### CHAPTER TWO

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.0 Introduction

The review will begin with a brief introduction to the Arabic language, in particular the Iraqi Arabic dialect, as it is the fundamental part of this study. It will summarize the status of Arabic as the official language of all Arabian countries and as the language of the 'Holy Qur'an' and describe the Arabic alphabet and how these alphabets are pronounced. It will also look at the history of the English language in order to understand the process involved in word-borrowing. Additionally this chapter will shed some light on the phenomena of diglossia in Arabic. In the context of this study the discussion on diglossia will refer to the use of two varieties of the same language as defined by Ferguson (as cited in Appel and Muysken, 2005). It will also provide an account of the use of the colloquial Arabic in the Arab world.

Next, the survey of literature will focus on factors related to the phenomena of borrowing from one language to another and in particular from English to Iraqi Arabic dialect. In this respect, factors such as language status, language contact and linguistic needs will be discussed in terms of the degree of contact with other languages and the status of bilingualism of the speakers.

### 2.1 The Arabic Language

Arabic is one of the major languages of the world. It is the language of daily communication for 250 million people (Ali, 1995), and the language of

worship for many hundreds more million of Muslims. Arabic is used in three forms: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic and Colloquial Arabic (Arabic dialects). Classical Arabic is the original language of the Holy Qura'n, which in Muslim belief is incomparably excellent, since it is the direct word of God (*Klam Allah*). It is the language of prayer for all Muslims and the language of 'Hadeath' (Prophet Muhammad [Peace Be Upon Him] sayings). Classical Arabic is preserved unchanged by Allah through the Holy Qura'n.

Modern Standard Arabic which is also known as *Al-Fusha* is the formal form of the language as it is used today. It is the written form which is almost completely uniformed throughout the Arab world. Moreover, it is used in formal broadcasts such as the news and formal lectures as it is simply the written word of Modern Standard Arabic being read aloud. In short it is employed in every formal situation over the entire Arab world. On the other hand, in informal radio and television broadcasts, such as certain dramatic productions and conversations, colloquial Arabic is used.

In other words, it is the medium of oral communication. It is neither uniformed nor static as it comprises a large number of dialects and of dialects within dialects. As such, it is consistently changing and developing. Among the Arabs it has little prestige since it is considered to be a corruption of the classical language which is God given (Mohammed, 1989).

### 2.1.1 The Arabic alphabet

The Arabic alphabet was first used to write old texts in Arabic, most importantly, the holy Qura'n. With the spread of Islam it came to be used to write other languages even when those languages do not belong to the Semitic languages family to which Arabic belongs. Examples of such non-Semitic languages which are written with Arabic alphabets are Malay (Jawi), Azerbaijan (in Iran), Kurdish (in Iraq and Iran), Persian and Urdu (Comrie, 1991).

General Unicode	Name	Translit	Phonetic Value (IPA)
	alif	Ā	various, including [æ ː]
ب	bā	В	[b]
ك	tā	Т	[t]
ث	tā	<u>tt</u>	[ <del>0</del> ]
5	ğīm	Ğ (also j, g)	[&] / [J] / [J]
ح	hā	<u>þ</u> þ	[ħ]
ć	ђā	ђ (also kh, x)	[×]
د	dāl	D	[d]
ذ	dāl	d (also dh, ð)	[ð]
J	rā	R	[r]
j	zāī	Z	[z]
س	sīn	S	[s]
ش	šīn	Ś (also sh)	[/]
ص	şād	ŞŞ	[s]
ض	dād	dq	[d]
4	ţā	ţţ	[t]
ظ	zā	ŻŻ	[ð] / [z]
٤	ayn	1	[5]/[2]
ک ن	ġayn	Ġ (also gh)	[Y] / [B]
ف	fā⊡	F	[f]
ف	qāf	Q	[q]
<u>ائ</u>	kāf	K	[k]
5	lām	L	[]], (in Allah only)
r L	mīm	M	[m]
Ŭ	nūn	N	[n]
o	hā⊡	Н	[h]
و	wāw	w/ū	[w]/[u:]
ې	yā⊡	y/ī	[]] / [i ÷ ]

