

Investigating Semantic Change of Arabic Loanwords in Turkish

Anwar A. H. Al-Athwary

College of Languages and Translation, Najran University, Saudi Arabia

Abstract—This study aims at tracking the various semantic changes of Arabic loanwords in Turkish (ALTs). The loanword data of the study were collected from a number of dictionaries including Sapan's (2005) dictionary and Webster's *Turkish-English Thesaurus Dictionary*. Six types of semantic change are found at work in ALTs, the most frequent of which is radical semantic shift which represents more than 64% of the total loanword data followed by the processes of narrowing (20%) and widening (8%). The other three types have marginal roles to play in the semantic change process. Radical shifts involve some interesting cases which are peculiar to Turkish and are pertaining to the phenomenon of semantic replacement. The linguistic and extralinguistic factors like lexical need, the diachronic factor, the speaker's miscomprehension and ignorance upon loanword incorporation are among the factors that lead to and affect the direction of semantic change of ALTs.

Index Terms—loanwords, Arabic, Turkish, semantic change

I. INTRODUCTION

Turkish has intensively borrowed from Arabic. According to Johanson (2010, p. 660), most Turkic languages, including Turkish, possess words of Arabic and Persian origin that have partly superseded the native Turkic vocabulary. Although the Turkish language reform process in the modern age was very strict and harsh in eliminating foreign words of Arabic origin, hundreds of Arabic loanwords, if not thousands, have remained in use up to present (Lewis, 1999).

The most interesting characteristic of Arabic loanwords in Turkish (henceforth ALTs) is that almost all of them have been borrowed from the standard variety of Arabic. When Turkic tribes converted into Islam, they adopted the Arabic script for their native languages because Arabic was socially and politically very influential at the time and was also the language of their new religion. The number of Turkish borrowings from Arabic has dramatically reduced due to the reform process carried out by Atatürk which extended from 1923 to 1938 (Lewis, 1999). Lewis (1999, p. 6) maintains that the influence of Arabic was much larger than that of Persian, "not only because Arabic as the language of the Quran it naturally became the language of religion and theology, and because the Persian vocabulary was itself replete with Arabic borrowings, but also because when an Arabic word was borrowed it brought its whole family with it". For example, when the word *hak* 'right; authority' was first borrowed from Arabic [ħaqq], many other words like *hakikat* 'truth', *hukuk* 'law; rights', *hakikaten* 'in fact; truly', *tahkik* 'investigation', *muhakak* 'certainly', etc. came along with it.

Most of ALTs in general are well-established in the lexicon of Turkish because they have been incorporated in the language hundreds of years ago. Turkish came into contact with Arabic in the beginning of the eleventh century when Turkic tribes converted into Islam (see Lewis, 1999 and Johanson, 2010). Lewis (1999, p. 5) reports, "once settled within the civilization of Islam, the Turks took into their language as much of the Persian and Arabic vocabularies as they needed, and more." Moreover, McCarthy (1985, p. 13) notes, "Arabic and Persian grammatical rules were brought into Turkish". The lexical borrowing in Turkish doesn't only involve the adoption of individual lexical words, but it exceeds to include the incorporation of whole phrases and compounds, e.g. *suistimal* from [su:ʔ ʔistiʕma:l] 'misuse', *harikulade* from [xa:riqun lilʕa:dah] 'extraordinary', *binaenaleyh* from [bina:ʔan ʕalayh] 'accordingly'. They are usually written as a single word in Turkish due to the agglutinative nature of Turkish.

In all languages, lexical items, either native or foreign, are most likely subject to alterations in their meaning. Modifications made to the meaning of either the native words or to loanwords are usually called the types, sequences, or strategies of semantic change in the literature. They include widening, narrowing, semantic shift, metaphorical extension, pejoration and amelioration (Stern, 1965; Ullmann, 1962; Blank, 1999). These strategies are sometimes termed traditional ways of semantic change (Riemer, 2010; Moghaddam & Moghaddam, 2013; Hollmann, 2018). However, they are still valid and can account for most types of semantic change. In an attempt to propose a new model for semantic change, Moghaddam and Moghaddam (2013) examined French loanwords in Persian. They claimed that the previous models were not adequate because they couldn't provide a complete account of semantic change data. They argued that the new proposed model is synchronic, linear, and more elaborate in the sense that it covered all borrowed elements of the data and all the model categories were filled up by these elements. We believe that this model is to some extent helpful but not totally new. It just tried to reorganize the existing categories of semantic change in the literature and present them in a different way in terms of denotational change, connotational change and a mixture of both with some previously well-known subdivisions in each category such as widening, narrowing, metaphor, pejoration, etc.

Semantic change, as Pyles (1964) states, is something frequently unpredictable but it is deemed to be inevitable. Hollmann (2018, p. 337-338) further emphasizes, "while semantic change was, due to its apparently complete unpredictability, for a long time the black sheep of the family in areas of language change, as a result of recent developments it is now very well respected, and as such is likely to attract a lot more research in the future." Therefore, it has been argued recently that despite the unpredictability of semantic change, there is some kind of regularity in it and such changes have a unidirectional move from objectivity to subjectivity (Traugott & Dasher, 2003; Traugott, 2010; Hollmann, 2018; van Olmen & Athanasopoulos, 2018). Traugott and Dasher (2003, p. 4), for example, maintain that while regular changes in meaning can be found in conceptual structures of lexemes, especially those which are verbal and adjectival or adverbial, the nominal domain exhibit irregular semantic changes due to some "extralinguistic factors such as change in the nature or the social construction of the referent". They also add that the main motive behind regular semantic changes is "pragmatic" which means that "the context-dependency of abstract structural meaning allows for change in the situations of use, most particularly the speaker's role in strategizing this dynamic use" (Traugott & Dasher, 2003, p. 45).

