

Lexical Borrowing: The Case of English Loanwords in Hadhrami Arabic

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Abstract

This study investigates the English loanwords that have penetrated the lexicon of the Arabic vernacular of Hadramawt in Yemen over the past few decades. The process of borrowing from English occurred indirectly through the contacts of the inhabitants of that area with speakers of other Arabic dialects in particular Aden Arabic and via immigrant Hadhramis in Arab Gulf countries. The study provides sufficient evidence of the lexical expansion of Hadhrami Arabic through borrowings from English especially in electric, mechanical and vehicles-related fields as Standard Arabic equivalents are either inaccessible to locals due to illiteracy or have not gained wider acceptability. For the purposes of the study, the writer collected a total of 125 English-originated words in Hadhrami Arabic from oral and printed sources. Following an examination of the chronology of these loanwords, the writer conducts a thorough analysis of their specific phonological, morphological and semantic features. The analysis has shown that phonological adaptation of those loanwords to the HA structure has involved certain processes including sound nativization, the pharyngealization, gemination, metathesis and some consonants as well as the insertion of a vowel to break the word-initial consonant cluster. The morphological integration of the loanwords into the HA system have been based on the principles that govern their native HA counterparts in terms of pluralization, gender assignment and verb patterning. At the semantic level, the loanwords have been subjected to certain processes involving the narrowing, widening or transfer of the meanings of their English counterparts.

Keywords: Linguistic borrowing; diglossia; Hadhrami Arabic; loanword; phonological adaptation; morphological integration; semantic narrowing, widening and transfer.

1. Introduction

According to Routledge's Dictionary of Language and Linguistics (1996:55), the term "linguistic borrowing" may be broadly defined as *'the adoption of a linguistic expression from one language into another.'* The language from which words are adopted is often referred to as the "source", "lending" or "donor" language while the language into which those words are adopted is labeled "recipient" or "receptor" language. This phenomenon is most common in the realm of vocabulary because *'words may come and disappear with little consequence for the rest of the grammar'* (MalmkjØr 2004: 38). Borrowing among languages serves the chief purpose of filling gaps in the lexicon of the recipient language as it lacks the means to designate the newly introduced products or notions. In discussing linguistic borrowing, reference is often made to the classic works of Uriel Weinreich (1953) and Einar Haugen (1950, 1953) which contributed significantly to the fields of bilingualism, language contact and borrowing. The chief factor, relevant to our study that may facilitate borrowing among languages is migration as returning migrants tend to transfer some words from the language of the host country to the language spoken in their homeland. A case in point is the spread of several words from the languages of South-East Asia to some dialects of Yemeni Arabic (al-Saqqaf 2006). Borrowed words could further spread, through internal migration, from one dialect to another. For example, Haugen (1950: 222) points out that the English loanwords *fram* 'frame' and *peller* 'peddler' have spread within American Norwegian dialects.

2. Hadramawt

Historically, Hadramawt (also written as "Hadhramaut" and "Hadhramout") refers to a region of the South Arabian Peninsula along the Gulf of Aden in the Arabian Sea, extending from Yemen 'proper' to the Dhofar region of Oman.

During the British rule of Aden and the adjacent territory of Southern Arabia (1839-1967) Hadramawt had been known as the Aden Eastern Protectorate comprising the two sultanates of al-Qu'aiti and al-Kathiri. From 1967 onwards, Hadramawt retained its old name as it became one of the governorates in the former South Yemen (1967-1990) and afterwards in unified Yemen.

3. *Hadhrami Arabic*

Hadhrami Arabic (henceforth HA) is an Arabic dialect spoken by the people living in the governorate of Hadramawt in the Republic of Yemen. It is also spoken by many Hadhramis who emigrated from Hadramawt to South-east Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei), East Africa (Kenya, Somalia and Tanzania), the Indian subcontinent, and in recent decades to Arabian Gulf Countries (Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Kuwait). This colloquial dialect of Arabic diverges, to some extent, in phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis from Classical Arabic, the superposed 'high' variety of Arabic, in Fergusson's (1959) much-quoted distinction. HA is further distinguished from Standard Arabic (henceforth SA), a variety which is neither fully classical nor fully colloquial; it is the variety used in the media and formal speeches, and the means of communication among educated Arabs who come from different countries. Within HA, two broad varieties may be distinguished: Coastal HA, spoken in the coastal areas of Hadramawt and Wadi HA, spoken in towns and villages in "interior Hadramawt." In this study HA is used to refer specifically to Wadi HA.

