الملخص العربي

أربع عمليات للتغير الدلالي في الإنجليزية والعربية: دراسة تقابلية

يعد التغير الدلالي أمراً حتمياً وشائعاً في كل اللغات طالما أن العالم الذي نعيش فيه في تغير مستمر. ويحدث التغير الدلالي لعدة أسباب، من أهمها الرغبة في تبسيط اللغة حيث أنها وسيلة الاتصال بين الناس. وقد يحدث التغير الدلالي لتلبية حاجة معينة تهدف أيضاً لتسهيل عملية الإتصال. و من الجدير بالذكر أن معاني الكلمات تتطور في إتجاهين: الكمي و الكيفي. أي أن معاني هذه الكلمات قد يتسع أو يضيق أو يصبح إيجابياً أو سلبياً علي التوالي.

وهكذا فإن اللغة تكون بمثابة المرآة التي تعكس الظروف الاجتماعية والثقافية في مجتمع ما. وفي هذا الضوء، فإن الهدف الأساسي لهذا البحث هو دراسة أربع عمليات من عمليات التغير الدلالي في الانجليزية والعربية وهي: توسيع المعنى، وتضييق المعني، رقي الدلالة، وانحطاط الدلالة.

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broadening, narrowing, amelioration and pejoration in both English

and Arabic.

Appendix

Symbols used in the phonemic transcription of Arabic forms

A. The consonants of Standard Arabic:

Place		Bilabial	Labiodental	Interdental	Dento-Alveolar		Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
Manner	Voicing				Non-Emphatic	Emphatic					
Stop	Voiceless				t	T		k	q		?
	Voiced	b			d	D					
Fricative	Voiceless		f	θ	s	S	š	x		ħ	h
	Voiced			ð	z	Z		g		9	
Affricate	Voiced						j				
Flap	Voiced				r						
Lateral	Voiced				l						
Nasal	Voiced	m			n						
Glide	Voiced	w					y				

B. The vowels of Standard Arabic:

	Short			Long		
	Front	Central	Back	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u	ii		uu
Mid						
Low		a			aa	

Note: The two tables are adapted from Gadalla (2000).

semantic changes in English are evident in both adjectives and nouns. The fourth is that words related to women tend to pejorate. The fifth is that titles and terms of address are more liable to change than anything else because they correspond to the changes that occur in the social and political systems. The sixth is that taboo items also tend to pejorate as they are related to man's psychology. The seventh remark is that Classical Arabic is not used as a means of communication nowadays in any part of the Arab World. However, it lives as a result of its being the language of the Glorious Qur'an. It is that connection with the Qur'an that has given it life.

This paper affirms the fact that semantic change is inevitable and common in all human languages as long as the world we live in is perpetually changing. There are many factors that facilitate semantic change. Prominent among these factors is the simplification of language as a means of communication. Semantic change may also occur as an answer to a specific need which again facilitates communication. Word meanings change in two directions: quantitative and qualitative. That is, they may become broader or narrower, more positive or negative, respectively. In this respect, language functions as a detector that uncovers cultural and social conditions in society. In light of this, the chief purpose of this paper has been to shed light on the four semantic processes of

characteristic semantic features of existing words. The opposite of broadening is narrowing which is done by adding more characteristic semantic features to existing words to limit their scope. This process is common in the scientific and technical fields. It is also more common than broadening as it plays a social function in consolidating social ties among the members of the same social group. Again, amelioration and pejoration represent two extremes. That is amelioration elevates word meaning to become more positive while pejoration degrades word meaning to become more negative. Pejoration is more frequent than amelioration. In this way, narrowing and pejoration are the dominant types of semantic change.

The close scrutiny of the examples of the four processes of semantic change that are presented in this study (see tables 1-8) reveals the following remarks. The first is the dominance of the class of nouns over the other word classes as seen in the examples presented in the eight tables. In these tables, there are ninety-six nouns out of one hundred and twenty lexical items. That is, the class of nouns represents 80% of the total number of words in the eight tables. The second is that the class of adjectives comes in the second place after the class of nouns as it represents 14.16% of the total number of words in the eight tables. The third is that qualitative

change. Chief among these is the linguistic cause. Usage is the main principle behind the linguistic cause of semantic change. Another is the historical cause. The words *car* in English and /*qiTaar*/ 'train' in Arabic are examples of the historical cause. Social factors also play an important role in semantic change. This is simply because language mirrors the changes that take place in the various aspects of life and records them in the form of vocabulary items. Another important cause of semantic change is the psychological cause which is not objective in nature as it is related to the emotive aspect of the language users. It follows that people in all cultures are inclined not to mention words of unpleasant associations. Accordingly, taboo items trigger fast change. The fifth and most influential type of the causes of semantic change is the foreign influence which is mainly manifested by the process of borrowing.

As far as this paper is concerned, semantic changes are subdivided into changes in range and changes in evaluation. The former is subdivided into broadening and narrowing and the latter into amelioration and pejoration. In these four processes, words acquire new meanings which are related to the old ones with some sort of link. The absence of this sort of link is called semantic mutation. The process of broadening extends the range of a word to include other elements of meaning. This is done by dropping some

language with new meanings exactly like what happens in the case of borrowing from other languages. The process of borrowing is activated when a particular need for some words is felt in the borrowing language. Prestigious words also prove to be of a tempting effect on the borrowing languages. Throughout ages borrowing happens as a result of the mutual contact between two nations either in peace or in war or as a result of vocabulary enrichment for the sake of translation. Semantic change, however, is said to have many reasons such as simplification and exerting the least effort, imitation, illiteracy and the absence of intimate social ties. Accordingly, fighting illiteracy and consolidating social ties would be of an outstanding importance in retarding language change.

In addition to these triggering factors of language change, Ullmann (1962) cites other factors that facilitate semantic change which are: language misconceptions that are not immediately corrected, vagueness in meaning which is not made clear and the structure of the vocabulary, especially those which are too short or too long. In this respect, parents, on the individual level, and language academies, on the national level, should leave nothing uncorrected or misunderstood in order to preserve language from misusage. Ullmann (1962) also cites some causes of semantic

Table (8) contains fifteen items which comprise one verb, one adjective and thirteen nouns. This confirms, again and again, the supremacy of the class of nouns in semantic pejoration in Arabic.

