# CHAPTER I

# INTRODUCTION

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## INTRODUCTION

Any language in its natural course borrows many words from various sources to satisfy its needs. Marathi is not an exception to this. The lexicon of Marathi contains many English loan words. It is a general impression that when English words are borrowed into Marathi, there are many modifications taking place in these words, mainly regarding the pronunciation of the word, syntactic function of the word and meaning of the word. Therefore it was felt that it would be very interesting to study the nature of such modifications on various levels and observe if these modifications are, in any way, rule governed.

To place our study of English loan words in Marathi in the broader context of the work done in this field, it is important to review the theoretical concepts proposed and the directions in which research has been undertaken. This will also serve as a frame of reference of our study and a point of departure.

## WHAT IS BORROWING ?

### Definitions :

Borrowing has been defined as "the process by which one language or dialect takes and incorporates linguistic elements from another" (Arlotto, 1972, P. 184). It, therefore, reflects contact between two languages and cultures. As early as 1886, Herman Paul had pointed out that all borrowing by one language from another is predicated on some minimum of bilingual mastery of the two

languages concerned.

Bloomfield defines linguistic borrowing as "the adoption of features which differ from those of the main tradition". (Language, 1935 P. 444).

The central idea in both these definitions is that "borrowing" is "the attempted reproduction of patterns previously found in another" (Haugen, 1950, P. 60).

Hockett, (1970, P. 402) expresses the same opinion as Haugen and warns us to use the term "borrowing" with some caution. Thus that which is "borrowed" does not have to be paid back, the donor makes no sacrifice and does not have to be asked for permission.

Lehmann (1976, P. 212) is very clear when he says "The vocabulary and grammatical patterns of a language can be separated into two categories : **native elements** which we can take back to the earliest known stages of a language and **borrowed elements** which were imported at some time from a different language."

Another term for borrowing is 'loan words'. The First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics defines a 'loan' as -

"- - - - a linguistic unit (usually a lexical item) which has come to be used in a language or a dialect other than the one where it originated. (It is understood that the phoneme that is borrowed is a loan phoneme and the word that is borrowed is a loan word)" (1980)

According to Sadighi F. (1992, P. 31) the process of borrowing takes place through linguistic contact between the languages (donor and recipient). This in turn, results in borrowing that can pervade different linguistic areas such as : morphology, phonology, syntax and semantics.

When language borrowing takes place, borrowed words may lose part(s) of their original phonetic features leading to an adjustment to native linguistic structure. This process of linguistic modification is called "linguistic nativisation" or "naturalization".

## NATURE OF BORROWING.

Bloomfield (1935) has divided borrowing into three distinct categories depending upon the nature of relation between two linguistic communities and a general direction of borrowing as : (i) Cultural borrowing (ii) Intimate borrowing (iii) Dialect borrowing.

### (i) CULTURAL BORROWING :

According to Bloomfield (1935, P. 445) every speech community learns from its neighbours, objects both natural and manufactured pass from one community to the other and so do patterns of action such as technical procedures, warlike practices, religious rites or fashions of individual conduct. This spread of things and habits is studied by ethnolinguists who call it cultural diffusion.

Cultural borrowing is ordinarily mutual. It is one sided only to the extent that one nation has more to give than the other. It does not necessarily require close contact between the two languages which may be mutually unintelligible. The borrowing of Arabic words relating to Mathematics and Astronomy (algebra, Zero, cipher, etc.) by English language and that of Greek words such as hora etc. by Sanskrit may be classed under cultural borrowing.

## (ii) **INTIMATE BORROWING** :

Intimate borrowing occurs when two languages, though mutually unintelligible, are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community. This situation arises for the most part by conquest, less often in the way of peaceful migration. The bilingual areas of Bombay, e.g. the Kannada words in the spoken language of the people of Belgaum and Solapur district and the mixture of Marathi and Gujarathi in the Ahirani dialect of Dhule and Jalgaon district will supply us with examples of this type.

