

# Meaning Shifts in Baghdadi Dialect: A Lexical Pragmatic Approach

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## Abstract

The present study investigates the semantic shift or meaning change of Baghdadi dialect based on a lexical pragmatic approach. Lexical pragmatic approach tries to give a systematic and explanatory account of pragmatic phenomena that are connected with semantic under specification of lexical items. The conceptual core of lexical pragmatics demands a formulation of conversational implicatures paired with the idea of semantic under specification of the lexicon and appropriate representation of contextual an encyclopedic knowledge( Wilson D lectures, 2006-07:1). This approach posses two sub theories lexical semantics and conversational implicature. It is intended to: (1) collecting Baghdadi dialect's meaning shift from different informants of Baghdadi dialect, (2) examine these words or phrases by using lexical pragmatic approach. The result shows that some of the words of Baghdadi dialect prove that they have undergone the process of meaning shift, some of the utterances turned to have either negative or positive meaning. The study shows that psychological assumptions of the context are very important for the interpretation of the meaning of a word which has been affected by semantic shift. The contextual knowledge of the hearer enables him to differentiate the various meanings of a word and eventually settle on the speaker's intended meaning. Therefore, socio-cultural forces also allow people to come in contact under different circumstances, contribute to the shift in meaning of words in a language. The types of semantic shift present in Baghdadi dialect are narrowing and broadening. On the basis of the results a number of effects that led to the semantic shift are presented.

**Keywords:** Baghdadi dialect, lexical pragmatic processes, meaning shifts, semantic change,

### Introduction

There has been an increasing interest in investigating meaning shift in different languages. This paper focuses on the study of semantic changes in Baghdadi dialect based on the unitarily approach of lexical pragmatics. The analysis of different languages plays a significant role in showing how language is used, and how language is changed depends on different factors; whether religious, socio- cultural forces such as, the exposure to other languages like Persian and Turkish languages, war, and using social networks (Rabab'ah, 2008:9). According to McMahon, (1994:180), Meillet proposed three factors: linguistic, historical, and social factors later on, Ultman added psychological factor of semantic shift.

First of all, lexical pragmatics is a branch of linguistics that investigates the process by which specified word meanings are modified in` use (Wilson and Carston, 2007: 2). According to updated works of lexical pragmatics, the meaning of words are frequently changing or adjusted, so they are expressing different meaning from their literal coded sense. Lexical pragmatics proposed to sub-theories: conversational implicature and lexical semantics. Conversational implicatures refer to the relationship between what is said and what is meant in a conversation. The term was introduced H. Paul Grice who suggested that there is a set of overarching assumptions guiding the conduct of conversation. Speakers of a language are able to draw inferences about what is meant but not what is actually said. The ease with which people recognize and interpret implicatures begins from their knowledge of how people in their linguistic community use language to communicate with each other (Saeed, 1993:204). The native speaker knowledge of an utterance involves more than the literal meaning of the utterance, it depends on the contextual assumptions between the hearer and the speaker since they share the same knowledge.

On the other hands, lexical semantics studies how and what the words of a language denote. Words may either be taken to denote things in the world or concepts depending on the particular approach to lexical semantics. The goal of lexical semantics is to study the relationship between the words and the mentally represented concepts they encode. Lexical semantics goes further to account for multiword units. These are cases where a group of words have a unitary meaning which does not correspond to the individual meaning of the words used (Pustejovsky, 1995:47). For example, the word 'قفل' it means 'to lock something' later on, it gains another meaning which means 'a stubborn person'. This shows an example of a word that has a unitary meaning in addition to its original meaning.

## Meaning Shifts in Baghdadi Dialect: A Lexical Pragmatic Approach....

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Human beings can construct *ad hoc* concepts on the model of existing concepts using contextual assumptions which are derived from encyclopedic entries of existing concepts with different denotations. An *ad hoc* concept is one that is made up on the spot, one that a person is unlikely to have had already made (Horn and Ward, 2004:618).

According to (Carston, 2002:322), the term *ad hoc* refers to concepts that are constructed pragmatically by a hearer as he tries to comprehend an utterance. Ad hoc concepts are not given linguistically but they are made in specific contexts in response to specific expectations of relevance. People can incorporate different information from long term memory in the encyclopedic entries to form distinct concepts for a single category. For example:

The category of 'lions' can be conceptualized as 'living in the bush', 'carnivorous, or dangerous, depending on an individual's knowledge of 'lions'. The basic characteristic of *ad hoc* concept is that it is accessed in a particular context through a spontaneous process of pragmatic inference and is distinct from a concept which is accessed by the process of lexical decoding.

