Linguistic Borrowing as a Source of Language Enrichment in a Globalised World: A Case of Etuno Language

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Abstract

Globalisation represents greater interconnectedness among global populations. It is the process by which the world is becoming increasingly interconnected as a result of massively increased trade and cultural exchange. It is a social, cultural, political and legal phenomenon. Culturally, globalisation represents the exchange of ideas and values among cultures. Cultural contact is one major phenomenon of globalisation, and language, being an integral part of culture is not left out. When two cultures come in contact, the commonest occurrence is exchange of ideas and items, as well as the language with which to express them. Globalisation has paved way for exposure and innovation to developing nations; hence, it has had positive effects in the people's culture, language and standard of living. This paper is a study of linguistic borrowing as a phenomenon of all languages and as a source of enrichment to the borrower language. The researcher uses her mother tongue, the Etuno Language, as a case study to do a documentation of English words which have been assimilated into the language. The data for discussion is information elicited from wordlists retrieved from speakers of the Etuno Language. The analysis is based on the morpho-phonemic and ethnolinguistic approaches. The findings show that the Etuno Language is a large linguistic borrower. The study reveals that there are many English words that have been adopted into the Etuno Language and that in the course of nativising these loan words, they experience adjustments in line with the morpho-phonemic rules of the Etuno Language. The study establishes that these loan words have enriched the vocabulary of the Etuno Language.

Keywords: Globalisation, culture/language contact, linguistic borrowing.

Introduction

This paper examines the intersection of culture and language contact as one of the major effects of globalisation in the context of linguistic borrowing. Globalisation involves greater interconnectedness and interaction among people. When people of various cultures come in contact, the commonest occurrence is exchange of

ideas and items, as well as the language with which to express them. Since no group of people is an island, linguistic borrowing has always been a feature of all languages. This paper examines linguistic borrowing as a source of linguistic enrichment to the borrower language. The study uses the Etuno Language as a case study to examine the extent to which she has borrowed words from the English Language to enrich her vocabulary. Thus, a documentation of English words which have been assimilated into the Etuno Language is examined in this paper.

Review of Related Literature
The Etuno People's Contact with the English Language
Etuno is the dialect spoken by the Igarra (Etuno) people in Akoko-Edo Local Government Area of Edo State and it is one among the different varieties of the Egbira Linguistic Group. The speakers are popularly referred to as Anetuno, meaning the Etuno people. Husaini (2006) and Amune (1983) explain Etuno as one of the three main dialects of the ethnic Egbira Language that migrated from the Kwararafa Linguistic group. The other two are the Ebira Opete of Okene and Egbura Koto/Kwatto of Koton Karfe, both spoken in Kogi State. Other varieties of Egbira are the Ebira Mozum of Bassa Local Government area of Kogi State, the Ebiras in Umaisha, Toto, Lafia District of Nassarawa State and the Federal Capital Territory and the Ebira Agatu in Benue State. Etuno's contact with the English Language was through the advent of British merchants, Christian Missionaries and Colonialists into the country in the 18th century. With independence and post-independence, political and physical developments and foreign technology strengthen the influence of the English Language in many Nigerian communities.

The Concept of Globalisation
The term, globalisation has many dimensions. It is derived from the word globalise, which refers to the emergence of an international network of economic systems. Globalisation is not a new concept. It is an offshoot of contact. Many Scholars like Robertson (1992) and Steger (2009) have traced the emergence and growth of globalisation to ancient times. In ancient times, traders travelled vast distances to buy scarce commodities such as salt, spices and gold, which they would then sell in their home countries. Thus, in the last few decades, communication and transportation have resulted to an unprecedented pace in globalisation. The Industrial Revolution of the 19th century brought advances in communication and transportation that have removed borders and increased cross-

border trade. Robertson (1992) and Steger (2009) adds that however, the term 'globalisation' has been used in many other dimensions. One of the earliest known usages of the term in education was in a 1930 publication entitled *Towards New Education*, where it denoted a holistic view of human experience in education. The term 'globalisation' had been used in its economic sense at least as early as 1981, and in other senses since at least as early as 1944.

