The Suffix /-ǧi/: Morphopragmatic Change from the Honorific to the Pejorative in Egyptian Arabic

لاللاحقة / -جي/: لالتغيير لالصرف للتراول م لالتكريم لإلا للإزوراء في لأللهجة لالعربية لالمصرية إجراع لالركتو مر/بهاء لاليرين ل بو المحس حمس (ستان (للغوياس (لمساجر كلية (الكو (س-جامعة سوهاج

فرضية البحث هى أن التغيير الصرفي التداولى يمكن أن ينظر إليه في التحولات في المعنى التداولى للوحدة الصرفية. ويتتاول هذا البحث في المقام الأول كيفية تغير اللاحقة /-ği/ من لاحقة المهنة إلى لاحقة از دراء في اللهجة العربية المصرية حيث أن التغيير الصرفي التداولى يحول أداة النسب فى اللغة العربية إلى لاحقة از دراء. وتعتمد بيانات البحث على الكلمات المختارة من أرشيف الإنترنت والتي تشمل النصوص والتعليقات الإخبارية التلفزيونية والنصوص الإذاعية والمواقع المتقدمة على شبكة الإنترنت والعينة البحثية هي كلمات عربية تحتوى على اللاحقة /-ği/. وقام الباحث بأخذ عينات من ١٥٠ كلمة من أصل ٢٥٩٤ كلمة عربية تنتهي والم الباحث بأخذ عينات من ١٥٠ كلمة من أصل ٢٥٩٤ كلمة عربية تنتهي والتحوات الإخبارية التلفزيونية، والنصوص الإذاعية والمواقع المتقدمة وقام الباحث بأخذ عينات من ١٥٠ كلمة من أصل ٢٥٩٤ كلمة عربية تنتهي والم الباحث بأخذ عينات من ١٥٠ كلمة من أصل ٢٩٩٤ كلمة عربية تنتهي والموات [-ği]. واعتمد البحث المنهج الوصفي لتحليل البيانات النوعية. والاقتضاء البحث الصبغة التداولية للصيغة الصرفية، ونظرية الفعل الكلامي، والاقتضاء التداولى ونظرية التأدب لتبرير تغيير المعنى التداولى لللاحقة /-ji/ في بعض التداولى ونظرية التأدب لتبرير تغيير المعنى التداولى اللاحقة مارزا في بعض الزدرائي. ويشير البحث إلى أن الميل إلى استخدام اللاحقة الالالة على مهنة قد

توقف عن الاستخدام في بعض الكلمات.

الملخص:

Abstract

The key assumption in this article is that morphopragmatic change can be seen in shifts in the pragmatic meaning of a morpheme. This paper deals primarily with how the suffix /-ği/ has changed from the profession suffix to the pejorative suffix in Egyptian Arabic. It investigates how a morphopragmatic process has proceeded from creating Nisba construction in Arabic to a pejorative suffix. Data are taken from words selected from the Internet Archive which include texts, TV news captions, radio transcripts and advanced web sites. The samples are Arabic words with the suffix /-ği/. The researcher purposively sampled 150 words out of 6594 Arabic words ending with the sounds [-ği]. A descriptive research design was adopted to analyze the qualitative Morphopragmatics, speech act theory, conventional data. implicature and politeness theory are used to justify the pragmatic meaning change of the suffix /-ği/ in some genuine Arabic words. The suffix is attached to Arabic words to create neologisms, which carry pejorative meaning. The paper argues that the tendency to use the suffix to denote a profession has ceased to function in some words.

Keywords: morphopragmatics, speech act theory, implicature, honorifics, pejoratives, and Arabic

1. Introduction

The suffix /-ği/ in many Arabic words is borrowed from Turkish to create a noun denoting a profession (Procházka-Eisl 2018). It is similar to Nisba construction [-ii] in Arabic grammar, e.g. masrii 'Egyptian'. This paper also investigates the historical background of the suffix /-ği/. It is originally a gender-neutral honorific used as a suffix in many languages of the Indian subcontinent and pronounced [-ji] according to the International Alphabet of Sanskrit Transliteration (IAST) and [d3] according to Hindustani pronunciation. It has passed into several languages including Turkish and moves into Arabic during the Ottoman rule. Thanvi and Metcalf (1992: 165) argue that "the terms *qalb*, *dil*, and *ji* are, respectively, Arabic, Persian and Hindi in origin, the linguistic universalism suggesting the comprehensiveness the term 'heart' is meant to convey, the meaning spills over to 'self', 'mind' and 'soul'...". It was originally a general adjectival suffix which could be attached to Old Sanskrit /-ci/ "soul". Ralph Turner (1966) introduced as an entry (no. 5240) in A Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Languages. He asserts that this suffix is added to names to show respect. Many job titles in modern Arabic are actually Turkish. It is relatively easy to detect those, since they end with the suffix/-ği/. In Egypt, the linguistic situation is best described as diglossic where two coexisting language varieties are used. The suffix /-ği/ is the high literary or prestigious form, and is pronounced /-gi/ by most of the population. This paper uses the low variety or the common form /-gi/ in the examples because the data are colloquial words.

