

Verb Borrowing: The Integration of English Loan Verbs in Yemeni Arabic

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the extent to which English loan verbs are incorporated in Yemeni Arabic (YA) and how they are integrated into the morphosyntactic system of the dialect. About seventy borrowed verbs were collected from different oral and written sources including local TV series and plays, YouTube videos, and followers' comments on social media. The data analysis drew on Wohlgemuth's (2009) model of verbal borrowing typology. It was found that YA employs three main strategies in accommodating English loan verbs: 1) direct insertion with root reduction, 2) light verb strategy, and 3) derivative loan verbs. Direct insertion without root reduction is rarely used. While loan verb derivatives represented a non-patterned strategy in Wohlgemuth's framework, light verb strategy was the most frequent, occurring in 50% of the data. The findings serve as evidence that foreign verbs can be directly borrowed in YA, and the recent verbs borrowed from the IT domain provide much more insight into the various strategies of loan verb integration in the dialect.

Keywords: Loan Verbs, Integration Strategies, Verbal Borrowing, Yemeni Arabic, English.

1. Introduction

Loanwords get into a new language in different ways. One common way is through direct contact between speakers of different languages. This is especially common in multilingual societies where people speak multiple languages. Another way is through the influence of media, technology, and popular culture (Matras 2009; Thomason and Kaufman 1992). With the rise of globalization and the internet, people are exposed to different cultures and languages more than ever before. This has led to the borrowing of words from languages that are perceived as fashionable or modern.

The reasons that may lead to lexical borrowing vary widely and are influenced by socio-cultural, historical, and linguistic factors. For example, the borrowing of loanwords may reflect the influence of a dominant culture or language in a region. Additionally, the prestige and status of the donor language may influence the borrowing of loanwords, as well as the perceived usefulness of the borrowed word. Loanwords are also borrowed for practical reasons, such as to fill gaps in the lexicon of a language or to express new concepts and ideas that do not exist in the recipient language. This is especially common in

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technical fields such as science and technology where new terms are constantly being created (Hock 2021; Hock and Joseph 2009)

1.1 Language Contact Situation

According to Thomason and Kaufman (1992), language contact refers to the situation in which two or more languages come into contact in a given geographic or social space leading to the transfer of linguistic features between them. Lexical borrowing is an inevitable consequence of language contact, regardless of the nature of the contact, whether it be colonial, socio-cultural, economic, or geographical relations.

In Yemen, English and Arabic have been in contact for a prolonged period, leading to the incorporation of hundreds of English loanwords into Yemeni Arabic (henceforth YA), including loan verbs, particularly in the IT domain. This borrowing of English words reflects the increasing exposure of Yemenis to English through technology and the internet, and it highlights the impact of language contact on the development of language.

Wohlgemuth (2009) provides a list of twenty-one language contact situations that can lead to the borrowing of foreign verbs. These include the impact of colonial powers' language, forced bilingualism, diglossia, and cultural prestige. Some of these situations are similar to the scenarios through which loan verbs are incorporated into YA. The first two situations can be attributed to the British rule of southern Arabia, including Aden in South Yemen, which lasted for almost 130 years from 1839 to 1967 (Bahumaid 1990; Holt 2004; Onley 2007). The diglossic situation most probably plays a role in the mutual transfer of loan verbs between the standard variety and other dialects of Arabic. Finally, the motivation of prestige is responsible for accommodating the majority of borrowed verbs, especially in the domain of IT such as computers, the internet and social media where Yemenis have become increasingly exposed to English terms in these subdomains.

Under British rule, the linguistic situation in South Yemen, specifically in Aden, was marked by the predominance of English, the language of the superimposed culture. English was the official language in the Colony, and it was also the medium of instruction in public secondary schools and most private schools and a compulsory subject from the last year of primary school to the third year of junior high school (Bahumaid 1990). Additionally, English, both spoken and written, acted as the medium of communication among the various ethnic groups that existed in Aden. In short, English was the language of prestige and high educational and social status.

The adjacent areas of Taiz and Ibb were influenced by this linguistic milieu. This effect is manifested in the trade relationships between Aden and these areas. Aden was a significant trading center and port at the time, and the majority of the labor force that belonged to Taiz was working in Aden. During this situation of (forced) bilingualism and language contact in the Colony and neighboring areas, hundreds of English loanwords entered Arabic including many loan verbs.

After the independence of South Yemen, English maintained its status as a lingua franca between the workforce from different countries and the natives. It also remained prevalent in specific domains such as international telecommunications, airlines, banking, foreign trade, and immigration and customs

(Bahumaid, 1990, 102). At the same time, English gained importance in the northern areas of Yemen after the elimination of the rule of the Imamate. At present, English has become the dominant second language in the country after Arabic.

Over the last two decades (2000-2022), Yemenis in the whole country were exposed to different social media platforms with both English and Arabic interfaces. Statistics of early 2022¹ show that out of about 31 million Yemenis, 8 million have access to the internet, with 26% penetration, and 3.5 million active social media users with a penetration of 11%. According to the same statistics, Facebook ranks as the first social media platform with 9.20% of the total population, followed by Instagram (2.10%), and Twitter (1.90%). As for YouTube, the statistics provided by GlobalStats:stacounter in 2021-2022² revealed that Youtube is also popular and accessed by 34% out of those who use the internet, ranking second after Facebook. The majority of social media users resort to the Arabic interface. However, those who are bilingual in Arabic and English may use both languages. In this situation of linguistic contact, many social media terms entered YA from English as a result of interaction between the different users of social media.

