

Loanword Phonology in Marathi

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Dedicated to the loving memory of Gabrielle R.,
who taught me to draw upon the Spirit of the Universe for all things
who gave me the gift of her life
who showed me the more I do, the more I can do
with great love

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Abbreviations

Neuter	neut
Masculine	masc
Feminine	fem
Possessive	poss
Oblique	obl
Plural	pl
<i>Makkabi</i>	MK
<i>Mebasser</i>	MB

Abstract

This dissertation documents and describes loanword adaptation patterns in Standard Marathi (historical Perso-Arabic, Colonial British English, and contemporary English loans), as well as Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi from the period of Bene Israel religious revival through post-Independence. Documentation of loanword adaptation patterns across donor languages in this project, with an analysis of adaptation strategies in Marathi and Bene Israel Marathi, reveals information about modes of borrowing, language contact, and the roles of extra-linguistic factors, such as orthography and language politics, in determining the final output of borrowed forms. Major findings which have emerged from this project are: (1) the role of orthography in Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, consistent with the behavior of sacred languages, (2) the remarkable similarity between historical Persian, Arabic, and English loanword adaptation strategies, (3) the sharp division between Persian, Arabic, and Hebrew [t] and [d] being adapted as dental consonants, while English [t] and [d] are adapted as retroflex in Marathi, (4) possible evidence for separate points of contact with Arabic and Persian in the Perso-Arabic stratum, (5) the existence of two distinct strata in English loanwords based on adaptation patterns and morphological case-marking: historical English loanwords from the period of British colonial rule and contemporary English loanwords entering in a period of high bilingualism during the current period of neo-liberal globalization, (6) the presence of two Hebrew strata in Bene Israel Marathi: evidence in some naming practices and an extant prayer of an older layer of Hebrew from the Bene Israel's deep past, as well as Hebrew loanwords which entered Bene Israel Marathi beginning in the period of religious revival, (7) a high degree of Anglicization that appears in Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, and (8) sociolinguistic

variation in non-standard varieties of Marathi which appears to capture robust shared features of Marathi phonology before the period of standardization. The importance of these key findings is discussed with respect to the historical and political events of South Asia in a global context. Additionally, this is also the first study which serves to document any linguistic aspect of Bene Israel Marathi, an endangered Jewish language.

Chapter 1

Introduction and Overview

This project presents a documentation and description of the phonological loanword adaptation processes in Marathi, as well as the adaptation patterns of Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, producing new insights into Marathi phonology which can be identified uniquely through loanword adaptation processes. As an emerging body of inquiry, loanword studies presents a complex array of research questions about the modes of borrowing, language variation, language contact, the relationship between language dominance and language shift, the role of extra-linguistic factors in loanword adaptation, as well as what loanword studies reveal about the human language faculty in general. Examining these areas of study broadly, this project will appeal to linguists across sub-disciplines. However, those with an interest in the language politics of South Asia generally or an interest in the Bene Israel dialect of Marathi spoken in India may also find the present study of value. As such, a brief explanation of some key linguistic concepts is provided here and in greater detail throughout the following chapters. For general purposes, *phonology* is the formal study of the sound systems of human language, which includes its sound inventory, structures, patterns, and constraints. Loanword studies is an interdisciplinary body of research examining the methods and context in which words are borrowed from one language (the donor) into another (the recipient), including the specific focus of this project, which addresses how the phonological output of borrowed words have been transformed by the sound system of the borrowing language.

Loanword studies are an important area of research, as they provide us with unique information about the properties of a given language which are not necessarily evident from

direct empirical observations and analyses of the native grammar alone. Furthermore, they can also provide key information and evidence for types of linguistic contact and the mode of borrowing.

The current literature on loanword phonology provides an incomplete account for the phenomenon of differentiated importation strategies in loanword adaptation, particularly where domains of usage contour the processes of adaptation. By presenting a comparative description and analysis of loanword phonology in Modern Standard Marathi and Hebrew loanword adaptation processes in Bene Israel Marathi, this dissertation offers new insights into the sociolinguistic contexts which drive loanword adaption processes, as well as presenting Marathi phonological properties which emerge from loanword patterns yet to be described in the literature. Furthermore, the study of loanwords forces us to think deeply about interdisciplinary intersections by linking structural properties of human languages to the relevant social, historical, and political environments which shape them. In this dissertation, the main questions addressed are as follows:

1. What are the patterns of loanword adaptation in Marathi, and are these patterns consistent across donor languages?
2. What new insight into Marathi phonology can be gained through analysis of loanword adaptation?
3. What does an analysis of adaptation strategies in Marathi and Bene Israel Marathi reveal about modes of borrowing, language contact, and the roles of extra-linguistic factors, such as orthography and language politics, in determining the final output of borrowed forms?

While the adaptation strategies which emerge from the data presented in this study raise many potential research questions about Marathi phonology, the main contribution of this research is to

demonstrate the relationship between the type of language contact and output borrowing strategies.

1.1 Major themes

Some of the major themes which emerge from this project are as follows:

1. The role of orthography in Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, consistent with the behavior of sacred languages.
2. The remarkable similarity between historical Persian, Arabic, and English loanword adaptation strategies.
3. The sharp division between Persian, Arabic, and Hebrew loans adapting [t] and [d] as dental, while adapting alveolar English [t] and [d] as retroflex.
4. Possible evidence for separate points of contact with Arabic and Persian in the Perso-Arabic stratum.
5. Based on adaptation patterns and morphological case-marking, English loanwords consist of two distinct strata: historical English loanwords from the period of British colonial rule and contemporary English loanwords entering in a period of high bilingualism during the current period of neo-liberal globalization.
6. Hebrew loanwords are similarly stratified: evidence in some naming practices and extant prayers of an older layer of Hebrew from the Bene Israel's deep past, as well as Hebrew loanwords which entered Bene Israel Marathi beginning in the period of religious revival.
7. A high degree of Anglicization that appears in Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi.
8. Sociolinguistic variation in non-standard varieties of Marathi appear to capture robust shared features of Marathi phonology before the period of standardization.

The importance of the themes mentioned above is that these adaptation patterns are inextricably tied to the historical and political events of South Asia in global context; specifically, the period of Mughal rule, British colonial rule of India, the partition of India and Pakistan and the resulting politicized language ideologies which shaped processes of standardization, the Zionist movement and the establishment of the state of Israel, and the current period of globalization and neo-liberal

capitalism. The findings above are situated within an understanding of how these critical events have shaped linguistic contact and modes of borrowing in Marathi.

1.2 Significance of the Present Study

The significance of this work extends to several areas. According to Ethnologue, as of 2018, there is a worldwide population of 74,700,000 speakers of Marathi, most of whom are L1 speakers---this is an increase of over 2 million speakers in just two years. Currently ranked by Ethnologue as having the 17th largest number of speakers in the world, Marathi is an understudied language, though it is a major world language and forms the basis of a rich literary and cultural tradition. Much of the current work on Marathi centers on syntactic and semantic analyses, with little to no descriptive or theoretical accounts of the phonology of Marathi. The comparative analysis presented in 5.1, Comparative Analysis of Adaptation Patterns, contributes to our theoretical understanding of Marathi phonology, the sociolinguistic significance of differentiated loanword importation strategies, and sociolinguistic markers for phonological variation. In addition, the analysis of loanword adaptation strategies in Marathi provides independent support for recently proposed patterns of stress assignment in Marathi. As an under-theorized aspect of Marathi phonology, this contribution aims to advance our general knowledge in this area with new data.

Furthermore, this is the first study which serves to document any linguistic aspect of Bene Israel Marathi, an endangered dialect of Marathi which currently faces a serious threat to its survival in the wake of globalization, the growing hegemony of Hindi over regional languages in India, and the community's steady migration to Israel. Although it is beyond the scope of this project to provide a comprehensive grammatical sketch of Bene Israel Marathi, it nevertheless

establishes a foundation upon which others can build in this time-sensitive task to document this dialect.

1.3 Dissertation Overview

A roadmap of the subsequent dissertation chapters is as follows: Chapter 2, Background and Literature Review, provides the background information and literature review which motivates the present study. Chapter 3, Loanword Adaptation in Marathi, presents relevant information about the phonology of Standard Marathi, a history of linguistic contact, and a description of loanword adaptation processes in historical Arabic, Persian, and English loans, in addition to contemporary English loanwords. Chapter 4, Hebrew Loanword Adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi, details Hebrew loanword adaptation strategies in Bene Israel Marathi, noting shifts in patterns shaped by historical and political changes in addition to extra-linguistic factors influenced by Hebrew orthography. Chapter 5, Analysis and Discussion, offers a comparative analysis of loanword adaptation strategies employed across donor languages, situating the similarities and differences within larger patterns of linguistic contact, loanword adaptation, and convergence processes in South Asia. A discussion follows on the implications for historical linguistic contact, mode of borrowing, and socio-linguistic indexicality in Bene Israel Marathi as a Jewish language. Chapter 6 concludes with a summary of the key findings of this study, with directions for future research.

Chapter 2

Background and Literature Review

2.1 Loanword Methodology

The study of loanwords examines the process in which words borrowed from one language are adapted into another, though most studies focus on phonological adaptations. Kang (2011) summarizes the theoretical issues which have emerged in loanword research across models. There are indications that loanword adaptation is affected by grammar-external factors, such as orthography (Peperkamp & Vendelin 2006, Detey & Nespoulous 2008) and level of bilingualism, which has been argued to determine whether or not loanwords will be adapted phonologically or phonetically (Heffernan 2007). Grammar-external approaches also provide a way to explore interface possibilities between different linguistic contact situations and different modes of phonological adaptation. The central debate in loanword research is characterized by competing proposals advocating primarily for either a phonological or perceptual approach to loanword adaptation (for an overview of types of adaptation, see Van Coetsem 1998, Calabrese & Wetzels 2009, and Uffmann 2015). While there is substantial empirical evidence favoring both models, a unified approach has yet to adequately account for the growing body of cross-linguistic loan data.

This study, which documents loanword patterns in Marathi, deals largely with historical loans found in print sources. As such, the function of this project is limited in scope and does not attempt to weigh in on the theoretical debates within loanword studies or the study of feature phonology. Nevertheless, the data presented does reveal new facts about sociolinguistic variation in Marathi and historical contact. There are, however, limitations to the conclusions which can be drawn from the historical data sets (print sources) in this study. In the absence of

complete information on the historical phonologies of the donor and recipient languages in contact, we can only attempt a reconstruction of loanwords, particularly those which have not survived in the modern language, through native speaker intuition about pronunciation.

Reconstruction of donor sources presents additional challenges, particularly in archaic forms, as the derivation typically relies on the loan form itself as the basis for reconstruction. There are other factors which problematize work on historical loanword phonology, such as inconsistent spellings, poor readability, and typographical errors in the print sources. Furthermore, print evidence and available phonological information about the contact languages in question do not capture important considerations such as historical dialect variation which may influence differential adaptation patterns. These problems notwithstanding, this study documents key adaptation patterns which are robust across donor sources, providing a general sketch of loanword phonology in Marathi that enhances our understanding of the contact contexts.

2.2 Introduction to the Marathi Language

Spoken predominantly in the Indian state of Maharashtra (see Image 2.1, Map of Maharashtra), a historically strategic region of South Asia, Marathi loanword adaptation reflects not only the increasing imprint of globalization and rapid adoption of English, but also a process of scaffolded contact with many linguistic communities over several millennia, followed by historical sound change and nativization of loanwords over time.

Image 2.1 Map of Maharashtra



Attribution: Filpro (author), CC-BY-SA-40 (https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:IN-MH.svg#metadata_)

There are many factors which complicate a simplified analysis of loanword adaptation strategies in Marathi; we cannot extract from any given corpus all Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic, or Kannada loanwords and attempt a unified evaluation of synchronic adaptation strategies. Because of the complex social and political history of Marathi-speaking communities, it is not possible to definitively ascertain the point of entry for many of these loanwords. The clearest understanding of synchronic loanword adaptation processes in Marathi emerges only when we comparatively examine nativization strategies in English and Perso-Arabic loans, although here also we face

some degree of stratification between English loanwords adopted during the British Raj and those currently entering as a result of globalization and the neo-liberalization of the Indian economy.

The focus of this study gives equal importance to synchronic loanword adaptation in Marathi and fully lexicalized loanwords from earlier periods, as a comparative study demonstrates some of the general patterns and problems which appear in the adaptation of loanwords from other donor languages, such as Perso-Arabic, Sanskrit and Kannada. By identifying those shared strategies, we provide additional support to strengthen our understanding of Marathi phonology and loanword adaptation processes generally.

2.3 The Creation of Maharashtra

The development of Modern Marathi against the backdrop of political forces which have shaped what has come to be the standard variety. Although Gandhi and many others firmly supported the division of India into ‘linguistic provinces,’ after India gained Independence, Nehru immediately thwarted efforts to redistribute territory along linguistic lines, contrary to the position which the Congress Party had officially endorsed since the 1920s. Nehru eventually redacted his position, and in 1953, a government committee was formed and charged with the task of reorganizing the state boundaries according to the distribution of different linguistic communities (see Bose and Jalal 2004: 173).

In 1956, the committee began to implement the organization of 14 states and 6 union territories, “but it rejected the demand for the reorganization of Bombay and Punjab along linguistic lines” (Bose and Jalal 2004: 173). According to Bose and Jalal (2004:173), the committee’s decision had far-reaching consequences:

“The commission’s refusal to accept the demand to divide Bombay province into Marathi and Gujarati-speaking states was due to the fact that Congress’s Gujarati supporters

dominated Bombay business, while the Marathi-speakers were in a majority. The problem snowballed in the late 1950's. In 1960 there were violent language riots in Bombay. The Marathi speakers finally succeeded in forcing the centre's hand and Gujarat was separated from Maharashtra, which included the city of Bombay."

Once Maharashtra was carved out of the Bombay State, a Marathi standard was becoming formalized through a directed process of Sanskritization. Section 2.4 contextualizes the history of Marathi linguistic identity, specifically calling into question assumptions of an uninterrupted, monolithic language which can neatly define its lineage.

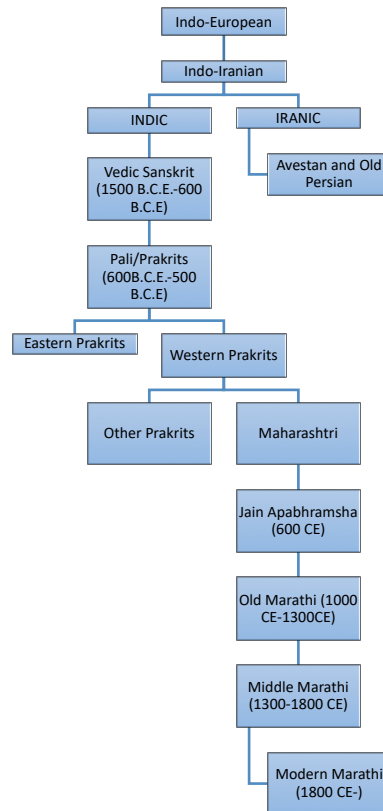
2.4 An Overview of the History of Marathi

Although Sanskrit was used exclusively in the inscriptional record of the polities of Maharashtra beginning around the mid-fourth century, an eighth century document reveals that various spoken languages, including Marathi, co-existed alongside the administrative hegemony of Sanskrit. According to Pollock (2006: 289), "[b]y the late eighth century, Marathi acquired something of a linguistic identity, being listed among the sixteen spoken languages in Uddyotanasūri's *Kuvalayamālā*..."

Furthermore, based on evidence from historical linguistic studies of *Apabhraṃśa*¹, Tulpule (1979) concludes that the emergence of Marathi as a vernacular language must have necessarily coincided with the revival of the Vedic religion toward the end of the eighth century, which for our purposes could be an important historical interpretation, particularly with respect to the prescriptive influence that Vedic Sanskrit would later have on Marathi. A traditional account of the lineage of Marathi is given in Chart 2.1 below.

¹ Although term *Apabhraṃśa* is often used quite broadly to describe the transition of several languages from an earlier Prakrit stage, this particular usage corresponds to a later period of the language preceding Modern Marathi.

Chart 2. 1: Traditional Account of Marathi Lineage²



After its official recognition in the eighth century, Marathi develops a Sanskrit-based writing system by the tenth century, detailed by Pollock (2006: 289) below:

Yet it was not until two centuries later that language found written form. When in the late tenth century Cāmuṇḍarāya, the Gaṅga minister and literary scholar, completed construction of the Bāhubali Gōmateśvara colossus at Śravaṇabelgoḷa, he signed the foot of the statute with the words “Cāmuṇḍarāya made this” in three languages and four scripts: Kannada (Kannada characters), Tamil (Grantha and Vattelutu), and Marathi (Nagari). Within a generation, a couple of Marathi epigraphs of an entirely documentary sort were composed.

²This skeleton of this chart is reproduced from Pandharipande (1997: xxxvii), augmented by the author, which generally follows the scholarly consensus on the Indo-Aryan language family.

The Marathi epigraphs which Pollock mentions are described in detail by Tulpule (1963, 1979), where the first written record in Marathi can be found on a stone inscription from Akśī, a coastal village in Maharashtra, dating to 1012 CE. The inscription details a temple grant made by the Chief Minister of King Keśideva of the Śīlāhāra dynasty. As some scholars date this inscription later, the next possible earliest written record in Marathi is a copperplate inscription dating to 1060 CE, which describes a monetary transaction between two Brahmins in Dive-Āgar, also a coastal town.

According to Pollock (2006), the first political discourse appeared in Marathi under the reign of the Yādava dynasty (900-1300 CE) around the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries in Northern Maharashtra, and the first trace of Marathi literature can be found in the biography of a spiritual master (1278 CE), slightly predating the first written political discourse in Marathi (1305 CE).

After the Yādavas were subjugated by the Delhi sultanate in the fourteenth century, Persian became the official language of Maharashtra until the eighteenth century, at which point English became the official administrative language under British rule. Given the administrative history of the Marathi-speaking region, sustained contact with Persian and English invariably led to extensive borrowings in Marathi which have undergone different processes of linguistic “nativization” (see Pandharipande 2003).

2.5 History of Marathi Standardization

By the early seventeenth century, Persian had almost completely replaced Marathi as the administrative language, accounting for 80% of all lexical items in official documents (Pandharipande 1997:xlili, citing Gramopadhye 1941:11). Then, under the political rule of the insurgent Shivaji, a seventeenth century Marāṭhā king, Marathi replaced Persian as the official

court language and the *Rājyawayahār koś*, a dictionary of administrative terminology, was commissioned in order to promote the use of Sanskrit lexical alternatives in Marathi (see Hakala 2010 for an alternative explanation). A modern, annotated reprinting of this document maintains the original division of entries into various categories relevant to government affairs, providing a line-by-line translation from what is classed as “Dakhini” to Sanskrit, followed by a definition in Modern Marathi (see Marathe 2008).

Pandharipande (1997) characterizes this as marking “the first attempt in the history of India to preserve the linguistic identity of a language” (xliii), although by introducing extensive Sanskrit vocabulary, Shivaji’s project can also be viewed as the first documented attempt at Marathi standardization.

The trend of standardization through Sanskritization appeared to continue when, “[traditional Marathi literature prior to the nineteenth century] characteristically relie[d] on Sanskrit sources for subject matter and display[ed] a diction and grammatical complications far removed from the spoken vernacular” (McDonald 1965:5-6). This “deliberately maintained” distinction was so sharp that, “...if texts were to be used in public communication, the specialist [would have to] interpret them in ordinary language for his hearers (McDonald 1965:9).” Prior to 1857, the Marathi literary enterprise was virtually under the exclusive control of “the traditional literary castes,” often learned Sanskritists (McDonald 1965:49-50).

In 1820, Elphinstone’s Government embarked on the project of standardizing Marathi, and by 1825 the Bombay Government had established a “Translator’s Office,” which was tasked with the objective of standardizing Marathi and producing “model writings” for instructive purposes. The Bombay Government not only paid the printing fees for the texts, but also established printing presses for the production of these language materials. After the materials

had been published, the Bombay Government, “organized a graded formal system of vernacular education using these texts (McDonald 1965: 20-22).”

The activities which followed demonstrate the power and influence of the dominant literary elite over the process of standardization. By 1827, the Translator’s Office was employing Sanskrit pundits to devise standard grammars, dictionaries, and elementary school texts in Marathi. The language materials were then implemented when the Bombay Government established a “general and graded system of elementary and higher education” in 1854, in tandem with a growing distribution network of textbooks (McDonald 1965:23).

The Government effort, however, failed to “achieve communicability” among the Marathi-speaking population at large, and vernacular language education at the university level was abandoned by 1865 (McDonald 1965:27-8). This particular development in the history of Marathi standardization is a rather significant one, as it indicates the disconnect between spoken Marathi and the literary language of the elites.

This was not the only period, however, in which Sanskrit was re-introduced into Marathi in an official capacity; in post-colonial India we find that another systematic attempt to standardize Marathi via the process of Sanskritization was carried out with government support:

After 1947, the government of India, the newspapers, and the education department of Maharashtra worked toward developing a Marathi lexicon to replace English words in the language. The UNESCO report (1953: 65, quoted in *Śāsanwyawahārāt Marathi*: 115) says, “the planned vocabulary development should make the best possible use of the natural tendencies of the language.” In the case of Marathi, as in other modern Indian languages, Sanskrit was once again used as the reservoir from which the appropriate vocabulary was borrowed or derived...
(Pandharipande 1997: xliii-xliv)

Sociolinguistic studies of Marathi (see Apte 1974, Nemade 1990, Pandharipande 2003a) give us an idea of the various social configurations in which different varieties have been used in relation to Standard Marathi. Typically speaking, the Standard Marathi historically used in educated

speech is based on the Pune Brahmin dialect, known for its high degree of Sanskritization. According to Pandharipande (2003), Persianized Marathi is used in courts of law, at the police station, etc., and highly Englishized Marathi is used among the educated elite at social gatherings and during business transactions. In spite of a compulsory education system and the influence of mass media, substantial differences remain between the rural, spoken dialects and the standard written dialect. In an unpublished survey conducted by Ramesh Dhongde (personal communication), non-standard dialects share more of their lexical base with one another than with Standard Marathi. In this sense, the “standard” variety can be understood as the exception, although it still remains the official gatekeeper for loanwords entering the language.

Parallel to the process of standardization in Marathi has also been a series of politicized attempts to purge Marathi of its so-called ‘foreign elements.’ Such attempts to ‘purge’ the vernaculars of Persian and Arabic can be characterized as projects of national Hindu identity construction, analogous to the Hindi-Urdu divide of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In a now classic account of this process, King (1994:187) argues that:

...[U]nlike [in Uttar Pradesh] language did not have the same importance as part of the process of multi-symbol congruence in the formation of Hindu and Muslim nationalism. Hence we find little or no evidence of movements to “purify” Marathi...of Persian and Arabic words.

Although the movement to “purify” Marathi certainly does not figure as prominently into Indian historiography as does the national construction of Hindi-Urdu, the charge that no such attempt occurred should be re-examined, as there is compelling evidence to suggest that a similar process took place in Marathi.

One of India’s influential Hindu nationalists and a contemporary of Gandhi, Vinayak Damodar Savarkar (1883-1966), “insisted on purging the Marathi language of all words that

made their way into it because of...Muslim rule” (Deshpande 2009:95-96). However, in the context of Maratha history, “[i]t is worth noting that the earliest ballad composed to celebrate the deeds of Shivaji is also written in a Marathi so Persianized that virtually no modern Maharashtrian can read it with ease” (Laine 2003:10). Attempts to re-historicize Marathi as a pure cultural and linguistic derivative of Sanskrit simply ignores the extent to which Muslim rule in the area received bi-lateral support among elites. This comfortable relationship can be exemplified by the fact that in Maharashtra, “[t]o this day, many Brahmins have the surname Parasnis, which indicates a former profession as a clerk literate in Persian” (Laine 2003:10).

Although it is evident from the copious surviving Persian and Arabic forms that Savarkar’s campaign to purge the Perso-Arabic lexical items from the language did not fully succeed, many of the Sanskritized neologisms he used in his writings are in wide circulation among educated Marathi speakers today. And whether specifically because of Savarkar’s language movement, the partition of India and Pakistan and the prominence with which the Hindi-Urdu divide ran its course on the national stage, or if because of the efforts of the Government of Maharashtra to prescribe a standard variety of Marathi, the resulting collective designation of “standard” for the elite variety is invariably associated with its high level of Sanskritization.

2.6 Marathi Loanword Phonology

Pandharipande (2003a) proposes a “nativization hierarchy” for Marathi in which words from Sanskrit, Persian, and English are organized hierarchically into different strata according to their relative conformation to different aspects of Marathi grammar, resulting in lexical stratification. The hierarchy entails that those donor sources (strata) which evidence Marathi inflectional behavior are more “nativized” in the lexicon, with Pandharipande (2003a) proposing nativization accordingly as Sanskrit >> Persian >> English.

2.6.1 English Loanwords in Marathi

Pandharipande (2003a) demonstrates that despite English having been the primary language of administration over the past 200 years, Marathi morpho-syntactic processes treat English lexical items differently than those of the native Marathi stock. For example, in Marathi, masculine noun stems are suffixed with the vowel /- ā-/ before a postposition, as in example (2.1), but English loanwords with masculine gender do not show vowel insertion indicating morphological case marking, as in (2.2):

(2.1) Masculine case marking (from Pandharipande 2003: 66)

tsor	‘thief’
tsor-ā-lā	‘to the thief’
tsor-ā-hūn	‘from the thief’
tsor-ā-tsā	‘of the thief’
tsor-ā-t	‘in the thief’
tsor-ā-ne	‘by the thief’

(2.2) English (from Pandharipande 2003: 66)

ḍākṭar	‘doctor’
ḍākṭar-ne	‘by the doctor’

Pandharipande (2003a) also reports that even when failure to insert a vowel would lead to a non-permissible consonant cluster, such as *ḍākṭar-t ‘in the doctor’, rather than appeal to vowel epenthesis in order to prevent an illicit phonological structure, Marathi uses an alternate postposition *madhe* ‘in’ to mark English nouns.

In the case of derivational morphology, even one of the most productive Marathi suffixes *-paṇā* ‘-ness’ cannot be added to loanwords from English to derive new words (2.4), although there are no restrictions on suffixing *-paṇā* ‘-ness’ to either words of Persian origin, as in (2.5) or to Marathi root words with Persian suffixes, like the Persian suffix *-dār* in (2.3), which functions

in this particular context to derive an adjective from a noun. With respect to Marathi suffixation of Persian loans, Pandharipande (2003a:79-80) makes the opposite claim that the suffix *-paṇā* ‘-ness’ cannot attach to Persian words, although her data comes from Standard Marathi. In my own data collection, I have found that this is in fact permissible, even among educated Marathi speakers.

(2.3) Marathi suffixation

a. eksurī	‘monotonous’
eksurī-paṇā	‘monotony’
b. ūbdār	‘warm, cozy’
ūbdār-paṇā	‘warmth, coziness’

(2.4) English loanwords (from Pandharipande 2003a:70)

a. smārṭ	‘smart’
*smart-paṇā	‘smartness’
b. fyānsī	‘fancy’
*fyānsī-paṇā	‘fanciness’

(2.5) Persian loanwords

a. kamī	‘deficient’
kamī-paṇā	‘deficiency’
b. kamasal	‘ignoble, base, mean’
kamasal-paṇā	‘baseness’

2.6.2 Persian in the Marathi lexicon

Some Persian affixes, such as the suffix *-dar*, can productively and freely attach to Marathi root words, as in (2.6a-b), but according to Pandharipande (2003a), this suffix cannot attach to English loans. The example in (2.6c) shows Persian prefixation, which is also relatively productive in Marathi.

(2.6) a. aṇī	‘tip, point’
aṇīdār	‘pointed, angular’

some cases corroborate, provides us with an interesting, unique case study on loanword adaptation in Marathi.

When members of the Cochin Jewish community of South India first encountered the Bene Israel in the 18th century, the Bene Israel were migrating from the coastal Konkan region of Maharashtra to Bombay and had been dubbed the *Shanwar Telis*, or “Saturday oil pressers” in Marathi. This designation described both their caste-like occupational tradition of pressing oil as well as their abstention from work on the Jewish Sabbath (see Roland 1998). According to these sources and the data I located in secondary sources (see Section 5.3.1 Bene Israel Linguistic Identity), the only evidence of Hebrew retained from the Bene Israel’s past are (1) naming practices, and (2) one recorded prayer. Thus, Hebrew loanwords presented in Chapter 4, Hebrew Loanword Adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi, have entered in the period of religious revival (see Section 5.3.1.3 Religious Revival and Upward Mobility for further discussion), beginning with Hebrew education provided by Scottish missionaries at the turn of the 19th century. As a relatively new language in contact with Bene Israel Marathi, Hebrew adaptation patterns in this dialect reveal important information about the contact context

While the origins and history of this community remain obscure prior to what was definitively written about them in the 17th and mid-18th century, we can look to both their system of naming and earlier religious practices in order to differentiate the various layers of Hebrew in the lexicon of Bene Israel Marathi. Before their interactions with and adaptations of the religious practices of the Cochin and Baghdadi Jewish communities of India, the Bene Israel retained and evolved a number of ancient Jewish practices which have been documented by both the community itself and groups which came into contact with the Bene Israel (for history of the

Bene Israel, see Roland 1989, 1995, 1998; Katz 2000; Isenberg 1986, 1995; Samuel 1963; Kehimkar 1937; and Hodes 2014).

According to the above sources, after recent contact with mainstream Jewish communities, the Bene Israel adopted Rabbinic Judaism, which included, for example, incorporating into their observance the halacha, or adherence to Rabbinic Jewish law [IPA transcription: halaxa]. As is detailed in Chapter 4, Hebrew Loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, an influx of Hebrew loans accompanied the emergence of this new religious identity. In newer loanwords such as [halaxa], the phonological adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi of the Hebrew voiceless velar fricative [x] (represented by the letter *chet*) as a voiceless aspirated velar stop, as in [həl:ak^ha], mimics exactly the phonological adaptation of Persian loanwords into Marathi when Persian was effectively the administrative language of Maharashtra (see Chapter 3, Loanword Adaptation in Marathi, Chapter 4, Hebrew Loanword Adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi, and Section 5.3, Sociolinguistic Variables in Bene Israel Marathi). Here, Marathi systematically adapted words from Persian containing the voiceless velar fricative [x] (as in [xət] ‘letter’) as [k^hət̪], with an aspirated velar stop.

While recent Hebrew loans in Marathi show similar adaptation patterns to older Persian loans, many of the older Hebrew names which the community documents as having retained throughout its period of isolation, on the other hand, indicate a very different pattern of adaptation. For example, *Hassa*, or ‘Ezekiel’ for the Hebrew [jəhezqel] and *Hansha*, or [han:a] in Hebrew (‘Hannah’), indicate older forms which had been retained from an earlier period in the community’s past (see Section 5.3, Sociolinguistic Variables in Bene Israel Marathi, for a discussion of the known evidence). This provides possible evidence that the lexicon in this dialect contains a minimum of two separate strata of Hebrew loans: (1) the retention of Hebrew

words from some point in the community's deeper past, which possibly underwent sound change when the community became monolingual speakers of Marathi and (2) recent Hebrew loans introduced since the community's integration into mainstream Judaism, which remains consistent in the majority of its adaptation patterns, but evolves in some key patterns over time as the community became more bilingual (see Chapter 4, Hebrew Loanword Adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi, and Section 5.3, Sociolinguistic Variables in Bene Israel Marathi). Further documentation and analysis of the linguistic behavior of Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi can assist us in comparing and examining the grammatical and extra-grammatical constraints on loanword adaptation in Marathi generally.

One of several patterns unaccounted for is that the [t] in Hebrew loanwords is variously adapted as an aspirated dental [tʰ] and [t̪] in Bene Israel Marathi depending on orthographic considerations. This importation strategy is interesting because the alveolar [t] in English loanwords are mostly adapted as retroflex [ɖ], as in *ḍākṭar* 'doctor' or *smārṭ* 'smart' in Marathi, while Persian dento-alveolar [t] is adapted as dental [t̪], as in the example shown above [xəṭ] 'letter,' adapted as [kʰəṭ̪] in Marathi. By adapting Hebrew [t] in this way, Bene Israel Marathi appears to mark them differently from both English and Perso-Arabic loanwords.

Another curious example of differential importation in Bene Israel Marathi involves the adaptation of Hebrew alveolar affricate [ts] as the alveolar fricative [s], as in (2.7a-c) below, taken from a *Haggadah* published in 1846:

- | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------------|---|
| (2.7) | a. sāfon (M)
tsāfun (H) | ‘Tzafun, the Passover service for the afikoman’ |
| | b. mosī massā (M)
motsī mātsā (H) | ‘Motzi Matzah, The Passover service for blessing the matzah’ |
| | c. urhas (M)
urhats (H) | ‘Urchatz, the portion of the passover service dedicated to ritual hand washing’ |

It is puzzling that Bene Israel Marathi shows a clear, consistent pattern of adapting Hebrew [ts] as [s] in all possible phonotactic configurations, as the alveolar affricate [ts] is fully available in the phonemic inventory of Marathi (as with previous examples, *tsūk* ‘mistake and *tsor* ‘thief’) (see Chapter 4 Hebrew Loanword Adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi).

The Hebrew loanword adaptation strategies used by the Bene Israel community provide us with enormous comparative insight into the boundaries between extra-grammatical and grammatical motivations for differential loanword importation strategies in human languages.

2.8 Jewish Languages

Although there are several frameworks for understanding Jewish languages, the growing focus in the field of Jewish languages is “language use by Jews” (Benor 2013:4); that is, a focus on the sociolinguistic features of Jewish languages. Bar-Asher (2016), however, provides an account of Jewish languages as they relate to Hebrew, noting that “the most prominent linguistic feature of most Jewish languages is the presence of a Hebrew-Aramaic component” (2016:131), distinguishing between embedded and immersed elements. The study of Hebrew loanword adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi deals largely with the immersed elements, defined by Bar-Asher as Hebrew-Aramaic elements which “were absorbed into the Jewish language and adapted to the linguistic rules of the target language...”(131).

The consensus for what makes a language a typologically Jewish language at least minimally addresses the role of Hebrew in the given vernacular. In some cases, a Jewish language such as Yiddish will employ the Hebrew script, while in other cases the language may make extensive use of Hebrew loanwords. There may be other attributes of Jewish vernaculars which differ significantly from the regional vernacular, such as prosody, inflectional changes, etc., however as Myhill (2004) raises the issue that such distinctions, even if influenced by the liturgical

language, are not unique to Jewish varieties of a language, pointing to local vernaculars adopted by other diaspora communities, such as the Hindi spoken by Sikhs in Delhi. The Sikh community in Delhi maintains strong ties to the liturgical language (Punjabi) of the *Guru Granth Sahib*, influencing the variety of Hindi spoken by this community. See Section 5.3.2, Sacred Languages and Jewish Languages, for further discussion on the behavior of Hebrew as a sacred language in Bene Israel Marathi consistent with areal features of sacred languages in South Asia.

As such, there is a growing call to research Jewish languages which do not fall under the purview of the canonical “sacred” Jewish languages (i.e. Hebrew, Aramaic, and arguably Yiddish to some extent as well). Myhill (2004) argues that these languages are deemed sacred, and thus receive more scholarly attention, because they are either dead or undergoing extinction. Though limited in its scope, this project will attempt to examine some of the sociolinguistic and historical considerations through loanword adaptation process which arise in the new study of a Jewish language. An introductory sketch of Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi will also contribute to our understanding of patterns of Hebrew loanword adaptation across Jewish languages in addition to the linguistic and extra-linguistic forces which have shaped the specific adaptation process evidenced in Bene Israel Marathi. In exploring the interaction of these forces, we not only widen the study of what constitutes a Jewish language, but also endeavor to better understand the deeper structural and sociolinguistic principles which govern human language.

Chapter 3

Loanword Adaptation in Marathi

3.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces patterns of phonological loanword adaptation processes in Marathi, describing in Section 3.1 the method of data collection which forms the basis of this study. Section 3.2 provides relevant facts about Marathi phonology which foreground the patterns observed, including a phonemic inventory, the role of aspiration, allophonic rules, phonotactic constraints, free variation, vowel length, and stress. Section 3.3 gives an overview of the relevant history of contact with English, Mughal Persian, Dakhni/Hindi, Kannada, Portuguese, as well as diachronic sound changes from Sanskrit loans³. Section 3.4 describes patterns of historical loanword adaptation in Marathi from colonial British English and Indo-Persian, and Section 3.5 documents synchronic adaptation patterns in English loanwords. Section 3.6 concludes with a summary of this chapter's findings, discussing both shared patterns of adaptation which occur in Marathi across donor languages as well as patterns of adaptation specific to donor languages.

3.1 Methodology

The data for this chapter was collected from a variety of sources. As we are dealing with both

³ Throughout this dissertation, the following code is used to indicate the source of language data:

Marathi	(M)
Hindi	(Hi)
Urdu	(U)
Sanskrit	(S)
Persian	(P)
Portuguese	(Pr)
Kannada	(K)
Hebrew	(H)
English	(E)
Arabic	(A)
Turkish	(T)

historical loanwords and loanwords (from English and Hindi, to some extent) which are currently being borrowed into Marathi at an accelerated rate, two methods of data collection have been necessary in order to create a more comprehensive overview of loanword processes in Marathi. For a description and analysis of loanword processes in Marathi, historical loanwords have been gathered from K.P. Kulkarnī's *Marāṭhī Vyutpatti Koś*, an etymological Marathi dictionary which is used as the primary corpus for the study on historical loans⁴. Kulkarnī's etymological dictionary is particularly valuable to this study, as loan origins have been given in Devanāgarī, the script used for Modern Standard Marathi, which represents loan etymologies systematically according to the perceived closest available features in the Marathi inventory. Maharashtrian scholars have already produced considerable documentation of historical and contemporary loanwords from donor languages such as Persian, Kannada, English etc. (see Chauhan (1893 [1971]), Abdulhaq 1933, Apte 1974, Awalikar 1981, Nemade 1990, Pandharipande 2003a, etc.), with an interest in the behavior of loanwords across various registers of speech and social domains, as well as evidence of their lexical stratification through patterns of affixation. This chapter builds on the work produced by these scholars by focusing on specific detail and groupings of phonological adaptation strategies in Marathi.

Contemporary English loans analyzed throughout this study have also been collected and documented over a period of approximately eight years (2010-2018), though not primarily as a function of formal data elicitation (however, some data was collected incidentally during unrelated projects), but through instantiations of loanwords appearing in the public domain (see Ziadna 2018 for methodology on loanword data collected in the public domain). Linguistic artifacts collected

⁴ A number of the Perso-Arabic loans identified by Kulkarnī are sourced from Shivaji's *Rājyawayawahār koś*. I did not consult this source directly, but it can be made available to interested readers in A.D. Marāṭhe's 2008 *Rājkoś*, a reprinting and translation of Shivaji's *Rājyawayawahār koś* into contemporary Marathi.

from the public domain include informal conversations with native speakers, language used in public spaces in modern day Bombay, India, such as coffee shops, restaurants, trains etc., televised news programs, online news articles, as well as blogs and internet-based television shows. As such, this study presents a cross-section of adaptation processes which capture aspects of the historical and synchronic features of Marathi phonology. All artifacts used in this study, particularly those collected from print sources, have been verified for accuracy with native speakers of the standard variety. Where observed, variation in adaptation patterns are noted throughout, but given the narrow scope of this project, there will inherently be variation not documented or accounted for in this study.

3.2 Features of Marathi Phonology

This section summarizes those features of standard Marathi phonology relevant to the process of loanword adaptation processes. While there are many phonological processes of interest described throughout the literature (see Pandharipande 1998, 2003; Dhongde and Wali 2009), those which predominantly interface with the syntax or pragmatics, such as the intonational phonology, will be omitted here.

Section 3.2.1 provides an overview of the phonemic inventory in Marathi, including vowels and consonants. Section 3.2.2 deals with the feature of aspiration in Marathi, and section 3.2.3 discusses cases of allophonic variation and allomorphy. Section 3.2.4 introduces sociolinguistic variation in Marathi, both symmetric and asymmetric, and Section 3.2.5 deals with Marathi stress and syllable weight. Section 3.2.6 concludes with a description of nasalization in Marathi.

3.2.1 Marathi Phonemic Inventory

Charts 3.1 and 3.2 below summarize the phonemic inventory of Modern Standard Marathi, which is a composite of scholarly work on Marathi phonology cast within current frameworks of linguistic knowledge, primarily Jha (1977), Dhongde and Wali (2009), as well as Pandharipande (1997, 2003).⁵

Chart 3.1: Vowels and Diphthongs in Marathi⁶

	Front	Central	Back
High	i, ɪ		u, ʊ
Mid	e		o
Mid/Low	əi	ə	əu
Low		a	

Following in the tradition of the Indian grammarian Pāṇini, conventional Indian linguistics has often characterized sets of vowel contrasts in Indic languages as a function of length. In Marathi, sets of long and short vowels are often grouped together according to the traditional Sanskrit pairings (often described in generative linguistics as a tense/lax distinction), which is reflected in the orthographic sequencing:

⁵ As there is not sufficient scope to thoroughly cover the foundational work on Marathi phonology and Marathi historical linguistics, for an overview, interested readers may consult Sten Konow's (1905) contribution to Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (Volume VII), Damle (1911), Turner (1916), Bloch (1920), Kalelkar (1955), and Kelkar (1958).

⁶ Not included in this inventory are the borrowed English vowels which appear in loanwords. Dhongde and Wali (2009: 10) explain that "[i]n the nineteenth century the English æ was replaced by *ya* as in *byaṅk* 'bank' and the ɜ by *a* as in *ḍaktar* 'doctor.' The replacements are still found in rural Marathi. The increasing prestige of English however brought back the æ and ɜ." Pandharipande (2003: 717) classes these vowels as [æ] and [ɜ], respectively. Throughout this dissertation, I will use [æ] and [ɜ] to represent these vowels, with the caveat that variation of [ɜ] with other vowels occurs across dialects of English.

Chart 3.2: Corresponding Short and Long Vowel Pairs in Marathi

Short Vowels	Long Vowels
ə (अ)	a (आ)
ɪ (इ) ⁷	i (ई)
ʊ (उ)	u (ऊ)
e (ए)	ai (ऐ)
o (ओ)	au औ

Some researchers (Avinash Pandey and Renuka Ozarkar, personal communication) maintain that although native speakers learn the vowel ʊ (उ) in the Sanskrit-based *akṣharmālā/varṇamālā* (alphabet) and are able to produce the length distinction in citation form, the length contrast has effectively been lost in contemporary Marathi phonology. In a study on acoustic correlates of stress in Marathi, Le Grézaus (2015) investigates whether high vowels in Marathi maintain length contrast, determining that “there is some level of durational contrast” between [ɪ]/[i] and [ʊ]/[u] (46); however, the study samples only two speakers. Pandharipande (1997, 2003b) tentatively describes the distinction as one of lax/tense which also corresponds to short/long. More research in this area is needed to understand the role of Marathi vowel duration in phonological processes.

⁷ Word-finally, the vowel ɪ (इ) can only remain short in closed syllables, so that even if it is represented as short orthographically in an open syllable of Sanskrit origin, it will be elongated to i (ई) in spoken Marathi.

Chart 3.3: Consonants in Marathi

			Labial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Alveo-Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	VL	UNASP	p	ʈ		ɖ		k	
		ASP	p ^h	ʈ ^h		ɖ ^h		k ^h	
	VD	UNASP	b	ɖ		ɖ		g	
		ASP	b ^h	ɖ ^h		ɖ ^h		g ^h	
Affricate	VL	UNASP			ts		tʃ		
		ASP					tʃ ^h		
	VD	UNASP			dz (z)		dʒ		
		ASP			dz ^h		dʒ ^h		
Fricative	VL				s	ʂ	ʃ		h
Nasal	VD	UNASP	m	n		ɳ		(ŋ)	
		ASP	m ^h	n ^h		ɳ ^h			
Rhotic	VD	UNASP				(ɽ)	r		
		ASP					r ^h		
Lateral	VD	UNASP			l	ɭ			
		ASP			l ^h				
Semi-vowels	VD	UNASP	v/ w				j		
		ASP	v ^h						

3.2.2 Aspiration

In most contemporary Marathi descriptive grammars (Jha 1977; Pandharipande 1997, 2003b; Dhongde and Wali 2009), aspiration is described as a contrastive feature of Marathi stops and affricates, though with respect to voiced consonants, this feature is more accurately classed as breathy rather than aspirated (see Berkson 2013, 2016 for further discussion). As will become evident in the following sections in this chapter, the feature of aspiration is important with respect to its role in loanword adaptation.

3.2.3 Relevant Allophones and Allomorphy

As Kalelkar (1964) notes, the orthographic system of Marathi collapses its affricate series into a single letter series which represent both Sanskritic alveo-palatal affricates and the Marathi alveolar affricate set, about which very interestingly, the alveolar affricate [ts] is represented orthographically in Devanāgarī by both [च] and the consonant cluster [त्स], which usually appears in words of Sanskrit origin, as in [utsəʋ] उत्सव ‘festival.’ The alveolar affricate [ts], most frequently represented as [च], becomes palatalized as [tʃ] before high and mid front vowels. This phenomenon is particularly visible and productive in the allomorphy of the possessive suffix – *tsa* (m.), – *tsə* (n.), – *tʃi* (f.), as well as in possessive adjectives containing its voiced counterpart, the alveolar [dz], as in examples (3.1a-b):

- (3.1) a. hyatsə nav
 his.neut name.neut
- hyatsa bhav
 his.masc brother.masc
- hyatʃi bəhiŋ,
 his.fem sister.fem
- b. madzʰə nav
 my.neut name.neut

madz ^h a	bhav
my.masc	brother.masc
madʒ ^h i	bəhin,
my.fem	sister.fem

Similarly, possessive adjectives, pronouns, and nouns all change forms as a result of oblique case marking. When either [j] or [i] is added to a stem form to mark oblique case, it will induce palatalization in word-final [ts], [s], and [dz^h] (see Dhongde and Wali 2009):

- (3.2) a. pəisa + ne >> pəɪf.ja.ne
 money by money.obl.by
 ‘by the money’
- b. tʃatsa + vər >> tʃaɪf.ja.vər
 his on his.obl.on
 ‘on him’
- c. madz^ha + kəɾe >> madʒ^h.ja.kəɾe
 my towards my.obl.towards
 ‘towards me’
 (from Dhongde and Wali 2009:22)

It is possible for palatalization to occur within word boundaries as well. In the example below, shown later in Section 3.4.2.1.2.2 Palatalization in Historical Arabic loans, Arabic [s], a fricative, palatalizes before front vowel [i] within the word boundary:

- (3.3) k^hʊɾtʃi, k^hʊɾʃi (M) (खुर्ची, खुर्शी) ‘chair’
 kursi (Ar.) (कुर्सी)
 (from Kulkarni 1946 [1993])

3.2.4 Sociolinguistic Variation

The role of sociolinguistic variables in variation can assist us greatly in understanding loanword adaptation processes. There are two types of variation present across the subcontinent---the first type, asymmetric variation, occurs predominantly in linguistic contact and will be important as we theorize linguistic contact, (i.e., how contact domains and language structure meaningfully

interact). The second type occurs language-internally (i.e., in the absence of diglossia or language contact) and can either be symmetric, or more likely, phonetically conditioned).

3.2.4.1 Asymmetric Variation

Pullum (1972:269) first noted that free variation isn't always symmetric in contact situations which involve diglossia or loanwords, providing data from Hindi in which fricatives such as [z] in Perso-Arabic loans can be freely substituted with their Hindi equivalent [dʒ]; however, words with “etymological and underlying” [dʒ] cannot be interchanged with [z], as in example (3.4) below, such that [z] ~ [dʒ]⁸, but [dʒ] ≠ [z]:

- (3.4) a. mez ~ medʒ ‘table’
 b. zali:l ~ dʒali:l ‘contemptible’
 (from Pullum (1972: 269))

Pullum also speculates that this may be the case with additional phonemes entering Hindi from Perso-Arabic loans, such as [f], [x], [ɣ], and [q]⁹, which is indeed the case, as in examples (3.5a-h):

- (3.5) a. fərk ~ p^hərk ‘difference’ (PA)
 b. ful ~ p^hul¹⁰ ‘flower’ (Indic)
 c. xət ~ k^hət ‘letter’ (PA)
 d. xana ~ k^hana ‘food’ (Indic)
 e. ɣəm ~ gəm ‘pain’ (PA)
 f. ɣobər ~ gobər ‘cow patty’ (Indic)
 g. quran ~ kuran ‘Quran’ (PA)

⁸ Pullum (1972: 269) notes that although these sounds are interchangeable, the use of the Indic variant in place of the Perso-Arabic variant can be stigmatized, as it is associated with uneducated or rural speech. This is consistent with observations in contemporary speech where Hindi-identified speakers hypercorrect to [z] in either words of Indic origins or in Perso-Arabic-origin words with underlying [dʒ].

⁹ Pullum originally included [g] in his list as a possible sound which is present in Hindi-Urdu only in a particular substratum of the language, but this sound is in fact indigenous to Indic languages and is interchangeable with the Perso-Arabic [ɣ]. The inclusion of [q] to this list is the author's own addition. In Hindi print sources, the use of a special diacritic *nuqtā* ‘dot’ often, though not always, accompanies the written grapheme for the interchangeable Indic consonant, indicating the explicit presence of a borrowed Perso-Arabic sound.

¹⁰ Some speakers of Hindi hypercorrect all instances of [p^h] to [f], leveling existing distinctions between the two, even when the underlying phoneme is /p^h/, as in the canonical [p^hɪr] ‘then, again’, which is often hypercorrected to [fɪr]

h. qəl ~ kəl ‘yesterday’ (Indic)

In addition to Perso-Arabic loans, Pullum also mentions asymmetric free variation in phonemes and consonant clusters of Sanskritic origin. Pullum’s analysis of asymmetric free variation in Hindi in contact is useful, as Ghatage (1963) notes that in Marathi, [ʃ] is always interchangeable with underlying /ʂ/, resulting in ʃ ~ ʂ, but that in most cases when /ʃ/ is underlying, ʂ ~ ʃ. Many words in Marathi containing underlying /ʂ/ are of Sanskrit origin, a possible cause for asymmetry we will investigate further.

3.2.4.2 Symmetric and Phonetically Conditioned Variation

Several consonant pairs of Indic origin in Marathi stand in free variation. Most notably, the [v] ~ [w] distinction is not lexically contrastive and may be phonetically conditioned by preceding and following vowels across speakers. This particular pattern of free variation is common across Indic languages (also in Hindi, for example), with possible variations in eastern Indic languages which include free variation between [b] ~ [v] / [w].

There are other instances of free variation in Marathi which vary in some speakers but which are not systematic throughout the standard variety. Some speakers freely vary [l] ~ [ɭ] and [n] ~ [ɳ], with a tendency to hypercorrect [l] to [ɭ] and [n] to [ɳ]. Other speakers can accommodate for [z] in their inventory, which while not behaving contrastively in Marathi, will sometimes vary freely with [dz]. Also common across South Asian languages and dialects (for example, Tamil, Bengali, and some regional varieties of Hindi), some Marathi speakers cannot distinguish between [s] ~ [ʃ], which vary freely.

3.2.5 Stress and Syllable Weight in Marathi

Until recently, there has been no complete account for all or most observable phonological stress patterns in Marathi. Pandharipande's (1997:555-559) tentative description of stress in Marathi can be summarized as follows:

- (1) In words which contain only one heavy or superheavy syllable, the heavy/superheavy syllable receives stress regardless of position.
- (2) In bisyllabic words in which both syllables are heavy, the initial syllable will receive stress.
- (3) In a trisyllabic word in which the first two syllables are heavy, the first syllable receives stress. When all syllables in a trisyllabic word are heavy, the first syllable receives the stress.
- (4) In the instance that both syllables are light in a bisyllabic word, the initial syllable will receive stress. It will never be the case that a trisyllabic word contains only light syllables.

Dhongde and Wali (2009) propose a set of descriptions accounting for lexical stress in Marathi which rely in part on some aspects of syllable weight (open vs. closed syllables and vowel length), and their observation that tonic syllabic [ə] is extended in length is also confirmed in the experimental data in Le Grézause (2015) as an acoustic indicator of stress.

Building on Pandharipande's (2007) description of stress, Le Grézause's (2015) acoustic results indicate that stress in Marathi is in fact weight-sensitive. Le Grézause (2015) concludes that while stress does not signal lexical contrast in Marathi and that Marathi speakers have little to no awareness of it, nevertheless "words should be pronounced with a specific stress pattern" (36). This is consistent with my own observations that although (1) Marathi speakers seem to be unable to reliably detect the placement of lexical stress in an English word, the (2) production of stress in both Marathi and in the variety of Indian English spoken by native Marathi speakers seems to converge on the same pattern types across speakers.

According to Le Grézause (2015:33), stress in Marathi can be determined by the following parameters:

Findings from the study show that Marathi has weight-sensitive stress and that open syllables with a short vowel are light while closed syllables and open syllables with a long vowel are heavy. The leftmost eligible syllable receives stress and the vowels (/i/, /u/, /əə/) = μ whereas the vowels (/i:/, /u:/, /a:/, /o:/, /e:/) = $\mu\mu$. Observations also show that intensity and duration seem to be the most prominent cues for stress in Marathi.

3.2.6 Nasalization

Pandharipande (1997, 2003) claims that there are no inherently nasal vowels in Modern Standard Marathi, but that vowels are nasalized before nasal consonants. The examples given (3.6a-b) are vowels which are nasalized before nasal consonants assimilated to homorganic stops:

- (3.6) a. $\tilde{a}mba$ 'mango'
 b. $\tilde{t}\tilde{o}n\tilde{d}$ 'mouth'
 (from Pandharipande 2003:719)

Kelkar (1958:12) demonstrates semi-nasalization on vowels following nasal consonants, but Pandharipande (2003b:719) citing Masica (1991:117) maintains that the historical phonemic contrast between nasal and oral vowels in Old Marathi may be retained in the orthography but is no longer contrastive in most dialects of contemporary Marathi. Pandharipande (2003b:719) describes an adaptation process in Sanskrit loans in which the nasal consonant in [a + nasal C] sequences is deleted, and the property of nasalization is transferred to the diphthong [ãũ]:

- (3.7) $h\tilde{a}\tilde{u}s$ (M) 'swan'
 $ha\tilde{u}s$ (S)
 (from Pandharipande 2003:719)

However, Dhongde and Wali (2009:11) argue that $h\tilde{a}\tilde{u}s$ 'swan' has lost its nasalization in Modern Marathi.

3.3 Overview of Donor Contact with Marathi

3.3.1 Perso-Arabic Loanwords

The inclusion of Perso-Arabic loanwords into Marathi has been a historically scaffolded process which not only unfolded over a long period of time, but also reached Marathi through various points of contact. It would be a gross oversimplification to make a direct analysis of loanword adaptation processes against the synchronic (or even older) phonologies of classical Persian, Arabic or Turkish against the modern artifacts of those languages in contemporary Marathi because (1) they have entered the language in successive waves, at different times in the language's phonology, (2) they have not all been mediated by a single donor source, and (3) some of the extant loans have likely undergone sound change over time.

The introduction of Perso-Arabic loanwords into Marathi could be characterized as a non-linear process with several lines and stages of linguistic pedigree, none of which has been documented with sufficient detail in the literature. Rather than collapse the presentation of data from this project into a single Perso-Arabic substratum (as it is often referred to in the literature on loanwords in South Asian languages), loanwords from Arabic and Persian will be separated into different subsections based on historical and linguistic motivations, which will be discussed here and in Section 5.1 Comparative Analysis of Adaptation Patterns.

Indo-Islamic culture developed in the subcontinent when the first wave of Arab political expansion reached the subcontinent in 644 during the invasion of the north-western Makran coast, with Arab traders settling on the western coast of India from the 8th century onward (Bose and Jalal 2004:17). Trade between the subcontinent and the Islamic world continued for centuries, and the 11th century marked the beginning of successive military conquests of India from mostly Turkic-speaking peoples of Central Asia, resulting first in the Delhi sultanate and

later in the Mughal empire (Bose and Jalal 2004:20-21). The important fact linguistically is that there are several possible source streams for the Perso-Arabic substrate in Marathi. Bose and Jalal(2004:21) provide historical motivation for this consideration:

While northern India witnessed accommodations with the Turkish-Persian variant of Islam, the Arab imprint continued to be indelible in the Malabar coast of western India as well as coastal South India and Sri Lanka. So we find at least two different variants of the Indo-Islamic accommodations in the subcontinent, one straddling the overland belt from Turkey, Persia and northern India to the Deccan, and the other bridging the ocean from the Arabian peninsula to coastal southern India and stretching across the Bay of Bengal to Java and Sumatra.

