

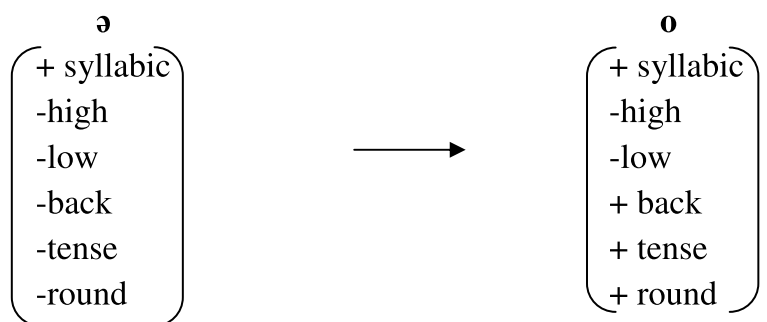
## Chapter 4

### English Loanwords in Sylheti

#### 4.1. Phonological processes:

##### 4.1.1. Vowel shifting:

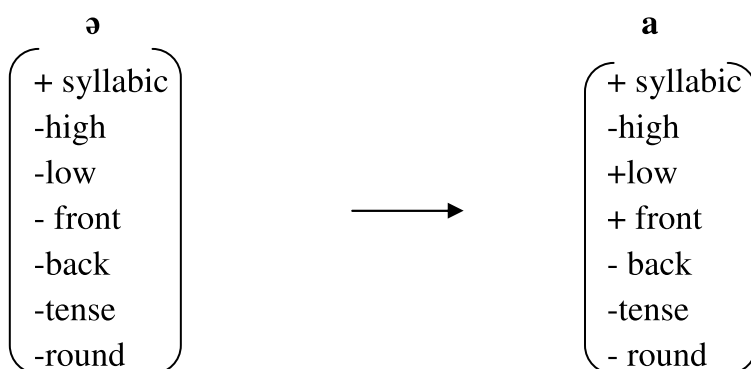
(a) The central mid unrounded /ə/ vowel changed to the mid back rounded vowel /o/ in English loanwords in sylheti. Generally, the changed of /ə/ to /o/ is found in non-final position of the word. More specifically, the changed of central mid unrounded /ə/ to the mid back rounded vowel /o/ is frequently found in the word medial positions however it is hardly (only an example) found in the word initial position as can be seen in the following examples:



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/əkeɪʒən/</i>	<i>/okeśon/</i>	‘occasion’
<i>/ædmɪʃən/</i>	<i>/edmison/</i>	‘admission’
<i>/ælkəhɒl/</i>	<i>/elkohol/</i>	‘alcohol’
<i>/ætəm/</i>	<i>/etom/</i>	‘atom’
<i>/bædmɪntən/</i>	<i>/bedminton/</i>	‘badminton’
<i>/bɒtl/</i>	<i>/butol/</i>	‘bottle’
<i>/kɑːˈtɪn/</i>	<i>/kardon/</i>	‘carton’

<i>/kɔləni/</i>	<i>/koloni/</i>	‘colony’
<i>/kəmiti/</i>	<i>/komiʃi/</i>	‘committee’
<i>/kəmiʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/komiʃən/</i>	‘commission’
<i>/kɒmən/</i>	<i>/kɒmən/</i>	‘common’
<i>/kənʃ:’m/</i>	<i>/kɒnp<sup>h</sup>arəm/</i>	‘confirm’
<i>/kəmpju:tə’/</i>	<i>/kɒmpiʊtə’/</i>	‘computer’
<i>/kəntroʊl/</i>	<i>/kɒntɔl/</i>	‘control’
<i>/dɒk.tə’/</i>	<i>/dɒk<sup>h</sup> tɔ’/</i>	‘doctor’
<i>/dʌb<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/dʌbɔl/</i>	‘double’
<i>/i:ɡ<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/iɡɔl/</i>	‘eagle’
<i>/iˌlekʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/iˌlekʃən/</i>	‘election’
<i>/dʒu:niə’/</i>	<i>/dʒuniə’/</i>	‘junior’
<i>/kɪləmi:tə’/</i>	<i>/kɪləmi:tə’/</i>	‘kilometre’
<i>/ɪnfekʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/ɪnp<sup>h</sup>ekʃən/</i>	‘infection’
<i>/mɑ:stə’/</i>	<i>/mɑ:stə’/</i>	‘master’
<i>/nʌmbə’/</i>	<i>/nʌmbə’/</i>	‘number’
<i>/ɒpʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/ɒpʃən/</i>	‘option’
<i>/penʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>enʃən/</i>	‘pension’
<i>/pɪəriəd/</i>	<i>/pɪəriəd/</i>	‘period’
<i>/pə’miʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/pə’miʃən/</i>	‘permission’
<i>/pəlaɪt/</i>	<i>/pəlaɪt/</i>	‘polite’
<i>/pɒpjʊleɪʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/pɒpjʊleɪʃən/</i>	‘population’
<i>/pəziʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/pəziʃən/</i>	‘position’
<i>/prəfeʃ<sup>ə</sup>ni/</i>	<i>/prəp<sup>h</sup>eɪʃən/</i>	‘profession’

(b) The central mid unrounded /ə / vowel changed to the front lower unrounded vowel /a/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. Generally, the changes from /ə/ to /a/ takes place in the word medial and final position. However the same changes is not found in the initial position of the word as illustrated in the following examples with phonological rules.



<i><b>English</b></i>	<i><b>Sylheti</b></i>	<i><b>Gloss</b></i>
<i>/æntenəl/</i>	<i>/enʈ,inal/</i>	‘antenna’
<i>/æktəˈr/</i>	<i>/ektar/</i>	‘actor’
<i>/ədæptəˈr/</i>	<i>/edaptar/</i>	‘adaptor’
<i>/ælbəml/</i>	<i>/elbam/</i>	‘album’
<i>/beɪkəri/</i>	<i>/bekar/</i>	‘bakery’
<i>/bætəri/</i>	<i>/betar/</i>	‘battery’
<i>/brekfəst/</i>	<i>/berekp<sup>h</sup>as/</i>	‘breakfast’
<i>/bʌmpəˈr/</i>	<i>/bampar/</i>	‘bumper’
<i>/kæʃiəˈr/</i>	<i>/keʃiar/</i>	‘cashier’
<i>/sentəˈr/</i>	<i>/senʈar/</i>	‘centre’
<i>/kɒləˈr/</i>	<i>/kolar/</i>	‘collar’

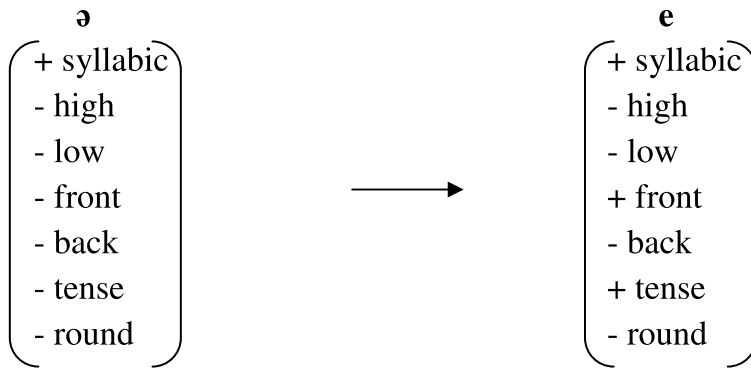
<i>/ku:ləʳ/</i>	<i>/kular/</i>	‘cooler’
<i>/kælkjuleitəʳ/</i>	<i>/kelkuleʳar/</i>	‘calculator’
<i>/kælimdəʳ/</i>	<i>/kelendʳar/</i>	‘calendar’
<i>/kæmrə/</i>	<i>/kemerə/</i>	‘camera’
<i>/səʳtifikət/</i>	<i>/sarʲip<sup>h</sup>iket/</i>	‘certificate’
<i>/kʌmpəni/</i>	<i>/kumpani/</i>	‘company’
<i>/kæmpju:təʳ/</i>	<i>/kompiuʳar/</i>	‘computer’
<i>/kaʊntəʳ/</i>	<i>/kaunʲar/</i>	‘counter’
<i>/kʌlvəʳt/</i>	<i>/kalbat/</i>	‘culvert’
<i>/kʌstəməʳ/</i>	<i>/kaʲʂtomar/</i>	‘customer’
<i>/dɪnəʳ/</i>	<i>/dʲinar/</i>	‘dinner’
<i>/dɪpləʊmə/</i>	<i>/dʲiplomə/</i>	‘diploma’
<i>/daɪrektəʳ/</i>	<i>/dʲairekʲar/</i>	‘director’
<i>/dra:mə/</i>	<i>/dʲramə/</i>	‘drama’
<i>/dʌstəʳ/</i>	<i>/dʲaʲʂar/</i>	‘duster’
<i>/daɪnəmoʊ/</i>	<i>/dʲaynamə/</i>	‘dynamo’
<i>/ɪəʳ/</i>	<i>/iar/</i>	‘ear’
<i>/fæk<sup>ə</sup>lti/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ekalʲi/</i>	‘faculty’
<i>/foʊldəʳ/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>oulʲar/</i>	‘folder’
<i>/dʒenəreɪtəʳ/</i>	<i>/zenareʲar/</i>	‘generator’
<i>/gɪgəbaɪt/</i>	<i>/gɪgabaiʲt/</i>	‘gigabyte’
<i>/graɪndəʳ/</i>	<i>/gɪrɪndʲar/</i>	‘grinder’
<i>/heəʳ/</i>	<i>/heyar/</i>	‘hair’

*/hæŋəˈr/*

*/heŋgar/*

‘hanger’

(c) The central mid unrounded /ə / vowel changed to the front mid unrounded vowel /e/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The phonetic change from /ə/ to /e/ is only found in the word initial and medial positions of the word however it is not noticed in the final position of a word as can be seen in the following examples with phonological rules:



**English**

**Sylheti**

**Gloss**

*/əwɔːˈd/*

*/ewad/*

‘award’

*/əsembli/*

*/esembli/*

‘assembly’

*/əkaunt/*

*/ekaunt/*

‘account’

*/ətɒmik/*

*/etomik/*

‘atomic’

*/əplai/*

*/eplai/*

‘apply’

*/ədres/*

*/edres/*

‘address’

*/ətendəns/*

*/etendens/*

‘attendance’

*/kænsəl/*

*/kensel/*

‘cancel’

*/kæset/*

*/keset/*

‘cassette’

*/tʃænəl/*

*/tsenel/*

‘channel’

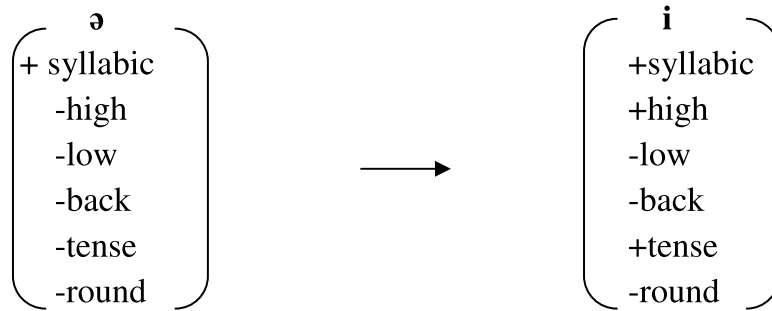
*/saikəl/*

*/saikel/*

‘cycle’

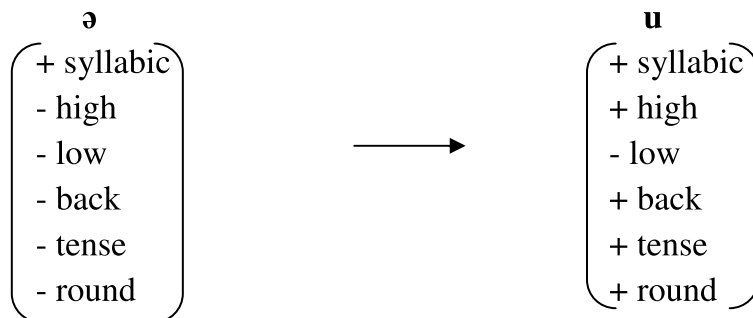
<i>/dɪpɑːtmənt/</i>	<i>/dɪpɑtmənt/</i>	‘department’
<i>/ɪnæmᵘl/</i>	<i>/ɪnæməl/</i>	‘enamel’
<i>/ɪkstɜːnᵘl/</i>	<i>/ɪkstɑrnəl/</i>	‘external’
<i>/hændᵘl/</i>	<i>/hendəl/</i>	‘handle’
<i>/hɒstᵘl/</i>	<i>/hustəl/</i>	‘hostel’
<i>/ɪfɪʃᵘnt/</i>	<i>/epʰɪsɪənt/</i>	‘efficient’
<i>/gɑːrdɪən/</i>	<i>/garzən/</i>	‘guardian’
<i>/gɑɪdᵘns/</i>	<i>/gɑɪdəns/</i>	‘guidance’
<i>/ɪliːgᵘl/</i>	<i>/ɪlɪgəl/</i>	‘illegal’
<i>/ɪmpɔːtᵘnt/</i>	<i>/ɪmpɔrtənt/</i>	‘important’
<i>/ɪntɜːnᵘl/</i>	<i>/ɪntɑrnəl/</i>	‘internal’
<i>/lætrɪːn/</i>	<i>/let,tɪn/</i>	‘latrine’
<i>/ləɪsᵘns/</i>	<i>/ləɪsəns/</i>	‘license’
<i>/liːgᵘl/</i>	<i>/lɪgəl/</i>	‘legal’
<i>/ləʊkᵘl/</i>	<i>/ləkəl/</i>	‘local’
<i>/mædʒɔrɪtɪl/</i>	<i>/mezɔrɪtɪl/</i>	‘majority’
<i>/mænɪdʒmənt/</i>	<i>/meneɪzment/</i>	‘management’
<i>/peɪʃᵘnt/</i>	<i>/peʃənt/</i>	‘patient’
<i>/pɜːfməns/</i>	<i>/pɑrpʰɔrməns/</i>	‘performance’
<i>/præktɪkᵘl/</i>	<i>/prektɪkəl/</i>	‘practical’
<i>/rezɪdəns/</i>	<i>/resɪdəns/</i>	‘residence’

(d) The central mid unrounded vowel /ə/ changed to the front unrounded vowel /i/ in English loanwords in sylheti as illustrated in the following examples with the help of the given phonological rules:



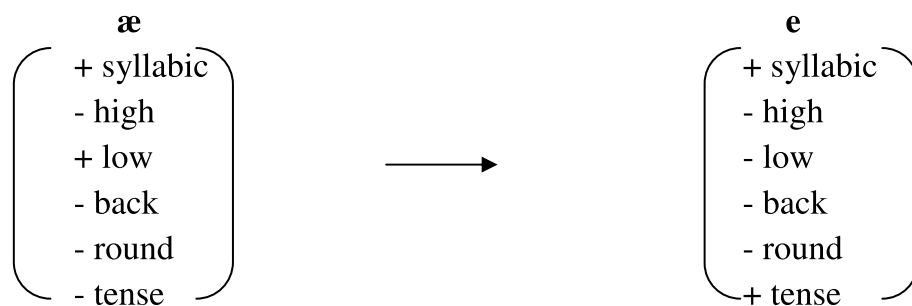
<i><b>English</b></i>	<i><b>Sylheti</b></i>	<i><b>Gloss</b></i>
<i>/kaʊns<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/kaunsil/</i>	‘council’
<i>/pens<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ensil/</i>	‘pencil’

(e) The central mid unrounded /ə/ vowel changed to the back rounded vowel /u/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The phonetic change from /ə/ to /u/ is found only in the word medial position rather than the initial and final positions of a word as illustrated in the following examples with the given phonological rules:



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/eərəpleɪn/</i>	<i>/iruplein/</i>	‘aeroplane’
<i>/a:ˈtɪkəl/</i>	<i>/artikul/</i>	‘article’
<i>/keɪbəl/</i>	<i>/kebul/</i>	‘cable’
<i>/mʌsəl/</i>	<i>/masul/</i>	‘muscle’
<i>/nɪpəl/</i>	<i>/nip<sup>h</sup>ul/</i>	‘nipple’
<i>/petrəl/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ettul/</i>	‘petrol’
<i>/pəli:s/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ulif/</i>	‘police’
<i>/restərɒnt/</i>	<i>/resturent/</i>	‘restaurant’
<i>/sɑ:mpləl/</i>	<i>/sempul/</i>	‘sample’
<i>/sɪmpləl/</i>	<i>/simpul/</i>	‘simple’
<i>/tækəl/</i>	<i>/tekul/</i>	‘tackle’
<i>/trʌbəl/</i>	<i>/trabul/</i>	‘trouble’
<i>/ʌnstəɪbəl/</i>	<i>/anstebul/</i>	‘unstable’

(f) The front lower mid unrounded vowel /æ/ became the front mid unrounded vowel /e/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The phonetic change from /æ/ to /e/ is found in the word initial and medial positions of the word as can be seen in the following examples with the given phonological rules:

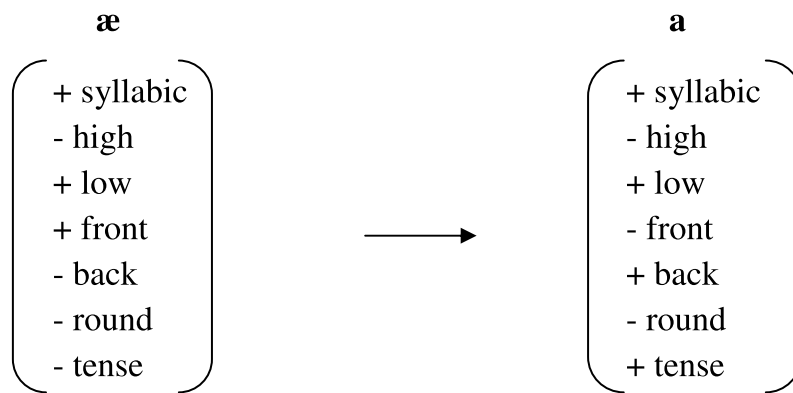




<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/æksɪdənt/</i>	<i>/eskiɟen/</i>	‘accident’
<i>/æktəˈr/</i>	<i>/ektar/</i>	‘actor’
<i>/ædmɪt/</i>	<i>/edmiʈ/</i>	‘admit’
<i>/ædmɪʃn̩/</i>	<i>/edmiʃon/</i>	‘admission’
<i>/ætəm/</i>	<i>/eʈ,om/</i>	‘atom’
<i>/ældʒɪbrəl/</i>	<i>/elɟabra/</i>	‘algebra’
<i>/ælbəm/</i>	<i>/elbam/</i>	‘album’
<i>/ælkəhɒl/</i>	<i>/elkohol/</i>	‘alcohol’
<i>/æntenə/</i>	<i>/enʈ,ɪnəl/</i>	‘antenna’
<i>/ɔːtəmætɪk/</i>	<i>/oʈomeʈɪk/</i>	‘automatic’
<i>/bædmɪntən/</i>	<i>/beɟmɪnʈon/</i>	‘badminton’
<i>/bæŋk/</i>	<i>/benk/</i>	‘bank’
<i>/bæt/</i>	<i>/beʈ/</i>	‘bat’
<i>/bætəri/</i>	<i>/beʈarɪ/</i>	‘battery’
<i>/blæk/</i>	<i>/belek/</i>	‘black’
<i>/blæŋkɪt/</i>	<i>/blenkeʈ/</i>	‘blanket’
<i>/kæmp/</i>	<i>/kempl/</i>	‘camp’
<i>/kæp/</i>	<i>/keʈ/</i>	‘cap’
<i>/kælkjuleɪtəˈr/</i>	<i>/kelkuleʈar/</i>	‘calculator’
<i>/kælɪndəˈr/</i>	<i>/kelendʈar/</i>	‘calendar’