Intimate borrowing is one sided. A distinction is made between the upper or dominant language spoken by the conquering or otherwise more privileged group and the lower language, spoken by the subject people or as in the United Stages by humble immigrants. Usually the direction of borrowing is from the upper language to the lower, and it very often extends to to speech-forms that are not connected with cultural novelties. We see examples of intimate borrowing in the contact of immigrants' languages with English in the United States.

## (iii) **DIALECT BORROWING**

Dialect borrowing is confined to a single area, the speech forms in which are mutually intelligible on account of the close contact of the various speech forms.

The infant begins by acquiring the speech habits of the people who take care of him. He gets most of his habits from some one person, usually from his mother, but he does not reproduce this person's speech exactly because he takes some forms from other persons. Later on, the child acquires speech-forms from more people: children are

specially imitative in their first contacts outside the immediate family circle. As time goes on the range of imitated persons becomes wider. Throughout his life, the speaker continues to adopt speech-habits from his fellows. At any moment, his language is a unique composite of habits acquired from various people.

### IMPORTATION AND SUBSTITUTION AS TYPES OF BORROWING :

Since borrowing has been defined as a process involving reproduction, any attempt to analyse its course must involve a comparison of the original pattern with its imitation. Haugen (1972, P. 82) calls the original pattern the **MODEL** and we can recognize that the loan may be more or less similar to it. It may vary all the way from an imitation, satisfactory to a native speaker to one that the native speaker would not recognise at all. Where loan is (to a native speaker) noticeably different from the model, we are faced with the case of partial learning due to the interference of the factors. If we assume on the basis of common observation that these factors are the previously established patterns of the speaker's language, we shall be able to separate two distinct kinds of reproduction. If the loan is similar enough to the model so that a native speaker would accept it as his own, the borrowing speaker may be said to have **IMPORTED** the model into his language, provided it is an innovation in that language. But in so far as he has reproduced the model inadequately, he has normally **SUBSTITUTED** a similar pattern from his own language. This distinction between **IMPORTATION** and **SUBSTITUTION** applies not only to a given loan as a whole but to its constituent patterns as well,

since different parts of the pattern may be treated differently.

## THE CLASSIFICATION OF BORROWING :

According to Haugen (1972, P. 83) borrowing is strictly a process and not a state, yet most of the terms used in discussing it are ordinarily descriptive of its results rather than of the process itself. The classification of borrowed patterns, implied in some terms as "loanword", 'hybrid', 'loan translation' or 'semantic loan' are not originally related to the borrowing process itself. They are the labels which various writers have applied to the observed results of borrowing.

**LOANWORD** is the vaguest of them, since it may include practically any of them in which speakers impart not only the meaning of the form but also its phonemic shape, though with more or less complete substitution of native phonemes.

**HYBRID** is sometimes used to distinguish loanwords in which only a part of the phonemic shape of the word has been imported, while a native portion has been substituted for the rest.

Haugen calls **LOAN TRANSLATION** nothing but the extension of the process of hybrid examples (1972, P. 84). Instead of substituting only one half of the word, the borrowers here analyse and substitute both halves. Kamal Velankar (1987, P. 258) gives a list of such words as durdhwani (telephone) madhu chandra (honey moon), dhawčit (run out) etc. in Marathi.

Closely related to this is **SEMANTIC LOAN**. Here no formal structural element is imported, only a meaning and

the substitution of phonemic shape is complete. To call this a 'semantic loan' overlooks the fact that all the loans described above are semantic.

Based upon the relationship between morphemic and phonemic substitution, Haugen (1972, P. 85) has grouped loans under three headings as : (1) Loanwords (2) Loanblends (3) Loanshifts.

1. **LOANWORDS** : Loanwords show morphemic importation without substitution. Any morphemic importation can further be classified according to the degree of phonemic substitution : none, partial or complete. According to Hockett (1978, P. 408) the borrower may adopt the donor's word along with the object or practice; the new form in the borrower's speech is then a loanword. The acquisition of a loanword constitutes in itself a lexical change which constitutes a syntatic change.

2. **LOANBLENDS** : Loanblends show morphemic substitution as well as importation. All substitution involves a certain degree of analysis by the speaker of the model that he is imitating; only such 'hybrids' as involve a discoverable foreign model are included under 'loanbelnds'.