4. *Studies of HA with special reference to borrowings from other languages: An Overview*

In his survey of the various materials (general and descriptive studies, dictionaries and glossaries, dissertations, teaching materials and collections of poetic and prose texts) that had been published on the Arabic vernaculars of Yemen in the period 1873-1996, Bahumaid (1996: 16) points out that the earliest source on HA is Landberg's (1895-1901) collection of poetic and prose texts of HA. Further collections of prose and poetry texts in Hadhrami dialect with were made by Hein and Muller (1909), and Serjeant (1951). Special mention should be also made of the works of Saif Ibn Husain al-Qu'aiti (n.d.) including his 12-volume dictionary of the dialect which are available, in manuscript form, in the library of Osmania University in Hyderabad, India. A few linguistic studies of HA have been produced over the past few decades (e.g., Basalamah 1980; Vanhove 1991). However, the most significant study of HA is al-Saqqaf's (1999) unpublished Ph. D. thesis in which he provides a comprehensive discussion of the linguistic features of the spoken Arabic of Wadi Hadramawt. A more recent study of HA that borders on linguistics and translation is made by Bahameed (2001). This study examines the problems involved in the translation of forty Hadhrami proverbs into English by speakers of another dialect of Arabic i.e. Jordanian Arabic.

As noted in Section 3 above, many Hadhramis migrated and settled, over the years, in several countries in South-east Asia, East Africa, the Indian subcontinent and recently in Arab Gulf states. This phenomenon has had its effects on HA as emigrating Hadhramis who had direct contact with the languages spoken in those countries acted as cultural and linguistic intermediaries thus paving the ground for the infiltration of some words, into HA, from Swahili, Hindi/Urdu and more significantly, Malay-Indonesian languages. Meanwhile, many English words found their way into HA through other dialects of Arabic especially Aden Arabic and the Gulf dialects of Arabic (Section 6). Words loaned from these languages have been the subject of investigation in very few studies the most important of which is that of al-Saqqaf (2006). This study provides a detailed discussion of the phonological and morphological features of loanwords in HA focusing on some fifty words borrowed from Malay-Indonesian languages. The study also mentions some twenty-five English words loaned to HA (e.g., *gze:z* 'exhaust'; *ta:nki* 'tank'; *ge:r* 'gear'; *ni:kab* 'knee-cap'; *raf* 'rough'; *fa:wil* 'foul'; *kuttih* 'cut-out'). It may be pointed out that several English loanwords have become integrated in HA to the extent that they occur in local proverbial expressions. For example, in a collection of proverbial expressions in HA that has been recently compiled by al-'Aamri (2001: 153, 173 and 203), two English loanwords have been used in the following three proverbs recorded in the collection:

*tanak*¹ 'tank' *garba'ah fi tanak* (A bang in a tank)

tankah 'tank' *ma: tigrbi' alla tankah alkhaliiyyih* (Only an empty tank makes a bang)

li:mih 'lime' *kama Tuyu:r illi:mih* (Like birds gathering on a lime tree)

The few studies of English loanwords in HA in particular that of Al-Saqqaf (2006) has pointed to their much more limited presence in the Hadhrami dialect than those loaned from other languages especially Malay-Indonesian languages.

However, the data collected for this study (Section 5.4) will demonstrate that the number of English words that have been loaned to HA (totaled 125) is much larger than that suggested in previous research. In the present study, the chronology of English loanwords in HA as well as their phonology, morphology and semantics will be discussed; these aspects have not been investigated as yet.

5. Setting up the study

5.1 Loanword: A Working definition

For the purposes of the present study, the term 'loanword' is used, following Haugen (1950: 213), to refer to bringing a form from the source language into the recipient language.

A loanword may involve importing and retaining the source language form without substituting any of its elements by recipient-language elements (e.g. HA *shu:t* 'shoot'). In many cases, however, substitution at the phonemic level occurs as in HA *wa:shir* 'voucher'. English words loaned to HA are of two types: Simple words (e.g. English *handle* – HA *handal*) or compound ones (e.g. English *half-time* – HA *ha:fte:m*). Other types of loans including loan blends and loan shifts (Haugen 1950: 213-214; Haugen 1969: 402-403) lie beyond the scope of this study.

5.2 Rationale for the study

During the British rule of then Southern Arabia including Hadramawt which extended for about 130 years (1839-1967), objects of different sorts (mechanical, electrical, etc.) poured from the new culture into the local community. As the Hadhrami vernacular lacked the resources to name those objects and in view of the limited use of Standard Arabic due to rampant illiteracy, Hadhramis had to borrow from English to fill the lexical gaps in their dialect. Consequently, a modest influx of English loanwords entered into the HA lexicon indirectly through the Hadhramis' contacts with speakers of Aden Arabic as there were no British settlers in Hadramawt and therefore there was no direct linguistic contact between English and HA (Section 6). In addition, some English loanwords which entered into the Arab dialects of the Gulf countries (Smart 1986) have been transferred to HA through Hadhrami emigrants working there since the 1970s. A study of the linguistic features of words loaned from English to HA is well justified on account of the need to examine their impact on the development of the HA lexicon over the past few decades. The lack of major linguistic research into this particular aspect of HA further emphasizes the significance of the present study.

5.3 Objectives of the study

The aim of this study is twofold. The first is to identify the English loanwords that have penetrated the HA lexicon over the past few decades and examine the conditions of their entry into this dialect of Arabic. The second objective of the study is to analyze the major phonological, morphological and semantic features that characterize the words loaned from English to HA.

