

Language in Diaspora

ENG 448

What is a Diaspora ?

For the Greeks, from whose language the word originated, diaspora meant the dispersal of population through colonization.

For Jews, Africans, Armenians, and others, the word acquired a more sinister and brutal meaning. Diaspora meant a collective trauma, a banishment into exile, and a heart-aching longing to return home.

During the early modern period, trade and labor diasporas girded the mercantilist and early capitalist worlds.

Today the term has changed again, often implying a positive and ongoing relationship between migrants' homelands and their places of work and settlement.

Language Contact

Language contact occurs when two or more languages or varieties interact. The study of language contact is called contact linguistics.

When speakers of different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other.

A defining feature of contact languages is their function as a new medium of communication.

This need arises to enable cross-language interaction among population groups in a variety of settings like trade, social contact among groups speaking different languages within the same community and even within the same household.

Linguistic Solutions

- Lingua Franca
- Koineization
- Creolization and Pidginization
- Language Mixing
- Language Shift
- Foreigner Talk
- Mixed Languages
- Borrowing and Loanwords
- Metatypy

Foreigner Talk

The term foreigner talk refers to a simplified version of a language that's sometimes used by native speakers when addressing non-native speakers.

It has a simple or non-existent morphology, more or less fixed word order, simple syntax, a small number of grammatical words, and little or no use of the copula (complex sentence)

Two types of foreigner talk can be identified--ungrammatical and grammatical.

Foreigner talk does not typically undergo any long-term conventionalisation and remains a largely improvised register, which we might best define as an ad hoc selective employment of structures from a speaker's linguistic repertoire.

Eg: In India we talk to foreigners in English in a simplified manner like "I drive (I can drive),... Also foreigners try to speak in hindi (mein khana khayega)

Lingua Franca

Lingua franca refers to a language used as a means of communication between populations speaking vernaculars that are not mutually intelligible.

A lingua franca may or may not be a contact language.

Though the term can be used for pidgins and creoles, it is generally used to denote a third language that is distinct from the native languages of the speakers.

Eg:

Hindi is a dominant language in the Terai i.e. floodplain districts of Nepal though the people's mother tongues are typically Awadhi, Maithili, or Bhojpuri.

Additionally, Hindi-Urdu is useful throughout the world due to the export of labor from South Asia. It is commonly spoken among working populations on land and at sea throughout the Middle East and East Africa.

Koineization

Koineization

Koineization: Refers to the process of development of a new dialect/language by mixing, levelling and simplifying dialects of a language or other closely related languages.

A koiné language is a standard language or dialect that has arisen as a result of contact between two or more mutually intelligible varieties (dialects) of the same language.

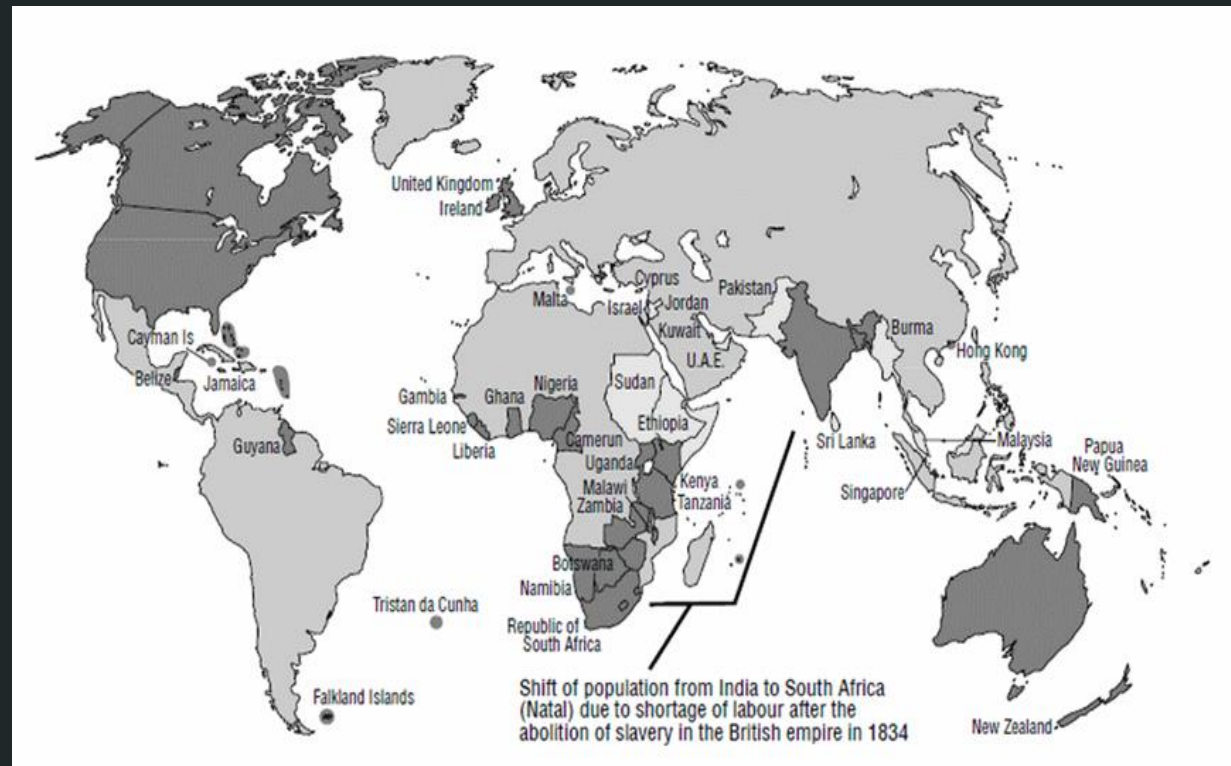
Since speakers already understood one another from before the advent of the koiné, the koineization process is not as drastic as pidginization and creolization.