According to Hockett (1978, P. 412) a loanblend is a new idiom developed in the borrowing situation, in which both the loanword and the loanshift mechanisms are involved : the borrower imports part of the model and replaces part of it by something already in his own language. For ex. **AMERICAN** immigrant Portuguese borrows English **BORDER** as **BORDO** : the stem **BORD-** is imported from English, but the agentive suffix- **er** is replaced by the

structurally and semantically comparable Portuguese element- O.

3)   **LOANSHIFTS** : Loanshift has been defined as :

"........ 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."

Ed. Hartman R. and Stork F.C. (1972).

Loanshifts show morphemic substitution without importation. These include what are called as 'loan translation' and 'semantic loans'. The term 'shift' is used because they appear in the borrowing language only as functional shifts of native morphemes.

According to Hockett (1978, P. 411) when confronted with a new object or practice for which words are needed, the borrower may not accept the donor's words along with the new cultural item. Instead, he may somehow adapt material already in his own language. The precise adaptation, however may be in one way or another patterned on the donor's verbal behaviour. In any case, a new case idiom arises and since it arises under the impact of another linguistic system, it is a loanshift.

To add to this list of types of loans, Hockett (1978, PP 413-414) has given two more types as pronunciation borrowing and grammatical borrowing.

### PRONUNCIATION BORROWING:

If a speaker imitates someone else's pronunciation of a word which is already familiar to the borrower, we may speak of pronunciation borrwoing. Usually the donor and the borrowing idiolects are mutually intelligible and

the motive is prestige. Pronunciation borrowing of this sort can operate across language boundaries.

## GRAMMATICAL BORROWING:

Grammatical borrwoing can can be brought about indirectly by borrowing via sets of related loanwords. Hockett (p. 414) defines 'grammatical change' as "change in the grammatical core". The grammatical core includes, among other things, forms which we collectively call "functors" and some functors are separate words. If a functor in one language should be borrowed into another as a loanword, retaining its functional status then we might naturally expect the immediate consequence to be a grammatical change in the borrowing language.

Kamal Velankar (1982, P. 259) argues that direct grammatical borrowing from one language is not generally seen but indirect grammatical borrowing seems to take place. Marathi has accepted many Persian suffixes. Many Persian words were borrowed into Marathi with or without suffixes. These suffixes were given the status of suffix in Marathi also as :

$$- dar - \quad watan + dar = watandar$$
$$dil \quad + dar = dildar$$
$$etc.$$

Gumperz (1971, PP. 151-165) has given an example of Kupwad village in Sangli district, where prolonged cultural contact between Marathi, Hindi and Urdu has resulted in change in the grammatical structure of these three languages.

As borrowing takes place invariably in a language contact situation, it would be useful to see the different aspects of the language contact situation.

## LANGUAGES IN CONTACT :

Any discussion of languages in contact implies human beings in contact and in order to understand this interaction we have to use language to discuss and describe the processes involved. According to Weinreich (1953, P. 1)

"- - - - - two or more languages will be said to be in contact if they are used alternatively by the same persons. The language-using individuals are thus the locus of contact."

Although all languages could thereotically be in contact with each other, most are very limited geographically and/or chronogically. Today English is the most widespread in its extent of contact. In U.S.A. we find Norwegian, Spanish, Greek and as many languages as there are language communities interacting with English. In all parts of the world, we observe this phenomenon and in India, it is not only the various Indian languages interacting with each other, but most of major Indian languages interacting with English. Language contact occurs when two monoglot speakers of mutually unintelligible languages desire to communicate verbally with each other.

In this modern world, it becomes inevitable for two languages to influence each other. This influence gives rise to what Weinreich called **INTERFERENCE** phenomena.

"The Practice of alternatively using two languages will be called **BILINGUALISM** and the persons involved, **BILINGUAL**. Those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as

a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e. as a result of language contact, will be referred to as **INTERFERENCE** phenomena." (Weinreich, 1953, P. 1)

The degree of interference with either language is dependent upon many linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, including the degree of speaker's commitment to one language or the other.