5.4 Data collection

The data for this study was culled from both oral and printed sources on HA. The writer, a native speaker of the Arabic vernacular of Wadi Hadramawt himself, had the opportunity to make frequent contacts with a great number of the dialect users particularly in Seiyun, the administrative and business center of Wadi Hadramawt and the writer's hometown. People with whom the writer communicated were young and old, male and female; they belonged to various socio-economic sections of the community and came from different educational backgrounds. During those contacts, the researcher made a written record of the use of English loanwords in the Hadhrami dialect in a wide range of contexts. As for printed sources, these included the studies that were published on Hadhrami Arabic in which some of the English-originated expressions in HA have been mentioned (e.g., Al-Saqqaf 2006: 91-93).

Since the present study is primarily concerned with the English words loaned to the Hadhrami vernacular in Wadi Hadramawt, it excluded those English loanwords which although they are occasionally used by local Hadhramis, they are in fact considered a part of the standard variety of Arabic (Examples: *ra:dyu* 'radio'; *kumbyu:tar* 'computer'; *sa:ndwitsh* 'sandwich'; *kamira* 'camera'; *bo:dar* 'powder'). In determining the presence of English loanwords in Standard Arabic, the writer relied on their occurrence in bilingual English-Arabic / Arabic English dictionaries such as Baalbaki's *English-Arabic Dictionary* (2000) and Hans Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (1976).

It must be noted that English words loaned to HA which have similar forms but different meanings from their English-originated SA counterparts (e.g., SA *shukula* ‘chocolates’ HA *shikle:t* ‘toffees’) lie within the scope of our study. A list of the English loanwords in HA (totaled 125) that constitute the data of this study, their meanings and domains of use are provided in Appendix 1.

6. Data Analysis

In this section, a detailed linguistic analysis of the English loanwords in HA (totaled 125) will be made. The analysis will focus on the specific phonological, morphological and semantic features of those loanwords. Prior to this, the conditions of the entry of English loanwords into HA will be discussed. As noted in Section 5.2 above, many English words were loaned to HA during the British rule of the former South Yemen (1839-1967) comprising then Crown Colony of Aden and two protectorates, one of which was Aden Eastern Protectorate (Hadramawt). In this period, various kinds of products in mechanical, electrical and vehicles-related fields poured into the local markets thus creating the need for coining native HA words to designate them. However, these loanwords, as Al-Saqqaf (2006: 78) rightly notes, were not introduced directly to HA as there were no British settlers in Hadramawt and therefore there was no direct linguistic contact between English and HA. Rather, those loanwords entered into HA through a third party, namely, the Adeni/Indian personnel of the British administration who used to work in government offices, agricultural projects, banks, civil aviation, etc. in Hadramawt.

This is clearly evidenced in the presence, in HA, of many English loanwords that are identical in both form and meaning to their counterparts in Aden Arabic as documented in several sources of the Adeni dialect. Examples: *banshar* ‘puncture’, *lo:ri* ‘lorry’ and *go:li* ‘goalie’ (Dawod 1952: 7-11) *wi:l* ‘voile’ (Ghanem 1955: 30) *burush* ‘brush’ and *ga:z* ‘gas’ (Khan 1957: 52). It may be further noted that Hadhramis who were working in neighboring Gulf countries in particular Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the UAE also acted as the carriers of some English-originated words into HA in their occasional visits to their families back home. English loanwords such as *mo:tar* ‘motor’, *la:ndro:far* ‘land rover’ and *dish* ‘dish’ which are used in several Gulf dialects of Arabic (Holes 2001: xxxvi), have been probably transferred to HA by immigrant Hadhrami workers in the Gulf region. Several English loanwords are also believed to have infiltrated into HA in the post-independence era to designate new products that began to circulate among local Hadramis; their use may be explained on account of the fact that no SA or native HA counterparts for the borrowed words were lacking (e.g., *la:ndkro:zar* ‘land cruiser’; *bi:kab* ‘pick-up truck’; *fe:bargla:S* ‘fiber glass’)

6.1 Phonological

This section discusses the major phonological features that have characterized English words loaned to HA. The most significant of these is the replacement of the sounds that are non-existent in the phonemic inventory of HA by ones that are closer to them in articulation. Illustrative examples of this phenomenon as well as notable exceptions will be mentioned. In addition, certain phonological processes to which loanwords have been subjected in order to adapt them to the phonological HA system will be discussed.