4. Discussion and Conclusions

As it has just been stated, change is the rule that governs the whole universe. It is impossible that this rule leaves language untouched and unchanged. "The term *semantics* [itself] was first used to refer to the development and change of meaning" (Palmer 1981: 9). That is to say, language is not static. It changes from one condition into another in accordance with the changes that happen in the surrounding society. And it would stand unchanged in no man's land. What is worth mentioning is that the inclination for language change is the same for all languages even those which are non-cognate like English and Arabic which exhibit the same semantic changes in the present study. This is simply because "language is a left hemisphere phenomenon" (Crabtree & Powers 1991: 250) in all human beings without distinction. Also, man's reaction to the various circumstances in which he lives are the same in all societies.

This paper disambiguates the difference between semantic change and lexical change. In semantic change, the same word is retained but it acquires a new meaning in the course of time. However, lexical change denotes that new words are added to a

3.4.2. Examples of Semantic Pejoration in Arabic

No	Word	Old meaning	New meaning	The link
1	/?al-?afn/ 'decrease'	decrease of the camel's milk (Ibn ManZur 1981: 1/98)	/naqS ?al-9aql/ 'mental deficiency'	wantage
2	/?ihtiyaal/ 'trickery'	/ħusn ?at-taSarruf/ 'discretion' (Ibn ManZur 1981: 2/1055)	/xidaa9/ 'trickery'	thoughtfulness
3	/brins/ 'prince' (foreign word)	/?amiir/ ' a royal prince'	a prominent young man (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic)	prominence
4	/taaj/ 'crown'	the crown of a king/queen	a coronal	coronating
5	/Saaruux/ 'rocket'	missile/rocket	a charming young lady (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic)	deep effect
6	/Tayyaar/ 'pilot'	pilot	the delivery man (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic)	fastness
7	/qirTaas/ 'paper'	a sheet of paper	a trivial person (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic)	slightness
8	/kabtin/ 'captain' (foreign word)	the captain of a ship or of the air forces	any sportsman	prestige
9	/kabbar/ 'to make great'	to say /?allaahu ?akbar/ 'Allah is Greatest'	/kabbar muxxak/ 'to stretch your mind and be tolerant' (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic)	magnification
10	/kursii/ 'seat'	/9arš/ 'throne'	any seat	stability
11	/kuusah/ 'marrow'	/kuusaa/ 'marrow'	/fasaad/ 'corruption' (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic)	rottenness
12	/mu9allim/ 'teacher'	the teacher by profession	/mi9allim/ 'a professional person in any career' (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic)	guiding and assisting
13	/mufabbrak/ 'fabricated' (foreign word)	/muSanna9/ 'manufactured'	/muzawwar/ 'forged'	making
14	/muhandis/ 'engineer'	the holder of the Bachelor degree of Mechanical Engineering	mechanic	mechanics
15	/waa9iZ/ 'preacher'	a man of religion	any talkative person	orating

Table (8): Semantic Pejoration in Arabic

frequent use of the words /qatl/ 'murder' and /yaqtul/ 'to murder' in common quarrels and disputes among people (Anis 1984: 156, translation mine). These words are uttered, in these situations, as a threat and not seriously. That is why they lost their weight to the extent that they are sometimes uttered by a mother to her children.

3.4.1. Examples of Semantic Pejoration in English

No	Word	Old meaning	New meaning	The link
1	awful	stimulating awe	nasty	being impressive
2	bitch	a female dog	a spiteful woman	being female
3	boor	a farmer	a rude person	coarseness
4	churl	a person of low origin	a person of ill- breeding	meanness
5	cunning	knowing and wise	foxy	artfulness
6	governess	a woman who governs	a woman who works as a private tutor	a woman
7	knave	a servant	a villain	roguery
8	madam	"my lady" (Funk 1950: 257-8)	"the proprietor of a brothel" (Funk 1950: 257-8)	being female
9	mistress	"a woman of authority" (Funk 1950: 258)	"an illicit sweetheart" (Funk 1950: 258)	sex
10	notorious	well-known	disreputable	fame
11	silly	happy	foolish	state of mind
12	spinster	a woman who spins	an unmarried old woman	unmarried female
13	stupid	"to be amazed or stunned" (Ayto 2002: 436)	unintelligent	being overwhelmed with something
14	vulgar	an ordinary person	an unmannerly person	lowness
15	wench	a girl	a prostitute	sex

Table (7): Semantic Pejoration in English

Table (7) contains fifteen items: six items are adjectives (40%) and nine items are nouns (60%). That is to say semantic pejoration in English is revealed by both adjectives and nouns.

which results in a permanent deterioration of its meaning (Ullmann 1962: 231). This is the case of words denoting something which is considered a taboo item. The second justification for this decrease is the "social prejudice against certain classes and occupations" (Ullmann 1962: 232). An example, in hand, is the pejorative 'villain' which meant 'a farm inhabitant' but it now means 'a wicked person'.

Another example is the word /ʔafandiina/ 'our master' which was the Turkish name of the ruler of Egypt in the middle of the nineteenth century. By the passage of time, this word was pejorated from the meaning of /xidiiwii/ 'khedive' of Egypt to the title of any employee in the administrative system of the state (Al Bahnasaawii 2009: 147, translation mine). Besides, concepts also change from place to place and from time to time. In Prophet Muhammad's sayings, the expression /Tuulu l-yadd/ 'being long-handed' stands for generosity and charity. However, the meaning of this expression develops in a pejorative direction that nowadays it indicates that the person described is a thief (Anis 1984: 157, translation mine). Moreover, language users play a serious role in degrading words from strength to weakness by means of excessive as well as irrelevant usage. This improper usage leads to the loss of the gravity and reverence of these words and accordingly their meanings develop in a pejorative direction. A good example of this case is the

