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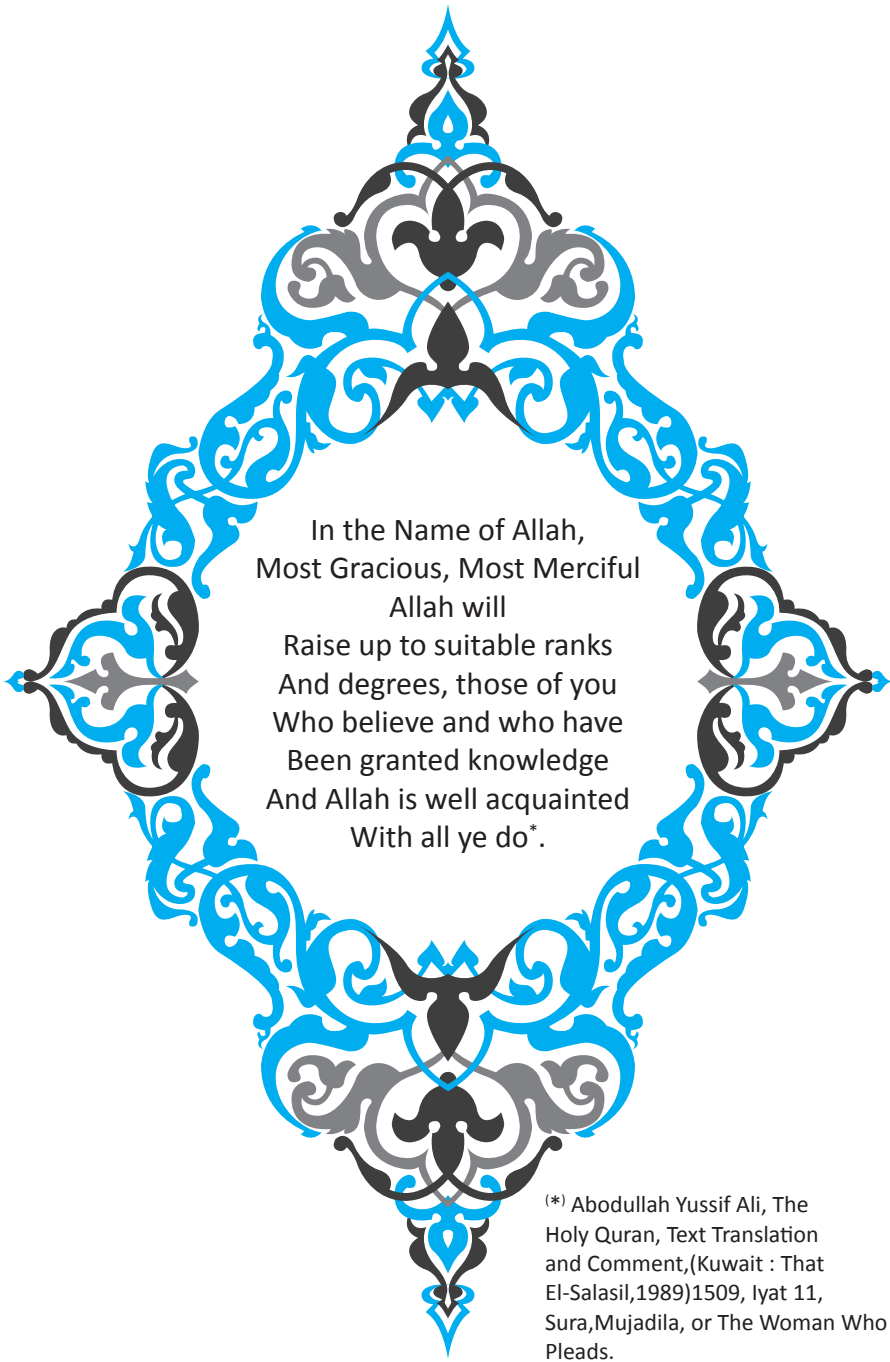
In the Name of Allah,
Most Gracious, Most Merciful
Allah will
Raise up to suitable ranks
And degrees, those of you
Who believe and who have
Been granted knowledge
And Allah is well acquainted
With all ye do[*].

(*) Abodullah Yussif Ali, The Holy Quran, Text Translation and Comment,(Kuwait : That El-Salasil,1989)1509, Iyat 11, Sura,Mujadila, or The Woman Who Pleads.

Publication Conditions

Inasmuch as Al-`Ameed [Pillar] Abualfadhal Al-`Abass cradles his adherents from all humankind, verily Al-`Ameed journal does all the original scientific research under the provisos below:

1. Publishing the original scientific research in the various humanist sciences keeping pace with the scientific research procedures and the global common standards; they should be written either in Arabic or English and have never been published before.

2. Being printed on A4, delivering a copy and CD having,approximately, 5,000 - 10,000 words under simplified Arabic or times new Roman font and being in pagination.

3. Delivering the abstracts, Arabic or English, not exceeding a page,350 words, with the research title. For the study the should be Key words more few words.

4. The front page should have; the name of the researcher / researchers, address, occupation, (Inglish & Arabic), telephone number and email, and taking cognizance of averting a mention of the researcher / researchers in the context.

5. Making an allusion to all sources in the endnotes,and taking cognizance of the common scientific procedures in documentation; the title of the book and page number.

6. Submitting all the attached sources for the marginal notes, in the case of having foreign sources, there should be a bibliography apart from the Arabic one,and such books and research should be arranged alphabetically.

7. Printing all tables, pictures and portraits on attached papers, and making an allusion to their sources at the bottom of the caption, in time there should be a reference to them in the context.

8. Attaching the curriculum vitae, if the researcher co-operates with the journal for the first time, so it is to manifest whether the actual research submitted to a conference or a symposium for publication or not. There should be an indication to the sponsor of the project, scientific or nonscientific, if any.

9. For the research should never have been published previously, or submitted to any means of publication; in part, the researcher is to make a covenant certifying the abovementioned cases.

10. In the journal do all the published ideas manifest the viewpoints of the researcher himself; it is not necessary to come in line with the issuing vicinity, in time, the research stratification is subject to technical priorities.

11. All the research studies are to be subject to Turnitin.

12. All research exposed to confidential revision to state their reliability for publication. No research retrieved to researchers; whether they are approved or not; it takes the procedures below:

    a: A researcher should be notified to deliver the meant research for publication in a two-week period maximally from the time of submission.

    b: A researcher whose paper approved is to be apprised of the edition chief approval and the eminent date of publication.

c: With the rectifiers reconnoiters some renovations or depth,before publishing, the research are to be retrieved to the researchers to accomplish them for publication.

d: Notifying the researchers whose research papers are not approved; it is not necessary to state the whys and wherefores of the disapproval.

e: A researcher destowed a version in which the meant research published, and a financial reward.

