DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC
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By

PETER CARTER SPEERS

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ABSTRACT

The basis of modern written Arabic is the language of the grammars, the standard dictionaries, and the classical literature. This language has been considerably influenced during the past century and a half by contacts with modern Western civilization. On the one hand these contacts have augmented and accelerated the normal processes of linguistic change and resulted in a number of modifications of the Arabic language. On the other hand these modifications have in turn aroused widespread interest in and concern with their language on the part of the Arabic-speaking peoples and led to the emergence of a group of reformers the majority of whom wish to reject the changes of the past hundred and fifty years and return to the Arabic of the first few centuries of Islam as the basis for developing a language suited to present-day needs. The interaction of these two essentially antagonistic forces has produced a language that differs from classical Arabic principally in its vocabulary and to a lesser extent in its grammar, idiom, and orthography and that is now capable of meeting most of the demands of contemporary life.
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For the purposes of the present discussion, "modern Arabic" is taken to mean the written Arabic language as it has developed during the past century or century and a half. It is further limited to include only the language of the periodical press, scholarly journals, and books of serious intent. Such a definition excludes the various dialects of the spoken language and also excludes arbitrarily all of Arabic literature from its beginnings before Islam up to about the end of the eighteenth century.

This treatment of modern Arabic is further limited in that it deals almost exclusively with the language of Egypt and the countries to the east and north of Egypt and does not attempt to discuss the development of modern Arabic in the Arabic-speaking countries of North Africa.

The term "Arab" is used to mean one whose first language is Arabic. It is also used, in the phrases "the Arab countries" and "the Arab world", to refer to those countries whose principal language is Arabic.

This work is intended to be a discussion and description of the modern Arabic language as a whole, and not merely
of those parts of it that have come into being since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Throughout the paper, therefore, and especially in Chapters VII and VIII, the fact that a word is cited as an example of modern usage should (unless otherwise indicated) be taken as implying merely that it is used in the modern language and not necessarily that it is of recent origin.
ABBREVIATIONS

References to the following journals have been abbreviated in the text:

BEO - Bulletin d'Études Orientales
BIE - Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte
BSOS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
JRAS - Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
IA — Minutes of the meetings of the Academy of the Arabic Language (محضر الجلسة)
MEJ - Middle East Journal
MSOS - Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen
MW - Moslem World
OM - Oriente Moderno
RAAD - مجلة الجمع العلمي العربي
RALA - مجلة مجمع اللغة العربية
REI - Revue des Études Islamiques
RMM - Revue du Monde Musulman
RSO - Rivista degli Studi Orientali
ZDMG - Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

The names of other periodicals referred to have been cited in full.
DEVELOPMENT AND PRESENT STATE OF MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC
Chapter I

THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN ARABIC

History affords a number of examples of a civilization's being radically and basically changed either by the development of some new trait or traits within itself or as a result of contact with a foreign culture or through a combination of these circumstances. Such periods of metamorphosis may alter not only the outward physical aspects of a civilization but often also its system of political and economic management, its social and family organization, and the habits, beliefs, attitudes, and language of its people. It is just such a far-reaching series of changes that has been taking place in the Arabic-speaking countries since early in the nineteenth century.

Influence of Western Civilization. The impact of modern Western civilization upon the Arab world has had a number of features which enhance its interest for the historian, the anthropologist, and the philologist, and which set it apart somewhat from other examples of the effects of inter-cultural influences. One of the most obvious of these differences, and perhaps the most important for the purposes of this discussion, is that this has not been the impact of
an advanced and complex civilization upon a primitive one. At the time of its first contacts with modern Western civilization the Arab world, it is true, had for some centuries been in a state of intellectual torpor. Its cultural and social organization, however, far from being recent emergents from a state of primitive barbarism, were not only the heirs of a long and illustrious history but were themselves tremendously complex and well developed.

From this fact arises a second characteristic of the period of change through which the Arab countries have been going during the past century and a half, and one which has had a considerable effect upon the Arabic language. This is that simultaneously with the introduction and adoption of modern Western civilization there has been a deliberate effort to return to and recreate some aspects of the past history of the Arabic-speaking peoples, especially those connected with literature, language and political organization. This effort to adopt the new and at the same time revive the old has perhaps been the source of a number of the divisive forces at work in the Arab world today. It has brought with it on the one hand jealous local nationalisms on the European pattern and on the other hand a
desire to recreate the unified Arab empire of old; on the one hand the introduction of large numbers of new words and expressions into the language, and on the other hand efforts to revive the classical Arabic language and preserve it unchanged.

A third characteristic that distinguishes this period from other eras of profound cultural change is that we can say with considerable exactness just where, when, and how this vast series of changes was set in motion. In many instances of change from one type of civilization to another or from one predominant pattern of culture to another, the transition has been gradual and its beginnings imperceptible. Of the changes which the Arab world has undergone, however, it can be said with some certainty that they began in 1798 with the invasion and occupation of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte, who brought with him not only a military force but also an accomplished group of scientists and scholars as well as the Arabic printing press he had taken from the Vatican. Quite possibly the cultural importance of the French occupation has been exaggerated. Certainly it made no immediate or profound impression on the social or intellectual life of the Arab countries. It would perhaps be a
more accurate and more realistic appraisal of its effects
to say that its importance lay in the fact that incidentally
it resulted in the appearance in Egypt and subsequent rise
to power of Muḥammad ‘Alī. It was Muḥammad ‘Alī who, first
among the rulers of the Arab countries, realised that these
countries might benefit from certain facets of European cul-
ture and who, through his position of absolute power in
Egypt, was able to undertake a systematic and energetic
campaign of borrowing from Western civilization. 1 At any
rate, the French conquest and occupation offer a convenient
and in many respects valid date for the beginning of the
Westernisation of the Arab countries.

In addition, the Arab world, if not unique, is at
least unusual for both the scope and the depth of the changes
which it has undergone as a result of contact with a foreign
culture. The outward changes that have affected the appear-
ance of the people, of their dress, and of their cities, and
the alteration of their economic life through the introduction

1. Among the many attempts to appraise the cultural
effects of this period see, for example, Jamāl al-
Dīn al-Shayyāl, تاریخ الترجمة والحركة الثقافية في مصر محمد علي
(Cairo, 1951) and J. Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and
Translations under Muḥammad ‘Alī of Egypt: the
Foundation of Modern Arabic," JRAS 1940: 325-349.
of the railroad, the automobile, and the airplane are of course most obvious. The changes have been deeper than this, however. The example and influence of the West have altered the political organization of the Arab world and have introduced new concepts of government and administration. The West too has introduced the Arab world to modern science, giving it not only the products of this science (the airplane, the radio, and the electric light) and the vast areas of newly discovered factual knowledge upon which it is based, but also an understanding and appreciation of its basic ideas and methods.

The influence of Western civilization, furthermore, has altered many of the most basic and personal habits, customs, and attitudes of the people of the Arab countries. It has given them new ways of using their leisure. Through the radio, the motion picture, the daily newspaper, and new methods of education it has given them a broader knowledge of the rest of mankind and new ideas (or doubts) about such things as the position of women, the importance of religion, and the function of the family.

Finally, these developments, following from the introduction of modern Western civilization and accompanied by
the simultaneous attempt to return to and revive the glories of medieval Arab civilization, have inevitably wrought considerable changes in the Arabic language during the past century and a half.

**Effects upon the Language.** A number of factors have operated to bring about these changes in the Arabic language. Contact with the new industrial civilization of the West has introduced the Arab countries not only to the major inventions such as the telegraph, the steam engine, and the automobile but also to a large number of less spectacular objects affecting the every-day life of individuals, such as new styles of clothing, new kinds of furniture, and so forth. At the same time, the increase and spread of education has introduced these countries to new or unfamiliar ideas and attitudes and concepts. Words have been needed to describe and discuss all these new objects and ideas, and the provision of these words by one means or another has had a considerable effect on the vocabulary of Arabic.

The spread of education and literacy, furthermore, has made many more people familiar with the so-called "correct" or "classical" language and thus helped to raise the general standard of written Arabic. At the same time too,
education, much of it conducted in foreign languages, has had the effect of introducing a number of foreign words and constructions into the Arabic language.

Along with education, the spread of publishing and the rise of the periodical press (and later the radio and cinema) have not only increased public familiarity with the classical language but have also tended to some extent to standardize vocabulary and pronunciation.  

Finally, the language has been very considerably affected by translations of European books, which have formed one of the main avenues for introduction of Western civilization into the Arab world. A very large number of foreign works were translated into Arabic during the 1800s, and in fact translations perhaps outnumbered the original works in Arabic published during much of the nineteenth century.  

The process of translation inevitably had the effect of introducing foreign words and meanings into Arabic and of


affecting the idiom and style of the language. As a result, one finds Arabic words used today with meanings they never had before the nineteenth century and combinations of words that would have seemed strange or even meaningless to an eighteenth century reader.⁴

Dissatisfaction with the Language. With the spread of education and the increase in the publication of books, the cumulative effect of these changes in the language soon became apparent. Editors, authors, and scholars began to become aware that considerable numbers of foreign words and expressions, chiefly Turkish and European, were entering into use in Arabic. 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm, for instance, quoted with distaste the following sample of late nineteenth century prose:⁵

بنا، على الكونتراو الماخوذ بفرعمك بعدم اتفاق ببكم وبين بنك الخرواجات فإن بنحن الواهبات تعلق الفجروانية الشرقية عند وتوظفها بالمرخص ومع الالب وتغير شحنها باتفاكم مع الغوندان عند ما يتناكر على الجمرك يلزم ان تقدموا الدبورتو اللازمة بإدارة الغنوات للمعاملة بموجبهها.

⁴ For a history of the translation movement, with some discussion of its effects on the language, see Jacques Tājir, حركة الترجمة بمصر خلال القرن التاسع عشر (Cairo, 1945), as well as the works by Heyworth-Dunne and al-Shayyāl already cited.
The example is perhaps exaggerated, but al-Nadīm's use of it serves at least to illustrate the alarm with which writers of the second half of the nineteenth century viewed the obvious changes taking place in their language.

One reason for the influx of foreign words into Arabic was, of course, that the language was being called upon to describe and discuss scores or hundreds of objects and ideas which were new or unfamiliar to the people of the Arab countries and for which no Arabic words were available. The vocabulary of Arabic was undoubtedly a very rich one, as its defenders have stated again and again, pointing to its "1000 words for sword" and "500 words for lion". Unfortunately, however, this large vocabulary did not include words for the new objects and ideas of modern civilization, and the tendency was very often to adopt the foreign word along with the object or concept for which it stood.

Quite apart from the influx of foreign words, it also became apparent that the standard of Arabic being written throughout the Arabic-speaking world during much of the nineteenth century was deplorably low. Jurjī Zaidān, for

example, describes the state of the language in the early years of the century by saying: 6.

ما زالت الركاكة تتواج على الايشاء العربي ... وكرت الألفاظ العامة والدخيلة ... هذا ما يقال من حيث التراكيب وما الألفاظ فقد كبر فيها الدخيل والمولد ...

and the situation worsened during the century as the influence of foreign languages increased. Many of those who were considered literate were in fact incapable of writing correct classical Arabic. Not only was their vocabulary heavily laden with foreign words, but many had only a rudimentary knowledge of the fine points of classical Arabic syntax and their writing was much influenced by colloquial grammar and vocabulary.

The Language Reform Movement. During roughly the fifty years from 1825 to 1875 the awareness of these facts led to a feeling of increasing dissatisfaction with their language on the part of educated Arab writers. With the rise and expansion of the Arabic periodical press from about 1875, this feeling of dissatisfaction and concern was reinforced and became more widespread. Not only did the new periodicals, through their choice of subject matter, make

6. Zaidān, تاريخ اللغة العربية (Cairo, 1904), pp. 45-46.
even more obvious the inadequacies of the language, but they reached a far larger audience than private correspondence among educated people could ever have reached. For the first time, therefore, men of letters were able to publish their views about the state of the language, to see their own misgivings about its probable future confirmed by the opinions of others, and to discuss with one another the steps to be taken to halt the rapid decline and eventual disappearance of the Arabic language.

This was the start of the movement for a reform of the Arabic language. Gaining added support as a result of the increase of literacy, and reinforced by the growth of the spirit of Arab nationalism, the movement has gathered strength and continued to the present day. Since the last decades of the nineteenth century almost every issue of the various "scientific and literary" journals has, briefly or at length, argued some aspect of the language question; Government support has been gained for the movement; and numbers of learned societies have been formed with the main object of rescuing the Arabic language from its decline and decay and apparently imminent demise.
Chapter II

ATTEMPTS TO MODERNIZE VOCABULARY AND GRAMMAR

The various suggestions that have been made for reforming the Arabic language and remedying the defects that became increasingly apparent in the latter part of the nineteenth century may, for the sake of simplification, be reduced to three proposals: (1) that classical Arabic be discarded altogether and one of the modern European languages adopted in its place as the language of education and learning, (2) that spoken Arabic be used for all writing and the present written or classical language relegated to a status like that of Latin or classical Greek, and (3) that the vocabulary, grammar, and alphabet of written Arabic be reformed, simplified, and modernized so that the language will become capable of filling all the needs of present-day life without having any of its essential characteristics altered.

Classical vs. Colloquial. The first of these proposals has usually been mentioned only for the sake of argument and immediately dismissed as both impracticable and undesirable. The second alternative, that written Arabic be

replaced by the spoken language, has had a number of supporters, especially during the early years of the language reform movement, but by now has been largely discredited and discarded. Its proponents have based their arguments largely on the disadvantages of having to use two distinct varieties of Arabic: one for speaking and another for reading and writing. They have objected to the fact that the Arabic-speaking student must devote a large part of his time and effort not to studying the subjects in his curriculum but merely to struggling to master his own language.

Those who oppose any move to substitute the colloquial for the classical language in writing object, first of all, to the fact that such a move would cut the Arabic-speaking peoples off from all their past literature, including the Quran. They hold, furthermore, that it would be impracticable to make such a substitution, because the

2. Proponents of the use of colloquial have not infrequently chosen to hide behind pseudonyms. See, for instance, the article signed by "Ahmad" in al-Ustādhib 1(11)(1 November 1892): 241-245. See also "al-Mumkin", al-Muqtataf 6(1881-82): 494-496. For objections to this article and rebuttals of the objections see al-Muqtataf 6(1881-82): 555-556, 556-560, 618-620, 621.

3. This point is examined in some detail in As'ad al-Hakim, التوازي في الحرص على اللغة, RAAD 5(1925): 456-466.
colloquial language is fit only for every-day use in the street or in the home and is incapable of serving as the language of learning and culture.

One of the strongest arguments put forward against such a move, however, is based on the fact that there is no single colloquial that could be substituted for the written language and that any such substitution would inevitably split Arabic into a number of mutually incomprehensible languages and thus end forever any possibility of achieving the reunification of the Arabs. There is, in other words, a considerable element of nationalistic feeling in the opposition to proposals that the classical be replaced by the colloquial language; and in fact one thing that has served to discredit such suggestions is the fact that many of them have been made by foreigners. One of the earliest proposals to this effect was one which was made in 1892 by William Willcocks, a British official in the Egyptian Department of Public Works, and which aroused a great deal of opposition in the Arabic press. Willcocks' views are summarized in a statement he made many years later when he declared:

I have been in Egypt forty years and I have never met an original Egyptian. Their mental energies are consumed in eternally translating to themselves
what they read in literary Arabic into familiar Egyptian, and then, with the aid of familiar Egyptian, realizing what they have read, and then translating it back again into literary Arabic before they can put their thoughts on paper.  

In 1901 Selden Willmore expressed much the same view somewhat less emphatically in the preface to his textbook of the spoken Arabic of Egypt\textsuperscript{6}, and this likewise met with considerable opposition.\textsuperscript{7} Many of the later proposals of this type seem to have come from foreign missionaries concerned with finding the most effective way of bringing their message to the Muslim peoples.\textsuperscript{8}

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\textsuperscript{4} See, for example, [\textsuperscript{'}Abd Allāh al-Nadīm], باب اللغة, al-\textsuperscript{Ustād} 1(20)(3 January 1893): 467-477, and the unsigned review of Willcocks' proposals in al-\textsuperscript{Muqta\textsuperscript{t}af 17}(1892-93): 342-343. For some further remarks on Willcocks and the reactions to his ideas see the history of Mijtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah in Chapter IV below.


\textsuperscript{6} Willmore, The Spoken Arabic of Egypt (London, 1901).

\textsuperscript{7} See, for instance, [Ibrāhīm al-\textsuperscript{Yāzi}j], اللغة العامة, al-\textsuperscript{\ṣiyā\textsuperscript{a}, }\textsuperscript{4}(1901-02): 257-265, 321-326, 353-357, 385-389, 417-424. For a summary of other reactions to Willmore's proposals see also 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, حافظ إبراهيم واللغة العربية, RAAD 12 (1932): 750-759, especially pp. 752-754.
The reverse of these schemes, that is, the proposal that the various colloquial languages be abandoned and everyone somehow induced to speak classical Arabic, has sometimes been put forward; but it is so obviously unfeasible that it has gained little support. Occasionally, too, the two proposals are brought together and the suggestion made that the spoken and written languages should be combined into one by introducing certain colloquial words and expressions into the written language and at the same time encouraging teachers, students, writers, and others to speak in classical Arabic whenever possible.  

Having rejected any move to substitute the colloquial for the classical language in written Arabic, most of those involved in the reform movement today hold that, provided certain reforms or modifications are made, modern written


9. A well presented argument in favor of combining the written and spoken languages is in Razūq ʻĪsā, إنجاز الكتابة باللغة العامية, LA 1(1911-12): 238-241.
Arabic is quite capable of serving all the present-day needs of the Arabic-speaking peoples. This comparative unanimity, however, is little more than an agreement on the ends to be achieved, and there still remains a wide field of disagreement on the means to be used for attaining this goal. In fact, much of the literature of the reform movement over the past seventy-five years has consisted of the arguments and counterarguments put forward in connection with various proposals for reaching the generally accepted goal of reforming and modernizing classical Arabic.

Criticisms of Errors. A common method of dealing with the defects and deficiencies of Arabic as a modern language has consisted of pointing out and criticizing errors in current usage. This approach is not, of course, new in Arabic literature but goes back at least to the third century of the Islamic era. Early examples of this type of work include Adab al-Kātib by Ibn Qutaibah, Kitāb Laisa fī Kalām al-‘Arab by Ibn Khālawaḥ, Lahn al-‘Ammaḥ by Abū Bakr al-Zubaidī, and al-Taḥṣīf wa-‘l-Taḥrīf by Abū Ahmad al-‘Askarī. Of the many modern works of this type, the best known are probably Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī's Lughat al-Jara'īd, Qāmūs al-‘Awwām by Halīm Dammūs, and As‘ad Khalīl Dāghīr's...
Tadhkirat al-Kātib\textsuperscript{12}, and the series 'Atharat al-Aqlām by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribi\textsuperscript{13} which appeared in the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus between 1921 and 1927 and was followed some years later by the same author's 'Atharat al-Afmām\textsuperscript{14} and 'Atharat al-Līsān\textsuperscript{15}.

One fact that has detracted from the effectiveness of

\begin{itemize}
\item 11. Dammūs, \textit{The Language of the Peoples} (Damascus, 1923).
\item 12. Dāghir, \textit{Introduction to the Author} (Cairo, 1923).
\item 15. Al-Maghribī, \textit{Features of the Language} (Damascus, 1949).
\end{itemize}
of this literature is that there has been comparatively lit­tle unanimity among its various practitioners as to what is actually "incorrect" or "improper" Arabic. Much of the writ­ting of this type, in fact, consists merely of one writer's criticizing another's attempts to correct alleged mistakes in popular and current usage. 16 Salīm al-Jundī's Islāḥ al-Fāsid min Lughat al-Jarā'id 17 and Dāghir's Tadhkirat al-Kātib, for instance, are both essentially attacks on al-Yāṣiḥī's Lughat al-Jarā'id 18; and Anāstās al-Kirmālī, though much addicted to this type of writing himself, was especially violent in attacking others whose views on what was correct and what was not correct did not happen to coincide with his own. 19

These compilations of "errors" in usage have perhaps had some slight effect on those at whom they have been aimed.

16. On this point see also the remarks in Chapter IX below.

17. Al-Jundī, إصلاح الفاعد من لغة الجرائد (Damascus, 1925).

18. Dāghir's book was also reviewed by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, who published an eight-page list of its "errors" in RAAD 4 (1924): 259-264, 307-314.

19. See, for example, his criticisms of al-Maghribī's عشرات الألفاظ (compare note 13 above). See also his attack on Jabr Ǧūmāṭ in LA 7 (1929): 708-713, and
One commentator, in fact, goes so far as to say that Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī in particular inspired a real terror in his contemporaries, who scarcely dared publish a line for fear of making some mistake in usage that would call down his scorn upon their heads. More recently, however, there has been a reaction against this type of writing. Āḥmad al-Iskandārī complained that most of the writing on the Arabic language had come to consist of such compilations and that every little pedant with a smattering of grammar who could put together a list of fifty or sixty current "errors" thought that this was enough to make him an important scholar. Both al-Iskandārī and Muṣṭafā Jawād further criticized his criticisms of errors of usage in the text of RAAD, in LA 8(1930): 351-363, 524-529, 682-685, 764-773, and RAAD 17(1942): 106-112, 232-237, 322-327.

20. J. Lecerf, "Renaissance de la langue et de la littérature arabes," in Entretiens sur l'évolution des pays de civilisation arabe, [1][1937]: 31-42, see p. 36.

the compilers of these lists for relying solely on dictionaries and grammatical texts rather than on actual usage or on the basic principles of Arabic morphology and syntax.

Vocabulary Reform. Other and more constructive approaches to the problem of how Arabic is to be reformed and modernized have dealt for the most part with the question of vocabulary. It is in its vocabulary that modern Arabic differs most noticeably from the classical language, and it is here that its present deficiencies are most apparent and the differences between the various factions of the reform movement are greatest.

The most conservative point of view holds that the vocabulary of Arabic is immeasurably rich, that the only reform needed is the revival of words which have been forgotten and become obsolete, and that even the words needed for the technical vocabulary of modern industrial civilization can be found in the language of the pre-Islamic poets. Those who belong to this school would reject as improper any word or meaning that does not appear in the Qāmūs of al-Fīrūzābādī, the Sīhāḥ of al-Jauharī, or

the Lisān al-ʿArab. A slightly more liberal view holds that words included in the Mukhassas, the Asās al-Balāghah, the Miṣbāḥ, or the Tāj al-ʿArūs are also good Arabic. The supporters of this school have a special horror of words which are مولد, that is, words which are purely Arabic in form, derivation, and meaning, but which have been formed and have become current since about the third century of the Islamic era. To these critics a foreign loan word such as بانک bank or فیلم film is less objectionable than an Arabic word which is post-classical in formation or meaning such as تصویت voting, or مسئولیت responsibility. Even the phrase اللغة الفصیل the watchword of the conservatives, would be rejected as improper, since اللغة الفصیل is an elative form and the best classical dictionaries give only the form فصیل and not the elatives فصیل.

Opposed to this conservative position are those who feel that such views are contrary to the natural laws of linguistic growth and change and that the imposition of such

23. For a statement of this extreme orthodox viewpoint see Shakīb Arslān, لیس للغة قاموس محیط بها, RAAD 11 (1931): 717-723.

24. For a further discussion of the term مولد see below in Chapter VII.
criteria could only result in making Arabic a dead language like Latin. Those who hold this more liberal point of view argue that the standard classical dictionaries are deficient even as guides to what is فصيح and should not be the final arbiters of present-day usage and that the modern language should not be forced to follow the usage of Arabian Bedouins of a thousand or more years ago. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī's rhetorical "Do you want me to ... submit to [the example of] some Bedouin?" is cited in support of this point of view, and Jurjī Zaidān argued that the time had come to release the Arabic language from the bonds of the age of ignorance and to free it from the prison of Bedouin usage.

قد أن لنا ان نحلّ افلاحنا من فبر الجاهلية وتخرجها من سجن البداوة والفلا نستطيع البغاء في هذا الوسط

25. Al-Afghānī had used the word بقرة as a collective plural of بقرة and was criticized on the grounds that this form did not occur in any of the classical dictionaries.

قالوا = ولكنها لم ترد في كلام العرب.

قال = وهل تريدون مني أن أكون نفسيا وانضع لدوري?

See LA 6(1928): 291-294. Al-Kirmīlī's comment was that Jamāl al-Dīn was nothing but an Afghani anyway, and what could one expect from foreigners who tried to advise the Arabs on their language. The propriety of the word itself is discussed more fully in al-Maghribī, معركة لغوية, RAAD 8(1928): 626-628.
The liberal or modern school, in short, holds that unless Arabic is to become a dead language it must be freed from artificial bonds such as those imposed by the classical dictionaries and allowed to develop its vocabulary as circumstances dictate. Most writers on the subject, however, even those who hold a generally liberal and modernistic viewpoint on problems of vocabulary, make some reservations regarding the acceptance of colloquial or foreign words into the language and would prefer to admit these only when no satisfactory "correct" Arabic equivalent can be found.

Although the influx of foreign and especially European words was one of the factors chiefly responsible for the rise of the language reform movement, opinion today on this aspect of the problem is far from unanimous and ranges from those who would place almost no restrictions on the entry of foreign words to those who


would reject all foreign words except those which came into Arabic in the earliest period of its development. Those who would admit foreign words without limitation point out that the entry of thousands of Latin and French words into English has in no way "corrupted" or altered the essential characteristics of the English language. Those who oppose this point of view, on the other hand, often point to Maltese as an example of the horrid fate awaiting Arabic if the entry of foreign words is allowed to continue unchecked.

In general, moderate opinion on the question of admitting modern loan words holds that it is permissible to borrow a foreign word if no satisfactory Arabic equivalent or translation can be found. Many writers who are willing to accept foreign words into the language also urge that they should be shortened or otherwise altered in spelling or form in order to make them conform to the standard patterns of Arabic morphology. 28 Others would accept only foreign words that are short, easily pronounced, and already close to Arabic forms, but would reject foreign words that are long or bear no resemblance to any of the standard word

28. The adaptation of foreign words to Arabic forms is discussed more fully in Chapter VI below.
forms of Arabic. The Arab Academy of Damascus, in establishing the rules it would follow in selecting new words, decided that (1) if the idea or object was known to the Arabs of classical times, then the original Arabic word should be sought out in the classical dictionaries, but that (2) if the object or idea was new then the word already in popular use must be considered. If this was found to conform to the rules of Arabic spelling and morphology, then the word could be allowed to continue in use. If not, then it must be changed so as to conform to these rules. The Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo has adopted standards that are essentially similar to these and has explicitly approved the acceptance of foreign or post-classical words into the language when necessary.

Various methods have been suggested for supplying Arabic words to meet the needs of modern civilization without resorting to the use of foreign words. The most conservative writers on the subject would content themselves with a thorough search through the standard dictionaries and classical Arabic literature. The more liberal reformers, on the other hand, argue that the standard

29. RAAD 2(1922): 50.
word forms or patterns of Arabic offer a means of creating large numbers of new words from familiar Arabic roots. They point out that the position of Arab culture vis-à-vis Western civilization today is much the same as its position at the beginning of the Islamic period with respect to Persian and Byzantine civilization. In both periods there has been a need for new words to deal with the new objects and ideas of contemporary civilization. In the first centuries of the Islamic era this need was met not only by allowing the entry of foreign words but also by creating large numbers of new words and altering the meanings of words already in use. This was accomplished by deriving new words from existing roots (الاستغراق), by extending or otherwise altering the meaning of words (المجاز), by translating foreign words (الترجمة), and occasionally by forming compound words (النحت); and the more liberal of present-day language reformers argue that the same devices should be freely used today to enlarge and modernize the vocabulary of Arabic without destroying its essential characteristics.

The conservative retort to these arguments is that the use of these devices was permissible for the Arabs of classical times, but that once the language was formed and
codified (that is, by about the third century of the Islamic era), these avenues were closed and that the Arabic-speaking peoples of today may not legitimately use them. The majority of writers, however, including major figures of the language reform movement such as Ibrāhīm al-Yāzi differently, and Muḥammad Sharaf differently, ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribi differently, and Muṣṭafā al-Shihābi differently, and others, have favored the extensive use of these devices as a means of enlarging and


33. See, for example, his اللغة العربية والمعطيات العلمية, al-Muqtataf 74(1929): 123-127, 278-282.

34. See especially his كتاب الألفاظ والتعريب (Cairo, 2d ed., 1947) and his address at the opening of the second session of the Academy of the Arabic Language, RALA 2(1935): 16-20.
modernizing the Arabic vocabulary so that it can meet the requirements of modern civilization.

The consensus of learned opinion on matters of vocabulary reform appears to be reflected with some accuracy in a poll conducted by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī during the years 1928-1935. Al-Maghribī set forth seven classes of words and expressions and asked for opinions on whether their use was permissible in good modern written Arabic. His categories comprised (1) words that are purely Arabic and occur in the works of the best classical writers (الفصحى، الذين يمنع بيفترائهم) but which, for one reason or another, are not included in the classical dictionaries, (2) words that are found in the works of reputable later Arab writers (فصاً من العرب عامياً بعد القرون الأولى), (3) words that have acquired

35. Al-Shihābī's views are set forth at length in his المصطلحات العلمية في اللغة العربية في القديم والحديث (Cairo, 1955). See also his article نهضة اللغة العربية للتغيير عن حاجات الحياة المصرية والتعليم العالي, RAAD 27(1952): 369-382.

36. Al-Maghribī, الكلمات غير الغامبية, RAAD 8(1928): 29-32. The replies, which were printed in full in RAAD 8(1928), 9(1929), and 13(1933-35), are summarized by al-Maghribī in RAAD 12(1932): 521-532, 577-588, and in Maḥdār 1(1934): 321-329. For some rather derogatory comments on the whole project see al-Maḥriq 27(1929): 452-453.
new meanings since classical times, (4) words that have been formed in more recent times, (5) foreign words, (6) figures of speech and idiomatic constructions of foreign origin, and (7) colloquial Arabic words.

Al-Maghribi's questionnaire brought forth nineteen replies, the general tenor of which was on the whole fairly liberal. Eighteen of the replies indicated that their authors would accept words of the first category, and the nineteenth rejected this group only on the grounds that each word should be judged on its own merits and not on its age or the reputation of the writers who had used it. The greatest opposition was shown not to foreign words but to colloquial words, which were rejected outright by eight writers and rejected by a further eight with reservations based on differences of opinion as to what was colloquial and what was not. The remaining categories were accepted by a majority of those who replied to al-Maghribi.

Need for a New Dictionary. Closely connected with the vocabulary problem is the question of the need for a new Arabic dictionary that will serve present-day needs by including all the new words in the language as well as the new meanings that have become attached to old words.
The criticisms that may be made of the existing Arabic dictionaries are obvious and derive chiefly from the fact that they are basically dictionaries of the classical language only. While hundreds of new words have been taken into Arabic since the first centuries of the Islamic era, these have been arbitrarily excluded from the dictionaries by the orthodox grammarians and lexicographers. The result is that the dictionaries are filled with obsolete words known only to the lexicographers and do not include hundreds of other words which are in every-day use in modern Arabic.