Abidi and Gargesh (2008: 103) citing Marek (1968:714) note that although Persian was not the mother-tongue of the Islamic rulers in the north, it was highly popular and replaced Turkish as the court language. This local variety of Persian, which served as the court language in Islamicate India for centuries, developed its own particular distinguishing features. Abidi and Gargesh (2008: 105) note that by the time of Akbar's reign and throughout the "golden era" of Persian patronage (1526-1707 CE), Persian had become inevitably "Indianized," reflecting the Indian context in which it flourished, both linguistically and culturally. In the approximately 800 year span of Persian in India, the Indianization of Persian was shaped by linguistic processes of code-switching, code-mixing, semantic drift, the evolution of hybridized expressions, substantial adaptation of loanwords from Indic languages, and the development of literary content which expressed and replicated Indian thought (Abidi and Gargesh 2008:109). Abidi and Gargesh (2008:113) demonstrate ways in which syntactic agreement patterns in Indo-Persian differ from contemporaneous varieties in Iran, but there are still gaps in our understanding regarding the historical phonology of Indo-Persian. Indian linguist and lexicographer Siraj-ud-din Ali Khan Arzu provided one of the first expositions on Persian phonology and phonetics in his *Muthmir* ("Fruit Providing") (Abidi and Gargesh 2008:106), but to my knowledge we have no available

scholarly analysis on this work which casts an understanding of these phonological descriptions within a modern framework. In the absence of a description of the local phonological features of Indo-Persian, we still have sufficient linguistic evidence that it was distinct from Iranian Persian, as even “[t]he contemporary Iranians did not consider Indianized Persian as part of their national literature but ‘felt it to be an alien element’” (Abidi and Gargesh 2008: 09-10, citing Marek 1968: 713).

King (2008: 314) claims that there was little language conflict during the period of Mughal rule, noting that “illiteracy was widespread” and that “the common people adapted as best they could to Mughal rule, linguistically as well as culturally;” here upward mobility within Mughal administrative structures motivated the traditional Hindu elite to learn Persian (see Truschke 2012 for discussion of Sanskrit works on Persian grammar). Abidi and Gargesh (2008: 106) note that Hindus were also major contributors to Persian literary culture in Islamicate India, and of course Persian was not only used as an administrative language of Muslim rulers, but also in the Deccan. Master (1964:70) notes that the Delhi Muslim rulers did not reach Maharashtra until the end of the 13th century, bringing with them Persian as the court language during this period of control, where its administrative use continued alongside Marathi under the rule of Chhatrapati Shivaji in the non-Muslim Maratha state. By the 16-17th centuries, Urdu had developed alongside Persian as a lingua franca of Islamicate India (Bose and Jalal 2004: 25), bringing yet another language to the Deccan with a Perso-Arabic substrate into direct contact with Marathi. A limited number of historical Hindi loans of Indic origin also appear in Kulkarnī 1946 [1993], as in examples (3.8-3.14 below):

- (3.8) gudʒəra (M) (गजरा) ‘wreath of flowers’
 gudʒəra (Hi) (गजरा)

- (3.9) gəhaŋ (M) (गहाण) 'a pawned article'
gəhəna (Hi) (गहना)
- (3.10) ʃīra (M) (चिरा) 'virginal purity, maidenhood'
ʃīr (H) (चीर)
- (3.11) ʃūnəɾi (M) (चुनडी) 'a cloth dyed with stars'
ʃūnəɾi (Hi) (चुनरी)
- (3.12) dʒanpəʃʰan (M) (जानपछान) 'acquaintance'
dʒan pəhəʃʰan (Hi) (जान-पहचान)
- (3.13) dʒokʰim, (M) (जोखीम) 'risk, hazard, responsibility'
dʒokʰəm (M) (जोखम)
dʒokʰim (Hi) (जोखिम)
- (3.14) kʰəɾəɖa, (M) (खरडा) 'memorandum'
kʰəɾɖa (M) (खर्डा)
kʰəɾɖa (Hi) (खर्डा)

Geographic proximity to speakers of Hindi (Madya Pradesh) as well as Dakhni (the southern variety of Hindi/Urdu which flourished in Hyderabad and spread throughout the Deccan) would have also introduced an influx of Hindi/Urdu mediated Perso-Arabic loans, and while some of those are present in Marathi, there is clear evidence of separate donor points of contact with the vernaculars in the Perso-Arabic substrates of each language. In some cases, this is evident from the differences in phonological adaptations of specific loans, as in (3.15-3.16):

- (3.15) a. huʃar (M) (हुशार) 'wise, intelligent'
b. hoʃijar (Hi) (होशियार)
- (3.16) a. kaɡəɖ (M) (कागद) 'paper'
b. kaɡəz (Hi) (कागज़)

In other cases, however, we see that different Persian loans with semantic affinity were adapted in both languages using similar processes of morphological derivation, yet the resulting loan in

higher circulation is different (see examples 3.17a-b below). The suffix *-dar* (shown in example 3.17a-b below) is borrowed in many Indian languages from Persian, is highly productive and can be used here to derive an adjective.

- (3.17) a. dzəbabdar (M) (जबाबदार) 'responsible'
 b. zim:edar (Hi) (ज़िम्मेदार) 'responsible'

In turning to the early East India Company and colonial grammars of Hindustani¹¹, however, we are able to see that while Perso-Arabic vowels were virtually leveled to conform to the available Indic vowel system, Hindustani was in theory (at least orthographically) much more flexible in accommodating Perso-Arabic consonants not indigenous to South Asian phonologies. As introduced in Section 3.2.4 above on asymmetric variation, although there is variation across Hindi speakers in the ability to produce some of these borrowed segments, these sounds certainly exist as phonemes in some speakers' grammars. By examining Marathi adaptation of Perso-Arabic loans, we are able to establish a governing relationship between local features which place grammatical restrictions on the adaptation of loan features, and those areal features of Indic languages which mediated adaptation through Indo-Persian.

3.3.2 English Loanwords

Just as with the Perso-Arabic stratum of Marathi, a note about historical contact with English provides relevant context to the adaptation processes documented in this chapter. The phenomenon of 'Indian English' is a growing area in the study of Global Englishes which warrants comment here, as we are similarly observing a language that has been in contact with Marathi over successive periods, including different dialects---colonial-era/Victorian British

¹¹ For example, see *A Grammar of the Hindustani Language* (John Shakespear, 1813) created for employees of the East India Company. This sketch provides a phonetic outline of Hindustani, including orthographic modifications in both *Nastālīq* (to accommodate Indic sounds) and *Devanāgarī* (to accommodate for Perso-Arabic loans).

English during the British Raj¹², Indian English¹³, as well as many other contemporary varieties of English in the current period of economic globalization. Although we will explore some of the implications of this further in Chapter 5 (Analysis and Discussion), Marathi's contact with English has largely been mediated through bilingual speakers in South Asia, meaning the English which reaches Marathi is often pre-digested through the local variety. As with the Perso-Arabic stratum, vowels have been largely pre-leveled in Marathi to conform to South Asian inventories, but where Marathi departs from standard patterns found across South Asian languages is an important point of discussion which will be addressed in Chapter 5. As a major lingua-franca of South Asia, comparisons with historical English adaptations in Hindi where possible provide us with a sketch of the domain of British Raj borrowings, as well as information about the historical phonological constraints of Marathi which result in differential importation of English loans across both languages.

3.3.3 Sanskrit Loanwords

An important area of consideration when studying adaptation patterns of Sanskrit loans in Marathi is that like English and Perso-Arabic loans, the process of Sanskrit loanword adaptation has also been a successive, non-linear process. According to Snell (1991:4), the following constitute lexical layers of Braj Bhasha, a dialect of Hindi, but are common to all the Prakrits:

(1) *Tatsama*: words which come from Sanskrit unchanged:

dugdha 'milk' (S)

(2) *Semi-tatsama* (*ardhatatsama*): Sanskrit loanwords which are easily recoverable:

¹² The Bombay Presidency, a major administrative subdivision of British India, was under British rule from 1859 to the time of Indian Independence (1947).

¹³ For further discussion on Indian English, see Kachru (1983, 2005), Krishnaswamy and Burde (1998), Sailaja (2009), Sedlatschek (2009), and Agnihotri & Singh (2012).

vāgh (M) < *vyāghra* (S) ‘tiger’
bāgh (H)

(3) *Tadbhava*: vernacular words derived from Old Indo-Aryan (OIA) etymons undergoing significant change in the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) period:

sāvalā (M) < *śyāmala* (S) ‘dark, handsome’
sāvaro (H)
 (from Snell 1991:4)

(4) *Desi*: Non-Sanskrit derived, coming from ancient indigenous dialects (Dravidian or Munda language families).

One observation of particular interest is the way in which Sanskrit *tadbhava* words closely resemble English loanword adaptation processes in Marathi, specifically in words which entered the language during British colonial rule. In example (3.18a), the English word ‘cupboard’ has been adapted as *kapāṭ* in Marathi, with deletion of the [r] in a word-final consonant cluster followed by compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. Similarly, (3.18b) shows the adaptation of the English word ‘lord’ in the same way. This adaptation strategy can also be observed in example (3.18c) with the Sanskrit ‘ear’ *karṇa* becoming *kān* in Marathi. Similarly, in example (3.19a), syllable final consonant clusters in English are simplified so that ‘contract’ becomes *kāṇṭrāṭ*. In (3.19b), the syllable-final consonant cluster in the Sanskrit *saṅg* becomes *sāṅgu* in Marathi. In (3.20a-b), an epenthetic schwa is inserted to break up consonant + rhotic clusters in English loanwords ‘court’, which becomes *korāṭ* or even *koṛāṭ*, and in ‘frigate’, which becomes *faragāṭ*. The same process is observed in (3.20c), where the Sanskrit ‘fruit, grape’ *ḍrākṣhā* becomes *ḍarāk^h* in Marathi. In (3.20d), we see that the same adaptation strategy has been applied to Persian loanwords in Marathi, where the Persian *dard* ‘pain’ is adapted as *ḍarāḍ*.

(3.18) Syllable final r-deletion and compensatory lengthening

a. *k^habba.ɪd* (E) > *kapāṭ* (M) ‘cupboard’

- b. *lord* (E) > *lāṭ* (M) 'lord'
 c. *karṇa* (S) > *kān* (M) 'ear'

(3.19) Syllable final consonant cluster simplification and compensatory lengthening

- a. *kḥāntṛaḥkt* (E) > *kāṇṭrāṭ* (M) 'contract'
 b. *sakṭu* (S) > *sāṭu* (M) 'barley'

(3.20) Schwa epenthesis

- a. *kḥort* (E) > *korat* (M) 'court'
 b. *f.ugit* (E) > *faragaṭ* (M) 'frigate'
 c. *ḍrākshā* (S) > *ḍarākḥ* (M) 'a kind of fruit, a grape'
 d. *dard* (P) > *ḍaraḍ* (M) 'pain'

Although Sanskrit-origin words of the types in (3.18-3.20) have been traditionally categorized as *tadbhava* words, their clear similarity to English and even Persian loanword adaptation problematizes nationalist myths that the Prakrit languages are direct descendants of Sanskrit. Though this chapter will not deal with Sanskrit loanword adaptation patterns in Marathi, the importance of demonstrating the similarity in adaptation processes across donor sources raises an important methodological consideration for studying loanwords: given their striking similarity, how do we capture the difference between loanword adaptation processes and historical sound change?

3.3.4 Portuguese Loanwords

Just as a local variety of English (Indian English) developed in South Asia, with its own rich, fully developed linguistic system and regional varieties, the newly developed Indo-Portuguese creole languages were at one point widely spread throughout the Western coast of India (including Malabar Portuguese creoles) and Sri Lanka as a result of the Portuguese presence and commercial activity in South Asia (see Smith 1977 and Jackson 1987 for further reading on Sri Lankan Portuguese (Batticaloa Creole Portuguese)). Korlai Portuguese, a Portuguese creole

which developed along the Western coast of India's Marathi-speaking areas, potentially served as one possible point of contact through which Portuguese loanwords entered into Marathi.

Clements (1992:48) notes that Korlai Portuguese and Marathi have co-existed for what would now be nearly 490 years, for 210 years during the Portuguese presence in India (1530-1740), and then from 1740 to present-day in the absence of the Portuguese. According to Clements (1992), Korlai Portuguese is in minimal contact with other languages, which would account for the low number of historical Portuguese loans in Marathi. The following Portuguese loanwords listed below (3.21a-l) are the only forms listed in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]):

- | | | | |
|--------|----|-------------------------|--|
| (3.21) | a. | gini (M) (गिनी) | 'gold coin, from <i>guinea</i> ' |
| | b. | ḡavi (M) (चावी) | 'key, from <i>chave</i> ' |
| | c. | ṭurṅg (M) (तुरुंग) | 'jail or a prison, from Dutch <i>trank</i> ' |
| | d. | pəsar (M) (पसार) | 'to pass, from <i>passar</i> ' |
| | e. | paḍri (M) (पाद्री) | 'Christian missionary, from <i>Padre</i> ' |
| | f. | pav (M) (पाव) | 'bread, from <i>pao</i> ' |
| | g. | pip (M) (पीप) | 'cask or barrel, from <i>pipa</i> ' |
| | h. | puṭkal (M) (पुर्तकाल) | 'Portugal' |
| | i. | pəṭkeṣ (M) (पुर्तकेश) | 'Portuguese' |
| | j. | fərnaḍin (M) (फर्नादीन) | 'type of mango, from <i>Fernandez</i> ' |
| | k. | buṭṭ (M) (बूच) | 'cork, from <i>buch</i> ' |
| | l. | modḡi (M) (मोडशी) | 'intestinal derangement, from <i>morte-de-chiem</i> (cholera)' |

3.3.5 Kannada Loanwords in Marathi

While the modern-day Indian province of Maharashtra shares its northern and eastern borders with Hindi-speaking provinces, its southern border is contiguous with the Dravidian linguistic provinces of Karnataka (Kannada) and the newly-formed state of Telangana (Telugu). Bloch (1920 [1970]) and Southworth (1974, 2005) present linguistic evidence for a probable Dravidian substratum of Marathi, and given that there are a sizeable number of Kannada loans present in Marathi, we will touch briefly on the history of these loans here. Archaeological, historical, and

linguistic evidence indicate periods of cultural and political continuity between Marathi and Kannada-speaking people (see Bloch 1920 [1970], Awalikar 1981, Pollock 2006), to the extent that there are bilingual border communities in modern-day Maharashtra which speak a Marathi-Kannada creole, though these speech varieties are deemed low-status and have yet to be documented in full. Master (1964:35) classes Dravidian loanwords into two sub-categories:

- (1) those of the old Indo-Aryan common stock of words borrowed during the OIA and MIA period and
- (2) those borrowed specifically by Marathi from Kannaḍa in the age of the Calukyan and Rāṣṭrakūṭa empires and more especially in the three centuries before A.D. 1300, when smaller kingdoms such as the Seuṇas and Hoysaḷas were disputing the supremacy of Māhāraṣṭrā and Kannaḍa. What particular dialect or dialects affected the earlier borrowings is not definitely known, but many of the *deśī* words cited by Hemachandra were undoubtedly taken from Telugu, presumably under the Āndhra empire... [T]hose borrowed by Marathi directly from Kannaḍa are not always of Dravidian origin.

Given the depth of contact, Kannada loans in Marathi are not as easily reconstructed as more recent loans from English and Perso-Arabic. The selected list of Kannada borrowings given in Master (1964) ranges from phonological mappings which are readily recoverable (example 3.22) to adaptation patterns which are less recoverable (example 3.23):

(3.22) madavī (M) ‘fine garment’
 madavi (K)

(3.23) mauphare (M) ‘triply twisted’
 muppuri (K)
 (from Master 1964: 37)

Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) also presents a number of Kannada loans, many of which appear unrecoverable and share cognates with Gujarati, presumably falling into Master’s (1964) first category of loans which entered Marathi during the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) period. Although a detailed analysis of Kannada loanwords does not fall within the scope of this project due to the depth of sustained contact between Kannada and Marathi, further research in this area would

prove productive in understanding the similarities and differences in adaptation strategies between Indic and non-Indic loanwords in Marathi.

3.4 Historical Loanword Adaptation Processes in Marathi

Section 3.4 provides an overview of historical loanword adaptation processes in Marathi. In an attempt to capture detailed generalizations, this section has been organized according to types of adaptation patterns found in specific donor languages, which will include some degree of repetition. This will allow us to note the parameters of differential importation, and whether the patterns identified occur across donor languages, within donor languages, or both. Similarly, it will also allow us to isolate adaptation patterns specific to certain donor languages.

3.4.1 Colonial English Loanwords

The loans featured in this section present all of the English loans documented in the source for colonial English loanwords, K.P. Kulkarnī's *Marāṭhī Vyutpatti Koś*. Given the limited size of the data set, the presentation of segmental adaptation patterns is not exhaustive, but rather highlights the major adaptation trends captured in this set. Because many of these loans exhibit multiple patterns of adaptation, only a few exemplary loans are presented for each pattern, and where necessary, some loans are repeated to demonstrate multiple patterns. It is also critical to note that many of these forms are no longer extant in Modern Standard Marathi, so reconstruction of the loan transcriptions has been informed by orthographic representations and native speaker intuitions.

3.4.1.1 Segmental Adaptation

3.4.1.1.1 Consonants

3.4.1.1.1.1 Dental

Although the general pattern for English alveolar [t] and [d] consonants is to map as retroflex, both historically and synchronically, some English loans in the corpus adapted as dental stops, as in examples (3.24-3.32) below:

- (3.24) *soniṭ* (M) (सुनीत) ‘sonnet’(E)
- (3.25) *kəṇṭṛaṭ* (M) (कंन्त्राट)¹⁴ ‘contract’(E)
- (3.26) *vəḷəṇḍedz* (M) (वलंदेज) ‘Hollander, dutchman’(E)¹⁵
- (2.27) *ispəṭaḷ* (M) (इस्पताळ) ‘hospital’(E)
- (3.28) *kʰɪst* (M) (खिस्त) ‘Jesus Christ’(E)
- (3.29) *pəliṣṭər* (M) (पलिस्तर) ‘blister, plaster’(E)
- (3.30) *fərgəṭ* (M) (फरगत) ‘frigate (a sailing vessel)’(E)
- (3.31) *ṭapṭa, ṭaṭṭa* (M) (तापता, ताफता) ‘taffeta, a kind of silk cloth’(E)
- (3.32) *ṭomjaṭo* (M) (तोम्याटो) ‘tomato’(E)
ṭəmaṭa (M) (टमाटा)

3.4.1.1.1.2 Retroflexion

On the other hand, English alveolar [t] is adapted as retroflex [ɖ] in the majority of loans in this set, as in examples (3.33-3.35) below:

- (3.33) *læɖɪn* (M) (लॅटिन) ‘Latin’(E)
- (3.34) *niṭ* (M) (नीट) ‘neat’(E)
- (3.35) *foṭbaḷ* (M) (फुटबॉल) ‘football’(E)
- (3.36) *araɖuṭ* (M) (आरारूट) ‘arrowroot’(E)

¹⁴ This form no longer exists in Contemporary Marathi; the current English loan in use for ‘contract’ is [kanṭrækt], suggesting a separate entry point for this lexical item.

¹⁵ It is possible that this loan is actually of Dutch origin (cf. *Walloon*). I am indebted to Dr. Jeremy Hutton for raising this possibility.

Similarly, English alveolar [d] is mapped as retroflex [ɖ] in Marathi, shown in examples (3.37-3.39) below:

(3.37) ɖədzən (M) (डझन) ‘collection of twelve (articles)’(E)

(3.38) fidl (M) (फिड्ल) ‘fiddle’(E)

(3.39) fæɖ (M) (फॅड) ‘fad, a hobby’(E)

Despite the availability of [l] and [n] in the phonemic inventory of Marathi, we also see the occasional mapping of [l] and [n] onto retroflex consonants (see examples 3.40-3.42). This however is not altogether surprising considering the degree of variation between these two sets across speakers of non-standard varieties.

(3.40) ispəɖaɭ (M) (इस्पताळ) ‘hospital’(E)

(3.41) ruɭ (M) (रूळ) ‘ruler, rail, roller’(E)

(3.42) fəɭaɳi (M) (फलाणी) ‘flannel’(E)

3.4.1.1.1.3 Alveolar and Palatal

The voiced English alveolar fricative [z] is typically mapped as [dz] in Marathi (examples 3.43-3.44) and when mapped as such, is always marked using the Devanāgarī grapheme [झ]:

(3.43) dzar (M) (झार) ‘Czar (indirectly via Polish and Russian)’(E)

(3.44) ɖədzən (M) (डझन) ‘collection of twelve (articles)’(E)

Though the grapheme remains the same, the only exception to this phonological mapping is when [dz] is followed by a front vowel, triggering palatalization (see example 3.45):

(3.45) gæɖʒit (M) (गॅझीट) ‘The Gazette’(E)

The English voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒ] is not part of the phonemic inventory of Marathi, and is adapted as [ɖʒ] (see example 3.46), preserving the voicing feature and place of articulation:

(3.46) ṭṛḍʒori (M) (तिजोरी) ‘treasury’¹⁶(E)

All instances of the English postalveolar affricate [dʒ] are mapped in this set as [dʒ] in Marathi, as in examples 3.47-3.49 below). No loans in this set contained English [tʃ].

(3.47) dʒok (M) (जोक) ‘joke’(E)

(3.48) habsən dʒabsən (M) (हॉबसन जॉबसन) ‘Hobson Jobson’(E)¹⁷

(3.49) sərdʒ (M) (सर्ज) ‘serge, a kind of woolen cloth’(E)

3.4.1.1.2 Vowel Length and Quality

Many English vowels map fairly neatly into Marathi, though there is considerable variation as well. In general, the English schwa [ə] is a straightforward mapping of [ə] in Marathi:

(3.50) dʌfər (M) (डफर) ‘dull, from English deaf, duffer (feeble)’ (E)

(3.51) fənel (M) (फनेल) ‘funnel’(E)

(3.52) kəmpəni (M) (कंपनी) ‘company’(E)

Although [ɑ] is not natively part of the Marathi inventory, we begin to see the adaptation of English [ɑ] in Marathi through the use of a modified *chandra* diacritic over the grapheme [आ], which represents the Marathi vowel [a]:

(3.53) bʊldʒɑg (M) (बुलडॉग) ‘bulldog’(E)

(3.54) fərlɑŋg (M) (फलॉग) ‘measure of distance, a furlong’(E)

We do see, however, that English [ɑ] is also sometimes adapted as is closest equivalent in Marathi, [a]:

(3.55) fars (M) (फर्स) ‘farce, acting’(E)

¹⁶ Historically [ṭṛḍʒori] (M) (तिजोरी) meant ‘treasury,’ but over time has come to mean ‘safe, a locker.’

¹⁷ *Hobson Jobson* is the title of a colonial-era dictionary of Anglo-Indian words.

In at least two cases, English [ɑ] is reduced to [ə] in Marathi:

(3.56) fərma (M) (फर्मा) ‘a specimen, a form’(E)

(3.57) kələm (M) (कलम) ‘paragraph, column’(E)

For the most part, English [o] is adapted as [o] in Marathi, but without any labial rounding, as in examples (3.58-3.60):

(3.58) post (M) (पोस्ट) ‘The *tapal*, the post’ (E)

(3.59) polo (M) (पोलो) ‘polo’(E)

(3.60) rɪport (M) (रिपोर्ट) ‘report’(E)

At this stage in the contact situation, English vowels [e] (examples 3.61-3.62) and [ɛ] (examples 3.63-3.64) are both collapsed into a single mapping [e], with no palatalization on [e]:

(3.61) les (M) (लेस) ‘lace’(E)

(3.62) relve (M) (रेल्वे) ‘railway’(E)

(3.63) mælərija (M) (मलेरिया) ‘malaria’(E)

(3.64) mænedʒər (M) (मॅनेजर) ‘manager’(E)

Although English [æ] is historically not part of the phonemic inventory of Marathi, at this stage a new diacritic was beginning to be used in Devanāgarī to represent this sound in English loans:

(3.65) fæktəri (M) (फॅक्टरी) ‘factory’(E)

(3.66) kæliko (M) (कॅलिको) ‘calico cloth’ (E)

(3.67) bæɪ (M) (बैट) ‘bat’(E)

However, despite the recent introduction and inclusion of [æ] into the loan inventory of Marathi, there was one instance in this corpus in which [æ] was reduced to schwa [ə], possibly in response to patterns of Marathi stress assignment:

(3.68) mədəm (M) (मडम) ‘madam’ (E)

The English high-front tense [i] and lax [ɪ] vowel set maps directly in Marathi as the long [i] and short [ɪ] counterparts, respectively:

(3.69) mɪnɪt (M) (मिनट) ‘minute’ (E)

(3.70) mɪʃən (M) (मिशन) ‘mission’ (E)

(3.71) məʃɪn (M) (मशीन) ‘machine’ (E)

(3.72) fi (M) (फी) ‘fee’ (E)

(3.73) rɪm (M) (रीम) ‘a ream of papers’ (E)

Though there were no cases of English [u] or [ʊ] in this data set, there were a handful of loans containing diphthongs. In the first pair of diphthongs below (3.74-3.75), the English [ɔɪ] is represented with a diacritic modification in Devanāgarī, followed by the grapheme for [j], [य]:

(3.74) bɔɪkəʈ (M) (बॉयकॉट) ‘boycott’ (E)

(3.75) bɔɪ (M) (बॉय) ‘boy’ (E)

In the example below, the English diphthong [aɪ] is mapped directly as [aɪ] in Marathi:

(3.76) ɖaɪjɪ (M) (डायरी) ‘diary’ (E)

In examples (3.77a-b), we see that one instance of the loan ‘file’ is mapped accurately as [aɪ], while another variation which appears in the corpus is mapped as [əɪ]:

(3.77) a. faɪl (M) (फाईल) ‘file’ (E)

b. fəɪl (M) (फैल)

In both variations of the loan ‘license,’ the diphthong [aɪ] has either mapped as the monophthong [e] (example 3.78a) or as the diphthong [əɪ] (example 3.78b):

(3.78) a. lesən (लेसन) (M) ‘license’ (E)

b. ləisən (लैसन) (M)

In only a handful of instances, English front and central vowels which are reduced in unstressed syllables get lengthened to [i], as in examples (3.79-3.81) below:

(3.79) pakiṭ (M) (पाकीट) 'packet'(E)

(3.80) soniṭ (M) (सुनीट) 'sonnet'(E)

(3.81) riḃin (M) (रिबीन) 'ribbon'(E)

(3.82) riḃiṭ (M) (रिबीट) 'rivet'(E)

In other cases, reduced vowels (typically schwa) get lengthened in unstressed syllables as well:

(3.83) dʒanevari (M) (जानेवारी) 'January'(E)

(3.84) kəmpas (M) (कंपास) 'compass'(E)

(3.85) gətar, gətar (M) (गटार, गटर) 'gutter or trench, fig: a popular rumor'(E)

In one case, long [i] appears as [ɪ] in Marathi, which may have been an unstressed or equally stressed syllable in colonial British English:

(3.86) polis (M) (पोलिस) 'The police'¹⁸(E)

3.4.1.2 Phonological Processes

3.4.1.2.1 Approximate Place and Voicing Preservation (Manner Change)

Some English loanword adaptations in Marathi preserve the place of articulation while mapping manner differently. In example (3.87) below, English labio-dental fricative [f] is adapted as both [f] and the voiceless bilabial stop [p]. Recall here that synchronically there is a great deal of variation across speakers, with the pronunciation ranging from [p^h] to [ɸ] in place of [f].

(3.87) tapṭa, taṭṭa (M) (तापता, ताफता) 'taffeta, a kind of silk cloth'(E)

¹⁸ It should be noted that contemporary pronunciation of the final vowel in 'police' is [i].

In example (3.88) below, just as with fricative [z] mapping to [dz], English [v] place and voicing are retained by mapping [v] to [b]:

(3.88) rɪbɪt̪ (M) (रिबीट) ‘rivet’ (E)

At the same time, there is evidence that English [b] also maps to [v], indicating possible [b] ~ [v] variation more commonly observed in eastern Indic languages:

(3.89) vadʒruk, (M) (वाज़रूक)¹⁹ ‘budgrook, a coin in Portuguese India (bazarucco)’

English [w] also maps onto [v]/[w] in Marathi, retaining place of articulation and voicing feature:

(3.90) relve (M) (रेल्वे) ‘railway’ (E)

3.4.1.2.2 Aspiration

Although aspiration is a contrastive feature of Marathi, aspirated [p], [t], [k] in English, which appear at the beginning of a stressed syllable, are generally not aspirated in Marathi. In examples (3.93-3.94), neither dental [t̪] nor retroflex [ɖ] are aspirated:

(3.91) post̪ (M) (पोस्ट) ‘the post, mail’ (E)

(3.92) əpil (M) (अपील) ‘appeal’ (E)

(3.93) t̪apt̪a, t̪aft̪a (M) (तापता, ताफता) ‘taffeta, a kind of silk cloth’ (E)

(3.94) t̪əɖːu (M) (तट्टू) ‘tattoo cloth’ (E)

(3.95) kələm (M) (कलम) ‘paragraph, column’ (E)

Example (3.96) below documents the only instance in this data set of aspirated [k]:

(3.96) kʰɪst̪ (M) (खिस्त) ‘Jesus Christ’ (E)

¹⁹ Another variation of ‘budgrook,’ [vasruk] (वासरूक), indicates that perhaps this loan entered through both English (via Portuguese) as well through Portuguese separately.

3.4.1.2.3 Nasalization

In examples (3.97-3.100), we see that vowels are nasalized before homorganic nasal stops:

- (3.97) pẽmp (M) (पंप) ‘pump’(E)
 (3.98) pəũṇḍ (M) (पोंड) (M) ‘pound’(E)
 (3.99) pãṇṭ (M) (पंट) ‘pantaloon’(E)
 (3.100) gãṅg (M) (गंग) ‘band, company, group’(E)

In one case, the nasal consonant was deleted before the homorganic stop, which also triggers failure to map the vowel nasalization in Marathi:

- (3.101) paṭluṇ (M) (पाटलूण) ‘A pantaloons’

This is consistent with examples (3.102-3.103) below, where unlike English, Marathi does not map nasal vowels before nasal consonants:

- (3.102) kələm (M) (कलम) ‘paragraph, column’ (E)
 (3.103) məʃin (M) (मशीन) ‘machine’ (E)

3.4.1.2.4 Cluster Simplification

3.4.1.2.4.1 Cluster Epenthesis

In the first example below (3.104), epenthesis is used as a strategy to re-syllabify an [s +C] onset.

In this example, [ɪ] is inserted word-initially to restructure a disallowed consonant cluster:

- (3.104) ɪspak, ɪspət (M) (इस्पाक, इस्पट) ‘spade’ (E)

This strategy is still used in Marathi for some [s +C] onsets, as in the canonical expression for ‘style’ which was in use in Bombay for many years:

- (3.105) ɪʃtʌɪl (M) ‘style’ (E)

In the following examples (3.106-107), a [C + lateral approximants] cluster is simplified through schwa [ə] epenthesis:

- (3.106) pəlɪstər (M) (पलिस्तर) ‘blister, plaster’ (E)
 (3.107) fəlaŋi (M) (फलाणी) ‘flannel’ (E)
 (3.108) fərgəʈ (M) (फरगत) ‘frigate (a sailing vessel) (E)

And in the examples (3.109-110), a [C + r] cluster is also simplified through schwa [ə] epenthesis:

- (3.109) fərma (M) (फर्मा) ‘specimen, a form’ (E)
 (3.110) səkər̩tər (M) (सकरतार) ‘secretary’ (E)

Pandharipande (1997:547-548) describes the parallel process of onset cluster simplification through epenthesis in both English and Sanskrit loans in non-prestigious speech:

- (3.111) a. ɪst̪ri (M) ‘woman’
 st̪ri (S)
 b. səpəʃtə (M) ‘clear’
 spəʃtə (S)
 c. ɪst̪eʃən, t̪ʰesən (M) ‘station’
 st̪eʃən (E)
 (from Pandharipande 1997: 548)

3.4.1.2.4.2 Partial Cluster Deletion

In addition to epenthesis, we also find that onset consonant clusters are simplified through deletion. In the first two examples, the second member of a [C +r] sequence is deleted:

- (3.112) t̪ɪdʒori (M) (तिजोरी) ‘treasury’ (E)
 (3.113) kʰɪst̪ (M) (खिस्त) ‘Jesus Christ’ (E)

In the previous section, we observed that [s + C] onset clusters were re-syllabified through onset [ɪ] epenthesis; however, in the examples below [s + C] onset clusters are simplified through [s] deletion:

- (3.114) pana (M) (पाना) ‘spanner’ (E)

(3.115) t̪əpəl (M) (टपाल) ‘The Dak, the post (from English staple)’ (E)

Unlicensed word-final consonant clusters are also simplified through deletion. In examples (3.116-3.117), a [C + t] cluster is simplified in Marathi through deletion of the first cluster member:

(3.116) kənt̪raɪ (M) (कंत्राट) ‘contract’ (E)

(3.117) laɪ (M) (लाट) ‘lord’ (E)

However, in [nasal + C] sequences, the nasal consonant is retained while the second member of the cluster is deleted:

(3.118) kəmpaɪ (M) (कंपाण)²⁰ ‘compound’ (E)

(3.119) lesən, ləisən (M) (लेसन, लैसन) ‘license’ (E)

We also find that some onset [C + r] clusters are allowed, as shown in examples (3.120-3.122) below:

(3.120) p̪ɪnsɪpəl (M) (प्रिन्सिपाल) ‘principal’ (E)

(3.121) p̪ɒfəsər (M) (प्रोफेसर) ‘professor’ (E)

(3.122) d̪rəm (M) (ड्रम) ‘drum, instrument’ (E)

3.4.1.2.5 Gemination

In this data set, there were only two cases of English consonants which mapped as geminate consonants in Marathi. It is possible that there is an orthographic influence on the gemination mapped in ‘tattoo’ in example (3.123), but there is also gemination documented in (3.124) which cannot be accounted for:

(3.123) t̪əɪːu (M) (तट्टू) ‘tattoo cloth’ (E)

²⁰ This form is no longer extant in contemporary Marathi.

(3.124) d̪əbːəl, d̪əbəl (डबल, डबल) ‘double, two-fold’ (E)

3.4.1.2.6 Morphology

Given the limited size of the colonial English corpus and the fact that these loans were sourced second-hand from an etymological dictionary rather than from naturally occurring usage in the language, there are few morphological observations of note. We do, however, see evidence of derivational morphology in the first example (3.125), where the English stem ‘gym’ is suffixed with *-khana* ‘house’ from the Perso-Arabic substrate:

(3.125) d͡ʒimkʰana (M) (जिमखाना) ‘gymkhana, a gym’ (E)

There are also some interesting artifacts which indicate that processes in the inflectional morphology of Marathi may apply inconsistently across English loanwords. In the first example (3.126), the English loan ‘boots’ is treated as a singular or mass noun, whereas in example (3.127), it appears as though the Marathi word for ‘blouse,’ derived from the English word ‘polka,’ has been treated as a fusion of a pluralized masculine $-[a]$ ending noun, which becomes $[e]$, and a plural neuter $-[ə]$ ending noun, which becomes $[ẽ]$ in the plural ²¹:

(3.126) buɽ (M) (बूट) ‘boots’ (E)

(3.127) polkẽ (M) (पोलकें) ‘blouse, from English polka’ (E)

3.4.1.3 Unrecoverable Items

Finally, there are a few loans from this sample which are simply unrecoverable and cannot be clearly mapped from the donor source, as shown in examples (3.128-3.132):

(3.128) limləɽ (M) (लिमलेट) ‘lemonade’ (E)

(3.129) ispak, ispəɽ (M) (इस्पाक, इस्पट) ‘spade’ (E)

²¹ See Pandharipande (1997: 568) for further discussion on historical nasals in Marathi plural formation.

- (3.130) vəlɔ̃dɛdz (M) (वलंदेज) ‘Hollander, dutchman’ (E)
 (3.131) pəpənəs (M) (पपनस) ‘pompelmoose, a kind of fruit’ (E)²²
 (3.132) morəs (M) (मोरस) ‘Mauritius’ (E)

3.4.2 Indo-Persian (*Perso-Arabic Sub-Stratum*)

Despite the fact that many of the Muslim rulers in India were Turkic-speaking, only a very small number of historical Turkish loans in Marathi are presented in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) below.

None of the loans could be independently verified, so an IPA approximation of Kulkarnī’s Indic transcription is given, though it likely departs significantly from the donor source:

- (3.133) kədzak^h (M) (कजाख) ‘fierce, ferocious’
 kədzag (M) (कजाग)
 kəʒak (T) (कझाक)
- (3.134) galɪtsa (M) (गालिचा) ‘a small variegated carpet’
 kalɪʃa, galɪʃa (T) (कालिचा, गालिचा)
- (3.135) ʃɪk (M) (चिक) ‘a curtain of bamboo sticks’
 ʃɪg^h (T) (चिघ)
- (3.136) dʊgla (M) (डुगला) ‘a type of long coat’
 dʊgleh (T) (दगलेह)
- (3.137) bəndʊk^h (M) (बन्दूख) ‘rifle, gun’
 bəndʊk (T) (बंदूक)
- (3.138) ləfɡa (M) (लफगा) ‘vainglorious, fraudulent’
 ləpəŋg, ləfəŋg (T) (लपंग, लफंग)

Though there are gaps in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]), which forms the basis of this study on historical Perso-Arabic loans in Marathi, it is clear from his detailed efforts that Kulkarnī was a

²² Though listed in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) as a word of English origin, it is not clear whether this loan comes from English.

brilliant lexicographer of his time, and his work provides us with strong motivation to attempt a preliminary investigation. Nevertheless, the extraordinary challenge in accurately documenting Perso-Arabic loan adaptation patterns in Marathi is multifaceted. On the one hand, we cannot possibly know the full range of phonological constraints present in older varieties of Marathi, and because many of the historical loans presented here are no longer extant in contemporary Marathi, we must rely on a native speaker's intuition about pronunciation. Although Arabic, Persian, and Arabic loanwords which entered through Persian are represented orthographically, we lack critical information about the actual phonological properties of those varieties in pre-modern India across time and space. The instability of vowel adaptations both within Marathi and across South Asian languages suggests the donor sources are not classical varieties of Arabic or Persian, nor are they traceable to a single source. To further complicate matters, a number of the sample loans which form the basis of adaptation patterns documented here are either (1) no longer extant or in low circulation in the contemporary standard dialects of Persian and Arabic (and thus difficult to locate), or (2) are not reconstructable based on the transcriptions given in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) or from the loan form itself. It is unclear where Kulkarnī derived the etymologies and transcriptions of historical Perso-Arabic loans in Marathi in his work, though he must have availed himself of resources on lexical and phonological information about these languages from Indian constructs of linguistic knowledge, giving us at least a very rough reflection of what Indo-Persian might have resembled in the Deccan under Maratha rule. Numerous obstacles prevent a complete study of historical Perso-Arabic loans in Marathi, and the data introduced here require some explanation.

Appendix 7, Historical Arabic Loans in Marathi, and Appendix 8, Historical Persian Loans in Marathi, exemplify and motivate the patterns presented throughout this subsection. A

substantial number of entries from Kulkarṇī (1946 [1993]) are not included in the analysis given here because their donor sources could not be independently verified or reconstructed.

Each of the following sections includes a brief discussion of important facts about the phonological inventories of the donor languages where relevant. Historical loans which are no longer extant in Marathi are transcribed according to native speaker intuitions (Marathi-educated bilingual speaker consultants), and when an independently verified source form could be identified, a modified IPA approximation of Kulkarṇī's Indic transcription is given, though left mostly intact to reflect both his work, and the possibility of capturing new information about Indo-Persian.

3.4.2.1 Historical Arabic Loanwords

In identifying the most essential contrasts presented in this data set, the Arabic phonological inventory differs from Marathi in the presence of dental-like alveolar consonants²³, fricatives [z] and [ʃ], back uvular/velar fricatives [x, ɣ], as well as the voiceless uvular stop [q]. Its inventory also contains voiced and voiceless dental fricatives [θ, ð], though that doesn't factor into the observed loans here. Arabic vowel space is also quite different from Marathi, though as mentioned previously, there are too many unknowns in this contact situation to attempt to account for the numerous adaptation patterns in found vowel mapping given in Kulkarṇī (1946 [1993]).

3.4.2.1.1 Segmental Adaptation

3.4.2.1.1.1 Retroflexion

Although most dento-alveolar stops in Arabic are adapted as dental consonants (see Kulkarṇī (1946 [1993]) for entries, which could not be reconstructed in this study), some instances of [ɳ]

²³ The majority of the Arabic loans with [t] and [d] are adapted as dental consonants in Marathi, although there are no verified examples in this subsection.

are adapted as [ŋ] in Marathi, and one instance of [ʃ] is adapted as [ʂ] in (3.139-143) below. This is consistent with the variation in dental/alveolar consonants which vary with the retroflex series in contemporary non-standard varieties of Marathi:

(3.139) məkaŋ (M) (मकाण) 'place of residence, house'
məkan (A) (मकान)

(3.140) molaŋa (M) (मुलाणा) 'a Muslim religious priest'
maulana (A) (मौलाना)

(3.141) kəfəŋi, kəfəni (M) (कफनी कफणी) 'shroud'
kəfəni (A) (कफनी)

(3.142) faŋus, faŋəs (M) (फाणूस, फाणस) 'lantern'
fanus (A) (फानूस)

(3.143) ɪʃk, ɪʂk (M) (इश्क, इष्क) 'love, romance'
ɪʃq (A) (इश्क़)

3.4.2.1.1.2 Back Consonants

The back consonants in Arabic are reduced to a limited number of mappings in Marathi. As shown in examples (3.144-3.145) below, the voiceless velar/uvular [x, χ]²⁴ is mapped as [k^h] in Marathi:

(3.144) k^hɪdzmət (M) (खिजमत) 'service, attendance'
xɪdzmət (A) (खिदमत)

(3.145) k^hətʃi, k^hətʃ:i (M) (खची, खच्ची) 'lopped or pruned, castrated'
xəsi (खसी) (A)

Only one confirmed Arabic form with voiced uvular/velar fricative [ɣ] appears in this set, adapting [ɣ] as [g]. See Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) for additional possible examples:

(3.146) garəɖ (M) (गारद) 'buried, sunken, lost, gone utterly'

²⁴ Given that the varieties of Arabic and Persian which came into contact with Marathi are unknown, this segment is transcribed in both Arabic and Persian throughout this document simply as [x].

yart (A) (घरत)

The voiceless uvular stop [q] was adapted variously as unaspirated [k] and as aspirated [k^h] in this set:

(3.147) k^hisa (M) (खिसा) ‘story, narration’
qis:a (Ar.) (किस्सा)

(3.148) burka, burk^ha (M) (बुरखा, बुरका) ‘veil, hooded cloak’
burqa (A) (बुर्कुअ)

(3.149) iʃk, išk (M) (इश्क, इष्क) ‘love, romance’
iʃq (A) (इश्क)

3.4.2.1.2 Phonological Processes

3.4.2.1.2.1 Sociolinguistic Variation

As observed in the speech of some contemporary Marathi speakers, [s] ~ [ʃ] freely vary in Arabic loanword adaptation. In the examples below, Arabic [s] is adapted as [ʃ]:

(3.150) nəʃib (M) (नशीब) ‘fate, luck’²⁵
nəsib (A) (नसीब)

(3.151) moʃafər (M) (मुशाफर) ‘traveler’
mosafir (A) (मुसाफिर)

On the other hand, [ʃ] was also historically mapped in place of Arabic [s] in Marathi:

(3.152) sərbət (M) (सरबत) ‘sherbet, iced drink made from lemon etc.’
ʃərbət (A) (शरबत)

(3.153) samlat (M) (सामलात) ‘associate, included, partnership’
ʃamil (A) (शामिल)

(3.154) səɪtən (M) (सैतान) ‘Satan, the devil’
ʃetan (A) (शेतान)

²⁵ The variation in this token is likely confounded by palatalization triggered by [i].

3.4.2.1.2.2 Palatalization

As discussed previously, Marathi has a strong tendency to palatalize alveolar affricates and fricatives before high-front vowels. There are a few instances in this set where alveolar fricatives are palatalized, sometimes becoming affricates:

- (3.155) mæɖʒi (M) (मर्जी) ‘will, pleasure, choice’
mæɖʒi (A) (मर्जी)
- (3.156) məʃɪd (M) (मशीद) ‘mosque’
məʃɪd (A) (मस्जिद)
- (3.157) kʰəʈʃi, kʰəʈʃi (M) (खची, खच्ची) ‘lopped or pruned, castrated’
xəsi (A) (खसी)
- (3.158) kʰʊɾʈʃi, kʰʊɾʃi (M) (खुर्ची, खुर्शी)²⁶ ‘chair’
kʊɾsi (A) (कुर्सी)

3.4.2.1.2.3 Place Preservation, Voicing Mismatch

There are loans in this set which preserve the place feature but map segment voicing differently.

In one case (example 3.159), the voiced consonant is devoiced in one of the tokens:

- (3.159) hæpʃi, hæbʃi (M) (हपशी, हबशी) ‘Abyssinian’
hæbʃ (A) (हबश)

It is more common in this dataset for voiceless consonants to map as voiced, as in examples

3.160 -3.162 below. In example (3.162), voiceless [q] is voiced, mapping its nearest approximate phoneme [k] to [g]:

- (3.160) ʈakəɖ, ʈakəɖ (M) (ताकद, ताकत) ‘power, strength’
takət (A) (ताकत)
- (3.161) gaɾəɖ (M) (गारद) ‘buried, sunken, lost, gone utterly’
ɣart (A) (घरत)
- (3.162) nəɡara (M) (नगारा) ‘a kettle drum, (fig.) a big belly’

²⁶ The historical form which has survived into contemporary Marathi is [kʰʊɾʈʃi] (खुर्ची).

nəqara (M) (नक़ारा)

There are many more unverified/unreconstructed loans in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) which appear to map voiceless consonants as voiced in Marathi intervocalically. If these forms can be established/recovered, then it may point to clues about which particular phonology/dialect of Arabic was in contact with Marathi, as well as provide some confirmation that Arabic loans may not have always been indirectly mediated through contact with Indo-Persian, but rather came into direct contact with Marathi-speaking communities.

3.4.2.1.2.4 Cluster Simplification

3.4.2.1.2.4.1 Epenthesis

Epenthesis occurs largely in Arabic loans to break up word-final consonant clusters, as shown below:

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| (3.163) kəḍər (M) (क़दर) | ‘fear, awe’ |
| qəḍr (A) (क़दर) | |
| (3.164) kəbədʒ (M) (क़बज़) | ‘receipt’ |
| kəbzə (A) (क़ब्ज़) | |
| (3.165) kəṭəba (M) (क़तबा) | ‘bond, writing furnished to the Panchayit’ |
| kṭb (A) (क़िल्ब) | |

3.4.2.1.2.4.2 Deletion

In one case, nasal deletion occurs in Marathi, though it was retained in the same word adapted into Hindi:

- | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|
| (3.166) mədzəl (M) (मज़ल) | ‘stage, halt’ |
| mənzil (A) (मन्ज़ील) | |
| mānzil (Hi) (मंज़िल) | |

3.4.2.1.2.5 Metathesis

There is one clear case of metathesis in Marathi which also did not occur in the same word adapted into Hindi, shown below:

- (3.167) bəkʰər (M) (बखर) 'narration, memoir, history'
 xəbər (A) (खबर)
 kʰəbər (Hi) (खबर)

3.4.2.1.2.6 Hyper-gemination

In some cases, non-geminate consonants in Arabic are geminated in Marathi. This is not the normal pattern in the sample set, and since there are so few of them, it is not clear what phonological or phonetic conditions would give rise to this mapping:

- (3.168) kʰəʃːi, kʰəʃːi (M) (खच्ची, खची) 'lopped or pruned, castrated'
 xəsi (A) (खसी)

- (3.169) həkː, hək (M) (हक्क, हक) 'authority, claim, mastery, ownership'
 həq (A) (हक)

3.4.2.1.2.7 Degemination

More commonly found in this set is the degemination of Arabic geminate consonants in loans, as in the following examples (3.170-3.172):

- (3.170) ʃək (M) (शक) 'doubt, suspicion, evil surmise'
 ʃəkː (A) (शक्क)
- (3.171) suni (M) (सुनी) 'Sunni, an Islamic sect'
 sunːi (A) (सुन्नी)
- (3.172) kʰɪsa (M) (खिसा) 'story, narration'
 qɪsːa (A) (किस्सा)

A special pattern which emerges in degemination is compensatory lengthening of a vowel following a degeminated consonant:

- (3.173) morāmba, mʊɾēba (M) (मोरांबा, मुंरंबा) 'preserve made of mango'

mʊrəb:a (A) (मुरब्बा)

This pattern is found throughout Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]), and while there are not enough reconstructed forms to present here, it appears to be a fairly robust pattern in Arabic loans in Marathi. The form here also indicates a nasal mapping which is not present in the Arabic donor form. Though this is the only adaptation of its type, it is possible that the geminate consonant is being analyzed in Marathi as a nasal consonant followed by a homorganic stop.

3.4.2.1.3 Morphology

There is some evidence of compounding with Arabic loans in Marathi. The example below takes a Marathi prefix *t̪ɪr*- ‘three’ and affixes it to an Arabic form to generate a name for a coin:

(3.174) *t̪ɪr*oka (M) (तिरुका) ‘a small coin worth ¼ of an anna’
t̪ɪr (M)(तिर) ‘three’ + *rukəa* (A) (रुका)

3.4.2.2 Historical Persian Loanwords

As with Arabic loans in Marathi, we will discuss only the most basic mapping of Persian loanwords presented here. With some exception, a great deal of the Persian consonant inventory overlaps with Arabic, resulting in similar patterns of phonological integration attested in Marathi. Like Arabic, the phonemic inventory of Persian also includes dental-like alveolar consonants, in addition to fricatives [z], [f], and [ʒ]. There is also an inventory overlap in the back uvular/velar fricatives [x, ɣ], as well as the voiceless uvular stop [q]. The Persian vowel space, while overlapping with Marathi somewhat, does not map directly and consistently onto Marathi vowels in borrowed Persian loanwords. Similar to Arabic in South Asia, we have only limited facts about the actual phonological features of the historical donor (in this case, Indo-Persian) and recipient languages, preventing a complete or even intelligible account of vowel mapping in Persian loans (from Kulkarnī 1946 [1993]). In light of this, Section 3.4.2.2, Historical Persian

Loanwords, deals only with relevant consonant mappings and patterns of phonological processes in Persian loanword adaptation.

3.4.2.2.1 Segmental Adaptation

3.4.2.2.1.1 Dental Consonants

Persian alveolar/dento-alveolar stops [t] and [d] are adapted as dental [t̪] and [d̪] in Marathi, shown in (3.175-3.178) below:

(3.175) aṭar, aṭar (M) (अतार, आतार) ‘perfumer’
aṭ̪ar (P) (अतर)²⁷

(3.176) baḍam (M) (बदाम) ‘almond’
badam (P) (बादाम)

(3.177) kalb^huḍ (M) (कालभूद) ‘frame, skeleton, stuffed animal’
kalbuṭ (M) (कालबूत)
kalb^huṭ (M) (कालभूत)
kalbud (P) (कालबुद)

(3.178) naḵ^huḍa, naḵ^huḍa (M) (नखुदा, नखुडा) ‘a captain, leader of a team’
na-xuda (P) (ना-खुदा)

3.4.2.2.1.2 Alveolar and Palatal Affricates

As seen in Arabic and English, affricates in Marathi are often mapped to substitute loan segments with place and manner features which do not appear natively in the inventory. In the following examples, the Persian [z] is adapted as the alveolar affricate [dz] in Marathi:

(3.179) medz (M) (मेज) ‘table’
mez (P) (मेज)

²⁷ This loan was listed in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) as a Persian-origin loan, but because it is recorded with a geminate consonant in the source language, it is possible that this is an Arabic loan transmitted via Persian. Because there are many Arabic loans in Persian, a number of these loans cannot be neatly traced to the original donor source and may have become fully “nativized” in Persian by the time they came into contact with Marathi. Arabic words glossed throughout this section as Persian are likely to have entered Marathi indirectly, which may account for some of the variation documented in this section.

(3.180)kərdzə (M) (कर्ज)²⁸ ‘debt’
 qərz (A) (कर्ज़)

In an interesting find, one case of Persian [z] is adapted as [dz] in Marathi only in part as [d̪], shown below, and is discussed further in Chapter 5 Analysis and Discussion in Section 5.1.11

Marathi Alveolar Affricates:

(3.181)kagəḍ (M) (कागद) ‘paper’
 kayaz (काग़ज़)²⁹

3.4.2.2.1.3 Retroflexion

Although the majority of Persian dento-alveolar stops are adapted as dental consonants (or as alveolar fricatives, where there is an equivalent) in Marathi (see in Kulkarnī 1946 [1993] for additional examples), there are a number of cases from this set in which alveolar consonants are adapted as retroflex consonants in Marathi. This is consistent with phonological observations of modern-day speakers of non-standard varieties who often co-vary dental/alveolar consonants with their retroflex counterparts, as discussed in Section 3.2.4 Sociolinguistic Variation. The majority of such adaptations occur only in fricatives and sonorants, but we do see a couple of cases of Persian dento-alveolar [t] and [d] adapted variously as retroflex [ɖ]:

(3.182)təkəṭ (M) (तकट) ‘metal beaten into a plate or a leaf’
 təxt (P) (तख़्त)

(3.183)nəkʰoḍa (M) (नखुडा) ‘a captain, leader of a team’
 nəkʰoḍa (M) (नखुदा)
 na-xuda (P) (ना-खुदा)

²⁸ This loan was listed in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) as an Arabic-origin loan, but I was only able to reconstruct and find this listing from Persian sources.

²⁹ This loan was listed in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) as an Arabic-origin loan, but could only be reconstructed as a Persian loan in my search.

In the following examples, palatal [ʃ] is adapted as retroflex [ʂ], in direct contradiction to the findings reported in Ghatage (1963):

- (3.184) goʃ (M) (गोष) 'beef'
goʃʈ (P) (गोश्ठ)
- (3.185) muʃkɪl (M) (मुष्कील) 'difficult, arduous'
muʃkɪli (P) (मुश्किली)
- (3.186) aʈəʃ (M) (आतष) 'fire'
aʈiʃ (M) (आतिश)
aʈiʃ (P) (आतिश)
- (3.187) aʃək (M) (आषक) 'lover'
aʃik (M) (आशिक)
aʃiq (P) (आशीक)

The remaining examples of retroflexion as an adaptation strategy in Persian loans occur in sonorants. In the first example set, although [n] is freely available in Marathi, it is adapted as retroflex [ɳ]:

- (3.188) dʊrbiɳ (M) (दुरबिण) 'telescope'
durbin (P) (दूर्बीन)
- (3.189) bəhaɳa (M) (बहाणा) 'a sham, a pretense'
bəhana (P) (बहाना)

In one unusual case, the Persian nasal [m] was interpreted as retroflex [ɳ] in Marathi:

- (3.190) moɳbət̪i (M) (मेणबत्ती) 'wax candle'
mom (P) (मोम) + bət̪i (M) (बत्ती)

Persian liquids [l] and [r], which are close approximates to the Marathi equivalent, are sometimes adapted in Marathi as retroflex [ɭ] and [ɻ] respectively:

- (3.191) əɭjaɭ (M) (अयाळ) 'wife'
əjal (P) (अयाल)
- (3.192) muɻəɖa (M) (मुडदा) 'dead body, corpse'

morda (P) (मर्दा)

3.4.2.2.1.4 Back Consonants

Because the Persian phonemic inventory includes stops and fricatives which are not in Marathi, these adaptations retain close approximations of the features in Persian. For example, the velar/uvular fricative [x, χ] in Persian is widely adapted as the voiceless velar aspirated stop [k^h] in Marathi, retaining voicing and place features, and assigning aspiration to capture manner:

- (3.193) k^hərɒudz (M) ‘melon’
 xərɒuza (P) खर्बूझा
 xərɒuz (खरबूज) (Hi)
- (3.194) nək^hɒɖa, (M) (नखुदा) ‘a captain, leader of a team’
 na-xuda (P) (ना-खुदा)
- (3.195) k^hup, k^hub (M) (खूप, खूब) ‘rich, abundant, copious, superb’
 xub (M) (खूब)

In one case, Persian [k] is also historically adapted as [k^h], though this is not typical of the whole dataset presented here:

- (3.196) k^hɪsmɪs (M) (खिसमिस)³⁰ ‘raisin’
 kɪʃmɪʃ (P) (किश्मिश)

In contrast, the Hindi adaptation of this same Persian loanword does not assign aspiration:

- (3.197) kɪʃmɪʃ (Hi) (किश्मिश) ‘raisin’

The Persian voiced velar fricative [ɣ] is adapted as [g] in Marathi. Here, the place and voice features are preserved, but unlike [k^h], the adaptation is not assigned aspiration as [g^h] in place of frication (manner):

- (3.198) kaɡəɖ (M) (कागद) ‘paper’
 kaɣaz (P) (काग़ज़)

³⁰ This form no longer exists in contemporary Marathi.

