

tie, jeans, shirt, long-sleeve, short-sleeve, pants, half-pants, scarf, skirt, frock, jewelry, cap, hat, jersey, costume, uniform, vest, underwear, belt, button,.

q Measurement: mile, meter, centimeter, kilometer, gram, kilogram, liter, acre, hectare, ton, inch, foot/feet, decimal, scale, compass, minute, second, half, full, quarter.

r Family and Relations: boyfriend, girlfriend, sweetheart, dad, mum, uncle, aunt, friend, brother, sister, colleague, neighbor.

We could mention more. For example, we have borrowed the names of months from January to December. Fortunately, we could match the seven days of the week in English with the words in Bangla.

As evident, mostly nouns have been borrowed from English to Bangla (it is the usual case in interlingual borrowing). Borrowing of other word classes are rather rare, though not impossible. A few verbs have been borrowed from English into Bangla: switch on, switch off, charge, click, scroll, browse, print, download, upload, transfer, cut, copy, paste, bat, ball. Bangla has its own verb pattern. Here most verbs are composite, i.e. an auxiliary particle like ‘kora’ (do), ‘howya’ (be) are added to the nouns for making a verb phrase. So the borrowed words are primarily treated as nouns and then some appropriate auxiliary particles are added. People might say ‘print koro’, ‘upload koro’, ‘download koro’. In cricket context, the phrases may be ‘bat koro’, ‘bowl koro’ etc. Some adjectives have also been borrowed, for example, handsome, cute, smart, fine, polished, hazy, etc. Addressing and greeting words such as ‘hello’, ‘hi’, ‘thanks’, ‘please’, ‘congratulations’ are also frequently found in contemporary Bangla.

Many words from English have faced ‘dual borrowing’. Belonging to two different disciplines, they were borrowed in two different times in two historical periods. For example, ‘virus’, which denotes different meanings in biology and IT. The word in biology was borrowed in colonial era and the

same word as used in IT has been borrowed recently. The words ‘mouse’ and ‘memory’ have also been borrowed. In the first approach, as they are related to biology and psychology, available Bangla words ‘indur’ and ‘smriti’ could resist their insertion but in the second approach, as they appeared through IT, Bangla words failed to combat them. ‘Mouse’ and ‘memory’ are now widely used IT loans.

7. Phonetic Modifications

During borrowing, a word often requires to be adapted according to the characteristics of the recipient language. Heath (2001) says, “The close analysis of borrowings involves many aspects of linguistic structure—particularly phonetics/phonology, morphology, and lexical semantics” (p. 433). Swann et al (2004) maintain, “The source words of loanwords often have phonological, orthographical, morphological and syntactic properties that do not fit into the system of the recipient language.... In such situations of lack of fit, loanwords often undergo changes to make them fit better into the recipient language” (p. 42). Adaptation may well be manifest through phonetic modification. This modification occurs according to the phonological patterns of the borrower language, so that the words sound more like the native tongue. It is often a necessary condition for a loan word to be fully assimilated or nativized (Calabrese and Wetzels, 2009). Sankoff (2001) observes that lexical borrowings are often marked by phonological changes in the recipient language. Alterations may primarily be restricted to the loanwords, but later may also spread to native vocabulary.

During borrowing from English to Bangla, there have been modifications in pronunciation of the loan words. Some examples are cited below:

Loan Word	Pronunciation in Lender Language (British English)	Pronunciation in Borrower Language (stress mark avoided)	Phonetic Change

apple	/'apl/	/apel /	/æ/→/ɑ/ (a near open front vowel turns into an open back vowel) ^/e/ (a close mid-vowel is inserted into coda consonant cluster) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
hospital	/'hɒspɪt(ə)l/	/haʃpatal/	/ɒ/→/ɑ/(an open back vowel turns into a near open back vowel) /ɪ/→/ɑ/(a front close vowel turns into a near open back vowel) /ə/→/ɑ/(a central mid vowel turns into a near open back vowel) /s/→/ʃ/(an alveolar fricative turns into a post-alveolar voiceless fricative) /t/→/t/(an alveolar plosive turns into a dental plosive) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
table	/'teɪbl/	/teɪl /	/eɪ/→/e/ (a front close mid central diphthong turns into a front close mid vowel) ^/ɪ/ (a close front vowel is inserted into coda consonant cluster) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)

