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# EXFAC03-AAS v11

## Language

□ 3: Language families

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## Thanks to Alexander, Daniel and Katarzyna

□ Four new words for ‘pepper’

- Sogdian: **mr'ynck'** (*marēnčka*)  
< Sanskrit *marica* ‘black pepper’
- Yaghnobi: **pelpel**  
< Sogdian *paðpað*  
< Sanskrit *pippali* ‘long pepper’
- Slovakian: **korenie** ('spice')
- Northern Saami: **bihpar**

□ Special mention to

- Per Henrik and Hrafnkell  
– *It's not too late...*



**Why study languages? calendar**  
– one language per month

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Email me the word itself, the ISO 639 code of the language, and your source

**Give me more pepper!**

peper (afr) piper (sqj) **پیپر** ፻፻፻፻ k'undo berbere (amh) **فلفل** filfil (ara) istihoti (aqc) **պղպեղ** bghbegh (hye) jaluk (asm) **բիբեր** biber (aze) piperra (eus) **پەرەق** perats (bel) golmarich (ben) **پەبرىل** (kap) pebr (bre) **پىپەر** piper (bul) **نەيۈكۈن** (maya) **پەپەز** (wes) pebre (cat) 胡椒 hú-jiāo (zho) pwav (cpf) **پاپار** (hrv) pepř (ces) **پەبەر** (dan) peper (nld) **ékhien** (bin) pepper (eng) **پەپەر** (enm) pipor (ang) pipro (epo) **پەپار** (est) pippuri (fin) poivre (fra) piper (fry) shitor (gaa) pementa (glg) kamulari (lug) **ମୋରାବ୍ରାତା** pilpili (kat) pfeffer (deu) pheffur, pheffar (goh) **পিপেরি** pipéri (ell) mari (gui) pipa (gue) mäsöröö (hau) pepa (haw) **ମୋରାବ୍ରାତା** pilpel (heb) **מִרְחַ** mirch (hin) kua txob (hmn) hwj txob (mww) bors (hun) pipar (isl) ose (ibo) merica, lada (ind) pilpili (irk) piobar (gle) **পেপে** (ita) 胡椒 koshoo (jpn) mrica (jav) **মেনাসু** menasu (kan) njitá (kau) **بۇرىش** buriş (kaz) boglj (ket) mrech (khm) nduru (ebu) **ندۇرۇ** (kik) **پېرەق** pieres (sjd) **مۇرۇچ** muruch (kir) **ھۇچۇ** huchu (kor) pippuri (fky) phik noi (lao) **ປີປັບ** pipari (lat) pipari (lav) pipirai (lit) **بىبەر** biber (mkd) dipoàvatra (mlg) lada (msa) mulagu (mai) **بازار** bzar (mit) kutun (nmm) **پۆۋاپۇر** povaair (mon) **پەپەز** (djk) piparr (non) bilpar (sme) pherefere (nsr) pepper (nob) **پەپەر** (nno) pheffur (goh) **گولا مارىچا** gola maricha (ori) **ھۇذجۇ** hudzau (orh) nthânts'i (oto) **کاخان** kaxlan q'een (kek) **پەپەش** pepšo (rmc) piper (ron) **پەرەق پەرەتس** perets (rus) **مارىچا** marica (san) **پەپەز** (smr) **بىبەر** biber (srp) dipwav (crs) miris (sin) peprovnik (slk) poper (slv) marêñčkâ (sog) pjepjef (dsb) **پەپەرەپەرە** pepere (sot) pimienta (spa) **پەپەرە** (srn) pilipili (swa) **پەپەرە** (swe) paminta (tgl) **میلاگو** milagru (tam) **ଫେଫେର୍** (rif) miriyalu savyamu (tel) **ଫ୍ରିକ୍ ଥୈ** phrik thai (tha) fowariibu (bod) **پەپەر** (tpi) viriviri (tsn) **پەرەھەرە** (tsn) **بىبەر** (tur) meko (wi) pimenta (tzz) **پەرەق پەرەتس** (ukr) **کالی مرج** mirch (urd) eribo (urh) **پିରିଫିରି** (ven) **ହାତ ତୀଆ** (vie) pupur (cym) ponhontaj (mzh) ipepile (xho) pelpel (yai) **بିରେଶ** (sah) pimientam (yaq) **פֶּפֶר** (yid) ata (yor) **uphepha** (zul)

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**Word order in Persian**

**SOV languages**

- noun + postposition
  - “Nippon e”
- genitive + noun
  - “inu no namae”
- verb + auxiliary
- relative clause + noun
  - “som elsket yngve mannen”
- standard of comparison + adjective
  - “watashi yori mo toshiue”

**Persian**

- preposition + noun
  - به ایران (Iran)
- noun + genitive
  - نام سک (name)
- verb + auxiliary
- noun + relative clause
  - مردی که دوست احمد (Ahmad)
- standard of comparison + adjective
  - از من بزرگتر (older)

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## Course contents

1. Universals
2. Typology
- 3. Language families**
4. Language contact
5. Language variation
6. Summary++

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## Language families

<p><input type="checkbox"/> Topics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Family trees and protolanguages</li> <li>• The comparative method           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Language change</li> <li>– Regular sound correspondences</li> <li>– Loan words and basic vocabulary</li> <li>– Reconstructing languages</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Beyond the comparative method</li> </ul>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> Overview of language families</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Indo-European</li> <li>• Afroasiatic</li> <li>• Dravidian</li> <li>• Sino-Tibetan</li> <li>• Altaic</li> <li>• Japanese and Korean</li> <li>• Uralic</li> <li>• Austronesian</li> <li>• Niger-Congo</li> <li>• Nilo-Saharan</li> <li>• Khoisan</li> <li>• Austro-Asiatic</li> <li>• Tai-Kadai</li> <li>• Australian</li> <li>• Eskimo-Aleut</li> <li>• Na-Dené</li> </ul>
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**Family trees and evolution**

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- Family trees in biology
  - Species on adjacent branches are closely related
  - The point where two branches part locates the common evolutionary ancestor
    - Humans and gorillas have a common ancestor
    - This common ancestor and the baboon have another common ancestor
- Languages can also be classified into families
  - The evolutionary process is surprisingly similar



The formation of different languages and of distinct species, and the proof that both have developed through a gradual process, are curiously parallel.

