

## LEXICAL BORROWING: THE INFLUENCE OF LOANWORDS ON SEMANTICS OF KIHEHE

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This paper examined the influence of loanwords on the semantics of Kihehe as spoken in the southern highlands of Tanzania. It provides evidence from 1,152 loanwords collected through spoken texts and focus group discussion in two villages of Nzihi and Ifunda wards, namely Mibikimitali and Kalenga in Iringa District where the central dialect of Kihehe is mainly spoken. Cognitive Lexical Semantic Theory guided the collection and analysis of the data. The findings revealed that, in Kihehe, loanwords have origin in 11 languages which are Kibena, Kikinga, Kikimbu, Cigogo, Kiswahili, English; Arabic, Latin, French, Hindi, and Portuguese. These loanwords fall into five categories. The category which is borrowed most is nouns, while the category which is borrowed least is conjunctions. Nevertheless, the semantics of Kihehe is shown to have been affected due to loanword importation. The influence of borrowing is manifested clearly on semantic broadening, narrowing, shifting, additive borrowing, and innovation. It is, therefore, clear that while the importation of loanwords enriches the language by filling the lexical gap caused by cultural and technological differences between Kihehe and the source languages, it also affects the semantics.

**Key words:** Loanword, cultural borrowing, additive borrowing, semantic change

## **1.0 Introduction**

Loanwords are linguistic units that occur in one language or a dialect as a result of borrowing from another language mainly when there is a linguistic contact (Myers-Scotton, 2002). In a recipient language, a loanword does not enter abruptly rather it is adopted gradually. According to Dworkin (2012), speakers begin to use a loanword with other words in their speech through code switching; then if the contact is prolonged, they often integrate and use it as native word. This, in fact, shows that ‘code switching’ is a necessary condition for a word to be borrowed.

Cross-linguistically, a loanword is identified on the basis of its synchronic description and novelty. The synchronic description enables linguists to analyse loanwords to see how they are integrated into the features of a recipient language, while novelty enables them to trace back their earlier stages to know when they were borrowed (Waldman, 1989). Besides, although the borrowing process occurs essentially to fill a lexical deficit caused by lack of some meanings in recipient languages, sometimes it can involve words whose meanings already exist; thus, duplicating words (Campbell, 1998). The former reflects basic or substitute borrowing, but the latter reflects cultural or additive borrowing. In Kihhehe, the aspect of borrowing lacks the research-based information.

The semantics of a loanword in recipient languages is often adjusted; thus, making it to be unpredictable. This argument conforms with Bloomfield (1993) approach to meaning that it relates with two aspects. First, once a lexical item is borrowed, it undergoes semantic broadening which makes its meanings in a recipient language convey extra information than that in the source language. The second is that other borrowed items may undergo semantic shift by making their meanings change from what were in the source language to the recipient language. The adjustments of a loanword’ semantics in a recipient language appear to be a phenomenon that is specific to languages. Pütz (1997:104) admits that semantic changes in loanwords are also expected-but not to be predicted-in the integration process, because in the contact situation competent bilingual speakers combine meanings to form meaning which may reflect or distort that of the source language. The focus of this study is, therefore, to examine loanwords and their influence on the semantics of Kihhehe.

## 1.1 Kihehe

Kihehe is an Ethnic Community Languages (ECL<sup>1</sup>) spoken mainly in Iringa Region, in the southern highlands of Tanzania. As per Guthrie's (1967-71) classification, the language belongs to the Bena-Kinga language group, and it is categorised as G62. The population of speakers of Kihehe is estimated to be 1,425,000 (Ethnologue, 2020). Walsh (2004) points out that Kihehe is of three significant dialects namely the central dialect (constitutes pure Kihehe), Kosisamba dialect, and Kidzungwa dialect. Being the case, this study focused solely on the central dialect which constitutes pure Kihehe, as per Madumulla (1995)'s statement.

## 1.2 Contact Situation

Kihehe being one of ECLs is spoken alongside other languages. Its speakers have been in contacts with neighbouring ECLs, Asians, and European languages since the past (Mumford, 1934; Illife, 1969; Nurse & Spear, 1985). The contact between Hehe and neighbouring ECLs began to take place even before 8<sup>th</sup> century, when speakers involved in trade with neighbouring ECLs (Mumford, 1934). In 17<sup>th</sup> century, Hehe began to come into contacts with Swahili; the aim being trading and spreading the Islamic culture (Nurse & Spear, 1985). These contacts gave Hehe an opportunity to learn Kiswahili. Mumford (1934) admits that Kiswahili served as lingua franca by Swahili and Asians trade intermediaries in caravans.

