NATIVIZATION PROCESS AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE PHONOLOGY OF RAMPURI URDU: A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY

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Generally, a language, to enrich its grammar and vocabulary, does borrowing at the level of sound, grammar, and meaning through the process of nativization. The objective of this research paper is to observe nativization effects mainly at the level of sound and briefly at the level of grammar in the speech data of Rampuri Urdu. For instance, the Arabic word /əxbar/ 'newspaper' has been nativized with the transition of sound as /əkʰbar/ 'newspaper' in Rampuri Urdu.

Keywords*: Nativization process, Rampuri Urdu, linguistic features, phonological variation.*

1. Introduction

Among the scholars of linguistics, sociolinguistics has always been recognized all over the world as an autonomous field of study and research. It is concerned with the interaction techniques and functions of a language in terms of society or a set of individual social groups. For the last few decades, scholars of sociolinguistics have been taking a keen interest in language use in multilingual settings, its maintenance, shifting, standardization, modernization, culture, choices, communicative ethnography/competence, changes, variations, and so on.

Thus, sociolinguistic variation is the core area to explore various language usage because it exhibits many integral and inherent properties of almost all widely used languages of the world. Obviously, it is impossible to keep any language static and, consequently, also impossible to find out all forms of a language naturally spoken among or within the societies because it varies according to the social characteristics of the speakers, circumstances, and situations in which its users find themselves. From the establishment of the second half of the twentieth century, linguistic variation is the prime study for linguists, sociolinguists, and language scientists because to explore any advanced field of linguistics like syntax, semantics, morphology, computational linguistics, natural language processing, the knowledge of sociolinguistics is imperative. So far as linguistic variation is concerned, it mainly refers to variation in linguistic items in accordance with social variations especially due to region, education, religion, age, occupation, socio-economic status, and the resultant linguistic items are called linguistic or sociolinguistic variables.

2. Related works and historical background

Language variation and its history are complementary to each other. Documented records of language variation can be traced back to the first half of the twentieth century with the names of Edward Sapir (1915) and K. Jaberg (1936). As per Peter Trudgill (1983), towards the second half of the twentieth century, for the first and foremost study related to empirical work ('Language and Society'), credit goes to William Labov. His work (1961)- 'Martha's Vineyard' is generally known as pioneering work in studying the language in relation to its social context because, in this study, he has described the systematic differences among the speakers in their use of certain linguistic variables. In fact, such a type of dialectical study is the main source of evidence for the social history of speech variation. Apart from Labov's work, there are a considerable number of researches, investigations, and surveys investigating the relationship between speech and social groups. In terms of Italian dialects, K. Jaberg and Jacob Jud (1928-1940) have observed remarkable variations among the speakers of different groups speaking varieties of Italian. Moreover, John J. Gumperz (1958) has investigated variation problems from different perspectives, which pave the new path to formulate the various theories of linguistic variation in a given time. To carry out his research and data collection, Gumperz selected a village in the Saharanpur District of Uttar Pradesh, named

Khalapur. This village is surrounded by Khari Boli, a dialect of Western Hindi speaking belt, but as per Grierson corpus (1971) its community speaks very fair Hindi in daily life communication. In his study, Gumperz (1958) has very clearly stated that how social heterogeneity is reflected in the linguistic style of speakers in Khalapur.

