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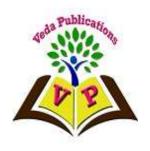
SEMANTIC CHANGE OF ENGLISH LOANWORDS AMONG HAUSA ADULT SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH

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Abstract



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This paper is a study of semantic change of English loanwords among adult Hausa speakers of English with specific reference to those words that have either got their meanings extended or narrowed to something more specific than what it is being referred to in the dominant language or meaning figuratively used. Such changes in the meaning of the word brings confusion to others who might have a wider understanding of the meaning of the original word. Early works might have, perhaps, influence the trend of research in the area toward more interest in phonological and morphological process and changes undergone by the words than in the semantic aspect of it. Data for this study comprises various English words that have their meanings shifted from the meaning of the original English words. Sample of words whose meaning have shifted from the meaning of the English originals in the fields of fashion and clothing, finance, house utensils, health and automobile were analyzed semantically in comparison to the English originals within the context of semantic change and metaphorical usage of those words by the adult Hausa speakers of English. The study brings to light some conceptual ideas among the adult Hausa speakers of English. Finally, an attempt was made to show some pedagogical implications of the semantic nature of this types of words in English and Hausa respectfully.

Keywords: Semantic Change, English Loanwords, Adult Hausa speakers

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Vol.7 Issue 2 2021

1. Introduction

Languages are not static structures; they are subject to continuous change. It is generally accepted that whenever two speech communities are in contact with one another, there exists the propensity for influence between their languages from one or both sides (Dawud, (2001:4). Cultural interaction often leads to the lexical borrowing and linguistic features. This phenomenon is called 'borrowing' and a word of extraneous origin is referred to as a 'loanword' Crystal (2003). Interacting speech communities are likely to influence each other through linguistic borrowing. This happens when an impression is left on the affected language (Treffers-Daller, 2007). When languages change, they do so in various aspects including phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic components. Of these, semantic change is the most common (Crystal, 1987). English language being the medium of instruction in schools and by extension the official language of Nigeria, has a greater influence most of the local languages in the country. Hausa language being one of major languages borrowed many lexical items from English within the variety of context. English and Hausa are two entirely different languages that does not share history, culture and environment and these naturally affects the contextual use of those words that are borrowed between the donor community and the receptor. This is virtually true since language, as Aitchison (2007) opined 'reflects the interaction of humans with the environment. Therefore, it is normal to see some English loanwords in Hausa that had their meanings changed from the denotations of their English originals'. One would expect and assume adult Hausa speakers of English to express their thoughts and feelings as well as account for their environment, society, culture and civilization without any recourse to borrowing. But this naturally must be within the period when the Hausas were living in a sort of isolation; i.e. no contact with any other language, no western education, no commercial activities that involves other speech communities. With the colonization of west Africa by the British followed by the introduction of western education and trade activities to and from the Hausa land, the Hausas come borrowed some words which they use in their daily life. Some of those words got their original senses expanded, narrowed or to some extent used figuratively by the Adult Hausa speakers of English. These types of words which got their meanings changed or had acquired additional senses other than what their corresponding English originals denote are the concern of this paper.

2. Between Hausa and English

Hausa is said to belong to the Chadic branch of the Afro-asiatic family. It is predominantly spoken in Northern and Southern part of Niger Republic (Jaggar, 2010). The exact number of Hausa speakers is not known, but possibly some 35-40 million people speak Hausa as a first language and it is used as a second or third language by a similar number of speakers. Developed communities of migrants from Hausa are located as far away as Ghana, Libya, Cameroon, Chad and Sudan. Hausa is the most common popular language in Western Africa, rivaled only by Swahili as an African lingua franca. Hausa is similar to Arabic and Hebrew (also member of the Afro-Asiatic family) than most other Sub-Saharan African languages.

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

Vol.7 Issue 2 2021

Hausa borrowed much Arabic vocabulary (Kraft & Kraft, 1973). Several distinct Hausa dialects exist, and most of them are centered on a large Hausa city (Katsina, Zaria, Kano, Zinder, Sokoto, etc.). Although a good case can be made for the desirability of studying any of the other two or three dialects, the dialect of Kano is the one that is usually taught to foreigners. Hausa is a language used in northern states of Nigeria in the proceedings of the legislative houses, medium of instruction in schools, and the media in both local and international broadcasting stations, for example: VOA, BBC, CRI, DW, Tv Tehran, RFI, and Radio Moscow among others (Jaggar 2001).