- (3.199) əfɡaɳ (M) (अफगाण) ‘Afghan’
 əfɣan (P) (अफगान)

Finally, the Persian voiceless uvular stop [q] is adapted as [k] in Marathi, preserving the voicing and manner features, while approximating the place feature to the nearest available “back” consonant which matches all the remaining features:

- (3.200) aʃək (M) (आषक) ‘lover’
 aʃiq (P) (आशीक)

3.4.2.2.2 Phonological Processes

3.4.2.2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Variation

As we have seen with Arabic loanwords, there appears to be a great deal of latitude between [s] and [ʃ] adaptation. The same is true of Persian loanwords in Marathi, where both forms [s] and [ʃ] freely vary. In the examples below, [ʃ] is adapted as [s]:

- (3.201) kʰɪsmɪs (M) (खिसमिस) ‘raisin’
 kɪʃmɪʃ (P) (किश्मिश)
- (3.202) d̪ʊsman (M) (दुस्मान) ‘enemy’
 d̪ʊʃmən (M) (दुश्मन)
 d̪ʊʃmən (P) (दुश्मन)
- (3.203) nɪsaɳ (M) (निसाण) ‘an ensign, flag, banner’
 nɪʃan (P) (निशान)
- (3.204) ʃabas (M) (शाबास) ‘bravo, well done’
 ʃabaʃ (P) (शाबाश)

The reader will note that some of these adaptations have both [s] and [ʃ] forms. In the examples shown below, [s] is adapted as [ʃ]:

- (3.205) paɾʃi, (M) (पारशी) ‘inhabitant of Persia, a Parsee’
 paɾsi (M) (पारसी)
 paɾsi (P) (पारसी)

- (3.206) rəʃɪd̪ (M) (रशीद) 'receipt'
rəsɪd (P) (रसीद)

One possible explanation for [ʃ] adaptation is the strong tendency to palatalize consonants in Marathi before high-front vowels. Additional examples are given in the next section, 3.4.2.2.2.2 Palatalization.

3.4.2.2.2.2 Palatalization

In the adaptations shown below and consistent with Arabic loans, Marathi tends to palatalize alveolar consonants [s] and [z] when appearing before high-front vowel [i]:

- (3.207) parʃi, (M) (पारशी) 'inhabitant of Persia, a Parsee'
parsi (P) (पार्सी)
- (3.208) rəʃɪd̪ (M) (रशीद) 'receipt'
rəsɪd (P) (रसीद)
- (3.209) d̪ərɖʒi (M) (दर्जी) 'tailor'
dərzi (P) (दर्ज़ी)
- (3.210) badʒi (M) (बाजी) 'success, game at cards, a hand'
bazi (P) (बाज़ी)

3.4.2.2.2.3 Cluster Simplification

3.4.2.2.2.3.1 Epenthesis

This data set includes some examples of epenthesis used as a strategy to break up word-final clusters which appear to be disallowed in Marathi:

- (3.211) nəkəʃa (M) (नकाशा) 'outline, map, sketch, fig: pompousness'
nəkʃ (P) (नक्श) ³¹
- (3.212) təkət̪ (M) (तकट) 'metal beaten into a plate or a leaf'
təxt (P) (तख्त)

³¹ This gloss is labeled as an Arabic-source word, but I could only find a Persian reconstruction.

3.4.2.2.2.3.2 Deletion

Another strategy to simplify word-final consonant clusters in Persian loanwords is to simply delete the second member of the cluster, as shown in (3.213-3.214) below:

(3.213)ras (M) (रस) 'straight'
rast (P) (रास्त)

(3.214)goṣ (M) (गोष) 'beef'
goft (P) (गोश्त)

3.4.2.2.2.4 Degemination

The source of the following loans is unclear; they are listed in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) as Arabic loans, though I was only able to locate Persian entries. Because we do not see much gemination in Persian loans, it is possible that gemination was not a phonological feature of Indo-Persian.

The de-geminated loans below could be Arabic loans which entered via Persian, or they could be loans which were not originally geminated, but being perceived as Arabic loans, are hyper-geminated in order to perform or mimic the sounds associated with Arabic. In examples (3.215), the original consonant is degeminated in Marathi (resulting in compensatory lengthening on the preceding vowel) while retained in the same Persian loan in Hindi:

(3.215)məraməṭ (M) (मरामत) 'good condition, repairs'
məɾəm:ət (P) (मरम्मत)
məɾəm:əṭ (Hi) (मरम्मत)

In the second example, the geminate consonant is degeminated in both the Hindi and Marathi adaptations:

(3.216)ḍəlal (M) (दलाल) 'broker'
ḍəl:al (P) (दल्लाल)
ḍəlal (Hi) (दलाल)

Gemination is a phonological feature of both Hindi and Marathi, and the fact that degemination

occurs in both potentially indicates that geminates may not have been present, or at least in a limited number of loans, entering Indic languages through Indo-Persian.

3.4.2.2.2.5 Place Preservation, Manner Mismatch

In previous subsections, we have seen a tendency for Marathi adaptation patterns to map loanwords by preserving the voicing and approximate place features, while mostly preserving manner with near secondary features (such as aspiration). In the following examples, place and voicing features have been preserved, and although an exact or near manner equivalent exists in Marathi, the manner feature (in both cases frication) has been mapped differently:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (3.217) hapidz (M) (हापीज) | ‘A title given to Muslims for one who recites the Koran by heart’ |
| hafiz (P) (हाफिझ) | |
| (3.218) f ^h əbina (M) (छबिना) | ‘night watch guard’ |
| fəbinəh (P) (शबीनह) | |

3.4.2.2.2.6 Devoicing

In a similar vein, we also see cases where manner and approximate place features have been preserved, but the voicing feature has been mapped differently. In a couple of cases, voiced consonants are devoiced word-finally, though some of these loans have variant forms which retain the original voicing feature:

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| (3.219) kalboṭ (M) (कालबूट) | ‘frame, skeleton, stuffed animal’ |
| kalbuṭ (P) (कालबुद) | |
| (3.220) mādət (M) (मदत) | ‘help, assistance’ |
| mədəd (P) (मदद) | |
| (3.221) k ^h up, k ^h ub (M) (खूप, खूब) | ‘rich, abundant, copious, super’ |
| xub (M) (खूब) | |

There is evidence that Persian devoices obstruents word-finally (Mohaghegh 2011), and although Marathi has captured the Persian spelling in the voiced variants, it also seems to have had

sufficient access to this de-voicing rule in order to map it acoustically. In addition, this provides some of the first direct evidence of possible phonological properties of Indo-Persian.

3.4.2.2.7 Aspiration

One particular reason to potentially treat breathy consonants in Marathi as “aspirated” consonants (as they are traditionally treated in the literature) is due to the particular behavior of this feature in loanwords. In the first example below, a word-final [h], which is not possible in Marathi, acts as an independent feature and migrates to the nearest consonant, producing “aspiration”:

- (3.222) gun^ha (M) (गुन्हा) ‘a crime, a fault, or an offense’
 $gunəh$ (P) (गुनाह)

There are a number of additional unreconstructed examples in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]), indicating the force of this pattern. Another pattern of aspiration in Persian loanwords we find is aspiration which appears to be unmotivated by any feature appearing in the source loan. In example (3.233), aspiration in Marathi does not appear to correspond to any feature in the source loan:

- (3.223) $kalb^hʊt$ (M) (कालभूत) ‘frame, skeleton, stuffed animal’
 $kalb^hʊd$ (M) (कालभूद)
 $kalbʊd$ (P) (कालबुद)

It is not clear here if the loss of voicing on the final consonant is transfers to the feature of aspiration elsewhere, or if there are other phonological or phonetic motivations for this anomalous behavior.

3.4.2.2.8 Unrecoverable

One unrecoverable Persian loan word was either adapted through acoustic mimicry, or was simply reduced in Marathi phonology over time, which we have also seen in example (3.211), in which a longer Portuguese phrase was also adapted wholesale into Marathi:

(3.224) *saldʒab* (M) (सालजाब) ‘question and answer correspondence’
səwal dʒəwab (P) (सवाल-जवाब)

(3.211) *modʃi* (M) (मोडशी) ‘intestinal derangement, from *morte-de-chiem*
(cholera)’

3.4.2.2.2 Morphology

Although small in number, the following are the only two examples of morphological compounding given the source (Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]), an etymological dictionary). Both appear to be the same loan adapted variously and undergoing similar morphological transformations, resulting in similar forms both in shape and function. The importance we see here is that the Persian suffix *-dar* is treated like a postposition, causing the [a] ending stem noun to inflect with oblique case marking through [e] substitution:

(3.225) *dəfedar* (M) (दफेदार) ‘officer of cavalry’
dəfa (P) + *dar* (P) (दफअदार)

(3.226) *dəfedar* (M) (डफेदार) ‘officer on a small platoon’
dəfa (P) (दफा) + *dar* (P) (दार)

3. 5 Synchronic Loanword Adaptation Processes in Marathi (English)

The forces of globalization and neo-liberalization which have commodified and industrialized education in India are driving language shift in South Asia at a pace so rapid that the loanwords documented here capture, to some degree, real-time changes to the linguistic ecology of Maharashtra. Although this subsection documents major departures from the phonological adaptation strategies observed in the Section 3.4.1, Colonial English Loanwords, the types of loans in this corpus linguistically encode neo-liberal consumerist messaging. Unlike historical English loans, loanwords recorded here were collected from the public domain: news programs, television series, blogs, articles, signs and billboards, as well as from public conversations. The obvious explanation for the accelerated rate at which English loans are entering Marathi is that bilingualism in the consumer middle class is increasing swiftly in response to economic demand and incentive.

Flagged throughout this subsection are notes on variation observed between bilingual speakers and more monolingual Marathi speakers (or L2 speakers of English). The bilingual classification forms something of a continuum, as bilingual speakers themselves display extensive variation across sociolinguistic variables in their relative control of each language and in their phonological systems. The parallel evolution of and contact with Indian English within India, as well as contact with other global Englishes in an increasingly connected world, complicates the adaptation environment in a way significantly different from historical English loans, which involved contact with only one external donor source with a low degree of bilingualism. The phonological adaptation strategies detailed here present us with a very different model of the synchronic contact environment in India.

3.5.1 Segmental Adaptation

3.5.1.1 Consonants

3.5.1.1.1 Labials

The two English labial consonants which do not map neatly onto Marathi phonology are [f] and [w]/[v]. In highly bilingual speech, English [f] maps directly as [f] in Marathi, as shown in examples (3.227-3.229) below:

(3.227) fæʃən (M) (फॅशन) ‘fashion’ (E)

(3.228) grafiks (M) (ग्राफिक्स) ‘graphics’ (E)

(3.229) stɑf (M) (स्टाफ) ‘staff’ (E)

In monolingual and L2 speakers of English, this sound is often pronounced as [p^h] or some variant very close to [ɸ], due to absence of [f] in the speakers’ inventory. Despite the high degree of bilingualism, one mapping which maintains strong continuity throughout the different periods of loanword adaptation documented here is the relationship in Marathi between [v] and [w], which stand in free variation. As outlined in other sections, [v] is used to denote either of these two phonemes, which vary significantly across speakers. Although the presence of [v] in a bilingual speaker’s inventory is still uncommon (except in the case where speakers’ L1 English is an Indian variety of British English), new variations appear which indicate convergence between [v] and [w], as separate from [v] ~ [w] free variation. The introduction of orthographic modifications to distinguish English [v] from [v]/[w] reveals deeper bilingual access to the phonological features of English. For example, in (3.230-3.233) below, the standard grapheme [व] is used to represent [w], though it is in free variation in monolingual/L2 speakers, and is pronounced more like [w] in bilingual speech:

(3.230) vɪdʒo (M) (विडो) ‘widow’ (E)

(3.231) tʋɪt̪ər (M) ट्विटर ‘twitter’ (E)

(3.232) relv̪e (M) (रेल्वे) ‘railway’ (E)

(3.233) t̪aʋel, t̪aʋol (M) (टॉवेल) ‘towel’ (E)

On the other hand, English [v] is represented in Marathi spelling with the consonant cluster [v] + [h], [व्ह], which would roughly translate to an aspirated [v^h]. Although the [v] is not actually being aspirated by bilinguals, the orthographic representation again reveals deep phonological access to this feature, which is slightly fricated. Despite lack of aspiration, I use IPA symbol [v^h] here to indicate frication at this place of articulation. In bilingual speech, this sound receives clear frication word-finally, as in examples (3.234-6) below:

(3.234) laɪv^h (M) (लाईव्ह) ‘live’ (E)

(3.235) alɪv^h (M) (ऑलिव्ह) ‘olive’ (E)

(3.236) d̪əv^h (M) (डव्ह) ‘dove’ (E)

However, English [v] does not appear to receive frication at the beginning of the word, though this sound is not in free variation among most bilinguals and is pronounced as [v]:

(3.237) væn (M) (वॅन) ‘van’ (E)

(3.238) vɪzɪt̪ (M) (व्हिज़िट) ‘visit’ (E)

(3.239) vərəɪəti (M) (व्हरायटी) ‘variety’ (E)

(3.240) vɪd̪ijo (M) (व्हिडीओ) ‘video’ (E)

(3.241) væli (M) (वॅली) ‘valley’ (E)

From examples (3.242-45) below, we see that it is not clear whether there is variation word-medially between [v] and [v^h], or whether other factors condition the presence of frication.

English stress patterns do not appear to drive frication, so it's likely that other phonological or phonetic considerations are at play:

- (3.242) kəv^hər (M) (कव्हर) 'cover' (E)
 (3.243) dɪv^haɪd (M) (डिव्हाइड) 'divide' (E)
 (3.244) tɪvi (M) (टीव्हीवरील) 't.v.' (E)
 (3.245) novɛmbər (M) (नोव्हेंबर) 'November' (E)

Further careful study of this emerging pattern across a large sample set of speakers is needed to grasp the complexity of phonological change among bilinguals.

One primary difference we have seen in this data set as compared to historical English loans is the lack of [b] ~ [w]/[v] variation. It is very possible that this type of adaptation could occur among monolinguals of certain dialects of Marathi, but it is clearly a correspondence which does not align with bilingual phonological mappings.

3.5.1.1.2 Dental Stops

English voiceless interdental fricatives [θ] are adapted uniformly in Marathi as voiceless dental aspirated stops (as in examples 3.246-3.249) below:

- (3.246) tʰred (M) (थ्रेड) 'thread' (E)
 (3.247) estʰetɪk (M) (एस्थेटिक) 'aesthetic' (E)
 (3.248) pænʰtər (M) (पॅन्थर) 'panther' (E)
 (3.249) juʰtʰ (M) (युथ) 'youth' (E)

Some speakers, however, do not aspirate this consonant, adapting it instead as unaspirated [t̪].

Although the occurrence of the voiced interdental fricative [ð] in English is less common, it does appear in wholesale English phrases speakers use when code-switching and/or code-mixing.

This sound is particularly salient in the English definite article 'the', which is not grammatically

available in Marathi but is used in code-mixing. Unlike its voiceless counterpart, the voiced English interdental fricative is not adapted with aspiration, as in example (3.250) below:

(3.250) ɖə (द) ‘the’ (E)

3.5.1.1.3 Retroflex Stops

English alveolar [t] and [d] are adapted as retroflex stops in Marathi, word-initially (3.251, 3.253), word-medially (3.251, 3.252, 3.255, 3.256, 3.257), word-finally (3.253, 3.256, 3.257), and in word-final consonant clusters (3.254, 3.258):

(3.251) ʈrakotʌ (M) (टराकोटा) ‘terracotta’ (E)

(3.252) fotʌ (M) (फोटो) ‘photo’ (E)

(3.253) ɖebɪʈ (M) (डेबिट) ‘debit’ (E)

(3.254) bolʈ (M) (बोल्ड) ‘bolt’ (E)

(3.255) ɖɛɖlʌɪn (M) (डेडलाइन) ‘deadline’ (E)

(3.256) kredɪʈ (M) (क्रेडिट) ‘credit’ (E)

(3.257) ænɪmeɪɛɖ (M) (एनिमेटेड) ‘animated’ (E)

(3.258) bold (M) (बोल्ड) ‘bold’ (E)

An important point of observation is that highly bilingual speakers are capable of alveolarizing the retroflex [ʈ] and [ɖ], which is a clear marker of class status and education. Monolingual and most L2 speakers maintain the retroflex pronunciation, and we can see from this major division that “retroflexion” versus “alveolarization” are speech markers which convey sociolinguistic variables both in loanword adaptation, as well in as in local varieties of Indian English.

3.5.1.1.4 Alveolar and Alveo-Palatal

Although [z] is not native to the phonemic inventory of Marathi, highly bilingual speakers are able to produce this sound in English loans, shown in (3.259-3.261):

(3.259) zʊkəɾbəɾg (M) (झुकरबर्ग) ‘Zuckerberg’ (E)

(3.260) rɔz (M) (रोझ) ‘rose’ (E)

(3.261) dʒən (M) (डझन) ‘dozen’ (E)

The grapheme [झ] is used when mapping [z]; however, when English [z] becomes palatalized when it appears before high-front vowels, mapping as [dʒ] and represented with a different grapheme [ज], as in examples (3.262-3.263):

(3.262) ɪŋɡrədʒi (M) (इंग्रजी) ‘English’ (E)
 ɪŋɡrezi (Hi) (अंग्रेजी)

(3.263) klɪndʒɪŋg (M) (क्लिंजिंग) ‘cleansing’ (E)

The English affricates [tʃ] and [dʒ] appear in Marathi as both underlying forms and as palatalized allomorphic variants of [ts] and [dzʰ/dz], which are mapped directly from English as post-alveolar consonants, with no word-final examples of [tʃ] appearing in this data set :

(3.264) tʃiəɾ (M) (चिअर) ‘cheer’ (E)

(3.265) signetʃəɾ (M) (सिग्नेचर) ‘signature’ (E)

(3.266) dʒəɾnəlɪzəm (M) (जर्नालिझम) ‘journalism’ (E)

(3.267) aksɪdʒən (M) (ऑक्सीजन) ‘oxygen’ (E)

(3.268) ɪmedʒ (M) (इमेज) ‘image’ (E)

Interestingly, bilinguals appear to be able to accommodate the English voiced post-alveolar fricative [ʒ], also represented with the grapheme [ज]:

(3.269) kæʒʊəl (M) (कॅज्युअल) ‘casual’ (E)

(3.270) prɪsɪʒən (M) (प्रिसिजन) 'precision' (E)

(3.271) fjuʒən (M) (फ्युजन) 'fusion' (E)

3.5.1.1.5 Sonorants

English sonorants [m], [l], and [n] map directly onto their Marathi equivalents, but there is variation in the adaptation of English [ɹ] based on the phonotactic configuration in which it appears. In the first set of examples (3.272-3.277) English [ɹ] is adapted as the Marathi flap [ɾ] word-initially and intervocalically:

(3.272) ræpsədi (M) (रप्सोडी) 'rhapsody' (E)

(3.273) roz (M) (रोझ) 'rose valley' (E)

(3.274) rɪsepʃən (M) (रिसेप्शन) 'reception' (E)

(3.275) gærənʃi (M) (गॅरंटी) 'guarantee' (E)

(3.276) ɒkumɛntəri (M) (डॉक्युमेंटरी) 'documentary' (E)

(3.277) dʒʊləri, dʒʊləri (M) (ज्वेलरी) 'jewelry' (E)

English [ɹ] is also mapped as the Marathi flap [ɾ] word-finally in a CVC sequence, as shown in examples (3.278-80) below:

(3.278) æmbəsədər (M) (अम्बैसेडर) 'ambassador' (E)

(3.279) dɪsɛmbər (M) (डिसेंबर) 'December' (E)

(3.280) paʊər (M) (पावर) 'power' (E)

On the other hand, young urban bilingual speakers tend to map something akin to English [ɹ] word-finally in monosyllabic words when followed by diphthongs (3.281-3.283), as well as in coda consonants/coda clusters (3.284-3.286):

- (3.281) ʃeəɪ (M) (शेअर) ‘share’ (E)
- (3.282) pjʊəɪ (M) (प्युअर) ‘pure’ (E)
- (3.283) keəɪ (M) (केअर) ‘care’ (E)
- (3.284) plætʃaɪm (M) (प्लॅटफॉर्म) ‘platform’ (E)
- (3.285) ʃaɪt (M) (शॉर्ट) ‘short’ (E)
- (3.286) kaɪbən (M) (कार्बन) ‘carbon’ (E)

In one instance, we see the pattern of British r-drop in a word-final coda cluster:

- (3.287) jʊnɪfɔɪm (M) युनिफॉर्म ‘uniform’ (E)

The distribution of [ɹ] and [r] in onset clusters aligns closely with the [C + r] phonotactic constraints laid out in Pandharipande (1997:548). Here [pr], [br], [bʰr], [kr], [gr], [gʰr], [dʀ], [tʀ], [tʀ],³² and [sr]³³ are licensed onset clusters in Marathi. As shown in (3.288-3.292) below, except for [tʀ] onsets, all other [C + r] sequences listed above retain the Marathi flap [r] in this set, in addition to [fr]:

- (3.288) frɛɪnd list (M) (फ्रेंड लिस्ट्स) ‘friend lists’ (E)
- (3.289) kɾasɪŋg (M) (क्रॉसिंग) ‘crossing’ (E)
- (3.290) brænd (ब्रॅण्ड) ‘brand’ (E)
- (3.291) brɑdʒkɑst (M) (ब्रॉडकास्ट) ‘broadcast’ (E)
- (3.292) kɑŋɡres (M) (कॉंग्रेस) ‘congress’ (E)

³² The example given for [tʀ] onset clusters here is the English ‘truck.’ Recall that [tʀ] onsets were simplified in colonial-era English loans, such that ‘treasury’ became [tɹɔːsəri] (लिजोरी).

³³ The [sr] cluster appears in words of Sanskrit origin, very often simplifying through epenthesis in non-standard varieties.

On the other hand, [ɭ] appears in onsets in which English [t] and [d] stops are adapted as retroflex consonants:

(3.293) sɭaɪk (M) (स्ट्राईक) ‘strike’ (E)

(3.294) dɭaɪjəɪs (M) (ड्रायर्स) ‘dryers’ (E)

If both [ɭ] and [ɻ] are available in the phonologies of bilinguals, then it appears that at least in some speakers, English [ɭ] emerges as an allophone of [ɻ] in order to maximize ease of articulation. It does not appear as a substitute in any of the phonotactic environments licensed in Marathi (intervocally, word-finally, and in allowable onset clusters), but only in those phonotactic configurations not traditionally possible in Marathi (onset retroflex stop + r clusters, coda clusters).

3.5.1.2 Vowel Quality

Many of the English vowels in loans map neatly into Marathi, due in part because of the high degree of bilingualism as well as the loan vowels which have become codified in the phonemic inventory. Here we will deal only with those mappings which reflect changes in the bilingual inventory or do not conform to expectations, but for a full layout of the English vowel inventory borrowed mapped into Marathi, see Appendix 8, Contemporary English Loanwords in Marathi. As we saw in Section 3.4.1, Colonial British English, the English phoneme [æ] began to appear in Marathi with orthographic markings, though at times inconsistently. In synchronic bilingual speech, [æ] maps robustly in English loans:

(3.295) slæŋg (M) स्लॅंग भाषा ‘slang’ (E)

(3.296) æsɛt (M) (ऍसेट) ‘asset’ (E)

(3.297) ətæk (M) (ऍटॅक) ‘attack’ (E)

Similarly, the English vowel [ɑ], which also appeared in colonial British English with special orthographic markings, also appears consistently in contemporary English loans in Marathi:

(3.298) kamɛŋɪ (M) (कमेंट) ‘comment’ (E)

(3.299) blag (M) (ब्लॉग) ‘blog’ (E)

(3.300) bas (M) (बॉस) ‘boss’ (E)

We saw in colonial British loans that vowels [e] and [ɛ] were both collapsed into [e] in Marathi, but there is a change in this pattern in contemporary English loans. For example, we see that [e] remains [e], with no [j] coloring:

(3.301) fesbʊk (M) (फेसबुक) ‘facebook’ (E)

(3.302) əɡresər (M) (अग्रेसर) ‘aggressor’ (E)

(3.303) ɪlektɾanɪk (M) (इलेक्ट्रॉनिक) ‘electronic’ (E)

As with colonial British loans, some English loans with [ɛ] are adapted as [e], as shown in examples (3.304-3.306) below:

(3.304) kolestərol (M) (कोलेस्ट्रॉल) ‘cholesterol’ (E)

(3.305) estʰetɪk (M) (एस्थेटिक) ‘aesthetic’ (E)

(3.306) kɔŋɡres (M) (कॉंग्रेस) ‘congress’ (E)

A new pattern emerges, however, in which some contemporary English loans with [ɛ] are mapped as [ɛ] in Marathi, show in (3.307-3.309) below. This trend indicates a high degree of bilingualism, though the pattern is not consistent.

(3.307) tɾɛŋdɪŋɡ (M) (ट्रेंडिंग) ‘trending’ (E)

(3.308) tɛləŋt (M) (टैलेंट) ‘talent’ (E)

(3.309) nekles set̪ (M) (नेकलेस सेट) ‘necklace set’ (E)

A number of English diphthongs are also adapted wholesale into Marathi. The following examples show [aɪ] adaptation in Marathi:

(3.310) mobail (M) (मोबाईल) ‘mobile’ (cell phone) (E)

(3.311) ʈamlain (M) (टाईमलाईन) ‘timeline’ (E)

(3.312) saɪjəns said̪ (M) (सायन्स साईड) ‘science side’ (E)

The English diphthong [aʊ] also appears in synchronic loans in Marathi, as shown in examples (3.313-14):

(3.313) brekaʊts (M) (ब्रेकआउट्स) ‘break-outs’ (E)

(3.314) rəpəraʊŋd̪ (M) (रॅपअराउंड) ‘wrap-around’ (E)

In some cases, however, it is re-syllabified and interpreted as [ʊ], as shown in (3.315):

(3.315) paʊər (M) (पॉवर) ‘power’ (E)

The English diphthong [eə] appears in loans, with [j] insertion, as in [ejə]:

(3.316) ejərfors (M) (एअरफोर्स) ‘air force’ (E)

(3.317) hejər (M) (हेअर) ‘hair’ (E)

In some cases, the English [ɔɪ] is adapted variously as [oɪ] in example (3.318) and as [ɑɪ] in example (3.319):

(3.318) moɪʈʃəraɪz (M) (मोईस्चराईझ) ‘moisturize’ (E)

(3.319) aɪl (M) (ऑइल) ‘oil’ (E)

3.5.1.2.1 Vowel Shortening

One peculiar pattern observed in this data set in the shortening of [i] to [ɪ] in some syllable-initial open syllables, as shown in (3.320-3.322) below:

(3.320) mɪdʒiɐ (M) (मिडीया) ‘media’ (E)

(3.321) hɪrɔ (M) (हिरो) ‘hero’ (E)

(3.322) kɪlɔ (M) (किलो) ‘kilo’ (E)

Despite orthographic indications, some cases of written [ɪ] are elongated to [i] as they appear in English. The difference is unclear and may be related to differences in Marathi stress assignment.

(3.323) lɪd̪ɐɪs (M) (लिडर्स) ‘leaders’ (E)

(3.324) sɪrɪmɪŋ (M) (स्ट्रीमिंग) ‘streaming’ (E)

(3.325) sɪnjər (M) (सिनियर) ‘senior’ (E)

In monosyllabic words with closed syllables, as [i] is retained for the most part, as in (3.26-3.28) below:

(3.326) grɪn (M) (ग्रीन) ‘green’ (E)

(3.327) dɪp (M) (डीप) ‘deep’ (E)

(3.328) lɪk (M) (लीक) ‘leak’ (E)

3.5.1.2.1 Vowel Lengthening

Vowel lengthening in English loans appears to conform to Marathi stress assignment rules. In the examples below, the English stressed syllables may still be appearing in the heaviest syllables (though the vowels are in some cases reduced to avoid super-heavy syllables). Here Marathi lengthens unstressed/reduced syllables in English in order to distribute syllable weight across the word more evenly:

(3.329) sɛlɪbrɪtɪ (M) (सेलिब्रिटी) ‘celebrity’ (E)

(3.330) nɛtɪzəns (M) (नेटीझन्स) ‘netizens’ (E)

(3.331) ækəðemi (M) (ऍकेडमी) ‘academy’ (E)

3.5.2 Phonological Processes

3.5.2.1 Nasalization

In Section 3.2.6 Nasalization, the example presented in Pandharipande (1997, 2003b) revealed that vowels are nasalized before nasal consonants assimilated to homorganic stops:

(3.332) a. āmba ‘mango’
b. t̃õŋd̃ ‘mouth’

(from Pandharipande 2003b:719)

In contemporary English loans, bilingual speakers are highly sensitive to this pattern, and vowels are nasalized much like they are in other varieties of English when followed by a nasal consonant assimilated to a homorganic stop. Examples (3.333-3.335) show vowel nasalization before [NC + labial C], before [NC + alveolar C] (3.336-3.338), [NC + retroflex C] (3.339-3.341), and [NC + velar C] (3.342-3.344):

(3.333) k̃əmp̃əni (M) (कंपनी) ‘company’ (E)

(3.334) k̃əŋt̃əmp̃ərəri (M) (कंटेपरी) ‘contemporary’ (E)

(3.335) t̃əmp̃əl (M) (टेंपल) ‘temple’ (E)

(3.336) ănd̃zioplas̃ti (M) (अँन्जोप्लास्ती) ‘angioplasty’ (E)

(3.337) t̃ʃæl̃d̃ʒ (M) (चलेंज) ‘challenge’ (E)

(3.338) kl̃ind̃ʒ̃iŋg (M) (क्लिंजिंग) ‘cleansing’ (E)

(3.339) l̃ăŋd̃ (M) (लँड) ‘land’ (E)

(3.340) p̃əŋd̃əŋt̃ (M) (पेंडंट) ‘pendant’ (E)

(3.341) h̃ăŋd̃m̃ed̃ (M) (हँडमेड) ‘handmade’ (E)

(3.342) kras̃iŋg (M) क्रॉसिंगचे ‘crossing’ (E)

(3.343) sərʃɪŋg (M) सर्चिंग ‘searching’ (E)

(3.344) ɪərɪŋgs (M) (इअरिंग्ज) ‘earrings’ (E)

Although Marathi speakers appear to be sensitive to nasalized vowels before consonant clusters of nasal consonants and homorganic stops, nasalized vowels appearing before nasal consonants only are not mapped in English loans even in bilinguals, as in (3.345-3.347) below:

(3.345) kaɪbən (M) (कार्बन) ‘carbon’ (E)

(3.346) dɪnedʒ (M) (ड्रेनेज) ‘drainage’ (E)

(3.347) fom (M) (फोम) ‘foam’ (E)

The absence of regressive nasalization on vowels would suggest that the bilingual phonology directly transposes features of vowel nasalization in English according to the phonological constraints of Marathi. Nevertheless, further study of this phenomenon in English loans across speakers is warranted to determine the extent of this pattern in the Marathi speaking population at large.

3.5.2.1.2 Deletion

Unlike the cluster simplification strategies (epenthesis, deletion) presented in Section 3.4.1, Colonial English Loanwords, deletion only occurs in bilinguals in secondary phonological features. In examples (3.348-3.352), epenthetic stops which appear in English between nasal consonants and fricatives are “deleted” in loanwords:

(3.348) ɪmərɔʒənsi (M) (इमर्जन्सी) ‘emergency’ (E)

(3.349) ɪnfluənsər (M) इन्फ्लुएन्सर ‘influencer’ (E)

(3.350) sɛnsɪbəl (M) (सेन्सिबल) ‘sensible’ (E)

(3.351) saɪjəns (M) (सायन्स) ‘science’ (E)

(3.352) senseʃən (M) (सेन्शेशन) ‘sensation’ (E)

Furthermore, vowels in these examples are not nasalized before nasal consonants, indicating indirectly that English epenthetic stops are perhaps perceptually undetected rather than deleted. This is interesting, however, as [nts] cluster sequences are possible in Marathi, as in the following example below:

(3.354) hjāntsa (M) ‘their’

This deletion pattern could be a result of what Masica and Dave (1972:8) term the phenomenon of “spelling pronunciation,” which occurs when pronunciation has been mediated primarily through text acquisition. Given that [nts] sequences are attested in Marathi, it may instead useful to frame these so-called “deletion” patterns as undetected mappings resulting from “spelling pronunciation.” In a similar vein, English semi-vowel coloring of vowels [o] and [e] is absent in loans, resulting in monophthong adaptation. In examples (3.355-3.357) below, the English vowel [o] does not appear as [ow] in loans:

(3.355) blo (M) (ब्लो) ‘blow’ (E)

(3.356) iərʃən (M) (इअरफोन) ‘earphone’ (E)

(3.357) fokəs (M) (फोकस) ‘focus’ (E)

Likewise, the English vowel [e] does not appear with semi-vowel coloring [ej] in loanwords:

(3.358) leɪst (M) (लेटेस्ट) ‘latest’ (E)

(3.359) steɪʃən (M) (स्टेशन) ‘station’ (E)

(3.360) fesbuk (M) (फेसबुक) ‘Facebook’ (E)

3.5.2.1.3 Aspiration

Although aspiration is a contrastive feature of Marathi, English aspiration occurring in stressed syllable onsets with [p], [t], and [k] does not appear at all in English loanwords. Examples

(3.361-3.363) present loans which do not map aspiration in English [p], in [t] (examples 3.364-3.366), and in [k] (3.367-3.369):

(3.361) pʃʊər (M) (प्युअर)	‘pure’ (E)
(3.362) pæɖ (M) (पॅड)	‘pad’ (E)
(3.363) pæntʰər (M) (पॅथर)	‘panther’ (E)
(3.364) tæp (M) (डबल)	‘tap’ (E)
(3.365) tu (M) (टू)	‘too’ (E)
(3.366) tʌpɪk (M) (टॉपिक)	‘topic’ (E)
(3.367) kæmp (M) (कॅम्प)	‘camp’ (E)
(3.368) kəʈən (M) (कॉटन)	‘cotton’ (E)
(3.369) kəsʈəmaɪzɖ (M) (कस्टमाईज्ड)	‘customized’ (E) ³⁴

The secondary phonological feature of English aspiration is also notably absent in English loanwords found in Hindi, which is arguably the language in closest contact with English in South Asia. Drawing on this similarity, we will discuss possible convergences in Section 5.2.3, Convergence in English Loanword Adaptations.

3.5.3 Commonwealth vs. American Donor Artifacts

A smaller number of artifacts extant in Marathi demonstrate a clear commonwealth origin, either orthographically and/or in pronunciation. In examples (3.370-3.375) below, the following loans must have been sourced from British English:

(3.370) brəɖkəst (M) (ब्रॉडकास्ट)	‘broadcast’ (E)
(3.371) grafiiks (M) (ग्राफिक्स)	‘graphics’ (E)

³⁴ Many monolingual speakers will regressively palatalize [z] before the retroflex [ɖ], which even is reflected orthographically with the use of [ज़] rather than [झ].

- (3.372) stʌf (M) (स्टाफ) 'staff' (E)
- (3.373) kəməŋdər (M) (कमांडर) 'commander' (E)³⁵
- (3.374) pasbʊk (M) (पासबुक) 'passbook' (E)
- (3.375) ʃedʒul (M) (शेड्यूल) 'schedule' (E)

In some cases, instances of the loanwords have retained spellings which reflect commonwealth pronunciation, but the pronunciation in younger bilinguals has evolved to reflect American pronunciation. In example (3.376), British [ə] has been retained orthographically, but replaced in pronunciation with American [æ]. In example (3.377), British [a] has been retained orthographically but also replaced in pronunciation with American [æ]. In examples (3.378-3.379), [nj] and [tʃj] consonant palatalization before [u/ʊ] remain in the orthography, but do not appear in actual pronunciation:

- (3.376) postmæn (M) (पोस्टमन) 'postman' (E)
- (3.377) ræpsodɪ (M) (रपसोडी) 'rhapsody' (E)
- (3.378) nuz (M) (न्यूज़) 'news' (E)
- (3.379) ɒpɔːtʊnɪti (M) (ऑपॉर्ट्युनिटी) 'opportunity' (E)

Further investigation is warranted, as it is quite possible that these features are distributed differently across the population. In any case, alternation of [æ] and [a] forms was possible in one speaker's usage:

- (3.380) fastfʊd, fæstfʊd (M) (फास्टफुड) 'fast-food' (E)

3.5.4 Morphology

3.5.4.1 Derivational Morphology

³⁵ Although [ɹ] typically appears word-finally, English [ɹ] is mapped here. The degree of variation even within a speaker's dialect necessitates further investigation into the contexts which condition this pattern.

The use of English loans in the derivational morphological processes in Marathi is highly productive. In some cases, nouns are joined together to create compounds, as in (3.381-3.385) below:

(3.381) slæŋg b^haʃa (M) (स्लैंग भाषा)
 slang language
 ‘slang language’

(3.382) stʌŋt.badʒi (M) (स्टंटबाजी)
 stunt.doer
 ‘stuntman, attention seeker’

(3.383) skul væn.vala (M) (स्कूल व्हॅनवाला)
 school van.one
 ‘school bus driver’

(3.384) ɔskər.vɪdʒɛtə (M) (ऑस्करविजेता)
 Oscar.victor
 ‘Oscar-winner’

(3.385) polis.prəmʊk^h (M) (पोलिसप्रमुख)
 police.head
 ‘Head of police, superintendent’

The most productive form of derivational loan morphology in Marathi is the compounding of English nouns or verbs with verbs like *kərɲe* (करणे) ‘to do,’ which result in the following:

(3.386) dʌbəl tæp kərɲe (M) (डबल टैप करणे)
 double tap to do
 ‘to double tap’

(3.387) laɪk, ʃeɪə aɳi kəmɛɳt kərɲe (M) (लाईक, शेअर आणि कमेंट करणे)
 like, share, and comment to do
 ‘to like, share, and comment’

(3.388) kəndɪʃən kərɲe (M) (कंडिशन करणे)
 condition to do
 ‘to condition’

3.5.4.2 Inflectional Morphology

3.5.4.2.1 Plurals

English loanwords in Marathi have developed an interesting morphophonology which does not correspond to the morphophonology of the original donor sources, though it may correspond to varieties of Indian English. In examples (3.389-3.391) below, Marathi suffixes the voiceless English plural marker -s following voiceless consonants as expected:

- (3.389) post[s] (M) (पोस्ट्स) ‘posts’
 (3.390) dʒækɛt[s] (M) (जॅकेट्स) ‘jackets’
 (3.391) brekaʊt[s] (M) (ब्रेकआउट्स) ‘breakouts’

In a departure from the donor sources, the use of the voiceless plural marker -s appears unexpectedly after voiced consonants as well, as shown in examples (3.392-3.394):

- (3.392) imels (M) (ई-मेल्स) ‘emails’
 (3.393) stʌd[s] (M) (स्टड्स) ‘studs’
 (3.394) falovəɹs (M) (फॉलोअर्स) ‘followers’

On the other hand, the English plural marker -s is voiced (-z) when following vowels, as in (3.395-3.396) below:

- (3.395) hiroz (M) (हीरोज) ‘heros’
 (3.396) vɪdʒioz (M) (व्हिडीओज) ‘videos’

Whether this particular morphophonological pattern is a result of the plural features of Indian English is unclear, though there is a definite effect of “spelling pronunciation” at play. The question this pattern raises is whether direct contact with a non-Indian donor source acts as the intermediary, or whether Indian English serves as the donor source.

3.5.4.2.2 Possessives

The only example of the possessive in this data set also included a voiceless possessive marker -s before a voiced consonant:

(3.397) pipəls (M) (पीपल्स) 'people's'

A larger sample would be required in order to ascertain the full pattern across phonological environments.

3.5.4.2.3 Past Participle

Unlike the English plural marker, the past participle -d used to create adjectives in English follows an almost identical pattern to the donor sources. In examples (3.398-3.399), [-d] ~ [-t] alternation is conditioned by voiced and voiceless consonants:

(3.398) kəstəmaɪzd (M) (कस्टमाइज्ड) 'customized'

(3.399) nəɾɪʃt (M) (नरिष्ट) 'nourished'

In the particular example (3.399) above, the orthography reflects progressive place assimilation so that the alveo-palatal sibilant [ʃ] becomes [ʂ]. In monolingual speech, this is also possible in (3.398), with the dental sibilant [z] becoming alveo-palatal [ʒ].

In keeping with the patterns of donor English, we also see that stems ending in either [t] or [d] are both suffixed with the past participle marker -ɛd, despite the orthographic representation showing -et suffixation below:

(3.400) rɪleɛd (M) (रिलेटेट) 'related'

(3.401) gaɪdɛd (M) (गाइडेड) 'guided'

There were not enough tokens in this set to determine the allomorphs used in stems ending in vowels.

3.5.4.2.4 Superlative

As a subset of adjectives, superlatives in English are borrowed wholesale with full English morphology:

(3.402) leʃest (M) (लेटेस्ट) 'latest'

In the example sentence below, the superlative 'latest' is simply slotted syntactically in place of an adjective which modifies a noun:

(3.403) he leʃest pɪkʃər ahe
 this.(n) latest movie is
 'this is the latest movie'

It is also important to note here that the noun *pɪkʃər* 'movie' is assigned neuter gender.

3.5.4.2.5 Gender Agreement and Case Marking

Marathi has three grammatical genders: masculine, neuter, and feminine. As in example (3.403) above, syntactic context provides evidence that English nouns are assigned grammatical gender in Marathi. In example (3.404) below, the possessive adjective 'your (formal)' indicates from the *-[ə]* ending agreement with a neuter noun:

(3.404) aplə prədʒəkt (M) (आपलं प्रॉडक्ट)
 your product
 'your product'

Further study is needed to determine patterns of gender assignment in English loanwords, but it is clear from the examples below that gender assignment does not factor into major morphophonological processes in Marathi. Typically speaking, when nouns (either singular or plural) are suffixed by a post-position, they receive oblique case marking, which changes the stem ending according to patterns which accord with the gender and number of the noun. In the examples below, English singular nouns do not receive any type of case marking when suffixed by a post-position in Marathi:

(3.405) haspɪtəl. mədʰe (M) (हॉस्पिटलमध्ये)
 hospital.in

‘in the hospital’

(3.406) maiketʃiŋg.mʊle (M) (मार्केटींगमुळे)
marketing.due to
‘because of marketing’

(3.407) dʁaijɐr.tsa (M) (ड्रायरचा)
dryer.poss (m)
‘of the dryer’

Additionally, English plural nouns are imported wholesale in post-positional phrases, with no indication of plural case-marking:

(3.408) vidijoz.məɖʱun (M) (विडीओजमधून)
videos.from/of
‘from/of the videos’

(3.409) vɛbsaɪts.vər (M) (वेबसाईट्सवर)
websites.on
‘on the websites’

(3.410) tʃænəls.vər (M) (चॅनल्सवर)
channels.on
‘on the channels’

There was one instance, however, of the modern English loan plural ‘celebrities’ receiving Marathi case marking when suffixed by a post-position:

(3.411) hja selibriti.ĩ.pekʃa (ह्या सेलिब्रिटींपेक्षा)
these.obl celebrities.plural(obl).than
‘than/as compared to these celebrities’

There is also evidence of an older English stratum which behaves differently. The examples below (3.412-3.413) receive morphological case-marking when suffixed by a post-position:

(3.412) daktəɪ.ã.saʰi (M) (डॉक्टरांसाठी)
doctor.plural(obl).for
‘for the doctors’

(3.413) miniʈ.ã.məɖʱe (M) (मिनिटांमध्ये)
minute.plural(obl).in

‘in (X) minutes’

This is consistent with the case-marking which also appears in Perso-Arabic loans still extant in Marathi, indicating an older stratum consistent with Pandharipande’s “nativization” schema:

(3.414) faɪɖ.ja.tsa (M) (फायद्याचा)
benefit.obl.poss (masc)
‘the benefit of’

Another way in which older British loans behave differently from synchronic loans is that while some forms don’t receive case marking, their plural forms do not include wholesale English morphology in either the direct or oblique case:

(3.415) buɪ (M) (बूट)³⁶
‘boots’

(3.416) ɖon hekʈaɪ.pəɾjənt̪ (दोन हेक्टरपर्यंत)
two hectares.up to
‘up to two hectares’

The interaction between the older and newer strata of English loans in Marathi requires further investigation, but it is clear that newer forms (as in the increased use of -s to form the plural for ‘boots’) are beginning to supplant older forms. The reader will note throughout this subsection that a few of the loans in this data set appeared in the subsection 3.4.1., Colonial English Loanwords. We also find that a number of synchronic forms supplant those which are no longer in high circulation (if at all). For example, [haspɪtəl] (हॉस्पिटल) is the commonly used loan for ‘hospital,’ which has supplanted the older form [ɪspət̪aɪ] (इस्पताल).

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has covered an overview of the features of Marathi phonology and the contact history with Perso-Arabic (Indo-Persian), Hindi/Dakhni, English, Sanskrit, Portuguese, and

³⁶ In this form, some speakers do pluralize ‘boots’ using the English plural marker [-s].

Kannada. The data presented in this chapter includes historical loanword adaptations from colonial British English and Indo-Persian (Arabic and Persian substrate) loans, as well as contemporary English loans. The chart below summarizes the adaptation patterns found across languages, demonstrating the phonological constraints at play in Marathi across donor languages:

Chart 3.4 Loanword Adaptation Processes in Marathi

Loanword Adaptation Process	Donor Language
Dental adaptation of [t] and [d]	Colonial English Arabic Persian
Retroflex adaption of [t] and [d]	Colonial English Contemporary English
Velar/uvular [x, χ] → [k ^h]	Arabic Persian
Velar/uvular [ɣ] → [g]	Arabic Persian
Uvular [q] → [k]	Arabic Persian
Retroflexion	Colonial English Arabic Persian
Palatalization	Colonial English Arabic Persian Contemporary English
Adaptation of English [ɹ]	Contemporary English
Adaptation of English vowels [æ] and [ɑ]	Colonial English Contemporary English
Adaptation of English vowel [ɛ]	Contemporary English
Approximate place and voicing preservation (manner change)	Colonial English Persian
(ʃ ~ s) Variation	Colonial English Arabic Persian Contemporary English (monolingual speech)
De-aspiration	Colonial English Contemporary English
Floating Aspiration	Persian
Word-final voicing	Arabic
Word-final de-voicing	Arabic Persian
Intervocalic voicing	Arabic

Loanword Adaptation Process	Donor Language
Vowel nasalization	Colonial English Contemporary English
Cluster simplification (epenthesis)	Colonial English Arabic Persian
Cluster simplification (deletion)	Colonial English Arabic Persian Contemporary English
Metathesis	Arabic
Gemination	Colonial English Arabic
Degemination	Arabic Persian
Morphological compounding	Colonial English Arabic Persian Contemporary English
Morphological inflection	Colonial English
Morphological case marking	Persian Older English stratum Contemporary English (some evidence)

Although specific adaptation strategies apply in response to the particular phonological properties of each donor language, a few general adaptation patterns emerge across donor languages, providing insight into some of the inviolable phonological properties of Marathi. Two key adaptation patterns which surface across all donor languages are (1) variation of [ʃ] ~ [s], and (2) palatalization.

The adaptation strategies documented in this chapter provide a foundation for the data presented in Chapter 4 Hebrew Loanwords in Marathi, which examines Hebrew loanwords in the Bene Israel dialect of Marathi. Hebrew overlaps to some degree with the phonemic inventories of Arabic and Persian, giving us a basis of comparison for understanding the role of sociolinguistics in the adaptation patterns documented throughout this project.

Chapter 4

Hebrew Loanword Adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi

4.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces patterns of Hebrew loanword phonology in Bene Israel Marathi, detailing the method of data collection in Section 4.1. Hebrew loanwords from the oldest source in this study are presented in Section 4.2, Hebrew Loans from *The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India (1846)*, followed by Section 4.3, Hebrew Loanwords from the *Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta* (5614), which lists Hebrew loanwords from 1863-1864. In Section 4.4, *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893), a Hebrew-to-Marathi conversion chart from an 1893 *siddur* is reproduced, along with some relevant handwritten notes and inscriptions. Section 4.5, Hebrew Loans from *The Israelite*, is the largest source from which Hebrew loanwords found in Bene Israel Marathi are documented in this project, which includes detailed descriptions of the phonological mapping, a discussion of orthographically-conditioned influences on adaptation patterns, morpho-phonological patterns, calquing, Anglicized Hebrew, and sociolinguistic information. In Section 4.6, Post-Independence Hebrew Loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, new patterns in Hebrew loanword adaptation are introduced from the post-independence period, including two Bene Israel community circulations published in India, a Marathi-language religious commentary published in India, for comparison, a mainstream Marathi source. Section 4.7, New Hebrew Segmental Adaptation, presents additional patterns in synchronic Hebrew adaptation, though these sources are transliterated Hebrew rather than Hebrew loans naturally occurring in Bene Israel Marathi. Finally, Section 4.8, Summary, provides an overview of the patterns identified in this chapter, pointing to major trends and changes which have occurred over a

century and a half, as well as a discussion of the changing social and political ecologies driving these changes.

4.1 Methodology

The data for this chapter was collected in 2014 from primary print sources which contain historical loans from Hebrew entering the Bene Israel dialect of Marathi at various points in the community's past. The bulk of the loanword data for this chapter was collected from both Marathi-language sources and sources which were transliterated from Hebrew into Marathi from the BJ Israel Collection at Wilson College in Bombay, India. At the time of data collection (2014), artifacts from the BJ Israel collection were not in library circulation and had been stowed away in the Wilson College Library's back storage area. The library staff could not locate the key to the collection's cupboard and were forced to break open the rusty locks in order to grant access to the documents in the collection. Consistent with many such buildings in coastal areas of India, large windows in the storage area remained open to allow for adequate cross-circulation, putting the health of the collection at risk, particularly during the monsoon period when rains are quite heavy. Those items in this collection not catalogued in the Valmadonna collection are flagged throughout the chapter.

The personal collection of BJ Israel, an author and prominent figure in the Bene Israel community, was bequeathed to Wilson College after his death. Apart from his collection of *siddurim* (Jewish prayer books) and personal correspondence, the collection also contained major newsletters published by the community, specifically *The Israelite*, a bilingual English-Marathi publication from 1917-1927. Other English-language newsletters (*The Indo-Israel Review*) and bulletins, such as school expenditure reports, were included in the collection. While most did not serve as direct sources for loanword data collection, they provided valuable insight into the

construction of the community's linguistic identity and are central to understanding how language ideologies and sociolinguistic factors shape loanword adaptation processes. A variety of other print sources served as the basis for loanword data collection for this study: *The Makkabi*, a Marathi-language community newspaper (available issues 1951, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1973, 1974); *Mebasser*, a dual-language Marathi-English community newsletter (available issues 1960-1965); *Dharmopadesh V. 2*, an Israel-based Marathi-language religious commentary; *Antahīna saṅgharsha*, a 1974 mainstream Marathi-language publication on Israel-Palestine; *Haggada Shel Pesah*, a Marathi-language Haggadah which provides Hebrew transliteration in Marathi (published in Bombay in 2001), as well as *Oneg Shabbat*, a Shabbat siddur in Hebrew with Marathi transliteration published by the JDC India in 2001.

Image 4.1: BJ Israel Collection at Wilson College in Bombay, India (2014)



In a very palpable sense, Modern Hebrew loans are in the process of entering the language while L2 learners of Hebrew are settling en masse in Israel, but return to India frequently either to live and work part-time, or to visit family still living in India. As no peer-reviewed research has been

conducted in this area as of yet, it is not clear to what extent this same process is affecting Marathi spoken in Israel.

It should be noted that the Hebrew loanword artifacts collected for this chapter serve only to support a sketch of the overall processes of adaptation over time, though they include a fair cross-section from the available known corpus of Hebrew print documents from India. Many of the sources used in this project are also housed in The Valmadonna Trust Library, which holds the largest collection of Hebrew print items from India (Valmadonna Collection of Hebrew and Jewish Books from India). This collection was previously based in London but was sold to the National Library of Israel in 2017 and will be available to the public in 2020. Online access to the collection is also available by subscription:

<https://primarysources.brillonline.com/browse/hebrew-printing-in-india>

Because the Bene Israel community acquired Hebrew language through education provided by European missionaries, the Hebrew transcriptions used here are largely modern and mostly align with the Hebrew-to-Marathi conversion chart provided in Section 4.4 *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893). Many of the patterns we find in this section motivate orthographic mappings for the Hebrew transcriptions.

4.2. Hebrew Loans from *The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India* (1846)

The following loans in transliteration are sourced from a 1968 reprinting of a dual-language Marathi-Hebrew *Haggadah*, originally printed in Bombay in 1846. To my knowledge, this document remains one of the oldest extant primary sources available in Bene Israel Marathi. Given the quality and irregularities which appear in the reprinting, a significant amount of the Marathi translation in this document is unreadable, though most of the subheadings for each order of the Passover service and key liturgical phrases signaling transitions and meaningful

events within the service are sufficiently enlarged to deduce the Hebrew transliteration. Given that this is the earliest source in the data set, nearly all of the loans present in this document are reproduced here. The following sections map phonological adaptations from Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi.

4.2.1 Consonants

This section records the manner in which Hebrew consonants are mapped into Bene Israel Marathi. Because of the limited size of this corpus, only those major categories which indicate key mappings (sometimes unexpected) are represented here.

4.2.1.1 Labial Consonants

The Hebrew [v] is both variably mapped as [v] and [b] in Bene Israel Marathi. In example (4.1) below, [v] is mapped as [v] when the Hebrew [v] corresponds to the *vav*:

- (4.1) levi (M) (लेवी) 'Levi, a member of the Levites'
 levi (H) (לֵוִי)

On the other hand, [v] is adapted as [b] in Bene Israel Marathi when the Hebrew [v] corresponds to the Hebrew letter *bet* appearing without the *dagesh* diacritic (signaling a historical fricative), as in examples (4.2-4.3) below:

- (4.2) abraham (M) (आबराहाम) 'Abraham'
 avraham (H) (אַבְרָהָם)

- (4.3) jakob (M) (याकोब) 'Jacob'
 jaʃakov (H) (יַעֲקֹב)

When the Hebrew letter *bet* with the *dagesh* appears, the Hebrew [b] is also adapted as [b]:

- (4.4) rabi akiba (M) (राबी आकीबा) 'Rabbi Akiva'
 rab:i akiva (H) (רַבִּי אֶקִיבָּא)

In a repeat example from above, the labial sonorant [m] in Hebrew is adapted as [m] in Bene Israel Marathi:

- (4.5) abraham (M) (आबराहाम) ‘Abraham’
avraham (H) (אַבְרָהָם)

And finally, in example (4.6) the Hebrew [p] is adapted here as [f]:

- (4.6) faro (M) (फारो) ‘Pharaoh’
paro (H) (פַּרְעֹה)

4.2.1.2 Dental Consonants

Hebrew [t] and [d] stops are adapted as dental consonants in Bene Israel Marathi. This observation is particularly interesting in light of adaptation patterns we have seen in the previous chapter, where historical English loans with alveolar consonants are generally adapted as retroflex consonants, while Persian loanwords in Marathi with alveolar consonants are generally adapted as dental consonants.