13. Taking into consideration some points for the publication priorities, as follows:

a: Research participated in conferences and adjudicated by the issuing vicinity.

b: The date of research delivery to the edition chief.

c: The date of the research that has been renovated.

d: Ramifying the scope of the research when possible.

14. With the researcher is not consented to abort the process of publication for his research after being submitted to the edition board, there should be reasons the edition board convinced of with proviso it is to be of two-week period from the submission date.

15. It is the right of the journal to translate a research papre into other languges without giving notice to the researcher.

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Most Compassionate, Most Merciful
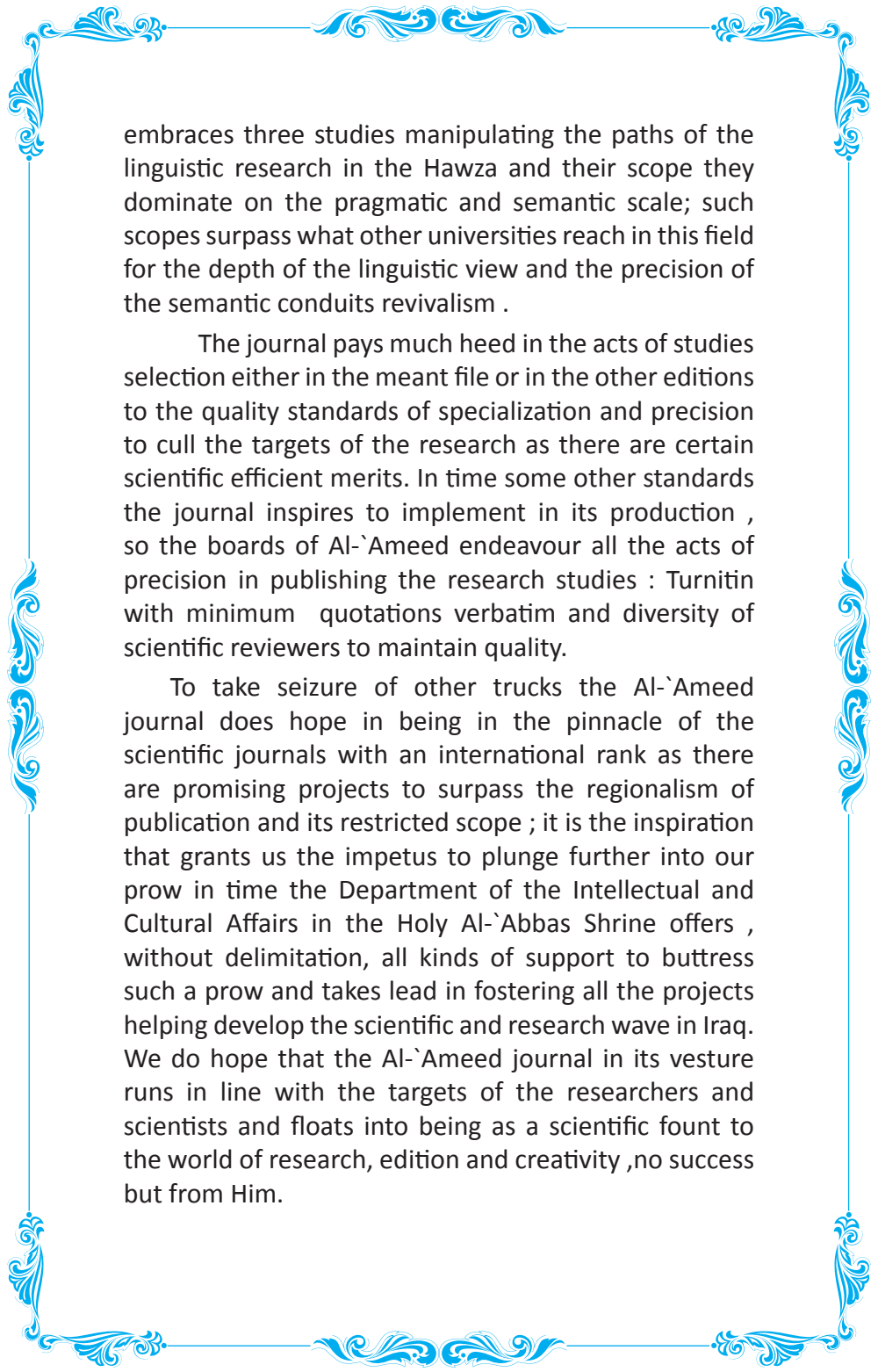
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Thanks be to the Evolver of the universe, peace be to the prophet of guidance Mohammad and his immaculate posterity, the guidance lodestars and light of science and knowledge

Now:

For Al-`Ameed Journal it is a procession in the heart of the scientific research and the wave of curricula development in all the fields of knowledge to have its niche between the peer refereed journals in light of scientific meant plans of preparation, planning, programing and selecting the pinnacle research papers ramifying into diverse specific axes to meet the polemic, intellectual and scientific requirements of both the literature and the researcher. It is quite convenient to perceive the specializations of these papers tackling linguistics, eloquence, the Quranic use of utterances, tracing the linguistic approach for the infallibles, science of administration, modern languages, history, methodology and foreign languages , such diversification lays the hand of the readership on their targets in all walks of science and gives force to the policy of the polemic, cultural and intellectual constellation on the scale of polemic perfection philosophy.

For truth the journal sets the patterns to the nexus between such a philosophy and its confirmed plans in having a file specifying an issue under certain research papers: Linguistic Lesson in the Scientific Hawza

embraces three studies manipulating the paths of the linguistic research in the Hawza and their scope they dominate on the pragmatic and semantic scale; such scopes surpass what other universities reach in this field for the depth of the linguistic view and the precision of the semantic conduits revivalism .

The journal pays much heed in the acts of studies selection either in the meant file or in the other editions to the quality standards of specialization and precision to cull the targets of the research as there are certain scientific efficient merits. In time some other standards the journal inspires to implement in its production , so the boards of Al-`Ameed endeavour all the acts of precision in publishing the research studies : Turnitin with minimum quotations verbatim and diversity of scientific reviewers to maintain quality.

