

CHAPTER-II

COINAGE WORDS ADAPTED FROM INDO-ARYAN AND EUROPEAN LANGUAGE

2.1 Introduction

In Assam, along with Indo-Aryan language family, languages of Sino-Tibetan, Austric etc. also live together. Amongst the Indo-Aryan language, majority is found in Assamese speaking community. Also, communities speaking Bengali, Hindi, etc. are seen being spread all over Assam. Amongst Sino-Tibetan language family, Bodo, Garo, Rabha, Tiwa and many other dialect languages speaking communities are seen. Among these languages, after Assamese, Bodo stands as the second largest population consisting language. All these languages are the neighboring languages of Bodo and they have a close social and cultural attachment to each other as well. These languages are influenced by each other in terms of language, culture and literature too and are exchanged with each other knowingly or unknowingly. It is to be mentioned that Assamese language is the carrier language of the words of Indo- Aryan and other foreign languages because it is a state official language of Assam. So, some Indo-Aryan and foreign items are adapted indirectly through Assamese language. It is mentionable that Assamese language, literature and culture are developed earlier than Bodo. There are lots of coined words in Bodo which are adapted/adopted from Indo-Aryan (i.e. mainly from Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, and Assamese) and European i.e. English language. It is also found that the words coined from Indo-Aryan and European languages to Bodo are formed by changes in sometimes Phonological and sometimes Morphological, Semantics elements. Besides these, words of Iranian are coined into Bodo through Indo-Aryan such as Hindi or Assamese languages also. Every word has their own character; therefore by observing the word structure, the language family can be clearly shown. Nowadays such words are in use in Bodo whose source language is very difficult to find. This study will try to find and show own source of word through which languages lexical borrowing has happened in Bodo.

2.2 Borrowing

In linguistic, Borrowing is a natural outcome of language contact. Borrowing has its effect in many languages and whenever the need arises, it is represented more powerfully. It is one of the common factors of coining new word in any language. Generally borrowing refers to the incorporation of the other language element into the native language by the speaker. At the lexical level, borrowing does affect the native language. In borrowing, a lender, a borrower and the lexical item (the lent item) are always stay connected with each other. In borrowing some sound or spelling of borrowed words are also removed, modified or added due to influence of mother tongue too.

According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988) *Borrowing is the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language: the native language is maintained but is changed by the addition of the incorporated features*¹².

Weinreich (1953) has stated borrowing as *the integration into a recipient language of both form and meaning of a lexical item originating in another language*¹³.

According to Fromkin Rodman and Hyams (2003) *Borrowing words from other languages is an important source of new words, which are called loan words. Borrowing occurs when one language adds a word or morpheme from another language to its own lexicon. The pronunciation of the borrowed item is often altered to fit the phonological rules of the borrowing language. The borrowed word, of course, remains in the source language, so there is no need for its return. Languages*

¹² Thomason, Sarah. G & Kaufman Terrence (1988): *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. (1st ed). University of California P-37.

¹³ Weinreich, Ureil (1953 Reprint): *Languages in contact*. (9th ed). Publication of the Linguistic Circle of New York. P-1

*are as many lenders as borrowers, and why shouldn't they be since they lose nothing in the transaction*¹⁴

2.2.1 Types of Borrowing

Bloomfield (1996, 1933) has Classified the Borrowing as (i) *Dialect borrowing where borrowing takes place within varieties of the same language*, (ii) *Cultural borrowing, where the borrowings are from a different language*, and (iii) *Intimate borrowing (as opposed to ordinary cultural borrowing) where borrowing occurs when two languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community resulting from conquest or immigration*. In dialect borrowing, first of all mutual borrowing is done among languages of one language family. Secondly, borrowing done among the languages of various different language families is the cultural borrowing. For instance words borrowed from English, Hindi, Assamese, and Bangla into Bodo fall in this category. The third is intimate borrowing it can be partially exemplified by the situation of Bodo under the influence of western colonization.

The most systematic borrowing was established by Haugen (1950). He mainly distinguishes between importation and substitution. Importation is when foreign model is brought to native language and substitution is the replacement of some foreign features with foreign language. For example in Bodo, English loan word *virus* > *bairas* happens. Here, English Morpheme *virus* (*virəs*) is imported but in this example it has substituted the Bodo /b/ and /a/ for English /v/ and /ə/. Likewise, Haugen has divided borrowing into three types. They are-

- (a) **Loan Words:** This type of loan word is very common in all languages where morphemic imported without substitution. Such as *ba:lu:n* > *bilun baloon*
- (b) **Loan Blends:** Hybrid word belong to this type of loan word. Morphemic importation as well as substitution. In Bodo, compound loan word *raza* + *lama* > *razalama* 'highway', *rail* + *gari* > *railgari* 'train'.
- (c) **Loan Shifts:** Morphemic substitution without importation. In loan shifts only the meaning is imported or borrowed while the form remains native. It involves Loan Translations or Calques and Semantic Loan.

¹⁴ Fromkin, Rodman, and Hyams (2003): *An Introduction to Language* (9thed.). Nelson Education Ltd. Cengage Learning International offices. Canada. P-505.

The necessity of words in Bodo language is fulfilling by many Indo-Aryan, European and other source of words and is also increasing the word library. The demand for words in Bodo language has been increasing due to the development in the field of Education, Science and Technology, Modern Technology, Innovative idea etc. Basically words are coined where there is a need. On the other hand, sometimes words are borrowed without knowledge of native language when and why it has been borrowed.

Borrowing is two type i.e. internal borrowing; items are created from within the language (i.e. from dialect or sister language) and those items which are created from outside sources are called external borrowing (i.e. from other language family). In this research work discussion is done based on the external borrowing i.e. from other language family. Borrowing takes place when there is no word found in recipient language to define the concept, ideas and sometimes it is also used, even when the recipient language already has its own word. It depends on user and context. External borrowing or loan word is a lexical item which has been borrowed from one language to another language, a word which was not part of vocabulary of the target language but was adopted from other language and made part of the target language's vocabulary. Borrowing may be of direct and indirect. In direct borrowing words are borrowed by directly from the source language to target language for example *baba* 'father' from Bangla and *a:fa:* 'hope' from Sanskrit, *ga:ɽi* 'cart' from Hindi, on the other hand words which are borrowed through neighbor or borrowed words that are not native word in the language from which it is borrowed such as *riksa* 'rickshaw' two or three wheeled 'vehicle'. This word is coined into Bodo first from Indo-Aryan source i.e. from Assamese. The above word was originated from Japanese original word *jinrikisa* > *rikʃɔ:* (19c: English) > *rikʃɔ* (Assamese) > *jim-rikisha* from *jim* 'a person' *riki* power - *sha* 'a vehicle'. Such types of words are known as indirect borrowing. In fact, several words of Indo-Aryan language appear in Bodo language mostly through Assamese language.

The four languages viz. Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese of Indo-Aryan family and English of European family are held more responsible for being imported into Bodo language. These five languages are not only the main source of direct borrowing into Bodo but also the indirect borrowing of intermediary languages of other sources excluding Arabic, Pashto, Persian, Turkey, Portuguese, etc. It is to be noted that the

usage of phonemes of Bodo language and Indo-Aryan or European i.e. English languages differ from each other. That is why; at the time of borrowing the word structures undergo changes to be used in Bodo language. Whenever words are adapted from other language to Bodo then adaptation is done as its own phoneme, but sometimes spelling is kept as that of the other. It is worth mentioning at the time of borrowing in Bodo language, either tatsama or tatbhava form is seen to have taken place. Apart from this, the words of Arabic and Persian language also borrowed in Bodo through Assamese and Hindi either by being highly or slightly corrupted. Similarly English words are borrowed into Bodo language in highly or slightly corrupted form. It is mentionable that syllable structure of the word may also be borrowed either by new combination of a new phonemes or new combination of old syllables.

2.2.2 Loan Word

A loan word is a lexical item which has been borrowed from one language to another language. A word which was not part of vocabulary of the target language but was adopted from some other language and made part of the target language's vocabulary e.g.

Borrowing is a term used in comparative and historical linguistics to refer to a linguistic form taken over by one language or dialect from another; such "borrowings" are usually known as loanwords¹⁵.

Haugen (1950) defined loanwords and borrowing as two different terms as *the term "borrowing" for the attempted reproduction of some patterns of one language into the other, and the term "loanwords" for one type of borrowing¹⁶.*

Here borrow means 'to take' on the other hand to lend or loan means 'to receive'. However, a loan word follows the rules of borrowing. Loanwords may be a single words or compound words but borrowing may be a stems or full phrases.

¹⁵ Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6th ed.) USA: Blackwell Publishing. P-58.

¹⁶ Haugen, Einar (1950): *The Analysis on Linguistics Borrowing*. Language. Linguistic society of America. University of Wisconsin, Vol.26, No. 2. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/410058>. P-212.

2.2.3 Motivation and Reason behind Borrowing

Lexical borrowing is done due to some linguistic and non-linguistic factors. It is worth mentioning that mainly the language contact that exists among speech communities is the pre-condition of borrowing.

The first reason of borrowing is geographical proximity. This mainly clears the multilingual contact situations. One of the best examples for this is borrowing done from neighboring languages such as Assamese, Bangla, Hindi and Sanskrit and those languages borrowing from Bodo. Foreign domination such as political, cultural, economic, or religious etc. is another noteworthy factor of borrowing. Political powers too help in language borrowing. For instance in many multilingual context if a particular language is officially always put to use as a result of political power than it affects the other language which is officially less in use. In this manner, language gets borrowed among each other. It is north worthy that when Britishers ruled India, many Indians speaking other languages had to learn English and hence its influence on them. Not only did the Britishers influence Indians in the field of languages but also in the area of culture and religion. Lexical borrowing takes place when the language and culture of donor language is more superior and more elegant to the borrower language. As such, Assamese is the state official language of Assam and represents the culture as well. That is why its influence will be in any dominated community's language. On the other hand Bodo is a State Associate Official language of Assam so; lots of words have been borrowed from Bodo into Assamese language too. This was said by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee (1998) in this way *the Boros have maximum contribution towards the development of the Assamese language than any other tribe like the Ahoms, Khasi, Missings have*¹⁷.

Words are borrowed to satisfy some prestigious purposes. To fulfil the gab of vocabulary of scientific and technical terminology, frequent use of TV, computer, mobile, internet, electronic gadgets things in India, borrowing of words mainly increased through journalism, social sites or media, and sometimes loan words are borrowed for the sake of attitude to show the prestigiousness. Sometimes a speaker may speak English, Hindi or other language and try to show his culture or community as superior and also to show himself better than others in language skills. Apart from this we can also say that words are borrowed through flash formed tongue, input

¹⁷ Chetterji, Suniti Kumar (1998): *Kirāta-Jana-Kṛti*. (3rd ed) The Asiatic Society. Calcutta. P-50.

given by mind, observed surroundings, controlled by the brain insist people to borrow loanwords from other languages.

2.2.4 Causes of Coinage Word in Bodo

There are many reasons for word coinage in Bodo language which are worth mentioning. The moment Bodo language became the 'Medium of Instruction' and text book based language, the work of translation and writings from other language have been increasing. In this area the necessity to coin various words and the main reasons for coining words are given below:

(i) Word Stock

That word is not enough in Bodo language is not true because Bodo language has a lot of words in their vocabulary. But when translators translate a book from another language into the Bodo they don't get appropriate meaning of some words. In this case they borrow or adapt the words as usual to mean the exact meaning of the words. Bodo writers also sometimes in their writings coin words knowingly or unknowingly. The reasons being not able to find words, to make their writings more presentable, beautify and to attract the readers.