### 2.1.2 Arabic dialects

Dialects vary throughout the Arab world in pre-Islamic and in Islamic time. According to Romaine (2000), during pre-Islamic time which was the period of idol worship (known in Arabic as *Al-Jahiliya*), the Arabic dialects differ from one tribe to another but all are uniformed by the classical Arabic of the ancient poets. In Islamic time all Arabs speak the classical Arabic of the holy Qura'n and their own dialects. Romaine (2000) adds that the colloquial dialects number in the thousands and they vary throughout the Arab world from Maghreb Arabian to Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan and all gulf countries. The more remote these dialects are from one another geographically, the more they differ from one another.

Newman (2002) states that although these dialects differ from one another some are so close to each other that their speakers can easily converse with one another; such as the Arab speakers within the Gulf countries. On the other hand, it will be difficult for the Arab gulf speakers to converse with Maghreb Arabic speakers, as these Arabic countries were influenced by different languages and different circumstances.

McLoughlin (1982) on the other hand points out that the dialects also tend to vary within the same area due to social class and education level. For example, the dialect of simple uneducated people such as the "*Fallah*" or peasants differ from the dialect of educated people who had learned the classical Arabic and who at the same time had acquired their own dialect at home.

### 2.1.3 Arabic Diglossia

Often each language or language variety in a community serves a specialized function and is used for particular purpose. Ferguson (cited in Comrie, 1987) defines this linguistic phenomenon of using two varieties of the same language within a community as diglossia. The two varieties live side by side, each performing a different function. The functions of the two language varieties according to Ferguson differ in terms of their status: the "High" variety is used in relatively formal situations, and the 'Low' variety is used colloquially and usually informally.

Arabic speaking countries can be considered as an example of diglossia. In all Arabic countries the language used at home may be a local version of Arabic. The language that is recognized publicly, however, is modern standard Arabic, which takes many of its normative rules from the classical Arabic of the holy Qura'n. While the standard language is used for high functions such as giving a lecture, reading, writing, or broadcasting. the home variety or colloguial dialect is used for "low" functions such as interacting with friends. "High" Arabic which is also known as modern standard Arabic, is learned through formal education in school while colloquial dialect is acquired as a mother tongue at home (Appel and Muysken, 2005). Among Arabic speakers, Standard Arabic is mutually accepted as the variety that is more superior to any Arabic dialect. It is far more logical, more elegant and eloquent. It is so because it is unaffected by foreign borrowings as well as being the language of the Holy Qur'an (Ali 1995).

## 2.2 The history of borrowings in the English Language

English like many other languages of the world had borrowed, throughout history, many words from French, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese and many other languages (Hughes, 2000). According to Baugh (2002), the major reasons for these borrowings are: the conquest of Britain by different troops, the rapid advance of science, and the contact with other nations through commerce and colonization. After the conquest of Britain by the French in 1066, the English vocabulary was enriched by the addition of thousands of French loanwords. Many of these words have survived through time and are still in use this present day. Some of these words are: *fiancée, palette, menu, matinee, regime, plateau, impasse, rouge and beige* (Baugh, 2002).

The second factor that brought about word borrowings in to English is related to the rapid advancement in the field of science. In this aspect, many of the borrowings were from Arabic as the Arabs were the leaders in scientific discovery during the middle ages. As a result Arabic supplied English with scientific terms such as *cotton, syrup, alcohol,* as well as other words for more common things such as *safari, tariff, Islamic, sultan, saffron, imam, henna, admiral,* and *mummy.* 

When the British Empire started colonizing countries such as India, which they ruled for over 200 years (1757-1947), words from the Indian language were borrowed into the English language. Some of these words are *punch, pundit, bungalow*, and *raj.* In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, British explorations into the Far-East brought about borrowings from the Chinese language with words such as *tea* 

and *catchup*. During the same period, contact with the Japanese language saw the borrowings of such as *sushi, ninja, karate, sumo,* and *tofu.* The British colonization of Malaya from 1786 to 1957, lead to borrowings of words such as *bamboo* and *bantam* from the Malay language. Stockwell (2001) provides a comprehensive discussion of the many different sources of borrowings from other languages that make up the composite nature of the English language (Stockwell, 2001). The natural yet intriguing phenomena of word borrowings lead many linguists to seek better understanding and definitions of its perimeters.