To take seizure of other trucks the Al-`Ameed journal does hope in being in the pinnacle of the scientific journals with an international rank as there are promising projects to surpass the regionalism of publication and its restricted scope ; it is the inspiration that grants us the impetus to plunge further into our prow in time the Department of the Intellectual and Cultural Affairs in the Holy Al-`Abbas Shrine offers , without delimitation, all kinds of support to buttress such a prow and takes lead in fostering all the projects helping develop the scientific and research wave in Iraq. We do hope that the Al-`Ameed journal in its vesture runs in line with the targets of the researchers and scientists and floats into being as a scientific fount to the world of research, edition and creativity ,no success but from Him.
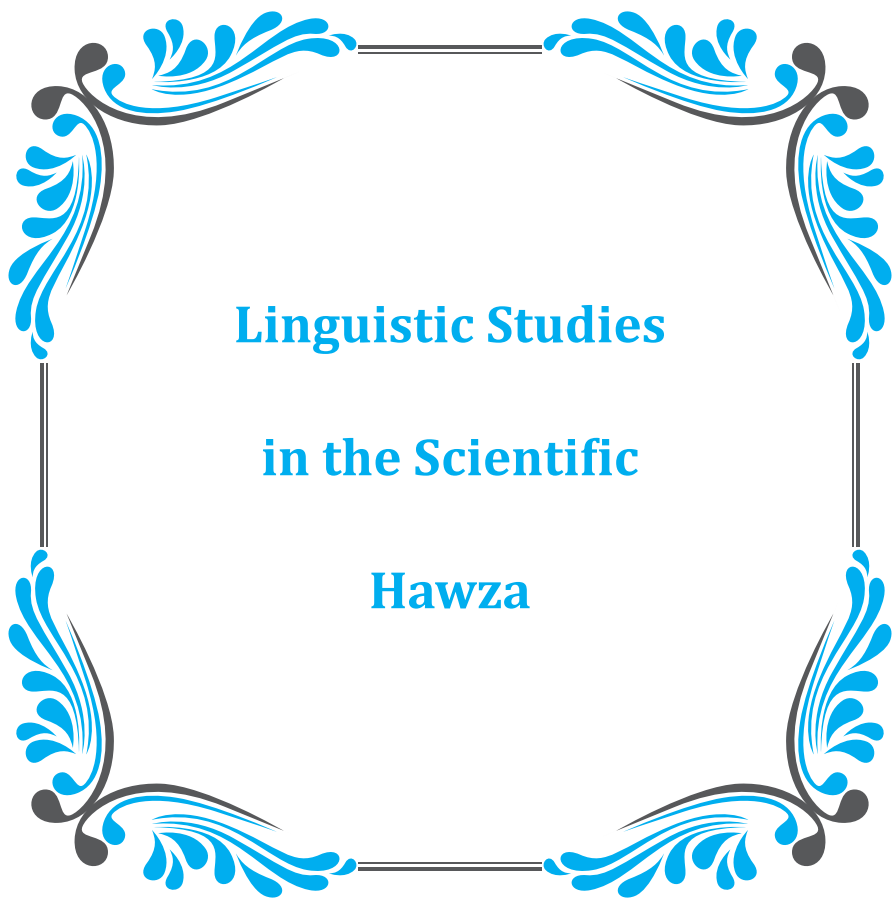
Linguistic Studies

in the Scientific

Hawza

A Linguistic Analysis
of American English Military
Slang with Reference
to Iraq War in 2003

تحليل لغوي
للمفردات العامية العسكرية
للغة الانكليزية الامريكية
بالإشارة الى الحرب على العراق
عام ٢٠٠٣

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Abstract

This paper sheds light on no less important linguistic phenomenon: slang. It is a universal phenomenon. No language in the world lacks it yet it has received little attention. Any attempt to approach the slang aspect of any language, whether one's native language or a foreign language will be surprised at the level of complexity at all the linguistic levels recognized by linguists. Slang is a multi-featured aspect. It is generally characterized by instability, novelty, creativity, informality and even vulgarity. Despite all these, slang is fun to learn and use (let alone study) simply for the reason that it allows the user to express the same thoughts, feelings, emotions and attitudes towards a certain issue, situation or person with enormously various ways that suit his needs and goals. The sources of slang are too many. There are as many slang expressions as there are aspects of life. War is one of these many human endeavors. The contact between different people triggers a process of borrowing between the languages in contact. The ordinary people or the lay men are the quickest to respond to this kind of mutual influence. Teaching and learning languages should give some attention to slang especially with its widespread use in the social media, movies, streets and in places and establishments where the formal language is expected to be dominant. The paper presents a theoretical background of slang in terms of the linguistic levels. It includes definitions, sources, classification of slang. This background is used in analyzing a selection of slang expressions related to the USA war on Iraq in 2003. These expressions are collected from four sources. little or no attention has been given to the study of slang let alone as far as a very recent event such as the 2003 invasion is concerned. This paper is an attempt to bridge one gap in slang research. The analysis shows that formation of the slang expressions chosen for the study follow the same recognized word formation processes in English. Expressions borrowed from Iraqi Arabic have been slightly altered in terms of their pronunciation, morphology and grammar. These expressions are mainly used to maintain social channels of communication with the Iraqi people. The expressions have served also as verbal shortcuts especially those abbreviated.

Key words: Slang, war, American military

ملخص البحث

يسلط هذا البحث الضوء على ظاهرة لغوية مهمة وهي العامية والتي تعد ظاهرة عالمية. لا توجد لغة في العالم بدون العامية إلا انها لم تتلقى الاهتمام الكافي. ان اي محاولة لدراسة العامية لأي لغة سواء اللغة الام ام لغة اجنبية ستنبهر بمقدار تعقيدها في كل المستويات اللغوية.

تعد العامية جانبا متعدد الخصائص فهي تمتاز عامة بعدم الثبات، التحديث، الابداعية و اللارسمية وحتى الانحطاطية. ورغم هذا كله فان العامية تبقى امرا ممتعا من حيث التعلم و الاستعمال بسبب انها تسمح لمستخدمها امكانية التعبير عن الفكرة، الاحساس، العاطفة، أو الموقف نفسه بأساليب متنوعة بما يناسب حاجاته وأهدافه.

أن مصادر العامية كثيرة للغاية وكلما كثرت جوانب الحياة وتعقدت، كثرت العامية و تعقدت. وتمثل الحرب احدى هذه الجوانب. ان التواصل بين اناس مختلفين يقدح عملية الاستعارة بين لغتيهما. ورجل الشارع او عامة الناس هم الأسرع في الاستجابة لهذا النوع من التأثر والتأثير. ان تدريس وتعلم اللغات ينبغي أن يولي بعض الاهتمام للعامية وخصوصا بسبب انتشارها في وسائل التواصل الاجتماعي، الأفلام، الشوارع وفي الاماكن وحتى المؤسسات اذ تكون اللغة الرسمية هي المسيطرة.

تقدم الدراسة خلفية نظرية عن العامية من حيث المستويات اللغوية وتتضمن ايضا تعريفات ومصادر وتصنيفات العامية. استخدمت هذه الخلفية في تحليل مجموعة مختارة من العبارات العامية المرتبطة بالحرب التي شنتها الولايات المتحدة على العراق في عام ٢٠٠٣.

اختيرت هذه العبارات من اربع مصادر مختلفة. ان الاهتمام او العناية بدارسة ظاهرة العامية قليل او يكاد ينعدم لاسيما فيما يتعلق بحدث قريب كغزو العراق.

