

Phonological Make-up of English Loanwords Incorporated into Punjabi via Urdu

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Abstract—The present study investigates the route of English words borrowed into Punjabi via Urdu. Differences and similarities between bilingual and monolingual speakers have been highlighted to determine the route of borrowing. The study is based on two corpora: a corpus of 292 English loanwords in Punjabi; and a corpus of 421 English loans in Punjabi and Urdu. Metathesis, aphaeresis, and substitution of consonants are some of the adaptation strategies on the basis of which we differentiate between the output forms of monolingual and bilingual speakers.

Index Terms—borrowing, metathesis, aphaeresis, substitution, direct borrowing, interlanguage

I. INTRODUCTION

A. *The Nature of Contact and Linguistic Borrowing*

Words always travel with the people they belong to and become a source of new vocabulary for other languages. There are so many linguistic and socio-political factors that lead to the adaptation of words. Punjabi and Urdu inherit a long history of lexical borrowing and are among those languages of the Indo-Pak subcontinent that have always remained victims of foreign languages, e.g. Persian, Arabic, and English. With the passage of time, the influence of Arabic and Persian decreased and English took their place as a donor language. Urdu is itself a blend of foreign languages. It is argued that when Muslims first set their feet at the Indo-Pak subcontinent they brought different languages as Arabic, Persian and Turkish. At that time Aryans' language, who were residing in the subcontinent, was Sanskrit. They considered these foreign languages as 'mixed' and 'impure' but Muslims welcomed foreign languages and adapted a plethora of words (Sadeed, 2006). As a result, they unconsciously gave birth to a new language to which we know today as 'Urdu'.

Whenever an alien language (or foreign words) tried to make its place in Punjabi and Urdu they warmly welcomed without taking into consideration the impact of that language (or words) on its phonological system. No doubt English, Persian, and Arabic enriched Punjabi and Urdu with a variety of new lexical items but on the other hand they lost a bulk of indigenous words. The word 'gatta' that can literally be translated in English as 'stick candy' is rarely found in Punjabi because this word and the thing it referred to has been replaced by 'lolli pop'. It reveals another fact that when an object disappears from a culture the word that refers to that object becomes history and a new object or a word takes its place. Nowadays the word 'bavarchi khana' is used in Urdu as it is a foreign word indeed it is a term that is usually used as an alternative of 'kitchen'. This is how on the one hand English words are enriching Punjabi and Urdu in terms of novel vocabulary on the other hand indigenous words are being threatened by new English terms.

Linguistic borrowing is the outcome of 'language contact'. There are "three kinds of contact situations-when a conquered group adopts the language of its conquerors, when the reverse occurs, and when there is mutual influence leading to a "mixed language" (Wackernagel, 1904 cited in Winford, 2003, p.10). There is a close relationship between language contact and language change as the former leads to the later. It is language contact which gives rise to language change and that can be in the form of sound change, semantic change, and phonological or morphological change.

B. *Exposure to Western Culture*

Although Punjabi and Urdu have remained in contact with English since last two centuries but exposure to western culture, especially English culture and language in recent years through media and internet have had a great impact on

these languages. Novel vocabulary items have been borrowed with the introduction of new technological innovations (TV, mobiles etc.). People are attracted by the foreign products and the way they are pronounced. Words that have now become the part of Punjabi and Urdu lead to the borrowing of other words, for instance, 'mobile' led to the incorporation of other words, such as 'casing', 'keypad', 'sim', 'memory card', 'charger', 'handsfree' (Mahmood, Hussain, & Mahmood, 2011). People were not familiar with these terms before the introduction of 'mobile' but when 'mobile' was introduced it made possible the borrowing of these English words in local languages. Another factor is that words remain associated with the things it referred to and the acceptance of the object determines the fate of a word that is employed for that object (Baugh & Cable, 1978). In addition, the introduction of English as a compulsory subject, the status and prestige linked to it further paved the way for English words to be borrowed. A person who knows English is considered to be an educated one and it has become a symbol of elitism.

II. BILINGUALISM

Bilingualism is all pervasive in Pakistan, a person in one or another way is a bilingual who can speak two different languages or two dialects of the same language. Punjab is more diverse in this regard where Punjabi, Urdu and English coexist and a large number of Punjabis speak Urdu as their second language (Mahmood et al. 2011).

