

Appreciating Linguistics: A typological approach
Dr. Anindita Sahoo
Department of Humanities and Social Sciences
Indian Institute of Technology, Madras

Lecture – 59
Typology and Language Change - Continued

Hi, hello everyone, welcome to this session of our NPTEL course Appreciating Linguistics: A typological approach. We were talking about typology and language change and if you remember the primary discussion that we had in the previous session it was about there are two different kinds of crosslinguistic generalizations we should draw or you can say crosslinguistically what kind of correlation we can draw from languages, from a development perspective, acquisition perspective and use perspective.

There were two sets of generalizations we have had so far. The first generalization was related to the evolution of articles from diachronic point of view. What could have been the possible trace to claim that articles have been a part of English language system. We had definite and indefinite articles and if you try to recall we had four different paths of each generalization.

(Refer Slide Time: 01:25)

The historical paths of the order of major sentence constituents.

- GEN-2
- (A) INITIAL STAGE
- (a) The most common word order change in major sentence constituents starts with SOV.
 - (b) Object-initial orders are not initial stages.
- (B) INTERMEDIATE STAGES
- (a) SVO is a necessary intermediate stage to V-initial orders.
 - (b) SOV is an infrequent intermediate stage.
- (C) FINAL STAGE
- (a) OVS and OSV may be final stages in a change from SOV.
- (D) CONDITIONS
- SOV may be a final stage in a change from SVO if SOV is either borrowed from another language or if it is the result of grammaticalization.
- Reference: Introducing Language Typology by Edith A. Moravcsik

Initial
SOV ✓
Intermediate
SVO, SOV, VSO,
VOS
Final
OVS }
OSV }



We started from an initial stage, final stage, then intermediate stage and then the condition. There was a formula also related to it. When it is initial stage; that means, there must be some potential which like if you find out like a component X you should be able to find out what should have been the origin of it.

The origin of this particular component is considered to be the initial stage. And the final stage what could have been the possible reason, why the origin has become X and if X is the final stage what could have been the possible or what is the potential that initial stage has which may eventually result in the final stage X.

Then between the initial A and the final X there could be some other intermediate stages which could be considered as C, and these intermediate stages depend on what sort of changes it has gone through. And finally, to encounter or to explain changes like this, we should be able to identify certain conditions and the conditions here are primarily related to language change or the language contact.

So, if there is a change in language then there must be some contact relation which is why this particular language has started from the stage A and it has reached the stage X. That is how we are going to proceed further with the existing discussions that we have had in the other in the previous session. When we were trying to understand what could have been the trajectory of evolution of articles in human language, then we realized there are enough empirical evidence which would give us an impression that the definite articles might have arisen from the demonstratives.

Definite article like the must have arisen from demonstratives like this, that, these or those. And the final stage the generalization related to the final stage is that. Since there is a demonstrative we have in hand, it has the potential to change it in order to change itself into definite articles. So that about a definiteness. There are indefinite articles and in English the indefinite articles might have arisen from the numeral one. From one it has become an or it has become a. So, that is the final stage.

Initial stage is demonstrative, final stage is definite article; Initial stage is numeral one, final stage is indefinite article. Then in between we have multiple intermediate stages and these intermediate stages might have gradual phonological, semantics, and morphological

reduction which is why we have had the end product either the definite or the indefinite article. And what could have been let us say the possible reason of this change? The reason could be language contact which might have triggered or accelerated the development of articles. So, that was the first set of generalization from a diachronic perspective.

(Refer Slide Time: 04:39)

The historical paths of the order of major sentence constituents.

GEN-2

(A) INITIAL STAGE

- (a) The most common word order change in major sentence constituents starts with SOV.
- (b) Object-initial orders are not initial stages.

(B) INTERMEDIATE STAGES

- (a) SVO is a necessary intermediate stage to V-initial orders.
- (b) SOV is an infrequent intermediate stage.

(C) FINAL STAGE

- (a) OVS and OSV may be final stages in a change from SOV.

(D) CONDITIONS

SOV may be a final stage in a change from SVO if SOV is either borrowed from another language or if it is the result of grammaticalization.

Reference: *Introducing Language Typology* by Edith A. Moravcsik

12




Then we are trying to figure out what could have been the historical path for the development of major word order. When you think about word order, you have the subject object and verb, then we have subject verb and object, these are the two most prominent word orders found in any given language.

So, the logic or the argument here is that if you think about the initial stage then the beginning of this entire variation in the word order it might have started from SOV thing. So, the default word order is SOV and then the rest of the things might have been derived from it.

