# Reduplication in English and Arabic: A Contrastive Study1

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## Abstract

Reduplication is a morphological process in which one or more elements is copied from the base. It is used in many world languages with various types and uses. The study deals with reduplication phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically. The aim of this study is to make a contrastive descriptive study of reduplication in English and Arabic. The procedure of the study is to describe reduplication in English and then in Arabic showing its phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. Then a contrastive part is given showing the points of difference and similarity in both languages. Finally, conclusions are presented. The last section is followed by two appendices in which the English and Arabic data; and the English and Arabic symbols are given. The study ends with some conclusions. In English, one of the parts is stressed in addition to the change in the initial consonant and medial vowel while in Arabic, different groups of reduplicative compounds are shown on the basis of the number of the syllables and the change of the sounds in the compound. Morphologically, in both languages, the compounds are different in the degree of productivity. Syntactically, in both languages, the parts of the compound can be of different parts of speech and the compound itself can be of different parts of speech. Semantically, groups of words are shed light on: the two elements can be of the same meaning or different from each other in meaning; or one of the two parts is meaningless; or the whole compound is meaningless.

## 1. Preliminaries

### 1.1 Introduction

Reduplication is among the processes that commonly exist in English and some other languages, and it is one of six main kinds of grammatical processes mentioned by Sapir in addition to word- order, composition, affixation, internal modification of the radical or grammatical element and accentual differences. It is used with various forms to achieve various purposes: lexical, morphological, and grammatical. (Dineen, 1967: 228). In the literature, there are other terms which are sometimes used interchangeably with reduplication like 'cloning, doubling, duplication, and repetition' but the standard term is 'reduplication' (Wikipedia, 2009).

"Grammatical processes may either involve the modification of a single form in some way, or the combination of more than one form" (Hall, 1964: 135). In this regard, prosodic morphology puts an emphasis on the phonological processes included in reduplication which differentiate the base (that is the fixed element) from the copied (repeated) form. The process and the meaning that it may have in any particular language are not connected in a natural way. Reduplication involves prosodic units

(beginning with a phoneme and ending with a morpheme) or a word being repeated. In the same word, the whole or part of a base is repeated. So, it is a process of repetition (Dineen, 1967: 228; Matthews, 1974: 127; Richard et al, 1985: 241; Napoli, 1996: 171; SIL International, 2004: 1; and Yule, 2006: 249).

This process is called reduplication since the second word follows the first one to emphasize it. So, the second part can not be said alone without the first one. It is regarded as a particular kind of grammatical formation or a non- concatenative morphological phenomenon, i.e. a series of units that are linked together whereby a new word is produced by repeating a morpheme accompanied by a change in a vowel or initial consonant (Robins, 1967: 212-3; Stageberg, 1981: 127; Katamba (1993:187); Katamba and Stonham (2006: 177) Matthews, 2007: 337; and Wikipedia, 2009).

The reduplicative compound which consists of at least two linguistic forms (parts, halves, that is the base and the element which is reduplicated is known as a reduplicant. It is not frequently written as a full- form but as RED or R. The reduplicant is most often copied one time only not more (Wikipedia, 2009)) are ordered in a paradigmatic, i.e. non- suppletive morphological relation. The second form includes a segment or a sequence of segments that is derived by non- recursive repetition of  the part of the first form (Verma and Krishnaswamy, 1989: 71; Trask, 1993: 231-2; Fromkin et al, 2003: 112; Davies and Catherine, 2007: 38; and Betti , forthcoming).

There are two different points of view regarding reduplication. The first point  states that it is a process whereby phonological material is copied. That is the segmental content is repeated with various phonological constraints (Marantz 1982; McCarthy and Prince 1986 quoted in Ghomeshi et al, 2004: 341). The second one explains that it is a process whereby a bundle of morpho-syntactic features are copied (Inkelas and Zoll 2000 qtd in ibid).

Reduplication is not syllable epenthesis (i.e. the insertion of extra consonant to the middle of the word) because the motivation beyond reduplication is morphological in that the birth of a new morpheme is the end product. While in epenthesis, there is no birth of a new morpheme, it is a matter of insertion. It is the same word and there is no new word produced (Lass, 1984: 189).

A focus has been put on the copying process in the various theories suggested by : (Marantz, 1982; Yip, 1982; Clements, 1985; Broselow and McCarthy, 1983 quoted in Bao, 1990: 317).

Katamba (1993 and 2006) consider reduplication as an affixation process which involves  the addition of a free morpheme (not necessarily a bound morpheme) to the beginning, the end or within the base. In this regard, McCarthy (1983: 25) qtd in Katamba and Stonham (2006: 184) notices that reduplication is a special case of ordinary affixation morphology, where the affixes are phonologically underspecified, receiving their full phonetic expression by copying adjacent segments.

The dictionary does not provide us with the semantic, syntactic, morphological, and phonological properties of a morpheme, which are specified, but with the reduplicative morpheme, its semantic and syntactic properties are available in the dictionary while the phonological one is not complete. Within the literature of auto-segmental phonology, much attention is paid to reduplication, particularly the partial type.

Gemination is a process whereby consonants and vowels are doubled, it is sometimes regarded as a form of reduplication. Indicating various kinds of reduplication which have the same meaning is done by using the term 'dupleme' after 'morpheme'. Similarly, deletion, and affixation of non- reduplication material, etc, are phonological and morphological processes with which reduplication is often used. So, the word 'duplifix' is used to indicate the reduplication and affixation are combined. In other languages, initial reduplication and gemination of the first consonant in the distributive plural and in repetitive verbs are also combined (Wikipedia, 2009).

Reduplication is used in a number of languages to varying extents. It can be modified in two ways: as being a process or an addition. It is considered as a regular way of pluralizing the nouns. In Greek, for instance, there are different kinds of repetition in the structure of a word. "In historical linguistics, the term refers to the way a prefix/ suffix reflects certain phonological characteristics of a root". The initial consonant of the base is copied in certain grammatical contexts, like perfective forms

(Crystal, 1992: 329; and 2003: 391).

In some languages, reduplication is described as a word- formation process by which a prefix is created by repeating the first consonant and vowel of a base. In a base, the vowel which is [+ length] becomes [- length] in the prefix in a systematic way (Falk, 1978: 141-2). In addition, reduplication can also be used to refer to repetition, customary activity and frequency of an action or event which are found in verbs, the increase in size and addition of intensity which are used to refer to an argumentative meaning that reduplication has. It also expresses plurality, distributivity (each X), continuous, habitual aspect (keeps Ving, Vs habitually), variety and similarity (all different kinds of X,X and such), 'out of control', in addition to different types of derivational meaning (for example, agentive nominal) (Katamba and Stonham, 2006: 180-1).