1.2 Significance of the Study

This paper examines how English verbs have been adopted and integrated into the Arabic language spoken in Yemen. This type of linguistic study is important because it sheds light on the ways in which languages evolve and change over time, particularly in response to globalization and cultural contact. The integration of loanwords in general and loan verbs, in particular, can also be complex and involve significant linguistic and cultural shifts. In the case of YA, this information can be valuable for linguists and language educators who are interested in understanding the dynamics of language contact and the ways in which languages can influence one another. It can also be useful for individuals who are learning or teaching English, as it can help them to better understand the origins and usage of certain words and expressions.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

While loanword behavior in Arabic has been closely observed, the borrowability of loan verbs and their integration in YA has not yet been investigated, creating a gap in the literature that this study aims to bridge. The present study attempts to identify the extent to which English loan verbs have been adopted by YA and to provide a descriptive framework for their integration into the language. Specifically, the study aims to explain the strategies used by YA in accommodating loan verbs in its morphosyntactic system, drawing on modern theories of loan verb integration, more particularly Wohlgemuth's (2009) model of verbal borrowing typology. By exploring the main strategies used by YA in the process of adapting loan verbs, the study seeks to shed light on the ways in which languages evolve and change over time in response to cultural contact and globalization. In other words, the present paper tries to address the following research question: how are the loan verbs integrated into YA, or what are the main strategies followed by YA in the process of accommodating loan verbs in its morphosyntactic structure?

The study is organized as follows: sections (2-4) provide a theoretical background about loan verbs, starting with a definition of loan verbs and their prevalence in languages, followed by a discussion of the main and most recent theories of loan verb integration, and concluding with a short literature review of verb borrowing in Arabic. Section (5) is devoted to presenting research methodology which focuses on the nature of loan verb data and data collection procedures. The main section, section (6), presents the key findings of the study and provides a discussion of the main strategies of English loan verb accommodation in YA. The conclusion summarizes the major findings, states the theoretical implications of the study, and offers suggestions for further research.

2. Verb Borrowing

Languages vary in degree and frequency of borrowability. It is unanimously agreed that the category of nouns is the most frequently borrowed while other parts of speech such as adjectives, adverbs, and verbs are incorporated to a lesser degree (Matras 2007; 2009; Melissaropoulou and Ralli 2020; Myers-Scotton 2002; Tadmor et al. 2010; Winford 2003).

Research on the borrowability of verbs suggests that they are seldom borrowed (Tadmor et al. 2010; Wohlgemuth 2009) or even are not borrowed at all (Moravcsik 1975). Versteegh (2009, 187) argues that Moravcsik's view is "exaggerated" and confirms that "there are examples of successful borrowing of verbs". Verbal borrowing is attested in many languages around the world in varying degrees and different ways (Wichmann and Wohlgemuth 2008; Wohlgemuth 2009). This suggests that although limited in number, the occurrence of borrowed verbs is somehow frequent and cross-linguistically marked.

Wohlgemuth (2009, 67) defines the term loan verb as "an established borrowed lexical item (i.e. not one inserted ad-hoc) which can count as a verb (or is predominantly "verby", i.e. an action word that prototypically serves as the head of a predicate phrase), both in the recipient (borrowing) and in the donor (source) language". This definition draws attention to the distinction made in the literature (Poplack et al. 1988) between established borrowings and nonce borrowings. For Poplack et al. 1988, established borrowings are true borrowing or borrowing proper while nonce borrowings are those foreign elements that are incorporated in the recipient language in an ad hoc manner; they are not used frequently and a clear example of their occurrence is the situation of code-mixing in bilingual settings.

Moreover, Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008, 92) argue that there is usually evidence for established borrowings. Some of this evidence involves phonological modification, the denotation of referents that are new to the target culture, recorded language history, and the frequent occurrence of a loanword in the speech of monolinguals of the recipient language. After all, these criteria of true borrowing cannot be applied to all cases of lexical borrowing.

3. Models of Loan Verb Integration

Several models have been proposed to approach the topic of loan verb integration, but the theory of verbal borrowing typology introduced by Wohlgemuth (2009) is widely recognized as the most effective and well-known one. It has served as the theoretical framework for numerous studies on loan verb accommodation in various languages worldwide, including those conducted by Amirideze (2018),

Bhattacharja (2010), Forker (2021), Hassan (2018), Ralli (2016), Shaw and De Smet (2022), and Vučković (2017), among others. In the current study, Wohlgemuth's theory of verbal borrowing typology is also utilized, with a particular focus on the different strategies of loan verb integration. According to Wohlgemuth (2009, 293), loan verb integration can be classified into four main strategies, which are restated in (1) for convenience.

- (1) A. Direct Insertion (DI), where the borrowed verb stem is simply used like a native one without any morphosyntactic adaptation.
- B. Indirect Insertion (IndI), where a verbalizer of some kind is applied so that the loan verb can then be inflected.
- C. Light Verb Strategy (LVS), where a borrowed verb is entered as a non-inflecting part into a complex predicate, joining a native verb which takes all the inflection.
- D. Paradigm Insertion (PI), where the borrowed verb's inflectional morphology of the donor language is borrowed along with it, introducing a new inflectional paradigm into the recipient language.

Furthermore, Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008) propose a loan verb integration hierarchy, which they developed through a cross-linguistic analysis of these strategies in various languages worldwide. The hierarchy illustrates the level of exposure of the recipient language speakers to the donor language(s). It is presented in (2) below:

- (2) light verb strategy < indirect insertion < direct insertion < paradigm insertion

This hierarchy indicates that the level of integration of borrowed verbs increases as the target language expends less effort to adapt them by some strategy. The light verb strategy represents the lowest level of integration, while direct insertion is associated with full accommodation.

Both Wichmann and Wohlgemuth (2008) and Wohlgemuth (2009) are pioneering studies on loan verb integration. They provide a comprehensive typology of borrowed verbs across different languages, forming the theoretical basis of numerous studies on loan verb accommodation. Their framework aims to explain the various mechanisms used by languages to deal with loan verbs and their integration into morphosyntactic systems. The two studies elaborate that one or more of these mechanisms can be employed by a language. These integration strategies fall under the umbrella of adaptation or nativization, where borrowed words are assimilated into a linguistic structure to become an integral part of the language (Hock and Joseph 2009).

In this context, several studies have investigated the different strategies used to integrate borrowed verbs in various languages worldwide, such as Coptic (Grossman, 2019), Dutch and French (Shaw and De Smet 2022), Georgian (Amiridze 2018), Hungarian (Nemeth 2015), Kurmanji Kurdish (Çabuk 2019), Michif (Antonov 2019), Russian (Olsson 2018), and Urdu (Maqsood et al. 2019). Some of these studies applied Wohlgemuth's (2009) theory of verbal borrowing typology, and others attempted to develop the theory further. For instance, Amiridze (2018, 11) concluded that the integration of the native preverb 'da-' into English loan verbs in Georgian does not fit into any of the four major strategies proposed by

Wohlgemuth in (1) above for various reasons, and thus, it falls under the unclassified category of "other types".

