Discuss 5 major changes in any one Indian language that you are familiar with. Classify them in terms of the broad categories of language change.

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Introduction

When I was in class 10th, I read the play, Julius Ceaser, by William Shakespeare in our English textbook. I would not say that I was pleased by that, but I was rather intrigued by English words that we no longer use in our public speech and language. Also, the famous scene from the 1st Lord of the Rings movie. When Gandalf stands before the Balrog and says, "You shall not pass", the subtitles read, "Thou shall not pass." Not to mention the absolute jewel work on language by these books.

Language change is a constant phenomenon. A small development in humanity in any sphere of life led to considerable changes in how we use our speech and language. A great example is how new startups name themselves, sometimes a whole new word, sometimes as a mingling of two or more words. Later, when these startups become mainstream, we include them in our language, and these words become a part of it. It is funny, but we even create art using them, thus, fixing their positions in the language. Some examples straight from languages are:

- _Aaj_ **Zomato** _karate hain_
- _isaka answer_ **Google** _pe dhund lo_
- Look, **Uber** everywhere, pre-rolls in the VIP. (Line from a song: Uber Everywhere, MadeinTYO)

In this term paper, I will discuss language changes in Hindi across various classifications of language change. Hindi is the lingua franca in India, especially in Central and Northern India. According to the 2011 census, there are 322 million L1 speakers and 270 million L2 speakers. There are at least 50 dialects of Hindi with a speaker population varying from around 11,000 for Khairari to more than 250 million for standard Hindi.[1] Major dialects include Braj Bhasha, Khari Boli, Haryanvi, Bundeli, Awadhi, Bagheli, Kannauji, and Chhattisgarhi. Given such a large number of speakers and various dialects, language change and mixing is quite common in Hindi.

I will start with the changes in dialects across various regions and then look into the classification of language change. With each category, I will keep providing examples from the Hindi language. The types include lexical change, grammatical change, sound change, borrowing and semantic change.

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[1] Mishra, D. and Bali, K., 2011, August. A Comparative Phonological Study of the Dialects of Hindi. In ICPhS (Vol. 17, pp. 17-21)

Dialect-wise language change analysis

Here we will look at the variations in vowels and consonants phonemes of some dialects of Hindi.[2]

➢ **Awadhi:** Awadhi shows a number of allophonic free variations for the following vowels:
  ○ /e:, o:/ are in free variation with /jɑ:, wɑ:/. E.g.,/d jɑ:khu/ ~/de:khu/.
  ○ /e:, o:/ can shorten as the following consonant lengthens. e.g., /ek: ɑu/ ~/e:kɑu/.
➢ **Bagheli:** /e/, /o/ occur in complementary distribution with the more common /i/, /u/.
  ○ e.g., /dustɑnɑ/ vs / dostɑnɑ/ "friendship".
➢ **Bundeli:** Bundeli's high vowels are lower than those of other dialects.
  ○ e.g, /bahota denõ se/ vs /bahʊt dɪnõ se/ "from many days"
➢ **Bhojpuri:** In comparison to other dialects, the vowels are often more open and lower.
  ○ /ɑ/ tends to be in variation with the rounded and more back /ɒ/
  ○ /o/ occurs in free variation with /u/. e.g, /du/ vs /do/ "two"
  ○ Nasalized lax vowels are absent
  ○ In natural speech, the /ɑ/ at the conclusion of a word is frequently not uttered.
➢ **Haryanvi:** vowels tend to be more open than other dialects
  ○ /a/ occurs in free variation with /e/, and /i/ with /e/. e.g, /kəhɑ/ vs /kəhe/ "said"
➢ **Kanauji:** With the addition of an extra diphthong /ɑɪ/, Kanauji vowels have the same distribution as Awadhi vowels.
  ○ E.g., /gɑɪ/

