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## PREFACE

The present volume contains a revised version of seventeen papers read at the international *Colloquium on Arabic Lexicology and Lexicography* (CALL) held in Budapest between 1 - 7 September 1993, and organized by the Chair for Arabic Studies, Eötvös Loránd University and the Department of Modern Arabic Studies, Leeds University.

After the successful colloquium organised in 1991 and devoted to various aspects of Arabic grammar - the proceedings of which appeared as a special volume (No. 3-4) of *The Arabist* -, we decided to hold a similar event on a theme which has relatively been neglected by Western scholarship. Arabic lexicology and lexicography have certainly been 'the abandoned children'.

Some thirty scholars from Europe, U.S.A., the Middle East and North Africa attended the event and contributed to it by presenting papers and participating actively in the workshops which together covered a wide range of topics from general observations and overviews on Arabic Lexicology across centuries to discussions of the etymologies of certain words and terms. Among the topics related to lexicology there were papers on the theories of some medieval grammarians and lexicographers such as al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad, al-Farrā', Ibn Ġinnī, Ibn as-Sarrāġ, Ibn Manẓūr and others; collocations in Arabic; quadriliteral roots; the Arabic lexicon and other Oriental languages; the vocabulary of the Qur'ān and lexical parallelism in al-Hamadānī's *Maqāmāt*. Papers on lexicographical aspects handled questions such as indexing Arabic texts; the computer and the Arabic dictionary; the structure and methods of some classical and modern Arabic dictionaries, including the perpetual problem of *fushā* versus *'āmmiyya*; the coining methods of the Language Academy in Cairo and assessment of

various problems and dilemmas connected with the compilation of Arabic dictionaries in view of future needs.

A dozen of topics were discussed in twelve Workshops during which all participants had the opportunity to express their views and ideas about various aspects related to the main theme of the colloquium. Among the questions handled were students' handbook to the use of the *Lisān al-ʿarab*; the place of grammar in the Arabic dictionary; neologisms in modern Arabic; various terminologies; polysemy and homonymy; dictionaries for learners of Arabic; principles and problems in selecting entries for the dictionary and their definitions.

Since we decided to include in the *Proceedings* contributions by some scholars who were unable to attend the Colloquium and in view of the enthusiastic response from most participants and in an attempt to overcome technical difficulties it was resolved to publish the *Proceedings* in two separate volumes. Volume One contains therefore all the articles in the European languages, while Volume Two holds all the papers in Arabic.

Finally, we would like to take this opportunity to thank all the participants for their contributions and for the pleasant and friendly atmosphere maintained by all during the whole week. We would also like to express our appreciation to the Csoma de Kőrös Society in Budapest and the Hungarian Research Fund (OTKA/T 007068). We realize that the list cannot possibly be complete, hence we would simply wish to say 'thank you' to all other people and bodies without whom this colloquium would have never been held.

November 1993

Kinga Dévényi, Tamás Iványi and Avihai Shvitiel  
Convenors and Editors

# I. LEXICOGRAPHY





## EARLY ARABIC LEXICONS OF HOMOPHONIC WORDS

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The word homophony in my paper is used as a comprehensive term to cover both polysemy and homonymy. The previous one denotes the situation where one word has acquired several senses, while the latter is used to refer to a group of unconnected words which have, by sheer accident, or by change of pronunciation coincided in form (Omer 1988:165-168).

The aim of my paper is to deal with two related topics:

The first is reviewing early Arabic books dealt with this sort of words each of which has more than one meaning (*al-muštarak al-lafzi*). These include the following books:

- a) Abū ʿUbayd's book entitled: *Kitāb al-aġnās min kalām al-ʿarab, wa-mā ištabaha fī l-lafz wa-iḥṭalafa fī l-maʿnā*.
- b) Abū l-ʿAmaytal's book entitled: *Kitāb mā ittafaqa lafzuh wa-iḥṭalafa maʿnāh*.
- c) Kurā's book entitled: *al-Munaġġad fīmā ittafaqa lafzuh wa-iḥṭalafa maʿnāh*.

We shall give more attention to the last one as it was the first comprehensive book of this sort and only one dealt with words of multiple meanings in detail.

The second is to throw light on Arab philologists' views on the question of multiplicity of meaning. This will include:

- a) The concept of the term *mā ittafaqa lafzuh wa-iḥṭalafa maʿnāh* or as was referred to later: *al-muštarak al-lafzi*.
- b) The causes of multiplicity whether internal or external ones. And whether multiplicity is due to change of meaning (through metaphor of figurative expression) or change of form (through substitution or transposition of letters).

*First: Early Arabic Books on Homophony:*

The competition between Arab philologists on the problem of multiple meaning was only restricted to the collection of words. They only differ in the number of words which they enumerate, or the number of meanings which they attribute to particular words. The Early Arabic Lexicons of homophonic words include the following books:

1. The oldest extant book is that of Abū °Ubayd (died 224/838-839) which is called: *Kitāb al-aġnās min kalām al-°arab, wa-mā ištabaha fi l-lafz wa-iḥṭalafa fi l-ma°nā*. It is not a comprehensive book dealing with *al-muštarak* in general, but a treatise dealing only with those words with multiple meanings which occur in the Traditions (the *Ḥadīṭ*). It contains only 151 words which are presented haphazardly, and which occupy 22 pages. The author is very concise, contenting himself with enumerating words and referring briefly to their meanings, mostly without giving illustrative phrases or citing supporting texts except a very few examples of Qur°anic verses, and very rarely a *ḥadīṭ* (Abū °Ubayd, *al-Aġnās* 1, 9).

2. The second book is that of °Abdallāh b. Ḥulayd called Abū l-°Amayṭal al-A°rābī (died 240/854-855). He wrote several books on philology among which is *Kitāb mā ittafaqa lafzuhu wa-iḥṭalafa ma°nāhu*. It seems that Ibn an-Nadīm speaks of this book when he refers to one entitled *at-Tašābuh*, although Ibn Ḥallikān counts them as two different books.

3. The third book is that of al-Mubarrad (died 285/893) which is known as: *Kitāb mā ittafaqa lafzuhu wa-iḥṭalafa ma°nāhu min al-Qur°ān al-Maġīd*. It is apparent from its title that it deals only with those words of this type which occur in the *Qur°ān*.

The subject of the book, in fact, restricts the field of research and firmly fetters the author. As he is determined to deal only with those words which occur twice in the *Qur°ān* with different meanings, he excludes all words with multiple meanings if they are used in the *Qur°ān* with only one meaning. From this point of view the words which might be included are indeed very few, perhaps three or four pairs, if

the author's definition of *al-muštarak* accords with the general definition. It seems that the author intentionally expands his definition to include many other categories which should not in fact be included. He, for instance, deals with what is known in rhetoric as *mušākala* as for example in the verse: *fa-man i'tadā 'alaykum fa-i'tadū 'alayhi bi-mitli mā i'tadā 'alaykum* [And one who attacketh you, attack him in like manner as he attacked you] (Q.2.194) in which the punishment is called *i'tidā'* (assault), although it is not, to achieve a resemblance. al-Mubarrad also deals with Qur'ānic phrases which seem contradictory, and which are not, in fact, a part of *al-muštarak* such as: *fa-yawma 'idin lā yus'alu 'an dānibihi ins wa-lā ġānn* [On that they neither man nor jinni will be questioned] (Q.55.39), beside: *wa-qifūhum innahum mas'ūlūna* [And stop them, for they must be questioned] (Q.37.24).

Despite all these digressions, the size of the book is very small, and if we were to isolate its pure material, it would not exceed two or three pages. The value of this book, therefore, does not lie in its material, but, to be just, in its introduction which contains, for the first time, reference to what modern philologists mention as context (*as-siyāq*) (Ullmann 1951:29, 54) when it says: "He who uses a word of a multiple meaning must give an indication to show the exact meaning he has in mind" (al-Mubarrad, *Mā ittafaqa lafzuhu*, 8).

4. The fourth and last book is that of Kurā' (died 310/922) which is entitled: *al-Munaġġad fīmā ittafaqa lafzuhu wa-ihtalafa ma'nāh*.

This book is divided into six chapters as follows:

- a) The first chapter deals with the parts of the body from head to foot. It contains 91 words.
- b) The second deals with animals, including human beings, wild animals, domesticated animals and insects. It contains 63 words.
- c) The third deals with birds, including predatory, poultry and others. It contains 40 words.
- d) The fourth deals with weapons and related matters. It contains 10 words.
- e) The fifth deals with the sky and what is beyond it. It contains 11 words.

- f) The sixth deals with the earth and what is on it. It contains 669 words.

The total number is 884 words (see Kurā<sup>c</sup>, *al-Munağğad.*).

Owing to the size of Chapter 6, it was essential for Kurā<sup>c</sup> to put words in order to ease consultation, so he classifies the words alphabetically under their initials regardless of whether they are radical or accessory. Thus he puts the two words: mağā<sup>c</sup>a (meaning poverty or shamelessness) together, although the first is derived from the root ġ-w<sup>c</sup> and the second from the root m-ğ<sup>c</sup> (Omer 1988:151-153).

Concerning Kurā<sup>c</sup>'s method of giving the meaning of words it might be profitable to make a distinction between two sorts of meaning; the more popular meaning which determines the titles of the chapters, and the less popular one or ones. Regarding the first type which we shall call henceforth "the first meaning" Kurā<sup>c</sup> neglects mentioning if it is common, relying on the fact that the general heading of the chapter will help to make it plain, otherwise he mentions it. What Kurā<sup>c</sup> considers as little known or at least, less well known than others, which we shall call "the second meaning", forms, in fact, the bulk of his book, and of course he pays especial attention to it. So, in the first chapter he enumerates the words: *ar-ra's*, *al-ğumğuma*, *al-wağh*, *al-hāğib*, etc. without giving any explanation of their first meanings as parts of the body, but he gives their second meanings; he says for instance: "*ar-ra's* is a name of Makka, and it is the head of a group of people". In words like *‘ārid al-libya* or *al-qatan* he gives both the first and second meanings because the first meaning is not obvious. He says for instance that "*‘ārid al-libya* is the hair which grows on the cheek".

It is also worth mentioning that Kurā<sup>c</sup> was keen to clarify the different meanings of a word by putting it in illustrative phrases such as: "*yuqāl hum yad ‘alā man sirwāhum: idā kāna amrubum wāhidan, wa-a taytuhu mālan ‘an zahri yad: ya‘nī tafaddulan laysa min bayf wa-lā qard wa-lā mukāfa’a, wa-hala’a yadahu min at-tā’a, wa-tawb qaşır al-yad, idā kāna yaqsur an yaltahifa bihi. wa-l-yad al-ğinā wa-l-qudra, taqūl ‘alayhi yad ay qudra, wa-lā ātihi yad ad-dabr: ya‘nī ad-dabr kulluhu, wa-laqituhu awwal dāt yadayni ay awwal aš-şay*" (see Omer & ‘Abdalbāqī 1988:19-21).

*Second: Concept and Causes*

Under this heading we shall try to disclose Kurā<sup>c</sup>'s view on the question of multiplicity of meaning, which, in fact, represents the old philologists' view. This will include two points as follows:

*a) Definition of Multiplicity.*

From the classification of Kurā<sup>c</sup>'s words, one can define homophony as that which occurs when a word has more than one meaning, regardless of whether:

1. The two meanings are cognate. For example, the word *al-bu'ṣūsa* means both a particular kind of small insect and child, as against the word *al-arḍ* which means "earth" and also "cold" (*zūkām*).
2. The two meanings are opposite. For example the expression *farrā'a fī l-ġabal*, which means either "went up" or "down".
3. The two meanings belong to more than one dialect. For example the word *as-sirḥān*, which means "wolf" in some dialects, and "lion" in some others.
4. The two words differ slightly in vowels. For example the word الأدمة which is pronounced sometimes as *adama* meaning "a dark grey colour", and sometimes as *udma* meaning "the means to an end".
5. They are not of the same part of speech. For example the word *aḡamm*, which is used sometimes as a verb in a sentence much as: *aḡamma l-amr* (the affair was near), and sometimes as an adjective in an expression such as: *kab' aḡamm* (a ram without horns).
6. They have more than one spelling, though the only example of this is: عمرو a proper name, and عَمْر meaning "gums" (Omer 1967: 126-133; Kurā<sup>c</sup>, *al-Munaḡḡad*).

b) *The Causes of Multiplicity:*

With the aid of his data one may explain Kurā<sup>c</sup>'s views on this question as follows: He thinks that the causes of multiplicity should fall under the following headings:

I. The internal causes.

II. The external causes.

The first heading may be in turn divided into:

1. Alteration of meaning.

2. Alteration of pronunciation.

The alteration of meaning has two aspects:

a. Intentional alteration.

b. Spontaneous alteration.

The alteration of pronunciation has also two aspects:

a. Transposition of letters.

b. Substitution.

- (1) The external causes apply only to any word which is used in two different meanings among two different groups of speakers; one for each. If we were to look at the word in its own dialect there would not be any multiplicity of meaning at all, but if we looked at it within the whole vocabulary, as Kurā<sup>c</sup> did, considering all dialects as one unit, multiplicity occurs.

The examples for this class are many among which is the word *ad-danā* which commonly means "illness", and was used in the Ṭayyī' dialect meaning "a child".

- (2) The transposition of letters means change of the position of some sounds in a word, an action which may cause coincidence with an old word.

From Kurā<sup>c</sup>'s examples we mention the word *istadāma*. In Arabic we have the two stems *dāma* (to continue) and *damiya* (to bleed). The form *istafala* from *dāma* is *istadāma*, and from *damiya* is *istadmā*, but Kurā<sup>c</sup> cites that the verb *istadāma* is also used in the meaning of *istadmā*. Here we have the verb *istadāma* which is a

converted form of *istadmā* and coincides with the old word forming homophony.

- (3) The substitution of letters seems responsible for a good number of words becoming identical in form with some others. After this coincidence, the two words with their two meanings became one word of multiple meaning.

From the examples mentioned by Kurā<sup>c</sup> we refer to the word *ḥanak* which means "palate", and the word *ḥalak* which means "blackness". Here we have two words slightly different in form, but completely different in meaning. With the replacement of *lām* by *nūn*, the word *ḥalak* became *ḥanak*, coinciding with the old word *ḥanak*. Owing to this alteration in sound, the word *ḥanak* became homophonic.

- (4) The intentional alteration of meaning takes place when a word enters a professional language and becomes a technical term.

We refer to the following example: The word *al-iğāra* is used in the common language meaning "hiring out", but it became a technical term in prosody. It is, in al-Ḥalil's terminology, the case of two successive rhymes which are not identical but are similar such as *tā'* and *dāl*.

- (5) The spontaneous alteration of meaning forms perhaps the main causes of multiplicity. It happens frequently that a word gains a new meaning related to its original one and becomes homophonic. This category has two subdivisions, according to the kind of relationship between the two senses. If the relationship is similarity it is called *isti'āra*, otherwise *mağāz mursal*.

1. From the first category we refer to the following example:

The word *bašara* which literally means "skin", and figuratively "plant". The similarity between the two meanings is obvious.

2. The second category has many subdivisions among which are:
- (i) Widening of meaning such as the verb *sāqa* in the expression: *sāqa r-rağul ilā l-mar'a mahrabā*. It was literally used when the "bridal gift" (*mahr*) used to be animals like sheep or camels. Later when the custom changed and the "bridal gift" became

coins either silver or gold, the verb was given a wider meaning and is still in use.

(ii) Narrowing of meaning, such as the word *al-me'tam* which originally means: a meeting of men or women for sad or merry occasions, but later the meaning was restricted to the sad occasions.

(iii) Giving a whole thing the name of its significant part, such as the word *lisān* (tongue) which was later used to mean the spokesman (*Kurā<sup>c</sup>*, *al-Munağğad*; Omer 1967:126-131).

*Comment:*

Our comment could be summarized in the following points:

1. That *Kurā<sup>c</sup>* as all old Arab philologists did not distinguish between what are called by modern linguists homonymy and polysemy.
2. That *Kurā<sup>c</sup>* and old Arab Philologists neglected many aspects of the problem which now occupy a prominent position in semantics. We refer in particular to the conflict between meanings, the confusion caused by this multiplicity, the role of context in curing this pathological situation (Williams 1944:4-15; Ullmann 1951:29, 54, 55; Menner 1945:60), etc.
3. That *Kurā<sup>c</sup>* in his study of this phenomenon mixed the synchronic and diachronic methods. An excuse for *Kurā<sup>c</sup>* may be found in the fact that such a distinction has been only recently made, and it is de Saussure who opposed the two methods to one another (Ullmann 1964: 50).
4. That *Kurā<sup>c</sup>* widens the meaning of homophony to include words whose multiplicity is due to the difference of time or place or pronunciation. Modern linguists disagree with this view and their condition for homophony is the unity of time, place and pronunciation (Omer 1988: 184, 185).



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## ROOT-DICTIONARY OR ALPHABETICAL DICTIONARY A METHODOLOGICAL DILEMMA

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Most of the so-called classical Arabic dictionaries and a large number of the modern dictionaries, lexicons, vocabularies, glossaries and wordlists of contemporary Arabic, both literary and colloquial, are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the Arabic root. This method of composition, which is also traditionally common to most of the dictionaries of the Semitic languages, has emerged in order to demonstrate the relationship between the various derivatives based on the same root. Needless to say that this method, in spite of its obvious advantages and great importance, in that it helps the student to understand the dynamics of the language, causes great headache and frustration to the learner of Arabic, who, before looking up a word in the dictionary, must have a good command of the Arabic verb system and the noun, adjective, adverb and particle patterns, in order to 'strip' the tri-radical root off its prefixes, infixes and suffixes, and only then look up the word in the dictionary. On the other hand, the arrangement of the entries by alphabetical order of the words 'separates' between words, which are morphologically and semantically associated, thus 'annulling' one of the most significant characteristics of the Semitic family in general.

Lexicographers have always been faced by the dilemma which method is preferable, and although the various methods developed by Arabic lexicographers over the years have reached a high degree of sophistication, the student of Arabic is still encountering many problems in his search of a sense.

This paper attempts to examine the various methods employed, across history, assess their success or failure and broach the question whether or not there is any satisfactory solution to the problems created by the structure of the Arabic lexicon.

A cursory inspection of the various Arabic dictionaries, which began to appear during the first century after the advent of Islam and have continued incessantly to the present day, proves that Arab lexicographers have always been aware of the problems connected with the compilation of Arabic dictionaries. Hence, the strenuous efforts made, over the years, by Arab lexicographers, who have endeavoured, on the one hand, to satisfy a special need, and on the other hand, to offer the user new or improved methods for looking up words in a way which seemed, pedagogically speaking, more appropriate and more logical to the authors. However, it should be borne in mind that not all lexicographers were motivated by pedagogical considerations, since some of the classical works, as will be demonstrated below, showed no sensitivity to the student's needs.

The main objectives for the compilation of the early lexicographical works were to record and discuss rare words (*al-ġarīb*), which at a later stage developed into fully-fledged dictionaries, in which all words, current and rare, were included, with the exception of colloquialisms, which were ignored by the lexicographers, since their existence 'contaminated' the purity of *fushā*. Moreover, similar to the motives behind the early grammatical works, dictionaries too were composed in order to ensure a better reading and understanding of the vocabularies of the *Holy Qur'ān* and the *Hadīth* literature as well as Arabic poetry, which have always been the object of admiration and pride for the Arabs.

However, the religious factor, which had prompted early Arab lexicographers to compile the first Arabic dictionaries, had soon extended beyond this necessity, to meet the need for the preservation of the linguistic treasures of the Arabic language at large. The dictionaries that followed included therefore words and usages which were not necessarily from the religious milieu.

The various classical dictionaries may be divided according to the periods of their composition, their 'type' or their structure. According to 'Adnān al-Ḥaṭīb (1967:1-3), a dozen glossaries approximately were composed during the second century of the Muslim era; about 90 works saw the light during the third century; some 65 appeared during the

fourth century; about a dozen during the fifth century; some 25 works during the sixth century; 13 in the seventh century; four during the eighth century; seven during the ninth century; four during the tenth century; two during the eleventh century and three during the twelfth century.

Although al-Ḥaṭīb's division is very general indeed, since it only records the most important works, it can still give us an idea about the trends and tendencies of Arabic lexicography, and the extent of sophistication it had reached. To this one may add that the interest in Arabic lexicography has never ceased, and in fact it has developed, since the 19th century, into a prosperous industry.

So far as the 'types' of dictionaries are concerned, classical works may be divided into five categories:

1. Dictionaries devoted to special subjects, e.g. human beings, the camel, the horse etc. For instance: Ibn al-Aʿrābī (8 c.), *Kitāb ḥalq al-insān* and *Kitāb al-ḥayl*. Abū Ḥayra (8 c.), *Kitāb al-ḥaṣārāt*.
2. Dictionaries covering certain corpora, e.g. *Qurʾān* and *Hadīth*. For instance: Yūnus b. Ḥabīb (8 c.), *Maʿānī l-Qurʾān* and Abū Ḥasan an-Naḍr b. Šumayl (8-9 c.), *Garīb al-ḥadīth*.
3. Dictionaries or monographs which emphasized the correct usages against 'deplorable' abusages, i.e. *faṣāḥa* versus *lahn al-ʿamma*. For example: al-Farrāʾ and al-Kisāʾī (8-9 c.), *Mā talḥanu fihi l-ʿamma*.
4. Dictionaries of uncommon words (*an-nawādir*). For instance: Abū ʿAmr (7-8 c.), *Kitāb an-nawādir* and Ibn al-Aʿrābī (8 c.), *an-Nawādir*.
5. Thesauruses. For example Ibn Sīda (11 c.), *al-Muḥaṣṣaṣ* and at-Taʿālibī (10-11 c.), *Fiqh al-luġa*.

However, it was only when al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad (718-786) compiled his *Kitāb al-ʿayn* that Arabic lexicography made its real debut. Nevertheless, the comprehensive dictionaries, which began to appear ever since

*Kitāb al-ʿayn* to the present, have not put an end to other types of dictionaries, particularly those devoted to specific subjects or areas, which have continued to see the light incessantly, setting new records in our present time. So far as the internal organisation is concerned, classical lexicographical works were arranged according to different internal orders. The commonest system since *Kitāb al-ʿayn* was, of course, by alphabetical order of the root. However, other methods were pursued. For example:

- a. Morphological patterns. E.g. *al-Faṣīḥ* by Taʿlab (9 c.) and *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* by Ibn as-Sikkīt (9 c.).
- b. Order of the Qurʾānic sūras. E.g. *Garīb al-Qurʾān* by Ibn Qutayba (9 c.).
- c. Order of rāwīs of the *Hadīth*. E.g. *Tafsīr garīb mā fī aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥayn* by al-Ḥumaydī (11 c.).

The alphabetical order of the root which, as claimed, was pursued by most dictionaries since *Kitāb al-ʿayn* can be divided into three main categories:

1. Phonetic order.
2. Alphabetical order according to the last letter of the root.
3. Alphabetical order according to the first letter of the root.

The phonetic order used by al-Ḥalīl in *Kitāb al-ʿayn* was based on the place or point of articulation (*mahāriḡ al-ḥurūf*). Hence, the order followed was ‘*ḥ b ḥ ġ q k ġ š ḍ ṣ s z ṭ t d z ḍ ṭ r l n f b m w y alif*’. This original order, in spite of its inconvenience, was a revolutionary development in the lexicographical conception of Arab scholarship. Not only has it recognised, for the first time, the existence of the stem of Arabic words (i.e. the three radicals), emphasizing the common denominator of a large number of derivatives, but it also demonstrated the possible / impossible links between certain sounds. That is to say, which combinations of consonants cannot co-exist in a word. For example, ‘*ḥ* and ‘*ḥ* about which we are told by al-Ḥalīl (*K. al-ʿayn*, 10): *al-ʿayn lā taʿtalifu māʿa l-ḥāʾ fī kalīma wāḥida li-qurb mahraḡayhimā* “cannot enter any combination with ‘*ḥ* in a word because of the closeness of their point of articulation”. Moreover, in an attempt to achieve

comprehension al-Ḥalīl notes all roots which are obtained by permutation referring to those without meaning as *muhmal*.

Ostensibly, the system developed by al-Ḥalīl is as clear as daylight. However, the user who attempts to look up words in this dictionary may find himself spending more time memorizing the phonetic alphabet used in *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. It is noteworthy that al-Ḥalīl's system gained more fame than currency, since only few classical lexicographers had adopted it, like al-Azharī (10 c.), *Tabḍīb al-luġa*; al-Qālī (10 c.), *al-Kitāb al-bārī* and Ibn Sīda, *al-Muḥkam*. The reason for its relatively little popularity is probably because of the inconvenience in using this work and the fact that al-Ḥalīl's famous student, Sibawayhi, suggested a modified system which won more popularity in the Baṣran School (Naṣṣār, 1968 I, 238.).

The alphabetical order, according to the last radical, which is used by al-Ġawharī (10-11 c) in *aṣ-Ṣiḥāb*, Ibn Manẓūr (14 c.) in *Lisān al-ʿArab*, al-Fīrūzābādī (15 c.) in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, az-Zabīdī (18 c.) in *Tāġ al-ʿarūs* and others, was developed, as it is well known, to help poets and writers of rhymed prose (*saġʿ*) to easily find words which could rhyme. Ironically, these bulky works have never, in actual fact, been rhyming dictionaries, as known to us from other languages, but only a tool to indicate all roots ending in a certain letter. Rhyming was left to the skilful poet. Incidentally, rhyming dictionaries had been compiled long before the Arabs by Indian lexicographers, and it is quite plausible that similar to their adoption of some Indian grammatical methods, Arab scholars had learned from the Indians, most probably via Persian scholarship, some of their lexicographical skills.

The normal alphabetical order of the root i.e. by the first followed by the second and the third radicals employed by many of the medieval Arab lexicographers, and in particular in the 19th and 20th centuries, have proved the impracticality of all previous methods. Nevertheless, this method too, although more logical, has not, as claimed above, solved the problems of the student of Arabic.

To complete this brief survey, one should mention in passing other original attempts such as: Abū l-Qūṭīyya (10 c.) who arranged his dic-

tionary according to the similarity of the shape of the letters e.g. *b t ṭ*; 'Alī b. Dāwūd (10 c.), as-Siġistānī (9-10 c.) and Ibn Durayd in his book *al-Maqṣūr wa-l-mamdūd* who all had taken into consideration the various vowels which affect the patterns of the words, without changing their meanings, and a number of earlier wordlists and the dictionary called *Kitāb al-Ġīm* by aš-Šaybānī (9 c.) who, although following the normal alphabetical order of the root, have taken into account only the first letter of the root but followed no consistent order afterwards.

Lothar Kopf who discusses at length the problem of the lack of an internal system in most of the medieval dictionaries, arrives at the conclusion that in the case of the early wordlists there was no need for an internal system owing to their limited scope. The lack of a clear system, in the case of *Kitāb al-ʿayn* and other contemporary works was due to the lack of experience on the part of the authors, whereas later works were more keen on the inclusion of a maximal quantity of entries and citations (*šarwāhid*) rather than being bothered about the internal order of the entries (Kopf 1976:132). This shortcoming is of course less noticed in the case of short entries, but is becoming more problematic in the case of long entries, which contain under the same root all its derivations and their various meanings and usages, including polysemes and homonyms, in addition to a large number of *šarwāhid*. Consequently, one should often take the trouble to read whole paragraphs and even pages before the required meaning could be found.

Finally, it is worthwhile mentioning that in some works we find that the material has been arranged by morphological order, separating between nouns, verbs and particles, when each category is arranged internally by alphabetical order of the root according to the various patterns<sup>1</sup>.

Important bilingual dictionaries involving Arabic were not many prior to the 17th century and those composed were usually limited in size. They included Syriac, Hebrew, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Latin and Coptic (known as *as-salālim*), when the lexicographers were mainly

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. al-Fārābī's *Dīwān al-adab* which was composed in 10 c.



non-Arabs<sup>2</sup>. However, it was only when the West re-discovered the East with the Napoleonic invasion that the need for modern bilingual dictionaries was felt. Western scholars who learnt Arabic were first responsible for composing the early bilingual dictionaries followed by Arab scholars, mainly Christians, who began to publish a series of bilingual dictionaries, chiefly involving French, English, German and Russian, in addition to new dictionaries in Turkish and Persian. This trend, which started towards the end of the 18th century, has continued incessantly to the present day. The overwhelming majority of these works were arranged by alphabetical order of the root, with the exception of a few recent dictionaries, e.g. Baalbaki (1987) and Sharoni (1987).

Dictionaries which are arranged alphabetically rather than by the 'traditional' order of the root began to appear only in our century, preceded by a handful of short works of a very limited scope, cf. Ya'qūb 1985:164.

However, the root-arrangement is still dominant in Arabic lexicography, and even bilingual dictionaries of Modern Standard Arabic, such as Wehr's and the colloquial Egyptian dictionary by Hinds and Badawi prefer the root system to the alphabetical one.

The question as to whether Arabic dictionaries should be arranged by alphabetical order of the roots or by alphabetical order of the words is, however, but one problem of the Arabic lexicon.

In his excellent books *Min qadāyā al-mu'ğam al-ʿarabī* (Tunis 1983), *A Propos du Dictionnaire de la Langue Arabe* (Tunis 1991), and his earlier works *L'Academie de Langue Arabe du Caire, Histoire et Oeuvre* (Tunis 1975) and *L'Academie de Damas et la Modernisation de la Langue Arabe* (Leiden, 1965), Hamzaoui discusses in detail the problems of Arabic lexicography by analysing all the important views expressed by Arab and non-Arab scholars, who all seem to be extremely critical of the systems adopted by Arab lexicographers. So acute are these problems, that the question as to whether one should prefer 'root-order' to 'word order' or vice versa is of less importance (Hamzaoui 1991:177).

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<sup>2</sup> For more details see Naṣṣār 1968 I, 91-96.

In general, all existing Arabic dictionaries suffer from several shortcomings and deficiencies. Those include:

(a) The difficulty in drawing clear borderlines between classical and modern stock. This is because a large number of words, and in particular meanings, do not occur in contemporary Arabic, yet they are often included in some of the modern dictionaries. For example the word *say-yāra* means 'car' in Wehr's *Dictionary* but according to Elias's *Modern Dictionary, Arabic-English*, it means both 'car' and 'caravan', presumed because this word appears in the *Qur'ān*, which, although regarded as a classical work, is used daily by Arabs, and therefore its vocabulary is not subjected to any time limits. Hence, the immediate question which comes to mind is which criteria should determine the inclusion or omission of a word or meaning on account of their being so-called 'classical' or 'modern'? Arabic - Arabic dictionaries do not usually distinguish between 'classical' and 'modern' words, leaving the decision to the user, but this, unfortunately, may result in ambiguity and misunderstandings, especially if the context is not intelligible.

(b) Many definitions of the entries are too short and general, hence, providing insufficient or unhelpful information. For example *al-ġamal* (camel) is defined by some dictionaries as *mā'rūf* - 'known' (Ibn Durayd, *Ġamhara* I, 491), whereas the word *ṣinf* (kind, sort) is defined by some dictionaries as *nawf* and the word *nawf* is defined as *ṣinf* (Reig 1991:37). Incidentally, az-Zamahšarī's definition of *na'na'* (mint) is 'simply' "*ḥayr al-buqūl an-na'na' wa-n-na'nā'* (the best of all herbs is mint)" (*Asās*, 462).

(c) The problem of diglossia is acute, in so far as no clear policy exists regarding the inclusion of colloquialisms. Thus, the words *kuwayyis* and *mabsūt* may be found in some dictionaries but not in all, whereas no dictionary of Modern Literary Arabic records, say, the words *dilwaqti* or *lēš*.

(d) There seem to be a unanimous decision regarding the omission of words and in particular expressions which belong to what used to be referred to by grammarians and lexicographers as *lahn al-ʿamma* i.e. substandard or nonstandard language. That is to say, while very few

examples are recorded by some dictionaries, the overwhelming majority are not, in spite of the fact that some of these so-called mistakes appear in literature. It seems that the 'rule' *vox populi vox Dei* does not apply to Arabic.

(e) No clear policy exists in so far as foreign words are concerned and their inclusion is left to the discretion of the lexicographer. Thus, we find in Wehr's dictionary scores of foreign words which are not included elsewhere, while other dictionaries record few foreign words which are not in Wehr's. Classical dictionaries usually incorporate those under *mu'arrab* or *dahīl*, or note the language from which the word was borrowed.

(f) No dictionary indicates clearly what were the corpora used, apart from the classical sources. Moreover, even the modern dictionaries make no claim of using for corpora modern Arabic literature. Hence, the fact that no modern dictionary contains *šawāhid* makes the search for a context, impossible. It goes without saying that in this way a large number of usages and in particular, metaphors, collocations and idioms are not registered by the modern dictionary, although very often they are current in modern writing. For example, many collocations used by present writers have not been recorded by any modern dictionary.

(g) It seems to me, however, that the greatest problem of all is the lack of co-ordination between the four Arab Academies to which one should add the fifth body which is situated in Morocco, and which carries the ironic name *Maktab at-Tansīq*. Here again one should refer to Rachad Hamzaoui who 'laments' in his works this hitherto insoluble problem. This is probably why we find in the Arabic dictionaries about ten words for a telephone, among which the most popular is the word *talafon*.

To these one may add the difficulty in finding satisfactory equivalents, in the case of bilingual dictionaries, in view of the 'cultural bond' which distinguishes one language from another.

In order to solve some of these problems we need at least five types of dictionaries as follows:

1. A comprehensive historical dictionary which will contain as many words, expressions, collocations and idioms as possible, analysed diachronically, highlighting chronologically the different usages in various texts and contexts<sup>3</sup>.
2. An etymological dictionary which will trace back the origins of Arabic phrases in comparison with other Semitic languages, (August Fischer's scattered etymological notes published in Cairo in 1965 resulted in one slim volume covering the entries *hamza* to *urīdu* is certainly insufficient).
3. A comparative dictionary of all Arabic dialects, which will highlight the different usages. (A few limited lists have hitherto been ventured by some scholars but they are certainly far from being comprehensive)<sup>4</sup>.
4. A comprehensive thesaurus – a kind of an Arabic *Roget* – is essential, especially that the available works are very limited.
5. A comprehensive dictionary of collocations, idioms and common sayings, based on written and oral use. This will help the student to have a better grasp of usage in context.

There is no doubt that teams of scholars, years of hard work and sophisticated equipment would be required in order to carry out efficiently this enormous task.

Concerning the question of alphabetical order by root versus alphabetical order by words, it seems that the complexity of the Arabic language (and in fact all other Semitic languages) and the consequent problems with which the learner of the language has to cope, make a dictionary arranged by alphabetical order of the words a most welcome tool, which may partly solve these problems. Existing dictionaries such as Ğ. Mas'ūd's, *ar-Rā'id* (Lebanon 1964), F. A. al-Bustānī's *al-Munğid al-abğadi*, (Lebanon 1967), H. al-Ğurr's *Larousse* (Paris 1973) and a few more (see Ya'qūb 1985:264), which are all arranged by alphabetical order

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<sup>3</sup> A historical dictionary was the theme of a conference held in Tunis in November 1989. For the Proceedings, see *Du Dictionnaire Historique de la Langue Arabe*.

<sup>4</sup> For the problems connected with dictionaries of Arabic dialects see Harrell 1975.

of the word, certainly make the life of the learner easier, although the clear disadvantage is the inevitable separation between derivatives based on the same root. A. Sharoni, in his recent *Arabic-Hebrew Dictionary* (see Hamzaoui 1991:177), arranges all entries by alphabetical order of the word, including the roots, but lists under the roots all the existing derivatives. This method calls R. Payne Smith's *Syriac Dictionary* to mind in that this valuable lexicon lists at the end of many roots the various derivatives which appear according to their alphabetical order.

These and other technical 'tricks' such as using a different colour for the roots and the entries<sup>5</sup>, are certainly most helpful to the learner.

In conclusion, in view of the difficulties and challenges posed by the nature of the language, one may clearly see the advantages of both orders. Hence, the solution should be motivated by pedagogical as well as practical considerations: The beginner should be encouraged to use a dictionary which is arranged by alphabetical order of the words, while the advanced student should, once the verb system has been learned, use the 'root-order' dictionary to develop his awareness to the 'common denominators' of the words.

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**II/A LEXICOLOGY:  
CORPUS AND COLLOCATION**



# THE LANGUAGE OF THE QUR'ĀN

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The aim of this article is to reassess the registers of language used in the Qur'ān. I approach the reassessment in two ways: (a) by arguing that the traditional view that the language of the Qur'ān is identical with the 'arabiyya of early poetry on the one hand and with the dialect of Qurayš, the spoken language of Muḥammad, on the other, is both late and mistaken; and (b) by suggesting that there were other registers that were in common use and to which the language of the Qur'ān has much greater natural affinities. These were the registers of the sooth-sayer (*kāhin*), the orator (*ḥaṭīb*) and story-teller (*qāṣṣ*) and also, in Median material, that of the written documentary style.

The basic reason why attention has naturally focused on poetry is that the amount of evidence about each of these registers is minute. Nevertheless, it is highly improbable that it is all spurious, and what remains is so similar in form that it is not unreasonable to suggest that the overall impression that it gives us is tolerably accurate.

## *The 'arabiyya question*

As outlined above, the view that is traditionally held by Muslim scholars is that the Qur'ān is couched in a language that is identical with the 'arabiyya of early poetry and with the dialect of Qurayš. This pious triple equation that (a) the poetic 'arabiyya = (b) the language of the Qur'ān = (c) the spoken language of Qurayš appears to have become prevalent no earlier than the third/ninth century.

It was first seriously called into question through the sustained and detailed work of the German scholar Karl Vollers, culminating in the publication of *Volksprache und Schiftsprache im alten Arabien* in 1906. Vollers showed that the traditional Arab schematization of early Arabic dialects such as Tamīmī or Ḥiǧāzī corresponded with a real cleavage

into two groups of dialects: eastern and western. Further, although the evidence is scanty and difficult to interpret, he was able to suggest that in the western dialects *īrāb* had to a large extent broken down.

At this point Vollers took an unfortunate step. He convinced himself that (a) should be removed from the equation, leaving (b) = (c). He thus concluded that the Qur'ān was first uttered in a Ḥiğāzī vernacular that lacked various features found in the poetic 'arabiyya, in particular *hamza* and *īrāb*, and that it was only later that it was gradually brought into line with 'arabiyya. His arguments about *hamza* are justified, but he certainly went too far on the problem of *īrāb*. His work was immediately attacked by other leading scholars of the time, such as Geyer (1909) and Nöldeke (1910), and it has been savaged at intervals ever since, e.g. by Blachère (1952-66), Rabin (1951) and Corriente (1976).

The next attack on the equation was by Ṭāhā Ḥusayn (1927). He too removed (a) from the equation. His mistaken conclusion that all pre-Islamic poetry, except that attributed to Ḥiğāzī poets, was forged is not relevant to the present discussion. It is conveniently demolished in the Epilogue to Arberry's *The Seven Odes* (1957).

There the matter stayed until the late 1940s. At that point there was a vigorous attempt by Kahle (1948) to revive Voller's theories. In particular, he pointed to the existence of traditions that encourage the use of *īrāb* in the pronunciation of the Qur'ān by early companions. If such traditions are genuine, they are interesting. One might perhaps take them as part of an effort to have every vowel pronounced, but it could be that they are simply exhortations to pronounce the sacred texts correctly. Certainly they fall well short of proving that (b) = (c). In any case, Kahle's work was overtaken by views put forward independently at more or less the same time by Blachère (1952-66), Fleisch (1947, 1949) and Rabin (1951): that the language of the Qur'ān is that of the poetic 'arabiyya modified to some extent by the language of Qurayš. Their position might be summed up as follows. The first half of the traditional equation is undoubtedly more or less true, though there are some features of the 'arabiyya of poetry that are not found in the Qur'ān and *vice versa*. However, the second half of the equation is at best a pious

fiction. Muḥammad and the Qurayš spoke a form of Ḥiǧāzī dialect, and all Ḥiǧāzī dialects were of the west-Arabian group, at some remove from the poetic 'arabiyya. This is now the generally accepted view in the west.

More recent work on 'arabiyya by Fück (1950), Blau (1981) and Corriente (1976) has been focused more on the period after the death of the Prophet and need not detain us here. The whole complex debate about 'arabiyya is summarized at length by Zwettler in chapter 3 of *The Oral Tradition of Classical Arabic Poetry*, by far the best chapter in that book (1978). Zwettler is occasionally tendentious because of his wish to press the (unprovable) hypothesis that *i'rāb* had disappeared from all early dialects – a proposition that is basically unnecessary, as, regardless of the *i'rāb* question, I doubt whether anyone would now wish to subscribe to the view that there was any dialect that was more or less identical with the poetic 'arabiyya.

My own view about the triple equation is that the case for removing (c) from it is unanswerable. I would go further and say that I do not think that we should link (a) and (b) too closely. In particular, the encroachment of *hamza* into the text as we now know it, even in such a highly conservative recension as that of Warš 'an Nāfi<sup>c</sup>, and the arguments about euphonic variations in various *qirā'āt* and *taǧwīd* manuals raise the probability of other strands of harmonization over the years. However, this is not so important as the removal of (c) from the equation, with the crucial implication that the language of Muḥammad, the revealer of God's message, was not the same as that of Muḥammad, citizen of Mecca and later of Medina. That is a central point in any discussion of the language of the Qur'ān.

### *Writing in pre-Islamic Arabia*

The extent of writing in pre-Islamic Arabia is obscure, but it must have been strictly limited and probably largely confined to the settlements. Nevertheless, the poets refer to writing on sheets regularly enough for us to deduce that even the illiterate *bedu* were aware of what

it looked like. The occasional use of the word *'unwān* 'title, heading' perhaps indicates a solemn role, for treaties and formal agreements *etc.* It is not unreasonable to postulate that there was a documentary register of language, based on written material but perhaps influenced by the process of dictation. [There is also awareness in poetry of epigraphic writing, but that need not concern us here.]

### *Literary activity in pre-Islamic Arabia*

All the material in pre-Islamic Arabia that one might class as literary was oral. It included not only poetry but also, as outlined earlier, the pronouncements of soothsayers (*kāhin* material), the speeches of orators (*ḥaṭīb* material) and the stories of storytellers (*qāṣṣ* material). The rate of the loss of oral literature through the vagaries of transmission is always high, but, as is shown by pre-Islamic poetry, a fair quantity can survive if circumstances are not unfavourable. However, the emergence of Islam was catastrophic for the survival of *kāhin* material and *ḥaṭīb* material from the pre-Islamic period. All that remains is a handful of fragments of doubtful authenticity. There was a different problem with pre-Islamic *qāṣṣ* material. Much survived, but as it was not subject to the preservative constraints of metre and rhyme, the material was recast into the idiom of later generations.

Because of the paucity of surviving *kāhin* material and *ḥaṭīb* material and the transformation of *qāṣṣ* material, these genres have been virtually ignored in assessments of the linguistic situation at the time of Muḥammad. This cannot be right, and I hope to draw them into a more central focus here.

### *The Kāhin*

We know little about the *kāhins* of pre-Islamic Arabia. An interesting and convenient summary of their putative roles is given by Fahd (1990) in the article "Kāhin" in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, a piece of considerable *élan*, though inevitably embellished with a fair leavening of conjecture. It would ap-

pear that the division between nomadic and settled life once again comes into play. The scraps of evidence point to *kāhins* being based in settlements and almost certainly having a wider role among the people of the settlements than among the tribesmen, who appear to have consulted them sporadically as diviners and, to a lesser extent, as arbiters. It is difficult to be sure about much beyond that, and I feel that Fahd himself has recourse to divination, with implausible results, when he claims in his last paragraph that in pre-Islamic times "the *kābin* in central Arabia was the spiritual and intellectual guide of the tribe, a role filled by all agents of a cult in underdeveloped societies at every period and place".

*Kāhin utterances*

A handful of examples will suffice to give a picture of utterances ascribed to *kāhins*. The first comes from the *Murūğ ad-dahab* of al-Mas'ūdī (II, para.1266), ascribed to a woman soothsayer named Ṭarīfa or Zarīfa:

*wa-n-nūri wa-z-zalmā'*  
*wa-l-ardi wa-s-samā'*  
*inna š-šāğara la-tālif*  
*wa-la-ya'ūdanna l-mā'*  
*kamā kāna fī d-dabri s-sālif*

By light and darkness,  
 by the earth and the sky;  
 the trees are perishing.  
 In truth, the water will return,  
 as it [did] in time gone-by.

The second is to be found in al-İşfahānī's *Agānī* (IX, 84) as part of a story about the killing of Ḥuğr, prince of Kinda and father of the poet Imru'u l-Qays, by the Banū Asad:

*mani l-maliku l-aṣḥab  
al-ġallābu ġayru l-muġallab  
fī l-ibili ka'annahā r-rabrab  
lā ya'laqu ra'sahu ṣ-ṣaḥab  
hādā damuhu yanṭa'ib  
wa-hādā ġadan awwalu man yuslab*

Who is the red-haired king,  
the undefeated conqueror,  
leading camels that resemble a small herd of oryx,  
whose head has no uproar round it?  
This man – his blood will flow;  
this man tomorrow will be the first to be plundered.

Next a piece from Ibn Hišām (*Sīra* II, 577), who quotes it among a number of brief pieces ascribed to one of Muḥammad's unsuccessful rivals, Musaylima. Some of these appear to be distorted to show Musaylima in a pejorative light, but the following does not ring particularly false:

*laqad an'ama llāhu 'alā l-ḥublā  
abraġa minhā nasamatan taṣ'ā  
min bayni ṣifāqin wa-ḥašā*

God has been gracious to the pregnant woman.  
He has brought forth from her a living being  
that can move,  
From between the navel and the bowels.

Finally, I quote two examples from Ibn Ḥabīb's *Kitāb al-Munammaq*, which contains a number of stories of *kāhins* being asked to act as *ḥakam* concerning some dispute of honour (*nifār*, *mufaḥara*). There appears to have been a set procedure whereby the *kāhin* was asked to show his power and suitability by guessing what strange object the



contestants had brought with them. If he did this successfully, he was then asked to judge between the two contestants. In the most complex and interesting passage (pp. 109-111) two men named Mālik b. ʿUmayla and ʿUmayra b. Ḥāḡir al-Ḥuzāʿī ask a *kāhin* whose name is not given to judge which of them has the better horse. They approach him in the company of a member of the Banū Naṣr clan of the Ḥuzāʿa tribe and ask him what they are concealing (a dead vulture). The *kāhin*'s answer is in two sections:

- (a) *ḥaba'tum lī dā ḡanāḥin a'naq*  
*tawīli r-riḡli abraq*  
*idā taḡalḡala ḥallaq*  
*wa-idā nqadda fattaq*  
*dā miḥlabin mudallaq*  
*ya' iṣu ḥattā yuḥlaq*

You have concealed for me that which has wings and a long neck,  
 long-legged, black and white.  
 When it moves quickly, it soars and circles;  
 when it swoops, it rends.  
 - that which has sharp talons,  
 living until it is worn out.

- (b) *aḥlifu bi-n-nūri wa-l-qam(a)ri*  
*wa-s-sanā wa-d-dahri*  
*wa-r-riyāḥi wa-l-fat̄ri*  
*laqad ḥaba'tum lī ḡuttata nasri*  
*fī ʿikemin min ṣa'ri*  
*ma'a l-fatā min Banī Naṣri*

I swear by the light and the moon,  
 by the lightning-flash and by fate,  
 by the winds and the cleaving,

you have concealed for me the corpse of a vulture  
 in a bundle of hair  
 in the company of the youth from the Banū Naṣr.

After answering correctly in this way the *kāhin* is asked to give judgement, and this he does in a piece of *rağaz*.

The second piece from the *Kitāb al-Munammaq* (103-107) concerns a dispute between Hāšim b. ʿAbd Manāf and Umayya b. ʿAbd Šams. There may be some doubt about the details of the story and particularly about the names of the protagonists, but the judgement (p. 106) is a typical oath passage and I have doubts only about the final segment containing the names:

*wa-l-qamari l-bāhir*  
*wa-l-kawkabi z-zāhir*  
*wa-l-ğamāmi l-māṭir*  
*wa-mā bi-l-ğawwi min tā'ir*  
*wa-mā htadā bi-ʿalami musāfir*  
*munğidin aw ġā'ir*  
*laqad sabaqa Hāšimun Umayyata ilā l-mafāhir*

By the moon that shines brightly,  
 by the star that shows clearly,  
 by the clouds that give rain,  
 by all the birds in the air,  
 by what is rightly guided by the waymark of [the]  
 wayfarer,  
 going to the uplands or descending to the lowlands,  
 Hāšim has outstripped Umayya to the [heights] of glory.

These pieces are very similar in their phraseology to many passages in the Qur'ān. Take, for example, *Sūra* 91, verses 1-10:

*wa-šamsi wa-duḥābā*  
*wa-l-qamari idā talāhā*  
*wa-n-nahāri idā ḡallāhā*  
*wa-l-layli idā yaḡšāhā*  
*wa-s-samā'i wa-mā banāhā*  
*wa-l-ardī wa-mā taḥāhā*  
*wa-nafsin wa-mā sawwāhā*  
*fa-alhamahā fuḡūrahā wa-taqwāhā*  
*qad aflahā man zakkāhā*  
*wa-qad ḥāba man dassāhā*

### The *ḥatīb*

There appear to have been two types of *ḥatīb* in pre-Islamic Arabic. Much the more important was the tribal *ḥatīb*, who, together with the *sayyid* and the *šā'ir*, was one of the leading members of the tribe, a person who had come to prominence because of his ability as a spokesman. His role was similar in some respects to that of the poet, though the medium of the *ḥatīb* was eloquent prose and not verse. It was his duty to praise his tribe and denigrate its enemies and to take part in any negotiations concerning the tribe. Usually this was his sole responsibility, though there are reports of the occasional *ḥatīb* who doubled as *qāss*, or as *šā'ir* or even as *sayyid*. Our prime source of information for this type of *ḥatīb* is the not totally reliable al-Ġāḥiẓ (*Bayān, passim*) but there is some confirmatory evidence in poetry (e.g. Labīd, al-Quṭāmī, the *Mufaddaliyyāt* and the *Hamāsa*).

We have less information about the second type, the peripatetic *ḥatīb*. One has to presume that his role was essentially like that of the peripatetic poet, *i.e.* his services could be bought. However, it may well be that some of the itinerant *ḥatībs* preached ethical messages, urging, for example, that one should do what is right and avoid what is wrong; and in a few cases the message may have been overtly religious. This would certainly appear to have been the case with Quss b. Sā'ida, 'eloquent as the Bishop of Naḡrān', about whom there is a story that when

a delegation from Bakr b. Wā'il met the Prophet he recited to them a piece of a speech by Quss that he had heard at one of the fairs at 'Ukāz.

### Ḥaṭīb utterances

The piece of Quss's oration remembered by the prophet is said (al-Gāhiz, *Bayān* I, 308-9, al-Isfahānī, *Aḡānī* XIV, 40 etc.) to have run:

*ayyuhā n-nāsu ḡtami'ū wa-smā'ū wa-ʿū.*  
*man ʿāša māṭ, wa-man māta fāt,*  
*wa-kullu mā hwa ātin āt.*

This is not far from a *kāhin*-type utterance, and it is thus a reminder that the registers under discussion are not discrete from one another. In various ways they overlap, particularly in the use of assonance, and in any case it would appear to me that with the *ḥaṭīb* and the *qāṣṣ* it would be a mistake to think of them as using a single unified register.