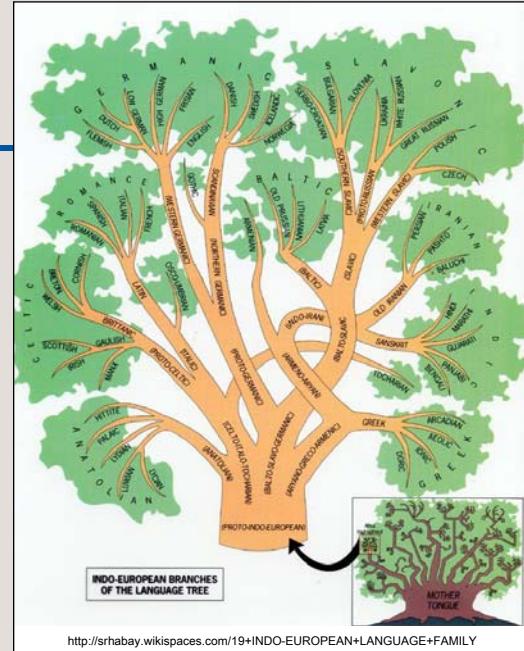
Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man*

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## Indo-European

- Anatolian
- Celtic
- Romance
- Germanic
- Armenian
- Baltic
- Slavonic
- Iranian
- Indic
- Greek

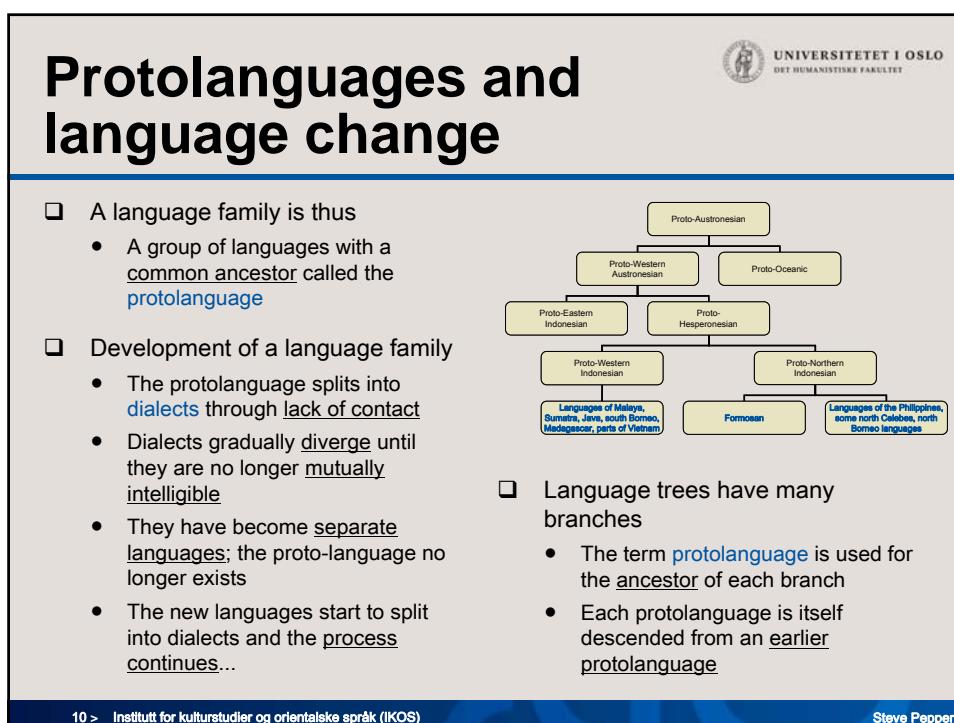
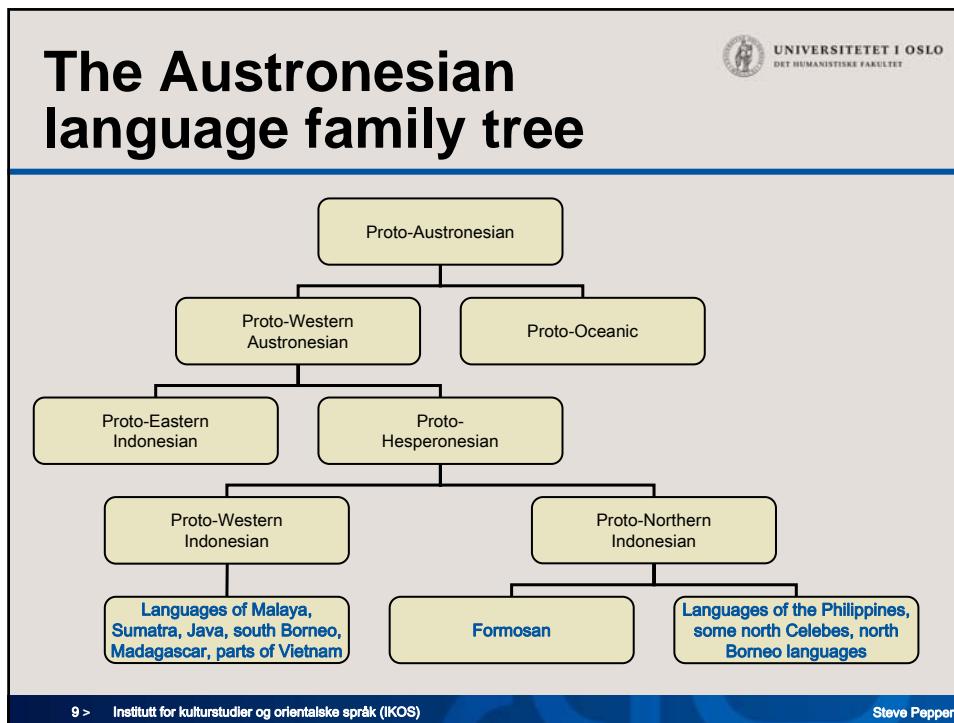


