

**LOSS OF VOICELESS BILABIAL ASPIRATE IN DELHI-HINDI**  
**A PHENOMENON OF LANGUAGE CONTACT**

W/C

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in  
partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of*

**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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Dated 21-07-09

**DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE**

This dissertation titled "**Loss of Voiceless Bilabial Aspirate in Delhi-Hindi. A Phenomenon of Language Contact**" submitted by me for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy, is an original work and has not been submitted so far in part or in full, for any other degree or diploma of any University or Institute.

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*Dedicated*

*To my parents*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

1	–	First Person
2	–	Second Person
3	–	Third Person
ABL	–	Ablative
ACC	–	Accusative
AUX	–	Auxiliary
CP	–	Conjunctive Particle
ERG	–	Ergative
f	–	Female
GEN	–	Genitive
INSTR	–	Instrumental
LOC	–	Locative
m	–	Male
Perf	–	Perfect
Pl	–	Plural
PP	–	Postposition
Pst	–	Past
Sg	–	Singular



# ***CHAPTER 1***

## AN OVERVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

### INTRODUCTION:

**1.1** Language contact is not a homogeneous phenomenon. Contact can occur in languages which are genetically related or unrelated. Speakers may have similar or different social structure, and patterns of bilingualism and multilingualism may also vary greatly. As we are aware that language cannot be used independent of its context, i.e., it cannot be used in isolation. A pure linguistic approach to two languages is not sufficient. Language has to be looked at from the sociolinguistic perspective also. Communication does not only include grammar or vocabulary but also the information on who is saying what, to whom in which circumstances. The social environment where the two Languages are used is also crucial for appropriate interpretation.

#### **1.1.1 The Enquiry:**

It has been observed that the phonology of spoken Hindi in Delhi and its surrounding areas has gone through a vast change, especially in the context of voiceless bilabial aspirated ph. We are interested in seeking answer to the basic enquiry, i.e., has the Hindi voiceless bilabial aspirate [ph] been replaced by the labiodental fricative [f] in certain environments or is it completely lost in the speech of Delhi-Hindi due to high occurrence of language contact? This

hypothesis will be carefully examined with the help of relevant data collected from the various parts of Delhi and NCR.

### **1.1.2 OBJECTIVES:**

The aims and objectives of this study are to find out the answers to the questions posed in the above paragraph. In addition, we have an objective to investigate into the various factors responsible for the change or shift. To achieve our goal, various social and linguistic parameters have been taken into account. The study conducted in the various parts of Delhi and NCR by the researcher.

### **1.1.3 Organization of the Study:**

In chapter-1 I have discussed about Hindi language and its phonology, about Hindi-Urdu debate, and the scene of English in India. I have also discussed the Methodology in great detail in this chapter.

Chapter-2 discusses about the existing literature and the view points of various scholars who have done extensive research in language contact and bi-multilingualism.

Chapter-3 deals with the data analysis and the results.

In Chapter-4 I have concluded this study.

## 1.2 Hindi:

Hindi is an Indo-Aryan language. Hindi refers to the variety that exhibits Sanskrit influence. About 41% of Indian population's native language is Standard Hindi which is also known as Khadiboli. (Wikipedia) Hindi is spoken in several parts of North India.

The speakers of this language may be broadly classified into following six groups (Das, P.K 1997);

- Speakers of Standard Hindi who use it as their mother tongue.
- Speakers of Hindi whose primary language is a certain dialect of Hindi.
- Speakers of Hindi whose primary language is another major Indo-Aryan language, such as Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali, etc.
- Speakers of Hindi whose mother tongue is a Dravidian language such as Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, etc.
- Native speakers of Urdu.
- Speakers of Hindi whose Primary language is English i.e., a variety of Standard English or English in India.

### 1.3 Phonology of Hindi:

This section deals with the phonetic segments of Hindi: those occurring at the phonetic level and those occurring at phonemic level. It also includes the discussion of the features needed to account for the phonology of Hindi, i.e., the contrasting phonological segments and the behavior of sounds in Hindi.

Table 1 and 2 lists vowels and the consonants respectively at phonemic level

**Table: 1 Vowels of Hindi**

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back +/- Rounded
High	i		u
Low High	ɪ		ʊ
Higher Mid	e		o
Mean Mid		ə	ɔ
Higher Low	ɛ		
Low			ɑ

**Table: 2 Consonants of Hindi**

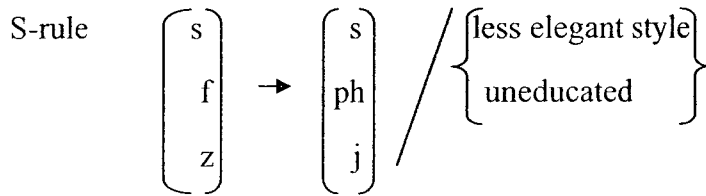
	Bilabial vl vd	Labiodental vl vd	Dental vl vd	Alveolar vl vd	Retroflex vl vd	Palatal vl vd	Velar vl vd	Glottal vl vd
STOPS								
-asp	p b		t d		ʈ ɖ		k g	
+asp	pʰ bʰ		tʰ dʰ		ʈʰ ɖʰ		kʰ gʰ	
FRICATIVES				s		ʃ		h
AFFRICATES								
-asp						ʧ ʝ		
+asp						ʧʰ ʝʰ		
NASALS								
-asp	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
+asp					ɳ			
FLAPS OR TRILLS				r	ɽ ɽʰ			
LATERALS				l				
APPROX	w					y		

Some measure of the usefulness and durability of the traditional idea of the phoneme is the fact that virtually every recent introductory text in linguistics in general and in phonology in particular sees fit to include some

discussion of how separate phonemes manifest themselves in language by forming lexical contrast and how variants of the same phoneme manifest themselves by being in complementary distribution (Ohala.M 1983).

One important issue in Hindi Phonology is of the segments that occur only in loanwords, e.g., [f] [z] etc. The lexicon of a grammar of Hindi, morphemes are marked as [+/- native], and those designated [-native] are either [+Perso-Arabic] or [+Sanskrit], or [+English] (Ohala.M 1983).

Of the consonant segments [f] and [z] occur only in loans-though quite common loans; all the other segments occur in what is called 'common core' Hindi, i.e., that which is commonly shared by all Hindi speakers. Sounds such as [f] and [z] occur in English and Perso-Arabic loans. Since many speakers of Hindi have these loans in their speech linguists like (Ohala, M 1983) includes these loans into the phonemes of Hindi. The reason that she calls these phonemes as loans is that the speakers of Standard Hindi whose speech contains these phonemes are aware that these segments are in some way different from the 'common core' segments. This is in part due to their awareness of the fact that many non-standard Hindi speakers do not have some or all of the segments as [f] [z] (and substitute [ph] [j] and [s] them respectively). This knowledge can be represented by a sociolinguistic rule of style which can be stated formally as;



#### 1.4 LAND AND PEOPLE:

“Delhi is the symbol of old India and new! even the stones here whisper to our ears of the ages of long ago and the air we breathe is full of dust and fragrance of the past, as also the fresh and piercing winds of the present”.

- Jawaharlal Nehru

Delhi, the capital of India is the third largest city of the world. Delhi is situated in north Central India and stands on the west bank of Yamuna River. It is bounded on the east by the state of Uttar Pradesh and on the north, west and south by Haryana. The principal spoken languages are Hindi, Urdu, Punjabi and English. The eternal Yamuna has witnessed the glory and the tumultuous history of the 3000 year old Delhi. Delhi is spread over an area of 1483 sq kms, 216 meters above sea level and has population above 14 million (as per 2001 census). The amalgamation of various cultures, traditions, religions has painted Delhi in Colors which are brought from all over India.



Many ethnic groups and cultures are represented in Delhi making it a cosmopolitan city. Delhi's culture has been influenced by its lengthy history and historic association as the capital of India. A seat of political power and a centre of commerce, the city attracts workers both blue collar and white collar – from all parts of India, further enhancing its diverse character. According to the 2001 census of India, the population of Delhi that year was 14 million, with a sex ratio of 821 women per 1000 men, and a literacy rate of 81.82%. Hinduism is the religion of 82% of Delhi's population. There are also large communities of Muslims-11.7%, Sikhs-4%, Christians 0.9% in the city.

Hindi is the principal Spoken and written language of the city. Other languages commonly spoken in the city are English, Punjabi and Urdu. Of these English is an associate official language, and Punjabi and Urdu second official languages. Linguistic groups from all over the country are well represented in the city; among them are Tamil, Punjabi, Malayali, Telugu, Bengali, Assamese, Rajputs, Yadavs, Jats and Gujjars are examples of the various ethnic communities in the city (Wikipedia).

### **1.5 Scene of English in India:**

In the independence movement of the mid-twentieth century, Mahatma Gandhi argued strongly for an indigenous national language, specifically Hindi, which had a strategic location and had more speakers than any other Indian language. As

during British rule in the 19<sup>th</sup> century English was the first language of national administration of India as a whole. Gandhi's opposition to English was blunt: "the only use you can make of English is to forget it as quickly as you can". Accordingly, after independence was granted in 1947, the new constitution of India named Hindi, written in Devanagari writing system, as the country's national official language, though this designation was approved by a one vote margin and remained highly controversial. Moreover, it was already apparent when the constitution was drafted that it would be impossible to replace English with Hindi overnight: even aside from the fact that most Indians did not know any Hindi at all, it would inevitably take much time and an immense amount of work to implement this transition. So the constitution also named English as a temporary official national language, with a time limit by 1965 English was supposed to have been replaced completely by Hindi.

But 1965 came and went and English remained a vital part in Indian environment. It still remains. According to the Official Language Act of 1963, even after Hindi officially replaced English, English would continue to be 'the subsidiary official language' for as long as necessary. Dravidian speakers in the south, strenuously resisted the idea of replacing English with Hindi. With the passing decades the image of English has changed, though not for everyone everywhere, from that of a conqueror's language to that of a regionally neutral language, one whose use prevents any single indigenous language from gaining prestige. The current scene

in Delhi is that many speakers do not realize that they are incorporating English words in Hindi. English is a popular language of Choice amongst the urbane youth who finds itself comfortable in its lexicon. This influence is seen in the movies, in the musical and entertainment TV Channels, mass media as well as among the modern youth and middle class Indians working at foreign companies.

