

**Effects of Situational and Cultural Context on
understanding Idiomatic Expressions in Najdi Dialect**

Ghassan Abdulaziz Almahmood

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Ghassan Abdulaziz Almahmood

Dedication

I dedicate this work to the memory of Abdulrahman Muhammad Ibrahim Al-mahmood (16 April 2014).

Acknowledgment

At the conclusion of this thesis, I would like to thank the individuals and institutions, without their support and encouragement of whom it would not have been possible to complete this work.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the effect of the clarity of idioms' motivation on the recognition and comprehension of Najdi idiomatic expressions. Besides the transparency of motivation, the main factors examined are the linguistic proficiency of those encountering idioms, the compositionality's degree of the idioms, and cultural similarities and differences. Quantitative and qualitative research methods were used in a questionnaire-based study involving 60 Najdi idioms and 90 participants, who represent three levels of linguistic proficiency: first dialect learners (henceforth D1), second dialect learners (henceforth D2), and second language learners (henceforth L2). Participants were asked to perform two tasks: familiarity with and comprehension of Najdi idioms. The results of the familiarity task showed that D1 and D2 learners recognised the majority of Najdi idioms, and they showed similar performance in accepting and rejecting the figurative meanings supplied. In contrast, L2 learners' performance in the familiarity with Najdi idioms was much worse than D1 and D2 learners except with Islamic-related idioms, with which L2 learners demonstrated a high performance of familiarity. In addition, the results of the comprehension task showed that, due to the cultural and linguistic similarity between D1 and D2 learners, they both tended to decompose the majority of Najdi idioms, whereas L2 learners' judgements of compositionality varied in accordance with types of idiomatic motivation and the contribution of idioms' individual components. Taken together, the findings of familiarity and comprehension tasks suggest that semantically transparent idioms are more likely to entrench in L2 learners' memory than are opaque idioms, whereas D2 learners seems to be less dependent on the transparency's degree of idioms' motivation in the recognition process.

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Tables of Arabic Consonants and Vowels Transliteration into the Latin Script

1. Consonants

Arabic	Symbol	Arabic	Symbol
ء	`	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	th	ع	‘
ج	j	غ	gh
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	ḵ	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	dh	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	sh	و	w
ص	ṣ	ى	y

2. Vowels

Arabic (short vowels)	Symbol	Arabic (long vowels)	Symbol
اَ	a	آ	ā
اُ	u	أُو	ū
اِ	i	أِي	ī

List of Abbreviations

Term	Gloss
D1	First dialect
D2	Second dialect
DIR	the Dual Idiom Representation Model
F=	Figurative meaning
FA	Familiar and Appropriate
L=	Literal meaning
L1	First language
L2	Second language
M=	Mean
MAS	Modern Standard Arabic
NSA	Non-Saudi Arab participants
SA	Saudi Arabian participants

Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical discussion, significance, and aim of this research. In addition, the research components, questions, methods, and contents of the thesis are outlined. This chapter consists of five sections. It starts with a statement of the research problem, followed by a clarification of the importance of the research. An explanation of the theoretical rationale for the study precedes the research aim and questions. The introduction concludes with a chapter-by-chapter outline of this thesis.

1.1 *Statement of the problem*

As a learner of a second language, I have become aware of the difficulties of acquiring and comprehending second language idioms, particularly those that lack a metaphorical link between their literal and figurative meanings. It is likely, for example, that an idiom such as *to give someone the cold shoulder* (the figurative meaning (henceforth F=) of which is 'to disregard someone') would cause some comprehension difficulties for second language users due to the lack of connection between the external form of the expression and its underlying meaning.

As will be seen in Chapter Four, previous research on idioms has identified a range of factors that can affect the process of understanding foreign language idioms. With regard to these factors, it would seem that the effects of semantic transparency of idioms on second language/dialect understanding merit further investigation, taking into account the implications of the Conceptual Metaphors Theory proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

1.2 *Research significance and contribution*

There have been many debates centred on whether to treat idioms as compositional or non-compositional entities. This work, however, focuses on providing a better understanding of the influence that individual words, language learners' background, and cultural context can have on understanding the figurative meaning of idioms. In addition, to the best of my knowledge, the present work represents the first attempt to discuss the idioms of the modern Najdi dialect from a conceptual-metaphor perspective. This study seeks to provide an explanation of the process by which second language/dialect learners understand idiomatic expressions in the Najdi dialect.

This research takes the form of a questionnaire-based study that has been conducted to compare three different levels of language learners in the process of idiom comprehension and recognition. The findings of the study contribute further explanations to the model of second language (henceforth L2) and Arabic second dialect (henceforth D2) recognition and

comprehension. Moreover, this study also provides a better understanding of the representation, storage, and access of idioms with regard to native or first language (henceforth L1), speaker comprehension.

1.3 *The theoretical rationale*

The current study is largely based on the assumption that various degrees of idiom semantic transparency and compositionality influence the way in which idioms are recognised and comprehended. In addition, cognitive-linguistic approaches are adopted in order to define a more accurate explanation of idiom transparency and compositionality in Najdi Arabic. This study includes an in-depth investigation into the semantic and pragmatic features of idioms, relying on the notion of conceptual metaphors which would enable an understanding of the relationship between the transparency of idiom motivation and the recognition and comprehension of idioms. The implications of conceptual metaphors for idiomatic expressions are briefly discussed with regard to the potential differences in linguistic skills and cultural backgrounds of native and non-native speakers. This study considers many theories and empirical studies that have contributed to the process of understanding idiomatic expressions in order to determine the possible factors that could affect the understanding of idioms.

1.4 Research aim and questions

The main focus of the present study is to analyse the effect of the clarity degree of idiom motivation on the process of the recognition and comprehension of idioms, with particular regard to the differences in linguistic skills of L1 learners, D2 learners, and L2 learners.

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What types of idiomatic motivation can be easily comprehended by native and non-native speakers? How do such factors as idiom compositionality and transparency, as well as the native language of those encountering idioms, affect the process of idiom comprehension?
2. To what extent does idiom familiarity affect the accuracy of judging the degree of idioms' semantic transparency by native and non-native speakers?
3. Do D2 learners approach the recognition and comprehension of foreign dialect idioms in the same way as L2 learners?
4. To what extent do factors such as cultural similarities facilitate the recognition and comprehension process for non-native speakers?
5. Do Najdi idioms pose comprehension difficulties out of the context of use?

1.5 Research outline

In addition to the current chapter, which constitutes an introduction to this study, the thesis consists of the following six chapters:

Chapter Two reviews both the Anglo-American and Arabic linguistics literature regarding the definition, classification, and use of idiomatic expressions in language in general and in dialects in particular. This chapter forms a useful basis for understanding the process of categorising the sample of Najdi idioms to be analysed.

Chapter Three focuses on the Najdi dialect, including its linguistic features and cultural dimensions. The aim of this chapter is to examine the effect of dialectal features and cultural similarities on the process of understanding foreign language idioms.

In Chapter Four, existing studies that are of relevance to the research topic are reviewed. As this review shows, many theoretical and empirical perspectives have been proposed in an attempt to explain the process of native and non-native speaker acquisition and comprehension of idiomatic expressions. This chapter offers theoretical insights that provide a framework for Chapter Six, the analysis chapter.

Chapter Five introduces the research methodology. The main objectives and hypotheses of this current work are formulated. This chapter explains the procedures used to analyse the databases presented in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six presents the data analysis. This involves two tasks: the recognition and comprehension of idiomatic expressions with regard to the

differences between native and non-native speakers in each task. Moreover, this chapter considers the linguistic skills of those encountering idioms. The levels of linguistic proficiency of three types of learners are analysed, namely first dialect (henceforth D1), D2, and L2 learners.

In Chapter Seven, the research findings, the limitations of this research, and recommendations for further studies are presented.

Chapter Two: Idiomatic expressions: Definitions, types and their relation to other figures of speech

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review and discuss different semantic and pragmatic approaches to the concept of idiomatic expressions. In addition, this chapter will also distinguish between idiomatic expressions and other related terms, including metaphors, proverbs and metonymy. Furthermore, the chapter will also review research in this field focusing on both Arabic and English linguistic studies, summarising their major outcomes. Finally, the features and functions of idioms within dialects will be highlighted.

This chapter will be subdivided into four sections. The first section will discuss idiomatic expressions within Western linguistics. In the second section, the focus will be on research regarding idiomatic expressions within the fields of both Arabic rhetoric and modern Arabic linguistics. The use of idiomatic expressions in Arabic dialects will be examined in the third section whilst the final section will consider research literature which has explored the reasons why language users make use of idiomatic expressions.

2.2 Idiomatic expressions within Western Linguistics

Recently, there has been a growing interest in the study of idiomatic expressions in linguistics, because these are regarded as being problematic in L2 acquisition and comprehension. This interest has resulted in a considerable amount of semantic and pragmatic analysis of idiomatic expressions (Cacciari and Tabossi, 1988; Cronk and Schweigert, 1992; Colombo, 1998; Tabossi, Fanari, and Wolf, 2009; Abel, 2003). Different aspects of idiomatic expressions have been explored including their definition, types, usage, acquisition and comprehension. This long-standing interest in the linguistic aspect of idioms has also led to attempts to distinguish idioms from other related concepts. The aim of this section is to discuss various definitions and types of idiomatic expressions in order to clarify the meaning of the term.

This section will focus on two aspects. Firstly, the definition and types of idioms will be discussed. Secondly, I will distinguish idiomatic expressions according to relevant terminology in symbolic speech.

2.2.1 Idiomatic expressions: Definitions and types

One of the most problematic topics in research into idioms is to produce a definition that contains all the different classes of idioms and, at the same time, distinguishes idioms from other kinds of figurative language, including metaphors, metonymy and collocations.

According to the traditional approaches to defining idiomatic expressions (Nunberg et al., 1994: 498, Gibbs, Nayak, and Cutting, 1989: 576; Gibbs, 1995: 98), idioms are non-compositional multiple word expressions. In a broad context, non-compositionality refers to two separate linguistic aspects: in other words, they are inflexible in syntactical form, and are arbitrary in semantic meaning.

From the syntactical point of view, it has been argued that if the definition of idioms as non-compositional is accepted, it follows that all types of idioms can be considered to be syntactically inflexible expressions, the surface forms of which are not modifiable (Nunberg, 1978). Consequently, under the terms of this definition, a substantial number of idioms would be eliminated from this category because they exhibit a high degree of flexibility. To illustrate this, let us consider the phrase “to spill the beans” which can be reformulated as: “She did not spill any of those beans”; “She did not spill the beans yesterday, but spilled them today”, and “Those beans, she would never spill” (Titone and Connine, 1999: 1659).

However, this syntactical view of compositionality is of limited relevance to the main purpose and scope of the present study, which focuses on the semantic and pragmatic aspects of idiomatic expressions.

Hence, re-phrasing the traditional view of defining idioms to focus on just the semantic aspect, an idiom can then be defined as a “string of words whose

semantic interpretation cannot be derived compositionally from the interpretation of its parts” (Cacciari and Tabossi, 1988: 668; see also Nunberg et al., 1994: 498; Kovecses, 2002: 199). Considering idiomatic expressions as being semantically non-compositional implies that, firstly, the relationship between the literal and figurative meaning is arbitrary, and secondly, that the overall figurative meaning of an idiomatic expression is processed by means of a lexical mechanism (as vocabulary defined in a dictionary), and not through a conceptual system (Kovecses, 2002: 199). In other words, idioms are simply treated as one single long word. For example, “to kick the bucket”, should be treated and understood as a single entity conveying the figurative meaning of “to die”, because there is nothing in the words “kick” or “bucket” that refer to the figurative meaning “die”. That is to say, idiomatic phrases cannot be broken down into constituent components, because that would not produce the figurative meaning.

Nunberg (1978) and Nunberg et al. (1994) have argued that defining idioms as non-compositional means disregarding those which are classified using the terminology of “idiomatic expressions”. According to Nunberg (1978), many idioms are semantically compositional; that is to say that the individual words do contribute literally or figuratively to the overall figurative meaning. Therefore, if the traditional definition of idioms as being non-compositional is accepted, this would consequently exclude a whole class of idiomatic expressions in which the idiomatic components play a significant role in interpreting the overall symbolic meaning (Titone and Connine, 1999: 1656). Taking the example, “pop the question”, it is quite obvious that the figurative

meaning of the word “question” means “marriage proposal”, and the literal meaning of the verb “pop” is to “act” or “make” (Gibbs, Nayak, and Cutting, 1989: 576). In other words, in some idiomatic expressions, the link between the literal reading and the overall figurative meaning is not arbitrary. As seen in the previous example, the metaphorical cue emerging from the word “question” and the literal reading of the word “pop” together imply the overall figurative meaning, at least for native speakers. This was why Nunberg (1978) rejected the notion that all idiomatic expressions are semantically non-compositional.

Furthermore, supporting evidence regarding the contribution of individual words in idioms comes from an experiment conducted by Gibbs and O’Brien (1990). This suggested that the mental image created by the single word, at least in decomposable idioms, might aid those encountering such idioms to recognise the entire target meaning, as in “spill the beans”. In this example, the mental image of the action “spill” implies the figurative action “reveal”, and the mental image of “beans” refers to a “secret”.

Nunberg et al. (1994) have argued that previous research into idioms also failed to address the conventional aspects of defining idiomatic expressions since it relied on the conventional use of an idiom’s individual components, whereas they suggest (1994: 495) that the conventionality of idioms should be considered as one entity in the entire phrase. According to Fernando (1996: 68), conventionality in idiomatic expressions occurs, to a certain degree, as a

result of the repetition of the idiom in everyday speech. This frequency of use of an idiom in the same form and meaning gives it the advantage of being memorised as an idiomatic entry (Abel, 2003), meaning that it would be acquired and comprehended as a single entry. To illustrate this, let us consider the Arabic idiom below:

إن شاء الله (L= If Allah wills, F= I will)

In my view, this idiom can be said to clearly exemplify the relationship between frequency, conventional meaning and idiomatic expressions. It is frequently used in Arabic to figuratively convey “I will”, which, to the best of my knowledge, is the conventional meaning which it carries for most Arabic speakers. It can be argued that the high frequency use of this idiom has established its conventional meaning, which in turn has enabled the idiom to be treated as a single word. Therefore, as soon as this idiom is heard by Arabic language users, they would directly retrieve the conventional meaning without analysing the semantic meaning of its individual components.

In fact, the term ‘conventionality’ in the field of idiom research has two distinct meanings, both of which are disregarded in the traditional view of idioms. According to Nunberg et al. (1994), this refers to the agreement regarding idiom form and figurative meaning, which is the one already mentioned. However, in conceptual metaphor theory, as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), conventionality also refers to the conceptual knowledge that is well-known and widely applied by native speakers to their language in general, and to figurative expressions in particular. According to Kovecses and Szabo

(1996: 330), the link between the surface structure of an idiom and its overall non-literal meaning is not determined by a lexical or linguistic mechanism (referring to the traditional view), at least in the case of most idioms (Kovecses, 2002: 199). Kovecses and Szabo (1996) argue that idioms are a conceptual matter, in which motivation (the link between their figurative and literal meanings) is captured via cognitive mechanisms and conventional knowledge, the conceptual sense which users of a particular language share. It is this which enables them to decode the motivation between source and target domains.

Drawing on Lakoff and Johnson's work (1980) concerning the conceptual domain (conceptual metaphors), Kovecses and Szabo (1996) conducted a study based on several dictionaries of English idioms with the aim of investigating conceptual metaphors in English idioms. They found that many idioms are conceptually, not linguistically, motivated by the relationship between their metaphorical and their conceptual readings. Examining the following examples containing the word "fire":

1. He was spitting **fire**.
2. The **fire** between them finally went out.
3. The painting set **fire** to the composer's imagination.
4. Go ahead. **Fire** away!

(Kovecses and Szabo, 1996: 329)

The authors argued that in examples 1, 2, 3 and 4 respectively, these idioms are conceptually, not linguistically, motivated by the relationship between the

metaphorical meanings (anger, love, imagination and conflict) and the conceptual reading of “fire”, as in “Anger is fire”, “Love is fire”, “Imagination is fire” and “Conflict is fire” (Ibid: 332). This suggests that the overall figurative meaning in idioms is motivated, and is not arbitrary.

Therefore, it is proposed (Nunberg, 1978, Nunberg et al. 1994) that idiomatic expressions should be categorised into two separate groups, namely idiomatically combined expressions (compositional idioms) and idiomatic phrases (non-compositional idioms). In the former group, the overall figurative meanings are distributed across the components of the idiom. By contrast, in the latter group, the figurative meaning is semantically unrelated to the components of the idiom.

Using this framework, idiomatic expressions can be defined as “conventionalised multiple word expressions [which are] often, but not always, non-literal” (Fernando, 1996: 38). Using this definition, idiomatic expressions can be classified into three groups according to the contribution made by an idiom’s components (Nunberg, 1978; Gibbs et al., 1989, 1997).

1. **Normally compositional idioms:** In this type, part of the components of the idiom contributes literally and the other figuratively to produce the overall figurative meaning. For instance, in the expression “It is raining cats and dogs” (F= it is raining very heavily), the verb “rain” retains its lexical

meaning, whereas the nouns “cats” and “dogs” are interpreted metaphorically.

Consider the following Arabic example:

اضرب بيد من حديد (the literal meaning (henceforth L=) strike using an iron hand,
F= strike strongly)

Here the metaphorical interpretation occurs in the second and last part of the sentence, where “an iron hand” figuratively conveys “a strong action”, whereas the verb “strike” has retained its original, literal meaning.

2. **Abnormally compositional idioms:** In this type, the entire contribution to the overall figurative meaning occurs figuratively, as in the following example:

لا تلعب بالنار (L= Do not play with fire. F= Do not do something that will cause you trouble.)

In this instance, both the verb “play” and the noun “fire” figuratively imply parts of the overall figurative meaning. “Play” indicates “act” or “do”, and “fire” implies “trouble”.

3. **Non-compositional idioms:** In the final type, there are neither literal nor figurative links between the literal and the overall figurative meanings. For example:

غسلت شراعه (L= I wash someone’s sail, F= I make someone look ridiculous).

Grant and Bauer (2004: 51) argue that true idiomatic expressions should not be compositional or figurative. Literally or figuratively compositional idioms, including normal and abnormal idioms, such as “red book” and “as good as

gold”, are deemed to underlie “multiple word units” or “figurativeness”, and not regarded as idiomatic expressions. Grant and Bauer (2004: 52) refer to a “core idiom”, a term which they use to reflect their definition of an idiomatic expression, as a multiple word unit that is both non-compositional and non-figurative. According to them (Ibid: 52), an idiom has to meet the following criteria in order to be regarded as a core idiom:

1. It must be unmodifiable. Thus, if one word within the phrase can be substituted for by another and the overall figurative meaning remains unchanged, this multiple word unit would not be deemed to be a core idiom.
2. It must not be a figurative expression containing untruthful meaning which means that, if the overall untruthful meaning can be pragmatically reinterpreted to reach the intended meaning, this multiple word unit cannot be considered to be an idiom (Grant, 2003: 50). Thus, the untruthful meaning of the expression “He is a small fish in a big pond” can be reinterpreted in order to understand the truthful meaning, namely “He is a powerful or important man in a small or weak group”.
3. It must be non-compositional, in that the relationship between the intended figurative meaning and the literal one is arbitrary.

Grant and Bauer (2004) cite “red herring” (F= something that draws attention away from the central topic) is an example of an idiomatic expression (in their terminology, a core idiom) because it is non-compositional, non-figurative, and unmodifiable.

It can be argued that by emphasising non-figurativeness and non-compositionality as defining elements of idiomatic expressions, Grant and Bauer (2004) have therefore failed to take into consideration the conventional aspect of idioms. Conventionality in idioms means that predicting the overall figurative meaning is not only based on a metaphorical cue emerging from one part of the collocation in isolation (Nunberg et al., 1994: 498), but is also based on the arrangement of the individual components by way of conventionalisation. Therefore, the difference between idioms and metaphors is that idiomatic expressions are conventional in form and meaning, whereas most metaphorical sentences are novel, at least in form (Burbules, Schraw, and Trathen, 1989). There are many conventional metaphors in terms of meaning; for instance, “Your claims are indefensible” emerges from the conceptual metaphor that “argument is war”, but ways of formatting this conceptual metaphor in a written text and speech probably differ from one another. Other possibilities include: “Your claim/opinion/view is unassailable/difficult to attack”.

By contrast, idiomatic expressions are usually conventional in form and meaning, such as “He has a long face” (F= he is sad), which would lose its meaning if the components were substituted, as in “He has a wide face/a long cheek”. Therefore, it can be claimed that idioms can be distinguished from other figures of speech via conventionality, while figurativeness allows a distinguishing line to be drawn between compositional and non-compositional idioms. To illustrate this, let us consider the following three examples:

- a. هم يد على اعدائهم (L= They are one hand over their enemies, F= They cooperate together against their enemies).
- b. اليد الواحدة ما تصفق (L= One hand cannot clap, F= One individual can achieve nothing).
- c. يد الله مع الجماعة (L= The hand of Allah is with [the] togetherness, F= Those who unite will prevail).

In example (a), a metaphorical clause, the overall figurative meaning “co-operation” occurs only in the individual word “hand”. In example (b), which is a compositional idiom, the figurative meaning “co-operation” may be understood via a conventional image, “Two hands are needed in order to clap”, which conventionally implies, in Arab societies, that “It is better to be unified”. Finally, in example (c), which is a non-compositional idiom, the figurative meaning “co-operation” is not clearly related to “hand”; thus, it is likely to be simply retrieved as a single entry that associates the entire phrase with a single word.

Furthermore, example (a) is a novel clause, which means that readers are required to analyse the sentence word by word in order to understand the relationship between the pronoun “هم”, the figurative word “يد”, the proposition “على”, and the literal word “أعدائهم”. In contrast, examples (b) and (c) are frequently used in the same surface structures and overall figurative meanings, making them conventional expressions.

Motivation

Motivation can be defined as the link between the literal and figurative meanings of idioms. This link can be based on conceptual metaphors, conceptual metonymy or conventional knowledge (Lakoff, 1987: 452). According to Kovecses (2002), motivation occurs in figurative language as a result of human experience of the relationship between source and target domains. For instance, metaphors such as “I’ve **invested** a lot of time in her”, “You need to **budget** your time” and “How do you **spend** your time these days?” are motivated by a culture in which folk understanding (conventional knowledge) recognises the conceptual metaphor “Time is money” (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 7). In other words, the motivation in metaphorical and metonymic concepts is associated with a conceptual mechanism, not a linguistic one. In fact, Espinal and Mateu (2010) emphasise the importance of considering conceptual metaphor theory in the process of distinguishing between compositional and non-compositional idioms rather than linguistic mechanisms. Espinal and Mateu (2010: 1409) claim that ignoring conceptual metaphor would mean that some idioms could not be classified as either compositional nor non-compositional, as the case of “to verb + one’s head’s off” (F= to act excessively). When conceptual motivation is considered, this idiom could be said to be motivated by the source domain “an extreme intensity is an excessive change of location” (Espinal and Mateu, 2010: 1405, 1409).

According to Kovecses (2002:201) and Kovecses and Szabo (1996: 330), the majority of idiomatic expressions are motivated either by conceptual metaphors or conceptual metonymies. Hence, they divided compositional idioms into three different types:

1. Idiom motivation based on conceptual metaphor (**metaphor-based idioms**), in which an idiomatic expression is understood via a conceptual metaphor. A conceptual metaphor can be identified as a cognitive matter that requires an understanding of the source domain in terms of the target domain (Kovecses, 2002: 4). To illustrate this, let us consider the examples below:

- a. أنا فوق السحاب (L= I am above the cloud, F= I am happy)
- b. أنا طائر في السماء من الفرح (L= I am flying in the sky, F= I am happy)
- c. رجول ما تقدر تشيلن من الفرح (L= My legs cannot hold me up, F= I am happy)
- d. فلان وصل للقمر من الفرح (L= He reached the moon from joy, F= He was happy).

These Arabic idiomatic expressions are based on the conceptual metaphor “happiness is up” in Arab culture. It can be seen that understanding the overall figurative meaning of “happiness” is dependent on grasping the conceptual domain, “happiness is up”.

2. In idiom motivation based on conceptual metonymy (**metonymy-based idioms**), metonymy differs from metaphor in such a way that metonymy involves only one conceptual domain, in which one entry is related to, or stands for the other entry. By contrast, metaphor involves two conceptual domains, source and target (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 35; Kovecses and Szabo, 1996: 338; Lakoff, 1987: 77). To illustrate metonymy-

based idioms, let us consider the following idiomatic expressions (Kovecses, 2002: 208):

- a. Sit on one's **hands** (F= deliberately do nothing)
- b. Put one's **hands** in one's pockets (F= deliberately do nothing)
- c. Turn one's **hand** to something (F= tackle a project)
- d. Be able to do something with one **hand** tied behind one's back (F= be able to do something very easily)
- e. Join **hands** with somebody (F= cooperate with a person)

Due to the fact that "hand" stands for activity in English folk understanding, the literal meanings of the above idioms can be related to the figurative meaning via this conventional knowledge (the hand stands for activity) (Ibid: 2002).

3. With regard to multiple motivations for idioms, an idiom is motivated by cognitive mechanisms in several ways, such as metaphor, metonymy and conventional knowledge (Kovecses, 2002: 251). For example, the idiomatic expression "gain the upper hand" (F= attain an advantage over another person) is motivated by the conceptual metaphor "control is up", reflected in the use of the word "upper" in this expression, while it is also motivated by conceptual metonymy since "hand stands for control", which is implicit in the use of "hand" in this expression (Kovecses, 2002: 209, 210).

However, Kovecses and Szabo (1996: 330) added that motivation in idioms is a weak determiner of predictability. Motivated idioms are not necessarily predictable in meaning; likewise, unmotivated idioms are not necessarily unpredictable in meaning, because that would interfere with certain non-

compositional idioms that are highly predictable in meaning, such as “spark off” (F= begin), although these are not motivated by conceptual metaphors or conceptual metonymy.

According to Lakoff (1987: 346), motivation is a significant factor in the process of understanding and acquiring language. He claims that:

Motivation is a central phenomenon in cognition. The reason is this: It is easier to learn something that is motivated than something that is arbitrary. It is also easier to remember and use motivated knowledge than arbitrary knowledge (Lakoff (1987: 346).

Kovecses and Szabo (1996) carried out a study aimed at examining the effect of motivation on teaching and learning L2 idioms. The experimental material was a set of English phrasal verbs, and their subjects were 30 Hungarian learners of English. They found that participants who learned idioms by understanding their motivation performed much better than those who did not learn the motivation (Kovecses 2002: 206).

Idiomatic transparency

In addition to idiom compositionality and conventionality, Nunberg et al. (1994) noted that previous research into idioms overlooked transparency in the meanings of idioms. Transparency refers to the degree of understanding of

the link between the literal and figurative meanings of the entire phrase, or understanding motivation. For example, in the phrase “to jump the gun”, the motivation triggering the overall figurative meaning, which is “to begin before the starting signal”, can clearly be seen through the literal meaning of the entire expression and its association with the conventional image of starting a race (Titone and Connine, 1999: 1664).

Nunberg et al. (1994: 496) pointed out that transparency is not only associated with compositionality, as some non-compositional idioms are transparent in meaning. For instance, the overall figurative meaning of “to snore” (F= to snore) could be clearly understood by imagining the similarity in sound between the activities of sawing logs and snoring.

Idiomatic expressions can be divided into transparent and opaque expressions. A transparent idiom is an expression that conforms to one or more of the following criteria:

1. It is compositional, in that one or more of the idiom’s constituent components contribute(s) to revealing the intended figurative meaning (Gibbs, 1992). For example, in “pop the question” (F= ask for someone’s hand in marriage) and “foot the bill” (F= pay the bill), the literal and figurative contributions of the individual words may facilitate the understanding of the overall figurative meaning.

2. It must be based on a common conceptual metaphor, in which the motivation stems from metaphorical schemes of thought that are shared by members of a culture to reflect their everyday thinking and reasoning (Gibbs, 1992: 504; Kovecses, 2002: 248). For example, idioms such as

- a. She got all steamed up.
- b. I'm fuming.
- c. She erupted.

reflect the conceptual metaphor "anger is heat", in which heat causes steam, smoke and eruption. Moreover, an idiom such as "hit the ceiling" (F= become angry) is an elaboration of the central metaphor (anger is heat), because heat causes steam, followed by pressure that leads to an explosion. As a result of an explosion, part of the object which has exploded goes upwards, thus the idiom "hit the ceiling" can be said to have been produced from this understanding of "anger is heat" (Lakoff, 1987: 384).

3. It must be based on a mental image, in which the overall figurative meaning is derived from a conventional image (Lakoff, 1987: 447). For instance, understanding the figurative meaning of "under one's own steam" (F= by one's own power or effort) is probably transparent due to the imaginable correlation between "power and effort" and "steam energy on ships and trains" (Boers and Demecheleer, 2001: 256). Another example is "to keep someone at arm's length" (F= to protect oneself from social or psychological harm). According to Lakoff (1987: 447, 448) the figurative meaning of this idiom is not predictable from the meaning of the idiom's individual components, but is motivated by the conventional image shared by members of a culture, which is the independently existing link enabling them to relate

the idiom's external form to its internal content. The figurative meaning can be mapped as follows: keeping someone at arm's length physically means keeping him/her from getting physically close, and this conventional image leads us to the meaning "protecting oneself from physical harm". The last sentence metaphorically involves the idiomatic meaning "to keep someone from becoming intimate", and this meaning is closely associated with the intended figurative meaning, "to protect oneself from social or psychological harm" (Lakoff, 1987: 448).

It can be noted that transparency judgements, according to the above criteria, are clearly associated with the conventional understanding belonging to native speaker comprehension of idiomatic expressions. Therefore, dealing with non-native understanding of the transparency of L2 idioms requires different criteria for determining the actual degree of transparency of idiom motivation. In other words, conventional knowledge of idiomatic expressions and conceptual metaphors are more likely to differ from one culture to another (Kovecses, 2005: 293).

Therefore, in Chapter Six, an attempt will be made to apply theories such as "universal metaphors" to a collection of Najdi idioms in order to determine suitable criteria for both native and non-native speaker understanding of idiomatic motivation.

Universal Metaphors

Universal conceptual metaphors concern conceptual domains that may be available in all languages and cultures. According to Kovecses (2002: 163; 2005: 35; 2010: 198), the existence of one conceptual domain in two or more unrelated languages (from different linguistic families) is a sign of considering this conceptual metaphor to be universal or near-universal. For instance, the conceptual domain HAPPINESS IS UP exists in English, Chinese, Hungarian (Kovecses, 2002: 165; 2010: 199) and Arabic (as mentioned in 2.2), which gives us an indication of the potential for its existing in the majority of languages and cultures. In addition, Kovecses (2002: 165, 2008) also found that the conceptual domain ANGER IS HEAT exists in English, Chinese, Hungarian, Wolof, Zulu, Polish, Japanese and Tahitian. Furthermore, Alverson (1994) noted that the conceptual metaphor TIME IS SPACE is found in English, Hindi, Mandarin Chinese and Sesotho. KNOWING IS SEEING and THE MIND IS THE BODY are source domains found in many European languages (Sweetser, 1990). This evidence implies that human beings may express the emotion of happiness and anger, and the concepts of time, knowledge and mind by using similar thinking patterns referring to the same conceptual domains (Ma and Liu, 2008: 266).

Ma and Liu claim that, the “human thinking pattern is the same regardless of your nationality” (2008: 266) and proved their claim with various types of supporting evidence. One is that English and Chinese express the literal meaning “handling many things by using one strategy”

using similar expressions. In English: “to kill two birds with one stone” whereas in Chinese: “to kill two eagles with one arrow”. (A similar idea is expressed in the Arabic phrase: “You can hit two sparrows with one stone”). According to Ma and Liu (2008: 266), this similarity reflects universal metaphorical thinking.

In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) add that there is great potential for investigating the idea that universal metaphor may emerge from bodily experiences. The Embodiment Hypothesis (involving bodily experiences) refers to the knowledge emerging from human body parts, including their physiological, structural, motor and perceptual aspects (Kovecses, 2005: 18, 285; Johnson, 1987), which affect people’s conceptual systems. Lakoff and Johnson stated that:

The mind is not merely embodied, but embodied in such a way that our conceptual systems draw largely upon the commonalities of our bodies and environments we live in. The result is that much of a person’s conceptual system is either universal or widespread across languages and cultures (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999: 6).

Kovecses (2002, 2005, and 2010) has reinforced the above claim with a number of examples of such embodiment leading to universal metaphors. One is that the human body tends to move up or jump, and even the smile on the face implies a physically upwards movement. Accordingly, the

conceptual domain of HAPPINESS IS UP is embodied by these universal bodily experiences, which come with the feeling of joy. Thus, idioms such as “I am in seventh heaven” and “over the moon” would be universally or nearly-universally motivated (Kovecses, 2010: 200).

Lakoff and Johnson (1999, 2003) also added that metaphor can be divided into primary metaphors and complex ones. Primary metaphors are directly motivated by our common and basic bodily experience, while complex metaphors are a mixed bag of primary metaphors plus cultural beliefs and understandings. Thus, according to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), primary metaphors are more likely to be universal or nearly-universal. They stated that:

Inevitably, many primary metaphors are universal because everybody has basically the same kinds of bodies and brains and lives in basically the same kinds of environments, so far as the features relevant to metaphor are concerned.

The complex metaphors that are composed of primary metaphors and that make use of culturally based conceptual frames are another matter. Because they make use of cultural information, they may differ significantly from culture to culture (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 257).

Yu (2008) proved the above assumption by using a decompositional analysis to distinguish between primary and complex metaphors. By

examining conceptual metaphors and metonymic examples related to “face” in both English and Chinese, he concluded that (Yu, 2008: 258) the primary conceptual metonymy FACE STANDS FOR FEELING is more likely to be widespread or even universal, whereas its elaborations such as FACE STANDS FOR DIGNITY and FACE STANDS FOR PRESTIGE, which are derived from the primary conceptual metonymy FACE FOR FEELING, are less likely to be universal or near-universal.

The notion of universal conceptual metaphor is concerned with the primary metaphor, which is posited on the interactional relationship between the basic level of bodily experiences and the formulation of figurative language. This relationship would lead to those encountering figurative language, regardless of their first language, to identify the motivation of these primary metaphors. Thus, the basic level of embodiment is considered to be a fundamental source of universal metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, 2003; Yu, 2008; Kovecses 2005, 2010).

Classification of idioms

Previously (2.2.1) it has been shown that idiomatic expressions can be classified according to their compositionality as:

1. Normally compositional idioms,
2. Abnormally compositional idioms, and

3. Non-compositional idioms.

In addition, it has also been established that idioms can be classified as being either transparent or opaque, in accordance with their degree of the transparency of motivations. Moreover, it was also mentioned that transparent compositional idioms can be divided according to their type of motivation into two groups, namely metaphor-based and metonymy-based idioms.

Furthermore, idiomatic expressions can also be classified according to the general categories **literalness/literality** and **literal contribution**.

Literalness/literality “refers to an idiom’s potential for literal interpretation” (Titone and Connine, 1994a: 252). Thus, within literalness, idioms are categorised into two groups, **literal-plausible** and **literal-implausible**. To illustrate the former type (literal-plausible), the idiom “He kicked the bucket” could well have the literal meaning of “He struck the pail with his foot”. Other examples are

- a. هو يصطاد بالماء العكر (L= He is fishing in muddy water, F= He is raising issues that people do not wish to discuss)
- b. في فمي ماء (L= There is water in my mouth, F= I have something I do not want to say)

Literal-implausible idioms could be illustrated by the following examples:

- a. “Stew in one’s own juices” (F= to be left alone to suffer the consequences of one’s own actions)

- b. إذن من طين و إذن من عجين (L= One ear made of mud, and the other made of dough, F= Someone who refuses to listen).

From a **literal contribution** perspective, Fernando (1996: 35) classified idiomatic expressions into three categories, namely pure idioms, semi-idioms and literal idioms.

1. A **pure idiom** means that idiom components do not contribute literally to the entire figurative meaning; for example, in “spill the beans”, the literal reading does not reflect the figurative one. Accessing the overall figurative meaning can occur by interpreting the figurative meanings contained in “spill” and “beans”, which figuratively leads to accessing the intended meaning, “reveal the secret”.
2. **Semi-idioms** (also called semi-literal idioms) refer to idiomatic expressions in which some parts of the idiom can be interpreted literally. For instance, in “to foot the bill”, meaning “to pay the bill”, the word “bill” still possesses its lexical literal meaning, whereas “foot” has been interpreted as meaning “pay”.
3. **Literal idioms** are the simplest form of idiom, in which the combination of the idiom’s individual words literally convey the overall figurative meaning, but there is no flexibility in terms of the external structure, as can be seen in expressions such as “Happy New Year”, “on foot” and “on the contrary”. However, this does not indicate that these idioms have overall meanings equal to the meanings of the literal interpretations, because that

would not tie in with the preceding definition of idioms. Literal idioms, in fact, have overall figurative or non-literal meanings, but their individual components are interpreted literally. Put simply, literal idioms are conventionalised, invariant and literal expressions whose overall intended meanings are not literal.

Liu (2008: 18) notes that applying Fernando's (1996) classifications is extremely complex takes issue with some of his examples. For instance, although Fernando regards "chin-wag" as a non-literal idiom, Liu claims that this idiom could be regarded by most people as more literal than "foot the bill", which Fernando judges to be a semi-literal idiom. In addition, Liu also points out that examples such as "good morning" and "on foot", which are at the same level of literality, have been placed into two different categories by Fernando, the former example having been categorised as a semi-idiom, the latter as a literal idiom. In short, Liu (2008: 19) claims that Fernando's classification of idiomatic expressions does not reduce the subjectivity involved in the judgement thereof.

To summarise, idiomatic expressions are complex structures that consist of a number of components. Idiomatic components may or may not contribute literally or metaphorically to the overall figurative meaning. Therefore, idiomatic expressions have been categorised semantically into two classes according to the contribution of the idiom's components: compositional and non-compositional. The contribution of the idiom's individual words in

compositional idioms may depict the full figurative image of an idiom or part of it, and this processing of contribution is called motivation, which “refers to the relationship between the literal meaning of the idiom and its non-literal reading” (Abdou, 2011: 37). In addition, motivations in idioms are divided into: transparent and opaque, depending on the conventional knowledge of native speakers. However, the latter type of idiom (non-compositional) does not possess a semantic link between the literal, individual words and the overall non-literal meaning; therefore, the figurative meaning must be interpreted arbitrarily. Compositional idioms have features similar to those of metaphor and metonymy, and this similarity may make the figurative meaning of idioms easier to understand. Non-compositional idioms, on the other hand, may require considerable effort in order to predict their overall figurative interpretation, particularly for non-native speakers.

2.2.2 Idioms and other figures of speech

As previously mentioned (2.2.1), in terms of semantic analysis, idiomatic expressions are regarded as non-literal language. This category also contains metaphors, metonymy, proverbs and collocations. Although it can prove challenging to distinguish between these terms of figurative speech, this section attempts to identify the set of features relevant to each term.

Metaphors

Metaphors can be explained by considering the following example: “The eagle is a lion among birds”. Here “Lion” is the **vehicle**, whilst “stateliness” is the **tenor**. This relationship is interpreted metaphorically to convey the image that an “eagle” with this condition (among birds) is stately. Thus, the individual word “lion” implies the figurative meaning “stateliness”. Therefore, with regard to metaphors, there is usually a similarity or common ground between the vehicle (lion) and the tenor (stateliness). This link is mapped linguistically or conceptually according to the correlation between the two parts, and this similarity is called the **ground** or **motivation**.

The similarities and differences between idioms and metaphors have been discussed from a number of perspectives. According to Burbules et al. (1989), metaphorical correlations can be divided into three categories, namely **fresh metaphors**, **frozen metaphors** and **dead metaphors**. Although fresh metaphors are not deemed to be idiomatic expressions, frozen and dead metaphors can be considered to be types of idioms. According to the authors (1989: 106), a fresh metaphor is novel in form and requires syntactic and semantic analyses to access the figurative meaning; for instance,

لقد رأيت قمرا يمشي على قدميه (L= I have seen a **moon** walking, F= I have seen a beautiful woman walking).

A frozen metaphor, according to Burbules et al. (1989: 106) is more conventional, familiar and frequent in form and meaning, and can thus be

regarded as an idiomatic expression; for example, “He is **blazing**” (F= He is furious).

Finally, the existence of dead metaphors suggests that idiomatic expressions have their origins in metaphorical phrases. Over time, these develop into simple phrases that are equal to literal words. Simply put, there is no semantic link or motivation between idiom components and the overall figurative interpretation thereof (Gibbs, 1992: 485).

Categorising idioms as dead or frozen metaphors is considered to be the traditional view of defining idioms as non-compositional phrases (Gibbs, 1995). The modern cognitive view regarding defining idiomatic expressions, however, asserts that very few idioms show no motivation linking the literal form with the overall figurative meaning, although the majority of idioms tend to be processed metaphorically in order to reveal the entire figurative meaning (Kovecses et al., 1996: 330; Titone and Connine, 1999: 1663). This theory, which concerns the interpretation of individual words within idiomatic expressions, will be discussed in depth in Chapter Six, which focuses on Najdi idioms.

Metonymy

As mentioned previously, metonymy, uses one entity (the vehicle) to refer to the target meaning. It can be clearly explained by the example below:

I am reading **Shakespeare**.

The figurativeness here occurs in the last word, which could not literally be the person himself. Strictly speaking, the sentence should read “I am reading one of Shakespeare’s works”. This means that the first entity, “Shakespeare”, is identified with the second entity, “Shakespeare’s work”. In other words, the first entity is metaphorically relevant to the second entity (Kovecses, 2002: 143).

As previously noted (2.2.1), the difference between metaphors, metonymy and idioms is that metaphoric and metonymic sentences are more likely to be novel in their external form, whereas an idiomatic expression usually maintains a conventional form that is strongly associated with its common figurative meaning. In other words, metaphor and metonymy are structural variances, whereas idioms exhibit restricted variance or invariance (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 120; Fernando, 1996: 30). This is not to say, however, that all metaphors are novel, because some types of metaphors are conventional in meaning, but vary in terms of their form. Simply put, the conventionality in metaphors occurs only in their meanings (Knowles and Moon, 2006: 12), whereas their forms are potentially creative. To illustrate the difference between conventional metaphors, novel metaphors and idiomatic expressions, let us consider the use of the word “moon” in the following examples:

- a. صادفت قمرا فابتسم لي (L= I met a **moon**, and she smiled at me, F= I met a **beautiful woman**, and she smiled at me)

- b. زيد القمر و الناس من حوله كواكب (L= Zaid is the **moon**, and the people surrounding him are stars, F= Zaid is **the most important person** in the group).
- c. وصل القمر من الفرحة (L= He is **over the moon**, F= He is **very happy**).

Example (a) reflects the fact that there is a common understanding in Arab culture that the “moon” figuratively refers to “beauty”. Therefore, this word is used with a conventional meaning, but the external form is highly creative and depends on the individual speaker’s ability to produce metaphorical sentences. Variants may include “A moon looked at me”, “I saw a moon with a happy face”, or other forms. In example (b), however, the word “moon” is used unconventionally to convey a novel meaning, referring to “someone who is the most important person in a group”. Example (c) is an idiomatic expression, and can be considered to be conventional in form and meaning. This means that the overall figurative meaning is accessed through the standard arrangement of the phrase’s individual words. In other words, in idiomatic expressions, both figurative meaning and external form are conventional, and the overall figurative meaning is distributed across the entire phrase.