### 2.3 The concept of borrowing

Word borrowings between languages can be taken to be a natural process or consequence because whenever two languages come into contact over a long period of time, one or both are expected to be influenced by the other. There are a group of linguists who are considered as key figures in the study of language contact and borrowing between languages, and much of their work still stands as the basis for the current approaches in this area. As such this section will first discuss the main issues and theories proposed by these linguists before moving on to more current researches that have been carried out in this area.

Edward Sapir (1921, in Heah, 1989) states that whatever the degree or nature of contact between two languages, it is generally sufficient to lead to some kind of linguistic inter-influencing. The simplest kind of influence that may emerge is the borrowing of words. Haugen (1950, in Heah, 1989: 12) refers to borrowing as "linguistic diffusion". He also defined borrowing as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another" (Haugen, 1950, in Heah, 1989: 12).

In his discussion of borrowings, Weinreich (1979, in Andrews, 1999), explains that in a language contact situation, there is often a spontaneous use of foreign words by people in their colloquial speech. He emphasizes that they use the foreign words not as a result of code-switching but because they have heard the form used by other speakers of their own language. In this case, the borrowed form spontaneously becomes part of their language through everyday use.

An important issue that Andrews (1999) brings up in this aspect is that the individual's level of knowledge in the local or recipient language and the contact or foreign language can indicate whether the use of the foreign word in the recipient language is a result of the phenomena of borrowing or code switching. Code switching necessarily involves the knowledge of both languages, while borrowing requires knowledge of only the recipient language. Thus when individuals switch from one language to another in their speech, they should have knowledge of both language systems. On the other hand, when individuals borrow single lexical items form the foreign language and integrate the new form into their own language, only the knowledge of the recipient language is involved (Muysken, 2000 cited in Field, 2002).

Grosjean (1982), on the other hand, distinguishes between what he terms as speech borrowing, that is when an individual speaker spontaneously uses a form from another language within an utterance,

and language borrowing, when words from one language have been borrowed by another language and used by monolingual speakers of the recipient language. The connection between the two is that, languages borrow words because individual speakers have at one time borrowed them. Specifically, what happens is, individuals borrow words that spread among other speakers in their language even if they are monolingual speakers, possibly through some sort of imitation or modeling. In other words, in the process of borrowing from one language to another, speakers of the original language within a speech community import forms from the donor language and these forms are over time, integrated into the recipient language. Even as early as the fifties researchers were already aware that the speakers of the recipient language initially attempt to reproduce in their own speech forms that previously existed only in the donor language (Haugen, 1950 cited in Field, 2002).

As already mentioned in section 2.2, during the middle Ages, English borrowed quite a number of words from Arabic because of the Arabic achievements in the scientific field. Later on Arabic borrowed words from English. This alternation in the roles of the two languages was due to the rapid developments in technology and other aspects of life such as colonization which forced Arabic to borrow words from the English language and be the recipient not the donor language. This current study focuses on the borrowing of English words into the Iraqi Arabic dialect in which the English language represents the donor language and the Iraqi Arabic dialect the recipient language.

As foreign words get integrated into the recipient language, sometimes the borrowed forms undergo changes or take on linguistic characteristics of the

recipient language. In other words, the borrowed forms may become noticeably different from the original form that exists in the donor language to a degree that the native speaker would not be able to recognize their foreignness at all. This differentiation might be due to the interference of the mother tongue and/or other factors. If this factor is taken into consideration, it would be possible to separate the two distinct kinds of borrowing. If the loan form is similar enough to the original borrowed form that the native speaker would accept it as his own, then the borrowing language speaker may be said to have imported the model into his language. However, when the speaker reproduces the borrowed form inadequately by using a similar pattern from his own language, the borrowing language speaker had in this case, substituted the original borrowed form (Haugen, 1950 in Appel and Muysken, 2005).

