Loanword Adaptation Across Time
Evidence from Midnapuri Dialect of Bangla

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The aim of this paper is to analyze in some detail the linguistic behaviour of Indo-Aryan and English loanwords found in Bengali and Midnapuri Bengali. Reported here is a comparative study of these borrowed words known as loan words, and the original words, in terms of the structural and phonological differences,and the variations in syllabic structures, etc discussed in the framework of Generative Phonology. Bangla has borrowed a number of words from languages like Arabic, Assamese, Sanskrit and Hindi as also from English and from almost all the semantic fields and the words are further drawn into Midnapuri phonology. In order to fit the loanwords into their phonological system, all the loanwords have undergone various phonological changes so that the words can be nativized. The paper also compares old loanwords used in the Bangla society around 1930, as available in a very old Bangla-English dictionary, with the present generation and finds that a number of old loanwords have been replaced by new Bangla native words.

Keywords: loanwords, borrowing, adaptation, phonological system

The lexical items from English borrowed or used in Bengali[2] can be termed as 'loan items' or 'loan words'. The First Dictionary of Linguistics & Phonetics (1980) defines 'loan' as:

> ….a linguistic unit (usually a lexical item) which has come to be used in a language or dialect other than the one where it originated. (It is understood that the phoneme that is borrowed is loan phoneme and the word that is borrowed is the loan word.

The essential point concerning the use of a loan-word, i.e. 'the change of context' has been more elaborately discussed in the definition of a loan-word given by B.L. Whorf (1947):

> A loan-word may be defined as a word that at some time was first used in context with other words of a given language, having never before been used in context with these words, for the reason that the user had heard and understood its meaning in a different language in which it was in context with words of that language.

The following data are collected from Standard Bengali speakers (5) from EFL University, Hyderabad and Midnapuri speakers (4) from Harma village of Midnapur District, West Bengal. The source of loan data in English, Sanskrit, Hindi, Assamese, Arabic, Portuguese are given at the end (references section).

English Loanwords
Indian English is linguistically a projection language i.e, a language in which speech patterns of a familiar language are projected into an unfamiliar linguistic environment. It follows then, that the

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[2] Bengali and Bangla are used interchangeably throughout the text.

English words uttered by Bengalis are influenced by Bengali speech patterns and that the phonology of Bengali assigns a different linguistic characteristic to the English words in the context of Bengali. The linguistic behaviour of English words borrowed into Bangla undergoes changes at different levels as illustrated below:

Segmental Level

NE (native English)	SB (Standard-Bangla)	Loan(Midnapuri Bangla)	Orthography
/θin/	/t̪ʰin/	/t̪ʰi:n/	'thin'
/ðis/	/d̪iS/	/d̪i:s/	'this'
/dʒʌg/	/dʒag/	/dʒɔg/	'jug'
/pɛə/	/pear/	/pijar/	'pair'

The examples given above, illustrate some of the phonemic changes observable in loan words. They illustrate a few consonantal and vowel non consonantal sequences that have undergone change.

Phonological Level

NE (native English)	SB (Standard-Bangla)	LOAN (Midnapuri Bangla)	Orthography
/pʌs/	/paS/	/pa:s/	'puss'
/əridʒinəl/	/ɒridʒinal/	/orizinal/	'original'
/idiət/	/idiet/	/idijet/	'idiot'
/puə/	/puor/	/pu:jor/	'poor'

The above examples indicate the phonological changes the loan words undergo owing to the syllable structure constraints imposed on them by Bengali.

Morphological Level

At the morphological level, the loan words take inflectional and derivational suffixes. In Loan-Bengali (Midnapuri) mixed compounds are also common. The following examples illustrate the changes taking place at the morphological level.