Even as records of the classical language alone, the existing standard dictionaries have a number of defects. They omit a considerable number of words which occur in the works of the best classical authors. Their definitions are sometimes incorrect and often vague. Too often, that is, words are defined simply as "well known" or given circular definitions (two words being defined by reference to each other). Finally, they are often poorly arranged and difficult to use, so that one may have to read through pages of definitions before finding the desired word.

The more recent dictionaries such as al-Bustān, Aqrab al-Mawārid, Muhīt al-Muhīt, and al-Munjid have
all been strongly criticized for one reason or another, and writers since the early days of the reform movement have been urging the compilation of a new Arabic dictionary.\footnote{42} Not surprisingly, however, in view of the magnitude of the task and the wide disagreement over what words should be included, no such new dictionary has yet appeared.\footnote{43}

\begin{itemize}


\item \textbf{39.} See Ahmad Rida, RAAD 21(1946): 118-125, RAAD 22 (1947): 345-351.

\item \textbf{40.} The faults of \textit{Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ} are discussed in al-Khānī, \textit{op. cit}.

\item \textbf{41.} See, for example, Muṣṭafā Jawād, LA 7(1929): 203, 876-878.

\item \textbf{42.} The need for a new dictionary and the organizational and other problems that would be involved in compiling one are discussed in some detail in al-Maghribī, \textit{al-Muqtaṭaf}, RAAD 85(1925): 277-282, reprinted with the title \textit{al-Muqtaṭaf}, RAAD 82(1933): 136-139.

\item \textbf{43.} See, however, the reference in Chapter IV below to the new dictionaries under preparation by the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo.
\end{itemize}
Reform of the Grammar. Another approach to the problem of language reform is made by those who call for a revision and modernization of Arabic grammar. The reformers here point out that one reason for the relatively low standard of much written Arabic is the difficulty of learning the hundreds of rules, exceptions to rules, and irregular usages with which the Arabic grammars abound. This aspect of the language problem has attracted less attention than the question of vocabulary reform, and there is perhaps somewhat less difference of opinion about what reforms are needed. The movement for reform of grammar has not, however, been entirely without its opponents, such as the writer who declared that the rules of Arabic grammar were fixed and immutable and that what was good enough for the Arabs of classical times was good enough for their modern descendents.

Those who urge a reform of Arabic grammar do not advocate a revision of the actual structure and syntax of the language. No one, for instance, has seriously proposed that the subjunctive be abolished or grammatical gender discarded. The reformers call rather for a revision of the way in which Arabic grammar is presented in textbooks and taught in the schools. They hold that Arabic grammar is in fact a model of logic and simplicity and that its apparent difficulties arise not from any inherent complexity of the language itself but from the way it has been recorded and explained in the works of classical grammarians and later commentators. They urge therefore that the traditions inherited from the classical grammarians be discarded and Arabic grammar reappraised on the basis of modern linguistics.

Among those who have made specific proposals for

45. See, for example, al-Yāzījī, *op.cit.* in note 7 above, especially pp. 322-326; and Muṣṭafā Jawād, *كيفية أصلاح العربية*, *LA* 9(1931): 81-93.

46. For instance, Anīs Furaiḥah, *نحو هذا الصرف*, *al-Abhāth* 8(1955-56): 71-107. See also Khallī al-Sakākīnī, *دلائل البيان في العربية*, *al-Muqtataf* 58 (1921): 134-239, 141-134; *الإفعال في اللغة العربية*, *al-Muqtataf* 58 (1921): 440-446, 440-444; *النحو*, *al-Siyāsah* No.605 (10 October 1924). These articles were collected and reprinted under the title *مطالعات في اللغة والأدب* (Jerusalem, 1925).
reform and simplification of Arabic grammar have been Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, who has attempted to simplify the rules for إعراب by showing that the inflections are merely the outward signs of certain basic rules of the language and that once these basic rules were understood the correct use of إعراب would in most cases follow without difficulty and without resort to complicated grammatical explanations. Another would-be reformer, Edouard Murquš, has published a number of proposals for simplification of grammar based on such steps as regularizing the vowel system of Form I verbs, eliminating the inconsistencies and ambiguities in the rules for formation of the diminutive and the relative adjective, and simplifying the rules for use of the numerals. Other writers who have attempted to show how Arabic grammar could be presented more simply and more logically than in the traditional texts include Muḥammad Ahmad ‘Arafa,49 ʿAbd al-Mutaʿālī al-Ṣaʿīdī50, and ‘Abd al-Majīd Ābidīn51.

47. Muṣṭafā, إحيا النحو, Cairo, 1937. See also his article تيسير قواعد اللغة العربية, RAAD 32(1957): 123-128.


49. ‘Arafa, النحو والتحة بين الأزهر والجامعة, Cairo, n.d.

50. Al-Ṣaʿīdī, النحو الجديد, Cairo, 1947.
The Academy of the Arabic Language and other bodies have also interested themselves in the simplification of Arabic grammar. The Egyptian Ministry of Education in 1944 formed a committee for simplification of grammatical rules which held a number of discussions with a similar committee of the Academy of the Arabic Language. A report embodying a number of recommended simplifications was drawn up and submitted to the Minister of Education, and the Academy subsequently decided to proceed with the compilation of a new grammar based on these recommendations.

A revised version of these recommendations was submitted to the joint conference of Arab Academies in Damascus in 1956. After some discussion of the proposals, the conference voted that they be returned for "further study and clarification" and submitted again to some future conference.

52. RALA 6(1951): 180-197.
55. RAAD 32(1957): 223.
One of the basic decisions made by the Academy of the Arabic Language was that in attempting to reform and simplify Arab grammar it would not consider proposals that involved any essential change in the syntax of the language itself:

A similar position was taken by the first Cultural Conference of the Arab League, meeting in 1947, which called for simplification of Arabic grammar in these terms:

The conference also appointed a committee to look into the simplification and standardization of textbooks of grammar used in the various Arab countries. The Ministries of Education in most of the Arab states appear to be in sympathy with the movement, and much of the actual progress in simplification has been through government-sponsored textbooks.

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57. League of Arab States, (Cairo, 1948), p. 89. See also مجموعة الغرامات التي اخذتها اللجان الغنية, RAAD 23(1948): 139-157, see p. 139.
In addition to advocating modernization of the Arabic vocabulary and simplification of the grammar of the language, the reform movement has also turned its attention to the question of revision of the alphabet. The extremes of opinion on this matter are represented on the one hand by those who propose that the present system of writing should be abandoned altogether and the Latin alphabet adopted in its place, and on the other hand by those who say that at most only a few minor modifications of the present script are needed.

Arabic writing has, of course, already undergone two major reforms. These occurred very early in the Islamic era with the addition of a number of diacritical marks to distinguish between letters of similar shape such as \( \text{\textcircled{a}} \) and \( \text{\textcircled{b}} \) and with the development of a system for indicating the short vowel sounds. With these two basic reforms the alphabet became considerably more accurate and efficient than it had been before. It retains, however, a number of characteristics which for present-day purposes can be considered defects, and it is to these that the critics direct their
attention in arguing that a further revision of the alphabet is needed.

**Criticisms of the Alphabet.** One of the most frequently criticized features of Arabic writing is its system of vowels. Because the vowels are separate marks added above and below the letters rather than fully-developed letters themselves, they tend to be omitted from most printed or written Arabic. This omission of the vowels not only leads to occasional ambiguity and error, but also greatly increases the difficulty of learning to read Arabic. Furthermore, say the critics, even when all the existing Arabic vowel sounds are used, the only function they can really perform satisfactorily is to indicate inflection or morphological differences as in the series مَكَّنَّ، نَفَعَّلُ، مَفَعُولُ، نَفَعَلُ، مَفَعُّلُ. They cannot accurately indicate the vowel sounds either of spoken standard Arabic or of the various colloquials, and they are certainly inadequate to reproduce the many different vowels of the scores of foreign common nouns and proper names which have come into the language in the past century and a half.

Some of the same criticisms are made of the consonants themselves. They cannot accurately reproduce the sounds
of the various Arabic colloquials, nor can they satisfactorily transcribe the sounds of many common foreign words. The alphabet has no signs for p or v, for example. It cannot satisfactorily reproduce the tj sound of English oh and Italian soft o or distinguish between the various sounds of g and j in the European languages.

A further criticism of the consonants is based on the fact that they may each have as many as three or four different forms. This multiplicity of shapes not only makes the task of learning to read and write Arabic much harder but also adds greatly to the difficulty of printing Arabic from type.

Many of the criticisms directed at the Arabic alphabet, in fact, arise from difficulties in connection with printing. The most serious of these results from the variety of different shapes that each letter can have. To say that each letter may have three or four different forms is actually an oversimplification of the matter. A letter such as ب, for example, in fact has six different forms: (initial before ش, س, ط, ض, and ح) and (initial before other letters), (medial after ص, ش, س, ن, ن, ض, ط, ب).
and J), ـ (medial in other positions), ـ (final joined to preceding letter), and ـ (final separate). The result is that (disregarding the numerals, the punctuation marks, all vowel signs, and the additional letters required for Persian or other languages) a simple newspaper or job printing font with no special refinements has about 110 different characters, as compared with the 52 characters required for printing English. To these must be added the various ligatures or combinations of letters such as ج، ذ، ح، ض، ط، ج، and ح، which are used in even the most ordinary day-to-day printing. A comparatively simple Linotype font, for instance, has 26 such ligatures and the full range of those available with Linotype (again disregarding the letters used for Persian, Urdu, etc.) amounts to 236 combined forms. To these, of course, must be added the punctuation marks, the numerals, and (in all but the barest fonts) the characters for hamzah on alif (‘) and for tanwin of the fathah (‘).

The total number of characters used for printing

1. This is a somewhat simplified and incomplete statement of the rules for use of the various forms. For a fuller explanation of the proper use of the various shapes see Hellmut Ritter, "Über einige Regeln, die beim Drucken mit arabischen Typen zu beachten sind," ZDMG 100(1950): 577-580.
varies, of course, with the particular face used and with
the requirements of each press. Daish states that a typi-
cal Intertype face comprises approximately 400 characters,
Nasri Khattar says "several hundred" characters are required
for printing Arabic, the simple Linotype font illustrated
in Figure 1 above contains 196 different forms, and Sauvaget
states that the average good font contains over 300 charac-
ters. Certainly the minimum for printing unwovelled Arabic
cannot be far short of 200 and may rise to 400 or 500, while

2. A. N. Daish, "Printing in Egypt: a Brief Historical
Account and Review of Arabic Typesetting and Typo-


4. J. Sauvaget, "Suggestions pour une réforme de la
several hundred more may be needed if vowel marks are to be included. This compares with a typical English job printing face like American Type Founders' Garamond, which has 73 characters plus seven ligatures such as ꞏ and ꞝ.

A number of disadvantages result from this multiplicity of different letter forms. For setting type by hand, the type case must be considerably larger than that needed for a European language, and the process of setting is inevitably somewhat slower and the possibility of error greater. The owner of a press, furthermore, must invest a comparatively greater sum in type. With mechanical type-setting the printer must either greatly reduce the number of ligatures and other special forms he uses, in order to come within the limits of the size of the keyboard, or else must resort to a combination of mechanical and hand setting.

Yet another difficulty in connection with printing results from the fact that the Arabic letters are considerably taller than those of the Latin alphabet. Because of

5. Zuhair al-Shihābī, in stating the need for alphabet reform in RAAD 9(1929): 654-657, declared that 320 characters were needed for printing unwovelled Arabic and 840 for voweled texts. The latter figure is presumably based on a face in which consonants and vowels are cast together as single bits.
the length of the "ascenders" of letters such as ﺔ، ﺔ، and ﺔ and of the "descenders" of characters such as ﻔ and ﻔ، lines of Arabic type cannot satisfactorily be set as close together as is possible with the European languages. The result is that where an English text may, for example, be set in 10-point type unled, an Arabic text with the same apparent size of type must be set on a 14-point body and takes up approximately half again as much space on the page as the corresponding English text. Conversely, while an English text in 6-point or 8-point type can be read with no difficulty, an Arabic text printed from type of the same point size would be too small to be easily legible. Finally, if vowel marks are added, each line of Arabic is on three different levels and close setting of the lines becomes even more difficult.

Many of the same difficulties arise with the Arabic typewriter. The average typewriter has no more than 44 keys, allowing for 88 different characters. When keys have been allotted to the numerals, the punctuation marks, and two or three different forms for each letter, no room is left for special ligatures of any sort and the Arabic printing produced by a typewriter is therefore in a very much simplified
version of the alphabet. Another problem arises from the varying widths of the Arabic letters. The typewriter is so constructed that when a key is struck the carriage moves one unit to left or right. Ideally, all the characters should be the same width as this unit of movement. With the European languages this uniformity is achieved by distorting the width of the letters somewhat so that, for instance, ١, ٢, and ٣ all become approximately the same width. The differences in width between Arabic letters such as ١, ٣, ٤, and ٥, however, are so great that no such distortion is feasible, and the machine itself must be altered to provide two different types of carriage movement. The Arabic typewriter is therefore mechanically more complex than one built for use with the Latin alphabet. As a result of this and other problems of design, the typewriter was not successfully adapted to use with the Arabic alphabet until some fifty years after the machine had come into general use in Europe and America.

Opposition to Reform. Those who discount the importance of the difficulties described above base their opposition to any major modification of the alphabet primarily on the fact that it would mean an almost complete break with
the past of the Arabic language and literature. The use of a fundamentally new system of writing would mean that all of the great works of Arabic literature would become at least temporarily inaccessible and many of them would be permanently lost to modern readers. A considerable element of religious sentiment is also involved in the opposition to reform, arising from the feeling that it would be sacrilegious to alter the writing of the Quran. Other opponents of change point out that it would be difficult or impossible to persuade the general public to accept any new method of writing and that a shift to a fundamentally different script would impose a very heavy burden on owners of presses.

**Latinization.** The most extreme of the proposals made for reform of the Arabic alphabet is that it should be abandoned altogether and replaced by some completely different system of writing. The Latin alphabet is, of course, the one that immediately suggests itself as a substitute.

Proposals that Arabic should discard its traditional method of writing and adopt the Latin alphabet instead have never gained much support in the Arab world, though suggestions to this effect have been made from time to time since the early days of the language reform movement. An anonymous
reader of *al-Muqtataf* argued in favor of Latinization in 1893, for example, but subsequent comments by other readers indicated that he had little or no support. A writer in *Loghat el-Arab* in 1929 examined the advantages and disadvantages of such proposals and concluded that Latinization would be preferable to attempting to change the existing alphabet, and Salāmah Mūsā some years later declared himself in favor of adopting the Latin alphabet; but neither of these proposals won any general support.

One scheme for Latinization of Arabic writing that deserves special mention, if only because of the detail with which its author developed it and the vigor with which he supported it is the proposal put forward about 1940 by ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Fāhmī. This scheme and a number of others were discussed at length between 1938 and 1944 by the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo, which reached no decision on the best means of reforming the alphabet. Fāhmī thereupon

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8. Mūsā, "البلاغة العصرية واللغة العربية" (Cairo, 1945), pp. 137-139.
published the scheme himself, together with a lengthy a-

Fig. 2. Proposal by ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Fahmi for Latinization of Arabic writing.

alysis of its advantages and of possible objections to it.
Unlike other proponents of Latinization, he developed his plan in some detail. As shown in Figures 2 and 3, it is based on the conventional Latin alphabet with the addition of a number of letters derived from the Arabic script.

Advocates of schemes such as Fahmi's argue that the Latinization of Arabic writing would make it much easier to

9. Academy of the Arabic Language, تيسير الكتابة العربية (Cairo, 1946), summarizes the Academy's discussions and illustrates the proposals made by 'Abd al-'Aziz Fahmi and by 'Ali al-Jarim (see Figure 22 below).

10. Fahmi, الحروف اللاتينية للكتابة العربية (Cairo, 1944).

11. Ibid., p. 184.

12. Ibid., p. 186. The lines read خير البرّ ما تعبد به البرّ نفسه، خير برّالنفسي أن تبدأ بها عن مواقف الاعتدار السيف أصدق أبنا، من الكتب في هذه الحدب بين الجدب واللعب (last two lines)
learn to read and write the language, facilitate the adoption of foreign technical terms, and greatly simplify the printing of Arabic. Opposition to such proposals is based on much the same reasons as those put forward against any alteration of Arabic writing; and opponents also argue that use of the Latin alphabet, by opening the door to an influx of foreign words, would defeat the reformers' attempts to "purify" the language.

Some of the opposition to schemes for Latinization seems also to have arisen from the fact that such proposals have frequently been put forward by missionaries or other foreigners. The English-language *Egyptian Gazette* in reviewing Willmore's textbook of colloquial Arabic\(^{13}\), for example, urged that Willmore's system of Romanized spelling be used for all written Arabic, and this suggestion was strongly opposed by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī.\(^{14}\) The Arab Academy of Damascus was equally vigorous in condemning a proposal for Latinization published in 1922 in the French-language newspaper *La Syrie\(^{15}\) and in opposing similar proposals by Massignon and others as well as a scheme submitted to the Egyptian

\(^{13}\) Willmore, *The Spoken Arabic of Egypt* (London, 1901).

other reform proposals. The majority of those who feel that some reform of the alphabet is needed, however, have rejected the idea of Latinization and suggested instead some modification of the present Arabic script. For convenience of discussion such schemes may be divided into three groups: those which propose alterations in the letters of the alphabet, those which suggest that the manner of writing the vowels be changed, and those which direct themselves at both problems together.

Of the proposals aimed at reforming the letters themselves, the most conservative are those that would retain the present alphabet intact but add to it a number of new letters taken from the Persian and Turkish modifications of the Arabic script. One of the earliest of such schemes was one published about 1905 by

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15. An Arabic translation of the article, together with a reply by Ilyās Qudsī on behalf of the Academy, is in RAAD 3(1923): 177-184.

the Egyptian Ministry of Education with the title طريقة كتابة
الإلفاظ الأنجليزية والفرنسية بالحروف العربية. Later proposals of the
same sort include a scheme put forward by Rashld Baqdünis
in 192518, one suggested in 1931 by A. S. Marmarjî19, an-
other proposed by ZakI Mughâmîr in 193720, and a system for
transliteration of foreign names approved in 1936 by the
Academy of the Arabic Language21.

The sounds for which new Arabic letters are most
often proposed are those of p, v, s/j, and oh, and there is
at least partial agreement on what form these new letters
should take. The five schemes mentioned above, for example,
all propose that be used for p and ج for the sound of
English oh and Italian soft e. When v is indicated at all

17. For a quite detailed description of the Ministry's
booklet see , اختراع عصرى لتفصيل المعاب المصرية , al-Dīvā',
8(06-05-1905)-523-531.


19. Marmarji,  اقتراح في الحروف الدخيلة والحركات الغريبة , RAAD 8
(1928): 446-456.


21. Mahdar 3(1936): 367-374. See also al-Ahrâm be-
tween March and June 1936, especially the issues
of 17, 22, & 31 March, 1 & 27 April, 17 May, and
1 & 8 June.
in modern Arabic the letter  is usually used. This was included in the Egyptian Ministry of Education's scheme and that suggested by Marmarjī, but Baqdūnis and the Academy favored  for the  sound and Zakī Mughāmir proposed that a simple  (without dots) be used.

For the hard  sound the letter  is usually proposed, though Marmarjī and the Cairo Academy approved the form . Both Baqdūnis and Mughāmir would distinguish the hard  sound of Latin and other western European languages from the sound of gamma in words derived from Greek, and proposed  and  for spelling the latter. The problem of indicating the soft  sound of foreign words is complicated by the various pronunciations given to  in spoken Arabic and by the fact that some would-be reformers seem to be unaware that these letters have more than one pronunciation in the European languages. The Ministry of Education's scheme properly distinguished between the sounds of soft  in French ( ) and English (dʒ) and proposed the use of  and  respectively for these sounds. Baqdūnis proposed  for the French soft  but made no provision for the English pronunciation of these letters, while the Academy's scheme approved the use of  and Marmarjī suggested  for
both sounds without distinguishing between them.

All such additional signs for p, r, and so forth are, of course, intended primarily for the spelling of foreign words.

More radical than these suggestions for the addition of new letters to the Arabic alphabet are the many proposals that have been made for changing the shape and appearance of

Fig. 4. Alphabet proposed by Ilyās ‘Akāwī.\(^{22}\)
Compare Figures 14 and 15 below.

22. This and a number of other proposals are illustrated in Luṭfī Ridwān, معركة حول ألف باء, in al-Muṣawwar No. 1656 (6 July 1956): 56-57.
the existing letters. These range from extreme proposals which would leave the Arabic letters barely recognizable, such as the scheme put forward by Ilyās 'Akāwī and Altered Letters illustrated in Figure 4 above, to proposals like that of Maḥmūd Taimūr, illustrated in Figure 5, which would leave the letters of the alphabet unchanged but use only a single form of each.

Fig. 5. Simplified Arabic alphabet for printing proposed by Maḥmūd Taimūr.23

One of the earliest proposals for changing the shapes of the letters was that put forward in 1887 by Ni‘mah Taimūr, Arabic keyboard (Cairo, 1951), p. 46.
Yāfith, who suggested that each letter should be reduced to a single form. Since a letter can occur with sukūn or with any one of the three vowels, four different combinations would be needed for each letter, or a total of only about 110 different characters for printing fully vowelled Arabic texts. Yāfith did not illustrate his proposal, but it presumably resembled very closely Mahmūd Taimūr's scheme as illustrated above. A very similar proposal was made in 1893 by Nasīm Barbārī, who advocated that Arabic be printed with an alphabet in which each letter would be reduced to a single form. This suggestion was opposed as too extreme by Ilyās Barakāt, who argued that all or most of the difficulties involved in printing Arabic could be eliminated by discarding the extended tails of the final forms of letters like م, ح, and م, and by eliminating the ligatures such as ل and ه. A proposal presumably similar to Barakāt's was drawn up in 1903 by the Ḭalālah ʿIṣlāḥ wa-Tahṣīn al-Ḥurūf


al-‘Arabiyyah of the Egyptian Government Press at Būlāq. According to Ḥabīb Ghazālah, the objective of this scheme was to reduce the number of different forms without changing the essential characteristics of the Arabic script.27

Other proposals for changing the conventional shapes of the letters used in printing include one published in 1930 by Khālid al-‘Faraj and illustrated in Figure 6 above. This scheme reduces the letters to a single form each and provides for the extended tails of the final forms by simplifying these to two shapes: a vertical downstroke for ِ، َ، ُ، ُ، ََ، َِ and a horizontal stroke for other letters. The scheme illustrated in Figures 7 and 8


below and published in 1930 by Yusuf Ghaṣūb likewise reduces the letters to a single shape each (without providing for distinct final forms) and also adds a number of letters derived from the Latin alphabet. As shown in Figure 8, it re-

\[ \text{Fig. 7. Alphabet designed by Yusuf Ghaṣūb.}^{29} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ع} & \quad \text{غ} & \quad \text{ز} \\
\text{ب} & \quad \text{ج} & \quad \text{ح} \\
\text{د} & \quad \text{ذ} & \quad \text{د} \\
\text{ث} & \quad \text{ث} & \quad \text{ث} \\
\end{align*}
\]

...tains the conventional system of vowels but would simplify the printing of these somewhat by moving the kasra above the line (reversing it to resemble an inverted fatha).

One of the most ambitious and best known schemes for reform of the alphabet has been the "Unified Arabic" designed about 1946 by Nasri Khattar. As shown in Figure 9, it follows the basic principle of the Latin alphabet without in fact imitating it. That is, the letters are completely

29. Ghaṣūb, إصلاح الأبجدية العربية, al-Machriq 28(1930): 29-34. The character to the left of the "U" is the hamza, which would invariably be written as a separate letter, without bearer.
separate from each other, the variation in their widths is
much reduced, and each letter has only a single shape regard-

less of its position in the word. The conventional system of
vowels is retained, and a text such as that illustrated in
Figure 9 could be printed either with or without the vowels.

30. Ibid., p. 33. The unvowelled lines read:

The five lines with vowel marks are:

362 - 68 -
Khattar's scheme has been fortunate in that its originator is himself a skilled Arabic calligrapher and has been able not only to present his proposal to its best advantage but also to design a number of different styles for his alphabet.
Figure 10 above shows his Unified Arabic in "Neo-Naskhi", "Neo-Kufic", and "Modern" styles, and there is also a "Neo-Farsi" version.

Another proposal for modification of the alphabet was put forward in 1951 by Jean Sauvaget, who argued that schemes such as Nasri Khattar's and others constituted too complete a break with Arabic tradition and were too different from existing scripts ever to win general acceptance.

31. Khattar, "Unified Arabic: Weapon against Illiteracy?" Al Kulliyah (Beirut) 30(1955): 8-12, 35-38. The text, put into conventional letters, reads:

Fig. 11. The opening surah of the Quran in the modern typographic Kufic advocated by Sauvaget.32

32. Sauvaget, op. cit., p. 131.
Sauvaget proposed instead the use of a modified Kufic script such as that illustrated in Figure 11. The advantages he claimed for this were that it would be based on a traditional and familiar script, but would have only a single shape for each letter, with no special final forms or ligatures, and would make possible the use of smaller type bodies.

Fig. 12. Two versions of the revised alphabet proposed by Mahmud Majdl.

Among other recent proposals for altering the shapes of the letters are those put forward by Mahmud Majdl and by Qurabian (?) and submitted to the Academy of the Arabic Language in 1958-1959 for its consideration. Majdl's design

33. Al-Ahrām, 1 April 1959. The two lines at the bottom read: الجمهورية العربية المتحدة.
for a revised alphabet, illustrated in Figure 12, separates the letters and attempts to make them all of approximately the same size in order to simplify printing. The design, however, is probably too extreme for the proposal ever to win general acceptance. Qurabian's rather attractive design does less violence to the conventional shapes of the letters. As shown in Figure 13, it retains the practice of joining the letters, although each letter is given only a single shape. Since it completely eliminates the descenders, it would presumably make possible the use of smaller types.

34. Al-Ahram, 1 April 1959 and 22 June 1959. There is also a second version which omits the dots under the ب and ي.
A number of reformers, in designing modifications of the Arabic letters, have also attacked the problem of the vowels. The proposal by Ilyās 'Akāwī, for example, which has already been illustrated in Figure 4 on page 63 above, not only changed the shapes of the letters but also provided that the vowels be written as extensions of the letters. 'Akāwī subsequently produced a revised version of his alphabet, illustrated in Figure 14, in which the letters bore less resemblance to those of Hebrew, and also one for use without the vowel-letters (Figure 15).

An equally radical scheme was put forward in 1929 by 'Ārif al-Nakdī. In addition to proposing the letters

35. Al-Ahrām, 5 June 1959. 'Akāwī calls this latest version of his alphabet "al-Khaṭṭ al-Rābi".
which are illustrated in Figure 16 and which obviously owe a great deal to the example of the Latin alphabet, al-Nakadî advocated that the vowels should become full letters of the alphabet and proposed the shapes ڦ for ڦ dîmmah, ِ for ِ fathâh, and ۰ for kasrah.

Al-Nakadî's revised alphabet and system of vowels were put forward as an alternative to a scheme proposed by

36. Ibid.
37. RAAD 9(1929): 660.
Zuhair al-Shihābī. This retained the present letters but used only the initial form of each, and in addition provided that the vowels should become letters of the alphabet and be used in all writing. The letters proposed by al-Shihābī to take the place of the present vowel marks were ـ for the fathah, ـ for kasrah, and ـ for dammah. In addition, the hamzah would be enlarged and written as a separate letter in all positions.38

Fig. 17. Ibrāhīm al-Shādhili's modern version of Kufic, with all letters separate and the vowels shown.39

Among other proposals which attempt to deal with the letters and vowels at the same time is the scheme put forward by Ibrāhīm al-Shādhili, which is shown in Figure 17


39. Ridwān, op. cit. The two lines read: رَبّنا وَلا تحْمَلْنَا مَا لَّا طَاقَة لَّنَا بَهْ
and which obviously takes its inspiration from the Kufic script. *Abd al-'Azīz Fahnī illustrates a number of similar proposals submitted to the Academy of the Arabic Language for its consideration. These include the schemes put forward by Amīl Ibrāhīm Maḥṣūm, *Abd al-Mutā'ālī al-Ṣa‘Īdī, *Abd al-Mun‘īm Sharārah, and others, many of which would both change the shapes of the letters and convert the vowel marks into fully developed letters.

Some reformers have been content to leave the letters of the alphabet as they are (with perhaps one or two additions such as ۱ and ۱ ۱) and have directed their attention to the problem of the vowels. Schemes to reform the vowels fall into roughly the same two classes as attempts to reform the letters. That is, there have been some which would retain the present vowels and introduce additional marks of the same type, and others which would discard entirely the present system of indicating the vowels and convert the vowels into fully developed letters like those of the European languages.

The proposals put forward about 1905 by the Egyptian

Ministry of Education, which have already been referred to on pages 60-62 above in connection with schemes to introduce additional letters into the alphabet, also provided for a system of supplementary vowels, which made use of the following signs:

- \( \ddot{u} \) as in bull (conventional dammah)
- \( \dot{u} \) as in French pur (dammah below the line)
- \( \ddot{o} \) as in fox (reversed dammah)
- \( \dot{u} \) as in cur (reversed dammah below the line)
- \( \dot{a} \) as in antic (conventional fathah)
- \( \dot{e} \) as in met (miniature \( \dot{e} \) above the line)
- \( \hat{a}i \) as in French pair (inverted circumflex)
- \( \ddot{\iota} \) as in thin (conventional kasrah)

A very similar but less extensive scheme had been put forward about 1900 by Ibrahim al-Yaziji. This provided the symbols \( \ddot{\imath} \) for \( \varepsilon \), \( \ddot{\imath} \) (fatha + kasra) for \( \nu \), \( \ddot{\imath} \) (fatha + kasra) for \( \varepsilon \), and \( \ddot{\iota} \) (fatha + kasra) for \( \text{eu} \). Al-Yaziji had type cast for these symbols and used them for some years in his monthly magazine Al-Diyā'.

Other systems of additional vowel marks include the scheme published by A. S. Marmarjī in 1928, which comprised the following signs:

- o (inverted dammah)
- e (reversed kasrah)
- e
- u (inverted circumflex)
- unvowelled initial letter (open sukūn)

Three years later, in 1931, Shakīb Arslān reported that in writing foreign words in Arabic he made use of a system of miniature superscript letters that provided the combinations ʼ for eu, ʼ for u, and ʼ for ou. Both Marmarjī's system and that used by Shakīb Arslān were obviously designed primarily for reproducing the vowel sounds of French.