According to Burbules et al. (1989: 108, 109), idioms differ from metaphors in that, firstly, the link between some idioms and their figurative meaning is arbitrary, whereas the lexical entity in metaphorical clauses is always mapped with the figurative one. Secondly, compositional idioms differ from metaphors in terms of their conventional aspects, as previously explained (2.2.1).

Proverbs and idioms

Proverbs differ from idioms in two ways, namely syntax and function. Firstly, from the syntactical point of view, idioms are usually part of a sentence, whereas proverbs exist as complete clauses (Leung, 2009: 27). Secondly, from a functional point of view, proverbs occur as a type of folk wisdom or philosophy that mainly targets people's behaviour (Ibid. 27), whereas idioms have many different functions (see section four of the current Chapter).

In addition, idioms are always figurative, as even literal-plausible idioms need to be read figuratively in order to be regarded as idiomatic expressions. However, some types of proverbs are non-figurative, such as:

كلن يرا الناس بعين طبعه (L= Everyone sees other people from their own point of view).

Habitual collocations and idioms

The difference between habitual collocations and idioms is closely related to the similarities and differences between idioms and idiomaticity (Fernando, 1996). Idiomaticity is a general term used to refer to idioms, habitual collocations, and other multiple word expressions (Ibid: 30). According to Fernando (1996:30), both idioms and idiomaticity (including habitual collocations) are habitual and conventional in their external forms, but the main difference is that idiomatic expressions are indivisible and cannot be broken down word by word, meaning that the figurative meaning of idiomatic expressions is accessed via the entire phrase, whereas with habitual

collocation, the figurative meaning usually emerges from only one part of the phrase; for instance, “**explode** a myth” (F= **debunk** a myth) (Ibid: 33). According to Cowie (2009: 51), “while collocations have a figurative meaning that takes in only part of the phrase, in an idiom the figurative shift extends over the entire phrase”. Taking “a golden opportunity” as an example of habitual collocation, the figurativeness occurs in the first part, “golden”, whereas the second part, “opportunity”, maintains its lexical meaning.

In addition, Fernando (1996: 30) also distinguishes between idioms and idiomaticity according to the degree of variability. Restricted or unrestricted variations, occurring in idioms and idiomaticity components, can be used as the criteria to draw one type of distinguishing line between idioms and idiomaticity. From this perspective, idiomatic expressions are invariant or restrictively variant (Fernando, 1996: 30). Examples of such idioms are:

- a. “to smell a rat” (F= to feel suspicious about something)
- b. “to seize/grasp the nettle” (F= to take immediate action regarding a specific situation).

In the case of example (a), it is unacceptable to say that “to smell a mouse” has the same figurative meaning as “to smell a rat”. Moreover, Fernando adds that, in some idioms, as can be seen in example (b), one component might be substituted with a limited number of words; thus, it is meaningless to say “to grab the nettle”.

In contrast, according to Fernando (1996: 30), habitual collocations seem to show more variety than idioms. For example:

Catch the bus (F= to arrive on time before the bus departs),

can be extended to “**catch** the train/plane/tram/ferry” and other forms of transport. Therefore, this example is not regarded as an idiomatic expression but as an habitual collocation (Fernando, 1996: 31).

Similarly, Howarth (1998: 28) has differentiated between idioms and collocations according to two main characteristics: the degree of lexical variation and the degree of figurativeness. In his theoretical framework, he utilises four analogical terms:

1. **Free collocations** (also called open or free combinations), are multiple word expressions in which individual components can be freely substituted and have literal interpretations, for example:

- a. **To blow**/Carry a trumpet
- b. **Under**/the top of the table.

2. **Restricted collocations**, have individual parts (nouns or verbs) which do not allow for substitution and have one component which is interpreted figuratively, for example:

- a. **To blow** a fuse
- b. To be **under** attack.

3. **Figurative idioms**, in which figurative meanings are understood by interpreting the entire phrase as a single semantic entry, for example:

- a. **To blow** one's own trumpet
- b. To be **under** the microscope.

4. **Pure idioms**, in which the overall non-literal meaning is semantically unrelated, both figuratively and literally, to the idiom's individual components, enabling this type of multiple word expressions to be "the most opaque and fixed category" (Howarth, 1998: 28).

Note that in Howarth's classification figurative idioms are equivalent to compositional idioms, and pure idioms are equal to those called non-compositional idioms, or idiomatic phrases, in Nunberg's (1978) categorisation.

However, Fernando notes that some habitual collocations may interfere with some classes of idiomatic expressions, particularly with semi-idioms, in phrases such as:

- a. White lie (F= harmless or minor lie)
- b. Explode an idea/myth/theory/notion/belief (F= debunk an idea).

The two examples above could be classed as either restricted collocations or semi-idioms because the figurative meanings of both expressions are observed from the initial parts (white/explode), whereas the latter parts are literal. Fernando (1996: 37) suggests that multiple word expressions with fewer or with no options for substitution of their components are likely to be

idiomatic expressions, as in the case of example (a). According to Fernando (Ibid: 37), “white lie” is an idiomatic expression because it is lexically invariant, meaning that its individual words cannot be substituted. It is not acceptable to say “light lie” or “white story” to intend the figurative meaning of “harmless lie”. In contrast, multiple word expressions, with wide possibilities for substitution of their components by an enormous range of vocabulary, as in example (b), have the potential to be considered collocations.

In summary, the differences between idiomatic expressions, metaphors, metonymy and proverbs can be shown in the table below:

Table 2. 1 Characteristics of idiomatic expressions, metaphors, metonyms and proverbs

TERM	ONE WORD	MORE THAN ONE WORD	FIGURATIVE	LITERAL	GROUND OR MOTIVATION
Idiomatic expression	X	A	A	X	S
Metaphor	S	S	A	X	A
Metonym	S	S	A	X	A
Proverb	X	A	S	S	S

A= Always

S= Sometimes

X= Non-Existent

Table 2.1 demonstrates that idioms and proverbs must contain two words or more, whereas metaphors and metonyms may exist as a single word. Moreover, it can be seen that idioms, metaphors and metonyms are always figurative, whereas proverbs are sometimes literal. The main difference among these three terms is that both metaphors and metonyms always require a motivation to link the figurative and the literal meaning, whereas in

idiomatic expressions this depends on the type of idiom, whether it is decomposable or non-decomposable.

2.3 Idiomatic expressions within Arabic Rhetoric and Modern Arabic linguistics

Within Arabic linguistics, two main approaches have been taken to the linguistic analysis of idiomatic expressions. The first of these is related to the studies of Arabic Rhetoric, which began with interest in the interpretation of the Qur'an, and has resulted in many faithful literatures. However, this approach only deals with semantically compositional idioms. The second approach, which began as an interest in the study of universal semantics among contemporary Arabic linguists, considers both types of idioms, namely compositional and non-compositional (Hussam Al-Dyn, 1985: 19).

Since these approaches differ quite considerably, this section will be divided into two parts. The first discusses idiomatic expressions from the perspective of Arabic rhetoric, which does not recognise the term "idiomatic expression" as a separate term which can be easily differentiated from metaphors, metonymy and proverbs. The second part of this section focuses on idiomatic expressions from the perspective of contemporary Arabic linguistics which, on the contrary, has recognised idiomatic expressions as a separate concept, and has also established a distinct dividing line between idioms and other fixed expressions.

The aim of this section is to outline the historical development of the concept of idiomatic expressions in Arabic linguistics in order to provide a clear definition of this term. This definition will help to distinguish between idiomatic expressions and other figures of speech, such as metaphors, metonymy and proverbs. Moreover, it will act as a guide to identifying Arabic idioms in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

2.3.1 Idiomatic expressions in the field of Arabic Rhetoric

Classical Arabic linguistics is mainly associated with the language of the Qur'an, of poetry and literary prose. When Islam first emerged, Arabic rhetoric and stylistics began to develop as a result of the increasing interest in interpreting the language of the Qur'an (Dayf, 1990: 13). Therefore, Arabic linguists established *'Ilm Al-Bayān* (ibid: 15), a branch of Rhetoric Studies that is concerned with semantic and stylistic studies, focusing on the figurative images in literary language. However, *'Ilm Al-Bayān* consists of four subdivisions: *Al-Tashbiḥ* (simile), *Al-Majāz* (allegory), *Al-Isti'ār* (metaphor) and *Al-Kināyah* (metonymy) respectively. Most figurative expressions in Classical Arabic are considered to belong to these categories. Since the terminology for idiomatic expressions was unknown during that period of time, some idioms are regarded as being **pre-verbal metaphors** (*Isti'ār Tamthiliyah*) or **complex metonymy**, whilst others are regarded as **proverbs** (Hussam Al-Dyn, 1985: 18).

Metaphor, metonymy and proverbs in Arabic Rhetoric

It would be useful to identify *Al-Isti'ārah* (metaphor), *Al-Kināyah* (metonymy) and proverbs in Arabic rhetoric before examining idiomatic expressions. Beginning with *Al-Isti'ārah* (metaphor), this is considered to be the highest level of symbolic speech in Arabic rhetoric (Abdul-Raof, 2006: 218). It is used to transfer a word from its original use to a different one, by creating a similarity between the original meaning and the newly created one (Abou-Musa, 1997: 193). The speaker usually uses metaphorical expressions to add emphasis or hyperbole to their intended meaning (Al-Juwayni, 1993: 126, Abou-Musa, 1997: 194). In addition, as with any form of figurativeness in Arabic, a metaphor must contain a clue indicating the intended figurative meaning ('atiyq, 1998: 232). In Arabic linguistics, the clue which is provided in *Al-Isti'ārah* (metaphor), is referred to as the context and takes various forms. Sometimes this occurs in the form of a linguistic clue referred to as *Al-Qariyah Al-Lafziyah* (Al-'ubaydi, 2004: 203), whilst in other cases the clue is provided as a context of situation or *Al-Maqām* (Hassan, 1979: 337). To illustrate the difference between both types of clue/context, let us consider the following examples, beginning with the linguistic clue:

I have seen a **lion** holding his sword رأيت أسدا حاملا سيفه

(F= I have seen a **brave man** holding his sword.)

The last three words, "holding his sword", provide the clue (*Al-Qariyah Al-Lafziyah*), which indicates that the literal meaning of "lion" as an animal cannot be interpreted literally in this sentence, since lions cannot hold swords.

Therefore, once the hearer recognises this, s/he needs to attempt to interpret the sentence figuratively by linking “lion” with “human”. Since the conventional figurative image represented by “lion” in Arab society is “braveness”, the hearer would identify the intended figurative meaning as “I have seen a brave man”.

In terms of situational context (*Al-Maqām*), let us consider the following example:

That is a lion هو أسد

(F= That man there is a brave man).

In this case, the phrase is being said while indicating the man in question which provides the contextual clue that the addressee is a person. Therefore, the hearers’ attention is drawn to the fact that the meaning of “lion” as used here is not the literal one but the conventional figurative one, which is “a brave man”.

This is the general definition of *Al-Isti’ārah* (metaphor) that is generally agreed upon by Arabic linguists. However, metaphor is sub-divided into two types according to its linguistic forms: a one-word or **single** metaphor, and a phrasal metaphor.

In addition, metaphor always requires some similarity (a ground) between the literal meaning and the interpreted one, such as the link between “lion” and

“braveness”. In Arabic rhetoric, this link created by similarity is called *wajh Al-Shabah* وجه الشبه.

According to Abdul-Raof (2006: 233), the term *Al-Kināyh* (metonymy) can be defined as that which “signifies the allusion to someone or something without specifically referring to his or her or its identity”, as in the following example:

Zaid has got a lot of ashes. زيد كثير الرماد

This is interpreted to mean “Zaid is very generous”. The link between “a lot of ashes” and the figurative interpretation “generosity” refers to the cultural context. Traditionally, Arabs tend to host guests and serve food to them. Thus, the image of generosity has become associated with the image of ashes because the wood used for cooking food would produce a large quantity of ashes, hence the link with generosity. Although *Al-Kināyh* expressions can be understood literally and metaphorically simultaneously, the target meaning must always be non-literal (Kahyl, 2004: 5), as in the example cited. Therefore, the sentence: “Zaid has got a lot of ashes” is not intended to be interpreted literally, even if this is possible. In other words, “Zaid” could have the attribute of being generous in this example even if he does not literally have a heap of ashes.

As with metaphor, *Al-Kināyh* (metonymy) can take the form of a **single** word or a **phrase** (Kalyl, 1988: 167). The latter is called **complex metonymy**, and has many features in common with idiomatic expressions.

Thirdly, proverbs in Arabic culture are known as completed phrasal expressions and often have their origins in a real event that occurred in the past (Al-Bqliy, 2006: 619). For example:

a. Barāqish has harmed itself. على نفسها جنت براقش

(F=Used when a person makes trouble for himself).

b. You refused to take the milk in the summer. الصيف ضيعت اللبن

(F= You only get one chance)

Both proverbs are based on real stories that occurred in the past. The literal meaning refers to the facts of the original story, whilst the figurative interpretation is applied to a similar situation. Moreover, unlike metaphor and metonymy that both have to be semantically motivated, some examples of proverbs are semantically non-compositional. For instance, the figurative meaning in example (b) is semantically unrelated to the literal reading thereof.

However, some types of Arabic proverbs do not refer to a real story or event; instead, they have their origins in folk wisdom or philosophy, such as:

Patience is the key to solving the dilemma. الصبر مفتاح الفرج

As previously mentioned (2.2), the main differences between proverbs and idioms are related to their functions and their external forms.

Compositional idioms in Arabic Rhetoric

In Classical Arabic Rhetoric, compositional idiomatic expressions were known as **proverbial metaphors**, **complex metonymy** and **proverbs**, and did not possess their own term due to the similarity between compositional idioms and metaphors, metonymy and proverbs. In other words, the majority of complex metonyms, and some of the proverbial metaphors and proverbs, are what would currently be known as idiomatic expressions.

A proverbial metaphor entails the use of two words or more in order to convey metaphorical meaning (Al-Maydani, 1996: 265). In most forms of this type of metaphor, the figurative meaning is understood via the overall interpretation of the entire phrase as a long figurative concept. Thus, the individual words alone do not usually play a complete role in revealing the intended meaning ('atiya, 2004: 78), rather the overall figurative meaning is understood via the contribution of the combination of the phrase's components. Nevertheless, many proverbial metaphors are obvious in meaning due to the transparency of their motivation, for example:

You are sowing in the sea. أنت تزرع في البحر

(F= Your work is worthless).

The motivation here is imaginable, suggesting the difference between sowing in the soil and in the sea. However, the above example is more likely to be a compositional idiomatic expression.

Sometimes, the link can be difficult to understand in other forms of proverbial metaphor, which makes them more similar to non-compositional idioms, for instance:

He is cutting trees at night. هو حاطب ليل

(F = He says things that he does not understand).

No motivation would link the literal meaning here to the figurative one. There is no doubt that these two types of proverbial metaphor have the same features as decomposable or non-decomposable idioms.

Secondly, many complex metonymies can probably be sub-categorised as idiomatic expressions (Kalyl, 1988: 167), as illustrated in the following examples:

a. Do not eat your brother's meat. لا تأكل لحم أخيك حيا

(F=Do not gossip about someone).

b. You cannot have two hearts in one body. لا يمكن أن تملك قلبين في جوفك

(F= You cannot believe in two religions at once).

c. His neck is wide. هو عريض القفا

(F=He is an idiot).

In examples (a) and (b), the motivation can be imagined, while in example (c), it is arbitrary. According to Kalyl (1988: 167), non-compositional complex idioms cannot be translated literally without explaining their figurative

meanings, because the sentence would become meaningless, as can be seen clearly in example (c).

Finally, there are some idiomatic expressions that have been treated as proverbs in Arabic linguistics (Hussam Al-Dyn, 1985: 19). For example:

رب أخ لم تلده أمك (similar to: “Brother from another mother” in English).

Figuratively, this refers to “a loyal friend”. This example is actually an idiomatic expression, because it contains more than two words, has a figurative meaning and the individual components do not convey the overall symbolic meaning but, because it contains an element of folk wisdom, it was regarded as a proverb by some Arabic linguists.

To summarise, Classical Arabic rhetoric placed idiomatic expressions under the general heading of *ʿilm Al-Bayān* and did not seem distinguish these from other figures of speech. Some forms of idioms are categorised as proverbial metaphors, complex metonymy or proverbs. However, these three terms only relate to compositional idioms, whereas non-compositional idioms were deliberately eliminated from the figures of speech. Scholars of classical Arabic rhetoric ignored non-compositional idioms because they focused on symbolic language in which literal and figurative meaning are linked. Consequently, non-compositional idioms lay outside of their field of study.

2.3.2 Idiomatic expressions in Modern Standard Arabic linguistics

In Modern Standard Arabic linguistics, idiomatic expressions are recognised as a linguistic category with its own name and features. However, because Arabic linguists, especially those who are interested in Western semantic and pragmatic studies, have not agreed on a single name for the term “idiom”, there are some 48 different Arabic translations of this term, including التمثيل/ التماثل/ المماثلة/ التعابير المسبوكة/ التعابير الاصطلاحية (Abou-Zalal, 2007: 55).

Nevertheless, in terms of defining and classifying idioms, it seems that Modern Arabic linguists have agreed, to some extent, with western linguists in defining idioms as multiple word expressions, as well as categorising them as being compositional or non-compositional (see 2.2). Abdou (2011: 150) has offered the following definition of an idiom with reference to Arabic:

A multiple word unit that has a syntactic function within the clause and has a figurative meaning in terms of the whole or a unitary meaning that cannot be derived from the meaning of its individual components.

In addition, according to Abdul-Raof (2001: 39), idioms are “fixed collocations of a special kind have a meaning as a whole”. Moreover, Omar (1993: 32) also referred to an idiom as an expression whose overall figurative meaning is derived from the meaning of the combination of the expression’s components. He adds that Arabic idioms usually have both literal and figurative meanings, citing the following example:

يضرب كفا بكف (L= He strikes one hand with the other, F= regret).

These definitions, in addition to others (Hussam Al-Dyn, 1985: 15; Fayd, 2003: 898; Fayd, 2007: 23), are clearly similar to the previous definitions mentioned by western linguists (see 2.2).

Characteristics of idioms

Contemporary Arabic linguists have identified a number of characteristics that serve to distinguish idiomatic expressions from other figures of speech. Thus, an idiomatic expression should be (1) figurative/non-literal (2) conventional, and (3) would lose its meaning if it were translated literally into another language (Abou-Zalal, 2007: 81; see also Hussam Al-Dyn, 1985).

However, Arabic linguists differ with regard to the number of words that constitute an idiom. It has been suggested by Hussam Al-Dyn (1985) and other Arabic linguists (Abou-Zalal, 2007; Fayid, 2003) that idioms can be formed from a single word, meaning that they divide idioms into three types according to numbers of components

1. **One-word idioms**, such as الأعميان (L= the two sightless things, F= floods and camels), and الأبرص (L= vitiligo, F= the moon)
2. **Incomplete phrasal idioms**, such as ابن أرض (L= son of earth, F= stranger) , أكلة اللحم (L= meat eater, F= knife), and من الألف الى الياء (L= From A to Z, F= From the start to the finish)

3. **Complete sentence idioms**, such as جاء لايسا أذنيه (L= He came wearing his ears, F= He was curious) (Abou-Zalal, 2007).

On the other hand, Noshiy (1986) and Mohamad et al. (cited in Abou-Zalal, 2007) insist that an idiom should consist of two words or more, rejecting the idea that an idiom can consist of only one word. In their view, an idiom such as:

الأبرص (L= vitiligo, F= the moon)

is not considered to be an idiomatic expression.

It is argued here that idiomatic expressions should consist of two words or more in order to distinguish them from metaphors and metonyms. In the first example, single-word idioms are more likely to fall under the category of metaphor. In the case of the idiom “الأبرص” “vitiligo”, the colour “white” appears to be the motivation linking the “moon” with “vitiligo”. If the views of Hussam Al-Dyn (1985), Abou-Zalal (2007) and Fayid (2003) concerning one-word idiomatic expressions were to be accepted, then the category formed would cover most of the figurative use of single words as compositional idioms (including both metaphors and metonyms), leading to a huge overlap regarding the properties that can be used to distinguish one figurative term from another. For this reason, it is argued here that it is important to insist that an idiomatic expression should consist of two words or more.

The semantic correlation between literal and figurative meaning

In addition to their attempts to define idioms with respect to their characteristic features, contemporary Arabic linguists have classified compositional idiomatic expressions into four groups according to the type of semantic correlation linking the literal meaning to the figurative one.

The first group is referred to as metonymy-based idioms, based on the metonymic correlation linking the literal meaning to the figurative one. According to Abou-Zalal (2007: 117), this is the most common type of idiom in the Arabic language. Metonymy-based idioms can be divided into two classes: (1) idioms that refer to general attributes, or (2) to a specific person, animal or object. To illustrate the former class, let us consider the following examples and their overall figurative meanings:

- a. **بردت عظامه** (L= His bones are cold, F= He is very weak)
- b. **رعش اليدين** (L=His hands are shaking, F= He is very scared)
- c. **ركب ذنب البعير** (L= He rides the back of the camel, F= He is very pleased).

The figurative meanings of the above three idioms refer to a person's attributes.

The following examples serve to illustrate the latter class, idioms referring to a specific person, animal or object:

- a. **مطلع القمر** (L= the place from which the moon emerges, F= the solution)

- b. بنات أفكاري (L= daughters of my thoughts, F= my opinions)
- c. أم الدماغ (L=mother of brain, F= the scalp)

The figurative meanings of the above three idioms refer to abstract objects or objects.

The second group, namely metaphor-based idioms, are categorised on the basis of their metaphorical interpretation. For instance:

هذه سحابة صيف (L=This is a summer cloud, F= This is a temporary problem)

It is clear that the relationship between the literal and figurative meaning in the above example is based on the similarity between “a summer cloud”, which is unusual in the summer season in the Arabian Peninsula, and a problem which can be resolved in due course.

In the second instance, prior knowledge of the story of Moses and the miraculous powers of his staff is required to metaphorically decode the figurative meaning.

Those in the third group are known as hypallage-based idioms. According to Abdul-Raof (2006:225), hypallage is closely related to metaphor, but whilst the motivation in metaphor is based on similarity, in hypallage it is based on a number of different types of correlation, including causality, result, whole-to-part, generalisation, specificity, and place. To illustrate the third group, let us consider the following example (Abou-Zalal, 2007: 156):

ما لك به يدين (L= You have no hands on it, F= You cannot do it).

From the point of view of a causality relationship, the above example is motivated by the correlation between “hands” and “ability”, since most physical actions which are performed involve the use of this part of the body.

The final group is based on conventional knowledge that allows someone to link the figurative meaning with the literal one (Abdou, 2011: 51). For instance:

a- أكمل نصف دينه (L= He completed the other half of his religion, F= He got married).

b- هو يملك عصا موسى (L= He has Moses’ staff, F= He has the ability to solve difficult issues).

c- عينك حارة (L= You have a hot eye, F= You are envious).

The motivation in the first examples comes from the conventional knowledge of Islamic teachings, which consider marriage to be a significant act in a Muslim’s life. Similarly, in the second instance, prior knowledge of the story of Moses and the miraculous powers of his staff is required to metaphorically decode the figurative meaning. In the third idiom (c), the motivation stems from the conceptual understanding in Arab culture that “the eye stands for emotions, in general, and envy, in particular” (Al-Jahdali, 2009). The same conventional knowledge is also drawn upon in another example referring to eyes: عيني عليك باردة (L= I have a cold eye towards you, F = I am not envious of you).

Abou-Zalal (2006) traced the semantic correlations of 1438 Standard Arabic idioms, which were collected from the Arabic dictionary of 'Osos *Al-Balāghah*. He found that a very large number of Arabic idioms, some 83.5%, are based on metonymic correlations, while only about 3% are based on metaphorical correlation, with the same percentage being based on hypallage. The remaining percentage is found as a sort of *Al-Tashbih* (simile).

As can clearly be seen here, these groups of compositional idioms are similar to the groups of idioms suggested by western linguists (see 2.2). However, only a few contemporary Arabic linguists have looked at non-compositional idioms, which are noted by Fayd (2007, 2003); Abdul-Raof (2001) and Yassin (1967). These can be illustrated by the following example:

حبر على ورق (L= ink on paper, F= serving no purpose).

It is clear that there is no transparent motivation relating the figurative meaning to the literal one in the above example.

The semantic themes of idioms

Moving on to the semantic themes of idiomatic expressions, Abou-Zalal (2006) conducted a study which attempted to categorise the semantic themes of Modern Standard Arabic idioms, using entries from the Arabic dictionary 'Osos *Al-Balāghah* as his corpus. Based upon his analysis of this sample,

Abou-Zalal (2006) identified five thematic groups of Modern Standard Arabic idioms. A schematic representation of his groupings and categorisations is provided in Figure 2.1:

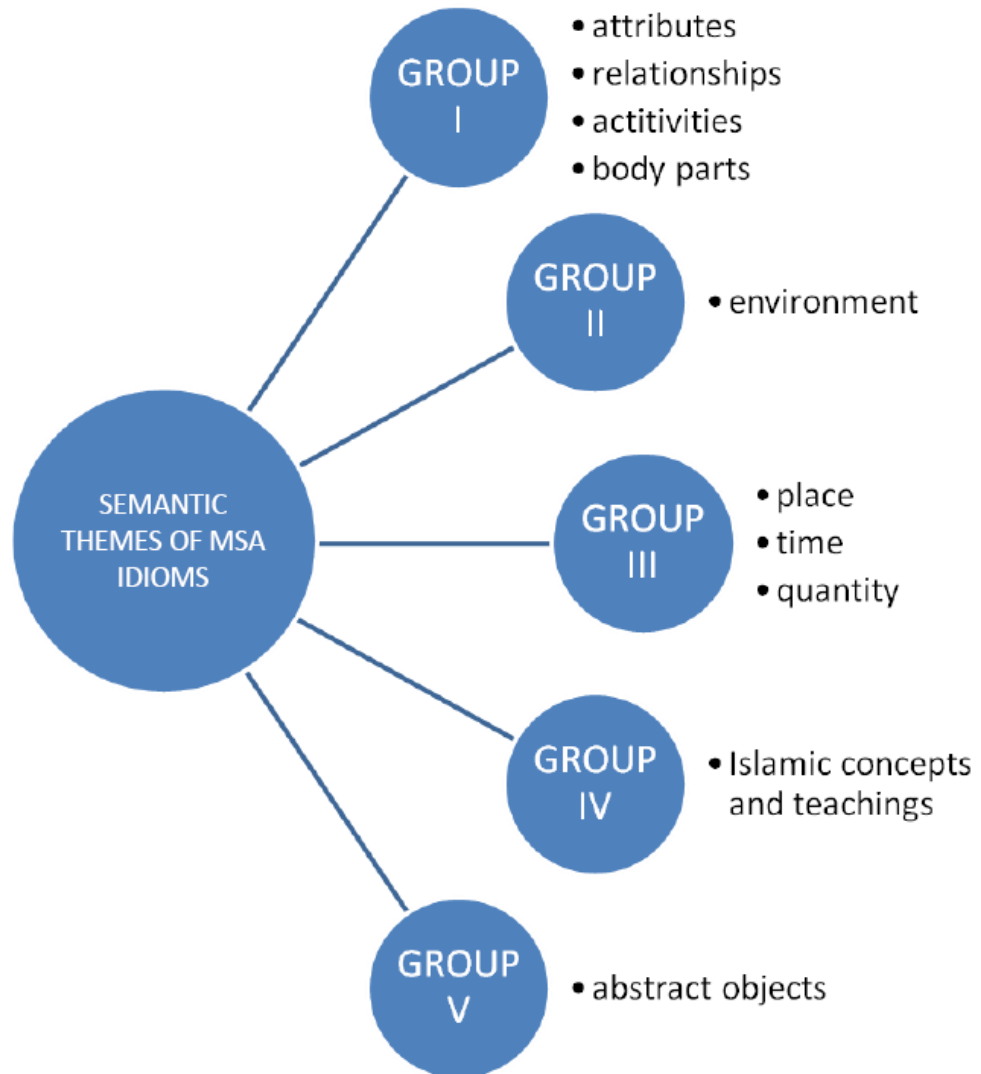


Figure 2. 1 Abou-Zalal's (2006) categorisation of Modern Standard Arabic idioms based on semantic themes

Group I: Idioms related to human attributes, relationships, activities and body parts. The total number of idioms within this group is 843.

a. Human attributes (total idioms = 460).

For example: فلان طلق اليدين (L= The hands of someone are released, F= someone is generous).

b. Human relationships (total idioms = 189).

For example: هو أسود الكبد (L= His liver is black, F= He is hated).

c. Human activities (total idioms = 183).

For example: يبرد مضجعه (L= His bed is cold, F= He travels a lot).

d. Human body parts (total idioms = 11).

For example: لبس العظام (L= the clothes of bones, F= skin).

Group II: Idioms related to the environment (total idioms = 79).

For example: بنات السحاب (L= daughters of clouds, F= rain).

Group III: Idioms related to place, time and quantity (total idioms = 91).

For example: لا أفعل هذا ما أن في السماء نجم (L= I will not do it **as long as a star remains in the sky**, F= I will never do it).

Group IV: Idioms related to Islamic concepts and teachings (total idioms = 12)

For example: مهبط الوحي (L= the place where religious inspiration descends F= Mecca).

Group V: Idioms related to abstract objects (total idioms = 40).

For example: كشف الأمر عن ساقه (L= The issue has exposed its leg, F= The issue has become very difficult and serious).

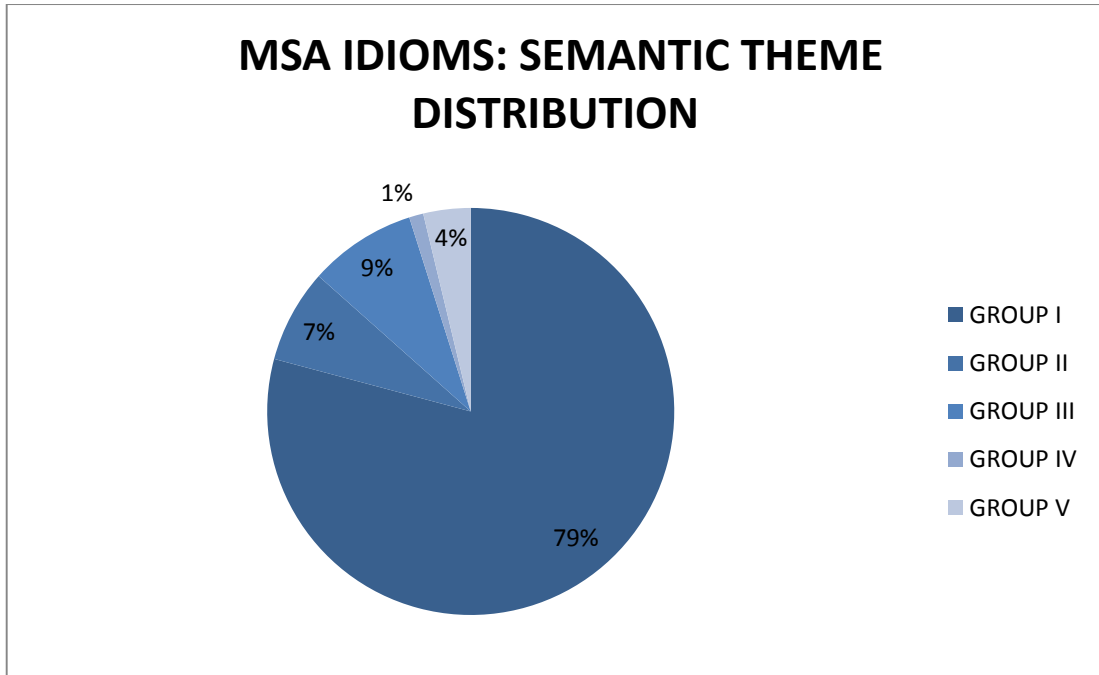


Figure 2. 2 Percentage breakdown of Abou-Zalal's (2006) categorisation of Modern Standard Arabic idioms based on semantic themes

In summary, it can be seen that Arabic linguists knew these idiomatic expressions, whether through Classical Arabic rhetoric or via Modern Arabic linguistics. This review of the literature in this field clearly demonstrates that idiomatic expressions possess particular features and are of different types, but they must contain two words or more and be figurative. On the other hand, the relationship between the components of the idiom and the overall figurative meaning depends on the type of idiom, as Western linguistic studies have highlighted. In other words, the Arabic and English concepts and definitions of idioms share some similarities. Finally, it may be the case that both Arabic and English idiomatic expressions contain ambiguity. Therefore, in such instances, context plays a significant role in revealing the symbolic meaning of idioms, particularly in the case of non-decomposable idioms.

2.4 Idiomatic expressions in Arabic dialects

It is useful to begin with a general statement in relation to the use of the term “dialect” within sociolinguistics before moving on to consider the use of idioms in colloquial dialects. This introduction will focus on several elements, including a definition of dialect, and types and features of dialects. This will be followed by a discussion of the use of idiomatic expressions in Arabic dialects in order to explain and compare different occurrences of idioms in various Arabic dialects. The aim of this section is to explain the influence of dialectal context on the use and understanding of idiomatic expressions.

2.4.1 Dialects and dialectology

Dialects are a particular form of linguistic performance, and can be defined as “various different forms of the same language” (Petyt, 1980: 11). These differences in usage mainly involve variations in vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (Petyt, 1980: 16). Therefore, each dialect within a language has “a set of linguistic features belonging to a specific environment; these features are used by all the environment members” (Anys, 1965:15; my translation). The criterion for distinguishing between dialect and language is that two or more groups of users differ in speech but share the same standard language or the same form of written language; in such cases, these spoken forms will

probably be regarded as different dialects rather than different languages (Petyt, 1980: 14).

In addition to dialect, two other terms merit consideration here, namely accent and slang. The former relates to differences in pronunciation (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998: 5), the latter to differences in vocabulary (Brook, 1972: 24). In many languages it may be difficult to distinguish between dialects and accents (Petyt, 1980: 23) but differences between dialect and slang are more obvious (Brook, 1972: 24) as slang is only concerned with vocabulary. In addition, slang vocabulary tends to change frequently whilst the vocabulary of dialects may have a very long life.

Innovation in oral dialects is likely to occur from one generation to another as a result of the tendency for younger people to create new modes of expressions that may then be accepted by wider society (Petyt, 1980: 30). Thus, this process of oral innovation might have less effect on standard language, because the written form of standard language, as the case of Modern Standard Arabic, seems to be used less frequently in the spoken form (Bishr, 1997: 185).

Dialectology

Dialectology, the study of dialects, concentrates on two main types of dialect. The first type is the study of geographical dialects relate to the linguistic varieties associated with specific regions, such as rural and urban areas

(Chambers and Trudgill, 1998: 5). In addition, it traces the similarities and differences between two or more dialects from different locations, such as Cairene, Sudanese and Libyan Arabic (Bishr, 1997: 196). By contrast, the second type, the study of social dialects, deals with the language varieties spoken by different groups within society (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998: 7). For example, in ancient Arabic dialects, the dialect of Quraysh قريش tended to be used as the literary language amongst Arabic-speaking tribes for religious reasons (Bishr, 1997: 199).

In terms of Arabic linguistics, the study of dialects began at an early stage and the importance of understanding different Arabic dialects has gradually increased over time as a result of the fact that the different ways of interpreting the Qur'an are associated with different Arabic dialects (Wafy, 1985: 124). This correlation between the Qur'an and dialectology has led to the recording of great quantities of dialectal expressions that belong to different regions or tribes, such as the dialects of Tay طيء, Qays قيس, Sulym سليم, (Refer to tribes) Najd نجد, Al-Hijaz الحجاز and Al-Yemen اليمن (Refer to regions).

2.4.2 Idiomatic expressions in Arabic dialects

It has been argued that the use of idiomatic expressions is more frequent in colloquial language or dialects than it is in the standard language (Jaeger, 1999: 103). According to Nunberg et al. (1994: 493): "Like other proverbial expressions, idioms are typically associated with relatively informal or colloquial registers and with popular speech and oral culture".

In Modern Colloquial spoken Arabic, idiomatic expressions are regarded as linguistic phenomena. Some of these idioms were developed from the Classical Arabic for use in Modern Arabic dialects (Al-Baqli, 2006: 624). According to the results of Al-Shalji's study (1979: 11), for example, the majority of Baghdad's idioms have their origins in Classical Arabic, and these are most likely to occur in the context of humour.

Table 2.2 provides examples of some idiomatic expressions that were developed from the Classical Arabic for use in Modern Arabic dialects

Table 2. 2 Arabic idioms that were developed from the Classical Arabic for use in Modern Arabic dialects. Based on Al-shalji, 1979: 71; Al-'askry, 1982: Volume 2 p. 399).

IDIOM	LITERAL MEANING	FIGURATIVE MEANING
حرام علي أنني لم أفعل ذلك	It is forbidden that I did not do it.	I swear I did not do it.
عمله بعد خراب البصرة	He did it after destroying Al-Baṣrah	He did it too late.
هو ليس في العير ولا في النفير	He does not fit with the troops.	He is useless.

However, ancient Arabic linguists did not usually distinguish the usage of idioms within different Arabic dialects. As can be seen from the dictionary of Jamhrat Al-mathal جمهرة المثل (1982), most idioms were treated as expressions that belong to one nation and culture, regardless of the different Arabic dialects (Al-'askry, 1982). Thus, it may be difficult to link some ancient Arabic

idiomatic expressions with their dialectal environment. Table 2.3 shows some idiomatic expressions taken from the Classical Arabic:

Table 2. 3 Examples of some Classical Arabic idioms

IDIOM	LITERAL MEANING	FIGURATIVE MEANING
هو لا يملك خلا ولا خمرا	He does not own vinegar or wine.	He has nothing.
يعلم من أين تؤكل الكتف	He knows how to eat the shoulder.	He knows how to deal with everything.
هو أزرق العين	His eye is blue.	He is an enemy

(Source: Al-'Askry, 1982).

Recently, interest in studying geographical and social variations in language has spread in Arabic-speaking countries and, as a result, an enormous amount of literature deals with idioms and proverbs as a part of regional dialect (Al-Juhyimān, 1982; 'ubyd, 1985 and snadiqy, 1998). Table 2.4 shows some idiomatic expressions that have been selected from different Arabic-speaking regions.

Table 2. 4 Examples of some colloquial Arabic idioms

IDIOM	REGION	LITERAL MEANING	FIGURATIVE MEANING
هو عريض القفا	Egypt	His neck is wide.	He is an idiot.
يشوف مناير مصر	Najd (Saudi Arabia)	He sees the minarets of Egypt.	He is very happy.
هو خالع ضرسه	Baghdad (Iraq)	He took out his tooth.	He did whatever he wanted to do.

(Source: Yassin, 1967: 35; Al-Sudais, 1976: 133; Al-Shalji, 1979: 151)

A study conducted by Ibrahim (2005: 54) highlighted many differences in the use of certain vocabulary and expressions in some Arabic dialects. It also revealed the impact of using idioms in different dialectal environments since some expressions vary considerably in usage and meaning from one national context to another, as illustrated by the two examples below (Ibrahim, 2005: 54).

a. *'ala keifak/ على كيفك* (L= up to your mood) While the figurative meaning of this idiom used in the dialect of Iraq is “Slow down”, in the Egyptian dialect its figurative meaning is “Do as you like”.

b. *Salāmit qalbak/ سلامة قلبك* (L= I hope your heart is medically healthy), This idiom is used in the Egyptian dialect in its literal sense, whereas in the Lebanese dialect it is used figuratively to mean “Hope you are fine”.

In example (a), although the idiom has been employed in a figurative way in both the dialects mentioned, these figurative meanings are completely different in each dialect. On the other hand, in example (b), whereas the idiom does not have any figurative meaning in Egyptian dialect, in Lebanese dialect, the figurative meaning is commonly used.

In conclusion, it is clear that using an idiomatic expression outside of its own dialectal environment may convey a meaning that was not intended by the speaker. This implies that dialectal context must be considered when interpreting the figurative meaning of idiomatic expressions.

2.5 *The functions of idiomatic expressions*

In addition to the definitions and types of idiomatic expressions, it is also relevant to highlight the functions of idiomatic expressions, investigating the purposes for which speakers use these figurative expressions instead of literal terms. Exploring these purposes and functions can help us to understand the use of idioms in language.

The following section will be devoted to Halliday's (1973: 104) notion of language functions, and its application to idiomatic expressions. It will also explore the function of idiomatic expressions as formulaic language.

2.5.1 Idioms and language functions

In general terms, the function of idiomatic expressions is associated with speech functions as a general concept. According to Firth (cited in Pride, 1974: 47), speech is usually produced to serve several goals, namely commands, requests, invitations, suggestions, advice, offers of assistance, gratitude, agreement and disagreement, greetings, leave-taking, engagement, permission, promises, apology, threats, warnings, insults, pleas, and many others. Table 2.5 provides an illustration of Firth's functions using Arabic idioms selected by the researcher:

Table 2. 5 Arabic idioms illustrating some of Firth's functions

FIRTH'S FUNCTIONS	ARABIC IDIOMS
Greeting	السلام عليكم (L= Peace be upon you, F= Hello)
Regret	يقلب كفيه (L= One Overturns his hands, F= regret)
Permission	الضوء الأخضر (L= Green light, F= permission)
Warning	شد الأحزمة (L= To tie the belt, F= to be careful)
Offers of assistance	يمد يده (L= Giving a hand, F= helping)

In addition, Fernando (1996: 72-74) has classified idioms into three groups according to their functions, using a system based on Halliday's notion of language functions. She labelled these groups of idioms as ideational, interpersonal and relational, based on Halliday's theory which used ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. An ideational function refers to the expression of content, an interpersonal function is related to the interactional process between the speaker and his/her audience and a textual or relational function refers to the cohesion of a text as a logical sequence of unity (Halliday, 1974: 104-107). Each of these groups of idiomatic functions, as presented by Fernando (1996), have several sub-functions, which will be elucidated below.

Ideational idioms

Fernando (1996) splits these idioms into seven sub-categories shown in Table 2.6. In all cases, the sources for the English examples are taken from Fernando (1996: 72), while the Arabic examples were sourced by the researcher.

Table 2. 6 English/Arabic examples of Ideational idioms (Fernando, 1996)

CATEGORY	ENGLISH/ARABIC EXAMPLES
ACTIONS	<i>Spill the beans</i> (F= reveal secrets)
	يرفع الراية البيضاء (L= One rises the white banner, F= submission)
EVENTS	<i>Turning point</i>
	بعد خراب مالطة (L= after the ruin of Malta, F= pointless)
SITUATIONS	<i>To be in a pickle</i> (F= to be in a difficult situation)
	خرج من عنق الزجاجة (L= one gets out from the neck of bottle, F= he manages to overcome a difficult situation)
PEOPLE AND THINGS	<i>Man about town</i> (F= a sophisticated and fashionable man)
	امرأة عن ستين رجل (L= A woman who is worth 60 men, F= a strong woman)
ATTRIBUTES	<i>As green as grass</i>
	أم الدنيا (L= the mother of the world, F= a place where you can find anything)
EVALUATIONS	<i>As a matter of fact</i>
	مربط الفرس (L= Horse stall, F= the cause of the issue)
EMOTIONS	<i>Green with envy</i>
	يده على قلبه (L= one's hand on his heart, F= afraid)

Interpersonal idioms

Fernando (1996) uses only two sub-categories in this instance as shown in Table 2.7. English examples here are taken from Liu (2008: 30-31), while the Arabic examples were either sourced by the researcher or come from Abdou (2011: 73).

Table 2. 7 English/Arabic examples of interpersonal idioms (Fernando, 1996)

CATEGORY	ENGLISH/ARABIC EXAMPLES
INTERACTIONAL	"Mike, let me jump in for a moment quickly" (Liu, 2008: 30).
	وش لونك؟ (L= What is your colour, F= How are you?)
MODALITY	"Our soldiers? Well, our soldiers are not in the line of fire, so to speak , over in the region. They are not at risk" (Liu, 2008: 31).
	قد تعارض نظام الإدارة (L= It might conflict with the system of admission) (Abdou, 2011: 73).