Similarly, Shaw and De Smet (2022) used Wohlgemuth's model in their analysis of integrating English loan verbs in Dutch and French, and they proposed some modifications to Wohlgemuth's argument. They disagreed with Wohlgemuth's claim that loan verbs can be integrated inflectionally without constraints in the case of direct insertion in the recipient language. They suggested that loan verb accommodation faces obstacles in terms of finiteness and markedness, which they refer to as "biases" and which affect the introduction of loan verbs into all usage categories of a language with varying degrees of ease (Shaw and De Smet, 2022, 14).

4. Verbal Borrowing in Arabic

Semitic languages, such as Arabic, are distinguished by a unique type of verbal inflectional morphology called templatic morphology (Wohlgemuth 2009, 173). This means that verbal roots are inflected by utilizing specific prosodic templates of the verb syllables, which are then transformed into particular patterns. For instance, in YA, the citation form of the verb *fatah*, meaning 'he opened' (3SG.PFV.M), is based on the template CvCvC and the consonantal root *f-t-h*. This implies that the basic form of verbs in Arabic incorporates multiple semantic elements, including lexical information, gender, person, number, and aspect. In this regard, Watson (2021, 408) notes that "in derived and some inflectional forms, the prosodic template is a key feature ... [and] the templatic nature of Arabic has drawn many researchers to establish the consonantal root as a morpheme that maps onto templates".

To incorporate loan verbs into this morphology and inflect them like native verbs, they must conform to a template consisting of three to five consonants, a process referred to as direct insertion. When it comes to the accommodation of loan verbs in Arabic, Wohlgemuth (2009, 178) confirms that "the borrowed verbs must normally be transformed to a root of three (occasionally four, rarely two or five) consonants. These roots can be combined with different inflectional and derivational templates to produce verbs, nouns, adjectives, and their inflected forms. Many of these roots and their basic citation forms already have "verby" semantics. Further, (formal) verbalizing derivation is thus not necessary".

The study of loan verb accommodation in Arabic varieties has not received much attention. Only a handful of studies have been carried out on this subject, including Hassan (2018) and Versteegh (2009).

Versteegh (2009) focused on the light verb strategy, also known as the "Do-construction" strategy, as a way of accommodating borrowed verbs in Arabic. The study examined the Do-construction of loan verbs in not only Arabic but also other languages and dialects, such as Russian loan verbs in Plautdietsch. The author did not address established loan verbs in Arabic but rather focused on foreign verbs that are utilized in code-switching and code-mixing situations in the speech of Arab immigrants in Europe and Latin America, specifically Portuguese, Dutch, and English. The study showed how some native Arabic verbs are used in conjunction with foreign nouns to transform them into verbs. These native verbs lose their features as main verbs in Arabic and function as auxiliaries carrying the meaning of "do" or "make." Versteegh (2009, 187) posited that different Arabic varieties deal with verbal borrowing in two ways: 1)

morphological integration of a foreign verbal form and 2) incorporating a foreign (verbal) noun or verb with the aid of a light verb or dummy verb meaning "to do." This hypothesis partially aligns with Wohlgemuth's (2009) framework and will be evaluated in light of the loan verb data in the present study.

Hassan (2018) is another important study on borrowed verbs in Egyptian Arabic. The loan verbs analyzed in this study are limited to those used in social media, primarily Facebook and Twitter. The author argued that in order to incorporate loan verbs into Egyptian Arabic's morphology, two strategies are employed: the light verb strategy and direct insertion. The second strategy involves both insertions with and without the reduction to root. This finding supports Versteegh's (2009) aforementioned claim. According to Hassan (2018, 166), instances of direct insertion without reduction to root, such as *ji-krob* 'to crop', *ji-twiit* 'to tweet', *ji-dawinlood* 'to download', etc., are obscure because they cannot be classified as code-switches or established borrowings. In the former, they violate the free-morpheme constraint, and in the latter, they are not entirely integrated. The results of the present study will help in understanding the significant differences between YA and Egyptian Arabic in terms of loan verb integration.

During the course of this paper, I came across an intriguing study by Bahumaid (1990) that provided a general analysis of English loanwords in Adeni Arabic. Bahumaid examined a lengthy list of borrowings, the majority of which are nouns. Like other studies on lexical borrowing, he attempted to provide an etymological, phonological, morphological, and semantic account of loanwords in the Adeni dialect. However, with regard to loan verbs, the author did not delve much into their integration. With a very brief list of borrowed verbs, he only displayed the basic forms that can be derived from these verbs, such as the imperative, verbal noun, (im)perfective forms, etc. No argument was made regarding the accommodation of loan verbs that are attested in the dialect. Furthermore, many of the verbs discussed are obsolete (no longer used in the dialect) or at least infrequently used.

It is evident that there is not much research conducted on the phenomenon of verb borrowing in Arabic varieties, particularly in YA. Therefore, this study serves as an attempt to address this research gap in the field of lexical borrowing.

5. Research Methods

5.1 The Study

The current study follows a qualitative method in dealing with the collected data of loan verbs. The data are gathered from YA, with a special reference to the vernaculars spoken in Aden and Taiz, two regions located in the southern and southwestern parts of the country. The speakers of these two dialects are generally more educated, less conservative, and more open to the process of modernization in comparison to the speech communities in the central and northern regions of the country. In addition, Aden was a British colony for more than a century. Thus, the impact of English on Adeni people and neighboring areas was significant and enduring.

