

Acceptability of Arabic Reduplicates

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Received: September 20, 2012 Accepted: October 9, 2012 Published: December 1, 2012

doi:10.5296/ijl.v4i4.2416 URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5296/ijl.v4i4.2416>

Abstract

The relative importance attached to reduplication in spoken or written discourse, or acceptability or non-acceptability of a collocation with reference to formal/ informal use of language has not yet been accounted for. To find out how much reduplication is absorbed and acquired almost unconsciously, and to find out what informal pairs are considered acceptable or unacceptable in the formal use of language, a list of 123 reduplicative words was compiled and presented to fourteen undergraduate students studying a course of Semantics at Petra University. Responses were checked with reference to a three-point scale: *acceptable*, *unacceptable* and *dubious* by two professors of Arabic. The purpose was to pinpoint what collocations could be summoned from the mental lexicon.

The objectives of this study are the following: (i) to consider the type of input an adult native speaker of Arabic has been subjected to as far as reduplication is concerned (ii) to determine the ranges of collocates that reduplicative words exhibit in normal everyday speech (iii) to explore acceptability or non-acceptability of reduplicative collocations and (iv) to shed light on differences between the mental lexicon of reduplicates and matching dictionary entries. Judging by the acceptability/unacceptability test conducted, one may conclude that each class of reduplicative verbs has a limited range of *collocates* and that some collocations are perfectly normal and acceptable, while others were felt to be unacceptable and unusual.

Keywords: Arabic reduplicates, Collocational range, Acceptability, Retrieve

1. Introduction

Ease or difficulty of studying Arabic reduplicative forms is not unconnected with notions of *collocability* i.e., the range of items with which each reduplicative form is most frequently associated. The notion of collocation was first introduced by J.R. Firth (1957:197) as an approach to establish the meaning of word by means of the habitual company it keeps. Meaning by collocation does not involve the definition by means of 'shifted terms' Lyons (1977:612-13). In his discussion of "collocational level of analysis," he underlines the principle of association a word acquires in its environment (*op. cit* p.613). The study of reduplicative forms and their collocates requires a new approach which stresses collocative meaning (see Leech 1974:25) i.e. meaning through association with other words.

The relative importance attached to reduplication in spoken or written discourse, or acceptability or non-acceptability of a collocation with reference to formal/ informal use of language has not yet been accounted for. For an adult native speaker of Arabic, it is fairly easy to call up words that are most frequently associated with a reduplicative form when needed for use. Yet, using a standard dictionary. one finds different information about *the citation-form* of a reduplicate, its derivation and its *collocates*. For example, in spoken Arabic one commonly hears /fakfak/ 'he loosened', /šam šam / 'he sniffed', /hak hak/ 'he scratched' and /fašfaš/ 'he released'. All these forms are not cited in the Arabic classical dictionaries such as Lisan Al-Arab, Maqayis Alluġha, Al Mu'jam Al waSiiT nor Al-Ubab Al-Zaaxir. Also, many acceptable collocations as found in the test reported below turned out to be unacceptable.

To find out how much reduplication is absorbed and acquired almost unconsciously, and to find out what pairs are considered acceptable or unacceptable in the normal use of language, a list of 123 reduplicative words was compiled and presented to fourteen undergraduate students studying a course of Semantics at Petra University. Responses were checked with reference to a three-point scale: *acceptable, unacceptable and dubious* by two professors of Arabic. The purpose was to pinpoint what collocations could be summoned from the mental lexicon and to assess the output in terms of the three-point scale.

2. Reduplication in Arabic

The best classical Arabic reference book where a full account of reduplicative forms is given is perhaps (Ibn Duraid's book *Jamharat alluġhah* 1968). Under the title "Bilateral Verbs " Ibn Durayd followed a system of listing possible verbs which could be derived from a bilateral root of compatible consonants. For each derivation he provided, he explained the sense of the repeated possible reduplicative form. What is more interesting in Ibn Durayd's classical work is his method of providing a comprehensive list of reduplicates by way of a reverse combination of the compatible bilateral consonants. Though his work may be considered a valuable contribution to the study of the meaning of reduplicative forms, it falls short of giving a satisfactory classification of the many reduplicates he cited. For ease of reference, I have therefore adopted semantic criteria for regrouping and classifying reduplicative forms. The system of classification is based on *semantic functions* i.e. what meaning the repetition of

the stem suggests, i.e. *onomatopoeic kinesthetic, increase or decrease in size, motion, muscular effort*, (See Appendix 1)

On formal grounds, Arabic reduplicative forms are recognized by the following features:

(i) their prosodic template which consists of two short syllables of the pattern CVC-CVC (see e.g. McCarthy & Prince 1993, Zawaideh & Davies and Wiltshire 2000).

(ii) a default vowel insertion rule; applying the vowel insertion rule to the CVC_CVC skeleton produces consistently a nominal derivation of the pattern CVC-CVVC, e.g. /θarθar/ 'chattered' → (θarθaar) 'chatterer' → (CVC-CVVC).

(iii) The addition of the suffix – (ah) to the reduplicative word to form an abstract noun , (TanTan)'fuzzed' → (Tan-Tan-ah) 'fuzziness'

In certain instances, however; it is rather pointless to study reduplicative forms through 'sense' or 'denotation' because the meaning of a reduplicative word is not referable to the meaning of its individual parts. More appropriately, such reduplicative forms need to be studied in terms of the "roots" (or lexemes) and their collocates (Mitchell 1975: 120-21).

3. Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are the following:

(i) to consider the type of input an adult native speaker of Arabic has been subjected to as far as reduplication is concerned

(ii) to determine the ranges of collocates that reduplicative words exhibit in normal everyday speech

(iii) to explore acceptability or non-acceptability of reduplicative collocations against standard educated usage

(iv) to shed light on differences between the mental lexicon of reduplicates and matching dictionary entries .

