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## Phonological Adaptation of English Loan Words in Pahari

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### Abstract

This paper attempts to discuss the phonological changes that occur in English loanwords frequently used by Pahari speakers. A list of three hundred words was analyzed for phonological changes. A high frequency of loanwords was found in the fields of technology, vehicle register, entertainmaent and politics. The study shows that there is a strong influence of native language on the pronunciation of English loanwords: i) Mostly they replace /ə/ with /ʊ/ in (c+ ə +c) in the final syllable. ii) /ʊ/ insertion was found in English syllabic consonants, /ə/ epenthesis was found in onset consonant clusters at the word initial position after appendix /s/.iii) /aɪ / and /əʊ/ diphthongs were replaced by /æ/ and /o/ vowels respectively; and /ɔ:/ and /σ/ were replaced by /a/ vowel. Four English consonants /θ, ð, w, ʒ/ that are not found in Pahari language were replaced by /tʰ, dʰ, v, j/ respectively.

## **Introduction**

There are around 7000 languages spoken all over the world. It has been found that when languages come in contact, there is transfer of words from one language to another, especially from the dominating language (Hock, 1986; B.Kachru, 1989; and Y. Kachru, 1982). According to Hock (1986:380), the term ‘borrowing’ refers to the “adaptation of individual words or even larger set of vocabulary items from another language.”

According to Kachru (1994), there are two hypotheses about the motivation for lexical borrowing in languages. One is the deficit hypothesis and the other is dominance hypothesis.

Kachru (1994:139) states, “the deficit hypothesis presupposes that borrowing entails linguistic gaps in a language and the prime motivation for borrowing is to remedy the linguistic deficit, especially in the lexical resources of a language”. This means that lexical items are borrowed from other languages because there are no equivalents in a particular borrowing language. For example, one needs to borrow when he/she needs to refer to object, people or ideas, etc which do not exist in his/her environment.

The dominance hypothesis presupposes when two cultures come into contact, the direction of culture learning and subsequent word-borrowing is not mutual but from dominant to the subordinate. This is not necessarily done to fill the gaps. Many words are borrowed even though they have their native equivalents because they seem to have prestige. This happens especially when there is a prolonged socio-cultural interaction between the ruling countries and the countries governed. For example, when English became powerful and colonized many countries of the world including the sub continent, people from these countries borrowed words from English into their languages.

### **“Englishization”**

At present English has become the most influential language of the world and many languages borrowed words from it. This contact between a language and English is termed ‘Englishization’ (Kachru, 1994). Nowadays, it is not necessary to have physical contact of two language communities rather media is a powerful source of spreading borrowing.

### **Ways of Borrowing**

Borrowing can take place in different ways, i.e., direct borrowing with very little, or no change to a particular word (loanword), translating the loanwords into words already available in the language (loan translation), combining a loanword and an already existing word in the language (loan blend).

## **The Focus of This Paper**

This paper will address the first type of borrowing-English loanwords into Pahari language with little or no phonological change to the original word. The main reason of linguistic borrowing is to fill the gap in the borrowing language to describe new concepts and elements which may not have been in existence earlier and suddenly enter into a language and become its part such as computer, sports, etc.

## **Situation in Pakistan**

English is one of the official languages in Pakistan. In today's education policy, much importance is given to improving the knowledge of English and IT skills in Pakistan and in the Kashmir region in Pakistan. According to Rahman (2006), the power and authority is captured by two languages - English and Urdu. English, being the language of colonizers of the recent past, is the symbol of power, authority, manner and sophistication. Urdu is the second powerful language. On the other hand, indigenous languages are being neglected by the political quarters and are being devoured by the powerful languages. Electronic media is playing a crucial role in spreading loanwords, especially in the field of advertising; the use of English loanwords has increased.

These two languages (English and Pahari) have different sound systems. Pahari has 33 consonants and 10 oral vowels. Nasal vowels and diphthongs are still to be explored. English has 24 consonants and 20 vowels. Pahari allows restricted consonant clusters at onset and coda positions but in contrast English syllables can have highly complex consonant clusters.

The purpose of this study is to investigate how the Pahari Speakers adjust these English loanwords in their phonological system.

## **Background of Pahari Phonology**

In this section the basics of Pahari phonological system are laid down in order to highlight the patterns that are reflected in the adaptation of loan words.

