INNOVATIVE ELEMENTS IN THE 19TH CENTURY ARABIC LEXICON

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The *nahḍa* movement, following the thirteenth-eighteenth centuries of cultural isolation and decadence (*ʿaṣr al-inḥiṭāṭ*), may be interpreted as a process of re-evaluation of the Arab cultural heritage. The process has been started by the confrontation of traditional values with those coming from the newly discovered Europe. The study concentrates on the way the Arabic lexicon was being adapted to meet this tremendous cultural challenge.

> . . . But simultaneously with the *nahḍa* movement, a challenge was facing the Arab world as great as it had encountered in the eighth century. Just as, then, the ancient bedouin Arabian culture was being profoundly modified by urbanization and the consequent demand for expression of new modes of thought, so in the nineteenth century the centuries-old Muslim-Arab culture had to face the challenge of European culture and new modes of thought demanding new modes of expression (A.F.L. Beeston 1970: 15).

1. The nineteenth century is a significant turning point in the historical and cultural evolution of the Arab world. It started the era currently known as Arab renaissance or revival (*an-nahḍa al-ʿarabīya*) which might perhaps more truthfully be termed as a national and cultural renaissance of the Arab world. For most of the nineteenth century, however, the inner value of the *nahḍa* movement was not 'the nation' in its modern sense as rather a variously defined conception of 'way of life' (Stetkevych 1970: xvi). In the atmosphere of fading supremacy of the Ottoman Empire, the influence of the European big powers is beginning to be felt also in this part of the world.

The Napoleonic expedition to Egypt (1798-1801), chronologically clearly identifiable as the most powerful stimulus to the Westernization process in the traditional Muslim society, was not the unique and not even the first stimulating force in this process. Sporadic contacts with Europe did occur in certain parts of the Arab world in previous centuries, as well. In the age of the Crusades, the Christian

Maronites of what is now Lebanon were brought into direct contact with the Church of Rome. As co-religionists, the Maronites welcomed the Crusaders. Burchard, a Dominican pilgrim and propagandist, writes in his report, in 1283, about the readiness of Maronites to send to the Holy Land 40 000 volunteers to fight with the Crusaders (Atiya 1938: 161). Somewhat later, Franciscan and Dominican missionaries came to Lebanon and Maronite students were invited to the Vatican. In 1584, the Maronite College (*Collegium Maronitarum*) was founded by the Pope Gregory XIII to facilitate their study in Rome. The most illustrious among its graduates was Joseph Simonius Assemani (Yūsuf Samʿān as-Samʿānī), the well-known Orientalist and the author of the monumental bibliography *Bibliotheca Orientalis* (Atiya 1968: 399).

The Napoleonic expedition to Egypt, however, irrespective of its immediate political consequences, definitively closed the era of the Arab cultural and intellectual Middle Ages and proved to be a powerful impetus to a far-reaching reconceptualization of all basic constituents of the Arab cultural heritage to make it compatible with urgent needs of the modern society. The impact of this historical event, by far exceeding the geographical boundaries of Egypt, initiated systematic contacts of the Arab world with Europe. The process of 'awakening' progressed most rapidly in Egypt and Lebanon owing to a relatively great administrative and partly even political autonomy enjoyed by these countries within the Ottoman Empire.

The three-year presence of the Napoleon's army in Egypt, accompanied by various corps of advisers, engineers, physicians and a number of very various experts and scholars, created in the Egyptians a frustrating awareness of backwardness and inferiority, intermixed with a feeling of distrust and hostility towards the French. The implanted reforms and regulations, leading to the generally understandable positive results in the administration, educational system, sanitary services, etc., were gradually accepted despite the initial defiance and resistance.

Napoleon's attempt to subdue Egypt lead to the confrontation with Britain and ended with the defeat of the French marine at Abukir (1798). The Sublime Port, encouraged by this defeat, sent a military corps against Napoleon under the leadership of Muhammad Ali who, after a series of initial failures, consolidated his power and after the withdrawal of the French army became the absolute ruler of the whole of Egypt (1805-1848). This illustrious ruler understood that there is no other means to face the steadily growing political and cultural influence of the West than a tedious long-term work on balancing Eastern and Western levels of civilization. As an ingenious ruler and a ruthless despot, he set up an ambitious plan to transform Egypt into a modern state of European type. During his long rule, he really succeeded in implementing a good part of his ideas.

The continuous contact of the Egyptians with foreign experts, first with the Italians, later on mainly with the French, stimulated the study of foreign languages and led to intensive translation activities. In order to encourage these activities, in 1835 the Translation School (*Madrasat at-tarǧama*), later renamed the School of Languages (*Madrasat al-'alsun*), was founded. Teachers and gradu-

ates of this school that has survived with some short-term breaks up to our days, largely contributed to the lexical and stylistic modernization of Arabic. Arabic, remodelled in this era, operates nowadays as a unique written standard, mostly known as Modern Standard Arabic (MSA),[1] in the whole Arabophone area. MSA stands very close to the true Classical Arabic, the linguistic medium of the earliest-known orally transmitted pre-Islamic poetry (6th century) as well as that of the Koran (*al-qur'ān;* 7th century). In its general typological characteristics, MSA is substantially identical with this language. This linguistic unity that has no parallel among European languages survives in a substantially unaltered form more than 1,500 years and is one of the determining factors of the present-day system of what is known as Arabic diglossia (*al-izdiwāğīya fī-l-luġa*).

Journalism, especially the daily press service dealing with international, conceptually untraditional events, proved to be one of the most efficient means of the linguistic modernization of the 19th century Arabic. In 1828 the first official Egyptian newspaper, "Egyptian Events" (*al-Waqā'i^c al-miṣrīya*) was founded, followed somewhat later, thanks to the Lebanese immigrants to Egypt, by a number of literally and culturally oriented magazines, such as "Selection" (*al-Muqtaṭaf,* 1885), "The Half-moon" (*al-Hilāl,*), as well as the influential daily "Pyramides" (*al-'Ahrām,* 1876).

The extensive translators' activities had a similar stimulative effect. Large numbers of hastily coined terms found their way into the lexicon only to disappear after an ephemeral existence. At least one example. The term for 'electricity' simultaneously appears in two coinages: Bocthor's neologism *ğāḏibīya* (Bocthor 1828-1829) "attraction, attractiveness, ability of attracting", evidently motivated by the effects of static electricity and, similarly motivated, aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's calque *kahrabā'* (< *kahramān* "amber"). While the first coinage has been finally accepted as a physical term "gravitation", the second is used in the originally proposed meaning.[2]

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[1] In Arabic studies in English, mostly *Modern Written (Standard/Literary) Arabic, Modern Classical Arabic,* less unambiguously, simply *Classical Arabic*; less frequently *Contemporary Arabic* (Ferguson 1959: 1, 3 < Sa'id 1967: 4); Wehr: *heutiges Hocharabisch, Hocharabisch der Gegenwart, Neuhocharabisch, arabische Schriftsprache der Gegenwart*; Lecerf: *néo-arabe, néo-classique;* Monteil: *néo-arabe, arabe moderne*; Baranov: *sovremennyj arabskij literaturnyj jazyk;* in Arabic sources, most frequently *al-^carabīya; al-luġa al-^carabīya, al-luġa al-^carabīya al-fuṣḥā* or, simply, *al-fuṣḥā;* in case of necessity, the attribute of modernity may be expressed by *luġa (^carabīya) ḥadīṯa / mu^cāṣira,* etc. Terminological variation is not exceptional, e.g. Blau (1965) denotes by the term *Modern Arabic* the whole stock of modern colloquial variants of Arabic to distinguish them from Middle and Classical Arabic.

[2] A similar variation of neologisms, in their pre-codification stage, may be observed much more recently, as well. The first attempts at referring to the jet-propulsion, jet engine, jet plane, etc. brought into being several transient terms that have subsequently been rejected, like *mūtūr 'āryāksiyūn* (French: *moteur à réaction*) "jet engine", paralleled by a home-made coinage: *muḥarrik ad-daf^c al-mutaqaṭṭi^c* (lit. 'engine with an intermittent propulsion'). The attribute *naffāṯ,* fem. *naffāṯa,* in the meaning of "reactive, jet" was not definitively accepted before 1944, when the Cairo magazine *al-Muḥtār* (Selection) published an article translated from English:

One of the most illustrious translators of this era was the chancellor of the School of Languages, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī (1801-1873), in the Arab world mainly known as the author of the highly interesting report that might be qualified as a culturally conceived travelbook "Refining gold or a summary description of Paris" (*Taḫlīṣ al-'ibrīz fī talḫīṣ Bārīz*, Būlāq 1834; 2nd ed. 1849; followed by a series of modern editions (Cairo 1905; 1958 /ʿAllām & Lūqā/; 1974 /Ḥiǧāzī/)).

When disregarding medieval Arab geographers and travellers, aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's *Taḫlīṣ* is the first Arab travelbook offering detailed, trustworthy and authentic information about a foreign country. Despite the rhymed prose in its title and some short passages, the book is written in a simple and easily understandable language. Apart from its contribution to the enrichment of the lexical stock of Arabic by numerous neologisms the author had to coin to describe phenomena of an untraditional cultural environment (topography of Paris, manners and customs of its inhabitants, habitation, meals, dressing, divertissements; position of women in the society; sanitary installations and medical care; system of the government, etc.), the work has an invaluable cognitive import.[3]

During his stay in Paris, aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī met several French Orientalists. Relying on the following passage of his report (*Taḫlīṣ* 1834/1905: 71-5), he was greatly

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aṭ-Ṭā'ira an-naffāṭa ṭā'irat al-mustaqbal ("The jet plane is a plane of the future"). The term *ṭā'ira naffāṭa* has been, in this application, almost immediately accepted and the attribute *naffāṭ* was soon generally used in related terms: *muḥarrik naffāṭ* "jet engine", *dafʿ naffāṭ / nafṭī* "jet propulsion". (Šarrūf 1963: 281-298). The adjective *naffāṭ*, derived from the verb *nafaṭ* "to spit, to expire", appears in substantive form in the Koran (113:4): *naffāṭa* "sorceress; woman who spits on the knots (in exercising a form of Arabian witchcraft in which women tie knots in a cord and spit upon them with an imprecation" (Wehr 1979).