لذا جاءت هذه الدراسة كمحاولة لسد ثغرة في هذا المجال.

اظهر التحليل ان العبارات العامية المختارة تتبع نفس عمليات انشاء المفردات كما بقيت المفردات الاخرى.

ان العبارات المأخوذة من العامية العراقية اجري عليها تغييرات طفيفة من حيث نطقها و بنيتها الصرفية و النحوية.

هذه العبارات استعملت لإدامة قنوات التواصل مع العراقيين وان هذه العبارات استعملت كطرق لفظية مختصرة و خصوصا العبارات المختصرة منها.

1. Introduction

Slang is a linguistic phenomenon that has been wrapped with the highest degree of controversy. It is stubbornly resistant to any definition. This is due mainly, according to De Klerk and Antrobus (2004:264-5), to the nature of slang which is "typically localized and largely verbal". Slang is used exclusively by a limited groups of speakers that share common purposes. Among these peer groups are students, athletes, criminals, etc.. The adjective 'verbal' refers to the spoken nature of slang. It is one of the varieties in which languages are divided. The locality and verbality of slang mentioned above can cause slang words to change their meanings and add new meanings to words already in existence. (Allen, 2001: 268-9). Another offshoot of this diffusion is that slang words connected to a specific "subculture" will lose their specificity. In other words, the slang words will become generalized or extended in use. This paper aims to shed light on this controversial issue. The paper consists of two parts. The first presents a theoretical background of slang: definitions, sources and uses, the approaches adopted in its study, characteristics, classification, linguistic features. In the other part, a selection of slang expressions related to the 2003 War on Iraq. These expressions are analyzed linguistically(in terms of the phonological, morphological, grammatical, semantic and pragmatic and sociolinguistic features). Some of the results of the analysis of the slang expressions produced either the American soldiers themselves or the American or other media. There is correspondence between the form of the expressions and the semantic, pragmatic and sociolinguistic features. Some of the expressions are mere borrowings from Arabic into English and vice versa.

2. Definitions of Slang

The controversial nature of slang stems from the difficulty to give a precise definition to it. The definitions so far provided have shown the various points of view of those who attempted to define

slang. The first definition which is claimed to have been supplied in 1828 in Webster's Dictionary was "low, vulgar, unmeaning language". (Reves, 1926:216). The problem with this definition is the word "unmeaning" which is in itself controversial. What does it to be "unmeaning"? This adjective means that slang is without meaning. We can argue against this by saying that a slang word serves as a replacement for some standard one which has a meaning. So it will be contradictory to say that a slang word is without meaning since it is usually stands in place of a meaningful standard word. Rather than strive to construct a narrow-sided definition of slang, scholars have tried to produce a definition that covers all the characteristics of slang. One of these attempts is Reve's (1926: 217):

> *The changing vocabulary of conversation; it comes into sudden vogue, has a meaning, usually figurative, which is known by a particular set or class and which constitutes a sort of **shibboleth** during the **brief** period of its popularity, and then **dies** in the obscure corners of forgotten words and unabridged dictionaries, or passes into the legitimate speech.(Italics and bold mine)*

The definition above highlights the main features of slang (in bold). Slang is not a stable and spoken phenomenon whose environment is conversation. It comes and goes unexpectedly. More importantly, it imparts a meaning though this meaning is non-literal (figurative). Slang is limited to a small group of speakers. This very feature might be one of the reasons why slang is described as brief because its users may decide at one point to abandon a slang word or phrase for another or they may simply drop out of their usage. The death of a slang word or phrase can be either complete or partial. It vanishes into thin air or it sneaks into the standard variety (legitimate speech). According to this definition, slang consists of meaningful items which contradict the Webster's definition describing slang as 'unmeaning' (senseless).

In light of Reeves's definition of slang (and any other definitions) it is possible to look at slang from a number of different angles. The first view of slang is that it is mainly an issue of a special vocabulary. In its special lexicon, slang creates new words or rather it uses old words by changing their meanings. The following are some of the other definitions that have been suggested to characterize slang:

1. **Allen** (1990:1140): Words, phrases, and uses that are regarded as very informal and are often restricted to special contexts or are peculiar to a specified profession, class, etc.

2. **Eble** (1996:289): Slang is the distinctive vocabulary either of groups or of people who wish by their vocabulary to identify with a popular or avant-garde style.

3. **Spolsky** (1998:35): Slang is a kind of jargon marked by its rejection of formal rules, its comparative freshness and its common ephemerality , and its marked use to claim solidarity.

4. **Galperin** (1971:96): Slang seems to mean everything that is below the standard usage of present day English.

3. Approaches to Slang

The above definitions, and many other, have been used as a basis for   recognising four approaches to slang. Below is a brief account of these approaches(Mattiello, 2008):

1. **The sociological approach:** Slang is a means of cementing social identity or "cohesiveness within a group or with a trend or fashion in society at large"(Eble, 1996:11). But slang can be "antisocial" (Mattiello,2008:32), in the sense that its users intend to stake out their social differences from others.

2. **The stylistic approach:** According to this view, slang is just "a level of usage." (Mattiello,2008:33). It stands beside formal language. It is the informal mirror image of formal language.

3. **The linguistic approach:** Within linguistics, slang differs from the standard language in terms of its morphology and semantics(ibid.:34).

4. **The lexicographic approach:** Here, slang is looked at as "colloquial or informal vocabulary which is outside of conventional or standard usage, and which belongs rather to familiar conversation than to written language" (ibid.).

The present study will make use of all four approaches on the grounds that slang is best studied by considering these aspects together. In this sense, slang is a sociolinguistic phenomenon in-

volving the use a particular stylistic choice in a particular situation that necessitates a non-conventional or non-standard vocabulary. In other words these four facets of slang are inseparable.

4. Characteristics of Slang

In their frequently cited article "Is slang Word for linguists?" Dumas and Lighter (1978:14-5) suggest four criteria for identifying any word as slang:

1. "The presence of the expression will markedly lower dignity of formal discourse (whether in speech or writing)."

2. "The use of the expression implies the sender's special familiarity with that group of people who have such special familiarity with and are using the term."

3. "The expression is a taboo term in ordinary discourse with persons of higher social status or responsibility."

4. "The expression is used in place of the conventional synonym, especially in order (a) to protect the sender from the discomfort caused by the conventional item, or (b) to protect the sender from the discomfort of further elaboration."

5. Classification of Slang

Authors have classified slang mainly into "general" and "specific" or "primary" and "secondary" (Stenström, 2000:101 and Mattiello, 2008: 39-40). Specific slang is the kind used by (characteristic of) a particular section of a society for the sake of displaying respect and social solidarity for each other. It covers social factors (also called variables by sociolinguists) such as: 1. identity. 2. status. 3. age. 4. education. 5. special interests. 6. geographical belonging.