6.1.1 Consonantal changes

In most cases, the nativization of English loanwords in HA has involved the substitution of the SL consonants that are absent in HA by their closes counterparts as exemplified below:

English consonant	HA consonant	Examples
/p/	/b/	<i>ni:kab</i> ‘knee-cap’
/ts/	/sh/	<i>shibis</i> ‘chips’
/v/	/f/	<i>la:ndro:far</i> ‘land rover’
/ŋ/	/ng/	<i>ringa:t</i> ‘rings’

It may be noted that in their pronunciation of the loanword in the last example, some Hadhramis tend to use the English consonant /ŋ/ followed by /g/. A further point to be made is that, in very few cases, one or two HA consonants, which are different in terms of manner and place of articulation from their English counterpart, are used. Examples:

English consonant	HA consonant	Examples
/p/	/m/	<i>bi:kam_</i> ‘pick-up’
/v/	/w/	<i>wa:shir</i> ‘voucher’
/v/	/b/	<i>barandih</i> ‘veranda’

In explaining the causes of the deviation in the substituted consonants from the general trend stated above, it may be argued that the replacement of /w/ by /v/ in /wa:shir/ may be ascribed to its possible entry into HA through a median language, namely Indian English. This substitution was noticed by the present writer in the pronunciation, by some Indian teachers of English, of /v/ in word-initial position as /w/. Meanwhile, the manner in which English *pick-up* and *veranda* had been perceived by the locals who first borrowed these two words to HA may account for the substitutions noted above. The nativization of consonants in the borrowed words has further involved the utilization of certain phonological processes. One of these is the assimilation of some consonants in specific phonetic environments as has been the case in the assimilation of /d/ to /b/ in the vicinity of /m/ in the English-induced HA words *ha:mbo:l* 'handball', *ha:mbre:k* 'handbrake' and *ha:m̄ba:g* 'handbag'. The assimilation process was only possible following the change of the consonant /n/ by /m/ in those words.

The second phonological process to which some English loanwords in HA have been subjected is the pharyngealization of /s/ (e.g. *faSgla: S* 'first class') and /t/ (e.g., *kaT* 'cut'). Gemination, that is, consonant doubling is another phonological process that has been evidenced in such HA loanwords as *bamma* 'pump', *kuttih* 'cut-out' and *fannash* 'finish'. A single case of metathesis i.e. *ro:fal* 'loafer' and another of devoicing i.e. *kart* 'card' have been also observed.

6.1.2 Vowel changes

The nativization of English-originated words in HA is much more noticeable in vowels than consonants owing to the fact that the number of English vowels that have no corresponding forms in HA is greater than that of consonants. Examples:

English vowel	HA vowel	Examples of HA loanwords
/e/	/i/	<i>ridi</i> 'ready'
/ʌ/	/a/	<i>raf</i> 'rough'
/ə/	/a/	<i>galan</i> 'gallon'
/ɔ/	/o:/	<i>lo:ri</i> 'lorry'
/ɒ/	/u/	<i>shurt</i> 'short-circuit'

As in the case of consonant nativization, two or more vowels have been occasionally utilized in the HA borrowed word to correspond to one and the same English vowel:

English vowel	HA vowel	Examples of HA loanwords
/ʌ/	/a/	<i>rabal</i> 'rubber'
	/e:/	<i>kle:sh</i> 'clutch'
/ɔ/	/u/	<i>bult</i> 'bolt'
	/u:/	<i>ku:fi:</i> 'coffee'
	/o:/	<i>ro:dih</i> 'rod'

The nativization of English diphthongs that are not found in HA has involved their replacement by certain HA pure vowels. However, the English diphthong /au/ has been substituted by the HA vowel /a:/ followed by the semi-vowel /w/. Examples:

English diphthong	HA vowel	Examples
/ei/	/e:/	<i>bre:k</i> 'brake'
/ai/	/e:/	<i>e:s</i> 'ice'
/au/	/a:w/	<i>fa:wil</i> 'foul'
/əu/	/o:/	<i>mo:tar</i> 'motor'

A phonological process involving the lengthening of short vowels has been observed in several English loanwords in HA. Examples:

English vowel	HA vowel	Examples of HA loanwords
/e:/	/e:/	<i>dre:s</i> 'dress'
/i/	/i:/	<i>di:smi:s</i> 'dismiss'
/æ/	/a:/	<i>ta:nki</i> 'tank'
/u/	/u:/	<i>fu:t</i> 'foot'

6.1.3 Consonant clusters

Although the presence of a consonant cluster in word-initial position is rather rare in HA, it has surfaced in several English words loaned to this Arabic dialect. Examples:

gze:z ‘exhaust’ *glub* ‘globe’ *shlin* ‘shilling’
fyu:z ‘fuse’ *sbe:r* ‘spare’ *tyub* ‘tube’

In some cases, however, a vowel has been inserted to break the consonant cluster (e.g., *shibis* ‘chips’; *burush* ‘brush’). In a few other instances, a vowel has been preposed to break the word-initial consonant cluster (e.g., *isbring* ‘spring’; *iskru* ‘screw’).