(Refer Slide Time: 05:38)

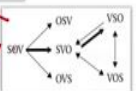
THE EVOLUTION OF THE ORDER OF S, O, AND V



Proto-Germanic:	SOV						
Old English:	SOV						
	SVO						
	VOS						
	VSO						
	OSV						
	OVS						
Modern English:	SVO						

FROM:	TO:	→	SOV	SVO	VSO	VOS	OSV	OVS
↓								
SOV		-	YES	0	0	YES	YES	
SVO		0	-	YES	YES	0	0	
VSO		0	YES	-	YES	0	0	
VOS		0	YES	YES	-	0	0	
OSV		0	0	0	0	-	0	
OVS		0	0	0	0	0	-	

Q-1: How did the word order evolve?
 Q-2: Why did the word order evolve the way they did?



Reference: Introducing Language Typology by Edith A. Moravcsik

11



Then there was a picture. Here is a table, you have the SOV which is the initial stage and from SOV you have other kinds of derivations, OSV, OVS, SVO, VSO, VOS all kinds of derivations are possible, but the initial stage is primarily SOV. That is what we have discussed as far as the word order historical development is concerned.

And all the let us say, so 1 2 3 4 5 6 7. Out of ah these 6 different basically the 6 different kinds of word order, which one is the most popular one? The SOV and the SVO, and which ones are the rarest ones? OSV and OVS. Why OSV and OVS are the rare ones? Because they are the end product, they are the final stage and they do not result in derivation of anything else.

That is the reason why we can come up with the generalizations which are stated here on the computer screen. Look at generalization two which is related to the historical path of the word order and, what we have identified so, far, what the linguists have come up with? The contention that they have is that the most common word order change in major sentences they constitute the major sentences that constitute it starts with SOV.

So, the initial stage is primarily SOV and object initial orders are not any initial stage. OVS and OSVt are the final stages; they can never be considered as the initial stage. The initial stage has always been SOV and as far as the intermediate stages are concerned.

After that, let us go to the final stage. As far as the final stages are concerned, It is OVS OSV initial is SOV. Now, comes the intermediate. So, in the intermediate stages, the V initial order is going to be the intermediate. So, VSO and VOS these are the intermediate ones.

I am going to write it like this to put it in simpler terms. It is initial, intermediate and final. SOV is definitely initial and OVS and OSV are definitely final. Then what are the intermediate stages? Intermediate stages are SVO, and it could also be SOV sometimes. Then you have VSO and VOS.

Then you can ask me how come you have SOV in both initial and intermediate stage? Because you remember the previous arrow marking was that SOV can also be an intermediate stage, but you can consider it as an infrequent intermediate stage, because this will always be in most of the cases the SOV is always at the initial stage.

That is the reason why this kind of a word or this kind of the historical paths has been traced so far as far as the word orders are concerned. Then comes the question what could be the possible conditions for which we have these kinds of word order? This is the frequency. One particular word order has the maximum frequency and then OSV and OVS have the minimum frequencies. What could have been the possible reasons for it?

Now the concern here is that the reason could be SOV may be a final stage in change from SVO or SOV. If you are thinking about SOV it will be the final stage from SVO if SOV is either borrowed from one language or is the result of grammaticalization. So, two things you need to remember.

If SOV is the final, SVO is the initial, in that case the reason is that you might have or this particular language might have gone through grammaticalization or it could have been borrowed from some other language. Otherwise there is absolutely no reason why you should have such kind of conditions or why you should have such kind of constituent path like the development of constituents or the development of word order in this way.

(Refer Slide Time: 10:30)

THE EVOLUTION OF CORRELATION PAIRS

S & O & V	V & S & O
Possessor & Possessum (GN)	Possessum & Possessor (NG)
NounPhrase & Adposition	Adposition & NounPhrase
(e.g. Hindi, Japanese, and Turkish)	(e.g. Arabic and Rapa Nui)



OV → VO
'the book read' → 'read the book'
GN NG
'the book of the boy' 'the boy's book'

Reference: Introducing Language Typology by Edith A. Moravcsik

13



With this generalization related to word order, let us go and find out how the evolution of correlation, evolution of such kind of correlation pairs have happened. So, how has the evolution of correlation pair happened?

As of now, if you remember when you are talking about the S, O and V, look at the table that we have here one side we have S and O and V pattern the other side we have V and S and O pattern. So, the concern here is that these two language types or linguistic types would have a certain way of expression of phrases.

