A Linguistic Investigation Into False Friends in Arabic and English: The Students of Al-Balqa Applied University as a Model

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Abstract—The present study investigates the concept of false friends in two genetically unrelated languages: Arabic and English. It provides explanations for the source of possible confusion and misunderstanding caused by false friends in contemporary Arabic and English. It also highlights the nomenclature related to false friends where they can be classified into two categories: absolute false friends and partial false friends. The study explicates how false friendship, as a linguistic phenomenon, can be a real hurdle to communication among the learners and teachers of a certain language. The etymological development of some words is very important to explain how false friendship occurs. Morphologically, some special cases of intralingual morphological false friends are explored in so far as they are related to the concept of false friendship to put them into a certain linguistic framework.

Index Terms—false friends, true cognates, borrowing, semantics, intralingual

I. INTRODUCTION

The linguistic expression “false friends” refers to words that have the same sound or nearly the same sound as other words in another language, yet with utterly, or partially, different meanings. The interlingual behaviour of false friends resembles the intralingual behaviour of homonyms, i.e., homonyms have the same form and sound but different senses within the same language, whereas false friends have the same, or roughly the same, form and sound in two different languages whether they are genetically related or not.

The key difference between false friends in genetically related languages and genetically unrelated language is that false friends in the genetically unrelated languages are written in the target language alphabets. The former, however, do not have to be transliterated because genetically related languages, say, English and German usually have the same alphabets with minor peculiarities. Thus, the assumption that false friends have the same form is to be excluded. False friends in the case of genetically unrelated language share nearly the same sound only.

Understanding false friends, therefore, is of great importance to translators, learners and teachers of any language as it eliminates the chances of misunderstanding and enhances accurate communications and translations. The saying, “Better a clear friend, than a false friend” applies in this context because for a learner of a new language or a translator, being unaware of the meaning of false friends is more misleading than being ignorant of the meaning of unfamiliar words. In the case of false friends, learners and translators usually assume that they have the same meaning or used in the same way as the source language, whereas in the case of the latter, they infer the meaning of those unfamiliar words from the context or consult a dictionary.

Borrowing is core to the phenomenon of false friendship. English has been one of the major loanwords into Arabic. Not surprisingly, when a word is borrowed from a certain language, it is then very hard to anticipate how it develops or which senses it acquires. It is the need of the people of the target language that controls this process. Further, a word
might be used in the same way as the source language or it might take on a sense that is unrelated to the original usage of the word in the source language. The latter is dubbed false friendship.

Etymological speaking, tracing false friends, however, is only very helpful to determine how the use of the word developed diachronically but no one can predict the behaviour of false friends. English and Arabic are in strong contact in many parts of the world, and therefore, false friendships across Arabic and English have been there and they will continue to exist.

Undoubtedly, the researchers did their best to help Arab and English learners of both Arabic and English get deep insight and a better understanding of false friendship to improve the cross-linguistic communication across the two languages simply by leading a scientific discussion of the potential problems that come up from dealing with false friends.

II. METHODS

In this section, the researchers discuss some representative false friends from their own collection of Arabic-English false friends, which are namely related to clothes and happen to occur in academic books adopted in the Jordanian context like “Interchange 1A -fifth edition-”, shop billboards, the Internet, and the daily usage of Jordanian Arabic. Attention is also heeded to the semantic characteristics and the nature of false friends. Besides, using digital photography is very easy and convenient to compile the electronic corpus of signs. The paper makes use of some digital photos of Jordanian shop signs. However, a few of them are to be investigated in this paper. To document the photos, which were collected via mobile cameras, the collected data were stored on a PC.

Due to the lack of research in Arabic on the corpus, classification, and categorization of false friends and true cognates, the researchers follow Beltran’s nomenclature (BELTRAN, 2006, pp. 36-37). The researchers adopt this taxonomy as an appropriate and simple way of classification in the hope that it facilitates the understanding of false friends in a better way. The paper highlights the phenomenon of false friendship in the Jordanian context only.

III. LITERATURE REVIEW

The term false friends was first introduced by Koesliller and Deroquigny in 1928 when they coined the terms “faux amis” /fəʊ amɪ/. False friends are named miscellaneously since then as false cognates, deceptive demons, deceptive words, false cognates, treacherous twins, belles infidèles (Reid, 1968, p. 280). The term cognates pop up each time false friends are scrutinized features that, “contrary to synonyms or paronyms, false friends are not innate in any language, but they are yielded in it. Thus, they should be considered first from an etymological perspective and second from a psychological one to envisage their formation” (Kiss, 2002, p. 54).