The literature is also evident that later on (i.e. in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century) Hehe began to have contacts with German<sup>2</sup> and English when their people involved in exploration, trade, missionary activities, and colonial relationships (Gower, 1952; Illife, 1969; Maliki, 1996). The British government encouraged the use of Kiswahili and English. In schools, these languages became medium and important subjects; thus, giving opportunity to Hehe to borrow words (Blommaert, 2013). More

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<sup>1</sup> The government has been restricting the use of ECLs in formal domains due to fear of tribalism for more than three decades (from 1960s to 1990); hence, making them borrow words from English and Kiswahili. (Blommaert, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> The Germans' regime in Tanganyika ceased latter on by putting Hehe under the British by the League of Nations, some Hehe had already had some conversance in German and Kiswahili (Maliki, 1996)

spread of Kiswahili tends to have continued during the struggle for independence<sup>3</sup>. After independence (i.e., 1961), more recognition of Kiswahili and English by the government continued along with ignoring the use of ECLs like Kihehe for fear of tribalism and hardship in unifying the nation (Muzale & Rugemalira, 2008; Blommaert, 2013). However, this confirms another period when Kihehe borrowed massively words of different semantics to facilitate communication.

## 2. An Overview of Studies on Semantic Borrowing

The importation of loanwords affects the semantics of the recipient languages by bringing aspect which did not occur prior to contact. According to Hoffer (2005) and Olah (2007), in Japanese, the semantics of a loanword may undergo up to three changes. The first involves preserving the meaning of the source language into Japanese (cf. the meaning loanword *jūsu*>juice/soft drink versus the meaning English word ‘juice’). The second causes slightly change into recipient from the meaning expressed in the source languages (cf. the meaning of loanword *pēpā testuto*>, written test versus examination. The last leads into completely changing of meanings of loanwords based on what is expressed in the source language (cf. *baiku*>, motorbike versus bicycle).

Kayigema and Mutasa (2015) point out that in Kinyarwanda the meaning of loanword can be broadened to cover a wide range of meaning (cf. Kinyarwanda loanword *buku*>identity book versus the meaning of the English words ‘book’). It is maintained also that its meaning can be distorted to express the meaning which is completely different from what is expressed in the source language (cf. Kinyarwanda loanword *gukopera*>cheat an exam versus the meaning of the French word *copier* ‘to copy’). Moreover, its meaning to be narrowed (cf. Kinyarwanda loanword *ifarine*>wheat flour only versus the meaning of the French word *farine* any kind of flour). Therefore, while in Japanese, the meaning of a loanword can undergo up to three changes, in Kinyarwanda it undergoes in one extra changes

In Chichewa, loanwords modify both semantics and syntactic properties; and in some instances, displace indigenous expressions (Matiki, 2016). This is exhibited when loanwords such as *juzi*, *wochi*, *batiza*, and *folo* whose counterparts are English words ‘jersey’, ‘watch’, ‘baptize’, and

'queue from word follow' are borrowed along with meanings. Besides, the adjustment in the meanings of loanwords often leads into broadening category. It is specified that this is caused by importation of a massive terminology for concepts and objects not existed in Chichewa before the contacts owing to speakers' interest to the modern world, clothing, and grooming related concepts.

In Tanzania, loanwords appear also to adjust words and bring new meanings in ECLs including Kihehe. Nevertheless, the findings by Lusekelo (2014) shows that a loanword may adjust extra new meaning to a language; thus, conforming to semantic broadening. This aspect is displayed through the meaning of *omufumu* and medicine person in Ruhaya, Kijita, and Cirruuri. In this case, whilst the former meaning relates to words of each of the native languages, the use of the latter meaning is caused by borrowing from the English word 'doctor'. However, it is evident that speakers use them optionally, and / or may use the latter to refer the both.

According to Mapunda and Rosendal (2015), in Kingoni, a loanword may undergo semantic broadening and narrowing (cf. *peni* 'pen', and *chupa* 'glass bottle', and *chiviga* 'pot molded of clay soil' and *lidenge* 'gourd'). In this case, due to widening the meaning of the loanword *peni* which means 'ink pen' it covers also both 'ink pen' and 'pencil'; and loanword *chupa* which means 'glass bottle' it also covers 'all forms of bottles including the those made of glass and plastic'. Similarly, due to narrowing the meaning of the loanword *chiviga* covers 'the pot which is molded of clay soil only', and the meaning of the word *lidenge* refers to 'gourd' only while several kinds of pots are made each having its own name, and different types of gourds have specific names in Kingoni.

Another instance, in which the meanings of loanwords tend to be adjusted relates to semantic innovation. Here, a language gets new native words whose meanings relate to the borrowed one. Lusekelo (2014) points out that in both Kinyakyusa and Chindali, a word may not be borrowed rather it can undergo innovation. This can be exhibited in the meaning of native word *umupuuti* or *umupuuti* and counterpart English word 'priest'. The meaning of the word *umupuuti* or *umupuuti* has been derived from the Kinyakyusa or Chindali verb *puta*, that is, blow wind, though today it has senses that relate with powers priests have, that is, blowing away evil spirits instead of conveying the meaning which exactly refers to a 'priest'. These kinds of semantic representations

seem to occur in several Bantu languages while in Kihehe the information lacks the research-based attention; thus, leaving the knowledge gap in this aspect.