4. Procedure

The material of investigation consisted of 123 reduplicative lexical items which are non-randomly selected from (Ibn Duraid's classical book (*Jamharat Allughha*, Beirut: Daar Saadir). Recognizing Arabic reduplicative words is fairly easy. They are composed of two structurally identical morphemes (CVC_CVC). The first is a bilateral root consisting of a compatible pair of consonants; the second morpheme is a repetition of the stem or root. Repetition suggests intensification or augmentation of activity or an increase in size. The items were presented to two groups: the first group consisted of fourteen 3rd year PU students following a course in Semantics; the second group consisted of two professors of Arabic. The first group has been given the task of filling in the blank by a word or words which they think the reduplicative form is most likely to co-occur. The idea is to explore what words they could retrieve spontaneously and to assess and evaluate acceptability or non acceptability of the retrievable items. Students' responses have been itemized and given to the second group

who checked collocations on a three point scale: *acceptable*, *unacceptable* or *dubious*. The results are shown in Appendix 2.

5. Conclusion

Knowledge of collocation subsumes knowledge of what words are most likely to occur together. What collocations may seem appropriate, typical and acceptable in Arabic spoken discourse, however, may turn out, when matched with written discourse equivalents, bizarre, inappropriate and unacceptable. Furthermore; one of the problems encountered when investigating how subjects retrieve the appropriate collocation was whether the retrieval process went through stored chunks that were acquired from a very early stage or through the stored input in the mental lexicon of the classical written code.. The acceptability/non-acceptability test results in this study give us clues about the gaps that exist between the dictionary sense of reduplicative vocabulary, on the one hand and the actual meaning by collocation that exists in the students' mental lexicon on the other. The table (See Appendix 2) illustrates the difference some of the discrepancies between the everyday acceptable use of collocational patterns and the unacceptability of such patterns in Classical Arabic.

There seems to be a correlation between reduplicative verb forms and certain lexical items of particular semantic classes. The reduplicative verb has a fundamental role to play in characterizing the semantic features of the Arabic words. This is manifested by the categories established in both Classical and Spoken collocational patterns; the category, say motion subsumes association with certain expressed or unexpressed lexical items indicative of movement. It is therefore possible to make predictions about the range of collocations which could co-occur for each category.

Judging by the acceptability/unacceptability of collocations in the test conducted, one may conclude that each class of reduplicative verbs has limited range of collocates and that some collocations are perfectly normal and acceptable, while others were felt to be unacceptable and unusual. The higher percentage that some reduplicates have shown is a clear indicator that what subjects store in their minds at an early stage and retrieve later is a fundamental principle to be taken in the organization of Arabic vocabulary. Reduplicates of high percentage should be given prominence in the compilation of dictionary entries while others cited in classical Arabic language books should be marked as rarely used. For example, the following collocational pairs retrieved from the subjects' mental lexicon are not attested in any of the classical dictionaries cited (Cf. 1 Introduction)

DabDab' il?ašyaa? 'he packed things'

TafTaf ilqidr 'he filled the pot to the brim'

TalTal iDDayf 'the guest popped in'

SamSam irraddʒul ʕala ra?yih 'The man was determined'

fakfak ildʒihaaz 'he loosened the apparatus'

hashas dʒild iTTifl 'he felt the child's skin'.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

The sets of reduplicative words, as attested in Ibn Duraid's Chapter , are herein reorganized as shown below (reduplicates which have a different meaning than that mentioned in Ibn Duriad's is marked by an *)

A. Onomatopoeic:

Onomatopoeic reduplicative words collocate with lexical items suggesting sounds:

Word Form	Derivation by suffixation	Derivation by Vowel Insertion	Meaning Suggested
dabdab	dabdabah	dabduub	horse hoof sound
ħaf ħaf	ħaf ħaf-ah		birds wing sound
θaʕθaʕ	θaʕθaʕ-ah		disorganized speech
ħamħam	ħamħam-ah		horse chuckle
naħ naħ	naħ naħ-ah		cleared throat

wah wah	wah wah-ah		shivered
xarxar	xarxar-ah		breath turbulence
xaš xaš	xaš xaš-ah		friction
xaDxaD	xaDxaD-ah		rinsing
dardar			
TaqTaq	TaqTaq-ah		rolling stones
TanTan	TanTan-ah		mosquitoes/flies
maŋ maŋ	maŋ maŋ-ah		scuffle
baqbaq	baqbaq-ah	baqbaaq	chatter-box
waŋ waŋ	waŋ waŋ-ah		noise
waŋ waŋ	waŋ waŋ-ah		noise
faqfaq	faqfaq-ah		eloquent speech
walwal	walwal-ah		screamed
laqlaq	laqaq-ah	laqlaaq	
wakwak	wakwak-ah		pigeon cooing
qahqah	kahkah-ah		laughed
hamham	hamham-ah		indistinct speech
ma?ma?	ma?ma?-ah		sheep sound
qaŋ qaŋ	qaŋ qaŋ-ah	qaŋqaaŋ	Weapons, sound
bahbah	bahbah-ah		ox's noise
raqraq	raqraq-ah		water flow
ɣam ɣam	ɣam ɣam-ah		unintelligible speech
baxbax	baxbaxah		protect from heat
*barbar	barbarah		calling sheep to eat
*basbas			hurried
*baSbaS	baSaabiS	baSbuuS	moved its tail
*bakbak			moved
*balbal			dispersed
Ta?ta?			stuttered
θarθar		θarθaar	chattered

B. Kinesthetic:

The repetition serves to conjure up a certain feeling or impression in the mind which implies an emotive force or aesthetic effect