The other usages mentioned by Hyman (1975: 53; and Napoli, 1996: 223) are: Nouns are derived from verbs; it is a reference to modality and aspect (perfective and progressive); and it refers to a type of S-V concord in certain persons and numbers. Wikipedia (2009) indicates that reduplication is used when a speaker wants to produce expressive or figurative tone than ordinary speech. Reduplicated nouns are found in a language to refer to genuinity, completeness, originality and being uncomplicated as opposed to being fake, incomplete, complicated, or fussy.

### 1.2 Aims

This study attempts to describe reduplication in English and Arabic. It is an attempt to show to what extent the two languages are similar or different from each other in the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of reduplication. In other words, it also makes a contrastive study of reduplication in English and Arabic.

### 1.3 Procedure

This is a descriptive contrastive study. It starts first with describing reduplication in English, showing its related phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects in English. Likewise, it inspects the same process in Arabic in the aforementioned levels. Then, it points some similar and contrastive sides of reduplication in both languages. Finally, conclusions are presented.

The data (English and Arabic) will be analyzed phonologically, morphologically, syntactically and semantically respectively. The Arabic data are transliterated and translated throughout the study. The dictionary used to translate the Arabic data is Wehr, 1974. All the translations of the Arabic references are done by the researcher.

### 1.4 Data

The English data is taken from Dineen (1967); Quirk and Greenbaum (1973); Stageberg (1981); Katamab (1993); Napoli (1996); Mario (1998); Crystal (2003); Fromkiin et al (2003); Ghomeshi et al (2004); Katamba and Stonham (2006); Matthews (2007) and Wikipedia (2009) (see appendix Ia).

The Arabic data is gathered from Yaqub (1988); Al- Suyoti (1998); Al- Jazairi (2010); Salim (2010); Al- Mamqani; Al- Masri; Al-Thaalibi; Bin Abad; El- Zarka; Al- Zamakhshari; Ibn- Duraid (a); Ibn- Duraid (b); Ibn- Faris and Ibn- Sayada (see appendix Ib).

### 1.5 Limits

This study deals with reduplication, not any other process, as a grammatical process in English and Arabic only. It shows this process as phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics. It is only concerned with the English and Arabic (Standard) data gathered in this study. This study sheds light on emphatic reduplication, not any other type of reduplication in Arabic.

### 1.6 Significance

This study is considered one of those contrastive descriptive studies which abridge the gab in the current Arabic contrastive studies literature since it deals contrastively with reduplication as a phonological, morphological, syntactical and semantic processes.

### 2. Reduplication in English

In this section, the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects in addition to types of reduplication are described.

### 2.1 Types

Several ways of classifying reduplication appear in the literature of many languages. Full and partial reduplications denote either that the whole base is repeated (full or total) or a part of it (partial). Both types are often used in many languages

(Matthews, 1974: 127; Katamba, 1993: ; O'Grady et al, 2005: 132; Katamba and Stonham, 2006: ; Matthews, 2007: 337 and Wikipedia, 2009). Likewise, pre-reduplication (pre-modification) and post- reduplication (post- modification), imply whether the repeated or copied element comes before or after the base (Haspelmath, 2002: 24).

In English, and some other languages, reduplication is considered as a special case of affixes where there is a similarity between the affix and some part of its environment. So, there are three types of reduplication: a. prefixal or initial: the part before the base which is reduplicative formative is copied, i.e. it can be to the right of the reduplicant; b. suffixal or final: the part after the base which is reduplicative formative is copied, i.e. it can be to the left of the reduplicant; and c. infixal can be internal. It is considered by Katamba (1993) and Katamba and Stonham (2006) as a morphological odd process whereby a copy of part of the base is inserted in the base as an infix. It is a very rare type of reduplication. For example, the word 'singing' /siŋiŋ/ (see appendix IIa) in which there is a reduplication, which is different from the words 'riding' /raidiŋ/ and 'going' /gǝuiŋ/ in which there is no reduplication, commenting that" if this is done, affixes may sometimes appear to be reduplicant by accident". So, what is important is the position of the infix and direction of association. It is accompanied by the repetition of the beginning or the end of the base (Broselow and McCarthy, 2007: 1, 30).

Thus, reduplication is accomplished by the allomorphic variation which is used. Such types can also be applied to the complete reduplication. From the general pattern of the language, reduplication can be prefixal in one case and suffixal in another (Gleason, 1961: 90-1; Matthews, 1974: 127-8; Napoli, 1996: 221; Crystal, 2003: 391; Katamba, 2006: 189; Urbunczy, 2007: 5; and Wikipedia, 2009).

Wikipedia (2009) mentions three kinds of reduplication used in English mostly for the purpose of informal expressive vocabulary. Those types are non- productive, i.e., there is no new form, their parts are firmly fixed:

**a. Rhyming reduplication**

The examples are 'claptrap', 'hockey- pockey', 'slim jim', etc. Sometimes, a semantic component supports such a morphological tendency to reduplicate. For instance, the two parts of the compound word 'walkie-talkie' rhyme in addition to their independent meanings which are connected to each other, and reflect the connotations of the word.

**b. Exact reduplication**

The examples which are taken from the baby- talk, are 'bye- bye', 'choo- choo', 'pee- pee', etc.

c. Ablaut reduplication

This type is exemplified in: 'bric- a- brac', 'chit-chat', 'jibber- jabber'. One of the features which distinguishes this type from the others is that the vowel of the first part is approximately always high and front while that of the second is low and back.

Ghomeshi et al (2004: 308-9) add other types of reduplication with different degrees of productivity in addition to the previous three ones mentioned by Wikipedia:

d. Multiple partial reduplication is exemplified in: 'hap- hap- happy' (in song lyrics).

e. Depricative reduplication. The example is 'table-shmable'.

f. Intensive reduplication: This type is used with adjectives, verbs, prepositions/ adverbs, pronouns and nouns:

1. You're sick sick sick!

2. Let's get out there and win win win!

3. Prices just keep going up up up.

4. All you think about is you you you.

5. It's mine mine mine!

Concerning stress, it is either placed on each item, or it can be of strong- weak- strong stress pattern.

A type of reduplication is used in some languages, which is 'expressive minor'. It is of seldom use, in which the first and last segments of the base are repeated or copied by the initial reduplicant (see Wikipedia, 2009). It also gives a type of infixal reduplication. In 'purple- ma- ple' or

'purpa- ma- ple' (taken from purple), the word consists of two syllables where the slang- 'ma-' infix is inserted between an initial open syllable and the reduplicative one. The first instance of the repeated syllable is decreased to become consonant- schwa.

Ghomeshi et al (2004: 307) add another type which is contrastive reduplication. It is a phenomenon existing in colloquial English whereby the words and sometimes phrases are repeated:

6. It is tuna salad, no SALAD- salad.

**7. Do you LIKE HIM- like him?**

This term is different from reduplication because all its idioms can be repeated, like object pronouns which are mostly copied, but inflectional morphology should not be repeated. So, it can be defined in terms of phonological, morpho-syntactic, and lexical factors. It is also considered as a lexical item with syntactic and semantic content and reduplicative phonology.