### **3. Theoretical Framework Foundation**

The Cognitive Lexical Semantic Theory guided the collection and analysis of the data for this study. This is one of the contemporary theories proposed by Geeraerts in 1980. The theory guided the researcher to detect the speakers' socio-cultural settings, historical background, and psychological situations which owing to reasons such as prolonged dominance of Kiswahili over Kihehe; and the change in language attitude by associating English with social advancements speakers attract loanwords; thus, affecting the semantics of Kihehe. Accordingly, Paradis (2012) argues that in lexical borrowing the Cognitive Lexical Semantic theory can guide in accounting for the semantic change based on the nature of meaning, ways in which the meaning of a word is learned and stored and causes for the change in meanings of words.

### **4. Methodology**

The study was conducted in Kalenga and Mibikimali villages located in Nzihi and Ifunda wards of Iringa district between April and September 2020. The selection of these villages relative to others depended on that they are under central dialect which constitutes pure Kihehe. To accomplish the study, the data were collected through the spoken texts and focus group discussion. Spoken texts enabled the researcher to interrogate various informants in the face-to-face interview in order to obtain critical information about words which are loan in different situations where Kihehe is spoken natively. This included areas such as funeral ceremonies, farms, bus stops, shops, households, markets, garage, and dispute-negotiating meetings. This method involved 40 informants based on saturation point.

To supplement to the data collected through spoken texts, to clarify some information that differed, and to explore the influence of loanwords on the semantics of Kihehe, 8 participants were purposively selected based on their conversance to participate in the focus group discussion<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Focus group discussion is selected as it allows collecting a wide range of information within a minimal period; and allowing researchers to apply the follow-up techniques to participants (Liamputtong, 2011).

**Table 1: Participants Involved in the Focus Group Discussion**

Age (year)	Gender	Education	occupation	N
10 – 20	1 boy, 1 girl	—	students	02
40 - 50	2 females, 1man	cert. primary	peasants, nurse	03
55 – 90	2 females, 1 man	1 bachelor degree	retired teacher	01
		1 Grade 8	retired court messenger	01
		No formal education	peasant and garage work	01
<b>Total</b>				<b>08</b>

Besides, to ensure that the collected information is true loanwords, the length and morphosyntactic criteria were considered (Poplack, 1980). Ultimately, we obtained 1152 loanwords. Nevertheless, to allow culminating the in-depth information, the data was then analysed qualitatively before being presented descriptively.

#### 4.1 Ethical Concerns

The researcher attained research clearance from the University of Dodoma and went on to get informed consent from informants themselves.

#### 4.2 Declaration of Interest

The authors declare that has no known competing financial interests that might have appeared to influence the reported data.

### 5. Results and Discussion

This section, presents a linguistic analysis and discussion of the findings on the influence of borrowing on the semantics of Kihehe. The information presented covers loanwords in terms of sources, categorical classes, and influence of loanwords on the semantics of Kihehe.

#### 5.1 Sources of Loanwords

In Kihehe, loanwords have origin mainly in 11 languages which are Kibena, Kikinga, Kikimbu, and Cigogo; others include Kiswahili, English, Latin, Arabic, Hind, French, and Portuguese. Based

on the degree of contacts with Kihehe, words were borrowed in two major routes, direct and indirect borrowings. Words were borrowed directly from ECLs and Kiswahili when speakers came into contacts for trade, administration, and education. Mumford (1934), Nurse and Spear (1985) maintain that Hehe have been in various contacts with neighbouring ECLs even before 8<sup>th</sup> century. Other words are revealed to be borrowed indirectly via Kiswahili or English from Arabic, Latin, Hindi, French, and Portuguese. This shows that since activities conducted by speakers of these languages such as trade and missionary did not allow intensive contacts, words were not borrowed directly.

## 5.2 Categorical Classes of Loanwords

The findings exhibited that in Kihehe, loanwords fall into five categories, namely the adverbs, nouns, conjunctions, adjectives, and verbs.

**Table 2: Loanwords by Categorical Classes**

S/N	Category	N	%	Examples
1.	Nouns	965	83.76	<i>umusinsala</i> ‘messenger’, <i>umusisita</i> ‘nun’, <i>italumbeta</i> ‘trumpet’, <i>ifulambeenii</i> ‘frying pan’
2.	Adverbs	36	3.13	<i>itotolo</i> ‘completely’, <i>apagaati</i> ‘middle’, <i>muumbele</i> ‘behind’, <i>kumangalibi</i> ‘west side’.
3.	Verbs	90	7.81	<i>ibaatisa</i> ‘baptize’, <i>ifunguula</i> ‘open’, <i>ukutembeela</i> ‘walk’, <i>ukupaasa</i> ‘pass examination’.
4.	Conjunctions	4	0.26	<i>halakini</i> ‘though’, <i>ilabuda</i> ‘perhaps’, <i>alaafu</i> ‘then’
5.	Adjectives	58	5.03	<i>uwusikini</i> ‘state of being poor’, <i>uwusafu</i> ‘state of being prostitute or bad-mannered person’, <i>alubayini</i> ‘forty counts’.
<b>Total</b>		<b>1152</b>	<b>100</b>	

From Table 2, it is apparent that while nouns whose amount is 83.76% of all investigated loanwords is the most borrowed word category, the conjunctions whose amount is 0.26% of the investigated loanwords are borrowed least. Moreover, the analysis involved sorting loanwords based on source languages and word categories. The result is summarised in Table 3.