<i>/kæmrə/</i>	<i>/kɛmərə/</i>	‘camera’
<i>/kænsəl/</i>	<i>/kɛnsəl/</i>	‘cancel’
<i>/kænti:n/</i>	<i>/kɛntin/</i>	‘canteen’
<i>/kæptɪn/</i>	<i>/kɛp<sup>h</sup>tin/</i>	‘captain’
<i>/kæʃ/</i>	<i>/kɛʃ/</i>	‘cash’
<i>/kæf memou/</i>	<i>/kɛf memou/</i>	‘cash memo’
<i>/kæʃɪə/</i>	<i>/kɛʃɪə/</i>	‘cashier’

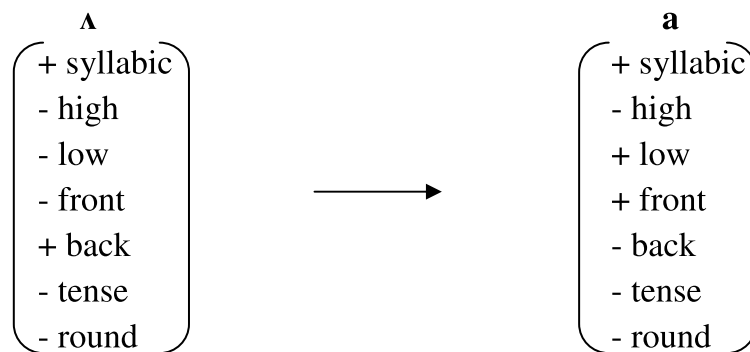
(g) The front lower mid unrounded vowel /æ/ became the front lower unrounded vowel /a/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The phonetic change from /æ/ to /a/ is found in the word initial and medial positions of the word as can be seen in the following examples with the given phonological rules:



<i><b>English</b></i>	<i><b>Sylheti</b></i>	<i><b>Gloss</b></i>
<i>/ədæptə/</i>	<i>/ɛdaptə/</i>	‘adaptor’
<i>/æpəl/</i>	<i>/ap<sup>h</sup>el/</i>	‘apple’
<i>/kæʃu:/</i>	<i>/kɛʃu/</i>	‘cashew’
<i>/tʃæmpiən/</i>	<i>/tʃɛmpian/</i>	‘champion’

<i>/ɪnæm<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/ɛnɛmɛl/</i>	‘enamel’
<i>/ɪgzæm/</i>	<i>/ɛgzɛm/</i>	‘exam’
<i>/gæskɪt/</i>	<i>/gɛskɛt/</i>	‘gasket’
<i>/dʒæm/</i>	<i>/dʒɛm/</i>	‘jam’
<i>/prəʊgræm/</i>	<i>/pɔgrɛm/</i>	‘programme’
<i>/rɒmæntɪk/</i>	<i>/rɛmɛntɪk/</i>	‘romantic’
<i>/sɪmɪlərtɪl/</i>	<i>/sɪmɪlɛrtɪl/</i>	‘similarity’
<i>/stæmp/</i>	<i>/stɛmp/</i>	‘stamp’
<i>/tæta:/</i>	<i>/tɛtɛ/</i>	‘ta-ta’
<i>/træfɪk/</i>	<i>/trɛp<sup>h</sup>ɪk/</i>	‘traffic’

(h) The mid back unrounded vowel /ʌ/ becomes low front unrounded vowel /a/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The phonetic change from /ʌ/ to /a/ is found only in word initial and medial positions of the words rather than the word final position as exemplified below with the following phonological rules:



**English**  
*/blʌd/*

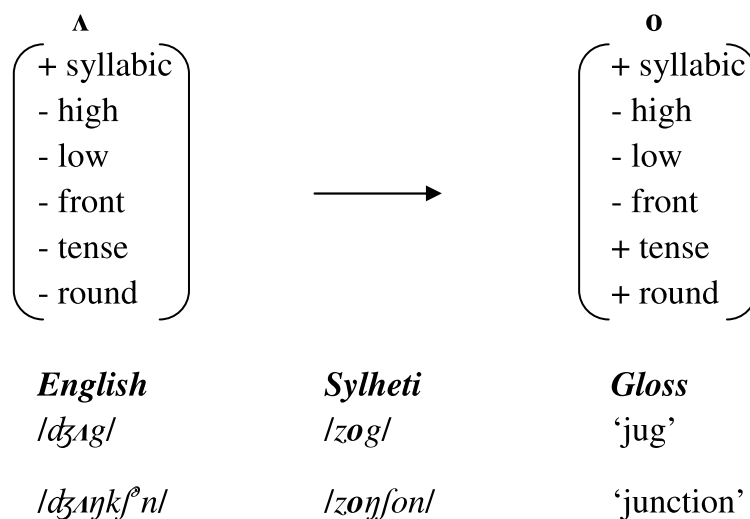
**Sylheti**  
*/belɛd/*

**Gloss**  
‘blood’

<i>/brʌʃ/</i>	<i>/beraʃ/</i>	‘brush’
<i>/bʌzɪt/</i>	<i>/bazeɪt/</i>	‘budget’
<i>/bʌmpəʳ/</i>	<i>/bampar/</i>	‘bumper’
<i>/bʌs/</i>	<i>/bas/</i>	‘bus’
<i>/kʌp/</i>	<i>/kap<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘cup’
<i>/kʌstəməʳ/</i>	<i>/kaʃtomar/</i>	‘customer’
<i>/klʌb/</i>	<i>/kelabl/</i>	‘club’
<i>/kʌlvəʳt/</i>	<i>/kalbat/</i>	‘culvert’
<i>/dʌb<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/dʌboll/</i>	‘double’
<i>/drʌm/</i>	<i>/dʌram/</i>	‘drum’
<i>/dʌstəʳ/</i>	<i>/dʌʃtar/</i>	‘duster’
<i>/ɪnkʌm/</i>	<i>/inkam/</i>	‘income’
<i>/lʌntʃ/</i>	<i>/lanʃ/</i>	‘lunch’
<i>/neɪl kʌtəʳ/</i>	<i>/neɪl kaʃtar/</i>	‘nail cutter’
<i>/plʌg/</i>	<i>/pelag/</i>	‘plug’
<i>/pʌls/</i>	<i>/pals/</i>	‘pulse’
<i>/pʌblɪkeɪʃ<sup>n</sup>/</i>	<i>/pablikeʃon/</i>	‘publication’
<i>/rʌʃ/</i>	<i>/rap<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘rough’
<i>/rʌn/</i>	<i>/ran/</i>	‘run’
<i>/rʌnɪŋ/</i>	<i>/ranɪŋ/</i>	‘running’
<i>/ʃʌtəʳ/</i>	<i>/ʃaʃtar/</i>	‘shutter’
<i>/sʌbməri:n/</i>	<i>/sabmerin/</i>	‘submarine’
<i>/sʌbsɪdɪ/</i>	<i>/sabsɪdɪ/</i>	‘subsidy’

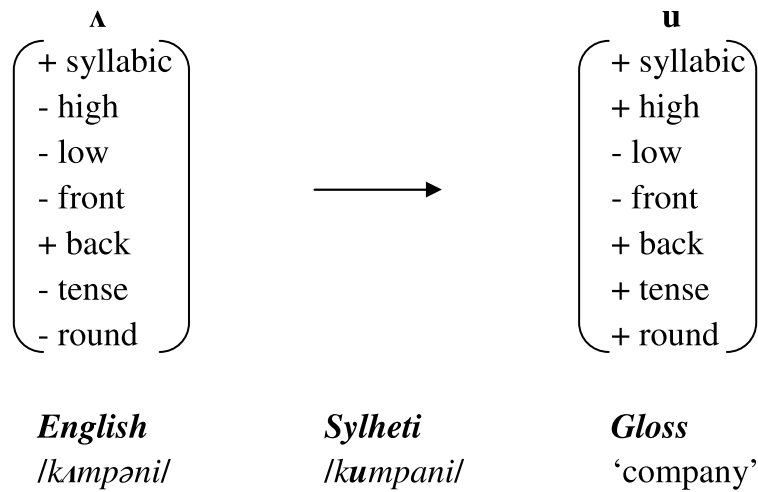
<i>/sʌfə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/sap<sup>h</sup>ar/</i>	‘suffer’
<i>/sʌfiks/</i>	<i>/sap<sup>h</sup>iks/</i>	‘suffix’
<i>/sʌməri/</i>	<i>/samari/</i>	‘summary’
<i>/tʌtʃ/</i>	<i>/tʌś/</i>	‘touch’
<i>/tʌʃ/</i>	<i>/tʌp<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘tough’
<i>/tʌn<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/tʌnel/</i>	‘tunnel’
<i>/ʌlsə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/alsar/</i>	‘ulcer’
<i>/ʌltɪmətlɪ/</i>	<i>/alʈimeɪtlɪ/</i>	‘ultimately’
<i>/ʌltɪmeɪtəm/</i>	<i>/alʈimeɪtəm/</i>	‘ultimatum’
<i>/ʌnsɜ:<sup>r</sup>ɪ<sup>ə</sup>n/</i>	<i>/ansarɛin/</i>	‘uncertain’
<i>/ʌpləʊd/</i>	<i>/apləʊd/</i>	‘upload’

(i) The mid central unrounded vowel /ʌ/ becomes mid back rounded vowel /o/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The phonetic change from /ʌ/ to /o/ is found only in word medial position of the words rather than the word initial and final positions as exemplified with the help of following phonological rules:

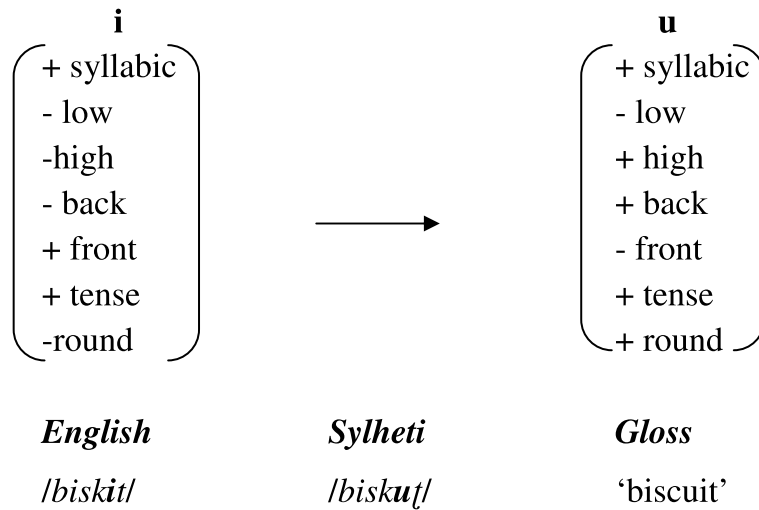


<i>/mʌg/</i>	<i>/mɔg/</i>	‘mug’
<i>/nʌmbəʳ/</i>	<i>/nɔmbor/</i>	‘number’
<i>/tʌb/</i>	<i>/tɔb/</i>	‘tub’
<i>/rʌbəʳ/</i>	<i>/rɔbar/</i>	‘rubber’
<i>/θʌg/</i>	<i>/tʰɔg/</i>	‘tout’
<i>/tʌn/</i>	<i>/tɔn/</i>	‘ton’

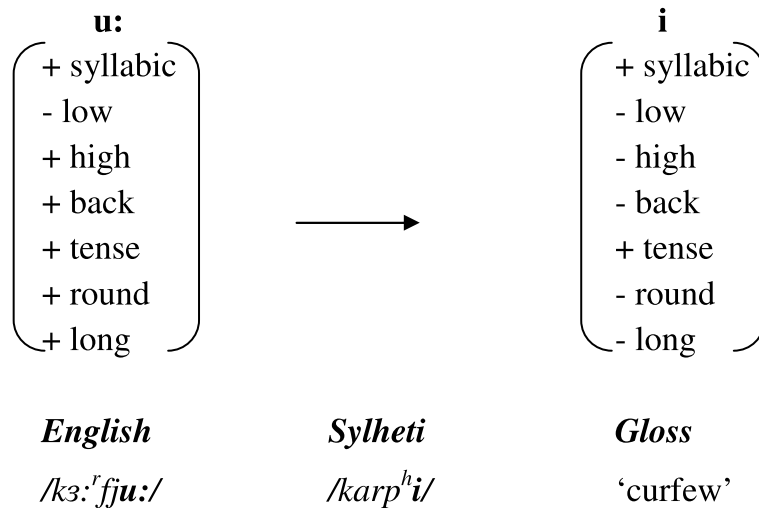
(j) The mid central unrounded vowel /ʌ/ becomes high back rounded vowel /u/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. It is also noticed that the shifting of /ʌ/ to /u/ is not frequently found in English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced by the availability of single example as demonstrated below:



(k) The high front unrounded vowel /i/ becomes high back rounded vowel /u/ as shown with the help of following phonological rules. It is also noticed that the phonological rule i.e., i > u in English loanwords in Sylheti is not frequently found as evidenced by the availability of single example as illustrated below.

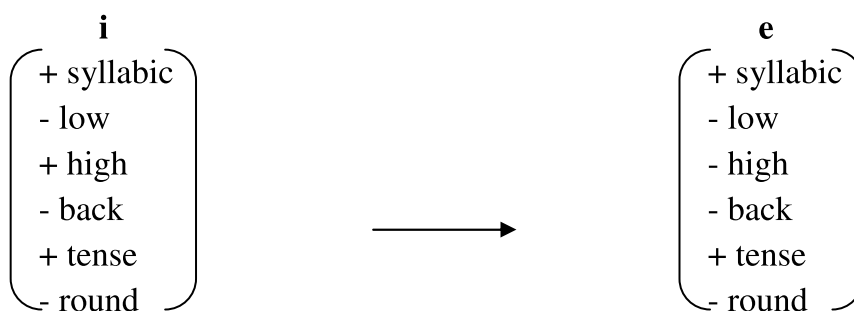


(l) The long high back rounded vowel /u:/ becomes high front unrounded vowel /i/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. It is also noticed that the shifting of long high back rounded vowel /u:/ to high front unrounded vowel /i/ in English loanwords in Sylheti is not frequently found as evidenced from the availability of the single example as shown below.



(m) The high front unrounded vowel /i/ becomes front mid unrounded vowel /e/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. It is worth mentioning here that the shifting of high front unrounded vowel /i/ to the front mid unrounded vowel

/e/ is frequently found in initial and medial positions of words, however it is not noticed in the word final position of a word as exemplified with the help of following phonological rules.

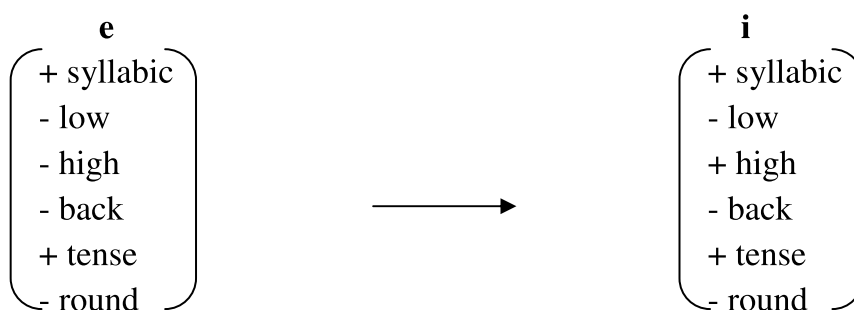


<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/bʌdʒɪt/</i>	<i>/bazeɪt/</i>	‘budget’
<i>/bɪznɪs/</i>	<i>/biznes/</i>	‘business’
<i>/kɒlɪdʒ/</i>	<i>/koleɔɪ/</i>	‘college’
<i>/sɪnɪmə:/</i>	<i>/sinema/</i>	‘cinema’
<i>/krɪkɪt/</i>	<i>/kiket/</i>	‘cricket’
<i>/dɪveləp/</i>	<i>/debolap/</i>	‘develop’
<i>/ɪfɪʃənt/</i>	<i>/ep<sup>h</sup>isient/</i>	‘efficient’
<i>/ɪkstɜːnəl/</i>	<i>/ekstarnel/</i>	‘external’
<i>/ɪnæmənt/</i>	<i>/enamell/</i>	‘enamel’
<i>/gæskɪt/</i>	<i>/gasket/</i>	‘gasket’
<i>/dʒækɪt/</i>	<i>/dzeiket/</i>	‘jacket’
<i>/mænɪdʒə/</i>	<i>/menedzar/</i>	‘manager’
<i>/mɪlɪtri/</i>	<i>/miletaril/</i>	‘military’



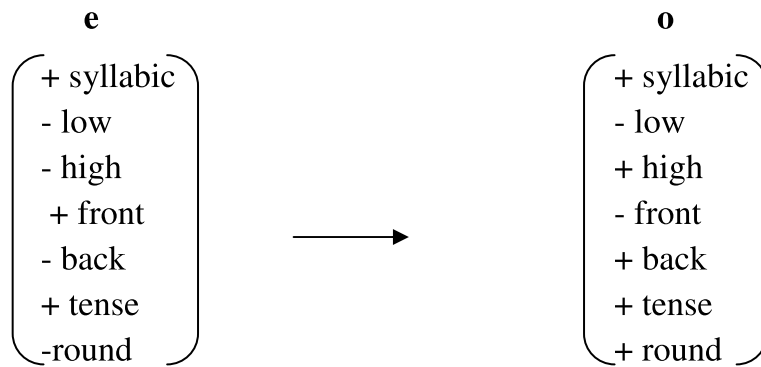
<i>/pækɪt/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>egət/</i>	‘packet’
<i>/pi:nɪs/</i>	<i>/penɪs/</i>	‘penis’
<i>/pɜ:rfɪkt/</i>	<i>/pɜp<sup>h</sup>ekt/</i>	‘perfect’
<i>/pɒkɪt/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>oget/</i>	‘pocket’
<i>/praɪvɪt/</i>	<i>/pɜraɪbet/</i>	‘private’
<i>/rɪkɔ:’dɪ/</i>	<i>/rekɔd/</i>	‘record’
<i>/rɪkɔ:’də’/</i>	<i>/rekɔdər/</i>	‘recorder’
<i>/rɪkɔ:’dɪŋ/</i>	<i>/rekɔdɪŋ/</i>	‘recording’
<i>/rɪspekt/</i>	<i>/respekt/</i>	‘respect’
<i>/rɪspɒns/</i>	<i>/respons/</i>	‘response’
<i>/rɪspɒndənt/</i>	<i>/respɒndənt/</i>	‘respondent’
<i>/rɪstrɪkʃən/</i>	<i>/restɪkʃən/</i>	‘restriction’
<i>/rɒkɪt/</i>	<i>/roket/</i>	‘rocket’
<i>/sɪmestə’/</i>	<i>/semɪstər/</i>	‘semester’
<i>/si:kɪt/</i>	<i>/sekret/</i>	‘secret’
<i>/tɑ:’gɪt/</i>	<i>/tɑget/</i>	‘target’
<i>/θɪ:sɪs/</i>	<i>/t<sup>h</sup>esɪs/</i>	‘thesis’
<i>/tɪkɪt/</i>	<i>/tɪket/</i>	‘ticket’
<i>/wɪkɪt/</i>	<i>/wɪket/</i>	‘wicket’
<i>/zɪərɒks/</i>	<i>/zɜrɒks/</i>	‘xerox’

(n) The front mid unrounded vowel /e/ becomes high front unrounded vowel /i/ in English loanwords in Sylheti as the same phonetic change is found in the initial and medial positions of words as can be seen in the following examples with given phonological rules.