Apart from these changes, some consonant variations in these dialects are listed below:
➢ With the exception of Khari-Boli, practically all dialects lack the consonants /f/ and /z/.
➢ /w/ is frequently replaced with /b/ in Awadhi, Bundeli, and Bagheli. Furthermore, with the exception of Awadhi, /j/ is a variant of /dʒ/ in all of the aforementioned.
➢ The retroflexion is a distinct element of Haryanvi, since it tends to replace /r/, /n/, and /l/ with retroflex forms.
➢ With the exception of Khari Boli, almost all dialects do not distinguish between the alveolar fricative /s/ and the palatal fricative /ʃ/, the former being the favoured form.
➢ In practically all dialects, there appears to be a rationale for some h-elision in spontaneous conversational speech. This varies greatly from dialect to dialect, with Haryanvi having the most examples of this occurrence.

Lexical Changes

Every language can generate new words from existing ones. As new artifacts and concepts enter a culture, language users find new methods to cope with them by inventing new words, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs. Two primary ways to bring about these changes in any language are Compounding (combining two or more words to make a new meaning) and Derivational morphology (typically involving an affix that produces a new word).

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[2] Mishra, D. and Bali, K., 2011, August. A Comparative Phonological Study of the Dialects of Hindi. In ICPhS (Vol. 17, pp. 17-21).

One example of compounding is "Chai Sutta Bar" (A tea cafe) or simply "Chai Sutta" Chai in Hindi is Tea, whereas Sutta is a slang term for a cigarette in Hindi. Compounding these two words has created a word/phrase with new semantics from the predecessor words.

Certain words created out of novel ideas of one society spread out to other societies to become universal. These words may be directly borrowed with a slight difference in speech (due to lack/excess of voices, vowels and consonants in the language), or the acquiring language creates a new word based on the semantic similarity of the original word. This creation of a new word is called Coinage. One example of this is the English word "Telephone". In languages like French, Spanish, and Modern Greek, the word telephone is acquired as it is, while in Hindi, Coinage occurred, and it became *dūr-bhāš* = *dūr* 'far' + *bhāš* 'speech, voice'.

English	French	Spanish	Modern Greek	Hindi
telephone	téléphone	teléfono	tiléfono	(tēli)fōn
				dūr-bhāš

The occurrence of synonyms of nouns in any language is a lexical change. These occurrences are due to the change in the base language across space (dialects) and the enrichment (using different words to convey different semantic meanings in various situations) of language. Boy in the Hindi language can be expressed as *Ladaka, Beta, Putr, Baalak* (basic Hindi), *Launda* (Haryanvi), and *Laika* (Bhojpuri).

Euphemism is when referring to anything unpleasant or embarrassing; a gentle or indirect term or expression is used instead of one that is overly harsh or straightforward. Euphemism uses lexical changes in language to incorporate accurate encodings, which can be tough to understand for any outsider (someone who is not native to the language). Nazi propaganda used euphemisms to brainwash the population and desensitize it towards words like death, imprisonment, polarization, and population separation. It is used extensively in movies, examples of which are mentioned in the reference paper.[3] In Hindi, we earlier used *apahij* for a disabled person, but with time we shifted to *divyang*, meaning specially-abled person. Mahatma Gandhi coined the term *Harijan* for Dalits in India during the Indian independence movement to unify the community towards the struggle.

Sound Change

A sound change is a shift in the pronunciation of a segment inside a word (or more than one segment) influenced by the phonetic environment. Sound changes are usually regular, affecting all of the lexicon's words that contain that sound in the phonetic environment.

Sound changes can be classified as regular & sporadic. Regular in the sense that they will have influenced all of the words in the language that have the affected sounds in the conditioning environment once they are finished. Sporadic changes affect only a few words and do not affect the entire language.

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[3] Gu, Haiyan. "Analysis of Euphemism in Film Language and Lines from a Cognitive Perspective." (2020).