In Delhi the capital of India there are four major languages used, such as Urdu, Hindi, English and Punjabi. In urban and semi-urban centers of India, but is slowly spreading its root into rural and remote areas via television and word of mouth. The highly popular mixing of both the language in most parts of northern and Central India has grown tremendously. English is already the medium for imparting education in many schools across the nation. The advent of cable television and its growth has seen the masses exposed to a wide variety of programming from across the world.

**Table 3: Consonants of English**

	BILABIAL		LABIODENTAL		DENTAL		ALVEOLAR		POSTALVEOLR		PALATAL		VELAR		GLOTTAL	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
STOPS																
-ASP	p	b					t	d					k	g		
+ASP	p <sup>h</sup>	b <sup>h</sup>					t <sup>h</sup>	d <sup>h</sup>					k <sup>h</sup>	g <sup>h</sup>		
FRICATIVES			f	v	θ	ð	s	z			ʃ	ʒ				h
AFFRICATES																
-ASP									tʃ	dʒ						
+ASP																
NASALS																
-ASP		m						n					ŋ			
+ASP																
FLAPS																
OR																
TRILLS										r						
LATERALS								l								
APPROXIMANT											j		w			

**1.6 HINDI-URDU DEBATE:**

Hindi and Urdu belong to the Indo-Aryan language family. If we see Urdu and Hindi at the spoken level they are virtually identical languages. However they are written in two different scripts, Hindi in Devanagari script and Urdu in Perso-Arabic script.

The Hindi-Urdu debate though not a new one, is yet immensely intriguing. Various scholars have debated over it from various angles, some claim Hindi/Urdu to be one language, some claim them to be two different languages, while some others propose an umbrella term of Hindustani/mili-juli” to cover the two e.g. Ralph Russell(1996) calls Hindi and Urdu as two languages while critiquing Christopher King’s book “One language two scripts”, in which King argues that Hindi and Urdu are but one language and that dividing them had been a very conscious decision starting from the British time, from the establishment of Fort William College moving on to various Hindi/Urdu fundamentalists movements. As Sushil Srivastava (not dated) puts it in his review article of King’s book, “King’s study begins with an account of the conscious attempt made at the college of Fort William in the early nineteenth century to differentiate languages in terms of script and vocabulary”. While David Lelyveld (1993) describes the title “One language, two scripts” as an “unfortunate Over-Simplification” and Hasnain & Rajyashree(2003) on the other hand, are of a view that “Between Hindi and Urdu, there was more a question of self-identification, and issues pertaining to apparent linguistic similarities and differences became rather secondary. Self identification basically involves issue like attitude towards the differences, the functional roles assigned to them, and the uses made to them”.

As Matthews (not dated) put it “At the most basic level, leaving aside their scripts, are virtually identical languages and serve admirably, as they always have

done, as a valuable link between all south Asian communities wherever they may reside. At certain level they are very different from each other and deserve separate treatment and study.”

In the debate about the legitimacy of Hindi as a national language, both Urdu and Hindi have accorded a special status vis-à-vis other Indian languages, with respect to the right to claim a national status (Abbi, Hasnain, Kidwai 2004). The Hindi-Urdu relationship shows the features that come up when a linguistic domain is shared, further leading to the problems of identity.

Both Hindi-Urdu forms a continuum of speech repertoire where the identities are crystallized. Both Hindi-Urdu form one of the continuum where they survive by acquiring the language of aggression and identity with the ideology of the perpetrators of communal constructionists (Hasnain and Rajyashree 2003).

Historically the Hindu-Muslim antagonism has not only generated tension between Hindi and Urdu, between the conceded response of the non-committed and communally untainted speakers, on the one hand, and the calculated response of the demographers and the fanatics committed to the divisiveness, on the other hand, it has also contributed to the association of the two languages with specified social roles and group identities – Hindi as Hindu, Urdu as Muslim (King 1984; Hasnain and Rajyashree 2003, Matin, Mathur and Hasnain 2001; Sonntag 2001).

Hindi and Urdu share a uniqueness, which is not shared by any other Indian language even if they are related languages.

Besides representing a social, religious or cultural group as a homogeneous entity, even a language can be imagined as homogenous. The term ‘Hindustani’, proposed by Gandhi, signifies a commitment towards openness in naming the vehicle of expression used by speakers who may well have differing political and cultural ascriptions, and thus reflects a terminological compromise – it is a language of Hindustan with an overlapping linguistic continuum common to both “Hindi” and “Urdu” (Rai 2000). The issue was no longer between Hindi and Urdu, but between “Hindi” or “Hindustani” connoting either alternately or identity. “It could mean either that Hindi was the same as Hindustani, in which case the mullah was up in arms; or that Hindustani was an alternative to Hindi in which case the Pandit, quite as suspicious and pugnacious, concluded that Hindustani was mere camouflage for Urdu!” (Rai 2000).

Historically these languages have occupied a special position in relation to each other. The uniqueness about Hindi-Urdu is further reinforced if one looks at the number of studies, as part of a larger historical project, looking into the political and social circumstances which helped people to divide or bracket the two languages and associate them with certain social roles and group identities i.e. Hindi as Hindu, Urdu as Muslim – and even contest or ratify these associations (Hasnain and Rajyashree 2003).

The conflation of religious and linguistic identity, particularly in the case of Urdu speakers, has had a significant impact, as the debate is now framed within the context of communalism and bigotry. The Hindi-Wallas vs. the Urdu-Wallas have appropriated public discourse to restrict the discussion to a religio-nationalist perspective alone, with the result that the debate is confined to the historical origins of Urdu, its role in defining Muslim culture, the national movement and even the creation of Pakistan (Abbi, Hasnain, Kidwai 2004). What remains common to both Hindi and Urdu is the sharing of the social and inner space, and they being treated as one in their day to day use.

The differentiation between Hindi and Urdu was a conscious step taken by Britishers in order to divide Hindus and Muslims. As expected Hindi and Urdu rather than a question of linguistic enquiry became a question of Self-Identification with the result Hindus started associating themselves with Hindi and Muslims started identifying themselves with Urdu. This question of self identification became all the more prominent during independence as “Hindi” stood as an answer to the colonialism and English, and Urdu was looked at as an invention by the Mughals in India. This further sharpened the division between Hindu and Muslims vis-à-vis Hindi and Urdu. Ever since then the Hindi/Urdu debate has continued leaving few questions unanswered like, the extent to which the distinction between Hindi-Urdu are made by the speaker. As mentioned earlier



the question of self-identification became more prominent leaving aside the actual issues pertaining to the linguistic similarities and differences.

Hindi is considered as the language of masses. In northern part of India 41% of speakers speak Hindi as per 2001 census. But the question remains here is “Hindi” as claimed by Hindi speakers is truly the language of masses or is it the mixture of Hindi and Urdu (Wikipedia).

The British rule in India evinced the keen interest in the Indian classical and vernacular language, primarily for the purpose of effective administration. Historically the consciousness of the divide may be traced to the establishment of Fort William College. With its establishment, process of divergence between Hindi and Urdu at the linguistic, socio-cultural, and literary levels assumed a new dimension.

This resulted in the revival/continuation of classical languages such as Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic, and recognition of vernacular languages such as Urdu and Hindi. This had a bearing upon two great religions in India-Hinduism and Islam (Hasnain; Rajyashree 2003). Thus this establishment brought in overt policy of divergence between Hindi and Urdu and subtle policy of division between Hindu’s and Muslims. Hindi became the language of expression for Hindus in the socio-cultural context. And as mentioned by (Abbi, Hasnain, Kidwai 2004) “the statistics regarding the religious composition of those who do consider

Urdu to be the language of Muslims are added to the discussion, it turns out that the association of Urdu with Indian Muslims is a constitution of non-Muslims.”

The late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century can be marked as the period of exaggeration and differentiation between both the languages i.e. Hindi and Urdu. Both these languages became the representation of the two major communities in India, the Hindus and the Muslims.

### **1.7 METHODOLOGY:**

Samples of spoken Hindi were collected through questionnaires and the speech of the speakers was recorded.

Following parameters were taken into account while collecting the samples.

- Age
- Gender
- Education
  - A. Government Schools
  - B. Private Schools
- Medium of Instruction
- Languages Known
- Bi/multilingual or Monolingual
- Occupation

- Span of Stay in Delhi
- Religion
- Caste
- T.V Watching habits

Age was divided into four groups, 8-15 yrs.

- 16-30 yrs
- 31-50 yrs
- 50-85 yrs.

Where, 18-15yrs is considered as [+ young] and the age group 31-85yrs is considered as [- young].

Delhi was divided into four parts, North, South, East and West respectively,

### **NORTH DELHI**

North of Delhi comprised of the following areas,

Chandni Chowk

Chawdi Bazaar

Sadar Bazaar

Mukherjee Nagar

Karol Bagh

Kamla Nagar

Teliwada

Azad Market

Pratap Nagar

Gulabi Bagh

### **SOUTH DELHI**

In the South of Delhi we investigated following areas,

Ramakrishna Puram

Chitranjan Park

Greater Kailash

Katwaria Sarai

Vasant Vihar

Vasant Kunj

Ber Sarai

Munirka

### **EAST DELHI**

East of Delhi comprised following areas,

Yamuna Vihar

Shadhara

Gandhi Nagar

Laxmi Nagar

Mayur Vihar

## **WEST DELHI**

In the West of Delhi we investigated following areas,

Rajouri Garden

Patel Nagar

Tilak Nagar

Kirti Nagar

Vikaspuri

Rohini

Dwarka

Informants were selected from all four parts of Delhi but an important aspect was kept in mind i.e. the samples were carefully chosen on the basis of their stay in Delhi.

- a) Respondents whose 2<sup>nd</sup> generation were living in Delhi were considered as Delhi wallas.
- b) Any person who had not stayed in Delhi for more than 20 years was not considered as a suitable sample. This was done keeping in mind that their speech had an influence of Delhi-Hindi.
- c) Data was collected from NCR also (i.e.) from Gurgaon, Ghaziabad and Faridabad.

Occupation were considered as an important variable because the workplace highly influences the speech of a person. Samples were selected on the criteria of Government jobs and Private jobs. In case of illiterate speakers their occupations were fruit sellers, sweepers, pan wallas, mochi (shoe benders), Chola-Kulcha wallas, and menial labour group, etc.