J. L. Fischer (1958) tried to distinguish the formal and informal style of variations in American speech. He has given the proper explanation about the use of [ŋ] in 'singing' and [n] in 'singin' in terms of formal and informal use. To distinguish formal and informal situations in Arabic, Swiss, German, Haitian, French, and Modern Greek, Ferguson (1959) has used the term 'Diglossia'. In further support, Labov (1972) observes that for the same thing, there can be more than one alternatives to express whether at the sound level or at the level of syntax; for instance, at the sound level, the word 'working' can have two pronunciations, i.e., 'working' with [ŋ] and 'workin' without [ŋ], and at syntax level, the expression "Who is he talking to?" can also be expressed as "To whom he is talking?". Labov (1972) also observed that it is the social structure of a speech community which has something to do with the change in the linguistic behaviour of its speakers and again, he opined that "internal structure pressures and the sociolinguistic pressures act systematic alternation in the mechanism of linguistic change" (Labov, 1972:181). Furthermore, in terms of language and society, Trudgill (1974) admits an explanation that the linguistic variation to which he has given a term 'fuzziness' is actually the direct result of social variation and also realized that the social structure is reflected in the linguistic behavior of the speech community and social variation can produce a linguistic variation. Wardhaugh (1986) emphasized that when we look closely at linguistic variations of any language, then we always mark language variations through time. He clarifies that each language has a number of different forms, the speakers make the use of these different varieties according to situations, and no individual speaker speaks in the same way all the time. Wardhaugh (1986) also agreed with the dynamic model proposed by Bailey and Bickerton (1973). They suggested that individual speech behavior is 'idiolect', and the dialect of a particular social class is 'sociolect'. Additionally, they theorized that a specific form of a language or language cluster is 'lect/variety'. This may include languages, dialects, registers, styles, and other forms of language or standard variety.

3. Data and methodology

For the present study, the data has been collected by utilizing the techniques that are practiced in modern sociolinguistics (Labov, 1984). In any sociolinguistic research, the first challenge is to overcome the observer's paradox, which assumes "our goal is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed" (Labov, 1972a). Thus, I delved into the standard practices used in sociolinguistic research. In sociolinguistic studies, judgment sample and stratified random sample are generally used (Labov, 1966, 1972b). Trudgill (1974) used quasi-random samples. Therefore, I have used the stratified sample, where there is a representation of all significant social variables. The data constitutes 15 hours of natural speech from 40 speakers. The sample of speakers comprised of 20 males and 20 females ranging from 21 to 50 (+) years in age, educated speakers (E1) and uneducated speakers (E2), lower-class (LC) and middle-class (MC) speakers formed the sample group.

3.1. Sociolinguistic interviews

Sociolinguistic interviews form a classic method in sociolinguistic research. This method involves one-on-one recordings of flowing conversational interviews (Labov, 1972a, 1984; Feagin, 2002); and for this study, data was elicited through this method. Various topics that the informants were at ease with were broached, and then conversation followed. These conversations were recorded on electronic tape-recorder. Using this Labovian technique, breaking the barriers between the interviewer and informants became easy. From each of these interview sessions, I noted specifically that the essential words were creating a semantic and a cultural lexicon for Rampuri Urdu.

3.2. Participant observation

It is suggested that sociolinguistic studies should be substantiated by participant observations wherein people are observed using the language in natural settings. Along with sociolinguistic interviews, I have also done some participant observations in settings such as: the city market where people gather for buying and selling, schools, colleges and marriage ceremonies, etc. The data from participant observations complements the data from sociolinguistic interviews.

4. Rampuri Urdu speech community

Rampur is a district of Uttar Pradesh state in India bounded by Udham Singh Nagar in the north, Bareilly in the east, Moradabad in the west, and Badaun in the south. The adjoining areas of Rampur lead to Najibabad and Nainital, including Ramnagar, which are known as the mountainous regions that also compile the effect on the language spoken in Rampur district. It also has a history of Rohilla Pathans or Rohilla Afghans. Earlier, there was a Nawabi culture, and the language spoken in this region was mainly Urdu involving the Pashto construction. These Pashto constructions were indebted from the Afghani language and developed as part of a fully wide-spoken variety of Urdu language. This spoken variety, however, tends to exhibit variations in its linguistic structure as a result of the influence of the Khari Boli dialect.

The present work started with the opening remarks on Rampuri Urdu evolved from the Khari Boli dialect of western Hindi as the influences of the Khari Boli can be seen in the linguistic structure of Rampuri Urdu. Khari Boli dialect is one of the major dialects of western Hindi, which is spoken in and around Uttar Pradesh and Delhi and its adjoining areas. As marked by P. B. Pandit in 'India as a Sociolinguistic Area' (1977), Standard Urdu that is spoken in the regions of western Uttar Pradesh is actuality a Khari Boli style of Urdu.