8	/šaaTir/ 'clever'	/xabiiθ/ 'cunning' & /faajir/ 'impudent' (The Academy 1990: 343)	skillful	mental skills
9	/šaiTaan/ 'Satan'	the devil	the devil & an evil person	evil
10	/Talqah/ 'shot'	shot	something remarkable	going far beyond restrictions
11	/9aːš/ 'household'	/saqT ?al-mataa9/ 'scraps' (Anis 1984: 158)	/?aθaaθ/ 'furniture'	worthy and worthless items of household
12	/fallaaḥ/ 'farmer'	/fallaaḥ/ 'farmer'	/muzaari9/ 'agronomist'	farming
13	/fannaan/ 'artist'	/ḥimaar waḥšii/ 'wild ass' (Ibn ManZur 1981: 5/3476)	/mawhuub/ 'a talented person'	manifestation of various kinds of running or arts
14	/majd/ 'glory'	/šaba9/ 'fullness and satuiation' (Ibn ManZur 1981: 6/4138)	glory and honour	satisfaction
15	/muus/ 'a shaving tool'	a shaving tool	a hard-working person (in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, especially in the jargon of university students)	acuteness

Table (6): Semantic Amelioration in Arabic

Table (6) contains fifteen items which comprise two adjectives and thirteen nouns. Again, this reveals the dominance of the class of nouns in semantic amelioration in Arabic.

3.4. Semantic Pejoration

The second qualitative process is pejoration. It is more common than amelioration that it is defined by Ullmann (1962: 231) as "a fundamental tendency" and as "a symptom of a 'pessimistic streak' in the human mind". In this process, the meaning of a word is degraded to be more undesirable and negative. In other words, this process represents a decrease in the semantic quality of a word. This decrease is due to uncovering the euphemistic veil of a certain word

3	cathedral	"seat" (Funk 1950: 271)	a principal church	the bishop's seat
4	fortune	luck	wealth	cause & effect
5	happy	"lucky" (Ayto 2002: 208)	joyful	cause & effect
6	luxury	plenty	richness	too much of something
7	paradise	"a park" (Funk 1950: 286)	heaven	bliss
8	plague	"blow" (Funk 1950: 245)	epidemic	annoyance
9	pretty	deceptive	attractive	being impressive
10	queen	a woman	a female ruler	being female
11	robot	a slave	a machine in a human shape	hard work
12	shrewd	sly	intelligent	intelligence
13	sophisticated	corrupted	cultured	experienced a sort of change
14	success	"result" (Barber 1972: 253)	"favourable result" (Barber 1972: 253)	result
15	terrific	dreadful	wonderful	effective

Table (5): Semantic Amelioration in English

Table (5) contains fifteen items which comprise seven adjectives and eight nouns. This shows that semantic amelioration in English is represented by both adjectives (46.67%) and nouns (53.33%).

3.3.2. Examples of Semantic Amelioration in Arabic

No	Word	Old meaning	New meaning	The link
1	/ʔaayah/ 'sign'	/9alaama/ 'mark' (Dawud 2001: 218)	a Qur'anic verse	guidance
2	/ʔimtiyaaz/ 'separation'	sorting in general	sorting for distinction (Hilal 1986: 233)	sorting
3	/baašaɔ/ 'pasha'	the foot of the sultan (Haidar 2005a: 84)	a prestigious title of address	part-whole relationship
4	/xaadimah/ a 'servant'	a servant	/mudiirat manzil/ 'housekeeper'	houskeeping
5	/daahiyah/ 'cunning'	cunning	intelligent	intelligence
6	/rasuul/ 'messenger'	a messenger	the Messenger of Allah	communicating a message
7	/sufrah/ 'dining table'	the food of the traveller (Ibn ManZur 1981: 3/2025)	dining table	food

That is an increase in the semantic value of a word happens. It is worth mentioning that amelioration happens as a real reflection of social factors and cultural attitudes. The word 'minister', for example, has risen in the social ladder from being an attendant or servant to its "present eminence" (Ullmann 1962: 234). In this way, its elevation is a direct reflection of the improvement of the social status of the group of people it denotes. Funk (1950: 53) cites the origins of three more words denoting social rank that are elevated in the course of time. He reports:

> . . . there are the commoners of the gas-house district that have risen in the social scale to positions of power and importance. A *constable* at one time was a humble "stable boy", from the Latin *comes*, "*companion*", and *stabulum*, "stable." A *marshal* was once a "groom," from Old High German *marah*, "horse," and *scalc*, "servant"; while a *chamberlain* obviously was the servant who took care of the "bed chambers." Now we have the Lord *Chamberlain* and privy councilor of England and the *Marshal* who is a high-standing military commander. The constable has risen only to the point of being an officer of the law, but after all, that's better than cleaning out stables and currying horses.

3.3.1. Examples of Semantic Amelioration in English

No	Word	Old meaning	New meaning	The link
1	artificial	handicraft (Ayto 2002: 31)	manufactured	to make either by hand or a machine
2	astonished	"thunderstruck" (Funk 1950: 100)	amazed	being impressed

3	/ħadiiθ/ 'talk'	talk in general	/samar/ 'night talk' in particular (Al-siyuuTii 1987: 1/433-4) /ħadiiθ/ 'talk' could also be 'one of Prophet Muhammad's sayings.'	talk
4	/ħariim/ 'harem'	"forbidden territory" (Funk 1950: 256)	women (Anis 1984: 154)	privacy
5	/ħijaab/ 'cover'	cover	veil	covering
6	/sahar/ 'the state of being sleepless'	sleeplessness	/ʔaraq/ 'insomnia' (Al-siyuuTii 1987:1/434)	being sleepless
7	/Šahiyyah/ 'appetite'	desire for food in general	/waham/ 'desire for certain food during pregnancy' (Al-siyuuTii 1987:1/433)	desire for food
8	/Šayx/ 'old man'	old man	a man of religion	wisdom
9	/Tahaarah/ 'purity'	purity	/xitaan/ 'circumcision' (Anis 1984:154)	Cleanliness
10	/gusl/ 'washing'	washing all the body at any time	/wuDuuʔ/ 'ritual ablution before prayer'(Al-siyuuTii 1987:1/433)	washing
11	/faakihah/ 'fruit'	any fruit	a particular kind of fruit	plant products
12	/qibTii/ 'Coptic'	Egyptian	Christian	origin
13	/qiblah/ 'direction'	direction in general	direction of the /ka9ba/ 'the holy house in Mecca'	direction
14	/munaafiq/ 'hypocrite'	hiding oneself in a tunnel or a burrow like a jerboa (Ibn ManZur 1981:6/4508-9)	hypocrite	deception & hiding
15	/nawm/ 'sleep'	sleep at any time of the day	/qailuula/ 'nap' at midday (Al-siyuuTii 1987: 1/434)	sleeping

Table (4): Semantic Narrowing in Arabic

Table (4) contains fifteen nouns and this proves the dominance of the class of nouns in semantic narrowing in Arabic.