Textual or relational idioms

Fernando (1996) devises five subcategories under this heading as shown in Table 2.8. The English examples were taken from Fernando (1996: 74) and Liu (2008: 31), while the Arabic examples were sourced by the researcher.

Table 2. 8 English/Arabic examples of textual/relational idioms (Fernando, 1996)

CATEGORY	ENGLISH/ARABIC EXAMPLES
ADVERSATIVE	<i>On the contrary</i>
	على النقيض (L = contrariwise)

COMPARISON	<i>On one hand [...] On the other hand</i>
	فولة و انقسمت نصيبين (L= a pea cut in half, F= two identical things).
CAUSAL	<i>No wonder</i>
	طبيعة الحياة (L= the nature of life, F= normal).
CONCESSIVE	<i>At the same time</i>
	على نفس الموجة (L= at the same vibration, F= together).
ADDITION	<i>What is more</i>
	أزيدك من الشعر بيت (L= I'll add a line from a poem, F= an additional idea).

These categories demonstrate that, as with non-idiomatic expressions, idioms are employed for a variety of functions. In the first category, we can see that ideational idioms mainly contribute to revealing message content, whereas interpersonal idioms exemplify the mores of social interactions between language users. In the final category, we can see that the major function of textual/ relational idioms is to relate phrases within sentences in order to promote the coherence of discourse (Fernando, 1996: 72-74, Liu, 2008: 29).

2.5.2 Idioms and formulaic language functions

Moving on to consider another aspect of idiomatic functions, idiomatic expressions lie in formulaic sequences (Schmitt and Carter, 2004: 2). Therefore, considering the functions of formulaic sequences will help to provide a clearer understanding of the reasons why speakers/writers use idiomatic expressions instead of single literal words.

Firstly, formulaic sequences have been defined as follows:

A sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use (Wray, 2002: 9).

According to this definition, it can be argued that idioms, collocations and proverbs would constitute the type of linguistic phenomena being referred to in this definition of formulaic sequences (Wray, 1999: 214; Schmitt and Carter, 2004: 2).

According to Wray (1999: 215-216), formulaic language has two main functions: social interaction and a reduction of processing effort. With regard to social interaction, this can be sub-divided into three functions: the speaker's manipulation of his/her world, the speaker's expression of his/her individual identity, and expression of group identity. The first of these functions usually entails giving commands and requests, and bargaining in order to meet one's physical, emotional and cognitive needs. The two other functions which relate to speaker individuality and to group identity, allow speakers to employ formulaic language to assert both their separate identities (differentness), as well as their group identity (sameness). The figure below shows these social functions in detail.

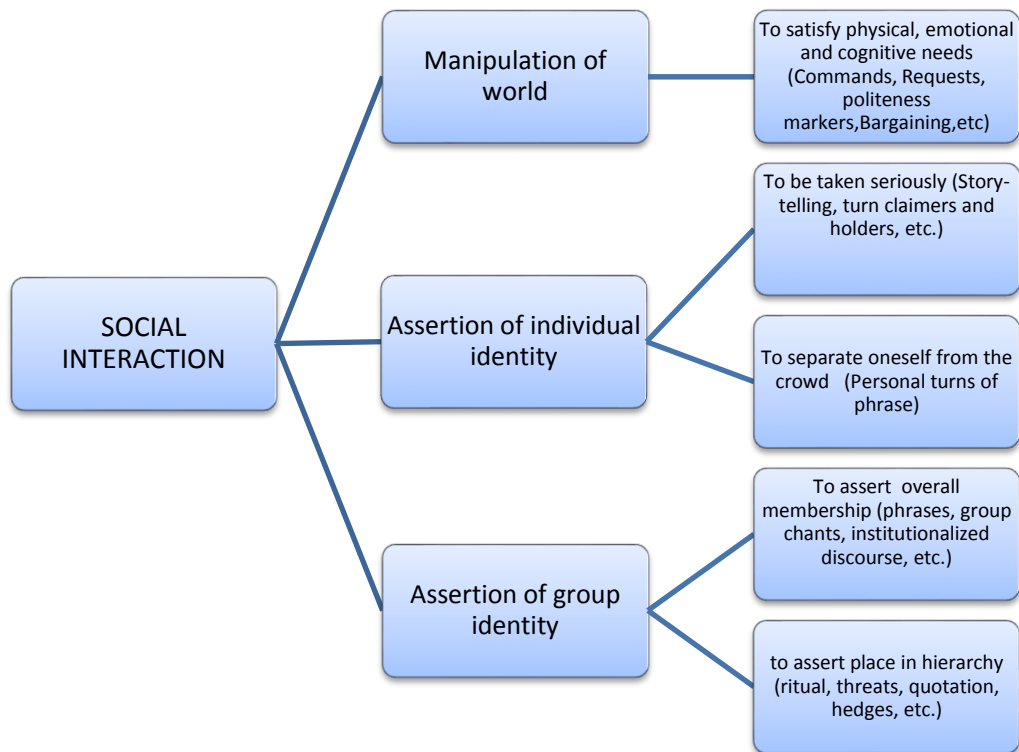


Figure 2. 3 Functions of formulaic language according to Wary and Perkins (2000)

(Wary and Perkins, 2000: 14; Wary, 2002: 89).

The second function mentioned by Wary (1999: 215) is the reduction of processing effort. This second function of formulaic sequences, including idioms, is connected to a general linguistic theory that proposes “once the brain is familiar with a linguistic task, it is able to by-pass the processing route that was used to learn it” (Wary and Perkins, 2000: 16). This theory refers to idioms, collocations and any other fixed expressions that are regarded as prefabricated language, which aids both speakers and hearers in reducing the effort of production and comprehension of speech (Wary, 1999: 215-216). Thus, it can be argued that formulaic sequences aid language users in the following three ways:

1. They help to process short-cuts, since it is easier for memorised, agreed-meaning expressions to be produced grammatically and comprehended semantically by interlocutors (Wary, 1999:216).
2. They act as time-buyers since fixed expressions such as fillers, turn-holders, discourse shape markers and repetitions help promote speaker fluency (Wary and Perkins, 2000: 17).
3. Memorised agreed-meaning expressions, such as idioms and proverbs, assist with the manipulation of information, allowing speakers to retrieve the information needed during an interactional conversation (Wary, 2002: 71-72, Wary and Perkins, 2000: 17).

2.6 Conclusion

After reviewing numerous definitions of the concept, it was finally concluded that an idiomatic expression is a linguistic term referring to a conventionalised multiple word phrase in which the overall figurative meaning is not derived from the literal reading of the phrase. Moreover, from a semantic perspective, research indicated that idiomatic expressions can be divided into several different classes, according to their degree of compositionality and transparency.

It was also noted that Western and Modern Arabic linguists share some similarities in their approach to and understanding of idiomatic expressions. Both groups of scholars have argued that idioms possess specific linguistic and semantic characteristics that allow them to be distinguished, to a greater or lesser extent, from other figures of speech. However, since these understandings of idiomatic expressions do not map neatly onto each other as regards English and Arabic terminology, this research will reflect these differences. In addition, idiom motivation will be treated here as a conceptual matter, associated with the cognitive system rather than with the linguistic one. Consequently, the similarity between the literal and figurative meanings of idioms will be addressed from both a situational perspective, examining the competence level of those encountering idioms, and a cultural perspective, considering folk understanding of the source domain.

Finally, in this chapter, frameworks based on various theoretical perspectives have been used to explore the links between idioms and colloquial dialects, and idioms and their functions. Aspects of this discussion will shed light on the use and understanding of Najdi idiomatic expressions in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

Chapter Three: Najdi Dialect and Culture

3.1 Introduction

The present chapter outlines some key linguistic features of the Najdi dialect and considers the relationship between this dialect and Najdi culture. Most importantly, this chapter will reveal the correlation between Najdi culture and use of language by reviewing the major studies that have focused on Najdi dialect. Therefore, this chapter will provide the theoretical backdrop for the later analysis chapters regarding the effect of Najdi dialectal and cultural context on the understanding of idiomatic expressions.

3.2 Linguistic features of the Najdi dialect

This section is divided into two parts: The geographical spread of Najdi dialect, and the linguistic features of the dialect.

3.2.1 The geographical spread of Najdi dialect

Before outlining the linguistic features of Najdi dialect, it is necessary to clarify the areas where it and the other main dialects of Arabic are spoken within the region commonly known as the Arabian Peninsula. In broad terms, there are four main dialectal groupings:

1. South-western Arabian dialects, including Yemen, Haḍramaut and `Adn.
2. Western Arabian dialects, including Hijaz and Tihama.
3. North-western Arabian dialects, including those spoken by the Negev and Sinai people from southern Jordan, the Gulf of `Aqaba and North-western Saudi Arabia.
4. The Najdi dialect in the central region of the Arabian Peninsula.

(Versteegh, 1997: 148).

The geographical area covered by the Najdi dialect encompasses the following places:

1. Al-`Arid, Al-Washm and Sudair, located in Central Najd.
2. Al-Qassim and Jabal Shammar, situated in North Najd.
3. Najran and Bishah, which are in South Najd (Ingham, 1994: 5; Prochazka, 1988: 7).

The areas mentioned above are situated in the modern state of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and they are occupied by the settlers and Bedouins who share one dialect and similar traditions. The main tribes in the Najdi region are the Tamiym, the `Anizh, the `Utaibah, the Subi`, the Ḥarb, the Muṭair, the Dawasir, and various others (Ingham, 1994: 4). The map below illustrates the location of the Najdi region in the Arabian Peninsula, as well as the areas occupied by the cities and main tribes within this region.

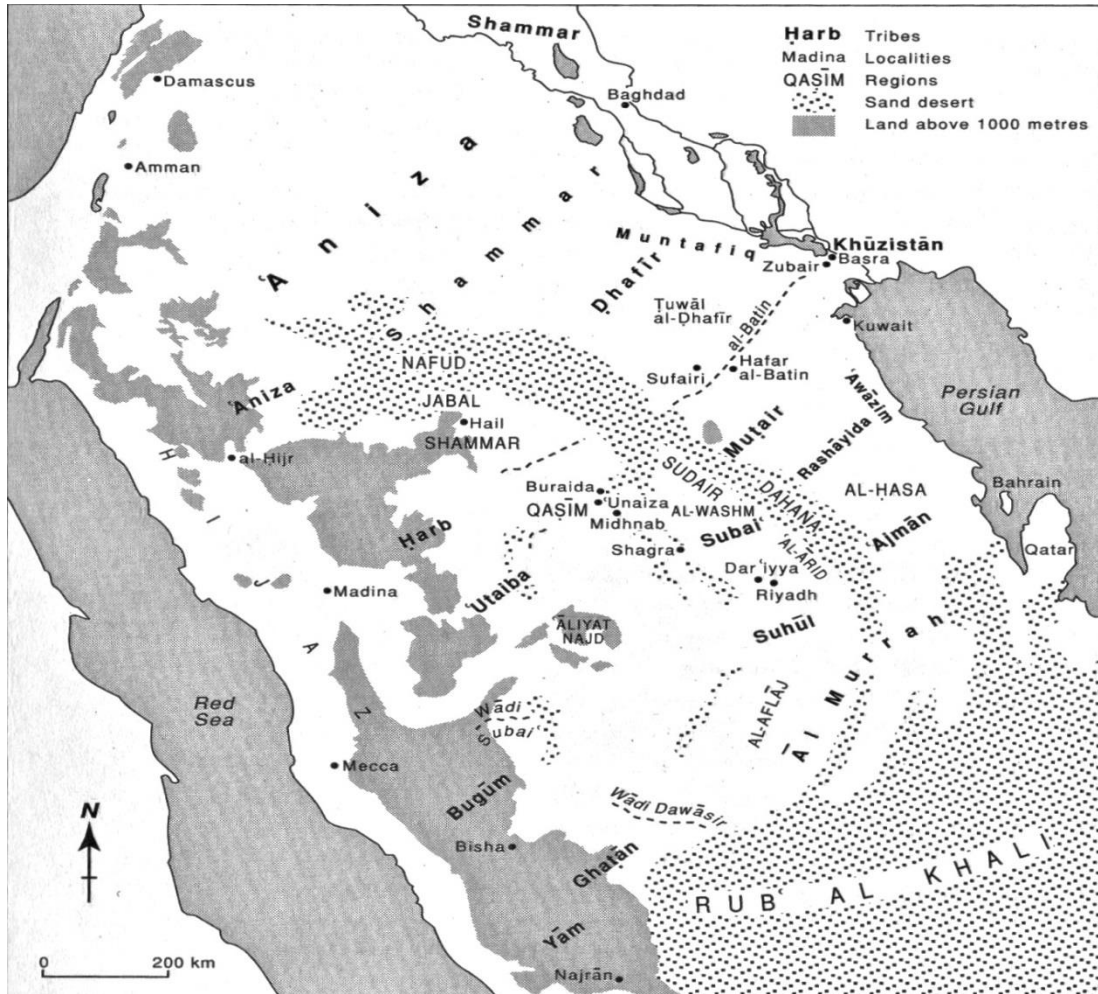


Figure 3. 1 map showing the cities and main tribes in the Najdi region

(Source: Ingham, 1994)

3.2.2 The features of the Najdi dialect

Many studies have been concerned with the modern Najdi dialect, and while some have concentrated on the general features of phonology, morphology and syntax (Ingham, 1994, 2010; Prochazka, 1988; Al-Sudais, 1976), others have worked on studying a specific region or tribe in the Najd region, such as those by Kurpershoek (1994), Il-Hazmy (1975), Abboud (1978), Sowayan (1982, 1992) and Al-Mozaini (1976). These studies, which began in 1858

(Ingham, 1994: 9), have produced an interesting analysis of the essential features of the Najdi dialect, particularly in terms of distinguishing the main differences between this Arabic variant and Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA) in terms of phonology, the structural pattern of sentences, and lexical meanings.

Ingham's studies (1994, 2010), which focused on Najdi dialect, are particularly useful because they are recent and summarise previous work in this area. In addition, Al-Sudais's work (1976), which deals with 1200 Najdi idioms and proverbs, is also considered to be a significant reference for the current section. Therefore, the present section will be devoted to Ingham and Al-Sudais's observations regarding the essential features of Najdi dialect and idioms, making additional reference to any further information that is available in other sources. In this section, some key features of Najdi dialect will be compared and contrasted with their equivalents in Modern Standard Arabic.

In order to understand the linguistic features of Najdi dialect it is important to be able to distinguish the differences between this dialect and MSA with reference to phonology, syntax and lexical meanings. Only those major differences between Najdi Arabic and MSA that are likely to cause some difficulties for D2 learners in the process of acquiring and comprehending idiomatic expressions will be highlighted.

Phonology

The consonants of the Najdi dialect are illustrated in Table 3.

Table 3. 1 The consonants of the Najdi dialect

	Plosive	Fricative	Affricate	Lateral	Rolled	Nasal
Bilabial	B					M
Labio-dental		F				
Dental	T, D	S, Z			L	
Interdental		Th, D				
Emphatic	T	S, Z				
Alveolar		Sh	Ts, Dz		R	N
Palatal				J		
Velar	K, G	K, Gh				
Pharyngeal		H, ‘				
Glottal	‘	H				

(Source: Al-Sudais, 1976: 479)

Ingham (1994: 13) has pointed out certain phonetic patterns in the Najdi dialect that probably differ from MSA, as follows.

1. The absence of the medial *Hamza* in such vocabulary as *ras* which, in MSA would be *ra`s* (head) (Ingham, 1994: 14; Al-Sudais, 1976: 480). In addition, Il-Hazmy (1975: 192) and Al-Sudais (1976: 481) state that the final *Hamza* which would appear in MSA has disappeared in most words in the Najdi dialect; for example, *shay`* (*thing*) becomes *shay*, *bada`* (*begin*) becomes *bada* and *bala`* (*problem*) becomes *bala*.

2. The substitution of the two unites /q/ and /k/ to become /dz/ and /ts/ respectively (Ingham, 1994: 14; Al-Essa, 2009: 206). This change mainly appears in the second person pronoun suffixes for the feminine /k/, such as *shif-ts* (I saw you) (Al-Essa, 2009: 211). According to Al-Sudais (1976: 484), these two speech sounds, /ts/ and /dz/, are very common throughout the entire Najdi region. Examples are *dzliyb* (بئر well) and *tsabd* (liver). This phonological feature was known in Old Najdi Arabic as *kaskasah* (Al-Essa, 2009: 206).

3. In some places where the Najdi dialect is spoken (Ḥawtat Baniy Tamiym and Ḥayil), the speech sound of the consonant /j/ is a preformed /y/ in such words as *ḥayib* (eyebrow), instead of MSA /ḥajib/ (Il-Hazmy, 1975: 196).
4. The speech sound /z/ is absent in most Najdi dialects with speakers pronouncing *ḥalal* (shadow) as *ḍalal* (Ingham, 1994: 13; Al-Sudais, 1976: 479).

The following sections will review some of the significant syntactic features of Najdi dialect.

Sentence structure

Najdi dialect has maintained both the nominal and verbal sentence types found in MSA sentences (Ingham, 2010: 76). The nominal sentence starts with a noun, while the verbal sentence starts with a verb. Al-Sudais (1976: 379-385) notes that among the 1200 Najdi proverbs and idioms collected from the Najdi region, 25% of these proverbs are in the form of nominal sentences, 50% verbal sentences, and the remaining 25% begin with conjunctives such as “إن”, “اللي”, “إذا” and the like. This implies that the use of verbal sentences is very common in the Najdi dialect.

Negation

The process of negation in the Najdi dialect uses two particles *mā* and *lā* (Ingham, 1994: 44), with *lā* always being followed by a nominal sentence, while *ma* can be followed by either a nominal or a verbal sentence. However,

when it is followed by a nominal sentence, it becomes *ma [...]* *b*. The following three examples illustrate this principle of negation formation in Najdi dialect:

- a. *lā* + nominal sentence: *lā tijjyna* (do not come)
- b. *mā* + verbal sentence: *mā janā muṭar* (it did not rain)
- c. *mā* + nominal sentence: *mā ana b-rayiḥ* = (I am not going) (Ingham, 1994: 44).

Nunation (تنوين)

This is the speech sound *-en* attached at the end of nouns. Al-Sudais (1976: 513) claims that unlike many Arabic spoken dialects, nunation is very common in the Najdi dialect and, of the 1200 proverbs and idioms taken from the Najdi dialect, this occurs in around 200 examples. The main function of nunation is to distinguish a complete sentence from an incomplete one (Ingham, 2010: 81). For example, *hathiy biyut* (Houses are near to me) is a complete sentence. When nunation is added, *hathiy biyut-en* is an incomplete sentence, and needs to be followed either by an adjective or a verb. Thus *hathiy biyut-en kithār* (Many houses are near to me) now forms a complete sentence) (Ibid: 82).

Interrogative Pronouns

The difference between constructing an interrogative sentence in the Najdi dialect and in MSA lies in the use of interrogative pronouns. Table 3.2 shows these differences.

Table 3. 2 Interrogative pronouns in the Najdi dialect

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS (NAJDI)	INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS (MSA)	INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS (ENGLISH)
<i>wish</i>	<i>māthā/mā</i>	what
<i>wayn/ma'āyn</i>	<i>`ayna</i>	where
<i>min</i>	<i>man</i>	who
<i>mita</i>	<i>mata</i>	when

(Source: Al-Sudais, 1976: 520)

As Table 3.2 illustrates, while some of the differences between Najdi interrogative pronouns and their MSA equivalents are slight, such as the last two examples (*min* vs. *man* and *mita* vs. *mata*), others are completely different (*wish* vs. *māthā/mā* and *wayn /ma'āyn* vs. *`ayna*).

Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are divided into independent pronouns and suffixes in the Arabic language. In terms of the former category, there is only one difference in the use of independent pronouns in Najdi dialect and in MSA. *Nahnu* (We) in MSA is *Hina* (We) in Najdi dialect (Prochazka, 1988: 126).

In the case of suffixed personal pronouns, the major differences between Najdi dialect and MSA are outlined in the following examples:

- a. Omitting the speech sound /i/ from the suffix *-in* to become /n/ in the Najdi dialect (Prochazka, 1988: 126; Al-Sudais, 1976: 516). Thus MSA *talqā-ni* (you find me) becomes *talqā-n* in Najdi dialect which omits the suffix /-i/ and maintains *nuwn al-wiqāyh* (N) (Al-Sudais, 1976: 516).

b. Omitting the speech sounds /a/ and /ā/ from the feminine suffixes *-ha* and *-hā* (Al-Sudais, 1976: 516). Thus MSA *bi-hā* (in it) becomes *bā-h* in Najdi dialect.

Conditional clauses

The particle of conditional sentences in the Najdi dialect differs slightly from that of MSA, along with some other Arabic dialects (Ingham, 1994: 135). The difference can be seen in the particle *ʾithā*, which has devolved into *ʾilā* in the Najdi dialect. For example:

ʾilā barad alwaqt, inshallah, baniyna min jidiyd. (When winter comes, Allah willing, we will build anew) (Ibid: 135).

Lexical items

According to Al-Sudais (1976: 506), Najdi proverbs and idiomatic expressions contain some archaic vocabulary that is not used in normal conversational speech. For example, *al-qayṭun* القيطون (cat), is only used within the fixed phrase, “إذا سبح القيطون فقد هم بالسرقة” (L = If the cat praises Allah, that means it intends to steal, F = If someone pretends to be good, that means s/he is in the hope of obtaining undeserved reward). Another example can be found in the word *jiʿriy* جعري (dog) which is not commonly used apart from in the phrase “لى قضبت الجعري قطع أذانه” (L = If you catch the dog, cut its ears, F= you will never catch the culprit).

Another aspect of lexical items is the use of some unique adverbs that characterise the Najdi dialect, distinguishing it from other Arabic dialects (Al-Sudais, 1976: 522), shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3. 3 Some Najdi adverbs

Najdi adverbs	Meaning in English
<i>ḥadar</i>	below/underneath
<i>yam</i>	towards
<i>‘ugub</i>	after
<i>taw</i>	just now
<i>‘ad</i>	then
<i>baḥayl</i>	very much
<i>wājid</i>	much

(Al-Sudais, 1976: 522)

3.3 Najdi idioms in relation to Islamic culture, foreign Languages, and other Arabic dialects

Generally speaking, the relationship between language and culture is that language reflects its native users' society, experiences and life patterns. As Salzmann (1993:156) states:

Words conveying the various characteristics of camels (age, breed, gender, function, condition and so on) are undoubtedly more plentiful in language spoken by Bedouins who depend on camels than they are in English.

This is extremely obvious in Classical Arabic and in some colloquial dialects of MSA.

As we have seen in the previous section (3.2.2), Najdi dialect possesses several linguistic features which differ from those found in both MSA and other colloquial Arabic dialects. However, as mentioned previously, since Najdi dialect and all Arabic dialects are variants of Arabic, there are no major differences distinguishing Najdi dialect from any other Arabic dialect with regard to its cultural dimension since Najdi dialect reflects the identity of its users who usually retain Arab culture.

Therefore, before examining the influence of the cultural context on the use and understanding of idiomatic expressions in Najdi dialect, it is useful to briefly address the topic of Arab culture. Since Arab cultural heritage could be said to cover language, art, literature, philosophy, architecture, religion and a host of other topics, the focus here will be on two specific aspects of Arab culture that potentially have a direct connection to idiomatic expressions in Najdi dialect. Firstly, influence of Islamic texts and teachings on Najdi idioms, and secondly influence foreign languages and Arabic dialects on Najdi idioms.

3.3.1 Influence of Islamic texts and teachings on Najdi idioms

This relationship between Islamic concepts and Arabic has existed since the birth of Islam (Mubarak, 1985:116). It is a logical correlation because of the importance of the Qur'an in the daily life of Muslims, particularly when we realise that they usually begin to learn Islamic texts and teachings in childhood. On one hand, this relationship ensures that MSA remains timeless (Suleiman 2003: 143; Schiffman, 1996: 70; Jum'ah, 2008: 109). On the other, this deep engagement with Islamic texts has undoubtedly affected colloquial Arabic, and has helped to reduce linguistic differences among spoken Arabic dialects (Dayf, 1990: 12; Suleiman, 2003: 66, 140, 143). In other words, the fact that Arabic colloquial dialects have borrowed phrases from Islamic texts seems to have had the effect of lowering the linguistic differences among them.

In terms of everyday speech, which is the focus of this study, Piamenta (1979) collected thousands of words and phrases (idioms) from Islamic texts that are used in most varieties of colloquial Arabic, implying that Arabic idioms are heavily affected by Islamic texts and teachings. The influence of the language of the Qur'an and Hadith (which is a collection of what Prophet Muhammad said) on the idioms of MSA in general and on Najdi idioms in particular is obvious when observing Arabic language users (Mir, 1989: 12). Borrowing from the idioms of the Qur'an and Hadith by MSA is very common in many written works. Many Qur'anic idioms that are mentioned in Mir's collection

(1989) are found to be used in MSA, as well as in colloquial dialects. Table 3.4 provides examples of the influence of Islamic texts on some Arabic dialects.

Table 3. 4 Arabic idioms influenced by Islamic texts and teachings

	IDIOM	LITERAL/FIGURATIVE MEANING	QUR'ANIC TEXT/ ISLAMIC TEACHING
EGYPT	طاح في أيدي	L= It falls into my hand F = I caught him	و لما سقط في أيديهم (Q7:149)
SYRIA	كل و أشكر	L= Eat and thank F = Get a favour and repay	"Eat, then thank Allah" (Islamic teaching)
IRAQ	إيده مفتوحة	L= open handed F = He is generous	ولا تجعل يدك مغلولة إلى عنقك ولا تبسطها كل البسط (Q17:29)

Ingham (1994: 191) has collected a set of common idiomatic expressions that are used in Najdi dialect and analysis conducted by the researcher shows that around 20% of these have been borrowed from the Qur'an and Hadith. Table 3.5 presents a selection of commonly used Najdi idioms collected by Ingham, illustrating the influence of Islamic texts and teachings on the language.

Table 3. 5 Najdi idioms influenced by Islamic texts and teachings

NAJDI IDIOMS	LITERAL/FIGURATIVE MEANING	QUR'ANIC/HADITHIC SOURCE TEXT
قطع قلبي	L= cutting off my heart F = depressed	تقطعت قلوبهم (Q9:110)
ضاق صدري	L= narrow chested F = depressed or sad	يجعل صدره ضيقا حرجا (Q6:125)
صدري واسع	L= loose chested F = patient or tolerant	يشرح صدره للإسلام (Q6:125)
طابت نفسي	L= self-satisfied F = to get something that you demand	إني إذا رأيتك طابت نفسي و قرت عيني (Al-Musnad 5: 121)

(Source: Idioms/meanings Ingham, 1994: 191; source texts added by researcher)

In summary, there is no doubt that Islamic texts have had a significant influence on language use in both MSA and colloquial dialects. This influence has affected the use of idiomatic expressions in all Arabic dialects, including the Najdi dialect. Therefore Najdi Islamic-based idioms are expected (As will be examined in Chapter Six) to be easily comprehended and acquired by Arab and non-Arab Muslims participants who will take part in the experiment of the current thesis.

3.3.2 Linguistic influence of other Arabic dialects on Najdi idioms

Al-Sudais (1976: 351) collected and analysed some 1200 Najdi idioms and proverbs. The results (shown in Figure 3.2) suggested that 12% of Najdi idioms and proverbs are identical to those found in MSA and other colloquial Arabic dialects, including that of Mecca/Hijaz in Saudi Arabia, and those spoken in Kuwait, Oman, the Yemen, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. Analysis of the same data also showed that another 61% of Najdi idioms and proverbs share similarities with expressions found in MSA and other Arabic colloquial dialects. Although Al-Sudais (1976) found differences in the wording which ranged from slight to considerable, the meanings conveyed remained the same. Al-Sudais (1976) concluded that some 27% (n = 405) phrases of his collection of idioms and proverbs were only used in the Najdi dialect (see Figure 3.2). This result implies that the sharing of idioms among Arabic dialects is very common.

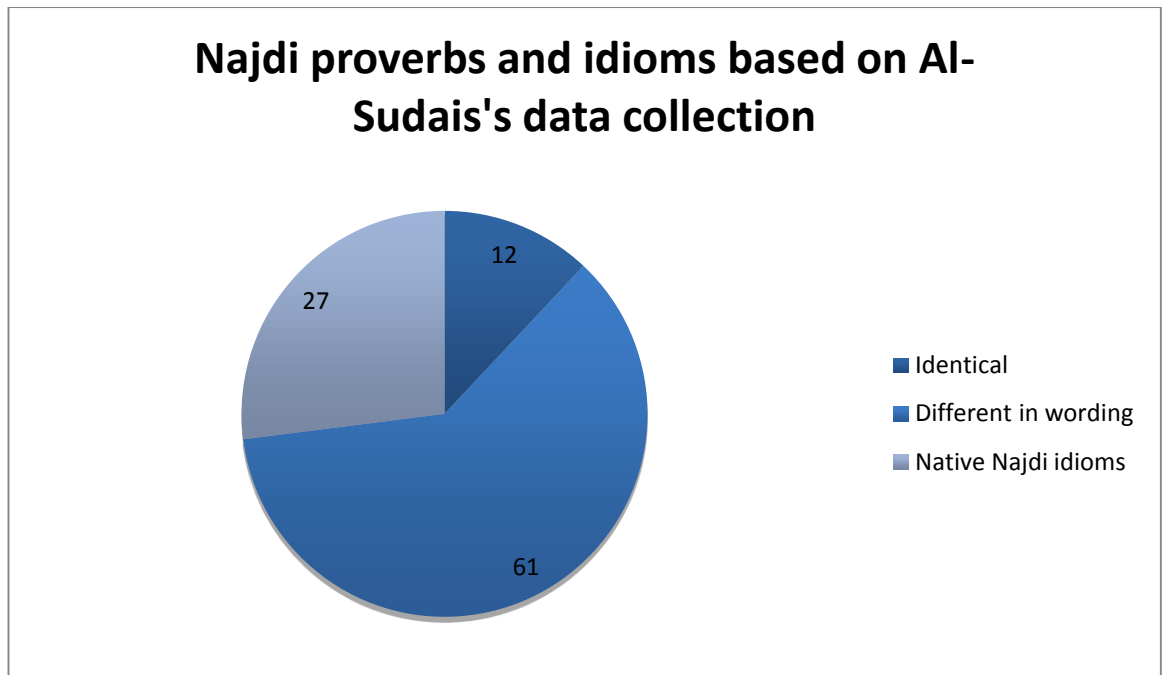


Figure 3. 2 Linguistic analysis of Najdi proverbs and idioms (Al-Sudais, 1976)

(Source: Al-Sudais, 1976: 351)

Figure 3.2 gives a detailed breakdown of the source of identical idioms. The comparative analysis by Al-Sudais (1976) showed that a total of 145 of the sample of proverbs and idioms ($n = 1200$) are used in both Najdi and other Arabic dialects, without any changes affecting their form or meaning. The country by country breakdown shows that the majority of identical idioms were found in the Arabic spoken in Kuwait and Iraq, mainly due to the geographical proximity of these countries and their similarities in culture and tradition.

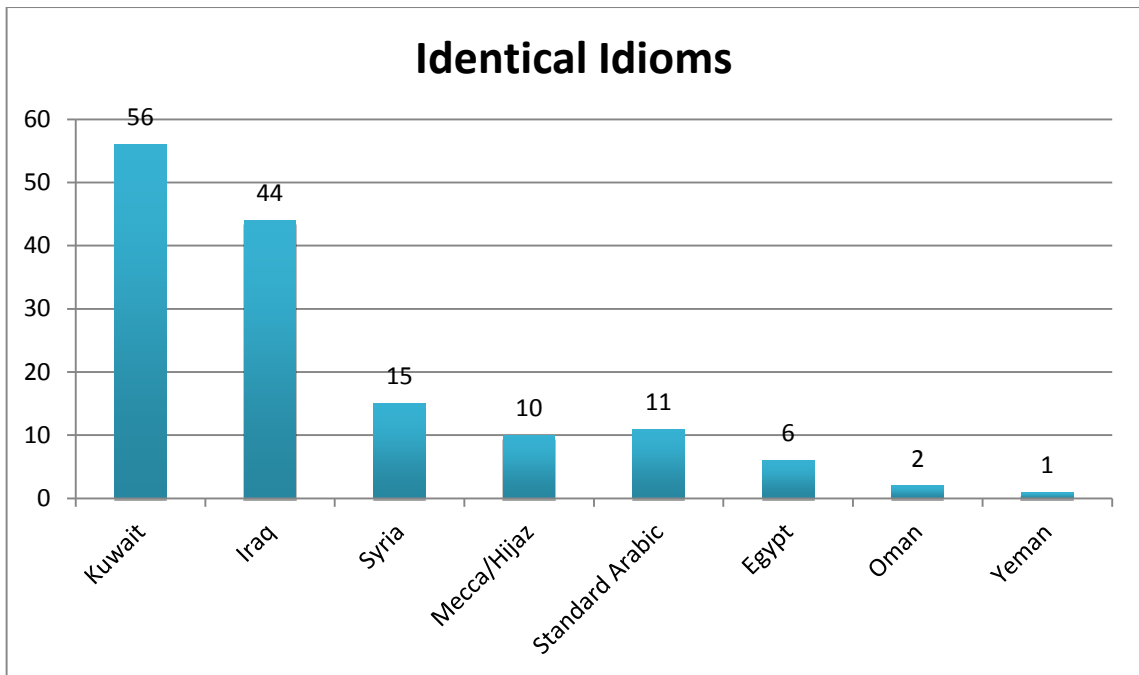


Figure 3. 3 Comparative analysis of Najdi idioms with those occurring in other Arabic dialects - Identical idioms

(Source: Al-Sudais, 1976: 351)

Figure 3.4 shows the results of the comparative analysis focusing on the presence of idioms and proverbs in Najdi dialect which conveyed the same meaning as those from other Arabic dialects but had noticeable changes in form. Al-Sudais (1976) found that some 650 of his sample of Najdi idioms and proverbs (n=1200), belonged to this category. These data imply that dialect users tend to modify the form of an idiom in order to harmonise it with their own linguistic system and these changes tend to affect phonology, vocabulary and syntactical patterns (Al-Sudais, 1976: 353).

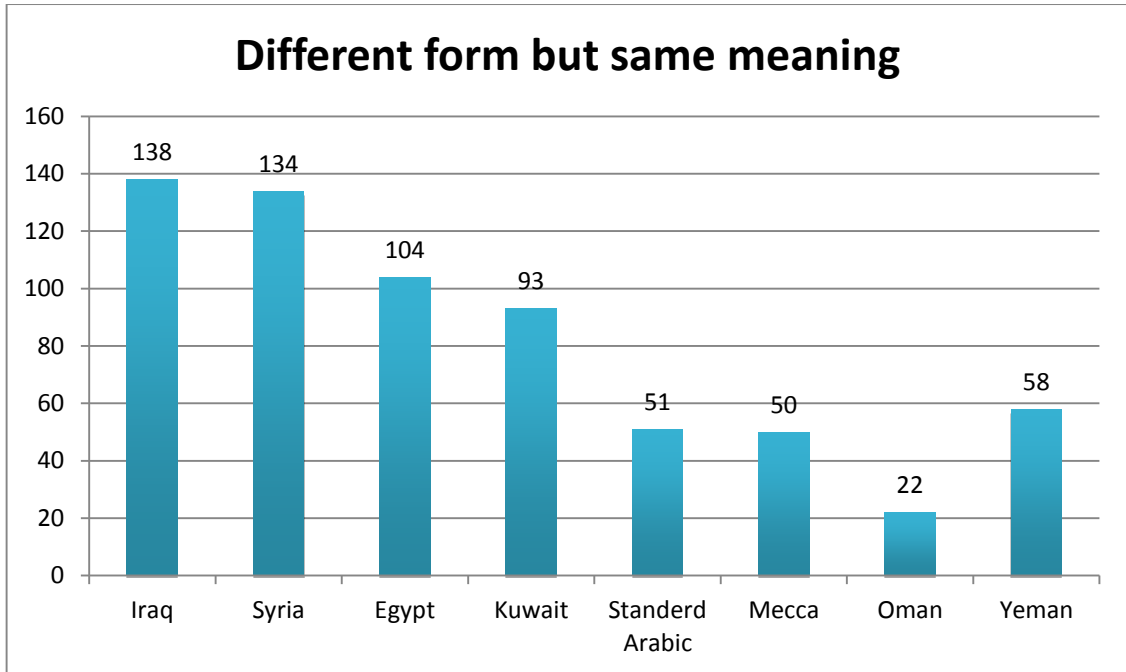


Figure 3. 4 Comparative analysis of Najdi idioms with those occurring in other Arabic dialects – Idioms with different form and same meaning

(Source: Al-Sudais, 1976: 352)

Looking at the data from both analyses (Figures 3.3 and 3.4) which was drawn from the study conducted by Al-Sudais in 1976, of the 1200 idioms and proverbs which formed the corpus for the study, just over a third ($n= 405$) were found to be unique to the Najdi dialect whilst the remainder ($n= 795$) showed the influence, to a greater or lesser degree, of other Arabic variants. This suggests that the majority of idioms which will be collected for the data sample for this present study may already be used in other colloquial Arabic dialects.

3.3.3 Linguistic influence of foreign languages on Najdi idioms

Arabic, like any other language, is influenced by foreign languages (Bakalla, 1985: 11) but when Al-Sudais conducted his study of Najdi dialect in the mid-

1970s, influence of this kind in the Najd region would have been limited. However, for a number of reasons, this influence is now likely to be of greater concern. Some of the factors which have increased the level of influence, from English particularly are outlined below:

1. The introduction of new technology often leads to the introduction of words from other languages (mainly English) into Arabic by means of literal translation or transliteration I THINK YOU MEAN THE LATTER. Examples include *موتّر* (motor), *راديو* (radio) *تلفزيون* (television) and most recently, *موبايل* (mobile) which is used in some Arabic dialects (Bakalla, 1984: 12; Al-Samura`i, 2006: 370, Sa`ad Alla, 2006: 542)

2. Recent decades have seen a growth in travel, particularly to English-speaking countries, in order to gain a better education. Many of the educated Arabs who have studied elsewhere have absorbed foreign linguistic styles and terminologies (Wilson, 1996) and, as a result, they have created some new linguistic meanings that did not previously exist in Arabic.

3. Technological advances such as satellite television and the Internet now mean that non-Arab media is accessible. The language of Western newspapers, films, plays, cartoons and soap operas has brought many new forms of spoken and written language to Arabic (Al-Samura`i, 2006: 361).

These factors, amongst others, have paved the way for Arabic to borrow vocabulary, phrases, idioms, ideas and concepts from foreign cultures.

Fayid (2003: 904) collected a number of idiomatic expressions that MSA has borrowed from the English language, as shown in the Table 3.6. Many of these terms themselves passed into general colloquial use as idiomatic expressions from more specialised areas, for example science and technology.

Table 3. 6 Some English language idioms used in spoken Arabic dialect

IDIOM	ORIGINAL MEANING	NEW MEANING IN ARABIC
الخطوط الحمراء	L= red lines	Forbidden
الخط الساخن	L= hot line	A debate
الضوء الأخضر	L= green light	Granting promotion
الصندوق الأسود	L= black box	Very important object
البيت الأبيض	L= white house	Place of decision making
الكوميديا السوداء	L= black humour	Type of comedy dealing with specific topics regarded as taboo in some cultures.
تمشيط المكان	L= To comb the place	To drive the enemy out of an area
فيروسات الإنترنت	L= Internet viruses	Harmful/risky

(Source: Fayid, 2003: 904)

In the absence of such study regarding the influence of foreign language on Najdi dialects, it may be anticipated, relying on the above data regarding MSA, that like MSA idioms Najdi idioms would also be affected by foreign idioms borrowed from foreign languages.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the linguistic and cultural aspects of Najdi dialects. As shown above, many linguistic features of Najdi dialect differ from those of MSA. These differences, which include phonology, syntax and lexical items, imply that considering the dialectal context of Najdi when interpreting idiomatic expressions is a very important element. As this research aims to examine the comprehension of Najdi idioms by native and non-native speakers of this dialect, it can be anticipated that these differences may cause some difficulties for non-native speakers when they encounter the language used in some of these idioms. Therefore, the ability to understand certain distinctive features of Najdi Arabic may play a significant role in idiom comprehension.

This chapter also illustrated that many Arabic dialects, including the Najdi dialect, use idioms which have been influenced by the language and concepts of Islamic texts. This cultural similarity based on shared religious beliefs and traditions expressed through the medium of Classical Arabic probably help to reduce the differences between Arabic dialects, and thus to increase the ease with which Arabic language users acquire and comprehend Arabic D2. Finally, as the study by Al-Sudais highlighted, although many idioms are shared among Arabic dialects, a significant percentage of idioms are only used and understood by specific dialect users, such as the Najdi people.

Chapter Four: The Comprehension and Acquisition of Idiomatic Expressions

4.1 Introduction

The comprehension of idiomatic expressions is a topic that has generated a very fruitful literature. Both cognitive linguists and psycholinguists have devoted themselves to attempting to explain the process by which the figurative meanings of idiomatic expressions are accessed. As discussed previously (2.2) researchers with an interest in idioms found themselves obliged to consider three semantic phenomena when defining these: compositionality, conventionality, and transparency. Due to the importance of these three terms in the context of the current chapter, brief definitions of these key concepts are once again reproduced here:

Compositionality refers to the degree to which the individual words within an idiom contribute to its overall figurative meaning.

Conventionality refers to the degree to which the figurative meaning of an idiom has been agreed within a particular language environment.

Transparency refers to the degree to which language users encountering an idiom would identify the link relating its literal and figurative meanings.

(Titone and Connine, 1999: 1663)

The influence of these three semantic and pragmatic phenomena on the process of understanding idiomatic expressions has been considered with regard to both native and non-native speaker comprehension. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, the way in which idiomatic expressions are comprehended out of their context of use differs in accordance with their degree of compositionality, conventionality and transparency.

In general, all idiomatic expressions represent a level of linguistic ambiguity due to the fact that their literal reading does not indicate literally their figurative meaning which needs to be guessed. Predictability depends on many factors including the meaning of the idiom's components, the co-text, the background knowledge of readers/hearers and the cultural context. With regard to the latter factor, for example, many idioms would lose their meaning if they were translated literally into another language (Kalyl, 1988: 167). If an idiom such as "He kicked the bucket" were literally translated into Arabic as "ركل الدلو", this would not deliver the figurative meaning of "he died", because the literal expression of "kicked the bucket" in Arabic cannot convey this idea.

The present chapter will focus on the role played by idiom components, co-text, situational context and cultural context in the process of understanding first-language (hereafter L1) and second-language (hereafter L2) idiomatic expressions. This chapter will deal with both native and non-native speaker comprehension, so it is important to establish here that for the purposes of this

discussion referring to a native speaker of a language/dialect indicates a person who has the following characteristics:

1. She/he was a native speaker of L1 in childhood.
2. She/he has intuitions about her/his own individual L1 grammar as well as intuitions about the shared grammar of the L1/dialect itself.
3. She/he has the unique capacity to produce fluent spontaneous discourse, to write creatively, and to interpret/translate into L1 (Davies, 1991: 148).

From the characteristics above, it follows that the term 'non-native speaker' of a language/dialect means someone who acquires a second language/dialect at a later stage of her/his life, or in adulthood (ibid., 1991: 149).

4.2 Native-speaker comprehension of idiomatic expressions

As mentioned previously (2.2), the traditional view of defining idiomatic expression relied on non-compositionality, meaning that the individual parts of an idiom do not contribute to revealing its overall figurative meanings. Based on this view, many hypotheses have been posited in order to explain the process of understanding the figurative meaning in idiomatic expressions, which is assumed to be unrelated to the literal meaning of idioms individual components.