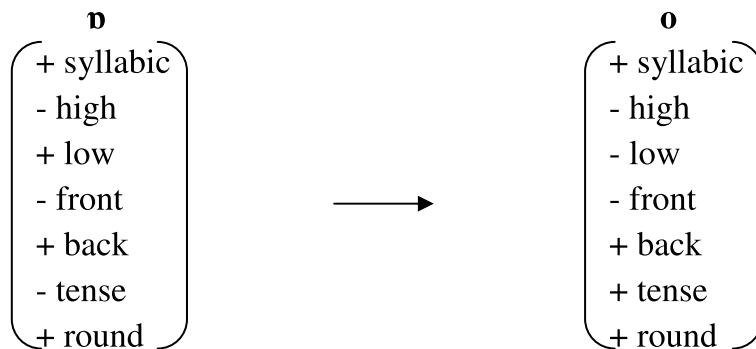
<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/eəɾəplem/</i>	<i>/iruplein/</i>	‘aeroplane’
<i>/endʒɪn/</i>	<i>/indʒin/</i>	‘engine’
<i>/endʒɪnɪə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/indʒiniar/</i>	‘engineer’
<i>/estimeɪt/</i>	<i>/iʃtimeiʃ/</i>	‘estimate’
<i>/ʃedju:l/</i>	<i>/ʃiɖiul/</i>	‘schedule’
<i>/sɪməstə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/semɪʃtar/</i>	‘semester’
<i>/swetə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/suiʃtar/</i>	‘sweater’

(o) The front mid unrounded vowel /e/ becomes mid back rounded vowel /o/. However the shifting of /e/ to /o/ is not frequently found in English loan words in Sylheti as evidenced from the availability of single example as shown below.



<i><b>English</b></i>	<i><b>Sylheti</b></i>	<i><b>Gloss</b></i>
<i>/dɪveləp/</i>	<i>/dɛboləp/</i>	‘develop’

(p) The low back rounded vowel /ɒ/ becomes the mid back rounded vowel /o/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The change of low back rounded vowel /ɒ/ to the mid back rounded vowel /o/ is found in initial and medial positions of the words. It is also important to note that the same process of vowel shifting is frequently found in English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced from the availability of large number of examples as shown below:

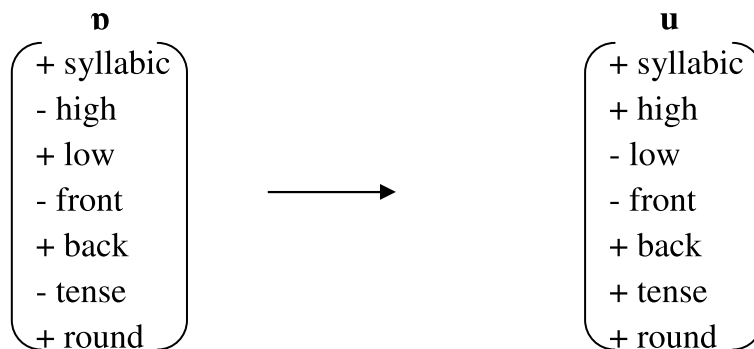


<i><b>English</b></i>	<i><b>Sylheti</b></i>	<i><b>Gloss</b></i>
<i>/ətɒmɪk/</i>	<i>/ətomɪk/</i>	‘atomic’
<i>/blɒk/</i>	<i>/bolok/</i>	‘block’
<i>/bɒdi/</i>	<i>/boɟi/</i>	‘body’

<i>/bɒml</i>	<i>/bɒml</i>	‘bomb’
<i>/kɒfl</i>	<i>/kɒp<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘cough’
<i>/kɒfi/</i>	<i>/kɒp<sup>h</sup>il</i>	‘coffee’
<i>/kɒlə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/kɒlə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	‘collar’
<i>/kɒlɪdʒ/</i>	<i>/kɒlədʒ/</i>	‘college’
<i>/kɒli:gl/</i>	<i>/kɒli:gl/</i>	‘colleague’
<i>/kɒlənil</i>	<i>/kɒlənil</i>	‘colony’
<i>/kɒmən/</i>	<i>/kɒmən/</i>	‘common’
<i>/kɒnfrəns/</i>	<i>/kɒn<sup>h</sup>ərəns/</i>	‘conference’
<i>/deskɒpl</i>	<i>/dekstɒpl</i>	‘desktop’
<i>/frɒk/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ɒrɒgl</i>	‘frock’
<i>/hɒki/</i>	<i>/hɒki/</i>	‘hockey’
<i>/hɒlɪdeɪ/</i>	<i>/hɒlɪdeɪ/</i>	‘holiday’
<i>/hɒt/</i>	<i>/hɒt/</i>	‘hot’
<i>/ɒfɪs/</i>	<i>/ɒp<sup>h</sup>i/</i>	‘office’
<i>/ɒfɪsə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/ɒp<sup>h</sup>ɪsə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	‘officer’
<i>/ɒfə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/ɒp<sup>h</sup>ə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	‘offer’
<i>/ɒflaɪn/</i>	<i>/ɒp<sup>h</sup>laɪn/</i>	‘offline’
<i>/ɒnlaɪn/</i>	<i>/ɒnlaɪn/</i>	‘online’
<i>/pɒkɪt/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ɒget/</i>	‘pocket’
<i>/pɒlɪsɪ/</i>	<i>/pɒlɪsɪ/</i>	‘policy’
<i>/pɒlɪtɪks/</i>	<i>/pɒlɪtɪks/</i>	‘politics’

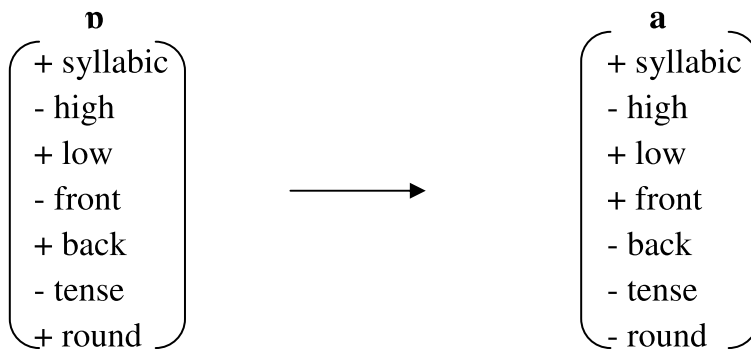
<i>/pɒlitɪʃ<sup>ə</sup>n/</i>	<i>/pɒlitɪʃiən/</i>	‘politician’
<i>/pɒlɪmə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/pɒlɪmər/</i>	‘polymer’
<i>/pɒlɪθi:n/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ɒlitin/</i>	‘polythene’
<i>/pɒpjʊlə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/pɒpjʊlər/</i>	‘popular’
<i>/pɒpjʊleɪʃ<sup>ə</sup>n/</i>	<i>/pɒpjʊleɪʃən/</i>	‘population’
<i>/prɒfɪt/</i>	<i>/pɒp<sup>h</sup>ɪt/</i>	‘profit’
<i>/rɒbɒt/</i>	<i>/rɒbɒt/</i>	‘robot’
<i>/rɒkɪt/</i>	<i>/rɒkɪt/</i>	‘rocket’
<i>/rɒd/</i>	<i>/rɒd/</i>	‘rod’
<i>/rɒm/</i>	<i>/rɒm/</i>	‘ROM’
<i>/rɒŋ/</i>	<i>/rɒŋ/</i>	‘wrong’
<i>/skɒlə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/ɪskɒlər/</i>	‘scholar’
<i>/skɒlə<sup>r</sup>ʃɪp/</i>	<i>/ɪskɒlərʃɪp/</i>	‘scholarship’
<i>/ʃɒt/</i>	<i>/ʃɒt/</i>	‘shot’

(q) The low back rounded vowel /ɒ/ becomes high back rounded vowel /u/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The shifting of the low back rounded vowel /ɒ/ to the high back rounded vowel /u/ is found only in word medial position as exemplified with the help of following phonological rules:



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/bɒtəl/	/buʈoll/	‘bottle’
/hɒstəl/	/hustell/	‘hostel’

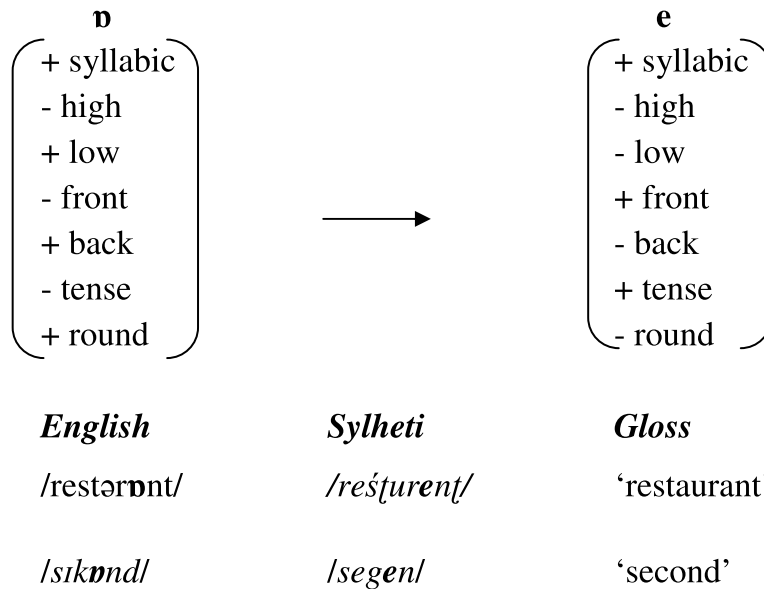
(r) The low back rounded vowel /ɒ/ becomes the front lower unrounded vowel /a/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The shifting of low back rounded vowel /ɒ/ to the front lower unrounded vowel /a/ is found only in word medial position as exemplified with the help of following phonological rules:



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/bɒks/	/bak <sup>h</sup> śol/	‘box’
/dɒktə <sup>r</sup> /	/dak <sup>h</sup> tor/	‘doctor’
/pɒlɪʃ/	/p <sup>h</sup> aliś/	‘polish’
/kwɒlɪfaɪ/	/kualip <sup>h</sup> ail/	‘qualify’
/kwɒlɪfaɪd/	/kualip <sup>h</sup> aid/	‘qualified’
/kwɒlɪfikeɪʃn/	/kualip <sup>h</sup> ikeśon/	‘qualification’
/kwɒlɪtɪ/	/kualiʈi/	‘quality’
/wɒʃ/	/waś/	‘wash’
/wɒʃ <sup>r</sup> /	/waśar/	‘washer’

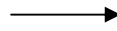
<i>/wɒʃɪŋ/</i>	<i>/waʃɪŋ/</i>	‘washing’
<i>/wɒʃru:m/</i>	<i>/waʃrum/</i>	‘washroom’

(s) The low back rounded vowel /ɒ/ becomes the front mid unrounded vowel /e/. The shifting of the low back rounded vowel /ɒ/ to the front mid unrounded vowel /e/ is not frequently found in English loanwords in Sylheti. It is also observed that same process of vowel shifting is found only in word medial position as shown below with the help of the given phonological rules.



(t) The central mid unrounded vowel /ɜ/ becomes the front lower unrounded vowel /a/ in English loan words in Sylheti. The shifting of the central mid unrounded vowel /ɜ/ to the front lower unrounded vowel /a/ is found in word initial and medial positions of words rather than the final position of the words. It is also observed that the same process of vowel shifting is frequently found in word medial position than word initial position as exemplified with the help of following rules:

**ɜ:**  
 + syllabic  
 - high  
 - low  
 - front  
 - back  
 + tense  
 - round  
 + long



**a**  
 + syllabic  
 - high  
 + low  
 + front  
 + back  
 - tense  
 - round  
 - long

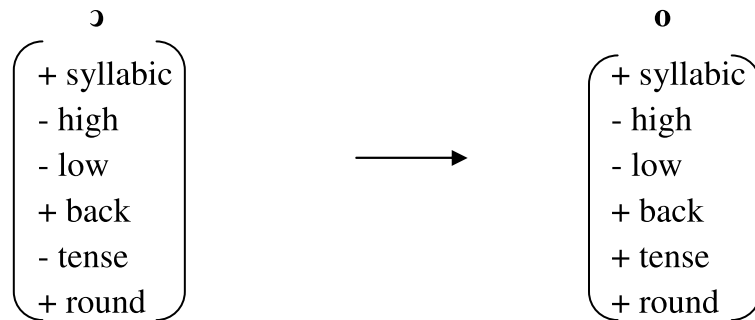
<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/kɜ:ˈfju:l/	/karp <sup>h</sup> il/	‘curfew’
/kənɜ:ˈm/	/konp <sup>h</sup> arom/	‘confirm’
/dɪstɜ:ˈb/	/dɪʃ <sup>h</sup> abl/	‘disturb’
/ekspɜ:ˈt/	/ekspat/	‘expert’
/ɪkstɜ:ˈn <sup>ə</sup> l/	/eks <sup>h</sup> arnell/	‘external’
/fɜ:ˈst/	/p <sup>h</sup> ast/	‘first’
/ɪntɜ:ˈn <sup>ə</sup> l/	/ɪn <sup>h</sup> arnell/	‘internal’
/ɪnvɜ:ˈtar/	/ɪnbat <sup>h</sup> ar/	‘inverter’
/dʒɜ:ˈn <sup>ə</sup> l/	/zarnall/	‘journal’
/nɜ:ˈs/	/nars/	‘nurse’
/pa:swɜ:ˈd/	/paswad/	‘password’
/pɜ:ˈrfɪkt/	/parp <sup>h</sup> ekt/	‘perfect’
/pɜ:ˈfju:m/	/parp <sup>h</sup> ium/	‘perfume’
/pɜ:ˈmɪt/	/parmi <sup>h</sup> t/	‘permit’



<i>/rɪsɜːrʃ/</i>	<i>/rɪsɑːs/</i>	‘research’
<i>/rɪzɜːrv/</i>	<i>/rɪzɑːb/</i>	‘reserve’
<i>/rɪtɜːn/</i>	<i>/rɪtɑːn/</i>	‘return’
<i>/sɜːtʃ/</i>	<i>/sɑːs/</i>	‘search’
<i>/sɜːvənt/</i>	<i>/sɑːbent/</i>	‘servant’
<i>/sɜːvəʃ/</i>	<i>/sɑːbɑːr/</i>	‘server’
<i>/sɜːvɪs/</i>	<i>/sɑːbɪs/</i>	‘service’
<i>/ʃɜːt/</i>	<i>/ʃɑːt/</i>	‘shirt’
<i>/skɜːt/</i>	<i>/skɑːt/</i>	‘skirt’
<i>/sɜː/</i>	<i>/sɑː/</i>	‘sir’
<i>/spɜːm/</i>	<i>/sɑːpɑːm/</i>	‘sperm’
<i>/tɜːm/</i>	<i>/tɑːm/</i>	‘term’
<i>/tɜːmɪnəl/</i>	<i>/tɑːrɪnɪl/</i>	‘terminal’
<i>/tɜːmɪneɪt/</i>	<i>/tɑːrɪnɪeɪt/</i>	‘terminate’
<i>/θɜːrd/</i>	<i>/tʰɑːd/</i>	‘third’
<i>/trænsfɜː/</i>	<i>/tɛnsfʰɑːr/</i>	‘transfer’
<i>/tɜːnɪŋ/</i>	<i>/tɑːnɪŋ/</i>	‘turning’
<i>/juːnɪvɜːsɪtɪ/</i>	<i>/iunibɑːrsɪtɪ/</i>	‘university’
<i>/ɜːbən/</i>	<i>/ɑːbɑːn/</i>	‘urban’

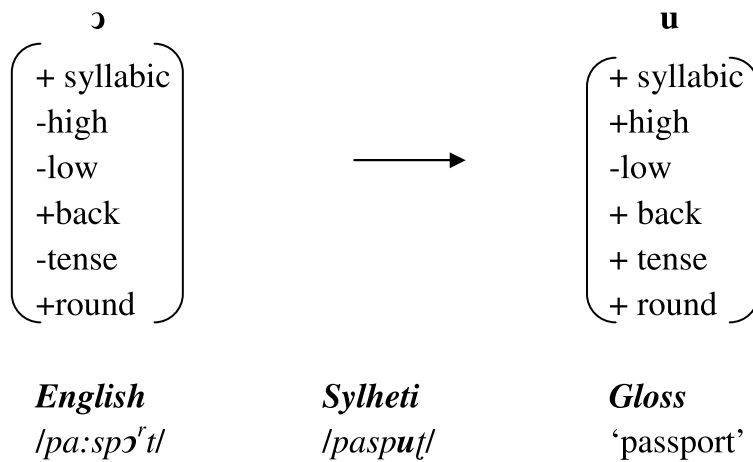
<i>/ɜ:ˈdʒ̥nt/</i>	<i>/arzent/</i>	‘urgent’
<i>/wɜ:ˈkbʊk/</i>	<i>/warkbuk/</i>	‘workbook’
<i>/wɜ:ˈkʃɒp/</i>	<i>/warkśop/</i>	‘workshop’

(u) The open mid back unrounded /ɔ/ vowel changed to the close mid back rounded vowel /o/ in English loanwords in sylheti. It is important to note that shifting of the open mid back unrounded vowel /ɔ/ to the close mid back rounded vowel /o/ is found only in word medial position as exemplified below with the help of given phonological rules:

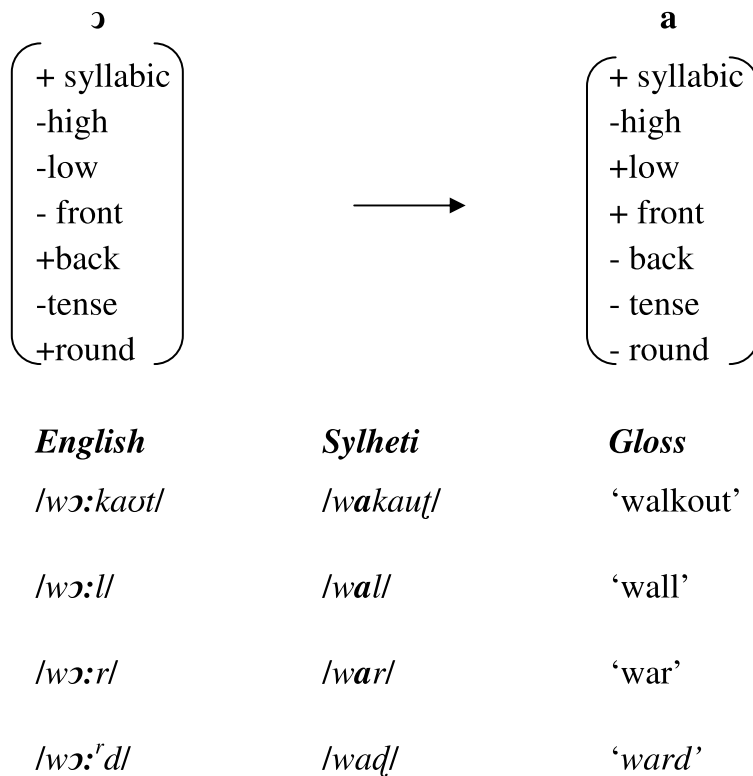


<b>English</b>	<b>Sylheti</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>/kɔ:ˈt/</i>	<i>/kout/</i>	‘court’
<i>/tɔ:ˈtʃ/</i>	<i>/toś/</i>	‘torch’
<i>/tɔ:s/</i>	<i>/tos/</i>	‘toss’

(v) The open mid back unrounded vowel /ɔ/ changed to the high back rounded vowel /u/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The shifting of the open mid back unrounded vowel /ɔ/ to the high back rounded vowel /u/ is found only in word medial position. It is also observed that the same process of vowel shifting is not frequently found in English laonwords in Sylheti as evidenced from the availability of single example as shown below with the help of given phonological rules:

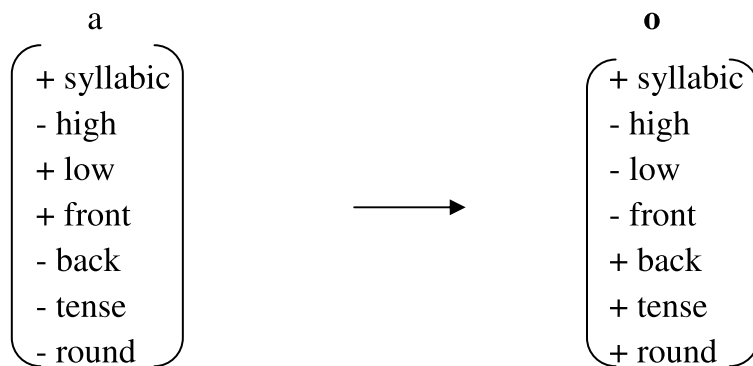


(w) The open mid back unrounded vowel /ɔ/ changed to the low front unrounded vowel /a/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The shifting of the open mid back unrounded vowel /ɔ/ to the low front unrounded vowel /a/ is found only in word medial position as exemplified below with the help of the given phonological rules:



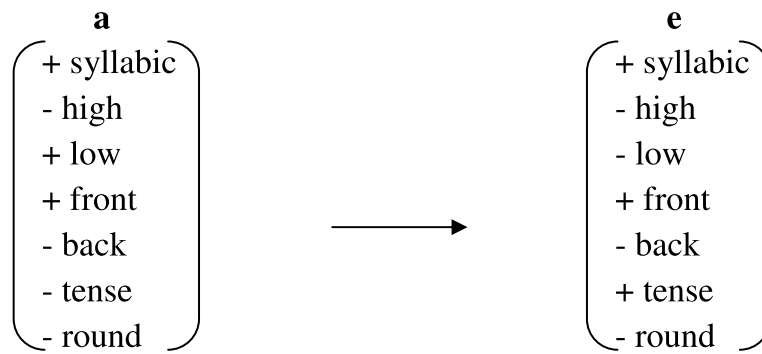
<i>/wɔːr d̪ n/</i>	<i>/wɑrdən/</i>	‘warden’
<i>/wɔːr nɪŋ/</i>	<i>/warnɪŋ/</i>	‘warning’

(x) The lower front unrounded vowel /a/ changed to the mid back rounded vowel /o/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The shifting of the lower front unrounded vowel /a/ to the mid back rounded vowel /o/ is found only in medial position of a word. It is worth mentioning here that the same process of vowel shifting is not frequently found in English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced from the availability of the single example as shown below with the help of given phonological rules:



<b><i>English</i></b>	<b><i>Sylheti</i></b>	<b><i>Gloss</i></b>
<i>/paːθ/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ot/</i>	‘path’

(y) The lower front unrounded vowel /a/ becomes the front mid unrounded vowel /e/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. Like the above mentioned vowel shifting, the shifting of the lower front unrounded vowel /a/ to the front mid unrounded vowel /e/ is found only in word medial position as shown below with the help of given phonological rules:



**English**

*/sa:mpəl/*

*/təma:təʊl/*

**Sylheti**

*/sempul/*

*/tometul/*

**Gloss**

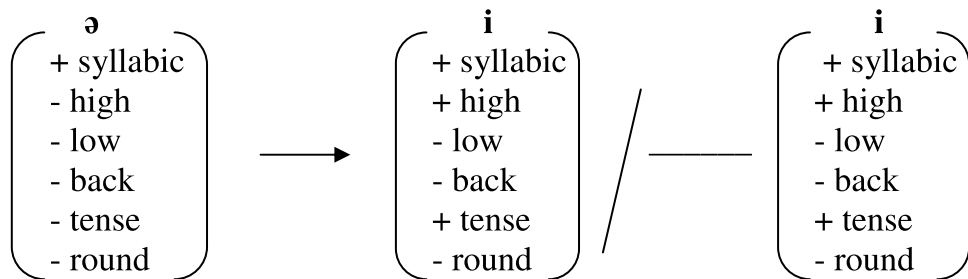
‘sample’

‘tomato’

**4.1.2. Vowel harmony:**

A type of assimilation which plays an important role in many languages is called harmony. Most commonly this affects vowels (Spencer, 1996). The similar case is found in Sylheti as well as some of the English loanwords in Sylheti, the high vowels of the final syllables influence the vowels of the first syllables which have the same tongue height rather than their backness distinctions. In other words, vowel harmony takes place between contiguous syllables i.e., the vowel of first and the second syllable as can be seen in the following example.

(a)

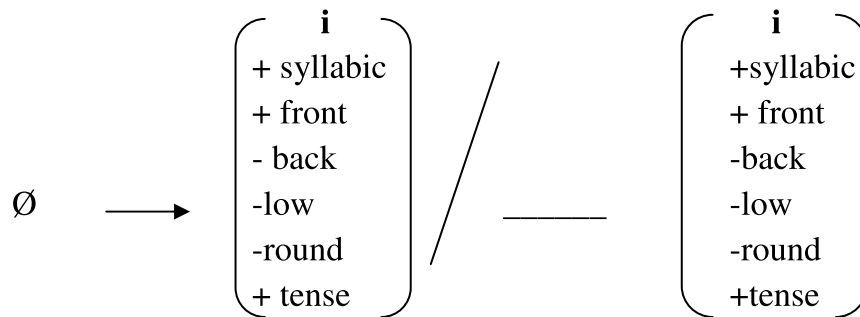


<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/məʃi:n /	/miʃin/	‘machine’

It is important to note that this type of phonological adaptation is rarely found in English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced by the availability of an example as illustrated above.

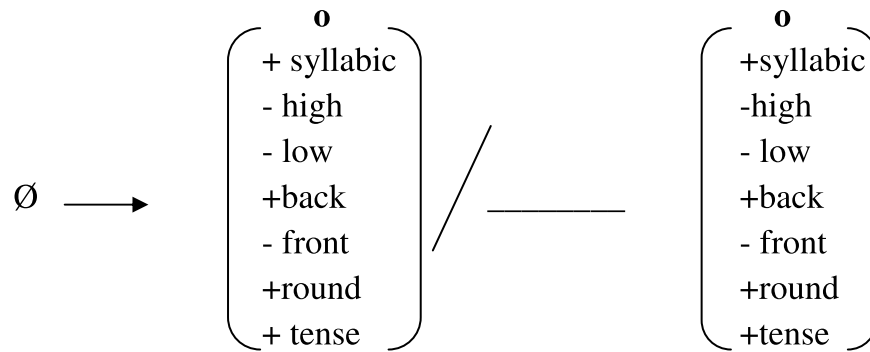
The different processes of vowel harmony in English loanwords in Sylheti are exemplified with the help of following phonological rules:

(b)



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/brɪdʒ/	/biriz/	‘bridge’
/kri:m/	/kirim/	‘cream’
/kli:n/	/kilin/	‘clean’
/kɪk/	/kilik/	‘click’
/klɪp/	/kilip <sup>h</sup> /	‘clip’
/slɪp/	/silip <sup>h</sup> /	‘slip’
/fɪlm/	/p <sup>h</sup> ilim/	‘film’
/fri:z/	/p <sup>h</sup> iridz/	‘freeze’
/fri:/	/p <sup>h</sup> iri/	‘free’
/gri:s/	/giriz/	‘grease’

(c)



**English**

**Sylheti**

**Gloss**

/slou/

/solol/

‘slow’

/fɔ:’m/

/p<sup>h</sup>orom/

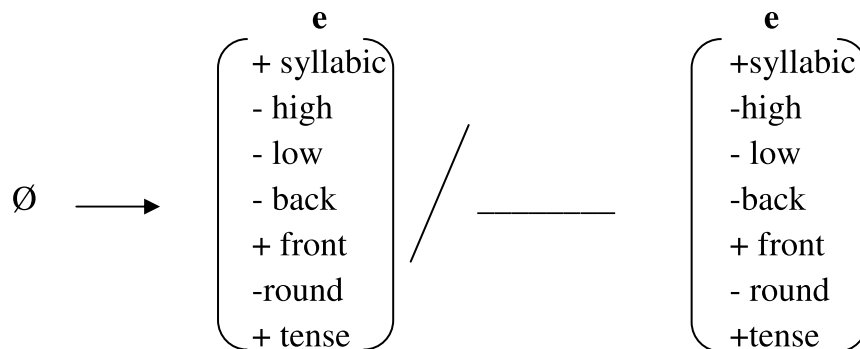
‘form’

/frɔk/

/p<sup>h</sup>orog/

‘frock’

(d)



**English**

**Sylheti**

**Gloss**

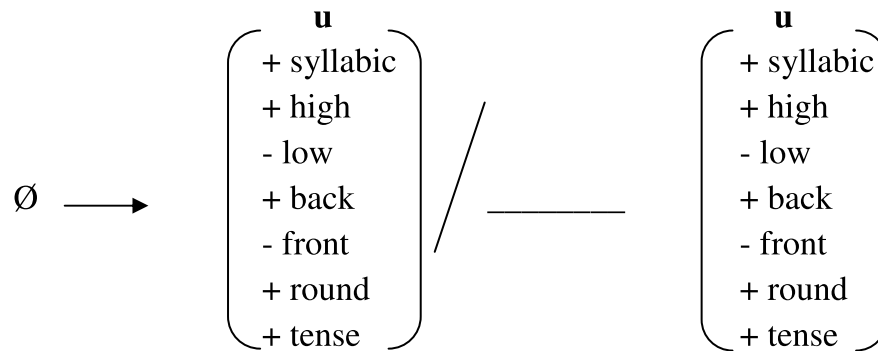
/trem/

/tɛrein/

‘train’

<i>/dreɪn/</i>	<i>/d̪ereɪn/</i>	‘drain’
<i>/dres/</i>	<i>/d̪eres/</i>	‘dress’
<i>/treɪ/</i>	<i>/t̪,ereɪ/</i>	‘tray’

(e)



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/blu:/</i>	<i>/bulu/</i>	‘blue’
<i>/blu:tu:ə/</i>	<i>/buluʈut/</i>	‘blue’
<i>/glu:/</i>	<i>/gulu/</i>	‘glue’
<i>/klu:/</i>	<i>/kulu/</i>	‘clue’

### 3.1.3. Vowel Insertion

Insertion or addition of vowel sounds is also one of the common phonological processes in the phonology of English loanwords in most of the Indian languages. Similarly, a number of English loanwords in Sylheti exhibit the process of vowel insertion. As in many other Indian languages, Sylheti usually does not permit *tr-*, *dr-*, *gl-*, *kr-*, *kl-*, *sk-*, *st-*, *sp-*, *sl-* clusters in the beginning of a word because of the difficulty in pronunciation. Therefore, the vowels /i/,



*/o/* and */e/* are being added to break the initial cluster of English to make it easier to pronounce such loanwords by the Sylheti speakers. More specifically, the addition of vowels may be in the initial or non-initial positions of the English loanwords to nativize the syllabic structure of source language (English) to fit into the syllabic structure of recipient variety (Sylheti) in the form of either **VC** or **CV(C)** structure. The various processes of vowel insertion in English loanwords in Sylheti are illustrated in the following sections:

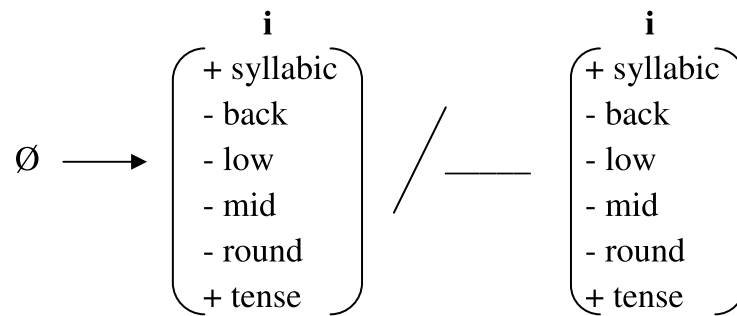
(a) The high front unrounded vowel is being inserted in the initial position of words to break the onset clusters in English loanwords in Sylheti as illustrated in the following examples with the help of given phonological rules:

$\emptyset$	→	<div style="display: inline-block; border-left: 1px solid black; border-right: 1px solid black; border-bottom: 1px solid black; padding: 10px;"> <p style="margin: 0; text-align: center;"><b>i</b></p> <p style="margin: 0;">+ syllabic</p> <p style="margin: 0;">- low</p> <p style="margin: 0;">- mid</p> <p style="margin: 0;">- back</p> <p style="margin: 0;">- round</p> <p style="margin: 0;">+ tense</p> </div>	/	_____CC
<b>English</b>	<b>Sylheti</b>	<b>Gloss</b>		
<i>/sku:l/</i>	<i>/iskull/</i>	‘school’		
<i>/steɪfn/</i>	<i>/ist,iʃon/</i>	‘station’		
<i>/spi:d/</i>	<i>/spid/</i>	‘speed’		
<i>/sti:l/</i>	<i>/ist,ill/</i>	‘steel’		
<i>/skɒləʹ/</i>	<i>/iskolar/</i>	‘scholar’		

<i>/skoupl/</i>	<i>/iskoupl/</i>	‘scope’
<i>/skɔ:ʔl/</i>	<i>/iskourl/</i>	‘score’
<i>/skɜ:ʔt/</i>	<i>/iskɑʔt/</i>	‘skirt’
<i>/spa:ʔk/</i>	<i>/ispark/</i>	‘spark’
<i>/spɜ:ʔm/</i>	<i>/ispɑrm/</i>	‘sperm’
<i>/spɒt/</i>	<i>/ispɒʔt/</i>	‘spot’
<i>/steɪdiəm/</i>	<i>/iʃteɪdiəm/</i>	‘stadium’
<i>/sta:ʃl/</i>	<i>/iʃtɑp<sup>h</sup>l/</i>	‘staff’
<i>/steɪdʒ/</i>	<i>/iʃteɪz/</i>	‘stage’
<i>/stɔ:l/</i>	<i>/iʃtɒl/</i>	‘stall’
<i>/stæmɪnəl/</i>	<i>/iʃtɛmɪnəl/</i>	‘stamina’
<i>/stæmp/</i>	<i>/iʃtɑmp/</i>	‘stamp’
<i>/stænd/</i>	<i>/iʃt,ɛn/</i>	‘stand’
<i>/stændəʔdl/</i>	<i>/iʃtɛndɑrd/</i>	‘standard’
<i>/sta:ʔl/</i>	<i>/iʃtɑr/</i>	‘star’
<i>/sta:ʔt/</i>	<i>/iʃt,ɑd/</i>	‘start’
<i>/steɪt/</i>	<i>/iʃt,et,ɪ/</i>	‘state’
<i>/steɪʃ<sup>n</sup>l/</i>	<i>/iʃt,iʃɒn/</i>	‘station’
<i>/steɪtəs/</i>	<i>/iʃtɛtəs/</i>	‘status’
<i>/stɒk/</i>	<i>/iʃtɒk/</i>	‘stock’
<i>/stɔ:ʔl/</i>	<i>/iʃtɔʊr/</i>	‘store’
<i>/stri:t/</i>	<i>/iʃtɪrɪt/</i>	‘street’

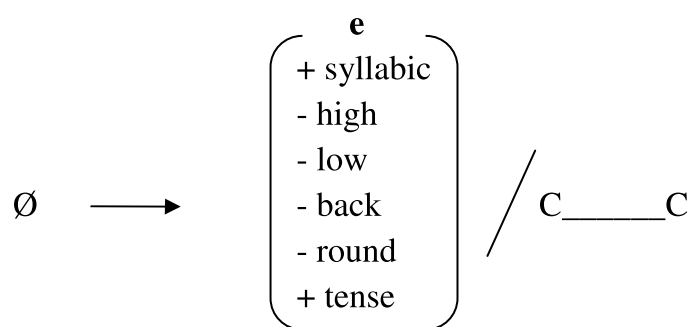
<i>straikl</i>	<i>liʃtaikl</i>	‘strike’
<i>lʃtu:dʌntl</i>	<i>liʃtʊdʌnl</i>	‘student’
<i>lʃtju:dioul</i>	<i>liʃtʊdʒioul</i>	‘studio’
<i>lʃtail</i>	<i>liʃtail</i>	‘style’

(b) The high front unrounded vowel is being inserted in the medial position of words to break the onset clusters in English loanwords in Sylheti as illustrated in the following examples with the help of given phonological rules:



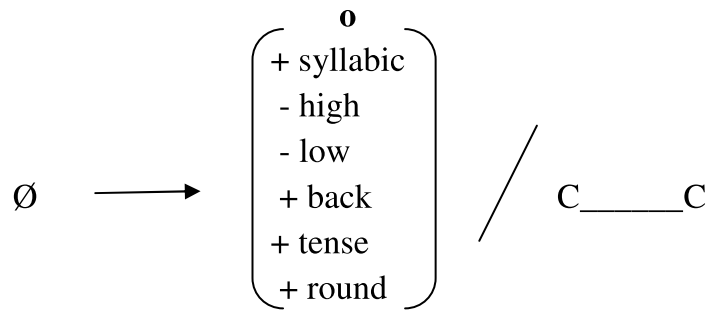
<b>English</b>	<b>Sylheti</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>lʃkri:m/</i>	<i>liʃkirim/</i>	‘cream’
<i>lʃklik/</i>	<i>liʃkɪlik/</i>	‘click’
<i>lʃklɪp/</i>	<i>liʃkɪlip<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘clip’
<i>lʃslɪp/</i>	<i>liʃsɪlip<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘slip’
<i>lʃfri:z/</i>	<i>liʃp<sup>h</sup>iriz/</i>	‘freeze’
<i>lʃfri:/</i>	<i>liʃp<sup>h</sup>iri/</i>	‘free’