In examples (4.7-4.8), Hebrew [t] represented by the letter *tav* (with and without the dagesh diacritic present) is represented as [t̪] in Bene Israel Marathi:

- (4.7) t̪ora (M) (तेरा) ‘The Torah’
tora (H) (תּוֹרָה)
- (4.8) jabat̪, jəbat̪ (M) (शाबात, शबात) ‘Shabbat, the Sabbath’
jab:at (H) (שַׁבָּת)

In examples (4.9-4.11) below, Hebrew [d] is adapted as [d̪] in Bene Israel Marathi:

- (4.9) kɪd̪oʃ (M) (किदोश) ‘Kiddosh, a cup used for Kiddush’
kɪd:oʃ (H) (קִידּוֹשׁ)
- (4.10) aɖam (M) (आदाम) ‘Adam’
adam (H) (אַדָּם)
- (4.11) jəhʊɖa (M) (यहुदा) ‘Yehudah, Judah (son of Jacob)’
jəhuda (H) (יְהוּדָה)

4.2.1.3 Retroflex Consonants

In one instance, Hebrew alveolar [l] was adapted as retroflex [ɭ] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in example (4.12) below:

- (4.12) israel (M) (इस्राएल) 'Israel'
 jisraɭel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)

4.2.1.4 Back Consonants

In the examples below, a partial orthographically-conditioned distinction emerges in the varying adaptations of Hebrew back fricatives as [h] and [k^h], respectively. In example (4.13) below, Hebrew [h] is adapted as [h] when [h] is represented by the Hebrew letter *chet*, as well as when represented by the Hebrew letter *chaf* (without a dagesh, making it a fricative) in example (4.14):

- (4.13) rahasa (M) (राहासा) 'Rachtzah, telling of the Passover story during the
 rahtsa (H) (רַחֲצָה) seder'
 (4.14) bahor (M) (बाहोर) 'firstborn son'
 bəxor (H) (בְּכוֹר)

In examples (4.15-4.17) below, Hebrew [x] is adapted as [k^h] when [x] is represented by the Hebrew letter *chaf* (without the dagesh, also making it a fricative):

- (4.15) korek^h (M) (करेख) 'Korech, consumption of a matzah/maror sandwich
 korex (H) (כּוֹרֵךְ) during the Passover seder'
 (4.16) ʃulhan orek^h (M) (शुलहान ओरेख) 'Shulchan Orech, serving the meal during the
 ʃulxan orex (H) (שֻׁלְחָן עֹרֵךְ) Passover seder'
 (4.17) barek^h (M) (बारेख) 'Barekh, blessing after the Passover holiday meal'
 barex (H) (בָּרַךְ)

4.2.2 Vowels

A few instances of [ə] appear in Bene Israel Marathi which correspond to different Hebrew letters. In examples (4.18-4.20), [a] is reduced to [ə], though this particular set is not large enough to definitively conclude a pattern:

- (4.18) kərpas (M) (करपास) ‘Karpas, vegetables dipped in salt water during
karpas (H) (כרפס) the Passover seder’
- (4.19) ahəron (M) (आहरोन) ‘Aaron’
ʔaharon (H) (אהרן)
- (4.20) ʃabaʔ, ʃəbaʔ (M) (शाबात, शबात) ‘Shabbat, the Sabbath’
ʃab:at (H) (שבת)

We also see in one variation in example (4.21) that the Hebrew schwa diacritic (which has multiple possible pronunciations) is adapted as [ə], as well as in example (4.22):

- (4.21) ləʃon kodəʃ (M) (लशोन कोदेश) ‘Hebrew (lit: tongue of the sanctuary)’
leʃon kodəʃ (M) (लेशोन कोदेश)
ləʃon (ha) k^ə:odəʃ (H) (לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ)
- (4.22) jəruʃalaim (M) (यरूशालाईम) ‘Jerusalem’
jəruʃalajim (H) (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם)

Apart from the patterns observed above, [a] is typically mapped as [a] in this source, as shown in examples (4.23-4.24) below:

- (4.23) amen (M) (आमेन) ‘amen, a liturgical declaration or affirmation’
ʔamen (H) (אָמֵן)
- (4.24) safon (M) (साफोन) ‘Tzafun, eating the afikoman during the Passover
tsafun (H) (צֶפֶן) seder’

In one instance, however, we find that [ə] is also adapted as [a]:

- (4.25) bahor (M) (बाहोर) ‘firstborn son’
bəxor (H) (בְּכוֹר)

In this source, [e] is mapped to [e], as in examples (4.26-27) below:

- (4.26) kohen (M) (कोहेन) ‘Cohen, a member of the priestly class’
kohen (H) (כֹּהֵן)
- (4.27) halel (M) (हालेल) ‘Hallel, Jewish prayer recited on holidays’
hal:el (H) (הלל)

However, in one variation found in example (4.28) below, the Hebrew schwa diacritic, as well as [ɛ], are also mapped to [e]:

- (4.28) ləfon kodɛʃ (M) (लशोन कोदेश) ‘Hebrew (lit: tongue of the sanctuary)’
 leʃon kodɛʃ (M) (लेशोन कोदेश)
 ləʃon (ha) k^ɛ:odɛʃ (H) (לְשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ)

As observed in English loanwords, all instances of long [i] in Hebrew loans occurring in the first syllable are shortened to [ɪ] in Bene Israel Marathi, as shown in examples (4.29-31) below:

- (4.29) nɪrsa (M) (निरसा) ‘Nirtzah, conclusion of the Passover seder’
 nɪrtsa (M) (נִירְצָה)
 (4.30) israel, israjɛl (M) (इस्राएल, इस्रायल) ‘Israel, the people’
 jisraʔel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)
 (4.31) ɪshak (M) (इसहाक) ‘Isaac’
 jɪtʃhak (H) (יִצְחָק)

It is difficult to tease out whether this effect is due to constraints on Marathi prosody or whether it is the phonetic realization of [ɪ] from a donor source, which is unclear across sources throughout this document. Only a few linguistic artifacts from this source, shown in examples (4.32 and 4.41), retain the length of word-final [i]:

- (4.32) rɪbi ɛl azar (M) (रिबीऐल आजार) ‘Rabbi El Azar (Eleazar ben Azariah)’
 rab:i el azar (H) (רַבִּי אֱלֶעָזָר)

Most instances of Hebrew [o] in this source map to [o] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in examples (4.33-4.34) below:

- (4.33) maror (M) (मारोर) ‘Maror, bitter herbs eaten during the Passover seder’
 maror (H) (מָרֹר)
 (4.34) bahor (M) (बाहोर) ‘firstborn son’
 bəxor (H) (בְּכוֹר)

And finally, all long forms of Hebrew [u] are adapted as short [ʊ] in this source, as in examples (4.35-4.37) below:

- (4.35) jəhʊd̪a (M) (यहुदा) ‘Yehudah, Judah (son of Jacob)’
 jəhuda (H) (יהודה)
- (4.36) ʊrhas (M) (उर्हास) ‘Urchatz, ritual handwashing during the Passover
 urhats (H) (ורחץ) seder’
- (4.37) rabi yəhoʃʊva (M) (राबी येहोशुवा) ‘Rabbi Yehoshua’
 rabi yəhoʃuaʃ (H) (רבי יהושע)

4.2.3. Deletion

4.2.3.1 Cluster Simplification

It is puzzling that Bene Israel Marathi shows a clear, consistent pattern of adapting Hebrew [ts] as [s] (with once instance of [s:]) in all possible phonotactic configurations, because the alveolar affricate [ts] is fully available in the phonemic inventory of Marathi, as with previous examples, *tsuk* ‘mistake’ and *tsor* ‘thief,’ as well as *pats* ‘five.’ When underlying [ts] appears in words of Prakrit origin, as those just mentioned, they are represented by the single grapheme [च], yet when they appear in Sanskrit loans, the individual components of the affricate are factored out orthographically using a consonant cluster [त्स], as in [ʊtsəʋ] (उत्सव) ‘festival.’ In examples (4.37-4.40) below, the Hebrew affricate [ts], represented by the letter *tzadi*, is simplified to [s] in Bene Israel Marathi:

- (4.37) jahas (M) (याहास) ‘Yachatz, breaking matzah and creating the
 jaḥats (H) (צהצ) afikoman during the Passover seder’
- (4.38) ʊrhas (M) (उर्हास) ‘Urchatz, ritual handwashing during the Passover
 urhats (H) (ורחץ) seder’
- (4.39) safon (M) (साफोन) ‘Tzafun, eating the afikoman during the Passover
 tsafun (H) (צפון) seder’
- (4.40) nɪrsa (M) (निस्सा) ‘Nirtzah, conclusion of the Passover seder’
 nirtsa (M) (נירצה)

Additionally, the phonological alternation of [ts] ~[tʃ] in Marathi does not appear to factor into the adaptation of Hebrew words. The allophone [tʃ], which occurs before high front vowels, as in *hjatʃi* ‘his/her,’ does not force *mosi* ‘motzi’ below to become palatal, indicating Bene Israel Marathi does not map Hebrew affricate [ts] as the same as its [ts] allophone:

- (4.41) *mosi* məs:a (M) (मोसी मस्सा) ‘Motzi Matzah, blessing before eating Matzah
motsi matsa (H) (מוֹצֵי מַצָּה) during the Passover seder’

One possible reason for this unexpected mapping is Bene Israel contact with the Baghdadi community in India (for discussion, see Section 5.3.1.3, Religious Revival and Upward Mobility. and Section 5.3.1.4, Conflict with the Baghdadis). It is plausible that after learning Hebrew from European missionaries (see Section 5.3.1.3 Religious Revival and Upward Mobility), interactions with the Baghdadi community influenced Bene Israel Hebrew, causing *tzadi* [ts] to be adapted as [sʰ]³⁷.

4.2.3.2 Onsets

In examples (4.42-4.43) below, word-initial [j] is deleted when followed by a high-front vowel (in this case, [ɪ]):

- (4.42) *israel*, *israɪjəl* (M) (इस्राएल, इस्रायल) ‘Israel, the people’
jisraʔel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)

- (4.43) *ishak* (M) (इसहाक) ‘Isaac’
jɪtʃhak (H) (יִצְחָק)

4.2.4 Epenthesis

There are a couple of cases of epenthesis in this source; in the first example (4.44), [a] is inserted at the syllable break between [h] and [s] ([h̥] and [ts] in Hebrew):

- (4.44) *rahasa* (M) (राहासा) ‘Rachtzah, telling of the Passover story during the
rahtsa (H) (רַחֲצָה) seder’

³⁷ I am greatly indebted to Dr. Jeremy Hutton for pointing out this possibility, which is thus far the only explanation for this mapping.

In the second example (4.45), glide insertion breaks up the back vowel [ʊ] and [a]:

- (4.45) rabi yehoʃʊva (M) (राबी येहोशुवा) ‘Rabbi Yehoshua’
 rab:i yəhoʃuaʃ (רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ)

4.2.5 Degemination

Although geminates do occur in Marathi, Hebrew geminates are shortened in this source, as shown in examples (4.46-4.49). This is not consistent with adaptation patterns we will encounter later in this chapter (see Section 4.5, Hebrew Loans from *The Israelite*), though consistent with later patterns observed, where the [a] in (4.48-4.49) before a geminate consonant is reduced to [ə]:

- (4.46) hagaḏa (M) (हागादा) ‘Haggadah, the text for the Passover seder’
 hag:ada (H) (הַגָּדָה)
- (4.47) rabi (M) (राबि)³⁸ ‘Rabbi’
 rab:i (H) (רַבִּי)
- (4.48) maḡid (M) (मगीद) ‘Maggid, telling of the Passover story during the seder’
 mag:id (H) (מַגִּיד)
- (4.49) ʃabaʃ, ʃəbaʃ (M) (शाबात, शबात) ‘Shabbat, the Sabbath’
 ʃab:at (H) (שַׁבָּת)

4.2.6 Morphology

One curious observation in the data from this source is the morphological patterns which surface on Hebrew loanwords. In the examples below, we see a strong departure from the morphological treatment of English (and to some degree Persian) loans proposed in Pandharipande’s (2003a) “nativization schema” in Section 2.3.4, Marathi Loanword Phonology.

³⁸ Note that although the Marathi gloss transcribes the vowel in ‘rabbi’ as [ɪ], this is not phonologically possible word-finally. When word-final short [ɪ] appears in Sanskrit loans, such as (शक्ति) ‘power,’ the final vowel is elongated to [ʃəkɪː].

In examples (4.50-4.54) below, masculine nouns ending in consonants are case marked with [a] in the oblique form when affixed by a post-position:

- (4.50) bahor.a.tsa bap (M) (बाहोराचा बाप)
firstborn.obl masc.poss masc father

- (4.51) aḏam.a.tʃja (M) (आदामाच्या)
adam.obl masc.poss.obl
'Adam's'

- (4.52) kiḏuʃ.a.tʃe gəlas (M) (किदुशाचे गलास)
kiddush.obl masc. poss masc pl glass
'Kiddush glasses'

- (4.53) jəruʃalaɪm.a.tsa (M) (यरूशलाईमाचा)
jerusalem.obl masc.poss masc
'of Jerusalem'

- (4.54) ɪsraeɭ.a.vər (M) (इस्राएळावर)
israel.obl masc.on
'upon the people Israel (sg)'

Here [hagaḏa] is clearly treated as a masculine noun, as masculine nouns ending in [a] change to [ja] when case-marked in the oblique through affixation of a post-position:

- (4.55) hagaḏja.tʃe puʃtək (M) (हागाद्याचे पुस्तक)
haggadah.obl masc. poss masc pl book
'The Haggadah book'

Masculine plural nouns ending in a consonant are case marked with [ã] in the oblique form when followed by a post-position. Unlike example (4.54) above, in examples (4.56-4.57) below, 'Israel,' is treated not as a collective singular but as a plural (see Section 5.3.2 Sacred Languages and Jewish Languages for further discussion):

- (4.56) ɪsraeɭ.ã.tʃe (M) (इस्राएलांचे)
Israel.obl masc pl. poss masc pl
'of the people of Israel (pl)'

- (4.57) ɪsraeɭ.ã.saʔhi (M) (इस्राएलांसाठी)

Israel.obl masc pl. for
'for the people of Israel (pl)'

There were a few instances, however, in which the Hebrew loan did not receive case marking, similar to English loans we have seen in the previous chapter:

- (4.58) kərpastʃi bʰadʒi (M) (करपासची भाजी)
karpas.poss fem vegetable
'karpats vegetable'

In the Hebrew loan below, *sedarim* 'seders' is already imported with Hebrew masculine plural morphology, *-im*. Despite this, no case marking in the oblique form appears on this loan:

- (4.59) sedarim.tsa bʰakəri (M) (सेदारिमचा भाकरी) 'matzah (lit: seder bread)'
seders.poss masc bread

In an 1890 *Haggadah*, this calque appears as (शेदारीमच्या भाकरी) [ʃedərimtʃja bʰakəri] 'seder bread,' which is consistent with the observation that many speakers of the non-standard Marathi varieties freely alternate between [s] and [ʃ] (see sections 3.4.2.1.2.1 Sociolinguistic Variation and 3.4.2.2.2.1 Sociolinguistic Variation for discussions on [s] ~[ʃ] variation in Perso-Arabic loanwords).

4.2.7 Calques

Although Hebrew subheadings appear in Marathi transliteration in this *Haggadah*, at this juncture in the evolution of the community's religious practice, Marathi substitutions were predominantly employed in the Marathi-language translation for key liturgical concepts, *brachas* (blessings), as well as important ritual items included on the *seder* plate (excluding those included in this chapter) in the Passover *seder*.

In examples (4.60-4.64), Marathi calques are used for formulaic expressions and liturgical direction found in the Passover service. It is of particular interest that the expressions used for the divine, *Ishwar* and *Parameshwar*, stem from Hindu spiritual and religious traditions:

(4.60) ईश्वरा आमच्या देवा पृथ्वीच्या राज्या तू आशिर्वादित आहेस त्याच्या सांगण्याने आह्यास पवित्र केलें आहे आणि...
‘Blessed are you our god *Ishwar*, ruler of the earth....’

(4.61) आमचे परमेश्वर देवा
‘Our God *Parameshwar*’

(4.62) आह्यास पुरे
‘sufficient, enough’ a repetitive expression substituting for the Hebrew *dayenu*’

(4.63) सणाचे दिवसाचा (किदोश)
‘kidosh for yom tov (festival day)’

(4.64) 10 plagues³⁹: रक्त (‘blood’), वेडूक (‘frogs’), उवा (‘lice’), माशा (‘flies’), फुटकळ्या (‘boils’), गारावृष्टी (‘showers’), टोळ (‘locust’), काळोख (‘black hole/darkness’), जेष्ठ पुत्र मारणे (‘death of the firstborn son’)

References to Jewish scholar and expert (potentially a rabbi) Chaim Yosef Chaligoo (Hallegua), who translated the volume transcribed and was from the Cochin Jewish community, describe the translator or “rabbi” as a *pandit*, another borrowed expression from the Hindu religious tradition typically reserved for learned Brahmins:

(4.65) पंडित हाईम योसेफ हाले गुवा
‘Pandit Chaim Yosef Chaligoo (Hallegua)’

On the other hand, we also see calques in this Haggadah which also make liberal use of Islamic religious and secular references. In example (4.66) below, *namāz karan* is given as part of liturgical direction to pray facing east, using the Islamic expression *namāz* to refer to prayer:

(4.66) नमाज करान
‘while praying’

In examples (4.67-4.68) below, Arabic/Islamic variants on the Hebrew expressions which were borrowed into Marathi are also used:

(4.67) दाउद (M) (दाउद)
‘David’

³⁹ The Marathi entry for ‘wild beasts’ was not legible in this copy.

(4.68) misər (M) (मिसर)
‘Egypt’

We can see from these examples that Bene Israel religious terminology at this time was very naturally situated within the areal religious practices of South Asia, broadly speaking, and at the same time, Hebrew loans are treated as virtually indistinguishable in morphological case-marking from ‘nativized’ words in Marathi.

4.3 Hebrew Loanwords from the *Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta* (5614, 1863-64)

The *Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta* is a calendar which outlines the weekly *parshot* for shabbat and festivals, as providing additional explanation for festivals, circumcision, and family law. The calendar was authored by Rabbi David Yehuda Ashkenazi and translated into Marathi by Haim Ishak Galsurkar, published in the Hebrew year of 5614 (1863-1864, according to the Gregorian calendar) by Ganpat Krishnaji Press (Bombay).⁴⁰

Because this source was largely a transliterated piece with a limited number of Hebrew transliterations pertaining exclusively to the *parshot* calendar, this section focuses on specific instances of Hebrew words transliterated into Marathi which indicate something about either the phonological patterns of Marathi or the contact situation.

4.3.1 Bene Israel Marathi Phonology

4.3.1.1 (ʃ ~ s) Variation

There are a few instances from this early text in which this variety of Marathi shows occasional variation between [ʃ]~[s]. In examples (4.69-4.70), the Hebrew [ʃ] is replaced with [s] in the Marathi rendering, but in example (4.71), the Hebrew [s] is replaced with [ʃ] in Marathi:

⁴⁰ There is an entry for the *Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta* in the Valmadonna collection catalogue, which lists the imprint as “Mukkāma Mumbaī: Samoyala Yelīyāhu Varolakara.” While the original copy located in the BJ Israel collection (Wilson College) was in poor condition, it was fully intact. The Valmadonna catalogue notes read that in their collection’s copy, “only the title page is extant.”

- (4.69) kɪdʊs (M) (किदुस) ‘Kiddush (a prayer)’
 kɪd:uʃ (H) (כִּידּוּשׁ)
- (4.70) tʃsri, tʃʃri (M) (तिशरी, तिसरी) ‘Tishrei (Hebrew month)’
 tʃʃri (H), (תִּשְׂרִי)
- (4.71) nɪsan, nɪʃan (M) (निसान, निशान) ‘Nisan (Hebrew month)’
 nɪsan (H) (נִסָּן)

This is consistent with patterns of variation we find in contemporary speakers of the non-standard variety.

4.3.1.2 Vowel Length

Another pattern which appears and will be examined closely throughout this chapter is the alternation between [ɪ] and [i], which has been calculated as a length difference:

- (4.72) nɪsan, nɪʃan (M) (निसान, निशान) ‘Nisan (Hebrew month)’
 nɪsan (H) (נִסָּן) (orthographically “long”)
- (4.73) kɪslev, kɪslev (M) (किसलेव, कीसलेव) ‘Kislev (Hebrew month)’
 kɪslev (H) (כִּסְלֵב) (historically “short”)

In the following subsection, 4.4, *Isrāyalāncē vidhīcē pustak* (1893), we will look at how vowel length in Hebrew is assigned orthographically in Marathi. Although the vowel quality and length does not change in modern Hebrew pronunciation, it is important to take into account historical distinctions in vowel length orthographically and in what environments they can be accommodated phonologically by Marathi. As show in example (4.72) above, the orthographically “long” vowel in Hebrew has failed to surfaced as a long vowel in Marathi, while in example (4.73), the historically short vowel is realized either as the same height as the Hebrew vowel (but not preserving length value), or as short, but failing to maintain vowel height.

4.3.2 Indic Months

Of note is that despite being under British control at the time, the translator of this text provides a rough equivalent to the Jewish months using the Indic system rather than using an English or

Gregorian system. In fact, the word used for “calendar” in the title of the text itself *pañcāga*, a term specifically used in the subcontinent to refer to the Hindu calendar. One potential reason for this choice is that both the Hebrew calendar and *pañcāga* are lunisolar systems, which would allow the reader to situate the Hebrew months within the context of local, familiar agrarian cycle.

Chart 4.1: Hebrew to Indic Month Conversion

Hebrew Month	Indic Equivalent
Tishrei (तिशरी/तिसरी)	Āśvīn (आश्वीन)
Cheshvan (हेश्वान)	Kārtik (कार्तिक)
Kislev (किसलेव/कीसलेव)	Mārgśīrś (मार्गशीर्ष)
Tevet (तेबेथ)	Pauṣ (पौष)
Shevat (शेवत/शेबात)	Māgh (माघ)
Adar (आदार)	Phālgun (फालगुन)
Nisan (निसान/निशान)	Chaitra (चैत्र)
Iyar (इय्यार)	Baisākh (बैसाख)
Sivan (सिवान)	Jeṣṭ (जेष्ठ)
Tammuz (तुम्मज)	Āṣaḥ (आषाढ)
Av (आब)	Śrāvaṇ (श्रावण)
Elul (एलुल)	Bhādrapad (भाद्रपद)

4.3.3 Calques

As with calques seen in Section 4.2.7 of Hebrew Loans from *The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India (1846)*, a few Hebrew terms and liturgical concepts appear in this text fully in Marathi:

(4.74) nəmadʒ.ɪt̪ (M) (नमजीत) ‘in prayer’
prayer.in

The calque in (4.74) is interesting because the Bene Israel use of ‘prayer,’ *namāz*, is a uniquely Islamic expression in the context of South Asia. On the other hand, a Hindu term for the divine also appears throughout this text:

(4.75) iʃvər (M) (ईश्वर)

At the time this text had been published, the community would have only recently incorporated Rabbinic Jewish practices into their religious observance (see Roland 1989, 1998 for discussion on the Bene Israel religious revival). Prior to that, how they performed vestiges of their long-lost rituals, as well as how their religious identity and social alliances were shaped within the cultural context of the subcontinent (including caste identity) can be detected in part through linguistic evidence (see Section 5.3, Sociolinguistic Variables in Bene Israel Identity).

4.3.4 Morphology

In this text, two [-a] ending Hebrew loans appear as plurals with Marathi morphophonological properties of a grammatically masculine noun, such that the [-a] becomes a plural [-e]:

(4.76) paraʃa → paraʃe (M) (पराशे) ‘Parshas, weekly Torah portions’

(4.77) haʃtaʃa → haʃtaʃe (M) (हाफ्तारे) ‘Haftarahs, weekly readings of the prophets’

4.4 *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893)

The following source (shown in Image 4.2 below), titled *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (‘The Book of Israelite Rituals’), was published in 1893 by Gauriman Mohan’s press in Bombay, with a listing price of one rupee. This *siddur* is not catalogued in the Valmadonna “Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic, and Marathi Jewish Printing India” collection. However, included in Valmadonna collection is a *siddur* by the same title published by different authors in 1873 in Pune. The book

contains Hebrew prayers with interlinear transliterations in Devanāgarī, providing occasional commentary in Marathi. While the primary purpose of the text is to provide a Marathi transliteration for Hebrew prayers, its value to this study is the sound conversion chart between Hebrew and Marathi. The conversion scheme reflects an Indic system of linguistic knowledge, with Hebrew consonants and vowel diacritics labeled as *mūlākṣarē* (consonants/alphabet) and *cinhē* (vowels/signs), with subsequent pages modeling each consonant shape as it appears with its corresponding vowel diacritics, resembling the Indic *varṇamālā* system used in Marathi.

Image 4.2: Hebrew to Marathi Sound Conversion Chart from *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893)

मूलाक्षरें.							
योद	तेथ	हेथ	जायिन	वाव	हे	दालेथ	गीमेल
י	ח	ת	י	ו	ה	ד	ג
य	त	ह	ज	व	ह	ध	घ
नून-केफूफा	मिम-सेथूमा	मिम-पेथूहा	लामेद	काफ-पेशूता	काफ-केफूफा		
נ	מ	מ	ל	כ	כ		
न	म	म	ल	ख	क	ख	क
साद-पेशूता	साद-केफूफा	पे-पेशूता	पे-केफूफा	आयिन	सामेख	नून-पेशूता	
צ	ס	פ	פ	א	ס	י	
स	स	फ	फ	अ	स	न	
	ताव	शीन	रेश	कोफ			
	ת	ש	ר	ק			
	थ	त	स	श	र	क	
चिन्हें.							
हीरेक	सेगोल	वाव-होलेम	होलेम	शेवा	सेरे	पाथाह	कामेस
ֿ	ֿ	ֿ	ֿ	ֿ	ֿ	ֿ	ֿ
इ	ए	ओ	ओ	अ	ए	आ	आ
हातूफकामेस	वावशूरेक	कीवूस(शूरेक)	हीरेक-योद				
ֿ	ֿ	ֿ	ֿ				
ओ	ऊ	उ	ई				
हातूफसेगोल	हातूफपाथाह						
ֿ	ֿ						
ए	आ						

The conversion chart from Hebrew to Marathi is summarized below:

Chart 4.1: Summary of Hebrew to Marathi Sound Conversion Chart from *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893)

Hebrew Letter Name	Hebrew Consonants/ Vowel Diacritics	Hebrew IPA	Marathi Equivalent	Marathi IPA
Alef	א	ʔ	अ	ə
Bet (with dagesh)	ב	b	ब	b
Bet	ב	v	भ	b ^h
Gimel (with dagesh)	ג	g	ग	g
Gimel	ג	g	घ	g ^h
Dalet (with dagesh)	ד	d	द	ḏ
Dalet	ד	d	ध	ḏ ^h
He	ה	h	ह	h
Vav	ו	v	व	v
Zayin	ז	z	ज	z
Chet	ח	ħ	ह	h
Tet	ט	t	त	ṭ
Yud	י	j	य	j
Kaf (with dagesh)	כ , כּ	k	क	k
Chaf	כ , כּ	x, χ ⁴¹	ख	k ^h
Lamed	ל	l	ल	l
Mem	מ , מּ	m	म	m

⁴¹ The sounds [x] and [χ] are allophones in Modern Standard Hebrew, but since we are dealing mostly with textual representations of Hebrew in this study and the mappings are consistent, [x] will be used in all transcriptions.

Hebrew Letter Name	Hebrew Consonants/ Vowel Diacritics	Hebrew IPA	Marathi Equivalent	Marathi IPA
Nun	נ , ן	n	न	n
Samekh	ס	s	स	s
Ayin	ע	ʕ	अ	ə
Pe (with dagesh)	פ	p	प	p
Fe	ף , פ	f	फ	f
Tzadi	צ , ז	ts	स	s
Kuf	ק	k	क	k
Resh	ר	r ⁴²	र	r
Shin	שׁ	ʃ	श	ʃ
Sin	שׂ	s	स	S
Tav (with dagesh)	ת	t	त	t̪
Tav	ת	t	थ	t̪ ^h
Kamatz	ָ	a	आ	a
Patach	ַ	a	आ	a
Tsere	ֶ	e	ए	e
Shva	ְ	ə	अ	ə
Holam haser	ִ	o	ओ	o
Holam male	ִ	o	ओ	o
Segol	ֵ	ɛ	ए	e
Hiriq (short)	ִ	i	इ	i

⁴² Although there are variants of [r] in contemporary Hebrew, only [r] will be used in transcriptions of text.

Hebrew Letter Name	Hebrew Consonants/ Vowel Diacritics	Hebrew IPA	Marathi Equivalent	Marathi IPA
Hiriq (long)	ִ	i	ई	i
Kubutz (short)	ֻ	u	उ	o
Kubutz (long)	ֱ	u	ऊ	u
Kamatatz (reduced)	ֱ	o	ओ	o
Patach (reduced)	ֲ	a	आ	a
Segol (reduced)	ֳ	ε	ए	e

Hebrew consonants with and without the *dagesh* (*bet, gimel, daled, kaf, pe, tav*) represent historically differentiated stop and fricative pairs. The above conversion chart reflects this phonological logic within the available sound inventory of Marathi, with the interpretation of the homorganic fricative sounds as the aspirated counterpart of a given consonant. The Bene Israel Marathi-Hebrew system that developed is a unique feature of this community's linguistic features and would, for example, be analogous to the Yiddish pronunciation of Hebrew words with *tav*, as in (4.78):

(4.78) *fab:at*^h (Marathi) (פאבאט, see following sections)

fabas (Yiddish)

jabat (Modern Hebrew) (תבאט)

In addition to the *siddur*, two handwritten notes shown below were tucked in the pages of the *siddur*. The inscription penned on the inside of the book cover is “Jacob” in English (possibly belonging to B.J. Israel, as he was born in 1906 and this *siddur* was among his personal effects in the collection bequeathed to Wilson College). While we cannot determine whether B.J. Israel wrote these notes himself or when they were written, they provide useful information about the

actual use of Hebrew in non-print usage. The biblical verse from *Tehillim* (Psalms) 119:162 appears in the writing featured in the photograph below (Image 4.3)

(4.79) sas anok^{hij} al imraṭek^{ha} kemosej falal rab (M) (सास आनोखीय आल इमरातेखा केमोसेय शालाल राब)
sas anoxi al imratexa kəmotse falal rav (H) (שׁשׁ אָנֹכִי, עַל-אַמְרָתְךָ-הַזֹּאת, שְׁלֵל רַב)

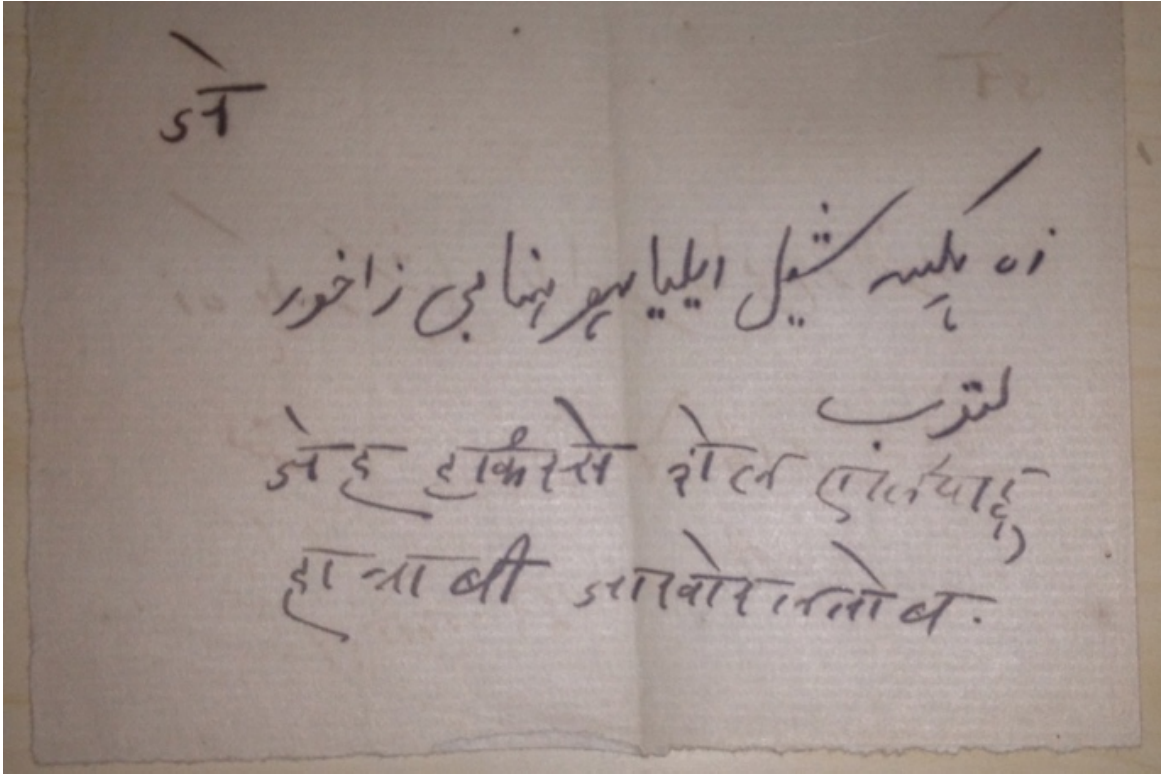
What the above equivalence chart and the Marathi transliteration indicate is that certain vowel sets in Marathi, though its members may differ in quality, are linguistically distinguished as a function of length, such that [i] and [ɪ]. How Marathi handles these length/weight sensitivities both phonologically and orthographically is a major question this study addresses.

Image 4.3: Handwritten Hebrew in Devanāgarī from *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893)

साख ३१ नो २ वीय ३१ ॥
 इम राते रवा के मो सेय
 शाखल राखः जीबे हुह ये लो होम
 रुवा नी शबारा लेख नी शबारा
 वेनीत केह ये लो होम लो तीबजेयः
 हातीया बिर सोन रवा येथ सोथोन
 तीबजेय हो मोत ये र शाला देमः
 ३-नाज त हा फोख जीबे हुथ खेदेक
 ३-नाज लेखवा लीत ३-नाज था आर
 ३-नाज जीब वा हा रवा पारीमः
 ३-ना. रोदेय तीबे हार कुत कोरेय
 हीश कोन हा से रेखा निरन बेहा
 वेनुब वे ले रवा के दो श
 हे रवा लेखा - बिर शुद मोराय
 वे र वा थाय

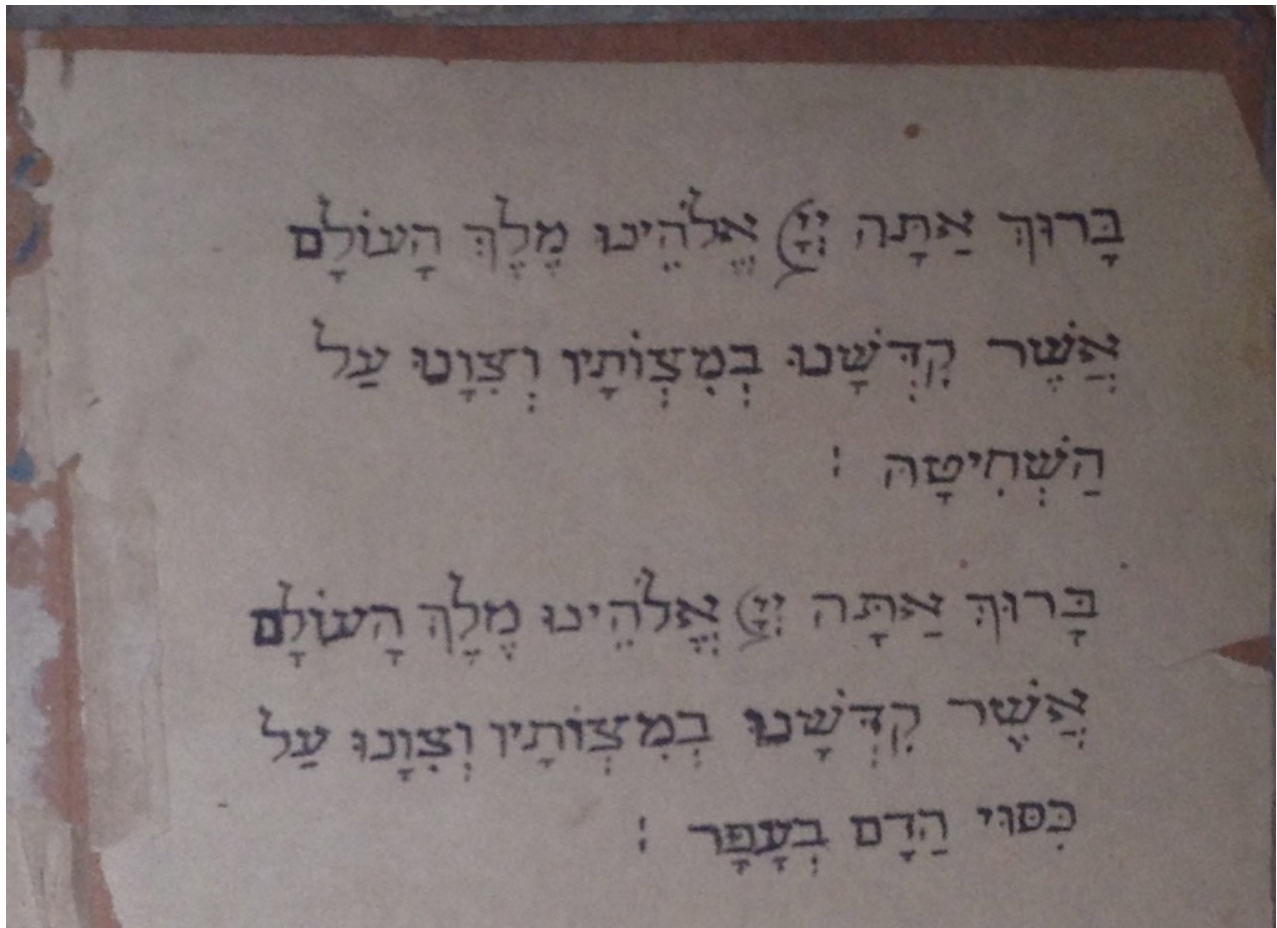
The second note below (Image 4.4) reflects the Bene Israel community's historical embeddedness in the army under British rule. Further evidence of the community's relationship to the Raj is found in voluminous obituaries and announcements printed in *The Israelite*. The following transcribed prayer appears in both *Devanāgarī* and *Nastālīq* by an individual educated not only in Marathi, but also Persian or Urdu/Hindustani. Knowledge of *Nastālīq* would have been typical in order for an individual to gain access to employment within the Raj, particularly because the enlisted member could expect to be posted anywhere in British India; thus, linguistic control of the lingua franca (Hindustani) would have been essential to a successful career in the military (see Roland 1989, 1998 for discussion on Bene Israel military service). Equally important, this note also signals that educated community members found it necessary at one point to transcribe Hebrew prayers in *Devanāgarī* and/or *Nastālīq* rather than read or write directly in Hebrew, suggesting the limited use of Hebrew in the community, even for liturgical purposes. It is also interesting to note that while the Marathi cannot accommodate the Hebrew uvular back fricative [x] in the transliteration of [zaxor], the author of this chit identified the *Nastālīq* letter *khe* which captures [x,χ], though rendered as [k^h] in *Devanāgarī*:

Image 4.4: Handwritten Hebrew in Nastālīq and Devanāgarī from *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893)



The following Hebrew inscription (Image 4.5) on the interior of the first page in the *siddur* is written in handwritten print rather than in a Hebrew cursive script, which would have been the standard form in that period used to write in Yiddish or Ladino:

Image 4.5: Handwritten Hebrew *bracha* in *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893)



This provides additional context for the Bene Israel linguistic contact with Hebrew, suggesting that in 1893 the community was not acquiring the Hebrew script from outsiders using shorthand cursive, but was instead developing and reduplicating its own local practices of engaging with Hebrew texts. In the next section 4.5 Hebrew Loans from the *Israelite*, we will examine how the community's engagement with the Jewish canon made its way into natural, Jewishly-marked language through Hebrew loanwords, Anglicized Hebrew loanwords, as well as Marathi calques of Hebrew and Jewish concepts.

4.5 Hebrew Loanwords from *The Israelite*

The following loans in transliteration are sourced from *The Israelite*, a dual-language (Marathi-English) newsletter published by the Bene Israel community in Bombay, and only the 1917, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1923, 1924, and 1925 issues were available in the BJ Israel Collection. The range of content in *The Israelite* reflects not only the community's concerns, aspirations and identity, but also major forces of change in British India. Although the Bene Israel community was originally based in Maharashtra, letters were coming in from Rangoon (Burma), Poona, Bombay, Karachi, Quetta, Ahmedabad, and New York. Members would write in about their community concerns; for example, the placement of a synagogues and Jewish schools too closely situated to latrines, slaughter-houses, and houses of "ill-repute" etc. Different factions of All-India Bene Israel leagues and conferences voiced their concerns over competing organizations' legitimacy to represent the Bene Israel nationally.

As a publication which clearly circulated among Bene Israel communities settled throughout the Raj, *The Israelite* served many functions. It not only provided moral instructives and religious commentary, but it also acted as kind of moderator for larger discourse around Indian history and global Jewish movements, which were by then taking shape. On a very practical level, *The Israelite* provided correspondence between communities by publicizing birth, death, and marriage announcements, as well as naming donors to schools and synagogues and publicizing major achievements of individual community members. Additionally, the publication printed public health announcements and promoted information campaigns on global influenza pandemic. During this period of industrialization, there were apparently large social gaps between members of the community, and *The Israelite* in some sense represented the voice of the educated, successful elite among the community. This was evident in various pleas to

members of the community to give up drinking and other socially stigmatized practices which the authors felt harmed the reputation of the community. In addition to having received an English education, many of *The Israelite* contributors had to have received a formal Jewish education as well, prompting the natural use of Hebrew loanwords found throughout this corpus.

The following sections document adaptation processes of Hebrew loanwords from *The Israelite*, with focus on phonemic mapping, phonologically versus orthographically-conditioned adaptation processes, morphological marking, calques, and socio-linguistic information.

4.5.1 Consonants

4.5.1.1 Labials

Hebrew loanwords with [b] are also adapted as [b] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in examples (4.80-4.81) below:

- (4.80) bɪnjamin (M) (बिनयामिन) ‘Benjamin’
 bɪnjamin (M) (बिनयामीन)
 bɪnjamin (H) (בִּנְיָמִין)

- (4.81) rab:i (M) (राब्बी) ‘Rabbi’
 rab:i (H) (רַבִּי)

In this corpus, there were no word-final instances of [b] occurring in Hebrew loans. However, an interesting pattern found in this data set is the adaptation of the Hebrew sound [v] to [b] in Marathi only in those words in which the letter *bet* appears without the *dagesh* diacritic. The Hebrew to Devanāgarī conversion chart in *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893) indicates that this sound is adapted as [b^h], but so far this pattern has not been found in the previous sources introduced or throughout *The Israelite* (see examples 4.82-4.83):

- (4.82) reuben (M) (रेऊबेन) ‘Reuben’
 rəuven (H) (רְאוּבֵן)
- (4.83) tɪʃabe ab (M) (तिशाबे आब) ‘Tisha B’av, a Jewish fast day of mourning’
 tɪʃa bəav (H) (תִּשְׁעָה בְּעָוֵר)

In a highly patterned way, the Hebrew sounds represented by the letter *pe* [p] are also adapted as [p] in Marathi, as in examples (4.83-4.84) below, though no Hebrew loans with word-final [p] were located in this corpus:

- (4.83) porim (M) (पुरीम) 'Purim, the Jewish holiday celebrating the story of
purim (H) (פּוּרִים) Esther'
- (4.84) jom kip:ur (M) (य़ोम किप्पूर) 'Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement'
jom kip:ur (H) (יוֹם כִּיפּוּר)

Similarly, Hebrew loans with [f], represented by the letter *fe*, are adapted as [f] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in examples (4.86-4.87). There is one example of *pe* being adapted as [f] (example 4.85), which may be influenced by the English pronunciation:

- (4.85) faro (M) (फ़ारो) 'Pharaoh'
paro (H) (פָּרֹעֶה)
- (4.86) en sof (M) (एन सोफ़) 'The Infinite, a Kabbalistic term for the divine'
ʔen sof (H) (אֵין סוֹף)
- (4.87) haftara (M) (हाफ़तारा) 'Portion read from the Prophets following Torah portion
haftara (H) (הַפְּטָרָה) reading on Shabbat, festivals and fast days'

Unlike the Hebrew letter *bet* appearing with the *dagesh* diacritic, Hebrew loans containing the Hebrew letter *vav* are typically adapted in Bene Israel Marathi as [v], though they are also occasionally adapted as [b]:

- (4.88) esav, eʃav (M) (एसाव, एशाव) 'Esau'
esav (H) (עֵשָׂו)
- (4.89) həv:a (M) (हव्वा) 'Eve'
hav:ah (H) (חַוָּה)
- (4.90) vab (M) (वाब) 'Vav, a Hebrew letter'
vav (H) (וָו)
- (4.91) vəikra, bəikra (M) (वईकरा, बईकरा) 'Leviticus'
vaj:ikʔra (H) (וַיִּקְרָא)

The Hebrew [m] sound, as represented by the letter *mem*, is consistently and predictably adapted as [m] in Bene Israel Marathi, as shown in examples (4.92-4.94) below:

- (4.92) məkabi (M) (मकाबी) ‘Maccabee, 2nd century BCE Jewish insurgent’
 makabi (M) (माकाबी)
 mək:abi (M) (मक्काबी)
 mak:abi (H) (מכבי)
- (4.93) bɪnjamin (M) (बिनयामिन) ‘Benjamin’
 bɪnjamin (M) (बिनयामीन)
 bɪnjamin (H) (בִּנְיָמִין)
- (4.94) haim (M) (हाईम) ‘Haim, a Jewish male name’
 hajim (H) (חַיִּים)

4.5.1.2 Dental Consonants

As with labial consonants, adaptation of Hebrew [t] and [d] consonants to dental consonants in Bene Israel Marathi is, to some degree, orthographically conditioned. Hebrew [t] sounds represented by the letter *tet* are adapted as the dental [t̪], as in (4.95-4.96):

- (4.95) t̪arfon (M) (तरफोन) ‘Rabbi Tarfon, a Mishnah sage’
 t̪arfon (H) (תַּרְפוֹן)
- (4.96) ʃebaṭ̪ (M) (शेबात) ‘Shevat, a Jewish month’
 ʃəvat̪ (H) (שֶׁבַט)

Hebrew [t] sounds represented with *tav* with the *dagesh* are also adapted as the dental [t̪], as shown in example (4.97):

- (4.97) t̪ora (M) (तोरा) ‘Torah, the Jewish religious canon’
 t̪ora (H) (תּוֹרָה)

On the other hand, the Hebrew [t] sound represented by the letter *tav* without the *dagesh* diacritic is almost uniformly adapted as [t̪^h] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in (4.98-4.100):

- (4.98) jəhʊd̪i^h (M) (यहुदीथ) ‘Judith’
 jəhudit (H) (יְהוּדִית)

(4.99) arboṭḥ (M) (आरबोथ) ‘deserts’
arvot (H) (עֲרֻבוֹת)

(4.100) naṭḥan (M) (नाथान) ‘Nathan’
natan (H) (נָתַן)

Because we do not know the donor source sound, transcriptions here use [t], though it is possible that this sound in the donor source was a fricative. Hebrew [d] sounds appear in adapted loans as dental [ḏ] in Bene Israel Marathi, which is consistent with some of the patterns we saw in Perso-Arabic adaptations in standard Marathi:

(4.101) ḏavīḏ, ḏavīḏ (M) (दाविद, दावीद) ‘David’
david (H) (דָּוִד)

(4.102) lehaḏlik (M) (लेहादलीख) ‘Lehadlik, a line included several *brachas*’
ləhadlik (H) (לִהְדִּיק)

(4.103) ehaḏ (M) (एहाद) ‘one’
ʔehad (H) (אֶחָד)

Although the sound conversion scheme given in *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893) indicated that *dalet* appearing without the *dagesh* diacritic (historically a fricative) would be adapted in Marathi as [ḏ^h], it appears from the above examples and throughout the source that this is not the case. Hebrew [d] sounds represented by *dalet* with and without a *dagesh* are adapted simply as the unaspirated dental stop [ḏ], consistent with contemporary Hebrew loans.

4.5.1.3 Alveolar Consonants

Apart from the Hebrew [t] and [d] stops which are adapted as dental stops in Bene Israel Marathi (see above section), Hebrew alveolar fricatives and sonorants are mapped neatly to their existing Marathi equivalents. In examples (4.104-4.105) below, Hebrew [s] is adapted in Bene Israel Marathi as [s]:

(4.104) seḏer (M) (सेदेर) ‘Seder, a ritualized Passover feast’
seder (H) (סֵדֶר)

(4.105) josef (M) (योसेफ) ‘Joseph’
josef (H) (יוֹסֵף)

(4.106) fem ham:eforas (M) (शेम हम्मफोरस) ‘A Tannaitic term referring to the tetragrammaton,
fem ham:əforaf (H) (שם המפורש) lit: ‘the special name’

However, there are some instances found in this source where Hebrew [s] sounds are adapted as [ʃ] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in (4.107-4.108):

(4.107) esav, eʃav (M) (एसाव, एशाव) ‘Esau’
esav (H) (עֵשָׂו)

(4.108) ʃegul:a (M) (शेगुल्ला) ‘Segullah, Bene Israel female name, lit: charmed
səgul:a (H) (סְגֻלָּה) possession’

In Bene Israel Marathi, Hebrew loans with [z] are mapped to Marathi [z], as in (4.109-11):

(4.109) zak^h:ai, zokoj (M) (जखवाई, जोकोय)⁴³ ‘Yochanan ben Zakkai, student of Hillel’
zaxai (H) (יוֹחָנָן בֶּן זַכָּאי)

(4.110) ehezkel (M) (एहेजकेल) ‘Ezekiel’
jəhezkel (H) (יְחֶזְקֵאל)

(4.111) t̪əm:uz (M) (तम्मुज) ‘Tammuz, a Hebrew month’
tam:uz (H) (תָּמוּז)

The Hebrew alveolar sonorant [n] is also mapped as [n] in Bene Israel Marathi throughout this source:

(4.112) naṯan (M) (नाथान) ‘Nathan’
natan (H) (נָתָן)

(4.113) pinhas (M) (पिनहास) ‘Pinhas’
pınḥas (H) (פִּינְחָס)

(4.114) amen (M) (आमेन) ‘Amen’
ʔamen (H) (אָמֵן)

⁴³ These forms indicate possible donor sources from multiple dialects at this stage, including Ashkenazi Hebrew.

4.5.1.4 Retroflex Consonants

In a few select cases, the Hebrew palatal fricative [ʃ] is adapted as retroflex [ʂ] in this source, as in examples (4.115-4.117) below. This is a particularly noteworthy find, as previous accounts of asymmetric variation (Ghatage 1963) predict that while [ʃ] ~ [ʂ], [ʂ] \nrightarrow [ʃ]:

- (4.115) roʃ haʃ:ana (M) (רֹשׁ הַחֲשָׁנָה) ‘Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year’
 roʃ haʃ:ana (H) (רֹשׁ הַחֲשָׁנָה)

- (4.116) ahaʃʔeroʃ (M) (אֲחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ) ‘Ahasuerus, Persian ruler in the Book of Esther’
 ahaʃʔeroʃ (M) (אֲחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ)
 ʔahaʃʔeroʃ (H) (אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ)

- (4.117) eruʃa, jeruʃa (M) (עֲרֻשָּׁא, יֵרֻשָּׁא) ‘Yerusha, a Jewish female given name’
 jəruʃa (H) (יְרֻשָּׁא)

There was only one loan in this corpus in which Hebrew [t] was adapted as retroflex [ʈ]:

- (4.118) loʈ (M) (לוֹט) ‘Lot’
 lot (H) (לוֹט)

A couple of unexpected retroflex (and palatal) consonants appear in Hebrew loans which appear to be inferred from the English ‘ch’ spellings:

- (4.119) rab:i tʃiʂda (M) (רַבִּי חִישְׁדָּא) ‘Rabbi Chisda’
 rav xisda (H) (רַב חִסְדָּא)

- (4.120) rab:i ʈantʃum (M) (רַבִּי טַנְחֻמ) ‘Rabbi Tanchum’
 rab:i tanʔum (H) (רַב טַנְחֻמ)

4.5.1.4 Palatal Consonants

Generally speaking, Hebrew palatal [ʃ] is adapted as [ʃ] in this source:

- (4.121) ʃəlomo (M) (שְׁלֹמֹה) ‘Solomon’
 ʃelomo (M) (שְׁלֹמֹה)
 ʃəlomo (H) (שְׁלֹמֹה)
- (4.122) ʃəm:aʃ (M) (שַׁמָּאשׁ) ‘Shammash, a paid synagogue attendant’
 ʃam:aʃ (H) (שַׁמָּאשׁ)

However, sometimes [ʃ] is adapted as [s], as in examples (4.123-4.124) below. As shown in section 4.5.1.3 Alveolar Consonants, [s] is also sometimes adapted as [ʃ], displaying symmetry in [s] ~ [ʃ] variation:

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| (4.123) mīḍraʃ (M) (मिद्राश) | ‘Midrash, biblical exegesis’ |
| mīḍras (M) (मिद्रास) | |
| mīdraʃ (H) (מִדְרָשׁ) | |
| (4.124) ʃam:as (M) (शाम्मास) | ‘Shammash, a paid synagogue attendant’ |
| ʃam:aʃ (H) (שָׁמַשׁ) | |

The Hebrew palatal glide [j] is mapped to [j] in this source, though we will see in Section 4.5.3.2, Word Onset Deletion, the phonological environments in which it is elided:

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| (4.125) jakob (M) (याकोब) | ‘Jacob’ |
| jaʃakʰov (H) (יַעֲקֹב) | |
| (4.126) sij:on (M) (सिय्योन) | ‘Zion’ |
| tsij:on (H) (צִיּוֹן) | |
| (4.127) morḍek ^h aj (M) (मोर्देखाय) | ‘Mordechai’ |
| mordəxaj (H) (מֶרְדֵּכָה) | |

4.5.1.5 Back Consonants

The Hebrew letter *kuf*, which represents [k] in modern-day Hebrew, is also adapted as [k] in Bene Israel Marathi:

- | | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| (4.128) kəb:ala (M) (कब्बाला) | ‘Kabbalah, the Jewish mystical tradition’ |
| kab:ala (H) (קַבְּלָה) | |
| (4.129) jakob (M) (याकोब) | ‘Jacob’ |
| jaʃakʰov (H) (יַעֲקֹב) | |
| (4.130) amalek (M) (आमालेक) | ‘Amalek, biblical enemies of the Israelites’ |
| ʃamalek (H) (אֲמָלֵק) | |

Although the Hebrew to Marathi conversion chart in Section 4.4 *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893) mapped the Hebrew letter *gimmel* with the *dagesh* diacritic as [g] and the letter *gimmel*

without a *dagesh* (a historical fricative) as [g^h], both forms of gimmel are mapped as [g] in Marathi, as in (4.131-4.133) below:

- (4.131) gemara (M) (गेमारा) ‘Gemara, Rabbinic commentary on the Mishnah’
 gəmarā (H) (גמרא)
- (4.132) hæg:ada (M) (हग्मादा) ‘Haggadah, the Passover text’
 hag:ada (H) (הגדה)
- (4.133) hag (M) (हाग) ‘Chag, a Jewish festival’
 ĥag (H) (חג)

The Hebrew letter *chaf* [x], a fricative, is adapted as [k^h] in Marathi and does not appear in any loans in this source word-initially because this configuration is not possible in Hebrew:

- (4.134) fek^hina (M) (शेखीना) ‘Shekhinah, the feminine presence of the divine’
 fəxina (H) (שכינה)
- (4.135) baruk^h (M) (बारूख) ‘Baruch, male name and part of a *bracha*’
 barux (H) (ברוך)

The fricative in Hebrew represented by the letter *chet* is adapted as [h] in Marathi, indicating both a clear faithfulness to the orthography as well as community members highly proficient in the Hebrew script and spellings:

- (4.136) hesed (M) (हेसेद) ‘kindness’
 ĥesed (H) (חסד)
- (4.137) ſohet (M) (शोहेत) ‘Butcher, one who is permitted to slaughter animals according to Jewish law’
 ſohet (H) (שוהט)
- (4.138) pesa, pesah (M) (पेसाह) ‘Passover’
 pəsaĥ (H) (פסח)

The Hebrew letter *he* [h] is also adapted as [h] in Marathi, with the exception of word-final orthographic occurrences which also do not appear in Marathi spelling (see section 4.5.3.1

Word-final orthographic [h] deletion):

(4.139) hagar (M) (हागार) ‘Hagar’
 hagar (H) (הָגָר)

(4.140) haskel (M) (हास्केल) ‘Haskel, Jewish male name’
 haskel (H) (הַשְׁכֵּל)

There are a few exceptions to the patterns noted above. In examples (4.141-4.143), we would expect to see the Hebrew letter *chaf* adapted as a voiceless velar aspirated stop [k^h], but instead it is mapped as unaspirated [k]:

(4.141) ṣulhan aruk (M) (शुलहान आरूक) ‘Shulchan Aruch, Jewish legal code’
 ṣulhan ṣarux (H) (שֻׁלְחַן עָרוּךְ)

(4.142) han:ok (M) (हान्नोक) ‘Enoch’
 han:ok^h (M) (हान्नोख)
 ḥanox (H) (חֲנוּךְ)

(4.143) mikah (M) (मिकाह) ‘Micah’
 mik^ha (M) (मिखा)
 mik^ha (M) (मीखा)
 mixa (H) (מִיכָה)

There was also one case in which the Hebrew letter *chet*, which generally maps to [h] in Marathi, was adapted as [k^h]:

(4.144) k^hənan (M) (खनान) ‘Chanan, biblical era male name’
 ḥanan (H) (חָנָן)

There are also a few instances in which the stop [k] has been hypercorrected as [k^h], as if it were a fricative:

(4.145) lehadlik^h (M) (लेहादलीख) ‘Lehadlik, a line included several *brachas*’
 ləhadlik (H) (לְהַדְלִיק)

(4.146) more nebuk^him (M) (मोरे नेबुखीम) ‘Guide for the Perplexed, a major work by Rambam’
 more nəvuxim (H) (מורה נבוכים)

4.5.1.6 Liquids

The liquid [l] in Hebrew is mapped neatly as [l], as in examples (4.147-4.148) below:

(4.147) levi, levij (M) (लेवी, लेवीय) ‘Levi’
 levi (H) (לֵוִי)

(4.148) jegul:a (M) (शेगुल्ला) ‘Segullah, a popular Bene Israel female name, lit: charmed
 səgul:a (H) (שֶׁגֻּלָּה) possession’

The Hebrew [r], which has many variants, is mapped as [r], the closest available phoneme in Marathi:

(4.149) rahel (M) (राहेल) ‘Rachel’
 rahel (H) (רָחֵל)

(4.150) gerʃon (M) (गेशोन) ‘Gershon, son of Levi’
 gerʃon (H) (גֵּרְשֹׁן)

(4.151) aʃer (M) (आशेर) ‘Asher, second son of Jacob and Zilpah’
 ʔaʃer (H) (אָשֵׁר)

4.5.2 Vowels

4.5.2.1 Front Vowels

Except when reduced to schwa (see sections 4.5.6 Gemination and 4.5.7 Schwa reduction), Hebrew [a] is mapped directly as [a] in Marathi:

(4.152) aḏar (M) (आदार) ‘Adar, a Hebrew month’
 ʔadar (H) (אָדָר)

(4.153) baṭṭja (M) (बाथिया) ‘Batya, a Jewish female name’
 batja (H) (בָּתְּיָה)

(4.154) haman (M) (हामान) ‘Haman, a biblical character from the story of Esther’
 haman (H) (חָמָן)

Many different Hebrew sounds are mapped as [e] in Marathi. Although [ə] exists in Marathi, the schwa diacritic representing this sound in Hebrew is adapted as [e] in Marathi, as in examples (4.155-4.157) below. The reason for this is not likely to be phonologically-motivated; rather, “e” is often used in English transliteration schemes of Hebrew schwa, and given that Scottish

missionaries are credited with providing Hebrew-language education to the Bene Israel in the early period of religious revival (see section 5.3.1 Bene Israel Linguistic Identity for detailed discussion), it is possible that English transliterations influenced this mapping:

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| (4.155) | serafim (M) (सेराफीम) | ‘Angels’ |
| | sərafim (H) (סֵרָפִים) | |
| (4.156) | mordek ^h aj (M) (मोरदेखाय) | ‘Mordechai’ |
| | mordəxaj (H) (מָרְדֳּכָי) | |
| (4.157) | menəʃːe (M) (मेनश्शे) | ‘Menashe’ |
| | mənaʃːe (H) (מְנַשֶּׁה) | |

Given that Marathi only has one mid-front vowel [e], we see that Hebrew loans with the *segol* diacritic representing [ɛ], in examples (4.158-4.159), as well as Hebrew loans with the *tsere* diacritic representing [e] (see examples 4.160-4.162) are equally mapped as [e] in Marathi:

- | | | |
|---------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| (4.158) | est ^{er} (M) (एस्तेर) | ‘Esther’ |
| | ?ester (H) (אֶסְתֵּר) | |
| (4.159) | mesek ^h (M) (मेसेख) | ‘Mesekh, a biblical intoxicant’ |
| | mesex (H) (מֶסֶךְ) | |
| (4.160) | sed ^{er} (M) (सेदेर) | ‘Seder’ |
| | sed ^{er} (H) (סֵדֶר) | |
| (4.161) | ʃem (M) (शेम) | ‘Shem, a biblical character’ |
| | ʃem (H) (שֵׁם) | |
| (4.162) | kislev (M) (किसलेव) | ‘Kislev, a Hebrew month’ |
| | kislev (H) (כִּסְלֵו) | |

Although Hebrew vowel diacritics maintain a historical distinction between “long” and short” [i], the orthography appears to play no role in the length assigned to these loans. In the first set (examples 4.163-4.164), historically “short” [i] is adapted as [ɪ], but only consistently when appearing in the first syllable (which also sometimes corresponds to reduced [ɪ] in closed, unaccented syllables in Hebrew):

- (4.163) *miḏras*, *miḏraf* (M) (मिद्राश) ‘Midrash, biblical exegesis’
miḏraf (H) (מִדְרָף)
- (4.164) *tiḏferet^h* (M) (तिफेरथ) ‘adornment, as in *adornment of Israel*’
tiḏferet (H) (תִּפְעֻרֶת)
- (4.165) *ḡimon* (M) (शिमोन) ‘Simeon’
ḡimṣon (H) (גִּמְצוֹן)
- (4.164) *mimsak^h* (M) (मिमसाख) ‘mixed wine’
mimsax (H) (מִמְסַח)

Almost without exception, both historically “short” and historically “long” [i] (which was historically realized as short [ɪ] in closed syllables) are adapted in Marathi as [i] in the first syllable, much like we have seen in contemporary English loanwords:

- (4.165) *nis:im* (M) (निस्सीम) ‘Nissim, a male name, lit: miracles’
nis:im (H) (נִסִּים)
- (4.166) *tiṛoḡ* (M) (तिरोश) ‘grape juice’
tiroḡ (H) (תִּירוֹשׁ)
- (4.167) *siḡ:on* (M) (सिय्योन) ‘Zion’
tsiḡ:on (H) (צִיּוֹן)
- (4.168) *ak^hiba* (M) (आखिबा) ‘Akiva, a renowned Rabbinic scholar from 1-2 CE’
ḡakiva (H) (אַכִּיבָא)
- (4.169) *sinaj* (M) (सिनाय) ‘Sinai’
sinaj (H) (סִינַי)
- (4.170) *kirəaṭ earim* (M) (किरआत एआरीम) ‘Kiryat Ye’arim, a biblical town known as the site
kirjat jəḡarim (H) (קִרְיַת יְעָרִים) of the Ark of the Covenant’

Occasionally historically “long” [i] is also adapted as short [ɪ] in word-final closed syllables (see example 4.171), but “long” variants of these forms sometimes exist as well (see example 4.172):

- (4.171) *rahamim* (M) (राहामिम) ‘Compassion, also a male name’
rəhamim (M) (रहामिम)
raḥamim (H) (רַחֲמִים)

- (4.172) *binjamin* (M) (बिनयामिन) ‘Benjamin’
binjamin (M) (बिनयामीन)
binjamin (H) (בִּנְיָמִין)

Apart from “long” [i] occurring in the first syllable, most instances of [i] are retained and mapped as [i] in Bene Israel Marathi:

- (4.173) *hofija* (M) (होशिया) ‘Save (now), from Psalm 118:25 *hoshiya na*’
hofiṣa (H) (הוֹשִׁיעָה)
 (4.174) *haim* (M) (हैम) ‘Chaim, a name’
hajim (H) (חַיִּים)
 (4.175) *tefil:in* (M) (तेफिल्लिन)⁴⁴ ‘Tefillin, ritual phylacteries’
təfil:in (H) (תְּפִלִּין)

Word-final “long” [i] is always retained, as word final [ɪ] is not phonotactically possible in Marathi:

- (4.176) *rab:i* (M) (राब्बी) ‘Rabbi’
rab:i (H) (רַבִּי)

“Long” [i] occurring in the first syllable was retained in only linguistic token in the entire corpus:

- (4.177) *mik^ha* (M) (मीखा) ‘Micah’
mixa (H) (מִיכָה)

4.5.2.2 Back Vowels

Although no word-initial [o] loanwords appear in this set, Hebrew [o] is consistently adapted as [o] in Marathi:

- (4.178) *joel* (M) (योएल) ‘Joel’
joʔel (H) (יֹאֵל)
 (4.179) *ʃəlomo* (M) (शलोमो) ‘Solomon’
ʃəlomo (H) (שְׁלֹמֹה)

⁴⁴ Note one variant in which [i] is reduced to [ɪ] before the predicted geminate consonant [tɛfilin] (तेफिल्लिन), which has also been degeminated. See Section 4.5.6 Gemination.