In comparison to other sociolinguistic factors, Bamgbose (2001) used population distribution to suggest that Hausa language is one of the three languages spoken by 55% of the Nigerian people, either as a first or second language. The written Hausa started centuries before colonial rule began. Hausa has been written in Ajami (the Arabic letters) since the beginning of the 17th century, prior to this represent writing form that uses the English letters. There is no uniform or standardized Ajami writing scheme, and so people who are literate in Arabic are reading and writing Hausa using letters based on the norms that is suitable to them or that is common in the society. The present Hausa orthography is called 'Hausa Boko', an alphabet in Latin origin adopted by the British colonial rule in 1930. Throughout the decades, this writing style has undergone a number of changes and modifications. The most recent developments were those influenced in UNESCO (Bamako, 1973), where clusters and other significant improvements in the Hausa orthography were introduced and standardized.

According to Gut (2004) and Taiwo (2009), English language was introduced into Nigeria through trade contact between the British and Nigerians on the West African coast in the early 16th century. The arrival of the English in west Africa dated back to this era, when the British trade ship landed on the West coast. English serves as the language of communication between Nigerians and the British people. The contact between them was largely based on trading. The he famed slave trade serves as the void on which the British and Nigerians communicated in different ways that ranged from language instructions to demonstrative signs. The 19th century witnessed a growing political, religious and economic concerns that led to the expansion of the trading activities; and the advent of the missionaries around Lagos and Calabar. Different locations were founded across different societies which paved ways for the missionaries to penetrate in to the localities mostly following the familiar trading routes and in 1851 Lagos state was developed into a British colony (Gut 2004). The English language emanated to the state in the mid-19th century due to commercial interest, which subsequently were followed by the Royal Niger Company that was founded in the 1880s and in the 1990 the region turned into protectorate called the 'Southern Protectorate'. Therefore, instructions to teach English to meet the demand for literate indigenous English-speakers were given by the 1880's. Then, for the same reasons, the Public schools continued, increasing the number of literate English-speaking locals.

In the northern part of the country, which is a Muslim-dominated area, missionary education was not readily available. This prompts the need to penetrate the northern area more

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

Vol.7 Issue 2 2021

thoroughly to establish missionary centers. After a long period of resistance, public schools were established. And the rise of early bilingualism associated with elitism, began with the dual role of colonial coercion and missionary tactics (Gut 2004). Gradually English extended its role to become an interethnic lingua Franca. On gaining independence in Nigeria, English developed simultaneously to create a new medium for interethnic communication (Taiwo, 2009). Some of the features of the Nigerian English include: official language, medium of instruction in schools, and lingua franca. Currently, English is accepted and recognized as the of Nigeria's official language, and also a medium of instruction in schools, the judiciary, the national assembly deliberations and broadcasting on national radio and television stations.

2.1 English Loanwords in Hausa

A loanword is a lexical item taken directly into one language from another one with little or no translation. Therefore, English Loanwords in Hausa are those lexical items (in the Hausa Language) which were originally English, but happened to be part and parcel of the vocabulary of the Hausa Language as employed by the speakers of the language in their day to day linguistic activities. These words in most cases adapt to both phonological and morphological systems of the Hausa Language to the extent that speakers don't realize at once that those words were borrowed. These types of words are many in Hausa and they cover almost all aspects of the lives of the Hausa People. This opinion was echoed by Dawud (2001:4).

There are several publications on English loanwords. But most of the studies focused much on the extent of English words in the Hausa vocabulary. For example, Nasir (2016) in a study titled "Language borrowing: English loanwords in Hausa language", he classified the English loanwords in Hausa into categories such as; government, administration and politics, transport, automobile and machinery, education, electronics and appliances, communications, fashion and clothing, building, property and artisanship, commerce and finance, religion, judicial and medical terminologies etc. The study shows that as a result of technology and innovation, the Hausa vocabulary got enriched with English and scientific based terminologies which have been incorporated and used by the Hausas in their daily life. Wali (2010), examined the extent of English loanwords used in the Hausa newspapers. The study has shown that most of the newspapers written in Hausa use about 11.6% of English words to convey the message to the native Hausa readers. The recent study of semantic change of loanword in Hausa is the one by Arzika, M. (2015) which studied the semantic change of Arabic loanwords in Hausa. The study examined words that have either changed meaning or shifted away from the denotations of their Arabic originals. The findings of study show that there exists a similarity between Hausa and Arabic languages in Arabic loanwords in Hausa, especially at the level of grammatical categorization.