[3] Certain generally ackowledged facts were, at that time, unacceptable for the cultural atmosphere in Egypt to such an extent that they were omitted in Ṭahṭāwī's manuscript and we know them only from the secondary sources. Such was the fate of the passage referring to the Copernican cosmology, published by Caussin de Perceval (1833: 245-251) prior to the Egyptian edition of the book: *wa qāla baʿd ʿulamā' al-'ifranǧ 'inna l-qaul bi-dawarān al-'arḍ wa-stidāratihā lā yuḫālif mā waradat bihi l-kutub as-samāwīya wa ḏālika li-'anna l-kutub as-samāwīya qad ḏakarat hāḏihi l-'ašyā' fī maʿriḍ waʿz wa naḥwihi ǧaryan ʿalā mā yaẓhar li-l-ʿāmma lā tadqīqan falsafīyan maṯalan warada fī-š-šarʿ 'anna-llāh taʿālā waqafa š-šams fa-l-murād bi-waqf aš-šams ta'ḫīr ǧiyābihā ʿani-l-'aʿyun wa-hāḏā yaḥṣul bi-tauqīf al-'arḍ . . .* "A European scholar assumed that the assertion of the Earth's orbital motion and its spheric shape does not contradict the Holy Scriptures. It is so because the Scriptures mention these things merely in the form of an admonition, in harmony with what the common people see, with no aim at the scholarly precision. Thus, for instance, it occurs in the Scriptures that God stopped the motion of the Sun just to postpone its disappearance from the sight though, in fact, the same happens by stopping the motion of the Earth." Louca (1988: 332): "Un savant européen a prétendu que l'assertion du mouvement circulaire de la terre et de sa forme arrondie n'est point contraire aux saintes écritures. En effet, dit-il, les Livres saints, parlant de ces choses dans des passages où il s'agissait de donner aux hommes une instruction morale, ont employé des termes conformes à l'apparence des phénomènes et non à l'exactitude scientifique. Ainsi il est dit dans l'Écriture que Dieu arrêta le soleil, cela signifie qu'il retarda le moment où cet astre disparaît aux yeux, effet produit en réalité par la suspension du mouvement de la terre."

impressed by Silvestre de Sacy (1758-1838), one of the founders of modern Arabic studies in Europe:

"The assertion that the foreigners are unable to understand Arabic has no foundation. The conversation I had with one renowned and distinguished Frenchman, well-known in Europe for his knowledge of Oriental languages, especially Arabic and Persian, Mr. Silvestre de Sacy, proves the opposite. He learned Arabic, he says, with the aid of his own intelligence, receptiveness and culture, with no help of a teacher, an exception made perhaps for the very first beginnings. . . . while reading, however, he has a foreign accent and, without a book in hand, he is not able to say a word. When he analyses a sentence, he interprets in a very strange way its words he is unable to pronounce correctly. In spite of considerable difficulties, while speaking Arabic, he has a remarkably deep knowledge about Arabic. . . . The grammar "Valuable Gift for the Study of Arabic" (*at-Tuḥfa as-sanīya fī ʿilm al-ʿarabīya*) is one of his works, too. The author explains here the grammar in a very special method that no one has used before him. Apart from this, he published an anthology of Arabic texts."

Titles of books, translated by aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī and some of his disciples and contemporaries clearly show how enormous was the challenge the Arabic lexicon had to face in the first half of the 19th century.[4]

The modernization movement was not a straightforward process. Towards the end of the nineteenth century many Arab leaders and intellectuals were alarmed by what was perceived by them as deculturalization so that they deemed necessary to undertake a struggle to recapture the sense of identity (Stetkevych 1970: xii). In the domain of language, as a reaction to Western penetration, a renewed interest in Classical, the Golden Age, authors emerged to counterbalance the ideals and activities of the modernizers. In religion, the Islamic revivalists, like Ğamāl ad-Dīn al-Afġānī and Muḥammad ʿAbduh, sought in a revived Islam their de-

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[4] *Kitāb al-'amīr fī ʿilm at-ta'rīḫ wa-s-siyāsa wa-t-tadbīr* > Machiavelli: *Il Principe;* Arabic translation by Rafā'īl Zāḫūr, available only in manuscript form (1823), designed for the personal use of Muḥammad ʿAlī. Recently, there are several modern translations: Nīqūlā Mākiyāvelli: *Kitāb al-'amīr wa-huwa ta'rīḫ al-'imārāt al-ġarbīya fī-l-qurūn al-wusṭā,* translated by Muḥammad Luṭfī Gumʿa, Cairo 1912; *Al-'Amīr,* by Chairī Ḥammād, Bagdad 1988, and others;

Qalā'id al-mafāḫir fī ġarīb ʿawā'id al-'awā'il wa-l-'awāḫir > G.B. Depping: *Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et coutumes des nations,* Paris 1826; by aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, Būlāq 1833;

al-Madā'in an-nafīsa (or *Risālat al-madā'in*) > Ferard: *Traité des mines,* Paris?; by aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, Būlāq 1833;

Rauḍat al-'aḏkiyā' fī ʿilm al-fisiyulūğiyā > Lafarge: *Traité de la physiologie vétérinaire,* Paris?; by Yūsuf Firʿawn, Būlāq 1840;

Naẓm al-la'ālī fī sulūk li-man ḥakama Faransā mina-l-mulūk > ?, Histoire des rois de France, Paris?; by aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, Būlāq?;

Maṭāliʿ šumūs as-sair fī waqā'iʿ Kārolus aṯ-ṯāniya ʿašar > Voltaire: *Histoire de Charles xii,* Paris 1731; by aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, Būlāq 1841, and others (al-Šayyāl 1951: unpaginated statistical tables).

fence against the loss of cultural identity (Stetkevych 1970: xv). In this connection, it is worthwhile noting that the political scene witnessing the linguistic modernization of Arabic radically varied through the century, as well. In 1863 Arabic was declared the sole official language in Egypt, previously this position having been shared with Turkish. After the British occupation of Egypt, in 1882, English took up this position and the struggle for the restitution of Arabic to public life continued into the 20th century (Holes 1995: 36).

2. The work of lexicographers that was also able, in a sense, to follow the lexicographic tradition of the Arab Middle Ages markedly contributed to the modernization of the Arabic lexicon. Ellious Bocthor's[5] French-Arabic dictionary (1828-1829), by the reliability of data, currentness and neatness of arrangement by far surpasses the more voluminous lexicon by F. Cañes (1787), stigmatized by a great number of grammatical and factual errors, anachronisms and lexical inadequacies.[6] By its evident currentness and modernity Bocthor's dictionary contrasts even with the excellent Arabic-Latin lexicon by G. Freytag (1830-1837) and with the monumental Arabic-English lexicon *Maddu-l-Kamoos*, by E.W. Lane (1863-1893; reprint. 1968). The last two lexicons, true masterworks of 19th century European lexicography, are drawing on renowned Classical authors with no aim, however, to contribute to the lexical modernization of the Arabic lexicon. As a matter of fact, Freytag's lexicon is only a rearranged translation of the voluminous lexicon *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* ("The Surrounding Ocean"; the term *al-qāmūs* /from the Greek *ōkeanos*/ is used to denote 'lexicon' for the first time in Arabic) by al-Fīrūzābādī (1326-1414). The lexicon is supplemented with some data from al-Ğawharī's (d. around 1007) *Ṣaḥāḥ* and from J. Golius' Arabic-Latin lexicon (1653). The principal source of Lane's lexicon is the multi-volume dictionary *Tāğ al-ʿarūs* ("The Crown of the Bride"), by Murtaḍā az-Zabīdī (d. 1791), the latter being an alphabetically rearranged commentary on al-Fīrūzābādī's *Qāmūs* (Haywood 1965: 123-126).

Bocthor's dictionary had played an uncommonly important part in the lexical modernization of Arabic. Bilingual dictionaries with Arabic in first place made it

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[5] Ellious Bocthor (1784-1821), a native of the Upper Egypt and Christian Copt, did not conceal his admiration for the French. Having mastered the French language, he worked two years as an interpreter in the occupation administration. He left Egypt together with the withdrawing French army. During ten-years of his stay in Marseille, Bocthor worked on a great French-Arabic lexicon, independent of the medieval Arab lexicographers. Just before his appointment as professor of Colloquial Arabic at the Paris School of Oriental Languages (École des languages orientales), in 1821, he suddenly died, aged 37. Bocthor's two-volume *Dictionnaire français-arabe*, edited and enlarged by the prominent French Arabist Caussin de Perceval, appeared posthumously in 1828-1829.

[6] Cf., e.g., the definition of the entry *sol* "the Sun": *šams*: el principal de los siete planetas, y la antorcha mas brillante de los cielos, que nos alumbra y vivifica ("the most important of all six planets and the most brilliant celestial body on the sky that illuminates us and keeps us alive"); or the definition of *bigamia* "bigamy": *at-tazwīğ aṯ-ṯānī baʿda mā yatarammal ar-rağul* : el segundo matrimonio que se contrae por el que sobrevive á la primera muger ("the second marriage of a widowed man").

possible to ignore, quite simply, culturally untraditional concepts with no Arabic equivalents available. The French-Arabic orientation of Bocthor's dictionary did not permit a similar escape solution and forced the author to seek for or rather to create Arabic equivalents for a great number of lexical units missing in the Arabic lexicons but, nevertheless, constituting an integral part of the lexical stock of modern French. Despite the fact that some of Bocthor's neologisms did not penetrate into the lexicon of MSA, the importance of Bocthor's dictionary is truly invaluable. It is the first successful attempt at breaking through the roughly millennium-old tradition of the medieval Arab lexicography, providing evidence of the vitality of Arabic and its capability for a rapid modernization. This dictionary, especially in its later editions (Paris 1848, 1882; Cairo, Bulaq, complemented by aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's disciple ᶜAbīd Ġallāb /Ibed Gallab in the orthography of that time/, 1864), significantly contributed to the constitution of MSA and to its lexical maturation. To the same goal devoted his life another illustrious personage, the well-known Lebanese encyclopaedist and lexicographer Buṭrus al-Bustānī (1819-1883), the author of the huge and considerably innovated monolingual lexicon *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (Beirut 1869-1870).