Generally, linguistic borrowers try to keep the same form of the borrowed word; however, “as any linguistic sign, the foreign form tries to meet the requirements of its new system. Consequently, it is unavoidable that the borrowed word undergoes many modifications, including the phonological and morphological changes (Boumali, 2010, p. 12). The existence of cognates, which are “words that have similar meaning and spelling in two or more languages (e.g. colour in English, color in Spanish and couleur in French), helps students’ reading comprehension and contributes to the expansion of their vocabularies” (Mitkov et al., 2007, p. 29). Cognates, unlike false friends, facilitate the learning of a new language and the mission of translators because they have the same meaning and usage in two different languages. Moreover, in a certain language pair, false friends may happen to play a minor role, whereas in another language pair the occurrence of false friends could be of such an extent that special dictionaries of false friends can be compiled (Rufus et al., 2004, p. 797).

Moreover, the students’ capability to differentiate between true cognates and false friends make a considerable contribution to the process of learning another language correctly. Only a few studies exist that attempt to compare the semantics of words in a pair in order to tell cognates from false friends (Rufus et al., 2004, p. 797).

Unlike true cognates which do not pose a communicative problem for learners and teachers of a foreign language as well as translators and linguists, false friends do cause a serious obstacle for these groups of people. Beltran (2006, p. 32) suggests that language learners are sometimes encouraged to make use and take advantage of true cognates, without being warned of the existence of false friends.

Further, false friends, as a linguistic phenomenon, can occur between genetically related languages like Arabic and Hebrew which belong to the Semitic family, German and English which belong to the Indo-European family, etc. For instance, the German word “gift” means “poison”, in English, on the other hand, it is “present”. The Hebrew word להים /lahim/, which means bread, is pronounced in roughly the same way as the Arabic word لحم /lahim/ which means meat. As a result, it can be a potential source of miscommunication. The ubiquity of such cross-linguistic influence between false cognates necessitates that learners and users of any two languages, whether they are typologically related or not, be aware of the fact that not all words which sound the same in two languages must have the same meaning. A researcher, in this context, states that “false friends are often associated with historically or culturally related languages such as English, Spanish, French, and German” (Carrové, 1998, pp. 47- 48). False friends also abound among totally unrelated languages such as English, Japanese, and Russian. False friends are found in genetically unrelated languages.
because some genetically unrelated languages such as Arabic and English have a strong cultural, political, economic, and academic contact.

Furthermore, Beltran (2006, p. 32) argues that concerning the degree of difficulty in learning false friends, this may be determined by two features, that is, if they are false friends or if they are only partially deceptive. The first group comprises those false friends which have an utterly different meaning in both languages, whereas the second group, partial false friends, refers to polysemous words, one of whose meaning is a false friend while the other makes a true cognate word. Table 1 below gives some more examples of false friends across languages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Present</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Poison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gift</td>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>Married</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

IV. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In what follows, the researchers put to practice the theoretical framework of false friendship. Only two types of false friends are adopted to clarify this concept: absolute and partial false friends. Other types like occasional, accidental false friends and pseudo - false friends are not addressed here because of their irrelevance to the aim of the study.

A. Absolute False Friends

Veisbergs (1996, p. 628) defines the concept of absolute false friends as pairs of words in the respective languages which are mono-semantic in both or one language and this meaning differs from that of its counterpart. They refer to the case when the two words refer to different things in two languages. Take for instance the Arabic word /بلوزة/ and the English word “blouse” /blouz/. Notably, they are pronounced in nearly the same way. In English, “blouse” refers to a certain type of cloth, that is, a shirt worn by women on the upper part of the body, in Arabic to a certain type of cloth that is a knitted piece of clothes with long sleeves, typically made of wool, worn on the upper part of body by both men and women.

The two languages have seemingly made use of the sense potentials in dissimilar ways: whereas English sticks to the literal meaning, Arabic moves along another one. The reason behind this divergence from the original sense that is used in English might be attributed to the needs of the target language users. They happen to have a new form of garment which is a “sweater”; they need to just have a name for it and they chose /بلوزة/ /blouz/. Thus, false friends can be an arbitrary choice of the target language users; and there is no scientific justification for their occurrence.