It is reasonably clear that the most striking feature of the *ḥaṭīb*'s art was the use of parallelism, a feature deeply embedded in high-register Semitic literature. It is hard to see this clearly from the scrappy fragments that survive from pre-Islamic times, but it shows up well in early Islamic *ḥutbas*, which may be anachronistic in their contents but are not so in their style. The topic of parallelism has been examined by my esteemed colleague A. F. L. Beeston in an illuminating article 'Parallelism in Arabic Prose' (1974, reproduced in a shortened form as chapter 5 of volume 1 of the *Cambridge History of Arabic Literature*), which should be studied carefully by readers of this article.

I quote two of the important examples that he cites in the article but omits from the chapter. With his customary kindness Professor Beeston has agreed that I may quote the texts and translations from his article. However, for an understanding of the parallelism readers should study the explanation Professor Beeston gives in his article. The first

piece is said to be a *ḥutba* given by Abū Bakr on his accession to the caliphate (for variations in the text see aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 1829):

*ayyuhā n-nāsu, innī qad wullītu ʿalay-kum, wa-lastu bi-ḥayrikum.*

*fa-in ra'aytumūnī ʿalā ḥaqqin fa-aʿīnūnī;*  
*wa-in ra'aytumūnī ʿalā bātilin fa-saddidūnī.*

*atīʿūnī mā ataʿtu llāha fikum;*  
*fa-idā ʿaṣaytuhu fa-lā tātā lī ʿalaykum.*

*a-lā inna aqwākum ʿindī d-dāʿīfu ḥattā āḥuda l-ḥaqqa labu*  
*wa-aḍʿafukum ʿindī l-qawiyyu ḥattā āḥuda l-ḥaqqa minhu*

*aqūlu qawli ḥadā, wa-astagfiru lī wa-lakum.*

Men, I have placed in command over you, though I am not the most worthy of you.

So if you see me acting rightly, assist me;  
 and if you see me acting vainly, correct me.

Obey me so long as I obey God in your concerns;  
 but if I disobey him, no obedience is due to me from you.

The most potent of you in my regard is the weakest – until I can ensure justice for him;  
 the weakest of you in my regard is the strongest – until I can exact justice from him.

That is my declaration of policy, and I ask God's pardon for myself and for you.

The second is an address by 'Uṭmān to those rebelling against him (for variations in the text see at-Ṭabarī, *Tārīḥ* I, 2939-40):

*inna li-kulli šay'in āfa; wa-inna li-kulli ni'matin 'āba.  
fi hādā d-dīni 'ayyābūna zannānūn,*

*yuzhirūna lakum mā tuḥibbūn,  
wa-yusirrūna mā tukrihūn.*

*yaqūlūna lakum wa-taqūlūn -  
taḡām, miṭla n-na'ām;*

*yatba'ūna awwala mā nā'iq -  
aḥabbu ma'wāridihim ilayhimu n-naziḥ.*

*laqad aqrartum li-bni l-Ḥattābi  
aktāra mim mā naqamtum 'alayya;*

*wa-lākinnahu waqamakum wa-zaḡarakum  
zaḡra n-na'āmi l-muḥarrama.*

*wa-llāhi innī la-aqrabu nāsirā wa-a'azzu nafarā;  
wa-aqmanu in qultu halumma an tuḡāba da'watī min 'Umarā.*

*hal tafqidūna min huqūqikum šayyā?*  
[probably originally *šiyyā* (for the later *šay'an*) - see *Sūra* 19,  
verse 42 below]

*fa-mā lī lā afalu fi l-ḥaqqi mā ašā* [for *ašā'u*?]

*idan fa-lima kuntu imāmā?*

Everything has a blemish; every grace has a defeat  
There are those who slander and think ill of this faith,

Showing you on the surface that which you love,  
but harbouring in their hearts that which you hate.

They speak to you and you respond –  
an ostrich-like rabble;

Following the first voice they hear –  
the water-holes they love best are the most inaccessible.

You conceded to Ibn al-Ḥaṭṭāb  
more than you begrudge me;

Yet he oppressed you and trampled on you,  
and drove you like silly ostriches.

By God I am closer to victory and I have a stronger party;  
I am better entitled, when I say 'Come' to have my call  
answered than 'Umar.

Do you lack anything to which you have a just right?  
So why should I not do justice as I wish?

If I do not do so, why did I become leader?

*The qāṣṣ*

The existence of story-tellers in pre-Islamic times is well-attested; and even if it were not, the use of the root *qāṣṣ* in the Qur'ān would go most of the way to establishing it. One can also be reasonably sure that a fair number of early stories that survive, e.g. about the war of al-Basūs, contain genuine information that has passed through generations of story-tellers. It is the process of transmission that causes the problem. The material was inevitably recast generation by generation, and it is extremely rare that one finds scraps that would appear to be early

because of the archaic cast of their language. Thus one has to take the view that there is no *qāṣṣ*-material that we can use as control samples against which Quranic narratives can be judged. Nevertheless, it is reasonably straightforward to discern a story-telling register in the Qur'ān.

### *Documentary Style*

Two clauses taken from the 'Constitution of Medina' are an adequate example of what I term the documentary style. They run:

*al-muhāğirūna min Qurayşin 'alā raba'atihim  
yata'āqalūna baynahum, wa-hum yafdūna 'āniyahum  
bi-l-ma'rūfi wa-l-qisṭi bayna l-mu'min in*

*wa-Banū 'Awfin 'alā raba'atihim yata'āqalūna ma'āqilahumu  
l-ūlā, wa-kullu ṭā'ifatin tafdī 'āniyahum bi-l-ma'rūfi  
wa-l-qisṭi bayna l-mu'min in.*

The Muhāğirūn of Qurayş are in charge of their own affairs, paying jointly among themselves their blood-money; and they will ransom a prisoner of them in accordance with what is customary and by fair sharing among the *Mu'minūn*.

The Banū 'Awf are in charge of the management of their affairs, paying jointly among themselves their previous blood-monies; and each section will ransom a prisoner of them in accordance with what is customary and by fair sharing among the *Mu'minūn*.

One may compare this with *sūra* 2, verse 158, which deals in part with the *hağğ*:



*inna ṣ-Ṣafā wa-l-Marwata min ša'ā'iri llāhi fa-man haḡḡa l-bayta awi 'tamara fa-lā ḡunāḡa 'alayhi an yattawwafa bihimā wa-man tatawwa'a ḡayran fa-inna llāha šākirun 'alim.*

as-Ṣafā and al-Marwa are among the waymarks of God; so whosoever makes the Pilgrimage to the House, or the Visitation, it is no fault in him to circumambulate them; and whoso volunteers good, God is All-grateful, All-knowing.

Use of the third person in this register, however, normally gives way to direct address in the second person, as can be seen from a subsequent passage on the *haḡḡ*, in *sūra* 2, verse 196:

*wa-atimmū l-ḡaḡḡa wa-l-'umrata li-llāhi, fa-in uḡsirtum fa-mā staysara mina l-badyi; wa-lā taḡliqū ru'ūsakum ḡattā yabluḡa l-badyu maḡallahu; fa-man kāna minkum marīḡan aw bihi adan min ra'sihi fa-fidyatun min ṣiyāmin aw ṣadaqatin aw nusukin; fa-idā amintum fa-man tamatta'a bi-l-'umrati fa-ṣiyāmu talātati ayyāmin fī l-ḡaḡḡi wa-sab'atin idā raḡatun: tilka 'aṣaratun kāmilatun - ḡālika li-man lam yakun aḡluhu ḡādirī l-masḡidi.*

Perform the pilgrimage and the visit to Mecca for Allah. And if ye are prevented, then send such gifts as can be obtained with ease, and shave not your heads until the gifts have reached their destination. And whoever among you is sick or hath an ailment of the head must pay a ransom of fasting or almsgiving or offering. And if ye are in safety, then whosoever contenteth himself with the visit for the pilgrimage (shall give) such gifts as can be had with ease. And whosoever cannot find (such gifts), then a fast of three days while on the pilgrimage, and of seven when ye have returned; that is, ten in all. That is for him whose folk are not present at the Inviolable Place of Worship.

It is in fact quite easy to find verses where the subject matter is much closer – the reader may care to do so – but even with quite different subject matter the similarity of register is clear enough.

### Conclusion

Though I am convinced that the basic registers on which the Qur'ān draws are those of the *kāhin*, the *ḥatīb*, the *qāṣṣ* and the documentary style, that is only part of the story. There is a striking parallel if we look at the *Maqāmāt* of al-Hamaḍānī. With virtually every phrase it is possible to say that al-Hamaḍānī is drawing on such-and-such a genre, style, motif *etc.* Yet the amalgam he creates is quite different from any of the material on which he draws. The various existing strands are turned into a new style.

The same thing happens with the Qur'ān from the earliest revelations onwards and can be seen on virtually every page. This fusion of registers, which occurs in many different ways, was of course inevitable when *kāhin*-type assonance became a general stylistic feature of the Qur'ān, regardless of the basic register of any given passage. Thus the following passage from *Sūra* 19 has a style that marks it as essentially an argumentative *ḥatīb*-type piece, full of parallelism:

88 *wa-qālū ttaḥada r-rahmānu waladā*

89 *laqad ḡi'tum šay'ā iddā*

90 *takādu s-samawātu yatafattarna minhu wa-tanšuqqu  
l-ardu wa-taḥirru l-ḡibālu haddā*

91 *an da'aw li-r-rahmāni waladā*

92 *wa-mā yanbagī li-r-rahmāni an yattahida waladā*

93 *in kullu man fī s-samawāti wa-l-ardi illā atī r-rahmāni 'abdā*

- 94 *laqad aḥṣāhum wa-ʿaddahum ʿaddā*  
 95 *wa-kullubum ātīhi yaʿwma l-qiyāmati fardā*  
 96 *inna lladīna āmanū wa-ʿamilū ṣ-ṣāliḥāti*  
*sa-yağʿalu labumu r-rahmānu wuddā*

Assonance, too, appears as an integrated and effective part of the Qur'ān's narrative style, whereas our best guess is that assonance was only an incidental feature in pre-Islamic *qāṣṣ* material. Take, for example, another passage from *Sūra* 19 with longish verses ending with a difficult assonance in *-iyyā*:

- 41 *wa-dkur fī l-kitābi Ibrāhīma; innahu kāna ṣiddīqā nabīyyā*  
 42 *id qāla li-abīhi yā abatī lima taʿbudu mā lā*  
*yaṣmaʿu wa-lā yuḥsiru wa-lā yuḡnī ʿanka ṣayʿā*

[probably read originally as *ṣiyyā* – see the *ḥuṭba* of ʿUṭmān above]

- 43 *yā abatī innī qad ḡāʿanī mina l-ʿilmi mā lam yaʿtika fa-ttabīnī*  
*abdika ṣirātā sawīyyā*  
 44 *yā abatī lā taʿbudi ṣ-ṣaytāna; inna ṣ-ṣaytāna kāna li-r-rahmāni*  
*ʿaṣīyyā*  
 45 *yā abatī innī aḥāfu an yamassaka ʿadābun mina r-rahmāni fa-*  
*takūna li-ṣ-ṣaytāni waliyyā*  
 46 *qāla a-rāḡibun anta ʿan ālihatī yā Ibrāhīmu; la-in lam tantabi la-*  
*arḡumannaka; wa-ḡurnī maliyyā*  
 47 *qāla salāmun ʿalayka sa-astaḡfiru laka rabbī; innahu kāna bi*  
*ḥafīyyā*

48 *wa-a<sup>c</sup>tazilukum wa-mā tad<sup>c</sup>ūna min dūni llāhi wa-ad<sup>c</sup>ū rabbī; <sup>c</sup>asā  
allā akūna bi-du<sup>c</sup>ā'i rabbī šaqiyyā*

Here I feel that I should stop, for this article at least. Further examples will simply distract readers from following the essential line of argument that I wish to set out on what I believe to be an important question: how and why did the Qur'ān make its impact during Muḥammad's lifetime? I trust that I have written enough here to persuade readers that my initial arguments bear scrutiny. However, further consideration is needed. One should also ask, for example, why the Meccans called Muḥammad a poet – or whether they simply called him *mağnūn* with the *šā<sup>c</sup>ir* appearing as a rhetorical embellishment. (Their calling him a *kābin* is much easier to understand.) One ought also to consider whether the way some people linked the *kābin* and the *ḥakam* might have influenced the inhabitants of Medina in the fateful period before the Hiğra.

I should like to end by stressing to my Muslim colleagues that what I have set out above is in no way an attack on the uniqueness of the Qur'ān nor on their belief that the Qur'ān is the Word of God. I have simply suggested that we substitute one explanation of the Qur'ān's linguistic affinities for another, and I believe that my explanation for doing so is valid for Muslims and non-Muslims alike.

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# DYNAMIC VS. STATIC – A KIND OF PARALLELISM IN AL-HAMAḌĀNĪ'S MAQĀMĀT

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“The detail is everything” – *Vladimir Nabokov*

As the style of elevated diction had been dominated by parallelism in the field of meaning<sup>1</sup> by the time the *maqāmāt* of Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamaḍānī were being written, it is not at all surprising that the style of the *maqāma* genre may best be characterized by the abundant use of parallelism where the parallel structures have a kind of simple (consonantal) rhymes – though it is to be stressed that the two phenomena were originally independent of each other<sup>2</sup>. It is not our aim here to give a definition of parallelism, but it must be emphasized that in our view no difference can be stated, at least from a strictly linguistic point of view, between what may be termed as literary (or regular and voluntarily made) parallelism and parallelism occurring randomly in everyday speech or in a non-literary text. Generally speaking, that means that the linguistic analysis of the so-called “literary” or “poetic language” should always form a natural extension of the linguistic forms of the “common language”<sup>3</sup>. Parallelism means in reality very seldom the use of precisely

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Beeston 1974:134.

<sup>2</sup> See Beeston 1974:143 who suggests to avoid using the term *sağ'* and its European rendering, “rhymed prose”, considering them ‘somewhat dubious’ See also *id.* 1990:126ff. and Horst, Heribert. 1987:221ff. It is also to be noted that of the two most important *maqāma* authors, al-Hamaḍānī perhaps lays more emphasis on parallelism, while al-Ḥarīrī on rhyming.

<sup>3</sup> This is the question of whether poetic language should be analyzed on a ‘different level’ from non-poetic language (Abu Deeb 1990:379-380), or as a ‘deviation’ from it (Ricoeur 1986:136ff).

synonymous members (words or syntagms)<sup>4</sup>. The parallel line does not simply repeat what has been said, but enriches it, deepens it, transforms it by adding fresh nuances and bringing in new elements, renders it more concrete and vivid and telling – that is, it generates new (contextual) semantic reality from the lexical (word) meanings of its components<sup>5</sup>. The purpose of parallelism then, like the general purpose of imagery, is to transfer the usual perception of an object into the sphere of a new perception – that is, *to make a unique semantic modification*<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>4</sup> Beeston, though speaks about “straight semantic synonymity” as one of the main features of parallelism in his fundamental article on the theme (1974:134-135), reveals in the actual analyses much more in the couplets than simple and mechanic synonymity. Alter 1985:10, speaking about Biblical Hebrew verses, states that “literary expression (though thrives on parallelism) abhors complete parallelism, just as language resists true synonymity, usage almost always introducing small wedges of difference between closely akin terms.”

<sup>5</sup> The remarks of P. A. Boodberg on parallelistic couplets in Chinese poetry (Boodberg, 1954, cited by Jakobson 1966:402) may be cited here to illustrate our point of view: the function of the second line of a couplet is, he argues, “to give us the clue for the construction of the first. Parallelism is not merely a stylistic device of formularistic syntactical duplication; it is intended to achieve a result reminiscent of binocular vision, the superimposition of two syntactical images in order to endow them with solidity and depth, the repetition of the pattern having the effect of binding together syntagms that appear at first rather loosely aligned.”

Jurij Lotman’s words about poetry (Lotman 1977:126-127) also applies to Arabic belle-lettristic prose: “Strictly speaking, unconditional repetition is impossible in poetry. The repetition of a word in a text, as a rule, does not mean the mechanical repetition of a concept. Most often it points to a more complex, albeit unified, semantic context.”

<sup>6</sup> This operation was nicely perceived two centuries ago by J. G. Herder (1784:23) that “the two [parallel] members strengthen then heighten, empower each other.” Shklovsky (1965:21) defines this process as follows: “The perception of disharmony in a harmonious context is important in parallelism. The purpose of parallelism, like the general purpose of imagery, is to transfer the usual perception of an object into the sphere of a new perception – that is, *to make a unique semantic modification*”.



There are several types of semantic modification in Badī' az-Zamān al-Ḥamadānī's *maqāmāt*<sup>7</sup>. There are some seemingly straight synonymous balancing phrases the members of which, however, appear to have a special type of semantic difference:

- (1) (*fa-ḡā'altu*) *anfīhi wa-utbituhu* \* *wa-unkiruhu wa-ka'annī a'rifuhu* (reject/D; prove/D \* refuse to acknowledge/S; know/S)<sup>8</sup>
- (2) *yansitu wa-ka'annahu yafham* \* *wa-yaskutu wa-ka'annahu lā ya'lam* (listen/D; comprehend/D \* be silent/S; know/S)

In the above two examples there are always at least two lexical elements with similar or quasi-synonymous meanings, but at a closer look we may become aware of a significant (though not necessarily self-evident) difference. One of the couplets always refers to a condition, that is, it is *static*; while the other implies movement or action, that is, it is *dynamic*. Or, more precisely: non-static, because state can more easily be defined than dynamism. The words *anfā*, *atbata* and *anṣata* and *fahima* represent an action or process necessary to reach a state or condition while the words *ankara*, *arafa*, *sakata* and *'alima* express the condition or state itself<sup>9</sup>. The formation of the sense of a sentence or better

<sup>7</sup> Only the Beirut edition of Muḥammad 'Abduh was used. The examples cited in this paper are only a fragment of the many hundreds of cases of semantic parallelism in the text. The results of a complete analysis of the text and a list of different types of semantic parallelism will be presented at the 2nd Shaban Memorial Conference in Exeter, September 1994.

<sup>8</sup> In defining the dynamic or static character of a word or expression mainly the *Lisān al-'arab* was used, beside taking into consideration the usual textual contexts of the words in question.

The *Lisān* states the difference between *naṣā* and *ankara* in the following way: *naṣā aš-šay' tanahḥā; al-inkār al-ḡubūd wa-l-munkar hīlāf al-mā'rūf*. For the sake of brevity references to *Lisān* have been left out from the paper in the following.

<sup>9</sup> Naturally, both terms denote relative attribute, and a static meaning can be regarded as relatively dynamic in another relation. If, for example, *'arafa* and *'alima* were to be contrasted with each other, the first would be considered active while the other its static counterpart. In this case, however, *'arafa* contrasts with *atbata* and in this pair the latter has a more action type meaning.

to say text(ual unit) does not end with the choice of the appropriate words – that is, sentence meaning is not simply the outcome of the meanings of its word components<sup>10</sup>. So here the seemingly synonymous words obtain special shades of meaning when confronted with each other by way of coupling them in balanced phrases.

The conjunction of two words having almost the same meaning except for one semantic feature (*static vs. dynamic*), or a small bunch of features, serves to designate their common semantic field or common set of semantic features. This can also be considered neutralization with regard to the semantic feature in question, since the new semantic unit resulting from the conjunction will certainly be neutral as to static or dynamic characteristics<sup>11</sup>.

Let us consider now some parallelistic word pairs which are used quite commonly and so they can be considered as common language expressions<sup>12</sup>:

- (3) *taraktuhu wa-nšaraftu* (I left/S him and departed/D)  
 (4) *fiṭna wa-dakā* (intelligence/D and cleverness/S)

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<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Ricoeur's opinion (1986:129ff): "Taken in isolation, the word still has only a potential meaning, made up of the sum of its partial meanings, themselves defined by the types of contexts in which they can participate. They have actual meaning only in a given sentence, that is to say, in an instance of discourse".

<sup>11</sup> A. F. L. Beeston deals in his fundamental book, *The Arabic Language Today* with slightly similar cases of lexical couplets. He says (p.112) "Arabic has been alleged to be unusually rich in synonyms, but it is doubtful whether it is exceptional in this respect. Most cases of alleged synonymy are at best partial, and this is a phenomenon of all languages. What is unusual about Arabic is the extent to which this phenomenon is countered by the device of hendiadys: the use of two words with different but overlapping semantic spectra to denote the area of overlap". Then he takes use of the rule of logical conjunction, pointing out, that such expressions like *ḥukm wa-qaḍā*' and *ḥukm wa-sulṭān* "are in no way tautological, as they would illusorily appear to be ... they represent a single concept" – eliminating those meanings or shades of meaning which are not common in the two lexemes.

<sup>12</sup> As a matter of fact, they have been taken from Ṭāhā Ḥusayn's *al-Ayyām* (4-7, occurring many times) and from al-Hamaḍānī's *maqāmāt* (3, where it occurs two times), but each of them can be encountered in today's newspaper language, too.

- (5) *ḥass wa-šū'ūr* (perception/*D* and consciousness/*S*)<sup>13</sup>  
 (6) *gumūd wa-ibhām* (obscureness/*S* and ambiguity/*D*)  
 (7) *mut'aban makedūdan* (tired/*S* and overworked/*D*)  
 (8) *bi-mašāqqatin wa-ḡahdin* (with hardship/*S* and great efforts/*D*)

They seem to be made up of conventionally fixed (synonymous) pairs. But if we try to analyze further these pairs we find that the members of these formulae can be differentiated from each other according to various semantic attributes, one of which is the feature *dynamic vs. static*. One of the pairs, usually the first, expresses a dynamic version of about the same bundle of semantic features of which the other is a static variant. In these examples *taraka*, *ḏakā'*, *šū'ūr*, *gumūd*, *mut'ab* and *mašāqqa* may be considered as *static*, while on the other side *inšarafa*, *fiṭna*, *ḥass*, *ibhām*, *makedūd* and *ḡahd* may rightfully be labelled as *dynamic*. The difference in meaning between the two members may extend, however, to more than one semantic features. The extended use of these and similar pairs of expressions in the Classical and Modern Literary Arabic (and not only in the literature, but in everyday usage, too) indicates that this device may be more than simply a rhetoric device and also points to the basically linguistic (and not stylistic) roots of the phenomenon we called here semantic conjunction.

If, however, semantic conjunction of two lexical items is an acceptable linguistic means to express a single concept, parallelism containing conjunctions cannot be simply looked upon as a rather superfluous stylistic device<sup>14</sup>. So, before we would speak about tautology and a much rhetorical style in the parallelism of the *maqāmāt* and any other Arabic genre, we must at first analyze linguistically the given parallelistic struc-

<sup>13</sup> Although this expression does not occur in al-Hamadānī's text, both words occur separately once:

*lammā aḥassū bi-l-qissa* \* *wa-šarat bi-qulūbihim ḡassa* (m. *šaymarīyya*) and *wa-nisā'un qad našarna šū'urahunna* \* *yadribna šudūrahunna* (m. *maṣīliyya*).

<sup>14</sup> Roman Jakobson (1960:377) speaking about poeticalness, as the poetic function of any form of the language, says: "Poeticalness is not a supplementation of discourse with rhetorical adornment but a total re-evaluation of the discourse and of all its components whatsoever."

tures whether they have or have not real linguistic function. Of course, we are not taking now in consideration the special effect, which is reached by using unnecessarily frequently or excessively one and the same linguistic device. It seems, however, that with at least al-Hamaḍānī such is not the case. Let us consider other examples of similar nature from the “*maqāma isfahāniyya*” (no. 10 in our edition):

- (9) *atawaqqā'u l-qāfilata kulla lamḥa \* wa-atarāqqabu r-rāḥilata kulla ṣubḥa* (expecting/S \* looking for/D)
- (10) *wa-bī l-ḡammu l-muqīdu l-muqīmu fī fawti l-qāfila \* wa-l-bu'di 'ani r-rāḥila* (passing away/D \* remoteness/S)<sup>15</sup>
- (11) *wa-anā ataṣallā nāra ṣ-ṣabri wa-ataṣallab \* wa-ataqallā 'alā ḡamri l-ḡayzi wa-ataqallab* ([in the meantime] I am warming/S myself by the fire/D of patience/S and show myself hard/S (in it) \* and I am roasting/D myself on the embers/S of enragement/D and tossing and turning/D)<sup>16</sup>
- (12) *wa-laysa lī illā s-sukūtu wa ṣ-ṣabr \* awi l-kalām wa-l-qabr* (silence/S; patience/D \* speaking/D; being in the grave/S)<sup>17</sup>
- (13) *sabhala llāhu l-mahraḡ \* wa-qarraba l-faraḡ* (way out/D \* release/S)

The whole situation in this *maqāma* is built on the very sharp and manifolded contrast created between movement and rest, action and condition, that is, the semantic feature *dynamic vs. static* may be found not only in separate entities – words and expressions – but it governs the whole situation or rather a series of situations and thus the whole story. That means that from a lexical feature it has in reality become

<sup>15</sup> The word *fawt* is many times contrasted in al-Hamaḍānī's text with the absolute static condition of death (*mawt*), while *bu'd* can be regarded as alike to death.

<sup>16</sup> The series of static and dynamic expressions are only interrupted by the words *nār* and *ḡamr* which are used reversely, first because the verb *taṣallā* usually goes with it and secondly because the disharmony caused by this reverse usage animates the whole passage.

<sup>17</sup> Of course, *ṣabr* can only be considered as dynamic in this context where it is contrasted with an even more static item, *qabr*.

here a textual feature<sup>18</sup>. First, the story-teller's waiting anxiously for the arrival of the caravan, then his hesitation whether he should remain among his fellow travellers or go to the prayer and his suffering during the long prayer and finally, on top of all, the appearing of an impostor, who, appealing to the extreme religiosity of the community detains him from returning back to the travellers – all these four situations are portrayed by a powerful utilization of the possibilities given by *dynamic/static* couplets. These are usually not words but whole sentences<sup>19</sup> and the semantic parallelism is reinforced by a perfect syntactic parallelism, the word order in each of the half-lines exactly mirroring the other, with each corresponding term in the same syntactic position.

Finally, it must be emphasized that not all parallelistic couplets, of course, exhibit the parallelism of the semantic conjunction of dynamic and static lexemes or any other type of semantic conjunction. And because the comparison is between senses and not just words, there is often enough room for debate over whether a particular B-line is more dynamic than its A-line and vice versa. It is, however, a common enough feature of Arabic parallelism to make it worth asking of every parallelistic couplet whether any gain in understanding may result from applying the present concept to it. The new feature that has emerged from this study of the parallelistic couplets is not so much the identification of a particular relationship of the lines of the couplet (*dynamic vs. static* feature) as a movement towards a statement of relationships within the poetic couplet. We must also note that in most cases there is an overlapping of several heterogeneous types of parallelism (semantic, syntactic, prosodic, morphological, phonetic, and so

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<sup>18</sup> It may rightfully be supposed that it is in many cases the text or a part of it (and not one or more lexical entities) that shows *dynamic* or *static* character.

<sup>19</sup> All this may be considered a general characteristic of parallelism as is described by Alter (1985:19) speaking about Biblical parallelism "In semantic parallelism the characteristic movement of meaning is the heightening or intensification of focusing, specification, concretization, dramatization".

on) so that no single element may be considered as purely dominant or as purely concomitant<sup>20</sup>.

In conclusion, let Ibn Haldūn's wise words stand here (Rosenthal 1958 III, 193): "The secret and spirit of speech ... lie in conveying ideas. The perfect way of conveying ideas is eloquence. Eloquence is conformity of speech to the requirements of the situation. After perfect indication (of the requirements of the situation has been achieved), the word combinations ... have their different kinds of artistic embellishment. In a way, they give them the brilliance of correct speech. Such (kinds of artistic embellishment) include ornamental use of rhymed prose, the use of phrases of identical structure at the end of successive cola. The spontaneous occurrence of rhetorical figures causes no comment, because (in such case) they are no way forced, and the speech (in which they occur) cannot therefore be criticized as (linguistically) faulty. The forced and studied use of rhetorical figures leads to disregard of the basic word combinations of speech and thus destroys all basis for indication (of the meaning of speech)."

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<sup>20</sup> Cf. Hrushovski (1971:1200) on Biblical parallelism.

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# LEXICAL INDEX TO AL-FARRĀ' 'S *MA'ĀNĪ L-QUR'ĀN*

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In this paper I wish to present the outlines of a computer based linguistic and history of linguistics project that I started in 1988/89 at the University of Oxford. The principal aim of the project is to make an Arabic text available in a specially prepared computerized form for manifolded further analysis. For this purpose a fairly long text has been selected for being both an essential opus of early Arab linguistics and a classical Arabic text from the early 9th century. The chosen corpus is a significant work of Abū Zakariyā Yaḥyā b. Ziyād b. 'Abdallāh b. Manzūr ad-Daylamī, called al-Farrā' (144/761-207/822), a prominent member of the so-called Kūfan school of Arab linguistics and author of a series of writings in the field of Qur'ānic philology. The work in question was written just before his death in the 810s, and is usually known under the title: *Mā'ānī l-Qur'ān* (i.e. the book of problematic places of the Qur'ān). The first page, however, calls it *Tafsīr muškil i'rāb al-Qur'ān wa-mā'ānīhi*. It was edited only once in Cairo (1955-72)<sup>1</sup>. The whole text of this edition, containing 1207 pages and more than a quarter of a million words in three volumes, was put into the VAX computer of the Oxford Computing Centre. A special transliteration developed by Alan Jones was used for the input which, on the one hand, permits the use of Oxford Concordance Programme (OCP) in the analysis of the text, and, on the other hand, if there is a

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<sup>1</sup> After the pioneering studies of Beck (1946, 1948, 1956, 1959) and Anṣārī (1964) which were based on the study of the MSS, the publication of the *Mā'ānī* gave rise to a number of studies among which we may mention Dévényi 1990 & 1991, Talmon 1990 & 1993 and the unpublished dissertation of S. Bertonati (Univ. of Venice, 1990). From among the published or unpublished indices mention must be made of the index of *šawāhid šī'riyya* by Ward (1981), the *Index of Qur'ānic Rereferences* (Dévényi 1992) and the long awaited *Qā'imāt al-iṣṭilāḥāt an-naḥwiyya* that is being prepared by N. Kinberg.

desire to see the result of any analysis in print, it can be reconverted into Arabic.

The input of text did not only mean mechanical typing but also the use of a number of additional signs to make future analyses possible as well as facilitate them. Such signs mark, for example, all the persons mentioned by name or profession like the *qurrā'*, the poets, and the grammarians<sup>2</sup>, the Qur'ānic verses that are treated or referred to by the author<sup>3</sup>, the *ṣawāhid šī'riyya*, the *qirā'āt*, "common language examples", terms, etc. The availability of the text makes the introduction of further signs possible. Special care was taken to strictly follow the lay-out (pages, paragraphs, lines) of the Cairo edition in order to achieve that the results would automatically be valid not only for the computerized but also for the printed version.

The current sub-project means the compilation of a lexical index to the *Ma'ānī*. The objectives of this work are very similar to those outlined by Troupeau in his *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sibawayhi* with some slight differences to be mentioned underneath.

Several problems have arisen during the production of the index. The size of the corpus lies behind some of these problems. The entire generated index would fill several volumes which makes it impossible to publish in a printed form. Even the handling of an index of several volumes would create unnecessary difficulties. The complete index together with the occurrences will be available in a computerized form later to be supplemented with a concordance, while a complete

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<sup>2</sup> Some results found their way into a previous article (Dévényi 1991) where together with the analysis of the relationship between al-Kisā'ī and al-Farrā' an exhaustive index of al-Kisā'ī (as a *qārī'* and grammarian) and a short index of other grammarians quoted in the *Ma'ānī* is given.

<sup>3</sup> These were presented in Dévényi 1992. The advantages of a computerized analysis became clear in the relative easiness of handling large data which alone made possible the inclusion of precise cross-references. In this way, the *Index of Qur'ānic References* presents those *āyāt* that are linked in some way or another by al-Farrā'. It can also serve as a point of departure for any future research dealing with specific *āyāt*.

vocabulary with a statistics will be published in printed form.

The search for the root and the grouping of words accordingly have also created some unforeseen problems. Special additional marks had to be introduced to enable the OCP programme to search for the roots.

The lexical index - a sample of which is presented here as an appendix - contains only what can be described as 'the text of al-Farrā'', i.e. it excludes Qur'ānic verses, poems, and everyday examples. It also excludes names. All these are earmarked for other types of indices. It includes, however, all the words of the remaining corpus, so, for example, contrary to Troupeau's work, pronouns and function words as well. It also features the exact place of all the occurrences irrespective of their number.

While in the preparation of the index I did not envisage the search for collocations, with the generation of a concordance it is easy to trace them. It also seems necessary to widen the scope at a later stage and include specific phrases - like, for example, *idā qulta*, etc. - that occur regularly and split into two distort the index that not only intends to present all the words used by al-Farrā' but also aims at revealing some characteristic features of his style.

The translation of the words was greatly facilitated by the generation of a concordance in the first step where the context of the word was clear.

The index yields a number of possibilities for future research. Here, I wish to present only the results of a comparison among:

- Lexical index to al-Farrā' 's *Ma<sup>ā</sup>nī*,
- Troupeau's *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*,
- Goguyer's *Lexique des termes techniques* based on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*.

From the 1073 terms contained in Goguyer's *Lexique* (1888) Troupeau (1976:19-24) lists 144 new terms not contained in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*. From among these only 15 seem to be used as terms with the given meaning in the *Ma<sup>ā</sup>nī*. I have naturally disregarded those occurrences where the specific word does not function as a grammatical term, but is part of the Qur'ānic or other - from this respect irrelevant - text (as is the case, for example, of *hanğara* which is used in an example and

not as a term in vol. II,336.7; of *ātī* which is not used in the sense of "future" but occurs four times in the Qur'ānic text, or of *iftiqār* which occurs twice in a line of poetry and once in a paraphrase of an example).

Although Troupeau's translations of Sībawayhi's terms and especially the breaking of one term into different categories sometimes seem to be quite arbitrary it does not affect greatly the present selection<sup>4</sup>.

1. Terms relating to general notions

a. the language

b. the noun

*āla* "instrument" II,151.5; II,151.9

c. the verb

*lāzim* "inherent" (½) I,194.6, where the sentence *li-anna š-šart fi lamr lāzim* seems to justify the proposed meaning.

d. the particle

*tabri'a* "(la particule *lā d'*)exemption" I,120.7, II,84.7, III,195.15  
*ğahd* "dénégation" I,8.8, II,101.4, III,281.16

2. Methodological terms

*ta'wīl* "interprétation" I,160.8, I,381.2, III,237.3

*hadd* "définition" (½). This term occurs 120 times in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* and is translated by Troupeau (1976:65) as "manière, syn. of *wağb*". Without questioning this translation and

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<sup>4</sup> It has also to be mentioned that quite inexplicably Troupeau has sometimes changed Goguyer's translations and gave a literal translation instead. E.g. Goguyer (1888: 304) translated *dī'āma* and *imād* by "pronom distinctif", while Troupeau (1976:22) lists them as "appui". In each case Goguyer's original was checked and taken into account together with the version of Troupeau. Brackets mark Troupeau's version in case of a significant difference. For easier reference, the division follows that of Troupeau. The given occurrences serve as examples and are not exhaustive. All the divisions are listed even if no appropriate terms were found.

The terms listed here fall into two categories. They are either used in completely the same way as the later usage on the basis of Goguyer 1888, or are followed by a "½" sign which is used to indicate that al-Farrā's usage is very similar to what is defined by Goguyer but it is not exactly the same.

without asserting that in the *Ma'ānī* "definition" would always be a good rendering of this term, I should like to advance here that in the case of phrases like *ḥaraḡa min ḥadd al-ḡazā'* (I,179.3) we are on the verge of this meaning.

*mahḍ* "pur, proprement dit" I,8.8, I,161.8, I,416.6

*munāsaba* "[convenance], analogie" I,437.16

### 3. Syntactic terms

*ḡumla* "proposition" (½). Although al-Farrā' did not use this term as an abstract notion for phrase, there are examples where a tendency towards the inception of this concept is clear (II,195.5, II,233.5, II,3881).

*mahall* "place". This term is used in a double sense by al-Farrā': adverb of place (I,119.5) and syntactic position (I,87.11).

*rāḡi'* "qui se rapporte" I,56.2, II,373.12, III,157.14

*'imād* "[appui], pronom distinctif" I,51.5, II,145.7, III,299.10

*'ā'id* "qui se rapporte" I,151.4, II,106.2

*nasaq* "[conjonction], adjoint en série" I,44.5, II,70.9, III,192.6

### 4. Morphological terms

*aṣl* - "racine" (½). This term is generally not used in this meaning but there seems to be at least one occasion (I,373.12) which can be considered a transition towards the meaning of *root*.

### 5. Phonetic terms

It may also be of some interest to know what are those words that occur in Goguyer's list and in the *Ma'ānī* (as terms or words in the language used by al-Farrā') but not in the *Kitāb*. In case of these words meanings are not taken into account. These 27 items are as follows: *āla*, *ta'wīl*, *tabri'a*, *maḡbūl*, *maḡāz*, *ḥaḡīqa*, *ḥukm*, *mahall*, *di'āma*, *rāḡi'*, *'imād*, *'ā'id*, *fakḥ*, *muḡāraba*, *qā'ida*, *mahḍ*, *naz'*, *munāsaba*, *nāsib*, *nasaq*, *našr*, *nāqis*, *wiqāya*.

A double conclusion seems to emerge from the above list of terms:

(1) The fact that from the 144 new terms found by Troupeau in Goguyer's *Index al-Farrā'* used only 15 in what can be termed the same

meanings draws his terminology clearly closer to that of Sībawayhi. This similarity of terminology points to the tighter links between early linguists – either Baṣran or Kūfan – of the 8-9th centuries, standing as a whole, at least from this point of view, in contrast with grammarians of later centuries.

(2) Although later grammars have frequently been regarded as the direct continuation of Sībawayhi's *oeuvre*, the above analysis indicates that in some essential cases later terminology followed the Kūfan tradition<sup>5</sup>.

If this kind of analysis could be carried out through the whole corpus of Arabic grammatical literature, it would greatly help us in the modification of our picture. It would clearly show us the terminological changes and would present us a shaded picture of what is now considered a more or less static and unified literature.

#### APPENDIX

Sample of the lexical index to al-Farrā's *Mā'ānī l-Qur'ān*<sup>6</sup>

*a* (3) [interrogative particle]: I,2.5; I,5.3; I,6.6

*ab* (1) father: I,4.4

[*aḥad*] / [*iḥdā*] (1) one [of]: I,2.13

*aḥada* (1) to take: I,2.6

*idā* (12) if, when: I,2.3; I,2.9; I,3.7; I,4.3; I,5.7; I,5.9; I,5.13; I,6.2; I,6.3; I,6.3; I,6.5; I,6.15

*asl* (2) primary form (term): I,5.2; I,5.17

<sup>5</sup> I have arrived at similar conclusions in analyzing the syntactic methods of Sībawayhi and al-Farrā' (cf. Dévényi 1990 & 1990-91).

<sup>6</sup> As I have stated above the lexical index contains only what may be called the text of al-Farrā' proper, i.e. without examples, etc. The sample contains the index of the first 100 records from the text, altogether 785 words. This is the passage on which the different steps of the preparation of the index, its analysis and presentation have been elaborated. The meanings given here were established on the basis of these 100 records only.

- ma'kal* (1) food: I,2.6
- illā* (5) unless, except: I,5.10; I,6.5; I,6.15; I,6.16; I,6.17
- alladī* (3), *alladīna* (1) which, that: I,4.1; I,4.1; I,6.9; I,6.12
- alif* (17) [the first letter of the alphabet] (term): I,1.16; I,1.17; I,2.7; I,2.9; I,2.11; I,2.15; I,2.17; I,4.5; I,5.10; I,5.14; I,6.2; I,6.5; I,6.8; I,6.9; I,6.12; I,6.14; I,7.3
- Allāh* (6) God: I,2.5; I,2.9; I,2.12; I,3.2; I,3.8; I,5.16
- ilā* (6) to, until; [verbal preposition]: I,2.3; I,2.7; I,2.8; I,2.9; I,4.11; I,7.3
- umm* (1) source, foundation [= *Sūrat al-Fātiḥa*] (term): I,3.1
- ammā* (8) as for: I,3.4; I,3.6; I,3.13; I,4.1; I,5.2; I,5.2; I,5.6; I,6.16
- in* (3) if: I,2.10; I,2.15; I,6.11
- inna* (5) [topicalization particle]: I,3.6; I,3.13; I,4.1; I,5.2; I,5.6
- an(na)* (18) that: I,2.5; I,2.7; I,2.8; I,3.1; I,3.7; I,3.9; I,3.10; I,4.3; I,4.5; I,5.3; I,5.9; I,6.3; I,6.6; I,6.8; I,6.11; I,6.12; I,6.14; I,7.3
- innamā* (7) but, however: I,2.1; I,2.15; I,3.6; I,4.4; I,6.2; I,6.9; I,7.2
- anā* I:
- nī* (1) I,4.6
- anta* you:
- ka* (5) I,2.5; I,5.4; I,6.5; I,6.6; I,7.4
- abl* (1) people, population: I,3.4
- aw* (9) or: I,2.6; I,2.6; I,3.7; I,3.15; I,5.9; I,5.13; I,6.2; I,6.2; I,6.14
- awwal* (3) / *ūlā* (1) first [part]: I,1.16; I,2.2; I,5.5; I,7.4
- aydan* (1) also: I,7.4
- bi-* (20) in, at; with; [verbal preposition]: I,2.6; I,2.7; I,2.8; I,2.8; I,2.17; I,3.2; I,3.6; I,4.3; I,4.5; I,4.11; I,7.4; I,7.4; I,7.4; I,5.7; I,5.7; I,5.13; I,6.12; I,6.14; I,6.17; I,7.2
- bā'* (3) [the second letter of the alphabet] (term): I,2.9; I,2.12; I,2.15
- ibtada'a* (1) to start [a sentence] with [a noun phrase]: I,6.15
- ibtidā'* (4) beginning, start (term): I,2.5; I,2.16; I,5.3; I,6.16
- badw* (1) nomads: I,3.4
- tabāraka* (5) to be blessed, to be praised: I,2.5; I,2.9; I,3.8; I,5.10; I,5.16
- abtala* (1) to invalidate: I,2.18
- bā'da* (3) after: I,2.16; I,3.15; I,3.15
- bā'd* (1) some [of]: I,2.7

- bālā* (2) to care, to pay attention: I,5.9; I,6.14  
*bayna* (2) between, among: I,6.17; I,6.17  
*taraka* (1) to leave: I,5.5  
*atbata* (2) to write down [a letter]: I,2.4; I,2.11  
*iḥbāt* (1) [the] writing down [of a letter]: I,1.17  
*taqula* (1) to be burdensome, to be difficult (term): I,3.14  
*istatqala* (2) to find sg. burdensome, to find sg. difficult (term): I,5.6;  
 I,6.1  
*mağrā* (1) occurrence (term): I,6.1  
*mağzūm* (1) the pronunciation of the final consonant of a word without  
 a vowel (term): I,6.5  
*ğāʿala* (1) to make: I,4.3  
*iğtamaʿa* (1) to agree upon (term): I,3.4  
 (3) to combine (term): I,3.14; I,3.16; I,4.1  
*iğtimāʿ* (1) agreement, consensus (term): I,1.16  
*ğamīʿan* (2) altogether, both/all of them: I,5.15; I,6.13  
*ğahila* (1) to ignore: I,2.2  
*ğaza* (22) to be allowed, to be possible: I,2.16; I,3.6; I,3.7; I,3.11; I,5.3;  
 I,5.4; I,5.8; I,5.10; I,5.11; I,5.12; I,5.14; I,6.2; I,6.3; I,6.4; I,6.4; I,6.8;  
 I,6.8; I,6.10; I,6.11; I,6.13; I,6.15; I,7.2  
*hattā* (1) until: I,3.14  
*ḥadafa* (8) to elide (term): I,2.1; I,2.7; I,2.8; I,2.9; I,2.12; I,2.13; I,2.13;  
 I,2.15  
*ḥadf* (2) elision, ellipsis (term): I,1.16; I,2.6  
*ḥarf* (6) letter (term): I,2.10; I,4.5; I,5.7; I,5.15; I,6.5; I,6.17  
*ḥasuna* (1) to be proper/fitting (term): I,6.7  
*aḥṣā* (1) to enumerate: I,2.14  
*iḥtāğa* (2) to need: I,2.2; I,2.8  
*ḥaffa* (1) to be easy: I,2.6  
*istahaffa* (1) to deem easy: I,2.3  
*ḥafada* (1) to pronounce the final consonant of a word with *i* (term):  
 I,3.13  
*ḥafd* (2) the pronunciation of a consonant (or the final consonant of a  
 word) with *i* (term): I,5.2; I,7.2



- dāl* (3) [the eighth letter of the alphabet] (term): I,3.5; I,3.13; I,3.16  
*da<sup>ʿ</sup>ā* (1) to induce: I,2.7  
*idda<sup>ʿ</sup>ā* (1) to claim: I,2.18  
*dawr* (1) role, part: I,5.7  
*dā* (1) this: I,2.12  
*dabiha* (1) slaughter animal: I,2.6  
*dālīka* (7) / *tilka* (1) that: I,1.16; I,2.8; I,2.8; I,2.10; I,3.8; I,3.9; I,4.3;  
 I,6.12  
*dababa bi- ilā* (1) trace back: I,4.11  
*madhab* (1) rule, trend (term): I,5.1  
*ra<sup>ʿ</sup>ā* (4) to see: I,2.5; I,2.7; I,5.3; I,6.6  
*rahmān* (1) the Merciful: I,3.2  
*rahīm* (1) the Compassionate: I,3.2  
*rafa<sup>ʿ</sup>a* (4) to pronounce a consonant (or the final consonant of a word)  
 with *u* (term): I,3.5; I,4.1; I,5.2; I,5.17  
*raf<sup>ʿ</sup>* (8) the pronunciation of a consonant (or the final consonant of a  
 word) with *u* (term): I,3.4; I,5.2; I,5.2; I,5.3; I,5.10; I,5.14; I,5.17;  
 I,6.12  
*marfū<sup>ʿ</sup>* (4) a consonant pronounced with *u* (term): I,5.3; I,5.4; I,6.16;  
 I,6.16  
*arāda* (1) to intend, mean: I,4.1  
*rawā* (1) to transmit: I,5.16  
*askata* (ʿalā) [pass.] to make silent [i.e. vowelless]: I,2.15; I,2.17  
*sākin* (4) a vowelless consonant (term): I,5.6; I,5.8; I,5.13; I,6.2  
*sallama* (1) to grant salvation: I,5.17  
*ism* (1) name: I,2.12; I,3.2  
*ism* (7), *asmā'* (2) noun (term): I,2.4; I,2.16; I,3.6; I,3.14; I,3.14; I,3.16;  
 I,3.16; I,4.1; I,7.3  
*sūra* (1) chapter of the Koran: I,2.2  
*sīn* (1) [the twelfth letter of the alphabet] (term): I,2.7  
*ša'n* (1) nature, character: I,2.3  
*[šibh], ašbāh* similar (term): I,2.17; I,4.6; I,6.8  
*mašrab* (1) drink: I,2.6  
*muškil* (1) problem, difficulty: I,1.15

- šīn* (1) [the 13th letter of the alphabet] (term): I,2.14  
*[muṣṣḥaf]*, *maṣāḥif* (2) Koran codices: I,1.16; I,2.16  
*maṣḍar* (2) verbal noun (term): I,3.6; I,3.7  
*ṣalūḥa* (3) to be proper: I,3.7; I,3.8; I,3.10  
*sallā* (1) to bless: I,5.16  
*maṣmūd* (2) intended, meant: I,7.4; I,7.4  
*sāra* (2) to become: I,3.14; I,5.10  
*ṣayyara* (1) to make: I,4.5  
*damm* (2) the pronunciation of a consonant with the vowel *u* (term):  
 I,6.5; I,6.11  
*damma* (5) the vowel *u* (term): I,3.15; I,3.15; I,4.2; I,5.6; I,6.1  
*madmūm* (1) [consonant] pronounced with the vowel *u* (term): I,6.4  
*aḍāfa* (2) to attach (term): I,2.9; I,7.3  
*tarḥ* (1) rejection, deduction (term): I,2.3  
*‘arab* (8) [true] Arabs [of the desert] (term): I,2.3; I,2.12; I,2.16; I,3.11;  
 I,3.14; I,4.1; I,4.4; I,4.6  
*‘arabiyya* (1) the language of the true Arabs (term): I,5.1  
*īrāb* (2) desinential inflection (term): I,1.15; I,2.13  
*‘arafa* (1) to be acquainted with: I,2.3  
*ma‘rifa* (4) acquaintance with: I,2.6; I,2.7; I,2.8; I,7.3  
*ma‘rūf* (1) well-known: I,2.2  
*‘ilm* (2) knowledge: I,2.8; I,2.8  
*‘alā* (11) (up)on; [verbal preposition]: I,1.16; I,2.6; I,2.16; I,2.17; I,3.4;  
 I,3.13; I,3.14; I,3.16; I,4.5; I,5.5; I,5.17  
*ta‘ālā* (7) to be exalted: I,2.5; I,2.9; I,3.3; I,3.8; I,5.10; I,5.16; I,7.1  
*ista‘mala* pass. (2) to use: I,2.12  
*‘an* (1) from [designating the source]: I,5.16  
*‘inda* (1) at: I,2.5  
*[ma‘nā]*, *ma‘ānī* (4) [grammatical] meaning: I,1.15; I,2.2; I,2.4; I,4.11  
*ḡayr* (3) except, save: I,2.9; I,2.9; I,6.13  
*fa-* (50) (and) then; for: I,1.16; I,2.3; I,2.6; I,2.6; I,2.8; I,2.10; I,2.11; I,2.12;  
 I,2.13; I,2.15; I,2.16; I,2.16; I,2.17; I,3.4; I,3.5; I,3.6; I,3.6; I,3.7; I,3.7;  
 I,3.12; I,3.13; I,3.15; I,4.1; I,4.2; I,4.5; I,4.5; I,5.2; I,5.2; I,5.2; I,5.3;  
 I,5.5; I,5.6; I,5.6; I,5.8; I,5.9; I,5.10; I,5.13; I,5.17; I,6.1; I,6.3; I,6.3;