This study not only analyzes recently borrowed verbs that have entered Arabic through social media but also includes well-established loan verbs that had been integrated much earlier. Diachronically, the

entrance of English loanwords, particularly English loan verbs, into YA has likely occurred in two phases: the first phase during the colonial period due to the cultural dominance of the donor language (i.e., English), especially in the twentieth century (e.g. *yašu:t* < to shoot (the football); *yukansil* < to cancel; *yamsak bire:k* < to brake (a car); *yabruš* < to brush, etc.), and the second phase in the late 1990s and the first two decades of the twenty-first century due to the latest innovations in the field of IT (e.g. *yašmal ristra:rt* < to restart; *yuhakkir* < to hack; *yađgaṭ layk* < to like; *yusawwi ṭiskannar* < to scan, *yuballik* < to block; *yuḡantir* < to use the internet, etc.). The process of verbal borrowing in the field of IT is manifested in two ways: 1) older loan verbs such as *yuhakkir* 'to hack'; *yusawwi ṭiska:n/ ṭiskannar* 'to scan,' and 2) more recent loan verbs such as *yušayyir/ yašmal še:r* 'to share'; *yisakrin* 'to screenshot.' Based on this historical account, the collected loan verb data includes well-established borrowed verbs from both stages.

5.2 Data Collection

So far, there has been no officially recorded corpus of the spoken dialect of YA. Therefore, alternative sources of data were used to collect the sample of loan verbs for this study. The data were mainly collected from the following sources: dialect-based local TV series and plays (such as the TV series: *ha:lati ha:lah³* 'I'm in a bad position'; the play: *šarf ġeir šihhi⁴* 'unsanitary sewage', etc.); YouTube videos and vlogs (such as Hamzawy YouTuber⁵, etc.); and people's chats on WhatsApp and followers' comments on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube. This data collection took place in the period between June and September 2022. The sources used in this data collection span a wide range of topics, including both general and specialized subjects, in order to ensure the inclusion of both established and more recent loan verbs.

Bahumaid (1990) also served as a secondary source of data, providing a short list of borrowed verbs, most of which have been incorporated into the dialect through direct insertion. However, only two verbs from the list (namely *baraš* 'to brush' and *ḡakkas* 'to mark with an x') were added to the present sample, as many of the verbs on the list are obsolete and no longer used in the dialect lexicon, as confirmed by the data informants and expert panel.

A total of more than seventy loan verbs were collected from the various sources mentioned above, which is considered a relatively large sample size based on the earlier assumption that loan verbs are rarely borrowed. All loan verbs in the collected data were established or true borrowings, according to the distinction made between established borrowings and nonce borrowings (Poplack et al. 1988), and were not instances of code-mixing or code-switching. Therefore, they are in line with the definition of a loan verb provided by Wohlgemuth (2009) above. The oral and written data were transliterated using Roman and IPA characters and recorded in Excel sheets. The whole dataset was categorized based on the domains in which the loan verbs occurred and the potential strategies for integrating borrowed verbs.

After the data collection process, and for the sake of the data validation, some semi-formal interviews were conducted with ten informants who were native speakers of YA (three of them were academics), and all were consulted to serve as validators of the collected data. Seven of the informants live in Yemen and three of them are expatriates in Saudi Arabia. The former were contacted through

WhatsApp and Zoom sessions and the latter were interviewed in person. Their responses were recorded and analyzed. The main concern was to make sure of the frequency of use of these verbs in the dialect. As for the directly inserted borrowed verbs, the informants were also asked to put them in the perfective and imperfective aspects with examples where necessary in order to establish their morphophonological forms. In addition, the author's intuitions and knowledge as a native speaker of YA were employed to establish the pronunciation and the semantics of the data.

6. Results and Discussion

The sample of loan verbs was first analyzed in terms of their semantic fields. It was found that the sample can be divided into two main semantic domains: the general domain (sports, vehicle, food, and miscellaneous) and the IT domain (computer, the internet, and social media); the IT domain is the most frequent, accounting for more than 50% of the sample while the food domain ranks as the least frequent, comprising 4% (see Figure 1). This finding is indicative of the rapid influx of borrowed verbs in the semantic field of IT in comparison to the general category and is more likely to continue increasing in the coming years. The increasing exposure of the present generation to foreign languages, mainly English, has contributed to such fast penetration of IT terms into YA.

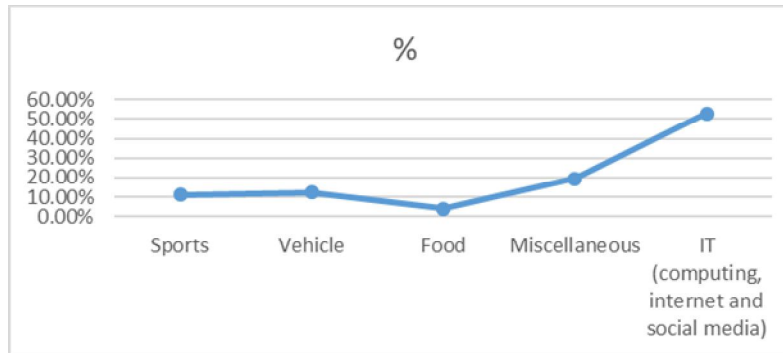


Figure 1: Domains of loan verbs in YA

The second observation that one may get from the collected data is that many borrowed verbs have native equivalents in Arabic (e.g. *yukansil* 'to cancel'/ *yalgi*; *yufanniš* 'to finish'/ *yixalliš*; *yušayyik* 'to check'/ *yafhaš*; *yašmal še:r* 'to share'/ *yuša:rik*, *yašmal muša:rakah*; *yašmal miks* 'to mix'/ *yaxliš*; *yuhakkir* 'to hack'/ *yuqaršin*, etc). This suggests that these loan verbs were not borrowed due to a lexical need in the language. In such cases, the primary motivation for borrowing is usually the desire of local speakers to appear more prestigious and modern by using loanwords in their speech (Haspelmath 2009; Hock 2021).

These loan verbs are typically colloquial and informal, and are not used in the written variety of Arabic, except for some derivative loan verbs which are used in both colloquial and standard varieties. Moreover, some of them like *fasbak* 'to use Facebook', *šayyar* 'to share', *sawwa minšan* 'to mention', etc. might be encountered in informal written chats on social media like WhatsApp, Facebook and Twitter.

6.1 Loan Verb Integration Strategies in YA

The analysis of the collected data shows that loan verbs are integrated into YA through three main accommodation strategies as stated in (3).