Bilingualism is not a recent phenomenon; its seeds were first sown in the colonial era of the British Empire when English moved towards the Indo-Pak subcontinent and as a result interacted with diverse Indo-Aryan languages. In the beginning, people had negative attitudes but gradually English became the language of elite class of the subcontinent as well as replaced Persian as a language of education. As English had always been coupled with elite class and this ideology still prevails in Pakistan, they are the custodians of Urdu and sole borrowers of English words. Punjabi speakers rely on these bilingual speakers because Punjabi does not have direct contact to English (Mahmood et al. 2011); Punjabi and Urdu are in contact, or Urdu and English, but not Punjabi and English (it does not happen that a person knows Punjabi and English, but not Urdu although it is possible in India or in other European countries, UK, Canada, where Punjabi speakers learn English as a second language and Punjabi as a first). There are mainly three kinds of bilingual speakers: a) who know Punjabi, Urdu and English; b) who know Urdu and English; c) who know only Punjabi but can understand Urdu (receptive bilinguals). Loanwords are always introduced by those speakers who speak Punjabi, Urdu and English or Urdu and English, and relocate loans to Punjabi monolingual speakers who try to imitate these bilinguals. Monolingual speakers do not initiate borrowing because it is a bilingual speaker who has access to the L2 (Haugen, 1950; Poplack, Sankoff, & Miller, 1988; Mougeo, Edouard, & Daniel, 1985) and word is borrowed when it is incorporated into the lexicon treasure of L1 (Paradis & Lebel, 1994).

III. TYPES OF BORROWING

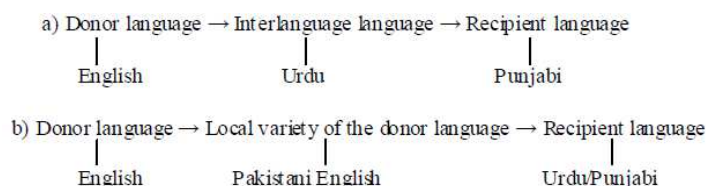
Researchers have introduced varying definitions of borrowing. Bloomfield (1933, p.444) distinguishes between *dialect borrowing* "where the borrowed features come from within the same speech-area and *cultural borrowing* where borrowed features come from the other language." Cultural borrowing "can be bidirectional, but the nature and extent of borrowing on each side is determined by the nature of contact" (Haugen & Mithun, 2003, p.244). Borrowing in which 'core' words such as English borrowed the pronouns *they* and *them* from Norse; *plus* and *via* from Latin etc. is called 'core borrowing'. Borrowing in which grammatical features of other languages are borrowed is called 'grammatical borrowing' (Simpson, 2001, p. 423). Cultural borrowing best suits to the present situation of linguistic incorporation into Urdu and Punjabi where linguistic features come from the other language (English).

Most of the borrowed words do not come directly into a language rather come via an interlanguage. As Simpson (2001, p.423) argued that in English "*stomach* came via French from Greek; *aunt* and *uncle* came via French from Latin, as did *river*." Here the route of the borrowed words is obvious, in both cases French is an interlanguage, but whether words go through any phonological or morphological change while transferring from one language to other or borrowed without any change? How can we determine the route of borrowing? These questions will be answered in our next section.

A. Route of borrowing

Because of the massive borrowing, languages develop their routes that are the result of contact between or among different languages; this contact may be direct or indirect. As English did not borrow the words *algebra*, *alchemy*, *alcohol*, directly from Arabic rather Spanish borrowed them directly from Arabic and then transferred to French and from French into English (Katamba, 1994). Sometimes a language selects a local language as a route (see figure 1) and sometimes chooses the local variety of the donor language as a route of borrowing (see figure 2). The former has been the focus of the present study in which the route of English loanwords incorporated into Punjabi via Urdu has been studied.