When it is SOV; that means, the first type, look at the table, it is possessor-possessum, so remember there was some there was this [FL] that kind of a construction in Hindi. In that case it is going to always be possessor-possessum, it is always going to be noun phrase and adposition and what are the examples? Hindi, Japanese and Turkish.

(Refer Slide Time: 11:48)

THE EVOLUTION OF CORRELATION PAIRS

- 7 (a) Only prepositions:
in (e.g. *in der Stadt* 'in the city')
um (e.g. *um die Stadt* 'around the city')
- (b) Only postpositions:
willen 'for the sake of' (e.g. *einer Sache willen* 'for the sake of something')
- (c) May be either prepositions or postpositions:
wegen 'because of' (e.g. *des Vaters wegen* or *wegen des Vaters* 'because of the father')
gegenüber 'across' (e.g. *dem Bahnhof gegenüber* or *gegenüber dem Bahnhof* 'across the station')
gemäss 'according to' (e.g. *den Vorschriften gemäss* or *gemäss den Vorschriften* 'according to the rules')

German

(Harmony) of 7 extensions
German → OV to VO
Type of adpositions in German
↓
both prepositions and postpositions



Reference: *Introducing Language Typology* by Edith A. Moravcsik

14



In case of VSO you have Arabic and Rapa nui. So, in case of VSO format it is just the mirror image. And if it is possessor and possessum in a SOV, when it becomes VSO, it becomes possessum and possessor. Noun phrase and adposition in case of SOV in case of VSO it is going to be adposition and noun phrase. My suggestion for you would be go back to the data that we have discussed and find out how this kind of the correlation pairs. So, how this kind of a correlation pair has evolved by now.

Since we have identified or we have observed what the typologist have already claimed so far is that when you are talking about the word order there is a certain by default condition or the initial stage then there is a final stage. Between the initial and final stage there are multiple intermediary stages which might have resulted from two things. One borrowing from other languages. second might be the grammaticalization.

These are the two possible reasons for which you have all kinds of word order patterns. Now, with this information, let us move to the correlation pair that we just noticed; one correlation pair is SOV, the other correlation pair is VSO. SOV we have Hindi, Japanese, Turkish and VSO we have Arabic and Rapa Nui.

In case of Hindi, Japanese, Turkish category, the relation is possessor then possessum, noun phrase then adposition. In case of VSO just the opposite, we have possessor-possessum and

possessor adposition and noun phrase. So, now the question comes which one has come first, which one has come later and how these kind of correlation pairs have evolved so far?

Now let us see when you maintain such kind of word order let us say a particular language changes from OV to VO; that means, let us say the book read, to read the book in such cases what sort of linearization that we have; whether you are going to say the boy's book or the book of the boy.

The GN pattern would be I am just briefly writing over here. Let us say the change is happening from OV to VO. In case of OV I am going to write the book read; the book read this is one type. When it becomes read the book. my suggestion would be to think about Hindi versus English I read the book or [FL] so, that kind of a change.

When this kind of change happens, we see the possessor-possessum relation also changes in case of OV. So, one way you have the book of the boy. Let me write it as GN and NG. This is GN, this is NG; GN is the book of the boy versus the boy's book. So, in case of the boy's book the noun is the boy like here, this is NG the boy's that is N. The boy's book is the NG form and the book of the boy is the GN form.

In such case the movement of GN to NG or possessor-possessum to the other way round or np noun phrase adposition to the adposition noun phrase, how did such evolution happen and what are the linguistic evidence or the empirical evidence for it? Do you think there has been any encyclopedic work on the cross linguistic tendencies of syntactic change?

So, this kind of sense, OV to VO is primarily syntactic change, because the position of the subject and the position of the object, position of the verb is getting changed. This kind of syntactic change, do you think there is a crosslinguistic tendency? that is what we are going to see from here onwards for a couple of minutes.

Alice Harris and Lyle Campbell have identified two ways by which the phrase internal constituents may keep lockstep with word order change; that means, the internal constituents remain same, it is just that the word order gets changed.

So, O and V they are still a constituent, V and O they are still a constituent, but why now, what is changed here? Only the order had changed, but John [FL] or you can say [FL], I am

going to talk about OV and VO. Let us say [FL] and [FL]. So, [FL], in that case when you say [FL] and [FL] or read the book or book the read.

They would still be considered as a constituent just that the word order has changed. Now the question is if such things happen, what is the empirical evidence that helps the typologist or the linguist to find out or to identify this is the trajectory or this is the developmental path by which you can claim that such kind of changes have happened.