Motivations for semantic change have been subjected to review from time to time. Blank (1999), for instance, revised critically the typology proposed by Ullmann (1962) which has been for decades the most popular and important theory in the domain of lexical semantic change. Ullmann introduced six types of causes of semantic change which could be 1) linguistic, 2) historical, 3) social, 4) psychological, 5) due to foreign influence, and 6) due to a need for a new name. According to Blank (1999, p. 66), these reasons "lack both a cognitive and an empirical background and Ullman's list is merely an eclectic collection of motivations, necessary conditions and accessory elements". Out of the six types, Blank argued that only two types are relatively unproblematic, namely the social and psychological causes.

In his review and critique of Ullmann's (1962) typology, which he termed as the traditional approach to the motivation for semantic change, Blank (1999) came with a new typology in which he established empirically six types of motivations: 1) need for a new name or concept, 2) abstract concepts with invisible referents, 3) sociocultural change, 4) close conceptual relations, 5) complexity and irregularity of the lexicon, and 6) emotionally marked concepts. Blank's list was later carefully reviewed by Grzega (2004) and many other motivations were added. The long list Grzega provided includes: fuzziness (i.e. ambiguity, unclarity in designating the appropriate words to referents in the host language), word play/punning, changes in the referents (i.e. due to developments in the real life), excessive length of words, and prestige/fashion (the tendency on the part of the speakers of using foreign words and expressions to appear more modern and fashionable). These motivations were not clearly highlighted by Blank (1999). They are considered among the important causes of lexical borrowing and semantic change.

II. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Upon their entrance into the lexicon of Turkish, Arabic loanwords have undergone phonological, morpho-syntactic as well as semantic adaptations. The focus in this study is on the semantic changes that occurred in Turkish borrowings from Arabic. Thus, the proper aim of the current study is to investigate the different strategies of semantic change of ALTs. In addition, it tracks the behavior of the loanwords that show semantic change and see whether they are in line with the general tendencies of semantic change agreed upon in the literature or not. For example, most studies conclude that the process of semantic narrowing or restriction is usually the most dominant strategy. Is it the same with regard to ALTs? Furthermore, it is anonymously agreed upon that the semantic change that take place in processes like amelioration and pejoration undergo always occurs at the level of connotative level rather than denotative level. Does this also happen in the case of ALTs? In other words, the present study will attempt to answer the following questions:

- 1) What are types of semantic change that ALTs may undergo?
- 2) How does semantic change of such types take place in the context of ALTs? Or how do semantic change strategies in the context of ALTs differ from those found in the literature? and
- 3) What are the possible motivations/ factors that may play a role in the process of semantic change?

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

Semantic change in loanwords in languages other than Turkish has been investigated by many studies; among these are Louwrens (1993), Moghaddam and Moghaddam (2013), Al-Athwary (2016), and Anam and Nirmala (2019). Research on loanword adaptation of ALTs has generally been scant. In addition, most of them focused on the phonological and morphosyntactic modifications made to loanwords. Therefore, the present study is motivated by the fact that there is almost no attention to the investigation of semantic change of ALTs.

An interesting study of lexical borrowing in Modern Turkish is McCarthy (1985). The study provided an account of the phonological, morphological and semantic adaptation of French, Persian, Arabic, Greek and English loanwords in Turkish. With respect to the semantic issue, McCarthy examined the development of meaning of Turkish borrowings from these languages. The author followed a diachronic approach which, as he claimed, helps "obtain a clearer picture of the synchronic state of Modern Turkish" (McCarthy 1985, p. 155). He concluded that most of loanwords went through three types of semantic changes, namely loss, restriction and extension of meaning. As for Arabic loanwords, the task was to compare the meaning of loanwords in Modern Turkish with their meaning in Ottoman Turkish and in

Arabic as the source language. Despite the fact that Arabic loanwords represent a major part of loanwords stock in Turkish, only few examples were analyzed semantically. In our view, this may not help realize the various aspects of semantic changes that take place in Turkish loanwords from Arabic.

Stachowski (2015, 2016) are two studies on the phonetic adaptations of Arabic loanwords in Ottoman Turkish. They provide detailed phonological analyses of the changes that take place in the consonants, semivowels and vowels of the Turkish borrowings from Arabic. Similarly, AlShammari and AlShammari (2020) analyzed 250 Turkish borrowings from Arabic to recognize and describe the phonological and morphological alterations that take place in such words.

From this brief review of literature, and to the best of my knowledge, it has become obvious that there are almost no comprehensive attempts carried out on the semantic change of ALTs. This study, therefore, comes to fill a gap in the literature regarding contact linguistics and lexical borrowing.

IV. DATA COLLECTION AND METHODS

The loanword data of the present study have been collected from many dictionary resources. The main resource of loanword data is Sapan's (2005) dictionary. This dictionary lists a large stock of Arabic loanwords in Turkish, and provides sufficient details about the meanings of such loans in addition to their phonological and morphological features. In the introduction to this dictionary, the author notes that this work includes only those Arabic words which are still in use in the modern Turkish and excludes all other words that are obsolete and no more used in the language. *Webster's Turkish-English Thesaurus Dictionary* is also used as a secondary source of loanword data in addition to Sapan (2005).

In the process of loanword data sampling, the approach followed is to focus on and list only those loanwords which involve, in one or another, a change in their meaning and exclude those loanwords whose meaning is similar to that of Arabic language as the donor language. The total number of the collected data is 134 out of hundreds of loanwords that we have come across in Sapan's (2005) dictionary and other resources.