Since the inception of globalisation, the concept has attracted competing definitions and interpretations. Albrow and King (1990) define globalisation as "all those processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society". Giddens (1991) explains it as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa.

Culturally, globalisation represents the exchange of ideas and values among cultures and even a trend toward the development of a single world culture. James and Steger (2014) say that four different forms of globalisation can be distinguished that complement and cut across the solely empirical dimensions. According to them, the oldest dominant form of globalisation is embodied globalisation, the movement of people. A second form is agency-extended globalisation, the circulation of agents of different institutions, organisations, and polities, including imperial agents. Object-extended globalisation, a third form is the movement of commodities and other objects of exchange. A fourth form which he maintains as currently the dominant form of globalisation is disembodied globalisation. This is the transmission of ideas, images, knowledge, and information across world-space.

The interest of this paper is on this fourth dimension of globalisation because cultural globalisation falls in this category, and with cultural globalisation, comes language contact.

Culture and Language Contact
The concept of linguistic borrowing is firmly anchored on language contact. Before two languages come into contact, the speakers of such languages must first come in contact and exchange ideas and culture. Language contact is therefore an aspect of culture contact. Two or more languages are said to be in contact if used alternatively by the same speakers. Weinreich (1966) in support of this notion restrict the use of the term "language contact" to the alternative use of two or

more languages by the same person. Weinreich explains that language contact can be seen as a phenomenon whereby two or more languages (which are often used by people of different speech communities) come to co-exist as a result of the coming together of the speakers of the languages. The language speakers are the locus of the contact. There are many factors responsible for language contact among which are: migratory movement, trade, war, colonial expansion.

The result of language contact is usually characterised by linguistic change such as the development of new varieties or breeds of the languages in contact. Weinreich (1966) refers to instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in speakers as a result of their familiarity with more than one language as "interference phenomenon". Hartmann and Stock (1972) share similar view when they posit that interference is the error made by carrying over the speech habits of one native language or dialect into another. They add that interference can manifest itself through various forms such as bilingualism, relexification, borrowing, code-switching, code-mixing and perhaps language death.

According to Allen and Corder (1980), in a contact situation, one can predict that one language will gradually predominate, and over time will consequently displace the other. Vogt (1954) says that "every enrichment or impoverishment of a system involves necessarily the reorganisation of all the old distinctive oppositions of the system." It is clear from this statement that, in a contact situation, while some languages are enriched as their structure is reorganised and their vocabulary increased, some others are impoverished. It is on this premise that Johnson in Aitchison and Lewis (1996) state that "only a relatively few languages may be enriched and remain so, because they will spread across the world, diffused and split into separate languages." A good example of an impoverished language which he gave is Latin which split into French, Spanish, and Italian etc. However, it is important to note that whether the consequence of a language contact phenomenon is for enrichment or impoverishment, the issue of language contact is a feature of all languages. It is a very important phenomenon because it is the root of all forms of changes in language, be it lexical change, semantic change, morphological change etc. and it is one major source of the growth of the vocabulary of the borrowing language.

The Concept of Linguistic Borrowing

Linguistic borrowing has been discussed in various ways by many linguistic Scholars. Gleason (1961) defines linguistic borrowing as "the copying of linguistic items from speakers of another speech form." Spencer (1971) classifies loan words as "innovations, which cannot be accounted for in terms of inheritance and which at the same time are systematically related to a donor language." Hartmann and Stork (1972) sees linguistic borrowing as "introduction into a language, elements from another language or dialect by contact or imitation." Howard and De Amvela (2000) explain that "when speakers imitate a word from a foreign language and at least partly adapt it in sound or grammars to their native language, the process is called borrowing."

Howard and De Amvela argue that there is a sense in which neither term, that is 'borrowing' or 'loan' is really appropriate. They based their argument on the ground that the receiving language never returns the borrowed or loaned words. Gardens-Chloros (1999) shares similar view when he highlights three reasons why the use of the term is inappropriate. Firstly, the use of the term implies that the language which is lending consents to the loan, which is not the case; secondly, the language which borrows will definitely not return what it takes from the original language; thirdly, the language which borrows does not conserve the borrowed words intact, but transforms them to suit its needs. Gardner-Chloros is therefore of the view that it might be more appropriate to use the term "adoption" or "cloning". Haugen (1972) in support of this view says that "borrowing takes place without the lenders' consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan. One might as well call it stealing, were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods". The process may therefore be called adoption since the speaker does adopts elements from a second language into his own. To Samuels (1972), more neutral terms such as 'varieties', 'spread' or 'transference of features' are also used.