In a logical sense, figurative and literal expressions could be processed in one of the following three possible ways:

1. The meaning of literal expressions is accessed and computed faster than the meaning of figurative ones.
2. Literal and figurative expressions are comprehended at the same time.
3. The figurative meaning of idiomatic expressions is recalled before the literal one.

Based on these three possibilities, several theories have been suggested in order to explain how native speakers comprehend idiomatic expressions. These theories are outlined in the sections which follow.

4.2.1 Non-compositionality Hypotheses

Idiom-List Hypothesis and Literal Processing Hypothesis

The Literal Processing Hypothesis suggests that hearers interpret idioms literally as a first attempt, only if the literal interpretation does not match with the context of use. This would then be rejected and the figurative one would be attempted instead (Cooper, 1999: 234, Schweigert, 1986: 40). Bobrow and Bell (1973) have conducted experiments to investigate how native speakers understand idiomatic expressions. The experimental materials used are high-idiomatic and low-idiomatic bias idioms. According to the authors (Ibid: 345), high-bias idioms are idiomatic expressions whose figurative meanings are first seen out of the context of use, while low-bias idioms are idiomatic expressions whose literal meanings are first seen out of the context of use. Both types of

idioms are presented in literal-bias co-text and figurative-bias co-text. The authors (Ibid: 346) have noted that when using high-bias idioms in a literal-bias co-text participants access the literal meaning first. In contrast, when using low-bias idioms in a figurative-bias co-text, participants access the figurative meaning first. As a result they suggest that there is a distinct line separating the process of idiomatic expressions from literal phrases.

Lexical Representation Hypothesis

Swinny and Cutler (1979: 532, 525) have argued against the 'Idiom-List and Literal Processing Hypotheses'. They state that access to figurative meaning of idioms is not derived from a special list which is different to the lexical phrase. Instead, idiomatic meaning is stored in a mental lexicon in the same way as any single word. Therefore, when hearers encounter idiomatic expressions the figurative meaning would be recalled in the same way as the literal meaning is computed, and not as suggested by "Literal Processing Hypotheses" with the literal meaning being accessed first. In other words, the retrieval of idiom figurative meaning is simultaneous to accessing literal meaning regardless of idiom compositionality. Swinny and Cutler (1979) presented their subjects with two lists of phrases. One list contains phrases that can be taken figuratively or literally such as 'break the ice' while the other contains phrases which only have literal interpretations such as 'break the cup'. They reported that the reading time for idiomatic expressions is faster than that for literal phrases. They have inferred that both processes (i.e. interpretation of the figurative meaning and computation of the literal one) begin together when the first part of the idiom is encountered (ibid: 525).

Swinny and Cutler (1979: 525) have labelled their theory as the 'Lexical Representation Hypothesis'. The results of their experiment are consistent with those of Ortony et al. (1978). Both experiments are based on testing the processing time for reading the figurative against the literal use of idioms. Ortony et al. (1978: 473) conclude that:

Idioms, a type of figurative language, do not take longer to comprehend than literal uses of those same expressions, and there are indications that they seem to be processed more quickly than literal language.

A further study was conducted by Estill and Kemper (1982) in order to examine the validity of Lexical Representation Hypothesis. Taking a similar approach to Swinny and Cutler, Estill and Kemper's experiment involves English native speakers and a set of English idioms, with some idioms being used with their figurative meaning and the others with their literal meaning, and with appropriate contexts for both meanings. They report (ibid: 566) that participants were able to respond faster in idiomatic usage than literal usage, which suggests that the figurative meaning of idiomatic expressions is understood away from the influence of the literal meaning. This finding supports the Lexical Representation Hypothesis (Estill and Kemper, 1982: 566).

4.2.2 Effect of idiom component parts

After the Lexical Representation Hypothesis was introduced, psycholinguists tested the implications of the theory with respect to the potential effects of semantic features such as compositionality, conventionality and familiarity. This resulted in more hypotheses being advanced to attempt to explain the processing of idiomatic expressions. One of these theories is the Decomposition Hypothesis.

Decomposition Hypothesis

Gibbs and Nayak (1989) noted that the comprehension of idiomatic expressions differs in relation to the degree of idiom compositionality and analysability. Some idioms are highly decomposable in a way that hearers may find it easy to map the overall figurative meaning to its conceptual domain, thus 'flip your lid' (F= to become very angry), can be mapped as "anger is heat in a pressurised container". In contrast, with non-decomposable idioms hearers may not identify the motivation, for example in the case of 'shoot the breeze' the figurative meaning of 'relaxed conversation' does not emerge easily from the individual words of the idiom. Discriminating between decomposable and non-decomposable is the key element of the Decomposition Hypothesis proposed by Gibbs and his colleagues (Gibbs and Nayak, 1989; Gibbs, Nayak and Cutting, 1989; Nayak and Gibbs, 1990). However, the Decomposition Hypothesis asserts that the majority of idioms are motivated by conceptual metaphors (Lakoff, 1987, Kovecses, 2002). The study by Gibbs et al. (1989: 587) suggests that with decomposable idioms

readers tend to semantically analyse the metaphorical motivation between the combinations of the individual parts of the idiom and its overall figurative meaning. That is not to say that readers would go through each individual word and link it with its metaphorical interpretation, because that process would make accessing decomposable idioms more time-consuming than processing literal phrases, resulting in a conflict with previous experiments which have shown that the idiomatic use of idioms is accessed faster than the literal use. Therefore the authors determined that the analysis process occurs in the combination of the idiom components not in individual words. In other words, encounters with compositional idioms would map the target domain to the source one.

The study by Gibbs et al. (1989) shows that the figurative meaning of decomposable idioms is comprehended faster than that of non-decomposable idioms. Based on this result, the authors suggest (Ibid: 587-588) that hearers would probably attempt to semantically analyse idiom components regardless of whether it is decomposable or non-decomposable. Decomposable idioms are recognised faster because semantic analysis smoothly corresponds with conceptual knowledge. In the absence of this advantage with non-decomposable idioms, the figurative meaning would take more time to be recognised because the semantic analysis conflicts with the conceptual metaphor.

As further supporting evidence of the Decomposition Hypothesis, Gibbs and O'Brien (1990: 48, 62) found that conceptual metaphors play a central role in encoding the relationship between figurative interpretations and literal readings in many idioms, and there is evidence that listeners are aware of conceptual metaphors when they process idioms. For instance, in the case of "blow your stack" and "lose your cool", their experiment shows that when subjects process these two idioms they imagine the domain "heat", which emerges from the conceptual metaphor "anger is heat" (Ibid: 47). The authors reported that in the case of "lose your cool", participants visualized a person with a red face and steam coming out from his/her ears. Hence, they claim that, it is clear that the mental image emerging from the idiom is associated with the conceptual domain.

One may argue that accessing the figurative meaning "heat" in the first example may come from direct access to the lexical unity of "a stack blowing" which implies "heat", and is not as suggested due to the association with a conceptual metaphor. A further experiment was conducted in order to investigate this assumption. Gibbs et al. (1997: 146; see also Gibbs, 1992) presented their subjects with short stories ending with idioms that should be read literally, for example putting 'blow the stack' in a context meaning 'clean the chimney,' which is the literal reading of the idiom. Participants were asked to read each of the stories, one ending with a literal version of the idiom such as "blow the stack = to clean the chimney", and the other ending with a synonymous phrase such as "vacuum the dirt = to clean the chimney".

Their results show that there is no major difference in reading time between sentences ending with literal idioms and sentences ending with literal equivalent phrases. This means that the literal reading of an idiom such as “blow your stack” does not activate a conceptual metaphor. If conceptual metaphors were activated in the sentences which end with literal idioms then these sentences would be read faster than those ending with literal phrases. Based on this result, Gibbs et al. (1997) state that it is clear that decomposable idioms show a positive metaphorical effect, thus allowing us to reject the notion that idiomatic expressions are dead or frozen metaphors.

Titone and Connine (1994a) argue that compositionality judgments are highly subjective, particularly in the process of distinguishing normally decomposable idioms from abnormal ones. Their study examined native speaker ability to categorise 171 English idioms according to their compositionality. The result (Ibid: 262) shows that, only a few idioms were classified as either normal or abnormal, while for the majority of idioms subjects were uncertain. This means that native speakers were unable to give reliable classifications regarding the degree of semantic analysability in decomposable idioms. However, distinguishing between decomposable and non-decomposable idioms was less difficult than the previous task. The results shows that 41.9% of the whole sample of idioms was judged as decomposable and 58.1% non-decomposable, suggesting that when encountering idioms, native speakers tend to judge these as being non-compositional rather than compositional. Despite the relative ease of the second task, 36% of the experimental idioms in this task were uncategorised, which indicates that compositionality is not

easy to fully recognise in idiomatic expressions. According to Titone and Connine (1994a: 262), due to the fact that those who encounter idioms cannot easily separate decomposable from non-decomposable ones, the validity of the Decomposition Hypothesis needs to be re-considered.

Configuration Hypothesis

According to the Configuration Hypothesis (Titone and Connine 1994b: 1127), accessing the figurative meanings of idiomatic expressions is dependent on special word configurations and connections in the components of the idiom. To illustrate this, since each single component of “kick the bucket” does not imply the overall symbolic meaning it has been suggested that the connection between the lexical unities of “kick”, “the” and “bucket” would lead hearers or readers to activate the idiomatic meaning “dead” once the idiom is used in an appropriate context. Cacciari and Tabossi (1988: 678) suggest that an idiom occurring in utterance is processed literally until the idiomatic key is identified, and then the idiomatic meaning would be retrieved. The idiomatic key, according to Cacciari and Tabossi (1988: 678), refers to certain information existing in the idiom body which enables the figurative meaning to be activated. Figure 4.1 illustrates the steps involved in processing an idiomatic expression according to the Configuration Hypothesis

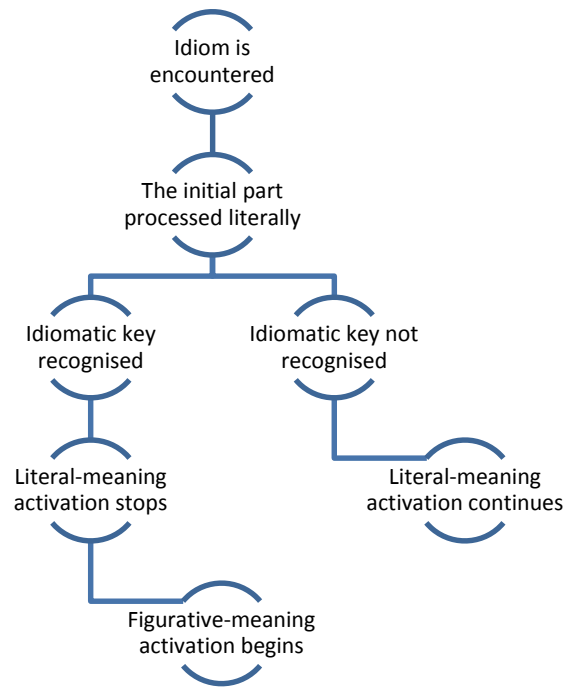


Figure 4. 1 Processing an idiomatic expression according to the Configuration Hypothesis

This process consists of several steps; first, an idiom is encountered. Next, literal processing starts with the initial part of the idiom. At the next stage, there are two possibilities: either the idiomatic key is recognised; or it is not. If the idiomatic key is recognised, the literal-meaning activation stops and the figurative-meaning activation begins. If the idiomatic key is not recognised, the encounter with the idiom ends with it being read literally.

Unlike the Lexical representation Hypothesis, the Configuration Hypothesis rejects the notion that idiomatic expressions are treated as one single long word and that their figurative meanings are retrieved from the mental lexicon without processing the individual words of the idiom. However Configuration

Hypothesis asserts that individual idiom components are processed word by word until the idiomatic key is activated. So it can be seen that the mechanism of processing idioms, in the view of Configuration Hypothesis, would similarly parallel the processing of any complex expression, but the only difference is that the idiomatic expression is known to listeners, whereas literal expressions are novel with respect to the degree of the familiarity in both expressions (Cacciari and Tabossi, 1988: 678, Tabossi et al., 2009: 530, Vulchanova et al., 2011: 211).

Comparison between the principles of the Configuration Hypothesis and the Decomposition Hypothesis shows that while the Decomposition Hypothesis establishes a distinct line between processing compositional and non-compositional idioms, the Configuration Hypothesis suggests that both types are processed equally, assuming that neither the literal nor figurative meanings of idiom components affect the interpretational process of the idiom encountered (Tabossi, Fanari and Wolf, 2009: 531). Furthermore, unlike the Decomposition Hypothesis which considers conceptual metaphor as an important motivator in accessing the figurative meaning, the Configuration Hypothesis highlights the configuration of idiom components as an essential factor in the recognition of idiomatic meanings.

Cacciari and Tabossi's study (1988) has examined the effect of predictability on the comprehension of idioms. Predictability refers to "a property of phrases or sentences that can potentially influence lexical access" (Titone and Connine

1994a: 252). In Cacciari and Tabossi's experiment (1988) a set of idiomatic expressions were divided into two types firstly, predictable (or highly predictable) idioms, which are unfinished idioms whose last parts can potentially be completed idiomatically. In other words, the initial part of the idiomatic phrases in this case exposes the overall figurative meaning. Secondly, unpredictable (or low-predictable) idioms are unfinished phrases whose last parts are probably meant to be completed literally, and therefore their figurative meanings are only accessed when the phrase is fully accomplished with an idiomatic lexical decision.

In Cacciari and Tabossi's experiment (1988: 670), their subjects were asked to listen to tape-recorded sentences, some of which ended with literal expressions and others with idiomatic ones. Thus, in the case of an example such as "in seventh heaven", this phrase could be interpreted idiomatically to mean "happy", literally to refer to a "saint" or in unrelated as meaning "umbrella". Subjects were instructed to take a lexical decision regarding targets, namely whether they were idiom-related, literal-related or unrelated. Cacciari and Tabossi (Ibid: 670) ensured that the idioms selected for the experiment were non-literal, meaning that literal-plausible idioms such as "kick the bucket", which could mean figuratively "dead" and literally "strike the pail", were excluded.

The result of Cacciari and Tabossi's (1988: 677) experiment demonstrates that with highly predictable idioms the lexical decision in the last word is

performed faster towards the figurative meaning than the literal one. In comparison, with low predictable idioms the lexical decision is only performed towards the literal meaning. The results suggest that well-known idiomatic expressions, both compositional and non-compositional, are processed faster than novel idioms. The reason for this is because readers/hearers have frequently used these sorts of idiomatic expressions (i.e. highly predictable), and therefore they would interpret the figurative meaning by recognising the configuration of the idiom components, and not by accessing the metaphorical motivation as suggested by the Decomposition Hypothesis.

A study was conducted by Titone and Connine (1994b) in order to test the Configuration Hypothesis. With a similar experimental approach to Cacciari and Tabossi's study (1988), Titone and Connine investigated the impact of idiom predictability and literal plausibility on idiom comprehension. Their experiments involved English native speakers and English idioms taken from the 1979 *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms*. The overall result (Ibid, 1994b: 1130) showed that figurative meanings in highly predictable idioms were accessed more quickly than those in less predictable idioms, findings consistent with those of Cacciari and Tabossi.

In addition, Titone and Connine (1994b: 1133) examined the accessibility of idiomatic meaning in literal-plausible (or dual-meaning) idioms such as "kick the bucket", which is considered a highly predictable-literal idiom compared to "build castles in the air" which is regarded as a highly predictable-non-literal

idiom. They found (Ibid: 1133) that with highly predictable-non-literal idioms only the figurative meaning is activated through participant responses, while with highly predictable-literal idioms both the literal and figurative meanings are accessed, with the advantage of accessing the literal meaning faster. Their overall findings lend support to the Configuration Hypothesis (ibid: 1135).

In addition to the above study, the findings of an experiment conducted by Tabossi et al. (2009: 534) were also in favour of the Configuration Hypothesis. They tested the reading time for compositional idioms, non-compositional idioms, clichés (clichés are multiple word conventional phrases such as “Any friend of yours is a friend of mine”), and matched literal expressions. They hypothesised that clichés are compositional literal expressions that should be treated as compositional idioms in the comprehension process. Their results (Ibid: 533) show that reading time for all three groups –decomposable idioms, non-decomposable idioms and clichés– was shorter than that recorded for matched literal expressions, suggesting that the figurative meaning of idiomatic expressions, whether compositional or non-compositional, are accessed separately from the influence of the individual parts of the idiom. Therefore, this result is inconsistent with the Decomposition Hypothesis (Ibid: 534) which suggests that those encountering idioms would analyse the conceptual metaphor existing in their semantic structures.

Smolka et al. (2007) argued that the implication of Configuration Hypothesis on verb-based idioms gives results which are incompatible with the data from Cacciari and Tabossi's study which was mainly concerned with noun-based idioms. The experiment conducted by Smolka et al. (2007) involved native speakers of German and German idioms. Their results (Ibid: 226) show that with verb-based idioms such as "A stone **fell off** my heart" (F = It took a load off my mind), the literal meaning of the verb "fell off" was activated during processing the idiomatic expression and remained activated after capturing the idiomatic key. This finding is inconsistent with the notion suggested by Configuration Hypothesis which holds that once the idiomatic key is recognised, the literal meaning of idiom components will not be activated any more.

Hybrid Hypothesis

Titone and Connine (1999) argued that the process of idiom comprehension cannot be fully explained by any single one of the previously advanced hypotheses in isolation i.e. Lexical Representation, Decomposition or Configuration. With reference to Nunberg et al.'s classification (1994), Titone and Connine (1999) pointed out that idiomatic combinations (decomposable idioms) seem to be treated differently than idiomatic phrases (non-decomposable), in the way that native speakers access their figurative meanings. As seen previously (2.2), Nunberg et al. (1994) highlighted the importance of paying attention to compositionality, conventionality and transparency in idiom research. Drawing on Nunberg et al. (1994) insights,

Titone and Connine (1999: 1666) state that the influence of both conventionality and compositionality should be taken into account when attempting to understand the processing of compositional and non-compositional idioms. Therefore, their Hybrid Hypothesis (Ibid: 1667) integrated elements of the three previous hypotheses, namely:

1. The treatment of idioms as a single word,
2. The contribution of individual words to overall figurative meaning, and
3. The importance of word configuration in processing highly conventional expressions.

Their Hybrid Hypothesis (Ibid: 1672, Caillies and Butcher, 2007: 82) proposes that non-compositional idioms are processed as a single word, from which the figurative meaning of the idiomatic expression is retrieved without needing to analyse the relationship between the literal and figurative meanings. The processing of compositional idioms would show metaphorical cues emerging from idiom components to refer to the figurative meaning. These metaphorical cues automatically correspond with a fragment of the knowledge network in memory (a reference here to source domains in conceptual metaphors). Titone and Connine (1999: 1667) add that that highly conventionalised idioms (i.e. those which are very well-known by the majority of users of a language) are probably understood without the influence of their individual words, whether they are compositional or non-compositional. Titone and Connine (1999: 1667) assumed that these types of idioms would be processed depending on the configuration of words in the idiom. This new process of idiom comprehension as envisaged by their hybrid model is illustrated in Figure 4.2.

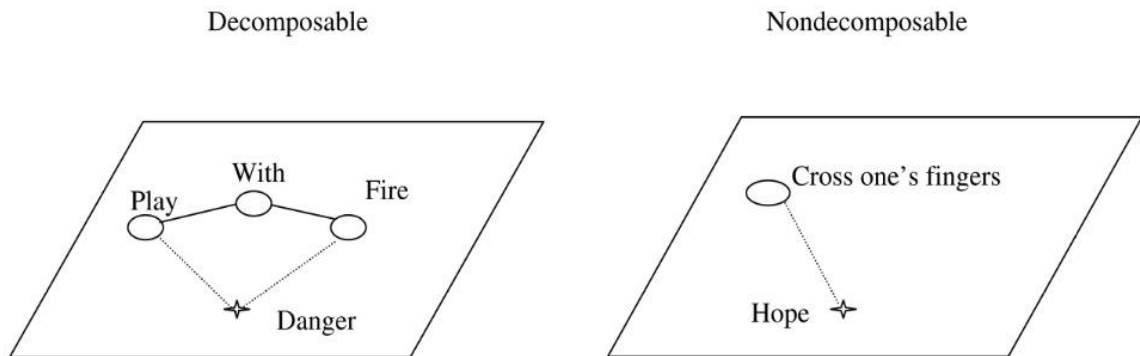
Hybrid model

Figure 4. 2 The idiom comprehension process according to the hybrid model

(Source: Caillies and Butcher, 2007: 84)

In the above decomposable example “play with fire”, each individual word may metaphorically signal the figurative meaning “danger” due to the semantic cues held in “play” and “fire”. In contrast, with the non-compositional example “cross one’s fingers”, the process shows direct retrieval of the stored figurative meaning of “hope”.

In this model, Caillies and Butcher (2007: 82) have hypothesised that if non-decomposable idioms are treated as long words, then the figurative meaning of non-compositional idioms should be activated more quickly than that of decomposable ones. Hence, they designed an experiment aimed at testing the implications of the Hybrid Hypothesis regarding the ability to discriminate between the processing of decomposable idioms and non-decomposable ones. The results of measuring the reading speed for both types proved inconsistent with their hypothesis (Ibid: 90, 95). They found that those encountering idioms were able to capture the figurative meaning of decomposable idioms more quickly than for non-decomposable ones. The

authors concluded (Ibid: 97) that, given the results, it appears that non-decomposable idioms are processed in a different way to decomposable ones, a finding which supports the Hybrid Model. However, the authors added that their results did not correspond with the view suggesting that processing non-decomposable idioms is identical to processing single words (referring to Hybrid Hypothesis).

Although Caillies and Butcher (ibid) found no supporting evidence with regard to the processing of non-decomposable idioms, a later study focusing on processing decomposable idioms did discover semantic cues emerging from idiom components to refer to the figurative meaning. These semantic cues automatically correspond with a fragment of the knowledge network in the language user's memory.

Caillies and Declereq (2011) conducted an experiment aiming at investigating the comprehension of decomposable idioms against predictive metaphors. Using French participants and French idioms, Caillies and Declereq's (Ibid: 214, 218) experiment demonstrated that native speakers are able to understand the figurative meaning of decomposable idioms much more quickly than that of novel metaphorical expressions. Hence, the authors (Ibid: 218) suggest that the figurative meaning of decomposable idioms was activated more quickly than that of metaphors, due to the fragments of the knowledge network in the language user's memory.

4.2.3 Effects of native speaker stored information

It is argued that initially the comprehension of idioms relies, to a certain degree, on the language user's stored knowledge of idiomatic expressions. The concept of "reader background knowledge" underlies the theory proposed by Firth known as "situational context" which Halliday and Hasan (1989:46) define as "the immediate environment in which a text is actually functioning". Thus, apart from the verbal context, several aspects will be involved in the comprehension of idiomatic expressions, including the conditions of speakers/receivers, utterance intentions, and the spatial and temporal environment. The concept of situational context exists in Arabic Rhetoric as *Al-maqām* (Hassān, 1979: 337, Al-ṭilḥy, 2004: 583).

Three distinct aspects of the concept of situational context have been identified by Halliday and Hasan (1989: 45) as follows:

1. **Field of discourse**, referring to environment of the linguistic activity, taking into consideration the time and the place.
2. **Tenor of discourse**, referring to the actors who are involved as creators (i.e. speakers/writers) or receivers (i.e. listeners/readers).
3. **Mode of discourse**, or in other words, its function; whether, for example, the discourse takes the form of a question, a complaint or an expression of regret.

Idiom familiarity

Idiom familiarity is an important aspect of conventionality, defined by Titone and Connine (1994a: 250) as:

The frequency with which a listener or reader encounters a word in its written or spoken form, and the degree to which the meaning of a word is well known or easily understood.

Idiomatic expressions that are shared by one particular culture can be divided into (1) those which are common/familiar; (2) those which are less common/less familiar and (3) those which are unfamiliar in accordance with their figurative interpretation (Boers and Demecheleer, 2001; Cronk and Schweigert, 1992: 134).

Due to the fact that idiom acquisition is highly dependent on the ability to memorise and be familiar with their figurative meanings (Levorato, Nesi and Cacciari, 2004: 304), one individual language user may not acquire as many idiomatic expressions as a fellow language user. In other words, it might be difficult to determine a group of idioms as being fully familiar, due to the fact that familiarity is highly subjective in comparison with compositionality.

However, Schweigert (1986: 39) states that there are interactional correlations between idiom familiarity and comprehension. In her experiment she

presented her subjects with a set of familiar English idioms (such as “on the one hand”, “big head”) and less familiar idioms (such as “asleep at the switch” / “clip someone’s wings”). The experimental idioms were embedded in two types of linguistic context: one was appropriate to the idiom’s figurative use, and the other was biased towards a literal reading. Results suggested that when readers are familiar with an idiom, they tend to read and understand the figurative meaning and literal usage in a short space of time. In contrast, when readers are less familiar with an idiom’s figurative meaning, reading time would be slower in both figurative and literal usage.

Likewise, Cronk and Schweigert (1992) examined the interactional effect of idiom familiarity and idiom literalness on the comprehension process. Their experiment involved English native speakers and a sample of 40 English idioms divided into four classes:

1. Ten idioms with likely literal meanings (high-literalness), and familiar figurative meanings.
2. Ten idioms with likely literal meanings and less familiar figurative meanings.
3. Ten idioms with unlikely literal meanings (low-literalness), and familiar figurative meanings.
4. Ten idioms with unlikely literal meanings and less familiar figurative meanings.

Each idiom was put into two verbal contexts, one relevant to the figurative meaning, and the other to the literal meaning. The major finding of their study

(Ibid: 138) was that, with figurative usage, high-literalness familiar idioms (class 1) are read faster than other classes (see first column in the left in the figure below). In literal usage, however, high-literalness familiar idioms (class 1) are the most time-consuming among the others (see Figure 4.3).

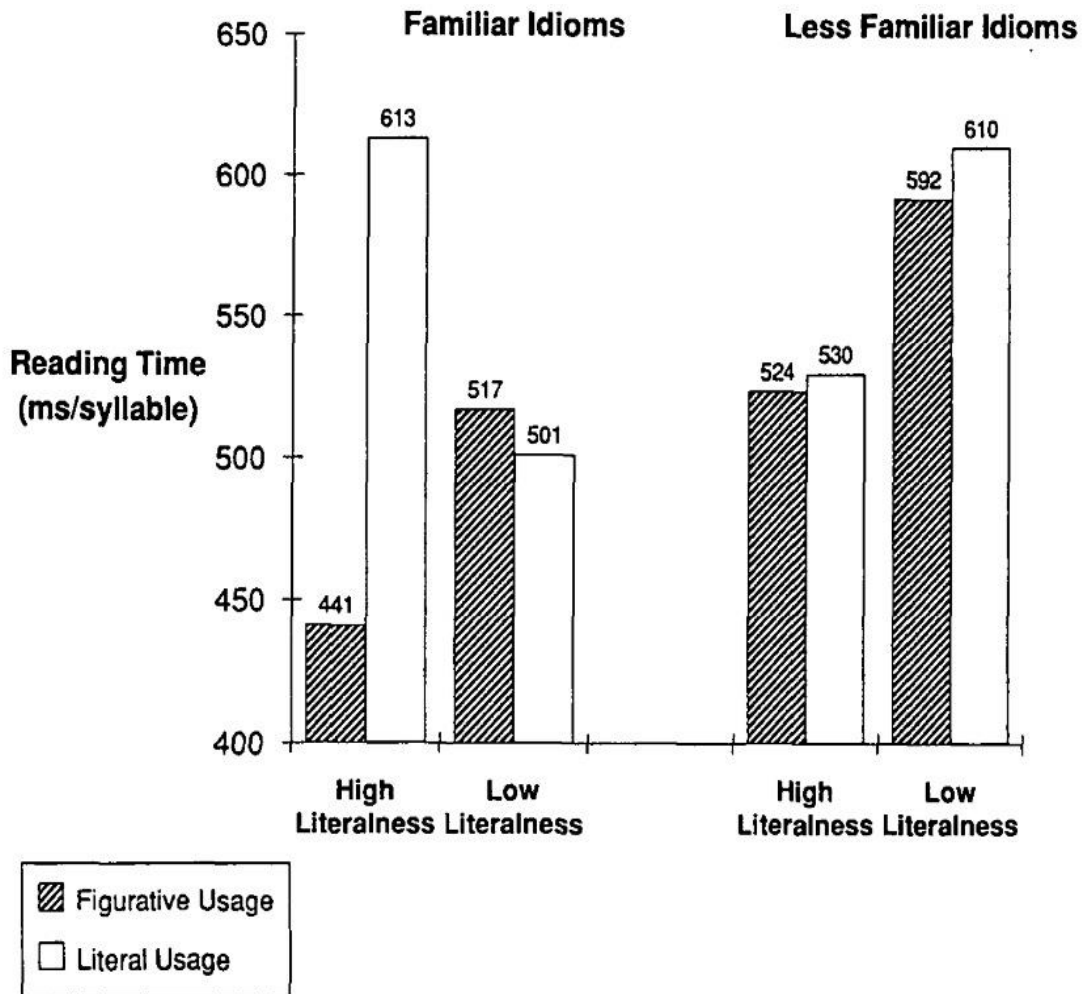


Figure 4. 3 Comprehension of familiar and less familiar idioms (Cronk and Schweigert, 1992)

(Source: Cronk and Schweigert, 1992: 137)

Forrester's study (1995) yielded similar findings, showing that participants in his experiment accessed the figurative meaning of both familiar idioms and semantically equivalent phrases (i.e. similar meaning but different wording) sooner than unfamiliar ones.

Spector (1996: 311) claims that idioms which are frequently-used in television shows and movies such as "hold-up" may be easier to comprehend even out of contextual support. The author noted that 82% of children's responses correctly explained the intended meaning of the idioms.

At this point, it can be seen that although familiarity is highly subjective in comparison to compositionality, it undoubtedly plays a central role in accelerating the access to figurative meaning in the human mind.

Direct Access Hypothesis

Relying on the data provided by Ortony et al. (1978), as well as his own experiments, Gibbs (ibid. 1980: 155) proposed the Direct Access Hypothesis which stresses the necessity of considering conventionality in idiom comprehension. According to Gibbs' hypothesis (1980), a conventional use of idioms occurs when an expression is commonly used with an idiomatic meaning and the speaker has retained that figurative usage, while an unconventional use of idioms is when an expression is commonly used with an idiomatic meaning, but for some reason the speaker intended to use it literally in his/her speech. Gibbs (1980: 152, 155) claims that listeners only

interpret the figurative meaning in the conventional use of idioms, and do not access the literal meaning at all, unless the context of use appears to be supporting literal usage. Gibbs adds that with unconventional use of idioms, a reader or listener may expect the figurative meaning when the unconventional idiom is encountered, but when he/she realises the context of use requires the literal meaning; the idiom is then re-interpreted in accordance with co-text requirements. Gibbs (1980: 155) referred to this reaction as “double-take”.

Similarly, when Ortony et al. (1978: 475) found native speakers accessed the figurative meaning faster than the literal meaning, they claimed that perhaps readers were familiar with those idiomatic expressions in their figurative form, and this may have led them to attempt to interpret the idioms figuratively before noticing that the co-text required a literal interpretation.

Salience Hypothesis

Like the Direct Access Hypothesis, the Salience Hypothesis suggests that the figurative meanings in idioms with highly familiar figurative meanings such as “kick the bucket” would be activated even if the context of use biases the literal interpretation. With less familiar idioms, however, the salient literal meaning would be accessed faster regardless of the context (Giora, 2003:137).

McGlone et al. (1994) tested the impact of idiom familiarity on processing idiomatic expressions in a study involving variant idioms, original idioms and

literal-paraphrased idioms, all used in short stories. Variant idioms, according to the authors (Ibid: 170), refers to the substitution of word(s) occurring in idiom components which makes them vary from their original forms, for instance, (a) spill **the beans**, and (b) Spill **one bean**. Sentence (a) is the original idiomatic form. Sentence (b) is the variant idiomatic form to show the intended quantity of secrets, so the figurative meaning of the second sentence would be 'reveal one secret'. Moreover, some uses of variant idioms may be employed to express an opposite meaning to the original idiom such as (a) to wake up on the **wrong** side of the bed and (b) to wake up on the **right** side of the bed. The first idiom means "to be in a bad mood", while the second implies the opposite".

McGlone et al.'s (1994) experiment addresses the comprehension of variant idioms in relation to the familiarity of their original forms. Their experimental sample of variant idioms is divided into familiar and unfamiliar idioms in accordance with their original forms. The experiment shows (Ibid: 176, 180) that firstly, original idioms require less time to be understood in comparison to variant and literal phrases. Secondly, participants who are familiar with the original idioms understand the variant idioms faster than those who are not.

In addressing the reasons why original idioms require less time to be understood in comparison to variant idioms, (McGlone et al, 1994: 171) proposed a six-step model to explain how variant idioms are processed:

1. Recognise the idiom as a new form of the original one, not as speaker error.
2. Retrieve the figurative meaning of the original idiom.
3. Analyse the components of both forms: variant and original.

4. Compare the substituted word(s) with the original one(s).
5. Identify the relationship(s) between the substituted word(s) in variant idiom and original form.
6. Take these relationship(s) into account to infer the figurative meaning.

In short, the comprehension process of variant idioms is similar to processing literal expressions, in which interpreters analyse each individual word in the expression structure, while processing original idioms is more likely to be a retrieval of the figurative meaning without accessing idioms individual words. Similar results were found by Van de Voort et al. (1995).

In addition, Díez Arroyo (1997) points out that the idiomatic meaning of idioms has an advantage over literal meaning in advertising slogans. Díez Arroyo (1997) studied a set of English and Spanish written slogans with equal potential to be processed literally or figuratively, such as “A network can **open more doors** to opportunities in China” (Díez Arroyo,1997: 58)

Díez Arroyo (Ibid: 63) found that, even if it was possible for the meaning of idioms to be processed literally due to their context of use, the figurative meaning always takes priority. In other words, the first attempt to interpret idiomatic expressions occurring in advertising slogans would always be toward the figurative meaning. This finding may lend support to both Direct-Access Hypothesis and Salience Hypothesis.

Utterance intentions

In addition to idiom familiarity, utterance intentions, as an aspect of prosody, could have a significant influence on idiom interpretation. Van Lancher-Sidtis (2003) notes that, due to prosodic cues, native speakers are easily able to identify the idiomatic use of idioms from the literal use, even when the idiom is used out of supportive contexts. Moreover, according to Hassan (1979: 345), the figurative meanings of some Arabic idiomatic expressions are highly dependent on the way the idiom is performed. For instance the Arabic idiomatic expression أهلا وسهلا (welcome) has various interpretations depending on the utterance intentions.

It is normally offered as the words of welcome to a guest on arrival: “You are welcome”. It can also serve as a reprimand to someone arriving late, meaning: “I’ve been waiting for you for a while”, or in more ominous circumstances, it can even function as a threat: “I’ve been waiting for you to turn up in order to take revenge”.

The above example shows how utterance intentions affect the idiom’s interpretation. Different utterance intentions can generate a range of different figurative interpretations for a single idiom.

4.2.4 The effect of co-text

Co-text refers to “the linguistic environment in which a word is used within a text” (Kramsch, 1998: 126). As mentioned previously (2.2), plausible-literal idiomatic expressions may occur figuratively and literally. Take the Arabic idiom **فاته القطار** (L= He has missed the train) as an example. Out of the context of use, the intended meaning (F= He has not got married yet) would be ambiguous. In comparison to plausible-literal idiomatic, with implausible-literal idioms, the figurative meaning has an advantage over literal one in idioms, for instance: **وراء الشمس** (L= behind the sun, F= out of sight). Therefore, with the former type (i.e. plausible-literal idiomatic expressions), the reader or the hearer is more likely to look for a linguistic clue in the co-text in order to reveal the intended meaning, whether the idiom is meant to be literal or figurative. In short, the linguistic clues occurring in verbal contexts apparently aid those who encounter idioms to correctly infer their intended target meaning, whether literal or figurative. The examples below illustrate how the verbal context plays a significant role in interpreting the meaning of dual-meaning idiomatic expressions.

a. علي فاته القطار، كان ينبغي عليه أن يصل مبكرا للمحطة

Ali missed the train. He should have arrived at the station earlier.

b. علي فاته القطار، كان ينبغي عليه أن يفكر بالزواج بجدية

Ali missed the train. He should have thought seriously about marriage.

Example (a) is understood literally due to the second sentence in the text. On the other hand, example (b) needs to be comprehended metaphorically, as an

idiom meaning “Someone is quite old to get married”. Example (b) also illustrates what is known in Arabic Rhetoric as *Al-qariynah* which is the clue used to interpret the meaning of idiomatic expressions (Al- Maydāny, 1996: 304). The written and oral types of *Al-qariynah* refer to figurative meanings and enable those encountering idioms to consider their figurative interpretation rather than the literal meaning (‘atiyq, 1985: 156).

Linguists have declared that comprehending an idiomatic expression depends, to some extent, on understanding the context in which an idiom is used (Yassin, 1967: 28, Cain et al., 2009: 280, Sporleder et al., 2010: 2). According to McGlone et al. (1994: 176), “idioms in specifically appropriate context were read more quickly than in the more general, albeit plausible contexts”. This means that an information-rich context would accelerate the process of determining speaker intentions towards the idiom used. Furthermore, context length might have a positive effect on the comprehension of figurative language in general, and idioms in particular. According to Ortony et al. (1978: 470), within a brief context, literal and non-literal sentences could be understood more easily when they were literal rather than metaphorical; however, this difference did not exist if the sentences appeared in a longer context. Colombo (1998: 392-400) later reached the same conclusion, arguing that the figurative co-text can be very helpful in understanding the figurative meaning of an idiom.

Nippold and Martin (1989: 64) conducted an experiment aimed at investigating the effect of receivers’ (i.e. native speakers) background knowledge on

understanding their idiomatic expressions, in and out of context. Their written questionnaire contains 20 English idioms, 10 of which are presented out of context while the other half are presented in story contexts. Their questionnaire was given to 475 adolescents between the ages of 14 and 17, all of whom were educated American-English native speakers. The results of Nippold and Martin's study (1989: 64) show that using idiomatic expressions in a verbal context, a story for example, makes figurative meaning easier to understand, rather than using idiomatic expressions as isolated phrases or without co-text.

According to Spector (1996: 311), multi-interpretation idioms may be easier to understand when used in the relevant context. For instance, let us consider the idiom "hold up" in the example below:

How do you know that robbers are very strong? They **hold up** banks.

(Spector, 1996)

Due to the contextual support represented in the relationship between "very strong" and the literal reading of "hold up" (i.e. to lift the bank building up in the air), children managed to select the literal interpretation instead of the figurative one.

4.3 Non-native speakers of language and comprehension of idiomatic expressions

As previously seen (4.2.1), it has been demonstrated experimentally that, firstly, native speakers access figurative meanings in idiomatic expressions more rapidly than literal ones. Secondly, they process idiomatic expressions faster than novel literal or figurative expressions. Here we begin by reviewing and discussing non-native speaker reactions to familiar idiomatic expressions. In this context, familiar idioms are L2 idiomatic expressions that have already been acquired by L2 learners, and thus their figurative meanings are well-known to them.

Cieslicka (2006) suggested that non-native speakers would access the figurative meaning of L2 idioms more slowly than they would the literal reading, even if they were familiar with the figurative meaning. Her experiment, designed to test this assumption, involves non-native speakers of English who were familiar with the figurative meanings of the sample of English idioms used in the experiment. The idioms were classified according to literal plausibility as being literal and non-literal, and both types were contained in unbiased clauses that did not indicate the figurative and the literal meanings, such as:

George wanted to **bury the hatchet** soon after Susan left (Cieslicka, 2006: 144).

Non-native speaking participants were asked to define the idioms by selecting related targets; for instance, the above idiom “bury the hatchet” could be related to the figurative meaning of “forgiveness” or the literal one of “axe”. Reaction times and lexical decisions were tested. The results (ibid: 132) show that, despite the idiom’s familiarity, the target that was literally related was accessed faster than the target that was idiomatically related. In addition, the author noted that literality (the notion of plausible and implausible literal idioms) had no significant effect on the reaction time recorded in the operation of lexical decision making (ibid: 134). Hence, it is suggested (Ibid: 140) that, for non-native speakers, the literal reading of L2 idioms would be more rapidly accessible than would the figurative interpretation.

A similar conclusion was drawn later by Siyanova-Chanturia et al. (2011). Their study highlighted the difference between native and non-native speakers with regard to idiomatic comprehension. The sample used in their experiment was English idiomatic expressions (such as “at the end of the day”) versus novel expressions (such as “at the end of the war”). As with Cieslicka’s experiment, their work focused on time measurement of reading speed. Thus, the experiment examined native and non-native speaker comprehension regarding the process of understanding familiar idiomatic expressions versus the process of deciphering novel expressions. The result (Siyanova-Chanturia et al., 2011: 265) shows that native speakers accessed the figurative meaning of idiomatic expressions more rapidly than they did that of novel expressions. By contrast, with regard to non-native speakers, there was no evidence that the comprehension of idiomatic expressions had occurred faster than that of

novel expressions. Consequently, the native speaker results would indicate that idiom familiarity prompted those encountering the idiom to process the figurative meaning directly. By contrast, the non-native speaker results would indicate that idiom familiarity has no effect on their figurative interpretation. The overall result prompted the authors to claim (Ibid: 266) that “in non-native speakers, figurative meanings required more re-reading and re-analysis than literal ones”.

At this point, the question that arises is: “Can non-native speakers understand unfamiliar L2 idioms”? In addressing this question, three key aspects need to be considered, namely the semantic analysability of decomposable idioms, cross-cultural idioms that include identical and similar idioms, and context of use.

4.3.1 Effect of idiom component parts: Compositionality and transparency

The Decomposition Hypothesis suggested that with decomposable idioms the figurative meaning of semantically compositional idioms would be conceptually comprehended by native speakers, even if the idiom were encountered for the first time, due to their semantic analysability. More recently, cognitive linguists (Skoufaki, 2009: 22) have proposed another theory to explain how non-native speakers deal with unfamiliar idioms. This is known as the Idiom Transparency Intuition Hypothesis. This hypothesis suggests that, outside of the context of use, non-native speakers who are not familiar with the idiom’s overall figurative meaning would visualise the same sort of the image

emerging from transparent idioms as a native speaker, who is familiar with the overall figurative meaning (Skoufaki, 2009: 22).

As previously noted (2.2), idiom transparency refers to the degree to which native speakers are able to access the motivation linking an idiom's surface form with its underlying structure. Using this framework, Bortfeld (cited in Skoufaki, 2009: 22) conducted experiments aimed at investigating the influence of idiom transparency on non-native speaker comprehension of idiomatic expressions. Her English-learner participants were presented with a set of transparent English idioms and were asked to picture the metaphorical image in each idiom and to answer relevant questions before and after the revelation of the figurative meanings. The results show that non-native speakers used their own knowledge of conceptual metaphors to read and describe unknown, imaginable idioms. Although it is clear that many conceptual metaphors differ from one culture another (Kovecses, 2005), 49% of the participant responses successfully identified the intended figurative meanings.