Kinesthetic:	Derivation 1	Derivation2	Meaning Suggested (Classical)
*TabTab	TabTab-ah		
bahbah	bahbah-ah		lion's roar
*habhab	habhab-ah		speed, agility
*hashas	hashas-ah		roasted
ħaS ħaS	ħaS ħaS-ah		emergence
waswas	waswas-ah		the devil's gossip
hashas	hashas		hissed
qahqah	qahqah-ah		laughter
*θadʒθadʒ	θadʒθadʒ-ah		leaked
SarSar	SarSar-ah		grasshopper's buzz
raDraD	raDraD-ah		bruise
ɣarɣar	ɣarɣar-ah		gargle
*qasqas			followed
nabnab	nabnab-ah		he-goat sound
karkar	karkar-ah		giggle
qarqar	qarqar-ah		giggle
SalSal	SalSal-ah	SalSaal	

C. Size Increase/Decrease:

The repetition of the base serves the idea of an increase/decrease in size:

Size Increase/Decrease	Derivation 1	Derivation 2	Meaning
baħ baħ	baħ baħ-ah		comfort
bakbak	bakbak-ah	bakbaak	stubby
kabkab	Kabkab-ah	kabaakib	scattered
*duxdux			
*xuzxuz			
*waxwax	waxwax-ah		
*daŋdaŋ			
šaŋ šaŋ	šaŋ šaŋ-ah	šaŋ šaaŋ	tall
fašfaš	fašfaš-ah		
*waSwaS	waSwaS-ah		peep

Daŋ Daŋ	Daŋ Daŋ		
faDfaD	faDfaD-ah	faDfaaD	wide
DakDak	DakDak-ah	DakDaak	stubby
waTwaT	waTwaT-ah		
ɕʒardʒar	ɕʒardʒar-ah	ɕʒaraaɕʒir	complaint
baɕʒ baɕʒ	baɕʒ baɕʒ-ah	baɕʒ baadɕʒ	plump
ħab ħab	ħab ħab-ah	ħab ħaab	stubby
*baxbax	baxbax-ah		pretentious

D. Motion:

The repetition of the base serves a means of intensifying the idea of an activity so that the action denoted by the verb becomes more dynamic:

Motion	Derivation 1	Derivation 2	Meaning
*bazbaz	bazbaz-ah	bazbaaz	fidget
*basbas	basbasa-h	basaabis	empty space
*baSbaS	baSbaS-ah	baSaabiS	tail wiggle
*ħat ħat	ħat ħat-ah		
tartar	tartar-ah		violent movement
taŋ taŋ	taŋ taŋ-ah		violent movement
taqtaq	Taqtaq-ah		noise
taltal	taltal-ah	talaatil 'crisis'	pushed
*ɕʒaz ɕʒaz	ɕʒaz ɕʒaz-ah		wool ball
ɕʒal ɕʒal	ɕʒal ɕʒal-ah		moved, mixed
ħaT ħaT	ħaT ħaT-ah		hurry
ɕʒamɕʒam	ɕʒumɕʒum-ah		skull
ħaqħaq	ħaqħaq-ah		high speed
ħal ħal	ħal ħal-ah		loosened
ħašħaš	ħašħaš-ah		rush
ħaShaS	ħaShaS-ah		emerged
TaxTax	TaxTax-ah		
daqdaq	daqdaq-ah		fast running
daldal	Daldal-ah		nodding
hadhad			
*rasras	rasras-ah		kneel
raSraS	raSraSa		

kaskas			
salsal	salsal-ah		connection
sasam	samsam-ah		
šal šal	šal šal-ah	šal šaal	scattered
waSwaS	waSwaS-ah	waSwaaS	peep
DafDaf			
qaDqaD	qaDqaD	qaDqaaD	breaking bones
haDhaD			
*haThaT			
*ŋaǝ ŋaǝ			
*namnam			
ɣalɣal	ɣalɣal-ah		infiltration
laSlaS	laSlaS-ah		
kafkaf	Kafkaf-ah		wiped tears
qalqal	qalqal-ah		restless
qamqam	qamqam		
xalxal	xalxal-ah		stripped
kamkam	kamkam-ah		Cover with a garment
lamlam	lamlam-ah		collection
malmał	malmał-ah		movement
la?la?			
*šaŋ šaŋ	šaŋ šaŋ-ah	šaŋ šaaŋ	tall
maSmaS	maSmaS-ah		sucked
naš naš	naš naš-ah		grilled meat movement
katkāt	katkāt-ah		walking in short steps
habhab	habhab-ah		agility
tahtaḥ	tahtaḥ-ah		
Ta?Ta?			
waš waš	waš waš-ah		whisper

E. Turbulence:

The repetition of the stem is a sign of agitation, bewilderment and exasperation:

haš haš	haš haš=ah		movement	
xalxal	xalxal-ah		stripping off	
raŋ raŋ	raŋ raŋ-ah		raised	
kalkal	kalkal-ah			
fašfaš	fašfaš-ah	fašfaaš	gown	

F. Speech Defect:

Reduplication of the stem suggests ways of talking or speech defects:

Speech Defect	Derivation 1	Derivation 2	Meaning
barbar	barbarah	barbaar	talkativeness
baŋ baŋ	baŋ baŋ-ah	baŋ baaŋ	talked fast
baqbaq	baqbaq-ah	baqbaaq	chatter-box
θarθar	θarθara	θarθaar	chatter-box
taxtax	taxtax-ah	axtaax	heavy accent
taɣtaɣ	taɣtaɣ-ah		muffle
*taftaf			
tamtam	tamtamah	tamtaam	/t-/stutterer
θaɣθaɣ	θaɣθaɣa		disorganized speech
ham ham	ham ham-ah		horse sound
xaš xaš	xaš xaš-ah		
laxlax	lax lax-ah		
xanxan	xanxan-ah		nasalization
dandan	dandan-ah		hummed
TarDar	TarDar-ah		
*Daɣ Daɣ	Daɣ Daɣ		
*ʕaT ʕaT	ʕaT ʕaT		sound sequence
*ɣaT ɣaT	ɣaT ɣaT-ah		sizzle
ʕan ʕan	ʕan ʕan-ah		indistinct speech

ʔamʔam	ʔam ʔam-ah		
hamham	hamham-ah		
lahlah	lahlah-ah		
halhal	halhal-ah		
yalyal			
mahmah			
taʔtaʔ	taʔtaʔ-ah		/t/ stutter
maʕ maʕ	maʕ maʕ-ah		noise
θamθam	θamθam-ah		pause
kaškašh	kaškašh-ah		use of/tš/
bakbak	bakbak-ah		crowded

Appendix 2

Collocational Range: (Accepted Everyday Use; unattested forms are marked by *; the letters A, B, C, D represent the possible reduplicative collocates given by the subjects; Arabic figures represent frequency of accept. Un- or dub.)