## DOMINANT VERSUS SUBORDINATE LANGUAGE :

The features of diglossia, pidginization, code-switching all have in common a general acceptance of what in a society is assumed to be high and low, fashionable and unfashionable, welcome and unwelcome varieties of language.

That is to say that there is a sense of 'prestige' involved in the use of one variety or another. A language is 'dominant' when it carries with it respect, power, opportunities and can serve as a tool to help the speaker climb the social ladder.

In India, we have numerous examples of such prestigious languages, Sanskrit as the language of the elite, the Vedas, the Shastras, Persian and Arabic as the languages of the rulers, scholars, the court and the world of poetry. Against the background of this preliminary discussion, let us examine the language contact situation in Maharashtra, for our purpose here.

## THE CONTACT OF ENGLISH WITH MARATHI :

Marathi came into contact with English when the British rule was established in India as the sole political power after the downfall of the Peshawa rule in

1818. It made the British as the cultural guardians of the backward and stratified Indian society. As the language of the rulers, English established itself as a superior or dominant language over many Indian languages of which Marathi is one.

Bhalchandra Nemade, (1990, P. 2) observes that English education was the most powerful instrument of social change in 19th century British India. It resulted in the development of the people on entirely new lines affecting their political, social, religious and economic outlook. The contact of English with Marathi preceeded the political contact when the Missionaries started their proselytization activities at the beginning of the 19th century. The contact has been a durable and of prolonged type, giving rise to several socio-linguistic phenomena peculiar to Indian situation. The role of the English language in the cultural renaissance in India during 19th century has been unanimously accepted by social scientists, linguists and critics. Nemade (1990, P. 3) cites **Potdar's Marathi Gadyacha Ingraji Avtar** (1976) to describe this contact of English with Marathi. Several British educationists and officials compared the role of English in India to that of Greek and Latin in Europe during the late Middle Ages. The impact of western thought through the English language was all pervasive. It gradually encroached upon oral culture and encouraged written culture as the sole literary style of expression in all walks of life. Even a slight shade of English language in the writing increased the acceptability and prestige of an argument in Marathi. As the total cultural contact ushered in a new age in India in general, and

Maharashtra in particular, the need for new mode of communication namely prose, was felt as essential towards new uses of the language.

Nemade, (1990, P. 3) observes that learning throughout the 19th century became synonymous with the ability to read and write the English language, a social substitute for the ancient system of learning the Sanskrit language. English education was institutionalized and this involved learning the English language together with English literature. There was little freedom to choose the aspects of learning other than those institutionalized and this perpetuated definite linguistic influences. The term influence implies linguistic borrowing systematized in the receiving language.

Nemade (1990, P. 45) argues that one of the important characteristics of language is its binary relationship with culture : Language is both a result of culture and the condition of culture. When cultural contact takes place, the receiving language maintains its first casual relationships with culture vigourously, while the second, namely its being the condition of culture is disturbed to the degree of the force of the alien contact. In the long term colonial type of culture contact, the language of the dominant group becomes an instrument of ethnic superiority. The dominant groups use their language as the instrument of spreading their values, and the dominated being left with no other alternative, accept the value system of the dominant as their own. The medium of this transfer is the bilingual behaviour of the dominated group. This seems to have taken place in Marathi as well.

## MOTIVATION FOR BORROWING:

According to Hockett (1978, P. 404) there are two motives for borrowing - Prestige and need - filling motive. They can be summarised as follows :-

### i)   THE PRESTIGE MOTIVE :

People emulate those whom they admire, in speech patterns as well as in other respects. European immigants to the United States introduce many English expressions into their speech partially for other reasons, but purely because English is the important language of the country.

Sometimes the motive is somewhat different : the imitator does not necessarily admire those whom he imitates but wishes to be identified with them and thus be treated as they are.

However, there is one negative variety of prestige which must not be overlooked : that of conformity with the majority. Naturally, this is more operative under some social conditions than often. A child moved at an early school age from one part of United States to another changes his style of English in the direction of that of his new age-mates in school and on playground. This is not necessarily through direct imitation of some single outstanding playmate, but simply because it is discomforting to be in the minority.