INDO-EUROPEAN BRANCHES OF THE LANGUAGE TREE

<http://srhabay.wikispaces.com/19+INDO-EUROPEAN+LANGUAGE+FAMILY>

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## How languages change

- Languages do not change themselves
  - Speakers change them!
- Change takes many forms
  - word meanings change 
  - pronunciation changes
  - new words are adopted
  - old words are discarded
  - inflections come and go
  - the structure of phrases, clauses and sentences changes
- Many reasons for language change
  - Language acquisition
    - Children acquire a slightly modified form than their parents
  - Language use
    - Adjustments to new social conditions
    - To signal group identity
- May be conscious or unconscious

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## The comparative method

- Most regular form of language change is sound change
  - This forms the basis of the comparative method
  - Used to establish genetic relationships between languages, i.e. identify language families
  - Enables us to identify loanwords which might otherwise confuse us about genetic relationships
  - Also allows us to reconstruct earlier forms of language

**Regularity of sound change**

When a certain sound X changes into a slightly different sound Y in one word, the same change tends to take place in all words where sound X occurs, or in all words where sound X occurs in a particular context.

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## From Latin to Italian

LATIN			ITALIAN		
Orthography	Pronunciation	Meaning	Orthography	Pronunciation	Meaning
<b>habere</b>	/ha'be:re/	'to have'	<b>avere</b>	/a've:re/	'to have'
<b>herbam</b>	/'herbā/	'grass'	<b>erba</b>	/'erba/	'grass'
<b>hora</b>	/'ho:ra/	'time, hour'	<b>ora</b>	/'o:ra/	'time, hour'
<b>homo</b>	/'homo:/	'man'	<b>uomo</b>	/'wōmo/	'man'

**Italian** is a direct descendant of **Latin**

- A number of sound changes have taken place
- Note the exceptionless fate of /h/ – disappeared in all Italian words
- Regular sound change

Latin /h/ > Italian Ø

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## From Latin to four Romance languages

Meaning	LATIN	PORTUGUESE	CASTILIAN	ITALIAN	ROMANIAN
'eight'	<b>octo</b> /'okto:/	<b>oito</b> /'oju/	<b>ocho</b> /'otʃo/	<b>otto</b> /'ɔtto/	<b>opt</b> /'opt/
'milk'	<b>lactem</b> /'laktē/	<b>leite</b> /'lejtē/	<b>leche</b> /'letʃe/	<b>latte</b> /'latte/	<b>lapte</b> /'lapte/
'fact'	<b>factum</b> /'faktū/	<b>feito</b> /'fejtu/	<b>hecho</b> /'etʃo/	<b>fatto</b> /'fatto/	<b>fapt</b> /'fapt/

Regular sound changes

- Latin /kt/ > Portuguese /jt/
- Latin /kt/ > Castilian /tʃ/
- Latin /kt/ > Italian /t̪/
- Latin /kt/ > Romanian /pt/
- Latin /f/ > Castilian /h/

Some sounds have not changed at all, e.g. /l/

Some sounds have changed in some but not all languages, e.g. /f/

- cf. LAT **filium** 'son' > POR **filho**, ITA **figlio**, RON **fiu** but SPA **hijo**

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## Regular sound correspondences

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Environment	PORTUGUESE	CASTILIAN	ITALIAN	ROMANIAN
After a vowel	/jt/	/tʃ/	/tt/	/pt/
Word initially	/l/	/f/	/l/	/l/
Word initially	/f/	Ø	/f/	/f/
In an accented syllable	/o/	/o/	/o/	/o/
Word finally	/u/	/o/	/o/	Ø
Word finally	/ə/	/e/	/e/	/e/

- Regular sound change results in regular sound correspondences between languages with a common ancestor
- “Regular correspondences” means both systematic resemblances and systematic differences

If regular sound correspondences can be established between two or more languages, these languages are genetically related, that is, they belong to the same language family and are descendants of the same protolanguage.

## Relationships among Austronesian languages

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	MALAGASY	INDONESIAN	SAMOAN	MAORI
‘fire’	afo /afu/	api /api/	afi /afi/	ahi /ahi/
‘ten’	folo /fulu/	se-puluh /səpuluh/*	se-fulu /sefulu/	(tekau)*
‘four’	efatra /efatʃa/	empat /əmpat/	fa /fa/	fa /fa:/
‘feather’	volo /vulu/	bulu /bulu/	fulu /fulu/	huru /huru/
‘fruit’	voa /vua/	buah /buah/	fua /fua/	hua /hua/
‘new’	vao /vau/	baru /baru/	fou /fou/	hou /hou/

- Many obvious resemblances (esp. vowels)
- Regular correspondences for consonants:

MLG	IND	SMO	MRI	Evidence
/f/	/p/	/f/	/h/	‘fire’, ‘ten’, ‘four’
/v/	/b/	/f/	/h/	‘feather’, ‘fruit’, ‘new’

- Etymological relatedness requires that all sounds exhibit regular correspondences