(1)



In figure (1a) Urdu works as an intermediate language and encounters English loanwords before transferring them to other regional languages, say, Punjabi or it can be Pashto, Sindhi etc. But in figure (1b) the situation is different, here the local variety of English, Pakistani English (PE), facilitates regional languages, including Urdu, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashto, with the bulk of new English words. Here the role of Urdu as an interlanguage seems to be dwindled, but the question is, to what extent local variety of the donor language is responsible for the transmission of words to other genetically-distinct regional languages? There are limited possibilities in this regard, because local variety of L2 itself goes through the process of nativization or indigenization, in other sense, Urduization. It is already localized and shaped by the internal linguistic systems of the regional languages so the transferred words from English to PE already possess the flavor of nativization. As a result PE owns many features of the interlanguage (Urdu) as well as other L1s' (Punjabi, Sindhi, and Pashto). There are distinct similarities between how a word is pronounced in PE and in interlanguage. For instance, word-initial s+stop clusters are pronounced in PE with prothetic vowel /isku:l/, /ispi:k/ (Rahman, 1990). Similarly when words having /sp/, /st/, /sk/ clusters are spoken by Urdu speakers they are also repaired with prothesis, e.g. 'stadium' as /istedijəm/, 'scout' as /iskaut/ (Usman, Ali, & Masood, 2003).

Yip (2005) proposed the possibility of the route of loanwords via interlanguage or the local variety of L2. She argued that while adapting a loanword, the adapted form of interlanguage is closer to L2 than the adapted form in L1. The following extract can further shed light on the route of borrowing:

Loan words are diverse in nature because words are borrowed via distinct routes at different points in history. The English word *paint* (n.), for example, has been borrowed into Korean as both [p*ɛŋk*ɪ] and [p^hɛinh]. The former form is borrowed through the Japanese language and is used mostly by the older generation or specialists in fields who frequently use the word. The latter form is used by the more educated and/or younger generation. English loan words borrowed through Japanese are easily recognized because they often co-exist with newer borrowings of the same lexical item, as is the case of the word *paint*. (Kim, 1999, p.2).

We agree to Kang, Kenstowicz, and Ito (2008) who studied English loanwords transferred to Korean via Japanese and made a distinction between Japanese-style loans that are characterized by various phonological features and loans that are directly borrowed into Korean from English. They highlighted another type of hybrid loanwords that is the mixture of Japanese-style and direct-English-style. Hybrid loans do not replicate the phonology of one language rather two languages (Tranter, 1997). Words that are pronounced by monolingual speakers are always different from those that are pronounced by bilingual speakers. In other words if a word is adapted directly from English to Korean and via Japanese, there will be differences in both.

IV. PHONEMIC INVENTORIES

Phonologically, Punjabi and Urdu are unique in itself because both contain sounds and particularly tonal system of Punjabi that is not found in other Indo-Aryan languages. A complete set of consonantal inventories of Punjabi and Urdu are presented below:

(2) Punjabi (Shackle, 2003)

	Bil.	Dent.	Retro.	Palat.	Vel.	Glo.
Stops	p p ^h b	t t ^h d	ʈ ʈ ^h ɖ	tʃ tʃ ^h dʒ	k k ^h g	
Fricatives	(f)	s (z)		ʃ	(x) (ɣ)	h
Nasals	m	n	ɳ			
Laterals		l	ɭ			
Flaps		r	ɽ			
Semivowels	v				j	

In Punjabi, there are some consonants that were borrowed from other languages. For example, consonants in parentheses adapted by Punjabi from Persian and Arabic (Karamat, 2002). In Urdu loanwords adapted by Punjabi, /x/, /ɣ/, /f/ and /z/ are substituted by /k^h/, /g/, /p^h/ and /dʒ/ respectively or are found only in the speech of educated people (Shackle, 2003). It can be noted that Punjabi has a separate set of aspirated consonants (/p^h/, /t^h/, /tʃ^h/, /k^h/) but English loanwords with aspirated stops ('pick', 'kick') are unaspirated in Punjabi, e.g. 'copy' is adapted as /ka:pi/ (Mahmood et al. 2011). The consonantal inventory of Urdu is as follows:

(3) Urdu (Siddiqi, 2001)

	Bil.	Labio.	Dent	Dent.	Alveo.	Retro.	Palat.	Vel.	Uvu.	Glo.
Stops	p p ^h b b ^h		t t ^h d d ^h			ʈ ʈ ^h ɖ ɖ ^h	ʈʃ ʈʃ ^h dʒ dʒ ^h	k k ^h g g ^h	q	
Fricatives		f			s z		ʃ ʒ		x	G h
Nasals	m			n						
Laterals					l					
Flaps					r	ɽ ɽ ^h				
Glides		v					j			

There are thirty-six consonants in Urdu (Hussain, 1997; Raza et al., 2009). Some studies propose forty three consonants in Urdu and include aspirated nasal /m^h/, /n^h/, aspirated lateral /l^h/, aspirated flap /ɽ^h/ and trill /r^h/ (Saleem et al., 2002). Like Punjabi, Urdu also has aspirated sounds and /x/ and /ɣ/, but there are some additional sounds in Urdu which cannot be found in Punjabi, e.g. uvular /q/.