As for general slang, it is employed to "avoid conventions, seriousness." The words involved are not typical of any particular group. Pressed by the situation, speakers decide to switch from the standard language into a much lesser level of formality.

6. Sources and Uses of Slang

Slang expressions spring out and thrive from a huge number of sources. Some of these sources can be described as social sources. Any change in the society is expected to bring about a change that will influence the slang of a specific group of speakers. Among these sources are, according to Kipfer and Chapman (2010:8-9):

1. The criminal underworld and the prison population
2. Athletes and their fans
3. Cowboys
4. Drug users
5. Entertainers
6. Gamblers
7. Gypsies
8. Hoboes
9. Immigrant or ethnic populations
10. Jazz musicians
11. Police
12. Railroad and other transportation workers
13. Sailors
14. Soldiers
15. Students

Advancements in the various fields of technology, such as the media, space, medicine, computer, industries, sports, fashions and many others are bound to produce brand-new slang expressions, add new meanings to expressions already existing or change their meanings all together. The present paper is concerned with the kind of slang created and used by the fourteenth group above, that is 'soldiers'. Slang is used for a huge number of purposes. Lighter (2005:221-2) distinguishes between " social and psychological functions of slang". From a sociolinguistic point of view, slang is related to the phenomenon of "code-switching or style-shifting-the mixing of and moving between different languages, dialects or codes (Thorne, 2007: I).

7. The Linguistic Features of Slang

Being a linguistic phenomenon, slang have been attempts to describe it in terms of the linguistic levels of analysis: 1. Phonology, 2. Morphology, 3. Grammar, 4. Semantics and Pragmatics. To understand the mechanism of slang, it should be scrutinized on all of the five levels.

7.1. Phonology

From the phonological point of view, slang expressions are characterized by manipulating the way words are pronounced (Mattiello,2008:41-3). Many slang words imitate the sound of the action they refer to as in the words: "barf, bolk, puke and spew" which echo the act of vomiting. Another case is the intended mispronunciation of certain words such as "hinnie/-y" for honey and "luvvie/-y" for lovey. The process of assimilation also has a significant role to play in creating slang when "isn't it ?" is assimilated as "innit?" and "I don't know" becomes " dunno". The following sounds are frequently observed in slang expressions:

1. The vowel /u:/ as in bazoom /bəˈzu:m/ for bosom [a woman's breast]

2. The consonant /z/ as in pizzazz /piˈzæz/ [vitality]

Lighter (2005:221-2) discusses a form of slang used among Cockneys since the nineteenth century known as "rhyming slang" which "consists of a rhyming phrase substituted for a word so that, for instance, 'eyes' becomes mince pies, 'mouth' becomes north and south, and 'nose' becomes I suppose". From these instances, it can be observed that slang expressions exhibit a kind of phonetic and phonological exaggeration that distinguishes them as non-standard. The slang expressions undergo a process of phonological alteration that qualifies them to be part of slang lexicon (vocabulary).

7.2. Morphology

It is at the level of morphology that slang is most prominent for the simple reason that creating slang is mainly a process of building

words (word formation process). According to Eble (1996: 39), slang formation process is not much different from   that of the standard vocabulary. They include processes such as:

1. compounding: couch potato (lazy person)
2. affixation: doper (a marijuana smoker)
3. conversion: the noun (flag) used as a verb (I flagged the test.)
4. shortening (which includes acronyms, clipping, blending): SNAG (Sensitive New-Age Guy), hiddy (hideous), polislide (political science + slide).

7. 3. Grammar

Some linguists such as Munro (1997: 19) argue for the resemblance of the grammar of English slang to that of standard. They claim that slang words are inflected in the same way as their equivalents in the standard. For example, the slang word for 'girl' or 'woman' is 'bird' and its plural form is 'birds'. The word 'narcotics' has no plural (uncountable) and so its slang 'stuff'. The same can be said about other inflections such as 'nicks, nicking' meaning 'steal'.

Conversely, Juachoerin (2006: 1-2) maintains that introducing slang words has also "produced new grammatical relationships among words". These slang words have shown another grammatical behaviour somewhat different from that of standard. The word "like" is one of these words that can be used as a demonstration of this change. Apart from its common use, "like" has come to be used as a "filler" within a sentence with no affect. The following sentences are quoted from the same author to show the use of this filler:

1. She like slapped me.
2. I bought like a wallet.
3. It's like huge.
4. I like must have been outside.
5. It's like around the corner.

The word 'like' modifies a verb in (1), a noun (2), an adjective in (3), a sentence in (4), and a prepositional phrase in (5). Based on this, Juachoerin (ibid) argues that "when a single word can function as a modifier in several different grammatical constructions,

as here, I call it an "all-purpose modifier "- or an APM" if you like. That's one of the "new parts of speech" that I recognize."

7. 4. Semantics

From a semantic angle, slang has been discussed as a means of expressing something "indirectly or figuratively"(Eble,1996:61-73). The following examples show the strong relationship between slang and the figurative devices used in literary language (Lighter, 2005:224-6)

1. metaphor: 'bird'= aeroplane
2. metonymy: 'tinnie'= a can of beer
3. synecdoche: 'wheels'= a car
4. personification: 'Uncle Sam'= US Government
5. hyperbole: 'slam'= to criticise
6. antonomasia: 'Romeo'= a man noted for his many love affairs
7. onomatopoeia: 'buzz'= telephone call
8. meiosis: 'kid'= child
9. antiphrasis: 'bad'= very pleasing
10. simile: 'to charge like a wounded bull' = of someone demanding high prices.

It is worth mentioning here that the word classes of the above examples exhibit one-to-one correspondence in terms of their functions (when they occur in an actual sentence) but not always in their forms:

1. noun = noun
2. noun = noun phrase [a noun postmodified by an of-phrase]
3. noun [plural] = noun phrase [singular]
4. noun [compound] = noun [compound]
5. verb = verb [ending in a derivational suffix]
6. proper noun = noun phrase [a noun postmodified by a relative clause]
7. noun [simple] = noun [compound]
8. noun [simple] = noun [simple]
9. adjective = adjective phrase
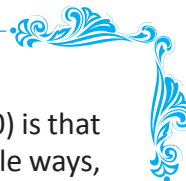
An interesting argument presented by Eble (1996: 54-60) is that "slang items often diverge from standard usage in predictable ways, especially by such opposite semantic processes as "generalization" and "specialization", or "amelioration" and "pejoration"" as in the following examples:

1. eppie (epileptic fit)
2. grass (herbage in general)
3. wicked (bad in moral character, disposition, or conduct)
4. inside (on the inner side)

The first two words are nouns while the third is an adjective and the fourth is an adverb. Eble states that in slang, the word 'eppie' has the general meaning of "a fit of temper' and 'grass' has the specialized meaning of 'marijuana'. The adjective 'wicked' is used in slang with the positive meaning of 'excellent, splendid, remarkable'. The adverb 'inside' has gained the negative meaning of 'in prison'. In a similar vein, Wilson (2003: 273-7) distinguishes between two processes:

1. narrowing: drink = alcoholic drink

2. broadening which is subdivided into: a. approximation: square = squarish and b. metaphorical extension: diamond = a person.