Reduplicate:	Meaning	Lexical Range:	Accept.	Unaccepted	Dubious	Percent.
1. TanTan	buzzed	-al-ʕusfuur 'the bird' -al-ʔuðun 'ear', -il-TTabl 'drum, - --ilmusiiqa "music", -il-ʕaras 'the bell'	A. 11 B. 13 C. 14 D. 13 E. 13	A. 7 B. 3 C. 10 D. 11 E. 3	A. 3 B. 1 C. 2 D. 2 E. 1	28.5% 71.4% 14.2% 7.1% 71.4%
2. dandan		-il-raʕul 'the man', -il-walad 'the boy', il-ʕuud' -the guitar', axii 'my -brother'	A. 10 B. 10 C. 12 D. 9	A. 1 B. 1 C. 1 D. 1	A. 2 B. 2 C. 0 D. 2	78.5% 78.5% 92.8% 78.5%
3. damdam		-al raʕul 'the man' -ʕalayhim rabbuhum' God' il-ʕʕurh 'the wound', -al muGanni 'the singer'	A. 11	A. 5 B. 3 C. 3 D. 8	A. 3 B. 1 C. 4 D. 2	42.8% 71.4% 50% 28.5%
4. DamDam		-baaqat ilward 'bunch of flowers', -al-raʕul 'the man' -al awlaad 'the boy' -al wardah 'the rose'	A. 7 B. 8	A. 1 B. 8 C. 9 D. 5	A. 2 B. 2 C. 2 D. 2	78.5% 28.5% 21.4% 50%
5. *DabDab		Unacceptable Form in Standard Use	A. 6 B. 13 C. 13 D. 12	A. 3 B. 8 C. 3 D. 6	A. 0 B. 1 C. 1 D. 1	78.5% 35.7% 71.4% 50%

				E. 6	E. 2	42.8%
6. taftaf	stuttered	-al-TTifl, 'the child', ' -aSSayir' the little boy' -al-walad 'the boy' -al xubz 'the bread'	A. 10 B. 9	A. 1 B. 1 C. 1 D. 12	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0 D. 1	92.8% 92.8% 92.8% 7.1%
7. TafTaf		-al haliib' the milk' -al-maa? 'the water', -al-nnahr, the river' -al qidr' the pot' -al kayl ' the scale'	A. 14 B. 9 C. 13 D. 14 E. 14	A. 4 B. 4 C. 4 D. 3 E. 0	A. 2 B. 0 C. 3 D. 2 E. 3	57.1% 71.4% 50% 64.2% 78.5%
8. taltal	heaped	-il habl' the rope' =ilka?s' the glass' -iŠŠayir 'grain' -al raml' the sand' -al-SSahn 'the dish',	A. 11 B. 12 C. 13	A. 8 B. 5 C. 2 D. 1 E. 2	A. 5 B. 6 C. 7 D. 6 E. 5	7.1% 21.4% 35.7% 50% 50%
9. *TalTal		Unaccepted Form in Standard Use	A. 12 B. 6	A. 0 B. 0 C. 1 D. 0	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0 D. 1	100% 100% 92.8% 92.8%
10. tamtam	muttered	il fataah' the girl' -al-radzul 'the man' -- alŠŠayx' the old man' - kalimaat'words' -al-wald'the boy' -al muřallim'the teacher' -al qaari? 'the reader'	A. 8 B. 12 C. 10 D. 11 E. 9	A. 3 B. 1 C. 0 D. 1 E. 1 F. 1 G. 0	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0 D. 0 E. 0 F. 0 G. 1	78.5% 92.8% 100% 92.8% 92.8% 92.8% 92.8%
11. TamTam		-ra?sahu"his head' -al kalb 'the dog -il-hufrah 'the ditch', il-	A. 13 B. 11 C. 13	A. 3 B. 2 C. 1	A. 1 B. 2 C. 1	71.4% 71.4% 85.7%
12. *samsam		Iftah ya simsim	A. 13	A. 1	A. 2	78.5%
13. *SamSam		řala ra?yih/ qaraarih 'insisted on his decision'	A. 5	A. 4 B. 3	A. 3 B. 3	50% 57.1%
14. katkat	dusted	-alSuuS' the chic' -il-řubaar 'the dust', - al musaafir' the traveler', -al sid3d3aadah' the carpet'	A. 13 B. 13 C. 13 D. 12	A. 6 B. 1 C. 1 D. 2	A. 2 B. 0 C. 0 D. 0	42.8% 92.8% 92.8% 85.7%
15. kafkaf	wiped	-al-ddumuuř 'the tears' - al muHaarib al dumuuř' 'the warrior his tears'	A. 8 B. 4	A. 3 B. 1	A. 1 B. 4	71.4% 64.2%
16. *fakfak	loosened	-i-adawaat' the	A. 10	A. 0	A. 0	100%