Procházka-Eisl (2018: 21) argues that the Turkish suffix moves during the four centuries of Ottoman dominance over the Arabic speaking countries. She stresses that "the Turkish suffix /-ci/, which is not restricted to loanwords but has also become productive in many of the dialects". In the course of history, colloquial Arabic has undergone radical morphological changes, which left influence on not only the morphology, but also the pragmatic use of the suffix. The present paper illustrates the process of the suffix change.

2. Research Questions

The paper attempts to answer the following questions:

- 1- Do all loanwords ending with the sounds [-ği] in Egyptian Arabic denote professions?
- 2- Is the suffix /-ği/ attached to genuine Arabic words to connote pejorative meaning?
- 3- How can the pejorative meaning of the suffix /-ği/ be justified morphopragmatically?

The hypothesis of the study is that the suffix /-ği/ is attached to Arabic words to connote pejorative meaning. The study is significant because it focuses on historical linguistics and language change. It also made use of corpus linguistics to collect word usages from the Internet Archive.

3. Literature Review

Procházka-Eisl (2018) presents a comparative study of Turkish suffix /-ci/ that includes many Arabic dialects. She introduced a descriptive study based on 3 native speakers of Egyptian Arabic because her study focuses on many dialects in Arabic. Inconsistent and contradictory examples of *fusha* sound /ğ/ and *Cariene* sound [g] in her study are not justified. She does not refer to diglossia in Egypt.

(2002: 193–195) Watson discusses foreign suffix morphemes in the dialect of Cairo. Seifart (2013) also mentioned the borrowing of this suffix in Iraqi Arabic. Merlini Barbaresi (2002) discusses the morphopragmatics of diminutives and augmentatives. According to Merlini Barbaresi, if a pragmatic variable is required to fully describe a morphological rule's meaning, then the rule is morphopragmatic. This suggests that a semantic interpretation of its fundamental pragmatic meaning or meanings is not possible. The pragmatics of diminutives and augmentatives has been the primary area of application. Merlini Barbaresi (2002) also aims to counter previous arguments for a semantic foundation for the meaning of diminutives and augmentatives by defending pragmatic priority over semantics. Later, Merlini Barbaresi and Dressler (2020) investigate new

perspectives on pragmatic explanations in morphology. The morphopragmatics of the Akan diminutive morpheme (-ba/-wa) is studied by Appah and Nana (2012). In Finnish, diminutives are examined in child-directed and child speech by Laalo (2001). The English language's "diminutive" y/e suffix and its pragmatics are covered by Merlini Barbaresi (2001). English reduplicatives and extra-grammatical morphology are also covered by Merlini Barbaresi (2008). Merlini Barbaresi (2014) studies evaluative suffixes in English. She makes the case that pragmatics is preferable to semantics.

4. Methodology

The corpus is a list of 150 words collected out of 6594 Arabic words ending with the sounds [-gi]. The purposive and convenience sampling technique is used because it is based on the objectives of the research and the criteria depends on availability and easiness to access. The following steps summarize the strategies used in the research.

- 1) The online lexicography "kalimmat" is used in order to identify the Arabic words which end in the sounds /-gi/. A list of 6594 words is identified. I exclude all Arabic words which end with /g/ and are affixed with /i/.
- 2) The *Internet Archive* (Digital Library of free and borrowable Books, Movies, Music and Wayback Machine or Internet Archive) is used to verify that the selected words occur in text contents, TV news captions, radio transcripts, and advanced web sites. It has a search engine with advanced search options.
- 3) Two groups are differentiated:

a) Borrowings, which clearly occurred with the borrowed words which indicate profession/rank: *tobği* ..., etc. These words are not necessarily Turkish, but may include Persian, Greek, and other foreign words, which entered the Arabic dialects via the Ottoman rule.

b) Words that probably developed independently: Words that did not denote a profession, but are, like several other expressions, autonomous Egyptian creations.