6.1.4 Sound or syllable deletion

A further significant feature of HA loanword phonology is the deletion of a sound or syllable at initial and final positions in a word. Deletion of a sound in word-final position is found in such HA loanwords as *kastar* ‘custard’, *le:san* ‘license’, *sho:rt* ‘shorts’, *ra:bu:n* ‘rebound’ and *wa:l* ‘valve’. Meanwhile, a syllable has been elided in word-initial or word-final positions in some HA loanwords (Examples: *se:kal* ‘bicycle’, *shle:shan te:b* ‘insulation tape’, *garmah* ‘garment’). Deletion of the first or second element of some English compound nouns loaned to HA have been also observed.

Examples:

English compound	HA Loanword
air-conditioner	<i>kande:shan</i>
self-starter	<i>silf</i>
cut-out	<i>kuttih</i>
short-circuit	<i>shur</i>

6.2 Morphological

English loanwords in HA have undergone a process of morphological adaptation in which they are fitted into specific patterns of the dialect on analogy with native words. In some cases the loanwords have been accommodated to the morphological patterns of purely colloquial words as exemplified below:

English loanwords	colloquial	morphological patterns
words in HA	of colloquial words in HA	
<i>e:s</i> ‘ice’	<i>e:sh</i> ‘what’	V:C
<i>glub</i> ‘globe’	<i>SruT_</i> ‘swallow it’	CCVC
<i>fyu:z</i> ‘fuse’	<i>glu:s</i> ‘buttons’	CCV:C
<i>brust</i> ‘roast’	<i>ga’adt</i> ‘I sat down’	CCVCC

As far as word-class membership is concerned, a total of 117 (86%) of the English words loaned to HA are nouns. By contrast, loan verbs are extremely limited in number i.e. twelve (10 %). This is not surprising if one bears in mind that ‘*verbs do not transfer cross-linguistically so easily*’ (Myers-Scotten 2006:229). Attestation to this phenomenon in Arabic was made by Beeston (1970: 115) who points out that ‘*loan verbs are very rare in Arabic*’. The remaining English loans in HA are adjectives i.e. three, and adverbs i.e. three.

6.2.1 Loan nouns

Most of the English nouns loaned to HA be of the simple type (totaled 103) whereas the rest are compound. In most loan compounds, the two elements that make up the compound noun have been contracted into one word. Examples:

girishbo:y ‘garage boy’; *iskri:m* ‘ice-cream’; *fe:bargla:S* ‘fiber glass’; *la:ndro:far* ‘land rover’; *ni:kab* ‘knee-cap’; *ufSa:yid* ‘off-side’.

Another feature of the English compounds loaned to HA is the omission of the second element of the compound (Examples: *shurt* ‘short-circuit’; *silf* ‘self-starter’). In a single case i.e. *kande:shan* ‘air-conditioner’, however, the first element of the compound has been dropped. A process of a different kind i.e. metathesis, has occurred in the loan compound *se:kalmo:tar* ‘motorcycle’. With regard to gender assignment, the principles that govern this process in native HA words have been applied to borrowed ones with a few exceptions.

Thus, masculine nouns tend to end with a consonant (e.g., *iryal* ‘aerial’; *bre:k* ‘brake’; *kabat* ‘cupboard’; *dish* ‘satellite dish’) except in a few cases (e.g., *se:kal* ‘bicycle’; *ko:rnar* ‘corner’), while feminine ones end with the feminine marker *-ah* or *-ih*. (e.g., *lambih* ‘lamp’; *sho:ti:h* ‘shot’; *garmah* ‘garment’). An interesting case is the English noun ‘pump’ for which two forms have arisen in HA: a masculine noun i.e. *bam* ‘pump’ denoting ‘an air compressor’ and a feminine one i.e. *bammah* which refers to a ‘water pump’.

As for the pluralization of HA nouns borrowed from English, it follows the same rules that apply to native ones. Thus, regular masculine singular nouns that end in a consonant are pluralized by the addition of the morphological inflection *-a:t*. Examples:

fre:ma:t ‘frames’; *shilina:t* ‘shillings’; *tyuba:t* ‘tubes’; *fa:wila:t* ‘fouls’

However, the pluralization of a masculine singular noun that ends with a vowel involves the insertion of the double semi-vowel *-yy-* followed by the addition of the plural marker *-a:t* e.g., *balanti* – *balantiyya:t* (penalty – penalties); *lo:ri* – *lo:riyya:t* (lorry – lorries). Pluralizing regular feminine singular loan nouns involves dropping the feminine marker *-ah* or *-ih* before adding the plural morpheme *-a:t*. (e.g., *bammah* – *bamma:t* ‘pump – pumps’; *li:mih* – *li:ma:t* ‘lime – limes’). Several HA singular loan nouns take irregular plural forms according to some established patterns in the dialect. The most common irregular plural pattern in English loan nouns in HA is *mafa:’il* (Examples: *laya:sin* ‘licenses’; *mawa:tir* ‘motors’; *bara:sil* ‘parcels’; *kaba:tin* ‘captains’; *saya:kil* ‘bicycles’; *naya:kib* ‘knee-caps’). Two other irregular plural patterns are used on a much smaller scale, though. The first is *af’a:l* used in such loans as *agwa:l* ‘goals’ and *akwa:t* ‘coats’. The second pattern i.e. *fu’u:l* is evidenced in, for example, the HA loan noun *buku:t* ‘packets’. In a few cases, a native hyperonymic term has to be used immediately before the singular loan noun to mark it as plural. (Examples: *sayya:ra:t bi:kab* ‘pick-up cars’; *daka:ki:n ilwi:l* ‘voile shops’; *maHalla:t alga:z* ‘kerosene oil shops’).