- I,6.4; I,6.7; I,6.7; I,6.8; I,6.11; I,6.15; I,6.16; I,6.16; I,7.3  
*infataḥa* (2) to be pronounced with the vowel *a* (term): I,5.9; I,6.3  
*fath* (2) the pronunciation of a consonant with the vowel *a* (term): I,5.3;  
 I,5.4  
*[fātiḥa]*, *fawātiḥ* beginning: I,1.17  
*maftūḥ* (2) [consonant] pronounced with the vowel *a* (term): I,2.14; I,5.9  
*faraqa* (1) to separate: I,6.17  
*tafsīr* (1) commentary: I,1.15  
*fa'ala* (2) to do: I,3.7; I,3.7  
 (1) [schematic verb to indicate conjugation]: I,5.7  
*fi'l* (1) activity: I,2.5  
*fi* (41) in, at; [verbal preposition]: I,1.17; I,2.1; I,2.2; I,2.4; I,2.6; I,2.11;  
 I,2.11; I,2.12; I,2.12; I,2.14; I,2.16; I,2.17; I,3.7; I,3.9; I,3.10; I,3.14;  
 I,3.16; I,4.2; I,5.1; I,5.2; I,5.3; I,5.4; I,5.5; I,5.6; I,5.7; I,5.8; I,5.10;  
 I,5.10; I,5.13; I,5.15; I,5.17; I,6.1; I,6.5; I,6.7; I,6.8; I,6.9; I,6.10; I,6.15;  
 I,6.16; I,7.3; I,7.4  
*qabla* (10) before: I,5.6; I,5.9; I,5.9; I,6.2; I,6.3; I,6.4; I,6.5; I,6.9; I,6.12;  
 I,6.14  
*qad* (4) [verbal particle]: I,2.7; I,2.16; I,3.15; I,7.3  
*qirā'a* (1) [Koranic] reading (term): I,2.3  
*al-Qur'ān* (1) the Koran: I,1.15  
*qāri'* (2) *qurrā'* (2) [Koran] reader (term): I,1.17; I,2.2; I,2.8; I,3.4  
*munqati'* (1) disconnected (term): I,6.14  
*taqlīl* (1) reduction (term): I,2.3  
*qāla* (33) to say: I,1.16; I,2.5; I,2.10; I,2.15; I,2.16; I,3.4; I,3.5; I,3.5; I,3.6;  
 I,3.7; I,3.9; I,3.10; I,3.13; I,5.1; I,5.2; I,5.6; I,5.6; I,5.13; I,6.1; I,6.3;  
 I,6.3; I,6.4; I,6.6; I,6.6; I,6.8; I,6.11; I,6.11; I,6.12; I,6.13; I,6.15  
*qawol* (19) saying, speech: I,2.1; I,2.4; I,2.13; I,3.3; I,3.8; I,3.9; I,3.11; I,4.4;  
 I,5.3; I,5.4; I,5.10; I,5.11; I,5.13; I,5.16; I,5.16; I,6.5; I,6.7; I,7.1; I,7.4  
*qā'il* (2) speaker (term): I,2.15; I,3.6  
*qiyās* (1) model (term): I,6.8  
*ka-* (6) as, like: I,2.5; I,2.12; I,3.14; I,4.3; I,6.5; I,6.16  
*kadālika* (4) likewise: I,5.7; I,6.3; I,6.5; I,6.10  
*kamā* (2) [just] as: I,2.12; I,6.16

- kāf* (2) [the 21st letter of the alphabet] (term): I,2.10; I,2.11
- kataba* (1) to write: I,2.16
- kitāb* (2) writing; the Koran: I,3.1; I,6.10
- kutub* (2) books: I,1.17; I,2.2
- [*kātib*], *kuttāb* (2) scribe: I,1.16; I,2.7
- katura* (5) to be numerous, to occur often: I,2.4; I,2.12; I,3.13; I,4.3; I,4.5
- katra* (2) abundance, great number: I,2.5; I,5.7
- kaīr* (4) numerous, many: I,2.3; I,2.14; I,2.17; I,6.1
- aktar* (2) more; most: I,2.12; I,4.1
- kasara* (4) to pronounce a consonant with the vowel *i* (term): I,2.14; I,6.1; I,6.17; I,3.16
- kasr* (9) the pronunciation of a consonant with the vowel *i* (term): I,5.4; I,5.4; I,5.15; I,6.2; I,6.4; I,6.4; I,6.7; I,6.8; I,6.11
- kasra* (8) the vowel *i* (term): I,3.15; I,3.15; I,3.15; I,5.8; I,5.13; I,5.15; I,6.2; I,6.2
- maksūr* (2) [consonant] pronounced with the vowel *i* (term): I,5.8; I,5.9
- kull* (3) all: I,2.5; I,5.1; I,6.7
- kalima* (2) word (term): I,3.13; I,4.3
- kalām* (11) language, speech (term): I,2.12; I,2.14; I,3.9; I,3.11; I,3.15; I,4.3; I,4.5; I,4.6; I,5.7; I,6.1; I,7.4
- mutakallim* (1) speaker (term): I,4.4
- maknī* (1) pronoun (term): I,5.7
- kāna* (14) to be: I,2.10; I,2.14; I,3.16; I,4.5; I,5.9; I,6.4; I,6.5; I,6.5; I,6.12; I,6.14; I,6.15; I,6.16; I,6.16; I,7.3
- makān* (5) place (term): I,3.7; I,3.9; I,3.11; I,5.15; I,6.13
- li-* (15) for, because of; to (of the dative); in order to: I,2.6; I,2.8; I,2.16; I,3.6; I,3.16; I,4.5; I,5.1; I,5.7; I,5.15; I,6.13; I,7.2; I,7.2; I,7.3; I,7.4; I,7.4
- li-anna* (9) since, because: I,2.2; I,2.3; I,2.4; I,2.11; I,2.15; I,6.9; I,6.11; I,7.2; I,7.3
- lā* (35) no, not: I,2.2; I,2.2; I,2.4; I,2.4; I,2.5; I,2.8; I,2.8; I,2.9; I,2.14; I,2.15; I,2.17; I,4.3; I,5.1; I,5.1; I,5.3; I,5.3; I,5.4; I,5.4; I,5.4; I,5.9; I,6.4; I,6.6; I,6.6; I,6.7; I,6.7; I,6.8; I,6.9; I,6.10; I,6.12; I,6.14; I,6.16; I,6.16; I,6.17; I,7.2; I,7.4

- lām* [the 23rd letter of the alphabet] (term): I,2.10; I,2.11; I,3.5; I,4.1; I,7.3
- lazima* (1) to adhere, to cling: I,2.4
- [*lisān*], *alsun* (1) tongue: I,3.14
- luġa* (2) dialect(al form): I,5.1; I,5.1
- lafz* (2) pronunciation (term): I,5.10; I,6.9
- lam* (6) not: I,2.12; I,5.10; I,6.3; I,6.4; I,6.5; I,6.15
- lammā* (1) as, after: I,4.5
- laysa* (3) not to be: I,3.6; I,4.4; I,7.3
- mā* (10) that which, what: 1,2.12; I,2.18; I,4.6; I,5.9; I,5.9; I,5.13; I,6.3; I,6.4; I,6.5; I,6.14
- mitl* (11) similar, of the same kind: I,2.10; I,3.9; I,3.10; I,3.16; I,4.2; I,5.8; I,5.10; I,5.13; I,5.15; I,6.7; I,6.17
- miṭāl* (3) pattern (term): I,3.16; I,4.1; I,4.5
- ma'a* (5) with: I,2.4; I,2.5; I,2.9; I,5.8; I,6.17
- man* (10) who, whoever, he who: I,3.4; I,3.5; I,3.5; I,3.6; I,3.13; I,5.2; I,5.6; I,5.16; I,5.17; I,6.1
- min* (35) from, of: I,1.17; I,2.1; I,2.3; I,2.6; I,2.8; I,2.9; I,2.12; I,2.12; I,2.12; I,2.14; I,2.14; I,2.15; I,2.17; I,3.4; I,3.5; I,3.5; I,3.7; I,3.9; I,3.9; I,3.10; I,3.11; I,3.13; I,3.15; I,3.16; I,4.1; I,4.3; I,4.4; I,4.4; I,4.6; I,5.13; I,5.15; I,6.8; I,6.12; I,6.14; I,7.2
- nabī* (1) prophet: I,5.16
- naḥnu* we:
- nā* (1) I,2.15
- manzila* (1) position, status (term): I,7.4
- anšada* (1) to recite: I,4.6
- naṣaba* (1) to put a noun in the *i'rāb* position of *naṣb* (term): I,3.6
- naṣb* (3) a nominal case, the accusative, [the basic ending of which is *a*] (term): I,3.7; I,5.2; I,5.4
- na't* (2) attribute (term): I,7.2; I,7.3
- ankara* (1) to pretend not to know: I,4.3
- hā'* (4) [the 26th letter of the alphabet] (term): I,5.2; I,5.6; I,6.7; I,7.2
- hādā* (3) / *hādibi* (1) this: I,2.4; I,2.7; I,2.17; I,3.13

*hum* they:

-*hum* (13) I,1.17; I,2.6; I,2.6; I,2.13; I,3.4; I,3.5; I,3.5; I,3.13; I,3.14;  
I,3.15; I,4.1; I,5.3; I,6.7

*humā* (1) both of them: I,5.1

-*humā* (2) I,4.3; I,4.5

*hamza* (1) hamza, the character designating the glottal stop (term): I,2.13

*huwa* (3) it: I,3.6; I,4.4; I,5.17

-*hu* (51) I,1.15; I,2.1; I,2.2; I,2.3; I,2.4; I,2.4; I,2.4; I,2.6; I,2.6; I,2.7;  
I,2.7; I,2.8; I,2.8; I,2.9; I,2.12; I,2.13; I,2.14; I,2.16; I,2.17; I,3.3; I,3.6;  
I,3.6; I,3.7; I,3.9; I,3.9; I,3.10; I,3.11; I,3.11; I,3.12; I,4.2; I,4.6; I,5.2;  
I,5.6; I,5.8; I,5.10; I,5.11; I,5.13; I,5.13; I,5.13; I,5.13; I,5.16; I,5.17;  
I,6.7; I,6.8; I,6.13; I,6.15; I,6.17; I,7.1; I,7.3; I,7.4; I,7.4

*hiya* (4) it: I,6.1; I,6.8; I,6.9; I,7.4

-*hā* (46) I,2.1; I,2.2; I,2.3; I,2.4; I,2.5; I,2.9; I,2.16; I,2.16; I,2.17; I,3.9;  
I,3.14; I,3.14; I,4.5; I,5.2; I,5.2; I,5.2; I,5.2; I,5.3; I,5.3; I,5.4; I,5.4;  
I,5.4; I,5.5; I,5.6; I,5.7; I,5.9; I,5.15; I,6.2; I,6.2; I,6.3; I,6.4; I,6.4; I,6.5;  
I,6.8; I,6.8; I,6.9; I,6.11; I,6.11; I,6.12; I,6.14; I,6.14; I,6.15; I,6.17;  
I,6.17; I,7.2; I,7.3

*wa* (97) and: I,1.15; I,1.16; I,1.17; I,1.17; I,2.1; I,2.2; I,2.2; I,2.3; I,2.4;  
I,2.4; I,2.5; I,2.7; I,2.7; I,2.8; I,2.9; I,2.9; I,2.10; I,2.10; I,2.11; I,2.11;  
I,2.12; I,2.13; I,2.13; I,2.14; I,2.14; I,2.17; I,3.4; I,3.5; I,3.5; I,3.5; I,3.8;  
I,3.9; I,3.11; I,3.12; I,3.14; I,4.1; I,4.2; I,4.3; I,4.3; I,4.6; I,4.6; I,5.1;  
I,5.1; I,5.2; I,5.2; I,5.4; I,5.4; I,5.4; I,5.6; I,5.6; I,5.7; I,5.8; I,5.8; I,5.9;  
I,5.10; I,5.11; I,5.11; I,5.13; I,5.14; I,5.15; I,5.15; I,5.15; I,5.16; I,5.16;  
I,5.17; I,6.1; I,6.1; I,6.2; I,6.3; I,6.4; I,6.5; I,6.6; I,6.6; I,6.6; I,6.6; I,6.7;  
I,6.7; I,6.8; I,6.8; I,6.8; I,6.9; I,6.9; I,6.10; I,6.10; I,6.10; I,6.11; I,6.12;  
I,6.13; I,6.14; I,6.15; I,6.17; I,7.1; I,7.2; I,7.3; I,7.3; I,7.4; I,7.4

*wāw* (1) [the 27th letter of the alphabet] (term): I,2.17

*wağada* (1) to find: I,3.15

*iğāz* (1) conciseness: I,2.3

*ğiha* (1) way of interpretation: I,5.5

*wağh* (4) way of interpretation: I,5.8; I,5.13; I,6.13; I,6.15

*wāhid* (6) one: I,2.10; I,3.14; I,3.14; I,3.16; I,4.3; I,4.5

*sifa* (1), *sifāt* (1) preposition (term): I,2.10; I,2.10

- ittasāla* (2) to be connected (term): I,5.7; I,6.17  
*mawṣūl* (1) connected (term): I,6.14  
*mawḍi'* (3) position (term): I,2.2; I,2.7; I,6.7  
*waqa'a* (1) occur (term): I,2.2  
*waliya* (2) to be adjacent to (term): I,5.13; I,6.2  
*tawabḥama* (1) to think, believe: I,4.5  
*yā'* (13) [the 28th letter of the alphabet] (term): I,2.13; I,4.4; I,5.6; I,5.8;  
 I,5.9; I,5.9; I,5.13; I,5.15; I,6.2; I,6.2; I,6.9; I,6.12; I,6.14

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# COLLOCATION IN ARABIC (MSA) AND THE TREATMENT OF COLLOCATIONS IN ARABIC DICTIONARIES

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## *0 Introduction*

First of all the title of this paper should be narrowed; with Arabic dictionaries in the framework of this paper we mean (mostly) bilingual dictionaries having Arabic as one of its languages.

An impressive amount of linguistic theoretical research has been carried out in the field of collocation. Because of practical needs, we have not made a very extensive study of all these works. These practical needs will be discussed later in this paper.

We will now mention some aspects of collocation. The phenomenon of collocation means that two (or sometimes more) words appear in each other's company because the usage of a particular word (for example a noun) limits the choice of an adjective to a small number of adjectives that can combine with this particular noun. The same can count for a noun and a verb.

One might say there is a core word (the word that comes to the mind first) and a collocator that combines with that core-word. One has, for example, in mind the noun 'crime' in English, and looks for the verb which combines with it, and which denotes the action of 'doing it' (the crime). This has to be either the verb 'commit' or 'perpetrate'. This applies for Arabic as well. When having the noun *ġarīma* in mind, only the verbs *irtakaba* or *iqtarafa* can be used. While still having the same noun in mind and seeking for an adjective that expresses the bad, violent and harmful nature of the crime one can in English choose from a limited number of adjectives like 'atrocious', 'vicious' and some others. The same in Arabic; with *ġarīma* one can combine a limited number of adjectives like *nakrā'*.

Collocations (also called recurrent combinations or fixed combinations) are specific combinations of, for example, a noun and an adjective, or a noun and a verb.

In a bilingual context collocations are very important for learners of a language. Usage of the right combinations, being a part of style, results in correct language production at least at this stylistic level. We will come back to this later.

### 1 *Classification of types of collocations*

The following classification of collocations was published by Peter Emery (1991):

a) *Open collocations*: combinations of two or more words co-occurring together, without any specific relation between those two words. Combinations in which both elements are freely recombinable. Each element is used in a common literal sense.

examples given by Emery: *intabat al-ḥarb*, *bada'at al-ḥarb*

b) *Restricted collocations*: combinations of two or more words used in one of their regular, non-idiomatic meanings, following certain structural patterns, and restricted in their commutability not only by grammatical and semantical valency, but also by usage.

examples from Emery: *ḥarb dārra*, *ḡarīma nakrā'*

examples from our corpus: *aḥraza taqadduman*, *ḥasārāt ḡismiyya*

c) *Bound collocations*: a bridge category between collocations and idioms. One of the elements is uniquely selective of the other. example by Emery: *atraqa r-ra's*

d) *Idioms*: the constituent elements of idioms are opaque, i.e. used in 'specialized' senses, together forming a single semantic unit.

Another publication on collocation is a specialized collocations dictionary of the English language: *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English, a Guide to Word Combinations* by Morton Benson, Evelyn Benson and Robert Ilson (a photocopy of one page has been added as *Annex A*). The authors argue the existence of this dictionary as follows:

"This material is of vital importance to those learners of English who are native speakers of other languages. Heretofore, they have had no source that would consistently indicate, for example, which verbs are used with which nouns; they could not find in any existing dictionary such collocations as call an alert, lay down a barrage, hatch a conspiracy. [...] This dictionary provides such collocations; in order to enable the user of the dictionary to find them quickly and easily, they are given in the entries for the nouns.

Knowledge of other languages is normally of no help in finding English collocations. For administer an oath, French has *faire prêter serment*, Spanish - *hacer prestar juramento*, German - *den eid abnehmen*.

Use of the Combinatory Dictionary will help learners avoid such errors as \*they mentioned him the book, \*a stranger was lurking, \*we are very fond, etc." (Preface, vii)

In this dictionary the authors make a distinction between grammatical and lexical collocations. A grammatical collocation is defined by the authors as 'a phrase consisting of a dominant word (noun, adjective, verb) and a preposition or grammatical structure such as an infinitive or a clause. About lexical combinations the authors write: 'Lexical collocations, in contrast to grammatical collocations, normally do not contain prepositions, infinitives, or clauses. Typical lexical collocations consist of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Of course both categories are further divided into subcategories.

As a teacher, and at the same time still a learner of Arabic I wished a similar work would be available in Arabic. I will come back to this wish later.

## 2 *Why concentrate on Restricted and Lexical Collocations?*

We will concentrate on the category of the so called Restricted Collocations. First we will argue why this category deserves special attention.

This attention is because of practical use: learners of Arabic as a foreign language need this since this category of collocations is very large and unpredictable.

A collocation in L1 will very often not be equal in L2. Heliel (1990: 34) gives the example of seven collocations with the English adjective 'heavy' that should in Arabic be translated with seven different adjectives. Heavy rainfall, fog, sleep, seas, meal, smoker, industry are translated in Arabic as *ḍabāb kaṭīf*, *maṭar ġazīr*, *ṣinā'a taqīla*, *mudahhin mufrit*, *waġba dasima*, *biḥār hā'iġa*, *subāt 'amīq*.

Or as Emery (1991:61) states it:

"It is this interlingual incongruence which can give rise to second-language learning difficulties and problems of translation equivalence".

Being a teacher of Arabic to Dutch students, and working as a translator himself, the present authour became very much interested in this category of word combinations, and found support with Shakir & Farghal (1992:227), who state:

"Collocations constitute a key component in the lexicon of natural language. Translators and/or interpreters should, therefore, possess a high syntagmatic competence alongside their paradigmatic competence. .. Unnaturalness comes as an immediate consequence of the translators'/interpreter's inability to call up the relevant collocations in the target language".

So collocations are generally considered to be problematic to learners of foreign languages. Or, to be more exact, restricted collocations cause problems when it comes to production in the foreign language. Obviously open collocations do not deserve special attention from the teacher's or translator's point of view. Bound collocations, as marking a transitional stage, seem interesting from a linguistic scientific point of view, but rather limited in occurrence. Idioms are of interest to anyone but should be studied separately.

So a useful instrument for learners of Arabic would be a dictionary containing great numbers of restricted collocations. As will be demonstrated in paragraph 4, existing contemporary dictionaries contain only

a very limited number of collocations, so a *BBI*-like combinatory dictionary for Arabic would cover the needs of many learners of Arabic. It was decided to carry out a small pilot study to collect a number of collocations from authentic Arabic texts. The aim of this pilot study was to see what would be the result in terms of types of collocations found, how far these were covered in bilingual dictionaries, ways of presenting the results etc.

However, because of practical reasons one has to limit the scope and so we chose from Emery's various categories only the Restricted Collocations, and from the *BBI*'s main categories we only chose the lexical collocations. Grammatical collocations in Arabic seem less frequent than in English. Of course some categories exist but for the present time we did exclude these from the study. *Annex B* shows part of the results.

### 3 *Various categories of restricted collocations*

About the category of Restricted Collocations Emery (1991:60) remarks that in Arabic, as in English, this type of collocation occurs in various types of syntactic configuration. The author mentions Subject/Verb, Verb/ Object and Adjective/Noun collocations.

So Emery makes a distinction that is partly syntactic (Subject/Verb, Verb/Object) and partly based on parts of speech (Adjective/Noun). He mentions examples to all three subcategories.

The *BBI* category of Lexical Collocations comprises 7 subcategories:

- 1) *verb + noun or pronoun*, the verb denotes creation or activation (reach a verdict, launch a missile)
- 2) *verb + noun*, the verb denotes eradication or nullification (reverse a decision, repeal a law)
- 3) *adjective + noun* (strong tea, not \*mighty tea)
- 4) *noun + verb*, the verb names an action characteristic of the person or thing designated by the noun (bees buzz, bombs explode etc.)
- 5) *unit associated with a noun* (a school of whales, an act of violence)
- 6) *adverb + adjective* (deeply absorbed, keenly aware)

7) *verb* + *adverb* (affect deeply, appreciate sincerely)

Here we see a distinction according to parts of speech, but semantic information is also taken into consideration since the distinction between category 1 and 2 is based on the meaning of the verb: creation/activation vs. eradication/nullification.

After some contemplation, and after going through some Arabic texts, it was decided that a classification system for Arabic collocation, which aims at serving the learner of Arabic, should include both syntactical information and information based on parts of speech.

Unless contextual information is given, a user must, for example, know if a given noun will be the object or the subject of the verb that collocates with it.

It was also decided to treat verbal nouns (*masḍars*) as verbs in all cases in which the noun simply denotes the action of the verb. Only in cases where a masdar has acquired an independent meaning the *masdar* is registered as a noun. The same rule applies for participles: only those with a separate meaning are marked as an adjective. All others as verbs.

This has led us to the following classification:

- 1) noun + verb, the noun being the subject  
(in some cases the verb is passive, this should be indicated)
- 2) noun + verb, the noun being the object
- 3) preposition + noun + verb, the noun being the indirect object  
after a preposition that comes with the verb
- 4) noun + adjective
- 5) noun + noun, a construct phrase (*idāfa*)
- 6) verb + adverb
- 7) adjective + adverb
- 8) noun + preposition + noun
- 9) adjective + noun, the so-called *ḥasan al-wağh* construction

In addition to these categories Arabic style uses combinations of synonyms or antonyms very often. These categories can be added to the above mentioned categories:

- 10) word + synonym
- 11) word + antonym

A list of examples for every category goes separately as *Annex C*.

Once more it needs to be emphasized that this classification seems based on grammatical principles. However lexical collocations are identified and selected on semantical and usage-based grounds, or maybe intuitions. Two words occur in each other's vicinity because of their meanings and/or their mutual attraction.

As the word intuition indicates, a collocational list for teaching purposes is drawn up on the basis of subjective judgements: which combinations are fixed and what others are open? It would be an interesting experiment to present a short text fragment to a number of respondents and ask them to indicate which combinations of two or more words they consider to be lexical collocations.

#### *4 Treatment of collocations in bilingual dictionaries containing Arabic*

First of all some remarks considering the representation of collocations in dictionaries in general.

Where is the dictionary maker going to store collocations, and where will the dictionary user try to retrieve a combination of words? Two essential factors influence these decisions.

First is the question whether the dictionary will comprise collocations of the source language (SL) or the target language (TL). It is most common for a bilingual dictionary to contain collocations of the source language as point of departure. A translation or paraphrase of the specific combination will then be given in the target language. However the TL expression does not necessarily have to be a collocation. So an English-Arabic dictionary will primarily contain collocations of entries in English, with equivalent translations in Arabic. These Arabic equivalents do not necessarily have to be collocations.

The second factor is the type of bilingual dictionary in question. Is it an active dictionary (for production) or a passive dictionary (for understanding). This distinction should affect the type and number of collocations contained by the dictionary. This factor also affects the

question where the collocation is stored in the dictionary: with the core-word or with the collocator.

The factors and decisions described above are illustrated in the following table.

<i>type of dictionary</i>	<i>Engl-Ar active</i>	<i>Engl-Ar passive</i>	<i>Ar-Engl active</i>	<i>Ar-Engl passive</i>
<i>target group</i>	foreigners writing/speaking Arabic	Arabs reading English	Arabs writing/speaking English	Foreigners reading Arabic
<i>SL collocation</i>	vicious crime	vicious crime	<i>ḡarīma nakerā'</i>	<i>ḡarīma nakerā'</i>
<i>look up at</i>	crime (core)	vicious (colloc)	<i>ḡarīma</i> (core)	<i>nakerā'</i> (colloc)
<i>reason</i>	not certain that the equivalent of <i>vicious</i> will combine with the eq. of <i>crime</i>	meaning of <i>crime</i> is probably known	not certain that the equivalent of <i>nakerā'</i> combines with the eq. of <i>ḡarīma</i>	the meaning of <i>ḡarīma</i> is probably known
<i>ideally dictionary contains</i>	<i>ḡarīma nakerā'</i>	<i>(ḡarīma) nakerā'</i>	vicious crime	vicious (crime)

### *Collocations in Arabic Dictionaries*

Emery (1991:63) argues that classical lexicographers of Arabic made the classical dictionaries contain a wealth of collocational information, but often in an unsystematic arrangement. Contemporary bilingual dictionaries of MSA like Wehr's (1979, 1985) do not contain enough collocational information to support learners of Arabic. According to Emery, up-to-date monolingual dictionaries of Arabic simply do not exist. Here an updating remark is needed because recently the ALECSO *Basic Dictionary* appeared (Al-Kasimi et al. 1989). However, the amount of collocations is rather limited. We will come back to this later.



In order to compare a number of contemporal bilingual dictionaries with Arabic as their source language we made a simple statistic count of the number of combinations with some Arabic words that combine easily. Some of the resulting combinations could also be classified as compounds, but for the mere statistical comparison we did not distinguish between various categories of combinations.

An inventory of the following words has been made: *ġihāz*, *āla*, *ħarb*.

The numbers of combinations containing these three different core-word are listed below.

core-word	number of combinations in dictionary					
	Schregle Ar-Germ	Baalbaki Ar-Engl	Wehr Ar-Engl	Krahl Ar-Germ	Al-Kasimi Ar-Ar	Reig Ar-Fr
<i>ġihāz</i>	70	19	29	7	19	27
<i>āla</i>	38	20	31	8	9	14
<i>ħarb</i>	9	18	14	12	16	31

An obvious conclusion is that the above mentioned dictionaries show considerable differences in the numbers of combinations/ collocations they contain. However, many of these combinations should be considered compounds and not collocations.

A more detailed comparison of all the combinations presented by the different dictionaries goes beyond the scope of this paper.

Another, more qualitative, comparison between 5 dictionaries has also been made by the present author. A small corpus of collocations, resulting from the pilot study, has been used to test the already mentioned dictionaries. The collocations from this small corpus seem representative, without being exclusive for the given core-words. As already stated, the process of collecting collocations is intuition-based, so of some of these collations it can be discussed whether they are open collocations or restricted collocations. According to our standards they can be regarded as restricted collocations.

The results of the comparison are shown in the following table.

*collocations in various dictionaries containing Arabic as source language<sup>1</sup>*

	Baalbaki Ar-Engl	Wehr '79 Ar-Engl	Krahl Ar-Ger	Al-Kasimi Ar-Ar	Reig Ar-Fr
<i>iğrā'āt</i>					
<i>ittahada iğrā'āt</i>	+	+	-	-	+
<i>iğrā'āt mudādda</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>iğrā'āt idāfiyya</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>'alāqa</i>					
<i>'alāqāt ahawīyya</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>'alāqāt sadāqa</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>'alāqāt hasan al-ğiwār</i>	-	-	-	+	-
<i>ta'āwun</i>					
<i>'ammaqa t-ta'āwun</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>ta'āwun mutmir</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>taqaddum</i>					
<i>ahraza taqadduman</i>	-	-	-	-	+
<i>taqaddum malmūs</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>mawqif</i>					
<i>haddada mawqifan</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>mawqif istrāt iğī</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>mawqif hāzim</i>	-	-	-	-	-
<i>mawqif muğrid</i>	-	-	-	-	-

The results of this comparison lead us to the conclusion that contemporary well known dictionaries with Arabic as their source language do not contain a considerable number of frequent collocations, although we may assume the Arabic part of these dictionaries was selected from representative text materials.

However, the above mentioned dictionaries are passive dictionaries, and many learners of Arabic will be able to understand the meaning of combinations like *ta'āwun mutmir* or *taqaddum malmūs*. But will the same learner of Arabic, when writing or speaking in Arabic, be able to produce the same combinations. And if not, will he or she first of all find a FL-Arabic dictionary that contains the collocation 'fruitful

<sup>1</sup> There was no opportunity to include Schregle's Arabic-German dictionary (1981-) in this comparison.

cooperation' (in English or any other source language) and secondly will this lead him to the right Arabic combination.

These uncertainties lead to a conclusion that for production of Arabic a monolingual collocational dictionary can be very useful.

Another comparison was made between three contemporary dictionaries containing Arabic as target language. By searching at the SL equivalents of *iğrā'*, *'alāqa*, *ta'āwun*, *taqaddum*, *mawqif* we tried to discover any of the collocations mentioned above. However, the results were even more disappointing than the earlier described results.

*collocations in various dictionaries containing Arabic as target language*

	Baalbaki Eng-Ar	Krahl Ger-Ar	Schregle Ger-Ar
Ger: Massnahme			
Eng.: measure/step			
<i>ittahada iğrā'āt</i>	-	-	-
<i>iğrā'āt mudādda</i>	-	-	-
<i>iğrā'āt idāfiyya</i>	-	-	-
Ger.: Beziehung/ Verbindung			
Eng.: relation/bond			
<i>'alāqāt aḥawīyya</i>	-	-	-
<i>'alāqāt ṣadāqa</i>	-	-	-
<i>'alāqāt ḥasan al-ğiwār</i>	-	-	-
Ger.: Zusammenarbeit/Kooperation			
Eng.: cooperation			
<i>'ammaqa t-ta'āwun</i>	-	-	-
<i>ta'āwun mutmīr</i>	-	-	-
Ger.: Fortschritt/ Vormarsch			
Eng.: process/advancement			
<i>abrāza taqadduman</i>	-	-	-
<i>taqaddum malmūs</i>	-	-	-
Ger.: Stellungnahme/Einstellung			
Eng.: position/attitude			
<i>ḥaddada mawqifan</i>	-	-	-
<i>mawqif istrātīğī</i>	-	-	-
<i>mawqif ḥāzim</i>	-	-	-
<i>mawqif muğrid</i>	-	-	-

The two comparisons, at the same time being a limited inventory, show us that Arabic dictionaries, both active and passive, contain very few collocations. Even FL-Arabic active dictionaries (Schregle (1972) Ger-Ar, Krahl (1983) Ger-Ar) do not offer the user a useful set of frequent collocations. To our opinion this is a second argument to support the assumption that a monolingual Arabic collocational dictionary is urgently needed. This will be further argued in the concluding paragraph.

#### *Collocations as part of the micro structure*

If a certain word occurs in many different combinations (collocations, idiomatic expressions or even compounds), a very complex lemma may be the result. A well known and qualitatively high standing dictionary like Wehr's (1979, 1985) shows in our view a lack in systematic representation of combinations. A lemma like the noun 'ayn is very complex and it takes the dictionary user a great effort to find a specific combination.

At the Dutch dictionary publishing house 'Van Dale Lexicografie' a so-called two-digit code has been formulated to create a hierarchy within a lemma. Different meanings of words receive a number (meaning 0.1, meaning 0.2 etc.). After the presentation of all meanings, a block of combinations and examples is printed. And here the second digit is introduced: all combinations of the headword with a noun get a 1.X code, combinations with an adjective get a 2.X code, with a verb 3.X etc. Then both codes are mixed and the dictionary user will find under 2.3 examples or combinations of the headword with meaning 0.2 in combination with a verb.

To demonstrate this in *Annex D* the reader will find two examples of lemmas taken from Wehr (1979) but reorganized according to the two-digit system.

### 5 Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that the learner of Arabic has very little materials to consult in order to find collocations in Arabic. Ar-FL dictionaries, even though not the first category to consult when the user wants to produce Arabic, do not contain a great amount of collocations. FL-Ar passive dictionaries meant for Arabs (to understand the foreign language) are very often used by non Arabs. However these dictionaries do not contain a great number of collocations in Arabic. FL-Ar dictionaries for non Arabs contain SL collocations with not necessarily the equivalent Arabic collocations.

Learners, teachers and translators of Arabic with different mother tongues are in need of a reliable dictionary that concentrates on collocations in a more systematic way than existing dictionaries have done so far. To our opinion these arguments support the necessity of a monolingual combinatory dictionary of Arabic like the *BBI* for the English language.

The small pilot study, as carried out by the present author, has shown that such a project is feasible. A collocational list containing about 1000 collocations has so far been the tangible outcome of this study (see *Annex B*). However, for such an extensive project to reach the volume that would make it useful for learners of Arabic, it cannot be carried out by one single person. It has to adopt the shape of a joint project of a number of scholars both from the Middle East and from other countries. Advanced technical facilities would of course very much ease such a project.

To conclude we wish to express the desire that a joint project can be started in order to produce a *BBI*-like collocational dictionary of Modern Standard Arabic.

Annex A: one page from *The BBI Combinatory Dictionary of English*

## languish

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der; enrich; purify a ~ 6. (the) spoken; written ~ 7. one's native ~ 8. a foreign; international, world; national; official; second; universal ~ 9. colloquial, informal; formal; idiomatic; literary, standard; nontechnical; substandard; technical ~ 10. an ancient; artificial; classical; creolized; dead, extinct; living; modern; natural; sign; trade ~ 11. an agglutinative; inflecting; isolating; synthetic; tone ~ 12. an object, target; source ~ [style of speaking or writing] 13. abusive; bad, coarse, crude, dirty, foul, nasty, obscene, offensive, unprintable, vile, vulgar; rough, strong, vituperative ~ 14. elegant; everyday, plain, simple; flowery; polite; rich ~ 15. children's; diplomatic ~ [system of signs, symbols used by a computer] 16. a computer, machine, programming ~ [misc.] 17. ~ acquisition; ~ maintenance

**languish** *v.* (D; intr.) (to ~ in prison)

**lantern** *n.* 1. to light a ~ 2. to shine a ~ on 3. a battery-operated; kerosene (AE), paraffin (BE); propane ~ 4. a ~ flashes; gleams; shines

**lap** *I n.* [complete circuit around a track] 1. on a ~ (they are on the last ~) [part of the body from the knees to waist of a sitting person] 2. in, on smb.'s ~ (the little girl sat in her mother's ~) 3. (misc.) in the ~ of the gods (with an uncertain future)

**lap** *II v.* (d; intr.) to ~ against (the waves ~ ped against the sides of the boat)

**lapse** *I n.* 1. a momentary, temporary ~ (of memory) 2. a linguistic ~ 3. a ~ into (a ~ in judgment)

**lapse** *II v.* (d; intr.) to ~ into (to ~ into a coma)

**larceny** *n.* 1. to commit ~ 2. aggravated; grand; petty; simple ~

**lard** *n.* to render ~

**larder** *n.* a full, well-stocked ~

**large** *I.* at ~ ('uncaptured') (the prisoner was still at ~) 2. an assemblywoman at ~ ('an assemblywoman who represents several or all districts') 3. by and ~ ('in general')

**lark** *I n.* ['prank'] for a ~ (he did it just for a ~)

**lark** *II n.* ['type of bird'] ~s sing, warble

**lash** *v.* 1. (d; intr.) to ~ against (the rain ~ ed against the roof) 2. (d; intr.) to ~ at, into (the speakers ~ ed into the government) 3. (d; tr.) to ~ into (to ~ a crowd into a fury)

**lash back** *v.* (D; intr.) to ~ at, against (to ~ at one's critics)

**lash out** *v.* (D; intr.) to ~ against, at

**lasso** *n.* 1. to throw a ~ 2. to catch with a ~

**last** *I adj., adv.* 1. to come in ~ (in a race) 2. the ~ to + inf. (she was the ~ to finish) 3. at ~; at long ~

**last** *II n.* to breathe one's ~

**last III v.** 1. (d; intr.) to ~ from; to, until (the meeting ~ ed from one to three) 2. (P; intr.) the examination ~ ed two hours; the food will ~ (us) (for) a week; the meeting ~ ed (for) an hour

**last rites** *n.* to administer (the) ~

**last word** *n.* to get in, have the ~ (she had the ~ in the argument)

**latch** *v.* (colloq.) (d; intr.) to ~ onto (since he didn't know anyone else, he ~ ed onto us)

**late** *adj.* 1. ~ for (she was ~ for class) 2. ~ in (we

were ~ in filing our tax return; I was ~ in getting up) 3. ~ with (they are ~ with the rent) 4. of ~ ('recently')

**later** *adv.* ~ on

**lathe** *n.* 1. to operate a ~ 2. a turret; vertical ~

**lather** *n.* ['sweating'] to work oneself into a ~

**latitude** *n.* ['freedom of action'] 1. to allow smb. ~ in (we are allowed quite a bit of ~ in selecting our subjects) [distance measured in degrees north or south of the equator] 2. high; low ~s 3. at a ~ (at a ~ of ten degrees north)

**laudable** *adj.* (formal) to + inf. (it was ~ of you to help them)

**laugh** *I n.* 1. to get a ~ (the joke got a big ~) 2. to stifle, suppress a ~ 3. a belly; derisive; forced; hearty, loud; infectious; sardonic; subdued ~ 4. (misc.) to have the last ~ on smb.; to do smt. for a ~ (for ~s)

**laugh** *II v.* 1. (D; intr.) to ~ about ('to show one's amusement by laughing') (everyone ~ ed about the incident) 2. (D; intr.) to ~ at ('to respond to smt. funny by laughter') (to ~ at a joke) 3. (D; intr.) to ~ at ('to show one's derision') (they ~ ed at our efforts; she ~ ed at our warnings) 4. (d; tr.) to ~ out of ('to drive out by laughter') (he was ~ ed out of court) 5. (N; used with an adjective) he ~ ed himself hoarse 6. (misc.) to ~ up one's sleeve ('to laugh secretly'); to burst out ~ing

**laughingstock** *n.* to make a ~ of smb.

**laughter** *n.* 1. to cause, provoke ~ 2. contagious, infectious; convulsive; derisive; hearty, loud, raucous, uproarious; sardonic; subdued ~ 3. a burst, fit, gale; ripple of ~ 4. (misc.) to double up with ~

**launch** *v.* 1. (D; tr.) ('to fire') to ~ against, at (the missiles were ~ ed against enemy targets) 2. (d; intr.) to ~ into ('to begin') (to ~ into a tirade)

**laundry** *n.* ['clothes, linens that are to be washed or have been washed'] 1. to do the ~ 2. to dry; fold; iron the ~ 3. clean; dirty ~ ('establishment for washing clothes, linens') 4. a self-service ~ 5. at, in a ~ (they work at a ~)

**laurels** *n.* to rest on one's ~

**lava** *n.* ~ flows

**lavish** *I adj.* ~ in, with (~ with praise; ~ in donating money to charity)

**lavish** *II v.* (d; tr.) to ~ on (to ~ gifts on smb.)

**law** *n.* ['statute, regulation'] 1. to administer, apply, enforce a ~ 2. to adopt, enact, pass; draft; promulgate a ~ 3. to obey, observe a ~ 4. to interpret a ~ (courts interpret ~s) 5. to annul, repeal, revoke a ~; to declare a ~ unconstitutional (US) 6. to break, flout, violate a ~ 7. to challenge, test; cite; strike down a ~ (in the courts) 8. a fair, just; stringent; unfair ~ 9. a blue (US); dietary; ex post facto; lemon (US); shield (US); sunset (US); sunshine (US); sus (GB); unwritten; zoning ~; the licensing ~s (GB) 10. a ~ against (there is no ~ against fishing) 11. a ~ that + clause (there is a ~ that all income must be reported) [body of statutes, regulations] 12. to administer, apply, enforce the ~ 13. to obey the ~ 14. to interpret the ~ (courts interpret the ~) 15. to break; flout the ~ 16. administrative; antitrust; business, commer-

*Annex B*: one page from the provisional 'collocational list', resulting from the pilot study. An explanation of the codes *na*, *nsv*, *nov* etc. can be found in *Annex C*.

nov	تلقي	برقية			أ
nn	منتهي	بساطة	na	كبير	تأثير
nn	مسافات	بند	na	محدد	أجل
nov	ضاعف	مبلغ	nov	تقنية: - ذات ال	أدوات
nov	خصص	مبلغ	npn?		العالية
npv	ترع ب	مبلغ		ضرورة: بال	أحي .. الى
na	ختامي	بيان			vadv?
nn	حماية	بيئة	na	ملامسة	أرض
na	تصديرية	مبيعات	nn	حدة	أزمة
na	ناقصة	بيانات	npv	تعرض ل -	أزمة
na	كاذبة	بيانات	nsv	اشتد	أزمة
na	مدومة	بيانات	nsv	اشتد	أزمة
		ت	na	واقعي	أساس
	مشرق:	تجارة	npv	استند الى	أساس
	npn?	بال	nov	طبق	أساليب
	جملة: بال	تجارة	nov	استبح	أسلوب
		npn?	na	إضائية	مأساة
na	عالية	تقنية	na	ثابتة	أصول
na	رئيسي	تيار	na	ثابتة	أصول
		ث	na	وحدوي	إطار
na	عميقة	ثفات	na	تجارية	أفاق
na	خارجية	استثمارات	nov	اتسع	أفاق
nov	شجع	استثمارات	na	جازم	تأكيد
	مدمج مع	ثمن	na	خفية	مأكولات
		apn?	nov	لاقي	آلام
na	عظيم	ثمن	npv	دفع الى	أمام: ال
		ثمن		تأجم عن	أمر
		ج	nov	أصدر	أمر
?	قابل ل -	تجديد	na	تأسيسي	مؤتمر
npv	شكك في	جدية	na	صحفي	مؤتمر
an	وفير	جدارة			أمل
na	رقيقة	جراحية	nn?		خيبة
npv	أصاب ب	جروح	nsv	تضائل	أمل
nov	ارتكب	جريمة	na	قومي	أمن
na	مشتركة	إجراءات			أمن
na	إضافية	إجراءات	nov	استتب	استتب
na	إدارية	إجراءات	na	راسخ	إيمان
na	مضادة	إجراءات	na	صحي	تأمين
na	متخذة	إجراءات	nn	حالة	تأهب
nov	اتخذ	إجراءات	nov	وضع	أولويات
nov	أقام	جسور	aa?	شبه	اوتوماتيكي
npv	عبر عن	جسور		كامل: - بال	اوتوماتيكي
na	صناعي	تجسس			aadv
na	عاصفة	جلسة			فب
nn	شيوخ	مجلس	nov	اجتاز	بحيرة
nn	طوارئ ٧	مجلس ١	npv	الترم ب	مبادئ
na	طائرة	جلسة		اختيار	بدائل
na	طائر	اجتماع	npv?		بين
na	مصفر	اجتماع	na?	متاحة	بدلية
nov	عقد	اجتماع	na	تجاري	تبادل
nov	دام	اجتماع	na	منطقي	مبرر
na	عمومية	جمعية		تهنئة؟	برقية ١
na	مهنية	جمعية			n1n2

*Annex C: Examples of collocations from different categories*

These examples were taken from newspaper articles and radio news items treating general political and other issues and from written texts treating economic subjects, as those texts were used in teaching.

1) *noun + verb*, the noun being the subject (code nsv) (in some cases the verb is passive, this should be indicated): *istaddat al-azma, tadā'ala l-amal, inhafada s-si'r, habata s-si'r, istagraqat al-mudda, iktanafat al-ġumūd, afadat al-anbā', šuwihat aš-šūra, ša'adat al-awdā'*

2) *noun + verb*, the noun being the object (code nov): *qaddama wu'ūdan, aħalla salāman, aħraza taqadduman, mārasa ta'assufan*

3) *preposition + noun + verb*, the noun being the indirect object after a preposition that comes with the verb (code npv): *abbara 'an taqdīr, i'tadara 'an mudāyaqa, sa'ā ilā ġarad, iħtāra bayna badā'il, ta'arrada li-mahātīr*

4) *noun + adjective* (code na): *iktifa' dātī, ġahd dahm, aġlabiyya mutlaqa, 'alāqat qarwiyya, qadāyā mulihħa, hāġiz nafsi*

5) *noun + noun*, a construct phrase (*idāfa*) (code nn or n1n2): *sundūq iqtirā', qā'imat muntaġāt, tasalsul aħdāt, muzāharat iħtiġāġ, nizām tarhīs, qitār šahn*

6) *verb + adverb* (code va): *antaġa bi-l-ġumla, naffada bi-diqqa, ittāsala hātīfīyyan, ta'ārada bi-šidda, i'taqada wāhīman, 'alīma yaqīnan*

7) *adjective + adverb* (code aadv): *maħdūd li-l-ġāya, aqallu qiyāsan bi-, ša'b li-l-ġāya*

8) *noun + preposition + noun* (code npn): *šabaka min at-turuq, ħatar 'alā istiqrār, širā' 'alā s-sulta, uslūb fī t-tafkīr*

9) *adjective + noun*, the so-called *hasan al-waġh* construction (code an): *hasan at-taġhīz, wafīr al-ġadāra, qašīr al-aġal, šadīd al-lahġa, muta'addid al-ġinsiyyāt, wāsi' an-nitāq*

In addition to these categories Arabic style uses combinations of synonyms or antonyms very often. These categories can be added to the above mentioned categories:

10) *word + synonym* (code syn): *ta'hīl wa-tadrīb*

11) *word + antonym* (code ant): *šahn wa-tafrīġ, tāra wa-aħsaqa, aqlā'a wa-habata, ziyāda wa-inqās, maqarr wa-furū'*



## Annex D

Two lemmas from Wehr (1979), according to the two-digit code.

عين *ʿayn* f., pl. عيون *ʿuyūn*, أعين *aʿyun* 0.1 eye 0.2 evil eye 0.3 spring, source, fountainhead (of water) 0.4 scout, reconnoiterer 0.5 hole 0.6 mesh 0.7 flower, choice, prime (of s.th.) 0.8 - (pl. أعيان *aʿyān*) an eminent, important man, used esp. in pl.: people of distinction, important people, leading personalities, leaders, notables, prominent persons 0.9 substance, essence 0.10 self, individuality 0.11 - chattel, object of material value, (corporeal or personal) property, personality, capital asset (Isl. Law) 0.12 - ready money, cash 0.13 name of the letter *ʿayn* ♦

1.1 العين سَوَاد eyeball, عين شاهد eyewitness, بأَمِ عينه with one's own eyes, نظر بعيني رأسه do., رأى رأي العين, do. to find out, or see, with one's own eyes, نظر إليه بعين الاحتقار to look at s.o. contemptuously 1.7 عيون الشعر gems of poetry, choicest works of poetry 1.8 مجلس الأعيان senate (Ir.) 1.9 للسبب بعينه for the same reason 1.10 فرض العين individual duty (Isl. law) 1.11 اسم العين concrete noun (gram.) 1. على العين والرأس 1. fighting broke out, ملاً بعينه to satisfy s.o.; to please s.o. 6.10 بعينه in person, personally; exactly the same, the very same thing, هو هو بعينه it's none other than he 6.11 هو شخص بعينه he is a real person, a man who actually exists, أعاده أثراً بعد عين to ruin s.th. completely 6. نزل من عيني I lost all respect for him

All expressions and collocations containing the word عين with meaning 0.1 (eye) can be easily found as X.1. Surprisingly these only appear in 1.1, which means: in combination with a noun. Meaning 10 (self, individuality) occurs in combination with a noun in 1.10: فرض العين and with a preposition in 6.10: بعينه. Meaning 11 (- chattel, object of material value) also occurs with a noun: اسم العين and with a preposition هو شخص بعينه.

In long lemmas this system makes it easier to find the expression or combination we want to look up. If the entry occurs with a verb, look at 3.Y, and if it occurs with a preposition, look at 6.Y.

نفس *nafs* f., pl. نفوس *nufūs*, أنفس *anfūs* 0.1 soul 0.2 psyche 0.3 spirit, mind 0.4 life 0.5 animate being, living creature, human being, person, individual (in this sense, masc.) 0.6 essence, nature 0.7 inclination, liking, appetite, desire 0.8 personal identity, self (used to paraphrase the reflexive pronoun; see examples below) ♦  
 1.2 علم النفس *ilm al-nafs* psychology 1.4(?) بشق النفس or بشق الأنفس with (the greatest) difficulty, barely 1.6 في نفس الأمر *fī nafsi al-amr* in reality, actually, in fact نفس الأمر *nafsi al-amr* the essence of the matter, nature of the affair نفس الشيء *nafsi al-shayʾ* the same thing, the very thing 1.8 الثقة بالنفس and الاعتماد على النفس *al-tuqāʾ bi-nafsihi* self-confidence, self-reliance محبة النفس *muḥabba li-nafsihi* amour propre, selfishness 1. في نفس الواقع *fī nafsi al-wāqʿ* in reality, actually, in fact 2.3 صغير النفس *ṣagīr al-nafs* base-minded, low-minded عظيم النفس *ʿaṭīm al-nafs* unselfish, selfless, altruistic كبير النفس *kabīr al-nafs* high-minded, proud 3.4(?) بذل النفس والتفيس *badh al-nafs wa-tafīsihi* to make every conceivable sacrifice, sacrifice all, give up all one's possessions 4.5 (بنفسه) جاءني هو نفسه *bi-nafsihi jāʾanī huwa nafsihi* he himself came to me, he came personally to see me 4. عند أنفسهم *ʿinda anfusihim* in their own opinion 6.5 (بنفسه) جاء من نفسه *bi-nafsihi jāʾ min nafsihi* he himself, personally, in person نحن بنفوسنا *naḥnu bi-nufūsanā* we ourselves 6.7 (بنفسه) جاء من نفسه *bi-nafsihi jāʾ min nafsihi* he came of his own accord 6.8 ما وعدت به فيما بيني وبين نفسي *ma waʿadt bihi fī mā baynī wa-bayn nafsi* what I had promised myself

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**II/B LEXICOLOGY:  
SEMANTICS OF WORDS**



SOME REMARKS ON THE SEMANTIC FUNCTION OF THE  
REDUPLICATED QUADRILITERAL VERB  
(STRUCTURE FA'FA'A)

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The purpose of this paper is to show some of the semantic features concerning verbs with reduplication. It is known that reduplication of syllables or even words is a widespread phenomenon in almost every language. In some languages, reduplication has grammatical functions. A practical example for this is Greek where the perfect stem is formed by reduplication of the first syllable<sup>1</sup>. However, the main function of reduplication no doubt lies in the field of semantics. These semantic functions may not be obvious to the same extent at any time and in every language but in most cases they remain at least traceable.

A very detailed study of this phenomenon was presented by Harold Key in an article entitled "Some Semantic Functions of Reduplication in Various Languages". He succeeded in assigning the various functions of reduplication to different categories. In respect to verbs, he found thirteen categories, in respect to substantives nine, and in respect to adjectives three<sup>2</sup>. His study encompasses also other word classes<sup>3</sup>, but these are not of interest for our purposes. It need not be mentioned that all the categories created by Key do not appear to the same extent in every language.

In Arabic the phenomenon of reduplication exists both with verbs and with nouns, i.e. substantives and adjectives. On the basis of the material as represented in the dictionaries of Hans Wehr (1985) and

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. γράφω, perf. γέγραφα "to write".

<sup>2</sup> E.g. verbs: repetitive, intensive, distributive, continuative; substantives: customary or habitual, diminutive, augmentative; adjectives: pluralization, intensification.

<sup>3</sup> Such as numerals, adverbs, and pronouns.

Adolf Wahrmund (1877) we assume the following distribution: 53% verbs, 35% substantives, 12% adjectives.

In the following, we shall only deal with the verbs which constitute at least more than half of the material. This restriction does not mean, however, that the nouns are not of interest. On the contrary, further investigation would be worthwhile also in this field. Hitherto we only possess a one hundred year-old study on animal names, written by the famous Theodor Nöldeke (1904:107-123 "Tiernamen mit Reduplikation").