Education was also an important variable. The samples of literate and illiterate speakers were considered along with medium of instruction. Education can also affect the speech of an individual and a speech community. Delhi is a cosmopolitan city so the languages spoken by the respondents were taken into account.

Television plays a vital role in the behavior of the society and the speech community. Thus the television habits of the speakers were taken into account as this could influence the speech of a speaker.

### **1.8 QUESTIONNAIRE:**

A questionnaire was prepared with the words having [p<sup>h</sup>] in both word initial and word middle positions respectively. Word final [ph] was not collected as there is no word final [p<sup>h</sup>] in Hindi. These words were checked in isolation, in between a sentence as well as in a paragraph. The paragraph was carefully designed so as to incorporate a large number of words containing [p<sup>h</sup>] to understand the behavior of [p<sup>h</sup>] in the continuous speech.

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**Data Elicitation:**

Data was elicited keeping in mind all the variables given above. Samples were selected from all the four parts of Delhi. Data was phonetically transcribed and the speech of the respondents was recorded with the help of a Sony TCM-20DV cassette recorder.

Data was elicited as follows

- All the respondents speech was observed very carefully.
- In the case of educated monolinguals the written questionnaire in Devanagri script was given and they were asked to read the questionnaire.
- In the case of bi/multilingual the words and sentences were asked in English and they were requested to translate the given English words and sentences into Hindi, the paragraph was asked to be read out and the speech was recorded.
- In the case of illiterate speakers, they were shown the pictures of the appropriate word and the speech was recorded.
- Another method used was they were explained words in a descriptive manner and asked what would be the word for e.g. various fruits were named and they were asked what would all these fruits collectively be called and their response was recorded.

## ***CHAPTER 2***



## LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION:

Language contact occurs whenever and wherever two or more human groups with different languages and its most cases, different cultures and world views as well – encounter one another and attempt to engage in linguistic communication. Language contacts are contingent upon various factors such as structural, historical, demographic, politico-economic, social, cultural, ideological and they remain contingent over time (Garrett, 2004). The contact language is not fully mutually intelligible with any of these pre-existing languages, however, and is used within some community of speakers (broadly conceived) in which an autonomous set or subset of norms for its use has also emerged. The contact language is thus sufficiently distinct from its source languages to be regarded more or less un-problematically on structural, historical, and ethnographic ground, if not necessarily on political and ideological grounds (Garrett 2004).

The diverse factors responsible for language contact includes, the social proximity of a group speaking another language, military occupation, a superposed religious medium, education, institutional support for a foreign language, political affiliations, immigration, and economic activity, etc. Language contact also plays an important role in Bilingualism.

### **2.1.1 Definitions and Approaches:**

The field of contact linguistics has grown tremendously within the last five decades since Weinreich made the first attempt to classify different types of contact induced change and process underlying them.

Thomason (2001) puts it as “language contact is the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time”. The term “language contact covers an extremely broad range of phenomena, all of which relate to the direct and indirect influences of languages on each other. These reciprocal influences of one language or more on another may occur on any or every linguistic level and may also extend beyond these, to discourse and interaction” (Loveday 1996).

Bloomfield (1933) says “If we believe that the resemblances are due not to accident, but to the tradition of speech habits then we must infer that the differences between the resemblant forms are due to changes in the speech habits.” As Trask (2000) says “The transfer of features of any kind from one language to another as the result of contact” (as cited in Aikhenvald 2003).

It is a matter of common linguistic knowledge that contact between different languages not infrequently leads to relatively straight forward influence of one variety on another, phenomenon resulting from such influence are typically described by labels such as “interference”, “transfer” and “borrowing” (Trudgill 1998).

Pratt (1992: 6-7) “languages come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (as cited in Garrett 2004). Jakobson argued that “a language accepts foreign structural elements only when they correspond to its own tendencies of development (Jakobson, 1962: 241).

### **2.1.2 Literature and Background:**

In our case the definition that suits the study is “Two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately by the same person. The language using individuals are thus the locus of the contact” (Weinreich 1953). The field of contact linguistics has grown tremendously within the last five decades since Weinreich made the first attempt to classify different types of contact induced change and process underlying them.

It is important to realize that many concepts and subfields within the discipline of linguistics are integral to the field of language contact. Among these are phenomena such as areal linguistics, interference, borrowing, language shift, convergence, etc.

The contact phenomena themselves are divided into three broad categories such as borrowing, code switching and interference.

It would be important for us to identify the similarities in the linguistic phenomena termed 'interference' and 'convergence' since one or both may involve the phonic, phonological, syntactic and semantic restructuring of a native language because of the influence of a foreign language (Loveday 1996).

Language changes not only as the transfer of corresponding characteristics and rules from one language to another, but also as the elimination of the individual characteristics and rules proper to either one of the contact languages and their replacement by rules and characteristics common to both of them (Rozencveig 1976).

Theorists have outlined certain necessary conditions like

- 1) The process of displacement of one language by another must, of necessity, be carried out during a temporary period of bilingualism.
- 2) Several socio cultural factors must also be taken into consideration.
- 3) The cultural group.
- 4) The education system.

According to Mougén and Beniák (1991) there can be four types of linguistic changes and they are

(1) morpho-syntactic simplification

(2) Lectal reduction

(3) Covert interference

(4) Overt interference.

In the four changes covert and overt interference are of importance for us where covert interference is 'the form declines in use but no internal cause can be adduced and the only likely cause is contact with another language. The overt interference would be lexical borrowing into the grammatical case.

The term interference implies the re-arrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign element into the more highly structured domains of language, such as bulk of phonemic system, a large part of morphology and syntax and lexical interference (Weinreich 1953).

In languages, we find interference phenomena which, having frequently occurred in the speech of bilinguals, have become habitualized and established. The bilingual speaker is the ultimate locus of language contact. The problem of the bilingual individual as a determinant of interference is therefore of central importance. From the point of view of the individual, the two languages are two types of activity in which the same organs are employed.

There are various types of interference in contact languages.

a) Phonic interference.

b) Grammatical interference.

c) Lexical interference.

**Grammatical interference:**

The outright transfer of morphemes from one language into speech in another, viewed as a means of correcting the inadequacies of a lexicon. The transferability of morphemes is considered as a correlate of their grammatical function in the source language and the resistance of the recipient language (Weinreich 1953).

**Lexical Interference:**

The ways in which one vocabulary can interfere with another are various. In given two languages A and B, morphemes may be transferred from A to B, or B morphemes may be used in new designative functions on the model of A-morpheme with whose content they are identified (Weinreich 1953).

For instance Millet, believed that grammatical loans can only occur when the source and receiving systems are very similar (Millet, 1921: 87) [as cited in Thomason 2006] research over the past half century, starting with Weinreich's classic 1953 book languages in contact, has brought about a recognition of the importance of language contact for explanation of many linguistic change. Contact induced language change is a cause of "any linguistic change that would

have been less likely to occur outside a particular contact situation” (Thomason 2001:62).

In language contact these can be far reaching effects in of speech community, which further can have strong influence in bringing about a phonological change, which can further have an influence on the morphology or syntax of a language as well.

### **2.1.3 Sociolinguistic Outcomes of Language Contact:**

Language change presupposes diffusion from individuals or smaller groups to the speech community as a whole, and this applies to language contact every bit as much as internal linguistic change (Sankoff 2002: 659). Weinreich’s research focuses on the sociolinguistic parameters like.

- 1) Takes the speech community, rather than the individual.
- 2) Focuses on the linguistic result of the contact.
- 3) Seeks to elucidate the social structuring of diversity internal to the speech community.

The linguistic outcomes of language contact are determined in large part by the history of social relations among populations, including economic, political, and demographic factors. Thomason and Kauffmann distills out from the social parameters only two dimensions: the first is the directionality of the influence,

characterized in terms of speaker's native language. The second is borrowing and substratum interference.

In spite of Bloomfield's warning, linguists have continued to put forward simplistic theories that would attempt to explain sound change by a single formal principle of simplification rules, etc. Bloomfield (1933) clearly makes a point "that the sporadic nature of sound changes out the possibility of explanation through any permanent factor in the phonetic processing system".

#### **2.1.4 A Brief Background on Phonic Interference:**

"Phonetic change is a change in the habits of performing sound-producing movements" (Bloomfield 1933).

Almost any aspect of phonological structure can be borrowed – this covers sounds, phonological contrast, the environment in which a certain phone is lost or replaced, allophonic variation, etcetera. Most of these are because of indirect diffusion, which affect every level of phonological system. Sound changes are typically triggered by a conditioning environment.

The problem of phonic interference concerns the manner in which a speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language, which might be designated secondary, in terms of another called primary. Interference arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary system and, in reproducing it, subjects it to the phonetic rules of the primary language (Weinreich 1953).



The Phenomena of this type was traditionally described under the heading of sound substitution. With the development of phonic theories investigators advanced from mere mispronunciation to the root cause of such interference and found out that it is because of the contact within two languages.

— A phone can undergo various types of interference like a) under-differentiation of phonemes b) over-differentiation c) Interpretation or d) actual phone substitution. We in this thesis have come across the last type, i.e. the substitution of phones.

Language contact is not, of course, a homogeneous phenomenon. Contact may occur between languages which are genetically related or unrelated, speakers may have similar or vastly different social structures, and patterns of bi/multilingualism may also vary greatly.

Interference is the deviation from the norms of either language in the speech of the individuals involved – bilinguals – as a result of this contact. One manifestation of linguistic interference is elements that are borrowed or transferred from one language to another.

Weinreich studied interference in the phonetic, grammatical and lexical domains. Phonetic interference arises when a bilingual reproduces a sound of one system according to the phonetic rules of another language.

The approach to the explanation of linguistic change outlined by Weinreich, Labov and Herzog for a sound change is (as cited in Labov 1980).

- 1) Locating universal constraint.
- 2) Determining the mechanism of change.
- 3) Measuring the effect of structural embedding
- 4) Estimating social evaluation.
- 5) Searching for the cause of the actuation of sound change.

The bilingual speaker is the ultimate locus of language contact, it is clear that even socio-cultural factors regulate interference through the mediation of individual speaker. The problem of the bilingual individual as a determinant of interference is therefore of central importance. As we will see in the current work, even a passive bilingual can lead to change in the language.