Al-Waseet Arabic-Arabic Dictionary and *Al-Maany Online Dictionary* are used to establish and validate the original senses of Arabic loanwords. Furthermore, the meanings of Arabic elements in Turkish are further checked by other two dictionaries, namely *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Association) and *Cambridge English-Turkish online Dictionary*. Some native speakers of Turkish were also consulted in this regard in order to establish the correct pronunciation and meanings of ALTs. The whole corpus was analyzed from a descriptive and qualitative point of view.

In the transliteration process, ALTs are presented in italics while their original Arabic forms are presented between square brackets. Both of them are accompanied by English glosses of their meanings.

It is unanimously agreed that nouns are the most frequently borrowed in a language contact situation (Cannon, 1998). In the present data, however, it has been noticed that Turkish has borrowed a considerable number of adverbs such as *asla* 'never' < [ʔaşlan], *elbette* 'certainly; of course' < [ʔal-battah], *maalesef* 'unfortunately' < [maʔa lʔasaf], *evella* 'first of all' < [ʔawwalan] and many of them are subject to some kind of semantic change. Therefore, it is considered a very interesting phenomenon of lexical borrowing that deserves to be investigated.

V. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

As mentioned earlier, the collected data for this study involve only those ALTs whose meanings have undergone some kind of semantic change. Those loanwords whose meaning is similar in one way or another to their original counterparts in the donor language (Arabic) are excluded. Therefore, in this section, in order to recognize the different types or sequences of semantic change, the collected sample of 134 ALTs are analyzed and discussed. First the data are analyzed statistically. The results are shown in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1
THE DIFFERENT STRATEGIES OF SEMANTIC CHANGE IN ALTs

Type of semantic change	No.	%	Remarks
Narrowing	28	20.89	
Widening	11	8.20	
Radical semantic shift	89	66.41	
- Full shift	38	43	(% is out of 89 cases)
- Partial shift	51	57	(% is out of 89 cases)
Pejoration	2	1.50	
Amelioration	2	1.50	
Synecdoche	2	1.50	
Total	134	100	

The numerical data presented in Table 1 demonstrate six strategies of semantic change with difference degrees of frequency of occurrence. It also shows that the semantic change of ALTs is various and a little complicated, especially with regard to the processes of radical semantic shift, narrowing, and widening. What is striking is that the overwhelming of ALTs shows great tendency towards radical semantic shift (89/ 66.41%). This result is not in line with other studies such as Louwrens (1993), Al-Athwary (2016), and Anam and Nirmala (2019) in which change of meaning in loanwords tends towards either restriction or extension. ALTs exhibit two kinds of radical semantic shift: full shift

and partial shift where the latter is more dominant (57%) than the former (43%). The strategies of amelioration, pejoration and synecdoche have a marginal role to play in the semantic change of ALTs. Mechanisms like metaphorical extension and metonymy are totally absent.

A. Radical Semantic Shift

It is appropriate to start our analysis with semantic shift of ALTs because it is the most frequent type of semantic change. For Bloomfield (as cited in Li, 2014) the term "semantic shift" refers to any change that a word may undergo. In other words, for Bloomfield, the terms "semantic change" and "semantic shift" are the same and can be used alternatively. In this study, however, the category "semantic shift" refers to that type of semantic change in which the meaning of an ALT is altered completely or partially due to some diachronic and socio-cultural factors. In other words, the new sense acquired by an ALT differs from the original meaning of Arabic counterpart. Following Louwrens (1993, p. 14), the term "radical shift", therefore, is used instead where "the semantic content of a loan-word shifts so radically from what the word originally meant, that only a meagre semantic relationship between the original word and the loan-word can be observed". The description of the semantic relationship as "meagre" means that the similarity between the meaning of the loanword and the meaning of its original counterpart is scant and inconsiderable. According to the degree of this semantic relationship of ALTs, radical semantic shift can be divided into two types: full radical shift and partial radical shift.

(a). Full Radical Shift

Full radical shift refers to those cases of ALTs in which the connection between the new meaning acquired by the ALT and that of Arabic word is very slight or almost absent. For example, the ALT *kasım* is surprisingly used in Turkish to designate the month of 'November'. [qa:sim] in Arabic, however, has totally different senses, some of which are 'distributor', 'divider' and 'a proper name (for men)'. In Turkic culture, winter begins on the 8th or 11th of November. It is considered the month that 'divides' or 'breaks' winter from other seasons that come before it (İpşirli, 2015). Hence, *kasım* is used to indicate this meaning of the Arabic word [qa:sim], that is the 'dividing' or the 'breaking'. Another interesting example is *mabeyn*. The category of this word in Arabic is originally a compound adverb of place. It consists of two constituents: [ma:] 'a person/ thing that' + [bayn] 'between' which generally means 'what is between'. In Turkish, however, the ALT *mabeyn*, which is naturally dealt with as a single word, denotes 'the place between the women's suite and other parts in the Sultan's Ottoman Palace'. The borrowing process here also involves a change in the word category from an adverb to a noun, a phenomenon which is very common on ALTs and which will be elaborated more below. Finally, the ALT *misir* is used in Turkish to mean 'corn' or 'maize'. It is taken from Arabic [mişr] which refers to a place, that is the country of 'Egypt'. This example is really striking in the sense that it differs from the previous ones. The word *misir* involves semantic shift through ellipsis. Corn was not known to the Turks in the early days of the Ottoman Empire (13th -14th century), but it was also not known in Egypt, because maize came from America and reached Turkey not before the 17th century. It was known as 'Egyptian wheat' *Mısır buğdayı* and as *Mısır darısı* 'Egyptian millet'. So, what we have here is an elliptic usage. The second part is dropped through ellipsis and the part which remains, i.e. *misir*, carries the meaning of the whole expression.