(c) The mid front unrounded vowel is being inserted in the medial position of words to break the onset clusters in English loanwords in Sylheti as illustrated in the following examples with the help of given phonological rules:



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/dreɪn/</i>	<i>/dereɪn/</i>	‘drain’
<i>/treɪn/</i>	<i>/tereɪn/</i>	‘train’
<i>/dres/</i>	<i>/dɛres/</i>	‘dress’
<i>/treɪ/</i>	<i>/tɛ,ere/</i>	‘tray’
<i>/blæk/</i>	<i>/belek/</i>	‘black’
<i>/pleɪt/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>eɪt/</i>	‘plate’
<i>/flæt/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>eɪt/</i>	‘flat’

(d) The mid back rounded vowel is being inserted in the medial position of word to break the onset clusters in English loanwords in Sylheti. It is worth mentioning here that insertion of mid back rounded vowel to break the onset cluster in English loanwords in Sylheti is not frequently found as illustrated in the following example with the help of given phonological rules:

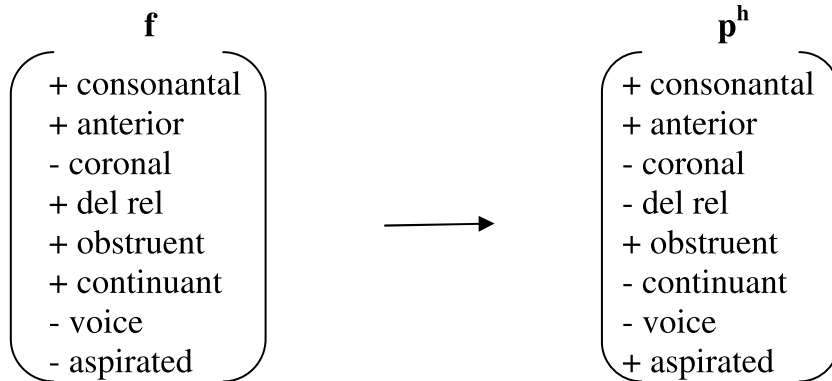


<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/gla:s/	/gollas/	‘glass’
/frɒk/	/p <sup>h</sup> orog/	‘frock’
/blɒk/	/bolok/	‘block’
/bɒks/	/bak <sup>h</sup> ʂo/	‘box’

**3.1.4. Consonant shifting:**

Like many other Indian languages, Sylheti does not have labio-dental fricatives in its phonological structure. Therefore, the English labio-dental fricatives /f/ and /v/ are generally substituted by the aspirated voiceless bilabial stop /p<sup>h</sup>/ and the voiced bilabial stop /b/ in English loanwords in Sylheti respectively. Interestingly, the sifting of consonant is found in both onset and coda position of the syllable as illustrated below:

(a) The voiceless labio-dental fricative /f/ became the aspirated voiceless bilabial stop /p<sup>h</sup>/ in English loanwords in Sylheti as illustrated in the following examples:



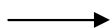
<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/fæn/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>en/</i>	‘fan’
<i>/fæktril/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ekʈoril/</i>	‘factory’
<i>/fæk<sup>ə</sup>ltil/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ekalʈil/</i>	‘faculty’
<i>/fæks/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>eks/</i>	‘fax’
<i>/fæmilil/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>emilil/</i>	‘family’
<i>/feivə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ebar/</i>	‘favour’
<i>/feivərit/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ebareit/</i>	‘favourite’
<i>/fit/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>it/</i>	‘fit’
<i>/faɪl/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>aɪl/</i>	‘file’
<i>/fɪlm/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ilim/</i>	‘film’
<i>/foʊldə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>oulɖar/</i>	‘folder’
<i>/fʊtbɔ:l/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ut,boll/</i>	‘football’
<i>/fʊtpa:θ/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>utp<sup>h</sup>at/</i>	‘footpath’
<i>/frɪdʒ/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>iriz/</i>	‘fridge’
<i>/fɔ:ˈmjʊlə/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ormula/</i>	‘formula’
<i>/frɒk/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>orog/</i>	‘frock’

<i>/fʌŋkʃən/</i>	<i>/pʰaŋsən/</i>	‘function’
<i>/fɜːˈnɪʃə/</i>	<i>/pʰarnɪsər/</i>	‘furniture’
<i>/soʊfəl/</i>	<i>/supʰəl/</i>	‘sofa’
<i>/ʃɪʃt/</i>	<i>/ʃipʰt/</i>	‘shift’
<i>/tɛlɪgrɑːf/</i>	<i>/tɛlɪgrəpʰ/</i>	‘telegraph’
<i>/tɛlɪfoʊn/</i>	<i>/tɛlɪpʰon/</i>	‘telephone’
<i>/tʌʃl/</i>	<i>/təpʰ/</i>	‘tough’
<i>/træfɪk/</i>	<i>/trəpʰɪk/</i>	‘traffic’
<i>/trænsfɜːr/</i>	<i>/tɛnsʰər/</i>	‘transfer’
<i>/taɪfɔɪd/</i>	<i>/taɪpʰoɪd/</i>	‘typhoid’
<i>/ʌnfɪt/</i>	<i>/ənpʰɪt/</i>	‘unfit’
<i>/ʌŋgrɛɪfʊl/</i>	<i>/əŋgrɛɪpʰʊl/</i>	‘ungrateful’
<i>/ʌnsɛɪf/</i>	<i>/ənsɛɪpʰ/</i>	‘unsafe’
<i>/ʌnsəkseɪfʊl/</i>	<i>/ənsəkseɪpʰʊl/</i>	‘unsuccessful’
<i>/juːsfʊl/</i>	<i>/juːzʰʊl/</i>	‘useful’
<i>/rʌʃl/</i>	<i>/rəpʰ/</i>	‘rough’
<i>/skɑːʃ/</i>	<i>/ɪskəpʰ/</i>	‘scarf’
<i>/stɑːf/</i>	<i>/ɪstəpʰ/</i>	‘staff’
<i>/sʌfə/</i>	<i>/səpʰər/</i>	‘suffer’
<i>/sʌfɪks/</i>	<i>/səpʰɪks/</i>	‘suffix’

(b) The voiced labio-dental fricative */v/* became the voiced bilabial stop */b/* in English loanwords in Sylheti as summarized in the following examples:

**v**

+ consonantal  
+ anterior  
- coronal  
+ del release  
+ continuant  
+ voice  
- aspirated



**b**

+ consonantal  
+ anterior  
- coronal  
- del release  
-continuant  
+ voice  
- aspirated

<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/rɪz:ˈv/</i>	<i>/rɪz<b>ab</b>/</i>	‘reserve’
<i>/rɪvju:/</i>	<i>/rɪ<b>bi</b>u/</i>	‘review’
<i>/rɪvɪʒˈn/</i>	<i>/rɪ<b>bi</b>ʒon/</i>	‘revision’
<i>/sɒlv/</i>	<i>/sɒ<b>l</b>/</i>	‘solve’
<i>/sensɪtv/</i>	<i>/sensɪ<b>t</b>ɪb/</i>	‘sensitive’
<i>/sɜ:ˈvˈnt/</i>	<i>/sɜr<b>b</b>ent/</i>	‘servant’
<i>/sɜ:ˈvəˈr/</i>	<i>/sɜr<b>b</b>ar/</i>	‘server’
<i>/ʃeɪv/</i>	<i>/ʃe<b>i</b>b/</i>	‘shave’
<i>/trævˈl/</i>	<i>/tr<b>e</b>bell/</i>	‘travel’
<i>/ti:vi:/</i>	<i>/tɪ<b>b</b>i/</i>	‘TV’
<i>/veɪkənsɪ/</i>	<i>/b<b>e</b>kensɪ/</i>	‘vacancy’
<i>/veɪkənt/</i>	<i>/b<b>e</b>kent/</i>	‘vacant’
<i>/vedʒaɪnəl/</i>	<i>/b<b>e</b>zɪnəl/</i>	‘vagina’
<i>/vælɪd/</i>	<i>/b<b>e</b>lɪd/</i>	‘valid’
<i>/vəkeɪʃˈn/</i>	<i>/b<b>e</b>keʃon/</i>	‘vacation’

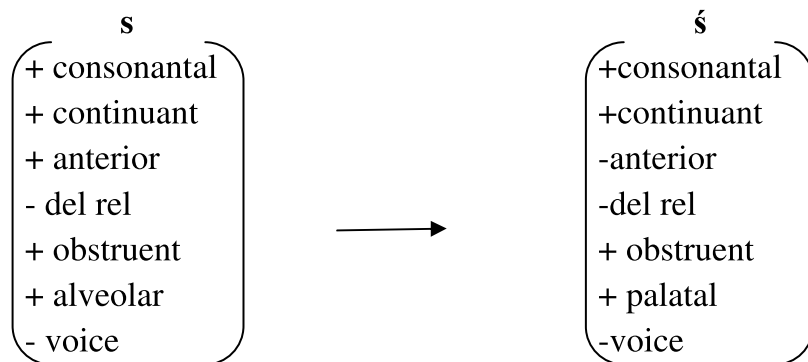


<i>/væksi:n/</i>	<i>/beksɪn/</i>	‘vaccine’
<i>/væli/</i>	<i>/beli/</i>	‘valley’
<i>/væljʊəb<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/beluebull/</i>	‘valuable’
<i>/væljʊ:/</i>	<i>/belʊ/</i>	‘value’
<i>/vælv/</i>	<i>/bɒlv/</i>	‘valve’
<i>/væn/</i>	<i>/ben/</i>	‘van’
<i>/væsəli:n/</i>	<i>/beselin/</i>	‘vaseline’
<i>/vedʒtəb<sup>ə</sup>l/</i>	<i>/beziʒebull/</i>	‘vegetable’
<i>/ventileɪtə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/benʃileɪtə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	‘ventilator’
<i>/ventʃə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/bencə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	‘venture’
<i>/venjʊ:/</i>	<i>/benʊ/</i>	‘venue’
<i>/vɜ:<sup>r</sup>b/</i>	<i>/bɜ:<sup>r</sup>b/</i>	‘verb’
<i>/baɪə/</i>	<i>/baɪə/</i>	‘via’
<i>/vɪktɪm/</i>	<i>/bɪkʃɪm/</i>	‘victim’
<i>/vɪdiəʊ/</i>	<i>/bɪdɪəʊ/</i>	‘video’
<i>/vjʊ:/</i>	<i>/biʊ/</i>	‘view’
<i>/vɪlə/</i>	<i>/bɪlə/</i>	‘villa’
<i>/vɪlən/</i>	<i>/bɪleɪn/</i>	‘villain’
<i>/vi: ai pi:/</i>	<i>/bi ai pi/</i>	‘VIP’
<i>/vaɪə<sup>r</sup>əs/</i>	<i>/baɪə<sup>r</sup>əs/</i>	‘virus’
<i>/vi:zəl/</i>	<i>/bɪsəl/</i>	‘visa’
<i>/vɪzɪt/</i>	<i>/bɪzɪt/</i>	‘visit’
<i>/vɪzɪtə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	<i>/bɪzɪtə<sup>r</sup>/</i>	‘visitor’

<i>/vaɪtəl/</i>	<i>/baɪtəl/</i>	‘vital’
<i>/vɪtəmin/</i>	<i>/bɪtəmin/</i>	‘vitamin’
<i>/vaɪvəl/</i>	<i>/baɪvəl/</i>	‘viva’
<i>/vɔɪs/</i>	<i>/boɪs/</i>	‘voice’
<i>/vɒlibɔ:l/</i>	<i>/bɒlibɒl/</i>	‘volleyball’
<i>/vɒlɪdʒ/</i>	<i>/bɒlɪz/</i>	‘voltage’
<i>/vɒlju:m/</i>	<i>/bɒlium/</i>	‘volume’
<i>/vɒut/</i>	<i>/bʊt/</i>	‘vote’
<i>/vɒutə/</i>	<i>/bʊtə/</i>	‘voter’
<i>/vaʊtʃəl/</i>	<i>/baʊtʃəl/</i>	‘voucher’

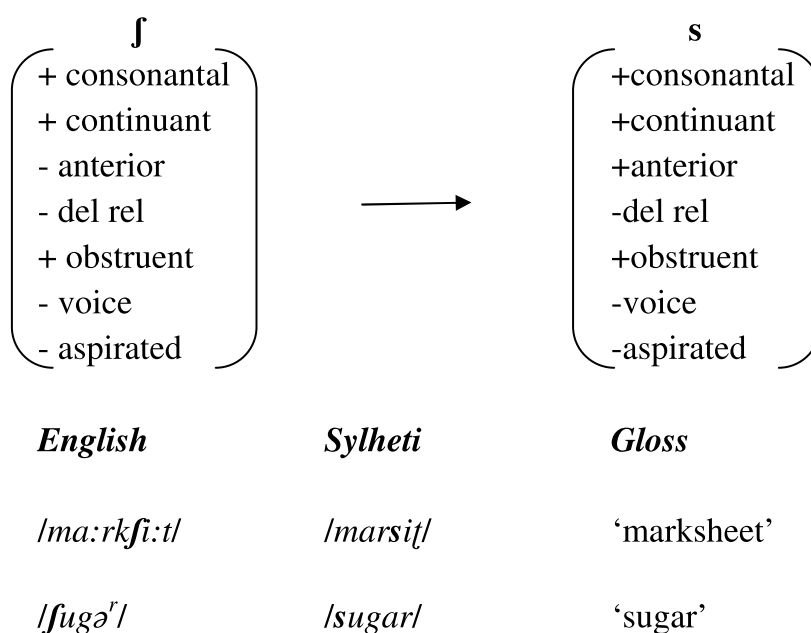
Apart from the above process of consonant shifting, there are various processes of consonant shifting in English loanwords in Sylheti which are also illustrated in the following sections:

(c) The alveolar fricative /s/ becomes palatal fricative /ʃ/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. Interestingly, the process of shifting from the alveolar fricative /s/ to the palatal fricative /ʃ/ is found in initial, medial and final position of words as illustrated in the following examples with given phonological rules:



<b>English</b>	<b>Sylheti</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>/kʌstəmər/</i>	<i>/kaʃtomar/</i>	‘customer’
<i>/dɪstɜːb/</i>	<i>/dʒiʃtab/</i>	‘disturb’
<i>/dʌstər/</i>	<i>/dʒaʃtar/</i>	‘duster’
<i>/estimeɪt/</i>	<i>/iʃtimeiʃ/</i>	‘estimate’
<i>/gæs/</i>	<i>/geʃ/</i>	‘gas’
<i>/hɪstəri/</i>	<i>/hiʃtri/</i>	‘history’
<i>/ɪʃjuː/</i>	<i>/iʃul/</i>	‘issue’
<i>/ɪndəstri/</i>	<i>/ɪndʒaʃtri/</i>	‘industry’
<i>/kerəsiːn/</i>	<i>/kʰeraʃin/</i>	‘kerosene’
<i>/maːstər/</i>	<i>/maʃtor/</i>	‘master’
<i>/mɪnɪstər/</i>	<i>/mɪniʃtar/</i>	‘minister’
<i>/ɒfɪs/</i>	<i>/opʰiʃ/</i>	‘office’
<i>/pəliːs/</i>	<i>/pʰuliʃ/</i>	‘police’
<i>/pəʊstər/</i>	<i>/pouʃtar/</i>	‘poster’
<i>/pəʊstɪŋ/</i>	<i>/pouʃtɪŋ/</i>	‘posting’
<i>/siːl/</i>	<i>/ʃil/</i>	‘seal’
<i>/stæmɪnəl/</i>	<i>/iʃtemina/</i>	‘stamina’
<i>/stæmp/</i>	<i>/iʃtam/</i>	‘stamp’
<i>/stɔːr/</i>	<i>/iʃtour/</i>	‘store’
<i>/sɪrəp/</i>	<i>/ʃirapʰ/</i>	‘syrup’
<i>/sɪstəm/</i>	<i>/siʃtem/</i>	‘system’

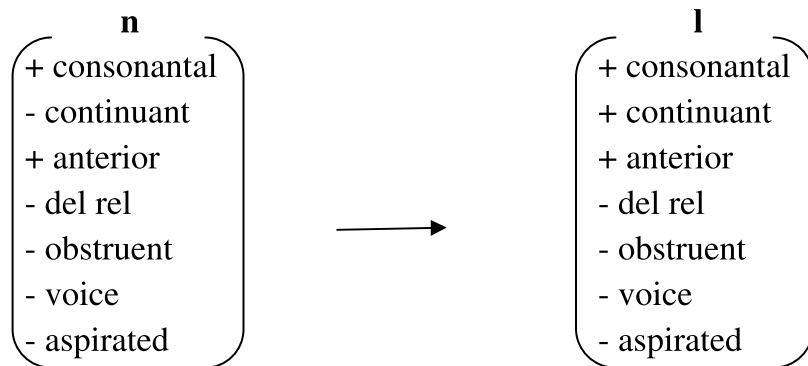
(d) The palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ becomes the alveolar fricative /s/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. It may be the reason that Sylheti does not have the palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ in its phonological structure. Therefore, the palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ of English is generally substituted by the alveolar fricative /s/. The process of shifting of palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/ to alveolar fricative /s/ is found in initial and medial position of words as shown in the following examples with given phonological rules.