Kazimirski's Arabic-French dictionary (Paris 1860) betrays roughly the same source background, even if less methodically exploited, as that of Freytag and Lane. The Egyptian edition (Cairo 1875), largely expanded by Ġallāb, reveals a strong influence of al-Bustānī's *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*. Wahrmund's 'neuarabisch', in fact, utterly Classical, Arabic-German lexicon (Giessen 1898), with only a limited number of isolated and haphazard colloquial additions, also displays a Lane-modelled architecture.

The two aš-Šidyāq brothers, Ṭannūs (d. 1861) and Aḥmad Fāris (d. 1887), living alternatively in Lebanon, Egypt and abroad, also distinguished themselves in the intellectual movement and positively contributed to the lexical and stylistic flexibility of Arabic as a medium of modern society. In Iraq, this movement is mainly associated with the name of Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī (1802-1854), the most prominent personage of a small group of Iraqi activists (Chejne 1969: 126-137).

Different points of view sometimes provoked controversies among the activists struggling for the common cause. The actual problems of journalism and the newspaper Arabic, its lexical and stylistic pre-requisites and perspectives aroused a lengthy and sharp dispute between Nāṣif al-Yāziǧī (1802-1854) and Fāris aš-Šidyāq (Chejne 1969:135).

On the eve of ᶜUrābī's rebellion (1880), intended as the opening of a revolution, a challenging political essay, *al-Kalim aṯ-ṯamān* ('Eight Words') appeared, and may have played a quite significant part in inspiring ᶜUrābī and his fellow relolutionaries. Its author, Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī (d. 1890), called *šaiḫ al-'udabā'*, is generally regarded as one of the pioneers of the Egyptian cultural renaissance of the second half of the nineteenth century (Brugman 1984: 325). In his essay, he presented in a highly challenging and go-ahead way eight most fundamental notions of his days: *'umma, waṭan, ḥukūma, ᶜadl, ẓulm, siyāsa, ḥurrīya*, and *tarbiya* (ibid. 327; cf. also Monteil 1960: 36: H. Pérès 1955: 16).

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The comparison with Bocthor's *Dictionnaire* (1828-1829) offers the following correspondences:

'umma "nation" ~ *"nation* : habitants d'un même pays": *milla, ṭāyifa* ;[7]

waṭan (no specific equivalent that could correspond, as a true *Schlagwort*, to the Arabic *waṭan* or the Latin *patria*, is available in English; less straigthforwardly perhaps "homeland, home country, native land", with undue connotations even "fatherland") ~ *"patrie*: pays, état où l'on est né": *maulid, bilād, mīlād, waṭan*, but in the expression "love of one's native land (*amor patriae*)" ~ "amour de la patrie", the term *waṭan* is used as a unique possible equivalent: *ḥubb, maʿazzat al-waṭan* ;

ḥukūma "government" ~ *"gouvernement* : manière de gouverner": *ḥukūma, ḥukm, tadbīr* ;

ʿadl "justice" ~ *"justice*: vertue morale qui fait que l'on rend à chacun ce qui lui appartient": *istiqāma, ʿadl, ʿadāla, 'inṣāf* ;

ẓulm "injustice, wrongdoing" ~ *"injustice*: manque de justice, violation du droit d'autrui": *maẓlama, ğaur, ẓulm* ;

siyāsa "politics; policy" ~ *"politique*: art de gouverner un état": *siyāsa, ḥukm al-mamālik, tadbīr al-mamālik*; the relative adjective "political" ~ *"politique*: qui concerne le gouvernement d'un état" is already derived from the substantive *siyāsa*: *siyāsī* ;

ḥurrīya "freedom, liberty" ~ *"liberté*: pouvoire de faire ou de ne pas faire, indépendence des commendemens de la volonté d'autrui": *ʿadam at-taʿalluq bi-n-nās, 'iṭlāq*; Marṣafī's term *ḥurrīya*, integrated in the lexicon of MSA, occurs with Bocthor only in the expression "freedom of religion" ~ "liberté de conscience, permission de confesser une religion quelconque": *ḥurrīyat al-'adyān* ;

tarbiya "education" ~ *"éducation*": *tarbiya, 'adab, ta'dīb, tarbāya, ribāya* (?); in the expression "children's education" ~ "éducation des enfans" the recent MSA term is already used: *tarbiyat al-'aṭfāl*.

3. From the number of the 19th century key notions that have become the object of protracted interest of the lexicographers, translators and men of letters, just as of the wide circles of journalists, intellectuals and all sophisticated language users, a rather limited selection will be presented in what follows. Data from Bocthor's *Dictionnaire* (1828-1829), at the starting point, will be confronted with modern MSA equivalents, as well as with the corresponding data from the lexicographical and textual sources of the epoch.

(1) "citizen" (MSA: *muwāṭin*; "citizenship" *muwāṭana*; "civil liberties", "civic, citizenship rights" *ḥuqūq al-muwāṭana*, etc., derived from *waṭan* "homeland, patria*"); the term, in Bocthor's (Bc.) definition, did not lose, as yet, its exclusive relation to the "city": *citoyen*, habitant d'une ville: *baladī, ibn al-balad*; the polysemy of the term *baladī*, however, does not exclude a more straightforward interpretation: "citizen, countryman";

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[7] Phonological and orthographical deviations from the norm of MSA are left uncorrected and the same applies to the archaic French orthography.

(2) also the term denoting "(human) society" underwent a rather complicated evolution (MSA: *muǧtamaʿ*, originally used as *nomen loci* "gathering place, meeting place", cf. E.W. Lane (1863-1893/1968): "a place in which a thing becomes collected, brought together, or the like; or in which things have become so; where they collect themselves, come together, or unite; or in which they are comprised, or contained; a place in which is a collection of things, etc."); Bc.: *société*, assemblage d'hommes unis par la nature et les lois ("society, assembly of men united by the nature and laws"): *ǧamʿīya, iǧtimāʿīya* ; in the adjective "social", presented as a multiword term, Bc.: *social*, qui concerne la société – another term appears covering the same concept: *ǧamāʿa* : *yaḫuṣṣ ǧamāʿat an-nās* ("concerning the society of men").

In al-Bustānī's innovative monolingual lexicon *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (al-Bustānī 1869-1870/1977; Mm in what follows) the concept of "(human) society" is most immediately covered by terms like *ǧumhūr* (*al-ǧumhūr bi-maʿnā l-iǧtimāʿ*); *ǧamhara* (*al-ǧamhara iǧtimāʿ al-ǧumhūr*) and *iǧtimāʿ*. On the other hand, the notion of "social organization" *al-haiʾa al-iǧtimāʿīya* (*hiya-l-ḥāla al-ḥāṣila min iǧtimāʿ qaum lahum ṣawāliḥ yaštarikūn fīhā* "the social organization is a state resulting from the assembly of people with common interests") is already in harmony with the MSA lexicon.

Less ordinarily, the first generations of 19th century translators used to denote the "(human) society" by the term *ǧamʿīya*, e.g. Ḥalīfa Maḥmūd in his translation of Robertson's work *History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth* : *'Itḥāf al-mulūk al-'alibbā' bi-taqaddum al-ǧamʿīyāt fī bilād 'ūrubbā*, with the title in rhymed prose: "The valuable contribution of intelligent kings to the social progress in European countries", Būlāq 1842 (aš-Šayyāl 1951: 220).

It should be noted, however, that already in this early epoch, the term *ǧamʿīya*, in tune with the recent usage, is also used in a narrower sense of "community, group of people, party": Bc.: *société*, compagnie, réunion de personnes: *ǧamāʿa, ǧamʿīya*.

Mm: *al-ǧamʿīya ʿinda-l-muwalladīn ǧamāʿa mina-n-nās muntaẓima 'aw ġair muntaẓima yaǧtamiʿūn li-'aǧl maqṣad muʿayyan* "*al-ǧamʿīya*, with the postclassical authors, denotes an organized or unorganized community of people who unite for the sake of a certain goal".

The archaic term *iǧtimāʿ*, used to denote "society, social organization", may be found also with Ibn Ḥaldūn (d. 1406): *al-iǧtimāʿ al-'insānī ḍarūrī* "social organization of men is inevitable" (*Muq.*, 39).

The modern term *muǧtamaʿ*, in the sense of "human society", retaining also its original meaning of *nomen loci*, appears not before the 1930s (Stetkevych 1970: 25). Nevertheless, the term is not totally unknown to the medieval authors, as it may be corroborated by another passage of Ibn Ḥaldūn's *Muqaddima* (365): *ṯumma-l-muʿtadilūn al-muttaḫidūn li-l-maʿwā qad yatakāṭarūn fī-l-basīṭ al-wāḥid bi-ḥaiṯu yatanākarūn wa-lā yataʿārafūn fa-yaḫšaun ṭurūq baʿḍihim baʿḍan fa-yaḥtāǧūn 'ilā ḥafẓ muǧtamaʿihim bi-'idārat mā' 'aw 'aswār taḥūṭuhum.*

(3) "the state" (MSA: *daula*, in some country names replaced by a more archaic *wilāya*, viz., *al-wilāyāt al-muttaḥida* "USA") may be found in the Bc. lexi-

con (*état*, empire) in its recent MSA form, *daula*, nevertheless, still accompanied with a parallel term *mamlaka* (MSA "kingdom, monarchy"); another Bc. entry – *empire*, domination, monarchy – is translated by *salṭana* (MSA: "sultanate").

In the first half of the 19th century, the concept of "the state" is rendered by the term *ḥukm*, plur. *'aḥkām*, in some Arabic translations. In the latter sense, the term is used by Anṭūn Rafā'īl Zāḫūr, the translator of Machiavelli's *Il Principe* (1513) into Arabic: *'inna kull al-'aḥkām wa kull as-siyādāt tilka-llatī qad malakat wa tamlik sulṭatan ʿalā-n-nās kānat wa-lam tazal 'immā mašyaḫāt wa 'immā 'amīrīyāt* (*al-'Amīr*, the manuscript version of the translation, 1824-25) "All states, all dominions that have had and continue to have power over men were and still are either republics or principalities" (Machiavelli, *The Prince*, Oxford U.P. 1998: 7).