(b). Partial Radical Shift

It can be postulated that partial shift may not differ a lot from full shift; in the case of the former the degree of the relation between the original sense and new sense is only somehow stronger than in the latter. In each instance of partial shift, the semantic connection does exist but the new meaning is still different. Let us start with the ALT *misafir* which is borrowed from Arabic [musa:fir], meaning 'a traveler'. When borrowed into Turkish, *misafir* has the meaning of 'a guest'. The relation between the two is not difficult to notice: moving from one place to another implying the act of traveling. Another case of partial shift is represented by the term *cezve* 'a coffee pot'. This example is very interesting since it involves different strategy of partial shift from the previous examples. In the past, people used to make coffee in a special pot on burning wood, and an ember of this fire is called [jaðwah] in Arabic. The term *cezve* from Arabic [jaðwah] is therefore designated to the container in which coffee is made instead of denoting that part of fire, the ember. Like the loanword *cezve*, the ALT *hisar* has undergone a similar semantic change. The borrowed word of *hisar* is designated the meaning of 'a castle' or 'a fortress' in Turkish while its original Arabic [hişar:] means 'siege' or 'blockage'. In Arabic, the word used to denote the term 'a castle' is [qalʕah]. Thus, instead of using [qalʕah], the name of this referent is replaced by one quality or action pertaining to a castle, that is the act of surrounding a castle (being under siege). Unlike *cezve*, however, the semantic replacement is associated with an abstract feature of the castle (the siege) while in the case of *cezve* it is related to a concrete object (the ember of fire).

B. Narrowing

Narrowing is the second most dominant type of semantic change after radical semantic shift representing 20.89% of the whole loanword data. Semantic narrowing is that process in which the word meaning is restricted in time and range in the recipient language. Riemer (2010, p. 374) states that narrowing is a type of semantic change in which "a word narrows its range of reference". This would mean that the restriction of meaning as a process that moves from a general meaning into a more specialized meaning of a loanword. If we start with the ALT *şarap*, we find that in Arabic [şara:b]

means 'a drink in general', but in Turkish it only refers to the drink of 'wine'. In the same way, the meaning of Arabic word [madrasah] refers to 'any kind of school', but in Turkish the meaning of the loanword *medrese* is only restricted to 'a religious school', a school that is basically concerned with educating the Quran and other Islamic teachings. Finally, the meaning of the Arabic word [ʔixba:r] usually refers to the act of 'informing' or 'notifying' in general. In Turkish, however, this sense is specialized or narrowed and its counterpart *ihbar* only comes to mean 'a police notice' or more specifically 'an arrest notice'.

C. Widening

Only eleven cases of widening are attested, so they rank as the third most dominant process of semantic change that takes place in ALTs. The semantic process of widening is just the opposite of narrowing. According to Riemer (2010, p. 374), widening or broadening is a tendency in which "a word's meaning changes to encompass a wider class of referents". This would mean that widening is the expanding of the meaning of words by gaining wider range or senses. Many foreign words usually denote a specialized meaning. After incorporated into another linguistic context, they loosen the fixed range of their meaning and become more general. For example, in Classical Arabic, the word [maktab] is used to refer to 'a small place like a cottage in which children used to memorize the holy Qur'an and receive the basics of reading and writing'. Thus, in the past [maktab] was synonymous to the common word [kuttab] (the plural of [kuta:tib], something different from the word [kuttab] 'writers' which is the plural of [ka:tib] 'a writer'). The counterpart of [maktab] in Turkish is *mektep* which has acquired a wider meaning. It means 'an (elementary) school' in its well-known modern sense. The ALT *seyahat* is also a good example in point. It is adopted from Arabic [siya:hah], which in Arabic context, means 'moving from one place to another for the purpose of comfort and entertainment', that is 'tourism'. In Turkish, *seyahat* has acquired a broader meaning and it refers now to 'traveling' in general. Sometimes a new sense is added to the borrowed word in Turkish. The ALT *ibre* from Arabic [ʔibrah] has the same meaning of its counterpart in Arabic, both mean 'a needle'. Moreover, in Turkish *ibre* has got additional meaning; it also denotes 'the hand of a scale'.

D. Other Types of Semantic Change

The other strategies of semantic change listed in Table 1 above are pejoration, amelioration and synecdoche. They represent the least frequency of the collected data, two cases each. It is agreed upon in the literature that while widening and narrowing are related to the range of words, amelioration and pejoration imply changes in words' evaluation (Ullmann 1962; Traugott & Dasher, 2003). In other words, if the former two processes include changes in word denotations, the latter ones work at the level of word connotations. In this study, however, the cases of amelioration and pejoration disagree with the previous studies and prove that the semantic change of ALTs occurs at the denotative level rather than at the connotative level.

Let us first start with pejoration. Semantic pejoration happens when words acquire negative senses (or connotations). This means that the sense of a word may get derogated or worsened. As Borkowska and Kleparski (2007, p. 37) put it, pejoration "occurs when a word is used to express negatively loaded values not inherent in its historically original (or historically prior) meaning scope." The case in point here is the ALT *badire* from the Arabic counterpart [ba:dirah]. In Arabic, this word has the normal meaning of 'a sign or an indication of something'. After incorporated into Turkish, it has gained a rather negative meaning and comes to mean 'a disaster' or 'a hardship'. Similarly, the word [xafiyyah] in Arabic simply means 'a secret'. When borrowed into Turkish lexicon, instead of denoting the abstract sense of 'a secret', the ALT *hafife* denotes a concrete referent, that is 'a spy or a detective'. The derogative sense of words like spy or detective is clear.