Rashīd Baqdūnis, whose proposals for additional letters of the alphabet have already been discussed above, took a somewhat different approach to the problem of the vowels. He suggested no changes or additions to the present system, but proposed a series of twelve rules for rational use of

43. Marmarjī, op. cit.
44. RAAD 11(1931): 456 n.1.
the existing vowels. He suggested, for example, that the
\textit{fathah} always be omitted except before the \( \ddot{a} \) and \( \dddot{a} \) of the
diphthongs, that \textit{dammah} and \textit{kasrah} always be shown except
before the letters of prolongation, and that most final
vowels (including all the signs of \textit{ع} and \textit{ع} ) be omitted except
in cases of ambiguity or possible confusion. The advantage
claimed by Baqdūnis for these rules was that they would show
the internal vowelling of every \textit{Arabic} word but would re-
quire the least possible use of the vowel signs.\textsuperscript{45}

An almost identical scheme has recently (1959) been
approved by the Academy of the \textit{Arabic} Language and recom-
mended for use in textbooks in \textit{Egyptian} schools. The \textit{Acad-
emy's} rules, however, add that texts of the \textit{Quran} and \textit{hadith}
are always to be completely vocalized.\textsuperscript{46}

Other reformers have felt that any scheme for the
addition of supplementary vowels fails to remedy the chief

\textbf{Vowels Converted to Letters} defect of the present system - that is, that
the vowels are separate marks rather than let-
ters. They therefore urge that the present system of sub-
script and superscript vowel marks should be abandoned and

\textsuperscript{45} Baqdūnis, \textit{op.cit}.
that the vowels should be converted into letters of the alphabet which would be included in every word, as are the vowels of the European languages.

One such scheme was that published in 1935 by the notorious Father Anastās al-Kirmillī⁴⁷ and illustrated in Figure 18 below. Al-Kirmillī (like a number of other would-be reformers of the alphabet) appears to have lacked any aesthetic sense or appreciation of good calligraphy. Not only is his proposed alphabet unattractive and entirely contrary to the spirit and style of Arabic calligraphy, but it would be completely unsuitable either for manuscript or for use in printing.

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⁴⁶. Al-Ahram, 22 June 1959.
⁴⁷. Al-Kirmillī رسالة في الكتابة العربية المنقوطة, (Baghdad, 1935).
⁴⁸. Ibid., p. 22. The verse reads:

ومن هاب أصحاب منعنا يلته وله رام أصحاب السمع بسلام
In 1939 A. J. Arberry published a scheme, illustrated here in Figure 19, for writing the vowels as letters:

![Figure 19](image)

**Fig. 19.** Examples of the same text written in conventional script and (left) in Arberry’s alphabet showing the vowels as letters.


of the alphabet; and a rather similar proposal, shown in Figure 20, was made in the previous year by Taufīq al-‘Azm.

![Figure 20](image)

**Fig. 20.** Proposal by Taufīq al-‘Azm for converting the vowels into letters.

Earlier in the century a somewhat different approach was reported in *Revue du Monde Musulman* as having been taken by a young Egyptian, "Cheikh Dehif". This scheme proposed that the letters of prolongation ی, و, and ى be used to indicate the short vowels and that the long vowels be distinguished from these by the addition of a circumflex. For example, فَمِل would be written فَمِل, فَمِل would be فَمِل, and فَمِل would become فَمِل.

Among other proposals for reforming the vowel system of the Arabic alphabet are the scheme put forward by 'Abd al-Latīf 'Afīfī, which is shown in Figure 21 and which obviously is intended for use in handwriting rather than in

\[ \text{Fig. 21. System devised by 'Abd al-Latīf 'Afīfī for showing the vowels in handwriting.}^{52} \]

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52. Ridwān, *op. cit.* The line reads: رَبَّ يَسِيرُ وَلَا يُعَمِّرَ.
printing, and the system for converting the vowels into letters devised by 'Alī al-Jārim and illustrated in Figure 22.

Fig. 22. Proposal by 'Alī al-Jārim for converting the vowels into letters of the alphabet.53

None of the proposals discussed and illustrated here

53. Al-Jārim's proposal is also illustrated in Fahmī, op.cit., and in Lutfī Ridyān's article in al-Muṣawwar, loc.cit., where it is wrongly attributed to Ilyās 'Akāwī.
have come into general use or been accepted by the public, printers, or governmental authorities; nor does it seem likely that any of them ever will be. Attempts to revise and reform the Arabic alphabet continue, however. Late in 1958 the Egyptian Ministry of Education requested the Academy of the Arabic Language to come to a prompt and final decision on the best means of reforming the alphabet. The objectives of the desired reform were stated to be (1) to make it easier to learn to read and write the language and (2) to simplify the printing of Arabic. After studying the problem for a further six months and examining "over 300" different proposals, the Academy reported that it was unable to reach a decision and contented itself with approving the rules for the use of the vowels described on page 79 above. 54

54. [Anon.], al-Ahram, 26 December 1958; also the issues of 3 January, 21 February, 14 March, 1 April, 17 April, 5 June, and 22 June 1959.
Chapter IV

ACADEMIES OF THE ARABIC LANGUAGE

Once it was recognized that the Arabic language could and should be modernized and reformed, the reformers were faced with the question of who was to make the necessary modifications and who was to decide on the merits of conflicting proposals. Obviously, individual writers and educators could not be left to introduce new words and discard old ones as they wished or to reject or modify this or that rule of syntax or orthography as they saw fit.

The solution to this problem has usually taken the form of a proposal that there should be some kind of linguistic academy to decide what specific changes should be made in the Arabic language and to approve or reject proposals for reform submitted to it. It seems probable that this preoccupation with the idea of an "academy" owes something to the considerable French cultural influence in Egypt and Syria and to the fact that large numbers of Arabic speakers have received much or most of their education in France or at any rate in the French language. It also appears that some of those who have urged the establishment of an academy for the Arabic language have had an exaggerated idea
of the powers and functions of such bodies. A writer in al-Muqtataf in 1892, for instance, informed his readers that in the European languages no new words were allowed to come into use until they had first been examined and approved by the respective academies. At any rate, the idea of an "academy" appears very early in the history of the language reform movement and recurs constantly in the literature on the subject, and the need for such a body is generally accepted today.

The Nineteenth Century. The forerunner of the various academies and learned societies which have sprung up in the Arabic-speaking countries in the past century and a half was the Institut d'Égypte, al-Ma'had al-'Ilmî al-Misrî, which was founded in connection with the French occupation of Egypt in 1798 and passed out of existence with the French withdrawal in 1801. This society was not, of course, interested in the preservation, revival, or reform of the Arabic

1. Early in the history of the Arab Academy of Damascus, for instance, the Secretary reported that he had written to the French Academy in Paris to ask for a copy of its constitution and bylaws "so as to adopt such parts of them as might be applicable." RAAD 5(1925): 328.

language; and it is mentioned here only as the first of a number of similar groups which were later established in Egypt and elsewhere. The Institut d'Égypte was revived in Alexandria in 1839 under the title Najlis al-Ma'ārif al-Miṣrī and in 1880 moved to Cairo, where it has continued in existence (under a number of different names) until the present day. 3

Starting about the middle of the nineteenth century, a number of other learned societies were formed in Egypt and the other Arabic-speaking countries. These groups were interested in the advancement of knowledge in general, and the earlier ones concerned themselves only incidentally with the language or the state of contemporary Arabic literature. The first of these general learned societies was the "Society of Arts and Sciences at Beirut" (al-Jam‘iyah al-Sūriyyah), which was founded in 1847 by Eli Smith and other American missionaries in Beirut. By 1849 this group had more than fifty members, including such well known figures of modern Arabic

3. A detailed history of the institute is given in G. Guémard, "Essai d'histoire de l'Institut d'Égypte et de la Commission des Sciences et Arts," BIE 6(1924): 43-84; and the same author's "Nouvelle contribution à l'histoire de l'Institut d'Égypte ..." BIE 7(1925): 71-93. See also Taufiq Iskārūs, مهجده مصر العلمي , RAAD 11(1931): 371-374.
literature as Nasif al-Yaziji, Mikhali Mashqah, and Butrus al-Bustani. The society appears to have passed out of existence in 1852. It was revived in 1868 under the presidency of Muhammad Arslan, but was disbanded by the Ottoman authorities two years later. It was once again revived in 1882 by Cornelius Van Dyck and John Vortabet under the name al-Majma' al-Ilmi al-Sharqi, but appears to have finally passed out of existence after two or three years.

In the meantime a somewhat similar society with the title "Société Orientale" or al-Jam'iyah al-Mashriqiyyah had been founded in 1850 by the Jesuit missionaries in Beirut but had been disbanded about two years later. In the latter part of the nineteenth century a number of other literary and learned societies were formed, of which the most important was perhaps al-Jam'iyah al-Tarihyyah, founded

4. For a contemporary account of this society and the text of its constitution see "Gesellschaft der Künste und Wissenschaft in Beirut," ZDMG 2(1848): 378-388.

5. 'Isa Iskandar al-Maluf, المجامع العلمية في العالم, RAAD 1(1921): 97-105, 147-154, see especially pp. 104-105.

6. Ibid., p. 105.

7. Ibid.
in Damascus in 1875. Finally, a number of similar groups were formed in connection with various schools in the Near East and, of course, a large number of political societies came into being. One of these, a nationalist secret society formed in Beirut in 1875, published an Arab political program of four points, one of which was the demand that Arabic be recognized as an official language of Syria.

**Early Language Academies.** 'Abd Allāh al-Nādīm, a journalist of Alexandria, is usually credited with being the first to propose (in 1881) the formation of a society to be concerned wholly or primarily with the Arabic language. Actually, however, such a proposal had already been made some five years earlier by one 'Abd Allāh Fikrī Bey, who called for the formation of a society of learned

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men to whom all new publications would be submitted for criticism and who would approve or reject all new or borrowed words. 11

In 1881 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm made a similar proposal in his journal al-Tankīt wa'l-Tabkīt (Alexandria); and in 1888 'Abd Allāh Fikrī, now become a Pasha, tried unsuccessfully to form a language academy in Egypt. 12

It was not until some years later, however, that such a group finally came into existence. This was the Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah, formed by Taufīq al-Bakrī, which was in existence from 18 May 1892 until 17 February 1893. 13 The immediate reason for the formation of this society was apparently a speech delivered at the Ezbekiyah Club in Cairo by William Willcocks, an official in the Department of Public Works, and later printed in the Cairo monthly al-Azhar, of which Willcocks was the owner. Willcocks stated that the people of

11. [Ya'qūb Šarrūf], 'aftarr ʾāhli ʾadab ʾal-lugiṭ al-afrībiyyah, al-Muqtataf 1 (1876-77): 244-246.
Egypt could not hope for any degree of progress or advance­
ment so long as they were burdened with the classical Ara­
bic language. He recommended that the use of colloquial
Arabic be made compulsory in all Governmental and commer­
cial writing.\(^{14}\) It was primarily in order to combat this
alarming proposal that Taufiq al-Bakri’s society seems to
have been formed.

During its brief life the Nijtama‘ al-Lughah al-
‘Arabiyyah held seven meetings and discussed and approved
equivalents for twenty European loan words then current in
Arabic. These included تلفين telephone, ممِّرِيَّة advocate, مَرْبَّة to replace the still current
كلب club, and ماطف or مَعَطَف to replace overcoat.\(^{15}\) There is no record of how these twenty words were
selected, but some of the society’s choices seem a little
odd by present standards. For instance, judging from the
twenty words which it chose to deal with, it would seem

\(^{14}\) [‘Abd Allâh al-Nâdîm], \(\text{باب اللغة}, \) al-Ustâdh 1(20)
(3 January 1893): 467-477.

\(^{15}\) Al-Khatîb, op.cit., pp. 293-294. The work of this
early academy is also discussed in some detail by
Ibrâhîm al-Yâzîjî in al-Bayân 1(1897-98): 193-200,
and in ‘Abd al-Qâdir al-Maghribî, \(\text{مجمعنا اللغة وأوضاعها}, \) RAAD 23(1948): 308-315, reprinted in RALA 7(1953):
123-128.
that the selection of Arabic equivalents for "bravo", "torpedo boat", and "to macadamize" were among the most urgent problems confronting the Arabic language in 1892.

The proposal made by Willcocks not only led to the formation of the Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyyah, but also served to rouse 'Abd Allah al-Nadîm once again. In October 1892, in his weekly journal al-Ustādh, he proposed the formation of a group of men from the Azhar and other schools to select Arabic equivalents for foreign technical terms. In January 1893 he devoted eleven pages of his journal to an attack on Willcocks' proposal; and in March of the same year, having apparently learned of the establishment of Taufīq al-Bakrî's society but not being aware of its demise, he set about advising the Mujtama'. Among other things, he stated that the work of the society would be unsuccessful unless it gained Government recognition and support and unless the use of the words approved by it was made compulsory. He proposed that the society should expand its activities to include all branches of knowledge, that it should be


17. 'ab al-lughah, op. cit.
given the right to approve or disapprove the publication of all new books, and that it should conduct examinations and issue diplomas in a variety of subjects. Al-Nadīm was suddenly obliged to discontinue publication of al-Ustådāh and to flee the country a few months after the appearance of this article, and the language reform movement was deprived of the benefit of any further advice from him.

The next language society to make its appearance was the Nādi Dār al-'Ulūm, formed in Cairo in 1907 by Muḥammad Ḥifnī Nāṣif Bey. As a guide in choosing new words, this society established two basic rules which, with some modification or expansion, have governed the work of most subsequent language academies. These rules were that, in selecting a word for a new object or a


19. 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm had been involved in the revolt of 'Urābī Pasha and presumably in other political activities. According to a biography published by his brother 'Abd al-Fattāh, he was exiled by the Khedive 'Abbās II and offered an allowance of £25 a month if he would refrain from publishing anything connected with Egyptian political affairs ('Abd al-Fattāh Nadīm [sic], Sulāfat al-Nadīm ..., Cairo 1901 & 1914, p. 17). According to another version, he left the country voluntarily in order to take advantage of a British offer to pay him £30 a month as long as he
new concept, (1) every effort should be made to find an Arabic word, by a thorough search of the classical Arabic dictionaries, and (2) if no Arabic word could be found, then a foreign word should be borrowed and, if possible, adapted to an Arabic form. 20

After establishing these rules, the Nādi Dār al-‘Ulūm apparently became quiescent for a time. It was later revived under the leadership of Muḥammad ‘Āṭif Barakāt Bey, and the members decided to publish a monthly journal, the first issue of which appeared on 6 April 1909 with the title Ṣaḥīfat Nādi Dār al-‘Ulūm. Some of the words discussed and approved by this group were listed in the second number of volume 3 of this journal. Both the society and its publication apparently passed out of existence in about 1912. 21

Another language society, al-Majma‘ al-Lughawī, was formed in 1917 at the suggestion of Ismā‘īl Bay ‘Āṣim, and under the presidency of the then Shaikh of the Azhar, Salīm

... stayed out of Egypt and remained silent (Martin Hartmann, The Arabic Press of Egypt, London 1899, pp. 22-23).


21. Ibid.
al-Bishri. Its members included Ahmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid Bey, Ahmad Taimūr Bey, Ahmad Zakī Pasha, Dr. Ya’qūb Šarrūf, Shaikh Ahmad al-Iskandari, and other well known figures. Several committees were formed, each to deal with the vocabulary of a particular subject, and a number of words were "approved"; but the work of the academy was apparently interrupted by political conditions in Egypt following the end of the first World War. The society was reformed in November 1921, under the presidency of Idrīs Bey Rāghib, when former members of al-Majma’ al-Lughawi met with "an ill-assorted crew of writers" (خليط غير تناس من الآدب) and announced plans to compile a modern Arabic dictionary. It was decided to ask for Government support and recognition for the project, and when this was refused the group seems to have disbanded. At any rate, a writer in al-Ahrām in 1923 asked derisively what had become of the language society that had been formed in Cairo some


years before "and then fallen into a deep sleep". 24 Late in December 1925 the remaining members of al-Najma' al-
Lughawi met once more and again decided to seek recognition and assistance from the Government. This attempt was also unsuccessful, and nothing more is heard of the group.25

In the years immediately after the end of the first World War attempts were also made to establish academies in Transjordan, Lebanon, and Iraq. All seem to have existed for only a short time and little or nothing is known of their work. An academy styled al-Najma' al-'Ilmi was established in Amman in 1923, under the leadership of Sa'id al-Karmi and with the support of the Government, but it seems to have accomplished little if anything and no more is heard of it. Meanwhile, another group called al-Najma' al-'Ilmi, and dedicated to the advancement of the Arabic language and literature, had been formed in Beirut in 1920. 27 This too seems to have been short-lived,


26. REPORT FROM AL-HAQ QAHA (BEIRUT) OF 7 JULY 1923, REPRODUCED IN OM 3 (1923): 326.
for in February 1928 yet another academy, called al-Majma‘
al-‘Ilm al-Lubnānī, was formed in Beirut under the presi-
dency of ‘Abd Allāh al-Bustānī. This society was still
in existence in 1930, but nothing is heard of it thereafter.

In Iraq the first attempt to form a language acad­
emy had come in 1913 when a society was formed in Baghdad
with the object of ridding Arabic of foreign words and
expressions. This society’s efforts appear to have
been directed primarily toward getting rid of the Turkish
elements in Arabic. Presumably the political and military
events of the next year put an end to its existence.

In October 1921 the Iraqi Government announced the
establishment of a committee with the title Lajnat al-
Tārjama wa'l-Ta‘rīb. The function of this group, as an­
nounced by the Ministry of Education, was to “find Arabic
equivalents for European words and to coin words for foreign
expressions which had no equivalent in Arabic”. This com­
mittee held a preliminary meeting and then apparently passed
out of existence.


28. المجمع العلمي اللبناني, RAAD 10 (1930): 125-126. See
also LA 6 (1928): 291.
In the same year a literary club with the title of *al-Ma‘had al-‘Ilmi* was also formed in Baghdad. Four years later, in 1925, members of this club decided to establish a language academy. Two preliminary meetings were held, a prospectus was drawn up, and the name *al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmi al-Lughawi* was chosen. Like many of its predecessors, this group decided to approach the Government in order to obtain its recognition and support. After a certain amount of bureaucratic procrastination, these efforts were successful. The society was incorporated into the Ministry of Education with the title of *Lajnat al-‘Iṣṭilāḥat al-‘Ilmiyāh*, and was allotted Rs 10,000 in the Government’s budget for 1926-1927. Ma‘rūf al-Rūṣāfī and Anastās Mārī al-Kirmīlī were appointed to the committee by the Government and told to select six additional members, which they did. The committee was instructed by the Ministry of Education to examine scientific and technical terms current in Arabic, especially those used in school textbooks, and to do everything possible to reform and revive the language.

29. *al-Ma‘had al-‘Ilmi*.
31. Ibid.
The subsequent history of the committee was brief. The first and apparently the only task to which the eight members set themselves was to argue about each other's qualifications and to criticize the selection of members by al-Rušāfī and al-Kirmīlī. After some months of this wrangling, the Government discontinued its financial support of the committee, and it passed out of existence in 1927. 33

Existing Academies. All the academies and societies discussed so far have been unsuccessful and have disbanded after relatively short periods. The first successful attempt to form an academy was made in 1919 in Syria with the establishment of al-Majma' al-'Imāl al-'Arabī with Damascus Muhammad Kurd 'All as its first president. 34 This academy has now been in existence for forty years and is the oldest and most respected of the existing academies in the


Arabic-speaking countries. Its journal, which began publication in 1921, has published articles on Arabic literature, bibliography, biography, history, and other aspects of what in the West would be called oriental studies. A fairly large proportion of these have dealt with the Arabic language — both the classical language and the language of today with its many lexical and other problems.

The Academy has published lists of recommended words and from time to time the Syrian Government has asked it to suggest Arabic equivalents for words dealing with various administrative organizations and processes, for which loan words from Turkish or the European languages had hitherto served. It has also assisted the Government by reviewing the texts of official decrees before their publication in order to ensure correctness of the language used in them.

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35. Majallat al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmī al-‘Arabī (Revue de l'Académie Arabe de Damas), Damascus, 1921 to date. A partial chronological index of articles published in the journal and a bibliography of the Academy's other publications are in Laoust and Dahan, op.cit. A detailed and complete official index of the journal is in progress, and of this Part I covering the first ten volumes has now appeared (Damascus, 1956).

Since the establishment of the Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo the Damascus academy has tended to give less attention to individual words or lists of words (except in response to specific requests from the Government), although its journal continues to devote considerable space to linguistic matters. Among the words approved and published by the Academy in its earlier years were إِذن or رخصة باري to replace permit, را‘a for jacket (to replace جاكيت, جاكت), شرطة to replace police, فسح | فتح to replace جاكيت, جاكت, بلبس | بيليس to replace جاكيت, جاكت, دُخِلْ | دخل to replace جاكيت, جاكت, فُتح | فتح to replace جاكيت, جاكت, لج | لوج for brake, مكس for customs (to replace جاكيت, جاكت), تكتل | تكتل for brake, مكس for customs (to replace جاكيت, جاكت), مقصورة | مقصورة, (حمر) لج | لوج (of a theater) for epaulette, نسخة for typewriter, and to replace شركلاري circular.

The second successful "Arab Academy", the Academy of the Arabic Language or مِجْمَع الْلغَة الْعَرَبِيَّة (originally مِجْمَع الْلغَة الْعَرَبِيَّة الْعَلَاكِ, Cairo and later مِجْمَع فوْق الْأَوْلَى الْلغَة الْعَرَبِيَّة), was formed in Cairo in 1932 and held its first meeting in 1934. Of the three Arab learned academies now in existence, this is the only one whose attention is concentrated primarily on the problems of the modern language.

and the work of reforming it. Its stated objectives include "Preserving the purity of the Arabic language and rendering it capable of meeting the demands of the arts and sciences as they advance and the everyday requirements of modern life."  

The Academy's journal and the minutes of its meetings have contained articles on almost every aspect of modern Arabic, as well as lists of modern words and revivals of old words approved by the Academy and its various committees. Among the approximately thirty thousand words approved and published by the Academy have been أَجْبِية for malaria, لَصَعَبَة for elevator or lift, أَيْضًاء for metabolism, مَبَطِئة for parachute, جَمْعُ for tram, رَحْمَة for jazz band, حَفْاز for catalyst, أَطْمَاح for skyscraper, etc.


39. Majallat Majma: al-Lughah al-‘Arabīyah al-Malakī, Majallat Majma: Fu‘ād al-Awwal li‘l-Lughah al-‘Arabīyah, etc. The journal first appeared in 1935 (dated 1934) and irregularly since then. To date ten volumes have appeared.

40. Mahdar al-Jalsah ..., etc. (Cairo 1934, 1935, 1936, 1939). Apparently no more have been published.
microbe, سيجارة for cigarette (a committee decision in favor of لفيفة was voted down), بدلة for overcoat, بدلة for jacket, and هادیه for locomotive.

Words under consideration by the various vocabulary committees of the Academy are listed and distributed in mimeographed form. The lists of words approved by the Academy and published in its journal are offprinted from time to time and issued separately, and in 1942 a compilation of these was published. Finally, the Academy has for some years been engaged in compiling a dictionary of the Quran, an illustrated standard dictionary of Arabic (al-Mu‘jam al-Wasīṭ), and an historical dictionary of the language, of which the first volume has now appeared.

The third of the academies now existing is al-Majma‘ al-‘Ilmi al-‘Irāqī, founded in Baghdad in 1947. Although this group appears to have an even wider range of interests than the Syrian Academy, one of its declared objectives is "To maintain the purity of the Arabic Language and attempt to make it adequate to meet the demands

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41. Egypt, Ministry of Education, List of Scientific and Technical Terms Approved by Fouad I Academy for the Arabic Language during the First Six Sessions (Būlāq, 1942).
of the arts and sciences, and of the affairs of modern life", and its journal has published a number of articles on various aspects of the Arabic language. Among its other activities, the Academy is at present engaged in compiling a list of Arabic technical terms dealing with the petroleum industry.

General Characteristics. In most of the "academies", "committees", "societies", and other organizations described above, certain general trends or characteristics can be discerned. In the first place, most of these groups have tried to get government recognition and support, and a number of them have obtained it. It is noteworthy that of the three successful academies now in existence, all are attached to

42. Egypt, Academy of the Arabic Language, (Cairo, 1956- ). A summary of the Academy's work up to 1956 is given in Manṣūr Fauṣī, مجمع مصر واللغة العربية, RAAD 32(1957): 57-71. See also المسالمة, مجمع اللغة العربية في القاهرة, RAAD 32(1957): 82-86.


44. For a brief review of the Iraqi Academy's activities see Munīr al-Qādī, تقرير المجمع العلمي العراقي, RAAD 32(1957): 78-81.

45. The first fascicle of this compilation has been published as مصطلحات صناعة النفط في الاستكشاف والحفر والانتاج والتصنيفة (Baghdad, 1958).
the Ministries of Education in their respective countries, and their constitutions and terms of reference have been promulgated as official decrees. A number of the earlier societies went considerably beyond this and sought almost dictatorial authority. 'Abd Allāh Fikrī Bey asked for very strong powers of censorship for the academy he proposed in 1876. 46 'Abd Allāh al-Nadīm recommended that the use of the words chosen by the Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabiyah be made compulsory. 47 He also recommended that the society be given the right to censor all new publications and ban those that it considered harmful to religion, morals, or the political stability of the country. Finally, as indicated above, he urged that it be given the right to examine students entering the various professions. 48

A number of these societies have shown a strong interest in the question of money and the financial benefits to be derived from membership. A writer in al-Muqtatāf in 1889 proposed the establishment of a committee for research and publication whose members were to be reimbursed by a

46. Şarrūf, op.cit.


48. Al-Nadīm, المجتمع اللغة العربية بمصر, op.cit.
one per cent levy on the salaries of all Government officials. Al-Muqtataf does not report the reaction of the prospective victims of this scheme. 'Abd Allāh al-Nādīm urged the Mujtama' al-Lughah al-'Arabīyah to establish a lecture hall, "open to all members of the public except those who are drunk". Admission to this temple of enlightenment was to be charged at from two to six piastres per person, depending on the location of the seats, and the proceeds were to be used to reimburse the members of the academy for their labors.

'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī complained in 1928 of the reluctance of the Lebanese Government to support the members of al-Majma' al-Ilmi al-Lubnānī in the style to which their importance entitled them. The members of the Academy were only human, he informed a correspondent from al-Kashshāf, and one could not expect them to work for the salvation of the Arabic language and literature unless they were suitably remunerated. The academicians of Iraq were no less

50. Al-Nādīm, مجتمع اللغة العربية ب مصر, op.cit., p. 682.
interested in the perquisites of their calling, and the
dearth blow to the Lajnat al-Iṣṭilāḥat al-‘Ilmiyah was ap­
parently delivered by the Minister of Education when he
discontinued the members' allowance of Rs 15 per meeting. 52

Another characteristic common to many of the earlier
academies was that they seemed to ignore the fact that Ara­
bic is written and spoken in not one but many different
countries. While ‘Abd Allāh Fikrī, ‘Abd Allāh al-Nadīm,
and others urged that the use of the words chosen by the
various Egyptian academies be made compulsory, they disre­
garded the fact that the peoples and governments of the
other Arabic-speaking countries might not willingly obey
the pronouncements of a purely Egyptian group of language
reformers. The three academies now existing have on the
whole avoided this self-centered nationalism, although
Muḥammad Kurd ‘Alī was on occasion unable to refrain from
boasting of his country's precedence over Egypt in forming
a successful Arab academy, "just as Syria was the first to
be civilized and to become Arabized". 53  All three of the


53. See his report on the Damascus Academy's activi­
ties during the years 1925-1927, in RAAD 8(1928): 1-14.
existing academies have made it a policy to elect members from several of the Arabic-speaking countries. All of them, furthermore, have elected well known European scholars to membership, thus acknowledging the part that the orientalists have played in the Arab renaissance of the past century and a half.

**Unification of the Academies.** This appreciation of the need to cooperate with scholars of other countries is reflected in the suggestions that have been made from time to time that the existing academies should give up their separate identities and combine into a single academy that would represent all the Arab countries. A proposal to this effect was considered but rejected in February 1954 by the Cultural Committee of the Arab League. At a later meeting the Committee recommended instead that each academy should try to include in its membership representatives from all the Arab countries and that the academies should periodically hold joint meetings.54

As a result of this recommendation, the first joint conference of Arab academies was convened in Damascus in

54. RAAD 32(1957): 3-5.
September 1956, with delegations from the Arab League and from each of the three academies and with official observers from Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Saudi Arabia, Tunisia, and Unesco. Papers were presented on modern technical terminology, the conflict between written and colloquial Arabic, reform of the alphabet, simplification of Arabic grammar, and a variety of other topics. The formal resolutions approved by the conference included the recommendation that a permanent Union of Arab Academies be formed, under the auspices of the Arab League, to represent the three existing academies as well as those Arab countries in which no academies had yet been established.

Achievements of the Academies. The quantity of research, discussion, and publication undertaken by the

56. ‘Ārif al-Nakadī, اللغة العربية بين الفصحي والعثماني ، RAAD 32(1957): 189-207.
59. RAAD 32(1957): 222-223. The proceedings of the conference and the texts of the papers presented take up most of the issue for January-March 1957 of the journal of the Damascus Academy.
three existing academies since their establishment is undeniably impressive. The question inevitably arises, however, of how successful the academies have actually been in their attempts to direct the modernization and reform of Arabic. To what extent have they won the support of writers and journalists and thus been able actually to affect the development of the language?

The academies have fallen far short of winning unanimous public support for their work or acceptance of their decisions. Public reaction to the work of the academies, in fact, has often been one of derision or even outright opposition rather than of support or acceptance. "Does not Arabic already have enough complexities and difficulties to plague those trying to learn and to use it? What the language needs is simplification, not added complications," declared a writer in al-Ahram; and Muḥammad Zakī ‘Abd al-Qādir protested against the time and effort school children were made to spend in learning and memorizing lists of words "approved" by the Cairo Academy. A writer in Alif-Bā'

60. ‘Abd al-Latif Badawi, al-Ahram 1 June 1936.

(Damascus) reviewed a list of public lectures given under the auspices of the Arab Academy of Damascus and complained that all of them dealt with the glorious past of the Arabs and their language rather than with a variety of up-to-date subjects.

The Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo has repeatedly been accused of having approved the "correct" Arabic equivalent for sandwich. The allegation is apparently without any foundation in fact, but the story continues to recur and is at least indicative of the rather good-natured contempt with which the work of the academies is often regarded. The feeling seems to be fairly prevalent among writers and students, in fact, that the lexical work of the academies is visionary and out of touch with reality, that the words "approved" by them represent an often exaggerated effort to avoid colloquial and foreign words at all costs, and that the academies are trying to impose on the public the use of what is in fact a dead language.


The facts of the matter, however, show that while the specific criticisms cited above may be deserved, they exaggerate in implying that all the work of the academies is reactionary and overly pedantic. The Academy of the Arabic Language, for instance, has explicitly approved the use of foreign words and the creation of new Arabic words from existing roots. It has recommended, furthermore, that words already in common use should be retained and preferred whenever possible to obscure or obsolete words which may be technically more "correct". A good many of the thousands of words "approved" by the Cairo Academy, indeed, are not newly coined or disinterred from the classical dictionaries but words which were already in current use and which the Academy has merely confirmed as correct and proper.