**2.2 Phonology**

Reduplication can be described phonologically, i.e. in terms of the sequences of consonants and vowels or prosodic units (syllables or moras) which are reduplicated (Wikipedia, 2009).

Reduplication is different from other reduplicative phenomena in the following: with partial reduplication, the reduplicant is always regarded as a well- defined prosodic constituent, like a foot or a heavy syllable. Every reduplicative morpheme specifies a prosodic category, which possibly results from the repetition of the base. It will be under the prosodic conditions. The same is with full reduplication whereby the copied part is a prosodic form rather than being a foot or a kind of syllable (Ghomeshi, 2004: 310).

In the exact reduplication, a contrastive focus can be found. In general, the first noun is stressed to refer to a literal, not figurative meaning of the noun, or it may refer to a type of platonic idea of the noun:

**8. Is that carrot cheesecake or carrot CAKE- cake?" (Wikipedia, 2009).**

The reduplications which are based on phonology,

are considered as the outcome of the more or less perfect copying of legitimate prosodic constituents like a heavy syllable, a foot, or a prosodic word (Ghomeshi, 2004: 320-1).

There are prosodically based preferences which gradually affect the acceptability of reduplication. For example, the speaker optionally copies the inflectional affixes like 'GUYS- guys' and 'GUY-guys' in which the first part is either copied with or without inflectional affix –s, but the speakers strongly prefer copying object pronouns: 'LIKE-'EM- like- 'em' but not 'LIKE- like 'em' in which the object pronoun 'em is copied (ibid: 334).

When the inflectional affix has a separate syllable, it is preferred to be copied, for example, 'PEACHES- peaches but not 'PEACH- peaches'; 'VOTED- voted' but not 'VOTE- voted', in which –es and –ed are syllables in the words. But if they have not, they are dis-preferred, as in: 'APPLES-apples' and 'APPLE- apples'; 'PLAYED- played' and 'PLAY- played', in which there is one syllable (ibid: 334).

The affixes –ing and –est are preferred to be copied with the base because they always form syllables:

9. I was talking to him that week, but I wasn't TALKING- talking (not TALK- talking).

10. I've been reading Finnegan's Wake. My friends told me it's the hardest book in the English languages. Not the HARDEST- hardest (but not HARD- hardest) (ibid: 334-5).

In addition, speakers prefer reduplicating the words with increased length, like 'BE'ACON-STRE'ET- Beacon- Street'; 'CO'MMONWEALTH-A'VENUE- Commonwealth- Avenue', in which the distinction is a matter of prosodic contour and length while in BA'SSET- HO'RN- basset- horn > E'NGLISH- HO'RN- English- horn; 'CLA'RINE'T-clarinet > CLA'RINE'T- clarinet'. They are minimal pairs, which are different in prosodic contour alone.

A few speakers prefer initial main stress over late main stress preceded by secondary stress (ibid: 335).

A compound word consists of two words. It includes the repetition of the base accompanied

by a change of a vowel. In the first half, the vowel is high front lax /i/ and in the second, the vowel is low /a/, /a:/ or /o/ (Stageberg, 1981: 127-8).

Reduplication is similar to compounding in its prosody only but not in other forms. This is because there is no form of compounding which includes ling phrases like those found in the reduplication (Ghomeshi, 2004: 322).

## 2.3 Morphology

Reduplication is a phenomenon in which a new word is formed when it is used in lexical derivations. It is "a process whereby an affix is realized by phonological material borrowed from the base. Although this process is very widespread, it has tended to be treated as a marginal curiosity by many Eurocentric writers on morphology" (Katamba and Stonham, 2006: 180). Nevertheless, it can be described morphologically, i.e., in terms of linguistic constituents (words, stems or roots) which are repeated (Wikipidia, 2009).

A compound word which may consist of two or more elements results from the reduplication process. There are three classes of compound words where he first class is seldom while the second and third ones are natural (Crystal, 2003: 130):

a. The base is repeated without any change in its sounds: 'goody-goody' "affectedly good" which is informal; 'clop-clop'; 'tick-tick'; 'goobble-goobble'; 'chug-chug'. This class, which is the smallest one, expresses the onomatopoeic phenomenon because they reflect sounds.

b. There is a repetition of the base accompanied by a change of initial consonants: 'fuddy-duddy'; 'tootsie-wootsie'; 'walkie-talkie'.

c. The repetition of the base is accompanied by a change of a vowel: 'chitchat'; 'tiptop'; 'criss-cross'.

In 'dilly-dally', the second part is the basic or originating morpheme; in 'ticktock', the first part is the originating morpheme; in 'singsong', the two parts are the basic morphemes; while in 'boogie-woogie', there is no originating or basic part (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973: 448; and Stageberg, 1981: 127-8).

The part which is reduplicated can be smaller

than the base, that is it is repeated without its inflection: 'GLOVE-gloves'; 'not vans like ours [i.e., minivans], but VAN-vans;

11. We've not one of those COUPLE-couples.

12. In fact, I barely talked to him NOT TALK-talked.

13. But how can we tell when the growing pins stop and the PAIN-pains take over?

14. I did not have a lot of FRIEND-friends.

15. Those GUY-guys, y' know? Those guys with skills?

But there is one example in which the inflection suffix is copied with the base:

16. There is a guy who collects fans, those are not sports fans but FANS-fans (Ghomeshi et al, 2004: 321-2).

There are two cases whereby reduplication is used with sequences that are longer than a word. The first is that the verb is repeated with its clitics to its right- hand side:

17. … you mean thought-about-it considered it or just CONSIDERED-IT-considered it.

The second case is that the idiomatic expressions are copied altogether because copying one word of it is not possible, i.e., if the idiom is not reduplicated as a whole, the result will be a meaningless idiom:

18. OUT-OF-HER-MIND-out-of-her-mind

19. OVER-THE-HILL-over-the-hill (ibid: 321, 329).

The strings, which are non- idiomatic but syntactically parallel, are unable to subject to reduplication:

20. I didn't put it OVER-THE-STOVE-over-the-stove.

21. I didn't hide it UNDER-THE-SOFA-under-the-sofa.

22. We weren't SLEEPING-APART-sleeping-apart.

23. We weren't SINGING-TOGETHER-singing-together.

All those four sentences are ungrammatical because of reduplicating the non- idiomatic strings as a whole (ibid: 321).

With the irregular inflected words, the base should be copied as a whole, otherwise, they will be ungrammatical:

24. When you say she's getting better, do you mean BETTER-better?

25. D' you mean a lot of PEOPLE-people, or a lot of women- people?

This case can be explained more in the following:

'GEESE-geese' but not 'GOOSE-geese'; 'TAUGHT-taught' but not 'TEACH-taught'; 'SEEN-seen' but not 'SEE-seen'. It is the same with derivational morphology: 'RELATIONSHIP-relationship' but not 'RELATION-relationship'; 'ACTOR-actor' but not 'ACT-actor'; 'MARRIED-married' but not 'MARRY-married'. Other examples are: 'SURPRISING-surprising'; 'BOWLING-bowling'.