## **2.2 Bilingualism:**

According to Bloomfield (1953), Bilingualism can be defined as a “native-like control of two languages” Bilingualism is a result of extensive language contact (i.e. contact between people who can speak different languages). There are various reason for language contact, it can be either by choice or forced by the circumstances. The reasons for bilingualism can be cited as education, culture,

technology, religion and politics. It is not necessary that one has to move from one place to another to come in contact with different language. There are many opportunities for language contact in the same country, same society, same neighborhood and even in the same family.

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Bilingualism begins when the speaker of one language can produce complete meaningful utterances in the other language (Haugen 1953). Mackey suggests that there are four questions which a description of bilingualism must address: degree, function, alternation and interference.

Communication is becoming more and more intercultural because it involves people from different places and various different cultures and one can communicate in one common language and represent different cultures. Language rules are not only governed by universal but also by language and culture specific rules.

Bilingualism and Multilingualism are characterized by a unique synergism of more than one language and culture. That significantly affects how bilingualism and multilingual use language (Kecskes and Papp, 2000).

Mackey (1968) says that bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language but of its use. If we look at bilingualism from this view bilingualism and multilingualism falls within the field of sociolinguistics as it is concerned with ways in which language is used in the society.

Bilingualism can be distinguished into;

(i) Societal and Individual Bilingualism:

The societal bilingualism would be when in a given society two or more languages are spoken. On the other hand the individual bilingualism would mean when an individual is a bilingual.

(Appel and Muysken 2006)

(ii) Balanced Bilinguals:

Someone who is approximately equally fluent in two languages across various context may be termed as equilingual or ambilingual or, more commonly a balanced bilingual.

(Baker 2006)

(iii) Co-ordinate and Compound bilingual:

Compound bilinguals were defined as those brought up in a thoroughly bilingual home environment while co-ordinate bilinguals are those who have learned the second language in their school or outside family setting.

(Lambert 1972)

Mackey (1968) concludes that in order to study bilingualism we are forced to consider it as something entirely relative because the point at which the speaker of

a second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine. He therefore considers bilingualism as simply the alternate use of two or more languages.

### **2.2.1 Bilingualism in the Social Context:**

The word 'bilingual' describes someone with the knowledge of two languages. It can, however also be taken to include the many people in the world who have varying degrees of proficiency in and interchangeably use three, four or more languages (Wei-2006). In many countries of Asia and Africa, several languages co-exist and people use more than one language. The essential distinction is therefore between language ability and language use. Language choice is not purely as linguistic issue rather in many cases it is the question of once social identity (i.e.) with the use of one or more language the speaker reveals his/her social relationship with others in the society.

Bilinguals and Multilingual can be understood along the following overlapping and interacting dimensions of ability and use. Balance of two languages, age, development, culture, context and elective bilingualism (Baker 2006). Multilingualism can also be a possession of individuals who do not live within the multilingual country or speech community. People with sufficient social and educational advantage can learn two or more languages in their schools, colleges or Universities, in their workplace. Not all the Bilingual or Multilingual have an

opportunity to use both their language in their day-day routine. When a bilingual or multilingual lives in a monolingual society there is very little choice to use their other languages. On the contrary if a bi/multilingual is living in a bilingual or multilingual society they can use their languages on daily or frequent basis. An individual in a bilingual context can shift from one language to another either consciously or subconsciously in order to accommodate oneself or others in a conversation. Language choice in many situations can depend upon the social identification.

Multilingualism is an important resource at both the societal and personal levels. For a linguistically diverse country to maintain the ethnic group languages alongside the national or official language can prove an effective way to motivate individuals while unifying the nation. In addition, a multiethnic society is a richer, more exciting and stimulating place to live in than a community with only one dominant ethnic group (Wei, 2006).

In a Bi/Multilingual society there is a tendency to use one language in a formal situation e.g. at work, education and other would be used in the informal situations e.g. with family and friends. For the multilingual speaker; language choice is not only an effective means of communication but also an act of identity (Le Page and Tabouret Keller; 1985). Through language choice, we maintain and change ethnic group boundaries and personal relationships, and define 'self' and 'other' within a broader political economy and historical context (Le Wei-2006).

### **2.3 Bi-Multilingualism in India:**

India is said to be sociolinguistic giant (Pandit 1972) and a giant is huge and different from the ordinary. The nerve system of this giant is bi-multilingualism. Indian multilingualism is huge in size with over 1,600 mother tongues reducible to about 200 languages for a population of about 940 million people and with the population of many of the linguistic minorities larger than many European countries. It is different from the demographically multilingual but functionally monolingual countries. It is functionally multilingual with forty-seven languages used in education as medium, eighty-seven in press, seventy-one in radio, thirteen in cinema and administration. The magnitude of multilingualism in India has made scholars wonder about how communication happens and how social cohesion is maintained (Annamalai 2001). In urban India the English bilingualism is acquired formally, while in rural India people learn the neighboring language informally.

Functional distribution of language helps the language not to be in conflict with an individual. One language is for ethnic identity, another for business transactions and official dealings, another for entertainment, and for rituals and so on (Annamalai 2001). The sociolinguistic research on multilingualism in India has, naturally, concentrated on language maintenance, functional distribution or communication patterns, convergence and code mixing. The fundamental change is the change in the role of language for political control

and social mobility in the independent democratic India. English played the pervasive role for political control and social mobility and it was the sole dominant language (Annamalai 2001). It is seen in many cases that speakers give up their mother tongue in order to be identified as the speakers of a dominant language. At the same time there is also a need to retain their mother tongue in order to maintain their ethnic identity. This ambivalence is resolved differently by different groups that differ in their linguistic history, political aspiration and ethnic consciousness and in their relation with the majority in terms of power and population (Srivastava 1984).

There are other respects in which the nature of multilingualism in India is changing. The bilingualism is slowly increasing quantitatively, in which other tongues are learnt through formal schooling, as school education is expanding. These other tongues are not neighborhood languages and not even the local lingua francas but the link language at the national level, viz, English and Hindi (Dua and Sharma 1977). Thus there will emerge a national pattern of multilingualism in the place of the local grass root multilingualism. The English bilingualism at the middle level is largely for reading materials like news paper and official communication, and Hindi bilingualism for media entertainment like movies and television (Annamalai 2001).

Multilingualism makes possible, even necessary, the mixing of languages. They happen according to socially contracted rules of language use,



which in turn are governed by the grammatical rules of what is possible in a natural language.

The samples chosen for this study are societal bilinguals as mentioned by Appel and Muysken (2006) i.e., the societal bilingualism would be when in a given society two or more languages are spoken. Mackey (1968) says that bilingualism is not a phenomenon of language but of its use. If we look at bilingualism from this view bilingualism and multilingualism falls within the field of sociolinguistics as it is concerned with ways in which language is used in the society.



## ***CHAPTER 3***



## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 3.1 Introduction:

As I have mentioned in Chapter-1 this study deals with the loss of voiceless bilabial aspirate [p<sup>h</sup>] in Delhi-Hindi i.e. [p<sup>h</sup>] has been replaced by voiceless labiodental fricative[f] in Delhi-Hindi. To prove my hypothesis I conducted a study in Delhi the National Capital State of India. For the current study the city of Delhi was divided into four parts i.e. North, South, East and West comprising of areas like [Ramakrishnapuram, Vasant Vihar, Greater Kailash, Kamla Nagar, Munirka, Lajpat Nagar, Mukherjee Nagar, Nehru Vihar, Karol Bagh, Sadar, Chandni Chowk, Chawdi Bazaar, Teliwada, Tilak Nagar, Punjabi Bagh, Chitaranjan Park, Yamuna Vihar, Pratap Nagar, Azad Market, Tokri Moholla, Malkaganj, Rajouri Garden, Shadhara, Laxmi Nagar, Vikaspuri, Rohini, etc.)

As we all know Delhi is a Cosmopolitan city and the Capital of India, where there are people from all parts of the country. The Social system (i.e. communities and castes) in Delhi is very diverse in nature comprising of Punjabi, Tamilian, Malayali, Kumauni and Garhwali, Bengali communities as well as diverse different castes like Yadavs, Jats and Gujjars, Rajputs and others like Sharma and Verma etc are well represented in Delhi. Most importantly Muslims constitute a big section of the society in the city.



### 3.2 ANALYSIS

“Two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternately used by the same person. The language using individuals are thus the locus of the contact” (Weinreich 1953). I collected data from all possible areas and communities in Delhi. The samples chosen for the study were based on the parameters like age, gender, literacy, etc (as mentioned in section 1.6 of chapter 1). The samples represented all the classes of the society. All the informants were either born in Delhi or had migrated, 20 years before this interview was conducted, representing full impact of Delhi-Hindi.

Our sample had 220 speakers which included both male and female across all age groups. As we will notice age turned out to be one of the most important variable.

Out of 49 respondents of the age group 8-15yrs 48 speakers produced [f] , and one speaker produced both [ph] and [f]. In the age group of 16-30 yrs out of total 89 speakers, 73 speakers produced [f], 9 speakers produced [ph] and 7 speakers produced both [ph] and [f]. In the age group of 31-50 yrs, out of 53 speakers 25 speakers produced [f], 27 speakers produced [ph] and one speaker produced both. In the age group of 50-85 yrs out of 29 speakers, 22 speakers

produced [ph], 6 speakers produced [f] and one speaker produced both [ph] and [f].

3.1.1 The age sample clearly indicates that in the age group of 8-30 yrs [ph] is being replaced by [f] and in the age group of 31-85 yrs [ph] is being retained (as we can see from table 4).

**Table: 4 Distribution of the respondents as per Age**

Age	8-15yrs	16-30yrs	31-50yrs	50 -85yrs
p <sup>h</sup>	0	9	27	22
f	48	73	25	6
p <sup>h</sup> & f	1	7	1	1
Total	49	89	53	29

The above table-4 clearly brings out some interesting and noticeable implications.

These are:

- (a) Older the age higher the production of [ph]
- (b) Younger the age lesser the production of [ph].

In addition, we notice that:

- In the age group of 50-85yrs the production of [ph] is 76%
- In the age group of 31-50yrs the production of [ph] is 51%



- In the age group of 16-30yrs the production of [ph] is 10%
- In the age group of 8-15yrs the production of [ph] is 2%

Thus we can state from the above representation that in Delhi-Hindi [ph] is being replaced by [f] in the age group of 8-40 yrs.