The Rampuri Urdu speakers mostly belong to the Muslim speech community, and its members are either agriculturalists or belong to the white-collared class. However, getting an equal opportunity to receive a good education still eludes many of its members. It is no surprise that the agricultural labour class of this speech community is one of the most disadvantaged when it comes to acquiring education. In such a sociolinguistic study, a crucial variable is education based on which the speech community has been divided into two groups, i.e., educated speakers (E1) and uneducated speakers (E2). Apart from this, on the basis of age, I have three age groups A-1 (21-30 years), A-2 (31-50 years), and A-3 (51 years and above) because the characteristics of Standard Urdu vary in terms of their usage by the youth (21 to 30 years) of this speech community shows its preference for Standard Urdu over Rampuri Urdu as a mark of social requirements of the *literati*. In terms of social class, I have classified them as middle class (MC) and lower class (LC). The people of these social classes belong to different occupational groups such as workers, shopkeepers, farmers, school-teachers, students, lawyers, engineers, office-goers, and businessmen. Gender is another social variable which was part of this group; therefore, data was collected from both male and females speakers. Thus, four major sociolinguistics parameters that I have considered are literacy, age, gender, and socio-economic class.

5. Nativization process and its consequences

The spoken forms of a less resource language have its own styles, sentence structures, and vocabularies, but it has less authentic literature, traditional grammar, and standard writing patterns. So far as sound, grammar, and lexical resource formation are concerned, a resource-poor-language or dialect has never been the same. It changes in its native lands and outside, usually in a steady state of flow. Several factors are involved in leading such changes: expressing new ideas, thoughts, inventions, science, technology, business, migration, current trends, religion, education, multicultural interactions within the borders or among the nations, etc. For such a change, a less resource-poor/rich language often passes through the process of nativization. It adopts many linguistic features such as borrowing, translation, coinage, transliteration, transcreation at the level of sound, grammar, and

meaning. Consequently, we can see a newly developed variety of a language that may have many notable linguistic changes in its structure. For instance, the Hindi language has borrowed the word 'car' from English through the nativization process, and its resulting indigenization is with a word like '**रात**'- /raṯ/ 'night' in Hindi. So, 'car' after adapting the Devanagari script becomes '**कार**'- /kar/ and by mapping its morphosyntactic properties, we get all linguistic forms- '**कार**'- /kar/ (singular direct), '**कारें**'- /kare~/ (plural direct), '**कार**'- /kar/ (singular oblique) and '**कारों**'- /karo~/ (plural oblique), and apart from this, direct borrowing of plural 'cars' has been done through the transliteration process, i.e., '**कार्स**'- /kars/. It is remarkable that for transliteration, the nativization process allows mapping all sound of English into Hindi without any change because the sounds available in the word 'cars' are also found in Hindi. Conversely, in a word like 'zoo', the sound mapping should be '**ज़ू**'- /zu/ in Hindi, but it does not have sibilant sound '**ज़**'- /z/, it has palatal '**ज**'- /ɟ/ as a close substitute of sibilant sound. So, for the English word 'zoo' generally, the nativization process allows '**जू**'- /ju/ in Hindi.

Any nativization process cannot be applied overnight. It has to follow various stages of evolution and development with the passage of time. It can be nativized and localized by reaching out to more varieties of the community. It is a continuous process that results in the process of language change, and a new variety not only varies from its parent language but also from other nativized varieties of the same parent language. Talking of the nativization of English, Phillipson (1992) comments that it is the process by which English has indigenized in different parts of the world and developed distinct and secure local forms determined by local norms as opposed to those of the native speaker in the center. In general, it can be observed at two levels: first, the stage through which it institutionalizes itself and recognized as an accepted variety, and second, depends upon the speaker's attitude towards the localized variety.