In many books dealing with Arabic grammar and lexicography one can find the remark that reduplicated verbs – like all other quadrilaterals – play a very minor role in the lexic of the Arabic language. In contradiction to this we find 389 different roots with reduplication in the dictionary of Wahrmund, among them 324 verbs of the stem *fāʿfāʿa* and 112 verbs of the stem *tafāʿfaʿa*. This shows that more than half of the theoretically possible  $756^4$  roots do exist. According to Greenberg (1950) there are 3775 triradical roots, according to Boekels (1990) there are 2564 roots with four radicals, which makes a total of 6339 roots. Thus, the reduplicated roots constitute 6.1% of all Arabic roots. Consequently, it is inappropriate to speak of a minor role of these roots even if we take into account that there might be some obscure forms only encountered in dictionaries – but this is true for all other roots too. And the fact that Hans Wehr's *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* contains 137 roots of this kind is enough evidence to show that reduplication is a phenomenon not at all rare in the language of today. The same is attested by the situation as shown in the modern Arabic dialects where verbs of this category play an important role (cf. e.g. Kamil 1963; Iraqui-Sinaceur 1984-86).

We shall not discuss the origin and evolution of the roots in question. A detailed discussion of this subject cannot be given in this paper, because it would lead us again to the very difficult problem of biradical-

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<sup>4</sup>  $756 = 28 \text{ times } 27$  because each of the 28 characters of the alphabet can be combined with 27 others.



ism in the Semitic languages<sup>5</sup> which is not my subject. As far as origin and evolution is concerned, we can refer to two recent studies: One article written by W. Fischer (1993) and the above mentioned dissertation written by K. Boekels. Both compared the reduplicated roots with trilateral roots showing the same or similar meanings. As mentioned at the beginning we are interested in one question only: Are there specific functions of reduplicated verbs in Arabic and, if so, which? To answer this question we have assigned all the verbs to six different categories:

1. Motions. Further divided into rhythmic and continuous or intensive motions.
2. Acoustic phenomena. Further divided into sounds produced by human beings and animals, as well as noises.
3. Optical effects.
4. Physical or mental qualities
5. Obviously denominal verbs.
6. "Neutral" verbs which do not belong to the above five categories.

We are fully aware of the fact that such a classification in categories remains subjective in some cases. Sometimes it is just a matter of personal approach to decide which class you assign words to. Take for instance *rafrafa* 'flap the wings' or *šaršara* 'sharpen, whet (a knife); fall in drops'. Both are at the same time an interpretation of "rhythmic motions" and of an "acoustic" perception.

The following list is the result of classifying all the 446 verbs into six categories:

- 1) Motion 280 (43%)
  - 129 continuous or intensive
  - e.g. *matmata* 'flow', *tahtaḥa* 'smash to pieces', *qasqasa* 'hurry', *zafzafa* 'rush, sweep along'
  - 151 rhythmic
  - e.g. *taza'za'a* 'wobble', *lahlaha* 'shake', *baṣbaṣa* 'wag (it's tail)', *hadhada* 'dandle (a child)'

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<sup>5</sup> On this subject see Voigt 1988.

- 2) Acoustics 191 (29%)  
 119 produced by human beings  
 e.g. *ta'ta'a* 'stammer', *ħarħara* 'snore', *barbara* 'babble', *fa'fa'a* 'stutter', *qabqaba* 'laugh boisterously'  
 44 produced by animals  
 e.g. *ħamħama* 'neigh', *zaqzaqa* 'chirp', *qarqara* 'coo (pigeon)', *ma'ma'a* 'bleat (sheep)', *ħabħaba* 'bark'  
 28 noises  
 e.g. *taktaka* 'tick (clock)', *šalšala* 'clink; rattle', *taqtaqa* 'crackle', *qa'qa'a* 'clatter; rattle', *kaškaša* 'rustle'
- 3) Optical effects 14 (2%)  
 e.g. *ša'ša'a* 'beam, glitter', *taraqraqa* 'sparkle', *la'la'a* 'flash, glitter'
- 4) Physical or mental qualities 16 (2%)  
 e.g. *dahdaħa* 'to be tired', *qabqaba* 'to be silly', *nasnasa* 'to be weak'
- 5) Denominal 18 (3%)  
 e.g. *rasrasa* 'load (a rifle)' ← *rasāš* 'lead, bullets'  
*tazakzaka* 'to arm' ← *zikka* 'arms, armour'  
*aš'aša* 'settle down' ← *ušš* 'nest'  
*falfala* 'to pepper' ← *fulful* 'pepper'
- 6) "Neutral" verbs which do not belong to the above five categories  
 136 (21%)  
 e.g. *tahṭaħa* 'to rot', *tasaksaka* 'to behave in a servile manner', *šafšafa* 'to dry out', *kaškafa* 'to hold back (tears)', *laflafa* 'to wrap up'

A total of: 655 (100%)

The figure 655 vis-à-vis 446 verbs can be explained by the fact that there are many words with more than one meaning. These verbs were assigned to different categories.

#### *The problem of onomatopoeia*

It is known that onomatopoeic words do not only refer to sounds but also to rhythmic and continuous motions as well as to optical ef-

fects (cf. e.g. Gross 1988). Consequently, to a great extent the verbs in question can be labelled as onomatopoeics. In linguistics, onomatopoeia is a special problem afflicted with uncertainty and speculation. It will probably be impossible to solve this problem in a satisfactory way: The structure and the sounds of the languages are too different to permit a postulation at objective connections between the sounds produced by nature and their reproduction in the different languages. To show this, it is enough to quote the famous example of the cock crying *cock-a-doodledoo* in English, *kikeriki* in German, *cocorico* in French and *kūkū-kūk* in Arabic. Furthermore, the imagination of the researcher is not restricted in any way. If you want to hear that a given word imitates a sound of nature you can always find some good arguments to defend what you have heard. Moreover, the situation in Arabic is complicated because of the lack of one of the main characteristics of onomatopoeia in European languages, namely the vocalism. This seems to be the only field where interlingual factors are working. In most Indoeuropean languages, for instance, the vowel *i* is felt to be clear and positive, but *u* is felt to be dull and negative. In Arabic, this opposition is rarely used and especially in our case it never occurs, because no variation of the verb pattern is possible. The verb structure will always remain *fa<sup>c</sup>fa<sup>c</sup>a* in the perfect tense and *yufa<sup>c</sup>fi<sup>c</sup>u* in the present tense. This rigid pattern of the verb in Arabic explains the lack of another characteristic feature of onomatopoeia which is the occurrence of atypical sound sequences. In German, for instance, we find initial *tsh-* or *qui-*<sup>6</sup> only in onomatopoeic words or in words borrowed from other languages.

Now, let us take a look at the widespread view that all the reduplicated roots are only extended forms of the geminated roots. In this context, we want to refer to a very interesting study undertaken by H. Wissmann in the fifties. On the basis of psycho-linguistic experiments he was able to show that all speakers tend to imitate repeated sounds by a reduplication of syllables (Wissmann 1954:178-193). I therefore venture to opine that it is incorrect to regard all verbs of this class as extended

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *quietschen* "to squeal", *quieken* "to squeak".

geminated roots. Verbs such as *takka* 'to tick', *bassa* 'to call the camels', *rağğa* 'tremble', and *babba* 'snore' cannot be the original forms of *taktakka*, *basbasa*, *rağrağğa*, *bab**h**aba*, which have the same meanings respectively. Such a view would be totally incompatible with linguistic findings past and present. Therefore, I advocate the view that in the above mentioned cases the short forms were extracted from the longer ones.

Summing up we have seen that the biggest part, namely 72% of the verbs with reduplicated roots belong to only two categories: intensive, durative, and rhythmic motions and acoustic phenomena. And it is exactly these two categories which also form the main functions of onomatopoeic words. According to this we can suppose an onomatopoeic origin of most of these verbs. A statistical analysis has also shown that there are even some significant correlations between the phonetic shape and the meaning<sup>7</sup>. However, it has as yet to be proven by further studies whether these correlations are also significant for words outside of the small group of reduplicated verbs.

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<sup>7</sup> A remarkable correlation exists for example between the laryngeals ' , *h*, and optical effects (60% of all the verbs of this category have one of these three phonemes as second radical).

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*TANAḤHALA AND INTAḤALA*  
A LEXICOGRAPHICAL PUZZLE

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The article examines whether there is any reason to assume that a difference existed between *intaḥala* and *tanaḥhala*, both verbs used in the sense of a poet's 'plagiarizing' or 'borrowing' a line or lines of poetry from another poet, and, if so, how this difference would have been defined, e.g. permissible against unacceptable. It also relates these two verbs to their 1st Form, *naḥala*.

We are all more or less familiar with the curious attitude of medieval Arab critics towards borrowing of lines of poetry by one poet from another. The term for this, *sariqa*, is somewhat misleading in that it can only be translated as 'theft', 'plagiarism', even though there are forms of *sariqa* that are considered acceptable, even praiseworthy. The result is a proliferation of subdivisions of *sariqa*, each with a separate term. In the case of the terminology presented by al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998) in his *Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, this is expanded to a point where it becomes a labyrinth in which it is difficult to find one's way; in the case of some others, it is limited to a few, generally well defined, terms.

al-Ḥātimī's terminology was criticized by Ibn Rašīq (d. 456/1063-64 or 463/1070-71). Ibn Rašīq is certainly correct when he says that al-Ḥātimī's terminology is *qarīb min qarīb, yusta'malu ba'duhā fi makāni ba'd* "[terms] close [in meaning] to [other terms] already close [in meaning], one [term] being used in lieu of the other". By this he means that terms are overlapping each other to the point that dealing seriously with al-Ḥātimī's terminology does not bring any benefit. Though I agree with Ibn Rašīq, I feel nevertheless that studying al-Ḥātimī's terminology and the critique of this terminology by Ibn Rašīq, is of considerable advantage to the contemporary scholar. We may speak of a paradox: The very fact that confusion over terminology existed, gave rise to attempts to clarify this terminology; and this, in turn, can lead us to a better understanding of the principles maintained by early critics on the

question of one poet taking over whole phrases from an earlier, or even a contemporary poet. Moreover, al-Ḥātimī was used to quoting stories in the form of traditions in which technical terms occur. There are even some examples of technical terms appearing in the poetry of the poets themselves.

One may ask oneself if the qualification 'terminology' is correct, 'terminology' seen as the deliberate choice of an accepted or well-known expression as opposed to the free choice of another expression which would be equally appropriate in the context. I feel that the discussions by early scholars over such questions as the difference between *iğtilāb* and *intihāl* justifies taking such terms as the stock in trade of 'Abbāsīd literary theory and criticism<sup>1</sup>.

I will concentrate on two terms which seem to have been used, like *sariqa*, as generic terms, and may be the oldest, or among the oldest. In any case they have been used frequently in the earliest medieval texts down to the late middle ages. I mean *tanahhala* and *intahala*. I will also give some attention to the terms *nahala* and *anhala* deriving from the same root. Another reason why *tanahhala* and *intahala* merit a discussion is that, together with *iğtilāb* and *iğāra* they are among the few terms for 'plagiarism' used by the poets themselves, even the earliest.

Assuming, for a moment, that a late dictionary such as the *Lisān al-ʿarab*, incorporates all the findings by earlier lexicographers, let us first examine what this dictionary says:

From the entry *nahala* in the *Lisān* it is clear that, apart from *nahl*, 'bees', three basic meanings are associated with the root *nahala* which are best discussed by looking at the verbal forms: first 'giving', second 'being thin' or 'being exhausted', and third 'claiming'. These three associations, one would suspect, might well go back to the fourth/ tenth century *al-Muğam fī maqāyīs al-luġa* and *al-Muğmal fī l-luġa* both by Aḥmad Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) whom we know to have systematically indicated, under each root, what he believed to be its basic meaning or

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<sup>1</sup> For an example of the *sariqa* in Persian literary theory see, Šams ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Muğam*, 464-476.



meanings. And indeed, turning to the fifth volume of the *Maqāyīs* we find: *kalimātun talāṭun: al-ūlā tadullu ‘alā diqqatin wa-huzālin, wa-l-uhrā ‘alā ‘atā’in wa-t-ṭālītatu ‘alā ddi‘ā’in*. He then illustrates these three meanings: The first is used when speaking of people exhausted by worries or when speaking of thin swords; the second in connection with terms such as *nuhlān* ‘gift’, *nuhl* ‘giving away without compensation’; and *nihla* in the special sense of ‘giving a bride her dowry out of the goodness of one’s heart without expecting compensation’, ‘allowing her to dispose freely of her dowry’, a term found in the *Qur’ān* 4.4: *wa-ātū n-nisā’ saduqātihinna nihlatan* “and give women their dowry as a present” (Ibn Fāris, *Maqāyīs* V, 402-403).

In discussing the third basic meaning, Ibn Fāris brings in *intahala*. He mentions in the first place *intahala* in the sense of *ta‘ātāhu wa-dda‘āhu* which one could translate as follows: the first term, *ta‘ātā* – limiting oneself to what seems relevant – by ‘taking’, ‘receiving’, ‘contending’, ‘pretending [to be a poet]’; and the second, *idda‘ā* by: ‘claiming’<sup>2</sup>. Next he mentions the assertion of some scholars that *intahala* refers to a just claim (*muḥiqq*) and *tanahḥala* to a false claim (*muḥṭil*)<sup>3</sup>. This distinction, he feels, is nonsense. But is it?

I am not entering into the question whether ‘being thin’ and ‘being exhausted’ as well as ‘bees’ have to be brought under separate headings. The association of *nahala* with ‘giving’ may have to be brought etymologically under one heading together with the third meaning, ‘claiming’.

Leaving aside other terms derived from the root *nahala*, one notices from the examples quoted in the *Lisān* (651a) that both terms are applied to the technical terminology of poetry and used in the sense of

<sup>2</sup> See Lane 1863-93 and Dozy 1881, s.v.v. *ta‘ātā*. As can be seen from these two dictionaries, it is difficult to base any conclusions on the first part of this paraphrase, the verb *ta‘ātā*.

<sup>3</sup> See also Ibn Fāris, *Muḡmal* III, 859: *intahala* in the sense of ‘just claim’, and *tanahḥala* in the sense of ‘fraudulent claim’, pointing out that the line by A‘šā (below, [9]) makes clear that the reverse is the case. See also Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, *Šarḥ* VI, 423, 427. The date of the passage can of course not be determined. See, the most recent article by Jebli 1992.

'making a false claim for a poem or a verse'. But the *Lisān* (651*b*) also warns us, quoting al-Azharī, that one should beware of misspellings such as *naḥala* for *naḡala*, 'to vilify'. To this we might add ourselves *tanaḥhala* from a root *naḥala* 'to choose'. Thus it becomes clear that, in order to determine the semantic spectrum of any of these terms in poetry, one needs to find them in a *qāfiya* with two rhyme consonants, the so-called *luzūm mā lā yalzam*, or in some other indisputable context. Unfortunately one never finds cases where the correct reading is absolutely beyond doubt, but there is a sufficient number of cases where assuming that another reading is more appropriate seems unreasonable. Let me quote a line by Saḥm b. Usāma b. al-Hārīṭ (as-Sukkarī, *Šarḥ* II, 523), which seems to confirm that *tanaḥhala* is being used in the sense of 'claiming for oneself poetry that was composed by others' and where substituting a different reading does not seem appropriate:

[1] *fa-zālat bi-Laylā mā ḥayītu qaṣīdatun*

*turašṣahu lam tušab wa-lam tutanaḥḥalī*

"As long as I live, there will be [my] *qaṣīdas* on Laylā, carefully composed, not part of other poems<sup>4</sup>, nor claimed [falsely] as my own".

In this context it is hard to imagine that *tutanaḥḥalī* would be a misspelling of, for instance, *tutanaḥḥalī* 'carefully chosen', from a root *naḥala* 'to choose', even though one cannot rule out that *tutanaḥḥalī* has to be translated 'openly borrowed', 'added in an acceptable way', as we shall see later.

Let me introduce some further quotes from early poetry, to see what information can be gleaned from them.

We have the following line by al-Farazdaq (d. between 110-114/728-732):

<sup>4</sup> Other translations may be valid, e.g. 'not subject to blame', '*nicht gemengt mit Floskeln anderer Dichter*' (see Goldziher 1893:43 (= *Gesammelte Schriften*, III, 92), followed by Lewin 1978:8, s.v. *š-b*. Kraemer 1952:26 refers to ZDMG 54.160, and Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa* 624, v.4 [= al-Marzūqī (d. 421), *Šarḥ* 615, line 1-4). The other references in Kraemer's edition I could not verify. See also al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil* 404; *Naqā'id* 583.6. The translation by R. Abicht is not accessible to me.

[2] *lan tudrikū karamī bi-lu'm abikumū*  
*wa-awābidī bi-tanaḥḥuli l-aš'ārī*<sup>5</sup>

to which the commentator (as-Sukkarī?; 212-275/827-888) adds: *awābidī: qaṣā'idī l-ḡarā'ibu, ka-awābidī l-waḥšī; al-wāḥidatu ābidatun wa-tanaḥḥulu iddī'ā'u š-š'iri wa-stirāquhu.*

"Your father being as vile as he is, you will not attain my nobility; nor [will you equal] my outstanding verses by appropriating the verses [of others]".

This line is also quoted by al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994, *Murwaššah* 172) on the authority of Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804) and the first authority in the chain of transmitters is Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir (d. 280/893). The tradition ends as follows: *inna hādāyni l-baytayni li-r-Rā'ī*<sup>6</sup> *wa-inna l-Farazdaqā ntaḥalabumā fa-šārā lahu.* We can be certain that the term *intaḥala* was considered to have an unfavourable sense, but, as in all cases where we have an *isnād*, we cannot be certain that the commentary reproduces the *ipsissima verba* of Ibrāhīm.

We also have an example which may contradict Ibrāhīm's explanation: al-Farazdaq, in a well-known poem from the *Naqā'id* in which he claims to have inherited the qualities of his predecessors, uses the term *tanaḥḥala* in a sense that need not necessarily be unfavourable (*Naqā'id* I, 201, poem 39, line 55):

[*wahaba l-qaṣā'ida lī n-nawābiḡu id madaw* (some names of poets follow)]

[3] *wa-ahū Banī Asadin, 'Abīdun, id madā*  
*wa-Abū Du'ādīn qawluhū yutanahḥalū*

"And 'Abīd, the man from Asad – now that he has passed away – and Abū Du'ād, his words too are appropriated".

What is possibly intended by *yutanahḥalu* becomes clear from line 52 on the preceding page:

<sup>5</sup> *Naqā'id* 325 (= no. 49, line 7); Lane 1863-93 I, 5c. See *Lisān*, III, 69a (bottom of the page); al-Ḥātimī, *Ḥilya* fol. 81a, line 7, (last line before the beginning of the chapter on the *intihāl*); Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kifāya* 117.

<sup>6</sup> See Weipert 1980:305-306 and the references quoted there.

[4] *wa-l-faḥlu ‘Alqamatu lladī kānat lahū  
ḥulalu l-mulūki kalāmuhū lā yunḥalū*

“And the true poet ‘Alqama who was  
dressed in kingly robes (?), his poems live on”<sup>7</sup>

to which the commentator adds<sup>8</sup>: *lā yunḥalu: ay lā yantahiluhu aḥadun,  
wa-yurwā: lā yanḥalu: ay lā yablā, wa-yurwā: kalāmuhu yutamattalu*<sup>9</sup>.

What the commentator seems to say is that nobody can appropriate lines by ‘Alqama – or perhaps: appropriate verses by ‘Alqama that have become proverbial –, since they would be recognized; or, reading *lā yunḥalu*, “without becoming old and weak” in the sense that the verses “live on [being proverbially quoted]”: Next the commentator quotes the interesting variant *kalāmuhu yutamattalu* “his words are quoted as proverbs”<sup>10</sup>. In line 54 on the same page there is question of two poets by the name of al-A‘šā, as well as the poets, Muraqqiṣ and Abū ṭ-Ṭamaḥān, whose poetry is being quoted proverbially:

[5] *wa-l-A‘šayāni kilāhumā wa-Muraqqiṣun  
wa-Aḥū Qudā‘ata qawlubū yutamattalū.*

Another poet, aṭ-Ṭirimmāḥ (d. around 120/737-38), probably uses the term *tanahḥala* in an unfavourable sense, for the poem is clearly a lampoon. The line appears in the *Dīwān* (193, no. 68) in the edition of

<sup>7</sup> Also quoted in *Aḡānī* XXI, 201 without relevant context.

<sup>8</sup> This commentator is as-Sukkarī; or perhaps Abū ‘Ubayda (d. 209/824-25; born as early as 110/728), who prepared a recension of the *Naqā‘id*; or Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/860) who transmitted this recension; or even Abū ‘Abdallāh al-Yazīdī (d. 310/922 or 313), see *Naqā‘id* I, Introduction, xi and GAS II, 363. For various *isnāds*, see also the facsimile edition of al-Farazdaq’s poems: *Dīwān* I, title page.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also the facsimile edition: al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* 185-186:  
*taraktu lakum layyāna kulli qaṣīdatin  
šarūdin idā ‘ārat bi-man yatamattalū  
yurīdu: abqaytu lakum; wa-l-layyānu: aš-šadīdu ṣ-ṣa‘bu; wa-‘ārat: dahabat fī l-bilādi.*

<sup>10</sup> See Lane 1863-93 VIII, 3017 and Dozy 1881 s.v. *tamattala* and cf. Ibn Rašīq, *Qurāda* text, 82-83, French summary, 33.

Krenkow who quotes Ibn Qutayba's (d. 276/889) *Kitāb al-ma'ānī al-kabīr*<sup>11</sup>:

*a-tahǧū man rawā ǧaza'an wa-lu'man*  
*ka-sāqī l-layli min kadarin wa-šāfī*  
 [6] *tanahḥal mā stata'ta fa-inna šī'ri*  
*talaqqaha bi-l-qašā'idi 'an kišāfī*

From Ibn Qutayba's commentary I quote: *yaqūlu: tatrūku man yaqūlu š-šī'ra fa-lā tahǧū(hu) wa-tahǧū man rawāhu li-ǧayrihi ǧaza'an minka wa-lu'man. Tumma šabbaha rāwiyata š-šī'ri min ǧayri an yaqūlahu bi-hādā l-ladī yasqī bi-l-layli ... tumma qāla: tanahḥal anta š-šī'ra fa-inna qašā'idi ta'tīka tatrā.*

The second line one could translate:

"Take from my poems as much as you can;  
 for my poetic talent conceives poems one after the other  
 (literally 'conceives again immediately after birth')."

But in case a poem is not clearly intended as a lampoon, can we be certain that we have to interpret *tanahḥala* in an unfavourable sense? An example would be the following line by Ibrāhīm b. Harma quoted in the *Lisān* and in the *Tāǧ al-ʿarūs*:

[7] *wa-lam atanahḥali l-aš'āra fihā*  
*wa-lam tuǧizniya l-midahū l-ǧiyādu*<sup>12</sup>

"And I did not borrow from others in this [*qašīda*, or: "when speaking in my poems about her"]

and making good poems of praise is not beyond my ability".

The poet could have meant *lam atanahḥal*, "[I am] not stealing"; but he might also have meant "borrowing" in the sense of being helped by another poet, or "borrowing" using a classical line by an older poet as a proverb, though "stealing" is the first interpretation that comes to our mind.

<sup>11</sup> *ḥarbī* for *šī'ri* = aṭ-Ṭirimḡāh, *Dīwān* (ed. Ḥasan) 37-38 = no. 21, lines 25 and 29. Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ānī* II, 808 (*ḥarbī* for *šī'ri*).

<sup>12</sup> The context is apparently unknown, see Ibrāhīm b. Harma, *Dīwān* 98.

Turning now to *intahala*: At first sight there can be little doubt about the meaning of *intahala* in the following example by Ibn ar-Rūmī (d. around 283/896, *Dīwān* V, 1954, no. 1520, line 9):

[8] *in ṣahḥa 'ilmu n-nuḡūmi kāna lakum  
ḥaqqan idā mā siwākumū ntahalā*

"If astrology is a true [science], then it belongs to you and rightly so, when others claim falsely [to have competence]", even though here again one cannot rule out completely that *intahala* means 'following', 'imitating', not 'falsely claiming'.

An earlier poem, this one by al-A<sup>c</sup>šā Maymūn<sup>13</sup> (born before 570, d. around 6, 8, or 9 AH or after 625 AD), has the following line:

[9] *fa-mā anā am mā ntiḥālī l-qawā-  
fi ba'da l-mašībi kafā dāka 'ārāl*

"Who am I? How would I appropriate verses

after having reached old age? Is there anything more shameful?"

This line may again not be acceptable as evidence for *intahala* in an unfavourable sense. For once more we cannot rule out that *intahala* means 'legitimate borrowing' and may possibly have this meaning here. Ibn Fāris (*Muḡmal* III, 859) uses a wording that differs somewhat from his statement in the *Maqāyīs* when he gives *intahala* in the sense of 'just claim', and *tanahḥala* in the sense of 'fraudulent claim', pointing out that this line by al-A<sup>c</sup>šā makes clear that the reverse is the case: *intahala r-raḡulu š-šī'ra: idda'āhu. qāla l-A<sup>c</sup>šā* (follows this poem with the variant: *fa-kayfa anā wa-ntiḥālī*, etc. *wa-qāla qawmun: intahaltu š-šī'ra idā dda'aytahu wa-anta muḥiqqun wa-tanahḥaltuhu idā dda'aytahu mubtilan wa-baytu l-A<sup>c</sup>šā yadullu 'alā ḥilāfi ḥādā*).

Moreover Ibn Qutayba (*Šī'r* I, 259)<sup>14</sup> claims that al-A<sup>c</sup>šā had offered to compose this poem in prison, because an-Nu<sup>c</sup>mān b. al-Mundir

<sup>13</sup> al-A<sup>c</sup>šā, *Dīwān* text: 41, line 68, notes: 39. al-Aṣma<sup>c</sup>'ī's commentary on this line, as quoted in the *Dīwān*, is not explicit: *yurīdu annī āḥidun mina š-šī'ri mā urīdu wa-lā antaḥilu šī'ra aḥadin*. Goldziher (1893:43) translates: "Wie sollte ich ... die Reime anderer entlehnen".

<sup>14</sup> See also al-Baḡdādī, *Hizāna* III, 302.11-15.

suspected him of seeking help from others (*tasta'īnu 'alā šī'rika*). Still the form this help had taken is not specified. It may well have been of a legitimate kind; and with this story from Ibn Qutayba in mind we cannot claim to have convincing evidence that Ibn Fāris is correct. Let me introduce some further quotes to see what information, if any, can be gleaned from them.

[10] A tradition in *Agānī* VIII, 8: (al-Aṣma'ī, d. 213/828, speaking about Ġarīr) has it that Ġarīr showed his superiority over forty three poets, but was never able to outdo al-Aḥṭal and al-Farazdaq. Ġarīr however claimed that al-Aḥṭal was never alone when he prepared to attack him with his *hiḡā'*. He would assemble fifty poets at a drinking bout and they all would contribute lines to the poem which he would later give out as a composition by himself. Unfortunately this tradition makes no mention of a technical term for this unusual procedure; it simply says: *wa-yantahilu huwa l-qaṣīdata ba'da an yutammimūhā*.

[11] Demonstrating al-Farazdaq doing the same, but showing a less friendly manner, Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir (d. 280/893) has it that al-Farazdaq "drew his sword" (*yuslitu*) against other poets – this, no doubt, is intended as a figurative expression. Thereupon he would appropriate (*yantahilu*) their poems. He then would submit to *hiḡā'* whoever mentioned that he used *šay'ani ntaḥalahu awi dda'āhu li-ḡayrihi*. He would add that "the stray camels of poetry were dearer to him than the real stray camels" and that "the best form of theft was the one that did not entail the penalty of one's hand being cut" (al-Marzubānī, *Murwaṣṣaḥ* 168, cf. *ibid.*, 176). The passage shows clearly that in Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir's time *intaḥala* was understood in the sense of plain plagiarism.

[12] Earlier, in the days of Abū 'Ubayda the same idea may have been attached to the term. In a story in the *Agānī* (II, 267), al-Farazdaq claims that two lines by Ibn Mayyāda (d. 136/754 or 149/766) could not possibly be Ibn Mayyāda's own work, since they were more fitting to his own, that is al-Farazdaq's own, poetry. al-Farazdaq then orders his *rāwī* to add Ibn Mayyāda's lines to his own repertoire (*udmumbumā ilayka*; cf. the story below, [14]). But what distinguishes this story from the preceding one is that Ibn Mayyāda remains silent (*atraqa*) and does

not protest; *fa-maḏā* [*l-Farazdaq*] *fa-ntaḥalahumā* (cf. al-Marzubānī, *Murwaššah* 172).

In the following lines by al-Farazdaq<sup>15</sup> we find *tanahhala* as a variant for *tanahhala*. If we read *tanahhala*, the term is used undoubtedly in an unfavourable sense, and therefore most likely means 'claiming falsely': [*qāla Abū 'Ubayda*]: *fa-lammā sami'a [al-Farazdaq] qaḥla l-Ba' iḷ:*

*a-tarḡū Kulaybun an yaḡī'a ḥadīṭuhā*

*bi-ḥayrin wa-qad a'yā Kulaybun qadīmuhā*

*qāla l-Farazdaq:*

[13] *idā mā qultu qāfiryatan šarūdan*

*tanahhalahā bnu ḥamrā'i l-iḡānī*

"When I compose a line of poetry that becomes widely known the son of the woman with the red perineum selects it [for his own poem]" (lit.: "appropriates the best of it").

The following comment is added to this last line: *qāla Abū 'Abdallāhi [Muḥammadu bnu l-'Abbās al-Yazīdī]* (d. 310/922, see *Naqā'id*, I, xi): *tanahhalahā ay aḥada ḥiyārahā wa tanahhalahā intaḥalahā*. Reading *tanahhalahā* one could translate the second hemistich:

"... then the son of the woman with the red perineum claims to have made it".

Though the reading *tanahhala* does not fit into the context, there may be other cases where we have to consider reading *tanahhala* for *tanahhala*. What is important in this passage is that it shows Abū 'Abdallāh al-Yazīdī attributing explicitly the same meaning to *tanahhalahā* and *intaḥalahā*.

We have to conclude that, so far, the poems themselves and the stories and interpretations accompanying them have not helped us to differentiate clearly between *intaḥala* and *tanahhala*. Traditions I found

<sup>15</sup> *Naqā'id*, I, 125.1-6 (see *ibid.*, 124, the introduction of poem no. 31); az-Zamaḥṣarī, *Asās* II, 429 (*tanahhalahā*) attributes [13] to Ḡarīr; *Lisān*, XI, 651a (*tanahhalahā*), al-Ġumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 327 (*turaḡḡī ... tanahhalahā*); al-Āmidī (d. 370/981) *Mu'talif* 161 (*tanahhalahā*). As far as I can see the line does not appear in the *Dīwān* of al-Farazdaq.



in other texts dealing with poetry are not more convincing than those we have seen so far.

[14] An interesting example in al-Hātīmī's *Hilya* may be mentioned here (fol. 45a): °Alī b. Hārūn [al-Munağğim] (d. 352/963) quotes his father and his uncle, whom we can easily identify as Hārūn b. °Alī (d. 288/901) and Yahyā b. °Alī (d. 300/913). The story he reports on their authority is as follows: Ğamīl recites a line of his poetry to al-Farazdaq who then forces Ğamīl to yield this line to him: *la-tada'anna hādā l-bayta aw la-tada'anna 'irdaka fa-tarakahu labu fa-ntaḥalahu l-Farazdaq wa-adḥalahu fī qaṣīdatihi*, "Let this line go, or [else] you will have to let go your reputation. Thereupon Ğamīl left the line to al-Farazdaq who appropriated it and inserted it in his poem". This passage proves clearly that the term *intaḥala* was used in the time of °Alī b. Hārūn. Was it also used in the time of his father and his uncle? We cannot be certain; they may have used the term *adḥala* to which °Alī then added the more technical *intaḥala*<sup>16</sup>.

Some further information can be gleaned from al-Hātīmī's chapter on the *iğtilāb* and *istillḥāq* (fols. 88a-89a) where we find interesting notes on a line by an-Nābiga al-Ğa'dī (Nallino 1953:88 = no 6, line 37). These notes are presented on the authority of al-Ğumaḥī (139-231/756-845):

[15] *tilka l-makārimu lā qa'bāni min labanin*  
*šībā bi-mā'in fa-'ādā ba'du abwālā*

"These are real noble actions, not two cups of milk  
mixed with water which later become urine".

*yarwīhi Banū °Amir b. Ṣaṣa'ata li-n-Nābigati wa-r-ruwātu muğmi'ūna*  
*'alā anna Abā ṣ-Ṣalti bna Rabī'ata qālahu wa-aḥsabu l-Ğa'diyya ḡā'a bihi*

<sup>16</sup> Ğamīl, *Dīwān* 138; al-Farazdaq, *Dīwān* (ed. al-Hāwī) II, 127 (poem no. 350, line 100); *Naqā'id* II, 572; al-Ğumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 363. Cf. also the amusing story in *Ağānī* VIII, 96.

*mutamattilan. wa-qāla Yūnus: wa-hādā stilhāqun wa-laysa bi-ntihālin wa-ğayrubu yusammīhi ntiḥālan wa-lākinnahu lam yuḥsini l-‘ibārata*<sup>17</sup>.

Remarkable about this tradition by Yūnus [b. Ḥabīb] (d. 182/798) is that it mentions a case of a line being so famous that it justifies the practice of quoting it as a proverb. Moreover it leaves the door open for the suggestion, that *intiḥāl* was at some time, or by some critics, used in the sense of an acceptable form of borrowing, perhaps in the sense of borrowing of a line that had become proverbial, a practice suggested in lines I have quoted earlier ([4], commentary, and [5]).

The evidence from some later discussions of the verb *intaḥala* moreover, lends a measure of support to the thesis of apparently early scholars, older in any case than Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004), that *intaḥala* was not synonymous with *tanahḥala*:

We see Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023, *Baṣā’ir* VII, 251. 15-16) offering the following information on the two terms: *intaḥala fulānun kadā wa-kadā ay dahaba ilayhi wa-ṣtamala ‘alayhi. wa-tanahḥala idā takaddaba fī d-da’wā. yuqālu: mā ntaḥala wa-lākin tanahḥala idā azhara ġayra mā admara.*

And again in the same work by Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī (*Baṣā’ir* VIII, 150): *wa-ammā l-manḥūlu fa-min qarwlika: nahaltu fulānan kadā wa-kadā idā wahabtuhu lahu aw nasabtu ilayhi kalāman.* Abū Ḥayyān, in this last passage associates the root *n-ḥ-l* with ‘gift’, rather than ‘claim’ or ‘wrong attribution’.

We now should take a brief look at the terms *nahala* and *anḥala*. The chapter on the *inḥāl* in al-Ḥātīmī, *Ḥilya* (fol. 82a) opens with a brief statement in which the author promises that he will explain the difference between *inḥāl* and *intiḥāl*. What follows, however, is not a

<sup>17</sup> A similar observation by Yūnus appears in al-Ġumaḥī, *Ṭabaqāt* I, 58 and is repeated by Ibn Rašīq, *‘Umda* II, 1042.

definition, but a series of anecdotes, from which it appears that *inhāl* is 'false attribution', 'falsely fathering'<sup>18</sup>.

So far I have only found one verse example which, however, has been handed down with variants. It is found in the *Dīwān* of al-Farazdaq (ed. aṣ-Ṣāwī, 720) as part of a poem from which I have quoted earlier (above [4]). I repeat the commentary: *lā yunḥalu: ay lā yantahiluhu aḥadun, wa-yurwā: lā yanḥalu: ay lā yablā, wa-yurwā: kalāmuhu yutamattalu*. If one accepts this interpretation of *yunḥalu*, one may be tempted to associate the root *n-ḥ-l* with the notion of 'inheritance' which may be implicitly derived, as part of the semantic spectrum of the root *n-ḥ-l*, from examples listed in the *Lisān*, such as: *mā nahala wālidun waladan min nuḥlin afdala min adabin ḥasanin*<sup>19</sup>, and *anḥala waladahu mālan wa-nahalahu: ḥaṣṣahu bi-ṣay'in minhu*. Unfortunately the lexicographers only relate these expressions to *nuḥl*, 'giving', but the notion of inheritance is well represented in other Semitic languages.

[16] So far I have found only one tradition that puts the term *nahala* in the mouth of a poet. It is found in *Agānī* VIII, 57-58. The story is told by a son of Ğarīr. The poet Hišām b. Qays al-Mar'ī hears a *hiğā'* poem addressed to him by Dū r-Rumma. He recognizes part of it as the work of Ğarīr, and so does al-Farazdaq. When Dū r-Rumma denies having been helped by Ğarīr, al-Farazdaq exclaims: *kadaba fūka! qad nahalakahā ašaddu lahyayni minka!* (*ibid.*, 58, line 5 from the bottom)<sup>20</sup>. Is *nahala* here 'falsely attributing' or 'giving'?

As long as there is no general dictionary available covering the roots of all Semitic languages, one may consult Koehler & Baumgartner

<sup>18</sup> There may be a lacuna between the opening sentences of al-Ḥātimī's *inhāl* chapter, or al-Ḥātimī may be expecting his readers to draw their own conclusions. The second alternative is more likely, since Ibn Aydamur (*Durr*), who borrows frequently from al-Ḥātimī, does not offer a definition of the *inhāl* either.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn al-Aḡīr, Mağdaddīn (d. 606/1210), *Nihāya* V, 29.6; Wensinck et al. 1936-88 VI, 378a. A detailed examination of *ḥadīṭ* literature may clarify this question.

<sup>20</sup> See Ğarīr, *Dīwān* II, 1029; Dū r-Rumma, *Dīwān* II, 1377-1379 and the references quoted there. Variant: 'alakabunna 'chewed them up'(?).

1983:648a-650a and the more detailed work by Runngren et al. (1986 V, 342b-359a)<sup>21</sup>. I have not yet had an opportunity to consult other handbooks. The entry *n-ḥ-l* does not afford many new insights, apart from the association of the root with “in Besitz nehmen/als Besitz erhalten”, “besitzen”, “schenken”, associations with “Erbesitz” and, finally, “abmagern”, the last, as we have seen, also found in the Arabic dictionaries. However these various meanings could well lend support to the suggestion that older associations of *tanahḥala* and *intahala* existed in Arabic which, if applied to poetry, had nothing to do with ‘plagiarism’ in our sense of the word, but rather with borrowing somebody else’s poem or – much more likely – fragment of poem, inserting it as a saying that had become proverbial, had become part of common literary heritage, in other words what al-Ḥātimī would term *iḡtilāb* or *istilhāq*. One may also think of ‘borrowing with the permission of the author’, and even of ‘receiving help from another poet’ which – again in al-Ḥātimī’s terminology – would be *murāfada*, a term which, like *nahala*, is connected with ‘giving’. Finally, one should also think of inheriting from an older poet in the capacity of a *rāwī*.

I came across a story in the chapter on Salama b. ‘Ayyāš (end 1st-beginning 2nd cent.?) in *Aḡānī*, XX, 295-296) in a section attributed to Abū l-Faraḡ al-Iṣfahānī, but not considered authentic. Salama recounts how he visits al-Farazdaq in prison and finds him engaged in a poem beginning with:

*inna lladī samaka s-samā’a banā lanā  
baytan da’ā’imuhū a’azza wa-atwalū*

Since al-Farazdaq is unable to continue (*uṣḥima*), Salama b. ‘Ayyāš offers help (*a-lā arfiduka?*) and continues as follows:

*baytun Zurāratu muḥtabin bi-finā’ihī  
wa-Muḡāšī’un wa-Abū l-Fawārisi Nahšalū*

al-Farazdaq, though irritated, accepts the line which becomes once more part of a *hiḡā’* poem. This story, as well as the observations in various

<sup>21</sup> I owe these references to my colleagues in Los Angeles, Professors R. Hendel and S. Seegert.

dictionaries and vocabularies, indicate that the root *r-f-d* is connected with giving, thus showing a remarkable similarity with part of the spectrum of *nahala*. This lends some further support to the assumption that the original meaning of *intahala* was 'to acquire as a gift' and the original meaning of *tanahḥala*, perhaps, 'to pretend that one has acquired as a gift'.

At some time the term *tanahḥala* seems to have fallen out of use. al-Ḥātimī (*Ḥilya*) has no separate chapter on the term, though dictionaries, such as az-Zamahṣarī's (d. 538/1114) *Asās* continue to mention *tanahḥala* along with *intahala*<sup>22</sup>. Whether a distinction between *intahala* and *tanahḥala* ever existed, at least in the *sariqa* terminology, may be difficult to prove. If it did, one can explain the need certain scholars felt to distinguish between these terms, and think up other terms, as evidence that the critics recognized the strength of ancient and even more recent tradition and its consequences. They were ready to give a prominent place to tradition, and did not wish this to be seen as slavish imitation. They even recognized that it was difficult to avoid following established traditions. This appears from a thesis by Ibn Abī Ṭāhir and from the existence of the term *tašbīḥāt 'uqm* 'barren similes', 'similes that have found no imitators'<sup>23</sup>. The very fact that confusion over terminology existed gave rise to attempts not only to explain the terminology, but also to bring clarity to the critics attitude. As I said earlier, we may speak of a paradox: despite the confusion over terminology, intelligent studies such as we find them in the 'Umda of Ibn Rašīq and in his *Qurāda* leave little doubt on the principles maintained

<sup>22</sup> See II, 429a: "... wa-qāla šīran fa-nahalahu gayrahu wa-ntahala šīra gayrihi wa-tanahḥalahu". Compare also, for the *sariqa* in Persian literary theory, Šamsaddīn ar-Rāzī (see note 1) and Rückert & Pertsch 1966:187-190, 363-365, neither of which mentions the term *tanahḥala*.

<sup>23</sup> See Bonebakker, 1975:68-72; see also Ibn Rašīq, 'Umda I, 504-507, Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Kifāya* 167. For Ibn Abī Ṭāhir see al-Ḥātimī, *Ḥilya* fol 80a-b, and Ibn Aydamur, *Durr* 116-117 = fol. 73b-74a. I have quoted the passage in a forthcoming more detailed publication under the title 'Nahala and Saraqa'.

by these critics<sup>24</sup>, even though we can only agree with Ibn Rašīq, at the end of his chapter on the *sariqāt* in his *ʿUmda* (II, 1059) that *fī aqalla mim mā ḡiʿtu bibi minhu kifāya!*

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<sup>24</sup> See also Ibn Rašīq, *Qurāda* 54-120, which, to a large extent, illustrates these principles; cf. pp. 22-23 of the French introduction and *ibid.*, 30-40 for a summary in French.

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# SOME ETYMOLOGICAL AND SEMANTIC REMARKS ON THE LEXEME ZAGĀRĪ

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This paper deals with one of the minor problems of Arabic lexicology concerning one certain Arabic lexeme only. The first occurrence of this item in Arabic sources dates back to the era of the Crusades. We will follow a new way in the discussion of its etymology and semantics, because former attempts to explain the origin of the word are not fully satisfactory when taking into consideration some new aspects.

The lexeme in question is the Arabic item *zaġārī*, which is used for a certain type of hunting dogs (in our paper subsequently referred to as hounds). For the first time and very frequently it is used by Usāma b. Munqid, who died in Damascus in 584/1188, in his well known memoirs entitled *Kitāb al-ītibār*. Still being a young boy, the author accompanied his father during the hunting trips, which he describes extensively in his *kitāb*. In these descriptions, he mentions apart from the commonly used hounds, the *kilāb salūqiyya*, another type of hunting dogs, the so-called *kilāb zaġāriyya* (Usāma *ītibār* 125, 201f, 212, 224f), excellent dogs (*kilāb ġiyād*) according to his opinion (*ibid.*, 212). After this first notation, the lexeme *zaġārī* occurs in the course of the following centuries once and again, that means, in each century of the Middle Ages we meet exactly one author referring to it. al-Asadī, probably a native of al-‘Irāq and a passionate traveller, gives the second evidence of the item in his treatise on huntsmen’s practice entitled *Kitāb al-ġambara fī ‘ulūm al-bayzara*, written between 635/1237 and 640/1242 (cf. Viré 1973:237). A hundred years later, in the 8/14th century, the Mamlūk officer Ibn Mankalī (the correct form of his name is rather Ibn Manglī) gives an account of this type of hounds in his *Uns al-malā bi-wahṣ al-falā*, another treatise on hunting. Here, *zaġārī* is put in contrast to the *ṣaydī*-dogs and certain other breeds (Ibn Manglī, *Uns* 77). In this context, *ṣaydī* obviously means the *salūqī*, the typical Oriental hunting

dog. The last account is given by the Egyptian secretary al-Qalqašandī, who died in 821/1418, in his famous encyclopaedia *Kitāb ṣubḥ al-ašā fī šināʿat al-inšāʿ*, referring to the two types of hounds, namely *salūqiyya* and *zuḡāriyya* (al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ* II, 43). (According to this author, there is no doubt that the lexeme *zuḡārī* has to be pronounced with *damma*).

None of the Arabic sources really bother with the etymology of the word *zuḡārī*. According to al-Asadī, its origin is to be found in *Zaḡar* (*Zuḡar*, see below) and it is al-Qalqašandī who states, "I do not know anything about the origin of the word"<sup>1</sup>. Henceforth, the European translations of the Arabic works quoted have to cope with the problem of definition. Florian Pharaon, the translator of Ibn Manglī's treatise uses the term *chien d'arrêt* for *zuḡārī* (Ibn Manglī, *Uns* 77), meaning a group of hounds which are usually referred to as pointers (Hühnerhunde or Vorstehhunde). Among the translators of Usāma b. Munqid's memoirs we find André Miquel, who translates *zuḡārī* by *braques* (bercelets / Bracken) (Usāma *ʿIṭibār*, transl. Miquel, 279, 395, 397, 409), referring to the origin of the Arabic word as to be found in the name of the region of *Zagora* (see above), situated in Dalmatia (in today's Republic of Croatia) (*ibid.*, Introduction 35, and 278, note 20). Also Philip Hitti, another translator, uses *braches* (meaning bercelets) (Usāma *ʿIṭibār*, transl. by Hitti, 154, 230f, 241) whereas the German translations of the *Kitāb al-ʿIṭibār* show more inconsistency in this respect: Holger Preissler translates *zuḡārī* by *Bracke* (bercelet) and *Jagdhund* (hound in general) (Usāma *ʿIṭibār*, transl. Preissler, 141, 219, 221, 231), and Gernot Rotter uses *Jagdhund* (hound) and *Hühnerhund* (Usāma *ʿIṭibār*, transl. Rotter, 144, 211f, 222), noting that this term is an equivalent to pointer, but at least in one special context it may mean hounds in general (*ibid.*, 240, note 36). And also G. Rex Smith decides that *zuḡārī* may mean a pointer of any type (Smith 1981: 250f).

The problem of identifying *zuḡārī* seemed to have been solved by the well-known French scholar François Viré, famous for his numerous

<sup>1</sup> For al-Asadī cf. Viré 1973:237; al-Qalqašandī, *Ṣubḥ* II, 43.

works on Arabic and Islamic zoography. In his article he draws the conclusion that *zagārī* means *braque d'arrêt* (bercelet / Bracke), and he finds a new etymology (Viré 1973:237).

According to his opinion, there is no connection between the term *zagārī* and place-names like *Zagār* or *Zugar*, whereas there are some different places with similar names in the Near East (for example in the south of the Dead Sea or in the land of Moab) and also in Europe (for example *Zagora* in the Balkans or others in Poland and in Spain) (*ibid.*, 237f). Viré points out that *zagārī* means *Canis sagarius*, Greek *zagáron*, taken over by the Arabs from a terme *bas-grec* (*ibid.*, 238). And he assumes that *zagáron* is based on a German word, namely the Old High German *zeigāri*, meaning pointer (*ibid.*, 239). Viré draws this conclusion, because there are numerous terms defining hounds that are based on words with the meaning "to point".

One year after the publication of the article quoted, the editorial board of the Encyclopaedia of Islam published the lemma *kalb*, "dog", also written by François Viré, and referring once more to the Old High German *zeigāri*, "pointer" (Viré 1974:491). But here, *zagārī* is no longer an equivalent to bercelet (*braque / Bracke*), but to pointer in the modern sense of the word. Indeed, this explanation seems to be much better in semantic respect, because a pointer is a dog that points at something, and *zeigāri* would mean "pointer" again. Usāma b. Munqid notes that the game of this hound is wild fowl (Usāma, *I'tibār* 212) which is another good argument and this may have led Viré to the assumption that *zagārī* has to be defined as a bird-hound. And as a matter of fact, pointers – as well as setters – are hounds usually used to start birds, especially wild fowl. Furthermore, al-Asadī cites in his book on hunting practices that *zagārī* is a bush hound (*kalb al-banġ*) (cf. Viré 1973:237) and indeed, the pointer can be seen as such a kind of dog. Viré finally draws the conclusion that *zagārī* is a dog obviously corresponding to the modern Italian Pointer or Hungarian (Magyar) *vizsla* (Viré 1974:491).

The identification of the term *zagārī* now seems to be more difficult than at first sight. Considering the thesis postulated by Viré, there

is an essential problem: There is no proof that the Old High German term *zeigāri* was used for a certain type of dog (cf. Eisenstein 1991:218, note 89). Supposing that *zaġārī* is based on a Greek word, why should the Arabic item have just become common in the centuries of the Crusades? There are much earlier documents proving the contacts between Greeks and Muslims, contacts of different intensity, of course. So let us take into consideration that one might look for the roots of the item *zaġārī* directly in European areas, the home of the Crusaders. But one should not neglect the fact that Usāma b. Munqid̄ writes that the *zaġārīya*-hounds originate from *bilād ar-Rūm* (Usāma, *Iṭibār* 212), and besides there is another passage in his memoirs saying that the Armenians brought these hounds to the Muslim world (*ibid.*, 202). Maybe, informations like these led François Viré to his thesis about the Greek origin of the word *zaġārī*, or made him suppose at least the existence of a semi-Greek intermediate stage. But a little later, al-Asadī sees the origin of this kind of dogs not only in the Byzantine area, but also in all other countries of the Franks (cf. Viré 1973:237), meaning the whole of Europe. Therefore let us discuss the possibility that the hound and the term *zaġārī* may directly have been imported by European Crusaders.

Discussing the background of the term *zaġārī* one starts at the point that it denotes a dog, which was not known to the Muslims before the Crusaders' invasion. Otherwise there would be no reason to adopt a new word for a commonly known subject. So it is to suppose, that the hound and the term have been imported at the same time. Let us now draw a picture of the hunting dogs which were common in the Middle East, compare them with the ones used in Europe during the Middle Ages and which, maybe, accompanied the Crusaders. Only hunting dogs will be taken into consideration, excluding other kinds of dogs like yard dogs, trained to watch houses, sheep dogs, primarily trained

to protect flocks but sometimes also used to chase wolves, finally fighting dogs, trained to attack each other, as well as human beings<sup>2</sup>.

The only hound of Oriental origin is the *salūqī*<sup>3</sup>, a type of greyhound, more exactly: a relative of the greyhounds, belonging to a group of dogs called gazeounds (cf. Smith 1978:188). Greyhound, in the strict sense of the word, denotes a fast running dog, while the characteristic feature of the *salūqī* is its persistence and not its speed. These Oriental hounds usually were used in combination with hawks and falcons (cf. Allen 1980:index, illustration p. 104). The hound chases the quarry, preventing it from taking cover, and this enables the hawk to gain it. Hawks in combination with hounds are trained especially to hunt hares, gazelles and also oryx antilopes. A characteristic feature of greyhounds as well as of *salūqīs* is hunting by sight and not by scent. This way of hunting is, of course, restricted to open grounds which can easily be overlooked.

