Maritime Terminology of the Saudi Arabian Red Sea Coast:

Lexical Semantic Study

Submitted by Muhammad Zafer Alhazmi to the University of Exeter

as a thesis for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Arab and Islamic studies

In March 2015

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Abstract

This thesis will analyse a sample of maritime terminology used along the Saudi Red Sea coast and attempt to understand why lexica are lacking in such terms; an issue which can be linked to the language change was a consequence of the interaction between Arabs and other ethnic communities since the advent of Islam. This change raised alarm among lexicographers and linguists at the time of documenting the terminology, who set off on long journeys to collect the pure language. In their word collecting they selectively documented the language, ignoring a huge amount of spoken registers because their aim was to collect the classical form of Arabic in order to help Muslims gain a deeper understanding of the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth. This created gaps in Arabic lexicography, which lacks terminology for material culture.

The information about maritime material cultural terminology in the mainstream lexica is disappointing. Although a few terms are listed, lexicographers have failed to provide unambiguous definitions. This study demonstrates why a great number of such terms since the classical time period has not been listed in the available lexica, and what the factors are which led to this situation. Hence, this study is based on maritime terms extracted from informal meetings I had with mariners and fishermen on the Red Sea Saudi coast about their life at sea before the introduction of the engine to vessels. The collected terms are to be investigated against their presence in lexica both synchronically and diachronically.

Understanding the meanings of such ignored terms is one of the most important puzzles and this study attempts to solve it by investigating the semantic links between words and the conceptual meanings of their roots following a hypothesis based on Ibn Fāris (d.

395/1004); which assumes that all terms derived from Arabic roots should share a general conceptual meaning. In the absence of maritime terms in lexica a hypothesis devised from Agius's theoretical framework was applied to search such terms in literary and non-literary works, which are assumed to be an alternative source to lexica and examine their occurrence in text and context by reconstructing their origin, function and use.

Acknowledgments

First of all, I am grateful to **Almighty Allāh** for establishing me to achieve this stage.

I also would like to express my deepest appreciation to my supervisor Dr. Dionisius Agius Al Qasimi Professor of Arabic Studies and Islamic Material Culture at the Institute of Arab and Islamic Studies, who inspired me to explore this novel area. He spared no effort in supervising my work since my first meeting with him, patiently and humbly.

It is my pleasure to use this opportunity to express my thanks to sailors, fishermen and many other active members of the Saudi Red Sea communities. They were generous and cooperative during my fieldwork, offering valuable information, which constituted the core point of this research.

I single out my wife Ghada with great appreciation and thanks for her unlimited support and sacrifice for the sake of achieving this research project. I also thank my father and my mother for their patience and support.

Finally, I would like to thank Ms. Jaime Robles for reading my thesis and making stylistic suggestions.

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Symbols

CA: Classical Arabic

√ : root

// : phonetic or phonological symbol or a particle

> : giving : becoming

< : originally from

Library of Congress Arabic Transliteration System

Consonants

ء	ʾ	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʿ
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dh	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	ه	h
س	s	و	w
ش	sh	ي	y
ص	ṣ		
ض	ḍ		

Vowels

Long	ا	ā	**Short**	ـَ	a
	و	ū		ـِ	i
	ي	ī		ـُ	u

Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of the Problem

Before the advent of Islam, many Peninsular Arabs relied on narrating poetry to express their history and their tribal pride in important events. Eloquence and rhetoric were among the literary skills that young tribal Arabs had to acquire. With the coming of Islam the message brought by the Prophet Muḥammad was one of unity with God and one of eloquence, which was recorded in the Qurʾān. A great number of non-Arabs also embraced Islam thereby making the Caliphate into a cosmopolitan empire. This interaction between tribal Arabs and other ethnic communities created a new linguistic environment, which contained an Arabic mixed with foreign terms.

The reaction of Arabic lexicographers towards this linguistic change was, first, to help new Muslim generations understand the Qurʾān and, second, to preserve the versatility of the language and its uniqueness. As a result, lexicographers became selective: they documented mainly Bedouin registers in addition to some religious, philosophical and scientific terms, but technical terms and material cultural terminology were left out almost entirely. The reasons behind ignoring this huge corpus of terminology can be explained as follows: a great number of these terms were either of non-Arabic origin, or called *muwallad* (neologism) due to the fact that most of them entered the language after the interaction between tribal Arabs and other ethnic communities took place. Those included, for example, the material cultural terminology that was used in urban communities, such as terms referring to furniture, food and textiles, in addition to technical terms, such as those that were specifically used in coastal areas including maritime and nautical terms. Although there were some compilers like al-Fayrūzabādī (d.

803/1400) and al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) who attempted to update Arabic lexica by including some material cultural and technical terms, the vast majority of word-collectors followed the selective method devised in the medieval period. This is why modern researchers find Arabic lexica lacking when looking for such neglected terms. Another issue is that the few technical and material cultural terms listed by some lexicographers were either not defined because they were *maʿrūf* "well known" and, therefore, it was thought that there was no need to define them, or they were defined by equivalents rather than by clear definitions.

Research Questions:

Given the linguistic scenario above, the study of maritime terminology and, for that matter, material cultural terminology in general, poses fundamental problems as to:

1. What alternative sources to lexicographical works are there to help in understanding the meaning and function of undocumented terms?
2. Why are many maritime terms not listed in mainstream Arabic lexica?
3. When such terms are entered in lexica, why do lexicographers fail to provide clear definitions?
4. In order to understand undocumented terms, what method is best applied?

Aims

There are many maritime and nautical terms that are not understood by people who are not familiar with the language of the sea, and documenting this register is therefore vital before these terms disappear. A great number of the members of these communities have passed away, while others in their 60s or over are no longer able to practise their old skills

by or on the sea. In addition, neither the sons nor grandsons have been willing to take on any of their fathers' or grandfathers' occupations since the oil boom of the 1960s. The language of their forefathers is an important repository of knowledge and experience which is gradually being forgotten.

One of the aims of this search is to study maritime and nautical terms listed in Arabic lexica: medieval, early modern, and modern by examining their meaning, usage and frequency. But if such terms are not listed in lexica, or listed but not well-defined, it is the aim to search other sources where they are found. In addition to the written language, this research will document the spoken register of maritime terms that are missing in lexica. This terminology has been collected from the maritime communities bordering the Saudi Red Sea Coast. Laying down a theoretical model helps us in understanding the meaning of these unlisted terms. Tracing the provenance of such terminology is an important part of this study: people use their language spontaneously; they are not bothered if the words they use are original or borrowed from other languages.

Theoretical framework

The framework for the present inquiry consists of two different theories: the first is found in Aḥmad b. Fāris's (d. 395/1004) *Muʿjam maqāyīs al-lugha* (The Criteria of the Language). He argues that each root in Arabic has a conceptual meaning, and that all terms derived from this root must express a general conceptual meaning; for example, the root √*b.ḥ.r.* expresses the conceptual meaning of "width" and "breadth", from which the following terms are derived: *baḥra* (big city), *baḥr* (sea) and *buḥayra* (lake) etc.[1] The semantic implication of these terms expressing "width" and "breadth" helps us to

[1] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 201.

understand the meaning of undocumented terms derived from the root, for example, *tabḥīra*, the semantic link is that this type of song is long and recited by many sailors. Consider the root √*j.r.d.* which expresses the conceptual meaning of "being uncovered". It gives *jardāʾ* (an area with no trees) and *ajrad* (a horse with no hair on its body).[2] The ship-term *jurdī* which in today's lexical register is cargo ship on the Saudi coast was believed to be foreign and therefore not linked to the lexical semantic root. However, it is possible that the term referred to a deckles ship, which would mean that shared the same semantic concept.

The semantic link between the root and term is also used to judge if the word is Arabic or not; for example, the Arabic root √*h.w.r.* expresses the conceptual meaning of "falling". It gives the verb *tahawwara* (to fall gradually), for example *tahawwara al-bināʾ* (the building crumbled), *tahawwara al-layl* (the night started to disappear) and *tahawwara al-shitāʾ* (the peak of the winter has gone) as these processes happened gradually either by literal meaning such as the building crumbling or the metaphorical "falling" in the case of night and winter. Further, the term *hawr* refers to (herd of sheep), as sheep when grouped in a huge number tend to fall on each other.[3] However, the boat-term *hūrī* which in today's lexical register is a wooden beach canoe used on the Red Sea coast does not express this conceptual meaning. So it is safe to claim that it is of foreign origin[4] because it has no semantic link to the Arabic root even though it shares the same radicals and the phonological features of the Arabic morphological mould *fuʿlī* such as *kursī* (chair). Ibn Fāris also argues that the vast majority of Arabic terms are derived from tri-radical roots

[2] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 452.
[3] Ibid, 6: 18.
[4] Of Hindi origin. See Glidden 1942, 72.

such as *shirāʿ* (sail) from √*sh.r.ʿ.*,[5] *sukkān* (rudder) from √*s.k.n.* [6] and *safīna* (ship) from √*s.f.n.*,[7] while terms of quadrilateral roots such as *sanbūk* (a type of ship)[8] from √*s.n.b.k.*, *jalbūt* (a type of ship)[9] from √*j.l.b.t.*, *qibṭān* (captain)[10] from √*q.b.ṭ.n.* and *bandar* (port)[11] from √*b.n.d.r* are generally understood to be of foreign origin, and that is one reason why such terms are not listed in medieval lexica. However, according to Ibn Fāris some quadrilateral roots that have duplicated radicals from tri-radical roots should be Arabic; for example, *qarqūr* or *gargūr* (type of ship or a fish-trap) from √*q.r.q.r.* or √*g.r.g.r.* which is duplicated from √*q.r.r.* or √*g.r.r.* [12] and *zilzāl* (earthquake) from √*z.l.z.l.* which is duplicated from √*z.l.l.*[13]

The second theory is based on Agius's *Arabic Literary Works as a Source of Documentation for Technical Terms of the Material Culture* (1984), which assumes that Arabic lexicographers failed to provide clear definitions for the documented material cultural terms. This lack of adequately defined material cultural terminology in Arabic lexica can be solved by consulting non-lexicographical works such as literary and other sources, which contain often a more complete amount of information about the daily life of the Islamic society of different periods and in numerous regions. The context of these works is rich in material cultural terminology, which for religious and purist attitudes to non-Arabic words was ignored by lexicographers. His framework lays the basis for an inquiry into undocumented terminology and a device to examine the word in text and

[5] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 262.
[6] Ibid, 3: 88.
[7] Ibid, 3: 78.
[8] ʿIsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[9] Agius 2010, 92.
[10] Dozy 1979, 10: 249.
[11] Al-Bustanī 1987, 55.
[12] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 7.
[13] Ibid, 3:4-5.

context. Such common terms discussed in his detailed case studies are, *ājurra* (baked brick), *anfāq* (the olive oil which is extracted before the fruit is ripe), *bāranj* (coconut), *durrāʿa* (a certain garment; a tunic), *sābūrī* (coat of mail), *takhtaj* (a kind of cloth) and *wasaṭ* (belt).[14]

The present research, therefore, supports Agius's theory that medieval, early modern and modern lexica are defective because of their frequent exclusion of material culture. His hypothesis has worked in many of my examples as it did in the many examples tested by Agius (1984) and Shafiq's study (2011) on maritime terminology of the 9th Century. My study also supports Ibn Fāris's linguistic theory that each Arabic root has a conceptual meaning shared by terms derived from it, though some limitations to this hypothesis are noted in the course of this thesis, one such that non-duplicated quadrilateral roots were ignored in his formula.

The use of both theories combined , however, will give better results by investigating the terms found in literary and non-literary works and by examining if such terms fit the conceptual meaning mould of the Arabic root.

My study will demonstrate that, in addition to the said theories, there is another route to achieve a linguistic-semantic investigation, and this is by ethnographic work and by corroborating evidence found between the terminology used by the seafaring communities before the oil boom of the 1960s and the documented language from medieval to modern lexical, literary and technical Arabic works. This enables us to know the status of such terminology throughout the history of Arabic and the reasons behind

[14] Aguis 1984, 188, 193, 198, 217, 260, 269, 275.

the failure of lexicographers to provide clear definitions for them. Also, this study will explain one of the most important problems of Arabic lexicography, which is the tendency to document only Classical Arabic. It is a fact that this problem hinders researchers in reaching the depth of lexical semantic inquiry. They find themselves handicapped by the lack of the appropriate tools in an attempt to investigate urban material cultural terminology. Overall, the core part of this study establishes an in-depth understanding of maritime and nautical terms used on the Saudi Red Sea coast and their journey across the ages from medieval times to the present.

Methodology

My research consists of two approaches: first, collecting maritime terms along the Saudi Arabian Red Sea coast, and, second, investigating these terms against lexica and/or literary works. The objective of this exercise is to examine the commonality and frequency of the investigated terms both in modern times and the medieval past. (Figure 1)

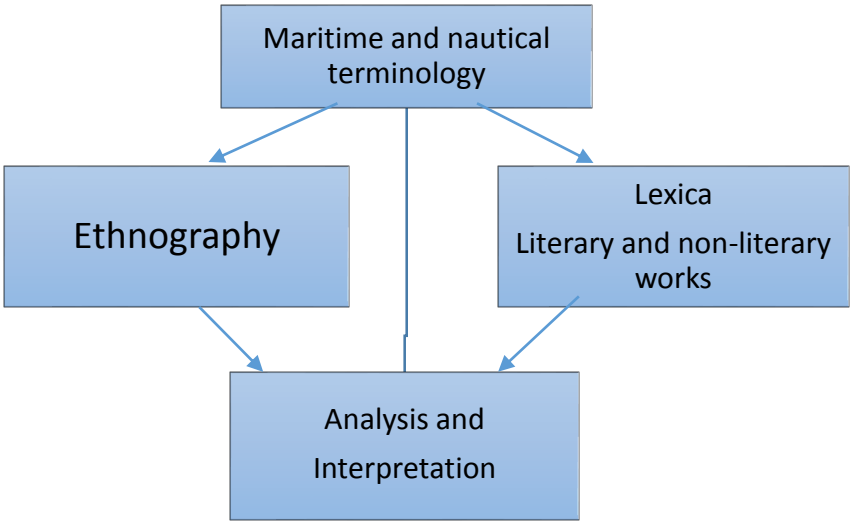


Figure 1: Methodology of the study

1. Fieldwork ethnography

Investigating material culture terminology in Arabic is not an easy task. First, few studies exist in this area, and second, the huge number of dialectal variations in the region's Arabic communities compels researchers to narrow their research into smaller areas of study. Secondly, the gap between the spoken and the documented language is large enough to suggest that the language exists in a state of diglossia. It should be born in mind that this thesis concerns itself with Saudi Red Sea coast only, a practice which fill a small part of the huge lexicographical gap. Other gaps can be filled by documenting and investigating maritime terminology in other areas such as African Red Sea coast, the Gulf, Levantine and North Africa.

Time is a factor in the scope of this study in its investigation of a terminology that has been used by Arabian seafarers and for which some attempts were made by linguists to record it from the medieval to the modern period until the oil boom in the twentieth century.

As the historical background of the documented terminology is not known there is a lot missing in terms of the word's function and how it was used, let alone its etymology. After the oil boom, Arabian seafarers and fishermen turned from using wooden dhows to motorized wooden and fibreglass boats. With the introduction of the motorized vessels, the local maritime terminology started to change. My study, however, does not cover the vocabulary related to this period but will focus on the days of sail as mentioned above. Although many maritime terms used along the Saudi Red Sea coast are similar, some dialectal phonetic differences are noticed from one region to another. It is not the aim of

this thesis, however, to study these dialectal variations because this would fall outside the scope of my study.

The area from which I collected the information can be divided into three parts. First, northern Hijazi region starting from Duba in the north southward until Yanbu, north of Jeddah; between these two, there are two other towns: Umluj and Al Wajh.

The second part is the southern Hijazi area starting from Jeddah and moving southward until Al- Qunfudhah. The third is the southern area starting from Al Qunfudhah and southward until Jizan. Between these two towns there is one coastal town Al Qahma. In addition, I covered the Farasan Islands off Jizan. This area along the Arabian Red Sea coast has a long history of seafaring, dhow building and fishing. All these towns were main ports where many ships used to stop either for trade or the Hajj. During the fieldwork, an outline of the aims and scope of the study was given at each meeting and informants also agreed to have their names and ages mentioned in this study.

I investigated in May/June 2010 a sample of maritime terminology from a vast corpus. It is safe to assume that former elderly sailors would be the main source of these terms and their meanings because they had knowledge and skills of the days of sail.

The terms I collected in audio recorded interviews can be divided into two groups: first are the common terms that are listed in mainstream lexica but are not properly or well defined by lexicographers, such as *ṣārī* and *daqal* which refer to "mast", *shirāʿ* (sail), *sukkān* (rudder), *safīna* (ship), and *jamma* (bilge); second are local maritime terms that

are not listed in the lexica at all, such as *mikhdaja* (fishing net), *rūma* (long punting pole), *balbīl* (oyster shell), *hirāb* (keel) and *ṣakhwa* (fish trap).

2. Written sources (lexica, literary and non-literary works)

The maritime terms collected from fieldwork, as noted above, are examined through lexica, and if the terms in question were missing in such lexica I consulted a number of Arabic literary and non-literary works which contained them.

i) Lexicographical works:

a) Medieval period: al-Farāhīdī's (d. 175/791) *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (The Book [starting with the Letter] ʿAyn), al-Azharī's (d. 370/980) *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (The Purification of the Language), Ibn Fāris's (d. 395/1004) *Muʿjam maqāyīs al-lugha* (The Criteria of the Language), al-Jawhari's (d. 400/1009) *Tāj al-lugha wa ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿArabiyya* (The Crown of the Language and the Correct [usage of] Arabic), Ibn Sīda's (d. 521/1127) *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (The Classified [Lexicon]), al-Jawālīqī's (d. 540/1144) *al-Muʿarrab min al-kalām al-aʿjamī ʿalā ḥurūf al-muʿjam* (Dictionary of Arabicized Words Arranged in Alphabetical Order), al-Ṣaghānī's (d. 650/ 1252) *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir* (The Huge Flood), Ibn Manẓūr's (d. 711/1311) *Lisān al-ʿArab* (The Language of the Arabs), and al-Fayrūzabādī's (d. 817/1415) *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (The Surrounding Sea).

b) Early modern and modern period: al-Zabīdī's (1205/1790) *Tāj al-ʿarūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs* (The Bride diadem from the Preciousst stones of the *Qāmūs* [of al-Fayrūzabādī]) and al-Bustānī's (d. 1883) *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, (The Surrounding of

al-Muḥīṭ [of al-Fayrūzabādī]), Shīr's (d. 1333/1915) *al-Alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muᶜarraba* (Arabicized Persian Words), *al-Muᶜjam al-waṣīṭ* (The Middle Dictionary) by the Academy of Arabic in Cairo and ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm's *Muᶜjam al-dakhīl* (The Dictionary of Loan Words).

ii) Specialized maritime word collections

There is a dearth of documentation of maritime and nautical terminology from the Saudi Red Sea coast. A number of these, however, may be mentioned: al-Kasādī's *Muᶜjam li-l-muṣṭlaḥāt al-baḥriyya fī janūb al-jazīra al-ᶜArabiyya* (2004) (The Dictionary of Maritime Terms in the South of the Arabian Peninsula, Abu Dhabi: al-Majmaᶜ al-Thaqāfī). Agius at the moment of the writing this thesis has been collecting a corpus of this terminology used on the African and Arabian coasts, which will be included in his forthcoming work, *The Life of the Red Sea Dhows: A Cultural History of Islamic Seaborne Exploration*, (I.B. Tauris "forthcoming"). On the other hand, there are studies that dealt with such terminology in the Arabian Gulf and Oman i.e., al-Rūmī's *Muᶜjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-baḥriyya fī al-Kuwayt* (1996) (The Dictionary of Maritime Terminology in Kuwait), al-Ḥijjī's *Art of Dhow Building in Kuwait* (2001), Agius's trilogy, *Classical Ships of Islam* (2005), *Seafaring in the Arabian Gulf and Oman* (2008) and *In the Wake of the Dhow* (2010).

iii) Literary and non-literary works:

The Qurʾān; the Ḥadīth; Qurʾānic exegeses such as *Tafsīr al-Qurṭubī* (The exegesis of al-Qurṭubī), *Tafsīr Ibn Abī Ḥātim* (The exegesis of Ibn Abī Ḥātim); poetry such as Ṭarafa b. al-ᶜAbd's (d. 569 AD), and al-Aᶜshā's (d. 629 AD) anthologies; literary, geographical and historical works such as al-Jāḥiẓ's (d. 255/868) *al-Ḥayawān* (The [book] of Animals),

al-Ḥamawī's (d. 622/1225) *Muʿjam al-buldān* (The Dictionary of Countries), al-Maqdisī's (d. 378/988) *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm* (The Best System of Division of the Knowledge of Climes), al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1348) *Tārīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa al-aʿlām* (The History of Islam and the Deaths of Notable People), al-Makkī's (d. 854/1450) *Tārīkh Makka al-musharrafa* (The History of Holy Mecca), al-ʿĀmilī's (d. 1030/1620) *al-Kashkūl* (Beggar's Bag) and al-Jabartī's (d. 1237/1821) *Tārīkh ʿajāʾb al-āthār fī al-tarājim wa al-akhbār* (The History of Wonders of Biographies and News).