(ii) Multilingualism and Multiculturalism Context

There is not just one community or one language speaking people living in Assam. Lots of languages are spoken by the people of Assam such as Assamese, Bangla, Hindi and some Bodo, Garo, Dimasa, Kok-Borok, Lalung, Mising, Tiwa, Karbi who speak their own language. Though there are many languages in Assam, Assamese is considered the regional as well as official language and the Assamese culture is officially represented as the state culture of Assam. Even if Assamese language or culture is officially represented, the people of Assam have their own varied languages and culture. Therefore, due to them living close to each other there is an exchange in the field of language and culture. While, communicating among them, the language that they find most comfortable is used by them and hence word coinage or borrowing is done. On the other hand, Hindi is the national language of India. Therefore, it is also used in official work. In the multilingual context, exchange of words is a common phenomenon.

(iii) Socialization

Socialization is also one of the main reasons of coinage, because to be able to live in this society, we need to adjust and cooperate with others cultures as well. The result

of which gives rise to close attachment among language, culture and literature. Therefore, socialization with various cultures creates an environment to exchange words.

(iii) Modernization

In today's times, modernization is also one of the main reasons of coinage whenever an innovation is to be introduced, than communication is required and for communication sharing of language is done. In this area of science and technology new things are invented items new words are coined. Some of these are easily accepted and some are rejected. Bodo is also not excluded from it because with modernization coinage word from other language has been increasing and through translation many words are formed or coined in various methods.

(iv) Medium of Instruction

One of the main reasons of word coinage is the 'Medium of Instruction' because in India as well as in Assam most of the 'Medium of Instruction' in school is English now a days. Starting from school level upto University most books are written in English. Though, the 'Medium of Instruction' upto class X is in mother tongue, yet English is also a compulsory subject from class I upto class X. After matriculation, that is starting from class XI 'Medium of Instruction' is English, only MIL subject can be taken for Assamese, Bodo, Bengali, Hindi etc. Through this as well as code mixing and code switching borrowed word in Bodo also has been increasing. Apart from this, Bodo had no 'Medium of Instruction' and script to write in early time. So, they took the education through Assamese or Bangla medium and used to write Assamese script. Through Medium of Instruction lots of words have coined in Bodo from early age till date.

(v) Lack of Development of Bodo Language

The more the prestige of a language, the bigger the development and usage of that language. Only from inception of 19th century, the Bodo language began to march towards development. The Bodo language did not have 'Medium of Instruction' and script to be written in schools or colleges. Which is why, in the ancient period education was imparted in Assamese and Bangali medium and in 1963 when Bodo language was considered by the Indian Govt. as a 'Medium of Instruction' then Bodo language books were written using Assamese script. Thereafter, different words of Indo-Aryan and European languages were coined into Bodo language. Thus, since the

beginning, the lack of development of Bodo language is one of the reasons of word coinage.

(vi) Negligence of Language

Negligence of language is another reason for coinage word. Bodo language did not develop. Some Bodo people neglect their mother tongue totally and instead use the language of others. And some, due to negligence, create mixed language by using more code mixed and code switch in this language. As a result, words of different languages are easily coined.

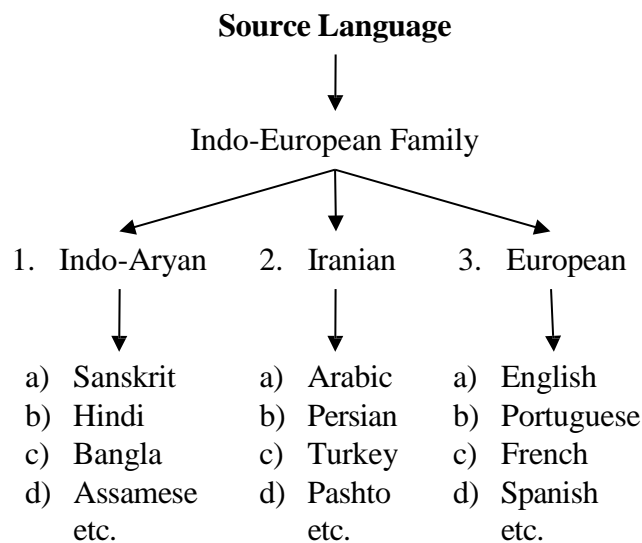
(vii) Other causes of Coinage in Bodo

Apart from the mentioned above, inter caste marriage, migration of one place to another place, political power, intentionally or unintentionally, also plays an important role in coining the words.

2.2.5 Source of Coinage Word in Bodo

In Bodo language, many countable words are imported from other language. The etymology of loan word is found through original source language. *The term "Etymology" is the study of the origin and history of the form and meaning of words*¹⁸. Etymology presents the dictionary word origin from oldest form upto present day. The word coined from Indo-European family which is shown below in schematic diagram is seen to be taken from three categories viz. Indo-Aryan, Iranian and European.

Figure 2.1



¹⁸ Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6thed.) .USA. Blackwell Publishing P-175.

It is to be noted that all the four types of Indo-Aryan are borrowed directly or indirectly in the Bodo language. From the Iranian category only the words of Arabic and Persian languages are majorly borrowed through Indo-Aryan languages indirectly. On the other hand, more words from English language than the European category are seen to be borrowed in Bodo directly. Therefore, only the major Indo-European family from which more words are borrowed or coined in Bodo will be analyzed the data.

2.3 A Short Notes on Indo-Aryan

Here, discussion has been done mainly on the Indo-Aryan i.e. Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese and European i.e. English languages from which maximum words are coined into Bodo.

2.3.1 Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit, Hindi, Bengali, Assamese)

The Indo-Aryan languages can be divided into three divisions. These are;

(a) Old Indo-Aryan (1500BC-600BC): The old Indo-Aryan language is found in some Hindu's secret holy texts of Vedic period. Sanskrit is one of the old Indo-Aryan languages. During the Vedic period some Hindu holy books such as Veda, Ramayana, and Mahabharata were written in Sanskrit language. Thus, most of the Indo-Aryan words originated from Sanskrit language.

(b) Middle Indo-Aryan (600BC-1000AD): Pali, Prakrit and Apabhransha languages are the Middle Indo-Aryan languages. Assamese and cognate languages like Bengali, Maithili and Oriya are originated from the Prakrit.

(c) New Indo-Aryan (1000AD to present): The Modern Indo-Aryan includes Hindi, Bangla, Assamese, Gujarati, Sindhi, Marathi, Punjabi, Odiya, Kashmiri etc. Hindi is the national language of India where the people of India speak Hindi language to communicate with each other in any situation (whether it is official or non-official). Hindi is written in 'Devanāgarī' script which is influenced by Sanskrit language.

Sanskrit

Sanskrit is the oldest language in India belonging to old Indo-Aryan of Indo-European language family. The holy books of Hindu religion of India viz. Veda, Ramayana, and Mahabharata were written in this language. There are many Sanskrit origin words in Bodo language which are borrowed directly or tatsama and done indirectly or tatbhava form through Assamese, Bangla and Hindi languages. Most of the words that

adapted or coined from Assamese, Bangla and Hindi are originated from Sanskrit language.

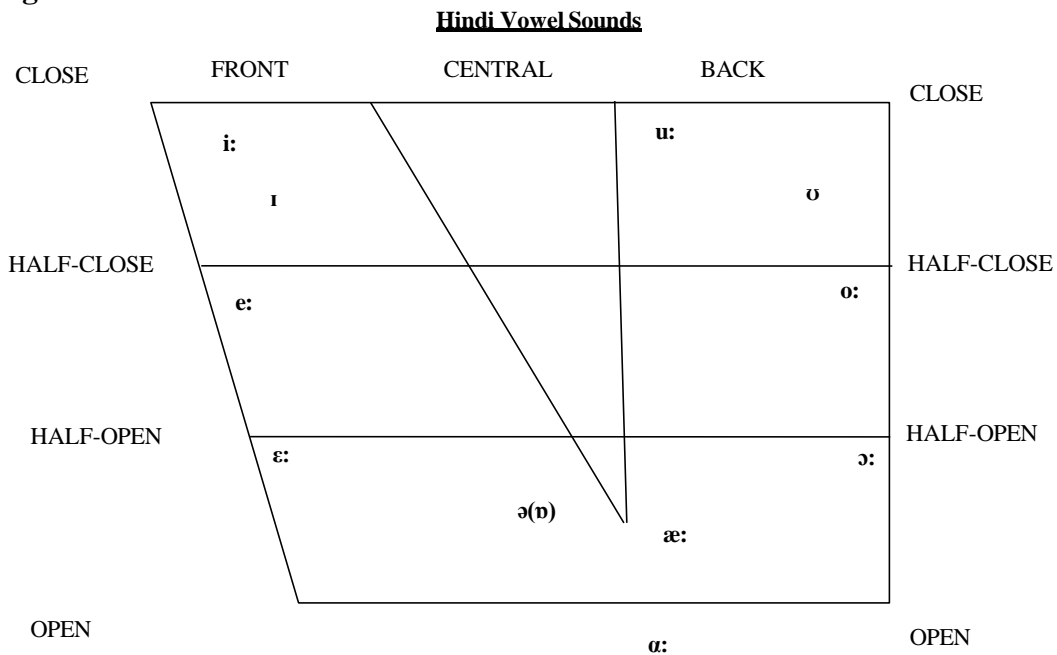
Chakrabarty opined that *many words of Sanskrit origin were accepted by the Bodos into their language from contemporary Assamese, Bengali, and Hindi languages as a result of their everyday transactions of business and social interactions with the Aryan-speaking people of the neighboring areas*¹⁹

Hindi

Hindi language belongs to Modern Indo-Aryan of Indo-European language family. Hindi is the national language of India. All Indians can communicate with each other using this language. This language is majorly used in various states of India such as Delhi, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Himachal, Rajasthan and Chandigarh etc. Hindi language has also it's influenced on Bodo language. Hindi is used as primary language in the states of Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. As per the census 2001 report, Hindi is the native language of million people. The script of Hindi language is 'Devanagari'.

However, it is used for multilingual context and due to close social contact in existence that many Hindi words have been borrowed into Bodo through Assamese language. The vowel and consonant phonemes of Hindi segments are given below by following M. Ohala's book *Aspects of Hindi Phonology* (1983) and R.P. Dixit's M.A thesis *The Segmental Phonemes of Contemporary Hindi* (1963).

Figure 2.2



¹⁹Das, U. & Bhardwaj, B (2014): *The Bodo: The Frontier Aboriginal of Assam*. Vol-I. Publication of Cell, Kokrajhar Govt. College, Kokrajhar. P-193

Table No. 2.1

Sl. No.	Sounds	Description of Hindi Vowel Phonemes
1.	/i:/	Front close unrounded long phoneme
2.	/ɪ/	Front half close unrounded phoneme
3.	/u:/	Back close unrounded phoneme
4.	/ʊ/	Back half close unrounded phoneme
5.	/e:/	Front half close unrounded phoneme
6.	/o:/	Back half close rounded phoneme
7.	/ɛ:/	Front half open unrounded phoneme
8.	/ɔ:/	Back half open rounded phoneme
9.	/æ:/	Front open unrounded phoneme
10.	/ə/	Central unrounded phoneme
11.	/ɑ:/	Central open unrounded phoneme

Figure 2.3**Classification of Hindi Consonant Sounds**

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b p ^h b ^h		t d t ^h d ^h			ʈ ɖ ʈ ^h ɖ ^h		k g k ^h g ^h	
Affricate					ʃ ʈʃ ʃ ʈʃ ^h				
Nassal	m			n				ŋ	
Tap or Flap				r		ɽ ɽ ^h			
Fricative		f		s z	ʃ				h
Approximant		v					j		
Lateral Approximant				l					

Bengali

Bengali language is also known as Bangla language. Bangla or Bengali language is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the East Indian subcontinent. This language is a language developed from Sanskrit, Prakrit and Magadhi languages. Bengali is a

recognized language of India. It is the state official language of West Bengal and Tripura. It is to be mentioned that it used as a major language in the Union Territory of Andaman Nicobar Island. Bangla has its own script and is shared with Assamese script.