Although it is true that some of the words advocated by the academies (for example, the Cairo Academy's لال, for telephone) may never win any degree of public acceptance, many of the words proposed have already attained considerable currency, while others deserve a greater measure of acceptance than they have so far gained. One of the chief problems the academies have had to face, in fact, has been that of persuading writers and journalists to use their
"approved" words and thus introduce them into current usage. In this they have not been notably successful. Among the reasons for their lack of success are probably the somewhat derisive attitude with which the work of the academies tends to be regarded and perhaps also a natural human reluctance to give up established language habits and a dislike of being told how to speak or write. An equally important factor in limiting the acceptance of the academies' work is probably the fact that they have been able to develop no really effective means for publicizing the results of their work and bringing their lists of "approved" words to the attention of those who might use them. 64

64. For attempts by the academicians to appraise the results of their work and to analyze the reasons for public indifference to it, see Kurd 'Ali, الاستعمال محكم , RAAD 21 (1946) 274-279; and al-Maghribî, مجامعنا اللغوية و أوضاعها , RAAD 22 (1947) 459-462.
Chapter V

FOREIGN WORDS IN MODERN ARABIC (I)

The changes that have taken place in the Arabic language over the past century or century and a half have been considerable, and it is probably safe to conjecture that much of modern written Arabic would seem strange and perhaps even unintelligible to an eighteenth century reader or to a present-day scholar familiar only with classical or medieval Arabic. The spread of literacy, the growth and development of the periodical press and the radio, the influence of European civilization on many facets of Arab culture, and the activities of the academies and of individual writers have all contributed to these changes.

This is not to say, of course, that the language is no longer Arabic, or that its fundamental qualities have in any way been altered. In spite of the alarms raised by the more extreme among the reformist writers, who protest that Arabic is becoming a mongrel tongue, a debased mixture of Arabic and foreign elements, the language is still unmistakably Arabic and its essential characteristics remain unchanged. Nevertheless, the changes of the past century and a half have been sufficient to have affected the language
in many ways. Minor changes have taken place in spelling, a system of punctuation based on that of the European languages has come into use, and there have been quite noticeable changes in idiom and in literary style. It is in the vocabulary of Arabic, however, that the results of the modern development of the language are most apparent.

The vocabulary of every living language is of course constantly undergoing change and decay and growth; and Arabic has presumably never been exempt from this natural process, in spite of the protestations of the more conservative lexicographers, who hold that if a word is not recorded in the it is simply not Arabic, no matter what its form, derivation, or meaning. In the past hundred years, however, this development has been very considerably accelerated, partly by the continued operation of normal linguistic change, but chiefly in response to the need for new words to describe new objects and ideas and as a result of the greatly increased contact with other languages. A considerable number of new words have come into use in the language, others already in use have acquired new meanings, and many words from the European languages have been taken into Arabic. It is this last group, the foreign words, that has
excited much of the attention of would-be reformers of the language; and it is these words that would perhaps impress the reader familiar only with classical Arabic as one of the most characteristic features of the modern language.

Extent of Borrowing. Arabic is not alone among languages, of course, in making use of foreign words; nor is the entry of foreign words into Arabic a peculiarly modern phenomenon, as the vocabulary of the Quran and of classical poetry will attest and as even the most conservative of the Arab lexicographers will admit. What distinguishes modern Arabic in this respect from the language of earlier periods is the fact that a comparatively large number of such words have entered Arabic in the modern period and that almost all have been taken into Arabic from only three western European languages.

A number of the words from European languages which were taken into Arabic in pre-Islamic and early Islamic times and which are recorded in the classical dictionaries have fallen into disuse and cannot properly be considered part of modern Arabic; while others such as قميص shirt, ميل mile, اكليم region, كوب cup, and برج tower remain in common use up to the present day. Nor are the loan words in current
use restricted to those borrowed from Europe, and examples of those taken from other languages include *bomb, *constitution, *anesthetic, *gramophone record, *electricity, and many others. None of these, however, are recent borrowings, no matter how modern the objects or ideas to which they apply; and neither they nor the older loan words from the European languages are typical examples of the majority of foreign words now in use in modern Arabic.

The loan words that are most typical of modern Arabic are those that have come into the language from the western European languages within the past century and a half, and it seems likely that these constitute the greater part of the foreign words now in use in Arabic. Just how many such modern loan words are in use in the language it would be impossible to specify and difficult even to estimate. Brill's word list\(^1\) indicates that of the 3685 words most frequently used in Arabic newspapers during 1938-1939, only 121 or approximately 3.27 per cent were of modern European origin, and of these 43 were proper nouns or adjectives such as ألماني, بريطانيا, and others. Of the 1000 most commonly used

\(^1\) Brill, The Basic Word List of the Arabic Daily Newspaper (Jerusalem, 1940).
words listed by Brill, 42 were from the modern European languages, and of these 23 were proper nouns or adjectives.

A more recent and more broadly based word count of modern Arabic is that by Jacob Landau, which incorporates Brill's list and adds a count of the vocabulary of sixty different twentieth century Egyptian books. Landau's count shows that of the 3596 words most commonly used in modern Arabic prose 86 or only about 2.3 per cent are of modern European origin and of these 37 are proper nouns or adjectives. Of the 1000 most frequently used words listed by Landau, only 30 are from the modern European languages and 17 of these are proper nouns or adjectives.

It seems safe to suggest, in other words, that the number of such foreign words in common use in the language is in fact quite small in proportion to the total vocabulary. They nevertheless form a prominent part of the modern Arabic vocabulary (partly because of the attention that has been drawn to them and in part merely because they are foreign and therefore different), and they are used to deal with almost every aspect of modern civilization.

Uses of Loan Words. Not surprisingly, one of the spheres where a comparatively large number of foreign words has become established is that of the modern sciences and of the ideas, substances, products, and processes with which these deal. Thus we find 

Geology, topography, biology (obsolescent), and physiology, on the model of the older geography. The Arab student of physics deals with neutrons and electrons, the biologist with microbes and chromosomes, and the chemist with hydrogen, oxygen, and the hydrocarbons. The doctor may diagnose malaria, bilharzia, or trachoma, and treat his patients with vitamins, aureomycin, chloromycetin, or penicillin.

An even more numerous class of loan words consists of the names of many of those modern inventions which are one of the characteristic features of contemporary Western civilization. Along with the objects themselves, the Arab world has, for example, acquired from

3. Except where otherwise indicated, words and phrases cited here are taken from examples of actual usage (chiefly in newspapers and magazines), and not from dictionaries, glossaries, or any other secondary sources.
Europe the words for *radio*, *radar*, *telephone*, *television*, *film*, *dynamite*, *plastic*, *tram*, *helicopter*, and many other objects.

An indication of the extent to which modern European civilization has influenced the everyday life of the Arab world may be seen in the number of foreign words used to describe the buildings in which people work and live, the rooms in these buildings, the clothes which people wear, and the materials from which these clothes are made. The citizen of one of the Arab countries today may live in a *villa* and work in an *studio*, and he puts his automobile into the *garage* or *workshop* for repair or storage. The house in which he lives may include a *reception room* or *hallway* and *salon* or *drawing room*, and its *furniture* may include *buffets*, *bureaus*, and *armchairs*. If his clothes, as is likely, are of the modern or Western *style*, he will wear *trousers*, *necktie*, and *jacket* during the day and *pajamas* at night. His wife's wardrobe will probably include *corset*, *brassiere*, and a *blouse*; and for winter wear they will probably possess *sweaters or pullovers*, as well as *overcoats* or perhaps even...
trench coats. Many of these garments will be made of nylon, and some of them will certainly have considerable amounts of elastic.

For entertainment this hypothetical modern Arab may attend a matinee at a nearby theater to watch his favorite comedy or drama, or he may prefer to go to the cinema to watch the latest film. If his preference is for music, he may attend an opera or operetta; while if his taste runs to night life, and he is not satisfied to listen to the radio at home or at a coffee shop, he may spend his evenings at one of the casinos or at one of the cabarets listening to a jazz band.

In the field of government, the Arab world has taken from Europe not only a number of political institutions but also the names of many of these institutions and of a number of modern political systems and philosophies. Examples include democracy, dictatorship (including dictatorship of the proletariat), parliaments, and the veto. The names of the various modern systems and philosophies of government include also Nazism, Fascism, Bolshevism,
imperialism, Marxism, Hitlerism, and Stalinism. The modern Arab states, like their European counterparts, are afflicted with the inefficiencies and absurdities of government routine.

The Arab world has also become a part of the modern economic system; and Arabic has taken from the European languages the names of many of the institutions and devices through which modern commerce and finance operate, such as the transit trade, the insurance policy, and the registered trade mark. Money is handled by the banks, and stocks and bonds are traded in the bourse. A invoice presented for goods supplied or services rendered may be paid by banknote or by cheque.

The chief Western currencies such as the franc, the dollar, and the pound sterling are of course referred to in Arabic by their original names. In addition, the monetary units of the Arab countries themselves, with few exceptions, carry names taken from the European languages. The Egyptian millieme and pound, the Syrian and Lebanese lira, the Saudi Arabian riyal, and the qirsh or qursh of various countries all take their names
from the modern European languages; while the fils and dinar of Iraq have names derived from Greek and Latin respectively.

Along with the names of their monetary units (most of which are now on a decimal base), the Arab countries have adopted a number of the other European systems of measurement, together with the names of the units on which these systems are based. The various older local systems of weights continue in general use, but the kilogram and ton are also widely used. Distances are commonly measured in meters and kilometers (the older mile also continues to be widely used), and electricity is measured by the volt or kilowatt. The larger numbers such as million, billion, and milliard also have names taken from the European languages.

Many of the Western games and sports which have become so popular in the Arab countries are now called by Arabic names (for instance, كورة القدم, football, basketball, etc.), but other bear names taken from the European languages. Examples of the latter include جولف, golf, صيد الطائر, table tennis, هوكي, hockey.
Every four years considerable interest is aroused by the Olympic games or Olympiad.

A number of the words referring to modern occupations, professions, and the like have also been taken into Arabic from the European languages. Along the commonest of these in modern usage are doctor, secretary, and geologist; and other examples include professor, captain, and millionaire. Western military titles such as colonel, general, and marshal, as well as the terms of address such as mister, monsieur, and signor or señor, are commonly used in Arabic when referring to Europeans. Western titles of nobility such as lord, count, duke, and prince also occur; but a number of these are not strictly modern borrowings, having first entered Arabic at the time of the Crusades.

Sources of Loan Words. As has already been indicated, one of the distinguishing characteristics of this

vocabulary of modern loan words in Arabic is that it has, with few exceptions, been taken from the western European languages. The great majority of the words borrowed in the modern period have in fact come from only three of these languages: English, French, and Italian (many of the words of Italian origin were probably taken into Arabic from the Maltese rather than directly from Italian). Greek and, to a much lesser extent, Spanish once served as sources for loan words, but neither of these appears to have contributed anything to written Arabic for perhaps two centuries or more; and the borrowings from German consist of one or two words at most.

While the borrowing of words has been restricted in the modern period mainly to English, French, and Italian, it does not follow that a particular loan word can always be attributed with certainty to one or another of these three sources. The three languages share among them a large number of cognate words, and the difficulty this causes in trying to determine the exact source of a particular loan word is increased by the fact that the word may have come into Arabic from two or even three sources. Thus بنسلين penicillin, فيتامین vitamin, تلفن telephone, and تلغراف telegraph may have
come into Arabic from English or from French or from both simultaneously. Radio, veto, and villa have the same form in all three of the source languages, and Arabic وفيو , راديو , and فيلا could presumably have been taken from any one of them. The problem is further complicated by the fact that the three languages are constantly borrowing new words from each other or forming them from the same Greek or Latin roots. Thus it would be difficult to say with certainty whether براموتو parachute was taken directly from French or came into Arabic through English, or whether ترامواي tramway was borrowed directly from English or came through French or Italian.

In other cases, however, it is possible to decide definitely or at least with some degree of certainty whether a particular loan word in Arabic has come from English, from French, or from Italian. Where a word occurs in only one of the three European languages the corresponding Arabic word obviously must be taken from that source. Thus ليفي lycée must come from French, since the word has no close cognates in English or Italian, and ظلّة pump must come from Italian tromba, since the word has no cognates with this meaning in English or French. Similarly, where شرذك appears in Arabic as شرذك the source is obviously
the English lorry, while if كم is used instead the borrowing is from the French camion.

A further indication of the source of loan words is to be found in the way they are spelled in Arabic. Thus, to refer again to some of the examples already cited, telephone appears in Arabic is تلفون and not as تلفن، an indication that it comes from English or French rather than from Italian telefono, and Arabic برلمان is presumably taken from French parlement rather than from English parliament or Italian parlamento, while furniture comes from Italian mobilia and not from French meubles. Similarly, where marshal is rendered as مارشال it presumably comes from English, while if it appears as مارشال it is taken from French maréchal; and neither form comes from Italian maresciallo. Further examples are دراما from French drame (but 드라마 from English or Italian drama), نیاژ from French théâtre (but نیاترو from Italian teatro), and ناروبید طورپید or ناروبید تورپید from English torpedo (but طریل from French torpille).

By one or another of these methods or by a combination of them it is thus possible to determine the sources of a considerable number of modern loan words, or at least to eliminate one of the three possible sources. Among the
foreign words in modern Arabic to which a source can be assigned, for instance, it appears that workshop, لوري lorry, بنكوت banknote, بار bar, and شورت shorts are from English. Words which are ultimately from English but which may have come into Arabic through French include فيلم film, نايلون nylon (but certainly through French?), جاز jazz, ترام tram, and جockey jockey.

Among the words taken into Arabic from French are دوسيه dossier, بودرة powder, بقالة توانايل bargain sale, تويليت toilet, دكتوراه doctorate, and بوجي spark plug. Words probably from French but perhaps from one of the other languages include سكرير secretary, جرنال newspaper (now obsolete in the written language), بالطو overcoat, and the names of the metric units of measurement such as متر meter, كيلومتر kilometer, etc. Others, like بوفيه buffet, كيشه cliche (in printing), or نايلو tableau, are ultimately from French but may have passed into Arabic through English.

Modern loan words which appear to have been taken from Italian include فاتورة invoice, بورصة bourse, ماركة trade mark, مودة lamp, مودة fashion or style, and موبيليا furniture. A fairly large number of other Italian words such as استثنائية hospital, بستة post or mail, لوكايدة hotel, كرنتينا quarantine,
and factory have already fallen out of use in written Arabic, although they may continue to be used in the spoken language. Words such as casino, concerto, and scenario are originally from Italian, but have perhaps been taken into Arabic through English or French. As already indicated, many of the Italian words in modern Arabic were probably taken from Maltese rather than directly from Italian.

There has also been a considerable Turkish contribution to modern Arabic. This consists of two main categories of words. There are first of all the Turkish words like kiosk, seal or stamp, ice cream, and the titles such as sergeant and pasha (and its combinations, etc.). Most of these now survive only in spoken Arabic and in the written language have been replaced by Arabic words. The second category, now probably more numerous than the first in the written language, consists of technical terms of various sorts coined by the Turks from Arabic roots and according to Arabic word patterns and first used in Turkish rather than in Arabic. The language reform movement in Turkey has rejected many of these words and some, such as government department.
and justice, are now also obsolete in Arabic. Many others, however, remain in use in modern Arabic and examples include words such as مديرة directorate, مصايد department, ميزانية budget, and جمهورية republic. Finally, there are a few words such as كمرك or کمرك customs and استمارة blank or form which Arabic has taken through Turkish from other languages.

Modern Arabic words taken from languages other than those discussed above are very few. The common قرش coin gets its name, of course, from German Groschen; but this is not a new borrowing. Apart from derivatives of proper names, such as نازية Nazism, هتلرايτanism, etc., the only recent loan word from German seems to be سناورکل snorkel or schnorkel; and even this appears to have entered Arabic through English rather than directly from German. The word أهنت yacht is originally from Dutch; but this too seems to have been an indirect borrowing, having passed into Arabic through English.

In a few instances the original source of a modern loan word is Arabic itself, and Arabic words which passed into the European languages at the time of the Crusades or subsequently now return to Arabic as foreign words. Thus Arabic أمير ال ... entered the European languages as admiral,
amiral, ammiraglio, etc. It has now returned to its source and appears in modern Arabic as 
(lishār) and even in such combinations as 
rear admiral and vice admiral. A 
similar process is seen at work with the names 
of the fabrics muslin and damask, derived originally from 
المنسق الموصلي, which now appear in modern Arabic as 
Damask and Muslin. A somewhat more complicated example is that of the Greek malagma, which entered Arabic as 
الملاجم, passed from Arabic into Medieval Latin and thence into French and English as amalgam and now returns to Arabic as 
الملاجم and forms the denominative verbs 
to amalgamate and 
to be amalgamated.

Until considerably more work has been done to determine the sources of the modern loan words in Arabic, it is difficult to reach any definite conclusions regarding the connection, if any, between the uses to which these words are put and the languages from which they are taken. A few rather vague relationships can nevertheless be discerned. The names of articles of clothing, for instance, seem to come chiefly from French (corset, robe, بنطلون trousers, بالطو overcoat) or
English (shorts, sweater, pullover), though Italian has contributed blouse, necktie, jacket, and the general term style or fashion.

Loan words dealing with sports appear to have come mainly from English (golf, polo, hockey, tennis), and many of the words used in commerce and finance (invoice, bourse, policy, trade mark) are taken from Italian or Maltese. Modern inventions such as the telephone, television, and plastic perhaps tend to take their names more frequently from English or French than from Italian.

The attempt to establish even such vague and generalized relationships as these, however, involves many inconsistencies and contradictions; and for the time being it must remain a matter of conjecture whether there is in fact any significant connection between the meanings of these modern loan words and the languages from which they are taken.

5. Italian has also provided a considerable number of nautical terms in the spoken Arabic of the eastern Mediterranean. See the many such words listed in Spiro, Arabico-English Dictionary of the Modern Arabic of Egypt (Cairo, 1923) and in Kahane & Tietze, The Lingua Franca in the Levant: Turkish Nautical Terms of Italian and Greek Origin (Urbana, Illinois, 1958).
Grammatical Treatment of Foreign Words. Some indication of the extent to which the modern loan words from European languages have been accepted and naturalized in Arabic may be seen in the way in which they have been adapted to the inflectional system and other grammatical features of Arabic. In contrast, for example, to English practice, which occasionally retains foreign plural forms, as in memoranda, phenomena, and bureaux, and sometimes even follows foreign distinctions of gender, as in blond(e) and fiancé(e), the practice in Arabic is almost always to make no grammatical distinction between Arabic words and those taken from foreign languages. Foreign words form their plurals like Arabic words, they are fully inflected for case, and the gender assigned to them in Arabic usually bears no relation to their gender in French or Italian.

Both sound and broken plurals, for instance, are formed from foreign words. Examples of the feminine sound plural include vitamins, motorcyles, parliaments, trousers, hydrocarbons, telephones, and kilometers. This plural form is used not only with nouns denoting female persons and inanimate objects, but also occasionally, as in...
nouns referring to male persons. The sound masculine plural seems to occur only with nouns having the adjectival ending, such as geologists and diplomats.

The characteristic Arabic broken plural forms are also in common use with foreign words. Among nouns which refer to inanimate objects or abstractions and which take the broken plural forms are films (from فِيلم), invoices (from ملايين), millions (from ملايين), points (from أثنا عشر), tons (from طن), workshops (from ورشة), and cigarettes (from سيجارة). Nouns referring to persons and forming broken plurals include consuls (from كندا), doctors (from دكتور), cardinals (from كاردِنال), and Bolshevists (from بلشفي).

Some foreign words in Arabic form both sound and broken plurals. Examples include overcoats (from بلطي and بلطوات), salons (from صالون), lorries (from لوري), and machines (from مكَّان), and Bolshevists (from بلشفي and بِلَشْفي).

Collective forms are made from a number of European words with the relative adjectival ending by dropping the
final on the model of and . Examples include Italians (from انجليز , Englishmen (from انجل , Fascists (from فاشيست , and or Soviets (from سوفييت or سوفيتي . In practice these tend to be treated as plurals rather than collective nouns, so that one finds, for instance, the Soviets are training large forces rather than the soviet تدرب قوات كبيرة . A few collectives in are also formed from foreign nouns. Thus the plural of jockey is and of conductor or ticket collector .

Only occasional instances are found where the treatment of loan words in Arabic appears to be influenced by European plural forms. The word جواي is apparently from the Italian plural guanti. It is, however, treated as singular or collective in Arabic, and forms a sound plural جوايت . From English commando( s) are formed both and كوماندو كوماندو , and the latter is treated as a plural. Thus one finds the Jewish commandos (but also the French commandos . Such words, however, seem to be examples of borrowing from European plurals (rather than singulars) and not of the use of European plural forms in Arabic, and in any case are not common.
No definite rules can be established to indicate why a particular foreign word should take one form of the broken plural rather than another or a sound plural rather than a broken one. A few general tendencies can, however, be seen. Shorter foreign words that have been used in Arabic for a considerable time (such as consul, bank, and ton) tend to form broken plurals, especially if they appear to conform to one of the commoner Arabic word patterns such as consul (consul), bank (bank), and ton (ton). Longer words such as kilometer, motorcycle, or hydrocarbon are more likely to take sound plurals. 

Loan words referring to persons and ending in the adjectival جزْمٌ may form either sound masculine plurals, like geologists and diplomats, or both sound and broken plurals, like bolshevists. Others, as already indicated, form collectives, like Englishmen and Soviets. American apparently forms not only a sound plural but also , but the latter is in fact from the alternative form .

Words referring to male persons but without the adjectival ending جزْمٌ may form either broken plurals, like
consuls, doctors, and cardinals, or take the feminine sound plural ending, like lords, garçons, and constables.

Loan words ending in an a sound may be spelled in Arabic with either ٌ or ِ, and follow the pattern of Arabic words in ٍ in forming either sound or broken plurals. Examples with sound plurals include jackets (from جاكيت), lamps (from لام), fashions (from فسحة), villas (from فرية), and furniture (from مبيَّة). Among words forming broken plurals are numbers (from نمزه-obsolescent), workshops (from ورشة), and invoices (from فاتورة). Words ending in ُ and having both sound and broken plurals include and factories (from مَكِّاين and فابريكة) (both obsolescent in the written language).

Words ending in vowel sounds other than a present some slight irregularities in making their plurals, perhaps because such words are comparatively rare in Arabic and the operation of analogy is not so strong as in the case of words ending in ئ or a consonant. Words ending with an ُ sound, for instance, may form regular sound plurals, as in radios (from راديو) and dynamos (from دينمو); or they may add
a before the plural ending, as in bureaus (from بيز ) and studios (from استوديو ). From casino are formed not only كازينوهات and كازينوهات but also كازينات. The example of another word ending in o, the quasi-plural form commandos, has already been discussed above.

French words ending in -e, -ee, -er, or -et are written in Arabic with the ending ١. In the singular of these words the final ١ is silent, like the ١ in spoken Arabic. They differ from the words in ١, however, in that the final ١ is usually retained before the sound feminine plural ending ات and is then pronounced. Examples include francs (from الفرنسي), pounds (from جنيه), buffets (from بوفيه), and dossiers (from دوسيه). A very few loan words appear to remain unchanged in form when used in the plural. Thus one finds, for example, ١٢-volt (singular) battery and ١٠ فولت ١٢-volt (plural) battery and both طائرة هلكرت helicopter (singular) and طائرات هلكرت helicopters (plural).

Loan words taken into Arabic from the European
languages not only form their plurals according to the Arabic patterns but also become subject to the Arabic rules for grammatical gender. The gender of a foreign word in Arabic may not always be immediately apparent if it occurs without modifiers of any sort. In many cases, however, the loan word is accompanied by a verb, adjective, numeral, or other modifier; and it then becomes possible to say whether it is being treated as masculine or feminine.

A number of the European grammars of Arabic state that foreign words in Arabic are treated as feminine, no matter what their original gender. This is very obviously not so, and indeed a majority of the loan words in modern Arabic appear to be treated as masculine. The rules for the gender of loan words appear in fact to be a simplified version of those for Arabic words. Words referring to females or ending in a (spelled or in Arabic) are feminine. All other words become masculine.

Examples of foreign words that are feminine (here quoted in context to show their gender) includecinema

...
The French lycée or the new spark plug, they appear to be the result of affectation rather than of a natural and spontaneous use of grammatical gender.

The gender of loan words in Arabic in fact appears to be based solely on meaning or form and to have no relationship to the gender which these words had in their original languages. A considerable number of foreign words, in fact, change their gender when they come into use in Arabic. Thus cinéma and pyjama are both masculine in French but feminine in Arabic because of their endings. Similarly, French numéro, Italian numero, French hôpital, and Italian ospedale are all masculine, but Arabic نمرة and derived from them are both feminine. Examples of the shift from feminine to masculine include routine (رoutines الحكومي), vitamin (فيتامين), and penicillin (البيسبيلين الصناعي), all feminine in French but masculine in Arabic. French benzine, Italian benzina, French corniche, Italian cornice, French tonne, and Italian tonnellata are all feminine, but Arabic كرنچ (كرونش) ( كيف يستعمل البنزين) andتنن (الزن الالكلي) are all masculine. The German monetary unit مارک Mark is feminine in German, but masculine in Arabic (المارك الجدي).
Occasional instances of dual gender of loan words may be found, as in another helicopter (but also هيليكوبتر أخر) and wireless telegraph (but also في غراف الكهربائية). The use of the feminine with هيليكوبتر can be explained by the omission of understood, and presumably the second example represents an ellipsis also.

In addition to assuming the grammatical gender and plural forms of Arabic, modern loan words also appear to undergo full inflection for case. As the great majority of Arabic texts are unvowelled, this inflection is visible only when the word occurs in the indefinite accusative, and then only when the declension requires the ending. This happens frequently enough, however, to indicate that the foreign words which have come into the language in the modern period are declined like Arabic nouns and that all or most of them are treated as triptotes.

The fact that a noun is of foreign origin has never in itself been a bar to its being treated as a triptote in Arabic. The Arab grammarians include the fact that a word is foreign among the أسباب الاضماع من الصرف, but this operates
to make a word diptote only when in combination with one of a number of other causes, such as its being a proper name or an adjective. In modern usage, therefore, words such as cheque, doctor, secretary, point, million, millimeter, and kilometer are all treated as triptotes.

The foreign names of numbers, such as million and billion, follow the example of thousand in governing the following noun in the genitive singular. Thus one finds five million dollars, 75 billion barrels, and a hundred billion francs. These words are also, though less frequently, construed with and a following plural, as for example in thirty million servants of the Lord and eight billion dollars. Wehr cites also billions of dollars, but this construction is rare.

The meanings of these numerals in modern Arabic appear to follow the French and American rather than the British and German systems, so that billion and million equal a thousand million rather than a million million.
Chapter VI
FOREIGN WORDS IN MODERN ARABIC (II)

In addition to assuming the inflectional endings and other grammatical features of Arabic, loan words from foreign languages undergo a number of other changes in the process of being taken into Arabic. Some of these changes arise from the effort to express unfamiliar sounds and combinations of sounds in the Arabic alphabet, and others result from the attempt to make foreign words conform to the formal patterns of Arabic morphology.

Adaptation to Arabic Forms. The term is sometimes loosely used as merely a synonym of translation. Correctly used, however, it means the taking of a foreign word into Arabic, and it is in this sense that the term is used by Sibawaih among others. A distinction can be made, however, between the loaned words and the meaning,adaptation includes not only bringing a foreign word into Arabic, but also altering it when necessary to conform to the usual Arabic word patterns. Thus words such as

1. For further discussion of this point and of the distinction between مَعْرِبَة and مَعْرِبَة, see 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, كتاب الانتقاقي والمعربة, (Cairo, 1947), pp. 41-44.
A number of other loan words, however, seem to fall easily and naturally into one or another of the Arabic word patterns and may thus presumably be considered Arabization of Foreign Words as fully Arabicized. Among examples of the more common forms are: 银, robe, cheque, cheque, 吨, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信用, 信
is unavoidable should be Arabicized as completely as possible by thorough application of the principles of تَعْرِيب. As long ago as 1892, for example, Yusuf Shalḥat was writing in al-
Muqtaṭṭaf to argue that foreign words should be replaced by Arabic equivalents wherever possible, but that where a foreign word could not be discarded it should be adapted to the patterns of Arabic word forms. Another early proponent of this point of view was Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī, among whose suggestions was that gutta-percha and chimpanzee should be Arabicized to طَبْرَيْقٍ and ثِيْمَّةٍ respectively "on the pattern of سَفَرِجل". The same pattern was followed some years later by Mārūn Ghuṣn in suggesting that barometer, for example, should be Arabicized as بَرُمْتِر; and Kāmil al-Ghazzī, in discussing the treatment of foreign words in Arabic proposed such modifications as changing automobile to تَنْبِيِل اُتوُسِبِيل (like قَدِيل). In 1921 the Arab Academy of Damascus, in drawing up rules for its own guidance in approving new words,

5. Al-Ghazzī, الكلمات غير المغوصية, RAAD 8(1928): 480-492.
decided that all foreign words should be made to conform to Arabic patterns and suggested, for instance, that chocolate should become شكلانة (fi'olat) شكلانة and that biscuit should be changed to بسكوت (fu'ul) بسكوت. The Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo, in giving qualified approval to the use of foreign words in modern Arabic, decreed that the final phrase apparently meaning that such words should be altered to conform to Arabic morphology whenever possible.

If a loan word is so thoroughly Arabicized as to meet the strictest definition of اسم مَعْرَبً it should presumably become subject to انتقاء, that is the derivation from it of other forms such as verbs, verbal nouns, participles, and the like. Sa'îd al-Afghānî in his Fi' Usūl al-Nahw states that the classical grammarians prohibit انتقاء from a number of classes of words, among them اسم الإسماء الأعجمية. The term إسماء الأعجمية, however, (like

6. RAAD 2(1922): 50
7. RALA 1(1934): 33. See also the Mahdar of the Cairo Academy, 1(1934): 422.
(مفردات) is so loosely used by various writers that it is difficult to say just what this prohibition means; and it seems to carry little force at the present time.

A number of examples of مفردات forms derived from foreign words are in current use in modern Arabic. From European or Westerner, for instance, come the verb to become Europeanized and its participle Europeanized or Westernized. Number forms numbering, and from European proper names are formed تسجيل dieselization and pasteurization. The technical terms of chemistry include a number of verbal forms such as to oxidize, to become oxidized, carbonized, and hydrogenated.

In spite of the theoretical prohibition of مفردات from foreign words, a number of writers favor going much further in the direction of deriving verbal and other forms from loan words. Yusuf Shalhat proposed the use of words such as جلون to galvanize, and Anastas al-Kirmili declared himself in favor of تلفن to telephone and similar verbs derived from the European languages. Muhammad Salāh al-Dīn al-Kawākibī’s dictionary of technical terms includes a good number of

words such as methylation, halogenated, nitration, and oxygenated.

Apart from the process of adoption, a number of other and less basic modifications of loan words also take place. The formation of adjectives from foreign nouns is fairly common, as for example in those derived from cinema, telephone, parliament, electron, and hydrocarbon. The -ة ending is used not only to reproduce the vowel endings of European words (as in from marca, moda, and lampa), but also to form feminine nouns from masculine loan words as, for instance, in woman doctor and woman secretary. The -ة ending, used to form abstract nouns in Arabic, performs the same function with foreign words, as in the derived forms secretaryship, doctorate (more commonly Marxism, and dictatorship.