One example we will discuss here; there are many examples in the book. I have chosen only one that is German. Why German is interesting for us? Because this language has undergone a change from OV to VO. Initially it used to be SOV, but now it has become SVO. So, because of this change or because of the evolution of these kind of correlation pairs.

So, what sort of idea do we have about crosslinguistic typology here? And just to make you aware about this change, how to identify such changes? Through the empirical data, and what else does the empirical like, what else do the empirical evidences say so far? If you look at the original OV order, now go back to OV. So, when it is OV. Look at this example there are two sets look at the OV. So, in case of OV order, how do the adpositions and the noun phrases work?

Here if it is OV then the noun phrase comes first then comes the adposition. If it is VO the noun phrase might come later and the adposition might come first might come before that. So, it depends whether it is a preposition or a postposition, depending on the word order that it has. According to the original OV order, most adpositions were postpositions, if you think about OV. That means, German must have had evidences where the adpositions are postpositions. And now since the word order has changed it has become VO then probably it also has prepositions now.

So, between this postposition and preposition story there would be a third group of adposition. What kind of an adposition, we will check it in a while. Let us look at the data. This is the German data that we have. We just discussed either it will be a preposition or it will be a postposition.

If it is a preposition it should come before the noun phrase, if it is a postposition it should come after the noun phrase and there is a third category that German has which can be treated either as a preposition or as a postposition because of the change or because of the flexibility of its location or because of the flexibility of its position. Now, let us look at the example in 7 a; 7 a is only preposition.

In the city, around the city, so what is the preposition here? -in, -um. Look at this. Why they are called prepositions? Because they are happening before the noun phrase. In case of only postpositions you can say willain; willen; that means, for the sake of; in this case for the sake of something.

So, in this case for the sake of something, so something is the noun phrase and willen has become the postposition. 7 a is the only preposition, 7 b is only postposition and in the case of a phrase like w e g e n we need to find out besides the prepositions and postpositions only a preposition or only post position. Do we have something else in German is a very good example.

So, 7 a is only preposition, 7 b is only postposition, then we have 7 c the words like wegen or gegenüber or gemäss. I am sorry if my pronunciation is not so good, but then if you look at these words, you can see that they can be either used as preposition or postposition. Look at wegen, in this case you can see because of the father.

So, either you can put it after father or you can put it before father. If it is after the noun phrase the father, then it is going to be the postposition, if it is before then it is going to be the preposition. Similar is the case with prepositions like the adpositions like a cross or according to, so these are the 3 adpositions in German which can either be a preposition or it can be a postposition.

(Refer Slide Time: 22:50).

THE EVOLUTION OF CORRELATION PAIRS

GEN-3

(A) INITIAL STAGE

OV, GN, Postpositions

(B) INTERMEDIATE STAGES

When OV changes to VO and GN changes to NG,
- erstwhile postpositions may switch their position by analogy
to already existing prepositions; and
- new prepositions may evolve from the new NG and VO
orders by grammaticalization.

(C) FINAL STAGE:

VO, NG, Prepositions



Reference: *Introducing Language Typology* by Edith A. Moravcsik

15



This is an interesting language to identify or to understand the evolution of correlation pairs. Now, let us see with this information, what kind of generalization we can actually draw for things like this. Here I would like you to understand a term called harmony of extension. Harmony of extension means you are talking about some kind of analogy here.

When you say harmony of extension, what has been provided by German? The idea here is that, when you have three different forms, a third group of adposition can occur in either of the order. This is an interesting thing, a particular phrase can be used in both ways either you can prepose it or you can postpose it.

So, when it is preposed, it occurs before the noun phrase and when it is postposed, it occurs after the noun phrase. There is an interesting distribution across the styles. What does it say? This tells us a very interesting story about their history. What is that history? The history here is that for a work for a preposition like because of in German *wegen* the prepositional use is normal.

For an adposition like *villain* the postposition is quite normal. *Wegen* is fine, *willen* is fine, in or *um* as prepositions they are fine *willen* as a postposition is fine, this is always postposition, but when the matter comes to a phrase like *wegen*, it can either be preposition or the postposition

So, what kind of story does it tell? What sort of interesting thing that you can identify here? The story here is that these kind of observations related to the postposition and the prepositional status of the adpositions in German, is that there is a particular pronominal form that might have come or historically. Generally or historically it has not been that old as the postpositional form is. So, if you look at the frequency the postpositional form seems to be older than the prepositional; than the prepositional form. Let me put it in a simpler manner.