Assamese

Generally Assamese is an Indo-Aryan language spoken in the state of Assam. It is the state as well as official language of Assam. Assamese language is also called Asomiya or Axomiya. It is one of the recognized languages of India, Along with native residents of Assam, this language is spoken by the residents of some adjoining states like Meghalaya, Nagaland, and Arunachal Pradesh as a link language. Even the native mongoloid race of Assam speaks this language to communicate to people of different language group or Indo-Aryan language speaking people, in bilingual situation. This language took birth through various development stages of Sanskrit language such as- Prakrit, Apabhhransa etc. different foreign words those of Persian, Arabic, and Portuguese etc. were accepted or adopted in Assamese language through Sanskrit and Hindi languages. However, the Vocabulary, Phonology and Grammar of Assamese language are influenced by the languages of the original inhabitants of Assam such as Bodo and Kachari. The Assamese script was derived from Brahmi and developed around 1200 AD from Gupta alphabets which are similar to Bangla language.

BanikantaKakati (1941) stated as *Assamese is the easternmost New Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Assam valley districts with Lakhimpur in the extreme east and Goalpara in the extreme west*²⁰

Madhuram Baro (2012) opined that *Assamese is an Indo-Aryan language spoken by the Assamese people in general. It is the link languages for the people living in Assam and adjoining states of Arunachal Pradesh, Meghalaya, Nagaland etc. The Mongoloid people living in the state of Assam also speak this language in the bilingual situation for their communication with the Aryan Assamese people*²¹.

Assamese has eight vowel phonemes i.e. / a i u ε o ɔ e ɒ / and twenty four consonant phonemes i.e. /m n ŋ p b t d k g pʰi bʰi tʰi dʰi kʰi gʰi s z x ɸ ɹ j l w ɾ/

²⁰ Kakati, Banikanta (1941): *Assamese: Its Formation and Development*. Govt. of Asaam. Gauhati P-1

²¹Baro, Madhu Ram (2012): *Assamese and Boro A Comparative and Contrastive Study* (3rd ed.). N.L. Publications. P-3.

Figure. 2.4

Classifications of Assamese Vowel Phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
Open		a	ɒ
Half-open	ɛ		ɔ
Half-close	e		o
Close	i		u

Table No. 2.2

Sl No.	Sounds	Description of Assamese Vowel Phonemes
1.	/a/	Open central unrounded vowel
2.	/ɒ/	Open back unrounded vowel
3.	/ɛ/	Half-open front unrounded vowel
4.	/ɔ/	Half-open back rounded vowel
5.	/e/	Half-close front unrounded vowel
6.	/o/	Half-close back rounded vowel
7.	/i/	Close front unrounded vowel
8.	/u/	Close back unrounded vowel

Figure 2.5

Classification of Assamese Consonant Phonemes

		Bilabial		Alveolar		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
		vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
S T O P	Unaspirated	p	b	t	d			k	g		
	Aspirated	pʰ	bʰ	tʰ	dʰ			kʰ	gʰ		
Nasal			m		n				ŋ		
Fricative				s	z			x			h
Trill					ɽ						
Tap					ɾ						
Lateral					l						
Continuants			w				j				

Table No. 2.3

Sl. No.	Sounds	Description of Assamese sound based on Place, Manner and Voicing
1.	/p/	voiceless, bilabial, unaspirated, plosive
2.	/b/	voiced, bilabial, unaspirated, plosive
3.	/t/	voiceless, alveolar, unaspirated, plosive
4.	/d/	voiced, alveolar, unaspirated, plosive
5.	/k/	voiceless, velar, unaspirated, plosive
6.	/g/	voiced, velar, unaspirated, plosive
7.	/p ^h /	voiceless, bilabial, aspirated, plosive
8.	/b ^h /	voiced, bilabial, aspirated, plosive
9.	/t ^h /	voiceless, alveolar, aspirated, plosive
10.	/d ^h /	voiced, alveolar, aspirated, plosive
11.	/k ^h /	voiceless, velar, aspirated, plosive
12.	/g ^h /	voiced, velar, aspirated plosive
13.	/m/	voiced, bilabial, nasal
14.	/n/	voiced, alveolar, nasal
15.	/ŋ/	voiced, velar, nasal
16.	/s/	voiceless, alveolar, fricative
17.	/z/	voiced, alveolar, fricative
18.	/x/	voiceless, velar, fricative
19.	/ɦ/	voiced, glottal, fricative
20.	/ɹ/	voiced, alveolar, trill
21.	/l/	voiced, alveolar, lateral
22.	/w/	voiced, bilabial, continuants
23.	/j/	voiced, palatal, semi-vowel
24.	/ɽ/	voiced, alveolar, tap

2.3.2 Language Contact Situation of Bodo and Indo-Aryan

In the discourse activity, the relation on physical psychological and situational ground that exists between the speaker and listener is the contact. Language is a type of social activity, which is why participants interact with each other, come to contact and maintain communication. Language contact makes borrowing, bilingualism and

linguistics change. Migration, trade, tourism, bilingualism, conquests are the main factors of bringing language contact.

Leo. J. Loveday (1996) stated that *When a language speaker reside with more than one communities in a same geographical area then language contact plays a vital role in communicating each other. Language contact is a highly frequent phenomenon which is observable in almost every country of the contemporary world and is evident in the recorded history of nearly all languages*²²

David Crystal (2008) has also mentioned that *Language contact is term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a situation of geographical continuity or close social proximity (and thus of mutual influence) between languages or dialects*²³.

Dr. Banikanta Kakati (1941) has revealed the language contact situation of Bodo and Indo-Aryan speaking people in his book ‘Assamese: Its Formation and Development’ as *Living long in the plains and in immediate neighborhood of Aryan-speaking people, the Bodos borrowed words freely from the Aryan dialects and without careful examination it is often difficult to ascertain whether a particular words is of N.I.A. origin borrowed by the Bodos or vice-versa*²⁴.

Bodo has own religion called ‘Bathou’ language, culture and literature too. They had converted to Hinduism since 18th century and the conversion of Bodo into Hinduism had enormous implications in their language, literature and culture. Most of the holy book of Hindu like ‘Ramayana’, ‘Mahabharata’ and ‘Shrimad Bhagavad Gita’ were written in Sanskrit language and translated and transliterated into Bodo. Bodo had no own script to write the literature and take education in Early period. They adopted Assamese and Bangla scripts to write and take education through which many words have been entered into Bodo since then and also influence on the use of phonemes. As a result of religious proximity (practices of Hindu religion), cultural intimation and literature written in Assamese or Bengali scripts, many words from

²² Loveday, Leo, J (1996): *Language Contact in Japan: A Socio-linguistic History*. Clarendon Press: Oxford P-12.

²³ Crystal, David (2008): *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics* (6th ed.) Blackwell Publishing U.S.A. P-102

²⁴ Kakati, Banikanta (1941): *Assamese: Its Formation and Development*. (1st ed). Govt. of Assam. Gauhati. P-48

Indo-Aryan language, viz. Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese started entering into the Bodo lexicon as loan word. On the other hand, numerous words of Iranian sub family such as Arabic, Persian, Turkey, Phasto atc. Languages were already loaned into Hindi, Bangla and Assamese languages and into other European and Borrowing from other sub families such as English, Portuguese, Japanese, and Chinese etc. into Hindi, Bangla, and Assamese give birth to indirect borrowing in Bodo. According to the history of Bodo literature, Bodo written literature began in the year 1915 with the writing of book- 'Boroni Phisa O Ayen'. This has been clearly discussed in chapter I. After Indian's Independence in 1947, Hindi was accepted as the National Language of India. Being the National Language, the usage of Hindi language spread extensively and even in schools was made a compulsory subject upto class VIII and later upto class X. In the similar pattern, like Hindi and Sanskrit (adapted through Hindi) loan word increased in Bodo gradually. Though, there are not so many Hindiwasi in Assam, yet being the National Language among the Indo-Aryan languages. Hindi was given more priority all over India. Different means of mass such as T.V., Cinema, Radio, Newspaper, Cable Networks, Magazines and some periodicals are given in Hindi, due to which Hindi words get familiarized with different languages including Bodo language too. Bangla is a state official language of West-Bengal. Many people of West-Bengal come to Assam on business purposes. Due to this Bangla speakers are found spread in Assam after migration. Similarly in the West part of Assam i.e. in Kokrajhar district Bangla speakers are found to have settled since many years before as a result of which, Bangla words being borrowed in Bodo language directly or indirectly is increasing. Assamese language, being the State Official Language is used in educational institution, office, meeting, day to day conversation and communication, is seen to influence lexicons of Bodo as well as others residing in Assam. It also serves as a channel for Indo-Aryan languages with Bodo or any other language.

2.3.3 The Necessity of Indo-Aryan Words Borrowing in Bodo

Jespersen (1922) has mentioned about the need of borrowing as *there is no doubt that borrowings of words are a very common phenomenon and no language is entirely free of borrowed words*²⁵

The Bodo speaking people lying scattered in many states of North-Eastern India where many Indo-Aryan languages like Assamese, Bangla, Nepali, Hindi and many more language speaking people are also surrounding. They have close cultural attachment with each other due to the fact of being neighborhood. They have influenced of each other in case of using language too. Thus the necessity of words in Bodo language is fulfilling by many Indo-Aryan words and is also increasing the word library. The demand for words in Bodo language has been increasing due to the development in the field of education, modern technology, innovative idea etc. Basically words are coined where there is a need. On the other hand, sometimes words are borrowed without knowledge of native language when and why it has borrowed.

2.4 A Short Notes on Iranian

The languages of Iranian language comprises of Arabic, Persian, Turkey and Pashto. The languages of Iranian language family have greatly influenced the Indian languages. Words from Iranian languages like Arabic, Persian, and Urdu have been borrowed into many Indian languages through Hindi. Similarly, Arabic and Persian words have been borrowed directly or indirectly into the Bodo language through Indian languages like Hindi, Bengali, and Assamese.

2.5 A Short Notes on English language

The European languages are English, Portuguese, Dutch and French from which words are coined in Bodo. English language is the West Germanic language of Europe branch which was the first to be spoken in early medieval England. English is the main language of countries like United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and Ireland. This language is the most common or leading language of international discourse. English has twelve vowels i.e. /i, e, æ, ʌ, ɔ, u, ə, i:, a:, ɔ:, u:,

²⁵ Jespersen, Otto (1922): *Language; Its Nature, Development and Origin*. (1st ed). Henry Holt and Company. New York. P-307

ə:/ and eight diphthongs i.e. / ei, ai, oi, əu, au, iə, eə, ʊə/ and twenty-four consonants such as /p,b,t,d,g,t,k,ʃ,dʒ,f,v,ə,ð, s,z,ʃ,h,m,n,ŋ,l,r,w,j/

Figure 2.6

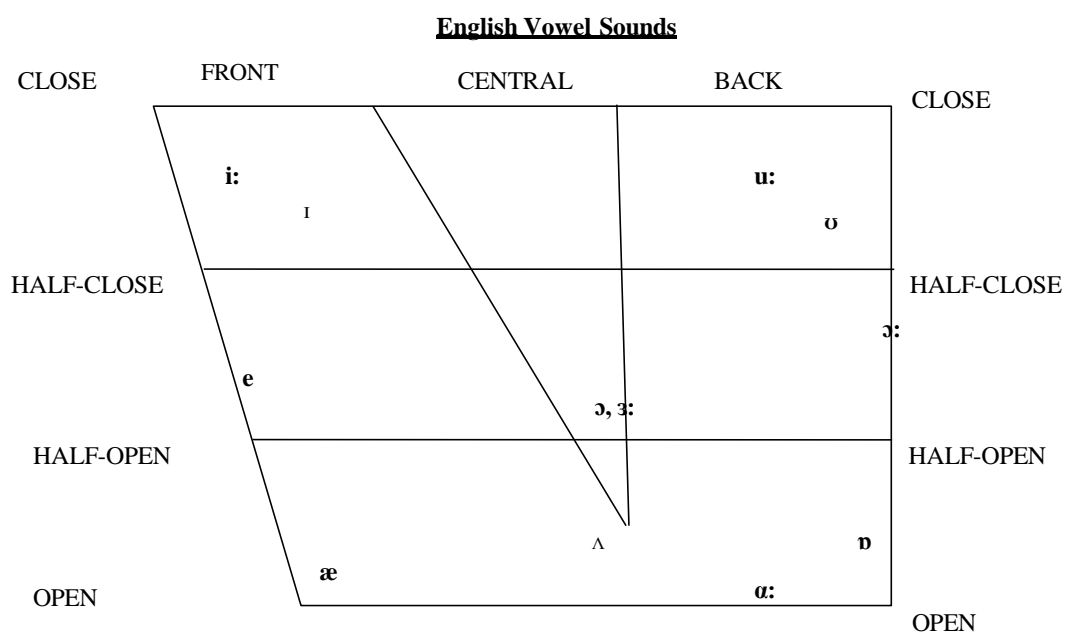
Classification of English Consonant Phonemes