MLG	IND	SMO	MRI
/v/	/b/	/f/	/h/
/a/	/a/	/o/	/o/
Ø	/r/	Ø	Ø
/u/	/u/	/u/	/u/

‘new’ vao ~ baru ~ fou ~ hou

→ The four languages are related

## Loanwords and basic vocabulary

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- When comparing vocabulary, do not be misled by loanwords
  - Often the sound changes do not follow regular patterns
  - But sometimes they do
- The solution is to restrict comparison to basic vocabulary
  - e.g. kinship terms, numbers, body parts, pronouns, inflections
  - (But even this is not infallible)
- The most reliable method:
  - Regular sound correspondences in a large amount of basic vocabulary

ENGLISH	JAPANESE
violin	baiorin
van	ban
vegetarian	bejitarian
viking	baikingu

English /v/ > Japanese /b/

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## Reconstructing the protolanguage

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Correspondences in some Chinese dialects				
EMC	GUANGZHOU	BEIJING	FUZHOU	Meaning
*/nəm/	/na:m/	/nan/	/nan/	'south'
*/sam/	/sa:m/	/san/	/saŋ/	'three'
*/nen/	/nin/	/niən/	/njen/	'year'
*/ʃen/	/sa:n/	/ʃan/	/san/	'mountain'
*/nəŋ/	/nan/	/nəŋ/	/nen/	'can'
*/təwŋ/	/tuŋ/	/tuŋ/	/tøyŋ/	'east'

Reconstruction of Ancient Chinese			
GUANGZHOU	BEIJING	FUZHOU	Ancient Chinese
/m/	/n/	/ŋ/	*/m/
/n/	/n/	/n/	*/n/
/ŋ/	/n/	/ŋ/	*/ŋ/

Family tree can be reconstructed on the basis of shared innovations

Regular sound changes

- EMC \*/\_m/ > Beijing /\_n/
- EMC \*/\_m/ > Fuzhou /\_ŋ/
- EMC \*/\_n/ > Fuzhou /\_ŋ/

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**Beyond the comparative method**

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- ❑ Maximum time depth for comparative method is 5-8,000 years
  - Attempts made to go beyond this using the [mass comparison](#) method
    - Joseph Greenberg, Merritt Ruhlen
  - Results [not accepted](#) by most linguists
  - [Eurasianic](#)
    - Proposed ancestor of Indo-European, Uralic and Altaic
  - [Nostratic](#)
    - Proposed ancestor of Eurasianic, Afro-Asiatic, Kartvelian and Dravidian
  - [Proto-World](#)
    - Proposed ancestor of all languages
- ❑ Mass comparison method useful for discovering [possible](#) relationships

❑ How many times was language “invented”?

- [Monogenesis hypothesis](#)
  - All languages have a common ancestor
- [Polygenesis hypothesis](#)
  - Language arose independently in many parts of the world

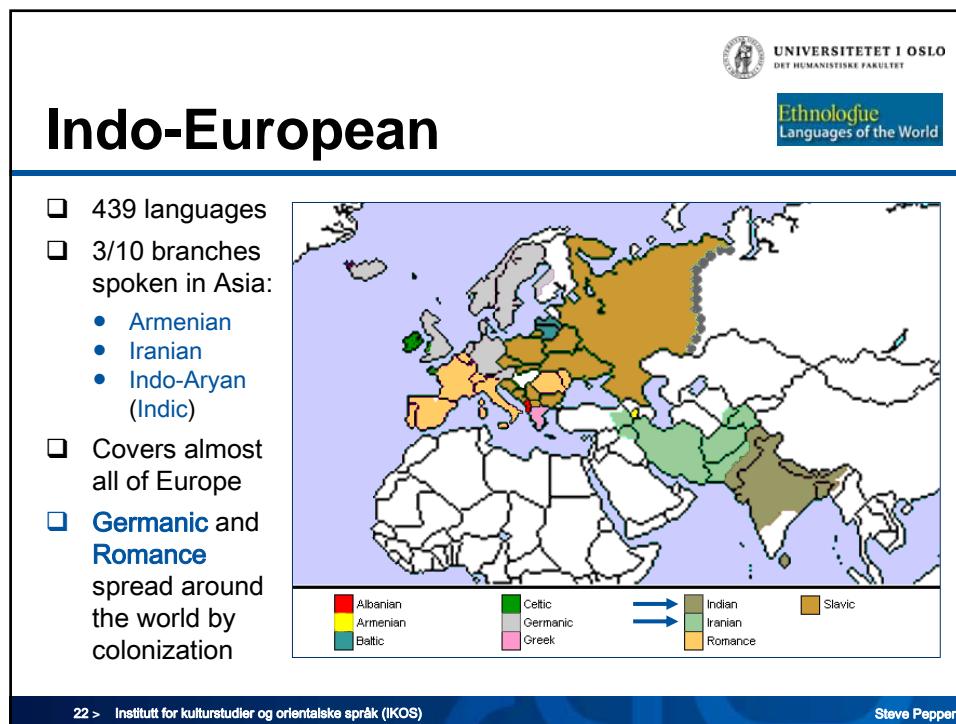
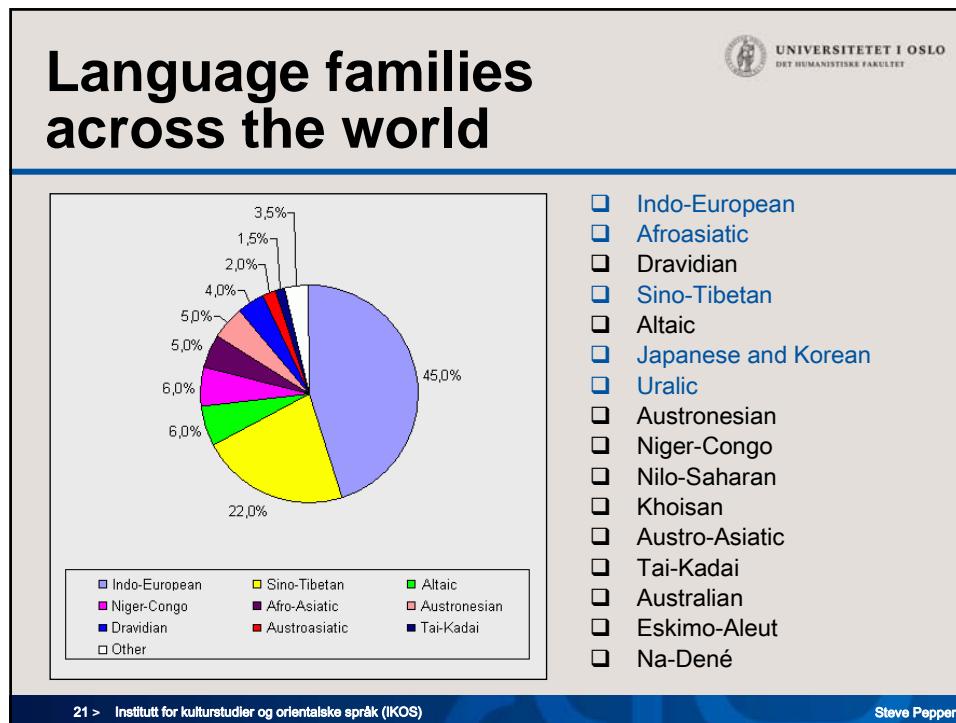
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**Language families at this institute**