3.3 Semantic Amelioration

One of the qualitative semantic changes is the process of amelioration which is said to be "less frequent" than its opposite process, pejoration (Ullmann 1962: 233). In this process, the meaning of a word is elevated to be more desirable and positive.

3.2.1. Examples of Semantic Narrowing in English

No	Word	Old meaning	New meaning	The link
1	accident	"something that happens"(Ayto 2002: 4)	"something that happens by chance" (Ayto 2002: 4)	something that happens
2	deer	any beast	a particular type of animal	animal
3	to discipline	"to provide discipline, to train" (Barber 1972: 253)	"to punish" (Barber 1972: 253)	control
4	disease	the state of not being at ease (Funk 1950: 351)	an illness	not being at ease
5	fowl	any bird	a domestic bird	bird
6	girl	male or female child	female child	child
7	hound	any dog	a hunting dog	dog
8	lust	Pleasure (Ayto 2002:270)	sensuous desires	Desire
9	meat	any food	flesh of animal as food	food
10	pilgrim	a person who travels	a person who travels to the Holy Land	travel
11	poison	any drink	a poisonous drink	drink
12	starve	die	die of hunger	dying
13	undertaker	anybody who under-takes to do something	one who makes arrangements for funerals	undertaking something
14	voyage	journey	"a journey by sea or water" (Ullmann 1962: 228)	journey
15	worm	any crawling creature	a particular type of crawling creature (Crabtree & Powers 1991: 328)	crawling

Table (3): Semantic Narrowing in English

Table (3) contains fifteen items which comprise two verbs and thirteen nouns. This shows that semantic narrowing in English is more common in the class of nouns.

3.2.2. Examples of Semantic Narrowing in Arabic

No	Word	Old meaning	New meaning	The link
1	/ʔislaam/ 'Islam'	submission	embracing Islam	submission
2	/ʔinħinaaʔ/ 'bending'	bending the body	/rukuuʕ/ 'bowing in prayers' (Ibn ManZur 1981: 3/1719)	bowing down

3.2 Semantic Narrowing

This process is the opposite of semantic broadening. It means that the meaning of a word becomes more specific and more limited than before. In this way, this process alters the extent of the semantic range or rather restricts the semantic range of a word to exclude some elements of meaning from what the word used to mean. This is done by adding more characteristic semantic features to the word to limit its scope. That is the more features we add to the word, the more restricted it becomes. For example, *the young woman in black* is more specific than *the young woman* which, in turn, is more specific than *the woman*. It is worth mentioning that semantic narrowing is common in the scientific and technical fields (Haidar 2005a: 75; Dawud 2001: 212, translation mine). Moreover, Ullmann (1962: 229) believes that this process of semantic narrowing is more common than semantic broadening. This is because it aims at consolidating the social ties among the members of the social groups by means of having their own lexicon of special terms (Hammad 1983: 122, translation mine).

14	Romeo	the famous Shakespearean lover	any lover	being in love
15	religious	godly	strict	being deeply devoted

Table (1): Semantic Broadening in English

Table (1) contains fifteen words which comprise four verbs, ten nouns and one adjective. This means that semantic broadening in English is more common in the class of nouns.

3.1. 2. Examples of Semantic Broadening in Arabic

No	Word	Old meaning	New meaning	The link
1	Hatim (proper noun)	Hatim ?uT-Taa?ii	any generous person	generosity
2	/xaliyyah/ 'hive'	bee hive	a hard-working team	hard and systematic work
3	/daliil/ 'guide'	road guide	telephone directory	guidance
4	/šabakah/ 'net'	fishing net	network	net
5	/šubbaak/ 'window'	window of a house	exit	an opening in a wall
6	/Sawt/ 'sound'	sound	sound & vote	expressing oneself
7	/9aqiiqah/ 'birth sacrifice'	the hair of the newborn (Al-siyuuTii 1987: 431)	birth sacrifice	birth celebration
8	/fir9awn/ 'Pharaoh'	the pharaoh of Egypt	any tyrant	tyranny
9	/qaa?id/ 'leader'	commander	head	leadership
10	/qaySariyyah/ 'Caesarean Section'	the medical operation performed to Caesar's mother	the same operation performed to any woman	the medical operation
11	/qimmah/ 'peak'	peak of a mountain (Haidar 2005b: 239)	top meeting (Haidar 2005b: 239)	height
12	/qiraa?a/ 'reading'	reading hard material (book, magazines)	reading soft material	reading
13	/maktab/ 'desk'	desk	desk & office	office work
14	/muršid/ 'guide'	tourist guide	student guide	guidance
15	/wardah/ 'flower'	red rose	any rose	rose

Table (2): Semantic Broadening in Arabic

Table (2) contains fifteen nouns and this proves the dominance of the class of nouns in semantic broadening in Arabic.

some characteristic semantic features of the words he uses (Al-Bahnasaawii 2009: 142, translation mine). Moreover, Dawud (2001: 211, translation mine) believes that this process is an evidence of linguistic deficiency especially among the masses of the people. That is the more advanced the educational level of the language user is, the less he uses this process.