Since the literature on the language is scarce, its phonemic inventory is mentioned in only a few places as in M.A. thesis of Nazir Tabassum (1999). According to Nazir Tabassum (1999), Pahari has 38 consonants and 22 vowels. It has no diphthongs. Saghir (2003) has given a phonemic inventory without mentioning the source in his book, 'Punjabi, Pahari, Gojri: Language and Literature', recommended for M.Phil. Students by Allama Iqbal Open University. He mentioned 54 consonants and monophthongs. He also talked about the presence of diphthongs and triphthongs in Pahari language. He mentioned some minimal pairs that suggest the presence of diphthongs in Pahari. Dr. Saghir also discussed voiced aspirated sounds in Pahari but as the native speaker of the language one of the

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authors of this article has observed that they do not exist in Pahari spoken today in the Kashmir region in Pakistan. The two available sources do not agree on the number of consonants and vowel sounds in Pahari. So, there is a dire need to reinvestigate the phonemic inventory of Pahari language by using latest software like PRAAT.

### Inventory of Consonants

There is no consensus on the number of consonants in Pahari. The above mentioned two researchers have the following consonants common in their inventories. Pahari language has 33 consonants. The following tables shows Pahari Phonemes

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosives	P b p <sup>h</sup>		t̪ d̪ t̪ <sup>h</sup>		t̠ d̠ t̠ <sup>h</sup>		K g k <sup>h</sup>	(q)	
Nasals	m			n	ɳ		ŋ		
Fricatives		f v		s z		ʃ	x ɣ		h
Lateral				l					
Trill				R					
Flap					ɾ ɾ <sup>h</sup>				
Affricates						tʃ dʒ tʃ <sup>h</sup>			
Glides						j			

### Inventory of Vowels

According to Nazir Tabassum (2001), there are 22 oral and nasal vowels in Pahari while Saghir (2003) proposes 19. Both the linguists agree on the following oral vowels.

	Front	Central	Back
<b>Close</b>	i		u
<b>Close-mid</b>	e	ɪ	ʊ o
<b>Open-mid</b>	ɜ	ə	
<b>Open</b>	æ	a	

Nasal vowels and diphthongs also exist in Pahari but these are still to be explored scientifically.

### Syllable Structure

The basic Pahari syllable structure is (C1) (C2) V (V) (C3) (C4). The onset is optional and can have maximum two consonants. Khan (2010) has reported that C2 is always /l, r, ʀ/. The rhyme minimally contains a monophthongal nucleus and may also contain a diphthong. At coda position C3 and C4 are always optional.

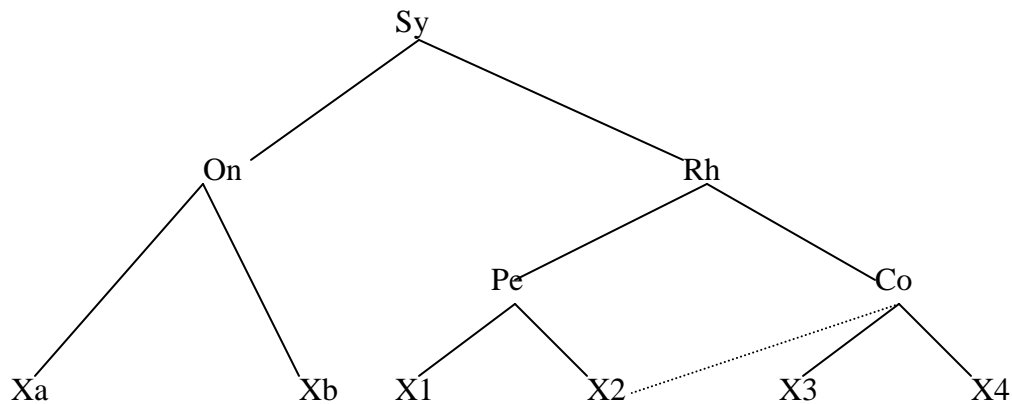


Figure 1. Syllable structure of Pahari

### Research Question

- How are English loan words modified in order to make their integration into the phonological system of Pahari language?

### Methodology

A list of three hundred words (appendix A) was prepared. It was based on field study and on the personal observation and use of loanwords by the researcher who is the native speaker of Pahari. First these loanwords were transcribed in English.

The list was given to ten native speakers to pronounce each word thrice and they were recorded for acoustic analysis. All these native speakers were not bilingual speakers of English and Pahari. These speakers had five to eight years of formal education in Urdu medium schools. Pahari-English bilingual speakers were not chosen as they try to imitate the native accent.

The borrowed words spoken by Pahari speakers were also transcribed and compared to original transcription. For authenticity of the results, acoustic analysis of borrowed words was also carried out by using PRAAT software.