Building on this result, Bortfeld (2003) carried out a further in-depth study investigating how native and non-native speakers understand decomposable and non-decomposable idioms. As previously noted (2.2), transparency is one aspect of compositionality, which categorises idioms as normally decomposable, abnormally decomposable and non-decomposable. The difference between normal and abnormal idioms depends on whether their

individual words make figurative or literal contributions. With regard to the connection between decomposition and transparency, Bortfeld (2003) established three experiments involving native speakers of English who were asked to define the figurative meanings of sets of English, Latvian and Mandarin idioms that were presented outside of the context of use. The main task was to select the most suitable concept provided in order to describe an idiom's figurative meaning. These concepts were Revelation, Insanity, Control, Anger, and Secretiveness. All the idioms included in the experiment were presented in English, the Latvian and Mandarin idioms having been translated literally into English. Before starting the main task, the degree of compositionality and transparency of each group of idioms (English, Latvian and Mandarin idioms) was rated by native speakers in order to distinguish the three classes of normally decomposable, abnormally decomposable and non-decomposable idioms. The main tasks then began, and involved the following three experiments:

1. English idioms were linked to their concept group by native speakers of English.
2. Native speakers of English were asked to relate the Latvian idioms to one of the five concept groups.
3. Native speakers of English were asked to relate the Mandarin idioms to one of the five concept groups.

In each task, participants were given three types of idioms, namely normally decomposable, abnormally decomposable and non-decomposable idioms.

In the first rating task, which focused on English idioms (ibid: 222), the result shows that, in the case of normally decomposable idioms, participants scored 89% for correct judgements. In the case of abnormally decomposable idioms, the percentage of correctly categorised idioms was 76% and finally, with regard to non-decomposable idioms, the proportion of correct responses was 68%.

In the second task, which focused on Latvian idioms, the result shows that correct judgements of normally decomposable, abnormally decomposable and non-decomposable idioms were 79%, 69% and 44%, respectively.

In the third and final task, which focused on Mandarin idioms, the percentage of correct responses for normally decomposable, abnormally decomposable and non-decomposable idioms was 82%, 59% and 50%, respectively.

The overall results (Ibid: 226) show that, regardless of whether participants were dealing with idioms in their L1 or with idioms translated literally from other languages, they were able to define the figurative meaning of normally decomposable idioms more often than they could that of abnormally decomposable, and of abnormally decomposable idioms more often than was the case with non-decomposable idioms. Thus, the findings of Bortfeld's (2003) studies are in favour of the Idiom Transparency Intuition Hypothesis.

It can be argued that, the primary reason for obtaining a high degree of transparency for normal idioms compared to the low one recorded for abnormal idioms in Bortfeld's experiments (2003), is due to the absence of the

division of abnormally compositional idioms into transparent and opaque. Integrating opaque-abnormally compositional and transparent-abnormally compositional idioms into one class would negatively affect the total percentage of the transparency for abnormal idioms. In other words, some abnormally compositional idioms are highly opaque in motivation. Therefore, if the abnormally compositional idioms in Bortfeld's experiments were divided into transparent and opaque idioms and transparent-abnormal idioms contain only universally metaphoric idioms, transparent-abnormal idioms would obtain a similar rate of transparency than would normally compositional idioms. Transparent metaphor can be easily understood by native and non-native speakers (Littlemore's, 2010). According to Littlemore's (2010) study, which tested native and non-native speakers' metaphoric competencies, both groups showed similar performances when asked to find meanings for novel metaphors in their L1 and L2 suggesting that a L2 learner who performs well with his/her L1 metaphors would probably maintain the same performance with L2 metaphors.

Building on Bortfeld's contribution to this field, Skoufaki (2009) examined the validity of the Idiom Transparency Intuition Hypothesis. Her experimental participants were Greek L2 learners of English, and were English idioms that were classified as being high-transparency or low-transparency were used in the experiment. The idioms were presented to the subjects in two different ways, namely within the context of use and outside of the context of use. Participants were first instructed to indicate whether they were familiar with their figurative meanings or not. If the answer was no, the participant was

asked to guess all the possible figurative interpretations of the unknown idiom. The author (Ibid: 25) hypothesised that low-transparency idioms would produce a greater number of interpretational attempts than high-transparency idioms.

The results (Ibid: 30) show that the largest number of interpretations was produced for low-transparency idioms presented outside of the context of use. By contrast, the smallest number of interpretations was noted for high-transparency idioms presented within the context of use. In terms of the accuracy of interpretation, 71% of completely correct answers occurred in the case of high-transparency idioms. In contrast, 61% of entirely incorrect answers was found in the case of low-transparency idioms. The overall results suggest that L2 learners are probably capable of learning high-transparency idioms by predicting their meanings. As with Bortfeld's (2003) studies, Skoufaki's (2009) findings lend support to the Idiom Transparency Intuition Hypothesis.

It appears that compositionality judgements differ according to the differences in idioms comprehension between native and non-native speakers. According to Abel (2003: 341), unlike native speakers who tend to regard the idioms as non-compositional, non-native speakers tend to see L2 idioms as being decomposable. Abel's study was conducted with German non-native speakers of English (Ibid: 339), and showed (Ibid: 339) that 56.5% of the sample of English idioms was considered to be decomposable, while the remaining percentage, 43.5%, were seen as being non-compositional.

4.3.2 Effect of frequency on idiom representation

This section focuses on the Dual Idiom Representation Model (henceforth the DIR model) that was proposed by Abel (2003). Her model combines the theories that treat idioms as lexical entities (Lexical Representation, Direct Access and Configuration models), and the theory that considers conceptual mechanisms in the process of accessing an idiom's figurative meaning (the Decomposition Hypothesis). The main claim of the DIR model is that the representation of idiomatic expressions differs in accordance with the degree of idiom frequency.

Abel (2003) noted that previous research on idioms had overlooked the role of idiom frequency in the process of accessing the figurative meanings of idiomatic expressions. In her study, she distinguished between two levels of frequency, namely frequently and infrequently used idioms. Abel (2003: 334) hypothesised that frequently used idioms were more likely to be mentally stored as an idiom entry, meaning that those encountering frequent idioms, regardless of their degree of compositionality, would recall their figurative meaning without analysing the metaphorical correlations. In other words, compositional and non-compositional idioms would be treated as a single word if they were frequently encountered. She (Ibid.) also hypothesised that the converse would be true for infrequently used idioms, in that compositional idioms would be treated as constituent entries; thus, their figurative meaning would be accessed via a conceptual mechanism, mapping the target domain

to the source domain. On the other hand, non-compositional, infrequently used idioms would require an idiom entry to allow their figurative meanings to be comprehended (prior knowledge of the figurative meaning).

In order to test the above hypotheses, Abel (2003) presented a set of English idioms to German non-native speakers of English who had been studying the language for an average of 8.5 years. The participants were divided into two groups, with the first group including participants who tended to read English texts daily, and consequently had more frequent exposure to L2 idioms. Participants in the second group read English texts less often. The results showed that the first group of participants had developed more idiom entries than had the second group, who treated most idioms as constituent entries. Hence, non-native speakers encountering English idioms extremely frequently performed more like the native speakers in Titone and Connine's norms study (1994a).

The findings suggest that the frequency of encountering idioms affects the way that idioms are represented in the mind. An idiom that is used frequently will cause those encountering it to access the idiom's figurative meaning in the same way as accessing the meaning of a single literal word (direct recall), whereas with idioms that occur less frequently, conceptual knowledge in the interpretation of the figurative meaning of compositional idioms is required.

4.3.3 Effect of cultural similarities on idiom comprehension

In a wider perspective, the interpretation of L2 idioms can be greatly affected by the similarity between one's L1 and one's L2, including all linguistic and non-linguistic factors underlying cultural differences and familiarities. Cultural context means "the historical knowledge, the beliefs, attitudes, values shared by members of discourse community, and that contribute to the meaning of their verbal exchanges" (Kramsch, 1998: 126).

In terms of cultural familiarities and differences, idioms that are shared by two or more cultures can be referred to as familiar/matching/identical/similar, while L2 idioms that do not have an equivalent in the L1 are called unfamiliar/non-matching/different (Liontas, 2003: 291).

Boers and Demecheleer (2001: 260) conducted an experiment with a group of French-speaking English-language learners who were asked to interpret different English idioms outside of their context of use. The study was designed to test participants' ability to guess the meanings of two groups of idioms. The first group contained English idioms that were related to hats and ships, as these two metaphorical themes are closely associated with English culture. The second group consisted of English idioms related to sleeves and food, which are greater production sources for metaphors in French than they are in English. The results (Ibid: 258) show a significant impact of the metaphorical themes of the source language on interpreting imaginable L2 idiomatic expressions. The correct responses for idioms that involved sleeves

and food were higher than they were for those involving hats and ships. The study suggests that idioms that are related to the cultural knowledge of the idiom's interpreter are more likely to be guessed correctly.

Boers and Demecheleer's (2001) findings show that non-native speakers find it difficult to correctly guess the meaning of idioms without contextual support. Therefore, it is obvious that when an idiom exists in the L1 of a learner as well as in his/her L2, he/she may find it easier to predict its figurative meaning.

Abdulla and Jackson (1998) conducted an experiment with Syrian participants using English idioms. The goal was to investigate the impact of Syrian Arabic idioms on their understanding of the figurative meanings of English idioms. Some 80 English idioms were selected and grouped together by their characteristics as follows:

1. 20 English idioms that are **similar in form and meaning** to Syrian Arabic idioms
2. 20 English idioms **similar in form** to Syrian Arabic idioms but **different in meaning**
3. 20 English idioms **different in form** to Syrian Arabic idioms but **similar in meaning**
4. 20 English idioms that are **different in form and meaning** with no equivalent Syrian Arabic idioms

The Syrian participants were then asked to judge their figurative meanings. Results showed that they found it easy to comprehend and predict the intended figurative meanings of the English idioms in the first group i.e. those that were similar in form and meaning to Syrian Arabic idioms. However, they

only managed to correctly guess a few of the meanings of the remaining 60 idioms.

These results suggest that cultural familiarity with idioms that have the same function across cultures helps L2 learners to correctly guess the figurative meaning of L2 idiomatic expressions. In addition, Abdulla and Jackson's (1998) experiment shows that, due to their Arab cultural background, some participants succeeded in interpreting the figurative meaning of "to give someone the cold shoulder". They guessed that the word "cold" might non-literally indicate "unwelcome", because it is the opposite of the word "warm", which metaphorically conveys "welcome" within the Arab culture. Thus, the participants employed their L1, stored cultural knowledge to interpret foreign idioms, which shows the positive effect of the influence of the L1 on comprehending L2 idioms. This is not to say that their strategy was always successful in understanding idioms in their L2, but it does show the fundamental influence of the non-linguistic aspect of L2 learner culture on interpreting L2 idioms.

Similar results were reported by Irujo (1986) whose study examined the ability of non-native speakers to produce and comprehend L2 idioms. Utilising Venezuelan learners of English and sets of English and Spanish idioms, she reported that, in the comprehension task, participants were easily able to fully understand identical and similar idioms. However, in the case of idioms that were different, fewer were comprehended correctly. In the production task, the performance with identical idioms was much better than it was with similar or

different ones. Irujo (Ibid: 295) noted interference from L1 idioms in producing L2 idioms, stating that “advanced learners of a L2 whose L1 is related to the L2 can use their knowledge of idioms in their L1 to comprehend and produce idioms in L2” (Ibid: 298).

Likewise, a study conducted by Al-Doubi (2003) investigated the production and comprehension processes of English idiomatic expressions by 21 Saudi Arabian participants who had acquired English as their L2. The sample of English idioms was classified into three groups, as follows:

1. **Identical:** English idioms were identical in form and meaning to their Arabic equivalents.
2. **Similar:** English idioms were similar in both form and meaning to their Arabic equivalents.
3. **Different:** English idioms differed from their Arabic equivalents in both form and meaning.

Al-Doubi's (2003) study consisted of two parts. The first was the translation test which was designed to test participants' ability to produce L2 idioms. The researcher provided a set of Arabic sentences containing blank spaces, and participants were asked to complete the spaces using suitable English idioms.

In the second part of the study, a multiple-choice test was used with the aim of examining the L2 learners' comprehension of unfamiliar idiomatic expressions with regard to the differences between identical, similar and

different idioms. The subjects were presented with a set of English idioms embedded in very short passages, written in English. Below each passage, the researcher provided four possible figurative meanings for the idiomatic expressions. She then asked the participants to link the idioms to their correct, figurative meanings.

The results of the second test (multiple-choice) (Ibid: 48), were particularly interesting since they showed that the majority of participants were successful in matching the English idioms with their correct figurative meanings. There was no significant difference in the percentages of correct answers for identical, similar, or different idioms. In other words, the L2 learners were able to understand the unfamiliar idioms that were used in supportive linguistic contexts.

Likewise, Daoudi (2011) noted the significant influence of native language – the Arabic language in the case of Daoudi’s study– on transferring L2 idioms. She found that L2 learners experienced no difficulties in translating identical idioms from English into their first language. However, cultural idioms (different idioms) were found to be difficult to translate because of the lack of Arabic equivalents.

4.3.4 The Effect of Co-text

As previously mentioned, verbal context plays a central role in terms of aiding native speakers to deal with unknown idioms which they encounter. With regard to non-native speakers, it is assumed that the presence of rich verbal contexts is highly significant in the communication process because L2 learners tend to acquire fewer idioms and more literal words and expressions (Hussein, Khanji and Makhzoomy, 2000; Abel, 2003: 348). Nevertheless, Skoufaki's study (2009: 30) clearly reveals that the context in which idioms are used helps non-native speakers to correctly interpret their figurative meaning.

Furthermore, in the absence of verbal context, non-native speakers seem to have difficulty in quickly accessing the figurative meaning of even idioms which are familiar to them. Siyanova-Chanturia et al's study (2011) shows that, in the absence of biasing contexts, familiar idiomatic expressions would be processed figuratively by native speakers and literally by non-native speakers.

In addition, Liontas (2003) conducted an experiment to investigate the effect of verbal context on non-native speaker understanding of L2 idioms. Three levels of English idioms were used as experimental material, namely lexical level (LL) or matching idioms (i.e. English idioms that are identical to their Spanish counterparts), semi-lexical level (SSL) or partially-matching idioms (i.e. English idioms that are similar in form or meaning to Spanish idioms), and post-lexical level (PLL) or non-matching idioms (i.e. English idioms with no

Spanish equivalents in form or meaning). The results of the study conducted by Lontas (2003: 298) are illustrated in Table 4.1.

Table 4. 1 Results for idiom level and context of use

IDIOM LEVEL	PERCENTAGE OF CORRECT ANSWERS	
	Outside context of use	Within context of use
LL idioms	69.29%	85.71%
SLL idioms	43.57%	67.86%
PLL idioms	17.14%	60.00%

(Source: Lontas, 2003)

As the results in Table 4.1 show, with respect to the different idiom levels, participants found it easier to interpret English idioms when these were presented in an information-rich context of use.

In this context, it is also worth highlighting the results of one further comparative experiment carried out by Cooper (1999) that was designed to explore the effectiveness of various methods of dealing with ambiguity in idiomatic expressions. He tested different comprehension strategies with non-native speakers of English. The 20 idioms selected were presented in a printed format, and the results are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4. 2 Strategies for dealing with ambiguity in idiomatic expressions (Cooper,1999)

Type of interpretation strategy used by subjects to predict figurative meaning of idiom	Percentage of correct interpretations of idioms provided
Predicting from co-text	57%
Predicting from literal meaning of idiom	22%
Relying on their own background knowledge	12%
Referring to idioms in their own L1	8%
Other strategies	1%

(Source: Cooper, 1999: 252).

Table 4.2 illustrates that presenting idioms in a relevant context would help the subjects to predict their figurative meaning whereas the strategy for predicting this according to the participant's knowledge of his/her L1 seems to be less helpful. Finally, Cooper's (1999) experiment provides supporting evidence of the significance of an information-rich context for understanding unfamiliar idioms.

4.4 L2 learners and acquisition of idiomatic expressions

Many factors have an influence on idiomatic acquisition. However, the factors that are highlighted here are frequency of an idiom's occurrence in particular language, idiom semantic transparency, and cultural similarities. These factors will be discussed with regard to non-native speaker ability to acquire and produce L2 idioms.

4.4.1 Frequency with which an idiom occur

Generally speaking, the frequency level of L2 items, including L2 vocabulary, grammatical patterns and idioms, is a significant factor in the acquisition process and in language learning (Milton, 2009: 25). According to Bley-Vroman:

In order for something to be acquired, it must be encountered, (or deduced from something encountered). Something that does not occur, or occurs only rarely, is, ceteris paribus, less likely to be encountered and "noticed" than something that occurs frequently (Bley-Vroman, 2002: 212).

Bley-Vroman (2002) claims that the frequency of a particular type of linguistic input in the target language may affect the acquisition process of L2 learners. His claim was based on the results obtained by the study he conducted with Yoshinaga (2000), which involved native speakers of English, as well as Japanese advanced learners of English as a L2. Both groups of participants were presented with several types of multiple wh-questions phrases. These included (1) subject-object questions such as, "Who ate what?", which could be answered by "Tom ate an apple", where Tom is the subject and the apple is the object, and (2) subject-location questions such as, "Who sat where?". Participants were instructed to rate the acceptability of a number of clauses. The results showed that English participants accepted both of the above types of wh-question sentences. By contrast, Japanese non-native speakers of English found subject-location wh-questions to be grammatically unacceptable, whereas subject-object sentences such as "who saw what" were considered to be grammatically acceptable. The authors (*ibid.*, 2000: 23) suggest that, due to the frequency of the input of subject-object wh-questions in the English language and the infrequency of subject-location ones, non-native speakers of English were able to acquire the former grammatical pattern (subject-object), while the latter (subject-location) required a high degree of proficiency such as that possessed by native speakers.

Meara (1992) related potential for vocabulary acquisition to levels of frequency, proposing a five-point scale of degrees of vocabulary frequency,

called the frequency profile and grouped vocabulary accordingly. Meara (1992) suggested that the 1000 most frequently used words, which he included in group one, are more likely to be easily learned, followed by the second most frequent 1000 vocabulary items (group two), and so on.

Meara's (1992) model of the relationship between frequency and acquisition was tested by Milton (2006). He presented 227 Greek learners of English as a foreign language with five groups of L2 vocabulary. Each group consisted of 20 words selected randomly from the above five groups suggested by Meara (1992). Participants were asked whether they recognised each vocabulary item, responding Yes or No. The results show that most "Yes" responses corresponded to group one, which contained the most frequent words, followed by group two, then group three, and so on. These findings lend support to the frequency hypothesis.

In terms of idiomatic acquisition, McGavigan (cited by Milton, 2009) examined Meara's model using 80 English idioms taken from the *Cobuild Dictionary of Idioms* (Collins Cobuild, 1995). These idioms were divided into four groups according to their degrees of frequency, which had already been measured by the dictionary and all four groups of English idioms were introduced to 100 Greek non-native speakers of English. The results showed that the more frequent the idiom, the more likely it is to be acquired by L2 learners. The findings here are compatible with those proposed by Meara's (1992) model of the relationship between frequency and acquisition. However, McGavigan's

study (cited by Milton, 2009) reported that L2 learners showed poor performance in the acquisition of idioms when compared to the acquisition of vocabulary, which suggests that L2 learners are not likely to reach native-like levels of the acquisition of L2 idioms.

Similarly, a study conducted by Daoudi (2011) aimed at exploring the strategies used by non-native speakers to recognise/identify idiomatic expressions from non-idiomatic expressions. The study involved Saudi Arabian and Algerian participants who were learning English as a second language. Daoudi found that the participants employed a systemic method to recognise L2 idioms. Her subjects judged grammatically, semantically or pragmatically odd expressions to be idioms. Furthermore, she noted that the frequency of using a particular phrase or idiom by native speakers would aid non-native speakers to identify and comprehend this phrase as an idiomatic comment (Daoudi, 2011).

However, with regard to idiom frequency, this is dependent on L1 of the language users and their level of linguistic skill. Due to highly frequent exposure to L1 idioms, native speakers are most likely to be familiar with a greater number of L1 idioms than are L2 learners. According to Conklin and Schmitt (2012: 54):

Frequency seems to lead to a particular form being represented in the mental lexicon. However, if a form has not been encountered frequently enough, as in

the case of lower proficiency non-native speakers or very young children, it appears that it may not be well entrenched in memory.

According to Yorio (1989), the acquisition of conventionalised language forms, including idioms, irony and collocations, is a difficult process for L2 learners. However, Yorio (1989) claims that the increase in native-like fluency, particularly with regard to the grammatical proficiency of L2 learners, facilitates the acquisition and the use of idioms. Moreover, Yorio (1989) added that the ability of an L2 learner to acquire a large number of L2 idioms is an indicator of his/her increase in native-like fluency.

Thus it can be argued that with regard to frequency of L2 items, the more L2 learners are exposed to L2 items, the more they increase their linguistic skills. This increase in linguistic skills then leads L2 learners to acquire L2 idioms easily. McGavigan (cited by Milton, 2009) claims that L2 learners need at least 3000 words of L2 vocabulary before they are able to acquire L2 idioms. Hence, L2 learners without a sufficient level of L2 proficiency can be expected to perform poorly in the recognition of L2 idioms.

4.4.2 Semantic transparency

Just as frequency appears to be a significant factor in the process of acquiring idioms, it has been argued that the effect of transparency of idiom motivation seems to be very important in the acquisition of L2 idioms. As seen in Chapter

Two, Lakoff (1987) stated that understanding idiomatic motivation is a central factor in native language user acquisition of idioms.

Gibbs (1995) claimed that L2 learners tend to learn L2 idioms by establishing arbitrary links between an idiom's figurative meanings and its literal ones. From this perspective, Boers et al. (2004) hypothesised that if L2 learners are aware of the conceptual metaphors in the constituents of an L2 idiom, they perform better in the acquisition process. As noted previously (2.2), an experiment conducted by Kovecses and Szabo (1996) supports this hypothesis. Similar results were found in studies carried out by Boers (2000) and Boers et al. (2001; 2004), suggesting that raising L2 learner awareness of the origin of an idiom's figurative meaning (the elaboration of the source domains) would facilitate retention of an idiom's figurative meanings.

Therefore, these theoretical and empirical studies suggest that conceptually motivated (or transparent) idioms are more readily entrenched in memory than are non-compositional (or opaque) idioms. Consequently, this implies that, in the case of language learning, an L2 learner who encountered both transparent and opaque idioms would memorise and then produce transparent idioms more often than s/he would opaque idioms.

Another aspect of idiom transparency, namely the transparency of the lexical components of an idiom, was addressed by Zyzik (2011) who argued that L2

learners who lack prior knowledge of lexical meanings of L2 idioms found no difficulty in recognising and memorising those idioms. Zyzik's (2011) study involved L2 learners of Spanish and a set of Spanish idioms that contained both known and unknown lexical items. The study consisted of two major tasks, a recognition task and a production task. The results (Zyzik, 2011: 425) show that in the case of the former task, no significant differences were noted between recognising idioms with known or unknown vocabulary. By contrast, in the production task, it was reported that idioms with known vocabulary are more easily produced by L2 learners than are idioms with unknown vocabulary.

4.4.3 Cultural similarities

As noted previously (4.3.2), L2 idioms which are identical and similar to those found in the learners' L1 are much easier to comprehend outside of their context of use than different idioms i.e. those without a L2 equivalent. This is mainly because these two types of idioms (identical and similar) tap into the pre-existing cultural knowledge of L2 learners. Similarly, it has been noted that non-native speakers are more capable of memorising and confidently producing identical and similar idioms than they are with regard to different ones.

A study carried out by Hussein, Khanji and Makhzoomy (2000) demonstrates that identical and similar idioms may be naturally produced by L2 learners, whereas different idioms required further learning and consideration. The

researchers tested the translation process that occurred when transferring identical, similar and different idioms from Arabic into English. Table 4.3 provides an illustrative sample of the idioms used in the study.

Table 4. 3 Sample idioms used by Hussein, Khanji and Makhzoomy (2000)

IDIOMATIC CLASS	ARABIC IDIOMS (SOURCE IDIOMS)	ENGLISH IDIOMS (TARGET IDIOMS)
Identical	تقرأ بين السطور To read between the lines	To read between the lines
Similar	تبني قصورا من الرمال To build palaces from sand	To build castles in the air
Different	ما عنده وقت يحك راسه To have no time to scratch one's head	To have one's hands full

The subjects in this study were Arabic non-native speakers of English who were specialists in Arabic-English translation studies. Participants were instructed to supply English idioms that matched the Arabic idioms. All the Arabic idioms were embedded in appropriate contexts of use. The results (Ibid: 31) demonstrate that the majority of participants succeeded in producing English idioms that were identical or similar to Arabic equivalents, while only a few responded correctly to different idioms. This suggests that L2 learners were able to use L2 identical idioms confidently while in the case of different idioms, they showed poor competence. However, in some cases, cultural similarity between L1 and L2 idioms may impact negatively on the way that L2 idioms are acquired and reused. The results of Hussein, Khanji and Makhzoomy's (2000) study also show that in some cases there was evidence of the influence of L1 idioms on producing similar L2 idioms. For instance, when asked to provide the Arabic equivalent of the English target idiom "to

build castles in the air”, 22% of the participants responded with “to build palaces in the air”, and 42% of the responses given to “to be born with a silver spoon in one’s mouth” were “to be born with a golden spoon in his mouth” (Ibid: 28).

4.5 The comprehension and acquisition of idioms by D2 learners

Unlike L1 and L2 research into idioms, there are few previous studies regarding the acquisition and comprehension of D2 idioms. Nonetheless, it has been claimed (Siegel, 2010; Britain, 2006) that D2 learners would find it easier to acquire D2 lexical items than phonological forms. This means that D2 learners are more likely to be native-like in terms of acquiring and producing D2 vocabulary. In addition, Siegel (2010: 134) has compared the difficulties of acquiring a D2 as opposed to an L2. He concluded that, due to the similarities of most grammatical patterns and lexical items between D1 and D2, D2 learners may have an advantage over L2 learners when comprehending and acquiring more linguistic items in the D2. However, he states that the motivation for learning an L2 is much stronger than it is for learning a D2. For example, in the case of immigrants, while D2 learners seem to be able to communicate readily with D1 learners using their D1, L2 learners find themselves obligated to learn L2 lexical items and expressions to enable them to integrate into the host society. In conclusion, acquiring a D2 is less necessary than acquiring a L2, but at the same time it is assumed to be much easier than acquiring L2.

With regard to research on acquiring and producing metaphors, Van Lancher-Sidtis (2003) pointed out that native speakers of a language, regardless of their D1, are easily able to distinguish figurative uses from literal ones in literally plausible idioms. Her study (2003: 47) investigates the extent to which native and non-native speakers are able to recognise prosodic cues (auditor signals, such as timing, stress and rhythm) that occur in utterances to aid speakers to distinguish idiomatic expressions from non-idiomatic ones. Her study focuses on identifying figurative and literal usages of ditropically ambiguous idioms (dual meaning idioms). She used a comparative approach to test idiomatic comprehension in four levels of spoken English, as follows:

1. Native speakers of American English
2. Native speakers of non-American English (participants from the United Kingdom, New Zealand, South Africa and Australia)
3. Fluent non-native speakers of English
4. English-language learners who have achieved an advanced level.

Participants were asked to listen to tape-recorded utterances containing American-English idiomatic expressions that were recorded twice, once figuratively and once literally. Afterwards, participants had to distinguish idiomatic uses from literal ones. Since the idioms used in the experiments were introduced in a spoken form, the only clues provided were acoustic.

In previous work, Van Lancher-Sidtis (in Van Lancher-Sidtis, 2003: 47) found that native speakers benefited from prosodic cues to differentiate figurative from literal use. Thus, she was not surprised to find that native speakers of English were easily able to distinguish between figurative utterances and literal usage and, as a result, they responded correctly to most sentences. By contrast, non-native speakers of English experienced some difficulties in the distinguishing task. In general, the fluent non-native speakers' performance was much better than that of the English-language learners and, with a marginal difference, native speakers of American English scored more highly than did native speakers of a non-American dialect. Further investigation with regard to the results of non-native speakers shows that English-language learners admitted that they had no difficulty in understanding the literal use of idioms but, possibly due to a lack of prior familiarity with idiomatic meanings, they were unable to track their different usages (ibid: 52).

The overall findings of Van Lancher-Sidtis (2003) suggest that native speakers of a language are reliably qualified to notice the different usage of idiomatic expressions occurring in utterances, whereas non-native speakers of a language would probably struggle with the discrimination process, especially in the absence of rich informational contexts.

The above discussions (4.5) suggest that the likelihood of achieving native-like fluency with regard to lexical, grammatical and metaphorical sense is much higher for D2 learners than it is for L2 learners.

4.6 Conclusion

As this literature review has shown, a considerable number of experiments has been conducted in order to investigate the processes involved in the comprehension and acquisition of idiomatic expressions. These studies have concluded that native and non-native speakers have different comprehension abilities in terms of understanding known and unknown idioms. With regard to known idioms, while native speakers tend to access their figurative meaning faster than they their literal one, non-native speakers show rapid processing in terms of literal use and slower comprehension with regard to figurative use.

Several hypotheses have been proposed to explain how native and non-native speakers process idiomatic expressions. The most relevant of these in relation to the current study are:

The Idiom-List Hypothesis which proposes that literal and figurative language are processed differently.

The **Literal Processing Hypothesis** which argues that language users encountering idioms usually attempt to process literal before figurative meaning.

According to the **Lexical Representation Hypothesis**, idiomatic expressions are stored in the mental lexicon in the same way as other words and language users process the figurative meaning in idioms as they would literal words.

The **Direct-access Hypothesis** proposes that language users access the figurative meaning of highly conventional idioms directly, without processing their literal meaning.

According to the **Decomposition Hypothesis**, a conceptual metaphor is activated in the process of idiomatic comprehension.

The **Configuration Hypothesis** proposes that the ability to access the figurative meaning of idioms stems from recognising the connections between the component parts of an idiom.

The **Hybrid Hypothesis** states that while non-compositional idioms are more likely to be processed as a long word, decomposable idioms show semantic cues (conceptual domains) in their constituent components.

According to the **Idiom Familiarity Hypothesis**, familiarity with idioms facilitates access to their figurative interpretations.

The DIR model focuses on how frequency affects the lexical representation of idioms.

Table 4.4 highlights the most significant experiments carried out regarding idiomatic comprehension.

Table 4. 4 Hypotheses regarding the comprehension of idiomatic expressions

RESEARCHERS	SUBJECTS AND EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL	MAIN RESULTS	PROPOSALS
Bobrow and Bell (1973)	English native speakers and English idiomatic	Literal-bias co-text decreases proportion of	Idiom-List Hypothesis and

	expressions	subjects accessing figurative meaning in idioms with high idiomatic bias; figurative-bias context increases proportion of subjects accessing figurative meaning in idioms with a low idiomatic bias	Literal Processing Hypothesis
Swinny and Cutler (1979)	English native speakers and English idiomatic expressions	Subjects read idiomatic expressions more rapidly than literal phrases	Lexical Representation Hypothesis
Gibbs (1980)	English native speakers, and English idiomatic expressions	With regard to both figurative meaning bias contexts and conventional use of idioms, subjects encountering idioms can only access their figurative meaning.	Direct-access model
Schweigert (1986)	English native speakers and English idiomatic expressions	Familiar idioms are processed faster than unfamiliar ones, regardless of the degree of idiom compositionality.	She highlighted the importance of idiomatic familiarity for idiomatic expression comprehension
Cacciari and Tabossi(1988)	Italian native speakers and Italian idioms	High predictability induces subjects encountering idioms to access figurative meaning faster than the literal one.	Configuration Hypothesis
Gibbs et al. (1989)	English native speakers and	Subjects encountering	Decomposition Hypothesis

	English idiomatic expressions	idioms attempt to map their motivation using figurative and literal meanings of idioms. Decomposable idioms are understood more quickly because their motivation is easily mapped.	
Titone and Connine (1999)	Observing study	The process for accessing non-compositional idioms is different from that for compositional ones.	Hybrid Model
Abel (2003)	German-speaking participants and English idioms	Frequency plays a central role in idiomatic representation. High-frequency idioms are stored and comprehended as a single idiom entry; low frequency idioms are comprehended via a conceptual mechanism.	DIR model

With unknown idioms, experiments show how verbal, situational and cultural contexts contribute to reducing the semantic opaqueness of L1 and L2 idioms. The verbal context may play a central role in determining their intended meaning. In addition, according to the “Idiom Transparency Intuition Hypothesis”, both non-native and native speakers would draw on the same mental imagery regarding imaginable-transparent idioms that is related to their overall figurative meaning. Moreover, the discussion here has established that

non-native speakers can easily understand L2 idioms which are identical or similar to those occurring in their L1, whereas they have more difficulties understanding different L2 idioms which lack an L1 equivalent, particularly in the absence of a supporting context.

The second part of this chapter focused on the important role played by frequency in the acquisition of idioms. Native speakers are assumed to be familiar with much larger amounts of L1 idioms than non-native speakers. However, transparent idioms and cross-cultural idioms may initially be noticed and then acquired by L2 learners. Finally, D2 learners are assumed to be more capable of acquiring and comprehending D2 linguistic items than are L2 learners.

Chapter Five: Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

As outlined in Chapter One, the major focus of the present research is on analysing the correlation between the transparency degree of an idiom's motivation and the recognition and comprehension of idioms, taking into account the difference in linguistic skills of first dialect (hereafter D1) learners, D2 learners and L2 learners. The purpose of studying these factors is to provide a better understanding of the types of idioms that are easily recognised and comprehended, and those that are likely to pose certain problems for non-native speakers in terms of recognition and comprehension.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the debate regarding the influence of transparency, compositionality and language proficiency on the representation of, storage of and access to idioms reflects disagreements regarding the potential effect of these factors on the development and understanding of idioms.

This research uses a comparative statistic, drawing on much of the previous literature on idioms that combines L1 and L2 learners' linguistic ability. In this study, in addition to L1 and L2 learners, the ability of D2 learners to deal with

D2 idioms is also explored. It is hoped that including D2 learners will further enhance the understanding of the linguistic skills required to facilitate the recognition and comprehension of foreign idioms.

Quantitative and qualitative research methods have been designed to measure three levels of linguistic proficiency with the aim of collecting sufficient data to shed light on the relationship between the semantic features of idioms and their potential to be comprehended.

The current chapter will detail the key steps that were necessary in order to achieve the main goal of the present research, and will begin by highlighting the research gaps that were observed in the previous literature on idioms. The research objectives that have been established in order to address the central issues of this current study will then be explained. Next, the database that was used will be described, and the criteria for participant selection in the current research will be explained. Finally, the format of the questionnaire will be presented.

5.2 Research Gaps, Objectives and Hypotheses

Despite the fact that previous research into idioms has included many experiments that have been used to investigate the significant factors that have an impact on the acquisition and comprehension rates of L1 and L2 acquisition and comprehension of idioms, the effect of linguistic skill levels,

semantic transparency and the compositionality of idioms requires further investigation. This is mainly because of the lack of agreement amongst scholars in the field, as mentioned in the literature review. As will be seen in Chapter Six, the differences of opinion that have arisen in previous research on idioms' comprehension could be minimised if the degrees of compositionality and transparency are reconsidered in the process of classifying idioms. It is anticipated that a more thorough investigation of the semantic and pragmatic features of idioms will provide a more detailed understanding of the process of the recognition and comprehension of idioms. In other words, it might be necessary at this stage to perform an in-depth investigation into the types of compositional idioms that are easier to understand, compared to the types of non-compositional idioms that pose difficulties for second language/ dialect learners.

5.2.1 Research Objectives.

The objectives related to achieving the main aim of the present study are:

- 1- To measure the different degrees of the transparency of idioms' motivations in Najdi idioms.
- 2- To explore the relationship between the familiarity of idioms and the clarity of the idioms' motivations.
- 3- To examine the relationship between the levels of linguistic skills and the understanding of Najdi idioms.
- 4- To explain the effect of cultural similarities and differences on the understanding of idioms' motivations.

- 5- To examine the different comprehensions of figurative meanings when using Najdi idioms outside of their context of use and within their linguistic contexts.
- 6- To investigate the type of idiomatic motivation that leads to the idioms becoming universally motivated.
- 7- To explore the effect of the linguistic features of the Najdi dialect on the understanding of idioms.

5.2.2 Hypotheses and Factors Examined

The main factors that were intended to be examined in the current research are linguistic proficiency, transparency of motivations, and the degrees of the idioms' compositionality.

5.2.2.1 Linguistic Proficiency

With regard to the levels of linguistic proficiency, this study focuses on three levels of linguistic skill:

1. Native speakers of the Najdi dialect
2. Native speakers of non-Najdi Arabic
3. Non-native speakers of Arabic.

The hypothesis regarding the relationship between the recognition of idioms and the level of linguistic skill of those encountering idioms is

Hypothesis One:

The better the linguistic skills of those encountering idioms, the more rapid their rate of recognition of those idioms will be.

Hypothesis One is designed to measure non-native speakers' ability to recognise Najdi idioms. As argued in Chapter Four, there is no doubt that native speakers have acquired a greater number of D1 idioms than have D2 or L2 learners. This is because native speakers encounter D1 idioms more frequently than do non-native speakers. Hence, Hypothesis One is mainly intended to test the correlation between the level of linguistic proficiency in both D2 and L2 learners and the recognition and comprehension rate of idioms.

In order to test Hypothesis One, the following assumptions were posited:

1. It has been proven that D2 learners are more capable of being native-like, at least in terms of acquiring lexical and syntactic structures, than are L2 learners (see 4.5). Based on this, it is assumed that if D2 learners were to perform better in the recognition/ familiarity with task than L2 learners, this hypothesis would be supported.
2. It has been observed that the more frequently D2 or L2 learners are exposed to D2 or L2 discourse, the more their linguistic skills improve.

Based on this claim, the following is assumed:

- A. A non-native speaker who has spent a longer time in the Najdi region would be more familiar with a greater number of Najdi idioms than would one who has spent a shorter period in the area.
- B. Saudi non-native speakers of Najdi, who are more exposed to Najdi dialect than are non-Saudi Arabs, would be more familiar with a greater number of Najdi idioms.

5.2.2.2 Semantic Transparency

The semantic transparency of Najdi idioms is the main factor under investigation in the current research. This refers to the clarity of motivation or to the link between the source domain and the target domain of idioms. From this perspective, the motivations of Najdi idioms will be classified as being transparent or opaque, according to the participants' judgements. This will allow the analysis of the relationship between the understanding of the idioms' motivation and the familiarity (recognition) of the idioms. The hypotheses regarding the comprehension and recognition of Najdi idioms and the clarity of motivation are

Hypothesis Two:

Idioms that are based on universal metaphors are easier to be comprehended by non-native speakers,

Hypothesis Three:

Idioms that are directly linked to their source domain are easier to comprehend

and

Hypothesis Four:

Idioms that are judged to be the most easily understandable, motivated idioms are also those with which D2 and L2 learners are most familiar.

5.2.2.3 Idioms' Compositionality

As with the transparency of an idiom's motivation, which is assumed to affect the comprehension and recognition of an idiom, the contribution of an idiom's individual components to its overall figurative meaning is a significant factor in the comprehension of idioms. Therefore, and relying on the D1 subjects' judgements of the degrees of compositionality, Najdi idioms will be divided into two main groups, namely compositional and non-compositional idioms. Compositional idioms will be divided into a further two types, namely normally compositional idioms and abnormally compositional idioms (see Appendix 1).

The hypotheses regarding the relationship between an idiom's comprehension and the level of the idiom's compositionality are

Hypothesis Five:

The link between the literal and figurative meanings in normally compositional idioms is much easier to be comprehended than is the link in abnormally compositional idioms

and

Hypothesis Six:

Some abnormally compositional idioms are treated by D2 and L2 learners as non-compositional idioms.

5.2.2.4 Cultural Similarity

One of the factors that is highly significant in the process of acquiring and comprehending idioms is the degree of cultural similarity. In many cases, identical or similar idioms are used in different dialects or languages, which enable them to be more easily understood in the comprehension process of L2 and D2 idioms. In addition, despite the assumption that identical idioms would be highly familiar to D2 and L2 learners, the uses of these idioms might be different in the Najdi dialect. Therefore, the analysis of culturally-related idioms will explore the effect of the similarities and differences of using culturally-related idioms on the comprehension and recognition of idioms.

The hypotheses related to culturally-related idioms are

Hypothesis Seven

Non-native speakers of the Najdi dialect are more likely to be familiar with those Najdi idioms that are related to their own cultural understanding

and

Hypothesis Eight:

Unconventional usage of culturally-related idioms will lead to non-native speakers rejecting this usage.

5.3 Research Methods

This section will highlight the materials used in this study, the participants involved and the procedures undertaken.

5.3.1 Materials

The materials used are 60 Najdi idioms. They were collected from two Saudi comedy series, *Ghashamsham* and *Mazḥah bi razḥah*, which were screened in 2009 and 2010, respectively. The Najdi dialect is spoken by the majority of the actors and actresses appearing in these programmes, because the settings of the two shows are in the Riyadh region. The reason for choosing to collect the sample of idioms from the media rather than from dictionaries is that the most recently published dictionary of Najdi idioms, compiled by Al-Juhayman, dates from 1982; thus, it is possible that many of the expressions

that were included in this work are no longer in current use. Collecting idioms from recently screened, popular television programmes will improve the validity of the sample of idioms, ensuring that they are currently in use and are well known to the majority of native speakers.

Each idiom was collected within its context of use (see Appendix 2), with the researcher providing the figurative meanings of each idiom by relying on both its context of use and then verifying this by consulting a set of dictionaries of Arabic idioms and proverbs. Al-Juhyimān's (1982) *Idioms and Proverbs of the Central Region of the Arabian Peninsula*, and Basha's (2002) *Mu'jam al-amthāl al-'Arabīyah (A Dictionary of Arabic Proverbs and Idioms)* both proved useful in this process.

After collecting the 60 Najdi idioms, initial classifications were carried out by the researcher to ensure the variety of the semantic and cultural aspects in the collection. The sample of Najdi idioms has been categorised into the following groups.

Group one, which is based on the relationship between the literal and figurative meanings and which contains the following classes: metaphor-based idioms, metonym-based idioms and proverb-based idioms

Group two, which is based on the type of cultural aspects in the Najdi idioms and which consists of the following subgroups: idioms that are related to

Islamic texts, idioms that are related to Arabic culture, and idioms that are related to Najdi traditions.

Group three, which is based on the frequency of Najdi idioms in the process of gathering the idioms and which contains frequently used idioms versus infrequently used ones.

Group four, which consists of the idioms that have more than one figurative meaning.

5.3.2 Participants

The questionnaire-based study took place during the months of July and August in 2013, and was conducted in three cities situated in the Najdi region of Saudi Arabia, namely Riyadh, Qassim and AL-ḳarj. Volunteers willing to participate in the study were recruited at the following locations:

King Saud University	Riyadh
Al-Imam University	Riyadh
Qassim University	Qassim
University of Prince Salman	Al-ḳarj
King Abdulaziz Public Library	Riyadh
King Fahad Public Library	Riyadh

A poster advertisement and an instruction sheet (see Appendix 3) were used to ensure that the participants who wanted to take part in this study had acquired Najdi Arabic as a first or second dialect (or language, in the case of

L2 learners), as well as to verify they were aged 17 and over, as this research examines adults' comprehension of idiomatic expressions.

In addition, it was mentioned in the poster advertisement that non-native speakers of Najdi Arabic should have spent at least five years in the Najdi region. Thus, participants were expected to be fluent in Najdi Arabic, or to at least have an adequate understanding of the Najdi dialect. However, they were allowed to write their commentary in either Standard Arabic or Najdi Arabic next to any idioms that they did not fully understand.

Participants were recruited through the poster advertisement or were approached on the university campuses and in the university libraries, as well as at two public libraries, and were invited to take part in the study irrespective of whether they were students or visitors. There were 90 participants in total, and they represented three levels of the learners of the Najdi dialect. Thirty people are native speakers of Najdi Arabic, and the remaining 60 people acquired Najdi Arabic later in their lives (after childhood). Half of the 60 are native Arabic native speakers, and the others are non-native speakers of Arabic. All participants were aged 17 and older.