Meaning shift or semantic change is a universal phenomena in all languages not specified in one language instead of the others. Words or phrases face changing or shifting in meaning from one generation to another. This changing does not mean the original meaning is removed or deleted completely but it likely diminished. There are a lot of factors led to the meaning change; one of the factors is psychological factor (including taboo, euphemism and hyperbole) which influence the way people use words in a language depending on their perception of the words in the mind. When speakers feel the word is a taboo or vulgar, they prefer to use euphemisms. Another factor is socio-cultural (including legal systems and social taboos) forces which trigger semantic shifts in a language are seen to cause new meanings to be attached to already existing words, also technology and civilization and religion is another factor that triggers semantic change in a language.

Any discussion of lexical pragmatics must make some kind of distinction between semantics and pragmatics, the relatively new field of lexical pragmatics explores the application of the semantics-pragmatics distinction at the level of individual words or phrases rather than whole utterances (Wilson, 2004: 344). Lexical interpretation typically involves the construction of *an ad hoc* information or occasion-specific sense, based on interaction among encoded concepts, contextual information and pragmatic expectations or principles (Wilson and Carston, 2007: 2). Human

beings can construct ad hoc concepts using contextual assumptions which are derived from the encyclopedic knowledge of different denotations (Horn and Ward, 2004:618).

The present study aims at investigating the semantic changes of words or phrases of Baghdadi dialect depending on the unified theory of lexical pragmatic approach. On the basis of this aim, the following questions are formulated:

1. What are the lexical pragmatic processes that are apparent in Baghdadi dialect?
2. Are the semantic changes of Baghdadi dialect is comparable with Wilson and Carston (2007) unitarily theory of lexical pragmatic approach?

The present study addresses itself to the investigation of semantic changes in Baghdadi dialect. Accordingly, it is intended to fill a gap in pragmatic research.

### Literature Review

Semantic change has attracted the attention of academic discussions. The first major works of modern times were by Bloomfield (1933). He discussed different types of semantic changes such as, narrowing, widening, metaphor and hyperbole. He claimed that every semantic change of a word would also affect all other words in lexical field (Khachula, 2013:18).

Ultman (1957), cited in (Khachula, 2010: 19), asserted that word may retain its previous sense while at the same time acquire one or other senses. Ultman distinguished between the nature and consequences of semantic change in lexical items of a language. He claims that whenever there is a semantic change in a word, certain changes must occur in terms of the resultant meaning of the word.

Blank and Koch (1999: 237-240) wrote about semantic shift. They commented on the various forces that trigger semantic change in a language. Words may be used in different contexts to give different meanings that the speaker wishes to convey. One lexeme would convey depending on the context in which it occurs. Blank and Koch also mentioned psychological factors which influence the way people look at the word depending on their perception of the words in the mind.

In the same way, Baghdadi dialect, as Blank said, has undergone semantic changes due to a number of factors related to religious, socio-cultural forces such as, the exposure to other languages like Persian and Turkish languages, war, and using social networks ( Rababa'h, 2008:9). Speakers of a language mingle with various forces that trigger semantic

change in a language. Speakers of Baghdadi dialect are forced to add new meanings to words which are related to different factors mentioned previously.

### Theoretical Background

The basic idea of lexical pragmatics was launched in a new classical paper (McCawley, 1978). Discussing several examples – including the much quoted example in which kill and cause to die are distinguished, McCawley argued that “*a lexical item and a syntactically complex equivalent of it may make different contributions to the interpretation of a sentence without making different contributions to its semantic structure*” (p.257). Alluding to Grice’s (1967) maxims of conversation, McCawley demonstrated that the difference between the linguistically encoded semantic structure and the suggested interpretation is a consequence of general principles of cooperative behaviour and as such is systematic and predictable. As a consequence, he claimed that there is no need to formulate idiosyncratic restrictions that must be incorporated into the relevant lexical entries in order to restrict the system of interpretations. The suggested division of labour between semantics and pragmatics has important consequences for keeping semantics simple and for applying the semantic tool of decomposition (ibid).