For the sake of comparison, Zāḫūr's text is confronted with several recent Arabic translations and with the Italian original:

Muḥammad Luṭfī Ǧumʿa, translator: *kānat al-ḥukūmāt allatī ḥakamat al-'umam fī-l-'azmān al-ǧābira 'iḥdā iṯnain 'immā ǧumhūrīyāt ʿādila wa 'immā malakīyāt muʿtadila* (Machiavelli, *Kitāb al-'Amīr*, Cairo 1912: 54; aš-Šayyāl 1951: 216);

Ḥayrī Ḥammād, translator: *lā taḫruǧ ǧamīʿ al-ḥukūmāt wa-l-mamālik, allatī ḥakamat al-ǧins al-bašarī fī-l-māḍī 'aw allatī tatawallā ḥukmahu al-'ān, ʿan 'an takūn fī 'aḥad šaklain, 'immā-š-šakl al-ǧumhūrī 'aw aš-šakl al-malakī* (Machiavelli, *al-'Amīr*, Baghdad 1988: 54-55);

Italian version: *Tutti gli stati, tutti i dominii che hanno avuto ed hanno imperio sopra gli uomini, sono stati e sono o republiche o principati* (aš-Šayyāl, 1951: 216; the editor is not indicated).

As it might be inferred from the above quotation, "republic", in the early 19th century translations is denoted by the term *mašyaḫa*. The term *ḥukm*, in the sense of "the state", may be found also with al-Bustānī: *wa-l-ʿāmma tastaʿmil al-ḥukm bi-maʿnā-l-wilāya 'aiḍan* "the common people uses the term *al-ḥukm* also in the sense of *al-wilāya*".

The term *daula* is still more ambiguously defined with al-Bustānī: *wa tuṭlaq ad-daula ʿinda 'arbāb as-siyāsa ʿalā-l-malik wa wuzarā'ihi* "with the politicians, the term *ad-daula* denotes "the king and his ministers". The term *malik*, however, cannot be unambiguously identified with the modern concept of "king" or "monarch": *wa-l-malik ṣāḥib al-mulk wa-man tawallā s-salṭana bi-l-istiʿlā' ʿalā 'umma 'aw qabīla 'aw bilād muṭlaqan 'aw muqayyadatan* "*al-malik* is the possessor of supreme power (*mulk*) and who exercises an absolute or a restricted rule over a nation or a tribe or a country";

(4) "republic" (MSA: *ǧumhūrīya*) has been defined in the Bc. lexicon as *république*, état gouverné par plusieurs ("republic, a state ruled by several /representatives/"): *ǧumhūr, mašyaḫa*; the relative adjective "republican" (Bc.: *républicain*, qui appartient à la république) is derived from a one-word basis: *ǧumhūrī, mašyaḫī*, as against the substantive "republican", covered by multiword terms: *yuḥibb al-mašyaḫa, tābiʿ li-ḥukm al-ǧumhūr* ("one who favours the republic, who relates to the republican rule"); it should be noted that the term *ḥukm al-*

ǧumhūr ("the rule exercised by the public, by the people") already coincides, with Bocthor, with the notion of "democracy".

One of the rare occurrences of the recent term *al-ǧumhūrīya*, in the early 19th century sources, may be found in *aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's* report on the events provoked by the French revolution: *qad ṣaḥḥa bi-t-taǧriba 'anna-l-ǧumhūrīya lā tunāsib bilād al-faransāwīya* (1834/1905: 208) "it was confirmed by the experience that the republic does not suit the French country." Louca (1988: 251): "L'expérience à montré que la république ne convient pas au pays des Français". (See also item (8) below);

(5) "democracy" (MSA: *dimuqrāṭīya*, transliter. *dīmūqrāṭīya, dīmuqrāṭīya* and still other phonological and orthographical variants; unknown to the 19th century lexicographical and textual sources) cannot convincingly be separated from that of "republic":

"democracy": Bc.: *démocratie,* gouvernement populaire ("people's government"): *qiyām al-ǧumhūr bi-l-ḥukm* ("government exercised by the people"); since the multiword terms cannot produce direct derivatives, they further multiply the number of multiword denominations:

"democrat": Bc.: *démocrate,* attaché au gouvernement populaire ("related to the people's government"): *tābiᶜ li-ḥukm al-ǧumhūr* ;

"democratic": Bc.: *démocratique*: *yaḫuṣṣ ḥukm al-ǧumhūr* ("concerning people's government").

(6) Terminological coincidence of the exercise of political power with training, grooming, taking care of horses, characteristic of the Arab Middle Ages,[8] continues, in a sense, also in the 19th century and can be attested in most lexicographical sources:

"politics, policy": Bc.: *politique,* art de gouverner un état ("the art of governing a state"): *siyāsa, tadbīr al-mamālik, ḥukm al-mamālik* ("politics, management of the states, governing the states");

"political": Bc.: *politique,* qui concerne le gouvernement d'un état ("concerning the government of a state"): *siyāsī.*

The term *siyāsa* further occurs in the following Bocthor's entries:

pansage, action de panser un cheval ("grooming of horses"): *siyāsa, tatmīr ḥiṣān* ;

pansement, soin qu'on prend d'un cheval ("grooming, taking care of horses"): *tatmīr, tatmīr al-ḫail, siyāsa* ;

Mm, 440: *sāsa fulān ad-dawābb, yasūsuhā siyāsatan, qāma ᶜalaihā wa rāḍahā wa 'addabahā, wa-s-sulṭān wa-l-wālī ar-raᶜīya, tawallā 'amrahā wa 'aḥsana n-naẓar 'ilaihā* "tending the beasts, taking care of them and training them, and the ruler in relation to the subjects, managing their affairs and taking care of them in the best possible way";

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[8] The root **s-w-s*, associated with the modern term for "politics, policy", in medieval Arabic coinciding with the notion of "horse grooming; beast training or taming, etc.", left some traces of this coincidence also in the MSA lexicon, viz. *sā'is* "stableman, groom".

Mm, ibid..: *as-siyāsa al-madanīya, tadbīr al-maᶜāš ᶜalā-l-ᶜumūm ᶜalā sanan al-ᶜadl wa-l-istiqāma* "*as-siyāsa* is civilization, in general, it is the management of the means of subsistence according to the principles of justice and equality."

E.W. Lane (1863-74/1968): *sāsa d-dawābb siyāsatan* "he managed, or tended the beasts (*qāma ᶜalaihā*) and trained them"; . . . *sāsa r-raᶜīya* "he ruled, or governed the subjects; presided over their affairs as a commander, or governor, or the like" (vol. iv, 1465); etc.;

(7) "political economy" (MSA: *al-iqtiṣād as-siyāsī*), in the 19th century usage, mostly coincides with terms used for "politics":

Bc.: *économie politique*: *tadbīr al-mamlaka* (lit.: "management of the state");[9]

(8) Lexical means used to denote the notion of "revolution" (MSA: *taura*) display a rather lengthy evolution, too. Owing to the bloody events in France and their aftermath, the set of tentative terms denoting "revolution" became quite current in the 19th century newspaper Arabic.

Rifāᶜa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī (1834/1905: 197) refers to the Great French Revolution as *fitna* : *wa-qad sabaqa l-firansāwīya 'annahum qāmū sanata 1790 wa ḥakamū ᶜalā malikihim wa zauǧatihi bi-l-qatl, ṯumma ṣanaᶜū ǧumhūrīya wa 'aḥraǧū l-ᶜaila s-sulṭānīya al-musammāh al-Burbōn min madīnat Bārīs wa 'ašharūhum miṯl al-'aᶜdā'; wa-lā zālat al-fitna bāqiyat al-'aṯr 'ilā sanat 1810, ṯumma tasalṭana Bonaparte al-musammā Napoleon wa talaqqaba bi-sulṭān salāṭīn* "The French revolted already in 1790 and sentenced their king and his wife to death, then they constituted the republic and expelled the royal family, the Bourbons, from Paris and proclaimed its members enemies. Repercussions of this revolution (*al-fitna*, MSA: revolt, riot) continued until 1810. Then Bonaparte, named Napoleon, came to power and adopted the title of emperor." [10]

With his neologism *ǧumhūrīya*, aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī outran his contemporaries by several decades.[11]

The verb "to rise, to revolt", in the context of revolutionary events 1790, tends to be translated as *qāma*, which offered the 19th century lexicographers and journalists a number of significant derivatives:

"revolutionary" (MSA: *taurī, taurawī*): Bc.: *révolutionnaire, de la révolution*: *yaḫuṣṣ taġyīr al-ḥukm, qaumī* ("concerning the revolution" (lit.: "the change of government"));

"revolutionary" (MSA: *taurī*, plur. *tuwwār; taurawī*): Bc.: *révolutionnaire*, qui est partisan d'une révolution: *min 'aṣḥāb taġyīr al-ḥukm, min 'aṣḥāb al-qauma* ("revolutionary, a supporter, advocate of revolution");

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[9] The importance of this term for the social and political scene of that epoch is confirmed also by Cañes (1787): *gobierno* ("government"): *tadbīr* ; *gobernador* ("ruler"): *mudabbir.*

[10] Bc. "guillotine": *guillotine,* machine pour trancher la tête – associated with the idea of the French revolution – is tentatively denoted by the term *miḫraṭa* (MSA: "(turning) lathe") that cannot be attested in the 19th century sources.

[11] Bc.: *ǧumhūr, mašyaḫa;* Mm: *al-ḥukm al-ǧumhūrī; ǧumhūrī* also used in the sense of "vulgar": *al-'alfāẓ al-ǧumhūrīja* "vulgar expressions"; Kazimirski/Gallāb (1875): *ǧumhūr,* etc.

"revolution"(MSA: *ṯaura*) : Bc.: *révolution,* changement dans les choses du monde ("the change in the world's affairs") is devoid of the *qāma*-derived verbal abstract *qauma,* viz. *inqilāb, taqallub, taġyīr;* nevertheless, when taking into account the previous two entries, the term *qauma* has, no doubt, to be added to the set of the early tentative coinages, all the more so that it can further operate as a basis for the relative adjective *qaumī*;

It is worthwhile noting that the recent MSA term *ṯaura* is not unknown to Bocthor, it is used, however, with a quite different meaning:

Bc.: *explosion,* éclat ("explosion, flash"): *ṯalqa, ṯaura*;

Bc.: *détonation,* inflammation subite avec éclat ("detonation, unexpected inflammation accompanied with a flash"): *ṯaura*;

Mm, 87: the verb *ṯāra* with the verb *hāǧa* : *ṯāra ṯā'iruhu 'ay hāǧa ġaḍabuhu* ("he flew into a rage, he flared up") and the substantive is rather unusually translated as "many, much, lot of": *aṯ-ṯaura al-kaṯīr* "*aṯ-ṯaura* means *many, much*": *ṯaurat māl wa riǧāl* "lot of money, many men".