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❑ Persian (fas)	→ Indo-European
❑ Sanskrit (san)	→ Indo-European
❑ Hindi (hin)	→ Indo-European
❑ Amharic (amh)	→ Afroasiatic
❑ Arabic (ara)	→ Afroasiatic
❑ Hebrew (heb)	→ Afroasiatic
❑ Japanese (jpn)	→ Japanese
❑ Chinese (zho)	→ Sino-Tibetan
❑ Turkish (tur)	→ Altaic

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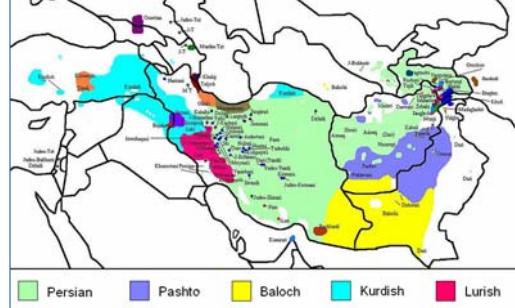


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## Iranian

- ❑ 84 languages, the most important of which are
  - **Balochi** (7m) Pakistan
  - **Kurdish** (11m) Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Syria
  - **Osetin** (600k) Georgia and neighbouring countries
  - **Pashto** (20m) Pakistan, Afghanistan
  - **Tajiki** (4.5m) Tajikistan and neighbouring countries
  - **Persian (or Farsi)**
    - Western (24m), Iran
    - Eastern (or **Dari**) (7m) Afghanistan



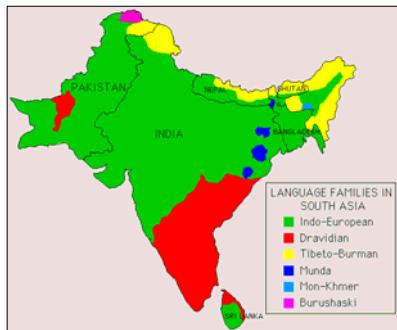
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## Indo-Aryan (Indic)

- ❑ 210 languages spoken in the Indian subcontinent, including
  - **Assamese** (15m)
  - **Bengali** (207m)
  - **Gujarathi** (45.5m)
  - **Hindi** (180m)
    - 366 million worldwide
  - **Marathi** (68m)
  - **Oriya** (32m)
  - **Punjabi** (72m) Punjab
  - **Urdu** (59m) Pakistan, India
  - **Sinhalese** (13m) Sri Lanka



- ❑ **Urdu:** formal vocabulary from Arabic and Persian
- ❑ **Hindi:** Arabic and Persian words purged; new word from Sanskrit

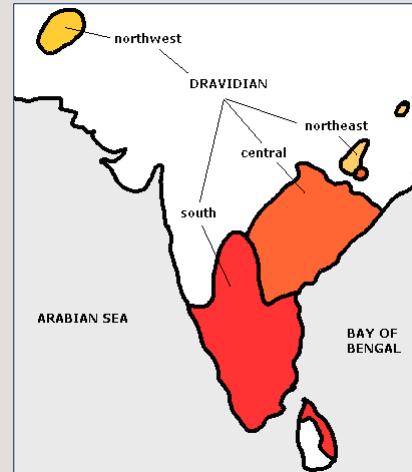
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## Dravidian

- 23 (85) languages spoken in India and Sri Lanka (+ Afghanistan, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh)
  - South
    - Tamil (66m), Kannada (35m), Malayalam (35m), ...
  - Central
    - Telugu (70m), ...
  - Northern
    - Brahui (2m), Kurukh (2m), Malto (80k)

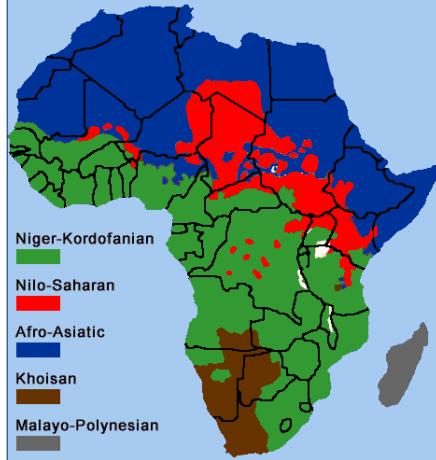


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## Language families of Africa

- Classification based on Joseph Greenberg's work
  - Four major families ("phyla")
    - Afro-Asiatic
    - Niger-Congo
    - Nilo-Saharan
    - Khoisan
    - (Malayo-Polynesian)
  - All except Niger-Congo are problematic
    - But Greenberg did at least sort out a lot of racist nonsense