Unlike pidginization and creolization, there is no "target" within Koine formation. It involves continuity in that speakers do not need to abandon their own linguistic varieties.

The Colonial period

This period of Indian Diaspora is largely a consequence of abolition of slavery in European colonies and thus promoting migration of labor from the South Asian countries.

Laborers in large numbers migrated to Mauritius (1834), British Guyana (1838), Jamaica and Trinidad (1844), West Indian Islands, Natal, Suriname, Fiji, East Africa etc.



Linguistic profile of Migrants

The migrant laborers came from varied linguistic profiles thus creating a sociolinguistic milieu:

Speakers of Bhojpuri, Magadhi, Kanauji, Awadhi, Bengali, Rajasthani, Braj and Oriya migrated from the North India.

From the western part of South Asia were the Marathi speakers and languages like Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada came from the southern part of south Asia.

Few Munda languages like Santali, Munda, Ho etc. were carried by the Dhangars from Bengal, Bihar and Chhotanagpur plateau, although no traces of their speakers or their influence on other host languages are currently found, still few people have their surnames as “Dhingoor” or “Dhongoor” which confirm the presence of these languages during that period.

Small numbers of Urdu speaking Muslims and English speaking Christians were also taken as the indentured laborers.

Following the emergence of indentured labor, traders also took interest in overseas trade and carried languages like Gujarati, Konkani, Meman, Bengali and Punjabi along with them.

A Sociolinguistic Milieu

Such linguistic diversity among the indentured laborers helped create a situation language contact, convergence, accommodation and evolution.

Migrant laborers certainly lacked the knowledge of colonial and local languages like English, French Dutch.

This lead to poor communication between the native and the migrants.

Even the migrants had communication issues amongst themselves because of their own linguistic diversity.

Laborers from the north India speaking Indo-European languages were unable to communicate to their South Indian, Dravidian language speaking counterparts.

This lead to a situation of Linguistic and social alienation among the owners and laborers and even within the laborers.

Koineization

Table 25.2. *Twelve most common districts of recruitment of laborers for three colonies and the language varieties of the districts*⁶

Natal	Fiji	Mauritius
Basti (UP; B)	Basti (UP; B)	Shahabad (Bihar; B)
Gonda (UP; A)	Gonda (UP; A)	Gaya (Bihar; M)
Azamgarh (UP; B)	Fyzabad (UP; A)	Ghazipur (UP; B)
Ghazipur (UP; B)	Sultanpur (UP; A)	Saran (Bihar; B)
Sultanpur (UP; A)	Azamgarh (UP; B)	Patna (Bihar; M)
Fyzabad (UP; A)	Gorakhpur (UP; B)	Varanasi (UP; B)
Patna (Bihar; M)	Allahabad (UP; A)	Ranchi (Bihar; B)
Gaya (Bihar; M)	Jaunpur (UP; A & B)	Lucknow (UP; A)
Allahabad (UP; A)	Shahabad (Bihar; B)	Puruliya (West Bengal; Be; M)
Rae Bareilly (UP; A)	Ghazipur (UP; B)	Nagpur (Maharashtra; Ma)
Lucknow (UP; A)	Rae Bareilly (UP; A)	Hazaribagh (Bihar; M)
Gorakhpur (UP; B)	Partabgarh (UP; A)	Azamgarh (UP; B)

Note: A = Awadhi, B = Bhojpuri, Be = Bengali, M = Magahi, Ma = Marathi, UP = Uttar Pradesh.

Koineization

Emergence of many Koines like Indian-Bhojpuri, Trinidad-Bhojpuri, Guyanese-Bhojpuri, South African-Bhojpuri, Suriname-Hindustani, Fiji-Hindi etc.

