

## Patterns of Repetition in Folk Song Driven by Phonology and Morphology

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### ABSTRACT

This paper investigates patterns of morphological repetition in Arabic demonstrated in folk songs, including suffixes, roots and patterns. It also analyzes the functions of the reported repetitions, and examines the interaction between morphological repetition and phonological repetition, represented via rhyme. To supply the data, multiple examples are retrieved from twenty Jordanian folk songs. A statistical analysis is conducted to obtain a frequency distribution and to calculate the percentage of suffix repetitions on the rhyming lines; the selected lines are transcribed and translated. The study proves that folk poetry relies heavily on Arabic morphology, especially suffixation, to illuminate its rhetorical, prosodic and emphatic effects. The results show that suffix repetition occurs most frequently (34.14%), followed by root repetition (25.85%) and pattern repetition (15.28%). The percentage of rhyming lines affected by suffix repetition and final word pattern in each hemistich registered (30.46%) and (45%), respectively. The results confirm that rhyming in folk poetry is not produced haphazardly by the articulation of repeated sounds; instead, it is structured by means of systematic morphological repetition which promotes the theory that repetition is inherently a prosodic device in Arabic. Contrary to the model proposed by Shoubi (1951), which introduces repetition as a negative exaggeration and over assertion, this work proves that repetition is a productive strategy at several linguistic levels, provoked to satisfy the immediate requirements of the language in each context.

**Keywords:** Repetition; suffix; root; pattern; rhyme; folk song.

### 1. Introduction and Rationale of the Study

A language exhibits a number of key elements such as sound system and sound patterns, word formation systems and sentence patterns. More importantly, it is a keystone of sociocultural identity since it is the store of many aspects including our names, habits, customs, social behaviour, norms, beliefs, humour, stories and songs (including folk songs). It is the treasure of our collective memory (cf. Nelson, 2007, pp. 203-204).

#### 1.1 Folk Songs

The life cycle is the main concern of folk songs; they cover many related topics, including childbirth, betrothal, marriage, childrearing (nursery rhymes) and death (mourning), as well as other topics of interest to the community such as love, farming, seasons, games, war and politics (Rosenhouse, 2001, p. 30; Mashaqba et al. 2020a). The main concern of this work is the spontaneous linguistic performance to be found in the creative production of Jordanian folk songs within their sociolinguistic contexts. We are fully aware that most of this beautiful legacy has been lost for many reasons: first and foremost is the lack of serious documentation, which poses a critical challenge to those who are interested in this field. This systematic ignorance rises from the negative view of the defenders of Standard Arabic who seem to suppose that studying, documenting or following genres written/spoken in Arabic dialects is anti-Arabic. This assumption is not limited to Arabic but extends to other languages, such as English (cf. Watts, 2010).

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Received on 20/6/2019 and Accepted for Publication on 16/9/2019.

### **1.2 Repetition in Arabic**

Repetition serves in several linguistic functions including language production, discourse comprehension, connection, interaction, and coherence (Tannen, 1987, p. 574). These notions can be applied to morphological repetition in folk songs which contributes to (i) the production of language aided by the adjacency of morphemes, roots, and patterns, (ii) the comprehension of discourse through the usage of linguistic entities creating paradigmatic relationships, (iii) the connection between prosodic items (e.g., syllable, foot, stress),<sup>1</sup> (iv) the interaction between speakers and listeners towards the lines of folk poetry, and (v) the cohesion of the poetic discourse.

It is also a useful strategy by which interlocutors produce a discourse in the margins of their surrounding culture and milieu (Tannen, 1987, p. 574). Language is a social communicative practice, and culture forms the central content of language teaching (Kramersch, 1993, p. 8). Thus, a culture illuminates the understating of a given discourse accompanied by its linguistic and rhetorical elements. Within culture-related poetry, morphological repetition allows both fluent production and ready comprehension of poetic structures and elements brought within simple discourse lexically and semantically (Axelrod & García, 2007, p.108). Recall that repetition of linguistic elements (e.g., segments, grammatical structures, or lexical elements) and measured poetic units (e.g., lines) are major rhetorical processes (Nida, 1984, p. 287); hence, the main concern of analyzing folk poetry in terms of morphology is to demonstrate that suffixes, root and pattern repetitions are not merely ornamental figures, but rather that they fill crucial rhetorical and discourse building needs (cf. Johnstone, 1991, p. 71).<sup>2</sup>