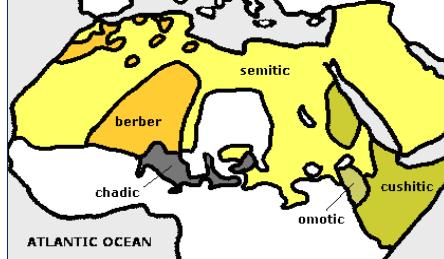
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Ethnologue  
Languages of the World

## Afroasiatic

- Formerly Hamito-Semitic...
  - **Berber** (26)
    - Taqbaylit (Kabyle), Tamasheq, Tamazight, Tarifit, Tashelhiyt
  - **Chadic** (195)
    - Hausa, ...
  - **Cushitic** (47)
    - Somali, Oromo, Sidamo, ...
  - **Omotic** (28)
    - Wolayta, Kafa, ...
  - **Egyptian** (extinct)
- **Semitic** (78)
  - North-west: Arabic, Aramaic, Hebrew, ...
  - South: Amharic, Tigrinya, ...



ATLANTIC OCEAN

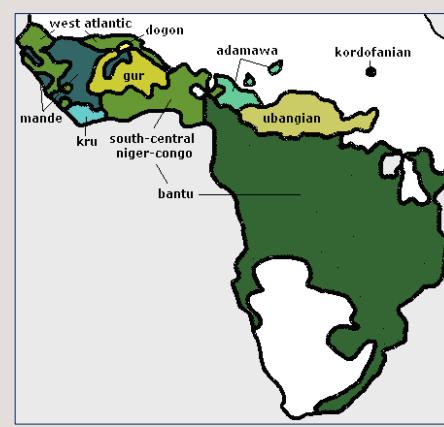
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Ethnologue  
Languages of the World

## Niger-Congo

- Roughly 1,436 languages
  - Largest family in the world
  - Covers most of sub-Saharan Africa
- One proposed classification:
  - **Kordofanian**
  - **Mande**
  - **Atlantic**
  - **Ijoid**
  - **Dogon**
  - **North Volta-Congo**
  - **South Volta-Congo**



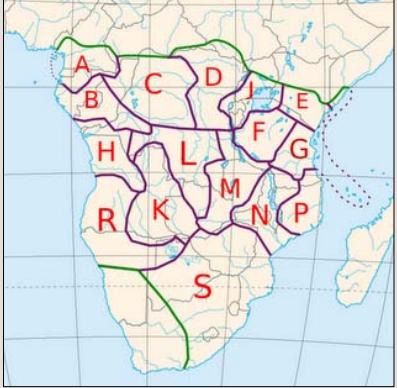
west atlantic dogon gur adamawa kordofanian mande kru south-central niger-congo ubangian bantu

- A sub-sub-sub-subgroup of **South Volta-Congo** is **Bantu** ...

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## Bantu 500+ languages

- Swahili** 5 mill / 30 mill, Kenya, Tanzania, etc.
- Kongo** 3.2 mill, DRC (Congo-Kinshasa), PRC (Congo-Brazzaville), Angola
- Mbundu** 3 mill, Angola
- Bemba** 2 mill, Zambia
- Makhuwa**, 5 mill, Mozambique
- Umbundu** 4 mill, Angola
- Shona** 7 mill, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, etc.
- Southern Sotho (Sesotho), Northern Sotho (Sepedi), Tswana** 9.3 mill, South Africa, Botswana
- Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa, Zulu** 18.3 mill, Zimbabwe, South Africa, etc.

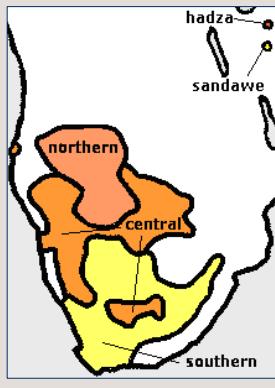


Divided by Guthrie into subgroups based on geographical location

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## Khoisan

- The **Khoisan** family are the “click languages” of Southern Africa
- Two ethnic groups
  - San (hunter-gatherers) “bushmen”
  - Khoi (pastoral) “hottentots” (derog)
- Divided into Northern, Central and Southern subfamilies
  - Isolated languages **Hadza** and **Sandawe** in Tanzania
- The largest language is **Nama**, spoken by 176 000 people in Namibia and 56 000 in South Africa



May consist of five or more unrelated language families

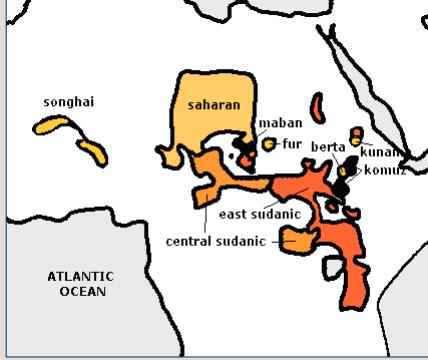
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## Nilo-Saharan

- 200+ languages and 30 million speakers in 15 African countries
- Saharan**
  - Lake Chad, Sahara, Sudan
  - **Kanuri**, 3 million speakers, Nigeria, Niger, Cameroon, Chad, Sudan.
- Satellite-Core**
  - Includes **Nilotic** (52 languages spoken in northern Tanzania, western Kenya, Uganda, and southern Sudan), including **Dinka**, **Kalenjin**, **Luo**, **Maasai** and **Teso**