Inflections

Loan Noun+ Suffix (MB)	Standard Bangla	Stem	Mechanism
/ba:s-gula/ (ba:s+gula)	/ba:ʃ-gulo/	bus	Pluralisation
/mada:m-ra/ (mada:m+ra)	/mædam-ra/	madam	Pluralisation
/bɔkso-ta/ (bɔkso+ta)	/bɔkʃ-ta/	box	Definitive

[In Standard Bangla (SB) it is /bɔkʃ/ whereas in Midnapuri (MB) /ʃ/ changes to /s/ and /o/ synthesis occur finally]

/ki-gaca/ (ki:+gaca)	/ki-gacha/	key	Pluralisation(collective)

Derivations

Adjectivalization

Loan Adjective+ Bengali adj suffix	Gloss
/La:ki: hɔba:/(become) [Standard Bengali (SB) uses /hɔwa:/]	'being lucky'
/bɔri:ŋ byapar/ (matter) [SB uses bori:ŋ]	'boring thing'

Verbalization

Loan Verb+ Bengali Auxiliary verb	Gloss
/se:l kɔra/(do) [SB uses /ʃe:l-kora/]	'to sell'

Compounding

Loan Noun+ Bengali Noun	Gloss
/ba:s-calɔk/ [SB uses /ba:ʃ-calok/]	'Bus Driver'
/mi:k-sobdʒi [SB uses /mikʃ- ʃobdʒi/]	'mixed vegetable'

The word /mi:k-sobdʒi/ is a compound where the word refers to the culinary dish, 'mixed vegetable' which is a common menu/cuisine (made of a mixture of many vegetables) on any occasion. In Midnapuri, people use /mi:k-sobdʒi/ quite frequently. The second word /sobdʒi/ in the compound has /s/ in the onset position which assimilates with the coda /k/ [of /mi:k/] of the first word of the compound. /s/ is dropped from the loan word /miks/ 'mix' for ease of articulation, else in /miks-sobdʒi/ 'ss' gemination might lead to tension in articulation.

Types of Loans
According to the degree of adaptation, assimilation and integration of Loan Word into the system of the borrowing language, two types of loans emerge.
> (a) Loan shifts
> (b) Loan words

Loan shifts
Loan shift has been defined as *(See Dictionary of Language and Linguistics* 1972)
….the borrowing of a word or phrase from another language with a simultaneous modification of its phonological shape, so that it is taken for a native one.

This definition is found to be inadequate in the sense that it considers phonology as the only criterion for determining a borrowed word as loan shift. Semantic criterion is also as important to classify an item as 'loan shift'. For example, the stem of the word 'mætʃaka:r' is still recognizable as the English verb 'massacre' meaning 'to kill' or 'to defeat', but semantically the word has undergone a drastic shift to mean 'confusion' or 'haphazard'. Another example, the stem of the word 'aʃɔlto:' is still recognizable as the English verb 'assault' meaning 'attack', but semantically the word has undergone a drastic shift to mean 'insult' or 'demoralize'. Furthermore, the word always occurs as a derivation with the addition of the Bengali adverbial suffix 'o:'. Similarly, the word 'militari' in the compound word 'military hotel' has come to mean 'non-vegetarian' though phonologically it has not undergone complete modification to be called a 'shift'. Hence, the words 'assault' and 'military' may be called semantic loan shifts. English loan shifts in Midnapuri Bengali are instances of early borrowing. Early borrowings were less in number and had greater value of usability then, as they filled in the gaps that existed in the Bangla lexicon. Perhaps, these attributes were conducive to the nativization of those words. They have got so firmly knit into Standard Bangla that the uninformed Midnapuri native speaker is often not aware of their English origin. Examples:

Loan Shifts (Midnapuri 'MB')	Standard Bangla (SB)	Gloss
/ujil/	/uil/	'will'
/phɔrom/	/fɔrm/	'form'
/eskelanti/	/ekʃilent/	'excellent'
/aintʃesto/	/pɔket/	pocket'
/a:pis/	/a:piʃ/ or /ɔfiʃ/	'office'

This reveals that the above English words have been bengalicized to such an extent that they are easily mistaken for Bangla words. At the phonemic level, it may be observed that English segments have been replaced by Bangla segments. It is natural to assume that there will be resistance to borrowing foreign segments. For instance, the English segments [ʒ] & [ɵ] are never found in Bangla speech. At the morphemic level, the suffixes –i, -o, occurring sequence finally in the words /eskelanti/, /aintʃesto/ in MB and /ekʃilent/, /pɔket/ in SB respectively, are the Bangla endings added to English words to bengalicize them. Also in the word 'office' SB usage is always the post alveolar /ʃ/ be it pronounced both ways as /ɔfiʃ/ or /a:piʃ/ but in Midnapuri (MB) it is always an alveolar /s/ and hence /a:pis/.

The observations as have been made suggest specific processes which have operated obligatorily on loan shifts to integrate them completely into the phonological system of the receiving language-Midnapuri Bengali, to nativize these lexical items.