Etymologically speaking, the term blouse is a French word used in English since 1822. It refers to “workman’s” or “peasant’s smock” which is an outer garment worn by shepherds throughout the 18th century. This means that blouse did not use to refer to a light piece of clothes as it is used in English today. On the contrary, it is used to refer to a heavy piece of clothes most likely made of wool. This can give us a clue why it is used in Arabic today to refer to what is present-day English sweater or pullover. Another possibility is that blouse is from Medieval Latin “pelusia”, from “Pelusium”, a city in Upper Egypt, supposedly a clothing manufacturing center in the Middle Ages. The latter case can also explain why it is used in Arabic in this sense.

The English term sweater itself is an example of false friendship in Arabic. The Arabic word /سويتر/ /swi:tzə/ at least in Jordanian Arabic, refers to a piece of outer clothes extending to the waist or hips with sleeves and fastening down the front. This description applies to the English term “jacket”. Unlike Arabic, the clothing word “sweater”, in English, refers a knitted piece of clothes with long sleeves, typically made of wool, worn on the upper part of the body by both men and women. This English word corresponds to the Arabic word /بلوزة/ /blouz/ which also makes a case of false friendship across Arabic and English. It is noteworthy mentioning that sweater is the same thing as the jumper which is more common in British English. To make the problem worse, a cardigan with buttons can also, especially in the US, refer to a sweater. A pullover is a piece of clothes worn over a shirt, usually pulled over the head. All these clothing words, among others, are called /بلوزة/ /blouz/ in Arabic. This is equally a thorny problem for native speakers of Arabic trying to learn English and native speakers of English trying to learn Arabic.

Further, another interesting example of false friends across Arabic and English is the term “sneakers”, British English trainers. It refers to a type of light, comfortable shoe that is suitable for playing sports (Cambridge Online Dictionary). The equivalent of “sneakers” in Arabic is /بوت/ /baʊt/. Surprisingly, the Arabic term /بوت/ /baʊt/ itself is a loan word in Arabic from the English term boots and it, “بوت” /baʊt/, refers to the English sneakers. The Arabic term /بوت/ /baʊt/ refers to what is known in English as wellies or safety shoes. Etymologically, boots are not related to any kind of sports.

Apart from false friendship, some words with strong phonological resemblance across languages can be a source of interlingual humor. For example, a word with one meaning in a certain language is replaced with a word with the same sound and/or form in the target language but with a different meaning that does not suit the context in question. This accidental or intentional misuse of phonological false friends can trigger jocosity in the proper situation but it neither makes a problem for foreign language users and learners nor does it cause a problem for linguists and translators. For
example, the English word “mat” /maːt/, which is a piece of cloth placed on a floor for people to wipe their feet on, has the same pronunciation as the Arabic word “مات” /maːt/ which means “died”. Abumahfouz and Shboul (2018, p. 23) puts forward that this kind of punning is activated at the word level where one word replaces another because they phonologically resemble one another across languages. They believe that this phonological resemblance triggers humor because a word has the same sound as another word in Arabic.

Understandably, these accidental phonological false friends do not belong to the concept of false friendship as a problematic linguistic phenomenon; and they can be used by the users of the two languages to crack jokes. Intralinguistically, however, semantic phenomena like of homonymy and polysemy play the same linguistic role when a word with two senses is used in a context with sense X where sense Y is called for.

B. Partial False Friends

Partial false friends are pairs of words in the respective languages where the Language One word is more polysematic than Language Two word, i.e. in one or several meanings the words are identical but in some meaning different (Veisgers, 1996, p. 628). Here the situation is more subtle, the possible “trap” - more hidden. Al-Wahy (2009, p. 113) puts forward that since homonymous words do not normally have the same form when translated into another language, a loan translation of such an idiom results in partial false friendship. When translated into another language homonymous words with at least two meanings can share one meaning with the target language and differ in another (or others).

Partial false friends refer to words which can refer to one related sense and another unrelated one. For instance, the word “saloon” in English, which is used interchangeably with “salon”, can mean several things; it can be a “bar” or a “barber’s shop”, among other things. This word is borrowed into Arabic. It is almost restrictedly used to mean “barber’s shop”.

The Arabic word /سَاوُن/ , which originates from English, is used in Arabic in a different sense that is partially not related to the English usage of the word. The Arabic /سَاوُن/ is the present-day English living room. In the early 18th century the word was taken from French “salon”, which was taken from Italian “salone” which is a large hall, which justifies the Arabic use of the term. Furthermore, it would be very confusing to render the Arabic /سَاوُن/ into the English “saloon” because they are false friends and do not refer to the same thing in all situations although /سَاوُن/ is borrowed from English. The problem arises when a user of English uses the term to mean “bar”. How could a learner or teacher of English deal with it?