- Plus: **Songay** and **Kuliak** families

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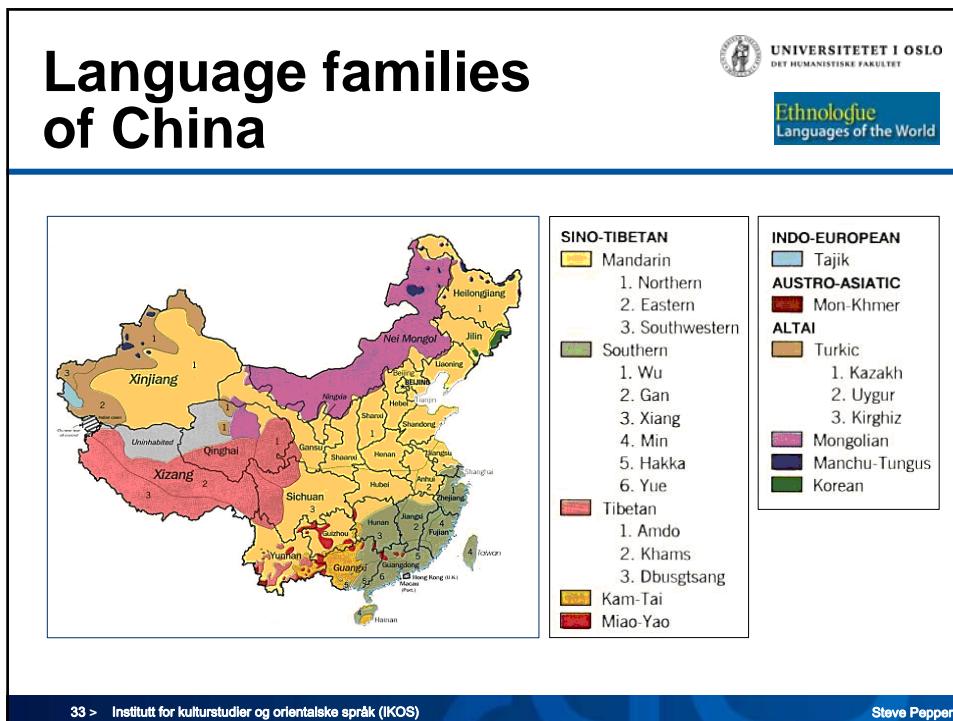
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## Sino-Tibetan

- 300 (449) languages
- Tibeto-Burman**
  - **Tibetic** (or Bodic)
    - **Tibetan** (1.25m), **Newari** (700k)
  - **Burmic**
    - **Burmese** (32m)
- Sinitic**
  - **Mandarin** (867m), **Wu** (80m), **Gan** (20-25m), **Kejia** (30m), **Xiang** (Hunanese 40m), **Yue** (Cantonese 71m), **Min** (Fukienese, 40m)

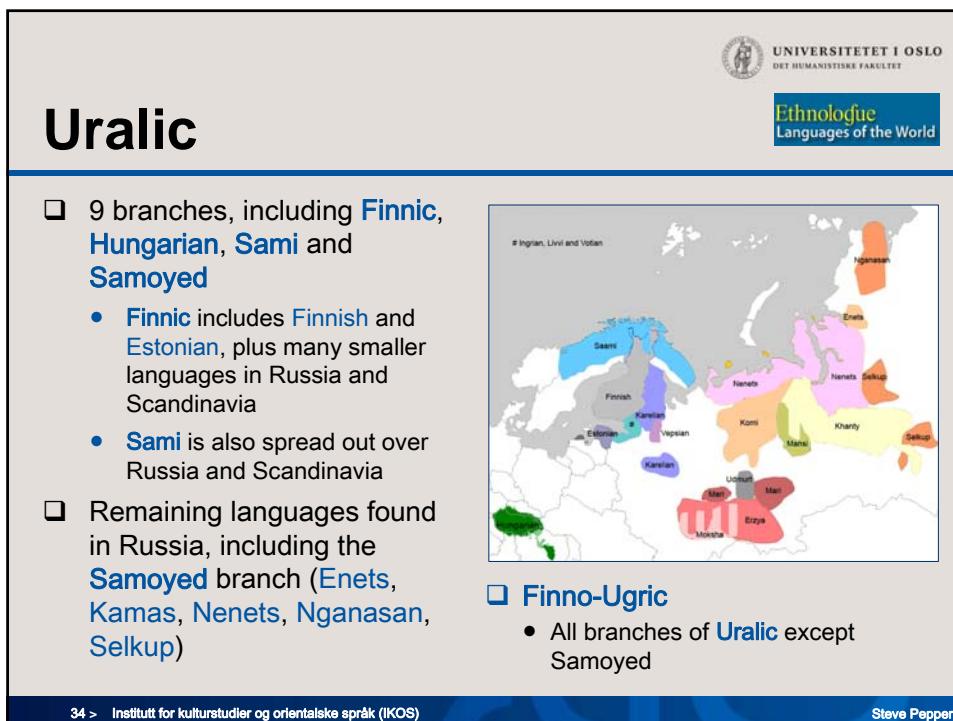


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## Altaic

- Three branches:
  - Turkic
  - Mongolic
  - Tungusic
- Possibly independent language families
- Shared characteristics
  - vowel harmony
  - agglutination
  - SOV

- Japanese and Korean may be related
  - Also agglutinating, SOV
  - Some traces of vowel harmony
- Turkic (see next slide)

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## Turkic

- 25 languages, 2 branches
- R-Turkic
  - Chuvash (2m)
- Z-Turkic (Common Turkic)
  - Northeast Turkic
    - Tuvianian (233k), ...
  - Southeast Turkic
    - Uighur (7.5m), Uzbek (18.5m)
  - Northwest Turkic
    - Tatar (7m), Kazakh (8m), Kirgiz (2.6m), ...
  - Southwest Turkic
    - Turkish (61m), Azerbaijani (7m), Turkmen (6.4m), Gagauz (200k)