V. PRESENT STUDY

The present paper finds out the route of borrowing bearing in mind direct and indirect borrowing of English words in Punjabi. Both, similarities and differences among English, Urdu and Punjabi and absence and presence of a word in recipient language will also be considered. Our study will take some of the ideas of Kang et al. (2008), Tranter (1997) and Yip (2005) as a starting point of discussion but both possibilities of the route are going to be studied: similarities and differences in monolingual and bilingual speakers.

A. Data

The data used in the present research have been taken from a Punjabi corpus studied by Mahmood et al. (2011), containing 292 English loanwords, and a corpus of 421 English loanwords in Punjabi and Urdu studied by Hussain (2011, unpublished thesis) in which he determines the route of borrowing by comparing adaptation strategies of both Urdu and Punjabi.

VI. DATA ANALYSIS

In this section, we will discuss the phonological features of English loanwords from two perspectives: direct mapping from English to Punjabi (words borrowed by monolingual Punjabi speakers); mapping of English loanwords via Urdu (words borrowed by bilingual speakers who can speak English, Urdu and Punjabi). First of all differences between the adaptation of English loanwords by monolingual and bilingual speakers will be highlighted. There are marked differences in the adaptation of monolingual or bilingual speakers of Punjabi. Some of these differences are presented in the following sections.

A. Metathesis

Metathesis is generally called the reversal of sounds in a word. In direct borrowing from English to Punjabi metathesis is commonly used while English words borrowed via Urdu do not possess this feature. Another reason for this is that bilingual speakers have, to some extent, the knowledge of English phonology and they do not rely on just the perception of English words, but Punjabi monolingual speakers, most often, misperceive these words and because some consonant combinations are not identical to their L1, thus, make the words easy to pronounce with the reversal of sounds:

- (4) English → Punjabi
- | | | |
|--------------|------------|-----------|
| a. /plæstɪk/ | /pla:skət/ | 'Plastic' |
| b. /dʒenrəl/ | /dʒɛnrəl/ | 'General' |
| c. /ɪlæstɪk/ | /la:skət/ | 'Elastic' |

In all three examples (4a,b,c), consonants change their place but in indirect borrowing of English loanwords in Punjabi, the clusters containing these consonants are preserved without making any notable change (5). See how the above words are adapted when entered into Punjabi via Urdu:

- (5) English → Urdu → Punjabi
- | | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|-----------|
| a. /plæstɪk/ | /pla:stɪk/ | /pla:stək/ | 'Plastic' |
| b. /dʒenrəl/ | /dʒɛnrəl/ | /dʒɛnrəl/ | 'General' |
| c. /ɪlæstɪk/ | /əla:stɪk/ | /la:stək/ | 'Elastic' |

In indirect borrowing from English to Punjabi, interlanguage (Urdu) tries to retain the features of donor language and when it further transfers these words to Punjabi, it preserves some features of the donor and interlanguage, but at the same time activates internal phonological system to adapt the word according to its own phonotactic constraints. In the second example, because of the presence of nasal consonant, preceding vowels /e/ and /ə/ are nasalized (Kaye, 1997). The third example is adapted with more variation in Punjabi where word-initial vowel is deleted and /ɪ/ is replaced by /ə/ in the word-final syllable.