As can be seen in the table below, native and non-native speakers of the Najdi dialect varied in terms of nationalities and regions.

Table 5. 1 Profile of study participants

NATIVE LANGUAGE OF PARTICIPANT	REGION OF ORIGIN/ NATIONALITY	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
Najdi native speaker	Riyadh	15
	Qassim	10
	AL-ḵarj	5
	TOTAL=	30
Saudi non-native speaker of Najdi Arabic	Mecca	6
	Dammam	4
	Jazan	2
	Jeddah	3
	TOTAL=	15
Non-Saudi Arab non-native speaker of Najdi Arabic	Egypt	4
	Sudan	3
	Jordan	1
	Syria	2
	Yemen	5
	TOTAL=	15
Non-Arab non-native speaker of the Najdi dialect	Indonesia	7
	Pakistan	10
	India	4
	Benin	1
	Mali	2
	Bangladesh	5
	Nigeria	1
	TOTAL=	30

In addition, as shown in the table below, non-native speaker participants varied in terms of the period spent in the Najdi region.

Table 5. 2 Length of time spent in the Najdi region by non-native Najdi-speaking participants

TIME SPENT IN NAJDI REGION	STUDY PARTICIPANTS	
	D2 LEARNERS	L2 LEARNERS
10 years or over	16	9
Under 10 years and over 5 years	14	21

Finally, participants were asked to provide information regarding their age and level of education. The majority of participants in all the groups (D1, D2 and L2) are between 20 to 40 years old. Only five D1 learners are less than 20 years old, and few participants are over 40 years old (3 from D1, 5 from D2, and 9 from L2). In terms of their educational level, all participants are educated and have already graduated from high school. The majority of D1 and L2 learners are educated to undergraduate level. Four D1 learners and one L2 learner are postgraduates. D2 participants are made up of undergraduates and postgraduates.

5.3.3 Procedure

As mentioned in 5.3.2, the research involved native and non-native speakers of Najdi Arabic, and all participants were given the same questionnaire. Participants were asked to rate their familiarity with and comprehension of 60 idiomatic expressions in Najdi. Since native speaker status is a significant element in this research, participants were asked to provide information about the areas in which they spent their childhoods (age 1 to 6). Each participant was briefed individually by the researcher himself and was handed a copy of the questionnaire. The researcher was present during the process of completing the questionnaire in the event of questions or difficulties in understanding the instructions. The purpose of the research was explained to each participant in a letter of invitation.

The questionnaire contained 60 Najdi idioms (see Appendix 3), with their figurative meanings provided. The purpose of supplying the figurative meanings was to avoid the confusion that could occur with idioms having more than one meaning, because some idioms may have been acquired with a different meaning than the one intended for the purposes of the study. Secondly, and most importantly, the study examined transparency in motivation (the link between the literal and figurative meaning), not the predictability of an idiom's figurative meaning, which would be a completely different task requiring different research approaches. Three idioms, A, B and C, have been given as examples. However, the 60 idioms were distributed randomly in the survey. Next to each idiom are two themes, which are the tasks intended to be tested.

In the first task, participants were required to rate their familiarity with the figurative meaning of each idiom according to four scales. These are as follows:

- 1- Familiar and Appropriate:** This rating means the respondent is FAMILIAR with the idiom AND believes that the figurative meaning provided is APPROPRIATE
- 2- Familiar but Inappropriate:** This rating means the respondent is FAMILIAR with the idiom BUT believes that the figurative meaning provided is INAPPROPRIATE
- 3- Less Familiar:** This rating means the respondent is FAMILIAR with the idiom but does not know if the figurative meaning provided is APPROPRIATE or INAPPROPRIATE

4- Not Familiar: This rating means the respondent is NOT FAMILIAR with the idiom and cannot comment on the appropriateness of the meaning provided.

It worth mentioning that, with regard to option two (Familiar but Inappropriate), the use of the Najdi idioms was assessed by participants. They were asked to write down the figurative meaning that they believed was appropriate for the idiom instead of the meaning supplied. As it was assumed that many Arabic idioms are used with various figurative meanings (as mentioned in Chapter Two), this option was useful for understanding the effect of the idioms' usages on the understanding of the idioms' figurative meanings outside of the context of use.

In the second task, which relates to the comprehension of an idiom's motivation, participants were asked to decide whether or not they thought there was any similarity between the literal and figurative meanings of each idiom. They were asked to select one of four scales, namely:

- 1. Compositional:** This rating means the respondent believes there is a clear similarity between the literal and the figurative meanings of the idiom.
- 2. Ambiguous Compositional:** This rating means the respondent believes there is some similarity between the literal and the figurative meanings of the idiom, but that it is not easy to identify.

3. **Non-compositional:** This rating means the respondent believes there is no similarity between the literal and the figurative meanings of the idiom.
4. **Not sure:** This rating means the respondent cannot make a decision due to the difficulty of understanding the literal meaning of the idiom itself.

Finally, the extracted data were semantically and pragmatically analysed using a quantitative method in which the means (averages) and percentages of the responses were measured statistically. With the former approach (semantic) I looked at the relationship between the literal and figurative meanings of Najdi idioms, attempting to read into participants' responses from a conceptual metaphor perspective. Further analyses were carried out to measure the relationship between the clarity/ opacity of the idioms' motivations and the recognition rate. With the latter approach (pragmatic) I mainly looked at different aspects of the participants themselves, such as the native speaker's status, the level of fluency, and how often he/she encountered the Najdi dialect. These aspects are expected to influence the recognition and comprehension of Najdi idioms.

The responses to both tasks (familiarity and comprehension tasks) will be compared in order to address the research's hypotheses, its objectives, and the main aim. As seen in Chapter Four (the literatures review), the majority of previous, relevant studies have utilised a quantification method to assess their data.

5.4 Ethical Issues

A report on any ethical issues raised by this study was submitted to the University of Leeds the Arts and PVAC (PVAR) Faculty Research Ethics Committee, and ethical approval for this research was granted (**PVAR 12-075**).

The participants were asked to fill in a consent form to indicate their acceptance of participation in the survey. They were also given a description of the research in the form of a letter of invitation prior to signing the consent form. They were aware of the purpose of the survey, and of the estimated time for completion of the survey with regard to native and non-native speakers' linguistic skills. Participants also were informed that they were free to accept, refuse or abort participation at any time, and that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time. No harm would come to the participants by participating, refusing or withdrawing. Their personal details, such as names (which were only given on the consent form), will be kept anonymous and will not be referred to in the thesis. Thus, the data (the responses) were elicited anonymously, and will be stored securely and will be the researcher's responsibility for the duration of the research study.

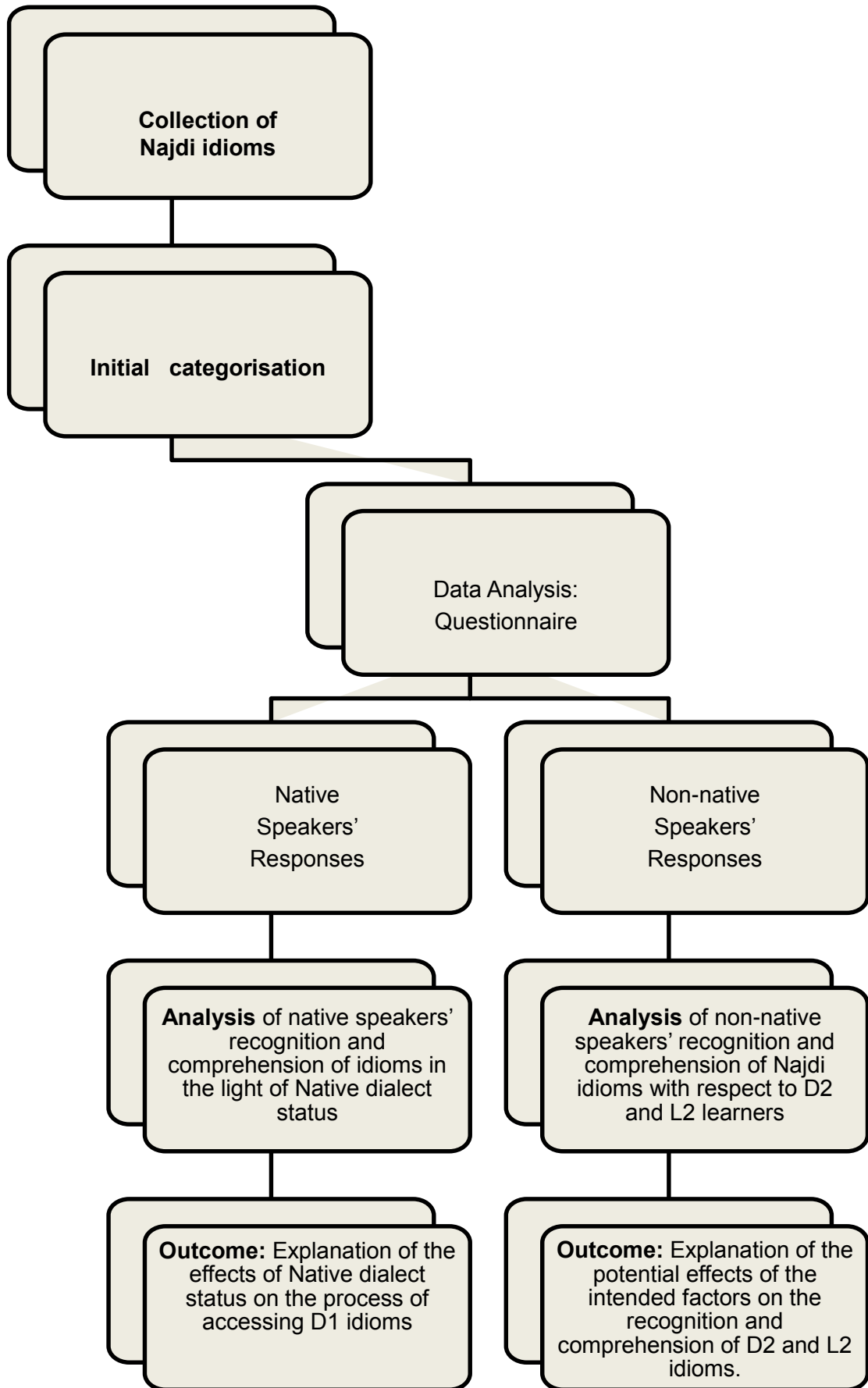


Figure 5. 1 The research process

5.5 Summary

This chapter presented the main components of the research, such as the objectives, hypotheses, databases, participants, and the design of the questionnaire. Finally, this chapter provides key points for understanding the following analytical chapter.

Chapter Six: Data Analysis

6.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the data gathered from the questionnaire. Both semantic analysis and pragmatic analysis will be used throughout the discussion of the idioms' motivations.

Subjects' responses to the questionnaire will be presented in accordance with the eight scales of familiarity with and comprehension of the idioms (four scales are related to the idioms' familiarity and four to their transparency). In each scale, I will refer to the hypotheses that were observed from reading the literature review. In addition, the responses of respondents will be compared, taking into account native language/ dialects, cultural similarity, the transparency of motivation, and the context of use.

The results will be followed by an in-depth investigation of the degrees of transparency of the types of motivations in Najdi idioms, as well as the correlation to the performance with regard to the familiarity with the idioms.

6.2 The results of Task One: Familiarity/ recognition task.

Participants were asked to select one of four options to indicate their familiarity with the idioms, namely: Familiar and Appropriate (henceforth FA), Familiar but Not Appropriate, Less Familiar, and Unfamiliar.

6.2.1 Native speakers' status

The store of familiar idiomatic expressions of L1 speakers is usually very large compared to those of L2 learners. Accordingly, it was expected that D1 and L2 learners would differ in the proportions of idiomatic recognition.

Figure 6.1 illustrates these differences in the recognition of D1 idioms.

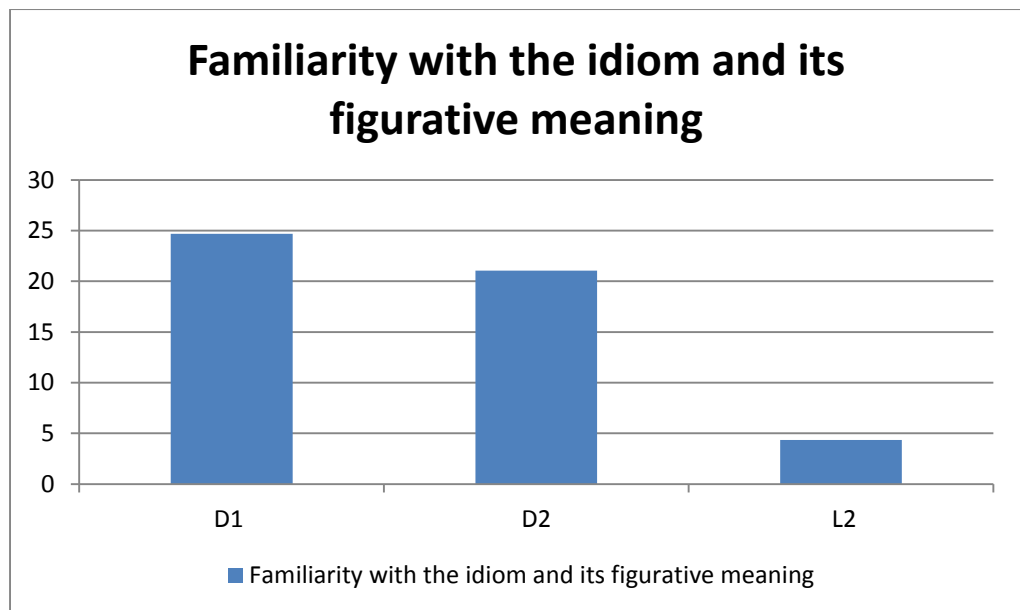


Figure 6. 1 Average of participants who were familiar with the total of 60 idioms.

As seen in Figure 6.1, it is not surprising that the result favours the native speakers of the Najdi dialect (L1), who performed better than did the L2 learners, as 24.6 of 30 (the average) were familiar with Najdi idioms. It would seem that the notable performance shown by D1 learners could be explained as being a result of the high degree of cognitive ability in the D1 that have been developed since childhood, enabling them to be highly competent and proficient in the D1. Secondly, it may be the result of the frequency of exposure to Najdi idioms, which is assumed to be higher for D1 learners than it is for L2 and D2 learners.

By contrast, as might be expected, the L2 learners performed poorly in the Familiarity task compared to the L1 learners. In general, the L1 and L2 data are consistent with previous research results (Chapter Four), which demonstrated that native speakers have usually developed many more idiomatic units than have non-native speakers of a language.

With regard to the D2 learners' data, despite the fact that their performance was worse than that of the D1 learners, they recognised a higher proportion of Najdi idioms than did the L2 learners. However, the figure below shows that the effect of the frequency of exposure to the Najdi dialect on both the D2 and the L2 learners' recognition of Najdi idioms reveals an overwhelming increase in the familiarity with Najdi idioms on the part of the D2 learners.

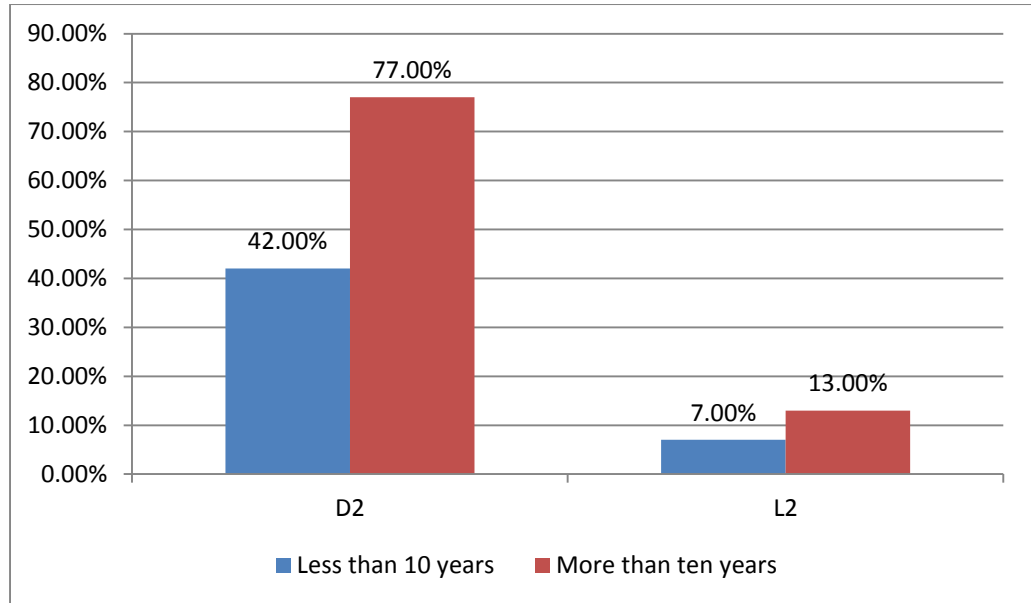


Figure 6. 2 Najdi idiom acquisition and duration of stay in the Najdi region

The data in the above figure show that the longer the D2 learners lived in the Najdi region, the greater the number of Najdi idioms they would acquire. By contrast, there is no evidence in our data supporting that the increase of L2 learners' familiarity with Najdi idioms would be dramatically affected by the duration of their stay in the region. However, as claimed by Hussein, Khanji and Makhzomy (2000: 24), one reason for this could be that "idioms are frequently omitted in the speech addressed to second language learners. Native speakers tend to use simple, concrete, everyday vocabulary when they address second language learners". Therefore, Najdi idioms would be substituted with the literal equivalent in interactional conversations between L1 and L2 learners. For instance,

“بيض الله وجهك” (L= I'm asking Allah to whiten your face, F= Thank you)

This idiomatic expression would be avoided in a conversation between L1 and L2 users, and native speakers would use “شكرا” (L= Thank you) instead.

The results shown in Figure 6.2 suggest that D2 learners who share the same standard language as D1 learners would be able to acquire a higher proportion of D2 idioms than would L2 learners, all other factors being equal. This result presented in Figure 6.2 also implies that D2 learners are easily able to achieve native-like levels, in accordance with the notion that the ease of acquisition of D2 idioms reflects the likelihood of language learners being native-like (Yorio, 1989).

Apart from the increase of duration, data analysis regarding the two groups of D2 learners (Saudi Arabian (SA) participants and non-Saudi Arab (NSA) participants) gives us a clearer picture of how the frequency of exposure to the Najdi dialect would positively affect the increase of D2 idioms.

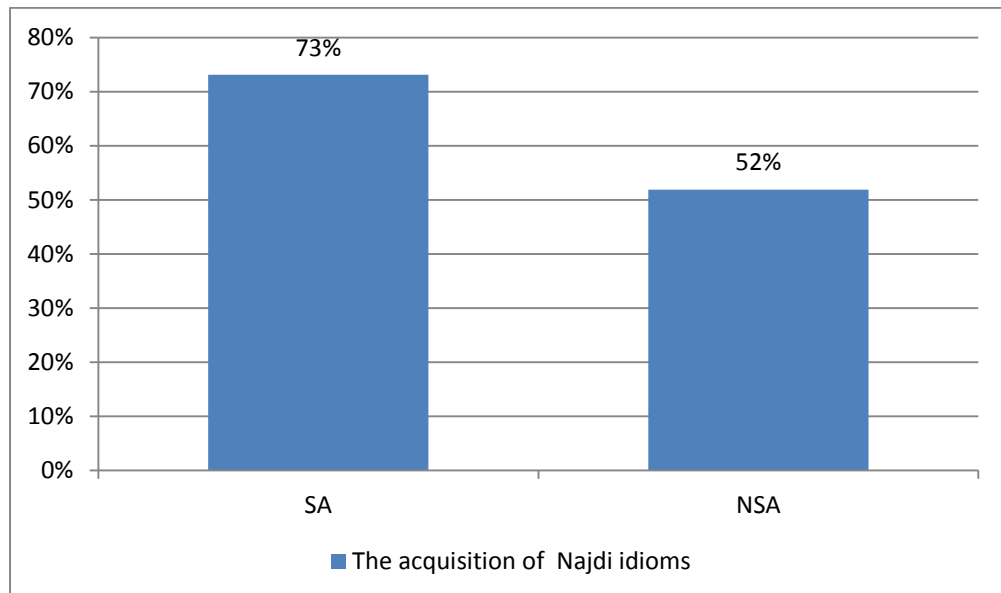


Figure 6. 3 SA and NSA acquisition rates for Najdi idioms

As can be seen in Figure 6.3, the SA group recognised 73 per cent of the Najdi idioms, whereas the NSA group only recognised 52 per cent. The reason for this difference in acquisition can be explained as follows: despite the fact that both the SA and the NSA are native speakers of Arabic, the SA are more likely to have been exposed to the Najdi dialect more often than have the NSA. It is also possible that this frequent exposure to the Najdi dialect and idioms occurred in early childhood, when the opportunity for reaching native-like levels of dialect proficiency is higher (Siegel, 2010: 84). For example, the sharing of national television shows and programmes between SA and D1 groups could have had a positive effect on developing idiomatic units for SAs. Overall, the SA's data suggest that the more often the D2 idioms are encountered, the more likely it is that the person would be familiar with a greater number of D2 idioms. In contrast, the L2 learners' performance in terms of L2 familiarity seems to be less affected by the increase in exposure to the Najdi dialect.

In conclusion, hypothesis one is supported by the D2 data, whereas the L2 data failed to support the hypothesis.

6.2.2 Cross-cultural idioms

Looking at L2 learners' data with regard to Najdi idioms shows that most of the idioms that L2 learners considered to be familiar were idioms related to Islam and Islamic teachings.

Table 6. 1 Mean of L2 responses for the familiarity with Islamic idioms

NO.	IDIOMS	L2 Learners RESPONSE of familiarity with (n=30)
1	ما شاء الله (L= Allah wills you, F= Well done)	30
2	بأمان الله (L= With Allah's safety, F= Good bye)	20
3	بسم (L= Say in the name of Allah, F= Yes)	20
4	مضيق صدرك (L= narrow chest, F= sad)	8
5	يومهم مهب بيدي (L= Their days are not into my hand, F= Their span of life is not up to me)	7
6	إن شاء الله (L= If Allah wills, F= even if).	2
M		14.5
SD		10.5
%		48.3%

Table 6.1 illustrates that the more closely that idioms are associated with the L2 learners' cultures, as is the case with Islamic idioms, the more likely it is that those idioms will be familiar. Thus, L2 learners' performance regarding familiarity with L2 idioms increased dramatically with regard to Islamic idioms when compared to their performance with the total of 60 idioms (as shown in Figure 6.1). In fact, it is possible that some of these idioms are used literally in their L1, such as idioms number 1 and 2 in the above table.

Despite the fact that the idiom إن شاء الله (L= If Allah wills, F= even if) is well known to Muslims, the poor recognition of this idiom recorded in Table 6.1 is mainly related to the unconventional use of the idiom. As mentioned previously (2.2.1), the idiom إن شاء الله (L= if Allah wills) is commonly used in most Arabic and in some non-Arabic languages to convey "I will" but, in the Najdi dialect, it is also used to convey "even if", constituting an unusual use

of the idiom. Therefore, it may be assumed that this unfamiliar usage may cause confusion and make it difficult to recognise the idiom out of the context of use, because it has been transferred from the common meaning of “I will” to the uncommon one, “even if”. To illustrate this, let us consider the context of use:

This idiom has been used in the following context:

The situation: Layla has left her husband and her father Abdul-salām wants her to return to her husband.

: لازم ترجع لزوجها، إن شاء الله يكسر عظامها

Abdul-salām to Layla’s mother: She must return to her husband, if Allah wills her husband breaks her bones.

Because “if Allah wills” has been formed as a conditional clause, it also contains “If,” which is a condition particle, so the dialect user has added the semantic meaning of “even if” to the whole phrase إن شاء الله.

Hence, someone encountering this idiom would interpret it as having the usual meaning.

Overall, the results regarding cross-cultural idioms (Islamic idioms) are consistent with those of previous research (4.4.3), which found that identical and similar idioms are readily recognised by L2 learners if they are used in their conventional sense. In turn, as has been pointed out here, using these cross-cultural idioms unconventionally would cause such idioms to create

confusion in the recognition process of L2 learners. To conclude, hypotheses seven and eight were supported by the results of L2 learners.

In addition, it is worth mentioning that some Najdi idioms that have equivalent in standard Arabic are much more familiar to learners, especially D2 learners. Take for example the following idioms:

- 1- الي في قلبك (L = what is inside your heart, F = speak out)
- 2- فلذة كبدي (L = a piece of my liver, F = my love)
- 3- فيها إن (F = it is suspicious)

The above three idioms obtained 30 out of 30 in the recognition rate.

6.2.3 Unfamiliarity and Infrequency

The frequency of an idiom's occurrence is a significant factor in the increase of its familiarity. Accordingly, an idiom that is less familiar to D1 learners means that the idiom is infrequently used by D1 learners. Table 6.2 contains three idioms that were completely unrecognised by all D1 participants. D2 and L2 learners' performance in recognising these three idioms showed poor recognition, demonstrating that familiarity with an idiom is associated with the frequency of its use.

Table 6. 2 The familiarity of novel idioms

NOVEL IDIOMS (TRANSLATIONS BELOW)		D1 (n=30)	D2 (n=30)	L2 (n=30)
1	لعبوا بعقولكم	0	2	1
2	يشق الجبهة	0	1	1
3	طايح وجهك	0	0	0
Mean		0.0	1	0.6
Standard Deviation		0.0	1	0.5
%		0 %	3.3%	2.2%

NOVEL IDIOM TRANSLATIONS

1. (L=Playing with your mind, F= gaining your full interest)
2. (L= It cuts a forehead, F= It is extremely delicious)
3. (L= One's face falls down, F= focusing on someone or something).

As can be seen in Table 6.2, when D1 learners are highly unfamiliar with a particular form, non-native speakers exhibited similar means and percentages regarding those novel idioms.

Like infrequency, the frequency of idioms has clearly affected the rate of recognition, particularly on the part of D2 learners. Idioms that were encountered many times during the collection of Najdi idioms obtained a higher rate of recognition. For instance, the following idioms, which are

considered to be in frequent use, obtained a recognition rate of 30 out of 30 by D2 learners.

- 1- بيض الله وجهك (L = I'm asking Allah to whiten your face, F = thank you)
- 2- سم (L = say in the name of Allah, F = yes)
- 3- لا يودي و لا يجيب (L = it does not make you move either forward or backward, F = it is useless).

6.3 Task two: Comprehension task.

The present section explores the degree of transparency in idiomatic motivation from three different perspectives, namely those of D1, D2 and L2 learners. The participants were asked the following question: Is there a metaphorical relationship 'motivation' between the literal and figurative meanings of these idioms? In other words, whether you are familiar with the figurative meanings or not, are you able to understand the supplied figurative meanings from the idioms' external forms?

Their responses were analysed according to compositionality and transparency judgement.

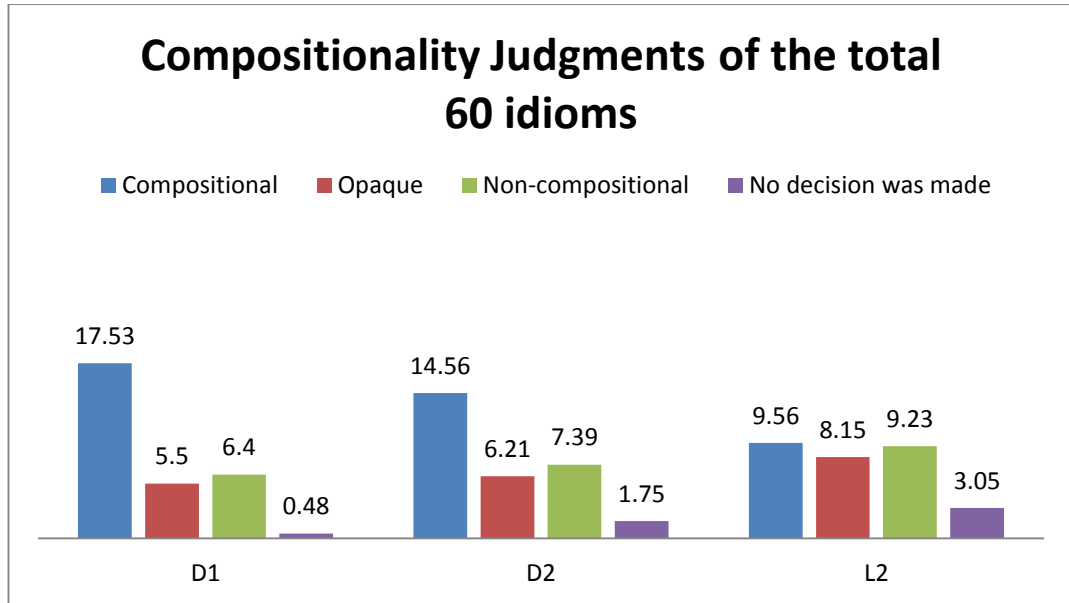


Figure 6. 4 Averages of subjects who judged Najdi idioms' compositionality

(Scale: 1 = compositional, 2 = opaque compositional, 3 = non-compositional 4 = no decision was made).

The above Figure shows that while D1 and D2 learners considered the majority of idioms to be compositional, L2 learners' judgements varied. The following sections are devoted to explaining the differences between the subjects' performances when judging the idioms' compositionality.

6.3.1 Transparent versus Opaque Compositional idioms

An examination of the D1 subjects' judgements of compositionality shows that the judgement of compositional idioms is 17.53 of 30 (the average of all D1 participants who selected Scale one "compositional" from the total of 30 D1 participants). Idioms within the compositional scale (38 idioms) that were rated above the average (17.53) were included in three separate groups:

Group one: Transparency of motivation

- 1- Metaphor-based idioms (14 idioms).
- 2- Metonymy-based idioms (11 idioms).
- 3- Multiple-motivation idioms (7 idioms).

Group two: Transparency of individual component's contribution to the figurative meaning.

- 1- Normally compositional idioms (6 idioms).
- 2- Abnormally compositional idioms (22 idioms).

Group three: Transparency and conventional knowledge:

- 1- Idioms and Najdi traditions (one idiom).
- 2- Idioms and Arabic folk understanding (three idioms).

In the following step, an analysis of D2 and L2 judgments of compositionality and degrees of transparency regarding the above groups will be compared to D1 judgements. An average similar to that of D1 participants will be considered as a high understanding of the motivation in Najdi idioms by non-native speakers.

6.3.1.1 *The transparency of motivation*

The Figure below presents the subjects' transparency judgments regarding the clarity of the link between the literal and figurative meanings.

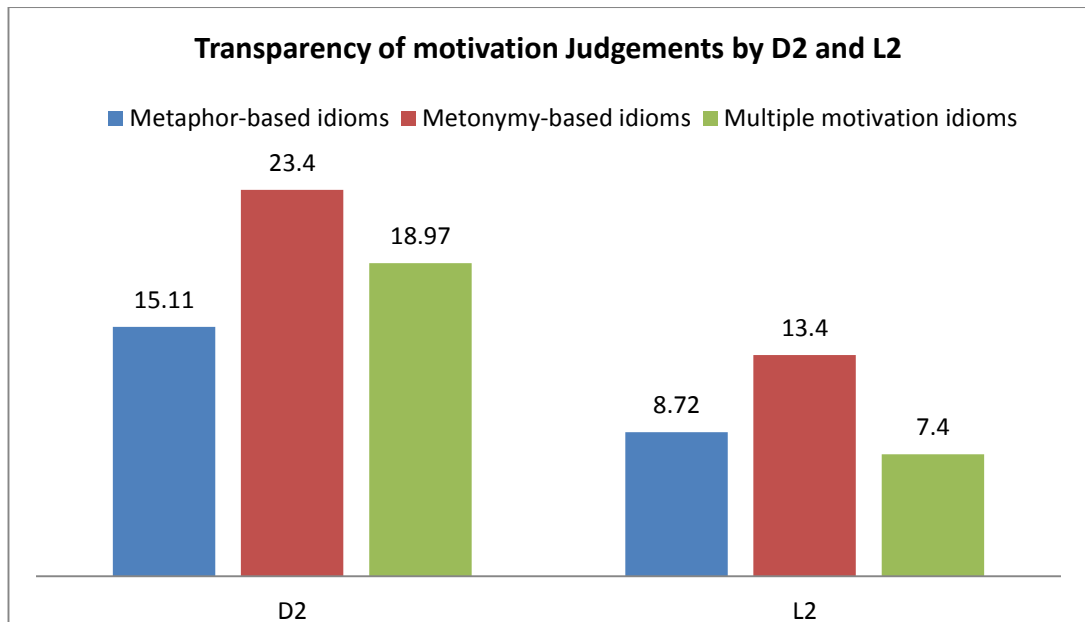


Figure 6. 5 Averages of D2 and L2 subjects who judged compositional idioms: Metaphor and metonymy

Comparing D2 subjects' judgements of the three types of transparent idioms to those of the D1 subjects (average 17.53) shows that, with exception of metaphor-based idioms, the remaining two groups obtained a rate above or similar to the average ($m=23.4$ and $18.97 > 17.53$), meaning that D2 learners performed well in linking the literal and figurative meanings of metonymy-based idioms and multiple motivation idioms. In contrast, L2 subjects' results showed good performance when rating the metonymy-based idioms ($m=13.4$ of 30), compared to their performance when rating the remaining two groups, which were much lower than the average performed previously by the D1 participants ($m= 8.72$, and $7.4 < 17.53$).

The question that arises here is whether the motivation in metonymy-based idioms is easier to comprehend than is the metaphorical motivation. Looking

at the D2 and L2 results reveals that the majority of metonymy-idioms are, firstly, easy to link directly to a clear source domain, and secondly, the mental image of these idioms easily evokes the intended figurative meaning, as will be explained below. To illustrate the ease of metonymy-based idioms, let us consider the three selective examples below:

- 1- الدم لياصل للركب (= L blood will reach the knees, F= painful beating)
- 2- طق الحديد وهو حامي (L= hammer the iron while it is hot, F= act quickly)
- 3- ما يدش من الباب (L= He cannot get in through the door, F= He is overweight).

In example (1), the cues signalling the figurative meaning can be seen in the use of the word “blood”, which is commonly associated with injury and pain, and in the mental image of a person who is covered with blood. Both the use of the word “blood” and the mental image evoke the intended figurative meaning. Therefore, there was no obstacle to either D2 or L2 subjects decomposing this idiom.

Similarly, with the other two examples (2 and 3), the mental image emerging from the literal reading of the two phrases enables the reader to link the overall figurative meaning to the literal meaning, once it has been established that the context of use requires the figurative one. Therefore, both examples were rated as highly compositional by D2 and L2 subjects.

In addition, it is worth noting that three D2 learners commented on example (3), as the use of the verb يدش (L= get in) is unusual. They mentioned that this idiom is more commonly known in a form containing a different verb,

namely يدخل (L=enter). Nonetheless, due to the similarity in meaning between the two verbs, this substitution in verbs is considered to be a minor modification and does not impact on the figurative meaning, as the remaining 27 D2 learners accepted the external form of the idiom.

With regard to metaphor-based idioms, these caused some difficulties for both D2 and L2 learners, thus raising the question of why metaphor-based idioms were considered to be less transparent than were metonymy-based idioms. To answer this, let us consider the mental imagery of the three metaphor-based idioms:

- 1- تلعب بذيلك (L= Playing with your tail, F= misleading)
- 2- الدنيا تشيل و تحط فيني (L= Life take me up and down, F= troubles)
- 3- امسحها في وجهي (L= mop on my face, F= forgiveness).

With example (1), 23 D1 and 18 D2 learners judged the idiom to be transparent, whereas only four L2 learners recognised the link between the idiom's form and its figurative meaning. With example (2), 21 D1 and 16 D2 learners judged the idioms as being transparent, whereas seven L2 learners considered it to be transparent. With idiom (3), while 28 D1 judged the idiom as being transparent, 11 D2 and three L2 learners considered it to be transparent. Comparing the mental imagery of the above three metaphor-based idioms to the mental image of metonymy-based idioms mentioned previously, it can be seen that it is obviously impossible that any of the actions in the metaphor-based idioms could

occur in reality. Therefore, when expressions of this type are encountered, the imagination creates more possibilities for the interpretation of the figurative meanings. On the other hand, when the mental imagery could possibly occur in reality, as the case with metonymy-based idioms, the link would require less mental effort, thus enabling the idiom to be more transparent.

However, none of this suggests that all metonymy-based idioms are clearer in motivation than are metaphor-based idioms, because the data analysis shows that a few metaphor-based idioms were highly transparent in motivation for all subjects, as will be discussed in 6.7 “Universal aspects of Najdi idioms”. The above discussion regarding the differences between metonymy-based idioms and metaphor-based idioms suggests that D2 and L2 learners found the majority of metonymy-based idioms to be more semantically transparent than are the majority of metaphor-based idioms.

However, the result of the L2 learners’ performance with metonymy-based idioms lends support to the “Idiom Transparency Intuition” hypothesis (refer to Chapter Four), as the mental imagery of these idioms would allow L2 learners to understand the figurative meanings of L2 idioms, even outside of the context of use. In addition, it can be argued that, with many opaque mental images (cannot occur in reality), as with those found in many metaphor-based idioms, L2 learners would find it quite difficult to link the figurative meaning to the literal one. In other words, the result of L2 learners

with regard to metonymy-based idiom is consistent with the hypothesis, whereas their results with metaphor-based idioms are incompatible.

The overall findings show that the D2 subjects' results support Hypothesis Three, whereas the L2 participants' results show variations in understanding the motivation of transparent idioms.

6.3.1.2 Normally compositional and abnormally compositional idioms

The figure below illustrates the degree of transparency of two types of compositional idioms, namely normally compositional and abnormally compositional idioms.

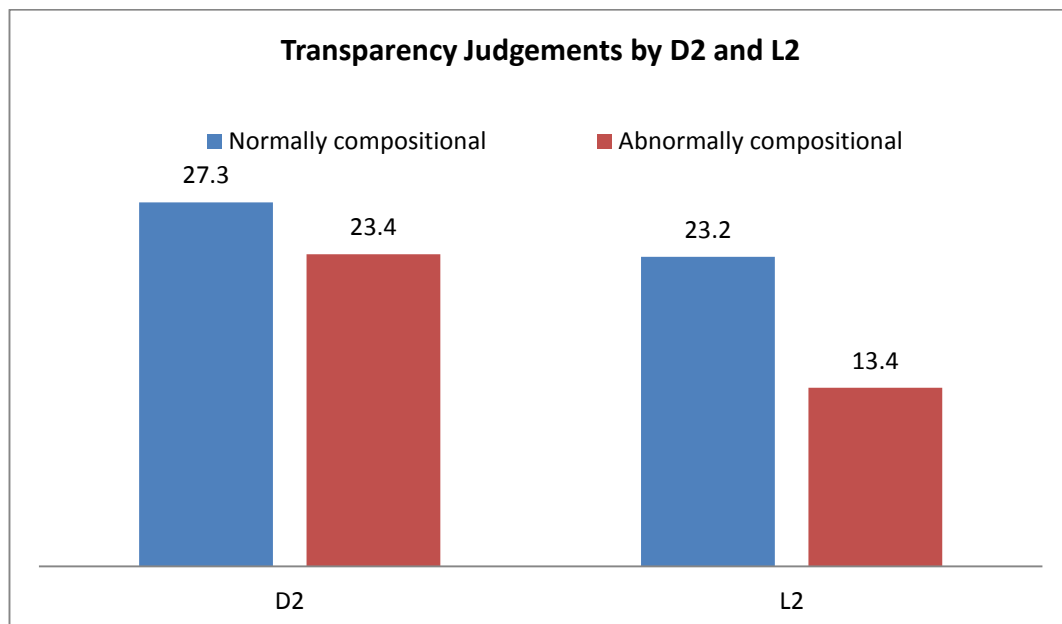


Figure 6. 6 Averages of D2 and L2 subjects who judged compositional idioms: Normally and abnormally compositional

As can be seen, the result regarding L2 learners shows that, the motivation in abnormally compositional idioms is more difficult to identify than is the motivation in normally compositional idioms, suggesting that when the entire contribution to the overall figurative meaning occurs non-literally, judgement regarding the motivation linking the individual words to the overall figurative meaning is more likely to be a subjective matter, depending on whether those encountering the idiom are native or non-native speakers. By contrast, D2 learners were able to identify the link with no major obstacles noticed for the two types of compositional idioms, there was a slight difference in the degree of transparency between abnormally and normally compositional idioms for D2.

As mentioned in Chapter Four, I argued that not all abnormally compositional idioms are equal in terms of having the same level of compositionality. The abnormally compositional class could contain idioms that are highly transparent in that the way the contribution to the overall figurative meaning is very explicit, while the same class could simultaneously contain idioms that are highly opaque. Further analysis of abnormally compositional idioms by L2 learners shows that some abnormally compositional idioms were judged as being highly transparent, while others were regarded as non-compositional. For instance,

(1) الشق أكبر من الرقعة (L= The tear is bigger than the patch, F= There is no solution)

(2) الي في قلبك (L= what is inside your heart, F= Speak out)

The two above examples were judged as compositional idioms by D1 subjects and were classified as abnormally compositional idioms by the research (no literal contribution can be identified). With regard to example (1), only six L2 learners judged the idiom to be compositional, while 29 D2 learners considered to be compositional. With idiom (2), all D2 learners (m=30) and the majority of L2 (m=24) learners judged the transparency of the idiom as being compositional. Although both idioms are included in the same class (abnormally compositional), it appears that the figurative meaning expressed in example (2) is more easily understandable than is that in example (1); at least for particular learners of Najdi idioms (L2 learners). This finding is in favour of Hypothesis Six.

In addition, looking at the subjects' responses to the degree of transparency of normally compositional idioms reveals that five of six normally compositional idioms obtained an average that was higher than 17.53 from all D2 and L2 participants. The remaining normally compositional idiom showed different transparency judgements by D2 and L2 learners. The idiom is:

عطنا الزبدة (L= Give me the butter, F= Give me the gist).

The majority of L2 learners (24 of 30) who encountered the above idiom judged it to be non-compositional or opaque, which means that the clue that comes from the literal contribution "give me" could not simplify the overall figurative meaning; some normally compositional idioms are deeply ambiguous in terms of figurativeness for L2 learners. However, 21 D2

learners judged the idiom to be compositional, meaning that all normally compositional idioms were considered transparent by D2 learners.

To conclude, the data presented in Figure 6.6 clearly demonstrate that the majority of normally compositional idioms are more transparent in motivation than are abnormally compositional idioms for L2 and D2 learners. Therefore, hypothesis Five is supported by the results of D2 and L2 learners.

6.3.1.3 Transparent idioms and conventional knowledge

Data regarding L2 learners show that the two idioms below were judged by the majority of L2 learners as being non-compositional idioms. One is related to Najdi traditions, and the other represents an Arabic pattern of metaphorical correlations.

الوعد عند ركبة الشيخ (L= I'll see you in front of *al-shayk*'s knee, F= I'll sue you).

The traditional mental image of Najdi trials is that the two opponents would sit on the floor in front of the judge (*al-shayk*). Therefore, for one who is aware of this traditional image, the above idiom would be motivated by the conventional image. Hence, 14 D1 and 10 D2 subjects judged the idiom as being compositional, whereas all L2 participants judged the above idiom as being non-compositional.

رايتك بيضة (L= Your banner is white, F= Thank you).