Karaim	Gagauz	Turkish	Crimean Tatar	Karachay	Balkar	Hogai	Kumyk	Azeri	Turkmen	Kazakh	Chuvash	Kazan Tatar	Bashkir	Karakalpak	Shor	Khakass	Tuvianian	Tofa	Altai	Yakut
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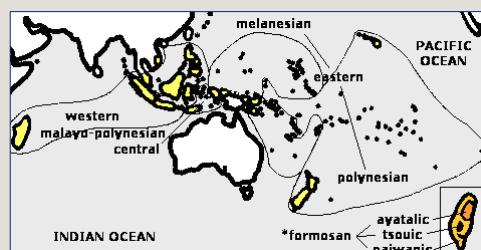
## Japanese and Korean

- Japanese and Korean are language **isolates**
  - Widespread belief that they are related
  - Striking structural similarities: agglutinative, SOV, honorific
- Japanese is the first language of 99.5% of the 127.4 million inhabitants of Japan
- Korean is spoken by the whole populations of North and South Korea – around 70 million people



## Austronesian

- 1,200+ languages, spoken from Easter Island in the East to Madagascar in the West
- Two major branches
  - Western Austronesian
  - Eastern Austronesian (Oceanic)
- Western Austronesian
  - 200+ mill speakers, 200 languages, including Malay, Indonesian, Javanese, Malagasy, Tagalog
- Eastern Austronesian
  - 2 mill speakers, 300 languages, including Somoan, Tongan, Tahitian, Maori, Hawai'ian

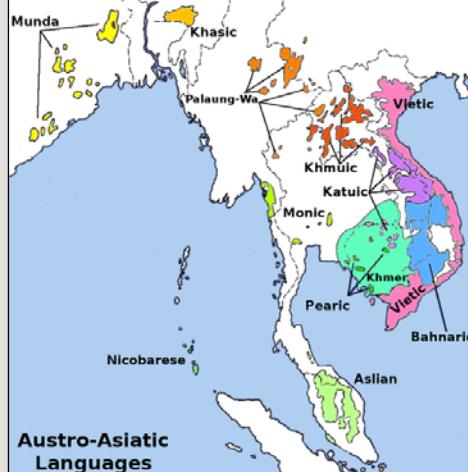


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## Austro-Asiatic

- The Vietnamese language, spoken by 68 million people, belongs to the **Mon-Khmer** family
- Some scholars regard Mon-Khmer as a branch of a larger **Austro-Asiatic** superfamily that also contains the **Munda** languages in India (including **Santali**, spoken by 6 million people in India and neighboring countries) and **Nicobarese**



Austro-Asiatic Languages

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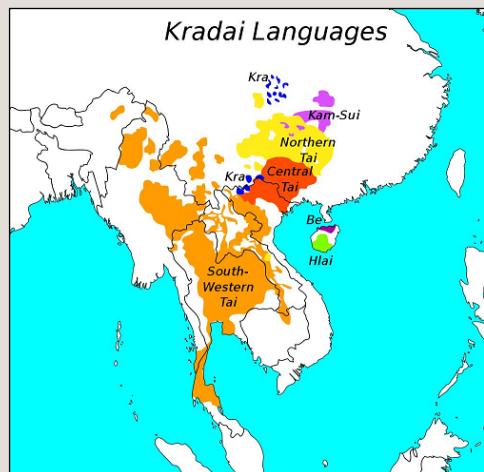
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## Tai-Kadai (Kradai)

- Includes national languages **Thai** and **Lao**
- 92 languages with nearly 100 million speakers
- Highly tonal
- Earlier regarded as part of **Sino-Tibetan** but shared vocabulary probably the result of borrowing
- Three major branches:
  - **Hlai**
  - **Kadai (Kra)**
  - **Kam-Tai (Tai, Kam-Sui, Be)**



Kradai Languages

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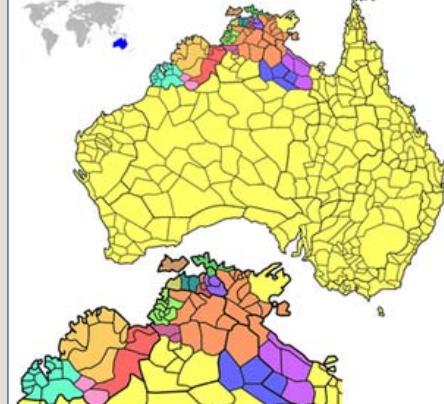
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## Australian

- The vast majority of native Australian languages belong to the **Pama-Nyungan** language family (yellow area)
- Some linguists have suggested that most or all Australian languages are related to the languages of New Guinea, from which Australia was separated only 8000 years ago, but this has yet to be argued convincingly.



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## Eskimo-Aleut

- Covers languages spoken in Greenland, Canada, Alaska, and Siberia
- May be divided into two branches, **Eskimo** and **Aleut**
- Aleut** only covers a single language with a few hundred surviving speakers, mostly inhabiting islands between Alaska and Russia.
- Eskimo** (10) may be further subdivided into **Inuit** (5) and **Yupik** (5), the latter being further divided into **Alaskan** (2) and **Siberian** (3).



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## Na-Dené

- Native American language family
  - Covers large areas from Alaska and Canada to Mexico
  - May also be related to the **Yeniseian** languages of Siberia
- Tlingit** has only 700 surviving speakers
- The last speaker of the **Eyak** language of the **Athapaskan-Eyak** branch died in 2008
- Most widely spoken language of the family is **Navajo**, with 170,000 speakers



- Apache** languages and dialects also belong to this family

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## Next week: Language contact

- Further reading on language families
  - Campbell, George L. 1995. *Compendium of the World's Languages*. London: Routledge.
  - Comrie, Bernard (ed.) 1987. *The World's Major Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
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  - Katzner, Kenneth. 1995. *The Languages of the World. Third Edition*. London: Routledge.
  - Lewis, M. Paul. 2009. *Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 16th Edition*. Dallas, TX: SIL International.  
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  - Lombard, Alf. 1996. *Alle jordens språk*. Oslo: Pax.

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