Generally, every language is intimately connected to the society, the culture of its speech community. So, it also happens with Rampuri Urdu because global and international, no variety of Urdu is culturally neutral. Sociolinguistic and pragmatic factors also play a motivational role behind the nativization and the birth of new varieties. Any kind of linguistic changes is not necessarily the unintentional changes of the mother tongue rules to the target language made by learners, but there can be a possibility, a native creative writer or an extempore speaker can do intentional changes from the so-called native varieties to achieve the meaning and effect he aims at his language. A creative writer or speaker of a Hindi-Urdu language may use '**बारीक रसोइया**'- /barikrəsoɪja/, or '**रपचिक आइसक्रीम**'- /rəptʃɪkaɪskrim/ is not a wrong collocation but a very powerful way of presenting their perception of love in the sense of "the delicious cook/perfect cook" and "the delicious ice-cream" respectively. To make all such expressions clear to the learner, many non-native creative writers themselves have justified the reason for bending, reshaping, hybridizing in the existing linguistic structure of a language.

6. Phonological system of Rampuri Urdu

Rampuri Urdu follows mostly the sound system of Khari Boli or Hindi. Its phonemes lack a total number of contrasts of sounds and phonetic features, but it is very close in place and manner of articulation with Khari Boli. Through the nativization process, it borrows and shares vocabulary items from Sanskrit, Urdu, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, and English. Hence, the influence of these languages can be seen in the speech of Rampuri Urdu speakers. Rampuri speakers use mostly /pʰ/ for /f/ and /s/ for /ʃ/ respectively. On the basis of collected data of speech, it is found that Rampuri Urdu includes 37 consonant phonemes with their aspirated and unaspirated counterparts-i.e., /k, kʰ, g, gʰ, ŋ, tʃ, tʃʰ, ɟ, ɟʰ, ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, ɖʰ, ṯ, ṯʰ, ḏ, ḏʰ, n, p, pʰ, b, bʰ, m, j, r, l, f, w/v, s, h, ɽ, ɽʰ, x, z, ɣ, q, ʃ/ and ten vowel phonemes with four diphthongs i.e., /ə, a, ɪ, i, e, ɛ, ʊ, u, o, ɔ, əɪ, əʊ, ʊa, ɪa/. The syllable structure of Rampuri Urdu is CVC. Its syllable structure may begin with consonants, and aspirated versus unaspirated or apical versus retroflex contrast can be observed. The duration contrast of vowels can be observed between /ə/ and /a/. Stress is allophonic, and consonant clusters may occur at the medial and

final position, and most of the consonants can be geminated in Rampuri Urdu. However, some initial consonant clusters are also found in Rampuri Urdu but they are very few in quantity.

7. Phonological variations in Rampuri Urdu

As mentioned earlier, linguistic changes and developments of resource-poor or resource-rich languages usually depend upon the multicultural interactions among the nation or outside of the nation. When they encounter another culture, they adapt sound, grammar, vocabulary, style in order to suit the new culture, but before adapting anything nativization process applies, i.e., any language primarily adapts new linguistic items according to its linguistic structure rather than a direct adaptation of the same vocabulary or grammar from other languages. For instance, the words from the Arabic language like /əxbar/ 'newspaper' and /qanun/ 'law' have been nativized in Rampuri Urdu with their transition of sounds as /əkʰbar/ and /kanun/ through the nativization process. So in this process, mainly three things are remarkable: first, one can linguistically mark the original source dialect, i.e., dialect before adapting influencing languages' linguistic features; second, standard language, i.e., the influencing language from which the linguistic components are adopted, and third, nativization process as per linguistic compatibility of source language but not beyond.

The observed behavior of Rampuri Urdu shows that its existing variety has borrowed a massive list of Perso-Arabic vocabularies with their phonological reshaping. In the collected corpus, I have observed various evidences of phonological variation that result in terms of nativization.

- Voiceless, uvular stop=/q/ change into unaspirated, voiceless, velar stop=/k/ and rare change of unaspirated, voiceless, velar stop=/k/ into voiceless, uvular stop=/q/.
- Voiceless, velar fricative=/x/ change into aspirated, voiceless, velar stop=/kʰ/ and rare change of voiceless, velar stop=/kʰ/ into voiceless, velar fricative=/x/ due to overgeneralization.
- Voiced, velar fricative=/ɣ/ change into unaspirated, voiced, velar stop=/g/ and rare change of unaspirated, voiced, velar stop=/g/ into voiced, velar fricative=/ɣ/ due to overgeneralization.