More regular and easily learnable forms stand a better chance of being retained. Role of “Speech Accommodation” among the adults while ‘Selection’ of accommodated forms and their stabilization was in the hands of young generation acquirers of the Koines.

The process of Koineization witnessed simplification of the raw input languages as:

While expressing verbs, gender was eliminated in most of the Koines.

The common negation words like ‘Nahikhi’ or ‘Naikhi’ were replaced by ‘Nahi’.

Borrowing the standard Hindi form of “*a-p*” in the form of “*a-pan*”, using it to show respect while talking to someone of higher status etc. instead of using “*t-u*”.

Linguistic Compromise

This situation required effective linguistic solutions. Formation of pidgins was one such solution, for example:

In Fiji, two Pidgin languages arose, one based on Fijian language and the other based on Hindi later known as Fijian-Hindi pidgin.

The Fanakalo pidgin in Natal

In some places, south Asian migrants learnt to use the pre-existing Creole languages as creole English in Jamaica, creole French in Mauritius, Sranan in Suriname and Swahili in East Africa.

English continued to adhere the highest status, while demographic factors and prestige of colonial languages prevented south Asian languages from becoming a pan-Indian phenomenon.

Most of the south Asian languages were used for cultural and symbolic realm while Pidgins and creoles for social and economic purposes.

Mixed Languages

Mixed languages are considered to be mixed to the extent that their genetic affiliation cannot be ascribed to just one particular lineage, while the absence of simplification processes as part of their genesis makes them distinct from pidgins and creoles

It is generally understood that mixed languages show mixtures that are distinct, either qualitatively or quantitatively, from other cases of contact-induced change.

Eg:

Lomavren is a mixed language, showing a clear split between lexicon and grammar, spoken by the Armenian Gypsies (Lom or Boshá). The old traditional code of Armenian Boshá, an Indo-Aryan variety, provides the lexicon, while the territorial language, a variety of Armenian, provides the grammar

Pidgin

Pidgin is a simplified form of input languages used for communication between groups speaking different languages which is not spoken as the first or native language.

It involves a power struggle for dominance between two or more languages in which the dominance is based on economical and social factors. The dominant language provides more vocabulary (lexifier – superstrate) while the less dominant language provides the grammar (substrate).

Typical situations in which pidgins arise are trade contacts and work organisation. Under conditions of more-or-less equal partnerships, pidgins might be based on an equal share of each group's linguistic input, thus creating a makeshift linguistic repertoire to which all participants contribute.

Characteristics of pidgin language:

- Limited vocabulary
- Simple grammatical rules
- Small inventory of sounds
- Spoken by a small fraction of the community
- Used for specific purposes such as trade, religion.

Possible outcomes of Pidgins :

Die out (when original reason for communication diminishes or disappears)

Develop to more formal roles (lingua franca); which is called an 'expanded pidgin'

Develop into a creole

Creole

A creole language, is a stable natural language developed from the mixing of parent languages.

Unlike a pidgin a creole language is a complete language used in a community and acquired by children as their native language. Creole languages therefore have a fully developed vocabulary and system of grammar.

Creolization: The process by which pidgins get stabilized and nativized by children as their primary language.

Relexification

In linguistics, relexification is a mechanism of language change by which one language changes much or all of its lexicon, including basic vocabulary, with the lexicon of another language, without drastically changing the relexified language's grammar. The term is principally used to describe pidgins, creoles, and mixed languages.

Relexification is not synonymous with lexical borrowing, by which a language merely supplements its basic vocabulary with loanwords from another language.

Relexification is a form of language interference in which a pidgin, a creole or a mixed language takes the great majority of its lexicon from a superstrate or a target language while its grammar comes from the substrate or source language or, according to universalist theories, arises from universal principles of simplification and grammaticalization. The language from which the lexicon is derived is called the "lexifier".

Case Study : The Sinhalese migration

Sinhalese migration

A genetic distance analysis by Dr Robert Kirk concluded that the modern Sinhalese are most closely related to the Bengalis. This is further substantiated by a VNTR study, which found 70-82% of Sinhalese genes to originate from Bengali admixture.

These findings are compatible with the historical chronicles the Mahavamsa and Dipavamsa. Which describe a Vanga prince (Prince Vijaya) from Sinhapura in Lata or Lala of being an early settler of Sri Lanka and the progenitor of the Sinhalese. The Vangas are generally identified as Bengalis. On the other hand, Lata is identified with modern-day Gujarat, and Sinhapura with modern Sihor in the Kathiawar peninsular of Gujarat.