B. Aphaeresis

Aphaeresis or aphaesis is the deletion of any phoneme at the beginning of a word. This type of adaptation is frequent in English loanwords that are borrowed directly into Punjabi. They delete the word-initial vowels to simplify the pronunciation of a word. This type of deletion is also observed in the Punjabi phonology (Jain, 1926). See the examples below:

(6) English	→	Punjabi	
a. /əkædmi/		/kædəmi/	'Academy'
b. /ɒpəreɪʃn/		/pəre:ʃən/	'Operation'
c. /əla:m/		/la:rəm/	'Alarm'
d. /steɪʃn/		/te:ʃən/	'Station'

Above examples in (6a,b,c) depict that vowel deletion is more prominent than the consonant deletion /s/ (6d). A similar pattern of deletion is adapted by Punjabi monolingual speakers when borrow an Urdu loanword in Punjabi. For instance, /əxbɑ:r/ 'newspaper', here word-initial schwa is deleted /k^həbɑ:r/, /x/ is substituted by /k^h/ and onset cluster is repaired with schwa insertion. In indirect mapping via Urdu, similar words are borrowed without applying aphaeresis and more faithfulness in terms of segmental preservation can be noted:

(7) English	→	Urdu	→	Punjabi	
a. /əkædmi/		/əkædəmi/		/əkædəmi/	'Academy'
b. /ɒpəreɪʃn/		/ɒpre:ʃən/		/ɒpre:ʃən/	'Operation'
c. /əla:m/		/əla:rəm/		/əla:rəm/	'Alarm'
d. /steɪʃn/		/ste:ʃən/		/ste:ʃən/	'Station'

As it is obvious from the examples in (7) that the adapted form of interlanguage is closer to the donor language's form, then these features of interlanguage are further transferred to the recipient language (Punjabi).

C. Substitution of /d/ to /t/

In direct transmission of English loans, /d/ is substituted with /t/. Such a change may occur during perceptual scan, because place of articulation of both sounds is similar and perceived identical.

(8) English	→	Punjabi	
a. /bleɪd/		/bəle:t/	'Blade'
b. /spi:d/		/səpi:t/	'Speed'
c. /rekɔ:d/		/rəka:t/	'Record'

In direct borrowing, as reflected by above examples, voiced /d/ is substituted by voiceless /t/, but in indirect borrowing it does not get replaced and preserved in adapted form of interlanguage and recipient language as illustrated in (9):

(9) English	→	Urdu	→	Punjabi	
a. /bleɪd/		/ble:ɖ/		/bəle:ɖ/	'Blade'
b. /spi:d/		/spi:ɖ/		/səpi:ɖ/	'Speed'
c. /rekɔ:d/		/reka:rɖ/		/rəka:rɖ/	'Record'

D. Substitution of /v/, /w/ to /b/

Like other consonants, in direct borrowing from English to Punjabi, labiodental /v/ and /w/ are substituted with bilabial /b/, but this is not the case with borrowings via Urdu. Examples in (10) show the direct borrowing of English words to monolingual speakers who cannot speak Urdu at all; hence English loanwords come across more variations.

(10) English	→	Punjabi	
a. /vəʊt/		/bɔ:t/	'Vote'
b. /wɪkɪt/		/bɪkət/	'Wicket'
c. /vərəɪəti/		/bərəəti/	'Variety'

The examples in (11) show that in indirect borrowing, English /v/ and /w/ are adapted as /v/ in both Urdu and Punjabi. See the following examples:

(11) English	→	Urdu	→	Punjabi	
a. /vəʊt/		/vo:t/		/vo:t/	'Vote'
b. /wɪkɪt/		/vɪkət/		/vɪkət/	'Wicket'
c. /vərəɪəti/		/vərəəti/		/vərəəti/	'Variety'

VII. CONCLUSION

In this paper we have presented the route of English loanwords adapted into Punjabi via Urdu. We found that English loanwords that are produced by Punjabi monolingual speakers have certain features that are not present in the speech of those speakers who are bilinguals and have knowledge of the interlanguage (Urdu). Punjabi monolingual speakers do not know Urdu especially older generation; therefore English loanwords by these speakers possess more variation. In direct and indirect borrowing we analyzed phonological changes: metathesis; aphaeresis; substitution etc. and concluded that Urdu's adapted forms are more similar to Punjabi when the English loanwords are adapted via Urdu into

Punjabi. This is because of the Urduization of the adapted forms in Punjabi and it further proves that English loanwords are borrowed into Punjabi via Urdu. We need further research on this area, with a large corpus of English loanwords, to investigate the route of borrowing from both sociolinguistic and phonological perspectives.

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