The process of complete or full Arabization of foreign words becomes somewhat easier if one believes that

many of these words are derived from Arabic in the first
place. Rashid 'Atiyah, for example, argued that history was
derived from استوره, prairie from بريه, and
Foreign Words
Allegedly
From Arabic
rich from رش, and thus had no difficulty in
adapting these words to Arabic word patterns.\(^{12}\)

The undisputed champion in this field of linguistic endeavor,
however, was certainly the late Father Anastas al-Kirmili,
who apparently was convinced that all of the punctuation and
much of the vocabulary of the European languages were derived
from Arabic.

Among al-Kirmili's etymologies are acid from آخذ, ton from دن, opera from عربة, and French acheter from اشتري. By 1938 he had convinced himself, if not his readers, that
the Indo-European languages were closely related to Arabic\(^{13}\),
and a few years before his death he was occupied in demonstrat­
&nt the Indian languages of North America were
also largely derived from Arabic\(^{14}\). Had al-Kirmili been

\(\text{12. 'Atiyah, } \)\text{معجم عثمة في العامي والدخيل (São Paulo, 1944). See also the comments by Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī in RAAD 25(1950): 46-47.}

\(\text{13. Al-Kirmili, } \)\text{حة العربية واللغات الغربية, 6 (1928): 321. See also his book } \text{نشأتُ اللغة العربية ونموها وأشكالها (Cairo, 1938) and his articles in LA 7(1929): 593-602 and RALA 1(1934): 269-279, 279-290.}\)
spared to us a few years longer he presumably would have succeeded in showing that all the languages of the world were in fact descended from Arabic. Any remaining problems in connection with the use of foreign words in Arabic would thereby have been solved, since it could have been shown that all such words were originally Arabic and therefore perfectly acceptable.

Spelling of Foreign Words. In the absence of any such all-embracing solution, however, a number of problems remain in connection with the handling of modern loan words in Arabic, one of them being the question of how foreign words should be spelled. While the European languages have developed various fairly satisfactory methods for accurate transliteration from Arabic, it has not been possible to devise any such scheme for the spelling of European words in Arabic, and the spelling of many of the modern loan words is very far from being standardized.

One result of this is that the spelling of loan words is often left largely to personal preference, and the

same word may appear in Arabic in two or more different forms. While the spelling of some foreign words such as البنك, بترول petroleum, ورشة workshop, and كيلومتر kilometer has been largely standardized, the spelling of others shows considerable variation. For example, فيلم film may be spelled فلم or and penicillin may appear as بنسلين and or نسيكلين or بنسلين and . Machine (ماكينة and مكينة) and هليكين (هيليكين and هيليكين) each have at least three different forms, and microphone (ميكروفون and ميكروفون) at least four. Television appears as تلفزيون or or or or and cement, while it is usually spelled سمنت, has also the five additional forms سمنت and and سمنت and شمنت and شنت .

In the spelling of modern loan words a few examples occur in which sounds are changed, as in pump (ر > 1, but 1 also occurs), or omitted altogether, as in ورشة workshop (k and p omitted) and فانيلة flannel (first Sounds Changed or 1 omitted). In other cases sounds which are silent in the European original may be reproduced when the word is spelled in Arabic, as in لينكولن Lincoln and كونيكت Connecticut. More usually, however, silent letters are omitted in the Arabic spelling, as happens, for example,
in such words as parliament (French parlement), psycopathic, milliard, and hydrogen (when derived from French). Where the European word has a doubled letter, the Arabic spelling may try to reproduce this, as in المليار, millimeter, and خلا، villa, or may ignore it, as in البالون، balloon, غالون، gallon, and مليون، million.

The vowels in European words constitute another source of difficulty when these words are spelled in Arabic. Since most Arabic printed matter is, of course, unpointed, the tendency is increasingly to use the long vowels to reproduce both short and long vowel sounds, as in مآينة، machine, اوتوماتيكي، automatic, فيدرالي، federal, and مارشال، marshal (when from French مارشال). Furthermore, since the Arabic diphthongs have come in common usage to represent IPA ou and eɪ rather than the au and aɪ sounds of classical Arabic, a new device for writing the au and aɪ sounds is needed. The problem is solved by using و + ا and ئ + ئ instead of the classical او and ال. Thus the French سكاوثو، for instance, becomes کاوشو، nylon becomes نايلون، typewriter is written تايبرايتر، and Tapline is spelled تاپلاين.

Additional difficulties are presented by those European vowel sounds which have no counterpart in Arabic. The
French ٍ, for example, is often rendered by ى, but this is also used for او ٍ; so that one finds both اوتوبوس autobus and اسانسير ascenseur. The ىٍ combination of the European languages is also difficult to reproduce in Arabic. Point in most contexts is ٍ, but in proper names and in the combination ball-point it may appear as either بٍٍٍٍٍ or according to whether it is derived from French or from English.

The emphatic consonants ق ط ض ص ح of Arabic further complicate the problem of spelling loan words from the European languages. In bringing into Arabic a foreign word containing a ٍ, ٍ, ٍ, ٍ, ٍ, or ٍ sound the usual but by no means invariable practice is to use the Arabic ٍ, ٍ, ٍ, etc., rather than their emphatic counterparts. From European words with the ٍ sound, for example, are derived راديو (not راديو) radio, ديناميت dynamite, دِيّل diesel, دولة dollar, دكتور doctor, مودة fashion, however, very commonly appears as موضة as well as موضة. With words derived originally from Greek the ٍ is also sometimes rendered by ة, as in موضة, ة, and موضة academy (but ديمقراطية democracy).

In modern loan words containing an ٍ the emphatic
does not seem to occur at all, and the $h$ is either rendered Ё, as in hockey and Hitlerism, or (in words taken from French) omitted altogether, as in hydrogen.

With European words containing a $k$ sound the preference also appears to be for the unemphatic Arabic consonant, as in (not $k$) kilometer, (not $h$) helicopter, plastic, technical, doctor, and secretary, even when the European original is spelled with a $q$ as in quarantine. A considerable number of words, however, are spelled with ؓ, among them (but also) captain, consul, canal, canal, and democracy. Of words containing an $s$ the majority again appear to take the unemphatic rather than the emphatic consonant. Examples include (not $s$) cinema, (not $s$) secretary, (not $s$) sterling, penicillin, plastic, and pasteurization. However, consul, hall, salon, and bourse, among others, are spelled with $c$ rather than $s$. Occasionally the $s$ of a European word appears as ؒ rather than ؏ or ؏, as in television, transit, and physiology (the last two occurring also with ؏).
Modern loan words containing a t are spelled both with t and with ی، the preference being for the unemphatic letter. Examples include (not petroleum، بلاستيك، plaschچک، دکتر، هeliکپتر، فیتامین، and تلفن telephone). The emphatic occurs in overcoat، پالتو، wall، پولیس، هیل، and pump، پمپ، among others. Among words in which both spellings occur are captain (ئاپتان، کاپتن)، turbine (نریبین، طوری)، and mail or post (پسته). یا پست.

In deciding between the emphatic and unemphatic consonants in spelling foreign words accident،widow، analogy، and mere personal preference all seem to play a part. In a word such as sonar، صنار، for example，the spelling seems to be influenced by analogy with voice or sound، specially when the word occurs in a phrase such as الرادار الصوتی (المئار). Presumably rules of some sort are operating and are applied unconsciously by those who use foreign words، but considerable further investigation would be needed to determine what these rules are.

Theoretically، considerations of euphony and vowel harmony should be among the determining factors in choosing between alternative consonants، but they do not operate
consistently, if at all. The emphatic letters of consul, ton, and bourse, for example, could be explained by the influence of the back vowels \( \ddot{a} \) and \( \dddot{u} \). The \( \dddot{s} \) of post, on the other hand, is always \( \dddot{s} \), and thus reflects not the Arabic pronunciation (with because of the adjoining \( \dddot{t} \)) but the spelling and pronunciation of the Italian original.

Further analysis of the spelling of foreign words in Arabic may show that some such phonetic principles do in fact operate, though perhaps only sporadically. Another line of investigation is suggested by the fact that the older loan words (those dating from Abbasid times and before) seem to show a preference for the emphatic consonants, while the newer ones (nineteenth and twentieth centuries) tend to use the unemphatic letters. Among the older loan words, for instance, are shirt, region, Caesar, and the Quranic way (strata), all with emphatic consonants; while the newer loan words such as secretary, telephone, and sterling are more likely to be spelled with the unemphatic consonants. This difference in the treatment of the consonants probably reflects the influence of Syriac, through which, of course, many of the older loan
words came into Arabic. In the Syriac alphabet kāf, for instance, could be pronounced as k or kh, and tau could be pronounced t or th. In transliterating foreign words into Syriac, therefore, translators tended to use the emphatic qūf, tēth, and so forth in order to avoid confusion between such pairs and to indicate that, for example, the T of a Greek word was to be pronounced t and not th. As a result, when such words were subsequently transliterated from Syriac to Arabic the emphatic ١, ٢, etc. were used instead of the ١ or ١.

A further spelling problem arises with the three sounds ٢, ٣, and ٤ represented by the ١ and ٠ of the European languages. No distinction is usually made between the soft ١ of English and Italian (as in joke and giornale) and that of French (as in geste and joli); and both sounds are most commonly rendered as ٢ in Arabic, as in ٢ oxygen, ٢ hydrogen, ٢ spark plug, and ٢ geologist or geological.

The hard ١ sound (as in ١ gas, ١ كرسن, ١ garçon, and ١ جواني) presents much greater difficulties, and may appear in Arabic as ٢, ٢, ٢, or ٢. The usual practice in Egypt is to render the hard ١ as ٢, as in ٢ سيجارة.
cigarette, gabardine, and catalogues; so that in fact there is often no distinction made between hard and soft g and one finds forms such as جراج garage where the same letter does duty for two different sounds. In Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon, on the other hand, the hard g is usually rendered as ك, as in English or سكارة cigarette, or by غ, as in كنغرس congress or بريرادير brigadier; while in Saudi Arabia it appears as ك or sometimes as في, as in رق ق فراغة drilling rig and جراج garage. The ق is also used in فراغة frigate (not modern) and in غرش the name of a coin (but غرش in Syria and Lebanon). In some words the use of غ for the hard g appears to be standardized throughout the Arab countries. These include غاز (but كار kerosene) and a number of modern technical terms coined from Greek roots, such as كيلوغرام kilogram, تلغراف telegraph, and فوتوغراف photographic.

Among the other sounds which are found in European words but which the Arabic alphabet cannot reproduce accurately is the oh (tʃ) sound of English (as in church) and Italian (as in cento and cinque). This may be found rendered in Arabic either as ش (as in كنتراركوnserto and ترانشكوクト trench coat), or as ط + ش (as in_guess تشياغ كاي تشياغ Chicago and تشياغشياغ Chiang Kai-shek).
The £ of European words is almost always written in modern Arabic as ب, as for example in parliament, petroleum, plastic, police, and powder. The й of bedspread is perhaps explained by deriving it from French couverture rather than Italian coperta or by analogy with the й ë of older borrowings such as أفيين opium and فندق hotel (from Greek pandocheion).

The v in modern loan words usually appears in Arabic as ف, as for example in vitamin, فيتو veto, showcases or shop-windows (French vitrine), and television. Occasionally it may appear as چ, as in maneuver and وابر (from French vapeur or Italian vapore) or as ب as in چابه (an alternative form of وابر).

Of other non-Arabic sounds in modern loan words, the French liquid љ (ә) appears as ل, as in armchair, and the French nasal ŋ (ә, ә, etc.) simply as ن, as in parliament. The ng (ن) of English may be rendered by ن alone, as in واشنطن Washington, by ق + ن, as in English, or by غ + ن, as in سترنگ (a variant of استرليني) sterling.

The letter ف and the Persian letters ب and ج may be found in handwritten work (for example, newspaper
headlines or advertisements) or in scholarly books, but are little used elsewhere in spelling foreign words. The reason is probably not so much any aversion to using these letters but simply that they are not included in the type fonts used by newspapers or the average job printer.

The formal rules of Arabic spelling do not allow a syllable that begins with two consonants, so that no Arabic word can begin with a double consonant and none can have a triple consonant of which the first two are unvowelled. When such combinations occur in words taken from foreign languages, the spelling of them should strictly speaking be changed to conform to Arabic rules. In older loan words, for instance, a double consonant at the start of a word is avoided by prefixing another syllable, as in Plato, region or clime, and Frank or European, or by inserting a vowel after the first consonant, as in the alternative form Frank.

These rules are sometimes but apparently not always followed in the spelling of loan words in modern Arabic. The additional syllable may be prefixed, for example, as in cliché, strategic, sterling, sport (as in sport shirt), and studio. All these
words, however, also occur without the initial \( \textit{t} \); and others such as \textit{tram}, \textit{transit}, \textit{plastic}, \textit{necktie}, and \textit{British} appear never to have the prefixed syllable. In these latter forms, and in those such as telephone \textit{exchange} or \textit{express} where clusters of three or more consonants appear, a strict application of the rule would require that the first consonant be vowelled, so that one would have, for example, \textit{tram}, \textit{plastic}, and telephone \textit{exchange}. Since these words almost never appear fully pointed, even in the dictionaries, it would be difficult to show whether this is done. In fact the rule appears not to be followed, and the common practice is to give these words approximately the same pronunciation they had in their original languages.

Still another problem of spelling arises in connection with those European words that begin with \textit{al-}, \textit{el-}, or a similar syllable. The difficulty here results from the tendency to confuse these initial syllables with the Arabic definite article, as in the classic example of Alexander > اسكندر. In modern Arabic this \textit{al-} or \textit{el-}.

15. A somewhat similar case is that of the confusion between ماس and \textit{diamond}. Here, however, it is the \textit{ad-} of Greek \textit{adamas} that has fallen away.
syllable is usually handled correctly in technical terms such as electron (definite электрон, электронный, и алтекрон электронный), and electric, although Bielawski cites also electrode. With the common word elastic, however, the initial syllable has dropped away completely, so that only such forms as электрон (definite электрон, электронный, и алтекрон электронный), and electrode appear.
Chapter VII

OTHER SOURCES OF MODERN VOCABULARY

Loan words from the modern European languages, as has been shown above in Chapter V, form only a relatively small proportion of the total vocabulary of modern Arabic. The bulk of the current vocabulary consists of those words which have been in use with little or no change since the earliest days of written Arabic and which form the material of the standard Arabic dictionaries. In addition to these two categories, the vocabulary of the modern language consists of a number of other types of words, including those which have acquired new meanings in modern times and those which do not occur at all in the classical literature but appear to be new creations of the last century or two. There are also a considerable number of words that may be termed loan translations.

Translation. The influence of the European languages on modern Arabic vocabulary is not confined to the borrowing of words from these languages. It may also be seen in the choice of Arabic words used in modern writing. A number of modern Arabic words, in fact, appear to be used as loan translations. That is, they are used with new meanings that
are direct translations of European words rather than independent developments in Arabic.

This is not to imply any criticism of the process of translation itself. Indeed translation is one of the methods recommended by the reformers for adding to the vocabulary of modern Arabic; and, for example, when Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī gives رلیة as the equivalent of the plant name Arenaria, he is admittedly translating, but the result is an accurate and completely satisfactory rendering of the Latin name. Similarly, there can be no objection to such modern Arabic terms as مراحل, سیمیا, stéamer, مراحل correspondent (of a newspaper), or معافٍ conservative (in politics). Each is a literal translation of the corresponding European word, but none of them could be criticized as an example of undue "influence" on Arabic by the European languages.

A term such as مراحل correspondent or معافٍ conservative in modern context would seem strange to an eighteenth century Arab reader, but it would nevertheless convey to him something approaching the meaning in which the word is used today. Other modern usages of standard Arabic words, however, might appear almost meaningless. With these words the process of translation has been too slavishly resorted to, and
it is in such cases that foreign influences become most apparent.

Words of this type include those in which the Arabic word reflects the original rather than the current meaning of a European word or the literal meaning rather than a derived one. For example, the English member (with its cognates in the other European languages) means originally a part or organ of the body, especially a limb; but it is much more commonly used today to refer to one of the persons composing a society or party, a comparatively modern derived meaning. The Arabic عضو corresponds very closely to the original meaning of member. When it comes to be used also in the modern sense, as in "the members of the Republican Party," it seems likely that it has acquired this derived meaning as a result of the influence of one of the European languages. Similarly, force is originally an abstract noun meaning strength or energy, but it has also developed a concrete sense meaning a military body. When the Arabic قوة develops a parallel derived meaning as in قوات جوية air forces or قوات عسكرية military forces, it is likely that this is a result of European influence.

Other example of derived or secondary meanings of
modern Arabic words which seem to have been developed under the influence of European languages include civil in such phrases as civil aviation, civil engineer, or civil service; clearance or liquidation in phrases such as "clearance of winter stocks" (of a shop) or "liquidation of the electricity company"; movement in the sociological or historical sense as in the translation movement or the liberation movement; and market used in an abstract economic sense as in free market or market movement.

In a number of modern usages the process of translation seems to have been resorted to needlessly. In printing, for example, أثاث is used as the equivalent of matrices. This is etymologically a correct rendering of the European word, but would not an Arabic word such as قلبي have served just as well and have accurately rendered the meaning of the European word without unnecessarily imitating it? Similarly, the use of مدرسة school in such phrases as "the romantic school" (of literature) or "one of the old school" is obviously in imitation of one of the derived senses of school/école in the European languages;
and in most such cases would have conveyed the desired meaning just as accurately and much more idiomatically.

Other examples of this sort of apparently unnecessary imitation of European usage in the modern language include the word circle used in combinations such as official circles (instead of مطحق, etc.), for attaché as in الملحق التجاري commercial attaché (instead of جبه), and vital in such phrases as "the Suez Canal is not vital to the defense of the East" (instead of ضرورية or لازمة or some such circumlocution as التي لا استغني عنها).

In a number of such cases a too literal rendering of the European word results almost in the translation of a European idiom or metaphor into Arabic. Thus there can be no objection to translating wave as موجة in such combinations as دراجة الموجة المليئة shock wave, but when the word occurs in Arabic in such combinations as موجة البحر heat wave or موجة الجرائم crime wave it becomes a translation of a European metaphor and obviously reflects its foreign origin. Other examples of the influence of European words used metaphorically are to be seen in such phrases as التوتر بين الولايات...
the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, the balances frozen in Britain, and the conference resumed its work in a calm atmosphere. Where the European model is imitated too closely, the resulting Arabic word or phrase often becomes merely a example of bad translation. When enlightened or gifted, referring to persons, is rendered into Arabic as موهوب منثور or ظيفة المشرورين the effect of European influence is obvious, and combinations such as the enlightened class or gifted personalities would probably be almost meaningless to an Arab reader not familiar with the European originals. Other examples of too literal and therefore unsatisfactory translations from European models include such combinations as "cordial cooperation", the mainland, the conference resumed its work in a calm atmosphere. Words with New Meanings. Cases of outright borrowing of foreign words (like film and telephone) and examples of what may be called partial borrowing or the borrowing of meanings rather than words (as inconservative, member, and clearance) constitute, however, only a comparatively small proportion of the present vocabulary of
Arabic. While the European words taken into the language during the past century and a half do form a conspicuous part of the modern vocabulary, the words needed to describe new objects and new ideas have in probably the majority of cases been supplied from Arabic sources. This has been achieved either by altering and extending the meanings of classical Arabic words (by the process known as محاصرة) so that they serve to describe modern objects and ideas or, less commonly, by creating new words from existing Arabic roots (اجتماع).

Examples of the modern use of classical words include some in which the modern meaning is fairly close to the original, such as استعمار ("settling people in a place") now used for colonialism or imperialism, صناعة ("work, craft, or occupation") now used for industry in the modern sense as in صناعة الحديد the steel industry or صناعة البترول the oil industry, and وطن ("home or dwelling") which is now used for native country or homeland (French patrie) and has acquired all the modern connotations of nationalism and patriotism. In other cases the modern meaning differs considerably from the original classical meaning, as in قطار railway train (originally "a file of camels tied head to tail"), كتاب ("any book or
"writing") now used for magazine or periodical, and from a root meaning "to blow" or "to puff" and now used to mean jet airplane.

Between the two extremes are a large number of other words which have acquired new meanings in the modern period, such as "the quality of being a hero or brave man" (now championship, as in tennis championship or light-weight championship in boxing), and "a place from which one can see to all sides" (now stage or theater). Other nouns of this type include "handicraftsman or one who is skilled with his hands" (now professional), "letter, book, or other paper that is written on" (now newspaper), and "a place to or from which a bird flies" (now airport). Among verbs which have acquired new meanings are "to form, fashion, or make an image of" now used to mean to photograph, "to separate oneself from another" now used for to boycott, and "to represent (originally with the meaning "to depict or portray", but now also very commonly in the sense of "to act for or on behalf of").

In many of these words the modern meaning bears an obvious relationship to the meaning that the word had in
classical times, and there appears to have been a gradual shift in meaning from earliest times to the present. The meaning parachute for طلق, for instance, can be logically connected with the classical meaning "canopy or parasol"; nationality has been derived from "quality or characteristic", the meaning given for جنسية in the classical dictionaries; and the meaning bicycle for دراجة is an obvious extension of its older meaning of "a cart or other wheeled device on which a child or man leans as an aid to walking". Similarly, the meaning to import for استيرد is clearly connected with the classical meaning of "to make something or someone to come or be present", the modern commercial sense of to insure for أن can be logically derived from the original sense of "to make secure or safe", and to edit is a natural extension of the original meaning of حرص "to make a writing accurate or exact by correcting its faults".

It seems probable that these words and others like them have always been current in the language, that the meanings with which they are used today are a logical and probably continuous development of the meanings they had in the classical period, and that they are actually examples of the use of old words with new meanings. With a considerable
number of other words, however, there seems to be little or no connection between the modern meaning and the definitions found in the classical dictionaries. The word "سَيَّارَة", for instance, occurs in classical Arabic with the meaning of "caravan" or as a technical term of astronomy meaning "planet" or "wandering star". Its modern meaning of automobile is probably not an extension or development from either of these classical meanings, and it seems likely that the modern "سَيَّارَة" is a new and independent formation from the root "سَيَّر" "to go". Similarly, "عَصِي" in the classical dictionaries is defined as "one who aids his people or party against hostile conduct". The word is no longer used with this meaning, and it seems likely that the modern "عَصِي" meaning nervous has no connection with the classical word of the same form but is an independent formation from "عَصِب" sinew or tendon.

Other examples of modern nouns which have the same form as nouns found in the classical dictionaries but which in fact appear to be independent modern formations include "أَرْطَيْسَ" (usually in the feminine with the meaning artiste or entertainer), which can hardly be derived from the classical "أَرْطَيْسَ" "a wild ass that has various sorts, or modes, of running"; "تَرَابِيْسَ" (a new formation from
"to pull or drag" and not a modern use of the classical
"a small yellow female scorpion that drags its tail");
aviator or pilot (newly formed from "to fly" and not
connected with the classical "a spirited and vigorous
horse"); and microphone (a new noun of instrument from
"to broadcast" and not a new use of the classical
"one who is unable to keep a secret"). Among verbs of the
same type are جر to Egyptianize (a new formation from مصر
"Egypt" and not the classical مصر "to make a place a boundary
or limit between two things"), صنع to industrialize (a new
denominative verb from صناعة industry and not the classical
صنع "to embellish or improve a thing"), and دول to internationalize
(not connected with the classical دول "to write
the letter د" but a new and independent denominative for­
mation from دولة "state or nation").

In addition to these words which have acquired new
meanings in the modern period, one also finds in modern
Arabic a large number of words used with approximately
the same meanings they had in the classical period
but in combinations which are almost certainly of recent
origin. This process of combining words into common phrases
is not, of course, a purely modern phenomenon; and the forming
of new combinations and discarding old ones has presumably been going on since earliest times.

Many of the combinations of words used in the classical period have fallen into disuse and would be meaningless to the average present-day reader. On the other hand a reader familiar only with classical Arabic would find it difficult or impossible to understand many modern combinations, although the individual words themselves would be familiar. The words سكة حديد and طائر, for example, are all very old in the language and have not changed their meanings appreciably since the earliest days of written Arabic. What would a reader of Abbasid times, however, make of such modern combinations of these as سكة حديد railroad or الطبق الطائر flying saucer?

Among the combinations of words which seem to have come into use during the past century and a half are such phrases as لسان حال الوفد المصري "the organ of the Wafd party") museum, military staff, حرب, and .

1. Muhammad Kurd 'Ali, RAAD 22(1947): 165-177, lists a number of phrases and combinations of words which were in common use in the fourth to sixth centuries A.H. but which would be incomprehensible to most modern readers.
and point of view. The effects of foreign influences on Arabic are clearly seen in such modern combinations as skyscraper, honeymoon, cold war, and iron curtain. Further examples of modern phrases which would presumably be incomprehensible to a reader familiar only with classical Arabic include standard of living, the liberal professions, the black market, the fine arts (cf. French beaux arts), and social services.

New Words. In addition to the words which have been taken from the European languages, or which have acquired new meanings in the modern period, or which retain their original meanings but are combined in new phrases, modern Arabic is also distinguished by a number of words which appear to be completely new. These are the words which have been formed by or other processes from existing Arabic words or roots. Technically these are known as كُتَّاب مَوَدَّةٍ, but since the term مَوَدَّةٍ correctly used refers to any word formed since about the third century of the Islamic period, it would perhaps be more convenient to call them by some such name as مِنْتَقَات حديثة के मजदूरों.

The new words which are in general use in modern
Arabic (as distinct from those which have been proposed or are used by one or two individual writers) are in fact considerably fewer in number than, for example, the words from classical Arabic which have acquired new meanings. New nouns which appear to have come into use in the modern period include refrigerator, agreement, budget, and patriotism or nationalism; and there are also a considerable number of new adjectives formed from existing nouns, such as secondary, cultural, and theatrical.

Examples of the very few verbs which appear to be new are to be seen in the verbal noun visa, a back formation from انتِارة as if the latter were from a verb أرى rather than from the IV form of مُنار, and perhaps in the verb to expedite, which may be a combination of سهل and شغل.

In practice it is often very difficult to distinguish between words which are new in form and meaning and those which occur in classical Arabic but are used today with some change in meaning. There is first of all the problem simply of defining what is to be considered "new". For example, are the forms monopolistic and statistical new words or merely variations of احتكار and إحصاء, which are to be found in the classical dictionaries? The verbs
and are of course old. Are the active participles "bomber," "destroyer," and "memorandum" therefore also old? Similarly, are the nouns of place "conference" and "hospital" to be considered new or old in view of the fact that the verbs "ئِتْم" and "إِسْتِمْن" both occur in the classical language?

Quite apart from this matter of definition, there is also the problem of deciding whether, for instance, a particular word first came into use in the nineteenth century, entered the language at the time of the Crusades, or dates from the earliest days of the Islamic era or before. The standard Arabic dictionaries are of course of little help in this matter, as they merely lump together as "مَولَد" all words that are not recorded in "كلام فصحى "العرب," the term "كلام فصحى" being defined in this context as Arabs who lived in Arabia before the middle of the fourth century of Islam or who lived in the conquered provinces (الأنصار) before the middle of the second century. Nor are these dictionaries completely reliable even in indicating what is definitely not modern. Not only do they differ among themselves in the words they admit as being "مَولَد" or "كَلام فصحى"

2. See, for example, the definitions of "كلام العرب" and "مَولَد" by Ahmad al-Iskandari in RALA 1(1934): 202.
one dictionary including what the next one omits, but also they omit a considerable number of words which have undoubtedly been in use since the very earliest times but which nevertheless do not occur in any of the standard dictionaries.

Because of these difficulties it is impossible in many cases to make a clear or certain distinction between words which are completely new and those which are new only in meaning. For this reason, and since the entirely new words are comparatively so few in number, there is little to be gained by trying to separate the two classes. In the following pages, therefore, no attempt will be made to classify each word as specifically "old" or "new", and the vocabulary of modern Arabic will instead be discussed from the standpoint of the various Arabic word forms most commonly used.

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Chapter VIII

WORD FORMS IN MODERN ARABIC

By comparison with the European languages, Arabic may be considered an extremely "formal" language. It attaches much greater importance and significance to the forms of words, and there is a limited number of forms or patterns (أوزان صيغ) to which the greater part of Arabic vocabulary must conform and to which, as already shown, even foreign words are made to conform when possible. In some ways this limitation is undoubtedly a disadvantage, since it restricts the formation of new words and the assimilation of foreign words. On the other hand this formalism is not without its compensations. It results in a considerable degree of uniformity or standardization in the formation of new words, and the fact that certain fairly specific meanings attach to some of the forms (such as استعمال, فعل, فعل, فعل مفعل, مفعول) to some extent serves the same purpose as that use of affixes and compound words which makes the vocabulary of the European languages so flexible.

In creating new words and in making use of old words with new or altered meanings modern Arabic has, of course, retained these word forms and patterns which are such an
essential and characteristic feature of the language. No new forms have come into use (although one or two of the existing ones have perhaps acquired slightly different shades of meaning); and in spite of alarms and protests at the "debasement" and "corruption" of Arabic by foreign and other influences, a review of the words and word forms actually in use in modern Arabic will show that this basic and most characteristic feature of the language remains alive, active, and unchanged.

VERBS AND VERBAL NOUNS

Modern Arabic makes use of most of the standard verb forms of the language. Because of their meanings the IX and XI forms are as little used as they are in the classical language, and the rare forms such as افعل and افعلون are almost never encountered. The other forms, including the quadrilaterals, are all in common use, however, and the II and VIII forms appear to have been especially productive of new words or new meanings.

Form I. Among the I form verbs used with new meanings or to describe ideas, actions, or objects that are modern are ًل to weld and ٍرٍ to become critical (with its
verbal noun أزمة (crisis). A number of I form verbs are used in connection with aviation. The verb طيار to fly is now used of persons, as in "the Minister of Aviation has flown to Turkey", and its verbal noun is the usual word for aviation. The verb is used for to land and for to taxi. راف is sometimes used for to bomb, but (especially in the participial phrase قابل bomber) is commoner. European influence can be discerned in the modern use of the verb فتح حسابا فتح "to open an account".

Form II. The II form is extremely common in modern Arabic and includes a large number of denominative verbs.

to Egyptianize, صنع to industrialize, دوّل to internationalize, صنّع to act or to represent, صنّع to photograph, حرّ to edit, and صنّع to clear or to liquidate have already been noted above. Among other II form verbs and verbal nouns which have been newly formed or have acquired new meanings in the modern period are أم to nationalize, حقّ experiment, حقّ to investigate, دّخن arbitration, تحليل تحليل analysis, دّخن to smoke, تربية education (the art, science, or theories of teaching, in contrast to تعلم to process of instructing or educating), دّخن to nominate (for election), تشريع voting, تشريع legislation, قَدن to codify, قَدن and both used for innoculation or
vaccination, تطعيم development (transitive, as opposed to development in the intransitive sense), تفرقة segregation or discrimination (as in التفرقة العنصرية "racial discrimination"), تقرير report, تكييف sterilization, تعقيم cost or expense, مال to finance, تنسيق to coordinate, تد set to type, توظيف hiring or employment (the intransitive type also occurs but is less common), and لد to generate (especially of electric, atomic, or other types of power or energy). A feminine form of the II verbal noun is seen in words such as coiffure, innovation or novelty, and تشکیلة formation (as in تشکیلة من طائرات المطار "a formation of pursuit planes").

