ARABIC-ENGLISH/ ENGLISH-ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

RADIA BENZEHRA

(Under the Direction of DON R. MCCREARY)

ABSTRACT

The present dissertation integrates theoretical and analytical work on qualitative dimensions of English-Arabic lexicography. The aim of the theoretical part is twofold; first, it relates monolingual Arabic lexicography to its bilingual counterpart and explains how English-Arabic dictionaries continue to be written in the light of early practices in Arabic-Arabic dictionaries. Second, an examination of state-of-the-art studies in the field highlights the dominant models in theoretical discussions on English-Arabic lexicography. The qualitative analysis further investigates the microstructure of landmark English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries, and indicates problematic aspects while suggesting prototypical remedial entries at the same time. Future English-Arabic dictionaries should take user needs and active-passive typology into consideration and should provide consistent information for each group of users.

The dissertation unveils highly pertinent language-related issues in the field. The constant interplay between Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, and the vernaculars is conducive to unceasing variation at all linguistic levels, and offers linguists and lexicographers demanding challenges to the description and codification of ‘Modern Standard Arabic’. The mixed forms
and structures in which the written language and the vernaculars are closely enmeshed constitute the essence of a pervasive MSA. Specific lexicographic techniques need to be carefully reconsidered to systematize the variation and diversity that characterizes the Arabic language.

Arabic lexicography played a major role in the intact transmission of the Classical variety, and later in the revival of the Arabic language. Within the framework of a descriptive grammar, the discipline has a major role to play in the future, inevitable, standardization processes of the emergent varieties of Arabic. The goals of Arabic lexicography have to be related to a much grander plan which is that of ensuring the smooth development of the language, embracing linguistic change, and getting rid of prescriptive attitudes towards the language. Such positive feelings will rescue the discipline from a long period of stagnation.

Arabic lexicography calls for a transdisciplinary approach that would involve linguists, terminologists, translators and corpus researchers by highlighting the contributions that one makes to the other and by opening up new perspectives for both theoretical and practical developments.

INDEX WORDS: Arabic Dictionaries, Bilingual Arabic Lexicography, Monolingual Arabic Lexicography, English-Speaking Users, Arabic-Speaking Users, Macrostructure, Microstructure, Arabic dialects, Arabic diglossia
ARABIC-ENGLISH/ ENGLISH-ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

RADIA BENZEHRA

BA, Mentouri University Constantine, Algeria, 1998
MA, Mentouri University Constantine, Algeria, 2004

A Dissertation Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of The University of Georgia in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ATHENS, GEORGIA

2011
ARABIC-ENGLISH/ ENGLISH-ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY: A CRITICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

RADIA BENZEHRA

Approved:

Major Professor: Don R. McCreary
Committee: Francis Assaf
Fredric Dolezal

Electronic Version Approved:

Maureen Grasso
Dean of the Graduate School
The University of Georgia
August 2011
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my major professor Dr. Don R. McCreary for his unwavering support and guidance over the past three years. I am extremely grateful for the time and energy he invested in this project: his guidance and inspiration were essential to its completion. Further, I would like to recognize the important role Professor McCreary has had throughout my PhD program. He co-authored and edited many of the papers this dissertation is based on. Many of the issues reported here have been resolved through long discussions and collaborative research.

I would like to extend my appreciation to my committee members, Dr. Francis Assaf and Dr. Fredric Dolezal, for their time and patience with this work. I benefited immensely from their assistance and feedback.

I am greatly indebted to the Fulbright Program, which funded my doctoral studies at the University of Georgia. My Fulbright scholarship (2008-2011) will remain a genuine highlight in my life.

I would like to thank all my professors at the University of Georgia with whom I have had the privilege of studying. It is hard for me to express in words my gratitude to all staff members, and fellow graduate students in the Linguistics program who helped me in innumerable ways in the course of my studies at the University of Georgia. To all of them – Thank you!

I would like to acknowledge the contribution from my best friends who have prompted me to sometimes step back from work in order to relax and find joy and happiness in life.
Lastly, my heartfelt thanks go out to my family, especially my parents Kamel and Yamina, for all the warmth and support they have provided over the years: I owe you very much!
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</strong></td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>LIST OF TABLES</strong></td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>LIST OF FIGURES</strong></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>CHAPTER</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td><strong>INTRODUCTION</strong></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1 Bilingual Dictionary Types</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2 Rising Interest in Arabic</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.3 Intended Audience of the Dictionary</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.4 The Need for More Research on English-Arabic lexicography</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.5 The Triglossic Situation in the Arab World</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.6 Standardization and Terminology Issues in the Arab World</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.7 Criticism of the Microstructure</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.8 Aims of the Research</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.9 Limitations of the Present Research</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.10 Statement of the Research Questions</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.11 Hypotheses</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.12 Method</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.13 Conclusion</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 MONOLINGUAL ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY AND ITS BILINGUAL COUNTERPART ............................................................... 20
   2.1 The Arabic Language, Religion, and Arabic Lexicography .......................................................... 22
   2.2 Bedouin Arabic, the Dialects of Arabic, and Arabic Lexicography .......................................................... 37
   2.3 Linguistic Policies, Lexical Innovations and Loanwords: More Evidence of Conservatism in the Arab World ...................................................................................................... 44
   2.4 Conclusion ................................................................................................................................................. 65
3 MACRO- AND MICROSTRUCTURAL ISSUES IN MONOLINGUAL ARABIC DICTIONARIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON MODERN ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY ................................................................................................................. 67
   3.1 The Rise of Arabic Lexicography .............................................................................................................. 69
   3.2 Important Notes on the Vowel System and the Arabic Alphabet .......................................................... 79
   3.3 Seminal Dictionaries in the History of Arabic Lexicography .................................................................. 89
   3.4 Classical Arabic Dictionaries as the Basis of ‘Early’ Bilingual Lexicons and ‘Modern’ Monolingual Arabic Dictionaries ...................................................................................................... 105
   3.5 Conclusion ................................................................................................................................................. 116
4 A REVIEW OF THE METALEXICOGRAPHY OF BILINGUAL ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY, INCLUDING FRENCH-ARABIC DICTIONARIES ......................................................................................................................... 121
   4.1 French-Arabic Lexicography: History and State of the Art ................................................................. 123
   4.2 English-Arabic Metalexicography .......................................................................................................... 144
   4.3 Conclusion ................................................................................................................................................. 179
5 ARABIC-ENGLISH/ ENGLISH-ARABIC DICTIONARIES: MACRO- AND MICROSTRUCTURAL HIGHLIGHTS ...................................................................................................................................... 184
5.1 Classification of Bilingual Arabic Dictionaries ........................................... 185
5.2 The most Important Landmarks in the History of English-Arabic/Arabic-
   English Lexicography .................................................................................. 191
5.3 Microstructural Issues in English-Arabic Lexicography ................................. 271

6 CONCLUSION .................................................................................................... 306
   6.1 Will Traditions in Arabic Lexicography Continue to Influence Lexicographic
       Practices for Bilingual Arabic Dictionaries? .............................................. 306
   6.2 Towards a Standardization of the Arabic Vernaculars? ......................... 311

REFERENCES .................................................................................................. 317

DICTIONARIES ............................................................................................... 334
LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Transcriptions as used in the research ................................................................. 10
Table 3.2: The Abjadi order .................................................................................................... 83
Table 3.3: The normal alphabetical order .............................................................................. 85
Table 3.4: Al-Khalil’s phonological order and modern phonetic descriptions ...................... 87
Table 4.5: Multiplicity of Arabic equivalents for the English concept ‘ambivalence’ across books and dictionaries ........................................................................................................... 146
Table 5.6: Side by side comparison of Stem Forms in Hans Wehr’s and Elias’ Arabic-English dictionaries .......................................................................................................................... 233
Table 5.7: Collocational information for madda ‘extend’ in Han Wehr’s A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1961) and Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English dictionary (1988) ............ 245
Table 5.8: An outline of the three major macrostructural patterns in Arabic-English dictionaries 263
Table 5.9: List of typographies in Elias’, Hans Wehr’s, and Baalbaki’s dictionaries ..........267-8
Table 5.10: Typographies used in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009) and the OEAD (1972) ....... 287
Table 5.11: Overall percentages of sense discriminators and examples in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009) .............................................................................................................................. 298
Table 5.12: Overall percentages of sense discriminators and examples in the OEAD (1972) ... 298
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>A typical entry in an Arabic glossary (Versteegh 1997:26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>Lexical gaps: Dutch/English-Arabic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>An example of a classified selection of illustrations appearing in the text of Elias’ Arabic-English dictionary (1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>The entry for rabiḥa in Elias’ Arabic-English dictionary (1994)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>An example entry from Sharoni’s Arabic-Hebrew dictionary (1987)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>The entry for rabiḥa in <em>A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</em> (1979)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>An example entry from Al-Mawrid(2001) and Hans Wehr’s (1979) Arabic-English Dictionaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>Lack of syntactic information in Al-Mawrid (2001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>Hans Wehr’s entry for the noun <em>ictiqa:d</em> ‘belief’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10</td>
<td>Al-Mawrid’s (2001) entry for daraba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.11</td>
<td>The entry for ‘Affect’ in the OEAD (1972)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.13</td>
<td>Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth’s entry for ‘Scuttle’ translated into English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.14</td>
<td>Etymological information in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.15</td>
<td>The entry for ‘Affect’ in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009) translated into English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.16</td>
<td>A suggested prototypical entry for ‘Affect’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.17</td>
<td>The first part of the entry for ‘Affection’ in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figure 5.18: Part of the entry for ‘Affection’ in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009)..........................293
Figure 5.19: The entry for ‘Break out’ in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009).................................294
Figure 5.20: The entry for ‘Affect’ in the OEAD (1972), Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009), The Arabic Practical Dictionary (2004), and The Oxford Essential Arabic Dictionary (2010) ........300
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Bilingual lexicography is a complex undertaking involving knowledge of linguistics, translation, anthropology and sociolinguistics. In fact, bilingual lexicography covers an immense terrain and is based on an extensive linguistic knowledge. The success of a bilingual dictionary largely depends on the selection of those who are going to contribute as bilingual lexicographers. The latter must be native speakers of at least one of the languages involved, preferably the target language for an acceptable and reliable coverage of connotations, collocations and idiomatic expressions. However, in the case of Arabic, native speakers in the strict sense of the word do not exist. In fact, Modern Standard Arabic (MSA henceforth) is nobody’s mother tongue. Any speaker of Arabic is raised in one of the numerous dialects that exist in the Arab world before his first day of school. MSA is taught at schools and it is a language appropriate to more or less formal situations only. Consequently, the diglossic situation of the Arab world contributed to the development of Arabic lexicography. The bilingual dictionaries available on the market are increasingly numerous and they vary as to their perspective and presentation.

1.1 Bilingual Dictionary Types

One could say that there are five main categories of bilingual dictionaries:

1. Unabridged (450,000 – 600,000 entries),
2. Intermediate or semi – Abridged (250,000 – 300,000 entries),
3. College (150,000 – 170,000 entries),
4. Desk (60,000 – 100,000 entries), and
5. Paperback or Pocket (40,000 – 60,000 entries).
Actually, bilingual dictionaries have always had a bad reputation. For example, some English-Arabic dictionaries represent scientific or technical terminology, but most of these specialized dictionaries are vocabulary lists only, i.e., without grammatical information or illustrative examples, or they are like encyclopaedic works containing explanations about the terms and concepts. Pocket bilingual dictionaries, while easy to use, do not escape criticism as they just give one or more translation equivalents without further specification. Dictionaries in which very little consideration is given to fundamentals such as meaning discrimination, collocational restrictions, and cultural specificities cannot be said to be helpful means for someone who wants to express himself in the foreign language. Dictionaries which do not guarantee a good coverage of the vocabulary of both languages cannot serve learners of the target language sufficiently.

1.2 Rising Interest in Arabic

The 2002 statistics on enrollments in foreign languages in US institutions of higher education show that ‘enrollments in Arabic were relatively stable during the 1980s; however, since 1995 they have shown rapid growth, particularly between 1998 and 2002, almost doubling (from 5,505 to 10,584)’ (Welles 2004:14). Arabic is among the fifteen most commonly taught languages in the US, hence the pressing need for dictionaries designed for English-speaking users as the target group. In this research we will examine whether sufficient attention is paid to the characteristics of active dictionaries, i.e., dictionaries for production, in a set of Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries. This type of dictionary has been neglected for so long as will be shown in the present work. The literature points to the fact that most of the Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries that were available in the 20th century aimed at the Arab user. The suitability of these dictionaries for encoding Arab users will be similarly investigated.
1.3 Intended Audience of the Dictionary

It should be pointed out the art of dictionary making is mainly based on the purpose or purposes the lexicographer intends to fulfil. In other words, a good editor of a dictionary must shape his work towards particular goals, depending upon the set of users that he has in mind. When compiling a bilingual dictionary we should take into account the difference between:

1. Dictionaries for the speakers of the source language vs. dictionaries for the speakers of the target language.
2. Dictionaries for production vs. dictionaries for comprehension.

Hence, bilingual dictionaries can be diversified as to their purpose or function. A dictionary may be aimed at native speakers of the source language; for instance an English-Arabic dictionary for speakers of English. It is then an instrument to produce texts in Arabic, the target language. So it is a dictionary for production, or a so-called active dictionary. It should contain information that enables the user to write or speak grammatically and stylistically correct in the foreign language. An active dictionary is also supposed to cater to the needs of translators who need assistance when they wish to translate from English into Arabic.

On the other hand, an English-Arabic dictionary may also be aimed at learners of the source language, for instance, an English-Arabic dictionary for Arabs. They use the dictionary to comprehend English texts; it is then a dictionary for comprehension, or a so-called passive dictionary. In this case it should contain information that enables the user to read and understand texts spoken or written in the foreign language. So compilers of bilingual dictionaries need to take into account a clearly defined target group in order to take the right decisions about the structure of their work. Some bilingual dictionaries are bi-directional, i.e., they may be used in both directions for purposes of production and comprehension. The main argument for this dual functionality is that both volumes should be useful for users with both English and Arabic
linguistic backgrounds. It may also be that the decision to combine both volumes of the
dictionary is due to the market limitations in the Arab world. The present work attempts to
explain why bi-directional compact Arabic dictionaries are popular among dictionary users.

1.4 The Need for More Research on English-Arabic Lexicography

The category of English-Arabic dictionaries includes the largest number of dictionaries
and has been served by both Arab and non-Arab lexicographers with the two groups sometimes
joining forces to produce single dictionaries. However, there is more research that addresses
Arabic-English lexicography than its counterpart English-Arabic lexicography (Abu-Ssaydeh
2008). When building up our bibliography, not only was it hard to find papers directly related to
English-Arabic dictionaries, but rarely did we find studies dedicated to the structural features of
bilingual dictionaries for Arab users, and especially for English-speaking users. According to
Holes, ‘…introductions to actual dictionaries rarely spell out that native English speakers need
the dictionary not to understand English but to find an equivalent in Arabic for an English
expression whose meaning they already know’ (1992:162). Some dictionaries, such as Al-
Mawrid are even silent about the target audience and the purpose it serves (Heliel 2002). Most
authors are dismayed by the condition of bilingual Arabic lexicography. Al-Ajmi states that
‘Bilingual lexicography in the Arab world is suffering from a lack of guided practice and is in
dire need of radical changes in both design and approach’ (2002:119).

In an attempt to explain the shortage of bilingual dictionaries – including specialized ones
revision and frequent updating, as well as reluctance to adopt established lexicographical
techniques used in western dictionaries, mean that Arabic-foreign language dictionaries have a
long way to go.’ Most recently, Jneid (2007) reports that there are no active bilingual dictionaries which could serve the Arab users. Hafiz claims that the Arabic-English dictionaries, such as Al-Mawrid, Elias and Hans Wehr ‘suffer from more or less the same lexicographic problems, some of which could easily be avoided but no Arabic-English lexicographer seems willing to take the first step’ (1995:406). We can also see some categorical statements, such as English-Arabic dictionaries are inadequate tools for translation or comprehension of English texts (Al-Besbasi 1991 and Al-Ajmi 1992). Haywood notices that those features of bilingual dictionaries which might well help Arab users are liable to irritate and even mislead English-speaking users, ‘but this is the inevitable result of trying to cater for both types of user’ (1991:3092). Such separation of goals proves problematic and difficult to achieve for reasons we would like to understand in the literature review sections of the dissertation.

1.5 The Triglossic Situation in the Arab World

The twenty-three countries in which Arabic is the official language (or is one of the official languages) are triglossic speech communities, i.e. communities in which three varieties of Arabic exist side by side. There are three graded non-discrete varieties of Arabic: Modern Standard Arabic (MSA), Classical Arabic (CA), and the colloquial varieties spoken in different Arab countries. It is important to mention here that the division varies greatly in the literature; ‘literary Arabic’, ‘oral literary Arabic’, and ‘Modern Written Arabic’ are very common labels assigned to the different varieties of Arabic, to name a few. The three most common labels agreed upon are: CA, MSA – which is the only official and national language in most Arabic-speaking countries – in addition to the different vernaculars or dialects of Arabic, such as Algerian Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian Colloquial Arabic or Lebanese Colloquial Arabic, etc. Any
other terms used to describe Arabic should be seen as intermediate levels that emerged in response to inevitable linguistic processes, such as koineization and leveling. Colloquialism in Arabic is associated with the use of one of the different vernaculars spoken in the Arab world. The vernaculars vary across the Arab World and differ from MSA in grammar, syntax and vocabulary. They are also characterized by highly marked phonological differences; there is a variable tendency for the performance of MSA to reflect the phonology of the speaker’s dialect. Arabs are fluent in at least one vernacular form of Arabic (their mother tongue), and they understand a wide range of others.

For a long time, it has been assumed that MSA is the language of all ‘printed’ forms of the word, such as newspapers, books, and journals, and that it is the language of public speaking and news broadcasts. The vernaculars, on the other hand, are usually associated with the spoken forms used in informal contexts for everyday purposes. Today, however, the two varieties of Arabic should not be considered as separate phenomena, with each variety being exclusively reserved to one context or the other. Educated speakers of Arabic, for example, do perform elaborate feats of code-switching, as they shift their register between MSA and the vernacular spoken in their respective countries. The result is that the Arabic language is today characterized by mixed styles, and that some emergent varieties of Arabic, such as Educated Spoken Arabic (ESA), draw upon both MSA and colloquial Arabic. Many linguists lean towards the view that MSA is not modernized enough to adequately express the advances that shape Arabic-speakers’ lives; although the possibility that educated speakers do not have a full mastery of MSA is another legitimate explanation (Ibrahim 2009). A number of questions spring to mind: Can we then assume that there is one ‘written’ form of MSA common to all Arabs? What is the structure of ESA, and what are the discourse functions which govern its occurrence? Research is needed in
order to establish the rules that govern the mixing, but the possibility that the mixed varieties of Arabic can be heavily influenced by personal and regional factors renders their codification in Arabic dictionaries problematic. Hoogland predicts that ‘given the fact that written forms of the dialects are becoming increasingly more common, this kind of mixed dictionary containing more than one variety of Arabic might become more widespread in the future’ (2008:27).

In the light of the ongoing divergence between the written and spoken forms of MSA, linguists apprehend the future of MSA. Miller admits that ‘urban vernaculars are more and more used in official spoken contexts as well as in writing (novels, plays, advertising, internet, SMS, etc.)’ (2007:19-20). Badawi, Carter, and Gully, on the other hand, state that ‘it is far too early to tell whether Modern Written Arabic (MWA) will ever break up into discrete languages reflecting the extreme variations in the spoken forms…’ (2004:2). Whereas CA remains a stabilized version of Arabic, MSA is in a perpetual state of flux, and for the time being, it remains the most ill-defined variety of Arabic in spite of its official/national status in most Arab countries.

Important to state is that CA is modeled on the language of the Qur’an, but the Ḥadith, pre-Islamic poetry and Bedouin Arabic also played a vital role as sources of the high variety of Arabic. Qur’anic Arabic ‘is similar to the Koine used by the poets of the age, the lingua franca of its time, but cannot be equated with it, as the Koran, is in every respect, unique’ (Glasse 2008:58). Because the Qur’an is a powerful symbol in the Arab world, CA is regarded as the purest and most prestigious form of Arabic. Koranic Arabic is today a sacred language used only for reading the holy book and for prayer. Classical Arabic, as established by the usages found in the Koran and the Ḥadith, is still used for composing books. It is also retained with a very restricted and modified vocabulary, for journalism, broadcasting, conferences, and so forth. The present work thoroughly examines the traditionalist attitude that is still prevalent in Arabic
circles: the supremacy of CA, and how this has affected the writing of monolingual and subsequent bilingual Arabic dictionaries.

1.6 Standardization and Terminology Issues in the Arab World

One problem facing lexicographers working on Arabic is the duplication, rather than the total absence, of certain technical and general terms as well. The triglossic situation outlined above has most certainly contributed to the current state of affairs, but a word has to be said about the language academies responsible for the standardization of new Arabic terms in the Arab world. According to Baker, ‘For several decades, language academies in the Arab world have attempted to standardize terminology by setting strict rules for the creation of new terms and by publishing glossaries of recommended specialized vocabulary’ (1987:186). The first language academy in the Arab world was established in Damascus in 1919. Other language academies were subsequently set up in different Arab countries - Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Morocco. Emery argues; ‘This proliferation of institutions reflected a major problem in terminology creation in the Arab world - duplication of effort and a consequent lack of uniformity’ (1983:85).

The uncoordinated work of the language academies in the Arab world is certainly responsible for the present chaotic situation. Al-Kasimi states; ‘…almost all the problems of technical terminology in Arabic lexicography can be attributed to a lack of coordination of efforts in this field’ (1979:118). The lack of coordination can be driven by the tendency of each academy to promote its own linguistic variety. Al-Kasimi claims that even if all scientific terms are coined in Modern Standard Arabic ‘….a scientific publication written in Iraq cannot be easily understood by Moroccan scholars in the same field. In other words, there is no standard
terminology in the Arab world’ (1979:112). We have to draw the readers’ attention to a very important fact; Arabs speak different linguistic varieties depending on the part of the country they come from. In Algeria alone there are many spoken varieties, mutually intelligible to a certain extent. In fact, Arabs living in the same country may experience moments of unintelligibility due to semantic and/ or phonetic variations. Colloquial words change their meaning and even pronunciation. The multiplicity of Arabic dialects does not make standardization easy. Accordingly, a whole section will be devoted to discussing the problems of standardizing Arabic terminology and the important role Arabic dictionaries play as regards this matter.

The table below shows the IPA phonetic symbols assigned to the Arabic letters in the present work:
Table 1: Transcriptions as used in the present research

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Abjad</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
<td>'</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>[ʒ]/[dʒ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ـهـ</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>[z]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>ḥ</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ط</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[t̪]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ي</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ل</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>[ʔˤ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ف</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>[f]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ص</td>
<td>s̱</td>
<td>[s̱]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ق</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>[r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>sh</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>[θ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>[ð]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ض</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>[ḍ], [ð]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ظ</td>
<td>ẓ</td>
<td>[ẓ], [ð]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غ</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>[ɣ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Vowels**

| Long vowel [a] | a: |
| Long vowel [i] | i: |
| Long vowel [u] | u: |

Note that in case of gemination, the IPA symbol will be written twice.
1.7 Criticism of the Microstructure

It is our belief that dictionary accounts provide lexicographers with insights on how to improve Arabic bilingual dictionaries to serve the different users. With the exception of the few reviews published in some journals, scholarly articles on the microstructure of bilingual dictionaries for a specific category of users could be counted on the fingers of one hand. At the risk of being repetitive, the research currently conducted in the field indicates a need for more bilingual dictionaries written with a specific category of users in mind. Al-Ajmi notes that the way information is organized in a dictionary entry plays a significant role in the success rates of dictionary use which ‘should lead researchers to focus on the structural features of the bilingual dictionary and try to pinpoint those aspects of its macro- and microstructure that adversely affect the success rate in its use’ (2002:123).

A very important part of the dissertation consists of an examination of sample entries from different dictionaries. The aim is to turn the spotlight on the problematic aspects of bilingual Arabic dictionaries from the English-speaking and Arabic-speaking learners’ perspectives. As argued earlier, research on English-Arabic dictionaries for learners of the target language is virtually nonexistent. According to Heliel, ‘ideally speaking, entries in an Arabic-English translation dictionary should be carefully chosen so as to provide an accurate and idiomatic picture of English and Arabic as they are used today’ (2002:55). Upon examining a few entries in some English-Arabic and Arabic-English dictionaries in a study on the use of dictionaries in translation, Al-Besbasi reports the existence of conflicting information in those dictionaries (Al-Mawrid, Hans Wehr and Oxford) and argues that ‘…the discrepancies between the equivalents they provide seem to be a matter of the compilers’ personal opinion, although the effect of such discrepancies on the subjects’ search for and choice of equivalent was clearly
obvious’ (1991:171). Hafiz, in a critical account of Hans Wehr, also concludes that ‘One cannot enumerate all the problems in HW, or any other Arabic-English dictionary, which hinder the reference process of the user, and more specifically the translator’ (1995:423). The author calls for a new type of a user-based dictionary specifically designed for translators. Heliel mentions a very important fact about three unabridged bilingual dictionaries (Modern Written Arabic 1961, Al-Mawrid 1988 and Al-Mughni 1999): ‘though none of the compilers thinks of “translator” as a category of users, the three dictionaries, in the absence of an Arabic-English dictionary specially tailored for translators, are the only tools available for Arabic-English translators, whether native or non-native speakers’ (2002:55).

Arab users themselves are aware of the limitations of English-Arabic dictionaries, as their comments reveal: ‘Subjects were particularly aware of the English/Arabic bilingual dictionaries’ tendencies to paraphrase and transliterate instead of offering equivalents, and the provision of items which lack the contextual connotations of the source-text items in question’ (Al-Besbasi 1991:177). Needless to say, explanatory equivalents are not useful for translators who consult the dictionary in search of insertable lexical items. There is another important feature, which, according to Kharma (1984), is hardly ever found in any English-Arabic dictionary. This feature has to do with the collocational range of equivalents. Kharma states this important fact, which is repeatedly referred to in the literature on translation: ‘…quite often the collocation of the lexical item with other special types of items changes the Arabic equivalent considerably’ (1984:204). Most recently, Abu-Ssaydeh (2008) suggests that collocations can be used more effectively to improve dictionaries rather than just clarify senses in Arabic-English dictionaries. The present work highlights all microstructural issues in the dictionaries under investigation.
1.8 Aims of the Research

The present research is an attempt at contributing to a better understanding of the problems of Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries, and helping lexicographers write better dictionaries for a category of users eagerly awaiting dictionaries that will assist them when learning ‘Modern Standard Arabic’. It is important to mention that the present research offers a unique collection of articles, books, and dissertations on monolingual and bilingual Arabic lexicography. With more than a hundred references, it is one of the largest most comprehensive bibliographies on this topic. Once published, the bibliography can serve as a guide for lexicographers interested in this area of research.

A critical evaluation of the Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries available on the market would show where there are serious inconsistencies and shortcomings that will have to be improved upon. Such an evaluation would help us give much insight into what this particular type of dictionary might become in the future with emphasis on the distinct needs of English-speaking users and Arabic-speaking users for either decoding or encoding purposes.

1.9 Limitations of the Present Research

The dissertation reviews the research that has been carried out so far in the field of bilingual Arabic-English/English-Arabic lexicography. Note, however, that it is impossible even within the scope of a dissertation to cover the treatment of all types of English-Arabic dictionaries in detail; hence the focus will be mainly on general bilingual dictionaries. Specialized and colloquial bilingual dictionaries might be referred to in the discussion but their analysis goes beyond the scope of this research. Due to the scarcity of research in the field of our
interest, we will refer to other dictionaries, such as French-Arabic dictionaries, to learn more about the advances and the challenges that face bilingual Arabic lexicography in general.

1.10 Statement of the Research Questions

The research questions we are interested in can be formulated as follows:

1. What is the relationship between early monolingual and bilingual Arabic dictionaries and contemporary English-Arabic dictionaries? Has monolingual Arabic lexicography had any effects on the writing of English-Arabic dictionaries?

2. To what extent are the Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries available on the market useful for active users?

3. What is the nature of their shortcomings? And what are their strengths?

The first question requires an extensive examination of the history of monolingual Arabic lexicography. We will sketch the development of the discipline and identify parallels with the current lexicographic practices in English-Arabic dictionaries. To answer questions (2) and (3), it is important to apply a set of criteria in order to evaluate the selected bilingual dictionaries. Such criteria offer an instrument to evaluate the dictionaries according to the needs of the intended users. The following criteria can be listed:

- The quantity of information, i.e., the number of entries and the number of equivalents. It can be argued that an active dictionary should cover as best as possible the meanings of the lexical units. It is true, however, that no entry could possibly list every potential use of each equivalent except for a few rare words.

- The quality of information: It is this point that will be emphasized. We would like to know:
1. Whether sufficient information is provided to enable active users to identify differences in meaning and use.

2. Whether the dictionaries contain a substantial number of examples presenting the entries in context.

3. Whether examples are presented in sentences, followed by their translations using natural language, not literal translations.

4. Whether the bilingual dictionaries contain sufficient collocations of entries in English with equivalent translations in Arabic. Words tend to go together and make meanings by their combinations. Because of the unpredictability of these combinations, the user, being a translator or a learner, absolutely needs to find this information in the dictionary. Here we address features of idiomaticity. It is most common for a bilingual dictionary to contain collocations of the source language as a point of departure. A translation of the specific combination will then be given in the target language. But the Arabic equivalents do not necessarily have to be collocations.

5. Whether sufficient attention is paid to connotations. The latter are supplementary meanings which extend beyond the central linguistic one. Connotative meanings are open-ended according to the culture, the historical period and the individual experience.

6. Whether lexical gaps between English and Arabic are taken into account. A lexical gap refers to the fact that in one language it may be impossible to express an idea since the language lacks a word or expression for it. In case English words and expressions for which it is impossible to present Arabic equivalents exist or in the case of cultural differences, there are many options as describing the meaning of such words as an explanation or a definition or invention of a
neologism or calques. What do Arab lexicographers propose in order to cope with this phenomenon?

We should like to add that as far as Arabic-English dictionaries are concerned, arrangement patterns, such as the root-based and alphabetical patterns, will be subject to close scrutiny in order to identify the advantages and challenges of each macrostructure. The typographical systems adopted in the dictionaries under investigation will be thoroughly examined and classified in tableaux.

1.11 Hypotheses

1. Monolingual Arabic lexicography has exerted a great influence on its bilingual counterpart.

2. There is a lack of attention paid to the features required for active dictionaries for encoding. In other words, Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries are not equipped to perform to assist writers/speakers when the criteria listed earlier are applied to them.

3. English-Arabic dictionaries are mainly decoding dictionaries.

4. On the basis of our analysis, it is possible to extract the strengths of each dictionary and write prototypical remedial entries for future Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries.

1.12 Method

1.12.1 Material selected for the study

We first conducted a survey of the literature in order to determine a set of dictionaries that can rightly be considered landmarks in the history of Arabic lexicography, due to their
popularity among users and/or innovative lexicographic techniques. Our survey yielded two important results:

- The category of Arabic-English dictionaries is marked by three dictionaries:
  - Hans Wehr’s A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1979), and

- English-Arabic lexicography is marked by two important lexicographic works:
  - The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage (1972), and

Special attention will be given to bidirectional pocket dictionaries, since previous research (Benzehra and McCreary 2010) indicates the popularity of this type of dictionaries among English-Arabic dictionary users.

1.12.2 Procedure Adopted for the Analysis

a. First of all, we will examine a set of entries and identify a set of recurrent macro- and microstructural problems throughout the dictionaries under investigation.

b. Another step to be taken are across-the-board comparisons between the selected entries in the above-mentioned lexicographic works.

c. An examination of the introductions of bilingual dictionaries is also necessary. The introduction of a dictionary normally contains information about the aim of the dictionary, the macro- and microstructural features of the dictionary, the method of sense ordering, and the size of the dictionary as well.

d. Drawing from contrastive linguistics methodology, a set of criteria will also be used to evaluate the dictionaries in question for the target audience of Arabic learners. Without going
into details concerning these criteria, it can be stated that the general criteria are: quantity of information, quality of information, and the effectiveness of presentation; for example, we will examine the order in which the equivalents are listed and whether this has to do with frequency of use. The semantic treatment of entries will receive most of our attention.

1.13 Conclusion

The most important findings of the present research can be summarized as follows:

- The lack of meaning discrimination is one of the most critical aspects for Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionary users.
- Ample collocational information is overlooked in the dictionaries under investigation.
- The number of illustrative examples provided by the dictionaries investigated is negligible.
- Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries are characterized by the unsystematic use of usage labels that indicate dialectal and stylistic differences, coinages, or encyclopedic material.
- The inconsistencies that characterize the use of typographies, in addition to the multifunction a given symbol is assigned, largely invalidate the usefulness of the typographical systems adopted by the editors.
- Further, the cluttered page layout in these dictionaries renders the typographical systems even more confusing and difficult to follow.
- Poor phonetic treatment of the Arabic entries and suggested equivalents poses enormous challenges for English-speaking dictionary users.
- We identified differing tendencies towards the inclusion of dialectal words: Some dictionary compilers demonstrate an unflagging enthusiasm about dialectal words from different Arab countries, with a focus on Egypt. Other compilers are less enthusiastic about the Arabic vernaculars.

- The limited reference skills of dictionary users are not taken into account in all the dictionaries under scrutiny in the present work.

Therefore, Arabic-English/ English-Arabic dictionaries are passive dictionaries, mostly helpful in reading comprehension. However, they are hardly able to close the gap to the minimal requirements for a pedagogical decoding dictionary needed by beginning or intermediate learners. Truly worthwhile encoding Arabic-English/ English-Arabic reference aids can be declared non-existent. The need for pedagogical English-Arabic dictionaries is most urgent.
CHAPTER 2
MONOLINGUAL ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY AND ITS BILINGUAL COUNTERPART

The chapter offers a glimpse into the history of monolingual Arabic dictionaries published during medieval and modern times. The chapter will approach the history of monolingual Arabic lexicography with the aim of understanding the lexicographic practices and attitudes towards Arabic, with all its varieties, which can be said to have influenced bilingual dictionary compilation with the Arabic language. In his paper on major trends in Arabic lexicography, Abu-Saydeh writes that the development of Arabic lexicography is influenced by: ‘the Arab’s religious beliefs, which are essentially formed by Islam; memories and images of a distant and glorious past where empire, language and religion overlapped; the legacy of suspicion and hostility that has characterized the relations between the Arabs and the West in general, and, finally, a deep sense of unity based on a common cultural heritage of which language is probably the most apparent’ (1994:18). The chapter discusses the traditionalist attitudes, prompted by a religiously-colored motivation, which came to characterize Arabic lexicography.

Arabs consider Classical Arabic to be the purest or the most correct variety of Arabic. Classical Arabic is modeled on the language of the Qur’an, but the Ḥadith, pre-Islamic poetry and Bedouin Arabic also played a vital role as sources of the high variety of Arabic. The two other varieties of Arabic are Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) – which is the only official and national language in most Arabic-speaking countries – and the different vernaculars or dialects of Arabic. MSA is the language of all ‘printed’ forms of the word, such as newspapers, books,
and journals, and that it is the language of public speaking and news broadcasts. The vernaculars, on the other hand, are usually associated with the spoken forms used in informal contexts for everyday purposes. Because the Qur’an is a powerful symbol in the Arab world, Classical Arabic is regarded as the purest and most prestigious form of Arabic. Linguistically speaking, this view reflects a traditionalist attitude that claims the superiority of one variety over all the other existing varieties of Arabic. The supremacy of Classical Arabic is, however, sustained by many religious and historical factors that remain unquestioned throughout the Arab world. Linguistic innovations departing from this particular variety have long been banned from Arabic dictionaries, and continue to encounter resistance up to the present. Moreover, modern monolingual and bilingual dictionaries are notably nonexistent, and the most popular general dictionaries contain terms that have fallen into disuse. Heliel (2002:57) explains that the vocabulary and phraseology of Modern Arabic ‘are currently adapting themselves to new and ever-changing circumstances, but documentation of Arabic as a living language is lagging behind whether in monolingual or bilingual dictionaries.’ I will attempt to show throughout the chapter, as well as the dissertation, that far greater advances in the field of ‘modern’ Arabic lexicography will be made if a fully agreed-upon definition of the term ‘Modern Standard Arabic’ is reached, in other words, if clear cut lines are drawn between the different varieties of Arabic. The rapid functional expansion of the dialects of Arabic, and how this has affected dictionary compilation are major points that will be highlighted throughout the chapter.

Looking into the history of monolingual Arabic lexicography is an important step towards a thorough understanding of the different factors that might have had repercussions on the writing of bilingual dictionaries. Early bilingual Arabic dictionaries were derived from the most authoritative monolingual dictionaries, which again justifies the investigation of the
underlying foundations of monolingual Arabic lexicography and the factors that influenced the development of the discipline.

2.1 The Arabic Language, Religion, and Arabic Lexicography

The following section explains why Classical Arabic is widely believed to supersede all other varieties, and how the overlap between language and religion has affected monolingual Arabic lexicography in particular. Before going any further, let us first resolve some terminological issues related to the diglossic situation in the Arab world. The exact significance to be attached to the complex cover term ‘Arabic’ will be understood in the course of the argument.

2.1.1 Some Notes on ‘Arabic’

Any discussion on Arabic lexicography presupposes some basic knowledge of what the word ‘Arabic’ refers to. The term can be used to refer to Classical Arabic (henceforth CA), Modern Standard Arabic (henceforth MSA), or one of the varieties/ vernacular spoken in the Arab world. It is the language of the Qur’an that became the basis of CA. Qur’anic Arabic ‘is similar to the koine used by the poets of the age, the lingua franca of its time, but cannot be equated with it, as the Koran, is in every respect, unique’ (Glasse 2008:58). Glasse adds that;
Koranic Arabic is today a sacred language used only for reading the holy book and for prayer. So-called “Classical Arabic”, as established by the usages found in the Koran and the Hadith, is still used for composing books. It is also retained with, a very restricted and modified vocabulary, for journalism, broadcasting, conferences and so forth. The vernacular has, however, branched out into several principal dialects, mutually comprehensible for the most part as are, say, Spanish and Italian. (2008:58)

The variety associated with Arabic media and public speaking across the Arab world is commonly known as MSA. In fact, ‘the complexity of the situation actually arises from the fact that native speakers of Arabic do not distinguish between MSA and CA. For them there is only one SA [Standard Arabic]…’ (Bassiouney 2009:26). Despite the noticeable differences in vocabulary and style between CA and MSA, Arabs in North Africa and in the Levant usually indistinguishably refer to both varieties as ‘Al-Fusḥa’ (the standard).

Bassiouney (2009:208) explains that ‘some Arabs perceive themselves as belonging to a nation because they have a common colonial history, they occupy a specific geographical space, they share nostalgia for a glorious past, and they speak “Arabic”.’ Arabic, without any further specification as to which variety it refers to, is considered the most important unifying factor in the Arab world; ‘diversity, whether, economic, cultural or historical, is still dominant in the Arab world, and language seems like the safest haven for nationalists’ (Bassiouney 2009:209). As a matter of fact, the concept of a modern standard variety of Arabic is not well understood by Arabs themselves, who tend to confuse the concept with their conception of CA (Wilmsen and Osama-Youssef 2009).

MSA is never officially recognized as a separate phenomenon from CA, and ‘an aggregate picture of Arabic is prevalent’ (Bassiouney 2009:274). Moreover, since CA and MSA are not spoken languages per se, in the sense that they are not used for everyday life purposes in
the same way as English for instance, native speakers would simply say they speak Arabic, ‘but [which is] still perceived by many as a corrupted version of the same language as that of the Qur’an’ (Bassiouney 2009:274). Until recently, such a value judgment has always been attached to the colloquial varieties of Arabic. The situation, as shall be explained later, is ‘seemingly’ no longer the same thanks to the flourishing business of dialectal Arabic lexicography that is contributing to the promotion of ‘certain’ colloquial varieties of Arabic, in addition to the emergence of certain forms of Arabic in which the written and vernacular manifestations of the language are closely interwoven.

The point we should like to emphasize here is that CA is a stabilized version of Arabic, whereas MSA continues to evolve calibrating to the changes and needs of everyday life.

Hoogland (2008: 24) states the difference between both varieties as follows:

> Classical Arabic is a static language; many words have very specific meanings which are no longer current. On the other hand, Modern Standard Arabic is a language which, although evolved from Classical Arabic, is fully involved in the development of modern times, where the language is trying to cope with the need for a rapidly extending scientific and technical vocabulary.

Unfortunately, modern words that entered the Arabic language are not properly recorded in Arabic dictionaries whether monolingual or bilingual. In his paper on bilingual dictionaries, Hoogland concludes that ‘Not many dictionaries of Modern Standard Arabic have been published in recent years, especially not for speakers of Arabic’ (2008:28). The most popular English-Arabic/ Arabic-English dictionaries, such as Al-Mawrid (1988), Hans Wehr (1961), and Al-Mughni Al-Akbar (1999), abound in words that belong to CA (Abu-Ssaydeh 2008). Abu-Ssaydeh points to this problem when emphasizing the role played by collocations in differentiating between CA and MSA, and states that ‘one of the major problematic (and often
debated) areas of bilingual dictionaries in the Arab world is the fact that, quite frequently, no distinction is made between the various historical periods of the Arabic language’ (Abu-Ssaydeh 2008:16). Using the Google search engine, Abu-Ssaydeh tried to determine whether a set of words belongs to MSA or not.

The method consists in analyzing the collocational range of a set of words, and identifying frequent and less frequent combinations. A case in point would be the verb أَبْرَاقَ 'abraqa which seems to have different collocations in MSA and CA. The collocation:

أَبْرَقَتِ السَّمَاء
‘abraqa as-sama ‘u
lighten-ed the-sky
‘The sky lightened’

appears 21 times, whereas the phrases:

أَبْرَقَ وَجْهُهُ
‘abraqa wajhu-hu
brighten-ed face-his
‘His face lit up’

and:

أَبْرَقَ بِسَيْفِهِ
‘abraqa bi-sayfi-hi
brandish with-sword-his
‘He brandished his sword’

do not appear in the lexical data. Abu-Ssaydeh explains that the fact that ‘face’ and ‘sword’ do not appear to collocate with the verb 'abraqa means that the combinations belong to CA and are not part of MSA anymore. The only possible collocate in modern times is 'abraqa + sky. After examining a short list of words using this method, Abu-Ssaydeh (2008) concludes that some combinations belong to another era during which CA was dominant, and so should be part of a dictionary of Classical Arabic not a dictionary of Modern Standard Arabic. One practice in Hans
Wehr’s Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English), for example, exemplifies how the semantic changes between CA and MSA can be diffuse. Badawi, Carter, and Gully (2004:768) note that, according to the dictionary, the word نفثة naffatha in the Qur’an refers to a woman who spits upon knots for divinatory purposes, while in Modern Written Arabic, the same word denotes ‘jet plane’. The dictionary chooses to list the two meanings as separate words, which in our opinion suggests that there should be different dictionaries for each variety.

Hence, descriptive studies of MSA with particular attention to collocations are necessary (Abu-Ssaydeh 2008), ‘since it is at this level that MSA differs most sharply from its classical precursor’ (Emery 1991:63). The truth is that ‘dictionaries of classical Arabic have preserved their authority till today’ (Marzari 2006:29). An examination of the reasons for the eventual decision in favor of CA as the variety of Arabic to be codified in dictionaries reveals a combination of religious and other nonlinguistic motives which played a much more important part than any well-considered linguistic principle.

Linguistically speaking, one can draw a demarcation line between CA and MSA on the basis of comparative studies at different linguistic levels, mainly at the collocational level. It seems, however, that efforts towards creating a separate model of MSA that will be reflected in modern dictionaries, intended for a large audience willing to learn ‘contemporary’ Arabic, are rather slow. Generally speaking, Arabic dictionaries contain words and illustrative sentences from both varieties without attaching usage labels to them, such as classical or modern. Dialectal Arabic dictionaries, on the other hand, should be given credit for having been able to – clearly and successfully – sever the links with CA and MSA by creating pure dictionaries of dialectal Arabic with no reference whatsoever to either variety. Haywood (1991:3093) admits that ‘during the last 100 years numerous dictionaries devoted purely to the colloquial have appeared.’
author refers to the vernaculars as ‘spoken Arabic’, and highlights the fact that it is not unified.

Haywood claims that:

….for practical purposes, we may speak of Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, Sudan Colloquial, Iraqi Colloquial and so on; and it is on these lines that dictionaries of spoken Arabic have usually been compiled. These dialects may differ from each other in grammar, syntax and vocabulary, according to geographical and historical factors. There are also phonological differences. Certain letters may not be pronounced according to classical norms. (1991:3093)

Let us provide examples that illustrate some of the differences between MSA and a set of Arabic dialects.

A sentence, such as, **when I went to the library**, can be rendered in six different ways in MSA, Tunisian Colloquial Arabic (TCA), Egyptian Colloquial Arabic (ECA), Lebanese Colloquial Arabic (LCA), Iraqi Colloquial Arabic (ICA), and Saudi Colloquial Arabic (SCA) as follows (Bassiouney 2009:24):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adv</th>
<th>v 1st Perf</th>
<th>prep</th>
<th>det-n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘when’</td>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>‘to’</td>
<td>‘the library’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MSA</td>
<td>ʾindama</td>
<td>dhahabtu</td>
<td>ʾila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TCA</td>
<td>waqtalli</td>
<td>mshi:t</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECA</td>
<td>lamma</td>
<td>ruht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LCA</td>
<td>lamma</td>
<td>rehit</td>
<td>ʾ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICA</td>
<td>lamman</td>
<td>rihit</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCA</td>
<td>hi:n</td>
<td>reht</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bassiouney (2009:24) comments that the adverb ‘when’ is lexically different in most varieties. Similarly, the preposition ‘to’ is realized differently in four varieties, and is absent in ECA and SCA. In addition to being lexically different in some varieties, the verb ‘to go’ is phonologically
different in all varieties from MSA. Bassiouney adds that the phonological differences are prominent in the realization of the noun ‘library’ with the definite article. In her book, Bassiouney provides a myriad of examples to illustrate how the different colloquial varieties of Arabic depart from the standard variety, and how they differ from each other at different linguistic levels. What adds to the complexity of the issue is the fact that regional variations reflect themselves in MSA.

Dialectal variations affect the pronunciation and vocabulary of the standard variety itself as argued by Al-Kasimi: ‘differences or variations in literary Arabic show themselves at all levels: in phonology, grammar and lexicology […]. Intonation and pronunciation of a Moroccan radio announcer are consistently different from those of an Iraqi reading the same news item’ (1979:114). The variation extends to the choice of vocabulary items. In fact, the lexical variation in Standard Arabic results in a very complex situation;

When an Egyptian scientist coins a term or translates a foreign technical term he may choose an Arabic word well-known in Egypt, whereas an Algerian scientist might translate the same foreign term by a different word taken from literary Arabic as used in Algeria. Thus we could end up with two different terms and also the possibility that an Algerian reader may not comprehend what an Egyptian writer is talking about, and vice versa. (Al-Kasimi 1979:114)

This might explain to some extent why MSA dictionaries remain torn between the inclusion and noninclusion of words from the colloquial varieties. This inclusion of colloquial expressions might actually be a good strategy in translation; a practice that mostly aims at achieving pragmatic equivalence.

Abu-Ssaydeh (2006) analyzes the strategies lexicographers use when dealing with multi-word units. One of the strategies consists in giving colloquial equivalents, which usually appear between inverted commas, to the English units. Abu-Ssaydeh (2006:361) claims that ‘it must be
admitted that, in certain cases at least, the colloquial expression lent so much life to the meaning that the author decided to use it.’ Any native speaker of Arabic would recognize that expressions, such as غاب القط إلعب يا فار (when the cat is away, the mice will play), or طريق تودي ما تجيب (I am glad to see his back), usually appear in the speech of Arabs from the Middle East. The same expressions are used in North Africa with phonological and lexical adaptations. The use of colloquial expressions can be seen as a strategy that aims at maintaining the stylistic effect of the source language expressions in Arabic. While this method can be acceptable when translating idioms or other fixed expressions, as long as the register is indicated, it might not pass unnoticed when adopted in the translation of common words.


- mouse; rat فار، فار (حيوان) (hayawa:n fa:r, fa:r)
  (animal) mouse (dialectal word), mouse (Standard word)

Two words for ‘mouse’ appear in Arabic; one (fa:r) that belongs to MSA and the other (fa:r) is the colloquial form of the same word. The way the information is presented suggests that the first word is equivalent to ‘mouse’, while the second word means ‘rat’, especially if dictionary users are not familiar with the use of commas and semicolons. Similarly, the Oxford English-Arabic dictionary of Current Usage (1972) suggests some words from the dialects spoken in the Gulf and Egypt without any indication of the dialectal variety. For example, the word عجلة ‘ajala is presented as an equivalent to ‘bicycle’. This Arabic word, in most North African countries means ‘wheel’. If colloquialisms are admitted in the dictionary there should be at least specific labels for them.

It is true that there is some shared vocabulary between MSA and the different ‘oral’ varieties spoken in different Arab countries, but many colloquial words have found their way
into the Standard variety spoken in one geographical area, while they remain unknown for
speakers from other areas. Hence, the question regarding the vernacular to be included or
excluded from a dictionary has become another pertinent issue in dictionary compilation
involving Arabic. We shall come back to this point when discussing issues related to the
standardization process of terminology in the Arab world. As far as bilingual dictionaries are
concerned, part of the inconsistencies in the dictionaries policy is due to the inclusion of words
from different varieties without even specifying the origin of the selected words or the
geographical areas in which they appear to be used. The choice of terms belonging to one
specific vernacular may reflect the editor’s origin or his own personal preference.

One can argue that dialectal Arabic lexicography stands on its own feet, and is
contributing to the continuous standardization process of a number of Arabic vernaculars. It is
important to mention that this view is not necessarily shared by all linguists. According to Miller,
in the Arab world, ‘a certain degree of codification and functional extension of the main Arabic
vernaculars has occurred, but without official acceptance and institutionalization and often with
denial’ (2007:19). But Miller herself recognizes a very important fact which is that ‘urban
vernaculars are more and more used in official spoken contexts as well as in writing (novels,
plays, advertising, internet, SMS, etc.)’ (2007:19-20). As the Arabic vernaculars, whether urban
or rural, continue to develop, one major problem will soon be facing this trend in lexicography.
The concept of prestige attached to CA will affect the non-standard varieties of Arabic as well.
Bassiouney notes that many studies have shown the existence of a prestige variety of the
vernaculars spoken in one country, ‘the identity of which depends on many geographical,
political and social factors within each country, and which may in certain circumstances
influence speech’ (2009:18). Egyptian Cairene Arabic, for example, is the prestigious variety in
Egypt for non-Cairenes. The latter may feel obligated, under certain circumstances, to switch to the variety spoken in Cairo. A different situation reigns in Libya, for instance. Pereira explains that when Muammar Gadafi took power in 1969, ‘there were large scale population movements and the settling of peasants in Tripoli so that the urban population consisted predominantly of former country dwellers and Bedouins’ (2007: 92). The result is that those who hold political and economic power in Libya are of Bedouin origin and that the ‘present day TA [Tripoli Arabic] dialect is more of a Bedouin type dialect’ (Pereira 2007:83). Pereira argues that the regime’s present rhetoric on ‘Bedouin legitimacy’ and the discourse emphasizing the values of Bedouin ethics have had an influence on Libyans’ use of their own regional dialects.

Hence, prestige is not necessarily associated with the vernacular spoken in the capital or big cities. Lexicographers would have to specify which regional or even district dialect among all the dialects spoken in the selected Arab country is codified in their dictionaries. Within the current complex situation emerges the necessity of creating dictionaries that represent the language that is mostly used as a shared means of communication, which, in our opinion, is none but MSA. By no means is such a task easy as MSA dictionaries have a long way to go in the light of the controversial attitudes as to what constitutes ‘good’, ‘pure’, ‘correct’, or – at least – ‘modern’ Arabic.

At the end of this section, it is important to mention that MSA does not suffer from some sort of linguistic malfunction that renders its use difficult, inappropriate or inefficient for the increasing needs of modern times. In Abdul Sahib’s words; ‘the changes in the religious, social and cultural life of the hitherto mainly nomadic society constituted a crucial test of the powers and potential of the language, a test which Arabic clearly proved to be highly qualified to stand’ (1987:24). The problem lies in the lack of agreement as to which terms should or should not
enter Arabic dictionaries; a situation that has resulted in the absence of dictionaries that ‘exclusively’ represent MSA with no crossover from any other variety, unless the terms are shared and currently used, or at least understood, by the majority of native speakers.

The problematic lexicographic situation proves the overriding nature of a number of non-linguistic factors which we seek to identify in the present account. In what follows, we investigate the overlap between religion and language in the Arab world.

2.1.2 Religion and Arabic Lexicography

The point we should like to highlight at the beginning of this section is well explained in Bassiouney’s account on Arabic. Bassiouney enlightens Western readers with a very important fact: ‘in the Arab world, unlike the west, religion is usually not seen as a matter of individual choice, but as a matter of family and group affiliation; one is born a Muslim, a Jew or a Christian, and that fact becomes almost similar to one’s ethnicity’ (2009:105). Hence, it is almost impossible to change one’s religion. Bassiouney adds: ‘It is not only that changing one’s religion is perceived as a serious misdemeanor, but also that the convert is seen as rejecting the existing social order, tradition and family obligations’ (2009:105). The primordial nature of religion manifests itself, among other things, in the value attached to the Qur’an and Qur’anic Arabic itself. Muslims all around the world, even non-Arabic speaking Muslims, keep ‘the’ Arabic version of the book in their houses. The book itself is highly valued and cannot be touched unless one has practiced the ablution (a religious rite that consists of washing body parts).

The effects of the religious factor have spread to all spheres of cultural activity in the Arab world. According to Kopf, ‘quotations from the Qur’an and the sayings of the prophet pervade all branches of Arabic literature, and, just as in medieval Europe, Muslim scientists and
scholars felt bound, or were forced by circumstances, to adjust their theories to religious teaching’ (1976:19). It comes as no surprise then that the religious factor played a decisive role in the writing of monolingual Arabic dictionaries (see Seidensticker 2008:36). The Qur’an and the Hadith played a vital role as sources of Arabic lexicography and grammar as well. Kopf notes that:

Although the Hadith was declared unfit for grammatical research in the first centuries of Islam, lexicography drew on it extensively from the very outset, since its aim was not so much to establish linguistic norms as to explain the language and especially the classics of Arabic literature. (1976:19)

The reason why the Hadith had been thought unfit for grammatical investigations during the first centuries of Arabic philology was due to the doubt surrounding the originality and exactness of the transmitted prophetic tradition, and therefore did not fit with the prescriptive attitudes predominant at that time: oral tradition had not been transmitted exactly in its original wording but rather according to its sense (Kopf 1976).

The early lexicographers’ attitude towards the Hadith was not clearly defined; ‘on the one hand, certain forms occurring only in the oral traditions were flatly rejected, while, on the other hand, the Hadith was sometimes relied upon, even by lexicographers, exactly for establishing the correct form of words’ (Kopf 1976:37). Overall, however, the Hadith – in the same way as the Qur’an – was used for establishing the meanings of words. Carter argues that it is usually necessary to refer to real objects to know the meaning of a word, but ‘it might even be supposed that Islam itself provided the cognitive basis for the semantics of Arabic’ (1990:116). One has to understand that the different connotations associated with a given word in a Qur’anic text cannot be interpreted by simply looking at the co-text, but a theological (also cultural) background is needed to understand the exact meaning or what the words refer to in the extralinguistic world.
Badawi (2002) mentions the word *mathal* which translates in English as; ‘similitude’, ‘parable’, ‘case in point’, ‘model’, ‘warning’, or ‘lesson’. The word *yajzi*, for example, can mean either ‘to recompense’ or its antonym ‘to punish’. These examples illustrate how complex polysemy can be in Arabic, especially if we take Qur’anic usage into account, let alone when we consider the different schools of interpretation or *tafsir*. The numerous interpretations of the Qur’an and the Hadith in traditional exegesis resulted in a mismatch in the range of meanings associated with the same word in different monolingual Arabic dictionaries.

Badawi asserts that ‘one of the main aspects of the Qur’anic text, which has resulted in differences of opinion between commentators, are the various modes of interpretation to which a word can lend itself in various Qur’anic contexts’ (2002:113). Kopf (1976) compares some definitions in monolingual Arabic dictionaries, and found that, for example, the definition of a word as simple as *kursi* (chair) was not agreed upon. For some it meant ‘throne’, while others thought it referred to ‘God’s knowledge’. Both senses go back to a specific Qur’anic usage. Thus, different schools ascribe different interpretations to certain words, not to mention complex words whose origin and meanings are constantly debated even in modern times. We would like to mention in parentheses that there are also discrepancies between the equivalents offered in English-Arabic dictionaries (Al-Besbasi 1991); a situation that points to the existence of conflicting information in these dictionaries.

Another example from morphology is the word *ahaad* which was not accepted as the plural of *ahad* (meaning ‘no one’ when used with negative particles) because the latter is used in the Qur’an as a synonym of the word ‘God’ and, therefore, cannot have a plural form since Islam is a monotheistic religion. Within this spirit, early lexicographers have always tried to keep aloof from theological controversies by devoting themselves to the creation of religious Arabic
lexicons (Kopf 1976). Kopf reports many anecdotes that reflect the very conservative behavior prevalent among Arab scholars. Philologists in the 7th century, for example, ‘had doubts whether the collecting of ancient poetry and sayings of the Bedouins was compatible with the duty incumbent upon every educated Muslim to devote himself to the study of religious literature’ (Kopf 1976:20). Al-Assma‘i, one of the most famous early Arab philologists, even refused to explain any word in the Qur’an and Hadith to avoid interfering with traditional exegesis, and also refused to explain satiric poetry whose interpretation is involved in Qur’anic verses. Al-Assma‘i, for example, declined to confirm that ribba was used in the sense of ‘a group of persons’ because of one Qur’anic verse in which the meaning of the word, in his opinion, can be possibly derived from rab (God).

Philologists and lexicologists during medieval times seem to have held the view that:

the Holy Scriptures, and especially the Qur’an, could not be explained by purely philological means and methods and to have feared to imply non-traditional and, perhaps, unorthodox interpretations of certain passages in Qur’an and Hadith if [they] explained corresponding or related expressions in profane literature with a philologist’s knowledge of the language or according to the requirements of the context. (Kopf 1976:22)

This view was in perfect conformity with the theologians’ views. Kopf also reports that, ‘From the first centuries of Islam it is reported that certain philologists who dared to voice independent explanations of Qur’anic words were sharply rebuked by the theologians’ (1976:23). Hence, lexicologists did not dare go beyond the traditional interpretations transmitted from the oldest times of Islam. Lexicographers obviously bowed to the superseding attitude, which explains why ‘in indigenous Arabic dictionaries, we find so many unwarranted explanations of Qur’anic and Hadith words originating in traditional and even sectarian exegesis’ (Kopf 1976:24). Kopf justifies the lexicographers’ decision in what follows:
Lexicographers could not easily dismiss even doubtlessly mistaken interpretations or replace them by better ones which they might have been able to establish with professional means at their disposal. Some authors of dictionaries expressly state that, with respect to the vocabulary of the Qur’an and Hadith, they strictly adhere to the statements of the recognized authorities in these fields. (1976:24)

Undoubtedly, the religious factor has been so dominant to the extent that it played a decisive role in the development of language. Seidensticker puts it clearly; ‘the notion of the divine origin of language certainly contributed much to the conservative attitude to the Arabic language because it did not allow for language change’ (2008:36). Obviously, this had an effect on dictionaries whose role can be summarized in Carter’s words; ‘to convert language from a process to a state, an archival inventory which could be used to define what was acceptable and to retard conceptual innovation’ (1990:116). But Carter remains prudent about his claims:

> It is no criticism of Islam or the Arabs to say that their dictionaries were deliberate instruments of conservatism. That pre-Islamic Arabic should become the reference point of all exegesis was inevitable, and it is both natural and necessary that the products of pre-Islamic Bedouin rhetoric should be zealously preserved and elaborated in tandem with (but never in competition with) the sublime and inimitable language of the Qur’an. (1990:116)

The above citation draws our attention to another important fact about Arabic; that pre-Islamic or Bedouin Arabic is another important variety that falls under CA. This particular variety seems to have been extensively represented and preserved in early Arabic dictionaries, or more exactly Arabic lexicons. In fact, the practice of collecting data from Bedouin speech initiated the enterprise of Arabic lexicography which consisted in writing ‘glossaries’ rather than dictionaries as we know them today. The next section expands more on this point and on the status of the dialects of Arabic compared to Bedouin Arabic.
2.2 Bedouin Arabic, the Dialects of Arabic, and Arabic Lexicography

The interest in the Bedouin language is not accidental. It corroborates the above-mentioned conservative attitudes that came to characterize Arabic lexicography. It was believed that the tribes that resided in the remotest parts of the Arabic peninsula, and so had the least contact with the members of other speech communities, spoke the best or purest Arabic:

‘According to this theory the pure language was best preserved by those Arabs who lived in geographical seclusion, whereas frequent intercourse with foreigners was deemed to bring about a corruption of the language’ (Kopf 1976:35). There has always been an expressed sensitivity towards the use or even the recognition of some words as Arabic at all, if they were not thought to be pure. This attitude had profound effects on the Arabic language. Carter justifies the interest in Bedouin Arabic;

under pressure of rivalry from Muslims of a non-Arab background, and with the realization that Muhammad’s diction had to be interpreted through its pre-Islamic context, a knowledge of the linguistic habits of the true “Arabs” (always meaning the Bedouin Arabs) had become indispensable for the construction of an Arab-Islamic civilization. (1990:106)

It follows that the religious factor was, in part, responsible for the interest in Bedouin Arabic. The attitude towards Bedouin Arabic could be best understood in Sibawayhi’s terms. Sibawayhi was a famous grammarian and the author of the most famous book in Arabic linguistics “the Book of Sibawayhi”.