26. He's a Christian, I mean a CHRISTIAN-Christian.

27. A: Actually, we've done. B: DONE-done.

28. There's cool-geeky and there's GEEKY-geeky. I'm only ever going to be GEEKY- geeky.

But there is an exception:

29. I like wind-surfing not SURF-surfing.

This may be because –ing, which is used between inflection and derivation (Ghomeshi, 2004: 323-324).

There is a possibility of repeating the whole compounds:

30. We have a FIREPLACE-fireplace in the living room (in a discussion of a bricked up fireplace in the speaker's kitchen).

31. GREEN-TEA-green-tea… (in the context of drinking green tea with rice in it).

32. AIR-CANADA-Air-Canada or Canadian- Air Canada?

But not part of it: FIREPLCE-fireplace but not FIRE-fireplace or firePLACE-place; with two exceptions:

33. Totally SELF-self-directed; Wednesday is my WORK-workday (ibid: 324-325).

## 2.4 Syntax

Reduplication has a number of structural properties. In the reduplicative compound, the two parts can be nouns, verbs, adjectives, verb particles, proper names, pronouns and lexicalized expressions:

34. I'll make the tune salad, and you make the SALAD-salad;

35. LIKE-'EM-like-'em? Or I'd like-to-get-stone-credit-for-that-amount like-'em? (with pronominal materials at their right side which occur optionally)

36. Is he French or FRENCH-French?

37. I'm up, I'm just not UP-up.

38. That's not AUCKLAND-Auckland, Is it?

39. My car isn't MINE-mine, it's my parents'.

40. Oh, we're not LIVING-TOGETHER-living-together (Ghomeshi et al, 2004: 309).

Object pronouns and complements are optional to be copied with a head of the noun phrase (i.e., a verb):

41. I mean, I know him, but I don't KNOW-HIM-know him.

In prepositional phrases, there can also be object pronouns:

42. I talked to him that week, but I didn't TALK-TO-HIM-talk-to-him.

43. Did you TALK-ABOUT-IT-talk-about-it, or did you just mention it? (Ibid: 325-6).

Sometimes, reduplication is used in larger combinations (i.e., phrasal and prepositional verbs with their objects) in which they are reduplicated as a whole:

44. Well, he didn't GIVE-IT-TO-ME-give-it-to-me (he only lent it to me).

45. … after we had finally BROKE-IT-OFF-broke-it-off, if I found out he had bought me an engagement ring.

But a preposition cannot be copied without the following pronoun:

46. I didn't CALL-ON-call-on-her.

47. He didn't GIVE-IT-TO-give-it-to-me.

A pronoun with a verb can only be copied without a prepositional phrase:

48. He did not GIVE-IT-give-it-to-me, Harry (Ibid: 326).

Such object pronouns and compliments can be used with adjectives and prepositions, not only with verbs: 'AFRAID-OF-HIM-afraid-of-him'; 'ACROSS-FROM-HER-across-from-her'. If the object is not a pronoun or a pronoun but focused, it will not be within the scope of contrastive reduplication:

49. I can't say I LIKE-like Mary. But not I LIKE MARY-like Mary.

50. I like HIM, but I LIKE-like HER. But not I like HIM, but I LIKE-HER-like-HER (Ibid).

Sometimes, a syntactic element is copied, like 'very':

51. This cake is very very good (Matthews, 2007: 337).

In addition, some grammatical items are doubled like 'only but, or either, dis here, an' plus, as well as; Bill he gone'. Such a repetition is sometimes used with a necessary rhetorical effect:

52. They just eat eat eat; an' it go far far far before we stop it (Crystal, 2003: 347).

Concerning prepositions, the content prepositions are reduplicated:

53. A: I was sitting across from your husband at dinner.

    B: really?

    A: Well, not ACROSS-across (but close by).

Likewise, functional prepositions are not reduplicated:

54. A: Did you go to Montreal?

    *B: Well, not TO-to. (Ghomeshi, et al, 2004:

312).

Furthermore. the compounds as a whole can be nouns: 'walkie-talkie'; adverbs: 'higgledy-piggledy'; adjectives: 'wishy-washy'; or verbs: 'dilly-dally'.

The same compound can be used as a noun at one time and an adjective at another, such as: roly-poly. Another word has two parts of speech which are adjective and verb, as in: 'criss-cross'; or as noun or verb: 'zigzag'; there are compounds which have two parts of speech, they have different meanings , as in: 'helter-skelter'.

## 2.5 Semantics

Reduplicative morphology involves a meaning in order to be expressed, i.e. a reduplicant which is mostly the phonological realization of a morpheme with a meaning. That means a new word is formed either with or without a clear meaning. For example, 'SALAD-salad' denotes "green salad specifically in contrast with salads in general"; 'AUCKLAND-Auckland' refers to "a city in New Zealand as opposite to other cities which may have this name" (Ghomeshi, 2004: 309).

There are some reduplicative compounds mentioned with their meaning as in: 'goody-goody' "affectedly good"; 'picky-picky' "choosy"; 'one one' "all alone"; 'mess mess' "wet and sloppy"; 'fast- fast' "very fast"; 'different-different' "many and different"; 'who-who' "'who' plural", 'food-food' "emphasizing a type of food"; 'car-car' "referring to a vehicle that is actually a car (small automobile) not to another thing like a truck; 'house-house' " referring to a stand-alone house which is in contrast with an apartment, (Crystal, 2003: 347, 356; Ghomeshi et al, 2004: 311-2 ; and Wikipedia, 2009):

55. Should I wear a HAT- hat? (as opposed to another type of hat(a yarmulke)).

56. I had a JOB-job once (a 'real' 9-to-5 office job, as opposed to an academic job).

57. Are you LEAVING- leaving" (i.e. are you "really" leaving (for good), or are you just stepping out for a minute).

Reduplication is used with proper names but with ambiguity. Three cases should be mentioned: a) A noun is ambiguous, i.e. we do not know whether it

is a proper or common; b) More than one person who has the same name is known by the discourse participants. The function of reduplication refers to the most salient (important or well-known) referent:

58. So did you go to the movie with DAVE-Dave, or with Dave? [that is, the Dave is best known to the speaker and hearer]; c) it makes a comparison between individual's typical behavior, and an abnormal and uncharacteristic one, or between one's inner self and a public persona:

59. A: That doesn't sound like Murray.

   B: Remember that he joined that cult the spiritologists.

   A: MURRAY-Murray!?

It is also used to refer to the nature of the individual in question made by pronouns which are copied:

60. You see me for a couple of hours out of everyday, and you think you know me? The ME-me? (ibid: 314).

Four meanings are expressed by reduplication. The above three cases reflect the first meaning which is prototypical; the second is literal:

61. There is a dialogue between a married couple, recently separated and how living apart.

A: May be you'd like to come in and have some coffee?