According to Bulter (1998:115) “lexical pragmatics is a research field that tries to give a systematic and explanatory account of pragmatic phenomena that are connected with the semantic under specification of lexical items”. Cases in point are the pragmatics of adjectives, systematic polysemy, the distribution of lexical and productive causatives, blocking phenomena, the interpretation of compounds, and many phenomena presently discussed within the framework of Cognitive Semantics (ibid). The approach combines a constrained-based semantics with a general mechanism of conversational implicature. The basic pragmatic mechanism rests on conditions of updating the common ground and allows giving a precise explication of notions as generalized conversational implicature and pragmatic anomaly (ibid). The fruitfulness of the basic account is established by its application to a variety of recalcitrant phenomena among which its precise treatment of Atlas & Levinson's Q- and I-principles and the formalization of the balance between informativeness and efficiency in natural language processing (Horn's division of pragmatic labor) deserve particular mention (ibid). The basic mechanism is subsequently extended by an abductive reasoning system which is guided by subjective probability. The extended mechanism turned out to be capable of giving a

principled account of lexical blocking, the pragmatics of adjectives, and systematic polysemy.

Another theory of lexical pragmatics presented by Wilson (2003:333) that investigates the processes by which linguistically specified word meanings are modified in use. Well-studied examples include Narrowing, Approximation, and Metaphorical extensions have been seen as distinct pragmatic processes studied in isolation.

Recently, a unified model of analysis has been presented by (Wilson and Carston, 2007: 3). This model is considered a radical version which argues not only narrowing and broadening involve the same interpretive mechanisms, but there are a lot of cases of broadening ranging from literal use of approximation and other forms of figurative cases such as, hyperbole and metaphor. Such a unified theory rejects the traditional distinction between literal and figurative meaning.

### Modal of Analysis

Lexical pragmatics has a goal of explaining how hearers bridge the gap between the concept encoded and the concept expressed by use of a word (Sperber and Wilson, 2007-2008:5). A concept is a heading in memory which is a constituent of the conceptual representation of utterances or thoughts (ibid).

Kolaiti and Wilson (2012:27) explored an application of the semantics-pragmatics distinction at the level of word or phrase more than the utterance. A central goal is to investigate the processes by which encoded word meanings and modified in use. These processes are Narrowing, Broadening, Hyperbole, Metaphore, Approximation and Category extension.

1. **Lexical narrowing** involves the use of a word to convey a more specific sense than the encoded one, with a more restricted denotation (picking out a subset of the items that fall under the encoded concept) (Wilson,2004: 343). Narrowing may take place to different degrees, and in different directions. For example, *I'm not drinking tonight* here the speaker conveying that he will not drink any liquid but he will not drink any alcohol.
2. **Lexical broadening** involves the use of a word to convey a more general sense than the encoded one, which involves expansion or generalization of specific case (Campbell, 1998:267). This unified approach to lexical pragmatics treats approximation, hyperbole and metaphor as subvarieties of broadening which differ mainly in the degree to which the linguistically-specified denotation is expanded. For

example, the word 'dog' referred to a specific breed of dogs but now it is used to refer to any dog.

**2.a. Approximation** is the case where a word with a relatively strict sense is marginally extended to include a penumbra of items that strictly speaking fall outside its linguistically-specified denotation. (Wilson and Carston, 2007 :9). For example, *My house is near the sea*. Here the word 'near' does not give the exact distance between My house and the sea.

**2.b. Hyperbole** is seen as involving a further degree of broadening, and hence a greater departure from the encoded meaning (Kachula, 2013:17). For example, *the policy will bankrupt the farmers*. Here is used to indicate hyperbolically that as a result of the government's policy, the farmers will be substantially poorer than might have been expected or desired.

**2.c. Metaphore extension** Trask (1994:43) defines metaphor as "a figure of speech based on a perceived similarity between distinct objects or actions". Metaphors are figures of speech which are not taken literally. Metaphorical change usually involves a word with a concrete meaning taking on a more abstract sense, although the word's original meaning is not lost. In the example 'he is a lion' the concept of 'lion' comes in the hearer's mind not only as an animal but also as courage and brave.

**2.d. Category extension** According to Wilson (2003:4) category extension is typified by the use of salient brand names to denote a broader category including items from less salient brands. For example, *omo* is a brand name for a specific type of washing powder but the name is widely used to refer to all washing powders.

### DATA ANALYSIS

The present study presented a number of words or phrases to examine semantic change. To achieve its aims, a corpus of words has been collected randomly from different informants who were competent speakers of Baghdadi dialect (i.e., by making interviews with people, from radio programs, T.V. shows) and also looking for words from a dictionary specialized with Baghdadi dialect.

