex sounds are specific features of Dravidian languages and with the contact of Dravidian languages to Sanskrit retroflex sounds spread to other Indo Aryan languages or modern Indo Aryan languages, primarily it was available in Dravidian languages and thus they have a spread to other Indo Aryan languages and too. Compound verbs which are verbs, consists of two verbs together,

but they constitute a single linguistic unit, single semantic unit and therefore they are called compound verbs.

Look at the verb here, example of the verb here, this is simple verb, nothing compound about it. Compound verbs are like when we say a sentence like bait jaiye Hindi which literally means sit and this means go imperative, this sentence does not mean, this means sit or it means with a request please that is please sit.

What it definitely not means is sit and go. In other words, what i am saying is, there are two verbs together, sit and go, they constitute one single linguistic unit, which together means sit, in the use we can see the same in the sentence, bait jaiye does not mean sit and go. bait jaiye means please sit down. this is an example of a compound verb.

There are tonnes of example available in Hindi and other Indo Aryan languages and this has become part of, major part of, most of the languages spoken across language families. Therefore, this also becomes one of the defining features of India as a Linguistic area. It is a very productive pattern. It is a big topic by itself, to look at I recommend you to look at compound verbs and separate topic to understand what the whole construction refers to.

I will quote few more examples or simplicity to understand. aa jaiye, dekh lijiye, so jaiye, de-dijiye, kha-lijiye these expressions are examples of compound verbs in Hindi. I know I am omitting clauses here, there are all parts, examples, from examples of compound verbs of Hindi.

They constitute together one semantic unit, they have got two verbs in them. The third example is of conjunctive participle and they are also conjunctive participle happens to be one of the features of, features on the basis of which we define India as a Linguistic area as this is also found across languages in a simple Hindi sentence. ghar jaakar khaanaa khaa kar so gayaa

Please look at it these markers indicates conjunctive participle and I am also giving you purposely an example of compound verb in the same sentence ,this sentence means having gone home after taking food slept. So gayaa one semantic unit an example of compound verb means slept. kar is a marker of conjunctive participle in Hindi and it is added to a verbal assistant only and then only after it gets added to a verbal assistant and then the word becomes a conjunctive participle. It does not participate in the agreement.

The subject of the sentence is something else which of course is masculine, which is indicative here on the verb singular and masculine, masculine and singular indicative of the agreement. Now leaving the point of agreement aside, what I want to draw your attention to two parts. One is compound verb which we have already seen and I leave it. Next part is

conjunctive participle, which I want to draw your attention to kar as a maker of conjunctive participles they are attached to a verbal stem and then such verbs do not participate in agreement.

We can have as many conjunctive participles as we like in a sentence the function, one of the functions of conjunctive participle is to put actions in a sequence, that is, when we are putting this in this sequence we know that, going home to place first and eating took place later. If we want to put this in a different order, khana kha kar ghar jakar so gayaa, that means the process of eating took place before the process of going home. So the major function of conjunctive participle is to put things put actions in sequence. they can join to actions in a particular sequence and they do not take part in agreement at all.

At the same time, no matter how many of these conjunctive participles appear in a sentence, each one of them will be referring to the same subject, will be talking about the same subject in the sentence, that is, conjunctive participle, so I have tried to introduce three terms in short, because we need to move on the larger discussion on relationship between language and society and therefore I have spent a very brief period of time on explaining what these terms mean. I invite you to look at retroflex sounds, phonetic, compound verbs and morphology and conjunctive participle in sentences and look at these terms in details to understand this phenomenon.

However, these are the features, these are the syntactic features of languages which are available in languages spoken across families. Such as Indo Aryan, Dravidian, Munda, Tibeto-Burman and Andamanese and this is what happens and this is why and it is these features which help us conclude that India is one linguistic area as these features belong to specific families but with the co existence together they have a spread to large number of languages across families the implication of this study on linguistic area.

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Linguistic Area

- The idea of linguistic area is the genesis for the idea of
 - linguistic fluidity
 - Mixing of languages
 - No rigid boundary
 - Multilinguality in micro sense of its definition



In the domain of language and study language and society is to understand some of the things which we have looked at before such as Linguistic Fluidity. It is the fluid nature of language which helps languages acquired features from other languages in with different structure or similar structure but it is also possible to acquire features from languages with different genetic origins. So, Fluidity is such a feature which is such a thing in language which is insensitive to the genetic origins.

Mixing of languages is also insensitive to genetic origin or typological parts, they just mixed together respecting no rigidity of boundaries and this also helps us understand the notion of Multi Linguality in micro sense of its definition. Therefore, clearer understanding of the term Linguistic area and then application of this term in, at least understanding, how India is defined as a Linguistic area is relevant for us to understand in broader questionnaire the relationship between Language and Society. Thank You.