PLACE OF MANNER	Bi-Labial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post-Alv	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
	vl vd	vl v d	vl v d	vl vd	vd	v vd l	vl vd	vl vd
PLOSIVE S (STOP)	p b			t d			k g	
Fricatives		f v	θ ð	s z		ʃ ʒ		h
Affricate Stop						tʃ dʒ		
Nasal	m			n			ŋ	
Lateral				l				
Frictionless Continuant					r			
Semi Vowel	w					j		

Extracted From unpublished thesis *Phonology of Indian loan words in English* by Silloo Chopra P-186

English Vowel Phonemes

Figure 2.7



(T. BALASUBRAMANTAM)

Extracted From unpublished thesis *Phonology of Indian loan words in English* by Silloo Chopra P-187

Phonemic Inventory of English

Table No. 2.4

Sl.No.	Sound	Description of English Vowel Phoneme
1.	/i:/	Close front vowel phoneme
2.	/ɪ/	Close front vowel phoneme
3.	/u:/	Close back vowel phoneme
4.	/ʊ/	Close back vowel phoneme
5.	/e/	Half open front vowel phoneme
6.	/ə/	Half open center vowel phoneme
7.	/ɜ:/	Half open center vowel phoneme
8.	/ɔ:/	Half close back vowel phoneme
9.	/æ/	Open front vowel phoneme
10.	/ʌ/	Open center vowel phoneme
11.	/ɑ:/	Open back vowel phoneme
12.	/ɒ/	Open back vowel phoneme

Table No. 2.5

Sl. No.	Sounds	Description of sound based on Place, Manner and Voicing
1.	/p/	voiceless, bilabial,unaspirated plosive
2.	/b/	voiced bilabial plosive
3.	/t/	voiceless alveolar plosive
4.	/d/	voiced alveolar plosive
5.	/k/	voiceless velar plosive
6.	/g/	voiced velar plosive
7.	/tʃ/	voiceless palato alveolar affricate
8.	/dʒ/	voiced palato alveolar affricate
9.	/f/	voiceless labio-dental fricative
10.	/v/	voiced labio-dental fricative
11.	/θ/	voiceless dental fricative
12.	/ð/	voiced dental fricative
13.	/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative
14.	/z/	voiced alveolar fricative

15.	/ʃ/	voiceless palato-alveolar fricative
16.	/ʒ/	voiced palato-alveolar fricative
17.	/h/	voiceless glottal fricative
18.	/m/	voiced bilabial nasal
19.	/n/	voiced alveolar nasal
20.	/ŋ/	voiced velar nasal
21.	/l/	voiced alveolar lateral
22.	/r/	voiced post-alveolar frictionless continuant
23.	/w/	voiced labio-velar semi vowel
24.	/j/	voiced palatal semi vowel

2.5.1 English as an International Language

Since the twentieth century, English is recognized as a major international language for science and technology as well as for international communication in the whole world. Leo J. Loveday (1996) stated that *the west has offered new vast media of communication - printing in the eighteenth, journalism in the nineteenth, wireless, television, computer, and internet in the twentieth century - all of which played a great role in the dissemination of western ideas and languages*²⁶.

Today, English is the world's most important language. Because, it is the most used language worldwide. English is the native language of different countries like England, United States of America, Australia, Canada and New Zealand. People of different Asian countries like Pakistan, China, Japan, Sri Lanka etc. have converted themselves to English. It is language which informs us about the prayers of any community or about any topic. Hence, after knowing the importance of English, countries like Japan, Russia etc. have considered English as 'Medium of Instruction'. It is worth mentioning that English is also not free from lending from other languages. The English language has also coined many words from different languages like France, Latin, Germany, and Italy etc. and enriches the English vocabulary.

²⁶ Loveday, Leo J. (1996): *Language Contact in Japan: A Socio-Linguistic History*. Clarendon Press. Oxford. P-91

English is also used all over the world, for the Political, Cultural, Social and Economic development. It is to be noticed that learning English language is said to have got the most attention among other languages.

In this case, Kachru (2005) *just a few centuries ago, English was spoken by just five to seven million people on one, relatively small island, and the language consisted of dialects spoken by Monolinguals. Today there are more non-native users of English, and English has become the linguistic key used for opening borders: it is a global medium with local identities and messages*²⁷.

English has secured a significant place in India. The Indians believe that in order to be modern, English language is necessary, which is based on the western model (concept). Even before 1947, English was introduced in India by British traders and used by many Indians. Indian students learned about English culture, life thoughts, social and literature for self-development. But even after independence from Britishers in 1947, English was accepted as a medium of instruction for learning different subject matters in India. Then, the Indian Government accepted English for official language. Now, English has achieved the status of compulsory language in India. Even in the education pattern 10+2+3, English has acquired the third language status. At present, English is accepted as a compulsory subject from nursery upto class X and as per New Education Policy 2020, mother tongue or regional language upto class V should be the 'Medium of Instruction', yet English is considered an international language which everybody should learn for convenience in life and not for intelligence because studying in regional or mother tongue can make us more intelligent. Now a day, in India many are taken education in private English medium and gaining knowledge of different subjects and are progressing. It is true that English is a very important language which is used in international communication and trade. Science and Technology, Commercial Information and Computer Technologies are accessible only in English. Therefore, at present English is very important for every country's medium of communication and India is also not free from it. Along with Hindi, the people of all the states of India use English as a link language in communication. Apart from this, they also use it to convey their feelings, thought and emotions etc. English has helped us to connect with the world's commonwealth, U.N.O, W.H.O, etc. organizations and various other agencies. Today, in the

²⁷B. B, Kachru (2005):*Asian Englishes: Beyond the Canon*. Honkhong. Honkhong University Press. P-11

competitive exams of India-UPSC, SSC, GATE, CSIR, NET, SLET, etc. English is the language of social media, IT, Internet, Science and Technology, Business and Academic Institution etc. In India, English is also used in higher administration too. In today's area of globalization, English has a very important position. Using Mass Media, Commercial and Economic links we can share knowledge with each other in English and also maintain close contact with each other. In India, English is known as a second language or foreign language. But, now a day it is accepted as link language in India. At present English plays the role as a link language in different states of India.

Loveday (1996) has stated that *English is the world powerful language at this moment in human history. This is evident from the demography of its 600 million users, spread all over the globe. English is an official language in 37 nations and is natively spoken in twelve 28 countries, including leading political and economic forces in the capitalist bloc, such as USA and the United Kingdom. The power of English can also be gauged from its diverse applications in the world's activities. It is the medium of the Second Industrial Revolution; and international science and information, international business world organization and diplomacy, international tourism, aviation and shipping, entertainment such as sports, cinema, television and pop music, 60% of the world's radio broadcast, and 70% of its mail are encoded in English*²⁸.

2.5.2 Bodo Contact with English

In the year 1826, an argument (Treaty of Yandabu) was made between Bodo king Gobinda Chandra and British East India Company. According to do this argument, any kind with no heir to the throne is to surrender the throne to the East India Company. Because king Gobinda Chandra had no heir, he had to surrender his kingdom to the Britishers as per the agreement already made and it happened at that time when Britishers had already ruled the mainland India. In this manner, Britishers ruled India for 200 years and during their reign the British missionaries spread their Christian religion all over India and also gave education using English as the 'Medium of Instruction'. Since then, Borrowing or coining English words into Indian languages and even in Bodo language had already spread. In those days, Missionaries

²⁸ Loveday, Leo J. (1996): *Language Contact in Japan: A Socio-linguistic History*. Clarendon Press: Oxford. P-91.

had written many books about Bodo in English which is clearly visible in the history of Bodo literature. In the year 1947, though India was freed from the hands of the British, but English language remained the official language of India. Till date English is still used as the official language in Assam or all over India. Now a days, English could chain its central place in reading, writing, communication, administration of the state as well as national, 'Medium of Instruction' in schools, colleges, universities of Assam etc. The reasons of English being popular are most books for school upto university level are written in English, medium of instruction in school, colleges, university is mostly in English too. Due to close proximity and affinity of English language with Bodo speakers, the prestige of English has increased in Bodo society, wherein many English words are borrowed into Bodo vocabulary along with time. In the process of borrowing, English words bring some phonetic change in Bodo language. In Assam, in the year 1826, Treaty of Yandabu was made between East India Company and Anglo-Burmese and since then Britishers had started to establish relation with Assam. After the independence of India in 1947, English is used as functional lingua franca. In 1951, after independence English was declared as the Associate official language of India.

Though their purpose of coming to India was to set up business in the country, yet their main aim was to spread education and preach their religion. In the year 1826, there was a treaty between the Kachari king Gobinda Chandra and Britishers i.e. the Treaty of Yandabu, as a result of which the Kachari kingdom went under the contract of East India Company. The East India Company had set up a condition which states that any king who does not possess a son or a heir, his kingdom would go under the East India Company, and since Gobinda Chandra did not have a son, his kingdom was surrendered to the company as per the condition of the treaty.

At that time Bodo language did not have scripts to read or write. In the field of education, Bodo people would learn using Assamese and Bengali language. It is noteworthy that even before India became independent, Britishers have collected and compiled into books some of the stories, folk tales, songs etc. of Bodo language, like J.D Anderson's *An outline of Kachary folk tales and rhymes* and many more. In the year 1911, Rev. Sidney Endle also published a book named *The Kacharies* on the history, language, culture, stories etc. of Bodos. During the British rule, the Bodos converted themselves to Christianity and since then, the borrowing of words started. Many Bibles were translated into Bodo language as a result of which the Bodo

language started to borrow English words and it kept on increasing gradually. Pukhan Basumatary has told about the presence of loan elements in Bodo language as- *Like other Indian languages, Bodo has also borrowed a large variety of English and Arabic words. The range of loans is covered maximum to clothing, various luxurious things, agricultural fields, industry, household articles, educational institutions etc*²⁹. The main reason for adopting English words in Bodo language is to acquire education. Before and after independence, many 'English Medium' schools were established and many Bodo people took their education through 'English Medium'. As a matter of fact, utilization of English words progressed rapidly. Even after independence, in the field of education English language was seen to rise at its height. Now a day, in Bodo medium school English is made compulsory subject from class I to X. No language is free from coining of other language either it is developed or poor language. Directly or indirectly English language is influencing on Bodo language in various aspects like education, daily conversation, art and culture, language, literature etc.

2.5.3 The Necessity of English Word in Bodo

It is worth mentioning that due to development in every aspect of life such as the way we are living, day to day conversation, daily experiences, modernization, globalization, imitation of western art and culture, acceptance of Christian religion and literatures, following their style are the reason for coining English word in Bodo language. Due to such reason some common word have entered in Bodo and inspite of this there are some new words for newly invention things and idea. Any new words are firstly introduced in English and then other language. For such word new invented words are kept as it is, sometimes through loan translation new words are formed and sometimes through adaptation or adoption are received by recipient language to denote the exact meaning of the word. Due to Religion, Education, Business, Globalization, English is an International language through which people can communicate with each other all over the world. This language has influenced all the world's languages and even Bodo could not free itself from its influence. English language is also not free from coining of word from different languages like French, Latin, and Greek etc.