Repetition is claimed to be a significant metalinguistic practice of the communication held in written discourse (including online communication), and establishes the general trend of linguistics' dependence on the reflexivity of language (cf. Duncker, 2017, p. 28). As a form of redundancy in discourse, repetition also plays a crucial role in multimodality of communication and focuses on social, contextual, interactional, psychological and pragmatic parameters (cf. Bazzanella, 2011, p. 243). In terms of textual relation in discourse, repetition adds to the interaction between coherence and lexical cohesion, and it has quantitatively been reported as the most frequent device of lexical cohesion (González, 2011, p. 167; Huneety et al. 2017, p. 116; Huneety et al. 2019).

Lexical and structural repetition play an integral role in Pre-Islamic/Classical Arabic poetry (e.g., Al-Jabir, 2016, p. 244), and in modern Standard Arabic poetry (e.g., Al Mazaydah, 2015, p. 1556). Its role concerns adding linguistic elements to the meaning and the musical and artistic style; it also grants the poetic text a special form of textual harmony (cf. O'laimat, 2016, p.1055).

The driving force of this study is that although Jordanian folk poetry is a rich source of Arabic poetic-morphology where the intersection between linguistic and rhetorical constituents is preeminent, insufficient literature has discussed the morphology of Arabic folk songs. By way of contrast, a great deal of study has dealt with selected phonological or morphological aspects of non-Arabic folk songs (e.g., Zwicky, 1986; Hayes & MacEachern, 1996; Haig, 2004; Vazquez, 2006; Conklin & Anagnostopoulou, 2011).

This study aims to trace cases of attested morphological repetition in Jordanian Arabic (JA) folk songs including suffixes, roots and patterns, and then analyzes the functions of the reported repetition type. We will investigate the way each repetition contributes to capturing the suprasegmental aspect of phonology (specifically rhyme).

### **1.3 Rationale of the Study**

Studying folk songs is important for a number of reasons. (i) It provides a crucial piece of evidence and a source in support of the continuous linguistic change of dialects (cf. Watts, 2010; Mashaqba et al. 2020a). In terms of language shift, which involves a progressive redistribution of language, folk songs are among the last bastions of survival for the

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<sup>1</sup> For details on such prosodic elements in Arabic, refer to Mashaqba and Huneety (2018).

<sup>2</sup> Root and pattern in Arabic morphology are abstract morphemes which differ in their form and function. Root comprises a successive sequence of radicals/consonants (typically three consonants) which represents a semantic field. Pattern roughly refers to the templatic characters interdigitating with the consonantal root, which includes short vowels, long vowels, and sometimes affixed consonants which together form the structure of the word. Root interdigitates with pattern to form a wide range of stems (Dichy & Farghaly, 2003; Neme & Laporte, 2013; Mashaqba, 2015; Mashaqba & Huneety, 2017).

dominated language (Mesthrie, 2001, p. 495). (ii) Folk songs are the best reserve of spoken language and record the most important features of sociocultural life in a simple, spontaneous and unaffected manner. They form an intriguing section of a larger framework, the Cognitive Cultural Model (Kristiansen, 2008, p. 64; Mashaqba et al. 2020a). According to Social Identity Theory, folk songs successfully participate in an inevitable positive natural categorization of language so that they constitute part of the stereotype of such lectal/idiomatic and social classification (Tajfel, 1969, 1981; cited in Kristiansen, 2008, p. 64). In other words, patterns of speech produced by a specific group help the interlocutors to identify the larger domain of the social group itself (Kristiansen, 2008, p. 67). (iii) It provides the opportunity to archive a wide range of vocabulary which is becoming increasingly uncommon among young people. (iv) It further helps changing the cognitive image/stereotype in the minds of those who do not know the culture (as we shall see below), and it establishes a framework for the gradual state of change in people's attitudes and thoughts (for instance, from being conservative to becoming open-minded). Finally, (v) folk songs are a register of socially constructed language; this claim is evident from the complete absence of other vital manifestations such as politics.