6.2.2 Loan verbs

As noted in Section 8.2 above, a total of twelve English verbs have been borrowed to HA. These loan verbs have been adapted to native patterns that consist of a root of three or four consonants with vowels inserted between them e.g., *barash* ‘to brush’; *kansal* ‘to cancel’.

It must be noted that some of the English loan verbs are still in use in the daily communication of local Hadramis as shown in the following example sentences:

barash sha’ruh ‘he brushed his hair’
kansal alijtima: ‘he cancelled the meeting’
fannasho:h ‘they fired him’
itta:yir banshar ‘the tyre punctured’
shawwat ‘*algo:l* ‘he shot at the goal’
dabbal issi’r ‘he doubled the price’
shayyak alhisa:b ‘he checked the account’

It should be further noted that two of the English nouns which entered HA gave rise to verb forms as shown below:

English noun	HA loan noun	HA derived loan verb
goal	<i>go:l</i>	<i>gawwal</i> ‘he scored a goal’
dozen	<i>darzan</i>	<i>darzanna:hum agwa:l</i> ‘we scored dozens of goals against them’
plug	<i>bla:k</i>	<i>ballakat</i> (e.g. <i>isse:kal ballakat</i> ‘the plugs of the motorcycle broke down’)

The integration of the English loan verbs into HA mentioned above led to the creation of several derivational forms e.g., *fannash* ‘to finish / to fire; verbal noun- *tafni:sh*; imperative- *finnish*; active participle- *mfinnish*; passive participle- *mfannash*)

6.2.3 Loan adjectives and adverbs

Three English adjectives have been loaned to HA; these are *garanti* ‘guarantee’, *ridi* ‘ready’ and *raf* ‘rough’. A similar number of English-originated adverbs are also found in HA, all of which are exclusively used in the context of playing football i.e. *a:wit* ‘out’; *ufSa:yid* ‘off-side’; *o:far* ‘over’.

6.3 Semantic

At the semantic level, almost all the English words loaned to HA have undergone some changes the most common of which is the narrowing of their meanings. This type of semantic change has been observed in about two-thirds of the loanwords investigated. Several forms of narrowing have been exhibited. One of these is the retention of only one meaning of the borrowed word and the exclusion of the rest. Some illustrative examples of this kind of narrowing are given below:

gear 'gear' (Gear of a car only); *gla:s* 'glass' (A drinking glass only); *dish* (A satellite dish only).

A more significant type of the semantic narrowing of HA loanwords involves the restriction of their usage to a specific field. Thus, HA *ba:k* 'back', *santar* 'centre', *ufSa:yid* 'off-side', *kart* 'card', *o:far* 'over', *sho:tih* 'shot', *balanti* 'penalty', and *fa:wil* 'foul' are exclusively used in football. Narrowing of both the meaning of the loanword and its domain of use has been evidenced in a few HA loanwords. For example, HA *kat* 'cut' is only used in the context of playing table-tennis with a specific reference to the act of hitting the ball with a chopping motion. A further type of semantic restriction involves narrowing the referent of the loanword. This has been manifested in, for example, HA *ku:fi* 'coffee' and *ko:t* which refer to Western-style coffee and coat respectively. A more interesting case of narrowing of referent is related to the English word 'tank' which, when loaned to HA, gave rise to three different forms with different referents i.e. *tanak* 'water or kerosene tank'; *tanka* ' a tin of ghee or cooking oil'; *ta:nki* ' petrol tank in a car'. A different type of semantic change observed in the English words loaned to HA is the widening or broadening of their content. Thus, HA *ni:kab* 'knee-cap' is used to refer to a kind of pad used to be worn by some football players round the knee, leg or foot, *buks* 'box' denotes not only professional boxing but also any act of punching, and *garanti* 'guarantee' has been used in HA to indicate both a written warranty and an oral confirmation of the good quality of a particular product. A further striking example i.e. *raf* 'rough' was originally used to describe rough play in football but its use was later extended to include the act of eating from all sides of a large plate shared by others at wedding feasts. Transfer of meaning is yet another significant change in loanword semantics.