Sibawayhi held the view that ‘Arabic could be only the language and the poetry of the Bedouin, the Qur’an being the prime example of this language’ (Versteegh 1997:41). According to Versteegh, ‘in a city like Basra with its multilingual population and its patois, [Sibawayhi] must have been aware that not everybody spoke pure Arabic. …But through a process of’
idealization, not uncommon in a speech community in which there is diglossia, this language is also regarded as the mother tongue of all members of the community’ (1997:41). Thus, the attempt to document the Arabic language was highly selective, and field linguistics in the 7th century was not an attempt to record various aspects of Arabic or to investigate language variation in the Arabian Peninsula, but rather to identify the ‘pure’ words or structures amongst Bedouin tribes (Abu-Ssaydaeh 2008).

In a detailed discussion, Versteegh explains some important views upheld by grammarians, such as the ‘fiction’ of native speakers whose judgment could be trusted. He states:

> In the early centuries of Islam there were certainly Bedouin who could be and were used as informants. But in the course of the centuries there were no longer any pure Arabic-speaking Bedouin around, and the native speaker, the pure Bedouin, became a fictional figure, although the grammarians continued to talk about “their language”. (1997:42)

Versteegh, referring to Ibn Khaldun’s accounts on Arabic, traces back the history of Bedouin Arabic as follows: ‘the pure language of the Bedouin remained unaltered until the Arabs came in contact with other peoples during the period of the conquests when they conquered a large area of the inhabited world, that stretched from Central Asia to Islamic Spain’ (1997:156). Versteegh adds that;

> The colloquial forms of the language that originated during the period of the conquests were actually imperfect varieties of Arabic. Since the grammarians focused on the ‘Arabiyya [pure Arabic], they found nothing of interest in such “corrupted” version of their language. The opposition between grammatical Classical language and ungrammatical colloquial speech has remained intact in the Arab world to this day. (1997:155)

It was believed that non-Arabic speaking people had trouble learning Arabic; they made mistakes, and so were believed to have corrupted the Arabic language. This is how the Arabic dialects came to be seen as the language of the conquerors that constitutes a threat to the Arabic
language and the Islamic religion. By excluding the dialectal varieties from early linguistic investigations, grammarians – and lexicographers – left much colloquial speech undocumented.

In the 10th century, ‘nobody spoke the Classical language anymore, and the mother tongue of all speakers was a colloquial variety that was identical with the modern dialects’ (Versteegh 1997:156). Ditters (1990) claims that the ‘spoken’ form of ‘Arabiyya became extinct as early as the second half of the 9th century. Hence, the difference between the written and spoken forms of CA was clear and undeniable, but this did not seem to contribute to the acceptance of any other spoken variety of Arabic. Versteegh confirms that, ‘In the Arabic-speaking community nobody could fail to be aware of the difference between actual speech and the language of the Qur’an or the presumed language of the Bedouin. Still this did not lead to a developmental view of the relationship between both’ (1997:161). Along the same lines, Ditters adds that ‘further grammatical research then continued to study the language in its ‘written form’ through the corpus that had been formed in the course of the years. The object of linguistic research had become a closed corpus’ (1990:130). This situation contributed to widening the gap between written and spoken Arabic, and to perpetuating the fiction that the high variety is the mother tongue of all native-speakers of Arabic. There is even a tendency to regard the forms that belong to the vernacular as nothing more than linguistic errors, or – at best – the variety used by non-intellectuals (Versteegh 1997).

Lexicographers themselves did not pay attention to the regional variants in the vocabulary, but ‘they, too, cling to the accepted vocabulary that is found in their sources’ (Versteegh 1997:163). Carter explains that ‘the place of lexicography in Islamic culture as a whole has yet to be adequately studied’ (1990:116), but one can argue that the only regional variants accepted by lexicographers are those that were collected from the Bedouin tribes. The
variants in question were accepted as different manifestations of Arabic and were canonized as part of the closed corpus of Arabic. Versteegh rightly questions this decision:

Variation had been there from the beginning and had to be accepted as part of the genius of the Arabic language, just as this language contains a large number of synonyms and homonyms. Contemporary regional variation in the lexicon, on the other hand, was not regarded as a relevant problem the grammarians had to explain. (1997:163)

Thus only words that appeared to have been used by Bedouins were sealed by lexicographers. According to Carter, ‘As for the definitions themselves, they may be as short as a single synonym, or consist of a minor anthropological monograph if the word in question involves some particularly fascinating aspect of Bedouin life’ (1990:115). He goes on; ‘Levels of usage are not distinguished, though when a word is branded as “wrong”, we may well be looking at a post-classical or colloquial form that has crept in. Foreign origins are sporadically mentioned’ (1990:115-116).

The above discussion informs us about the status of lexicography, and the nature of early Arabic dictionaries which Kopf describes as follows: ‘indigenous Arabic lexicons not only contain a considerable number of explanations which have no raison d’être except in the sphere of traditional exegesis, but also carry with them the sediment of dogmatic considerations and sectarian arguments’ (1976:39). Note, however, that early Arabic dictionaries were different from dictionaries as we conceive them today. In an overview of the relationship between lexicography and CA, Abu-Ssaydeh notes that ‘the efforts of lexicographers, however, did not immediately lead to the compilation of dictionaries. Instead, they gave rise to a forerunner that assumed the form of a number of treatises written on specific subjects’ (2008:19), such as, “Names of Animals”, “Names of Trees”, “Names of Storms” and “Names of Plants”, etc. Carter (1990) affirms that, the 9th century witnessed the compilation of classified word lists describing
all aspects of Bedouin life. These works addressed all audiences and aimed primarily at
displaying the lexical richness of the Arabic language. Carter (1990) reports that these
vocabulary lists went on being produced, giving rise to larger and more comprehensive works as
well as specific topics. Versteegh (1997) provides examples that illustrate typical entries in early
Arabic lexicons or vocabularies. The following entry is selected from Al-Asma‘i’s list on the
terminology of palm trees and grapevines. According to Versteegh, Al-asma‘i counts as one of
the earliest lexicographers.

![Image]

**Figure 2.1: A typical entry in an Arabic Lexicon (Versteegh 1997:26)**

Early ‘dictionaries’ can then be described as, more or less, specialized glossaries or
dictionaries of synonyms similar to thesauri in which the words were grouped semantically
(Carter 1990). In the process of sifting and classifying the vocabulary of Arabic, all kinds of lists
were published. They were intended to help writers and poets find le *mot juste*. Arabic scholars
can find the following:
compilations of rare words in the Qur’an and Hadith, technical
dictionaries of the various sciences (among which we should include
genealogical, biographical and geographical dictionaries), lists of words
which bear simultaneously opposite meanings, inventories based on
morphological or grammatical categories; in short, anything which could
contribute to the organizing and mastery of the huge Arabic vocabulary.
Not surprisingly there are also dictionaries of errors, which
unintentionally provide the modern Arabist with valuable evidence of
colloquial or dialect forms whose penetration into the classical language
was resented and resisted. (Carter 1990:107)

Versteegh (1997:157) compares the treatment of certain forms as errors to the situation obtained
in Hellenistic Greece and in the Romance countries in the medieval period. The author explains
that;

in both cases the Classical language, Greek or Latin, was regarded as the
real language, whereas the popular form of the language, in Greece the
precursor of Modern Greek and in the Roman empire the Romance
dialects, was not recognized and thus was irrelevant for linguistic
purposes. When Latin grammarians discuss popular errors in speaking,
they do not talk about the actual Romance dialects but about the mistakes
people make when they try to use Classical Latin for which they lack
education. Historical linguists sometimes refer to this “faulty Latin” as

Versteegh then expands more on the conception of ‘error’ or ‘fault’ by early Arab grammarians,
which seems to be slightly different from Carter’s characterization of the notion of ‘error’. One
should probably not infer that the dialects themselves were thought to be erroneous. Versteegh
explains that the grammarians who wrote treatises about errors in speech, the so-called “mistakes
of common people” were not concerned with a comparison of the high and low varieties, let
alone with a description of colloquial speech. He explains these errors:
these treatises are concerned with those errors which semi-literate people make when they attempt to write in Classical Arabic. They are not our only source for “faulty” Arabic, since we know how uneducated people wrote from a wide range of documents ranging from papyri to technical treatises about veterinary medicine. The term usually applied to this category of texts is Middle Arabic, just as Vulgar Latin is the name of documents in “faulty” Classical Latin. (1997:157)

Versteegh insists that ‘The idiom of these texts is a mixture of Classical Arabic with vernacular elements and hypercorrections. It is not a language in its own right, and certainly not identical with the earliest Arabic vernaculars’ (1997:157).

Arab grammarians were not the only grammarians to have adopted such a concept to the development of language. As far as bilingual Arabic dictionaries are concerned, one wonders why lexicographers resort to colloquial terms and introduce them in a dictionary of Standard Arabic; is it because colloquial Arabic has truly become more accepted in written form or is it simply a strategy to fill up lexical gaps. Rizk (2007), for example, explains how certain innovations in youth language (YL) in Cairo can be subject to harsh criticism from the press. She observes that: ‘the representations (YL as a dangerous and imported innovation threatening the Arabic language) are not in tune with the reality of the processes observed (a lexical register using the expressive possibilities of colloquial Arabic)’ (2007:296). Rizk (2007) reports that YL is described as “a deformed monster of bastard expressions”, full of “faulty”, “intruding”, “abbreviated and easy expressions” that do not belong in “our beautiful language”, but the stigmatization of YL has certainly not slowed its remarkable development. It is also important to mention that ‘the deprecatory lexemes used to describe YL are very similar to those used against colloquial Arabic’ (Rizk 2007: 293).

It follows that the vernaculars are currently being accused of corrupting the Arabic language; hence, their presence in dictionaries might be an attempt at rebelling against the
overprotective behavior towards the Arabic language that is responsible for breaking the natural cycle of its evolution. One can also interpret the codification of colloquial words as an attempt at standardizing the vernaculars, which – in the long run – might result in granting them an official status. Miller’s analysis is particularly interesting:

In this respect, the increasing use of mixed styles (MSA-vernaculars) may appear to be a non-institutional, non-guided tentative move towards the expansion/diffusion and future standardization of the vernaculars. For the time being, the conceptualization of an urban standard as a national standard remains a hypothetical construct for many Arab countries. (2007:20)

The official standard language remains MSA, and none of the vernaculars is granted an official/national status despite a noticeable expansion of the functions the vernaculars serve in the Arab world compared to the functions that can be achieved by using only MSA. The discrepancy between the linguistic policies and the current linguistic situation in the Arab world will be enriched in the next section. We will also highlight cases that provide more evidence of the crucial role conservatism plays in writing dictionaries at present.

2.3 Linguistic Policies, Lexical Innovations and Loanwords: More Evidence of Conservatism in the Arab world

We would all agree now that the sources of the data of CA are the Qur’an, the Hadith, Bedouin Arabic, and classical poetry. Note, however, that not all classical poetry was believed to represent the purest realization of the language. Hassanein discusses the situation thoroughly:
a conspiracy arose (either intentional or latent) between literary critics and the authors of dictionaries, which propagated conservatism within the Arabic language. Definitions for dictionaries were written in a very narrow way, supported by literary citations. In turn, the literary critics used these dictionaries as part of the basis for their criticism, excluding new literary works on the grounds that they did not conform to the standards of the Arabic language. In this manner, a very traditional, conservative form of Arabic was maintained, while linguistic innovations were suppressed from literary culture. (2008:39)

Indeed, resisting linguistic innovations in the Arabic language remains a major problem to the present, and scholars appear to be biased towards maintaining a conservative form of Arabic. Al-Chalabi (1983:111) summarizes the linguistic controversy in the Arab world raging between ‘innovators’ and ‘purists’; ‘the innovators advocate the practice of free borrowing from English, and French, and even from the colloquial dialects of Arabic, to meet the ever-increasing need from scientific and technical terminology.’ Purists, on the other hand, ‘insist that the use of Arabic items would be useful in facilitating the creation of word families and thus more practical in the long run’ (Al-Chalabi 1983:111). Since the time Al-Chalabi had written these statements, things do not seem to have changed in any way with more purists gaining ground.

Baker draws our attention to a very important fact; ‘many specialized and high technology Arabic texts, such as computer or word processing literature, read like reports on totally archaic subjects and are often inaccessible to an Arab reader’ (1987:187-188). The situation is either due to the fact that ‘sweeping modifications in Arabic vocabulary are ignored, even in the Arabic-Arabic dictionary’ (Heliel 2002:56), or because the new terms are of low currency, unfamiliar to the average native speaker. Emery puts it clearly: ‘the excessive conservatism exhibited by the purists towards Arabic has certainly delayed the realisation of the goal of a unified scientific vocabulary…’ (1983:86). General terminology in the Arab world has a long way to go as well. In the last section of this chapter, we shall explore some cases which
clearly illustrate how conservatism manifests itself in modern times, and how lexicography is making strenuous efforts in the face of resistance to change. We will also investigate the reasons behind the tendency to adopt other strategies than the mere borrowing of foreign words in Arabic.

2.3.1 Attitudes towards Lexical Innovations

First, in response to the problem of creating Arabic equivalents for some English concepts and concrete objects, we should mention some efforts made by the editor of Al-Mawrd; one of the most popular English-Arabic dictionaries, Munir Baalbaki. The editor adopts the policy of creating single-word coinages instead of multiple-word terms. According to the editor, words like مجوقة (airborne; from جو and نقل), زمان (space-time; from مكان and زمن), and ركمجة (surf-riding; from موج and ركب) etc. are now fully established in spite of the fact that they do not readily reveal their meanings. The lack of transparency is one of the criticisms leveled at Baalbaki’s lexical innovations. Transparency as an important criterion to consider when translating English terms into Arabic is also emphasized by Abdul Sahib and Aziz Thabet (2005) who argue that it is the unfamiliarity or lack of transparency that causes some terms to fail to gain currency in language and to disappear as quickly as they are born. It should be explained that what the editor does is take the first half of a word in Arabic and then fasten this half on to the first half of another word, for example, ‘Decarbonize’ is rendered as yunazkir ينزركر from yanza ينزع (remove) and karbun كربون (carbon); ‘degrease’ is rendered as yuzahshim يزحشم from yuziił يزيل (remove) and shaḥm شحم (grease) (Asfour 2003:49). Such a practice has been subject to criticism which reflects conservatism towards creating new words. Although we do not
necessarily encourage such coinages, we are mainly interested in uncovering the reasons behind the rejection of lexical innovations by some Arab scholars and linguists.

Asfour (2003:48) reacts to the tendency of Al-Mawrid dictionary to coin new words mainly because, in his opinion, the words in question do not sound Arabic and are not likely to be found in other dictionaries, whether monolingual or bilingual. Baalbaki admits that:

the issue of coining words in Arabic, especially where blending (naht) is involved, has always been a source of controversy. Some scholars argue that blends are essentially against the spirit of Arabic and are alien to native speakers, while others assert the need for such blends particularly in scientific terminology. (2004:67)

Asfour does not refrain from attacking the editor, when he states that:

this erroneous belief that a single word in the foreign language must be translated by a single word in the target language is behind the many horrible coinages that MUNIR BA’ALBAKI has allowed himself in the otherwise excellent dictionary. There is nothing wrong with being creative, but there is a line that divides creativity from sheer fantasy. (2003:47)

At the same time Asfour does not omit to acknowledge ‘the high standards attained by the al-Mawrid compared to earlier bilingual dictionaries’ (2003:51). He also speaks of Baalbaki’s ‘excellent dictionary’ as stated in the above quote.

Baalbaki, on the other hand, clearly expresses his outrageousness at Asfour’s paper:
he does not hesitate to refer to the dictionary and its author [referring to himself] sarcastically, using adjective qualifiers and modifiers that hardly belong to academic writing. For example, he refers twice to "horrible coinages" and "horrible blends" (p. 47, 49); and he accuses the author of "unbridled adventurousness" (p.49) and "sheer fantasy" (p.47), of being "wrong-headed" (p.50), and of perpetrating excesses (p.48), and of "regrettable disregard of any logic" (p.49). He ends his article by claiming that "translators frequently consult al-Mawrid only to throw their hands in despair" (p.51). The answer to this last comment surely rests with the host of translators who use al-Mawrid. As for the objectivity of other expressions used by ASFOUR, and their suitability for a first rate academic journal, it is for the reader to judge. However, I personally believe that the refereeing process ought to have guarded against such language in the first place. (2004:67)

The ‘offended’ editor defends his blends ‘on grounds that modern coinages need not be semantically transparent, that the prefixes used in the blends render many of them comprehensible once appropriate mental associations are made, and that the prefixes obey constraints imposed by the meanings of their source words and therefore cannot correspond directly to English prefixes’ (2004:67). Baalbaki (2004:68) suggests that words, such as, زحرج zahraja (remove embarrassment), زرطب zartaba (remove humidity), and زجلد zajlada (remove skin) are partially suggestive, and that once the prefix za- becomes associated in the minds of the native speakers with the verb نزاع nazā'a (to remove) , then the meaning of the words becomes readily comprehensible. Asfour pleads against the creation or borrowing of prefixes and suffixes, since ‘for a language like Arabic to imitate a language like English in its use of affixes is to attempt the wellnigh impossible. Arabic affixes have fixed semantic and grammatical functions, and additions to them have been very rare’ (2003:50).

In Baalbaki’s (2004) view, Asfour’s objections to the blends and coinages of Al-Mawrid represent a view that impedes the viability of Arabic. Asfour’s criticism can be seen as a personal reflection on the ‘purity’ of the language, and his purpose is an attempt at protecting the
Arabic language from innovations of the type introduced by Baalbaki. This is even more obvious when he states that ‘a dictionary like this must not presume to legislate for Arabic’ (2003:50). On the other hand, he does not seem to favor the revival of archaic words, i.e., words from CA:

The suggested equivalents in Arabic must obviously be not only correct but also current. Archaic words in Arabic are as unserviceable as archaic words in English. HASAN AL-KARMI’s [the author of *Al-Mughni Al-Akbar: A Dictionary of Classical and Contemporary English: English-Arabic* (1988)] decision to resort to such terms when the need arises, therefore, seems to be an unwise decision on his part because this practice goes against the grain of language development. It is not the task of a modern bilingual dictionary to revive dead words in the native language or to create terms that are not likely to be of any service to its users. (Baalbaki 2003:44)

This is a real dilemma that raises a major question: who has such a prerogative to create new terms in the first place? For Baalbaki, ‘compilers of bilingual dictionaries are not only entitled to coin words which may or may not gain currency, but that coinage becomes an essential duty of theirs, especially with a language like Arabic, where a huge number of terms, particularly scientific ones, are lacking’ (2004:68). Baker also made a very important point: ‘…although terminology is a serious problem for Arab translators and writers and contributes to the slow pace of translation activity in the Arab world, many newly coined Arabic terms cannot become well established or standardized without a considerable increase in translating specialized texts into Arabic’ (1987:188). Baker does not say explicitly whether it is the duty of translators and writers to create new terms or whether their role is limited to propagating their use through an increase in the number of publications.

Asfour, on the other hand, inserts a quote from the preface (p.6) to *Al-Mounted English-Arabic dictionary* (1996) by Theodory Constantine, which seems to reflect his own opinion on this question:
We generally prefer the Arabic word to be arabicized. On the other hand, we do not propose or bring in new expressions, knowing that this is not the task of dictionaries, but rather of authors and competent social communicators, and bearing in mind that even the Academy should interfere only at the end to announce the birth of a new word or to say that another word has grown old or obsolete. (2003:46)

Asfour admits that ‘the conservative policy of dictionary-making voiced here in no way stands against the creativity of authors or “social communicators.” They create changes; dictionaries record them’ (2003:44). The author is in favor of an Arabization policy that is initiated by authors, sanctioned by language academies, and recorded by lexicographers. On Arabization, El-Sayed writes:

To arabize a foreign term is to convey it in Arabic in its original linguistic shape after subjecting it formally to a process of naturalization: phonologically, morphologically and syntactically. Semantically, however, the Arabic meaning of an Arabized term is based on what it is meant to be in the foreign context in which it originally occurs. (1984:333)

El-Sayed (1984) explains that nouns ending in -eme, e.g., phoneme, become fuuniim; adjectives derived from them ending in -ic, e.g., phonemic, become fuunimi (sg.m.indef.), fuunimiy (sg.f.indef.); noun-terms derived from them ending in -ics, e.g., phonemics, become fuunimyaa (rarely funiimiks); Noun terms ending in -ology, e.g., phonology, become funuluzya; adjective-terms ending in either -ic or -al, e.g., Phonological, become funuluuzi (sg.m.), funuluzyaa (sg.f.); adverbial terms derived from them become funuluzyyan; phonetics could be arabized as al-funetiik, but it is usually translated into a two-word phrase ‘ilmu al-swaat (literally ‘science of sounds’). This method is usually referred to as loan translation or calque; it involves the translation of the meaning of the foreign term into Arabic. Baker (1987:187) states that terms created by this method have generally gained acceptance and include the following: mu‘aalajat al-kalimaat (Word processing), Al-tahliil al-nafsii (Psychoanalysis), and Faaida murakkaba
(Compound interest). On the other hand, she reports that Arabization as a method ‘has received much opposition from language purists, who fear that the assimilation of foreign terms may change the identity of Arabic and, if applied to excess, would even result in some form of hybrid language’ (1987:187). This is a losing battle in any language.

Asfour (2003:45) thinks that Arabization is most frequently used in sciences, and that thousands of arabized words are part of MSA. Examples of words that are well-established in MSA are: radiu (radio), tilifizjun (television), and kumbjuter (computer). Note that the sounds /l/ in tilifizjun, and /b/ in kumbjuter replace the /v/ sound in ‘television’, and the/p/ sound in ‘computer’ as these two sounds do not exist in Arabic. It is also worth noting that ‘derivation from Arabized terms is generally restricted since they cannot be made to fit into the Arabic root and pattern system’ (Baker 1987:187). Baker shows that Arabized terms, such as kumbjuter (computer) do not usually generate patterns to adopt words like ‘computerize’, or admit derivations, such as: ‘computerized’, ‘compute’ or ‘computing’. This does not apply to the Arabized term tilifizyun (television), which has generated several other patterns such as talfaza (to televise), mutalfaz (televised), and tilifizyuni (adjective, as in television broadcast). According to El-Sayed concentration on formal adaptability without adequate grasp of the full content represented by the foreign term is one of the most fundamental weaknesses of the arabization of terminology (1984:334). But Baker herself seems to recognize a change in the purists’ position:

faced with the massive influx of new terms which need to be rendered into Arabic, even the purists have had to accept Arabized terms which have found their way into the language and increasingly gained acceptance, with or without the academies’ approval’ (Baker 1987:187).

As for lexicography, Asfour still thinks that ‘one of the problems of modern monolingual as well as bilingual dictionaries is to incorporate them [i.e., the Arabicized terms] as an integral part of the language’ (2003:45). Heliel sums up the current situation: ‘…there is still a lot to be done
towards good documentation that would embrace the extensive and varied uses of modern Arabic vocabulary’ (2002:66).

In our opinion, one factor adds to the complexity of the issue: this has to do with the multiple sources of borrowing, due to the interaction of Arabic with other languages. Al-Kasimi points out one major coinage problem: ‘When English and French have two different names for the same thing or concept, and these names are borrowed or translated into Arabic, Arabic may end up with two different words instead of one, e.g., English nitrogen; French azote; Arabic nitrujine and azot’ (1979:115). Al-Kasimi adds that lexical variation may occur as a result of borrowing from different sources: ‘Two Arabs using two different textbooks, one American and one British, are bound to produce two different terms for the same object’ (Al-Kasimi 1979:116); for example, ‘electronic tube’ (Am.) and ‘electron valve’ (Br.) have two different Arabic equivalents: unbuba iliktruniya and samaam iliktrunii, respectively. In a very interesting article, full of examples, on lexical variation in MSA, Ibrahim (2008:17) illustrates how French has influenced the variety of MSA spoken in Arab countries where French is a second/ foreign language. The influence of French is clearly seen in the names of months, for example, jwiliya for ‘Juillet’ (July), and ’ut for ‘Aout’ (August). The same months are named yuliyu and ‘aghustus in the rest of the Arab world.

Darir (1993:164) agrees that ‘Arabic terminologies are frequently characterized by various dualities.’ One of the dualities is the existence of two terms, one ‘formal’ and the second ‘colloquial’, as indicated earlier. Under other circumstances the richness in equivalents for the same concept can aim at achieving precision in translation; however, as far as bilingual dictionaries are concerned this constitutes a handicap for foreign users who end up being confused. This situation poses a potential communication problem for speakers from different
parts of the Arab world as well. Wilsem and Osama-Youssef (2009) explain that it is probably safe to say that morphological, orthographic, and even syntactic differences will not hinder comprehension between speakers from different areas, but that lexical differences may do, whether in technical terminologies or in quotidian discourse.

Duplication of terminology seems to be inevitable, as Darir puts it; ‘it seems as if the Arabic language is doomed to have several words for the same entity’ (1993:162). But, it is very important for dictionary compilers to make their position towards lexical variants clear and be consistent in their inclusion policy. The duplication of terms in the Arab world may have resulted primarily from the existence of many language academies, with each academy proposing different methods of word-formation. Add to this the fact that each Arab country has been in contact with at least one foreign language which differs from one country to another. Attitudes towards foreign languages in the Arab world in the past and the present will be addressed in the next section.

2.3.2 Major Issues in the Standardization of Terms and Languages in the Arab World

The language academies in the Arab world have always had the reputation of being staunch supporters of the preservation of Arabic. According to Baker, ‘for several decades, language academies in the Arab world have attempted to standardize terminology by setting strict rules for the creation of new terms and by publishing glossaries of recommended specialized vocabulary’ (1987:186). The first language academy in the Arab world was established in Damascus in 1919. Other language academies were subsequently set up in different Arab countries - Egypt, Iraq, Jordan and Morocco. Emery argues; ‘this proliferation of institutions reflected a major problem in terminology creation in the Arab world - duplication of
effort and a consequent lack of uniformity’ (1983:85). The uncoordinated works of the language academies in the Arab world is certainly in part responsible for the present problematic situation.

Van Mol (2000) criticizes the Arabic academies for proposing words for new terms that rarely survive in the actual use of language. It seems that the terms coined by the academies remain tied to books and journals and never reach the public, either because the potential readership is limited or because the publications are not properly distributed (Al-Kasimi 1979:118). As a matter of fact, ‘it is one thing to standardiz[e] terminology; it is another to impose it’ (Emery 1983:87). Indeed lexicographers, in particular, complain about the archaic nature of the invented words, and – to name only a few strategies – prefer to invent terms of their own, or introduce words from the vernaculars, as illustrated earlier.

Baker writes that one of the most favored methods by the academies is derivation; ‘because this method provides a powerful tool for coining new terms in Arabic, it is favored by the academies as the most natural way of enriching the language without altering its identity’ (1987:186). Arabic is known to be a language of derivation. It is based on a system of three radical consonant roots; hence, offering unlimited potential for the derivation of new terms. The following explanation is taken from Holes (1995); the root of most words in the language is symbolized as $C_1C_2C_3$ from which actual words can be derived by the superimposition of templatic patterns. Lexical sets are thereby formed that are both structurally and semantically related to the root. The root KTB has the broad lexical value ‘writing’, and from this are derived the following words: $\text{KiTa:B}$ (book), $\text{maKTaB}$ (desk), $\text{maKTaBa}$ (library), $\text{muKa:TaBa}$ (correspondence), $\text{\textit{iKtiTa:B}}$ (subscription), and so on. Note that there are rules and restrictions on the combinations of consonants that can occupy the three positions in the root (Holes 1995).
One straightforward fact about Arabic is that the meaning of a word can be guessed from
the templatic pattern used in word formation. Baker (1987) explains that:

- the pattern $CiCaaCa$ indicates a ‘craft or profession’, such as $SiBaaKa$ (founding/
casting trade), while

- the pattern $MaCCaC$ generally indicates a ‘noun of place’, such as $MaRSaM$ (studio of
an artist).

Both words are derived from the roots $SBK$ (to found or to cast), and $RSM$ (to paint),
respectively. The academies encourage the use of the method since it exploits the resources of
the language; it also has the advantage of providing the reader ‘with easy access to the meaning
of the word through the inherent meaning of its root and pattern’ (Baker 1987:186). The
academies also highly recommend utilizing the rich lexicon of Arabic instead of introducing new
elements to it. This can be achieved by reviving archaic words and extending their meanings to
express new concepts.

Baker (1987) claims that revived archaisms which have gained acceptance include $qitaar$
(train; originally used to describe a train of camels), and $biiah$ (environment; originally meaning
place of abode). Overall, however, this method has not been successful since some of the
archaisms the academies sought to revive have been the subject of much ridicule. Emery (1983)
and Baker (1987) both express their surprise at coinages, such as, $jamaaz$ (‘a swift-footed
camel’) proposed for ‘tramcar’ and $irziiz$ (‘the sound of rain or thunder’) for ‘telephone’. Al-
Kasimi, for example, cites a ‘humorous’ example about a word which has caused controversy in
Arabic circles:
Many translations and explanatory equivalents [for pajamas] were suggested, and after the matter had been settled in the form of a mere transliteration of the word and the lexeme entered into the authoritative dictionaries, it was discovered that an Arabic word already existed, namely *manaama*. This word is more meaningful and precise, and fits the morphological patterns of Arabic. (1979:117)

Abdul Sahib and Aziz Thabet (2005:19) also found that, ‘some [English-Arabic] dictionaries suggest explanatory equivalents despite the existence of equivalents.’ When investigating linguistic terms in different dictionaries, Darir (1993) found that foreign terms, such as ‘semiotics’, ‘morpheme’, and ‘phoneme’ can have up to ten equivalents. Darir collected his data from four bilingual English-Arabic and French-Arabic dictionaries, and one trilingual English-French-Arabic dictionary. The author writes: ‘modern Arabic writings dealing with linguistics do not show any conformity or systematicalness in their terminologies’ (1993:155). Darir (1993) insists that one of the requirements of a strict science is a well-defined and agreed-upon terminology.

Al-Kasimi blames the language academies for terminological issues in the Arab world: ‘…almost all the problems of technical terminology in Arabic lexicography can be attributed to a lack of coordination of efforts in this field’ (1979:118). In order to determine the degree of agreement among Arab linguists, Darir (1993) examines the equivalents suggested by five dictionary compilers for sixty terms from modern linguistics. One of the selected dictionaries is *The Unified Dictionary of Linguistic Terms* (English-French-Arabic) published by the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (1989). According to the compilers of the dictionary, their policy in unifying terms was based on the following criteria: preferring the Arabic term to loan words, frequency of use, singularity of composition, easiness of production, and the productive nature of the word. Darir thinks that ‘the compilers have, sometimes, failed in
their own policy; in the sense that one can find ‘better’ terms in other (previous) dictionaries which, it seems, have been totally ignored by the compilers’ (1993:156). The implication for lexicography is that ‘there are no guidelines for using one method or another for forming new words. It is a matter that is left for the general disposition of the lexicographer’ (1993:162). Darir (1993:165) suggests:

The best thing that can be done by language academies and specialized institutions is not putting forward terms that may not be acceptable to everyone… but acting as a judge or referee towards the numerous terms advanced by the translators and terminologists and providing these people with guidelines and ‘rules’ – only by acting so can these institutions retain their credibility and integrity. Still, one has to admit that only time will show what terms will survive and what terms will vanish.

Among all dictionaries published by the academies, the only Arabic monolingual dictionary that has acquired any degree of recognition as more or less authoritative in the twentieth century is Al-Mu‘jam Al-Wasit (1960, 1972) compiled by the Academy of Arabic in Cairo (Asfour 2003). Since then, not many dictionaries have been recognized as representing the language as it is used now, as if Arabic has gone through a period of stagnation.

We should like to mention en passant that Arabic has seen periods of decline. Abdul Sahib, first notes that, ‘The Abbasid period [750–1258] can be said to have witnessed the most favorable circumstances for the growth of scientific and technical terminology in Arabic in its early history’ (1987:25), because of an unprecedented outburst of intellectual activity. However, ‘from the end of the thirteenth until the nineteenth century Arabic experienced a state of semi-hibernation’ (1987:27). That was due to the recurrent invasions by Mongols, Turks and Berbers to name a few. Sawaie (1990:160-161) adds:
the situation of Arabic in the 19th century can be compared to that of the 13th through 18th centuries – a period of decadence and decline – when the Arabic language ceased to function as a medium of a vibrant culture. As a result the language became impoverished: writing styles were full of artificialities, both in their use of inexpressive lexicon and pallid structures. These paltry styles were saturated with colloquialisms.

It seems that Classical Arabic in the Arabic-speaking countries was on the decline to the extent that the use of dialectal varieties was prevalent in the officialese (Sawaie 1990). In the late 19th and the first half of the 20th century, many Arab countries suffered linguistically from colonization. The author is very familiar with the Algerian situation; in Algeria, for example, more than half of the Algerians spoke French, and knowledge of Arabic might have been limited to only a few Qur’anic verses and the different dialectal varieties spoken in the country. After independence, Arabization was encouraged in order to affirm that Arabic is the national and official language of the country, and to establish Algeria’s identity as a Muslim country.

The first problem that faced the Algerian government was the serious lack of teachers of Arabic. In order to find a solution, many teachers were brought from Egypt; however, the colloquial Egyptian Arabic that the Egyptian teachers spoke was difficult for Algerians to comprehend. Despite the failure of Arabization, nationalists and politicians were persistent. Bassiouney (2009:217) explains that from 1979 onward, a large part of cultural life was Arabized, including primary and secondary education, broadcasts on radio and TV stations, public signs, and the judicial system as well, but the center of power was French. Arabization in education is still believed to have been disastrous because it was forced, and because it resulted in a linguistic discrepancy between schools and universities; ‘the fact that schools teach science and math in Arabic and universities suddenly teach technical subjects in French is indeed a peculiar problem pertaining to North Africa’ (Bassiouney 2009:221). Sciences continue to be
taught either in French or in English in many universities all over the Arab world; a fact that can be said to have slowed down the creation of a modern scientific terminology in Arabic. One of the reasons Asfour was not in favor of the coinages suggested by Baalbaki is because he thinks that the Al-Mawrid dictionary cannot claim any authority of its own because the editor is not a scientist, ‘and so his dictionary will not be consulted to check meaning of scientific terms unless the sciences are taught in Arabic’ (2003:49). Emery stresses the fact that, ‘an essential prerequisite is the coordination of scientific curricula in schools and universities’ (1983:87).

To conclude, the multilingual reality in most Arabic countries is not reflected in the language policies they adopt. Miller points to the problem created by the Arabization policy:

The Arabization policies followed by most Arab states have led to a monolithic/monolingual perception of the relationship between the nation-state and the language and have fueled the linguistic claims of the non-Arab “minorities”. Important is the fact that a shift started to take place during the last decade of the twentieth century in many Arab countries, with progressive opening towards, and recognition of, language diversity, including code-switching and mixing associated with urban cultures. (2007:21)

Berber, for instance, has never been recognized as one of Algeria’s national languages even after it became a regular subject taught in schools. Thus prescriptivism and the conservative attitudes towards Arabic currently manifest themselves clearly in the discrepancy between language policy and linguistic reality; the latter is characterized by the borrowing of many words from other languages which are in contact with Arabic. Badawi, Carter, and Gully state that Modern Written Arabic ‘reveals an enormous influence, lexical, syntactic and stylistic, from western languages: as is well known, for example, journalistic Arabic often consists of material hastily translated from English or French press agencies’ (2004:3). Loanwords, particularly, are not always appreciated and encouraged. In the last section of chapter two, let us investigate the
origin of the pronounced sensitivity to loanwords which we think has initiated the use of the term ‘pure Arabic’.

2.3.3 The issue of Loanwords: A Possible Explanation of the Association of the word ‘Pure’ with Arabic, and the Absence of Etymological Dictionaries

This brief discussion will help us better understand the early Arabs’ sensitivity to foreign words. As explained in the previous section, the academies responsible for the creation of new terms avoid borrowing words as much as they can, sometimes even at the expense of comprehension. The lines of argument they follow can be found in such debates on whether certain words in the Qur’an are foreign, and if so, what language they belong. Kopf (1976) believes that Muslim scholars are, as a rule, distressed by any discussion of the foreign origin of words in the Qur’an. In our opinion, this tendency largely explains why the word ‘pure’ is usually associated with CA. Hassanein’s statement on the treatment of etymology in Arabic dictionaries seems to corroborate this fact: ‘most modern Arabic/Arabic dictionaries do not trace the meaning of words through their etymological development’ (2008:43). A surprising fact about Arabic lexicography lies in the absence of etymological dictionaries.

Hassanein points to an attempt made by the German scholar August Fischer to develop an etymological dictionary of Arabic, ‘but this work was never completed. Arabic scholars look forward to the day when such a project is realized’ (2008:43). The definition of an etymological dictionary can be found in Carter’s article on Arabic lexicography:
only the root consonants of a word are taken into account in determining its place, so that every dictionary is automatically an etymological dictionary. This needs some slight qualification, in that “etymology” here means only that the word is assigned to its putative Arabic root, regardless of its true origins: thus *sarj* (saddle) and *siraj* (lamp) are assigned to the native root *s-r-j* (as in *saraj*, “he lied”) even though both are loan words. (1990:109)

Carter contrasts the ‘etymologizing’ method and the strict alphabetical order followed in modern dictionaries and those of non-Arab Muslim languages, such as Turkish and Persian, in which the word *musarraj* (saddled), for instance, is placed under *m*. It follows that etymology should be understood in Arabic dictionaries as tracing the root of the word, rather than tracing its development or transmission from one language to another. The major reason behind the absence of any attempts at writing etymological dictionaries in the Arab world is once more related to the religious zeal.

Jeffery (2007) explains that quite early in the history of Islam, Muslims were confronted with the perplexing problem of the foreign words, and most of them seem to have leaned towards the non-existence of words of non-Arabic origin in the Qur’an since it is the language of revelation. Jeffery defends the opinion that ‘…not only the greater part of the religious vocabulary, but also most of the cultural vocabulary of the Qur’an is of non-Arabic origin’ (2007:2). Jeffery (2007:21) notes that Syriac, for instance, is undoubtedly the most copious source of Qur’anic borrowings, and that vocabulary of Syriac origin was already coming into use in Arabia in pre-Islamic times. The author indicates the importance of his claim as follows:
by tracing these words back to their sources we are able to estimate to some extent the influences which were working upon Muhammad at various periods in his mission, and by studying these religious terms in their native literature contemporary with Muhammad, we can sometimes understand more exactly what he himself means by the terms he uses in the Qur’an. (2007:2)

It is important to mention here that ‘in the earliest circle of exegetes it was fully recognized and frankly admitted that there were numerous foreign words in the Qur’an. Only a little later, however, when the dogma of the eternal nature of the Qur’an was being elaborated, this was…denied’ (2007:5). Jeffery reports Al-Jawaliqi’s quote of Abu ʿUbaida - the great Humanist of the reign of Harun Ar-Rachid, who was of Judaeo-Persian origin and a student of the rare words of Arabic – as follows: ‘I heard Abu ʿUbaida say that whoever pretends that there is in the Qur’an anything other than the Arabic tongue has made a serious charge against God, and he quoted the verse: ‘Verily we have made it an Arabic Qur’an’’ (2007:5). In fact, the main argument of the authorities that were against the view claiming the existence of foreign words in the Qur’an is that the Qur’an in many passages refers to itself as an ‘Arabic’ Qur’an. Jeffery (2007:7) explains the theologians’ constant denial in what follows:

Others took a different line of argument, and claimed that the existence of foreign words in the Qur’an would be a reflection on the sufficiency of Arabic as a medium for the divine revelation. The Qur’an, said the theologians, is the final and most perfect of divine revelations, and Allah naturally chose to reveal the final revelation in the most perfect of all languages, so how can one pretend that Arabic was lacking in the necessary religious vocabulary, and that Allah had to borrow Nabataean or Persian or Syriac words to express his purpose.

When some words happen to exist in other languages as well as Arabic, theologians came forward with the suggestion that ‘these were odd cases of coincidence where Arabic and these other tongues happened to use the same word for the same thing, but which in the case of Arabic
happened to be used for the first time in the Qur’an’ (Jeffery 2007:8). Thus, the treatment of the Qur’an as a literary text has always been a controversial and a very sensitive topic, and for many Muslims it is difficult to accept the idea that the Qur'an can be compared to any other human discourse. Beyond the religious context attitudes towards borrowings appear to be negative. Rizk (2007:300) explains that one reason why the language of young people in Cairo is regarded as a threat to Arabic is the significant proportion of borrowed words. The author reports that borrowed words rank third in Cairo as a source for youth language behind morpho-phonological and semantic processes. In North Africa people are even accused of not speaking Arabic at all because they resort to many words they borrow from French, and that have now become part of everyday Arabic. Emery warns against this situation, and argues that ‘no discussion of Arabic terminology would be complete without a reference to the influence of Western languages upon the vocabulary of the language’ (1983:87).

Based on Jeffery’s book, my belief is that Arab scholars in general, including exegetes and terminologists, do not want to risk a misinterpretation of the recognition of foreign words in the Qur’an as well as everyday discourse. This might be taken to mean that Arabic is imperfect or that it is incapable of expressing certain concepts, following the idea of linguistic determinism proposed by Sapir and Whorf. For linguists of course, such a state of affairs represents an obtuse attitude that reflects a complete denial of the inevitable effects of language contact, especially that Arabs themselves were in constant contact with other cultures and languages even since the prophet’s times during which he tried to spread Islam. Persia, for example, had long been an important part of the Islamic empire.

Through this chapter, our objective was to highlight different practices that reflect rooted conservatism in the Arab world. Traditionalist attitudes towards Arabic seem to be the norm.
among today’s grammarians. On the choice of the term Modern Written Arabic instead of MSA when writing a book on the grammar of Arabic, Badawi, Carter, and Gully unhesitatingly claim that:

The language described in this work is Modern Written Arabic (MWA), in theory everything written in Arabic from graffiti to high literature (but excluding poetry as being artificial and often archaic), which is why another possible name for the language, Modern Literary Arabic (MLA), was rejected as being too narrow. The term MWA was also chosen to avoid such ill-defined labels as ‘Modern Standard Arabic’ (whatever that may be). However, it does assume that a writer is genuinely attempting to write correctly in the modern equivalent of classical Arabic (CA), the language defined by the medieval grammarians and in principle still the norm for the Arab Academies in making their decisions about MWA. (2004:2)

The authors also excluded pure colloquialisms and written-down speech. The sources on which a corpus of Modern Standard Arabic can be built are fuzzy. The above statement is sound proof that conservatism is still in the air and lexicographers will have to breathe it for as long as a standardization process is not initiated in the Arab world. As explained earlier, the ideal would be to codify one version of MSA in dictionaries and grammars, without neglecting variation completely as it is part of the linguistic reality in the Arab world. But one has to be clear about what the standardization process in a diglossic/triglossic situation involves. For Miller (2007:19), standardization involves a process of more or less conscious, and planned regulation of the language that includes codification of its form in standardized grammars and dictionaries, functional extension, expansion of the range of social uses and acceptance of the norms both officially and on part of the population at large.

To conclude, language in the Arab world can be defined as ‘a habit that is transmitted from one generation to generation without change’ (Versteegh quoting Ibn Khaldun’s words 1997:161). Classical Arabic continues to have a very strong symbolic power. CA had been successfully transmitted uninterruptedly, but reference to linguistic changes has rarely been
made; the focus having always been on the fixed norms of Arabic in what is believed to be its ‘pure’ form.

2.4 Conclusion

The present account attempts at understanding why normative and prescriptive grammars are now regarded as typical of Arabic linguistics and lexicography alike. We now know that the corpus of Arabic consists of the Qur’an, the Hadith, Pre-Islamic poetry, and Bedouin Arabic. Overall, the authenticity of these sources does not appear to have been regarded as an issue to the present. Miller explains that ‘This topos of the purity of the Bedouin language and its close relationship to Classical Arabic has survived until now in both Arab societies and the meta-linguistic discourses’ (2007:5).

Because the Qur’an is seen as a powerful symbol, ‘the colloquial language continued to be regarded as a debased form of the Classical language, a view that even nowadays is still current’ (Versteegh 1997:158), despite the noticeable independence of dialectal Arabic lexicography and the recent promotion of a set of vernaculars. We do believe that even though a static conservative concept of language was predominant through many centuries, the resistance of Arabic to change was not successful since the users of Arabic continued to calibrate the language to their needs. On the other hand, the difficulty to break away from the fiction of one language has deeply affected the development of MSA dictionaries. Language academies do not seem to have found a solution to the current situation, and a unified scientific terminology is not yet a reality in the Arab world.

One issue that Arab scholars and linguists in general apprehend has to do with the future of MSA. Badawi, Carter, and Gully, for instance, state that ‘it is far too early to tell whether

65
Modern Written Arabic (MWA) will ever break up into discrete languages reflecting the extreme variations in the spoken forms…” (2004:2), but the dialects along with loanwords continue to be seen as posing a major threat to the survival of Arabic in its most correct form. Dictionaries of errors do exist nowadays. In the *Dictionary of Common Mistakes in Modern Written Arabic* (1999), Muhammad al-Adnani claims to have collected examples of errors in Arabic language usage in books, magazines, newspapers and on radio and TV. He explains the error and then shows correct usage. The author draws on the Qur’an, Hadith, ancient poetry, dictionaries and works of other linguists. One has to understand, however, that attempts at preserving the language are at the heart of the struggle for defining one’s identity, and confirming that the Arab world is one unified nation. The Arab nation is an ideology built mainly on language (Bassiouney 2009).

In the next chapter, we go beyond the religious factor; we present an overview and a critique of the most popular monolingual Arabic dictionaries, mainly those that served as a starting point for bilingual dictionary compilation. Haywood (1960:83) states that the word *Qamus*, which is the current Arabic word for dictionary, came to mean dictionary, thanks to the wide currency of *Al-Qamus Al-Muḥit* (the surrounding ocean) by al-Firuzabadi (1414).
CHAPTER 3

MACRO- AND MICROSTRUCTURAL ISSUES IN MONOLINGUAL ARABIC DICTIONARIES AND THEIR EFFECTS ON MODERN ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY

Chapter two demonstrates how the influence of the religious factor is sustained by a number of far reaching effects on Arabic lexicography. Arab scholars seem to have confused the fact that it is the Qur’an as a text which was intended to be *ne varietur*, not the language itself. This belief, which reflects the very conservative attitudes that were prevalent in many Arabic circles, has had long-lasting effects on the writing of monolingual Arabic dictionaries, and similarly affected modern bilingual lexicography. Chapter two is a continuation of the previous chapter, in the sense that it investigates further effects of conservatism, with a focus on the lexicographic practices – both at the macro- and microstructural levels – of the most influential monolingual dictionaries in the history of Arabic lexicography. Our aim is to find possible explanations of the noticeable delay in the advancement of modern Arabic lexicography, and bilingual lexicography more specifically; especially that Arabs were pioneers in dictionary compilation. Seidensticker highlights the importance of early Arabic dictionaries to the history of linguistic thought:
one can say that the richness of the indigenous lexica has impeded the development of modern scientific lexicography. Therefore, we are still forced to make use of the medieval dictionaries with all their deficits in range, exactness, and documentation. Despite these failings, classical dictionaries are quite important for the history of linguistic thought due to their different methods of arranging the roots and the various types of dictionaries and their intentions and linguistic foundations. (2008:30)

Besides offering scholars an overview of the lexicographic techniques characteristic of Arabic dictionaries, the importance of early monolingual Arabic dictionaries lies in their lasting influence on dictionary writing in the Arab world over the centuries. Moreover, monolingual Arabic dictionaries have actually served as a basis for early bilingual dictionaries; thus early Arabic-English/ English-Arabic dictionaries, for instance, represented Classical Arabic as ‘they came into being in response to the needs of orientalists who were mainly interested in the study of Classical Arabic literature’ (El-Badry 1986:59). In fact, before the 19th century there was not much activity in the domain of English and Arabic bilingual lexicography, as Carter puts it: ‘polyglot dictionaries [were] by no means common – the Arabs themselves can scarcely have seen the need for them’ (1990:106-107). This chapter highlights the beginnings of English-Arabic lexicography before we get down to analyzing recent bilingual dictionaries in chapter 3.

Thus, chapter two suggests a critical examination of the techniques and methods adopted in monolingual Arabic lexicography that are commensurate with the lexicographic practices in bilingual Arabic lexicography, mainly the entry-ordering systems, and the choice of entries themselves and example sentences. The lexicographic approaches analyzed in this chapter are also vital to understanding the different approaches to Arabic linguistics, and the mechanisms of Arabic grammar. It appears that the only source of early theories of Arabic grammar, phonetics, and semantics were actually the lexicons/dictionaries published at the time.
3.1 The Rise of Arabic Lexicography

This section gives the reader a snapshot of the contribution of Arabic lexicography to Arabic linguistic theories, and recapitulates the role attached to dictionaries as tools that can perpetuate the ‘intact’ transmission of the language through generations. One should recognize that various lexicographic works began to appear during the first century after the advent of Islam and, despite all challenges and shortcomings, have continued incessantly to the present day. Haywood (1960:1) states:

In the compilation of dictionaries and other lexicographical works, the Arabs – or rather, those who wrote Arabic – were second to none until the Renaissance, with the possible exception of Chinese. A dozen of more major dictionaries, besides many vocabularies, both general and specialised, bear witness to their pre-eminence in this field, at a time when such works were almost unknown in Western Europe.

Haywood (1960:2) adds:

by the end of the Middle Ages the Arabs possessed a dictionary so widely available, that the first word in its fanciful title, which really meant ‘ocean’, became the common term for ‘dictionary’, and by the Nineteenth century, even before the widespread use of printing in the Arab world, thousands of copies existed.

In spite of the fact that the Arabs were pioneers in this field, ‘modern scholarship has tended to be rather dismissive of Arabic lexicography, forgetting perhaps that European lexicography was just beginning when the Taj al-'arus [literally ‘crown of the bride’ (1760-1774) the most copious monolingual Arabic dictionary] had crowned a thousand-year tradition’ (Carter 1998:468). It is important to explain, however, that the goals of lexicography in the Arab world were different from the commonly known goals of the discipline, which might explain – but not justify – contemptuous attitudes.
In fact, ‘Arabic lexicography does not pursue the history or origin of words in the Western manner, still less their changes in form or meaning’ (Carter 1998:468); this reveals the reasons behind the absence of historical dictionaries. Etymological science, Carter states, ‘denotes the re-attachment of a word to its radicals: the root, formally speaking, is already known and all that is required is to account for this particular instance of it, something involving rather tortuous reasoning reminiscent of medieval European etymologies’ (1998:468). Lexicography in the Arab world was usually referred to as ‘lugha’ (literally ‘language’). Haywood (1960) explains that lugha was initially the study of words which, though they occurred in the Qur’an, the Hadith, and pre-Islamic poetry, were not known to everyday speech, especially that later generations went astray through misunderstandings. Carter (1998:468) argues that the goals of lugha ‘were akin to those of ḥadith scholarship, to preserve meanings rather than analyze them.’ In Carter’s words, ‘lexicography is a by-product of the realization that the intuitive knowledge of the meaning of words among the Arabs in the prophet’s lifetime was lost to the heterogeneous urban communities who formed the majority of the Islamic population’ (1998:467). These facts about Arabic lexicography are usually assigned to the absence of a theory of semantics. According to Carter, such a theory did not develop until the later middle ages. We saw in chapter two that defining words was based on exegesis or tafsir. The huge volume of books devoted to the interpretation and explanation of the Qur’an are directly related to study of meanings, and can be linguistically termed as semantics, but in dictionaries not so much care is taken of definitions. The focus is rather on displaying illustrative examples from the different sources available to the lexicographer rather than working on appropriate explanatory methods, as we shall see later. It seems that scholars constantly call for ‘a re-examination of the language
sciences in the light of recent progress in Western linguistics’ (Carter 1998:468). Note also, that lexicography and grammar in the Arab world proceeded side by side.

As far as Arabic grammar is concerned, Bernards (1997:5) even claims that ‘controversy still surrounds the formative period of Arabic grammar as a fully-fledged science.’ It seems that it is the first full-scale dictionary in the Arab world Kitab al-’ayn (791) by al-Khalil that marked a significant milestone in the history of grammatical thought and set the tone for more works on grammar. It was Sibawayhi (d.c. 183/799), one of al-Khalil’s students, who created the grammar which would henceforth rule Arabic (Carter 1990). Bernards describes this book, which was primarily based on al-Khalil’s work, as follows: ‘his book is considered to be very valuable; it receives the epithet “the Qur’an of the grammar” (Qur’an al-nahw)’ (1997:5). Thus the title “the book” is usually understood to refer to either al-Khalil’s dictionary or Sibawayhi’s grammar book, both of which were seen as major contributions to Arabic grammar. What makes these books regarded as seminal works in the history of Arabic linguistics is the fact that most of the linguistic terminology that is commonly adopted nowadays was first introduced in both Kitabs. Thorough analyses of the terms invented by al-Khalil and Sibawahyi gave rise to terminological controversies on what the authors meant by different terms; a topic that still constitutes a very important research area in the Arab world. We should like to add that phonetics was a branch that fell within the scope of the much broader science: ‘grammar.’ As we shall see, al-Khalil’s Kitab laid the foundation of a modern understanding of phonetics as early as the eighth century. Throughout the chapter we will elaborate in-depth discussions of the lexicographers’ contribution to several linguistic areas, mainly morphology, semantics, and phonetics, with the aim of uncovering the area that received much of the lexicographers’ attention. The point we
should like to emphasize is that lexicography is an important source of major linguistic theories of Arabic.

We should also like to address the eventual separation between lexicography and philology. As shown in chapter one, all sorts of lexicographic works were published; Shivtiel (1993:15), for instance, divides classical dictionaries into five categories: ‘Dictionaries devoted to special subjects (animals, etc…), dictionaries covering certain corpora, e.g., Qur’an and Hadith, dictionaries or monographs which emphasized the correct usage against ‘deplorable’ abusages, dictionaries of uncommon words, and thesauri.’ Carter (1998) refers to the time when soliciting information from the Bedouin began, on the assumption that they preserved Qur’anic and pre-Qur’anic usage, as a turning point for Arabic lexicography. The author indicates that ‘forerunners of the great dictionaries were entirely secular word-lists, names of animals, meteorological features, near-homonyms, difficult genders and morphologies, etc., more useful to the collector of poetry than the religious scholar, for which reason some philologists shunned the subject’ (1998:467). It is true that lexicography was mainly seen as an aid to understanding the Qur’an, and other religious texts. However, as argued by Shivtiel (1993:14):

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

Dictionary compilers were obviously aware of the changes that the language underwent. True their aim might have never been to record these changes, as explained earlier; however, they aimed at systematization and comprehensiveness.
Seidensticker (2008) indicates that due to radical shifts in social and cultural life after the conquest of Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Iran, Pre-Islamic poetry or prose, the Qur’an, and prophetic tradition could no longer easily be understood by Arabs of the 8th century because the language had changed considerably. Seidensticker continues:

These changes affected morphology, phonetics, syntax, and, of course, vocabulary. These developments – canonization and change – inevitably brought about a need to preserve and systematize. Attention was paid to both religious and nonreligious texts, and this is reflected in the development of two parallel strands of Arabic lexicography, which later partly merged. A voluminous literature devoted to obscure lexemes in the Qur’an and the prophetic tradition […] stands alongside dictionaries of merely secular orientation, such as the [Kitab al-jim] by [‘abdu ‘amr ash-shaybani] (d. about 213/828), which mentions only two quotations from the Qur’an against 4,300 lines of poetry. (2008:30-31)

Carter describes the state of Arabic that called for systematization as follows: ‘“copious without order, energetic without rules”: this is how the English language appeared to Samuel Johnson in the 18th century and so, too, must Arabic have seemed to its first lexicographers some thousand years earlier….al-Khalil b. Ahmed (d.175/791) brought order to its copiousness by laying the foundations of lexicography (‘ilm al-lugha, “the science of language”)’ (1990:106). In addition to systematization, one of the most sought achievements by Arab lexicographers was comprehensiveness, as Haywood (1960:2) puts it:

the compilers of Arabic dictionaries aimed at registering the complete vocabulary material of the language. Indeed, they were almost obsessed by the copiousness of the language, and were very mathematically-minded in this matter. In this, they differed from the earlier lexicographers of other nations, whose chief aim was to explain rare and difficult words.

Seidensticker and Haywood do not seem to agree on the proportions of the works devoted to obscure or rare words. It might be that Haywood was referring to later developments of
lexicography when the need to compile works that could be easily accessed by non-specialists or less educated people was felt.

Seidensticker (2008:31) himself indicates that:

From the early Abbasid times onward (i.e. after 750 C.E.), officials of whatever ethnic background were required to have an advanced mastery of Arabic style. Moreover, Arabic was employed as a medium of literary expression even in nonreligious fields in many parts of the Islamic world (the most important exception being Persia). This proliferation meant that a growing need was felt for dictionaries designed less for scholars than for the educated classes, to concentrate on the common vocabulary rather than on obscure or rare items. An example of this type of dictionary is the *Munjid al-lugha* by ‘ahmad ibn Faris (d. 395/1005), who explicitly says in his introduction that he has disregarded obscure words. The popularity of his book is attested by the large number of manuscript copies in libraries all over the world.

Thus, the growing importance of Arabic as the language of administration was a further factor strengthening the development of ‘general’ Arabic lexicography. We should mention, however, that ‘between the end of the 8th century, when the Kitab al-cayn was written, and the end of the 18th century C.E., 43 Arabic dictionaries were created, only 14 of which can be considered ‘general’ Arabic/Arabic dictionaries, as the remainder included specialized or technical vocabulary and items from tribal vocabulary, and some dictionaries contained linguistically relevant information in the entries.’ (Marzari 2006:38). The interest in specialized dictionaries has always exceeded the interest in general dictionaries; a tradition that was passed on to bilingual dictionaries, since the latter are often criticized for including too much technical vocabulary, as shall be shown in chapter 4.