7. 5. Pragmatics and Sociolinguistics

Pragmatic aspects of slang are not clearly indicated in treatments of slang. However, according to Mattiello (2008: 46), they are "treated indirectly through the various functions that are attributed to the phenomenon, or the effects it produces upon the hearer". She proposes a classification of the sociological properties of slang. Below is a summary of this classification:

1. Speaker-oriented properties

1. **Group- and subject-restriction:** Speakers who belong to the same social group share the same interests, concerns, values, pastimes and habits and they consequently get involved in similar topics in conversations.

2. **Secrecy and privacy**: Slang is often used to hide information from outsiders. This is typical of the underworld of "criminals and drug dealers".

3. **Informality and debasement:** Slang is seen as a colloquial level of speech that signals the speaker's desire to soften the seriousness or formality of the dominant tone, and to assume instead a more familiar or conversational tone. For example, the noun [bread]means, in familiar contexts, [money].

4. **Vulgarity and obscenity**: Teenagers make use of 'dirty, swear or taboo words to show "their strength, power and virility".

5. Time-restriction: Slang is temporary because it is subject to change. The word [excellent]when used as an exclamation had the synonym [wizard] in 1920s while in 2000s it means [sick].

6. **Ephemerality**: Slang is short-lived. Novel words and special meanings show up at brief intervals, remain in use a short time and go away quickly. The word [reckon] has remained fashionable for a brief time. Words like [bus] is no longer felt as slang, but as colloquial language.

2. Hearer-oriented properties:

1. **Playfulness and humor:** Slang words can be a source of amusement for many people. Here, metaphor plays an important role. For example, the meaning of the word 'fox' is metaphorically extended to describe a person as naughty or sexually attractive.

2. **Freshness and novelty:** New slang words are constantly being invented or already-existing words are modified or extended as far as their meanings are concerned.

3. **Desire to impress and faddishness**: The aim of the user of slang may be to create a certain sense, feeling or emotion from the hearer.

4. **Colour and musicality**: This particular property of slang is realized through "reduplicative formations and rhyming phrases" Mattiello (2008: 227). Another feature of slang in which sounds (or technically phonemes) are involved is "alliteration". Accord-

ing to Blake (2010: 202-3), this is to "create catchy slang expressions" as in the following examples: 1. bible basher. 2. greedy guts. 3. thunder thighs.

5. **Impertinence, offensiveness and aggressiveness:** The fact that slang violates the norm or the standard justifies its use for insulting people or "to show one's disapproval and condemnation of the hearer's behavior, way of life, etc." (Mattiello, 2008: 229). Speakers often use words such as 'dog, bitch, pig, etc. in a phrase to achieve this: "dirty dog", "pig head", and "sick fat bitch".

8. Slang and War

War has been one of the main sources of slang creation. In this respect, Lighter (2001: 246-7), asserts: "World War II undoubtedly created and broadcast more slang than any other short-time historical event." [italics mine].

He ascribes this to the fact that "More than sixteen million Americans served under arms in World War II, over four times the population of the entire country in 1790,... ". Battistella (2005: 82-3) similarly states that "Like World Wars I and II, the Vietnam War engendered a soldier's language of the 1960s.".

The motivations for this linguistic productivity of the American military are "the need for shortcuts for long ideas" and "the natural jargon that arises from any group of persons with a common purpose, as well as the need to de-jargonize" (Barrett, 2006: xviii-xix). The need to communicate with the locals triggers the process of borrowing. However, how long these expressions are likely to remain in common use hangs on the continuity of the need for them.

9. Analysis

The analysis of the Iraq-war-related expressions sets out to apply the linguistic features recognized by linguists (phonology, morphology, grammar, semantics, pragmatics and sociolinguistics).

A comparison of the three sources which list these expressions is due. Following are the four sources:

1. The Official Dictionary of Unofficial English by Grant Barrett (2006)
2. Iraq's battlefield slang by Austin Bay (2007)
3. Military Speak from Operation Iraqi Freedom (no author)
4. Updated Glossary of Military Speak and Catchy Sayings by Sgt Brandi (2009)

1. Ali Baba: In source [1] this expression is spelled as "ali baba". This is a personal name borrowed from the stories 'Thousand and One Nights'. The term is slightly different from its Arabic origin (علي بابا) phonologically except for the replacement of the Arabic initial [ع] with the English [a] plus the glottal stop [?]. Morphologically, this word can be classified as a compound word or even a single word. As an adopted word, its grammatical behaviour has been changed from a proper noun into a common noun or from a specific reference into a generic reference. Source [1] notes that «American soldiers who have served in Iraq say they tend not to use the term as a noun, but as a verb meaning «to steal»(xix).

Ali Baba is an instance of antonomasia whereby the (narrow) associative meaning of the proper noun has been turned into the (wide) connotative meaning of the common noun. However, the original or the basic meaning of being someone who steals or plunders is still there. It is just the range of application that has been affected by means of antonomasia. Source [1] limits Ali Baba to only thieves and looters, source [2] mentions it as "slang for enemy forces" while source [3] treats it as a general term applied for "insurgent or criminal". From a speaker-orientation perspective, the soldiers as members of the same group demonstrate their shared interests and concerns by using the expression they share together. A hearer-orientation would be freshness and novelty.

2. Angel: Only [1] and [3] make a record of this word. The two sources have listed it as "angel". This implies that this word can be used generically to refer to any person or soldier. It refers to any soldier killed in action. Its use, though is restricted to those working in the medical section of the USA army. Despite this, [1] states the

probability of this one morpheme word to specifically indicate one of the earliest American soldiers killed called 'Jose Angel Garibay'. Semantically this is an instance of antonomasia according to [1]. This word signals the speaker-orientation of group-and-subject-restriction and the hearer-orientation of freshness and novelty since the meaning of the word has been modified or extended.

3. Eye-wreck: This word is listed only in source [1]. It is described here as a jocular term for Iraq. There is nothing peculiar about the pronunciation of this word. It is created by combining the word eye and wreck. What is interesting about this word is that it is created by playing on the pronunciation of Iraq [ai rɑk] where the diphthong /ai/ is represented by the word 'eye' and the syllable / rɑk/ is represented by the word 'wreck'. This explains why the word is used as a jocular term. The word eye appears in other similar slang combinations: eye-opener [a real surprise], eye-popper [something astonishing], and eyewash [nonsense or deception]. The meaning of the compounds is interpreted by considering the compound as a unit or whole. Since the interpretation of this compound is based on capturing the play on the sound of the word Iraq, so it may be classified as an example of pun. What supports this is the use of the adjective 'jocular' in relation to Iraq.