Table 3: Loanwords by Category and Source Languages

Source Language	Noun	Adverb	Conjunction	Verbs	Adjective	Total	%
Hindi	3				1	4	0.34
Kiswahili	571	8		62	30	671	58.24
Portuguese	7					7	0.60
Kibena	8			2		10	0.60
Cigogo	3					3	0.26
French	2					2	0.17
Latin	7					7	0.60
Kikimbu	3			2		5	0.43
Arabic	43	9	3	6	24	85	7.37
English	317	17		17	3	354	30.72
Kikinga	1	2		1		4	0.34
<b>Total</b>	966	36	3	90	58	1152	100
<b>%</b>	83.85	3.13	0.26	7.81	5.03	100	

Findings in Table 3 are clear that Kiswahili contributed 52% of all investigated loan adjectives in Kihehe. On the other hand, Hindi contributed less 2% loan adjectives in Kihehe. Moreover, while the language that contributed the largest amount of loan nouns into Kihehe is Kiswahili, the languages that contributed the least amount loan nouns is Kikinga. In this case, while the amount of loan nouns contributed by Kiswahili is 59.10%, the amount of loan nouns contributed into Kihehe by Kikinga is only 0.10% of the investigated loan nouns. The language that has contributed the largest amount of loan verbs in Kihehe is Kiswahili with 68.88% of the investigated loan verbs. Similarly, the language that has contributed the least number of verbs is Kikinga with 1.11% of the investigated loan verbs. Moreover, English contributed the largest amount of loan adverbs by constitutes up to 47.22% of the investigated adverbs while Kikinga contributed least loan adverb with only 33.33% of the investigated loan adverbs. Furthermore, only one language, Kiswahili has contributed all loan conjunctions in Kihehe. Baker (2003) points out that in the contact situation words are not borrowed equally. For instance, in German, most of the loanwords are nouns, adjectives, and verbs; and among them, nouns are the most borrowed words (Htay, 2014). While

this amount seems to resemble to that of Kihehe, we can notice one difference. Unlike in Kihehe where loan conjunctions occur, German does not borrow conjunction. There are some similarities in the distribution of loanwords in Kihehe and Chichewa as well. For instance, in both languages, loanwords fall into nouns, verbs, adverbs, and conjunctions. The findings by Matiki (2016) show that nouns are the words borrowed most in Chichewa by constituting up to 91.82%, next to them are verbs with the amount of 7.42%, adverbs follow with the amount is 0.51% and conjunctions occur last with only 0.26% of the investigated loanwords.

This distribution of loanwords tends to relate to that of Kihehe. However, we can see that while in Kihehe some of the loanwords are adjectives, Chichewa does not have loan adjectives. The other difference bases on the amount of category of loanwords contributed. Kihehe has borrowed a larger number of both nouns, verbs and adverbs than the way Chichewa did. Moreover, in Kihehe, the amount of loan nouns corresponds to those of Kiswahili and Chasu. This is according to Schadeberg (2009) and Sebonde (2014) arguments that Kiswahili has borrowed five times more nouns than verbs and ten times more nouns than adjectives while in Chasu both core and non-core borrowings have contributed more loan nouns than other word categories. Therefore, as the amount of loan nouns surpasses other categories in Kihehe, there is correspondence in the distribution of loanwords on the basis of categorical class in these languages.

Moreover, the distribution of loanwords by categories displayed in Kihehe seems to resemble to those contributed in Romanian language. Schute (2009) admits that a large number of loanwords fall into nouns; next to them are verbs, adjectives, adverbs in Roman. As pointed out, in Kihehe, when the loanwords are sorted based on their categories, they do not follow this series rather than falling into nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and conjunctions. However, even though these languages are completely different, still we can notice some sort of correspondence in terms of their borrowability by word category. Two reasons tend to account for variations in borrowability on the basis of word category among languages. Weinchrech (1953) assumes that nouns are borrowed more and easily because of lexical-semantic reasons, when he admits that the words referring to concrete objects (usually nouns) are pragmatically more important and salient than words referring to actions (usually verbs) or qualities (usually adjectives). This means as nouns are borrowed more and easily than other word categories because they refer to visible and concrete

objects; and are the first to be acquired in languages along with having fewer morphosyntactic markings than verbs, they are assimilated easily into this category. The eligibility of nouns to the borrowing process is also motivated by semantic roles of loanwords, as Hout and Mysken (1994) argue that, given that the reference is mainly expressed through nouns, they are borrowed most. However, in fact, nouns and verbs are numerous in natural languages as Baker (2003) argues. Therefore, since the likelihood of a certain lexical category to be borrowed seems to depend on happening frequency, they are borrowed most (Matras, 2007).

### 5.3 Influence of Loanwords on Semantics

The analysis displayed that loanwords affect the semantics of Kihehe whereby the influences are manifested in broadening, narrowing, shift, additive, and innovation. Nevertheless, in the course of the analysis, it was shown the ability to use a loanword whose semantic has undergone semantic change is dependent on speaker's age, level of education, and Cognitive Lexical Semantic Theory. Based on these factors, youth and educated speakers whom are exposed most to the recipient language (Kihehe) and major source languages (Kiswahili and English) were exhibited to use loanwords whose meanings have undergone into one or more of the aforementioned changes, while the elders and less-educated speakers maintain the use of proto terms.