Later in the 19th and 20th century, it appears that dictionaries were compiled for the same reason; that is systematization, and one more vital reason, which is the revival of the language. Arabic, as shown in chapter two, was on the decline in the 19th century. Sawaie (1990:161)
claims that in this impoverished climate, Arabic ‘was blamed for its incapability to function as a vital, vibrant medium of expression at the same level of other languages, particularly European ones such as English and French.’ Along the same lines, Drozdik (1983:97) argues:

new political, cultural, scientific and technological developments in the 19th and 20th century Arab world operated as a powerful stimulus to the emergence and linguistic maturation of Modern Written Arabic, especially in the domain of the lexicon. Both lexicographers and language users found themselves suddenly faced with serious difficulties in dealing with huge quantities of new concepts and ideas associated with the life of the modern society.

At the risk of being repetitive, the 19th and 20th centuries witnessed a systematic exploitation of all available resources of Arabic to meet this challenging demand. Sawaie (1990:161) points to some important attempts in this direction:

some leading 19th-century scholars rose to defend the language, using several means to make it viable again. These included a return to *al-'usul* “the classics” in Arabic, emphasis on linguistic and literary topics, translation of modern sciences into Arabic, the establishment of newspapers, and interest in publishing in general. All of these efforts were attempts to rid the language of its limitations.

But the most important attempt at revitalization was, with no shred of doubt, the publication of dictionaries that tried, as much as possible, to be responsive to the needs of the ‘new’ society.

Due to the predominance of conservatism in the Arab world, dictionaries were not always successful in accomplishing such a goal. According to Sawaie (1990:160), however, one ‘successful’ attempt to rectify the situation of inadequate dictionaries was made by Butrus al-Bustani (1819-1883), who completed his famous 2-volume dictionary *Muhit al-Muhit* in 1869-70, basing it primarily on *al-Qamus al-Muhit* by al-Firuzabadi (1329-1415), which –as we shall see – is one of the most important dictionaries of all time in the history of Arabic lexicography.
Obviously, dictionaries were seen as unequivocal linguistic tools scholars resorted to in order to achieve such important goals as systematization and revival of the Arabic language. The same mission is carried out nowadays by the language academies through the publication of dictionaries. This is undoubtedly a heavy burden on the lexicographers’ shoulders since failure to accomplish such a goal has always resulted in blaming them for the poor state of the language. Marzari, for example, reports the dismay expressed by Arab scholars at the current state of Arabic; ‘a language that has been called the wealthiest of all, is today reduced to such a poor state that if an author wants to describe his bedroom he can hardly find the right words’ (2006:30). Marzari claims that ‘if Arabs only used the words given in their dictionaries, when it came to modern life they would have to walk speechlessly through the streets and sit silently in their schools and homes’ (2006:30). Such claims constitute a criticism for paying excessive attention to the names of animals and other words that were part of Bedouin life. Marzari expresses his disappointment in dictionaries as follows: ‘Hundreds of names for the lion or the snake, which have not been seen in the towns for centuries, do not make up for a missing word for towel or frying pan. Which objects did people actually use in towns? – The Dictionaries are silent and draw a picture of an immobile, even lifeless, urban society’ (2006:30). In our opinion this criticism is too harsh, and treats the lexicographic expertise achieved in lexicons or vocabularies as having little value.

In his general dictionary typology, Svensen (2009:23) defines this type of dictionary, referred to as the Onomasiological dictionary, as ‘dictionaries where the macrostructure is based on the content-side characteristic of lexical items.’ These works, among which are thesauri, have a very important encoding function for writers. However, there is this general conception of dictionaries as being essentially alphabetical, as McArthur explains: ‘Nowadays, most people
think of wordbooks in terms of ABC ordering, and by and large most lexicographers see themselves as engaged in the creation of such books. Both of these related views of what lexicographers do, however, may be a limited perspective on what lexicography in fact is’ (1986:157). Haywood (1960:1) attends to the same misconception of dictionaries: ‘we assume that it is natural to list words in the alphabetical order of their letters, from the first to the last. Yet the history of lexicography in various languages shows that it did not seem so in the past.’

The thematic tradition in dictionary compilation is most certainly very important to consider, as it ‘is the older, broader tradition, with its roots in the classical traditions of Plato, Aristotle and Pliny, and with strong foundations in the world of medieval scholasticism’ (McArthur 1986:157). As far as early Arabic lexicography is concerned, onomasiological dictionaries were predominant and were never abandoned even after the alphabetical order was established; however, there were many other traditions that go far beyond the alphabetic and the thematic traditions and that are peculiar to Arabic dictionaries. Indeed, there are many possible ways to arrange a dictionary, ‘for instance, the longer entries might come first; words might be arranged according to their initials or finals; or according to the number of letters they contained; synonyms or homonyms might be grouped together; or a combination of several of the above principles might be employed.’ (Haywood 1960:7-8)

The different methods of entry arrangement adopted in Arabic dictionaries constitute an important part of the controversial debates that have surrounded Arabic dictionaries to the present, and might be regarded as the main reason behind the fame of certain works. Entry arrangement is an issue that requires more research, because adopting an alphabetical arrangement according to letter order – as easy and straightforward as it might seem – might not be well appropriate for Semitic languages. Shivtiel (1993:13) strongly argues that ‘the
arrangement of the entries by alphabetical order of the words ‘separates’ between words, which are morphologically and semantically associated, thus ‘annulling’ one of the most significant characteristics of the Semitic family in general.’

To conclude, Arabic dictionaries have known an ebb and flow of entry arrangement techniques, most of which have lasted for centuries before the commonly known alphabetical order was adopted. Haywood (1960:1) notes:

At first, vocabularies of limited scope were written on an anagrammatic basis according to an artificial alphabetical order based on phonetic principles, and separating roots according to the number of letters which they comprised. Later, roots were listed in rhyme order; that is according to their final consonants. The present system – the alphabetical order of the initial – was tried by a few authors, usually with variations great or small, but it never gained wide currency.

The trial and error process outlined above indicates that Arab lexicographers have always been aware of the problems connected with the compilation of Arabic dictionaries. One can argue that they were concerned with finding the best method to arrange entries in order to ensure maximum effectiveness. Shivtiel’s analyzes the lexicographers’ perspectives from a pedagogical point of view; she recognizes:

…the strenuous efforts made, over the years, by Arab lexicographers, who have endeavoured, on the one hand, to satisfy a special need, and on the other hand, to offer the user new or improved methods for looking up words in a way which seemed, pedagogically speaking, more appropriate and more logical to the authors. However, it should be borne in mind that not all lexicographers were motivated by pedagogical considerations, since some of the classical works…showed no sensitivity to the student’s needs. (1993:14)

Before engaging in further discussion, it is important to devote a separate section that informs the reader of some important issues concerning the Arabic alphabet. We will also briefly explain how vowels, as we understand them in English, are represented in Arabic. The treatment of
vowels in Arabic dictionaries reflects some important lexicographic practices that are worth considering when writing future dictionaries.

3.2 Some Important Notes on the Vowel System and the Arabic Alphabet

It is important to know that, orthographically speaking, the written Arabic word is essentially a consonantal skeleton. Holes notes that ‘the three qualities of short vowel, which are just as much phonemes as the consonants that make up the written word, are not normally marked in writing except in the Koran and children’s reading primers, where they are written above (/al/, /ul/) or below (/il/) the letter they follow’ (2004:89). Thus, Holes adds, ‘words with quite different meanings, such as darasa ‘he studied’, durisa ‘it was studied’, dars ‘lesson’, darrasa ‘he taught’, and durrisa ‘it was taught’ are homographic in normal handwriting or print’ (Holes 2004:90). All these words are spelled as كهً, hence the primordial nature of diacritics for an American learner of Arabic, for example. The indication of diacritics facilitates the reading of Arabic texts; for instance, كَهَّ (he studied), كُهََِّ (it was studied), كَهَّْْ (lesson), كَهََََّّ (he taught), etc… The short oblique stroke written below the consonant indicates that the consonant is followed by a short /il/. The same symbol used above a consonant indicates that the latter is followed by a short /al/. The vowel /ul/ is indicated by a dhamma (ُ) above the consonant. The little circle above the consonant, simply, means that there is no vowel. Geminates in Arabic are also indicated by a shadda on top of the letter, instead of actually double writing the consonants; for example, ز means rra with emphasis on r sound. Users of bilingual Arabic dictionaries, for instance, often complain about a very common lexicographic practice which is the suppression of Arabic vowels from the written form in the dictionary. We can confidently report from our own analysis of some English-Arabic dictionaries a lack of consistency in
indicating the Arabic vowels, although one English–Arabic/Arabic–English dictionary by Hippocrene has attempted to solve this problem by using the IPA. It becomes clear now what the so-called ‘vowelling’ problem refers to in Arabic lexicography. We will explain in later sections how monolingual dictionaries handled the issue of indicating short vowels.

Long vowels, on the hand, are much easier to recognize in Arabic script since they are reflected orthographically by the use of ‘alif to indicate /a:/, and the letters ya:’ (semivowel /y/) and waw (semivowel /w/) to indicate /i:/ and /u:/, respectively. The letters /w/ and /y/ can be considered as glides, and are used to represent long vowels in Arabic in the same way as ‘alif’.

The latter, however, has a very special status, as noted by Holes:

Of the twenty-eight named letters that make up the conventional alphabet, all but one represent consonantal phonemes. The twenty-eighth, ʔalif, has no consonantal value of its own but has a number of orthographic uses, one of which is to carry the sign for the twenty-eighth consonant, the glottal stop hamza, which is phonologically a fully functional consonant even though it is not normally considered a separate letter of the alphabet. (2004:89)

Thus, ‘alif’ is never realized on the phonetic level and serves only as an abstract phonological element (Versteegh 1998). ‘alif ( ٠ ) attached to a consonant indicates a long vowel, as in láfa:/’alif is also used to carry the hamza ( ُ ), in which case it is realized as a glottal stop ʔ/ʔ/. ‘alif’ is usually spelled ١/ʔa/ or ١/ʔi/. A dhamma on top of ٠/ʔa/ reads ١/ʔu/. In case an /a:/ vowel follows, the alternative spelling is ١/ʔa:/.

In common transcriptions, ‘alif’ appears as one inverted comma. Note that there has always been ‘disagreement among scholars as to whether or not to consider ‘alif a member of the alphabet’ (Sawaie 1990:165), but ‘alif ( ٠ ) and the hamza are both listed in the conventional Arabic alphabet. Bilingual dictionaries, such as Elias Arabic-English dictionary

As for the hamza /ʔ/, although it can occur separately at the end of some words, as in جاء /jaːʔa/ (he came), it usually requires an ‘alif as explained above, a waw (و) as in سؤال /suʔaːl/ (question), and a ya’ (ي) as in سأله /suʔila/ (he was asked). There are rules as to the choice of the correct spelling, but there is also a number of exceptions to each rule. Note that waw and ya’ are also problematic letters. They can either indicate a long vowel as in يبو /buː/ or بی /biː/, or be fully pronounced, in the same way as in English, as in بني /yabni:/ (construct) or ولد /waladl/ (boy). This is by no means restricted to the letters occurring initially in a word. We will not go into further details, as our aim consists in introducing the reader to the complexities of the Arabic writing system, and pointing out to the first problem in the Arabic alphabet which has to do with the status of the ‘alif and hamza, on the one hand, and the waw and ya’, on the other hand. ‘alif, waw and ya’ are usually called weak consonants (Haywood 1960, Versteegh 1997). Their position in certain orders of the Arabic alphabet, and their treatment in Arabic-Arabic dictionaries are affected by this status. Let us now move to a discussion of the numerous orders of the Arabic alphabet that are known to exist.

Consider Seidensticker’s words:
the phonetic-permutative system of arranging the roots of the Arabic words, probably the most impractical system, is known to us from the earliest Arabic semasiological dictionary, the *Kitab al-‘ayn*, which in its main traits goes back to al-Xalil ibn ‘Aḥmad (d. about 175/791). It is based neither on the Abjad order of the letters */b/j/d/h/w/z* etc.) nor on the common Arabic alphabet */b/t/ṯ/j/ḥ/x* etc.), which was probably already known in the 8th century C.E., but instead uses a third method of ordering. The key factor in this arrangement of letters is the place of articulation in the mouth or pharynx. The sounds articulated at the back of the pharynx (i.e. the laryngeals) are first in this sequence; the labials, articulated in the front of the mouth, close the so-called ‘Xalilian order’. (2008:31)

Note that ‘al-Khalil’ is sometimes spelled ‘al-Xalil’, or simply ‘Xalil/Khalil’; ‘al-Khalil’ is adopted in the present work except when a different spelling occurs in citations. It follows from the above citation that there are –at least – three different alphabetical orders; the *Abjad* (meaning ‘alphabet’ in general) or *Abjadi* order, the common Arabic alphabet, and al-Khalil’s innovative alphabet.

In modern Arabic, the word ‘*abjadiyyah* (*Abjad*) means ‘alphabet’ in general. The word *Abjad* is an acronym derived from the first four consonants in the corresponding Arabic alphabet: ‘*Alif, Ba, Jim, Dal*. This alphabet consists of 28 letters, each of which is assigned a numerical value. In the *Abjad* system, the first letter of the Arabic alphabet, ‘*alif*’ is used to represent 1; the second letter, ‘*ba*’ (b), is used to represent 2, etc. Individual letters also represent 10’s and 100’s: ‘*ya*’ (y) for 10, ‘*kaf*’ (k) for 20, ‘*qaf*’ (q) for 100, etc. The *abjadi* order, used for numbering, derives from the order of the Phoenician alphabet, and is therefore similar to the order of other Phoenician-derived alphabets, such as the Hebrew alphabet (*Wikipedia article on the Arabic alphabet*). The table below outlines the *Abjad* and offers transcriptions of the Arabic sounds.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Abjad</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ا</td>
<td>/ ā / â</td>
<td>[aː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>ǧ/j/dj</td>
<td>[dʒ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>و</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>[z]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>ǧ</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ط</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ي</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ل</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>[ʔˤ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ف</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>[f]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ص</td>
<td>ʃ</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ق</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>[r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>ʃ/sh</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>t/th</td>
<td>[θ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>ǧ / ħ / kh</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>ǧ</td>
<td>[dʲ], [ðʲ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ض</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>[zʲ], [ðʲ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ظ</td>
<td>ǧ / gh</td>
<td>[ɣ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We shall not go into detail concerning the numerical value of each sound, but it is important to mention that the Arabs of North Africa and Spain gave a different alpha-numeric order to some of the letter in the 100s than was common in the Levant (Lewis 1999). Lewis adds that this variation does not affect the values of letters under 100, which – to the author’s best knowledge – have always and everywhere been the same. The letters sh and gh, for instance, correspond to 300 and 1000 in the Levant, and to 1000 and 900 in North Africa, respectively. The variant values of the same Arabic letters in the Levant and North Africa point to another variation that exists between the two parts of the Arab world. We shall now present the common Arabic
alphabet – or the ‘normal’ alphabet, in Haywood (1960), Versteegh (1997), and Baalbaki’s (1998) terms, and ‘conventional’ for Holes – which groups letters on the basis of shape similarity.

The hijaii order, as shown in the table below, is commonly used in today’s bilingual Arabic dictionaries either when the words are arranged according to their roots, or according to the first letter of the word. The table suggests more information concerning the Arabic script, such as the different spellings of the same letter when it occurs in initial, medial, and final positions. The table, with a few modifications, appears in the following Website:

http://www.fact-index.com/a/ar/arabic_alphabet.html
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Hijaii order</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Trans.</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ء</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>hamza</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>[ʔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>’alif</td>
<td>aː / ā / ă</td>
<td>[aː]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ب</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>bāʼ</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ت</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>tāʼ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>tāʼ</td>
<td>t / th</td>
<td>[θ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>ġīm</td>
<td>ġ / j / dj</td>
<td>[dʒ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>ĥāʼ</td>
<td>ħ</td>
<td>[ħ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>ĥāʼ</td>
<td>ħ / ḥ / kh</td>
<td>[x]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>د</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>dāl</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>dāl</td>
<td>d / dh</td>
<td>[ð]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>rāʼ</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>[ɾ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>zāy</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>[z]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>س</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>sīn</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ش</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>šīn</td>
<td>š / sh</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ص</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>šād</td>
<td>š</td>
<td>[sʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ض</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>ḍād</td>
<td>ḍ</td>
<td>[dˤ, [ðˤ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ط</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>tāʼ</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[tʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ظ</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>zāʼ</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>[zʰ, [ðʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ع</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>‘ayn</td>
<td></td>
<td>[ʔʰ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>غ</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>ḡayn</td>
<td>ġ / gh</td>
<td>[ɣ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ف</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>fāʼ</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>[f]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ق</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>qāf</td>
<td>q / k̚</td>
<td>[q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>kāf</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ل</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>lām</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>[l]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>م</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>mīm</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ن</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>nūn</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>[n]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ه</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>ḥāʼ</td>
<td>ḥ</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>و</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>wāw</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ي</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>٠</td>
<td>yāʼ</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>[j]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As the table shows, letters of the same form, but distinguished by diacritical points, are grouped together. It took lexicographical works in the Arab world centuries to embrace the normal alphabetical order as we understand it today, in the sense that the entries are arranged according to their first radical or the first letter of the word following the above order. According to Shivtiel (1993:19), dictionaries which are arranged alphabetically began to appear only in the 20th century. Some lexicographers adopted the Hijaii system as early as the 11th century in the notable al-Jawhari’s šīḥāṭ (alternatively called šaḥāṭ) (d. before 1007), but the entries were still not arranged according to the first radical, but according to the last radical of the root. This raises a very important question; what arrangement did Arabic dictionaries follow in the 8th century, during which the first Arabic dictionary came out?

Al- Khalil Ibn Ahmed adopted an innovative alphabet that he himself had created. It is usually referred to as al-Khalil’s phonetic/phonological order. In Kitab al-ʿAyn, the Arabic phonemes are classified according to their place of articulation, starting with those whose articulation is the deepest, i.e., laryngeal. The resulting alphabet is listed in the table below. The modern phonetic description of the Arabic sounds was taken from the Website of Stanford University: http://www.stanford.edu/dept/lc/arabic/alphabet/letters/letter28.html
Table 3.4: Al-Khalil’s phonological order and modern phonetic descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kitab al-‘ayn order</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Modern Phonetic Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ع</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>[ʔˤ]</td>
<td>Voiced pharyngeal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ح</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>Voiceless pharyngeal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>خ</td>
<td>h / h / kh</td>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>Voiceless velar fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ق</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>[q]</td>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated velar stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ك</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>Voiceless unaspirated velar stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ج</td>
<td>ġ / ġh</td>
<td>[y]</td>
<td>Voiced velar fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ض</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>[s]</td>
<td>Voiceless palatal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ص</td>
<td>š / sh</td>
<td>[ʃ]</td>
<td>Voiceless palatal fricative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[dˤ], [ðˤ]</td>
<td>Voiced dental velarized stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>Voiceless, unaspirated dental stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>ŋ / dh</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>Voiced velarized interdental sibilant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ز</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>[d]</td>
<td>Voiced dental stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ض</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>[m]</td>
<td>Voiced bilabial nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ص</td>
<td>ŋ</td>
<td>[ŋ]</td>
<td>Voiced bilabial rounded semivowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ذ</td>
<td>a / â</td>
<td>[aː]</td>
<td>A low vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ث</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>[j]</td>
<td>Voiced palatal semivowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ر</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Glottal stop</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Al-Khalil devised this order by simply trying out the consonants:
he opened his mouth pronouncing a glottal stop and then producing a consonant, for instance, ‘ab, ‘at, ‘ah, ‘a’, ‘agh. He concluded that the ‘c’ is produced deepest in the throat. Therefore, he assigned the first chapter to the ‘c’, followed by the nearest consonant, and so on successively until he reached the last consonant, which was the m. (Versteegh 1997:23)

Thus, al-Khalil’s order does not start with ‘alif, because ‘alif is a weak consonant. Al-Khalil calls it the ‘soft ‘alif” or ‘al-alif al-layyina’ (Baalbaki 1998:46). It is also no coincidence that waw, ya’, alif and hamza all appear at the end of the alphabet. Haywood (1960:37) explains that:

al-Khalil chose to invent his own alphabet because, he said, the ‘alif was an irregular letter. He arranged the letters according to their points of pronunciation, beginning with the throat letters or gutturals, and working upwards and outwards to the labials or lip-letters. There should, therefore be twenty-nine chapters in the book. In fact, there are only twenty-six, since the four weak letters – waw, ya’, alif and hamza – are grouped together in the final – and twenty-sixth – chapter.

Needless to say that it is unusual to group four letters in the same chapter in a dictionary, but this practice probably aims at highlighting the special status of the four letters in question. Add to this fact that roots themselves, in al-Khalil’s dictionary, are differentiated according to whether or not they contain weak letters. A ‘solid’ root would be a root without any of the four letters in question.

When we compare al-Khalil’s alphabetical order to the modern phonetic descriptions of the sounds that constitute the Arabic alphabet, we cannot but be surprised at how consistent his system was, especially at a time when a phonological theory of grammar was non-existent or – at best – was at a rudimentary stage. His system is certainly not devoid of mistakes, but he can be given full credit for having been the first scholar to have discussed the sounds of Arabic. For Baalbaki (1998), al-Khalil’s alphabetical order reflects his concern with the phonotactics of Arabic words; that, for example, no Arabic quadrilateral or quinqueliteral root can be devoid of
liquids or labials, and that no Arabic word begins with \( n-r \). This was a revolution at the time because it shows which combinations of consonants cannot co-exist because of the closeness of their point of articulation. Holes (2004) explains that \( C_1 \) and \( C_2 \) may not be homorganic; \( C_2 \) and \( C_3 \) may be identical but may not be homorganic; there are very few roots where \( C_1 \) and \( C_3 \) are either identical or homorganic. We should like to, parenthetically, note that al-Khalil’s innovative alphabetical order was believed to have been borrowed from the model of the Devanagari alphabet of the Sanskrit, which also starts with the velars and then progresses to the labials (Haywood 1960, Versteegh 1997). Carter (1998) thinks that the conjectural Indian origins of this alphabet remain unproven. Al-Khalil’s sequence is not accepted nowadays, but our interest in his entry arrangement methods lies in its long-lasting influence on later Arabic dictionaries.

3.3 Seminal Dictionaries in the History of Arabic Lexicography

We should like to draw the readers’ attention that there are a great number of other Arabic dictionaries that might not be cited in the following discussion. An exhaustive listing of Arabic dictionaries goes far beyond the scope of the present work. The analysis allows us to derive the characteristic lexicographic practices of monolingual Arabic lexicography, because – we do believe – they constitute the foundation of modern bilingual Arabic lexicography.

Seidensticker (2008:30) states that ‘within Classical Arabic literature, lexicographical writings form an extensive and multifaceted branch, having produced remarkable results in the period from the late 2\(^{nd}\)/8\(^{th}\) century to the 12\(^{th}\)/18\(^{th}\) and flourishing particularly in the 4\(^{th}\)/10\(^{th}\) century.’ In an attempt at sketching the development of Arabic lexicography, the selected dictionaries appeared during the timeline indicated by Seidensticker: *Kitab al-\(^{c}\)Ayn* (791), șiḥaḥ
by al-Jauhari (alternatively spelled al-Jawhari) (d. about 400/1009), Ibn Manẓur’s *Lisan al-ʿarab* (d. 711/1311), *the Qamus* of al- Firuzabadi (d.815/ 1415), and the *Taj al-ʿarus* by al-Zabidi (late 18th century).

### 3.3.1 The *Kitab al-ʿAyn*: The First Arabic Dictionary and the Foundation of Arabic Phonetics and Grammar

No work on Arabic lexicography fails to mention that the discipline of Arabic lexicography began with the development of the *Kitab al-ʿAyn* by al-Khalil. Sawaie states: ‘the book’s title derives from the fact its first entry words begin with the sound ʿayn, the voiced pharyngeal fricative, followed by other pharyngeal sounds all the way up in the vocal tract to include sounds produced in the oral cavity’ (1990:169). The reader should be aware, however, that controversy has always centered around the issue of whether al-Khalil can be considered the compiler of all entries in the *Kitab al-ʿAyn* (Ryding 1998). Doubt has even been cast on his authorship, and one of his pupils, al-Layth ibn al-Muẓaffar, is often being mentioned as the real author of the *Kitab al-ʿAyn*. Versteegh argues:

> the name of al-Layth ibn al-Muẓaffar turns up indeed in all accounts about the history of the *Kitab al-ʿAyn*, and even if he did not actually compose the whole book, he may at least be regarded as the editor who gave the book its final shape.

What sustains the legitimacy of this view is that al-Khalil indeed wrote only parts of the book that were discovered later after his death. Haywood settles the debate by arguing that ‘the problem of the authorship of the “ʿAin” will probably never be convincingly solved; but a few pointers may guide us in formulating our opinion. Knowing al-Khalil’s original mind, we must credit him with a major share at least in the planning’ (1960:26). Al-Khalil’s planning of the
dictionary remained challenged for two hundred years, even though it was always thought to be very complicated and not practical at all.

Al-Khalil’s first principle – the phonological order – was explained in the previous section. This section focuses on the two other principles he followed in arranging the entries of the Kitab; mainly the root-based classification, and the permutative system. Thus, al-Khalil’s system can be called phonological – root-classificatory – permutative (Seidensticker 2008). Haywood assigns it the broad term ‘anagrammatical’ arrangement; a term that usually embodies any arrangement that does not fall under the normal alphabetical order.

Baalbaki (1998:48) explains that al-Khalil’s method consists of ‘listing all the possible root permutations under each letter/phoneme, arranged by root length within the chapter of each letter.’ In other words, each entry comprises all the ‘possible’ permutations of given radicals grouped together. Thus, f-t-h is found under h in the group h-t-f and its permutations (of which f-h-t does not occur) (Carter 1998:467), while under ‘alima (know) we also find ‘amala (work), and lama’a (shine/excel). Note that for al-Khalil, the number of consonant radicals in an Arabic word stem varies from two to five. Hence, ‘al-Khalil’s permutations of consonant ordering within roots which, theoretically at least, yield two sets in biliteral roots, six sets in triliteral, twenty-four sets in the quadriliteral, and one hundred twenty-four sets in the quinqueliteral’ (Baalbaki 1998:53).

Furthermore, ‘within each chapter devoted to one of the letters from /c/ to /’/, there are subchapters treating separately the biliteral, geminated, sound triliteral, simply weak triliteral, doubly weak triliteral, and quadriliteral roots containing the letter in question’ (Seidensticker 2008:31). It follows that not only are the roots separated according to the number of radicals, but roots with weak letters, such as waqda (to fall), are treated separately. As far as example
sentences are concerned, it comes as no surprise that most examples were taken from the authoritative sources, as Seidensticker puts it: ‘like most other Arabic dictionaries, the Kitab al-‘ayn gives numerous quotations, primarily taken from early poetry but also from the Qur’an and from prophetic tradition (Hadith)’ (2008:32). But what objectives could be achieved through this complicated system?

As discussed in the first section of the chapter, Arab lexicographers in general have always aimed at comprehensiveness and systematization. Through al-Khalil’s work, we can clearly see how these two objectives were realized. Baalbaki explains that al-Khalil’s concern with phonotactics ‘is linked with his plan of exhaustively listing all potential Arabic roots, explaining what is in actual usage, and pointing what is only theoretically possible’ (1998:53). Moreover, the fixed phonemic inventory, the number of radicals per word, in addition to the rigorous application of a set of ‘possible’ permutations resulted in an extremely systematic system. The permutative system reflects a sophisticated mathematical approach:

which dictates a one-to-one relationship between the root and its position within a strictly hierarchically arranged system. The reoccurrence of roots in different locations in the lexicon would have contrasted sharply with Khalil’s efforts at systematization and defeated his purpose of providing entries for roots within the exact slots dictated by the root consonant permutations. (Baalbaki 1998:48)

Al-Khalil is usually praised for his consistency; that each root occupies a single entry in the sense that it occurs only once and is not repeated elsewhere in the lexicon. Due to the prevailing conservative attitudes at the time, as thoroughly investigated in Chapter 1, one of the purposes of exhaustively listing all possible permutations might actually have been the design of a method that facilitates the recognition of foreign words. Such a system does make it easy to recognize foreign words since it informs us about which consonants are never combined in a ‘true’ Arabic
root. Haywood explains that, ‘letters with points of pronunciation near to each other – and more specifically, letters of the same group – do not combine to form an Arabic root, unless they are separated by an immediate letter of another group’ (1960:52). Versteegh (1997) reports that lexicographers who followed al-Khalil even made such claims as: the best roots are those comprising mutually remote letters. We shall argue in what follows that al-Khalil’s concern with the morphological panorama of the language was far from being complete.

Versteegh (1997:29) quotes one lemma from *Kitab al-‘ayn*, that of the root ‘-sh-q ‘to fall in love with’:

‘Ashiqa-ha: ‘ashaqan “he loved her passionately”, and the noun is ‘ishq “passion”. Ru’ba says: ‘He refrained from showing her his love after courting her, and he did not lead her astray between loathing and passion (‘ashaq)’. A man is ‘ashi:q “in love” with a woman; a woman is ‘ashi:qatuhu “his beloved”. They are ‘ushsha:q or ‘asha:shiq “in love” with a woman. (‘Ayn I, 124)

Notice how certain derivations of the root are included. The derivations are usually illustrated either from a poem or the Qur’an in which the word occurs. Versteegh comments that ‘the intention of the dictionary was to include all current roots from each combinations of radicals, not necessarily all words derived from these roots (1997:29). Along the same lines, Haywood writes: ‘Al-Khalil set out to record all the roots in the Arabic language – though not all the words, which is a very different matter’ (1960:37), and goes on later ‘he did not, for example, go through all the common derived verbal forms for every root. He doubtless assumed familiarity with some, or at least knowledge of the common meaning-patterns which were associated with the different derived verb-forms’ (1960:66). There seems to be an agreement among linguists that al-Khalil did not intend to include all words derived from the selected roots.
Haywood (1960:39) argues:

He had no regular system for listing derivations under their roots, and might begin an entry with noun, adjectives, or verb. A verbal noun might even be mentioned without the verb. So a user of the dictionary, even if he found the required root after much labour, had still the prospect of reading right through the entry to find the word we wanted – and it might not be there at all!

Clearly, the rationale behind not including derivations is that they are so common that the lexicographer does not have to elaborate on them. Versteegh (1997:29) argues that ‘when words derived from a root are mentioned, this solely serves the purpose of showing that the root actually exists in the language’. This is one pertinent problem to Arabic lexicography nowadays, as lexicographers do not agree on how many derived forms should be included in an entry, if their inclusion is considered at all. The problem of how to present derivations in an entry is a major issue that has never been resolved, as we shall conclude at the end of the chapter.

We now understand that al-Khalil’s methods of listing the total vocabulary of the language, and defining it were achieved at the cost of the quality of the dictionary entries. One can argue that the dictionary was not designed for popular use, but was mainly intended for scholars. It should be seen as a major contribution to the development and elaboration of a grammatical theory and its metalanguage. Ryding quotes Rudolph Sellheim’s view:

al-Khalil had already found elements for a theory of the language. It is even possible that such a theory had already been formulated in a fragmentary way and noted down in lecture courses, in answers to questions about individual problems, and the like. But it started to take shape only thanks to the abundance of observations of individual cases, comparisons and proofs adduced by al-Khalil, which gave the impulse of sytematisation….al-Khalil was the real creator of this science. (1998:104)

On the Kitab, Haywood (1960:38-39), on the other hand, suggests that ‘Al-Khalil could have been just as sure of including all roots using the normal alphabetical order, without anagrams,
and without separating roots according to their length…. Everything about his plan was wrong, and it exerted a baneful influence on later lexicography.’ Haywood indicates that:

the unsatisfactory nature of these means, however, not only detracted from the value of his book as a work of reference; it also vitiated the work of the lexicographers who succeeded him and imitated him. Whatever outside influences may or may not have affected al-Khalil, the science of language, like some other Arabic sciences, became very insular, and once someone made a start, it was natural for others to imitate him. (1960:41)

Even in dictionaries which abandoned the Khalilian order of letters, either the root-classificatory or the permutative system (or both of them) were retained (Seidensticker 2008:32), and it took Arabic lexicography centuries before new principles were introduced.

The rhyming principle ‘in which the words were arranged alphabetically according to their last radical, then the first and then the second’ (Versteegh 1997:31) was introduced from al-Jauhari’s time in the ṣiḥaḥ (d. about 400/1009) onward until the Taj al-Caras (late 18th century). The alphabetical order according to the last radical ‘marks a turning point in the history of Arabic lexicography’ (Haywood 1960:76). As a matter of fact, al-Khalil’s principles had to be abolished, the permutations were discarded, and ‘a substitute method for consonant sequence and root length has to be found in order to arrange entries’ (Baalbaki 1998:47), as shall be explained below.

3.3.2 Lexicography after al-Khalil and Major Macrostructural Changes: The Rhyme System

The credit for having invented the rhyme arrangement, by which roots were listed according to their final radicals, is usually given to al-Jauhari (died no later than 398/1007). Haywood (1960:70) explains that the ṣiḥaḥ (which is the plural of sahiḥ, meaning ‘correct’),
was the first dictionary to be so arranged according to a single simple system as to be a useful reference work for the ordinary layman unskilled in Arabic philological science. It came at a time when it was badly needed – when the fragments of the empire of the Caliphs would no longer be termed “Arab” even in a loose sense, and when the general standard of proficiency in Arabic must have been low.

Introductions to Arabic dictionaries usually include a technical account of the nature of the language, as the Kitab introduction, for instance, which later became the foundation of Arabic phonetics and phonology; Al-Jauhari’s introduction, on the other hand, is remarkably succinct. His aim was to indicate the advent of a ‘dictionary for the ordinary literate layman by dispensing with the traditional learned preamble’ (Haywood 1960:71). We can read an excerpt of Al-Jauhari’s ‘brief’ introduction which reveals important lexicographic practices as follows:

I have deposited in this book what I consider correct of this language, whose status God ennobled, making religious and secular science dependent on the knowledge of it; in an arrangement in which none has anticipated me, and with an exactitude unsurpassed. (It is) in 28 chapters, each consisting of 28 sections, according to the number and order of the letters of the alphabet, lest any sort of section should be overlooked in the chapters. (I have done this) after obtaining them (their contents) by oral transmission in Iraq, and learning them by thorough study, and discussing them with the true Arabs in their desert home-lands… (Haywood 1960:70)

Al-Jauhari’s preface simply makes the claims that it includes only ‘correct’ words, and that the author has initiated a new arrangement. The reader knows by now lexicographers’ rationale behind the choice of ‘correct’ words; as for the second claim, Al-Jauhari arranged the roots according to their final radicals; for example, kataba (write), ḍaraba (hit), ḥabba (love) are all to be found in the ba’ (b) chapter. Besides, ‘Al-Jauhari abolished the division of dictionaries according to the length of words, and no longer separated sound roots from weak ones. This was, indeed, a vital step in the progress of the Arabic dictionary’ (Haywood 1960:71). Arabic
dictionaries were finally able to rid the unnecessary complications, which were in the form of subchapters, adopted by al-Khalil; but the ṣiḥah was not completely different from the Kitab al-ʿayn. According to Haywood, ‘the ṣiḥah is characterised by succinct definitions, (often coinciding with those of the “ʿAin”), and illustrate examples from poetry and from Arab speech of the desert. The author also showed deep interest in grammar, syntax, and derivation’ (1960:74). One wonders, however, why Al-Jauhari opted out for a 3-2-1 order.

The rhyme arrangement has always been thought to provide ready rhymes for poets. This is, however, far from being the correct answer, as Haywood explains;

> an Arabic rhymester would probably have found a vocabulary classified under meanings much handier for finding le mot juste for his rhyme, than a large dictionary in which only the roots were in rhyme order. So, even if al-Jauhari did, indeed, use this order to help poets, he can hardly have achieved his object. (1960:72)

Shivtiel assumes that the rhyme arrangement was indeed developed to help poets and writers of rhymed prose to easily find words which could rhyme, but she adds: ‘Ironically, these bulky works have never, in actual fact, been rhyming dictionaries, as known to us from other languages, but only a tool to indicate all roots ending in a certain letter’ (1993:17). One can safely argue that al-Jauhari also aimed at a comprehensive listing of all Arabic roots using a different method from al-Khalil’s. It is important to mention, however, that because of his excessive conservatism and interest in ‘pure’ language, al-Jauhari is oftentimes accused of eliminating many non-Arabic words and Arabic roots themselves. At the same time, al-Jauhari is unquestionably credited for his innovative method of indicating vowels.

First, let us consider the mistakes which occurred when copying lexicographic works, which is mainly the case because the diacritics are so small. Haywood indicates that ‘copyists normally dispensed with the arduous labour of writing them in – and in any case, when included,
they were so small as to make mis-copying extremely common’ (1960:74). Al-Jauhari’s system is very interesting; in our opinion, it reflects the author’s concern with finding a solution to the copyists’ mistakes. Al-Jauhari indicates vowels and orthographical signs in full wording, where words varied from a well-known norm; he also uses familiar words as models. Haywood explains that ‘bi l-tashdid’ indicates the doubling of a letter, usually the second radical as in *siddiq*, while ‘bi l-taḥrik’ (with vowelling) added after a word means that the second radical was vowelled. This method became a common practice in later dictionaries. Despite the innovative methods initiated by al-Jauhari, the *ṣiḥah* was no less criticized than the *Kitab*.

Haywood (1960:75) reports that:

> It included many copyists’ errors, we are told, both in the words defined and in the illustrative poetical examples. Some words are entered under wrong roots, owing to faulty derivation…. The chief criticism, however, was that, in trying to confine his work to correct speech, he had omitted much – his purism had gone too far.

The *ṣiḥah* was the standard Arabic dictionary at that time, and retained its position of pre-eminence for three hundred years. Versteegh (1997:32) states:

> the success of al-Jawhari’s lexicon was considerable. For most scholars the *ṣiḥah* became the lexicographical authority *par excellence*; it was not superseded until the large compilations appeared, which constituted the final victory for the rhyming order.

Thus, the *ṣiḥah* ceased to be the standard work only when the *Lisan al-ʿArab* and the *Qamus* appeared. These two works reflect a need for dictionaries which were not interested in any purist’s endeavor to exclude incorrect or non-Arabic words (Haywood 1960).

The *Lisan al-ʿarab* ‘Language/Tongue of the Arabs’ by Ibn Manẓūr, which was compiled at the turn of the fourteenth century, counts 80,000 words. Ibn Manẓūr retained al-Jauhari’s
arrangement as being the handiest. Generally speaking, the *Lisan* is recognized to be an exhaustive work even in modern times. Haywood writes:

The “Lisan” forms the culmination, recording, as far as the author was able, all the roots, and all the words derived from those roots, which were, or had been, in use, together with ample illustrative examples. It is a veritable store-house of Arabic language, science, and arts. As Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq said, “It is a book of lexicography, jurisprudence, grammar, accidence, Hadith-explanation and Qur’anic commentary.” (1960:81)

Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq (died c.1890), one of the pioneers of modern Arab literary awakening, and one of a long line of Lebanese and Syrian Maronite Christian scholars, is known for his *al-Jasus ʿala al-Qamus* (1881) ‘The Spy on the Qamus’ (henceforth, al-Jasus), in which he voiced his criticisms to the *Qamus* in particular and to Arabic lexicography in general. Versteegh also describes the *Lisan* as ‘the most popular dictionary ever to be written in the Arab world: no library is complete without it, and the number of abbreviated versions, extracts, additions, appendices, and revisions is enormous’ (1997:33). We are now able to explain why dictionaries after the *Kitab* and the *ṣiḥah* became much larger. Haywood suggests a thorough description of the *Lisan* in what follows:

the definitions of the “Lisan” are full, leaving no room for ambiguity: two or more definitions are often given for a single word, to ensure clarity. Numerous examples are quoted from the Qur’an, the Sunna, poetry and proverbs. Ibn Manẓur is content to repeat verbatim what previous lexicographers have written in their dictionaries; where two of them disagree, he tends merely to repeat what both have said, even at the risk of appearing to contradict himself. (1960:81)

Henceforth the predominant method has been to recompile material from earlier dictionaries, and cite all the preceding authors. One wonders at this point why such practice has never been considered as an attempt at writing historical dictionaries. Introducing definitions from different
sources shows whether or not meaning has changed over time, and traces back earlier meanings associated with a given word. This practice might have never been appreciated at its real value due to the inclusion of more and more examples from religious and poetic texts, which renders reading through the entry a very challenging task.

Carter notes that ‘In spite of their wide formal variations, the dictionaries themselves differ only superficially from each other in content and method, almost the only observable development (apart from the increasing root-stock) being the gradual introduction of more and more Qur’anic and Islamic material’ (1990:115). But Haywood (1986:112) indicates that the vocabulary of philosophy and the sciences was also added; some of it was formed from Arabic roots, some by taking over Greek and other foreign words. The point that should be retained here is that dictionaries from Ibn Manẓur’s time onward have become large and unwieldy. A very important remark about Arabic dictionaries is clearly stated by Versteegh (1997:29) as follows: ‘in later lexicographers the wish to include all Arabic words became increasingly more manifest. Usually the copied all available information from earlier lexicographers and then added their own observations on rare words they had found in other sources. In this way the dictionaries were more expanded.’

The Lisan has been criticized for certain lexicographic practices that Haywood summarizes in what follows:
in the “Lisan” – as in previous dictionaries – under any given triliteral root, the simple verb may be given first, or a verbal noun (infinitive), or even an adjective. There is no guarantee that the simpler form will occur first, before the more complicated ones; and even if they do, the author is quite likely to go back to them, after having passed on to more complex derivations. Much space is wasted where, for example, a verse of poetry is quoted in support of a given definition of a word, to explain the meaning of other words occurring in that verse which have no real bearing on the point under discussion. Truth to tell, a “digressional disease” afflicted late Arabic technical literature…” (1960:82)

Ibn Manẓur’s attempt at comprehensiveness was continued by the Persian scholar al-Firuzabadi who, according to Carter (1990), produced his al-
Qamus al-Muḥit ‘The all-embracing Ocean’, a dense and compact work which was so popular that, in the end, Qamus became the accepted term for ‘dictionary’ itself. Al-Firuzabadi also used the rhyme order. He originally wanted to write sixty volumes in which the entire lexicon would be recorded, but later he limited himself to only two volumes, which contained sixty thousand entries. According to Versteegh, ‘he was able to cram all these entries into such a small space by being extremely economical in his definitions and by introducing a series of abbreviations in his dictionary’ (1997:33). The virtues of the Qamus are ‘brevity combined with copiousness and clarity; clear indication of vowelling, and the use of abbreviations’ (Haywood 1960:88). Indeed, Al-Firuzabadi was a real pioneer in the use of abbreviations.

Versteegh (1997) indicates that some of these abbreviations are still in use in modern dictionaries of Arabic. A case in point is the letter jim (jamʾ) for plural; an abbreviation that is still widely used in modern Arabic dictionaries. Arabs were used to such abbreviations as s-l-ʾ-m (peace be upon him) when the prophet was mentioned. Al-Firuzabadi famously used the letter mim (m), as an abbreviation meaning ‘known’ (maʾruːf), to avoid defining such common words as ‘palm’, ‘bee’, ‘house’, ‘horse’, etc. Hence, it seems to be a common practice in Arabic
lexicography not to spill ink on lexicographic descriptions of common words. The least a lexicographer can do is write the word *ma‘ruf* ‘known’ in full. The reader recalls the importance attached to rare and obscure words by Arab scholars in general, and Arab lexicographers more specifically, compared to common words. Obviously, modern bilingual lexicographers could not detach themselves from such a practice and have continued to ignore common words and focus on rare or obsolete words; a fact for which English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries are often criticized. Again, we can see how certain characteristic traditions of monolingual lexicography have been successfully passed on to modern bilingual Arabic lexicography.

Going back to the *Qamus*, Al-Firuzabadi has always been criticized for one ‘unusual’ practice. Al-Firuzabadi praised al-Jauhari’s work, but points to some problems, such as the fact that he omitted half the language, either by omitting roots altogether, or by neglecting to mention rare meanings. In order to support his claims, ‘he has written matter missing from [the *ṣiḥāḥ*] in red ink; not in a boasting spirit, but to show…how much the first has left to the last…’ (Haywood 1960:86). Interestingly, Haywood considers the use of red ink for material in the *ṣiḥāḥ* as an abbreviation. This practice resulted in considerable polemical literature, which – according to Haywood (1960) resolved itself into ‘Jauhari’ versus ‘Firuzabadi’.

Surprisingly – however – al-Firuzabadi, who claimed to have consulted a thousand books in the process of writing his *Qamus*, omits all reference to them and their authors, as well as the usual illustrative examples, to save space (Haywood 1960). We now understand how al-Firuzabadi was able to cram 60,000 entries into two volumes. Haywood is clearly not happy with al-Firuzabadi; he thinks the author ‘had called down upon himself, not only by his flamboyant display of his predecessor’s omissions in red ink, but by pointing out to the latter’s errors here and there’ (1960:87). As shown in chapter one, dictionaries of errors were very common among
Arabs, but al-Firuzabadi’s intentions by discussing al-Jauhari’s errors in his general dictionary are not very clear. Al-Firuzabadi has been also reproached for including too many technical terms; especially medical; for introducing so many foreign words and placing them under hypothetical roots as if they were Arabic; for filling his work with geographical and other proper names; and for omitting Pre-Islamic words (Haywood 1960). This critique indicates two important characteristics of the *Qamus*; the first is that al-Firuzabadi made an attempt at including modern Arabic and non-Arabic terms in his dictionary and ridding the dictionary of obsolete words. The second remark has to do with the noticeable number of geographical terms, which raises questions as to the proclaimed comprehensiveness of his dictionary. This addition to dictionaries is very important to remember since it opened the door for more encyclopedic information in later Arabic dictionaries. Hassanein claims that medieval dictionaries resemble modern Arabic-Arabic dictionaries with one major exception: ‘In recent times, it has become acceptable to develop dictionaries with an encyclopedic bent, allowing entries detailing historical, political, and geographical facts such as the names of well-known figures, governmental agencies, historic battles, rivers, mountains, cities, countries, and the like’ (2008:39). It follows that the notion of ‘comprehensiveness’ should not be assigned to a dictionary without first analyzing the dictionary macrostructure.

Haywood (89) informs us that a large-scale commentary on the *Qamus* was compiled in Egypt in the eighteenth century. The *Taj al-‘Arus* of Murtadha al-Zabidi (1732 to 1791) is also the most copious Arabic dictionary – at least as to the total number of entries – ever composed. According to Haywood, the number of entries is 120,000, as against 80,000 in the *Lisan*, 60,000 in the *Qamus*, and 40,000 in the *ṣiḥāḥ*. In his Arabic-English lexicon (1863), Lane has pointed out that this is the only way in which he surpasses the *Lisan*. For Haywood ‘though accorded
fame in the West as the basis of Lane’s lexicon, it has never replaced the “Lisan” in Arab estimation as the best large-scale dictionary’ (1960:89). On these two dictionaries, Marzari, on the other hand, thinks that ‘the entries were minimally differentiated, i.e., the meaning of words and the semantics of terms were ill-defined’ (2006:29). Moreover, Haywood adds, ‘there is still no consistency in entering derivatives under their roots’ (Haywood 1960:90). We now can state that lexicographers were not really as concerned with the internal order of entries as they were with recording the whole vocabulary of the language and including as many *shawahid* (proof-quotes) as they can, of course from the Qur’an and Classical Poetry.

According to Haywood (1960:127):

*Arabic lexicographers, though they understood the principles of the derivation of words from roots, never learned how to arrange derivations under their roots. This problem was solved by the European lexicographers: indeed, Lane’s classification of verbal derived forms has never been bettered. The scheme used by Europeans, whereby under any root, the verbs come first, in accordance with the number of letters of increase which they contain; then the nouns, beginning with the simplest ones, and ending with the longest ones, especially those beginning with an additional *mim*; has been adopted by the Arabs themselves.*

It seems that, although the Arabs were aware of this system, they were probably not consistent in adopting it. It is indeed difficult to identify one clear system of arranging the derivations under any given root that is common to all dictionaries, or at least, consistent throughout the same lexicographic work.

Before we move on to a brief discussion on the earliest bilingual Arabic dictionaries, let us point out to the importance of the *Taj* which is best described by Carter as follows:
just a few years after the publication of Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), the Arab lexicographical tradition reached its peak in the gigantic [*Taj al-ʿarus min jawahir al-qamus*] (began in 1174/1760, finished 1188/1774) of [al-Zabidi] (d. 1205/1791), which is a summation of the entire heritage, a triumph of cumulation incorporating every significant work directly or indirectly, from al-Khalil onwards. There is hardly an item in the following sketch of the evolution of the classic dictionaries which has not found its way into the *Taj*. (1990:106)

Thus, the *Taj* perpetuated the tradition of referring to or quoting from other lexicographers, which – in the end – has turned into lexicographers copying from each other, since there seems to be no ‘outstanding’ difference between early Arabic dictionaries and the modern ones. Modern monolingual lexicographic works have never failed to include material from all preceding classical dictionaries, as shall be shown in the next section. But the main characteristic of the *Taj al-ʿarus* is that it ‘marks the limit of development in indigenous lexicography, and was to pass into the western tradition as the basis of Lane’s great unfinished dictionary’ (Carter 1990:115), which appears to be the first Arabic-English lexicon ever published.

### 3.4 Classical Arabic Dictionaries as the Basis of ‘Early’ Bilingual Lexicons and ‘Modern’ Monolingual Arabic Dictionaries

Lane’s *Lexicon* and Bustani’s *Muḥit*, which are based on the above-mentioned classical works, are particularly important to consider as earlier English-Arabic dictionaries drew on these two works as well as on bilingual French, German and Turkish dictionaries (El-Badry 1986).
3.4.1 Early Bilingual Arabic Dictionaries

On the beginnings of bilingual Arabic lexicography, Shivtiel writes:

important bilingual dictionaries involving Arabic were not many prior to the 17th century and those composed were usually limited in size. They included Syriac, Hebrew, Persian, Turkish, Greek, Latin and Coptic..., when the lexicographers were mainly non-Arabs. However, it was only when the West re-discovered the East with the Napoleonic invasion that the need for modern bilingual dictionaries was felt. Western scholars who learnt Arabic were first responsible for composing the early bilingual dictionaries followed by Arab scholars, mainly Christians, who began to publish a series of bilingual dictionaries, chiefly involving French, English, German and Russian, in addition to new dictionaries in Turkish and Persian. (1993:18)

With the growing interest in Oriental studies, more and more Orientalists showed interest in Arabic lexicography. El-Badry indicates that Arabic-English dictionaries ‘came into being in response to the needs of orientalists who were mainly interested in the study of Classical Arabic literature’ (1986:59). It is usually accepted that the real founder of Arabic lexicography in Europe was Jacobus Golius (1596-1667). His Lexicon Arabico-Latinum was published in Leiden in 1653, in one volume. It was based chiefly on theṣiḥaḥ, but rearranged in the modern dictionary order (Haywood 1960). Note, that ‘in lexicography, the Orientalists followed old Arabic models very closely – especially the “ṣiḥaḥ” and the “Qamus” – in respect of their contents, though they naturally adopted the modern arrangement’ (Haywood 1960:122). The rhyme arrangement, while having been completely abandoned by the compilers of early bilingual Arabic dictionaries, has had a negative effect on bilingual Arabic dictionaries in the sense that ‘the need to rearrange Arabic dictionaries constituted one of the main obstacles to European lexicographers, and substantially increased the time their works took’ (Haywood 1960:123).

Indeed Golius’s dictionary held the field for 150 years, until the Lexicon Arabico-Latinum of Georg Wilhel Freytag (1788-1861) was published in Halle in four volumes between
1830 and 1837. This work, which is based on Golius’s Lexicon, became the standard reference for European orientalists. Haywood, however, considers Freytag’s lexicon to be a translation of the *Qamus*, and criticizes it as follows:

Freytag’s Lexicon, useful as it was, suffered from the same fault as the “Qamus” itself, and could not adequately meet the needs of European students. It was a mere word-list with meanings; whereas what was needed was a European “Lisan” which would not only give the meanings of words explicitly, but would also illustrate them amply by examples drawn from literature – a work which would not only list the significances of some rare word, but quote, perhaps, the very early poem in which the reader consulting the dictionary had encountered it! (1960:124).

Haywood’s expectations of a dictionary should not be generalized to modern dictionaries as they do match the need for such works at that time. As stated earlier, such Lexicons aimed mainly at helping the user understand classical Arabic texts. It seems that the dictionary that is incontestably praised for achieving such an aim is none but Lane’s Lexicon.

According to Versteegh (1997:34), ‘all Western dictionaries of Arabic were superseded with Edward William Lane’s (d. 1876)’. Along the same lines, Seidensticker (2008:30) explains that:

European lexicographical activities were for a long time mainly limited to translating the indigenous medieval dictionaries… This method was followed from the times of Antonius Giggeius (*Thesaurus linguae Arabicae*, Milan 1632) and Jacob Golius (*Lexicon arabico-latinum*, Leiden 1653) until the second half of the 19th century, when Edward William Lane published his *Arabic-English lexicon* (London 1863-1893).

Lane’s preface in volume I itself is a long survey of classical Arabic dictionaries. The dictionary is based on one of the most authoritative works published in the 18th century the *Taj al-‘arus* and other classical dictionaries, such as the *Qamus*, the *sibah*. The truth is that Lane faithfully repeats
almost all information contained in all these dictionaries. El-Badry describes it as ‘the first full-
fledged dictionary for English users (intended for comprehension)… followed twenty years later
by Badger’s ENGLISH-ARABIC LEXICON (aimed at composition for English and
comprehension for Arab users)’ (1986:62). Let us now give a brief description of this remarkable
dictionary:

Lane’s LEXICON comprises 4,596 pages, the entries arranged in three
columns, each containing English explanations and translations
interspersed with Arabic examples. No translations are provided since
the compiler supposes the “student who will make use of this work to be
acquainted with the general rules of the grammar”. We can assume that
the dictionary is aimed at providing the non-native scholar of Classical
Arabic interested in 5th -to 8th- century literature with a thorough and
comprehensive translation into English of all available linguistic
evidence. (El-Badry 1986:57)

Haywood (1960) reports that Lane divided his work into two books; the first book was to consist
of common roots, while the second was to contain rare words, i.e., most of the quadriliterals and
quinquilateral, but he died in 1876 before the completion of his work. Book II was not properly
started at all:

yet what was completed constituted a rich treasure indeed. It is difficult
to conceive a better dictionary in the accuracy of its definitions, and the
fullness of its examples. It is surely one of the finest dictionaries ever
written in any language. From the appearance of its first volume, its fame
was assured. (Haywood 1960:125)

This work is particularly important to consider since ‘later dictionaries copied from Lane’s
Lexicon as well as similar bilingual works of Arabic with French and German’ (El-Badry
1986:59). It can then be assumed that definitions and examples in modern dictionaries can all be
traced back to classical Arabic works. This conclusion will help us explain the current problems
of bilingual Arabic lexicography. In what follows we show how modern monolingual Arabic
dictionaries do not largely diverge from their predecessors.
3.4.2 Modern Arabic-Arabic Lexicography

The beginning of modern Arabic lexicography can be traced to the second half of the 18th century, with the development of Muḥit al-Muḥit by Buṭrus el-Bustani (d.1301/1883), published in 1870, while the Qamus al-Hadi, published in Tripoli in 1994 by Fayiz Yusuf Muhammad is the most recent dictionary to be produced (Hassanein 2008:39). Hassanein also informs us that more Arabic dictionaries were written during the modern era of Arabic lexicography than in the ten centuries of the medieval period ’60 dictionaries were written between 1870 and the present, as against 43 between the 8th and 18th centuries’ (2008:39). Medieval dictionaries, however, continued to form the basis of modern dictionaries.

Vertsteegh explains that the Taj ‘constituted the main source in the nineteenth century, when scholars in the Levant attempted to revive Arabic studies, for instance Buṭrus al-Bustani, whose large dictionary Muḥit al-Muḥit in its title recalls the Muḥit of al-Firuzabadi’ (1997:34). In the same way as early bilingual Arabic dictionaries, modern Arabic dictionaries followed the modern arrangement of entries, i.e., according to the first radical of the root. The rhyme order has now completely fallen out of use. In the Muḥit’s introduction (1867/70), Al-Bustani ‘stated that the Arab world needed a dictionary so arranged, and that the “Qamus”, for all its popularity was so hard to use because of its rhyme arrangement. He therefore took all the material of the “Qamus”, and supplemented it from other lexicographers, using post-classical authors for some of his examples’ (Haywood 1960:109). The Muḥit aimed at reviving lexicography in the Arab world, but apparently the dictionary could not free itself from the shackles of the past and did not dare to record any of the language of the time (Abu-Ssaydeh 1994). Drozdik adds: ‘Al-Bustani’s Muḥit is compiled by using traditional techniques of Arab lexicographers with a deficient
filtering of lexical classicisms and archaisms’ (1983:100), which remains one pertinent problem to all Arabic lexicography.

Even though al-Bustani introduced many newly-developed vocabulary items pertaining to the arts and sciences, his dictionary and, actually, later Arabic/Arabic dictionaries are relatively faithful to medieval Arabic dictionaries in content. The only way to differentiate the modern period from earlier periods is to say that:

[the former] is marked by a general movement away from individual production and toward development sponsored by language academies, established seminars, and the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO). Individual efforts were still involved, but these individuals worked in conjunction with the staff at such institutions. (Hassanein 2008:40)

The turning point for Arabic lexicography was the publication of two important dictionaries by the Arabic Language Academy in Cairo (Hassanein 2008). The dictionaries in question are the *Muṣjam al-Wasit*, which was first edited in 1960-61 in two 1,200-page volumes (30,000 entries). Its abridged version *Muṣjam al-Wajiz* was published in 1980. Hassanein points out to the importance of these two works, and states that ‘the dictionaries are still in use by university professors and research students, as well as by students in primary and secondary school’ (2008:41). Hassanein continues; ‘some authors regard these abridged versions as an independent phase in Arabic lexicography, as they appear to be simply repetitions and revisions of previously published works’ (2008:42), a fact that goes back to early practices in Arabic lexicography, as demonstrated earlier. One can safely assume that most Arabic dictionaries are abridged or derived from previous dictionaries.

The *Muṣjam al-Wasit*, which according to Hassanein excels in several aspects, adopted the following arrangement: ‘Words are arranged in alphabetical order, which is generally
considered to be a good technique. Single-root derived forms are organized into categories, and related roots are listed at the beginning of each entry’ (2008:41). Note that in modern dictionaries derived and conjugated forms are based on a triliteral root. These two dictionaries, supposedly exclude archaic terms, however, examples are mainly quotations from the Qur’an, prophetic traditions, and common literary expressions and proverbs. Abu-Ssaydeh (1994:23) explains this salient feature of *Al-Mu‘jam Al-Wasit* is

the extensive use of Qur’anic quotations to illustrate meanings. In the first letter which covers 35 pages, for example, the author has counted about 95 Qur’anic verses, compared to about 19 classical proverbs, 10 verses and 4 hadiths. This practice seems to suggest that, given the limitations of space and the changes the Arabic language has undergone over the centuries, the lexicographers are primarily interested in the preservation of the **Holy Quran** more than any other part of their linguistic heritage.

Generally speaking, examples reinforce definitions, but when derived from such specialized texts, they definitely do not illustrate common usage. The practice of using examples from the Qur’an and the Hadith continues to be used in support of succinct definitions or no definitions at all. As far as definitions are concerned, Hassanein argues that ‘dictionaries from neither the medieval nor from the modern age have been particularly effective at conveying word definitions’ (2008:42). The dictionaries published by the academies, for instance, consist of long lists of synonyms for the entry word. Hassanein (2008:42) illustrates how one verb, such as *faraga* ‘to be finished with’ is explained in modern Arabic-Arabic dictionaries by simply listing at least 14 different synonyms: *xalaṣa* ‘to be matriculated’, *atamma* ‘to complete’, *qaṣada* ‘to go toward’, *intaḥa*: ‘to reach’, *aqbala* ‘to come’, *maːta* ‘to die’, *taxalla*: ‘to give up’, *nafaḡa* ‘to go through’, *ittasaʾa* ‘to become wide’, *asraʾa* ‘to hurry’, *dahaba* ‘to go away’, *dahaba hadran* ‘to go in vain’, *insabba* ‘to be poured’, and *kana ḡa qalaq* ‘to be anxious’. One positive point
indicated by Hassanein has to do with the fact that ‘the authors of most modern Arabic/Arabic
dictionaries make a clear distinction between the central meaning of a word and its peripheral
meanings within the framework of conceptual semantics’ (2008:43). Piling up synonyms as a
technique can be acceptable in dictionaries intended for native speakers, or decoding
dictionaries, but such a technique – when adopted in a learner’s bilingual dictionary – can be
very confusing and learners will end up picking the first word. The first equivalent is usually the
one that is more broadly applicable. Meaning discrimination is one crucial problem of Arabic
lexicographical methodology, as we shall see in the next chapter. Note also that, when compared,
modern Arabic dictionaries provide different synonyms for the same word. *Al-Mu‘jam Al-Wasit*,
for instance, lists only five of the above-mentioned synonyms. The lack of consistency in Arabic
dictionaries is also noticed in the use of abbreviations and symbols (Hassanein 2008:43), whose
number differs across dictionaries.