From pragmatic and sociolinguistic points of view, the expression reflects the desire of the user to sound informal and familiar while conversing with other soldiers. From the hearer's corner, a sense of impertinence, offensiveness and aggressiveness is felt as a result of swapping the formal Iraq with the distorted version eye-wreck.

4. Haji or Hajii: This word is listed in all of the four sources. It is the transliteration of the Arabic word (حجي) which is used to address or refer to a person who performed Haj (حج / Islamic pilgrimage) to the cities of Mecca and Medina. Another use for this term is when someone addresses an old male person as an indication of respect. As far as the pronunciation of this loanword is concerned, the first sound of the Arabic word /ح-/ is replaced by the nearest equivalent in English /h-/. The morphological structure consists of

a single free morpheme, however it pliably occurs in a number of compounds documented in source [1], [3] and [4]:

1. Haji armor : US soldiers in Iraq used to strengthen their vehicles with any piece of metal by welding it them.
2. Haji mart: The second part is a clipped form of market or supermarket.
3. Haji shop: A shop run by a local in an American base.

Although this word is a noun, the [1] source considers it as grammatically more productive in an attributive position (typical of adjectives) as in the above examples. In the fourth sources, the word haji is listed only in its singular form which justifies its attributive behaviour. The meaning of the word has been altered from a restrictive religious usage into a broader application to mean any Iraqi or anything associated to an Iraqi citizen   an American soldier may encounter. As far as the sociolinguistic and pragmatic properties are concerned, it may be said that the speaker (or speakers) uses this word to show their aggressive and impertinent attitude towards the referents.

5. Hawasim: This word appears exclusively in source [1]. It is derived from the phrase "Harb Al-Hawasim" (the final battle, war or encounter) first used by the former ruler, Saddam Hussein, to refer to the 2003-US invasion. In its use, the word hawasim is similar to Ali Baba in that it carries the connotation of being a thief or looter. As in the word haji, the first sound /ح-/ in the Arabic version (حواسم) is replaced by the closest sound /h/. Though this word is grammatically plural, yet it is used equally to signal (modify to be precise) plural and singular entities. The hawsim has undergone a process of change from a word of specific reference that is the battle or war itself to a general one. This is a case of antonomasia. The meaning of the word hawasim has been changed from seemingly a positive sense to a negative one, i.e., from fighting the American enemy as intended by Saddam to the stealing or plundering during the military (invasion) actions. In the years directly following the end of the military actions Iraqi people who were known be poor or even destitute by their neighbours or friends or were called hawasim when they moved into new houses or were seen driving fashionable cars.

Even strangers who saw such people (hawasim) breaking the traffic rules or driving carelessly risking an accident used to declare their annoyance at and disapproval of their misbehaviour by shouting ‹hawasim›. Nowadays, the term hawasim is scarcely uttered or heard by Iraqis. From a speaker-oriented property perspective, the term hawasim shows the need to impose informality and debasement on the one hand, and vulgarity and obscenity on the other. Moreover, this word reflects impertinence, offensiveness and aggressiveness from a hear-oriented property perspective.

6. Muj: This word is borrowed from the Arabic مُجاهِدين (mujahideen/holy fighters or worriers. It is the plural of the word مُجاهِد (mujahid). Morphologically, the last part of it has been clipped from mujahideen. Source [1] reports a change of the grammatical behaviour of it. The number category of muj has been frozen so that it is muj for singular or plural. The Islamic content of muj, as in the case of haj, has been swerved from their primarily religious usage to a hostile military usage. The clipping itself stems from the US soldiers' need for verbal shortcuts that are easily pronounced (adapted to English pronunciation). This is a kind of semantic change or shift in which the domain is expanded. The notion of domain in this sense qualifies the word to be a type of metonymy. As far as the pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of muj, they are similar to those of the word haji. Finally,

unlike the word haji, muj is not used in combinations such as haji mart which means it is morphologically an inactive free morpheme.

7. Sandbox: This is a compound consisting of two free morphemes: sand and box. According to source [1] it refers to "the Middle East". A point of grammar pertaining to the Middle East is that the phrase sandbox is often accompanied by the definite article: the sandbox. Source [3] offers "sandpit" as a variant of sandbox. This source provides only Iraq as the referent of sandbox. Source [4] makes a distinction between "Sand Pit" and "Sandbox". The first refers to Afghanistan and the second to Iraq "among other things". Sandbox or sand pit is morphologically composed of two free morphemes. Semantically it represents an instance of meton-

ymy where sandbox or sand pit is used to refer to a country. It is a shift from the common to the specific similar to the use of the term "the White House", "the Pentagon" or "the Kremlin" which refer to the USA Government or Administration, the USA Ministry of Defense Headquarters, and the Government of the Russian Federation respectively. The speakers or users of these two words may have employed them to create a comparison between Iraq or Afghanistan on the one hand and the US Army's National Training Center at Front Irwin in the Mojave Desert (also called sandpit) in California known for its irregularities in climate, geography, fauna and flora. In this sense, the term can be considered as an instance of metaphor or simile. Soldiers has created this term to demonstrate their group-and subject-restriction. They have the common the knowledge about the Mojave Desert. From a hearer orientation angle, the word sandbox (or sand pit) is intended to be impertinent, offensive and aggressive. There is an important observation about these terms is that they have lost their denotation of the concrete desert (the harsh environment) to the connotation (as irregularities in social and political conditions the USA soldiers have experienced in Iraq and Afghanistan.

8. Shako mako: Source [1] is exclusive in documenting this Iraqi common and day-to-day phrase. The Iraqi Arabic version is شَكو ماكو and means «What›s happening?». It is familiar among friends (Alkalesi, 2006:16). Phonologically, the phrase has not undergone any change except maybe the vowels which might be pronounced slightly differently from that of the original as attested by "Shaku maaku?". Both words of this phrase end with the same sound (or letters) the thing that creates colour and musicality. The US soldiers obviously intended to identify themselves with local people whom they see everywhere while on patrol or duty. From a psychological viewpoint, the soldiers may have wanted to win people's trust and tell them that the US troops came as liberators not as invaders. The hearers in their turn get a dose of pride that the members of the strongest army in the world have to (or even forced to) learn their dialect.

9. Ulug: This is the plural form of the singular word "علِج». There are other plural forms of it such as أعلاج and علِجة. Lexically.