One of the challenges is that folk songs are sung in Arabic dialects (not in Standard Arabic). This encourages Arab linguists to persistently neglect this artistic form (cf. Rosenhouse, 2001, p. 31). The cognitive approach defines two contradicting images that reflect the term dialect: the first believes that a dialect is correlated with negative features such as bad, low-class, simple, naïve, and used by uneducated people. The other viewpoint adopts the positive side of dialect; it focuses on important shared features: it is direct, rich in vocabulary, honest, expressive, intimate, practical, dynamic, oral (spoken) and homogeneous. (Watts, 2010, p. 313). This hypothesis recalls a more intriguing question: which language (Standard Arabic or spoken dialect) is dominant? Through careful consideration of the available resources and the historic reality of folk songs over the last century, one can academically and objectively judge that modern dialects dominate the linguistic scene in Jordan. For this reason, this linguistic study of folk songs is a dynamic and realistic investigation of the mastered language in northern Jordan over a long period of time. Subsequently, the study is expected to produce fruitful results that pave the road for further linguistic investigation.

Folk songs (specifically wedding songs) have long been under consideration in Oriental literature and folklore studies (e.g., Havas, 1970; Zwettler, 1978; Avishur, 1987; Oring, 1987; Libbis, 1989; Palva, 1992; Shiloah, 1999; Obeidat, 2018). The first serious attempt to trace certain linguistic elements in folk songs in colloquial Arabic was by Rosenhouse (2001). She investigated women's wedding songs in Arabic in four regions and language groups: the Muslim, Christian, Druze and Jewish communities. The major finding of her study is that 'many of the songs are common to all the four communities' (Rosenhouse, 2001, p. 29).

Folk song is a societal image that reflects the customs and traditions of the people in spoken language. This social image can best be revealed via language and hence language studies. Folk songs cover several Arab communities (urban-rural-Bedouin) and nowadays are referred to by specific names, such as *zaffa*, *hinna* songs, *hdže:ni*, *je:la*, *mi:đžana*, *mho:rabe*, *šita:ba*, *hida:?*, *sa:mir*, *qarra:di* for men, and *mha:ha:h* and *tarawi:d* (Libbis, 1989; Abu Hadaba, 1976; Rosenhouse, 2001). However, the present study will focus on three other types, not mentioned earlier, namely *đžo:fijje*, *ja-zari:f at-tu:l*, and *đžafra*.

## 2. Literature Review

Repetition is a rhetorical device which involves the recurrence of language units in form and/or content including segments, syllables, morphemes, words, phrases or sentences. It is 'a phenomenon deep-rooted in language' (AL-Ameedi & John, 2011, p. 2). As a distinctive feature of Arabic, repetition has an aesthetic and attractive effect on listeners. It is also claimed that repetition is an inherent feature of Arabic, a norm and a predominant feature in which the high frequency of repetition is regarded as a divine miraculous rhetoric (AL-Ameedi & John, 2011, p. 4). Thus, repetition is not by one's choice alone, but is imposed by the language itself (Al Shunnaq, 1993, p. 89).

Repetition is used to render a rhetorical function that can result in persuasion and emphasis (Najjar, 2015, p. 24). The eight pragmatic functions of repetition are emphasis, warning, encouragement, attracting attention, threatening, insistence, request and blame (Faraj, 2014, p. 78). Repetition is a fundamental contributor to linguistic cohesion and to

rhetorical efficacy. It links related ideas together toward cohesive speech. Other functions of repetition include assurance, obstruction, glorification and verification. Moreover, repetition can be employed to confirm, warn, alert, explain or insist (Najjar, 2015, p. 26). Psycholinguistically, repeating certain morphological units presumably simplifies the lexical information retrieval from the memory, which is necessary for lexical decision tasks (Bentin & Feldman, 1990, p. 694).

The morphological structure of Arabic word is complex; it comprises minimally two morphemes: a (tri-) consonantal root and a pattern (Boudelaa et al., 2010, p. 999; Mashaqba, 2015; Mashaqba et al. 2020b; see also footnote 2 above). Arabic is an infixing language where morphological processes involve roots as templates (Sarage & Hum, 2015, p. 33). Abu-Rabia (2012, p. 487) adds that Arabic morphology has derivational and inflectional structures. He shows that Arabic morphology involves attaching affixes (prefixes and suffixes) to stems. He also adds that the morphological and grammatical categories (including person, number, gender, and tense) structurally appear via their affixation to the verb stem.