What can be seen in the literature is borrowing among languages is a widely occurring phenomena. A unique feature of borrowings as observed by Trask (1996: 140) is that nouns are borrowed more often than any other word classes (such as verbs or pronouns). However, Trask cites Turkish as an exception. Turkish has borrowed heavily from its more prestigious neighbour Arabic, and since the verbal morphologies of Arabic and Turkish are so different it does not seem possible that an Arabic verb can be accommodated in Turkish. However, according to Trask, Turkish manages to find its way to borrow Arabic verbs by combining the Arabic verb with a "dummy" Turkish verb. For example, the Turkish word *etmek* (which means "do"), is combined with the borrowed Arabic verbal noun *kabul* (acceptance) to form the compound verb *kabul etmek* (to accept); *mukayese* (comparison) is used to form *mukayese etmek* (to compare) and *ispat* (proof) is used to form *ispat etmek* (to prove).

Before the rise of English as a dominant language in the twentieth century, French was the most prestigious language in the European world. Being a language of diplomacy, art and western civilization, French was a vital source of borrowing for the English language. According to Schendl (2001) the foreignness of most of these borrowed words such as *mayonnaise, sauna, fiancée, genre, country, music, jewels, pity, mirror, gentle, male, female* and *language* can only be known to a specialist.

Today, English is the language of international institutions such as the United Nations and the World Bank. It is also the language of the Internet and has official position in some countries. Being the dominant language of the twentieth century, English in turn has become a vital source of borrowing for many languages such as Malay and Arabic. The most commonly words to be borrowed from English are the non-basic words, specifically the one used to designate new inventions, but this does not mean that the borrowing is limited to new inventions only as it includes many aspects of life. Malay, for example, has borrowed words of different classes from English. A wide number of words have been documented in studies on the lexical borrowings from English to Malay such as in Heah (1989), Mahaesvary (1994), and Parwathy (1993).

Arabic too has borrowed many words from the English language, particularly technical terms. Hadrami Arabic (Yemeni Arabic dialect) has borrowed many English words which have become integrated into the dialect to the extent that some words are used by folk-poets in their poetry. Hadrami Arabic has also borrowed words from Swahili and Malay. The borrowings from these different languages were due to the migration of Arabic speakers who brought such loanwords into the language (Al-Saggaf, 2006).

To further understand the phenomena of borrowing, it is important to identify the reasons that lead to the borrowing. Some linguists like Ball, (1979), Weinreich, (1979) and Mustafawi, (2002) have documented some of these reasons. They suggested that the borrowings might be due to lexical gaps in the vocabulary of the recipient language for example in some scientific expressions like *neon*, *ozone*, *potassium*, *bacteria and telescope*, or the perception of the recipient speakers that the donor language is somehow better or more prestigious. Other factors are the contact between the two languages and the degree of bilingualism of the speakers. These factors will be discussed in detail in Section 2.2.2 of this chapter.

## 2.3.1 Classification of borrowing

In the simplest case, a word is borrowed as a whole, both sound and meaning. If this is the only possibility, not much explanation would be needed because the new items can be easily distinguished as foreign elements that are borrowed into the recipient language. However, there are many other possibilities of lexical borrowing, and this has led many linguists to document several ways for classifying the products of the process of borrowing between languages. Classification of the borrowing elements will be of great use to specify the reasons and consequences of the phenomena of borrowing.

Haugen (1950, cited in Appel and Muysken, 2005) bases his classification of borrowing on the fundamental distinction between importation and substitution. Importation he says, involves bringing a pattern into the language, while substitution involves replacing something from another language with a native pattern. Based on this distinction, he came up with three types of borrowings:

- 1. **Loanwords**: involve the importation of form and meaning with degrees of phonological substitution (phonologically adopted loans) which may occur as none, partial, or complete substitution of the borrowing form.
- 2. **Loan blends**: involve a combination of both foreign and native forms, in which there is only partial morphemic importation; thus a native morpheme has been substituted for part of the foreign word.
- 3. **Loan shifts**: in which a foreign concept (meaning) is represented by a native form. Thus there is complete morphemic substitution. This type includes "loan translation".