The present study has adopted the unified theory of lexical pragmatics as a model of analysis. This model presents unified accounts that reject the traditional distinction between literal and figurative meaning, this model has two major processes: the first is narrowing and the second is broadening, it treats approximation, category extension, metaphor, and hyperbole as a sub varieties of broadening. On this account, a detailed description of the model will be presented, and applied it into Baghdadi dialect with a description of the lexical items that appeared in each category and how it changes in meaning.

After presenting the results of this study, a list of Baghdadi dialect words that has been changed or adjusted in meaning will be presented.

### Results and Discussion

1. **Narrowing:** involves the use of a word to convey a more specific sense than the encoded one. Here the meaning of a word becomes less general and less inclusive than its earlier meaning. For example in English I'm not drinking tonight, the verb 'drink' used to mean 'drink liquids' or 'drink alcohol', the verb 'drink' has acquired an additional lexical sense as a result of frequent narrowing to the more specific sense 'drink alcohol'.

For example in Baghdadi dialect:

- صاير يغني

Sāyr yġny

He is singing

The verb 'يغني' in Baghdadi dialect was widely used for singing a song. This verb was extended to mean 'increasing prices'. So when Iraqi speakers use this verb in their utterances, usually the second meaning is the one that is encoded in their mind.

- شكذ وغف

Škd wġf

What a yeast is he!

Another example of narrowing is the use of the word 'وغف'. The word was used to mean 'yeast' of cream. But another meaning has appeared to refer to the person that is 'unbearable'. When Iraqis use this word in their utterances the narrowed meaning comes first in their mind than the original meaning.

- طعمه زهر

ṭ'mh zhr

Its taste is bitter

'زهر' is a word originally borrowed from the Persian language which used to mean 'poison', but this word has changed in use. Now it is narrowed to refer to the food that has 'bitter taste'.

- يشرب هوايه

Yšrb hwayh

He drinks a lot

As in English, when we say 'يشرب هوايه' it means 'he drinks a lot' usually a specific meaning comes into our mind than the encoded one, which is 'drink alcohol' instead of 'drink liquids'.

2. **Broadening:** is the process in which the meaning of the word becomes more general than its historically earlier form. So the word



used to convey more general sense than the encoded one, with an expansion of the linguistically-specified denotation.

There are a lot of words in Baghdadi dialect that has been increased in meaning from its encoded one. So its original meaning become a member of other different meanings.

- شكذ فاشوشي

Škd fāšwšy

### What a lazy person

The word 'فاشوش' in Baghdadi dialect used to mean 'anything that is empty from its fruit now its meaning has been broadened to mean 'a person who is lazy or cannot handle things'.

- هذوله حواسم

hḏwlh ḥwāsm

### they are people who are accidently rich

The word 'حواسم' was 'a name of a war. After the war in 2003 another meaning appeared, it is used to mean 'any person who steal money and become accidently rich'. Now it is broadened to mean 'name of regions'.

- هذا فرخ

hḏā frḥ

### he is a gay

Another example of broadening in Iraqi dialect is the word 'فرخ'. Baghdadi dialect speakers used this word to refer 'to the new born infants', later on this word has increased to refer to 'sons of adultery' or for 'a gay'.

- اني حديقة

Āny hdyqā

### I'm a garden

The word 'حديقة' its original meaning was 'garden'. Its meaning has been increased to mean 'a person who has nothing to do' or 'a person who is not in relationship with anyone'.

## 2.1 Hyperbole

This involves the use of exaggeration but is not meant to be taken literally.

e.g.,

- ميت من الجوع

Myt mn alḡw

### I'm hungry to death.

The word 'death' encodes the meaning of death when it literarily happens. We first think about death, but later on we understand that the speaker is just complaining about being very hungry.

- عصرت مخي

ʿsrṭ mḥy

**I squeeze my brain**

The word 'squeeze' encodes the concept of squeezing. When the word squeeze is used, we first think about squeezing things or fruits. In this case we understand from looking at the context that the speaker is thinking a lot to restore information.

- تكسرت عظامي  
tksrt 'zāmy

**My bones are broken**

The word 'break' is seen to encode the concept of 'break'. By looking at this utterance, we understand that the speaker is complaining about a pain in his whole body or he is so tired that he cannot move on or do anything.