Words that are affixed with /-gi/ in group (a) have positive content and are used as honorific. Words in group (b) are judged to be pejorative than honorific when their meanings are negative. Therefore, a questionnaire is conducted. Because ratings of isolated pejorative words are unreliable, I conducted interviews to verify the hypothesis of the study, since it is impossible to know how a rating task participant interprets the words without interviews. The words in group (b) are not intended to represent an exhaustive list of pejorative words. Instead, they represent examples of the most frequently listed words in word elicitation task.

For the present study, a questionnaire was created using Google forms and designed to expose and explicate the pejorative words. It was available at https://forms.gle/Lps68ymajyJzbSdg9. Undergraduate students at Sohag University and Azhar University were approached at random to complete a questionnaire, including two word rating tasks. They were told only that the questionnaire dealt with a particular linguistic behavior. The participants were given the freedom to participate. A total of 99 questionnaires were completed. The 99 participants were comprised of 21 males and 78 females, accounting for 21.1% and 78.8%, respectively, of the questionnaire total participants. Upon completing the questionnaire, the participants were therefore invited to take part in a voluntary follow-up interview to discuss their answers in further detail. The rating task in the questionnaire included a list of twelve pejorative words, mixed with twelve profession words. Participants were asked to rate each word on an offensiveness scale of 1 to 10, '1' being 'Not Pejorative', and '10' being 'Very Pejorative'. Next, the respondents who accepted to participate in interviews were asked if any of the listed words should be deleted, or if any other words should be added.

After completing the questionnaire, thirty-two participants (32.3%) volunteered to be interviewed. Every interview started the same way: asking the informants to describe the speech

patterns they employ in social situations rather than in formal or academic settings. These interviews were designed to find out if the informants were aware of any ensuing variety by getting them to think about the many situations in which they use these words in their everyday language. After that, they were invited to discuss if any of their various styles used any derogatory language. The informants were prompted to think about the variety in their language use in this way. Following a discussion of the questionnaire, participants were free to share their thoughts and responses.

5. Results of the Questionnaires and Interviews

Results of the questionnaires show that 12 words out of the 24 words (50%) are not pejorative and interview respondents inform that these words are used as titles of professions. They consider them as honorifics to show esteem and respect for the profession when used in addressing or referring to a person. Results also indicate that 9 words (37.5%) are neologisms created to show pejoration. Only 3 words (12.5%) achieve neutral scores; *falasangi* 'bankrupt', *sawragi* 'revolutionary' and *kalamangi* 'chatterbox'. As the numerical value for the "Neutral" level is 3, this means that respondents generally feel neutral about these 3 words. The normal interpretation is the respondent cannot decide whether to agree or disagree. The following section shows the different examples of the two groups.

Group (a): Words Denoting Professions

According to Gardani & al. (2015), it is believed that the borrowing of morphological devices from other languages requires a high degree of contact between the source and recipient languages. (2015: 1). Procházka-Eisl (2018) studies the Turkish suffix /-ci/ in many Arabic dialects and she argues that the semantic function of the suffix is agreed upon in Modern Turkish grammar and is labeled, due to its main function, *meslekeki* 'profession' suffix. According to M. Ergin (1981), this suffix has five categories:

(1) Professions and occupations (*kitap* – 'book', *kitapçı* – 'book-seller')

(2) Relation to a thing (*yol* – 'way', *yolcu* – 'traveller')

(3) Habits, attributes (*şaka* – 'joke', *şakacı* – 'joker')

(4) Beliefs, ideologies (*Atatürkçü* – 'adherent of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk')

(5) Surnames, toponyms" (Procházka-Eisl 2018: 22)

Procházka-Eisl explains that "The suffix made its way into the Arabic dialects from Ottoman, not modern, Turkish, and in Ottoman Turkish the suffix /-ci/ was illabial, which means it occurred only in the forms -ci and -ci, never, like modern Turkish, as -cu and -cü" (2018: 22). She notices that the suffix is not restricted to loanwords but has also become productive in many of the dialects in Arabic (2018: 22). Procházka-Eisl (2018: 22) mentions that one of the most productive suffixes in modern Turkish is the nominal /-ci/, which allows one to create new words that almost never seem strange to native speakers of Turkish. Eight allomorphs of the suffix can be found in modern Turkish: four vowels based on Turkish vowel harmony can be combined with either voiced -c- [d] or unvoiced -c- [t] to form -c1, -ci, -cu, -cü and -c1, -ci, - cu, -cü. She clarifies that Egyptian Arabic only adapted the illabial allomorphs, which fit easier into its phonetic system as the sound \check{g} [dʒ]. She explains,