3.1.1. Examples of Semantic Broadening in English

No	Word	Old meaning	New meaning	The link
1	arrive	to reach the shore	to reach a destination	the act of reaching
2	barn	a place for storing barley	a farm place for storing corn	storage
3	basket	"bread-basket" (Ullmann 1962: 230)	any basket	being a container
4	bird	a fowl	any bird	a winged creature
5	broadcast	to strew widely	to spread information on radio and TV	the act of spreading
6	dog	a particular type of dog	a general term	a canine
7	father	one's father	one's father & a priest	deference
8	fly	of animat creatures (insects, birds)	of animates and inanimates like aeroplanes	flying
9	kleenex	facial tissues of one particular brand	facial tissues regardless of the brand	facial tissues
10	manuscript	written by hand	typed	being written
11	mouse	small animal	a computer device & small animal	similarity in shape & the wire of the computer device resembles the tail of the mouse
12	nepotism	favouring one's nephews	favouring one's relatives	favouring a relative
13	preach	to deliver a sermon	to deliver any impressive speech	the act of delivering a speech

the old meaning and the new one. The absence of this sort of link is called semantic mutation (Anis 1984: 136, translation mine) and is exemplified by the word /laiθ/ 'lion' which stands for both /9ankabuut/ 'spider' and /ʔasad/ 'lion' (Al-zamakhsharii 1985: 2/362, translation mine). This example defies explanation and thus semantic mutation is considered to be the exception of the rule.

3.1 Semantic Broadening

This process means that the meaning of a word becomes more general and more inclusive than before. Semantic broadening is said to alter the extent of the semantic range or rather to extend the semantic range of a word to include other elements of meaning in addition to what it used to mean. Obviously, broadening aims at simplification and ease of communication. In fact, moving towards generality is much easier than attempting the opposite direction. That is why this process of semantic broadening is common in the speech of young children. Lyons (1977: 1/266) cites that "a child may first apply the word 'daddy' to all men that he meets and only later adjust his understanding and use of the word to the more restricted sense it bears in adult English." Similarly, a child may apply the word 'mammy' to all women that he meets and the word 'doggie' to all furry things. The reason he does so is that he drops

Language in Cairo gave these terms Arabic names. However, the foreign terms still keep their foreign names and the Arabic names given to them are not in current use. This is simply because of the supremacy of the English language as a world language. Examples of these words are /barq/ 'telegraph', /ħaafilah/ 'bus', /ħariir ?al-ladaa?in/ 'nylon', /šaTiirah/ 'sandwich', /qiTaar-u n-nafaq/ 'metro', /miðyaa9/ 'radio', and /haatif/ 'telephone' (Sha9laan 2009: 26-28, 102, translation mine). Moreover, some Arabic words are formed as a direct translation of foreign terms. The field of economics provides us with some examples such as /taSfiyah/ 'liquidation', /tagTiyah/ 'coverage', /xaSxaSah/ 'privatization', /9awlamah/ 'globalization' (Haidar 2005b: 192, 195, 227 & 234, translation mine).

3. Semantic Change in English and Arabic

Semantic change stands as a testimony of the development of word usage in the course of time. It is subdivided into two departments: Changes in range which comprise broadening and narrowing and changes in evaluation which comprise amelioration and pejoration. These four types are to be dealt with one by one in this part. What should be kept in mind is that "words rarely jump from one meaning to an unrelated one" (O'Grady & Dobrovolsky 1993: 281). In other words, there must be some sort of link between

taboo and if it is known by mistake it might be used abusively in insults.

The fifth and most influential type of causes of semantic change is the foreign influence. English, on the one hand, is said to be open to foreign influences more than any other language. Foster (1968: 72) states that "throughout its history the English language has always been hospitable to words from other tongues." This inclination, as a matter of fact, is still in effect up till now. Barber (1972: 217) states that:

> The expansion of the English vocabulary in the modern period has by no means been confined to scientific words. As a community changes, there is a constant demand for new words - to express new concepts or new attitudes, to denote new objects or institutions, and so on . . . . New methods develop in commerce, and bring new words with them: *capital, discount, insurance, finance, budget.* New ideas and new institutions demand a new political vocabulary: *legislator, cabinet, prime minister, democrat, socialism.* New configurations of human experience emerge in the arts, and new words crystallize round them: *sentimental, romantic aesthete, expressionist.*

On the other hand, the Arabic language also responded to the scientific age and accepted or rather absorbed some modern scientific terms of foreign origins. Then the Academy of the Arabic

The other psychological cause of fast change stated by Ullmann (1962) is taboo. People in all cultures are inclined not to mention words of unpleasant associations. In this case, "a word that is used for something unpleasant is replaced by another and that too is again replaced later. Thus English has had the terms *privy*, *W.C.*, *lavatory*, *toilet*, *bathroom*, etc., and more recently, *loo*" (Palmer 1981: 10). Arabic, also, has a list of similar terms. These are /kaniif/, literally 'enclosure', /?adabxaanah/, literally 'the store of good manners', /bait ?ar-raaħah/, literally 'the house of rest', /mustaraaħ/, literally 'the house of rest', /mirħaaD/, literally 'the rinsing place' and /dawrat-u l-miyaah/, literally 'the cycle of water', all meaning 'toilet' (Haidar 2005a: 93; Anis 1984: 142 ; Abdel-Tawwab 1983: 120, translation mine). These terms prove the continuity of the process of change by the passage of time. Moreover, Allan & Burridge (2000: 33) exceed the limits and claim that "personal names are taboo among some peoples on all the inhabited continents." This phenomenon is common in Egypt and in many Arab countries especially the names of women. Instead of mentioning their names, women are referred to as /?al-jamaa9ah/, literally 'the group' or /?um-u l-9iyaal/, literally 'the mother of the children' both meaning 'my wife'. Some Egyptian men even use the word /?al-ħukuumah/, literally 'the government' to mean 'my wife'. In fact, this is something inherent in our culture. In some villages in Upper Egypt, the name of the 'mother' is also a

the person's name such as: /baaṣaa/ 'pasha' and /ʔafandii/ 'gentleman'.