Sound changes are also classified as conditional and unconditional. It is unconditioned when a sound change occurs in general and is not dependent on the phonetic context in which it occurs; that is, it is not reliant on or confined by nearby sounds. It is conditioned when a change occurs only in certain circumstances (when it is reliant on neighbouring sounds, the position of the sound inside words, or other characteristics of the grammar), like "The" is pronounced as "Da" when the subsequent word starts with a consonant and pronounced as "Di" when the following word begins with a vowel.

There are various types of sound changes: Assimilation, Dissimilation, Deletion, and Epenthesis. Assimilation is the process by which one sound becomes more similar to another. The movements of the articulators and the time dimension are particularly crucial for assimilation. The opposite of assimilation is Dissimilation. Deletion is the removal of a sound from a word, generally a vowel. Deletion inside a word is called syncope; at the end of the word is called Apocope, deletion of initial sound is called Aphaeresis. Opposite of deletion is Epenthesis. The transposition of sounds, or metathesis, is a change in which sounds inside a word switch locations with one another. The process by which a repetitive series of sounds is reduced to a single occurrence is known as haplology.

If we look at Meghalaya Hindi (MH), the Hindi lexicon borrowed in MH also undergoes significant alterations, such as the short schwa /ə/ in Hindi and the low rounded vowel in Assamese/Bangla. The front higher-low vowel /ɛ/ is absent in MH. In actuality, it replaces it with the Hindi higher-mid vowel /e/, as found in the MH Hindi lexicon. The lack of a higher-low vowel in MH could be due to the lack of a higher-low vowel in Khasi.
MH speakers who have received formal Hindi training and use it regularly do not devoice consonants. Devoicing is common among those who have not received official Hindi training or do not utilise it daily.[4] Example:

Hindi	Meghalaya Hindi	English
nəsib	*nʊsip*	Luck

When we study the Intransitive-causative formation[5] deals with the formation of the causative verbs from the intransitive form, we see that two types of causations are found in Hindi. The first-degree causation hypothesis states that "x performs some action for y," while second-degree causation states that "x causes y to perform some action for z." Examples:

Verb (primary form)	Causative (1st degree)	Causative (2nd degree)
sona	*sulana*	*sulwana*
rona	*rulana*	*rulwana*
khana	*khilana*	*khilwana*

This is the case of Dissimilation.

[4] Sharma, M., Hyslop, G., Konnerth, L., Morey, S. and Sarmah, P., 2014. Phonological changes in the Hindi lexicon: a case of Meghalaya Hindi. North East Indian Linguistics 6, p.193.
[5] Chakrabarti, D. and Bhattacharyya, P., 2002, December. Syntactic alternations of Hindi verbs with reference to the morphological paradigm. In Language Engineering Conference, 2002. Proceedings (pp. 77-84). IEEE.

Nazalisation is a prime example where sound changes occur in the Hindi language.[6] Example:

daat (tooth)   *daant* (tooth)   (same meaning using nasalization)
saas (mother-in-law)   *saans* (breath)   (different meaning using nasalization)

Borrowing

It is usual for one language to borrow terms from another and incorporate them into its own lexicon; this process is called Linguistic Borrowing. Any linguistic content originating in a foreign language can be borrowed, including sounds, phonological rules, grammatical morphemes, syntactic patterns, semantic linkages, discourse techniques, etc. A loanword is a lexical item that has been 'borrowed' from another language, a term that was not initially part of the recipient language's vocabulary but was accepted from another language and incorporated into the borrowing language's lexicon. Borrowed words are reformed to match the borrowing language's phonological and morphological structure, at least in the early phases of language contact.

Languages borrow words from other languages for various reasons, including necessity and prestige. When speakers of a language learn a new item or concept from a foreign language, they require a new term to go with it; often, a foreign name is borrowed along with the new concept. The other primary reason words from another language are adopted is prestige since the foreign phrase is highly regarded for some reason. Loans for prestige are sometimes referred to as "luxury" loans.
Although both the phonetic form and meaning of a word in the donor language are transferred to the borrowing language, it is also possible to borrow only the meaning, which is known as Calques or loan translations.