Form III. Verbs and verbal nouns of the III form with typically modern meanings include محاضرة address or lecture, مخابرات communication, مصادقة approval, عالج to treat (of subjects or topics as well as of sick persons), مظاهرة demonstration, قاطع to boycott, ملاکه boxing, and مواصلات communications.

Form IV. Typically modern examples of the IV form include أرس to telegraph, أمر to ratify, أداة to broadcast, اسعاف first aid, أضر to go on strike, أعد to execute, مساعدة subsidy, and SIGNATURE.
Form V. Verbs and verbal nouns of the V form include naturalization, تحصين to investigate, تحفظات reservations, تحصيص specialization, تزلج to ski, تضخم inflation (economic), تطور development, and تقدم progress.

Forms VI and VII. Among examples of the VI form are تعديل التمثيل pessimism, تبادل exchange (as in "the exchange of diplomatic representation"), and تعارض cooperation. Verbal nouns of the VII form include انفجار skating, اضافة propulsion, انفجار fission, and انقلاب revolution or coup d'état.

Form VIII. Verbs and verbal nouns of the VIII form are comparatively common in modern Arabic, and examples include ائتلاف coalition, احتراق combustion (as in "internal combustion engine"), احتلال occupation (of a country), اختراع invention, احترام stenography or shorthand, اغتال aggression, اقتراح proposal, انتخاب vote or ballot, استلام concession, انتخاب election, and انتداب mandate.

Form X. Examples of the X form in modern Arabic include استعمار imperialism or colonialism, استهلاك consumption (also used as a technical term in finance to mean depreciation or amortization), استفتاء plebiscite, استقلال استقلال, استقلال and استقلال
both used to mean development or exploitation (of natural resources), to import, and orientalism.

Other Verbal Forms. Modern quadrilateral verbs in use in the language include such forms as sulfurization or vulcanization, to electrify (with an intransitive form to be electrified), and a number of scientific terms of European origin such as pasteurization, hydrogenation, and polymerization. One also finds a few quasi-quadrilateral back formations such as to be centered\(^1\), as well as the curious verb to ski, which seems to contain elements of to creep or crawl, to shift or slip, to roll down a slope, and all meaning to slip or slide.

NOUN AND ADJECTIVE FORMS

While the Arabic verb plays such an important and prominent part in the language (both grammatically and as a source for derivation of other words), it is the nouns and adjectives that form the greater part of the distinctively

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1. For a discussion of verbs of this form, see 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Maghribî, تأمل أصل (1925): 205-215, and تأمل الأصلاء في اللغة, RAAD 5 (1925): 129-137, or عناية الطبع, RAAD 10 (1930): 129-137.
modern vocabulary of Arabic. It has been the concrete and material objects of modern civilization, as well as its new theories and ideas and its new social, economic, and political institutions, that have so profoundly affected the culture of the Arab countries during the past century; and to describe these the language has been called upon to provide new nouns and adjectives or to adapt existing ones.

Machines and Instruments. One of the problems the Arabic vocabulary has been faced with in the modern period is that of providing words for the hundreds of new machines, instruments, tools, and other devices that have been invented since the beginning of the industrial revolution. The language has, of course, had the various forms of the noun of instrument (اسم الآلة) available for just such words; and in fact these and a number of other forms have been used.

All three forms of the noun of instrument are widely used in modern Arabic. The Academy of the Arabic Language in Cairo has tried to standardize the use of these forms to some extent by deciding that the معما form should be used as the equivalent of the European suffix -scope (as in مِيرأُكأَن Telescope, مِيرأُكأَن Microscope, and مِيرأُكأَن Spectroscope), while the عِمأ form should be used for the
suffix -meter (as in مصنع مرسو barometer, صغر thermometer, and مصنع مرسو chronometer) and the مصنع مرسو form for the suffix -graph (as in مصنع مرسو seismograph and مصنع مرسو telegraph). 2

While dealing thus with three specific suffixes, however, the Academy also decreed that as a general rule established usage should be followed in choosing among the three forms, and that if no noun of instrument was known for a particular verb then any of the three forms could be used. 3

In practice all three forms are common in modern Arabic and appear to be used indiscriminately. With the مصنع مرسو form, for instance, one finds مصنع مرسو (also مصنع مرسو microscope, مصنع مرسو cotton gin, مصنع مرسو corset, مصنع مرسو lift or elevator, مصنع مرسو tennis racket, and مصنع مرسو screwdriver. Examples of the مصنع مرسو form include مصنع مرسو stove, مصنع مرسو fan or propeller, مصنع مرسو pump, مصنع مرسو fire extinguisher, and مصنع مرسو parachute; and among modern words of the مصنع مرسو form are مصنع مرسو (also مصنع مرسو telescope, مصنع مرسو microphone or loudspeaker, and مصنع مرسو مصنع مرسو light bulb.


The names of modern machines, instruments, and similar devices are not all of the noun of instrument form. Among others, for example, the form is very widely used and seems to be somewhat more common in modern Arabic than it is in the classical literature. Although it is not, of course, a noun of instrument but an intensive, one of the shapes, it is frequently used in modern Arabic almost as an alternative form of the noun of instrument.

Some trace of the original intensive meaning of the form is perhaps to be seen in the fact that it is most often used for the names of machines characterized by rapid or constant motion. It is found, for instance, in such words as جهاز tractor, جهاز motorcycle, جهاز military tank, جهاز bicycle, جهاز automobile, جهاز counter or meter, جهاز washing machine, جهاز submarine, جهاز grinder, جهاز compressor, and جهاز jet airplane. Its use is not entirely restricted to such actively moving devices, however, and one also finds the form used in such words as جهاز refrigerator, جهاز garter or suspender, جهاز telephone receiver or stethoscope, جهاز medicine dropper, جهاز searchlight, جهاز eyeglasses, and جهاز (or جهاز) cigarette lighter.
The participial forms are also in common use to describe modern machines, instruments, tools, and so forth. A few of these, such as battleship, battleship, revolver (compare English six-shooter), and armored car, are of the passive (اسم الفعل) form. Because of the meanings of the words involved, however, the active (اسم الفعل) is much commoner. Examples of active participles in modern usage include steamship, commuter, motor, electric transformer, balloon, airplane, fighter plane, bomber, locomotive, alarm clock, and generator. Many of these, it will be noted, are used in the feminine, presumably because of the ellipsis of some feminine noun such as سفينة, سيارة, or understood.

Names for modern mechanical and other objects are also provided by combining two or more words to form descriptive phrases such as loudspeaker, camera, adding machine or calculator, typewriter, sewing machine, vacuum cleaner, and
Phrases formed with جهاز تكيف الهواء, جهاز لاسلكي, جهاز تلفون, جهاز ليمي, و movie projector; while combinations with مقياس speedometer, مقياس الالزائمات الأرضية, seismograph, thermometer, and مقياس الرطوبة hygrometer.

**Place and Time.** The forms indicating place or time (اسماء المكان والزمان) are also widely used in modern Arabic, and the formation of new words of this type from concrete nouns (اسماء الأعيان) has been approved by the Academy of the Arabic Language. 4 Examples from modern usage are common and include such words as متحف museum, مجمع academy, مزاد علني (مزار علني) مزاد auction, مصرف bank, مصنع refinery, مصنع مصنع factory or plant, مطبعة printing press, مطعم restaurant, مطار airport, معرض exhibition or exposition, مسجد سير institute, مكتبة مكتبة library or bookshop, ملجأ air raid shelter, ملعب playground or playing field, مرصد observatory, مركاب garage, and مرفأ which is used both for situation (حالة) and for one's attitude or position toward some institution, idea, or situation. Modern nouns of place from increased

forms of the verb include conference or congress, laboratory, hospital, and dispensary or clinic.

A number of frequently used combinations are also formed with nouns of place and time, and examples of these include such phrases as refinery and combinations with station (as in broadcasting station, electric generating station) and council (as in House of Commons, House of Representatives, and Security Council), and air pockets.

Persons and Occupations. In addition to providing names for the new mechanical and other inanimate objects of modern civilization, Arabic has also been required to supply terms for the many new occupations and professions typical of the present-day world. As in classical Arabic, the form has been used for this purpose, and modern examples of this use include in the sense of politics, advertising, publicity, or propaganda, tourism, journalism, scouting, and trusteeship. The form is also to be found used for concrete objects like clinic as well as for abstractions such as heredity (in genetics).
To refer to the persons who practice these new occupations or professions use is sometimes made of the classical pattern, and among modern examples of this form are such words as undertaker, aviator or pilot, artist(e), boy scout, and welder.

The form is, however, somewhat restricted in its usefulness, and in practice nouns and adjectives that refer to persons are more often found to be of one of the participial forms. These may be of the passive participle form as in minister or envoy, attaché, nominee or candidate, cultured, and employee. Much more commonly, however, the active is used, and examples from modern usage include professional, lawyer, specialist, radio announcer or broadcaster, tourist, orientalist, subscriber, striker, airline hostess or stewardess, voter or elector, waiter, coordinator, and typesetter.

Other forms used to describe persons include the adjectival form, as in expert, customer, amateur, and graduate (of a university). The adjectival form is also very commonly used, and among current
Relative Adjectives

Examples are academician, statistician, or specialist, reactionary, socialist, communist (less commonly but more properly journalist, Zionist, nihilist, and nationalist or patriot).

Other Uses of the Relative Adjective. The use of the adjectival form is not, of course, restricted to words referring to persons. Among other modern examples of this form are words such as regional, automatic or mechanical, international, social, monopolistic, governmental, local, administrative, atomic, official, athletic or sporting, industrial, modern, organic, technical, economic, electrical, and preliminary.

From words ending in the adjectival -ة, abstract nouns are formed by the addition of the feminine -ة ending. This is a useful device for the formation of new words and it is not, of course, a new form in the language. It appears, however, to be much more frequently used in modern Arabic than it was in earlier periods of the language and in fact seems sometimes to be used needlessly.
and to excess as, for example, when عمل is used for operation instead of عمل امكاني، for possibility instead of استعمار استعماری، for electricity instead of كهرباء كهرباء،

Among the very many other words of this form in use in modern Arabic are أستاذية professorship, أولية priority or preference, جنسية nationality, حیاة vitality, دستورية constitutionality, دولية internationalism, مركزية centralism or centralization, مسؤولية responsibility, شخصية personality (both as an abstract noun and as an equivalent of person), مسلة legality, مشروعة socialism, مشروسة communism, (often in the plural) terms of reference, عضوية membership, أغلبية majority, فردية individualism or individuality, فوضوية anarchism, أقدمية seniority, أكبرية plurality or majority, نسبة relativity, وطنية patriotism or nationalism.

A number of modern words of this type have been created by adding the ية ending to foreign words, so that one finds forms such as سكرتيرية secretaryship or secretariat, رومانسية romanticism, دكتوراوية dictatorship, ديمقراطية democracy, ستالينية Stalinism, نازية Nazism, and مارشالية marshaldom.

The use of the ية form is not entirely restricted to
abstract nouns, however. Some nouns of this type, such as annual or yearbook, refer to concrete objects, while a number of others such as telegram, play or drama, budget, and agreement seem to be on the borderline between the two classes. Still others are collectives or quasi-plurals, and modern examples of these include words such as municipality, artillery, directorate, mission (as in "the Catholic missions"), sextet (as in "football sextets"), legation, minority (as in "the Jewish minorities"), faculty or college, and the names of government ministries such as Navy, Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs, and Finance.

The feminine plural of the relative form is sometimes used in classical Arabic to refer to a group of writings by a single writer or on one subject or of a single type, as in زهديات, خصائص, and the plural form is still current in modern Arabic, as in "a collection of the writings of Amīn al-Raihānī", and from it presumably are derived such modern newspaper usages as local news and social news. Another modern use of this form is to be seen in the names of various sciences
or bodies of knowledge such as economics, literature, mineralogy, oriental studies, and numismatics, on the model of the older mathematics and physics. These are found used both alone and in combination with science, as in numismatics, psychology, and so forth.

Other Word Forms. The various types mentioned above by no means exhaust the list of word forms current in modern Arabic. The compilation of a complete list of such forms would serve no useful purpose, but the examples listed below will at least give some indication of the variety of word patterns actually in use in the modern language.

In addition to supplying names for many modern machines, instruments, and the like, and for describing persons in terms of their occupations, professions, or activities, the various participial forms are also used to provide names for a number of other modern objects or concepts which do not fall into either of these groups. The active forms, for example, are used for such words as club, university, rules or regulations, factor (as in geographical factors), limited or joint-stock (company), and
radio-active; while the passive forms are seen in fossil(ized), protectorate, project, plan, or draft, encyclopedia, furniture or furnishings, and colony.

The comparatively uncommon form seems to have something of the sense of معمل "what is talked about" and "what is laughed at or about"). In modern Arabic there appears to be a tendency to use it to describe various types of literary works, as in short story, thesis (for instance "doctoral theses"), and comedy (as in "Dante's Divine Comedy"). Other word forms current in modern Arabic include the following:

فعمال: جواز, جناح, وسام, قطار, خطاب, نعما, مطاط, جبار

Other Forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Arabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>permit</td>
<td>جواز السفر (passport)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wing</td>
<td>جناح (of a building or of an air force)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>award</td>
<td>وسام الاستحقاق (award of merit)</td>
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<tr>
<td>railway train</td>
<td>قطار</td>
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<tr>
<td>letter</td>
<td>خطاب</td>
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<tr>
<td>ray</td>
<td>نعما (gamma rays)</td>
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<tr>
<td>rubber</td>
<td>مطاط</td>
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<tr>
<td>tremendous</td>
<td>جبار</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>English</td>
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<tr>
<td>عيار</td>
<td>crane or derrick and also caliber (of a rifle)</td>
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<tr>
<td>فُعَالْ</td>
<td>culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>بطالّة</td>
<td>unemployment</td>
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<tr>
<td>رقابّة</td>
<td>censorship</td>
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<tr>
<td>دور</td>
<td>role or part</td>
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<tr>
<td>سهم</td>
<td>share (of stock)</td>
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<tr>
<td>صوت</td>
<td>vote</td>
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<tr>
<td>فرع</td>
<td>branch (office)</td>
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<tr>
<td>محل</td>
<td>vaccine</td>
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<tr>
<td>صلب</td>
<td>steel</td>
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<tr>
<td>عضو</td>
<td>member</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>سرب</td>
<td>flight or group (of aircraft)</td>
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<tr>
<td>وطن</td>
<td>homeland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شلل</td>
<td>paralysis (شلل الأطفال infantile paralysis)</td>
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<tr>
<td>هيئة</td>
<td>group, body, organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>دورة</td>
<td>session or round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>طاقة</td>
<td>energy or power (الطاقة الذرية atomic energy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شقة</td>
<td>flat or apartment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>شفرة</td>
<td>razor blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>لجنة</td>
<td>committee or commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>عملة</td>
<td>currency (العملة الصعبة hard currency)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The diminutive forms ُعُولَة (unemployment), ُعُولَة (police), ُعُولَة (environment), ُعُولَة (profession), ُعُولَة (division (of an army)), ُعُولَة (lens), ُعُولَة (fuel), ُعُولَة (column (of print)), ُعُولَة (championship), ُعُولَة (government), ُعُولَة (commission (in commerce)), ُعُولَة (balance (الرَّمَالِب الاسترلينية sterling balances)), ُعُولَة (dock or pier), ُعُولَة (film), ُعُولَة (newspaper), ُعُولَة (newspaper or (plural) the press collectively), ُعُولَة (missile (guided missile))

The diminutive forms ُعُولَة , etc., seem to be little used in modern Arabic. Such modern diminutives as do exist are mostly scientific technical terms, and many of these fall into the category of words proposed
rather than of words actually in use. is occasionally found used for eyeglasses (though is more common) and is used for molecule. The diminutive was approved by the Academy of the Arabic Language for microbe and has had some use, but is probably more common. The diminutive of the latter word is also used, as in bacteriology. A number of other diminutives, some of them very ingenious, have been proposed by various writers, but none of these can be considered as being in general use. Examples include calorie, cigarette, microcosm, lumen, and nuances.

Parenthetical Explanations. Since modern Arabic is a growing and changing language it follows that a portion of its vocabulary is always new and unfamiliar to its readers. This portion consists of those words that are coming to be used with new meanings, are in the process of displacing foreign words, or for some other reason are on their way to becoming used and accepted in the language.

A fairly common practice when using such words is to accompany them with a word or phrase of definition - that is, to follow the "correct" but new or unfamiliar word with the foreign or colloquial word that it is in the process of
replacing. For instance, طائرة مرونة has been generally accepted as the proper equivalent for helicopter. On the part of many writers, however, there seems to be a feeling that it is not yet widely enough known, so that the word هيليكوبتر is frequently used along with it in such combinations as طائرة هيليكوبتر العمودية or طائرة مرونة "هيليكوبتر". Similarly, a number of writers propose the revival of some form of حبل for the terms machine, mechanical, mechanics, etc. The word is no longer well known in this sense, however, so that when it is used it must be accompanied by the more familiar European term, as in علم آلات الحبل (الميكانيك) and الحبلية (الميكانيكية). The words كاتم وكم have been put forward as the proper Arabic equivalents for سكرتير secretary, but neither one has yet come into widespread use, so that one finds combinations such as كوم اللجنة (سكرتيرها).

Other examples of this use of parenthetical explanations of new or unfamiliar Arabic words include corset, المكسيكية المجاهر (المكسيكية) or AKO, phonograph, the shot (the phonograph), microscopes, الميكروسكوب الكهربأب أو الإلكترونات, electrons, the computer (the keyboard), Lino-type, المكتبة (كلينيك), clinic, and canteens. The use of such explanatory asides must be only a temporary feature of modern writing, however, and it may be expected that words
like ِ حَالَّةُ كُلّ and ِ كَائِنٍ will eventually either drop out of use al-together or become so well established that such parenthet-
ica! explanations are no longer necessary.

COMPOUND WORDS

The use of these standardized patterns of word for-
mation gives Arabic a certain richness and precision of vo-
cabulary, but its usefulness in the creation of new words is
nevertheless somewhat restricted by, among other things, the
fact that only a limited number of such forms of patterns
are available and that these cannot readily be combined with
each other. In this respect Arabic lacks the comparatively
greater flexibility and adaptability that the Indo-European
languages have because of their ability to combine two or
more words or affixes to form an almost infinite number of
compound words.

The formation of compound words is not entirely un-
known in Arabic, and the process is known to the grammarians
as جِنْحَة. The creation of such words is comparatively rare,
however, and while Father Louis Cheikho was able to compile
a list of about 500 examples of compound words in Arabic⁵,
scarcely a handful of these were ever in regular use in the
language. The remainder are either derivatives of proper names, like عقسي > عبد القيس or بومالكي > أبو مالك, or are words that were used once or twice for particular purposes and have remained embalmed in the grammars and dictionaries.

Some writers, such as Mārūn Ghusn and Šalāh al-Dīn al-Kawākibī, have argued in favor of making much greater use of النحت in the modern language. The consensus of learned opinion seems to oppose any such proposal, however, and to feel that while this device was available to the العرب its use is not permissible in the present day.

**True Compounds.** The ability to form compound words (كلمات متحركة), then, seems to be no longer a living part of

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the language, if indeed it ever was. Nevertheless a few such words do occur in modern Arabic, and a number of others have been proposed from time to time. By far the commonest of those in actual use is certainly the phrase رأس مال capital. This is not, of course, a new combination. It occurs in the Quran and is listed in the classical dictionaries, and forms its plural quite regularly as رؤوس أموال. Sometimes in modern Arabic, however, it is found written as a single word, رأس مال or رأس مل, and occasionally it forms a new broken plural رومال. From it, furthermore, are now formed an adjective رأسمالي capitalist(ic) and an abstract noun رأسمالية capitalism. رأس مال, in other words, appears to be in the process of changing from a simple construct phrase into a true compound.

Among the few other compound words in regular use in the language are lottery (not new) and قائم or قائم governor or lieutenant-colonel, which is usually considered as Turkish but which is perhaps connected with the قائم جنابة prince or lord found in pre-Islamic poetry. Another compound of a sort is to be found in the Arabic adaptations of the European prefix Anglo- (as in Anglo-Iranian, Anglo-American, etc.). This may be found written either as one word or as
two words, as in "the Anglo-American camp", "Anglo-American forces", "the Anglo-American front", "the Anglo-American Oil Company", "the Anglo-American proposal", "the Anglo-Egyptian agreement", "the Anglo-French dispute", and "the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company". A similar construction is found with the prefix Afro-, as in "the Afro-Asian Economic Cooperation Organization", and presumably Italo-, Hispano-, etc. might also occur.

Other modern compounds exist, but none can be called common. The following examples are all taken from published books, newspapers, or magazines: nasal (pronunciation), amphibious, prehistoric, and photoelectric; but none of these should be taken as representing general or common usage.

Among other compound words proposed by various writers but not in actual use in the language are such terms as quadruped, quadrumane, mammiferous, lactometer, electrochemistry, and hydrolysis.
Of a somewhat different kind are the compounds formed by the addition of negative or other affixes. Words formed by prefixing the particle ل have existed in the language at least since the third century A.H., and this is the only prefix which is readily accepted and widely used in modern Arabic. Examples from the earlier literature include لاتشي (with its derived verbs لاتشي and لاتشي), the agnostics, and non-existence, the laalhia, لاتشي, and non-existence. Words formed by adding the particle to anhydrate.

Examples from the earlier literature include لاتشي (with its derived verbs لاتشي and لاتشي), the agnostics, and non-existence, the agnostics, and non-existence. Words formed by adding the particle to anhydrate.

By far the commonest word of this type in modern Arabic is راديو (compare English wireless and French sans fil), and other examples from modern usage include لاتشي, the agnostics, and non-existence. Words formed by adding the particle to anhydrate.

unconsciousness, the agnostics, and non-existence. Words formed by adding the particle to anhydrate.

non-communist, disorder, لاتشي, the agnostics, and non-existence. Words formed by adding the particle to anhydrate.

non-belligerent, decentralization, لاتشي, the agnostics, and non-existence. Words formed by adding the particle to anhydrate.

infinity, and anti-Semitism. It will be noted from

9. A correspondent of al-Ahram some years ago amused himself at the expense of both the device of عنية and the Government of Egypt when he pointed out that the British claimed to be occupying Egypt to protect its independence. He proposed that this fortunate status should be described by the word احتلال (a compound of احتلال and independence), the English equivalent of which would be occupendance. "Wahid" [Wahid al-Ayyubi], احتلال بلغة أولى العُرف, al-Ahram, 18 & 22 February 1936.
these examples that لا is used as a prefix not only for simple negation (as in unconsciousness), but also sometimes for expressing opposition (as in anti-Semitism) and reversal (as in decentralization).

Another class of compound word occasionally met with in the modern language consists of those formed by combining an Arabic word with a suffix taken from the European languages as, for instance, in psychology and Egyptology. Here psycho- and Egypto- have been translated into Arabic as نفس and مصر respectively and the European suffix -logy has merely been transliterated.

Words of this type are not widely used except in the formation of scientific technical terms, especially those dealing with chemistry. They constitute a convenient device for coining Arabic equivalents for some of the many hundred technical terms of modern chemistry. Examples include:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>suffix -ite</th>
<th>بلوطت &gt; بلوط</th>
<th>guercite or oakite</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>حلزت &gt; حلزو</td>
<td>dulcice</td>
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<td></td>
<td>صويرت &gt; صوير</td>
<td>pinite</td>
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<td>-vl</td>
<td>خمرل &gt; خمر</td>
<td>vinyl</td>
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<td></td>
<td>نيل &gt; نيل</td>
<td>formyl</td>
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<td>Suffix</td>
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<td>-ate</td>
<td>بولات</td>
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<td>خلات</td>
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<td>كبريت</td>
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<td>لبن</td>
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<td>ليمونات</td>
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<td>-ine</td>
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<td>بولين</td>
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<td></td>
<td>هضم</td>
<td>peptide</td>
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This is a useful method for translating the simpler chemical terms into Arabic but it fails, of course, to provide equivalents for such terms as iodochlorhydroxyquinoline or 1-parachlorophenyl-1-(2 pyridyl)-2-dimethylaminopropane.

Combinations. Combinations with a negative sense are formed in modern Arabic with the words , نزع , عدم , غير , etc., and examples include such phrases as indirect, غير مباشر , unconstitutional, غير رسمي , unofficial, unconstitutionality, عدم الاعتداء , non-aggression, عدم المشروعة , illegality, ضد الطائرات , disarmament or demilitarization, anti-aircraft, سوء التفاهم , misunderstanding, and mal-administration. These, of course, are phrases or combinations rather than true compounds. They serve the same function as the negative prefixes of the European languages,

10. These and similar suffixes are discussed in the unsigned article (probably by Anastas al-Kirmili), حروف الكسر في الألفاظ العربية والمعربات LA (1926-27): 33-43.
however, and they come close to being actual prefixes when the definite article is prefixed to the negative element as in "the unofficial ambassador".  

11. For some early examples of this and similar usages see Füek, 'Arabiya (Paris, 1955), pp. 93-94.
For a number of fairly obvious reasons the grammar of modern Arabic and the idiom or style of present-day Arabic writing are difficult to analyze and discuss as thoroughly or as precisely as the vocabulary of the modern language.

The subject is, first of all, a naturally somewhat amorphous one and the materials to study it have not been and perhaps cannot be collected and analyzed to the same extent as has been possible with Arabic vocabulary. The classical dictionaries, for all their omissions and inconsistencies, present a fairly accurate picture of the vocabulary of Arabic up to about the third century, and words not listed in them can at least be suspected of being later additions to the language. The manner of inflecting these words and the syntactical rules governing their use in connected speech are set forth at length in the works of the classical grammarians. Such rules cannot be listed as completely as individual words can be, however, and in any case the grammars are based almost exclusively on Bedouin sources. It is not always possible to decide, therefore, whether any particular present-day usage is a comparatively new one or was
in fact already in use in the first centuries of the Islamic era and either overlooked or perhaps deliberately ignored by the classical grammarians. The style of the classical language is illustrated and its metaphors and other figures of speech at least to some extent recorded in the many books on علم البلاغة and in works such as al-Tha‘ālibī’s Fīqh al-Lughah, but such books naturally cannot pretend to offer complete lists of all the idiomatic usages or figures of speech in the language.

It might be thought that the vast literature devoted to correcting errors in modern usage, which was discussed in Chapter II, would be of use in illustrating the main characteristics of modern grammar and idiom and pointing out the differences between modern Arabic and the classical language in these matters. Ernst Mainz, for instance, based his thesis on the grammar of modern Arabic largely on two or three works of this type. For a number of reasons, however, this literature should be used with the greatest caution.

1. Mainz, Zur Grammatik des modernen Schriftarabisch (Hamburg, 1931). The author admits (p.5) to having some doubts about the validity of taking such works as descriptive of modern Arabic grammar, but concludes that they at least demonstrate that modern writers no longer possess the instinctive ability (Sprachgefühl) to use correct classical grammar.
caution, if at all. There is, first of all, surprisingly little agreement among various writers on what is correct (i.e., فصيح) usage and what is corrupt modern usage; and the appearance of almost every work of this type has been followed by the publication of criticisms, counter-criticisms, corrections, and rebuttals, the chief effect of which is to leave the reader with the feeling that neither the original author nor any of his critics can be relied on. Furthermore, the words and idioms criticized in such works cannot be assumed to be typical or characteristic of modern Arabic, and indeed one can find a number of these same "modern errors" being criticized by Ibn Qutaibah, Ibn Khālawīh, or al-Zubaidī a thousand years ago. Other examples of improper usage may be the result simply of carelessness or of

2. See, for instance, al-Muqtaṭaf 74(1929): 327-332, 438-442, 577-582, in which 'Abd al-Raḥīm Māḥmūd criticizes the errors in a recently published book, is in turn criticized by Muṣṭafā Jawād, and then "corrects" the latter's criticisms. See also the review of Asʿad Dāghir's كتاب الكاتب in RAAD 4(1924): 259-264, 307-314, where 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī commends it as one of the best books of its kind and then proceeds to give eight pages of "corrections" of Dāghir's "corrections". This is followed in RAAD 5(1925): 95-97, 526-528, by Dāghir's reply "correcting" al-Maghribī's "corrections" of Dāghir's original "corrections" of errors in modern usage.

bad writing. There have presumably been poor writers in every language and at every period, and their barbarisms and illiteracies should not be taken as reflecting the true character of the language or indicating any change or development in accepted usage.

The comparative lack of material for discussion of the grammar of modern Arabic is also in part a reflection of the fact that this grammar actually differs only slightly from that of the classical language. The vocabulary of modern Arabic, as has already been shown, differs quite considerably from that of earlier periods, and there are noticeable differences too in the idiomatic constructions, the figures of speech, and the general "style" of much modern writing. The basic characteristics of the language, however - the ways in which words are formed, inflected, and related to each other in sentences - remain almost unchanged.

GRAMMAR

Although the basic grammatical structure of the language and its rules for word formation, inflection, and syntax have remained virtually unchanged, modern Arabic nevertheless does exhibit a number of grammatical peculiarities
that distinguish it from the language described by the classical grammarians. Many of these cannot with certainty be classed either as entirely modern in origin or as belonging to that class of "errors" that have been current in the language for hundreds of years without ever being accepted as good usage. Without attempting to make this distinction or to present an exhaustive list, it is nevertheless possible to comment on a number of these peculiarities of modern written usage.

Morphology. The inflectional system of the Arabic verb remains intact in the modern language, although there is a tendency (certainly not modern) to confuse the verbs with final weak radicals, as in for دعاء, for for and the like; and difficulties arise with the conjugation of these verbs, so that one finds constructions such as للاستدلال إلى اليسار, for example. The energetic forms يفعلن, never common in the language, are to all intents obsolete in modern prose. In addition to what has already been said on pages 181-185 above about increased forms

4. The existence of books such as Ibn Wallād's كتاب المقرر والممدوح and similar works indicates that distinguishing between such verbs has been a problem since the beginning of written Arabic.
of the verb there may be noted here the tendency of some verbs to shift their meanings from one form to another, so that comes to be used for to discover, for approve or sanction, instead of to receive, for to communicate with, for to be plentiful, and instead of to share or participate with. Somewhat similar to this is the occasional transference of participial forms in pairs such as to produce and products. Confusion in handling the prepositions by which verbs govern their objects is also prevalent and will be discussed further below in connection with idiom.

The forms of nouns and adjectives in modern Arabic have already been discussed to some extent in Chapter VIII. In addition to what was said there about the modern tendency to form apparently unnecessary nouns in like Nouns and Adjectives, it may be pointed out here that the classical limitations on the formation of relative adjectives are often disregarded in the present-day language. Thus in modern usage the is not uncommon.