- (3) 1. Direct insertion (DI)
2. Light verb strategy (LVS)
3. Derivative loan verbs (DLV)

Out of the four major strategies of Wohlgemuth's (2009) loan verb typology outlined in (1A-D) above, only two mechanisms are at work in YA: direct insertion (DI) and light verb strategy (LVS). The third strategy of derivative loan verbs (DLV) is new and not clearly stated in Wohlgemuth's primary classification. This also partially disagrees with Versteegh's (2009) argument which states that borrowed verbs undergo only two integration strategies. The strategies of indirect insertion and paradigm insertion in (1B) and (1D) do not occur in YA. Paradigm insertion is very rare and not attested in most of the world languages and YA is no exception. Indirect insertion involves an affixation of a verbalizer to the borrowed verb to facilitate the verb inflection process, which was not encountered in the data.

In terms of frequency of occurrence, LVS represents 50% (36 cases) of the entire data followed by DI with 26% (19 cases) and finally DLV with 23% (17 cases) (see Figure 2). This finding disagrees with the loan verb integration hierarchy stated in (2) above which suggests that the lowest degree of integration is associated with the LVS because it, as they claim, needs more effort to be integrated. However, the numerical data from YA indicate the opposite and show that the LVS is associated with the highest degree of integration, ranking as the most frequent strategy of loan verb accommodation.

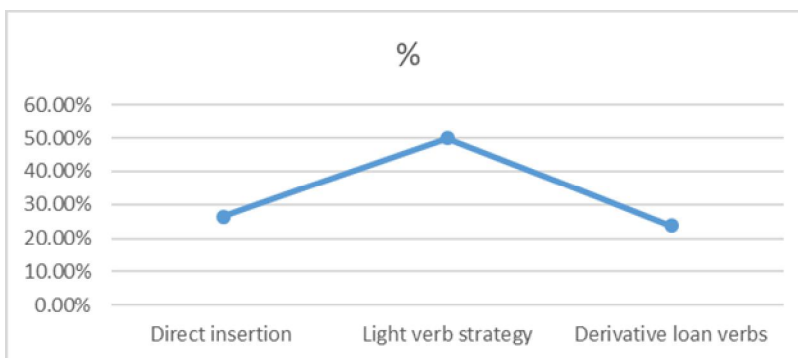


Figure 2: Integration strategies of loan verbs in YA

6.1.1 Direct Insertion (DI)

Direct insertion (DI) with root reduction is the most common strategy in all varieties of Arabic (Wohlgemuth 2009). In this strategy, the input verb is accommodated into YA without any morphological or syntactic adaptation. The direct insertion of loan verbs is always characterized by reduction to root in YA, and may also involve some phonological changes in the templatic inflection of the verb. It is a well-known fact that “the integration of loanwords in the root-and-pattern system of Arabic goes back to the Classical period ... [and] has remained current throughout the history of Arabic” (Versteegh 2009, 187). The typical practice is to assign the borrowed verb to the appropriate verbal pattern using the templatic

morphology, usually trilateral and quadrilateral roots, and less frequently biliteral ones. This finding supports Wohlgemuth's (2009) claim regarding the number of radicals that loan roots assume in Arabic. Out of the whole data, around nineteen English verbs are directly inserted with root reduction in YA. Examples in (4) demonstrate the number of radicals into which the verbal roots are reduced.

- (4) Biliteral root *ba:ša* 'to pass (the football)'; *ša:t* 'to shoot (the football)'; *la:k* 'to leak'⁶
 Trilateral root *šayyak* 'to check'; *ballak* 'to block (somebody on social media)'; *fannaš*
 'to finish'
 Quadrilateral root *kansal* 'to cancel'; *manšan* 'to mention somebody on Twitter, etc.';
 sakran 'to screenshot'; *santar* 'to place the football in the center of the
 playing field'

All these illustrations serve as evidence that it is possible to borrow foreign verbs directly into YA by transforming borrowed verbs into their nearest roots. This accommodation technique is classified under DI rather than indirect insertion. Wohlgemuth (2009, 93) argues that the decisive evidence for considering it as DI is that the overwhelming changes occurring in root reduction are only phonological and no additional verbalizers are employed. As shown in the examples in (5a-c), the citation form of the loan verb *ballak* (5a) from the English verb 'to block' is reduced to the root *b-l-k* with prosodic template *a-a*. All changes that occur here are phonological: the change of vowels (/o/ to /a/), the break of the cluster by inserting /a/ and the germination of //l/. Even when the verb is conjugated for imperative *ballikuh* (5b), imperfective *ba ballikik* (5c), etc., the same type of changes emerges, with no specific morphemes inserted to verbalize the borrowed item.

- (5) a. *ballak*
 block:3SG.M.PFV
 'he blocked' or 'to block'
 b. *ballik* -uh
 block:2SG.M.IMP -he:OBJ:3SG.M
 'Block him.'
 c. *ba: ballik* -ik
 FUT block:1SG.IPFV -you:OBJ:2SG.F
 'I will block you.'

Unlike loan verbs adopted by the LVS, loan verbs borrowed through DI can be the basis for other derivations. Thus, from *santar* 'to place something in the center', we can get *santir* (imperative), *musantir* (active participle), *musantar* (passive participle), *yusantir* (imperfective), and so on (cf. Bahumaid 1990). The imperfective aspect is formed by prefixing the perfective with either *yu-* or *yi-* and making phonological changes to the prosodic template (*yuba:ši/ yiba:ši* 'to pass the ball'; *yuballik/ yiballik* 'to block'; *yusantir/ yisantir* 'to center'). Interestingly, when the English input verb consists of more than four radicals, the excess consonants are elided. For instance, the English verb 'to screenshot' becomes *sakran* in YA, the /š/ and /t/ sounds are dropped, leaving the quadrilateral root *s-k-r-n*. The existence of

two-consonant loan verbs in YA is unusual but takes place by analogy with native verbs like *na:m* ‘to sleep’, *sa:q* ‘to drive’, etc. These verbs are known as hollow verbs in Arabic morphology.

The transitive loan verbs in the active mood can be transformed into the passive/reflexive mood by prefixing the morpheme *ʔat-* (or *ti-*) in the perfective form and *yat-* in the imperfective form, both in trilateral roots as in (6) or quadrilateral roots as in (7). This process occurs in analogy with the morphological formation applied to native verbs in YA, as illustrated in the templatic structure in (8) which has been adopted, with some modifications, from Hassan (2018).