Bello (2015) in his studies titled "An in-depth study of lexical borrowing from English to Hausa". The study was aimed at analyzing the process of borrowing from English to Hausa. Hence, the major findings of the research could be summarized as follows: - that most loan

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

Vol.7 Issue 2 2021

words from English to Hausa usually were as a result of indirect borrowing. There are some that were as a result direct borrowing and were said to be the 21st century newly invented words such as computer.

Words like 'tailor', 'machine', 'engine', 'tire', and 'table', for example denote various senses in Hausa that are either exactly the same narrowed or extended. 'Machine' in Hausa means motorcycle and not 'an apparatus using mechanical power' which the English noun machine means. Likewise, 'engine' in Hausa means a 'grinding machine' but in English it means a 'machine with moving parts that converts power into motion'. 'Tire' in Hausa means a 'round shaped object made of rubber use in bicycle or car', the sense referred to tire by the hausa speakers is the same with English where tire means a 'ring-shaped protective covering around a wheel which is usually made of rubber or plastic composite and is either pneumatic or solid'. From these few examples, it may be clear that among English Loanwords in Hausa are words which retain their existing senses even after their transfer to Hausa Language – and they constitute the vast majority – and others that acquired extended, narrowed, or even replacement senses after their adoption by the Hausa Language. However, to the best of my knowledge, there was hardly any work so far, that was particularly concerned with the semantic change of the English loanwords into Hausa.

2.1.1. Semantic Change in English Loanwords in Hausa

Semantic change, generally, is a process that takes place overtime. It is about changes in the meanings of words. A lexical item in a given language may develop additional or different senses from the hitherto existing ones it has. In other words, denotations of existing senses of a lexical item may shift and give way for new senses as the old senses become obsolete; or that new senses may develop 'as extensions of established ones, leading to polysemy as the newer and older senses coexist'(Murphy & Koskela 2010:147). In certain situations, a shift in prominence may occur in the senses of a polysemic word so that a particular sense regarded earlier on as the main or most prominent moves away from the center stage for another less prominent sense to take its place.

Efforts were made by Semanticists to classify and enumerate different types of semantic change; but attempts to give a comprehensive list of them proved to be very difficult if not impossible (Aitchison 2007:121). However, certain aspects, such as expansion of meaning, narrowing of meaning and shift in meaning are constant in many works. And semantic change in English loanwords in Hausa can generally be accounted for within the context of these types.

3. The Study

3.1 Nature and Scope

This study is a qualitative descriptive type. It involves the analysis of certain lexical items from a semantic point of view. It will attempt to semantically describe those lexical items in relation to their senses in both the donor and receptor languages within the context of the life

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://iirep.com/

Vol.7 Issue 2 2021

of the Hausa people. Therefore, lexical borrowing from English into Hausa as a general phenomenon is not the main thrust here, rather the concern was only with the category of words that are borrowed from English and used with different meanings. Also, it is not the aim of this study to account for how and why the semantic changes in those lexical items; but attempt will be made to bring in issues of pedagogical concern so as to present a perspective that can be used to facilitate second language learning and teaching as it relates to English and Hausa languages.

3.2 Limitation

The study is basically on semantic change; specifically, of English loan words among adult Hausa speakers of English. Twenty (20) noun words of this nature from fashion and design, health, automobile/machinery, finance and house utensils were used as examples.

3.3 Methodology and Data

The overall data of this study consisted of 12 noun class English loanwords collected from published articles, namely 'Language borrowing: English Loanwords in Hausa' by Nasir (2016) and 'An in-depth study of English Loanwords in Hausa' by Bello (2015). These noun class English loanwords have become part of the Hausa vocabulary and they are used particularly by the adult Hausa speakers of English in their daily conversations. The words are presented in both the receptor and donor languages, and then a discussion that contrastively analyzes the semantic relationship between the senses of these words in the said languages followed. The researcher consulted many dictionaries (both mono and bi-lingual) and lexicons, related literature has also been of great help.