In turn, morphological repetition is one of the most important types of repetition in Arabic. It falls into three major types, namely pattern, root and suffix (Najjar, 2015, p. 25). Morphological repetition holds an important place in linguistic studies. Ryding (2005) indicates that Arabic is based on discontinuous morphemes, and consists of a system of consonants that interlock with patterns of vowels (p. 45). She refers to inflectional morphology as describing grammatical contrasts or categories of words, such as singular/plural or past/present tense. Morphological repetition serves several ends. It creates more solidarity, and helps to enrich language by putting one and the same item to different uses (e.g., *darridj ja: ġaza:li: ja rizgi w ħala:li:* ‘Oh walk slowly my deer and belonging’). Further, it reduces the vocabulary load of utterances, provides listeners with statements that can be easily committed to memory, and ensures continuity (e.g., *ʔiʃtag-na la-sahr-a:t-ik / ʔiʃtag-na la-ħakj-a:t-ik* ‘we missed your evenings/ we missed your talks’). In order to strengthen the idea of repetition, *polyptoton* is proposed as a figure of speech (rhetorical figure) involving words/phrases repetition in different structures within the same sentence (e.g., *le:lte:n ble:la w ħimma maʃe:na le:lte:n ble:la* ‘Two nights in a night we walked two nights in night’) (cf. Simpson & Weiner, 1989 cited in Imam, 1993, pp. 34-35).<sup>3</sup>

Away from the Arabic context, a good deal of literature has examined morphological repetition in folk songs (e.g., Hayes & MacEachern, 1996, 1998 for English folk songs; Haig, 2004 for Turkish song and morpheme repetition; Vazquez, 2006 for the metrics of folk songs in English and Spanish; Axelrod & García, 2007 for repetition in Apachean; Moroni, 2010 for Russian folk songs; and Conklin & Anagnostopoulou, 2011 for Cretan folk songs).

### 3. Material and Methodology

To achieve the goals of the study, a corpus of twenty folk songs was built using various data collection methods. The researchers recorded folk songs in real and spontaneous situations and social events including weddings, social gatherings and birthday parties. To cover one unified linguistic community and for methodological appropriateness, twenty elderly people from the north of Jordan whose ages range between 65 and 80 were asked to sing some songs they remember. They were also asked to define some terms and to tell any story behind these songs, and to give any background information about them. A special effort was made to refer to Al-Zu’bi’s (2015) folk songs booklet as supplementary material.

The folk songs corpus discusses various topics including: war, love, family and weddings, exposing multiple sets of discourse. All songs were transcribed and translated into English. The study applied both quantitative and qualitative approaches in analyzing the JA morphological system in the songs. The titles of the songs are: *đjaddili jamm ildžadajil, majjil ja ġzajjil, sabbal ʃuju:nu, balla tʃubbu hal gahwa, be:n id-dawa:li, dugg ilmahba:f, maħla ad-da:r, we:li ma-ħla:ha, nizlin ʃala albusta:n, ʔabu rafi:d, marrin ʃa-gatr in-nada, tlo:laħi ja da:ljeħ, ʔawwwal al-go:l, hala hala, wassiʃ al-mi:da:n, ja ġaza:li, ʃadi:na almal, al-he:lama:n, ja ʃari:s, ʃala waraq alle:l.*

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<sup>3</sup> Examples that match such functions are triggered from our data

The analysis of this study is conducted based on the following framework:

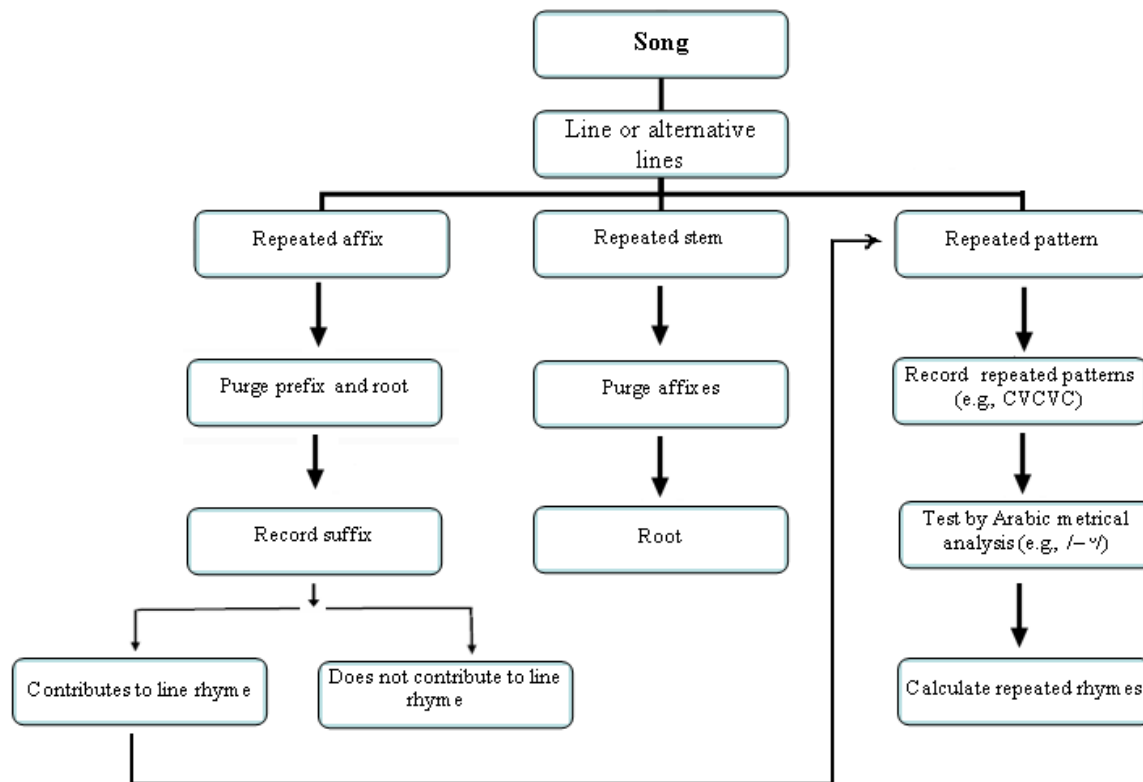


Figure 1: Framework of the current research

In the first stage, four major steps are taken into account in tracing morphological repetitions in the songs. First: the attested repetition of suffixes is reported. Second: stems are purged from affixes to analyze the repeated roots. Third: lines are syllabified; and finally, lines are metrically analyzed (/ = long, /- = short) to trace repeated patterns. After collecting the items and counting the total number of words in the twenty songs, a statistical analysis is conducted containing three main steps: (i) the total number of suffixations, roots and patterns of every song is reported. (ii) The percentages of each of these elements is calculated. (iii) The proportion of residues to the total number of words is calculated. Finally, three major steps are conducted: (i) the attested suffix repetitions and final word patterns of each hemistich are re-examined to determine their impact on the rhyming scheme. (ii) The number of rhyming lines influenced by suffix repetition and the total number of lines of the twenty songs are recorded. Third: the percentage of rhyming lines based on suffix and/or word pattern repetition in the twenty songs is calculated.

#### 4. Results and Discussion

The results are divided into two major branches: (i) cases of repetition which involve certain morphological/grammatical categories including suffixes, roots and patterns, and (ii) repetition constructed via the compositional correlation between certain morphological categories with phonology, specifically the rhyming scheme. The following examples illustrate some examples of these forms of repetition.

##### 4.1 Suffixation

- (1) بالله تصبوا هالقهوة و زيدوها هيل / و اسقوها للشامى ع ظهور الخيل  
*balla ts'ubb-u: halgahwa w-zi:d-u:-ha he:l / w-isg-u:-ha lin-nafa:ma řa- řhu:r al-xe:l*  
 'Please pour coffee and put extra cardamom / and quench the guests on the horses' backs.'

In this line, the suffix -u: '2nd M.P.' has been repeated twice, and in both cases it functions as a subject pronoun. Because

Arabic tolerates repetition, this morpheme repetition, especially in songs, functions as an emphatic-melodic device.