Fieldwork: Places visited and people interviewed

Being a Hijazi, the places I visited are familiar to me, had over the past decade built acquaintances with a number of coastal people. I set off on my journey from Jeddah (21° 32′ 36″ N, 39° 10′ 22″ E) in the middle of the Saudi Red Sea coast. As Jeddah is a big cosmopolitan city, I encountered difficulties finding former sailors and fishermen. The huge wave of globalized modernization that has hit this city has led to a sort of split between the lifestyles of the younger generation and the heritage and customs of their fathers and grandfathers. At the same time, Jeddah is a big city where people from different backgrounds live; some of these residents originally came from non-coastal areas, looking for jobs, and they were not interested in the area's seafaring culture. Finally, I found that it was most effective to go to the Bangala (fish souk). Bangala is a reference to people from Bangladesh; they are workers and fishermen who work for Saudi owners. There I met some sailors and fishermen who were still attended the souk, either to meet old friends or to buy fish wholesale to sell as freelance fishmongers. Many of the workers in the Bangala are not Saudis but Bangladeshis who settled in Jeddah and are

employed by Saudi investors and that is why the fish souk is called Bangala in Saudi coastal cities.

After Jeddah I travelled 334 km south to Al Qunfudhah (19°07"N 41°04" E). There I was guided by a fisherman in his sixties in the Bangala to meet an old sailor (aged 84) who had wide experience sailing the Red Sea, another fisherman (aged 70) also was interviewed. I continued my journey south where I stopped at a town called Al Qahma (18°0'41"N 41°40'48"E) to meet two former sailors, a 60-year-old man who was the Sheihk of the fishermen, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Maṭḥamī, and a man in his 90s, who used to be a sea captain. I stopped in Jizan (16°53′21″N 42°33′40″E) about 800 km south of Jeddah to meet a group of fishermen (all of them over the age of 60) and their sheikh Yaḥyā al-Shaykh, who was 71. I spent three days with them, and I met them three times by the Bangala and the harbour. It was useful to see them by the harbour, where they took me to an old *hūrī* (a coastal small boat) and showed me each part of it.

After I left Jizan I took a ferry to Greater Farasan island. The name Farasan is also applied to the entire group of islands, which are located in the southwest Red Sea (16°53"N 41°51′ E). There I met the Sheikh of the fishermen ᶜAbd Allāh Nasīb, who took me to meet some old pearl divers (one of them in his 80s and two of them in their 70s). A friend of mine in Farasan also guided me to another two former pearl divers (in their 70s). In Jizan most of the interviewees were fishermen, while in Farasan most of them were former pearl divers. It seems Farasan was well known from medieval times for valuable types of pearls, as al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) notes in his lexicon *al-ᶜUbāb al-zākhir* (The Huge Flood).[15]

[15] Al-Ṣaghānī 1987, 12: 323.

I went then to the north and started from Yanbu (24°05′N 38°00′E), about 330 km north Jeddah. I met the Sheikh of the fishermen, Nājī al-Ruwaysī, who guided me to meet a group of former sailors and fishermen. I found many who keep in touch with each other, including men in their 80s who were no longer able to practise their trade on the sea. It is clear that sailors in this area came from different backgrounds: some of them were Bedouin and others were from the cities. I was told by some Bedouin sailors in Yanbu that they used to sail and fish most of the year; during the summer they would go inland to grow palm trees and pick dates. That is why there are two towns called Yanbu today, the first is Yanbu al-Bahr (Yanbu the sea town) where I met my informants and the second Yanbu al-Nahkl (Yanbu the town of palm trees). This interaction between the desert and Bedouin communities and the sea and urban seafaring communities may have led to Bedouin terms entering the language of seafaring communities (see Chapter 10).

From Yanbu I followed the road 150 km north to Umluj (25°2'13N 37°17'16"E), which, like Yanbu, is rich in maritime heritage and culture. Although the communities in these two towns are of mixed Bedouin and urban populations, the Bedouin background of sailors and fishermen in Umluj is clearer, where most of the sailors-fishermen population is Bedouins who belong to the Juhayna tribe. On the other hand, a large population of the sailors in Yanbu is from an urban background. This can be supported by the fact that well-known genres of songs that are sung at sea and songs for occasions such as weddings come from the urban environment of Yanbu, which means that the community prefers such urban songs because it is part of their identity, while in Umluj people prefer genres of songs which come from a Bedouin environment.

Further north I went to Al Wajh (26°14'53"N 36°27'19"E) and Duba (27°33'12"N 35°32'35"E). In Al Wajh, I met the Sheikh of the fishermen, ʿAwaḍ al-Maṭarī, in his 70s, and he guided me to meet a former fisherman in his 60s, and one of his colleagues interested in maritime culture. In Duba my only interviewee was the Sheikh of the fishermen, Muṣṭafā al-Būq in his 60s who said that former sailors were no longer available in this town. I noticed that the number of old sailors and fishermen in these two towns is far below Yanbu and Umluj, which leading to the Northern Red Sea coastal communities claiming that Yanbu and Umluj constitute the core of maritime heritage and culture on the Arabian Red Sea coast. The following map (map1) shows a total of 40 informants. However, I used information from only 26 informants because of problems of clarity and failing memory.

Map 1: Number of informants in each visited place on the Red Sea (drawn by author)

Breakdown of the chapters

This thesis consists of 10 chapters. Following the present chapter, introduction, Chapter 2 is the literature review, which investigates first, Arabic lexica the medieval, early modern and modern; and second, a historical-linguistic-cultural inquiry of maritime terms, which covers some works concerned with maritime terms. Both sources were used to build the research project. Chapter 3 focuses on the process of word collecting and how medieval lexicographers set out to collect words. Chapter 4 discusses the criteria that medieval lexicographers applied while they were compiling their lexica. Chapter 5 examines the role of linguistic moulds in determining terms as foreign or of Arabic origin, while Chapter 6 sheds light on non-linguistic factors that have affected the process of compiling lexica. A discussion on mainstream lexica follows in Chapter 7 analysing the systems applied in classifying these lexica. Before presenting case studies on maritime terms, I looked at a sample of maritime terms (Chapter 8) found in Arabic lexica that have not been used by the Red Sea Saudi coastal people in recent times. The case study Chapter 9, presents an investigative analysis of maritime terms which refer to boat types, ship parts, ship equipment and fishing equipment, respectively. These investigated terms are extracted from the fieldwork conducted by the author. Finally, Chapter 10 is the conclusions and final thoughts.

Chapter 2: Literature review

In addition to Agius's work (1984) on mainstream Arabic lexica documenting material cultural terminology, this chapter attempts to provide an updated literature review of Arabic lexica. More detailed information about these lexica will come later in Chapter 7 where I talk about Arabic lexica in more detail. In addition, this literature review also provides an overview of other of Agius's works (2005, 2008, 2010), which aimed to provide a better understanding of material culture terms by explaining the functions of maritime and nautical terms and attempting to find their etymology.

Following the spread of Islam outside Arabia, the Bedouin and urbanized Arabs interacted with various ethnic communities thereby creating a new linguistic environment that accommodated a great number of loan terms. Several Arabic linguists and lexicographers reacted to these developments with hostility because they believed that such changes damaged the authenticity of the language.[1] Consequently, they set out to protect Arabic from any foreign influence and to preserve its purity and uniqueness by collecting many lists of Arabic vocabularies from the Bedouins.

A well known example of this undertaking is al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 216/831) who compiled lists of Arabic terms such as the *Kitāb al-nakhl* (The Book on Palm Trees), *Kitāb al-ibil* (The Book on Camels), *Kitāb al-khayl* (The Book on Horses) and the *Kitāb al-naḥl wa al-ᶜasal* (The Book on Bees and Honey). Later lexicographers who aimed to compile lexica enriched their works with those terms related to the Bedouin lifestyle. Another main factor that led lexicographers to focus only on Classical Arabic was that the gap between formal and informal Arabic was getting wider as a result of changes in the lifestyles of

[1] Baalbaki 2014, 5.

Bedouin who moved from desert to urbanized areas. Also, the new Muslim generation lacked knowledge of many Qurʾānic terms, the Ḥadīth (the sayings and deeds of the Prophet Muḥammad), and pre-Islamic poetry, in spite of the fact that they were Arabic speakers.

One of the earliest and most prominent examples of the study of Arabic lexicography is *Al-muʿjam al-ʿarabī nashʾatuhū wa taṭawwuruhū* (Arabic Lexicon its Beginning and Development) (1953) by Naṣṣār, other examples include *Dirāsāt fī al-Muʿjam al-ʿarabī* (Studies about Arabic Lexicon) (1987) by Murād, and *Nashʾat al-Maʿājim al-ʿarabiyya wa taṭawwuruhā* (The Beginning of Arabic Lexica and its Development) (1995) by Saqqāl, to name but a few. Most of these studies focus on works from the east of the Islamic Caliphate (Middle East), which caused researchers to undermine the efforts of Western lexicographers who lived in the Arab west especially after the ninth/fifteenth century. The west included Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Al-Andalus.

What were the possible reasons behind the undermining of western works? First among influences was the fall of Al-Andalus in the ninth/fifteenth century, during which lexicographers and linguists moved from Al-Andalus to settle in the eastern territories of the Islamic Caliphate, so many works were lost during this journey. Many lexica compiled in the Islamic west before this date are well known, such as *al-Bāriʿ* (The Sophisticated) by the Andalusian lexicographer Abū ʿAlī al-Qālī (d. 356/967), *al-Muḥkam* (The Well-Structured [Work]), *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (The Classified) by Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1065), and *Lisān al-ʿArab* (The Language of the Arabs) by the Libyan lexicographer Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311). Second, after the ninth/fifteenth century, western Arabic lexicographers concentrated their efforts either on criticizing the criteria of lexica compiled in the eastern

territories or compiling specialized dictionaries. After the fifteenth century, there is no lexicographical activity until the nineteenth-twentieth century. Third, in 1953, Naṣṣār, wrote an unprecedented study of Arabic lexicography *al-Muʿjam al-ʿArabī* (The Arabic Dictionary). Although he aimed to cover all Arabic lexica, he somewhat glossed over the works compiled by Arabic lexicographers in the Islamic western territories, usually after the eighth/fourteenth century.[2] Most Arabic studies that dealt with the history of lexicography relied on what Naṣṣār wrote, and consequently ignored Arabic dictionaries from the west. Additionally, it should be born in mind that several lexicographical works compiled in the west are lost or survive only in manuscript form.

Al-Wadghīrī conducted two leading studies about lexicography in the Islamic West: The first, *al-Muʿjam al-ʿarabī bil-andalus* (Arabic Lexicon in Al-Andalus), was published in 1984. The second is *al-Muʿjam fī al-maghrib al-ʿarabī ilā bidāyat al-qarn al-rābiʿ ʿashar al-hijrī* (Lexicographical Activity in the Arab West until the Beginning of the Fourteenth [Twentieth Century]) published in 2007. These studies give researchers a clearer image of Arabic lexicographical works from the Islamic West. As noted above, many lexicographers across the Islamic west aimed not to compile comprehensive lexica, but rather to criticize the existing eastern dictionaries or compile specialized dictionaries. Several reasons motivated Western authors to concentrate on these genres of authorship. First of all, Arabic-speakers in the West were well known for their love and reverence of the sanctity of Classical Arabic, and they attempted to keep this purist view of Arabic linguistics by criticizing some works compiled in the East, especially lexica that documented *muwallad* (neologisms) and foreign terms, such as *Jamharat al-lugha* (The Majority [of Words] of the Language) by Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) and *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*

[2] Al-Wadghīrī 1984, 4.

(The Surrounding Sea) by al-Fayrūzabādī. Second, Western lexicographers were geographically far from the Arabian Peninsula, the source of pure Arabic as they saw it. Third, the late diffusion of Arabic in the West during the third/ninth century led Western lexicographers to rely on lexica compiled in the Middle East.[3]

In modern western scholarship the main book that deals with Arabic lexicography is J. Haywood's *Arabic Lexicography*, published first in 1959. However, this work mostly focused on al-Farāhīdī's *Kitāb al-ʿayn*, and today it is outdated. A recent work is R. Baalbaki's *The Arabic Lexicographical Tradition* (2014) which covers the field from the second/eighth century to the twelfth/eighteenth century. Although he did not cover all lexica, Baalbaki throws light on mainstream lexica whether they are *mubawwab* (onomasiological) or *mujannas* (semasiological).

In the following sections, I will throw light on the criteria applied by medieval and early modern lexicographers on specific lexica that helped me to conduct this research, and attempt to evaluate the importance of these works in terms of the investigation.

Medieval works

The *Muʿjam maqāyīs al-lugha* (Dictionary for the Criteria of the Language) compiled by Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 395/1004) is one of the most important works used by modern researchers because it solves a part of the Arabic lexicographical issue that confronts modern researchers who are handicapped by the lack of appropriate tools, since a great number of terms are not listed in lexica.

[3] Al-Wadghīrī 2008, 7-17.

Ibn Fāris is the first lexicographer to build his work on concerns of the derivation of Arabic roots and their meanings. His hypothesis was that each root has a specific meaning but that sometimes one root may include more than one meaning. Consider the following roots which contain two different conceptual meanings: √*ḥ.f.d.* means "working hard" and "a grouping of people",[4] √*l.ṣ.f.* gives the meaning of a "kind of fruit" and "dryness",[5] and √*q.l.ʿ.* means "removing" and "covering".[6] This theory assumes that an abstract meaning of a root must be found in all the words derived from it. For example, √*k.t.b.* has, conceptually, the meaning of "write", and from this are derived words such as *kātib* (writer), *kitāb* (book), *maktūb* (letter), *maktaba* (library), etc. All of these derivations express the meaning of "writing".[7] Another root √*s.f.n.* expresses the meaning of "removing water or other objects".[8] It gives words such as *safīna* (ship), because a ship skims the water, and *safan* (a tool used to remove the peel of anything), etc. The root √*j.n.n.* gives words for "hidden objects which cannot be seen with the naked eye",[9] such as *janna* (heaven), *jinnī* (a good or evil spirit), *junūn* (madness) as "it covers the mind", and *janīn* (an embryo inside the womb); all these derivations used the concept of "invisibleness".[10] From the root √*f.ṣ.ḥ.*, which expresses the meaning of "being pure and clear",[11] we find words such as *fuṣḥā* (pure language), *faṣīḥ* (eloquent), *fiṣḥ* (Easter or Passover), the latter signifies cleaning from the past.[12] When he encountered words without a semantic relationship to their roots, Ibn Fāris thought them as an anomaly in Arabic: for example, √*q.r.s.*, which expresses the meaning of "cold"[13] and gives words

[4] Ibn Fāris 1979, 2: 84.
[5] Ibid, 5: 248.
[6] Ibid, 5: 21-3.
[7] Ibid, 5: 158-59.
[8] Ibid, 3: 78.
[9] Ibid, 1: 421.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid, 4: 506-7.
[12] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 506; al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 391.
[13] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 70.

such as *al-qars* (cold), *qarisa* (to suffer from cold); an exception to this meaning is *qurāsiya* (huge camel).[14] The root √*l.w.ḥ.* gives the meaning of "seeing something far from you",[15] such as *lāḥa* (to appear); *alwāḥ* (swords), which can be seen shining together from far away as they shine under the sun; and *alāḥa* (to appear as lightning); however, these derivations are far from the meaning of *lawḥ* (a plank used in ship building), which does not express the conceptual meaning of "seeing something far from you".[16] One important point to mention is that Ibn Fāris skimmed all available lexica not in order to collect words and their meanings but to collect the meanings of only those words derived from Arabic roots with clear semantic relationships.

This dictionary will be consulted in the present thesis to address the meanings of the roots of the terms in question and what they are derived from, and then I will attempt to find the semantic relationships between the investigated terms and their roots. Semantically, this exercise will enable the present researcher to claim which words are Arabic and which are loan words. However, it is not as easy as it looks on the surface. As we take the word *sukkān* meaning "rudder", when it comes to finding the etymology we are told by Ibn Fāris:

> "the root √*s.k.n.* gives the meaning of calm and that is why the rudder is called *sukkān* as it helps the ship to be calm and stabilized".[17]

This semantic link between *sukkān* (rudder) and its root √*s.k.n.* suggests that the word could be of Arabic origin. The modern etymologist, however, goes further than Ibn Fāris's definition, and that is what Agius did, who proves the opposite in determining the origin

[14] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 70.
[15] Ibid, 5: 220.
[16] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 220.
[17] Ibid, 3: 88.

of the word. His approach concerns the morphological structure which holds the view that the /n/ of *sukkān* is not the final Arabic radical of the root √*s.k.n.*, that, in fact, it is morphologically part of a Farsī or Sanskrit ending.[18] What compounds the difficulties in such studies is the lack of an etymological dictionary in Arabic.

Sometimes Ibn Fāris gives certain roots from which are derived only one word , such as √*d.q.l.* which gives the word *daqal* "mast"[19] only and √*j.d.f.* which gives only *mijdāf* "oar".[20] In this case, he lists the root and the word derived from it, claiming that such roots could be from a non-Arabic origin. The reason for this, he argues, is that each Arabic root must have several derivations.[21] This can be explained as follows: under the root √*d.q.l.*, Ibn Fāris claims that it is a non-Arabic because it has no other derivations except the noun *daqal* (mast). Although there is also a kind of palm tree called *daqal*, Ibn Fāris did not consider it as a separate derivation because it is the same word only with different meaning.[22] This provided an important clue to lexicographers after Ibn Fāris, who investigated the relationship between this maritime term and the term for a tree.[23] It could be argued that ancient boat builders in Arabia used to make the masts for their ships from the trunk of this kind of palm tree, hence the term *daqal*. This hypothesis is further supported by the following arguments. First, the Arabian Peninsula most of which is desert has no trees with high and strong trunks except palm trees, so it makes sense to say that boat builders in Arabia made their masts from the trunks of these trees because they lacked other resources. Second, it is known by Bedouin farmers that palm trees have one of the strongest trunks, which is why palm trees are able to grow so high and live for a

[18] Agius 2008, 385.
[19] Ibn Fāris 1979, 2: 289.
[20] Ibid 1: 433.
[21] Ibid, 2: 289.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 345.

long time in the severe conditions of the desert. These qualities are exactly what dhow builders need to provide the dhow with a mast that could resist hard conditions. Finally, as nomad Arabs living in the desert find it difficult to find food, they would not cut down any palm tree for the mast of a ship. They would rather choose palm trees that bear low quality dates as Ibn Manẓūr's (d. 711/1311) definition dictates,[24] and *daqal* is the name of such palm trees.