As for the Turkish close back-central unrounded vowel i [uI], it is well known that this vowel in final position generally becomes i in Turkish loanwords that entered Arabic. Concerning the consonant of the suffix, in Turkish the conditioned devoicing from c to ç after unvoiced consonants is also a relatively recent development, happening during the course of the 19th century. In Arabic dialects the consonant always developed parallel to the sound ğ [dʒ] in any genuine Arabic word. Thus we find -gi in Egypt...(2018: 22-23)

According to Prokosch (1983); Procházka-Eisl (2018), the tentative numbers of /-ci/-words in Egypt is more than 100 (2018: 26). Procházka-Eisl (2018) stresses that "the words for professions

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generally refer to specialties such as the fabrication of special regional products, types of railway work, boatmen operating specific varieties of local vessels, or musicians performing on specific instruments" (2018: 30). Notice the allomorph /-gi/ is used in this study instead of /-ği/. Some of the examples in Egyptian Arabic which are used as Group (a) to refer to professions include:

išargi 'traffic policeman', qahwagi 'café owner', ^{*p}agzagi* 'pharmacist',</sup> *canbargi* 'carter', 'man responsible for a ship's cargo area', ^sardahalgi 'public writer', 'clerk helping clients at court', ^catašgi, atašgi 'fireman' (on a steam locomotive), bustagi 'postman', buyagi 'painter', fakahği 'fruit seller', farargi 'poulterer', gawahirgi 'jeweler', gazmagi 'shoemaker', 'shoe repairer', kababgi 'kebab seller', mahzangi 'depot administrator', 'warehouseman', mihwalgi 'switchman', nadurgi 'caretaker', 'watchman', našangi 'shooter', probably a military term *qahwagi* 'coffeehouse owner' *qumisyungi* 'representative of a trade company' sabungi 'soap seller', 'soap maker' šamaširgi, sufragi 'chambermaid' tamargi 'nurse' (male) tarzagi 'tailor', tubgi 'bombardier' turšagi 'pickles-seller'

Notice that the nominal derivational suffix /-gi/ is often attached to nouns. According to Watson (2002:194), the suffix can also be attached to verbs. *tamargi* (Egypt) '(male) hospital nurse'. This is

related to Turkish *timaretmek* 'to care'; in Turkish timarcı is 'horse-breeder' and 'tree nurse'. The verb *tammar*, which means "to take care of," is most likely the source of the Egyptian term (Watson 2002: 194). The example of *tamargi* demonstrates that the verb *tammar* may be the stem at which the suffixation occurs. Other examples include *falasangi* 'bankrupt' and *tama^sangi* 'greedy' are examples of the addition of the suffix to the verb. According to Procházka-Eisl (2018), some words ending in /-gi/ display a large number ending in the vowel-a that connect the suffix by means of an inserted -n: *halawangi*, *halwangi* (besides *halwagi*).

Group (b): Intra-Arabic (Independent) Word Formation

The second group of words does not denote professions and a pejorative style. Some of these words may have developed through semantic shift in Egyptian Arabic or are the result of intra-Arabic word formation independent of Turkish. All of the examples given in the following sections are genuine formations with no /-ci/-equivalents in Turkish. Some of them are mentioned in Procházka-Eisl's (2018) fieldwork. Some of the examples in Egyptian Arabic words which are used as Group (b) include:

fawdagi 'anarchist' 'rabble rouser' budragi 'cocaine addict'. *^canbargi* 'bumpkin', 'rabble' *awantagi* 'adventurer', 'cheater', more frequent 'boaster' 'thug', 'hooligan', 'kind of bodyguard', also 'debt baltagi collector', 'enforcer' (criminal) başmagi 'yea-sayer', 'illiterate', 'nonviable person' hamurgi 'wine-seller' (derived from hamr 'wine') lumangi 'convict' maškalgi 'problem-maker' sabersagi 'collector of cigarette butts' sakargi 'drunkard' tazkargi 'ticket vendor', 'cocaine addict' qanungi 'qanun-player', sometimes jesting word for 'lawyer' niswangi 'womanizer'