#### 4.2 Root

- (2) / و بين جبال ديرتنا نصيد الشنار و الرعيان بالمرعى ترعى العنزات /  
*w-ir-riʕja:n bil-marʕa tirʕa l-ʕanz-a:t / iw-be:n idʒba:l di:rit-na ns'i:d if-finna:r*  
 'Goatherds are in the pasture grazing the goats and between the mountains of the land we are hunting partridges.'

The root *r-ʕ-j* 'to graze' is repeated three times in *riʕja:n*, *marʕa*, and *tirʕa*, respectively. The line designates a polyptoton, a musical rhetorical device, in which the repeated item is an abstract bound morpheme concatenated to different derivational morphemes, and thus to different word categories (cf. Imam, 1993, p. 34). The three words designate three derivational categories which demonstrate different grammatical forms, i.e. *riʕja:n* 'goatherds' is an active participle noun; *marʕa* 'pasture' is a noun of place; and *tirʕa* 'graze' is a verb. These polyptotic items function as figures of emphasis that dramatically and poetically enhance the meaning of the words. The rhetorical effect is thus created by the articulation of the repeated consonantal root.

#### 4.3 Pattern

The pattern analysis uses C to represent a consonant, V to represent a short vowel, and VV to represent a long vowel.

- (3) دق المهباش يا سويلم و ادق نيران مشوية / و ادلال العز ما تعدم عجناب النار منصوية  
*digg il-mihba:f ja-swe:lim widʕag ni:ra:n maʕbu:ba / wi-dla:l il-ʕizz ma-tiʕdam ʕa-dʒna:b in-na:r mans'u:ba*  
 'Pound the wooden pot, Oh! Sweilem and ignite the fire and the coffee pots of greatness never runout near the fire it is settled.'

In addition to the root repetition in *ni:ra:n* and *na:r*, the line designates pattern repetition in *mans'u:ba* that takes place after repeating the pattern CVCCVVCV found in *maʕbu:ba*. The repeated pattern results in a stylistic effect, creating a rhyme scheme. Table 1 below summarizes the ratio of each type of repeated category.

**TABLE 1. General statistics on the morphology of folk songs.**

Category	songs	words	Suffixes	Roots	Patterns	Restudies
Total number	20	2159	737	558	175	1470
Percentage		100%	34.14%	25.85%	8.10%	31.91%

From these results, it can be seen that morphological repetitions (mainly suffixes, roots and patterns) are widely present in the recruited songs with a combined total of 68.09%. In a narrower sense, tracing morphological repetitions has demonstrated that the most frequent repeated category is suffixes, with 34.14%. Suffix repetition affects several linguistic aspects including reduplication, vowel modification and rhyme. The percentage illustrates the significant role of suffixation in Arabic morphology, and specifically in the prosody of folkloric songs as will be seen later with the rhyming scheme. Suffix repetition can function as a grammatical marker, an emphatic device, a rhetorical device or a musical scheme.

Root repetition represents 25.85% of the occurrences. More than other languages, Arabic tolerates repetition, and root repetition in particular. This tolerance creates many possibilities for the occurrence of the same root in different forms within a single sentence. The functions of this repetition revolve around having an emphatic-cohesive effect rather than a melodic effect, although it does contribute to melody. By way of contrast, pattern repetition has the lowest percentage (8.10%); although it is characterized by providing textual cohesion, it mainly functions as a stylistic manifestation affecting the rhyme.

It should be noted that the statistical analysis also measures the percentage of residues in the 20 folkloric songs. The residue indicates the number of linguistic items that do not exhibit any specific repetition accompanying the line-song scheme. Compared to the overall percentage of morphological repetition (68.09%), residues illustrate less than a third of the songs (31.91%). This division shows that folksongs depend heavily on repeating morphological components.

#### 4.4 Rhyming scheme

Rhyming verses contain pairs of/multiple lines that end with identical sequence of sounds in the last syllable. In metrical phonology, rhyme (sometimes called *rime*) has two elements of the syllable: nucleus (vowel) and coda (consonant(s)). When two or more words rhyme, they have identical nuclei and identical codas, e.g., *care* and *bear*, *plate* and *rate*, *moon* and *June* (Trask, 2004, p. 310). In this section, the data that has already been analyzed is re-examined to deal with the lines that have phonological repetition involving specific suffixes, words or patterns. The following example contains metric forms and patterns (using the analysis symbols suggested by Stoetzer, 1998 and Mashaqba and Huneety 2018) ∘ to represent a short syllable, – to represent a long syllable, / to represent a foot division, and // to represent a hemistich division.