When, however, Ibn Fāris defined the term *laṣaf* he provided a link between the sea and the desert, saying that it is derived from the root √*l.ṣ.f.* which gives the meaning of "dryness and shine"[25] and, very differently from this reference, *laṣaf* refers also to "a specific kind of fruit".[26] The fruit is like a cucumber, and was used by sailors to cure scurvy when they were far at sea.[27] The semantic link between this root and the fruit *laṣaf* could be that when the sailors are sick with scurvy their bodies become dry, and this fruit heals this dryness.

As for quadrilateral roots, Ibn Fāris only listed those which were duplicated from triradical ones such as √*z.l.z.l.* duplicated from √*z.l.l.* Although other lexicographers documented them, non-duplicated quadrilateral roots were ignored by Ibn Fāris because he classified them as foreign and believed they should not be listed. Examples include √*s.n.b.k.*,[28] which gives *sunbūk* (a type of ship),[29] √*k.n.b.r.*, which gives the term *kanbār* (rigging rope)[30] and √*r.h.m.j.* which gives *rahnāmaj* (navigators' manual).[31] The ending

[24] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 344.
[25] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 249.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ghānim al-ʿAbs, interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2010.
[28] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 5: 427.
[29] Al-Khafājī 1282/1865, 119.
[30] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 3: 723
[31] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 190.

/aj/ is a Fārsī ending and even if we consider it as a triradical root √*r.h.m.* it is not related according to Ibn Fāris because the lack of semantic link. Such a criterion is crucial in determining a term's origin.

The second lexicon I want to review here is *al-Muᶜarrab min al-kalām al-aᶜjamī ᶜalā ḥurūf al-muᶜjam* (Arabicized Words Classified Alphabetically) by Abū Manṣūr al-Jawālīqī (d. 540/1145). He was born in Baghdad and spent most of his life in Iraq until his death. After he compiled his lexicon, he became a well-known scholar producing, at the time, a ground-breaking work in the field of Arabic etymology.[32]

Al-Jawālīqī did not follow his predecessors' methods nor did he follow other works of medieval authors who collected pure Arabic words. He felt a need to compile a lexicon that traced words of non-Arabic origin only. His predecessors did not throw sufficient light on loan words either by ignoring them or giving them vague definitions, and because of that al-Jawālīqī's approach was an important and significant beginning to etymological studies.

In the preface to his work, he asserted that some Arabic lexicographers had made many mistakes in investigating the origins of loan words. Some thought that certain words were derived from Arabic roots while in fact they were foreign. To support his claims he narrated an anecdote of Abū Bakr b. al-Sarrāj (d. 316/928) who thought that the word *būṣī* was derived from the Arabic name Abū Zayd; this is folk etymology, whereas a

[32] His lexicon was first published in Leipzig, Germany in 1867, and was edited in 1969 by the Egyptian Aḥmad Shākir and published in Cairo by Dār al-Kutub. Later, in 1410/1990 it was edited by ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm and published by Dar al-Qalam in Damascus.

certain Abū ʿAlī al-Farisī (d. 377/987) told him that the word *būṣī* is a non-Arabic word borrowed from Persian.[33] The term means a type of ship.

In the first section of his lexicon he discussed the conditions that allow a foreign word to be assimilated into Arabic, examples include changing the word structure (morphology) or the sounds (phonology). In the second section he discussed some criteria for determining borrowed words, suggesting that Arabic is based on a phonological system that does not allow some sounds to be clustered together in one word. Some sounds when juxtaposed in a word could be a signal of a non-Arabic word: for example, *jīm* /j/ and *ṭāʾ* /ṭ/ in *jalfaṭa* (to caulk),[34] *ṣād* /ṣ/ and *ṭāʾ* /ṭ/ in *iṣṭirlāb* (astrolabe)[35] and *bāṭūṣ* (a thick plank of wood fastened to the edges of the boat),[36] and *bāʾ* /b/, *sīn* /s/ and *tāʾ* /t/ such as *bustān* (garden).[37] According to this criterion, a word in Arabic vocabulary can be classified as either an original or loan word.

Listing loan words in the regular alphabetical order (ʾ/ b/ t/ th/ j/ ḥ/ kh etc) was important for al-Jawālīqī (d. 540/1144) because he assumed that classifying words borrowed from other languages under Arabic roots, as medieval lexicographers before him had, would be fatal to his lexicographic work. He reasoned that foreign terms having radicals that do not follow the Semitic morphological structure would cause confusion – to the point that foreign terms might be wrongly classified under Arabic roots to which they do not belong. Classifying foreign terms, al-Jawālīqī considered the first sound only, disregarding the other radicals. The problem is, however, that searching for a term that starts with /*j* /

[33] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 91.
[34] Ibid, 256.
[35] Ibid, 55.
[36] Nāṣir ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ, interviewed in Al Wajh on 11 May 2010.
[37] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 100.

requires searching the whole section of *jīm*, with the hope of finding it somewhere there. If we take *julfāṭ* "filling the gaps of ship planks by tar",[38] al-Azharī (d. 370/980) classified it under its sequential radicals √*j.l.f.ṭ.* (note: /j / < /q/)[39] Another example is *rubbān* which is defined by al-Jawālīqī as "the man who is responsible for the rudder of the ship", a foreign term,[40] classified under /r/ disregarding the radicals in their order √*r.b.n.* or √*r.b.b.*, the latter as al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) listed it.[41] The term *sabījī* is defined as "an Indian navigator who accompanied a sea captain on board ship",[42] al-Jawālīqī states that it is foreign and classifies it under the section /s/, again not in the radical order but randomly, while Ibn Manẓūr lists it under the Arabic root √*s.b.j.*[43] Interestingly, this term gives us clues about the socio-cultural life of seafaring activities, suggesting that Indians were hired to assist with navigation and other tasks on board. Finally, *shannān* is "a Persian word for a kind of ship made of reeds and used also to cross rivers"[44] and is classified by al-Jawālīqī under the section of /sh/. With the exception of *al-Muʿarrab* this term is not listed in medieval, early modern or modern lexica.

Although many nautical and maritime terms are not documented in this lexicon, the small number that it does contain provide important information about the life of people and material cultural terms. Further, it is a core work for later etymological studies.

[38] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 256.
[39] Al-Azharī 2001, 11: 168.
[40] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 328.
[41] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 2: 479.
[42] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 368.
[43] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 2: 86.
[44] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 417.

Early modern works

As I noted earlier, the primary aim of the vast majority of medieval Arabic lexicographers was to help Muslims to understand the language of the Qurʾān and Ḥadīth, by providing clear definitions for unfamiliar items of vocabulary. The *Taj al-ʿarūs* by Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) is different because the author paid particular attention to linguistic issues that had not been dealt with sufficiently by earlier lexicographers. Three of these issues were: 1) *muwallad* (neologisms), 2) foreign vocabulary, and 3) place-names.

1. *Muwallad* or neologisms. Al-Zabīdī documents a word as *muwallad*, using the word in the sense of "a newly coined term". Several terms are of non-Arabic origin, so al-Zabīdī ignored most of these words because he thought they were dubious or of a low level of interest. There are a remarkable number of maritime and nautical terms as such and, unsurprisingly, are not included in his lexicon. Listed examples include, *jamūr* "a piece of wood fixed on the top of the mast" listed under the root √*j.m.r.*,[45] and under √*q.w.q.* he lists the word *qāʾiq* "very long ship".[46] According to al-Zabīdī this root expresses the meaning of "long objects".[47] On the other hand, Ibn Fāris lists the word *qūq* meaning "tall man", but says that its origin is not an Arabic one.[48] Under the √*sh.w.n.*, al-Zabīdī lists *shūna*, "an Egyptian term for 'a boat equipped for *jihād* (holy war)",[49] and *nuhāʾ* "white stones which are brought from the sea".[50] This amount of information is not found in many earlier lexica.

[45] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 10: 470.
[46] Ibid, 26: 343.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 42.
[49] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 35: 298.
[50] Ibid, 40: 155.

2. Foreign vocabulary. Al-Zabīdī documented some borrowed terms. Such terms cannot be assimilated into Arabic as they do not fit the criteria of arabicization and that is why lexicographers before al-Zabīdī ignored them. The following are examples of quadrilateral roots: √*kh.sh.l.b.*, he lists as *makhshalaba* "dialectal Irāqī term borrowed from Nabatean for a cheap kind of pearl";[51] *nuhbūgh* "a long fast ship which is also known as *dūnīj*",[52] classified under √*n.h.b.gh.*; *nawākhidha* "plural of *nakhudha* a ship owner or the sea captain"[53] is ignored by al-Jawharī in his *Ṣiḥāḥ* because it is foreign,[54] and is listed under the root √*n.kh.dh.* by al-Zabīdī; and finally we find the term *rahnāmaj* "a pilot's guide"[55] listed under √*r.h.m.j.*

3. Place-names. He consulted geographic works such as the *Muʿjam ma stuʿjim* (The Dictionary of the Unknown) of al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), the *Muʿjam al-buldān* (The Dictionary of Countries) of Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1228), and *al-Khuṭūṭ* (The Latitudes) of al-Maqrīzī (d. 845/1442). He listed under the root √*j.d.d.*, Jeddah, defining it as "a very famous city on the Red Sea and all ships which come from Egypt, Yemen, Basra and India anchor at its port."[56] Regarding the etymology of Jeddah, he reports the legend that the city was named after a man who came to it before it was built.[57] However, it is called as such because it lies on the coast. It also means a place at the mouth of the river.[58] Another example, al-Shuʿayba, "an ancient port in the Hijaz before Jeddah was built",[59] lies seventy kilometres south of Mecca. Farasan, "an uninhabited island in the

[51] Ibid, 3: 106.
[52] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 22: 588.
[53] Ibid, 9: 486.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ibid, 5: 602.
[56] Ibid, 7: 476.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid, 3: 145.

sea of Yemen where divers used to find pearls",[60] citing al-Ṣāghānī, (d. 650/ 1252) who called on this port for a number of days in 605/1208.[61]

Tāj al-ᶜarūs is still one of the most important lexica in Arabic due to the fact that it covers so many aspects of the language in terms of meaning and content as well as etymology. Its author aimed to collect as many terms as he could from the numerous fields of knowledge in his times. In contrast to *Lisān al-ᶜArab* (The Language of the Arabs) by Ibn Manẓūr it can be said that the *Tāj* is more comprehensive. Ibn Manẓūr relied only on five mainstream lexica while al-Zabīdī consulted some one hundred and twenty sources for his lexicon. In many respects his work can be called an encyclopaedic dictionary of Arabic.

The last lexicon I would like to review is *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (The Surrounding of *al-Muḥīṭ* [of al-Fayrūzabādī]) compiled by Buṭrus al-Bustānī (d. 1883). His enthusiasm for representing Arabic as a language separate from holy texts, such as the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth, has in my opinion provided a more accurate representation of written and spoken Arabic in the nineteenth century.

The *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* one of the main reference dictionaries that links the language to the daily life of its speakers. This lexicon is of great use because it contains a number of maritime and nautical terms, a corpus, as pointed out earlier, missing in medieval lexica, and examples of these terms can be divided into various groups. First, words related to maritime matters such as: *omsūḥ* "a generic term for any long piece of wood in the body

[60] Ibid, 16: 325.
[61] Ibid.

of the ship",[62] *sandarūs* "a kind of glue used by ship builders to fill the gaps in the body of the ship"[63] and *bajmāṭ* "sailors' biscuit."[64] Such examples illustrate links between maritime history and the environment of the seafaring communities today. Second, words related to ship-types, such as *sabbāra*,[65] *mirzāb* ,[66] *sanbūq* ,[67] and *shakhtūr*, the latter is "jargon used by seafarers for a small ship with one mast",[68] *ʿaraq* "a type of ship made of palm tree fronds",[69] and *al-qūf* "a small boat" and its owner, called *qawwāf*.[70] Third, marine terms which include living sea creatures such as: *jirrī* "a boneless fish, except for the wide mouth and spine, has a long dorsal fin",[71] *dījiyūn* "foreign term for a kind of fish",[72] *irbiyān* "white fish that looks like insects",[73] *ṣadaf* "oyster shell, with a small living creature inside, which could contain a pearl",[74] *ḍīrāk* "kind of fish",[75] a word which is still used for a well known kind of fish in Jizan;[76] *qirsh* "a sea creature that scares all other creatures in the sea i.e., a shark";[77] a term which is well-known in the all Red Sea Region, and *qandur* "Persian word for sea dog".[78]

Further, al-Bustānī listed colloquial vocabulary that cannot be found in other lexica, such as *bīnibib* "a kind of fish",[79] *dullāʿ* "a kind of shell",[80] *ghallīna* "calm sea"[81] and *lisān al-*

[62] Al-Bustānī 1987, 850.
[63] Al-Tabrīzī 1982, 2: 1173; al-Bustānī 1987, 433.
[64] Al-Bustānī 1987, 28.
[65] Ibid, 392.
[66] Ibid, 332.
[67] Ibid, 431.
[68] Al-Bustānī 1987, 455.
[69] Ibid, 595.
[70] Ibid, 763.
[71] Ibid, 105.
[72] Ibid, 301.
[73] Ibid, 322.
[74] Ibid, 502-3.
[75] Ibid, 535.
[76] Yaḥyā al-Shaykh, interviewed in Jizan on 21 May 2012.
[77] Al-Bustānī 1987, 726.
[78] Ibid, 758.
[79] Ibid, 65.
[80] Ibid, 288.
[81] Ibid, 665.

baḥr "sea foam".[82] Such terms are not listed in other mainstream Arabic lexica, either medieval, early modern or modern, largely because they are dialectal terms of the Levant coast.[83]

Modern works

Although the main aim of compiling *al-Muʿjam al-waṣīṭ* (The Middle Lexicon) was to help students, the Arabic Academy in Cairo attempted to make it useful for all speakers, even the cultured class that had acquired an advanced level in Classical Arabic. This can be seen in its documentation of a great number of arabicized terms and their etymologies; it explains the relations between Arabic terms and those from other languages, such as *bandar*, which is listed as "a Persian word for a port town or city".[84] Another example is *sardīn* which is defined as "a kind of small salted fish", the origin of which goes back to the island of Sardinia in Italy.[85] Another term *muʿaddiya* is "a ferry to and from one shore to another, either by sea or river."[86] This illustrates that this lexicon documents the origin of words and the developments in their use among present day Arabic speakers.

The *al-Muʿjam al-waṣīṭ* is an important reference work which contains a number of maritime material cultural terms, especially modern ones, which are not listed in the previous lexicographical works. Additionally, it contains terms coined by Arabic Academies[87] in the twentieth century. For example, in the field of types of ships we find

[82] Al-Bustānī 1987, 815.
[83] This selection shows that *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* constitutes a rich document of spoken Arabic in the Levant during the nineteenth century.
[84] Al-Tabrīzī 1982, 1: 306; Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 71.
[85] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 426.
[86] Ibid, 589.
[87] The Arabic Academy in Damascus was founded in 1919, the Arabic Academy in Cairo founded in 1934, the Arabic Academy in Baghdad founded in 1947 and Arabicization Coordination Bureau in Rabat in 1961.

bākhira "a steam ship, plural *bawākhir* ",[88] *bārija* "a fighting ship, called as such since it had a *burj* (tower) above it",[89] *mudarraʿa* "an armoured fighting ship",[90] and *nassāfa* "a ship used to attack buildings onshore, it is called *nassāfa* since it is from the root √*n.s.f.* to demolish".[91] In the field of ship parts we find: *aṣṭaqs* "a ship skeleton",[92] *jafẓ* "the rigging rope",[93] *khadf* "rudder, also called *sukkān*",[94] and *marnaḥa* "stern, also called *juʾjuʾ*",[95] and *sahwa* defined as "an awning to protect sailors from sunshine",[96] this word is also used by Red Sea sailors.[97]

To sum up: these examples illustrate the unique position held by *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ* among other lexica, which generally are lacking in material cultural terminology, especially maritime and nautical ones. Some of these terms are not documented in medieval and early modern lexica either because they were neologisms (because they did not exist in the past), or because some of them cannot be found in the early dictionaries, indicating that they have been recently coined by the coastal communities.

Historical-linguistic-cultural inquiry of maritime terms

Agius's studies incorporated in the trilogy *In The Wake of the Dhow: the Arabian Gulf and Oman* (2002 and 2010), *Seafaring in the Arabian Gulf and Oman: the People of Dhow* (2005 and 2009) and *Classic Ships of Islam: from Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean* (2008-2014), were meant to establish a relationship and a link from medieval Islam to the

[88] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.,* 41.
[89] Ibid, 46.
[90] Ibid, 281.
[91] Ibid, 918.
[92] Ibid, 47.
[93] Ibid, 127.
[94] Ibid, 221.
[95] Ibid, 375.
[96] Ibid, 459.
[97] ʿĪsa Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Gahma on 19 May 2010.

present day from a historical-cultural and linguistic perspective. Language contains all that is related to littoral communities and their maritime activities such as technical terms, names of people and areas whether at sea or on land, as well as past events and the history of any people with a commonly understood language. He argues in a separate work entitled *Arabic Literary Works as a Source of Documentation for Technical Terms of the Material Culture* (1984) that Arabic lexica are inadequate in the field of material cultural terminology for two reasons. First, a great number of terms are undocumented in Arabic dictionaries and second, Arabic lacks an etymological dictionary which can solve such a problem, so Agius combines the historical-cultural aspects with a linguistic study in the four works in order to address the gaps that have existed in this area.

The fieldwork he conducted in the Arabian coast of the Gulf and Oman covers two main areas: first, recordings of interviews with numerous people living along the coast, and, second, he researched historical archives concerning the life of the dhow and information about maritime culture. All these sources form a holistic approach and a model, which are applied by the author to address hitherto little known areas of boat typology, sea activities and shipbuilding. Using this methodology, the author attempted to provide a complete image of the dhow on the Arabian coast of the Gulf and Oman and to reconstruct a history of maritime culture during the medieval past.

These works have provided a model of research into maritime culture and the study of its terminology, and were of great benefit for the model and approach I followed in the present study. However, the reliability of oral history is at least open to question. Agius's works addresses this concern by suggesting that oral history cannot stand on its own without being strengthened with written, documented data. The most important aspect of

Agius's works is his investigation of terminology, both synchronically and diachronically, the methodology of which has helped my own inquiry into this topic. Agius's works are pioneering in that they contain original material from maritime ethography and archival research, a systematic approach not conducted before, and now we have Arab and non-Arab researchers in the Gulf and Red Sea interested in collecting terminology, and some authors have taken the initiative in interpreting the meanings of these terms and pursuing their provenance.