Loan words

Loan words, on the other hand, are borrowed words in Bengali, which have started (but have not yet finished) their adaptation and assimilation. Loan words have entered Bengali and further to Midnapuri Bengali as a result of strengthening of the contact between English and Bengali owing to various reasons. They preserve certain phonemic and phonological features of the English Language and they represent a phonetic compromise of some degree. The words /mætʃaka:r/ (massacre), /asɔlto:/ (aasault), and /meletari/ (military) come under the category of phonological loan words in Midnapuri, since these word are phonologically Bengalicized unlike the manner of loan shifts like 'eskelanti' from 'eksələnt'(excellent) and 'a:pis' from 'ɔfis' (office) where the segments or phonemes are almost changed. A distinction is observed between loan shifts and loan words in the preservation of some English element in the latter, while in the former no English element can said to be present.

Different categories of English loan words found in Bangla literature

It is well known that the loan-words that are incorporated into a language are subject to phonetic and morphological modifications. The sounds of these words are often changed so that they may fit the native phonetic habits. The words, too, undergo changes under certain circumstances, and are used with native morphological elements. Sometimes, new expressions are used in the language just by translating the foreign words and expressions literally. Taking all these modifying factors into consideration, the English loan-words used in Bangla Literature may be placed under the following categories.

Assimilated loan words

The English loan-words which have been used in Bangla context and nativized to Bengali morpho-phonemics can be placed under this head. Thus, the English word, 'feel' /fi:l/, is retained in Bangla pronunciation as [fi:l] and in Midnapuri as /phi:l/ , i.e., the English labio-dental voiceless fricative /f/ is retained in Standard Bangla and replaced by the Midnapuri Bangla voiceless aspirated plosive [ph].

SB	Midnapuri	Phonological change
/fi:l/	/phi:l/	/f/→ /pʰ/ 'De-spirantization'
		(Fricative changes to aspirated plosive)

Hybrid words

These compound words are a combination of two different words belonging to two different languages. These words are formed in the following ways:

    a. By derivation, i.e. by taking an existing root (formant) of English, and combining with prefixes of Bangla. As for example, the Bangla word /pion-giri/ 'profession of a peon', is a hybrid word, because the Bangla suffix '–giri' (to act like one/to be one of the profession) is added to the English word 'peon' /piːən/. In Midnapuri it is pronounced as /pijaːn-giri/ , i.e, /j/ glide insertion and /a/ vowel substitution occur.

    b. By composition, i.e. putting together one word of English and another of Bangla (or bengalicized one). As for example, the Bangla word /relgaɽi/ 'train' is formed by compounding the Bangla (bengalicized) word /gaɽi/ 'carriage' with the English word /reil/ 'rail' and pronounced as /rælgaːɽi/ in Midnapuri.

Imperfect assimilation

The sounds and forms of the English words are sometimes altered due to imperfect assimilation of the words by the Bangla speakers. The words thus formed 'are pure and simple interpretations of misunderstood forms in terms of known forms.' This phenomenon of deforming words by people in general or 'folk' is called 'folk etymology'. In Bangla, the English word 'arm-chair', has been changed to /araːmkeɖaraː/ 'the chair on which one can sit comfortably', in this way. The English word 'arm' changed to /araːm/ 'comfort' in Bangla, and the English word 'chair' was translated to /keɖaraː/ 'chair' in Bangla.

Clipped words

These words are formed by omitting certain sounds, or letters, or syllables from the original words, e.g. /bajik/ in Midnapuri ; /baik/ in Standard Bangla 'bike' (bicycle) or /phɔto/ 'photo' in Midnapuri ; /foto/ in Standard Bangla (photograph), etc.

Unchanged English loan words

There are some English loan words which have been used in Bangla literature without any modification or change, e.g. /kæp/ 'cap', /bænk/ 'bank', etc. in this connection Sukumar Sen remarks that the English loan words which were adopted into Bangla after the 19th century have undergone very little changes and it is not difficult to recognize them as English words.

Loan translation

In 'loan-translation', the separate constituents of the foreign words are literally translated into the native words of the borrowing language. Thus, many terms and expressions used in Bangla literature are mere literal translation of their English counterparts, e.g. /maṯribʰaːʃa/ (SB); /maṯirivaːsa/ (MB) 'mother-tongue', /bʰalobaʃa ɔnḏʰo/ (SB); /valobaːsa: ɔnḏʰɔ/ (MB) 'love is blind', etc.