### ii)   THE NEED FILLING MOTIVE :

The most obvious other motive for borrowing is to fill a gap in the borrowing language. If the speakers of a given language take over new technological, religious or political concepts etc; there is obviously a need for

vocabulary to accommodate these concepts or names.

Thus new experiences, new objects and practices, bring new words into a language. It does not matter whether the new objects and practices come to the community by way of what anthropologists call diffusion or the community goes to the new objects and practices by way of migration; the result is the same. TEA, COFFEE, TOBACCO, SUGAR, COCOA, CHOCOLATE, TOMOTO have spread all over the world in recent times along with the objects to which the words refer.

Marathi has borrowed words from many languages for both these motives. English words are used by Marathi speakers many times for prestige motive.

English has influenced many Indian languages, and many English words are borrowed by Indians. So far other languages are concerned, the present researcher found two such loanword studies at CIEFL, Hyderabad. Both these loanword studies are regarding the English loanwords in Tamil.

1.    **English loanwords in Tamil : An Ethnosemantic Study.**

This is an unpublished Ph.D. thesis submitted by Nafeesa Kaleem to CIEFL in 1981. Nafeesa Kaleem had selected a Popular Tamil Weekly "Anand Vikatan", which was read by people belonging to all strata of society and all walks of life. Nafeesa examined all the back numbers of a whole year beginning Jan. 1977 to Dec. 1977. Every English word which came in these back numbers was investigated and analysed. Her investigation raised the following issues.

(a)    English words borrowed into Tamil are used in speech

and writing. These are sometimes adapted according to the phonology of the Tamil language and sometimes with no such adaptations.

(b)     When used in writing, the English words are used broadly in their English sense.

(c)     Whenever these English words are used in Tamil speech, there is very often a shift in meaning and in most cases verbs are nominalized and adjectives are verbalized to suit Tamil syntax.

(d)     Whenever English loans in Tamil denote a shift in meaning, the key to this shift lies in the socio-cultural setting of the Tamils.

2.   **Towards a Grammar of English Loan words in Tamil : A Generative Phonological Approach.**

This is an unpublished M.Litt. thesis submitted to CIEFL, by Manorama Vinitha in 1984.

In this work Manorama examines the assimilatory behaviour of English loan words at the segmental, phonological and morphological levels into the Tamil system.

## STUDIES OF BORROWED WORDS IN MARATHI : A SURVEY

Marathi has many foreign elements in its vocabulary. These foreign elements can be grouped under two headings as (1) Native words and (2) Foreign words. Under native words Sanskrit is the chief source with other languages like Hindi, Gujarathi and Dravidian language like Kannada for borrowing. Under foreign words, source languages are Persian, Arabic, Portuguese and English.

## NATIVE LOANS IN MARATHI

### 1.    SANSKRIT LOAN WORDS IN MARATHI.

Gokhale V.D. has studied Sanskrit loan words in Marathi as Sanskrit is the mother language of Marathi. According to Gokhale (1957, P. VII) two main channels for the entry of Sanskrit loan words in Marathi have been religion and literature. The commentaries, translations and independent treaties based on works like the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, the Bhagwata etc. were written by learned people who were well-versed in Sanskrit. Naturally they could not escape the influence of Sanskrit. These works are freely read and recited in many temples by Marathi speakers and thus have, popularised a large number of Sanskrit loan words in Marathi.

### HINDI AND GUJARATI LOAN WORDS IN MARATHI.

Another source of native loan words in Marathi has been Hindi and Gujarati as Marathi, Hindi and Gujarati are off-branching languages from Prakrit (Soman 1982, P. 180). It is natural to get common elements in them (Gokhale 1957, P. VI). To the North and North-West of Marathi speaking area lay the provinces of Hindi and Gujarati speaking communities. These being the border lands of two linguistic areas, mutual borrowing was possible. Naturally we find many Hindi and Gujarati words forming part of Marathi vocabulary. e.g.