²⁹ Basumatary, Phukan (2005): *Introduction to the Boro Language* (1sted). Mittal Publication. New Delhi. P-85

2.6 Coinage in Lexical level from Indo-Aryan and English

There are lots of coinage in lexical level borrowed from Indo-Aryan (i.e. Sanskrit, Hindi, Bangla and Assamese) and English in Bodo language.

2.6.1 Borrowing from Indo-Aryan

The Indo-Aryan languages particularly Assamese, Bengali and Hindi interact with Bodo on various purposes such as education, political, economic, business, culture, religion etc. in their daily life. In the book *Monograph of the Boros* written by Pukhan Chandra Basumatary and Swarna Prabha Chainary (2017) have mentioned as *Assam is a multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state. In such a vibrant context, the Boros may have been influenced by other linguistic communities surrounded by Indo-Aryan languages like, Assamese, Bangla, Hindi and some other European language*³⁰. Some Indo-Aryan words borrowed into Bodo are discussed below:

2.6.1.1 Borrowing from Sanskrit

Sanskrit is the oldest language in India belonging to old Indo-Aryan of European language family. There are many Sanskrit origin words in Bodo language which are borrowed directly or tatsama and done indirectly or tatbhava form through Assamese, Bangla and Hindi languages. Most of the words that adapted or coined from Assamese, Bangla and Hindi are originated from Sanskrit language.

In this regard Majumdar has opined that *Sanskrit was respected by the common people and mostly by the elite for which Assamese received less attention or no attention at all*³¹

Chakrabarty mentioned that *many words of Sanskrit origin were accepted by the Bodos into their language from contemporary Assamese, Bengali, and Hindi languages as a result of their everyday transactions of business and social interactions with the Aryan-speaking people of the neighboring areas*³². Excessive number of Sanskrit word have been borrowed into Bodo. e.g.

³⁰ Basumatary, Phukan Ch. & Chainary, Swarna Prabha (2017): *Monograph of the Boros*, Lakshi Publishers. p-99

³¹ Majumdar, Paramananda (2014): *Colonialism Language and Politics: Origins of the Language Dispute in Assam*. DVS Publishers Guwahati. P-214

³² Bhardwaj, B & Das, U (2014): *The Bodos: The Frontier Aboriginal of Assam*. (Volume I). Kokrajhar Govt. College. p-193

Table No. 2.6

S.I. No.	Origin Word	Borrowed word	Meaning
1.	a:fa: >	asa	‘hope’
2.	vica:r >	bisar	‘judge’
3.	vijna:n >	bigijan	‘science’
4.	viṣa >	bis	‘poison’
5.	bindu >	binduṭ	‘point’
6.	betən >	bethən	‘salary’
7.	bhugol >	buhum	‘world’
8.	viśva:s >	bisas	‘belief/faith’
9.	bār >	buṛ	‘blessing’
10.	bāli: >	buḷi	‘sacrifice’
11.	ve:da >	bed	‘a Hindu’s holy book’
12.	dharm >	duḥḥuṛuṃ	‘religion’
13.	deh >	deha	‘health’
14.	doṣ >	dōs	‘guilt’
15.	guru: >	guru	‘master’
16.	git >	giduṭ/gidu	‘song’
17.	grāh >	grōhō	‘sattelite’
18.	jna:n >	giyan	‘knowledge’
19.	i:swar >	isuṛ	‘God’
20.	istāk >	ltha	‘brick’
21.	kāst >	khōsthō	‘trouble’
22.	lajjā >	lazi	‘shame’
23.	lākṣmi: >	luḳ ^{hi}	‘a female Goddess of wealth’
24.	mulūk >	mula	‘radish’
25.	mu:rk ^{ha} >	murk ^{hu}	‘rascal’
26.	manuṣya >	mansi	‘man’
27.	matra >	mōnt ^h rō	‘charm’
28.	māntri: >	mōnt ^h ri	‘minister’
29.	nōkul >	neulai	‘mongoose’
30.	nāgēr >	nuḡuṛ	‘city’
31.	āṅg >	ōṅgō	‘organ’

32.	pu:ja: >	p ^h uza	‘worship’
33.	prəja >	p ^h urza	‘people’
34.	pa:ta:lə >	p ^h at ^h al	‘hell’
35.	pu:rnima: >	p ^h urnima	‘full moon’
36.	prəma:n >	p ^h urman	‘proof’
37.	pəri:ksa >	P ^h orik ^h a	‘examination’
38.	ra:jkumar >	razk ^h ungur	‘prince’
30.	sa:gər >	saguṛ	‘sea’
40.	ʃa:sən >	sasən	‘govern’
41.	cha:trə >	satrə	‘student’
42.	ʃa:nti >	sant ^h i	‘peace’
43.	swərg >	surguṛ	‘heaven’
44.	sətyə >	sut ^h uṛ	‘heaven’
45.	səndeh >	səndehə	‘doubt’
46.	səmaj >	səmaz	‘society’
47.	srigal >	sial	‘fox’
48.	sindu:r >	sindur	‘red lead powder’
49.	satru >	sut ^h ur	‘enemy’
50.	ʃabda >	sudub	‘word’
51.	sukha: >	sukhu	‘happy’
52.	jənm >	zunum	‘birth’
53.	ya:tra: >	zathra	‘travel’
54.	yəm >	zəm	‘the angel of death’
55.	zəntṛə >	zəntṛə	‘machine’

2.6.1.2 Borrowing from Hindi

All Indian are communicate with each other using this language. Hindi language has also influenced on Bodo language. Many words of Hindi have been received and used in Bodo. The words coined from Hindi are Bodonised with the articulatory system of Bodo and use as a native word. It happens due to social contact in the multilingual context. It has been coined through Assamese and Bangla language. In the process of Borrowing or some Loan Words have been kept it intact and some have been adjusted with the articulated system of the Bodo language. Following are some of the examples:

Table No. 2.7

S.I. No.	Origin Word	Borrowed word	Meaning
1.	bəndi: >	bandi	‘slave’
2.	ba:sməti >	bismut ^{hi}	‘basmati rice’
3.	ɖa:ku: >	ɖak ^{hu}	‘kidnapper/thief’
4.	d ^h ar >	dahar	‘loan’
5.	d ^h ən >	du ^h u ⁿ	‘property’
6.	da:g >	dagu ^ɖ	‘mark’
7.	ga:ɽi: >	gari	‘car’
8.	g ^h əɽi: >	g ^h əri/ guri	‘watch’
9.	g ^h i: >	gihi	‘butter’
10.	gəmla: >	gamla	‘bowl’
11.	gəməcha: >	gamsa	‘gamcha’
12.	hukm >	huk ^h um	‘order’
13.	kəne: >	k ^h əna	‘corner’
14.	k ^h ərju: >	k ^h ezur	‘date palm’
15.	k ^h uda:l >	k ^h ədal	‘spade’
16.	k ^h am >	k ^h am ^h a	‘pillar/post’
17.	kəmbəl >	kəmbəl	‘blanket’
18.	mandir >	məndir	‘temple’
19.	na:riyəl >	naɽeŋk ^h ər	‘coconut’
20.	pa:p >	p ^h ap ^h	‘sin’
21.	pəisa >	p ^h u ^ɖ isa	‘money’
22.	pəŋkha: >	p ^h aŋk ^h a	‘pen’
23.	pərda: >	p ^h ərda	‘curtain’
24.	pa:gəl >	p ^h agli/ p ^h agla	‘mad’
25.	ca:dər >	sadu ^ɖ r	‘dupatta’
26.	cukti: >	sukti	‘agreement’
27.	cəka: >	sak ^h a	‘tire’
28.	ca:la:n >	salan	‘invoice’
29.	ʃika:r >	sik ^h ar	‘hunt’
30.	səmaj >	səmaz	‘society’
31.	təiyari: >	t ^{hi} yari	‘getting ready’
32.	chutti >	sut ^h i	‘leave’
33.	cəmməc >	saməs	‘spoon’

2.6.1.3 Borrowing from Bangla

Some of the Bangla words have also been Borrowed into Bodo language knowingly or unknowingly since decades. Bangla words that have been borrowed into Bodo language are mostly from western part of Assam or Bengal border areas like Kokrajhar. Kokrajhar is a district located near Bengal border or share Bengal border areas. So many Bengali people got chance to entered Assam through their business activities. In such a way, communication between Bengali and Bodos continued and for that reason like other languages of Assam, some of the Bangla words are also coined into Bodo and they have become familiar to Bodo speaker or have been used as the native language. Hemchandra Boruah stated that *Axomot Bongali vashar bor ador asil; matri vashak sokoloi ghinaisil –iskulot Bongali, kacharit Bongali dekabilarok alapot Bongali aru teulokor sithito Bongali vasha solisil. oboise moiyo ei niomor bahira nasilo*³³.

Following are the some of Bodo words borrowed from Bangla language as follows-

Table No. 2.8

S.I. No.	Origin Word	Borrowed word	Meaning
1.	alada >	alada	‘different’
2.	ba:lu >	bala	‘sand’
3.	ba:mən >	bamuṇ	‘priest’
4.	ba:bu: >	babu	‘a respectable person’
5.	bən >	bən	‘forest’
6.	ba:ga:n >	bagan	‘garden’
7.	bəstu (vastu Skt.) >	bust ^h u	‘thing’
8.	da:bi: >	dabi	‘dimand’
9.	fiaturi >	hat ^h ura	‘hammar’
10.	kuṭumbə >	k ^h urma	‘relatives’
11.	ka:mraṇa >	k ^h ambreṅga	‘star fruit’
12.	kənya >	k ^h uṇina	‘bride’
13.	kələm >	k ^h uṭlūm	‘pen’
14.	kəmla >	kəmla	‘orange’
15.	la:ṅgəl >	naṅguṭl	‘plough’

³³ Goswami, U Nath (2010): *Asamiya Bhashar Udbhav-Samriddhi Aru Vikash*. Aank-Baak Publications. Guwahati. Pp.235-336.

16.	neʃa: >	nisa	‘alcohol’
17.	səi >	səhi	‘sign’
18.	si:ma:na: >	sima	‘boundary’
19.	sərək >	sərɔg	‘road’
20.	chatī: >	sat ^h a	‘umbrella’
21.	cəuki >	sək ^h i	‘chair’
22.	suli>	tʃoli	‘be of use’
23.	ʈupi: >	tʰɔp ^h i	‘cap’

2.6.1.4 Borrowing from Assamese

The Bodo speaking people have received various linguistic elements intentionally or unintentionally from the I-A languages through the process of socialization. Assamese is a state regional language of Assam where Bodo is an associate language. Therefore, Bodo people must have to use Assamese language as an official language in the state. In this way some Assamese words have been practicing in Bodo since long. On the other hand, some Indo-Aryan such as Hindi, Sanskrit, Bengali and foreign words are also received through Assamese.

Madhuram Baro (2012) opined that *The Boros in the plain areas of Assam had their influence on Assamese language and culture. So many words have been borrowed to Assamese. The place names, river names, the names for some edibles, some household materials that are made particularly from bamboo etc. are the names given to them by the Bodo people with their Boro words. This process of borrowing had been followed by the Assamese till the end of the Kachari kingdom*³⁴.

Banikanta Kakati (1941) mentioned in his book ‘Assamese: Its Formation and Development’ as *the Bodos live in scattered groups of villages that spread out from the extreme North-East of Assam to the districts of North Bengal. They are a people who lived mostly in the plains and came in almost daily contact with the Aryanised people. It is natural to expect that they should make some contribution to the vocables of the people with whom they lived in close neighbourhood,- Living long in the plains and in immediate neighborhood of Aryan- speaking people, the Bodos borrowed words freely from the Aryan dialects*³⁵.