		instruments', -al-azraar 'the buttons', -- alluṣbah 'the toy' --al d3ihaaz' the apparatus' -al raadyu' the radio'	B.13 C. 14 D. 11 E. 13	B. 5 C. 1 D. 0 E. 0 F. 3	B. 1 C. 0 D. 0 E. 0 F. 0	64.2% 92.8% 100% 100% 78.5%
17. Šak Šak		-al ?ibrah 'the needle' -al dababiis'the pins' -al ʔəʔawb 'the garment'	A. 8 B. 6	A. 2 B. 1 C. 0	A. 1 B. 1 C. 1	78.5% 85.7% 92.8%
18. *has has		-al d3ild 'the skin' -al d3asuus al?axbaar' the spy the news'	A. 13 B. 13 C. 13	A. 2 B. 5	A. 0 B. 3	85.7% 42.8%
19. raSraS	squeezed	-al xaŠab ' the wood' -il-hid3aarah 'the stones', -amwaaalahu' his money' -al kutub'the books' -al aʔaaʔ ' the furniture'	A. 5 B. 7 C. 12	A. 5 B. 1 C. 1 D. 1 E. 2	A. 1 B. 1 C. 3 D. 2 E. 3	57.1% 85.7% 71.4% 78.5% 64.2%
20. xaŠxaš	rattled	- ilxuṣxeešah 'the rattle' -illuṣbah' the toy', -- il-kiis, the bag' --il maa?'water'	A. 8	A. 1 B. 1 C. 1	A. 0 B. 2 C. 0	92.8% 78.5% 92.8%
21. rašraš	drizzled	ilmaTar 'the rain'. Il-maa? 'the water'	A. 13	A. 0	A. 1	92.8
22. *matmat	Slowed down	-----	A. 13 B. 12	A. 6	A. 3	35.7%
23. maTmaT	delayed	il-?ud3rul b "til?ud3rah' 'the rent', -al muhandis biṣamalih'the engineer in his work' -al-dduyun 'the debt' -al mawDuuṣ'the topic'	A. 11 B. 7 C. 12 D. 6	A. 1 B. 1 C. 0 D. 1	A. 0 B. 0 C. 1 D. 1	92.8% 92.8% 92.8% 85.7%
24. *TasTas	Sprayed, hit	-Il-maa?'the water' -iTṬifl'the boy'	A. 3	A. 2 B. 3	A. 4 B. 7	57.1% 28.5%
25. ʔaD ʔaD	munched	-Ilkalb 'the dog' -ilʔaʔm'the bones' -asnaanahu'his teeth' -Šifatayhi'his lips' -aSaabiṣahu'his fingers'	A. 13 B. 12 C. 14 D. 14 E. 14 F. 6 G. 12	A. 3 B. 1 C. 0 D. 2 E. 0	A. 1 B. 0 C. 0 D. 1 E. 1	71.4% 92.8% 100% 78.5% 92.8%
26. kazkaz		-asnaanahu 'his teeth'	A. 14	A. 1	A. 5	57.1%

		-aəəald3'the snow'	B. 13 C. 14 D. 11 E. 13 F. 13	B. 3	B. 5	42.8%
27. hazhaz	shook	-al walad sariira axiih' the boy his brother's bed' -al-shad3arah 'the tree' -al kursi'the chair'	A. 14 B. 7 C. 14	A. 0 B. 0 C. 1	A. 1 B. 1 C. 0	92.8% 92.8% 92.8%
28. marmar	Battered	-al kurah 'the ball' -il hamm' worries', --ilfam the mouth'	A. 9	A. 8 B. 4 C. 1	A. 1 B. 3 C. 1	35.7% 50% 85.7%
29. malmal	slithered	-nafsahu 'himself'	A. 10 B. 12 C. 12	A. 1	A. 5	57.1%
30. ʕaS ʕaS	pressed	-Il-walad ʕala yadi 'the boy on my hand'	A. 14 B. 12 C. 5 D. 11	A. 1	A. 0	92.8%
31. hamham	retorted	-kalimaat ʕariibah 'strange words'	A. 13 B. 10	A. 1 B. 2	A. 0 B. 0	92.8% 85.7%
32 ʕam ʕam	covered up	-il baal 'the situation' - alSSaʕiiru ʕaynayhi' 'the boy his eyes' -il qalb bimaʕ fiih'the heart all in all' -Il-marʕah nafsaha bil-ʕabaaʕah the woman herself with the gown'	A. 10 B. 8	A. 3 B. 6 C. 1 D. 4	A. 0 B. 1 C. 1 D. 4	78.5% 50% 85.7% 42.8%
33*. ramram		-al maaʕ min al wiʕaaʕ'water from the pot'	A. 10 B. 12 C. 5	A. 3	A. 8	21.4%
34. lamlam	gathered	-al futaat 'the crumbs' -al mawDuuʕ 'the topic' -al aʕraaD 'the things' -Il-waraq, 'the paper', - aTTiflu əawbahu' the child his garment' -al-qimaamah'the garbage -al musaafiru mataaʕahu' the traveler his luggage'	A. 9 B. 10	A. 0 B. 2 C. 0 D. 0 E. 0 F. 7 G. 1	A. 1 B. 0 C. 0 D. 0 E. 0 F. 1 G. 1	92.8% 85.7% 100% 100% 100% 42.8% 85.7%