B: Yeah, I'd like that.

A: Just COFFEE-coffee, no double meanings.

The third meaning is intensification, for example, 'tip-top','teeny-weeny':

A: [to B who is about to give a recital]: Are you nervous?

B: Yeah, but you know, not NERVOUS-nervous.

The fourth meaning is the 'value-added':

A: I hear you guys are, um, living together now.

B: Well, we're not LIVING TOGETHER- living together.

There is a strong relationship between reduplication and ambiguity. It pushes the listener to conclude the ambiguity of any term even if he/she did not know that term. So, in:

A: I've been invited to go bowling tonight.

B: BOWLING-bowling.

The listener concludes by force that there is more than one kind of bowling (ibid: 315).

Reduplication is used to express many meanings crosslinguistically, which relate to inflectional and derivational morphemes. Many of the reduplications are taken from nursery, like 'din-din' "dinner". Some usages of reduplication are common in English:

a. imitating sounds, as in: 'tick-tock' (of clock), 'ding-dong', 'bow-wow';

b. suggesting alternating movements, as in: 'see saw', 'flip-flop';

c. disparaging by suggesting instability, nonsense, insincerity, vacillation, etc, as in: 'higgledy-piggledy', 'wishy-washy', 'dilly-dally' (Quirk and Greenbaum, 1973: 448; Crystal, 2003: 130; and Ghomeshi et al, 2004: 341).

There are two groups of the reduplicative compounds:

a. The two elements are combined to produce a compound word which carries a meaning:

### Table 1: The Meanings of Some Reduplicative Compounds

| The reduplicative compound | Its meaning |
|---|---|
| mish-mash, n: | a confused mixture of different kinds of things, styles, etc. |
| riff-raff, n: | an insulting way of referring to people of low social class or people who are not considered socially acceptable |
| will-nilly, adv: | 1) whether you want to or not ; 2) in a careless way without planning |
| bric-a-brac: | ornaments and other small decorative objects of little value |
| claptrap, n: | stupid talk that has no value |
| dodo, n: | a large bird that could not fly and that is now extinct |
| shilly-shally, v: | to take a long time to do something, especially to make a decision. |
| goody-goody: | affectedly good |
| walkie-talkie ,n: | a small radio that you can carry with you and use it to send and receive messages. |
| din-din: | dinner |
| hurly-burly, n: | a very nosy and busy activity or situation |
| helter-skelter, n: | a tall tower at a FAIRGROUND that has a path twisting around the outside of it from the top to the bottom for people to slide down.; adj: done in a hurry and in a way that lacks organization. |
| busy lizzie, n: | a small plant with a lot of red, pink or white flowers, often grown indoors or in gardens. |
| humdrum, adj: | boring and always the same |
| flipflop, n: | a type of a sandal (open shoe); v: to change your opinion about something, especially when you then hold the opposite opinion. |
| knick-knack, n: | a small decorative object in a house. |
| Zigzag, n: | a line or pattern that looks like series of letter w>s as it bends to the left and then to the right again. V: to move forward by making sharp sudden turns first to the left and then to the right. |
| hocus-pocus: | language or behaviour that is nonsense and is intended to hide the truth from people. |
| chitchat, n: | conversation about things that are not important. |
| criss-cross, adj, n: | with many straight lines that cross each other. |

| tick-tock, n: | used to describe the sounds of a large clock. |
|---|---|
| see-saw, n: | a piece of equipment for children to play on. |
| higgledy-piggledy, adv: | in an untidy way that lacks any order. |
| wishy-washy, adj: | 1) not having clear or firm ideas or beliefs, 2) not bright in colour. |
| tip-top, adj: | excellent |
| ding-dong, n: | used to represent the sound made by a bell. |
| ping-pong, n: | table tennis |
| teeny-weeny: | very small, or connected with people between 13 and 19 years old. |
| dilly-dally, v: | to take too long to do something, go somewhere or make a decision. |
| boogie-woogie, n: | a type of blues music played on the piano, with a fast strong rhythm. |
| wiggle-waggle, v: | to make something move from one side to another or up and down. |
| pitter-patter, adv: | with quick light steps or beats. |
| nitwit, n: | a stupid person |

 The above table shows that there is a compound which has two meanings (<wishy-washy>) , there are two compounds which are synonyms (<teeny-weeny> and <teensy-weensy>), and compounds which have two elements which are synonyms (<wiggle-waggle>).

b. There are some reduplicative compounds occurring without a meaning, such as: <tootsie-wootsie'; 'kit-kat'; 'itsy-bitsy'; 'razzle-dazzle'; 'super-duper'; 'hugger-mugger'; 'lovey-dovey'; 'heebie-jeebies'; 'hootchy-kootchy'; 'rowdy-dowdy'; 'hotsy-totsy'; 'picky-picky'; 'harum-scarum'; 'hokey-pokey'; 'slim jim'; 'wingding'; 'jibber-jabber'; 'kitty-cat'; 'splish-splash'; 'pall-mall'; 'flim-flam'; 'geeky-geeky'.

## 3. Reduplication in Arabic

This section describes reduplication in Arabic showing some phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects of this process.

## 3.1 Types

There are bases which are depended on in classifying reduplication into various types. These bases are described below with examples:

1. Whether all or part of the base is copied or not is one basis. For example, 'zajdan zajdan' "a name of a man" in which the whole base is repeated while in 'θiqa niqa' "confidence", a part of the base is repeated. So, there are two types of reduplication (full and partial).

2. According to Ibn-Faris (qtd in Al-Suyoti, 1998: 324), two types are mentioned on the basis of whether the

parts which follow each other in the reduplicative construction have the same morphological wazn, like 'rad3ulan rad3ulan' "a man", or a different one, like 'xalid talid' "immortal".

3. On the basis of meaning, the second part of the reduplicative can be meaningful '9atʃan natʃan' "hungry" or has an unclear meaning 'saGib laGib', the first part of which means "hungry, starving" (Ibn-Faris qtd in ibid), or the two parts have the same meaning 'xafawat lafawat' "quiet" or both parts are different in their meaning, 'baðiir 9afiir' "sowing, dust".

4. On the basis of the number of parts, the reduplicative construction may consist of two parts only 'ʃai9 ðai9' "widespread, well-known", three parts 'ʃaHiiH baHiiH naHiih' "greedy" or four parts 'Haqiir naqiir fatiil naqiir' " low, base, an utterly worthless thing, nothing at all, not the least little bit".

5. Depending on the direction of the vowel effect on the preceding and following sounds, we distinguish regressive and progressive reduplication. Regressive reduplication involves that the first vowel is affected by the second one to be similar to it while the progressive one involves the second vowel affecting the first one (Al-Mutalibi, 1984: 185).