(9) Even the 19th century diplomacy is hesitatingly looking for its terminological rendering:

"diplomacy" (MSA: *diblōmāsīya;* translit. *diblūmāsīya*[12]): Bc.: *diplomatie,* science des rapports, des intérêts de puissance à puissance ("science of the relations, interests between powers"): *ʿilm istilāḥāt al-mamālik baina baʿḍihā.*

As in many other cases, a multiword term stimulates the occurrence of similar descriptive coinages:

"diplomatic" (MSA: *diblōmāsī*): Bc.: *diplomatique*: *yaḥuṣṣ istilāḥāt al-mamālik baina baʿḍihā* ("concerning mutual relations between states");

"diplomatic corps" (MSA: *as-silk as-siyāsī, al-hai'a ad-diblōmāsīya*): Bc.: *le corps diplomatique, les ambassadeurs*: *wukalā al-mamālik* ("/accredited/ representatives of the states").

(10) Aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's description of the French parliamentary system (1834/1905: 79) operates with terms too specifically reflecting the French political reality of the epoch to enter the Arabic lexicon or to stimulate the emergence of usable coinages: . . . *'aṣl al-qūwa fī tadbīr al-mamlaka li-malik Faransā ṯumma li-ǧamāʿat 'ahl Chambre des pairs . . . yaʿnī dīwān al-bēr, 'ay 'ahl al-mašūra al-'ūlā, ṯumma li-dīwān rusul al-ʿamālāt* "the essential power in governing the state belongs to the king of France, then to the members the House of Lords . . . that is *dīwān al-bēr,* i.e., members of the first consultative /body/, then to the members of the House of Representatives (liter.: House of Provincial Representatives)."

The French translation by Anouar Louca (1988: 132): "Le pouvoir fondamental dans le gouvernement appartient au roi de France, en second lieu aux membres de

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[12] A patently negative attitude of the 20th century innovators and language codificators towards lexical borrowings is reflected in a series of unsuccessful one-word coinages having to replace these loanwords, viz., e.g., al-Karmalī's neologism (Syrian Academy of Sciences) *ʿihāda* "diplomacy", derived from *ʿahd* "pact, treaty", modelled on the pattern *fiʿāla* generating terms with the general meaning of "profession" or "trade" (Hamzaoui 1965: 63).

la Chambre des pairs – ce qui signifie le divan des pairs, soit les gens de la première consultation –, ensuite au divan des députés."

That is, in approximate correspondences:
dīwān al-bēr: le divan des pairs, Chambre des pairs (Louca), House of Lords;
dīwān rusul al ͨamālāt : le divan des députés (Louca), House of Representatives.

The institution of *parliament* in a more general terminological representation:
"parliament" (MSA: *al-barlamān, maǧlis (al-'umma /aš-ša ͨb) an-nuwwāb*, and a number of other regionally and notionally differentiated terms [13]):

Bc.: *parlement,* assemblée des grands de l'état pour juger une affaire considérable ("assembly of the prominent representatives of a state gathered to pass judgement on an important affair"): *dīwān 'a ͨyān ad-daula* ;

Bc.: *parlement,* assemblée de pairs et de députés en Angleterre ("assembly of lords and representatives in England"): *dīwān al-'umarā wa wukalā aš-ša ͨb* [14] ("assembly of lords and people's representatives", i.e. "House of Lords and House of Representatives");

Mm, 301: *ad-dīwān* : *wa yuṭlaq ad-dīwān 'aiḍan ͨalā maǧlis al-wālī alladī yuǧtama ͨ fīhi li-l-mufāwaḍa fī-l-'umūr as-siyāsīya* "By *dīwān* is designed also the council of the ruler where one gathers for consultation on political affairs";

Mm, ibid.: *ad-dīwān* : *wa rubbamā 'uṭliqa d-dīwān ͨalā kull maǧlis yuǧtama ͨ fīhi li-'iqāmat al-maṣāliḥ 'aw li-n-naẓar fīhā* "By *dīwān* one frequently denotes any congregation where one gathers to put in order (people's) affairs or to estimate them".

(11) In the cultural and economic conditions of the 19th century Arab world *industry* is not yet crearly separated from crafts and craftsmanship, neither from an institutional nor a terminological point of view. The recent term for "industry" denoting "the commercial production and sale of goods and services" (Webster's II: 1984 (MSA: *ṣinā ͨa*)), appears in several Bocthor's entries, most frequently interpreted as "skill, art, creative method, craft, etc.":

Bc.: *industrie,* adresse à savoir faire, travail ("skill, work"): *ṣinā ͨa, šaṭāra, ma ͨrifa, ḥirfa, kadd* ;

Bc.: *métier,* profession ("craft, profession"): *ḥirfa, ṣan ͨa, ṣinā ͨa, kār, mihna;* proverb: un métier est un préservatif contre la misère ("a craft is a protection from poverty"): *ṣinā ͨa fī-l-yad 'amāna mina-l-faqr* ;

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[13] A number of apparently fully established lexical borrowings tend, up to our days, to provoke discussions about their suitability for the Arabic lexicon and, what has an even more negative impact on the process of linguistic modernization, they incite the production of alternative, mostly unsuccessful coinages as those proposed by Maḥmūd Taimūr (d. 1973), leading Egyptian novelist and dramatist, and member of the Cairo Academy of Arabic Language: *ḥaẓīra* (lit.: 'enclosure', 'sheepfold'), for *garāž* ("garage"); *dār an-niyāba* (lit.: 'house of representatives') instead of *al-barlamān* ("parliament"), etc. (Taimūr 1956: 124-125).

[14] see note 7.

Bc.: *art,* méthode pour faire un ouvrage selon certaines règles ("art, creative method, way of producing a piece of work according to certain rules"): *fann, ṣinā ͑a*;

Bc.: *art,* adresse ("art, creative method, skill"): *ṣinā ͑a, ṣan ͑a, ḥusn ma ͑rifa* ;

Mm, 520: *aṣ-ṣinā ͑ā* : *aṣ-ṣinā ͑a fī ḥiraf al- ͑āmma hiya-l- ͑ilm al-ḥāṣil bi-muzāwalat al- ͑amal ka-l-ḥiyāṭa wa-l-ḥiyāka wa naḥwihā mimmā yatawaqqaf ͑alā-l-muzāwala*

wa-l-mumārasa wa ͑inda-l-ḫāṣṣa hiya-l- ͑ilm al-muta ͑alliq bi-kaifiyat al- ͑amal wa yakūn minhu ḏālik al- ͑amal sawā'an ḥaṣal bi-muzāwalat al- ͑amal ka-l-ḥiyāṭa wa naḥwihā 'aw lā ka- ͑ilm al-fiqh wa-l-manṭiq wa-n-naḥw . . . "*aṣ-ṣinā ͑a,* among people's crafts, denotes a certain knowledge/skill/practice (*͑ilm*) acquired by pursuing a work, such as tailoring or weaving, or anything else depending upon carrying on a work and practical application; with educated persons, it denotes a science/knowledge (*͑ilm*) concerning the method of performing a work (*kaifiyat al- ͑amal*), and peculiar to it, irrespective of whether it is acquired by pursuing the work, such as tailoring or the like, or not, such as jurisprudence, logic or grammar . . ."

Ibn Ḥaldūn (1332-1400) (*Muq.,* 524): *aṣ-ṣinā ͑a*: "branch of knowledge, scholarly discipline, science": *al- ͑ināya bi-lisān Muḍar . . . ṣāra ͑ilman ḏā fuṣūl wa 'abwāb wa muqaddimāt wa masā'il, sammāhu 'ahluhu bi- ͑ilm an-naḥw wa ṣinā ͑at al- ͑arabīya wa 'aṣbaḥa fannan maḥfūẓan wa ͑ilman maktūban sullaman 'ilā fahm kitāb allāh wa sunnat rasūlihi wāfiyan* "the concern for the Muḍar language . . . has become science with particular paragraphs, chapters, premises and problems. The concerned scholars referred to it as the grammar (*͑ilm an-naḥw*) and science/craft of Arabic (*ṣinā ͑at al- ͑arabīya*). It has become a memorized branch of knowledge and a written scholarly discipline, it has become a reliable instrument (lit.: ladder) for understanding the Book of God and the Sunna of His Messenger."

Muq., 527: *faṣl fī 'anna malakat hāḏā-l-lisān ġair ṣinā ͑at al- ͑arabīya wa mustaġniya ͑anhā fī-t-ta ͑līm . . fa-huwa ͑ilm bi-kaifīya lā nafs al-kaifīya fa-laisat nafs al-malaka* "chapter on the habit of speaking this language (*malakat hāḏā-l-lisān*) as something different from Arabic philology (lit.: 'craft' of Arabic: *ṣinā ͑at al- ͑arabīya*) which can dispense with it in teaching . . . it is a science of quality (*kaifīya*) and not a quality itself and not a habit (of speaking this language)."

This distinction is the basis of the Ḥaldūnian dichotomy between:

metalanguage: the science/craft of Arabic, Arabic philology (*ṣinā ͑at al- ͑arabīya*), and

language: habit, ability of speaking this language (*malaka*).

Exceptionally, in some special contexts, the 19th century term *ṣinā ͑a* seems to stand close to the modern concept of 'industry', as defined above. Aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's description of the royal Botanical Garden in Paris may serve as an example:

wa 'anfa ͑ al-'ašyā' bi-n-nisba li-ṭ-ṭabī ͑īyāt bi-madīnat Bārīs al-bustān as-sulṭānī al-musammāh bi-bustān an-nabātāt wa fīhi sā'ir mā ta ͑rifuhu l-bašar mina-l-'umūr al-ḫāriǧa mina-l-'arḍ al-ġarība yuzra ͑ bi-'arḍihi sā'ir an-nabātāt al-'ahlīya allatī yu ͑āliǧūn taṭabbu ͑ahā ͑indahum bi-qūwat aṣ-ṣinā ͑a wa-l-ḥikma: "From the point of view of the natural sciences, the royal Botanical Garden (Jardin des Plantes) in Paris is the most useful institution. It shelters all known things (plants?) originat-

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ing in exotic countries. On its soil are cultivated all (sorts of) indigenous plants that they make to adapt themselves to the local conditions owing to the industry (*aṣ-ṣinā^ca*) and inventiveness (*al-ḥikma*)."