The adaptation patterns of historically “short” and “long” [u] in Hebrew, which correspond to the *kubutz* (short) and *kubutz* (long) diacritics respectively, are interesting in that they support the observation that [u]/[ʊ] length contrast in Marathi has been neutralized into [u]. The pattern we see in the Devanāgarī transcriptions suggest that this neutralization in Marathi may have occurred at least as early as the turn of the century. In the first examples (4.180-4.181), historically “short” [u] is transcribed as short [ʊ] in Marathi:

(4.180) jəhoʃʊwa (M) (येहोशुवा) ‘Joshua, a biblical figure’
jəhoʃuaʃ (H) (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ)

(4.181) hanʊk:a (M) (हानुक्का) ‘Hanukkah, a Jewish festival’
hanuk:a (H) (חֲנֻכָּה)

Many instances are captured by the next set of examples (4.182-4.184) in which historically “long” [u] is transcribed as [u] in Marathi:

(4.182) suf (M) (सूफ) ‘From *Yam Suf*, the Red Sea’
suf (H) (סוּף)

(4.183) t̪əlmud̪ (M) (तलमूद) ‘Talmud, the Jewish legal canon’
t̪əlmʊd̪ (M) (तलमुद)⁴⁵
talmud (H) (תּוֹמֵד)

(4.184) v̪əhu rahum (M) (वेहू राहूम) ‘V’hu rachum, a prayer’
vəhu raḥum (H) (וְהוּא רַחֻם)

Although there are curiously no instances in which “short” [u] is transcribed as “long,” there are a few instances in which “long” [u] is transcribed as short [ʊ] in Marathi, as in examples (4.185-4.189). The examples below do not appear to be patterned and may simply reflect native speakers’ inability to distinguish a phonetic difference between these two graphemes, as is common in high frequency spelling errors with contemporary speakers:

(4.185) rab:i hon:a (M) (राब्बी हुन्ना) ‘Rabbi Huna’

⁴⁵ This is the most common variant which appears in this corpus.

rav hun:a (H) (רב הונא)

(4.186) purim (M) (पुरीम) ‘Purim, the Jewish holiday celebrating the story of Esther’
purim (H) (פורים)

(4.187) moʃe rəb:enu (M) (मोशे रब्बेनु) ‘Moshe Rabbenu, lit: Moshe our Teacher’
moʃe rab:enu (H) (מֹשֶׁה רַבֵּנוּ)

(4.188) gemilut^h hesed (M) (गमीलुथ हेसेद) ‘Gemilut chesed, lit: the bestowing of kindness’
gəmilut ḥesed (H) (גְּמִילוּת חֶסֶד)

(4.189) more nebuk^him (M) (मोरे नेबुखीम) ‘Guide for the Perplexed, a major work by Rambam’
moreh nəvuxim (H) (מורה נבוכים)

In one case, “long” [u] was adapted as [o], as in example (4.190) below:

(4.190) ʃemoel (M) (शेमोएल) ‘Samuel’
ʃəmuəl (H) (שָׁמוּאֵל)

4.5.3 Deletion

4.5.3.1 Word-final orthographic[h] deletion

In Bene Israel Marathi, the Hebrew letter *he* is deleted in the orthography word-finally in nearly all Hebrew loans, though it is also not pronounced in Hebrew either:

(4.191) halak^ha (M) (हालाखा) ‘Halakha, rabbinic Jewish law’
halaxa (H) (הִלָּכָה)

(4.192) milka (M) (मिलका) ‘Milka (biblical figure)’
milka (H) (מִלְכָּה)

(4.193) to^hra (M) (तोरा) ‘Torah, the Jewish religious canon’
tora (H) (תּוֹרָה)

(4.194) rɪbka (M) (रिबका) ‘Rebecca’
rivka (H) (רִבְקָה)

(4.195) ʃəlo^hmo (M) (शलमो) ‘Solomon’
ʃelomo (M) (शेलोमो)
ʃəlo^hmo (H) (שְׁלֹמֹה)

In this corpus, only one instance of Hebrew word-final *he* was located in which the *he* had been retained orthographically in Devanāgarī:

- (4.196) mīkah (M) (मिकाह) ‘Micah’
 mixa (H) (מיכָּה)

Otherwise, the only time the Devanāgarī letter for [h] (ह) appears in the Marathi adaptation of Hebrew loanwords is when substituting for the letter (*chet*), as shown above in Section 4.5.1.5 Back Consonants.

4.5.3.2 Word-initial [j] Deletion

Typical with what we have seen in earlier sources, the Hebrew [j] onset is typically elided in Bene Israel Marathi before high and mid front vowels. In the examples below, [j] is deleted before the high-front vowel [ɪ]:

- (4.197) ishak (M) (इसहाक) ‘Isaac’
 jītshak (H) (יִצְחָק)
 (4.198) israel (M) (इस्राएल) ‘Israel’
 jisraʔel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)

In the examples below (4.199-4.202), Hebrew [j] is deleted before the front mid vowel [e], which does not appear in the original Hebrew but is adapted as such in Marathi (see Section 4.5.2 Vowels):

- (4.199) ehudā (M) (एहुदा) ‘Yehuda (Judah), a Jewish male given name’
 jəhuda (H) (יְהוּדָה)
 (4.200) eruʃalem (M) (एरूशलेम)⁴⁶ ‘Jerusalem’
 jəruʃalajim (H) (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם)
 (4.201) eruʃa, jeruʃa (एरूषा, येरूशा) ‘Yerusha, a Jewish female given name’
 jəruʃa (H) (יְרֻשָּׁה)

⁴⁶ This form appears to be a composite of the Hebrew [j'ruʃalajim] and the English ‘Jerusalem.’

(4.202) kɪrəʈ earim (M) (किरआत एअरीम) ‘Kiryat Ye’arim, a biblical town known as the site of the
kɪrjat jəʕarim (H) (קִרְיַת יְעָרִים) Ark of the Covenant’

Although onset [j] deletion before front-mid and high vowels is a strong pattern in Bene Israel Hebrew loanword adaptation, there was once instance of [j] retention in a front vowel environment, as in (4.203) below:

(4.203) jeriho (M) (येरीहो) ‘Jericho’
jəriho (H) (יְרִיחוֹ)

On the other hand, in examples (4.204-4.205) below, two instances of hyper-correction also appear in *The Israelite* corpus, with [j] epenthesis appearing before front vowels, a feature which is not present in the Hebrew donor word:

(4.204) jefraim (M) (येफ्राईम) ‘Ephraim, a biblical Jewish male name’
ʔefrajim (H) (אֶפְרַיִם)

(4.205) jeliyahʊ (M) (येलीयाहु)⁴⁷ ‘Elijah the Prophet’
jeliyah (M) (येलियाहू)
ʔelijahu (H) (אֵלִיָּהוּ)

4.5.3.3 Affricate Simplification

In the examples below, the Hebrew affricate [ts] is mapped as [s] in Bene Israel Marathi:

(4.206) seḏak^ha (M) (सेदाखा) ‘Tzedakah, a form of charity’
tsədaka (H) (צְדָקָה)

(4.207) bərmɪsʋa (M) (बरमिस्वा) ‘Bar Mitzvah’
bar mitsva (H) (בָּר מִצְוָה)

(4.208) es haim (M) (एस हाईम) ‘Etz Chaim, lit: the tree of life’
ʕets ḥajim (H) (עֵץ חַיִּים)

(4.209) amos (M) (आमोस) ‘Amos, father of Isaiah’
ʔamots (H) (אַמּוֹס)

(4.210) sip:ora (M) (सिप्पोरा) ‘Zipporah, wife of Moses’

⁴⁷ The more common variations of ‘Elijah’ in this corpus include [elijahʊ] (एलीयाहु) and [elijahu] (एलीयाहू).

tsipːora (H) (צִפּוֹרָה)

This robust phonological pattern is particularly puzzling because the [t͡s] and [ts] sounds not only exist in Marathi, but also appear in *The Israelite* itself; in one case in a calqued expression for *Chanukkah*, and in the other as the possessive/genitive *-tsa* throughout the corpus:

(4.211) d̪ipotsəʋ (M) (दीपोत्सव) ‘Festival of Lights’

(4.212) hjatsa (M) (ह्याचा) ‘of this’

See Section 4.2.3.1 Cluster Simplification for possible explanation of this adaptation involving Bene Israel linguistic contact with the Baghdadi community.

4.5.4 Epenthesis

Only a few instances of epenthesis appear in Hebrew loans in Bene Israel Marathi. In the first type, consonant clusters consisting of stops followed by [r] (often articulated together modern pronunciation) broken up through vowel insertion:

(4.213) d̪eruʃ (M) (देरुश) ‘Drash, shortened form of *midrash*’
d̪əraʃ (H) (דְּרָשׁ)

(4.214) kɪrjaʃʃema (M) (क्रियातशेमा) ‘Kriyat Shema, a bedtime prayer’
kərijat ʃəma (H) (קריאת שמע)

Note, however, that other tokens of the same type do not employ epenthesis and are deemed well-formed when they occur word-internally at a syllable break:

(4.215) mɪd̪ras, mɪd̪raʃ (M) (मिद्राश) ‘Midrash, biblical exegesis’
mɪdraʃ (H) (מִדְרָשׁ)

(4.216) ɪsraɛl (M) (इस्राएल) ‘Israel’
jɪsraʔel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)

The final example of [j] epenthesis also appears to be orthographically-conditioned. It is possible that the *hiriq* diacritic is being interpreted as a *hiriq* plus the consonant *yud*, resulting in the final insertion of [j]:

- (4.217) levi, levij (M) (लेवी, लेवीय) ‘Levi’
 levi (H) (לֵוִי)

4.5.5 Metathesis

The only two documented cases of metathesis appear to be conditioned by orthographic sequencing. In the tokens below, the “furtive *patach*” appears slightly to the left of where it is normally predicted to be. A surface reading of the string sequencing in Hebrew has resulted in the following type of metathesis:

- (4.218) noha (M) (נוה) ‘Noah’
 noah̄ (H) (נֹחַ)
- (4.219) mǝʃiħa (M) (משיח) ‘Mashiach, the Messiah’
 maʃiaħ̄ (H) (מִשְׁחָה)

4.5.6 Gemination

One predictable and robust pattern occurs throughout this corpus; namely, [a] vowels appearing before a geminate consonant are reduced to [ə], as in examples (4.220-4.228) below:

- (4.220) həv:a (M) (חַוָּא) ‘Eve’
 hav:a (H) (חַוָּה)
- (4.222) ʃəm:aʃ (M) (שַׁמָּשׁ) ‘Shammash, a salaried synagogue attendant’
 ʃəm:as (M) (שַׁמָּאס)
 ʃam:aʃ (H) (שֹׁמֵשׁ)
- (4.223) mək:abi,(M) (מַכַּבִּי) ‘Macabee’
 makabi (M) (מַכַּבִּי)
 mak:ab:i (H) (מַכְבִּי)
- (4.224) gəb:əi (M) (גַּבְּבִי) ‘Gabbai, a salaried warden of a synagogue’
 gab:aj (H) (גַּבֵּי)
- (4.225) kəb:ala (M) (קַבְּבָלָא) ‘Kabbalah’
 kab:ala (H) (קַבְּלָה)
- (4.226) menəʃ:e (M) (מֵנֶשֶׁשׁ) ‘Menashe, a Jewish male name’

mənafːe (מְנַפֵּה)

- (4.227) moʃe rəbːenu (M) (मोशे रब्बेनु) ‘Moshe Rabbenu, lit: Moshe our Teacher’
 moʃe rabːenu (H) (מֹשֶׁה רַבֵּנוּ)

- (4.228) ʃoʃənːa (M) (शोशन्ना) ‘Shoshannah, a female Jewish name’
 ʃoʃanːa (H) (שׁוֹשַׁן)

Additionally, historically long [i] is shortened to [ɪ] before geminate consonants, though this also occurs independently word-initially (see Section 4.5.2 Vowels):

- (4.229) nisːim (M) (निस्सीम) ‘Nissim, a name, lit: miracles’
 nisːim (H) (נִסִּים)

- (4.230) jom kipːur (M) (य़ोम किप्पूर) ‘Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement’
 jom kipːur (H) (יוֹם כִּיפּוּר)

There were also a handful of instances from this corpus in which [a] was retained before a geminate consonant, as shown in examples (4.231-4.234) below:

- (4.231) hakːohen (M) (हक्कोहेन) ‘The Kohen, a member of the priestly class’
 hakːohen (H) (הַכֹּהֵן)

- (4.232) hazːan (M) (हज्जान) ‘Hazzan, a cantor’
 hazːan (H) (הַזָּן)

- (4.233) hanukːa (M) (हानुक्का) ‘Chanukkah’
 hanukːa (H) (הַנּוּכָה)

- (4.234) hanːa (M) (हान्ना) ‘Hannah, a biblical figure’
 hanːa (H) (הַנָּה)

4.5.7 Schwa reduction

In this corpus, there are a few instances in which Hebrew loans with [a] are reduced to schwa [ə], though there are not enough tokens to identify a consistent pattern. Unlike in examples (4.235-4.238) below, schwa reduction occurs predictably before a geminate consonant (see Section 4.5.6 Gemination):

- (4.235) məkabi (M) (मकाबी) ‘A Maccabee, 2nd century BCE Jewish insurgent’

mak:ab:i (H) (מכבי)

- (4.236) bərmisva (M) (बरमिस्वा) ‘Bar Mitzvah’
bar mitsva (H) (בַּר מִצְוָה)

- (4.237) tʃɒlik^h (M) (तशलीख) ‘Tashlich, a ritual performed during the High Holidays’
taʃlix (H) (תַּשְׁלִיחַ)

- (4.238) nəbʊkəɖnesar (M) (नबुखदनेसार) ‘Nebuchadnezzar, a Babylonian ruler’
nəvuxadnetʃ:r (H) (נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר)

4.5.8 Morphology

As in previous sources, Hebrew loans which appear in *The Israelite* are treated morphologically as nativized, Marathi words. For example, masculine nouns ending in a consonant receive oblique case marking when followed by a post-position:

- (4.239) israel.a.ʊər (M) (इसराएलावर) ‘unto/on the people Israel’
israel.obl.on

- (4.240) abraham.a.ʃi (M) (आब्राहमाची) ‘Abraham’s’
abraham.obl.poss fem

- (4.241) esau.a.ʃi (M) (एसावाची) ‘Esau’s’
esau.obl.poss fem

- (4.242) jakob.a.s (M) (याकोबास) ‘with Jacob’
jakob.obl.with

- (4.243) josef.a.ʊər (M) (योसेफावर) ‘upon/on Joseph’
josef.obl.on

- (4.243) haman.a.ʃi (M) (हामानाचें) ‘Haman’s’
haman.obl.poss masc pl

For Hebrew -e ending masculine nouns which do not fall into any of the masculine classes in Marathi, as in [moʃe] ‘Moshe’ below, a new rule is formed and the -e ending loan is treated as a masculine noun ending in a consonant, such that [e] → [a] when case-marked oblique:

- (4.244) moʃ.a.ʃja (M) (मोशाच्या) ‘Moshe’s’
moshe.ob.poss fem pl

In the examples below, feminine nouns ending in [a] turn to [e] when assigned oblique case through affixation of a post-position:

- (4.245) hanːe.s (M) (हान्नेस) ‘with Hannah’
hannah.obl.with
- (4.246) riːbeke.nẽ (M) (रिबकेनें) ‘by (means of) Rebecca’
rebecca.obl.by
- (4.247) ːtoːre.ːt (M) (तोरेत) ‘in the Torah’
torah.obl.in

In the following example, the plural feminine [a] ending words are nasalized when case-marked oblique. In this case, it appears as though *torah* is treated deferentially through pluralization (see Section 5.3.2 Sacred Languages and Jewish Languages for further discussion):

- (4.248) ːtoːr.ãn.ːtɪl (M) (तोरांतील) ‘in the Torah’
torah.obl.in

4.5.9 Calques

As with *The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India (1846)*, a number of calques appear in this source, some of which consistently endure across sources. For example, in *The Israelite*, the words consistently used to refer to the divine are the Hindu expressions *parames̥war* (परमेश्वर), *īśwar* (ईश्वर), and *deva* (देवा). As in the *Haggadah*, the word appearing for ‘Egypt’ is *misr* (मिस्र), the Arabic loan which entered Indic languages.

A number of the expressions which appear in *The Israelite* are distinctively sourced from Hindu religious traditions. In example (4.249) below, the moniker for the Hindu festival *Diwali*, ‘festival of lights,’ has also been repurposed in this publication to refer to the Jewish holiday *Chanukkah*:

- (4.249) ːdip.otsav (M) (दीपोत्सव) ‘Chanukkah, also known as the Festival of Lights’
light.festival

In the following examples (4.250-4.254), terminology specific to Indic religious rites, practices, texts and spaces has been repurposed in calquing Hebrew expressions which would have been part of the everyday practice of the Bene Israel at that time:

- (4.250) deṭṭa.ta aṭṭirvaḍ (M) (देवाच्चा आशीर्वाद)
 god.poss (m) blessing
 ‘Bracha, or a blessing’

- (4.251) kirt̪ən (M) (किर्तन)
bʰədʒən (M) (भजन)
'Devotional religious music, i.e., *shiroṭ*'

- (4.252) t̪əlmʊd̪ gr̪ənt̪h (M) (तलमुद ग्रंथ)
talmud book
'The Talmud'

- (4.253) prarṭṇa.māṇḍir (M) (प्रार्तनामंदिर)
prayer.temple
'Synagogue'

- (4.254) ḡ^hərm.opəḡ^hef (M) (धर्मोपदेश)
 religion.sermon
 'A drash'

Although much fewer in number, Islamic expressions in Marathi were also adapted to provide local context for Jewish concepts:

- (4.255) kajde (M) (कायदे)
laws
'Rabbinic laws, *halacha*'

There are also Marathi calques which appear in this source, such as in (4.256), where no particular religious tradition is invoked in Marathi, though a Jewish religious expression appears in direct translation:

- (4.256) dāha agja (M) (दहा आज्ञा)
 ten orders
 'The ten commandments'

Not surprisingly, a number of English loanwords transliterated into Marathi also appeared in *The Israelite*, indicating that the community was also versed in Western religious thought and culture:

(4.257) *ḍi bajbəl* (M) (दी बायबल)
 ‘The bible, referring to the *Torah*’

4.5.10 Anglicized Hebrew

A number of Anglicized Jewish and Hebrew names appear in *The Israelite* which generally reflect biblical names that would have been in use among the English as well, and therefore palatable to British rulers. This is not a trivial observation given that Roland (1989, 1998) describes the Bene Israel as a clerk community under British rule. In addition to the names below, many titles in common use at that time also appear high frequency: some titles included military ranks common in the Indian army, such as, *subedar major bahadur*; titles of honor bestowed on non-Hindu subjects, such as *khan bahadur* and *marhum*; the suffix *-bai*, a deferential expression used in Western India mostly to address Hindu women, such as *Abigailbai*; as well as English titles such as *misses*, *mister*, *doctor*.

Many of the names below are recognizable English donor words based on their phonological properties. In the first example (4.258) below, the English vowel [a] appears, which is denoted in Marathi by a special diacritic:

(4.258) *ḍʒan* (M) (जॉन) ‘John’

Other Anglicized names are immediately marked by the use of retroflex [ɖ], a hallmark of English loans, as well as vowels which are used in Anglicized Hebrew. In examples (4.259-4.260) below, two variants of the same name which appear in the source are given for comparison:

(4.259) *devid*, *ḍavid* (M) (डेविड, दाविद) ‘David’

(4.260) *ḍaniel*, *ḍaniel* (M) (डानीएल, दानीएल) ‘Daniel’

Other Anglicized Hebrew loans, as in (4.261-66) below, are identifiable by both English vowel and consonant substitutions for the Hebrew names:

(4.261) *bēndžamin* (M) (बेंजामिन) ‘Benjamin’

(4.262) *mozes* (M) (मोझस) ‘Moses’

(4.263) *rubin*, *roben* (M) (रूबीन, रोबेन) ‘Ruben’

(4.264) *majkəl* (M) (मायकल) ‘Michael’

(4.265) *sera* (M) (सेरा) ‘Sarah’

(4.266) *erən* (M) एरन ‘Aaron’

Pronunciations of Jewish and biblical names particular to British English are also prevalent through *The Israelite*:

(4.267) *enof* (M) (एनोश) ‘Enoch’

(4.268) *sjamsən*, *samsən* (M) (स्यामसन, सामसन) ‘Samson’

(4.269) *sjamuel* (M) (स्यामुएल) ‘Samuel’

(4.270) *džjɔḍa*, *dʒɔḍa* (M) (ज्युडा/ जुडा) ‘Judah’

4.5.11 Sociolinguistic Data

The meta-linguistic content of *The Israelite* is critical to understanding the sociolinguistic identity of the Bene Israel. The first noteworthy point is the extensive references and commentary on the writings of poet saints *Ramdas*, *Tukaram*, and *Mirabai*, popular in western and northern India. While not given equal weight, these references were nevertheless woven seamlessly into the Jewish religious commentary in *The Israelite* as contenders in the religious

discourse which shaped this community. In many ways, the Bene Israel appeal to the *bhakti* devotional traditions reflect the areal influence on Jewish religious thought and practice. In a similar vein, the Urdu ghazals and Persian poetry which appeared in *The Israelite* and were translated into Marathi for its readers signal not only the Bene Israel community's religious affinity with its neighbors, but also a shared cultural appreciation for elite art forms in India.

Self-reflective references to the community's dialect of Marathi are also found throughout *The Israelite*. One woman's English-language obituary praised her ability to speak Marathi "like a Brahmin." Another article in the Marathi-language version "आम्हां बेने-इस्राएलांची मराठी भाषा" 'Our Bene Israeli Marathi Language' by Khan Bahadur Jacob B. Israel (B.A.) points out some of the morphological differences on verb endings between Bene Israel Marathi and the standard dialect.

As Roland (1998) chronicles generally, a number of essays also appear in *The Israelite* authored by D.J. Samson Esq. defending the legitimacy of the Bene Israel as Jewish descendants, particularly in response to outsiders' damaging and racially-motivated publications calling into question the legitimacy of the Bene Israel community. Some articles also address historical caste divisions among Bene Israel (काला/काळा) 'black' and (गोरा) 'fair,' pointing to distinctly South Asian social practices of the community.

It should be noted that although the community's practices unquestionably mirrored the local social environment, the Bene Israel community's Jewish religious observances were quite conservative and might be identified as "modern orthodox" in today's parlance.

4.6 Post-Independence Hebrew Loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi

In this section, we will look at Hebrew loanwords which have entered Bene Israel Marathi in the period after India's Independence. This time period not only reflects India and

Pakistan's independence from Great Britain (1947), but also the concurrent formation of the state of Israel (1948) and subsequent Bene Israel emigration to the new Jewish state. As a result of these historical forces, this period not only documents the political imprint of the British colonial legacy, but also a major reconfiguration of the Bene Israel community's linguistic contact with Hebrew and other Jewish communities outside of India.

In Section 4.6.1, Hebrew loanwords are presented from *The Makkabi*, a Bombay-based Marathi-language community newsletter. The Valmadonna catalogue logs all issues of *The Makkabi* from June 1954 - March 1997; however, the B.J. Israel Collection used here only contained issues from 1958, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1973, and 1975. This section also documents loanwords from the *Mebasser: Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations* of India, a dual-language English-Marathi publication printed in Bombay. The *Mebasser* publication from this period is not catalogued in the Valmadonna collection. Issues from 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963, 1964, and 1965 were available in the B.J. Israel collection. The time period from which these loans were sourced overlaps, giving us a snapshot of the linguistic and sociolinguistic processes occurring in both monolingual and bilingual periodicals at this time. These data sets highlight a number of the robust adaptation patterns evidencing phonological continuity with the loans identified in *The Israelite*, while also documenting a change in select patterns as a result of the shifting contact environment. In Section 4.6.2, Hebrew loanwords from *Dharmopadesh (Volume 2)*, we deal with loans in Bene Israel Marathi sourced from an Israel-based publication following the period of the community's initial emigration to Israel (1976), and Section 4.6.3 examines Anglicized Hebrew loans in Standard Marathi from the 1974 Indian-based print source *Antahīna saṅgharsha*.

4.6.1 Hebrew Loanwords from *The Makkabi* (मक्काबी) and the *Mebasser*

The *Makkabi* served the primary purpose of reporting highlights in the community and providing a forum for religious discussion. In addition, it also gave voice to criticism and reservations toward the political Zionist movement. Nevertheless, the force of this movement was already underway, and by this time, Bene Israel had emigrated to Israel *en masse*, with some members eventually repatriating back to India (see Roland 1998 and Hodes 2014 for further discussion). The *Mebasser*, on the other hand, voiced more conservative religious leanings within the community and served as an access point to global Jewish debates, featuring many contributions from Jewish writers in America, England and Israel. The types of Hebrew loans which appear in this publication during the period collected reflect a sustained Indian/Marathi identity, contact with other Jewish communities outside of India, as well as an engagement with the language of political Zionism.

4.6.1.1 Phonological Processes

Throughout this data set, the general pattern of adaptation is consistent with loans found in the *Israelite*. For example, a number of adaptations remain orthographically conditioned, as in (4.271), where the Hebrew letter *chet* is adapted as [h], and in (4.272), in which the Hebrew letter *chaf* is adapted as [k^h]. Furthermore, in (4.273) the Hebrew letter *bet* without a *dagesh* is adapted as [b], and in (4.274), the Hebrew letter *tav*, historically a fricative when appearing without a *dagesh*, is adapted as an aspirated dental fricative:

(4.271) *simḥaṭṭh tora* (M) (सिमहाथ तोरा) ‘Simchat Torah, a Jewish festival’ (MK)
simḥat tora (H) (שִׂמְחַת תּוֹרָה)

(4.272) *lek^{ha} ḏoḏi* (M) (लेखा दोदी) ‘Lecha Dodi, a Shabbat song’ (MB)
ləxa dodi (H) (לְכֵה דוֹדִי)

- (4.273) *tob* (M) (तोब) ‘good’ (MK)
tov (H) (טוב)
- (4.274) *bet^h dīn* (M) (बेथ दीन) ‘Bet Din, a Jewish court’ (MK)
bet din (H) (בית דין)

While many of the phonemic adaptation patterns remain robust during this period, we begin to see both preservation and evidence of change in the phonological processes which characterize Hebrew loanword adaptation from the *Israelite*. Examples of preservation include the predicted [j] deletion in (4.275) before a high, front vowel, as well as the [ts] mapping to [s] in (4.276-4.278):

- (4.275) *ikra* (M) (इकरा) ‘Yikra, in the *zemer* D’ror Yikra’ (MK)
jikra (H) (יְקָרָא)
- (4.276) *mās:a* (M) (मसा) ‘Matzah, type of bread consumed during Passover’ (MB)
mats:a (H) (מַצָּה)
- (4.277) *sisit^h* (M) (सीसिथ) ‘Tzitzit, ritual tassel worn by Jewish men’ (MB)
tsitsit (H) (צִיִּצִית)
- (4.278) *misvo^h* (M) (मिसवोथ) ‘Mitzvot, commandments’ (MB)
mitsvot (H) (מִצְוֹת)

Although [ts] affricate mapping to [s] is the dominant pattern, we do begin to see evidence of bilingualism (and potentially influence from a different dialect) with [ts] retention in (4.280-4.281):

- (4.280) *tsur israel* (M) (त्सूर इस्राएल) ‘Tzur Israel, lit: rock of Israel (a Zionist expression)’ (MB)
tsur jisraʔel (H) (צור ישראל)
- (4.281) *kīb:uts* (M) (किब्बुत्स) ‘Kibbutz, an Israeli agricultural cooperative’ (MB)
kīb:uts (H) (קִיבוּץ)

In some cases, we find compensatory [a] shortening before a geminate in (4.282-4.286), consistent with loan adaptation processes in *The Israelite*:

- (4.282) bək:aʃa (M) (बक्काशा) ‘Petition, as in prayer’ (MB)
 bak:aʃa (H) (בְּקָשָׁה)
- (4.283) kəḏ:iʃ (M) (कदीश) ‘Kaddish, a prayer usually said in mourning’ (MB)
 kad:iʃ (H) (קַדִּישׁ)
- (4.284) təl:iṯ (M) (तल्लीथ) ‘Tallith, a prayer shawl’ (MB)
 tʻal:it (H) (טְלִית)
- (4.285) elijahu hən:abi (M) (एलियाहू हन्नाबी) ‘Eliyahu Hanavi, Elijah the Prophet’ (MB)
 elijahu han:avi (H) (אֵלִיָּהוּ הַנָּבִיא)

In one case, compensatory shortening appears before a hyper-geminated consonant as well, as in examples (4.286):

- (4.286) habḏəl:a (M) (हाबदल्ला) ‘Havdalah, the concluding Shabbat rituals’ (MB)
 havdala (H) (הַבְּדִלָּה)

There are, however, a few cases in which [a] is retained before a geminate consonant, as in examples (4.287-4.288) below:

- (4.287) roʃhaʃ:ana (M) (रोशहाशाना) ‘Rosh Hashana’ (MK)
 roʃ haʃ:ana (H) (רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה)
- (4.288) haj:om ham:ējuhas (M) (हाज्योम हाम्मेयुहास) ‘The Day of Distinction’ (MB)
 haj:om ham:ējuhas (H) (הַיּוֹם הַמְּיוֹחָס)

As documented in *The Israelite*, initial [i] reduction to [ɪ] occurs in the first syllable (see examples (4.289-4.291) in historically “long” vowels retained in the Hebrew orthography:

- (4.289) sɪv:an (M) (सिब्बान) ‘Sivan, a Hebrew month’ (MB)
 sivan (H) (סִיּוֹן)
- (4.290) sɪḏur (M) (सिद्दूर) ‘Siddur, a prayer book’ (MB)
 sid:ur (H) (סִידוּר)
- (4.291) ʃira (M) (शिरा) ‘Song’ (MB)
 ʃira (H) (שִׁירָה)

It also occurs word-medially following long [a], as in examples (4.292-4.293):

- (4.292) amīḏa (M) (अमिदा) ‘Amidah, a prayer’ (MB)
 ṣamida (H) (עמידה)

- (4.293) rab:i akība (M) (राब्बी आकिबा) ‘Rabbi Akivah’ (MB)
 rab:i akiba (M) (आकीबा)
 rab:i ṣakiva (H) (רבֿי עקיבֿא)

The orthographically-conditioned metathesis which appeared in the *Israelite* (see Section 4.5.5 Metathesis) does not appear in this source:

- (4.294) mǝḟiḥa (M) (मशीहा) ‘Mashiach, the Messiah’ (Israelite)
 mǝḟiaḥ (H) (מָשִׁיחַ)
 (4.295) mǝḟijah (M) (माशीयाह) ‘Mashiach, the Messiah’ (MK)
 mǝḟiaḥ (H) (מָשִׁיחַ)

4.6.1.2 Israeli Hebrew

In the *Israelite*, loans consisted predominantly of nouns, proper names, and short phrases or expressions pertaining to biblical and religious matters. Here, however, we begin to see an increase in vocabulary which reflect the life and politics in the newly formed Jewish state:

- (4.296) kenesetḥ (M) (केनेसेथ) ‘Knesset, the Israeli parliament’ (MK)
 kəneṣet (H) (כְּנֶסֶת)
 (4.297) tǝchin:a (M) (तेहीन्ना) ‘Techina, a type of sesame paste’ (MB)
 tǝḥina (H) (טחינה)
 (4.298) tsur israel (M) (त्सूर इस्राएल) ‘Tzur Israel, lit: rock of Israel (a Zionist expression)’ (MB)
 tsur jisraʔel (H) (צור ישראל)
 (4.299) kīb:uts (M) (किब्बुत्स) ‘Kibbutz, an Israeli agricultural cooperative’ (MB)
 kīb:uts (H) (קִבּוּץ)
 (4.300) moḟavḥ (M) (मोशाव्ह) ‘Moshav, an Israeli agricultural cooperative’ (MB)
 moḟav (H) (מוֹשָׁב)
 (4.301) aliya (M) (आलीया) ‘Aliya, immigrating to Israel from the diaspora’ (MB)
 ṣaliya (H) (עֲלִיָּה)

4.6.1.3 Influence of the Ashkenazi Community

Although only one loan was found which indicated the influence of Ashkenazi Hebrew pronunciation, it's clear that the Bene Israel community was in contact with *Ashkenazim* (Jewish communities from Europe with Yiddishized Hebrew) and at least in some small way, began emulating these communities linguistically:

(4.302) *ʃab:as* (M) (शाब्बास) ‘Shabbat, the Jewish Sabbath’ (MK)
 ʃab:at (H) (שַׁבָּת)

4.6.1.4 Extra-Linguistic Information

Apart from the linguistic data, many aspects of the content produced in *The Makkabi* and *Mebasser* reflect social norms and practices of the Bene Israel community in the post-Independence period, much of which is situated squarely within South Asian practices across traditions. An amalgam of South Asian cultural practices is most clearly exemplified in *The Makkabi*, which includes photos of religious Indian Jewish men wearing plain head coverings resembling the South Asian *taqiya* (a type of skullcap worn by Muslim men). In the same publication, some Jewish women are identified by a Marathi (Hindu) nickname in addition to their Hebrew/Jewish name:

(4.303) *ʃriməʃi ʃāṇṭabai* (abigajil) *ʃalom nagāṽkər*
 (श्रीमती शांताबाई (आबीगायल) शालोम नागांवकर)
 ‘Mrs. Shantabai (Abigail) Shalom Navgaunker’

In South Asia, the title *shrimati* is typically used as a polite term of address for a Hindu woman, akin to ‘Mrs.’ Not only is the given name *Shanta* Hindu, but the titular suffix *-bai* is specifically used in Western India as an honorific for Hindu women. Bene Israel adaptation of local practices and Indian identity is further captured by *The Makkabi*’s parallel spiritual teachings of Hindu Maharashtrian saints Tukaram and Ramdas alongside canonical Jewish teachings.

By the same token, at this time, the community was also in the difficult position of having to advocate for its legitimacy within the newly formed state of Israel. In some cases, these anxieties took shape in the community's efforts to establish its history through etymological analyses of its marked dialect. In the *Mebasser* February 15, 1962 V. II (No. 2) issue, pp. 15-16 (see Images 4.6 and 4.7 below), a gloss of words is provided common to the Bene Israel dialect of Marathi spoken in Bombay. This gloss maps the Bene Israel words to standard Marathi expressions, presumably local to Bombay. Although the Bene Israel tokens are glossed as "Hebrew," many of the words listed are actually loans of Arabic or Persian origin which are also attested in Standard Marathi in close phonological variation, as shown in Images 4.6 and 4.7. There are, of course, a few Hebrew words in the list, such as *Abba* 'father,' *Imma* 'mother,' *Eloha*, 'God,' and *maveth* 'death,' and there are also some Arabic loans in this list which commonly appear in Indic languages and are natural cognates to the Hebrew expressions, such as *jeman* 'time, term, season,' *tarikh* 'date,' and *koorban* 'sacrifice.' What is most interesting about this list is while the standard Marathi word given for 'coconut' *narāḷ* (नारळ) is a word of Indic origin, the word listed in the "Hebrew" gloss is *nargil*, a word of clear Persian origin.⁴⁸ This anomaly could potentially suggest information about either the pre-Indic origins of the Bene Israel community or the contact environment which shaped the community's dialect, though a much larger data set is needed to draw any firm conclusions.

⁴⁸ I am greatly indebted to Dr. Gwen Kirk for pointing this out.

Image 4.6: Bene Israel Hebrew Gloss from *Mebasser* Vol. II (No. 2)

15			
Hebrew words of common occurrence in the Marathi dialect spoken among Bene Israels of Bombay.			
Hebrew word	Meaning	Marathi word	Its Pronunciation
Abba	Father, Papa	आबा	Aaba
Imma	Mother, Mamma	मा, मम्मा	Ma or Mamma
Asiluth	Nobility, Greatmindedness	अस्सल	Assal; Aasliyat
Aajkara	Prayer for the departed soul	जीखीर	Jikhir
Batel	Null, void, vain	बातल	Batal
Dalal	Poor, Wretched, Reduced, Brought low	दलील	Dalil
Eloha	God	इलाही	Ilahi
Gibbor	Strong, Powerful, Valiant, Hero	गब्बर	Gabbar
Gejer	Carrot	गाजर	Gajar
Herem	Forbidden; Banned object	हाराम	Haram
Id	Pagan Festival	ईद	Id
Jezebel	Name of wife of King Ahab	इजबल्ला	Ijballa (Shrew)
Jeman	Time; Term; Season	जमाना	Jamana
Jalafa	Heat of anger; Wrath	जलाफा	Jalafa
Joog	Pair	जूग	Joog
Kelima	Shame; Disgrace	कालीमा	Kalima
Kulmos	Writing Pen	कलम	Kalam
Korban	Sacrifice; Offering	कुर्बान	Koorban
Ketel	Murder; Killing	कत्तल	Katttal
Kayyam	Existing; Durable	कायम	Kayam
Kursah	Arm-chair	खुर्ची	Khurchi
Melech	Ruler, Master	मालक	Malak
Maveth	Death	मोट	Mot
Misken	Poor, Poor man	मिस्कीन	Miskin
Nargil	Cocoonut	नारळ	Naral
Noor	To shine	नूर	Noor
Peled	Steel	पोलाद	Polad
Peloni	A certain person; Anonymous	फलाना	Phalana
Panas	Lantern	फानस	Phanas

Image 4.7: Bene Israel Hebrew Gloss from *Mebasser* Vol. II (No. 2) (cont'd)

16			
Rahat	Watering trough	रहाट	Rahat
Rojen	Prince	राजा	Rajah
Serach	What hangs down; Train (of a dress)	शेरा	Shera
Seber	Hope; Expectation	सबूर	Saboor
Shultan	Ruler; Master	सुल्तान	Sultan
Satan	Enemy; Adversary	सैतान	Saitan
Sayyer	To view; visit	सैर	Sair
Sabboon	Soap	साबू	Saboo
Santēr	Guard, Watchman, Sentry	संत्री	Santry
Tahana	Station	ठाणा	Thana
Terefah	Animal with organic defect; Forbidden food	तारीफ	Tarrif
Taarikh	Date; Chronology	तारीख	Tarikh
Valad	Child; Young; Progeny	औलाद	Avlad

Without question, this document was produced during an era when the Bene Israel community were having to unjustly defend the legitimacy of their Jewish identity and concomitant right to become full citizens of the newly formed state of Israel.

4.6.2 Hebrew Loanwords from *Dharmopadesh* (Volume 2)

The following loanwords are sourced from a commentary on the *Book of Genesis* found in Volume 2 of the *Dharmopadesh*, 'sermons', a January 1976 self-published series by S. R. Walter (S.R. Walter and Sons Publications), printed in Lod, Israel and reprinted at the Kirlõnskar Press in Pune. Given the location of the author-publisher's printing press, it is likely that he would have been one of the early emigres to Israel.

4.6.2.1 Anglicized Hebrew

As with *The Israelite*, a number of distinctive Anglicized Hebrew loans can be found in this source, though considering the smaller sample size, there were many fewer Anglicized Hebrew loans in this set:

- (4.304) hɪbru (M) (हिब्रू) 'Hebrew'
 (4.305) dʒju lok (M) (ज्यू लोक) 'Jewish people'
 (4.306) rɪbeka (M) (रिबेका) 'Rebecca'
 (4.307) nak^hmanaiɖəs (M) (नाखमानाइड्स) 'Nachmanides, also known as the Ramban'

4.6.2.2 Phonological Patterns

Segmental adaptation of Hebrew loans in this source is consistent with patterns documented in earlier sources, as well as a number of phonological patterns. Unlike the sources above, however, this source still shows orthographically-conditioned metathesis:

- (4.308) noha (M) (नोहा) 'Noah'
 noaḥ (H) (נוח)

The regular pattern of [a] reduction to [ə] before a geminate consonant appears throughout this source, as in (4.309-4.311) below:

- (4.309) t̪əl:it̪^h (M) (तल्लीथ) 'Tallith, a prayer shawl'
 tal:it (H) (תלית)
 (4.310) ʃəm:af (M) (शम्मशा) 'Shammash, a paid synagogue attendant'
 ʃam:af (H) (שמרש)
 (4.311) kəɖ:if (M) (कद्दीश) 'Kaddish, a prayer usually said in mourning'
 kad:if (H) (קדיש)

There was, however, one case of [a] retention before a geminate consonant:

- (4.312) ham:osi (M) (हम्मोसी) 'Hamotzi, a bracha/prayer over bread'

ham:otsi (H) (הַמוֹצִיא)

We also see the pattern of affricate [ts] simplification, which makes sense given that the author, though settled in Israel, is presumably an L1 speaker of Marathi and had learned Hebrew in India:

(4.313) bar-misva (M) (बार-मिसवा) ‘Bar Mitzvah’
bar mitsva (H) (בַּר מִצְוָה)

(4.314) mosae fəb:at (M) (मोसाए शब्बाथ) ‘Motza’ei Shabbat, period following Shabbat’
motsaʔe fab:at (H) (מוֹצָאֵי שַׁבָּת)

(4.315) ha'ares (M) (हाआरेस) ‘The land of Israel’
haʔarets (H) (הָאָרֶץ)

In the example below, word-final [h] deletion is still uniform across sources, but this particular token is the first variation of ‘Sarah’ which is not Anglicized in spelling or pronunciation:

(4.316) sara (M) (सारा) ‘Sarah’
sara (H) (סָרָה)

Word-initial [j] deletion still appears in this source as well, shown in example (4.317) below:

(4.317) igdal (M) (इगदाल) ‘Yidgal, a hymn’
jigdal (H) (יִגְדָּל)

The reduction from long [i] to [ɪ] also occurs in this source in the first syllable or word-medially following a syllable with [a]:

(4.318) rab:i akɪba (M) (राब्बी आकिबा) ‘Rabbi Akivah’
rab:i ʔakiva (H) (רַבִּי אֶקִיבָא)

(4.319) sisɪtʰ (M) (सिसिथ) ‘Tzitzit, ritual tassel worn by Jewish men’
tsitsit (H) (צִיצִית)

A new pattern observed in this source is the hyper-gemination of a Hebrew word (and in most cases subsequent [a] or [i] reduction in the first syllable) where gemination does not exist:

(4.320) siv:an (M) (सिव्वान) ‘Sivan, a Hebrew month’

sivan (H) (סִיבָּן)

(4.321) həl:ak^ha (M) (हल्लाखा) ‘Halacha, the code of Jewish law’
halaxa (H) (הִלָּכָה)

(4.322) has:īḏim (M) (हासीदीम) ‘Chasidim, adherents of Chasidut’
ḥasidim (H) (חֲסִידִים)

(4.323) nis:an (M) (निस्सान) ‘Nisan, a Hebrew month’
nisan (H) (נִסָּן)

4.6.2.3 Calques

As with previous sources, we see a repetition of calques such as *misr* (मिस्र) ‘Egypt’ and *parameshwar* (परमेश्वर), a notably Hindu expression for the divine. Additional calques appear in this source, again repurposing Hindu religious terminology for Jewish concepts and commentary:

(4.324) pəvṭrə mǎṇḏīr (M) (पावित्र मंदिर) ‘Synagogue, lit: sacred temple’

(4.325) pəvṭrə ʃastrə (M) (पावित्र शास्त्र) ‘Torah study, lit: sacred science’

(4.326) aṭma (M) (आत्मा) ‘Atmaa, a Hindu spiritual concept for the soul’

(4.327) prəb^ho (M) (प्रभो) ‘Prabho, a Hindu expression for God’

4.6.3 Anglicized Hebrew Loans in Standard Marathi

An important aspect of this study is not only examining the linguistic processes which inform loanword adaptation, but also the sociolinguistic domains which govern their usage. In the above sections, we have seen that Hebrew loanwords used by the Bene Israel community in natural language fall along a continuum of Anglicized forms and Hebrew forms, which conform both to the community’s orthographic consensus and inviolable boundaries of Marathi phonology. In contrast, however, when we examine mainstream Marathi print sources produced outside of the Bene Israel community, the presence of Hebrew loans in natural language use is

filtered exclusively through Anglicized loans, barring occasional pre-existing terminology which entered Marathi through the Perso-Arabic substrate.

The following Anglicized Hebrew loans are taken from a book on Jewish-Arab relations, *Antahīna saṅgharsha*, written by Anand Hardikar (1974). In example (4.339), the Devanāgarī, transcription used here is [ऐ], but the actual vowel appears in the original print as the schwa [अ] with the English *chandra* above:

(4.328) ɪdʒəpt̪ (M) (इजप्त)	‘Egypt’
(4.329) dʒekəb (M) (जेकब)	‘Jacob’
(4.330) dʒosef (M) (जोसेफ)	‘Joseph’
(4.331) modzes (M) (मोझेस)	‘Moses’
(4.332) kənan (M) (कनान)	‘Canaan’
(4.333) sal (M) (सॉल)	‘Saul’
(4.334) dʒev ^h ɪd̪ (M) (डेव्हिड)	‘David’
(4.335) hebran (M) (हेब्रॉन)	‘Hebron’
(4.336) salomən (M) (सॉलोमन)	‘Solomon’
(4.337) dʒɪan (M) (झिऑन)	‘Zion’
(4.338) dʒerusəlem (M) (जेरुसलेम)	‘Jerusalem’
(4.339) æsɪɾɪjən (M) (ऐसीरियन)	‘Assyrian’
(4.340) həɪfa (M) (हैफा)	‘Haifa’
(4.341) dʒafa (M) (जाफा)	‘Jaffa’

These loans are entirely Anglicized, and unlike Bene Israel treatment of Hebrew words as morphologically Marathi, mainstream Marathi does not mark Anglicized Hebrew words with

oblique case when affixed by a post-position. In example (4.342) below, ‘Abraham,’ a masculine noun ending in a consonant is not case marked. Compare this to example (4.343) taken from *The Israelite*, in which the canonical [a] case-marking appears on the Hebrew loan when suffixed with a post-position. In example (4.342), the Devanāgarī transcription used here is [ऐ], but the actual vowel appears in the original print as the schwa [अ] with the English *chandra* above:

(4.342) æbrəhəm.la (M) (ऐब्रहमला) ‘to Abraham’
 abraham.obl.to

(4.343) abraham.a.ʃi (M) (आब्राहामाची) ‘Abraham’s’
 abraham.obl.poss.fem

4.7 New Hebrew Segmental Adaptation

This section documents changes in Bene Israel Hebrew loanword adaptation which occur in roughly present-day Bene Israel Marathi. The two main sources used here are the *Haggada Shel Pesah*, a Marathi-language Haggadah which provides Hebrew transliteration in Marathi (published in Bombay in 2001), as well as *Oneg Shabbat*, a Shabbat siddur in Hebrew with Marathi transliteration published by the JDC India in 2001.

A third source is a popular Hebrew primer in current use within the community at Hebrew schools in Bombay, printed and distributed by the S. David Judaica store (undated). A photograph from the Hebrew primer shown in Image 4.8 below indicates one significant change in this period of adaptation; namely, that the Hebrew affricate represented by the letter *tzadi* [ts] is no longer adapted as [s] in Marathi but is treated as an affricate [ts] using a consonant cluster in the orthographic representation [त्स] typically found in words of Sanskrit origin. Although this affricate does occur in Marathi in some morpho-phonological environments (represented by the grapheme [च]), it is not represented here as a single unit.

Image 4.8: Hebrew to Marathi Conversion Chart from S. David Judaica store (undated)

3

Sounds of Letters

धडा ३. Lesson III.

वर्णांचे उच्चार. Sounds of Letters.

א	ב	ג	ד	ה	ו	ז	ח	ט	י
अ	ब	ग	द	ह	व	ज	घ	ङ	झ
a	b	g	d	h	v	z	w	h	d
כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ	צ	ק	ר
क	ल	म	न	स	अ	ख	य	त	ह
k	l	m	n	s	a	ch	y	t	h
ש	ת	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס	ע	פ
श	थ	स	क	ल	म	न	स	अ	ख
sh	th	s	k	l	m	n	s	a	ch

वाचनपाठ. Exercise. *Exercise*

ו	ז	ח	ט	י	כ	ל	מ	נ	ס
फ	प	क	ल	म	न	स	अ	ख	घ
ph	p	k	l	m	n	s	a	ch	w
פ	צ	ק	ר	ש	ת	י	כ	ל	מ
फ	ख	त	ह	व	ज	घ	ङ	झ	ञ
ph	ch	t	h	v	z	w	h	d	n

: א ש ש ב

• ह्या वर्णामध्ये असलेल्या टिब्यास 'दागेश' म्हणतात.
 • The dot in these letters is called 'Dagesh. *Dagesh*

Apart from now mapping the Hebrew affricate [ts] directly to [ts] (त्स) in Marathi, most Hebrew vowel and consonant adaptations in these sources are consistent with the patterns (including orthographically conditioned patterns) found in the earlier sources documented in this project. In examples (4.344-4.346) below, we see transcriptions which reflect the new mapping of the Hebrew affricate [ts] to the Marathi consonant cluster:

(4.344) tsitsiṭ^h (M) (त्सीत्सिथ) ‘Tzitzit, ritual tassel worn by Jewish men’
tsitsit (H) (תצִיִּת)

(4.345) bemitsvot^hav (M) (बेमित्सवोथाव) ‘*bemitzvotav*, a line from *brachot*’
bəmitsvotav (H) (בְּמִצְוֹתָאֵב)

(4.346) v̥etsiv:anu (M) (वेत्सिव्वानू) ‘*v’tzivanu*, a line from *brachot*’
v̥etsivanu (H) (וְצִיבָנוּ)

Although this mapping is by and large the dominant pattern which appears in these sources, a few instances of affricate simplification also resurface, as in (4.347-4.349):

(4.347) serurah (M) (सेरुरह⁴⁹) ‘*tzerurah*, a line from *ana b’koach*’
tsərura (H) (צֶרֶרָא)

(4.348) sɪḁkatek^ha (M) (सिदकातेखा) ‘*tzidkatcha*, a line from *ana b’koach*’
tsɪḁkatəxa (H) (צִדְקָתָא)

(4.349) rason (M) (रासोन) ‘*ratzon*, from *yehi ratzon*’
ratson (H) (רָצוֹן)

Consistent with patterns observed in earlier sources, we continue to see [a] reduction/shortening before geminates. In examples (4.350-4.353) this occurs before the Hebrew definite article *ha-* ‘the,’ which appears in high frequency throughout Jewish liturgy. In addition, in examples (4.353-4.354), [a] reduction is also present in phrases with the prefix *ba-* ‘in the,’ as well as in independent, underived words, as in examples (4.356-4.357):

⁴⁹ This is the only example from this source in which [h] retention from the Hebrew orthography occurs.