³⁴ Baro, Madhuram (2012): *Assamese and Boro: A Comparative and Contrastive Study* (3rd ed.). N.L. Publications. P-14

³⁵ Kakati, Banikanta (1941): *Assamese: Its Formation and Development*. (1st ed.) Govt. of Assam. Gauhati. P-72

Dr. Banikanta Kakati (1941) has also mentioned *about the Bodo language and noted some of the Bodo origin words and some elements like affixes which have also been borrowed or coined in Assamese language*³⁶.

Following are the example of Assamese words borrowed in Bodo:

Table No. 2.9

S.I. No.	Origin Word	Borrowed word	Meaning
1.	baduli: >	badali	‘lazy’
2.	bəgɔɪ >	buɪgri	‘jujube’
3.	b ^h ɔl >	bəhəl	‘sponge gourd’
4.	band >	banduɪ	‘dam’
5.	balti >	balt ^h ɪŋ	‘bucket’
6.	bɔxɔr >	buɪsɔr	‘year’
7.	big ^h a>	biga	‘a measure of land area’
8.	bfiatɔu >	bat ^h ɔ	‘parrot’
9.	bfiag< skt. bfiag >	bahaguɪ	‘part’
10.	dɔɪmɔfa >	dɔrma	‘salary’
11.	gak ^h ir >	gaik ^h er	‘milk’
12.	g ^h ɔrial >	guɪler	‘crocodile’
13.	Ass. grɔh >	grɔhɔ	‘satellite’
14.	gɔhali >	gɔli	‘cawshed’
15.	sɔla >	gɔsla	‘cloth’
16.	fiɪ < skt. fiɪnsə >	haɪsuɪ	‘duck’
17.	Ass.kɔina< kɔnya Bang. >	k ^h uɪna	‘bride’
18.	k ^h ɔrɔm >	k ^h uɪruɪm	‘wooden scandal’
19.	kriɔn >	k ^h irp ^h in	‘miser’
20.	Ass.kasɔ< kɔssɔp skt. >	k ^h aseu	‘tortoise’
21.	lat ^h i >	laɔt ^h i	‘stick’
22.	Ass.manuɪ<Skt.manuṣya >	mansi	‘man’
23.	nɔrɔm >	nuɪruɪm	‘soft’

³⁶Kakati, Banikanta (1941): *Assamese: Its Formation and Development*. (1st ed.) Govt. of Assam. Gauhati. Pp-48-50.

24.	Ass.neul < mṛkul Skt. >	neulai	‘mongoose’
25.	pōthai >	p ^h uqt ^h ar	‘field’
26.	peca: >	p ^h esa	‘owl’
27.	parə >	p ^h aruqu	‘pigeon’
28.	puk ^h uri >	p ^h uk ^h ri	‘pond’
29.	pa:ta:lə >	p ^h at ^h al	‘hell’
30.	Ass.prōman (Skt.prōma:n) >	p ^h urman	‘proof’
31.	śogun >	sigun	‘vulture’
32.	śilōni >	sila	‘kite’
33.	xial < Skt. srigal >	sial	‘fox’
34.	xinḥo >	sinḥo	‘lion’
35.	xadhū < sadhu >	sadu	‘priest’
36.	Ass.xərgə < Skt. swərg >	suṛguṛ	‘heaven’
37.	Ass.xoitjo < Skt. sṛtyə >	suṛit ^h uṛ	‘true’
38.	Ass.xondeḥi < Ass. səndeḥi >	səndeḥo	‘doubt’
39.	tōmbu >	t ^h umbu	‘tent’
40.	zika >	ziṅk ^h a	‘ridged gourd’

2.6.2 Borrowing from Iranian

Words from Iranian languages like Arabic, Persian, and Urdu have been borrowed into many Indian languages through Hindi. Similarly, Arabic and Persian words have been borrowed directly or indirectly tatsama or tadbhava process into the Bodo language through Indian languages like Hindi, Bengali, and Assamese. Below is a list of words borrowed from Arabic and Persian into the Bodo language.

2.6.2.1 Borrowing from Arabic:-

Table No. 2.10

S.I. No.	Origin Word	Borrowed word	Meaning
1.	ba:qi: >	bak ^h i	‘balance’
2.	dəlil >	dəlil	‘deed’/’at document’
3.	darwazafi >	dərza	‘door’
4.	duniya: >	duniya	‘world’

5.	gəri:b >	guṛib	‘poor’
6.	hisa: >	hisab	‘maths’
7.	xəbər >	k ^h əbər	‘greatness’
8.	khazana >	k ^h azina	‘treasure’
9.	lifa:fa: >	lep ^h ap ^h a	‘envelope’
10.	məfīsul >	masul	‘masool’
11.	fauj >	p ^h uqūzi	‘soldier’
12.	sa:bun >	sabun	‘soap’
13.	vəki:l >	uk ^h il	‘loywer’
14.	jaha:z >	zahaz	‘ship’
15.	zūlm >	zulum	‘cruelty’
16.	zurmana >	zurimana	‘penalty’

2.6.2.2 Borrowing from Persian:-

Table No. 2.11

S.I. No.	Borrowed word	Origin Word	Meaning
1.	a:ŋgur >	aŋgur	‘grapes’
2.	anda:z >	andaz	‘guess’
3.	a:i:na >	aina	‘mirror’
4.	ana:rəs >	anarəs	‘pineapple’
5.	bədna:m >	bədnam	‘infamous’
6.	dərji: >	dərzi	‘tailor’
7.	gərm >	gərəm	‘hot’
8.	ha:lat (p) >	haluḍ	‘condition’
9.	haza:r >	hazar	‘thousand’
10.	kifmif >	k ^h ismis	‘raisins’
11.	naql >	nək ^h ol	‘copy’
12.	ca:la:k >	salak ^h	‘clever’
13.	həfta: >	səbt ^h a	‘weekly’
14.	sərka:r >	sərk ^h ar	‘government’
15.	sipa:hi: >	sip ^h ai	‘army’
16.	sab ^h e >	sabi	‘key’

17.	səza: >	saza	‘punish’
18.	ʃahar >	səhər	‘city’
19.	tərbu:j >	tʰərbuz	‘water milan’
20.	jeb >	zeb	‘money purse’

The name of animals, birds, fruits and vegetables mentioned above coined in Bodo are originated from Indo-Aryan. On the other hand, Bodo has its own root of these words originated from Tibeto-Barman language family and we can prove it by analyzing the structure of the word. Following are the some examples:

The name of animal starts with /m/ phoneme in Bodo origin i.e. in Tibeto-Burman. In Bodo language /mi/ means ‘animal’ and it becomes /mu/ and /mu:/ when it denotes different types of animal’s names by adding suffix e.g. /mu/ + /su/ > /musu/ ‘cow’, /mu/ + /sa/ > /musə/ ‘tiger’, /mu/ + /khra/ > /mukhra/ ‘monkey’, /mu:/ + /der/ > /muider/ ‘elephant’, /mu:/ + /su/ > /muisu/ ‘buffalo etc. There are some animals name which do not start with /mi/ or /mw/ e.g. /xiŋho/ > /siŋho/ ‘lion’, /gʰora/ > /gorai/ ‘horse’, /xial/ > /sial/ ‘fox’, /gʰərial/ > /guɣler/ crocodile, /neulai/ < /neul/ etc. and perhaps these words are originated from Indo-Aryan or any other language family. This proves that

Dimasa- musu (cow), misi (tiger)

Garo- matchu (cow), matcha (tiger)

Kok-borok - muchuk (cow), mosha / musa (tiger)

Rabha- masu (cow), masa (tiger)

Extracted from Raoni mohor pp,108-109 first edition

From the given example it is clear that like Bodo some of the Sino-Tibetan languages also the names of animals start with /m/ and it would be /mu-, mat-, ma-, mu-, mi-/ etc. But with this can not denote the name of the animals since it alone only works like a prefix to form a complete word or to refer a name of animal some bound roots like /-su, -chu, -chuk, -su/ etc. have to be added along which is seen in the above mentioned example among the sister languages. Thus, it gets clear that any animal which name starts with /m-/ belongs to the Tibeto-Barman source or origin. Therefore, above cited coined words are indeed borrowings or loan words from the Indo-Aryan languages.

Apart from this it is worth to mention that in Bodo language the names of birds start with free root /dau-/ any kind of bird' and it compounds with the bound roots like /-kha, -sri, -thu, -bo, -ling, -rai, -lur, and denotes different type of birds name. In Bodo language, names of birds are composed of two Morphological segments i.e. dau + sri > dausri (martin), dau + kha > daukha (crow), dau + thu > dauthu (dove), dau + bo > daubo heron, (dau + ray > dauray (peacock) etc. It is to be noticed that /-sri, -kha, -thu, -bo, -ray/ donot refer the bird's name except the word /dau/. It is used as the suffix of /dau/ to define the different types of birds' name. Not only in Bodo language but also other sister languages like in Dimasa language the birds' name is also start with /d/ or /dau/ such as dauliṅ (kite), daukhu (owl), dauphlam (duck). In Dimasa dau means 'general bird' and different bound form have been suffixed with dau to represents the varieties of birds' name. In the given examples -liṅ, -khu, -phlam are the bound form and have been suffixed with dau such as dau + liṅ > dauliṅ (kite), dau + khu > daukhu (owl), dau + phlam > dauphlam (duck). Same as in Garo /do/ means bird and it represents different types of birds name by adding some bound roots like do?de > dauray 'peacock', do?khru > dauthu 'dove', do?mesal > daumasar. It is mentionable that the structure of Dimasa and Garo's birds' names are same as Bodo language. Apart from this in Kok-borok and Rabha birds' names starts with /t/. The free morpheme /tak/ and /to/ are representing the general bird in Kok-borok and Rabha respectively. These morphemes compound with bound root like /-kha/ as /to- kha/ which denotes crow in both language.

Phukan Chandra Basumatary (2014) has also refered about the words structure used for denoting birds and animal names as follows:

*The structure of words used for denoting birds, animals, and other objects are composed of two different morphological segments. In all the cognates, words related to different kinds of birds have two segments. In Boro, {dau} means bird/chicken; it is a free morpheme and mono-syllabic in nature. To denote different kinds of birds, another morphological segment is added with the word {dau}*³⁷.

On the other hand, Bodos used the word *peca* 'daukhu' from dimasa to mean owl which is Hindi origin and is also used in Assamese. Apart from this there are some birds names which is adapted from Assamese e.g. skt sākun > origin śōgun > sigun (vulture), siloni > sila (kite) dauling in Bodo, hah Skt. hāṅsā > hagsuṅ dauplam

³⁷ Basumatary, P. Ch. (2014): *Comparative Vocabulary of Boro-Garo Languages: A Structural Analysis*. Nilima Prakashani. Baganpara, Baksa. P-52

(duck) from Dimasa, batho, soka > sokha (sparrow), paro > pharuqu (domestic pigeon) newly structure word 'dauphri' etc. and these words are compound with the Bodo free root word i.e. dau (bird) where dau always occurs after these words e.g. *sigun dau*, *sila dau*, *sokha dau*, *phesa dau* but *pharwu* does not occur with dau. These words are adapted from the IA languages in Bodo language. The structures of the words are not similar with the structure of the Bodos birds' names. From the above analysis it is clear that birds' names which do not start with /d/ or /dau/ are not from the Tibeto- Barman source.

In Bodo fruits' names starts with 'thai' or 'tha' and it combines with different suffix like -zwu, -bej, -sri, -kha, -gir, -lir/lith, such as thai + zuqu > thaizuqu 'mango' thai + bej > thaibej 'cucumber', thai + sri > thaisri, thai + kha > thaikha, thai + gir > thaigir 'elephant fruit', tha-lir/lith > thalir/thalith 'banana' etc. It is mentionable that /thai-/ in Bodo language works like a prefix, it refers the different names of fruits after adding different suffix. On the other hand, fruits is called *bothai* in Kok-borok language, in Garo language it is called 'bithe', 'tai' in Dimasa and 'the' in Rabha language. From this it gets clear that any fruits name starting with 'thai', 'the' are from Tibeto-Burman source. Sanskrit origin 'gajara' (carrot) is also borrowed into Bodo language via Assamese 'gazor' word is also used in Bodo as Assamese. Another Asomiya word 'tormuz' (watermelon) is Perso-Arabic origin and used as 'thormuz' in Bodo, being a borrowed word. The structure of this word is shown as PA. torbuza > tormuz Ass. > t^hormuz Bd. when being borrowed. In this example, there is a minor change in Bodo language during borrowing from Assamese language but meaning did not change. Like these there are some fruits' name having Indo-European origin which have been borrowed into Bodo such as xilikha (Ass.) > silikha, zolpai (Ass.) > zolphai, bogori (Ass.) > buqigri, amloki > amlai, kathal > k^hant^hal, anaras > anaros, anjur > anjur, dalim > dalim, naspoti > naspoti, nariyol etc.