Now the question is from where this change or interference from [ph]→ [f] is being induced in Delhi-Hindi as there is no [f] in Hindi phonology as stated by traditional grammarians. Most of the informants taken for the study were bilingual or multilingual. The presence of two or more language results in language contact and in such a situation the influence of one language on the other becomes unavoidable. The shift is being induced from English. English is one of the dominating languages in Delhi along with Hindi. Many speakers incorporate English words into Hindi and Hindi words into English sentences. The urbane youth is quite comfortable with the English lexicon. In addition to this the association with English is also considered prestigious amongst the young Indians. Hence, Language contact plays a vital role in this shift from [ph] to [f] in the younger generation i.e. the age group from 8-40yrs. It is commonly held that television influences the speech of a person in a speech community. The advent of cable television and its growth has seen the masses being exposed to a wide variety of programming from across the world.

Now a question can be asked why English and why not Urdu? Since Urdu is also a dominating language in Delhi along with Hindi and Punjabi. I will address this question in the latter part of this chapter.

3.1.2 The next important variables are Gender and Literacy. The responses of the Literate Male and Female speakers and Illiterate Male and Female speakers were taken into account and analyzed.

In the case of literate male and female speakers only 58% literate male speakers produced [ph] on the contrary 78% literate female speakers produced [ph] i.e., more female speakers retained [ph] in their speech as compared to male speakers in the age group of 50-85 yrs [see table 4&5]. In contrast in the speech of illiterate male and female speakers the production of [ph] is 100%. The illiterate male and female speakers retained [ph] in this age group [see table 6&7]. In the speech of illiterate male and female speakers in the age group of 31-50 yrs the production of [ph] is 100%. On the contrary in the literate male and female speakers, only 36% speakers retained [ph]. Indicating towards the shift from [ph] to [f] in the literate male and female speakers in the age group of 31-85 yrs.

Further moving on to the literate and illiterate male and female speakers in the age group of 16-30 yrs only 12% speaker produced [ph] i.e., in the speech of these speakers there is minimal production of [ph]. Finally in the literate and

illiterate male and female speakers in the age group of 8-16 yrs [ph] is completely lost and is replaced by [f].

The overall representation of [ph] and [f] in the male and female speakers of Delhi-Hindi is as follows:

- 29% of Male produced [p<sup>h</sup>]
- 64% of Male produced [f]
- 7% of Male produced both.
- 26% of Female produced [p<sup>h</sup>]
- 71% of Female produced [f]
- 2% of Female produced both

Taken together all the three variables i.e., age, literacy, gender we reach the tables given below [table, 5, 6, 7& 8].

**Table: 5 Distribution of Male literate respondents.**

Age	8-15yrs	16-30yrs	31-50yrs	50-85yrs
p <sup>h</sup>	0	7	3	7
f	19	31	6	4
p <sup>h</sup> & f	1	5	1	1
Total	20	43	10	12

**Table: 6 Distribution of Female literate respondents.**

Age	8-15yrs	16-30yrs	31-50yrs	50-85yrs
p <sup>h</sup>	0	2	11	7
f	21	30	18	2
Both	0	2	0	0
Total	21	34	29	9

**Table: 7 Distribution of Male illiterate respondents.**

Age	8-15yrs	16-30yrs	31-50yrs	50-85yrs
p <sup>h</sup>	0	1	10	5
f	5	6	0	0
Total	5	7	10	5

**Table: 8 Distribution of Female illiterate respondents.**

Age	8-15yrs	16-30yrs	31-50yrs	50-85yrs
p <sup>h</sup>	0	1	4	3
f	3	4	0	0
Total	3	5	4	3

- The illiterate male and female speakers in the age group of 50-85 yrs retained 100% [ph], and the literate male and female speakers did not meet 100% results.
- The shift from [ph] to [f] is more prominent in the literate male and female speakers in the age group of 31-50 yrs i.e., only 36% produced [ph] in this category. The illiterate male and female speakers in the same age group retained 100% [ph].
- The production of [ph] is very minimal in the literate male and female speakers in the age group of 16-30 yrs, i.e., only 12% speakers produced [ph].
- The sound [ph] is lost completely and is replaced by [f] in the literate and illiterate male and female speakers in the age group of 8-15 yrs.

The above analysis of literate and illiterate male and female speakers across all the age groups showed that the older generation has retained [ph] as compared to the younger generation in the speech of the speakers of Delhi-Hindi. Literacy plays a vital role in the shift from [ph] to [f]. As we can see from the above analysis greater users of [f] are the literate speakers while the illiterate speakers have retained [ph]. But as far as the literate and illiterate male and female speakers in the age group of 8-30 yrs are concerned, the presence of [f] in their speech is prominent indicating that the media and the surrounding environment has

influenced their speech. It is obvious from the speech samples, in the Delhi region that there is more [f] than [ph], influencing the speech of the individuals and the speech community. As stated earlier, age plays the crucial role in the shift from [ph] to [f]. Older the age higher the production of [ph] younger the age lesser the production of [ph], indicating towards the gradual shift from [ph] to [f] over the years in the speech of Delhi-Hindi speakers.

Coming back to the most important question of the directionality and the source of change we asked ourselves from where has this change from [ph] to [f] been induced in the speech of the Delhi-Hindi speakers?

The two most important and dominating languages in Delhi other than Hindi are English and Urdu. Now the question that has to be addressed is whether this change or shift is because of English influence or of Urdu influence. The analysis of data indicated that the shift from [ph] to [f] is primarily because of the contact with English language. As most of the speakers taken for the study are bi-multilingual in English or have been introduced to English at one point or the other, hence we may not be wrong in our judgment. The speakers of Delhi-Hindi are in constant touch with the English language in Schools (even in Hindi medium schools there is one compulsory English subjects), colleges, universities, at workplace, also through television. As both the literate and illiterate speakers in the older age group (i.e., 50-85 yrs) retained [ph]; had the shift were because of Urdu influence, this age group also would have shown the shift from [ph] to [f]

which is not the case. It was after independence that Urdu emerged as the language of importance in the socio-political context. Thus indicating the shift from [ph] to [f] is not due to Urdu influence.

Hence, from the above analysis it is proved that, in the Delhi-Hindi voiceless bilabial aspirate [ph] is replaced by voiceless labiodentals [f]. Contact between English and Hindi goes as far as hundred years or more resulting in the influence of English and Hindi on each other. And in modern times English has become the language of urban youth of Delhi.

### **3.3 Distribution of the responses across all the communities:**

In this section we would like to discuss the result and the analysis of each community and caste individually. The communities discussed are Punjabi, Tamil, Malayali, Bengali, Kumauni & Garhwali and the castes discussed are Rajputs, Yadav, Gujjars, and others like Sharma, Varma, Kumar, etc.

**a. Punjabi community** is one of the dominating community's in Delhi. There are many speakers of Punjabi language in Delhi. The most interesting aspect noticed in the speech of Punjabi speakers is that there is no [p<sup>h</sup>] it is completely replaced by [f]. The samples below will justify the point,

**Table: 9 Responses of the Punjabi multilingual in Hindi.**

	ph	f	Ph & f
Punjabi	0	26	0

Total number of speakers is 26. There is 100% production of [f] in all positions showing the loss of [p<sup>h</sup>] completely in this community.

b. Now moving to the **Tamil and Malayali community**. The figures are as follows:

**Table: 10 Responses of Tamil and Malayali bilinguals in Hindi.**

	f	ph	Both	Total
Tamilians	10	1	1	12
Malayali	9	3	1	12

Tamil Community:

84% produce [f]

8% produced [p<sup>h</sup>]

8% produced both [p<sup>h</sup>] and [f]



On the other hand Malayali community,

75% produced [f]

25% produced [p<sup>h</sup>] in the case of Malayali speaker

c. Next on the list is **Bengali, Kumauni & Garhwali** speakers.

**Table: 11 Responses of the Bengali, Kumauni & Garhwali in Hindi.**

	f	ph	ph & f	Total
Bengali	8	0	1	9
Kumauni & Garhwali	6	6	0	12

Here 89% of Bengali speakers produced [f] and 11% produce [p<sup>h</sup>] where as in the case of latter the ratio was 50% each of [ph] and [f]

d. Now moving to the various dominating castes residing in Delhi like Yadav, Rajputs, Jats and Gujjars and others comprising of Sharma, Verma, Kumar etc.

**Table: 12 Responses of the Rajputs, Yadav, Jats, Gujjars in Hindi.**

	f	ph	Ph & f	Total
Rajput	9	1	0	10
Yadav	8	3	0	11

Jat & Gujjar	14	3	0	17
Other	10	4	1	15

Where;

Rajput's 90% produced [f] and

10% produced [ph]

Yadav's 73% produced [f] and

27% produced [p<sup>h</sup>]

Jat's & Gujjars 82% produced [f] and

18% produced [ph]

And others 67% produced [f]

26% produced [ph] and

7% produced both

e. **Muslim community** is one of the dominating communities in Delhi other than Hindu. The figures are as follows.

**Table: 13 Responses of the Muslim community in Hindi.**

	f	ph	Both	Total
Muslims	14	10	0	24

Where;

58% of Muslims produced [f]

42% produced [ph].

Thus we can see that the voiceless bilabial aspirate [ph] is getting replaced by labio-dental fricative in Delhi-Hindi as a result of language contact across all the age groups.

**Table: 14 Distribution of respondents as per the Communities**

	8-15yrs			16-30yrs			31-50yrs			50-85yrs		
	ƒ	ph	Both	f	ph	Both	f	ph	Both	ƒ	ph	Both
Muslim	5	0	0	6	4	0	3	2	0	0	4	0
Punjabi	5	0	0	11	0	0	6	1	0	4	1	0
Tamil	3	0	0	5	0	1	1	1	0	1	0	0
Malayali	3	0	0	3	0	0	3	1	0	0	2	0
Bengali	2	0	0	4	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1
Kumauni & Garhwali	2	0	0	3	1	0	1	3	0	0	2	0
Rajput	3	0	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
Yadav	2	0	0	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0
Jats and Gujjar	4	0	0	7	0	0	2	1	0	1	2	0
Others	2	0	0	4	0	1	4	2	0	0	2	0

### 3.4 RESPONSES IN NCR REGION:

I also collected data from Gurgaon, Ghaziabad, Faridabad. A small sample was taken into account where 10 speakers from each place were taken. These samples were selected keeping in mind the same parameters as discussed [in section 1.6 in chapter 1].