5. Fück, *Arabiya*, pp. 136, 172 gives a number of similar examples from the early literature. See also Lane on the use of as participle of أركم.
frequently found added not only to the singular forms of simple substantives and adjectives, but also to plurals (as in royal\textit{ist}, journalist\textit{ic}, and international\textit{al}), to verbal nouns (as in gradual\textit{al}, administrative, progressive, emotional, and electoral), to participles (as in communal\textit{al}), to nouns of place (as in local\textit{al}, central\textit{al}, and theatrical\textit{al}), and to numerals (as in primary and secondary). In some cases too the relative adjective seems to be used where one might have expected an active participle, as in monopolist (instead of monopol\textit{ist}) and specialist (instead of specialist\textit{al}).

The whole apparatus of sound and broken plurals remains almost unchanged in modern Arabic. Occasional examples of improper plurals are met with, such as محل\textit{ات} instead of محل\textit{ات}, instead of محل\textit{ات}. see instead of محل\textit{ات}. See RALA 2(1935): 35 and Mahdar 2(1935): 199, and for a fuller discussion of this point and a summary of the opinions of the classical grammarians see the remarks by Muhammad al-Khidr Husain in RALA 2(1935): 45-50.
but these are too infrequent to be taken as indicating any change in the basic patterns of the language. A relatively minor change can be seen in the fact that the distinction between the جمع الفَظّ and the other forms of the broken plural is seldom observed in modern Arabic, and constructions such as "three months", "four out of thousands who were born in the new year", or "thousands of barrels" (referring to some indefinite number in the hundreds of thousands) are fairly common.

The inflectional system of classical Arabic must, of course, have been affected by the normal laws of linguistic change from the earliest times and perhaps never existed in the state of perfection described by the grammarians. At any rate it seems certain that by the time the Muslim forces had moved out of the confines of the Arabian Peninsula and begun to settle in the surrounding lands many of the inflectional endings of the noun and verb had already dropped out of use in the spoken language and were obsolescent in writing. The decay of the inflectional endings is concealed to some extent by the fact that many of these endings are not shown in unwovelled written Arabic. Enough indications
remain, however, to reveal that this process has continued until the present day and to allow one to hazard the statement that while all modern writers have of course studied and learned these endings many of them are unable spontaneously and instinctively to use them correctly. Only the most learned speakers on the most formal occasions make any pretence of using full اعراب in their speech, and in fact the inflections have tended to become an artificial device even in formal writing.

In unvowelled writing the use of the inflectional endings is visible only in the indefinite accusative, in the masculine sound plural, and in words from a root with a weak third radical. Even with the possibility of obvious error thus restricted, however, one finds mistakes in modern usage. In the inflection of words with weak final radical, for example, errors such as the الوصول إلى حل مرضي لهذه المسألة "reaching a satisfactory solution of this question", هو سكرتير ثاني سفارة إيران "he is a Second Secretary in the Iranian Embassy", and ان حق الافصلية المنح للشركة هو أعطائها الحق في "the preference right granted to the company consists of giving it the right to ..." are not uncommon.

A special case of the difficulty with weak final
letters arises with proper names containing أبو _ أبي _ أبا and which, except with the most pedantic writers, tend to be reduced to the single forms أبو and نّا respectively, as for example in

زَارِ صَباحَ أمِسَ الزَّعْمَانَ الْلِبنانيَّانَ ... السيدَ حَسَنَ ذو الْفَقار

صُبِرَ نائب وزير الخارجية "Yesterday morning the two Lebanese leaders visited Sayyid Ḥusain Dhu 'l-Faqr Ṣabrī, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs." In tribal names بنو _ يو usually becomes invariable as بنو _ يو, and in fact all proper names tend to become indeclinable in modern Arabic. Thus constructions such as "Radio Damascus broadcast today that 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Aẓzām Pasha ...",

"I have met the Prime Minister of Egypt, Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir", or "ان جمال عبد الناصر يمثل نيا وطنية جديدة "Gamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir represents a new nationalistic current" now seem to be the common usage rather than the exception.

Another problem of inflection arises with the feminine of the elative فعل أفعال form. Here فعل is assumed to be

7. That this particular tendency is not a new one is shown by the apocryphal story cited by Fück (pp. 66-67) on the authority of Jāḥiẓ and al-Balādūrī that the Caliph ʿUmar advised 'Abū Mūsā al-ʿAshʿārī to beat his secretary for having written the phrase من أبو موسى in a letter.
the feminine of الأفعال, and constructions such as "the formation of a higher committee to supervise ..." occur.

Syntax. In the use of the inflectional endings and of one or two other word forms (as distinct from the manner of forming and writing them) modern Arabic also exhibits a number of peculiarities.

The use of the accusative for the object of the verb appears still to come naturally to most writers, except perhaps when the object is separated from the verb as, for instance in "two arbitrators, one of whom shall be chosen by each party". The use of كان and إن and their sisters, however, introduces complications that many writers can apparently handle correctly only by a deliberate effort; so that one may find sentences such as "this agreement shall be considered as if it were a part of ..." and "it may become a part of them". The use of "it appears sometimes to be influenced by the example of إن and أَم, so that constructions such as ..." are to be found.
The numerals are particularly liable to be misconstrued, because of the complexity of the rules that govern their use. Errors occur both in gender (as in "three copies" and "fifteen airplanes") and in case (as in "a cheque in the value of seventy pounds"). The use of the oblique form of the numerals indicating tens is probably a result of the influence of the colloquial forms. In Syria, on the other hand, the accepted practice is to use the nominative forms invariably, as in "the sum of fifty pounds".

The use of the so-called improper construct is very frequently met with in modern Arabic in phrases such as "the Director General of the Department of Civil Aviation" or "the officers and men of the Egyptian Army". This is not a new usage in the language, but it is so common in modern Arabic that to many readers a correct rephrasing such as "the Director General of the Civil Aviation" or "the officers and men of the Egyptian Army" would probably seem somewhat affected and unnatural.

Idiom. Some usages of modern Arabic seem to fall on

8. Some early examples are quoted in Wright, II, 201.
the borderline between grammar and style. That is, they are concerned not so much with the forms of words or the syntactical relationships between them as with certain mannerisms of language such as the choice of words and the way in which they are used in phrases and sentences.

Among such idiomatic peculiarities involving the use of verbs, for example, is the modern tendency (probably a result of European influence) to construct passive sentences where classical Arabic would have used the active.

Verbal Idioms Passive sentences are found even where the agent is clearly expressed after بلغة or some similar phrase, as in "the report was composed by the Minister of Finance" or التقرير المرتفع إلى وزير الصحة من قبل مدير المستودعات الطبية "the report submitted to the Minister of Health by the Director of Medical Stores". Another probable effect of European influence on the language is to be seen in the use of imperfect verbs in sentences that clearly refer to past time. This usage is restricted almost entirely to newspaper headlines, where it occurs in sentences such as الرئيس عبد الناصر والامير فيصل يوقعان في حفل رسمي أمس "President 'Abd al-Nāṣir and Amir Fāṣal sign it yesterday in an official ceremony", مجلس الوزراء يبحث قانون الانتخابات أمس "the Cabinet studies the electoral law
yesterday", or ... "Black announces before leaving London for Cairo yesterday that ..."

Another characteristic of the use of verbs in modern Arabic is the occurrence of the fault known as تضمين. Strictly speaking تضمين refers to the alteration of the way in which a verb governs its object, by analogy with or by the influence of another verb of similar meaning, as in the Quranic خلا بنا نأنا خلوا الي شياطينهم قالوا إننا معكم where خلا بنا has become خلا الي presumably by unconscious analogy with some such verb as أني إلى أني إلى. For the purpose of this discussion, however, the term may be taken to include any case in which the way a verb or verbal expression governs its object is altered.

Three types of تضمين may be found in modern Arabic. One of these involves the use with a preposition of a verb which properly should take a direct object in the accusative, as in ... حاز عليه شهادة "he obtained the ... certificate" instead of حاز عليه شهادة (perhaps by analogy with حازه عليه ... الجادة معا "conversation with him" instead of محادثة معه.

9. For a technical discussion of تضمن, supported by many references to the classical grammarians, see Mahdar 1(1934): 209-225, 237-239, 264-268.
The second type is the reverse of this and involves the omission of the preposition, as in "duly authorized representatives of the Government" instead of "the assistance that was granted to him" instead of "what is obtained", and instead of "products or "what is obtained", and instead of "undesirable."

The third and most numerous type consists of verbs governing their objects through prepositions other than those listed in the classical lexicons. Examples from modern use include "they paid him the money" instead of "duly authorized representatives of the Government" instead of "obtain but" instead of "products or "what is obtained", and instead of "undesirable.

"to speak about the subject" instead of "to look for the thing" instead of "it had an influence on the matter" instead of "to be able to do the thing" instead of "what is obtained", and instead of "undesirable."

(From "A Grammar of the Arabic Language," by A. R. Talib, 1960.)
Somewhat similar to these examples of confusion in the handling of double objects after verbs, as a result of which the correct quotation is:

"He replied to Professor So-and-so's article" is more usually found in the form "he replaced the magazine with the newspaper". The example of the given above illustrates a similar type of error in the use of double objects.

The greatly increased use of the and of the abstract and other nouns formed from it has already been referred to. The relative adjectives are also very commonly used in modern writing where writers of an earlier period would have used the or similar construction, so that one finds instead of or instead of or instead of instead of instead of instead of instead of instead of instead of instead of instead of instead of

10. Generally taken to be a modern error influenced by English influence on and French influence on and so criticized by al-Maghribi and Wehr, among others, but Muṣṭafā Jawād in RAAD 24(1949): 400-401 cites examples from the fourth century onward.
the form since, for example, means not "a gold pound" but "a pound resembling gold" or "a pound made partly of gold".

Another idiomatic peculiarity of modern Arabic is the frequent use as adverbs of relative adjectives in the indefinite accusative. This construction has probably arisen in imitation of the adverbial forms of the European languages and is used in sentences such as "Yesterday he had gotten in touch 'telephonically' with ...", "I am basically opposed to putting this plan into effect", "He used to know personally some of the members of the diplomatic corps", and "It is a relatively backward country".

In many or most cases this construction could have been avoided by the use of an accusative of تَمِيز, a prepositional phrase, or some other more truly Arabic idiom. A sentence such as "The Bedouin is the best representative of the Semitic stock, socially and linguistically", for example, could have been written "I got in touch with him by telephone" could be used instead
The country flourished industrially, commercially, and agriculturally; would be improved by rephrasing it as:

A number of modern idiomatic constructions involve the use of prepositions, conjunctions, and other particles, and some of these seem to show the effects of European influence on the language. Among apparently modern uses of particles, for example, is the use of **against** with the meaning "in opposition to" instead of "contrary to" or "opposite to" as in "the claim made **against** so-and-so", "anti-aircraft artillery", or "the defense of the Middle East **against** every aggression".

The preposition **under** is found used in such phrases as... "he published his collection **under** the title of...", "the subject is **under** study", "a book **under** printing" (i.e., being printed), "distillation **under** pressure", and "**under** international observation".

Combinations with **under**, presumably in imitation of...
English as or French comma, are found in sentences where the classical Arabic would use an accusative, such as "it will pay this amount to them as full satisfaction of their claims", or "he has been assigned to the Ministry of Agriculture as a technical expert".

Other idiomatic constructions with the particles include the use of إن إذا and هل instead of إن هل in indirect questions (as in "I don't know whether he is the one responsible"), the use of كذبًا instead of كذبًا to indicate a future negative, the use of كذبًا to mean also (as in "The President received the Russian ambassador ... and he also received the members of the Indian agricultural mission"), and the use of كذبًا and كذبًا to mean "there is and "there is not" (as in "The President received the Russian ambassador ... and he also received the members of the Indian agricultural mission"), and the use of كذبًا and كذبًا to mean "there is and "there is not" (as in "The President received the Russian ambassador ... and he also received the members of the Indian agricultural mission").

Another usage perhaps influenced by the example of the European languages is the use of كل instead of أي (as in صرح الحكومة بأن حركة تهدف إلى "the Government will welcome
any movement that aims at ...") or in negative sentences
(such as لم يطلب أي شيء "he did not ask him for anything"
or لم تكن له أي فرصة للقيام ب ... "he did not have any opportunity
to undertake ... "). The use of ليس ... فقط بل ... أيضا as an
equivalent of the English "not only ... but also ..." may
also be noted.

FIGURES OF SPEECH

In addition to the metaphorical combinations of
words such as متى الجرائم crime wave and مجمدة المتجمدة frozen
balances which were cited in Chapter VII, modern Arabic also
makes use of a fairly large number of other figures of speech
which appear to be modern and many of which are probably of
foreign origin.

Although such figures of speech are more numerous
and more obvious that some of the idiomatic constructions
discussed above, they nevertheless present some of the same
problems of identification. As with vocabulary and points
of grammar, there is the question of trying to decide what
is definitely modern and what is not. More difficult is the
problem of determining which are native Arabic figures of
speech and which are of foreign origin.
One difficulty in deciding whether a particular figure is of foreign origin or not arises from the fact that the human imagination seems to operate in very much the same way in all cultures and similar figures of speech may therefore occur quite independently in more than one language. For example, the Arabic is exactly paralleled by the English "to whet one's appetite" and in both languages one may literally sharpen his knife or figuratively sharpen his appetite. Similarly, is basically the same figure as "the lion's share", parallels Shakespeare's "lend me your ears", both Arabic and English use "grinding one's teeth" ( حرق أسنانه ) to indicate rage, and in referring to the early years of the Islamic era فجر الإسلام "the dawn of Islam" is a metaphor that might occur in any language.

The problem of determining the origins of such expressions is made more difficult by the fact that a number of European figures of speech, especially those taken from the Bible, are derived from Semitic sources which also contributed to the body of Arabic metaphor. Thus the occurrence of sentences such as ... وضموا حجر عثرة في طريق "They put a stumbling block in the way of ..." or كانت هذه الجماعة حجر الزاوية في بنا، دولة الإسلام "This group was the cornerstone in the
building of the Islamic State perhaps indicates not that Arabic had borrowed these figures from one of the modern European languages but merely that both Arabic and the European languages have inherited them from the same source.

Apart from expressions that have sprung up independently both in Arabic and in one or more of the European languages or that were taken long ago from some common source, modern Arabic uses a considerable number of other figures of speech which seem definitely to have been taken from the western European languages and are presumably modern.

The conservative point of view on the use of new figures of speech is that it is not permissible to use a word metaphorically unless it was so used by the word. A figure of speech therefore has exactly the same status as a word. In likening a brave man to a lion, for instance, it is permissible to call him but not to call him , since the former simile occurs in but the latter does not.  

11. For a discussion of various points of view towards the propriety of new figures of speech see Muhammad al-Khidr Husain, , 1(1934): 291-302, where the example used here is cited.
This extreme position is not that of the majority of modern writers, however; and on the question of accepting new or borrowed figures of speech into the language the consensus of learned opinion is in fact comparatively liberal. In the poll on modern vocabulary and usage conducted in 1928 by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī\(^\text{12}\), for example, one of the categories put forward consisted on phrases and figures of speech of foreign origin. Of the eighteen writers who replied to al-Maghribī's questions, twelve approved the use of foreign figures of speech, one would accept them subject to certain conditions, two expressed no opinion, and only three expressed themselves as opposed to using such figures in Arabic. The Academy of the Arabic Language approved the use of foreign words and figures of speech "when necessary", but al-Maghribī himself denied that necessity played any part in the matter and argued in favor of accepting any foreign idiom provided it was neither meaningless nor ridiculous nor offensive when translated into Arabic and provided that the words used and the grammatical structure of the figure were good Arabic.\(^\text{13}\)

\(^{12}\) See pp. 38-39 above.

\(^{13}\) Al-Maghribī, تعريب الأماليب, RALA 1\((1934)\): 332-349.
According to al-Maghribī, therefore, expressions such as "I'm all in", "keep your eye peeled", or "I've got a bone to pick with you" would presumably not be acceptable in Arabic, since "أنا كل في" would be meaningless, "عندئ عظم اريد ان انحصي واياك" would be ridiculous, and "هاد" would be offensive. A wide variety of others would be acceptable, however, and al-Maghribī cites such expression as "he is playing with fire", "he earns his bread by the sweat of his brow", and "he is fishing in troubled waters" as examples of figures of speech which are purely foreign in origin but the use of which in Arabic would be quite unobjectionable. 14

In fact general literary practice has tended to follow the more liberal of the points of view stated above, and a considerable number of apparently new and foreign idioms have come into use and been generally accepted in modern Arabic. For example, "على ضوء" is used as an equivalent of the English "in the light of" and occurs in phrases such as "على ضوء التطورات الجيدة" or "in the light of the new developments" or "in the light of the devaluation of the pound".

The verb *to take* provides a number of current figures of speech illustrated by phrases and sentences such as "the law will take its course", "to make decisions" (French "prendre des résolutions"), "a picture taken yesterday afternoon", and "to take the necessary measures".

The words *field* are used figuratively in expressions such as "in the field of education", "in every field of life", "in the field of science", and "the great progress achieved in the field of industry".

From *to play* comes the very common expression "to play a role" (ملچ دورا also occurs), which is used not only of actual theatrical roles (الأدوار التمثيلية) but also figuratively as in "the role played by the British in the tragedy of Haifa" or "the question of imperialism will play an important role". The theatrical metaphor is carried further in such expressions as "on the stage of life", "Jerusalem is the scene of severe fighting", and "He played an
important political role on the stage of the Arabian Peninsula."

Other examples include "the man in the street", "it is a life or death matter", "we must first put our own house in order", "necessity is the mother of invention", and "he attaches special importance to the situation in Aqaba".

It is obviously impossible to present an exhaustive list of such figures of speech, but the following examples will serve as further illustrations of them: "the cradle of civilization", "the winning card is in the hand of the West", "this new page in the history of our nation", "the deep impression he left on me", "construction is the measure of the country's progress", "the question will be raised in a secret session", "the last nail in the coffin of malaria", "that English shall be on a footing of equality with Arabic", "he has fallen in love".
with a beautiful American woman", and "when Stalin talks about peace he means what he says".

**STYLE**

Quite apart from its use of such figures of speech, modern Arabic appears to be developing a distinctive style of literary composition. This is not to say that all modern writing follows a single standardized style. There are stylistic differences among individual writers, of course, various literary schools exist, and the style of composition naturally varies according to subject matter. Nevertheless a number of general stylistic trends and characteristics can be discerned.

Greatly simplifying the literary history of the Arabs, it may be said that the development of Arabic prose up to the nineteenth century passed through two stages. The prose of the first period, which corresponded roughly to the first three centuries after the establishment of Islam, made some use of imagery and stylistic embellishment but was in the main characterized by simplicity, directness, and clarity, and by a brevity that at times seems extreme.
The second period can be taken as having ended at about the time of the fall of Baghdad in 1258, though it continued to show occasional flickers of brilliance during the next six centuries. The prose writing of this period was, if individual exceptions are ignored, very unlike that of the first period. Partly as a result of the influence of foreign literatures (notably Persian) and partly as a reflection of the increasing complexity, refinement, and luxury of court life, it became extremely ornate and involved. At the hands of some writers it showed a tendency towards use of words for their own sake and what may somewhat anachronistically be called "art for art's sake".

Modern writing has been influenced by the prose of both these periods and by that of the European languages, and the literary movements and trends of the past century are basically a reflection of the conflict between these three opposing influences.

The renaissance of Arabic literature in the nineteenth century was founded initially on a revival of interest in the classics of Arabic literature and an imitation of earlier models. As the movement progressed from re-editing of earlier texts to translation and eventually to
independent composition, it was largely the works of the second of the periods described above that were taken as models. Much of the prose of the late nineteenth century is a poor imitation of the writing of that period and exhibits many of its characteristics. These include a fondness for stylistic ornamentation and involved phrasing, a wide use of quotations from the Quran, poetry, or well known stories and proverbs, and a large amount of deliberate repetitiveness. This is not the repetitiveness of, for instance Tāhā Ḥusain (a rhythmical iteration of a key word or phrase or sentence pattern), but a repetition through the use of synonyms. There is a tendency to use the obscure word rather than the common one and to try to follow almost every word with a synonym, not for the sake of clarity or precision but for the sake of rhyme, meter, and the hypnotic effect of sheer repetition.

Since about the turn of the century there has been something of a reaction against this style and a revolt

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15. The literary style of the late nineteenth century was described by Marie Ziyādah as being characterized by "excessive wordiness, verbosity, stylistic posturing, flowery hyperbole, and ambiguity. See "Mayy", الغن والأدب في حضارة مصر اليوم, al-Muqtatatf 83 (1933): 8-14, 164-169.
against the needless obscurities of a school of writing that has sometimes been accused of giving greater weight to style than to content. This reaction has by no means had the unanimous support of twentieth century writers, but it has included an influential portion and perhaps a majority of them among its supporters. 16

The aim of this new school is the development of a style based partly on modern European models and partly on a return to the clarity and directness of Arabic prose of the first three centuries of the Islamic era. It advocates and tries to practice a manner of writing in which naturalness replaces pretentiousness and brevity replaces verbosity and repetitiveness. It does not reject all stylistic embellishment, but advocates making the style appropriate to the subject at hand and ridicules the pretentiousness of those who would try to write modern essays in the style of a tenth century maqāmah. The movement reaches its extreme in the writings of such men as Salāmah Mūsā, who urged that

16. For an argumentative discussion of the views of the "old" and "new" schools see the series of articles on prose style by Shakīb Arslān and Khalīl al-Sakākīnī reprinted in the latter's مطالعات في اللغة والآدب (Jerusalem, 1925), and see also "Mayy", op.cit.
(except in what are purely "belles lettres") all emotional content should be removed from modern writing in order to achieve the greatest possible clarity and precision of meaning. As one means of attaining this end he even proposed the creation of a "Basic Arabic" similar to Ogden's Basic English. 17

The issue has yet to be settled between the advocates of the tradition and modern schools of literary style, but in the meantime a distinctively modern style appears to be emerging. Modern prose tends on the whole to be characterized by greater brevity and directness than that of the nineteenth century or earlier periods, although it does not approach the almost telescopic curttness of some Arabic prose of the earliest period.

This should not, however, be taken as implying that typically modern writing is altogether free of obscurity and empty verbosity. 18 Modern Arabic has been no more fortunate

17. Salāmah Mūsā's ideas on a number of literary and other topics may be found in the collection of his essays published under the title ❣idayu 〈Cairo, 1927); and his views on language and style are set forth in detail in his ❣iyā Khulāsah fil-lughah al-ʿarabiyyah 〈Cairo, 1945). For a retort to critics of his style see Ahmad Zākī Abū Shādī, ❣ A 7(1929); 172-173.
than other languages in escaping the growth of "government-alese" and the jargon of businessmen, educationists, and others; and some of what is written and published in the present age would surely outrage the sensibilities of a good stylist of any period or any school.


Chapter X
ORTHOGRAPHY AND TYPOGRAPHY

Although none of the proposals for alphabet reform which have been put forward from time to time have come into general use, modern Arabic publications nevertheless differ considerably in appearance (as well as in vocabulary, grammar, and style) from the manuscripts of the medieval period and even from the first printed books of the nineteenth century. The differences consist of some minor points of spelling and of very considerable changes in the use of punctuation, paragraphs, and typographical "form" or "style".

**Spelling.** Some mention has already been made of the tendency towards confusion in spelling words with a final weak radical and to the fact that this has apparently always been a problem in the language. To the examples cited on page 215 above may be added مشترى for مشترات **purchases** from مشترى. Here the use of , in the plural is perhaps a result of unconscious analogy with its use in the relative adjective, as in قريه > قريه دنيا and فرو > فرو دنيا, though it more probably arises simply from confusion over what the final letter of the root is.

The rules for forming the relative adjective allow
a considerable degree of flexibility, and a number of examples of uncertainty in forming these words may be found in modern usage. Thus, from France one finds فرنسى, فرنسي, and فرنسوى, of which the first is now tending to replace the others in good writing. From America, on the other hand, are formed أمريكى, أمريكاني (now almost entirely restricted to the colloquial language, apparently because it is felt to be an improper or incorrect form) and أمريكى, أمريكاني, but not أمريكى تربيع. أمريكى education forms not only تربيع (rare) and أمريكى تربيع, and from revolution comes as well تربيع as well as the anomalous تربيع (probably by analogy with anarch- istic, or perhaps deliberately preferred in order to indicate that it is from ثورة and not from bull).

There is also considerable uncertainty in modern usage over the distinction between final أ and ء. Thus Africa is written also as سورية, أفريقية Syria very often appears as سوريا, and both تركية and تركى are used for Turkey. Similarly, the names of sciences such as جغرافيا and جيولوجيا are found spelled with either أ or ء. ¹

Not surprisingly, a certain amount of confusion also occurs in connection with the use of the hamzah, which may be found written on the wrong bearer, omitted altogether, or even introduced into a word that should not have it. Thus, *loaded* may be correctly written, but in the feminine it may be found as *كلباً*، *معيبة* *electricity* has acquired a final hamzah which many critics say it should not have. The plural of *منا*، *port or harbor* tends to acquire a final hamzah and to appear as *مؤقت*، *temporary* is very commonly written *مؤقت*، *temporary* is very commonly written. Place names of the *فعلاء* form either lose their final hamzah altogether, as in *Sidon*، *Sidon*، *ثنايا*، *San’ā‘*، *Taima*، *Taima*، or sometimes are written with ة، as in *Rafha*، *Rafha*، a town in Saudi Arabia. There is also some uncertainty in the choice of bearer for hamzah in words such as *شؤون*، *affairs* and *مسؤول*، *responsible*. The spellings shown are generally followed in Egypt, while the other Arab countries tend to use the forms *شؤون*، *شؤون*، * плохо*، * плохо*، etc., instead.

Another peculiarity of modern Egyptian usage is the omission of the two dots from final ی so that, for example, there is no distinction made between َعلي and َعلي and both are written َعلي.
Apart from criticizing specific "errors" of spelling such as 'f for ـؤ and ـؤ', the language reformers have devoted comparatively little attention to the question of spelling. A number of the schemes for revision of the alphabet that were discussed in Chapter III include proposals such as converting the hamzah into a full-fledged letter to be used without bearer and writing double consonants twice (for example, ـعمل instead of ـفعل).

Rāḍī Dakhīl in 1929 proposed a drastic simplification of the rules for writing the hamzah and in 1934 Shaikh Ahmad al-Iskandarī published a scheme for simplification of spelling. Al-Iskandarī's proposals, however, did not involve any change in Arabic spelling but rather were designed as rules for the guidance of editors in achieving uniformity of spelling in new editions of older works.

**Punctuation and Abbreviations.** It is apparent from the older manuscripts still in existence that abbreviations have been used in Arabic writing from very early times. A number of these early abbreviations, such as ـه to mark the

end of a quotation and some of the abbreviations used in manuscripts of the Quran, performed much the same functions as punctuation marks. In addition, true punctuation marks such as ´, and 0 occur in manuscripts and occasionally in printed books.

Much of this older scheme of abbreviations and punctuation has now fallen into disuse and its place has been taken by a system of punctuation based on that of the European languages and including the comma, semicolon, question mark, and so forth. Those are used approximately as they are in the European languages, although there are a number of variations in usage and some of the signs are used much more frequently than in the European languages. Thus sentences may be found ending with not just one but with two or three question marks or exclamation points, and the comma tends to be greatly overused (for example, between a noun and its adjective or between the subject of a sentence and its predicate). 5 The quotation marks are less used than

they are in English, and modern Arabic tends to follow the continental rather than the English system of indicating direct quotations. The double parentheses ( ( ) ) are very commonly used to set off proper names, technical terms, subheadings, and so forth, where the European languages would use capital letters or italic or boldface types.

**Typographical Style.** The design and layout of modern Arabic printing have been strongly influenced by European examples, and modern books and other printed matter differ markedly in appearance from manuscript works and from nineteenth century publications.

Printing in Arabic is relatively old. The Imprimerie Nationale of France has several Arabic types engraved before 1600, and a number of others of about the same age are in the Vatican. A number of Arabic books were printed in

5. On the incorrect and excessive use of punctuation see also Habīb Ghazālah, حروف الناج وعلامات الترقيم, RAAD 12(1932): 21-25.

6. The early French types for Arabic are illustrated in Cabinet des Poinçons de l'Imprimerie Nationale de France (Paris, 1948), which gives some details of when these were engraved and by whom. Alberto Vaccari, "I caratteri arabi della 'Typographia Savariana'," RSO 10(1923-25): 37-47, gives some information on early printing of Arabic in Italy.
Turkey during the eighteenth century, but printing in the Arab countries themselves does not have a long history. The first printing press in Egypt was that brought by the French expedition in 1798, but this remained in the country only until the French withdrawal three years later. Apart from one or two small hand presses used by monasteries for producing devotional books, the Arab countries then remained without any source of printed books until the Bulaq press was established in 1822 and the American Mission Press was moved to Beirut in 1834. The first privately owned press in Egypt was not founded until 1866.

When the printing and publishing of books did become established in the Arab countries, the books produced tended typographically to resemble manuscripts. Each page or each column on a page would be surrounded with a ruled border, the hanging marginal notes of later commentators were

7. For the early history of printing in the Arab countries see especially Louis Cheikho, "تاريخ الطباعة في مصر في القرن الثالث عشر" (Cairo, 1949); Jāmāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, "تاريخ الطباعة والصحافة في مصر خلال الحملة الفرنسية" (Cairo, 1951); and the third chapter of George Antonius, The Arab Awakening (London, 1938).
reproduced in type, and the illumination or other decora-
tion of the finest manuscripts was imitated through the use
of fancy rules and printers' flowers. The earliest printers
did not, however, have two of the devices available to the
scribe: colored inks and the ability to use different sizes
of letters. By present-day standards, therefore, many of
the books printed in the nineteenth century are neither typo-
graphically attractive nor easy to read and use. The same
style and size of type are used without variation from be-
ginning to end, there is little or no punctuation, and the
absence of paragraphs leaves the page a uniform mass of let-
tering with no indication of transition from one topic to
another. Even where paragraphs and paragraph headings are
used, the fact that the latter are in the same type as the
text detracts from the usefulness of these devices.

Since about the end of the nineteenth century, how-
ever, a new typographic style (based largely on European
models) has been developing, and Arabic books produced since
the first World War present an appearance very different
from that of nineteenth century printed matter. The prac-
tice of surrounding each page or column with a ruled border
has been abandoned. The marginal comments have been moved
to the bottom of the page and become footnotes, which are usually set apart from the text itself by the use of smaller type. The text is broken up into paragraphs, and this, together with the use of wider margins, not only makes it easier to read but also results in a more attractive page with a more pleasing and legible ratio between black print and white space. The transition from one section to another or from one topic to another is marked by the use of headings which are distinguished from the text by the use of a type of different size or style (*ruq'ah* is very often used for this purpose) or a bold face. In short, most of the conventional apparatus of modern European typographical style has been adopted for Arabic printing.