Fromkin and Rodman (1978) add that loans from other languages are important source of new words and the lexicon of any language can be divided into native and non-native words. A native word is one whose history or etymology can be traced back to the earliest known stages of the language while non-native words are loans from other languages.

There are many factors responsible for linguistic borrowing. All these factors can be summarised under a contact situation, which is borne out of globalisation.

According to Bamgbose (1995), languages in contact naturally influence each other in many ways and the commonest and best known is borrowing which is commonly restricted to vocabulary or lexical items. In most cases, if the contact situation is a harmonious one, the substrate culture may become bilingual giving rise to the need to borrow concepts and aspects of culture of the superior language. In line with this, Bamgbose (1995) explains that although borrowing is usually mutual, in the Nigerian-languages contact, the traffic is almost one way that is, from English into Nigerian languages for the obvious reason that English speaking nations are associated with higher technology, industrialisation, education, military prowess, standard of living etc. However, he explains further that notwithstanding, there are some borrowings from Nigerian languages into English, or at least into the Nigerian brand of English. Examples are expressions such "kia kia bus", "tokumbo cars". Some factors responsible for linguistic borrowing are discussed under the following headings.

(i)   Bilingualism
Borrowing of lexical items across language boundaries may be said to be the result of bilingualism on the part of those who do the borrowing. Haugen (1972) says that when a person is efficient in two languages, he tends to borrow words from one language into the other". According to Awoniyi (1982), "the unilingual simply accepts the new words in their vocabulary and becomes an agent in the diffusion of the words". Bamgbose (1995) adds that such borrowings become the properties of the receiving language as a whole and not just that of the person who introduces it.

(ii)   Need for New Designations
One of the factors which is obviously a universal reason for linguistic borrowing is the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts which are present only in one of the languages involved. Awoniyi (1982) says that the "importation of Western technology brings about borrowing of suitable words". Samuels (1972) adds that if there is a vacant slot for a word in the receiving language, the usual result is that the language receives a greater number of loan words. Afolayan (1988) supports this fact when he says that the commonest reason for linguistic borrowing is when a language needs to find names for new people, places, objects, ideas, notions and concepts which it has come in contact with.

(iii)   The Clash of Homonyms
Weinreich (1966) is of the view that a word may be borrowed to resolve the clash of homonyms, he cites an example that because of the clash between the words 'carrum' for 'cart' and 'carnem' for 'meat', the Vosges Pathoise borrowed 'voiture' for 'cart', and 'viande' for 'meat' from French. Samuels (1972) shares similar view with Weinreich when he asserts that words may be borrowed to clarify ambiguity and limitations as a result of polysemy or homonymy.

(iv)   The Need for Euphemism
The need for euphemism is another factor that could be responsible for linguistic borrowing. Weinreich (1966) cites an example that in the Olonect dialect of Russia, the Finnish word 'Repaki' became a welcome euphemism for menstruation. Also, the word 'vomir' in French meaning 'vomit' has been replaced by a more attractive synonym 'rejector' or 'rendre'. G.L. Brook (1979) supports this when he posits that for some imaginary sins which have been a subject of reproof in the past, the use of loan words could be welcomed instead of words of native origin.

(vi)   Social Values
Another reason why bilinguals borrow lexical items from the source language is the symbolic association of the source language in a contact situation with social values. By symbolic association, it is meant that if one language is endowed with prestige, a bilingual is likely to use identifiable loan words from it as a means of displaying the social status which the knowledge of it symbolises. This is evident in learned borrowings of designations for concepts which have excellent names in their original language. This is true of the average learned Etuno speakers who try as much as possible to display their advanced state of acculturation and knowledge of the source language.