## Results and Discussion

The results show that Pahari speakers modify English loan words and adapt them in their own phonological system. The following data shows the difference in Pronunciation.

### Adaptation of English Monophthongs

When integration is done according to the pronunciation of the word, the English phonemes are replaced by the closest native phonemes. In Pahari language English vowels are replaced by the following different vowels.

Tables 1-3 show replacement of /ə/ with /ʊ/ at word final syllables

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Sweater	swetəʊ	swetʊr
Charger	tʃɑ:dʒə	tʃardʒʊr
Marker	ma:kə	markʊr

Table 1

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Biscuit	bɪskɪt	bɪskʊt
Ticket	tɪkɪt	tɪkʊt
Cricket	kɪkɪt	kɪkʊt

Table 2

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Problem	prɒbɒm	prablʊm
Tablet	tæblət	tæblʊt
Cigarette	sɪgrət	sɪgrʊt

Table 3

Table 1 show that /ʊ/ replaces /ə/ that is a central vowel in word final syllables. In English, especially in rhotic accents /r/ is not pronounced. Pahari is non-rhotic /r/ is pronounced at all positions. /ʊ/ vowel replaces /ə/ in CVr context. This can be generalized in the following rule

$$\begin{array}{l}
 /ə/ \longrightarrow /ʊ/ / C \_ r \# \\
 /ə/ \longrightarrow /ʊ/ \left[ \begin{array}{c} -son \end{array} \right] - \left[ \begin{array}{c} +son \\ -lateral \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

Table 2 above shows that /ɪ/ vowel is also replaced by /ʊ/ in C\_\_ C context at word final position. The following rule explains it more clearly

$$\begin{array}{l}
 /ɪ/ \longrightarrow /ʊ/ / C \_ C \# \\
 /ɪ/ \longrightarrow /ʊ/ / \left[ \begin{array}{c} -son \\ +anterior \\ -Voiced \end{array} \right] - \left[ \begin{array}{c} -son \\ +coronal \\ -voiced \end{array} \right]
 \end{array}$$

The following table shows substitution of /σ/ by /a/

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Hot	hɒt	hat
Sorry	sɒri	sari

Table 4

The following table shows substitution of /ɔ:/ by /a/

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Ball	bɔ:l	bal
Uniform	ju:nɪfɔ:m	junɪfam
walk	wɔ:k	vak

Table 5

The tables 4 and 5 demonstrate that English /ɔ:/ and /σ/ back vowels are replaced by /a:/ vowel. These two vowels do not exist in Pahari.

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Principal	pɪnɪsɪpl	pɪnɪsɪpʊl
Cycle	sɑɪkl	sɑɪkʊl
Button	bʌtn	bəʈʊn

Table 6

Table 6 shows that Pahari speakers cannot pronounce syllabic consonant as there are no syllabic consonants in Pahari. A vowel can only be the peak of a syllable in Pahari. Pahari speaker insert /ʊ/ vowel before the syllabic consonant.

ϕ → /ʊ/ / C \_\_ [Syllabic Consonant]

The following table shows /ə/ insertion in word initial syllable

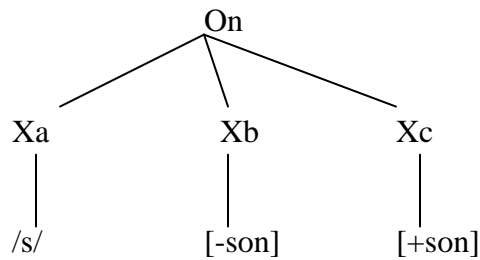
English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Speaker	spi:kə	səpi:kʊr
School	sku:l	səku:l
Steel	sti:l	səti:l

Table 7

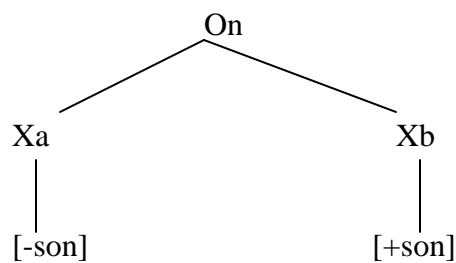
The above table 7 exhibits that /ə/ insertion is also found in English loan words at onset position. Pahari permits maximum two onset cluster. There is no onset appendix found in Pahari. English permits two x-positions at onset position besides the /s/ appendix at Xa position. Pahari speaker cannot pronounce three consonant clusters at onset position and insert /ə/ after appendix /s/.



a. English Onset Clusters



b. Pahari Onset Clusters



This can be stated in the following rule

$$\varnothing \longrightarrow / \emptyset / \# / s / \text{ \_\_\_\_\_\_ } [-son]$$

**Adaptation of English Diphthongs**

The data shows that two English diphthongs /aɪ/ and /əʊ/ are replaced by two different single phonemes. An English diphthong /aɪ/ is replaced by a single phoneme /æ/. English diphthong /əʊ/ is replaced by /o/ phoneme.