A further problem with regard to the interpretation of various regional dialects, where linguistic diversification are not recorded in lexica, makes this research difficult though useful for future researchers. This diversification in the Gulf and Oman and its historical-cultural role that Agius studied is the result of a rich and cosmopolitan ethnography, as seafaring activities came in contact with the Bedouin, port and urban communities living together in coastal territories and regarding the sea as their main livelihood. Furthermore, members of these communities with different backgrounds travelled together as one family to India, the Gulf and East Africa. However, from my fieldwork along the Saudi Red Sea coast during May/June 2010, the situation there is different, because the seafaring communities living on the Red Sea coast interacted mainly with Egyptians, Sudanese, Eritreans, Djiboutians, and Yemenites, so it is possible to argue for an Arabic and/or Semitic origin of maritime terms, while in the case of Agius, his works deal with the seafaring communities mixing mainly with Iranians, Indians and east Africans so we have a language of terminology mixed with Fārsī, Sanskrit/Hindi and Swahili. One significant difference between seafaring communities in the Arabian coast of the Gulf and Oman and the Red Sea is the religious backgrounds of the Shīᶜite and Sunnī Muslim communities. The seafaring communities in both sides of the Red Sea are predominantly Sunnī, while

seafaring communities on the Arabian coast of the Gulf are a mixture of Sunnī and Shīᶜite Muslims. The vast majority of seafaring community in the Iranian coast of the Gulf are Shīᶜite but significant numbers of Arabic-speaking Shīᶜite communitie also live on the Arabian coast of the Gulf and Oman.[98]

Although there are many dialectal variations along the Red Sea Saudi coast, during my fieldwork, I noticed that technical maritime terms usually shared similar semantics. Synonyms exist that are used in all regions. For example, *ṣārī* and *daqal* are both used for the mast and *mijdāf* and *sayb* are both used for an oar.

In the following chapter I will shed light on the early language collectors who launched a model of study during their trips across Arabia looking for indigenous Arabic speakers. Such a model was followed by later lexicographers and a few had undertaken an etymological investigation albeit its limitation.

[98] Agius 2010, 382-404.

Chapter 3: Word-collecting

The political hegemony of the Islamic Caliphate of the first/seventh century instigated a strong social-cultural intercourse between Arab and other ethnic communities. As a result, indigenous Arabs were severely affected by this interaction in a number of ways. One of the most noticeable changes was in their language. Arabic was changing gradually.[1] Linguists reacted to these developments with hostility because they believed that such changes damaged the purity of the language. They addressed their concerns by collecting data; they set off on long journeys around Arabia, searching for indigenous speakers in order to record their pure speech.

These early linguists and lexicographers, al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791), Sībawayhi (d. 180/796) and al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 216/831) realized that Arabic needed lexical documentation because the gap between the formal language and the spoken one was becoming wider. The reasons for this gap were rooted in the advent of Islam, in which formal Arabic had been the language of prayer for all Muslims regardless of their ethnicity or mother tongue. Accordingly, it was obligatory for all new Muslims to master a preliminary level of formal Arabic in order to perform prayers, and reciting verses of the Qurʾān. On the other hand, the spoken language was developing far from the criteria laid down by linguists and lexicographers to protect the classical form of Arabic.

Lexicographers set out to compile lists of Arabic words and their meanings from tribal Arabs of Peninsular Arabia. This action was an early attempt at Arabic lexicography. Although this method of trying to restore the status of the language by compiling lists of

[1] Blau 1981, 1-2.

words achieved some traction, modern researchers (Naṣṣār [1988], Baᶜlabakkī [2014]) suggest that it was not recognised as the first attempt at the field of Arabic studies. In fact, the study of vocabularies had started much earlier.[2] How this came about can be explained by the fact that new Muslims who had grown up in Islamic cities far from Bedouin environments needed to understand the obscurer vocabulary found in the written language.[3] Some lexicographical attempts were devoted especially to explaining words found in the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth, among these were the efforts of the disciples of ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbbās (d. 68/687). The work of these disciples contains a great deal of lexical and semantic details about Qurʾānic terms.

There were a substantial number of technical terms coined after the advent of Islam, and these needed to be explained by medieval linguists or religious scholars for the new Muslims: words such as, *al-qadar* (fate), *al-shayṭān* (Satan), *saqar* (hell), *ᶜadn* (Eden) and *al-ᶜarsh* (Allāh's throne).[4] These and other terms were important at the time, but there was, meanwhile, a lacuna of terminology that was not religious but remains important for understanding the socio-cultural and economic background of the time. This vocabulary includes material cultural terminology, much of which is absent from Arabic lexica.

These political, ideological and social conditions in Arabic lexicography raise some important questions. What was the aim of these medieval Arabic lexicographers? Who was their intended target audience? To answer these questions we need to shed some light on the fundamental role of words in daily usage in the early years of Islam. The vocabulary used by the speakers of any language cannot be studied in isolation from their

[2] Haywood 1965, 11.
[3] Versteegh 1997, 59.
[4] Al-Rāzī 1994, 313, 362, 383, 397, 334.

emotional and ideological constraints, because words explain the ideas of speakers and may contain a high degree of emotional meaning[5] as well as revealing different ways of thinking.[6] Also words provide us with a narrative of culture and describe the daily lives of speakers and writers. Therefore, any attempt at studying Arabic lexicography, its history and development should not be conducted in isolation from the doctrines and the ideas of the original authors, since their languages are reflections of their ideologies. According to al-Ḥamzāwī,[7] these considerations are not well investigated by historians of Arabic lexicography whose aim has been to describe rather than criticize Arabic dictionaries and their different methodologies.[8] This means that the differences between dictionaries in choosing entries and their classification is not simply a technical or a linguistic issue, but also a reflection of the ideas and the intellectual activity at the time of the compiler.[9] In order to understand how these conditions and ideology formed the mentality of medieval Arabic lexicographers we need to question why dictionaries were compiled.

General aims of dictionary making

After the advent of Islām (first/seventh century) lexicographers set out to protect Arabic from what they saw as any foreign influence and to preserve its purity and uniqueness. They were determined to secure the integrity of their language. They were as passionate as pre-Islamic Arabic speakers were towards the language, which is why storytelling and reciting poetry were well known among the Bedouins across Arabia.[10] It needs to be

[5] Goatly 1997, 24.
[6] Paxman 2003, 97.
[7] See al-Ḥamzawī 1986, *al-Lugha mirʾāt al-ʿaqīda.*
[8] See for example Naṣṣār 1988.
[9] Haywood 1965, 41.
[10] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 2: 401; Chejne, 1969, 5.

stressed that Arabian tribes used to organize great festivals where talented poets used to recite poetry, such as at the Sūq ʿUkāẓ, for example.[11] This predated the advent of Islam. Purist non-Arab lexicographers such as al-Fārābī (d. 350/961), Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) and al-Jawharī (d. 400/ 1009) were also fired by the love of the language and were proud of its versatility, attitudes which lexicographers of Arab origin naturally held. Lexicographers encountered two issues: first, the gap between formal and informal Arabic was getting wider as a result of the changes in life style between Bedouin and urbanized Arabs. Because of intermarrying between Arabs and non-Arabs, a new generation was growing up within the Arabic speaking society.[12] The members of this generation lacked the knowledge of terminology used in religious contexts and texts such as the Qurʾān, and the Ḥadīth (The Prophet's sayings and deeds). Second, with an increase of Arabic religious and scientific terms in fields such as *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *tafsīr* (Qurʾānic exegeses), and *ʿIm al-kalām*, philosophy, it became necessary for learners to access a great number of new vocabularies that had entered the language at the time.[13]

Thus, Arabs before the advent of Islam were proud of their language. This factor is also related to the big change that happened to Arabic in the short period of time after the advent of Islam.[14] This new phase in the life of Arabic raised concerns among medieval Arabic linguists, Arabs or not, because of the strong relationship between Arabic and Islam.[15]

[11]Dunlup 1971, 26. ʿUkāẓ is an area 30 km east from al-Taif where a literary festival still takes place annually.
[12] Al-Ṭanṭāwī (nd), 14.
[13] Al-Fārābī 1990, 157.
[14] Holes 2004, 22.
[15] Collison 1982, 38.

Specific aims for compiling lexica

Collecting the words of any spoken language is an ambitious undertaking, since only dead languages can exhaustively be described and documented in a corpus.[16] There is no dictionary that covers a spoken language definitively, and therefore, lexicographers must decide what they should include or exclude in compiling such dictionaries.[17] Consider how al-Farāhīdī used the three radicals of Arabic roots to cover all Arabic roots by changing the positions of these radicals to give a new root.[18] His aim was to documented terms and verbs and explained their meanings according to his extensive knowledge of the language.[19]

This method raises an important issue in the field of lexicography. Although a great number of foreign terms were ignored, it seems that al-Farāhīdī was concerned with usage, not purity, because he documented terms in use whether they were Arabic, neologisms, foreign, or arabicized. In contrast, lexicographers such as al-Azharī, who introduced the concept of lexicographical purity, followed by Ibn Fāris and al-Jawharī, ignored a great number of used terms. Al-Azharī (d. 370/980) criticized *Kitāb al-ʿayn* (The Book [starting with the letter] *ʿayn*) of al-Farāhīdī sharply, to the extent that he claimed that al-Farāhīdī's lexicon was not his publication but that of his disciple al-Layth b. al-Muẓaffar (death date is unknown).[20] He even criticized some contemporary lexicographers, such as Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), in order to draw the attention of users towards his purist lexicon *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (The Purification of the Language). Al-

[16] Crystal 2000, 151.
[17] Sidney 1989, 17.
[18] See more about this in Chapter 7.
[19] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 41.
[20] Bin Murād 2009, 18.

Azharī, it must be said, was an early lexicographers who followed the "school of the desert" with the aim of documenting reliable information only.

Another example of word collecting and the cataloguing of meaning is the work of Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 395/1004), who writes in the preface to his dictionary *Maqāyīs al-lugha* (The Criteria of the Language) that the methodology he used is the investigation of the conceptual meanings of Arabic roots.[21] After the fourth/tenth century many dictionaries emerged that were compiled with new goals. Such were the efforts of al-Jawharī (d. 400/1009) in his *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (The Correct [Work]), who says that there are many dictionaries in Arabic that contain dubious and foreign words, so his aim was simply to collect correct Arabic words, hence he called his lexicon *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*.[22] Meanwhile al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) compiled his *Asās al-balāgha* (The Core of Eloquence) focusing on metaphorical and idiomatic usages of Arabic words.[23]

In the seventh/thirteenth century, Arabic made a great stride forward. As a result of the development in both scientific studies and humanities, a number of new terms, especially scientific and religious terminology, were assimilated into the language, and some of them were documented in various dictionaries. So some lexicographers at the time developed new aims, such as Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311) who, in his dictionary *Lisān al-ᶜArab* (The Language of the Arabs) aimed to collect all Arabic words into one huge, classified lexicon.

[21] See more about this in Chapter 7.
[22] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 33.
[23] Naṣṣār 1988, 550.

Who were the targeted users?

Related to the aims of compiling lexica is the issue of the targeted audience. Before collecting the data of any lexicon, lexicographers lay out the reasons for their compilation; they make a critical decision regarding the appropriate vocabulary needed to be documented.[24] It is reasonable then to ask who the target users of the medieval Arabic dictionaries were?

Early lexicographers attempted to document and explain the original Arabic words so that new Muslims whose first language was not Arabic could gain a full understanding of religious and non-religious terms. Medieval lexicographers did not record the spoken language from towns and cities, but set off on long journeys to document Bedouin speech in the desert across the Arabian Peninsula. Their speech was thought to be the purest source of language[25] due to the fact that linguists thought that the speech register of Bedouins fitted the register of *fuṣḥā* (correct Arabic), the language of the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth and pre-Islamic poetry.

Other targeted users were the new generation of young Arabian people who lived in the cities and interacted with the ʿAjam (non-Arabs). They were required to master a high level of Arabic in order to participate in the city's intellectual life and take their place in building the caliphate. Providing suitable vocabulary for those users was the reason behind the selectivity of the Arabic collectors, who chose what best suited their audience. In the selection of the vocabularies they recorded for their lexica, lexicographers left out a substantial body of words,[26] which could be analysed according to their historical

[24] Hartmann 1983, 9; Bejoint 2000, 107.
[25] Versteegh 1996, 16.
[26] Al-Ḥamzāwī 1986, 380; al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 53.

Arabic roots, because such words were *muwallad,* or coined and used by non-reliable speakers such as coastal and urban communities.

The lack of an etymological Arabic dictionary

One of the thorniest problems in Arabic is the complete absence of an etymological dictionary. The lack of appropriate tools in Arabic is a big problem that researchers have experienced in their quest for words, their meanings and their origin. This issue was raised by Agius (1984) and my whole thesis revolves around this problem and proposes ways to solve it. The importance of such a dictionary is acknowledged by H. Bejoint, who stated that "a historical dictionary is a comprehensive academic work which covers a national language by investigating its long history".[27] The aim of such a lexicon would be to trace the development of each word from its appearance until the day of compilation. This investigation would be conducted by consulting literary, non-literary works and spoken language in order to understand the provenances and the development of words in a chronological order.[28]

This is aggravated by the fact that, at the same time, regular (non-etymological) available lexica do not provide such information.[29] Although there have been some attempts to trace the origins of words in Arabic, these efforts were devoted to what already looked like loan words to begin with. These etymological works include, for example, *al-Muᶜarrab min al-kalām al-aᶜjamī ᶜalā ḥurūf al-muᶜjam* (Dictionary of Arabicized Words Arranged Alphabetically) by al-Jawālīqī (d. 540/1145), *Fī al-taᶜrīb wa al-muᶜarrab*

[27] Bejoint 1983, 123.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Khalīl 1986, 204.

(Arabicization and Arabicized words) by Ibn Barrī (d. 582/1186) and *al-Alfāẓ al-Fārisiyya al-muᶜarraba* (Arabicized Persian Words) by Addī Shīr (d. 1333/1915).

These attempts solved only a small part of the historical issue in Arabic lexicography, as a great deal of loan words are left out. Consider the fact that Arabic is rich in literary and non-literary works; these alone could have constituted a whole corpus of material cultural terminology, as Agius has argued.[30] Lexicographers did not include them because they were more interested in documenting religious terms, in addition to desert terms. For example, Abū Ḥātim al-Rāzī (d. 277/890) compiled *al-Zīna fī al-kalimāt al-islāmiyya* (The Adornment of Islamic Words), Ibn Khālawayhi (d. 370/980) compiled a book about the synonyms of *al-asad* (lion) and another book about the synonyms of *al-ḥayya* (snake).[31] Al-Azharī mentioned eighty synonyms of *al-ᶜasal* (honey), such as *al-ḍarab, al-shawb* and *al-raḥīq*, to name but a few.[32] *Al-nāqa* (she camel) also has many synonyms, such as *al-niḍwa, al-sarīᶜa, al-nājiya* and *al-maylaᶜ*.[33]

An attempt to compile an Arabic etymological dictionary was undertaken by the *Majmaᶜ al-Lugha* in Cairo (the Arabic Academy established in 1933).[34] To obtain the data needed, researchers realized that they would need to edit a great number of Arabic literary works, many of which remained unedited, so they abandoned the project, although sometime later the committee assigned the task of compiling the dictionary to August Fischer (a German orientalist, d. 1949), who had an ambitious plan to study the development of

[30] Agius 1984, 13.
[31] Al-Azharī 1998, 1: 321.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibn al-Ajdābī 1305/1887, 19.
[34] Naṣṣār 1988, 696.

Arabic words from 400 AD up to the mid-fourteenth/twentieth century. Unfortunately, this project never came to fruition.[35]

Modern Arabic lexicographers have various views about the type of dictionary we need to solve this dilemma today, and how such a dictionary can be compiled, since language sources today are different from those of previous times. In his book *Muqaddima li-dars lughat al-ᶜArab* (An Introduction to the Study of the Language of the Arabs) al-ᶜAlāylī explained that one of the most important dictionaries in Arabic today is the etymological dictionary, which addresses the development of Arabic entries and their various usages whether they are literal or figurative. Additionally, the dictionary must shed some light on the origins of entries and terms in order to facilitate crucial decisions regarding the authenticity of the word in Arabic, or if it was borrowed from other languages.[36] Naṣṣār, who made a leading attempt in the history of Arabic lexicography, asserts that the etymological dictionary should list only the words used in the formal literary works,[37] which means that any word documented in non-literary resources should be ignored. It is difficult to agree with this criterion for the following reasons: first, however the word *adabī* (literary) is vague in Arabic and there has been widespread debate about what "literary works" means in Arabic.[38] Second, if researchers apply this criterion to collecting the data for a new etymological dictionary in Arabic, there will be a great gap in the history of Arabic development because there will be a substantial body of ignored Arabic material. Such a criterion is more or less similar to those applied by the medieval Arabic lexicographers who collected simply *fuṣḥā* (correct and formal Arabic) vocabulary some of which was used in deserts and rural areas because their goal was to protect Arabic

[35] El-Mouloudi 1986, 87; Naṣṣār 1988, 586-7.
[36] Al-ᶜAlāylī (nd), 113.
[37] Naṣṣār 1988, 615.
[38] Agius 1984, 11-13.

from any foreign influence thereby keeping its purity and uniqueness.[39] As previously mentioned, this practice left out a lot of important dialectal vocabulary, such as material culture terminology. Third, according to Naṣṣār,[40] collecting the data for an etymological dictionary based on literary works alone is an important criterion; he argues that compilers such as those who compiled the *English Dictionary on Historical Principles* have followed this model, and it could therefore be applied in Arabic. However, this method can be refuted for the compilation of an etymological Arabic dictionary, simply because of the fact that although this practice was useful in English it does not mean it should be assumed that it would be so also in Arabic. For example, Western lexicography in the nineteenth century made a huge advance by compiling lexica that covered a number of aspects of the language, such as literary, technical, and day-to-day spoken terminology, which meant that they had documented the spoken language of people in urban societies across Europe.[41] As a result, we can find a great number of loan words in the mainstream dictionaries; one good example is *Oxford English Dictionary*. This means that English lexicographers, and this was characteristic of Western lexicographers, consulted speakers not as specialists of the language, but as users,[42] while medieval Arabic lexicographers went in the opposite direction; they did not document the spoken language of urban societies but, rather, consulted the Bedouin as specialists of Arabic. So there was a great deal of Arabic vocabulary left undocumented from rural and urban areas. Relying on literary Arabic works only in order to collect data for an etymological Arabic dictionary would be problematic. Additionally, we should be aware of the fact that there is a significant difference between the age of Arabic, which according to the oldest text started

[39] Collison 1982, 38.
[40] Naṣṣār 1988, 615.
[41] Bejoint 2000, 95; Considine 2008, 156-7.
[42] Bejoint 1983, 67-76; al-Wadghīrī 1989, 72.

about 411 AD (200 years before the advent of Islam),[43] and the earliest English text, which was written *circa* 1200 AD.[44]

In the field of technical terminology, an etymological investigation is important because it illustrates the links between different ethnic societies in the exchange of experiences and material culture that speakers realise through their skills and objects.[45] The etymological study of technical terms in Arabic is still an unexplored area, and there are many technical terms that have never been documented in Arabic dictionaries. Addressing this disappointing dearth of early evidence, it is possible to ask why an Arabic dictionary is so conspicuously lacking in these cultural terms. One of the most important reasons was illiteracy prevalent among pre-Islamic and early Islamic communities, which meant as a consequence that hardly anything was documented before the advent of Islam, except for narrative poetry.[46]

Looking for maritime and nautical terminology in Arabic lexica presents a number of difficulties. Their reasons are: firstly, a great many of such terms are simply not listed; secondly, even if a small number of these terms were listed, they were not well defined, and third their origins and provenances are absent; forth, some maritime terms listed in the medieval lexica are no longer used today, as can be seen below.