Now, for a phrase like wegen which means because of, the prepositional use is normal, but the postpositional version that occurs only in the literary style. So that means, in the spoken form it is generally prepositional, in the written style, it is always like it is mostly postposition. And to be more specific wegen which is because of as a postposition is only found in literary style. So then what does it say? If it is found in that literary style there, and on the other hand we have the other two across and according to gemass and gegenübers

So, these kind of things are very common as postpositions. And the written form is always considered to be newer than the spoken form. And we identify that out of the three adpositions which can be either treated as preposition or postposition, two of them are found primarily as postposition in the spoken form and wegen on the other hand as postposition it is found only in the written form.

So, which one is older? Considering the spoken form is older, it shows that or we can generalize that the postpositions have become older than the prepositions. Besides the literary evidence that we have in German, there is also another kind of evidence that comes from the petrified phenomenal form such as. Let us say because of me or for his sake from where, go check the book for more data. This also includes postpositions.

So, the idea here is that since pronouns generally lag behind in the change, pronouns generally do not change. This shows that the postpositional order is actually older, because in most of the cases in case of preposition; in case of pronominals, you find the post positional use. And pronominals are considered to be the older form and since with the pronominals you have the postpositions at least this is another additional evidence which gives us an idea that postpositions have occurred or postpositions have evolved into prepositions.

So, the older forms are postpositions and the newer forms are prepositions. I hope I made sense. To wind up what I would say about the evolution of correlation patterns or correlation pairs is that we have adpositions;

Adpositions can be pre-post, post-post or it could be either and the data that we are taking is German. Why German is an interesting language? Because it has evolved or it has changed from OV to VO. So, if this OV to VO change has happened, this change will actually help us to identify about the noun noun phrase and then the adposition evolution, which one has come first NP adposition or adposition NP.

So, that means, whether the preposition is older or the postposition is older, the evidence that we have are two; two different evidences we have. One is related to the literary writing, the other one is related to the pronominal evidence. In case of literary writing we see that a lot of adpositions which can either be preposed or postposed is wegen, gegenuber and gemass.

Out of these 3 that we have the data with us, the last two gegenuber and gemass they generally are found in the spoken form. However, wegen is generally found in the written form as the postposition. However, because of a higher number of frequency, we realize that the postpositions might have come first and then the prepositions must have come.

The other evidence comes from the pronominals. In German, these are the wegen and gegenuber and gemass they are mainly used with the pronominals in the postposition form. And it is believed that pronominals have not changed much in the modern languages. Because pronominals have not changed much and these pronominals have the postposition, it is believed that postposition has come first then has come the preposition. So, that is how the evolution of the correlation pairs have happened in these languages. So, on this note, let us move to the next set of generalizations. And these generalizations would be based on again the initial intermediate and final stage.

So, initial stage would be OV, GN and in the postposition. So, the OV form is older, GN form is older and postposition form is older and what are the intermediate? Intermediate changes when OV changes to VO or GN changes to NG, what happens the postpositions may switch their position by analogy to already existing prepositions.

That means, when you are thinking about the change of postpositions they might switch their position following the existing prepositions. And the new prepositions may evolve from new NG and VO order by grammaticalization. So, this is again the condition. The condition is that either it will be through analogy; let me circle this, or it may be by grammaticalization.

Either of the ways, these are the two reasons why we see the intermediate stages. Because of the analogy, the postposition becomes preposition, because of the grammaticalization, new prepositions may evolve from new NG form or new VO form VO order it depends. So, these two are the conditions by which the intermediate stages happen.

And finally, what is the final stage? The VO NG and preposition. So, postposition is older, preposition is newer; OV is older, VO is newer. That is how the evolution of the correlation pairs have happened as identified by the typologist or you can say by the linguist. These are a few generalizations that we can draw from the historical perspective.

Once we get an idea how historically languages have changed and how at the article level we have evidence, word order level we have evidence, and then this evidence can be extended to correlational pairs like noun phrase and then the adposition.

So, what we realized, to begin with at the historical front, definite articles at the final stage, demonstratives at the initial stage; indefinite articles at the final stage, numerals at the initial stage that is about the evolution of article. Evolution of word order SOV is the initial stage, SVO might be the final stage, there could be many other word orders they could. As far as the OSV and OVS pattern is concerned, they are always the final stage. And the third thing or what we study so far how did this evolution happen, taking into account the role of the adpositions, we realized that postpositions have come first.

So, the postpositions have come first and then has come the prepositions. This was about the diachronic aspect, I would like to switch to the developmental change. How from the mouths of the babies, like how does language change when the children acquire their first language.

Keywords: definiteness, harmony of extension, pronominal, grammaticalization