Illustrative examples of this feature are given below:

English word	HA loanword	transferred meaning of the HA loanword
chocolates	<i>shikle:t</i>	toffees
knickers	<i>nikis</i>	briefs worn by men
dress	<i>dre:s</i>	military uniform
electricity	<i>tri:k</i>	a pressure lantern only
foot	<i>fu:t</i>	a measurement tape
gallon	<i>galan</i>	oil container
motor	<i>ma:Tu:r</i>	electric generator
DELCO	<i>de:lku</i>	distributor in a car engine manufactured by Delaware Electric Company (DELCO)

7. Conclusion and suggestions for further research

The analysis of English loanwords in HA made in Section 6 above has provided ample evidence of the role of such loanwords in expanding the HA lexicon. More specifically, the incoming English words served the purpose of filling lexical gaps in the dialect especially in the electrical, mechanical and vehicle-related domains where their SA counterparts were inaccessible to locals due to rampant illiteracy. The analysis has further highlighted the processes of phonological adaptation and morphological integration of the English-induced words in HA as well as the semantic changes occurring in these loanwords. It has also shown that some of the infiltrating English loanwords which have been phonologically adapted and morphologically integrated into the HA structure are still and will remain in current circulation among local Hadhramis for many years to come. Further research may be pursued along different lines. For example, the sociolinguistic aspect of the use of those loanwords in HA may be explored. This dimension will shed some light on the variation in the use of these loanwords according to such parameters as age, gender, social class and educational background. The use of the English loanwords in HA in local newspapers, poetry and proverbs would be also worth investigating.

8. Limitations of the study

This study may have been constrained by the fact that in the collection of his data, the writer did not make recordings of the conversations he had with local Hadhramis; rather he tended to write down the loanwords as they occur in those conversations. It must be noted that being a native inhabitant of Hadramawt, the writer has been aware of the reluctance by most locals to be tape-recorded.

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Note

¹ In the transliteration of Arabic characters, the writer has utilized, for typological convenience, a system that makes little use of diacritical marks

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Appendix 1: English Loanwords in HA

S.N.	English Word	HA Loanword	Meaning of the loanword
1	aerial	iryal	TV aerial only.
2	air-conditioner	(e:r) kande:shan	Apparatus for air-conditioning.
3	back	ba:k	Defensive player in football.
4	ball bearing	bul be:ring	For a ball bearing in a car engine only.
5	battery	be: tri	Used to refer to a car battery or radio batteries only.
6	bicycle	se:kal	Bicycle (Noun only).
7	(Bicycle) pedal	se:kal be:dal	Bicycle.
8	bolt	bult	It refers only to a rod with a head at one end and a screw thread at the other used with a nut to fasten objects together.
9	box	buks	Professional boxing; an act of punching.
10	brake	bre:k	For brake of a car, motorcycle or bicycle.
11	brush	burush	Any kind of brush.
12	cancel	kansal	Used to refer to the cancellation of a meeting, appointment, etc.
13	captain	kabtan	Used to refer to pilot of an aircraft, leader of football team or a skillful player.
14	carbon	karbo:n	For carbon paper.
15	carburetor	karbre:tar	Carburetor in a car engine.
16	card	kart	Used to refer to the yellow and red cards carried by the referee in a football match.
17	cash	ka:sh	Payment in cash.
18	central	sintra:l	For a telephone central.
19	centre	santar	Used only in football to refer to the player in the center area.
20	check	shayyak	To inspect or test for satisfactory condition or to mark with a check as examined.
21	chips	shibis	For fried, chipped potatoes.
22	chocolate	shikle:t	Toffees.
23	clutch	kle:sh	For clutch of a car or a clutch pedal.
24	coat	ko:t	Used to refer to a Western-style coat only.
25	coffee	ku:fi	(A cupful of) Western-type coffee.
26	commission	kamishan	An amount of money paid to an agent as a commission.
27	compression	kambre:shan	Compression in a car engine.
28	corner	ko:rnar	For a corner kick in football.
29	course	ko:ris	For medicine taken as course of treatment.
30	custard	kastar	Custard or a custard tin..
31	cut	kaT	For the act of hitting the ball – in table tennis with a chopping motion.
32	cut-out	kuttih	For an electrical device in old cars.
33	DELCO	de:lku	For distributor in a car engine manufactured by Delaware Electric Company 'DELCO'
34	differential	difre:shan	For differential gear of a car.
35	dish	dish	For a satellite dish.
36	dismiss	di:smi:s	For a screwdriver.
37	double	dabal	Double (noun.)
38	dozen	darzan	Dozen.
39	dress	dre:s	For military uniform.
40	earth	art	For 'wire connected to earth as completion of electric circuit.
41	electric	tri:k	Used to refer to a pressure lantern only.
42	exhaust	gze:z	For an exhaust pipe of a vehicle.
43	fiber glass	fe:bargla:S	Fiber glass used in making various products (as insulation)
44	finish	fannash	To dismiss from work
45	first class	faSgla:S	For the higher beam of car headlights.
46	flash	fla:sh	For built-in flash in a camera.
47	foolscap	fuluska:b	Foolscap paper
48	foot	fu:t	Foot (12 inches); Also refers to a tape measure used by carpenters.
49	foul	fa:wil	For a foul in football.
50	frame	fre:m	For a picture frame.
51	fuse	fyu:z	Electric fuse
52	gallon	galan	Gallon; (oil) container