The fourth type of causes presented by Ullmann is the psychological causes. Ullmann (1962: 201) argues that some semantic changes are deeply rooted in the speaker's mind. Then he subdivided psychological causes into two types: emotive factors and taboo. The emotive factors are manifested when the language users have an inclination to be optimistic or rather euphemistic. This happens when they use words like /mafaazah/ 'desert', which brings forth the optimistic implications of safety, when referring to /Saħraaʔ/ 'desert' which implies the opposite meanings of danger and risk (Hilal 1986: 225, translation mine). Again, the avoidance of the names of dangerous diseases is another example of euphemism. For example, people usually avoid saying /saraTaan/ 'cancer' and /ħummaa/ 'fever'. They use /ʔal-maraD-u l-xabiiθ/ 'the malicious disease' and /ʔal-mabruukah/ 'the blessed', respectively, instead (Abdel-Tawwab 1983: 121, translation mine). However, Leech (1974: 50) seems some- what cautious about these examples as they might be confusing. He reports that "whenever language is 'loaded' towards or against a given set of attitudes, there is a danger of confusion, unless the addressee is able to distinguish between the conceptual and affective content of the message."

if it is uttered by farmers.   While it refers to the field of specialization if it is uttered by researchers or scientists (Hilal 1986: 221, translation mine). The second factor is the social organization in society. If this social organization changes, the change affects the vocabulary that is used in this society, especially words denoting social ranks. Ayto (2002: 252) cites the story of the English word *Knight* and the different stages of development that this word passes through until it reaches its modern sense. He states:

> A *cniht* in Anglo-Saxon England had a comparatively lowly status: he was just an ordinary 'boy' or 'young man'. The next step on the ladder was downwards, to 'a male servant', and the move to ' a soldier in the 11th century wasn't much better than a side ways shift. Things began to look up in the Middle Ages, when the term **knight** (as it had now become) was applied to a category of person in the feudal system who would fight for his lord in return for land, and later to someone given noble rank as a reward for military service. Its modern usage, where the idea of a title has taken over first place from 'fighting', dates from the 16th century.

In Arabic, some words denoting social ranks suffered from degradation in the course of time as a result of the collapse that happened to the social system with which they were associated. Examples of these are the titles of respect that usually appear after

As for concepts, the English word 'family' is derived from the Latin *famulus* which meant "a servant". It is until the fifteenth century that the word has kept its meaning as "domestic servants." Actually, "it wasn't until the 17 [th] century that it had progressed . . . to the 'group of related people'" (Ayto 2002: 167). Similarly, many concepts have changed their meanings in Arabic. For example, the word /Salaah/ 'prayer' meant, in general, supplication and seeking forgiveness (Ibn ManZur 1981: 4/2490, translation mine). But after converting to Islam, its meaning was restricted and it began to refer to performing the five obligatory daily prayers in their prescribed times. Another example is the word /zakaah/ 'almsgiving' which had the general meaning of 'goodness' (Ibn ManZur 1981: 3/1849, translation mine). But after converting to Islam, its meaning was narrowed and it started to refer to the act of giving a fixed amount of money to the needy annually. A third example is the word /ħajj/ 'pilgrimage.' In general, this word meant 'to go straightway' (Ibn ManZur 1981: 2/778, translation mine), but its meaning was restricted after Islam to mean traveling to Makkah to perform specific rituals there at the end of the Hijrii year.

Social factors also play an important role in semantic change. First of all, the referent of a certain item differs according to the profession of its users. For example, the word 'field' refers to a farm

example in hand of the decay of words is the Arabic word /sawfa/ 'will' which is worn out and contracted in the first consonant /s/ followed by the vowel /a/, to be /sa-/ 'will'. Though the two forms are the same, they are mistaken to be two different particles for indicating the future: the longer for the far future and the shorter for the near future (Abdel-Tawwab 1983: 98, translation mine).

Historical causes refer to the stability of the lexical items and the instability of their referents. This is simply because "language is more conservative than civilization, material as well as moral" (Ullmann 1962: 198). In other words, objects and ideas change by the passage of time but they keep their names without change. The English word *car*, for example, is of Celtic origin. The history of this word reveals that it did not have the same sense it has today. "It was 'a cart', 'a wagon', or 'a carriage'". When Karl Benz invented a carriage pulled by "a petrol-powered motor", the new vehicle was called 'motor car'. In a year's time, this vehicle was called 'car' and this name continues till the present time (Ayto 2002: 75). Another example is the Arabic word /qiTaar/ 'train' which, in the past, meant /ibil/ 'camels' in a line (Ibn ManZur 1981: 5/3670, translation mine), but now it means a line of carriages joined together.

negative particle. The second is borrowing which also triggers semantic change. For example, the word /qumaaš/ 'cloth', in Arabic, originally means 'crumbs', 'furniture' or 'worthless people' (Ibn ManZur 1981: 5/3738, translation mine). When Arabic borrowed /kumaaš/ 'rough cotton material' from Persian, a semantic change happened to the original Arabic word and since that time the original meanings are only known to linguists while the borrowed meaning becomes predominant (Anis 1984: 139, translation mine). Nowadays, the sense of the word /qumaaš/ 'cloth' is broadened to include not only cotton material but all types of cloth material as well. In this way, the old meanings are out of use and the only similarity that the word /qumaaš/ 'cloth' has with the original Arabic word is the initial sound /q/. The third is the decay of words which happens as a result of wars and epidemics. The Hundred Years' War and the Black Death are good examples of this phenomenon taken from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the English history. The result of these two catastrophes is that "mortality was unbelievably high" that "the death rate during the plague approximated 30 percent" (Baugh & Cable 1978: 142). As the fate of any language is intimately tied to the fate of its speakers, the death of one third of the English people at that time certainly caused some changes in the English language, the least of which is the death of some English words with the death of their speakers. An

Semantic change does not happen abruptly, but it takes time to happen. Ullmann (1962: 197-210) cites five causes of semantic change. These are linguistic causes, historical causes, social causes, psychological causes and causes due to foreign influences. The main principle behind the linguistic causes is usage. It is through the circulation of vocabulary among people that semantic change happens in any language. In fact, words are not coined to be kept in safes untouched. To the contrary, they are there to be in current use by people in their everyday life, exactly as people exchange goods and coins. However, language exchange is mentally processed and the variation in language use is due to the variation in the mentality of an individual (Anis 1984: 134; Hammad 1983: 117, translation mine).