Perso-Arabic Loan Words

Reportedly, it was the Hindu poet Bharat Chandra in his poem Mansingha Kàvya,, 1752 who coined the term dobhaʃi Bangla 'dual language' (Haq 1957:174) for a register using many Perso-Arabic loanwords. Some dobhashi literature was written in the nasta≠liq script, or in Bengali written from right to left. Haq argues that dobhaʃi reflects the 19th century Wahhabi movement in southern Bengal. Abdul Mannan, who wrote the definitive treatment of

dobhaʃi literature in 1966, sees its origins in earlier Mughal patronage of Bengali. The first work on record "which has preserved evidence of the influence of the language of Muslim rulers [on Bengali] is the Mɔn savijɔy of Bipradàs Piplài", a Brahmin (ca. 1495 C.E., Mannan 1966:59). Bharat Chandra wrote the following (from Onnɔdamɔngɔl):

//Na rɔbe prɔʃad gun/ na hɔbe rɔʃal/
Ot eb o kohi bhaʃa/ yaboni miʃʃal//
In Midnapuri Bangla (MB),
//Na rɔbe pɔsa:d gu:n/ na hɔbe rɔsal/
ɔt æb o kohi va:sa/ yabɔni missal//

Translated, this reads, 'Persian, Arabic, Hindustani lack grace and poetic quality, I have chosen, therefore the mixed language of the Muslims'.

Phonology and Grammatical Categories o Loan Words
Sanskrit loan words
Tatsama words are directly borrowed from Sanskrit and they retained their original Sanskrit form. E.g., /grām/ [gram] 'village', /kabi/ [kobi] 'poet' etc. (Kar, 2009).

Sanskrit loan	Bangla Pronounciation	Midnapur Pronounciation	Gloss
'skhələnə'	/ʃkhɔlon/	/khɔlɔn/	'slip'
'mrʈju'	/mriʈʈu/	/miʈʈu:/	'death'
'spəʃtə'	/spɔʃto/	/pɔsto:/	'clear'
'əmruʈə'	/ɔmri/	/omrit/	'nectar/ambrosia'
'snanəh'	/ʃnan/	/tʃa:n/	'bath'
'praʈəh'	/praʈo/	/peraʈ/	'early'
'hr̩dəjə'	/hriɖoe/	/hirɖɔj/	'heart'
'brahmhənə'	/bramhon/	/bamu:n/	'brahmin'
Hindi loan			
'gula:b'	/gola:p/	/gɔlap/	'rose'
'məsala'	/mɔʃla/	/mɔsla/	'spices'
Assamese loan			
'ha:n'	/hã̃ʃ/	/ hãs/	'swan'
'mem'	/mem/	/mæm/	'a European lady'
Portuguese loan			
'prego'	/perek/	/pirekh/	'metal nails'
'sanona'	/nona/	/nuna/	'salty'

Claims and Discussion
Source of Borrowing
We start from the assumption that loan words are borrowed into Midnapuri Bangla from Standard Bangla, which is borrowed from Bengali English (henceforth BE). BE is a variety of Indian English spoken in West Bengal that is borrowed from English spoken in Bengal. Like the other Indian varieties of English, BE is a 'derived dialect'. Most Bengali learners of English learn English from other Bengali English speakers and this has been prevalent for several generations. Thus Bengali English, particularly in its Phonology, is not Native English (NE) passed on to succeeding generations, but is a variety of English derived from NE in the peculiar circumstances of formal, second language learning. It is in this sense that we call BE a 'derived dialect' of English.

It is this Bangla dialect of English that has been adopted as an optional medium of instruction as well as a compulsory subject in West Bengal. A large number of English words channelled their way through BE into Bengali as the two languages have come into contact. The process of borrowing still continues and appears to progress since an 'extensive bilingual situation' prevails in the state among the educated. We must, therefore, assume that BE and not NE is the source of borrowing. It is quite logical to assume so, on the grounds that in the process of borrowing English words, a Bengali speaker normally does not have access to Native English speech.