The semantics of some words are shown to convey a wider range of meanings than those conveyed in the source language; thus, reflecting semantic broadening. This aspect is displayed in the meanings of loanwords *sibitali*, *ipelemendi*, *mudelefa*, *golikiipa*, and *lukaapo*. The meaning of a loanword '*sibitali*' denotes all forms of health centres while the meaning of the original 'hospital' in Both English and Kiswahili where it was borrowed it denotes only a place where an ill or injured person is treated and cared. Also, the meaning of a loanword *ipelemendi* is related to all forms of sweets while in English where it was borrowed indirectly via Kiswahili word *peremende*, it denotes a hard white sweet which has flavour of peppermint. In addition, the meaning of a loanword *mudelefa* refers to all forms of operators of means of transportation such as bicycles, vehicles, and airplane while the meaning of the same word *dereva* in Kiswahili (including English, its original source language) it refers to only a person who drives motor vehicles.

Another instance of semantic broadening is on the meaning of the loan word *golikiipa*. For instance, in English, the word *golikiipa* refers to the kind of player who stands in the goal to stop

other team from scoring in the context of football game. This is different in Kihehe because the meaning of the same word covers both the kind of player in the context of football game and a jobless wife (i.e., a wife who is not involved in any economic activities). Furthermore, in Kihehe, semantic broadening is demonstrated in the meaning of the loanword *lukaapo* which was borrowed from the English word 'lock up' via Kiswahili *lokapu*. The meaning of this word refers to all forms of prisons including jail and cell although in source languages its meaning is consistently related to a small prison-like room for keeping criminals in towns. The socio-cultural setting of Tanzania gives the youth and educated more opportunities to learn major source languages than the elders and less educated ones by making them attract loanwords easily. In fact, the meaning of a loanword in Kihehe is usually adjusted. This makes predicting it based on the meaning conveyed in source languages become complex; hence, corresponding to Pütz's (1997) statement that as competent bilinguals combine meanings to form meanings which may reflect or distort that of the source languages, the meaning of loanwords is usually unpredictable.

In Japanese, although the meaning of a loanword can undergo shifting and broadening, broadening is occurring most. Hoffer (2005) confirms that these aspects make the meaning of loanword *pēpā testuto* and *baiku* consecutively be 'written test' and 'motorbike' while in the source language (English), they are consecutively used to refer to examination and bicycle. In Kinyarwanda and Kingoni, the meaning of a loanword undergo change too. However, there are notable differences based on how it behaves in Kihehe and Japanese. Kayigema and Mutasa (2015) state that the meaning can be shifted maintained or adopted and that among these aspects, broadening is common. For instance, in Kinyarwanda, the loanword *buku* means 'identity book' while the same word refers to the set of pages that have been fastened together inside the cover to be read or written in English where it was borrowed. Similarly, of the five changes that occur in the meaning of Kihehe loanwords, broadening dominates by generalizing loanwords' meanings to involve even the related ones. Broadening involves additive borrowing and narrowing in the meaning of Kingoni loanwords. Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) assert that it is usual for the meanings of a loanword to be broadening and replacing proto terms. This is evident in the loan term *likopo* which apart from being broadened to refer to relate meanings such as plastic and glass bottles it replaces the earlier term *lihorohoro*; hence, reflecting broadening through additive. This individuality in

the meanings of loanwords demonstrates that predicting the meaning of a loanword is hard because speakers change so that they cope with their day-to-day communication needs. This revelation,

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however, is in the line with Lusekelo (2014) statement that the semantics of loanwords can become different things in recipient languages. The inconsistencies in the way the meaning of loanwords is handled by speakers of recipient languages suggests the importance of tracing both linguistics and nonlinguistic and non-linguistics in examining the semantic change.

In Kihehe, semantic narrowing involves retention of only a single meaning of a loanword. This means when a loan has more than one related meanings, speakers adopt only one most specific meaning by leaving the rest meanings. This aspect manifests itself in several loanwords in Kihehe including words such as *ikiteekisi*, *sisita*, and *ikilabu*. The word *ikiteekisi* means ‘a small car often saloon type which has a driver whom you pay to take you somewhere’ while in English where it was borrowed indirectly via Kiswahili word *teksi* its meaning includes ‘any car which has a driver whom you pay to take you somewhere’. In addition, the loanword *ikilabu* means ‘a building where local alcoholic drinks are sold’. This word was borrowed from English word ‘taxi’ via Kiswahili word ‘teksi’. Therefore, since in source languages its meaning also refers to football club, bar, and pub it reflects narrowing.