Amelioration, on the other hand, occurs when words acquire positive meaning (or connotations) (Traugott & Dasher, 2003), coming to represent something more favorable than it originally referred to. The word *mahdum* from Arabic [maxdu:m]. In Arabic it means 'the one who is served' like for example an employer. In Turkish, however, *mahdum* has acquired a more elevated sense coming to mean 'a son'.

Now we come to the semantic process of synecdoche. On the basis of Bloomfield definition of synecdoche, Moghaddam and Moghaddam (2013, p. 80) elaborate this definition by stating that synecdoche is "a semantic change based on whole-part or part-whole associations so that either a part of a whole would represent the whole, or the whole would be established in a way to represent the part associated with the whole". In the collected data, two examples are found and both refer to the part-whole association. The first is the ALT *kafa*. In Arabic the word [qafa:] is used to refer to 'the back part of neck or head' while in Turkish *kafa* means 'the brain or the head'. Thus, the part (the back of the head or neck) becomes a whole (the head or the brain). The second example of synecdoche is the loanword *hatıra*. This ALT is taken from Arabic [xaṭīrah] meaning 'what comes to mind' or 'a thought'. In Turkish, it refers to 'the memory' as a whole.

VI. DISCUSSION

When incorporated into Turkish lexicon, the meaning of ALTs is adapted in one way or another. The semantic analysis above reveals that ALTs have undergone six main types or sequences of semantic change: the most frequent ones are radical semantic shift, narrowing, and widening while amelioration, pejoration and synecdoche are less

common or rather rare. Radical semantic shift records the highest frequency of occurrence of the 134 semantic change cases. This is one of the major findings of this study. This result disagrees with other many studies which report that semantic narrowing or restriction is usually the most common change in linguistic borrowing (Ullmann, 1962; Al-Athwary, 2016). The collected data seem to be void of any instances of metaphorical extension or metonymy as strategies of semantic change.

The results of the current study also contrast, to some extent, with those of McCarthy (1985) with regard to consequences of semantic change. The analysis of the loanword corpus shows that six types of semantic change have been found as listed in Table 1 above while McCarthy states only three: loss of meaning, restriction, and extension. The last two are straightforward and correspond to narrowing and widening in this study, respectively. As for the loss of meaning, the term used is rather vague. The same can be said about some examples discussed on pages 161 and 164 like *arife*, *hadim*, *karun*, and *azab* which he calls "a change of meaning". The ambiguity lies in the fact that such terms lack a more specific classification; it is not enough to state that there is a loss of meaning or a change of meaning. Examples under the term "loss of meaning" would be better categorized as instances of "restriction (in number of senses of the original word)". One of the examples given by McCarthy is the Arabic [bala:ʔ] which has many senses such as 'Trial', 'affliction', 'plague', 'bravery', and 'heroic action'. When incorporated in Turkish, *bela* picked only one meaning which is 'calamity' or 'trouble'. Another example is *şafak* < [šafaq]. It is not enough to say that it undergoes a loss of meaning. The general meaning of the original word and that of the loanword is maintained, both of them refer to 'twilight'. What is changed is the type of the twilight, whether it is that of the morning or that of evening. Similarly, examples under the concept of 'a change of meaning' can be rather classified as examples of radical semantic shift because the meaning of such borrowed words differs drastically from their original meaning in the donor language. The Arabic word [ʕazab; ʔaʕzab], as provided by the author, means 'a bachelor (man)'; its counterpart in Turkish *azab* has acquired a totally different sense coming to mean 'a marine'. According to TKD dictionary, this word is defined as 'a young soldier who joined the army and navy during the Janissaries'. Therefore, it is a clear example of full radical shift.

Loanwords, in general, get restricted or narrowed at two levels: in the number of senses of polysemantic words and in the range of the meaning of the borrowed word. In the context of the Arabic borrowings in Turkish, the process of narrowing almost takes place in the range of the loanword meaning not in the number of senses each original word has. Narrowing in range occurs when a single general meaning of the original word gets restricted leading to a narrower and, therefore, a less general meaning of that word. Going back to the example like *şarap* > [šara:b] discussed in the section on narrowing above, we find that the Arabic [šara:b] has only one single general meaning referring to 'drink'. Then, the range of this meaning is specialized enough and *şarap* only comes to mean 'the drink of alcohol'. The second type of restriction is found in McCarthy (1985) under the category loss of meaning (see the example of *bela* in the previous paragraph above). The only case of this second type is found in our data and also stated in McCarthy (1985) is the ALT *tilmiz* from Arabic [tilmi:ð]. In Arabic, this word is a polysemantic one denoting many referents such 'pupil', 'student', 'apprentice', 'probationer', 'trainee', 'disciple'. In Turkish, the loanword *tilmiz* preserved only the last meaning of 'disciple', the follower of a great religious teacher or scholar.

Another major finding of this study is that cases of amelioration and pejoration in ALTs involve changes in the denotations of the loanwords rather than in their connotations (cf. Al-Athwary, 2016). When it is argued that pejorative and ameliorative changes are usually connotative ones, this would mean that such derogated or elevated senses assigned to loanwords cannot be found in dictionaries (i.e. they don't have lexical slots), either of the original language or the recipient language. This does not hold true in case of ALTs. The new senses, either elevated or derogated, are listed in dictionaries, and this proves that they are denotations rather than connotations.

In addition to the above-mentioned six types of semantic change, there is a number of other linguistic phenomena which are related to or rather co-exist with these types and need to be discussed below in order to have an entire picture of the semantic change process in ALTs.