Under the umbrella term 'usage', three linguistic phenomena are to be mentioned. The first is collocations. Ullmann (1962: 198) states that "habitual collocations may permanently affect the meaning of the terms involved; . . . the sense of one word may be transferred to another simply because they occur together in many contexts." This is exemplified, in French, by the habitual collocation of the negative particle *ne* with some nouns such as *pas* 'step', *personne* 'person' and *rien* 'thing' to the extent that these nouns acquire the negative sense even if they are not preceded by the

1962: 193). In order to understand semantic change, one has to understand what constitutes meaning. Crabtree & Powers (1991: 327) cite that "if we think of the meaning of a word as being determined by the set of contexts in which the word can be used, we can characterize semantic change as a shift in the set of appropriate contexts for that word. Alternatively, we could view semantic change as a change in the set of referents for a word, i.e., as a change in the set of objects the word refers to." Ullmann (1962: 193-5) cites some factors of absolute importance in facilitating semantic changes. First, language is handed down from parents to children. Children may often misunderstand the meaning of words. If such misconceptions are not corrected immediately, a semantic change happens in the usage of the younger generation. Second, vagueness in meaning also participates in semantic change. The *bridegroom* is a good example of this factor. "He should be called a *bridegoom*, literally a "*brideman*". But somebody down the line got confused and substituted *groom* for *goom*, so now a bride has married a man who takes care of horses" (Funk 1950: 252). Third, the structure of the vocabulary is considered one of the governing factors of semantic change. For example, *taximeter cab* is shortened to *taxi* and accordingly, the shortening results in the absence of some details of the meaning of the original form.

rraħiim/ 'In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful', and /ħawqala/ for /laa ħawla wa laa quwwata ?illaa billaah/ 'there is no might and no power   except by Allah'.   Moreover, the use of simpler linguistic forms is said to be "guided by the need to preserve communicative function in language" (Bright 2007: 59) because the simpler the form, the easier the communication. That is to say simplification facilitates communication. Another important social factor that triggers linguistic change is imitation. This process of imitation "seems to operate in the area of new vocabulary, in cases where one person coins a new technical term (or creates a colorful new slang usage) and is then imitated by others" (Bright 2007: 59). A similar decisive factor which is said to "act as a 'drag' to retard change" (Bright 2007: 62) is the presence of literacy. That is to say literacy resists change while illiteracy encourages change. Finally, Bright (2007: 63) stresses the importance of intimate social ties in maintaining the code of a particular community. He reports that "strong ties within communities result in dialect maintenance and resistance to change; but individuals who have large numbers of weak ties outside the community tend to be innovators, and to serve as instigators of language change."

Semantic change is the change in word meaning. Meaning is the least resistant to change of all linguistic elements (Ullmann

when the change is initiated by one or more individuals then imitated by others and finally, spread throughout an entire community (Bright 2007: 58). For the present study, if the semantic change that happens to a certain word is initiated by individuals and then circulated throughout the whole community, we call it microlinguistic change. However, when such semantic change is approved and accepted by language academies, as the Academy of the Arabic Language, or if it appears in recent dictionaries or educational materials, we call it macrolinguistic change. Therefore, the rule is that what happens on the individual level is microlinguistic change and what happens on the societal or institutional level is macrolinguistic change.

Bright (2007: 58-63) discusses some social factors in language change. He argues that language change aims at simplification and exerting the least effort. This justifies the use of word-formation processes such as clipping (e.g.the use of *lab* for laboratory), acronymy (e.g. the use of *RP* for Received Pronunciation), and blending (e.g. the use of *escalator* for escalade and elevator) for shortening words or successions of words. In Arabic, the linguistic phenomenon of forming one word out of two or more words is called /naħt/ 'cutting out' (Sha9laan 2009: 81, translation mine) and is manifested in examples like /basmala/ for /bismi llaahi rraħmaani

are broadening, narrowing, amelioration and pejoration. It is worth mentioning, here, that data collection for the present paper depends mainly on the use of dictionaries of both English and Arabic (*Al Mu9jam Al-Wajiiz* [The Concise lexicon] (1990), *?asaas-u l-balaaĝah* [The Basis of Rhetoric] (1985), *Oxford School Dictionary of Word Origins* (2002), *The Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary* (1991), and *Lisanu Al-Arab* [The Tongue of the Arabs] (1981)). Also, the researcher's keen observation of the language used in the surrounding speech community has been of decisive importance. It is also worth noting that the variety of Arabic that is studied in this paper is Modern Standard Arabic unless indicated otherwise in some examples.

2. Theoretical Framework

Wardhaugh (1992: 192) states that linguistic change cannot be observed. He maintains that "all that you can possibly hope to observe are the consequences of change." It is worth mentioning here that there are two types of linguistic change: macrolinguistic change and microlinguistic change. The former, on the one hand, involves "entire language structures" as well as "deliberate, conscious decisions, institutionally promulgated as part of language planning programs" (Bright 2007:58) such as the process of standardization. The latter, on the other hand, involves the case

Radford, *et al.* (1999: 255) explain the reasons of borrowing as follows:

> Perhaps the most obvious reason is sheer necessity. People need to develop words for new and unfamiliar concepts - new technology, new plants and animals, ... Another reason is prestige. If certain cultures are associated with particular prestigious activities, it is common for the words associated with that activity to come from the language of that culture.

The principle of necessity is made clear in the field of modern technology because many new inventions are introduced to humanity every now and then. Actually, when people accept the new objects, they automatically accept the terms that name them. Again, when people adopt new concepts, they borrow the words that they lack, in their own tongue, to express these concepts. Prestige is also made clear after the Norman Conquest, when French became the most 'cultivated tongue' (Baugh &Cable 1978: 134) in England. The English people began to mix their speech with words borrowed from French as a first step before adopting the French tongue and becoming bilingual.

Finally, there are many types of semantic change. Four only of these types will be dealt with, in detail, in this research paper. These

conjunctions, auxiliary verbs, and the like, they express
fundamental concepts like *mann* (man), *wif* (wife), *Cild*
(child), *hʊs* (house), ...