Another instance where narrowing is exhibited is when the meaning of a loanword *sisita* refers to the nun, that is, a female member of a religious group. In English, where the word was adopted via Kiswahili word *sista* it covers a girl or woman who has the same parent as another person and / or a girl or woman who treats you in a kind way that a sister would. Therefore, as in Kihehe only a single common most meaning of the term is maintained by leaving other meanings it suggests semantic narrowing. The change in the meaning of loanwords replicated through narrowing in Kihehe appears to occur in several other languages. However, its operation varies from one language to another; hence, corresponding to Pütz (1997) argument that the reason being the exclusivity of languages, there is a difference in the way loanwords are used. In Hadhrami Arabic, semantic narrowing makes a loanword undergo into four changes. These include retention of only one meaning where a loanword such as *dish* is used to refer to the satellite dish only; and restriction of the usage of a loanword by making it be used on a specific field where loanwords such as *baak* ‘back’, *kart* ‘card’ and *balanti* ‘penalty’ are used in the context of football only. In Kihehe, it is usual for a loanword to retain only one general meaning by ignoring the rest meanings. This is

established when loanwords such as *ikilabu* and *umusisita* are used to cover only ‘local alcoholic building’ and ‘nun or female member of religion’. In other loanwords, semantic narrowing

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involves meanings and domains of use as well as narrowing of meanings and the loanwords themselves. The former occurs when a loanword speakers use words such as *kat* ‘cut’ in the context of playing the table-tennis only while the latter occurs when a loanword such as *tank* undergoes into three changes. These changes include aspects such as using it as *tanak* to mean water or kerosene tank, *tank* to mean a tin of cooking oil and *tank* to mean a car petrol tank (Bahumaid, 2015). In fact, the forms of narrowing displayed in this language demonstrate some similarities and variation concerning how they operates in Kihehe loanwords. For instance, in Kihehe when a loanword comprises more than one meanings its speakers adopt only one common most meaning while in the Hadhrami Arabic all meanings are in different contexts. In Kiswahili, narrowing is displayed when the meaning of loanwords such as *aya* refers to ‘verse or paragraph only’, while its original Arabic word *ʔa: ja* refers to verse, sign, mark and miracle. Akidah (2013) upholds that narrowing has become a normal aspect in Kiswahili such that loanwords can be subjected to changes that may involve acquiring narrower meaning than the meaning represented in source languages. Although the loanwords involved vary, the way narrowing is demonstrated in Kihehe tends to correspond with the way it applies in Kiswahili. This is evident when it involves conveying the erroneous meaning in both Kihehe and Kiswahili (cf. meaning of Kihehe loanword *ikilabu* ‘building where alcoholic drink is sold’ versus the meaning of English word *klabu* ‘football club, bar, and pub’; and the meaning of Kiswahili loanword *hamu* ‘interest’ versus the meaning of Arabic word *hamm* ‘grief’).

In Chichewa, the meanings of loanwords do not undergo narrowing; instead, they are broadened. Matiki (2016) admits that broadening of the loanwords’ semantics is motivated by importation of massive English origin-terminologies and objects in the language which did not exist before the contacts. However, as pointed above, in Kihehe, the meanings of a loanword may undergo broadening or narrowing something that makes its speakers to pick out only one common meaning by leaving the less common meanings. This is shown when a loanword such as *umusisita* which has a wide range of meanings in the source language, it covers only a single meaning, that is, the nun or female member of the religion organization. Cross-linguistically, semantic shift has become

one of the commonest aspects that occur when the meaning of a word in a recipient language begins to convey different meaning from what is referred in the source language (Crystal, 2003).

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When this aspect occurs, a single word begins to have two meanings; the first, being that which occurs in the source language and the other meaning be that which is referred in the recipient language.

The analysis exhibited that, in Kihehe, there are several incidences where the meanings of words are shifted to convey different set of circumstances based on the meanings conveyed in the source languages. The meaning of the loanword *musalaba* is related to suffering or trouble while in the source language (Kiswahili), it refers to the cross or symbol of Christianity. Another instance of shift is exhibited when the meaning of the loanword *isaambi*, is related to sympathy or compassion. Speakers brought this word into Kihehe from Arabic word *danb* via Kiswahili word *dhambi* where it is consistently used to mean depravity or sin. Besides, in Kihehe, the loanword *uwusafi* means tendency of prostitute, while in the source language (Kiswahili), it denote the state of being clean, clear or pure. Moreover, the speakers use the loanword *kumbele* to mean ‘behind someone or something’ contrary to the source language (Kiswahili) where it means ‘in front of someone or something’. In addition, the use loanwords tends to apply inversely based on speakers’ age and access to formal education. For instance, while elderly and the less-educated speakers use loanwords whose meaning reflects semantic shift, the youth and educated speakers use the loanwords along with preserving their source language meanings. This difference, in fact, suggests that adoption of a linguistic aspect can be determined by non-linguistic factors like age and education. Besides, the change in meanings displayed in the loanwords of this language is a confirmation that in a recipient language, a loanword becomes different thing, as Swilla (2000) and Lusekelo (2014) argues.