The French translation by Anouar Louca (1988: 190):

"L'établissement le plus utile aux science naturelles est le Jardin royal dit le Jardin des Plantes. Il renferme tout le savoir des homme sur les plantes provenant de terre exotique. Dans son sol, poussent toutes les cultures qu'ils acclimatent localement par l'effet de l'industrie et de la médicine."

(12) "Typography", in the sense of "book printing" is gradually getting free from medieval connotations of "(sword) forging; (pottery) modelling, etc.":

"printing" (MSA: *ṭibā^ca*) : Bc.: *imprimerie,* art d'imprimer ("typography, art of printing"): *ṭibā^ca, ṣinā^cat aṭ-ṭab^c*;

"printing house" (MSA: *maṭba^c, maṭba^ca*): Bc.: *imprimerie,* lieu où l'on imprime ("the place where one prints"): *maṭba^ca, dār aṭ-ṭibā^ca* ;

"press, printing press" (MSA: *miṭba^ca*): Bc.: *presse,* machine pour imprimer: *miṭba^ca* ;

"printer" (MSA: *ṭabbā^c*): Bc.: *imprimeur: ṭabbā^c, maṭba^cǧī* ;

Mm., 544: *ṭaba^ca* "to seal, stamp": *ṭaba^ca > ḫatama* ; *ṭaba^ca* "to print" *ṭaba^ca l-kutub wa-l-'aqmiša wa naḥwahā li-rasm kalimātihā wa ṣuwarihā bi-l-'āla al-ma^crūfa bi-l-miṭba^ca* "to print (books, fabrics) or the like, to reproduce their words or pictures by means of a device known as printing machine (printing press)"; *ṭaba^ca* "to model (an earthenware jar)": *ṭaba^ca l-ǧarra mina-ṭ-ṭīn ^camalahā* "to model a jar from the clay, to fabricate it"; *ṭaba^ca* "to forge, to hammer (a sword)": *yaṭba^c as-saif 'iḏā kaṯura ṣ-ṣada' ^calaihi* "to hammer a sword when the rust accumulates on it";

Mm., ibid.: *aṭ-ṭabbā^c* : *aṭ-ṭabbā^c fa^{cc}āl li-l-mubālaǧa wa ṣāni^c as-suyūf* : "*aṭ-ṭabbā^c* is an intensive stem (of the type) *fa^{cc}āl* and it denotes a sword-maker."

Kazimirski (1875) adopts almost literally Bustānī's entries:

ṭaba^ca : *imprimer* (un livre) ("to print /a book/"); *forger, fabriquer* (un sabre) ("to forge, to make /a sword/"); *former, façonner* (un vase de terre) ("to model /an earthenware jar/");[15]

(13) Journalism, one of the most efficient stimuli of the 19th century linguistic modernization of Arabic, brings into focus another set of key notions and related neologisms:

"newspaper" (MSA: *ǧarīda*, pl. *ǧarā'id, ṣaḥīfa*, pl. *ṣaḥā'if, ṣuḥuf*): Bc.: *journal,* note de ce qui arrive chaque jour, écrit périodique jour par jour ("record of daily events, periodical paper published every day"): *'aḫbār yaumīya, 'awrāq yaumīya* (lit.: 'daily news, daily papers');

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[15] These terms have an archaic ring also in Freytag's lexicon (1830-1837):
ṭabbā^c: *gladiorum fabricator* "sword producer";
ṭibā^ca : *ars enses fabricandi* "trade, craftsmanship of sword production", *dār aṭ-ṭibā^ca* : *domus, in qua libri typis imprimuntur,* "printing house";
maṭba^c "id.".

Bc.: *gazette*: *waraqa ḫabarīya* (lit. 'news paper');

"journalist, newspaperman" (MSA: *ṣuḥufī, ṣaḥafī*): Bc.: *journaliste,* qui fait un journal ("newspaperman, newspapermaker"): *kātib 'aḫbār yaumīya* (lit.: 'one who records daily news');[16]

"daily news": aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī (1834/1905: 109-110): *at-taḏākir al-yaumīya* (cf. item (15) in what follows);

al-Bustānī (1869-1870/1977) does not offer, as yet, acceptable definitions:

Mm, 100: *ǧarīda, ṣaḥīfa* : *al-ǧarīda saʿafa ṭawīla raṭiba 'aw yābisa tuqšar min ḫūṣihā . . . wa-ṣ-ṣaḥīfa yuktab ʿalaihā wa hiya-stilāḥ ʿummāl al-ḫarāǧ daftar tuktab fīhi maqādīr al-'arāḍī al-mamsūḥa . . .* "*al-ǧarīda* is a long palm-leaf stalk, fresh or dry, devoid of its leaves . . . also a leaf one writes on; in the terminology of the land-tax officials: register to contain the cadastral survey of an estate";

Mm, 500: *ṣaḥīfa* : *aṣ-ṣaḥīfa qirṭās maktūb* "*aṣ-ṣaḥīfa* is a sheet of paper written on";

Kazimirski (1875): *ǧarīda* : branche de palmier vert dépouillée de feuilles . . rouleau sur lequel on écrit ("a fresh palm-leaf stalk stripped from its leaves . . . a roll (of paper) one writes on"); *ṣaḥīfa* : page ou feuillet (d'un livre) ("page or leaf /of a book/").

Even aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's text (1834/1905: 168-9) points to the terminological problems:

"newspaper": aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: *taḏākir yaumīya; ǧurnāl,* plur. *ǧurnālāt, ǧurnō* : *wa mina-l-'ašyā' allatī yastafīd minhā l-'insān al-fawā'id aš-šārida at-taḏākir al-yaumīya al-musammāh al-ǧurnālāt ǧamʿ ǧurnāl wa huwa yuǧmaʿ fī-l-luǧa al-faransīya ʿalā ǧurnō wa hiya waraqāt tuṭbaʿ kull yaum wa taḏkur kull mā waṣal 'ilaihi fī ḏālik al-yaum wa yantašir fī madīna wa tubāʿ li-sā'ir an-nās* "the daily papers (*at-taḏākir al-yaumīya*), known as *ǧurnālāt* ('journals') which is the plural of *ǧurnāl*, the French plural being *ǧurnō*, are of those things from which one derives constant benefit; they are daily published papers reporting everything which happened on that day; they are distributed over the whole city and are sold to everybody";

"journalists" (MSA: *ṣuḥufīyūn, ṣaḥafīyūn*; aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: *kuttāb al-ǧurnō* (lit.: 'those writing to the newspapers'): *fa-kuttāb al-ǧurnō 'aswa' ḥālan ʿani-š-šuʿarā' ʿinda tahāmulihim 'aw maḥabbatihim* "the journalists in their partiality and (exaggerated manifestations of) sympathy are even worse than the poets;"

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[16] The term *ṣaḥīfa* , in its recent meaning, was made familiar in Arabic by Rašīd ad-Daḥdaḥ (d. 1894) and Naǧīb al-Ḥaddād coined from this basis *ṣiḥāfa* "journalism", and the respective *nomen agentis* was derived from both these bases:
ṣiḥāfa > ṣiḥāfī "newspaperman, journalist",
ṣaḥīfa > ṣaḥafī "idem", inclusive of the plural-based derivative:
ṣuḥuf (plur. of *ṣaḥīfa*) > *ṣuḥufī* "idem" (Adīb Murūwa 1961: 13-14; < Stetkevych 1970: 19).

(14) Paradoxically, the modern term for "culture" (MSA: *ṯaqāfa*), in the era of cultural awakening through most of the 19th century, is no more than one of the verbal abstracts of the verb *ṯaqufa* :

Mm, 82: *ṯaqufa yaṯqufu ṯaqfan wa ṯaqafan wa ṯaqāfatan ṣāra ḥāḏiqan ḥafīfan faṯinan* "*ṯaqufa* (u), verbal abstracts: *ṯaqf, ṯaqaf, ṯaqāfa* : 'to (be or) become clever, smart, intelligent'";

Substantially the same presentation is adopted by Kazimirski (1875): *ṯaqāfa*, as a verbal abstract of *ṯaqufa* "être très-intelligent, ingénieux" ("to be very intelligent, ingenious");

Bc.: *culture,* culture d'esprit ("spiritual culture"): *'adab*.

(15) In dealing with the cultural life in Paris, under the heading of 'entertainment facilities' (*muntazahāt madīnat Bārīs*), aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī avows that he knows of no suitable Arabic word for the 'theatre': *walā 'aᶜrif isman ᶜarabīyan yalīq maᶜnā s-sbektākl 'aw at-tiyātr ġair 'anna maᶜnā sbektākl maᶜnāhu manẓar 'aw muntazah 'aw naḥwa ḏālik wa lafẓ tiyātr maᶜnāhu al-'aṣlī kaḏālik ṯumma summiya bihā l-laᶜb wa maḥalluhu* (1834/1905: 111) "I do not know any Arabic word suitable to render the meaning of 'spectacle' or 'théâtre'; the word 'spectacle' has a meaning of 'scene, place of entertainment', or the like, and the word 'théâtre' had originally the similar meaning, then it came to denote also 'the play' and 'the place of its performance'"; Louca (1988: 156-7): "Je ne connais pas de nom arabe qui rende le sens de 'spectacle' ou 'théâtre', mais le mot 'spectacle' veut dire scène ou divertissement, ou quelque chose de ce genre, et le mot 'théâtre', qui avait à l'origine un sense analogue, a désigné par la suite le jeu et l'endroit où il a lieu."

"theatre" (MSA: *masraḥ*): Bc.: *théâtre,* lieu où l'on représente les pièces dramatiques ("place of dramatic performances"): *malᶜab*, plur. *malāᶜib* ;[17]

"theatrical" (MSA: *masraḥī*): Bc.: *théâtral,* qui appartient au théâtre, ne convient qu'à lui: *yaṣluḥ li-laᶜb al-kūmidīya; malᶜabī* "pertaining to dramatic (lit. comedic) performance; theatrical".