6. Depending on the basis of meaning which is expressed by tri-consonantal roots: we have intensive and pejorative reduplication. A verb is derived from another one by inserting a copy of the first root consonant to the right of the second root. So, those two types are included within internal reduplication (Broselow and Mccarthy, 2007: 11-2.

7. In Arabic, reduplication may be:

a. parsing reduplication in which the following element is given a rule of parsing of the first element;

b. Letter Reduplication in which the word last letter is given the short vowels of the previous letter 'kafa?tumu' " You awarded "); and

c. Emphatic reduplication in which an element follows another one that has a certain meaning Both have the same morphological wazn to achieve verbal and semantic emphasis (Yaqub,

1988: 120-1).

## 3.2 Phonology

The analysis carried out here involves categorizing the data depending upon the number of syllables and the type of change that happens to the base. Such an analysis may provide us with a number of rules for reduplication in Arabic. So, this section is to be divided into groups that will be listed in tables below:

a. In the compound of this group, the base is copied. The base and the reduplicative element become the same with a change in the initial consonant: 'na9is wa9is' "sleepy, to make experiences"; '9ald3am xald3am' "long and large".

b. The bases and the reduplicated elements are different in the first and the second syllables in which the change is in the initial consonant. The compounds are disyllabic or tri-syllabic:

### Table 2: The Second Group of Reduplicative Compounds

| the compound word |
|---|
| xarab jabab |
| muDja9 musja9 |
| maʃiiH qaziiH |
| qabiiH ʃaqiiH |
| Baðiir 9afiir |
| Gani qali |
| maHiiS maqiiS |
| 9ariiD ?niiD |
| Haʃal fasal |
| Hani?an mari?an |

c. The base and its reduplicated element are similar to each other in syllables except the second syllable which includes a consonant that is different from one element into another. The compounds can either by di- tri- or quadric-syllabic:

### Table 3: The Third Group of Reduplicative Compounds

| |
|---|
| aswan atwan |
| ?aʃaq ?amaq |
| ?aʃar ?afar |
| mud3arab mudarab |
| muxarnaTam mubarnaTam |
| alGadaja al9aʃaja |

d. There can be two elements with the same

morphological wazn but their syllables are different in terms of different sounds although there is one or more similar sound: 'xazjan sawan' in which the last syllable has the same /a/ and /n/; In 'Samit naTiq', the first syllable has /a/.

e. A change may happen in the copied element to have the same morphological wazn of the base: '9ajj ʃaj?' "vile". The original form of 'ʃaj?' is 'ʃawii'.

f. Disyllabic words like 'safal waGal' are different in their first and second syllables but with the same /l/.

g. Some disyllabic compounds, like 'ta9riid3 ta9wiid3' have the same first syllable but different in the second one by changing the initial consonant in contrary with '?xras ?Dras' which have the same second syllable but different in the first one.

h. Tri-syllabic words like '9aðufan 9adofan', 'alDalal al?alal' are similar in their first and last syllables and different in the second one.

i. Disyllabic words like 'xasir damir xasir dabir'; 'Dajaq lajaq Dayaq 9ajaq'; 'kaθiir baðiir kaθiir bad3iir' are similar to each other in their first part but different in the other syllables.

## 3.3 Morphology

This section is divided into two parts on certain bases: the basis of the first part is that of whether the base and the reduplicative element are written as one word: 'xazbaz' "the sound of the fly", two separate words without a hyphen: 'xalad3a walad3a' "misgiving, intimate friend". The second part is written on the basis of whether the two elements produce a new compound word: 'aswan' "sadness" and 'atwan' "one is coming' are combined together to form a new word with a new meaning which is 'aswan atwan' "sad and hesitant who is going and coming because of sadness", another example is 'hamiz' "to prick, to urge on" and 'lamiz' "a wink or to speak ill" are combined to give a new word which is 'hummaza lummaza' "innuendoes, defamatory"; or the two elements are combined but they do not form a new word, i.e. the resulting word has the same meaning of both elements: 'd3adiid qaʃiib' "new". So, a degree of productivity is different from one reduplicative compound into another.

## 3.4 Syntax

This section describes the grammatical categories of the reduplicative compounds in addition to the structure of sentences reduplicated if there are.

In the reduplicative compounds, the elements can be nouns: 'ʃajTan lajTan' "devil"; plural nouns '?ad3ma9on?akta9on ?abSa9on' ; adjectives: 'xafif ðafif' "fast"; verbs 'jaqfit jalfit' "to beak it"; adverbs: 'xiDaran miDaran' " he was killed without doing any crime"; and sentences: 'Hajak Allah wa bajak' "to make laugh".

Some elements are separated by 'waw': 'min Hisiihi wa basihi'; 'wala': 'wala baraka Allah fih wala darak' " Allah may not bless him and his house"; 'min': 'la hariran min Gariir'; and '?ajn': '?ajn saka9a wa ?ajn naka9a' "where is he going?". Those examples are considered by some people as reduplicative compounds but Al- Suyoti (1998: 324-5) and Ibn- Sayada (P. 24) refuse that because of the existence of 'waw, wala, min, ?ajn' between the two words. In the reduplicative compound, the two words can not be separated by anything. So, Ibn- Al-Dahhan (qotd in Al-Suyoti, 1998: 330-1) supported the previous idea by saying that the process of combining the above words is not reduplication but emphasis. This issue is thus proved: the reduplicated element emphasizes the base and its meaning is not clear by itself without the base: '?ad3ma9 ?akta9 ?abSa9' in which '?akta9' can not be said alone without '?ad3ma9'. In addition, al- Sabki (qtd in Al- Suyoti, 1998: 325) said that there is a difference between emphasis and reduplication in that emphasis provides strengthening which refuses optionality and the reduplicative element should be on the same wazn of the base. Such a condition is not found with emphasis.

Furthermore, the reduplicative compound may consist of two or four elements as shown above, or three, as in: 'ʃaðar maðar baðar' "scattered here and there"; 'ʃaða faða baða'; 'Harun d3arun jarun'; '?anadan samadan sarmadan'; 'raGman daGman ʃanGaman'; 'la barak Allah fiih wala tarik wala darak'; 'Hasan basan qasan' "good looking", etc. Al-Qali (qtd in Al-Suyoti (1998: 326) commented on 'Hasan basan' saying that 'al-noon' may be considered a kind of epithesis, i.e. it is not a part of the word. so, the infinitive is as if 'bas', and 'al-noon' is added for the purpose of

reduplication. If there is no 'al-noon' at the end of 'bas', there will not be a reduplicated element with the base for a reduplicative compound.