Additionally, in Japanese, the semantic shift involves distortion of the meaning of loanwords. This is evident when the meaning of a loanword such as *baiku* becomes ‘motor bike’, while in English (its source language), the meaning of the original word ‘bicycle’ does not relate to motor or engine (Hoffer, 2005). In Kihehe, the semantic change distorts meanings of some loanword. This makes

convey the opposite meanings or new meanings. There are many cases where loanwords display these aspects. For instance, while the meaning of the loanword *umusafi* is ‘prostitute or bad mannered woman, its original Swahili word *msafi* is used consistently to mean ‘clean or civilized person’. Besides, the loanword *itotolo* means ‘completely’, although in the source language

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(English) where it was borrowed directly into Kihehe from the word ‘total’ its meaning is related to the sum of counting. While the way these adjustments operate display exclusivity of Kihehe, they tend to occur in other languages. In Kinyarwanda, for instance, the meaning of a loanword may change completely. This is evident when the meaning of the loanword *gukopera* is ‘cheat exam’ while the meaning in the same word in French (the source language) *copier* relates to the words ‘to copy’ (Kayigema & Mutassa, 2015). This does not occur in other languages such as Gikuyu because according to Kinyua (2016), semantic shift involves extension of earlier meanings of words. For instance, in this language, the meaning of loanwords *riiko* includes ‘gas cooker’ while its original meaning is just ‘heat’. In Kihehe, as in Kinyarwanda, the shift is reported to involve complete change of a loanword as it makes it begin to convey the new meaning (cf. meanings of the loanwords *saambi* > sympathy or passion versus Kiswahili word *dhambi* ‘sin’ or ‘depravity’; and *musafi* > prostitute versus Kiswahili word *msafi* ‘clean person’).

Nevertheless, in Kiswahili, the changes in the meaning caused by the loanword can involve losing aspects of the earlier meanings or taking its partial meaning but related ones. This is evidenced when the meaning of the loan word *murua* is ‘good, exciting, or attractive’ while its original Arabic word *murū: ʔa* means ‘magnanimity generosity, or manhood’; and loanword *ushuru* means ‘tax’, while its original Arabic word *ʕufr* means ‘one-tenth’ (Akidah, 2013). In Kihehe, semantic shift makes the meaning of loanwords such as *musalaba* be ‘suffering or trouble’, though the same word in the source language (Kiswahili) means ‘symbol of Christianity’. In fact, although the observed aspect of semantic shift does not suggest similarity between Kihehe and Kiswahili, there is incidence in which meanings of loanwords relate.

The findings also revealed that other loanwords bring foreign meanings in Kihehe words; thus, reflecting additive borrowing. This is exhibited in 11 fields of semantics namely travel and transportation, health and medicine, school and learning, house and building, agriculture, modern world, clothing and grooming, religion and beliefs, and car and repair. Additive borrowing



enriches Kihehe by bringing in new terminologies. The technological difference between Kihehe speakers and speakers of source languages and prestigious reasons account for borrowing. Hehe being people whose technology is low in relation to those of source languages (i.e. Swahili and English) attract loanwords to fill both lexical and semantic gaps. Accordingly, Matiki (2016) argues that speakers in the developing countries adopt objects which are used in developed

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countries that it turns affects their languages because of low science and technology. Besides, prestige of speakers towards the culture of speakers of source languages contributes in attracting loanwords including those whose semantics already occur. In Kihehe, this is justified when loanwords such as *umuganga*, *ikabuli*, *inyuumba*, and *isebule* whose counterpart native terminologies *umukoofii*, *changaa*, *liking'a*, and *daama* occur in Kihehe. The fact that speakers prefer using loanwords to the native terms suggests that the borrowed terminologies are perceived as more superior words than native words; thus, corresponding to Ross (2002) statement that perceiving a certain speaker as associated to success in a socio-economic aspect such as education, trade, or technology plays an important role in the borrowing. Therefore, as speakers of Kihehe relate the good attributes of speakers of the source languages to their words by perceiving such loanwords as better words than those of their own languages, they borrow massively; thus, bring into their language even words which have counterpart meanings.

In addition, bringing terminologies that have equivalent native terms in Kihehe, it has lead into replacement and maintenance of some of the proto terms. This makes terminologies such as *ulwiisi*, *lwang'anga*, and *changaa* which were used in the past be used along with the loan terminologies *umulyango*, *ilidisi*, and *ilikabuli*. Additive borrowing by semantic maintenance allows proto and loan terminologies to be used. This form of borrowing was revealed to affect Kihehe because when two terminologies occur, speakers prefer using the loan terminology to the native one. In fact, this tendency is dangerous for perseverance of the language for it predicts abandonment of the proto terminologies in a near future. Besides, the use of the loan term involves use of just a few meanings leaving some of them to be used rarely or ignored completely. This means as the use of loanwords persist in Kihehe by leaves behind the meanings that are conveyed using a proto terminology, communicating using loan terms inevitably affects the semantics of Kihehe. For instance, speakers were shown to use the loan term *umuganga* to refer to the person who has medical knowledge to treat sick and injured people while its counterpart native term

*umukoofii* refers to a person whose has medical knowledge to dig out medicine and treat sick or injured people. In the view of that, Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) argue that the sociolinguistic setting of Tanzania that allows borrowing from major languages (Swahili and English) into ECLs, affects the basic vocabulary of individual ECLs through substitutive borrowing. As a result of additive borrowing, like other ECLs, the semantics of some the Kihehe words is shown to receive