A major issue that has to be addressed, in our opinion, has to do with the dilemma as to
the organization of entries in Arabic dictionaries. Shivtiel, referring to Kopf (1976), summarizes
the problem of entry arrangement as follows:

> the lack of a clear system, in the case of *kitab al-‘ayn* and other
> contemporary works was due to the lack of experience on the part of the
> authors, whereas later works were more keen on the inclusion of a
> maximal quantity of entries and citations (*Shawahid*) rather than being
> bothered about the internal order of the entries…. This shortcoming is of
> course less noticed in the case of short entries, but is becoming more
> problematic in the case of long entries, which contain under the same
> root all its derivations and their various meanings and usages, including
> polysemes and homonyms, in addition to a large number of *shawahid*.
> Consequently, one should often take the trouble to read whole
> paragraphs and even pages before the required meaning could be found.
> (1993:18)

Lexicographers need to work on this problem by first making a clear decision as to whether

Arabic dictionaries should be arranged by alphabetical order of the roots or by alphabetical order
of the words. This is the most crucial decision a compiler of an Arabic dictionary can make, as it will directly affect the presentation of grammatical information, such as derivation, and word-formation. In what follows, we suggest a brief discussion as regards this issue.

3.4.3 Root-Based Macrostructure or Alphabetical Macrostructure: A Continuous Dilemma

Let us first begin by reiterating the fact that ‘in the field of the complete general dictionary, the choice was clearly between the anagrammatical-phonetic system of al-Khalil and the rhyme arrangement of al-Jauhari’ (Haywood 1960:80). After the Muḥit (1870) had appeared, Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq – in his Jasus (1881) – ‘called for the abandonment of the rhyme order in favor of the normal European alphabetical order’ (Haywood 1960:90). But Haywood indicates that ‘we cannot be absolutely certain who was the first Arabic writer to apply the modern dictionary arrangement in toto. Also due to the absence of actual copies or original versions of many dictionaries, it is difficult to determine.’ (1960:102). It seems, however, that the alphabetical arrangement first appeared in the Arab world in two seminal lexicographic works: al-Raghib (d. ca 443/1060), which is al-Isfahani’s dictionary of Qur’anic language, and al-Zamakhshari’s Asas al-balagha (d. 538/ 1144), designed to indicate the metaphorical meanings for use in rhetorical language.

According to Haywood, ‘with the “Asas al-Balagha” al-Zamakhshari introduced the modern dictionary order in its entirety, listing words under their roots according to the alphabetical order of all their component letters from the first to the last’ (1960:106). Al-Zamakhshari, similarly to al-Jauhari’s followers, did not attempt to give a comprehensive account of the various derivations of any particular root. He also omitted rare words; quadriliterals, and quinquiliterals are hardly included at all. The system, clearly, did not affect
general Arabic lexicography, in which the rhyme arrangement was firmly established, as Haywood puts it: ‘after al-Zamakhshari, the modern dictionary arrangement continued to be used by compilers of lexicons of religious vocabulary, and by those who abridged the large-scale dictionaries’ (1960: 107). It follows, in Haywood’s terms, that the alphabetical arrangement was too restricted ‘to oust the firmly-entrenched rhyme-arrangement of al-Jauhari. It was only followed by compilers of short and abridged dictionaries for popular use’ (1960:108).

The root-arrangement is still dominant in Arabic lexicography, as Shivtiel puts it ‘most of the so-called classical Arabic dictionaries and a large number of the modern dictionaries, lexicons, vocabularies, glossaries and wordlists of contemporary Arabic, both literary and colloquial, are arranged according to the alphabetical order of the Arabic root’ (1993:13). General dictionaries which are arranged alphabetically rather than by the ‘traditional’ order of the root began to appear only in the 20th century. Gorska discusses the advantages of the alphabetical arrangement of the words in what follows:

authors of the present-day dictionaries of Arabic language use two methods of word arrangement. Some of them accept the alphabetical arrangement, which takes into account a letter order in a word, irrespective of the grammatical category to which this word belongs. This system has found many advocates; its advantage is that persons even with a cursory knowledge of the Arabic alphabet and of simplest grammatical rules are able to use such a dictionary. Thus, it is useful mostly for foreigners who study Arabic for practical purposes; hence, it is frequently applied in Arabic-foreign language dictionaries but never in purely Arabic dictionaries of the lexicon type. (1985:161)

Gorska, on the other hand, argues in favor of dictionaries that arrange words according to the alphabetical order of their radicals, i.e., that groups words with a common root. He states that the root-based dictionary:
The order of entries in a dictionary is a very important issue pertaining to Arabic lexicography. The root-based method of composition, which is also traditionally common to most of the dictionaries of the Semitic languages, clearly demonstrates the relationship between the various derivatives based on the same root. It helps the learner of Arabic understand the dynamics of the language, but at this time can be very frustrating if he is unable to determine the root.

Contemporary bilingual Arabic dictionaries seem to favor the alphabetical word order; users, on the other hand, are content with their root-based Hans Wehr’s dictionary. The latter is one of the best selling dictionaries in the United States, and is recommended by most teachers of
Arabic in American classrooms. The topic remains open to further debate; especially that research on both the macro and micro-structures of dictionaries is far from being exhausted as shall be argued in the next chapter.

3.5 Conclusion

No understanding of modern Arabic lexicography is complete without – at least – a cursory look into the most important lexicographic works published during the time interval of the 8th century to the 18th century. Major lexicographic practices in monolingual Arabic dictionaries can be declared responsible for the noticeable delay in the advancement of modern Arabic lexicography in general. Despite all the criticism leveled at the anagrammatical method, for instance, this should not distract us from its real value. Al-Khalil had introduced the dictionary idea to the Arab world, and propagated a deeper understanding of the nature of the language (Haywood 1960). Along the same lines, Gorska (1985:171-172) explains:

A limited usefulness of this method nowadays cannot alter the fact that its knowledge and investigation allow us to consider the Arabic lexicography from a new perspective and greatly develop its understanding. It also provides us with information that, among others, the early medieval Arabic philologist in their lexicographic studies attached more importance to semantics than to morphology. And only gradually have developed such grammatical systems which have arranged the lexical material of dictionaries more clearly and consistently.

An excessive concern with semantics is undeniable, since lexicography was seen as an aid to the understanding of the Sharī’a. The first lexicographic works published were vocabularies, and the order followed was based on the subject matter. A typical subject was the vocabulary which had an antique flavor associated with the Bedouins, mainly the horse, and the camel; another subject was man; his physical characteristics and his qualities of character. Another subject is of more
philological interest; ‘those ambiguous words…which may have opposite meanings according to
the context. There was a substantial literature on these. In addition, short works dealt with rare
and difficult expressions encountered in the Qur’an and Hadith’ (Haywood 1960:42). However,
the interest in meaning has never actually spurred a concern with developing appropriate
defining or explanatory techniques.

An entry is often defined by another entry without an indication of differences, of
nuances in their meanings, or without an explanation of their different syntactic behavior in their
language (Sawaie 1990). In his Jasus (1881), al-Shidyaq explains: ‘Arabic dictionary compilers
sometimes failed to be explicit about the syntactic behavior of verbs, especially with regard to
stating when the verb can be transitive independently of a preposition, or when it can be
transitive by the use of one.’ (Sawaie 1990:164). Hence, the tradition that became firmly
established, and passed on to bilingual Arabic lexicography, is the mere listing of synonyms/
equivalents with the major aim of covering the whole lexicon.

As far as Arabic lexicography is concerned, one can safely assume that the focus is on
quantity rather than quality. Haywood indicates that ‘from the time of al-Khalil onwards, Arabic
lexicography, unlike that of other nations, had set out to record, if not the vocabulary in its
entirety, at least the whole range of roots which formed the basis of that vocabulary.’ (1960:81)
Aiming at comprehensiveness might be a very plausible goal; in Arabic lexicography, however,
combining exhaustiveness with practicality might prove difficult to achieve. Furthermore, if we
redefine the term comprehensiveness in the present context, and assert that the latter can only be
achieved by recording all ‘words’ rather than all ‘roots’, then we can say that Arab
lexicographers have failed in this mission.
What is the point of listing all roots but not ‘consistently’ showing possible derivations which actually make up the Arabic lexicon stock? Unfortunately, lexicographers working on Arabic, concerned as they were with the problem of how to arrange roots, the quality and length of roots, forgot to devise methods as regards the tabulation of the various derivations of a given root. One common criticism of all Arabic dictionaries – to the present – is the lack of a consistent sequence for dealing with the various derivations, whether nominal or verbal, from any given root. Haywood explains that ‘it does seem that in many cases lexicographers merely followed al-Khalil’s example in this matter’ (1960:89). Al-Khalil, as we saw, did not pay attention to this problem as he was rather concerned with the phonotactics of the language than with morphology per se.

As far as the arrangement of entries goes, it seems that all previous Arabic language dictionaries are arbitrary in their arrangement. Sawaie, referring to al-Shidyaq’s criticism of Classical Arabic dictionaries, admits that ‘all Arabic dictionaries, new or old, mingle and confuse tri-literal verbs with quadri-literal ones, and with verbs consisting of five and/or six consonants’ (1990:162). In the Jasus, al-Shidyaq explains that at times the quadriliteral verb is cited first, thus creating the impression that the triliteral verb does not actually exist in the language; for instance, the verb qaddasa ‘to sanctify’ is often cited without mention of its triliteral form q-d-s, despite the citation in these dictionaries of words like al-quds ‘the sanctuary, holiness’, quddus ‘most holy, The Most Holy’, ‘aqdas ‘more hallowed’, etc. Al-Shidyaq is puzzled by the occurrence of these cited derivations without any mention of the related triliteral verb form. Sawaie and al-Shidyaq – again – attribute this flaw to al-Khalil: ‘the overall problem of entry arrangement in Arabic dictionaries, and the mixing of chapters and sections, can be traced back and attributed to al-Khalil Ibn Ahmad’s (718-771) Kitab al-‘ayn’ (1990:163).
The other factor we should like to emphasize has to do with this tendency of dictionary authors copying from each other and being highly critical of their predecessors’ works. The situation continued later in bilingual lexicography. One modern Standard Arabic dictionary, such as Hans Wehr’s *Worterbuch Der Arabischen Sprache*, which appeared for the first time in 1952, was soon translated into English and became a well-established bilingual dictionary as if it were first written in English. In fact, it looks like new works are always based, not to say exact copies of the previous works, but with either a different arrangement, or corrections of errors, or a few minor additions (if we do not consider encyclopedic information to be a major addition to a dictionary). Haywood stresses the fact that ‘…Arabs spent far too much time arguing about comparatively minor points of philology…whether this word or that was vowelled with a *fatḥa* or *kasra*, whether such-and-such a measure of the broken plural was admissible for a certain word’ (1960:81). This was mainly due to errors in copying dictionaries, which first occurred because the language was based on oral transmission.

To conclude, lexicography in the Arab world has never been an independent discipline. A lexicographer working on Arabic is suggesting a theory of grammar, meaning and phonetics rather than simply defining words. We now have a clear idea of the terrain where the writing of bilingual Arabic dictionaries was negotiated; in other words, we are better equipped to discuss issues pertaining to modern English-Arabic lexicography specifically. Examining the prevailing attitudes towards the language itself helped us understand the rationale behind certain lexicographic practices; whereas investigating classical dictionaries helped us identify areas of weakness that need more research. What is needed now are Arabic dictionaries that can serve the learners of the language well. Shivtiel (1993:13) argues: ‘although the various methods developed by Arabic lexicographers over the years have reached a high degree of sophistication,
the student of Arabic is still encountering many problems in his search of a sense.’ Chapter four highlights the major problems and challenges facing this trend in the light of the research that has been carried out so far.
CHAPTER 4
A REVIEW OF THE METALEXICOGRAPHY OF BILINGUAL ARABIC LEXICOGRAPHY, INCLUDING FRENCH-ARABIC DICTIONARIES

This chapter begins with a cursory, but critical, look at the literature on French-Arabic dictionaries. The aim is to identify guidelines along which English-Arabic dictionaries can be evaluated as well; our belief is that similar issues are characteristic of both fields. We can already assume that equivalence in particular is one of the most intricate issues facing bilingual Arabic lexicography in general. We raised the reader’s attention to this issue when discussing the myriad of standardization processes adopted either by well-established language academies in the Arab world or independent lexicographers not fully happy with the academies’ suggested terms. We showed how attempts at standardizing Arabic terminology were carried out in such an unsystematic fashion governed by a sense of caution toward all that is new. The result is that, in the end, most entries in bilingual Arabic dictionaries presented different terms for the same concept. While the problem of non-equivalence was approached from a different perspective in chapter two, mainly to illustrate modern manifestations of conservatism, the same problem is analyzed once again with a different aim however. One could argue that the characteristic interest in terminology reflects the lexicographers’ vision of the role of a bilingual Arabic dictionary; a vision that stems from a high sensitivity to the explicitly-stated functions a dictionary is primarily supposed to accomplish in the Arab world. Chapter four delves into the vision of French-Arabic/ English-Arabic dictionaries as mere translation tools that assist the user/translator in his hunt for equivalent terms.
In fact, the dominant model in theoretical discussions on English/French-Arabic lexicography ‘wrongly’ views English/French-Arabic dictionaries as manuals of translation. The paradox, however, is that this category of dictionaries does not always offer the user readily insertable equivalents to be used in translation. This, among other factors, explains why these dictionaries are constantly being criticized. The arguments we present in this chapter will eventually lead the reader into accepting the warranted conclusion that bilingual Arabic dictionaries are more or less appropriate for comprehension purposes. In order to hold our ground, we will analyze the state of affairs in the supposedly blooming field of French-Arabic lexicography. According to Haywood, ‘in the 19th century, French was the language most commonly paired with Arabic’ (1991:3089), which suggests that French-Arabic lexicography is the forerunner, although, by the end of the century, English was already supplanting French, in Haywood’s terms. We should also not forget that in many Arab countries, French enjoys the status of a second language rather than English. This factor adds to the importance of French-Arabic dictionaries in this context.

Therefore, our aim is to evaluate – although briefly due to the lack of relevant literature – research interests in this area in order to be able to provide a better critique of English-Arabic dictionaries in the light of research on their predecessors, and be able to make preliminary generalizations as to the field of bilingual Arabic lexicography. This chapter fulfills the curiosity to learn more about the methods adopted by French-Arabic lexicographers to resolve equivalence issues, and whether the French-Arabic dictionary essentially constitutes a decoding tool in the same way as the English-Arabic dictionary does. We might be able to benefit from advancements that have been achieved so far regarding issues pertinent to bilingual Arabic lexicography, such as the treatment of collocations, sense discriminators, and illustrative
sentences, to name a few. All these areas constitute challenges for English-Arabic dictionary compilers, who cannot seem to be able to deal with them consistently throughout their works.

4.1 French-Arabic Lexicography: History and State of the Art

Before we trace back the beginnings of French-Arabic lexicography, some notes on the development of French lexicography itself are necessary in order to understand the general atmosphere within which French-Arabic dictionaries emerged and the tradition they initiated in the field of bilingual Arabic lexicography. We will then investigate the current state of affairs in French-Arabic dictionary research.

4.1.1 Historical background and Important Trends in French-Arabic Lexicography

French lexicography, with French as the entry language instead of Latin, did not emerge until the 16th century. Wooldridge treats the birth of French lexicography as follows:

in 1539 appeared for the first time, in one and the same object – Robert Estienne’s *Dictionnaire français-latin* – the French word *dictionnaire* (spelled *dictionaire*) and an alphabetically ordered compilation of general French vocabulary. Estienne’s French-Latin dictionary, produced to help young French scholars learn classical Latin, had the simultaneous effect of promoting the mastery of French. (1994:177)

It is important to mention here that ‘French-Latin bilingual dictionaries were used like monolinguals, that is, using the Latin gloss as a definition of the French headword’ (Marello 2003:331). The French-Latin glossaries of the medieval period were in fact inspired by Latin glossaries; notably Joannes Balbus’s *Catholicon* (composed c.1286, first published 1460), which was probably the most famous Latin encyclopedic dictionary (Marello 2003:328). When we look
at the beginnings of French lexicography, we cannot but identify parallels with Arabic lexicography that are worth considering in the present account.

Latin lexicography, in the same way as early Arabic dictionaries, established the tradition of glossaries whose aim was to help understand the “*rara et in consueta vocabula*”\(^1\). Thus, the first Latin and Arabic lexicographic works were encyclopedic in nature, but both disciplines diverged as regards their respective developments. In Europe, the vernaculars developed into French, English, Italian, Spanish and German as we know them today. Marello explains that ‘each vernacular language deserves its own explanation of how it developed and was finally recognized in a bilingual Latin-vernacular reference work’ (2003:328). The promotion of the European dialects of the time lead to an inversion in the status of Latin and the different European dialects; a situation that inspired monolingual dictionaries for each vernacular in addition to bilingual dictionaries with the European vernaculars and other languages. Arabic lexicography, on the other hand, successfully transmitted the classical variety throughout the centuries while getting rid of the vernacular forms of Arabic. Will bilingual lexicography in the Arab world face the same fate as its Latin counterpart? There has always been a strong tendency in French-Arabic lexicography in particular to pair up French words with equivalent colloquial words that specifically belong to the Arabic varieties of the Maghreb. Furthermore, in the light of the ongoing drift that Arabic is going through, and the gradual takeover of the vernacular forms of Arabic as shown in chapter two, speculations concerning the demise of CA and MSA in future lexicographic works in favor of the vernacular forms of Arabic might as well turn into a reality. Let us focus our attention on how French-Arabic dictionaries have evolved, before we highlight the importance of French-dialectal Arabic dictionaries in the field.
There might be no direct evidence that Arabic lexicography has had a direct influence on French lexicography or European lexicography in general, since ‘in Europe, lexicography was stimulated by the Renaissance and the Reformation, and by nascent nationalism’ (Haywood 1960:127). But medieval Arabic lexicography, undeniably, constitutes part of the lexicographic background of the Renaissance. As indicated in chapter three, medieval Arabic dictionaries were the basis of the ‘Arabic’ lexicography of European Orientalists like Golius, Freytag and Lane. A sketch of the history of French-Arabic lexicography cannot be traced exactly due to the absence of research on this matter in the French scholarship. We might want to consider Golius’ *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (1653), and Freytag’s *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (1830-37) as the beginnings of French-Arabic lexicography, since French lexicography itself began by glossing French and Latin, as shown in the above discussion. Both works were superseded by Lane’s *Arabic-English Lexicon* (1863-93) which is said to have stimulated the appearance of several European dictionaries. But Haywood (1991) emphasizes that even though Lane’s Lexicon was considered one of the finest dictionaries in any language, it was inadequate for the Arabic of the 19th and 20th centuries. It seems that the works that were successful in filling the gaps between Lane’s Lexicon and the later development of Arabic were actually French lexicographic works.

Haywood (1991:3088) highlights the two supplementary dictionaries to Lane’s lexicon, which according to the author were written to fill the gaps, mainly words peculiar to peripheral areas of the Arab world, such as Arab Spain and North Africa; these are R Dozy’s *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (Leiden and Paris: 1881, 2nd edition 1927, rpt 1967), and E. Fagnan’s *Additions aux dictionnaires arabes* (Algiers: 1923). Dozy's outstanding Arabic-French dictionary is said to have more post-classical vocabulary peculiar to Arab Spain. On Fagnan’s dictionary, Haywood (1960:126) reports, that although published in Algiers, it was not limited to ‘Maghribi’
usage. Fagnan’s dictionary, according to Haywood (1991), is more humble compared to Dozy’s Arabic-French dictionary; the latter continues to be used as an important lexicographic resource even in modern times. In the second half of the 20th century, the first three volumes of the French project: *Dictionnaire Arabe-Francais-Anglais, langue classique et moderne*, edited by Blachère, Chouèmie and Denizeau (1967, 1970, and 1974) stand out as important lexicographic works that involve Arabic. Carter notes that the dictionary ‘ambitiously aims to cover both classical and modern Arabic’ (1998:469). Although this French work is most distinguished by its inclusion of modern Arabic vocabulary, Haywood (1991:3088) insists that as far as the classical words are concerned, it does not replace Lane’s full and exact definitions, and numerous citations. The inclusion of modern Arabic vocabulary in French-Arabic dictionaries was not restricted to words from the standard variety, since this category of dictionaries appeared to have allowed colloquialisms in the macrostructure. One wonders whether this practice stems from the history of the French language itself which was once a dialect/vernacular before it acquired the status of a fully-developed instrumental language.

Haywood did not fail to mention the lexicographic work, which according to him, set the tradition of introducing colloquialisms in French-Arabic works. This pioneering work is the *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, by the Egyptian Ellious Bocthor, described as augmented and revised by the French Orientalist A. Caussin de Perceval, published in Paris (Bocthor 1848). Haywood (1991:3089) writes:
Colloquial words are included, such as Ottoman Turkish Odah (= room), then, as now, commonly used in Egypt for classical ḥujra/ghurfa. This set the French pattern of including classical and colloquial words side-by-side. For example, Kazimirski (Paris 1860, Cairo 1875) included words used in Algeria and Morocco, and Beaussier (Paris 1931, Algiers 1887) words from Algeria and Tunis.

Beaussier’s dictionary itself is another pioneering dictionary that established lexicographic studies in the Maghreb. We will come back to this work at the end of this section. A glimpse into the history of French-Arabic dictionaries reveals that the tradition of admitting colloquialisms in English-Arabic lexicographic works might have been passed from French-Arabic dictionaries whose value for diachronic studies of dialectal Arabic is precious. French-Arabic lexicography, from its beginnings to the present, has given pride of interest to the vernacular forms of Arabic; therefore, the dynamics of these forms have been documented which will allow scholars to observe the development of the different colloquial forms of Arabic mainly those spoken in the Maghreb.

Haywood (1991:3093) pinpoints the tendency of French-Arabic works to regard Morocco, Algeria and Tunis as a single dialect region. This fact is reflected in the title of the numerous French-Arabic dictionaries that were published from the 19th century to the present. Haywood makes mention of Gilbert Colomer’s Lexique français-arabe de l’arabe parlé maghrébin (1982), which ‘claimed to contain “the most usual current words”’ (1991:3093).

When the dialects of the Maghreb are treated separately, it seems that French was mostly paired up with Algerian Arabic since the 19th century; such as Bel-Kassem Ben Sedira’s Dictionnaire français-arabe de la langue parlée (Algiers 1886). We were unable to identify French-Libyan Arabic dictionaries, on the other hand. Libyan Arabic might have been documented in dictionaries with more general titles as ‘The Arabic of the Maghreb’ or ‘Maghribi Arabic’. It can
also be argued that there are only a few works in which French is paired up with the Arabic spoken in the Levant. The most outstanding work in this respect appears to be Claude Denizeau’s Arabic-French dictionary *dictionnaire des parleurs arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine* (Paris 1960).

Dialectal French-Arabic lexicography has gone farther today than dialectal English-Arabic lexicography. The discipline is moving toward representing more local dialects, in addition to constantly updating important lexicographic works. Recently, for instance, Beaussier’s dictionary has been updated and augmented by Ben Cheneb Mohamed, and Albert Lentin (2006) in *Dictionnaire Pratique Arabe-Francais (Arabe Maghrébin)*. The dictionary is published by an association called Alphatis which specializes in teaching the Arabic spoken in the Maghreb. The huge number of Maghrabi immigrants in French-speaking countries contributes to raising interest in the dialects spoken in the region whose contact with the French is slowly affecting the French language itself; notable are the lexical borrowings from Maghribi Arabic. In the dictionary’s introduction, we can read about the publication of a French-Arabic dictionary by Madouni-La Peyre, J. (2003) based on the dialect of Sidi Bel Abbès; an Algerian city located in the western part of the country. In this work, the author precisely states which words appear in Beaussier’s dictionary.

Clearly, dialectal Arabic lexicography has a well-established tradition and the development of dialectal English-Arabic dictionaries in the Maghreb is dependent on earlier French-Arabic works. It can already be assumed that English-Arabic lexicography is following in French-Arabic dictionaries’ footsteps by paying close attention to the vernacular forms of Arabic. At least, we know that the linguistic heritage of the Maghreb is not lost and can be recovered from these lexicographic works. General French-Arabic lexicography, however, is not
as fully-fledged as its dialectal counterpart since it is characterized by many linguistic and lexicographic issues that shall be identified in the next section.

4.1.2 Specialized/ General French-Arabic Dictionaries and Users

To begin with, since the author is most familiar with the situation in Algeria, Benamar (2006:376) reports ‘l’émergence d’un nouveau rapport aux dictionnaires bilingues,’ (the emergence of a new rapport with bilingual dictionaries), in that the use of bilingual dictionaries is an activity that is spreading out in Algerian universities. Benamar explains that as far as Algerian college students are concerned:

Les dictionnaires spécialisés n’étant pas répandus dans les milieux estudiantins, ce sont les dictionnaires bilingues de langue générale qui occupent une grande place parmi les instruments d’accès au sens dans les situations d’apprentissage formel et informel. Les unités traduites en première année universitaire relèvent généralement de la terminologie scientifique. (2006:377)

Thus, we learn from Benamar that specialized dictionaries are not very popular among first year college students in Algeria and that, when translating scientific terminology, students prefer general bilingual dictionaries. General French-Arabic dictionaries appear to be systematically used in this context for two main reasons: ‘La relative complexité de la langue française et les difficultés de compréhension des unités lexicales spécialisées’ (Benamar 2006:375), in other words, the complexity of the French language and difficulties in comprehending specialized lexical units. It is important to mention that in Algeria sciences are usually taught in French, and the bilingual dictionary appears to be a crucial pedagogical instrument that helps students overcome the comprehension difficulties of scientific discourse. Meaning is, therefore, the first type of information sought in a French-Arabic dictionary in this context; ‘un besoin de recherche d’équivalences sémantiques,’ (a need for a search for semantic equivalences), Benamar
(2006:378) states. I can also confirm this conclusion from my own experience as a learner and later as a teacher in a second/foreign language context in Algeria. Benamar does not provide information as regards the reason why Algerian students shy away from specialized dictionaries, and surprisingly no reference is made to the use of monolingual French dictionaries.

We should like to mention, in parentheses, that although Algerian students might be able to consult a French-French dictionary when they are not satisfied with their French-Arabic dictionary, consulting an Arabic-Arabic dictionary is most certainly not an easy task for a French-speaking user. Bouchaddakh (2010:2) outlines the difficulties a French-speaking user is likely to encounter when using a monolingual Arabic dictionary in case he fails to find the information he seeks in his French-Arabic dictionary:

La consultation d’un dictionnaire arabe n’est pas une tâche facile pour un locuteur non arabophone. Les entrées sont très souvent structurées selon la racine et non la forme du lexème. Tous les lexèmes, excepté quelques unités grammaticales, sont ramenés à une racine généralement trilitère représentant un contenu sémantique commun. Les lexèmes dérivés à partir de cette racine, dont la forme est purement consonantique, sont inclus au sein de cet article de dictionnaire. Cette tradition lexicographique arabe, qui pose la dérivation comme principe d’organisation des entrées dans le dictionnaire, suppose un savoir préalable et pose problème pour les locuteurs non arabophones.

The author declares the root-based order that most Arabic dictionaries adopt to be challenging for non Arabic-speaking users. This type of macrostructure, which presupposes knowledge of the words’ corresponding triliteral roots, is the most challenging step in the look-up process. As explained in chapter 3, users of monolingual Arabic dictionaries need to be able to strip the tri-radical root off its prefixes, infixes and suffixes before they can locate what would be a derived form in a root-based Arabic dictionary. In order to do this, the user is supposed to have a good command of the Arabic grammar in the first place. Furthermore, even if we suppose that a given user is able to achieve such a linguistic task, the derived form itself might not be available in the
dictionary due to an inconsistency in the dictionary’s policy regarding the systematic inclusion of all derived forms under their common root. This fact about monolingual Arabic dictionaries stresses the importance of devising French-Arabic dictionaries, and similarly English-Arabic dictionaries, suitable for the needs of non-Arabic speaking users who have not reached that stage in the learning process which allows them to use an Arabic dictionary. We were unable to find relevant literature on this category of users.

Another important remark made by Benamar (2006) has to do with the users’ preferences and number of dictionaries they are likely to consult depending on their academic orientation. The author observes that Algerian students in scientific and technical fields use one general bilingual French-Arabic dictionary, while students in literary fields use a minimum of two dictionaries. It is also interesting to know that the literary students in Benamar’s study use dictionaries of different sizes, assuming that bigger size indicates better quality. Benamar writes: ‘Les étudiants de première année utilisent plus d’un dictionnaire bilingue: généralement deux de taille différentes ; comme si la taille à elle seule pouvait constituer un indicateur de qualité!’ (2006:378). The point the author highlights is that the dictionary size does not function as an indicator of the dictionary’s quality as students might think. There should normally be a correlation between the dictionary size and the wealth of lexicographic information. Benamar does not defend this idea as regards French-Arabic dictionaries at least. One last remark concerning the relationship between users and their French-Arabic dictionaries has to do with the users’ tendency to use old editions instead of the most recent ones.

consult the very first editions published in the 1970s. She writes that Al-Manhal (1970) and Al-Mounged (1972), both published in Lebanon, ‘sont encore aujourd’hui, et après plusieurs rééditions, les compagnons familiers des apprenants francophones de l’arabe, et des traducteurs’ (2006:401), i.e., today these two dictionaries, and after many re-editions, are still the most familiar companions of French-speaking learners of Arabic, and translators. One wonders whether the old editions have ‘indeed’ been updated. Many other questions spring to mind: Is it that the users in question do not expect to see any significant differences between the editions of the same dictionary? Are the recent editions available at all? Are they not affordable? Quinsat provides no answers as to these important questions. Sader-Ferghali, on the other hand, explicitly states that the re-editions of most French-Arabic dictionaries have not necessarily been updated: ‘nous sommes surpris de constater que certains dictionnaires restent inchangés et toute soi-disant réédition s’avère être une simple réimpression’ (2006:73). Sader-Ferghali expresses her surprise at the fact that the different editions of a given French-Arabic dictionary have not been subject to any kind of change; they are simple reprints. It will be interesting to see how the situation in the field of English-Arabic lexicography does not depart from this path. We now turn our attention to the microstructural features of French-Arabic dictionaries and report on the current state of affairs in this area, as much as the available literature allows us to do so.

4.1.3 Equivalence Issues in French-Arabic Dictionaries

Equivalence is the central issue in bilingual Arabic lexicography, and French-Arabic dictionaries are no exception. In fact, a major problem stands out when comparing any two French-Arabic dictionaries. When comparing the equivalents suggested for a few linguistic terms in four French-Arabic dictionaries (two Algerian and two Lebanese dictionaries), it turns out that
the dictionaries under investigation present several equivalents for the same term. The
dictionaries in question are:

(D1) Kanze al-Taleb, Editions ENAL 1991
(D2) Eulex, Alger, 2000
(D3) Al-Kamel al-Wasit, Beyrout, Dar el-ilm lilmalayne, 1997
(D4) Abdelnour, Liban, Typopress, 1997

Let us consider some of the terms which are problematic as far as equivalence is concerned.

‘Langue’, for instance, has two equivalents in Kanze al-taleb (1991): *lugha* (language) and
‘*uslu:b lughawi:* (linguistic style); in Eulex (2000), and Abdelnour (1997) the same word has
three equivalents: *lugha* (language), *lahja* (accent or dialect), and *ta‘bi:r* (expression). Al-Kamel
al-Wasit (1997) suggests only *lugha* and *lahja*. We can see that *lahja* appears three times, *ta‘bi:r*
two times, and ‘*uslu:b lughawi:*’ one time. The term *lugha* is the dominant equivalent for ‘langue’
and ‘language’ in all four dictionaries. Due to the lexicographers’ divergence of opinion
regarding the most appropriate equivalent Arabic terms, some authors wondered about the users’
reaction in the face of this situation and decided to check the equivalents suggested in a number
of dictionaries against native speakers’ perceptions of what constitutes a good equivalent for a
term in a given context. The absence of parallel corpora tools gives legitimacy to such a
methodology. Note that relying on individual native speaker informants of the language under
investigation, although subjective, has marked a long era in linguistics.

Quinsat (2006) analyzed the equivalents presented in three French-Arabic dictionaries,
then submitted them to a native speaker of Arabic for acceptability judgments. Quinsat first
shows the presence of concomitant forms for the same entry words in three French-Arabic
dictionaries: Al-Manhal (2000) (henceforth MA), Al-Mounged (2000) (henceforth MO), and
Dictionnaire La Source (2002) (henceforth SO). ‘Moderniser’, for example, is rendered as
*ḥaddatha* (to civilize), ‘*ašrana* (to modernize), *jaddada* (to renew) in MA; the two other
dictionaries suggest, *jaddada*, ʿašrana and ḥaddatha (MO), while ʿašrana, ʿašṣara (another possible derivative instead of ʿašrana), and ḥaddatha appear in SO. In our opinion, ʿašrana and ʿašṣara, although the latter is not very common, constitute better equivalents since both are derived from ʿašri (modern, contemporary). The duplication of the letter š in ʿašṣara should be clearly marked with the proper diacritic in order not to be confused with the Arabic word ʿašara (to squeeze). Quinsat’s informant had a totally different opinion on the use of ʿašrana, which is the equivalent most agreed upon in all three dictionaries. The native speaker says that this word is: ‘un derivé malheureux qui sonne mal’ (Quinsat 2006:404); in other words, an unfortunate derivative that does not sound right. It is true that a lexicographer cannot rely on the judgment of only one informant, but the observation that some equivalents appear solely in dictionaries and usually do not sound quite right when presented to native speakers is made repeatedly in the literature.

On the lack of correspondence between the use of certain words by non-native speakers and their ‘actual’ use by the native speakers of the language, Ibrahim writes:

𝑛𝑜𝑢𝑠 𝛼𝑣𝑜𝑛𝑠 𝑝𝑟𝑜𝑏𝑎𝑏𝑙𝑒𝑚𝑒𝑛𝑡 𝑡𝑜𝑢𝑠 𝑐𝑜𝑛𝑛𝑢 𝑐𝑒𝑡𝑡𝑒 𝑒𝑥𝑝éri𝑒𝑛𝑐𝑒 𝑡𝑟è𝑠 𝑐𝑜𝑛𝑡𝑟𝑎𝑟𝑖𝑎𝑛𝑡𝑒
d’entendre un ami natif à qui nous venons de soumettre une formulation
laborieusement traduite à l’aide de notre bilingue préféré, nous dire, un
peu gêné: “Oui, c’est correct…mais on ne dirait pas ça comme ça. On
dirait plutôt… (2006:173)

To put it briefly, Ibrahim refers to situations where native speakers – slightly embarrassed – correct their non-native speaker friends by telling them that the word they are using is correct but this is not the word they would normally use in this specific context. The laboriously translated formulations non-native speakers produce do not always sound right in Ibrahim’s terms, which is a pertinent issue in French-Arabic translation. Ibrahim (2006) thinks that all non-native speakers of Arabic have probably experienced such an uncomfortable situation when engaging in
interactions with native speakers. When it comes to scientific terminology, however, judgments regarding the most appropriate or correct equivalent are not straightforward, even for the native speakers of the target language. Another example is necessary to further illustrate the complexity of the French-Arabic lexicographer’s task when it comes to writing entries for terms that belong to specialized registers.

To begin with, Quinsat explains how the military rank ‘general’, for example, is presented in the three dictionaries she investigates. MA suggests: liwa:ʔ and jinira:l; in MO we find qa:`id and cima:d; SO proposes only one word qa:`id. There is a clear disagreement between MA and MO, in spite of the fact that both dictionaries were published in the same period and in the same country. The dictionaries translate the same word with four different forms. The author explains that the above-mentioned dictionaries could have specified, for instance, that the form jinira:l (general) is more used in the oral register among Arab speakers, but no dictionary mentions this important information. Furthermore, Quinsat comments that in the absence of any commentary in the dictionary, the non-specialist user does not know whether the military terms are equivalent to the organization of the army of the country where the dictionary was produced or to other military organizations in the Arab world:

Les trois présentations ne suggèrent pas non plus à l’utilisateur les variations auxquelles il peut s’attendre au Maghreb, sachant pourtant que les dictionnaires concernés, au moins pour les deux plus anciens, sont des références classiques dans l’ensemble des établissements d’enseignement de l’arabe. (2006:408).

What Quinsat suggests is that the dictionaries should explain the variations that are likely to occur in other Arab countries, such as the Maghreb, mainly because the dictionaries in question, at least the older ones, are widely used in teaching institutions all over the Arab world.
Another interesting example is the word ‘dentifrice’ (toothpaste) for which all dictionaries suggest *ma’ju:n ‘asna:n* (a calque of the English word). The native speaker Quinsat interviewed explains that at home, his real expression for ‘donne moi du dentifrice’ (give me toothpaste) would be *d’ti:ni:* ‘Colgate’ (give me Colgate); Colgate being the brand name of a toothpaste. The informant explains that when he buys toothpaste from a pharmacist he knows is bilingual, he simply uses the French word ‘dentifrice’. When he does not know the pharmacist, the informant opts for the Arabic calque *ma’ju:n ‘asna:n*. It follows that ‘dentifrice’ is more associated with a familiar social context, where the borrowing signals the absence of formalism. This lexical choice reflects the diglossic situation in the Arab world and how speakers are self-conscious about the language they should use in formal situations. Native speakers of Arabic automatically switch to Standard Arabic in a situation they feel is rather formal. The word ‘dentifrice’ is perceived as colloquial in all Arab countries where French is a second language, and is completely unknown for other Arab speakers with no knowledge of French. Thus the very existence of this term in a dictionary as a potential equivalent is most certainly illegitimate in the prescriptivist tradition, mainly in the absence of any indication of the register to which it belongs, or the region where it might be used. It follows that similar discussions on whether or not to introduce colloquial and dialectal Arabic words in general French-Arabic dictionaries constitute part of the lexicographic debates in this field as well.

The problem with such a practice is that errors are likely to occur when dictionary users, mainly non Arabic-speaking users, opt for a dialectal word that might not be known by other typical Arab speakers. Now whether bilingual Arabic dictionaries should include all the sociolinguistic information associated with the use of a set of words is debatable, but notations, such as, ‘informal’, ‘colloquial’ or ‘dialectal’ are necessary if words belonging to such registers
are admitted in the dictionary, unless the dictionary is intended for the speakers of the target language. In this case users themselves will be able to distinguish the suggested equivalents.

What matters above all else, in our opinion, is consistency in the sense that if the lexicographer opts for one variety, he/she should continue covering the same variety instead of providing the user with a mixture of dialectal words, some of which might be used in very small geographical areas in the Arab world.

Multiplicity of equivalents is one recurrent problem in French-Arabic dictionaries, and the lack of sense discriminators and usage labels is flagrant. There is a consensus of opinion among researchers on French-Arabic dictionaries on rejecting the practice of offering multiple equivalents for the same word without any further distinction, in addition to questioning the lexicographers’ individual attempts at creating new terms to cover the lack of equivalence between Arabic and French. First, on the multiplicity of equivalents in French-Arabic dictionaries, Bouchaddakh warns against ‘la confusion qui risque de s’établir dans l’esprit de l’usager quant au statut de l’équivalent qui lui est fourni’ (2008:810); in other words, the user’s confusion vis-à-vis the status of each suggested equivalent. She puts it clearly; ‘celui-ci pourra en effet penser que cet équivalent est parfait ou total et l’employer à tort dans les mêmes contextes que ceux où l’unité source apparait’ (2008:810); in other words, the proclaimed user might think that the suggested equivalent can be used indistinguishably in all contexts in which the source language item appears. For example, \textit{ja:za:} in Arabic and ‘punir’ (to punish) in French are in fact partial equivalents. \textit{Ja:za:} has a more general meaning than ‘punir’; it means ‘to reward’ depending on whether what you did was good or bad. It also presupposes that the punishment is deserved, unlike ‘punir’. Such important semantic information is simply lost in bilingual Arabic dictionaries, according to Bouchaddakh (2008). To prove her point, the author
adds that in French you can say: ‘la peine de mort punit le crime’ (literally, a death sentence punishes crime); in Arabic none of the equivalents suggested in French-Arabic dictionaries works, since the most appropriate equivalent in Arabic is a noun ‘a:qiba (the consequence of something usually bad). Thus, extra meanings can be encoded in an Arabic word whose core meaning overlaps with the core meaning of another foreign word, and in some cases it might be necessary to use a different part of speech to achieve equivalence. In the above example, a French verb and an Arabic noun constitute a perfect match. Other researchers on French-Arabic dictionaries have reacted to the lexicographers’ personal attempts at solving non-equivalence issues.

Sader-Ferghali does not hesitate to write that French-Arabic dictionaries are usually the product of one person ‘qui propose ses goûts linguistiques personnels sans pour autant justifier ses choix terminologiques ni sa méthode de travail dans une préface’ (2006:72); i.e., the dictionary reflects the author’s personal linguistic taste with no justification whatsoever of his terminological choices nor his working methods. Sader-Ferghali (2006) insists that a bilingual dictionary should not reflect the opinion or the personal tastes of one person. The author does not think that the lexicographer should create a new reality but only attest to the existing reality. Sader-Ferghali calls the lexicographer ‘recenseur de l’usage’ (the person who takes a census of usage); a qualification which clearly reflects the author’s opinion that the lexicographer is not supposed to coin or invent new terms at all. Creating equivalents for technical terms is particularly delicate and should not be entirely left to the lexicographer’s discretion with no further guidelines.

Benamar illustrates how the word ‘morpheme’, for instance, turns out to be difficult to translate to the extent that no equivalent is proposed in the French-Arabic dictionaries she
investigated: Kanze al-Taleb (1991), Eulex (2000), and Al-Kamel al- Wasit (1997). The author, on the other hand, found that the word *kulayma* (literally, small word) is proposed as an equivalent in Abdelnour (1997), which is an awkward translation of the linguistic term; students can never get the technical sense of ‘morpheme’ by looking up the word in this dictionary. Furthermore, such a translation can be misleading for a novice in linguistics. Hoogland puts such equivalents in the category of neologisms and writes:

> When the user is confronted with a neologism without any further explanation, he/she will probably remain in confusion about the meaning of the foreign language word as well as to the meaning of the Arabic neologism. (2007:471)

It appears that ‘morpheme’ is not the only problematic term; further examination of other linguistic terms reveals similar problematic features. After examining the equivalents suggested for a list of other linguistic terms in the above-mentioned French-Arabic dictionaries, Benamar (2006:383) concludes that overall the proposed Arabic terms do not allow students to elaborate the expected definitions. In the light of the above discussion, French-Arabic dictionaries do not seem to provide great assistance in translation. As a matter of fact, French-Arabic dictionaries are *always* evaluated in terms of their usefulness to translators.

Franjié explicitly states that translators have long been waiting for French-Arabic dictionaries that offer ‘des équivalents directement exploitables en traduction, mais ces ouvrages tardent à voir le jour en raison de la complexité de leur élaboration’ (2008:855); in other words, French-Arabic dictionaries that offer equivalents which can be readily exploited in translation are lacking due the complexity of compiling such works. Sader-Ferghali attends to the same fact as regards existing specialized French-Arabic dictionaries; and thinks they are inefficient from a translator’s perspective:
En consultant les dictionnaires bilingues Français-Arabe propre à un domaine spécialisé comme la médecine ou l'informatique ou autre, l’usager ne trouve pas toujours son bonheur. Cet outil documentaire, constituant le premier recours du traducteur, s’avère très vite inefficace, imprécis et non-conforme à la réalité. (2006:71)

The author expresses her disappointment in specialized French-Arabic dictionaries which cover areas such as medicine or computer science. These works, which – in the author’s opinion – constitute the translator’s primary resource, are qualified as being inefficient, imprecise, and do not conform to reality. The lack of conformity to reality can be interpreted as a mismatch between the actual words used by the native speakers of the language and the words recorded in dictionaries. Sader-Ferghali (2006) insists that many suggested words do not correspond to the way native speakers use the language, and that some suggested equivalents are actually never used; they are more like ghost words passed from one dictionary to another without any further investigation. Hoogland joins Sader-Ferghali and warns against the use of neologisms without any explanation mainly because; ‘the result of this policy will be the occurrence of ghost words, i.e. words that do only occur in dictionaries and not in authentic texts’ (2007:471).

A lot of ink has been spilled in the literature to argue that a lack of coordination between translators, writers and dictionary compilers, on the one hand, and the anarchy that reigns in the translation profession in the Arab world (with the lack of coordination between the different language academies being a sign), on the other hand, are all factors responsible for the ‘inefficiency’ and ‘imprecision’ that came to characterize bilingual Arabic dictionaries, as described above by Sader-Ferghali (2006). Baker (1987:188) made a very important point:
although terminology is a serious problem for Arab translators and writers and contributes to the slow pace of translation activity in the Arab world, many newly coined Arabic terms cannot become well established or standardized without a considerable increase in translating specialized texts into Arabic.

Standardization problems continue to manifest themselves in the form of uncertainty over many coined terms in scientific Arabic texts. This is signaled by the addition of the foreign term in brackets or with a footnote explaining the meaning of the coin; two practices often criticized for distracting the reader (Baker 1987), and are often discouraged. It follows that translation into Arabic itself as a discipline faces many challenges, which leaves Arabic lexicography in a self-reinforcing vicious circle. While translation and lexicography overlap, there is a huge difference between the two disciplines which is not always appreciated in bilingual Arabic lexicographic circles. Let us examine this issue from the perspective of researchers on French-Arabic dictionaries and conclude this part of French-Arabic lexicography.

4.1.4 Concluding Remarks on French-Arabic Lexicography

It is no exaggeration to claim that French-Arabic dictionary research assigns a very limited role to French-Arabic dictionaries. This role renders this category of dictionaries essentially translation tools that are, nonetheless, consumed by equivalence problems. No pure lexicographic discussions have been identified, although the literature itself is scarce, as if lexicography is all about solving translation issues. Only a few authors, obviously aware of the confusion, have addressed the difference between translation and lexicography. Franjié, for example, distinguishes ‘lexicographic translation’ and ‘translation’ per se, and argues that:
Dans le dictionnaire bilingue, la traduction se fait hors contexte alors même que le sens d’une unité ne s’acquiert qu’en contexte. En effet, ce que l’on appelle des équivalents dans les dictionnaires bilingues sont en réalité des correspondants. Ceci pose le problème de la traduction lexicographique qui est par nature une traduction décontextualisée. (2008:861)

Franjié emphasizes the fact that lexicographic translation is problematic due to its decontextualized nature. Franjié writes that translation in a bilingual dictionary is accomplished out of context even though the meaning of a lexical unit is only acquired in context. Equivalents in a bilingual dictionary, Franjié proceeds, are in reality ‘correspondents’ in the sense that they correspond to each other instead of being equivalent to each other. Franjié (2008) is thus proposing a new lexicographic meaning for the term equivalence, a meaning that aims at stressing the difference between translation and lexicography.

In connection with the translation-lexicography distinction issue, we should like to add that a lexicographer’s job goes far beyond that of a translator: ‘il ne suffit pas de retrouver l’équivalent recherché mais il a aussi besoin d’en connaître la signification, les contextes où il figure, les collocations qui lui sont propres’ (Sader Ferghali 2006:74), i.e., the lexicographer’s job does not only consist in finding an equivalent, but also finding out its significance, the contexts in which it is used, and its proper collocations. In this sense, the lexicographer’s job is much more comprehensive linguistically speaking. Generally speaking, however, it can be argued that researchers in this field fail to draw a clear boundary between lexicography and translation. This situation is the normal outcome of the bulk of terminological problems that has become even more overwhelming than ever, especially within the linguistic diversity that characterizes the Arab world and the absence of attempts at systematizing it.
This section devoted to French-Arabic dictionaries allows us to draw preliminary conclusions that will help us evaluate the field of English-Arabic lexicography along the same lines. Our observations can be summarized as follows:

- Dialectal French-Arabic lexicography has established lexicographic studies in the Maghreb, and is today a flourishing discipline that primarily aims at documenting the local dialects of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.
- General French-Arabic dictionaries are very popular among ‘Maghribi’ users compared to specialized French-Arabic dictionaries. There is an obsession with analyzing specialized terminology which is expected to be found in general dictionaries.
- Old dictionary editions have a special flavor among users for reasons that remain unknown due to the lack of research, although we suspect the availability and price of these dictionaries to be the issue. We also learn that there is no correlation between the size of these dictionaries and the wealth of lexicographic information.
- Meaning is the first type of information sought in these dictionaries by users, while the same issue is not tackled in French-Arabic dictionary research with the focus being solely on the nature and number of equivalents. Discussions on the different lexicographic techniques that could be adopted in order to better represent the semantic and syntactic information are surprisingly missing.
- Researchers do not encourage coinages and neologisms.
- There is no research whatsoever on French-speaking users, the dictionaries they consult, their needs and look up strategies.

In a very recent paper, Bouchaddakh (2010) lists innumerable problems currently haunting French-Arabic dictionaries: la multiplicité des équivalents proposés, le manque de précision dans les données sémantiques et syntaxiques consignées, la non-identification des collocations, l’absence d’informations sur les divergences interlinguistiques qui existent entre les deux langues, le manque de structure dans l’information contenue dans les articles, i.e., multiplicity of equivalents, lack of precision in the suggested semantic and syntactic data, non-identification of collocations, the absence of information on the interlingual divergences that exist between French and Arabic, in addition to the fact that the information contained in the entries is not well-structured.
To conclude on a positive note, Benamar recognizes a very important fact: ‘les dictionnaires bilingues français-arabe constituent des outils pédagogiques indispensables aux étudiants, et ce, quelles que soient leurs filières et années d’études’ (2006:384). Indeed, despite their numerous drawbacks, French-Arabic dictionaries cannot be dismissed in the learning context as they constitute indispensable pedagogical tools. We posit that all the previously-mentioned French-Arabic dictionaries do have their problems, for which they should not be held exclusively responsible, but they can, at least to some extent, assist Arabic-speaking users. French-Arabic dictionaries are, in this sense, decoding dictionaries. The second part of the chapter investigates similar issues in the field of our interest; that is English-Arabic lexicography.

4.2 English-Arabic Metalexicography

First, we should like to inform the reader about the scope of the following discussion which goes hand in hand with the objectives of the dissertation as a whole. We will not tackle the area of dialectal English-Arabic lexicography, since the lexicographic works which pair up English with one of the varieties of Arabic appear to abound in idiomatic expressions. Their aim is to help English-speakers communicate with the locals of a specific region in different Arab countries. Research in this area, although autonomous, has not reached a scholarly expertise that allows us to report on its trends, as is the case in French-Arabic lexicography. Therefore, the next section aims at examining the present state of research on general English-Arabic dictionaries, and the type of questions usually investigated in this context based on the preliminary observations that emerged in the first part of the present chapter. The areas that require more investigation will constitute the focus of attention in the next chapter.
4.2.1 Is Research on English-Arabic Dictionaries All about Non-Equivalence Issues?

Research on how equivalence is achieved in different English-Arabic dictionaries far surpasses similar research in French-Arabic lexicography. Equivalence issues are extensively illustrated in a study by Wilmsen and Osama-Youssef (2009). The authors extracted 90 terms from seventeen publications in Arabic, then checked them against sixteen general and specialized dictionaries and three United Nations glossaries. Tremendous variability was noticed between all authors and between the selected reference works themselves. The terms highlighted in their paper include ‘such difficult-to-transfer concepts’ into Arabic as: ‘ambivalence’, ‘depression’, ‘empirical’, ‘ideology’, ‘paranoia’, and ‘phobia’. Let us present one example from their paper to illustrate the extent of variation in Arabic terminology.

The suggested Arabic terms for ‘ambivalence’ (Wilmsen and Osama-Youssef 2009:195) as they appear in the books listed below (with titles translated into Arabic) and reference works are outlined in the following table. The table was reproduced with a few modifications:
## Table 4.5: Multiplicity of Arabic equivalents for the English concept ‘ambivalence’ across books and dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Gloss and Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
The table offers a panorama of the terminological situation in the Arab world; we see no agreement whatsoever on equivalence. According to Wilmsen and Osama-Youssef (2009), most works rely upon periphrastic amplification of the term ‘ambivalence’ in Arabic. Yassin's clinical psychology textbook, for instance, provides a definition of the term without ever suggesting an equivalent. Al-Mawrid suggests four separate words that already exist in Arabic, while Zaayur invents his own term, which is a compound of thunā‘ ‘dual’ and qīma ‘value’ (thunaqīma) or a blend in Baalbaki’s terms. Diab (1990) agrees with Wilmsen and Osama-Youssef (2009) through his evaluation of Baalbaki’s Al-Mawrid English-Arabic dictionary (1967), and Hitti’s medical dictionary (1967). Diab (1990) is obviously not content with the treatment of technical terminology in these two dictionaries, which he judges to be insufficient. Diab (1990:79) calls Hitti’s dictionary, for instance, ‘an exercise in Arabicisation, a contribution to Arabic’, due to the dictionary’s attempts at creating new terms.

Upon examining a few entries in some English-Arabic and Arabic-English dictionaries in a study on the use of dictionaries in translation, Al-Besbasi reports the existence of conflicting information in those dictionaries (Al-Mawrid, Hans Wehr and the Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage) and argues that ‘the discrepancies between the equivalents they provide seem to be a matter of the compilers’ personal opinion, although the effect of such discrepancies on the subjects’ search for and choice of equivalent was clearly obvious’ (1991:171). Dictionary compilers can go as far as to coin new terms that are not part of the language lexicon. The risk with terminological innovations is that their meaning is difficult to guess by the average native speaker of Arabic. The reader may recall the reaction towards Baalbaki’s blends discussed in chapter two.
Hoogland (2007) investigates how a set of bilingual Arabic dictionaries (Dutch/English/French-Arabic) deal with the lack of equivalent Arabic terms. The author is clearly aiming at generalizations as regards the lexicographic treatment of lexical gaps between Dutch/English/French and Arabic. Besides, our belief is that Hoogland’s paper is a call for lexicographers to consult different bilingual Arabic dictionaries since lexical gaps in, say, an English-Arabic dictionary might have been filled in a French or Dutch-Arabic dictionary.

Hoogland noticed, for instance, that ‘lommerd/ pawnshop/ mont-de-piété’ is translated with a neologism in the Kamel Al-Kabir Plus French-Arabic Dictionary (Youssof 1996): *bayt al-rahn* (house of pawn). Such a ‘transparent’ neologism is rather easy to understand and will not pose a problem for the user. Other neologisms can be a little more confusing, such as the neologism suggested for ‘gletsjer/glacier’ in Al-Manhal French-Arabic (Idriss 1996), for example, which is *(mujjalada)plural* *مجلدة* (*jali:d*). The author decides to derive a ‘feminine’ word from the Arabic noun *مجلد* (*mujjad*), our guess is that the noun was made feminine on purpose not to confuse the Arabic user, who –most certainly- is familiar with the word *(مجلد)مجلد* (*mujalad*) used to refer to a file or a large volume of a book. We did like, however, how the dictionary compiler marks the invented term with an asterisk; a practice that should be encouraged as it draws the user’s attention to the creative nature of the suggested equivalent.

Note also that a lengthy explanation follows the neologism reflecting the compiler’s uncertainty over the suggested term’s degree of intelligibility. The author suggests:

*ركام تلج يشكل قببا واسعة في المناطق القطبية*, literally a pile of icy snow forming wide domes in polar regions. It is widely known that words related to the semantic fields of ice and snow are not always lexicalized in Arabic, because they ‘were’ not very common in the environmental reality of the Arab world. What further complicates the situation is that in case the user is not satisfied
with the lexicographic information presented in the above-mentioned dictionary, he/she might look up the word in another dictionary. According to Hoogland (2007), the Kamel Al-Kabir Plus French-Arabic Dictionary (1996) suggests منجمدة mujjamada: ‘frozen’ in its feminine form. The author, similarly to Al-Manhal dictionary, adds the following description:

مجمدة متراكب عظيم يتكون في الجبال العالية وفي المناطق القطبية: an explanation that can be said to be very badly written. The underlined words, which signals an attempt at deriving a noun from the Arabic adjective منجم mujjamad ‘frozen’ or the Arabic verb منجم jammada ‘to freeze’, does not even exist in Arabic. The explanation reads in English as follows: great piled *frozen which is formed in high mountains and in Polar Regions. Hoogland interestingly notes that: ‘if the same dictionary is used by foreigners who use the dictionary to produce Arabic, and these foreigners use the neologisms presented, there is again the risk of the Arab receiver of the message who will not understand the meanings of the neologism’ (2007:471). Indeed both suggested terms are not in wide currency in Arabic.

It is important to mention here that Hoogland (2007) does not explicitly reject neologisms, but he clearly emphasizes explanations in bilingual Arabic dictionaries as a requirement in those cases where no equivalent word exists. He mentions such words for which no corresponding Arabic equivalents are known to exist as, ‘cutlery’ and ‘old-fashioned’.

Hoogland (2007) suggests that the two words have to be paraphrased literally as: ‘food tools, knives, spoons, and forks’, and ‘of old fashion,’ respectively. A look at the table below (Hoogland 2007:459) further illustrates the problem of non-equivalence in the Nijmegen Dutch-Arabic volume (2003), and how explanatory equivalents are the lexicographer’s ultimate option. The situation similarly applies to English-Arabic dictionaries, as shown below:
The above list of words ranges from a general to a more specialized terminology. In connection with the above discussion, users of English-Arabic dictionaries in Al-Besbasi’s study, for example, indirectly state a very important lexicographic dilemma. Al-Besbasi reports that ‘subjects were particularly aware of the English/Arabic bilingual dictionaries’ tendencies to paraphrase and transliterate instead of offering equivalents, and the provision of items which lack the contextual connotations of the source-text items in question’ (1991:177). Bilingual Arabic dictionaries either offer periphrastic equivalents, multiple equivalents with no further specification, or neologisms (with or without elaborated explanations). In some problematic
cases, the lexicographer opts out for all three options. The basic lexicographic dilemma in our opinion lies in the choice between two alternatives: whether a dictionary should be solely a glossary, in which terms are listed in one language with their corresponding equivalents in the other language, or whether the dictionary should include explanatory information in order to assist the ‘decoding’ user. The crucial nature of lexicographic explanations can be better appreciated by considering culture-specific terms.

Cultural terms are widely reported to be problematic and very challenging for dictionary compilers (Al-Jabr 2008). As far as Arabic-English dictionaries go, words such as: *zaka:t* (an amount of money paid by rich Muslims to poor Muslims under certain conditions), and *muḥram* (a male, adult Muslim who accompanies blood-related Muslim women to the holy places in Mecca and Medina in Saudi Arabic) are not part of any English-speaking person’s culture. The concept of *muḥram* is even regarded to be demeaning for Muslim women; hence the risk of perpetuating misunderstandings of the religious significance of the concept through dictionaries if not properly explained. Always in relation to the lexicographic dilemma referred to earlier, Al-Jabr adds:

> it may also happen that certain words have TL equivalents at the denotative level, but these do not properly relay the cultural or emotive connotations of those words in particular contexts. For instance, both English and Arabic have the word *pilgrimage* (*Hajj* in Arabic), but the purpose of the event and the way it is conducted vary in both cultures. In this case, the only solution is to provide a parenthetical descriptive translation… or an explanation which illustrates the difference in meaning in a footnote. (2008:112)

A lexicographer cannot do without an explanation in this context as Al-Jabr puts it: ‘since the English word *pilgrimage* has the Arabic equivalent *hajj*, the translator should use this equivalent, but s/he has to spell out the difference in purpose and method of doing this religious rite in the two cultures’ (2008:113). Therefore, we can at least settle for ‘equivalent + explanation’ strategy
for culture-bound terms. In our opinion the worst lexicographic scenarios are: terms for which no equivalent is suggested at all, in which case the terms are completely dismissed from the macrostructure, a neologism with no further details, or one equivalent used to translate more than one ‘technical’ term especially when the words in question belong to the same semantic field. In all three cases, the user is left perplexed and helpless.