- (4.350) hək:anaf (M) (हक्कानाफ) ‘the wing’
hak:anaf (H) (הַכָּנָף)
- (4.351) həz:emən:im (M) (हज्जेमन्नीम) ‘the times’
haz:əman:im (H) (הַזְמָנִים)
- (4.352) hən:əfama (M) (हन्नेशामा) ‘the soul’
han:əfama (H) (הַנְּפֻשָּׁה)
- (4.353) həf:əb:at (M) (हशशब्बाथ) ‘(the) Shabbat’
haf:ab:at (H) (הַשַּׁבָּת)
- (4.354) bəf:alom (M) (बशशालोम) ‘in peace’
vafalom (H) (בְּשָׁלוֹם)
- (4.355) bək:amim (M) (बक्कामीम) ‘upon rising’
bak:amim (H) (בְּקִמָּה)
- (4.356) kəb:el (M) (कबेल) ‘*kabel*, from *ana b’koach*’
kab:el (H) (כָּבֵל)
- (4.357) iṯ^hgəḏ:al (M) (इथगदाल) ‘*yitgadal*, from the *Kadish* prayer’
jitg:ad:al (H) (יִתְגַּדַּל)

There are select tokens in which [a] reduction does not occur before the definite article *ha-* ‘the,’ (see examples 4.356-4.357), though in example (4.357), [a] reduction occurs in the stem before gemination:

- (4.358) ha'arets (M) (हाआरेत्स) ‘the land’
haʔarets (H) (הָאָרֶץ)
- (4.359) həf:əb:at (M) (हशशब्बाथ) ‘(the) Shabbat’
haf:ab:at (H) (הַשַּׁבָּת)

As in the *Dharmopadesh* (Volume 2), these newer sources also occasionally infer gemination where it does not exist in the Hebrew before prefix *l-* ‘to,’ subsequently reducing [a] after the consonant has been geminated:

- (4.360) le'əl:am (M) (लेअल्लाम) ‘forever, always’
ləolam (H) (לְעוֹלָם)

Another notable difference in the newer sources is the occasional appearance of [j] before front vowels, as in examples (4.361-4.363):

- (4.361) jisrael (M) (यिसराएल) 'Israel'
 jisraʔel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)
- (4.362) jib:ane (M) (यिब्बाने) 'yibaneh, from the *zemer* lyrics of Tsur Mishelo'
 jib:ane (H) (יִבְנֶה)
- (4.363) jedidek^ha (M) (येदीदेखा) 'your beloved, from Psalm 108'
 jədideṣa (H) (יְדִידִי)

For the most part, however, these sources still delete Hebrew word and word-initial [j] before front vowels, as in examples (4.364-4.366):

- (4.364) igdal (M) (इगदाल) 'Yigdal, a hymn'
 jgdal (H) (יִגְדַּל)
- (4.365) iksoru (M) (इक्सोरु) 'yiktzoru, from *Birkat Ha'Mazon*'
 jiktsoru (H) (יִקְצְרוּ)
- (4.366) veit^hkəḏ:af (M) (वेइथकदाश) 'v'yitkadash, a line in the *Kadish* prayer'
 vəjitkad:af (H) (וַיִּתְקַדֵּשׁ)

Orthographically-conditioned metathesis was corrected for in *The Makkabi* and *Mebasser* (though not in *Dharmopadesh V.2*), indicating perhaps an increased facility with the script during a period of major Hebraization, though the return to former conventions appears in newer sources. As shown in examples (4.368-4.370), however, a new interpretation of this orthographic rule has emerged in which a glide is first inserted as if in anticipation of [a] (in line with the Hebrew pronunciation), yet [h] in place of the Hebrew letter *chet* merges with the glide followed by [a], resulting in either aspiration or a consonant cluster:

- (4.368) bekov^ha (M) (बेकोव्हा) 'b'koach, from *Ana b'koach*'
 bəkoah (H) (בְּכֹחַ)
- (4.369) harov^ha (M) (हारुव्हा) 'the spirit'
 haruah (H) (רוּחַ)

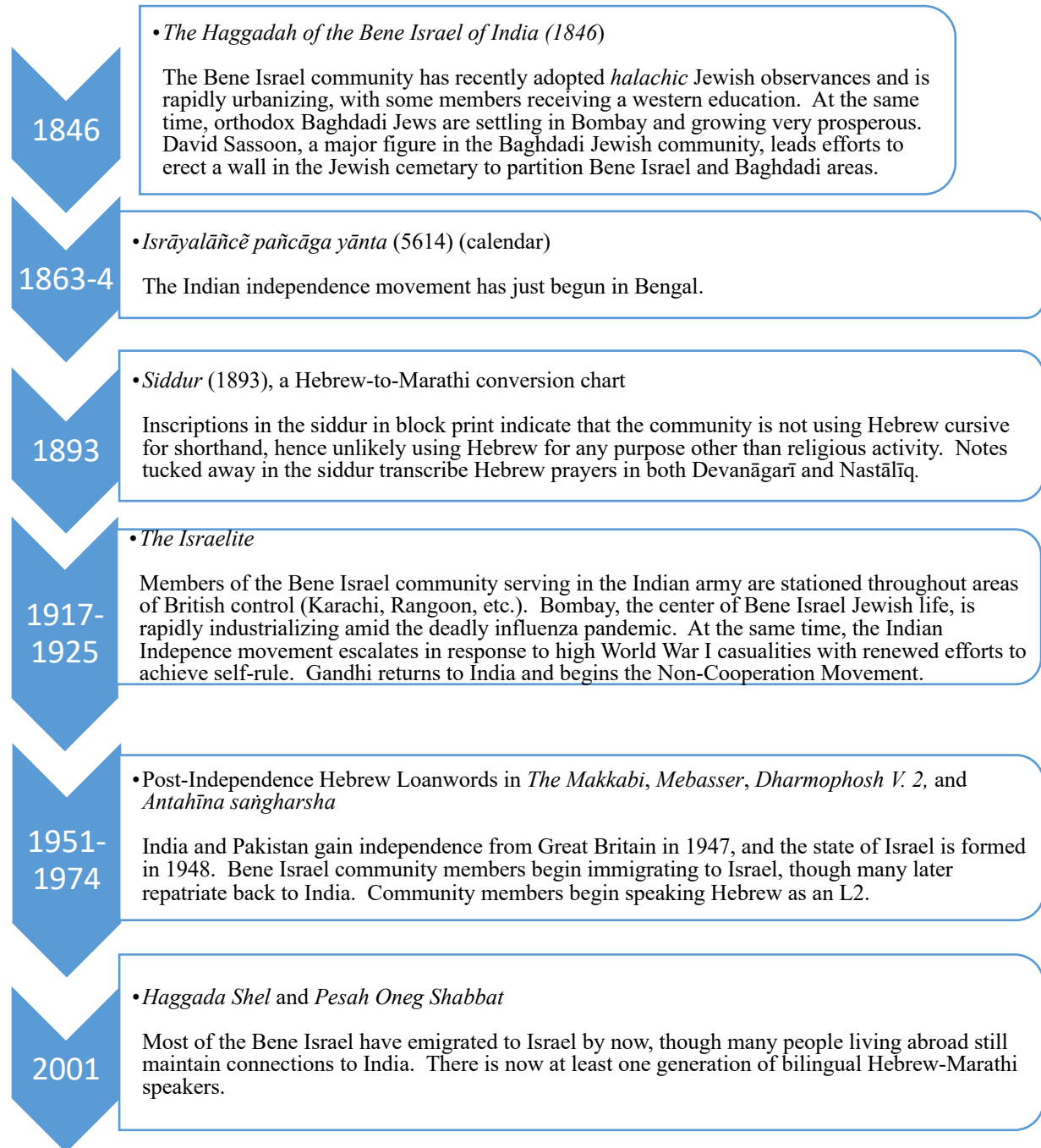
(4.370)poṭ^hehja (M) (पोथेह्या) ‘poteach, a line in *Ashrei*’
 poteaḥ (H) (פּוֹתֵחַ)

And finally, although there were no written instances of [s] ~[ʃ] variation in these sources, this pattern is still fairly robust in the speech practice of monolinguals and is reflected in the spelling of names.

4.8 Summary

This chapter has documented patterns of Hebrew loanword adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi from *The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India* (1846), the *Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yāntas* (1863-1864), a *siddur* entitled *Isrāyalāñcē vidhīcē pustak* (1893), which included a Hebrew-to-Marathi conversion chart and some relevant handwritten notes and inscriptions, *The Israelite* (1917-1925), post-Independence sources *The Makkabi*, *Mebasser*, *Dharmophosh V. 2*, and *Antahīna saṅgharsha*, as well as new Hebrew adaptations from *Haggada Shel* and *Pesah Oneg Shabbat* (2001). The following timeline captures the sources as they align with important political and historical events which shaped the linguistic contact environment of the Bene Israel. Detailed discussion follows in Section 5.3, Sociolinguistic Variables in Bene Israel Marathi.

Chart 4.2: Timeline of Hebrew Loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi



The following chart provides a snapshot of the some of the major adaptation processes which remained consistent across sources, as well as changes which occurred over time as the Bene Israel community came into contact with other Jewish communities.

Chart 4.2: Summary of Hebrew Loanword Adaptations in Bene Israel Marathi

Loanword Adaptation Processes	Source
Hebrew <i>bet</i> [v] appearing without the <i>dagesh</i> diacritic → [b]	<i>Haggadah (1846), The Israelite, Makkabi, Mebasser, Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah, Oneg Shabbat</i>
Hebrew <i>tav</i> [t] (with dagesh) → [t̪]	<i>Haggadah (1846), Siddur (1893), The Israelite, Makkabi, Mebasser, Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah, Oneg Shabbat</i>
Hebrew <i>tav</i> [t] (without dagesh) → [tʰ]	<i>Siddur (1893), The Israelite, Makkabi, Mebasser, Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah, Oneg Shabbat</i>
Hebrew <i>dalet</i> [d] (with and without dagesh) → [d̪]	<i>Haggadah (1846), The Israelite, Makkabi, Mebasser, Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah, Oneg Shabbat</i>
Some retroflexion	<i>Haggadah (1846), The Israelite</i>
Hebrew <i>chet</i> [ħ] and <i>he</i> [h] → [h]	<i>Haggadah (1846), Siddur (1893), The Israelite, Makkabi, Mebasser, Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah, Oneg Shabbat</i>
Hebrew <i>chaf</i> [x] (without dagesh) → [kʰ]	<i>Haggadah (1846), Siddur (1893), The Israelite, Makkabi, Mebasser, Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah, Oneg Shabbat</i>
Hebrew schwa, [ɛ] and [e] → [e]	<i>Haggadah (1846), The Israelite, Makkabi, Mebasser, Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah, Oneg Shabbat</i>
In the first syllable, Hebrew [i] → [ɪ]	<i>Haggadah (1846), The Israelite, Makkabi, Mebasser, Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah, Oneg Shabbat</i>

Loanword Adaptation Processes	Source
Hebrew <i>tzadi</i> [ts] → [s]	<i>Haggadah</i> (1846), <i>Siddur</i> (1893), <i>The Israelite</i> , <i>Makkabi</i> , <i>Mebasser</i> , <i>Dharmopadesh V. 2</i>
Evidence of Hebrew <i>tzadi</i> [ts]	<i>Makkabi</i> , <i>Haggada Shel Pesah</i> , <i>Oneg Shabbat</i>
Word-initial [j] is deleted before high-front (and mid) vowels	<i>Haggadah</i> (1846), <i>The Israelite</i> , <i>Makkabi</i> , <i>Mebasser</i> , <i>Dharmopadesh V. 2</i> , <i>Haggada Shel Pesah</i> , <i>Oneg Shabbat</i>
Evidence of [j] retention before high-front and mid vowels	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah</i> , <i>Oneg Shabbat</i>
Hebrew geminates are degeminated, with some [a] → [ə] reduction before the geminate	<i>Haggadah</i> (1846)
Hebrew loans receive Marathi morphological case marking	<i>Haggadah</i> (1846), <i>Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta</i> (1863-4), <i>The Israelite</i>
Calquing	<i>Haggadah</i> (1846), <i>The Israelite</i> , <i>Makkabi</i> , <i>Mebasser</i> , <i>Dharmopadesh V. 2</i>
Free Variation (ʃ ~ s)	<i>Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta</i> (1863-4), <i>The Israelite</i>
Word-final orthographic [h] deletion	<i>The Israelite</i> , <i>Makkabi</i> , <i>Mebasser</i> , <i>Dharmopadesh V. 2</i> , <i>Haggada Shel Pesah</i> , <i>Oneg Shabbat</i>
Vowel-epenthesis with word-initial C +r cluster	<i>The Israelite</i>
Hebrew [a] vowels → [ə] before a geminate consonant	<i>The Israelite</i> , <i>Makkabi</i> , <i>Mebasser</i> , <i>Dharmopadesh V. 2</i> , <i>Haggada Shel Pesah</i> , <i>Oneg Shabbat</i>
Evidence of [a] retention before geminate consonants	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah</i> , <i>Oneg Shabbat</i>
Anglicized Hebrew	<i>The Israelite</i> , <i>Makkabi</i> , <i>Mebasser</i> , <i>Dharmopadesh V. 2</i> , <i>Antahīna saṅgharsha</i>
Orthographically-conditioned metathesis	<i>The Israelite</i> , <i>Dharmopadesh V. 2</i> , <i>Haggada Shel Pesah</i> , <i>Oneg Shabbat</i>
Israeli Hebrew	<i>Makkabi</i> , <i>Mebasser</i> , <i>Dharmopadesh V. 2</i>
Ashkenazi Hebrew	<i>Makkabi</i>

Loanword Adaptation Processes	Source
Hyper-gemination	<i>Dharmopadesh V. 2, Haggada Shel Pesah and Oneg Shabbat</i>

Orthographically-mapped adaptations are highly consistent across sources, signaling the isolated use of Hebrew in the Bene Israel community as a liturgical language. Phonological adaptations and patterns which have remained consistent over time, such as [j] onset deletion and [a] reduction before geminate consonants, reveal the linguistic constraints on Hebrew adaptation in Marathi. Phonological adaptations which only appear in earlier sources, such as occasional retroflex substitution and [ʃ]~[s] variation indicate the types of adaptation patterns found in a more monolingual community speaking a non-standard variety. The appearance of Anglicized Hebrew loans across sources beginning with *The Israelite* in 1917 is not merely a legacy of British rule; it also provides background on the education and linguistic profile of the community, which was becoming bilingual at the turn of the century in tandem with rapid industrial growth in Bombay. On the other hand, adaptation patterns in newer sources, such as the increased use of Israeli Hebrew, Hebrew [ts] retention, and hyper-gemination, capture the shifting contact environment as a result of new contact with Jewish communities outside of India and an increase in bilingualism or spoken proficiency in modern-standard Hebrew. The next chapter, Chapter 5, Analysis and Discussion, synthesizes loanword adaptation strategies observed across languages with a discussion of both the linguistic and extra-grammatical constraints on adaptation patterns in Marathi.

5. Analysis and Discussion

5.0 Introduction

Having presented a range of loanword data in Marathi spanning many different donor languages across time periods, this chapter synthesizes the main adaptation strategies documented in order to produce meaningful comparisons across languages and to identify important phonological patterns in Marathi which have surfaced through loanword analysis. Additionally, this chapter compares those adaptation strategies which are phonologically (grammatically) conditioned and those which are conditioned by extra-grammatical factors and sociolinguistic variables.

Section 5.1, Comparative Analysis of Adaptation Patterns, discusses findings from loanword data which reveal information about Marathi prosody, the feature of aspiration, comparative adaptation patterns across languages, and a comparison across donor sources of the composite nature of Marathi alveolar affricates. Section 5.2, South Asia as a Linguistic Area, sheds light on some of the areally-conditioned patterns observed, with considerations on further approaches for investigating the historical phonology of Indo-Persian. Section 5.3, Sociolinguistic Variables in Bene Israel Marathi, addresses the findings in the Hebrew data which require extra-grammatical considerations, with a discussion on the development of Bene Israel linguistic identity, sacred languages and Jewish languages. Section 5.4 concludes with a summary of the main issues dealt with in this chapter.

5.1 Comparative Analysis of Adaptation Patterns

5.1.1 Prosodic Features

5.1.1.1 Geminates

The feature of length across contexts factors prominently into loanword adaptation patterns in Marathi. Of the patterns documented, the most intriguing pattern occurs in de-geminated

consonants. In historical Arabic loans, compensatory vowel lengthening occurs on the vowel which appears before the degeminated consonant (see more examples in Kulkarnī (1946 [1993])):

- (5.1) morāmba (M) (मोरांबा) ‘preserve made of mango’
 morəb:a (A) (मुरब्बा)

In Hebrew loans, the geminate consonant is retained, but the preceding vowel is reduced to [ə]:

- (5.2) gəb:əi (M) (गब्बई) ‘Gabbai, a salaried warden of a synagogue’
 gab:ai (H) (גַּבַּי)
 (5.3) kəb:ala (M) (कब्बाला) ‘Kabbalah’
 kab:ala (H) (קַבָּלָה)

Although preliminary investigations have examined syllable weight in Marathi (see Le Grézause 2015), very little is understood about Marathi prosody. Pandharipande (1997:553) describes the canonical Marathi syllable as follows:

(C) (C) (C) V (V) (C)

These patterns confirm the weight assignments proposed in Le Grézause (2015), and according to this schema, suggest that the preferred syllable rhyme in Marathi is $\leq \mu \mu \mu$. This entails that if the coda consonant contains a geminate, it is deemed heavy and must reduce the nucleus vowel. Similarly, as with historical Arabic loanwords, a geminate may be shortened, with compensatory vowel lengthening occurring on the nucleus. It should be noted that these adaptation patterns are not consistent, but appear to be one alternative strategy for handling loan geminates, with otherwise only occur intervocalically in Marathi (Pandharipande 1997:570).

5.1.1.2 Vowel Length

The role of vowel length in loanword phonology gives us insight into prosodic features of Marathi not otherwise transparent in the native phonology. While Marathi distinguishes length in [u] and [ʊ] in contemporary English loans (with a high degree of bilingualism), there appears

to be a neutralization of these vowels in Hebrew loanwords from the turn of the century onward, shown in 4.5.2.2 Back Vowels. These findings support several researchers' claims that Marathi has lost the length distinction between these two vowels.

The curious phenomenon of orthographic [i] reduction to [ɪ] (regardless of the realization in pronunciation) occurs in initial syllables in both Hebrew loans in Bene Israel Marathi as well as in contemporary English loans:

- | | | |
|-------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (5.4) | nɪs:im (M) (निस्सीम) | 'Nissim, a male name, lit: miracles' |
| | nɪs:im (H) (נִסִּים) | |
| (5.5) | sɪnəj (M) (सिनाय) | 'Sinai' |
| | sɪnəj (H) (סִינַי) | |
| (5.6) | mɪmsak ^h (M) (मिमसाख) | 'mixed wine' |
| | mɪmsax (H) (מִמְסַח) | |
| (5.7) | mɪdʒiːjə (M) (मिडीया) | 'media'(E) |
| (5.8) | hɪro (M) (हिरो) | 'hero' (E) |
| (5.9) | kɪlo (M) (किलो) | 'kilo' (E) |

Although high vowel [i] shortens to [ɪ] in some derivational contexts (see Pandharipande 1997: 564-565 and Bernsten & Nimbkar 1975:192), we do not expect to find this pattern in underived words. More data is needed, but this pattern may reflect a resyllabification of the second consonant in order to conform to a weight distribution preference in Marathi words. This is an understudied area of Marathi phonology, which directly ties in to Marathi stress patterns.

5.1.1.3 Stress Assignment

Although there have been preliminary investigations into Marathi stress patterns (see 3.2.5 Stress and Syllable Weight in Marathi), it is clear that stress assignment in Marathi is not contrastive but merely a function of weight distribution, though many Marathi words appear to lack stress.

Stress surfaces on the left-most heavy syllable, with duration and intensity serving as the primary cues for stress, raising the question as to whether Marathi speakers perceive relative stress in English. We gain some insight into this question from the observation that Marathi is not sensitive to stress assignment patterns in contemporary English loans. In the first examples, stress cues in English do not appear to map as length, with the stressed vowel being instead reduced and the unstressed vowels mapping as long:

(5.10) selɪbrɪʈi (M) (सेलिब्रीटी) ‘celebrity’ (E)

(5.11) netɪzəns (M) (नेटीझन्स) ‘netizens’ (E)

(5.12) ækədəmi (M) (ऍकेडमी) ‘academy’ (E)

In the following examples, although the stress is assigned to only one syllable in English, both syllables are given equal stress in the Marathi loan:

(5.13) ɔnlain (M) (ऑनलाईन) ‘online’ (E)

(5.14) ʈaimlain (M) (टाईमलाईन) ‘timeline’ (E)

(5.15) ejərfɔrs (M) (एअरफोर्स) ‘air force’ (E)

It is outside the scope of this project to exhaustively address stress assignment patterns in Marathi loanword phonology, though a full phonological account of these patterns, as well as perception experiments, are needed in order to better understand the role of stress in loanword adaptation.

5.1.2 Aspiration

5.1.2.1 De-aspiration

Although aspiration is a contrastive feature of Marathi, allophonic aspiration which appears in English is not mapped onto English loans. The following examples demonstrate failure to map aspiration onto colonial English loans:

(5.16) post (M) (पोस्ट) ‘The *tapal*, the post’ (E)

- (5.17) əpil (M) (अपील) ‘appeal’(E)
- (5.18) ʈapʈa, ʈafta (M) (तापता, ताफता) ‘taffeta, a kind of silk cloth’(E)
- (5.19) kələm (M) (कलम) ‘paragraph, column’ (E)

Only example (5.20) below documents the single instance in this data set of aspirated [k^h]:

- (5.20) k^hɪst̪ (M) (खिस्त) ‘Jesus Christ’ (E)

The same phenomenon exists in contemporary English loans, as in (5.21-5.23) below:

- (5.21) pæd̪ (M) (पॅड) ‘pad’ (E)
- (5.22) ʈæp (M) (डबल) ‘tap’ (E)
- (5.23) kaʈən (M) (कॉटन) ‘cotton’ (E)

It is unclear whether the perceptual cues for allophonic aspiration in English are insufficient to map onto loanwords, warranting further investigation.

5.1.2.2 Floating aspiration

On the other hand, floating [h] in Persian results in aspiration when combined with a consonant, as in example (5.24) below:

- (5.24) gʊn^ha (M) (गुन्हा) ‘a crime, a fault, or an offense’
gʊnəh (P) (गुनाह)

Word-final orthographic [h] in Hebrew, however, does not appear in Bene Israel Marathi, as in (5.25-5.27) below, with no aspiration migrating elsewhere in the word:

- (5.25) halak^ha (M) (हालाखा) ‘Halakha, rabbinic Jewish law’
halaxa (H) (הלכה)
- (5.26) rɪbka (M) (रिबका) ‘Rebecca’
rivka (H) (רִבְכָּא)

- (5.27) ʃəlomo (M) (शल्लोमो) ‘Solomon’
 ʃəlomo (הַשְׁלֹמֹה)

Possible reasons for this differential importation pattern are two-fold; this sound is purely orthographic in Hebrew and so the Bene Israel would not have had any exposure its realization in spoken contact. Despite maintaining a largely textual relationship with Hebrew (and there is some evidence of orthographically retained [h], it is likely that the sound was omitted since is not possible word-finally in Marathi. On the other hand, orthographically-conditioned metathesis in Hebrew does produce floating aspiration:

- (5.28) bekov^ha (M) (बेकोव्हा) ‘*b’koach*, from *Ana b’koach*’
 bəkoah (H) (בְּכוֹחַ)

- (5.29) harov^ha (M) (हारव्हा) ‘the spirit’
 haruah (H) (רוּחַ)

5.1.3 Dental vs. Retroflex Stops

Differential importation patterns across donor languages with regard to stops [t] and [d] appear to be both phonologically and extra-grammatically motivated. In the case of Arabic and Persian dental and denti-alveolar stops, the adaptation of these consonants as dental in Marathi is a natural choice:

- (5.30) əṭar, aṭar (M) (अतार, आतार) ‘a perfumer’
 əṭːar (P) (अत्तर)

- (5.31) bəḍam (M) (बदाम) ‘almond’
 badam (P) (बादाम)

Only colonial English adapts some alveolar [t] and [d] and dental [t̪] and [d̪], though not even consistently within the same token, as shown in (5.32-5.34) below:

- (5.32) soniṭ (M) (सुनीत) ‘sonnet’ (E)

- (5.33) vəlɔ̃ndedz (M) (वलंदेज) ‘Hollander, dutchman’ (E)

(5.34) kənt̪rat̪ (M) (कंत्राट) ‘contract’ (E)

The dominant adaptation pattern in colonial English is mapping alveolar [t] and [d] as retroflex [t̪] and [d̪], as shown in examples (5.35-4.50) below:

(5.35) læt̪ɪn (M) (लैटिन) ‘Latin’ (E)

(5.36) nɪt̪ (M) (नीट) ‘neat’ (E)

(5.37) fʊt̪bəl (M) (फुटबॉल) ‘football’ (E)

(5.38) d̪əzən (M) (डज़न) ‘collection of twelve (articles)’ (E)

(5.39) fɪd̪l (M) (फिड्ल) ‘fiddle’ (E)

(5.40) fæd̪ (M) (फॅड) ‘a fad, a hobby’ (E)

Alveolar [t] and [d] are adapted exclusively as retroflex [t̪] and [d̪] in contemporary English loans, though bilinguals can pronounce these segments as near alveolars:

(5.41) t̪ɪrakoʈa (M) (टिराकोटा) ‘terracotta’ (E)

(5.42) foʈo (M) (फोटो) ‘photo’ (E)

(5.43) d̪ɛbɪt̪ (M) (डेबिट) ‘debit’ (E)

(5.44) d̪ɛd̪laɪn (M) (डेडलाइन) ‘deadline’ (E)

(5.45) kɹɛdɪt̪ (M) (क्रेडिट) ‘credit’ (E)

(5.46) ænɪmɛt̪ɛd̪ (M) (एनिमेटेड) ‘animated’ (E)

A clear possible reason for this differential importation strategy across the English and Indo-Persian loanword strata is the positioning of the tongue in dental/denti-alveolar vs. alveolar consonant articulation. What is puzzling, however, is that Hebrew [t] and [d] are also adapted as dental consonants across the board, though not according to the same pattern identified in the Perso-Arabic substratum.

Unlike the Perso-Arabic substratum, Hebrew [t] and [d] consonants adapted as dental consonants in Bene Israel Marathi are clearly orthographically conditioned. Hebrew [t] sounds represented by the letter *tet* are adapted as the dental [t̪], as in (5.47-5.48):

(5.47) t̪arfon (M) (तरफोन) ‘Rabbi Tarfon, a Mishnah sage’
t̪arfon (H) (תרפון)

(5.48) ʃebat̪ (M) (शेबात) ‘Shevat, a Jewish month’
ʃəvat (H) (שבט)

Hebrew [t] sounds represented with *tav* with the *dagesh* are also adapted as the dental [t̪], shown example (5.49):

(5.49) t̪ora (M) (तोरा) ‘Torah, the Jewish religious canon’
t̪ora (H) (תורה)

On the other hand, the Hebrew [t] sound represented by the letter *tav* without the *dagesh* diacritic (historically a fricative) is almost uniformly adapted as [tʰ] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in (5.50-5.51):

(5.50) jəhʊd̪itʰ (M) (यहुदीथ) ‘Judith’
jəhudit (H) (יהודית)

(5.51) naʈʰan (M) (नाथान) ‘Nathan’
natan (H) (נתן)

Hebrew [d] sounds appear in adapted loans as dental [d̪] in Bene Israel Marathi, which is consistent with some of the patterns we saw in the Perso-Arabic substratum in standard Marathi:

(5.52) d̪avid̪, d̪avid̪ (M) (दाविद, दावीद) ‘David’
david (H) (דָּוִד)

(5.53) lehad̪likʰ (M) (लेहादलीख) ‘Lehadlik, a line included several *brachas*’
ləhadlik (H) (להדליק)

(5.54) ehad̪ (M) (एहाद) ‘one’
ʔəhad (H) (אֶחָד)

Although there is a transparent connection here between the Hebrew orthographic renderings and the segment assignment in Marathi, a possible explanation for this differential importation choice of dental consonants over retroflex, which would be a natural choice when taking English loans into consideration, has to do with sonically indexing social difference (see Kirk 2016 for discussion on sonic dimensions of identity signaling). Approached from this angle, the adaptation patterns identified here reveal not only a strong textual relationship to Hebrew, but also a sonic signaling of the Bene Israel community's perceived linguistic proximity to the Perso-Arabic substrate in Marathi, a grouping of neighboring languages reflecting the Bene Israel's distant Middle Eastern origins.

5.1.4 Back Consonants

The inventory of back consonants and their variants which comprise the Perso-Arabic substrate [x], [ɣ], and [q] and the Hebrew inventory, which includes [x] and [ħ], are adapted similarly across donor languages, though not identically.

The back consonants in Arabic are reduced to a limited number of mappings in Marathi. As shown in examples (5.55-5.56) below, the voiceless velar/uvular [x] is mapped as [k^h] in Marathi:

(5.55) k^hɪdzməɬ (M) (खिजमत) 'service, attendance'
xɪɬməɬ (A) (खिदमत)

(5.56) k^həɬʃi, k^həɬʃ:i (M) (खची, खच्ची) 'lopped or pruned, castrated'
xəsi (खसी) (A)

Voiced uvular/velar fricative [ɣ] appears in this set is adapted as [g] (see Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]) for additional examples):

(5.57) garəɬ (M) (गारद) 'buried, sunken, lost, gone utterly'
ɣart (A) (घरत)

The voiceless uvular stop [q] is adapted variously as unaspirated [k] and as aspirated [k^h] in this corpus, though [k] is the dominant pattern:

- (5.58) k^hɪsa (M) (खिसा) ‘story, narration’
qɪs:a (A) (किस्सा)

- (5.59) burka, burk^ha (M) (बुरखा, बुरका) ‘veil, hooded cloak’
burqa (A) (बुर्कुअ)

- (5.60) ɪʃk, ɪʃk (M) (इश्क, इष्क) ‘love, romance’
ɪʃq (A) (इश्क़)

The Persian velar/uvular fricative [x, χ] is also widely adapted as the voiceless velar aspirated stop [k^h] in Marathi, retaining voicing and place features, and assigning aspiration to capture manner:

- (5.61) k^hərbudz (M) ‘melon’
xərbuza (P) खर्बूझा
xərbuz (खरबूज़) (Hi)

- (5.62) nək^hʊɖa, (M) (नखुदा) ‘a captain, leader of a team’
na-xuda (P) (ना-खुदा)

- (5.63) k^hup, k^hub (M) (खूप, खूब) ‘rich, abundant, copious, superb’
xub (M) (खूब)

Corresponding to the Arabic adaptation, Persian voiced velar fricative [ɣ] is adapted as [g] in Marathi. Here the place and voice features are preserved, but unlike [k^h], the adaptation is not assigned aspiration as [g^h] in place of frication (manner):

- (5.64) kagəɖ (M) (कागद) ‘paper’
kaɣaz (P) (काग़ाज़)

- (5.65) əfɣaɳ (M) (अफगाण) ‘Afghan’
əfɣan (P) अफगान

Finally, the Persian voiceless uvular stop [q] is also adapted as [k] in Marathi, preserving the voicing and manner features, while approximating the place feature to the nearest available “back” consonant which matches the remaining features:

- (5.66) aʃək (M) (आषक) ‘lover’
aʃiq (P) (आशीक)

Adaptation patterns of Hebrew back consonants [x] and [ħ] are similar to the adaptation of Arabic and Persian [x], but diverge according to orthographic considerations. In the examples below, an orthographically-conditioned distinction emerges in the varying adaptations of Hebrew [ħ] as [h] and [k^h]. In example (5.67) below, Hebrew [ħ] is adapted as [h] when represented by the Hebrew letter *chet*, and occasionally when [x] is represented by the Hebrew letter *chaf* (without a dagesh, making it a fricative) in example (5.68):

- (5.67) rahasa (M) (राहासा) ‘Rachtzah, telling of the Passover story during the
rahtsa (H) (רַחֲצָה) seder’
(5.68) bāhor (M) (बाहोर) ‘firstborn son’
bəxor (H) (בְּכוֹר)

In examples (5.69-5.71) below, Hebrew [x] is more typically adapted as [k^h] when [x] is represented by the Hebrew letter *chaf* (without the *dagesh*, also making it a fricative):

- (5.69) korek^h (M) (करेख) ‘Korech, consumption of a matzah/maror sandwich
korex (H) (כֹּרֵךְ) during the Passover seder’
(5.70) ʃulhan orek^h (M) (शुलहान ओरेख) ‘Shulchan Orech, serving the meal during the
ʃulhan orex (H) (שֻׁלְחַן עֹרֵךְ) Passover seder’
(5.71) barek^h (M) (बारेख) ‘Barekh, blessing after the Passover holiday meal’
barex (H) (בָּרַךְ)

While these adaptations fall within the phonological constraints of Marathi and represent an acceptable mapping, these divergent adaptation strategies are a canonical example of Bene Israel Marathi maintaining the orthographic integrity of Hebrew to differentiate back consonants. We

see generally across Hebrew, Persian, and Arabic that the velar/uvular fricatives [x, χ] are naturally mapped as [k^h] to retain the approximate place [back], voicing, and manner feature [frication] through assignment of aspiration. They are differentiated from [h], an existing phoneme in the Marathi inventory and also a voiceless, back, fricative, except in Hebrew adaptations, where only words containing mostly Hebrew letters *chet* and *he* are assigned [h].

5.1.5 Palatalization

Palatalization of consonants in Marathi before front-high and mid vowels is a robust adaptation pattern found across donor languages, suggesting that this is an inviolable property of Marathi phonology. This pattern can be found in both historical English loans from the colonial period as well as from contemporary English loans, even in highly bilingual speech. In the historical example below, the grapheme for [dz]/[z] remains the same (झ), though the following front vowel triggers palatalization:

(5.72) gædʒiṭ (M) (गॅझीट) ‘The Gazette’(E)

In contemporary English loans, the grapheme [झ] is used when mapping [z]; however, when English [z] becomes palatalized when it appears before high-front vowels, mapping as [dʒ] and represented with a different grapheme [ज], as in examples (5.73-5.74):

(5.73) ɪŋɡrədʒi (M) (इंग्रजी) ‘English’ (E)

(5.74) klɪndʒɪŋɡ (M) (क्लिंजिंग) ‘cleansing’ (E)

Palatalization is a robust adaptation pattern found in the Perso-Arabic substrate, as in examples (5.75-5.82) below:

(5.75) mærdʒi (M) (मर्जी) ‘will, pleasure, choice’
mæɾzi (A) (मर्झी)

(5.76) məʃɪd (M) (मशीद) ‘mosque’

məsdʒɪd (A) (मस्जिद)

(5.77) kʰəʈʃi, kʰəʈʃi (M) (खची, खच्ची) ‘lopped or pruned, castrated’
xəsi (A) (खसी)

(5.78) kʰʊʈʃi, kʰʊʈʃi (M) (खुर्ची, खुर्शी) ‘chair’
kursi (A) (कुर्सी)

(5.79) paʃi, (M) (पारशी) ‘inhabitant of Persia, a Parsee’
parsi (P) (पार्सी)

(5.80) rəʃɪd (M) (रशीद) ‘receipt’
rəsɪd (P) (रसीद)

(5.81) d̪ərɖʒi (M) (दर्जी) ‘tailor’
dərzi (P) (दर्ज़ी)

(5.82) baɖʒi (M) (बाजी) ‘success, game at cards, a hand’
bazi (P) (बाज़ी)

One example of palatalization appears in a Hebrew loan in Bene Israel Marathi, though it is difficult to determine whether this is the result of palatalization or (ʃ ~ s) variation:

(5.83) ʃegul:a (M) (शेगुल्ला) ‘Segullah, Bene Israel female name, lit: charmed
səgul:a (H) (סֶגֶל) possession’

In any case, the strength of palatalization in Marathi persists temporally and across donor languages. Additional attributes of this pattern require further investigation, such as the regressive palatalization of consonants in clusters in English loanwords, where the second member is a retroflex stop.

5.1.6 Sociolinguistic Variation

5.1.6.1 (ʃ ~ s) Variation

In addition to palatalization, Marathi loanword phonology across most donor sources presents strong evidence that (ʃ ~ s) variation was a key feature of Marathi phonology prior to the consolidation of a standard variety. This pattern is identified in many speakers of contemporary

Marathi, and we see the force of this process in loanword adaptation well. In the examples below, Arabic [s] is adapted as [ʃ]:

- (5.84) nəʃib (M) (नशीब) 'fate, luck'
nəsib (A) (नसीब)

- (5.85) muʃafər (M) (मुशाफर) 'traveler'
musafir (A) (मुसाफिर)

On the other hand, [ʃ] was also historically mapped in place of Arabic [s] in Marathi:

- (5.86) sərbət (M) (सरबत) 'sherbet, iced drink made from lemon etc.'
ʃərbət (A) (शरबत)

- (5.87) samlat (M) (सामलात) 'associate, included, partnership'
ʃamil (A) (शामिल)

- (5.88) səɪtan (M) (सैतान) 'Satan, the devil'
ʃetan (A) (शेतान)

Both forms [s] and [ʃ] freely vary in both Persian, which we have also seen in Arabic. In the examples (5.89-5.92) below, [ʃ] is adapted as [s]:

- (5.89) kʰismis (M) (खिसमिस) 'raisin'
kiʃmiʃ (P) (किश्मिश)

- (5.90) dʊsman (M) (दुस्मान) 'enemy'
dʊʃmən (M) (दुश्मन)
dʊʃmən (P) (दुश्मन)

- (5.91) nisaŋ (M) (निसाण) 'an ensign, flag, banner'
niʃan (P) (निशान)

- (5.92) ʃabas (M) (शाबास) 'bravo, well done'
ʃabaʃ (P) (शाबाश)

The reader will note that some of these adaptations have both [s] and [ʃ] forms. In the examples shown below, [s] is adapted as [ʃ], though these adaptations could be due to the strong tendency to palatalize consonants in Marathi before high-front vowels:

- (5.93) parʃi, (M) (पारशी) 'inhabitant of Persia, a Parsee'
 parsi (M) (पारसी)
 parsi (P) (पार्सी)

- (5.94) rəʃiɖ (M) (रशीद) 'receipt'
 rəsɪd (P) (रसीद)

The same pattern of (ʃ ~ s) variation appears in Hebrew loans, where Hebrew [s] consonants are sometimes adapted as [ʃ] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in (5.95-5.96):

- (5.95) esav, eʃav (M) (एसाव, एशाव) 'Esau'
 esav (H) (עֲשָׂו)
 (5.96) ʃegul:a (M) (शेगुल्ला) 'Segullah, Bene Israel female name, lit: charmed
 səgul:a (H) (סֶגֶלָה) possession'

This variation in Hebrew also appears to be symmetrical, with Hebrew [ʃ] sometimes adapted as [s], as in examples (5.97-5.98) below:

- (5.97) mɪdʒras, mɪdʒraʃ (M) (मिद्राश) 'Midrash, biblical exegesis'
 mɪdraʃ (H) (מִדְרָשׁ)
 (5.98) ʃəm:as (M) (शम्माश, शम्मसा) 'Shammash, a paid synagogue attendant'
 ʃam:aʃ (H) (שָׂמַשׁ)

5.1.6.2 ʃ~ ʂ Variation

It was previously assumed that [ʃ] is always interchangeable with underlying /ʂ/, resulting in ʃ~ ʂ, most cases when /ʃ/ is underlying, ʂ ~ ʃ (Ghatage 1963). A possible reason for this documented asymmetry is that tokens in Marathi containing underlying /ʂ/ are typically of Sanskrit origin. Loanword adaptations reveal that in fact, ʂ ~ ʃ in some cases, and this adaptation pattern may be part of a larger tendency for Marathi consonants to freely vary with their retroflex counterparts, when possible (for further discussion, see 5.1.6.3 Retroflexion).

We observe this pattern in the Hebrew palatal fricative [ʃ], which is adapted as retroflex [ʂ] in select cases below, as in examples (5.99-5.101) below:

- (5.99) roʃ haʃ:ana (M) (रोष हाशाना) ‘Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year’
 roʃ haʃ:ana (H) (רֹשׁ הַשָּׁנָה)
- (5.100) ahaʃveroʃ (M) (आहाश्चेरोष) ‘Ahasuerus, Persian ruler in the Book of Esther’
 ahaʃveroʃ (M) (आहाश्चेरोश)
 ahaʃveroʃ (H) (אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ)
- (5.101) eruʃa, jeruʃa (M) (एरुषा, येरुशा) ‘Yerusha, a Jewish female given name’
 jəruʃa (H) (יְרֻשָּׁה)

The following examples from historical Persian loans also indicate that palatal [ʃ] is adapted as retroflex [ʂ], in direct contradiction to the findings reported in Ghatage (1963):

- (5.102) goʃ (M) (गोष) ‘beef’
 goʃt (P) (गोश्त)
- (5.103) muʃkɪl (M) (मुष्कील) ‘difficult, arduous’
 muʃkɪli (P) (मुश्किली)
- (5.104) aʈəʃ (M) (आतष) ‘fire’
 aʈɪʃ (P) (आतिश)
- (5.105) aʃək (M) (आषक) ‘lover’
 aʃɪq (P) (आशीक)

In only one case in Arabic loans do we find [ʃ] is adapted as retroflex [ʂ]:

- (5.106) ɪʃk, ɪʃk (M) (इश्क, इष्क) ‘love, romance’
 ɪʃq (A) (इश्क़)

5.1.6.3 Retroflexion

Although not a common feature of the standard variety, some dental and alveolar consonants show variation with their retroflex counterpart. As previously discussed, some speakers freely vary [l] ~ [ɭ] and [n] ~ [ɳ], with a tendency to hypercorrect [l] to [ɭ] and [n] to [ɳ]. Marathi loanword phonology reveals the strength of this pattern, indicating something of note about the recent history of standardization and its subsequent stigmatization of very common patterns

found across speakers of the non-standard variety. The force of this pattern is shown in this subsection, which spans all of the historical donor languages presented in this project. In the examples (5.107-5.109) below, retroflexion occurs in sonorants in colonial English loans:

- (5.107) *ispətaɭ* (M) (इस्पताळ) 'hospital' (E)
 (5.108) *ruɭ* (M) (रूळ) 'ruler, rail, roller' (E)
 (5.109) *fəlaŋi* (M) (फलाणी) 'flannel' (E)

In Arabic, retroflexion occurs when [n] is adapted as [ɳ] in Marathi, as in (5.110-5.113) below:

- (5.110) *məkaɳ* (M) (मकाण) 'place of residence, house'
 məkan (A) (मकान)
 (5.111) *moɭaɳa* (M) (मुलाणा) 'a Muslim religious priest'
 maulana (A) (मौलाना)
 (5.112) *kəfəɳi*, *kəfəni* (M) (कफनी कफणी) 'shroud'
 kəfəni (A) (कफनी)
 (5.113) *faɳus*, *faɳəs* (M) (फाणूस, फाणस) 'lantern'
 fanus (A) (फानूस)

The same pattern occurs mostly in sonorants in Persian loans. In the examples (5.114-5.115) below, although [n] is freely available in Marathi, it is adapted as retroflex [ɳ]:

- (5.114) *ɖʊɾbɳi* (M) (दुरबिण) 'telescope'
 durbin (P) (दूर्बीन)
 (5.115) *bəhaɳa* (M) (बहाणा) 'a sham, a pretense'
 bəhana (P) (बहाना)

There is also an unusual case of Persian nasal [m] interpreted as retroflex [ɳ] in Marathi:

- (5.116) *moɳbət̪i* (M) (मेणबत्ती) 'wax candle'
 mom (P) (मोम) + *bət̪i* (M) (बत्ती)

Persian liquids [l] and [r], which are very similar to the Marathi equivalent, are sometimes adapted in Marathi as retroflex [ɭ] and [ɻ] respectively:

- (5.117) əijaɭ (M) (अयाळ) ‘wife’
 əjal (P) (अयाल)
- (5.118) moɻəɖa (M) (मुडदा) ‘dead body, corpse’
 morda (P) (मुर्दा)

In one instance, Hebrew alveolar [l] was adapted as retroflex [ɭ] in Bene Israel Marathi, as in example (5.119) below:

- (5.119) israeɭ (M) (इस्राएळ) ‘Israel’
 jisraɻel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)

From the examples above we can deduce the latitudinal power of this pattern, which cuts across all historical donor languages; however, longitudinally, we see the temporal effect of post-standardization language attitudes in its noticeable absence contemporary English loans.

Without a doubt, monolingual speakers of non-standard (sometimes designated “non-prestigious”) varieties of Marathi will display this pattern in contemporary English loans, though it does not appear in the standard variety. The historical paradox in stigmatizing this variety of speech is that the forms which existed prior to modern standardization efforts would have had to be a reflection of elite, educated varieties of speech.

5.1.6.4 Phonetically Conditioned Variation

As discussed in Section 3.5.1.1.1, Labials, the [v] ~ [w] distinction is not lexically contrastive in Marathi, though it appears to be phonetically conditioned. The loanword data support the notion that the bilinguals are beginning to treat these sounds as separate entities in the inventory, and while the presence of [v] in a bilingual speaker’s inventory is still uncommon, new variations appear which indicate convergence between [v] and [w] in contemporary English loans, as

separate from [w]. This is also reflected in orthographic modifications which distinguish English [v] from [v]/[w], revealing deeper bilingual access to the phonological features of English. For example, in (5.120-5.123) below, the standard grapheme [व] is used to represent [w], though it is in free variation in monolingual/L2 speakers, and is pronounced more like [v] in bilingual speech:

- (5.120) vɪdʒo (M) (विडो) 'widow' (E)
 (5.121) tʋɪtər (M) ट्विटर 'twitter' (E)
 (5.122) relve रेल्वे 'railway' (E)
 (5.123) tʋel, tʋəl टॉवेल 'towel' (E)

On the other hand, English [v] is represented in Marathi spelling with the consonant cluster [v] + [h], [व्ह], which would roughly translate to an aspirated [v^h]. Although the [v] is not actually being aspirated by bilinguals, the orthographic representation again reveals deep phonological access to this feature, which is slightly fricated. Despite lack of aspiration, I will use IPA symbol [v^h] here to indicate frication at this place of articulation. In bilingual speech, this sound receives clear frication word-finally, as in examples (5.124-5.126) below:

- (5.124) laɪv^h (M) (लाईव्ह) 'live' (E)
 (5.125) əlɪv^h (M) (ऑलिव्ह) 'olive' (E)
 (5.126) dʌv^h (M) (डव्ह) 'dove' (E)

This phoneme, however, does not appear in all contexts, producing evidence that it is phonetically conditioned. English [v] does not appear to receive frication at the beginning of the word, though this sound is not in free variation with [w] among most bilinguals and is pronounced instead as [v]:

- (5.127) væn (M) (वॅन) 'van' (E)

- (5.128) vɪzɪt̪ (M) (व्हिज़िट) 'visit' (E)
 (5.129) vərəɪəɾ̪i (M) (व्हरायटी) 'variety' (E)
 (5.130) vɪdʒio (M) (व्हिडीओ) 'video' (E)
 (5.131) vəli (M) (व्हॅली) 'valley' (E)

From examples (5.132-5.135) below, we see that it is also not clear whether there is free variation word-medially between [v] and [v^h], or whether other factors condition the presence of frication. English stress patterns do not appear to drive frication, so it is likely that other phonological or phonetic considerations are at play:

- (5.132) kəv^hər (M) (कव्हर) 'cover' (E)
 (5.133) dɪv^haɪd̪ (M) (डिव्हइड) 'divide' (E)
 (5.134) t̪ɪvi (M) (टीव्हीवरील) 't.v.' (E)
 (5.135) novɛmbər (M) नोव्हेंबर 'November' (E)

As discussed previously in Section 3.5.1.1.1 Labials, further study of this emerging pattern across a larger sample set of speakers is needed to map the phonological change among bilinguals, the variation across speakers of different dialects, and the phonological or phonetic environments which condition variation in this new pattern.

5.1.7 Cluster Simplification

Cluster simplification through epenthesis and deletion is a common adaptation strategy for mapping unlicensed loan clusters, both across donor languages in Marathi as well as cross-linguistically. The following sections provide us with additional insight into the phonotactic constraints of Marathi, both historically and synchronically.

5.1.7.1 Epenthesis

In historical English loans, epenthesis is used as a strategy to re-syllabify an [s +C] onset. In this example, [ɪ] is inserted word-initially to break up the disallowed consonant cluster:

(5.136) ɪspak, ɪspət (M) (इस्पाक, इस्पट) ‘spade’ (E)

This strategy is still used in Marathi for some [s +C] onsets, as in the canonical expression for ‘style’ which originated in Bombay:

(5.137) ɪʃtaɪl (M) ‘style’ (E)

In the following examples (5.138-5.140), onset consonants clusters are simplified through schwa [ə] epenthesis:

(5.138) pəlɪstər (M) (पलिस्तर) ‘blister, plaster’ (E)

(5.139) fəlaɳi (M) (फलाणी) ‘flannel’ (E)

(5.140) fərgət (M) (फरगत) ‘frigate (a sailing vessel)’ (E)

And in the examples below (5.141-5.142), a [C + r] cluster is also simplified through schwa [ə] epenthesis:

(5.141) fərma (M) (फर्मा) ‘specimen, a form’ (E)

(5.142) səkərtər (M) (सकरतार) ‘secretary’ (E)

This process of onset cluster simplification is described as a feature of contemporary Marathi in Pandharipande (1997:547-548), which applies to words of both English and Sanskrit-origin in non-prestigious speech:

(5.143) a. ɪst̪ri (M) ‘woman’
st̪ri (S)

b. səpəʃtə (M) ‘clear’
spəʃtə (S)

c. ɪstɛʃən, tʰesən (M) ‘station’
 stɛʃən (E)
 (from Pandharipande 1997: 548)

The examples of epenthesis from Arabic loans break up word-final consonant clusters [dr], [bz], and [tb], as shown in (5.144-5.146) below:

(5.144) kəɖəɾ (M) (कदर) ‘fear, awe’
 qəɖɾ (A) (कद्र)

(5.145) kəbədʒ (M) (कबज) ‘receipt’
 kəbzə (A) (कब्ज़)

(5.146) kətəbɐ (M) (कतबा) ‘bond, writing furnished to the Panchayit’
 kɪtb (A) (कित्ब)

And in Persian, epenthesis is also used as a strategy to break up disallowed word-final clusters [ksh], [kt]/[xt] in Marathi, shown in examples (5.147-5.148):

(5.147) nəkəʃɐ (M) (नकाशा) ‘outline, map, sketch, fig: pompousness’
 nəkf (P) (नक्श)⁵⁰

(5.148) təkət (M) (तकट) ‘metal beaten into a plate or a leaf’
 təxt (P) (तख्त)

In Hebrew loans, [a] is inserted medially at the syllable break between [h] and [s] ([ħ] and [ts] in Hebrew):

(5.149) rahasa (M) (राहासा) ‘Rachtzah, telling of the Passover story during the
 raħtsa (H) (רַחֲצָה) seder’

This further supports the notion that [h] cannot appear syllable-finally (or word-finally) in Marathi in pronunciation. We also find epenthesis in Hebrew loans in onset consonant clusters consisting of stops + [r] reconfigured through vowel insertion:

(5.150) ɖɛruʃ (M) (देरुश) ‘Drash, shortened form of *midrash*’
 draʃ (H) (דְּרַשׁ)

⁵⁰ This was glossed as an Arabic-source word, but I could only find a Persian reconstruction.

- (5.151) kɪrjatʃema (M) (क्रियातशेमा) ‘Kriyat Shema, a bedtime prayer’
 kərijat ʃəmaʕ (H) (קריאת שמע)

However, other tokens of the same type in Hebrew loanwords do not employ epenthesis when they occur word-internally at a syllable break:

- (5.152) mɪdʁas, mɪdʁaʃ (M) (מידראש) ‘Midrash, biblical exegesis’
 mɪdʁaʃ (H) (מִדְרָשׁ)

- (5.153) ɪsraɛl (M) (इस्राएल) ‘Israel’
 jɪsraʔel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)

Epenthesis is also used as an adaptation strategy to break up [dr] onset clusters in Sanskrit *tadbhava* words, as in (5.154) below:

- (5.154) ɖrākʃhā (S) >> ɖarākʰ (M) ‘a kind of fruit, a grape’

5.1.7.2 Deletion

In addition to epenthesis, we also find that onset consonant clusters in historical English loans are simplified through deletion. In the first following examples, the second member of a [C + r] sequence is deleted:

- (5.155) tɹɪdʒori (M) (तिजोरी) ‘treasury’ (E)

- (5.156) kʰɪstɹ (M) (खिस्त) ‘Jesus Christ’ (E)

In Section 5.1.7.1 Epenthesis, we observed that [s + C] onset clusters were re-syllabified through onset [ɪ] epenthesis; however, in the examples below, [s + C] onset clusters are simplified through [s] deletion:

- (5.157) pana (M) (पाना) ‘spanner’ (E)

- (5.158) tʌpəl (M) (टपाल) ‘The Dak, the post (from English staple)’ (E)

Unlicensed word-final consonant clusters are also simplified through deletion. In examples

(5.159-5.160), a [C + t] cluster is simplified in Marathi through deletion of the first cluster member:

(5.159) kəntṛaṭ (M) (कंत्राट) 'contract' (E)

(5.160) laṭ (M) (लाट) 'lord' (E)

For the same types of consonant clusters, deletion is also used in *tadbhava* Sanskrit words:

(5.161) sakṭu (S) >> sāṭu (M) 'barley'

In historical English [nasal + C] sequences, the nasal consonant is retained while the second member of the cluster is deleted:

(5.162) kāmpan (M) (कंपाण) 'compound' (E)

(5.163) lesən, ləisən (M) (लेसन, लैसन) 'license' (E)

We also find that some onset [C + r] clusters are allowed, as shown in examples (5.164-5.166) below:

(5.164) pṛinsipal (M) (प्रिन्सिपाल) 'principal' (E)

(5.165) profesər (M) (प्रोफेसर) 'professor' (E)

(5.166) dṛəm (M) (ड्रम) 'drum, instrument' (E)

In historical Arabic loans, one instance of nasal deletion occurs in Marathi, though it was retained in the same word adapted into Hindi:

(5.167) mādʒəl (M) (मजल) 'stage, halt'

mənzil (A) (मन्झील)

mānzil (Hi) (मंज़िल)

Word-final consonant clusters in Persian loanwords are also simplified through deletion of the second member of the cluster, as shown in (5.168-5.169) below:

(5.168) ras (M) (रास) 'straight'

rast (P) (रास्त)

- (5.169) goṣ (M) (गोष) 'beef'
goṣṭ (P) (गोश्त)

The Hebrew affricate [ts], represented by the letter *tzadi*, is simplified by mapping only the fricative, resulting in an adaptation of [s] in Bene Israel Marathi:

- (5.170) jahas (M) (याहास) 'Yachatz, breaking matzah and creating the
jahats (H) (יָחַץ) afikoman during the Passover seder'
(5.171) safon (M) (סאָפּוֹן) 'Tzafun, eating the afikoman during the Passover
tsafun (H) (צִפּוֹן) seder'
(5.172) nīrsa (M) (נירסא) 'Nirtzah, conclusion of the Passover seder'
nirtsa (H) (נִירְצָה)

5.1.8 Vowel Neutralization

In Marathi, the vowels [e] and [ɛ] in historical English and Hebrew loans are neutralized and expressed as [e], though there is some variation in contemporary English loans. In the following examples, historical English vowels [e] (examples 5.173-5.174) and [ɛ] (examples 5.175-5.176) are both collapsed into a single mapping [e], with no [j] coloring on [e]:

- (5.173) les (M) (लेस) 'lace'(E)
(5.174) relve (M) (रेल्वे) 'railway'(E)
(5.175) mælerija (M) (मलेरिया) 'malaria'(E)
(5.176) mænedʒər (M) (मॅनेजर) 'manager'(E)

Similarly, Hebrew loans with the *segol* diacritic representing [ɛ], in examples (5.177-5.179), as well as Hebrew loans with the *tsere* diacritic representing [e] (see examples 5.180-5.181) are equally mapped as [e] in Marathi:

- (5.177) eṣṭer (M) (एस्तेर) 'Esther'
ʔester (H) (אֶסְתֵּר)

(5.178)mesekh ^h (M) (मेसेख) mesex (H) (משֶׁח)	‘Mesekh, a biblical intoxicant’
(5.179)seḏer (M)(सेदेर) seḏer (H) (סֵדֶר)	‘Seder’
(5.180)šem (M)(शेम) šem (H) (שֵׁם)	‘Shem, a biblical character’
(5.181)kislev (M) (किसलेव) kislev (H) (כִּסְלֵב)	‘Kislev, a Hebrew month’

There is some variation in this pattern in contemporary English loanwords. For example, we see that [e] remains [e], with no [j] coloring:

(5.182)fesbuk (M) (फेसबुक)	‘facebook’ (E)
(5.183)əgresər (M) (अग्रेसर)	‘aggressor’ (E)
(5.184)ilektrɒnik (M) (इलेक्ट्रॉनिक)	‘electronic’ (E)

Some English loans with [ɛ] are adapted as [e] as with colonial British loans, as shown in (5.185-87) below:

(5.185)kolɛstərɒl (M) (कोलेस्ट्रॉल)	‘cholesterol’ (E)
(5.186)ɛst̪hɛtɪk (M) (एस्थेटिक)	‘aesthetic’ (E)
(5.187)kɔŋɡres (M) (कॉंग्रेस)	‘congress’ (E)

Some contemporary English loans with [ɛ] are mapped as [ɛ] in Marathi, shown in (5.188-90) below. This emerging trend indicates a high degree of bilingualism, though the pattern is not consistent.