[43] Beeston 1969, 178-186.
[44] McCrum 1986, *et al.*, 76; Freeborn 1998, 21.
[45] Trask 1996, 18.
[46] Hourani 1991, 12-13.

Early attempts at etymology

In the preceding sections, I noted that although medieval Arabic lexicographers achieved their main aim of compiling various vocabularies, they did not heed some important lexicographical issues, such as etymology. Although the beginnings of authorship in etymology are uncertain, Ibn ᶜAbbās (d. 68/687), the nephew of the prophet, was the first philologist to be aware of foreign terms in Arabic. His interest in interpreting the Qurʾān led him to trace the origins of its words. So he singled out some terms out as being of non-Arabic origin: for example: *tannūr* (oven) is Syriac, *ṣirāṭ* (way) is Aramaic, *firdaws* (heaven) is Greek and *sijjīl* (baked clay) is Persian.[47] Another exegesist who finds nothing wrong in classifying some Qurʾānic words as borrowed is Muqātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767).[48] After these early exegesists, classifying Qurʾanic terms as foreign became a controversial issue;[49] some linguists such as Abū ᶜUbayda b. al-Muthannā (d. 224/838) did not accept the fact that Qurʾān contained foreign terms.[50]

There were some attempts in the third/ninth century to investigate the etymologies of some loan words used in Arabic. At the beginning, such studies were not independent but were part of general lexica. One of the earliest examples is *Bāb ma dakhal min ghayr lughāt al-ᶜArab fī al-ᶜArabiyya* (Chapter on Some Foreign Words Used in Arabic), a part of a well known dictionary in Arabic called *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* (Classified Obscure Words) by Abū ᶜUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838), who listed some foreign words with examples from poetry, explaining their meanings and asserting the origins of these words. Most of the words he documented are Persian.[51] Another attempt by Ibn Qutayba

[47] Stetkevych 1970, 57, 58; Agius 1984, 115-6; Versteegh 1993, 89.
[48] Versteegh 1993, 89; Farīd (ed). 2003, 2: 393.
[49] Versteegh 1996, 21.
[50] Versteegh 1993, 90; al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 209.
[51] Ibn Sallām 1996, 2: 668.

(d. 276/828), in his book *Adab al-kātib* (The Etiquette of a Writer), was a short study of some loan words used in Arabic,[52] explaining their meanings and their origins. Then we have Ibn Durayd (d. 321/ 933) who attempts to discuss words of Persian, Greek, Syriac, and Nabataean origins,[53] followed by Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1065) who devotes some sections of his dictionary to arabicized words. In the first section he addresses the criteria of assimilating foreign words in Arabic based on Sībawayhi's *al-Kitāb* (The Book), while, in the second section he deals with the changes to arabicized words.[54] Finally he lists some arabicized words with their meanings,[55] relying on what Abū ᶜUbayd and Ibn Durayd had recorded, but he adds some foreign words that were not mentioned in previous lexicographical works.

In the sixth/twelfth century al-Jawālīqī (d. 540/1145) contributed to one of the most important studies in this field. He relied on the previous lexica, investigating the origins of loan words used in Arabic.[56] After al-Jawālīqī there were some linguists who followed his methodology in addressing foreign words. Examples include *al-Tadhyīl wa al-takmīl limā stuᶜmil min al-lafẓ al-dakhīl* (The Supplement of the Foreign Words Used in Arabic) by al-Bishbīshī (d. 820/1417), *Risāla fī taᶜrīb al-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya* (A Study on Arabicized Persian Words) by Aḥmad Kamāl Bāshā (d. 940/1533), *Shifāᵓ al-ghalīl fī mā fī kalām al-ᶜArab min al-dakhīl* (The Satisfied Response on the Question of Foreign Words in Arabic) by al-Khafājī (d. 1061/1650), and the last study in this field *Kitāb al-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muᶜarraba* (The Book of Persian Arabicized Words) by Addī Shīr (d. 1333/1915). The

[52] Ibn Qutayba 1963, 383.
[53] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 3: 499.
[54] Ibn Sīda 1996, 4: 221.
[55] Ibid, 5: 9.
[56] Agius 1984, 72, see more about al-Jawālīqī and his work in Chapter 2.

latter deals only with words borrowed from Persian, but there are also loan words from Turkish, Latin, Italian, French, English and Russian.[57]

Despite the fact that all these attempts are important and significant to etymological studies, they are, nonetheless, devoted to a small number of loan words in Arabic. It must be borne in mind that some sources at the time of compiling these works were not available. Such authors, as I have shown earlier, relied on medieval dictionaries. In some ways, their attempts did not add much more than what was already known, and many material cultural terms were still left out, let alone maritime and nautical terms. In addition, it must be said that a great many authors had not mastered foreign languages,[58] so words were addressed only from an Arabic point of view, while a proper etymological investigation would require a deeper understanding of other languages[59] and understanding the origins of words would help to address the relationship between different languages.

The last issue in this context is to identify the lexicographers' aims in the compilation of these etymological studies. With the exception of non-Muslim attempts, such as Shīr's *Kitāb al-alfāẓ al-fārisiyya al-muʿarraba* (The Book of Persian Arabicized Words), Arabic etymological studies follow what medieval lexicographers regarded as desirable when they compiled their works. Their aim was to analyse the language of the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth. The question arises as to how etymological studies could contribute to the analysing of the language of the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth. To answer this question we should bear in mind that there was a long debate among Arabic linguists about the

[57] See Naṣṣār 1988, 69-71; Bin Murād 1997, 211-2.
[58] Bin Murād 1997, 207.
[59] Liberman 2009, 156.

existence of loan words in the Qurʾān.[60] Etymologists based their discussion about loan words on the ideas raised by medieval lexicographers with some additions from the foreign words used by Arabic speakers at that time. This helps us to understand the conditions that accompanied the beginnings of etymological studies when every effort was made to protect the purity of Arabic because this was the only available tool that could be used to understand the words of Allāh and the Prophet Muḥammad.

Arabic shares many characteristics with the spoken languages of neighbouring countries. Moreover, it shares much vocabulary with other Semitic languages, such as Aramaic, Hebrew, South Arabin and Amharic.[61] So, why did Arabic linguists not compile specific studies about the early beginnings of Arabic? Why did they not investigate the etymologies of Arabic terms? None of these questions are clearly addressed by modern Arabic lexicographers and linguists, who find themselves handicapped by a lack of appropriate tools when they attempt to investigate the origins of Arabic words. Other languages have many lexica that document the development of the vocabulary of the language. So why not Arabic?

The main reason is what might be described as the aura of sanctity that surrounded Arabic, and which formed an insurmountable barrier between linguists and genuine etymological study. So what is the logic behind the "perceived" holiness of Arabic in the early years of Islam? To answer this question we need to shed some light on a critical discussion that took place among linguists after the advent of Islam, where many of them thought that Arabic was not like other languages but was likened to "a gift from Allāh to the

[60] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 209; Jeffery 2007, 195.
[61] Shivtiel 1993, 1: 13; Shimron 2003, 6.

Arabians".[62] One such was Ibn Fāris who argued that *al-naḥw* (grammar and syntax) and *al-ṣarf* (morphology) are "gifts" from Allāh to the speakers of Arabic. Hence, he rejected *qiyās*, the analogical criterion used by linguists to forge new terms in Arabic, as it was believed that nothing new should be invented or added to the language.[63] In this context, it should be said that Ibn Fāris is one of many non-Arab scholars whose attitude towards lexicographical studies is not based on ethnic reasons but on a religious one. Other language scholars, such as al-Fārisī (d. 377/987) and his disciple Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1001), both non-Arabs, claimed that Arabic is the richest language in the world and, as the language of the holy Qurʾān, it is the most accurate, and a priceless "gift" of Allāh.[64] This attitude played an important role in shaping the nature of Arabic studies in medieval times. Such claims by lexicographers can be explained according to Sidney's view, who suggests that terms without etymologies appear to have been granted their present shapes by divine right, they would have no relation to other languages and, therefore, are without relation to the past.[65] So "the gift" of Allāh included grammar, morphology, and vocabularies. One may ask, what was the reasoning that motivated linguists to think that the Arabic language was made by a divine right? Muslims believe in the revelation of the Qurʾān as *kalām Allāh* (Words of Allāh),[66] which leads some linguists as mentioned above to consider Arabic the most significant language, and that therefore there is no need to study the origins of its words because they are the revelation from Allāh. As a result, Arabic linguists concentrated their efforts on protecting this holy language to keep its purity and uniqueness.

[62] Al-Muzaynī 2004, 31.
[63] Ibn Fāris 1964, 33-4.
[64] Ibn Jinnī (nd), 1: 40.
[65] Sidney 1989, 103.
[66] Haeri 2003, 1.

There were at the same time some Arabic linguists who rejected the idea that Arabic was the revelation of Allāh; for example, Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) disputed the "holiness" of Arabic, arguing that it is an idea based on emotional rather than scientific evidence. In his discussion he points to the fact that no one can describe a language as superior, unless he has an extended knowledge of other languages and therefore is able to make a valid comparison.

To explain the attitude of Arabic linguists towards the holiness of Arabic, Ibn Ḥazm argued against the beliefs of linguists who consider that the message of the Qurʾān was delivered in Arabic because it is the most important language among other languages. The argument is that the Qurʾān is for Arabs who speak Arabic.[67] This is further supported by the Qurʾānic verse:

(وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِنْ رَسُولٍ إِلَّا بِلِسَانِ قَوْمِهِ لِيُبَيِّنَ لَهُمْ)

Wa mā arsalnā min rasūlin illā bi-lisāni qawmihī li-yubayyina lahum

We sent not a Messenger except (to teach) in the language of his (own) people, in order to make (things) clear to them.[68]

Such manifestations of linguistic bias were completely rejected by later linguistic theorists, who built their judgments on the fact that languages needed to be studied according to scientific criteria instead of relying on emotional attitudes. It is therefore unacceptable to claim that this language sounds more beautiful than another or that it has a more extensive vocabulary than another. Also, a language should not be seen as a feature of a specific ethnic grouping much like a physical attribute might be thought to identify an ethnic group with a colour of skin or the shape of particular facial characteristics.[69] Ibn

[67] Ibn Ḥazm 1980, 1: 33, 34, 35.
[68] The Holy Qurʾān (Sūrat Ibrāhīm) 14:4; translation by Yusuf Ali 2000: 200.
[69] De Saussure, 1983, 189.

Ḥazm's judgment that Arabic was not a superior language is not unlike De Saussures judgment.[70]

The second factor about the complete absence of etymological studies in Arabic is the socio-cultural conditions that accompanied the activities of translation from other languages into Arabic. To explain this we need to have a closer look at the concept of translation in the first century of Islam.

Many works from Syriac, Greek, Persian, Pahlavi, and Sanskrit were translated into Arabic from different fields of knowledge. In the Umayyad Caliphate, Khālid b. Muᶜāwiya (d. 85/704) asked some Byzantine Greek scholars who were living in Alexandria to translate the philosophical works of Aristotle and Plato. This translation activity continued until al-Rashīd (d. 193/809) who built *Dār al-Ḥikma* (The House of Wisdom), which became the place where scholarly words were translated into Arabic.

At that time there were no formal Arabic linguistic committees where linguists and lexicographers could engage in documenting Arabic from the Bedouin and studying these materials to forge a new Arabic grammar. As a result, scholars who translated foreign works relied on their own knowledge and linguistic intuition in choosing the appropriate words that could be understood by Arabic speakers.[71] This does not mean that they worked in this field without specific criteria. They followed four methods in translating foreign words into Arabic.[72] Firstly, they included new meanings into Arabic words in order to explain some foreign words. Secondly, they derived new words from Arabic roots. Thirdly, they translated some words literally. Lastly, they assimilated some foreign

[70] Ibn Ḥazm 1980, 1: 33, 34, 35.
[71] Ḥammād 2007, 49.
[72] Ghunaym 1989, 81, 89.

words by changing their morphology or phonology to fit Arabic moulds. It is not the aim of this section to investigate these methods as they are fully addressed in many studies devoted to arabicization,[73] but rather to shed some light on their impact on Arabic lexicography.

The central issue in the process of translation is not simply that of transferring words from one language to another, but rather transferring ideas, culture, and different attitudes to the world and life.[74] When they started translating foreign sciences and arts, scholars devoted their efforts to dealing with this huge wave of new scientific terms. Furthermore, there was a heavy demand for coining new words that had not been used in Arabic before. This process of translation played an important role in the development of Arabic in the first/seventh and second/eighth centuries. This was due to the fact that linguistic development corresponds with the intellectual status of the speakers of any language.

An etymological investigation

A primary example of the lack of etymological information is found in the definition of the parts of a traditional boat. According to Aḥmad b. Fāris, "the root √*sh.r.ᶜ* means "opening anything" and "hoisting it up". From this verb comes the word *shirāᶜ* meaning "sail".[75] This definition does not say anything about the material used in making the sail or the period when the word was used by seafaring communities. Ibn Fāris's aim was to illustrate the meanings of the root only, thus not saying much about the object itself. The term is listed in the *Līsān al-ᶜArab*, defined as "something made of cloth and raised above

[73] See for example, *al-Taᶜrīb fī al-qadīm wa al-ḥadīth* (Arabicization in the Past and Today) by Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz (nd); *Azmat al-muṣṭalaḥ al-ᶜArabī fī al-qarn al-tāsiᶜ ᶜashar* (The Problem of Arabic Terminology in the Nineteenth Century) by Muḥammad Sawāᶜī 1999.
[74] Dingwaney 1995, 3; House 2009, 21.
[75] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 262.

a ship in order to catch wind".[76] Although this definition tells us about the material the sail made of, it still creates an insufficient description, and we need to refer to one of the more comprehensive Arabic lexica for some detail on its functions: al-Zabīdī defines the word as "a massive piece of cloth which is fixed to the mast by four ropes, and when winds blow from any side it moves the ship in different directions".[77] Although *shirāʿ* is a recognizable part of the boat and it is not a loan word, we cannot find a more detailed description than this.

We now consider *daqal* (mast).[78] Ibn Fāris states that *daqal* has no verb-root. It means "a kind of palm tree or mast".[79] We need more information to clarify what the word mast means; we do not, for instance, know which timber the mast was made of. Ibn Manẓūr like Ibn Fāris gives its primary meaning as "palm tree", but by extension, it came to mean "mast", which can be assumed that the mast was made of palm tree wood, hence the name *daqal*.[80] Al-Zabīdī copied these words from Ibn Manẓūr.[81]

One other example is *mijdāf* (oar).[82] Ibn Fāris claims that √*j.d.f.* has no conceptual meaning to be shared with terms derived from it. He says that *mijdāf* is "the oar of the ship",[83] while *Lisān al-ʿArab* defines it as "a long piece of wood with a broad end".[84] If we take another example, the term *hirāb*,[85] (keel) as far I can gather, it is not documented in any Arabic lexicon, although it is still in use by boat builders in the Red Sea region.

[76] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 5: 163.
[77] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 21: 262
[78] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Mashhār al-Sayyid, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010.
[79] Ibn Fāris 1979, 2: 289.
[80] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 345.
[81] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 28: 493.
[82] ʿĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[83] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 433.
[84] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 5: 349.
[85] Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥazmī, interviewed in Yanbu on 4 May 2010.

Could this term be of Semitic origin (Amharic or South Arabian) from the tri-consonantal root, √*h.r.b.*, common in Semitic languages? Historical information is lacking for these terms even though they are still commonplace among Arabian seafaring communities as we shall see with other examples in later chapters. Further examples of this etymological investigation were from terms for crew, anchorage, winds and stars as noted below.

Consider the term *nawkhadhā*,[86] signifying captain and the head of the ship's crew. It is a recognizable term in many parts of the Arabian peninsular coasts, though it is less known in the northern Red Sea region. The earliest lexicographer who mentioned this term is al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 803/1400) in his *Qāmūs*.[87] The alternative term used in the north Red Sea area is *rayyis*,[88] a term referred to in Arabic lexica as "the head of a group of people",[89] but it is not defined in a maritime context. Another important occupation on board ship is the record keeping of the ship's accounts, which is called *karrānī*.[90] This term is not documented though it is still in use in some Arabic dialects. Interestingly, it is also the surname of a well known family in the Hijaz province. The *muqaddam* [91] was assigned to be the "middle man" between captain and sailors,[92] a term missing in lexica. It is defined, however, as a rank in the military and classified as *muḥdatha* (neologism).[93]

For anchorage, consider the term for 'port', *mīnāʾ*, which comes from the Arabic root √*w.n.y.*[94] According to Ibn Fāris this root expresses the concept of "weakness"; the

[86] ʿĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[87] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 357.
[88] ʿĪd Nāṣir al-Fawwāl, interviewed in Al Wajh on 11 May 2010.
[89] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 385; al-Zabīdī (nd), 15: 101.
[90] Maḥmūd Saʿīd al-Ḥmidī, interviewed in Umluj on 11 June 2010.
[91] ʿĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qaḥma on 19 May 2010.
[92] ʿĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qaḥma on 19 May 2010.
[93] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 720.
[94] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 20.

semantic link goes back to the perception that the wind in ports is slower than the wind far at sea, so ships move slowly into the port using few and weak forces.[95] There is no etymological information about this word. Another term, *bandar*, carries the same meaning of port or harbour, and is a word absent from medieval Arabic lexica, but it can be found in a modern Arabic dictionary, stating correctly that it is Persian in origin.[96] This term, nonetheless, is used in literary works such as *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār* (The Masterpiece of Beholders) by Ibn Baṭṭūṭa,[97] and *ʿAjāʾib al-āthār* (The Wonders of the Trails) by al-Jabartī (d. 1240/1825).[98] It is used by Red Sea coastal communities as well. It may be argued, as is often the case, that it was not listed because it was a "well known" term or because it is Persian in origin. Other commonly used terms of the shore today are *sāḥil*, and *sharm*, which are documented by al-Farāhīdī, again no etymological information were provided for these terms.[99]

Several terms for winds are excluded from many medieval Arabic lexica. Knowledge of winds and hence the names for them were crucial to sailors: each wind has a specific name. Consider the root √*z.y.b.* which, according to Ibn Fāris, means "activity" and "movement", hence the name *azyab* for a southern wind.[100] Al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659) lists the word as a neologism, and does not add to what Ibn Fāris said.[101] Modern dictionaries such as *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ* do not list the term at all, in spite of its current usage in the northern and southern regions of the Red Sea. Another kind of wind the *shamāl* is "a wind that blows from the north".[102] Ibn Manẓūr also adds that the *shamāl*

[95] Ibn Fāris 1979, 6: 146.
[96] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.,* 71.
[97] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1987, 586.
[98] Al-Jabartī (nd), 1: 270.
[99] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 3: 141; 6: 261.
[100] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 39.
[101] Al-Khafajī 1282/1865, 24.
[102] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 453.