Hindi      -    $toṭa$ , $aḍospaḍos$ .        etc.

Gujarati   -    $lugaḍe$ , $saḍara$        etc.

### KANNADA LOAN WORDS IN MARATHI : A DRAVIDIAN ELEMENT.

According to Gokhale (1957, P. 31) from the time of

Rugveda onwards there is an ample evidence of the extensive inter-dialectal borrowing that has proceeded in the Indo-Aryan languages. Naturally we notice the Dravidian elements in Marathi vocabulary. Kannada, Tamil, Telgu, Malyalam and Tulu are the chief languages belonging to the Dravidian group. Out of these, Kannada was the fruitful source of borrwoing for Marathi. The reasons are obvious. Kannada was spoken formerly in some parts of Maharashtra, particularly on the South side of Godavari which was inhabited by Marathi speaking community. Moreover Kannada received royal patronage during the regimes of Chalukya and Rashtrakuta. It continued its influence for a long time afterwards also. Naturally many Kannada words are found even in old Marathi as OGARA, MECU, BARADA, etc. (in Dnyaneshwari), HEVA, ADANA, DAGADGUNDA (in Uddhavagita). The words like PARADI, AKKA, TUPA, KHOLI are still in common use in Marathi.

## FOREIGN LOANS IN MARATHI.

### PERSIAN AND ARABIC LOAN WORDS IN MARATHI

Some of the words in Marathi had been imported from languages which Aryans came into close contact. During the Muslim rule Persian was the language of the court and naturally many Persian and Arabic words formed part of Marathi vocabulary. These words belong especially to the fields of administration, law, justice, commerce and trade etc. e.g. KARKUNA, BAKSHISA, DASTAAIVAZ, etc.

### PORTUGUESE LOAN WORDS IN MARATHI.

Some Portuguese words were also borrowed by Marathi for reasons too obvious to explain e.g. PAGAR, TIZORI,

JUGARA, etc.

## REVIEW OF LITERATURE : LOANWORD STUDIES.

The literature on loanword studies mostly comprises articles in learned journals of psychology, anthropology, linguistics and language and a few unpublished dissertations. Hope's "Lexical Borrowing in the Romance languages" is the only major work in English in this area. Nearly all these studies either capture phonological changes or the etymology of the borrowed words. Though Marathi has loanwords from several languages, there are hardly any systematic attempts to study them. Hence it was felt that it would prove to be an interesting field of inquiry.

## THE PRESENT STUDY : ENGLISH LOAN WORDS IN MARATHI.

As we have tried to make it clear earlier, English established itself as the language of the elite and received prestige in India, Maharashtra was not an exception to this. Due to a long and durable contact of Marathi with English, Marathi has borrowed many English words in its lexicon — both for need filling or prestige motives. A man from a country side in Maharashtra easily uses words like polytechnique and donation (with some changes in pronunciation) without any difficulty. The case of the educated Marathi speakers tops this all. Their speech or writing - formal or informal-is full of English loan words. English has been widely studied in India and Maharashtra because of the art, culture and philosophy enshrined in it. A knowledge of English is essential for any pretention to learning and culture. Hence the vocabulary of any Indian language is found to be full of

English loan words and Marathi is one of them.

As a participant observer and a native speaker of Marathi, engaged in the teaching of English at the college level, the present researcher was aware of such English loan words in Marathi. On generally observing these loan words, we find that they belong to various aspects of life and can be grouped in various categories. Some of these categories are - social and domestic life, religion and ritual, astronomy and astrology, politics including warfare and administration, medicine and diseases, philosophy, Logic, Poetics including dramaturgy, Law, Mathematics, trees and plants, birds and beasts, physiology, grammar, fine arts, profession and avocation, geography etc.

No systematic study of loan words has been, so far, carried out in Marathi and therefore this study was decided to be undertaken as a modest step in this direction.