According to the D1 subjects' judgment of compositionality, the above idiom is motivated (m= 30 of 30), meaning that there is a contribution from the individual components that assists the idiom's interpreter to understand the intended figurative meaning. D2 learners (m=26 of 30) gave similar judgements as those of D1 learners, and L2 subjects judged the idiom to be completely non-compositional (m= 30 of 30 as non-compositional). Although the mental image of "the white banner" does not clearly evoke "acknowledgement", Najdi and Arabic participants tended to judge the motivation here as being highly transparent. It can be argued that, due to the different understandings of conceptual domains between Arabic native speakers and non-Arabs, as well as the variations in conventional images among cultures and their impact on idiomatic transparency, native and non-native speakers are not equal in terms of judging the transparency of many idiomatic motivations, specifically with regard to culturally-based idioms.

Overall, the results yielded the conclusion that many Najdi idioms are closely associated with Najdi traditions and Arabic culture. Therefore, D2 learners who share similar traditions and cultures with the D1, were able to encode the motivations of the majority of Najdi idioms. Hence, D2's results support hypothesis Seven.

6.3.2 Non-compositional judgements

As shown in Figure 6.4, unlike native speakers of Arabic (D1+D2) who tended towards decomposable idioms, L2 learners' data showed a different approach to analysing idiomatic components. With many Najdi idioms, L2 learners tended to judge Najdi idioms as being non-compositional, whereas D1 and D2 learners considered them to be compositional. To illustrate the performances of all groups regarding non-compositional idioms, let us consider the two examples below:

a. فيها إنَّ (F=It is suspicious).

Rated as non-compositional by D1=0 D2= 2, and L2=30

b. على قد حالي (L = I am equivalent to myself, F= I am poor)

Rated as non-compositional by D1=3 D2= 1, and L2=28.

In idiom (a), the grammatical and semantic relationship between the two main parts of the Arabic sentence (Noun + Noun or Verb + Noun) is meaningless in a literal sense. For example, the literal reading implies that the particle *`ina* *إنَّ* is physically involved in the intended matter, which is logically impossible and therefore meaningless. Therefore, this idiom has the property of a non-compositional idiom. Likewise, in idiom (b), a part of the sentence has been deleted. Thus, the lack of motivation in (b) is perhaps because the idiom may have been reduced from *على قد حالي المتواضعة* (L= I am equivalent to my status). The deleted word "status" provides the clue that enables the sentence to be understood literally. This reduction of words in

this idiomatic phrase may occur as a result of frequency of use. However, D1 and D2 subjects judged the above two idioms to be compositional, whereas L2 learners considered both idioms to be non-compositional.

The L2 subjects' judgements assert the notion that non-native speakers are less affected by familiarity (Chapter Four), as they tend to analyse the semantic meaning emerging from the idioms' components and link it to the overall figurative meaning. However, D1 and D2 learners' performances suggest that it is possible that, when D1 and D2 subjects judge the idioms, they do not look at the contribution of individual words (the lexical entries), but at the contribution of the entire phrase as a single unit and its relation to the figurative meaning instead.

Apart from these two examples, the remaining non-compositional idioms, as judged by D1 subjects (above the average of non-compositionality 6.4 as shown in Figure 6.4), varied in the degree of compositionality judgments. While only one idiom exemplifies the relationship between idioms and dead metaphors (as mentioned in Chapter Two), the others (11 idioms) show an influence of the pragmatic meanings on the use of the idioms in the Najdi dialect.

In some cases, the arbitrary correlations found in non-compositional Najdi idioms can be the result of dead metaphors, for instance:

ما عندك الا الضعوي (L= You only possess *al-ḍa'awy*, F= You are very poor).

Rated as non-compositional by: D1= 13, D2= 2, and L2=0

The ambiguity of this phrase comes from the ambiguity of the lexical item *al-ḍa'awy*. This idiom was mentioned by Al-Juhyimān (1982: 99) without any indication of the link between the literal meaning and the symbolic meaning, as Al-Juhyimān did with most Najdi idioms. In the absence of the literal meaning in Al-Juhyimān's dictionary, the Standard Arabic dictionaries were consulted for a possible meaning. There is no doubt that modern Arabic dialects have been influenced by Classical Arabic and MSA (Owens, 2009: 8). The root *ض ع و* (ḍ ' w) in the Classic Arabic dictionary *Lisān al-'Arab* (لسان العرب) (1956) involves a meaning that may explain the metaphorical correlation in this Najdi idiom, by referring to "a small desert plant similar to that known as *Al-Thumām* in the Najdi region, which cannot be eaten by humans". Therefore, the figurative meaning of a "poor person" is motivated by the mental image of "a person who only possesses *al-ḍa'awy*", which is a useless plant for human sustenance. However, due to the ambiguity in the meaning of "al-ḍa'awy", which led to the expression being regarded as a dead metaphor (non-compositional), the majority of D1 subjects judged the idiom as being non-compositional.

Unlike the previous case, an analysis of the remaining non-compositional idioms (according to the D1 subjects' judgement of compositionality)

suggests that other factors may have caused a disconnection between the literal and the figurative meaning of the idioms.

Firstly, non-compositional idioms are regarded as a type of heightened politeness in interactional conversation. In Arabic culture, some of these idioms are borrowed from Islamic texts, which are greatly revered, in order to respond to the addressee in a polite manner. To illustrate this point, an example from the Najdi sample would be:

بِسْمِ (L= in the name of Allah).

Despite the various figurative meanings of this idiomatic expression, it is considered to be a fundamental phrase in everyday Muslim life (Piamenta, 1979: 32). Tracking the use of this idiomatic expression throughout the process of collecting Najdi idioms from the media shows that this idiom was mentioned in two different conversational speeches in order to convey different messages.

The situation in the first context of use involves a scene in which the character Rishayd and a football club manager are sitting together in a restaurant. Rishayd says to the football club manager:

بِسْمِ يَا رَجُلَ

“In the name of Allah, man”.

The football club manager then starts eating. This shows that the figurative meaning in this situational context is “Tuck in”.

The second example of the use of this idiom involves a scene between Suleiman and his boss, who has requested a meeting with him.

Suleiman (knocks on the door) and his boss replies:

تفضل!

Come in!

Suleiman replies سم طال عمرك يقولون تبيني في أمر عاجل

In the name of Allah, man, I was told that you wanted me for an important matter.

In the second case, the phrase functions simply as acknowledgment response by Suleiman of his boss "Yes".

In both these contexts of usage, the idiomatic expression سم (L= Say in the name of Allah) has been used to convey different figurative meanings. In the first example, the idiom functions as a friendly command to signal "Start eating", whereas in the second example, it is produced by Suleiman as a polite acknowledgment replacing the more direct possible reply نعم (Yes).

In the first example, the idiom can be regarded as being compositional because of cultural/religious motivations, according to which Muslims say "In the name of Allah" when they begin to eat (bismallah), meaning that the Islamic teachings have motivated the use of the idiom in this context. On the other hand, the idiom is non-compositional in accordance with its use in the second context, which is mainly due to the absence of clear motivation between the literal and the figurative meanings. However, as an effect of familiarity with the idiom, all subjects judged the idiom to be compositional (Rated as compositional, D1= 26, D2=28, and L2= 22).

Secondly, some idioms can be regarded as a type of hyperbole, or overstatement. This appears in some examples in which the speaker intends

to use strong vocabulary of mental images to emphasise the figurative meaning, even though the vocabulary used and the mental images are irrelevant to the overall meaning. To illustrate this, let us consider the following two idioms:

a. يشق الجبهة (L= It cuts a forehead, F= It is very delicious).

Rated as non-compositional by: D1= 30, D2= 30, and L2=28)

Example (a) was judged by D1 subjects (m= 30 of 30 as non-compositional) as having no metaphorical correlation between the literal meaning and the figurative one. Thus, what might be seen and suggested here is that the speaker intended to emphasise the meaning of the adjective “very delicious” by giving the listener a strong mental image, such as “cutting the forehead”, regardless of semantic compositionality.

Another example to illustrate the unrelated mental image and the figurative meaning is:

b. اشرب من موية البحر (L= Drink from the sea water, F= I do not care).

Rated as non-compositional by: D1= 21, D2= 19, and L2= 27

Similarly, the literal meaning here is not meant to refer to a lack of interest, but it is meant to invoke the visualisation of the extent of the speaker’s lack of interest as a form of overstatement.

Overall, while the relationship between some Najdi idioms and the notion of dead metaphors can explain some non-compositional idioms used by Najdi dialect users, other Najdi idioms, as seen above, are related to pragmatic theories such as politeness (as giving a friendly command the addressee), and hyperbole.

In conclusion, the overall results of judging non-compositional idioms show that the impact of familiarity on compositionality judgements varies according to the D1, D2 or L2 of the language user. In addition, while some Najdi idioms are semantically non-compositional, others are non-compositional because of the ways they are used and in which they function.

6.3.3 No decision was made

The data analysis shows that D2 and L2 learners declined to judge the idioms below, probably because the lexical item within the idioms is more likely to be used only in the Najdi dialect, which makes it difficult to understand. For instance,

- a. فلان ما عنده إلا الضعوي (L= You only possess *al-da'awy* (L = inedible weeds, F= you are poor).
- b. مكان بقرح (L= some place in **Qurah**, F= very far away)

c. من بلع الإبرة هان عليه الهيم (L= Someone who is used to swallowing a needle can easily swallow **hiym** (a well-stick), F= Even difficult things get easier with practice)

d. جعل اللي عطاك بالملاس يعطينا بالملعة (L= We wish that whoever gave you a **tablespoonful** would give us teaspoonful, F= We wish we were as rich as you).

Rated as No Decision by: D2= 25, 13, 20, and 5 with a, b, c, and d, respectively.

Rated as No Decision by: L2= 30, 27, 30, and 18 with a, b, c, and d, respectively.

The literal meaning of the vocabulary highlighted in bold was reported as difficult to understand by some D2 subjects. This was previously highlighted as a potential problem (Chapter Three), as some Najdi idioms are highly ambiguous, not because of their lack of motivation, but because of the linguistic features occurring in the structure of Najdi idioms.

However, idioms that are affected by the grammatical features of Najdi dialect show no difficulties in understanding the literal meaning

IDIOMS		Familiarity rate out of 30
		D2
1.	يومهم مهب بيدي	21
2.	ايد من ورا و ايد من قدام	24
3.	ما عندي إلا ها الثوب	16

4.	الدم <u>ليأصل</u> للركب	24
5.	الموضوع <u>يبي</u> له جلسه	29

TRANSLATIONS OF IDIOMS

1. L= Their days are not into my hand, F= The span of their life is not up to me
2. L=One hand is in front and the other is behind, F= empty handed
3. L= I only own this cloth, F= I am very poor
4. L= The blood will reach the knee, F= strong beating
5. L= The matter requires us to sit down, F= to think of solving the dilemma.

The verbs, nouns and propositions that have been underlined were expected to cause some difficulty in terms of comprehension and familiarity for D2 learners.

6.4 The degrees of the clarity of the motivation in Najdi

idioms

Observing participants' responses shows that, the three groups of subjects varied in judging the transparency degrees of Najdi idioms. The subjectivity of their judgements can be seen particularly in some abnormally compositional idioms, which will be investigated in the following discussion.

6.4.1 Conceptual metaphor and conceptual metonymy

Investigating the conceptual metaphors occurring in the sample of Najdi idioms shows that, with certain types of Najdi idioms (abnormally compositional idioms), the relationship between the source domain and the target domain seems to be complex to map. Some Najdi idioms tend to have unclear motivation, which allows them to be allocated to both transparent and opaque categories simultaneously. However, other Najdi idioms did not pose such difficulty in understanding the motivation. To illustrate the ease and difficulty of the clarity of the motivations, let us consider the three ways of relating the figurative meaning to its source domain.

The first way, correlation, is based on conceptual metaphor and is a direct conceptual link in which the target domain is clearly connected to the source domain. For instance:

وجع الراس (L= pain in the head, F= problems).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 30 D2= 30 L2= 28

The source domain to which the above idiom is directly mapped is PROBLEMS EQUAL PHYSICAL PAIN. Thus, the above idiom exemplifies a clear and direct correlation between the literal meaning and the figurative one, in which problems cause headaches.

The second possibility, which is the cause of difficulty in categorisation here, is an unclear correlation in which the link between the two domains is not easy to recognise. For instance:

ضيق الصدر (L= narrow chest, F= sad).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 17 D2= 19 L2= 12

Emotions are usually related to the heart. However, due to the fact that the chest contains heart, it may be acceptable that the speaker refers to the chest when talking about emotions. Nevertheless, the above idiom is also motivated by conventional knowledge, as the Qur`an frequently refers to being sad by the idiom “narrow chest”. Therefore, one who is exposed quite regularly to Islamic texts would relate the figurative meaning to the literal one.

The third possibility is the lack of a source domain, for instance:

خفيف دم (L= His blood is light, F= He is funny).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 5 D2= 7 L2= 1

The idiom above lacks a clear source domain that would allow those encountering the idiom to guess the figurative meaning. In short, the above idiom is non-compositional.

6.4.2 Mental imagery

Analysing the imaginable idioms in the sample of Najdi idioms produced the following types of imaginable idioms:

1. Imaginable idioms, in which the mental imagery is consistent with the conceptual metaphor, or in which the intended figurative meaning is clearly visualised. These imaginable Idioms can be said to possess a high degree of transparency of motivation, for instance:

تلقظها و هي طائرة (L= you caught it while it was flying, F= very clever).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 23, D2= 25, and L2= 18.

The mental image in the above idiom is linked to the source domain CLEVERNESS IS THE ABILITY TO RESPOND FAST. Therefore, the majority of D1, D2 and some of the L2 learners judged the above idiom as being compositional.

2. Imaginable idioms, in which the mental imagery does not clearly evoke the figurative meaning of idioms, for instance:

جاءك السيل (L= You have been brought in by the flood, F= You arrived by chance).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 11, D2=3, and L2=0

Some D1 and D2 participants rejected the above meaning, and suggested “came by force”. However, the mental imagery in the above idioms does not provide a clear motivation for the overall figurative meaning “You arrived by chance”. In my view, the mental imagery of being pulled along by a flood clearly conveys the meaning of “you came by force”, rather than “you came by chance”. In Arabic culture, “flood” commonly stands for strength and power, which are closely

related to the first meaning, “You came by force”. However, it can be argued that the recorded meaning here, “came by chance”, may be motivated by the same mental imagery, as a flood brings many objects along with it. Therefore, maintaining an objective judgement regarding the degree of transparency of motivation for this idiom might be quite difficult.

3. Imaginable idioms, in which the mental imagery is completely unrelated to the figurative meaning. For instance:

اشرب من موية البحر (L= Drink from sea water, F= I do not care about your reaction).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 4, D2=7, and L2=0

As mentioned previously, the mental imagery (drinking sea water) does not allow for the clear visualisation of the overall figurative meaning. Therefore, in the absence of a clear mental image and of an obvious link to the source domain, some idioms are regarded as being opaque in terms of their motivation.

At this point, we can infer that some Najdi idioms may pose difficulty in terms of clarity in understanding the correlation between the literal reading and the figurative meaning. These types of idioms are extremely difficult to categorise in terms of compositionality and transparency, as will be shown in the following two sections.

6.5 Accepted and rejected figurative meanings

In this section, I will analyse the subjects' performances regarding whether they accepted or rejected the figurative meaning supplied in the questionnaire.

Data analysis regarding D1, D1 and L2 subjects' responses to the figurative meanings of the Najdi idioms reveals that subjects rejected 21 figurative meanings as they felt these were inappropriate meanings for the idioms. The total number of new meanings suggested by all groups of participants is 24 figurative meanings for the 21 idioms that were rejected. Comparing the similarities and differences between the original meanings (the ones that were taken from the media and included in the survey) and the meanings suggested by the subjects reveals three types of variation in the different uses of the idioms. This variation in use can be divided into three groups, namely variations in source domains, variations in the elaboration of one source domain, and the effect of literal reading.

6.5.1 Variations in source domains

The variation in source domains means that the idiom is connected to two or more source domains. Nine figurative meanings were rejected by subjects as a result of variations in the source domains. The following examples illustrate this.

يبرد كبدي (L=lit freezes my liver, F= Self-satisfied)

Rated as compositional by: D1= 13, D2=9, and L2=2

The analysis shows that seven D1 learners and four D2 learners rejected the above use of the idiom, and wrote down “hydrated” instead. However, the two meanings cannot be conceptually related to one source domain. “Self-satisfied” seems to be motivated by the cultural relationship between the individual component “freeze” and the figurative meaning that emerges from it, “relief”. On the other hand, the meaning “hydrated” that was suggested by the 11 participants is more likely to be non-compositional. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the new meaning of “hydrated” might be motivated by the mental imagery of the process of drinking cold water in hot weather, or in a hot environment like the environment of the Najd region. However, non-native speakers of Arabic (L2) judged this idiom as being non-compositional (m=28 of 30 L2 learners).

طلع من أفمك غبار (L= Dust is coming from someone’s mouth, F= He is saying something that we already know).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 22, D2=17, and L2=13

One D1 and two D2 participants rejected the above figurative meaning, and wrote down “bad smell” instead. The remaining D1 and D2 subjects, as well as all L2 participants, accepted the original figurative meaning. The original figurative meaning (something we already know) has multiple motivations. It is commonly agreed in Arabic shared understanding that DUST STANDS FOR OLD. Thus, the metonymic correlation and the mental imagery (dust is coming from someone’s mouth) in the above idiom are related to the overall figurative meaning of “saying something we already know”. By contrast, the

meaning suggested by the participants is difficult to link to a clear source domain, and is therefore likely to be non-compositional.

طايح وجهك (L= falling face, F= focusing on someone or something).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 0, D2=0, and L2=15

The above idiom was rejected by all D1 and D2 participants. They suggested that the conventional figurative meaning of the above idiom is “being embarrassed”, similar to “hanging one’s head in shame” in English. Thus, this recorded meaning of the idiom is novel, and is unrelated to the source domain of the conventional meaning, which is SHAME IS A DOWNWARDS MOVEMENT.

يعض الأرض (L= Beating the ground, F= severely hurt).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 13, D2=9, and L2=1

The above idiom was rejected by one D1 and three D2 learners, who suggested “regret” instead. The original meaning is more likely to be unrelated to the figurative meaning; thus, it is non-compositional. The meaning suggested by the participants may be related to the conventional image of the relationship between “regret and “biting fingers” in Arabic and Islamic culture.

6.5.2 Variations in figurative meanings

Apart from the differences in source domains, multiple meanings in idioms may have caused misunderstandings for some participants in terms of recognition of the meanings provided, especially when one meaning is more commonly used than is the other. Despite the obvious motivation in most of these examples below, the figurative meanings supplied were rejected:

وجهك مسفر (L= Your face is bright, F= You are in a healthy condition).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 24, D2=17, and L2=7

This idiom was introduced to subjects as being related to health recovery. Sixteen D2 participants rejected this meaning and wrote down “happiness” instead. By contrast, only one D1 participant rejected the meaning supplied and also wrote down “happiness”. Analysing the potential mapping process of the source domain of both meanings shows that the primary source domain for both is likely to be BRIGHT COLOUR IS A POSITIVE SIGN. The two figurative meanings, “healthy condition” and “happiness”, are elaborations on the primary source domain.

The first is “A bright face is an indication of a healthy condition, while a dark colour is a signal of illness”.

The second is “A bright face is an indication of happy emotions, while a dark colour is an indication of unhappiness”.

Different elaborations of the source domain led D2 and D1 subjects to have different understandings of the figurative meaning.

Moreover, data analysis of the rejected figurative meanings supplied shows that, with the idioms below, the meanings suggested by eleven D1 and twenty-one D2 subjects were completely different:

فَارَط جِيْبِه (L= You slit your pocket F = You are too generous).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 19, D2=12, and L2=14

The above idiom was introduced to all subjects as having the figurative meaning “generous”. Thirty-two native speakers of Arabic (D1 + D2) did not recognise the above meaning, and wrote down “waster” instead. By contrast, six L2 participants agreed that the meaning supplied was appropriate for the phrase. The motivation in the above idiom is complex. The pocket stands for money in many cultures, including Arabic cultures, meaning that having an open pocket implies spending more money, and having closed pockets implies the opposite. With this understanding, the figurative meaning will be highly dependent on the interpretation of the individual components of “pockets”. However, this case is different, as Arabic speakers’ reactions against the supplied meaning tell us that the degree of determining whether the spending is considered to be negative or positive is highly associated with the comprehension of the verb “Slit” فَارَط. Therefore, with this idiom, the conceptual metonymy and the literal contribution contribute equally to those encountering the idiom understanding its figurative meaning. The above findings are compatible with Abdou’s (2012) note regarding some MSA idioms. Abdou (2012: 67-69) pointed out that the majority of informational

Arabic idioms may have either a positive or negative connotation, depending on contextual factors.

على باب الله (L= standing at Allah's door, F= very poor).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 13, D2=16, and L2=4

The above idiom was rejected by eleven D1, five D2 and twenty-two L2 learners. The meaning suggested is "I am relying on Allah". The original meaning and the suggested one are motivated by the folk understanding of Muslims that everything is under the control of Allah.

بدون لف ودوران (L= do not turn over, F= misleading).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 26, D2=22, and L2=18

The above idiom was rejected by sixteen D1 and five D2 learners. The meaning suggested was "procrastination". Both meanings can be connected to the source domain HONESTY IS A DIRECT MOVEMENT and LYING IS A CIRCULAR MOVEMENT.

فلان ما ينبلع (L= It cannot be swallowed, F= It is not funny).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 23, D2=29, and L2=20

With regard to the above idiom, thirteen D1 and twenty-two D2 subjects rejected the figurative meaning, and suggested "not believable" or "hated

person” instead. The three figurative meanings can be linked to the mental image of swallowing food. Not swallowing food implies “unacceptability”.

حظ يده بيدي (L= He put his hand on my hand, F= We reached an agreement).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 30, D2=30, and L2=30

The above idiom was only rejected by one D1 participant. The meaning suggested is “reconciliation”. Both meanings are related to the source domain AGREEMENT INVOLVES BEING PHYSICALLY CLOSE.

Furthermore, the data analysis shows that the figurative meanings supplied for the idiom below were rejected:

قطعت قلبي (L= Cutting my heart, F= fear).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 13, D2=18, and L2=22

With regard to the above example, thirty-three of the total D1 and D2 learners rejected the meaning supplied, and wrote down “sadness” instead. The two meanings, “sadness” and “fear”, are related to the heart, as heart is seen as the container of emotions. This similarity may have caused confusion for the D1 and D2 participants who failed to recognise the supplied meaning of “fear”. In my view, due to their familiarity with the figurative meaning of “sadness”, those participants recalled only this meaning when they encountered the idiom. Thus, they may have found the supplied meaning of “fear” unusual because they had already internalised the more

general meaning. This lends support to the “configuration hypothesis”, which means that when participants encountered the idiomatic components “cutting” and “heart”, the only idiomatic key that was activated was “sadness”. Hypothetically, if they were affected by the metaphorical correlations between the literal meaning “heart” and the metaphorical meaning “fear”, and not by the configuration of the external form, they would have recognised the figurative meaning provided because the motivation between “fear” and “cutting the heart” is highly predictable as the ‘heart is the container of emotions’, whether these emotions are of fear or of sadness. Some participants did in fact recognise the metaphorical connotation in this idiom.

6.5.3 Effect of literal reading

The data analysis shows that few participants were affected by the use of the literal meaning. Three idioms were rejected by L2 subjects, as follows:

ارفع صوتي (L= raise my voice, F= complaining)

Rated as compositional by: D1= 20, D2=21, and L2= 17

With regard to the above idiom, twenty-three L2 learners noted the paraphrased literal meaning of the idiom as “screaming” or “raising one’s voice”. This is mainly because this idiom is highly literal and is unfamiliar to L2 subjects (rated as unfamiliar by L2=28). The L2 subjects’ responses show that they were clearly affected by literal-plausible meaning of the idiom.

لا تنفخ (L= Do not blow up, F= do not yell at me)

Rated as compositional by: D1= 16, D2=19, and L2=8

The figurative meaning of the above idiom was rejected by eight D1 learners, three D2, and seventeen L2 learners. They paraphrased the literal meaning as “do not blow”.

بأمان الله (L= with the safety of Allah, F= Good bye).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 30, D2=29, and L2=29

This idiom was rejected by one L2 participant. The suggested meaning is “take care”. The original and the suggested meanings are conventionally accepted in Islamic culture.

To conclude, subjects assessed the use of Najdi idioms in the media. While some accepted the meanings supplied, others rejected the figurative meanings. The following two sections will analyse conventionality aspects and the context of use to explain the changes of the figurative meaning in Najdi idioms.

6.6 Conventional and unconventional uses of Najdi idioms

As discussed previously (2.2), conventionality has been approached from two different perspectives. The first examined conventionality in relation to the conventional form and figurative meaning of idioms, while the second is related to motivation in idioms, in connection with so-called “conceptual cognition”. The latter perspective (conventional motivation) is of interest in this section, because it could explain the rejection of some figurative meanings provided for the subjects. In this context, conventionalisation refers to the agreed or near-agreed understanding of how the overall figurative meaning of an idiom emerges from the literal reading. The conventional use of an idiom means that it should retain the agreed mapping between the source domains and the target domains. Unconventional use means that the link between the figurative meaning and the literal one is unusually exercised by native speakers. Finally, partially conventional means that the idiom is well known to have a particular figurative meaning but, for some reason, the speaker has decided to use the idiom to reflect another meaning that can still be linked to the same source domain as that of the original meaning. To explain this, let us consider the categorisations below.

The data analysis regarding the conventionality of Najdi idioms’ motivations reveals that the majority (39 of 60) of Najdi idioms are classified as conventionally used by the participants, while eighteen were regarded as partially conventional and only three idioms were considered to be unconventional.

Conventional use of idioms. Because idioms of this type have met the criteria for conventional use that were agreed upon by D1 learners, one example is adequate to illustrate the relationship between the conventional use of idioms and the participants' judgements of degrees of compositionality:

ايد من ورا و ايد من قدام (L= One hand is in the front and the other is behind, F= Empty handed).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 30, D2= 30, and L2= 19.

The above idiom has met the criteria for conventional use, as no changes have affected its use. Therefore, D1 subjects found it very easy to understand the motivation.

Partially conventional use of idioms. Idioms of this second type have retained their original source domain, but have experienced minor changes related to their usage. The example below will serve to illustrate this type.

كبر عقلك (L= Make your mind bigger, F= Be tolerant).

Rated as compositional by: D1= 11, D2= 15, and L2= 7

The above idiom has two conventional figurative meanings, one recorded in the corpus of "tolerance", and the other of "being wise", which was suggested by 23 D1 learners. Based on the Arabic shared understanding of the figurative interpretations of the word "mind", none of these interpretations

would be directly linked to the concept of “tolerance”. “Mind”, in Arabic conventional knowledge, stands directly for meanings such as “cleverness”, “wisdom” or “focus”, but not for “tolerance” (Al-Jahdali, 2009). However, the figurative meaning of “being tolerant” is an elaboration on the source domain MIND STANDS FOR WISDOM, in which ‘tolerance’, in the Arabic culture, is part of being wise, and “wise” is directly connected with the literal word “mind”. In other words, both conventional uses can be linked to one source domain, but one is directly linked to “being wise”, and the second is an elaboration on the source domain.

Unconventional usage of idioms. According to the data analysis, unconventional use of an idiom occurs when the novel meaning is unrecognised by D1 learners, and this novel meaning cannot be linked to the conventional source domain. For instance:

لعبوا بعقولكم (L=playing with your mind, F= gaining your full interest).

Table 6. 3 D1, D2 and L2 speakers’ compositionality rating for the novel idiom

لعبوا بعقولكم

PARTICIPANTS	D1				D2				L2			
Scale	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Compositionality judgement: mean	5	4	20	1	7	1	19	3	28	1	1	0

(Scale: 1= compositional, 2= opaque compositional, 3= non-compositional 4= no decision was made)

The above idiom is conventionally understood by most Arabic language users (D1 + D2 learners) to convey the figurative meaning of “misleading”. Thus, using the idiom to convey “gaining attention”, which is the meaning that was recorded in the corpus (refer to the context of use), is not the conventional use. It seems to me that this novel figurative meaning of “gaining attention” is not clearly related to the conventional figurative meaning of “misleading”. The two meanings (the conventional and the novel) cannot be mapped from one conceptual domain. While the novel meaning is related to the source domain MIND STANDS FOR ATTENTION, the conventional figurative meaning is motivated by the mental image of playing with someone’s mind, which conveys the meaning of manipulation or misleading. Therefore, the novel use of this idiom means that it cannot be considered as partially conventional, as in the case of *قطعت قلبي* (L= Cutting my heart, F= Fear), where the two figurative meanings (fear and sadness) are related to one conceptual domain HEART STANDS FOR EMOTIONS. In other words, the novel use of the above idiom would completely separate the idiom from its conventional use.

6.7 Universal aspects of Najdi idioms

The data analysis shows that two idioms, which are not related to Islamic teaching, are likely to be regarded as universally motivational idioms, because they are based on primary metaphor, and also because L2 learners rated their compositionality as being high. To illustrate universal mental imagery, consider the two idioms:

1- حط يده بيدي (L= He put his hand on my hand, F= We reached an agreement)

2- راسي يشم الهوا (L= My head breathes, F= I am alive).

The two above idioms were rated as compositional by all subjects (m= 30 of 30 by each group of participants).

In examples (1) and (2) it might be a universal folk understanding to picture “shaking hands” as a sign of reaching an agreement, as well as to visualise “my head breathes” as an indication of being alive. Despite these mental images, the two idioms mentioned above are also clearly related to the source domains AGREEMENT STANDS FOR PHYSICAL PROXIMITY, which is the source domain for idiom (a), and BREATHING STANDS FOR LIFE, which is the source domain for idiom (b). Both source domains are derived from the basic level of human body parts.

Nevertheless, not all imaginable idioms are transparent in motivation, as in the example below:

أنت في وادي و أنا في وادي (L= you are in a valley and I am in a different valley, F= we have different ideas).

The figurative meaning of this idiom is directly linked to the source domain DISAREEMENT INVOLVES PHYSICAL SEPARATION. Furthermore, the mental imagery may also evoke the figurative meaning. However, Nine L2 learners judged the idiom to be non-compositional. The reason could be that

the use of the word “valley” might have been assumed to refer to a particular type of separation, which may have caused confusion for the L2 learners and prevented them from guessing the simple intended meaning. Nonetheless, all D1 and D2 participants judged the idiom to be compositional.

6.8 The context of use

As seen in Section 6.5, twenty-one figurative meanings were rejected by the subjects. Therefore, the question that arises is, if idiomatic expressions are intended to be memorised agreed-meaning expressions, why do these idioms vary in their figurative meanings outside of the context of use?

Looking into the use of these idioms in their contexts enables us to suggest the following reasons. Many Najdi idioms are intended to be used with several figurative meanings, depending on the context of use. However, this variation in figurative meanings may be seen in two phases. In phase one, where all figurative meanings (or uses) of the idiom are conventional, the original meaning and the meanings suggested by the subjects are both accepted outside of the context of use. However, with some idioms, as seen in 6.5.2, one meaning might be more commonly known than the other.

Therefore, when the idiom is encountered outside of the context of use, recalling either the original or the suggested meanings depends on the memory of the person encountering the idiom encounter. As further examples, the following idioms were used in five contexts of use to express different figurative meanings:

Example one:

بدون لف و دوران (L= do not turn over, F= misleading).

Context one:

The situation: Suleiman speaking to his wife Layla about not cheating:

يا بنت الناس هذولا ناس دقيقين ما يعرفون هالسوالف ما عندهم لف و دوران

They are very professional they are not familiar with these things, they **do not turn over**.

Context Two:

The situation: The police officer telling Suleiman' mother not to lie:

أم سلمان، بدون لف و دوران قولي لنا الحقيقة

Umm Suleiman! Do **not turn over**, tell us the truth.

Context Three:

The situation: Majid speaking to Suleiman's doctor:

أنت ورا ما تعطينا الزبدة و تترك اللف و الدوران يا دكتور!

Give us the gist and stop the **turn over**, doctor!

As can be seen, in context one the idiom conveys “misleading/ cheating”, whereas in contexts two and three the idiom expresses “procrastination”.

Both meanings are conventional because, outside of the context of use, some subjects rejected the meaning of “misleading”, whereas other accepted the meaning.

Example two:

ما ينبلع (L= It cannot be swallowed, F= It is not funny)

Context one:

The situation: Majid told his wife a joke, and she replied that

يحسب نفسه خفيف دم و هو أصلا ما ينبلع

He is thinking that he is funny, but I **cannot swallow him**

Context two:

The situation: Lafiy's father is talking to himself about Suleiman and his family:

و الله ما قدرت أبلع السالفة ماش ما قدرت أهضمها يعني طول هالسنين عايش مع ها العائلة الثانية

I swear I **could not swallow** this story, all this time, he was adopted.

As can be seen here, in context one the idiom conveys the meaning “not funny”, whereas in context two the figurative meaning is somewhat different, as it is “unbelievable”. However, as mentioned previously, both meanings are related to the mental image of swallowing food.

In phase two, the use of the idiom is unconventional. In this case, those encountering the idiom will reject this meaning outside of the context of use but, if this idiom were to be presented to him/her within a meaningful linguistic context, the unconventional use of the idiom would be accepted.

For instance, the non-idiomatic meaning (the unconventional meaning) of the idiom طاح وجهك (L= falling face, F= focusing on someone or something), which

was rejected by all native speakers of Arabic, might be acceptable in its context of use:

The context of use:

The situation: Suleiman is entering his house, he notices his wife watching the television:

- أشوف طايح وجهك عن التلفزيون -

- I see your face has fallen down in front of the television.

The use of the above idiom seems to be metaphorical, expressing exaggeration, rather than idiomatic, which would convey a negative attitude (shame). However, in the above-mentioned context of use, it seems that the speaker refers to the action (concentrating on) by using the idiom without any intention of evaluating the addressee's behaviour. In other words, the above idiom was used metaphorically, not idiomatically.

Therefore, what can be concluded is that Najdi dialect users use their idioms as types of creative metaphors with multiple figurative meanings. Some of these meanings are conventional, partially conventional or unconventional. The unconventional uses of Najdi idioms may cause some confusion for all subjects when attempting to understand the idiom and its figurative meaning outside of the context of use. However, within the context of use, the idiom might be metaphorically acceptable.

6.9 An idiom's familiarity, semantic transparency and usages

As seen in 6.2, culturally-related idioms obtained the highest rate of familiarity among L2 learners. In addition, novel idioms (the idioms were judged by D1 subjects as being completely unrecognised) obtained low levels of familiarity. Therefore, apart from these two classes of idiom, our concern here is the other types of Najdi idioms that were judged by D2 and L2 learners as being highly familiar idioms, and those that were less familiar.

The two tables below present, in order of rank, the five idioms rated most often as fully recognised or fully unrecognised by the majority of D2 and L2 subjects:

Table 6. 4 L2 learners' judgements of the familiarity of Najdi idioms in order of rank.

Level of familiarity	Rank	Idiom	Rated as familiar (m=30)	Rated as compositional (m=30)
High familiar	1	حط يده بيدي	20	30
	2	وجع الراس	19	28
	3	الموضوع بيبله جلسة	13	16
	4	الي في قلبك	10	24
	5	كلمة راس	7	23
Low familiar	6	يبرد كبدي	0	2
	7	يعض الأرض	0	1

	8	تلعب بذيلك	0	4
	9	يفضخ المرارة	0	1
	10	وجهك مسفر	1	7

TRANSLATIONS OF IDIOMS

- 1- L= He put his hand on my hand, F= We reached an agreement.
- 2- L= Pain in the head, F= problems.
- 3- L= The matter requires us to sit down, F= to think of solving the dilemma.
- 4- L= what is inside your heart, F= Speak out.
- 5- L= Head utterance, F= A secret.
- 6- L=lit freezes my liver, F= Self-satisfied.
- 7- L= Beating the ground, F= severely hurt.
- 8- L= Playing with your tail, F= misleading.
- 9- L= exploding my bitterness, F= furious.
- 10- L= Your face is bright, F= You are in a healthy condition.

As can be seen in the above table, the five idioms that were judged as being highly familiar by L2 learners were also judged as being highly semantically transparent. If we look at idioms 1, 2, 3 and 5, we can see that these four idioms are metonymy-based idioms, in which the mental image can occur in reality. Furthermore, if we look at idioms (3) and (5), we will notice that these two idioms are normally compositional idioms. It is obvious that in idiom (3) “the matter” “الموضوع” refers here to the problem, and in idiom (5) “the word”

“كلمة” refers to small talk. Therefore, the literal contribution in idioms (3) and (5) has enabled the idioms to become more semantically transparent.

What is more, with the exception of idiom (1), the four familiar idioms have only one conventional figurative meaning (or use), meaning that when an idiom is used with several figurative meanings, it will pose some difficulty for L2 learners to familiarise themselves with the idiom as an idiomatic entity. In other words, wholly conventional idioms are more easily recognised by L2 learners than are partially conventional idioms. By contrast, looking at idioms 6 to 10, which were judged as being the least familiar idioms for L2 learners, we can see that all these idioms are metaphor-based idioms and that they have two or more figurative meanings, as is the case with idioms 6, 7, 8 and 10. Furthermore, L2 participants judged these unfamiliar idioms as being difficult in terms of comprehending their motivation.

Taken together, the L2 learners' results shown in the table above illustrate the correlation between the recognition of an idiom's external form and its clarity of motivation. This is consistent with Bley-Vroman's (2002) suggestion. He pointed out that frequency is not the only approach in second language acquisition, as “Many things that are encountered only once or very rarely may strike the learner as salient, be noticed and processed deeply, and be incorporated into linguistic knowledge” (Bley-Vroman, 2002:213). In the case presented here, transparency in motivation is the salient factor that facilitated the process of the recognition of L2 idioms.

Table 6. 5 D2 learners' judgements of the familiarity of Najdi idioms in order of rank.

Level of familiarity	Rank	Idiom	Rated as familiar (m=30)	Rated as compositional (m=30)
High familiar	1	يفطعون لقمة عيشي	30	28
	2	تكسر خاطر	30	12
	3	خفيف دم	30	7
	4	عطنا الزبدة	30	30
	5	كلمة راس	29	30
Low familiar	6	يفضح المرارة	1	27
	7	ما ينبلع	6	29
	8	قطعت قلبي	7	18
	9	فارط جيبك	9	12
	10	وجهك مسفر	10	17

TRANSLATIONS OF IDIOMS

- 1- L= They will cut off my food, F= I will get fired.
- 2- L= It breaks my sense, F= sympathise.
- 3- L= His blood is light, F= He is funny.
- 4- L= Give me the butter, F= Give me the gist.
- 5- L= Head utterance, F= A secret.
- 6- L= exploding my bitterness, F= furious.

- 7- L= It cannot be swallowed, F= It is not funny.
- 8- L= Cutting my heart, F= fear.
- 9- L= You slit your pocket F = You are too generous.
- 10- L= Your face is bright, F= You are in a healthy condition.

The above table shows the five idioms judged by D2 learners as being most familiar. As can be seen with idioms 2 and 3, these two idioms obtained a high rating for familiarity, while their motivations were judged as being incomprehensible (non-compositional). By contrast, with idioms that were rated as having a low degree of familiarity, as the case of idioms 6, 7, 8 and 10, these idioms obtained a high rate of comprehension. Therefore, what can be said here is that, unlike L2 learners who depend on the transparency of motivation, the transparency of the idioms' motivation for D2 learners seemed insignificant in the process of acquiring, using, and comprehending D2 idioms.

However, aside from the clarity of motivation, the recognition rate of Najdi idioms for both D2 and L2 learners seemed to be affected by idioms with multiple meanings. Using the idiom in an unconventional way influences its level of familiarity. As can be seen in Table 6.5, the less familiar idioms (7, 8, 9 and 10) were the idioms that were rejected by some D2 participants in Section 6.5.

In conclusion, based on the data obtained from the 'familiarity task' and the 'compositionality task', as well as the discussion and the examples provided previously, it seems that the correlation between the comprehension of an idiom's motivation and the recognition of an idiom can be clearly seen in L2 learners' behaviour in relation to the acquisition of the idiom. Data regarding L2 learners demonstrate that idioms that obtained a high rate of familiarity also obtained a high rate of comprehension. By contrast, the D2 subjects' results differed in that the D2 learners found a significant number of the idioms' motivations to be incomprehensible, although the same idioms obtained a high rating in terms of familiarity. In other words, transparency in motivation seems to be significant during the process of L2 idiom acquisition for L2 learners, whereas the comprehension of motivation for D2 learners seems to be less important in the acquisition process of idioms. Finally, the result of L2 learners presented here is in favour of hypothesis Four, whereas D2's result failed to support the hypothesis.

6.10 Conclusion

From what has been discussed, it can be seen that the members of one cultural background, regardless of their first dialect, have shown a similar pattern in the recognition and comprehension of idiomatic expressions. By contrast, second language learners (L2), who represented a different cultural background in the current study, showed different judgements of familiarity and compositionality, suggesting that idioms pose some difficulties for L2 learners more often than they do for D2 learners.

Therefore, Najdi idioms are a difficult matter for L2 learners. Some are ambiguous in motivation, and other Najdi idioms have different uses and different figurative meanings. For D2 learners, the ambiguity in motivation seemed to pose less difficulty than did the unconventional use of some Najdi idioms, which clearly caused difficulties in recognition.

As previously noted, there is ample evidence of the ability of second language learners to encode compositional idioms, particularly metonymy-based idioms and normally compositional idioms, suggesting that encoding these two types of idioms is easier than is encoding metaphor-based idioms and abnormally compositional idioms. However, the case with D2 learners is different, in that their performance in encoding the link between the figurative and literal meaning of Najdi idioms is more similar to the D1 subjects' performance. That is to say, idioms are not merely figures of speech, they are culturally conventional. Many source domains found in Najdi idioms are likely to be easily understood by all Arabic language users. As shown in 6.5, many D1 and D2 participants rejected some of the idioms because their literal meanings do not match the well-known source domains. However, L2 learners accepted the figurative meaning when it was metaphorical understandable, as shown with *طاح وجهك* (L= falling face, F= focusing on someone or something), and *لعبوا بعقولكم* (L=Playing with your mind, F= gaining your full interest).

Therefore, L2 learners easily understand idioms that are metaphorically structured, but culturally-related idioms require a high degree of cultural awareness of the target language, as seen in the ability of second dialect learners (D2) to access the motivation of Najdi idioms.

In addition, identifying normally compositional idioms proved much easier than did identifying the other two classes (abnormally compositional and non-compositional idioms). This is mainly because identifying the literal contributions of an idiom's components could be easier than analysing some figurative contributions (as mentioned previously in 2.2, with semi-literal idioms in Fernando's 1996 classification).

Moreover, the discussion also revealed that idioms that have similar features to universal conceptual metaphors posed no difficulty in terms of recognition and comprehension on the part of L2 learners. However, with complex idioms (the idioms that are not based on primary metaphor), the advantage is always for D2 learners over L2 learners, except with Islamic-related idioms, as both groups show similar performances in terms of familiarity with these.

Finally, it may be concluded that, despite the importance of the linguistic skills of the second dialect learners, this is not the only factor facilitating the acquisition and comprehension of idioms. Cultural similarities, as well as the clarity of motivation, are two factors that facilitate the recognition of L2 and D2 idioms.

Chapter Seven: Findings, Limitations, and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions regarding the current research, showing the major findings obtained throughout the data analyses. As seen in Chapter One, the current work consists of three major studies (D1, D2, and L2) that contribute to the model of idiomatic expressions. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that the current research has mainly focused on conceptual metaphor theory as a notion that relates the literal reading with the figurative one.

7.2 The findings

The main study of this work is concerned with the recognition and comprehension of Najdi idioms. The study utilized a questionnaire-based methodology that involved 60 Najdi idioms and 90 participants divided into native and non-native speakers of the Najdi dialect. D2 learners' recognition and comprehension of D2 idioms was examined alongside D1 and L2 learners in a comparative way.