One has to assume that this hunting character does not correspond to the characteristic features of the *zağārī*. Therefore, among the European hounds of the Middle Ages, an identification of the *zağārī* with greyhounds or other large dogs running down game like stag hounds and great danes (dogues / Doggen) might be excluded. Talking about typology, one must bear in mind that in the literature of the European Middle Ages dogs were grouped according to their function, while the modern classification depends on breed. So we have the situation that dogs of different breed are subsumed in one functional group, this being the base of typology in all European sources of the Middle Ages. After excluding greyhounds, sheep dogs and fighting dogs, so-

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<sup>2</sup> The origin of the Oriental fighting dogs is to be found in the Caucasus, where these dogs were known many centuries ago, cf. Salmanov 1992. But indeed, fighting dogs were obviously not in use in the Arab countries.

<sup>3</sup> On the *salūqī* see, e.g., Mercier 1927:68ff; Allen & Smith 1975:120ff (with illustrations); Ahsan 1979:211ff; Smith 1980. An illustration showing a *salūqī* and derived from a Classical Arabic manuscript see, e.g., in Ibn ad-Durayhim (d. 762/1361), *Manāfiʿ*: Pl. 12 after p. 48.

called "beaver-dogs", hounds only used for beaver-hunting, will be also excluded<sup>4</sup>. After all these exclusions, there are only two types of hounds left which one has to consider when trying to identify the *zagārī*: running-hounds and bird-hounds.

In historical ages, European, esp. German huntsmen used one typical running-hound: the bercelet (braque / Bracke), being the most important breed for, e.g., German huntsmen's practice<sup>5</sup>. But this is not the kind of dog called bercelet in the modern meaning of the word; in the Middle Ages, the term was used to define a group as just pointed out. These hounds had several functions; they were used as lymers that trail the quarry, tracking hounds that catch the scent, and driving hounds with another special function within the pack. The typical feature of the bercelet is to follow its nose in order to catch the scent, so that the hunter gets sight of the quarry. The persistence of the bercelet exhausts the game, and while chasing the quarry, the dog produces a special sound. This does not correspond to the greyhound's way of hunting silently and chasing the game at a very high speed. Bercelets were used in Northern Spain, in France, Switzerland, Northern Italy, England, in the whole German speaking area, in Lithuania and in Poland. The first documentation of the term bercelet (braque / Bracke) is to be found in France, used instead of an older Latin one, namely *Canis segusius* (Lindner, 1940:249ff; Paul 1981:27f). This *segusius* is also the base of older German terms – compare the Old High German word *siūso* and the Middle High German words *sūse*, *segūse* and similar ones (Dalby 1965:233, s.v. 'sūse'). The oldest Latin document quoting this Segusian hound seems to be the *Lex salica*, dating from the fifth century, that gathered the common law of the Salian Franks. The term *segusius* is not to be understood as a definition of one special breed, but, as pointed out above, one has to think of a functional group again. Usually it is supposed that the Segusian hound was wire-haired, but there must also have

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<sup>4</sup> These hounds probably were related to modern terriers, cf. Paul 1981:38.

<sup>5</sup> For this hound in the European Middle Ages see, e.g., Lindner 1940:248ff; Dalby 1965:34ff (s.v. 'bracke'); Paul 1981:31ff.



been short-haired ones. The bercelets of the later centuries were short-legged, heavy, and flap-eared, as far as illustrations show<sup>6</sup>.

The second group of hounds possibly imported to the Middle East which one should keep in mind when trying to identify the *zaġārī* are the bird-hounds of the Middle Ages (*Canis acceptoricus*)<sup>7</sup>. These bird-hounds are, as far as we see, related to the *Canis segusius*, and the term bird-hound means a functional group again and must not be understood as a definition of a special breed. Like the Oriental *salūqīs*, these hounds were used in combination with hawks and falcons. The duty of the dog was to start the game, especially wild fowl but also hares, and to help the hunter to gain the quarry. These hounds are the ancestors of the modern pointers and setters.

As just pointed out, these bird-hounds were used similarly to the Oriental *salūqīs*. That is why it is to be supposed that the *zaġārī* might not be identified as a bird-hound, but as the bercelet or the Segusian hound of the Middle Ages. These hounds were highly esteemed in Europe and therefore one might take it for granted that the Crusaders took these animals along and imported a new term with a new hound. The characteristic features of this new hound obviously differed from those of the commonly used *salūqī*, especially in the respect of hunting by scent and not by sight. Although there are former passages in Classical Arabic literature referring to dogs hunting by scent, the term for these dogs was not of common use, it was rather forgotten. Actually, there is only one example available: In a poem written by ʿAlī b. al-Ġahm as-Sāmī (d. 249/863), the term *hīlāsī* is used for such a dog (cf. Viré 1974:491).

As mentioned above, Usāma b. Munqid's description of the *zaġārī* tells us that the *zaġārī* hound chased birds. This might lead to the conclusion that the *zaġārī* was rather a bird-hound. But anyway, one might not exclude that the term was nevertheless used for a bercelet, a

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<sup>6</sup> A 14th century illustration of this kind of dogs see in Lindner 1940: Pl. 5 after p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Lindner 1940:259ff (16th century illustration Pl. 7 after p. 32); Paul 1981:34.

Segusian hound. Apparently, bird-hounds and bercelets were of similar type. In the European literature of the Middle Ages, typical bird-hounds like setters or spaniels are occasionally defined as bercelets, so that one cannot draw an exact line between the two types.

Up to now, only one etymology for *zaġārī* is to be found: François Viré went back to the Greek *zagáron* and to the Old High German *zeigâri*. But there is no source to document that *zeigâri* was used to define a dog. If indeed, as it is now to be supposed, the *zaġārī* corresponds with the bercelet, the Segusian hound, one is in need of an etymological connection. The problem of the etymology of *segusius* itself is yet unsolved; surely, this item is not of Latin origin, because, just in the writings of the second century Greek historiographer Flavius Arrianus, so-called *segousiai*-dogs do appear, related to the hunt of the Celts, the original inhabitants of many European countries. Maybe, there is indeed a Celtic base for *segusius*, denoting a certain Celtic tribe or place, or this word may depend on an Indo-European root \**segh*, meaning "strong" (cf. Paul 1981:27).

There are several variations of the Latin term *Canis segusius*, like *segutius*. In the Old High German and Middle High German literature, different forms are used instead of *segusius*, like *siûso*, *sûse* or *segûse*, *seûsius*, *seûsis* or *sagax*, but also forms like *seûcer* and *saûser*<sup>8</sup>, ending with *r* like the Arabic *zaġārī*. Although this is not really a proof that the Arabic lexeme *zaġārī* is based on these forms with *r*, it should not lead to a complete refusal of this connection. Bearing in mind that there is no direct line to the Latin expression, there must have been another language to transport the term, a language used by the Crusaders, maybe French or German. And why not follow François Viré's thesis that the word is of German origin? Let us keep in mind that François Viré's mother-tongue is French, and he is the one to postulate a German origin, so we well might exclude a French base<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Palander 1899:33ff; Lindner 1940:254; Dalby 1965:233 (s.v. *sûse*).

<sup>9</sup> From dictionaries of Old French, no close connections between *zaġārī* and French words are obvious.

The connection *zagārī* – bercelet was postulated by François Viré in one of his publications. His aim was to prove the connection on the basis of lexical observations. These investigations led to the same conclusion, but going another way, the way of looking at the historical and cultural background. By drawing a picture of this background, a new aspect was to be added to the explanation of the Arabic lexeme *zagārī*, but one must be aware that there are still problems left for future discussion.

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## SOME EGYPTIAN WORDS IN MĪHĀ'ĪL ŞABBĀĠ'S TREATISE ON THE DIALECTS OF SYRIA AND EGYPT

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As is known, Mīhā'īl b. Niqūlā Şabbāġ's *Risāla* on the spoken Arabic of Syria and Egypt written in Paris in 1812 is one of the earliest sources on colloquial Arabic in general (cf. Drozdík 1972). Though Şabbāġ was a Palestinian born in ʿAkka, nevertheless he spent a rather long time in Egypt where he went with Napoleon's army and certainly he knew a lot of Egyptian Arabic. Şabbāġ has also profited from comments by his friend, a native Egyptian - Elias Buqtur al-Asyūṭī who, among others, added some words to the chapter on the lexicon. The last chapter (no. 10) of the *Risāla* is about loan-words, words "distorted" in the colloquial either phonetically or/and semantically. The list of words presented alphabetically (with some mistakes) in this chapter contains both Egyptian and "Syrian" words but the majority is Egyptian. This can be explained probably by the fact that "Syrian" words seemed more familiar and "natural" to a native of ʿAkka and therefore he had a tendency to notice and mention rather more "unusual" Egyptian lexemes. Only occasionally Mīhā'īl Şabbāġ indicates explicitly that a given lexeme is Egyptian or Syrian. In a few cases he says that a given word is used by the people of Şaʿīd i.e. Egypt south of Cairo (though frequently this name is translated "Upper Egypt" which is not clear enough). Only seven words specified as Egyptian are not found in the dictionaries by Spiro and by Badawi and Hinds, namely *istīfān*, *čalabi*, *damʿa*, *raḥaša*, *zabūn*, *muʿaġġib* and *yazġi*. In several cases there is some difference in the meaning which may be due either to a change after 1812 or to an incomplete analysis either by Şabbāġ or by later lexicographers. Most of the items are mentioned for the first time in history. Some of the forms are vocalized and the vocalization is either classical or, sometimes, classicizing. Forms of the *itqatal* class are usually given as *taqatal* though this may be due perhaps to the editor. Foreign source

(Turkish and Greek) is given correctly in most cases. The method of explaining the meaning of the lexemes is quite sound – frequently there is a description of the situation and context in which the word is used and sometimes there are examples of sentences.

1. ISTİFĀN - “a piece of cloth (*qimāt*) used only in Egypt which is put on the head of a bride during the wedding night”. This is a Greek loan word as indicated by Şabbāğ: στεφάνη “diadem, head-band”, στεφανος “wreath, crown, garland”. Neither Spiro nor Badawi & Hinds mention it.

2. BAḤḤI “nothing, empty (used in a play with children when opening a fist and showing that it is empty)”. Badawi & Hinds 1986:54 “gone! finished (used by children) from Coptic”. Cf. Westendorf 1965-77:157, 156.

3. BARĠAM “to talk a lot in order to deceive someone”. Spiro 1895:38 *bargim* or *bartam* “to mutter to one’s self, talk unintelligently, talk incoherently”, *bargima* “act of muttering to one’s self, unintelligent or incoherent talk”. Wahrmund 1898 I, 197 *barğama* “gröblich reden”. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* 244. Cf. Barthélemy 1935-55:34 *barčam* “atténuer, palléer (parole risquée)” which is a Persian loan: *porčane* “someone talking too much”, Rubinchik et al. 1970 I, 281, 460, and I, 277 *por* “full, much, very”. Denizeau 1960:24 quoting Dalman for Palestinian Arabic: *baržam* “roucouler (pigeon)”. Vial 1983:46-47 *bartama* “vociférations”.

4. BARČASA v. n., *tabarčas* “to be constantly engaged in pleasure either with women or young men”. Şabbāğ emphasises that this is used by Egyptians. The morphological and phonological (/č/) structure of the word indicates that this is a loan from Persian, cf. *porğuš* “impulsive, hot, hot-tempered, passionate”, Rubinchik et al. 1970 I, 281. Cf. Badawi & Hinds 1986:62 *bargis* “to engage in equestrian sports (obsol.), 2. to run about in a clumsy or dangerous way, barge out”, verbal noun *barga-*



sa, *birgās* {Persian *burgās* "equestrian sport or entertainment" (obsol.)}. Cf. Rubinchik et al. 1970 I, 197 *bārgāstān*?

5. BARTĀ'A "it is said of a camel when it goes galloping". Spiro 1895: 41 "to gallop, run, go about enjoying one's self"; Badawi & Hinds 1986: 66 "1. to gallop about, run and prance about (of donkeys), 2. to gallivant about, gad, about"; Wehr 1979:66 to gallop". Wahrmond 1898 I, 202 "to be excited". Barthélemy 1935-55:38 id. Cf. Persian *portogyan* "stormy, boisterous, turbulent", Rubinchik et al. 1970 I, 287 and *toḡyan* "disobedience, mutiny; storm", *ibid.* II, 157.

6. BASTARMA "a dish of meat". The word is explained by Šabbāg as probably Greek. Spiro 1895:46 *bastarma* "dried meat (prepared in Turkey)"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:76 *bastirma* (Turkish *pastirma*) "garlic-and-spice-cured beef". Cf. Baskakov et al. 1977:714 *pastirma* id. It is a Greek loan, see Abū Sa'd 1987:129.

7. BASTĀWIYA "a roll of silk, wool, cotton or other stuff". Spiro 1895:46 "roll of cloth". Cf. Wahrmond 1898 I, 213 *bisāt* "Deke, Matte, Teppich, Kissen"; 215 *basat* "ausbreiten (Kleid, Teppich)".

8. BUŠT "an abusive term". Not of Turkish (as alleged by Šabbāg) but of Persian origin though probably borrowed from the former. Badawi & Hinds 1986:77 "(coarse, abuse) "sod" (Persian *pušt*); Spiro 1895:46 "catamite". Cf. Rubinchik et al. 1970:301 *pošt*. It occurs also in Syrian dialects: Barthélemy 1935-55:45 *bəšt* id. Abū Sa'd 1987:246.

9. BAĞDADA "lack of politeness and elegance". Spiro 1895:53 *itbağdid* "to be saucy, pert", *bağdida* "sauciness, pertness"; Badawi & Hinds 1986: 89 *itbağdid* "1. to act aloofly or disdainfully, 2. to enjoy life to the full, live opulently, verbal noun > *bağdada*". Explained by Šabbāg as derived from "Baghdad" allegedly being a characteristic of its inhabitants. This may be a folk etymology. It occurs also in Syria, see Barthélemy 1935-55:54 *tbağdad* "se pavaner, se rengorger", cf. Frayha 1973:13.

10. BOĠĀZ "harbour, seaport at a mouth of a river". Spiro 1895:63 "strait, harbour, pass". Turkish, cf. Baskakov et al. 1977:123 *boğaz* "strait, channel, pass".
11. BAQBAQ "a man that talks a lot but doesn't do anything". Spiro 1895:53 *yidrab buqq* "he chatters, he talks nonsense"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:89-90 *baqbaq* "to blister"? Cf. *baqbiš* id. Cf. Lane 1863-93:233 *baqqa* "to talk much, be loquacious", *baqbaqa* "to jabber" - *baqbaqa 'alayna al-kalām* "he scattered speech at us"; Wahrmund 1898 I, 238. Known also in Lebanon, see Denizeau 1960:40, cf. Barthélemy 1935-55:54, Frayha 1973:13.
12. BALŠA "injustice, outrage, misdeed, oppression". Spiro 1895:56 *bals* "imposition, cheat"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:98 *balsa* "bribe". Cf. Wehr 1979:88 *balasa* "to extort, wring forcibly; to blackmail", *bals* extortion, blackmail; forcible imposition of taxes"; Wahrmund 1898 I, 251 *balsa* "Bedrückung, Steuerdruck, Aussaugung". Known also in Syria, see Barthélemy 1935-55:60 and cf. Denizeau 1960:45 quoting Belot; Frayha 1973:15.
13. ĠAHHA v.n. "boasting, boaster". Spiro 1895:94 "to boast, talk big, vaunt", *ğabha* "a lie, an exaggeration"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:149 "1. to spin a yarn, tell tall stories. 2. to squirt". Wehr 1979:135 *ğabha* "to boast, brag". Wahrmund 1898 I, 413 *ğabh* "dumm, träg, dick"?; *ğabha* "luxuriös geschmückt sein" (*ibid.*). Cf. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* 555. Denizeau 1960:75 *žabha* "faire des dépenses excessives et sans utilité pratique"; *žabbiḥ* "fastueux, qui aime le lux". Cf. Barthélemy 1935-55:104 *žabh* "se parer, faire sa toilette" used according to him in Jerusalem and in "Middle Syria" but mentioned also by Frayha 1973:25.
14. ĠADA'A "extremely laborious, hard-working", verbal form *tagad-da'*. Spiro 1895:95 *gada'* "brave courageous, clever, intelligent, young man", verbal form *iggad'an* "to be brave, clever, intelligent"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:151 "one possessed of ... nobility of character ..., intelligence

... manly toughness and courage 2. fellow, (young) man". Barthélemy 1935-55:105 quoting Egyptian Arabic *gada'* and 939 for Lebanese "brave, vaillant" (!); Denizeau 1960:76 *žadē'* "brave, courageous". Wahrmund 1898 I, 420 *ğid'* "Bursche, Rekrut"; Wehr 1979:139 *ğada'* "young man, young fellow".

15. ĞİFAYDĪ "low, base, vulgar man", pl. *ğī'aydiyya* "vile, vulgar men, criminals". Spiro 1895:103 *ğī'ēdi* "vulgar, insolent, one who is shabbily dressed". Wahrmund 1898 I, 441 *gu'aydi* "Mann aus dem Volke". Cf. Lane 1863-93:429. It occurs also in Syrian Arabic, see Barthélemy 1935-55:113 *ğā'idīye* "voyou, homme de la populace"; cf. Denizeau 1960:83, Frayha 1973:27 and Abū Sa'd 1987:249.

16. ĆALABĪ "polite and elegant; Egyptians use it for someone born in Egypt whose father is a Turk". Turkish loan word: *çalabi* "gentle, gentleman (obsol.)" (Baskakov et al. 1977:178). It occurs also in Syrian Arabic as *çalabi*/*şalabi* "beautiful, lovely, nice" (Barthélemy 1935-55:137 and el-Massarani & Segal 1978:141, 284).

17. ĤARĀĠ "the word used by an auctioneer (*dallāl*) on the market opening an auction e.g. in the phrase *ħarāġ 'alā l-faḥ*". Spiro 1895:169 *ħarāġ mazād* "auctioneer's cry". Wahrmund 1898 I, 499 *ħarraġa* "zur Versteigerung, zum Ausverkauf rufen; versteigern, ausverkaufen"; I, 497 *ħarāġ* "Ausverkauf, auch Ruf des Verkäufers". Cf. Lane 1863-93:542 *abraġā* (?), known also in Syria, see Barthélemy 1935-55:149 *ħarāġ* "encan". In Lebanon: Denizeau 1960:104 at least as *ħaraż* "auction" and Frayha 1973:33. Turkish *harç* "loss, expense", see Baskakov et al. 1977:385. Abū Sa'd 1987:207.

18. ĤASWAK "to pretend to be busy". Spiro 1895:136 *ħaswik* "to potter about, fumble"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:207 *ħaswik* "to be picknickety, fuss". Cf. Wahrmund 1898 I, 511 *ħasik* "feindselig" (?); cf. Lane 1863-93:569.

19. HĀFŪQA "a large spoon, ladle, dipper, 2. *haffāqa* a restless woman". Spiro 1895:177 *hafaq* "to beat together, mash, palpitate (heart)" Badawi & Hinds 1986:258 "to beat, whip (a liquid), 2. to palpitate (heart)". Cf. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* 1213 ff., Lane 1863-93:774 and Wahrmund 1898 I, 609 *hafaqa*. Cf. Barthélemy 1935-55:210, Frayha 1973:46.
20. DAḤḤ "used by small children to indicate something glittering and shining". Spiro 1895:193 "nice, pretty (children talk)"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:279 (used by children) "good". The same in Lebanese Arabic, see Frayha 1973:51 and Abū Sa'd 1987:113.
21. DAM<sup>ʿ</sup>A "a drink called arrack in our country (i.e. in Syria)". Şabbāğ connects it with *damʿa* "tear, teardrop".
22. RAḤĀṢA v.n., RAḤĪṢ "tender, soft, behaving like a woman". Cf. *rahuṣa* "to be tender, soft, supple" (Wehr 1979:384); Lane 1863-93:1058 id.
23. RAHDALA v.n., MUTARAHDAL (sic!) "untidy, negligent". Spiro 1895:238 *rahdila* "slovenliness, untidiness"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:354 v.n. of *rahdil* "to become flabby, out of shape". Wahrmund 1898 I, 800-801 *tarahdala* "sich anmassend, arrogant benehmen (Egyptian), *rahdala* "Anmassung" (Egyptian). Cf. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* 1750 and *rahdana*, see Wahrmund 1898 I, 801, Lane 1863-93:1169. Cf. Persian *rahdar* "striped" (?), Denizeau 1960:209 *rahdan* "plaisanter, badiner", Frayha 1973:67.
24. ZABLAḤA "audacity in behaviour that is not proper either in speech or in action". Spiro 1895:246 *zablaḥa* "abuse, insolence", *izzablaḥ* "to abuse, revile"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:365 *zablaḥa* "ill-manners insolence, rudeness", *itzablaḥ/izzablaḥ* (jocular, slang) "to be insolent, abusive or rude". Frayha 1973:69 *zaballaḥī*. Dozy 1927:580 *zablaḥa* "sottise".

25. ZABŪN "1. night-shirt in the language of Egyptians". Spiro and Badawi & Hinds do not mention it. Wahrmund 1898 I, 823 *zabŭn* "Unterjacke, Corset" explained as Egyptian. Wehr 1979:433 *zubŭn* "undergarment" explained as "Nejdi, Iraqi"! Barthélemy 1935-55:307 *zbŭn* "bardache, giton, cinède" explains it as a loan from Turkish *zibin* (Baskakov et al. 1977:946) "camisole". Denizeau 1960:215 quoting Cantineau's vocabulary of Palmyra dialect: *zbŭn* "grande robe ouverte par devant".

26. ZANṬARA "haughtiness, sullenness, e.g. in *ṣāhib zantara*". Spiro 1895:257 *izzantar* "to be sullen, haughty", *zantara* "crossness, sullenness, haughtiness". Badawi & Hinds 1986:381 only *zantar*=*izzantar* "to become bloated". Cf. el-Massarani & Segal 1978:242. Wahrmund 1898 I, 849 and 850 *zantara/zantara* "stolzer Gang, Lune, Reizbarkeit", *tazantar/tazantar* "stolz einerschreiten, in heftigen Zorn geraten". Cf. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* 1869; Dozy 1927:607 "caprice". Denizeau 1960:227 quoting Anīs Frayḥa: *tzantar* "avoir une démarche fière, être orgueilleux" and 228 *tzantar* id. Frayḥa 1973:76.

27. ZANN "Egyptians pronounce it like that while Syrians say *nazz*: to deceive". Spiro 1895:256 "to hum grumble"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:383 "to buzz, hum, 2. to whine, nag, pester". Cf. Barthélemy 1935-55:822.

28. ZAYYIḠ "very nice". Spiro 1895:260 *zawwāq* "to adorn, embellish, decorate"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:386 *ziwāq* "making up, putting on cosmetics, 2. make-up, cosmetics, *zawwāq* "to decorate, ornament" (Wahrmund 1898 I, 857, Lane 1863-93:1270 id.). Denizeau 1960:233 (and Barthélemy 1935-55:323) *zayyāq* "to adorn, embellish, decorate".

29. SARRĀĠ "saddler". Spiro 1895:275 *surūġī* "saddler"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:406 id. Perhaps in connection with Syria. Lane 1863-93:1344. Barthélemy 1935-55:340 id., cf. Denizeau 1960:242.

30. SĀNBŪSAK (no comment by Şabbāġ). Spiro 1895:292 *sanbŭsik* "meat patty (of triangular shape)"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:433 *sambuska/*

*sambuksa* (Persian *sanbusāk*) "1. triangular shape, 2. type of sweet pastry formed in triangles". Wahrmund 1898 I, 931 *sanbūsaq*, *sanbūsak*, *sambūsak* "Pastete, Fleischpastetchen; Dreieckiges"; Wehr 1979:506 *sambūsik*, *sambūsak*, *sanbusaq* "triangular meat pie with a wavy bread crust". Rubinchik et al. 1970 II, 59 *sāmbusāk/sāmbuse* id. Occurs also in Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian dialects: Barthélemy 1935-55:361 and Denizeau 1960:255 quoting Bauer, Frayha 1973:86.

31. SANSAFĪL "basis, root, tree stump etc.". Badawi & Hinds 1986:435 and 424 *sansafīl*=*salsafīl* only in *yil'an sansafīl-ak* "curse your whole family tree!", cf. Vial 1983:155 *sansafīl* "lignés, kyriell". The word must be a loan. Any connection with *salsabīl* "Salsabīl – the name of a water source in Paradise"? Cf. Barthélemy 1935-55:361-362.

32. ŠABRAQA (no comment; the word has been added by Buqtur). Cf. Spiro 1895:301 *šabraq* "to feast (children), give (children) a treat"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:449 *šabraq* "to give a treat to". For Syrian Arabic see Barthélemy 1935-55:375 *šabraq* "payer des friandises à (un enfant)", *išabraq* "se payer des friandises; dépenser pour ses menus plaisirs" and cf. *šabraqa* "elegance, smartness" (el-Massarani & Segal 1978:271) and *šabraq* "dépenser, dilapider (son argent)" by Denizeau 1960:267. Cf. also Wahrmund 1898 I, 956 and Wehr 1979:528 *šabraqa* "to tear to pieces", *šabraqatun* "pocket money".

33. ŠAḤṬ "very big, tall man". Badawi & Hinds 1986:453 *šahṭ* "very big and tall (of people)". Cf. Wahrmund 1898 I, 964 *šahata/šahīta* "to be very distant" (Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* 2207). Cf. Barthélemy 1935-55:380.

34. ŠAḤṬATA "to exert oneself". Spiro 1895:304 *šahat* "to strand, strike to the bottom, rub (a match)", *šahṭat* "to drag about from place to place"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:454 *šahṭat* "to drag, lug or send around from place to place", 453 *šahat* "1. to drag, pull tautly (a rope) 2. to tire up tightly, to fit firmly in place". Vial 1983:162 "se déplacer sans cesse". Wahrmund 1898 I, 964 *šahṭat* "entzücken" (Egyptian). Cf. *šahata* "to sur-

pass", Lane 1863-93:1512. Barthélemy 1935-55:380 *şahat* "trainér, tirer par terre", Frayha 1973:91; cf. Denizeau 1960:271.

35. Š- ċ - R: MAŞ'ŪR "feeble-minded". Spiro 1895:314 *maş'ūr* "insane, crazy"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:466 *maş'ūr* "touched, crazy". Barthélemy 1935-55:393 *maş'ūr* "fêlé (cerveau, esprit)". Wehr 1979:554 *maş'ūr* "mad, crazy, idiotic".

36. ŞADĀĠA (added by Buqţur without a comment). Cf. Spiro 1895:335 *şadāġa* "rudeness, impudence, cheek"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:499 *şidġ* "cheek, cheeky". Cf. also Wahrmund 1898 II, 17 *şadāġa* "Schwäche"; Lane 1863-93:1664/1665?

37. ʦAFŞŪNĪ "a man that escapes from his misfortunes and anxieties" (added by Buqţur with this comment). Spiro 1895:368 *taşşūnī* "truant, fugitive"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:541 *tişīş/tafaş* "to run away, flee", verbal adjective *tafiş, taşşān*. Wahrmund 1898 II, 144 *tafaşa* "in eine unbekannte Gegend fliehen", Wehr 1979:657 *tafaşa* "to run away, flee, escape". Barthélemy 1935-55:480 *tafaş* "s'enfuir", Denizeau 1960:331 *tafaş* "errer çà et là", Frayha 1973:113.

38. ʦANTĀNA "celebration, festivity; used only as a noun". Spiro 1895:373 *tantana* "noise, pomp"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:548 *tantan* vn. *tantana* "to make a big fuss over, sing the praises". Wahrmund 1898 II, 162 "klang; Wiederhall; Gemurmel; Gepränge". Barthélemy 1935-55:488 *tantan* "résonner, retentir, faire entendre des sons". Onomatopoeic.

39. ʦITTIR "very strong". Badawi & Hinds 1986:562 *itra* "1. gallant, chivalrous and courageous, 2. strong". Wahrmund 1898 II, 204 *atar* "Kraft, Stärke". Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* 2790-2791. Frayha 1973:116 *itr* "strong, powerful".

40. ʦATRASA (added by Buqţur without a comment). Cf. Spiro 1895:384 *atrassa* "struggle, resistance, stubbornness"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:562

‘*atras*, vn. ‘*atrasa* “to resist, balk”. Wahrmund 1898 II, 204 ‘*atrasa* “etwas heftig, derb und mit Gewalt wegnehmen”, ‘*atras*, ‘*atarras* “kurz und starkgebaut; breitbrüstig”. Ibn Manzūr, *Lisān* 2797. Barthélemy 1935-55: 511 ‘*atras* “se montrer rétif, refuser d’avancer”; cf. Denizeau 1960:343 and Frayha 1973:116.

41. ‘*ARŞ* “pimp”. Cf. Spiro 1895:391 ‘*irsa* “weasel”; Badawi & Hinds 1986:570 ‘*irsa* “1. weasel, 2. malignant and vicious person?”. Vial 1983: 199 ‘*arş* “salaud”. Wahrmund 1898 II, 235: “‘*araşa* “den Kuppler machen”. Cf. Lane 1863-93:2001?, Barthélemy 1935-55:521 ‘*arş* “cocu”, Denizeau 1960:349 and 348, and el-Massarani & Segal 1978:334; Frayha 1973:117 quoting Dozy (cf. 1927 II, 110).

42. ‘*AFARA* (added by Buqţur without a comment). Cf. Spiro 1895:402 ‘*afara* dust; Badawi & Hinds 1986:585 ‘*afara* “cloud of dust”. Cf. Lane 1863-93:2090, also Wahrmund 1898 II, 276 (?), Barthélemy 1935-55:537, Denizeau 1960:356-357.

43. ‘*ILLIQ* “homosexual, behaving like a woman”. Spiro 1895:408 ‘*iliq* “to stick to, hang to” (?), ‘*ilq* “catamite”, *it’alqan* “to have the manners of a catamite, behave in an effeminate manner”; Badawi & Hinds 1986: 592 ‘*ilq* “passive homosexual, faggot”, 594 *it’alqan* “to behave effeminately”. Wahrmund 1898 II, 297 ‘*alaqa* “einem anhänglich sein, ihn lieben”; Lane 1863-93:2132. Barthélemy 1935-55:545 ‘*alq* “individu dépravé, mignon, giton, bardache”; Denizeau 1960:361 ‘*alq* “jeune homme élégant”.

44. ‘*ANTAZA* (added by Buqţur without a comment). Cf. Spiro 1895: 417 ‘*antaza* “haughtiness, arrogance, loftiness”, Badawi & Hinds 1986: 605 ‘*antaza* “arrogance, haughtiness”. Cf. el-Massarani & Segal 1978:350, Barthélemy 1935-55:558 ‘*antaz* “marcher avec fierté, être ridiculement fier” (with an attempt of an etymology!), Frayha 1973:122 id. and Denizeau 1960:365 *mut’antiz* “qui porte le tête haute, fier, orgueilleux, hautain”. Wahrmund 1898 II, 315 “springen wie eine Ziege; stolz werden”.



45. ĠĀTŪRA "threat, menace". Identical with *ḥutūra* "danger, gravity" (Wehr 1979:287). Cf. Spiro 1895:426 *gatwarī* "vulgar, insolent fellow" (Wahrmund 1898 II, 339 *gutr, gaṭara*)?
46. ĠAṬRAŠA "to disregard, shut one's eyes, pretend to know nothing". Spiro 1895:431 *gaṭraša* v.n., *gaṭraš* "to shut one's eye to"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:624 only *gaṭrasa* "arrogance", *itgaṭras* "to act in a lordly way, swagger, strut". Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* 3270 "to become dark, to make invisible". Cf. Wahrmund 1898 II, 355.
47. ĠANDŪR "tidy, elegant, neat". Spiro 1895:436 *gandar* "to adorn", *itgandar* "to be adorned, dandy", *ḡandūr* "dandy, fop, coxcomb"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:632 *ḡandūr* "dandy, fop", *ḡandūra* "cocquette", *itgandar* "to become a dandy". Wahrmund 1898 II, 367 *gundar, ḡundur, ḡundūr* "dick und fett (Jüngling), fader Elegant". Wehr 1979:802 *taḡandara* "to play the dandy", *ḡandūr* "dandy, fop" (Egyptian), *ḡandūra* "pretty, sexy woman". Probably originally *ḡandūr* "fat, thick" (Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* 3306). Barthélemy 1935-55:585 *ḡandūr* "rechercher dans sa mise, d'une élégance affecté, coquet, pimpant", considered to be a loan from Syriac by Frayha 1973:125 and Abū Sa'd 1987:259 following Nahla.
48. FĀLĀTĪ In Egypt: pl. *falātiyya*, "vulgar, very evil, aggressive people". Spiro 1895:464 *falātī* pl. *falātiyya* "debauché, robber". Badawi & Hinds 1986:667 *falātī* "skirt-chaser, womenizer". Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* 3454. Wahrmund 1898 II, 429 *falātī* "Taugenichts". Wehr 1979:849 *falātī*, pl. *falātiyya* (Egyptian) "licentious, wanton, dissolute; debauchee, rake; good-for-nothing, ne'er-do-well". For Lebanese dialects see Denizeau 1960:398 *fallat* "prendre un langage libre, se laisser aller dans ses propos"; *falet* "indécent, débauché, dissolu, pervers", cf. Barthélemy 1935-55:619, class VII.
49. L-Ṭ-Š MALTŪŠ "insane" derived from *lataša*. Spiro 1895:540 *maltūš* "slapped, struck", *inta maltūš 'ala 'aqlak?* "are you mad?"; Badawi &

Hinds 1986:789 *maltūš* "touched in the head". Wehr 1979:1017 and 1018 *laṭasa/laṭaša* "to strike, hit". Wahrmund 1898 II, 900 *maltūš* "geschlagen; launisch; besessen". Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* 4034 and 4033 *laṭasa/laṭata* "to hit, strike", and 4685 *ṭalata* (!); Wehr 1979:1017-1018 *laṭasa/laṭaša* "to strike, hit"; Wahrmun 1898 II, 620 *lataza/lataḡa* "mit der Faust schlagen". Frayha 1973:161 says that this is a loan from Syriac. Barthélemy 1935-55:755 *maltūš* 'ala rāso "hors de lui, distrait"; Denizeau 1960:474-475 *maltūš* "extravagant".

50. MĀ DILLĀ "what a...!" corresponds to MILLĀ derived from *mā illā*. *Millā* is rather Syrian (cf. el-Massarani & Segal 1978:479) but *mā dillā* is explained as Egyptian because of the Egyptian demonstrative *di*. Cf. Badawi & Hinds 1986:809.

51. MU<sup>c</sup>AĞĜĪB "phantastic!, amazing!, yes! (used in Upper Egypt instead of *ma'dan* - see below). Wahrmund 1898 II, 839 *mu'ağġib* "erstaunlich".

52. MA<sup>c</sup>DAN "yes, of course". Spiro 1895:574 *ma'dan* "good, excellent". Badawi & Hinds 1986:568 only in *il-ašya ma'dan* "everything's perfect!" In Upper Egypt *mu'ağġib* (see above) is used instead of *ma'dan*.

53. NAYYAQ "to annoy". Spiro 1895:618 "to bother, annoy", *tanyīq* "bother, annoyance". Cf. Wehr 1979:1186 *nayyīq* "squeamish, finical, fastidious, choosy, dainty, overnice"; *tanawwaqa/tanayyaqa* "to be squeamish, fastidious, dainty".

54. HALBAT "perhaps, probably" of Turkish origin. Spiro 1895:627 *halbatt* (loan word) "perhaps, probably"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:909 perhaps Turkish *helbet* (sic! A.Z.) from Arabic *al-batt* (sic! A.Z.) > "probably, possibly". Barthélemy 1935-55:871 *halbatt* "assurément, certainement". Baskakov et al. 1977:268 *elbette/elbet* "certainly/of course" but this is a loan from Arabic *al-battata* "positively, decidedly" (Wehr

1979:51). Cf. Prokosch 1983 s.v. The initial *hal-* probably indicates Syrian-Lebanese origin.

55. H-Y-Ş: MIHYĀŞ "a man who talks but who doesn't act, who claims to know but doesn't know". Spiro 1895:584 *mabyaş* "to show off, be ostentatious" *mihyāş* "fanfaron, braggadocio"; Badawi & Hinds 1986:920 *mihyāş* "rowdy and raucous person", 839 *mabyaş* "to have a good time, indulge oneself", *mihyāş* "whimsical, capricious". Cf. Wahrmund 1898 II, 1141. Cf. Denizeau 1960:547 *hayyaş* "se réjouir, faire la fête", Frayha 1973:191.

56. YAZĠĪ "Turkish: scribe, used more frequently in Syria than in Egypt". Turkish *yazıcı* "scribe", see Baskakov et al. 1977:919.

It is clear that Şabbāġ concentrated first of all on words which are unusual phonetically (e.g. with four radical consonants) and on obvious loan words. He usually did not consider "normal", frequently used words of Arabic origin being characteristic of the Arabic of Egypt which probably seemed to him too "common" and not worth of mention. Therefore his lexical list gives only a limited idea of the Egyptian Arabic vocabulary of the end of the 18th century and, though sometimes he directly compares Egyptian lexemes with their "Syrian" counterparts, it is not a contrastive lexicon of Egyptian and "Syrian" colloquials. In spite of all the shortcomings Şabbāġ's list is an important source for the historical study of the spoken Arabic lexicon.

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**III/A TERMINOLOGY:  
GENERAL QUESTIONS**





# THE UNIFICATION OF ARABIC SCIENTIFIC TERMS LINGUISTIC TERMS AS AN EXAMPLE\*

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## 1 The Problem

Every scientist knows that one of the requirements of a strict science is a well-defined and agreed-upon terminology. Modern linguistics as understood by most of its practitioners is no exception. But modern Arabic writings dealing with linguistics do not show any conformity or systematicalness in their terminologies. A foreign term might have (in our data up to ten different equivalents. Examples to the point include:

– The word ‘semiotics’ which has been translated as: *‘ilm ar-rumūz, sīmiyūtiyya, sīmiyā’iyya, ‘ilm al-adilla al-lafziyya, ‘ilm al-adilla, ‘ilm as-sīmiyā’, ‘ilm al-‘alāmāt.*

– The word ‘morpheme’ which has been translated as: *mūrfīm, mūrfi-ma, ṣaygam, ṣarfīyya muğarrada, waḥda ṣarfīyya, ṣarfīm, ‘unṣur dāll, dālla nahwiyya, waḥda binyawiyya ṣuğrā*

– And the word ‘phoneme’ which has been translated as: *fūnīm, fūnī-miyya, ṣawtīm, ṣawt muğarrad, ṣawtam, waḥda ṣawtiyya, ḥarf ṣawtī, lā-fiz, mustaswit, waḥda ṣawtiyya ṣuğrā.*

In literature this abundance of words would be considered a bliss but in a particular science as the linguistics science this is a curse. It seems as if no Arab linguist is talking or listening to his colleagues of the art. This is a sad state of affairs since the Arabic language is the

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unifying factor throughout the Arab world and any linguistic disagreement will only relegate it and build a new babel tower that hinders communication between its different parts.

In this research paper we tried to discover the origin (causes) of this diversity and disagreement and if possible, suggest ways of standardizing Arabic linguistic terms.

## 2 Methodology

In collecting our data (upon which the research paper is based) we have based ourselves on four bilingual (either English-Arabic or French-Arabic) and one trilingual (English-French-Arabic) linguistics dictionaries. These are:

1. *A Dictionary of Theoretical Linguistics* (English-Arabic with an Arabic-English Glossary) and its cognate *A Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* (English-Arabic with an Arabic-English Glossary) by Mohammad Ali Al Khuli (1982, 1986).

2. *A Dictionary of Modern Linguistic Terms* (English-Arabic and Arabic-English) compiled by a committee of Arab linguists (1983).

3. *Dictionnaire de linguistique* (French-Arabic and Arabic-French) by Abdessalem Mseddi (1984).

4. *Dictionnaire de linguistique* (French-Arabic with an alphabetical list of Arabic terms) by Bassam Baraké (1984).

5. *Unified Dictionary of Linguistic Terms* (English-French-Arabic) by the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (1989).

For simplicity's sake, these dictionaries will be subsequently referred to (in their given order) as dictionary N°1, dictionary N°2, etc. They have been selected on the basis of the following considerations:

1. The first dictionary draws on the Anglo-saxon linguistic terminology and gives full explanations in Arabic with, sometimes, examples besides the Arabic equivalent term, or as it frequently happens, the equivalent terms. The dictionary also contains a bibliography and many

appendices. It is supplemented by *A Dictionary of Applied Linguistics* by the same author.

2. The second dictionary also draws on the Anglo-saxon terminology. It is characterized by the heavy reliance on arabizing English terms (e.g.: *mūrf*, *brāgmātī*, *simīm*, *fūnīm*).

It has brief definitions, but useful as these are, they remain what they are, i.e. definitions or summary explanations but not labels. E.g.:

phoneme: *al-fūnīm* (*waḥda ṣawtiyya mumayyaza*)

phonology: *al-fūnūlūḡiyā* (*dirāsat an-nizām as-ṣawtī*)

Finally, the dictionary, which is a collective work, contains a select bibliography of Arabic books in the field of linguistics.

3. The third dictionary draws on the francophone linguistic terminology. Mseddi avoids simply arabizing words and goes to great lengths in deriving Arabic words from already existing roots (e.g.: *ṣaklam*, *ṣayḡam*, *waqī'a*, *ṣawtamīyya*, *ṣayḡamīyya*). But the terms he suggests are far from being generally accepted. The dictionary contains a long and comprehensive introduction about terminology.

4. The fourth dictionary provides, sometimes, brief explanations and frequently cites more than one equivalent to a French term. Sometimes, it also provides the context. Furthermore, it contains a bibliography about Arabic, French and bilingual dictionaries besides works of linguistics written in the two cited languages.

5. The fifth dictionary is trilingual. It avoids simply arabizing words and too frequently has recourse to compound words often providing more than one Arabic equivalent to a foreign term.

Since the *Unified Dictionary* is the most recently published of those in our list of dictionaries and emanates from a high authority: the Coordination Bureau of Arabization of the Arab League Educational Cultural and Scientific Organization, we think it convenient to provide here a few additional remarks: According to the compilers of the dictionary, their policy in unifying (linguistics) terms was based on the following criteria:

- preferring the Arabic term to loan words,
- frequency of use,

- singularity of composition,
- easiness of production,
- and the productive nature of the word (*Unified Dictionary*, 8).

But the compilers have, sometimes, failed in their own policy; in the sense that one can find 'better' terms in other (previous) dictionaries which, it seems, have been totally ignored by the compilers. Examples from our data include:

acoustics	'ilm al-aṣwāt al-fīziyā'i
competence	al-malaka al-luġawiyya
lexicology	dirāsat al-mufradāt
morph	ṣūrat ad-dālla, ad-dālla al-mit'āliyya
morpheme	'unsur dāll, dālla nahwiyya
phoneme	wahda ṣawtiyya, ḥarf ṣawtī
phonology	aṣ-ṣawtiyyāt al-waẓīfiyya
pragmatics	dirāsa isti'māliyya, brāgmātiyya
semiotics	'ilm al-adilla, 'ilm as-sīmiyā'
stylistics	'ilm al-uslūb
syntax	mustawā t-tarākīb, dirāsat at-tarākīb

(none of which is compositionally single and have been rendered by others using single words); and 'tagmemics' (which is arabized in the dictionary but has been better translated<sup>1</sup> by others as *mawqi'iyya* or *qawālibiyya* using an Arabic word); and 'utterance' together with 'sentence' both of which have been translated as *kalām*:

utterance	<i>kalām, ḥadīṭ</i>
sentence	<i>ḡumla, kalām</i>

Of course, it is far from our intention to claim that these are the only lexicographical works touching upon Arabic linguistic terminology. One might mention, for instance, the contributions of: Zakariyā (1980, 1984), as-Saġrūšnī (1984), al-Fahrī (1986), al-Ḥamzāwī (1987).

Needless to say that if one were to broaden the scope of this research to other fields than linguistics then the list of contributors would

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<sup>1</sup> 'Better', i.e. according to their own criteria which are, by the way, fairly agreed upon.

be even longer. It is our hope that the reader will enjoy the excursion in the five dictionaries.

In order to determine the degree of agreement among Arab linguists (as represented by the five dictionary writers) we have originally chosen 60 key (basic) terms (ignoring for the moment their derivatives), all of them found in modern linguistics. In this task we relied on our own intuitions and judgements about the frequency, representativeness and/or importance of linguistic terms. These judgments have been further defined and tested by referring to two glossaries contained in introductory textbooks<sup>2</sup>. Of these linguistic terms, we have excluded 8 terms that, we thought, were well known in traditional Arabic linguistics and have retained their old meanings without any substantial change in modern writings. Thus we ended by having 52 key linguistics terms. We thought that a too systematic method of collecting data<sup>3</sup> would not have necessarily touched upon the important issues that we would like to raise in the paper.

It is our intention to consider the equivalent Arabic terms suggested by these dictionaries. Putting the list of dictionaries consulted here on a horizontal axis and the list of linguistics terms on a vertical axis and filling in the spaces with appropriate terms we ended by having a chart like the following:

	dictionary 1	dictionary 2	dictionary 3	dictionary 4	dictionary 5
Term 1					
Term 2					
etc.					

<sup>2</sup> These are: Akmajian et al. 1984; and Todd 1984.

<sup>3</sup> Such an investigator might, for instance, consider a number of different glossaries and extract the most recurrent terms.

The complete table is reproduced as appendix 1. Here it is sufficient to inform the reader that the following conventions have been observed in the chart:

- The Arabic definite article has been omitted from the Arabic entries whenever possible and so have been, most of the time, the explanations accompanying the suggested equivalents.
- A dash indicates the lack of the English or French entry in the relevant dictionary and consequently the lack of an Arabic equivalent linguistic term.
- It goes without saying that a dictionary frequently gives more than one equivalent (or in this case a synonym) to a foreign entry. It also happens that of two suggested synonyms one might be compound and the other single or one arabized and the other derived, etc.
- Finally, it should be mentioned that the chart refers to only 'basic' terms. We have made this distinction between 'basic' and 'related' terms because it is our intention to handle all related terms by rules so that once a basic term is known (all) related terms can be deduced automatically. (See section 3.2.)

### *3 Analysis*

In order to determine the level of standardization of linguistic terms (i.e. agreement among Arab linguists as far as their terminology is concerned), we considered the recurrence of terms in the five dictionaries from which our data are taken. In order to simplify the analysis we have grouped the findings into cases of total agreement among Arabic linguistics dictionaries (the foreign term has the same suggested Arabic term in all linguistic dictionaries consulted here) and cases of partial agreement in which a term occurs in a number of dictionaries but not in all of them. Cases of partial agreement have been further divided into four types: occurrence in 4 dictionaries, occurrence in 3 dictionaries, occurrence in 2 dictionaries and unique occurrence. The results are as follows:

Cases of total agreement	Cases of partial agreement			Unique occurrence
	Occurrence in 4 dictionaries	Occurrence in 3 dictionaries	Occurrence in 2 dictionaries	
5 instances	8 instances	24 instances	40 instances	145 instances

The above table is not difficult to read. It shows that we have recorded:

- Only 5 cases of total agreement.
- 8 cases of terms occurring in four dictionaries,
- 24 cases of terms occurring in 3 dictionaries,
- 40 cases of terms occurring in 2 dictionaries,
- and 145 terms occurring in only one of the four dictionaries<sup>4</sup>. The results come as a surprise. We knew there was little agreement among Arab linguists on their terminology, but we could not guess at the figures.

### 3.1 *Why this Babel?*

In our opinion, this disagreement and chaos is due to the diversity of methods used in arabizing (the term is used here in a general sense) scientific terminology: For instance a number of methods are available to the lexicographer for forming new words.

The various methods of forming words in Arabic as represented by the five dictionaries can be seen in appendix N<sup>o</sup>2. This latter shows that

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<sup>4</sup> This shows the great number of synonyms that are suggested by each dictionary. Compare an imaginary situation where there is no instance of agreement and where each dictionary provides one translation equivalent term, then the total number of words suggested by all dictionaries would be 260 ( $52 \times 5 = 260$ ). An irredeemable situation indeed.

dictionary N°5 scored the highest number of compounded words<sup>5</sup> and the highest percentage: There are 40 recorded instances, representing a percentage of 57.97% of the total number of suggested Arabic equivalents in that dictionary to the basic 52 foreign words. Dictionary N°3 has scored the lowest number of instances of compounding and the lowest percentage.

As for giving a specific meaning to a general term the highest score is found in dictionary N°4: There are 21 instances representing a percentage of 25.92. The lowest score is found in dictionary N°5.

As for derivation the highest score is found in dictionary N°3: There are 17 instances representing a percentage of 36.17%. The lowest score is found in dictionary N°2.

As for arabization the highest score is recorded in dictionary N°2. There are 10 instances representing a percentage of 17.24 of the total number of suggested Arabic words. The lowest score is recorded in dictionary N°3 and N°5. There is only one instance of arabization in each of these dictionaries.

As for translating words literally (this process is frequently resorted to when the foreign word is compound as in 'complementary distribution', 'free variation', 'deep structure', 'defective distribution' etc.) the scores are roughly close together.

Finally one ought to mention that 'coining' new words or fetching words in the Arabic (linguistic) heritage are insignificant processes of word-formation in the dictionaries consulted here.

The conclusion to be drawn from this is that (apart from literal translation) there are no guidelines as for using one method or another for forming new words. It is a matter that is left for the general disposition of the lexicographer. For instance, dictionary N°1 relies on compounding and giving a specific meaning to a general term; dictionary N°2 relies on compounding, giving a specific meaning to a general term and arabizing; dictionary N°3 on derivation and giving a specific

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<sup>5</sup> Sometimes it is difficult to distinguish a compound word from a (full) explanation. We take a sequence of words as a compound word whenever the single word is missing.



meaning to a general term; dictionary N°4 on compounding and giving a specific meaning to a general term and, finally, dictionary N°5 relies heavily on compounding.

### 3.2 Key terms and related terms

The relationship between key terms and related terms can be exemplified by the relationship existing between, for instance, 'acoustics' and 'acoustic', 'stylistics' and 'stylistic', 'functionalism' and 'functionalist', 'morphology' and 'morphological', etc.

Quite naturally, words with a common stem are related in one way or another and this relation, quite expectedly, should be retained in the Arabic language. This is not always the case in the dictionaries consulted here. For instance, we have (Al Khuli, 1982):

acoustic	<i>fīziyā'ī</i>
acoustic features	<i>simāt fīziyā'īyya</i>
acoustic phonetics	<i>'ilm al-aswāt al-fīziyā'ī</i>
acoustic properties	<i>ḥāssiyya sam'īyya, ḥāssiyyāt fīziyā'īyya</i>
acoustics	<i>'ilm as-sam'īyyāt</i>
acoustic structure	<i>tarkīb sam'ī, tarkīb fīziyā'ī</i>

But this is totally unsatisfactory. After having suggested *fīziyā'ī* an equivalent to 'acoustic', the reader discovers that acoustic can also be rendered as *sam'ī*. In fact, acoustic simply means 'related to acoustics' (i.e. that branch of knowledge concerned with the scientific study of sound). Furthermore, 'acoustic properties' are not exactly the same as 'auditory properties' just as 'acoustic phonetics' is not the same as 'auditory phonetics'<sup>6</sup>.

Another example illustrating this time the lack of precision in providing equivalents is the following: Both 'phonetic' and 'phonological' have been rendered in Arabic as *ṣawtī* (*Unified Dictionary of Linguistic Terms*). But any student of linguistics would tell you that 'phonetic' is

<sup>6</sup> For other examples of failing to preserve the 'word family' see Halil 1987:44-46, 56-57.

related to 'phonetics' and 'phonological' is related to 'phonology' and these two branches of linguistics are quite different! A phonetic approach is not a phonological approach.