Statement of the Problem
The study focuses on two problems. The first is the fact that some linguistic Scholars only dwell on the negative effect of linguistic borrowing, advocating that it is for impoverishment. This is because of the limited empirical study on this area of linguistic study. Second, is the effect of the phonological adaptation of loan words on language teaching/learning. Phonology is one area that poses problems for learners of a new language. Gleason (1961) states that phonological problems in learning a second language are largely those of learning new uses for old sounds rather than learning new sounds. Weinreich (1966), adds that the

problem of phonic interference concerns the manner in which a speaker perceives and reproduces the sounds of one language, which might be designated secondary in terms of another to be called primary. Phonic interference therefore often arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary language system with that of the primary language and in reproducing it, subjects it to the phonetic rules of the primary language. One of the major reasons responsible for this, according to O'Connor (1966) is the fact that some phonemes in one of both languages in contact have no counterparts in the other. Brooks (1979) adds that the less familiar the language from which a word is borrowed, the more likely one is to resort to sound substitution or to complete anglicisation. The article focuses on borrowings from the English Language into the Etuno Language. The English orthography is different from the Etuno orthography just as their phonology is different. This is bound to affect the formation of the loan words into the Etuno Language.

Objectives of the Study
This paper intends to achieve the following objectives:
(i)   a documentation of some English words which have been assimilated into the Etuno Language.
(ii)   an explanation of the phonological adjustments which accompany the adaptation of English lexical items into the Etuno linguistic system.
(iii)   a discovery of whether there is general acceptance and usage of the English loan words by the Etuno speakers.

Theoretical Framework
The theoretical framework for this study is the morpho-phonemic approach and the ethnolinguistic approach. A morpheme is the smallest meaningful unit of any language and every lexical item in English language and Etuno Language is made up of one or more morphemes. According to Matthews (1991), morphology is the creative aspect of language that indicates how words are formed. It describes morphemes and their pattern of occurrence within the word. Brown and Miller (1991) explain phonology as the study of the phonological shapes of words. For instance, in cats /kæts/, the plural marker is phonologically realised as /-s/ since it is affixed to /kæt/, whereas it would be /-z/ if it were affixed to /dogs/ to form /dɒgz/.

Since this research is based on loan words and words are made up of morphemes, the morpho-phonemic approach is suitable for the data analysis because it deals

with the analysis and classification of the phonological factors which affect the formation of words. Words are combinations of phonemes which make up morphemes, and morphemes combine together to form words.

The ethnolinguistic approach is discussed by Humboldt (1960) and Whorf (1956) who advocate a principle of linguistic relativity. This principle claims that each language has its own way of structuring reality for its speakers. They explain ethnolinguistics as a branch of anthropological linguistics which studies the relationship between a person's language and his attitude towards it, especially in terms of the speech levels he uses and the prestige he accords to the different levels. Lyons (1983) defines ethnolinguistics as the "study of language in relation to culture." He explains that culture in this sense presupposes society; and society in turn depends upon culture. The ethnolinguistic approach is considered relevant for this study because the main objectives is to find out the extent to which the Etuno Language has borrowed words from the English language, as well as discover whether or not there is a general acceptance and usage of the loan words by the Etuno speakers.

Methodology
The main source of data for this study is information elicited from wordlists via questionnaire. Four registers are selected and ten English words are presented on each of them. These English words on each register are basically names of new items that have entered the culture of the Etuno people as a result of her contact with English. Each informant is required to supply the Etuno words for each lexical item. The purpose is to ascertain the occurrence and regular use of English loan words in Etuno. Words that originated from the English vocabulary which have been borrowed into the Etuno Language are classified for analysis according to various registers such as school/education, beverages and confectionery, crops/fruits and transportation.