Linguistically the Sinhalese are closer to North Indians than South Indians, as the Sinhala language is a member of the Indo-Aryan languages. The Sinhalese therefore can trace a connection to their North Indian origins through this.

Vedda

Vedda was the language of the indigenous Vedda people of Sri Lanka who are among the oldest inhabitants of the Indian subcontinent.

According to Sugathapala De Silva, modern Vedda is a creole based on the original Vedda with Sinhalese as its important secondary contributing source which is supported by Geiger's view that Vedda is a relexified aboriginal language.

De Silva concluded that although the Creole had borrowed profusely from Sinhalese vocabulary, its morphology was very distinct. He wrote that grammatically Vedda remained still distinct from Sinhalese.

He also concluded that Vedda still contains in its vocabulary terms that were unknown to the Sinhalese and that grammatically Vedda remained still distinct from Sinhalese.

When the colonization of island by various Indian settlers using common Prakrits in use in India began in the 5th century BCE, some elements of the Vedda coalesced with the settlers and lost their language through language replacement whereas more conservative elements maintaining a hunter gatherer lifestyle moved into the central highlands known in early literature as Malaya Rata.

With the collapse of the lowland dry zone civilization starting in the 9th century, descendants of the Indian settlers who had begun to speak Sinhalese moved in the central highlands. The trade and other connections made by the speakers of Sinhalese and the Vedda language's/languages' unknown genetic affinities gave rise to a period of use of a Pidgin of the languages.

Initial borrowing of terms was limited to trade purposes, but was eventually adopted by the Vedda elite and subsequently by the rest of the Veddas. The Veddas also seemed to have moved further away from Sinhalese contact by moving into inaccessible forests of Binttanne and now reforested former dry zone areas.

This led to the arresting of the contact between the language communities thus allowing new Vedda language to stabilize and become an independent language and as a relict of this limited period of contact, Vedda maintains many archaic Sinhalese words that were in vogue during that period. These words have gone out of use in contemporary Sinhalese.

Language Shift

Language Shift

Language shift is the process by which a speech community in a contact situation (i.e. consisting of bilingual speakers) gradually stops using one of its two languages in favor of the other.

As such, recognition of it depends on being able to see the prior and subsequent language as distinct; and therefore the term excludes language change which can be seen as evolution, the transition from older to newer forms of the same language.

The causal factors of language shift can be theorized in terms of a theory of cultural control, whereby a social group becomes alienated and accepting of external institutions.

Each linguistic group in India has a strong genetic affinity between its members. Therefore, any recent change in language could be reflected in the genome. When people move from one place to another, as per human tendency, they try to adapt themselves to the new place. Over time, some of the migrants adopt the local language for better communication and, in turn, for better living. Thus, language shift is a phenomenon where a new language is adopted by a population with virtually no influence on their genetic make-up. There are several examples of language shift around the world.

Siddi

Siddis, originally a term of respect derived from a corrupt form of *Sayyed* now refers to Afro-Indians belonging to many tribes in Ethiopia, Tanzania, Mozambique or Zanzibar who were brought to India by Portuguese traders between the 17th and 19th centuries and sold to the Nawabs and the Sultans of India to serve as soldiers and slaves.

Recent genetic analysis of the Siddis (Narang et al 2011; Shah et al 2011), identify Y-DNA markers that establish that the Siddis' ancestors were probably Bantu and from other Sub-Saharan tribes.

There are about 55,000 Siddis in India today. They live in small, insular communities in Karnataka, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal and Gujarat.

In the span of a thousand years in India, the Siddis lost track of their origins, histories and cultures. The slaves were kept busy and it was natural that the slaves had to learn the master's language be it Portuguese, Kannada, Urdu, Marathi or Konkani, in order to understand their commands and orders. And to be familiar with the people whom they serve they had to familiarize themselves with the local tongues at the expense of their mother tongue, Swahili, a language spoken today in Eastern Coast of Africa.

Nowadays numerous speakers of the present generation are totally or partially bilingual in their use of the Siddhi-Konkani and Kannada languages.

Sunni Muslims in Karnataka speak Urdu and other languages unlike the Christian and Hindu Siddhis of Karnataka. This is because they were under Muslim rulers of West Bengal, Janjira Island, Mumbai city and different places in the Deccan like Bijapur Sultans and Hyderabad sultans.

However, the language which the Siddhis speak is neither Kannada, nor Hindi or Konkani but totally different, a mixture of everything which is very difficult to pick up. For example words like, Kaaibe, Kithbe, Bagaabe, Themi (they), Kaundi (bedsheet), Jaabe, Yebe, Keshak Zaavli Thia, Laggon Aye (come soon). Their language is highly influenced by all the local languages such as Konkani, Kannada, Urdu or Marathi.