- Voiceless, uvular stop=/q/ change into voiceless, velar fricative=/x/ due to overgeneralization.
- Voiced, alveolar fricative=/z/ change into unaspirated, voiced palatal stop=/ɟ/.
- Voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative=/ʃ/ change into voiceless, alveolar fricative=/s/.
- Voiceless, labio-dental fricative=/f/ change into aspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop=/pʰ/.

In the following tables, some of the above cases can be observed briefly.

Table 1(a): Change of voiceless, uvular stop=/q/ to unaspirated, voiceless, velar stop=/k/

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/qərib/	/kərib/	'near'
/qət̪l/	/kət̪əl/	'murder'
/qanun/	/kanun/	'law'
/qad̪ɪr/	/kad̪ɪr/	'almighty'
/t̪əqdir/	/t̪əkd̪ir/	'destiny'
/ɪqrar/	/ɪkrar/	'admit'
/qɪla/	/kɪla/	'fort'
/qələm/	/kələm/	'pen'
/qabɪlɪjət̪/	/kabɪlɪjət̪/	'ability'
/qəbza/	/kəbɟa/	'hold'

People who are basically from Rampur having the core influence of Khari Boli use /k/ in the place of /q/. It is also remarkable that some individuals use such variations in order to save time during the conversation. In addition, they also declared that this variation is also in fashion now. They feel the pronunciation of /q/ as if it is cumbersome. In place of /qəbr/ they said /kəbr/ or /kəbər/.

Table 1 (b): Change of /k/ to /q/ due to over-generalization

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/kafɪ/	/qafi/	'enough'
/kaʃɪf/	/qaʃɪf/	'name of a person'

Table 2(a): Change of voiceless, velar fricative=/x/ to aspirated, voiceless, velar stop=/kʰ/

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/xali/	/kʰali/	'vacant'
/əxbar/	/əkʰbar/	'newspaper'
/xʊddar/	/kʰʊddar/	'self-contained'
/xalu/	/kʰalu/	'uncle'
/xʊd̪/	/kʰʊd̪/	'self'
/xərca/	/kʰərca/	'expenses'
/xʊʃhal/	/kʰʊshal/	'prosperous'
/xʊʃ/	/kʰʊs/	'happy'
/zəxm/	/jəkʰəm/	'wound'
/xʊrafat̪/	/kʰʊrapʰat̪/	'controversy'

Table 2 (b): Change of voiceless, velar stop=/kʰ / into voiceless, velar fricative=/x/ due to over generalization

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/kʰʊla/	/xʊla/	'open'
/kʰal/	/xal/	'skin'
/a~kʰe~/	/a~xe~/	'eyes'

I have observed that the speakers of Urdu articulate the sound /kʰ/ instead of /x/ in different contexts in Rampur. This is just because of the impact of Khari Boli and Braj Bhasha on Rampuri Urdu.

Table 3 (a): Change of voiced, velar fricative=/ɣ/ to unaspirated, voiced, velar stop=/g/

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/ɣələt̪/	/gələt̪/	'incorrect'
/ɣəm/	/gəm/	'sadness'
/d̪aɣ/	/d̪ag/	'spot'
/ɣɪlaf/	/gɪlapʰ/	'cover'
/ɣʊlam/	/gʊlam/	'slave'
/ɣʊnd̪a/	/gʊnd̪a/	'rowdy'
/ɣalɪb/	/galɪb/	'mighty'
/nəɣma/	/nəgma/	'song'
/d̪əɣa/	/d̪əga/	'deceit'
/ɣɔr/	/gor/	'consider'

Usually, it can be seen that the sound /ɣ/ is pronounced as /g/ in the general speech within their social talks. This is to simplify the pronunciation of /ɣ/.