Finally, it is clear that in order to preserve the 'semantic family' and the 'derivational family' of a word we need not only an alphabetical general dictionary of linguistics but also, and primarily, an encyclopedic dictionary where related terms are explained in relation to each other and in relation to other words in the same 'semantic family' (Halil 1987:64).

### 3.3 *What makes the standardization of Arabic linguistic (and scientific) terms so difficult?*

In this paper, it has been suggested that the difficulty is not political or geographical (e.g. vast territories of land and diverse political systems) but one of linguistic choice when sound scientific methods of arabization are lacking. It is not difficult to find or coin new words equivalent to the foreign words; the Arabic language is capable of change and innovation and this facilitated by its many roots, diverse derivational forms and various methods of word-formation. It seems as if the Arabic language is doomed to have several words for the same entity.

Quite surprisingly, Arabic terminologies are frequently characterized by various dualities: duality of Arabic and arabized terms (e.g. *hātif* - *tilifūn*, *mirqāb* - *tiliskūb*, *šurtī* - *būlis*, etc); duality of terms derived from French and terms derived from English (e.g.: *azūt* - *nītrūḡīn*, *īdz* - *sīdā*); duality of single and compound words (e.g. *miḡrār* - *miḡyās al-ḡarāra*); duality of dialectal and 'formal' words (e.g.: *bāṣ* - *ḡāfila*); etc. There are plenty of words to choose among them, but it is difficult to get people agree about them. When the Arabs will be active contributors in the field of scientific research and not only consumers, the terminological difficulty will disappear: People recognize terms put forward by the inventors as they recognize the invention itself.

The suggestions for unifying Arabic scientific terms are many, but they often disagree or contradict each other. The Arabic lexicographer

faced with a new word (i.e. a new concept from a foreign language) would first try to find an equivalent one from the Arabic lexemes (roots) and then proceed to make the necessary derivational operations, e.g.:

plane → *tāra* → name of the agent (*fā'il*) → *tā'ira*

radio → *adā'a* → name of the instrument → (*mif'āl*) → *midyā'*

laboratory → *ihtabara* → name of the place of action → *muhtabar*

But if he does not find an appropriate root, this makes his job a bit more difficult for him, and it is at this stage that he is faced with a number of alternative solutions and he has no preference for one or another since his main task is to find an equivalent word, in whatever way, to the foreign one.

With so many Arab (and foreign) specialists working in the same field – each one of them well acquainted with foreign sources (the matter is even worse when these sources disagree among themselves) but none of them listening to his fellow Arab specialists, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to get a standardized scientific terminology in Arabic. Needless to say that the number of people and organizations involved in arabizing terms and the diversity of their convictions, aims and methods make the unification even more difficult to obtain.

The best thing that can be done by language academies and specialized institutions is not putting forward terms that may not be acceptable to everyone (anyway, a translator or writer cannot wait for someone else to provide him with newly formed equivalent words) but acting as a judge or referee towards the numerous terms advanced by the translators and terminologists and providing these people with guidelines and 'rules' – only by acting so can these institutions retain their credibility and integrity. Still, one has to admit that only time will show what terms will survive and what terms will vanish.

What is needed, then is not a word-for-word translation of European scientific and cultural terms as need arises in a random and unsystematic way but an accepted general framework that allows the formation of new words like that based and Greek affixes in European

languages for instance. In what follows I will try to suggest such a framework meant mainly for the basic linguistic terms.

### 3.4 Some suggested ideas

3.4.1 Systematically render words with the affix 'ology' and '-mics' (having the meaning of 'the study of') as *-yā'*; e.g.:

lexicology	<i>mu'ğamiyā'</i>
morphology	<i>şarfiyā'</i>
morphophonemics	<i>şarfuşawtiyā'</i>
phonology	<i>sawtiyā'</i>
semiology	<i>sīmiyā'</i>

(on the analogy of Arabic words such as *kīmiyā'* and *fīziyā'*.)

3.4.2 Systematically render words with the affix '-tics' as *-yāt*; e.g.:

acoustics	<i>şam'iyyāt</i>
linguistics	<i>lisāniyyāt</i>
phonetics	<i>sawtiyyāt</i>
pragmatics	<i>dar'i'iyāt</i>
semantics	<i>dalāliyyāt</i>
semiotics	<i>sīmiyā'iyyāt</i>
stylistics	<i>ustūbiyyāt</i>

3.4.3 Systematically render words with the affix '-ism' as *-iyya*; e.g.:

functionalism	<i>waz'ifiyya</i>
generativism	<i>tawlīdiyya</i>
structuralism	<i>binyawiyya</i>
transformationalism	<i>tahwīliyya</i>

3.4.4 Systematically render words with the affix '-eme' as *-īm*; e.g.:

morpheme	<i>şarfiīm</i>
phoneme	<i>şawtiīm</i>
sememe	<i>sīmiīm</i>

3.4.5 Systematically render words with the affix '-ist' as *-iyya* or *-ī*; e.g.:

functionalist grammar	<i>nahw waz'ifi</i>
generativist approach	<i>muqāraba tawlīdiyya</i>
structuralist approach	<i>muqāraba binyawiyya</i>

3.4.6 Systematically render words with the affix '-ic' as *-ī* or *-iyya*; i.e.: in forming a relative adjective to a word having plural morphology in Arabic relate to the singular form of that word; e.g.:

ethnolinguistic/	<i>aṭnūlisānī</i>
ethnolinguistics	<i>aṭnūlisāniyyāt</i>
linguistic	<i>lisānī</i>
phonetic	<i>ṣawtī</i>
pragmatic	<i>darī</i>
psycholinguistic	<i>sīkūlisānī</i>
semantic	<i>dalālī</i>
semiotic	<i>sīmīyā</i>
sociolinguistic	<i>sūsiyūlisānī</i>
stylistic	<i>uṣlūbī</i>

N.B. Exceptionally 'acoustic' is rendered as *sam'iyyātī* / *sam'iyyātiyya* in order to avoid confusion with 'auditory': *sam'ī* / *sam'iyya*

3.4.7 Systematically render words with the affix '-logical' as *-yā*'i; e.g.:

morphological	<i>ṣarfīyā</i> 'i
phonological	<i>ṣawtīyā</i> 'i

3.4.8 Admit coined words as these are shorter and more specific; e.g.:

ethnolinguistics	<i>aṭnūlisāniyyāt</i>
psycholinguistics	<i>sīkūlisāniyyāt</i>
sociolinguistics	<i>sūsiyūlisāniyyāt</i>

3.4.9 Systematically render the affix 'allo-' as *mutaḡayyir*; e.g.:

allomorph	<i>mutaḡayyir ṣarfī</i>
allophone	<i>mutaḡayyir ṣawtī</i>

3.4.10 Systematically render the affix '-logist' having the meaning of 'a specialist in' as *-yā*'i; e.g.:

phonologist	<i>aṣ-ṣawtīyā</i> 'i
morphologist	<i>aṣ-ṣarfīyā</i> 'i

(Confusion with the adjectival form is cleared up by the use of the definite article.)

On considering further data we can formulate the following additional guidelines:

3.4.11 Systematically render words with the affix '-ity' as *-iyya*; e.g.:

acceptability *maqbuliyya*

readability *maqrū'iyya*

3.4.12 Systematically render words with the affix '-er' or '-or' using the form of *ism al-fā'il*; e.g.:

binder *rābit*

governor *'āmil*

3.4.13 Systematically render words with the affix '-ee' using the form of *ism al-maf'ūl*; e.g.:

bindee *marbūt*

3.4.14 Systematically render words with the affix 'un-' as *lā-*; e.g.:

unacceptable *lāmaqbul(a)*

unacceptability *lāmaqbuliyya*

as in *lāmaqbuliyyat al-ḡumla nahwiyyan*

(with the possibility of preceding it with the definite article, e.g.: *al-lāmaqbuliyya*.)

3.4.15 While translating the affix '-able', choose one of the most convenient following options:

a. *al-fi'l al-mudārī' al-mabnī li-l-maḡhūl* as in:

readable *yuqra'* (as in 'This text is readable' *hādā n-nass yuqra'*)

which is different from *hādā nass maqrū'*

writable *yuktab*

b. *ism al-maf'ūl* as in:

acceptable *maqbul*

reliable *mawṭūq bihi*

3.4.16 Systematically render words with the affix '-al' as *-ī*, or *-iyya*; e.g.:

bilabial *šafatānī*

(N.B. the possibility of relating to the dual as well as to the plural and the singular)

derivational *ištiqāqī*

glottal *ḡanḡarī*

grammatical *nahwī*

inflectional *taṣrīfī*

palatal *ḡārī, ḡanakī*

labial *šafawī*

3.4.17 Systematically render words with the affix 'ed' using the form of *ism al-maf'ūl*; e.g.:

labialized	<i>mušaqqa</i>
rounded	<i>mudawwar</i>
voiced	<i>mağhūr</i>

### 3.5 Two systems of morphology or one?

As stated before, what is needed is a framework based, on the one hand, on *awzān al-muštaqqāt* and, on the other hand, on a system of affixation like that of European languages for instance. Of course, we are not calling for the projection of the above mentioned system into Arabic in any haphazard way. We acknowledge the specificity of each language and its particular way of representing reality and forming words (Halīl 1987:32-33). We also acknowledge the fact that some languages are concatenative whereas others are non-concatinative such as Arabic where derivation is the primary word-formation process (Mseddi 1984: 38-39). But given the fact that the number of word-patterns in Arabic is limited in number and incongruous either in number or in meanings with the prefixes and suffixes used in scientific terms we are led to wonder: how many word-patterns do we need? Ideally, and for the sake of the singularity of scientific terms, each meaningful affix should correlate with a word-pattern in Arabic at least in the context of the arabization of scientific terms. In fact, this is what has been advocated by some linguists when they call for devoting word-patterns to specific meanings (i.e. *taḥṣīṣ aṣ-ṣiyag̃*) such as devoting the form *fi'āla* to a craft or science as in *ṣiwāta* and *ṣirāfa*, that is to say, in other words, equating the form with the suffix '-ology'. Others think it necessary to increase the number of word-patterns (*ziyādat aṣ-ṣiyag̃*)<sup>7</sup>.

From the most cursory view it becomes clear that with so few recognized regular word-patterns in Arabic (*awzān qiyāsiyya*), one cannot, obviously, equate all the senses carried by the suffixes and prefixes used

<sup>7</sup> For a brief discussion see for instance al-Idrīsī, *Iṣtiqāq* 119-120.

in the formation of scientific terms with word patterns – otherwise a particular word-pattern such as *al-masdar aš-šinnā'ī* might have up to 7 senses. In our data it renders the following affixes (-ics, -ology, -eme, -ism, -graphy, -ist, -ity);

-ics: as in	stylistics	<i>uṣlūbiyya</i>
	pragmatics	<i>dirā'iyya</i>
-ology: as in	semiology	<i>'alāmiyya</i>
	morphology	<i>ṣaygamiyya</i>
-eme: as in	phoneme	<i>fūnīmiyya</i>
	morpheme	<i>ṣarfīyya muğarrada</i>
-ism: as in	functionalism	<i>wazīfiyya</i>
	structuralism	<i>binyawiyya</i>
-graphy: as in	lexicography	<i>qāmūsiyya</i>
-ist: as in	structuralist approach	<i>muqāraba binyawiyya</i>
-ity: as in	acceptability	<i>maqbuliyya</i>

In our framework (of translation) it indicates three senses (the -ity notion, the -ist notion and the -ism notion) – one of which simply coincides with the usual way of forming *an-nisba*.

With such a state of affairs, obviously, the word-pattern has lost all meanings. It is clear, then, that we are faced with two options: either to increase the number of regular word-patterns or to adopt a system of affixes.

In fact, there is no major difference between these two systems. For instance, is the form *fa'līm* as in *ṣarfīm* and *ṣawtīm* a new word-pattern or is it a root + suffix? (The same thing applies to the form *fa'liyā'* and *fa'liyyāt* as in *ṣarfīyā'* and *ṣawtiyyāt*). We are, rather, inclined to think of such forms as consisting of root plus suffix – at the cost of having a dual system of morphology because it allows the formation of new words from quadriliteral words and more.

Of the Greek and Latin roots commonly used in the construction of scientific and technical terms as prefixes and suffixes, Ahmad Sh. Al-Khatib has listed 243 such affixes in his *A New Dictionary of Scientific and Technical Terms* (1971, 1982). Of these, we have subtracted 57 as the most commonly used in linguistics. We felt it necessary to provide



translations (even tentative as these are) and examples of these affixes because these latter ones are, sometimes, at the very basis of the systematicalness of a science as can be seen in the following examples:

phonology → phone → phoneme → allophone  
 morphology → morph → morpheme → allomorph  
 intonation → tone → toneme → allotone  
 graphology → graph → grapheme → allograph

In the absence of a recognized and unified translation of the affixes no unification of Arabic scientific terms can be achieved. What happens is that the same prefix or suffix will be translated in various ways as in the following examples with the prefix 'allo-' (with the meaning of a contextually determined variant):

allophone *ṣawtam ta'āmuli* (Mseddi's dictionary)  
 allosème *ma'nam siyāqī* (Mseddi's dictionary)  
 allophone *mutaḡayyir ṣawtī* (Al Khuli's dictionary)  
 allophone *badal ṣawtī* (*Unified Dictionary*)  
 allophone *badīl ṣawtī* (Baraké's dictionary)

The analysis of the Greek and Latin roots just discussed above revealed that it may be possible to find equivalents (unified translations) of those that have acquired the status of scientific (linguistic) affixes, such as allo-, -eme, etc. But this is not possible for those affixes that are also part of everyday language (i.e. those that do not have a single specific meaning). We call the first type systematic affixes and the second type non-systematic affixes.

As an example of a systematic affix we have 'pro', e.g.:

pro-locative	<i>badīl makānī</i>
pro-adjective	<i>badīl an-na't</i>
pro-constituent	<i>al-mukawwin al-badīl</i> or <i>badīl al-mukawwin</i>
pro-verb	<i>badīl al-fīl</i>

(with the exception of pro-noun *\*badīl al-ism ay aḡ-ḡamīr*. The exception is due to the fact that the word *ḡamīr* has already been used.)

As an example of a non-systematic affix we have 'dis-', e.g.:

displaced language	<i>luḡa muzāḡa</i>
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displaced speech	<i>al-kalām ‘alā ġayr al-ḥādir</i>
disambiguate	<i>izālat al-ġumūd</i>
displacement	<i>ibdāl makānī, izāḥa</i>
dissimilation	<i>mubāyana, taḥāluḥ</i>
discontinuous	<i>munfaṣil, mutaḡazzi’</i>

#### 4 Conclusion

Obviously, one advantage of such a ‘system’ of translating scientific terms is that words with a similar form in, let’s say English, carrying within themselves a shared meaning will retain, when translated, a similar form. E.g.:

morph-eme	<i>mūrfīm</i>
phon-eme	<i>ṣawtīm</i>
sem-eme	<i>sīmīm</i>

(‘eme’: the smallest unit of morphological, phonological, and semiotic analysis.) In this way, the lexicographer knows before hand that a word with ‘eme’ will be translated as *-īm*; a word ending with ‘-tics’ will be translated as *-yāt*, and a word ending with ‘-ology’ will be translated as *-yā’*, etc.

What ought to be stressed here is that this is not simply a matter of form, it is rather part of the systematicalness of the linguistic science as we explained before.

Furthermore, with this system we can, sometimes, improve on foreign terminologies. For instance, we can make irregular forms in other languages regular in Arabic. E.g.:

phonology (the study of the rules governing the way sounds are combined to form words in a language): *ṣawtiyā’*  
 but syntax (the study of the rules governing the way words are combined to form sentences in a language): *tarkībīyā’*

A final word: In this paper, we have started by considering the terminological stocks suggested by five dictionaries. These have provided us with a corpus and a stimulus but, on the basis of certain considerations, we have ended by suggesting our own terminology.

APPENDIX I

Some Basic Linguistics Terms and their Arabic Equivalents

	AL KHULI	COMMITTEE	MSEDDI	ARAB LEAGUE	BARAKĒ
1. acoustics	'ilm as-samiyyāt	akūstikā, 'ilm as-sawt (al-fiziyā'i) allumūrf	samiyyāt šaklam	'ilm as-sawt al-fiziyā'i badal šarfī	'ilm as-samiyyāt badil šarfī, badil šaklī
2. allomorph	allumūrf, mutağayyir dalā'i	allūfūn	šawtam tā'ammulī	badal šawtī (wağb adā')	badil šawtī aw lafzī
3. allophone	allūfūn, mutağayyir sawtī	ħubsa	ħubsa	ħubsa	ħubsa, ufaz, 'ıyy
4. aphasia	ħubsa	mumātala, tamā'ul	idğām	taqrīb (šawtī), mušakala	idğām, muğawara, mumātala
5. assimilation	mumātala	tabwīl fī n-nizām ar. ramzī	—	tabwīl al-wağf	—
6. code-switching	tabawwul luğawī	qudra, kefāya (luğawıyya)	qudra	malaka luğawıyya	kefāya (luğawıyya), maqdıra (luğawıyya)
7. competence	maqdıra (luğawıyya)	tawzī' takāmulī	tawzī' takāmulī	tā'āqub bi-t-tamāfī	tawzī' takāmulī
8. complementary distribution	tawzī' takāmulī	šāmit, ħarf	ħarf	šāmit, ġamid istiğraq // nāqis	šāmit tawzī' // nāqis
9. consonant	šāmit, ħarf, šāmit	tawzī' nāqis	tawzī' nāqis	—	—
10. defective distribution	—	šā'it murakkaḅ	ħaraka muzdawwiġa	mušawwit muzdawwiġ	šā'it muzdawwiġ, šā'it tūnā'i
11. diphthong	šā'it, šā'it tūnā'i	—	—	—	—

12. distinctive feature(s) *sima mumayyiza* *malāmih mumayyiza* *sima tamyizīyya* *sigāt mumayyiza* *sima mumayyiza, muḥāriqa*
13. ethnolinguistics *‘ilm al-luġa al-atnūli- ġī, ‘ilm al-luġa al-irqī taġġuyur hurr* *‘ilm al-luġa al-atnūliġī lisāniyyāt aġnāsīyya* *lisāniyya irqīyya, lisāniyya atnūliġīyya*
14. free variation — *hurrīyyat at-tawāruḍ* *tabaddul ġā’iz, tanawwuf adā’i* *hurrīyyat al-wuqū‘/al-wurūḍ, taġġuyur/tabaddul hurr*
15. glottal/glottis *ħanġari / mizmār, zardama* *ħanġari / mizmār* *ħanġari / mizmār, zardama, ħanġari / zardama, mizmār, fī l-ħanġara*
16. idiolect *labġa fardīyya, lukna* *namaṭ fardī* *labġa fardīyya*
17. immediate constituent(s) *mukaawwināt mubašira* *mukaawwin ewwadī* *mukaawwin mubašir*
18. jargon (= argot) *raṭāna* *raṭāna* *raṭāna, urġa*
19. lexicography *šinā’at muġamīyya* *qāmīsiyya* *šinā’at al-muġam* *muġamīyyāt*
20. lexicology *‘ilm al-mufradāt* *dirāsāt al-mufradāt* *‘ilm al-mufradāt, liġza*
21. linguistics *‘ilm al-luġa* *lisāniyyāt* *‘ilm al-luġa, lisāniyya, al-suniyya*
22. minimal pair(s), minimal contrast *taqābul ašġar, tunā’iyya suġrā* *azwoġ duryā*
23. morph *mūrḥ* *tasakul* *mūrḥ, waħda biryawiyya*
24. morpheme *mūrḥim, mūrḥima, saḥḥiyya muġarrada,* *mūrḥim, waħda biryawiyya suġrā*

25. morphology	šarḥim 'ilm as-šarf	'ilm as-šarf, biryat al-kalima	seygamīyya	'ilm as-šarf	'ilm as-šarf
26. morphophoneme	funīm sarḥi	wahda šawīyya · sarḥiyya	_____	harf garbī (wahda šawīyya sarḥiyya)	_____
27. morphophonemics	'ilm al-funīmāt as-šarḥi	'ilm al-ašwāt as-šarḥi	_____	'ilm al-ašwāt as-šarḥi	'ilm ašwāt al-binnā
28. performance	ada'	ada'	ingāz	ada'	ada' / ingāz (lugawī)
29. phone	šawt (kalāmī, lugawī)	šawt kalāmī	šawt	isāla, šawt muḥassal	šawt (kalāmī)
30. phoneme	funīm, funīmīyya, šawt im, šawt muḡarrad	funīm	šawtam	wahda šawīyya, harf šawī (funīm)	funīm, laḥz, muḥassawī, wahda šawīyya šuḡrā
31. phonetics	'ilm al-ašwāt, šawīyyāt	'ilm al-ašwāt (al-luḡa- wīyya)	šawīyyāt	šawīyyāt	'ilm al-ašwāt
32. phonology	'ilm al-funīmāt	funīmūlūḡyā	šawtamīyya	šawīyyāt wazīḥiyya	šawāta, 'ilm wazā'if al-ašwāt
33. phrase	'ibāra, šibbu ḡumla	ta'bīra	munazzam ismī	maḡmū'a, tarkīb	tarkīb
34. phrase structure rules/grammar, rewrite rules	qawā'id at-tarākīb al- 'ibāriyya	naḥw al-bīna an-nizā- mīyya	qā'idat al-istikāb	naḥw tafḥī'i li-l-binnā at-tarkībīyya, qā'idat al-bīna at-tarkībīyya	qawā'id i'adat al-keitāba
35. pragmatics	'ilm ar-rumūz	_____	darā'iyya	dirāsa isti'māliyya/ brāḡmāḥiyya	_____
36. psycholinguistics	'ilm al-luḡa an-naḥsī	'ilm al-luḡa an-naḥsī	lisāniyyāt naḥsiyya	lisāniyyāt naḥsiyya	lisāniyya naḥsiyya, 'ilm al-luḡa an-naḥsī
37. semantics	'ilm ad-dalāla, 'ilm al-mā'āni	'ilm ad-dalāla	dalāliyya	'ilm al-mā'āni	'ilm ad-dalāla (ilm al-mā'āni)
38. sememe	simīm (al-wahda al- muḡarrada li-d-dalāla)	simīm	maḡham	wahda dalāliyya, mā'nā murakkab	maḡham muḡarrada li-d-dalāla)

39. semiology	'ilm ar-rumūz	'ilm ar-rumūz	'alāmiyya	(= semiotics)	sīmiyā', siyāma
40. semiotics	'ilm ar-rumūz	sīmiyūtiyya	sīmiyā'yya	'ilm al-adilla, 'ilm as-sīmiyā'	'ilm ar-rumūz, 'ilm al- 'alāmāt, sīmiyā'yya
41. sociolinguistics	'ilm al-luġa al-iġtimā'i	'ilm al-luġa al-iġtimā'i	lisāniyyāt iġtimā'yya	lisāniyya iġtimā'yya	lisāniyya iġtimā'yya
42. speech act	fil kalāmī	'amal/hadaṭ kalāmī	hadaṭ al-kalām	_____	fil/hadaṭ kalāmī, fil/hadaṭ kalām
43. speech community	ġamā'a luġawiyya	muġtama' kalāmī	ġamā'a luġawiyya	muġtama' kalāmī	ġamā'a luġawiyya, maġmū'a lisāniyya
44. speech therapy	'ilāġ 'uyūb an-nuṭq	'ilāġ an-nuṭq	'ilāġ an-nuṭq	_____	biryya, tarkīb
45. structure	tarkīb, biryya	biryya, tarkīb	biryya	binā', binyya	ustūbiyya,
46. stylistics	'ilm al-asālīb,	'ilm al-uslūb,	uslūbiyya	'ilm al-uslūb	'ilm al-uslūb
	'ilm al-balaġa	uslūbiyya		maqtā'	maqtā'
47. syllable	maqtā'	maqtā'	maqtā'	maqtā' sawi	'ilm an-nabw
48. syntax	'ilm an-nabw; nabw,	nazm al-ġumla	tarkīb	muṣawwa at-tarākīb; dirāsāt at-tarākīb	
	nazm al-kalām,			nizām	nizām, nasuq
	binā' al-ġumla			tagħlīmim	qālib
49. system	nizām	nizām	nizām	kalām, hadiṭ	qawḥ, manṭuqa, 'ibāra, kalām, hadiṭ
50. tagname	qālib	taġmim	waqī'a	muṣawwit	
51. utterance	qawḥ; nuṭq	maniṭiq	maḥfūz		sā'it, muṣawwit
52. vowel	sā'it	sā'it	ḥaraka		

## APPENDIX II

Table of the distribution of the various methods of Arabic word-formation

	Dictionary 1		Dictionary 2		Dictionary 3		Dictionary 4		Dictionary 5	
	Instances	%	Instances	%	Instances	%	Instances	%	Instances	%
Compounding	29	42.64	26	44.82	8	17.02	26	32.09	40	57.97
Giving a new ...	14	20.58	11	18.96	12	25.53	21	25.92	9	13.04
Derivation	8	11.76	4	6.89	17	36.17	12	14.81	7	10.14
Arabization	6	8.82	10	17.24	1	2.12	6	7.40	1	1.44
Translation	8	11.76	7	12.06	7	14.89	10	12.34	9	13.04
Coinage	1	1.47	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heritage	2	2.94	0	0	2	4.25	6	7.40	3	4.34
Total	68		58		47		81		69	

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# THE BEGINNING OF PHONOLOGICAL TERMINOLOGY IN ARABIC

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## 0.00 Preliminaries

Arabic lexicography has been recognized as one of the most productive linguistic traditions, certainly among the early linguistic attempts at language codification. Arabs were fascinated with the words of their language and have been known to produce a plethora of mini-lexica on different topics. They have also been known to have produced comprehensive dictionaries of the language on a large scale. These dictionaries were not mere collections of words or phrases in a haphazard manner, rather the Arabs developed elaborate linguistic schemes for the classification of their lexical items according to norms that reveal a prior analysis of Arabic down to its minor details. One salient feature of Arabic linguistic tradition is that it did not develop its linguistic analyses in isolation, that is, it did not develop its phonology or phonetics as completely autonomous of the other components of the language, nor did it develop its morphology or syntax semi-autonomously. Neither did it develop its lexica in a vacuum. One is struck by the manner in which these linguists integrated the various aspects of language analysis into a coherent system. These same linguists developed their phonetics, morphology, syntax, lexicon in tandem and in a harmonious symbiosis. One can say that they found all aspects of language as part of the integrated whole and wove them into their analyses in a manner that reveals their study and mastery of the language in its wholeness.

Since this presentation is limited to a very small area of Arabic language studies, it will not be possible to go into detail about the intricacies of how the Arabs developed their lexica. (Darwīš, 1956; Hayward, 1965) It is sufficient to say that this study is about the beginnings of this tradition, and its focus is the work of two prominent members

of the Baṣran School of Linguistics who have left us sufficient evidence to warrant a comment on their contributions to the lexicon of phonology in Arabic. It is clear from the literature on Arabic that the design of the system that the Arabs left behind has been transmitted in its wholeness by the subsequent generations of Arabs to us, but it has not been so faithfully rendered in its other presentations, i.e. its translations or its non-native commentaries. The attempt has been, in the interest of clarity and of rendering the Arabic tradition and terminology familiar to non-Arabic readers, to translate or render the concepts as close as possible to the terms of the target language. In the process, the imagery, the relations, the dichotomies and all the effect these terms and concepts have in the source language, have been culturally neutralized and homogenized in the target language so that their originality has been clouded and their uniqueness lost in this process of transmission. One need not distort a tradition in order to understand or make it understood. There is ample evidence that linguists have thrived on diversity even within the same tradition. Let us mention just few examples to illustrate the point that linguists have been respectful of the different approaches to the study of language and have preserved those approaches by accepting their methodologies, their terminologies and their resultant analyses as genuine contributions to the growth of the discipline.

Linguists have not altered the approach to the study of language by the linguists of the Geneva School. Indeed we have Saussurian linguistics in its original format and its original terminology. In addition to all other discussions about the Geneva School, a lexicon for the Saussurian terminology has been drawn up to establish the legitimacy of that tradition. e.g. (Engler, 1968). The same may be said of other versions of the same structuralist tradition as exemplified by the Prague School of linguistics (Vachek, 1960), and the American tradition of linguistics (Hamp, 1957), among others. Even within the same School we are not prone to change one development to accommodate the other as, for example, the various versions of the Prague School developments when one compares the approaches of Nicolai Trubetzkoy (1969), Roman Jakobson (1951) and André Martinet (1960). Even the same term may have

new incarnations within the same school, e.g. the "bilateral opposition" of Trubetzkoy as compared with the "binary opposition" of Jakobson. In more current developments in linguistics, we would not erase the distinction between stratificational (1966), Firthian (1946) or transformational (Chomsky & Halle 1968) approaches to linguistics in the name of simplification or clarity.

The type of tolerance for diversity and respect for the choice of terms and conceptual framework accorded these and other school of thought we want extended to the Arab tradition. It has been the frequent practice among Arabists, both Arabs and non-Arabs, to link the Arab linguistics with some other tradition and in the process of transmitting it, translate it into as close as possible a replica of the purported source(s), whether East or West (Wild, 1962, 1965; Danecki, 1978, 1985; Versteegh, 1977). Even when no explicit mention of the sources of the linguistic tradition for the Arabs are made, often the choice of terminology employed in discussing the contribution of the Arabs to linguistics betrays the writer's belief towards its derivative nature. It is the contention of this presentation that there are elements of this tradition that are genuinely native and show no dependence nor borrowing from any other source except the native genius of its creators. This native creativity we find fully fledged in the very early stages of Arabic linguistic writings in the major centres of language studies of Baṣra, Kūfa and Baġdād of second century of *hiġra*, the eighth century of the common era. One should state at the outset that it is an honour for the Arabs to be associated with such great traditions as that of the classical Greece, or India in any intellectual endeavour, but such a linkage need to be made only on the basis of documentary evidence that forge a recognized commonality among the traditions. Such documentary trail leading to these sources is not plentiful in linguistic matters, it is plentiful, however, in the development of philosophy, medicine, and other disciplines among the Arabs and has been acknowledged by the Arab borrowers, translators, teachers and commentators freely and unabashedly.

## 1.00 al-Ḥalīl

In phonetic and phonological studies Arab creativity was shown in the manner in which they described the sounds of the language, the features they selected for such a description and the oppositions they employed to determine the relationships of the system. To be more focused, the works of al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad al-Farāhīdī (d. 791) and Sibawayhi (d. 793), two Baṣran linguists, are our primary sources. One can not discuss the whole of their output even in a narrow area of linguistics, since they wrote so extensively, but a selection of few basic concepts of phonetics and phonology from these two early pioneers will show their originality and contribution to Arabic linguistics that has all the marks of uniqueness that one associates with native genius.

## 1.10 al-Ḥalīl's Terminology

1.11 *ḥayyiz* / *mahrağ* 'Locale / Exit'

In the description of the letters of Arabic al-Ḥalīl developed his own methodology, and selected his own set of parameters to describe every letter of the Arabic Alphabet. (al-Ḥalīl, *K. al-ʿayn* I, 47-60). These articulatory parameters that he selected are conceptually dissimilar to any other set that we know of. They are genuinely articulatory since they divide the oro-pharyngeal tract into eight discrete areas each called a *ḥayyiz* 'locale' which is "a section set off by itself" (al-Ḥalīl, *K. al-ʿayn* III, 275), and within each locale he ascribed a certain number of the letters of Arabic as their proper production targets each called a *mahrağ* 'exit'. Within this system every letter is assigned its own exit and there is no overlapping of exits among the letters. These two terms, despite their appropriateness, have not been adopted in the literature on phonetics of Arabic, rather, Arabic is described more frequently by the less descriptive terms of point and manner of articulation approach which is foreign to the Arab thinking and tradition.

1.12 *ṣaḥīḥ* / *mu'tall* 'Strong / Weak'

From the description of the each letter, al-Halīl subdivided the inventory of the letters of Arabic into two unequal groups. Those that have locales and exits and those that do not. The letters that have both are the *ṣaḥīḥ* 'strong' letters, and the letters that have neither are the *mu'tall* 'weak' letters. The following chart 1. is based on al-Halīl's analysis.

*Division of Letter by al-Halīl*

Letters			
Strong		Weak	
locale	exit	locale	exit
throat	ʿ, ḥ, h, ḥ, ġ	cavity	w, alif, y, ʾ
uvula	q, k		
soft palate	g, š, ḍ		
apex	š, s, z		
alveolum	ṭ, d, t		
gingiva	z, ṭ, ḍ		
laminum	r, l, n		
lip	f, b, m		

chart 1.

It is not necessary to comment on the divisions of the oro-pharyngeal channel. These divisions are what has become familiar descriptions of sound systems generally. The only warning that one would wish to make is that one need to think in Arab terms of locale / exit and not

in terms of point and manner of articulation. Here locales are distinct from each, and so are the exits. Each Exit is unique to its letter. Exits should not be identified with overlapping points of articulation since they are conceived not as common targets but as individual narrowings along the speech channel.

In addition to the classification of the letters according to locale / exit and strong / weak in the above chart, al-Halīl re-groups some of the letters into more comprehensive classes that go beyond the articulatory production mechanisms to features that they share as shown in chart 2. below:





Not all these features have survived in the transmission, but one can see that attempts were made at broader and broader subclassifications of the letters based on the subdivisions of shared common features.

1.13 *ḍulq, ḍalāqa* 'fluency, eloquence' [r,l,n,f,b,m]

This is a feature that groups together the letters that the natives felt marked fluency and eloquence due to the mobility of the producing organs involved, i.e. at the edges of the organs, and the speed with which such letters may be produced. (al-Ḥalīl, *K. al-ʿayn* V, 134).

1.14 *ṣutm* 'uvular-velar' [q,k,g,ṣ,d]

This is a feature that distinguishes a certain group of letters from the throat letters though close to them (al-Ḥalīl, *K. al-ʿayn* VII, 107).

1.25 *mutbaq* 'covered' [m]

This feature is not fully utilized by al-Ḥalīl and does not include all the covered letters that will be listed in *Sībawayhi*.

1.26 *ṭulq, ṭalāqa* 'free' [ʿ,q]

This is a unique feature, since the occurrence of any of the free letters in a word adds to its beauty and richness of resonance. (al-Ḥalīl, *K. al-ʿayn* I, 53), hence it is for its aesthetic appeal. As he says: "A person of free tongue, the one who is endowed with freedom and eloquence, and a tongue is free and eloquent, that is, continuous" (*ibid.*, V, 102).

1.17 *murtafiʿ* 'high' [q,k,g,ṣ,d,ṣ,t,d,t]

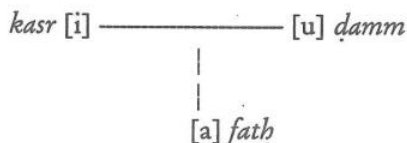
This feature groups together all the letters that make contact with any part of the palate.

In many of these classifications we have features that look not only to the commonality of productions and physiological proximity but features that go beyond physiology to the effect that the presence of

these letters has in the listener and the frequency of their occurrence in words.

### 1.20 *ḥaraka / sukūn* 'motion / stillness'

In the literature this opposition is invariably represented by vowel / consonant opposition respectively. It is obviously a misrepresentation of the concept of this opposition. For the Arab linguists, the primary opposition was that of stillness and motion. "Stillness is the absence of motion" (al-Ḥalīl, *K. al-ʿayn* V, 312). All the letters listed in the above charts are silent letters. They can be set in motion by *fath* 'open [a]' *ḍamm* 'close [u]' or *kasr* 'break [i]'. This opposition is maintained to this day in the Arabic linguistic writings except among those most slavishly imitative of other traditions.



### 2.00 Sībawayhi

It is time to discuss some of Sībawayhi's phonetic / phonological terminology. In many ways, in his treatment, we have a more complete listing of features that will complement his teacher's, and the two will become standard in the discussions and analyses of Arabic. I am taking the contribution of Sībawayhi as complementary to that of his teacher. This harmonious combination of the contributions of the teacher and student makes it necessary to take them as a single system, the totality of whose features are to be drawn from these two sources.

In this section I will only list the features that Sībawayhi treatment adds to that of al-Ḥalīl, and will not repeat the classifications and the descriptions of the letters. This is not to say that the two treatments are identical. They are not. This is not the place to discuss their differences. We only wish to concentrate on the terminology that these two men brought into the sphere of the linguistic phonetics.



In the above chart one notices that the features do not repeat the list of al-Ḥalīl, except for the *mutbaq* 'covered', where al-Ḥalīl listed only [m] under this feature, while Sībawayhi lists the balance of the 'covered' letters.

#### 2.10 *mağbūr* / *mahmūs* 'loud / muted'

These terms have not been without controversy (Fleisch, 1961: 219ss). There is a great deal of discussion about the two terms *mağbūr* / *mahmūs*. They lend themselves to the pair of current terms "voice / voiceless" easily, because when one examines the letters associated with these two terms, one is given little choice but to chose "voice / voiceless" from among the options of the inventory of the current phonetic terms. However, if one were to abide by the definition of "voice / voiceless" as the characterization of the vibratory cycles of the vocal folds, it is inconceivable how these two terms could possibly mean "voice / voiceless" for the eight century Arabs. One can find no evidence that the eighth century linguists, or even anatomists associated the laryngeal vibrations with the voicing as we define it. Even in the tenth century, in the treatise of Ibn Sīnā, no such function is attributed to the larynx (Ibn Sīnā, *Risāla*). It is inaccurate then to translate these two terms as "voice / voiceless" to mean what was meant by the Arabs. But translate we must, and a solution need to be found. One reasonable way of determining the meaning of these concepts is to appeal to the contemporary eighth century sources that define or describe them for us. We do have a contemporary source in *Kitāb al-ʿayn* by al-Ḥalīl himself. al-Ḥalīl states (*K. al-ʿayn* III, 388-9) *kalām ġahīr wa-ṣawtun ġahīr ay ʿālīn*: 'speech that is *ġahīr* and a sound that is *ġahīr* is loud', and further on he states *al-ğuhūr, aṣ-ṣawtu l-ʿālī*: '*ğuhūr* is the loud sound'. It is clear that the description is impressionistic and the impression is that this type of sound is 'loud', as opposed to *mahmūs* 'muted, whispered'. As he states *al-hamsu ḥassu ṣ-ṣawti fī l-fami mimmā lā iṣbāʿa labu min ṣawti ṣ-ṣadri, wa-lā ġahāra fī l-mantiq, wa-lākinnahu kalāmun mahmūs fī l-fami ka-s-sirrī*: 'al-hams is the sensing of sound in the mouth without the enrichment from the sound of the chest, nor loudness of expression;

it is rather whispered in the mouth like a secret'. This is sufficient to indicate that they are not discussing the functions of the laryngeal folds in the process of phonation, hence voice / voiceless translation is erroneous, rather loud / muted are the appropriate ones.

#### 2.12 *šadīd* / *raḥw* 'tight / loose'

In this opposition there is a sense of the closure being tight or not so tight. This, however, need not mean stop / fricative as they are used in the current terminology, as a look at the list of letters that come under these two terms will indicate. al-Ḥalīl defines *šadīd* as having *šidda* 'tightness' and *ṣalāba* 'solidity' (*K. al-ʿayn* VI, 213) while he defines *raḥw* like the loosening of a neckband.

#### 2.13 *mutbaq* / *munfatih* 'covered / open'

The relevance of this opposition is only obvious when both terms are taken together. *Mutbaq* 'covered' is achieved when the upper and the lower articulators are approximated in a particular manner in the production of one of the letters, while in the 'open' they are not so approximated as the selection of the letters that fit one or the other feature indicates.

The balance of the terms in chart 3. can not be addressed in this short presentation. They need less elaboration as they are self-explanatory.

### 3.0 Conclusions

The discussion of the early phoneticians imposes on us constraints that limit our freedom of imposing on the phoneticians of earlier generations concepts that only later advances in our science have made possible. Former descriptions of speech segments may satisfy our common sense and obvious observations, but they can not be endowed with the knowledge of physiology, anatomy or what intrusive technology has made possible for us but was not available to them. In the above discussion, an attempt was made to keep this maxim in mind and to give the

terminology of the eighth century Arab phoneticians its authentic content and its proper understanding.

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# METHODS OF TERMINOLOGICAL INNOVATION USED BY THE CAIRO LANGUAGE ACADEMY

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The encounter of the Arabic language with Western cultural concepts goes back as far as the middle of the nineteenth century. This encounter constituted a threat to the literary Arabic, *al-luġa al-fuṣḥā*. The new concepts which kept infiltrating more and more into each and every sphere of life, revealed that Arabic was unprepared to meet modern challenges. The lack of words and terms, to express the new concepts, was striking in all spheres, but most particularly in the scientific domain.

This insufficiency created the need to find immediate solutions to fill the gaps. Different solutions were adopted in each sphere of life. In the literary and journalistic field, writers coined new words and terms, haphazardly and independently, according to their individual views and tastes. On the other hand, *al-luġa al-ʿāmmiyya* being dynamic and unconstrained, adjusted to modern conceptions and assimilated new foreign words and terms. In this way it provided the speaker of Arabic with a natural, unrestricted and uninhibited tool of communication.

The process of the *taʿrīb* – the adoption of a foreign word and its absorption into Arabic – kept spreading in all spheres of life.

As a result, *al-luġa al-fuṣḥā* had to confront, from the end of the nineteenth century on, a whole series of problems which threatened its supremacy. The purity of the language was jeopardized by an “overload” of words and terms, accumulated by a very great number of innovators and innovation methods.

The position of *al-luġa al-ʿāmmiyya* as a convenient, easy and complete communication vehicle, discredited the prestige of the *fuṣḥā*.

The standing of Arabic was also weakened by the use of French in the school system, according to Egypt’s educational policy.

Moreover, it was the beginning of the Arab national revival, and Pharaonic as well as other circles in Egypt were calling for *tamṣīr*, an amalgamation of *al-luġa al-fuṣḥā* and *al-luġa al-ʿāmmiyya*. They even preached the substitution of the *fuṣḥā* by the local *ʿāmmiyya*, and the recognition of the latter as the official Egyptian language, which would serve as basis to a new national self determination (see Gershoni & Jankowski 1986:217-221).

This brought about a wave of demands on behalf of scholars and intellectuals to create a language academy, responsible for the protection and modernization of Arabic.

Consequently, in 1932, King Fu'ād established *Mağmaʿ al-Luġa al-ʿArabiyya al-Malakī* which is called today *Mağmaʿ al-Luġa al-ʿArabiyya bi-l-Qāhira*.

An examination of the initial manifesto of the Cairo Academy gives the clear impression that it largely constitutes an adequate answer to the problems mentioned above:

“The Academy has to substitute the *ʿāmmiyya* as well as the non-arabicized foreign words by *fuṣḥā* words. This will be done first of all by looking for Arabic substitutes existing in its classical sources. If such Arabic substitutes cannot be found, the Academy will create new terms by means of well established processes like *iṣṭiqāq*, *mağāz* and others. If this cannot be done, the Academy will resort to *taʿrīb*, while maintaining, to the best of its ability, Arabic sounds and patterns” (*Mağalla* 1.22).

In fact, the substitution of foreign words and terms by existing Arabic words, which means translation, is the most common method used by the Academy.

The translation can be divided into three categories:

- 1) substitutional translation, 2) explanatory translation, 3) compound translation.

1) *Substitutional translation* – is the natural and chief method of terminological innovation used by the Academy ever since its establishment.

For example, the following terms belonging to natural science, coined in the nineteen thirties:

*al-ḥayāt* – life

*an-numū* – growth

*al-badra* – seed

The following examples are taken from terminological lists, set up in the early nineteen eighties, in the fields of hydrology, chemistry and pharmacology:

*ruṭūba* – humidity

*yanbūʿ* – spring

*bahūr* – incense

It is clear that these terms are trivial, self-evident terms, which have been confirmed officially by the Academy as exact scientific terms in addition to their usual general meaning. All of these terms, with precisely the same meaning can be found in dictionaries published prior to the establishment of the Academy, as well as in classical dictionaries.

2) *Explanatory translation* – is a paraphrase rather than a literal translation of the term in question.

The following examples are terms in the sphere of Psychology extracted from The Cairo Academy Dictionary of Psychological Terminology of 1984:

*al-masāfa bayna r-ruʿya wa-n-nuṭq* - Eye voice span. (While the original version is: Distance eye voice, the innovated term is phrased: The distance between vision and articulation).

*ʿilāğ at-tasalluṭ al-ʿaqīdī* - Faith cure. (While the original version is: Cure by faith, the innovated term is phrased: Treatment by means of dogmatic overpowering).

*madrasat at-talīm al-mahsūs* - Opportunity school. (While the original version is School of opportunity, the innovated term is phrased: The school for specialized studies).

This process of paraphrasing is also used, when there is a composite foreign word with one meaning. The following examples are terms in the sphere of natural science and psychology, taken from The Cairo Academy Dictionaries of 1984:

‘*ilm al-ğudad aš-šumm* - endocrinology (the science of closed glands)  
*tahta sarīr al-muḥḥ* - hypothalamus, (under the bedding of the brain; *hypo* = under; *thalamus* = inner room)

‘*ilm taḥsīn al-bī’a al-insāniyya* - euthenics (the doctrine of improving the human surrounding)

It is obvious from these examples that quite often the Academy paraphrases rather than innovates in spite of its own decision to prefer one-word terms to terms composed of two or more words (*Minutes* 1.433).

### 3) Compound translation

A great many foreign terms are compound words with several components which, taken separately, have, each, their own meaning.

This phenomenon is quite limited in Arabic, which is based on the principle of trilateral roots. The multinominal form rarely fits into the usual Arabic structures.

That is why the Academy has refrained from resorting to the *naḥt* and the *tarkīb mazğī*, the classical compounding methods of Arabic. The *naḥt* is a combination of fractional components into one literal unit, like *basmala* from *bi-smi Allāh*, *ḥarwqala* from *lā ḥawla wa-lā qūwwata illā bi-Allāh*, etc. While the *tarkīb mazğī* is a combination of two complete words into one literal unit, like *Ba‘labakk*, *Ḥaḍramawt* and the modern word *barmā’ī*.

While refraining from making use of those two methods, the Academy has nevertheless created a few such words, like the following ones: *šibkalī* - alkaloid, is, by way of *naḥt*, a combination of *šibh* and *kalī*

*adrad qablḥakkī* - aprotodont, is, by way of *tarkīb mazğī*, a combination of *qabl* and *fakk* (an animal which has not yet teeth)

*an-nisfhabliyyāt* – hemichordate (a low vertebrate group) (*hemi* = half)

The very pronunciation of the words *an-nisfhabliyyāt* and *qablfakkī* remains obscure as the terms have not been vowelized. Actually, the Academy has never decided explicitly how to vowelize the first element in a combination of *tarkīb mazǧī*.

In its initial manifesto, the Academy mentioned another method, the *maǧāz*, which is the semantic extension. Soon after its foundation, when the Academy discussed which words to choose for the extension, archaic words called *lafz mahǧūr* or *ǧarīb al-luǧa* were brought forward to serve as substitutes for foreign or *ʿāmmiyya* words. At the beginning, the Academy did accept terms of which the following ones are an example:

*qitār* – originally meaning camel caravan, to be used for train

*qāzūza* – originally meaning phial, drinking-flask, to be used for ampoule

*ṣarḥ* – originally meaning a tall building, to be used for sky-scraper

However, this practice was gradually abandoned. The reservoir of ancient words diminished, as most of the ancient words were not really adaptable for modern use. (See Ibrāhīm Madkūr, *Maǧalla* 22.18 and Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Maǧalla* 11.138.)

The *istiqāq* innovation method, which means creation of new words, also appears in the Academy's manifesto. This is the Academy's most productive method of terminological innovation. While all the other practices which the Academy mentioned in its manifesto derive terms from a vocabulary already existing in Arabic or in other languages (*taʿrīb*).

According to the well known principle of *qiyās*, each new Arabic word has to be built on an existing Arabic root, moulded into an

existing Arabic pattern, and linked to the semantic significance deriving from them.

Thus, as soon as it started to make use of the *ištiqāq*, the Academy was confronted with a major problem: how to apply the principle of *qiyās* which, for centuries, had preserved the uniformity and structural constancy of the Arabic lexical system.

Aḥmad al-Iskandarī's words during a debate at the Academy on this matter illustrate precisely how problematic the subject is. (The particular topic discussed being the *fa<sup>c</sup>āl* structure.):

"*wa-fihā tafṣīl. fa-idā kānat min fi'l muta'addin fa-biya qiyāsiyya, wa-idā kānat min fi'l lāzim fa-ḡayr qiyāsiyya wa-ba'duhum yaqūlu bi-qiyāsiyyatihā mutlaqan wa-minhum man yamna'u qiyāsiyyatahā*" (Minutes, 1.352).

al-Iskandarī indicates several conceptions here: If the form derives from a transitive verb, it is *qiyāsiyya*. If the form derives from an intransitive verb, it is not *qiyāsiyya*. Some say it is always *qiyāsiyya*, while other totally disqualify this form from serving as a model for reproduction.

After generations of grammarians had overloaded the *qiyās* with restrictions and limitations, the Academy inevitably confronted enormous difficulties.

However, the Academy has not followed tradition submissively. It boldly decided, as early as March 1934, to allow, whenever it seemed necessary, to use denominative derivation (*ibid.*, 356.). Such practice is strictly forbidden in classical grammar, the *maṣḍar* being considered as the substructure of the *ištiqāq*. The Kūfan school went as far as regarding even the verb as the substructure of the *ištiqāq* (Ibn al-Anbārī, *Inṣāf* 102-107, N° 28).

This decision about denominative derivation paved the way to a new conception of the *qiyās*. Thus, the Academy ventured upon new derivations which were unorthodox according to classical grammar. For example: according to grammar the name of an instrument can be derived only from a triliteral transitive verb. Yet, the Academy stipulated that such a derivation be constructed on the basis of a

triliteral verb, without specifying its nature (*Minutes* 1.397). An examination of the terms coined by the Academy shows that it has, indeed, made derivations from intransitive verbs and even from nouns, according to its resolution about denominative derivation. For example:

*midwar* – cyclometer, derived from the intransitive verb *dāra*

*minwa'a* – meteorograph, an instrument graphing atmospheric phenomena, derived from the noun *naw'*, meaning star

*mīqat* – chronometer, derived from the noun *waqt*, meaning time

The method called *ta'rīb* is the adoption of foreign words. In the Academy's manifesto it is considered as a method to be used only after all the other practices have been exhausted. By stipulating that adoptive foreign words should be fitted into pure Arabic patterns, the Academy actually limited the use of the *ta'rīb* even more.

It is to be pointed out that at the beginning of its activity, the Academy disqualified the *ʿāmmiyya* as a reservoir for providing Arabic. This meant, actually, that the Academy preferred foreign languages to the *ʿāmmiyya* as a source of enrichment for the Arabic vocabulary.

However, the ever growing flow of scientific and technological terms and the urgent need for an easy and quick method providing the language with missing terminology, made the Academy resort energetically to the *ta'rīb* and arabicize a great many foreign terms.

The circumstances also forced the Academy to abandon the principle of adjustment to Arabic patterns.