More to the point, scrutinizing the word “boutique” shows another type of false friendship which is not related to homonymy. The “boutique” is originally a French word borrowed into Arabic from English. It is used in Jordan, and in many other Arab countries, to denote a “clothing store”. In English, the word refers to a clothing store that sells selected trendy item. It has a very narrow meaning. Most of the people in Jordan are not aware of the fact that the Arabic word /بُوتيِك/ has this peculiarity. Surprisingly, the researchers themselves are not aware of this meaning until they have started exploring false friendship as a semantic phenomenon. Further, the term /بُوتيِك/ is used in Arabic as a superordinate. Originally, however, it is used in English as a homonym of the term “clothing store”. In Jordan, it suffices to look at shop billboards to find out how the term boutique is used randomly to refer to any clothing store, whether it is for men or women.

Another term that is related to partial false friends is the term kameez. According to Cambridge Online Dictionary, kameez is a type of long shirt worn by people from South Asia, often with a salwar or churidars. Salwar and the Arabic word جُرْزَايْة /juzrayeh/, a kind of knitted cloth, wool or cotton, worn on the upper part of the body with no opening at the front, makes a case of true cognates with the English word jersey. Thus, a word can be a false friend to another word across languages but the synonyms of that word is not necessarily a false friend of it. Jersey and the Arabic word جُرْزَايْة are true cognates in one sense of the word jersey, however, in the other senses they are not. Unlike Arabic, the word jersey also means, according to the Cambridge Online Dictionary, a shirt that is worn by a member of a sports team. The Arabic equivalent of this sense is very confusing because in Jordanian Arabic the term /زِيْ/ is used to refer to the kind of clothes worn on the upper part of the body by a sports team. However, the other senses of this word cannot be addressed here because they are irrelevant and due to the limitation f space.

The American English term sheriff makes a good example of partial false friends. It refers to the official who makes sure that the law is obeyed. This term is usually rendered into Arabic as “شریف” /ʃeríːf/ especially in film subtitles. Sometimes they give as equivalence the term “مِدیر الوضایة” /مدیر الشرطة/. The latter, serves the meaning to an extent, whereas the former spoils it and misleads the target language user. The term “sheriff” /ʃeríːf/ has nearly the same pronunciation as the Arabic term “شریف” /ʃeríːf/. In Arabic, “شریف” /ʃeríːf/ is in no way related to police. “شریف” /ʃeríːf/ is a title given to those who are descendants from the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). By the rules of Islam, they have

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the right to be the rulers of the Muslim nation. Al-Hussein Bin Ali, the great grandfather of King Abdullah II of Jordan, was called, “Sherif Mecca” /ʃərɪf /meɪkə/. This title entails two things: the sense of personal honour and the governing position as well. This person is not the “sheriff” of Mecca in the strict sense of the term as it is used in America.

The term sheriff indeed has some senses related to honour titles or honorary positions. For instance, in England and Wales, the term is used to refer to a person who represents the king or queen in a certain county whose duties are restricted to official ceremonies. In Scotland, the term refers to the most important judge of a county. On the other hand, the term makes a case of partial false friendship as regards the sense which is related to police work. In the field of law-keeping and police work, the term sheriff has never been appropriate in Arabic.

Finally, another word which pops up each time partial false friends across English and Arabic are discussed is the term “balloon”. The word balloon is a borrowed word in Arabic. In Arabic, it has an unmarked meaning which is a very thin rubber bag that is filled with air or light gas until it is round, used for decoration or as children’s toys. However, it has another marked meaning which is a very large balloon that is filled with hot air or gas and can carry people in a basket. Usually, Arab learners of English understand that “balloon” with the marked sense as the balloon with the unmarked sense.

C. Interlingual Morphological False Friends

Relevant to the concept of false friendship across Arabic and English is the existence of some problematic lexical items in English. Those words do not have clear-cut boundaries between them within English and they pose a problem for learners of English as well. Such words the like of historic and historical are not usually addressed under any well-established linguistic phenomenon. On the contrary, they are mentioned randomly by teachers and linguists to beware their students of misusing them. Having said that, it is the time that such words are linguistically heeded the appropriate attention.

In English, there are words which have nearly the same morphological form but differ in part of their meaning. In the same way as interlingual false friends, intralingual morphological false friends confuse learners, teachers, translators and linguists. For instance, economic and economical do not belong to a particular linguistic category. In this section, those words are discussed from the false friendship perspective because they share much in common. Morphologically, electric and electrical have the same root but they differ concerning one derivational morpheme which is the “al” which does make a difference between the two words in some contexts.