"clears the sky" because when it blows "it sends the clouds away."[103] Another kind of wind the *ṣabā* blows from the east.[104]

As for stars, one of the most well known terms for a group of stars is *Thurayyā.* Both Ibn Fāris[105] and Ibn Manẓūr[106] did not give a definition for this term, which they list, because they thought that it was *maʿrūf* (well known) and therefore there was no need for any information. However, the *Tāj al-ʿarūs*[107] and *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ*,[108] both state that *Thurayyā* "is a name for the cluster of twenty-four small stars in the sky that take the shape of a chandelier and indicate a specific phase of the moon during the year". Another constellation, *al-ʿAqrab*, is defined as "various stars with different positions".[109] This information is repeated by other dictionaries adding nothing new. The appearance of *Mirzam*, which among stars is an early sign of summer, is an indicator to beekeepers that it is the time for collecting honey from beehives, but no connection to maritime terminology is mentioned.[110]

This short investigation illustrates that Arabic lexica are almost devoid of historical-cultural data. The amount of given information is different and irregular from one term to another; for example, the definitions of the few documented maritime and nautical terms are often too short and do not tell us about the shape, colour and function of these objects. Furthermore, there are a great number of loan terms ignored by the medieval lexicographers, though there are long discussions about some Qurʾānic loan words. This

[103] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 11: 364.
[104] Ibid, 8: 421.
[105] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 396.
[106] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 8: 105.
[107] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 37: 270.
[108] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 95.
[109] Al-Azharī 2001, 3: 187.
[110] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 12: 195.

compounds inherent difficulties of an already obscure area of undocumented terminology, such as that of material culture. Such words are still undocumented, especially in regard to maritime terminology. On the other hand, the names of the stars and winds are given more importance in the medieval dictionaries because they are closely related to the life of Bedouin in the desert, who were consulted as specialists by Arabic lexicographers when they were collecting the data for their dictionaries.

Conclusion

Medieval lexicographers started documenting the language as a response to the linguistic changes, which after the first/seventh century, had spread not only among Arabic speakers from foreign backgrounds but among authentic Arabs as well. Their main aim was to take Arabic back to its perceived origins. In doing so, instead of documenting the language of everyday speakers, including those in cities, lexicographers went in the opposite direction by documenting the language of Bedouins who were living in the desert of Arabia.

This chapter throws light on the attempts of lexicographers in compiling lexica, their aims and their targeted users as well. According to their view, to preserve the purity of the language, lexicographers were selective in choosing the appropriate words, those that deserved to be documented in the lexica as part of Arabic. One of the first lexicographers to launch this model of linguistic purity was al-Azharī, how was followed by Ibn Fāris and al-Jawharī. Their main targeted audience was the new Arabic-speaking generation, which was not familiar with many terms in the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth and other religious works. As a consequence, early lexica appear to be pedagogical works, or didactical dictionaries. That is why they lack material cultural terms and specialized information as well, such as etymologies, and why they have caused today's researchers to struggle to find the origins of many terms.

Translation activity also played a fundamental role in the development of an Arabic that was flexible enough to cover new terms in the sciences and humanities. At the same time, there were some radical Arabic and leading lexicographers who still thought that Arabic should be protected from assimilating foreign words, which might lead to the dilution of the Arabic identity. In all this it must be mentioned that studying the etymologies of Arabic words and their relationship with Fārsī, and indeed, other Semitic languages was in fact ignored by lexicographers who were occupied with coining and arabicizing new words.[111]

While looking at the ways the language and its terminology has developed, medieval lexicographers followed specific criteria in order to document the terms. This is the core of the discussion in Chapter 4.

[111] Al-Muzayni 2004, 192.

Chapter 4: Criteria for Word-collecting

As noted in Chapter 3, any dictionary is depending on its own aims and the audience its compilers have targeted.[1] Consequently, the compilers of dictionaries must follow procedures that fulfil their goals when choosing sources for their required data.[2] For example, they must determine the size, or length, of the dictionary, and the method of classifying words under entries. When they started tackling Arabic lexica in the first/seventh century, Arabic lexicographers were aware of their goals so they chose their interviewees – their sources of authentic Arabic – carefully. In addition, they drew geographical linguistic perimeters to designate reliable sources for their data. At the same time, they ignored a great many oral sources, especially in the field of dialects, because they were a low-level source of language during medieval times;[3] such dialects though are assumed to be the origins of spoken Arabic dialects today.[4] It is important to investigate the terminologies of spoken dialects today because they contain a great number of terms that were ignored by earlier lexica compilers. In the following sections I will investigate the criteria applied by medieval lexicographers, an area which researchers have not shed sufficient light on in the past.

Criteria related to speakers

The social aspect of a language is an important factor during its life as there is no point in speaking a language on your own simply to yourself.[5] Socio-linguistic theories illustrate the crucial role of speakers in any living language. Obviously, languages without speakers are extinct;[6] as a result, lexicographers give speakers a high priority in the

[1] Bo, 1993, 134.
[2] Ibid, 53.
[3] Marrīkh 2000, 51.
[4] Ferguson 1959, 616.
[5] Janson 2012, 122.
[6] Chrystal, 2000, 21.

process of compiling their lexica. During the very early centuries of Islam, no Arabic lexica had been compiled, which meant that lexicographers were taking an unprecedented step in documenting Arabic. Consequently, they urgently needed to meet original Arabic speakers who had the best command of the language. Having said that, these lexicographers were hostile towards the natural linguistic development that was taking place between Arabs and other ethnic societies.[7] There was logic behind their selectivity in choosing reliable sources of the language, which is one of the most important issues in compiling lexica.[8] Hence, compilers of dictionaries divided the speakers of Arabic into two main groups.

First, are *al-ʿArab al-ʿāriba* or indigenous people of Arabia. The meaning of the collocation *al-ʿArab al-ʿāriba* in Arabic lexica is related to a specific ethnic group whose members have a proven parentage to original "Arabs", even if they speak Arabic incorrectly.[9] Some scholars such as Ibn Manẓūr and al-Suyūṭī go beyond than this suggesting that the original Arabs are the people who have a proven pedigree (perhaps legendary) to Yaʿrab b. Qaḥṭān, the father of all Arabs, these people lived in various groups in the Yemen and Hijaz.[10]

Second, there are *al-ʿArab al-mustaʿriba* (non-authentic Arabs). These are the sons of Ismaʿīl, the son of the Prophet Ibrāhīm,[11] who learnt Arabic from *al-ʿArab al-ʿāriba*, the original Arabs, after his father the Prophet Ibrāhīm left him with his mother Hajar in Mecca.[12] Al-Zabīdī suggests that Yaʿrab b. Qaḥṭān spoke Arabic in its ancient form. This

[7] Wāfī 2004, 154.
[8] Bo 1993, 40, 41.
[9] Al-Azharī, 2001, 2: 218.
[10] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 29; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 538.
[11] Versteegh 1997, 38.
[12] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 29; al-Zabīdī (nd), 1: 12.

Arabic seems very different from the Arabic of the Qurʾān which is still in use. But Ismaʿīl, on the other hand, spoke Arabic in its Hijazi form, although this form is different from the Arabic that is spoken today, it can be directly linked with it.[13]

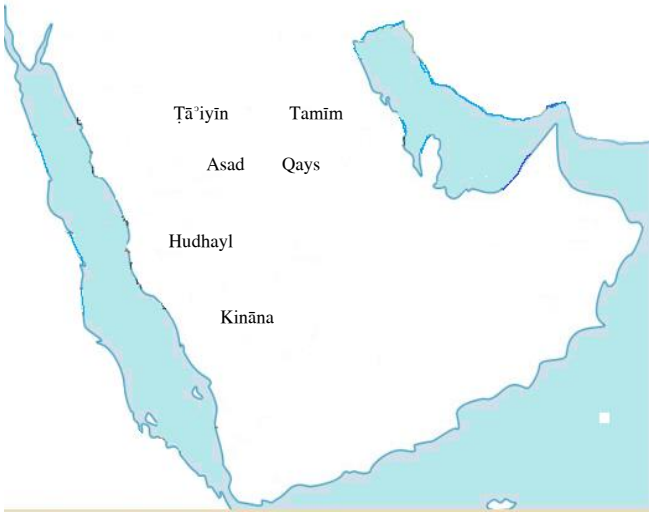
According to legendary narratives, there are three forms of Arabic: first is the language of the original Arabs, defined as the descendants of Yaʿrab b. Qaḥtān. This language is known as Southern Arabic, the language spoken by ancient Arabs in the southern part of Arabia.[14] Second is the Arabic of non-authentic Arabs, defined as the descendants of Ismaʿīl. This northern Arabic is divided into Lahyanite, Thamodic, and the ancient form of Arabic used today.[15] These languages are among the extinct forms of Arabic. Third is the currently spoken Arabic, which has been used according to the earliest documented text since 400 AD (200 years before the advent of Islam)[16] up until today, and this is the language documented by medieval Arabic compilers. They began documenting this language following the advent of Islam. Although most speakers at this era were Arabs, lexicographers thought that many of them as non-reliable sources of Arabic for a variety of reasons. To explain this we need to see what al-Ṣuyūṭī (d. 911/1505) had to say on tribal language users. He reports according to Abū Naṣr al-Farābī (d.339/950)[17] that there are:

> "Those who were a trusted source of Arabic and were followed by Arabic lexicographers in the process of documenting the language were three tribes: Qays, Tamīm and Asad. The vast majority of documented Arabic is from these tribes especially in the field of obscure vocabulary and syntax. In the second class after these tribes, lexicographers relied on

[13] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 3: 352.
[14] Goldziher 1966, 2-4; Backalla 1980, 3.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Beeston 1969, 178-86.
[17] This book by al-Farābī titled *al-Alfāẓ wa al-ḥurūf* (Words and Letters) is lost.

Hudhayl, and some people from Kināna and some people from al-Ṭāʾiyīn".[18]

The map below shows the general location of these various tribes around the middle of Arabia.



Map 2: Tribes considered reliable sources of the language (drawn by author).

This means that Arabic compilers claimed to rely on just six nomadic tribes for their lexicographical data while the Arabic of other tribes was ignored. In this context, it is legitimate to ask why they were ignored. First, there was the matter of the purity of Arabic. Lexicographers thought that some tribes interacted with foreign nations so their language was not pure and therefore should be excluded from Arabic lexica.[19] Examples of such tribes include Lakhm and Juthām whose lands bordered those of neighbouring Egyptians and Copts. Others included Quḍāʿa, Ghassān and ʿIyād because they were close to the Levant and many of them were Christians who performed their prayers in non-Arabic languages. Tribes such as ʿAbd al-Qays and Azd ʿUmān were ignored because

[18] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 167.
[19] El-Mouloudi 1986, 56.

they were living in Bahrain and interacted with Persians. Tribes in Yemen were also ignored because they interacted with Indians and Ethiopians.[20] (See Map 2)

Map 3: Tribes among non-reliable sources of the language (drawn by author).

Fajjāl does not believe that Arabic was documented from six tribes only; however, it must have been difficult for lexicographers to interrogate each interviewee about his tribe or land and those whom he interacted with. It is likely that lexica compilers met people from other tribes who were classified as non-reliable sources and yet documented something of their languages.[21] Such arguments can be supported since the vast majority of the ignored tribes travelled for trade or pilgrimage on land or at sea. These people might have met lexicographers who were motivated by the desire to compile words from Bedouins only. For example, Hijazi tribes were ignored because they interacted with different ethnic groups who came to Mecca for pilgrimage. At the same time these tribes also travelled from Hijaz to the Levant, Yemen and other destinations for trade.[22] In addition, tribes who lived in the southern coastal areas of the Arabian Peninsula used to travel

[20] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 167.
[21] Fajjāl 1423/2002, 342-55.
[22] ʿAlī 2001, 7: 211.

inland where they could farm and hunt wild animals, as it was not possible to sail during the monsoon.[23] Accordingly, it is possible for these members of coastal communities to have met lexicographers in the inner areas of Arabia. As a result, lexicographers may have documented languages spoken by these coastal communities without being aware of their seasonal activities. This hypothesis may be supported by the fact that medieval Arabic lexica contain some borrowed maritime terms, which might have been documented from the tribes who lived by the sea in winter and moved to the deserts in summer. For example: *al-khayzarāna* (rudder),[24] *anjar* (anchor),[25] *khaysafūj* (rigging rope)[26] and *al-yanj* (type of plant used in shipbuilding).[27] Of course, it may be argued that such maritime terms may have been known to inland tribes, irrespective of their contact with the coastal communities.

Another important source of Arabic came from Bedouins who were travelling from deserts to the Arabian cities. They would travel from their home towns to other towns to buy what they needed from souks. Lexicographers, linguists and their students paid more attention to those arrivals from the deserts since they were classified as a reliable source of Arabic; for example, Abū Mālik b. Kirkira, Abū Misḥal, and Abū Tharwān al-ᶜUkalī. The exact death years of these narrators is unknown, since many of them died in the desert in the first and second century/seventh and eighth century. Several of these narrators are mentioned by the bio-bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 438/1046).[28]

[23] Agius 2010, 39.
[24] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 4: 207.
[25] Al-Azharī 2001, 11: 29.
[26] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 19.
[27] Ibid, 3: 21.
[28] Ibn al-Nadīm 1978, 66.

It must be said at the beginning of this linguistic inquiry, that narrators told students some stories using an obscure vocabulary in Arabic, without seeking payment, though later some story-tellers migrated to the cities and received payment for instructing students and for authoring books;[29] to cite a few, Abū al-Baydāʾ al-Ribāḥī worked as a teacher and Mālik b. Kirkira (both died in the second/ninth century in Iraq) wrote various books.[30] Moreover, some of those narrators were *mawālī*, (slaves) of Bedouins who were thought by linguists as a reliable source of the language.[31] For example, al-Ḥayyānī was a slave of al-Kisāʾī (d. 180/796).[32] In this context, we should remember that one of the most important conditions necessary for an Arabian narrator to be a reliable is having a proven pedigree, linked to one of the six Arabian tribes mentioned earlier; on the other hand, it is to be said that *mawālī* could be Arabs or non-Arabs. This means that medieval lexicographers did not apply carefully the criteria that gave a person the right to use correct Arabic. However, lexicographers could have documented materials from non-Arabs who lived with Arabs and had reached an advanced level in mastering the language. In addition, we should remember that some of those storytellers who came from the deserts invented new words to draw the lexicographers' attention and be rewarded with payment.[33] Some of them, as a matter of fact, were posing as Bedouins. There are some anecdotes that support this claim. For example, Abū Muḥammad al-Ghandajānī, a storyteller who died in the second/eighth century, covered his body with oil and stood under the sun just to darken his skin like the original Bedouins in order to be a reliable source of Arabic. This was one way to become famous and rich man. In his case, it eventually led to his death.[34]

[29] Agius 1984, 162.
[30] ʿĪd 1988, 16-17.
[31] Turzī 1969, 49.
[32] Ibn al-Nadīm 1978, 66.
[33] Agius 1984, 128.
[34] Al-Shalqānī 1977, 155.

Third, there were Arabic-speaking people who were not Arabs but who lived within Muslim societies across the far-flung Islamic empire. Lexicographers classified such speakers as non-reliable sources of Arabic[35] in spite of the fact that some of those non-Arabic speakers were born in Arab societies and had achieved much in the fields of literature, poetry, syntax and lexicography. Such speakers are described as *muwalladūn* (those born of non-Arab parents but who live in Arab societies).[36] In his *Al-Ḥayawān* (The [book] of Animals), al-Jāḥiẓ (d. 255/868) explained this situation, suggesting that it was unacceptable to document Arabic from *muwalladūn* because they speak Arabic as a second language. This is different from those Arabs who spoke Arabic more extensively when talking about a variety of subjects.[37] And so, Arabic lexicographers thought that Arabic was just for Arabs, and that non-Arabs could not master advanced Arabic even if they had studied it for long time. That is the reason why some lexicographers did not hesitate to document what Bedouin children said in the Arabian deserts because those children were Arabs. Lexicographers believed that if you had pure Arab blood that was sufficient to give you the right to be a reliable source of the language, regardless of your age.[38] There are many anecdotes that support this view. For example, Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) wrote about his uncle al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 216/831) who wandered through Arabia to collect his data. He heard some children talking in Arabic and started to write what they were saying. An old man noticed this and asked him whether he was serious in documenting the children's language.[39] Such anecdotes illustrate that medieval linguists paid particular attention to the Arabic of Bedouins.

[35] Al-Baghdādī 1998, 1: 29.
[36] Khalīl 1978, 197.
[37] Al-Jāḥiẓ 1996, 4: 183.
[38] Anīs 1978, 27; Qāsim 1987, 166.
[39] Al-Ṣuyūṭī 1998, 1: 109.

Some speakers came from different regions across the Islamic Caliphate to live with Arabs in the big cities. Because compilers wanted to document only pure Arabic words, they ignored terms that had originated from foreigners or those who interacted with them; a great number of these terms are related to handicrafts and skills that Arabs had not mastered. These include maritime words, which are still in use by seafarers in the coastal territories. Most of these terms are absent from Arabic lexica as they were either foreign or *muwallad* (neologism). This suggests that seafaring is a non-Arab skill; many pure Arabic-speakers were desert dwellers.

Criteria related to time

Time played a crucial role in the process of documenting Arabic. Medieval Arabic lexicographers and linguists were genuinely concerned about the changes that had happened to Arabic. Such changes and developments were natural outcomes of the strong interactions between Arabs and other ethnic groups. Being purists, these lexicographers classified any neologism as *laḥn* (incorrect Arabic). Accordingly, Qurʾān and pre-Islamic poetry were the only pure form of the language.[40] In doing so, they ignored all those developments that contained neologisms. To explain this attitude we need to consider the chronological classification of Arabic poets.