From the nineteen fifties on, the Academy has been adopting foreign scientific words and terms, in an ever growing pace on a very large scale, as they were, in their original foreign form. For example:

*bankit* – banquet

*bāntūğrāf* – pantograph

*bārūmitir* – barometer

As historical circumstances have changed, the *ʿāmmiyya* no longer threatens the supremacy of the *fushā*, as it did at the beginning of this century, and the linguistic unity of the Arab world has become a fact. Consequently the Academy implicitly recognized the *ʿāmmiyya* and

legitimized its role as word reservoir. For example, the Academy has sanctioned words like: *ḥayšūm* – gill, *‘uṣ‘uṣ* – coccyx, etc.

Summing up, the Academy's activity in the field of terminology is characterized by a gradual evolution: It started with a conservative manifesto and ended up doing liberal work. There is a clear and growing trend toward openness and one can say that, through a renewed lexical system, the Academy has developed, indirectly, a modern Arabic lingual universe, definitely bearing its marks.

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**III/B TERMINOLOGY:**  
**SPECIFIC TERMS**



## LES ÉLÉMENTS DU MÉTALANGAGE DANS UN CHAPITRE D'IBN ĞINNĪ

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On trouve dans *al-Ḥasā'is* d'Ibn Ğinnī (II, 197-200) un petit chapitre que l'auteur lui même présente comme "curieux" (*ḥādā bāb<sup>m</sup> min al-ʿarabiyya ġarību l-ḥadīṯ*): il traite d'un sujet sur lequel avait attiré son attention Abū ʿAlī (al-Fārisī), auteur souvent mentionné dans ce livre. Ce fait rend difficile à discerner la contribution de chaque auteur dans la manière de poser les problèmes et dans les solutions proposées.

Comme il arrive souvent lorsqu'il s'agit des "curiosités" de la langue (qui sont traitées aussi comme signes de noblesse), nous avons affaire à la catégorisation, c'est-à-dire à la manière dont la langue arabe arrive à mettre ensemble des formes de la langue qui semblent disparates au premier abord: il s'agit ici de ce que Ibn Ğinnī nomme *al-lām al-maʿānī*. Certes, on peut bien traduire *al-lām al-maʿānī* par "les noms propres des notions abstraites" comme Ibn Ğinnī nous le suggère lui même d'ailleurs, lorsqu'il commence la présentation du problème en attirant notre attention sur le fait que "les noms propres (*al-lām*) sont utilisés plus fréquemment dans leur langage (celui des Arabes bédouins, n. t.) pour les choses concrètes et non pas pour les significations abstraites" (*i-lām anna l-ʿalām akīaru wuqūʿihā fi kalāmihim innamā huwa ʿalā l-ʿyān dūna l-maʿānī*), et lorsqu'il fournit quelques exemples de noms propres de personnes et de places (sur la terre et dans les cieux) pour montrer ce qu'il entend par *al-lām*. Dès qu'il passe à l'exemplification des *al-lām* appliqués aux notions abstraites (*al-maʿānī*), le terme de "noms propres" ne nous apparaît plus adéquat pour la traduction, vu qu'il est appliqué aux éléments que nous ne sommes pas habitués à voir traités comme noms propres.

Voici de quoi il s'agit (la tentative de systématisation nous appartient):

1. *Subhāna*, le mot que apparaît presque toujours dans la formule *subhāna Allāhi* "Dieu soit loué" serait le "nom propre" pour désigner "le sublime", "la transcendance" (*al-barā'atu wa-t-tanzīh*) et aura la même forme, donc le même traitement, que celui de *ʿUtmān*, par exemple.

2. Des mots qu'on peut considérer surtout comme des personnifications des moments ou des périodes dans l'écoulement du temps. (Cette tendance à regarder le temps comme quelque chose qui "arrive", qui va et vient, est visible en arabe tout aussi que dans d'autres langues: les désinences de pluriel "humain" appliquées à des noms comme *sinūna* "années", l'accord au pluriel des adjectifs postposés aux noms de ce type – *qalā'il* "peu nombreuses", *ṭiwāl* "longues" au lieu du féminin sg. qui était attendu dans le cas des nonhumains – peuvent être expliqués par cette conception antropomorphique sur le temps.) Les mots de ce type sont:

- les noms des mois lunaires: *ṣafar*, *raġab*;
- les "surnom" du jour de vendredi: *ʿarūba* ou *al-ʿarūba*;
- le nom des intervalles temporels: *al-fayna* ou *fayna*, *an-nadarā* ou *nadarā*;
- autres noms se rapportant aux périodes du temps, par ex. "grand matin": *gudwatu*

3. Les noms de nombre utilisés dans des formules comme "trois est la moitié de six" (*ṭalātatu nisfu sittata*) ou "huit est le double de quatre" (*ṭamāniyatu ḍifʿu arbaʿata*); c'est-à-dire lorsque le nom de nombre se rapporte à soi-même et non pas à des objets dénombrés, sont envisagés aussi comme des *a'lām*.

4. D'autres "noms propres" désignant des notions abstraites sont ceux qui peuvent être considérés comme la personnification de certaines qualités et qui sont construits le plus souvent selon le schème *fāʿāli* (*fāġāri* "vice"; *barāri* "innocence") parce qu'il sont *maʿdūla* "détournés" de leur valeur référentielle, comme nous allons le montrer plus loin.

5. Une autre catégorie bien significative du point de vue que nous intéressons ici est celle des mots fabriqués par les grammairiens pour symboliser les schèmes des dérivés de la même racine, tels *afʿalu*, *fāʿlāʿu*,

*fa'lānu, fa'lā* etc., des faux mots qui imitent la structure des mots de la langue pour parler de ces mêmes mots.

6. D'autres "noms propres" sont les vocables dont l'origine n'est plus connue et qui sont maintenus dans certaines expressions proverbiales: *ġiddān* ou *ġildān* serait le nom propre du "sérieux" tel qu'il apparaît dans *šarrahāt bi-ġiddān* ou *bi-ġildān* "(elle) s'est manifesté sérieusement", tandis que *dū Billiyān* serait le nom propre de "l'éloignement" (il symbolise une place située très loin) dans l'expression *ataw 'alā dī Billiyān* tirée du deuxième hémistiche d'un vers que *Lisān* attribue à al-Kisā'i: *tanāmu wa-tadhabu l-aqwāmu / hattā yuqālu ataw 'alā dī Billiyān* "tu dors pendant que les autres gens sont partis jusqu'à ce qu'on dise qu'il sont arrivés à *dū Billiyān*" (c'est-à-dire "au diable vauvert"). (C'est toujours *LA* qui nous explique que le vers se rapporte à un personnage qui est resté longtemps endormi pendant que ses compagnons sont allés très loin, dans ce mystérieux *Dū Billiyān*. Le nom propre à ici comme motivation une histoire pareille à celle qui nous est fournie pour d'autres expressions proverbiales, du type *aš'am min Basūs*, qui fait d'une pauvre femme la porteuse de malheur par excellence parce qu'elle aurait été à l'origine d'une longue guerre qui aurait opposé deux grandes tribus d'avant l'Islam.)

Le problème qu'Ibn Ğinnī pose toujours pour cette catégorie de lexèmes concerne leur statut du point de vue de la flexion désinentielle: est ce qu'ils sont des noms à pleins pouvoirs, ou non? Les considérations faites en marge de chaque catégorie montrent qu'on a affaire à des diptotes ou des noms "figés", qui manifestent par leur forme ce qu'il y a de particulier dans leur signification. Mais les remarques finales de ce chapitre "curieux" qui a quelquefois l'air de se rapporter aux phénomènes aberrants de l'éternel problème de la flexion désinentielle, sont liées à la sémantique: pourquoi les soi-disant "noms propres des significations abstraites" sont ils peu nombreux, alors que les noms propres des objets concrets se trouvent-ils en grand nombre (*lima qallat al-a'lām fi l-ma'anī wa-katurāt fi l-a'yān*). La réponse est que le nom propre se rapporte aux choses qui nous sont accessibles par l'intermédiaire des

organes des sens par sa nature même, tandis que les notions abstraites ne sont nommées de cette manière que grâce au raisonnement.

Mais pourquoi la raison demande-t-elle que les significations abstraites (*al-ma'ānī*) portent elles aussi un nom propre, c'est une question qu'Ibn Ginnī ne pose pas, laissant ainsi ce groupement de lexèmes dans le domaine des "curiosités". Il nous semble que l'ensemble des éléments mentionnés devient plus cohérent si on les considère comme éléments de métalangage.

La notion de métalangage, telle que nous la concevons aujourd'hui, est empruntée par les linguistes aux logiciens appartenant au Cercle de Vienne (surtout Tarski et Carnap), bien que l'idée ait apparue dans le commentaire d'Aristote fait par Porphyre (III<sup>e</sup> siècle). Ce dernier introduit la théorie des "deux impositions" pour expliquer la constitution des différentes couches du vocabulaire de la langue. La "deuxième imposition" signifie la création du vocabulaire conventionnel, et, entre autres, la constitution des mots autonomes c'est-à-dire des mots qui se désignent eux mêmes. Il est bien établi que la théorie des deux impositions a été connue dans l'espace arabe; Versteegh affirme que c'est par l'intermédiaire du commentaire de Ammonius sur les *Catégories* qu'elle y fut diffusée. Cela ne veut pas dire que les grammairiens arabes interprétèrent toujours cette théorie sous l'angle de la formation du métalangage: c'est toujours Versteegh qui nous assure qu'elle les a intéressés surtout en tant que solution possible pour le problème de la chronologie de l'apparition des parties du discours dans l'histoire de la constitution du langage: est-ce que c'est le verbe ou le nom qui est paru le premier? (Versteegh 1977: 172). À part cela, elle a été aussi interprétée sous l'angle du rapport entre les racines et les mots qui en dérivent, c'est-à-dire en tant que rapport entre des éléments de la langue qui peuvent être conçus comme situés sur le même axe temporel. Mais les philosophes, eux, ont interprété l'idée des deux impositions comme une évolution sur l'échelle de l'abstraction et al-Fārābī lie même la genèse du système grammatical, la formation de l'ensemble des notions de la grammaire et de la terminologie correspondante "à la continuité du procès d'abstraction qui a conduit l'homme à l'usage de la parole", comme le remarque Elamrani-Jamal

(1983:80). Cela dit, il est bien probable que Ibn Ġinnī, considéré comme le plus "philosophe" parmi les grammairiens, a connu les idées qui avaient cours chez les philosophes en ce qui concerne les deux impositions et qu'il ait médité au statut du métalangage dans le cadre du vocabulaire de sa langue. La preuve en est qu'il fait une belle distinction entre le "sabre" (*ṣayf*) l'objet capable de trancher, de couper, et le nom *ṣayf* composé de trois consonnes *s-y-f* qui n'a pas cette qualité (III, 31). On peut remarquer aussi qu'il semble bien conscient du fait que, en parlant dans le cadre de la grammaire des opérateurs, d'un "agent" (*ʿāmil*) qui opère, c'est à dire qui confère cas aux noms et mode aux verbes, nous ne faisons au fond qu'utiliser un langage modelé sur des agents réels qui opèrent réellement: "ce n'est qu'une façon de parler", disait-il à propos de l'utilisation du terme *ʿāmil* (I, 109).

Mais tout cela ne veut pas dire que le groupement que nous avons présenté au commencement représente la classe des éléments appartenant au métalangage, tel qu'il peut être conçu aujourd'hui. Afin de présenter une conception sur le métalangage que nous partageons, nous avons choisi le livre de Josette Rey-Debove (1978) qui en traite; elle circonscrit un sous-système ( $L_2$ ) de la langue ( $L_1$ ) destiné à parler de cette langue et qui comprend les mots métalinguistiques en même temps que les mots autonymes, c'est-à-dire les mots qui parlent d'eux mêmes. Ces mots tendent à avoir un statut grammatical à part: "Aucune grammaire ne nous dit, par exemple, que dans: / *Chevaux* est au pluriel /, le sujet *chevaux* est un singulier", remarque l'auteur (3). En ce qui concerne le signe autonome, on souligne que celui-ci est un nom, quel que soit son signifiant (64) et qu'à la limite, on peut considérer tout mot lexical comme un *nom*: "les verbes, les adjectifs et les adverbes sont alors considérés comme des dénominations d'action, de qualité ou de modalité" (137). Josette Rey-Debove attire l'attention sur la parenté entre les noms propres et les noms autonymes: "ils sont interlinguaux et en principe intraduisible, non codés et parfaitement tolérés par le discours qui les accueille" (271).

Cette analyse sémantique et grammaticale des éléments considérés comme appartenant au métalangage nous semble justifier, au moins en

partie, le mise ensemble des éléments "curieux" pour Ibn Ğinnī et l'étiquette sous laquelle ils ont été rassemblés, à savoir "les noms propres des notions abstraites". Ils ont un certain "air de famille" qui explique leur groupement, ils ont un comportement grammatical qui tend à les différencier de leurs "équivalents", soitent-ils les mots primaires de  $L_1$ , d'où dérive le métalexème du  $L_2$ , ou leurs "semblables" appartenant à une autre catégorie grammaticale, toujours dans  $L_1$ .

Ibn Ğinnī avait mentionné un élément de cette classe des "noms propres des significations abstraites" qu'il a défini lui même comme autonome: il s'agit du nom de nombre, lorsqu'il désigne la quantité en soi et non pas celle des objets du monde (*supra*, pt. 3). À la différence du nom de nombre qui fonctionne "normalement" dans le cadre de  $L_1$ , le correspondant autonome ne prend pas le *tanwīn* et se décline à deux cas.

En ce qui concerne les pseudo-mots qui désignent les schèmes de dérivation (*awzān*) du type *afalu - fa'lā'u*, leur appartenance au métalangage ne fait pas de doute. Quant à leur comportement grammatical, il reproduit exactement celui du mot "réel" qu'ils "imitent": *a-lā tarāka idā qīla laka: mā miṭālu duriba, qulta: fu'ila, fa-tahkī fī l-miṭāli binā'a duriba fa-tabnīhi kamā banayta miṭāla l-mabniyyi* "est ce que tu ne vois pas que lorsqu'on te dit: quel est le schème de *duriba* tu dis *fu'ila* et, comme ça, tu reproduis dans le schème la structure de *duriba* et tu le construis selon le schème de l'élément construit" (Ibn Ğinnī II, 200).

Restent les mots qui sont considérés comme les noms propres des qualités, des états, des actions, c'est-à-dire la personnification de certaines qualités, car le prototype est le meilleur exemplaire de la classe. Les mots que l'on n'a pas mentionnés jusqu'ici semblent s'inscrire dans la catégorie des éléments que les grammairiens arabes traitent comme des noms: surtout comme des "noms des verbes" (*asmā'u l-fi'li*), une catégorie sur laquelle ils se sont longuement attardés, mais aussi ce que Sibawayhi appelle *ism li-l-waṣf* "nom de l'épithète" et *ism li-l-maṣdar* "nom du *maṣdar*", c'est-à-dire le correspondant substantival du nom d'action (*Kitāb* I, 102-107; II, 34-38). Nous n'avons pas l'intention de nous arrêter ici sur la conception des grammairiens arabes concernant les *asmā'u l-fi'li*:



on peut trouver des indications sur ce sujet dans Levin (1991). Reste toujours le problème de la justification de l'utilisation du terme de *a'lām* pour toutes ces catégories de mots qui ne présentent pour nous que très peu de relations avec ce que nous appelons "noms propres" (les dénominations des mois lunaires peuvent bien être encadrées dans la catégorie du nom propre, telle que nous la concevons nous même).

En parlant des propriétés sémantiques des classes lexicales prototypiques, W. Croft (1991:55-67) se réfère aux *objets*, *propriétés* et *actions* comme caractéristiques des *noms*, des *adjectifs* et des *verbes* et aux fonctions pragmatiques de *référence*, *modification* et *prédication* en tant que fonctions prototypiques des trois classes mentionnées. Il y a une utilisation référentielle des mots qui n'ont pas cette fonction prototypique, c'est-à-dire des adjectifs et des verbes, utilisation qui fait de tous ces mots des *noms*. Cette utilisation, hors la fonction spécifique, suppose d'habitude un certain marquage: on a, donc, des noms, mais des noms qui appartiennent à une catégorie particulière, semblable aux noms propres: la catégorie du métalangage, et pourquoi pas? Nous sommes bien habitués à voir la Beauté, le Vice, le Sublime traités comme des personnages et *dū Billiyān* fait partie de cette catégorie de personnifications: "au diable vauvert" qui traduit l'expression arabe résulte du même processus de mythologisation. Les moments du temps sont aussi personnifiés, et on peut en trouver d'autres preuves outre celles que nous avons déjà mentionnées: on peut bien dire *fayna* et *al-fayna*, par exemple (voir *supra* pt. 2) parce que dans le cadre du nom propre l'article n'a pas de fonction différenciatrice.

Il y a même un schème propre aux mots qui sont "détournés" *ma'dūla* de leur fonction prototypique: il s'agit de *fa'āli* qui fournit des mots comme *fağāri* et *barāri* (*supra* pt. 4) et beaucoup d'autres qui appartiennent aux sous-catégories des "noms des verbes", des adjectifs, des *maṣdar*. La plupart sont des noms utilisés dans des propositions impératives ou exclamatives, donc des structures caractéristiques pour le langage affectif. Les grammairiens arabes répètent souvent que ces éléments ne portent pas, ou presque, les marques de la catégorie qu'ils sont censés à suppléer, donc les marques de la personne lorsqu'il s'agit des

verbes: *ḥadāri* veut dire "attention!" pour n'importe quelle personne. En échange, ils portent dans ce cas leurs marques à eux, à savoir le schème qui leur est propre et qui signifie la transposition dans la classe du nom.

On a remarqué depuis longtemps que les mots des diverses langues qui s'apparentent du point de vue sémantique tendent à acquérir un statut grammatical semblable. Nous avons mentionné qu'Ibn Ğinnī insiste sur le traitement semblable de ces noms du point de vue de la flexion désinentielle: ils sont, généralement, différent du reste des noms. Ce qui attire surtout notre attention, c'est la présence d'un grand nombre de diptotes parmi les éléments "curieux" rassemblés par Ibn Ğinnī. La présence de nombreux noms propres parmi les éléments traités comme diptotes a été depuis longtemps remarquée, et nous pouvons maintenant ajouter certains des "noms propres des notions abstraites" dont parlait Ibn Ğinnī. La classe des diptotes nous apparaît ainsi plus homogène, mais pas tout à fait homogène, car il y a des éléments appartenant à cette déclinaison que l'on peut difficilement expliquer par la sémantique (le caractère diptote des mots construits selon les schèmes du pluriel quadrisyllabique et selon le schème *afalu* semble pouvoir s'expliquer par la phonologie, par les éléments supra-segmentaux, tel l'accent). Ainsi nous croyons, comme beaucoup d'autres auteurs, que la classe des diptotes dans son ensemble constitue le résultat de la tendance à encadrer dans le même système des mots appartenant à diverses couches du vocabulaire (voir aussi Rabin 1965).

En ce qui concerne les mots mentionnés par Ibn Ğinnī dans le chapitre indiqué au commencement, il nous semble qu'ils peuvent être traités comme des éléments appartenant à un concept plus large de métalangage que celui qui nous est familier (et pour lequel le meilleur exemple constitue la terminologie de la linguistique), à savoir un concept qui comprend l'utilisation référentielle des unités de la langue, soient-ils des noms ou autres catégories. "L'air de famille" de ces éléments, leur statut sémantique commun, explique le fait qu'ils ont, du point de vue grammatical aussi, un statut semblable et "curieux".

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## SURGERY IN ARABIC ASPECTS OF A TECHNICAL TERM

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In the present paper an attempt will be made to interpret the expressions *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd bi-l-yad* and *‘ilāğ al-ḥadīd bi-l-yad*, respectively, which appear once in the Arabic translation of Galen's *De anatomia mortuorum*. The various renderings of the Greek stem *cheirurg-* in the Arabic translations of Galen's works will be checked. Then the expressions *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-yad* and *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd*<sup>1</sup> will be interpreted and their relationship determined. In order that our conclusions may be based on a wider-ranging corpus, we will also subject to analysis the use of the two expressions in az-Zahrāwī's *Surgery*.

In the Arabic translation of Galen's *De anatomia mortuorum*<sup>2</sup> there appear, once each, the expressions *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd bi-l-yad* and *‘ilāğ al-ḥadīd bi-l-yad*, along with two occurrences of the common form *‘ilāğ al-yad*. It is well known that both *‘ilāğ al-yad* and *‘ilāğ al-ḥadīd* are equivalents of the Greek *cheirurgía*; our aim here will be to find out what exactly the "compound forms" in question mean: forms that seem to be unique to this Arabic text. (They have not been traced anywhere else in the available Arabic translations of Galen's works.) With this aim in mind, all occurrences of the stem *cheirurg-* in Galen's Greek corpus,

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<sup>1</sup> These expressions appear variously as *‘ilāğ al-yad*, *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-yad*, *‘amal al-yad*, *al-‘amal bi-l-yad*, etc., also in conjugated forms such as *ya‘malūna bi-l-ḥadīd*, *‘alighu bi-l-ḥadīd*, etc., or in participles such as *mu‘alighū l-ḥadīd*, etc. We will be interested mostly in the second constituent part of these expressions (*yad/ḥadīd*), and we adopt therefore a simplified reference method in that it will be tacitly assumed that a reference to one form will be valid for all the other forms as well.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek original of this work is lost; the Arabic translation is being prepared for publication by the present writer. See Ormos 1993.

as well as the Arabic renderings of these, were checked where they could be found. Then the expressions *al-ʿilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd* and *al-ʿilāğ bi-l-yad* were checked in those works of Galen which survive in Arabic translation only.

The Thesaurus Linguae Graecae TLG CD ROM "C" (University of California Irvine) produced a list of 191 occurrences of the stem *cheirourg-* in the Greek corpus of Galen (Group A)<sup>3</sup>; I have been able to check 61 Arabic equivalents of these (Group B)<sup>4</sup> and another 15 Arabic expressions in translations where the Greek original is lost (Group C)<sup>5</sup>. There are some further Arabic translations which were not at my disposal<sup>6</sup>, but I hope that, notwithstanding this limitation, the results of this paper will be convincing.

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<sup>3</sup> I am indebted for this list to István Kapitánffy from the Department of Greek Language and Literature, Budapest University. Most of the references in this list are to Kühn's edition (Galen, *Opera*); whenever later editions were available, we checked them, too.

<sup>4</sup> For the Arabic equivalents the following works were consulted: *De sectis*: Galen, *Firaq*; *De anatomicis administrationibus*, Books i-iv: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo; *id.*, Books v-ix: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, MS Brit. Mus. (this manuscript was occasionally consulted for Books i-iv, too); *De venarum arteriarumque dissectione*: Galen, *Ven. art. diss.*, MS Berlin; *De usu partium*: Galen, *De usu partium*, MS Paris; *De symptomatum causis*: Galen, *Sympt. caus.*, MS Paris; *De locis affectis*: Galen, *Loc. aff.*, MS Wellcome; *De methodo medendi*: Galen, *Meth. med.*, MS Paris; *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo*: Galen, *Galawqan* (there are some useful quotations from manuscripts in the footnotes); *In Hippocratis De officina medici commentarii*: Galen, *Off. med.* - I am indebted to the abovementioned libraries and institutions for providing me with microfilms of their manuscripts and allowing me to use them.

<sup>5</sup> These were found in the following two works: *De anatomicis administrationibus*, Books x-xvi: Galen, *Anatomie* and MS British Museum; *De optimo medico cognoscendo*: Galen, *Examinations*.

<sup>6</sup> These include *De semine*, *De usu pulsuum*, *De dignoscendis pulsibus* (?), *De methodo medendi* (Books x-xiv), *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo*, *De compositione medicamentorum secundum locos*, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, *In Hippocratis De victu acutorum commentaria*, *In Hippocratis Epidemiarum libros commentaria*, *In Hippocratis Aphorismos commentarii*, *In Hippocratis Prognosticum commentaria*.

If we check Groups B and C, we find that the expressions *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd bi-l-yad* and *‘ilāğ al-ḥadīd bi-l-yad* do not appear in them. If we check Group A, we find that derivatives of the Greek stem *cheirurg-* do not appear anywhere in a combination or context that would easily lend itself to a rendering that would result in the forms in question. Consequently, the only plausible solution to this problem is to suppose that this compound expression is an invention of Ḥubayš, the translator of our work, whose predilection for the use of hendiadys (in our case two closely related words, eventually synonyms, occurring indivisibly together to express a single concept) is only too well known<sup>7</sup>. (For the eventual relationship between *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-yad* and *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd*, see below.) The other possibility, which we omit from consideration here, would be to suppose that the expression in question is in fact unique to *De anatomia mortuorum*; in other words that the two occasions where it occurs here are the sole two in the whole of Galen's immense oeuvre - excepting of course the possibility of other works which do not survive. Although not impossible, this supposition is hardly plausible if we take into consideration that *cheirurg-* is a rather common stem and that Galen, too, is famous for his love of repeating himself countless times.

If we take a close look at these lists, interesting observations can be made. First of all, in the Greek Galenic corpus, *cheirurgía* and its derivatives do not correspond exactly to the modern technical term *surgery* and its derivatives<sup>8</sup>. As the word has the basic meaning to *perform with the hands, to execute with the hands*, it will be very often used, even within our Galenic corpus of mainly medical texts, for concepts which lie outside the range of modern surgical operations: together with its derivatives it is used for anatomical dissection of a dead

<sup>7</sup> See Bergsträsser 1913:41, 50f. Cf. Beeston 1970:112.

<sup>8</sup> It may be noted here that English *surgery* comes ultimately from Greek *cheirurgía* via Middle English, Old French and Latin. See Onions 1982:889b (s. v. *surgeon*).

animal<sup>9</sup>, for anatomical dissection of a living animal, i. e. vivisection, for various activities performed by the hands, for manual skill and even manufactured articles. Its use is by no means restricted to medicine: it is used for the execution of acts of violence, for the act of building something, for the practice of an art, especially of music, for producing something by art, e. g. for hatching eggs by artificial means, etc. (Liddell-Scott 1985:1986). It can also be replaced by a synonym such as *egcheirēsis*, too: in our corpus this happens twice when *cheirurgia* denotes vivisection<sup>10</sup>. The verb *cheirizō* also appears in a similar role in the Galenic corpus<sup>11</sup>. Note the similar etymology of the words in both cases (*cheir*)!

Thus we can state that in Greek, *cheirurgia* and its derivatives had established themselves as technical terms to a considerable extent by Galen's time: he repeatedly refers to *cheirurgia* as one of the basic branches of medicine alongside treatment by diet and by medicaments<sup>12</sup>. However, probably owing to its transparent structure, clear etymology and relatively common, simple meaning, it had not become an exclusive technical term of medicine for speakers of Greek by Galen's time, i. e. it had not attained the status of loan word of foreign origin and unanalysable structure as was later the case in most European languages.

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<sup>9</sup> The word *animal* is used here in the meaning "any living organism typically capable of moving about but not of making its own food by photosynthesis: distinguished from *plant*", i. e. it includes human beings as well. See Webster 1958:58.

<sup>10</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* VII, 12: Galen, *Opera* II, 630.4; 639.4f.

<sup>11</sup> For instance, see *In Hippocratis De officina medici commentarii* I, 19: Galen, *Opera* XVIII B, 700.15(twice); 701.1f.(twice) [all four are quotations from Hippocrates]; 707.3f.

<sup>12</sup> See *Thrasylbulus* XXIV: Galen, *Scr. min.* III, 62.19f.; 63.20f. = Galen, *Opera* V, 847.9f.; 848.16f.; *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* III, 2: Galen, *Opera* XIII, 604.8f.; *In Hippocratis De victu acutorum commentaria* I, 5, 16: Galen, *Hipp. victu* 120.17-20; 131.9f. = Galen, *Opera* XV, 425.9-12; 447.4ff.; *In Hippocratis De officina medici commentarii* III, 31: Galen, *Opera* XVIII B, 883.3ff.



At this time Arabic produced a literal translation of *cheirurgia*: 'amal al-yad, or more freely 'ilāğ al-yad. As we turn to Groups B and C, we find that it is exactly the expression that recurs in our texts most often. There is, however, no one-to-one correspondence between 'amal al-yad / 'ilāğ al-yad and *cheirurgia*: often 'amal alone will be used<sup>13</sup>, often only 'ilāğ<sup>14</sup>, and on one occasion we find *mudāwāt*<sup>15</sup>. Sometimes the exact method of manipulation is more clearly stated: (*fī mawādi*) *al-batt wa-l-qat*<sup>16</sup>; *fī battihā wa-qat'ihā*<sup>17</sup>; *fī l-batt wa-š-šaq*<sup>18</sup>; *bi-l-batt wa-ğayrihī min 'ilāğ al-ğirāhāt*<sup>19</sup>. (Note that *yad* does not appear in these four examples!) The last example leads us on to the compounds with *ğirāhāt*: 'ilāğ *ğirāhāt* (+gen.)<sup>20</sup>; 'amal *al-ğirāhāt*; *ašhāb al-ğirāhāt*

<sup>13</sup> E. g. *De anatomicis administrationibus* I, 5; VII, 12(twice), 14: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 42.10; *id.*, MS Brit. Mus. 124v8, 125r4; 126v-5 (= *id.*, ed. Garofalo 41,11 [= Galen, *Opera* II, 251.13]; *id.*, II, 628.13; 630.3; 636.15).

<sup>14</sup> E. g. *De anatomicis administrationibus* II, 2(twice); III, 1, 9; IV, 1: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 76.6; 78.13; 136.21; 188.20; 210.3 (= *id.* 75.6; 77.15f.; 135.28; 187.25; 209.4 = Galen, *Opera* II, 284.6; 286.11; 345.11; 395.14; 417.2).

<sup>15</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* VII, 13: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, MS Brit. Mus. 125v-2 (= Galen, *Opera* II, 633.8f.).

<sup>16</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* III, 1: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 134.16 (= *id.* 133,18 = Galen, *Opera* II, 343.3).

<sup>17</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* III, 1: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 138.10 (= *id.* 137.10f = Galen, *Opera* II, 346.8f.).

<sup>18</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* III, 5: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 178.17 (= *id.* 177,18 = Galen, *Opera* II, 386.7).

<sup>19</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* III, 1: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 132.19f (= *id.* 131,23 = Galen, *Opera* II, 341.12f.).

<sup>20</sup> *De venarum arteriarumque dissectione* VII: Galen, *Ven. art. diss.*, MS Berlin 85r5 (= Galen, *Opera* II, 803.15).

<sup>21</sup> *De venarum arteriarumque dissectione* VII: Galen, *Ven. art. diss.*, MS Berlin 84v13 (= Galen, *Opera* II, 803.4).

*min al-atibbā'*<sup>22</sup>; *min mu'aliḡī l-ḡirāhāt al-maḡānīn*<sup>23</sup>. When the subject matter is the dissection of a dead or living animal, the various forms of the verb *šarraha* will be occasionally used<sup>24</sup>, whereas in one place no equivalent of *cheirourgia* appears in the Arabic version at all<sup>25</sup>. The great variety of similar words and expressions used in identical or similar roles to render one and the same Greek word shows that none of these has yet attained the status of a technical term in the modern sense of the word. Another important family of expressions is that of the compounds with *ḥadīd*: *ilāḡ al-ḥadīd / al-ḥadīd bi-l-ḥadīd*. Their number is, however, considerably lower in our corpus (Groups B and C) than that of the compounds with *yad*: compounds with *ḥadīd* occur seven times<sup>26</sup> as against twenty-one occurrences of those with *yad*<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* IV, 1: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, MS Brit. Mus. 60r1 (= Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 211.11 = Galen, *Opera* II, 419.4). *Sic!* The form in Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 212.7f. seems to be a misprint.

<sup>23</sup> *De methodo medendi* V, 4: Galen, *Meth. med.*, MS Paris 129v17 (= Galen, *Opera* X, 323.9).

<sup>24</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* V, 7; VI, 1; VII, 12: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, MS Brit. Mus. 87v2; 97v5; 124v-3 (= Galen, *Opera* II, 512.1; 541.11; 629.12).

<sup>25</sup> *De usu partium* X, 11: Galen, *De usu partium*, MS Paris 181v (= *id.*, ed. Helmreich II, 91.26 = Galen, *Opera* III, 810.17).

<sup>26</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* VIII, 7: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, MS Brit. Mus. 140r7 (= Galen, *Opera* II, 685.5); *De locis affectis* I, 6 (twice); IV, 9: Galen, *Loc. aff.*, MS Wellcome 21v7; 22r6f.; 106v6 (= Galen, *Opera* VIII, 54.5; 55.9f.; 268.6); *De methodo medendi* IV 4: Galen, *Meth. med.*, MS Paris 103r5 (= Galen, *Opera* X, 250.13); *Ad Glauconem de medendi methodo* II, 12 (twice): Galen, *Glauc.*, MS Paris 108r17-20 (twice) = *id.*, MS Teheran 170v9-13 (twice) (= Galen, *Opera* XI, 141.5 [twice]).

<sup>27</sup> *De sectis* 6, 9: Galen, *Firaq* 52.5; 90.3 (= Galen, *Scr. min.* III, 15.9; 31.25 = Galen, *Opera* I, 83.7; 105.4); *De anatomicis administrationibus* I, 3 (three times); III, 9; VII, 12, 14; VIII, 7: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, ed. Garofalo 15.21, 22; 17.2; 187.15 (= *id.* 16.17f., 19; 18.3; 188.12 = Galen, *Opera* II, 228.13, 14; 229.6; 395.2); Galen, *Anat. adm.*, MS Brit. Mus. 125r9; 126r-9; 140r7 (= Galen, *Opera* II, 630.12f.; 634.14; 685.5); *De usu partium* III, 3 (twice): Galen, *De usu partium*, MS Paris 43r2, 5f. (= *id.*, ed. Helmreich I, 133.11, 14f. = Galen, *Opera* III, 182.8, 11); *De locis affectis* IV, 9: Galen, *Loc. aff.*, MS Wellcome 106v10 (= Galen, *Opera* VIII, 268.10); *In Hippocratis De officina medici commentarii* II, 7 (twice); III, 28,

The next question which presents itself is: are the compounds with *yad* interchangeable with those with *ḥadīd* or are they not? And if the answer turns out to be negative, then what is the difference between the two sets? On the basis of the expressions at our disposal, no conspicuous difference could be detected at first sight. As a first approach we supposed that there was no difference in meaning between the two compounds in question and thus that they were fully interchangeable. We endeavoured to detect the eventual basis of the differences in the distribution of these two compounds in the various works: we took into consideration 1) the translators<sup>28</sup> a)) of both the Syriac and Arabic versions; b)) only those of the Syriac from the Greek, c)) only those of the Arabic from the Syriac; 2) *when* the translations were made<sup>29</sup>; 3) the age of the manuscripts containing the works in question. No convincing result could be obtained: it was impossible to account for the actual differences in distribution of the abovementioned terms<sup>30</sup>. At a later stage we came round to the idea that the two expressions were not wholly interchangeable, i. e. that there was some difference in meaning between the two: *aṣḥāb ʿilāğ mā yuʿālağ bi-l-ḥadīd wa-ğayribi min ʿamal al-yad / cheirourgoīs*<sup>31</sup> seems to imply that the semantic field of *ʿamal al-yad* is wider than that of *al-ʿilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd*; the latter seems to be included in the former.

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29(twice), 31, 36(twice): Galen, *Off. med.*, 14.8, 8f.; 54.9; 56.6, 13; 58.22; 86.26; 88.19, 20 (=Galen, *Opera* XVIII B, 743.1, 2; 878.6; 879.18; 880.6f.; 883.4f.; 914.15; 916.3). Note that *De anatomicis administrationibus* VIII, 7: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, MS Brit. Mus. 140r7 (=Galen, *Opera* II, 685.5) belongs to both types!

<sup>28</sup> They were determined on the basis of Ḥunayn's Missive, see Ḥunayn, *Übersetzungen*. See also the additions in Sezgin 1970.

<sup>29</sup> Approximately; relying on the information supplied by Ḥunayn in his Missive, see the preceding footnote.

<sup>30</sup> Our only finding was that there seemed to be a very vague predilection for the use of compounds with *yad* in older manuscripts.

<sup>31</sup> *De anatomicis administrationibus* VIII, 7: Galen, *Anat. adm.*, MS Brit. Mus. 140a7 =Galen, *Opera* II, 685.5.

Thus for the sake of having at our disposal a considerably wider-ranging corpus, we chose to check az-Zahrāwī's<sup>32</sup> *maqāla* on surgery<sup>33</sup> in this respect, hoping that our findings there might eventually be extended to the Galenic corpus too. Az-Zahrāwī (died around 400/1009) was about 130 years Ḥunayn's (192 – 260 or 264 / 808 – 873 or 877) junior and we are perhaps allowed to extend our investigations to the survey of his lexicon as far as technical or semi-technical terms are concerned.

Having gone through the whole *maqāla* on surgery, we found that surgery is rendered by az-Zahrāwī, just as by Ḥunayn and his circle, by compounds with *yad* and *ḥadīd*, the latter, however, slightly surpassing the former in quantity, which forms a contradistinction to Ḥunayn and his circle: in az-Zahrāwī we found 17 compounds with *ḥadīd*<sup>34</sup> against 12 with *yad*<sup>35</sup>, e. g. *al-ʿamal bi-l-yad* (az-Zahrāwī, *Surgery* 7.36, 48, 477.3) the title of the whole *maqāla* is also *ḡuz' al-ʿamal bi-l-yad* (*id.* 3.3); *šināʿat al-yad* (*id.* 3.15; 561.82); *ʿilāḡuhā bi-l-yad wa-bi-l-adwiyā* (*id.* 527.3); *al-ʿamal bi-l-ḥadīd* (*id.* 235.18); *yūʿālaḡ bi-l-ḥadīd* (*id.* 383.3; 449.7); *ʿilāḡuhā bi-l-ḥadīd* (*id.* 369.11); *min ʿilāḡihī bi-l-ḥadīd* (*id.* 381.3; 467.29); *al-bur' bi-l-ḥadīd* (*id.* 505.24); *fa-lā taʿriḍ lahū bi-l-ḥadīd* (*id.* 265.6); *fa-innahū lā yanbaḡī an yuʿrad lahū bi-l-ḥadīd al-batta* (*id.* 5.34); *wa-lā yuqrab bi-l-ḥadīd* (*id.* 383.4). At the same time, again just as in the Arabic Galen, *ʿilāḡ* and its other forms very frequently occur alone as well as in a series of various constructions: *fa-yuʿālaḡ bi-r-raṣās* / “should

<sup>32</sup> On az-Zahrāwī, see Sezgin 1970:323ff., and Ullmann 1970:149ff.

<sup>33</sup> We used the following edition: az-Zahrāwī, *Surgery*; on this edition, see Savage-Smith 1976:245-256. Occasionally we checked az-Zahrāwī, *Traktat*, which contains the facsimile of a manuscript unknown to Spink and Lewis, and also az-Zahrāwī, *Presentation*, which contains the facsimile of MS 502 of the Beşirağa Collection, Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul, which had been only partly collated by Spink and Lewis; see az-Zahrāwī, *Surgery*, xiii.

<sup>34</sup> az-Zahrāwī, *Surgery* 5.34; 235.18; 265.6; 369.11; 381.3; 383.3, 4, 8; 425.19; 441.14f.; 447.2; 449.7; 463.7; 467.29; 505.24; 595.6; 785.16.

<sup>35</sup> *id.* 3.3, 4, 15; 7.36, 48; 411.4; 421.6; 477.3; 483.64f.; 527.3; 553.19; 561.82.

be treated by the leaden sound"<sup>36</sup>; *tumma yu'ālağ bi-šarāb qābid* / "then let it be dressed with some styptic wine" (id. 395.25=394.13); *fa-āliğhu bi-l-ħuqna* / "then treat it by irrigation" (id. 583.11=582.14); *āliğhu bi-ilāğ al-awrām* / "treat as an abscess" (id. 603.20=602.1); *fa-āliğhu bi-nafđ al-badan wa-mā yanfi r-riyāh wa-yafuššuhā* / "then treat by purging of the body and by medicines dispelling and getting rid of flatus" (id. 607.19=606.25f); *tumma tu'āliğ al-ğurh ba'da dālika bi-l-fital wa-l-marāhim* / "and then treat the wound with dressings and ointments" (id. 707.68=706.5); *tumma tu'āliğuhū bi-anwā' al-ilāğ alladī yanbağī hattā yabra'u* / "then treat as necessary until cured" (id. 711.115=710.22); *tumma tu'āliğ al-al il bi-ilāğ aš-šawša min al-ğadā' wa-d-dawā'* / "then treat the patient with diet and medicines as for pleurisy" (id. 731.19-733.20=730.22f); *wa-āliğ al-al il bi-mā yusakkin al-waram min dāhul aydan* / "and treat the patient with internal remedies against abscess, too" (id. 733.26f=732.7f); *al-ilāğ al-ħāss* / "special treatment" (id. 823.31=822.15). 'Ilāğ and its other forms often occur together with *adwiya* referring to one of the three constituent parts of medicine, i. e. treatment with medicaments or treatment by medical means, the other two being treatment by diet and surgery. 'Amal, 'ilāğ and *šinā'a* may appear by themselves, too, especially when the exact meaning or reference is clear from the context.

If we now turn to the word *ħadīd*, first of all we can state that it occurs in our text very often: normally in this form (61 times) but also as *ħadīda* (11 times). It is often used to have the meaning of *iron*, e. g. *miğrafat ħadīd* / "iron ladle" (id. 67.5=66.6); *unbūbat ħadīd* / "tube of iron" (id. 67.11f=66.12); *unbūba min nuħāš aw ħadīd* / "a cannula made of bronze or iron" (id. 157.11f=156.14); *yušna' qarwshū l-a'lā wa-šafratuhū min ħadīd* / "the upper bow and the blade are made of iron" (id. 571.141=570.2f); *aw šubh al-ħağar ka-l-ħadīd wa-z-zuğāğ* / "or what resembles stone, such as iron or glass" (id. 191.2f=190.2f). The word *ħadīd* also appears frequently where the translation suggests the

<sup>36</sup> id. 389.9=388.10f. (The English translations of the examples here and below are those by Spink and Lewis.)

meaning *knife*, and this indeed corresponds to the context, e. g. *fa-yanbagī an taqṭaʿ bi-l-ḥadīd ḡamīʿ al-fadla* / “you must excise all the superfluous growth” [with a knife] (*id.* 591.8=590.11); *wa-ammā ʿilāḡubā bi-l-ḥadīd fa-yakūn ʿalā ɗarbayn aḥaduhumā an yuṣaqq wa-yuḥraḡ ad-dam al-aswad wa-l-waḡh al-āḥar an yusall al-ʿirq wa-yuḥraḡ bi-asriḥi* / “the treatment with the knife is of two kinds: one is to incise and bring out all the black blood, the other is to draw out the vein and extract it bodily” (*id.* 595.5ff=594.6ff); *fa-yanbagī an taḡtanib ʿilāḡahā bi-l-ḥadīd* / “you must avoid treatment by the knife” [in the case of an aneurysm] (*id.* 369.10f=368.12); *fa-lā yanbagī an yutaʿarrad bi-l-ḥadīd* / “should certainly not be tackled with the knife” [on tumours arising from the twist of a tendon] (*id.* 373.9=372.9f). In other contexts the equivalent of *ḥadīd* will be some iron instrument other than a knife: *tumma staʿmil al-fital al-malṭūta fī l-adwiya al-ḥadda wa-dussihā ilā qaʿr an-nāsūr alladī tudrikuḥū bi-l-ḥadīd* / “then use swabs soaked in corrosive, and push them to the bottom of the fistula, which is as far as you can reach with the probe” (*id.* 557.45ff=556.8ff); *wa-kāna saḥman kabīran min siḥām al-qusīy al-murakkaba murabbaʿ al-ḥadīd* / “but it was a big arrow from a compound bow, the iron tip four-sided” (*id.* 613.44f=612.7f); *fī ḡard al-asnān bi-l-ḥadīd* / “on scraping the teeth with an iron instrument” (*id.* 273.1=272.1). There are also some instructive cases in the description of cauterization. Az-Zahrāwī uses *ḥadīd* when speaking about the basic material of the cautery or the metal applied in cauterization, e. g. *al-kayy bi-d-ḡahab afdal min al-kayy bi-l-ḥadīd* / “cauterization by gold is more effective than by iron” (*id.* 15.53=14.1f); *wa-l-kayy biḥi aḥsan wa-afdal min al-ḥadīd* / “cauterization by gold is indeed better and more successful than with iron” (*id.* 15.56=14.6f). But when speaking about the cautery itself, az-Zahrāwī always uses (apart from *mikwāt*) *ḥadīda* (pl. *ḥadāʿid*); never *ḥadīd*: *ḥadāʿid al-kayy* / “cauterizing irons” (*id.* 3.8=2.12), “iron cauteries” (*id.* 7.48=6.19); *al-ḥadīda* / “it” (= *mikwāt* / “cautery”) (*id.* 25.18=24.5), “iron” (*id.* 63.5=62.8); *al-ḥadīda al-maḥmīya* / “hot iron” (*id.* 67.9=66.11); *ḥadīda maḥmīya bi-n-nār* / “red-hot iron” (this may or may not be a cautery: in this case it is not cauterization that is meant but the removal of a leech sticking in the throat of a

patient) (*id.* 317.7=316.9); *wa-yanbagī an takūn al-makāwī min al-kubr wa-s-šigar ‘alā ḥasab al-a‘dā’ wa-l-mafāsīl ‘alā mā taqaddama min šifāt al-ḥadā'id* / “the cauteries should be of the types of instrument mentioned earlier, larger or smaller in proportion to the size of the limb or joint” (*id.* 145.22ff=144.8ff). *Ḥadīda* is also used of iron instruments other than knives, e. g. a drill: *wa-hurwa an ta'ḥud miš'aban min ḥadīd al-fūlād (...)* *tumma tudḥil ḥadīdat al-miš'ab fī l-iḥlīl bi-rifq* / “you take a drill of the finest steel (...) then introduce the iron of the drill gently into the meatus” (*id.* 417.61-64=416.8-12); *yakūn ṭaraf al-ḥadīda mutallaṭan* / “its extremity, which is of iron, should be triangular” [speaking of a drill / *miš'ab*] (*id.* 245.17=244.2). In the case of cauteries *ḥadīd* cannot refer to a knife because cauteries do not normally have the shape of a knife; when *az-Zahrāwī* means a knife-shaped or bladed cautery, he uses compounds with the word *sikkīn*, e. g. *mikwāt ṣaġīra sikkīnīya* / “a small edged cautery” (*id.* 61.4=60.5); *bi-l-mikwāt dāt as-sikkīnayn* / “with the cautery of two blades” (*id.* 27.16=26.20f); *wa-hādīhī šūrat al-mikwāt wa-ḥīya nawf min as-sikkīnīya* / [this is] “the shape of the cautery. It is a variety of the bladed cautery” (*id.* 31.11=30.14f); *mikwāt sikkīnīya laṭīfa* / “a knife-edged cautery” (*id.* 429.51=428.14).

It is instructive to learn that the majority of Arabic dictionaries know of *ḥadīd* meaning *iron* as a general term<sup>37</sup>; this word, then, can be applied to denote various instruments made of iron along the lines indicated by Lane: “*istahadda* (...) He shaved his pubes with [a razor of] iron: derived from *ḥadīd*”<sup>38</sup>. On the same level there is the alternatively structured expression *ḥadīd al-quyūd*, where the range of meaning of the two constituent parts is more or less coextensive: the

<sup>37</sup> See Lane 1863-1893:526a-b; *az-Zabīdī*, *Tağ* II, 335; *aš-Šartūnī* 1889 I, 171a; *al-Ġawharī*, *Šiḥāḥ* 463; *al-Azharī*, *Tahdīb* III, 420b; *al-Bustānī* 1977:154b; *Ibn Manzūr*, *Lisān* 800a-b; *Reig* 1983, No. 1193; *al-Fīrūzābādī*, *Qāmūs* I, 286.

<sup>38</sup> Lane 1863-1893:525a (No. 10). Cf. also *az-Zabīdī*, *Tağ* II, 335.8ff; *aš-Šartūnī* 1889 I, 170c9f; *al-Bustānī* 1977:153c33ff; *Ibn Manzūr*, *Lisān* 800b12; *Brünnow - Fischer* 1984:25a, 23-27 (glossary); *al-Fīrūzābādī*, *Qāmūs* I, 286.21.

whole of the fetters consists of iron<sup>39</sup>. Similar to this is the Syrian Arabic expression *ḥadīd šibbāk* / “Fenster-Eisen”: Das grobe eiserne Gitter draussen [ein bisschen weit] vor den Fenstern oder Kellerlöchern heisst in Syr. einfach *ḥadīd šibbāk* ‘Fenster-Eisen’” (Almqvist 1925:2). Here the range of meaning of the two constituent parts is not coextensive: *ḥadīd* constitutes merely one part of *šibbāk*. This second stage in the development of the meaning of the word *ḥadīd*, where *ḥadīd*, the general name of a well-known material, is used to denote an instrument made thereof, is characterized by the eventual interchange of the forms *ḥadīd* and *ḥadīda*<sup>40</sup>, the latter defined as “a piece of iron” by most dictionaries<sup>41</sup>.

Most occurrences of *‘ilāğ al-ḥadīd* can thus be interpreted as *treatment with iron*, which is represented in our cases by an iron instrument and which in these particular instances happens to be a knife. There are, however, two closely related occurrences that do not lend themselves to such an interpretation. In the chapter on the treatment of femoral hernia we read: *wa-‘ilāğuhū bi-l-kayy ka-mā qaddamtu wasfabū wa-qad yu‘ālāğ bi-l-ḥadīd ‘alā ḥādihī ṣ-ṣifa (...)* / “it should be treated by cauterization as I have already described. Sometimes also it is treated with the knife in this manner (...)” (az-Zahrāwī, *Surgery* 449.7f=448.10f). There follows the description of the treatment after which az-Zahrāwī arrives at the conclusion: *wa-l-kayy ağwad fī ḥādā l-marwđi‘* / “but the cautery is better at this spot” (*id.* 449.17=448.23). Now, az-Zahrāwī makes it clear at the beginning of his work that contrary to the opinion of the Ancients, who preferred

<sup>39</sup> See az-Zabīdī, *Tāğ* II, 335.5; al-Ġawharī, *Šiḥāḥ* 462b; al-Bustānī 1977:154b1; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* 801b7f.

<sup>40</sup> See Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* 800b12 and *ibid.* c33 *ḥadīd* against *ibid.* c37 *ḥadīda*. Similarly az-Zabīdī, *Tāğ* II, 335.8-10. Cf. also Brünnow – Fischer 1984:25a (glossary) against *ibid.* 23-25 (glossary).

<sup>41</sup> See Lane 1863-1893:526b; al-Bustānī 1977:154b12f.; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān* 800a-2(=37). This use of the feminine ending belongs to the basic tenets of Arabic grammar. See, e. g., Grande 1963:112(No. 3g); Fischer 1972:49(# 84a).



cauteries of gold, he himself always uses iron cauteries. He also regards cauterization as an integral part of surgery – the *bāb* / “chapter” on cauterization covers about one fifth of the whole work –, consequently this contrast between *‘ilāğ al-ḥadīd* and *kayy* makes sense only if *ḥadīd* does not refer to the cautery here, although it is an iron instrument. What we have here before us, then, is already a certain degree of lexicalization, and since the detailed description of the operation leaves no doubt as to its nature (*tumma taṣuqq* / “make an incision” [*id.* 449.8f=448.11]; *tumma tabutt* / “then perforate” [*id.* 449.9f=448.13]; etc.), we have consequently to state that *ḥadīd* here can only mean *knife*, to the exclusion of other iron instruments<sup>42</sup>. This degree of lexicalization or further specialization in the meaning of *ḥadīd* seems to be attested by Dozy, Redhouse, Schmidt – Kahle and Steingass<sup>43</sup>.