2.6.3 Borrowing from English

Basically the Indian people have been using the British English in writing, reading and communication system for a long decade. In this way, generally the spelling system of the British English does not change while using by the Indian people in written form. But due to influence of mother tongue some pronunciation changes take place during borrowing and use as a native words in languages. There are lots of languages in India and they have own characteristics. As such the English words are

articulated with the help of native articulator system during borrowing. Bodo language has already lots of word in native vocabulary but due to influence of English language some words are coined and used in different purposes. The reason for coining may be different such as business, education, social contact, modern technology, trade and commerce etc. In this study, data are taken from written form which will be analyzed systematically.

English is a non-phonetic language. So we often do not say a word the same way it is spelled. In English spelling of some words are alike or can have same spelling but different pronunciation. Same as in Bodo some English words are adapted/adopted with different pronunciation or modified. In adaptation the phonological composition of the borrowed word is modified. But in adoption Loan Word is preserved as it was in donor language with original form and pronunciation into the recipient language then gets assimilated after. But in this study the process of borrowing words from English into Bodo is accompanied by adaptation of the English words into the Bodo phonological system. English words are adapted with various adaptation processes involved in the process of Borrowing which are borrowed from English into Bodo. The borrowed words are related to clothing or dress, ornaments, articles of luxury, furniture, utensils, natural objects, food and drinks, words referring time, weight and measurement, trade, business and occupation, words related to service, bank, engineering terms, words connected with government and administration, court of justice, education, literature, language, science and technology, transport, games and sports, religion etc. In this section written form of Bodo adaptation from English will be discussed elaborately.

Table No. 2.12

S.I. No.	Origin Word	Borrowed word	Meaning
1.	baɪbl >	baibel	‘bible’
2.	bʌndəl >	banduɪl	‘bundle’
3.	bentʃ >	bens	‘bench’
4.	beɪl >	bel	‘bail’
5.	bæŋk >	beŋ	‘bank’
6.	bɒtəl >	bothəl	‘bottle’
7.	baks >	baksu	‘box’

8.	bɔɪkɒt >	bɔɪkɒt	‘boycott’
9.	dɛsk >	dɛks	‘desk’
10.	dɪpɑːtmənt >	dɪpharmen	‘department’
11.	dɪdʒɪtl >	dizitel	‘digital’
12.	dɒkjʊmənt >	dukhumen	‘document’
13.	dɪːzəl >	dizel	‘dizel’
14.	vəʊt >	bhɒt	‘vote’
15.	ɪleɪʃən >	elekson	‘election’
16.	ælbəm >	elbam	‘album’
17.	æksɪdənt >	exten	‘accident’
18.	ɡləʊb >	ɡɒləg	‘globe’
19.	ɡæs >	ges	‘gas’
20.	ɡræm >	gram	‘gram’
21.	ɡæt >	get	‘gate’
22.	ɡlɑːs >	ɡilas	‘glass’
23.	həʊtəl >	hɒtel	‘hotel’
24.	ɪnʃ >	insi	‘inch’
25.	skuːl >	isk ^h ul	‘school’
26.	skruː >	iskrub	‘screw’
27.	steɪʃən >	isteson	‘station’
28.	stænd >	isten	‘stand’
29.	ɪntəvjʊː >	interbeu	‘interview’
30.	kərəsɪːn >	kerasin	‘kerosin’
31.	kɒpiː >	k ^h əp ^h i	‘copy’
32.	kəmiʃən >	komison	‘commission’
33.	kæʃ >	kes	‘case’
34.	keɪk >	kek	‘cake’
35.	kɪːpə >	k ^h ip ^h ar	‘keeper’
36.	kʌmpəni >	kɒmpani	‘company’
37.	kæmp >	kemp	‘camp’
38.	kʌrənt >	k ^h aren	‘current’
39.	kətəl >	ketli	‘kettle’

40.	kɜ:fju: >	karp ^h iu	‘curfew’
41.	kæmpɛɪn >	k ^h emp ^h en	‘campaign’
42.	lɛktʃər >	leksar	‘lecture’
43.	ləʊn >	lɒn	‘loan’
44.	læmp >	lem	‘lamp’
45.	naɪlɔ:n >	lailon	‘nylon’
46.	leɪbər >	lebar	‘labour’
47.	rʌbər >	lɒbar	‘rubber’
48.	laɪbrəri >	laibri	‘library’
49.	mɑ:bəl >	marbəl	‘marble’
50.	mɪʃən >	mison	‘mission’
51.	məʃɪ:n >	misin	‘machin’
52.	məʊbaɪl >	mobail	‘mobile’
53.	mʌflər >	map ^h lar	‘muffler’
54.	məʊtə >	mət ^h ər	‘motor’
55.	mænɪdʒə >	menazar	‘manager’
56.	mæp >	mep	‘map’
57.	mi:tɪŋ >	mit ^h iŋ	‘meeting’
58.	nəʊl >	nɒbel	‘novel’
59.	nju:spɛɪpə >	nɪus ^h ep ^h ar	‘newspaper’
60.	nəʊtɪs >	nɒtɪs	‘notice’
61.	nəʊt >	not	‘note’
62.	ɒfɪsə >	ɔp ^h isar	‘officer’
63.	pərɔgræf >	p ^h eragrap ^h	‘paragraph’
64.	fæʃən >	p ^h eson	‘fashion’
65.	fəʊl >	p ^h ɔsil	‘fossil’
66.	feɪl >	p ^h el	‘fail’
67.	tʃɛk >	sek	‘check’
68.	pənʃən >	penson	‘pension’
69.	prəməʊʃən >	promoson	‘promotion’
70.	paɪp >	p ^h aɪb	‘pipe’
71.	faɪn >	p ^h ain	‘fine’

72.	pa:s >	p ^h as	‘pass’
73.	fi:t >	p ^h ut	‘feet’
74.	fi: >	p ^h is	‘fee’
75.	peɪpər/peɪpə >	p ^h epar	‘paper’
76.	fɔ:mjʊlə >	p ^h ərmula	‘formula’
77.	fɑ:məsi >	p ^h armasi	‘pharmacy’
78.	feɪsbʊ:k >	p ^h esbuk	‘facebook’
79.	pəli:s >	p ^h ulis	‘police’
80.	prəʊfaɪl >	prɒp ^h ail	‘profile’
81.	praɪvɪt >	p ^h raibet	‘private’
82.	fəʊldər >	p ^h ɔlder	‘folder’
83.	pəʊstmən >	p ^h ɔsman	‘postman’
84.	rɒmantɪk >	rɒmantɪk	‘romantic’
85.	raɪfl >	raɪp ^h ɔl	‘rifle’
86.	reɪl >	rel	‘rail’
87.	ræli >	reli	‘rally’
88.	ru:m >	rum	‘room’
89.	səplɑɪ >	sap ^h lai	‘supply’
90.	ʃæmpu: >	sɪmp ^h u	‘shampoo’
91.	tʃeər >	sɪər	‘chair’
92.	tʃekə >	sek ^h ər	‘checker’
93.	sɑɪkləʊn >	sɑɪk ^h lum	‘cyclone’
94.	səʊfə >	sɒp ^h ə	‘sofa’
95.	sɪment >	sɪmen	‘siment’
96.	sent >	sen	‘scent’
97.	su:na:mɪ >	sunami	‘tsunami’
98.	tæŋk >	t ^h en ^h i	‘tank’
99.	tɪʃən >	tɪsən	‘tuition’
100.	teɪbəl >	tebuɪl	‘table’
101.	treʒəri >	trezari	‘tressury’
102.	treɪn >	tren	‘train’
103.	treɪ >	tri	‘trey’

104.	tri:tmənt >	tretmen	‘treatment’
105.	tɪkɪt >	t ^h ɪk ^h ɪt	‘ticket’
106.	tɪfɪn >	t ^h ɪp ^h ɪn	‘tiffin’
107.	tɪn >	t ^h ɪŋ	‘tin’
108.	dʒi:ns >	zɪns	‘jeans’
109.	dʒeɪl >	zel	‘jail’
120.	dʒu:s >	zus	‘juice’
121.	dʒʌg >	zɔg	‘jug’

Apart from these there are lots of words which are adapted in Bodo discourses as well as written form. But this thesis will be based on only a few selected words which are frequently used in Bodo.

2.7 Loan word and Nativization

This study aims to investigate the process of Nativization. Nativization is the process by which a language undergoes new Phonological, Morphological, Semantic, Stylistics and Syntactic changes and acquires new native speakers in the virtual absence of native speakers. It is not possible to analyse the Phonology phenomena practically except Phonological theory. To know the function, nature, process and uses of loan word one must be cleared or have to enough knowledge about the term loan word and Nativization. Loan word is a word adopted by or borrowed by the speakers of one language from a different language. Which recipient language speaker does not have an existing word in his/her own native language to refer exact meaning of it. It is mentionable that there are some resemblances and differences between the donor language and recipient language. In the process of accepting and integration of words from donor language to recipient language some Phonological changes occur and this change might be either minor or major one. To study the change of Phonological structure some views or theoretical frame has set up which will be discussed on chapter III elaborately. The changes or alteration may be classified as Elision, Addition, Substitution and Re-arrangement etc. The assimilation may be total and partial. To study the process of assimilation it is necessary in order to fit the

Borrowed word into the native language pattern. This assimilation or alteration takes place automatically not depending upon the willingness of borrower. When a particular language speaker borrowed a word from other language the borrower internalizes the Phonological, Morphological, and Syntactical pattern of his mother tongue. Because it is very difficult to learn the pattern of other tongue. So, sometimes the speaker kept the orthographic form of loan word it is but the Phonological pattern gets altered or change. Such process of Phonological alteration or adjustment is known as assimilation. The recipient language adapted the borrowed word according to the Phonological resources of the recipient language. Therefore, the study of loan word or borrowing brings a valuable perception into the nature of phonological system.

It can be observed that cultural contacts between the different language speakers may also results the borrowing and lending. A speaker makes the use of words from different languages to refer the things that he/she has experienced, processes, for the expression or feelings, in thinking, organization, and for the ways of behavior etc. When there is a lack of word in the stock of a language then to refer its exact meaning one has to borrow a word from other language. Likewise, when there is not enough word or phrase in own language and have to communicate with other language speaker or foreigner then need to accept by adapting other language's words and through this coined happen and have to use in regular basis whenever it is necessary to be used. In such way it is used by one generation to another generation. English was a dominant language during the colonization of India because they were a politically powerful. English had more dominant language than the indigenous languages like Sanskrit, Hindi and other Indian languages.

It is observed and clear that less dominant languages borrow from more dominant language. During British rule in India as English was more dominant language than other languages many English vocabularies are borrowed by many Indian languages. Those borrowing words are mainly from industrial development, government, railway domain or for other activities. It is worth mentioning that if we carefully listen to people most of the Indian use the English word in their daily lives. Some common English words used in Bodo are glass, pencil, bicycle, train, bus, school, cup, station, table, chair and bottle etc. It is mentionable that English was a dominant language in the British rule even though they borrowed a lot of words from Indian indigenous languages too like Hindi, Sanskrit etc.