**Table: 15 Distribution of the responses across NCR.**

	f	ph	Both	Total
Ghaziabad	7	3	0	10
Faridabad	9	1	0	10
Gurgaon	9	1	0	10

Where;

Ghaziabad - 70% produced [f] and  
30% produced [p<sup>h</sup>]

In Faridabad and Gurgaon the scenario was

90% produced [f] and

10% produced [p<sup>h</sup>] each.

### 3.5 Phonological Account of Voiceless Bilabial Aspirate in Delhi-Hindi.

The Phonological analysis of [ph] in the speech of Delhi-Hindi speakers, the results are as follows,

Rules are based on the parameters

- Age
- Gender
- Literacy

Where 8-15yrs is considered [+young] and 31-85yrs is considered [-young],

We observed that in the speech of illiterate male and female speakers in the age group of 31-85yrs [ph] is retained.

$$P.1 \quad Ph \rightarrow ph / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# - \\ \# - \# \end{array} \right\} \left[ \begin{array}{l} - \text{young} \\ - \text{literate} \end{array} \right]$$

Examples:

p <sup>h</sup> əɪ	'fruit'
p <sup>h</sup> ul	'flower'
p <sup>h</sup> uɦ	'drop of water'

səp <sup>h</sup> əltə	'success'	
p <sup>h</sup> ir	'then' 'again'	
p <sup>h</sup> irna	'to go around'	
p <sup>h</sup> uŋk	'to blow'	—
səp <sup>h</sup> əl	'success'	
p <sup>h</sup> əʔp <sup>h</sup> ətɪ	'motor bicycle'	
p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> ola	'boil'	
p <sup>h</sup> ɛp <sup>h</sup> ətʃa	'lungs'	
p <sup>h</sup> ɛp <sup>h</sup> ətʃaa	'to flutter'	
p <sup>h</sup> ulke	'bread'	
p <sup>h</sup> ansɪ	'death sentence'	
p <sup>h</sup> əndʒa	'noose'	
p <sup>h</sup> əlɪ	'beans'	

In the speech of the literate and illiterate male and female speakers  
in the age group of 8-15yrs is

P.2 ph → f /  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \# - \\ \# - \# \end{array} \right\}$

$\left[ \begin{array}{l} + \text{Young} \\ +/\text{- literate} \end{array} \right]$

Examples:

fəl 'fruit'

fʌl 'flower'

fʊhɑr 'drops of water'

səfəltɑ 'success'

fɪr 'then' 'again'

fɪrnɑ 'to go around'

fʊŋk 'to blow'

səfəl 'success'

fəʃfəʃtɪ 'motor bicycle'

fəfəʃlɑ 'boil'

fɛfəʃɑ 'lungs'

fəʃfəʃɑnɑ 'to flutter'

fʌlkə 'bread'

fansı 'death sentence'

fənɗa 'noose'

fəlɪ 'beans'

**Table: 16 Representation of rules [P1 & P2].**

<b>GLOSS</b>	<b>8-15YRS</b> <b>+ Young</b> <b>+/- literate</b>	<b>31-85YRS</b> <b>-young</b> <b>-literate</b>
Fruit	fəl	p <sup>h</sup> əl
Flower	ful	p <sup>h</sup> ul
Success	səfəɫta	səp <sup>h</sup> əɫta
To blow	fɯŋk	p <sup>h</sup> ɯŋk
Drop of water	fuhar	p <sup>h</sup> uhar
To go around	firna	p <sup>h</sup> irna
Bread	fulke	p <sup>h</sup> ulke



### 3.6 The case of monolinguals and test of reverse change:

The monolingual speakers of Delhi-Hindi were given the words ending with [f] to check if there was a reverse change from [f] to [ph] in the monolingual speakers, as word final [ph] does not exist [Ohala 1983] in Hindi. The monolingual speakers who have retained [ph] in their speech produced [ph] instead of [f] at the word final position indicating towards the reverse change in the speech of monolingual male and female speakers across all the age groups.

In standard Hindi the word final /f / does not exist as mentioned earlier but in standard Urdu /ph/ and /f/ both exist e.g., barf, saf, sirf, p<sup>h</sup>ul, etc. The words taken here are from Urdu amalgamated in Hindi.

P.3      f →      / ph      { - # }

Examples:

saap<sup>h</sup>      'clean'

barp<sup>h</sup>      'ice cube'

sirp<sup>h</sup>      'only'

In the speech of monolingual speakers the word final [f] occurring in these words are originally borrowed from Urdu are produced as [ph] across all the age groups.



## ***CHAPTER 4***



## CONCLUSION

This dissertation entitled “Loss of Voiceless Bilabial Aspirate in Delhi-Hindi. A phenomenon of Language Contact” has explored the issue of sound change as a phenomenon of language contact. The work begins with the discussion of Hindi language, Hindi-Urdu debate, about Delhi the place chosen for conducting the study and most importantly the methodology used for collecting data. In chapter two we have discussed about the existing research. And in chapter three we have tried to check the hypothesis and the results obtained i.e., the analysis.

In Delhi-Hindi the change is being noticed that is the voiceless, bilabial, aspirate [ph] is being replaced by voiceless, labiodental, fricative [f]. Age plays the vital role in this shift from [ph] to [f] in Delhi-Hindi. Older the age higher the production of [ph] and younger the age lower the production of [ph]. In the age group of 8-15yrs [ph] is completely lost in the literate as well as illiterate male and female speakers of Delhi-Hindi, and is replaced by [f] in all contexts. On the contrary, in the age group of 50-85yrs, [ph] is retained in the male and female speakers of Delhi-Hindi. In the age group of 16-49 yrs we can notice shift from [ph] to [f]. In the illiterate speakers [ph] is retained in the age group of 31-85yrs. Interestingly, the monolingual speakers of Delhi-Hindi have retained [ph] across all the age groups in both male and female speakers. Not only this [ph] replaced [f] in words which obligatorily demanded a fricative .



The directionality of change is from English to Hindi. English plays a key role in this shift from [ph] to [f] in the bi-multilingual speakers of Hindi and English. The greatest users of English are the young Indians in the age group of 8-30yrs. They prefer communicating in English as it is the symbol of prestige among the young Indians. The contact situation occurs in schools, colleges, at work place with colleagues and the greatest influence is media i.e., through television and radio.

The change is not very old. The shift would have started 35 years ago. And as per my observation it can be predicted that in 75years or may be a little earlier in Delhi-Hindi [ph] will be completely lost and would be replaced by [f] as a result of language contact. Delhi is a cosmopolitan city and language contact in such a set up is unavoidable.

We have made few predictions regarding this sound change in a larger context. We have made an interesting observation that this shift is not a scenario of Delhi-Hindi only but it is noticed in the speech of Hindi speakers across the nation. This shift is being noticed in the standard Hindi speakers of Lucknow, Agra the heartland of Hindi. I observed in Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi where students from all over the country come for higher education and the scenario was no different. Even in the speech of non Delhi students [ph] is replaced by [f] indicating towards the shift across the entire nation.

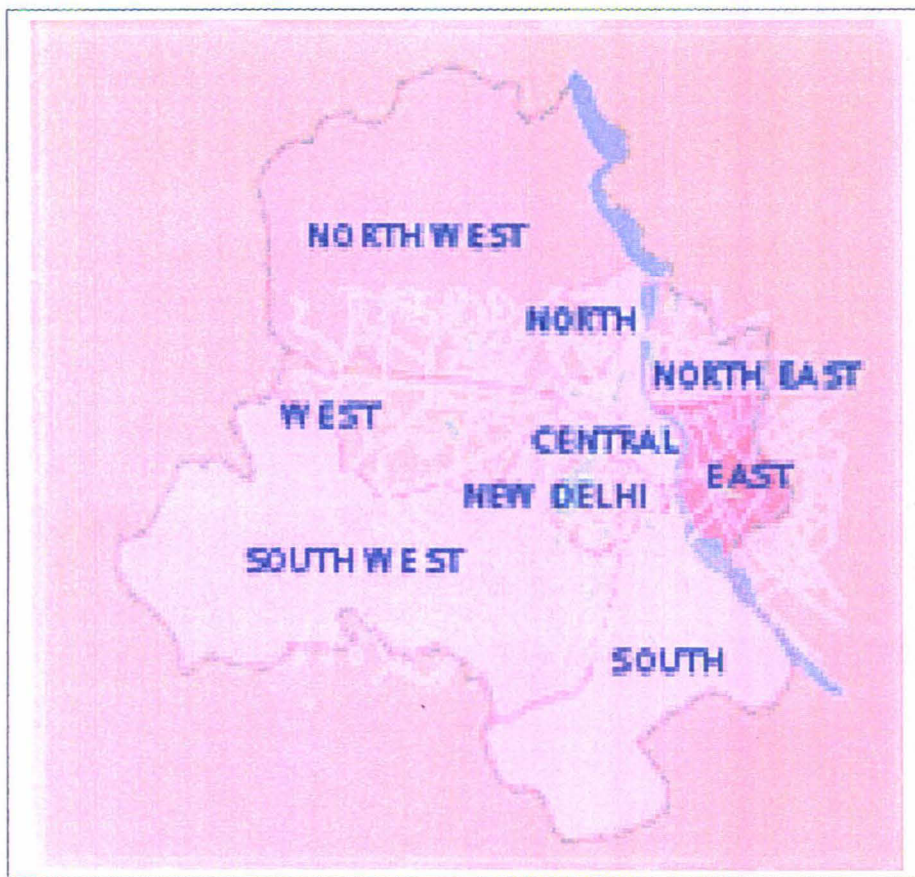
The overall shift can be seen in the table given below where the consonant /ph/ of Delhi-Hindi is represented with the change shown as lost. It is replaced by /f/.