Some vestiges of the colophon at the end of the book remain in use, but in general this has been replaced by a title page of the modern European type showing the name of the printer and the place and date of publication as well as the name of the author and the title of the book. The style in book titles themselves has changed. They have become both shorter and more descriptive and it is no longer felt necessary to make them rhyme. A modern writer's history of Egypt, for instance, can be called simply *Tārīkh al-Qāṭr*
al-Miṣrī rather than Laṭā'if Akhbār al-Uwal fī man Taṣarrafa fī Mīṣr min Arbāb al-Duwal. The first few pages of the book, furthermore, are likely to be devoted to a preface or introduction of the modern European type rather than to fifty or a hundred lines of involved metaphor built around the local ruler's resemblance to the tail of a comet.

Printing Types. The changes described above have resulted in a very considerable alteration in the appearance of printed Arabic books. They are, of course, primarily changes in the style and arrangement of printed matter rather than in the appearance or shape of the individual printed word. In spite of the quite considerable difficulties involved, in fact, the Arabic alphabet has been adapted with very little change to printing from type. A good Arabic type face produces a reasonable imitation of a calligrapher's naskhi hand. Such differences as exist are chiefly the result of the greater uniformity of the printed letters and of simplification - there are fewer special ligatures and final flourishes.

In addition to the naskhi which is used for most Arabic printing, type faces are available in the ruqʿah and Maghribi styles, Monotype produces matrices for a type it
calls "Solloss" (i.e., thuluth), and even Kufic and Farisi can be printed from type. The Arabic script, furthermore, has been adapted quite successfully to mechanical typesetting. Linotype, Monotype, and Intertype all provide matrices for

The problem of printing vowelled Arabic has not been entirely solved. Accurate and attractive vowelled texts can be set by hand, but only by using a very greatly enlarged font of characters. Linotype, Intertype, and a number of
hand set types employ a system whereby the vowels are set after the letters rather than above and below them. This greatly reduces the number of different characters needed, but the appearance of the resulting printed matter is not entirely satisfactory. Monotype produces matrices for the attractive vowelled face illustrated in Figure 23, but setting this involves a good deal of time-consuming and delicate hand work.

The Arabic alphabet has, of course, also been adapted to typewriting, and the typewriter is now a commonplace piece of equipment in most business and government offices in the Arab world. Some of the difficulties involved in making this adaptation have been discussed in Chapter III, where it was stated that the first Arabic typewriters did not come into general use until almost fifty years after the machine had come into use in America and Europe. Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǰī states that he saw an Arabic typewriter in Paris in 1895, but remarks that the printing produced by it was extremely unattractive. The first successful Arabic typewriter seems to have been the "Hilāl", produced about 1899 by Khalīl

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Wākid. The inventor manufactured and sold a number of his machines, but it and its competitors and imitators do not seem to have come into general use until after the first World War.9

Wākid's first typewriter produced a vowelled print, and he is also stated to have produced a machine that could type both Arabic and the European languages. The average Arabic typewriter today, however, is without vowels; and adapting the letters to its limited number of keys has necessitated a fairly drastic simplification of the Arabic alphabet, including elimination of all or almost all ligature forms, reduction of the number of shapes each letter may have, and some distortion of the shapes of the letters. A text printed on a typewriter is therefore noticeably different from one printed from type, although not objectionably so. In spite of this simplification, however, the Arabic typewriter is mechanically more complicated than one equipped with the letters of the Latin alphabet and it is therefore more difficult to manufacture and to repair.

9. Fu‘ād Wākid, مرجع الكاتب في الآلات الكاتبة والطباعة, (Cairo, 1953) gives a brief history of the typewriter and illustrates fifteen different makes and models of Arabic typewriters and specimens of the printing produced by them.
With the advance of mechanization and automation in the field of business and elsewhere, the Arabic alphabet is now also being adapted for use with automatic calculating machines, the so-called electric and electronic brains. These machines require an even more simplified alphabet than that used with the typewriter. Not only can far fewer different characters be used, but the nature of the machines makes it impossible to have two different units of letter width such as typewriters have. Figure 24 illustrates the results of one effort to make this adaptation. The machine by which this was printed is used by the Egyptian Directorate of Telephones and Telegraphs for computing and billing telephone charges in Cairo. It will be seen from the illustration that the alphabet used has only a single form for each

Fig. 24. Specimen of Arabic printed by an automatic business machine.
letter, that each letter occupies the same width in the line, and that some difficulty has been experienced in joining the connecting letters. The result is at least legible, but it is certainly far from attractive.

\[ \text{Fig. 25. The Hurūf al-Tāj, designed to serve as capital letters for Arabic.} \]

Changes in the Alphabet. With possibly one exception, the various minor changes resulting from the use of the printing press and the typewriter constitute the only alterations to the Arabic script that have taken place in the modern period. The single exception referred to is the system of so-called ḥurūf al-tāj illustrated in Figure 25. These were introduced by the Government of Egypt in 1932 and are intended
to perform the same functions as the upper case letters of the Latin alphabet. They have not come into general use in the Arab countries, but have had some use in Egypt, especially in Government publications.

Of the many more or less drastic schemes for reform of the alphabet that were described in Chapter III, none has been accepted by the public, nor does it seem likely that any of them ever will be accepted or come into general use. Prophecy is always hazardous, but it seems safe to suggest that if a deliberate change is ever brought about in the Arabic alphabet and accepted by the public it will come from efforts to solve the problems of printing Arabic rather than being based on any proposal to alter radically the shape of the letters, to add new letters, or to convert the vowels into full letters. Proposals such as those by 'Akāwī, al-Kirmillī, Khattar, and al-Nakadī, which were illustrated in Chapter III have little or no chance of ever coming into use. The scheme suggested as long ago as 1893 by Ilyās Barakāt is more practical and would have greater

10. Egypt, Ministry of Education, حروف التاج وعلامات التنقيم ومواضع استعمالها على حسب النظام المعدل (Cairo, 1932), p.1
11. See Figures 4, 9, 10, 12, and 14.
chance of acceptance, and the proposal put forward in 1903 by the alphabet reform committee of the Būlāq press\textsuperscript{13} seems also to have been aiming in the right direction. Mahmūd Taimūr's proposal\textsuperscript{14} is also basically sound though perhaps too extreme, as there is really little or no mechanical or other advantage to be gained by separating the letters.

Fig. 26. Deberny et Peignot's 16-point 'Caractère arabe Ghossoub'.

Any eventual reform of the alphabet, in other words, will probably be a "practical" one designed by and for typographers and printers rather than a "theoretical" one aimed at correcting the alleged phonetic or other deficiencies

\begin{itemize}
\item[12.] See p. 65.
\item[13.] See pp. 65-66.
\item[14.] See Figure 5 in Chapter III.
\end{itemize}
of Arabic writing. At least three such practical reforms have in fact been devised, of which two are already in limited use and the third in the process of development. The type illustrated in Figure 26 is manufactured by Deberny et Peignot of Paris and sold as "Caractère Arabe Ghossoub" in six sizes from 8 point to 36 point with a bold face in each size. It successfully retains the essential characteristics of conventional Arabic type, but reduces the number of different characters to 65 (plus numerals and the usual punctuation marks and one optional ligature form for في). It also drastically reduces the descenders of letters such as ح and غ and thus makes possible closer setting of lines.

Fig. 27. A sample of Mrowa Linotype Simplified Arabic. 15

The type illustrated in Figure 27 was proposed by Kamel Mrowa, the publisher of the Beirut daily al-Hayāt. Matrices for it were designed and produced by Linotype and
Machinery Limited of London, and the type cast from these is now being used in printing al-Ḥayāt. As can be seen from the illustration, this alphabet represents a noticeable simplification of the conventional Arabic alphabet, and in fact it reduces the number of different characters required to about half the number included in one of the conventional Linotype faces. The typesetter can therefore operate with a considerably smaller keyboard and the process of setting type thereby becomes easier, quicker, and more economical.

A somewhat similar scheme is that announced in 1958 by Ahmad Lakhdar of the University of Morocco and now being further developed by the Moroccan Ministry of Education.
It is illustrated in Figure 28. Like Mrowa's alphabet and like the "Caractère Ghossoub", this is aimed primarily at reducing the number of different letter shapes needed for printing, but represents a considerably more drastic simplification of the conventional alphabet than does either of these. In addition, it aims to provide for printing with vowels without excessively increasing the number of different characters, and its inventor has succeeded in reducing to 67 (plus numerals and punctuation marks) the number of typesets needed for printing fully vowelled Arabic.

15. Al-Hayāt, 15 March 1959. The information on the Mrowa type was kindly supplied by Mr. Walter Tracy of Linotype and Machinery Limited, London, who also furnished certain other information for use in this chapter.

Chapter XI

CONCLUSION

Modern Arabic consists essentially of the classical
language (the Arabic of the dictionaries and grammars and
of the classical literature) as that language has been modi-
fied during the past century and a half. These modifica-
tions of Arabic have affected chiefly the vocabulary of the
language and to a lesser extent its grammar and idiom, and
have occurred as a result of the influence of the various
colloquial dialects, the effects of contact with modern West-
ern civilization (with the consequent entry of foreign words
and expressions into the language), and other factors. These
have contributed to and augmented the natural processes of
linguistic change and have resulted in the introduction of
some new words and considerable numbers of new meanings. In
addition, Arabic has to some extent been influenced and modi-
fied by the movement for language reform, which has been es-
sentially reactionary in its nature and has tended to work
in opposition to these modifying influences.

Character of the Reform Movement. The more orthodox
and traditionalist of those who have written on the language
problem are, of course, frankly and obviously reactionary
in their aim, which is to revive the language of classical times and maintain it with as little change as possible. It may seem contradictory that the more liberal supporters of a movement whose professed aims are "reform" and "modernization" of the language should also be described as reactionary. A closer examination of their objectives and their achievements will resolve the paradox, however, and reveal that almost all factions of the movement are in fact basically reactionary and retrograde in their aims and in their point of view.

The "reform" desired by the language reform movement is less a matter of modifying and improving the language to fit it for present-day needs than of returning to and reviving the language of classical times and of purging Arabic of the effects of foreign and other modern influences. The "modernization" sought by the reform movement, furthermore, consists not of bringing Arabic up to date by continuing its development with the language of the nineteenth century as a basis but rather of returning first to the Arabic of classical times and developing the language from there. The reform movement, in short, is essentially an expression in the field of language of that Arab infatuation with the
romantic myth of a glorious past that also appears in modern Arabic literature and in the field of politics.

Another facet of the language reform movement that deserves mention is that in some ways it is strongly nationalistic in character. The spirit of nationalism may be seen not only in the preoccupation with the ideal of an illustrious past which is somehow to be revived and reinstated, but also in that desire to maintain Arabic as a single language (and hence, it is hoped, the language of a single people) that lies behind the general opposition to any move toward using one of the colloquial languages for writing.

This nationalistic aspect of the reform movement shows itself even more clearly, of course, in the opposition to the use of foreign words and the generally expressed desire to eliminate them from the language. This is not merely a distaste for elements that are felt to be alien to the language, but often an active dislike of and opposition to anything foreign, and it is reflected in statements such as "A foreign word in the Arabic language is like a foreign soldier on Arab soil." Furthermore, there seems

to be a belief on the part of a number of participants in
the reform movement that "the foreigner" is somehow and from
some unexplained motive deliberately trying to destroy the
Arabic language. This almost paranoiac suspicion of for­
eign influences is expressed in the recurring statements
that "the Europeans are trying to destroy Arabic and sub­
stitute their own languages for it,"\(^2\) that "Arabic must be
defended against the attacks of foreigners,"\(^3\) that "the
Arabs must protect their language against the attacks of
foreign tongues in order to preserve their literature, honor,
and national character,"\(^4\) and so forth.

This desire to expel foreign elements from the lan­
guage is, of course, accompanied by an effort to substitute
what is purely Arabic; and much is made of enforcing the
use of Arabic by foreign business firms, of making the
teaching of Arabic obligatory in foreign schools, of using
Arabic as the language of higher education, and of making

\begin{enumerate}
\item [2. ] \textit{[Abd Allāh al-Nadīm],} \textit{باب اللغة} , \textit{al-Ustādh} 1(20)
(3 January 1893): 467-477. A similar statement
is made by "Ahmad" in \textit{al-Ustādh} 1(11) (1 November 1892): 241-245.
\item [3. ] Najīb al-Jawīsh, \textit{الغة} \textit{م} \textit{ع} \textit{ا} \textit{ر}, \textit{al-Diyā}, 4(1901-
02): 326-328.
\item [4. ] Anastās al-Kirmiḷī in \textit{RAAD} 3(1923): 121.
\end{enumerate}
Arabic the language of government and international relations. It is perhaps indicative to some extent of the character of the language reform movement that all such moves are directed only at the external aspects of the problem. In other words, while سيارة has been brought into use to replace the loan word ايرباديل, no one suggests that the automobile itself should be discarded; and great efforts are made to enable university courses to be taught in Arabic, but these courses remain entirely Western in derivation, content, and method of presentation. This is, of course, a reflection of the common human failing, by no means peculiar to the Arabs, of giving as much weight to the form and appearance of things as to their substance, of thinking that words are valuable in themselves, and of feeling perhaps subconsciously that the name of an object or idea is as important as the thing for which it stands. This tendency is seen reflected in the belief that after a change of government it is somehow a constructive measure of social reform to change شارع التحرير to شارع الملك, in the feeling that to refer to the Persian Gulf as the Arab Gulf changes the history and present status of that body of water and somehow conduces to the credit of the Arab peoples, and in the belief that it is a blow in defense of cultural "purity" to
to reject a foreign word while accepting without question
the object or concept which that word represents.

Present State of the Language. It is difficult to
judge precisely how much the present state of modern Arabic
owes to the activity of the reform movement and to what ex­tent it is simply the product of the natural growth of the
language through the operation of the various other influ­ences mentioned above. Certainly many, though not all, of
the foreign words recently taken into the language have
been adopted in spite of the expressed desire of the re­formers to eliminate as many of such words as possible. Nor
has the reform movement played any part in the development
of new words such as مسؤولية responsibility or new meanings
such as تصفية liquidation or مخابرة communication.

On the other hand, the use of "classical" Arabic
has undoubtedly increased in the past seventy-five years,
and the credit for this belongs largely to the efforts of
the reform movement. One of the major achievements of this
movement, in fact, has been that it has created a widespread
awareness of and interest in their language on the part of
the Arabic-speaking peoples, and this has led in turn to a
general desire to use good Arabic and to use it correctly.
The general standard of written Arabic today is undeniably higher than it was in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī, for instance, declares that errors in usage have so decreased that it has become more difficult to find fault with modern writing:

Not only is the language now used with increased correctness, but there has also been a noticeable decrease in the number of foreign words used in writing. The typical weekly or monthly periodical of the 1880s or 1890s, for instance, contains a considerably greater proportion of foreign words than its present-day counterpart. It is noteworthy that of the several score foreign words listed by Jurjī Zaidān in 1904 as having entered the language in the nineteenth century the majority have already passed out of use and been replaced by Arabic words, and even a number of the words discussed by Wehr in 1934 have already become

5. On this point see, for example, Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī's address to the XVII Congress of Orientalists (Oxford, 1928), in RAAD 8(1928): 680-685.


7. Zaidān, تاريخ اللغة العربية (Cairo, 1904), pp. 50-54.
obsolete. It is likely that this is in large part a result of the awareness of the language that has been aroused by the writings of the reformers and of the resulting desire to write correctly and to eliminate foreign words.

This increased correctness in usage and the elimination of numbers of foreign words should not, however, be taken as indicating that the language has been fully modernized and that the task of the reformers has been accomplished. Arabic has undeniably undergone considerable modernization since the early nineteenth century and is capable today of being used to discuss a wider range of contemporary subjects than was possible a hundred years ago. By one means or another the language has succeeded in supplying words not only for the major inventions and ideas of modern Western civilization such as the railroad train, airplane, penicillin, communism, and the quantum theory, but also for a large number of its lesser blessings such as the atom bomb, the beauty queen, existentialism, and the extent of publishing in the Arab countries today plainly shows that

the language is very much alive and is effectively serving as the instrument of modern civilization. A number of defects or shortcomings remain, however.

The most serious of these is that while the language can and does deal with government, commerce, education, sports, and a wide variety of other aspects of modern life satisfactorily and without resorting to undue numbers of loan words, it cannot yet discuss with equal facility all the intricacies of modern scientific theory or of complex technical subjects. This failing is due both to a lack of the necessary words and at the same time to an excess of words. The writer or translator either finds that there is no Arabic word for the complex chemical process or the component parts of the intricate mechanical device that he wishes to discuss, or he discovers that every writer who has previously dealt with the subject has used a different word and he is faced with choosing between five or six supposed equivalents in Arabic.

With the technical terms of some of the modern sciences, in other words, the situation at present is that there may be several different Arabic equivalents for a single European technical term or that the same Arabic word may be
used for a number of different technical terms. A very similar difficulty arises from the differences in the usage of words in different countries. The differences between the various colloquial dialects of Arabic are well known, but in addition there are some national differences in the written language.

The chief problem now confronting the Arabic language, in other words, is not the modernization of the vocabulary to meet the everyday needs of contemporary life. This has already been fairly successfully accomplished. Nor is it, as some of the reformers argue, the entry of excessive numbers of foreign or post-classical words into the language. Rather, it is the lack of a vocabulary for dealing with modern technical subjects that is sufficiently precise and that is generally accepted by the reading public of all the Arab countries. The language is still incapable of discussing such subjects with the precision and accuracy required in modern science and technology, and as long as this continues to be so the writer may still find that he can deal with his subject more satisfactorily in English or French.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The alleged deficiencies of Arabic and the problem of reforming and modernizing the language have aroused a great deal of interest and have been widely discussed in the Arab countries. Some indication of the extent of this interest and the intensity of the feelings aroused by the various points of view put forward may be gained from the amount that has been written and published on the problem during roughly the past seventy-five years. A good number of books on various aspects of the modern language have been published, and the number of articles in magazines and newspapers amounts to many hundred. A detailed bibliography of this mass of source material cannot be presented in the space available here, and these notes are therefore intended only to supplement the bibliographical references given in the text above and to indicate the main sources for research into the development of modern Arabic.

European Sources. By far the greater part of the writing on modern Arabic and the "language problem" has been in Arabic, and comparatively little has been published in Europe. Of the material available in the European languages the most important are probably the articles published in
1934 by Wehr\(^1\) and in 1942 by Rizzitano\(^2\). Wehr's article, now perhaps a little dated, describes the development of modern Arabic and gives something of the history of the language problem, but devotes its attention chiefly to the vocabulary of modern Arabic, with many examples. Rizzitano deals less with the language itself than with the development of the various schools of thought on the problem, and his article is especially valuable for the many bibliographical references it provides.

The article published in 1933 by Braune\(^3\) is primarily a literary history but also contains a section on the modernization of the language, with some remarks on the development of the reform movement and a number of examples of modern vocabulary. Much the same ground was covered in English in 1921-23 by 'Abd al-Rāziq.\(^4\)

Other works dealing primarily with the language


itself rather than the reform movement include an inquiry into the grammar of modern Arabic published in 1931 as a doctoral thesis by Mainz. This is a useful work and perhaps the only one dealing exclusively with this subject; but some of the author's examples and conclusions may be open to doubt, since he has drawn his material from rather restricted sources. A long article on Arabic technical terms was published in 1956 by Bielawski. About half of this is a competent discussion of technical terms in modern Arabic, which appears to be based largely on the article by Wehr cited above and on the issues of the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus between 1948 and 1953. The foreword to Wehr's dictionary of modern written Arabic contains an excellent analysis of the present state of the vocabulary. An article on modern Arabic published by Brugsch and Kampffmeyer


5. Ernst Mainz, Zur Grammatik des modernen Schriftarabisch (Hamburg, 1931)


in 1926-27 consists largely of a catalogue of technical terms found in advertisements.

Of works in the European languages that deal with the language problem in general without attempting a detailed examination of the language itself, the most noteworthy are perhaps those published in 1936 by Bishr Fāris\(^9\) and in 1937 by Lecerf\(^{10}\). The former is primarily a discussion of modern Arabic literature but includes also some discussion of the language. Lecerf's article is a penetrating and extremely critical analysis of the reform movement and its aims. An article published in 1938 by Rafā'īl Nakhlā\(^{11}\) deals chiefly with the relationship between written and spoken Arabic and is unsympathetic to any attempt to reform, modernize, or

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otherwise develop the classical language. A brief article published in 1946 by Pellat attempts to analyze the vocabulary of Arabic in terms of how much of the classical vocabulary is obsolete and how much of the current vocabulary is entirely modern, and the author calls for the compilation by some authoritative body of a dictionary of "modern classical" - that is, of words actually in use.

Arabic Sources. The single most useful book on the development of modern Arabic is perhaps Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī's al-Muṣṭalabāt al-‘Ilmiyyah fī l-Lughah al-‘Arabīyah. This ostensibly deals with scientific vocabulary only, but the author's definition of "technical term" is a very broad one and he gives much useful information on the language problem in general and on the development of the reform movement. Another useful but considerably older work is Jurjī Zaidān's Tārīkh al-Lughah al-‘Arabīyah. This is a history of Arabic from pre-Islamic times to the end of the nineteenth


14. Zaidān, تاريخ اللغة العربية، باعتبارها كائن حيّ نام خاضع لانوس الارتعاش (Cairo, 1904).
century, and the author attempts to list the new words or new meanings that entered the language in each of the periods of development that he discusses.

Apart from these two books, the writings on the subject in Arabic are so numerous that it is difficult even to select a few of the most outstanding works. It will perhaps be more useful therefore merely to indicate the main groups of sources and point out the principal writers on the problems of modern Arabic.

An almost indispensable source is certainly the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus\textsuperscript{15}, now in its thirty-fourth volume. Over the years this has published a great number of articles on all aspects of the language and the problems connected with its modern development. The journal of the Academy of the Arabic Language\textsuperscript{16} is also a useful source. Each issue of the journal is divided into "official" and "unofficial" sections. The former records the actual work of the Academy, while the second and in some ways more interesting section offers articles by the members on a wide

\textsuperscript{15}\\n
مجلة الجمع العلمي العربي (Damascus, 1921 to date).

\textsuperscript{16}\\n
مجلة مجمع اللغة العربية (Title varies slightly) (Cairo, 1934 to date).
variety of topics connected with the language. The journal of the Iraqi Academy\textsuperscript{17} is also worth investigation, though it has had a shorter life than the journals of the other two academies and tends to concern itself somewhat less with literary and linguistic matters.

Three somewhat similar journals that deserve investigation are \textit{al-Muqtataf}\textsuperscript{18}, \textit{al-Machriq}\textsuperscript{19}, and \textit{al-Hilāl}\textsuperscript{20}. These are all essentially magazines of general interest, but all have devoted a considerable amount of space to discussion of the language problem and two of them had editors, Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf of \textit{al-Muqtataf} and Jurjī Zaidān of \textit{al-Hilāl}, who had a strong personal interest in the development of the language. The volumes of \textit{al-Manār}\textsuperscript{21}, edited by Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, also deserve mention. In all these journals even the material that does not deal specifically with

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{الجمعي العراقی} (Baghdad, 1950 to date).
  \item \textit{المتطلَف} (Beirut, later Cairo, 1876-1950).
  \item \textit{المشرق} (Beirut, 1898 to date). An index to the first forty-four volumes (1898-1950) was published in 1952.
  \item \textit{العلَل} (Cairo, 1892-1955?). See especially the volumes published before the second World War.
  \item \textit{النار} (Cairo, 1898-1936).
\end{itemize}
the language is valuable as an illustration of the development of modern Arabic.

The magazine Loghat el-Arab$^{22}$, notwithstanding its title, was also primarily a magazine of general interest, but its editor Anastäs al-Kirmillı did devote considerable space to discussion of the language and its problems. The two magazines al-Bayān$^{23}$ and al-Diyā$^{24}$ published by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī also contain much useful material on the language. Of the newer learned and literary journals, al-Abhāth$^{25}$, al-Ādāb$^{26}$, al-Adīb$^{27}$, al-Risālah$^{28}$, and al-Thaqāfah$^{29}$ are particularly worthy of mention.

This is by no means an exhaustive list of the periodicals that have published material on the modern language,

22. لغة العرب (Baghdad, 1911-14, 1926-31).
23. البيان (Cairo, 1897-1898).
24. النياء (Cairo, 1898-1906).
25. الأبحاث (Beirut, 1948 to date).
26. الآداب (Beirut, 1953 to date).
27. الإديب (Beirut, 1942 to date).
28. الرسالة (Cairo, 1933 to date?).
29. الثقافة (Cairo, 1943 to date?)
but it includes the more important sources for research. The newspapers have also entered into discussion of the language problem and have published much material of the same sort as is found in the monthly and other magazines mentioned. *Al-Ahrām*, for instance, has reported the activities of the Academy of the Arabic Language in detail and in the years between the two World Wars published an average of one or two articles a week on some aspect of the language question.

The writers who over the past fifty to seventy-five years have dealt with the problems of modern Arabic in the journals mentioned above have been very numerous. Among those who have published most and who have made the greatest contributions not only to the development of the language but also to the discussion of its reform and modernization, the names of Muṣṭafā al-Shihābī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī, Asʿad Dāghīr, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī, and Muṣṭafā Jawād are especially noteworthy. Al-Shihābī's book on Arabic technical terms has already been mentioned. Among his many other writings an article published in 1952 in the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus is especially worth while as a comprehensive discussion touching at least briefly on almost
every aspect of the language problem. His *Dictionnaire des termes agricoles* covers the technical terms of a far wider range of subjects than is implied by the title, and the introduction provides an analysis of the defects of the standard dictionaries and some discussion of the problems of modern vocabulary in general.

‘Abd al-Qādir al-Maghribī led a long and active life and his writings on the language as well as on many other topics are numerous. His *Kitāb al-Ishtiqaq wa-‘l-Ta‘rīb* sets forth his own opinions as well as those of the classical grammarians and of various modern writers on methods for creating new vocabulary. His poll of scholarly opinion on questions of modern vocabulary has already been discussed in Chapter II above. Among al-Maghribī's many other published works, his articles dealing with foreign idioms and with the work of the various abortive or successful


32. Al-Maghribī, كتاب الاشتتاف والتعليم (Cairo, 2d ed., 1947).


language academies, and his address to the Academy of the Arabic Language in February 1935 are especially useful.

As'ad Dāghir is probably best known for his book *Tadhkirat al-Kātib*, a compilation of errors of grammar and vocabulary found in current usage. Among his many other writings, one of the most useful is perhaps an article published in 1925 that offers a general review of the language problem and a summary of the main schools of thought on the question of language reform.

Another well known compilation of current errors is Ibrāhīm al-Yāzījī's *Lughat al-Jara'id*. Among al-Yāzījī's many other published works the most noteworthy are perhaps his articles discussing the problem of foreign words in

35. Al-Maghribī, *RAAD* 23(1948); 308-315, reprinted in *RALA* 7(1953); 123-128.
36. *RALA* 2(1935); 16-20 and *Mahdar* 2(1935); 12-16.
Arabic and the conflict between the classical and colloquial languages, and a long article published between 1897 and 1903 which reviews the whole language problem, analyzes the shortcomings of the language, summarizes the differing points of view on the question of reform and modernization, and sets forth the author's own proposals for solution of these problems.

Mustafa Jawad has published many articles on various aspects of the modern language in the journals of the Damascus, Cairo, and Baghdad academies, and a number of the unsigned articles in Loghat el-Arab are probably by him. Loghat el-Arab, however, especially those parts dealing with the language, was largely the work of the prolific Father Anastas Māri al-Kirmili. Al-Kirmili published a


43. On the correct form of his name (al-Kirmili, not al-Karmali) see his note in LA 5(1927): 22.
vast amount of material on the Arabic language, not only in
his books⁴⁴ but also in Loghat el-Arab and many other maga-
zines and newspaper, and not only under his own name but
also under a variety of pseudonyms.⁴⁵ Much of what he pub-
lished, however, is of limited value to the student of mod-
ern Arabic. Al-Kirmili was a man whose basic interest was
originally the study of Greek and Latin words in Arabic.
His interest in these led him eventually to the conviction
that most of the major languages of the world were in some
way at least partially derived from Arabic, and this belief
unfortunately tended to color much of his later writing.⁴⁶
In addition, he seems to have been an embittered, short-
tempered, and sometimes belligerent person, and a number of
his writings on the language are marred by the fact that
they are basically violent and often extremely personal at-
tacks on other writers whose views did not happen to coincide
with his own.⁴⁷ For a short biography of al-Kirmili, with
special emphasis on his activities in connection with the

⁴⁴. Al-Kirmili, Cairo, 1933) and
⁴⁵. For a list of noms de plume used by al-Kirmili
⁴⁶. On this point see also pp. 150-151 above.
⁴⁷. For a short biography of al-Kirmili, with
special emphasis on his activities in connection with the
reform and modernization of the language, see the article published in 1929 by Rafā'il Buṭṭī.\textsuperscript{48}

Jurjī Zaidān's history of the Arabic language has already been referred to in these notes, and his many articles on the language, especially in \textit{al-Ḥilāl}, also deserve investigation. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī, for many years the president of the Arab Academy of Damascus, was primarily interested in literary matters, but a number of his articles in the Academy's journal and elsewhere deal specifically with the language. Anīs al-Maqdisī's interests are also mainly literary, but he has also written on the problems of the language in \textit{al-Muqtataf}, the journal of the Arab Academy of Damascus, and elsewhere.

Muḥammad Sharaf, the compiler of what nearly thirty-five years after its publication is still the only comprehensive dictionary of Arabic medical terms\textsuperscript{49}, also wrote fairly extensively on the language problem. See, for instance, an article published in \textit{al-Muqtataf} in 1929 that

\textsuperscript{47} See, for example, his attacks on Jabr Dūmaṭ in \textit{LA} 7(1929): 708-713 and on ʿAbd Allāh al-Bustānī in \textit{RAAD} 11(1931): 226-236, 14(1936): 127-140.

\textsuperscript{48} Buṭṭī, حياة الاب استنناس ماري الكرمي وخدمة للعلم ولغة العربية, \textit{LA} 7(1929): 60-66.
reviews the whole problem of modern Arabic vocabulary and summarizes the various views held on the problem. Many of the other articles on language in al-Muqtaṭaf, especially the unsigned articles, are by Ya‘qūb Ṣarrūf, one of the founders and editors of al-Muqtaṭaf and al-Muqatṭam and a prominent figure in the language reform movement.

Among the many other writers who have dealt with modern Arabic and the problems involved in reforming and modernizing it mention should also be made of Sa‘īd al-Afghānī, Shakīb Arslān, ‘Abd Allāh al-Bustānī, Bishr Fāris, Anīs Furaiḥah, Mārūn Ghuṣn, Ṭahmābī, Shafīq Jābrī, Muḥammad Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Kawākibī, Edouard Muqrūs, Ṭahmābī, Riḍā, and Khalīl al-Sakākīnī, and the works of these men should form part of any research into the development of modern Arabic.

49. Egypt, Ministry of Education, An English-Arabic Dictionary of Medicine, Biology, and Allied Sciences ... by Dr. Muḥammad Sharaf (Cairo, 2d ed., 1928).