Data Analysis
Table 1: Field – School/Education

English words	Etuno words supplied by respondents	%agreement of words supplied	% variable
School	Isikuru	100%	
Chalk	Ichoki	100%	
Bench	Ivenchi	100%	

Class	Ikinasi	100%	
Table	Itevuru	100%	
College	Ikoneji	100%	
Envelope	Amburoku	100%	
Pencil	Ipensuru	90%	10% - iredi
Paper	Ipepa	90%	10% - iwe
Biro	Iviro	80%	10% for ochiwe 10% for ocherisa

The table above indicates that the informants are in full agreement over seven out of the ten English words given by the researcher for translation into the Etuno Language. The only variations are seen in three of the Etuno words supplied: (a) "iredi" for "pencil", (b) "iwe" which means "book" for "paper", (c) "ochiwe" which means "stick of book" and "ocherisa" which means "writer" for "biro". Despite the fact that there is the loan word "ipensuru" for "pencil", 10% of the informants prefer to use another English loan word "iredi" loaned from "lead", the earlier name for pencil.

The word "iwe" which means "book" is a loan word from the Yoruba Language. This corroborates the fact earlier stated in this study that the existence of loan words is age-old. Humboldt (1960) says that the issue of loan words has always been present in the history of languages. The Etuno Language is not an exception; it has borrowed extensively from the English Language and the Yoruba Language with which it has had contact.

Those who use the words "ocherisa" which means "writer" and "ochiwe" which means "stick of book" have used their own sense of the words to nativise them. Nida (1975) and Newmark (1986) explain this type of translation as literal translation whereby the translator translates as closely as the syntactic capacities of another language allows.

Table 2: Field – Beverages/Confectionery

English Words	Etuno words supplied by the respondents	% agreement of words supplied	% variable
Biscuit	Ivisikiti	100%	
Bread	Ivuredi	100%	

Butter	Ivota	100%	
Tea	Iti (itea)	100%	
Sweet	Iswiti	100%	
Chewing gum	Isingomu	100%	
Peppermint	Ipepementi	100%	
Sugar	Isuga	90%	10% - aneivo
Cake	Ikeki	90%	10% - aneivo
Milk	Iminiki	90%	10% - aneivo

The information in this table shows full agreement over seven of the Etuno words supplied. Some Etuno speakers use the loan words but anglicise them in spellings as seen in "itea" for "tea". The reason for this, must be the influence of Western education. The three exceptions in the translations are accounted for in the following ways: (a) "Aneivo" which means "salt of the Whiteman" for "sugar", (b) "Akareivo" which means "cake of the Whiteman" for "cake", (c) "Irevuno" which means "breast of cow" for "milk". "Ano" means "salt" in Etuno Language and "eivo" means "a Whiteman". 10% of the informants used the word "aneivo", "salt of the Whiteman" for "sugar". "Akara", the Etuno name for "bean cake" is also shifted by some informants for "cake". Hall Jnr. (1964), refers to this type of translation as loan shift when he explains that sometimes, the meaning of a native form or combination of forms is shifted to correspond to that of a foreign expression.

Table 3: Field – Crops/Fruits

English Words	Etuno words supplied by the respondents	% agreement of words supplied	% variable
Guava	Igova	100%	
Cashew	Ikashu	100%	
Mango	Umangoro	100%	
Pear	Ipiya	100%	
Cocoa	Ukoko	100%	
Tomatoes	Itimati	100%	
Orange	Oromi	100%	
Rice	Iraisi	100%	
Carrot	Ikaroti	100%	
Pineapple	Oregedeivo/akataripo	90%	10% - Ipanaipu

As shown in this table, the informants are in full agreement over nine out of the ten words supplied. The only variation in the translation is accounted for by 10% of the informants as "ipanaipu". Despite the fact that there is the Etuno word "oregedeivo" or "akataripo" for pineapple, some Etuno speakers still prefer to use the English loan word "ipanaipu". This shows the extent to which loan words have eaten deep into the vocabulary of the Etuno Language and it is also an indication that some loan words exist side by side with native words.