**Table: 17 Consonant of Delhi-Hindi**

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd	vl vd
STOPS								
-asp	p b		t d		ʈ ɖ		k g	
+asp	ɸ bʰ		tʰ dʰ		ʈʰ ɖʰ		kʰ gʰ	
FRICATIVES	f			s		ʃ		h
AFFRICATE								
-asp						ʧ ʝ		
+asp						ʧʰ ʝʰ		
NASALS								
-asp	m			n	ɳ	ɲ	ŋ	
+asp								
FLAPS OR TRILLS				r	ɽ ɽʰ			
LATERALS				ɭ				
APPROX	w					y		



DELHI MAP



## APPENDIX-1 (Questionnaire)

Word list:

- 1) p<sup>h</sup>əl 'fruit'
- 2) p<sup>h</sup>ul 'flower'
- 3) p<sup>h</sup>uhar 'drop of water'
- 4) səp<sup>h</sup>əltə 'success'
- 5) p<sup>h</sup>ir 'then' 'again'
- 6) p<sup>h</sup>irna 'to go around'
- 7) p<sup>h</sup>uŋk 'to blow'
- 8) səp<sup>h</sup>əl 'success'
- 9) p<sup>h</sup>ətp<sup>h</sup>ətɪ 'motor bicycle'
- 10) p<sup>h</sup>əp<sup>h</sup>ola 'boil'
- 11) p<sup>h</sup>ɛp<sup>h</sup>əɾa 'lungs'
- 12) p<sup>h</sup>ɛp<sup>h</sup>əɾaa 'to flutter'
- 13) p<sup>h</sup>ulke 'bread'
- 14) p<sup>h</sup>ansɪ 'death sentence'
- 15) p<sup>h</sup>əndə 'noose'

- 16) p<sup>h</sup>əlɪ 'beans'  
 17) saaf 'clean'  
 18) bərf 'ice cube'  
 19) sirf 'only'

SENTENCE LIST:

- 1) ram bazar se p<sup>h</sup>əl laya.  
 Ram market LOC. Fruit bring.3sg.M.pst.pft
- 2) sita ne pərikša mē səp<sup>h</sup>əltə payɪ.  
 Sita ERG exam PP success get.3sg.f.pst.pft
- 3) ma ne p<sup>h</sup>əlɪ kɪ səbjɪ bənayɪ.  
 Mother ERG beans GEN.f.sg vegetable cook.3sg.f.pst.pft
- 4) tum aǰ p<sup>h</sup>ir der se aye.  
 You.2sg today again late ABL come.2sg.m.pst.perf
- 5) gulab ka p<sup>h</sup>ul bəhət sundər he.  
 Rose GEN.m.sg flower very beautiful AUX.3sg.prs.
- 6) həm agra g<sup>h</sup>umne p<sup>h</sup>irne gəye t<sup>h</sup>e.  
 We.3pl agra roam around go.1pl.pst.perf AUX 1pl.pst.perf
- 7) čɪɽɪya pəŋk<sup>h</sup> p<sup>h</sup>əɽp<sup>h</sup>əɽa rəhɪ he.  
 bird feather flutter stay AUX 1sg.prs.perf
- 8) sita ke hat<sup>h</sup> mē p<sup>h</sup>əp<sup>h</sup>ole pəɽ gəye.  
 Sita GEN hand LOC boils fall go.3pl.m.pst.perf

9) woh	p <sup>h</sup> āsı	ke	p <sup>h</sup> ənde	pər	lətək	gəyı.
3.sg	death	GEN	noose	LOC	hang	go.3sl.f.pst.perf
10) woh	pərikša	me	səp <sup>h</sup> əl	rəha.		
3.sg	exam	PP	success	stay.1sg.m.prs.perf		

## PARAGRAPH

ɑj	kəl	p <sup>h</sup> əl	bəhət	mehenge	ho	gəye hē.	ram
Today	tomorrow	fruit	very	expensive	happen	go.AUX.3pl.m.prs.perf	ram
or	p <sup>h</sup> ul	laya.	p <sup>h</sup> ulō	ki	mala	bənyı	or
and	flower	bring.3 sg.m.p st.perf.	flowers	GEN	garland	make.3sg.f.pst.perf	and
p <sup>h</sup> əl	k <sup>h</sup> a	liye.	woh	čalte	səməy	p <sup>h</sup> udək	p <sup>h</sup> udə k
fruit	eat	take.pl .m.pst. perf	he..sg	walk	time	hop	hop
kər	čəl	rəha t <sup>h</sup> a	or	p <sup>h</sup> isəl	kər		gır
do.CP	walk	stay AUX.3sg.m .pst.perf	And	slip	do.CP		fall
gəya.	usne	p <sup>h</sup> ır	ek	sāp	ko	p <sup>h</sup> ən	ut <sup>h</sup> ae
AUX.3sg. m.pst.perf	he.3.sg.E RG	then	one	snake	ACC	head	pick
bət <sup>h</sup> e	dek <sup>h</sup> a	or	ɖər	gəya	usne	g <sup>h</sup> ər	akər

sit	see3sg.m. pst.perf	and	fear	go.3sg.m.ps t.perf	he.3sg.E RG.	house	come. CP
ma	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	se	p <sup>h</sup> ulke	k <sup>h</sup> aye	or	uskı
Mother	GEN	hand	INSTR	Bread	eat.3pl. m.pst.perf	and	he.3sg .GEN
ma	ne	use	p <sup>h</sup> enı	mıt <sup>h</sup> ayı	dı		
Mother	ERG	he.3sg. ACC	candy	sweet	give.3sg. f.pst.perf		
ram	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	pər	p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> ola	pət	gəya.	
Ram	GEN	hand	LOC	boil	Fall	go.3sg.m.pst.perf	
ram	ne	bazar	ja	kər	kəbutər	ko	p <sup>h</sup> ə tɹ hətate
Ram	ERG	market	go	do.CP	pigeon	GEN	Flutter
hue	dək <sup>h</sup> a	or	usne	kəbutər	ko	p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> u.ndı	wala
Happen	see.3sg.m. pst.perf	and	he.3sg. ERG	pigeon	GEN	fungus	wala
p <sup>h</sup> ulka	de	dıya.					
bread	give	give.3s g.m.pst .perf.					

## APPENDIX-2 ( Sample Data)

### Speech sample of the speakers who retained [ph] in their speech

- 1) p<sup>h</sup>əl 'fruit'
- 2) p<sup>h</sup>ul 'flower'
- 3) p<sup>h</sup>uhar 'drop of water'
- 4) səp<sup>h</sup>əltə 'success'
- 5) p<sup>h</sup>ir 'then' 'again'
- 6) p<sup>h</sup>irna 'to go around'
- 7) p<sup>h</sup>uŋk 'to blow'
- 8) səp<sup>h</sup>əl 'success'
- 9) p<sup>h</sup>ət̪p<sup>h</sup>ət̪ı 'motor bicycle'
- 10) p<sup>h</sup>əp<sup>h</sup>ola 'boil'
- 11) p<sup>h</sup>ɛp<sup>h</sup>ət̪a 'lungs'
- 12) p<sup>h</sup>ɛp<sup>h</sup>ət̪aa 'to flutter'
- 13) p<sup>h</sup>ulke 'bread'
- 14) p<sup>h</sup>ansı 'death sentence'
- 15) p<sup>h</sup>ənda 'noose'

16) p<sup>h</sup>əlɪ

'beans'

## SENTENCE LIST:

1) ram	bazar	se	___ p <sup>h</sup> əl	laya.	
Ram	market	LOC.	Fruit	bring.3sg.M.pst.pft	
2) sita	ne	pərikša	mē	səp <sup>h</sup> əltə	payɪ.
Sita	ERG	exam	PP	sucess	get.3sg.f.pst.pft
3) ma	ne	p <sup>h</sup> əlɪ	kɪ	səbʃɪ	bənayɪ.
Mother	ERG	beans	GEN.f.sg	vegetable	cook.3sg.f.pst.pft
4) tum	āj	p <sup>h</sup> ir	der	se	aye.
You.2sg	today	again	iate	ABL	come.2sg.m.pst.perf
5) gulab	ka	p <sup>h</sup> ul	bəhət	sundər	hɛ.
Rose	GEN.m.sg	flower	very	beautiful	AUX.3sg.prs.
6) həm	agra	g <sup>h</sup> umne p <sup>h</sup> irne		gəye	t <sup>h</sup> e.
We.3pl	agra	roam around		go.1pl.pst.perf	AUX1pl.pst.perf
7) čirɪya	pəŋk <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> ət p <sup>h</sup> ətə		rəhɪ	hɛ.
bird	feather	flutter		stay AUX	1sg.prs.perf
8) sita	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	mē	p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> olc	pət gəye.
Sita	GEN	hand	LOC	boils	fall go.3pl.m.pst.perf
9) woh	p <sup>h</sup> āsɪ	kc	p <sup>h</sup> ənde	pər	lətək gəyɪ.
3.sg	death	GEN	noose	LOC	hang go.3sl.f.pst.perf
10) woh	pərikša	me	səp <sup>h</sup> əl	rəhə.	
3.sg	exam	PP	success	stay.1sg.m.prs.perf	

PARAGRAPH

ɑ̃j	kəl	pʰəl	bəhot	mehenge	ho	gəye hě.	ram
Today	tomorrow	fruit	very	expensive	happen	go.AUX.3pl.m.prs.perf	ram
ər	pʰul	laya.	pʰulō	ki	mala	bənaɣı	ər
And	flower	bring.3 sg.m.p st.perf.	flowers	GEN	garland	make.3sg.f.pst.perf	and
pʰəl	kʰa	liye.	woh	čəlte	səməy	pʰudək	pʰudə k
fruit	eat	take.pl .m.pst. perf	he,.sg	walk	time	hop	hop
kər	čəl	rəha tʰa	ər	pʰisəl	kər		gır
do.CP	walk	stay AUX.3sg.m .pst.perf	And	slip	do.CP		fall
gəya.	usne	pʰır	ek	sāp	ko	pʰən	utʰae
AUX.3sg. m.pst.perf	he.3.sg.E RG	then	one	snake	ACC	head	pick
bətʰe	dekʰa	ər	ɖər	gəya	usne	gʰər	akər
sit	see3sg.m. pst.perf	and	fear	go.3sg.m.ps t.perf	he.3sg.E RG.	house	come. CP
ma	ke	hatʰ	se	pʰulke	kʰəye	ər	uskı
Mother	GEN	hand	INSTR	Bread	eat.3pl. m.pst.pe	and	he.3sg .GEN



						rf	
ma	ne	use	p <sup>h</sup> enı	mıt <sup>h</sup> ayı	dı		
Mother	ERG	he.3sg. ACC	candy	sweet	give.3sg. f.pst.perf		
ram	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	pər	p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> ola	pəɾ	gəya.	
Ram	GEN	hand	LOC	boil	Fall	go.3sg.m.pst.perf	—
ram	ne	bazar	ja	kər	kəbutər	ko	p <sup>h</sup> ə ɾp həɾate
Ram	ERG	market	go	do.CP	pigeon	GEN	Flutter
hue	dək <sup>h</sup> a	or	usne	kəbutər	ko	p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> u:ndı	wala
Happen	see.3sg.m. pst.perf	and	he.3sg. ERG	pigeon	GEN	fungus	wala
p <sup>h</sup> ulka	de	dıya.					
bread	give	give.3s g.m.pst .perf.					