Sometimes, words spread across enormous swaths of land through a series of borrowings. Words denoting cultural objects or notions are more likely to spread extensively. For example, śarkara- 'sand, grit; sugar in granulated form' => Persian/Hindi Shakar => Arabic Sukkur => Italian Zucchero => Spanish azúcar => French sucre => English sugar.

Let us talk about bilingual speakers; they tend to mix both the languages and create a code-mixed language, having a unique grammar and syntactic structure similar to the parent languages. The question arises whether we can classify this as borrowing or not?[7] Many linguists argue that loan words begin as a CM but that via frequent usage and dissemination across the language, they eventually become native vocabulary and take on the traits of the "borrowing" language. However, the problem with this is that a native "accent" might be misinterpreted for phonological convergence in many circumstances, and morpho-syntactic markings aren't always prominent. Because an alveolar plosive is not part of Hindi phonology, most Hindi speakers of English would hear an English alveolar /d/ as a retroflex. Consider the example below:

[6] Ohala, M. and Ohala, M., 1975. Nasals and nasalization in Hindi. Nasalfest, pp.317-32.
[7] Bali, K., Sharma, J., Choudhury, M. and Vyas, Y., 2014, October. "i am borrowing ya mixing?" an analysis of english-hindi code mixing in facebook. In Proceedings of the First Workshop on Computational Approaches to Code Switching (pp. 116-126).

"*sab artists ko bulayaa haī*"   (all artists have been called)
"*sab artist kal aayenge*"   (all artists will come tomorrow)

The English inflection –s on the word artist makes it plural in the first phrase, whereas the Hindi Verb makes it plural in the second. Is this to say that in the first case, it's CM, and in the second, it's borrowing because both forms and structures are equally acceptable and widespread in Hindi?

Syntactic Change

Syntactic change refers to changes in syntactic constructs, such as the production of new constructions and alterations to existing constructions. Before moving forward, let us differentiate between the underlying structure and surface manifestation of a syntactic construction. The underlying structure includes constituency, hierarchical structure, grammatical categories, grammatical relations and cohesion. Whereas, surface manifestation includes morphological marking (for example, morphological case, agreement, gender) and word order.

Syntactic changes occur using three mechanisms: reanalysis, extension and borrowing. Reanalysis changes the underlying structure of a syntactic construction but does not modify surface manifestation. Extension results in changes in surface manifestation but does not involve immediate modification of the underlying structure. Borrowing includes borrowing sentence structures from neighbouring languages.

Languages differ in their syntax; English is an SVO (Subject-Verb-Object) language, while Hindi is an SOV language. Example:

Subject phrase	Object phrase	Subject phrase	
Varun ne	*Rishabh ko*	*tamacha laga diya*	(Hindi)

Subject phrase	Subject phrase	Object phrase	
Varun	slapped	Rishabh	(Engllish)

The language of Master Yoda in the famous cinematic universe of Star Wars is also an outcome of syntactic play with English.

Sometimes various syntax used in different sentences ends up having the same meaning.[8] Example:

šāntī mārī gayī   (Shanti was killed)
šāntī ko mārā gayā   (Shanti was killed)

[8] Hock, H. and Bashir, E. 2016. The Languages and Linguistics of South Asia: A Comprehensive Guide. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110423303

When people who speak different languages interact for an extended period of time, new language varieties might emerge. These are referred to as 'contact variations.'[9] Foreign forms and patterns enter a language to create contact variation via a variety of routes, including amplification of an existing characteristic, analogy extension, reinterpretation and reanalysis, area-specific grammaticalization, grammatical accommodation, loan translation, and lexical and grammatical parallelism. An example of reanalysis and extension can be found in the Contact Hindi of Meghalaya(CHM) and Arunachal(CHA). The pronouns *itʰu-utʰu* are demonstrative pronouns; distal-proximal, relative-correlative pronoun, genitive pronoun and third person personal pronoun.