In addition to that Haugen (1953 as cited in Heah, 1989) suggests that loanwords could be further classified on the bases of oral borrowing, into unassimilated, partly assimilated and wholly assimilated loanwords. He also stresses that borrowing is unthinkable without the existence of bilingualism. But in some language contact situations, large scale importation of loanwords has taken place in a predominantly monolingual context. In such cases he says, what happens is that bilingual speakers borrow words which are later used by monolingual speakers in their language. Butro (1963) provides evidence of this in documenting the large amount of loanwords borrowed between Palestinian and Jordanian Arab dialects. Smeaton (1973) describes similar occurrences in relation to the borrowing of English words by the predominantly monolingual Hasawi Arabs.

Weinreich (1979, cited in Andrews, 1999) features two types of borrowing that were transferred freely under contact situation of two languages. He cites one-word nominal sentences such as *okay* or *okej* as used in Russian speakers in their adoption of some English one-word sentences and words used by individuals who pepper their speech with English forms like "*you know*", "*I mean*", "*well*" and "*see you*". Weinreich also asserts on the rapidity of borrowing of such forms and the common nouns which are used to designate some new item or concept which do not have equivalent expressions in the recessive language (Andrews, 1999).

# 2.3.2 Factors that promote borrowing

Apart from defining and classifying the phenomenon of word borrowing, a central concern of linguists is the identification of the main factors which lead to the borrowing. Ball (1971) in his study on Swahili demonstrates the fact that the same circumstances which made Arabic the prestige language in the past have made English the prestige language in the twentieth century. English being the current prestigious language has allowed it to become the primary source of borrowing for other languages with less prestigious status. Bloomfield (1984, in Newman, 2002) supports this view; that it is usually the lower language that predominantly borrows from the higher language.

Bloomfield's suggestion was further emphasized by Thomason and Kaufman (1988, in Field, 2002) who point out that in cases where one language is clearly dominant in a number of social domains, the dominant language will usually exert greater influence on the recessive than the recessive does on the dominant.

Bloomfield (1933, in Heah, 1989) points out that political-social conditions such as war, conquest, colonization, and migration led to the dominance of one language over another. As a result, the speaker of the less dominant language will borrow words from the dominant. Thus when two languages come into contact and one of the two languages is more powerful than the other; the powerful language may use that power unintentionally to eliminate the speech variety of the other.

According to Thomason and Kaufman, (1988, in Field, 2002) borrowing patterns can also be described based on the degree of social contact of the two languages, the dominant and the recessive. They claim that even casual contact of the two languages can lead to borrowing. At this stage of contact, there is little bilingualism among borrowing language speakers and only content words are borrowed particularly non-basic vocabulary.

Mustafawi (2002) through her study on English-origin nouns in Arabic states that the need to fill a gap in the recipient language is an important factor determining the phenomena of borrowing. Appel and Muysken (2005), in their chapter on "lexical borrowing", also propose the need to fill a gap in the recessive language as the reason for integrating new words into the language

to designate new things, inventions, techniques and concepts. This reason can also be found to be at the core of earlier studies for example, Mohamed (1989), Atawneh (1992), and Hussein and Shorrab (1993).

On the other hand a higher degree of contact over a long period of time have been known to lead to borrowing of function words such as conjunctions, prepositions as well as some basic vocabulary (i.e. some pronouns and numerals). When borrowing reaches this extent, the degree of bilingualism among the borrowing language speakers is stronger than the situation of casual contact (Croft, 2000).

In light of the above opinions on the role of colonization in borrowing, the borrowing of English words into Iraqi Arabic dialect can be seen as a continuous process which occurred alongside the ongoing relationship and communication needs of both the British colonials and the natives. The teaching and learning of English as a second language in Iraqi schools is one of the contact situations between English and Iraqi Arabic speakers. As such the concept of casual contact used in this current study is limited to the teaching and learning of English as a second language at school and the colonization of Iraq by Britain which leads to the borrowing of some words used to designate things and to facilitate the daily communication between the British colonials and the natives.

#### 2.3.3 The impact of contact on language

In talking about contact between languages, what first comes to the mind is the influence of each language on the other and the interaction among

their speakers. Many linguists such as Crystal, (2000); Croft (2000); and Atchison, (2001) and many others have linked language contact to the phenomena of borrowing as well as what is termed as language death, language shift or language change. All of which are the outcome of the contact between different languages over a period of time.