3.4 Analysis

Analysis of the data was based on two major forms; narrowing or restriction (specialization) and metaphorical semantic changes.

3.4.1 Semantic Narrowing

Narrowing is the direct opposite of expansion. It involves the loss of existing sense or senses of a word or specifying a hitherto general sense. The words to follow are examples of semantic narrowing in English loanwords as used by the adult Hausa speakers of English.

HAUSA	ENGLISH	DISCUSSION
Mashin	machine /məˈʃiːn /noun.	The Hausa speakers meaning of
(n)	1.an apparatus using mechanical	'machine' is 'motorcycle' only. The
Motorcycle	power and having several parts, each with a definite function and	different senses of the original meaning of <i>machine</i> which is any
	together performing a particular task.	object that saves human energy or enable us perform a task faster without
	2.technical any device that transmits	human power. It includes any
	a force or directs its application	apparatus that uses mechanical power

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		to perform task but the Hausa speakers narrowed the sense to 'motorcycle' only, though the sense is related to the original sense (e.g. sense1) but it has been restricted to motorcycle only by the Hausas.
Injin(n) Grinding machine	engine / ɛndʒɪn /noun a machine with moving parts that converts power into motion. "the roar of a car engine". 2. a thing that is the agent or instrument of a particular process.	According to the Hausa speakers, 'engine' means 'a grinding machine'. A machine used for grinding grains. The general sense of the word 'engine' has been narrowed by the Hausa speakers to mean grinding machine only. When you said to a Hausa man 'I bought an engine' the only thing that comes to his mind is 'you bought a grinding machine'. Other senses that relates to an engine are not used or considered by the Hausa speakers and therefore the word has undergone semantic specialization-narrowing of meaning.
Garage(n) Car workshop/ repairing place	garage /'gara:(d)3, 'garıd3, gə'ra:3/noun 1. a building for housing a motor vehicle or vehicles. "a detached house with an integral garage". 2. a style of unpolished, energetic rock music associated with suburban amateur bands. 3 (also UK garage) [mass noun] a form of dance music incorporating elements of drum and bass, house music, and soul, characterized by a rhythm in which the second and fourth beats of the bar are omitted.	The Hausa speakers use the word 'garage' using the sensel meaning which denotes a 'place where vehicles are repaired' thus, a mechanics workshop. The sense in the first 67 meaning of garage in the source language was partially borrowed but to mean a vehicle repairing place/workshop. For a Hausa speaker, car park is where cars are packed and garage is where cars are repaired.
Dakta (n) Health personnel.	doctor / dokto / noun 1. a person who is qualified to treat people who are ill. 2. a person who holds the highest university degree. 3 an artificial fishing fly.4 [with modifier] a cool on shore breeze that blows regularly in a particular	According to the Hausa speakers on the other hand refers to a 'doctor' as' health personnel who treats people from disease'. Consider the following Hausa examples in which the sense in the first meaning is used by the Hausa speakers in the two sentences below:

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

	warm location.	(a) "Yusuf dakta ne"- "Yusuf is a (medical) doctor"(b) "Daktoci sun tafi yajin aiki". "Health workers are on strike".
		In sentence (a), the sentence can be interpreted in three ways: 1. 'Yusuf is a (medical) doctor', 2. Yusuf holds the highest university degree or 3. Yusuf is a blade for scrapping the surface of objects. All these three interpretations could have been the senses the word 'doctor' in sentence (a) conveys but because the Hausa speakers restricted the meaning of doctor to only the first sense, the meaning of the sentence (to the Hausa speakers) is "Yusuf is a medical doctor". Therefore, the word 'doctor' underwent semantic narrowing as used by the Hausa speakers.
Tiyata(n) Surgery	theatre / Oioto / noun 1. a building or outdoor area in which plays and other dramatic performances are given. 2. a room or hall for lectures with seats in tiers. 3. the area in which something happens. 4. (medicine) An operating theatre for human experimentation	Despite the several senses of the word theatre, the Hausa speakers meaning of the word 'theatre' is taken from only one sense (sense 4). The Hausa speakers meaning of theatre is 'surgery', a medical treatment that involves operation for the sick person. Consider the following Hausa examples: a. "An yi mata tiyatar ido jiya" - "She underwent eye surgery yesterday" b. "Tiyata sai kwararren likita kan yi ta" - "Only qualified doctors can perform a surgery". From the above examples, we can understand that theatre according to the Hausa speaker it does not relate to any other sense of the word than the meaning in sense 4 which denotes medical (surgery) sense only. This is a typical example of the English words in Hausa that undergoes semantic change of narrowing of meaning.
Bokiti(n)	bucket /ˈbʌkɪt / noun	According to the Hausa speakers,