35. ŠamŠam	sniffed	-Il-kalb al-raa?ihah'the dog the smell', -al-wuruud 'the roses -al qiTt allāhm 'the cat the meat' axii Šan raa?ihat il Yaaz' my brother the smell of gas' -al YiTr 'the perfume' - al TTaŠaam ' the food'	A. 10 B. 8	A. 0 B. 1 C. 0 D. 2 E. 1 F. 1	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0 D. 1 E. 0 F. 0	100% 92.8% 100% 78.5% 92.8% 92.8%
36. waŠwaŠ	whispered	-Sadiiqahu'his friend' -Sirrahu 'his secret' -al zaw3 zaw3atahu 'the husband his wife'	A. 9	A. 0 B. 7 C. 0	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0	100% 50% 100%
37. naŠnaŠ		Il ?ab allahm ' blew wind over the eat' '	A. 6	A. 1	A. 4	64.2%
38. *balbal	wetted	-al sariir'the bed' -al muzaariŠ al awraaq' the farmer the leaves' -al-walad malaabisah"The boy wetted his clothes'	A. 5 B. 4	A. 4 B. 2 C. 2	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0	71.4% 85.7% 85.7%
39. walwal	screamed	-il umm Šala faqiidiha 'the mother on her bereaved' -al rad3ul on his loss' -al walad Šala al Šaabih 'the boy over his toys' -al rad3ul Šala muSiibatih'i'the man over his misfortune'	A. 11 B. 5	A. 0 B. 2 C. 8 D. 3	A. 0 B. 0 C. 1 D. 0	100% 85.7% 35.7% 78.5%
40. xaSxaS	privatized	-al Šarikah 'the company' -alwaziir Šarikatuhaa 'the minister her company'	A. 9 B. 11 C. 12 D. 10	A. 0 B. 1	A. 1 B. 3	92.8% 71.4%
41. warwar	flapped	-al uSffuur 'the robin' -al TTayr, al-usfuur' the bird	A. 10	A. 1 B. 0	A. 3 B. 6	71.4% 57.1%
42. wazwaz	buzzed	-a Šaamil Šala zamiilih 'the worker about his friend' -al nnahl 'the bees', -al baTT 'the ducks',	A. 7	A. 2 B. 2 C. 8	A. 2 B. 0 C. 1	71.4% 85.7% 35.7%
43. baŠ baŠ	whined	-Il-walad bi3umal Yaayr	A. 13	A. 3	A. 2	64.2%

		waaDihah' unclear utterances' - al walad bikalaam Yaay mafhuum' unintelligible speech'	B. 12 C. 9	B. 3	B. 1	71.4%
44*. maxmax	enjoyed	-fil-akl 'food -filmawDuu' 'the topic'	A. 13 B. 14 C. 13	A. 4 B. 4	A. 0 B. 2	71.4% 57.1%
45. Daŋ Daŋ	worsened	-ilwaDŋ 'the situation'	A. 11	A. 3	A. 2	64.2%
46. lahlah	blamed	-the father , his son	A. 9 B. 14	A. 4	A. 4	42.8%
47. bakbak	sizzled	-Ilmaa?, 'water'- -ilhaliib' milk'	A. 13 B. 11 C. 12 D. 10	A. 4 B. 4	A. 5 B. 6	35.7% 28.5%
48. baqbaq	flowed	-Il-maa?, 'water' -al dam 'blood'	A. 13 B. 13	A. 2 B. 5	A. 1 B. 4	78.5% 35.7%
49. raŋ raŋ	trickled, gargled	-al ab haŋqahu' the father his throat', -ŋeen al walad'the boy's eye' -al-ŋuyuun biddumuŋ'eyes with tears' -al walad bil maa? 'the boy with water'	A. 13	A. 1 B. 2 C. 1 D. 3	A. 4 B. 1 C. 1 D. 1	64.2% 78.5% 85.7% 71.4%
50. laxlax	mixed up	al-bayD ;the eggs'	A. 14 B. 12 C. 10	A. 2	A. 2	71.4%
51. raxrax	loosend	Il-habl 'the rope	A. 14	A. 4	A. 3	50%
52. kamkam	-masked	- al walad famahu'the boy covered up his mouth' -al-wad3h 'the face' -axii ŋala al sir ' my brother on the secret'	A. 14 B. 14	A. 1 B. 1 C. 4	A. 0 B. 1 C. 1	92.8% 85.7% 64.2%
53. laflaf	wrapped	-al-hadiyyah 'the gift' -al waraq 'the paper'	A. 7	A. 1 B. 0 C. 1	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0	92.8% 100% 92.8%
54. kabkab	rolled	Il-laħm/ ilkabaab 'the meat'	A. 7	A. 1	A. 2	78.5%
55.. TafTaf	spilled	-al ŋŋay? ŋala al naar 'the thing on fire'	A. 12	A. 3 B. 0	A. 2 B. 0	64.2% 100%

		-Il-maa? 'water'				
56. . hafhaf	blew	-Ilhawaa?'the wind -al radʒul ʃala al Taʃaam' the man on food' -al naseem 'the breeze -al riħ 'the wind'	A. 11	A. 1 B. 3 C. 2 D. 4	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0 D. 0	92.8% 78.5% 85.7% 71.4%
57. ħak ħak	scratched	-al mariiD ʒildahu'the patient his skin' -al kalbu ʒāhrahū' the dog its back'	A. 14 B. 10 C. 10	A. 1 B. 1	A. 0 B. 0	92.8% 92.8%
58. ʃaq ʃaq	split	-al Tabiib baTn al marʔah'the doctor the woman's' belly'	A. 10 B. 8 C. 7	A. 1	A. 0	92.8%
59. raqraq	sympathized	-al ddamʃ 'tears', -al qalb 'the heart' -al SSaʔiir ʃaynaa ʔummihi'the little boy his mother'	A. 13 B. 8	A. 0 B. 1 C. 3	A. 0 B. 1 C. 1	100% 85.7% 71.4%
60. laqlaq	chirruped	-al TTaaʔir 'the bird'	A. 12 B. 9 C. 13 D. 13	A. 0	A. 0	100%
61. waʃwaʃ	whimpered	-al TTifl min al d3uuʃ 'the child of hunger' -al TTifl min al alam'the child of pain'	A. 5	A. 0 B. 0	A. 0 B. 0	100% 100%
62.maʔmaʔ	muffled	-al ħaqiiqah 'the truth'	A. 10	A. 5	A. 2	50%
63. raʃraʃ	brought up	-al radʒul awlaadahu 'the man his sons'	A. 6 B. 7	A. 5	A. 2	50%
64. kaħkaħ	coughed	al mariiD'the sick man'		A. 1	A. 1	85.7%
65. baħbaħ	grunted	al SSawt 'the voice"		A. 2	A. 1	78.5%
66. baxbax	sprayed	-almaaʔʃala al qamiiS 'water on the shirt' -al maaʔ fi al ħadiiqah 'water in the garden' -al zarʃ' the grass'		A. 0 B. 4 C. 2	A. 0 B. 0 C. 2	100% 71.4% 71.4%
67*. barbar	chattered screened	-aTTifl, -al baaʔiʃ al faasid min al SSaalih ' the salesman the rotten from the good ones' -al radʒulu kaʔiiran' 'the man a lot'		A. 2 B. 1 C. 2	A. 2 B. 5 C. 5	71.4% 57.1% 50%
68.* basbas	mewed	-al qittatu'the cat'		A. 0	A. 1	92.8%