A. The Phenomenon of Synonymy

The phenomenon of synonymy as a sequence of lexical borrowing usually arises when a loanword in the recipient language has a native equivalent in the same language. The pair *faiz/ ilgi*, for instance, has a similar meaning, both mean 'interest (of a bank)' where the first part of the pair is an ALT from Arabic [fa:ʔið] and the second part is a native (Turkish) word. The same can be said for the pair *misafir* (a loanword from Arabic [musa:fir]/ *konuk* (a native word), both mean 'a guest'. This seems to be the result of the language reform of Atatürk and not a normal process usually occurring in almost all borrowing languages (cf. Al-Athwary, 2016). What is interesting here is when the lexical borrowing process results in having two or more synonymous loanwords. This phenomenon is in fact attested in Turkish as a recipient language. In many cases, Turkish borrows two loanwords from Arabic which have similar meaning leading to synonymy. A pair in point is *adam/ insan*, both are borrowed from Arabic [ʔa:dam] and [ʔinsa:n] and both mean 'a man; a human being' in Turkish. Table 2 illustrates more cases of loanword synonyms in Turkish.

TABLE 2
LOANWORD SYNONYMS IN TURKISH

The loanword pairs in Turkish	The original form in Arabic	Their meaning in Turkish
<i>hisar/ kale</i>	[hiʃa:r]/ [qalʃah]	a castle
<i>ardiye/ ambar</i>	[ʔarɗiyyah]/ [ʃambar]	a warehouse
<i>istikbal/ ati</i>	[ʔstiqba:l]/ [ʔa:ti]	future
<i>medrese/ mektep</i>	[madrasah]/ [maktab]	a school
<i>temiz/ saf</i>	[tamyi:z]/ [ʃa:fi]	clean; pure

The existence of this kind of loanword synonyms can be attributed to the intensity of lexical borrowing process that took place from Arabic into Turkish. Another factor may refer to the difference in the emotive and evaluative meanings of the two members of each pair of synonymous words (see Al-Athwary, 2016). For example, although the ALTs *medrese* and *mektep* have the general meaning of 'a school', the former has religious considerations while the latter refer to public school in which pupils and students receive public education. *Medrese* is the place which provides Islamic education, so to speak, where the holy Quran, Islamic teachings as well as other modern subjects are taught.

B. Semantic Replacement

Semantic change in ALTs is further characteristic by a specific and interesting tendency which might be called "semantic replacement" as used by Crespo (2013). Instead of directly borrowing the name of the referent or concept that is used in the original language, Turkish tends to pick up one quality (adjective) of (or related to) that referent which is also originally Arabic to designate the new imported item. For example, the ALT *hisar* is used to mean 'a castle' or 'a fortress'. The equivalent term for a castle in Arabic is [qalʃah]. In the past, when an army want to conquer or take over a castle or fortress, they would make it under 'siege' until it surrenders. The word [hiʃa:r] means 'siege' in Arabic. Therefore, instead of using [qalʃah] to designate the referent 'a castle', Turkish speakers also use *hisar*, as a feature related to a castle, to refer to the referent 'a castle'.

Another case of semantic replacement is the ALT *iskat*. In Turkish, it has the sense of 'alms' or 'prayers' which are paid or performed by one's family after his death. The equivalent terms for alms or prayers in Arabic are [zaka:h] or [duʃa:ʔ], respectively, which are also used in Turkish, i.e. *zekat* and *dua*. One quality or benefit of paying alms or making prayers for the dead, according to Islamic beliefs, is to get Allah's forgiveness or more specifically to get the dead's sins dropped off. The term *iskat* is in fact expressing this latter meaning of 'dropping one's sins off'. Thus, the borrowed word *iskat* (from Arabic [ʔisqa:t]) is used to refer to alms or prayers instead of the Arabic [zaka:h] or [duʃa:ʔ]. Other examples of this phenomenon include words like *mukabele* 'response', *tedhiş* 'terror', *cezve* 'a coffee pot', and *idman* 'exercise'. All cases of semantic replacement belong to the semantic type of radical semantic shift analyzed above.

It is worth mentioning that the ALT *avrat* meaning 'a woman; wife' (from Arabic [ʃawrah]) provided by McCarthy (1985, p. 166) doesn't involve what he called semantic extension (widening); it is rather an example of partial semantic shift. It is also can be classified under the phenomenon of semantic replacement. McCarthy stated only its general meaning in Arabic, that is 'defectiveness, imperfection, or weakness'. From the religious point of view in Islam, [ʃawrah], however, comes also to mean "what must be covered or veiled of the woman's body". So, [ʃawrah] denotes very particular parts of the body of the Muslim woman. In this way, the borrowed word *avrat*, as a quality of a woman, is used to mean 'woman' while the Arabic words [ʔimraʔah] 'a woman' or [zawjah] 'a wife' have been abandoned in modern Turkish.

C. Motivations for Semantic Change

Motivations behind semantic changes in loanwords in general can be attributed to a variety of linguistic and extralinguistic factors (Ullmann, 1962; Stern, 1965; Blank, 1999; Hollmann, 2018). The former refers to factors like lexical need, semantic similarity, and morphological/ semantic contiguity while the latter involves social, cultural, contextual, psychological and historical factors. In the context of ALTs some of these factors are found operative and often overlap in many cases of semantic change. This means that the change in meaning in a given loanword can be interpreted as to be caused by both linguistic and non-linguistic factors in the same time.

The factor of lexical need usually represents the most important factor in loanword narrowing, widening and radical shift. Due to the fact that these three strategies of semantic change represent 95.5% of the present corpus of loanword data, so it can be safely stated that the major part of semantic change takes place due to the lexical need.