- حار نار  
hār nār

**It is hot like fire**

The word 'fire' is used in here to mean that the speaker is complaining about the weather from being too hot to handle.

- أكسر خشمك  
Āksr ḥšmk

**I will break your nose.**

The word 'break' is seen to encode the concept of break. In here, what we interpret that the speaker is going to humiliate or insult someone.

**2.2. Metaphor:** this type of semantic change in which a word or phrase literally denoting one idea is used in place of another.

- أسود الرافدين  
Āswd ālrāfdyn

**Lions of al-Rafidein**

The word 'lion' encodes the concept LION. Our encyclopedic knowledge of lions includes the information that they are strong, and fearless. The hearer uses this concept with encyclopedic knowledge as starting point for constructing a hypothesis about the concept that the speaker wants to express, and the implications the speaker wants to convey. Therefore, the word 'lion' has been used metaphorically to refer to a person who has bravery and ability to win against his enemies.

- شلون ذيب

**Šlwn dyb**

**What a wolf**

The word 'wolf' encodes the concept of Wolf. Our knowledge of wolf includes the information that they are clever, and cunning. Therefore, the word 'fox' has been used metaphorically to refer to a person who is clever

in his actions and can do things very easily, or a person who deceives people by his acting.

- چنه حية

Ġnh ħyh

**She looks like a snake**

The word 'snake' encodes the concept of SNAKE. Our encyclopedic knowledge of snake is that they are having soft skin, vicious, poisonous, and tricky. Therefore, the word 'snake' has been used metaphorically to refer to the woman that has a beautiful face from the outside but her character is very vicious and tricky.

- شكذ حمار

Škd ħmār

**What a donkey!**

The concept of the word donkey is that it is dumb, naïve, and innocent. For that reason, the word 'donkey' has been used metaphorically to refer to the person who acts very foolishly, or acting in a dumbly way.

- عقله محجر

‘qlh mħğr

**His brain is a stone**

The concept of the word stone is that it is very tough, and unbreakable. Therefore, the word 'stone' has been used metaphorically to refer to a person who is very stubborn in his decisions and does not have any flexibility in his reactions.

**2.3 Approximation:** is often treated as a case of pragmatic vagueness which involves different contextually determined standards of precision (Lasersohn, 1999) called it a **pragmatic halo**.

- فد ساعة وأني يمك

Fd sā‘a w āny ymq

**I will arrive within an hour**

(Within an hour) this expression is used to situate the number referred to in the vicinity of the value corresponding to the precise cardinal number.

- أني مفلس

Āny mfls

**I'm a bankrupt**

This utterance contains the word (bankrupt). In this case, the speaker would be interpreted as claiming that he is near or close enough to bankruptcy.

- بعد شويه واوصل

b‘d šwyh w āwṣl

**I will be here soon**

Here the expression (I will be there soon) in this utterance might be intended as approximation, so the speaker would be interpreted as claiming he/she is close enough to home/or to any other place.

- صارلي هوايه مشايك

**ṣārly hwāyh mšāyfk**

**it has been a long time when I saw you**

In this utterance the expression (a long time) gives loosening/approximation which intend to mean that it has been a long time I have not seen you. So when different hearers exposed to this expression their understanding would be totally different from each other.

**2.4 Category extension:** this case is part of pragmatic broadening. It can be defined as the use of salient brand names, personal names, and common nouns to refer to a broader category.

- صاير بيكاسو

**Sāyr bykās w**

**He becomes Picasso**

‘Picasso’ might be understood as conveying an ad hoc concept of Picasso which represents of a broader category of a brilliant painter, or to anyone that is forceful exponents of a particular approach. It depends on the interpretation of the hearer.

- ينرادلنه تاي ت

**Ynrādlnh tāyt**

**We need Tide**

‘Tide’ might be understood as conveying an ad hoc concept of Tide which represents a broader category of brand name to refer to any brand of washing soaps.

- الكيات ماليه الشارع

**Ālkyāt mālyh ālšār**

**There is a lot of Kia cars in the street**

‘kia’ in here is used to represent a broader category of any sub-type of this brand. So speaker of Iraqi dialect usually use the main name of the brand in cars to refer to any sub-type of it.

- رح انصير مثل افغانستان

**rḥ ānšyr mtl āfgānstān**

**we will be like Afghanistan**

‘Afghanistan’ may be understood as representing the category of disastrous military interventions.

### Conclusions

The aim of carrying out the present study was to prove that some of Baghdadi dialect words or phrases have undergone the processes of semantic change; this has been presented through various examples in the study.