		-al mar?atu al basbuusah 'the woman the dough'		B. 4	B. 2	57.1%
69.* baSbaS	peeped	-al raʒul 'the man' -axii ʒalayy -al d3aar ʒala d3iiraanihi 'the man on his neighbours' -al walad min al nnaafiðah 'the boy from the window'		A. 2 B. 3 C. 0 D. 0	A. 0 B. 2 C. 1 D. 1	85.7% 64.2% 92.8% 92.8%
70. bakbak	gushed	-al dam 'the blood'		A. 4	A. 5	35.7%
71. balbal	wetted	-al TTifl firaaʒahu 'the child his bed'		A. 4	A. 0	71.4%
72. bazbaz	leaked	-alma? min al saqf 'water from the ceiling' 'alTTiflu birDʒatihi 'the child with his nozzle'		A. 3 B. 2	A. 5 B. 5	42.8% 50%
73.baŠbaŠ	smiled	-al xaŠab 'the wood' -'my brother'	A. 6 B. 6	A. 3 B. 1	A. 5 B. 7	42.8% 42.8%
74. farfar	urinated	-alwalad maʒ ʔaʒdiqaaʔihi fiʔhadiiqah 'the boy with his friends in the garden' -al walad fi alTTariiq 'the boy in the street'	A.14 B. 14	A. 0 B. 0	A. 0 B. 0	100% 100%
75. faxfax	trapped	-al radʒul liððiʔaab'the man for the wolves' -alʒaduww; for 'the enemy'	A.14 B. 12	A. 0 B. 2	A. 0 B. 0	100% 85.7%
76. faDfaD	released	-ʒan baalihi" got it out of his chest' -axii bisirrihi lii'my brother with his secret' -al zawʒ li zawʒatihi 'the husband to his wife'	A.13 B. 14 C.14	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0	A. 1 B.0 C. 0	92.8% 100% 100%
77. faŠfaŠ	bubbled	-al xaŠab 'the wood', -al-3dild 'the skin', -al-ʔisfandʒ 'the sponge'	A. 14 B. 14 C. 11	A. 0 B. 0 C. 2	A. 0 B. 0 C. 1	100% 100% 78.5%
78. faSfaS	cracked	-al radʒul al haqiqah"the man the truth' -al fustuq 'nuts', -al-bizr' seeds' -allubb 'the inner part'	A.14 B. 12 C. 13 D. 8	A.0 B. 1 C. 0 D. 4	A. 0 B. 1 C. 1 D. 2	100% 85.7% 92.8% 57.1%
79. taʔtaʔ	Stuttered -t	-al TTifl min al xawf 'the child because of fear' -iTifl 'the child' fi	A.14 B. 14	A. 0 B. 0	A. 0 B. 0	100% 100%

		al-klaaam 'speech'				
80. tartar	shivered	-al rad3ul min al bard 'the man of cold' -al rad3ul fi al qawl 'in speech'	A. 7 B. 2	A. 3 B. 8	A. 4 B. 4	50% 14.2%
81. taktak	shook	al-rad3ul hindaamahu 'the man his clothes' -al TTifl min albard 'the child of cold'	A. 9 B. 10	A. 1 B. 2	A. 4 B. 2	64.2% 71.4%
82. tahtah	lost	-al rad3ul fi al Sahraa? 'the man in the desert' -al TTifl fi kalaamih 'the boy in his speech'	A. 8 B. 11	A. 3 B. 2	A. 3 B. 1	57.1% 78.5%
83. taxtax	exhausted	-?allaa3ib min ?alla3ib 'the player was exhausted' -al rad3ul min kaθ rat al TTa3aam 'exhausted from too much food'	A. 13 B. 9	A. 1 B. 4	A. 0 B. 1	92.8% 64.2%
84. taŠtaŠ		-al TTifl min al maTar 'the boy from rain' -al TTahiin 'the dough'	A. 4 B. 11	A. 4 B. 2	A. 6 B. 1	28.5% 78.5%
85. ta?ta ta?		-?xii al-rad3ul 'my brother the man'	A. 4	A. 4	A. 6	28.5%
86. kaŠkaŠ	drove away	-al aTfaal alδδubaab 'the boys the flies' -al xayyaat al awb 'the tailor the garment'	A. 13 B. 11	A. 1 B. 1	A. 0 B. 2	92.8% 78.5%
87. karkar	giggled, tickled	alwalad min al DDahik 'the boy with laughter' -al ?abu ?ibnahu -al xayT 'the thread'	A. 12 B. 12 C. 8	A. 1 B. 2 C. 2	A. 1 B. 0 C. 4	85.7% 85.7% 57.1%
88. qarqar	admitted	-al walad bilhaqqiqah 'the boy the truth'	A. 7	A. 2	A. 5	50%
89. qalqal	spelled out	-the relatives the words	A. 6	A. 4	A. 4	42.8%
90. qaŠqaŠ	nested	-al uSfuur al uŠŠ 'the boy the nest'	A. 10	A. 1	A. 3	71.4%
91. salsal	numbered	-al muhaami al haqaa?iq lilqaaDi 'the solicitor put the facts before the judge in sequence', -aTTiflu ?afkaarahu 'the boy his thoughts'	A. 11 B. 13 C. 14	A. 1 B. 0 C. 0	A. 2 B. 1 C. 0	78.5% 92.8% 100%