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

Container	 a roughly cylindrical open container with a handle, made of metal or plastic and used to hold and carry liquids. a unit of data that can be transferred from a backing store in a single operation. 	'bucket' is 'a container made of metal or plastic, with a handle for carrying liquid. The sense of the original meaning (1st meaning) is the only sense use by the Hausa speakers while the other sense (2nd meaning) is not used. Consider the following sense denoting bucket in the following Hausa sentences: (a)"Karamar bokiti"-"A small bucket" (b) "Ali ya kai ma Anas bokiti "-"Ali delivered the bucket (container) to Anas" If a Hausa speaker said "karamar bokiti" it means 'a small container bucket'. Also, in the second sentence, "Ali ya kai ma Anas bokiti" the same sense of 'container' comes to the mind of the Hausa listener "Ali delivered the container to Anas". Sentence (b) can also be translated as "Ali delivered a unit of data to Anas". This meaning could have been one of the possible translations of the second sentence if the Hausa speakers were using the second sense above. In this case, the general sense in which the word bucket is used in the source language has been restricted to only one sense (container).
Kemis(n) Shop(for selling drugs)	chemist / kɛmɪst / noun 1. (British)a shop where medicinal drugs are dispensed and sold, and in which toiletries and other medical goods can be purchased. 2. a person engaged in chemical research or experiments	The Hausa speakers meaning of 'chemist' is 'a room where medicines are sold' only, other sense which the word is used in the source language (sense1) as used by the British. Other sense (2) of the meaning is not used by the Hausa speakers. Therefore, it can simply be said that the English word chemist undergoes narrowing of meaning in the way the Hausa speakers used it.
Jamfa(n) Long	jumper1 / dʒʌmpə/noun 1.(British) a knitted garment	According to the Hausa speakers, only sense1 in jumper1 is used, which refers

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

Vol.7 Issue 2 2021

shirt(for men)	typically worn over the upper body, with long sleeves. 2. A loose outer vest worn by mariners. 3. A pinafore cover in North America.	to refers to 'a long shirt used by men'. All shirts that extends to the knees are called 'jumper', whether short or long sleeves. The other senses that the word jumper denotes in jumper 1&2 were not used by the Hausa speakers.
	jumper2 / dʒʌmpə / noun 1.a person or animal that jumps: the horse should be a better jumper this season other players in the line-out may only move when the jumper has touched the ball. 2.a short wire used to shorten an electric circuit or close it temporarily.	

3.4.2 Metaphorical Change

Metaphor in semantic change involves extensions in the meaning of a word that suggest a semantic similarity or connection between the new sense and the original one. Semantic changes are said to be metaphorical when one concept is perceived by the speakers of the recipient language to be similar to that of a new concept introduced from the source language (Fromkin 2003, Baschnel 2017).

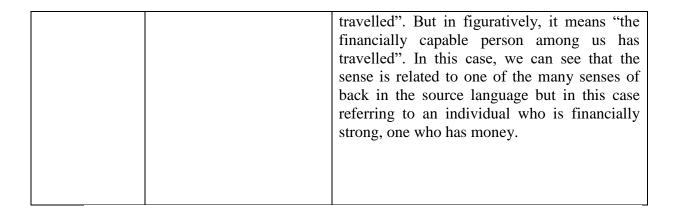
HAUSA	ENGLISH	DISCUSSION
Tela (n)	tailor /teilə/noun	The original meaning of the
Liar	 a person whose occupation is making fitted clothes such as suits, trousers, and jackets to fit individual customers. another term for bluefish. 	word 'tailor' according to the oxford English dictionary is 'a person whose occupation is making fitted clothes such as suits, trousers, and jackets to fit individual customers' but, the Hausa speakers use the term figurative to refer to a 'liar' or one who does not keep to his promises. This could not be far from the fact that tailors often give their customers dateline to collect their garments but, in most cases, they fail to keep to the dateline and when the customer comes, they start to give flimsy excuses that are not true. So, whenever a Hausa speaker says "Lallai kai kwararren tela ne", "Indeed, you are an expert tailor", it figuratively means that 'one is a liar' or one who does not keep to his words'. In this case, there is total divergence from the sense that the word denotes in the source language and this is one of the examples of the metaphorical semantic change