In the Siddhi-Gujarathi language several items of African Origin were identified by Abdulaziz Lodhi.

Siddhis can manage to speak minimum three languages such as Marathi, Konkani, Hindi, Kannada and Urdu. Though they can speak and understand minimum three languages the dialect that they use to communicate among themselves is highly jumbled with various languages.

Surprisingly their dialect in turn helps them to understand other languages that are spoken around their settlements or in the towns that they visit. This enables them to enter into any other village or township for labour or shopping. Their exceptional quality of learning an alien language is something that attracts attention.

It was under such similar condition be it in Goa, Gujarat, Maharashtra or various kingdoms of Karnataka that they picked the language of the place and survived the test of time. Their capacity to grasp the language and learn it makes them defensive against anyone. When they communicate with the larger society, their multilingual skill enables them to use the language required for the occasion.

Loanwords

Sega songs in Mauritius,
Calypso in Trinidad, food
items in Guyana etc.
included Bhojpuri words.

Table 25.4. *Loanwords in OBH pertaining to the practice of indenture*

Term	Meaning	Source	Varieties
<i>girmīt</i>	“indenture”	English <i>agreement</i>	all OBHs
<i>girmityā</i>	“indentured worker”	<i>girmīt</i> + suffix <i>yā</i>	all OBHs
<i>Kalkatiyā</i>	“north Indian immigrant”	Calcutta (port)	all OBHs
<i>Kalkatiyā bāt</i>	“language of north Indians”	Hn <i>Kalkatiyā</i> + <i>bāt</i> “language”	all OBHs
<i>arkatiyā</i>	“recruiter”	Eng <i>recruiter</i>	MB, TB, SH
<i>thagwā</i>	“recruiter”	Hn <i>thag</i> “deceiver”	SB, SH
<i>luterā</i>	“recruiter”	Hn <i>luterā</i> “robber”	SB
<i>damolā/mulē</i>	“mill”	Mauritian Creole	MB, SB, ¹¹ TB
<i>kulambar</i>	“European overseer”	Eng <i>call number</i>	FH, TB
<i>ḍipū/ḍipuwā/ḍīpo</i>	“emigration depot”	Eng <i>depot</i>	all OBHs ¹²
<i>jahājī-bhāī</i>	“male ship mate”	Hn <i>jahāj</i> “ship”, <i>bhāī</i> “brother”	all OBHs
<i>jahājī-bahin</i>	“female ship mate”	Hn <i>jahāj</i> + <i>bahin</i> “sister”	all OBHs
<i>ḍipuā bhāī</i>	“male depot mate”	Hn <i>dipū</i> + <i>bhāī</i>	SH
<i>bānak</i>	“long common housing structure”	Eng <i>barracks</i>	TB, GB, SB ¹³
<i>kantāp</i>	“purple flower of sugar cane”	Eng <i>cane top</i>	FH, TB
<i>sukhlāī</i>	“replacing dead plants with new supply”	Eng <i>supply</i>	FH, TB ¹⁴
<i>kūī</i>	“Indian worker”	Eng <i>coolie</i>	SB, GB, SH, MB, TB ¹⁵
<i>sardār</i>	“Indian supervisor of laborers”	Hn <i>sardar</i>	SB, MB, TB, GB,
<i>rais</i>	“ration”	Eng <i>rice</i>	GB, FH ¹⁶
<i>firīman(i)</i>	“laborer freed from indenture”	Eng <i>free man</i>	FH, TB
<i>latās</i>	“task, ordinary task”	French <i>la tâche</i>	MB, SB, FH

Note: FH= Fiji Hindi, GB= Guyanese Bhojpuri, MB= Mauritian Bhojpuri, OBH= Overseas varieties of Bhojpuri Hindi, SB= South African Bhojpuri, SH= Suriname Hindustani, TB= Trinidad Bhojpuri.

Maintenance and Shift

Maintenance and Shift

Formation of Koines also asks for their maintenance, but no customary initiatives were taken to preserve the same.

Adults were the only fluent speakers of the Koine languages and having practiced them for long period of time, continued to use them in their daily life, Cultural and religious proceedings etc.

The younger generation had the liberty to choose the language of their own interest, and their choice leaned towards languages which provided them more opportunities and were widely used.

Urbanization, Industrialization and Globalization reduced the scope of survival of such Koine languages. This was further supported by the prestige and demographic advantage of English language.

Moreover, the 'Educated class' of people also tend to prefer colonial languages rather than a Koine.

Indian-Guyanese: An Insight

People from UP, Bengal, Bihar etc. migrated to Guyana during the second Diaspora. Lingua Franca of the first immigrants was mainly Bhojpuri. Awadhi, Maithili, Magahi, Kannauji, Tamil, Telugu and Khari Boli (Old Hindi) speakers were the other immigrants.