		alal?asmaa?'numbered'the names'				
92. zalzal	shook	-allaahu al?a daa?'God the enemy', -al .ard 'the ground'	A. 14 B. 13	A. 0 B. 0	A. 0 B. 1	100% 92.8%
93. za za	shook	-al burkaan al bayt'the volcano the house' -al faŠalu iquatii binafsii ' failure my confidence'	A.10 B. 12	A. 3 B. 1	A. 1 B. 1	71.4% 85.7%
94. zafzaf	celebrated	-alaxu 'the brother' ?uxtahu 'his sister's wedding' -al ?ax al ?ahibbaa? 'the brother his closest friends'	A. 12 B. 6	A. 1 B. 5	A. 1 B. 3	85.7% 42.8%
95. zamzam	packed	-al?a ra aD 'the things'	A.9	A. 3	A. 2	64.2%
96. zahzah	moved	-asariir 'the bed' -al hid aarah 'the stones' -a TTawlah 'the table'	A. 14 B. 11 C. 14	A. 0 B. 3 C. 0	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0	100% 78.5% 100%
97. Ša Ša	shone	-nuur al Šams'the sun's light -nuur al Šams' 'the dun's light'	A. 14 B. 13	A. 0 B. 1	A. 0 B. 0	100% 92.8%
98. Šar Šar	sprinkled	-the water from the pot	A.12	A.1	A.1	85.7%
99. Šad Šad	tightened	-?axii al habl 'my brother the rope' -al TTifl bi ?ummihi 'the boy with his mother al ?awtaar 'the strings'	A. 13 B. 10 C. 14	A. 0 B. 3 C. 0	A. 1 B. 1 C. 0	92.8% 71.4% 100%
100.maSmaS	sucked	-al TTifl al halwa'the child the sweet' -qiT at alhalwa 'the lollypop' -al TTiflu allahm 'the boy the meat' -alTTifl al haliib 'the boy the milk'	A. 14 B. 14 C. 6 D. 11	A. 0 B. 0 C. 7 D. 3	A. 0 B. 0 C. 1 D. 0	100% 100% 42.8% 78.5%
101.namnam	numbed	-al ?aqdaam 'the feet' -al qadam 'the foot'	A. 11 B. 12	A. 3 B. 1	A. 0 B. 1	78.5% 85.7%
102.nafnaf	bew nose	-al rad3ul ?anfahu 'his nose'	A.13	A. 0	A. 1	92.8%
103.nahnah	smacked	-axi alTTifl min al DDarb 'my brother hitting the child' -?al?ax ?axaahu 'his brother' -al wald min Šiddat al	A. 14 B. 14 C. 14	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0	A. 0 B. 0 C. 0	100% 100% 100%

		bukaa? The boy because of too much crying'				
104.naqnaq	croaked	-al DifDa 'the frog' -al SSa iir li ?ummih 'the little boy to his mother'	A. 9 B. 7	A. 2 B. 3	A. 3 B. 4	64.2% 50%
105.rafaf	flapped	-al TTayr bid3anaahih 'the bird with its wings' -al TTayru aaliyan 'the bird high'	A. 13 B. 14	A. 1 B. 0	A. 0 B. 0	92.8% 100%
106.lawlaw		-al lu baan d ismahu 'the snake its body'	A.12	A. 0	A.2	85.7%
107.la la	raised	-aTTiflu Sawtahu 'the child his speech'	A. 13	A. 0	A. 1	92.8%
108. ar ar	gargled	al rad3ul halqah 'the man his throat' -almaa? fi halqii 'the water in my throat'	A.14 B.11	A.0 B. 2	A.0 B. 1	100% 78.5%
109. al al	infiltrated	-al aduwq quwwaatihi 'the enemy his troops'	A.11	A.1	A.2	78.5%
110.halhal	loosened	-axii al habi 'my brother the rope'	A.14	A.0	A.0	100%
111.hafhaf	smoothened	-al d3idaar 'the wall'	A.13 B. 5	A.0 B. 6	A.1 B. 3	92.8% 35.7%
112.haShaS	emerged	-al haqq 'the truth' -al rad ul ?amlaakahu 'the man his property'	A.6 B.10	A.3 B. 3	A.5 B.1	42.8% 71.4%
113. as aS	searched	-al d3asuus al ma luumat' the spy information'	A.5	A.2	A.7	35.7%
114.waswas	incited	-al ŠŠayTaan lli 'the devil for me' -fi nufuusiinaa 'in our souls'	A.14 B. 14	A.0 B.0	A.0 B.0	100% 100%
115.d3ard3ar	scrabbled	-?axii 'my brother 'nafsahu'himself -al miyaah 'water'	A.9 B.12	A.2 B.1	A.3 B.1	64.2% 85.7%
116.daxd3ax	bragged	al walad fi al sayyarah ald3adiidah 'the boy in the new car'	A.8	A.1	A.5	57.1%

117.harhar	mewed/scattered	-al qittah ‘the cat’ -al miyaah ‘water’	A.9 B.9	A.4 B. 4	A.1 B.1	64.2% 64.2%
118.xaDxaD	shook	-alwald al aSiir qabl šurbihi ‘the boy the juice before drinking it’	A.11	A.1	A.2	78.5%
119.xamxam	greedy	-a walad ala ?al?akl ‘ the boy on food’	A.4 B. 3	A.4 B. 4	A.6 B. 7	28.5% 21.4%
120.xalxal	loosened	‘almusmaar’ the nail	A.13	A.0	A.1	92.8%
121.xanxan	nasalized	-al walad bi Sawtihi’ the boy with his voice’ -al ?anf ‘nose’	A.9 B.10	A. 4 B. 1	A.1 B.3	64.2% 71.4%
122. xarxar	trickled	-al maa? aariyan ‘the water running’	A. 9 B. 11	A. 2 B. 3	A. 3 B. 0	64.2% 78.5%
123. xatTxat	scribbled	-al mašruu the plan’ -al walad ‘the boy’	A. 12 B.12	A. 0 B. 0	A. 2 B. 2	85.7% 85.7%