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

		of the English words in Hausa.
Giya(n) Beer	gear /giə / noun 1. a toothed wheel that works with others to alter the relation between the speed of a driving mechanism (such as the engine of a vehicle) and the speed of the driven parts (the wheels) 2. equipment or apparatus that is used for a particular purpose.	The English word gear is one of the English words in Hausa whose meaning is used figuratively by the Hausa speakers to refer to something different from what the word denotes in the source language. The word gear is used figuratively by the Hausa speakers when referring to one that is habitually or frequently drunken. It is also used figuratively by the Hausa speakers to refer to one that gets offended on issues that are not supposed to be attended to or an issue that is less important. The sense in the denotative meaning of the word which has to do with mechanism in a device that determines motion is metaphorically used to refer to the behavior of a mechanism when it is set on to a gear.
Gas(n)	gas /gas / noun	Gas is another example of the English words
Power/Strength	1.a substance or matter in a state in which it will expand freely to fill the whole of a container, having no fixed shape and no fixed volume. 2. North America short for gasoline. 3. (a gas) informal an entertaining or amusing person or situation.	in Hausa whose sense is used figuratively by the Hausa speakers to refer to 'power' or 'strength'. The senses in the denotative meanings of gas is not in any way related to 'power' or 'strength' as used by the Hausa speakers of English. Consider the following examples: (a) "ku barshi ya ja gas'. Literally, this sentence means 'allow him take gas' but figuratively according to the Hausa speakers, it means 'allow him regain strength/power'. We can see that there is a complete divergence from the denotative meaning and the sense in which its used by the Hausa speakers of English.
Banki(n) Rich person		The sense in the meaning of the word 'bank' has been retained and used figuratively by the Hausa speakers to refer to anyone whose is financially rich. You often hear a Hausa speaker saying "bankinmu ya yi tafiya". Literally, the sentence could be translated as "our bank has

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

Vol.7 Issue 2 2021



It is clear from the examples given above that some English loanwords in Hausa have acquired in the receptor language meanings different from the ones they have in English as used by the adult Hausa speakers of English.

4. Findings

This study though preliminary has revealed certain issues of importance that need to be studied further. It has shown that despite the fact that many borrowed words are polysemous in the donor language the Hausas while borrowing them were concerned with only one particular sense. It was also able to show that semantic changes by narrowing mostly occur due to restriction of a generalized sense. Similarly, a relationship between the meanings of the word in the donor and receptor languages is capable of giving insights into certain conceptions in the life of the Hausa people. It also suggests that semantic adaptation of English loanwords in Hausa is a continuous process.

5. Pedagogical Implication

A study of this nature can actually be of pedagogic concern. English is learned among the Hausa people more than any other foreign language. On the other hand, there is increased interest in the learning of Hausa in the English world especially now that Hausa is being taught in some of the ranking universities in Europe and America and is used in some renowned medias such as BBC, VOA, and DW Radio and Televisions. You may find people speaking Hausa among the English without having visited Hausa land. Proper understanding of lexical meanings is a necessity in second language learning and explaining these meanings in a sort of comparison between Hausa and English allows for a better teaching strategy (from the side of the teacher) and that will facilitate better grasp of the meaning on the part of the student. The inference of actual meaning as Khan (2014:48) suggests, is better possible when the root word and the borrowing are studied. Lado (1957:91) categorized these types of words as deceptive cognates. The teacher needs to identify the points of differences, hence difficulty, between the meanings in the donor and receptor languages. Grouping of the words in order of difficulty can also be made on the basis of semantic categorization of the meaning change.

An International Peer Reviewed Journal http://ijrep.com/

Vol.7 Issue 2 2021

6. Recommendations

This paper as a preliminary attempt was able to analyze semantic changes in some English loanwords in Hausa, within the context of narrowing and metaphorical change from a descriptive perspective. It has shown some characteristics and features of these types of words and how that could be exploited in the teaching of the two languages. However, further research is needed from a historical perspective that can account for the reasons and some of the processes of these semantic changes.

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