Arabic poets and speakers as well were divided into several categories. First were the poets who lived and died before the advent of Islam (611 AD) Such as Imruʾ al-Qays (d. 540 AD), al-Nābigha al-Dhibyānī (604 AD) and many others. Second were the veteran poets who lived before and after Islam, such as Labīd b. Rabīʿa (d. 41/661) and Ḥassān b. Thābit (d. 54/673).[41] There is a consensus among Arabic lexicographers and linguists

[40] Elgibali 1996, 1.
[41] Ibn Qutayba 1958, 1: 274, 305; al-Jumaḥī (nd), 1: 51.

that all materials, whether poetry or prose, that arose from these two strands are reliable Arabic.[42] Although all poets in the first and second strands are Arabs, linguists excluded some of them. For example, they rejected the poetry of the famous Arab poet ᶜAdī b. Zayd al-ᶜAbādī who lived and died before the advent of Islam because he used words different from these used in Najd (the middle of Arabia).[43] Moreover, he was a Christian Arabian monk from the Levant and read Christian books that were not in Arabic.[44]

The third strand includes Islamic poets who lived early in the Islamic age such as al-Farazdaq (d. 114/732) and Jarīr (d. 144/733).[45] The attitude of lexicographers towards the reliability of the language of these Islamic poets differs. Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāᵓ (d. 154/771) thinks that such poets cannot be a reliable source of Arabic as the time of linguistic reliability had finished before them. Agreeing with him, ᶜAbd Allāh b. Isḥāq al-Ḥaḍramī (d. 117/735) says that the poetry of these Islamic poets contains many linguistic errors and neologisms so it should be rejected.[46] Al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 216/831) does not agree with them as he says that Arabic poets should be a reliable source of correct Arabic until 152/769. This date marks the death of the famous poet Ibrāhīm b. Harma and the end of reliable linguistic sources.[47] A fourth strand includes the *muḥdathūn* (poets after 152/769) such as Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783) and Abū Nawās (d. 189/804). The vast majority of medieval linguists say that the poets of this group cannot be a reliable source of Arabic because they lived after the interaction between Arabs and other ethnic societies took place.[48] Some of these poets were from foreign backgrounds, such as Bashshār b. Burd,

[42] Al-Baghdādī 1998, 1: 30.
[43] Jeffery 2007, 14.
[44] Ibn Qutayba 1958, 1: 228.
[45] Al-Jumaḥī (nd), 2: 297, 298.
[46] Al-Marzabānī 1343/1929, 101; Ibn Qutayba 1958, 1: 89.
[47] Al-Afghānī 1398/1978; al-Suyūṭī 2006, 148.
[48] Al-Afghānī 1398/1978, 8; al-Suyūṭī 2006, 148.

so Sībawayhi (d. 180/796) and al-Akhfash (d. 210/825) criticized his poetry. Later, it is reported that al-Akhfash used some pieces from Bashshār's poetry in his works as examples of reliable Arabic because he feared his strong reprisal.[49]

Such anecdotes illustrate that the scholars who created these criteria did not apply them consistently.[50] On the other hand, some of them rejected these criteria. For example, Ibn Qutayba (d. 286/889) and Ibn Rashīq (d. 463/1070) do not accept the classification of Arab poets into four strands. They think that correct Arabic and eloquence is not a gift from Allāh to a specific people who lived in a particular time or age. Moreover, literary production cannot be accepted or refused according to values of modernity or classicism. Because medieval literary works were modern during the time they were written even today, it would be wrong to consider time as a criterion for determining correct and incorrect language.[51] However, there are anecdotes that suggest that some linguists thought that time is the most important criterion in judging the reliability of a poet's language. For example, al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 216/831) declared that Bashshār b. Burd is one of the best poets in Arabic and therefore deserved being named a reliable source of Arabic, however because of the period in which he lived his poetry was rejected.[52] In another example, Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 230/845) met al-Aṣmaᶜī and recited three verses of his Arabic poetry. Then al-Aṣmaᶜī asked him, "Who has written these magnificent pieces of poetry?" "I wrote them yesterday", Isḥāq al-Mawṣilī replied. Then al-Aṣmaᶜī said "that is why these verses seem fake".[53] This anecdote illustrates how medieval lexicographers were prejudiced against any modern text at the time: al-Aṣmaᶜī contradicted himself

[49] Al-Marzabānī 1343/1929, 99.
[50] ᶜIbādah 1980, 198.
[51] Ibn Rashīq 1981, 1: 90; Ibn Qutayba 1985, 1: 63.
[52] Al-Aṣfahānī (nd), 3: 135.
[53] Al-Khafājī 1982, 279.

because at first he said that the verses were magnificent but when he realized that these verses came from his contemporary al-Mawṣilī he said that they were fake. On the other hand, lexicographers like al-Aṣmaᶜī accepted most pre-Islamic texts blindly. Additionally, they were hostile to all neologisms which did not exist in the received Arabic of Bedouins, and therefore, such neologisms were ignored by lexicographers. Although they rejected all new words related to social life, including maritime terms, they accepted neologisms related to Islamic and Arabic studies,[54] such as *fiqh* (Jurisprudence), *ᶜilm al-ḥadīth* (Knowledge of Ḥadīth), *tafsīr* (Qurʾānic Exegeses) and *naḥw* (grammar and Syntax). It is curious that lexicographers should accept such scientific and Islamic terms yet refuse other terms related to the social life of Islamic communities. It may be said that lexicographers accepted scientific and Islamic terms because they helped them to achieve their main goal of protecting the purity of Arabic (see Chapter 3) while other terms related to social life did not serve this function. As a result, a great many terms relating to material culture are lost. Such findings in the field of Arabic lexicography prove that Arabic compilers manipulated the criteria that they had made on occasions to suit certain events or attitudes.

Criteria related to place or environment

After they had started collecting the data for their lexica, lexicographers thought that the criteria of people and time were not enough to evaluate whether lexicographical items were pure. Consequently, they imposed a further criterion, which specified the places and areas where people speaking correct Arabic could be found. It was important to collect data from specific regions of inland Arabia, such as Najd, where Arabic speakers generally did not interact with other communities. The truth of such suppositions can be

[54] Khalīl 1978, 204.

found discussed in recent studies. For example, in his *Najdi Arabic*, Bruce Ingham unreservedly asserts that compared with other dialects spoken in outer areas, the Najdi dialect has some archaic features that link it to Classical Arabic more than other dialects.[55]

Further, Arab tribes who were nomadic used to travel across the Arabian Peninsula following rain and grass to feed their sheep and camels. Some, though, when they reached the borders of the Arabian Peninsula went further, such as those who lived in *Shām* (the Levant). Therefore, the criterion of place made a lot of sense to lexicographers who preferred to exclude those people who had left their hometowns in the middle of Arabia, even if they had been classified as reliable sources because of their ethnicity or tribe. Lexicographers were trying to build an impenetrable barrier around Arabic for the sake of protecting its purity.

In this context, it is important to identify where these eloquent Arabs originated from. According to al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 216/831), Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāᵓ (d. 154/771) said that the best poets, who spoke eloquently (*faṣīḥ*) with good grammatical (*iᶜrāb*) Arabic were living in three Sarawāt (mountain regions). First were the Hudhayl, who lived in the eastern end of Tihāma Mountains;[56] second were the Thaqīf, in the middle of the Tihāma Mountains, and not far from them was a third tribe called Azd Shanūᵓa.[57]

Abū ᶜAmr also suggests that the most eloquent people were those living in the *al-ᶜulyā* (highlands) of Tamīm and the *al-suflā* (lowlands) of Qays.[58] Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d.

[55] Ingham 1994, 5-6.
[56] A chain of mountains starts from Yemen in the south of the Arabian Peninsula and terminates between Mecca and Medina in Hijaz. See Ibn Ḥawqal (nd), 43.
[57] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 2: 410; al-Ḥamawī (nd), 3: 205.
[58] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 2: 410.

215/830) suggests that the most eloquent people were those who lived between the highlands and the lowlands in the Arabian Peninsula.[59] After referring to this, al-Ṣuyūṭī offered another explanation of al-ᶜUlya saying that it was Medina, because it is located in a high area. According to this explanation, the Arabic of people who lived in the al-ᶜUlyā (highlands) were not reputedly pure.[60]

The logic behind such judgments is based on the fact that Medina is a cosmopolitan city, where people from various ethnic groups came to visit the mosque of the prophet Muḥammad. Arab tribes in Medina interacted with many of these visitors whose mother tongue was not Arabic. From the lexicographers' viewpoint, this was enough to consider the Arabic of Medina less pure than Arabic from the middle of Arabia. Mecca is like Medina, where many Muslims from different backgrounds come on pilgrimage. Nevertheless, the language of Quraysh, an Arab tribe which had lived in Mecca since the advent of Islam, was classified as the highest level of Arabic among all other dialects.[61] Such a classification can be justified by saying that all Arab tribes before the advent of Islam were coming to Mecca during the season of pilgrimage. This made the language of Quraysh seemingly a fusion of the best vocabularies and structures that existed in other dialects.[62]

Let us consider why Quraysh is thought by medieval lexicographers as the tribe speaking the most eloquent Arabic in spite of Mecca's cosmopolitan nature. It must be said that during the relevant time period, which was the criterion applied by the lexicographers when they started to tackle their lexica, the language of the people in Hijaz especially

[59] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 2: 410.
[60] Agius 1984, 125; al-Suyūṭī 1998, 2: 410.
[61] Ibn Hishām 1994, 1: 243; al-Zabīdī (nd), 1: 22.
[62] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 1: 22.

Mecca was the highest level of Arabic before the coming of Islam. After the expansion of the Islamic Caliphate, Mecca and Medina were classified as places where people spoke Arabic at a lower level because of the number of non-Arab pilgrims of different ethnic backgrounds that were visiting these sites by this time. For the purist lexicographers, this caused a linguistic contamination that threatened the purity of Arabic. This would prove that lexicographers linked the criterion of time to the criterion of place. Therefore, we may ask, did the lexicographers differentiate between cities, villages, and the desert regions where the people were described as speaking reliable and correct Arabic? Such differentiation seems likely, since they stated that Arabs in the cities of the specified areas spoke correct Arabic until 152/769. After this date their language was corrupted by their interaction with foreigners.[63] On the other hand, Bedouins who lived in the deserts of the specified areas were a reliable source of correct Arabic until 400/1009. This date apparently marks the end of the process of documenting Arabic, when lexicographers thought that the wave of *laḥn* (error) had affected all areas across the Arabian Peninsula, whether in Bedouin or urban areas.[64]

In regard to the criterion of place, lexicographers classified Arabs who lived near the sea as a non-reliable source of Arabic, because of their interaction with seafaring communities comprised of non-Arabic speakers. In terms of livelihood, coastal communities would have mixed with Indians, Persians and Ethiopians.[65] The language of these coastal communities would have been mixed and thereby "corrupted" the purity of Arabic. We should remember that some geographers, such as al-Maqdisī (d. 380/990), state that the vast majority of the population in Jeddah and Aden were Persian.[66] It is also

[63] Al-Marzabānī 1343/1924, 99.
[64] Ibn Jinnī (nd), 2: 5; ʿĪd 1988, 35.
[65] Agius, 2005, 113-4.
[66] Al-Maqdisī 2003, 108.

reported that after the conquest of Persia, a great number of Persians moved to Hijaz, which led to the diffusion of several Persian terms in Medina.[67] Also it needs to be mentioned that in coastal cities, such as Sohar on the Arabian coast of the Gulf, al-Maqdisī has recorded that some people spoke Persian.[68]

Such was the linguistic scenario of the Red Sea coastal communities at a time when lexicographers were still collecting their data from the desert tribes in the middle of Arabia. Al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) reports that Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ (d. 154/771) met a man whom he described as very eloquent (speaking an authentic and grammatically correct Arabic). He asked the man where he was from, and the man replied that he came from Oman. Then Abū ʿAmr asked him how he had acquired such a high level of eloquence in speaking Arabic, and the man answered: "I live with my tribe in an area where the sound of the waves of the sea cannot be heard",[69] in other words far away from the sea where Arabic was believed to be corrupted. Such anecdotes illustrate the importance of the criterion of "place" that medieval lexicographers applied strictly when they were compiling their lexica. Their aim was to listen to a pure spoken Arabic, which could be found far from the borders of the Arabian Peninsula. This could explain why medieval Arabic lexica are lacking in maritime and nautical terms.

[67] Al-Jāḥiẓ 1968, 25-6.
[68] Al-Maqdisī 2003, 108.
[69] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 120.

Does Arabic belong to the Bedouins?

The claim that Arabic belongs to the Bedouins is a result of the fact that Arabic lexicographers concentrated their efforts during the process of compiling dictionaries on collecting from the language spoken in the middle of Arabia. In doing so they ignored the speakers in the metropolitan cities such as Mecca, Medina, Baṣra and Damascus.[70] This would explain why we find vocabularies related to the life style of the Bedouin. For example, Arabic lexicographers documented some one hundred names for each of the following terms: *jamal* (camel), *sayf* (sword) and *ʿasal* (honey), etc.[71] These words are important, but there is a general lack of vocabulary for other objects of material culture. There is a word referring to a ship or a boat used by the coastal communities, *ʿūd* meaning literally a piece of wood. We do not, however, find this term ascribed to this meaning in medieval Arabic lexica,[72] but rather we do come across it in non-lexicographical works. For example, some anecdotes state that the Caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13-26/634-644) wrote to the governor of Egypt ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. 43/664) asking him to describe what seafaring entails, to which he answered: "the people in the sea are like insects on an *ʿūd*".[73] The latter in the context connotes a ship or boat.

However, there are watercraft terms such as *rimth*, meaning "a kind of small boat made of several pieces of wood and used to cross rivers"[74] and *dagal*, meaning "a mast fixed in the middle of a ship on which the sail is raised";[75] though in both cases these terms are

[70] El-Mouloudi 1986, 56.
[71] Anīs 1978, 339.
[72] Agius 2010, 35.
[73] Al-Dhahabī 1987, 3: 334.
[74] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 21; al-Farāhīdī (nd), 8: 226.
[75] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 345.

elsewhere used to refer to plants i.e. *daqal* is "a kind of palm tree"[76] and *rimth* is "a kind of tree"[77] from which the boat and the mast could be made.

Other terms without this relationship to the Bedouin environment are ignored, such as *hūrī* (beach canoe),[78] *ṣayyādī* (fishing boat),[79] *mikhdaja* (fishing net),[80] *dawmān* (rigging rope),[81] and *bandar* (port).[82]

Classifying terms

In the field of Arabic lexicography, medieval compilers applied various methods in classifying words under entries.[83] It is not the aim of this section to investigate these different methodologies used to arrange terms under their roots (see Chapter 7), but to present approaches by which lexicographers classified terms according to their authenticity in Arabic or being borrowed and also if they were well known or not.

Words classified as *dakhīl*

Dakhīl is a classification for words designating either a word from a foreign language or from an unreliable source for Arabic.[84] In other words, *dakhīl* is a loose and general term covering a variety of classifications such as *muʿarrab*, (arabicized), *muwallad/a* (neologism), *muḥdath/a* (recently coined or used), and *aʿjamī* (foreign) (Figure 2). This is the reason why Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī (d. 1061/1650) called his book *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl*

[76] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 345.
[77] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 8: 226.
[78] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Mashhār al-Sayyid, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010.
[79] Abkar Muḥammad Abkar, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010.
[80] Abkar Muḥammad Abkar, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010.
[81] Abū Nayif al-Ḥmidī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[82] ʿĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[83] See more about this in Chapter 7.
[84] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 275.

fī mā fī kalām al-ᶜArab min al-dakhīl (The Best Answer to Words that have Entered Arabic) in order to cover all the different classifications of which the book contains a great number of examples. In the preface of his book, he notes that many Arabic lexicographers were unaware of the origins of many words used in Arabic. They thought that such words could be derived from Arabic roots; for example, the word *bayram* [85] (a carpenter's axe) was arabicized from Persian but classified under the Arabic root √*b.r.m.*; the Persian word *kawsaj* [86] (a kind of fish) was classified under √*k.s.j.*; and the word *julfāṭ* [87] (caulking) was classified under √*j.l.f.ṭ.* Al-Khafājī completely refutes this idea because words that entered Arabic (*dakhīl*) whether arabicized, *muwallad*, or *aᶜjamī* cannot be derived from Arabic roots.[88]

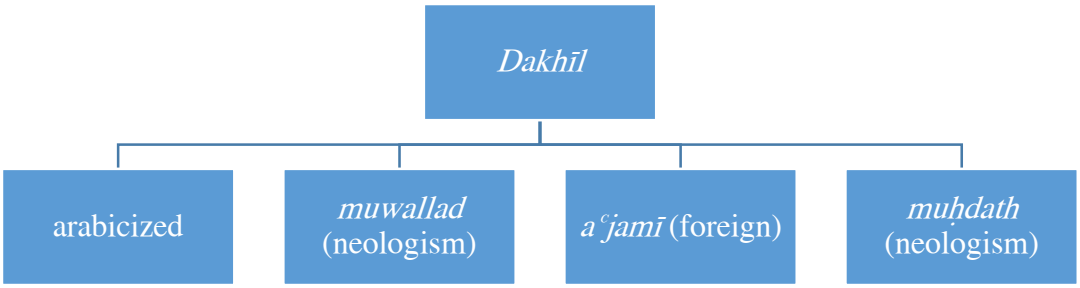


Figure 2: The classification of Arabic vocabulary

Al-Jawharī used *dakhīl* to classify *ijāṣ* (a kind of fruit) because any word that contains *jīm* and *ṣād* cannot be pure Arabic.[89] This also demonstrates that al-Jawharī intentionally ignored words from non-Arabic origins while he aimed to collect only original Arabic vocabulary. In addition, al-Jawharī tends to use other classifications, such as *muᶜarrab*, *aᶜjamī* and *muwallad*, instead of the general term *dakhīl.* In his lexicon, al-Zabīdī used the term *dakhīl* to classify loan-words, such as *baynith* (a kind of fish) which he says is

[85] Al-Jawharī 1987, 5: 1870.
[86] Ibid, 1: 337.
[87] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 4: 693.
[88] Al-Khafājī 1282/1865, 3.
[89] Al-Jawharī 1987, 3: 1029.

on the pattern of *fayᶜil*, which does not fit Arabic moulds;[90] the words *ṣinnār* (the head of the spindle for spinning wool)[91] and *kinār* (kind of clothes made of flax)[92] are all described as Persian and *dakhīl.* The last word to be addressed is *qurm* (a kind of seaweed); al-Zabīdī states that he does not know if it is Arabic or *dakhīl.*[93]

Al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī labels some words with more than one classification; for example, *mustaka* (a kind of flute) is *dakhīl* and *muᶜarrab;* [94] and the term *kurraj* (a kind of game) is *dakhīl* and *muᶜarrab;* [95] and the word *sijjīl* (a fusion of stones and mud used in building) is also *dakhīl* and *muᶜarrab.*[96] This shows that *dakhīl* is a loose term and could cover any word that did not fit with the language of Bedouin Arabs.

Words classified as *muᶜarrab*

In common with other languages, Arabic borrows words and lends words as well.[97] As a result, it could be said that there is no pure language that exists totally by divine right, as some purists believed, such as al-Fārisī (d. 377/987),[98] Ibn Fāris (d.395/1004)[99] and Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1001),[100] to mention a few. Given the linguistic climate of the time, the question arises as to what happened to borrowed terms in Arabic? In the case of Arabic, etymologies are amongst the most complex and ambiguous issues. This complexity and ambiguity are formed by two factors. First, there is a general belief among Arabic

[90] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 5: 176.
[91] Ibid, 12: 352.
[92] Ibid, 14: 69.
[93] Ibid, 33: 253.
[94] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 5: 254.
[95] Ibid, 5: 288.
[96] Ibid, 6: 54.
[97] Bakalla 1980, 71; Saleh 1995, 233.
[98] Ibn Jinnī (nd), 1: 40-1.
[99] Ibn Fāris 1964, 33, 34.
[100] Ibn Jinnī (nd), 1: 40-1.

lexicographers that etymological inquiry is not necessary in the study of Arabic, and accordingly, there are a only few works devoted to etymologies. Second, the attitude, as we have seen, of linguists and lexicographers towards the necessity of correct Arabic resulted in the documenting of those words they deemed important, and ensuring that words fit Arabic linguistic moulds. As a consequence, many borrowed terms were left out of lexica, and a true etymological historical inquiry was rendered defective.