(5.188)trɛŋdɪŋg (M) (ट्रेंडिंग)	‘trending’
(5.189)t̪ælɛŋt̪ (M) (टैलेंट)	‘talent’
(5.190)nekles sɛt̪ (M) (नेकलेस सेट)	‘necklace set’

5.1.9 Hyper-gemination

The phenomenon of hyper-gemination appears across donor sources in Marathi loanword phonology. Two cases of English loanwords with non-geminates are mapped as geminate consonants in Marathi:

(5.191) t̪əʈːu (M) (तडू) ‘tattoo cloth’ (E)

(5.192) d̪əbːəl, d̪əbəl (डबल, डबल) ‘double, two-fold’ (E)

We see the same phenomenon of hyper-gemination in Arabic loans, many of which do have underlying gemination:

(5.193) kʰəʃːi, kʰəʃi (M) (खच्ची, खची) ‘lopped or pruned, castrated’
xəsi (A) (खसी)

(5.194) həkː, hək (M) (हक्क, हक) ‘authority, claim, mastery, ownership’
həq (A) (हक)

In newer Hebrew loans (see sources *Dharmopadesh V. 2*, *Haggada Shel Pesah* and *Oneg Shabbat*), hyper-gemination of a Hebrew word (and in most cases subsequent [a] or [i] reduction in the first syllable) where gemination does not exist is also documented:

(5.195) siʋːan सिव्वान ‘Sivan, a Hebrew month’
sivan (יִּיָּנָר)

(5.196) həlːakʰa (M) (हल्लाखा) ‘Halacha, the code of Jewish law’
halaxa (H) (הַלְּאָכָה)

(5.197) hasːidim (M) (हास्सीदीम) ‘Chasidim, adherents of Chasidut’
hasidim (H) (חַסִּידִים)

(5.198) nisːan (M) (निस्सान) ‘Nisan, a Hebrew month’
nisan (H) (יְדִיָּנָר)

In the most recent Hebrew sources (*Haggada Shel Pesah* and *Oneg Shabbat*), gemination which appears following Hebrew definite article prefixes *ha-* ‘the,’ *ba-* ‘in the,’ triggers [a] reduction

(examples 5.199-5.200). In addition, [a] reduction is triggered following gemination which has been inferred (hyper-gemination) following the Hebrew prefix *l-* ‘to the,’ (example 5.201):

- | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| (5.199) | həf:əb:at̪ (M) (הַשַּׁבָּת) | ‘(def) Shabbat’ |
| | haf:ab:at (H) (הַשַּׁבָּת) | |
| (5.200) | bəf:alom (M) (בְּשָׁלוֹם) | ‘in peace’ |
| | vaf:alom (H) (בְּשָׁלוֹם) | |
| (5.201) | le'əl:am (M) (לְעֹלָם) | ‘always, forever’ |
| | ləSolam (H) (לְעֹלָם) | |

In example (5.201), Bene Israel Marathi speakers appear to have identified gemination as a key feature of Hebrew, using hyper-gemination in Hebrew loans (where it does not otherwise exist) to sonically cue a Hebrew-sounding word.

5.1.10 Degree of Nativization

The “nativization hierarchy” for Marathi proposed in Pandharipande (2003a) organizes loans from Sanskrit, Persian, and English hierarchically according to their relative conformation to different aspects of Marathi grammar. In the “nativization hierarchy,” Persian words are deemed more ‘nativized’ in the lexicon than English because Persian suffixes can attach to Marathi stems, and Marathi suffixes can attach to Persian stems (see Section 2.6.2, Persian in the Marathi lexicon). Although there are of course differences in phonological adaptations across donor languages, when factoring out language-specific phonological inputs, the adaptation strategies across donor language are remarkably similar. However, the morphological properties which characterize loanword adaptation processes across sources maintain a differentiated approach to each substrate.

Given the nature of the corpus for historical loans in Marathi, the morphological behavior of loans is limited to what can be inferred from the citation form. We do see, however, evidence of compounding in historical English loans:

(5.202) dʒɪmkʰana (M) (जिमखाना) ‘gymkhana, a gym’ (E)

The inflectional morphology of Marathi seems to apply inconsistently across English loanwords.

As discussed previously, in the first example (5.303), the English loan ‘boots’ is treated as a singular or mass noun, whereas in example (5.204), it appears as though the Marathi word for ‘blouse,’ derived from the English word ‘polka,’ has been treated as a fusion of a pluralized masculine –[a] ending noun, which becomes [e], and a plural neuter –[ə] ending noun, which becomes [ẽ] in the plural:

(5.203) buʈ (M) (बूट) ‘boots’ (E)

(5.204) polkẽ (M) (पोलकें) ‘blouse, from English polka’ (E)

Compounding also occurs in Arabic loans, as in example (5.205) below:

(5.205) t̪ɪroka (M) (तिरुका) ‘a small coin worth ¼ of an anna’
 t̪ɪr (M)(तिर) ‘three’ + rukəa (A) (रुका)

Pandharipande (2003a) documents the way Persian loans receive morphological case marking in Marathi. Unlike English and Arabic, only historical Persian loans in this corpus appear to show inflectional morphology, consistent with Pandharipande (2003a), with morphological case marking appearing before the Persian suffix *-dar*:

(5.206) d̪əfəd̪ar (M) (दफेदार) ‘officer of cavalry’
 d̪əfa (P) + dar (P) (दफअदार)

(5.207) d̪əfəd̪ar (M) (डफेदार) ‘officer on a small platoon’
 d̪əfa (P) (दफा) + dar (P) (दार)

While the data set is limited, this provides potential evidence that Marathi is sensitive to separate Persian and Arabic strata.

Contemporary English loanwords in this data set do not show any inflectional activity, except in older loans which are still extant. These loans receive morphological case marking when suffixed by a post-position:

(5.208) dʌktəɪ.ã.saʰi (डॉक्टरांसाठी)
doctor.plural(obl).for
'for the doctors'

(5.209) miniʈ.ã.məɖʰe (M) (मिनटांमध्ये)
minute.plural(obl).in
'in (X) minutes'

This bifurcation in the morphological behavior between historical and contemporary English loans would suggest separate strata, compatible with different lexical stratification observed cross-linguistically.

Although contemporary English loans import English inflectional morphology wholesale (plural, past participle, possessive), we do see that derivational morphology is possible in English loans. In the following examples, we see mixed Marathi-English compounding:

(5.210) slæŋg bʰaʂa (M) (स्लॅंग भाषा)
slang language
'slang language'

(5.211) stʌŋʈ.badʒi (M) (स्टंटबाजी)
stunt.doer
'stuntman, attention seeker'

(5.212) skul væn.vala (M) (स्कूल व्हॅनवाला)
school van.one
'school bus driver'

(5.213) askər.vɪɖʒetɑ (M) (ऑस्करविजेता)
Oscar.victor
'Oscar-winner'

(5.214) polis.prəmʊkʰ (M) (पोलिसप्रमुख)
police.head
'Head of police, superintendent'

One of the most productive forms of derivational morphology in Marathi is the compounding of a noun with the verb *kərṇe* (करणे) ‘to do,’ which is also highly productive in English loans:

(5.215) dəbəl tæp kərṇe (M) (डबल टॅप करणे)
double tap to do
‘to double tap’

(5.216) laɪk, ʃejəɪ aɳi kaməɳɳt kərṇe (M) (लाईक, शेअर आणि कमेंट करणे)
like, share, and comment to do
‘to like, share, and comment’

(5.217) kəndɪʃən kərṇe (M) (कंडिशन करणे)
condition to do
‘to condition’

In light of the wider phenomenon, this project only captures a small fraction of the loanword behavior in contemporary English loans. More research is needed to determine whether English affixation is beginning to combine with Marathi.

Because Hebrew is not used conversationally in India, the morphological behavior of Hebrew loans is interesting in that it departs from expectations based on the loan behavior above. In all of the Hebrew sources, Hebrew loans are treated morphologically as nativized Marathi words. Masculine nouns ending in a consonant receive oblique case marking with [a] when followed by a post-positional suffix:

(5.218) ɪsraɛl.a.vəɾ (M) (इसराएलावर) ‘unto/on the people Israel’
israɛl.obl.on

(5.219) abrahɑm.a.ʃi (M) (आब्राहामाची) ‘Abraham’s’
abrahɑm.obl.poss fem

(5.220) jakob.a.s (M) (याकोबास) ‘with Jacob’
jakob.obl.with

Feminine nouns ending in [a] turn to [e], receiving oblique case when followed by a post-positional suffix:

- (5.221) hanːe.s (M) (हान्नेस) ‘with Hannah’
hannah.with
- (5.222) rɪbeke.nẽ (M) (रिबकेनें) ‘by (means of) Rebecca’
rebecca.by
- (5.223) ʈore.ʈ (M) (तोरेत) ‘in the Torah’
torah.in

And plural feminine [a] ending words are nasalized when case-marked oblique. In this case, it appears as though *torah* is treated deferentially through pluralization, which is common of sacred texts in South Asia:

- (5.224) ʈor.ãn.ʈil (M) (तोरांतील) ‘in the Torah’
torah.obl(pl).in

5.1.11 Marathi Alveolar Affricates

The presence of alveolar affricates [dz], [dzʰ], and [ts] in the phonemic inventory of Marathi is unusual with respect to the areal features of South Asia. The synchronic specifications of these features are further complicated by their behavior in loanword adaptation. For example, at times loans with [z] are adapted as [dz]:

- (5.225) kʰərbudz (M) ‘melon’
xərbuza (P) (खर्बूझा)
xərbuz (Hi) (खरबूज़)

Other times, loans with [ɖ] are adapted as [dz], even though [ɖ] is fully available in the Marathi’s phonemic inventory:

- (5.226) kʰɪdzməʈ (M) (खिजमत) ‘service, attendance’
xɪɖməʈ (Ar.) खिदमत
kʰɪɖməʈ (Hi) खिदात

On the other hand, some loans with [z] are treated as [ɖ] rather than [dz]:

- (5.227) kagəɖ (M) (कागद) ‘paper’
kaɣaz (P) (काग़ज़)

kagəz (Hi) (कागज़)

The above examples suggest that this feature is treated as a composite of [ɖ] and [z], at least historically, prompting a closer look at the diachronic evolution and specifications of this feature.

5.1.12 Summary

The following chart summarizes the key adaptation patterns identified in Chapters 3 and 4, most of which been discussed in this comparative analysis.

Chart 5.1 Loanword Adaptation Processes in Marathi

Loanword Adaptation Processes	Source
Dental adaptation of [t] and [d]	Colonial English Arabic Persian Hebrew (orthographically-conditioned)
Retroflex adaption of [t] and [d]	Colonial English Contemporary English
Velar/uvular [x, χ] → [k ^h]	Arabic Persian Hebrew (orthographically-conditioned)
Back [ħ] and [h] → [h]	Hebrew (orthographically-conditioned)
Velar/uvular [ɣ] → [g]	Arabic Persian
Uvular [q] → [k]	Arabic Persian
Retroflexion	Colonial English Arabic Persian Hebrew
Palatalization	Colonial English Arabic Persian Hebrew Contemporary English
Adaptation of English [ɪ]	Contemporary English
Reduction of [i] → [ɪ] in onset syllables	Hebrew (some evidence) Contemporary English (some evidence)
Adaptation of English vowels [æ] and [ɑ]	Colonial English Contemporary English
Neutralization of vowels [e] and [ɛ] → [e]	Colonial English Hebrew
Adaptation of English vowel [ɛ]	Contemporary English

Loanword Adaptation Processes	Source
Approximate place and voicing preservation (manner change)	Colonial English Persian
Free Variation (ʃ ~ s)	Colonial English Arabic Persian Hebrew Contemporary English (monolingual speech)
De-aspiration	Colonial English Contemporary English
Aspiration	Persian
Word-final voicing	Arabic
Word-final de-voicing	Arabic Persian
Intervocalic voicing	Arabic
Vowel nasalization before nasal C + homorganic stop	Colonial English Contemporary English
Cluster simplification (epenthesis)	Colonial English Arabic Persian Hebrew
Cluster simplification (deletion)	Colonial English Arabic Persian Hebrew (affricates) (deletion or different sound in contact?) Contemporary English
Metathesis	Arabic Hebrew (orthographically conditioned)
Hyper-gemination	Colonial English Arabic Hebrew (some evidence)
Degemination	Arabic Persian Hebrew
Morphological compounding	Colonial English Arabic Persian Contemporary English
Morphological inflection	Colonial English
Morphological case marking	Persian Older English stratum Hebrew Contemporary English (minimal evidence)
Calquing	Hebrew

When taking into account all of the data sets, a key pattern which emerges is that certain adaptation strategies remain consistent across donor languages (retroflexion, palatalization, cluster simplification, and (ʃ ~ s) variation). There is, however, a temporal aspect to these strategies, which taper off in the contemporary English loans of highly bilingual speakers, indicating an abrupt break in phonological patterns marked by globalization. New patterns surface in contemporary English loans which are nearly isomorphic with the English donor artifacts, such as a close differentiation between [v] and [w], and the introduction of English [ɹ], as well as [ɛ] in the inventory. Historical English loans from the period of British rule share more in common with Perso-Arabic loans than with the contemporary English stratum, though they are both marked by retroflex adaptation of English alveolar [t] and [d]. This is somewhat inconsistent, however, in colonial British loans, which occasionally mapped these segments as dental [t̪] and [d̪]. Additionally, contemporary English loans receive no oblique case-marking in Marathi. This is not true of the older British stratum, which behaves much more like Persian.

We also see behaviors which are specific to the shared features of Hebrew, Arabic and Persian, with Hebrew orthography accounting for the divergent adaptation strategies in back consonants [x] [h], as well as in the dental [t̪] and [d̪] sets. Dentalizing Hebrew [t] and [d] consonants in Bene Israel Marathi audibly groups Hebrew with Arabic and Persian, linguistically gesturing belonging to the regions where these languages are spoken. A similar process of hypergemination also occurs in both Hebrew and Arabic, which may be an aural cue for hyperperformance of these languages.

Language-specific adaptations also provide hidden insight into the phonology of Marathi. For example, in Chapter 4 Hebrew Loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, [j] onsets are deleted before high front vowels across sources, and in both historical and contemporary English loans,

allophonic aspiration fails to map in the output form. The literature is still divided on the role of nasalization in Marathi, but we see that vowels in English loans are nasalized before nasal consonants followed by homorganic stops, though nasalization fails to map before single nasal consonants.

The behavior of Marathi alveolar affricates in loanwords is both inconsistent and puzzling. An appeal to the diachronic origins and evolution of these features provides us with an account for why these affricates factor out into composite features in loanwords. A closer look at the diachronic evolution of Marathi affricates also suggests multiple splits in Indo-Aryan.

There are a handful of differential adaptation patterns in Arabic and Persian which suggest separate strata (hyper-gemination and intervocalic voicing in Arabic). In addition to Arabic loans which entered Marathi via Persian, these adaptation patterns suggest that Arabic could have been in direct contact with Marathi. In either case, the data problematizes a unified “Perso-Arabic” substrate often characterized in the literature on Indic languages.

A study on language politics and linguistic contact in South Asia would not be replete without at least a cursory mention of the Hindi-Urdu divide (see Rai 1991, King 1995, Farooqi 2008, Rahman 2011, Hakala 2016 for detailed discussion). As discussed in Chapter 2, the political ideologies responsible for creating this artificial separation extended into the politics of regional languages, including Marathi. The effects of this stratification unquestionably impact the limited number of Arabic and Persian loans still extant in contemporary Marathi.

In the following Section 5.2, we will discuss the phenomenon of convergence in South Asia as it relates to the loanword phonology of English and Perso-Arabic loans. Section 5.3, Sociolinguistic Variables in Bene Israel Marathi, explores the evolution of Bene Israel linguistic

identity and offers sociolinguistic motivations for the comparative similarities and differences in Hebrew adaptation patterns identified here.

5.2 South Asia as a Linguistic Area

5.2.1 Sociolinguistic Convergence

A formidable argument in favor of defining South Asia as a linguistic area is the shared sociolinguistic phenomena which are grammatically encoded in South Asia across language families. Grammatically encoded kinship relationships, politeness, and taboo expressions are common features of South Asian languages, and a phenomenon known as a “joking relationship” is also grammatically indexed in some languages (see Emeneau 1992 for further discussion). Sociolinguistic variables such as gender intersect with other sociolinguistic dimensions to circumscribe the contextual acceptability of taboo expressions (see Kapoor 2016). Politeness markers are also linguistically and grammatically encoded in South Asian languages to express deference. In the case of Marathi and Hindi, for example, terms of address, honorifics, and plural verb agreement are often used to encode politeness. Though comprised of four divergent language families, South Asian languages share a number of common social practices which are expressed grammatically.

5.2.2 Linguistic Convergence

Loanword phonology is inherently a function of linguistic contact, and various types of contact are characterized by complex sociolinguistic environments which yield different systems of communication: pidginization, creolization, code-mixing, code-switching, convergence, etc.

To better understand the patterns we have observed across data sets in this study, we must situate these patterns within a broader understanding of South Asia as a linguistic area and the process of convergence. In a now classic account, Emeneau (1956) argued for defining South

Asia as a linguistic area based largely on the phenomenon of convergence, which also marks the linguistic area as distinct from neighboring areas (see Masica 1974 [2012]). Later papers provided additional details and support for this argument, focusing on linguistic features shared across languages in South Asia from different language families, where one or more of those language families do not otherwise possess a given linguistic trait (Emeneau 1969, 1971, 1974 and Southworth 1974). Given the presence of four distinctive language families in South Asia (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Tibeto-Burmese, and Munda), convergence of linguistic features across languages which do not share filial origins entails sustained contact.

Type, degree and direction of convergence differ considerably across the SA context, and the social contexts in South Asia which give rise to the phenomenon of convergence are still poorly understood. Gumperz & Wilson (1971:153) identified one feature which appears to be common to all cases of convergence in South Asia, and that is “ethnic separateness of home life.” Southworth (1974) points out that this variable is still problematic, as we have yet to understand why this is sustained in SA and why the same phenomenon does not consistently produce the same convergence results elsewhere in the world.

According to Southworth (1971), due to the adoption of non-IA traits by IA languages, IA languages such as Marathi express a number of linguistic traits from one source while the lexical base draws from another. In a case study of the village in Marathi-speaking Kupwar, Kannada, Marathi and Urdu have converged phonologically, syntactically, and semantically, such that the boundary of each language is comprised of “alternative sets of rules for the relation of semantic categories to morphemic shapes” (Gumperz & Wilson 1971:165).

The astute reader will note that Southworth (1974:3) distinguishes the phenomena of convergence and loanword adaptation in the following commentary:

As in other areas of the world, SA languages abound in cases of word borrowing. The principal sources have been the classical languages (Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Classical Tamil), the modern languages of colonial domination (English, Persian, Portuguese), and to some extent the modern SA vernaculars themselves. The borrowing of surface lexical forms (with or without change of meaning) is, however, quite distinct from the question of structural convergence. In fact, in some cases the shared structural traits have diffused in the opposite direction from the main current of word borrowing.

Although this may be the case, we have yet to shed light on the ways in which loanword adaptation patterns are subsumed by convergence. To what extent do patterns in Marathi loanword phonology converge with areal features of South Asia? To address this question, we must take a preliminary look at cross-linguistic patterns of loanword adaptation. Despite individual differences in adaptation, degree of similarity in English and Persian loanword adaptation in Hindi and Marathi confirms convergence properties, indicating a deep shared phonology.

5.2.3 Convergence in English Loanword Adaptations

Convergence in English loanword adaptations across South Asian languages can be attributed in part to the phenomenon of Indian English, itself a product of convergence. There is still, however, substantial differences between what Masica and Dave (1972) term the “prescriptive Standard Indian” phonology and the regional varieties. There is also considerable variation in the phonologies of Indian English across regional languages, also described by Masica and Dave (1972:8) as the phenomenon of “spelling pronunciation,” which is a type of pronunciation that has been mediated through text acquisition. In a study conducted by Naik (2012), we also find that sociolinguistic variables factor into the substantial variation present in the English pronunciation of Kannada speakers from urban areas, rural areas, economically underdeveloped districts, and SC/ST dominant areas. Despite variation in Indian English, we find that nevertheless English loanwords display a high degree of faithfulness in adaptation patterns cross-

linguistically. In the repeated examples below, the feature of aspiration does not map onto English loanwords in Marathi:

- (5.228) pæɖ (M) (पॅड) 'pad' (E)
 (5.229) tæp (M) (डबल) 'tap' (E)
 (5.230) kaɖən (M) (कॉटन) 'cotton' (E)

Remarkably, this adaptation pattern is also characteristic of English loans in Hindi, as shown below in examples (5.231-5.233):

- (5.231) koɾt (Hi) (कोर्ट) 'court' (E)
 (5.232) paɾk (Hi) (पार्क) 'park' (E)
 (5.233) taim (Hi) (टाइम) 'time' (E)

In addition to the examples of [ɖ] shown above, English alveolar [t] and [d] are also adapted as retroflex [ɖ] and [ɖ] in Hindi in examples (5.234-5.235):

- (5.234) kaɖ (Hi) (काई) 'card' (E)
 (5.235) dɾaɪv (Hi) (ड्राइव) 'drive' (E)

English vowels are nasalized in Marathi before a consonant cluster with a nasal consonant and homorganic stop, repeated below:

- (5.236) kəmpəni (M) (कंपनी) 'company' (E)
 (5.237) æɳdʒioplasti (M) (अँज्जोप्लॉस्टी) 'angioplasty' (E)
 (5.238) lænd (M) (लँड) 'land' (E)
 (5.239) krasɳg (M) (क्रॉसिंगचे) 'crossing' (E)

The same pattern appears in English loans in Hindi, as shown in (5.240-5.242) below:

- (5.240) bɛɳk (Hi) (बैंक) 'bank' (E)

(5.241) rĩng (Hi) (रिंग) ‘ring’ (E)

(5.242) stēnd (Hi) (स्टैंड) 'stand' (E)

However, there are some differences in English adaptation patterns found in Hindi and Marathi.

For example, the English vowel [ʌ], while also orthographically marked in Hindi, is adapted as [ʌ] in Marathi but has various adaptations in Hindi:

(5.243) kamẽŋɬ (M) (कमेंट) ‘comment’ (E)

(5.244) blag (M) (ब्लॉग) 'blog' (E)(5.245) bas (M) (बॉस) 'boss'(E)

(5.246) *ʃak* (Hi) (चॉक) ‘chalk’ (E)

ਯੋਕ (Hi) (चौक)

ʈak (Hi) (चाक)

(5.247) daktər (Hi) (डॉक्टर) 'doctor'(E)

daktər (Hi) (डाक्टर)

(5.248) kafi (Hi) (कॉफी) 'coffee'(E)

We also see that while English [æ] has been fully adapted into Marathi (5.249-5.251), it is merged with [ɛ] in Hindi (5.252-5.254):

(5.249) pæd (M) (पॅड) 'pad' (E)

(5.250) tæp (M) (डबल) ‘tap’ (E)

(5.251) *ƿæmpu* (M) (शाम्पू) ‘shampoo’ (E)

(5.252) bɛg (Hi) (बैग) ‘bag’ (E)

(5.253) dʒeket (Hi) (जैकेट) 'jacket' (E)

(5.254) bɛʈ (Hi) (बैट) ‘bat’ (E)

5.2.4 Convergence in Perso-Arabic Loanword Adaptations

As we have seen to some degree in Chapter 3, Perso-Arabic loans have been adapted differentially across South Asian languages, yet the imports nevertheless share a remarkable degree of similarity in hallmark phonological features. In the examples below, denti-alveolar [t] and [d] are adapted as [d̪] and [t̪] respectively:

- (5.255) mād̪d̪ (Hi) (मदद) ‘help, assistance’
mād̪d̪ (P) (مدد)
- (5.256) baḍ̪ (Hi) (बाद) ‘after’
baḍ̪ (P) (بعد)
- (5.257) ṭak̪ṭ̪ (Hi) (ताक़त) ‘power, strength’
taq̪ṭ̪ (A) (طاقة)
- (5.258) kəbuṭ̪ər (Hi) (कबूतर) ‘pigeon’
kəbut̪ər (P) (كبوتر)

Just as in Marathi loanword phonology, back consonants [x], [ɣ], [q] are adapted as [kʰ], [g], and [k], shown in (5.259-5.264) below:

- (5.259) kʰwab (Hi) (ख़्वाब) ‘dream’
xwab (P) (خواب)
- (5.260) kʰuɸ̌ (Hi) (ख़ुश) ‘happy’
xuɸ̌ (P) (خوش)
- (5.261) gəɸ̌ (Hi) (ग़म) ‘sorrow’
ɣəɸ̌ (P) (غم)
- (5.262) gos:a (Hi) गुस्सा ‘anger’
ɣuzəb (P) (غضب)
- (5.263) kanun (Hi) (क़ानून) ‘law’
qanun (P/A) (قانون)
- (5.264) kaɪjḍa (Hi) (क़ायदा) ‘rule, regulation’
qaijḍa (P/A) (قاعده)

5.2.5 Conclusions

The significance of identifying convergence in loanword phonology across related South Asian languages is that it can be repurposed as a tool to reconstruct the phonology of diachronic Indo-Persian, which itself displays properties of structural convergence with Indic languages (see Section 3.3.1, Perso-Arabic Loanwords). Not only was Persian the administrative language in Hindustani-speaking regions and the Deccan, but Persian was also the administrative language of Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, followed by Urdu under British rule (see Rahman 2007). Punjabi. Thus, a cross-linguistic study of Persian and English loanwords in Marathi, Hindi, and both Indian and Pakistani Punjabi (as well as in other regional languages) can provide a stronger basis for reconstructing Indo-Persian phonology as well as understanding the role of convergence in loanword adaptation.

In the case of English, one study dedicated to the introduction of English loanwords (see Ghotra 2006) documents the rapid inclusion of English loans in Indian Punjabi, whereas a corpus study conducted in Pakistan indicates that only a select number of English loanwords have entered Pakistani Punjabi, but only via Urdu (see Hussain et. al 2012), which is the language used in domains of power. Understanding the adaptation of English aspiration in a related language like Punjabi, which has developed tone in place of lost aspiration and voicing on an initial consonant, loss of aspiration on a medial consonant, and loss of non-initial [h] (see Bhatia 1975, Bhatia 1993 [2005], and Bowden 2012), provides a basis of comparison for the phonological and phonetic input controls which map aspiration in English loans.

5.3 Sociolinguistic Variables in Bene Israel Marathi

5.3.1 Bene Israel Linguistic Identity

5.3.1.1 Evolution of Bene Israel Identity

The development of Bene Israel Marathi as a Jewish language runs parallel to evolution of the community's religious identity. The historical origins of the Bene Israel are as of yet unknown, with scholars offering many different possible accounts. What has been established is that around 1200, Maimonides wrote a letter to the rabbis of Lunel describing the Jewish community of India as one which knew nothing of Jewish practice except Shabbat and circumcision (Roland 1998: 12), though scholars agree that there is not enough evidence to conclude that Maimonides was definitively referring to the Bene Israel. According to Roland (1998:12), the very first mention of the Jewish community settled in the Konkan region (presumably the Bene Israel) was in a letter from S.A. Sartorius, a Danish missionary, dated in 1738. This letter mentioned a Jewish community in Surat (Gujarat) and Rajapore (Maharashtra) called the Bene Israel, who allegedly knew nothing of Jewish practice or the liturgical canon save the *shema* prayer. In *The Indo-Israel Review* Vol.1, No.7, the community documents its stylized version of the *shema* as follows:

(5.265) “Sama Isral Wadonay Welohenu Wahad”

The *shema* prayer retained by the Bene Israel community differs substantially from the standard recitation of the Hebrew prayer given below:

(5.266) $\text{šəmaʕ j israʔel adonaj ʔəlohenu adonaj ʔəħad}$ (שמע ישראל יהוה אחד יהוה אחד יהוה אחד)

‘Hear O Israel: the Lord is our God, the Lord is One’

The surface form of the Bene Israel *shema* above does not conform to any of the loanword adaptation patterns documented in this study, suggesting an older layer of Hebrew in the community's deep past. Traditional naming practices also indicate a deep temporal connection to Hebrew, as they are recognizable in context but ultimately unrecoverable.

- (5.257) a. Samaji (Samuel)
 b. Hassaji (Ezekiel)
 c. Bunnaji (Benjamin)
 d. Elloji (Elijah)
 e. Isa/Essaji (Isaac)
 f. Essobji (Jacob)
 g. Mussaji (Moses)
 h. Dawoodji (David)
 i. Akhoobji (Jacob)
 (from Kehimkar 1937: 38-9)

Quite a few of the names noted above are actually Muslim analogues of biblical figures in the Quran, pointing either to the community's shared social alliance with Muslims in South Asia, or to the common Jewish naming practice in the diaspora of adapting local vernacular equivalents of Biblical names. Even many of the Arabic names have undergone sound change, supporting the notion that these naming practices originate from the Bene Israel's pre-Indic past. Apart from *Samaji* and *Hassaji*, none of the traditional names listed above were found in any of the Hebrew sources consulted in this study; instead virtually all names found in these sources were either Hebrew biblical names or Anglicized Hebrew names, reflecting a shift in the religious and linguistic identity of the Bene Israel which intersects with the community's religious revival (see 5.3.1.3 Religious Revival and Upward Mobility) and British colonial rule of India.

We have seen in Section 4.6.1.4 that the Bene Israel also adopted the same personal naming practices as their Hindu neighbors, and that the Marathi surnames of the Bene Israel align with surname practices in Maharashtra which suffix *-kar* to the names of villages where families resided (Kehimkar 1937). In many ways, the socio-historical and historical linguistic practices of the Bene Israel converged with areal practices of South Asia, creating a rich social and linguistic identity of composite Jewish, Hindu and Muslim cultural elements. Attempts to categorize the earlier social and religious identity of the Bene Israel proves elusive; as we have

seen throughout Chapter 4 Hebrew Loanword Adaptation in Bene Israel Marathi, the Bene Israel freely borrowed religious terminology from their Muslim and Hindu neighbors. Islamic and Hindu expressions for prayer, *namaz* and *prarthna* respectively, appeared frequently throughout the corpus, as did many Hindu expression for the divine (*Ishwar*, *Prabho*, *Deva*). One instance of calquing, *dipotsav* ‘light,lamp festival’ even draws on a moniker for the Hindu festival *Diwali* as a translation for the Jewish festival *Chanukkah*, also known as ‘the festival of lights,’ and the Torah was often referred to as a *granth* or a ‘holy book’ in South Asian parlance. Kehimkar (1937:16-29) also details the historical observances, fasts and rites of the Bene Israel community, many of which depart from mainstream Judaism and reflect an adaptation of local customs and practices.

5.3.1.2 Caste and Language

Regardless of religious community, caste is a critical social index in understanding linguistic identity in South Asia. Although the Bene Israel were not nominally Hindu, it appears as though they were deeply embedded within the local caste system and that their identity before the period of religious revival was chiefly associated with caste. As noted in Chapter 2, the Bene Israel were historically known by the moniker *Shanwar Telis* (Saturday oil-pressers) because of their traditional occupation of pressing oil and other agricultural work, as well as abstaining from labor on Saturdays, Roland (1998:13) notes that, “some Bene Israel who had moved considerably up the socioeconomic ladder later resented being called *telis* because of the lower-class implications.”

Kehimkar (1937: 31-33) also discusses the caste distinctions among the Bene Israel, divided along whether the community historically took “alien” wives or not. The rites and rituals around caste are invariably tied to areal practices encoded in Brahmanic Hinduism. For

example, in describing a wealthy man whose offspring was not accepted by the community, the Kehimkar (1937: 32) details an incident which reflects Hindu purity rites:

...when he attempted to introduce his own child, born from an alien woman as a real Bene Israel by taking that child to a public feast to dine from the same dish with him and others, the Bene-Israel strongly objected to it...being greatly indignant at this attempt to remove the anciently recognized distinction between the real Israel [Gora] and Black or Kala Israel.

Further practices reinforce this areal notion of caste identity among the Bene Israel. For example, Kehimkar (1937:32) claims that though religious observances were the same among *kalā* and *gora* Bene Israel, the castes were strictly prohibited from inter-marrying and dining with one another, a practice and distinction he claims is also found the Cochin Jewish community (33).

The ways in which Bene Israel speech which departs from the standard variety of Marathi documented by community members in *The Israelite* and *Mebasser* also establishes a clear relationship between caste identity as indexed by language (see Kachru, Dimcock, & Krishnamurty 1992 for sociolinguistic studies on caste and language in South Asia). However, the fact that intra-caste distinctions are now leveled among the Bene Israel speaks to the power of political Zionism in consolidating global Jewish identity, such that religious Jewish identity eventually superseded the powerful grip of caste association.

5.3.1.3 Religious Revival and Upward Mobility

The period of Jewish religious revival of the Bene Israel is as unclear and obscure as their early origins:

In the earliest Cochini reference to the community, the Cochin Jewish merchant Ezekiel Rahabi wrote a report to the Jews of Amsterdam in 1768, mentioning the role the Cochins were playing in the instruction of the Bene Israel. Bene Israel tradition speaks of a David Rahabi who around A.D. 1000 came to the Konkan and “discovered” the Bene Israel, recognizing them as Jewish from some of their practices: observance of

circumcision and the Sabbath, and the refusal of the women to cook fish without scales. Actually, Rahabi family records do show that a son of Ezekiel Rahabi, David, visited Western India and encountered the Bene Israel in the mid eighteenth century, while serving as an agent of the Dutch East India company. B.J. Israel suggests that the Bene Israel might have in the memory amalgamated the first “discovery” by Maimonides with the later visit of David Rahabi.
(Roland 1998: 12)

However, by the middle of the 18th century, the Bene Israel were migrating to Bombay, where the first Bene Israel synagogue *Sha'ar ha-Rahamim* was established in 1796 (Roland 1998:13-14). This is an interesting point of discussion in the scholarly literature, because although the community's expression of Jewish religious identity was beginning to merge with Jewish practices within the rabbinic legal framework, vestiges of its composite cultural identity survived. Joseph (1986:365), citing Vakrulkar (1909:17), notes that the first synagogue in Bombay, once called the Samaji Hassaji synagogue, was at one point known as the “Old Masjid” and, citing Fischel (1933:120-21), was recorded by Rabbi David D'Beth Hillel as the “Masjad Bene-Israel.” It is unknown whether the cultural vocabulary of Islam was appropriated by the Bene Israel in early days as an expression of religious solidarity with Muslims in South Asia, or whether these linguistic vestiges point to their early roots, but in any case, Bene Israel naming practices reflected both Hindu and Muslim cultural aesthetic.

By 1833 one third of all Bene Israel lived in Bombay, taking up occupations such as regiment service, skilled trade, and clerk work with the government and private firms (Roland 1998: 13-14). Roland (1998:14) describes the early 19th century as the second period of Bene Israel religious renaissance, due in large part to their contact with religious Cochin Jews and Baghdadi Jews migrating to Bombay at that time.

Perhaps the greatest opportunity for Bene Israel upward mobility came through Western Christian missionary conversion efforts. At the turn of the 19th century, missionaries provided

English and Hebrew education for the Bene Israel, and “[a]bsorbing the Protestant emphasis on the importance of the text of the Bible, the Bene Israel became less concerned about rabbinical teaching and the law than about the scriptures themselves” (Roland 1998:14). In the 1830s, Dr. John Wilson, part of the Free Church of Scotland’s mission in Bombay, took special interest in the Bene Israel, spearheading their educational efforts in English and Hebrew (Roland 1998:14). Wilson College, where the BJ Israel collection is housed, is named after Dr. John Wilson. Despite these efforts, conversion numbers were low as the Bene Israel held steadfast to Jewish identity, using their new access to English and Hebrew to connect with other global Jewish communities (Roland 1998:15).

5.3.1.4 Conflict with the Baghdadis

Roland (1998:16) dates the origins of the Baghdadi community in Bombay to 1730, around the period of time when the Bene Israel were beginning to mobilize socially through education as they began to embrace Rabbinic Jew practices. Despite this, the Bene Israel were less affluent than the Baghdadi Bombay community (an umbrella term for many different communities immigrating from the Arab world), and efforts to include the Baghdadi community in their religious practice “seems...to have had caste overtones in India (Roland 1998:20).”

Roland (1998:20-21) chronicles a rift that began in 1836 between the Baghdadi community and the Bene Israel, and the lingering sense that the Baghdadi community, while trying to assist the Bene Israel in efforts to become more religious, viewed the Bene Israel adoption of Hindu customs such as abstaining from meat and prohibiting the remarriage of widows, as problematic and not Jewish.

During this period of time, Roland (1998:26) situates the proliferation of Bene Israel community publications within the caste *sabhas* forming at the beginning of the 20th century,

which was a response to collective forward mobility of caste associations in a period of British record-keeping. Because caste associations placed claims on the state through collective lobbying as part of the widespread phenomenon known as “Sanskritization” or “Brahmanization” (see Pocock 1955, Narayana Rao 1993, Houben 1996, Jaffrelot 2000 for further discussion), this accounts for the moral policing observed in the *Israelite* which reflected distinctly upper-caste Hindu community values and practices.

The early fraught relations with the Baghdadis, exacerbated further by caste politics under the British Raj, eventually led the Bene Israel to begin aligning with Jewish communities external to India, augmenting the local social coordinates of their religious and caste identity with the identity politics of Zionism. The concurrent state-building projects of both India and Israel invariably reshaped the linguistic identity of the Bene Israel as the community began settling in Israel. The evolving linguistic practices of the Bene Israel have been subsumed by complex language ideologies at play in the intersection of religious, ethnic, caste, and national identity construction.

5.3.1.5 Movement to Israel

Although the community publicly engaged in many rigorous debates about the establishment of Israel, ultimately the majority of the Bene Israel community emigrated to the new state. In the initial years, the Bene Israel struggled for equality in Israel, with some eventually choosing to repatriate to India (for additional discussion see Roland 1998, Hodes 2014). According to (Roland 1995:140), only five thousand Jews remain in India, with approximately forty to fifty thousand Jews of Indian descent now living in Israel. No scholarly study has yet been attempted on the linguistic practices and identity of the Bene Israel resettled in Israel, though Schultz

(forthcoming) has worked on translations of the religious *kirtans* performed by the communities in India and Israel.

Of the community members remaining in India, Strizower (1971:56) notes that a number of Bene Israel speak English as a first language in addition to speaking Marathi. At the time of this study, many Bene Israel were also taking Hebrew language classes in Bombay through an instructor subsidized by a Jewish agency. Evidence of Israeli Hebrew loanwords (*Makkabi*, *Mebasser*, *Dharmopadesh* V. 2) and even some Ashkenazi Hebrew loanwords (*Makkabi*) begin to appear in Bene Israel publications in the period of post-Independence, indicating a broadened, shared Jewish identity with other communities through linguistic alliance.

The Bene Israel migration to Israel in tandem with major shifts in the linguistic ecology of Maharashtra (shaped by standardization and globalization) have resulted in dynamic linguistic changes in the community which have not yet been documented. As Strizower (1971) and Roland (1998) note, the degree of upward mobility in the community and resulting Anglicization have increased the Bene Israel's access to global Jewish discourse in English-speaking communities, and the extensive contact between the Bombay community and members settled in Israel have also resulted in borrowings of Israeli Hebrew expressions such as *b'seder* 'ok.' Although this study has touched upon the linguistic influence of the community's migration to Israel, extensive documentation is required to capture the synchronic linguistic practices of the Bene Israel community in both India and Israel.

5.3.2 Sacred Languages and Jewish Languages

According to Rubin and Kahn (2016:3), the key features commonly shared by all Jewish languages are: (1) the presence of Hebrew as a lexical component, and (2) often varying degrees of difference with respect to the non-Jewish counterpart varieties in the phonology, morphology,

and syntax of the language. Many Jewish languages have also used a modified version of the Hebrew script for written purposes, though this is not always the case. We also see throughout *The Handbook of Jewish Languages* (edited Kahn and Rubin 2016) that calquing, which we have seen in Bene Israel Marathi, is fairly common as well.

With respect to the qualifications stated above, Bene Israel Marathi can undoubtedly be classed as a Jewish language. The differential loanword patterns observed in Hebrew loans not only display textual integrity but also sonically signal a geo-social relationship to Semitic languages through phonological dental “bleaching” of [t] and [d]. However, the text-driven adaptation patterns which diverge from Arabic and Persian loans demonstrate that Hebrew loanwords in Marathi directly reflect the orthography, locating Hebrew as a sacred language in the Bene Israel’s linguistic repertoire. Bennett (2018) situates sacred languages within the social and religious phenomenon of worship and scripture, describing them as “conserved, preciously symbolic resources”...[and] uniquely qualified to foster a sense of collective identity...[yet are also divisive] (vii).” This is compatible with our understanding of the role of Hebrew in Jewish languages, but unlike what we see in English loanwords, Bene Israel Marathi morphologically case-marks Hebrew loans as if they were sourced from the core, native stratum. This fused practice of both sanctifying Hebrew through close textual mapping as well as nativizing it grammatically signals the community’s identity expression as Jews through reflective ownership and stewardship of Hebrew.

However, linguistic codification of Hebrew’s sacredness in Bene Israel Marathi also reflects South Asian sociolinguistic behaviors. For example, the pluralization of *Torah* and *Israel* (here in this sense ‘the people Israel’) below is a constructive South Asian practice in assigning an honorific to holy places, people, and texts:

- (5.258) tor.ãn.t̪il (M) (तोरांतील) 'in the Torah'
torah.obl (pl).in
- (5.259) israel.ã.t̪fe (M) (इस्राएलांचे) 'of Israel'
Israel.obl masc pl. poss masc pl
- (5.260) israel.ã.saṭʰi (M) (इस्राएलांसाठी) 'for Israel'
Israel.obl masc pl. for

The same is found across religious traditions in South Asia, with the Ganges river referred to with the honorific *-ji* (*Gangaji*), and the sacred Sikh canon appending the male honorific *sahib* in reference to the *Guru Granth Sahib*.

Apart from the evidence of extensive Hebrew borrowing, articles authored by community members in *The Israelite* and *Mebasser* claim marked differences in the morphology and lexicon of Bene Israel Marathi. These marked attributes of Bene Israel Marathi have yet to be documented, though a full account of the lexical differences especially, some of which were Persian, could eventually assist in establishing the geographic origins of the Bene Israel prior to their arrival in India. In the very least, they provide rich information about the Bene Israel's linguistic contact situation in India.

5.3.2.1 Other Indian Jewish Languages

Some preliminary work on Jewish Malayalam⁵¹, the language spoken historically by the Jewish community of Kerala, indicates that some Hebrew loanwords which appear in idiomatic expressions show evidence of semantic drift (and unlikely to be the result of contact with Modern Standard Hebrew), as well as productive compounding with auxiliary verbs (Gamliel 2016). Given the paucity of research on Indian Jewish languages, we do not know the basic

⁵¹ See also Gamliel (2009), Gamliel (2010), Gamliel (2013) for seminal work on the linguistics of Jewish Malayalam.

distinctions or similarities in Hebrew loanword behavior across the different Indian Jewish linguistic communities. Of those Jewish communities long-settled in India, Rubin (2016a) has published a glossary from two Judeo-Urdu texts, which are written in the Hebrew script and as Rubin points out, errors in both Hebrew and Urdu indicate that these documents were authored by a speaker lacking strong control of either language. There are also evidently fragments of text in Judeo-Gujarati found in a manuscript in the British Library (see Rubin 2016b, citing Moreen 1995), but thus far no work has been done on this language to my knowledge. In the case of both the Judeo-Urdu and Judeo-Gujarati manuscripts, it is possible that the authors were members of the Bene Israel community.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has examined cross-linguistic adaptation strategies in Arabic, Persian, and diachronic and contemporary English loanwords in standard Marathi, along with Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi. This comparative approach has provided us with an overview of grammatically-conditioned adaptations, shared adaptations specific to language groupings, temporal changes, and adaptations which can only be accounted for by extra-linguistic factors. In comparison, the data sets provide evidence for possible separate Arabic and Persian strata, as well as stratification of historical and contemporary English loans. In addition, we find that that adaptation patterns across donor sources provide limited data on possible feature specifications for the Marathi alveolar affricate [dz].

Section 5.2 of this chapter has dealt with the phenomenon of convergence and its implications for loanword studies in South Asian languages. Loanword adaptation strategies for Perso-Arabic and English loans are remarkably similar in both Marathi and Hindi, prompting an appeal to cross-linguistic methods for the reconstruction of Indo-Persian phonology.

Finally, Section 5.3 considered historical processes and sociolinguistic dimensions which have shaped Bene Israel identity. An understanding of Bene Israel linguistic identity is framed in this section by the social phenomenon of caste in South Asia, the function and behavior of Jewish and sacred languages, as well as major historical events such as Indian independence and the formation of the state of Israel.

The following chapter will conclude this study with an overview of the main findings presented in this study and their implications. Based on the questions which stem from this project, directions for further research in both Marathi phonology, loanword studies, and documentation will be discussed.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This study has presented new loanword data in Marathi from historical Persian, Arabic, and English loanwords, as well as from contemporary English loans and Hebrew loans which appear in the Bene Israel dialect of Marathi. Some of the major themes which emerged from the data are: (1) the role of orthography in Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, consistent with the behavior of sacred languages, (2) the remarkable similarity between historical Persian, Arabic, and English loanword adaptation strategies, (3) the sharp division between Persian, Arabic, and Hebrew [t] and [d] being adapted as dental consonants, while English [t] and [d] are adapted as retroflex in Marathi, (4) possible evidence for separate points of contact with Arabic and Persian in the Perso-Arabic stratum (i.e., lexical stratification), (5) the existence of two distinct strata in English loanwords based on adaptation patterns and morphological case-marking: historical English loanwords from the period of British colonial rule and contemporary English loanwords entering in a period of high bilingualism during the current period of neo-liberal globalization, (6) the presence of two Hebrew strata in Bene Israel Marathi: evidence in some naming practices and extant prayers of an older layer of Hebrew from the Bene Israel's deep past, as well as Hebrew loanwords which entered Bene Israel Marathi beginning in the period of religious revival, (7) a high degree of Anglicization that appears in Hebrew loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi, and (8) sociolinguistic variation in non-standard varieties of Marathi which appears to capture robust shared features of Marathi phonology before the period of standardization. In this study, we have discussed the importance of the themes above with respect to the historical and political events of South Asia in a global context.

In addition to its key findings, this study has also presented a number of limitations. First, the majority of the data was collected from historical print sources, and thus given the lack

of information available on the historical phonologies in contact, transcriptions of both the donor sources and loans are approximations at best. Due to spelling inconsistencies, typographical errors, and poor quality in print sources, there may also be tokens in this data set which are not accurate. Additionally, some of the differential importations captured in these findings may be accounted for with a better understanding of different points of contact and historical dialect variation, which we simply lack. In the case of Bene Israel Marathi, we are also dealing with a dialect which is being rapidly eclipsed by English, Hindi, and Hebrew, all in different contexts. Because there are very few true monolingual speakers of this dialect, this study has relied heavily on print sources to foreground the historical contact situation at the cost of examining synchronic loanword adaptation processes, language change and shifting language ideologies among the Bene Israel.

Despite these limitations, this is the first academic study which serves to document any linguistic aspect of Bene Israel Marathi, an endangered Jewish language. To this end, areas for future research necessitated by this project are (1) a detailed documentation of the grammar of Bene Israel Marathi (2) time-sensitive documentation and preservation of the texts contained in the BJ Israel collection and other private collections in India that are not catalogued, (3) the investigation of Indo-Persian phonology through comparative loanword studies in related South Asian languages, (4) and additional work on Marathi stress assignment in loanwords, including experiments on Marathi speakers' stress perception in English.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Hindi Loanwords in Marathi from Kulkarnī (1946 [1993])

Hindi	Marathi	Gloss
gudṛa (Hi) (गजरा)	gudṛa (M) (गजरा)	‘A wreath of flowers’
gəhəna (Hi) (गहना)	gəhaṇ (M) (गहाण)	‘An article pawned’
ḡīr (H) (चीर)	ḡīra (M) (चिरा)	‘virginal purity, maidenhood’
ḡūnəri (Hi) (चुनरी)	ḡūnəṛi (M) (चुनडी)	‘A cloth dyed with stars’
dʒan pəhəʃʃan (Hi) (जान-पहचान)	dʒanpəʃʃan (M) (जानपछान)	‘An acquaintance’
dʒokʰim (Hi) (जोखिम)	dʒokʰim, dʒokʰəm (M) (जोखीम, जोखम)	‘risk, hazard, responsibility’
kʰərḍa (Hi) (खर्डा)	kʰərḍa, kʰərḍa (M) (खरडा, खर्डा)	‘memorandum’

Appendix 2: Sanskrit Loanwords in Marathi

Sanskrit	Marathi	Gloss
kārṇa (S)	kān (M)	‘ear’
ḍrākshā (M)	ḍarākʰ (M)	‘a kind of fruit, a grape’
vyāghra (S)	vāgh (M)	‘tiger’
śyāmala	sāvalā (M)	‘dark, handsome’
saktu (S)	sātu (M)	‘barley’

Appendix 3: Historical Portuguese Loanwords in Marathi from Kulkarnī (1946 [1993])

Marathi	Gloss
gini (M) (गिनी)	‘gold coin, from <i>guinea</i> ’
ḡavi (M) (चावी)	‘key, from <i>chave</i> ’
ṭurṅg (M) (तुरुंग)	‘jail or a prison, from Dutch <i>trank</i> ’
pəsar (M) (पसार)	‘to pass, from <i>passer</i> ’
paḍri (M) (पाद्री)	‘Christian missionary, from <i>Padre</i> ’
pav (M) (पाव)	‘bread, from <i>pao</i> ’
pip (M) (पीप)	‘cask or barrel, from <i>pipa</i> ’
puṛṭkal (M) (पुर्तकाल)	‘Portugal’
pəṛṭkeṣ (M) (पर्तकेश)	‘Portuguese’
fərnaḍin (M) (फर्नादीन)	‘type of mango, from <i>Fernandez</i> ’
buṭṭ (M) (बूच)	‘cork, from <i>buch</i> ’

modjī (M) (मोडशी)	‘intestinal derangement, from <i>morte-de-chiem</i> (cholera)’
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Appendix 4: Kannada Loanwords in Marathi (from Master 1964:37)

Kannada	Marathi	Gloss
madavi (K)	madavī (M)	‘fine garment’
muppuri (K)	mauphare (M)	‘triply twisted’

Appendix 5: Colonial English Loanwords in Marathi from Kulkarnī (1946 [1993])

Marathi	Gloss
araruṭ (M) (आरारूट)	‘arrowroot’ (E)
bæṭ (M) (बॅट)	‘bat’ (E)
boi (M) (बॉय)	‘boy’ (E)
boikaṭ (M) (बॉयकॉट)	‘boycott’ (E)
buṭ (M) (बूट)	‘boots’ (E)
bulḍag (M) (बुलडॉग)	‘bulldog’ (E)
dzar (M) (झार)	‘Czar (via Polish and Russian)’
džanevari (M) (जानेवारी)	‘January’ (E)
džimk ^h ana (M) (जिमखाना)	‘gymkhana, a gym’ (E)
džok (M) (जोक)	‘joke’ (E)
ḍajiri (M) (डायरी)	‘diary’ (E)
ḍab:əl, ḍabəl (डबल, डबल)	‘double, two-fold’ (E)
ḍəfər (M) (डफर)	‘dull, from English deaf, duffer (feeble)’ (E)
ḍədzən (M) (डझन)	‘collection of twelve (articles)’ (E)
ḍrəm (M) (ड्रम)	‘drum, instrument’ (E)
əpil (M) (अपील)	‘appeal’ (E)
fæḍ (M) (फॅड)	‘fad, hobby’ (E)
fæktəri (M) (फॅक्टरी)	‘factory’ (E)
faɪl (M) (फाईल)	‘file’ (E)
fəil (M) (फैल)	
fars (M) (फार्स)	‘farce, acting’ (E)
fəlaŋi (M) (फलाणी)	‘flannel’ (E)
fənel (M) (फनेल)	‘funnel’ (E)
fərgəṭ (M) (फरगत)	‘frigate (a sailing vessel) (E)
fərlāŋg (M) (फरलॉग)	‘measure of distance, a furlong’ (E)
fərma (M) (फर्मा)	‘a specimen, a form’ (E)
fi (M) (फी)	‘fee’ (E)
fiḍl (M) (फिडल)	‘fiddle’ (E)
fʊṭbal (M) (फुटबॉल)	‘football’ (E)

Marathi	Gloss
gædʒiʈ (M) (गॅझीट)	‘The Gazette’(E)
gæŋg (M) (गँग)	‘band, company, group’ (E)
gəʈar, gəʈər (M) (गटार, गटर)	‘gutter or trench, fig: a popular rumor’ (E)
habsən dʒabsən (M) (हॉबसन जॉबसन)	‘Hobson Jobson’(E)
ispak, ispəʈ (M) (इस्पाक, इस्पट)	‘spade’ (E)
ispəʈal (M) (इस्पताळ)	‘hospital’(E)
kæliko (M) (कॅलिको)	‘calico cloth’ (E)
kələm (M) (कलम)	‘paragraph, column’(E)
kəmpas (M) (कंपास)	‘company’ (E)
kəmpəni (M) (कंपनी)	‘company’(E)
kəntʃraʈ (M) (कंत्राट)	‘contract’ (E)
kəmpaŋ (M) (कंपाण)	‘compound’ (E)
kʰistʃ (M) (खिस्त)	‘Jesus Christ’ (E)
lætɪn (M) (लॅटिन)	‘Latin’ (E)
laʈ (M) (लाट)	‘lord’ (E)
les (M) (लेस)	‘lace’(E)
lesən (लेसन) (M)	‘license’ (E)
ləisən (लैसन)	
limleʈ (M) (लिमलेट)	‘lemonade’ (E)
mænedʒər (M) (मॅनेजर)	‘manager’(E)
mədəm (M) (मडम)	‘madam’ (E)
mələrija (M) (मलेरिया)	‘malaria’(E)
məʃɪn (M) (मशीन)	‘machine’ (E)
miniʈ (M) (मिनिट)	‘minute’ (E)
miʃən (M) (मिशन)	‘mission’ (E)
morəs (M) (मोरस)	‘Mauritius’ (E)
niʈ (M) (नीट)	‘neat’ (E)
pæŋʈ (M) (पॅट)	‘pantaloon’ (E)
pakiʈ (M) (पाकीट)	‘packet’ (E)
pana (M) (पाना)	‘spanner’ (E)
paʈluŋ (M) (पाटलूण)	‘pantaloon’
pəliʃtər (M) (पलिस्टर)	‘blister, plaster’ (E)
pəmp (M) (पंप)	‘pump’ (E)
pəpənəs (M) (पपनस)	‘pomelmoose, a kind of fruit’ (E)
pəʊŋd (M) (पौंड) (M)	‘pound’ (E)
polis (M) (पोलिस)	‘The police’
polkə (M) (पोलकें)	‘blouse, from English polka’ (E)

Marathi	Gloss
polo (M) (पोलो)	‘polo’ (E)
post (M) (पोस्ट)	‘The <i>tapal</i> , the post’ (E)
prinsīpal (M) (प्रिन्सिपाल)	‘principal’ (E)
profesər (M) (प्रोफेसर)	‘professor’ (E)
relve (M) (रेल्वे)	‘railway’ (E)
rim (M) (रीम)	‘a ream of papers’ (E)
ribin (M) (रिबीन)	‘ribbon’ (E)
ribit (M) (रिबीट)	‘rivet’ (E)
riport (M) (रिपोर्ट)	‘report’ (E)
ruḷ (M) (रूळ)	‘ruler, rail, roller’ (E)
səkərṭar (M) (सकरतार)	‘secretary’ (E)
sərdʒ (M) (सर्ज)	‘serge, a kind of woolen cloth’ (E)
sonit (M) (सुनीत)	‘sonnet’ (E)
ṭapṭa, ṭafta (M) (तापता, ताफता)	‘taffeta, a kind of silk cloth’ (E)
ṭəṭ:u (M) (तट्टू)	‘tattoo cloth’ (E)
ṭṛḍori (M) (तिजोरी)	‘treasury’
ṭomjaṭo (M) (तोम्याटो)	‘tomato’ (E)
ṭomaṭa (M) (टमाटा)	
vadʒruk, (M) (वाजरूक)	‘budgrook, a coin in Portuguese India (bazarucco)’
vasruk (M) (वासरूक)	
vəlōṇḍedz (M) (वलंदेज)	‘Hollander, dutchman’ (E)

Appendix 6: Historical Turkish Loanwords in Marathi from Kulkarnī (1946 [1993]).