The need of a common communication speech, in a way, homogenized the immigrated and host speech forms and amalgamated them into, so called, “Guyanese-Bhojpuri”.

Consequently, the immigrants speaking Dravidian languages had to learn Guyanese-Bhojpuri in order to communicate with their north Indian counterparts.

Both hindus and muslims were brought as indentured laborers. Hence towards the end of the indenture period, Hindu and Muslim educational and religious institutions started coming up.

As a result Sanskrit and Arabic words tend to replace bhojpuri words in cultural and religious context, for ex. '*Mathya*' (Hindu temple) was replaced by '*Mandir*', '*Maaro*' (Hindu marriage canopy) was replaced by '*Mandap*' and '*meijie*' (Muslim priest) was replaced by '*Imaam*'.

With creolization and Anglicization, the utility of the ancestral language reduced and are currently almost extinct as spoken languages.

Hence, there was a Language shift from 'Guyanese-Bhojpuri' to Hindi and Urdu.

Language mixing

Language mixing is a well-known event in bilingual communities. It refers to usage of two languages in a mixed manner, generally in oral interaction. There are two types of language mixing:

1. Inter-sentential (code-switching): The language switch is done at sentence boundaries. This is seen most often between fluent bilingual speakers.

2. Intra sentential (code-mixing): Mixing of various linguistic units (morphemes, words, modifiers, phrases, clauses, sentences) primarily from two or more participating grammatical systems within a sentence.

Language mixing can further be divided into unidirectional and vari-directional (when the alternate voice not aligned with the self)

Some of the reasons for language mixing:

- Desire to reveal mixed identity
- Exoticism
- Inability to express an idea in one language
- Inability to recall a word
- More effective communication
- Wish to obtain a special effect.

Examples:

Hinglish: eg: Jab we met- English in Hindi movie

South Asian Diaspora in Europe and the United States

In the United Kingdom, most of the earlier immigrants (from British India) were identified as “Overseas Indians.” Finer distinctions between South Asian communities did not start until 1947 when, after the formation of Pakistan, Pakistanis were identified as a distinct group.

In the United States, until recently, Asian Indians, Pakistanis, and Bangladeshis were lumped together under the broad category of “Other Asians,” separating them from the East Asian (e.g. Chinese, Japanese, Korean) ethnic groups.

The South Asian immigrants in the United States fall into three distinct groups.

The first consists mostly of farmers from the British Indian province of Punjab who came to the United States in the late 1800s. Their descendants today are mostly in Yuba City and other places in California.

The second is the post-1965 immigrants, who came subsequent to the liberalization of immigration laws in 1965. In a 1975 classification by the US Immigration Service, 93 percent of Indian immigrants were classified as “professional/technical workers” or as their spouses and children. They are referred to as the “New Ethnics.”

The third group consists of relatives of the post-1965 arrivals, not as highly educated, nonprofessional, and employed in professions ranging from motel ownership to blue-collar jobs.

The Census of Britain 1991 made the first attempt to identify the various South Asian groups residing in United Kingdom, and results revealed that the South Asian population (including people of South Asian origin from West Indies, etc.) was three million or roughly 5.5 percent of the total population.

Country of birth/ethnic group	2001 ^e	1961	1971	1981	1991 ^b
India	10, 53, 411	81, 400	240, 730	673, 704	840, 255
Pakistan ^c	747, 285	24, 000	127, 000	295, 461	476, 555
Bangladeshi	283, 063	—	—	64, 562	162, 835
Other Asians ^d	—	—	45, 000	181, 000	211, 535

Notes:

^a The numbers represent only people from South Asian region.

^b Figures for 1991 come from Peach (1996).

^c Figures for Pakistan 1951–1971 include Bangladeshis, as East Pakistan was part of Pakistan.

^d Figures for East African Asians is from Vaughn (1996: 101).

Sociocultural and economic profile

Maintaining one's language is possible only when large support structures exist in the form of extended families and residence in ethnic neighborhoods.

Language maintenance is a luxury and can be accomplished only by those who need not struggle to put food on the table.

The condition of South Asian communities in terms of support structure and economic status exhibit similar family and kinship patterns abroad as they do back home.

Table 26.3. Unemployment among Asian and White young people (16–24), (in percent)

Indian		Pakistani		Bangladeshi		White	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
25.3	21.0	40.8	35.2	25.1	36.7	18.0	12.3

Source: 1991 Census.

Many of the South Asians live in ethnic neighborhoods all over United Kingdom. Their experiences are similar to the early Chinese and Japanese immigrants to the United States, who formed Chinatowns and Little Japan to escape the wrath of the White Americans.