Sometimes the meaning of a borrowed word acquires a pejorative or an ameliorative meaning due its occurrence in syntagmatic relationships with other referential items. This phenomenon is motivated by what is known as linguistic contagion (Crespo, 2013). The deteriorative meaning of the loanword *badire* can be attributed to this linguistic factor. In Arabic, [ba:dirah] means 'a sign or an indication (of something)' and is usually combined with expressions like [ba:diratu xayr] or [ba:diratu şuʔm/ şarr], meaning 'a sign of good' or 'a sign of misfortune or bad', respectively. It can be inferred that, upon the incorporation of this word, it was used in the second combination more than the first. As a result, it acquired the pejorative meaning of 'a disaster' or 'hardship' which is basically underlying 'an indication or a sign of misfortune'.

In some cases of radical semantic shift, factors behind semantic change that occurred in ALTs are a little hard to pinpoint. Therefore, they can be also interpreted by another group of motivations rather than lexical need. It is generally agreed (Kay, 1995; Grzega, 2004) that semantic alterations may take place due to fuzziness/ ambiguity, miscomprehension, ignorance and laxity. Kay (1995, p. 72), for example, argues that one reason of semantic change is that the word meaning "in its original language may not be fully understood; nor need it be, as loanwords are used without reference to their source words". Such factors usually operate in loanwords that are incorporated into a language through spoken or written channels. Therefore, the factors of ambiguity, miscomprehension, and ignorance are clearly the main causes of radical semantic shift, either partial or full. This is why the instances of semantic shift in Turkish loanword from Arabic are the most frequent. Loanwords like *iskat*, *hisar* and *avart* discussed under semantic replacement above are good examples of the case.

Another important factor which contributes to the most of semantic alterations of Arabic borrowings in Turkish is of diachronic nature rather than of synchronic one (cf. Hollmann, 2018). These changes took place in the different intervals in the history of the Turkish language. Related to this is the length of the language contact between the two languages which continued for centuries. This has led to make the lexical borrowing more intensive. The intensity of the incorporated items into Turkish has its effect on the reception and comprehension processes of loanwords, and hence resulting into semantic change. The historical motivation is decisive, for example, in the semantic change of the ALTs *icthāt* < [ʔijtiħa:d], and *vatan* < [waʔan] as argued by McCarthy (1985, p. 156-157). In both Arabic and Ottoman Turkish, the two words have the meanings of 'individual judgment' and 'homeland', respectively. In Modern Turkish they denote different senses of 'parliamentary legislation' and 'one's homeland', respectively. The sociocultural influence of the West in the modern age plays a significant role in changing the meaning of such terms.

VII. CONCLUSION

The present study is motivated by the fact that there is very scant research on lexical borrowing between Arabic and Turkish in general and on semantic change in particular. The proper aim, therefore, is to examine the change in meaning that ALTs may undergo in Turkish. The analysis of 134 loanwords has revealed that ALTs exhibit a number of semantic change strategies when incorporated in the lexicon of the Turkish language. The most common ones are radical semantic shift, narrowing and widening with the first having the highest frequency of occurrence (89/ 66.41%). Turkish is considered one of the few borrowing languages in which the phenomenon of radical semantic shift (both partial and full) strikingly represents the most frequent process of semantic change. Other processes like amelioration, pejoration and synecdoche play a marginal role in the semantics of ALTs. The ameliorative and pejorative changes take place in the denotative level of the loanwords rather than in the connotative one. Although few cases are attested, it is sufficient evidence to prove that ALTs behave differently in terms of amelioration and pejoration processes.

Semantic change in ALTs is usually accompanied by a change in the grammatical category of the loanword. This would mean that ALTs don't maintain the word class of the original counterpart as it usually happens in lexical borrowing. Another phenomenon which is associated to semantic change is what is called semantic replacement which is particularly occurs in the semantic type of radical semantic shift. The practice here is that instead of adopting the direct name of a referent or a concept, Turkish speakers tend to replace that name by picking up a quality or a function of that referent or concept and use it to denote that referent or concept.

The different processes of semantic change in ALTs are affected by a number of linguistic and non-linguistic factors. The extralinguistic diachronic factor is decisive in this regard because the long period of lexical borrowing which extends over centuries led to extensive incorporation of Arabic borrowings into Turkish. The adoption of the large number of loanwords together with the miscomprehension, ambiguity, and ignorance of these loans on the part of the recipient language users all resulted in semantic change in one way or another. Other linguistic factors like lexical need are found playing an important role in the process of semantic change.

This study evokes the urgent need for further research, not only on the semantics of Arabic borrowings in Turkish, but also on their pragmatic implications. Related to this is the study of Turkish loanwords in the various Arabic dialects also requires investigation from semantic and pragmatic perspectives, especially in those Arab countries which have been under the rule Ottoman Empire like Egypt, the Levant, Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

REFERENCES

- [1] Al-Athwary, A. (2016). The semantics of English Borrowings in Arabic Media Language: The case of Arab Gulf States Newspapers. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics and English Literature*, 5 (4), 110-121. <http://dx.doi.org/10.7575/aiac.ijalel.v.5n.4p.110>
- [2] *Al-Maany Online Dictionary*. (2021). Retrieved December 13, 2021, from <https://www.almaany.com/>
- [3] *Al-Muejam Al-Waseet* [Al-Waseet Arabic-Arabic Dictionary]. (2004). Arabic Language Academy, Cairo, Egypt: Al-Shorouk International Library.
- [4] AlShammari, W. & AlShammari, A. (2020). Adaptation of Turkish Loanwords Originating from Arabic. *International Journal of English Linguistics*, 10 (5), 388-398. 10.5539/ijel.v10n5p388
- [5] Anam, K. A. & Nirmala, D. (2019). Semantic Changes of English Loanwords in Radar Kediri Daily Newspaper Headlines. *Parole: Journal of Linguistics and Education*, 9 (2), 80-89.