(e) The voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ becomes the voiceless palatal fricative /ç/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. It may be the reason Sylheti does not have the palato-alveolar fricatives /ʃ & ʒ/ in its phonological structure. Therefore, the voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/ of English is generally substituted by the palatal fricative /ç/. It is worth mentioning here that the process of shifting from the voiced palato alveolar fricative /ʒ/ to the voiceless palatal fricative /ç/ is found only in medial position of word particularly in the third or fourth syllable as illustrated in the following examples with given phonological rules:

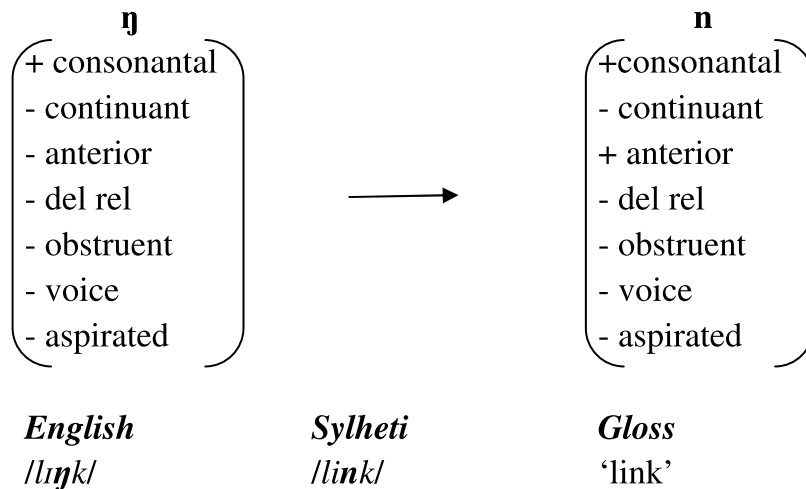
<p><b>ʒ</b></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 15px; padding: 10px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> + consonantal  + continuant  - anterior  - del rel  + obstruent  + voice  - aspirated </div>	<p>→</p>	<p><b>ʃ</b></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; border-radius: 15px; padding: 10px; width: fit-content; margin: 0 auto;"> +consonantal  +continuant  -anterior  -del rel  +obstruent  -voice  -aspirated </div>
<b>English</b>	<b>Sylheti</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>/dɪvɪʒ<sup>ʒ</sup>n/</i>	<i>/dʒibɪʃ<sup>ʃ</sup>on/</i>	‘division’
<i>/əkeɪʒ<sup>ʒ</sup>n/</i>	<i>/okeʃ<sup>ʃ</sup>on/</i>	‘occasion’
<i>/rɪvɪʒ<sup>ʒ</sup>n/</i>	<i>/rɪbɪʃ<sup>ʃ</sup>on/</i>	‘revision’
<i>/telɪvɪʒ<sup>ʒ</sup>n/</i>	<i>/tɛlibɪʃ<sup>ʃ</sup>on/</i>	‘television’

(f) The alveolar nasal /n/ becomes alveolar lateral /l/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. Nevertheless the process of shifting from the alveolar nasal /n/ to the alveolar lateral /l/ is found only in word initial position. It is important to note that the same process of consonant shifting is rarely found in English loanwords in English as evidenced from the availability of the single example as demonstrated below with the given phonological rule:

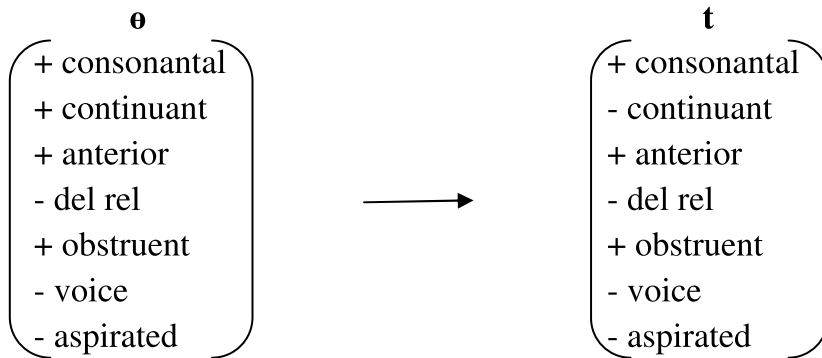


<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/naɪlɒn/</i>	<i>//ailon/</i>	'nylon'

(g) The velar nasal /ŋ/ becomes alveolar nasal /n/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. The process of shifting from the velar nasal /ŋ/ to the alveolar nasal /n/ is found only in word medial position. It is important to note that the same process of consonant shifting is rarely found in English loanwords in English as evidenced from the availability of the single example as shown below with the given phonological rule:

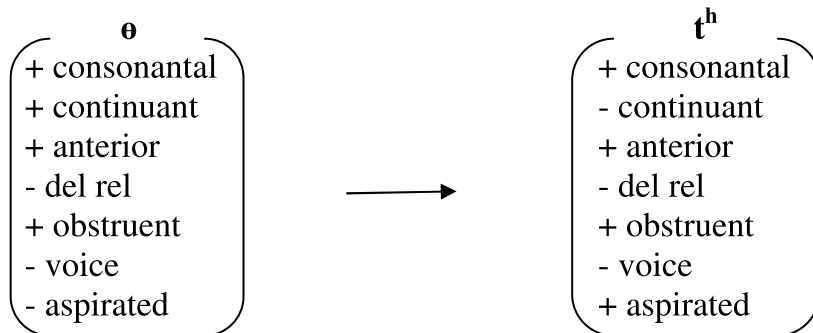


(h) The voiceless dental fricative /θ/ becomes the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ in English loanwords in Sylheti. It may be reason that Sylheti does not have the dental fricative /θ/ in its phonological structure. Therefore, the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ of English is generally substituted by the voiceless alveolar fricative /t/. It is worth noting that the process of shifting from the voiceless dental fricative /θ/ to the voiceless alveolar stop /t/ is found only in word medial and final positions of words as shown in the following examples with the given phonological rule:



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/ba:θru:m/</i>	<i>/batrum/</i>	‘bathroom’
<i>/pa:θ/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>ot/</i>	‘path’
<i>/pɒliθi:n/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>olitin/</i>	‘polythene’
<i>/sɪmpəθi/</i>	<i>/sɪmpeti/</i>	‘sympathy’
<i>/sɪmθetɪk/</i>	<i>/sɪntetɪk/</i>	‘synthetic’
<i>/tu:θpeɪst/</i>	<i>/t<sup>h</sup>utpeɪst/</i>	‘toothpaste’
<i>/ʌnhelθi/</i>	<i>/ʌnhelti/</i>	‘unhealthy’

(i) Unaspirated Dental fricative /θ/ becomes aspirated alveolar stop /t<sup>h</sup>/ in English loanwords in Sylheti as illustrated in the following examples with phonological rules:



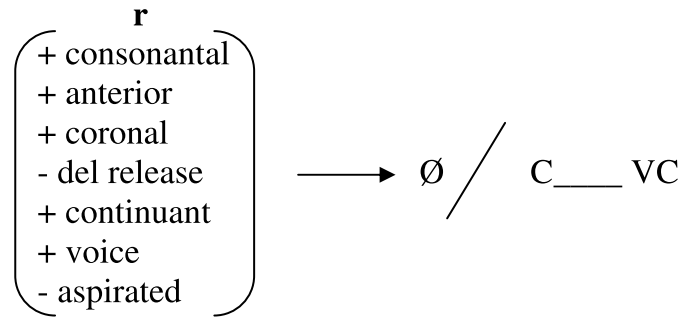
<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/əæŋkju:/	/tʰenkiu/	‘thankyou’
/θi:ətəʳ/	/tʰietar/	‘theatre’
/θi:m/	/tʰim/	‘theme’
/θɪəri/	/tʰioril/	‘theory’
/θəʳmɒmitəʳ/	/tʰarmomitər/	‘thermometre’
/θi:sis/	/tʰesis/	‘thesis’
/θɜ:ʳd/	/tʰard/	‘third’
/θred/	/tʰred/	‘thread’
/θret/	/tʰret/	‘threat’
/θretənɪŋ/	/tʰretenɪŋ/	‘threatening’
/θʌg/	/tʰog/	‘thug’

#### 4.1.5. Consonant deletion

It is generally accepted that the consonant deletion plays a significant role to nativize the syllabic structure of source language to fit into the syllabic structure of a recipient language or a dialect. The same phonological adaptation is commonly found in English loanwords in Sylheti. Thus the syllable final or non-final consonants are being dropped in English loanwords in Sylheti to break up the initial or final clusters of English to get the permitted syllabic structure of Sylheti in the form of either **CV** or **CVC** as can be seen in the following examples:

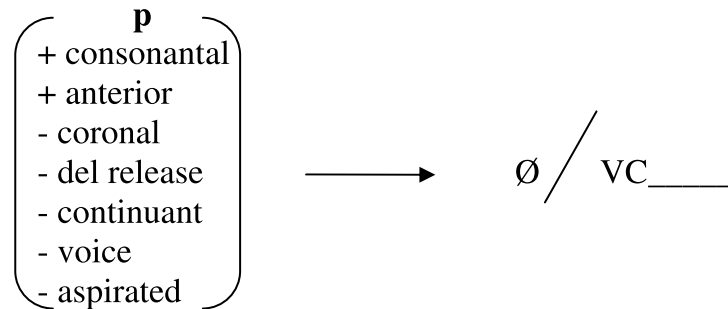


(a)



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/lɒbrəri/</i>	<i>/laiberi/</i>	‘library’
<i>/prezɪdənt/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>esident/</i>	‘president’
<i>/trʌk/</i>	<i>/tak<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘truck’

(b)



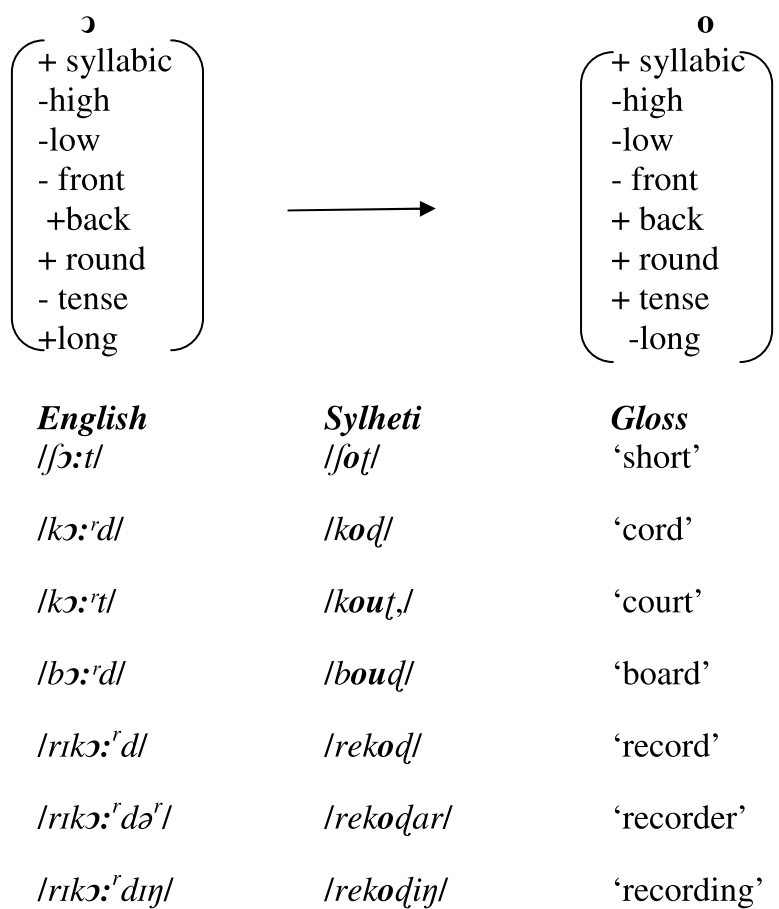
<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
<i>/læmp/</i>	<i>/lem/</i>	‘lamp’
<i>/pʌmp/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>am/</i>	‘pump’

#### 4.1.6. Vowel Shortening:

Like standard Bengali and Assamese, Sylheti does not contrast long vs. short distinction in the case of vocalic phonemes. Naturally, the long vowel of

English becomes short ones probably before the voiceless stop sounds in the borrowed words in Sylheti. However, this type of phonological adaptation is rarely found in English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced by the availability of single example as illustrated below:

(a)



(b)

<p><b>a:</b></p> <p>+ syllabic - high + low + front -back - round - tense +long</p>	→	<p><b>a</b></p> <p>+ syllabic - high + low + front - back - round - tense - long</p>
<b>English</b>	<b>Sylheti</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
/ga: <sup>r</sup> d/	/gaq./	‘guard’
/ka: <sup>r</sup> d/	/kaq./	‘card’
/tfa: <sup>r</sup> t/	/cat/	‘chart’
/ha: <sup>r</sup> t/	/hat/	‘heart’

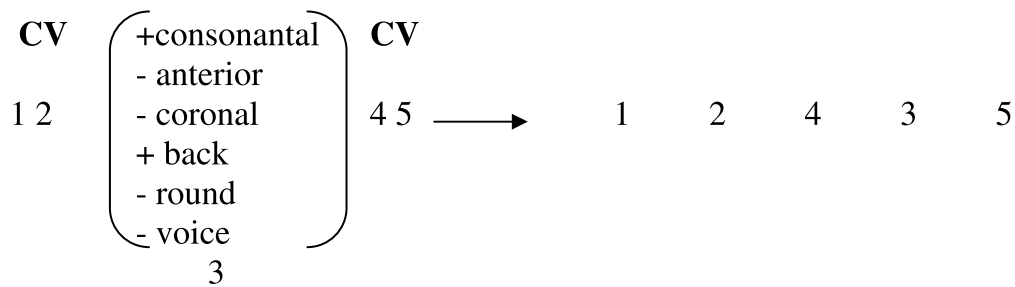
(c)

<p><b>ɜ:</b></p> <p>+ syllabic -high -low -front - back + tense - round + long</p>	→	<p><b>a</b></p> <p>+ syllabic - high + low + front + back - tense - round - long</p>
<b>English</b>	<b>Sylheti</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
/kənʒ: <sup>r</sup> m/	/konp <sup>h</sup> arom/	‘confirm’
/dɪstɜ: <sup>r</sup> b/	/dɪʃtab/	‘disturb’
/fɜ: <sup>r</sup> st/	/p <sup>h</sup> ast/	‘first’

/ʃɜ:t/	/ʃaʈ/	‘shirt’
/θɜ:rɔd/	/tʰaɔd/	‘third’

#### 4.1.7. Metathesis:

A few of English loan words in Sylheti shows the interchange of two consonants i.e., the sequence of stop /k/ plus sibilants sounds /s/ or /ʃ/ in English becomes sibilants /s/ or /ʃ/ plus stop /k/ in Sylheti Bengali. It may be the reason that the sequences of said consonants are not permitted in syllabic structure of Sylheti so that the same sequence of sounds interchange to get permitted syllabic structure of Sylheti as shown in the following examples:



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/tæk.sil/	/teski/	‘taxi’
/rɪk.ʃɔ:l/	/riʃka/	‘rickshaw’
/æksɪdənt/	/eskiɔn/	‘accident’
/lektʃə/	/leskar/	‘lecture’

Conversely the sequence of sibilant /s/ plus stop /k/ in English interchange into the sequence of stop /k/ plus sibilant /s/ in loanwords in Sylheti as can be seen in the following examples:

/desk/	/deks/	‘desk’
/desktp/	/deksɔp/	‘desktop’

*/risk/*

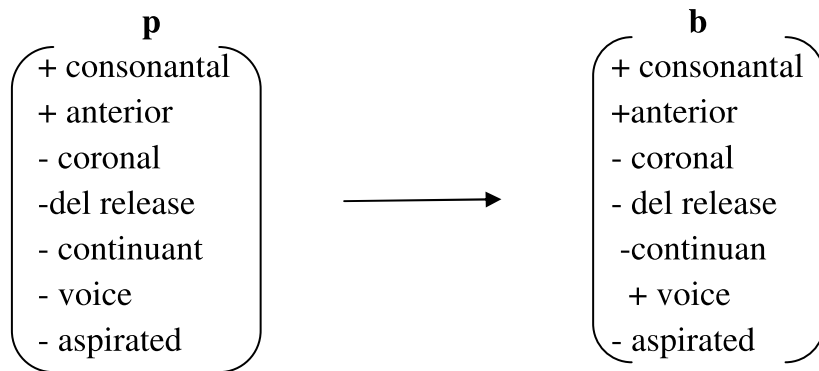
*/riks/*

‘risk’

#### 4.1.8. Voicing:

A few English loanwords in Sylheti show the voicing assimilation, the voiceless stops */p/*, */t/* and */k/* in English loanwords become voiced in between two sonorant sounds as illustrated in the following examples:

(a)



*English*

*Sylheti*

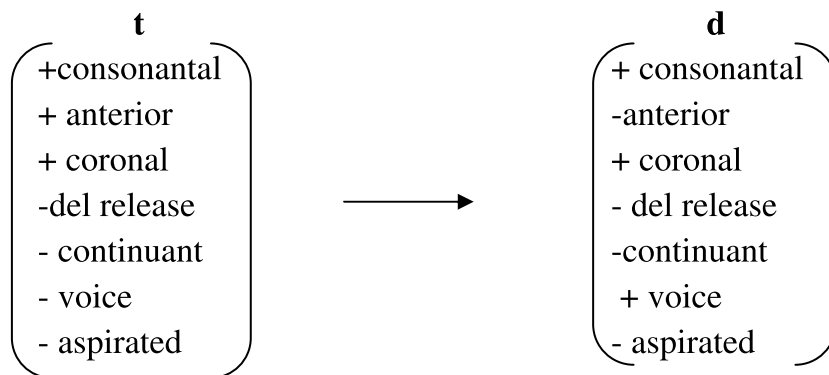
*Gloss*

*/lpsʈik/*

*//libeʃʈik/*

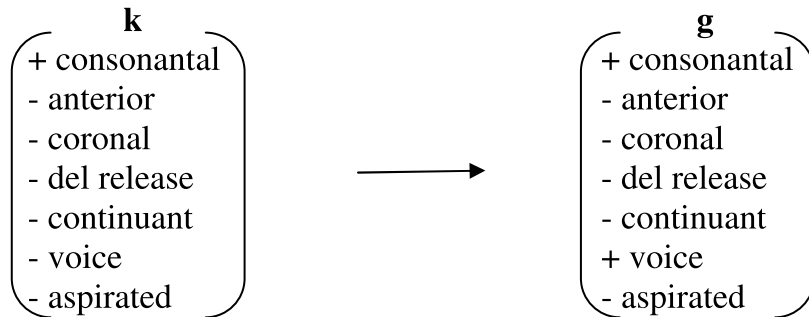
‘lip stick’

(b)



<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/ka:ˈtrɪdʒ/	/karɽidʒ/	‘catridge’
/ka:ˈtʰn/	/karɽon/	‘carton’

(c)

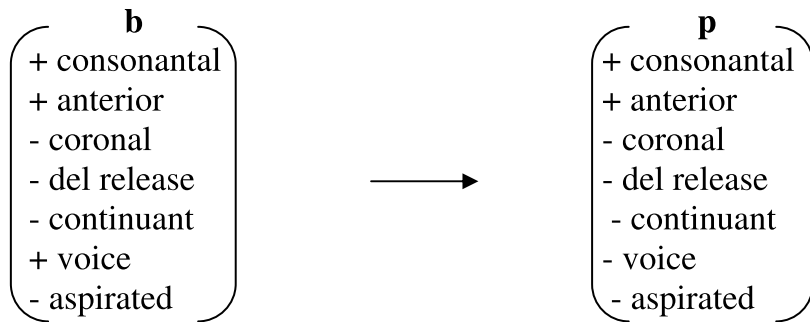


<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/sɪkɒnd/	/seɽent/	‘second’
/pɒkɪt/	/p <sup>h</sup> oɽet/	‘pocket’
/pækɪt/	/p <sup>h</sup> eɽet/	‘packet’
/sekəndrɪl/	/seɽendɽarɪl/	‘secondary’
/sekrətrɪl/	/seɽreɽarɪl/	‘secretary’

#### 4.1.9. Devoicing:

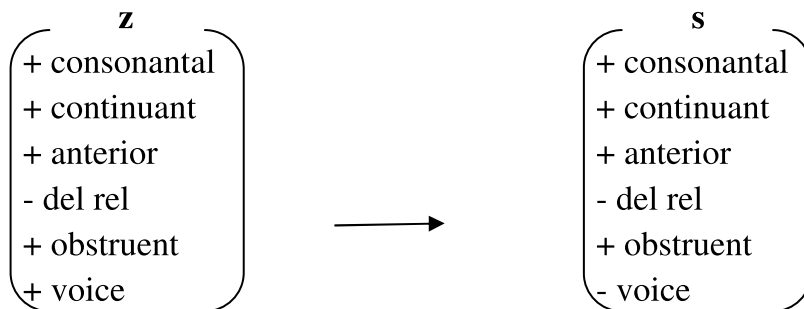
In Sylheti, the voiced stop cannot occur in the final position of a word or a syllable as described in the following sections.