It sounds somewhat strange that in the era of rapidly progressing cultural awakening in the second half of the 19th century, inclusive of the promising start of theatrical activities (Salīm an-Naqqāš, ᶜUṯmān Ǧalāl), al-Bustānī (1869-1870/1977) defines the term *malᶜab*, apparently most closely associated with the concept of 'theatre', as a further unspecified 'place of play, game' which has later established itself in the MSA lexicon with the predominant meaning of 'playground, stadium'; the medieval interpretation of *masraḥ* in terms of 'grassland, pasture' is still in force:

Mm, 817: *al-malᶜab* : *al-malᶜab mauḍiᶜ al-laᶜb* : "*al-malᶜab* is a place of play (game)";

Mm, 405: *al-masraḥ* : *al-masraḥ al-marᶜā* : "*al-masraḥ* means 'grassland, pasture'";

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[17] The latter application of this term seems to be attested already by Alcalá (1505/Corriente 1988: 247): *malᶜab* : teatro do hazian juegos ("theatre/playground (?) where plays/games (?) are presented").

Kazimirski (1875): *masraḥ*: pré, pâturage où on laisse aller librement le troupeau ("grassland where one can leave a herd of animals to graze"); the term *malʿab*, however, already includes 'theatre': lieu où l'on se livre à un jeu; théâtre "place of game; theatre";[18]

"(stage) play, drama" (MSA: *masraḥīya*): Bc.: *comédie,* pièce de théâtre: *laʿb, taqlīd, kūmidīya - nauʿ mina-l-laʿb ʿinda-l-'ifranǧ wa fīhi tuḏkar ar-raḏāyil wa-l-qabāyiḥ min 'aḫlāq an-nās wa ġāyatuhu 'annahum yartaddūn ʿanhā* "*kūmidīya* – with the Europeans, is a sort of (stage) play presenting human vices and depravities with the aim of making men to abandon them";

"(stage) play, drama": aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī (1834/1905: 109-110): *laʿba: wa-l-laʿba allatī tuẓhar tuktab fī waraqa wa tulṣaq fī ḥīṭān al-madīna wa tuktab fī-t-taḏākir al-yaumīya* "The play that is just presented is quoted on a poster attached to the city walls and is (also) published in daily papers"; Louca (1988: 155): "Le titre du jeu qu'on présente est écrit sur un papier affiché aux murs de la ville, et il est publié dans les feuilles quotidiennes."

"drama": Bc.: *drame,* poème pour le théâtre ("poem for the stage performance").

(16) In the era of a general cultural revival also physical training, body culture and sport gradually come into prominence. It is interesting to note that the beginnings of activities which could be, in a sense, associated with these terms, appear under quite a modern heading in a rather traditionally conceived Spanish-Latin-Arabic dictionary by Francisco Cañes (1787):

"sport", in Webster's II (1984) definition: 'an active pastime: recreation'; Cañes: *deporte*: diversion, holgadura, pasatiempo; *relaxatio animi, recreatio* ("diversion, recreation, pastime"): *al-inširāḥ, at-tanazzuh.*

The generally accepted MSA term for 'sport', *ar-riyāḍa*, maintains, all over the 19th and partially even in 20th centuries, a number of connotations inherited from the Arab Middle Ages: adoption of austere habits and practices, observance of prescribed religious duties, cultivating and refining one's moral qualities, etc.

In aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's description of the hygienic conditions in Paris, in the beginning of the 19th century, the term *riyāḍāt* (plur. of *riyāḍa*) is directly related to care for health: *wa min 'umūr ar-riyāḍāt an-nāfiʿa li-ṣiḥḥat al-badan madāris yataʿallam fīhā ʿilm as-sibāḥa wa hiya ṯalāṯ makātib ʿalā nahr as-sēn wa minhā madāris li-tahfīf al-badan wa ǧaʿlihi qābilan li-l-'ašyā' al-ʿaǧība ka-l-bahlawānīya wa-l-muṣāraʿa wa nahwa ḏālik* (1834/1905: 117) "For the physical training, beneficial to the body's health, there are schools where swimming is taught. There are three such schools on the river Seine, in still others where one is taught how to make one's body flexible and springy, to make it capable of amazing performances,

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[18] The term *masraḥ*, in Arabic sources, bears witness of a rather involved evolution: Mārūn an-Naqqāš, one of the pioneers of the Arabic theatre, refers to the "theatre" as *marsaḥ*, considered by Yaʿqūb Ṣarrūf and Šakīb Arslān to be merely a distortion of the word *marzaḥ* "valley, depression, sort of natural amphitheater", the frequent place of popular performances (wrestling, various races, etc.); the modern form is believed to be due to the process of desonorization: *z>s* and metathesis: *rs>sr* (al-Maġribī 1947: 81, 124 < Stetkevych 1970: 47). The assumption of a direct semantic extension: *masraḥ* "meadow, pasture" > "theatre" is equally hypothetical.

such as acrobatism, wrestling, etc.;" Louca (1988: 163): "Pour les exercices physiques utiles à la santé du corps, il y a des écoles où l'on enseigne la science de la natation. Il en existe trois sur la Seine. Dans d'autres, on apprend à alléger le corps, à l'assouplir et le rendre apte à d'extraordinaires performances: l'acrobatie, la lutte, etc."

Mm, 360: *ar-riyāḍa* : *ar-riyāḍa ʿinda-l-'aṭibbā' al-ḥaraka allatī yuḥaṣṣ minhā bi-t-taʿab; ya'murūn bihā li-ḥafẓ aṣ-ṣiḥḥa li-'annahā tuqawwī l-ḥarāra al-ġarīzīya fa-tuqawwī bi-ḏālika l-quwā ʿalā dafʿ al-fuḍūl mina-l-badan wa tuqawwī l-maʿida ʿalā-stitmām haḍm mā baqiya fīhā mina-ṭ-ṭaʿām* : "physical training/sport : for the physicians, it is movement followed by the feeling of fatigue; they prescribe it for maintaining the health, as it strengthens the innate temperature that stimulates the ability to expel the body's waste matter and it incites the stomach to complete the digestion of the food that has still remained in it";[19]

The recent MSA term *riyāḍa*, in Bocthor's lexicon, is rendered by "exercising, exercise":

Bc.: *exercice,* action par laquelle on s'exercice ("act, action of exercising"): *riyāḍa, 'idmān* ;[20]

Kazimirski (1875): *riyāḍa* : exercice continuel, vie ascétique, pratique de dévotion ("regular exercising, ascetic way of life, observance of acts of devotion").

(17) In the 19th century Arabic, not even the health services are getting rid of medieval connotations. The institution of the hospital, in its recent sense, does not exist as yet, since it includes, both organizationally and terminologically, also various institutions for the care of the poor and the mentally ill:

"hospital" (MSA: *al-mustašfā*): Bc.: *hôpital,* maison pour recevoir les malades, les pauvres, les fous ("institution for the reception of the ill, the poor, the mentally handicapped"): *bait al-marḍā, bīmāristān* ; colloquially: *māristān* ;[21]

Bc.: *infirmerie,* lieu destiné aux malades ("dispensary, infirmary, place designed for the ill"): *maḥall al-marḍā* ;

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[19] Alcalá (1505/1988) is using the term *riyāḍa* relatively close to its modern meaning: domadura "training, taming, drill". Corriente (1997: 223) translates this term (*riyāḍa*: ejercicio), on the basis of a semi-anonymous Arabic-Spanish lexicon *Vocabulista in arábico,* by its modern equivalent "sport". The manuscript of this lexicon is deposited in Biblioteca Ricardiana de Florencia; and Raimon Martí is believed to be its author. It was published in book form by C. Schiaparelli (Florencia 1871) and it received its modern lexicographical shape in Corriente's critical edition (1989).

[20] MSA: *'idmān* ("addiction; excess": *'idmān al-muḫaddirāt* "drug addiction", etc.)

[21] Cf., Cañes (1787): *hospital,* la casa donde se reciben los pobres enfermos, y se curan de los enfermedades que padecen ('house where the poor patients are received and where their illnesses are treated'): *takīya, bait al-marḍā* ;

hospital, la casa que solo serve para recoger de noche á cubierto á los pobres ('hospice offering the poor shelter and night accommodation'): *manzil al-fuqarā'*; the word *takīya* has a similar meaning: besides "hospice for members of various derwish confraternities" it denotes "a home for the handicapped and needy".

Mm, 846: *al-māristān . . . dār al-marḍā* "*al-māristān . . .* is the home for the ill";

Kazimirski (1875): *maristān, māristān, bīmāristān* : hospice des fous ("hospice for the mentally ill").

Substantially the same picture may be derived from aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī's reference to the health care institutions in Paris: *wa mina-l-mawāḍiᶜ al-muᶜadda li-l-marḍā wa-llatī yūǧad fīhā-l-'aṭibbā' al-māristānāt al-ᶜāmma fa-tadẖuluhā l-marḍā li-l-ᶜilāǧ wa li-l-'iqāma muddat al-maraḍ bi-lā ᶜiwaḍ* "The public hospitals (*al-māristānāt al-ᶜāmma*) are places, designed for the ill, where there are physicians, and the patients visit them for an unpaid medical care and accommodation during their illness"; Louca (1988: 118): "Des locaux établis à l'intention des malades et où se tiennent des médecins, constituent les hôpitaux publics où les patients entrent et séjournent aussi longtemps que durent leurs soins, sans rien payer en contrepartie."

With regard to the great cultural and technological discrepancy, many terms do not lend themselves to a purposeful and serviceable comparison:

(18) the "post", in the sense of an institution responsible for the delivery of mail, includes, in the cultural context of the 19th century, as an inseparable part of its services, also the transport of persons, and the whole process of delivery of mail tends to be reduced to the person of 'postman' ('letter carrier', 'carrier'): *sāᶜī*. The modern term for the post, in a number of European languages, is derived from exactly the latter basis (the French *courrier,* the Spanish *correo,* etc.):

"post, mail" (MSA: *barīd*[22]): Bc.: *poste,* courrier qui porte les lettres ("letter carrier"): *sāᶜī*;[23]

Bc.: *poste,* établissement de chevaux placé de distance en distance pour le service des personnes qui veulent voyager vite ("a system of horse relays located at certain distances from each other for the service of persons who need a quick journey"): *manzūl, barīd.*

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[22] MSA: *barīd* is drawn from the vulgar Latin *vērēdus* "horse used in postal services" (V.M. Belkin 1975: 103); a more complete etymology is proposed by Corriente (1997: 44): *(BRD)ii: VA *barīd* + *burūd* "postman", probably from the Syriac *brydā* < Lat. *vērēdus* / Gr. *bēredos*; where VA = *Vocabulista in arábico* (see 2.1/18; also note 23 in what follows).