All groups publish their own newspapers, in ethnic languages as well as in English, though newspapers such as Eastern Eye and Voice cater to more than one ethnic group, appealing to West Indians as well.

All ethnic groups have their own radio stations, and several have their own television stations that show ethnic language movies, cultural programs, featured news from back home, as well as serials and soap operas from their respective home countries.

All these are important for maintaining languages, and as in the United States, youngsters watch these shows with great interest and enthusiasm.

Religion, in addition to being the anchor for ethnic identity, helps the social networks and communicative patterns.

Linguistic profile

The communities' educational achievements, employment patterns, residential practices, participation in social, cultural, ethnic, and religious practices can indirectly tell us something about language use and maintenance in these communities.

Table 26.4. Main languages spoken (1992) (in percent)

Indian	%	Pakistani	%	Bangladeshi	%
Gujarati	36	Punjabi	48	Bengali	73
English	32	Urdu	24	Sylheti	17
Punjabi	24	English	22	English	10
Urdu	3	Other	6	All Languages	100
Hindi	3	All Languages	100		
Other	3				
All Languages	100				

Source: Anwar (1998: 133). Figures are from the 1991 Census.

Table 26.5. Persons who speak and write a non-European language in Britain (in percent)

	Indian	African Asian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi
Speak	88	92	92	97
Write	58	60	58	85

Source: SCPR/PSI Survey 1994 (from Anwar 1998: 134).

Indians were more likely to use English (32 percent) as their main medium of interaction compared with Pakistanis (22 percent) and Bangladeshis (10 percent). This is partly because Asian Indians are more educated and are more represented in professional and white-collar jobs.

The majority of Indians spoke Punjabi, as did Pakistanis; the majority of African Asians spoke Gujarati; and the majority of Bangladeshis spoke Bengali as well as Sylheti.

The younger generation (16–34 year olds) use the native languages to converse with elder members of the family, a significant percentage used them with their own age cohorts as well, indicating some degree of language maintenance.

Table 26.6. Use of Asian Languages (in percent)

Language Use	Indian	African Asian	Pakistani	Bangladeshi
Hindi				
Speaks	33	44	5	22
With younger family	5	3	—	—
Gujarati				
Speaks	20	67	—	—
With younger family	17	44	—	—
Punjabi				
Speaks	62	30	74	4
With younger family	43	17	51	1
Urdu				
Speaks	13	18	73	21
With younger family	4	3	41	3
Bengali				
Speaks	2	1	—	56
With younger family	1	—	—	42
Sylheti				
Speaks	—	1	—	60
With younger family	—	—	—	55

Source: Adapted from SCPR/PSI Survey (Anwar 1998: 135)

Summary

The pattern that emerges in the context of the United States is not very different from that we see in the South Asian communities in the United Kingdom.

Unlike the older generation, the younger generation does not identify as much with their respective language groups

Informal observations indicate that the children are bicultural, aware of the cultural norms that have to be observed in the presence of other Asian Indians.

In the Indian context, code mixing with English may account for the survival of not only minority languages but also majority languages.

The mixing is so pervasive that one finds code-mixed languages in newspapers, popular magazines, books of fiction, poetry (Y. Kachru 1989), drama, media, including television news broadcasts, in advertising (T. Bhatia 2001b), and in published documents from state governments.

Not only are words and phrases mixed and transferred freely between English and Indian languages but a free mixing of speech conventions from Indian languages into English and vice-versa is also rampant.

The children of Asian Indian immigrants may not be “bilingual” as the term is often used, that is, with full receptive and productive competence in all skills.

They are not completely monolingual either. Their identity involves “selective adaptation” or “accommodation without assimilation” rather than total assimilation.