- [6] Blank, A. (1999). "Why do new meanings occur? A cognitive typology of the motivations for lexical Semantic change", in Blank, A.; Koch, Peter (eds.), *Historical Semantics and Cognition*, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 61-90.
- [7] Borkowska, P. & Kleparski, G. (2007). It Befalls Words to Fall Down: Pejoration as a Type of Semantic Change. *Studia Anglica Resoviensia* 4, Zeszyt 47, 33- 50.
- [8] *Cambridge English-Turkish online Dictionary*. (2021). Retrieved August 24, 2021, from <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english-turkish/>
- [9] Cannon, G. (1998). Post-1949 German Loans in Written English. *Word*, 49 (1), 19-54. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1998.11673877>
- [10] Crespo, B. (2013). Change in Life, Change in Language: A Semantic Approach to the History of English (*Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature*, vol. 37). Peter Lang Edition.
- [11] Grzega, J. (2004). *Bezeichnungswandel: Wie, Warum, Wozu? Ein Beitrag zur englischen und allgemeinen Onomasiologie* [Name change: How, Why, What? A Contribution to the English and General Onomasiology]. Heidelberg :Winter.
- [12] Hollmann, W. B. (2018). Semantic Change. In Jonathan Culpeper, Francis Katamba, Paul Kerswill, and Tony McEnery (eds.), *English language: description, variation and context*, 321-339. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- [13] İpşirli, M. (2015). *Selaniki Mustafa Efendi Tarih-i Selaniki* (971 - 1003 /1563 - 1595) Cilt:1 [Mustafa Efendi's History of Thessaloniki (971 - 1003 /1563 - 1595) Volume:1]. Turk Tarih Kurumu Yayinlari.
- [14] Johanson, L. (2010). Turkic Language Contacts. In R. Hickey (ed.), *The Handbook of Language Contact*. Wiley-Blackwell, 652-672.
- [15] Kay, G. (1995). English loanwords in Japanese. *World Englishes*, 14 (1), 67-76. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1995.tb00340.x>
- [16] Lewis, G. (1999). *The Turkish Language Reform: A Catastrophic Success*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- [17] Li, P. J. (2014). Semantic Shift and Variation in Formosan Languages. *Language and Linguistics*, 465-477. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1606822X14531897>
- [18] Louwrens, L. J. (1993). Semantic change in loan words. *South African Journal of African Languages*, 13 (1), 8-16. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02572117.1993.10586958>
- [19] McCarthy, K. (1985). *The Linguistic Adaptation of Loanwords in Modern Standard Turkish*. [Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. University Microfilms International: Michigan, U.S.A.].
- [20] Moghaddam A. & Moghaddam F. (2013). A Semantic Change Model for French Loanwords in Persian. *Acta Linguistica Asiatica*, 3(2), 71-86 <https://doi.org/10.4312/ala.3.2.73-88>
- [21] Pyles, T. (1964). *The Origins and Development of the English Language*. Harcourt, Brace and World, INC.: New York.
- [22] Riemer, N. (2010). *Introducing Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [23] Sapan, S. (2005). *muşjam ?al-?alfa:d ?al-şarabiyyah fî ?alluğah ?at-turkiyyah* [A Dictionary of Arabic loanwords in the Turkish Language]. Riyadh: King Fahd National Library.
- [24] Stachowski, K. (2015). Phonetic adaptation of Arabic loanwords in Argenti's Ottoman Turkish (1533). Part 1. Consonants and semivowels. In E. Mańczak-Wohlfeld, B. Podolak, Kraków (eds.), *Words and Dictionaries. A Festschrift for Professor Stanisław Stachowski on the Occasion of His 85th Birthday*, 297–317.
- [25] Stachowski, K. (2016). Phonetic adaptation of Arabic loanwords in Argenti's Ottoman Turkish (1533). Part 2. Vowels. In Opracowanie zbiorowe (ed.), *Oriental Studies and Arts. Contributions Dedicated to Professor Tadeusz Majda on His 85th Birthday*, 279- 304.
- [26] Stern, G. (1965). *Meaning and Change of Meaning, with special reference to the English language*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- [27] Traugott, E. C. & Dasher, R. B. (2003). *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge University Press (netLibrary Edition).
- [28] Traugott, E. C. (2010). Revisiting subjectification and intersubjectification. In K. Davidse, L. Vandelanotte and H. Cuyckens (eds), *Subjectification, Intersubjectification and Grammaticalization*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 29-70.
- [29] *Türk Dil Kurumu* (Turkish Language Association). (2021). Retrieved October 17, 2021, from <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>
- [30] Ullmann, S. (1962). *Semantics: An Introduction to the Science of Meaning*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- [31] van Olmen, D. & Athanasopoulos, P. (2018). Semantics. In Jonathan Culpeper, Francis Katamba, Paul Kerswill, and Tony McEnery (eds.), *English language: description, variation and context*, 171-189. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- [32] *Webster's Turkish-English Thesaurus Dictionary*. (2008). Edited by Philip M. Parker, ICON Group International, Inc.

Anwar A. H. Al-Athwary is currently an associate professor at Najran University, KSA. He received his M.A. in Linguistics from Jawaharlal Nehru University, India. He got his PhD in linguistics from Aligarh Muslim University, India. His special areas of interest are lexical borrowing, phonetics and phonology, semantics, and linguistic landscape.