53	garage boy	girishbo:y	A young man who works in a garage.
54	garment	garmah	Vest; sweater; Jersey.
55	gas	ga:z	Kerosene used for a fuel.
56	gear	ge:r	Gear of a car.
57	glass	gla:s	Drinking glass.
58	globe	glub	Electric bulb; electronic valve in old types of radios.
59	goal	go:l	Goal in football only.
60	goalie	gawwali go:li	Goal – keeper.
61	guarantee	garanti	Warranty; oral confirmation of good quality of a product.
62	half-time	ha:fte:m	Half-time interval in football.
63	handbag	ha:mba:g	Handbag.
64	handball	ha:mbo:l	For a foul in football when a player touches the ball by hand.
65	hand brake	hambre:k	Hand brake of a car.
66	handle	handal	Crank of a car; a handle used to start a water pump, or a milling machine.
67	horn	ho:n	For a car horn.
68	ice	e:s	For ice cubes (in a refrigerator)
69	ice-cream	iskri:m	Ice cream.
70	inch	hinish	Inch.
71	insulation tape	shle:shan te:b	For electric-insulation tape only.
72	jelly	jali	Jelley
73	joker	yo:gar	For 'joker' in playing cards.
74	knee-cap	ni:kab	For a kind of pad used to be worn by some football players round the knee, leg or foot.
75	knickers	nikis	For briefs worn by men.
76	lamp	lambih	For a fluorescent type of lamp.
77	land cruiser	la:nkro:zar	For a type of 4-wheel station wagon vehicle. .
78	land rover	la:ndro:far	Land rover.
79	license	le:san	For a driving license.
80	lime	li:m	Lime.; lime-juice.
81	list	listah	List
82	loafer	ro:fal	Loafer.
83	lorry	lo:ri	Lorry.
84	motor	mo:tar ma:Tu:r	Car. For electric generator.
85	motorcycle	Se:kalmo:tar	Motorcycle.

86	off-side	ufsa:yid	Off-side (in football only)
87	okay	ukke:y	All right; it also refers to the O.K. status of flight indicated on air tickets.
88	out	a:wit	Used in football when the ball goes out of the playing ground.
89	packet	bakit	For a packet of biscuits; a pack of cigarettes.
90	parcel	barsal	For a wrapped container sent by post.
91	penalty	balanti	For a penalty kick in football.
92	pick up	bi:kam bi:kab	For an old type of record player. For a pickup truck.
93	plaster	balastar	For a medical dressing applied to a part of the body for healing purposes.
	plug	bla:k	For a sparkling plug in a vehicle.
94	projector	bro:jiktar	For a film projector.
95	pump	bamm bammah	For air compressor. For water pump.
96	puncture	banshar	For a punctured or flat tyre.
97	radiator	ra:diye:tar	Radiator of a car.
98	ready	ridi	Ready for action or use.
99	rebound	ra:bu:n	For a rebounding hit in a popular game of Indian origin (ke:ram) played by Hadrami youths.
100	reverse	re:wis	Reverse gear; driving a car backwards.
101	rings	ringa:t	Piston rings in a car engine.

102	roast	brust	For roasted chicken.
103	rod	ro:dih	For a stick used for measuring purposes.
104	rough	raf	For rough play in football. Also used to refer to the act of eating from all sides of a large plate shared by others at wedding feasts.
105	rubber	rabal	For something made from rubber.
106	salad	SalaT(ah)	For green salad.
107	screw	Iskru sukrub	A side kick in football that makes the ball go on in a curling motion. A kind of nail with a spiral ridge.
108	second	is-sikin	For a second-class football team.
109	self-starter	silif	For the act of starting or turning on the switch of a car or a motorcycle.
110	shilling	shlin	For the official currency introduced by the British in 1951 and was replaced by the Yemeni Riyal after the reunification of the northern and southern parts of Yemen.
111	shoot	shawwat	To strike the ball (in football)
112	short-circuit	shurt	For a short electric circuit.
113	shorts	sho:rt	For shorts often worn by men in sports.
114	shot	sho:tih	For the act of striking a ball (in football)
115	spanner	ba:nih	Spanner.
116	spare	sbe:r	Something reserved for emergency use such as a spare tyre.
117	spring	(i)sbring	For a spring used in cars, clocks, beds, etc.
118	tank	tanak tankah ta:nki	For a water or kerosene tank. For a tin of ghee or cooking oil. For petrol tank in a car.
119	tube	tyub	For the inner tube containing air in a pneumatic tyre.
120	tyre	ta:yir	Tyre; wheel of a vehicle.
121	valve	wa:l	Valve of the inner tube of a pneumatic tyre.
122	veranda	barandih	Veranda.
123	voile	wil	A popular dress made from voile and worn by middle-age or old ladies; voile (cloth material)
124	voucher	wa:shir	For a document that serves as evidence of payment of money especially the monthly salaries of government employees.
125	wire	wa:yir	For an electric cable; a wire rope.