(6) *sayyaf*, *ʔat-sayyaf* ‘to save, to be saved’; *šayyar*, *ʔat-šayyar* ‘to share, to be shared’; *ʔakkas*, *ʔat-ʔakkas* ‘to mark with an X, to be marked with an X’; *ballak*, *ʔat-ballak* ‘to block, to be blocked’

(7) *kansal*, *ʔat-kansal* ‘to cancel, to be canceled’; *sakran*, *ʔat-sakran* ‘to screenshot, to be screenshot’; *santar*, *ʔat-santar* ‘to place something in the center, to be centered’; *manšan*, *ʔat-manšan* ‘to mention, to be mentioned’

(8)	Perfective form	Imperfective form
Trilateral roots		[v: /a, i/]
Active/Transitive	$C_1aC_2C_2vC_3$	yu-C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ vC ₄
Passive/Reflexive	<i>ʔat-/ ti-</i> C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ vC ₃	yat-C ₁ aC ₂ C ₂ vC ₄
Quadrilateral roots		[v: /a, i/]
Active/Transitive	$C_1aC_2C_3vC_4$	yu-C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ vC ₄
Passive/Reflexive	<i>ʔat-/ ti-</i> C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ vC ₄	yat-C ₁ aC ₂ C ₃ vC ₄

It is worth noting that in the trilateral root pattern ‘C₁aC₂C₂vC₃’, the second radical is duplicated due to the gemination process that occurs in this verbal pattern (see (9a-b) below for examples).

Upon the process of root reduction, some loan verbs undergo the gemination process in two situations: 1) when the input verb in English has two radicals, then it should be transformed into trilateral roots as in (9a), and 2) when the input verb needs to conform with a specific verbal pattern, a semi-vowel /y/ or a consonant is geminated in both perfective and imperfective forms in YA as in (9b). The insertion of the geminate semi-vowel /y/ is necessary to add a third radical sound to the Arabic pattern because input forms such as ‘to save’, ‘to check’, ‘to share’, etc. typically have only two radicals which are usually not acceptable in Arabic morphology. In (9b), the input items have already three radicals, but the gemination process is still required here to align with the common verb pattern *faʔʔal* in Arabic, as an analogy with native verbs like *rassal* ‘to send’, *hawwal* ‘to transfer’, etc.

(9) a. *šayyak/ yušayyik* < to check; *layyak/ yulayyik* < to like; *sayyaf/ yusayyif* < to save; *šayyar/ yušayyir* < to share

b. *fannaš/ yufanniš* < to finish; *dammag/ yudammig* < to damage (in computer and PlayStation games); *ballak/ yuballik* < to block; *fallal/ yufallil* < to fill up (car’s tank with gas)

In addition to morphological and phonological changes, the adoption of borrowed verbs via this accommodation pattern also involves semantic adaptation. The meaning of some loan verbs may undergo the process of semantic specialization or generalization. For instance, the verbs *sayyaf* and *šayyar* are only restricted to the domains of computer and social media, and they only mean ‘to save some

information in a computer file’, and ‘to share a link or a video’, respectively. Similarly, the use of *santar* ‘to center’ and *ša:t* ‘to shoot’ is restricted to the domain of sports, mainly football. On the other hand, the verb *šayyak* has a more general meaning just like its English counterpart. It not only refers to ‘checking an email’, but can also have other meanings such as ‘checking a car condition’, ‘checking a list of items’, and the like. Furthermore, some loan verbs have acquired more general meanings than in the source language (i.e. English). An interesting example of semantic extension is the derivative loan verb *yufasbik*, which not only means ‘to use Facebook’ but may also come to mean ‘to use the internet in general’.

The DI strategy “without” reduction to root is not common in YA, possibly because it occurs more frequently in intensive language contact situations like, for instance, the contact between Egyptian Arabic and English in the context of social media (cf. Hassan 2018). Only a few verbs like *še:r* ‘share’, *layk* ‘like’, and *sabiskrayb* ‘subscribe’ are integrated into YA by DI (without root reduction) when used in their imperative form, especially at the beginning and end of YouTube videos and vlogs. The root radicals and even their phonological shape remain unchanged. These verbs are typically used by educated young YouTubers who are bilingual in English.

6.1.2 Light Verb Strategy (LVS)

Light verb strategy (LVS) is another common technique used to integrate loan verbs into YA. According to Wohlgemuth (2009), LVS ranks as the second most frequently used strategy cross-linguistically. However, the analysis of the collected data shows that LVS is the most frequent mechanism (50%) followed by the strategy of DI (26%). The strategy of light verbs is also referred to by Versteegh (2009) as Do-construction. As defined in (1C) above, LVS involves forming a complex predicate that consists of two parts: the borrowed item (primarily a verb) which remains uninflected and a native light verb meaning ‘to do’ or ‘to make’ that functions as an auxiliary, bearing all inflections of the resulting compound predicate. The semantic information is always carried by the borrowed element. The example in (10) illustrates the light verb construction.

- (10) *ma sawwa lu- -hum -(š) layk*
 NEG make:3SG.PFV.M to- -they:OBJ:3PL.M -(NEG) like
 ‘He did not click/hit a like for them.’

In this example, the full YA verb *sawwa* ‘to make’ is joined to the English verb *layk* ‘to like’ to create the loan verb *sawwa layk*. The native verb *sawwa* is inflected for person, gender, number, negative and other grammatical information while the borrowed item *layk* designates only the meaning of the whole construction.

The most frequently used light verbs in YA are *šimil/ yašmal* ‘to do’ and *sawwa/ yusawwi* ‘to make/do’, which are used with the majority of loan verbs under the LVS as in (11). Less commonly used loan verbs include *rassal/yurassil* ‘to send’, *misik/yamsak* ‘to hold’, *dašas/yadšas* ‘to step on’, *rigiš/yargaš* ‘to go back’, *ḍarab/yaḍrib* ‘to hit/make’ which are employed in particular settings as in (12). Light verbs such as *yafšal* ‘to do’, *yaḍgaṭ* ‘to press/click’, *yušallih* ‘to make’, *yaduqq* ‘to hit/click’, *yaḥuṭṭ* ‘to put’ can be used alternatively with the common verbs *yašmal* and *yusawwi* in general and in the domain of social media in particular. For instance, in loan verbs such as *yašmal layk* or *yusawwi layk*

meaning ‘to like’, these four light verbs can replace *yaʕmal* and *yusawwi* and still convey the same meaning as in (13). However, they are still less common than *yaʕmal* and *yusawwi*.