Other neologism examples from Procházka-Eisl's (2018) fieldwork that are not considered include *^cafiyagi* 'troublemaker', *^caşbagi* 'lawbreaker' (*^cuşbagi*), and *ihwangi* 'sympathizer or member of the Muslim Brotherhood'. Although the word *^cazabangi* 'bachelor' is not a profession, it is classified as not pejorative. In addition, the following three words are considered as neutral by the questionnaires respondents;

falasangi 'bankrupt' sawragi 'revolutionary' kalamangi 'chatterbox'

According to Watson (2002: 194), baltagi (Egypt) is borrowed from Turkish balta 'axe' and means a 'halberdier' in Ottoman contexts; but in today's Egypt it means 'member of a goon squad'. According to Procházka-Eisl (2018: 31), the word *qanungi* (qanun player) is used to mock attorneys (qanun "law"). Similarly, *muftahgi* (switchman) refers to someone who can open doors (i.e., opportunities) to anything. Another example is the *tazkargi* "ticket vendor". Another example is the Egyptian term *tahrirgi* (tahrīr "editor"), which has replaced the meaning of "writer" with that of "protester at the Tahrir Square' (during the revolution of 2011). Procházka-Eisl (2018: 31) argues,

this is only one side of the coin because one gets the impression that /-ci/ has entered the modern dialects again – in uneven frequency of usage – through the back door. Its traditional basic meaning as a profession-marker is not that distinctive anymore; it can now denote ideologies, habits, and personal characteristics, frequently with a pejorative or humorous nuance.

6. Morphopragmatic Change

The purpose of this study is to investigate the use of the honorific (politeness) nominal derivational suffix /-gi/ which is an indicative of showing respect to occupation or profession. Morphopragmatics investigates the boundaries between morphology and pragmatics. Pragmatic meaning is dependent

upon the context of the utterance and not predictable. The study also points out that morpholopragmatic change is not a result of mechanical, predictable processes but of the behavior of language users. Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994) propose the term 'morpholopragmatics'. Certain morphological patterns mav generate pragmatic meanings, independent of their denotative meanings. They deal exclusively with the evaluative affixes such as diminutives, pejoratives, and intensifiers such as honorifics and pejoratives. Thev cite two areas as instances of morphopragmatics: (i) the pronominal system and their politeness use and (ii) the complex system of Japanese honorifics.

According to Whiting (2007) and Williamson (2009), traditional implicature provides the most useful framework for understanding the derogatory content of some pejorative words and phrases. According to Horn (2010: 164),

Pejoratives demonstrate a wide array of complex phenomena, but their primary function is to conventionally convey negative, emotional content beyond the truth-conditional content that they are normally taken to encode (if any). This emotional content reflects the derogatory attitudes of their speakers. As these attitudes vary along many dimensions and magnitudes, they initially appear to be resistant to a truthconditional, semantic analysis.

Hornsby (2001: 128) argues that "derogatory words... apply to people and are commonly understood to convey hatred or contempt". She points out the differences between slurring terms, expressive terms and descriptive terms. It is evident that slurring terms differ from descriptive terms in that the former is commonly understood to carry derogatory force. From this point of view, derogatory words can be considered as speech acts.

Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994) also follow Searle and Vanderveken's (1985) classification; requests, evaluative assessments, exclamatives, formal declaratives, thanks, apologies, promises and threats. In analogy with Dressler and Merlini Barbaresi (1994), the study considers the pragmatic force of the pejoratives words ending with the syllable /-ği/ as the force of evaluative assessment. Words collected in this study are divided into two categories: group (a) which denote a profession honorific and group (b) which is considered in the study as pejorative words. Pejoratives can weaken the illocutionary act by acting on the propositional content via the semantic feature [pejorative].

Within a theory of inflectional morphopragmatics, the honorific profession suffix /-gi/ in Egyptian Arabic changes to the pejorative use. The crucial point is that the pragmatic use of the honorific /-gi/ is not interpretable in group (b) in terms of the feature [respectful]. Instead, a special morphpragmatic feature [pejorative] is proposed to suit the propositional content. Compared to the semantic feature [respectful], a very important change is recently apparent; the pragmatic feature [pejorative] does not refer to denotatum of the honorific profession suffix /-gi/. This means that the morphopragmatic scope of the honorific suffix goes far beyond the word it attaches to. Words in group (b) could not denote professions. In this context, a very interesting semantic constraint is that the propositional content of the word can either upgrade to the force of the honorific or downgrade to the force of the pejorative; if it refers to a positive value such as an occupation, it is upgraded to an honorific. If it refers to a negative proposition or attribute, it is downgraded to a pejorative.