It may be used to mean: a donkey, a huge and strong man or an (epithet for) infidel (or a disbeliever). After the launching of the military operations and the swift and sweeping advance towards Baghdad, the word Ulug عُلوج began to be heard by Iraqi citizens in press conferences held by the-at-that-time Minister of Information Muhammad Saeed Al Sahaf. Actually all his responses to any question were peppered. Any time he referred to soldiers of the Coalition. The pronunciation of this word is somewhat violated because there is no reason why the final sound /ج/ is mispronounced as the English velar consonant /g/. It is possible that one American soldier or correspondent heard this word through an interpreter who, in his turn, may not be familiar with the word itself being an archaic word. The former minister kept using ulug as part of his fierce verbal counterattacks on the Coalition forces. Using archaic words certainly helps make the style of speech or writing more effective, but in the case of ulug it has been proved not to be so simply for the reason that it has been dropped out of usage ever since the main military operations ended (or even before that). Any speaker who intends to use ulug knows in advance the powerful and negative impact it will have on the addressee but Al Sahaf used in press conferences where only Arabic-speaking audience would be present. All in all, the intention of the speaker is to give the audience in all walks of life an emotional boost of group-and-subject-restriction. The American soldiers and the White House that sent these are the real target of Al Sahaf's ulug as well as any government supporting them. These will interpret the word ulug as impertinent, offensive and aggressive.

10. Baby Wipe Wars: This might be the most outrageous expression concerning the US military actions in Iraq and Afghanistan. The American soldiers created this phrase to play down the seriousness or gravity of the wars in these countries. Source [4] is the only one that has included this expression. The aim is to equate the act of war with the wiping or cleaning of a baby(something which people specially the Arabs find unpleasant). The 'wars' is the main or headword of the compound. Baby wipe functions as modification of the war. The juxtaposition of words that are unlikely to occur together leads to a paradoxical sense which can give the hearer a

kind of shock. The hearer begins to wonder about the reason that brought these contradictory terms in one place. The answer is in the question itself: to catch the attention of the others. This expression is certainly intended to be used among the members of the troops. In the case of the individuals who oppose the presence of the soldiers, the expression is most certainly a sign of offensiveness and aggressiveness.

11. Green Zone vs. Red Zone: The Green Zone is more common than the Red Zone. Only source [3] provides these terms. The first term refers to the area with heightened security measures. It contains the huge palaces of Saddam Hussein. After the toppling of Saddam's rule, these palaces were occupied by the US Coalition and the Iraqi authorities. The area (zone) that falls outside the Green Zone is called the Red Zone. From a morphological perspective, Green Zone and Red Zone are composed of: adjective + noun. Despite this, the two phrases here have a similar status as that of The White House. In other words they are treated as proper nouns as it is clear from the capitalized initial letters. The two terms present a case of metonymy. The green and the red have their own connotations. Green symbolizes peace, tranquility and prosperity while red symbolizes violence, warning, and certainly war. The pragmatic and sociolinguistic aspects of these expressions reflect group-and-subject-restriction as far as the speaker is concerned (Green Zone) and aggressiveness as far as the hearer is concerned (Red Zone).

12. Bomaconda: This word is mentioned only in source [2] and [3]. According to these sources, this word refers to "Logistics Support Area Anaconda" abbreviated as "LSA". The first two letters of Anaconda are removed and their place is occupied by the word "bomb". Anaconda was one of the main supply bases near the town of Balad. The point was to emphasize the frequent mortar attacks on the base. Source [2] characterizes Bomaconda as a "nickname" which justifies the change in the form of the word. The morphological process that has produced Bomaconda is blending.

To combine the name of the most huge and fatal snake the world has ever known with the bombing is to intensify the life-threatening situation the US soldiers at base were growing through.

The Anaconda is known for its very powerful muscles that can crush the bones of its prey within minutes. So the base was under the crushing power of the frequent bombardment of the enemy. Though pretty grim the situation in the base may look, there is still a sense of humour in the formation and use this word. The humour is contentedly mixed with gravity.

13. POI: Source [1] lists this as the shortening of "pissed-off Iraqi". It is not a common expression though. Not without a reason, of course, for it is deemed as a way of approving that the American forces are unwelcome in Iraq. Pissed off is the slang for angry. In source [1], POI is categorized as a noun which means it is a case of acronym. It is to be pronounced as one word. It was reformed into an acronym to save time (as a verbal shortcut) and to make it easily pronounceable. The word formation process, or acronymisation so to speak, has triggered off a grammatical change from a three-word-phrase into a one-word unit as proven by the pronunciation. Semantically, the state of being pissed off is used to imply that some US soldiers are aware of the negative stance some Iraqis assume towards the invasion and presence of US troops in their country. This can be classified as a type of metonymy where a concrete facial expression stands for an abstract political view. The shortening of pissed off Iraqi, an expression that is already indecent, hints at the soldiers' desire to sound informal and debased on one end, and impertinent and offensive on another.

14. Yalla: In source [2], it is mentioned that this expression is the result of adapting the "Arabic (word)? for hurry up or run". In actuality, this is not a word but it is an imperative sentence in informal (colloquial) style. Its standard version can be تحرك / move. The addressee is hidden but it can be recovered from the context. No phonological change has been done to it. A sentence is confused for a word simply because its written form looks like a word in English hence its grammatical status as a sentence (or utterance) is lost to its misconception as a word on the basis of its misleading outer shape. Using this informal familiar utterance is limited to interactions between an American soldier and Arabic speaking addressee. It is like the power of shako mako in maintaining a bond with the local people.

10. Concluding Remarks

In the analysis above, the slang expressions studied are among a large host of other military slang produced regularly to cover the needs for communicating ideas and attitudes for a variety of purposes. These purposes range from the need to gather intelligence, performing undercover duties, blending with the local people, staying out of harm's way, spending some quality time with people to learn more and more about their culture in order to be familiar with their habits and customs which might be helpful in the future. The following conclusions are answers to the questions presented earlier in the introduction:

1. The analyzed slang expressions show the same standard processes of word formation described in English. However, the influence of the Arabic language and culture prevails in most of the expressions investigated in this paper.
2. The expressions borrowed from Arabic or Iraqi Arabic show slight changes in their phonological structure.
3. Some of the slang terms borrowed into English as singular but have been used in constructions related to their use (Haji), while others have maintained their singularity (Muj/Hawasim).
4. Slang expressions (such as Sandbox) represent the reverse of the borrowing process from Arabic into English. Sandbox is the Mojave Desert for the Americans. The original reference of Sandpit is reapplied to Iraq to facilitate (a verbal shortcut) communication between soldiers.
5. Expressions such as "shako mako" have been used by American soldiers to maintain the social channels with the Iraqi natives.
6. The expressions "muj" and "haji" are shortened because they represent a threat to the American soldiers. Turning them into shortcuts facilitates communication for soldiers especially engagements.
7. There is no correspondence between the form of the expression(the internal structure) and the type of figurative (non-literal) meaning it is used to convey.

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