glass	/glɑ:s/	/gelɑʃ/	^/e/ (a close mid-vowel is inserted into onset consonant cluster) /ɑ:/→/ɑ/(near back open vowel turns into a near back open vowel; vowel length is neutralized) /s/→/ʃ/(an alveolar voiceless fricative turns into a post-alveolar voiceless fricative)
train	/treɪn/	/tren/	/eɪ/→/e/ (a front close mid central diphthong turns into a front close mid vowel)
telephone	/'telɪfəʊn/	/telɪfɒn/	/əʊ/→/o/ (a central close back diphthong turns into a close mid back vowel) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
television	/'telɪvɪʒ(ə)n	/telɪvɪʃɒn/	/ʒ/→/ʃ/(a post-alveolar voiced fricative turns into a post-alveolar voiceless fricative) /ə/→/o/ (a central mid vowel turns into a close mid back vowel) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)

garage	/gə'ra:ʒ/	/gæredʒ/	/ə/→/æ/ (a central mid vowel turns into a near open front vowel) /ɑ:/→/e/(long near back open vowel turns into a short front close mid vowel) /ʒ/→/dʒ/(a post-alveolar voiced fricative turns into an alveo-palatal voiced affricate) (Stress in the second syllable is neutralized)
bureau	/'bjʊərəʊ/	/boro/	/jʊə/→/ʊ/ (a triphthong turns into a near close near back vowel) /əʊ/→/o/ (a central close back diphthong turns into a close mid back vowel) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
doctor	/'dɒktə/	/daktar/	/ɒ/→/ɑ/(an open back vowel turns into a near open back vowel) /t/→/t/(an alveolar plosive turns into a dental plosive) /ə/→/ɑ/(a central mid close back diphthong turns into a near open back vowel) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)

bottle	/'bɒtl/	/bɒtl/	/ɒ/→/o/(an open back vowel turns into a close mid back vowel) /t/→/t/(an alveolar plosive turns into a dental plosive) ^/ɒ/(an open back vowel is inserted into coda consonant cluster) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
biscuit	/'bɪskɪt/	/bɪskɒt/	/ɪ/→/u/(a near close near front vowel turns into a near close near back vowel) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
station	/'steɪʃn/	/ɪstʃɒn/	^/ɪ/(a near close near front vowel is inserted before voiceless alveolar fricative) /eɪ/→/ɪ/(a front close mid central diphthong turns into a near close near front vowel) ^/ɒ/ (an open back vowel is inserted into coda consonant cluster) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
judge	/dʒʌdʒ/	/dʒɒdʒ/	/ʌ/→/ɒ/(an open mid back vowel turns into an open back vowel)

summon	/'sʌmən/	/ʃʊmən/	/s/→/ʃ/(an alveolar voiceless fricative turns into a post-alveolar voiceless fricative) /ʌ/→/ʊ/(an open mid back vowel turns into an open back vowel) /ə/→/ʊ/(a central mid vowel turns into an open back vowel) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
number	/'nʌmbə(r)/	/nʊmbər/	/ʌ/→/ʊ/(an open mid back vowel turns into an open back vowel) /ə/→/ʊ/(a central mid vowel turns into an open back vowel) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
towel	/'taʊəl/	/toale/	/aʊə/→/oɑ/ (a triphthong turns into two separate vowels) ^e (a close mid-vowel is inserted into onset consonant cluster) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)

president	/ˈprezɪd(ə)nt/	/ˈpresident/	/z/→/s/ (an alveolar voiced fricative turns into an alveolar voiceless fricative) /ə/→/e/ (a central mid vowel turns into a close mid-vowel) (Stress in the first syllable is neutralized)
adjust	/əˈdʒʌst/	/ædʒʌst/	/ə/→/æ/ (a central mid vowel turns into a near open front vowel) ^/d/ (an alveolar voiced plosive is pronounced after the vowel in the first syllable) (Stress in the second syllable is neutralized)
bomb	/bɒm/	/boma/	/ɒ/→/o/ (an open back vowel turns into a close mid back vowel) ^/ɑ/ (a near open back vowel appears at the end of the word)
box	/bɒks/	/bakʃɒ/	/ɒ/→/ɑ/ (an open back vowel turns into a near open back vowel) /s/→/ʃ/ (an alveolar voiceless fricative turns into a post-alveolar voiceless fricative) ^/ɑ/ (an open back vowel appears at the end of the word, turning the monosyllabic word into a disyllabic word)

Table 1: Phonetic modifications of loan words

One of the most striking differences between English and Bangla is that the former is a stressed-timed language (where stressed syllables appear at regular intervals) and the latter is a syllable-timed language (where each syllable takes roughly the same amount of time). In English prosody, stress plays an important role whereas in Bangla it plays no role at all. Every polysyllabic word in English carries a stress somewhere but stress is neutralized when it is used in Bangla as a loanword. We may notice this change in all the polysyllabic words given as examples.