According to Crystal (2000), language death may occur in two ways. The most obvious reason for language death is the death of its speakers. This may happen in case of epidemics, natural disasters such as earthquake, floods and volcano eruption or genocide. Crystal cites as an example the case of Tasmanian whose speakers where infected by a disease brought unwittingly by Europeans, and who were deliberately slaughtered by British troops causing the speakers along with the language to become extinct. A similar case is when the European settlers destroyed many Amerindian and Australian indigenous speech communities. Language death in this case is due to complete elimination of the speakers and therefore the non-survival of the language they speak (Crystal, 2000).

The second reason discussed in Crystal (2000) is opposite to the reason mentioned above where the speakers of a language survived but their language did not. This case of language death involves some linguistic issues. The most important is the intensive contact. Speakers may give up their own language gradually and knowingly during an extended period of bilingualism. According to Schendl (2001) a variety of social, political and economic factors may cause the shift of a speech community from one language to another.

Language shift happened many times long ago throughout human history. Using the Sumerian language as an example, Trask (1996) suggests that Sumerian is the first language ever written in Iraq, and had endured for over 2000 years before the Sumerians were conquered by more powerful neighbours. They shifted to Akkadian. Then the Akkadian language disappeared and Aramaic took its place. Aramaic was the mother tongue of Jesus Christ. Then Aramaic shifted to Arabic. Henceforth, Arabic remains the first language of most parts of the Middle East.

William (2000) states that borrowing due to language contact is one of the factors that lead to language change. In shifting from one language to another, speakers will start by borrowing from the dominant or more prestigious language. Usually, the speakers have at least a rudimentary knowledge of the source language. This knowledge is enough for the speaker to borrow forms from the source language into their language. William also states that even a minimal degree of contact and bilingualism can lead to borrowing at least of a word from the source language to the recessive language.

In addition to that, Aitcheson (2001) explains that the change in a language usually originates from the spread of borrowed and exaggerated elements from one language to another through their speakers. The speakers, whether consciously or subconsciously, through imitation of each other, spread these borrowed elements from one group to another. Sometimes, even monolingual speakers imitate bilingual speakers. As a result, subconscious change of the recessive language occurs. On the other hand, conscious change can be due to prestige, whereby, people borrow elements from other languages that they

admire and consider more prestigious than their own language. In England, for example restaurants include in their menu items such as *pâté, gâteau,* and *sorbet* which are borrowed from French, because French food was regarded sophisticated and classy.

borrowing prestigious By more and more from the language or dominant language, the recessive language will gradually lose its own identity. Matras (2000, in Croft, 2000) states that typically, people have their own mother tongues but are inevitably exposed to more fashionable and useful language especially at school. In this situation, speakers will continue speaking their own language but will gradually import forms and constructions from the socially dominant language. This too, according Matras can lead to language change and eventually to language death where there is extensive borrowing.

Another possible explanation for the occurrence of language change is when a group of speakers imitate other native speakers of their language or bilingual speakers in their own language who have been exposed to other languages. To illustrate this occurrence, Appel and Muysken (2005) relate the experience of a Moroccan boy fourteen years of age who had lived in the Netherlands for four years, who found difficulty in communicating with friends without using a mix of Dutch and Moroccan-Arabic. He complained of gaps in Moroccan–Arabic therefore, he will borrow words from Dutch to fill the gaps. This phenomenon shows that eventually the lexical skill in the mother tongue will change.

## 2.4 Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the opinions of several linguists who were concerned about the phenomena of borrowing. The review of literature has looked at borrowing among bilingual speakers from the sociolinguistic perspective. The review also explained the factors that lead to borrowing from one language to another, from the point of view of many linguists who are interested in this field. It also discussed related terms such as language change, language shift and language death as a result of contact between different languages and speakers. In other words, from the literature reviewed it is clear that the phenomenon of borrowing has its consequences. The issues discussed in this review will aid in the analysis of the data and in identifying the reasons that lead to borrowing from English into the Iraqi Arabic dialect and the consequence of allowing such phenomena to continue.