- (11) *yaʕmal/yusawwi ʔiskanar* ‘to scan’; *yaʕmal/yusawwi fulug* ‘to vlog’; *yaʕmal/yusawwi tirib* ‘to trip’; *yaʕmal/yusawwi ʔisbirint* ‘to sprint (in a football match)’; *yaʕmal/yusawwi ristra:rt* ‘to restart a computer’; *yaʕmal/yusawwi miks* ‘to mix’
- (12) *yadʕas bire:k* ‘to brake (a vehicle)’; *yargaʕ raywas* ‘to reverse (a vehicle)’; *yadrib ba:li:s* ‘to polish (a shoe, etc.)’; *yirsil ʔis ʔim ʔis* ‘to SMS’
- (13) *yafʕal layk*, *yaḍḡaṭ layk*, *yusallih layk*, *yaduqq layk*, *yahuṭṭ layk*
(All mean ‘to like’ or ‘to click a like for somebody’)

This type of loan verb is primarily used in the imperative form, especially in relation to social media platforms like YouTube (*ʔiḍḡaṭ layk!* ‘Click like!’, *sawwi ʕe:r!* ‘Do share!’), but they can also be conjugated for the perfective and imperfective aspects. Like loan verbs integrated in DI strategy, the light verb in light verb construction may begin either with *yu-* or *ya-*. Both can be replaced by *yi-* in the perfective form, allowing for forms such as *yusawwi* or *yiawwi*, *yaʕmal* or *yiʕmal*, *yadʕas* or *yidʕas*, and so on. Both forms are commonly used.

In the light verb construction, the foreign component is not always a verb; it can sometimes be a noun such as in *yaʕmal ʔiskannar* ‘to scan (by using a scanner)’, or even an adjective as in *yusabbi ful* ‘to fill up car’s tank full (with gas)’. At this point, Versteegh (2009, 197) argues that “the instances of light verbs with foreign nouns have in common that most of the borrowing takes place or has taken place through written transmission”, as is the case with those loan verbs incorporated into Islamic languages such as Persian, Turkish and Urdu from Arabic as the donor language. However, this statement may not always hold true. YA is mainly a spoken variety and the two loan verbs *yaʕmal ʔiskannar* and *yusabbi ful* have been accommodated through the oral rather than the written channel.

As for IT terms, particularly those related to computers and social media, the majority of English words such as ‘login’, ‘download’, ‘chat’, ‘like’, ‘save’, ‘comment’, ‘follow’, ‘block’, etc. can potentially form loan verbs by attaching a light verb (*yusawwi/ yaʕmal* or the like) before these items. However, it is ultimately up to the linguistic preference of dialect speakers whether they choose to adopt a loan verb or prefer to use an Arabic equivalent.

In some cases, more than one integration strategy is used to refer to the same input verb form. For instance, the English verbs ‘share’, ‘mention’, ‘like’, ‘block’, ‘refresh’, etc. can be accommodated by either DI or LVS. Thus, we can say *ʕayyar/ yaʕmal ʕer* ‘to share’, *manʕan/ yaʕmal minʕan*, etc ‘to mention somebody on Twitter’. In contrast, some loan verbs are integrated by only one strategy. For example, *yaʕmal miks* ‘to mix’ but not **makkas*; *yaʕmal fulug* ‘to vlog’, but not **fallag*; *kansal* ‘to cancel, but not **yaʕmal ka:nsil*; *dammag* ‘to damage’, but not **yaʕmal damig*. However, it is important to observe that the alternatives marked with an asterisk ‘*’ are still somewhat intelligible and some of them can be potential candidates for future use in the dialect over time.

The verb *ʕa:t* ‘to shoot (the ball)’ and *yusawwi ʕa:t* ‘to chat’ require some elaboration. In YA, we have the loan verb *ʕa:t* ‘to shoot (the ball)’ and the loan noun *ʕa:t* ‘a chat’. The loan noun *ʕa:t*, in turn,

can form a loan verb when it is attached to a light verb like *sawwa* or *šimil*. Thus, the difference between *ša:t* ‘to shoot’ and *sawwa ša:t* ‘to chat’ is obvious: the former is adopted by DI strategy and the latter by Do-construction/LVS (see (14a-b)). Nevertheless, the verb *yisawwi ša:t* is not common among social media users, who usually use the verb *yidardiš* ‘to chat’ instead. When these two verbs are used in the imperfective form, we say *yašu:t ʔal-kurah/ʔal-kubbah* ‘he shoots/ is shooting the ball’, but *yisawwi ša:t šala al-wa:ts* ‘he chats/ is chatting on the WhatsApp’.

- (14) a. *ša:t* *l-ahum* *ʔal-kurah* *bisuršah*
 shoot:3SG.PFV.M to-they:3PL.OBJ the-ball quickly
 ‘He shot the ball to them quickly.’
- b. *ga:lis-ah* *tu-sawwi* *ša:t*
 sit:-3SG.IPFV-F F-do:3SG.IPFV.F chat
 ‘She is chatting.’

6.1.3 Derivative Loan Verbs (DLV)

The strategy of derivative loan verbs (DLV) refers to the formation of loan verbs by noun-to-verb derivation. According to Versteegh (2009, 189), verbal derivatives in Arabic are “not borrowed directly, but derived from a previously borrowed noun”. In other words, loan verbs incorporated by this method are derived from loan nouns that already exist in the language. For example, the verbal derivative *yuʔantir/yiʔantir* ‘to use the internet’ is derived from the borrowed noun *ʔal-ʔintarnit* ‘the internet’ (see (15) for more examples). The derivation device is an inherited characteristic of Arabic morphology and is common and productive in all varieties of Arabic, especially the standard variety.