(a) In English loanwords in Sylheti, the unaspirated voiced stops /b, d, & g/ are substituted by their voiceless counterparts /p, t, & k/ word finally as demonstrated in the following examples with given phonological rules:



<i><b>English</b></i>	<i><b>Sylheti</b></i>	<i><b>Gloss</b></i>
<i>/tʌb/</i>	<i>/top/</i>	‘tub’
<i>/pæd/</i>	<i>/pet/</i>	‘pad’
<i>/bæg/</i>	<i>/bek/</i>	‘bag’
<i>/bleɪd/</i>	<i>/bileɪt/</i>	‘blade’

(b) Unlike the above, the voiced alveolar fricative /z/ becomes voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ in English loanwords in Sylheti in word medial position of words. The process of devoicing is taken place in the word medial position of words as can be seen in the following examples with the given phonological rules:

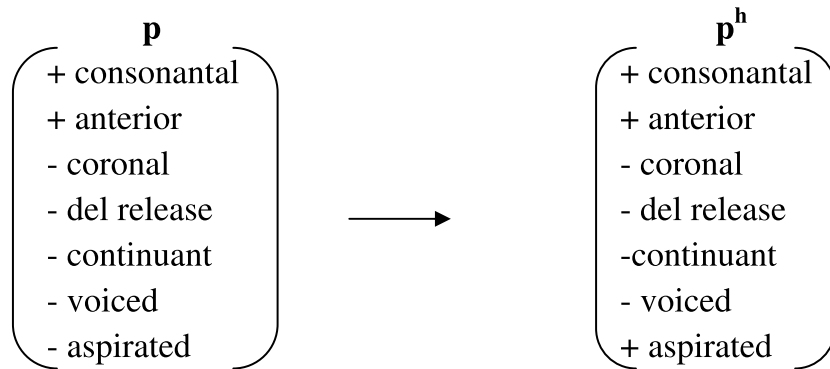


<i><b>English</b></i>	<i><b>Sylheti</b></i>	<i><b>Gloss</b></i>
<i>/rezɪdəns/</i>	<i>/resɪdɛns/</i>	‘residence’
<i>/seɪlzmən/</i>	<i>/seɪlsmen/</i>	‘salesman’
<i>/vi:zəl/</i>	<i>/bisəl/</i>	‘visa’

#### 4.1.10. Aspiration:

Generally, the voiceless stops /*p*, *t*, & *k*/ are phonetically aspirated in the initial position of a syllable in Sylheti except in a few cases. Consequently, the voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop /*p*/ became the voiceless aspirated bilabial stop [p<sup>h</sup>] in English loanwords in Sylheti as summarized in the following examples:

(a)

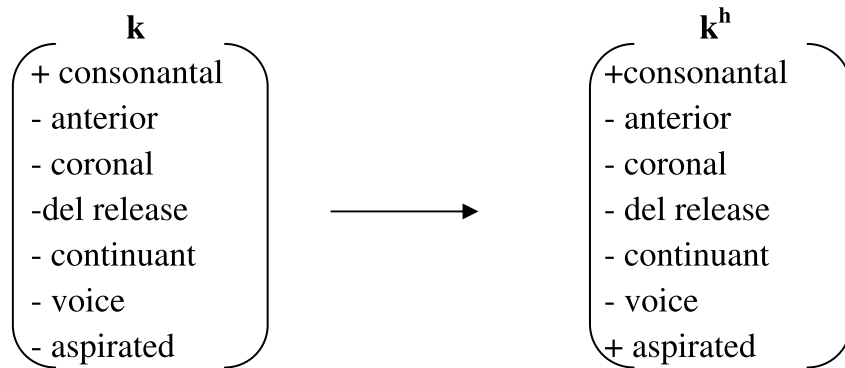


<i>English</i>	<i>Sylheti</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
/kʌp/	/kʌp <sup>h</sup> /	‘cup’
/mæp/	/mæp <sup>h</sup> /	‘map’
/pəli:s/	/p <sup>h</sup> uli/	‘police’
/pʊdər/	/p <sup>h</sup> audər/	‘powder’
/pʊər/	/p <sup>h</sup> awər/	‘power’
/pɑ:θ/	/p <sup>h</sup> ot/	‘path’
/pænt/	/p <sup>h</sup> ent/	‘pant’
/pens <sup>l</sup> /	/p <sup>h</sup> ensil/	‘pencil’



<i>/penʃən/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>enʃən/</i>	‘pension’
<i>/pɒkɪt/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>oget/</i>	‘pocket’
<i>/pækɪt/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>eget/</i>	‘packet’
<i>/paɪp/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>aɪb/</i>	‘pipe’
<i>/pɒlɪʃ/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>alɪʃ/</i>	‘polish’
<i>/pɒliθi:n/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>olitin/</i>	‘polythene’
<i>/paʊdər/</i>	<i>/p<sup>h</sup>auɖar/</i>	‘powder’
<i>/sɪrəp/</i>	<i>/sɪrəp<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘syrup’
<i>/teɪp/</i>	<i>/tɛp<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘tape’
<i>/trɪp/</i>	<i>/tɪp<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘trip’

(b) The unaspirated stop /k/ sound becomes aspirated /k<sup>h</sup>/ in English loan words in Sylheti as summarized in the following examples with phonological rules:



<b>English</b>	<b>Sylheti</b>	<b>Gloss</b>
<i>/tʃɔ:k/</i>	<i>/tsok<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘chalk’
<i>/trʌk/</i>	<i>/tak<sup>h</sup>/</i>	‘truck’

## 4.2. Morphological processes:

**4.2.1. Loan compounding:** In loan compounds, there is a combination of loan words and native ones in which the loan elements usually follow the native elements. According to their structures, different types of loan compounding are attested in Sylheti such as:

### 4.2.1.1. Noun (native) + noun (loan)

In Sylheti loan words, noun plus noun particularly sylheti nouns and English nouns are very common as many other languages of the world do. So a loan compounding is found in the household items as demonstrated below. As mentioned earlier, the loan elements (nouns) usually follow the native ones (nouns). It is also noticed that the reverse order that is, English loan nouns plus Sylheti loan nouns is totally absent in the whole loan construction as evidenced from the ungrammaticality of the following constructions.

- |      |                             |                           |                          |
|------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1a) | <i>bazar</i>                | <i>bek</i>                | ‘bag used for marketing’ |
| (1b) | * <i>bek</i>                | <i>bazar</i>              |                          |
| (2a) | <i>sabon</i>                | <i>keis</i>               | ‘soap case’              |
| (2b) | * <i>keis</i>               | <i>sabon</i>              |                          |
| (3a) | <i>p<sup>h</sup>ani</i>     | <i>butol</i>              | ‘water bottle’           |
| (3b) | * <i>butol</i>              | <i>p<sup>h</sup>ani</i>   |                          |
| (4a) | <i>k<sup>h</sup>at</i>      | <i>p<sup>h</sup>ensil</i> | ‘wood pencil’            |
| (4b) | * <i>p<sup>h</sup>ensil</i> | <i>k<sup>h</sup>at</i>    |                          |
| (5a) | <i>biddut</i>               | <i>lain</i>               | ‘electric line’          |
| (5b) | * <i>lain</i>               | <i>biddut</i>             |                          |

(6a) *lsa*                    *istoll*                    ‘tea stall’

(6b) \**istol*                    *sa*

#### 4.2.1.2. Adjective (native) + noun (loan)

The same order is followed in the case of [ADJECTIVE + NOUN] loan compounding. In other words the adjective precedes the loan nouns regularly. In this type of loan compound, the English loan nouns became the head of the compound. It is also noticed that the head cannot be in the left side of the compound construction that is the adjective plus loan noun compound in Sylheti is right headed one. It is worth mentioning that the reverse order [NOUN+ ADJECTIVE] is not permitted in the English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced from the ungrammaticality of the following example (7b) – (15b).

(7a) *lal*                    *bek*                    ‘red bag’

(7b) \**bek*                    *lal*

(8a) *rongin*                    *p<sup>h</sup>oto*                    ‘colour photo’

(8b) \**p<sup>h</sup>oto*                    *rongin*

(9a) *rongin*                    *telibiśon*                    ‘colour television’

(9b) \**telibiśon*                    *rongin*

(10a) *śada*                    *śat*                    ‘white shirt’

(10b) \**śat*                    *śada*

(11a) *k<sup>h</sup>ala*                    *p<sup>h</sup>ent*                    ‘black pant’

(11b) \**p<sup>h</sup>ent*                    *k<sup>h</sup>ala*

(12a) *d<sup>h</sup>ar*                    *bileiṭ*                    ‘sharp blade’

(12b) \**bileiṭ*                    *d<sup>h</sup>ar*

(13a) *k<sup>h</sup>arap<sup>h</sup>*                    *hebiṭ*                    ‘bad habit’

(13b) \**hebiṭ*                    *k<sup>h</sup>arap<sup>h</sup>*

- (14a) *lk<sup>h</sup>arap<sup>h</sup>*      *rekodl*      ‘bad record’  
 (14b) \**rekodl*      *k<sup>h</sup>arap<sup>h</sup>*  
 (15a) *lkoṛa*      *d̪iuṭil*      ‘strong duty’  
 (15b) \**d̪iuṭ*      *koṛai*

#### 4.2.1.3. Numeral (native) + noun (loan)

In this type of loan compound the numeral precedes the noun. However the loan noun is the head of the compound. So the head is in the right side of the compound construction that is the [NUMERAL + NOUN] compound in Sylheti is right headed compound. It is worth mentioning that the reverse order [NOUN + NUMERAL] is not permitted in the English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced from the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

- (16a) *ek<sup>h</sup>*      *nombor*      ‘number one’  
 (16b) \**nombor*      *ek<sup>h</sup>*  
 (17a) *dui*      *nombor*      ‘number two’  
 (17b) \**nombor*      *dui*  
 (18a) *ek<sup>h</sup>*      *minit*      ‘one minute’  
 (18b) \**minit*      *ek<sup>h</sup>*  
 (19a) *dui*      *segen*      ‘two seconds’  
 (19b) \**segen*      *dui*  
 (20a) *dui*      *miṭar*      ‘two metres’  
 (20b) \**miṭar*      *dui*  
 (21a) *ek<sup>h</sup>*      *p<sup>h</sup>uṭ*      ‘one foot’  
 (21b) \**p<sup>h</sup>uṭ*      *ek<sup>h</sup>*  
 (22a) *dui*      *intsi*      ‘two inches’

- (22b) \**intsi*      *dui*
- (23a) *ek<sup>h</sup>*      *liṭar*      ‘one litre’
- (23b) \**liṭar*      *ek<sup>h</sup>*
- (24a) *ek<sup>h</sup>*      *mail*      ‘one mile’
- (24b) \**mail*      *ek<sup>h</sup>*
- (25a) *ek<sup>h</sup>*      *kezi*      ‘one kg’
- (25b) \**kezi*      *ek<sup>h</sup>*

#### 4.2.1. 4. Noun (loan) + verb (native)

Unlike the above types of compound, in [NOUN+ VERB] compound, the noun precedes the verb. It is worth mentioning that the reverse order [VERB+ NOUN] is not permitted in the English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced from the ungrammaticality of the following examples:

- (26a) *kiket*      *k<sup>h</sup>el-a*      ‘playing cricket’  
           cricket      play-INF
- (26b) \**k<sup>h</sup>el-a*      *kiket*
- (27a) *ḡens*      *deo-a*      ‘dancing’  
           dance      give-INF
- (27b) \**deo-a*      *ḡens*
- (28a) *ḡirinḡ*      *k<sup>h</sup>or-a*      ‘drinking’  
           drink      do-INF
- (28b) \**k<sup>h</sup>o-ra*      *ḡirinḡ*

(29a)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>uʈbol</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ela</i>	‘to play football’
	Football	play-INF	
(29b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ela</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>uʈbol</i>	
(30a)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>en</i>	<i>sola</i>	‘moving fan’
	fan	move-INF	
(30b)	* <i>sola</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>en</i>	
(31a)	<i>tibi</i>	<i>dek<sup>h</sup>-a</i>	‘watching TV’
	TV	watch-INF	
(31b)	* <i>dek<sup>h</sup>-a</i>	<i>tibi</i>	
(32a)	<i>pepar</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>oʀ-a</i>	‘reading newspaper’
	paper	read-INF	
(32b)	* <i>p<sup>h</sup>oʀa</i>	<i>pepar</i>	
(33a)	<i>saikel</i>	<i>ʈoʀ-a</i>	‘riding cycle’
	cycle	ride-INF	
(33b)	* <i>ʈoʀa</i>	<i>saikel</i>	
(34a)	<i>geś</i>	<i>zol-a</i>	‘burning gas’
	gas	burn-INF	
(34b)	* <i>zola</i>	<i>geś</i>	
(35a)	<i>keis</i>	<i>deo-a</i>	‘filing case’
	case	give-INF	
(35b)	* <i>dewa</i>	<i>keis</i>	
(36a)	<i>suis</i>	<i>deo-a</i>	‘to switch on’

	switch	give-INF	
(36b)	* <i>dewa</i>	<i>suis</i>	
(37a)	<i>marzin</i>	<i>deo-a</i>	‘to draw margin’
	margin	give-INF	
(37b)	* <i>deo-a</i>	<i>marzin</i>	
(38a)	<i>sologan</i>	<i>deo-a</i>	‘to chant slogan’
	slogan	give-INF	
(38b)	* <i>deo-a</i>	<i>sologan</i>	
(39a)	<i>kik</i>	<i>mar-a</i>	‘to kick’
	kick	beat-INF	
(39b)	* <i>mar-a</i>	<i>kik</i>	
(40a)	<i>risib</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i>	‘to receive (something)’
	receive	do-INF	
(40b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>risib</i>	
(41a)	<i>kalekt,</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i>	‘to collect (something)’
	collect	do-INF	
(41b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>kalekt,</i>	
(42a)	<i>enzoy</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i>	‘to enjoy’
	enjoy	do-INF	
(42b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora enzoy</i>		
(43a)	<i>seyar</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i>	‘to share’
	share	do-INF	

- (43b) \**k<sup>h</sup>ora*      *śeyar*
- (44a) *p<sup>h</sup>erai*      *k<sup>h</sup>or-a*      ‘to fry’  
           fry            do-INF
- (44b) \**k<sup>h</sup>ora*      *p<sup>h</sup>erai*
- (45a) *ʈai*            *k<sup>h</sup>or-a*      ‘to try’  
           try            do-INF
- (45b) \**k<sup>h</sup>ora*      *ʈai*

#### 4.2.1.5. Noun (native) + genitive (native) + noun (loan)

In this type of compound, the native noun precedes the genitive and the genitive precedes the loan nouns as schematised in the following order [NOUN + GENITIVE + NOUN]. It is important to note that Sylheti genitive morpheme has two allomorphs: *or* ~ *r*. The morph *-r* is used when the noun ends with vowel, however the allomorph *-or* is used when the noun ends with consonant. It is also observed that the order of [NOUN + GENITIVE + NOUN] in this type of compound is rigid therefore the alternative order of the same cannot be made as illustrated in the following examples.

- (46) *tel-or*                      *butol*                      ‘oil bottle’  
           oil-GEN                      bottle
- (47) *g<sup>h</sup>or-or*                      *p<sup>h</sup>ilar*                      ‘pillar of house’  
           House-GEN                      pillar
- (48) *ʈamɽa-r*                      *bek*                      ‘bag made of leather’  
           leather-GEN                      bag



(49)	<i>maʃi-r</i> soil-GEN	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ileit</i> plate	‘plate made of soil’
(50)	<i>ʌdud<sup>h</sup>-or</i> milk-GEN	<i>butoll</i> bottle	‘bottle of milk’
(51)	<i>dud<sup>h</sup>-or</i> Milk-GEN	<i>ʃin</i> tin	‘milk container made of tin’
(52)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ani-r</i> Water-GEN	<i>butol</i> bottle	‘bottle of water’
(53)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ani-r</i> Water-GEN	<i>p<sup>h</sup>aib</i> pipe	‘pipe of water’
(54)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ani-r</i> Water-GEN	<i>ʃaŋki</i> tank	‘water tank’
(55)	<i>ʃuna-r</i> gold-GEN	<i>riŋ</i> ring	‘ring of gold’

#### 4.2.1.6. Noun (loan) + genitive (native) + noun (native)

In this type of compound as well, the native noun precedes the genitive followed by the loan nouns as schematised in the following order [NOUN + GENITIVE + NOUN]. However, unlike the above types of compounds, the native noun is the head of the compound and the head is in the right side of the compound. It is worth mentioning here that the order of [NOUN + GENITIVE + NOUN] is rigid therefore the alternative order of the same cannot be made as ungrammaticality of the following examples:

(56a)	<i>telip<sup>h</sup>on-or</i>	<i>tar</i>	‘wire of telephone’
	telephone-GEN	wire	
(56b)	* <i>tar -or</i>	<i>telip<sup>h</sup>on</i>	‘telephone of wire’
(57a)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>en-or</i>	<i>batas</i>	‘air of fan’
	fan-GEN	air	
(57b)	* <i>batas-or</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>en</i>	
(58a)	<i>lištil- or</i>	<i>baṭi</i>	‘bowl of steel’
	steel- GEN	bowl	
(58b)	* <i>baṭi-r</i>	<i>lištil</i>	
(59a)	<i>p<sup>h</sup>uḍar-or</i>	<i>ḍibi</i>	‘pot of powder’
	Powder- GEN	pot	
(59b)	* <i>ḍibi- r</i>	pot	

#### 4.2.1.7. Noun (loan) + genitive (native) + noun (loan)

Unlike the former, in this type of compound the loan noun precedes the genitive followed by another loan noun as schematized in the following order [NOUN (LOAN) + GENITIVE (NATIVE) + NOUN (LOAN)]. It is interesting to note that the genitive is the native element however the two other nouns i.e., before and after the genitive are the loan nouns. Like the above two types of compound, the order of [NOUN (LOAN) + GENITIVE (NATIVE) + NOUN (LOAN)] is rigid therefore the alternative order of the same cannot be made as ungrammaticality of the following examples as shown in () – ().

(60a)	<i>bas-or</i>	<i>siṭ</i>	‘seat of a bus’
	bus-GEN	seat	

(60b)	<i>*siṭ-or</i>	<i>bas</i>	
(61a)	<i>saikel-or</i>	<i>tsein</i>	‘chain of bicycle’
	cycle-GEN	chain	
(61b)	<i>*tsein-or</i>	<i>saikel</i>	
(62a)	<i>saikel-or</i>	<i>isten</i>	‘stand of cycle’
	cycle- GEN	stand	
(62b)	<i>*isten-or</i>	<i>saikel</i>	
(63a)	<i>śaṭ-or</i>	<i>kolar</i>	‘collar of shirt’
	shirt- GEN	collar	
(63b)	<i>*kolar-or</i>	<i>śaṭ</i>	
(64a)	<i>kemera-r</i>	<i>ril</i>	‘film of camera’
	Camera- GEN	reel	
(64b)	<i>*ril-or</i>	<i>kemera</i>	

#### 4.2.1.8. Noun (loan) + verb (native)

In this type of compound, the loan noun precedes the native verb and the order of noun and verb can be schematized as [NOUN (LOAN) + VERB (NATIVE)]. It is worth mentioning that the reverse order [VERB (NATIVE) + NOUN (LOAN)] is not permitted in the English loanwords in Sylheti as evidenced from the ungrammaticality of the following examples as in () - (). It is observed that the above mentioned compounds are frequently used by the Sylheti speakers of 15-40 years of age.