### 3.5 Semantics

On the basis of meaning, the reduplicative compounds are divided into three groups:

a. the second part has the same meaning of the base with a different pronunciation for the purpose of emphasis:

Table 4: A Two-Word Group with the Same Meaning

| The compound | Its meaning | The compound | Its meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| qasiim wasiim | a handsome man | HaẒa baẒa | too much meat |
| Da?iil ba»iil | a little | HiS biS | in a puzzle |
| 9atʃan natʃan | worried | 9ak ?k | too hot day |
| xabiθ nabiθ | knavish | hitan bitan | to break them |
| 9ariiD ?ariiD | good looking | Tibun libun | smart |
| θaqif laqif | It is good in wrapping. | Harib d3arib | suffering from pain |
| salix malix | without any taste | Saltan faltan | active |
| sahad mahad | good looking | Hawθan bawθan | It attracts their attention. |
| Saqrun maqrun | the honey of the dates | samhad3 lamhad3 | fat and delicious |
| Hadra badra | great | Gawd3 mawd3 | to take large strides |
| za9ir ma9ir | a little hair | hajaT majaT | much treatment |
| ha9in la9in | coward | Sam9a lam9a | intelligent |
| samak lamak | high | 9ald3am xald3am | long and large |
| 9abd3an ?jman | impatient | xazin ʃazin | difficult and covered with rock |
| kaθiir baθiir | too much | samla9 hamla9 | It is used to describe a wolf. |
| Sajar ʃajar | good looking | fadam ladam | stupid |
| θa9ad ma9ad | softening of the dates | sabHal rabHal | huge |
| Haʃara maʃara | kind | qaʃab xaʃab | a man without any benefit |
| wa9iq la9iq | seek | kafrayn 9afrayn | malicious |
| kaẒa baẒa | hard and stern | baqa9 salqa9 | desert, wasteland |
| Hati? naTi? | vile | Halalan balalan | legitimate |
| Ha?ir ba?ir | very puzzled | hak9a nak9a | food |
| ?θGa wala ?rGa | He did not give me cows or sheep. | la ja9ruf al-Huu min al-luu | He is ignorant. |
| sabad wala labad | when the chicken>s features begin growing up | ma ja9ruf hiran min biran | He does not know who is or against him. |
| 9afrit nafrit | knavish | waHid qaHid | when the hump of the camel grows up |
| laHzun laSbun | greedy | naðil raðil | vile |

b. The second part has a meaning which is different from the first one:

### Table 5: A Two-Word Group with Different Meaning

| the compound | Meaning of the First Part | Meaning of the Second Part |
|---|---|---|
| Samit wa naTiq | gold and silver | cows and sheep |
| d3a?i9 na?i9 | hungry | Thirsty |
| raba9 wala haja9 | what is produced in Spring | what is produced in Summer |
| ʃakis lakis | bad- mannered | hard and difficult |
| xaba Daba | to amble animal, to surge | to take hold of something |
| fiqah niqah | to understand | to recover |
| samid3 lamid3 | disgusting | to take a snack |
| kaza laza | dry | bolt, staple |

c. The third group is meaningless:

Table 6: A Two-Word Group with  Meaningful and Meanigless Parts

| The reduplicative word | The meaning of the meaningful part | The meaningless part |
|---|---|---|
| Har jar | hot | jar |
| tafih nafih | trivial | nafih |
| saGib laGib | hungry, starving | laGib |
| ?9maʃ ?rmaʃ | affected with an eye disease | ?rmaʃ |
| Dal tal | a straying from the right path or from truth | Tal |
| ʃaGab d3aGab | unrest, trouble | d3aGab |
| Da9if na9if | weak | na9if |
| ʃadiid ?adiid | strong, powerful | ?adiid |
| sahwan rahwan | distracted | rahwan |
| sadman nadman | repentful | sadman |
| HabaD nabaD | pulsation | HabaD |

d. The fourth group is meaningless as a whole: 'sa?iG la?iG'; 'ma?iq da?iq;, 'xa?ib ha?ib'.

Furthermore, there is a group of words that do two jobs, like 'maðar' is combined with 'ʃaðar' to give us a new word 'ʃaðar maðar' "scattered here and there", but when it is combined with 'haðar', a new word 'haðar maðar' will be meaningless since both parts are of different meanings: 'maðar' "scattered" and 'haðar' "prattle". In addition, there can be two compounds which are synonyms, like 'raðil naðil' and 'Hati? Nati?' which mean "vile".

Al-Sabki and Al-Razi (qtd in Al-Suyoti, 1998: 325) said that some people think that reduplication is like synonymy but it is not. With synonymy, each synonym can be used alone and function without depending on the other one while with reduplication, the reduplicative element can not function without the base. But in some compound constructions, the words are synonyms ('xabiθ nabiθ' "malicious") and the words can also be antonyms ('la qabiilan min dabiir') " the front of something which is the opposite of being back of something".

Arabs use reduplication to achieve a certain aim. Reduplication is used to express emphasis and intensification. For example, '9atʃan natʃan' "worried"; 'laflaf' "to wrap" and 'ʃamʃam' (Al-Suyoti, 1998: 324 and El-Zarka: 2).

Then, Al-Jazairi (2010: 1) considers reduplication as "one of the mysterious things of language" that attracts its users' attention. This is certain because reduplication is a process which has its role in language and it is a part of that language which is used by the people in many world languages.

**4. Reduplication in English and Arabic**

This section sheds light on points of difference and similarity of reduplication in English and Arabic:

a. The points of difference are:

1. Both languages are different in the ways of classifying reduplication into various types. In English, there is more than one way of classifying reduplication. On the basis whether the whole or part of it is repeated, there are two types: full and partial. It is divided into three types: prefixal, infixal and suffixal because reduplication is a process of affixation. When reduplication expresses some meanings informally but without production, it is divided into three types: rhyming, exact and ablaut. On the basis of different degrees of production, three types are mentioned: multiple, depricative and intensification. There is another type which is contrastive reduplication depending on its use and existence in colloquial English.

On the other hand, in Arabic, there are various types of classifying it: on the basis of whether the two elements have the same morphological wazn or different; the two elements are similar or different in meaning; or the second element has a meaning or unclear meaning, a number of elements in the compound.

2. Phonologically, reduplications is regarded as the result of the more or less perfect copying of legitimate prosodic constituents like a heavy syllable, a foot, or a prosodic word. The inflectional, derivational affixes and the syntactic categories are subjected to prosodic rules. Furthermore, speakers prefer reduplicating the words with increased length. A compound word includes the repetition of the base accompanied by a change of a vowel. In the first half, the vowel is high front lax /i/ and in the second, the vowel is low /a/, /a:/ or /o/.

O the other hand, in Arabic, there are di-, tri-, quadric-syllabic words which are analyzed in terms of whether they are similar or different in their syllables. Such a process is achieved in rules.

3. In English, a reduplicative construction can be of three classes: repetition of the base without any change, the base is repeated with a change in the initial consonant, or with a vowel.

In contrary, in Arabic, it can be of different classes depending on the number of the syllables in addition to their sounds (consonants and vowels).

4. In Arabic, there are no elements which can be hyphenated, but in English, the elements can be separated by a hyphen, space or written as one word.