Generally speaking, although derivational morphemes are always class changing, in those and similar intralingual morphological false friends the additional suffix does not change the class of the word. Both economic and economical are adjectives, both historic and historical are adjectives, and both electric and electrical are also adjectives.

Intralingual morphological false friends as a linguistic phenomenon are not easy to approach because the two false friends can be synonymous in one or more of their senses; in other cases, the two words can have two distinct meanings. It suffices to consult a dictionary for any of the intralingual morphological false friends to see how thorny the relationship between them is. For instance, according to Collins Dictionary, the word “economic” has the following meanings: 1. of or relating to an economy, economics, or finance e.g. economic development, economic theories; 2. (British) capable of being produced, operated, etc, for profit; profitable e.g. the firm is barely economic; 3. concerning or affecting material resources or welfare e.g. economic pests; 4. concerned with or relating to the necessities of life; utilitarian; 5. a variant of economical; 6. (informal) inexpensive; cheap. On the other hand, economical has the following meanings: 1. using the minimum required; not wasteful of time, effort, resources, etc. e.g. an economical car, an economical style; 2. frugal; thrifty e.g. she was economical by nature; 3. a variant of economic (sense 1), economic (sense 2), economic (sense 3), economic (sense 4); 4. (euphemistic) deliberately withholding information (esp. in the phrase, economical with the truth).

The problem surfaces when learners, teachers and translator of Arabic deal with such lexical items. When a learner wants to know the Arabic equivalent of “economic” or “economical”, there is no problem because in Arabic there is only one term referring to the two words and the difference between them remains a matter of context. The Arabic word is “اقتصادي” /ʔa:diː/; “اقتصادية” /ʔa:diː]/. This word refers to anything related to “economy, economics, “finance”, to something that saves energy, and to almost all the meanings jotted down in the dictionary entry of Collins Dictionary. However, idiomatic usages of such terms are usually excluded because the idiomatic use usually deviates from the regular rules. For instance, the idiomatic expression, “He is economical with the truth.” is a euphemistic use of “liar”. This and such examples of idiomatic usages are not natural. They are language-bound because they are metaphoric in the source language.

And by large, when the Arabic term “اقتصادي” /ʔa:diː/ is used in a certain context and we would like to put it in English the confusion on the side of the language users is most likely to arise. In English, we have two dissimilar words. Does the Arabic word “اقتصادي” /ʔa:diː/ mean “economic” or “economical” in a case where they are not synonyms? For instance, the Arabic expression “سيارة إقتصادية” /ʃaːyːrɐ ʔaːdiː/ cannot be the English expression “An economic car”; it must be “economical car” Thus, teachers and learners of Arabic and English must be careful of these fine differences between those intralinguistic morphological false friends. On the other hand, it would not be correct to render or understand the Arabic expression, “المصطلحات الاقتصادية” /muːstalːaːt ʔaːdiː/ as the English expression “economical concepts”. It must be “economic concepts”. Ostensibly, the meaning of these intralinguistic false friends is to
a large extent collocational and contextual. An electric car, for instance, cannot be an electrical car, an electric guitar cannot be electrical. Arab learners and teachers of English must mind such collocational differences of false friendship.

V. CONCLUSION

To synopsize, false friends make a potential problem for learners, teachers, translators, and linguists in almost all cross-cultural and cross-linguistic communications. To pave the way for these types of people dealing with two different languages, true and false cognates must be surfaced and given a fairly close linguistic investigation. False friends range from absolute false friends to partial ones in the hope that this typology will help facilitate this semantic phenomenon. At the intralinguistic level of analysis, intralinguistic morphological false friends are not only problematic for native speakers of English but also for learners, teachers, linguists, and translators across Arabic and English. They are one-way false friends, i.e., when we convey their meaning from English to Arabic no problem surface. On the other hand, when we convey the meaning from Arabic into English learners, teachers, linguists, and translators must be careful to the proper collocations. This fairly close investigation of false friendship is expected to be a useful contribution to the field semantics. As regards the meagreness of research and corpus for this study, it is recommended that false friends in other Arabic dialects be explored to enrich this particular linguistically problematic issue.

The limitation of this study is that the number of false friends is very limited. Most of those false friends are related to clothes. Moreover, a very limited number of researches have been conducted on false friends especially across Arabic and English. Hence, it is a kind of data set for further research on this particular linguistic issue.

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