(65a)	<i>suis</i>	<i>deo-a</i>	‘to switch on’
	switch	give-INF	

(65b)	* <i>dewa</i>	<i>suis</i>	
(66a)	<i>edbais</i> advice	<i>deo-a</i> give-INF	‘to advice’
(66b)	* <i>dewa</i>	<i>edbais</i>	
(67a)	<i>egri</i> agree	<i>o-a</i> to be-INF	‘to be agree with somebody’
(67b)	* <i>owa</i>	<i>egri</i>	
(68a)	<i>eplai</i> apply	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i> do-INF	‘to apply for’
(68b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>eplai</i>	
(69a)	<i>edmit</i> admit	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i> do-INF	‘to admit something’
(69b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>edmit</i>	
(70a)	<i>edzast,</i> adjust	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i> do-INF	‘to adjust with’
(70b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>edzast,</i>	
(71a)	<i>ektibeit</i> activate	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i> do-INF	‘to activate’
(71b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>ektibeit</i>	
(72a)	<i>eprub</i> approve	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i> do-INF	‘to approve something’
(72b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>eprub</i>	

(73a)	<i>ansar</i> answer	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i> do- INF	‘to answer to’
(73b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>ansar</i>	
(74a)	<i>aṭ,</i> art	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i> do-INF	‘to art something’
(74b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>aṭ,</i>	
(75a)	<i>edop</i> adopt	<i>k<sup>h</sup>or-a</i> do-INF	‘to adopt something’
(75b)	* <i>k<sup>h</sup>ora</i>	<i>edop</i>	

Other than the above loan copounds, some of the compound loanwords are directly incorporated in Sylheti without having any morphological changes. It is also noticed that this type of compounds are noun compounds and the lexical item relating to these compound nouns may be found in native Sylheti. However these are not used by the Sylheti speakers in their day to day conversation.

(76)	<i>aiḍenṭi kaḍ</i>	‘identity card’
(77)	<i>ais boks</i>	‘ice box’
(78)	<i>ais kirim</i>	‘ice cream’
(79)	<i>batrum</i>	‘bath room’
(80)	<i>bed ṣiṭ</i>	‘bed sheet’
(81)	<i>bed rum</i>	‘bed room’
(82)	<i>ḍainiṅ hol</i>	‘dining hall’
(83)	<i>ḍeḍ boḍi</i>	‘dead body’

(84) *pepar mil* 'paper mill'

(85) *puštap<sup>hiś</sup>* 'post office'

### 4.3. Semantic processes

#### 4.3.1. Narrowing of meaning:

4.3.1.1. The lexical item '*bank*' means financial institution and the coast of a river in English. However the loan word '*bank*' only means financial institution in Sylheti as exemplified in the following examples

(86) *tumi bank-o tekha uthanit jaray ni?*  
you bank-LOC money to draw going INT  
'Are you going to bank to draw money?'

(87) *tumar benk- o kuno ekaunt ase ni?*  
your bank- LOC any account have INT  
'Do you have any account in bank?'

However the loan word *bank* does not denote the bank of a river in Sylheti. In other words, we don't use the loanword *bank* to mean the coast of a river as evidenced by ungrammaticality of the following sentences.

(88) *\*amra bank-o ghurat ges-lam*  
we bank-LOC loitering go-PST  
'We went to bank (coast of a river) for loitering'.

(89) *\*amar bari borak<sup>h</sup> nodi-r benk-o*  
my house Barak river-GEN bank- LOC  
'My house is on the bank of the river Barak'.

**4.3.1.2.** In English the lexical item *mobile* means both mobile phones and something moving but when it is nativised in Sylheti it means only the mobile phone rather than the moving object as illustrated in the following examples:

(90) *tumar mobile-ta kub śundor*  
 Your mobile-CL very beautiful  
 ‘Your mobile is very beautiful’

(91) *amar mobail ek<sup>h</sup>-ta k<sup>h</sup>ub dork<sup>h</sup>ar*  
 I mobile one-CL very need  
 ‘I am in dire need of a mobile phone’

However we don’t use the word *mobile* to mean moving object rather than mobile phone as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of the following sentence:

(92) \**he mobail medikel-o d,ak<sup>h</sup>tor*  
 he mobile medical-LOC doctor  
 ‘He is a doctor in the mobile medical unit.’

**4.3.1.3.** In English the lexical item *book* is used both as noun and verb but the lexical item *book* functions as verb only in Sylheti as illustrated in the following examples:

(93) *tumi tikeṭ buk k<sup>h</sup>or-s-o-ni?*  
 You ticket book do-PERF-2PER-INT  
 ‘Have you booked the ticket?’

(94) *ami huṭel-o rum buk k<sup>h</sup>or-s-i*  
 I hotel-LOC room book do-PERF-1PER  
 ‘I have booked room in the hotel?’

In other words, we don't use the loanword *book* as noun in Sylheti. It may be the reason that the lexical item *boi* for book in sylheti is popularly used by the native speakers of Sylheti. The usage of book as noun is not attested in Sylheti as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of the following sentence.

(95) \**tumar ges-e kuno golpho-r buk ase-ni?*  
 You near-LOC any story-GEN book have-INT  
 'Do you have any story book?'

(96) \**tumar ek<sup>h</sup>-ta buk amar ges-e roi-s-e*  
 your one-CL book me near-LOC remain-PERF-3PER  
 'One of your books is with me/ remained with me.'

**4.3.1.4.** The lexical item *clip* is used in English both as noun and verb but as a loanword in Sylheti, the word *clip* is used as a noun only. So, the usage and functions of clip in Sylheti is narrowed in their day to day communication.

(97) *kilip<sup>h</sup>-ta lo*  
 clip-CL take  
 'Take the clip.'

(98) *tsul-o kilip<sup>h</sup> mar-o*  
 hair-LOC clip do-2PER  
 'Use clip in your hair.'

It is evidenced that we cannot use the word *clip* as verb in Sylheti as ungrammaticality of the following examples:

(99) \**k<sup>h</sup>e kilip<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>or-s-e*  
 who clip do-PERF-3PER  
 'Who clipped (hair).'



(100) \**tai kilip<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>or-s-e*  
 she clip do-PERF-3PER  
 ‘She clipped (hair).’

**4.3.1.5.** In English the lexical item *chair* is used to function as noun and verb but the loanword *tsiyar* in Sylheti functions as noun only as can be seen in the following examples.

(101) *tsiyar an-o*  
 chair bring- 2PER  
 ‘Bring the chair’

(102) *tsiyar igu k<sup>h</sup>e b<sup>h</sup>ang-s-e?*  
 chair the who break-PERF-3PER  
 ‘Who broke the chair?’

However we cannot use the loanword *tsiyar* as verb in Sylheti as evidenced by the ungrammaticality of the following sentence.

(103) \**k<sup>h</sup>e tsiyar kor-s-e*  
 Who chair do-PERF-3PER  
 ‘Who chaired (the session)?’

(104) \**ami miṭiṅg-o tsiyar khor-s-i*  
 I meeting-LOC chair do-PERF-1PER  
 ‘I chaired the meeting.’

**4.3.1.6.** The lexical item ‘case’ has a lot of meanings in English: (i) an instance of the occurrence, existence etc, of something. (ii) the actual state of things (iii) a question or problem of moral conduct; matter (iv) situation; circumstance; plight (v) a person or thing whose plight or situation calls for

attention. (vi) a specific occurrence or matter requiring discussion , decision or investigation, as by officials or law- enforcement authorities and (vii) a stated argument used to support a view point etc. However when the loanword *case* is used in Sylheti, it means two things- matter and court case as illustrated in the following examples:

(105) *tar keis-ta boṛo zoṭ,il*  
 his case-CL very complicate  
 ‘His case is very complicated’

(106) *ami tumar up<sup>h</sup>re keis dim- u*  
 I your on case give- FUT  
 ‘I will file case on you’

**4.3.1.7.** In English the word *bat* means both an object used to play cricket, baseball or table tennis and a flying animal like a mouse with wings that flies and feeds at night. But in Sylheti the word *bat* only means an object which is used to play cricket baseball or table tennis as can be seen in the following examples:

(107) *he amar-e beṭ, diya mar-s-e*  
 he I-OBJ bat by hit-PERF-3PER  
 ‘He has hit me with a bat’

(108) *tar beṭ i-kan khub mozbut*  
 his bat DEM-DEF very strong  
 ‘His (this) bat is very strong.’

But in Sylheti the word *bat* is not used to mean the flying animal as exemplified in the following examples.

(109) \**amrar*      *sara*   *gua*            *beɽ-e*      *k<sup>h</sup>ai-lai*  
 our            all    areca nut      bat-AGN      eat-COMP  
 ‘Bat eats all of our arecanut.’

(110) \**ami*   *beɽ*    *ek<sup>h</sup>-ta*            *bonduk-diya*      *marsi*  
 I        bat    one-CL            gun-INST            killed  
 ‘I killed a bat with a gun’

Rather, in Sylheti the word *badur* is used instead of *bat* as shown in the following example:

(111) *amrar*      *sara*   *gua*            *badur-e*      *k<sup>h</sup>ai-lai*  
 our            all    areca nut      bat-AGN      eat-COMP  
 ‘Bat eats all of our areca nut.’

**4.3.1.8.** In English *cup* is used both as noun and verb but as a loanword in Sylheti, the *cup* is used only as a noun as exemplified in the following examples:

(112) *amar-e*      *ek<sup>h</sup>*    *kap<sup>h</sup>*    *tsa*    *de-o*  
 I-OBJ            one    cup    tea    give-2PER  
 ‘Give me a cup of tea.’

(113) *ek*      *kaph*   *tsa*      *koto*            *reba*  
 one    cup    tea    howmuch    EMP  
 ‘Howmuch is the price of a cup of tea?’

However we cannot use the word ‘cup’ as a verb in Sylheti as evidenced from the ungrammaticality of the following sentence.

(114) \**he*    *tar*    *at<sup>h</sup>*      *kap<sup>h</sup>*    *kor-s-e*  
 147

he his hand cup do-PERF-3PER  
 ‘He has cupped his hand.’

#### 4.3.2. Extension of meaning:

4.3.2.1. In English the lexical item *gas* means a substance like air that is neither liquid nor solid and burns easily (lit. gas cylinder). But in Sylheti, apart from this, it is also used to mean acidity as desmontrated in the following examples:

(115) *amrar randa-r*                      *geś śeś oi-ge-s-e*  
 our cooking-GEN                      gas finish be-go-PERF-3PER  
 ‘Our cooking gas has been finished.’

(116) *sork<sup>h</sup>ar-e*                      *geś-or*                      *dam baṛai-di-s-e*  
 government-AGN                      gas-GEN                      price increase-give-PERF-3PER  
 ‘The government has increased the price of gas.’

Apart from the above example the word *gas* is also used to mean acidity as shown in the following example

(117) *ami geś-e*                      *k<sup>h</sup>ub b<sup>h</sup>ugi-ar*  
 I gas-AGN                      badly suffer-PROG  
 ‘I have been suffering from acidity very badly.’

(118) *geś t<sup>h</sup>ak<sup>h</sup>le*                      *k<sup>h</sup>omla*                      *k<sup>h</sup>awa*                      *t<sup>h</sup>ik*                      *nay*  
 gas having                      orange                      eating                      should                      not  
 ‘Anybody having acidity should not consume orange’

4.3.2.2. In English *chutney* is a cold sauce made from fruit, vinegar, sugar and spices. Interestingly, the same sense is also used to mean *chutney* in Sylheti as well as illustrated in the following examples:

(119) *momo-r loge kisu tsaṅni dew*  
 momo-GEN with some chutney give  
 ‘Please give some chutney with momo’

Apart from the above sentence, *chutney* is also used in Sylheti to mean salad. In other words, *chutney* in Sylheti also refers to salad as illustrated in the following example:

(120) *amra bhat-or loge t,omet,o tsaṅni khai*  
 we rice-GEN with tomato chutney eat  
 ‘We eat tomato chutney with rice’

**4.3.2.3.** In English *tea stall* means a stall where tea is sold. Interestingly, the same sense is also used to mean *tea stall* in Sylheti as well as illustrated in the following example:

(121) *tar baba-r t,i iṣṭ,ol atse*  
 his father-GEN tea stall has  
 ‘His father has a tea stall’

However, apart from the above example *tea stall* is also used to mean the stall where tea along with sweets and other light foods are also sold as illustrated in the following example:

(122) *sreema t,i iṣṭ,ol-t<sup>h</sup>aki miṣṭi loi -o*  
 sreema tea stall-ABL sweets buy-IMP  
 ‘Buy sweets from Sreema tea stall’

**4.3.2.4.** Bomb *p<sup>h</sup>aṭani* means to explode bomb in English but in Sylheti along with this, it also means to disclose a mystery about any person or anything as shown in the following examples as in (123) – (124).

(123) *alp<sup>h</sup>a -e*                      *gauhaṭ,i-t*    *bom*    *phaṭ,ai-se*  
 ULFA-AGN                      gauhati-LOC bomb    explode-PERF  
 ULFA has exploded bomb in Guwahati.

(124) *tar*    *beyaphare*    *ami*    *bom*                      *phaṭ,ai-mu*  
 his    about                      I                      mystery                      disclose- FUT  
 ‘I will disclose mystery about him’

**4.3.2.5.** *P<sup>h</sup>am dewa* means to pump air in English. But in Sylheti along with this, it also means to harm some body as illustrated in the following examples:

(125) *saikel-o*                      *p<sup>h</sup>am de-o*  
 bicycle-LOC                      pump give-IMP  
 ‘Please give pump to bicycle’

(126) *he*    *amar*                      *b<sup>h</sup>ai-re*                      *p<sup>h</sup>am*                      *di-s-e*  
 he    my                      brother-OBJ    harm/cheat    give-PERF-3PER  
 ‘He has cheated my brother’

**4.3.2.6.** In English *bottle* means a glass or plastic container. But in Sylheti along with this meaning, the word *butol* is also used to mean liquor as illustrated in the following examples:

(127) *ek<sup>h</sup>*    *butol*                      *p<sup>h</sup>ani-r*                      *dam*    *k<sup>h</sup>oto*  
 one    bottle                      water-GEN    price    howmuch  
*How much is the price of one bottle water?*

(128) *he*                      *butol*                      *mar-e*  
 he                      liquor                      take-3 PER  
 ‘He takes liquor’

**4.3.2.7.** *kg* (kilogram) is a unit of measuring solid things. But in Sylheti *kg* is used as a unit of measuring solid things along with liquid things as demonstrated in the following examples:

(129) *ek<sup>h</sup> kg tsini-r dam k<sup>h</sup>oto?*  
 one kg sugar-GEN price how much  
 ‘How much is the price of one kilogram sugar?’

(130) *ek<sup>h</sup> kg tel-or dam k<sup>h</sup>oto?*  
 one kg oil-GEN price how much  
 ‘How much is the price of one kilogram oil?’

**4.3.2.8.** In English the lexical item *care* has many meanings. As Nouns- (i) a state of mind in which one is troubled; worry, anxiety, or concern (ii) a cause or object of worry, anxiety, concern etc. (iii) serious attention; solitude; heed; caution. (iv) protection; charge (v) temporary keeping as for the benefit of or until claimed by the owner. (vi) grief; suffering; sorrow As verbs (i) to be concerned or solicitous (ii) to be concerned or have a special preference (usually used in negative constructions) (iii) to make provision or look out (iv) to have an inclination, liking, fondness or affection. But when it is used in Sylheti, the *care* also means ‘to honour’ along with all other meanings in English as exemplified below:

(131) *tumar soril-or proti keyar ni-o*  
 your body-GEN about care take-IMP  
 ‘Take care of your body.’

(132) *he ama-re keyar k<sup>h</sup>or-e-na*  
 he I-OBJ respect do-3PER-NEG  
 ‘He doesn’t respect me’

**4.3.2.9.** In English *ball* means a round object used for throwing, hitting or kicking in games and sports. But apart from this, in Sylheti it also means matter as illustrated in the following examples

(133) *amra bol kheli-ar*  
 we ball play-PROG  
 ‘We are playing cricket.’

(134) *ekhôn bol-toh mukkomontri-r kôut,-o*  
 now matter-EMP chief minister-GEN court-LOC  
 ‘The matter is in the court of chief minister now.’

**4.3.2.10.** In English *cream* is used both as a noun and a verb where as in Sylheti this is only used as a noun. Along with what it means in English, it is also used to mean ‘ointment’ in Sylheti as illustrated in the following examples:

(135) *tumi kop<sup>h</sup>i-t dud<sup>h</sup> na kirim kita k<sup>h</sup>ai-tay*  
 you coffee-LOC milk or cream what eat-FUT  
 ‘What will you take milk or cream with coffee?’

(136) *amar lagi phaw gha-r kirim an-i-o*  
 my for leg soar-GEN ointment bring-1PER-IMP  
 ‘Bring an ointment for my leg sore’

**4.3.2.11.** The word *current* has many meanings in English. It works both as an adjective and noun. Apart from what it means in English, the word *current* also means ‘electricity’ in Sylheti as illustrated in the following examples:



(137) *śobśomoy karent, mal loi-o*  
 always current thing purchase-IMP  
 ‘Always purchase current things’

(138) *amar ghor-o karent, nai*  
 my house-LOC electricity NEG  
 ‘There is no electricity in my house’

### 4.3.3 Shifting of meaning:

**4.3.3.1.** The word *tout* is used to denote brooker in English. But in Sylheti, the meaning of the same word has shifted to denote *cheater* in Sylheti as shown in the following example

(139) *he ekh-ta t,aut,*  
 he one-CL cheater  
 ‘He is a cheater’

**4.3.3.2.** The lexical item *crack* is used in English as a verb and it means many things. But in Sylheti this has shifted to mean mentally imbalanced person as illustrated in the following examples:

(140) *i manuś igu kerek*  
 this man definite mentally imbalanced  
 ‘This man is mentally imbalanced (mad)’

(141) *tar b<sup>h</sup>ai-ta kerek oi-ge-s-e*  
 his brother-CL mentally imbalance be-go-PERF-3PER  
 ‘His brother has become mentally imbalanced.’

**4.3.3.3.** In English *rate* is used both as noun and verb. However unlike in English the *rate* is used as noun meaning ‘price’ in Sylheti as illustrated in the following example:

(142) *goru igu-r reiṭ koto*  
 cow this-GEN price how much  
 ‘How much is the price of this cow?’

(143) *ekhon hokhol ziniś-or reiṭ baṛi-ge-s-e*  
 Now all commodity-GEN price increase-go-PERF-3PER  
 ‘Price of all commodity has increased now.’

**4.3.3.4.** The lexical item *liquor* means wine in English. But in Sylheti this has shifted to denote the boiled precipitation of tea leaves as illustrated in the following examples:

(144) *tsar ligar banai- s-o-ni*  
 tea boiledprecipitation make-PERF-2PER-INT  
 ‘Have you made the boiled precipitation of tea?’

(145) *tsa-t beśi ligar khawa ṭʰik nay*  
 tea-LOC more boiledprecipitation eating right not  
 ‘One should not take more precipitation of tea leaves in tea’