- (4) و خدودها يا خوي و تكون رمان / و شعورها ياخوي و تكون حنشان  
*wi-xdu:d-ha ja: xu:j wi-tku:ni rumma:n / wi-ʃu:r-ha ja: xu:j wi-tku:ni ħinʃa:n*  
 ‘And her cheeks are like pomegranate Oh, my brother and her hairs are like snakes Oh, my brother.’

Metrical Analysis: -- ∘ / -- / -- ∘ / -- // -- ∘ / -- / -- ∘ / -- /

The second hemistich in this meter has exactly the same pattern of feet as the first hemistich. The repetition of the suffix *-ha*, the words *ja:-xu:j* and *wi-tku:n*, and the patterns in each word contribute to the rhyming pattern in this line.

It can be argued that repetition of suffixes and word patterns contributes to the phonological level in each song. The total number of lines is 302 and there are 92 rhyming lines forced by suffix repetition. This rough count demonstrates that the percentage of rhyming lines is significantly forced by suffix repetition (30.46%). Additionally, in 45% of cases, the pattern in the last word of the second hemistich exactly matches the pattern of the last word of the first hemistich. This result supports the hypothesis that suffix repetition and pattern repetition significantly contribute to many linguistic aspects, including creating a unified rhyme scheme in folk songs. Intriguingly, this result matches the belief that repetition tolerance in Arabic is not in vain; instead, it touches the prosodic properties of the poetic lines and songs as a whole.

It is not unknown for much of the phonology to be triggered by a combination of sounds which in turn constitute a morpheme combination (Kaisse, 2005, p. 25). The results support the belief that repetition is predominantly the basis of the referential structure since it licenses sound strings to be segmented into repeated metrical feet and lines, which results with recurred semantic and stylistic components to be noticed and absorbed by both speaker and hearer (Axelrod & García, 2007). The articulation of similar sounds influenced by morphological repetition also creates a rhetorical effect. Morphology regularly produces forms which result in repetition of phonologically identical sequences, and thus it must make reference to phonological metrification (cf. Haig, 2002, pp. 4-9). More precisely, the results are in line with other studies (e.g., Leech, 1969, also cited in Al-Ameedi & John, 2011, p. 42) in that parallelism broadly denotes language ‘regularity’, hence contains a variety of repetition patterns at all linguistic levels. From this point, it can be argued that morphological repetition in folk songs generates phonological parallelism, which contributes to the discursal and musical cohesion of the songs.

The study’s driving force is the demonstration of how metrical and other linguistic entities intersect. Repeated suffixes, repeated patterns and the prosodic structure match the metrical structure in the songs investigated (cf. also Zwicky, 1986, p. 59). The study builds on Johnstone (1991, p. 75) who claims that morphological units reflect the process of argument-discourse and its structure; they not only express the argument, but, via paradigmatic patterning, they are the argument. The study shows that morphological repetitions are not merely ornamental entities; they are far more central, reflecting their importance by playing a variety of roles including cohesive, emphatic, grammatical and rhetorical functions as well as phonological (prosodic/metric) consistency.

Going much farther, this study argues against Shoubi (1951, p. 619) who claims that Arabs may be misunderstood, in Arabic, if they do not ‘exaggerate’ or ‘over assert’. Shoubi criticizes the way Arabs speak as, according to him, repetition reflects their psychological mentality. Contrary to Shoubi’s model, which sees repetition as a negative exaggeration and over assertion, our work proves that repetition is a productive strategy at all linguistic levels,

provoked to satisfy the immediate requirements of the language in each context. This work promote the theory that repetition is inherently a prosodic device in Arabic songs. This manifestation suggests building a framework for comprehending the use in Arabic of repetition types (e.g., parallelism, coordination persuasion and musical cohesion) which are a creative rhetorical and productive style in all linguistic forms including poetry.