If we now return to our previous question, we can state unanimously that *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-yad* and *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd* do not seem to be wholly interchangeable synonyms: *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-yad* is a wider term, which includes *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd*; there are, however, manual operations that are performed without the help of a knife or of iron instruments in general e. g. bone-setting. This is nowhere explicitly stated either in *az-Zahrāwī* or in the Arabic translations of Galen extant and accessible to me<sup>44</sup>, but all occurrences of these expressions seem to conform to this rule. It may be significant in this respect that although *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-ḥadīd* occurs in *az-Zahrāwī* more often than *al-‘ilāğ bi-l-yad* (see above),

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<sup>42</sup> If for some reason – contrary to what we have just undertaken – we are not allowed to analyze the compound *‘ilāğ al-yad* into its components, then we have to conclude that the whole compound as a unit in itself must mean *cutting, perforating, making incisions etc.*, in one word it must denote the activities performed by a knife. We omit this possibility from consideration.

<sup>43</sup> See. Dozy 1927 I, 255b; Schmidt – Kahle 1918-1930 II, 34.18 (cited in Denizeau 1960:101). In view of the lack of exact quotations, further investigations are needed to clarify whether the English equivalents as given by Redhouse and Steingass are to be regarded as representatives of the second or third degree in the development of the meaning of *ḥadīd* as sketched above. See Steingass 1892:413b; Redhouse 1921:772a.

<sup>44</sup> See footnotes nos. 4 and 5 above.

the title of the whole work (*maqāla*) on surgery is *ǧuz' al-ʿamal bi-l-yad* and not *bi-l-ḥadīd*, the three books (*abwāb*) on the three constituent parts of surgery being 1) *fī l-kayy* / “on cauterization” (az-Zahrāwī, *Surgery* 9.1=8.2); 2) *fī š-šaqq wa-l-batt wa-l-faṣd wa-l-ǧirāḥāt wa-naḥwihā* / “on incision, perforation, venesection and wounds and the like” (*id.* 167.1=166.2ff); 3) *fī l-ǧabr* / “on bone-setting” (*id.* 677.1=676.2). This last book on bone-setting covers an area where a number of operations are performed without iron instruments in general and without a knife in particular.

The statement concerning the relationship between *al-ʿamal bi-l-ḥadīd* and *al-ʿamal bi-l-yad* throws into relief one particular facet of the expressions *al-ʿilāǧ bi-l-ḥadīd bi-l-yad* and *ʿilāǧ al-ḥadīd bi-l-yad*, namely that they belong to the type that might conveniently be termed *redundant hendiadys* in so far as the field of meaning of the one component part (*al-ʿilāǧ bi-l-yad*) completely includes that of the other (*al-ʿilāǧ bi-l-ḥadīd*). This forms a contrast to the regular type of hendiadys in Arabic, where the fields of meaning of the two constituent parts partly overlap (Beeston 1970:112).

In the present paper we hope to have shown convincingly that

1) the expressions *al-ʿilāǧ bi-l-ḥadīd bi-l-yad* and *ʿilāǧ al-ḥadīd bi-l-yad* respectively, are to be regarded as examples of hendiadys characteristic of Ḥubayš;

2) although *ḥadīd* originally has the meaning of iron in the relevant expressions, at least by the time of az-Zahrāwī by way of lexicalization and specialization *al-ʿilāǧ bi-l-ḥadīd* has come to denote *treatment by the knife* to the exclusion of other iron instruments;

3) *al-ʿilāǧ bi-l-yad* is wider in meaning, wholly encompassing *al-ʿilāǧ bi-l-ḥadīd*;

4) in our texts these terms do not seem yet to have reached the status of fully established technical terms in the modern sense of the word.

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# THE TERM *ŞILA* IN EARLY ARAB GRAMMATICAL THEORY: THE CASE OF IBN AS-SARRĀĠ

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## *Introduction*

Arab grammarians used many terms both technically and non-technically to describe syntactic, morphological, phonological, and semantic relations between the different segments of speech in an attempt to describe the Arabic language. Many of the terms which the Arab grammarians used had been in use in other disciplines in reference to concepts very similar to the grammatical concepts which the grammarians had in hand. Terms such as *qiyās*, *uṣūl*, *naql* and *madhab* appeared in early treatises of Arabic grammar and reflected the effect of theology, logic and philosophy on the newly introduced science of language.

In addition to these technical terms, other non-technical terms were used by the Arab grammarians in a way that not only reflected the original meaning of the terms, but also introduced a new dimension for their use. The term upon which this paper will focus is the term *şila*, as well as some derivatives of the root *w-ş-l*. The paper will try to show that the derivatives of the root *w-ş-l* such as *şila* and *wāşil* lend themselves to verbal sentences' analysis within the modern theory of valency. In the valency theory the verb is regarded as the central element which assigns semantic roles to the different nouns in the sentence, as well as the cohesive element that links the parts of the sentence together to form a semantic whole. This is precisely the role of the transitive verb in Arabic when it is regarded as *wāşil*.

This paper will also argue that the term *şila* was used by the Arab grammarian Ibn as-Sarrāġ who lived in the 9th and 10th centuries, to refer to the transitive verbs' object (*al-maf'ūl bihi*), and consequently to the necessary elements needed in the verbs' sphere of valence.

The paper will begin by reviewing the lexicology of *w-s-l* in *Lisān al-ʿarab* and will consider the meanings of *waṣala* in the Qurʾānic text as interpreted in the *Tafsīr* of aṭ-Ṭabarī. Finally, this paper will analyze the manne in which the terms *waṣala* and *ṣila* were used by Ibn as-Sarrāğ in his *Uṣūl fi-n-naḥw*.

### *The lexicology of w-s-l*

The dictionary *Lisān al-ʿarab* lists the following meanings under the entry *w-s-l*:

1. *al-awṣāl* and *al-mafāṣil* both refer to joints. (The singular of *awṣāl* is *waṣil*.)
2. *waṣala kadā bi-kadā* means to gather item and to "stich" them together.
3. *wiṣla* and *wuṣla* to a certain place means to reach that place.
4. *waṣl* is the opposite of *hağr* (departing, deserting someone).
5. *waṣala* or *ittaṣala ar-rağul* means to be linked by marriage to a group of people (*intasaba*).
6. *waṣīla* is the she camel that gives birth to five or seven baby she camels followed by five or seven baby camels.
7. *waṣal aš-šāʿr* means to lengthen the hair by using artificial extension.
8. *waṣala ar-raḥim* or *ṣilat ar-raḥim*, means to have a close relationship or link with those whom you are related to by birth (*Lisān VI, 4850ff*).

More than a century later, az-Zamaḥṣarī indicated in *Asās al-balāğā* that *waṣala* means:

1. To connect/link two things together (*waṣala ṣayʿan bi-ṣayʿin*).
2. *waṣala* as the opposite of *hağara*.
3. *waṣala* is a person whom you never part with (*lā yufāriquhu*).
4. *waṣl* and *ṣilat ar-raḥim* mean to have a close relationship or link with one's blood relatives (az-Zamaḥṣarī, *Asās* 678-679).



*w-ş-l* in the Qur'ānic text

Derivatives of the root *w-ş-l* occur twelve times in a total of ten verses in the Qur'ān (cf. 'Abdalbāqī 1991). In the interpretation of Yusuf Ali, *waşala* was translated as "join" five times, "reach" four times, "to go towards something" once, and "to touch or come closer to someone/reach" once. The word *waşila* was translated as "a she camel that gives birth to twin baby camels" once. at-Ṭabarī (d. 310), provides us not only with an interpretation of the Qur'ānic text and lexicon, but also with some very interesting grammatical notes on the syntax and phonotactics of the Arabic language. For our present purposes, I will start by summarizing the meanings of *waşala* as they were presented by at-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*). Afterwards, I will discuss some of the syntactic information provided by at-Ṭabarī concerning the concept of *şila*.

1. *waşala* was presented in five verses as a synonym of *balāġa* (to reach; Q.28.35; 4.90; 6.136. 11.70 & 81). at-Ṭabarī commented in the interpretation of the verse of *Sūrat an-Nisā'* that some of *abl al-ʿarabiyya* had interpreted *waşala* in that verse to mean *intasaba* (to be linked or related by marriage). at-Ṭabarī supports this interpretation by a line of poetry by al-Aʿşā in which *waşala* is used to mean *intasaba*.

2. In three verses *waşala* was interpreted as the opposite of *qataʿa* (to disconnect or unrelate to). This meaning is especially linked to the concept of *şilat ar-raḥim*, where *qatʿ şilat ar-raḥim* means severing relations with those related to the person by birth, and where *waşl ar-raḥim* means having a close relationship or connection with one's relatives (Q.2.27; 13.21 & 25).

3. Two interpretations are given by at-Ṭabarī for *waşala* in *Sūrat al-Qaşaş* where *waşala* either means 'to connect' as in *waşl al-ḥibāl* (connecting ropes together in order to have a longer one), or to mean the same as *faşala* (here meaning to be distinct), or *bayyana* (to clarify).

On further occasions, at-Ṭabarī focuses on syntax to interpret further the meanings of certain lexical items and structures. As far as the term *şila* is concerned, he uses it to refer to several syntactic functions. These functions are :

1. *šila* and *tatāwul* are used interchangeably to refer to a redundant element in the sentence. This usage is called “*az-ziyāda fī l-kalām*”. *mā* is regarded as *šila* or *ḥašw* when it occurs in a sentence for the purpose of emphasis (*tawkiḍ*) and not to function as a relative pronoun (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* IV, 289, VI, 548).

2. When *šila* is not a redundant element in the sentence, it refers in most cases to an item of speech that is linked with another for purposes of clarification and completion of a sentence’s syntax and semantics. Thus, in the interpretation of the verse Q.2.131, aṭ-Ṭabarī considers the lexeme *id* as introducing a *šila* to another sentence mentioned before it. Therefore the verse “*id qāla lahu rabbuhu aslim qāl aslamtu li-rabbi l-‘ālamīn*” is a *šila* to “*la-qad istafaynāhu fī d-dunyā*”.

*Šilat al-fi’l* is a term used by aṭ-Ṭabarī to refer to the object of a preposition (*al-ḡār wa-l-maḡrūr*) in a line of poetry attested to several poets where the last part of the line says “*wa-lastu muqayyadan, annī bi-qaydin*”. aṭ-Ṭabarī says that a suppressed verb is operating here and that its *šila* is mentioned, which is “*bi-qaydin*” (by/with shackles).

In the interpretation of verse Q.4.127, aṭ-Ṭabarī uses the term *wasāla* as opposed to *qata‘a* to refer to the continuity of the flow of ideas as opposed to the interruption of the stream of ideas. He says “and this is so because linking the meaning of words is more worthy whenever possible (*waslu ma‘ānī l-kalām awlā*). Therefore this verse is a *šila* of ‘*wamā yutlā ‘alaykum*’ rather an elaboration of saying “*yufīkum fihinna*” because it is closer to the latter and separated (*munqaṭi‘a*) from the former” (aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* VII, 261-262).

In the previous example, the link or *wasl* refers both to the syntactic as well as the semantic relationship between the different parts of the sentences.

Within the same lines, aṭ-Ṭabarī uses *wasl* as the antonym of *waqf* in a morpho-phonetic sense where *waqf* means separation in pronunciation, whereas *wasl* means continuation or joining of the sounds/letters together. The idea of continuity and linkage is actually very clear in this case: here we can actually hear two words as one.

aṭ-Ṭabarī himself uses the terms *waşala* and *şila* to refer to connecting discourse or connecting stream of sounds and thoughts in numerous occasions in his *Tafsīr*. His interpretations of the derivatives of *w-ş-l* correspond with their general meanings in the dictionaries contemporary with and preceding his time, as well as the use of *waşala* and *şila* in the poetry of his contemporaries (especially al-Mutanabbī).

I would like now to turn to a grammarian who represented the thinking of both the Başran and Kūfan schools: Ibn as-Sarrāğ. He was a Bağdādī, who lived at the end of the third century and died six years after aṭ-Ṭabarī in 316 of *hiğra*. Ibn as-Sarrāğ wrote a remarkable work called *al-Uşūl fī n-nahw*, in which the terms *waşala* and *şila* are used to reflect the general meanings of the terms as used in poetry, dictionaries, and Qur'anic interpretations noted above, in addition to referring to the semantic role of both the verb and the different NPs which are used with it.

*The Use of waşala, waşl, and şila in Ibn as-Sarrāğ's al-Uşūl:  
An Overview*

Ibn as-Sarrāğ uses the term *şila* with the particle *mā*, with the relative pronoun *alladī*, with the particle *ayy*, with the verbal noun that is equivalent to 'an with the verb', and with *al-qasam*. In all those cases, the term *şila* referred to an item that is connected with a noun in order to form a "complete" structure on both the syntactic and the semantic levels. This paper will concentrate on the issue of transitivity of verbs so as to examine the various meanings and functions of *şila*.

*Verbs' Transitivity:*

1. *wāşil* = transitive

In his categorization of verbs according to their transitivity, Ibn as-Sarrāğ uses the term *wāşil* to refer to transitive verbs which are usually

referred to as *af'āl muta'addiya*<sup>1</sup> (*Uṣūl* I, 73).

Ibn as-Sarrāğ describes the verbs which are *wāṣila* in terms of the actions and events they denote and the role of their agents. Thus the verb *daraba* as a *wāṣil* verb denotes an action that goes from the agent to the object, whereas other transitive (*muta'addiya*) verbs such as *zanna* are not to be considered *wāṣila* because they do not describe an action that goes from the agent to the object.

Ibn as-Sarrāğ also makes a distinction between the two verbs *'alima* (to know) and *a'lama* (to cause someone to know). He argues that the verb *a'lama* is a verb *wāṣil* because when one uses it, one causes something to happen to someone other than oneself. But with the verb *'alima*, one refers to something that happens to oneself (i.e. the speaker's self). Consequently *'alima* and *zanna* are considered by Ibn as-Sarrāğ as *af'āl ġayr wāṣila* (*Uṣūl* I, 187).

Ibn as-Sarrāğ goes on to explain the meaning of *wāṣil* by making a comparison between *ism al-fā'il* and the *ṣifa muṣabbaha* on the basis of transitivity. Ibn as-Sarrāğ says that when *ism al-fā'il* is transitive – as in “*Zayd dāribun 'Amran*” (Zayd is hitting 'Amr) – the [action] of hitting has extended from Zayd and reached 'Amr (*inna d-darb qad wašala minhu ilā 'Amr*). But if one says: *Zayd ḥasanu l-wağhi* (Zayd is good in the face), you realize that Zayd did not do any thing to the face (*wağh*; *Uṣūl* I, 131-132).

## 2. *wašala* = ‘reach/operate’

The verb “reaches/operates” (*wasala l-fi'l*) is used by Ibn as-Sarrāğ in many incidents in *al-Uṣūl*. For example in the section where he discusses the *maf'ūl ma'ahu* he maintains that since the *wāw* does not

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<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that the term *wāṣil* had been used before Ibn as-Sarrāğ at least by two earlier Baṣran grammarians, Sibawayhi and al-Mubarrad. It was used in a very limited way in Sibawayhi's *Kitāb*, while al-Mubarrad used the term more widely. With Ibn as-Sarrāğ's *Uṣūl*, it became obvious that the term *wāṣil* began to be used as a technical term.

operate on verbs but on nouns, and since it occurs before both nouns and verbs, the verb which is used before it reaches (*yaṣilu*) to what is after it (i.e. the *maf'ūl ma'abū*), and operates on it (*Uṣūl* I, 209).

When Ibn as-Sarrāğ introduced *al-istiṭnā'*, he explained that with the particle *illā* the meaning of *istiṭnā'* takes place and the verb reaches and goes beyond (*waṣala*) to what is after *illā* and causes the noun to be in the accusative (*Uṣūl* I, 281).

### 3. *waṣl* = 'connection'

According to Ibn as-Sarrāğ, "*al-waṣl*" happens between two items that complement each other and together they form a semantic entity (*ism marwṣūl bi-ṣay' ka-t-tamām labu*). Similar to the *iḍāfas* where each noun is added to (*maḍmūm ilā*) another which is its *tamām* (i.e. forms a semantic entity with it), Ibn as-Sarrāğ cites examples where two elements of the sentence are linked together to form a semantic entity. Some of these examples are: "*yā ḥayran min Zayd aqbil*" (O!, you better than Zayd, come here!), "*yā ḍāriban rağulan*" (O!, you hitting Zayd), "*yā qā'imān fī d-dār*" (O!, you standing in the house). All of the previous examples include two NPs which together form a semantic entity. All of the examples either feature the second noun in the accusative, or link to a prepositional phrase. (*Uṣūl* I, 344).

The importance of *ittiṣāl* in the forming of *tamām* or a semantic entity had been mentioned before Ibn as-Sarrāğ's time by al-Ḥalīl for Ibn as-Sarrāğ quotes him as having said that in the sentence "*lā āmirān bi-l-ma'rūf*", if you make "*bi-l-ma'rūf*" semantically related to the first NP (*min tamām al-ism al-awwal*); *āmirān*, and you make it linked with (*muttaṣilan bihi*), it will be as if you say "*lā āmirān ma'rūfan*" (*Uṣūl* I, 387).

al-Ḥalīl must have been trying to distinguish between verbs which take an object (*maf'ūl bihi*) and those which do not. The structural difference in the above example between '*bi-l-ma'rūf*' and '*ma'rūfan*' is that the former is a prepositional phrase whereas the latter is an object of the verb. If by "*muttaṣil*" and "*tamām*" al-Ḥalīl is referring to the

semantic completion of the verbal notion then it should not have mattered whether or not the verb takes a direct object or an object of a preposition, assuming that both are in fact the semantic object of the verb's action. The only possible interpretation of al-Ḥalīl's saying is that he made the inclusion of an object of the verb in the sentence a prerequisite for the terms "*muttaṣil*" and "*tamām*" to be meaningful. For the verb's meaning would be incomplete unless a preposition is used and then the verb would be *wāṣil* by means of a preposition.

According to Ibn as-Sarrāğ, the verb which occurs with a prepositional phrase in the syntactic slot of the verb's object is regarded as *wāṣil* by means of a preposition. He said, "and the object of the preposition is in fact the verb's [semantic] object. An object which is reached at or linked with a verb by a preposition is [equivalent] in meaning to that which the verb reaches or links with by itself. That is because your saying 'I passed by Zayd' (*marartu bi-Zaydin*) means 'I visited Zayd' (*ataytu Zaydan*)" (*Uṣūl* II, 13).

In many incidents in his book, Ibn as-Sarrāğ deals with what he calls *ṣila* referring to the constituents of verbal sentences. In one incident he cites the following two examples: "*a'ğaba rukūbu d-dābbata Zaydun 'Amran*" and "*a'ğaba rukūbu Zaydun ad-dābbata 'Amran*". Ibn as-Sarrāğ says then that one can not prepose the word "*dābba*", nor can put the word "*Zayd*" before the word "*ar-rukūb*" because they are "*min ṣilatihī*", meaning they are *min ṣilat ar-rukūb*, "*fa-qad ṣarā minhu ka-l-yā' wa-d-dāl min Zayd*" (*Uṣūl* I, 138).

One verb with which Ibn as-Sarrāğ uses the term *min ṣilatihī is zanna*. Ibn as-Sarrāğ gave the examples: "*zanantu Zaydan la-fī d-dār qā'im*". He says that if the phrase "*fī d-dār*" is a *ṣila* of *zanna*, then the *lām* should occur with the phrase. If, on the other hand, the phrase is in the *ṣila* of the word "*qā'im*", then the *lām* should occur before *qā'im* as in '*zanantu Zaydan la-qā'im fī d-dār*'. Ibn as-Sarrāğ comments on this by saying that the *lām* should introduce what is in reality the predicate (*ḥabar al-mubtada*). It is worth noting that the predicate is now an object of the verb *zanna* (*Uṣūl* I, 261).

The term *min şilatibi* is used by Ibn as-Sarrāğ in a way that is very similar to what Michael Carter (1985) noted with regard to Sībawayhi's use of the term *min sabab* in his *Kitāb*. Carter translated the term *min sabab* as "semantically related". I would translate Ibn as-Sarrāğ's *min şilatibi* in the same way but with one reservation. This translation is only valid as long as it is used to refer to a verbal construction. It is worth mentioning that Ibn as-Sarrāğ uses the term *min sabab* in the same way as Sībawayhi does – that is, to refer mainly to non verbal constructions especially with noun-adjective phrases.

In the chapter on "*al-ihbār 'an al-fā'il wa-l-maf'ūl li-l-fi'l alladī yata'addā ilā maf'ūl wāhid*". Ibn as-Sarrāğ says, "*wa- hādā l-bāb lā budd an yakūn fī ḡamīr masā'ilibi ismān; fā'il wa-maf'ūl*". Thus, if Zayd is the predicate (*al-ḡabar*) one must say: "*alladī ḡaraba 'Amran Zaydun*", where *alladī* is the *mubtada'*, *ḡaraba 'Amran* is its *şila*, and *Zayd* is the *ḡabar*. Note the coupling of the *fā'il* and the *maf'ūl* in this example as well as the way in which the *şila* includes the *maf'ūl*. If one adds this to the fact that the *şila* makes the *mawşūl* a complete semantic entity, and that the *şila* itself consists of a complete thought (*kalām tāmm*), then one can claim that this is an indication of how the *maf'ūl* is regarded as a part of the semantic entity of the *şila*, and consequently of the verb in it (*Uşūl* II, 280).

#### 4. *şila* = a connected item

In the chapter on *taqdīm* and *ta'hīr*, the first item that can not be preposed is the *şila*: Ibn as-Sarrāğ states here that the reason for not preposing the *şila* to the *mawşūl* is that the *şila* is like "*ka-ba'dibi*". According to the rules of *taqdīm* and *ta'hīr* Ibn as-Sarrāğ mentions that any part of the *şila* as well as the *şila* as a whole can not be preposed to the *mawşūl* (here; *alladī*, *an*, and the *alif lām*). He adds that "*wa kull mā kāna min şilat şay' min ism aw fi'l mimma lā yatimm illā bihi fa-lā yağūz an tafşil baynahu wa-bayna şilatibi bi şay' ḡarīb minhu*". (The phrase "*şay' ḡarīb minhu*" is semantically unrelated to the *şila*, and "*lā*

*yatimm illā bi-ṣ-ṣīla*” means that the *marwṣūl* does not form a semantic entity except through its linkage with its *ṣīla* (*Uṣūl* II, 222-223).

*waṣala* with the prepositions

In the definition of the prepositions (*ḥurūf al-ḡarr*), Ibn as-Sarrāḡ says, “the *ḥarf* links (*yaṣīlu*) what is before it with what is after it, so it links the noun with another noun and a verb with a noun”. “*Ammā iṣāluhā al-ism bi-ism fa-qawluka; ad-dār li ‘Amr, wa ammā waṣluhā al-fi’l bi-l-ism fa-qawluka: marartu bi-Zayd. fa-l-bā’ hiya allatī awṣalat al-murūr bi-Zayd*”. (Compare this part with the equivalent part in Sībawayhi’s use of the word “*adāfa*” rather than “*waṣala*”). (*Uṣūl* I, 408).

The preposition “*alā*” is said to link (*tūṣil*) the active participle *nāzil* (is staying with) with ‘*man*’ in the example, “*‘alā man anta nāzil?*”. If we rewrite this example as a statement it will read as: *anā nāzil ‘alā man*, in which case ‘*alā*’ links ‘*nāzil*’ with ‘*man*’ (*Uṣūl* II, 345).

##### 5. *ittiṣāl* = semantic connection

Ibn as-Sarrāḡ adds that (contrary to Sībawayhi) *rubba* does not “*tudīf*” “*az-ẓarīf*” to “*ar-raḡul*” in “*rubba raḡul ẓarīf*” because, according to Ibn as-Sarrāḡ, “*ittiṣāl al-awwal bi-t-tānī yuḡnī ‘an al-idāfa*”, that is *ittiṣāl aṣ-ṣifa bi-l-marwṣūf* is already maintained and there is no need for any other factor, in this case *rubba*, to help maintain the *idāfa*.

Ibn as-Sarrāḡ summarizes his ideas on *ṣīla* by stating that the *ṣīlāt* cannot be broken. Any of the words in the *ṣīla* can be qualified only after the *ṣīla* is completed as an entity. Thus in the sentence “*marartu bi-lladīna aḡma‘ īn fī d-dār*”, the word *aḡma‘ īn* should occur at the end, after the phrase ‘*fī d-dār*’ (*Uṣūl* II, 331).

Another of Ibn as-Sarrāḡ’s examples of how the *ṣīla* forms one semantic entity which cannot be broken is a long verbal sentence with *fā’il* and *maf‘ūl*. The implication here is that one cannot separate the individual items which form the *ṣīla* if the *ṣīla* is to be coherent (*Uṣūl* II, 336).



The *ṣila* is therefore an intrinsic part of the noun with which it is linked (*al-ism al-mawṣūl*), for as Ibn as-Sarrāğ mentioned several times earlier, the *ṣila* is equivalent to the letters which together form one noun (*bi-manzilat ḥurūf al-ism*) (*Uṣūl* II, 342).

A *ṣila* constitutes a complete thought. If there are two verbs and the thought is completed after the first verb, then the second one is not considered part of the *ṣila* (*Uṣūl* II, 349).

### Conclusion

The term *waṣala* was used by Ibn as-Sarrāğ as an equivalent to the term *mutaʿaddī* in order to cover the semantic role of verbs and to express the verbs' power in operating on those nouns that fall within their valence.

This interpretation, if accepted, explains Ibn as-Sarrāğ's inclusion of both the *fāʿil* and the *mafʿūl* in the *ṣila* of the *fīʿl*, as well as his placing of the object of a preposition in the syntactic slot of the *mafʿūl*. It also justifies the definition of *ṣila* as the completion of the *mawṣūl* (*ka-t-tamām labu*).

In this approach *waṣala* conforms with the explanations given earlier by *Lisān al-ʿarab* and aṭ-Ṭabarī's *Tafsīr*. It is the thing that links, joins, and connects. The most interesting definition of *waṣala* as far as the theory of valence is concerned is the concept of *waṣl al-ḥibāl*. If, as this paper has argued, Ibn as-Sarrāğ uses *waṣl* to refer to a semantic link between the different components of the sentence, we may then be able to claim that his approach to language was semantically based, for he regarded language as a connected stream of ideas.

How much of these ideas had already existed before Ibn as-Sarrāğ wrote his *Uṣūl*? How much was his own contribution? How much was elaborated by his students? These are questions that must be addressed by future research.

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**IV. ARABIC-PERSIAN  
LEXICOGRAPHY**



# EARLY ARABIC-PERSIAN LEXICOGRAPHY: THE *ASĀMĪ* AND *MAŠĀDIR* GENRES

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## 1. Introduction

In the genesis and systematization of New Persian, the principal vehicle of Eastern Islamic literature from the fourth century A.H./tenth century C.E., the Arabic language sciences naturally served as models for the organization and metalanguage of their counterparts in Persian. Thus the metrical system of Classical Persian verse is described in terms of the feet and metres of the system of *'arūḍ* attributed to al-Ḥalīl b. Aḥmad, and continues to be studied and taught within this matrix even after detailed research by medieval scholars such as Šams-i Qays ar-Rāzī revealed, implicitly – and that of modern scholars has confirmed explicitly – that Persian metrics is by origin and nature quite different from Arabic, and the convoluted rules devised in order to derive many Persian metres from Arabic models are patently artificial<sup>1</sup>. Grammatical terminology, too, has been taken mostly from Arabic, and remains so in most modern textbooks, even though Persian is structurally much more akin to English than to Arabic. Happily, this sort of imitation has not kept Persians from appreciating and composing poetry in both traditional and modern modes without conscious reference to Arabicate schemes of scansion, nor are modern Iranian linguists intimidated from coining new terms where necessary to analyse Persian within novel matrices such as generative semantics. The traditional terms are labels, no more and no less useful within their domains than their Greco-Latin analogues such as 'iambic' or 'gerund' in English poetics and grammar.

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<sup>1</sup> See Elwell-Sutton 1976, esp. 57-82.

Where the needs of language are more important than the convenience or prestige of metalinguistic labels, reliance on Arabic models can be seen to be negligible. In the sphere of lexical borrowing, where the influence of Arabic on Persian is most immediately apparent, it has been shown that the morphological assimilation of Arabic etyma into Persian proceeds in accordance with intuitive Persian semantic categories, not by analogy with syntactically-conditioned variants or morpholexical patterns of Arabic; i.e., words ending in the phonologically ambivalent Arabic feminine marker *-a(t)* are definitively lexicalized in Persian borrowings as either *-at* or *-a* (both phonologically and orthographically), according to the extent to which they exhibit contrastive features such as mass noun/count noun, tangible/intangible, action noun/instance noun, etc. (Perry 1991.)

Lexicography is a field where one would expect an initial dependence on, and imitation of, Arabic models. New Persian does not appear in literary form (in Arabic script) for some two centuries after the Arab Muslim conquest of Iran; the early Islamic intellectuals of the region (including probable crypto-Zoroastrians like Ibn al-Muqaffa<sup>4</sup>) wrote in Arabic. Not only were the early monolingual Arabic dictionaries prestigious achievements with no surviving analogue in earlier Persian, but several of them were compiled by ethnic Iranians (Ibn Qutayba of Marv, az-Zamahšarī, al-Ġawharī of Fārāb), some of whom also compiled bilingual Arabic-Persian dictionaries (az-Zamahšarī, Abū Ġa'far al-Bayhaqī). This is not to argue that the vernacular spoken by such lexicographers (which in some cases was an Iranian language other than Persian) could have influenced their methodology; Arabic was the language in which they wrote – and most likely thought – and likewise the main object of their linguistic inquiries. It remains pertinent, however, that the early period of Arabic-Persian lexicography (ca. 1040-1280 C.E.) is contemporaneous with the middle period of a still vigorous and changing tradition of Arabic monolingual lexicography, involving some of the same scholars; and that several peculiarities of arrangement in Arabic dictionaries have their counterparts in Arabic-Persian dictionaries. It is the object of this preliminary inquiry to assess whether this similarity

is the result of unthinking imitation, or a conscious adoption or adaptation of tried and trusted methods; and to what extent some quite different methods used were more suitable to Persian lexicographical needs.

The importance of early Arabic-Persian dictionaries to Islamic cultural history is considerable. Beginning as reference books for the bilingual writers of the Eastern Caliphate and its independent emirates, they increasingly become records and to some extent arbiters of the flood of Arabic loanwords and calques into Persian, recording the first stage in the formal and semantic processing such words underwent in their further journeys into Turkic, Indic and other languages of the cultural ecumene.

One example of Arabic-Persian lexicography is indisputably a straightforward adaptation, virtually a translation, of a monolingual Arabic work. *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* of al-Ġawharī, completed at Nishapur about 398/1007, was abridged as *aṣ-Ṣurāḥ min aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ* by Abū l-Faḍl Ġamāl ad-Dīn Muḥammad Qarṣī at Kašgar in 681/1282. Using the same arrangement by rhyme and keeping the citations from the Koran, *Hadīṭ* and Arabic proverbs, Qarṣī dispensed with the verse *ṣawāḥid* and glossed each of the 40,000 entries with a single Persian word or expression. It proved to be a continuing success, inspiring numerous editions and commentaries in Iran and, later, in India (Munzavī 1958, 306-309). It was acknowledged as the source of the material in several subsequent dictionaries, notably the popular *Kanz al-luġāt* of Muḥammad b. Maʿrūf, written for the ruler of Gīlān ca. 870/1465. Such obvious influence does not concern us here; more interesting is the possibility of creative imitation or adaptation of individual Arabic dictionaries, or of genres of dictionaries, where this is not acknowledged.

## 2. Goals and Techniques

The first Arabic dictionaries, of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, were compiled by scholars for scholars. An outgrowth of the grammatical sciences inaugurated by Sībawayhi and al-Ḥalīl, works such as the *Ki-tāb al-ʿayn* and *al-Ġamhara* were arranged paradigmatically, according to

the morphological patterns assumed by the lexical radicals; they were research tools for the lexicographer and his colleagues, whether phonologist, philologist or prosodist.

The earliest Persian monolingual dictionaries, appearing almost three centuries later, were by poets for poets; eschewing subcategorization, they arranged their vocabulary in alphabetical order of the final letter, i.e., by rhyme. Despite their often bearing Arabic titles (a fashionable convention), Persian dictionaries confined themselves strictly to native Persian vocabulary, and did not regularly include Arabic loanwords until the seventeenth century. The first of them, early in the 5th/11th century, is said to have been a *farhang* ('school[book], dictionary') by the musician and reputed first New Persian poet, Abū Ḥaḥṣ Ṣuġdī (i.e., of Sogdia, in the region of Samarqand and the Pamir foothills); some fifty years later (ca. 1050) appeared the *Luġat-i furs* of Asadī Tūsī, and the now inextant *Tafsīr* (or *Tafāsīr*) *fī luġat al-furs* of Qaṭrān of Tabriz (Nafīsī 1958:178-179, 186).

The timing and locations are significant. During the tenth century, the Sāmānid dynasty had established the dialect of New Persian known as Darī as the court and literary language of their empire centred on Bukhara. This dialect, though originating in the Old and Middle Persian of southwestern Iran, was established on former Parthian territory and had a substratum of vocabulary from indigenous northeastern Iranian languages, chiefly Sogdian and Choresmian (Khwarazmian). The Persian of southern and western Iran, known as Pārsī, remained closer to literary Pahlavi of Sasanian times, and included elements of other Iranian languages such as (pre-Turkish) Azeri in the region of Tabriz<sup>2</sup>. The prestigious Persian of the Sāmānid court, a vehicle of translation from Arabic (e.g., both the *Ta'riḥ* and the *Tafsīr* of aṭ-Ṭabarī) and of original poetry and prose, was expanding its domain westward during the 5th/11th century, into Persian-speaking lands ruled by Iranian dynasts (the Buwayhids) where, paradoxically, the court and literary language was still Arabic. Abū Ḥaḥṣ and Asadī of Tūs were celebrating the vocabu-

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<sup>2</sup> See Lazard 1975 and 1990.



lary of the fashionable poetry of their time, and teaching it as the vocabulary of their own clime to the less fortunate poets of western Iran; one of these was Qatrān of Tabriz who, as we learn from Nāṣir Ḥusraw, 'could not speak Persian very well' and was anxious to copy down the Khurasanian traveller's glosses on the vocabulary of the Sāmānid poet Daqīqī – thus forming the nucleus of his dictionary?<sup>3</sup>

Persian monolingual dictionaries thus had adequate autochthonous motivations for both their sociolinguistic function and their alphabet-final form (as rhyming aids). Certainly the famous Arabic *Siḥāḥ* had already appeared before them (and likewise under the Sāmānid aegis); but the concept of a rhyming dictionary was by no means confined to Arabic (Indian lexicographers had already exploited the form), so the case for Arabic methodological influence here is unproven. Persian dictionaries of pre-Islamic times were exegetical in motivation and arranged topically: such are the *Frahang-i Oīm*, which glosses Avestan vocabulary into Middle Persian, and the *Frahang-i Pahlavīk*, which transcribes the Semitic heterograms of Pahlavī into phonetic Iranic realizations (Klíma 1968:48). These belonged to an entirely separate tradition of religious scholarship which, by Sāmānid times, was alien and forgotten and could not have been influential.

Arabic-Persian dictionaries, an obvious prerequisite for the ambitious translation program sponsored by the Sāmānid *amīrs*, began to appear immediately after the Persian monolingual ones. An early example which appears to owe nothing in conception to Arabic models is Adīb Naṭanzī's *Dastūr al-luḡa*, also known as *Kitāb al-ḥalāṣ*, composed in 1090, possibly for the celebrated Seljuk vizier, the Niẓām al-Mulk. Assuming literate bilingual users, Naṭanzī glosses some of his 7,000 Arabic entries in everyday Arabic rather than Persian; and evidently desiring a practical reference work for prose translation or chancellery composition, he arranges the bulk of his work alphabetically by initial, and appends a brief Arabic grammar in (Arabic) verse. His work was also the first to distinguish by diacritics the six letters representing

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<sup>3</sup> See Lazard 1975:595-606; Thackston 1986:6.

Persian consonants not found in Arabic<sup>4</sup>. Naṭanzī is also credited with the composition of *al-Mirqāt* (also known as *aṣ-Ṣaḥā'if*), a Persian-Arabic vocabulary for beginners divided topically into twelve chapters (Munzavī 1958:272). Similarly motivated, and independent of Arabic models, was the contemporaneous *Tarǧumān al-Qur'ān* of the *qādī* Abū 'Abdallāh Ḥusayn az-Zawzanī (Zawzan lies between Herat and Nishapur). This was the first of many Persian glossaries of the Koran, which were generally arranged in order of *sūras*; they thus functioned more like commentaries or interlinear translations than true dictionaries, and probably owed their inspiration rather to the now universal science of *tafsīr* than to Arabic lexicography.

### 3. *Asāmī and maṣādir: Arabic antecedents*

During the same period there began to appear the first Arabic-Persian dictionaries using the terms *asmā'* (plural of *ism* 'noun') or the double plural *asāmī*, and *maṣādir* (plural of *maṣdar* 'verbal abstract, *nomen actionis*') in their titles. For this there are precedents in the Arabic monolingual lexicographical and lexicological tradition. Abū 'Ubayd in the seventeenth book of *al-Ġarīb al-muṣannaḥ* exemplifies sixty-nine *bābs* of nominal paradigms, and there are similar though shorter such sections on *asmā'* in Ibn Qutayba's *Adab al-kātib* and *al-Ġambara* of Ibn Durayd. The impetus for these separate listings seems to have been the desire to showcase unusual forms, such as the pattern *fi'cīl* and the proper noun *Ṣuraḥbīl* in Abū 'Ubayd; certainly these anomalies lend themselves less well to systematization under radicals. Such precedents may have led in the Arabic tradition to an elaboration where a single nominal paradigm is exemplified exhaustively, as in *Kitāb mā ḡā'a min al-mabnī 'alā fa'āl* of 'Alī b. 'Isā ar-Rab'ī (d. 420/1029)<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Brockelmann 1937-42 I, 343; Munzavī 1958:270-271.

<sup>5</sup> See Rybalkin 1990:39-41. -

al-Kisā'ī (d. 189/805) wrote the oldest treatise on the morphology of Arabic nomina actionis (*maṣādir*), and was followed by at least eight other grammarians, including al-Farrā', who confined their corpus to the Koran. According to Yāqūt, one Dalāmīzu Buhlūl wrote a treatise on rare forms of *maṣādir*. Lexicographically, Abū 'Ubayd, again, treats five types of *maṣādir* in his nineteenth *kitāb*, under the rubric of entantiosemes (*addād*). Curiously, neither in form nor in function do his words exemplify what one normally thinks of as a *maṣdar* in the sense of *nomen actionis*: listed are denominatives (those derived from parts of the body, those with which no finite verbs are associated, those derived from numbers), idiomatic constructs (those occurring as *maf'ūl mutlaq*), and those of the anomalous form *maf'ūl* (Rybalkin 1990:37-38). Like his *asmā'*, and as in the treatise of Dalāmīz, Abū 'Ubayd's *maṣādir* are presented as *nawādir* 'curiosities', not as a semantically unified form class of thousands to be listed together with the relevant verbs.

Mentioned among compilers of early, now inextant, Arabic collections of *maṣādir* (perhaps issued as independent works?) were two Iranians, Niftawayhi (d. 323/935) and Abū Zayd al-Balḥī (d. 322/934) (Rybalkin 1990:38). However, it is not until the early twelfth century that we hear of an independent Arabic dictionary devoted to a systematic listing of everyday *maṣādir*; and this was by an Iranian scholar who also compiled the most successful of the early Arabic-Persian *maṣādir* collections, as we shall see below.

#### 4. Arabic-Persian *asāmī*

It thus appears that both *asāmī* and *maṣādir* came into their own as distinct and categorically sophisticated lexicographical genres only with Arabic-Persian bilingual dictionaries from the late eleventh century on. The two labels, like most grammatical terms, were lifted from Arabic, but the use to which they were put was more in keeping with Persian lexicographical needs than Arabic; though the appropriate evolution took some time.

In Nishapur in 1104, Abū l-Faḍl Aḥmad al-Maydānī, a prolific contemporary of az-Zamaḥṣarī and al-Bayhaqī, produced *as-Sāmī fī l-asāmī*, 'The Sublime [Dictionary] of Nouns': this was arranged topically, under four *kitābs*: (1) religion, (2) animals, (3) the celestial, (4) the terrestrial. Interesting is that the Persian glosses are absent from some of the manuscripts<sup>6</sup>; since the introduction and explanatory apparatus is in Arabic, and makes no specific reference to Persian, perhaps the work was conceived initially as a monolingual dictionary, and Abū l-Faḍl's son or another later retrofitted it as a bilingual Arabic-Persian dictionary. At any rate, forty years later his son, Abū Sa'd Sa'īd al-Maydānī, issued an expanded Arabic-Persian version under the appropriate title *al-Asmā' fī l-asāmī*, with a Persian introduction (Munzavī 1958: 275). This work, surviving only as a fragment, thus marks an important stage in the rise of New Persian as a scholarly language in its own right, and anticipates the relegation of Arabic in the Islamic East to its post-Mongol status as a dead language – still essential as a key to the classics and a fund of vocabulary, but no longer the only acceptable medium of expository prose.

Approximately a hundred years later, during the thirteenth century, the *Muhaddib al-asmā'* by the *qāḍī* Maḥmūd b. 'Umar (an Arab by descent, resident near Samarqand), introduced further innovations. Dispensing with citations, it included particles, adjectives and collocations, arranged the material in 28 *bābs* alphabetically by initial, and further subcategorized them (*fasl*) by first vowel! This very modern and un-Semitic procedure was not widely imitated; other improvements were – notably the use of standard abbreviations such as *ma'rūf* to designate a noun so common as not to need definition, and the letter *ġīm* (for *ġam'* 'plural') (Munzavī 1958:301-303; Storey 1984:92). Some glosses comprise not native Persian words but assimilated Arabic loans: e.g., *al-arab* ('need') is explained as *ḥāġat*, not as, say, *niyāz*, as might have been expected. The anonymous and roughly contemporaneous *Tahdīb al-*

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<sup>6</sup> Storey 1984:81-82; Munzavī 1958:273-274; Brockelmann 1937-42 I, 344, Suppt. I, 506-507.

*asmā'*, also known as *Tāğ al-asāmī*, includes wordier definitions of its material in Arabic. It treats nouns only; these are likewise arranged in the first instance alphabetically by initial, but subcategorized by root final<sup>7</sup>. This arrangement was to prove the most popular with later Iranian and Indo-Persian lexicographers until the eighteenth century, since it combined the best of both worlds – alphabetical by initial, for general reference of words (not roots), and alphabetical by final within this scheme, for use as a partial rhyming dictionary.

### 5. Arabic-Persian *mašādir*

Qāḍī Abū ʿAbdallāh Ḥusayn az-Zawzanī (d. 1093) compiled several dictionaries besides the Koranic glossary already mentioned, including a [*Kitāb*] *al-mašādir*. This early model of the genre was not a user-friendly vernacular glossary, its 5,000 entries being arranged much like one of its Arabic precursors in order of morphological complexity of the infinitives and the characteristic vowels of conjugated forms (Munzavī 1958: 268; Storey 1984:80-81). However, it evidently sensed a need and anticipated a trend. Some fifty years later, Abū Ğāʿfar al-Bayhaqī (Bū Ğāʿfarak, to give him his familiar Persian form) expanded az-Zawzanī's work, without acknowledgement, to 10,000 entries and arranged it in strict alphabetical order within the morphological sections. This *Tāğ al-mašādir* was an immediate success: since Bū Ğāʿfarak reputedly never left home except to visit the mosque, scholars flocked to his house in Nishapur to hear and memorize his dictionary. The author of the *Tārīḫ-i Bayhaq* claims to have memorized both az-Zawzanī's and Bū Ğāʿfarak's *mašādir* (Munzavī 1958:279-280; Storey 1984:84-85). The latter was published in a Bombay lithograph edition as late as 1301/1884.

The *Tāğ* was no dry listing of infinitives, but a compendium of Arabic verbal morphology and an illustration of the idiomatic disambiguation of polysemous action nouns. For example (p. 677 of the lithograph) under the entry *ḥalʿ* we read one example *ḥalaʿa ʿanhu tarwbahu*,

<sup>7</sup> Munzavī 1958:303-304; *Tāğ al-asāmī* 1988, Editor's introduction.

glossed three ways as *ġāma'aš-rā bīrūn kard/...bar kand/...bīrūn kašīd* 'he took off his robe'; and another, *ḥala'a imra'atabu*, glossed as *zanaš-rā ḥal' kard and zan-i ḥud-rā ba-kāvīn furūht* 'he divorced his wife'. What we might call 'homonymic glosses' such as *ḥal' kardan* are quite common; other instances are *al-muwāfaqa - ba-kasī muwāfaqat kardan* 'to agree with someone'; *al-mukāfāt - mukāfāt kardan* 'to requite'. In the last example, the final *tā'* of the Arabic entry is written (at least in some manuscripts) as *tā' mamdūda*, as in the assimilated Persian loanword; even if this is merely a scribal lapse, it indicates – together with the incidence of homonymic glosses – that such dictionaries were increasingly becoming lists of Arabic *Lehnwörter* in Persian rather than *Fremdwörter*. As historical records of Persian idiom, especially of the incorporation of Arabic *mašdars* in Persian complex and phrasal verbs, such works are still valuable today.

Bū Ġa'faraq is said to have also compiled an Arabic monolingual *Kitāb al-mašādir*, influenced structurally by Abū Ibrāhīm Iṣḥāq al-Fārābī's *Dīwān al-adab* of two centuries before (ca. 950 A.H). The latter was divided morphologically into six sections, each subdivided between nouns (*asmā'*) and verbs (*af'āl*); in effect, Bayhaqī extracted the *mašdars* from, or 'nominalized', the verbal moiety of the *Dīwān al-adab*<sup>8</sup>.

## 6. The legacy of *asmā'* and *mašādir*

A few more Arabic-Persian dictionaries of the *asmā'* genre were produced up until the early eighteenth century in Turkey and Iran, but *mašādir*-type dictionaries appear to have died out in the fifteenth. Neither genre is represented in the titles of dictionaries produced in India, where lexicographers of Arabic and Persian were the most active from the fourteenth century on. However, manuscripts of the best known exemplars are common in libraries of the Subcontinent; and if we examine the material treated and its arrangement, we find more than a trace of

<sup>8</sup> Rybalkin 1990:38-39; al-Fārābī, *Dīwān*, Editor's introduction.

both of these pioneering methodologies in dictionaries of various types that appeared during the centuries following their demise.

The popular *Kanz al-luġāt* (ca. 1465) by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥāliq Maʿrūf took its material from the *Šurāḥ as-Šiḫāḥ*, as already mentioned. In its arrangement, however, it is a combination of our two genres, segregating *mašādir* from nouns and other words in each *kitāb* (Munzavī 1958:316-317). Maʿrūf tends to group together different *mašdars* of the same root, as, e.g., in the prudishly unhelpful entry: *al-muġāmaʿa, wa-l-ġimāʿ - maʿrūfān*. In this and most subsequent dictionaries that list alphabetically by initial then final (rather than second), strict alphabetical sequence is occasionally ignored in order (1) to list together words of identical paradigms such as *mafʿal, mufāʿala, tafʿīl*, etc., and (2) within this matrix, to group synonyms, sometimes having them share a gloss: e.g., *al-muʿāqada* and *al-muʿāhada* are glossed together, before the entry *al-muʿānada*. Thus in the *Tāġ al-mašādir*, the *Kanz al-luġāt*, the *Muntahab al-luġāt-i Šāhġahānī* (1046/1636-7), the *Farhang-i šīr o šakar* (18th century?) and several other Arabic-Persian dictionaries or Persian dictionaries that include Arabic loans and are arranged alphabetically by initial, the Arabic vocabulary that begins with formatives (especially *mīm* or *tāʾ*) is prominently displayed in paradigmatic groups.

This is useful in the first instance to the original learner or scholar, who finds words not only easy to look up but, in the case of verbal nouns and participles, grouped according to prosodic and semantic type: a choice of, say, *mufāʿala* words is available for the rhetorician to spice his sentences with rhymed synonyms and antonyms. In the second instance it is convenient for the modern researcher who may wish to make lexico-statistical or semantic comparisons. For instance, the total number of *mufāʿala* words in az-Zawzanī's *Kitāb al-mašādir* is 490; in al-Bayhaqī's expansion of this, 567; in the *Kanz al-luġāt*, 505; in the *Muntahab al-luġāt*, 228, which is little more than the number used as loans in modern written Persian. The extent to which actual items in dictionaries of different periods correspond to eventual *Lehnwörter*, and the relative proportions of vocabulary from various lexico-semantic patterns as between Arabic words that remained outside the Persian lexicon

and eventual Persian borrowings, are some of the questions that may help to fill in our scanty knowledge of the process of Persian borrowing from Arabic.

It is evident that from the rise of literary New Persian, which was incorporating Arabic vocabulary at a furious rate, scholars realised the need to control and record this process. Vocabulary was being assimilated not in the form of abstract roots, grammatically-conditioned particles and finite verb paradigms, but almost exclusively as substantives (including verbal participles and, especially, infinitives or *mašdars*). These latter were especially valuable in building up the intellectual vocabulary: already by the Middle Persian period, the primitive verb stock had become seriously impoverished, so that denominal derivation of new verbs was common even before the arrival of Arabic. Henceforth synthetic coinages like *gāratīdan* 'to plunder' and *fahmīdan* 'to understand' and, increasingly, analytic forms with auxiliaries, as *taqdīm kardān* 'to propose, proffer' and the examples already quoted from *mašādir* collections, were to continue to enrich Persian.

The intricately categorized, over-determined Arabic dictionaries which Iranian scholars had played a considerable part in elaborating for the purposes of Arabic philology were of little use in overseeing the transfer of actual substantives and nomina actionis into Persian. So by progressively simplifying the excesses of categorization, by arranging the material by rhyme or by initial consonant (of the word, not necessarily the root), and by restricting it to those word classes most in demand, bilingual lexicographers formed a bridge between Arabic and Persian monolingual dictionaries. As already noted, two of the early works of *asāmī* and *mašādir* produced by Iranian scholars of Khurasan (al-Maydānī and al-Bayhaqī) may have been drafted originally in Arabic only, and were later adapted as bilingual glossaries. The labels *asmā'*/*asāmī* and *mašādir* were lifted from their lexicographical precursors, but the form and content of the new genres had little in common with the fringe phenomena once studied for the sake of Arabic philology, and everything to do with the Arabicization of the Persian lexicon. By the seventeenth century, when 'Abd ar-Rašīd Tattavī introduced his



*Muntahab al-lugāt-i Šāhğahānī* (with the hybrid syntax of its title) to the cultivated Muğal court, as the first comprehensive dictionary of Arabic prose for students and general readers, the listing of nominal and verbal substantives had been amalgamated into what was, though ostensibly still an Arabic-Persian dictionary, in effect an alphabetical record of Arabic *Fremdwörter* (loans available) and *Lehnwörter* (loans in use) in Persian. It is significant that Persian monolingual dictionaries of this same period, such as the *Burhān-i qāṭi'* and Tattavī's own *Farhang-i Rašīdī*, were beginning to include assimilated Arabic loanwords in their entries.

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