Khanji, on the other hand, begins by specifying a list of criteria for a term to be accepted as a proper equivalent; first, it ‘should be precise, that is, it should accurately (unambiguously) reflect the concept which it represents’ (1999:85). Acceptability is conditioned upon other criteria which Khanji (1999:85) lists as follows:

(1) The term should conform to the phonological and grammatical structure of the target language.
(2) The term should be potentially productive of derivations.
(3) The term should be as concise as possible as long as it is understood.
(4) The term should essentially not be polysemous, and it should not have (unnecessarily many) synonyms or homonyms.
(5) The form should be consistent with the morphological patterns of the terms already developed.

In order to assess the acceptability of linguistic terms coined in Arabic, Khanji selected a set of fifty terms taken from the Unified Dictionary of Linguistic Terms: English-French-Arabic (1989); he then asked 250 users of this register whether or not they consider the suggested Arabic terms acceptable in terms of the criteria listed above. The respondents gave high scores to the two terms ‘creole’, kriyol, and ‘sandhi’, sandhi that were Arabicized loanwords. Generally speaking, however, the level of the other terms’ acceptability by dictionary users was extremely low. In fact, most of the terms presented in Khanji’s study were rejected by the informants for several reasons: semantically overloaded, ambiguous, and in most cases did not reflect accurately the concepts they represent.
The term *lugha* (literally language), for example, is suggested as a possible equivalent for ‘idiom’, and *unsor daal* (element which indicates) as an equivalent for ‘morpheme’, and the list is much longer. Thus, the difference between ‘language’ and ‘idiom’ is not expressed in the dictionary, while morpheme, which ‘obviously’ proves to be difficult to translate in all bilingual Arabic dictionaries, could have been simply explained in the form of a gloss, according to Khanji. Along the same lines, Heliel suggests that for a definition to be adequate, ‘it should explain those aspects of the concept that are necessary and sufficient for its contents to be unraveled and distinguished from other concepts’ (1987:134). As argued for culture-specific terms earlier, an explanation is necessary in the case of more specialized terms, which brings us to another issue: How specialized should a dictionary be? In other words, how many specialized or technical terms should a general dictionary admit as part of its macrostructure? The literature investigated in this chapter does not explicitly answer this question; it rather seems that general bilingual Arabic dictionaries are expected to include terms from different fields instead of covering one pre-determined technical area as it is the case in most specialized dictionaries.

Abdul Sahib and Aziz Thabet (2005) examine the translation strategies employed by three English-Arabic dictionaries: Atlas electronic dictionary (2004), Al-Mughni al-Akbar: a Dictionary of Classical and Contemporary English by Karmi Hasan (1997), and Baalbaki’s Al-Mawrid Dictionary (1997). In an attempt at assessing the dictionaries’ coverage of specialized terminology, the two authors chose to examine the lexicographic treatment of 80 terms from four specialized areas: Linguistics and TESOL, Culture and Anthropology, Translation, and Literature. Overall the results indicate that ‘the area of translation is favored by the three dictionaries. They list 90% of the investigated terms’ (2005:14), while culture exhibits the lowest percentage of translation equivalence treatment. It also seems that a joint use of translation
equivalence and explanatory equivalence found the second highest type of treatment offered by the three dictionaries in the area of culture. The area of TESOL and applied linguistics, on the other hand, receives the highest percentage in terms of presentation of specialized meaning (80.9%), with the area of literature receiving the lowest percentage –75% (Abdul Sahib and Aziz Thabet 2005: 17-18).

The evaluation of the selected dictionaries itself is quite remarkable. Abdul Sahib and Aziz Thabet (2005) argue that the electronic dictionary Atlas is the strongest, as it offers a specialized meaning for most of the terms investigated; On the other hand, Al-Mughni appears to be the weakest of the three resources in terms of specialized meaning rendition. The Atlas dictionary, it should be noted, is a portable machine similar to translation machines. Diab and Hamdan (1999) compared a few entries in one print dictionary, and two electronic dictionaries that were chiefly used by a small percentage of their participants in Jordan. The results were in favor of the print dictionary (Al-Mawrid English-Arabic dictionary 1998), since the electronic dictionaries: Atlas and Turjuman provide a list of L2 equivalents with no further indications as to morphology, grammar or contexts of use. This is why we suspect that Abdul Sahib and Aziz Thabet (2005) might have probably consulted a more specialized version of the Atlas dictionary. The authors do not clearly specify the type of machine they have actually consulted, but if we disregard the Atlas dictionary, we can now argue that general bilingual dictionaries do not seem to provide an exhaustive treatment for the specialized terms they list. But the most dangerous terminological problem that remains to be seriously addressed mainly by compilers of specialized dictionaries affiliated to well-established language academies has to do with the confusion created when one Arabic term is used to refer to two or more distinct concepts; the term lugha mentioned earlier is a case in point.
In the Unified Dictionary of Linguistic Terms (English-French-Arabic) – one among many other dictionaries published by the Arab League and its relevant specialized organizations, such as ALECSO, the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization – the word *kalaːm*, meaning speaking, was used to define ‘utterance’, ‘speech’, ‘parole’, and ‘speech acts’, thus completely disregarding the very specialized nature of these terms. Such a practice illustrates ‘another serious flaw of terminological overgeneralization in using the same Arabic term to refer to four different concepts’ (Khanji 1999:90). Khanji (1999:90) puts it explicitly;

for the terminologist (or the lexicographer), the consideration of the register users must emanate from the awareness that TL dictionary users or readers are not passive targets. Both the terminologist and the register users must be engaged in a term negotiating process especially when producing technical bilingual dictionaries such as linguistic term dictionaries.

Heliel (1987) pondered similar problems characteristic of English-Arabic dictionaries of linguistic terms. The author claims that ‘such specialized dictionaries lacking definitions, explanations, and examples may, at best be useful for highly trained specialists. However, for average users, whether translators or students, their usefulness is doubtful’ (Heliel 1987:133). We have seen how the students in Benamar’s study turn to general bilingual dictionaries instead of specialized ones, hoping they will help them better grasp modern linguistic terms encountered when reading assigned linguistics texts. In Diab and Hamdan’s study, the students were not even aware of the existence of bilingual Arabic dictionaries of linguistics. Diab and Hamdan (1999:295) report that ‘in the context of reading a specialized text in linguistics, monolingual dictionaries are more helpful than bilingual ones, at least with regard to technical vocabulary.’ In Diab and Hamdan’s study, a sample of fifty third year students (in the BA program) enrolled in a course of general linguistics were requested to read a 25-page chapter from a linguistics textbook
which contains words whose meaning and/or pronunciation were unknown to them. The authors report that 66% of the total number of successful look-ups were in monolingual dictionaries, in contrast to 34% in bilingual ones. Again such results should not be generalized. The advanced level of the participants is an important variable to consider as it might explain their familiarity with monolingual English dictionaries.

In his PhD dissertation, Al-Besbasi (1992) carried out a study to investigate some aspects of the translation process, including observations of the use of dictionaries in translation. The corpus of data came from the concurrent verbal reports produced by eleven subjects taking part in a translation exercise in English and Arabic. The subjects' verbal reports provided access to their cognitive processes, and the findings of the study were based on these verbalized processes. The aspects of dictionary use in translation examined by Al-Besbasi include the choice of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and the subjects’ attitudes and expectations with regard to these dictionaries. The author found that bilingual dictionaries predominated unlike monolingual dictionaries whose use constituted only 7.8% of the total number of consultations by all subjects. Al-Besbasi interprets such a small percentage as a reflection of the secondary importance users attach to the monolingual dictionary. In fact, one is tempted to argue that Diab and Hamdan’s findings are rather unusual, since learners of a foreign language most often display a tendency to overuse bilingual dictionaries to the point of almost total dependency, even though teachers disfavor their use in classrooms. Ard (1982:2) agrees: ‘bilingual dictionaries have not been put to much use in the teaching of English writing to ESL students. While their use is allowed in certain classrooms, it is rarely encouraged.’ Similarly, Kharma (1985) notices that the bilingual dictionary is used by Arab students of English in Kuwait all the time, either by itself or in
conjunction with the monolingual dictionaries, against most teachers’ advice. Advanced learners themselves do not escape this rule as El-Badry puts it;

although many linguists and teachers of English would prefer to discourage advanced learners of the English language from using bilingual dictionaries, and would rather urge them to use monolingual English dictionaries, it remains a fact that many advanced learners of English still resort to bilingual dictionaries for assistance. (1986:3)

One last point we should like to discuss at the end of this section has to do with the fact that even though, in terms of number at least, specialized English-Arabic dictionaries override general English-Arabic dictionaries, they are in no way better than their general counterparts as regards the lexicographic treatment of technical terminology. Diab put both categories on equal ground and writes: ‘while generous in providing redundant information, their treatment of the specialist terminology leaves much to be desired’ (1990:209). Hoogland confirms that ‘specialized dictionaries make up a considerable percentage of all existing Arabic dictionaries’ (2008:24-25). In a bibliography which attempts to list all Arabic-English and English-Arabic dictionaries, glossaries, and vocabularies which the Library of Congress has acquired, Selim (1992) lists more than 700 specialized dictionaries compared to only 73 general dictionaries. In his preface, Selim states that ‘the number of dictionaries combining Arabic and English published during the last three decades is unprecedented. Some old dictionaries were reprinted, and new ones have appeared in practically every field of knowledge’ (1992:xi).

It should also be noted that most specialized dictionaries belong to the foreign language/Arabic category, which ‘can probably be explained by the fact that technical and scientific terminology is not unified in the Arab world, in spite of the enormous efforts that have been made by Arabic language academies, the Arabization Bureau of ALESCO, and other
organizations’ (Hoogland 2008:25). Sader-Ferghali goes further questioning the job achieved by the language academies active in the Arab world:

Les dictionnaires issus d’organismes de terminologie ou d’académies de langue arabe portent la mention de dictionnaire ‘unifié’ mais ils n’ont d’unifié que l’appellation car, même s’ils sont issus du même organisme, les données qui y figurent ne sont pas toujours uniformes. (2006:72)

To put it briefly, Sader-Ferghali questions the claim that the bilingual Arabic dictionaries issued by the Arabic language academies are unified; she adds that the data is not even uniform in those works produced by the same organism. In the light of the above discussion, it could be argued that English-Arabic dictionary research, in the same way as research on French-Arabic dictionaries, reflects an obsession with equivalence issues between English and Arabic. This fact is by no means accidental; it reveals the vision of bilingual Arabic dictionaries as translation tools whose objective seems to be limited to concocting equivalent terms. We now need to follow up the methodologies adopted by researchers in this field in order to understand the rationale behind such a vision.

### 4.2.2 Methodological Issues in English-Arabic Dictionary Research

It would be no surprise to learn that translation is used as a methodology when assessing the efficiency of English-Arabic dictionary use among users. One has to understand, however, that the recourse to translation tasks in this context does not imply an interest in encoding users. It rather aims at assessing comprehension. English-Arabic dictionary research is oriented toward decoding needs, as shall be demonstrated in the next two sections.
4.2.2.1 The English-Arabic dictionary and Decoding Users

In an investigation of the dictionary situation in Kuwait with special focus on English-Arabic and Arabic-English dictionaries and how well these dictionaries meet the different needs of advanced learners of English at Kuwait University, Al-Ajmi (1992) reports that most students indicate that they refer to their dictionaries primarily for meaning and less often for spelling, collocations, and grammar. Similarly, Al-Ajmi (1992) found that in terms of ownership, frequency of use and preference, ‘general-purpose’ English-Arabic dictionaries play the dominant role at the advanced EFL level in Kuwait. Note that this type of dictionary is used for decoding specialized texts, mainly in linguistics and literature. Diab and Hamdan (1999) explore how a group of university level Jordanian Arab EFL students, majoring in English language and literature, interact with words and dictionaries while reading a specialized text in linguistics. Jordanian EFL learners appeared to depend on both monolingual and general bilingual dictionaries in their search of sufficient information on meaning and pronunciation. Other types of information which the dictionary might provide, such as morphology, grammar, or etymology, were not perceived as relevant (Diab and Hamdan 1999: 292). Kharma (1986) found similar results as to the information sought from both English monolingual dictionaries and bilingual Arabic dictionaries: word meaning, spelling, derivatives, synonyms, antonyms, pronunciation, context/style, and grammatical features, respectively. Kharma’s study investigates the different needs, actual use and expectations of Arab students of English at Kuwait University with regard to English monolingual dictionaries and bilingual Arabic dictionaries. English-Arabic dictionaries were also reported to be used in the contexts of reading English-language textbooks by nursing students in Jordan, mainly for looking up semantic information, i.e., for decoding rather than encoding purposes as thoroughly demonstrated by Diab (1990:76) in his dissertation.
Kharma cannot but express his surprise at how students disregard grammatical information in favor of a more semantically-oriented search: ‘it is remarkable that ‘grammatical features’ come at the bottom of the list despite their great importance, especially for the productive skills’ (1986:87). While the search for semantic equivalence prompts the use of the general bilingual Arabic dictionary, one should not make such generalizations as to the limited needs and look up strategies of Arab dictionary users.

The nature of the tasks the researchers administer, which is usually reading a text in a foreign language in order to assess comprehension, largely affects the users’ look up strategies. In this sense, the administered task can be said to be biased, since a reading task ‘naturally’ presupposes looking up either the meaning of the L2 word or its pronunciation at best. Pre-dictionary strategies, such as guessing from the context, are rarely reported in the above-mentioned studies, and Arab students seem to be entirely dependent on English- Arabic dictionaries and monolingual English learners’ dictionaries, although to a lesser extent. Diab and Hamdan insist that ‘such limited reference needs may characterize EFL learners using the dictionary in the context of reading for comprehension’ (1999: 292).

Our belief is that this methodological choice is no coincidence; it reflects the importance of reading comprehension in the foreign language context in different Arab countries. Al-Ajmi confirms that ‘reading comprehension is the linguistic activity in which learners often refer to their dictionaries’ (2008:19). This information is far from being trivial and should not be overlooked when evaluating Arabic dictionaries as it gives us hints about one major reason most bilingual Arabic dictionary compilers gear their products to a decoding audience. In other words, we suppose that this category of dictionaries might actually have been compiled in response to the Arab users’ specific needs. Of course, dictionary compilers will never attend to this fact,
since they lavishly claim that their reference works are suitable for all users, whether they are decoding or encoding users, SL or TL speakers, as shall be shown in the next chapter. As a result, we can already add the problem of not delimiting a specific audience for the bilingual Arabic dictionary to our list of the shortcomings characteristic of this category of dictionaries. Bilingual Arabic dictionaries have always been accused of not taking their users’ needs into consideration. Diab (1990), in a survey of dictionary use among 405 ESP (English for specific purposes) learners at the University of Jordan, reports that all the available bilingual Arabic dictionaries, whether general or technical, lack ‘specificity’ as to purposes and types of users. In order to sell more, dictionary editors feel they need to address a large audience. The result of trying to cater to the users’ every possible need is that the latter are usually not satisfied with the information provided in their dictionaries, since variation among students at different college levels and with different majors reveals dissimilar needs and expectations.

Diab (1990) claims that the questionnaire returns and interview responses of nursing students showed that ESP learners in Jordan were regularly reliant upon pocket-sized bilingual English-Arabic dictionaries, with the frequency of their use of such materials gradually increasing as they moved up from one school stage to another. Thus, the users’ needs constitute an important variable, not to be disregarded in studies on dictionary use and look up strategies. A pocket dictionary might live up quite well to the expectations of a specific group of learners, mainly those in more technical areas of study. In the next section we further examine the methodological bond between English-Arabic lexicography and translation.
4.2.2.2 The English-Arabic Dictionary: A Deficient Translation Tool?

Solid evidence has been provided so far that translation issues from English into Arabic and vice versa are predominant in lexicographic discussions on Arabic. In what follows we will identify other reasons behind the tradition of investigating the bilingual Arabic dictionary in the context of translation and rarely in a purely lexicographic context. Of course, we understand that the complexity of the terminological issues that characterize Arabic has eventually helped establish this type of research, but there seems to be more to this tendency than attempts at solving terminological issues. One can argue that the current situation is partly due to the fact that ‘using a bilingual dictionary is the most common translation strategy Arab translation students/trainees opt for during the process of translating from English into Arabic and vice versa’ (Al-Jabr 2008:110). Similarly, Al-Ajmi (1992) argues that the heavy reliance on general bilingual dictionaries in the Arab world is enhanced by the dominant study modes which require their use, i.e., reading, listening, and translating from English. In Algeria, for instance, translation from English into Arabic has always been a mandatory subject in different departments of English. Moreover, students majoring in English are expected to be fully able to translate from and into English once they graduate; many of them actually get translation jobs in different companies. To this end, bilingual dictionaries constitute major pedagogical/translational aids in Algeria.

Heliel proposes a different explanation to the ‘dictionary research-translation’ association; he refers to three unabridged bilingual Arabic dictionaries (Hans Wehr’s Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic 1961, Al-Mawrid 1988 and Al-Mughni 1999) and comments: ‘though none of the compilers thinks of “translator” as a category of users, the three dictionaries, in the absence of an Arabic-English dictionary specially tailored for translators, are the only tools
available for Arabic-English translators, whether native or non-native speakers’ (2002:55).

Assuming that Heliel’s analysis is true, the assessment of bilingual Arabic dictionaries in terms of their appropriateness for translators is forced, since researchers already know they are not designed for this specific category of users. Heliel, however, is not totally right in his assumptions. As regards Al-Mawrid dictionaries, it is widely known that translators constitute Baalbaki’s main targeted audience. Baalbaki himself is a translator, and all his dictionary editions are primarily written with the intention of satisfying the translator’s needs. Al-Ajmi explains that Al-Mawrid English-Arabic dictionary compiler’s essential aim was ‘writing a comprehensive dictionary that provides the largest number of vocabulary items, thus emphasizing the function of the dictionary as a translation tool’ (2001:66). The statement reminds us of one of the aims of Arabic dictionaries, discussed in chapter 3. We have seen how writers of monolingual Arab dictionaries have always aimed at comprehensiveness at the expense of other microstructural issues that needed to be solved. It is undeniable that, despite all their shortcomings and whether or not they are intended for translators, bilingual Arabic dictionaries constitute a major translation tool in the Arab world where language learning curricula prioritize reading, which presupposes translation.

Al-Besbasi (1991), Al-Ajmi (1992), Hafiz (1995) and Heliel (2002) all conspicuously indicate that so far as the English-Arabic dictionaries are concerned, they are inadequate tools for translation. Heliel enumerates a set of problems with English-Arabic dictionaries as follows:
Arab translators are likely to encounter problems finding Arabic equivalents that respect idiomatic meanings, syntactic structures, lexical collocations, and the specialized fields of discourse. These problems should be treated in bilingual dictionaries and translator training programmes. (1992:149)

Hafiz, on the other hand, writes a critique of the Arabic-English dictionary, then proceeds: ‘One cannot enumerate all the problems in [Hans Wehr], or any other [Arabic-English ]dictionary, which hinder the reference process of the user, and more specifically the translator’ (1995:423). At the end of his paper, Hafiz urged lexicographers to compile a new type of a user-based Arabic-English dictionary specifically designed for translators. Once again, our belief is that the difference between lexicography and translation is not well-appreciated in the literature on English-Arabic lexicography. Most papers tend to investigate translation issues extensively, and then briefly refer to the implication of their research for lexicography. In fact, when you type ‘bilingual Arabic dictionaries’ or ‘Arabic bilingual lexicography’ as your search words, you are more likely to get hits related to translation problems than lexicography per se. The question that raises itself here is: what does a typical study involving translation and dictionaries in the Arab world look like?

A typical study in the field of English-Arabic lexicography, for example, sets the aim of answering a major research question: to what extent are English-Arabic dictionaries helpful to learners of translation? Idiomatic language particularly receives most of the Arab researchers’ attention, for example, Shedeh and Bin Moussa (2007), in a paper entitled ‘Practicality and usefulness of English-Arabic dictionaries in translating English metaphors’, investigate the nature of the problems Arab learners encounter when translating English metaphors into Arabic using English-Arabic dictionaries, which is exactly what the title suggests. The subjects in this study, 35 senior English language majors at the University of Sharjah (UAE), were requested to
translate 25 sentences originally selected from literature and linguistics textbooks used at the same university. Note also that English majors at this university are required to take a set of translation courses, as is the case in Algeria. The required courses include: translation principles, literary translation, and translation of business and legal texts. The examples chosen for the translation task show that the authors took the term ‘metaphor’ to mean any figurative expression. In fact, the terms ‘metaphor’ and ‘idiom’ are used interchangeably; for example, the students were asked to translate sentences such as:

- They ran into the risk of losing money,
- I was taken aback when I saw my friend smoking,
- He is just blowing off steam,
- The students were behind schedule,
- I am almost through reading this story, etc…

In order to complete the translation task, the students were provided and urged to use what the authors consider to be ‘two widely spread English-Arabic dictionaries’ (2007:36); the Atlas Encyclopedic Dictionary: English-Arabic (2002) and Al-Mawrid English-Arabic Dictionary (2002). Both dictionaries were then evaluated according to two criteria: the availability of the target metaphorical expression in the dictionaries, and the location of the metaphorical expression, i.e., whether it (preferably) occurs under the first word or under any other word. The results of the study reveal when the two dictionaries are compared to each other, only 14 out of the 25 selected expressions have idiomatic translation equivalents. Some paraphrases in the Atlas dictionary, for instance, were considered by the authors to be misleading and confusing, for example, ‘run short’ reads in Arabic as ‘supply/ finance becomes insufficient’, while ‘pay lip service’ is rendered in Arabic as ‘to express his support or approval to something without taking any effective action’. The authors reported one mistranslation in Al-Mawrid
which suggests ‘risk’ as a noun *mukha:tara* to be the only equivalent for the expression ‘run a risk’.

Additionally, Shehdeh and Bin Moussa (2007) noticed that the subjects performed better when the expression is listed under its first word. The authors ended their dictionary evaluation in the middle of the paper, and conclude that ‘both dictionaries are inadequate in handling metaphorical expressions with Atlas a little bit better than Al-Mawrid’ (2007:38). The rest of the paper offers a detailed analysis of the translation strategies adopted by the participants when the expressions do not appear in the selected dictionaries. Indeed, generally speaking, research that evaluates the usefulness of bilingual Arabic dictionaries for translation purposes does not involve much more than a statistical count of how many expressions or lexical items are found in the dictionaries under investigation, and the percentage of successful look ups.

It is important to add here that in some other studies on dictionary use in the Arab world, translation is used either as a tool for measuring how well a set of English words is understood by a group of Arabic-speaking learners when using monolingual English dictionaries. In order to understand this method, let us go through Al-Ajmi’s (2008) study which investigates the effectiveness of illustrative examples when using the EFL dictionary to understand unfamiliar words. Fifty-four third year students in the English department at Kuwait University enrolled in translation courses as well as writing and conversation courses were divide into two groups: half of the students were asked to translate a list of ten words (aftermath, aisle, bona fide, deflect, elide, grandeur, lingua franca, ominous, repulsive, and restive) after carefully reading the relevant definitions and examples, whereas the other half of the subjects were asked to read the definitions only, then translate the headwords into Arabic. Al-Ajmi explains his methodological choice as follows:
It is believed that this method may yield more accurate results than composition of sentences containing the test words. The latter method may lead students to produce sentences that simulate the examples or definitions and do not guarantee that it will be known for certain whether the subjects understood the meanings of the entry words. (2008:19)

Al-Ajmi compared the responses of both groups to the translations provided by Al-Mawrid dictionary for the above lexical set; whether the translation is correct and identical, or synonymous with the dictionary translations, etc... The aim is to see how close the subjects’ translations are to the bilingual dictionary equivalents.

The results of this study were, in our opinion, counterintuitive, in the sense that ‘students translating the headwords with the help of the definitions plus examples made more errors than those who relied on definitions only’ (Al-Ajmi 2008:21). Al-Ajmi explains that the language of the definitions ‘might be easier and clearer than the language of the examples which might contain other unfamiliar words, thus leading to confusion and more text to be processed by the definition-plus-example group’ (2008:21). For example, the group that was provided with a definition and an example illustrating the meaning of ‘repulsive’ mistranslated the word into Arabic. Consider the information the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English (Crowther 1995) provides:

**Repulsive** *adj* causing a feeling of strong dislike or disgust: *a repulsive sight/smell/person* ○ *nicking your nose is a repulsive habit.*

Despite the presence of examples, many students translated ‘repulsive’ with the Arabic ‘noun’ *Kurh*, a direct equivalent of ‘dislike’ in the definition, which according to Al-Ajmi is ‘an indicator of the students’ habit of not reading the whole text of the entry but stopping at the point where they think the needed information has been found’ (2008:21). Al-Ajmi does not provide concrete examples which show how the students’ translations compare with Al-Mawrid’s
suggested equivalents. This methodology reflects once more how English majors in Arab universities are ‘naturally’ expected to perform translation tasks, and the outcome is compared to the work delivered by a much more professional translator, Baalbaki by default. In his conclusion, Al-Ajmi mentions en passant that ‘the policy followed in this bilingual dictionary [Al-Mawrid] of providing a few Arabic synonyms that often do not agree with students’ expectations should therefore be revised’ (2008:23), a very ambiguous recommendation difficult to understand in the absence of concrete examples: does the lack of correspondence between the students’ responses and the translations suggested in the dictionary signal a problem with the dictionary rather than the students’ understanding of the English definitions and/or examples in question? What exactly do Arab learners of English expect to find in a bilingual Arabic dictionary? These are a few questions among many others that remain uncovered in the absence of research that embodies this category of dictionaries.

It is unfortunate that if a reader wants to learn more about Arabic dictionaries, he/she usually has to go to the end of the paper and read under the subhead ‘recommendations and implications’. The recommendations are always general in nature, as reflected in Shehdeh and Bin Moussa’s statements:

Dictionary compilers need to be more responsive to the users’ needs by making dictionaries more systematic and user-friendly. Standards should be established to offer guidelines for compiling metaphorical expressions and idioms in dictionaries. The inconsistency in presenting the metaphorical items in the dictionary entries leaves a lot to be desired in these references. More research needs to conducted in the field of evaluating, compiling, and rendering dictionaries more practical and more exhaustive especially the bilingual ones which aim at serving the needs of foreign language learners. (2007:43-44)
All lexicographers would agree that there is much more to lexicography than problems of translation. Hartmann lays out research subjects that can be tackled in lexicography when discussing potential components for training courses in lexicography:

1 ‘recording’ (delimitation, gathering and processing of lexical data, including fieldwork and/or corpus collection),
2 ‘description’ (analysis, structuring and arrangement of processed material, including definition work),
3 ‘presentation’ (preparation of material for publication, taking account of target users’ needs),
4 planning and organisation (including finance),
5 procedures and tools (including computing),
6 reflection and experimentation,
7 history of dictionary-making,
8 dictionary typology,
9 dictionary criticism,
10 dictionary use,
Supplemented by reference to various contributing theoretical disciplines (such as linguistics and information technology) and strengthened by practical hands-on experience. (1990:74)

Adamska also highlights the complexity of the lexicographer’s task compared to the translator’s when dealing with borrowings as follows:

In a translated text, a borrowing is embedded in the co-text and context; the translator may also choose to define the relevant notion somewhere in the text in order to assist the reader in the interpretation of the [...] lexical item. A lexicographer deciding to include a borrowed item in a bilingual dictionary has much less room for manoeuvre. All they can do to help the user is specify the item’s domain (by providing an appropriate subject-field label) and/or give some additional clarifying or disambiguating information in a post-gloss or a note. (2006:137)

In addition to dealing with complex terminological problems, lexicographers working on Arabic carry out their task within challenging contextual and spatial constraints. It is true that a lexicographer can always provide more illustrative examples, but the latter are still decontextualized in the sense that they are derived from a much ampler inaccessible context,
which is usually the full text. Some examples, at least when clearly distinguished in the entry, indeed achieve a better task at showing how a word can be used than what it means, as Al-Ajmi’s study demonstrated. Piotrowski best describes the mismatch between what theorists write about examples and what bilingual dictionaries actually include: ‘in majority of dictionaries examples are not defined explicitly, they are not even identified as such’ (2000:14). We will come back to the treatment of examples in bilingual Arabic dictionaries in the next chapter and see whether they are ‘the ragbag’ of bilingual Arabic lexicography, using Piotrowski’s (2000) terms.

We should like to end the section with a very thoughtful and thought-provoking remark made by Siepmann who argues that:

translations in bilingual semasiological encoding dictionaries often leave something to be desired. Again, this is primarily because bilingual lexicographers who work on single letters or words often lack contextual, or more accurately, subject-specific information; even if they have such information in one language, they may still find it difficult to provide natural textual equivalents because they fail to avail themselves of the time-honoured strategy used by professional translators of comparing ‘parallel’ texts, i.e. texts which deal with the same or similar subject matter in different languages. (2005:16)

Siepmann throughout his paper favors a meaning-based arrangement of the bilingual dictionary, in which case the context would be much more explicit than it is in an alphabetical dictionary. The author describes and defends an onomasiological, collocation-based approach to bilingual dictionary writing, since the alphabetical dictionary in his view fails to describe semantically-related lexemes in a sufficiently uniform manner. Moreover, he considers the collocational coverage in semasiological dictionaries to be poor and inconsistent. For example, the French words ‘Français’ (French), and ‘Chinois’ (Chinese)...could be all listed under ‘nationality’, thus ensuring a comprehensive coverage and a better understanding of these words, for which
bilingual dictionaries do not seem to provide consistent treatments. Siepmann (2005) also suggests synonymic or semantically-related collocations to be grouped together instead of appearing under different entries as it is the case in a semasiological dictionary, then their translations are provided in the foreign language. He suggests that the bilingual dictionary could be divided into a topic area/ situation type as the following example indicates:

**Noise:** Telling people to be quiet includes: don’t say a word/ don’t make a sound/ be quiet/ hush/ quiet, please/ shut up/ wrap up/ belt up/ put a sock in it.

The corresponding translations in the target language will then follow.

Siepmann provides many other examples which clearly demonstrate the superiority of the onomasiological approach, and convincingly writes:

> the division of labour among various lexicographers can thus be by topic area rather than the alphabet. For one thing, this solves the problem of missing cross-references or missing translations for synonymic items; for another, it allows an allocation of tasks to lexicographers by areas of real-world expertise rather than the alphabet. (2005:22)

It is true that many lexicographic problems are dictionary-related, but alphabetical dictionaries, as explained in chapter three continue to be the norm. Even though we can clearly see the advantages of the semantically-based approaches to dictionary writing, we also have to think about solutions to the mainstream dictionaries, i.e., alphabetical dictionaries. But we will come back to this point when discussing how modern approaches to meaning prioritizing collocational meaning and rejecting the idea of core meaning have affected the lexicographic enterprise. Note also that Siepmann (2005) is obviously a firm believer in Sinclair’s ideas and explicitly blames lexicographers for not taking advantage of parallel corpus tools, which will provide them with more ‘natural textual’ equivalents. In defense of Arab lexicographers, at least, these tools are not as yet available for general use; they are still in a trial and error stage due to the complex nature
of the Arabic language, which does not lend itself easily to computational treatments. In the following section, we would like to analyze one intriguing practice that we already identified among French-Arabic dictionary users.

4.2.3 Stick with the Trusted Old Guard

We chose the above title to refer to users of English Arabic dictionaries who apparently stick with the old editions of Arabic dictionaries. We do not claim to be able to provide a definite answer as to the reasons behind this preference, which is also noted among French-Arabic dictionary users, as shown earlier in the chapter. We do see this tendency which seems to have turned into a habit revealing important facts about this category of dictionaries. It also strengthens our analysis in the previous chapters on the consequences of conservatism (chapter 2), and the practice of copying from one dictionary to another with no significant changes (chapter 3). We already referred to Mu‘jam al-Wasit (Chapter 3), which was first edited in 1960-61 by the Academy of Cairo. These outdated editions are still in use by university professors and research students, as well as by students in primary and secondary school (Hassanein 2008:41). Note that this information is very recent: 2008.

Diab and Hamdan, in their study of dictionary use in the context of a Jordanian university, similarly report that ‘most of the dictionaries consulted were old editions that were once used by the subjects’ parents or older brothers or sisters. This may be responsible for some degree of dissatisfaction with these dictionaries’ (1999:298), but no comparisons are carried out in the paper. As the reader of the present work might have already noticed, Al-Mawrid English-Arabic/Arabic-English editions published from 1967 to the eighties are constantly referred to by most Arab researchers mentioned so far. On the other hand, dictionaries such as, Hans Wehr’s
Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1979), and the Oxford Dictionary of Current Usage (henceforth OEAD 1972) are still popular among English-speaking users particularly, and constitute the subject of recent research on bilingual Arabic dictionaries (Benzehra and McCreary 2010) due to a wide acknowledgment of their popularity among this category of users. Additionally, Abu-Ssaydeh (2006:358) recognizes that the Hans Wehr’s Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1974) is one of the two most frequently used Arabic-English dictionaries in the Arab world. We did not come across research work in which the different editions of the same dictionary are thoroughly compared, but we did note interesting observations made by Hoogland who reports how the old editions of some bilingual Arabic dictionaries of renown might have served as a platform for writing recent dictionaries.

Although – in his analysis of the treatment of lexical gaps in different Dutch-Arabic, English-Arabic, and French-Arabic dictionaries – Hoogland (2007) recommends that dictionary compilers should consult all available dictionaries in order to avoid inserting descriptions where translational equivalents might actually exist in other dictionaries, he appears to be critical of the Mounded English-Arabic dictionary (1996) for heavily relying on his predecessor the OEAD (1972). What seems to bother Hoogland is the fact that Theodory Constantin, the editor, did not mention this important information in the introduction of his dictionary, and did not even enter the OEAD in his list of sources. Hoogland goes even further in his claims and suggestively writes that ‘the possibility that both of the dictionaries were based on a common third ancestor requires further research’ (2007:472), therefore questioning the originality of both dictionaries. As noted in chapter three of the present work, copying from one another’s work is a tradition that characterized monolingual Arabic lexicography, and appears to have passed on to its bilingual counterpart; the rationale behind it being extreme conservatism as regards the Arabic language.
Provided that Hoogland’s initial claims are true, the reliance of a dictionary published in 1996 on a dictionary published as early as 1972 signals a serious problem in the bilingual Arabic dictionary writing process as duly demonstrated in the previous chapters: notably, a failure to record modern Arabic words and delete archaic words that belong to the more classical variety of Arabic. In this sense, most modern bilingual Arabic dictionaries are outdated (Hoogland 2008).

To support his claim, Hoogland (2008:27) notes that many widely-used words in the 2004 edition of Al-Mawrid Arabic-English Dictionary are missing; such as: ‘awlama ‘globalization’, fa:ks ‘fax’, mawqi “Website”, ‘intarni:t ‘Internet’, mu:di:m ‘modem’, hatif mahmu:l/ naqqa:l ‘portable/ mobile telephone’. The author comments: ‘not only does this underline the need for modern dictionaries of Arabic, but it also shows the speed with which Arabic is expanding or modernizing its vocabulary’ (2008:27). Similarly, idiomatic language is disregarded in Arabic dictionaries, as Shivtiel puts it:

A large number of usages and in particular, metaphors, collocations, and idioms are not registered by the modern dictionary, although very often they are current in modern writing. For example, many collocations used by present writers have not been recorded by any modern dictionary. (1993:21)

Similarly, Abu-Ssaydeh (2006) points to the lack of idiomatic expressions in Arabic-English dictionaries more specifically. It important to repeat a reality referred to previously; the fact that many Arabic words are missing in dictionaries does not ‘always’ mean that they are not lexicalized in the Arabic lexicon. In many cases, lexicographers working on Arabic have failed their mission because they are more concerned with the classical variety of Arabic than with MSA.

In conclusion, Al-Chalabi (1983:288) is positive about certain facts, and his conclusion remains valid today:
Lack of genuine competition and the absence of periodic revision and frequent updating, as well as reluctance to adopt established lexicographical techniques used in Western dictionaries, mean that Arabic-foreign language dictionaries have a long way to go.

The logical consequence of the above-stated situation is that users will experience difficulties in using their bilingual Arabic dictionaries. At the end of the chapter, we will turn our attention to the ‘who-to-blame’ question: dictionary users or the dictionary itself in addition to other relevant observations that arose during the discussion.

4.2.4 The English-Arabic Dictionary: A Potential source of Errors for Users?

It has certainly become clear for the reader why bilingual Arabic dictionaries are tagged as being imperfect and containing insufficient and confusing information; but are they truly to blame for all of the users’ difficulties? In addition to the problems bilingual Arabic dictionaries display, such as the multiplicity of equivalents, the complete absence of certain equivalents, and the use of older editions, what other dictionary-related problems could possibly induce users into error? Can we assume that the bilingual Arabic dictionaries constitute a potential source of error for their users? Cowie (1999:188), for example, wondered whether performance errors are due to inadequate skills, rather than deficiencies in the dictionaries themselves. We will approach this question from different researchers’ perspectives and research on English-Arabic dictionaries.

Al-Ajmi (1992) found that many English majors at Kuwait University lacked even some basic dictionary skills such as locating the appropriate sense or part of speech. Users do indeed experience a set of difficulties with dictionary information, such as the failure to find the correct sense in a polysemous entry. In another study, Al-Ajmi (2002) suggests that a classification of look-up problems is necessary to detect the part played by the dictionary in the students’ failure
to locate the needed information. Al-Ajmi (2002:123) lists users’ difficulties with dictionary information in descending order of frequency of occurrence:

(a) Failure to find the correct sense in a polysemous entry  
(b) Failure to find the headword although it was there  
(c) Searching in the wrong entry  
(d) Selecting the wrong sub-sense  
(e) Searching for proper nouns and foreign words  
(f) Selecting the wrong synonym  
(g) Choosing more than one equivalent (uncertainty)  
(h) Inability to recognize multiword expressions  
(i) Selecting parts of explanations/equivalents.

Al-Ajmi assigns the failure to find the correct sense in a polysemous entry to the density of information in polysemous entries, which renders the problem once more dictionary-related. But this should not distract us from the fact that users can be lazy or unwilling to go through the information the entry provides, and decide not to go beyond the first line regardless of whether the page layout is clear. Al-Ajmi illustrates how some subjects in his study who were supposed to search for the words delivery, scrap, quote, and circuitry gave the Arabic equivalents for: deviltry, scarp, quoit, and circuity. Diab and Hamdan (1999), on the other hand, report that some subjects in their study confused certain words such as, ‘inventory’ which was perceived as a derivation of ‘invention’, and ‘prosodic’ as a synonym of ‘poetic’. Such cases can be due to either spelling similarity or inattention on the subjects’ part. Al-Ajmi comments ‘in addition to spelling similarity, the close proximity of monosemous entries might have contributed to this problem. This might justify the use of special warning signs in such entries to help users identify these trouble spots’ (2002:127). It should be explained here that in order to detect possible links between the structural features of English-Arabic dictionaries and errors, Al-Ajmi (2002) asked 46 second-year English majors at Kuwait University to translate a set of texts. The subjects also had to copy the problematic items they encountered in the chosen text and say whether or not it
was listed in the dictionary and the sense number of the Arabic equivalent in polysemous entries. The chosen equivalents were then classified as ‘successful’ or ‘unsuccessful’ look-ups.

Along the same lines, Al-Besbasi (1991:173) notes:

approximately 18.3% of all the dictionary consultations were found to be in some way inefficient, involving, for example, the failure to utilize specific relevant information offered by the dictionary, misinterpreting the information, etc.

Al-Besbasi (1991) insists that the inability of the subjects to extract information properly has led them to miss direct and clear information and even miss certain words present in the dictionary. At the same time, Al-Besbasi notes that on many occasions subjects made errors by selecting the wrong items from the dictionary ‘the obvious reasons were the subjects’ ignorance of the connotations of such items and the lack of any meaning discrimination, or illuminating examples offered by the dictionary’ (1991:175), which renders the dictionary responsible for many users’ reported difficulties and errors to a fault. Al-Ajmi (2002:129) corroborates this fact when he points to the need for radical improvements in the structural design of passive bilingual dictionaries in the Arab world. Therefore, dictionary-related problems do not always constitute the only cause of reported errors. On many occasions, users are partly to blame either for their poor lexicographic skills or for not consulting the dictionary introduction which usually provides important information on the dictionary’s access structure. We will now attempt at answering one last question: do users consult the dictionary introduction at all?

Kharma (1985) administered a series of questionnaires to investigate the actual use of dictionaries by 284 EFL students in the English department of Kuwait University. Kharma found the following:
the majority of the students said they had studied the material in the introduction of the monolingual (83%) and the bilingual (74%) dictionaries. They mainly looked for guidance related to the lay-out of the dictionary and the way to get to the exact meaning of the word occurring in a certain context. They were far less after ‘grammatical information. (1985:87)

Kharma, however, did not seem to be convinced of such idealistic claims and argues that ‘the students’ assertion that they study the material in the introduction should not be taken at its face value. It has to be established how much they effectively benefit from it’ (1985:88). If we pay close attention to the statistical analysis of dictionary consultations among users who claim to consult the front matter, we will find interesting results. Diab (1990:173), who thinks that ‘the dictionary introduction is a major criterion in dictionary design and evaluation’, asked the participants in his study whether or not and to what extent they referred to such information in the dictionaries they used: 208 out of 405 of the participants reported consulting a dictionary introduction; but more than a third of them (80 out of 208) indicate a rare frequency. Diab provides the following explanation:

a major tendency among dictionary users is their lack of interest in the dictionary front matter. This may be due to the lack of awareness of the importance of understanding the dictionary introductory matter among the users. The responsibility of creating such awareness should be shouldered by the language teachers and the syllabus/ materials design. (1990:174)

With precision, Diab sums up his recommendations for writing better introductions in what follows:
the lexicographer should also share the responsibility by giving more thought to the design of the dictionary front matter in terms of size, content, and format. A long introduction with irrelevant and/or sophisticated materials may put the user off. What is worse is to find no introductory material in a dictionary. The dictionary introduction should mirror the whole dictionary, its philosophy, main features, and methodology of using it. Charts that explain entries and entry arrangement, and even exercises should be considered. The use of colour is certainly an advantage in the design of a front matter. In addition, it helps the learner-user if the dictionary front matter is written in his/her mother tongue together with illustrative examples on how to make most use of the dictionary. (1990:174-5)

Following the previous discussion, it can be argued that dictionary use problems constitute a shared responsibility of both the editor and the user alike. Editors can start by improving and simplifying the information they provide in the front matter; users, on the other hand, should become familiar with it if they are to make the most of their dictionaries, whether bilingual or monolingual.

4.3 Conclusion

We started off the chapter with the aim of gaining a thorough grounding in innovative techniques for writing French-Arabic dictionaries, especially as far as non-equivalence issues are concerned. A number of other issues stood out during our analysis. We now report the most important ‘preliminary’ results from our parallel study. Despite the precedence of French-Arabic dictionaries over their English-Arabic counterparts, there seems to be a serious lack of literature on the former category of dictionaries. The most important finding has to do with the fact that it can be assumed that the tradition of introducing colloquial terms in bilingual Arabic dictionaries has actually originated in French-Arabic dictionaries. Lexicographic studies on the dialects of the
Maghreb are well-established and might be said to be the most advanced area in lexicographic studies with Arabic.

Overall, however, the literature we investigated pinpoints one ‘alarming’ reality about bilingual Arabic dictionaries; this has to do with the fact that they all exhibit divergence as to the lexicographic information they provide. Terminological issues are reminiscent of the field; they appear to be overwhelming to the extent that lexicographers working on Arabic have turned into translators, and sometimes into terminologists. Terminological innovations, mainly in the absence of the language academies’ seal, are hardly accepted as being within the lexicographer’s prerogatives. Hence, coinages and neologisms in a bilingual Arabic dictionary constitute the exception rather than the norm, and are undertaken at the lexicographer’s own risk. Hoogland states the problem as follows:

> when neologisms are introduced in a bilingual dictionary as a translation equivalent for an unknown foreign language word, there’s no context in the user’s mother tongue. As a matter of fact the dictionary user will only run into such a neologism by looking up a foreign word in a foreign language-Arabic dictionary. (2007:471)

Faced with numerous lexical gaps in Arabic, the lexicographers’ feeling that they are obliged to coin new terminology has lead to the perpetuation of an individualistic tradition in Arabic lexicography. The immediate result is that Arabic references often do not agree with one another in their treatment of terminology and on the terminology itself. Add to this the very dangerous confusion between translation and lexicography in the Arab world. This was attested to when we tried to investigate the rationale behind assessing bilingual Arabic dictionaries in terms of their usefulness in translation.

Translation and, to a lesser extent, reading comprehension tasks appear to be the most preferred methodological choices in research on bilingual Arabic dictionaries because they are
said to automatically stimulate natural dictionary use. But translation specifically is viewed as an end in itself in the sense that a bilingual Arabic dictionary is essentially designed to help translators. Franjié explicitly states that bilingual Arabic dictionaries are compiled from a translation perspective:

La réalité traductionelle et lexicographique dans les pays Arabes est très différente de celle qui prévaut en Occident ou le dictionnaire bilingue est conçu, a des fins de décodage et d’encodage, pour des apprenants de langues étrangères, des touristes, des traducteurs, etc. Les dictionnaires arabes bilingues, eux, ont toujours été conçus dans une optique de traduction. (2008:865)

Franjié’s words express a very important difference between bilingual dictionaries in the West and in the Arab world; while the former are compiled for decoding and encoding audiences, for foreign language learners, tourists and translators, etc, bilingual Arabic dictionaries are always written for translation purposes. We can add that the target audience is Arabic-speaking users, and no research has been devoted to the usefulness of bilingual Arabic dictionaries for English/French-speaking users in terms of their encoding and decoding needs. Despite all laudable efforts to meet the translators’ needs, English-Arabic and French-Arabic dictionaries are unanimously declared to be ‘defective’ translation tools. Bilingual Arabic dictionaries accomplish more when they help decoding Arabic-speaking users. The tendency towards explaining or paraphrasing the foreign terms in Arabic reinforces our assumption. We can also posit that research on bilingual Arabic dictionaries is more user-based than dictionary-focused.

Research on the microstructure of this category of dictionaries, when it exists, is futile. Research on the macrostructure, on the other hand, seems to focus on evaluating bilingual Arabic dictionaries in terms of their inclusion of scientific terminology. Al-Ajmi writes: ‘the introductions of Arab compilers’ bilingual dictionaries stress the role of the dictionary as a
translation tool and, therefore, emphasize the use of standard Arabic as the language of translation equivalents, excluding obsolete words and paying special attention to the inclusion of Arabicized scientific terminology’ (2001:69). The reader now can see the repercussions of the excessive attention paid to terminology and translation on Arabic lexicography. We can argue that the interest in scientific terminology reflects once again how the translator’s needs are eagerly considered when writing dictionaries, thus tipping the research balance in favor of translators. This category of users specifically has to deal with a certain jargon when translating specialized texts. To add insult to injury, as if all the problems with general terminology were not enough, most authors single out bilingual Arabic dictionaries for underrepresenting technical terminology. One can also argue that the focus on specialized terminology is particularly appealing to lexicographers for its relative lack of familiarity to Arab readers; what is more, this is one field for which very few ‘adequate’ reference works exist in Arabic despite the fact that specialized dictionaries outnumber general dictionaries. What is needed now is research on the microstructural features of dictionaries, and how to improve the quality of the lexicographic information, with the needs of one specific audience in view.

In the next chapter, we will offer the reader a snapshot of what microstructural studies look like. To this end, we will glean information on the most popular English-Arabic dictionaries that can be rightly called the landmarks of English-Arabic/ Arabic-English lexicography. When he analyzed the introductions of a set of English-Arabic/ Arabic-English dictionaries, Al-Ajmi (2001) took Al-Mawrid English-Arabic dictionary (1998), Elias’s Modern dictionary (Arabic-English) (1991), Elias’s The School Dictionary (Arabic –English) (1964), and Hans Wehr’s Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1995) as being the most representative of these two categories of dictionaries. We will add to Al-Ajmi’s selection another seminal work, which is the
OEAD (1972). The study of the big four ‘Elias, Al-Mawrid, Hans Wehr, and the OEAD’ aims overall at pinpointing the structural problems which we need to seriously think about and consider when writing future bilingual Arabic dictionaries.
CHAPTER 5

ARABIC-ENGLISH/ ENGLISH-ARABIC DICTIONARIES: MACRO- AND MICROSTRUCTURAL HIGHLIGHTS

In the wake of the previous chapter, which indicates the alarming situation of lack of research that highlights the microstructural features of bilingual Arabic dictionaries, we proceed in this chapter to the analysis of major dictionaries in the field of English-Arabic/ Arabic-English lexicography. The main stages in the development of English-Arabic dictionaries are essentially marked by four remarkable works: Elias, the OEAD, Al-Mawrid and Hans Wehr’s dictionary. This set constitutes the works that are most cited and investigated in the literature in our hands. The present chapter gleans scattered information on the distinctive features of these dictionaries and their contribution to Arabic lexicography, in addition to our own analysis of a few selected entries which proves to be necessary to add to our understanding of English-Arabic lexicography in general. The focus will be on the arrangement patterns in these dictionaries or how the material is distributed in the microstructure. We will examine the lexicographic policy as regards sense discriminators in particular.

The necessity of meaning discrimination depends on the purpose of the dictionary, i.e., whether it is meant for comprehension or production, and whether it is intended for the speakers of the SL or the TL. The prospect of adding meaning discriminators to English-Arabic dictionaries compels us to reconsider the role of these dictionaries. This is mainly due to the fact that a clear-cut distinction between passive and active/ SL or TL dictionaries proves difficult to achieve when it comes to determining the purpose of any given English-Arabic dictionary and
the audience it best suits. We will investigate the function of illustrative examples and usage labels, and whether they serve as a device of meaning discrimination. The role that collocations play in English-Arabic dictionaries will be explored as well, for example, whether they serve as sense discriminators or whether they are assigned the same function as illustrative examples. The ultimate aim is to identify a set of problems common to all the dictionaries under investigation. The problems that recurrently emerge during our analysis will be considered most pertinent to English-Arabic dictionaries, and will be thought through in the concluding chapter which will thus constitute a good starting point for future research on bilingual Arabic lexicography.

5.1 Classification of Bilingual Arabic Dictionaries

In order to be able to assign the dictionaries under investigation to specific categories, we need to go over the peculiar criteria according to which bilingual Arabic dictionaries can be classified, in addition to much more general criteria that apply to all dictionaries. Hoogland (2008:24) suggests a classification of Arabic dictionaries according to the following set of criteria:

i. Language variety (in the case of Arabic: Classical Arabic, Modern Standard Arabic, colloquial Arabic);
ii. Type of language (general vocabulary or specialized terminology from specific profession or scientific fields);
iii. Purpose of the dictionary (active for encoding in the target language, or passive for decoding the source language).

This classification, as straightforward as it might seem to be, turns out to be problematic when applied to bilingual Arabic dictionaries specifically. The overview we provided in the previous chapters for the linguistic situation in the Arab world, and the state of affairs in the field of Arabic lexicography leads to questioning and doubting the very existence of, say, a ‘general’
bilingual Arabic dictionary of ‘MSA’ for ‘foreign language’ ‘encoding’ users. In what follows, we will show how this is so.

Recall from the preceding chapters that dictionaries of MSA and CA can hardly be distinguished compared to dictionaries of colloquial Arabic; the latter have successfully grown apart and can be said to constitute an exclusive subfield as argued in chapter two. Very few dictionaries do make clear distinctions between the varieties they cover in their respective titles, such as: the Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic by Hans Wehr (1979). The English-Arabic dictionary Al-Mughni al-Akbar by Karmi Hasan (1997), for instance, is referred to as ‘a Dictionary of Classical and Contemporary English’, but no reference is made to the variety of Arabic the dictionary represents. Whether the dictionary writer refers to the variety of Arabic as being Classical or Modern does not seem to make any difference, and should not be taken at face value.

In the absence of corpora that could eventually help lexicographers draw a line between the two varieties, and may even acknowledge some colloquial words that have found their way into the modern variety, it is difficult to evaluate bilingual Arabic dictionaries in terms of the lexicographer’s own linguistic knowledge. In this connection, we do think, however, that a closer look at the suggested equivalents, translational or explanatory, can be very helpful, for example, *ha:tif* translated as ‘unseen man whose voice is heard’ instead of ‘telephone’ hints to the variety represented in the dictionary; in this case Classical Arabic. Of course one has to consider a number of other examples before drawing conclusions as to the variety of Arabic the dictionary most likely covers. Asfour (2003), and Alharbi and Al-Ajmi (2008) attend to the fact that bilingual dictionaries of Arabic are quantitatively limited, if not out of date, and tell us
The researchers here are pleading for more vernacular forms of Arabic to be represented in Arabic dictionaries. The second criterion for classifying dictionaries, according to Hoogland’s above list, has to do with the type of language in the dictionary. As we saw in chapter four, bilingual Arabic dictionaries are usually expected to include specialized terminology, and are evaluated in terms of their inclusion and treatment of specialized and technical terms. We already explained that the terminological situation in the Arab world, enhanced by the lack of coordination between the different language academies, has enormously contributed to the excessive interest in specialized registers and a concern with including terms belonging to them even in dictionaries designed for more general purposes. But, at least, as far as this division of labor is concerned, one can distinguish exclusively specialized ‘glossaries’ from general dictionaries, although the reader has to bear in mind that the latter include an important portion of specialized terminology for reasons that we have now become familiar with.

The last criterion for classifying bilingual Arabic dictionaries is the target group or the audience for which these dictionaries are compiled. Heliel (2002) highlights the fact that some English-Arabic dictionaries choose to remain silent about the target audience and the purpose they serve. Along the same lines, Hoogland argues that:

the question of whether a dictionary is an active or a passive dictionary is often difficult to answer. Many introductions to existing dictionaries simply do not make mention of the dictionary’s target group (Wehr 1979; M. Baalbaki [1981], al Mawrid, English/Arabic, 56,000). Still, there are other indications which throw a light on the intentions of the dictionary compiler or publisher. (2008:26)

Indeed, it is important to follow some guidelines when evaluating dictionaries in terms of their appropriateness for one audience or the other. Therefore, the question that remains to be
answered can be formulated as follows: how do we determine a dictionary’s target audience when the editor himself is not specific about this point, which is oftentimes the case? Hoogland suggests one important clue in respect with this endeavor:

the first indication is the language in which the introduction is written. If an Arabic/foreign language dictionary has an introduction in Arabic, it is aiming at Arabic-speaking users, which means the dictionary is meant to be an active one…. On the other hand, if the introduction is in the foreign language, the Arabic/foreign language dictionary is intended to be passive. (2008:26)

The language in which the introduction is written can be said to be the first indicator of the dictionary type, but – most importantly – one has to look at actual entries in order to make sound judgments as to the audience for which a dictionary is most appropriate. Hoogland addresses this fact in what follows:

The type of information included in the entries of a dictionary also indicates the target group it addresses. An active dictionary should contain as much information as possible about the target language, whereas a passive dictionary should provide as much information as possible about the source language’ (2008:26).

It follows that a thorough analysis of the dictionary’s microstructure is an essential component of any lexicographic evaluation. Not enough attention is given to this component when evaluating English-Arabic dictionaries. When building up our bibliography, not only was it hard to find papers directly related to English-Arabic dictionaries but rarely did we find studies dedicated to the structural features of bilingual dictionaries for Arab users. There are no studies on the use of Arabic dictionaries by English-speaking users or the appropriateness of this category of dictionaries for this specific category of users. Al-Ajmi highlights the importance of structural studies, and argues that the way information is organized in a dictionary entry plays a significant role in the success rates of dictionary use which ‘should lead researchers to focus on the
structural features of the bilingual dictionary and try to pinpoint those aspects of its macro- and microstructure that adversely affect the success rate in its use’ (2002:123).

The very few microstructural studies carried out in the field seem to all agree upon the fact that bilingual Arabic dictionaries are suitable for neither encoding nor decoding audiences, although – in our opinion – the decoding Arabic-speaking audience can clearly benefit much more from these dictionaries. This view does not seem to be shared by researchers and dictionary editors who continue to direct their attention to a much more passive audience. The editor of the Elias Arabic-English Modern Dictionary (1950: 13) writes that his dictionary was compiled to meet two ‘urgent’ needs: that of the English-speaking students of the living Arabic, for whom the more exhaustive and costly works are unsuited, as well as that of the Arabic-speaking student of the English language for whom no Arabic-English dictionary has as yet been made. Things have not changed since Elias first wrote his dictionary, and the need to satisfy the demands of Arabic-speaking users in particular continued to be constantly felt over the years, and more dictionaries intended for this specific audience were compiled. El-Badry (1990) confirms that most of the English-Arabic dictionaries that were available in the 20th century aimed indeed at the Arab user. The excessive concern with passive English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries for Arabic speakers has obviously not contributed to the superiority of these dictionaries over their encoding counterparts intended for either Arabic speakers or English speakers. We should like to mention here that the suitability of English-Arabic dictionaries for passive audiences whose native language is Arabic might actually have been rather accidental, since no English-Arabic dictionary claims to –exclusively – focus on this group of users, and editors tend to address all dictionary users without any kind of distinction. Elias’s above statement reflects what most editors of English-Arabic dictionaries usually claim in their prefaces.
In recent times, bilingual Arabic dictionaries are said to be equally lacking for both the Arabic speaker and the foreign language speaker. Hoogland unveils an alarming fact about English-Arabic dictionaries: ‘no single modern active Arabic/English dictionary for speakers of Arabic is available… [and] no single Arabic/ foreign language dictionary supplies enough information in the target language for active use by speakers of Arabic’ (2008: 26-27). Similarly, Al-Ajmi’s (2002) analysis of the microstructural features of some popular bilingual Arabic dictionaries indicates the specific need for an Arabic-English dictionary written for Arab writers. In a PhD dissertation on bilingual Arabic dictionaries (Arabic-English/ Arabic-German), Jneid (2007) confirms the lack of active bilingual Arabic dictionaries which could serve Arab users. Note that Jneid’s research gives an overview of a number of popular Arabic-English and Arabic-German dictionaries, mainly Al-Mawrid and Hans Wehr, and provides a thorough analysis of their macro- and microstructures.

Therefore, one can safely conclude that when the three criteria cited at the beginning of this section are applied to English-Arabic dictionaries, active dictionaries for speakers of Arabic are indeed lacking. On the lack of active Arabic-English dictionaries for speakers of Arabic, Hoogland (2008:26) writes:

it is clear that there are very few active Arabic/English dictionaries for speakers of Arabic. Only two dictionaries, R. Baalbaki’s (1996) Arabic/English *al Mawrid* and Elias (1960), seem to be intended as active dictionaries by their compilers. However, a more thorough look at these two dictionaries reveals that neither contains information about the English equivalents presented. There is no information about pronunciation or word stress in English, no grammatical information, etc.

On the other hand, as far as the English-speaking audience is concerned, Holes concedes that:
introductions to actual dictionaries rarely spell out that native English speakers need the dictionary not to understand English but to find an equivalent in Arabic for an English expression whose meaning they already know. (1992:162)

It follows that, as far as the foreign language-speaking category is concerned, the situation seems to be as deplorable as it is for Arabic-speaking encoding users.

To conclude, in Al-Ajmi’s words, ‘bilingual lexicography in the Arab world is suffering from a lack of guided practice and is in dire need of radical changes in both design and approach in order to keep pace with current advances, especially in EFL lexicography’ (2002:119). Add to this the absence of research on dictionary use, as stated by Diab and Hamdan: ‘in Jordan, and probably in other Arab countries, too, research into dictionaries and their users has started to attract attention only recently’ (1999:286). Thus, up to the present, users have found no satisfaction with their bilingual Arabic dictionaries. Haywood notices that those features of bilingual dictionaries which might well help Arab users are liable to irritate and even mislead English-speaking users, ‘but this is the inevitable result of trying to cater for both types of user’ (Haywood 1991:3092). Such separation of goals proves problematic and difficult to achieve for reasons that remain unclear. In the next section of the present chapter, we will closely inspect some landmark English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries that continue to be used throughout the Arab world and the English-speaking world.