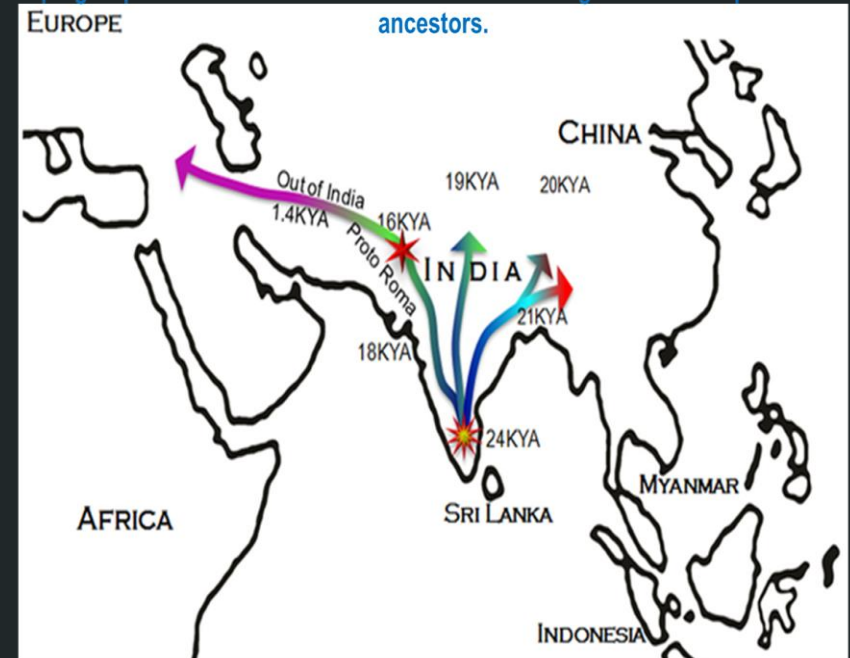
Romani - A Case Study

A team of international scientists led by CCMB's Kumarasamy Thangaraj concluded that the aboriginal scheduled tribe and scheduled caste population of north-western India, traditionally referred as Doma and also as Dalits, are the most likely ancestral population of modern European Roma.

The study found that the exile time of the Roma founders from India could be approximately put at 1,405 years ago.

George van Driem, a linguist from University of Bern, Switzerland, who was part of the team, said the finding corroborated the similarity in the terms Roma and Doma and resolved the controversy about Gangetic Plain and Punjab in favour of north-western portion from where widespread range of Doma population diffused.

Figure 1. The most parsimonious route of prehistoric expansion of Y-chromosomal haplogroup H1a1a-M82 and the recent out-of-India migration of European Roma ancestors.



Rai N, Chaubey G, Tamang R, Pathak AK, et al. (2012) The Phylogeography of Y-Chromosome Haplogroup H1a1a-M82 Reveals the Likely Indian Origin of the European Romani Populations. <http://www.plosone.org/article/info:doi/10.1371/journal.pone.0048477>

Appendix VI: Relative Arrival Times of the Romany in Europe⁶

Place	Date
India	Start
Persia	900
Anatolia	1100
Crete	1322
Constantinople	
Corfu	1346
Serbia	1348
Dubrovnik	1362
Moldavia	1370

Croatia	1378
Wallachia	1385
Bohemia	1399
Basel	1414
Braşov	1415
Strasbourg	1418
Bruges	1419
Germany cities	1420
Brussels	
Holland	
Paris	1421
Bologna	1422
Rome	1423
Barcelona	1425
Wales	1448
England	1501
Scotland	1505
Denmark	
Poland	1509
Russia	1510
Baltic	1512
Sweden	
Norway	1544
Finland	1597

Romani

Romani is a minority language in all societies where it is spoken, but in terms of numbers of speakers Romani actually ranks among the more widely spoken languages of the world with an estimated number of five - ten million speakers.

Its lexical core is composed of various historical layers, showing some 700 Indic roots, around 70 Iranian, 40 Armenian, and perhaps 230 Greek items . This composition is constant, not random, and is subject to little variation, and so it is taken to reflect an inherent shared origin rather than superposed convergence. But beyond core vocabulary, which in Romani is admittedly small, the language undoubtedly constitutes a grammatical unity.

Romani morphology is best characterized by a delicate balance of inflective features inherited from Older Indo-Aryan, agglutinative features which parallel some of the later developments in Modern Indo-Aryan and in Modern Indo-Iranian as a whole, and a more recent tendency towards analytic formation characterized by structural renewal and the grammaticalization of items of Indo-Aryan stock.

The processes which involve inherited Indo-Aryan morphology partly overlap with grammatical borrowing of unbound, semi-bound, and in some cases even bound morphemes from the European contact languages

Beginning with the vowel system, we find first a loss of the historical length distinction. It is usually assumed that vowel length disappeared as a result of Greek or Balkan influence.

In the consonantal domain, Romani shows devoicing of aspirated stops: OIA bhan-, Romani phen- 'to say', OIA dhāv-, Romani thov- 'to wash', OIA ghāsa-Romani khas 'grass'. Sampson (1926: 34), operating on the assumption that Romani, Lomavren, and Domari must have left India as a single language, treated this as an innovation that occurred in Persian territory, since it is shared with Lomavren but not with Domari.

Conclusion

Diaspora is a phenomenon of scattering of people from one common place to different places.

This leads to contact of people from varied linguistic profiles, hence “Language-Contact” is an undeniable outcome of Diaspora.

Different Languages coming into contact with each other may lead to convergence of input varieties, accommodation within languages, creation of mixed communication speech forms or evolution of new languages.

These features can be classified into Koineization, Pidginization, Creolization, Language Mixing, Language Shift etc.

Hence, it is evident that language play an important role in shaping diaspora and making it effective in various contexts.

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Thank you

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