(15) The derived loan verb	Gloss	Derived from	Original form (English)
<i>yugarriš</i>	‘to put a car in the garage’	< <i>gara:š</i>	< garage
<i>yukartin</i>	‘to put in a carton’	< <i>kartu:n</i>	< carton
<i>yabruš</i>	‘to brush’	< <i>buruš</i>	< brush
<i>yufasbuk</i>	‘to use Facebook’	< <i>fi:sbuk</i>	< Facebook

The DLV strategy is not considered one of the major strategies of loan verb insertion in Wohlgemuth’s (2009) typology of verbal borrowing. However, there is another group of loan verb mechanisms that are referred to by Wohlgemuth (2009) as non-patterned or minor strategies like the strategy of semantic borrowing through literal translations or calques. Therefore, DVL in YA can be subsumed under this set of loan verb insertions. For Wohlgemuth (2009, 128), loan verbs obtained in such strategies are not true or actual borrowings because they do not fall under the definition of a loan verb stated in the introduction above.

The derived loan verbs are reshaped according to YA morphology. Most of them are reduced to trilateral or quadrilateral roots, with only one loan verb having a pattern involving five radicals. The citation forms of all these verbs correspond to three verbal patterns which are *faʕal*, *faʕʕal*, *faʕlal*, *tifaʕlal*

the imperative form. It was also found that foreign verbs are formed in YA through a third strategy by deriving them from previously borrowed nouns. This process is referred to in this study as derivative loan verbs, which is an inherited feature of the derivative capacity that is characteristic of Arabic language.

The current study has some theoretical implications for several areas of linguistics, including language contact, morphology, typology, language pedagogy and language evolution. It provides evidence for the phenomenon of verb borrowing and the ways in which loan verbs are integrated into a recipient language and the role of morphology in this process. It demonstrates that direct verbal borrowing does occur in language contact situations cross-linguistically.

The study also highlights the importance of understanding the typology of verbal borrowing, specifically Wohlgemuth's (2009) typology. The findings support the claim that YA exhibits some of the strategies of loan verb integration introduced by Wohlgemuth, including direct insertion with reduction to root and the light verb strategy. The study examines the structural properties of English verbs borrowed in YA which contribute to a better understanding of how different languages encode verbal information and the ways in which they differ from each other. The more recent loan verbs incorporated in YA from English in the field of IT shed more light on the various strategies of loan verb integration in YA.

Pedagogically speaking, the study may attract language learners to the existence of English loan verbs in their native language and make them realize how such verbs are acquired and integrated into the YA verbal system, which could help them better understand the similarities and differences between the two languages. Finally, the study results may contribute to the understanding of language evolution, by demonstrating the ways in which languages borrow and integrate new vocabulary over time.

Other directions of future research can touch upon the following theoretical issues:

- 1) Investigating the semantic and pragmatic properties of loan verbs in YA and the ways in which they are used in discourse. This could contribute to a better understanding of the ways in which meaning is constructed in language.
- 2) Examining the social and cultural factors that influence the borrowing of foreign verbs in YA as well as in other Arabic dialects. This could provide insights into the motivations of speakers and the contexts in which loan verbs are used.
- 3) Finally, the accommodation pattern of loan verb derivatives requires further research to reach a decision on whether it can be treated as one strategy of loan verb integration or not.

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عملية اقتراض الأفعال: كيفية استيعاب ودمج الأفعال المقترضة من اللغة الإنجليزية إلى اللهجة اليمنية

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الملخص

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى بحث مدى استيعاب الأفعال المقترضة من اللغة الإنجليزية في اللهجة اليمنية وكيفية دمجها في النظام الصرفي والتركيبى للهجة. جمعت نحو سبعين فعلاً مقترضاً من مصادر شفوية ومكتوبة مختلفة كالمسرحيات والمسلسلات التلفزيونية المحلية ومقاطع من اليوتيوب وتعليقات المتابعين على وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي، واعتمد تحليل البيانات على نظرية ولجيموث (2009) في تصنيف طرق اقتراض الأفعال. وأظهرت النتائج أن اللهجة اليمنية تستخدم ثلاث استراتيجيات رئيسية في استيعاب الأفعال المقترضة من اللغة الإنجليزية: (1) الإدراج المباشر مع تعديل في جذر الفعل، (2) استراتيجية إضافة فعل مساعد، (3) اشتقاق أفعال من أسماء مقترضة. أما الإدراج المباشر بدون تعديل في جذر الفعل، فهو نادر الاستخدام، في حين تمثل عملية اشتقاق الأفعال من أسماء مقترضة استراتيجية غير نمطية أو ثانوية في إطار نظرية ولجيموث، وتظل استراتيجية إضافة فعل مساعد هي الأكثر شيوعاً، حيث استخدمت في أكثر من 50% من عينة الدراسة. كما أن النتائج تمثل دليلاً على أن الأفعال الأجنبية يمكن أن تُقترض بصورة مباشرة في اللهجة اليمنية، وأن الأفعال المقترضة حديثاً في مجال تكنولوجيا المعلومات توفر مزيداً من التصورات حول الاستراتيجيات المختلفة لدمج هذه الأفعال في اللهجة اليمنية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الأفعال المقترضة، استراتيجيات الدمج، اقتراض الأفعال، اللهجة اليمنية، اللغة الإنجليزية.

Endnotes

- ¹ Source: Datareportal: Digital 2022:Yemen, <https://datareportal.com/reports/digital-2022-yemen>
- ² Source: GlobalStats: statcounter / Social Media Stats Yemen- Dec 2021- Dec 2022, <https://gs.statcounter.com/social-media-stats/all/yemen>
- ³ This TV series can be viewed at: <https://cutt.us/J3IWm>
- ⁴ This play can be viewed at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hBN0135aQ70>
- ⁵ This YouTube channel can be viewed at: <https://cutt.us/n9nIk>
- ⁶ The use of *la:k* (or *yali:k*) 'to leak' has become very rare and is only restricted to the areas of Aden and Taiz.
- ⁷ The use of *yadrib ba:li:s* 'to polish' has also become very rare and is only restricted to Adeni vernacular.

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