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the influence which would not occur. In Kingoni, additive borrowing is evidenced in loanwords such as *pikipiki* ‘motor cycle’, *ligali* ‘motor car’, *ledyiu* ‘radio’ and *mawani* ‘glass’. Mapunda and Rosendal (2015) maintains that the earlier term for *pikipiki* was *sekeni* whose source language is unclear while the earlier term for *ligali* was *motokaa* whose source is English word ‘motor car’. In addition, whereas the term *ledyiu* was borrowed indirectly into Kingoni from English word ‘radio’ via Kiswahili word *radio*, the term *mawani* was borrowed directly from Kiswahili word *miwani*. This form of additive, in fact, displays variation in relation to how it behaves in Kihehe where it is mainly demonstrated in cultural vocabulary. Nevertheless, as in Kihehe, additive borrowing involves the meanings that did not occur in the past, it resembles with the way it is applied in Kingoni. Additive borrowing manifests in two forms in Kihehe. The first involves substitution of earlier terminologies on the favour of the loan terms while the other involves adoption of loan meaning. The former is evident when the terms *pikipiki* and *ligali* replace the earlier terms *sekeni* and *motokaa* while the meanings of loan terms *ledyiu* and *mawani* suggest adoption of loan meanings because they were borrowed along with loan terms *radio* and *miwani*. In Kihehe, additive borrowing does not involve replacement of earlier borrowings because speakers borrow words directly or indirectly from source languages via Kiswahili or English. Additive borrowing does not involve replacement of the earlier borrowings too. Mkude (2004) affirms that it has been usual for its speakers to use loanwords, such as *linanda* ‘bed’ and *liyayi* ‘egg’ in places where the native words *lifinga* and *ulili* could be used. Therefore, since the borrowing does not involve replacement of earlier loanwords, it corresponds to Kihehe. Nevertheless, understandingly, whether additive borrowing involves replacement of earlier terminologies or native terminologies it makes languages change based on how they were before. In this regard, Mkude (2004) states that importation of loanwords leads into language change whereby the usage of ECLs in rural areas decline because speakers are elderly, woman, and

illiterate. In Kihehe, this aspect occurs in the speech of youths where due to lack of knowledge of their mother tongue, they inevitably borrow words easily.

Similarly, in Kihehe, there are native terms whose meanings did not occur in the past, but they have been created based on the meanings of loanwords; thus, reflecting semantic innovation. In the context of linguistic borrowing, innovation is a form of semantic change that occurs when a speaker create new native terminologies using the meaning of borrowed terminologies.

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Lusekelo (2014) argues that based on the degree of contacts competent speakers may not adopt the loanword completely rather than using the meaning of the loanwords to form new terms. In Kihehe, this aspect manifests in several words. For instance, derived the term *mahomelo* from the native verb *homa* for ‘throw a spear or a stone up to kill the enemy’. In this case, when the act of killing by using spears is done repetitively, that is, *kuhomanga* in a war-like fight, Hehe call it *mahomelo*. In addition, the term *ndabatila* has basis on the verb *labatila* means ‘walk on’; as a result, all shoe-like things you can use to trample on (i.e. shoes) are called *ndabatila*. Besides, the term *muukofi* which has origin on the verb *kova* means ‘dig out the medicine’ reflects innovation as a medicine person whose activity is digging out medicines and treating ill or injured people is called *muukofi*. Semantic innovation applies differently in languages. In Chindali, this aspect is exhibited in the loan term *umupuuti* or *umupuuti* ‘priest’. In this language, this term is used natively among speakers, although it is reported to have been created from the Chindali verb *puuta* ‘blow wind’ whereby speakers relate the power of priests to blow evil spirits by calling the priest *umupuuti* or *umupuuti* instead of adopting the loan term priest itself. Therefore, even though Kihehe and Chindali are relatively different languages, the formation of the terms *umupuuti* or *umupuuti* appear to relate innovated terms such as *mahomelo* ‘war’, *lihombo* ‘fare’, and *mulamusi* ‘judge’ of Kihehe. This relatedness tends to confirm Lusekelo (2014) assertion that competent speakers adjust loanwords into new terms and meanings in recipient languages. What is put forward in this study is linguists should not generalize aspects of loanwords in languages because once a word is borrowed it becomes a new thing in a borrowing language.

## 6. Conclusion

The analysis done in this paper has provided ample evidence regarding the influence of lexical borrowing on the semantics of Kihehe. More specifically, the study has shown loanwords have origin in Kibena, Kikinga, Kikimbu, Cigogo, Kiswahili, English; Arabic, Latin, French, Hindi, and

Portuguese. These loanwords fall into five categories. Nouns are borrowed most while conjunctions are borrowed least. The study also revealed that loanwords affect the semantic resulting into broadening, narrowing, shift, additive, and innovation. This is consistent with Kiparsky's (2013) statement that when a loanword enters a recipient language, it often adjusts its grammatical aspects. As a result, the call that the present study appeals for the further research is the search of the influence of borrowing on other aspects of Kihehe to enrich the existing literature.

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