5.2 The most Important Landmarks in the History of Arabic-English/English-Arabic Lexicography

It is our belief that dictionary accounts provide lexicographers with insights on how to improve dictionaries to serve particular users and specific purposes. In this section we glean the
very little lexicographic information available in the literature as regards the microstructural features of landmark Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries. The reader will recall from chapter three that Lane’s lexicon (1863) was a seminal Arabic-English dictionary, and that later bilingual Arabic dictionaries copied material from this remarkable work. In addition to Lane’s lexicon, there are other renowned dictionaries which are well-established across the Arab and Western worlds, and are very popular among learners and translators. As argued in chapter four, users of Arabic dictionaries tend to stick with a number of old editions of a limited set of dictionaries which they later pass on to other family members or friends. We first conducted a survey of the literature in order to determine a set of dictionaries that can rightly be considered landmarks in the history of Arabic lexicography, due to their popularity among users and/or innovative lexicographic techniques. Our survey yielded two important results:

- The category of Arabic-English dictionaries is marked by three dictionaries:
  - The *Elias Modern Dictionary: Arabic-English* (1922),
  - Hans Wehr’s *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (1961), and

- English-Arabic lexicography is marked by two important lexicographic works:
  - The *Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage* (1972), and

Equally popular among dictionary users are pocket bidirectional Arabic dictionaries for reasons we shall outline at the end of this chapter. Let us first investigate Arabic-English dictionaries and understand the rationale behind the publication of each work. The shortcomings, as reported in the literature, in addition to our own observations, will be highlighted and common problems across the three references will be listed at the end of the following sub-section.
5.2.1 Some Highlights on Arabic-English Lexicography with a Major Focus on Elias’, Hans Wehr’s, and Baalbaki’s dictionaries

Arabic-English dictionaries cannot be excluded in discussions on English-Arabic dictionaries; this is mainly because –as explained in the first section – there is no separation of goals among editors when it comes to addressing the dictionary’s audiences and objectives. Besides, Arabic-English dictionaries appear to be very popular among English-speaking learners of Arabic despite having rather complex macrostructures and/or deficient microstructures. It is important to mention here that discussions involving Arabic-English dictionaries usually revolve around the arrangement patterns adopted by lexicographers, such as alphabetical or root-based macrostructures, and the sequencing of derivations under a given root as thoroughly discussed at the end of chapter 3. The entry arrangement method followed in an Arabic-English dictionary largely affects its microstructure.

Selected entries from the three dictionaries under discussion are fully scanned; then parts of the entries in question are reproduced within the text in order to highlight specific points.

5.2.1.1 The ‘Elias Era’ in Bilingual Arabic Lexicography

The title of the present section is based on Haywood’s following assertion:

the period from around the outbreak of the First World War to the end of the Second may justly be called the ‘Elias Era’ in Arabic lexicography, being dominated by the productions of the Egyptian Copt Elias Antoon Elias, which were published by his Modern Press in Cairo in progressively enlarged and amended editions (Elias 1913/1922). (1991:3090)

In 1913, Elias compiled an English-Arabic dictionary entitled Elias Modern Dictionary: English-Arabic, and in 1922 an Arabic-English edition intended for both Arabic-speaking and English -
speaking students was produced by the same author. In the preface for the 1994 Arabic-English edition, Elias claims that the more exhaustive and costly lexicographic works are unsuited for English-speaking students of Arabic, and that no Arabic-English dictionary has, as yet, been made to serve the needs of Arabic-speaking students of English. Elias adds that since 1913 the compiler has continually been receiving letters from students of both languages asking him for an Arabic-English dictionary. Therefore, the Arabic-English edition came in response to the urgent need for a dictionary for Arabs. Elias’ two dictionaries have been reprinted and enlarged several times, and for many years have remained most popular among users in many Arab countries. On Elias’ English-Arabic edition, El-Badry notes that ‘the dictionary proved extremely popular, reaching 13 editions by 1981’ (1986:59). Haywood (1991) adds that the 1st edition of ‘Elias’ Modern Dictionary English-Arabic contained 32,000 words in 440 pages, whereas its 13th contained 369,000 in 814 pages.

Diab, on the other hand, states that the first edition of Elias’ Arabic-English dictionary published in 1922 covers 45,000 words; the number of entries had increased to 63,000 in the fifth edition in 1950 (1990:198). As a matter of fact, the 1950 edition is certainly the work Elias’ name is most associated with in the literature, probably because it represents the culmination of the editor’s lexicographic expertise. We should like to note here that when Elias died in 1952, his work was continued by his son Edward Elias Elias. In addition to its attested popularity, Elias is said to have introduced innovative lexicographic techniques.

To begin with, Elias’ dictionaries are full of pictorial illustrations on which Elias writes: ‘one picture is worth a thousand words (Chinese proverb)’. The proverb appears on the cover page of the section labeled ‘classified selection of illustrations’. Haywood notes that Elias’ Modern Dictionary: Arabic-English (1954) contains ‘illustrations not only in the text, but also in
a classified selection at the end of the book (7th ed., 825-65)' (1991:3091). In chapter three of the present work, we traced back the introduction of encyclopedic material in Arabic dictionaries to Al-Firuzabadi’s Qamus (1415). Al-Firuzabadi has been reproached for filling his work with geographical and other proper names. We should also like to remind the reader that one very clear distinction between medieval and modern Arabic-Arabic dictionaries has to do with the fact that the latter are developed with an encyclopedic bent, ‘allowing entries detailing historical, political, and geographical facts such as the names of well-known figures, governmental agencies, historic battles, rivers, mountains, cities, countries, and the like’ (Hassanein 2008:39). This practice is noticeable in modern Arabic-English dictionaries, such as Elias’ 1994 edition:
The numbers under the illustrations indicate the page in which the illustration appears with the Arabic name translated into English. Besides the classified selections appearing in the dictionary which, we believe, is a practice transferred from monolingual Arabic lexicography, El-Badry insists that ‘Elias Antun Elias was a pioneer in bilingual Arabic lexicography’ (1990:41-42). El-Badry then provides a description of one pioneering aspect of Elias’ Arabic-English dictionary as follows:
In his Arabic-English dictionary he tried to combine the controversial arrangement of Arabic entries with modern methods of lexicography by inserting “most of the derivatives in small type according to their alphabetical order followed by the Arabic roots under which they would be found enclosed in plain brackets”. (1990:42)

According to Elias (1994:11) himself, ‘the plan adopted for this work is somewhat different from that followed by all other lexicographers.’ The editor explains that by inserting most of the derivatives according to their alphabetical order followed by their roots, the compiler aims at reconciling the conventional arrangement of the Arabic lexicons with the simple methods required by present-day students (1994:12). El-Badry (1986:59) thinks that indeed ‘Elias reconciles the conventional arrangement of Arabic dictionaries.’ Elias’ Arabic-English editions include a review by S. Spiro Bey of Elias’s dictionaries. Spiro Bey is famously known for his *Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic* (1929). On the 1st edition of *Elias Modern Dictionary: Arabic-English*, Spiro Bey praises Elias for having given all words under their initial letters, and for having referred the reader to the roots under which he can find them; a facility – which according to Spiro Bey – is not given by any dictionary of the classical language, without appreciably adding to the size of the book.

Let us examine a typical entry from Elias’ Arabic-English dictionary (1994) in order to understand the above claims in relation to the dictionary’s macrostructure. Microstructural issues will be similarly investigated. Consider the following entry for رَبِّيَّة rabiḥa (to gain):
Noticeable in the above entry is the use of various typographic symbols. The following excerpt from the dictionary’s front matter further informs us about the typographies peculiar to this work:

The words taken as roots in this dictionary are printed projecting a little more to the right than their derivatives. When these roots are of Classical category, they are preceded by an Asterisk (*). Roots preceded by a small Circle (o) are of the Arabicised category, and those preceded by a small triangle (∆) are either Egyptian Colloquial or new words. The two last categories are still being rejected by Arab purists in spite of the fact that they are living words in everyday use among Arabic-speaking people, including those purists themselves. (1994:12)

Based on the information provided above, let us read the entry for *rabiha* ‘gain’. In this particular entry the headword can be easily distinguished, since it is preceded with an asterisk in addition to being projected a little more to the right compared to the derivatives. Note here that the asterisk (*) in Elias’ Arabic-English dictionaries serves a double function; in addition to
signaling the beginning of an entry, the symbol is used to indicate that a given word belongs to a classical root. In other words, the root word is neither Arabicized nor colloquial. Thus,

- زَيِحُ * rabīḥa

refers to the beginning of the entry for this headword which also belongs to the classical category of Arabic roots, i.e., it is a pure Arabic word. The derivatives can be listed, respectively, as follows:

- زَيِحُ rabbaḥa – Causative verb: to make someone gain or win
- رَيِحُ ribḥ – Noun: profit
- رَابِحُ ra:biḥ – Adjective/ noun: winning/ winner
- زَيِحُ rubaḥ – Adjective/ noun: winning/ winner
- إِسْتِرْبَاهُ istirbaḥah – Proper noun: St. Andrew’s cross

Noticeable in the same entry as well as throughout the entire lexicographic work is the use of a dash in the place of the word right above the symbol. In the third line in the scanned entry, we can read (from right to left):

- To allow a profit to. Sense (2) : أغطاة ربحاً --- Δ

First, the triangle signals that the above word, which is in this case is the causative verb زَيِحُ rabbaḥa represented with a dash, either has a second ‘colloquial’ meaning or that it is a new word. Since the word in question is not a coin, we can interpret the triangle as referring to the meaning of the word in a dialect that remains unknown to us. No usage label is attached to indicate the relevant dialect. In this example, a colon is also used to introduce an explanation worded in Arabic. Elias suggests the following explanation with the Arabic vowels fully indicated:

- أغطاة ربحاً (Sense 2) ʿaṭa:-hu ribḥan
  He-gave-him gain
  He gave him a gain/ profit
We do question this secondary meaning of the causative as there is nothing colloquial about this specific meaning. The meaning of the causative is clearly stated as: ‘to make another gain or win’. Besides the Arabic explanation does not correspond to the English explanatory equivalent Elias provides:

- To allow a profit to.

We rendered the Arabic sentence as:

- He gave him a gain/ profit

Furthermore, the English sentence is incomplete (to allow a profit to be made), and is useless for an Arab user of the dictionary. We propose:

- To profit someone
- To allow someone to make a profit or to win a competition
- To make a person rich/ cause someone to become rich

These equivalents would better assist encoding Arab users than an incomplete sentence whose structure is already complex for beginners. The Arabic explanatory sentence itself is useless for the same category of users who are supposedly familiar with the meaning of the Arabic verb. An Arab user would reach out for an Arabic-English dictionary in order to identify English equivalents rather than explanations worded in Arabic. Similarly, an English-speaking user would dispense with the Arabic explanatory sentence, especially when the Arabic vowels are not indicated leaving the non-Arab user helpless. Note that no diacritics accompany the first explanatory Arabic sentence.

- جعله يربح
  ja'ala-hu ya-rbah
  He-made-him simple present-gain
  He made him gain/ win
In order for the entry to be of beneficial use to the English-speaking user, the editor might have as well restricted himself to the first meaning he presents for the causative and get rid of the Arabic explanatory sentences:

- To make another gain or win. 

هَثَّؼََrabbaха .’arbaха

Elias chose to cite both causative forms of the triliteral root \(r-b-h\), without any further indication. In Arabic grammar, the two verbs correspond to the following patterns:

- \(fa^{e}ala\) (Form II) and \(af^{e}ala\) (Form IV)

Substitute the root letters \(r-b-h\) for the paradigm letters \(f-l\), the resulting forms are:

- \(rabbaха\) (Form II) and \(’arbaха\) (Form IV)

We will expand more on the Arabic stem forms in the following section on Hans Wehr’s dictionary, since they constitute part of grammatical labels used in this work. As far as Elias’ system is concerned, it is important to highlight the use of the period, which is used to separate \(rabбања\) and \(’арбања\); both of which are derived using two stem forms but are essentially synonymous. The period between the two verbs could thus be replaced with ‘or’, especially if the dictionary is intended for English speakers. We should like to emphasize that in case a lexicographer opts for the use of typographies, he should pertinently be consistent. In what follows, we explain how the double, sometimes triple, function assigned to the asterisk, the triangle, the period, and the colon can cause confusion and frustration for all users. We will also analyze the space-saving techniques adopted by Elias.

Let us begin with the asterisk. The double use of this symbol is problematic; if the user is told that the symbol indicates the beginning of an entry then it should be infallibly used for this sole purpose. The problem arises when the headword does not belong to the classical category; in
which case other symbols are used. Therefore, Arabicized and colloquial words are not preceded with an asterisk even when they constitute the headword of a given entry:

- Telescope. *tilisku:b* تلسكوب Arabicized headword
- Hardly. *ya:dawb* يا دوب Dialectal headword

The failure to use the asterisk in a consistent manner can cause confusion and the user might fail to identify a number of headwords, which he assumes will be preceded with an asterisk. Note that the roots for these two categories of Arabic words are never identified, and are listed alphabetically even in exclusively root-based dictionaries. The fact that the article is cluttered further complicates the look-up process. As regards the use of the small circle (ο) in Elias’ Arabic-English dictionary, it is important to mention that the symbol is also used before Arabicized ‘proper names’:

- Japan. *ya:ba:n* يابان o
- Hippocrates. *’a:buqraːt* آبقرأط o

There is some mystery around the use of the triangle, which is used to refer to either coins or dialectal words. If we look at the very end of the entry for *rabiːha*, we will find:

- St. Andrew’s cross. *’istikbaːha* إستبراحة Δ

Now, is the word *’istikbaːha* a coin or is it simply colloquial? In the light of the information presented by the editor, it is difficult to provide a definite answer. The triangle could have been saved for coinages, since usage labels that serve as dialect indicators already constitute an integral part of Elias’ lexicographic system.

As stated earlier, the dash is used to replace an immediately preceding headword or derivative in an entry. The problem, in our opinion, lies in the adoption of a parallel technique in addition to the use of a dash to avoid repetition. Consider part of the entry for *’akl* ‘food’:
Oftentimes the Arabic definite article al (the) appears separately in an entry as shown in the above example. Such a practice renders using the Arabic-English dictionary similar to a fill-in-the-gaps activity. The user should attach the headword to the definite article in order to fully reconstruct the Arabic word:

- غرفة al - غرفة al + 'akl
- غرفة room the + food
- غرفة al - غرفة al + 'akl

One cannot but remain skeptical about the use of such intriguing lexicographic methods. The only justification for such a practice is the ‘desperate’ attempt to save space. We do; however, reject the practice that substitutes a dash for an immediately preceding word. The second practice which completely consists in leaving the definite article devoid of the core word is absolutely unacceptable and should have no place in bilingual Arabic dictionaries. An Arabic-English dictionary intended for an English-speaking audience should spare no opportunity to rewrite the Arabic words. Additional typographies might also prove necessary in order to offer more guidance to the user in the look-up process. The use of numbers to separate the derivatives from the root word or the different senses of a given derivative would have been more than welcome in Elias’ dictionary. However, the rare use of numbers points to another inconsistent, hence useless, practice in this lexicographic work.

The Arabic numerals ١, ٢, ٣ rarely appear in the dictionary. We consulted the front matter in order to understand their use. Number ١ is supposedly used to draw the user’s attention to the fact that the same word will appear again in the same article but with a different meaning.
It follows that numbers ٢ and ٣ refer to two other meanings of the same word. If we follow Elias’ rationale behind the inclusion of this set of numerals, we would expect to see them everywhere in the dictionary since most words are inherently polysemous. Unfortunately, this practice – when adopted – is subject to flagrant inconsistencies that invalidate its usefulness. We noted, for example, that the two meanings of the word أَمْرُ ‘amr appear separately within the same entry for the root word أَمْرُ ‘amr ‘to order’:

أَمْرُ ‘amr, meaning order or command, and
أَمْرُ ‘amr meaning matter or business

Normally, numeral ١ should have been used to indicate that the same word has a different meaning that shall be found later within the same entry (the following page in this example). This is not the case as can be seen from this excerpt. The use of small numerals that function as polysemy indicators is a practice that we would normally encourage in Arabic-English dictionaries as they do highlight crucial semantic information. Nonetheless, consistency is the ultimate requirement in the choice of any lexicographic technique. Let us continue to discuss our observations as regards the use of the period, the colon and the semicolon.

The semicolon is the only symbol used in the English section to separate the suggested English equivalents. In our selected entry for رَبِّيْحَةَ ‘rabiḥa ‘gain’, the English equivalents are systematically separated with the use of a semicolon: gain; profit, for instance. No further information is usually provided in the English section, which consists of a mere listing of equivalents. The use of the period and the colon, on the other hand, is highly problematic as shall be demonstrated. Let us reproduce parts from the entry for رَبِّيْحَةَ ‘gain’:
- To gain; win; make profit. رَبِّيْحٍ ضِدَّ خَسَرُ
  
  rabīḥa: ḍidda khasira
  To gain: opposite to lose

- Profit; gain.  
  
  رَبِّيْحٍ ضِدَّ خَسَارَةُ
  
  ribh: ḍidda khasara:ra
  Gain: opposite loss

It is interesting that Elias attempts to list antonyms in Arabic: ‘lose’ and ‘loss.’, although they are not systematically provided throughout the whole reference work. The other problem that needs to be highlighted in this context is that without translating the suggested antonyms into English, their presence becomes superfluous. A beginning learner of Arabic might not notice this otherwise important information about the paradigmatic structure of the Arabic lexicon. Arabic users, on the other hand, can dispense with this information unless the English equivalent for the listed antonym is clearly distinguished in the target language section. Part of the inconsistency in the use of the colon can actually be found in antonymy examples, such as:

- Advantageous. رَابِيْحٍ . مُرْبِيْحٍ : مُفِيْدٍ . ضِدَّ مُخْسَرُ
  
  ra:biḥ (1) . murbiḥ (2) : mufi:d (3) . ḍidda mukhassir (4)
  winning/ winner . gainful : useful . Opposite something that causes loss

Note how the antonym is introduced after the third word mufi:d ‘useful’ preceded with a period instead of a colon as indicated previously. The colon in this example is used to separate two near-synonyms: murbiḥ ‘gainful’ and mufi:d ‘useful’ or ‘advantageous’. What is unclear to us, however, is the co-presence of the first word ra:biḥ and murbiḥ separated with a period. The same words appear side by side once more in the entry and a different equivalent is suggested:

- Profitable; remunerative; lucrative; gainful. رَابِيْحٍ . مُرْبِيْحٍ : مُكَسْبٍ
  
  ra:biḥ . murbiḥ : mukṣib
  Winning/ winner . gainful : gainful .
Besides an overlap in the use of the period and the colon, which are both used to separate
‘alleged’ synonyms, very important lexical information is missing in this entry. This has to do –
first – with the editor’s failure to identify the part of speech of the word رابح ra:bih, which can
either refer to a noun meaning ‘winner’, or an adjective which usually co-occurs with business
(such as commerce), horse (as in winning horse), or card (winning card). The use of the period to
separate these two words, in addition to the suggested equivalents, hints to the fact that the editor
intended the adjectival use of the word. The problem is that رابح ra:bih and مزبيح murbiḥ are not
interchangeable and the choice of one word or the other depends on the collocators with which
they co-occur. There is a nuance in meaning that cannot be appreciated without supporting
examples:

- Winning card: ورقة رابحة waraq̱a ra:biẖa something that gives you advantage in doing
  something
- but lucrative job would be: عمل مزبيح ʿamal murbiḥ

When an editor decides to include synonyms, he/ she has to add sense discriminators and
example sentences to help encoding English-speakers particularly appreciate very fine
differences in meaning and select the most appropriate equivalent accordingly. Failure to do so
induces errors which may become fossilized in the learner’s interlanguage. In the following
example, the Arabic word فائدة fa:ʾida is suggested to explain the word ربح ribḥ:

- Profit; gain. فائدة ربح: فائدة
  ribḥ : fa:ʾidah
  Gain : interest,

The Arabic word that shares the same denotative meaning as the English word ‘interest’ is فائدة fa:ʾida not ربح ribḥ ‘gain’. The editor seems to contradict himself when he writes right beneath:
Interest (on money).

The dash replaces the word ُرِبْح gain (noun), the latter appears right above the symbol.

Note how the editor renders ُفا:‘يده as ‘interest’ in this example. Therefore, the two lines can be lumped into one emphasizing the co-occurrence of ُرِبْح gain and ُفا:‘يده ‘interest’ in the same sentence, rather than inducing the learner into making generalizations as to the meaning of both words:

- A profit interest. ُرِبْح بِالْفَائِدَة

Another remark has to do with the use of two sense discriminators; one in Arabic and the other in English. The English sense discriminator (on money) might be useful for English-speaking users so that they do not confuse the intended meaning with the other meaning of interest; as in ‘an interest in something or someone’. As far as the Arabic user goes, the sense discriminator (القانونية al-qanuniya (legal) is useless. One wonders what this sense discriminator adds to the meaning of the word. The mere presence of the word ُفا:‘يده ‘interest’ excludes the possibility of confusion. What the Arabic user needs is further information in the English section, such as an example sentence that illustrates the usage of the word ‘interest’.

Let us examine a different example from Elias’ dictionary (1994) and hypothetically analyze how different users would deal with such an entry:

- In public; publicly (2); openly. ُجَهْرَةُ ُجَهْرَةُ: عَلَانِيَةُ

Suppose that an Arabic-speaking user looks up the word ُجَهْرَةُ jahrah (2) in his search for an English equivalent. Our guess is that this user will pick the second English word in the list of the
suggested equivalents: ‘publicly’ thinking that each Arabic word lines up with one corresponding English word, even though a native speaker of Arabic knows that the Arabic words suggested by Elias are ‘essentially’ synonymous. The only comment that can be made here is that the word عَلَانِيَةٌ ‘alaniyah which is suggested as an explanation for the three other Arabic words – as attested by the use of the colon – belongs to the Modern Standard Arabic register. The three other words belong to a more classical register, although their occurrence in MSA is very common. Usage labels such as (MSA) or (CA) would have been relevant in this example.

Another problem that might pose itself for encoding Arab users is the choice between ‘in public’ and ‘publicly’, on the one hand, and ‘openly’, on the other hand. The word ‘openly’ has further meanings that do not overlap with the meanings of the two other adverbs, but users are not provided with any supplemental information.

Consider one more example in order to further understand the risks associated with the failure to clearly distinguish CA and MSA:

- Adversary; antagonist; opponent. خَصِّمٌ . خَصِّيْمٌ . مُّخَاصِمٌ : غَرِيمٌ khašm (1). khaši:m (2). mukha:šim (3) : ghari:m (4)

Three words are presented successively with no distinction whatsoever. Word (2) is associated with Qur’anic usage. It means that the person does not adhere to Qur’anic instructions as set by God. The closest English equivalent could be ‘dissenter’ or ‘objector’ (a religious order). The third Arabic word (3) has two different meanings; depending on the context, it can be either synonymous with word (2), or it can have the following meaning:

- مُخَاصِمٌ mukha:šim, said of somebody who is not talking to another person or two people who are not on speaking terms because they do not agree over something.

In this context, it is used as an adjective. The fourth word (4) presented after the colon is usually used to describe two people who ‘typically’ compete with one another over a woman’s heart,
even though the meaning of the word could be used for a general disagreement, competition, or war. In fact, the word’s connotative meaning appears to be the first meaning that comes to a native speaker’s mind (the author in this case); an association with war comes second. This observation remains tentative, and solely based on our own knowledge of the language. In addition to its complex semantic structure, the word غُرَيم ghari:m (4) is one of those classical words that were kept in modern usage (MSA). We think that ‘one’ good equivalent would be ‘rival’. In order to determine its other equivalents, more contexts in which the word occurs need to be translated from Arabic into English.

It follows that the first Arabic word خَصْم khaṣm could have been presented separately in addition to relevant sense discriminators:

- Adversary. خَصْم

If the editor insists on including more synonyms and antonyms, especially if the dictionary is intended for an encoding English-speaking audience, we suggest that this information should remain separate, best in a small box, as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SYNONYMS:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>- خَاصِم (Qur’anic usage): disserter or objector of a religious order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- غُرَيم (especially in love affairs): rival or antagonist, (wars) opponent.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ANTONYM:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>خَليف hali:f: ally, supporter.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We suggest that مُكَاسِب mukha:ṣim (not on speaking terms) appear as a separate derivative, projected to the left of the entry. Also following Elias’ system, symbols † and ‡ can be used to point to the two differing meanings of this word.
One major point that needs to be highlighted here is that the uses of the period and the colon overlap, causing the analyst to question their significance and usefulness. We understand that a colon can be used to introduce an explanation in the source language, but when the explanation equals a synonym, the function of the colon is nullified since the period is also used in some cases to separate different synonyms. As demonstrated above, the period seems to be additionally used to separate words that look similar in terms of their form, but have completely different meanings. The question that remains unanswered can be put as follows: how is an English-speaking user supposed to derive this complex semantic information, such as homonymy? This leads us to assert that Elias faithfully continued the tradition established in monolingual Arabic lexicography and in Lane’s Arabic-English lexicon. The early lexicographers’ ultimate goal was to compile – at all costs – comprehensive Arabic-Arabic and Arabic-English dictionaries.

The only positive thing about the period symbol is its ‘systematic’ use in the English section to indicate the end of a line. The period becomes a crucial visual guide to the user when the editor has to break the line many times due to the numerous equivalents he suggests. It is our belief that the typographical system adopted by Elias blurs very important lexicographic information and can also be disturbing for any user. Meaning distinctions between Arabic synonyms are simply lost due to the rare inclusion of sense discriminators and example sentences. Arabic synonymous words, whose inclusion is highly prioritized in Elias’ work, need to be conspicuously distinguished if the dictionary is to serve an English-speaking audience in particular.

Furthermore, regarding colloquial words, Elias marks Syrian words with ‘س’ (s), and Iraqi words with ‘ع’ (‘), but words from the editor’s own dialect are abundant. We were even
tempted to assume that, whenever usage labels were absent, the dialectal word is Egyptian by default. This is far from being the case as shall be shown in the discussion. Elias expressed his hope to lay down the basis for Egyptian words to be used in Arabic-speaking countries if accepted. Otherwise, they can be replaced by more correct items derived from *al-Fusḥa* (MSA). Abu-Ssaydeh (1994:25) mentions examples, such as *ya-du:b* (almost; hardly), *di:ku:ltih* (low-necked), ‘*arfa:n* (sick; nauseated), ‘*ta’-hanak* (prattle), *zaghta* (hiccough). Elias’ obsession with including as many Arabic synonyms as possible resulted in some complex entries that consist of words belonging to MSA, Levantine Arabic, and Maghribi Arabic all together. Consider the following entry (read Arabic from right to left):

- Early in the morning.  
  مُبَكَّرَةٌ ﺑَﺎﻛَرًا ﻣُبَكَّرَةٌ: ﻓِٓذَوَةٌ  
  *bukrah* (1) . *ba:kiran* (2) . *mubakkiran* (3) : *ghudwah*(4)  
  Tomorrow (1) . Early in the morning (2) . Early in the morning (3) : Tomorrow (4)

This entry contains erroneous information that could have been easily avoided if the editor had not insisted on mixing different dialects with MSA. Word (1) means tomorrow in Egyptian Arabic and many other dialects in the Levant. Similarly, word (4) means tomorrow in Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, and Libya. Words (2) and (3) belong to MSA, and they both mean ‘early in the morning’, as indicated above. It follows that this entry has no place in such an important lexicographic work, and should be rewritten with appropriate usage labels as follows:

- Early in the morning.  
  مُبَكَّرَةٌ ﺑَﺎﻛَرًا  
  *mubakkiran* or *ba:kiran*  
  as in:  
  خَرَجَ ﺑَﺎﻛَرًا  
  *kharaja ba:kiran*  
  Went-out-he early  
  He went out early in the morning

Note that the Arabic word *ba:kiran* implies ‘in the morning’, so there is no need to add this information in the sentence. We also write dialectal differences for ‘tomorrow’:
In Elias’ Arabic-English dictionary (1994), the dialects to which a given word belongs are not systematically indicated. Colloquial words are sometimes added next to their MSA counterpart with no attached usage labels. For example,

- Angry or upset. غضبٌ: زعلان  

ghaḍibun (1) : za‘la:n (2)

Whereas word (1) belongs to MSA, word (2) is Egyptian and is equally used in the Levant. We are unable to provide a plausible explanation for such cases as there is no justification for this practice. Once more, in the absence of usage labels, the addition of Arabic dialectal words has no value. On the contrary, it might lead to encoding errors since an English-speaking user might consider both words interchangeable synonyms. We will now focus on Elias’ dual macrostructure and the problems associated with this complex lexicographic choice.

First, the term ‘root’ in Elias’ system is used loosely. In the quote presented at the beginning of the sub-section, Elias says ‘the words taken as roots…’ suggesting that, for example, the infinitive verb form (raḥiba) and the corresponding root (rbḥ) are used interchangeably. The root ‘letters’ for a number of words appear nowhere in the corresponding entries giving the impression – at many points in the text – that the dictionary is purely alphabetical. Moreover, Elias informs us that root words inserted in decorative brackets are meaningless, and are printed simply to keep the alphabetical order of the book. This practice is odd in our opinion, and points to one of the problems the dual system creates for the editor.

Consider the following example:

- Tax; royalty. { اتاوة }  

{ 'tw} 'ita:wah
The entry suggests that the root in decorative brackets was invented and does not exist in Arabic. It was created to keep the alphabetical order of the dictionary. This practice illustrates the difficulty of implementing the dual system (alphabetical + root-based) in an Arabic-English dictionary. The other difficulty has to do with the fact that colloquial words and Arabicized words do not correspond to specific Arabic roots, and are always listed alphabetically, as explained earlier. Hans Wehr’s root-based dictionary, which we shall examine in the following section, lists them alphabetically as well. Surprisingly, Elias does not invent ‘fake’ Arabic roots for these two categories, which simply adds to the numerous inconsistencies and errors identified in this work.

Thus, as far as Elias’s claim of including all roots is concerned, we noted a clear inconsistency in the sense that not ‘all’ the roots are mentioned at the end of each entry as the editor claims in his preface. Moreover, in some cases the editor randomly lists a number of words in addition to their roots at random points in the text. The words in question are not related and they belong to different roots. It is even doubtful that dictionary users will go through the whole lists, since the dictionary is alphabetically organized anyway. In some other cases, the user will be sent to another ‘word’ that appears under a given verbal form (usually the base form is taken to be the root), for example: If you look up the word:

- ضرَّ تَضْرُر (damage; loss; disadvantage) (1),

you will be sent to

- ضرر ضرار (a synonymous derivative)

The two words are essentially synonymous. The dictionary adds one more word on the same line which is also to be found under ضرار:

- ضرائِر ضرائِر (adversity, distress) (2).
A third word:

- ضراوة\(\text{dara:wa}\) (ferocity, voracity) (3)

is said to appear under a different root word:

- ضرو\(\text{dirw}\).

The basis on which Elias chose the two previous common-root words (1) and (2) and the third one (3) which belongs to a different root is not clear, unless his aim is to show that words that look similar might actually have different roots. This information could have been made clearer by adding a usage note instead. The inconsistency here lies in the fact that some derivatives are listed alphabetically, whereas others are not. They are to be found solely under their respective root words. Note also that Elias has disregarded ضر\(\text{darr}\) (to damage; to harm) as a potential root and suggests the causative ضرر\(\text{darrara}\) (to cause a great harm to) to be the root word, which leads us into thinking that Arabic roots for Elias are triliteral. There is no place for biliteral roots in Elias’ dictionary.

In the absence of a triliteral base verb (usually referred to as form I), causatives are treated as entry words. As stated earlier, causative verbs are derived from the trilateral root \(f\text{-c-l}\), meaning ‘to do’. Form II is used to derive causatives by geminating the middle consonant and assigning a short vowel pattern to the root \(a-a-a\). The resulting pattern is: \(f-a^{\text{ce}}-a-la\). This pattern can be applied to many Arabic roots when deriving causatives, for instance, \(d-a-rr-a-ra\) (to cause harm) follows the same pattern. In our opinion, the dictionary would have better followed a strict alphabetical arrangement, since the presentation of roots lacks consistency and renders Elias’ system rather complicated to follow as well as unpredictable and subject to random decisions.

According to Shivtiel (1993:23), the clear disadvantage of an alphabetically-arranged Arabic dictionary is the inevitable separation between derivatives based on the same root. This
does not seem to be restricted to alphabetical dictionaries since dual systems such as the one
adopted by Elias also separate derivations from their root since ‘some’ are listed alphabetically.

We should like to show, en passant, that an entry arrangement method that arranges all entries by
alphabetical order of the word, including the roots, and lists under the roots all the existing
derivatives has been differently adopted in Sharoni’s Arabic-Hebrew dictionary (1987). We were
able to get a copy of this dictionary, and we present an example entry below:

Sharoni (1987) presents the root letters نقض nqd (break, as in break a promise or a pact), and all
the possible derivatives separately before he gets down to presenting the Hebrew equivalents for
the Arabic derivatives. The derived forms are then listed as individual entries according to the
first letter, but Sharoni does not fail to mention the corresponding root between square brackets
for every derived form repeatedly. Thus, if you want to look up the word متناقض mutana:qidun
‘contradictory’, which appears in the above-mentioned list of derivatives (follow the arrow to the
left), you will have to go to the letter \( m \) in the dictionary. The skeleton of Sharoni’s macrostructure can be put as follows:

- Arabic root ● equivalent Hebrew root : Alphabetical list of all possible Arabic derivations.
- List each derivation according to its first letter [state the Arabic root again]

Contrary to Sharoni, Elias includes the derivations under the ‘same’ headword, and projects them to the left of the entry word in order to highlight their status as derivations. Elias’ system can be summarized as follows:

- List Arabic root word following the alphabetical order of the dictionary.
- List selected derivations with their English equivalents under the root
- Project derivations a little more to the left of the root word

No specific sequence is followed by Elias in the ordering of the derivations. A pertinent issue in Elias’ dual system has to do with his unclear policy as to the alphabetical listing of derivations; i.e., while some derivatives are indeed listed according to the order of their letters, then the reader is sent to their root, other derivatives appear only under their corresponding roots. In contrast, Sharoni’s system is unquestionably well elaborated and, more importantly, consistent.

Shivtiel mentions Sharoni’s dictionary briefly and comments that ‘this method calls R. Payne Smith’s *Syriac Dictionary* [1903] to mind in that this valuable lexicon lists at the end of many roots the various derivatives which appear according to their alphabetical order’ (1993:23). The author interestingly notes: ‘these and other technical ‘tricks’ such as using a different colour for the roots and the entries, are certainly most helpful to the learner’ (1993:23). Mentioning the roots repeatedly by having recourse to different typographies in addition to listing them separately following their alphabetical order, although signaling a degree of unacceptable redundancy, might prove to be necessary, however imposing, if the Arabic-foreign language
dictionary targets a non-Arabic speaking audience; mainly learners of Arabic. The method that combines a root-based and an alphabetical order is doomed to consist of repetitions, since the root + its corresponding derivations appear grouped together, and are then listed separated according to the first letter. However, we see many positives: this method eliminates secondary look-ups since the root is repeated for every entry word. The dual macrostructure provides more assistance for non-native speakers of Arabic and for Arabic speakers themselves. The latter are not always able to identify the roots for certain words.

We conclude this section with a few more critical remarks on Elias’ dictionary. Elias claims that ‘obsolete words, and those rarely used, are omitted, whereas living words and their different shades of meaning are amply dealt with’ (1994:12). Both claims are far from being true; Haywood (1991:3092) questions Elias’ claim of his dictionary being ‘Modern’ since it includes ‘half-forgotten’ or obsolete words. Similarly, Abu-Ssaydeh (1994) refers to the large size of the CA component; a feature Elias’ dictionary shares with Hans Wehr’s dictionary. Elias’ second pretention at offering ample treatment of meaning cannot be generalized to the whole work, due again to an inconsistency in providing semantic information. For some entries, rich collocational information is provided, while most entries are poorly treated.

Moreover, Elias’ entries blatantly lack exemplification, although illustrations are used to give visual clarification of some definitions. In his critique of Elias’s Arabic-English edition (1950), Diab writes: ‘the Arabic entries receive pronunciation treatment while their English counterparts do not. No examples are given to clarify meanings, and no grammatical information is provided’ (1990:198). In the absence of any reference to the Arabic word’s part of speech, a clear indication of all vowels is required to help non-Arab users read the Arabic script. The fact that some explanations and examples worded in Arabic are not marked for all their vowels shows
that the dictionary targets Arab users. However, this category of users does not need explanations of the headword, and would prefer to see the Arabic examples translated into English. The typographical system adopted by Elias renders the dictionary far from being user-friendly.

It can be argued that Elias addressed himself primarily to the difficulty of identifying the roots of many words by interspersing the base form of the verb and the rest of the derivations in the same entry, although the principle itself was adopted in Lane’s lexicon (1863) as shall be demonstrated in the following sub-section. Elias, however, did not tackle the issue of what sequencing the derivations should follow. It could also be argued that Elias’ son’s dictionaries have not contributed new lexicographic techniques to the original Elias’ dictionaries compiled by the father, and were thus simple reprints characterized mainly by an increase in the number of entry words and synonyms. Haywood states that ‘reliance on Elias in the West has been drastically curtailed since the Second World War. This is chiefly due to two works: that of Hans Wehr ([Arabic-German] 1952, with its [Arabic-English] Version, 1961); and the Oxford [English-Arabic] Dictionary (OEAD 1972)’ (1991:3091). Haywood’s statement corroborates our observation that the dictionaries compiled by Elias’ son were not able to sustain the popularity of this lexicographic work.

The Elias Modern Dictionary: Arabic-English can be rightly called a ‘synonymic’ dictionary of classicisms in addition to offering a diverse repertoire of dialectal words. We now turn our attention to Elias’ closest rival chronologically speaking: Hans Wehr’s A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (first edition 1961), which remains today the most popular dictionary among English-speaking users par excellence.
5.2.1.2 Hans Wehr’s Root-based Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic

To begin with, Hoogland (1993:86) describes Hans Wehr’s *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* as ‘a well known and qualitatively high standing dictionary.’ Haywood (1991) considers the work to be a standard guide to the language of ‘written’ Arabic. Hoogland’s and Haywood’s claims will be evaluated throughout the present account. We should like to note here that this dictionary belongs to the category of Arabic dictionaries written by Westerners; in this sense it is intended for a non-Arabic speaking audience. In his dissertation on German/English-Arabic dictionaries, Jneid (2007) indicates that the dictionary has been welcomed in English-speaking countries as a starting point for an Arabic-English dictionary. The parallel with Elias’ Arabic-English dictionary is that the latter ‘started a new interest in the Arabic native speaker as a potential user whose needs, according to Elias, had not been catered for in preceding works’ (El-Badry 1986:60). But the importance and popularity of Hans Wehr’s *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* have obviously extended to the Arab world, since the dictionary appears to be equally popular among Arabic speakers. Abu-Ssaydeh (2006:358) asserts that the *Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* is the most frequently used bilingual Arabic dictionary in the Arab world, in addition to different English-Arabic editions of the Al-Mawrid dictionary. Recently, the same author goes even further and declares that ‘the category of Arabic-English comprises only two dictionaries that are worth consideration: Wehr’s *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (1961) and R. Baalbaki’s *Al-Mawrid* (1988)’ (2008:13). The dictionary’s popularity is incontestable and has been recently confirmed in the results of a survey carried out by Benzehra and McCreary (2010).

The paper suggests an experimental technique that can assist researchers in collecting information about the top-selling bilingual Arabic dictionaries, and what users/buyers have to
say about the dictionaries they consult. The paper explores the advantages and methodological limitations of extracting such important and currently scarce, not to say otherwise unavailable, information from the dictionary reviews posted on Amazon.com. The authors found that the Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic is indeed the best selling Arabic-English reference work on Amazon.com. The dictionary ranks higher than any other dictionary – including English-Arabic dictionaries – among users, and most Amazon reviews appear to be favorable. Hans Wehr’s Arabic-English Dictionary (1994) received more reviews than all the other editions; probably due to its recent publication (compared to early editions) and small size. This compact edition has very positive reviews and is considered to be an essential tool for learning Arabic even by beginners. Users report that a root search in Arabic is more efficient in Hans Wehr than the classical alphabetical search. Besides, the Amazon information for Arabic grammar books states that the customers usually additionally buy one edition of Hans Wehr’s Arabic–English Dictionary. Thus, the dictionary is regarded as an essential companion by English-speaking learners of Arabic.

Jneid, however, expresses his surprise at the fact that the German and the English editions of the dictionary were licensed and published in Beirut. He argues that ‘the publication of this dictionary in an Arabic country could also be questioned, because the dictionary is intended for the users of the target language only i.e. either German or English!!’ (2007:11). Beirut is in fact a very important lexicographic site in the Arab world, and the fact that it hosted Hans Wehr’s bilingual Arabic dictionaries comes as no surprise to us. In our opinion, one should rather be surprised at the high appeal of a root-based Arabic-English dictionary whose microstructure and page layout, as shall be demonstrated, are far from offering easily-accessible lexicographic information to average dictionary users or beginners.
As regards its history, it is important to mention that ‘Wehr dates back to an Arabic-German manuscript which was completed in the middle of the last century, and no attempt has been made to update its contents’ (Abu-Ssaydeh 2008:13). The English version of Hans Wehr’s dictionary appeared in 1961, and the 4th edition appeared in 1979. Hans Wehr’s original dictionary has been reedited and reprinted a few times, but the difference between the editions of the dictionary seems to be essentially in terms of the number of entries. Jneid lists all editions as follows:

a translation of the dictionary into English was edited by J. Milton Cowan in 1961, which was followed by three editions in 1966, 1971 and 1979. The latter or the fourth edition, with more than 40,000 items, is an enlarged and amended edition of the first which contained approximately 28,000 items. Again here, the grounds for these estimations are not stated. (2007:11)

Haywood (1991) also reports that the fourth edition consists of 13,000 additions, including new entries, definitions, idiomatic phrases and compounds in 1301 pages.

In the preface for the 4th edition (1979:X), we can read that the German edition of the dictionary Arabisches Worterbuch fur die schriftsprache der Gegenwart, which appeared in 1952, was based on a corpus of approximately 45,000 slips containing citations from Arabic sources. A supplement for this work which presented new material, together with corrections of the main work appeared in 1959. The English edition includes all the material contained in the German edition of the dictionary and the Supplement, as well as a number of additions and corrections the need for which became obvious only after the publication of the supplement, according to Hans Wehr. The German editor also admits that many Egyptian sources, such as newspapers and periodicals, were major sources of this dictionary. The third edition of E.A. Elias’ Modern Dictionary: Arabic-English (1929) is one of the secondary sources Hans Wehr
used in the preparation of his German/English Arabic dictionaries. The use of Elias’ dictionary in
to a number of Egyptian sources explains the presence of many Egyptian words in Hans
Wehr’s dictionary. As reported in the analysis of Elias’ treatment of dialectal words, Hans Wehr
– similarly – does not always indicate the Arab country in which a given colloquial word is used.

Han Wehr outlines a set of usage labels devised for this purpose; e.g., colloq.
(colloquial); Alg. (Algeria); Eg. (Egypt); Ir. (Iraq); Saud. Ar. (Saudi Arabic), etc. Consider the
following words:

- يا:فتاة ya:ftah Signboard; plaque, name plate, doorplate; label
- ابونيه ‘abu:ni:h (Fr, abonné) Subscription; subscription card.
- يا:طاش ya:ta:sh Piecework, jobwork

The first word is a colloquial word that appears to be used in many Arab countries in the Levant
and in Egypt. The second word is typically Egyptian, but the editor chose to give some
etymological information (French origin) instead of attaching the ‘Eg.’ usage label to the word.
The last word, however, is typically Algerian, and its ‘adverbial’ meaning can be rewritten as
follows:

- يا:طاش (Alg.) To finish a task or a job quickly and efficiently.

The illocutionary meaning associated with this word is ‘praise’ for being efficient. As regards the
pronunciation of a set of colloquialisms, Hans Wehr explains that the symbol (□) precedes those
dialectal words for which the Arabic spelling suggests a colloquial pronunciation:

- □ حاذق ha:diq (= حاذق) sour, tart, acid, sharp (taste)
ha:dhiq

The entry reads as follows: ha:diq, with □ d, is the colloquial pronunciation of the word, whereas
the Standard pronunciation – with □ dh instead of □ d – is presented between brackets. Thus,
when the same word overlaps in Standard Arabic and one of the Arabic vernaculars, the editor
highlights differences in pronunciation. One wonders whether an English-speaking user will be able to recognize and understand the significance of the symbol (□); probably not. Note, however, that the word (= حاذق) ha:dhiq itself is listed under a different root in the dictionary ḥdhq. In addition to ‘sour’ it also means: to be skilled, proficient or smart. In Algerian Arabic, for instance, the colloquial word حاذق ha:daq (with a vowel change from i to a) means smart or intelligent. Therefore, what is missing in this entry are appropriate usage labels. The same entry could be rewritten as follows:

- □ حاذق ha:dhiq (Eg., syr.) sour, acid
  ha:daq (Alg.) smart, intelligent.
  (See also حاذق ha:dhiq under ḥdhq)

As for the information contained in the last line above, the entry could also be expanded to include it. The other remark that could be made here is that the velar stop ‘q’ at the end of the word would be produced as a glottal stop in most Egyptian and Syrian vernaculars. It seems that overall the editor opts for a ‘standardized’ pronunciation of some colloquial words. In the entry for the word قبضای qabaḍa:y ‘tough’, the editor attaches the following usage label (syr., leb.); i.e., Syria and Lebanon. The word is not used in the Maghreb. Any native speaker of Arabic would agree that transcribing the word with an initial velar stop ‘q’ does not accurately represent the actual pronunciation of this sound by native speakers of Egyptian Arabic or Levantine Arabic in general. The velar stop is systematically rendered as a glottal stop in these dialects no matter where it occurs in the word.

With this being said, one should not forget that Hans Wehr’s dictionary aims at recording Arabic in its written form. In fact, the above-mentioned words, when written in a newspaper for instance, would be spelled in conformity with Wehr’s suggested forms. Therefore, the phonological exercise of replacing an Arabic allophone, considered to be a phoneme in the
phonological system of an Arabic vernacular, with its corresponding phoneme in Standard Arabic is consistent with Wehr’s grand plan of presenting the vocabulary and phraseology of ‘Modern Written Arabic’. Needless to say that, the word ‘Modern’ in the dictionary’s title is not to be taken at face value. The dictionary does not completely reject classicisms as the editor explains in the preface. But Hans Wehr does admit the difficulty of determining what exactly constitutes a corpus of ‘Modern Written Arabic’. As far as classicisms go, the editor writes:

Classicisms are a further special problem. Arab authors, steeped in classical tradition, can and do frequently draw upon words which were already archaic in the Middle Ages. The use of classical patterns is by no means limited to belles-lettres. Archaisms may crop up in the middle of a spirited newspaper article. (1979:IX)

The editor proceeds:

it is not possible to make a sharp distinction between living and obsolete usage. All archaic words found in the source material have, therefore, been included in this dictionary, even though it is sometimes evident that they no longer form a part of the living lexicon and are used only by a small group of well-read literary connoisseurs. (1979:IX)

The editor’s argument is that obsolete words are artistic and stylistic devices of the first order. It can be argued that Hans Wehr includes any Arabic word, whether classical (even obsolete) or colloquial, as long as it is found in the editor’s ‘written’ sources. One interesting observation that is relevant to the present discussion concerns a number of Arabicized words.

According to the editor, the symbol (O) precedes ‘newly’ coined technical terms, especially in the fields of technology. Consider the following examples:

- Television  تلفاز tilfa:z
- Intuition  حدس hads
- Heating installation محر miharr
Our observation has to do with the fact that these words were labeled new coins, as indicated by the use of the circle symbol, in the 1979 edition. The first two words can barely be recognized as coins today. They constitute an integral part of the Arabic lexicon. The third word, however, has never been in wide currency in the Arab world. Although derived from the Arabic word حَرْ harr ‘heat’, native speakers of Arabic never seemed to have had positive attitudes toward the term مِحَرْ miharr. Another complex derivative, مِحْرَارْ miḥra:r ‘thermometer’ was – surprisingly – amended by most Arab speakers. The words مِدْفَاة midf’a: (Heater) and مُكَيْفْ mukayyif (AC) are more commonly used than مِحَرْ miharr, even though the meaning of the latter can be readily guessed from its form. The change in the status of the above terms shows the necessity to update Arabic lexicographic works. The Arabic language continues to undergo the inevitable results of a process of drift due to the imposing linguistic diversity that characterizes the Arab world, and the recent promotion of the Arabic vernaculars (See discussion in Chapter 2). If the dictionary were to be updated in the future, the circle should be deleted in many entries, and added next to new coins that have recently entered the Arabic language. One more symbol, occasionally used in the dictionary under investigation, is the dash. The dash indicates that the following definitions apply only to the latest sub-entry. Contrary to Elias’ system, the dash is not a prominent typography in Wehr’s system.

Let us now examine a few entries from Hans Wehr’s A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1979) in order to illustrate major lexicographic practices characteristic of this root-based dictionary. We begin with the entry for رَبِّih rabiha ‘gain’, which will allow us to draw comparisons between Hans Wehr’s and Elias’ dictionaries since the same entry was subject to close scrutiny in the previous sub-section:
Users will have to apply stem forms II and IV to the root in order to identify the corresponding ‘verbal’ derivatives.

Vertical strokes used to terminate the definition under an entry and introduce examples.

‘Non-verbal’ Derivations projected to the right of the root.

Figure 5.6: The entry for rabi̯ḥa in A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1979)

The first visible criticism the dictionary is usually subject to has to do with the page layout and the fact that the information is condensed in such a way that it is difficult to read through the entry. This is even more noticeable in highly polysemous entries. Hoogland comments that ‘a lemma like the noun ‘ayn [literally ‘eye’] is very complex and it takes the dictionary user a great effort to find a specific combination’ (1993:86). Indeed, the lexicographic information in Wehr’s dictionary tends to be presented en bloc. We used brackets to the right of the above figure to highlight this point. Notice how there are no line breaks, numbers or full stops to separate the lexicographic information in the bracketed segments. Line breaks are used only to separate the entry words themselves, and the entry word from its ‘non-verbal’ derivations. As a rule, verbal derivations appear all together in addition to their English equivalents, and any collocations or
examples provided to illustrate their meaning. Non-verbal derivatives, such as nouns, adjectives, comparative forms, etc. are presented next.

Hans Wehr claims that the vertical stroke is used to terminate the definition under an entry, and that ‘it is followed by phrases, idioms, and sentences which illustrate the phraseological and syntactic use of that entry’ (1979:XIV). The problem is that this technique is not adopted systematically in the entire lexicographic work. Let us reproduce the relevant segments from the above entry for ربح rabiha ‘gain’. Note that the entries in Wehr’s dictionary read from left to right.

1. ما ربحت تجارتهم (tija:rutuhum) their business was unprofitable II and IV to make (s.o.) gain, allow s.o. (s) a profit.

The stroke here precedes an example sentence; the rest of the syntactic information will be thoroughly examined separately. The example sentence in (1) reads as follows:

ما ربحت تجارتهم
ma: rabiha-t tija:rutu-hum
Not gain-ed t (femininity) business-their
Their business did not gain profit

Note that only part of sentence (1) is transcribed: tija:rutuhum (their business). Hans Wehr states that the phrases, idioms, and sentences which illustrate the phraseological and syntactic use of an entry ‘did not have to be transcribed in full because it has been necessary to assume an elementary knowledge of Arabic morphology or syntax on the part of the user, without which it is not possible to use a dictionary arranged according to roots’ (1979:XIV). Important to mention is that this particular example is an excerpt from the Quran. The dictionary contains a number of similar excerpts from the Muslims’ holy book. Other examples are metaphorical and are more likely to have been extracted from Classical poetry. Under the entry for صبر sabr ‘patience’ is found the following example:
Note that the entire example sentence is phonetically transcribed, and a word-for-word translation is provided before the actual equivalent English sentence. Users are less likely to encounter such sentences – whose interpretation is highly figurative – in general contexts. The information presented as it is can be helpful for decoding English speakers reading a literary text. Encoding users, however, will have to find a better stylistic equivalent that fits best in a similar literary context. It seems to us that Hans Wehr conspicuously adheres to the tradition established by early Arab lexicographers and perpetuated by Lane in his Arabic-English lexicon. The parallel between Hans Wehr’s dictionary and Lane’s lexicon lies in the function literary examples in both works serve. Lane (1863:Xxiii) admits that:

among the graver difficulties are those which are often presented by verses cited as confirmatory examples, or as illustrations, without either context or explanation; many of which I have inserted in my lexicon as being either absolutely necessary or such as I could not omit with entire satisfaction.

The practice of using ‘confirmatory’ examples characterized all monolingual Arabic lexicography (Chapter 3), and it is no surprise that Lane has kept the same practice in his Lexicon, since the latter is essentially based on the most comprehensive 18th century dictionary the Taj (Crown of the Bride) and other Classical Arabic dictionaries.

A further examination of the treatment of examples in Hans Wehr’s dictionary reveals a number of inconsistencies. For instance, the second example preceded with a heavy stroke in the above entry (figure 10) is not transcribed at all:

2. ربح بسيط simple interest
Since the editor opted for the IPA system instead of the set of conventional diacritics, the above example should have been fully transcribed as: \textit{ribḥ basi:ṭ}. It is also important to mention that the editor used the stroke here to introduce specialized terminology, such as: simple interest, compound interest, and distributed dividends. We should like to reiterate the comment we made previously concerning the rendering of the word ‘interest’. In fact, the Arabic phrase that would be rendered as ‘simple interest’ is:

- \textit{fa:‘ida basi:ṭa}

‘Interest’ and \textit{fa:‘ida} (\textit{fa:‘ida}) constitute exact translational equivalents in banking contexts. The Arabic phrase suggested by the editor does not have the same technical sense as the English equivalent: \textbf{Simple interest} (Interest paid only on the original principal, not on the interest accrued). The Arabic phrase \textit{ribḥ basi:ṭ} can be literally interpreted as ‘modest gain/profit’.

Therefore, the dictionary provides short phrases that include the entry word, but the grounds which presuppose the transcription of a given word in any selected illustrative phrase are not always clear. In some entries, the editor confines the transcription to even smaller parts of a given word:

- \textit{qillat aṣ-ṣ.} Impatience

The above phrase could have been fully transcribed as:

- \textit{qillat aṣ-ṣabr}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item lack the-patience
    \item Impatience
  \end{itemize}

Due to a process of assimilation, the \textit{l} in the definite article \textit{al-} (the) is pronounced ṣ; thus \textit{al-ṣabr} is pronounced \textit{aṣ-ṣabr}. It seems that, by transcribing only the relevant part of the assimilation
process that takes place in this specific phonological context, the editor’s technique is far from being random. It aims at highlighting important phonological information, although the dictionary focuses primarily on written Arabic. This suggests a conflict of interest between the dictionary’s primary purpose and some actual techniques adopted in this work, giving the impression that the editor is torn between a focus on written Arabic and an interest in providing pronunciations at the same time. Another technique peculiar to this dictionary and that corroborates the editor’s interest in representing the different pronunciations of the written words is to indicate the alternative pronunciation of a word by mentioning only the alternative vowel:

- قبیل qabila (قبول qabu:l, qubu:l) to accept

The entry reads as follows: the word قبیل can be pronounced qabila (with the vowel –i after the second radical b) or qabala (with the vowel –a after all three radicals). The paradox is that both pronunciations for the noun قبول ‘acceptance’ are fully provided: qabu:l and qubu:l. The vowel change in the verb qabila might be easy to recognize since the alternative vowel is a, and there is only one i in the first transcription. This presupposes the substitution of the vowel -a for the vowel -i. Let us examine another example which might pose difficulties for users:

- صبر sabara i to bind; to be patient…

An English-speaking user will probably not be able to recognize the exact place where the vowel change could actually take place. Our guess is that the user might not even pay attention, or will not understand the significance of vowels listed separately in the entry. An Arabic-speaking user does not need this information; since he/ she knows that sabira is an alternate pronunciation of the same word. Throughout these examples that illustrate the phonological treatment of entries in the Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, we should like to stress the importance of either providing full IPA transcriptions of the words/ phrases (diacritics can be used instead), or no
transcription at all in compliance with the dictionary’s purpose, i.e., decoding dictionary. English-speaking users should not be presented with partial transcriptions leaving them perplexed, especially that they additionally have to deal with the bulk of the lexicographic information crammed in the entry articles. Grammatical information is particularly difficult to decipher in this lexicographic work, as shall be illustrated below.

Let us consider example (1) again:

1. (tija:rutuhum) their business was unprofitable II and IV to make (s.o.) gain, allow s.o. (s) a profit. (see 1 above)

After translating the Arabic sentence into English, new information is immediately introduced:

- II and IV to make (s.o.) gain, allow s.o. (s) a profit.

No typographies are used to separate two unrelated pieces of information. It can be asserted that this line is difficult to read and would require some time to process by average dictionary users, including Arabic speaking users. This line, which is full of syntactic information, is typical in the dictionary. To begin with, it is important to clarify the meaning of the two Roman numerals II, IV. Hans Wehr’s sequence under a given root is as follows:

The verb is the perfect of the base stem, if it exists, comes first with the transliteration indicating voweling. It is followed by the vowel of the imperfect and, in parentheses, the verbal nouns or maṣa:dir. Then come the derived stems, indicated by boldface Roman numerals II through X. (1979:XIII)

The corresponding stem forms to II through X Roman numerals can be listed as follows:
Form I  \( \text{fa}^c \text{ala} \),
(Stem verb)

Form II  \( \text{fa}^c^c \text{ala} \), usually causative
Form III  \( \text{fa}^c^c \text{ala} \), expresses the desire or attempt to perform the action on a person.
Form IV  \( \text{af}^c \text{ala} \), usually causative
Form V  \( \text{tafa}^c \text{ala} \), has a reflexive meaning
Form VI  \( \text{tafa}^c^c \text{ala} \), reflexive of Form III
Form VII  \( \text{infa}^c \text{ala} \), reflexive of Form I
Form VIII  \( \text{ifta}^c \text{ala} \), Reflexive of Form I
Form IX  \( \text{if}^c \text{alla} \), Used of verbs which express the possession of inherent qualities
Form X  \( \text{istaf}^c \text{ala} \) Reflexive of Form IV

These forms refer to the different conjugations of triliteral Arabic verbs. Note that not all patterns could be applied to a given root. For example, Form IX \( \text{if}^c \text{alla} \) is rare, and is used of verbs which express the possession of inherent qualities, such as ‘isfarra ‘to be or to turn yellow’. In his comprehensive Arabic-English lexicon, Lane lists more forms, such as the very rare Form XII \( \text{ifaw}^c \text{ala} \) usually applied to quadrilateral verbs. Important to add is the existence of stem forms for nouns and adjectives as well. Han Wehr (1979:XIII) explains that after verbal derivatives are listed: ‘then come nominal forms arranged according to their length. Verbal nouns of the stems II through X and all active and passive participiles follow at the end.’ Without going into more details about the Arabic conjugation system, as this goes far beyond the scope of the present work, let us focus on the actual forms listed by Hans Wehr and Elias for the root \( r\text{-}\text{b}^c\text{-} \text{ḥ} \) side by side in order to understand how the choice of stem forms compare in both works:
The first difficulty in Hans Wehr’s dictionary can be identified in the first section of the entry.

As explained earlier all verbal derivations are listed right after the root. In Elias’ system,
however, any derivations – whether verbal or nominal – are projected to the left of the root word.

Hans Wehr writes: Form II and IV; thus inviting the user to apply the corresponding stem forms.