However, the term 'borrowing' is said to be inappropriate because
"new words are not given back at a later stage" (Crystal 1987: 330)
to the lending language, nor does the lending language lose the use
of these words. 'Sharing' might be a better term in this case.

It is worth mentioning that the process of borrowing is
characterized by reciprocity (Crystal 1987: 330), i.e. it works in two
opposing directions whenever two languages come into contact with
each other by means of conquest or commercial relationships or
whatsoever. Hawkins & Allen (1991) cite many examples that
manifest the process of borrowing from Arabic into English. Some
of these borrowings are /ʔal-kiimiyaa?/ 'alchemy', /ʔal-kuħull/
'alcohol', /ʔal-ʔanbiiq/ 'alembic', /ʔal-jabr/ 'algebra', /ʔal-kalii/ 'alkali'
and /sukkar/ 'sugar'. Borrowing from English into Arabic is also
evident in examples such as /baskawiit/ 'biscuit', /tilifuun/
'telephone', /tilligraaf/ 'telegraph', /tilifizyuun/ 'television' and
/tiliskuub/ 'telescope'. However, borrowing from English does not
mean that the borrowed words are English by origin. Telegraph,
telephone, television and telescope are not English by origin but
they are taken into Arabic through English.

alive' which represents a pre-Islamic social tradition that is forbidden after converting to Islam and accordingly, the term is no longer used.

The second form of developing the vocabulary of a particular language as suggested by Baugh & Cable (1978) above is the addition of new words in order to meet a specific need. One main source of adding new words is the process of borrowing from other languages. "Borrowings, then, are words which originated in one language (or dialect), but which have come to be used in another, even by people who don't speak the 'lending' language. These borrowings are very often assimilated to the phonological and morphological structure of the new host language . . ." (Radford, *et al.* 1999: 256). Many diachronic linguists show how borrowing changed the face of the English language after the Norman Conquest. It represents the chief source of English vocabulary enrichment. Moreover, it is reported that Germanic vocabulary represents only 15% of the English language of today. Baugh & Cable (1978: 55) cite that:

> An examination of the words in an Old English dictionary shows that about 85 percent of them are no longer in use. Those that survive, to be sure, are basic elements of our vocabulary, and by the frequency with which they recur make up a large part of any English sentence. Apart from pronouns, prepositions,

illustrative examples of the third case reporting that "change of meaning can be illustrated from any page of Shakespeare. *Nice* in Shakespeare's day meant *foolish; rheumatism* signified a cold in the head" (Baugh & Cable 1978: 2), whereas in present day English, *rheumatism* signifies pain in the muscles and joints. It is worth mentioning here that this change of meaning or semantic change that takes place through time is deeply connected with the life, traditions and culture of a given community.

When words are not currently used by people in their everyday speech, they die out or disappear. This happens when the concepts or the objects represented by these words are no longer in use or when the senses of these words become pejorative and offensive, by the passage of time, that people avoid using them completely. Accordingly, these words are prisoned only in dictionaries and in the minds of specialists and linguists. "*Wight* (person), *leman* (sweetheart), and *hie* (hasten), are examples from Elizabethan English which are now no longer used" (Crystal 1987: 330). Similarly, the Arabic word /manjaniiq/ 'mangonel', which is a huge weapon for throwing stones, disappeared and is now replaced by a more developed weapon, /dabbaabah/ 'tank'. This happens as a result of the scientific progress in the military field. Another example from the Arabic language is /wa?ada/ 'to bury a baby girl

., but they can do very little about it. Language would stand still only if society did. A world of unchanging linguistic excellence, based on the brilliance of earlier literary forms, exists only in fantasy.

In other words, no one can stop language change including the so-called language purists. This is simply because language change is intimately related to man and his society. As long as man lives on earth, there must be changes in various human aspects including his means of communication, i.e. language. Crystal (1987: 328) also states that all aspects of human language are subject to changes especially, pronunciation and vocabulary and these changes are made clear by means of comparing old forms to new ones. The present study is mainly concerned with semantic change in both English and Arabic. Accordingly, the most reliable references are dictionaries, in general, and etymological dictionaries, in particular, in both English and Arabic.

Baugh & Cable (1978: 2) again confirm the inevitability of language change and they state that "when a language ceases to change, we call it a dead language . . . . The change that is constantly going on in a living language can be most easily seen in the vocabulary. Old words die out, new words are added, and existing words change their meaning." Interestingly, they add

1. Introduction

Language is "a living organism" (Abdel-Tawwab 1983: 5) that experiences life with its ups and downs exactly as its speakers do. It lives as long as its speakers use it as their means of communication and it dies as long as they stop using it. In between these two extremes, life and death, it passes through various phases of prosperity and decline that reform and deform it, respectively. Above all, language is dynamic. It changes from one condition into another in accordance with the changes that happen to man and his world. This is simply because language is the human means of expression. Man expresses his thoughts, ideas, feelings and emotions through language. Of course, all these things are not stable and so is language. Poole (1999: 132) reports that "language also changes because the communities in which it is spoken change. Different cultures come into contact, one perhaps dominating another. Society's values change. New discoveries and inventions have to be named."

Crystal (1987: 328) states the inevitability of language change confirming that:

> languages are always in a state of flux. Change affects the
> way people speak as inevitably as it does [in] any other
> area of human life. Language purists do not welcome it . .

0. Abstract

Semantic change is inevitable and common in all human languages as long as the world we live in is perpetually changing. Semantic change occurs for many reasons, the most important of which is the simplification of language as a means of communication. It may also happen as an answer to a specific need which again facilitates communication. The meanings of words develop in two directions: quantitative and qualitative. That is, they may become broader or narrower, more positive or negative, respectively. In this respect, language functions as a mirror that reflects cultural and social conditions in society. In light of this, the major objective of this paper is to investigate the four semantic processes of broadening, narrowing, amelioration and pejoration in both English and Arabic.

Key words: Semantics, broadening, narrowing, amelioration, pejoration, English and Arabic.

Four Processes of Semantic Change

in English and Arabic: A Contrastive Study

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