The following table shows diphthong /aɪ/ change into /æ/

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Light	laɪt	læt
Grinder	graɪndə	grændur
File	faɪl	fæl

Table 8

Table 8 above shows that diphthong /aɪ/ is replaced by a single phoneme /æ/ in closed syllables. This diphthong also exists in Pahari but only in open syllables as in /laɪ/.In

open syllables Pahari speaker do not replace this /aɪ/ diphthong with /æ/ and it is pronounced correctly as in the loan word fry /fraɪ/.

The following table shows substitution of /əʊ/ by /o/

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Slow	sɪəʊ	slo
Boat	bəʊt	bot

Table 9

Table 9 explains that Pahari speakers replace /əʊ/ diphthong with /o/ vowel. This /o/ vowel is not found in RP English. It is a closing diphthong and the glide is towards back position and from neutral lips position to rounded lips position and is being replaced by back rounded vowel /o/.

### Adaptation of English Triphthongs

English triphthong /aɪ/ is replaced by /æ/ phoneme.

The following table shows triphthong /aɪ/ change into /æ/

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Tyre	taɪə	tær
Fire	faɪə	fær

Table 10

### Adaptation of English Consonants

Majority of English consonants have their equivalents in Pahari language. There are four English consonantal phonemes that do not exist in Pahari language: /θ/, /ð/, /w/, /ʒ/. They are interpreted in Pahari language as /tʰ/, /dʰ/, /v/ and /j/. English /w/, which does not exist in Pahari, is substituted by labiodental voiced fricative /v/.

The following table exhibits that dental fricatives /θ, ð/ are substituted by dental stops /tʰ, dʰ/ respectively.

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
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Throw	θrəʊ	tʰro
Bathroom	ba: θru:m	batʰrum
Rutherford	rəðəfɔ:d	rəðʊrford

Table 11

Table 11 shows that /θ/ which is dental voiceless fricative is replaced by dental aspirated voiceless stop /tʰ/. While /ð/ that is dental voiced fricative is replaced by dental voiced stop /d/. In Pahari aspirated voiced stops do not exist. /ð/ is replaced by /d/. This shows that place of articulation and voicing remains same, only manner of articulation changed from fricative to stops.

/w/ voiced bilabial glide is replaced by labiodental voiced fricative /v/ as in the following examples walk, /wɔ:k/, /vak/. /z/ phoneme does not exist in Pahari and is replaced by /j/ phoneme as in television, telɪvɪjən

The following table shows that /r/ is non-rhotic

English word	English Transcription	Pahari Transcription
Tractor	træktə	træktʊr
Nurse	nɜ:s	ners
Parlour	Pa:lə	parlʊr

Table 12

The above table 12 shows that /r/ is rhotic at rhyme position in English. In Pahari language it is non-rhotic and is pronounced at rhyme. But in the data one example (e.g. short) showed where /r/ was not pronounced at rhyme position.

## Conclusion

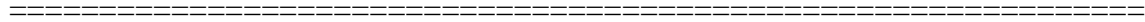
Pahari speakers are always ready to accept loan words that fill the linguistic gap in the language. This perhaps represent internationalism. They have been under the British rule for over hundred years and have developed a more permissive attitude towards borrowing from English and as well as from other languages like Urdu and Punjabi. Pahari is a language spoken in hilly areas of Murree and in the Kashmir region in Pakistan. It is not a language of technology. So, it borrowed words from other languages to fill the gap. It is found that Pahari speakers adapt English loan words with some modification in their own phonological system of Pahari language: i) mostly they replace /ə/ with /ʊ/ in (c+ ə +c) in the final syllable.; ii) /ʊ/ insertion was found in English syllabic consonants, /ə/ epenthesis was found in onset consonant clusters at the word initial position after

appendix /s/;iii) /aɪ / and /əʊ/ diphthongs were replaced by /æ/ and /o/ vowels respectively; and /ɔ:/ and /σ/ were replaced by /a/ vowel. Four English consonants /θ, ð, w, ʒ/ that are not found in Pahari language were replaced by /tʰ, dʌ, v, j/ respectively.

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