Language is changeable, it changes due time. Loan word is adopted in another language therefore, there are many causes of adoption or adaptation like in general loan word gets assimilation its phonetics, sound, classes and phonological patterns into the borrowing language. Some of the vowels and consonants are replaced with the way of the vowels and consonants of its borrowings. There are some methods of such replacement process. But not all the replacement process are alike, therefore, it is not randomly design or plan. For Example, /dh/ phoneme of Indo-Aryan represents /d/ in Bodo such as dhan (Skt.)-duḥuṇ. Those replaced sounds in borrowed language only get replaced with phonetically close ones. In this way, loan words get assimilation with the nature of borrowed language at a point of time and it does not seem recognizable as other language or different language's word. It is worth mentioning that some people try to pronounce as original form on occasions. In this matter it is need to be mentioned about literate and illiterate people of a language. Most of the people try to pronounce or write as original form of a loan word. But sometime they pronounce the word as it is. It is noticeable that Bodo does not possess Hindi phoneme like dh, gh, ch, zh, that's why most of the Bodo speaking people find it difficult to pronounce the Indo-Aryan loan words. Therefore above cited phoneme or sounds are pronounce also write as /d, g, s, z/ in Bodo.

A research scholar or student should always understand the difference between native word and loan word whenever he/she goes to decides to do research work. Native word is derived from the original or indigenous inhabitants of olden days and loan word is derived and use from other language's borrowing words in native language. While doing studies on loan words researchers get interested or excited at two causes. First he/she wants to know the pronunciation difference of native and non-native words. It is true that, the pronunciation of words from native language and lending language is quite different to each other. The difference between donor and recipient language provide the perception of sound system of both languages. As a second reason it is find that borrowing words from different languages have particular characteristics which have been borrowed in native language. Like Hindi vocabulary can be shown in both two behavioural pattern in Bodo language. It follows own special phonological rules which is not found in native vocabulary and some of the Hindi words also can not proceed with phonological process like Bodo words. Like this, the nature of recipient language's sound system reflects through it. Phonemic inventory of one language's segmental sound differs from another language.

Therefore, some strategies are adopted to analyse the alien sound of borrowing language. But strategy is not only one, to analyse borrowing word can adopt two strategies also. Both two strategies can be used in different cases but they have cooperation with each other. These strategies are replacement strategy and retention strategy. First strategy will be nativization or assimilation and the second strategy will be non Nativization strategy. Recipient language can replace foreign segment to native segment. This replacement is phonetic resemblance. Alternatively recipient language can keep the phoneme of source language also.

It is accepted that there is not a particular linguistic theory that is final. The most common Phonological theories are Phonetic, Phonemic and Generative. It is developed by the end of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century. Each model has its own perspectives and argument regarding borrowing and adaptation. But this theory fails to provide full interpretation of various mechanism of loan word assimilation. In other word, no complete loan word assimilation mechanism is given or provided to give adequate explanation of datas of loan words. Even though, discussion is taken on this theory or model briefly in the following:

Researchers have taken many theories of different position to discuss the nativization process. The most common theory of nativization is phonetics approximation. This theory is used mostly in structuralist literature. Structuralist literature can be extensively discussed based on this theory. The inventor of this theory gives an argument which is based on the difference of both donor and donee language. The speakers of borrowing language listen to the words of other language carefully. It is not easy to easily pronounce the segment of all words of donor language. Even one or two problems arise while pronouncing the segments. And sometimes speaker might not be able to pronounce the donor language's word as it is exactly pronounce.

This kind of nativization theory depends on contrastive analysis. In phonetic approximation language is examined thoroughly and between two both the similarities and dissimilarities are identified. It is worth mentioning that it gives more priority to identify the dissimilarities. The main basis of this theory is the comparison of giving and taking the language. It is also called phonetic perspective.

Another perspective is the Phonemic perspective. This nativization model is a widely accepted model. This theory is thoroughly studied and accepted by the Weinreich (1953, 1957) also. As the viewpoint of this theory Indo-Aryan loan words speakers replace the problems of IA closet phoneme which might resemble. According to

Leonard Bloomfield (1933) *the speakers of the borrowing language replace the foreign sounds by the phonemes of their language*³⁸. According to this view of nativization, reinterpretation of foreign sound is replaced like Phonemic system of borrowing language. This theory has involvement of an allophonic or with distributional nature. This phonemic theory has greatly influenced on the process of nativization. Thus, it says foreign sounds are rephonenimicized like borrowing language. Phonemic perspective has an own drawback. Like it does not discuss on non-phonological. On the other hand, it neglects the Morphological nature. For the first time Harris (1962) was suggest that Non-Phonological categories were involve in loanword nativization. Bloomfield (1933) also remarks *that generally, adaptation of the phonetic pattern takes place together with the adaptation of morphologic structure*³⁹. But in practically morphological consideration were not paid attention to in loan word analysis. This generative perspective takes into consideration the Phonetics rules, Phonological structure rules and morpheme structure rules. The main features of these theories are:

- (i) Loanwords are borrowed as they appear except there is some reason to adjust them.
- (ii) Loanwords go through the Phonological rules of the borrowing language. They are based on phonetic, morphemic and phonemic condition of the recipient language. But these three assimilation perspectives discussed above are all half truths.

Danesi (1985) provides a convincingly critical account of different models of loanword assimilation stated above, showing on one hand, their contributions in the field of loanword nativization, and arguing their main shortcomings. On the other hand, he explains how such theories have been *trapped within the perimeter of their theoretical domains, pointing out that the main problem being that these models underline monolithic theories, that is, they are formulated in such a way so as to be accepted or rejected in toto*⁴⁰

The integration of the insights of different schools of phonology is the only really workable modus operandi in methodology... in using an "integrated model" of phonology, analysts will have various theoretical alternatives at their disposal to

³⁸Bloomfield, Leonard (1933): *Language*. (Reprint). (1st ed.) University of Chincago Press Chicago and London. P- 46.

³⁹ Ibid. P-449

⁴⁰ Danesi, Marcel (1985): *Loanword and Phonological Methodology*, Marcel Didier Inc. Quebec. P-12

*account for the data. They are not enclosed within the perimeter of one particular theoretical domain*⁴¹

This model includes the elements of all theories which can explain the loanword phenomenon best. Therefore Denesi's model of loanword nativization/ assimilation i.e. integrated model of loan word nativization will be taken into account to analyzed the data adequately.

Though discussions were made on Vocabulary, Lexical Borrowing, Reception of Phonological and Morphological elements from Indo-Aryan language but some points related to these topic were not touched.

2.8 The Integrated Theory of Loan Word Assimilation

Danesi prefers the integrated model of loanword assimilation which is based on Italo-Canadian loanword data from English and it consist of two main principles (1985c: 21-39):

i) The Paradigmatic Principle and ii) The Phonological Synchronization Principle.

i) **The Paradigmatic Principle (PP):** The foreign or borrowed item is interpreted Morphologically; the borrower is sensitive to the Morphological class and function of the item to be nativized. This Morphological class and function of the item activates specific Phonological adjustment mechanisms (additions, deletions, modifications, etc.) that reshape the borrowed item to conform to the native members of the paradigmatic class: e.g. a noun will undergo different transformations than a verb and so on.

ii) **The Phonological Synchronization Principle (PSP):** The borrowed sounds of the item in question are interpreted in terms of the syllabic, prosodic, phonemic and phonetic patterns (as the case may be) of the borrowing language. This principle implies two basic processes: a. Sounds and sound patterns that are identical in both the donor and borrowing languages will not be modified in any way. b. Differences in pronunciation will activate either repatterning processes which are tied to the phonological system, or simple phonetic substitution mechanisms. In one words, the borrowed segments are synchronized with the native segments to a certain degree.

⁴¹Danesi, Marcel (1985): *Loanword and Phonological Methodology*, Marcel Didier Inc. Quebec P-41

Thus, such model has incorporated with the three basic types of adaptation mechanisms of a morphological, phonological and phonetic nature which are attributed to the phonetic, phonemic and generative model.

Mentioned two principles interact with each other to make or give loan word as nativized form. It is not new concept to reshape the loan word by interacting each other. Danesi has made more autonomous to morphological adaptation mechanism rather than extension of phonological. The borrower, he notes, *seems to make some adjustments purely on the basis of the internal paradigmatic requirement of the native language without any reference to the phonological configuration of the incoming item*⁴²

Since chapter III of the present study is on phonological analysis of the IA and English loan word data respectively, thus the focus will be on the second principle of the integrated model i.e. PSP (Phonological Synchronization Principle) so as to show the different phonological adaptation mechanism. Through this principle it has been made to show the different types of phonological adaptation mechanisms which are help to accommodate the Indo-Aryan and English words into Bodo. This principle is trying to help in showing the different types of phonological adaptation mechanisms through the help of which Indo-Aryan and English words are accommodated into the Bodo language.

2.9 Degrees of Nativization

In the nativization process of borrowing words there are different nativization degrees. In the adaptation of borrowed word sometimes it might be total, but sometime little or might be no adaptation also. For the affect of some reason nativization degrees or the degrees of nativization become regular or frequency of usage, orthography or spelling, dialect variation etc. the socio-cultural context decides the degree of nativization. When we talk about borrowing or loan word there is a necessity to mention three major adaptation possibilities. These are:

- (i) Co-existence
- (ii) Partial adaptation
- (iii) Total adaptation

⁴² Danesi, Marcel (1985): *Loanword and Phonological Methodology*, Marcel Didier Inc. Quebec. P-23

2.9.1 Co-Existence

Mainly the aim of loan word is to the needed words by native speakers from the dominant language to fulfill the necessity of missing or needed words for native language or to add adequate of effective words in their native language. It is cosio-cultural environment which made it necessary to use it. It is needed to be mentioned that different words of different languages are borrowed words through the different kinds of lexical co-existences. Like this, borrowed words co-exist with the native words. This kind of co-exist is called imports or switches too. There are some of the Hindi and English words in Bodo which have co-existed with Bodo words, i.e. *gari*, *chamas*, *pul*, *rail*, *train*, *glass* etc. Fries and Pike (1949:29) have studied deeply about phonological system either it can co-exist or not. According to them phonemic system can co-exist in the speech of monolingual.

2.9.2 Partial Adaptation

For the first time Bolloomfield had suggested that foreign words do not exist in the borrowing language in a totally non-nativized way. It means foreing words in the borrowing language are not accepted totally non-nativized or without being modified. According to him every borrowed items come through changes and it might be either major or minor one. Even if a speaker is mastered in the phonology of donor language then also use the loan word in the form of nativization.

2.9.3 Total Adaptation

Sometimes loan words gets totally change through the process of phonological and morphological interaction of native language. Total adaptation model mainly considers that frequently used loan words get rephonolized over a period of time. Total adaptation depends on time and frequency. Except that it also depends on the degress of loan words' acceptance. Total adaptation process gets influence by the temporal and sociological factors. Total adaptation or nativization can be represented like mention below. One borrowing words get total adaptation through three stages or degrees of nativization process. Firstly loan word gets accepted through the initial acceptance stage and after sometime these get nativised. Second stage is also called sedimentation because in this stage loan word is rephonologised. These words settle in the lexical stock of borrowing language and gradually its shape becomes indistinguishable with the native word.

2.10 Conclusion

In the Bodo language, many words have been coined by borrowing from Indo-Aryan and European language-speaking families. Additionally, many words from the Iranian language family have been coined in the Bodo language through Indo-Aryan languages. In the previous chapter, the origins of these words were identified, and a list of such words was provided and discussed. The reasons for borrowing from one language to another can vary, such as the need to fill gaps, an insufficient stock of words, language contact situations, and contextual dependencies. The adaptation of borrowed words often involves some Phonological Assimilation Mechanisms or theories. Many theorists have devised various theories on assimilation or nativization, but Danesi's 'The Integrated Theory of Loanword Assimilation or Nativization' has been widely accepted. This theory is divided into two parts: 'The Paradigmatic Principle (PP)' and 'The Phonological Synchronization Principle (PSP),' both of which are discussed in detail in this chapter.

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