Table 4: Field - Transportation

English Words	Etuno words supplied by the respondents	% agreement of words supplied	% variable
Motor	Imoto/imato	100%	
Bicycle	Ikeke	100%	
Tyre	Itaya	100%	
Bicycle spoke	Isipoku	100%	
Airplane	Anupreni	100%	
License	Inansensi	100%	
Caterpillar	Ikatapira	100%	
Petrol	Ipentiro	100%	
Motor Park (Garage)	Igarenji	90%	10% - Ipaki
Machine (Motorbike)	Imasini/umashini	80%	20% -Anopipi

This table shows full agreement on eight out of the ten Etuno words supplied by the respondents. The two variations supplied are as follows: (a) "Ipaki" for "motor-park", (b) "Anopipi" for "machine (motorbike)". The Etuno name for bicycle supplied by the informants is "ikeke". The word "ikeke" seems to be a general borrowed name from English for bicycle in most Nigerian languages. Some Etuno speakers also refer to "machine" i.e. motorbike as "anopipi". The Yoruba speakers refer to it as "alupipi". Both "ikeke" and "anopipi" are onomatopoeic expressions derived from the sound of the objects when in use. Allan (1986) explains this phenomenon as 'blending' when he says that a blend combines the sense of the source words/expressions in a transparent fashion that derives help from the context and background information. The researcher subscribes to this view and posits that the sound of the objects when in use have

been shifted to name them. Jacobson (1973) refers to this as the poetic use of language.

Findings

1. This research reveals that both the vocabulary and the culture of Etuno have been enriched by borrowing. The Etuno speakers have not only borrowed things and ideas from foreign cultures (in this case, English), but have also borrowed the words to express them.
2. The study shows that the loan words are widely used in the Etuno Language.
3. This work exposes the fact that the Etuno Language has strong and standard morpho-phonemic rules upon which words are formed. All the loan words supplied by the informants for analysis consistently abide by the rule. Examples of such morpho-phonemic features of the Etuno Language are discussed below:
    (a) One very important feature of the morphology of the Etuno Language is the pre-fixation of a morpheme (usually consisting of vowels) to the root of words especially nouns. This feature is evident in the loan words supplied.
    (b) Another feature of the morphology of the Etuno Language is that it has more syllabic final vowels. Vowels normally begin and end most words especially the noun class; thus English initial and final consonants pose difficulties for the Etuno native speaker. Hence, the data reveals the suffixation of vowel sounds in the words supplied.
    (c) The Etuno Language does not accommodate consonant clusters; the data indicate the insertion of vowels where consonant clusters exist to conform with the VCV syllabic template of the Etuno Language.

4. The findings reveal that all morpho-phonemic modifications are as a result of the differences in the sound systems of the English Language and the Etuno Language.

Recommendations

(i) Since it is obvious that linguistic borrowing is one of the various forms of lexical creativity and a source of linguistic enrichment in languages, Scholars should deemphasise its negative effect. Rather than advocating that it poses threat of endangerment to the borrower language, emphasis should be placed on having a documentation of loan words in every language. A documentation of loan words will help language instructors and learners

understand better the phonological adjustments which accompany the adaptation of loan words into the linguistic system of the borrower language.

(ii)   This study has revealed the creative ability of a borrower language in the process of nativising loan words from other languages as evident in the Etuno Language. The standard morpho-phonemic rules upon which words are formed in the language is seen in the loan words supplied by the informants. This paper recommends that a workshop be carried out for pre-primary, primary and post-primary school teachers in Etuno community on the phonological patterns and morpho-phonemic rules of the language. This will help teachers acquaint themselves with phonological problems in second language teaching/learning and thereby promote their teaching activities.

Conclusion

This paper has shed light on the internal organisation (morphological structure) of the Etuno Language, and has shown the relationship between Etuno and other languages, particularly, the English Language. The English loans adopted into Etuno that have been supplied by the speakers in this paper are names of items that are not originally in Etuno culture. This explains the fact that as trends in globalisation increases and the world continues to becoming increasingly interconnected, ideas and values of various cultures will continue to interact and linguistic borrowing will continue to flourish in all languages. No wonder it is observed that the Etuno Language has not shown any resistance towards this extensive borrowing of English words owing to the fact that the words are borrowed as a result of unsatisfactory equivalent in the Etuno Language. Hockett (1958) refers to this phenomenon as "need filling condition", that is, a situation whereby borrowing is made to fill a gap in the borrowing language because new experiences, new objects and practices are coming into the language. Due to technological advancement, the growth of loan words in any language in contact with the Western world is an increasing phenomenon and one can predict that the languages may witness more of them in the near future, as the need arises.

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