From a pragmatic point of view, a pejorative can be achieved through violating what is normatively expected in the use of a word ended with a honorific profession suffix /-gi/. There is a sort of mismatch or discrepancy between the perceived intention of the suffix and the default usage of the suffix. It carries ironical tone (see Amante 1981:82). Language users take advantage of the nature of honorifics in a negative way or manipulate the honorific particle to reverse the target for deference. Such a pejorative use of the word is a kind of violating norms of honorifics. It will be helpful to describe pejorative utterances as they convey negative attitude or evaluation. It is difficult to offer a linguistic analysis of the pejorative utterance or to show how its negative polarity is linguistically encoded. My focus in this article is on pejorative speech acts performed with pejorative lexical items used pejoratively. They often reveal

speaker's evaluative and affective stances toward a person. Jeshion (2021) distinguishes two further notions: a pejorative use of an expression and a pejorative speech act. In her chapter, 'Varieties of Pejoratives', Jeshion (2021) distinguishes pejorative lexical items, pejorative uses of words, and pejorative speech acts. She comments,

pejorative lexical items include words and suffixes that have, or may be added to words to create, negatively valenced meaning or connotations... In addition to individual words, many languages contain suffixes that combine with bases to generate pejorative meanings. For instance, the English suffix -aster, as in poetaster and philosophaster, indicates inferior, would-be poets and philosophers, respectively. Via increasing prevalence of portmanteau, the suffix -tard has recently become a productive derogatory suffix – libtard, republitard, Trumptard, fucktard" (2021:211-212).

Pejorative lexical items possess typical uses that convey something negative: a negative attitude, evaluation, or stance. Hence, in this study, pejoration is productive and exploits wordformation mechanisms.

[C]ertain words are used pejoratively within that context, regardless of whether any of the words themselves are pejorative expressions. Sincerely calling someone libtard involves a pejorative word used pejoratively. Yet boy and girl, which are not themselves pejorative lexical items, are systematically used as pejoratives, as in calling a Black man boy as a means of derogating and exerting racial social dominance, and calling a schoolboy girl to belittle, feminize, or otherwise mark him as weak. (Jeshion 2021: 213)

Pejorative speech acts, or acts that ridicule, mock, harass, humiliate, belittle, subjugate, stigmatize, marginalize, degrade, dismiss, insult, derogate, or dehumanize, are a category that Jeshion (2021: 214) identifies.

7. Conclusion

The study concludes that the /-gi/-words that were no longer in use with their previous meaning are now once more usable in new word forms. According to Procházka-Eisl (2018), these terms are neologisms that are exclusive to a given location and probably have a short lifespan. A neologism is a newly coined word or expression that has recently entered the lexicon or gained popularity.

The suffix /-gi/ has become productive in Egyptian Arabic. It is more likely to assume that Egyptian Arabic adopted this morpheme for genuine Arabic words as a pejorative speech act. This fact goes in accordance with Procházka-Eisl's conclusion (2018: 24). According to Watson (2002: 193-194), the suffix can be affixed to a great variety of nouns, including plurals in Egyptian Arabic. Egyptian Arabic /-gi/, according to Prokosch (1983), "probably even today is still productive," but there have been tendencies to use it with native Arabic nouns. Evidently, this applied to a large number of the terms in this study. Procházka-Eisl notes that there are still minute differences between an ideology or profession conveyed by the -ci and those expressed in other forms (2018: 29). She argues that the vast bulk of the /-ci/words that have been gathered relate to professions and vocations. A few represent traits and actions that are, at most, amusing and frequently disparaging: Drinkers, smokers, drug users, flirts, chatterers, and gamblers (2018: 29-30).

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Transliteration Keys

Arabic	Phonetic Symbol	Arabic	Phonetic
Letter		Letter	Symbol
ç	>	ف	f
ب	b	ق ك	q
ت ث	t	ای	k
ث	<u>t</u>	J	1
5	<u>t</u> ğ, g	م	m
۲	ķ	ن	n
で て こ ふ	ĥ	٥	h
د	d	و	W
ć	₫	ى	у
ر	r	fatḥah	а
ز	Ζ	kasrah	i
	S	ḍammah	u
ش	š		
ص	Ş		
ض	ļ		
ط	ţ		
Ä	, Z,		
س ش ص ظ غ	٢		
غ	ġ		
-	-		