### **5. Conclusion and recommendations**

Statistical analysis has demonstrated that morphological repetition is widely employed in folk songs, with repetition of suffixes, roots and patterns together representing over two-thirds of occurrences, half of which are suffix repetition. Morphological repetitions function as grammatical markers, emphatic, rhetorical and cohesive devices, and musical consistency. Working from the assumption that suffix repetition serves a rhetorical purpose, it is hypothesized that suffix repetition contributes to the phonological-rhyme scheme of folk songs. Further investigation has been conducted on the data to re-examine cases of rhyming lines affected by suffix and pattern repetition. The re-examination illustrated that nearly a third of lines in the twenty folk songs rhyme through repetition of suffixes and patterns. This study confirms that patterns of repetition in folk poetry are not produced randomly by the articulation of repeated sounds and morphemes; instead, it is a productive linguistic strategy driven by means of systematic phonological and morphological elements to satisfy specific language requirements. This conclusion opposes Shoubi (1951) who depicts repetition in Arabic as a negative exaggeration and over assertion device.

Several highly distinctive melodic patterns have emerged, suggesting distinctive sub-groups of folk songs (cf. Conklin & Anagnostopoulou, 2011, p. 124). From this hypothesis, further research can be conducted to analyze whether there are distinctive melodic patterns in various types of Arabic folk song. Future serious work should examine the most frequent nominal and verbal patterns to be found in folk poetry. Side by side, a comprehensive corpus of folk poetry would be the main depository for socio-historical linguistics. Such a corpora is claimed to pave the road for quantitative investigations on several linguistic aspects including phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic variations, developments and retention in Arabic.

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## أنماط التكرار في الأغنية الشعبية المُقَيَّدة صوتياً وصرافياً

باسل المشاقبة<sup>1</sup>، عبد الله الشديفات<sup>2</sup>، أنس الحنيطي<sup>1</sup>، نسرين الخوالدة<sup>1</sup>، براءه الزنبيات<sup>1</sup>

### ملخص

تناولت هذه الدراسة أنماطاً من أسلوب التكرار الصرفي في اللغة العربية التي ظهرت بوضوح في الأغاني الشعبية، من مثل: اللواحق، والجذور، ووزن الكلمة الصرفي، وحللت وظائف أنماط التكرار المستخدمة، ومحصت العلاقة التفاعلية بين التكرار الصرفي والتكرار الصوتي المتجسد في وزن القافية، ولتتمكّن الدراسة من تطبيق بياناتها فقد استخلصت مجموعة من الأمثلة الموجودة في عشرين أغنية شعبية، ثم أجري تحليل إحصائي لتوزيع أنماط التكرار ولاحتساب نسبة تكرار اللواحق في أبيات الشعر ذوات القوافي المتشابهة. ولتسهيل التحليل فقد كتبت الأمثلة بالرموز الصوتية ثم تُرجمت، وقد خلصت الدراسة إلى أنّ الشعر الشعبي يعتمد على نحو رئيس على البنية الصرفية، وعلى اللواحق خاصة؛ بغية إظهار دورها البلاغي والغرضي والبياني، وتبين أن تكرار اللواحق قد حظي بالنسبة الأكبر (34.14%)، تلاها تكرار الجذر بنسبة (25.85%)، ثم تكرار وزن الكلمة الصرفي بنسبة (15.28%). وقد كانت نسبة القوافي المتأثرة بتكرار اللواحق وتكرار الوزن الصرفي لآخر كلمة في البيت (30.46%) و (45%) على التوالي. وبناء على النتائج، أكدت الدراسة أنّ أوزان قوافي الشعر الشعبي لم تنطق على نحو عشوائي، وإنما بُنيّت بالاستعانة بأنماط منتظمة من التكرار الصرفي مما يُعزّز النظرية القائلة إنّ أسلوب التكرار بطبيعته إنّما هو أداة أساسية في عروض الشعر الشعبي. وعلى العكس تماماً من النموذج الذي اقترحه شوبي (1951)، الذي يُقدّم أسلوب التكرار على أنه مبالغة سلبية، فإنّ الدراسة الحالية تثبت أنه يمثل استراتيجية فعّالة على عدة مستويات لغوية، استثمرت لتلبية المتطلبات الانية للغة في جميع السياقات.

**الكلمات الدالة:** التكرار، اللاحقة، الوزن الصرفي، القافية، الأغنية الشعبية.

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تاريخ استلام البحث 2019/6/20، وتاريخ قبوله 2019/9/16.