A proper application of the corresponding patterns will yield the two causative verbs presented
explicitly in Elias’ dictionary as:

Causative verb 1: rabbaha زَبْتَح 1.
to make someone gain

Causative verb 2: ’arbaḥا أَزَنْتَح

Hans Wehr unrightfully assumes a prior knowledge of such a complex derivational system on the
users’ part. Arabic speakers themselves might not understand the significance of the Roman
numerals in question unless they consult the front matter, which is less likely to happen in the
light of our conclusions in chapter 4 as regards this matter. Compared to Elias’ list of derivations, Hans Wehr offers more useful Arabic derivatives – notably: the plural form (2), and the comparative form (4). Elias, on the other hand, illustrates the meaning of rubbaːḥ (4), for instance, with a picture of the animal in question. Pictorial illustrations are not particularly favored by Hans Wehr who obviously caters more for grammatical information. Interestingly, Han Wehr, distinguishes clearly between the adjectival and nominal forms of raːbiːḥ (6):

- رابح raːbiːḥ Profiteer, gainer, winner; beneficiary; lucrative, gainful, profitable (business)

The polysemic nature of this word, depending on the part of speech to which it belongs, is blurred in Elias’ dictionary, due to the fact that the term is listed in conjunction with its adjectival synonym murbiːḥ (adj.) with no further distinctions. However, both works lack illustrative examples that further assist users in differentiating between both synonyms. Similarly, no specific sequencing is adopted in arranging the selected derivations in either reference work.

We saw how Elias exclusively uses a semicolon to separate the different English equivalents he suggests, even when they are synonymous. Hans Wehr reserves commas for this purpose. In the above entry for raːbiːḥ, a comma clearly separates ‘synonymous’ English equivalents: ‘Profiteer, gainer, winner’, and ‘lucrative, gainful, profitable’. The first set of equivalents can be used to translate the Arabic word when used as a noun, whereas the second set includes equivalents for the word’s adjectival form. Only one sense discriminator is used in this entry to further assist Arab users in their hunt for the most appropriate equivalent term in the list (business). One wonders whether an Arab user would be able to guess the editor’s intention to show that the word between brackets usually precedes the second set of English equivalents as in: ‘a lucrative business’. We suggest (of business) instead of (business), but of course an example sentence, as short as Wehr’s typical examples, would convey this important
collocational information in a more straightforward manner. Besides, sense discriminators ought to be presented in Arabic, if the dictionary is intended for an Arabic-speaking audience.

A set of labels is used by the editor in the entry under investigation. The derivative *mura*:bāhā (5 in the above table) is assigned the following usage label: *Isl. Law*, which marks the traditional terminology of Islamic *fiqh* or exegesis as distinguished from the technical terms of modern jurisprudence. The latter are characterized by the abbreviation *jur.*, such as *tallabus* (*flagrante delicto*). Another usage label: *fin.* (Finance) is used after the English equivalent ‘dividends’. Again, it is doubtful that such an abbreviated label would be properly interpreted by Arabic-speaking users. We should also not omit to mention that semicolons in Wehr’s dictionary are used to separate different senses of the Arabic word, i.e., the semicolon marks the beginning of a definition in a different semantic range:

- **rabiḥa** to gain, profit ; to win (sports, games).

In our opinion, the clutter in Hans Wehr’s entry articles obscures the significance of commas and semicolons. The clutter is partially created by the number of ‘bilingual’ syntactic abbreviations used in this dictionary.

The editor does not content himself with listing the stem Forms (II through X), as shown earlier, but codifies even more complex syntactic information as follows:

- **II** and **IV** to make ( • s.o.) gain, allow s.o. (•) a profit

Let us begin by deciphering the English abbreviations first:

- **II** and **IV** to make ( • someone) gain, allow someone (•) a profit

Verb objects in English are expressed by s.o. (Someone) and s.th. (Something). The Arabic letter (•) *h* (as spelled at the end of a word) is used for the accusative of a person. Therefore, users will need to rewrite the entry themselves:
- ِ هثؼrabba and ِ أُرِبِحاarba
  - رِبَحاrabbaروبُه (to make someone gain)
  - أُرِبِحاarba- hu (to allow someone a profit).

Let us examine other Arabic syntactic labels:

- ِ هثـ h (as spelled when it occurs initially) for the accusative of a thing
  e.g. خفضه خفض = ِ هـ + خفض, i.e., lower or reduce something.
  khafaṣa + h = khafaṣa-hu

- ِ ها ha: (for the feminine of animate beings)
  e.g. قتلها قتل = ِ هـ + قتل, i.e., kill her
  qatala + ha = qatala-ha:
  kill + her

- ِ هم hum, (literally ‘they’ for a group of persons)
  e.g. قتلهيم قتل = ِ هـ + قتل, i.e., kill or massacre them
  qatala + hum = qatala-hum
  kill + them

The reading of entries in Hans Wehr’s work requires the attachment of the above Arabic syntactic markings to the stem verb. Some entries additionally suggest the appropriate Arabic prepositions that accompany the stem verb in addition to one of the above bilingual syntactic markings. Consider the following segment from the entry for قبِل qabila:

- قبِل qabila to accept (ب or ِ هـ, s.o., s.th.)

This line requires the reader to proceed step by step as follows:

- قبِل qabila + ب bi (preposition) + ِ هـ h (for the accusative of a thing)
  قبِل به = qabila bi-hi
  accept preposition-accusative
  ‘accept something’

or:

- قبِل qabila + ِ هـ h (for the accusative of a person)
  قبِل هـ = qabila-hu
  accept-accusative
  ‘accept someone’
Clearly, decomposing the entries in this dictionary is not an easy task for average dictionary
users, mainly English-speaking users. Heliel summarizes the problematic microstructural aspects
in Wehr’s dictionary as follows: ‘it is quite difficult to find one’s way through the entries, which
are cluttered, and the senses which are decontextualized and not discriminated, except through
the use of semicolons, and the inadequate use of s.o. (abbreviation of ‘someone’) or s.th.
(abbreviation of ‘something’) for the subject and object of the verb’ (2002:58). Indeed, bilingual
syntactic abbreviations add to the already complex dictionary’s microstructure. The entry articles
in the Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic assume a prior grammatical knowledge on the users’
part. But dictionary users who are able to decipher the codes used in this dictionary are more
likely to have an advanced knowledge of the language, which renders all the details provided in
the entry superfluous for this category of users. Our recommendation remains similar to the one
we made in relation to Elias’ dictionary; a numeric system is required to separate the different
senses of a given word and its corresponding equivalents. We should mention here that
superscripts occasionally appear in Wehr’s dictionary. The same technique was identified in
Elias’ dictionary.

In fact, the use of subscript numbers is restricted in Wehr’s dictionary, and aims primarily
at distinguishing two or more homonymous roots which are entered as separate items. Usually,
one of the roots in question is of foreign origin, but treated as an Arabic word. For example,
- كريم kari:m is entered under the Arabic root ¹كرم karuma (generosity) and
  ²كريم kri:m (the French word crème).
Wehr (1979) explains that the small raised numbers are used to indicate to the user that the same
order of letters occurs more than once, and that he should not confine his search to the first
listing. Our belief is that this system is useless, since loanwords are listed alphabetically, due to
the difficulty of determining their roots. The cluttered page layout of the dictionary will force the reader to read throughout the whole entry anyway.

The problems in this dictionary are numerous, and they tie in with a flagrant inconsistency in the inclusion of sense discriminators, the inclusion of ‘short’ phrases; usually too classical to be of any use to users in modern times, and technical syntactic labels, but above all else, a cluttered page layout. One point in favor of Hans Wehr’s dictionary is that it can be a helpful guide to reading Arabic vowels, which adds to its value as a pedagogical companion to English-speaking audiences. Despite the editor’s admission of the difficulty drawing boundaries between Classical Arabic and Modern Written Arabic, and despite all apparent inconsistencies, El-Badry thinks that ‘the emphasis on contemporary language and systematic compilation techniques is more apparent in Wehr’s dictionary, even though it is addressed primarily to European and American rather than Arab users’ (1986:60). The present account reveals that this dictionary assumes more than a basic knowledge of the Arabic language and grammar in general. Despite the lack of user-friendly features, the dictionary remains popular among non-Arabic speakers to date.

Hans Wehr’s incontestable rival in the Arab world is none but the alphabetically-organized dictionary, Al-Mawrid. The latter supersedes The Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic, by a number of accounts; it has been updated on a regular basis, and has English-Arabic editions, in addition to a number of compact editions, although one has to bear in mind that Hans Wehr’s A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic is ‘the standard against which all other modern Arabic-English dictionaries are measured’ (Donner 1993:52). Accordingly, comparisons between both works shall be drawn in the forthcoming sections.
5.2.1.3 Al-Mawrid: A Household Name in the Arabic-Speaking World

The supremacy of Al-Mawrid dictionary in the Arab world is indisputable. It is also difficult to keep track of all editions due to the fact that the dictionary has been constantly updated since the first *Al-Mawrid: A Modern English-Arabic Dictionary* was published in 1967. The latter, in Al-Kasimi’s (1986:41) terms is ‘a best-selling English-Arabic dictionary.’ Ramzi Baalbaki (2010), the current editor, explains that new editions of Al-Mawrid appeared almost annually since 1967, and that each edition contained new words, samples of which were shown in the introductory pages. In an interview, Ramzi Baalbaki (2010) adds that *al-Mawrid al-Akbar* (literally, the biggest/ the largest), which appeared in 2005, is the most comprehensive English-Arabic dictionary to date: In more than 2,100 pages, its features include a detailed etymology of each entry, the arrangement of entries according to history of usage, and the inclusion of synonyms, antonyms and encyclopedic material. *Al-Mawrid al-Akbar* (2005) was completely updated and renamed *Al-Mawrid al-Hadeeth* (literally, the contemporary or modern) in 2008. A few entries from the second reprint of this dictionary (2009) will be subject to close scrutiny in the following section on English-Arabic dictionaries. Rohi Baalbaki, one of the brothers, has been in charge of the Arabic-English editions, some of which he co-authored with his late father Munir. Rohi’s *Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English dictionary*, published in 1988, is in fact the first Arabic-English edition of Al-Mawrid.

Al-Mawrid’s exclusive publishing house is Dar Al-Ilm Li-l-Malayin (Beirut), which defines itself as the oldest and largest privately owned publishing and distribution house of Arabic books and educational materials in the Arab world. It is also the first and the only major Arabic electronic multimedia company in the Arab world. In 1998, the house published the first best selling Arabic electronic book: *Al-Mawrid Al-Qareeb Arabic-English and English-Arabic*
The dictionary contains more than 33,000 words with many related appendices and English examples of audio pronunciations, according to the website of the publishing house. As far as the paper editions of the dictionary are concerned, it seems that the focus is rather placed on the Al-Mawrid English-Arabic edition which – as stated earlier – has been conscientiously revised and enlarged.

Al-Mawrid’s marketing policy, which prioritizes the English-Arabic edition, is planned and implemented in accordance with the observations we made in the previous chapter: foreign language study in the Arab world is geared toward translation and reading comprehension, as well as solutions to terminological issues in Arabic. Al-Mawrid is a forerunner when it comes to creating terminology (addressed in Chapter 2); a feature that has rendered the dictionary equally appealing to students in technical and scientific fields as well as a general audience of Arabic speakers. In the previous chapter, we referred to Diab’s study on dictionary use among nursing students. In his questionnaire, Diab asked his 405 participants to react to the following statement: ‘Al-Mawrid is the most useful dictionary for nursing students’. After analyzing the students’ reactions, Diab found that ‘almost two thirds of the students (64.4%) agreed with the statement whereas only 12.1% disagreed, while 23.4% could not make up their minds. The result confirms the popularity of Al-Mawrid among the students’ (1990:176). The popularity of the dictionary among ESP students is no accident; it is a direct reflection of the editor’s rationale behind the whole Al-Mawrid enterprise.

As a translator, Munir Baalbaki (1967) was dissatisfied with the bilingual dictionaries available at the time. El-Badry writes ‘having experienced the kind of frustration felt by educated Arabs when English-Arabic dictionaries fail to meet their needs, the editor wanted to produce a
comprehensive dictionary of no less than 100,000 entries on modern lines’ (1986:61). El-Badry (1986:61) then proceeds:

to this end, Ba’albaki had recourse to English and American monolingual dictionaries, general and specialized bilingual works, terminology lists published by the Cairo Academy of the Arabic language, and glossaries in numerous books recently translated into Arabic.

Diab (1990: 177-8) points to the compiler’s own translation experience as the main input to the dictionary, in addition to a set of American and British monolingual dictionaries, bilingual general and technical dictionaries, including the technical glossaries produced by the Arabic Academy in Cairo. One of the major criticisms leveled at Baalbaki’s dictionaries, including its first Arabic-English edition (1988), has to do with the sources that served as the basis of the lexicographic work.

Diab’s critique reads as follows: ‘the monolingual English source included the Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary of Current English (London, 1963), but no mention was given of any monolingual technical dictionaries. No indication was given as to how the compiler benefited from the learner’s dictionary, in particular’ (1990:177). A similar issue, in respect to the dictionary’s sources, has been referred to concerning the Arabic-English edition. Jneid argues; ‘Al-Mawrid supplies no information about the corpus of the dictionary and claims that it includes only up-to-date vocabulary, although it does not state any information about the grounds or principles used for the choice of vocabulary or word frequency’(2007:74). In a review of Rohi Baalbaki’s Arabic-English dictionary (1988), Donner writes:
[the editor] leaves us in the dark as to where his vocabulary comes from; is it based on a systematic survey of some extensive sample of written literature (as Wehr’s dictionary was), or is it simply those words that the author considers important enough to include? In the absence of an explicit statement to the contrary, we must assume that the latter is the case, which makes Al-Mawrid yet another member of that populous race of unscientifically compiled Arabic dictionaries. This presumably unscientific basis may explain some curious omissions in Al-Mawrid’s otherwise wide vocabulary stock. (1993:53)

Jneid’s (2007) and Donner’s (1993) critiques have to do with the absence of any suggestions as to how the vocabulary included was amassed. Jneid additionally reports that Al-Mawrid does not state any information about the number of the items included. An entry count needs to take into account the dictionary’s policy as regards lemmatization, since in an alphabetical dictionary all forms of a given verb or a noun and any run-ons too might constitute separate headwords. Rohi Baalbaki (1988) claims that his purpose was to include only ‘active’ words in modern written Arabic, omitting therefore both archaic and disused words and those neologisms (very numerous especially in the sciences) that have little or no use, as well as dialect forms. In fact, this is one important feature of the Al-Mawrid dictionary, which unlike the other two dictionaries we examined, excludes dialectal words from its macrostructure. Jneid (2007:91) notes that ‘it dispenses with regionalisms and dialectal words or it does not at least mark them.’ While Jneid’s position is not stated explicitly, Donner (1993) is not happy with the dialect-exclusion policy, and explains that the absence of a word such as قبضاء qabaḍa:y ‘strongman, tough’, which is common in Lebanese dialect and most certainly attested in modern texts at least in that country, is linked to the dictionary’s ‘intentional’ neglect of dialect forms. Our guess was that this particular criticism stems from the fact that the word appears in Hans Wehr’s dictionary. The word qabaḍa:y does appear in the Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1979) with usage labels (Syr., Leb.); i.e., Syria and Lebanon.
Donner notes that it is hard to justify excluding dialect words if they are written, and adds: ‘similarly, it is hard to see why such foreign imports as “automobi:l”, “du:minu:” (domino), or “ukt:i:n” (octane) are considered more suitable for inclusion than a word like *qabada:y*, which is at least of Arabic origin’ (1993:53). The reviewer concludes that Baalbaki ‘has been guided by his own subjective opinions rather than by any systematic principle for the inclusion of vocabulary’ (1993:53). Along the same lines, Jneid argues: ‘it could be said that the author resorted to ad hoc decisions using his intuition to decide the relevant vocabulary’ (2007:74). It is hard to claim that Donner’s critique is entirely purist in nature, since he leans toward the inclusion of words from the Arabic vernaculars, but at the same time rejects loan words for not being of Arabic origin. But since his basis of comparison is Hans Wehr’s dictionary, it is at least clear why he appears more tolerant of dialectal forms. The point we should like to highlight is that Al-Mawrid Arabic-English dictionary can be said to have initiated and established a third macrostructural arrangement pattern as the norm in modern bilingual Arabic lexicography. Al-Mawrid Arabic-English dictionary is purely alphabetical, in contrast with Elias’ dual macrostructure, and Hans Wehr’s root-based dictionary. As far as its microstructure is concerned, Al-Mawrid receives the same criticism addressed to Elias and Hans Wehr in that ‘it does not have clear rules for the arrangement of the microstructure’ (Jneid 2007:77). Al-Mawrid’s exclusion of dialectal words and inclusion of a more modern and technical terminology add to the dictionary’s peculiarity. Rohi Baalbaki’s dictionary has been recently subject to close scrutiny by Abu-Ssaydeh (2006) who analyzed the work in terms of its usefulness for translators.

Abu-Ssaydeh explains that *Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary* (1988), ‘has been republished several times since then and is immensely popular among translators and
language learners. It contains over 1300 pages, and deals with Modern Arabic and, to a lesser extent, Classical Arabic’ (2006:102). Jneid holds a different opinion: ‘Al-Mawrid includes many old items which could be only of interest to the English user such as ghailam (male tortoise or turtle) etc. As said earlier, this would allow us to ask the question how up-to-date the vocabulary is’ (2007:75). It is important to note here that in comparison with Elias’ and Hans Wehr’s dictionaries at least, Al-Mawrid has noticeably gone far away from classicisms. It does represent a new era in dictionary writing in the Arab world. Abu-Ssaydeh also praises the dictionary because it lists a fairly large number of compounds, collocations, and multi-word units from the two languages. Like its predecessors, however, Al-Mawrid exhibits certain problems and inconsistencies in its microstructure that shall be examined below.

5.2.1.4 Major Microstructural Issues in Al-Mawrid Arabic-English Dictionaries

The following sub-section provides information on major microstructural problems existing in Al-Mawrid, in comparison with Hans Wehr’s dictionary. The aim is to understand how this modern dictionary departs from its predecessors, and identify new lexicographic techniques, if any, introduced in this important lexicographic work.

Table 5.7: Collocational information for *madda* ‘extend’ in Han Wehr’s *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (1961) and Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English dictionary (1988)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Prolong his life (of God);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda ‘umra-hu</td>
<td>fertilize, dung, manure;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extend life-his</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>turn his eyes to, direct his glance to;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda al-baṣar</td>
<td>lay (pipelines, plaster);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extend the-sight</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>strike roots (tree);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda jadhran fi al-’ard</td>
<td>prolong someone’s life (said of God);</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extend a-root in the-land</td>
<td>madda al-lahu ‘umra-hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>prick up one’s ear;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda sam’a-hu</td>
<td>strike root, take root;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extend hearing-his</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>set the table;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda al-ma’ida</td>
<td>reinforce an army;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extend the-table</td>
<td>madda al-junda ’aw al-jaysh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>take long strides;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda fi al-mashy</td>
<td>crane the neck, stretch (out) the neck, perk up;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extend in the-walk</td>
<td>madda raqabata-hu ’aw ‘umuqa-hu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>lay pipe;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda al-mowa:s:ir</td>
<td>set (spread, lay) the table;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extend the-pipes</td>
<td>madda al-ma’ida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>extend one’s hand to s.o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda ’ilay-hi yada-hu</td>
<td>to flow, rise;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>extend to-him hand-his</td>
<td>madda al-nahr ’aw al-bahr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>extend (reach out, reach, stretch out, stretch forth) the hand, arm, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madda yada-hu ’lkh</td>
<td>extend hand-his etc</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The grey shadow areas indicate similar information in both dictionaries. Only two collocation sets are found in both dictionaries: ‘strike root’ and ‘set the table’. Abu-Ssaydeh’s critique highlights some important points in relation to the above collocational information:

impressive as this might look, and though both lexicographers apparently recognize the significance of collocation as the examples demonstrate, there seems to be no agreement as to which collocations should be included. Nor is there agreement on whether such collocations should be cited along with the Arabic headword or with its English equivalent... Thirdly, synonymous sets are not differentiated by the citation of an adequate number of collocations. (To complicate things, the two lexicographers disagree on which words should be cited as members of the same synset). (2008:14)

Later in the discussion, the author focused on the problems that could result from the non-distinction between the suggested equivalents. Consider the following entry:

- صطیا:دا 'isṭa:da:  hunt

By suggesting one equivalent for the Arabic word with no further distinction, an Arabic-speaking user will assume that a man may possibly hunt both ‘a lion’ and ‘a fish’. A transfer strategy will create an L1-influenced collocational error: ‘hunt a fish’, since the verb 'isṭa:da: co-occurs with ‘fish’ in Arabic. Therefore, when the English equivalents are not properly distinguished, users usually assume that they have the same collocational distribution as the Arabic word, or that they extend their meanings similarly. Unless the suggested equivalents are looked up in a monolingual dictionary, errors are likely to occur. We will come back to the lexicographic information provided for English equivalents later in the discussion. We shall now look more closely at the above table and outline our own observations.

The use of the Arabic particle:

- ۢاو' 'aw
  ‘or’,

246
in Baalbaki’s dictionary (5, 6, and 8 in the above table) caught our attention, since the particle has never been used in the lexicographic works analyzed in the present chapter. Elias and Hans Wehr chose typographies in order to signal ‘synonymy’. But Baalbaki’s use of the particle ‘or’ is intriguing as it should not be understood to imply synonymy in all examples. Let us consider examples 5, 6, and 8 as they appear in the column devoted to Baalbaki’s dictionary in the above table:

- مَذِ الْجَنَّةَ أو الْجَيْشَ
  madda al-junda aw al-jaysh
  extend the-soldiers or the-army
  ‘reinforce an army’

- مَذِ رَقِبَتِهُ أو عُنْقَهُ
  madda raqabata-hu aw ‘unuqa-hu
  extend neck-his or neck-his
  ‘crane the neck, stretch (out) the neck, perk up’

- مَذِ النَّهْرَ أو الْبَحْرَ
  madda al-nahr aw al-bahr
  extend the-lake or the-sea
  ‘to flow, rise’

The first example, if interpreted correctly by the user, suggests that the Arabic word madda co-occurs with either الجَنَّةَ ‘soldiers’ or الجَيْشَ al-jaysh ‘the army’. The editor translates only the second word ‘reinforce an army’; hence suggesting that both words mean exactly the same thing. As can be seen, the translational equivalents of each word are two different English words: ‘soldiers’ and ‘the army’. A learner of Arabic needs to be told this information explicitly by suggesting a word for word translation. This problem could have been avoided by including only one Arabic word: الجَيْشَ al-jaysh and its direct equivalent: ‘army’. In the second example, Baalbaki presents two synonyms for ‘neck’ in Arabic as being collocates of the word madda: raqaba and ‘unuq. This example is the only instance in which the use of ‘or’ can be accepted since both words for ‘neck’ are indeed synonyms. In the third example, madda co-occurs with
nahr and al-bahr; i.e., ‘lake’ and ‘sea’ respectively, but neither word is rendered in the English section: ‘to flow, rise’ (e.g. the sea rises higher). In our opinion, using ’aw ‘or’ between two Arabic words, then suggesting one translation for both words or no translation at all is misleading for English-speaking users. The words in question can become fossilized in the user’s linguistic competence as being exact synonyms. Although we do not quite agree with the use of the word ’aw in the first place, it could be argued that this particle should have been introduced in English in the entry. Alternatively, the entry word madda itself could be rewritten in order to avoid any misunderstandings. A prototype entry can be suggested as follows:

- **Madda al-junda** also **madda al-jaysh**

  e.g. **Madda al-jaysh bi-as-sila:**
  supply the-army with-the-arms
  ‘to supply arms to the army’

  e.g. **Madda al-junda bi-adh-dhakhri:**
  supply the-soldiers with-the-ammunition
  ‘to supply soldiers with ammunition’

In our opinion, Baalbaki’s translation: ‘reinforce an army’ is misleading. It suggests that the phrase **madda al-jaysha** does not require a complement. The verb **madda** does not require any complementation when it co-occurs with land (1), pipelines (2), life (said of God 3), neck (6), table (7), and hand (9). When it co-occurs with army or soldiers, a prepositional phrase is needed since **madda** here means ‘to supply someone with something’. The prototype entry above offers much more useful information to English users:

- It distinguishes between **jaysh** (army) and **jund** (soldiers) by suggesting their exact English equivalents.
- It offers further syntactic information about how to use **madda** in a sentence.
- It offers more collocational information: arms, and ammunition, with their English translations. (this is useful information for Arab users as well).
- It offers the exact equivalent of **madda** in this context.
Another unusual practice in Baalbaki’s dictionary is the use of \( \text{لخ} \) or etc. as in example (9) in table 7. The addition of this word in an entry is meaningless, and should have no place in any dictionary. The entry could be presented as follows:

- مَدَّ يدَه \( madda \) yada-hu stretch out his hand/arm
  
  e.g. مَدَّ يدَه لِتَقْدِيمِ الرَّسُولِ للْمَسَاعِدَة
  
  \( madda \) yada-hu li-taqdi:mi al-musa'\( c \)ada
  
  stretch out hand-his to-offer the-help
  
  ‘He stretched out his hand to offer help’

Another interesting remark can be made by comparing the lexical choices made by Hans Wehr and Baalbaki for the word ‘pipes’. Hans Wehr lists this in the entry:

- مَدَّ الْمَوَاسِير
  
  \( madda \) al-mawa:s\( i \)r
  
  extend the-pipes
  
  ‘lay pipe’

Whereas Baalbaki suggests:

- مَدَّ الْأَنَابِيب
  
  \( madda \) al-'ana:bi:b
  
  extend the-pipes
  
  ‘lay pipelines’

The German editor opts for a colloquial word (usually used in the Levant) مَوَاسِير \( mawa:s\( i \)r; \( mawas\( i \)r). Baalbaki, on the other hand, chooses the standard word أَنَابِيب \( 'ana:bi:b. \) Note that the standard word can be considered the ‘superordinate’; the dialectal word could be seen as one of its hyponyms that has a more specific meaning: pipe, usually used to convey ‘water’ (but not gas, for example). The word أَنَابِيب \( 'unbu:b \) (singular of أَنَابِيب \( 'ana:bi:b \) refers to pipes in general or any tube-shaped thing. The two words نَقَانَة \( qana:t \) (pipe or channel) and صَمْمَى \( samma:m \) (valve) are two more hyponyms of the superordinate: أَنَابِيب \( 'unbu:b \). Both words co-occur in combinations, such as:
In Levantine Arabic, the phrase is equivalent to the word Wehr chooses: مواسير mawa:si:r.

Once more, the above additions demonstrate the importance of exemplification which can help the lexicographer provide further collocational information that is useful for both Arabic-speaking and English speaking audiences. Baalbaki chose a safer superordinate word.

Hans Wehr’s *A dictionary of Modern Written Arabic* (1961) includes highly idiomatic combinations in Arabic that Baalbaki omits in his work. These include expressions (2), (4), and (6) in Wehr’s column:

- مَدَّة البصَّر madda al-baṣar
  extend the-sight
  ‘turn his eyes to, direct his glance to’

- مَدَّة سمْعه madda samʿa-hu
  extend hearing-his
  ‘prick up one’s ear’

- مَدَّة في المشْي madda fi al-mashy
  extend in the-walk
  ‘take long strides’

The presence of highly idiomatic collocations corroborates Hans Wehr’s orientation toward representing literary Arabic. Although no specific order is adopted in the organization of collocations within a given entry, we can readily see that Hans Wehr presents a collocation with a classical flavor first (1). Baalbaki lists the same collocation third (3).
We should like to add in the present account that the grounds upon which collocators, particles, or phrases in which the headword appears are included or excluded in a given entry are never stated explicitly. Ideally, frequency of occurrence in a corpus would be the most objective criterion of selection. The fact that both dictionaries diverge as to the amount of information provided in both entries raises the question of how many contexts might appear in an Arabic-English dictionary. Furthermore, when confronted with an expression composed of more than one word, the lexicographer has to decide under which entry he will record it. Heliel (2002:102) suggests an approach that enters collocations alphabetically in the following order:

- Verb + noun/ prepositional noun phrase combinations: entered both under the verb and the noun.
- Verb + verb combinations: entered under the first item
- Noun + noun/ prepositional noun phrase combinations: entered under both nouns
- Noun + adjective: entered under both the noun and the adjective
- Preposition/ other word combinations: entered under the preposition
- Adjective + noun combinations: entered under the adjective

This method might allow users to identify the combinations they need quickly. One reservation we have about Heliel’s proposal concerns the repetitions it involves. Similarly, Hoogland attempts to answer some questions as regards the presentation of collocations in bilingual Arabic dictionaries as follows:

> It is most common for a bilingual dictionary to contain collocations of the source language as a point of departure. A translation or paraphrase of the specific combination will then be given in the target language. However the TL expression does not necessarily have to be a collocation. So an English-Arabic dictionary will primarily contain collocations of entries in English, with equivalent translations in Arabic. These Arabic equivalents do not necessarily have to be collocations. (1993:81)

If we apply the same principle to Arabic-English dictionaries, then it can be argued that they should contain collocations of entries in Arabic, with equivalent translations in English, while
noting that the translations might not necessarily yield English collocations. Consider the following example:

- تناول tana:wala means ‘to take something’, but
- تناول الطعام tana:wala aṭ-ṭa‘a:m means ‘ate the food’

In other words, the meaning of the verb tana:wala, in isolation, has nothing to do with the act of ‘eating’. The phrase تناول الطعام tana:wala aṭ-ṭa‘a:m is a collocation in Arabic that is rendered literally in English. In our opinion, the collocation should be systematically entered under the respective entries for each word. Hoogland adds one more factor that affects the question of where the collocation is stored in the dictionary: ‘the second factor is the type of bilingual dictionary in question. Is it an active dictionary (for production) or a passive dictionary (for understanding)? This distinction should affect the type and number of collocations contained by a dictionary’ (1993:81-82). Indeed, this seems to be the decisive factor in any lexicographic decision-making. If the Arabic-English dictionary is intended for an encoding audience, more TL collocational information should be provided. We insist, however, that if the editor decides to include a given collocation set in his dictionary, it should be entered under the respective entries for each of its components. As far as Al-Mawrid Arabic-English editions are concerned, the treatment of collocations is not satisfactory, and achieved in a very unsystematic way. Abu-Ssaydeh expresses his disappointment in the following statement:

Baalbaki’s Al-Mawrid (1988), which is less than two decades old, has unfortunately failed to benefit from the recent developments that have impacted English monolingual dictionaries such as the use of frequent collocations, citation of multi-word units, stating differences between spoken and written items and the total reliance on lexical corpora. (2008:13)
Indeed Arabic lexicography has not yet reached a corpus-based stage in the dictionary writing process. Corpus research will solve many pending questions regarding the frequency of occurrence of a word or an expression in which the word occurs; it will thus help identify obsolete words, and dialectal words that have become part of the standard register. But, devising specific lexicographic techniques that aim at achieving systematicity is a basic requirement for writing better Arabic-English dictionaries. In this perspective, Emery argues: ‘certain contemporary bilingual dictionaries such as Wehr (1979) note a certain amount of collocational information but not in the sort of systematic way which could assist learners of Arabic’ (1991:63). One of the most noticeable aspects of Arabic-English dictionaries is the unsystematic inclusion of sense discriminators in the English section.

To begin with, Abu-Ssaydeh (2006:101) posits: ‘the Arabic-English dictionary only establishes equivalence at a very general and uncertain level since usually little information, if any, is given at this stage apart from isolated sets of words and phrases.’ The author lists two examples from Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary (1988):

1. إبتدائي 'ibtida'i: elementary; primary; preparatory, preliminary; initial, first, original; primitive, rudimentary, primeval, primordial; incipient, inchoate, embryonic.
2. حكم ḥukm: rule; government, administration, management; direction; running, leading, leadership; control, command, dominion, authority, power, sway, reign.

In the light of similar entries, Abu-Ssahydeh (2006:101) asserts:

once the range of equivalence for a given lexical item is found, the next step would be to consult a (general or specialized) monolingual English dictionary and probably to enlist the help of lexical resources available on the internet to confirm the best candidate for the Arabic term or expression in question.

In fact, the above entries are of no help to Arab users, who constitute the primary target audience of Al-Mawrid. A dictionary intended for Arab learners of English is expected to guide them in
their search for the most suitable equivalent especially when they consult the dictionary for decoding purposes. Furthermore, Al-Mawrid is not a thesaurus or a thematic dictionary whose aim is to present a classified list of ‘quasi-synonyms’. Note also that the entries for إبداعي 'ibtida’i: and حكم hukm are not useful for American learners of Arabic either. Suggesting too many equivalents that obviously do not mean the same thing in English can be very confusing to decoding English-speaking users. Listing surrogate equivalents with no sense discrimination whatsoever is a practice that has been incarnated in the 2001 edition of the same dictionary.

Let us illustrate the lack of sense discriminators in Al-Mawrid’s 15th edition (2001). Other lexicographic techniques and typographies can be discerned in contrast with Wehr’s dictionary (1979):
Note that, similarly to Elias, Al-Mawrid’s entries read from right to left, and phonetic information is provided in the form of diacritic signs. No IPA transcription is provided as in Wehr’s dictionary. We will argue that IPA transcriptions can greatly assist English-speaking users, although they are not needed when the dictionary is intended for Arab users. Notice also how similar lexicographic information is presented in both dictionaries. Both entries inform the user that the stem verb دافر (Form I) and the causative verb دافراح (Form II) do have the same meaning. Baalbaki indicates this information by separating both words with the symbol for the Arabic comma (،). Wehr, on the other hand, writes: ١ = ٢; thus providing the same information in a numerical way. Another typography used in Al-Mawrid is the colon. The symbol is used to introduce definitions in the source language. In the above entry, جادلة meaning ‘braid’ is added to explain the entry word in Arabic; a practice identified in Elias’
dictionary as well. Jneid comments that the Arabic synonyms are superfluous to the Arab user who needs more information about the English equivalents. There is a conventional agreement on the significance of the semicolon and the comma in Al-Mawrid and Hans Wehr’s dictionary. The semicolon (;) is used to distinguish English equivalents with different meanings, and the (,) is used for synonymous equivalents. In our opinion, lexicographers are advised to adopt a numerical system (1, 2, 3…) in which every number corresponds to one equivalent for each sense of the Arabic word.

Noticeable in Al-Mawrid’s entry is the total absence of sense discriminations for the English equivalents. Wehr includes a few sense discriminators in English, such as ‘hair’, ‘a rope’, ‘different forces or efforts’ and ‘evidence’. In order to assist an Arabic-speaking user, I think it is better to add sense discriminators in the source language, or add example sentences which highlight the collocators of the Arabic word and their corresponding English equivalents. Therefore, we suggest our own entry for the same word as follows:

1. to braid
   *(see also ضَفْرَة (جَذْلِ) ضَفْرَة)*
   *He braided her hair*
   *dafara sh'a-rah-a:*

2. to interlace (v.i.)
   *(Interlace (intertwine)) the threads into a rope*
   *dafara al-khuyu:ta 'ala: shakli habl*

**Note:** The Arabic word does not constitute a translational equivalent for the intransitive form of the verb ‘interlace’ (as in: *the branches interlaced*), neither to its meaning in *interlace a speech with humor*, for example.

Because no clear policy is adopted in Al-Mawrid as regards sense discriminators, many inconsistencies creep into the dictionary. Let us consider the following entry from Al-Mawrid (2001):
The sense discriminator (حیوان) hayawa:n, meaning ‘animal’, is useless to the Arabic as well as to the English user. The latter knows what ‘apes’ and ‘monkeys’ are. An Arabic user needs sense discriminators, such as: ape (tailless), monkey (long-tailed):

- ape (دون نِیل) (du:na dhayl) (tailless),
- monkey (نِیل طويل) (dhu: dhayl tawi:l) (long-tailed)

This is the only way to draw the Arab user’s attention to the fact that the Arab word corresponds to two different entities in English, while Arabic does not make the same distinctions.

Jneid (2007:81) points out the lack of syntactic information, notably prepositions, for the English equivalents. He presents the following entry:

*Figure 5.8: Lack of syntactic information in Al-Mawrid (2001)*

Al-Mawrid does not give any syntactic information for the suggested equivalents in the above entry, which according to Jneid ‘casts some doubts about the use of the dictionary especially for the Arab users’ (2007:81). Hans Wehr, on the other, lists only the noun اعتقاد (belief) . The verb is completely absent in the entry for the root -tiqa:d.
We consider not including the verb at all in Hans Wehr’s dictionary to be a serious problem, let alone suggesting ‘trust’ and ‘confidence’ as equivalents for the Arabic noun. We consider both equivalents to be erroneous. Al-Mawrid’s editor could have added examples, such as: I believe they have already left, or He deemed (considered) the results unsatisfactory. Note that the Arabic verb ا٥زٲل 'i'taqada does not constitute a translational equivalent for ‘believe’ in he believes in free speech. The point is that examples are incontestable in highlighting the usage of a given word.

Let us consider a much longer entry from Al-Mawrid in order to highlight inconsistencies in the treatment of syntactic information, and summarize major issues in this important lexicographic work:
**daraba**: to hit, strike: Bring one's hand or a tool or weapon into contact with (someone or something) quickly and forcefully *(denotative meaning)*.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>daraba a record</td>
<td>to set a record</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>daraba the tax or the tribute : impose it</td>
<td>to impose, levy; to assess; to tax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>daraba the drum or on it</td>
<td>to drum, beat a drum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>daraba the currency or the money: mint it</td>
<td>to coin, mint, monetize</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>daraba a number by another</td>
<td>to multiply (a number by another)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>daraba his neck</td>
<td>to behead, decapitate, decollate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>daraba an example</td>
<td>to give (as) an example, quote as an example, cite (by way of example), to exemplify, instance, show or illustrate by example, to say or give a proverb, to set an example (for others)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>daraba God an example</td>
<td>God set forth a parable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>daraba with an arrow and share in</td>
<td>to participate in, share in, take part in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>daraba with it the width of the wall – revise the wall</td>
<td>to turn away from, avoid, shun; to disregard, overlook, ignore, pass over, bypass, pay no attention to, shut one's eyes to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Figure 5.10: Al-Mawrid’s (2001) entry for daraba](image)

Notice that, compared to the previous entry for ‘*taqada* (believe), the editor offers a number of contexts in which the Arabic word occurs in order to illustrate how it extends its meaning beyond the denotative meaning ‘to hit’. Some English equivalents are presented with the appropriate prepositions: participate in, share in, take part in, turn away from, and others.
However, there are innumerable problems in this seemingly rich entry. We already discussed the problem of including a long lists of ‘quasi-synonyms’ in the English section: (seven possible renderings of sentence 7 and ten equivalents for 10 in the above figure). For example (7) could be presented as follows:

- ضرَب مثلًا: to give an illustrative example (exemplify)
  
  ⲳaraba mathalan

If the preposition bi- follows the verb ⲳaraba, the meaning of this idiom changes:

- ضرَب يه مثلًا: to establish him as a model
  
  ⲳaraba bi-hi mathalan

We reiterate the importance of including examples in Arabic-English dictionaries in order to display the different meanings of the headword. The editor should then provide full translations of the suggested examples. Note that example (2) in the above figure is partially translated. We suggest:

- ضرَب الضريبة: levy the tax (to tax)
  
  ⲳaraba aḍ-ḍari:ba

Other important observations in respect to the above entry can be summarized into major points as follows:

- Al-Mawrid uses a bigger and much more readable typeface than Wehr, but does not separate entries clearly from each other. Only the use of the red color for the lemmas marks the beginning and the end of an entry.
- It does not number the senses.
- It separates the senses of the lemma and uses a line break for each sense.
- It does not have clear rules for the arrangement of the microstructure
- It does not distinguish between collocations, idioms and examples and it does not give them separately at the end of the entry. This is exhausting for the user, especially in those long entries when the user must read to the end of the entry to find the needed information.

We should like to add, in reference to the issue of not separating collocations, idioms, and examples, that this is not typical of Arabic-English dictionaries. Afrikaans-English/ English-
Afrikaans dictionaries have similar problems. According to Gouws’ analysis of these dictionaries, examples ‘are presented and treated in exactly the same way as collocations and multiword lexical items. This system makes it difficult for the user to determine the status of both the source and the target language entries in this article position, and it impedes the optimal utilization of the dictionary information’ (1996:59). Gouws adds that ‘by using different typefaces or structural markers the user could be lead to a clear distinction between these two information categories [collocations and idioms]. The article position containing idiomatic expressions could for example be preceded by a structural marker like “IDIOM”’ (1996:59). It is indeed crucial that collocations, idioms, and example sentences receive different types of lexicographical treatment, or are at least separated with the use of appropriate markers or typefaces, as suggested by Gouws.

At the end of this sub-section, it is important to note that the arrangement of entries according to a strict alphabetical order ‘on the one hand, […] could be considered as very advantageous to the user as it does not make any assumptions about the user’s competence. On the other hand, it could be said that the alphabetic order fritters away or consumes too much space’ (Jneid 2007:75). This is mainly because in an alphabetically-arranged dictionary, all forms of a given verb or a noun and any run-ons too might constitute separate headwords. Besides, the alphabetical arrangement does not solve the problem of how to arrange the lexicographic information in an entry. A lack of clear and consistent microstructural patterns remains the most notable issue surrounding Arabic-English lexicography to date. To conclude in Jneid’s words; ‘it could be said that al-Mawrid is a passive dictionary because it accumulates equivalents without providing enough syntactical, morphological information, and meaning
discrimination’ (2007:90-91). There is indeed an obtuse tradition in all three dictionaries of piling equivalents without distinguishing between them in any systematic manner.

5.2.1.5 Critical Remarks on Arabic-English Lexicography

In the light of the present account, one can better understand Hafiz’s claim that Arabic-English dictionaries, such as Al-Mawrid, Elias, and Hans Wehr ‘suffer from more or less the same lexicographic problems’ (1995:406). Indeed despite their differing arrangement patterns, the three dictionaries – which we consider to be the three poles that have marked the development of Arabic-English lexicography from the 1950’s to the present – are characterized by similar problems at the microstructural level.

Three macrostructural patterns were identified in the present account: the root-based macrostructure, the strict alphabetical macrostructure, and the dual macrostructure. Hoogland made a very interesting remark: ‘it is ironic to note that most Western lexicographers tend to retain the tradition of arrangement by root, while Arab lexicographers are tending toward the more ‘Western’ alphabetical arrangement’ (2008:27). We summarize the advantages and disadvantages of each macrostructure in the table below. Note, however, that the choice of one macrostructure or another is the not the only aspect to consider in the evaluation of Arabic-English dictionaries. The editors’ associated microstructural decisions are also important to account for before making assumptions as to the user-friendliness of a given macrostructure for a given category of users. For example, the root-based macrostructure has a number of advantages, as shall be explained below, but the cluttered page layout which presents the lexicographic information en bloc lessens its usefulness.
Table 5.8: An outline of the three major macrostructural patterns in Arabic-English dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. The root-based macrostructure</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advantages</strong></td>
<td><strong>Problems</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Taking the user’s profile into consideration, the root system is the most suitable macrostructure for non-Arabic speaking users. It helps them better understand the Arabic word formation system although they must be competent in Arabic to be able to use Hans Wehr’s root-based dictionary, for instance.</td>
<td>- The absence of roots for: 1. coinages that do not belong to the Arabicized category, 2. loanwords, 3. colloquial words that have entered MSA. These will be automatically arranged alphabetically.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- It preserves the semantic relatedness between the root and the derivations that are presented all together.</td>
<td>- Difficulty in determining the root for users, and for dictionary compilers themselves. The noun 'iq̇aːla ‘dismissal’ can be seen as having three possible roots (qwl, qyl, qll).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- It saves space.</td>
<td>- A root-based dictionary should provide cross references for such cases or examples which could confuse the user or cause him some problems.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2. The strict alphabetical macrostructure</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advantages</strong></td>
<td><strong>Problems</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The strict alphabetical system could be used in active Arabic-English dictionaries for Arab users. Thus, not all words need to be lemmatized, such as broken plural forms, dual and feminine forms. Arab users can dispense with any kind of cross reference system. This would be space-saving.</td>
<td>- The semantic relatedness between the root and the derivatives is lost.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- It takes up more space</td>
<td>- In dictionaries of Semitic languages, the triconsonantal root is considered to be the key for the arrangement of entries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- A root-based dictionary should provide cross references for such cases or examples which could confuse the user or cause him some problems.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. The dual macrostructure</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Advantages</strong></td>
<td><strong>Problems</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The alphabetical arrangement makes it easier to identify Arabic words, in addition to providing information about the root of words.</td>
<td>- The combination of the alphabetic system and the root system can be seen as a contradiction. On the one hand, the compiler assumes the user has the competence to decide the root of some words. On the other hand, the compiler assumes that the user cannot decide the root of other forms (Jneid 2007).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- The dual macrostructure does not involve secondary look ups since users are provided with the Arabic root for every entry word. Once the root is identified, users can look it up following the alphabetical order. All possible derivatives will be listed next to the corresponding Arabic root.</td>
<td>- The dual system consumes space because it necessitates the lemmatization of different forms (such as broken plural forms and feminine forms) resulting in the expansion of the dictionary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- It helps learners of Arabic understand the structure of the Arabic language. Native speakers of Arabic themselves need information about the Arabic roots, as they are not automatically able to identify the root for every Arabic word.</td>
<td>- Hypothetical roots are invented to keep the alphabetical order, which may mislead some learners of Arabic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Certain items can be hard to find. The dual system requires a clear cross-reference system which would help the user quickly find the required information.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our belief is that neither macrostructural choice could be considered a superior option, although the dual system, if adopted with a clear cross reference system could constitute a good choice for English-speaking audiences. At the risk of being repetitive, any macrostructural choice needs to be made in relation to the dictionary’s target audience and purpose. It can be argued that no matter what macrostructure the editor opts for, a systematic fixed arrangement pattern of the lexicographic material within the entries is solely needed in Arabic-English dictionaries. No research or attempts at solving this issue were put forward in prior literature. The reader may recall that a similar issue haunted early Arabic-Arabic dictionaries (chapter 3). In our opinion, an alphabetic ordering of the derivatives is the most user-friendly pattern, since it facilitates the look up process after the root has been successfully identified.

The lack of meaning discrimination is one of the most critical aspects for Arabic-English dictionary users. Meaning discrimination is given in different forms in the dictionaries under investigation. Meaning discriminators are sometimes given in either Arabic or English or in both languages. Meaning discriminators are sometimes given in the form of syntactic information. They are also given in the form of pragmatic information by marking usage; dialectal words, regionalisms, or neologisms. Collocations and idioms, when provided, are used as contextual examples; they provide implicit information about the equivalent. Note, however, that the inclusion of phraseology in Arabic-English dictionaries is unsystematic. The problem can be generalized to most Arabic-foreign language dictionaries. Hoogland chose a small set of collocations and compared their treatment in five bilingual Arabic dictionaries: Baalbaki’s Al-Mawrid: A Modern Arabic-English Dictionary (1988), Wehr’s Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (1979), Krahl Gunther and Gharieb Mohamed’s Arabic-Dutch Dictionary (1984), Al-Kasimi’s Arabic Basic Dictionary (1989), and Daniel Reig’s As-Sabil Arabic-French/ French
"Arabic Dictionary" (1983). Hoogland concludes: ‘the results of this comparison lead us to the conclusion that contemporary well known dictionaries with Arabic as their source language do not contain a considerable number of frequent collocations’ (1993:84). We should not fail to mention the need for devising ‘systematic’ methods that make it easy for users to access collocational information; research on this matter is pending. Arab learners of English, mainly encoding users, need detailed discrimination and more collocational information in the English section.

To worsen matters even further, illustrative sentences are alarmingly scarce. Abu-Ssaydeh’s (1995:19) confirms that the number of illustrative examples provided by Arabic-English dictionaries is negligible. This fact about Arabic-English lexicography compels us to conclude that Arabic-English dictionaries fail to distinguish between example sentences and collocations/ idioms. Example sentences are important in illustrating the meaning of a headword by showing its occurrence in – at least – one of its possible contexts. This calls to mind how illustrative examples were used in Classical Arabic dictionaries to prove that a word or a particular meaning of a word exists in the language. At the risk of being repetitive, Al-Kasimi explains:

the early Arab lexicographers provided quotations from prose and poetry as evidence that the word under discussion was found in the Arabic language, not to illustrate its meaning. That is why those quotations were often explained and commented on. One reason behind that policy is that the pioneers of Arabic lexicography aimed at registering the complete lexicon of the language, and so they had to prove the existence of the numerous rare words listed in their dictionaries. (1983:89-90)

At the same time, Al-Kasimi (1983:90) warns:
illustrative examples should not take the place of semantic analysis. The lexicographer should not ask the user to analyze the illustrative examples and learn from them things which are not stated explicitly in the dictionary. If the user, for instance, is not told whether the verb can take both animate and inanimate objects, then he can look at the illustrative examples to find out.

We suggest that Arabic-English lexicographers introduce ‘numbered’ sense discriminations, in addition to one illustrative sentence for each sense. This ‘simple’ practice will offer users guidance in understanding the different senses inherent within the entry, and will be of great assistance to encoding users. We do insist on assigning numbers to the different senses of a word in order to facilitate the look up process. This practice was fully embraced by Lane (1863) himself, but abandoned in the Arabic-English dictionaries under investigation.

We reported throughout our analysis the different typographical systems used in the three dictionaries under investigation. We next explicate a side by side comparison of the typographical systems adopted by Elias, Hans Wehr, and Baalbaki:
### Table 5.9: List of Typographies in Elias’, Hans Wehr’s and Baalbaki’s dictionaries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Projection of derivations</strong></td>
<td>All derivations projected to the left of the root word.</td>
<td>‘Non-verbal’ derivations projected to the right of the root.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The asterisk (*)</strong></td>
<td>indicates the beginning of the entry except when the headword is an Arabicized or colloquial word.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Decorative brackets {}</strong></td>
<td>include hypothetical Arabic roots created to keep the alphabetical order of the dictionary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The small Circle (ο)</strong></td>
<td>Precedes Arabicized words</td>
<td>precedes newly coined technical terms in the fields of technology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The small triangle (Λ)</strong></td>
<td>- precedes colloquial words (mainly Egyptian) - preceded coinages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The symbol (□)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>precedes those dialect words for which the Arabic spelling suggests a colloquial pronunciation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The dash (–)</strong></td>
<td>used to replace an immediately-preceding headword or derivative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The semi colon (;)</strong></td>
<td>used to separate all English equivalents</td>
<td>Used to separate English equivalents with different meanings.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The comma (,)</strong></td>
<td>Used to separate synonymous English equivalents. Al-Mawrid uses the Arabic symbol for the comma (ِ)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The colon (:)</strong></td>
<td>-used to separate the Arabic headword and its antonym -used to introduce definitions in Arabic (some definitions are one word equivalents)</td>
<td>used to introduce definitions in Arabic (some definitions are one word equivalents)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The period (.)

- used to separate words of different stem forms but different meanings
- sometimes used before antonyms.
- signals the end of a line in the English section.

The vertical stroke (│)

Sometimes used to terminate the definitions under an entry; usually followed by phrases, idioms, or sentences.

Superscripts

Arabic numerals ١, ٢, ٣ used to highlight the polysemy of certain words.

Indicate homonymous roots.

It should be mentioned that no symbols are used to indicate collocations, idioms, figurative usage, and grammatical categories. True, the vertical stroke in Hans Wehr was devised for the purpose of introducing idioms and collocations (i.e., examples), but its use was unsystematic throughout the dictionary. Similarly, different types of font and sizes do not constitute part of the three systems. Bold type and big font, for instance, constitute good typographical choices for the headword. Alternatively, colored fonts can be used to distinguish derivatives from the stem word. Our belief is that the inconsistencies that characterize the use of typographies, in addition to the multifunction a given symbol is assigned largely invalidate the usefulness of these systems. Once again, the cluttered page layout in these dictionaries renders the system even more confusing and difficult to follow.

We do lean toward the systematic use of usage labels that indicate dialectal differences, coinages, or encyclopedic material instead of triangles, rectangles, and circles. We also agree with Heliel (2002) that the confusing system of colons and semicolons should be replaced by numerical or letter systems. Punctuation marks are invalid semantic indicators, in our opinion.
Superscripts used to signal homonymy or polysemy can be very useful in an Arabic-English dictionary for English users. We strongly discourage the use of a dash in place of the entry word or one of its derivatives in order to avoid repetition. The dash can be opaque and confusing to learners. As regards the phonetic treatment of entries, we highly recommend the IPA for Arabic headwords in Arabic-English dictionaries for American learners of Arabic, and the IPA for selected English equivalents (with stress indicators) for Arab users.

The last observation that applies to Arabic lexicography in general concerns the issue of classicisms versus colloquialisms. Elias and Hans Wehr’s position as regards the inclusion of colloquialisms has been made clear, and both authors demonstrate an unflagging enthusiasm about dialect words from different Arab countries, with a focus on Egypt. Al-Mawrid is less enthusiastic about the vernaculars, instead focusing on technical terms including idiosyncratic neologisms in Arabic. Abu-Ssaydeh (1994) interestingly offers a plausible explanation for the differing tendencies toward the inclusion of dialectal words. Abu-Ssaydeh reminds us that Elias’ dictionary was compiled before the proliferation of linguistic regulatory bodies in the Arab world. Owing to the absence of any formal policy to guide his work and under the influence of his own dialect, Elias was left to make his own decisions regarding many of the crucial issues, including the varieties to be used and the size of [the Classical Arabic] component in his dictionary. (1994:25)

As stated in the section devoted to this dictionary, Elias hoped to lay down the basis for the dialect to be used in Arabic-speaking countries, or to be replaced by more correct items derived from MSA. Similarly, Hans Wehr was ‘unaffected by [any] priori position as to what should be included in the dictionary’ (Abu-Ssaydeh 1994:25). Al-Mawrid’s editors, on the other hand, faced with the inefficiency of the language bodies, opt out by creating their own terminology, but
without neglecting the terms suggested by the Arab League Educational Cultural Scientific Organization (ALECSO). This is probably the reason why dialectal words are noticeably rare in Al-Mawrid.

It is our belief that if the editor decides to enter different dialectal or obsolete classical forms in a general Arabic-English dictionary, commentaries are necessary. We should like to state our point using Zgusta’s words:

Most general dictionaries of contemporary languages also contain much other information besides this standard-descriptive layer, such as information about obsolete words not used any more but met in literary works that are still read, or about dialectal expressions, colloquialisms, ‘demotic’ speech, taboo words, etc. This brings in the necessity to differentiate these various types of the standard and non-standard lexical units (usually by labels); since, however, opinions can vastly differ as to what is, e.g., colloquial, what is – or should be – taboo…, the lexicographer’s indications can hardly ever be based on a complete consensus. (2006:193)

Zgusta’s recommendations should be prominently featured in general Arabic dictionaries.

Modern Standard Arabic is a highly pervasive concept that proves difficult to circumscribe. On the one hand, MSA is going through a process of drift in the sense that it has become a form of Arabic in which the written and vernacular manifestations of the language are closely interwoven (Ibrahim 2009). On the other hand, it is characterized by a great regional diversity. Recent sociolinguistic studies have increased an awareness of the gap between the different ‘Arabics’ used in formal contexts throughout the Arab world. A lexicographer working on Arabic needs to be equipped with a socio-cultural awareness in order to respond sensitively to the linguistic/regional distinctions in MSA. This is by no means an easy task even within the framework suggested by Zgusta. The morphological, syntactic, and lexical differences between the Standard varieties spoken in every Arab country make it difficult for the lexicographer to incorporate
‘every’ aspect of the variation in a general dictionary of Arabic. An adequate descriptive grammar of Modern Standard Arabic will, more likely in the long run, promote the idea of compiling a separate dictionary for each Standard variety spoken in the Arab world instead of having one comprehensive dictionary in which it is obviously impossible to systematically indicate the linguistic differences between all varieties.

The present section on Arabic-English dictionaries revealed many important facts about this category of dictionaries, and seems to fit quite well with the conclusions we have reached in the previous chapters. It also offers a foretaste of the state of affairs in English-Arabic lexicography.

5.3 Microstructural Issues in English-Arabic Lexicography

The following section aims at highlighting the difficulties that users of this category of dictionaries are likely to encounter in the reference process. The choice of *The Oxford English-Arabic Dictionary of Current Usage* (henceforth the OEAD 1972) and *Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth: A Modern English-Arabic Dictionary* (2008) is not haphazard. First, the latter is the most recent large-size dictionary available on the market. It is certainly more copious and updated than the Oxford dictionary, as discussed at the beginning of the sub-section devoted to the Al-Mawrid dictionaries. The analysis of a set of entries will give us an entirely new perspective on the microstructural features of modern English-Arabic dictionaries that has not been as yet reported in the literature. The OEAD’s importance, on the other hand, cannot be overlooked despite the lexicographic work having been published in the early 1970’s. The OEAD has the same privileged status in English-Arabic lexicography as does Hans Wehr’s dictionary in Arabic-English lexicography. Haywood calls the OEAD ‘a fitting partner to Wehr’ (1991: 3092). The
OEAD (1972) has never been updated – only one concise edition was published in 1982 – but has continued to serve the needs of English speakers for more than thirty years now. Oxford University Press has recently marketed a new Oxford English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionary: the *Oxford Essential Arabic Dictionary* edited by Raed Al-Jabri (2010). This reference work is a pocket dictionary and its microstructure does not exceed the listing of word for word equivalents, in addition to the pronunciation of both the Arabic and English words.

We will focus on the OEAD (1972) and Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth’s second reprint (2009), both of which represent two important lexicographic works ‘primarily’ intended for English-speaking audiences and Arabic speakers, respectively. We should like to reiterate our first and foremost goal which is to identify the most pertinent microstructural issues to English-Arabic dictionaries, and understand how they compare to those lexicographically-salient issues identified in Arabic-English dictionaries; notably, the lack of sense discriminators, usage labels, and example sentences.

### 5.3.1 Oxford’s and Al-Mawrid’s English-Arabic Dictionaries: Comparative Observations

Let us consider example entries from the OEAD (1972) and compare their treatment in *Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth* (2009) in order to identify problematic areas in English-Arabic dictionaries for non-Arabic and Arabic-speaking users alike.

#### 5.3.1.1 Introductory Remarks on the OEAD’s Microstructure

Consider the entry for ‘affect’ in the OEAD:
In this entry, Doniach, the editor, presents the word’s infrequent connotative meaning first:

- to assume, pretentiously, or for effect; as in: to affect a British accent.
- to assume the character or attitude of; as in: affect a freethinker

The core meaning of the word ‘affect’ (produce an effect on) is presented as numbered sense 2.

In our opinion, following sense orderings for ‘affect’ in monolingual English dictionaries, sense 2 must come first. But even if we follow Doniach’s order, the illustrative phrase ‘affect ignorance’ should have come before the phrase ‘affect a beard’. The latter corresponds to another meaning of the word ‘affect’:

- to use, wear, or adopt by preference; as in: to affect an outrageous costume, or affect a beard.

The phrase ‘affect ignorance’ is translated using the first Arabic equivalent in the list, whereas ‘affect a beard’ is translated with a corresponding idiomatic phrase in Arabic. This is the reason we think ‘affect ignorance’ should have followed the first equivalent directly, whereas ‘affect a
beard’ could have been listed as an additional example or at least marked as ‘literary’.

Alternatively, it could have been mentioned at the end of the entry in addition to other examples that are rendered with Arabic idiomatic expressions. We, accordingly, suggest:

1. affect (produce an effect on): ًَثّثَرَ فيَّ 'aththara fi: 
   e.g.: The news affected him deeply: ًَثّثَرَ فيَهَ الخيَّرَ 'aththara fi:-hi l-khabaru

2. affect (assume): ًَثّثَرَ بِالجِّهَلَّ taza:hara bi-
   e.g.: affect ignorance: ًَثّثَرَ بِالجِّهَلَّ taza:hara bi-l-jahli

3. affect a beard: ًَثّثَرَ بِالحَيَّةَ (idiom) 'aṭlaqa lihyata-hu

This is a much simpler and more straightforward entry, with the most frequent sense first, for both categories of users. Nonetheless, we liked the practice of presenting English sense discriminators (assume, produce an effect, and concern) for the three distinct meanings of the word. The meanings in question were additionally clearly separated using numbers (I, 2, 3); a practice that is more likely to reduce the chance of confusion on the encoding user’s part when identifying corresponding Arabic equivalents for each sense. One wonders why Doniach opts for the Roman numeral ‘I’ instead of ‘1’, especially since the editors uses numbers: 2, 3, etc… The problem English speakers are likely to encounter right at the beginning of the entry is related to the choice of a given Arabic equivalent from the suggested list.