Bangla phonology makes a preference for monophthongs over diphthongs; in other words, it has a tendency towards monophthongization. That is why glides are often converted into single vowels, e.g. /eɪ/ → /e/, /əʊ/ → /o/, /eɪ/ → /i/. The /eɪ/ → /e/ modification may be found in such words as ‘train’, ‘drain’, ‘late’, ‘gate’, ‘mail’, ‘rail’ etc.; /əʊ/ → /o/ in ‘phone’, ‘lone’, ‘goal’, ‘mole’, ‘hope’, ‘rope’, etc.

Insertion of vowel is also regularly observed. A vowel may be inserted into a consonant cluster or it may appear at the beginning of a consonant cluster. As a result of insertion, number of syllable increases, so that a monosyllabic word may turn into a disyllabic word and disyllabic word may turn into a trisyllabic word. For example, we may find pre-cluster insertion in such monosyllabic words as ‘school’ /sku:l/, ‘star’ /stɑ:r/, ‘sky’ /skʌ/ and ‘steel’ /sti:l/ which will be pronounced by the Bengali speakers as disyllabic /ɪskul/, /ɪstɑr/, /ɪskʌ/ and /ɪstɪl/ respectively. The word ‘station’ /steɪʃn/ mentioned as example in the table above is a monosyllabic word with consonant clusters in onset and coda, but it has undergone double insertions, turning into a trisyllable word /ɪstɪʃn/.

In many words the open mid back vowel /ʌ/ is transformed into an open back vowel /ɒ/. This modification is observed in ‘judge’, ‘summon’, ‘number’ as shown in above table. Bangla does not distinguish between long and short vowels, so the length in pronunciation is neutralized in such words as ‘car’, ‘meal’, ‘lord’, ‘cool’. In Bangla they might not be pronounced as long vowels. English has a weak vowel /ə/ called schwa, which cannot preserve its ultra-short pronunciation in Bangla for the same reason of length neutralization. Therefore in every case, schwa is rather pronounced as a ‘strong’ vowel in Bangla when words are borrowed. Examples are: ‘mutton’ /ˈmʌtən/ → /mʌtɒn/, ‘bitter’ /ˈbɪtər/ → /ˈbɪtɑr/, ‘amount’ /əˈmaʊnt/ → /æmaʊnt/.

Regarding consonants, alveolar plosive /t/ has a tendency to be converted into dental plosive /t/ found in ‘bottle’, ‘doctor’, and ‘hospital’ as mentioned above. The post-alveolar voiced fricative /ʒ/ may either be converted into a post-alveolar voiceless fricative /ʃ/ as in ‘vision’ and ‘television’ or an alveo-palatal voiced affricate /dʒ/ as in ‘garage’ and ‘massage’. In Bengali tongue, the alveolar voiced fricative /z/ may also be converted into an alveo-palatal voiced affricate /dʒ/ so that ‘zoo’ /zu:/ may sound like /dʒu/ with a concomitant neutralization of vowel length.

We may notice that some phonetic modifications are quite regular and predictable and they can be explained by rules. But other modifications go through unpredictable channels and can hardly be explained by rules. Two such words are: ‘towel’ /taʊəl/ → /toʊle/ where a new vowel is added at the end of the word among other changes and ‘botton’ /'bʌt(ə)n/ → /botəm/ where an alveolar nasal is transformed into a bilabial nasal among other changes. Far more bizarre is the transformation from ‘godown’ /'gəʊdaʊn/ to ‘gudam’ /gudam/ where we find multiple changes in vowels and consonants which may hardly be accounted for by any phonological rules.

8. Conclusion

The main reason for phonetic modification in loanword is the distinctive phonology of the recipient language. Many phonological features of the donor language may not be present in the recipient language and that is why the loanwords have to adapt accordingly. There is always a phonological demand on part of the recipient language. For example, already said, Bangla does not have ‘schwa’ so any weak vowel must be converted into a ‘full’ (short) vowel before it is pronounced in Bangla. Bangla does not have post-alveolar voiced fricative /ʒ/ and it has a seldom-used alveolar voiced fricative /z/, so they are often converted into an alveo-palatal voiced affricate /dʒ/. The other reason for phonetic modification is the long social practice. For example, after long social practice, ‘dʒʌdʒ’ (judge) and ‘sʌmən’ (summon) have been converted into ‘dʒʊdʒ’ and ‘ʃʊmən’ respectively, though it not impossible for the Bengali people to pronounce them in the English way. The changes have come through long historical process. In the words which have been borrowed in recent times we may find no such changes.

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