## OBJECTIVES

The following objectives have been determined for the present study :

1.    To collect some English loan words particularly from published modern Marathi works.

2.    To study the phonological changes in the English loan words in Marathi.

3.    To study the syntactic changes in the English loan words in Marathi.

4.    To study the semantic changes, if any, in the English loan words in Marathi.

**DATA COLLECTION :**

To achieve the above objectives, the data under investigation are collected from written and published modern Marathi literature. This includes novels, short stories, essays, travelogues, etc. Some of these words are in the standard Marathi and some are used in non-standard Marathi literature produced during 1970 to 1992 approximately. This writing in Marathi is selected at random because any Marathi book today consists of many English loan words in it. 270 such words were collected with the sentences in which these words occured. Then these words were classified according to dominant changes observed in them with respect to their phonological, syntactic and semantic character. A separate card for each word was prepared as a base for analysis.

**METHODOLOGY :**

**Classification of Borrowed Words :**

On classifying the selected borrowed words into loanblend, loanshift, etc. it was found that not all the 270 words could be classified in this way.

Many of the borrowed English words could be described as loanwords. As Haugen (1972, P. 83) puts it as loanword is the vaguest among loanblends, loanshifts, etc. Since it may include practically any of these terms in which speakers impart not only the meaning of the form but also its phonemic shape, though with more or less complete substitution of native phonemes.

Haugen (P. 82) has classified borrowed words on the basis of form - morphemic and phonemic. The limitations in classifying these borrowed words are due to the fact that

the data selected are from written language. In spoken language, variations in use are found. It is true that some of these borrowed words could be described as loanshifts and hybrids. According to Haugen (P. 84), all the loans like loanshifts, loanblends, loan translation are semantic. However, the present researcher found this classification rather general and therefore not very useful for the classification of our data.

The present researcher had two options to proceed with a linguistic study of these words : either to study the spoken language or to study the loan words in the written language. Written language was deliberately chosen for collection of data for some specific reasons. The present researcher is well aware of the fact that phonological, syntactic and semantic changes in a word are found more readily in one's speech than writing. According to Nafeesa Kaleem, semantic shifts are seen more in the spoken language than in writing. Perhaps this is due to the fact that a literate would know the original meaning of the borrowed word. Or the word has yet to become established beyond recognition, so that a semantic shift can be icorporated, tolerated and understood. It was considered that a printed word would present less problems of acceptance on problems of acceptance as a loan word. But collecting spoken data has its drawbacks too. According to Gumperz (1987 P. 208) reproduction of natural conversation is difficult even for a highly skilled writer. The problem lies not in the speech behaviour of the speakers concerned, but rather in the way their speech is recorded. This is because the

naturalistic speech of the speakers must be recorded in unobserved settings, otherwise the speakers do not provide the genuine answers. This was the reason why we decided to select our data from written rather than spoken language.

## ANALYSIS OF A QUESTIONAIRE :

A questionaire was prepared and distributed among the native speakers of Marathi. The purpose behind the questionaire was to validate our data. It was intended to see whether the native speakers use these borrowed words in their own language. If yes, what gender they apply to these words and what plural forms they use of these borrowed words.

Our informants belonged to Solapur region and included high school teachers, college students and one uneducated worker. After getting the responses, it was found that, most of the borrowed words selected as data, are also used by the native speakers. It was also found that the gender and plural forms of these words used by the informants were similar to our data. However some differences regarding phonology were found.

These words were then divided into three categories according to the phonological, syntactic and semantic changes as revealed by general observation and by the comparison of their original form with their borrowed form.

## CHAPTER OUTLINE :

The present work is divided into the following five chapters :-

1.    Introduction : This chapter presents the introduction

of the proposed work.

2. Phonology of Loan words :- This chapter studies the phonological changes in the English loan words in Marathi.

3. Syntax of Loan words :- This chapter deals with the syntactic changes occuring in the English loan words in Marathi.

4. Semantics of Loan words :- This chapter throws some light on the semantic changes in the English loan words in Marathi.

5. Conclusion :- Findings of the study are presented in the fifth chapter.

The loan words collected from Marathi literary works as data for the present study are presented in the appendix A. A format of a questionaire is given in the appendix B. For Marathi meanings of English words, Molseworth's English-Marathi Dictionary is referred.