The study highlighted the semantic and pragmatic features of idiomatic expressions, particularly semantic transparencies and compositionality, using the 60 Najdi idioms as a database. As seen in Chapter six, the relationships

between source domain and target domain in Najdi idioms can be divided into the following types: (1) where the relationship between the source domain and the target is direct and obvious, (2) where the relationship is indirect and not easily recognised, and (3) where the relationship is arbitrary, meaning that there is no link between the literal and figurative meanings.

In addition, it investigated the degrees of idioms' transparency in depth, taking into consideration the differences between native and non-native speakers. By utilizing the theories of 'universal metaphor', 'mental imagery', and 'conventional knowledge' to examine the transparency of idioms, we came to clearly understand the different degrees of idioms' motivations. Hence, four classes have been proposed as a scale of idioms' semantic transparency. The first group is regarded as universal; the second group is cultural bound; the third is opaque, in which understanding the motivation is highly dependent on individuality; and the final group contains idioms that lack either direct or indirect motivations.

The results of the study provided reasonable answers for the main research questions.

Question one:

What types of idiomatic motivations can be easily comprehended by native and non-native speakers? How do such factors as an idiom's compositionality and transparency, as well as the native language of

those encountering idioms, affect the comprehension process of idioms?

As shown in Chapter Six, the transparency in idioms' motivations likely varies according to the cultural origins of the idioms encountered. The data analysis regarding native and non-native speakers' comprehension showed that the more an individual is familiar with the culture of the idiom's target language, the more he or she is able to recognise the motivation behind the idiom.

Therefore, D2 learners, who share the same culture and similar traditions with D1 learners, found it quite easy to identify the link in the majority of Najdi idioms, whereas L2 learners only succeeded in comprehending Islamic-based idioms. Nonetheless—and because transparent idioms involve universal metaphor, universal mental imagery, or both—native and non-native speakers seemed to easily identify the conceptual link in this sort of motivated idiom.

In addition, in terms of the transparency of the motivation of Najdi idioms, data analysis showed that the majority of D2 and L2 learners found metonymy-based idioms much easier to comprehend than metaphor-based idioms. This suggests that when the mental image occurs in reality, the motivation is more comprehensible, as the possibilities of figurative meanings are more limited than they are with metaphor-based idioms.

The data analysis also revealed insights into idioms' compositionality. The findings showed that some abnormally compositional idioms are highly

ambiguous for L2 and D2 learners, leading those idioms to be treated as non-compositional idioms. However, D1 learners' judgements regarding the transparency of abnormal idioms showed high rates of comprehension of figurative contributions. This suggests that abnormally compositional idioms are a complex matter for second language/dialect learners. However, with normally compositional idioms, D2 and L2 learners found it much easier to identify the motivations in those idioms, suggesting that the literal contribution of an idiom's individual words to the overall figurative meaning is more comprehensible than its figurative contribution is, particularly for L2 learners, who show poor performance compared to D1 and D2 learners.

Question two:

To what extent does idiom familiarity affect the accuracy of judging the degree of idioms' semantic transparency by native and non-native speakers?

As seen in Chapter Six, the familiarity of an idiom affected the way it is judged according to its compositionality. Because high familiarity with an idiom would establish an idiomatic entry in native speakers' minds, it has been assumed that when native speakers encounter non-compositional familiar idioms, they link the figurative meaning to the entire external form of the idiom. As such, no metaphorical analysis is conducted in those types of idioms (i.e., familiar and non-compositional). If a metaphorical analysis is operated, then these idioms would be judged as being non-decomposable. Furthermore, L2 learners, who encounter idioms much less often, were not heavily affected by idioms' familiarity in judging the compositionality degrees. Overall, the results, as

shown in Chapter Six, support the familiarity hypothesis, suggesting that familiarity with an idiom affects the representational expression of the idiom in mind.

Question three:

Do D2 learners approach the recognition and comprehension of foreign dialect idioms in the same way as L2 learners do?

As shown in Chapter Six, D1 and D2 learners seem to be characterized by the same pattern of idiom recognition and comprehension, which is, at the same time, different than approach of L2 learners. For D1 and D2 learners, a notable number of idiom motivations were rated as incomprehensible. At the same time, they obtained a high rate of familiarity. In other words, transparency and motivation comprehension seem to be significant during the process of L2 idiom recognition for L2 learners, whereas the comprehension of motivation for D1 and D2 learners seems to be less important in the idiom recognition process.

Question four:

To what extent do factors, such as cultural similarities, facilitate the recognition and comprehension process for non-native speakers?

As illustrated in Chapter Six, Islamic-related idioms are much easier to acquire than are other idioms. Moreover, idioms that are based on universal or near-

universal source domains are more readily comprehensible than idioms that are based on conventional knowledge.

Question five:

Do Najdi idioms pose comprehension difficulties out of the context of use?

The answer to this question depends on the degree of idioms' conventionality. As shown in Chapter Six, Najdi idioms can be divided into three types according to their conventional motivations: (1) wholly conventional idioms in which the figurative meaning is highly associated with the idioms even out of the context of use, (2) partially conventional idioms in which the figurative meaning emerges from the idiom and can be linked to one source domain, and (3) unconventional use of the idiom in which the novel figurative meaning is unrelated to the conventional source domain. In the case of a wholly conventional idiom, data analysis showed no difficulties in recognising the idiom and its figurative meaning. For partially conventional idioms, accepting and rejecting the figurative meaning was shown to be highly subjective out of the context of use, depending on whether those encountering the idiom were familiar with all uses of the idiom or only a few. Finally, with unconventional idioms, all D1 learners rejected these idioms out of the context of use.

At this point, the findings of the above studies can further explain the models of cognitive linguistics, and, most importantly, these findings have significant implications for D2 and L2 acquisition and comprehension of D2/L2 idioms.

7.3 Limitations

This study was limited in many respects. Due to limited space and time, this study has focused only on a small number of factors, namely semantic transparency, conventionality, and linguistic skills. In addition, the present study explored only group performance, rather than individual learner performance. Finally, the study could have included a larger sample of participants and idioms, which would have provided a clearer picture of the relationship between the semantic and pragmatic features of idioms and their potential for acquisition and comprehension.

7.4 Recommendations for further research

Future work ought to probe more deeply to determine the operational process of acquisition and comprehension of second dialect idioms. Studies regarding D2 idioms may benefit from further investigations using idioms from another Arabic dialect. This would help clarify, in a comparative way, the variations in the abilities of D1, D2, and L2 learners to acquire and comprehend idioms. Finally, because multiple meanings of idioms, which could clearly influence the process of comprehension of idiomatic expressions, were partially excluded from our final data analysis, further investigations into this factor would be very useful for future research on idioms.

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APPENDIX 1

Compositional and non-compositional idioms according to D1's
judgements

Classifications of Najdi idioms in accordance with D1's judgements.

Normally compositional idioms:

Six normally compositional idioms obtained an average of compositionality judgement higher than 17.53 which was achieved by D1 learners.

- 1- طلع من افمك غبار (L= Dust is coming from someone's mouth, F= He is saying something that we already know).
- 2- راسي يشم الهوا (L= My head breathes, F= I am alive).
- 3- يومهم مهب بيدي (L= Their days are not into my hand, F= Their span of life is not up to me)
- 4- كلمة راس (Head utterance, F= A secret).
- 5- عطنا الزبدة (L= Give me the butter, F= Give me the gist).
- 6- الموضوع بيبي له جلسة (The matter requires us to sit down, F= to think of solving the dilemma)

Abnormally compositional idioms:

Twenty two abnormally compositional idioms obtained an average of compositionality judgement higher than 17.53 which was achieved by D1 learners.

- 1- الي في قلبك (L= what is inside your heart, F= Speak out).
- 2- الشق أكبر من الرقعة (L= The tear is bigger than the patch, F= There is no solution)
- 3- حط يده بيدي (L= He put his hand on my hand, F= We reached an agreement).
- 4- ارفع صوتي (L= raise my voice, F= complaining)
- 5- وجهك مسفر (L= Your face is bright, F= You are in a healthy condition).
- 6- فارط جيبه (L= You slit your pocket F = You are too generous).
- 7- بدون لف ودوران (L= do not turn over, F= misleading).
- 8- فلان ما ينبلع (L= It cannot be swallowed, F= It is not funny).

- 9- ايد من ورا و ايد من قدام (L= One hand is in the front and the other is behind, F= Empty handed).
- 10- أنت في وادي و أنا في وادي (L= you are in a valley and I am in a different valley, F= we have different ideas).
- 11- يقطعون لقمة عيشي (L=They will cut off my food, F= I will get fired).
- 12- يفيض المرارة (L= exploding my bitterness, F= furious).
- 13- وجع الراس (L= pain in the head, F= problems).
- 14- الدم ليواصل للركب (= L blood will reach the knees, F= painful beating)
- 15- طق الحديد وهو حامي (L= hammer the iron while it is hot, F= act quickly)
- 16- ما يدش من الباب (L= He cannot get in through the door, F= He is overweight).
- 17- تلعب بذيلك (L= Playing with your tail, F= misleading)
- 18- الدنيا تشيل و تحط فيني (L= Life take me up and down, F= troubles)
- 19- امسحها في وجهي (L= mop on my face, F= forgiveness).
- 20- ما عندي إلا ها الثوب (L= I only own this cloth, F= I am very poor)
- 21- لا يودي و لا يجيب (L= L= It does not make you move either forward or backward, F= it is useless).
- 22- رايتك بيضة (L= Your banner is white, F= Thank you).

Non-compositional idioms:

Ten idioms obtained an average of non-compositionality judgement higher than 6.4 which was achieved by D1 learners.

- 1- ما عندك الا الضعوي (L= You only possess *al-ḍa'awy*, F= You are very poor).
- 2- اشرب من موية البحر (L= Drink from sea water, F= I do not care about your reaction).
- 3- يشق الجبهة (L= It cuts a forehead, F= It is very delicious).
- 4- خفيف دم (L= His blood is light, F= He is funny).
- 5- جابك السيل (L= You have been brought in by the flood, F= You arrived by chance).
- 6- يبرد كبدي (L=lit freezes my liver, F= Self-satisfied)
- 7- طايح وجهك (L= falling face, F= focusing on someone or something).
- 8- يعض الأرض (L= Beating the ground, F= severely hurt).
- 9- على باب الله (L= standing at Allah's door, F= very poor).
- 10- كبر عقلك (L= Make your mind bigger, F= Be tolerant).
- 11- سم (L= in the name of Allah, F= Yes).
- 12- فيها إن (F=It is suspicious).

13- على قد حالي (L = I am equivalent to myself, F= I am poor).

The last three idioms (11, 12, and 13) were judged as being compositional by D1 learners.

APPENDIX 2

Najdi idioms within the context of usage

The sample of Najdi idioms within the context of usage

مسلسل مزحة برزحة/ 2010

(الحلقة الأولى)

سليمان:

1 أشوف طايح وجهك عند التلفزيون يا أم القمل سابقا، و الله لازم تعرفين أنكم عايشين كلكم بكنفي أنتي و عيالك و القمل خصوصا القمل، و الله أني راعيته لين تخرج من راسك.

رد: زوجة سليمان:

اسكت اسكت خل نتابع الحلقة، الحلقة اليوم مثيرة.

سليمان:

الحين معقولة ما فيه ولا واحد من ذا الممثلين مات.

رد: زوجة سليمان:

2 والله يومهم مهيب بيدي بيد رب العالمين.

رد: سليمان:

ونعم بالله بس أنتي ما مليتي؟

رد على سليمان: ابن سليمان

لا يا بابا المسلسل حلو ما يملل

رد على سليمان: بنت سليمان

إيه يا بابا.

رد: سليمان:

3 يا فلذة كيدي يا حبيبتي، شوفي أنتي إن شاء الله تبين تكبرين و تتخرجين و تتعنين بمدرسة بقريح إن شاء الله. و أنتي بقريح هناك تفتحين التلفزيون تلقينهم في المشهد الي بعد هذا توهم ما بعد وصلوا.

ليلى:

5 الله يا قدمك، تصدق عاد طلع من فمك غيار

سليمان: رد:

ليه حجرضب.

ليلى:

هاهاها (ضحكة)

سليمان:

بايخة!

سليمان:

6 أشوفك جايه إيد من ورا و إيد من قدام بس بطنك قدامك، لا صينية حلا و لا صينية فطائر و لا أي شي.

تاج: رد:

لا وصيت المطعم على العشا يجييون الأكل للبيت.

أم سليمان:

7 سليمان، أنا سامعة ها اليومين حضرتك فارط جيبك، بس بخيل على أمك.

سليمان:

(صمت).

حسن:

ظمني يا ماجد وش صار على زوجتي؟

ماجد: رد:

اهدا اهدا يا حسن.

حسن:

8 مشكور ما قصرت و الله بيبيض وجهك.

ماجد: رد:

وش دعوى، ما سويننا إلاحق وواجب.

عبدالسلام (أبو ليلي):

9 لعبت بعقولكم المسلسلات، هذي مسلسلات غريبة لا تمثل لا عاداتنا ولا تقاليدنا.

أم ليلي:

10 الكلام الحين لا يودي ولا يجيب، قولي وش راح تسوي يا عبد السلام.

عبدالسلام: رد:

11 وش بسوي! ابروح لأزواجهم بترجاهم إن ياخذون زوجاتهم، إن شاء الله يكسرون عظامهم بس قولي على الله يرضون.

(انتهت الحلقة الأولى)

(الحلقة الثانية)

أم سليمان:

ما تبين خلطة تنزل الدهون اللي ببطنك؟

امراة: رد:

لا أبي اشارك.

أم سليمان: رد:

لا حبيبي ما أبي أحد يشاركني.

امراة: رد:

12 ليش وش فيها يا خالتي ترا حالتى حالة و مهب عندي شغل، و ابغى اتكسب.

أم سليمان: رد:

و أنا شكو بحالتك، يعني خلاص الحين وقفت كل سبل الرزق على ها الخلطة هذي؟

أم سليمان: (تليفون)

13 ألوو معك أم سليمان،... تبين خلطة تسمين غريبة! العادة الناس يبون خلطة ينحفون، و أنتي تبين تسمين! لكن ولا يهكم راح أعطيك خلطة تخليك ما تدشين من الباب،... ايه يومين هذي خلطة أم سليمان العجيبة.

ضابط شرطة:

14 أم سليمان، بدون لف و دوران قولي لنا الحقيقة و ريحينا.

أم سليمان: رد:

يعني ايش بقول.

الضابط:

انتي منتب أكبر همنا، انتي أداة، نبي الراس الكبيرة.

أم سليمان: رد:

يا حضرة الرائد، صراحة شغالتني هي الي شجعتني.

الضابط:

شغالتك! وشلون؟

أم سليمان: رد:

12-15 يا حضرة العقيد أنا شفت الشغالة معها كتاب **24** ساعة تقرى فيه، لما سألتها ما جاوبنتي، فقلت لهبة بنتي شوفي لي وش سالفة الكتاب هذا. قالت لي هبة بنتي الكتاب هذا يتكلم عن الخلطات. و أنا يا حضرة العميد مرة فقيرة و على قد حالي، و قلت اترزق على باب الله.

(انتهت الحلقة الثانية).

ليلي:

16 فيه أحد يستخف دمه الساعة 2 الظهر وقت القايلة.

ماجد:

و رجعت أبي أقولك نكته، أبي أوديك في داهية من الضحك.

زوجة ماجد:

17-16 يحسب نفسه خفيف دم و هو أصلا ما بينلع.

سليمان:

ودي أسألك سؤال.

تركي: رد:

تفضل

سليمان:

12 يعني أذكر أنه كان معك موتر قرنبيع، و حالتك حالة، حتى ريحتك المعفنة سابقتك بكيلو.... لا تواخذني على ها الكلام هذا.

تركي: رد:

18 لا عادي و أنا أخوك تفضل قل اللي في قلبك كله.

سليمان:

يعني ما شاء الله الحين سيارة فخمة آخر موديل، و عطر ريحته تنشم برضو من آخر كيلو بالدنيا وش السالفة؟!

تركي: رد:

يا رجال لا تقعد تذكرني بأيام السلف و التلف و الدمار.

أبو لافي:

19 وش رايك أحتريك برا فيه راعي كبده تشق الجبهة الي عنده، أحتريك هناك و افطرك على حسابي.

سليمان: رد:

لا شكرا.

موظف البلدية:

يا خي غريبة هذي الأوراق تشبه أوراق واحدن قبلك مقدم على نفس الأرض.

سليمان:

20 أنا قايل جية أبو لافي فيها إن

سليمان:

تعال اطلع لي فوق و اثبت لي.

أبو لافي: رد:

أنت اللي تنتظر وأنت الحسد، إن كان فيك خير هات الي عندك... تراني راح ابلغ الشرطة و اقولهم إنك متهم علي في قعر داري.

سليمان: رد:

21 طيب يا ابن أخي، بصير خير.

موظف البلدية:

22 خلاص يا خي إذا جاء باكر المدير كلمناك، بأمان الله.

أبو لافي: رد:

23 طيب لا تنفخ، كلموني معطيكم ثلاث جوات.

ليلي:

ها بسر وش صار عليك؟

سليمان: رد:

وش ابشر و أنا كل ما رححت البلدية لقيت ها الحقنة أبو لافي سابقني هناك.

ليلي: رد:

24 سليمان، ابعده عن وجع الراس وخله إذا جاء نصيب بياخذها.

سليمان: رد:

والله ما أخليه، ليه وش شايف نفسه؟!

سليمان: (تليفون)

25 ألور، أهلن ماجد،... وش أفلام، ياخي أنت في وادي و أنا في وادي، حبيبي أنا ما عندي أفلام بس عندي عدنان و ليينا وعمر المختار تبيهم تعال خذهم.

(انتهت الحلقة الثالثة)

(الحلقة الرابعة)

مدير سليمان:

26-26 ما شاء الله عليك يا سليمان، أترك فزت و الحين اجتزت الاختبار بنجاح ما شاء الله عليك.

سليمان:

قروشنا يا حبيبي بتوقع و إلا!

رجل مدين: رد:

27 مانب دافع رح أنت وشركتك ذي و اشرب من موية البحر، عاجبك.

سليمان:

لا لا لا أنا ما أبغى اتصرف معك تصرف أنت تندم عليه.

سليمان:

تعرف صاحب هذاك البيت؟

رجل:

إيه خالي.

سليمان:

28 ما دام انه خالك أجل وصلنا خير، تعال ابيك بكلمة راس.

سليمان:

29 أخاف انهم يطردوني و يقطعون لقمة عيشي.

سليمان:

14 يا بنت الناس هذولي ناس دقيقين ما يعرفون هالسوالف ما عندهم لف و دوران.

ليلي:

الظاهر الشغل هذا خلاك طماع إنك تبيع أهلك على شأنه.

سليمان: رد:

وش إلى ابيع أهلي ما أبيع أهلي، وشو هم فنايل ابيعهم.

سليمان:

(طق الباب)

مدير سليمان:

تفضل.

30 سبّ طال عمرك يقولون تبيني في أمر عاجل.

سليمان:

31 إذا فيه أي عميل مضيق صدرك علمني وين مكانه و أنا أوريك.

مدير سليمان: رد:

السالفة مهيب سالفة عميل.

سليمان أجل.

اسمعي يا سليمان و ما أبيق تزعل مني وتأخذ في خاطرک، الشيء هذا جاينا من فوق.

(الحلقة السابعة)

الطبيب:

الحمد لله على السلامة يا سليمان.

سليمان: رد:

32 الله يسلمک يا دكتور، الحقيقة إنک ما قصرت معنا و رايتک بيضة.

ماجد:

14-33 أنت ورا ما تعطينا الزيدة وتترك اللف و الدوران، يا دكتور.

الطبيب:

بصراحة يا أخ سليمان اختبارات الذي ان أي اثبتت لنا انک منتب ولد اهلك.

ماجد:

31 وش فيک يا أبو السلم، وراك ضايق صدرك.

سليمان: رد:

يعني وش تبيني أسوي أفرح!؟

سليمان:

34 لازم نرفع صوتنا، لازم يوصل للمسؤولين الناس ذي لازم تتعاقب على المهزلة ذي المفروض ما عاد تتكرر أبد.

ماجد:

31 بيه هدي نفسك و لا تضيقين صدرك، بس أنا الي قاهرني ليش ما سويتوا هالتحاليل ذي من زمان، كان صرت أنا أكبر و سويت اللي ابيه فيکم.

أبو لافي:

35 اسمعوا إن كان عندکم نية شينة والله يا الدم لياصل للركب.

أبو لافي:

17 والله ما قدرت أبلع هالسالفه، ماش ما قدرت اهضمها، يعني طول هالسنين عايش مع ها العائلة الثانية و أنت ما تدري.

-

ليلي:

36 أصلن أنت ما صدقت تعيش الجو و تلعب بذيالك.

سليمان:

يا ليلي، والله أنهم ما مهمم أنا وش أسوي و لا افرقت معهم أساسا.

(انتهت الحلقة السابعة)

(مسلسل غشمشم 2 / 2009)

(الحلقة الأولى)

ابراهيم: (طفل)

مبارك و اخوه عبيد طقوني

رشيد: رد:

37 طقوه، طاقين ابراهيم فلذة كبدي دلوع آل حويرش، يطقونه و راسي يشم الهواء، و خروا عني لا أحد يمسكني.

عسكري:

كلن مشتكي عليك ما بقى أحد إلا وتأذى منك.

رشيد:

38 الله يطول عمرك و يسلمك يا عريف عابد الدنيا تشيل و تحط فيني و بعدين هو متبليني أنا وولدي.

العسكري: رد

إذا ما عقلت و لك راح احطه في الأحداث.

رشيد: رد:

39 كلش ولا الأحداث و الله لا أطلقه لين يعرض الأرض أنا اربييه.

العسكري: رد:

خلاص ما دامك تبي تأدبه ابيك توقع في ذا.

رشيد:

لابدن لابدن قولي له رشيد بن حويرش لن يرضى و لن يرضى و لن يرضى.

رجل: رد:

40 يا ابن الحلال امسحها في وجهي و خللك مثل ما قال راعي السالفة.

(انتهت الحلقة الأولى)

(الحلقة الثانية)

رجل (المزيني):

اشوفك قايمن الصبح يا ابو رشيد تشتغل بها النخل.

ابو رشيد:

41 الحمد لله رب العالمين، هذي عيشتنا و رزقنا من وراها المبروكات. بس أنت الحين وش الي جايبك جاي و إلا جايبك السيل.

رجل: المزيني:

منتب مباركن لي، ركبت سنون جديدة في الشام، ومن يوم ما ركبتهن و أنا بس أضحك.

أبو رشيد: رد:

42 ايه، ها الموضوع بييله جلسه.

رشيد:

ابروح معك بيه لسوريا يمكنكم محتاجين شخص يشيل لكم اغراضكم.

أبو رشيد: رد:

لا محنا محتاجين.

رشيد:

و آخر كلمة؟ اقلب وجهي؟!

أبو رشيد: رد:

43 اقلب وجهك، و ورنا عرض اكتافك بعد، رجال ونبي نخليك عن أمك و المزرعة.

رشيد:

إن شاء الله.

زيد:

أهلين

زوجة زيد:

وصلتو أنت ورشيد؟

زيد: رد

44 ايه بس شوفي ابيك تسوين لنا غدا، ترا عصافير بطني بتصوصوا. نبي غدا.

(انتهت الحلقة الثانية)

(الحلقة التاسعة)

أبو رشيد:

ها يا رشيد ما تجي إلا و عندك حاجة.

رشيد: رد:

45 والله إنك فاهمني بيه تلقطها و هي طايرة، الله يطول عمرك ابروح أنا و زيد للرياض.

خالد سامي يضرب رجل مريض:

الرجل المريض:

أي، الله يكسر يدك

خالد سامي:

46 أقول جعلك تموت أنت و حلقك فضخت مرارتي.

الرجل المريض رد:

حلقي يا متوحش.

(انتهت الحلقة التاسعة)

(الحلقة السابعة)

رشيد:

زيد ما جعت.

زيد: رد:

44 إلا و الله عصافير بطني يتصوصوا.

(رشيد و زيد و مدير النادي في مطعم، جاء الغدا)

رشيد لمدير النادي:

30 سَعَّ يا رجال.

مدير النادي رد:

و الله ما يسمي إلا أنت.

رشيد:

أقول ما يسمي إلا أنت.

مدير النادي: (أكل)

(رشيد و زيد و مدير النادي يحلفون على دفع حساب الغدا)

مدير النادي:

والله ما يدفع الحساب إلا أنا.

رشيد رد:

والله أنه أنا أَللي بدفع.

مدير النادي:

الحين تشوفن أحلف و تحلف عقبي أنت ما تستحي على وجهك.

رشيد:

47 يارجال كبر عقلك المرة هذي علي و المرة الجاية عليك.

(رشيد و زيد ينتظرون مدير النادي)

رشيد:

ليه ما ظهر.

زيد: رد

ما أدري عنه.

رشيد:

48 أنا منب رايحن منه إلين بيرد كيدي.

مدير النادي:

أنا داخلن على الله ثم عليك يا شيخ أنك تاخذ حقي.

الشيخ:

ابشر والله لو نجيبها حرب عليهم.

مدير النادي:

22 كفو يا شيخ ودعتك الله في أمان الله

رشيد:

السلام عليكم.

رجل: رد

وعليكم السلام.

رشيد:

49 الله يسلمك، الله يطول عمرك، لا ما شاء الله وجهك مسفر.

الرجل رد:

وش مشكلتك اليوم بعد، أخبرك مشاكلك واجد.

(انتهت الحلقة السابعة)

(الحلقة العاشرة)

رشيد:

إلا على طاري السلف يا دحيم ما عندك سلف.

دحيم: رد

51-50 والله ما عندي إلا ها الثوب، أنت عارف البيير و غطاه

رشيد:رد

52 والله إني داري إنك طفران و لا عندك إلا الضعوي، طيب ما تعرف أحد يسلفني.

الجفرة:

53 اسمع يا زيد، ترى حسابك وصل خمسة آلاف و تراك طولتها ما سددت و إن ما سددت تراني ابشنتيك و الوعد عند ركية الشيخ.

زيد: رد:

أفا أفا بعد بالجفرة تبي تشنتيني على 5 آلاف.

رشيد يخاطب زيد:

شفت السيارة؟

زيد: رد

إلا شفتها.

رشيد: رد

من كثر الدراهم، ويقولون باني بيت.

زيد رد:

54 فله، جعل اللي عطاه بالمالس يعطينا ملعقة.

رشيد:

أمين.

زوجة زيد تخاطب زوجة رشيد:

شكلهم اتفقوا

زوجة رشيد:

55 أنا الى اعرفه انهم إذا حطوا ايديهم بيدين بعض يعني اتفقوا.

(رشيد يحاول سرقة بيت مع زيد)

رشيد: (شاف زيد وخاف)

زيد: وش فيك أنا زيد

رشيد:

56 قطعت قلبي، بلعن أبو بليسك لا بارك الله فيك.

(انتهت الحلقة العاشرة)

(الحلقة الحادية عشر)

(زيد ورشيد يسرقون بيت)

زيد:

شف فاتورتهم عليهم إنذار فصل، أنا قررت أسدد فاتورتهم.

رشيد: رد

57 حتى شف علاجاتها مخلصه، والله إنها تكسر الخاطر.

رشيد:

أنا أعرف مبارك يكنز الدراهم كنز رزم رزم.

زيد: رد

أجل الوعد الليلة.

رشيد:

ما نروح الحين، بكرة الصبح ندخل بيته إن شاء الله.

زيد:

58 تمام، أجل طق الحديد وهو حامي.

(انتهت الحلقة الحادية عشر)

(اجتماع آل حويرش)

شيخ آل حويرش:

59-60 يا اخوان لو سكتنا عن هذي جتنا أكبر منها و صار الشق أكبر من الرقعة و المثل يقول من بلع الأبره هان عليه الهيم.

رجل:

أنا من رايبى نضربه.

رجل آخر:

يا جماعة أنا من رايبى إن رشيد يرجع لعقله و إلا كسرنا راسه لأنه مهيب صاحي و راسه فيه فك.

(انتهت الحلقة الثامنة عشر)

Sources

Mazhah bi razhah, 2010, produced by Saudi Arabia Channel One. Available in Archive Department, Saudi Arabia Channel One, Riyadh, Ref. No. 87264- 87265, Date 1431 Hijri.

Ghashamsham. 2009, produced by Saudi Arabia Channel One. Available in Archive Department, Saudi Arabia Channel One, Riyadh, Ref. No.77082 to 77092. Date 1429 Hijri

APPENDIX 3

The questionnaire materials

An advertisement poster

I am conducting a questionnaire focusing on understanding Najdi idiomatic expressions out of the context of use.

If your first dialect is Najdi Arabic or you have been in Najdi region more than five years, and you are interested in taking a part in the survey, please contact the researcher.

The researcher is:

Ghassan Almahmood

PhD candidate, at University of Leeds

Mobile: 00966503514733

E-mail: ml09ga@leeds.ac.uk

Gh_449@hotmail.com

ملصق إعلاني

أنا أجري دراسة تتعلق بفهم التعبيرات الاصطلاحية خارج سياق الاستخدام
والمستخدمة في لهجة نجد

إذا كانت لهجة نجد هي لهجتك، أو مكثت في منطقة نجد أكثر من خمسة سنوات،
و ترغب في المشاركة في الاستبانة الرجاء التواصل مع الباحث:

الباحث:

غسان المحمود

طالب دكتوراه في جامعة ليدز بالمملكة المتحدة

جوال: 0966503514733

إيميل:

ml09ga@leeds.ac.uk

Gh_449@hotmail.com

University of Leeds

School of Modern Languages and Cultures

Research on the Comprehension of Idioms

By Ghassan Almahmood

Participant Information Sheet

I would like you to take part in the above named study but before you decide, please read the following information in order to know about this topic and what you are expected to do. If you have any questions, don't hesitate to ask me.

This research is done by Ghassan Almahmood as part of his PhD under the supervision of Dr Mustapha Lahlali, of the University of Leeds (UK). The research focuses on the comprehension of Najdi's idiomatic expressions by native speakers and non-native speakers of Najdi Arabic. This work attempts to provide a better understanding of what influence individual words, reader background information and cultural context can have on our understanding of the figurative meaning of idioms.

I am recruiting participants whose are native and non-native speakers of Najdi Arabic. You are required, First, to rate each idiom on a 5 point scale representing how often you had heard each idiom used in the figurative meaning provided. Second, you are also required to decide whether there is a metaphorical correlation between the literal and figurative meaning in each idioms. If you struggle with understanding an idiom or its figurative meaning, please write your comment in the additional comments space.

You have the right to withdraw at any time before or during the questionnaire. and any information taken from you will be discarded. Data handling procedures are in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 (UK), and the information and the texts will be used during the analysis of this research (around six months) with no names attached to each individual's work.

The results of the analysis of the data will be published in the PhD thesis to be submitted with this research, with **ensured anonymisation** of the samples used. Ethical approval has been granted by:

The Arts and PVAC (PVAR) Faculty Research Ethics Committee of the University of Leeds

Ref: **PVAR 12-075** 30 May 2013 and 6 May 2015

If you agree to take part, would like more information or have any questions or concerns about the study please contact Ghassan Almahmood (00966503514733-00447551011575).

Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet.

Ghassan Almahmood

PhD candidate

University of Leeds

جامعة ليدز

قسم اللغات و الحضارات الحديثة

بحث في فهم التعبيرات المجازية

اعداد غسان المحمود

معلومات للمشاركين في الاستبانة

أرجب في دعوتك للمشاركة في هذه الاستبانة الموضحة اعلاه، قبل البدء الرجاء قراءة المعلومات التالية لمعرفة المطلوب عمله منك. إذا لديك أي استفسار الرجاء سؤالي مباشرة.

هذا البحث انجز عن طريق الباحث غسان المحمود كجزء من اطروحة الدكتوراه تحت اشراف الدكتور مصطفى الهلالي في جامعة ليدز بالمملكة المتحدة. البحث يهتم بفهم مكتسب لهجة نجد كلهجة أم أو كلهجة ثانية للتعبير الاصطلاحي النجدية المستخدمة في الإعلام المعاصر. هذا العمل يحاول اضافة مزيد من التوضيح حول تأثير الكلمة الواحدة داخل التعبير، خلفيات القارئ و السياق الحضاري في فهم المعنى المجازي لهذه التعبيرات.

المشارك في هذه الاستبانة يجب أن يكون ممن اكتسب لهجة نجد كلهجة أم أو كلهجة ثانية. على المشارك أن يقوم بـ : أولاً تقييم مدى شهرة أو غرابة التعبير المجازي بالنسبة له عن طريق اختيار خيار و احد من أصل أربع خيارات موفرة. ثانياً على المشارك أيضاً تقييم مدى تطابق القراءة الحرفية للتعبير مع المعنى المجازي. في حالة مواجهة أي صعوبة في فهم التعبير الاصطلاحي أو معناه المجازي الرجاء كتابة تعليقك في خانة اضافة.

للمشارك في هذه الاستبانة حق الانسحاب في أي وقت بدون ابداء أي سبب، و أي معلومة أخذت منك ستحذف. اجراء التعامل مع البيانات موافق لخطة حماية البيانات البريطاني في 1998، و البيانات المجموعة ستستخدم اثناء تحليل البحث (حوالي 6 أشهر) بدون تحديد اسم المشارك في الاستبانة.

نتيجة البحث ستنتشر في اطروحة الدكتوراه و تسلم معه مع ضمان اخفاء هوية المشاركين. تم الحصول على الموافقة الأخلاقية عن طريق

The Arts and PVAC (PVAR) Faculty Research Ethics Committee of the University of Leeds

رقم المرجع

PVAR 12-075

6 May 2015 - 30 May 2013

إذا قررت المشاركة في الاستبانة و لديك الرغبة في الاطلاع على نتائج البحث الرجاء التواصل مع الباحث غسان المحمود

(00966503514733- 00447551011575)

شكراً على قراءة هذه المعلومات المتعلقة بالاستبانة

غسان المحمود

طالب دكتوراه

جامعة ليدز بالمملكة المتحدة

Questionnaire

Rating the familiarity of idioms' figurative meanings (English)

The following is a poll of understanding 60 idioms used in Saudi Arabian soap opera. We would greatly appreciate your cooperation in filling out this questionnaire. Please do not write your name on this questionnaire.

Section one : Participant's personal details:

Age:

less than 20 20-40 More than 40

Educational Level:

1- Post-graduate 2- Undergraduate 3- High school 4- Less than High school

Place of upbringing from age 1 to 6:

Riyadh shire Al-Qassim shire Hayil shire Najran shire the city of Biyshah

Others Please specify _____

The duration of living in Najdi region (that includes: Riyadh shire, Al-Qassim shire, Hayil shire, Najran shire and the city of Biyshah):

1- More than 10 years 2- 5-10 years 3- Less than 5 years

Section two: Main Questionnaire:

Please read the instructions carefully before starting.

This survey aims at is:

- 1- Rating the familiarity of idioms' figurative meanings by native and non-native speakers of Najdi Arabic.
- 2- Understanding the similarity between the literal and figurative meaning.

In this questionnaire, the idiom and its figurative meaning have been provided. Please read them then begin with (Rating of the familiarity of idioms' figurative meanings), you will be asked to select one of the following:

F&A (Familiar and appropriate), which refers to the familiarity of the idiom and the appropriateness of the figurative meaning provided.

F but in/A (Familiar but Inappropriate), which refers to the familiarity of the idioms but it has been used in unrecognised figurative meaning.

3	You slit your pocket	To be too generous	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
4	I'm asking Allah to whiten your face	Thank you	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
5	it does not make me move either forward or backward.	Useless	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
6	You cannot get in through the door	Overweight	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
7	Without Turnover	Without misleading	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
8	I cannot swallow him	Not funny	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
9	Tell me what is inside your heart	Speak out your secret.	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
10	Do not rise your voice	Do not get angry	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
11	I'm in a valley, while you are standing in another.	You do not understand me	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
12	They will cut off my food	To get fired	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
13	The blood is going to reach the knees	Getting hurt.	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
14	My head is breathing	Alive	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
15	You have been brought by the torrent	You came by coincident	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
16	Show me your shoulders' width	Get out	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
17	Sparrows chirp inside my stomach	Starving	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
18	Make your	patient	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	

	mind bigger										
19	I only have this dress (Thūb)	Very poor	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
20	I see you next to alshayk's knee	I'll sue you.	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
21	we wish that who gave you in tablespoon, would gave us in spoon.	We hope to be rich like you.	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
22	Put his hand in my hand	Reaching an agreement	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
23	the tear is bigger than the label.	Unsolved issue	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
24	someone who used to swallow a sewing needle, he/she can easily swallow Hiym	To become easy	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
25	Your face is lightening	Getting better	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
26	Your face is fallen down	Focusing on someone or something	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
27	Their days are not on my hand	It is not up to me to decide the day of their death.	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
28	A part of my lever	My love	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
29	Place in Qurayh	Far away	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
30	They play with your minds	Something gains all your interest	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
31	I am equivalent to my condition	Poor	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
32	On Allah's door	Poor	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
33	His blood is	Funny	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	

	light										
34	It cuts a forehead	Very delicious	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
35	Drink from the sea.	I do not care	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
36	A head word	A secret	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
37	Narrow chest	Sad	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
38	Your flag is white	Thank you	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
39	Give us the butter	The gist	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
40	Playing with your tail	Cheating	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
41	life turns me up and down	In trouble	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
42	Beating the ground	Hurt	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
43	Wipe it on my face	Forgiveness	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
44	Requiring us to site	A dilemma	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
45	You caught it while it was flying	Very clever	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
46	Avoid the headache	Avoid problems	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
47	Cold lever	Relieving	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
48	You know the well and its cover	You know my circumstance	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
49	You only possess Al-ḍa'awy	Poor	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
50	Cutting my heart	Scared	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
51	Hammer the	Do not delay	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	

	iron while it is hot.	it.									
52	It has the particle `inna	It is suspicious	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
53	Allah's safety	Good bye	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
54	God wills you	Good	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
55	Say in the name of Allah	Yes	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
56	If Allah willing	Even if	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
57	It breaks my sense	Sympathise	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
58	Rising our voice	Complaint	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
59	My nephew	My friend	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	
60	He explodes my bitterness	Makes me furious	1	2	3	4	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	

Thank you for your cooperation.

استبانة

تقييم مدى شهرة أو غرابة التعبيرات المجازية المستخدمة في الأعلام المعاصر

هذا استطلاع بخصوص فهم 60 تعبيراً مجازياً مستخدماً في برامج التلفزيون السعودي. نقدر تعاونك في ملء هذه الاستبانة. لا حاجة لكتابة الاسم على هذه الورقة.

القسم الأول: البيانات الشخصية:

الرجاء وضع دائرة على اختيارك:

العمر:	أقل من عشرين	20-40	أكثر من 40
المستوى الدراسي:	شهادة عليا	جامعي	ثانوي
مكان النشأة من سن 1 إلى 6:			

منطقة الرياض منطقة القصيم منطقة حائل منطقة نجران مدينة بيشة غير ما ذكر

الرجاء التحديد: _____

مدة الإقامة في إقليم نجد (يتضمن: منطقة الرياض و القصيم و حائل و نجران و مدينة بيشة) :

أكثر من 10 سنوات من 5 إلى 10 سنوات أقل من 5 سنوات

القسم الثاني: الاستبانة:

الرجاء قراءة التعليمات قبل البدء في ملء الاستبانة

*الغرض من هذه الاستبانة هو التالي:

1- قياس فهم القارئ بالمعنى المجازي للتعبيرات الاصطلاحية المستخدمة في لهجة نجد.

2- فهم علاقة التشابه بين القراءة الحرفية و المعنى المجازي في التعبيرات المستخدمة في الإعلام الحديث.

* في هذه الاستبانة تم توفير المعنى المجازي لكل تعبير.

المراد من مالى الاستبانة هو تقييم مدى شهرة أو غرابة التعبير المجازي بالنسبة له، ثم تقييم مدى تطابق القراءة الحرفية للتعبير مع المعنى المجازي.

*في الخانة الأولى (تقييم مدى شهرة أو غرابة التعبير المجازي بالنسبة لك)الرجاء اختيار الوصف المناسب للحكم على شهرة أو غرابة التعبير المجازي، في حين أن:

معروف و موافق (1) : يشير الى أن التعبير المجازي معروف لديك و أنت أيضا توافق على شهرة المعنى المجازي المكتوب أمام التعبير.

معروف لكن غير موافق (2) : يشير الى أن التعبير المجازي معروف لديك لكن المعنى المجازي الذي تعرفه مختلف عن المعنى المجازي الموفر في الجدول.

شبه مألوف (3) : يشير الى أنك قد سمعت هذا التعبير المجازي من قبل لكنك غير متأكد من المعنى المراد.

غير مألوف (4) : يشير إلى أنك لم تسمع هذا التعبير المجازي من قبل.

	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	4	3	2	1	تمام	ما شاء الله عليك	54
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	4	3	2	1	نعم	سم	55
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	4	3	2	1	إذا	إن شاء الله	56
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	4	3	2	1	أعطف عليك	تكسر خاطر	57
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	4	3	2	1	أشككي	أرفع صوتي	58
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	4	3	2	1	قريب أو صديق	ابن أخي	59
	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	4	3	2	1	يوصل إلى درجة الغضب	يفضخ المرارة	60

انتهت الاستبانة، شكرا لتعاونك



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Consent to take part in [Effects of situational and cultural context on understanding Najdi idioms]

	Add your initials next to the statements you agree with
I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet/ letter [] dated [] explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project.	
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.	
I give permission for members of the research team to have access to my anonymised responses. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research. I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential.	
I agree for the data collected from me to be used in relevant future research.	
I agree to take part in the above research project and will inform the lead researcher should my contact details change.	

Name of participant	
Participant's signature	
Date	
Name of lead researcher	Ghassan Almahmood
Signature	
Date*	

*To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant.

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/ information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.



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الموافقة على المشاركة في (أثر سياق الموقف و السياق الحضاري في فهم التعابير المجازية في لهجة نجد)

أضف رأيك أمام النص الذي توافق عليه	
	هذا تأكيد أنني قرأت و فهمت ورقة معلومات للمشاركين في الاستبانة (فهم التعابير المجازية) بتاريخ () و الموضحة فيها طريقة البحث، و أن كان لدي الوقت للسؤال عن البحث.
	أعلم بأن مشاركتي في هذه الاستبانة تطوعية، و أن بإمكانني الانسحاب في أي وقت أرغب بدون إبداء أي سبب و أيضا بدون أي أثر سلبي. بالإضافة الى ذلك، لدي الحرية في عدم الإجابة عن أي سؤال لا أرغب في الإجابة عنه.
	أعطي الإذن لفريق البحث للاطلاع على اجاباتي التي ستكون مجهولة المصدر. و أعلم أن اسمي لن يرفق مع ورقة الاستبانة، و أيضا لن يضمن في نتائج البحث أو يشار اليه. أعلم بأن اجاباتي ستحفظ بشكل آمن.
	أوافق على أن تستخدم اجاباتي في بحوث مستقبلية متعلقة بموضوع البحث.
	أوافق على المشاركة في الاستبانة أعلاه، و سأبلغ الباحث بأي تغيير في أرقام الاتصال بي.

Name of participant	اسم المشارك في الاستبانة
Participant's signature	التوقيع
Date	التاريخ
Name of lead researcher	اسم الباحث غسان المحمود
Signature	التوقيع
Date*	التاريخ

*توقع و تؤرخ في حضور المشارك في الاستبانة

*To be signed and dated in the presence of the participant.

Once this has been signed by all parties the participant should receive a copy of the signed and dated participant consent form, the letter/ pre-written script/ information sheet and any other written information provided to the participants. A copy of the signed and dated consent form should be kept with the project's main documents which must be kept in a secure location.