The theory was used in order to justify that its various processes are responsible for meaning shift of the affected Baghdadi dialect lexemes. The study was used and discussed using lexical pragmatic approach which proved to be very adequate in the analysis of the data. From the study, the following observations were made:

1. If we look at the words or phrase of Baghdadi dialect presented in this study, we will see that a lot of them become more negative in its usage. Most of the words in Baghdadi dialect faced pejoration.
2. Media, social networks, and wars have a great influence in changing the words. By looking through the history of the language, we find that some meanings of the words suddenly launched in the language just because it is used in media or social networks and after that become an everyday words in language.
3. This study presents how young generations use words dramatically different from older one. Because of the effect of war, socio-cultural factors, media, and social networks, this led to the emergence of new meanings to certain words.
4. When using language, background information is needed to interpret the meaning of the utterances. The background information is presented in the form of concepts that are stored and retrieved in the mind of the speaker and the hearer to get the intended meaning.
5. In trying to comprehend an utterance, the hearer constructs an ad hoc concept using contextual assumptions which are derived from the encyclopedic knowledge of concepts with different connotations.
6. A number of words were found to have changed in terms of their meanings while maintaining their original forms.
7. Different factors cause semantic shifts in Baghdadi dailect which include human factors, physical environment and psychological factors. Semantic shift has some effects on the affected words in a language. The meaning of the words will become more specific or general depending on the type of semantic shift that affected the word. The new meaning can also become more positive or negative compared to the original meaning of the word.

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**Appendix One: Words that have narrowed in meaning**

Word	Original meaning	Present meaning
يشرب	Drink a liquid Take alcohol	Take alcohol
56	It is an ordinary number It is used to frock	It is used to frock
بوري	Funnel Promising someone to do something but he/she didn't	Promising someone to do something but he/she didn't
يشمر علينا	Throw things Lying on us	Lying on us
يصبغ	Paint on walls Butter someone up	Butter someone up
صاير يغني	Singing a song Increasing prices	Increasing prices
هذا الضلع	Rib close friend	Close friend
الاطحين	Flour To smash enemy till death and turns them into flour	To smash enemy till death and turns them into flour
مضغوط	Pressing things A person who is very jealous from someone	A person who is very jealous from someone
وغف	Yeast of cream Someone who is unbearable	Someone who is unbearable
شلغم	A kind of food A sticky person	A sticky person
يقط	Sharpen a pencil When a person sell you something with a double price so he is sharpened	When a person sell you something with a double price so he is sharpened
بلانكو	A juice of fruit To refer to alcohol in indirect way	To refer to alcohol in indirect way

Word	Original meaning	Present meaning
حديقة	Garden	1. Garden 2. Someone has nothing to do 3. Someone who is not in a relationship
يخبط	Take a portion	1. Take a portion 2. Steal something
حواسم	A name of a war	1. A name of a war 2. A name of a person who steal some

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		money 3. A name of region
فرخ	A newborn child	1. A newborn child 2. A boy that dance in the middle of people 3. A son of adultery
نیشان	A marked sign	1. Marked sign 2. The gold that a man present to his wife
زفر	For dirty things	1. For dirty things 2. For dirty expressions, or words.
فاشوش	For anything that is empty of its fruit	1. For anything that is empty of its fruit. 2. For a person whose lazy in doing things or cannot handle things.
زوج	For pair of things	1. For pair of things. 2. For a dumb person
مصخم	For dark things	1. For dark things 2. For bad luck
ارنب	Animal	1. Animal 2. For a dumb person
ميز	A table	1. A table 2. Make someone like a table and make fun of him/her
حمت/حممة	Overheated things	1. Overheated things 2. People who exaggerate in their stories
سطل	A bucket	1. A bucket 2. A dumb person
خفيف	Anything light	1. Anything light 2. For a person who acts unrationally
جامد	Frozen	1. Frozen 2. For cold personalities
بومة	An animal	1. An animal 2. For unpleasant character

### Appendix Three: Words that totally changed in meaning

Word	Original meaning	New meaning
حشاش	The one who cuts the grass	The one who makes jokes all the time and acts in an unserious way
ايدة طويلة	Generous person	For a stealer
خاتون	For a woman who belongs to a high rank	For mocking a person
افندي	For a woman who belongs to a high rank	For mocking a person
شيله	Making a rice	A group of close friends