Notice how five equivalents, separated with a comma, are provided next to each other in the first two lines without further distinction:

1. ًَثّثَرَ بِ َتَثَرَ: hara bi-
   ‘pretend with ‘pretend’, ‘affect’

2. ًَثّثَرَ بِ ًَثُثَثَرَ: hara bi-
   ‘pretend with ‘pretend’, ‘affect’
3. 

\textit{tašanna'ā}

\textit{‘assume the attitude of’, ‘pose for effect’}

4. 

\textit{takallafa}

\textit{‘assume the attitude of’, ‘pose for effect’}

5. 

\textit{intaḥala}

\textit{‘assume the character of’}

The last equivalent needs a sense discriminator, such as one of the word’s common collocators: \textit{shakhṣiyya} (usually with personality or character), for instance. This information will help English-speaking users infer that the Arabic word \textit{intaḥala} (5) does not occur on its own, as is the case for words (3) and (4), which can be used intransitively. Equivalent (1) requires the preposition \textit{bi-}, as duly indicated by the editor. Equivalent (2), on the other hand, does not normally require the use of the preposition \textit{bi-} immediately after it.

Equivalent (2) can be used in conformity with the following syntactic patterns:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{yadda'ī: 'anna-hu mari:d}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{he-pretends (imperfect form) that-he sick}
  \end{itemize}
  \item \textit{yadda'ī: al-maraḍ}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{he-pretends (imperfect form) the-sickness}
  \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{‘He affects sickness’}
\end{itemize}

In fact, later in the entry, the editor himself presents an example with equivalent (2) which shows that the preposition \textit{bi-} is not needed right after the verb:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{‘ida'a: 'adama 'ilmi-hi (bi-mawqūt: in ma:)}
  \begin{itemize}
    \item \textit{he-pretend-ed lack knowing-his (with-topic some)}
  \end{itemize}
  \item \textit{he pretended he did not know (about some topic)}
\end{itemize}
It is the Arabic equivalent of ‘know’ that calls for the preposition bi-. Hence, bi- directly follows only equivalent (1): taza:hara bi-. This important syntactic information is reflected in the translation of the English example sentence ‘affect ignorance’:

تاظهر بالجهل أو عدم المعرفة -
taza:hara bi-l-jahli  ‘aw ‘adami al-ma‘rifah
he-pretend-ed with-the-ignorance or lack the-knowledge
‘affect ignorance or lack of knowledge’

As can be seen from the above translation, the Arabic sentence includes a synonym of ‘ignorance’: ‘lack of knowledge’. But will an English-speaking user be able to interpret the Arabic sentence correctly? No; the user will have to break down the sentence into its components as follows:

- تاظهر بالجهل
  taza:hara bi-l-jahli
  ‘affect ignorance’

And:

- تاظهر بعدم المعرفة
  taza:hara bi- ‘adami al-ma‘rifah
  ‘affect lack of knowledge’

Unless the dictionary user is explicitly told/taught how to read similar examples that involve the use of the word ‘aw (or), he/she will not be able to automatically break down such sentences into their components. An English-speaking user might even consider the above example to be one sentence. A better way to help this category of users infer the correct reading can be achieved by using the English word ‘or’ instead of its Arabic counterpart. Another piece of evidence that shows the editor’s insistence on including synonymic information in the Arabic section is the practice of suggesting two translations for the same English example sentence as can be seen in the above figure; for example:
- The news affected him deeply

a. كَانَ لِلنَّبِيِّ عَمِيقًا فِي نَفْسِه

\textit{ka:na li-l-khabari atharun amiq fi nafsi-hi}

there-was for-the-news effect deep in soul-his
‘the news have had a deep impact/effect on him’

b. هَزَّهُ النَّبِيُّ حَزَنًا

\textit{hazza-hu an-naba’u hazzan}

shook-him the-news shaken
‘The news shook him deeply’ or ‘he was deeply moved by the news’

As explained earlier, this example should be first in the entry for ‘affect’, since this sense is current and very frequent. Note that translation (b) is an idiomatic rendering of the English sentence. Therefore, recurrent lexicographic practices characteristic of the OEAD (1972), such as cluttering the text with synonymic information and providing literal and highly idiomatic renderings of the English example sentences, can be taken as a direct reflection of the editor’s rationale for such an approach. Although Doniach explains that the OEAD does not target one specific audience, my opinion is that:

- The OEAD targets a rather ‘advanced’ category of English-speaking learners of Arabic
- It aims at providing alternative expressions for ‘encoding’ users to help them produce native-like discourse either in speech or in writing.

An examination of the typographical system used in the OEAD provides more evidence that the editor assumes the English-speaking category of users (the primary target audience of the OEAD) has, not only a good mastery of grammatical principles, but also the requisite dictionary skills. In order to illustrate how this is so, it is important to highlight the use of punctuation marks in the OEAD.
5.3.1.2 Typography in the Microstructure: *Commas and Semicolons*

To begin with, the comma (,) always appears after the English headword or any suffix that is normally attached to it, and the corresponding/ resulting parts of speech. Doniach systematically indicates whether the English verb is transitive or intransitive:

- **endow, v.t.**
- **enlarge, v.t. (-ment, n.)**

Arabic commas (،), on the other hand, appear systematically in the Arabic section, and are used to separate the set of Arabic equivalents the editor suggests:

- **reduce, v.t. I. (decrease, bring down)**

> الخفّض (السرعة) ، قل (النقاط) ، اختصر

khaffada (as-surfa) • gallala (an-nafaqa:t) • 'ikhtasara

reduce/ lower (the-speed) • cut back (expenditures) • shorten

One recurrent problem that was identified in all Arabic-English/ English-Arabic dictionaries has to do with the presentation of the Arabic material. Breaking the lines at random points in the entry article can cause confusion for English-speaking users. In the entry for ‘reduce’, note how the verb *khaffada* (reduce/ lower) and its collocate *as-surfa* (speed) appear on separate lines. Sense discriminators should appear immediately next to the relevant equivalent. This is why we recommend the use of an arrow next to the Arabic material to remind users that the Arabic script reads from right to left. We also suggest the translation of all sense discriminators into English:

- **reduce, v.t.**
  (expenditures) ، قل (خفّض)

or

- **reduce, v.t.**
  1. (speed) ، قل (خفّض)

The explanation suggested next to the verb ‘reduce’: (decrease, bring down) is superfluous and English-speaking users can dispense with it. It is intended for Arabic native speaker users, no
doubt. This is because the editor sets the aim of benefiting all audiences. Preferably, a sense discriminator could have been added next to the verb 'ikhtaṣara (shorten): (an expression or equation, esp. by substitution of one term by another simpler or shorter one).

In fact, part of the inconsistency in the OED (1972), edited by Doniach, lies in the inclusion of sense discriminators for some equivalents but not for others, as can be seen in the entry for ‘reduce’. Generally speaking, however, the use of the two symbols for the comma appears to be systematic throughout the dictionary. It is the function assigned to the Arabic semicolon (؛) that we think is not easy to identify for an average English-speaking dictionary user:

Consider the following examples that illustrate the use of the symbol (؛):

- **free** 3. (costing nothing) مانی؛ دون مقابل

  1. *maja:ni:* (usually in Arabic verbless sentences) ؛

  2. *du:na muqa:bil* (usually after a verb) without charge ‘free of charge’

- **ag/ile**, a. (-ility, n.) رشاقۃ الحركة؛ شیق؛ رشاقة الحركة

  1. *rashi:q* (adjective) ؛

  2. *rashaqat al- ḥarakah* (noun) agility the-movement ‘agility in motion’

- **head/master** (*fem. –mistress*), n. مدير أو ناظر مدرسة؛ ناظرة مدرسة

  1. *mudi:r ’aw na:zir madrasah* ؛
   headmaster or headmaster school ‘headmaster or school headmaster’

  2. *na:zir-at madrasa* headmaster-femininity-f school ‘school headmistress’
Note: the word *naːżir* is a specific term commonly used in Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon. It is used in the MSA spoken in these regions as well. It may be seen as a hyponym of the superordinate word *mudiːr* (director).

The symbol for the Arabic semicolon is used to separate translational equivalents that belong to different parts of speech. In the entries for ‘agile’ and ‘headmaster’, notice the use of the slash (ag/ile, head/master) which indicates the exact boundary at which the suffix should be added to form the noun (ag/-ility), and the feminine form (head/-mistress). No such information is provided for sense 3 of the headword ‘free’, because no suffix addition is involved. The information as presented is not useful for English speakers. Examples are quite basic in this context:

- أكل مجاني
  `'akl majjaːni:
  food free
  ‘free food’

- يحبك دون مقابل
  `yu-ḥibbu-ka duːna muqaːbil
  present tense-love-you without charge
  ‘he loves you and expects nothing in return’

First, syntactically speaking, the two equivalents adhere to two different patterns; verbless and verbal structures, respectively. Semantically speaking, the equivalent دُون مقابل `duːna muqaːbil` (literally, without charge) is used to signal that someone does things out of love. We insist that the sole use of the semicolon to signal grammatical differences between the suggested equivalents is ill-advised. Important lexicographic information should not be left to the user’s discretion; for example, usage labels, such as *adj.*, *adv.*, *fem.*, or *n.*, could be added for English-speaking users in the Arabic section, although we think that it is better to align each part of speech with its corresponding equivalent. Thus, the following line:
- agile, a. (ility, n.) رشيق ؛ رشاقة الحركة

could have been presented explicitly as follows:

- agile, a. رشيق rashiq
- agility, n. رشاقة الحركة rashaqat al-ḥarakah (agility in motion)

Indicating parts of speech for the English words can be very helpful for learners of Arabic. When no examples are provided, such information is precious. We should like to add that further semantic nuances between the suggested equivalents can be better appreciated by English-speaking users through example sentences, as shown earlier in the entry for ‘free’. There is one more lexicographic practice in the OEAD that corroborates our preliminary observations about the audience the dictionary targets; i.e., advanced learners. This is related to the fact that Doniach does not ‘always’ use the set of conventional diacritics to indicate Arabic vowels.

5.3.1.3 Diacritic Marks in the Microstructure: The Importance of the shadda

In the entry for ‘affect’, the only equivalents marked for vowels are (1) and (2). In fact, Doniach’s editorial policy regarding this matter is inconsistent and does not seem to be subject to any clear system. The editor’s policy appears to be systematic only when duplication is involved. An example of duplication in Arabic would be the letter d with the shadda symbol on top of it: َّ، meaning that the letter should be emphasized when pronounced (dd). One of the equivalents in the entry for ‘affect’ تصنع reads: tašanna’a. The shadda symbol is very important to indicate in any bilingual Arabic dictionary whether it is intended for non-native speakers or Arabic speakers, especially when no further co-text is provided. Note that if the shadda were not clearly indicated in the previous word, this would result in confusion on the users’ part:
Hence, the *shadda* symbol is an important means to lexicalize crucial semantic and syntactic information, and should be imperatively indicated in any English-Arabic dictionary. The OEAD always indicates the symbol in question.

We should like to highlight a problem that results from a failure to clearly indicate the small circle-shaped diacritic, known as *suku:n* in Arabic. The small circle on top of a letter means that no vowel follows (vowel deletion). At the end of the entry for ‘affect’ (see above figure), one of the translations suggested for the English sentence reads as follows:

- هذا لا يغنيني
  hadha: la: ya'ni:-ni:
  this not affect-me
  ‘This does not affect me’

The small circle-shaped diacritic on top of the letter ꝏ /f/ gives the impression that it is the letter ꝏ /gh/. The small circle should not be filled with black ink because it can be easily confused with a dot. Dots are found in nearly half the characters of the Arabic alphabet:

- ﺪ /d /
- ﺭ /h /
- ﺰ /s /
- ﺸ /r /
- ﺹ /t (two dots)
- ﻫ /dh /
- ﻙ /kh /
- ﻭ /d /
- ﻘ /z /
- ﻗ /th (three dots)

This important observation was made when we asked an English-speaking learner of Arabic to read through the entry for ‘affect’. The user did not identify the small circle and thought that was the letter ꝏ /gh/ rather than the elided vowel ꝏ /f/. Problems of this type show the importance of
including IPA transcriptions for the Arabic words within the entry article in order to better serve both decoding and encoding Arabic learners. To increase usability, an IPA pronunciation key will then appear in the footer on each page.

We will now examine the treatment of the headword ‘affect’ in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009), since it is even less user-friendly for English-speaking users.

5.3.1.4 Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth: Introductory Remarks

Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth is mainly intended for Arabic native speakers. It is a comprehensive dictionary that includes pictorial illustrations and encyclopedic information. For example, a ninety-page section in color is devoted to biographical names. The dictionary includes a supplement that illustrates parts of the human body in Arabic with an English index. A list of all English irregular verbs, and customary abbreviations used in modern writing and printing forms an essential part of Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth. The fine quality of the paper, the colored pages, and pictures render the dictionary appealing to learners of Arabic. However, as an active encoding dictionary for learners of Arabic, it has many faults. Certain aspects of the dictionary pose challenges for native Arabic speakers themselves.

Consider the following figure:
Not only is the lexicographic information presented differently in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth, but the division of senses itself largely differs from the OEAD. First, the reader should be aware that there is one important difference between the morphological forms of the verbal equivalents suggested in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009) and the OEAD (1972). Baalbaki, the editor, conjugates the Arabic verbs and puts them in their imperfect form which corresponds to the English simple present tense; whereas Doniach presents all equivalents in their base form, which corresponds to the English simple past tense:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth</th>
<th>The OEAD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>يتظاهر ب</td>
<td>تظاهر ب</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya-taza:haru bi-</td>
<td>taza:haru bi-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple present (masculine)-affect preposition bi-</td>
<td>affect (base form) preposition bi-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is recommended that encoding dictionaries intended to help English-speaking users to present the base form. Users will then have to conjugate it depending on the extended context in which the verb occurs. Al-Mawrid does not follow this recommendation.

Characteristic of Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth is the syllabification of the English headwords. All English words are broken down into their component syllables, as signaled by the use of a small dash at the syllable boundaries. The editor does not explain the original purpose of this technique. In accordance with the needs of the Arabic-speaking audience, Baalbaki transcribes the ‘majority’ of headwords and provides an IPA key at the end of all dictionary pages to the user’s right hand. In the above figure, for instance, no transcription is provided for ‘affected’ and ‘affecting’, and only the suffix -ate is transcribed in ‘affectionate’. We suppose the pronunciation of these run-ons is predictable since the root word has already been transcribed. In fact, Baalbaki systematically marks down the syllable on which stress falls in a given word, even when the latter is partly transcribed (affectless: [-’ləs] (adj.)). This is done even though no stress shift is involved.

As far as Arabic vowels are concerned, the corresponding diacritics are not systematically used for all Arabic words. Baalbaki’s policy is unclear as was Doniach’s regarding this issue. One has to admit, however, that – unlike dictionaries for English-speaking learners of Arabic – a dictionary intended for Arabic speakers who are decoding from English to Arabic does not require a systematic indication of all vowels. As explained in the OEAD analysis, it is important to indicate the shadda in any Arabic dictionary, whether monolingual or
bilingual. Baalbaki is clearly aware of this fact, as attested by the systematic practice of indicating the *shadda* on top of letters that involve its use.

What is noticeable in the above figure is that the script used in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth is much smaller than it is in the OEAD. Furthermore, the clutter that characterizes the page layout is analogous to Hans Wehr’s practice of cramming complex lexicographic information within the entry article; thus leaving no option for users but to read through the whole text. Even then, there is no guarantee the user will properly retrieve the information sought, due to the adoption of complex typographies that encode implicit syntactic and semantic information. Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth adopts a typographical system that we judge to be even more complex than Elias’ and Hans Wehr’s systems.

5.3.1.5 Al-Mawrid’s Typographical System

The table below offers a detailed description of all the symbols and punctuation marks used in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009) in comparison with the OEAD (1972):
Table 5.10: Typographies used in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009) and the OEAD (1972)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typographies used in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009)</th>
<th>Typographies used in the OEAD (1972)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The semi colon (;): used in the English section to separate part of speech indicators: affiance (n.; vt.) or break (vt.; i.; n.)</td>
<td>The Comma (,): separates the English headword/ suffix and the abbreviation that indicates the corresponding part of speech: advantage, n. / complex, a. (-ity, n.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Arabic semicolon (↑): used to separate synonymous Arabic equivalents</td>
<td>The Arabic comma (↑): separates Arabic equivalents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The colon (:): introduces definitions in Arabic</td>
<td>The Arabic semicolon (↑): separates the equivalent(s) of the headword and the equivalent(s) of another derived form/part of speech obtained by adding the suffix mentioned between brackets: complex, a. (-ity, n.) equivalents of complex (↑) equivalents of complexity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The section sign (§): separates equivalents for different forms of the same entry word; such as nominal and verbal forms.</td>
<td>A numerical system that begins with the Roman numeral: I, and continues with numbers: 2, 3... : used to separate distinct senses of the headword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The symbol (∞): signals a shift from the transitive form to the intransitive form of the verb and vice versa. e.g.: unlay (vt.; i.)</td>
<td>Arabic numerals in parentheses (↑), (↑), (↑), (↑), etc.: used to separate Arabic equivalents corresponding to distinct senses of the headword.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>× Arabic equivalent of untwist the strands of a rope (↑) Arabic equivalent of untwist (↑)</td>
<td>Arabic letters between guillemets «أ», «ب», etc.: further distinguish senses under a given Arabic numeral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superscripts (↑, 2, ...): used to highlight distinct meanings of the headword; sometimes indicates that the headword belongs to different parts of speech (n., v.).</td>
<td>The red font for some headwords: used to highlight the alphabetical order in the dictionary. For example, a red font is used to indicate the first entry with an initial ‘abr’ cluster: ‘abra’ cadabra’. The next word in red font is the first word with an initial ‘abs’ cluster: ‘abscess’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic numerals in parentheses (↑), (↑), (↑), (↑), etc.: used to separate Arabic equivalents corresponding to distinct senses of the headword.</td>
<td>The tilded (↑) (↑ed, or ↑s): stands for the headword in English example sentences and idioms to avoid repetition.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic letters between guillemets «أ», «ب», etc.: further distinguish senses under a given Arabic numeral.</td>
<td>The angle brackets (&lt; &gt;): include English examples and idioms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The red font for some headwords: used to highlight the alphabetical order in the dictionary. For example, a red font is used to indicate the first entry with an initial ‘abr’ cluster: ‘abra’ cadabra’. The next word in red font is the first word with an initial ‘abs’ cluster: ‘abscess’.</td>
<td>The equal sign (=): a cross-reference symbol: Break-bone fever = dengue; teleprinter = typewriter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The brackets ([ ]): include IPA transcriptions : include definitions in Arabic or sense discriminators.</td>
<td>The brackets ([ ]): include IPA transcriptions : include definitions in Arabic or sense discriminators.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Baalbaki’s system is a paragon of complexity, in the sense that it might be impossible to invent a more complicated system. There are no lexicographic or pedagogic justifications for such a system. The author of the present dissertation, being a native speaker of Arabic, can confirm that a conspicuous identification of the functions served by each symbol can be an extremely challenging task for both the user and the analyst, even a literate and fluent Arab, as shall be demonstrated below. We can only imagine the difficulty a non-native speaker of Arabic would encounter.

We would like to carefully investigate the use of superscripts, bracketed Arabic numerals and the set of Arabic letters between guillemets. Consider the following entry for ‘scuttle’ which we have fully translated into English in order to help the reader understand the entry skeleton:

| Scuttle\(^1\) (n.) | (for coal) bucket (\(^\boldsymbol{\dagger}\)) fuqh (\(^\dagger\)) |
| Scuttle\(^2\) (n.; vt.) | A small opening or hatch with lid in the deck or hull of a ship: \textit{ar-rawzana} (\(^\dagger\)) to sink: and especially, to make a hole in the ship’s hull (\(^\dagger\)) § the lid of \textit{ar-rawzana} (\(^\dagger\)) or in the roof to destroy (\(^\dagger\)) the ship or try to sink it by making a hole |
| Scuttle\(^3\) (n.; vi.) | To run with short hurried movements (\(^\dagger\)) § A hurried run (\(^\dagger\)) |

Figure 5.13: Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth’s entry for ‘Scuttle’ translated into English

The lexicographic information and all typographies were accurately reproduced with the corresponding English translations of the Arabic material. Important to note is that the two Arabic words \textit{fuqh} and \textit{ar-rawzana} are coinages invented by Baalbaki (see section 2.3.1 for a detailed discussion). We were unable to find the two words (with the above meanings) in Arabic-Arabic dictionaries. Furthermore, a group of native speakers of Arabic said they were not familiar with the words in question. The section sign (§) encodes very important syntactic information; it is used to distinguish the equivalents for ‘scuttle’ as noun and as a verb. In our opinion, the problem with this symbol not only lies in the fact that dictionary users might not be able to decipher its function properly, but also that the clutter in the entry article might result in the symbol passing unnoticed. Note also that the brackets include an Arabic sense discriminator:
a bucket [for coal], which is a practice that is more than welcome in English-Arabic dictionaries. It helps the reader understand that it is not any bucket, but a bucket for carrying coal, especially since the meaning of the word *fuqh* cannot be readily guessed. Unfortunately, Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009) does not depart from the Arabic dictionaries examined so far as regards the inconsistency that characterizes the inclusion of sense discriminators for TL equivalents.

Furthermore, in the entry for ‘scuttle’, the three superscripts are used to display the polysemous nature of this word when used as a noun, transitive verb (and its corresponding noun), and intransitive verb (and its corresponding noun). In our opinion, the ordering needs to be: Scuttle $^2$ first, then Scuttle $^1$, but it seems that Baalbaki follows a historical ordering of the senses. Superscripts in this context highlight the semantic structure of the English word; thus clearly distinguishing the set of equivalents (mostly explanatory) that correspond to each sense. Baalbaki includes one page from a previous dictionary, *al-Mawrid al-Akbar* (2005), in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009). The superscripts clearly serve different functions from ordering the senses by either frequency or historical order. Consider the following example:

---

**cheese** $^1$ (*n.*) <Mid. Eng. chese, from Old Eng. cêse, from L. caceus> (bef. 12c) (dairy product)  
**cheese** $^2$ (*v.*) <origin unknown> (stop, put an end to)  
**cheese** $^3$ (*n.*) <perhaps from Urdu *chîz* = thing> (1910) (as in, that car is certainly a cheese, or he is a big cheese in the country).

**Figure 5.14: Etymological information in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009)**

In this example, the use of the superscripts highlights etymological information, which we judge to be of no use for a number of reasons. First, etymology is not systematically added throughout Al-Mawrid editions; second, how can information, such as, ‘origin unknown’ or ‘perhaps...’ be helpful for Arabic speaking users (encoding or decoding)? Al-Mawrid draws its material from a number of monolingual English dictionaries, which explains the occasional addition of etymology. It is our belief that editors of English-Arabic dictionaries should devote more
attention to the design of the entries in which presenting Arabic equivalents, sense discriminators and examples within space constraints is given pride of place.

In the entry for ‘affect’ (see figure 17), the superscripts seem to be used to distinguish the nominal and the verbal forms of the word. Superscripts are not used to display the distinct meanings of the verbal form as was the case in the entry for ‘scuttle’. We translated the relevant part for our discussion as follows:

**af-fect**¹ [af′ěkt; ə fěkt’] (n.) Feeling, emotion, soul and its inner forces (wijda:n)

**affect**² [ə fěkt’] (v.) (1) be fond of (2) pretend (3) imitate (4) attitudinize (5) take the form of (6) tend to [assume a certain appearance/look] (7) choose, prefer (8) become familiar with <swallows that > (9) have an effect on (10) stir emotions

Figure 5.15: The entry for ‘Affect’ in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009) translated into English

We see significant problems with this sense ordering. The most common meaning of ‘affect’: ‘have an effect on’ is listed in the ninth position. Add to this the fact that the editor includes 9 other senses of the verb; some of which are obsolete or literary use only, such as (1) and (6). We were unable to identify senses (7) and (8) in monolingual English dictionaries. Most importantly, how is an Arabic-speaking user of the dictionary supposed to handle ten largely distinct equivalents that are ordered from the less frequent meanings of the headword to its most common meaning (denotative meaning)? Once again we can see how editors of English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries prioritize quantity at the expense of quality, as if they were writing a synonymic dictionary of Arabic. If we follow Baalbaki’s rationale for using superscripts when writing our own entries, we would present the semantic structure of ‘affect’ as follows:
Of course, this is a simplified version of the entry for ‘affect’ that will maximize its usefulness for most Arabic native speaker users. The point is to highlight how the editor does not always adhere to the system he himself devised. Baalbaki’s entry for ‘affect’ (v.) would fit in a thesaurus or a dictionary of Arabic synonyms (plus neologisms) better than a general dictionary.

In the Arabic section, the use of the Arabic numerals and Arabic letters between guillemets is enigmatic, in our opinion. In the dictionary’s front matter (written in Arabic), Baalbaki simply states that he follows the principle of including one or more illustrative examples for each sense under a given Arabic numeral ‘or’ alphabetical letter, without explaining the exact functions these symbols serve. Needless to say that the claim in the front matter of including an example for each sense is far from being true in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009). Let us examine the significance of the Arabic numerals and letters in the entry for ‘affection’ (figure 15.12). The entry is broken down into the parts relevant to the present discussion. Note that the lines were reproduced exactly as they appear in the dictionary:
The word عاطفة a'tifā ‘emotion’ appears twice under sense one (١). A good example that illustrates its meaning in « ب » would be: <mother’s affection>. If we were to rewrite the same entry, we would not include the second word that appears under « ب »: shu‘u:r. The latter constitutes a good equivalent for ‘feeling’ or ‘sentiment’. The word عاطفة a'tifā appears a second time under « ب » next to الوجدان al-wijda:n ‘the soul and its internal forces’. Due to the technical nature of these two words as used by psychologists or philosophers, an explanatory equivalent might have been a better lexicographic choice in this context: any form of mental functioning that involves emotion (psychology). We would say that the Arabic letters between guillemets, as used in the above entry, distinguish literal senses from technical uses of the word ‘affection’. Now, let us consider sense (٤) in the same entry and further examine the symbols under investigation:
First, we should like to draw the reader’s attention to the ‘formal’ presentation of the lexicographic material. We previously referred to the problem of breaking lines in the middle of the Arabic text, mainly between the suggested equivalents for one sense of the English word and the relevant sense discriminators (see discussion on the OEAD). In the above entry, part of the suggested illustrative example: <bodies.> appears in a different line; thus leaving the first part <Shape and weight are of affectional (adj.) bodies. > on the same line. Similarly, in the scanned figure (5.12), we highlighted in bold how English example sentences can be divided into two parts resulting in the interference of the English text with the Arabic material. Breaking the lines in learners’ dictionaries, for either source language or target language speakers, is a practice that we would strongly discourage mainly because the reading direction of both languages differs (from right to left in Arabic). It is
recommended to align the English text with the corresponding Arabic material side by side without breaking the lines. We reiterate our suggestion to include a small arrow that serves as a reminder that the Arabic script reads from right to left. A second option is to present the Arabic text in such a way that it reads from left to right. To go back to the significance of the Arabic letters between guillemets, notice that they are used to separate three different meanings of ‘affection’. We do not agree with the senses suggested for this word, mainly « ۰ » and « چ »: ‘body state’ and ‘specificity/characteristics’. These senses are unknown to us. Even if the sense division suggested by Baalbaki, were founded, how are these senses related and why do they all appear under the same numeral (۰)? It is not clear to us what the Arabic letters are used for under the same numeral.

The examination of a different entry reveals another function assigned to the Arabic letters under a given numeral:

![Figure 5.19: The entry for ‘Break out’ in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009)](image)

We can say that the information presented in this entry can be, a priori, very helpful for encoding English-speakers, since sense discriminators are systematically entered next to each equivalent. Of course, it would be better to translate the sense discriminators between brackets into English in order to better serve this category of users. Arabic speakers, on the hand, do not need this
additional collocational information, but Baalbaki insists on entering detailed lexicographic material under a set of Arabic letters between guillemets under sense (٢), and directly under the Arabic numeral in (٣). Therefore, one can assert that the Arabic letters under a given numeral serve different functions in every entry; thus, it is far from being a user-friendly procedure. The same comment applies to superscripts and Arabic numerals, whose functions overlap in many examples.

It is our belief that the decision to adopt any typographical system when writing an English-Arabic dictionary should be subject to a thorough investigation beforehand in order for the functions assigned to each symbol to be systematic throughout the whole lexicographic work. By no means should there be an overlap in the functions of any selected symbols. Furthermore, English-Arabic lexicographers, in our opinion, should not embark on a meticulous dissection of the different senses of English headwords, then present lists of synonymic Arabic equivalents for every sense. A word as simple as ‘superb’, for example, can be translated into one Arabic word and illustrated with an example. Instead, Baalbaki suggests five equivalents that do not exactly mean the same: luxurious, majestic (or imposing), magnificent, fascinating (in the sense that it seduces), excellent. This entry is problematic, even for native speakers of Arabic who will not be able to understand the meaning of the ‘monosemous’ entry word.

We do recognize this practice to be a highly sophisticated linguistic task that should, however, not be taken to the extreme in dictionaries intended for Arabic-speaking learners of English, and similarly in dictionaries for English-speaking learners of Arabic. These users, in particular, are really hurt by the entry style. Identifying the significance of the different numerals, punctuation marks and other symbols that aim at detailing the semantic structure of a
given word can be very challenging and tiring for decoding and encoding dictionary users in
general. Add to this poor sense discrimination, lack of examples, and unknown neologisms.

The linguistic complexity and/ or cumbersomeness of the systems adopted in English-
Arabic/ Arabic English dictionaries will more likely cause users to turn away from these large-
size dictionaries to pocket dictionaries. In the survey carried out by Benzehra and McCreary
(2010) on the best-selling English-Arabic/ Arabic-dictionaries on Amazon.com, the authors
found that the Arabic Practical Dictionary (English-Arabic/ Arabic-English) by Hippocrene
(2004), for instance, surpasses all large size unidirectional dictionaries investigated so far in the
present dissertation in terms of sales. The Hippocrene Practical Dictionary (2004), with only
18,000 entries, does not offer many Arabic equivalents for the English words, in addition to
offering the IPA pronunciation of Arabic words in the Arabic–English section. This strategy
facilitates the reading of Arabic words. Important to point out here is that the latest Oxford
Arabic dictionary is a bidirectional pocket dictionary (English-Arabic/ Arabic-English): The
Oxford Essential Arabic Dictionary (2010). One wonders whether the compilation of a small-
size bidirectional dictionary came in response to a research-based market demand. In the last
section of this chapter, we present concluding remarks on English-Arabic dictionaries in which
we explain why bidirectional pocket dictionaries might appeal to English-Arabic/Arabic-English
dictionary users, particularly learners of Arabic.

5.3.2 Concluding Remarks on English-Arabic dictionaries

First, we should like to highlight an important fact about the nature of the lexicographic
analysis adopted in the present chapter, and at the same time recognize one limitation of this kind
of analysis that might be subject to criticism.
5.3.2.1 Methodological Considerations

The dissertation’s approach to analyzing the selected English-Arabic dictionaries is based on a purely qualitative methodology. The choice of this type of research is related to one of the work’s primary goals, which is to develop a theoretical framework for the design of future Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries. Qualitative research is theory generating, and has the advantages of in-depth analysis, and the potential to observe a variety of lexicographic aspects in a given dictionary. All the works in English-Arabic lexicography have a common denominator: they are decoding dictionaries useful for reading purposes. Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth’s microstructure in particular contains numerous poorly treated entries; yet one has to recognize the fact that such conclusions, sorely based on qualitative observations, can be criticized for not being amenable to generalizations due to the limited number of entries examined in the previous sections. As a quantitative analysis reviews more cases while seeking patterns, it ensures the validity of the observations emerging from the qualitative analysis, thus improving the reliability of our findings.

Quantifiable methods in dictionary research yield important results that can be put into percentages. The latter will be centered on the two issues of examples and sense discrimination which are central in lexicography, since they are essential for comprehension and production. After examining 605 entries that appear under the letters A, B, D, E, F, I, S, T, U and V in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth, we present some alarming information as regards the percentages of examples and sense discriminators as follows:
Table 5.11: Overall percentages of sense discriminators and examples in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AL-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth (2009)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Overall percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic sense discriminators</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English examples</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that the included examples are never fully translated into Arabic in the OEAD, for instance. What emerges from the above table is that examples and sense discriminators are not utilized to their full extent in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth. It is important to mention, however, that lexicographic information cannot be quantified in exact terms, and this is mainly due to the inconsistencies that characterize all the Arabic dictionaries analyzed in the present work. For example, under the same headword, examples and/or sense discriminators can be used for one or more senses but not for the rest of the word's senses. The analyst is, however, compelled to count such cases as containing extra semantic information. Moreover, if the dictionary is analyzed from the English-speaking users' perspective, not only do the small percentages of examples and sense discriminators pose a problem for them, but the fact that the additional lexicographic information is entirely in Arabic renders Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth useless for this category of users. A comparison of the same information in the OEAD (1972) yields the following results:

Table 5.13: Overall percentages of sense discriminators and examples in the OEAD (1972)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The OEAD (1972)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Overall percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arabic and English sense discriminators</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English examples</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The OEAD (1972) offers more meaning discriminators in both languages; however, there is no clear policy as to the choice of the language in which sense discriminators are written. The editor sometimes suggests them either in Arabic or in English; sometimes they appear in both
languages within the same entry and for the same meaning. This practice points to an inconsistency in the adoption of certain lexicographic techniques. One strong point in the OEAD (1972) is that all English examples are fully translated into Arabic. In some cases more than one translation is offered giving the user a variety of stylistic choices and grammatical structures in which the headword is likely to occur in English in addition to its potential equivalents in Arabic discourse. Nevertheless, as shall be shown in the next section, some translations are highly idiomatic and the headword might not appear in the suggested translations. Equivalent expressions which provide a rendering of the overall meaning rather than a word for word translation are often suggested.

As the above tables demonstrate, sense discriminators and examples are quantifiable, and are thus valuable for an overall assessment of the lexicographic works under investigation. We should like to emphasize, however, that quantitative lexicographic analyses should complement a more qualitative type of analysis that unveils microstructural issues in English-Arabic dictionaries. Indeed, there is a pressing need for a more qualitative approach that consists of a careful analysis of actual entries in order to determine how they can be improved in future works. Chapter 5 of this dissertation is a sample of qualitative research.

5.3.2.2 Limitations and the Future of English-Arabic Lexicography

Now that the reader is familiar with the OEADs’ and Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth’s microstructures, a side-by-side comparison will further demonstrate conspicuous differences between the two dictionaries. We added the treatment of the entry for ‘affect’ as it appears in two bidirectional pocket dictionaries: *The Arabic practical Dictionary* by Hippocrene (2004) and *The Oxford Essential Arabic Dictionary* (2010):
Note that the only dictionary that offers IPA transcriptions for the Arabic words is *The Arabic Practical Dictionary* (2004) by Hippocrene. We added our own transcription for the equivalents suggested in the Oxford Essential (2010).

We will restrict ourselves to giving the typical failings in these dictionary entries which may stand as an archetype of the wide lexicographic practices in English-Arabic dictionaries. At
first glance, the Hippocrene (2004) and the Oxford Essential (2010) dictionaries would certainly be appealing to any dictionary user, because they both offer direct access to the equivalents. No superfluous material in the form of etymology, lexical definitions, or encyclopedic information is included. In the entry for ‘affection’, Hippocrene offers two ‘quasi-synonymous’ equivalents (love and affection), whereas the Oxford dictionary suggests one equivalent and distinguishes between its singular and plural forms. Hippocrene suggests the corresponding equivalent for one sense of ‘affect’: have an effect on. Secondary senses are disregarded in the two pocket dictionaries. Surprisingly, however, the Oxford Essential ‘wrongly’ marks down the vowels for the Arabic verb. The Arabic word spelled as it is, i.e., yu-’thiru instead of yu-’aththiru, means to ‘prefer or favor somebody in place of oneself’; i.e., this is a totally distinct lexeme. This is a serious lexical error that will result in comprehension and production mistakes on the users’ part. The practice of including phonetic transcriptions of the Arabic words in the Hippocrene dictionary should be encouraged in all dictionaries for English speakers. Additionally, all vowels should be indicated on top of all Arabic letters to leave no room for mistake or doubt.

It is one of the deadly sins of lexicography in bidirectional pocket dictionaries to provide lists of equivalents and accompanying synonyms without meaning discriminators. Large size English-Arabic dictionaries, such as the OEAD and Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth, commit the same sin in this regard. The user of these dictionaries is obliged to guess at the correct equivalent or to investigate further in other sources of information which is a time-consuming activity and in practice difficult for beginning/intermediate learners of Arabic particularly. All dictionaries – except the Oxford Essential which restricts itself to providing only one equivalent – present a list of equivalents to the meaning of the lemma, sometimes in addition to a couple of ‘quasi-synonyms’, and provide only limited or no guidance on how to pick one equivalent/synonym or
the other. Even when examples are included in the OEAD, they appear to be problematic as shown previously in the discussion. The editor could have included only one translation for each English sentence, particularly one that enables the user to recognize the grammatical usage of a given equivalent. Any idiomatic renderings of the suggested English sentences must be entered separately at the end of the entry with proper usage labels (idiom.) or (figurative.). The idiomatic renderings do not always presuppose the use of the listed equivalents. For example, the verb ‘affect’ in the example sentence suggested by the OEAD: the news affected him deeply, is translated into a noun ‘…had an effect…’, and it does not appear in the second idiomatic expression suggested in the same entry. The Arabic equivalents suggested for this sense of ‘affect’ (produce an effect on) are not used in the translation of the suggested example. Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth, on the other hand, rarely translates the suggested English example sentences. Usually, only the headword is translated, but not the rest of the sentence.

Exemplification itself is not given pride of place in this dictionary. Baalbaki oftentimes engages in lengthy, unnecessary, explanations of the suggested Arabic equivalents. For example, the editor suggests al-فتير as an equivalent for the English entryword ‘breakfast’, then adds an unnecessary explanation: ‘the food of the morning’. The same practice was identified for ‘Englishwoman’; the Arabic explanation reads as follows: a woman whose nationality or origin is English. We do think that explanations are crucial for neologisms that can pose comprehension challenges for dictionary users, but the editor’s policy as regards the treatment of his own lexical inventions is inconsistent in the sense that explanations do not always accompany the neologism.

Compared to the OEAD which abounds in examples Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth does a poor job in terms of exemplification. If we consider page 397 in Al-Mawrid Al-Hadeeth, there are only 5 examples for 58 lemmas under the letter ‘e’, none of which is ‘fully’ translated into Arabic.
Generally speaking, the above dictionary entries do not afford the user the necessary assistance in finding the proper equivalent with any certainty. The lack of systematicity in entering sense discriminators is a frequent problem which all English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries suffer. The use of a comma or a semicolon between different meanings is not enough. The presence of characteristic collocations alone would flesh out certain concepts for easier and more complete comprehension. But ample collocational information is often overlooked in the dictionaries under investigation. It can be argued that the entries can be useful, although cumbersome, to Arabic speakers in the passive function of the dictionaries, while they fail in their active function. In fact, the weaknesses identified in English-Arabic dictionaries are largely due to the fact that their respective editors refuse to fully acknowledge one proper purpose and one specific audience for their works (see section 5.1). An appropriate limitation of purpose that primarily accounts for the type of activity (i.e. reading comprehension, writing or translation) is a must in furthering the development of the field of English-Arabic lexicography.

The English-Arabic language pair requires four bilingual dictionaries (two each for encoding and for decoding). An active dictionary, for example, should provide maximum morphological and syntactic information about the equivalents in addition to providing consequent information and meaning discrimination for all equivalents. We would also argue that not all shades of meaning for different senses should be displayed in a dictionary that targets learners, especially beginners, of either language.

An ideal bilingual dictionary developed along the lines of pedagogical lexicography prioritizes the inclusion of a few senses clearly distinguished and exemplified rather than the inclusion of a long list of Arabic synonyms for every possible meaning of the lemma with no further distinctions. Moreover, entries in a pedagogical dictionary should be written in
accordance with a realistic assessment of the users’ dictionary skills. The selection of the
linguistic material and its presentation should take into account the user’s level of proficiency,
although we think that when pairing up Arabic with any language, no assumptions as to the
users’ level should be made. The readers of the present work must have now become fully aware
of the inherent complexities of the Arabic language, which can be challenging for Arabic
speakers themselves. English-Arabic dictionaries need to be designed with the aim of assisting
users in making the necessary comparisons between both languages.

English-Arabic/ Arabic- English lexicographers are well advised to get rid of the complex
typographical systems adopted in their works and present the lexicographic information as
explicitly as possible without leaving the choice of one equivalent or the other to the user’s
inadequate educated guess. The focus in the English-Arabic dictionaries examined in this section
is clearly geared towards the headword, for which a selection of undefined, syntagmatically
insufficiently described equivalents is suggested. Accordingly, English-Arabic dictionaries join
their Arabic-English counterparts in being passive dictionaries, mostly helpful in reading
comprehension. They are hardly able to close the gap to the pedagogical decoding or encoding
dictionary needed by the beginning or intermediate learner. The need for pedagogical English-
Arabic/ Arabic dictionaries is most pressing and most urgent. Truly generative English-Arabic/
Arabic-English reference aids can be declared non-existent.

In the present chapter, we have proposed, as compared to a number of entries in the
dictionaries under investigation, a set of suggestions on how to write better entries. The most
important reflection about lines of future research is that metalexicographers should focus on the
design of ‘grammar codes’ which can provide explicit information about the characteristics of an
Arabic equivalent/lemma. Of course, any information of this type should always be illustrated
with an example. The present work, besides offering a factual description of the field of our interest, has opened our eyes to the necessity of devoting most of our attention to developing a notational system in which transparent and easily-retrievable semantic and syntactic information about the Arabic headwords (in an Arabic-English dictionary) or Arabic equivalents (in an English-Arabic dictionary) will be encoded. We should like to add that more research on the acquisition of the Arabic language itself will foster the lexicographer’s deep understanding of the demands of English-speaking dictionary users, which will serve as principles that will guide him/her in presenting the lexicographic material while always taking into account the limited reference skills of users.
CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In the last chapter, we summarize the core chapters of this work and present our most important observations with respect to the issues therein discussed. In the summaries are embedded our reflections on the future of English-Arabic lexicography and the Arabic language, in addition to possible avenues for future research.

6.1 Will Traditions in Arabic lexicography Continue to Influence Lexicographic Practices for Bilingual Arabic Dictionaries?

In chapter two, we introduced the reader to the traditionalist attitudes that have governed the perception of the Arabic language, and have subsequently had an effect on Arabic lexicography. Lexicographers working on Arabic succumbed to the widespread unwarranted prejudices about the emergent varieties of Arabic – mainly Arabic vernaculars – and continued to promote the classical/religious orientation of Arabic dictionaries. In fact, Arabic lexicography emerged in the seventh century for religious reasons; dictionaries were first written to preserve Classical Arabic (CA) and explain the rare words which occurred in the Qur’an and the Ḥadith. The main goal of writing Arabic dictionaries was to ensure a better reading and understanding of the vocabularies of the Holy Qur’an and the Hadith literature as well as Arabic poetry. The excessive interest in recording the Arabic of the Bedouin tribes further propagated traditionalism within the Arabic language. A ‘closed’ corpus of the language of the Qur’an, the Ḥadith, pre-Islamic poetry, and Bedouins became the major source of Arabic lexicographic works. The use
of such a corpus, in which any forms departing from the classical variety were rejected for not being ‘purely’ Arabic, fostered the fiction of one homogenous and unified language. A profound aspiration for a single Arab nation contributed to sustaining the dream of linguistic homogeneity.

Variation in Arabic has always existed as attested by the different interpretations of the vocabularies of the Qur’an and the Hadith. The socially-differentiated compartmentalization of the different varieties of Arabic; traditionally referred to as diglossia, can be conceived of as a reflection of the Arabs’ diverse linguistic realizations. Important to note is the valorization of the Standard or high variety, even if it is the subordinate variety (the vernaculars) that serves more everyday functions. It might not be legitimate to accuse English-Arabic/Arabic-English lexicographers of ‘completely’ denying the diverse linguistic reality that has always been part of the history of the Arab world. In our opinion, however, lexicographic attempts to subsume the varieties of Arabic (high and low) under the umbrella of ‘MSA’ or ‘Modern Written Arabic’ – as indicated in Chapter 5 – can be seen as an attempt to overshadow this reality. What corroborates this statement is the characteristic absence of usage labels that systematically indicate the ‘functional’ compartmentalization of the different varieties of Arabic. As exemplified in Chapter 5, users are sometimes confronted with a list of ‘quasi-synonymous’ Arabic equivalents that are either obsolete, in the sense that they are restricted to Qur’anic or more literary usages, or belong to different regional vernaculars. The correlation between the terms and their respective linguistic features and social properties is simply lost in bilingual Arabic dictionaries. We insist that Arabic entries/ equivalents in bilingual Arabic dictionaries intended for non-Arabic speakers should be treated from a multifunctional perspective in the sense that lexicographers should systematically indicate the functional specialization of one term or the other (literary usage, dialectal (Levantine, Maghribi…), MSA).
Chapter 3, in which seminal Arabic dictionaries published during medieval and modern times were examined, further enlightens us on the overlap between CA, MSA and the vernaculars in English-Arabic dictionaries. The practice of listing synonyms for the lemmas in Arabic-English dictionaries, and synonymous equivalents in English-Arabic dictionaries from any variety of Arabic seems to fit quite well within the practice of writing early Arabic dictionaries. The bilingual dictionaries examined in the present work can be seen as synonymic dictionaries or bilingual thesauri that aim at a comprehensive listing of all Arabic lexemes. An obsession with recording all possible Arabic roots; with the ‘unstated’ aim of offering ways to recognize non-Arabic roots, has long prevailed in monolingual Arabic lexicography. Moreover, the parallel between early lexicographic works and modern English-Arabic dictionaries lies in the choice of examples. Examples in early Arabic dictionaries were excerpted from literary texts or from the Qur’an, and aimed at proving the bare existence of words rather than illustrating their meaning, collocational behavior, and syntactic patterns. Similarly, examples in English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries, when they exist, are confirmatory (confirming that the word exists in Arabic or is a purely Arabic word) rather than illustrative. The dictionaries examined in Chapter 5 offer little by way of concrete exemplification. Currently, exemplification is a major weakness with English-Arabic/Arabic-English dictionaries. Therefore, we assert that the approach to writing early Arabic-Arabic dictionaries and their immediate bilingual successors has not been reconsidered in the writing of modern Arabic dictionaries. Moreover, medieval Arabic lexicography exerted a great deal of influence over modern English-Arabic dictionaries as regards the arrangement of derivations under a given root.

While being concerned with the problem of how to arrange roots, the quality and length of roots, lexicographers working on Arabic forgot to devise methods as regards the tabulation of
the various derivations of a given root. One common criticism of all Arabic dictionaries – to the present – is the lack of a consistent sequence for dealing with the various derivations, whether nominal or verbal, from any given root. Chapter 5 clearly illustrates how this problem remains unsolved in the Arabic-English dictionaries under scrutiny. However sophisticated, the typographical systems implemented in English-Arabic dictionaries do not compensate for the poorly-designed macro- and microstructures.

It is important to explain here that the critical backward glances at the inadequacies of Arabic dictionaries in the present work do not suggest that such works have no intrinsic value within the discipline; they rather draw the researchers’ attention to the importance of exploiting the full dimensions of Arabic lexicography. One possible avenue for research in the metalexicography of Arabic dictionaries, both monolingual and bilingual, is the design of systematic methods or guidelines along which dictionary compilers can present the lexicographic material in a systematic user-friendly manner. Further, the dual arrangement method that combines the root-based order and alphabetical order constitutes the perfect compromise between the mainstream alphabetical word order and the root-based arrangement which is specific to Semitic morphology. Lexicographers working on Arabic are well-advised to consider implementing this type of macrostructure in future Arabic-English dictionaries.

Urgent action is needed to lay the ground for a broader lexicographic platform in which the dependence on monolingual Arabic dictionaries in the presentation of lexicographic information in bilingual Arabic dictionaries is revisited. The semantic structure of a bilingual entry, labeling conventions, and collocations should not always be taken over uncritically and without reflection from Arabic-Arabic dictionaries. We insist that decisions regarding these lexicographic issues should be explained and commented on in the dictionaries’ front matter
instead of being left to the analysts’ mere speculations about the editors’ policies and intentions. A lexicographer writing an Arabic dictionary should be aware of the implications of his work for the entire discipline; s/he is suggesting a theory of semantics in addition to opening up metalexicographical debates that are essential to the development of the discipline.

Most importantly, bilingual Arabic lexicographers should incorporate user needs when writing their dictionaries. This foundation could conspicuously improve the quality of the dictionaries we examined. Elias’, Hans Wehr’, Doniach’s, and Baalbaki’s dictionaries could all be improved if revised from a specific user’s need. Obviously, one dictionary cannot serve all categories of users. Future Arabic-English/English-Arabic dictionaries should not compete in terms of quantity, but in terms of the quality of the lexicographic information they offer. A user-friendly methodology that incorporates detailed considerations of equivalence relations between sememes is essential in languages as different as English and Arabic. Arabic lexicography in this sense calls for research that classifies equivalence relations between lexicographic units in the English-Arabic and Arabic-English pairs. It is our belief that equivalence relations should be posited between the individual meanings of the lemma and the particular meanings of the equivalent word. This approach dissects the meanings of words and their equivalents and establishes equivalence between the sub-meanings of the lemmas and the corresponding sub-meanings of the equivalents. We have seen in Chapter 5, in the attempt to establish equivalence directly between the lemma and its translation equivalents, only partial equivalence is achieved and very important meaning nuances are blurred. The most problematic issue in the field of English-Arabic lexicography to date is translational equivalence. Research on the concept of translational equivalence at the lexical level has aroused particular interest in the metalexicography of English-Arabic dictionaries. As thoroughly demonstrated in Chapter 4, a
lack of sense discrimination combined with unresolved partial equivalence issues leaves the naïve user confused. If equivalence is approached at a much more general level, which is customary in the dictionaries examined in the present work, then meaning identification methods should be reconsidered. Meaning discriminators can be (1) semantic paraphrases, (2) synonyms, (3) antonyms, (4) usage and (5) stylistic labels, (6) grammatical categories, but above all else (7) examples play a crucial role in meaning discrimination. Active dictionaries particularly should systematically include examples for each meaning in the entry in order to better assist encoding (speaking, writing) users. Examples provide further grammatical information about the equivalents and will thus assist active users. American learners of Arabic, using an English-Arabic dictionary for encoding purposes, need more information, usage, dialectal, and stylistic labels and examples that Arabic speakers do not need.

By detaching itself from medieval monolingual Arabic lexicography, bilingual Arabic lexicography will develop towards a more modern discipline.

6.2 Towards a Standardization of the Arabic Vernaculars?

The inclusion of colloquial words in general Standard Arabic dictionaries deserves most of the researchers’ attention. The overlap between words from MSA and a set of vernaculars is not subject to a clear system or an explicitly-stated rationale. As argued in chapter two, it is not clear why lexicographers opt for translational equivalents that belong to different regional vernaculars of Arabic. In the above section, we, tentatively, proposed that this fits within the synonymous orientation of Arabic dictionaries in general. Chapter 4, on the one hand, traces the origin of this practice to early French-Arabic dictionaries. On the other hand, the bulk of studies on translational equivalence issues between Arabic and other foreign languages, as demonstrated in
the same chapter, raised serious terminological issues in the Arabic language that might actually constitute a justification for the dialect-inclusion policy.

Terminological issues in Arabic call to mind Marzari’s alarming words (chapter 3): ‘a language that has been called the wealthiest of all, is today reduced to such a poor state that if an author wants to describe his bedroom he can hardly find the right words’ (2006:30). Even the language academies’ attempts to put forward new ‘standard’ terms for modern concepts are usually denounced by linguists and lexicographers, and the terms in question rarely survive in the actual use of language (Van Mol 2000). The implication of the current terminological issues in Arabic for lexicography is that there are no guidelines for using one method or another for forming new words. It is a matter that is left for the general disposition of the lexicographer/terminologist/author. Faced with numerous lexical gaps in Arabic, the lexicographers’ feeling that they are obliged to coin new terminology has lead to the perpetuation of an individualistic tradition in Arabic lexicography. The immediate result is that Arabic references often do not agree with one another in their treatment of terminology and on the terminology itself. Resorting to colloquial Arabic words is another strategy that has found its place in lexicographic circles. One should recognize that colloquial words are convenient and complete communication vehicles. We have seen how Elias and Hans Wehr, for example, favor Egyptian terms, although they also select words from other Maghribi and Levantine dialects, that clearly define certain English concepts. One obvious advantage of using colloquialisms is that Arabic-speaking users of English-Arabic dictionaries are more likely to identify the English concepts they stand for compared to when they are presented with obsolete words revived for translational equivalence purposes. Native speakers of Arabic are usually not familiar with the revived words and will
need to consult a monolingual Arabic dictionary to understand their meaning which is usually tied to a literary or Qur’anic usage.

While French-Arabic dictionaries clearly bear out the idea that French should be paired up with one Arabic vernacular at a time, English-Arabic dictionaries are still unresolved on this matter. Chapter 5 includes examples of multi-dialectal equivalents, which in some cases were erroneous. The mere fact that the dialectal words that occur in different Arabic dialects correspond to different phonetic realizations calls – at least – for the choice of the closest set of vernaculars to occur in the same dictionary (Levantine Arabic or Gulf Arabic vernaculars, or Maghribi Arabic vernacular). The practice of including colloquial words from different spoken vernaculars simply falls under multiple unsystematic practices that characterize English-Arabic dictionaries. We firmly believe that the colloquial words that can enter a dictionary of MSA are those words (used in formal contexts) that came to constitute an integral part of the MSA of a given Arab country or a number of Arab countries. Studies that delineate such words are, to our knowledge, nonexistent or are rarely carried out only for the purpose of highlighting linguistic variation.

Nonetheless, it is undeniable that, in modern times, the mixed forms and structures in which the written language and the vernaculars are closely enmeshed constitute the essence of MSA. The Arabic language should be seen on a continuum in the sense that the lexical and grammatical domains of CA, MSA, and the vernaculars are not completely separate. The overlap between MSA and the vernaculars particularly has lead to the emergence of a variety that linguists have usually referred to as ‘Educated Spoken Arabic’, without thoroughly investigating its lexical content and grammatical structure. Overall, this contact variety represents the spoken varieties of Arabic as used in formal or official contexts. Native speakers of Arabic tend to
borrow words from their respective dialects in their realization of MSA. The result is that the Modern Standard variety of Arabic, as used in a given Arab country, is colored with different colloquial words, and – although to a lesser extent – grammatical structures. Add to this the different vernacular-associated accents that make it easy to recognize the origin of a given speaker, therefore the origin of the colloquial words.

More research is needed in this area of Arabic linguistics which will directly fall under lexicographic research. It is necessary to investigate the issue of lexical variation in different varieties of Arabic in order to categorize variation. Linguistic forms whose realization is strong and stable in MSA should be identified and systematically included in Arabic dictionaries. A phonetic treatment that illustrates the different realizations of these forms should be considered. At the end of her book on lexical variation in MSA, Ibrahim mentions a humorous example:

An Egyptian professor of Arabic read the following advertisement (fursa littaqbi:l) as a ‘rare opportunity for kissing’ as the newspaper used the word ‘taqbi:l’. The advertisement for the Saudi newspaper had a completely different meaning because the same word ‘taqbi:l’ to the Saudi reader means ‘a rare opportunity to either rent or buy’. (2009:173)

The point is that not only have colloquial words entered the standard lexicon, but there is evidence that the ‘first’ meaning usually associated with a word that belongs to the standard variety can be dialectal, as attested by Ibrahim’s example. Lexical research of this type constitutes the foundation of the ‘nascent area’ of Arabic sociolinguistics. It portrays the construction of new varieties of Arabic that draw on CA, MSA, the dialects and the foreign languages spoken in the respective Arab countries. The manifestation of these varieties is influenced by a wide variety of cognitive and social factors, but the attitudes towards the emergent ‘mixed’ varieties of Arabic are shaped by traditionalist attitudes.
Throughout the present work, we showed how attempts at standardizing Arabic terminology have been carried out in such an unsystematic fashion governed by a sense of caution toward all that is new. We should like to argue in this context that linguistic correctness in the 21st century is not as strong as it was in the past, but ‘moderate’ traditionalism is still the guiding idea for the language movements in the Arab world. Although ‘moderate’, traditionalism enhanced with the fear of a possible takeover of the dialects constitutes a hurdle for advocates for a factual description and proper codification of today’s Arabic language. Meanwhile, the gap between MSA and certain Arabic dialects continues to narrow. While CA and the vernaculars are clearly discernable, MSA remains a pervasive concept. There is no complete uniform grammar of MSA.

The question that imposes itself today: will the Arabic vernaculars ever gain the prestige of the *fusha* (the Standard)? The influence of the vernaculars on the standard variety spoken in any Arabic country is always at work. Nonetheless, it is not clear how the Arabic dialects can become a spoken standard. The only statement that can be asserted here is that the linguistic habits of no one group can be imposed throughout the Arab world. A number of linguists tend to assume that Cairene Arabic, prompted by the media, might as well be a candidate for the position of ‘the standard spoken form of Arabic’. We argue that the norms of Cairene Arabic will never be accepted as applicable to the speech in other Arab countries. The sense of an individual national identity is strong and, undoubtedly, overrides the Arabs’ aspirations to one Arab nation. Thus, the Arabic spoken in a given Arabic country can be seen as an act of political identity.

For religious reasons, mainly the sacred practice of reading the Qur’an by Muslims in the Arab world, it is less likely that the Classical variety will drop out of use in any Arab country. What is more likely, however, is the ‘normalization’ of the subordinate varieties, although vulgar
speech (slang) is automatically stigmatized and *ipso facto* excluded from MSA. The dynamic situation, in the long run, goes hand in hand with the displacement and substitution of one language to the benefit of the other. But only the future will reveal the outcome of the struggle and conflict of this frame, especially that the conflict operates in multi-ethnic settings. Lexicography will certainly be a leading figure as regards the normalization of the MSA-dialect conflict.

Arabic lexicography calls for a transdisciplinary approach that would involve linguists, terminologists, translators, and corpus researchers by highlighting the contributions that one group makes to the other and by opening up new perspectives for both theoretical and practical developments. We have to admit that this goal might not see the light any time soon, but continuous efforts towards this aim will *somehow* come to fruition. One major lesson from the recent revolutions in the Arab world is that breaking the barrier of fear and replacing it with pragmatic optimism leading to change can be achieved. The smooth overthrow of entrenched dictators is an attainable goal, and so is the overthrow of the traditionalist attitudes towards the Arabic language.
REFERENCES


19. Al-Ajmi, Hasham. 2002. Which microstructural features of bilingual dictionaries affect

Yamada, S. and Tono, Y. (Eds.). *Proceedings of Asian Association for Lexicography.*
Meikai University: Asialex, 51–54


22. Al-Ajmi, Hasham. 2008. The effectiveness of EFL dictionary examples in decoding: The

Approach. In: Alhawary, Mohammad T., and Benmamoun, Elabbas (Eds.). *Perspectives
on Arabic Linguistics, XVII-XVIII. Papers from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Annual
Symposia on Arabic Linguistics.* Amsterdam, Netherlands

24. Al-Harbi, L. and Al-Ajmi, Hasham. 2008. Greet with the same or render a better
greeting: Some translational discourse of Gulf-Arabic greetings. *Iranian Journal of
Language Studies* 2(1): 115-146

translation between English and Arabic with special reference to the use of dictionaries.*

seminar on lexicography. Dictionaries and their Users.* University of Exeter Press, 111-118.


http://www.aslib.co.uk.


*Lexicography: Reference works across time, space and languages.* Taylor & Francis, 325-342


DICTIONARIES