Table 3 (b): Change of unaspirated, voiced, velar stop=/g/ to voiced, velar fricative=/ɣ/ due to over-generalization

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/gaɽʰa/	/ɣaɽa/	'thick'
/goja/	/ɣoja/	'as if'
/nɪgəlna/	/nɪɣəlna/	'to swallow'
/məgər/	/məɣər/	'but'
/gʊm/	/ɣʊm/	'lost'
/jad̪ugər/	/jad̪uɣər/	'magician'
/d̪ərgah/	/d̪ərɣah/	'grave'

As per the collected set of data, the female speakers normally articulate /ɣ/ and not /g/, whereas the males pronounce /g/ instead of /ɣ/ sound in Rampur.

Table 4: Change of /q/ to /x/ due to over-generalization

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/nʊqta/	/nʊxt̪a/	'point'
/ərq/	/ərəx/	'Juice'
/fəqir/	/fəxir/	'beggar'
/mɪraqi/	/mɪraxi/	'vaporish'
/t̪əbaq/	/t̪əbax/	'big plate'
/sənd̪uq/	/sənd̪ux/	'box'
/bənd̪uq/	/bənd̪ux/	'gun'

It has also been noticed that some of the respondents pronounce /x/ in place of /q/, for example, /nʊxt̪a/ 'point'.

Table 5: Change of voiced, alveolar fricative=/z/ to unaspirated, voiced palatal stop=/ɟ/

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/bazar/	/baɟar/	'market'
/raz/	/raɟ/	'secret'
/zəruri/	/ɟəruri/	'necessary'
/zalım/	/ɟalım/	'brutal'
/zərɪja/	/ɟərɪja/	'source'
/zəmin/	/ɟəmin/	'land'
/zəmana/	/ɟəmana/	'era'
/zʊlm/	/ɟʊləm/	'harassment'
/zəbərd̪əsti/	/ɟəbərd̪əsti/	'forcefully'
/rɪzvan/	/rɪɟban/	'name of a person'

The variant of /z/ as /ʝ/ was also found in the casual speech of some people of the society of Rampur.

Table 6: Change of voiceless, palato-alveolar fricative=/ʃ/ to voiceless, alveolar fricative=/s/

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/ʃɪkar/	/sɪkar/	'hunt'
/barɪʃ/	/barɪs/	'rain'
/ʃəriq/	/sərik/	'include'
/ləʃkər/	/ləskər/	'army'
/ʃʊru/	/sʊru/	'start'
/ʃərif/	/səripʰ/	'gentle'
/ʃərbət̪/	/sərbət̪/	'sweat drink'

The change of /ʃ/ into /s/ can also be seen in the speech sets of Rampuri Urdu.

Table 7: Change of voiceless, labio-dental fricative=/f/ to aspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop=/pʰ/

Standard Urdu	Rampuri Urdu	Gloss
/fərɪjad̪/	/pʰərjad̪/	'complaint'
/fəreb/	/pʰəreb/	'fraud'
/firozi/	/pʰiroji/	'turquoise'
/fərid̪/	/pʰərid̪/	'name of a person'
/fərman/	/pʰərman/	'order'
/fɪd̪a/	/pʰɪda/	'sacrifice'

So far as grammatical construction is concerned, in spoken sentences, in the verb part, tense and aspect can be conjoined together or tense+aspect+modality or tense+mood+honorific can be merged together. In nominal constructions, the post position can be combined with a noun or pronoun or can also be realized as a separate morpheme. Most of the adjectives are unmarked for number, gender, and case agreement.

8. Concluding remarks

It can be concluded that if a language adopts sound, grammar, and vocabulary from another language, it applies the nativization process. For instance, it cannot adopt a sound which is not available with it. Here, in Rampur, before the existence of a current variety of Urdu, the base language was the dialect of Khari Boli, which does not have sounds like fricative post-alveolar, velar fricatives, uvular stop, etc. So as per base language compatibility, it changes post-alveolar fricative to an alveolar fricative, velar fricative to velar stop, uvular stop to velar stop, and so on. Thus, the reflections of all such nativization-based phonological variations have been observed in the data analysis of Rampuri Urdu, treated as a different variety of Urdu.

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