Kulkarnī Turkish Transcription	Marathi	Gloss
bēṇḍuk (T) (बंदूक)	bēṇḍuk ^h (M) (बन्दूख)	‘rifle, gun’
ḍəgleh (T) (दगलेह)	ḍugla (M) (डुगला)	‘a type of long coat’
kalıṭṭa, galıṭṭa (T) (कालिचा, गालिचा)	galitsa (M) (गालिचा)	‘a small variegated carpet’
kəʒak (T) (कझाक)	kədzak ^h , kədzag (M) (कजाख, कजाग)	‘fierce, ferocious’
ləpēṅg, ləfēṅg (T) (लपंग, लफंग)	ləfga (M) (लफगा)	‘vainglorious, fraudulent’
ṭiḡ ^h (T) (चिघ)	ṭiḡ (M) (चिक)	‘a curtain of bamboo sticks’

Appendix 7: Historical Arabic Loanwords in Marathi from Kulkarnī (1946 [1993])

Kulkarnī Arabic Approximation	Marathi	Gloss
burqa (A) (बुर्कुअ)	burka, burk ^h a (M) (बुरखा, बुरका)	‘veil, hooded cloak’
fanus (A) (फानूस)	fanus, fanəs (M) (फाणूस, फाणस)	‘lantern’
yart (A) (घरत)	garəḏ (M) (गारद)	‘buried, sunken, lost, gone utterly’
həbʃ (A) (हबश)	həpʃi, həbʃi (M) (हपशी, हबशी)	‘Abyssinian’
həq (A) (हक)	hək:, hək (M) (हक्क, हक)	‘authority, claim, mastery, ownership’
īʃq (A) (इश्क)	īʃk, iʃk (M) (इश्क, इष्क)	‘love, romance’
kəbzə (A) (कब्ज)	kəbədʒ (M) (कबज)	‘receipt’
kəfəni (A) (कफनी)	kəfəni, kəfəni (M) (कफनी कफणी)	‘shroud’
kıtb (A) (कित्ब)	kəṭāba (M) (कतबा)	‘bond, writing furnished to the Panchayit’
kursi (A) (कुर्सी)	k ^h ortʃi, k ^h orʃi (M) (खुर्ची, खुर्शी)	‘chair’
maulana (A) (मौलाना)	mulaṇa (M) (मुलाणा)	‘a Muslim religious priest’
məkan (A) (मकान)	məkaṇ (M) (मकाण)	‘place of residence, house’
mənzil (A) (मन्झील)	mədzəl (M) (मजल)	‘stage, halt’
mərzi (A) (मर्झी)	mərdʒi (M) (मर्जी)	‘will, pleasure, choice’
məsdʒid (A) (मस्जिद)	məʃiḏ (M) (मशीद)	‘mosque’
murəb:a (A) (मुरब्बा)	morāmba, murāba (M) (मोरांबा, मुरंबा)	‘preserve made of mango’
mūsafir (A) (मुसाफिर)	mufafer (M) (मुशाफर)	‘traveler’
nəqara (M) (नकारा)	nəgara (M) (नगारा)	‘a kettle drum, (fig.) a big belly’
nəsib (A) (नसीब)	nəʃib (M) (नशीब)	‘fate, luck’
qədr (A) (कद्र)	kəḏər (M) (कदर)	‘fear, awe’
qis:a (A) (किसा)	k ^h isa (M) (खिसा)	‘story, narration’
sun:i (A) (सुन्नी)	soni (M) (सुनी)	‘Sunni, an Islamic sect’

Kulkarnī Arabic Approximation	Marathi	Gloss
ʃamīl (A) (शामिल)	samlāt (M) (सामलात)	‘associate, included, partnership’
ʃetan (A) (शेतान)	səʃtan (M) सैतान	‘Satan, the devil’
ʃək: (A) (शक्क)	ʃək (M) (शक)	‘doubt, suspicion, evil surmise’
ʃərbət (A) (शरबत)	sərbət (M) (सरबत)	‘sherbet, iced drink made from lemon etc.’
takət (A) (ताकत)	ʔakəd, ʔakət (M) (ताकद, ताकत)	‘power, strength’
ʔūr (M)(तिर) ‘three’+ rukəa (A) (रुकआ)	ʔūrōka (M) (तिरुका)	‘a small coin worth ¼ of an anna’
xəbər (A) (खबर)	bəkʰər (M) (बखर)	‘narration, memoir, history’
xəsi (A) (खसी)	kʰəʃi, kʰəʃi (M) (खच्ची, खची)	‘lopped or pruned, castrated’
xīdmət (A) (खिदमत)	kʰīdmət (M) (खिजमत)	‘service, attendance’

Appendix 8: Historical Persian Loanwords in Marathi from Kulkarnī (1946 [1993])

Kulkarnī Persian Approximation	Marathi	Gloss
aʃīq (P) (आशीक)	aʃək (M) (आषक) aʃik (M)(आशिक)	‘lover’
atīʃ (P) (आतिश)	atəʃ (M) (आतष) atīʃ (M) (आतिश)	‘fire’
badam (P) (बादाम)	bədam (M) (बदाम)	‘almond’
bazi (P) (बाझी)	badʒi (M) (बाजी)	‘success, game at cards, a hand’
bəhana (P) (बहाना)	bəhaŋa (M) (बहाणा)	‘sham, pretense’
dəfa (P) (दफा) + dar (P) (दार)	dəfedar (M) (डफेदार)	‘officer on a small platoon’
dəfa (P) + dar (P) (दफअदार)	dəfedar (M) (दफेदार)	‘officer of cavalry’
dəl:al (P) (दल्लाल)	dəlal (M) (दलाल)	‘broker’
dərzi (P) (दर्जी)	dərdʒi (M) (दर्जी)	‘tailor’
durbin (P) (दूर्बिन)	durbīn (M) (दुरबिण)	‘telescope’

Kulkarnī Persian Approximation	Marathi	Gloss
dʊʃmən (P) (दुश्मन)	dʊsman (M) (दुस्मान) dʊʃmən (M) (दुश्मन)	‘enemy’
əfyan (P) (अफगान)	əfgan (M) (अफगाण)	‘Afghan’
əjal (P) (अयाल)	əjal (M) (अयाळ)	‘wife’
əʈ:ər (P) (अत्तर)	ətar, atar (M) (अतार, आतार)	‘a perfumer’
goʃt (P) (गोश्त)	goʃ (M) (गोष)	‘beef’
gunəh (P) (गुनाह)	gun ^h a (M) (गुन्हा)	‘a crime, a fault, or an offense’
hafiz (P) (हाफिझ)	hapidz (M) (हापीज)	‘A title given to Muslims for one who recites the Koran by heart’
kayaz (P) (कागध)	kagəʈ (M) (कागद)	‘paper’
kalbūd (P) (कालबुद)	kalb ^h uʈ (M) (कालभूद) kalbuʈ (M) (कालबूत) kalb ^h uʈ (M) (कालभूत)	‘frame, skeleton, stuffed animal’
kɪʃmɪʃ (P) (किश्मिश)	k ^h ismis (M) (खिसमिस)	‘raisin’
mez (P) (मेज)	medz (M) (मेज)	‘table’
mədəd (P) (मदद)	məʈəʈ (M) (मदत)	‘help, assistance’
mərəm:ət (P) (मरम्मत)	məraməʈ (M) (मरामत)	‘good condition, repairs’
mom (P) (मोम) + bəʈ:i (M) (बत्ती)	monbəʈ:i (M) (मेणबत्ती)	‘wax candle’
morda (P) (मुर्दा)	moʊəʈa (M) (मुडदा)	‘dead body, corpse’
moʃkili (P) (मुश्किली)	moʃkil (M) (मुष्कील)	‘difficult, arduous’
na-xuda (P) (ना-खुदा)	nək ^h uʈa, nək ^h uʈa (M) (नखुदा, नखुडा)	‘captain, leader of a team’
nəkʃ (P) (नक्श)	nəkəʃa (M) (नकाशा)	‘outline, map, sketch, fig: pompousness’
nɪʃan (P) (निशान)	nisaʃ (M) (निसाण)	‘an ensign, flag, banner’
parsi (P) (पार्सी)	parʃi (M) (पारशी) parsi (M) (पारसी)	‘inhabitant of Persia, a Parsee’
qərz (P) (कर्झ)	kərdzə (M) (कर्ज)	‘debt’
rast (P) (रास्त)	ras (M) (रास)	‘straight’
rəsid (P) (रसीद)	rəʃid (M) (रशीद)	‘receipt’
səwal dʒəwab (P) (सवाल-जवाब)	saldʒab (M) (सालजाब)	‘question and answer correspondence’

Kulkarnī Persian Approximation	Marathi	Gloss
ʃabaʃ (P) (शाबाश)	ʃabas (M) (शाबास)	‘bravo, well done’
ʃəbinəh (P) (शबीनह)	ʃhəbina (M) (छबिना)	‘night watch guard’
təxt (P) (तख्त)	təkət (M) (तकट)	‘metal beaten into a plate or a leaf’
xərбуza (P) (खर्बूझा)	kʰərbudz (M)	‘melon’
xub (M) (खूब)	kʰup, kʰub (M) (खूप, खूब)	‘rich, abundant, copious, superb’

Appendix 9: Contemporary English Loanwords in Marathi

Marathi	Gloss
ækədeɪmi (M) (एकेडमी)	‘academy’ (E)
æmbəsedər (M) (अम्बेसेडर)	‘ambassador’ (E)
ændʒioplasti (M) (अँजिओप्लास्टी)	‘angioplasty’ (E)
ænimeɪtəd (M) (एनिमेटेड)	‘animated’ (E)
æseɪt (M) (एसेट)	‘asset’ (E)
oɪl (M) (ऑइल)	‘oil’ (E)
aksɪdʒən (M) (ऑक्सीजन)	‘oxygen’ (E)
olɪv (M) (ऑलिव्ह)	‘olive’ (E)
əpəɹtʊniɪti (M) (एपॉरच्युनिटी)	‘opportunity’ (E)
askər.ʊdʒetə (M) (ऑस्करविजेता)	‘Oscar-winner’ (E)
bas (M) (बॉस)	‘boss’ (E)
blag (M) (ब्लॉग)	‘blog’ (E)
blo (M) (ब्लो)	‘blow’ (E)
bold (M) (बोल्ड)	‘bold’ (E)
bolt (M) (बोल्ड)	‘bolt’ (E)
brænd (M) (ब्रॅण्ड)	‘brand’ (E)
brɔdʒkɔst (M) (ब्रॉडकास्ट)	‘broadcast’ (E)
brɔdʒkɔst (M) (ब्रॉडकास्ट)	‘broadcast’ (E)
brekauts (M) (ब्रेकआउट्स)	‘breakouts’ (E)
ðə (d) (द)	‘the’ (E)
ðon hektəɹ.pəɹjɛnt (दोन हेक्टरपर्यंत)	‘up to two hectares’ (E)
dʒækeɪts (M) (जॅकेट्स)	‘jackets’ (E)
dʒəɹnəlizəm (M) (जर्नालिझम)	‘journalism’ (E)
dʒʊləri, dʒʊləri (M) (ज्वेलरी)	‘jewelry’ (E)
dʌktəɹ.ə.safhi (डॉक्टरांसाठी)	‘for the doctors’ (E)
dʌkuməntəri (M) (डॉक्युमेंटरी)	‘documentary’ (E)

Marathi	Gloss
dəbɪt (M) (डेबिट)	‘debit’ (E)
dəbəl tæp kærne (M) (डबल टॅप करणे)	‘to double tap’ (E)
dəv ^h (M) (डव्)	‘dove’ (E)
dəzən (M) (डझन)	‘dozen’ (E)
dɛdlaɪn (M) (डेडलाइन)	‘deadline’ (E)
dɪp (M) (डीप)	‘deep’ (E)
dɪsɛmbər (M) (डिसेंबर)	‘December’ (E)
dɪv ^h aɪd (M) (डिव्हइड)	‘divide’ (E)
dɪraɪjəɪs (M) (ड्रायर्स)	‘dryers’ (E)
dɪnɛdʒ (M) (ड्रेनेज)	‘drainage’ (E)
dɪraɪjər.tsa (M) (ड्रायरचा)	‘of the dryer’ (E)
ejərfor (M) (एअरफोर्स)	‘air force’ (E)
ɛst ^h etɪk (M) (एस्थेटिक)	‘aesthetic’ (E)
əɡresər (M) (अग्रेसर)	‘aggressor’ (E)
ətæk (M) (एटॅक)	‘attack’ (E)
fæʃən (M) (फॅशन)	‘fashion’ (E)
fastfud, fæstfud (M) (फास्टफुड)	‘fast-food’ (E)
fəloʊəɪs (M) (फॉलोअर्स)	‘followers’ (E)
fesbuk (M) (फेसबुक)	‘Facebook’ (E)
fɪʊzən (M) (फ्युजन)	‘fusion’ (E)
fokəs (M) (फोकस)	‘focus’ (E)
fom (M) (फोम)	‘foam’ (E)
fotə (M) (फोटो)	‘photo’ (E)
frɛnd list (M) (फ्रेंड लिस्ट्स)	‘friend lists’ (E)
ɡærənʃi (M) (गॅरंटी)	‘guarantee’ (E)
ɡaɪdɛd (M) (गाइडेड)	‘guided’
ɡrafiks (M) (ग्राफिक्स)	‘graphics’ (E)
ɡrin (M) (ग्रीन)	‘green’ (E)
hændmɛd (M) (हॅंडमेड)	‘handmade’ (E)
haspɪtəl. məd ^h e (M) (हॉस्पिटलमध्ये)	‘in the hospital’ (E)
hejər (M) (हेअर)	‘hair’ (E)
hiroz (M) (हीरोज)	‘heros’ (E)
hiro (M) (हिरो)	‘hero’ (E)
hja selɪbrɪtɪ.ɪ.pɛkʃa (ह्या सेलिब्रिटीपेक्षा)	‘than/as compared to these celebrities’ (E)
imɛls (M) (ई-मेल्स)	‘emails’ (E)
ɪərɪfən (M) (इअरफोन)	‘earphone’ (E)
ɪərɪŋɡs (M) (इअरिंग्स)	‘earrings’ (E)

Marathi	Gloss
ɪlektʃɹənɪk (M) (इलेक्ट्रॉनिक)	'electronic' (E)
ɪmedʒ (M) (इमेज)	'image' (E)
ɪmərdʒənsi (M) (इमर्जन्सी)	'emergency' (E)
ɪnfluənsər (M) (इन्फ्लुएन्सर)	'influencer' (E)
ɪŋɡrədʒi (M) (इंग्रजी)	'English' (E)
juːθ (M) (युथ)	'youth' (E)
junɪfɔm (M) (युनिफॉर्म)	'uniform' (E)
kæmp (M) (कॅम्प)	'camp' (E)
kæʒuəl (M) (कॅज्युअल)	'casual' (E)
kaɪbən (M) (कार्बन)	'carbon' (E)
kamɛ̃nt (M) (कमेंट)	'comment' (E)
kɔŋɡres (M) (कॉंग्रेस)	'congress' (E)
kaʈən (M) (कॉटन)	'cotton' (E)
keəɪ (M) (केअर)	'care' (E)
kəməndəɪ (M) (कमांडर)	'commander' (E)
kəmpəni (M) (कंपनी)	'company' (E)
kəndɪʃən kərɳe (M) (कंडिशन करणे)	'to condition' (E)
kə̃ntɛmpərəri (M) (कंटेपरेरी)	'contemporary' (E)
kəstəmaɪzɪd (M) (कस्टमाईज्ड)	'customized' (E)
kəvʰər (M) (कव्हर)	'cover' (E)
kɪlo (M) (किलो)	'kilo' (E)
klɪndʒɪŋɡ (M) (क्लिंगिंग)	'cleansing' (E)
kolestərol (M) (कोलेस्ट्रॉल)	'cholesterol'
krasɪŋɡ (M) (क्रॉसिंग)	'crossing' (E)
kredɪt (M) (क्रेडिट)	'credit' (E)
lænd (M) (लँड)	'land' (E)
laɪk, ʃeɪə aɳi kamɛ̃nt kərɳe (M) (लाईक, शेअर आणि कमेंट करणे)	'to like, share, and comment' (E)
laɪvʰ (M) (लाईव्ह)	'live' (E)
leɪtɛst (M) (लेटेस्ट)	'latest' (E)
lɪdɔɪs (M) (लिडर्स)	'leaders' (E)
lik (M) (लीक)	'leak' (E)
maɪkeɪtɪŋɡ.mʊle (M) (मार्केटींगमुळे)	'because of marketing' (E)
mɪdɪə (M) (मिडीया)	'media' (E)
mɪnɪt.ā.məɳdʰe (M) (मिनिटांमध्ये)	'in (X) minutes' (E)
mobail (M) (मोबाईल)	'mobile' (cell phone) (E)
moɪʃəraɪz (M) (मोईस्चराईझ)	'moisturize' (E)

Marathi	Gloss
neʃɪzəns (M) (नेटीझन्स)	'netizens' (E)
nəɾɪʃt (M) (नरिष्ट)	'nourished' (E)
nekləs sɛt (M) (नेकलेस सेट)	'necklace set' (E)
novɛmbər (M) (नोव्हेंबर)	'November' (E)
nuz (M) (न्यूज)	'news' (E)
pæd (M) (पॅड)	'pad' (E)
pæntʰər (M) (पॅथर)	'panther' (E)
pasbʊk (M) (पासबुक)	'passbook' (E)
pəʊər (M) (पॉवर)	'power' (E)
pɛndʒɛnt (M) (पेंडंट)	'pendant' (E)
pipəls (M) (पीपल्स)	'people's'
pjʊəɪ (M) (प्युअर)	'pure' (E)
plætʃaɪm (M) (प्लॅटफॉर्म)	'platform' (E)
polis.prəməʊkʰ (M) (पोलिसप्रमुख)	'head of police, superintendent' (E)
postmæn (M) (पोस्टमन)	'postman' (E)
posʃs (M) (पोस्टस)	'posts' (E)
prɪsɪʒən (M) (प्रिसिजन)	'precision' (E)
ræpəraʊnd (M) (रॅपअराउंड)	'wrap-around' (E)
ræpsodɪ (M) (राप्सोडी)	'rhapsody' (E)
relve (M) (रेल्वे)	'railway' (E)
rɪlɛɛd (M) (रिलेटेड)	'related' (E)
rɪsepʃən (M) (रिसेप्शन)	'reception' (E)
roz (M) (रोझ)	'rose' (E)
saijəns (M) (सायन्स)	'science' (E)
saijəns said (M) (सायन्स साईड)	'science side' (E)
selɪbrɪti (M) (सेलिब्रिटी)	'celebrity' (E)
səɾʃɪŋg (M) (सर्चिंग)	'searching' (E)
senseʃən (M) (सेन्शेशन)	'sensation' (E)
sensibəl (M) (सेन्सिबल)	'sensible' (E)
sinjər (M) (सिनियर)	'senior' (E)
signetʃər (M) (सिग्नेचर)	'signature' (E)
skul ʋæn.vəla (M) (स्कूल व्हॅनवाला)	'school bus driver' (E)
slæŋg bʰaʃa (M) (स्लॅंग भाषा)	'slang language' (E)
slæŋg (M) (स्लॅंग भाषा)	'slang' (E)
staf (M) (स्टाफ)	'staff' (E)
stɛʃən (M) (स्टेशन)	'station' (E)
stəds (M) (स्टड्स)	'studs' (E)

Marathi	Gloss
sṭəŋt̪.badʒi (M) (स्टंटबाजी)	‘stuntman, attention seeker’ (E)
sṭɪɪk (M) (स्ट्राईक)	‘strike’ (E)
sṭrimĩŋg (M) (स्ट्रीमिंग)	‘streaming’ (E)
ʃaɪt (M) (शॉर्ट)	‘short’ (E)
ʃedʒul (M) (शेड्यूल)	‘schedule’ (E)
ʃeəɪ (M) (शेअर)	‘share’ (E)
ṭʰred (M) (थ्रेड)	‘thread’ (E)
ʃænəls.vəɪ (M) (चॅनल्सवर)	‘on the channels’ (E)
t̪ælɛŋt̪ (M) (टॅलेंट)	‘talent’ (E)
t̪æp (M) (टॅप)	‘tap’ (E)
t̪amlam (M) (टाईमलाईन)	‘timeline’ (E)
t̪apɪk (M) (टॉपिक)	‘topic’ (E)
t̪avel, t̪aʊl (M) (टॉवेल)	‘towel’ (E)
t̪erakoʃa (M) (टेराकोटा)	‘terracotta’ (E)
t̪ɛmpəl (M) (टेंपल)	‘temple’ (E)
t̪ɪvɪ (M) (टीव्हीवरील)	‘t.v.’ (E)
t̪rɛŋdĩŋg (M) (ट्रेन्डींग)	‘trending’ (E)
t̪ʃælɛndʒ (M) (चॅलेंज)	‘challenge’ (E)
t̪ʃiəɪ (M) (चिअर)	‘cheer’ (E)
t̪u (M) (टू)	‘too’ (E)
t̪vɪt̪əɪ (M) (ट्विटर)	‘twitter’ (E)
væli (M) (वॅली)	‘valley’ (E)
væn (M) (व्हॅन)	‘van’ (E)
vəɪəɪəʃi (M) (व्हायटी)	‘variety’ (E)
vɛbsaɪts.vəɪ (M) (वेबसाईट्सवर)	‘on the websites’ (E)
vɪdijo (M) (व्हिडीओ)	‘video’ (E)
vɪdijoz (M) (व्हिडीओज)	‘videos’ (E)
vɪdijoz.məɖʱhun (M) (व्हिडीओजमधून)	‘from/of the videos’ (E)
vɪdɔ (M) (विडो)	‘widow’ (E)
vɪzɪt̪ (M) (व्हिझिट)	‘visit’ (E)
zəkəɪbɜːg (M) (झुकरबर्ग)	‘Zuckerberg’ (E)

Appendix 10: Hebrew Loanwords in Bene Israel Marathi

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
---	kəɪpəstʃi bʱadʒi (M) (करपासची भाजी)	‘karpats vegetable’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
---	sedarim.tsa b ^h akəri (M) (सेदारिमचा भाकरी)	‘matzah (lit: seder bread)’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	पंडित हाईम योसेफ हाले गुवा	‘Pandit Chaim Yosef Chaligoa (Hallegua)’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	bahor.a.tsa bap (M) (बाहोराचा बाप)	‘father of the firstborn’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	aḏam.a.tʃja (M) (आदामाच्या)	‘Adam’s’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	kɪdʊʃ.a.tʃe gəlas (M) (किदुशाचे गलास)	‘Kiddush glasses’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	jəruʃalaɪm.a.tsa (M) (यरूशलाईमाचा)	‘of Jerusalem’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	hagaḏjaʃe pustək (M) (हागाद्याचे पुस्तक)	‘The Haggadah book’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	israel.ã.tʃe (M) (इस्राएलांचे)	‘of the people of Israel (pl)’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	israel.ã.satʰi (M) (इस्राएलांसाठी)	‘for the people of Israel (pl)’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
adam (H) (אַדָּם)	aḏam (M) (आदाम)	‘Adam’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
avraham (H) (אַבְרָהָם)	abraham (M) (आबराहाम)	‘Abraham’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
barex (H) (בָּרַךְ)	barek ^h (M) (बारेख)	‘Barekh, blessing after the Passover holiday meal’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
bəxor (H) (בְּכוֹר)	bahor (M) (बाहोर)	‘firstborn son’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
hag:ada (H) (הַגְּדָה)	hagaḏa (M) (हागादा)	‘Haggadah, the text for the Passover seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
hal:el (H) (הלל)	halel (M) (हालेल)	'Hallel, Jewish prayer recited on holidays'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
jaḥats (H) (יָחַץ)	jahas (M) (याहास)	'Yachatz, breaking matzah and creating the afikoman during the Passover seder'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
jaʕakov (H) (יַעֲקֹב)	jakob (M) (याकोब)	'Jacob'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
jəhuda (H) (יְהוּדָה)	jəhuda (M) (यहुदा)	'Yehudah, Judah (son of Jacob)'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
jəruʕalaɪjim (H) (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם)	jəruʕalaɪm (M) (यरूशालाईम)	'Jerusalem'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
jisraʔel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)	israel (M) (इस्राएल) israɪjəl (M) (इस्रायल) israel (M) (इस्राएल)	'Israel, the people'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
jɪtʃhak (H) (יִצְחָק)	ishak (M) (इसहाक)	'Isaac'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
karpas (H) (כָּרְפַס)	kərpas (M) (करपास)	'Karpas, vegetables dipped in salt water during the Passover seder'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
kɪd:ɔʃ (H) (קִידּוּשׁ)	kɪdɔʃ (M) (किदोश)	'Kiddosh, a cup used for Kiddush'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
kohen (H) (כֹּהֵן)	kohen (M) (कोहेन)	'Cohen, a member of the priestly class'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
korex (H) (כּוֹרֵךְ)	korek ^h (M) (कोरेख)	'Korech, consumption of a matzah/maror sandwich during the Passover seder'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
levi (H) (לֵוִי)	levi (M) (लेवी)	'Levi, a member of the Levites'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
ləʃon (ha) kɔ:ɔdɛʃ (H) (לֶשׁוֹן הַקֹּדֶשׁ)	ləʃon kɔdɛʃ (M) (लशोन कोदेश) leʃon kɔdɛʃ (M) (लेशोन कोदेश)	'Hebrew (lit: tongue of the sanctuary)'	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
mag:īd (H) (מַגִּיד)	məgiḍ (M) (मगीद)	‘Maggid, telling of the Passover story during the seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
maror (H) (מָרֹר)	maror (M) (मरोर)	‘Maror, bitter herbs eaten during the Passover seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
motsi matsa (H) (מוֹצִיא מַצָּה)	mosi məs:a (M) (मोसी मस्सा)	‘Motzi Matzah, blessing before eating Matzah during the Passover seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
nirtsa (M) (נִירְצָה)	nirsa (M) (निरसा)	‘Nirtzah, conclusion of the Passover seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
paro (H) (פָּרֹה)	faro (M) (फारो)	‘Pharaoh’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
rab:i (H) (רַבִּי)	rabi (M) (राबि)	‘Rabbi’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
rab:i akiva (H) (רַבִּי אֶקִיבָא)	rabi akiba (M) (राबी आकीबा)	‘Rabbi Akiva’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
rab:i el azar (H) (רַבִּי אֵלְעָזָר)	rabi ʔl azar (M) (रिबीऐल आजार)	‘Rabbi El Azar (Eleazar ben Azariah)’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
rab:i yəhoʃuaʕ (H) (רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ)	rabi yehoʃuʕa (M) (राबी येहोशुवा)	‘Rabbi Yehoshua’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
raḥtsa (H) (רַחֲצָה)	rahasa (M) (रहासा)	‘Rachtzah, telling of the Passover story during the seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
ʃab:at (H) (שַׁבָּת)	ʃabat, ʃəbat (M) (शाबात, शबात)	‘Shabbat, the Sabbath’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
ʃulxan orex (H) (שֻׁלְחָן עֹרֵךְ)	ʃulhan orek ^h (M) (शुलहान ओरख)	‘Shulchan Orech, serving the meal during the Passover seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
tora (H) (תּוֹרָה)	ṭora (M) (तोरा)	‘The Torah’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
tsafun (H) (צפון)	safon (M) (साफोन)	‘Tzafun, eating the afikoman during the Passover seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
urhats (H) (ורחץ)	urhas (M) (उर्हास)	‘Urchatz, ritual handwashing during the Passover seder’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
ʔaharon (H) (אהרן)	ahəron (M) (आहरोन)	‘Aaron’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
ʔamen (H) (אמן)	amen (M) (आमेन)	‘amen, a liturgical declaration or affirmation’	<i>The Haggadah of the Bene Israel of India</i> (1846)
---	paraʃe (M) (पाराशे)	‘Parshas, weekly Torah portions’	<i>Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta</i> (5614, 1863-64)
---	haftare (M) (हाफ्तारे)	‘Haftarahs, weekly readings of the prophets’	<i>Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta</i> (5614, 1863-64)
kislev (H) (כסליו)	kislev, kislev (M) (किसलेव, कीसलेव)	‘Kislev (Hebrew month)’	<i>Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta</i> (5614, 1863-64)
kid:uʃ (H) (קידוש)	kidūs (M) (किदुस)	‘Kiddush (a prayer)’	<i>Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta</i> (5614, 1863-64)
nisan (H) (ניסן)	nisan, niʃan (M) (निसान, निशान)	‘Nisan (Hebrew month)’	<i>Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta</i> (5614, 1863-64)
tiʃri (H) (תשרי)	tiʃri, tiʃri (M) (तिशरी, तिसरी)	‘Tishrei (Hebrew month)’	<i>Isrāyalāñcē pañcāga yānta</i> (5614, 1863-64)
---	israel.a.ʋər (M) (इसराएलावर)	‘unto/on the people Israel’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	abraham.a.ʃi (M) (आब्राहामाची)	‘Abraham’s’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	esav.a.ʃi (M) (एसावाची)	‘Esau’s’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	jakob.a.s (M) (याकोबास)	‘with Jacob’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	josef.a.ʋər (M) (योसेफावर)	‘upon/on Joseph’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	haman.a.ʃi (M) (हामानाचें)	‘Haman’s’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	mof.a.ʃja (M) (मोशाच्या)	‘Moshe’s’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	han:e.s (M) (हान्नेस)	‘with Hannah’	<i>The Israelite</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
---	rɪbeke.nẽ (M) (रिबकेने)	‘by (means of) Rebecca’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	ṭore.ṭ (M) (तोरैत)	‘in the Torah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
---	ṭor.ãn.ṭil (M) (तोरंतील)	‘in the Torah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
arvot (H) (עֲרְבוֹת)	arboṭḥ (M) (आरबोथ)	‘deserts’	<i>The Israelite</i>
bar mitsva (H) (בַּר מִצְוָה)	bərmisva (M) (बरमिस्वा)	‘Bar Mitzvah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
barux (H) (בָּרוּךְ)	barukḥ (M) (बारूख)	‘Baruch, male name and part of a <i>bracha</i> ’	<i>The Israelite</i>
batja (H) (בַּתְּיָה)	batṭja (M) (बाथिया)	‘Batya, a Jewish female name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
binjamin (H) (בִּנְיָמִין)	binjamin (M) (बिनयामिन) binjamin (M) (बिनयामीन)	‘Benjamin’	<i>The Israelite</i>
david(דָּוִד)	ḏavidḏ, ḏavidḏ (M) (दाविद, दावीद)	‘David’	<i>The Israelite</i>
dəraʃ (H) (דִּרָּשׁ) draʃ (H)	ḏeruʃ (M) (देरुश)	‘Drash, shortened form of <i>midrash</i> ’	<i>The Israelite</i>
esav (H) (עֵשָׂו)	esav, eʃav (M) (एसाव, एशाव)	‘Esau’	<i>The Israelite</i>
gerʃon (H) (גֵּרְשׁוֹן)	gerʃon (M) (गेरशोन)	‘Gershon, son of Levi’	<i>The Israelite</i>
gəmara (H) (גְּמָרָא)	gemara (M) (गेमारा)	‘Gemara, Rabbinic commentary on the Mishnah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
gəmilut ḥesed (H) (גְּמִילּוּת חֶסֶד)	gemilutḥ ḥesedḏ (M) (गेमीलुथ हेसेद)	‘Gemilut chesed, lit: the bestowing of kindness’	<i>The Israelite</i>
haftara (H) (הַפְּטָרָה)	haftara (M) (हाफतारा)	‘Portion read from the Prophets following Torah portion reading on Shabbat, festivals and fast days’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ḥag (H) (חַג)	hag (M) (हाग)	‘Chag, a Jewish festival’	<i>The Israelite</i>
hag:ada (H) (הַגְּדָה)	həg:ada (M) (हग्गादा)	‘Haggadah, the Passover text’	<i>The Israelite</i>
hagar (H) (הָגָר)	hagar (M) (हागार)	‘Hagar’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ḥajim (H) (חַיִּים)	haim (M) (हाईम)	‘Chaim, a name’	<i>The Israelite</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
hak:ohen (הַכֹּהֵן)	hak:ohen (M) (हाककोहेन)	‘The Kohen, a member of the priestly class’	<i>The Israelite</i>
halaxa (H) (הִלָּכָה)	halak ^h a (M) (हालाखा)	‘Halakha, rabbinic Jewish law’	<i>The Israelite</i>
haman (H) (הָמָן)	haman (M) (हामान)	‘Haman, a biblical character from the story of Esther’	<i>The Israelite</i>
han:a (H) (חַנָּה)	han:a (M) (हान्ना)	‘Hannah, a biblical figure’	<i>The Israelite</i>
hanan (H) (חֲנָן)	k ^h ənan (M) (खनान)	‘Chanan, biblical era male name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
hanox (H) (חֲנוֹךְ)	han:ok (M) (हान्नोक) han:ok ^h (M) (हान्नोख)	‘Enoch’	<i>The Israelite</i>
hanuk:a (H) (חֲנוּכָּה)	hanuk:a (M) (हानुक्का)	‘Hanukkah, a Jewish festival’	<i>The Israelite</i>
haskel (H) (חֲשֵׁכֵל)	haskel (M) (हस्केल)	‘Haskel, Jewish male name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
hav:a (H) (חַוָּה)	həv:a (M) (हव्वा)	‘Eve’	<i>The Israelite</i>
haz:an (H) (חַזָּן)	haz:an (M) (हाज्जान)	‘Hazzan, a cantor’	<i>The Israelite</i>
hesed (H) (חֶסֶד)	hesed (M) (हेसेद)	‘kindness’	<i>The Israelite</i>
hoʃiʔa (H) (הוֹשִׁיעָה)	hoʃiʔa (M) (होशीया)	‘Save (now), from Psalm 118:25 <i>hoshiya na</i> ’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jaʔak ^o v (H) (יַעֲקֹב)	jakob (M) (याकोब)	‘Jacob’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jəhʔezkel (H) (יְחֶזְקֵאל)	ehezkel (M) (एहेजकेल)	‘Ezekiel’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jəhofuaʔ (H) (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ)	jehofowa (M) (येहोशुवा)	‘Joshua, a biblical figure’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jəhuda (H) (יְהוּדָה)	ehudā (M) (एहुदा)	‘Yehuda (Judah), a Jewish male given name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jəhudit (H) (יְהוּדִית)	jəhudit ^h (M) (यहुदीथ)	‘Judith’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jəruʔa (H) (יְרוּשָׁה)	eruʔa, jeruʔa (M) (एरुषा, येरुशा)	‘Yerusha, a Jewish female given name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jəriho (H) (יְרִיחוֹ)	jeriho (M) (येरीहो)	‘Jericho’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jəruʔalajim (H) (יְרוּשָׁלַיִם)	eruʔaleim (M) (एरुशलैम)	‘Jerusalem’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jitʔhak (H) (יִצְחָק)	ishak (M) (इसहाक)	‘Isaac’	<i>The Israelite</i>
jom kip:ur (H) (יוֹם כִּיפּוּר)	jom kip:ur (M) (योम किप्पूर)	‘Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement’	<i>The Israelite</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
josef (H) (יוֹסֵף)	josef (M) (योसेफ)	‘Joseph’	<i>The Israelite</i>
joʔel (H) (יוֹאֵל)	joel (M) (योएल)	‘Joel’	<i>The Israelite</i>
kab:ala (H) (קַבָּלָה)	kəb:ala (M) (कब्बाला)	‘Kabbalah, the Jewish mystical tradition’	<i>The Israelite</i>
kərijat ʃəma (H) (קְרִיאַת שְׁמַע)	kɪrjatʃəma (M) (क़ियातशेमा)	‘Kriyat Shema, a bedtime prayer’	<i>The Israelite</i>
kirjat ʃəʕarim (H) (קִרְיַת יְעָרִים)	kɪrəat ɛarim (M) (क़िरआत एआरीम)	‘Kiryat Ye’arim, a biblical town known as the site of the Ark of the Covenant’	<i>The Israelite</i>
kislev (H) (כִּסְלֵו)	kislev (M) (क़िसलेव)	‘Kislev, a Hebrew month’	<i>The Israelite</i>
levi (H) (לֵוִי)	levi, levij (M) (लेवी, लेवीय)	‘Levi’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ləhadlik (H) (לְהַדְלִיק)	lehadlik ^h (M) (लेहादलीख)	‘Lehadlik, a line included several brachas’	<i>The Israelite</i>
lot (H) (לוֹט)	lot (M) (लोट)	‘Lot’	<i>The Israelite</i>
mak:abi (H) (מַכְבִּי)	məkabi (M) (मकाबी) makabi (M) (माकाबी) mək:abi (M) (मक्काबी)	‘Maccabee, 2 nd century BCE Jewish insurgent’	<i>The Israelite</i>
maʃiaħ (H) (מָשִׁיחַ)	məʃiħa (M) (मशीहा)	‘Mashiach, the Messiah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
mənəʃ:ɛ (H) (מְנַשֶּׁה)	menəʃ:e (M) (मेनश्शे)	‘Menashe’	<i>The Israelite</i>
məsəx (H) (מֵסֶךְ)	mesek ^h (M) (मेसेख)	‘Mesekh, a biblical intoxicant’	<i>The Israelite</i>
mixa (H) (מִיכָה)	mɪkah (M) (मिकाह) mɪk ^h a (M) (मिखा) mɪk ^h a (M) (मीखा)	‘Micah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
mɪdraʃ (H) (מִדְרָשׁ)	mɪdras, mɪdraʃ (M) (मिद्रास, मिद्राश)	‘Midrash, biblical exegesis’	<i>The Israelite</i>
mɪlka (H) (מִלְכָּה)	mɪlka (M) (मिल्का)	‘Milka (biblical figure)’	<i>The Israelite</i>
mɪmsax (H) (מִמְסַךְ)	mɪmsak ^h (M) (मिमसाख)	‘mixed wine’	<i>The Israelite</i>
mordəxaj (H) (מֹרְדֳּכַי)	mordek ^h aj (M) (मोर्देखाय)	‘Mordechai’	<i>The Israelite</i>
more nəvuxim (H) (מורה נבוכים)	more nebuk ^h im (M) (मोरे नेबुखीम)	‘Guide for the Perplexed, a major work by Rambam’	<i>The Israelite</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
moʃe rab:enu (H) (מֹשֶׁה רַבֵּנוּ)	moʃe rəb:enu (M) (मोशे रब्बेनु)	‘Moshe Rabbenu, lit: Moshe our Teacher’	<i>The Israelite</i>
natan (נָתַן)	naṭʰan (M) (नाथान)	‘Nathan’	<i>The Israelite</i>
nəvuxadnetʃ:r (H) (נְבוּכַדְנֶצַּר)	nəbʊkəd̪nesar (M) (नबुखदनेसार)	‘Nebuchadnezzar, a Babylonian ruler’	<i>The Israelite</i>
nɪs:im (H) (נִסִּים)	nɪs:im (M) (निस्सीम)	‘Nissim, a male name, lit: miracles’	<i>The Israelite</i>
noaħ (H) (נֹחַ)	noha (M) (नोहा)	‘Noah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
paro (H) (פָּרֹעַ)	faro (M) (फारो)	‘Pharaoh’	<i>The Israelite</i>
pesaħ (H) (פֶּסַח)	pesa, pesah (M) (पेसाह)	‘Passover’	<i>The Israelite</i>
pinhas (H) (פִּינְחָס)	pinhas (M) (पिनहास)	‘Pinhas’	<i>The Israelite</i>
purim (H) (פּוּרִים)	puṛim (M) (पुरीम)	‘Purim, the Jewish holiday celebrating the story of Esther’	<i>The Israelite</i>
rab:i (H) (רַבִּי)	rab:i (M) (राब्बी)	‘Rabbi’	<i>The Israelite</i>
rab:i tanħum (H) (תַּנְחֻמִּים)	rab:i ʈantʃum (M) (राब्बी टानचुम)	‘Rabbi Tanchum’	<i>The Israelite</i>
raħamim (H) (רַחֲמִים)	rahamim (M) (राहामिम) rəhamim (M) (रहामिम)	‘Compassion, also a male name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
raħel (H) (רָחֵל)	rahel (M) (राहेल)	‘Rachel’	<i>The Israelite</i>
rav ħisda (H) (רב חסדא)	rab:i ʈʃɪʃda (M) (राब्बी चिषडा)	‘Rabbi Chisda’	<i>The Israelite</i>
rav hun:a (H) (רב הונא)	rab:i hun:a (M) (राब्बी हुन्ना)	‘Rabbi Huna’	<i>The Israelite</i>
rəuven (H) (רְאוּבֵן)	reuben (M) (रैउबेन)	‘Reuben’	<i>The Israelite</i>
rɪvka (H) (רִבְקָה)	riḃka (M) (रिबका)	‘Rebecca’	<i>The Israelite</i>
roʃ haʃ:ana (H) (ראש השָׁנָה)	roʃ haʃ:ana (M) (रोष हाशशना)	‘Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year’	<i>The Israelite</i>
seder (H) (סֵדֶר)	seḏer (M) (सेदेर)	‘Seder, a ritualized Passover feast’	<i>The Israelite</i>
səgul:a (H) (סְגֻלָּה)	ʃegul:a (M) (शेगुल्ला)	‘Segullah, Bene Israel female name, lit: charmed possession’	<i>The Israelite</i>
səraʃim (H) (שְׂרָפִים)	seraʃim (M) (सेराफीम)	‘Angels’	<i>The Israelite</i>
sinaj (H) (סִינַי)	sinaj (M) (सिनाय)	‘Sinai’	<i>The Israelite</i>
suf (H) (סוּף)	suf (M) (सूफ)	‘From Yam Suf, the Red Sea’	<i>The Israelite</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
ʃam:aʃ (H) (שָׁמַשׁ)	ʃəm:aʃ (M) (शम्माश) ʃam:as (M) (शम्मास)	‘Shammash, a paid synagogue attendant’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃem (H) (שֵׁם)	ʃem (M)(शेम)	‘Shem, a biblical character’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃəlomo (H) (שְׁלֹמֹה)	ʃəlomo (M) (शलोमो) ʃelomo (M) (शेलोमो)	‘Solomon’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃəmuʔel (H) (שְׁמוּאֵל)	ʃemoel (M) (शेमोएल)	‘Samuel’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃəvat ^c (H) (שְׁבַט)	ʃebaṭ (M) (शेबात)	‘Shevat, a Jewish month’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃəxina (H) (שְׁכִינָה)	ʃek ^h ina (M) (शेखीना)	‘Shekhinah, the feminine presence of the divine’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃəm ham:əforaʃ (H) (שֵׁם הַמְּפֹרָשׁ)	ʃem ham:eforas (M) (शेम हाम्मेफोरस)	‘A Tannaitic term referring to the tetragrammaton, lit: ‘the special name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃimʕon (H) (שִׁמְעוֹן)	ʃimon (M) (शिमोन)	‘Simeon’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃohet (H) (שׁוֹחֵט)	ʃohet (M) (शोहेत)	‘Butcher, one who is permitted to slaughter animals according to Jewish law’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃoʃan:a (H) (שׁוֹשָׁנָה)	ʃoʃən:a (M) (शोशाना)	‘Shoshannah, a female Jewish name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʃulhan ʕarux (H) (שֻׁלְחַן עָרוּךְ)	ʃulhan aroḥ (M) (शुलहान आरूक)	‘Shulchan Aruch, Jewish legal code’	<i>The Israelite</i>
talmud (H) (תַּלְמוּד)	təlmud (M) (तलमूद) təlmud (M) (तलमुद)	‘Talmud, the Jewish legal canon’	<i>The Israelite</i>
tam:uz (H) (תַּמּוּז)	təm:uz (M) (तम्मुज)	‘Tammuz, a Hebrew month’	<i>The Israelite</i>
taʃlix (H) (תַּשְׁלִיחַ)	təʃlik ^h (M) (तशलीख)	‘Tashlich, a ritual performed during the High Holidays’	<i>The Israelite</i>
təfil:in (H) (תְּפִלִּין)	təfil:in (M) (तेफिल्लीन) təfilin (M) (तेफिलीन)	‘Tefillin, ritual phylacteries’	<i>The Israelite</i>
tifʔeret (H) (תִּפְעָרֶת)	tɪferet ^h (M) (तिफेरथ)	‘adornment, as in <i>adornment of Israel</i> ’	<i>The Israelite</i>
tirof (H) (תִּירוֹשׁ)	tɪroʃ (M) (तिरोश)	‘grape juice’	<i>The Israelite</i>
tɪʃa bəav (H) (תִּשְׁעָה בְּאָב)	tɪʃabe ab (M) (तिशाबे आब)	‘Tisha B’av, a Jewish fast day of mourning’	<i>The Israelite</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
tora (H) (תּוֹרָה)	ṭora (M) (तोरा)	‘Torah, the Jewish religious canon’	<i>The Israelite</i>
tsədaka (H) (צֶדָקָה)	sedak ^h a (M) (सेदाखा)	‘Tzedakah, a form of charity’	<i>The Israelite</i>
tsij:on (H) (צִיּוֹן)	sij:on (M) (सिय्योन)	‘Zion’	<i>The Israelite</i>
tsip:ora (H) (צִפּוֹרָה)	sip:ora (M) (सिप्पोरा)	‘Zipporah, wife of Moses’	<i>The Israelite</i>
tʿarfon (H) (טַרְפוֹן)	ṭarfon (M) (तरफोन)	‘Rabbi Tarfon, a Mishnah sage’	<i>The Israelite</i>
vaj:ikra (H) (וַיִּקְרָא)	vəikra, bəikra (M) (वईकरा, बईकरा)	‘Leviticus’	<i>The Israelite</i>
vav (H) (וָו)	vab (M) (वाब)	‘Vav, a Hebrew letter’	<i>The Israelite</i>
vəhu raḥum (H) (וְהוּא רַחוּם)	vəhu rahum (M) (वेहू राहूम)	‘V’hu rachum, a prayer’	<i>The Israelite</i>
zaxai (H) (יֹחָנָן בֶּן זָכַאי)	zak ^h :ai, zokoj (M) (जखवाई, जोकोय)	‘Yochanan ben Zakkai, student of Hillel’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔadar (H) (אָדָר)	aḏar (M) (आदार)	‘Adar, a Hebrew month’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔaḥašverof (H) (אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ)	ahašveroš (M) (आहाश्वेरोष) ahašverof (M) (आहाश्वेरोश)	‘Ahasuerus, Persian ruler in the Book of Esther’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔamen (H) (אָמֵן)	amen (M) (आमेन)	‘Amen’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔamots (H) (אָמוֹץ)	amos (M) (आमोस)	‘Amos, father of Isaiah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔašer (H) (אֲשֶׁר)	ašer (M) (आशेर)	‘Asher, second son of Jacob and Zilpah’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔelijahu (H) (אֵלִיָּהוּ)	jelijahū (M) (येलीयाहु) jelīyahū (M) (येलियाहू) elijahū (M) (एलीयाहु) elijahu (M) (एलीयाहू)	‘Elijah the Prophet’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔen sof (H) (אֵין סוֹף)	en sof (M) (एन सोफ)	‘The Infinite, a Kabbalistic term for the divine’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔefrajim (H) (אֶפְרַיִם)	jefraim (M) (येफ्राईम)	‘Ephraim, a biblical Jewish male name’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔehad (H) (אֶחָד)	ehaḏ (M) (एहाद)	‘one’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʔester (H) (אֶסְתֵּר)	ester (M) (एस्तेर)	‘Esther’	<i>The Israelite</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
ʕakiva (H) (עֲקִיבָא)	ak ^h iba (M) (आखिबा)	‘Akiva, a renowned Rabbinic scholar from 1-2 CE’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʕamalek (H) (עֲמָלֶק)	amalek (M) (आमालेक)	‘Amalek, biblical enemies of the Israelites’	<i>The Israelite</i>
ʕets ʕajim (H) (עֵץ חַיִּים)	es haim (M) (एस हाईम)	‘Etz Chaim, lit: the tree of life’	<i>The Israelite</i>
bak:afa (H) (בַּקְשָׁה)	bək:afa (M) (बक्काशा)	‘Petition, as in prayer’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
bet din (H) (בֵּית דִּין)	beṭ ^h dīn (M) (बेथ दीन)	‘Bet Din, a Jewish court’ (MK)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
elijahu han:avi (H) (אֵלִיָּהוּ הַנָּבִיא)	elijahu hən:abi (M) (एलियाहू हन्नाबी)	‘Eliyahu Hanavi, Elijah the Prophet’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
haj:om ham:ejuhās (H) (הַיּוֹם הַמְּיוֹחָס)	haj:om ham:ejuhās (M) (हाय्योम हाम्मेयुहास)	‘The Day of Distinction’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
havdala (H) (הַבְּדִלָּה)	habḏəl:a (M) (हाबदल्ला)	‘Havdalah, the concluding Shabbat rituals’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
jikra (H) (יִקְרָא)	ikra (M) (इकरा)	Yikra, in the <i>zemer</i> D’ror Yikra’ (MK)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
kad:iʃ (H) (קָדִישׁ)	kəḏ:iʃ (M) (कदीश)	‘Kaddish, a prayer usually said in mourning’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
kənešet (H) (כְּנֶסֶת)	keneseṭ ^h (M) (केनेसेथ)	‘Knesset, the Israeli parliament’ (MK)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
kīb:uts (H) (קִיבוּץ)	kīb:uts (M) (किब्बुत्स)	‘Kibbutz, an Israeli agricultural cooperative’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
ləxa dodi (H) (לְכָה דוֹדִי)	lek ^h a ḏoḏi (M) (लेखा दोदी)	‘Lecha Dodi, a Shabbat song’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
maʕiaḥ (H) (מָשִׁיחַ)	maʕijah (M) (माशीयाह)	‘Mashiach, the Messiah’ (MK)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
mats:a (H) (מַצָּה)	məs:a (M) (मस्सा)	‘Matzah, type of bread consumed during Passover’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>
mitsvot (H) (מִצְוֹת)	misvoṭ ^h (M) (मिसवोथ)	‘Mitzvot, commandments’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi (मक्काबी) and the Mebasser</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
moʃav (H) (מוֹשָׁב)	moʃav ^h (M) (मोशाव्ह)	‘Moshav, an Israeli agricultural cooperative’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
rab:i ʕakiva (H) (רַבִּי עֲקִיבָא)	rab:i akiba (M) (राब्बी आकिबा) rab:i akiba (M) (आकीबा)	‘Rabbi Akivah’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
roʃ haʃ:ana (H) (רֹאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה)	roʃhaʃ:ana (M) (रोशहाशाना)	‘Rosh Hashana’ (MK)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
sivan (H) (סִיּוֹן)	siu:an (M) (सिव्वान)	‘Sivan, a Hebrew month’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
sid:ur (H) (סִידוּר)	siḍḍur (M) (सिदूर)	‘Siddur, a prayer book’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
simḥat tora (H) (שִׂמְחַת תּוֹרָה)	simhaṭṭṭ tora (M) (सिमहाथ तोरा)	‘Simchat Torah, a Jewish festival’ (MK)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
ʃab:at (H) (שַׁבָּת)	ʃab:as (M) (शाब्बास)	‘Shabbat, the Jewish Sabbath’ (MK)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
ʃira (H) (שִׁירָה)	ʃira (M) (शिरा)	‘Song’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
təhina (H) (טחינה)	tehin:a (M) (तेहीन्ना)	‘Techina, a type of sesame paste’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
tov (H) (טוֹב)	ṭob (M) (तोब)	‘good’ (MK)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
tsitsit (H) (צִיִּצִית)	sisitṭṭ (M) (सीसिथ)	‘Tzitzit, ritual tassel worn by Jewish men’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
tsur jisraʔel (H) (צוּר יִשְׂרָאֵל)	tsur israel (M) (त्सूर इस्राएल)	‘Tzur Israel, lit: rock of Israel (a Zionist expression)’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
ʔal:it (H) (טָלִית)	təl:iṭṭ (M) (तल्लीथ)	‘Tallith, a prayer shawl’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
ʕaliya (H) (עֲלִיָּה)	aliya (M) (आलीया)	‘Aliya, immigrating to Israel from the diaspora’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
ʕamida (H) (עֲמִידָה)	amiḍa (M) (आमिदा)	‘Amidah, a prayer’ (MB)	<i>The Makkabi</i> (मक्काबी) and the <i>Mebasser</i>
bar mitsva (H) (בָּר מִצְוָה)	bar-misva (M) (बार-मिसवा)	‘Bar Mitzvah’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
halaxa (H) (הֲלָכָה)	həl:ak ^{ha} (M) (हल्लाखा)	‘Halacha, the code of Jewish law’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
ham:otsi (H) (הַמּוֹצִי)	ham:osi (M) (हाम्मोसी)	‘Hamotzi, a bracha/prayer over bread’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
ḥasidim (H) (חֲסִידִים)	has:īḍim (M) (हास्सीदीम)	‘Chasidim, adherents of Chasidut’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
haʔarets (H) (הָאָרֶץ)	ha'ares (M) (हाआरेस)	‘The land of Israel’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
jigdal (H) (יִגְדָּל)	igḍal (M) (इगदाल)	‘Yidgal, a hymn’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
kad:iḥ (H) (קִדְּשׁ)	kəḍ:īḥ (M) (कदीश)	‘Kaddish, a prayer usually said in mourning’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
motsaʔe jab:at (H) (מוֹצָאֵי שַׁבָּת)	mosae jəb:at (M) (मोसाए शब्बाथ)	‘Motza'ei Shabbat, period following Shabbat’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
nisan (H) (נִסָּן)	nīs:an (M) (निस्सान)	‘Nisan, a Hebrew month’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
noaḥ (H) (נֹחַ)	noha (M) (नोहा)	‘Noah’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
rab:i ʕakiva (H) (רַבִּי אֶקִּיבָא)	rab:i akība (M) (राब्बी आकिबा)	‘Rabbi Akivah’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
sara (H) (שָׂרָה)	sara (M) (सारा)	‘Sarah’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
sivan (H) (סִיּוֹן)	siu:an (M) (सिस्वान)	‘Sivan, a Hebrew month’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
ʃam:af (H) (שָׁמַשׁ)	ʃəm:af (M) (शम्माश)	‘Shammash, a paid synagogue attendant’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
tal:it (H) (טָלִית)	təl:it ^h (M) (तल्लीथ)	‘Tallith, a prayer shawl’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
tsitsit (H) (צִיצִית)	sisiṭ ^h (M) (सिसिथ)	‘Tzitzit, ritual tassel worn by Jewish men’	<i>Dharmopadesh</i> (Volume 2)
bak:amim (H) (בִּקְּמִים)	bək:amim (M) (बक्कामीम)	‘upon rising’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
bəkoah (H) (בִּכּוֹה)	beku ^h a (M) (बेकोव्हा)	‘b'koach, from Ana b'koach’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
bəmitsvotav (H) (בְּמִצְוֹתָיו)	bemitsvot ^h av (M) (बेमिस्वोथाव)	‘bemitzvotav, a line from brachot’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
hak:anaf (H) (הַכְּנָף)	hək:anaf (M) (हक्कानाफ)	‘the wing’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
han:əfama (H) (הַנְּשָׁמָה)	hən:əfama (M) (हन्नेशामा)	‘the soul’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
haruah (H) (הַרוּחַ)	haru ^h a (M) (हारुव्हा)	‘the spirit’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>

Hebrew	Marathi	Gloss	Source
haf:ab:at (H) (הַשַּׁבָּת)	haf:əb:at̪ (M) (हाशब्बाथ)	‘(the) Shabbat’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
haz:əman:im (H) (הַזְמַנִּים)	həz:emən:im (M) (हज्जेमन्नीम)	‘the times’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
haʔarets (H) (הָאָרֶץ)	ha'arets (M) (हाआरेत्स)	‘the land’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
jib:ane (H) (יִבְנֶה)	jib:ane (M) (यिब्बाने)	‘yibaneh, from the zemer lyrics of Tsur Mishelo’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
jigdal (H) (יִגְדָּל)	igdal (M) (इगदाल)	‘Yigdal, a hymn’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
jiktsoru (H) (יִקְצְרוּ)	iktsoru (M) (इकसोरु)	‘yiktzoru, from Birkat Ha’Mazon’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
jisraʔel (H) (יִשְׂרָאֵל)	jisrael (M) (यिसराएल)	‘Israel’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
jitg:ad:al (H) (יִתְגַּדָּל)	it̪gəḍ:al (M) (इथगदाल)	‘yitgadal, from the Kadish prayer’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
kab:el (H) (קָבֵל)	kəb:el (M) (कब्बेल)	‘kabel, from ana b’koach’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
ləolam (H) (לְעוֹלָם)	le'əl:am (M) (लेअल्लाम)	‘forever, always’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
poteah (H) (פּוֹתֵחַ)	pot̪həja (M) (पोथेह्या)	‘poteach, a line in Ashrei’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
ratson (H) (רָצוֹן)	rason (M) (रासोन)	‘ratzon, from yehi ratzon’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
tsərura (H) (צִרְרָה)	serorah (M) (सेर्राह)	‘tzerurah, a line from ana b’koach’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
tsitsit (H) (צִיצִית)	tsitsit̪ (M) (त्सीत्सिथ)	‘Tzitzit, ritual tassel worn by Jewish men’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
tsɪdkatəxa (H) (תִּדְקָאֵתְּחָ)	sɪdkat̪ek̪hə (M) (सिदकातेखा)	‘tzidkatcha, a line from ana b’koach’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
vəjɪtkad:af (H) (וְיִתְקַדָּשׁ)	veɪt̪kəḍ:af (M) (वेइथकदाश)	‘v’yitkadash, a line in the Kadish prayer’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>
vətsivanu (H) (וְצִיָּנוּ)	vet̪sɪv:anu (M) (वेत्सिव्वानू)	‘v’tzivanu, a line from brachot’	<i>Haggada Shel Pesah & Oneg Shabbat</i>