Influence of English spelling on the segmental phonology of loan words
BE is phonologically different from NE, though the Bangla as well as the Native learner of English is exposed to the same spelling representation. The difference in the surface representation in BE is due to the fact that unlike the native speaker, the BE speaker is not exposed to NE speech at any time. A NE segment does not get realized all the time as a particular BE segment in BE, because the rules in BE, for the realization of orthographic representation as various BE segments are different from those of NE.

Spelling-sound correspondence
The following examples might serve well to demonstrate the realization of the English orthographic 'a' as [æ:] in most cases:

Standard Bangla	Midnapuri Bangla	English Spelling
/ʃæmpel/	/sæ:mpul/	'sample'
/plænt/	/pelæ:nt/	'plant'
/dænʃ/	/dæns/	'dance'
/næʃti/	/ næ:sti/	'nasty'

Orthographic 'a' is realized as /æ:/ in these words. Such a realization in a sizeable number of words speaks or the application of the spelling rule:
'a' --→ [æ:] / _ C[+nasal/+fricative]

Again in other words, the orthographic 'a' is realized as /e:/.
Eg: Message, passage, manager, table, delicate, collegiate, village, taste, waste,

Standard Bangla	Midnpuri Bangla	English Spelling
/meʃedʒ/	/mese:dʒ/	'message'
/tebil/	/te:bu:l/	'table'

'a' --→ 'e:'/ _ [+plosives/+affricates]

Again, in other words, the orthographic 'a' is realized as 'ea'. Examples:

Stnadard Bangla	Midnapuri Bangla	English Spelling
/tʃear/	/tʃijar/	'chair'
/pear/	/pijar/	'pair'
/fear/	/phijar/	'fair'
/mear/	/mijar/	'mare'
/rear/	/rijar/	'rare'
/kear/	/kijar/	'care'

1. 'a' --→ [ea]/ _ 'ir' (SB), a' --→ [ija]/ _ 'ir' (MB)
2. 'a' ---→ [ea]/ _ 're' (SB), a' ---→ [ija]/ _ 're' (MB)

We have restricted the data considered so far to instances of different realisations of 'a' in English spelling. The rules given are illustrative of the spelling rules deeply ingrained in BE speakers' minds and govern their pronunciation. The systematic realisation of orthographic 'a' as various BE phonemes in specific environments indicates that English spelling governs the distribution of BE segments in BE. By positing English segments as UR for BE, it is possible to predict the occurrence of a BE segment in loan words.

Loan segments

The following are the segments that have been borrowed into Bengali through loan words. The borrowing process is known as 'Phonemic Importation' (Filiporic, 1972, p.149).

Vowel segments [æ:]" The NE segment [æ] has been lengthened to represent various orthographic symbols as given above.

Consonantal segments: [f] and [z] segments are replaced by /ph/ and /dʒ/ segments in Midnapuri Bangla as they don't have indigenous stock.

The NE (Native English) segments that have been borrowed into Bengali through loan words are the consonants [f] and [z]. The consonant segments [f] and [z] have definite symbols to represent them in English orthography. Especially significant is the fact that [z] is pronounced as [z] only when it is represented in spelling as 'z' and not elsewhere. The borrowed segments [æ:], [f] and [z] do not have nearest equivalents in Midnapuri Bengali. The NE segment [æ] is different from [e] in being [+low] and from [a] in being [-back]. The segment [f] cannot be trans-phonemized as any Bengali segment. For instance, its homorganic [v] is a voiced segment. Further it is a frictionless continuant, whereas [f] is a fricative. The segment [z] also cannot be trans-phonemized as any other segment in Bengali. The segment [s] is its voiceless counterpart, but nowhere do we find in Bengali loan phonology, a voiced segment being trans-phonemized as a voiceless segment if the orthography indicates a distinction.

It has been generally assumed that foreign segments are borrowed if they happen to fill in the slot left unfilled in the phonemic inventory of the borrowing language. It may be so when borrowing takes place in a 'close contact situation' in which the speakers of two languages come into social contact. In a second language learning situation, we may say, that gaps in the phonemic inventory get filled in when evidence for the presence of a sound is found in spelling. This is how language contact happens in due course of time due to which Midnapuri Bangla borrowed from Standard Bangla, Sanskrit, Hindi, Assamese, Arabic, English, etc., and adapted itself into its Midnapuri Bangla morphology, phonology through trans-phonemization, phonetic-phonemic importation and loan word adaptation.

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