5. In English, the two parts can be nouns, verbs, adjectives, verb particles, proper names, pronouns, sentences and lexicalized expressions. Object pronouns, complements, prepositional phrases, phrasal and prepositional verbs, functional and content prepositions, and other grammatical items subject to rules of reduplication.

In contrast to that, in Arabic, the two parts can be nouns, plural nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs and sentences only.

6. English uses reduplication for various purposes while Arabic uses it for the purpose of emphasis and intensification only.

7. In English, concerning stress, it is either placed on each item, or it can be of strong- weak- strong stress pattern. While in Arabic, there are no studies which mention how and where to place stress on a word.

8. In English, the initial consonants and medial vowels are changed when the base is copied while in Arabic there is a change in the consonants and vowels but it is not necessary to be the initial or medial ones.

9. In Arabic, there are some particles like 'waw, ?ayn, min, wala' which separate the elements in the compound while in English there are no such particles.

10. In English, in some words, the basic or originating morpheme is the first part or the second, or both parts are the base or there is no basic morpheme. There are some morphological rules which control the inflectional and derivational suffixes, idioms, compounds. On the other hand, Arabic does not give information about which element is the base and which the reduplicative element is.

11. In Arabic, three groups of reduplicative compounds exist: the second element has the same of the first one , or different from it or meaningless. Both elements can be synonyms or antonyms and two compounds can be synonyms. While in English, there are compounds which are meaningful and others which are meaningless. There are compounds which carry two meanings because they have two different parts of speech. Two compounds are synonyms and others consist of two elements which are synonyms.

12. Syntactically, in English, the words as compounds can be nouns, adverbs, adjectives, and verbs. The same compound has two parts of speech.

b. The points of similarity are:

1. There are two types of reduplication: full and partial.

2. The reduplicative construction may consist of two or more elements.

3. There are some reduplicative compounds formed with or without a new m e a n i n g .

## 5. Conclusions

1. The reduplicative compound is used for derivational and inflectional purposes.

2. Reduplication is different from other reduplicative phenomena in the following: with partial reduplication, the reduplicant is always regarded as a well- defined prosodic constituent, like a foot or a heavy syllable. The same is with full reduplication whereby the copied part is a prosodic form rather than being a foot or a kind of syllable.

3. Sometimes, reduplication and repetition coincide in that the two parts of reduplicative compound can either be placed under reduplication or repetition.

4. Different points of view exist in the literature on whether reduplication is emphasis or synonymy or not.

5. The use of reduplicative compounds is considered informal and disapproving.

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Appendix I: The English and Arabic Data

a. The English data

b. The Arabic Data

Appendix II: A List of the Symbols of English and Arabic Phonemes2

a. English Symbols

/i/ as in 'pit' /pit/ 　　　　 /i:/ as in 'key' /ki:/

/e/ as in 'pet' /pet/ 　　　　 /a:/ as in 'car' /ka:/

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| /a/ as in 'pat' /pat/ | /oː/ as in 'core' / koː/ | /θ/ | /θa9lb/ | 'fox' |
| /ʌ/ as in 'putt' /pʌt/ | /uː/ as in 'coo' /kuː/ | /ð/ | /ðabha/ | 'he threw it' |
| /o/ as in 'pot' /pot/ ɜː/ | / ɜː/ as in 'cur' /k | /D/ | /DabuT/ | 'an officer' |
| | | /s/ | /suug/ | 'market' |
| /u/ as in 'put' /put/ | | /S/ | /Sabur/ | 'patience' |
| /ə/ as in 'about' /əbaut/ | | /z/ | /zraar/ | 'button' |
| /ei/ as in 'bay' /bei/ | /əu/ as in 'go' /g əu/ | /t3/ | /t3aali/ | 'bank of the river' |
| /ai/ as in 'buy' /bai/ kau/ | /au/ as in 'cow' / | /ʃ/ with you? | /ʃmaalak/ | 'What is wrong |
| /oi/ as in 'boy' /boi/ | | /x/ | /xubuz/ | 'bread' |
| /iə/ as in 'peer' /piə/ | | /G/ | /Graab/ | 'crow' |
| /eə/ as in 'pear' /peə/ | | /h/ | /hnaa/ | 'here' |
| /uə/ as in 'poor' /puə/ | | /H/ | /Hariim/ | 'women' |
| /p/ as in 'pea' /piː/ | /b/ as in 'bee' /biː/ | / b / | /baab/ | 'door' |
| /t/ as in 'toe' /təu/ dəu/ | /d/ as in 'doe' / | /t/ | /timman/ | 'rice' |
| /k/ as in 'cap' /kap/ | /g/ as in 'gap' /gap/ | /T/ | /TamaTa/ | 'tomatoes' |
| /f/ as in 'fat' /fat/ | /v/ as in 'vat' /vat/ | /d/ | /tdanna/ | 'be nearby' |
| /θ/ as in 'thing' / θiŋ/ | /ð/ as in 'this' /ðis/ | /D/ | /Daal/ | 'staying' |
| /s/ as in 'sip' /sip/ | /z/ as in 'zip' /zip/ | /k/ | /ka9ak/ | 'cake' |
| /ʃ/ as in 'ship' /ʃip/ /me3ə/ | / 3/ as in 'measure' | /q/ | /qadiim/ | 'old' |
| /h/ as in 'hat' /hat/ | | /?/ | /?amis/ | 'yesterday' |
| /m/ as in 'map' /map/ | /l/ as in 'led' /led/ | /d3/ | /d3amaal/ | 'beauty' |
| /n/ as in 'nap' /nap/ | /r/ as in 'red' /red/ | /g/ | /ga9ad/ | 'he set down' |
| /ŋ/ as in 'hang' /haŋ/ | /j/ as in 'yet' /jet/ | /m/ | /minhuu/ | 'Who is it?' |
| | /w/ as in 'wet' /wet/ | /n/ | /nibaH/ | 'barked' |
| | | /l/ | /limna/ | 'gather us' |
| /tʃ/ as in 'chin' /tʃin/ d3in/ | /d3/ as in 'gin' / | /w/ | /wajjaana/ | 'with us' |
| | | /j/ | /jamta/ | 'when' |
| **b. Arabic Symbols** | | /9/ | /9aali/ | 'high' |
| /f/ /fiil/ | 'an elephant' | /r/ | /ramul/ | 'sand' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /p/ | /parda/ | 'curtain' |
| /i/ | /mi9da/ | 'stomach' |
| /ii/ | /biina/ | 'in us' |
| /a/ | /saliim/ | 'healthy' |
| /aa/ | /salim/ | 'safe' |
| /oo/ | /tilifoon/ | 'telephone' |
| /u/ | /ummii/ | 'my mother' |
| /uu/ | /9uud/ | 'stick' |

(Endnotes)

1       I would like to acknowledge my indebtedness to Prof. Mohammed Jasim Betti for reading and commenting on an earlier version of this paper.

2       The English and Arabic symbols are taken from Betti (2007: 409-10) and Roach (1988: 6).