**Speech sample of the speakers who lost [ph] in their speech i.e., shifted to [f]**

- 1) fəl 'fruit'
- 2) ful 'flower'
- 3) fuhar 'drop of water'
- 4) səfəлта 'success'
- 5) fir 'then' 'again'
- 6) firna 'to go around'
- 7) fuŋk 'to blow'
- 8) səfəl 'success'
- 9) fətʃətɪ 'motor bicycle'
- 10) fəfola 'boil'
- 11) fɛfəɾa 'lungs'
- 12) fɛfəɾaa 'to flutter'
- 13) fulke 'bread'
- 14) fansɪ 'death sentence'
- 15) fəndɑ 'noose'
- 16) fəlɪ 'beans'

SENTENCE LIST:

1) ram	bazar		se	fəl	laya.
Ram	market		LOC.	Fruit	bring.3sg.M.pst.pft
2) sita	ne	pərikša	mē	səfəltə	payı.
Sita	ERG	exam	PP	success	get.3sg.f.pst.pft
3) ma	ne	fəlı	kı	səbjı	bənayı.
Mother	ERG	beans	GEN.f.sg	vegetable	cook.3sg.f.pst.pft
4) tum	āj	fır	der	se	aye.
You.2sg	today	again	late	ABL	come.2sg.m.pst.perf
5) gulab	ka	ful	bəhot	sundər	he.
Rose	GEN.m.sg	flower	very	beautiful	AUX.3sg.prs.
6) həm	agra	g <sup>h</sup> umnc firne		gəye	t <sup>h</sup> e.
We.3pl	agra	roam around		go.1pl.pst.perf	AUX1pl.pst.perf
7) çııya	pəjk <sup>h</sup>	fərfəɾə		rəhı	he.
bird	feather	flutter		stay AUX	1sg.prs.perf
8) sita	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	mē	fəfole	pəɾ gəyc.
Sita	GEN	hand	LOC	boils	fall go.3pl.m.pst.perf
9) woh	fāsı	ke	fəndc pər	lətək	gəyı.
3.sg	death	GEN	noose	LOC	hang go.3sl.f.pst.perf
10) woh	pərikša	me	səfəl	rəha.	
3.sg	exam	PP	success	stay.1sg.m.prs.perf	

PARAGRAPH

ɑj	kəl	fəl	bəhət	mehənɟe	ho	gəye hē.	ram
Today	tomorrow	fruit	very	expensive	happen	go.AUX.3pl.m.prs.perf	ram
ɔr	ful	laya.	fulō	ki	mala	bənayɪ	ɔr
And	flower	bring.3 sg.m.p st.perf.	flowers	GEN	garland	make.3sg.f.pst.perf	and
fəl	k <sup>h</sup> a	liye.	woh	čəlte	səməy	fudək	fudək
fruit	eat	take.pl .m.pst. perf	he..sg	walk	time	hop	hop
kər	čəl	rəha t <sup>h</sup> a		ɔr	fisəl	kər	gɪr
do.CP	walk	stay AUX.3sg.m .pst.perf	And	slip	do.CP		fall
gəya.	usne	fɪr	ek	sāp	ko	fən	ut <sup>h</sup> ae
AUX.3sg. m.pst.perf	he.3.sg.E RG	then	one	snake	ACC	head	pick
bət <sup>h</sup> e	dək <sup>h</sup> a	ɔr	dər	gəya	usne	g <sup>h</sup> ər	əkər
sit	see3sg.m. pst.perf	and	fear	go.3sg.m.ps t.perf	he.3sg.E RG.	house	come. CP
ma	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	se	fölke	k <sup>h</sup> ayc	ɔr	uskɪ
Mother	GEN	hand	INSTR	Bread	eat.3pl. m.pst.perf	and	he.3sg .GEN
ma	ne	use	fənɪ	mɪt <sup>h</sup> ayɪ	dɪ		

Mother	ERG	he.3sg. ACC	candy	sweet	give.3sg. f.pst.perf		
ram	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	pər	fəfola	pət	gəya.	
Ram	GEN	hand	LOC	boil	Fall	go.3sg.m.pst.perf	
ram	ne	bazar	ja	kər	kəbutər	ko	fə ʃfə ʃate
Ram	ERG	market	go	do.CP	pigeon	GEN	Flutter
hue	dək <sup>h</sup> a	ɔr	usne	kəbutər	ko	fəfu:ndɪ	wala
Happen	see.3sg.m. pst.perf	and	he.3sg. ERG	pigeon	GEN	fungus	wala
fulka	de	dɪya.					
bread	give	give.3s g.m.pst .perf.					

**Speech sample of the speakers who had [ph] and [f] in free variation**

- 1) fəl            'fruit'
- 2) ful            'flower'
- 3) p<sup>h</sup>uhar       'drop of water'
- 4) səfəлта      'success'
- 5) fir            'then' 'again'
- 6) p<sup>h</sup>irna       'to go around'
- 7) p<sup>h</sup>uŋk        'to blow'

- 8) səp<sup>h</sup>əl 'success'
- 9) p<sup>h</sup>əp<sup>h</sup>ətɪ 'motor bicycle'
- 10) fəfola 'boil'
- 11) fɛfəɾa 'lungs'
- 12) p<sup>h</sup>ɛp<sup>h</sup>əɾaa 'to flutter'
- 13) p<sup>h</sup>ulke 'bread'
- 14) fansɪ 'death sentence'
- 15) p<sup>h</sup>ənda 'noose'
- 16) fəli 'beans'

SENTENCE LIST:

- |          |        |                    |          |                     |                     |
|----------|--------|--------------------|----------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1) ram   | bazar  | se                 | fəl      | laya.               |                     |
| Ram      | market | LOC.               | Fruit    | bring.3sg.M.pst.pft |                     |
| 2) sita  | ne     | pərikša            | mē       | səfəltə             | payɪ.               |
| Sita     | ERG    | exam               | PP       | sucess              | gct.3sg.f.pst.pft   |
| 3) ma    | ne     | p <sup>h</sup> əlɪ | kɪ       | səbjɪ               | bənayɪ.             |
| Mother   | ERG    | beans              | GEN.f.sg | vegetable           | cook.3sg.f.pst.pft  |
| 4) tum   | aǰ     | fɪr                | der      | se                  | aye.                |
| You.2sg  | today  | again              | late     | ABL                 | come.2sg.m.pst.perf |
| 5) gulab | ka     | ful                | bəhət    | sundər              | he.                 |

Rose	GEN.m.sg	flower	very	beautiful	AUX.3sg.prs.
6) həm	agra	g <sup>h</sup> umne p <sup>h</sup> irne		gəye	t <sup>h</sup> e.
We.3pl	agra	roam around		go.1pl.pst.perf	AUX1pl.pst.perf
7) çiriyə	pəŋk <sup>h</sup>	p <sup>h</sup> əɽp <sup>h</sup> əɽa		rəhı	hə.
bird	feather	flutter		stay AUX	1sg.prs.perf
8) sıtə	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	mē	p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> ole	pəɽ gəye.
Sita	GEN	hand	LOC	boils	fall go.3pl.m.pst.perf
9) woh	fāsı	ke	p <sup>h</sup> ənde	pər	lətək gəyı.
3.sg	death	GEN	noose	LOC	hang go.3sl.f.pst.perf
10) woh	pərikša	me	səfəl	rəha.	
3.sg	exam	PP	success	stay.1sg.m.prs.perf	

## PARAGRAPH

āj	kəl	fəl	bəhət	məhənɟe	ho	gəye hē.	ram
Today	tomorrow	fruit	very	expensive	happen	go.AUX.3pl.m.prs.perf	ram
or	ful	laya.	fulō	ki	mala	bənayı	or
And	flower	bring.3 sg.m.p st.perf.	flowers	GEN	garland	make.3sg.f.pst.perf	and
p <sup>h</sup> əl	k <sup>h</sup> a	lıye.	woh	çəlte	səməy	p <sup>h</sup> udək	p <sup>h</sup> udə k
fruit	eat	take.pl .m.pst. perf	he₂.sg	walk	time	hop	hop
kər	çəl	rəha t <sup>h</sup> a	or	fīsəl	kər		gır

do.CP	walk	stay AUX.3sg.m	And	slip	do.CP	fall	
		.pst.perf					
gəya.	usne	fir	ek	sāp	ko	p <sup>h</sup> ən	ut <sup>h</sup> əe
AUX.3sg.	he.3.sg.E	then	one	snake	ACC	head	pick
m.pst.perf	RG						
bət <sup>h</sup> e	dək <sup>h</sup> ɑ	ɔr	ɖər	gəya	usne	g <sup>h</sup> ər	əkər
sit	see3sg.m.	and	fear	go.3sg.m.ps	he.3sg.E	house	come.
	pst.perf			t.perf	RG.		CP
ma	ke	hat <sup>h</sup>	se	fülke	k <sup>h</sup> əye	ɔr	uskı
Mother	GEN	hand	INSTR	Bread	eat.3pl.	and	he.3sg
					m.pst.pe		.GEN
					rf		
mɑ	ne	use	p <sup>h</sup> enı	mıt <sup>h</sup> ayı	dı		
Mother	ERG	he.3sg.	candy	sweet	give.3sg.		
		ACC			f.pst.perf		
ram	kc	hat <sup>h</sup>	pər	p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> ola	pət	gəya.	
Ram	GEN	hand	LOC	boil	Fall	go.3sg.m.pst.perf	
ram	ne	bazar	ja	kər	kəbutər	ko	fə ɽfə
							ɽate
Ram	ERG	market	go	do.CP	pigeon	GEN	Flutter
hue	dək <sup>h</sup> ɑ	ɔr	usne	kəbutər	ko	p <sup>h</sup> əp <sup>h</sup> u:ndı	wala
Happen	see.3sg.m.	and	he.3sg.	pigeon	GEN	fungus	wala
	pst.perf		ERG				
p <sup>h</sup> ulka	de	dıya.					
bread	give	give.3s					
		g.m.pst					
		.perf.					



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