CHM:	*itʰu bi mɔr gya həm*	(Her mother also died.)
CHM:	*itʰu mərki kʰao*	(She ate chicken.)
CHM:	*utʰu həm beta*	(I was staying there.)
CHM:	*itʰu lərka ĵəsti bimar utʰu bol*	(Call the boy who is very sick.)

As a result, in CHM, the borrowed demonstratives are reanalyzed and semantically enlarged. This type of extension is a regular contact occurrence phenomenon.

Semantic Change

As the word suggests, it is the change in the meaning of various words in different languages. Multiple types of semantic changes include widening, narrowing, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, degeneration, elevation, taboo and euphemism. In widening, a word's range of meanings expands, allowing it to be employed in new situations. The narrowing is the opposite of widening. A metaphor is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase describing one type of item or activity is substituted for another to imply a similarity or connection. Metonymy is a figure of speech in which a thing or concept is referred to by the name of something closely associated with that thing or concept. The difference between Metonymy and Metaphor is that Metonymy works by the contiguity between two concepts, whereas Metaphor is based upon their analogous similarity. People who employ metonymy are less likely than those who use metaphor to transfer attributes from one referent to another. Synecdoche is a type of metonymy, and it is a figure of speech in which a term for a part of something is used to refer to the whole or vice versa. When in the eyes of language users, the meaning of a term takes on a less optimistic, more negative value, it is called Degeneration. The opposite of degeneration is Elevation.

A prime example of semantic change in Hindi is the verb *lagnā.*[10] It follows a grammatical pattern distinct from that of most other Hindi verbs. When it appears as the finite verb of a phrase, the verb has an extensive range of meanings, and it also works as a quasi-grammatical marker in numerous seemingly unique formulations. The fact that the verb has a high degree of polysemy is not an unusual occurrence in Hindi. The strangeness of the verb lies in how many of the uses of the verb have become grammaticalized. The most prominent meanings are:

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[9] SHARMA, M., Language mixing and mixed languages: Contact Hindi in Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya.

[10] Shapiro, M.C., 1987. Hindi lagnā: A study in semantic change. Journal of the American Oriental Society, pp.401-408.

- ➢ To run a code
  code run *hone ke liye lagā do*
  (Start running the code.)
- ➢ The inception of an action or state of affairs
  vah padhāi karne lagā
  (He began to study.)
- ➢ Involvement in an activity
  vahān ke sab log apne apne kāmõ mē lage rahe
  (All of the people there remained engaged in their respective activities.)
- ➢ Costing of money
  gādi lene ke lie kitnā paisā lagegā
  (How much does it cost to buy a car?)
- ➢ Elapsing of time
  vahã jāne mē kitne ghãte lage?
  (How much time does it require to reach there?)
- ➢ Judgement of percept
  mera khāna āpako kaisā lagatā hãī?
  (How do you like the food made by me.)
- ➢ Seeming or appearing
  mujhe yeh sab achā nahin lag rahā hãī
  (I am not liking all this.)
- ➢ Experience of physical sensations
  use bhūkh lag rahī thī
  (He was hungry.)
- ➢ Experience of psychological states
  use bhūt se dar lag rahā thā
  (He was afraid of the ghost.)

All these examples are not mutually exhaustive.

Conclusion

Hindi is a diverse language, with ~5% of the planet's population speaking it as L1 and L2. We saw the change in various dialects, the changes in the pronunciation of vowels and consonants. This is expressed when we looked into sound changes in Hindi across various geographical locations. Since Indians are all across the world and we have a long history of trade and commerce with the world, it is evident for Hindi to have borrowings; we discussed some examples there. Syntactic and lexical changes are also familiar with examples embedded in every moment of the language's history. Semantic changes are not so subtle to identify in Hindi, but these changes are the gold standard for linguists on close inspection. With all this said, we discussed some types of changes and their classification that occur in Hindi and have given sufficient examples to help readers identify and develop a consciousness of these changes.

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