The term *barīd* has been implanted to MSA by Ibrāhīm al-Yāziǧī (d. 1906), member of the well-known family of Lebanese Christians. His journal *aḍ-Ḍiyā'* ('Light') became an important medium for open discussion, frequently publishing sharp polemics about very various problems of the language policy, critical reviews concerning the suitability of the newly coined neologisms, etc. A part of these essays had been published in the book *Luġat al-ǧarā'id* ("The Newspaper Arabic", Cairo 1901). Al-Yāziǧī is the author of a number of successful neologisms, like *barq* "telegraph" (Chejne 1969: 135), *darrāǧa* "bicycle", *maǧalla* "journal" etc.

[23] Cf. Cañes (1787): *correo,* lat. tabellarius, cursor: *sāᶜī*; por el primer correo te escribiré ('I will write you by the first mail'): *'aktubu laka maᶜa-s-sāᶜī l-'awwal.* It is worthwhile noting that in early Hispano-Arabic sources the root *b-r-d* is already used to denote the general concept of "postal service; post, mail", that established itself also in MSA, while the root *s-ᶜ-y* does not occur in the latter sense at all.

The recent MSA term *barīd* appears, as well, in Bocthor's entries *courrier* ("letter carrier") and the term *sāʿī* also in the entry *exprès* ("express messenger, postman charged with express deliveries"):

Bc.: *courrier,* qui porte en hâte les dépêches (see above): *tatarī, tatar, barīdī, barīd*; Bc.: *exprčs,* messager ("express messenger"): *mirsāl, qāṣid, sāʿī*;

Mm, 34: *al-barīd*: *al-barīd al-murattab wa-r-rasūl wa 'arbaʿa farāsiḥ 'aw 'iṯnā ʿašar mīlan 'aw mā baina-l-manzilain wa ḫail al-barīd wa-r-rusul ʿalā dawābb al-barīd wa-l-furāniq 'ay allaḏī yadull al-barīd ʿalā-ṭ-ṭarīq . . . "al-barīd* is a salaried postman (letter carrier) or a messenger, four parasangs or fourteen miles, or a distance between two horse relays, postal horses and messengers (travelling) on postal animals, and the guide pointing out the way to the postman . . . "

In al-Bustānī's definition, *as-sāʿī* represents the messenger offering a much wider range of services:

Mm, 412: *as-sāʿī*: *as-sāʿī ʿinda-l-muwalladīn ar-rasūl allaḏī yursal min makān ilā 'āḫar fī ḥāǧa* "*as-sāʿī,* in the usage of the modernists, denotes a messenger who can be sent, as required, from one place to another";

Kazimirski (1875): *barīd*: exprès, messager, courrier, poste; "*barīd*: express messenger, messenger, letter carrier, courier, postman"; *ḫail al-barīd*: chevaux de poste; "postal horses"; *ṣāḥib al-barīd*: maître de poste, qui tient le service des courriers; "postmaster in charge with the operations of the couriers".

The impact of a similar technological shift may be observed on a number of concepts and related terms which underwent an abrupt evolution, such as:

(19) "telegraph" (MSA: *barq, tiliǧrāf, taliǧrāf*): Bc.: *télégraph,* machine pour transmettre les nouvelles par des signes; construction en forme de tour sur laquelle est placée cette machine ("machine for the transmission of news by means of signals; a tower-like construction housing this machine"): *'ālat al-'išāra, burǧ al-'išāra, bait al-'aḫbār* (lit.: 'signalization machine/tower, news house').

It should be stressed, once again, that the authoritative 19th century lexicons, both monolingual, like al-Bustānī's Mm, or lexicons alphabetically arranged according to the Arabic entries (Kazimirski; when ignoring classically oriented monumental lexicons by G. Freytag and E.W. Lane), do not record neologisms of the latter type, irrespective of their top-rate cultural relevance.

(20) The "electricity", one of the decisive moving forces of the industrial and, more generally, cultural and social progress all over the last two centuries, made its way into the 19th century Arabic lexicon under the impact of incidental visible manifestations of static electricity, that is, the ability of attracting light objects:

"electricity, electric power" (MSA: *kahrabā', kahrubā'; kahrabā'īya, kahrubā'īya; kahraba, kahrabīya*): Bc.: *électricité,* propriété d'attraction des corps frottés ("property of attraction in (material) bodies when subject to friction"): *ǧāḏibīya taẓhar fī-l-'aǧsām ʿinda daʿkihā* (lit.: as above);

"electric, electrical" (MSA: *kahrabā'ī,* etc.): Bc.: *électrique*: *yaǧḏib* "that attracts, attracting");

"to electrize, to electrify" (MSA: *kahraba*): Bc.: *électriser,* développer, communiquer la faculté électrique ("to develop, transmit the electric property, quality"): *'aḥdaṯa fī-š-šay' al-ǧāḏibīya* (lit.: "to generate attractivity in an object").

Al-Bustānī, although certainly influenced by the same conception of electricity, already uses the modern term *kahrabā'*, from the Ṭahṭāwī's workshop (V. Monteil 1960: 32-33), leaving *ǧāḏibīya*, that has been definitively accepted by the MSA lexicon as a physical term for 'gravitation', to denote 'static electricity': [24]

Mm, 790: *kahraba š-šay'*: *ǧaʿala fīhi qūwat al-kahrabā'īya fa-huwa mukahrib wa-š-šay' mukahrab wa huwa min istilāḥ al-muḥdatīn*: "*kahraba š-šay'* means to electrize, to generate/induce in an object electric power, (its supplier) is *mukahrib*, while its target-object is *mukahrab*, and these terms are due to innovators";

Mm, 97: *al-ǧāḏibīya ʿinda ʿulamā' aṭ-ṭabīʿa qūwa fī-l-'aǧsām taǧʿaluhā qābilatan li-l-ǧaḏb 'aw al-inǧiḏāb kamā baina-l-kahrabā' wa-t-tibn* "*al-ǧāḏibīya*, in the usage of natural scientists, denotes the force that enables material bodies to attract (others) or to be attracted (by others), as happens between amber and straw".

Descriptive (multiword) terms, used to denote new, culturally conditioned concepts, that prevail in the 19th century Arabic lexicon, bear witness to their peripheral position or even total absence in the linguistic awareness of the bulk of language users of those days:

(21) "museum" (MSA: *matḥaf*, a *nomen loci* derived from the key-word *tuḥfa*, plur. *tuḥaf* "gift, present; curiosity, work of art"): Bc.: *musée*, lieu destiné à rassembler des monuments relatifs aux arts, aux sciences et aux lettres ("place designed for the collection of cultural monuments related to arts, sciences and letters"): *ḫaznat al-funūn*, *ḫizāna*, *bait at-tuḥaf* (lit.: "treasury of arts, treasury, house of curiosities/rarities");

aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī recalls his acquaintance with the Paris museums in the following terms that are his own coinages:

fa-fī Bārīs kaṯīr mina-l-ḫazā'in allatī yuqāl lahā ḫazā'in al-mustaǧrabāt fa-yūǧad bihā mā tatašawwaq 'ilayhi nufūs al-fuḍalā': "In Paris, there are many magazines (*ḫazā'in*), known as museums (*ḫazā'in al-mustaǧrabāt*), that contain everything to attract the attention of the men of culture"; Louca (1988: 190): "A Paris, il y a beaucoup de magasins qu'on appelle musées. Ils mettent à la portée des honnêtes gens les objets de leur curiosité."

It is interesting to note that not a single term of these, nor any other word coined to denote 'museum' appears in the 19th century lexicons (not even in Wahrmund's *neuarabisch*-said lexicon from the end of the century (1898)):

Mm, 230: *al-ḫizāna*: *al-ḫizāna bi-maʿnā l-maḥdaʿ wa-l-ḥibā' mina-l-ḫašab tūdaʿ fīhi al-'amtiʿa*: "*al-ḫizāna* denotes small room or wooden construction to store in it commodities";

Mm, 230-231: *al-ḫazna*: *mā yuḫzan mina-d-darāhim*: "*al-ḫazna* denotes deposited money";

Mm, 68: *at-tuḥfa, at-tuḥafa*: *al-birr wa-l-luṭf wa-l-hadīya*: "*at-tuḥfa, at-tuḥafa* denote piety, kindness and present".

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[24] Manifestations of static electricity operate as a motivation factor even here, the same way as with the term "electricity" in most Indo-European languages: Gr. *ēlektron* > Lat. *ēlectrum* "amber".

In Kazimirski's presentation (1875), these terms stand closer to the concept examined:

ḫizāna : trésor, garde-meuble où l'on conserve les joyaux ("treasury, store-room for safekeeping jewels");

taḥfa, tuḥfa : . . . tout objet beau et précieux propre à être offert en présent ("any beautiful and valuable object that can be offered as a present");[25]

As in the case of *matḥaf*, many other terms, later modelled on the MSA pattern of *nomina loci*, found their 19th century rendering in multiword constructions:

(22) "restaurant" (MSA: *maṭ'am*): Bc.: *restaurant,* établissement du restaurateur ("establishment of the restaurant's owner"): *dukkān ṭabbāḫ* (lit.: 'cook's shop');

"restaurant's owner/keeper": Bc.: *restaurateur,* sorte de traiteur ("a sort of /commercial/ provider of meals"): *bayyā' ṭa'ām, ṭabbāḫ* (lit.: 'food seller', 'cook');

Al-Bustānī's terms, formally coinciding with recent MSA units, cannot be identified with them in full: *al-maṭ'am : mauḍi' aṭ-ṭa'm wa-mā yu'kal ka-l-mašrab li-mā yušrab* "*al-maṭ'am* is the place of eating as well as that what is eaten like *al-mašrab* in relation to what is being drunk".

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[25] Cañes (1787): *museo*: el-lugar destinado para el estudio de las ciencias, letras humanas y artes liberales ('place designed for the study of sciences, literature and liberal arts'): *madrasa.*

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