It is essential to establish how arabicization was understood at the time. One of the earliest definitions of arabicization is made by Sībawayhi (d. 180/796), who classified all foreign words used by reliable Arabic speakers as arabicized, whether they were changed to look or sound like Arabic or not.[101] Arabic linguists after Sībawayhi did not agree with him completely. For example, al-Jawharī (d. 400/1009) defines arabicized words as the borrowed words changed by Arabs to fit Arabic.[102] The question then is how to interpret "fitting Arabic". Agius suggests that al-Jawharī meant fitting with Arabic moulds.[103] This seems correct, but it is still an inadequate interpretation of the definition because al-Jawharī was one of the purists who aimed to purify Arabic from any foreign contamination. Accordingly, "fitting Arabic" from his own view is not only in the moulds, or morphological pattern, but also phonologically, as sounds too could be changed. That is why Arabs adapted the sounds of some loan words without changing their morphological moulds.[104] Consider the Persian word *būzī* (a type of ship) on the pattern of *fuʿlī.* When this term was arabicized, speakers changed the sound /z/ to /ṣ/ i. e. *būṣī* but the morphological mould was not changed.[105] This is similar to the word *wāl* (whale)

[101] Sībawīhi 1982, 4: 303.
[102] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 179.
[103] Agius 1984, 169.
[104] Thomas, 1991, 63.
[105] See al-Jawharī 1987, 3: 1031; al-Jawālīqī 1990, 19, 92.

which was arabicized from an Indo-European language[106] by changing the sound /w/ to /b/,[107] thereby creating the Arabic *bāl* without changing its morphological mould *faʿl*.[108] On the other hand, some words were arabicized by changing the sound and the mould: for example, *billīj* (a punting pole) was arabicized from the Persian *billih* on the pattern of *fiʿʿil* by changing the sound /h/ to /j/ and extending the short vowel /i/ to become /ī/, thus becoming *billīj* on the morphological pattern from *fiʿʿīl*.[109] This occurs also with the Persian word *lankar* (anchor) on the pattern of *faʿlal*, which was arabicized by changing the /l/ to /a/ and the /k/ to /j/, so the word became *anjar* on the morphological pattern *afʿal*.[110]

Al-Jawālīqī suggested that arabicized words are "borrowed, and changes are made to them to adapt Arabic moulds, and in most cases changing their sounds (i.e., letters) too",[111] which indicates that morphological patterns are different from sounds. For example, *ṣunbūq* (a type of ship) is arabicized from the Persian *sunbuk* : the /s/ > /ṣ/ and k > /q/ and the morphological pattern is changed from *funʿul* to *funʿūl*,[112] on the analogy of *ṣundūq* (box); the word *bandar* (port) is also arabicized from the Persian *bundra* by omitting the vowel sound /a/ and changing its pattern from *fuʿlala* to *faʿlal*.[113]

However, some words were arabicized without changing their moulds or sounds; for example, the Persian terms, *bīdastar* (sea dog),[114] *khayzurān* (bamboo or rudder),[115]

[106] This is said by ʿAbd al-Raḥīm the editor of *al-Muʿarrab*, see al-Jawālīqī 1990, 165.
[107] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 165.
[108] Al-Jawharī 1987, 4: 1642.
[109] Shīr 1988, 27.
[110] Al-Tabrīzī 1982, 3: 1908; al-Zabīdī (nd), 14: 181.
[111] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 94.
[112] Ibid, 363.
[113] Al-Bustānī 1987, 55.
[114] Shīr 1988, 45.
[115] Ibid, 54.

sindyān (oak),[116] and *marjān* [117] (coral). It should be remembered that although Sībawayhi was Persian, al-Jawharī Turkish, and al-Jawalīqī an Arab from Iraq, their different ethnic backgrounds did not affect their attitudes towards the process of assimilation of loan words in Arabic. For example, al-Jawharī supposedly suggests a more liberal interpretation of the term *muʿarrab* because of his Turkish background. The purist attitude of these lexicographers could be explained by the fact that there were some *ʿAjam* (non-Arabs) who were very enthusiastic about purifying Arabic from foreign influence in order to sound like native speakers. For example, Al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728), who was of non-Arab ethnicity, was among the most eloquent speakers in Arabic.[118] This attitude of non-Arab linguists illustrates that they were strongly affected by their love of Arabic as a language of the Qurʾān to the extent that they were not influenced by their ethnicity or mother tongues. A further point in the previous definitions of *muʿarrab* is that several lexicographers paid specific attention to the ethnicity of the speakers who used loan words. This means that words could not be arabicized unless speakers of reliable Arabic used them; this usage "authenticated" these words and gave them the right to be part of the Arabic language.

Al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī applied the word *muʿarrab* to indicate a loan term; thus *ushkur*,[119] *shamakhatar*,[120] *furāniq* [121] and *ṭunbūr* "musical instrument"[122] are classified as *muʿarrab*, being arabicized loan terms, but give no definitions to the first three terms. Also the word

[116] Shīr 1988, 96.
[117] Ibid, 144.
[118] Chejne 1969, 7; Fück 1980, 40-1.
[119] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 3: 227.
[120] Ibid, 4: 326.
[121] Ibid, 5: 263.
[122] Ibid, 7: 472.

sijjīl (baked clay) was classified as *dakhīl* and *muʿarrab*,[123] and the term *firand* (the edge of a sword) is given more than one classification.[124]

Further investigation into this problem may be illustrated with some examples in al-Jawharī's lexicon. The first word I would like to address is *dūlāb*, singular of *dawālīb* ; it is an arabicized word from Persian but no meaning is given.[125] Other examples are: *jawrab* (sock),[126] *būṣī* (a kind of ship),[127] *ibrīq* (pitcher),[128] and *jardabān* (bread container) < Persian *kardahbān*,[129] all of which are arabicized. From a different perspective, there is nothing in these definitions that helps the reader to know the shapes of these objects, or their functions, or what were they made from, or how they were manufactured. Such examples illustrate that Arabic lexica suffer from the use of unexplained borrowed words and, worst of all, the words' etymologies are not given.

Words classified as *aʿjamī*

Al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī defines *ʿajamī* as non-Arabic sometimes with special reference to Persian.[130] Lexica compiled after al-Farāhīdī do not add more to his interpretation.[131] He applies the term to describe foreign names of people and animals, as did al-Azharī (d. 370/980),[132] Ibn Sīda,[133] al-Jawharī,[134] and Ibn Manẓūr.[135]

[123] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 6: 54.
[124] Ibid, 8: 103.
[125] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 125.
[126] Ibid, 1: 99.
[127] Ibid, 3: 1031.
[128] Ibid, 4: 1449.
[129] Ibid, 1: 99.
[130] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 1: 237.
[131] See for example Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 240; al-Jawharī 1987, 5: 1980; al-Zabīdī (nd), 33: 59.
[132] Al-Azharī 2001, 3: 60, 7: 99;
[133] Ibn Sīda 2000, 9: 333.
[134] Al-Jawharī 1987, 2: 471.
[135] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 3: 549; 5: 290, 558.

Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān* contains more foreign words classified as *aʿjamī* than al-Azharī's *Tahdhīb* and al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*. This difference can be explained by the fact that both al-Azharī and al-Jawharī aimed to collect only words that were purely Arabic. Consequently, they ignored many foreign words that are used in Arabic without any change in their original structure because such words do not obey the process of arabicization. On the other hand, Ibn Manẓūr compiled a massive Arabic lexicon so he must have had a looser and more liberal criterion in documenting vocabulary and that is why his lexicon contains more *aʿjamī* (foreign) terms.

Words classified as *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a*

Muwallad/a or *muḥdath/a* stand for a complex issue in Arabic lexicology. It is important to shed some light on the history of the use of this term to illustrate the role of ethnicity of speakers in documenting Arabic, especially as lexicographers divided speakers categorically into reliable and non-reliable sources of the language according to their ethnicity.

Ibn Fāris states that √*w.l.d.* expresses the meaning of "birth"[136] and √*ḥ.d.th.* expresses the conceptual meaning of "something which did not exist before".[137] These roots give the terms *muwalladūn* and *muḥdathūn* in reference to Arabic speakers who were born in Arabic communities from non-Arab parents.[138] Several of these *muwalladūn* or *muḥdathūn* made great strides in the field of Arabic studies, including grammar, lexicography and Arabic literature; among these were: ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Muqaffaʿ (d. 142/759), Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783), Sībawayhi (d. 180/796), Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī (d.

[136] Ibn Fāris 1979, 6: 143.
[137] Ibid, 2: 36.
[138] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 852; 2: 844; al-Zabīdī (nd), 9: 327.

377/987), and Ibn Jinnī (d. 392/1001). Their works contain a great number of new terms that had not existed in the Arabic of early Arabs. So purists of Arabic described such new words as *kalām al-muwalladīn* or *al-muḥdathīn* (words of non-Arabs).[139]

The term *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a* also refers to any new word that is a neologism, or, specifically, a word coined by non-reliable speakers.[140] By classifying these words as such, lexicographers wanted all Arabic speakers to recognize these neologisms and avoid them in their formal speaking and writing.

It should be noted that *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a* are different from *muʿarrab*, which was coined to cover a specific kind of borrowed word, whereas *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a* was used first in ethnic contexts and after a while was used as a linguistic criterion to signify a neologism. The question arises: is describing a word uttered by non-Arabs as *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a* a racist approach in the practice of lexicographers during the Islamic Caliphate? Many purists used such linguistic criteria to classify vocabulary of non-Arabic background. This means that if the word *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a* was used in a racist social context to describe an ethnicity, then in the field of lexicography, the usage had a different, non-racist implication. Al-Jawharī uses *muwallad/a* to classify a word such as *makhraqa* though without interpretation.[141] Al-Zabīdī lists the term *nawkhadha* as "the ship owner or his agent" and adds that it is *muwallad.*[142] Ibn Manẓūr used the word *muḥdath* to describe *jumhūrī* (a specific kind of wine);[143] also, according to Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), he used the word *muḥdath* to describe *akhkh* (ouch!).[144] To

[139] Al-Jāḥiẓ 1968, 1: 217; al-Baghdādī 1998, 1: 30.
[140] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 1: 52.
[141] Al-Jawharī 1987, 4: 1468.
[142] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 9: 486.
[143] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 3: 141.
[144] Ibid, 2: 409.

conclude, it could be said that Arabic lexicographers used the term *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a* to classify either foreign terms or neologisms coined after the advent of Islam. However, *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a* do not fit arabicized terms that were changed to obey Arabic moulds due to the fact that arabicized terms have non-Arabic origins while *muwallad/a* or *muḥdath/a* could be coined from an Arabic tri-radical root.

Words classified as *maʿrūf*

Several words that were familiar to speakers at the time the lexica were being compiled were classified by lexicographers as *maʿrūf* (i.e. "well known"), and given no definition. We find a great number of words noted as *maʿrūf* in al-Azharī, al-Jawharī, and Ibn Manẓūr's lexica. For example, the term *abghath* (sea bird) was described as *maʿrūf*,[145] as were *hāzibā* (a kind of fish),[146] *ḥūt* (fish),[147] and *jarīth* (a kind of fish)[148] and *luʾluʾ* (pearl).[149] The term *timsāḥ* (crocodile) was also described as "a known animal living in the water habitat".[150] Also: *ḥadīd* (iron)[151] and the word *ḥaṭab* (firewood) were described as "well known".[152] A further example include *shadhā*, defined as a well known type of ship.[153] Although some of these words are still in use so we know what they mean, we do not know, however, their precise definitions in classical and medieval periods. Moreover, some terms are no longer used in spoken Arabic today and so we are unable to know what they meant. This problem may be related to the size of the lexicon: the larger the dictionary, the more words are defined as *maʿrūf*. This can be seen in *Lisān al-ʿArab*

[145] Al-Azharī 2001, 8: 105.
[146] Ibid, 5: 246.
[147] Ibid, 1: 762.
[148] Ibid, 1: 850.
[149] Ibid, 15: 309.
[150] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 405.
[151] Ibid, 2: 463.
[152] Ibid, 1: 113.
[153] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 8: 399.

whose author, Ibn Manẓūr, aimed to compile a comprehensive lexicon, which ended up being several volumes in length. A quantitative investigation into this dictionary illustrates a shocking statistic: I found 611 words defined as *maᶜrūf*. If these unexplained words were defined we would have a much larger lexicon. The following table is the result of a quantitative investigation of the classification of words in three mainstream Arabic lexica.

Lexicon	*maᶜrūf*	*muᶜarrab*	*muwallad/a*	*dakhīl*	*aᶜjami*	*muḥdath/a*
Kitāb al-ᶜAyn	129	16	5	10	7	1
Al-Ṣiḥāḥ	91	94	19	1	2	0
Lisān al-ᶜArab	611	304	29	62	85	3

Table 1: Classification of words as labelled in 3 medieval Arabic lexica

Table 1 uses six lexicological criteria to classify terms found in three mainstream lexica. Overall the number of terms classified as *muḥdath/a* is far fewer than all other classifications in both the lexica *al-ᶜAyn* and *Lisān al-ᶜArab*. Additionally, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* does not include *muḥdath/a* to classify words at all, which means that *muḥdath/a* rarely appears in Arabic lexica. Terms classified as *maᶜrūf* account for the highest among all other classifications: in *al-ᶜAyn*, 129 words, and *Lisān al-ᶜArab*, 611 words, as opposed to *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, which contains 91 words. This points to the fact that there is still a great number of terms in need of definition in all lexica. On the other hand, terms classified as *muᶜarrab* (94 words) are slightly more numerous than *maᶜrūf* (91 words) in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*. This suggests that the lexicon contains a significant number of arabicized words because it aimed to purify Arabic from any foreign or modern terms. That is why terms classified as *dakhīl*

and *aʿjamī* are far fewer in number than in the other two lexica, *al-ʿAyn* and *Lisān al-ʿArab.*

This table also illustrates that the statistics of these classifications are highly affected by the size of the investigated lexicon, as well as the aims of its compiler. For example, *Lisān al-ʿArab* has the greatest numbers of these classifications and it is the largest lexicon in the table; its compiler, Ibn Manẓūr, aimed to list all the terms that had been documented by his predecessors. He was not motivated by the issue of purifying Arabic, and this is why we find his lexicon richer than others in terms classified as *muʿarrab*, *muwallad/a*, *dakhīl*, *aʿjamī* and *muḥdath/a*.

Conclusion

It could be said that the early language compilers sought to build insurmountable barriers around Arabic. According to their view, it was important to protect the language's purity and uniqueness by excluding any neologisms or terms that seemed of non-Arabic origin. This chapter concerns itself with understanding the criteria that were made by medieval lexicographers when they started collecting the language. They surrounded the language with various criteria, examining each word from various angles, such as the ethnicity of its speakers, time, place, morphological mould and environment in order to guarantee that only authentic Arabic was documented. This procedure of documenting the language had a severe impact on Classical Arabic, which today seems split off from the social life of its speakers in urbanized and non-urbanized areas. However, sometimes these criteria were difficult to follow for various reasons, and as a result lexicographers were compelled to ignore them by documenting some terms of non-Arabic origin. Having said this, each lexicographer understood these criteria according to his own view, and the number of

arabicized, neologisms and foreign terms differs unevenly from one lexicon to another. Sībawayhi and Ibn Durayd were among the liberal scholars who allowed more terms to be documented, while al-Azharī, Ibn Fāris and al-Jawharī were among the most conservative lexicographers. Various possibilities lie behind the reasons why most medieval Arabic lexicographers did not explain material cultural terms, one of which, as we have seen, is that they were not interested in borrowed words. Another explanation, also discussed earlier, may be that they thought such words were well known at the time of documenting them, so there was no point of explaining them within the lexica.

This was the general landscape of lexicography during the early era of language documentation. In addition to what has been mentioned above, morphological structures played a main role in categorizing terms into Arabic, arabicized or foreign and this is the core issue which Chapter 5 investigates.

Chapter 5: The role of Arabic moulds

The Arabic mould (s. *qālab* pl. *qawālib*) from √*q.l.b.* expresses the conceptual meaning of "turning something over from one side to another".[1] Hence deriving a new term from an existing Arabic root by using a linguistic mould is like shaping a soft substance by pressing it into a mould, which when overturned will give a newly shaped substance. In this root-based language, derivation through the linguistic moulds is one of the most important criteria of the developers of the language.[2] Stated another way: the core of the derivation process is the root, which is the crude material of words. However, medieval lexicographers suggest that newly derived terms must obey Arabic linguistic moulds in order to be a legitimate part of the (arabicized) language.

Al-Khalīl al-Farahīdī (d. 175/791) did not explain the linguistic moulds, while al-Jawālīqī (540/1145) did, suggesting that a mould consists of the consonants of a word and its morphological pattern.[3] Al-Asturābādhī (d. 686/1287) assumes that the mould is the "shape" of the term, which can be shared with other words and morphologically structured on a root-base.[4] For example, the term *markab* (a generic term for a ship), derived on the linguistic mould of *maf*ᶜ*al*, is based on the root √*r.k.b.*; the prefix /ma-/ semantically is understood to be a marker for a noun of place or space or function such as *maktab* (office) < √*k.t.b.* and *maq*ᶜ*ad* < √*q.* ᶜ*.d.* (chair).[5]

Modern researchers provide a wider concept for moulds, suggesting that a mould consists of two parts: the first is the lexical semantic concept that can be understood from the

[1] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 17.
[2] Stetkevych 1970, 7.
[3] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 94.
[4] Al-Asturābādhī 1975, 1: 2.
[5] Ḥasan (nd), 3: 337.

consonants of the root, and the second is the morphological pattern that shapes the concept to add a new meaning of the shaped term.[6] For example, the root √*sh.r.ᶜ* expresses the conceptual meaning of "hoisting something up",[7] and is built on the linguistic mould *fiᶜāl* giving the word *shirāᶜ*, a "sail", (which is raised up on the ship). Words that are not derived from roots are excluded by medieval lexicographers as they cannot be moulded, for example, pronouns, conjunctive nouns, prepositions and other particles. Only verbs and nouns are eligible to form moulds and obey the derivation system.

The question then is: are foreign nouns eligible for Arabic moulds? According to the claims of the grammarian Sībawayhi (d. 180/796), foreign nouns including proper names can be assimilated into the language if they are used by authentic Arabic speakers, such as Bedouins, even if these words were not changed to fit Arabic moulds.[8] Examples of such words include *kurkum* (saffron) from Persian,[9] *ājurr* (bricks) from Aramaic,[10] *sībajī* (sailor) from Persian[11] and proper names such as *Ismāᶜīl* and *Khurāsān.*[12] Later lexicographers, however, did not accept this assertion, claiming that foreign terms could not be arabicized unless they adhered to Arabic moulds. Examples of these kinds include *rāqūd* (a kind of fish), which fits the Arabic mould *fāᶜūl*, and *shihrīz* (a kind of date), which similarly fits Arabic on the pattern of *fiᶜlīl.*[13] Ibn ᶜUṣfūr (d. 669/1270) shares the opinion that foreign proper names cannot adhere to Arabic moulds either and therefore cannot be capable of being arabicized;[14] for example, *Ibrāhīm* (Abraham) is not derived

[6] Hindāwi 2002, 9; Shārif 2013, 54.
[7] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 262.
[8] Sībawayhi 1982, 4: 304.
[9] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 7: 475.
[10] Shīr 1988, 7.
[11] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 21.
[12] A country which includes north west of Afghanistan and south of Turkmenistan. Sībawayhi 1982, 4: 304.
[13] Al-Jawharī 1987, 5: 1871.
[14] Ibn ᶜUṣfūr 1987, 1: 35.

from an Arabic root and cannot be associated with any Arabic mould (morphological pattern).[15] It might be relevant to ask why most lexicographers agree that foreign proper names cannot be adhered to Arabic moulds. Al-Jawharī answers this question by asserting that foreign proper names cannot be changed without rendering them unrecognizable.[16] However, there might be some proper names which were arabicized, but al-Jawharī asserts that this is not a general pattern.

Efforts of linguists and lexicographers to study Arabic moulds

Studying Arabic moulds started in the middle of the second/eighth century. One of the first authors who studied this issue was, as noted earlier, Sībawayhi. He listed 308 moulds of nouns; his aim was to cover all possible moulds.[17] In his *al-Muqtaḍab* (A Brief Treatise) al-Mubarrid's (d. 286/899) aim was not to collect moulds but rather to forge a practical method of creating new words that would follow the criterion of analogy – *al-qiyās*, an analogical method applied to pattern new words according to existing word patterns.[18] He suggested that the raw morphological pattern *faʿala* can be shaped according to the morphology and phonology of any term, whether it was Classical Arabic, an arabicized, neologism or a proper foreign name. The foreign name Ḥaydar, for example, fits the mould of *fayʿal*. Al-Mubarrid goes further saying that you can derive a proper noun from any existing verb.[19] For example, to derive a noun on the pattern of *faʿlal* from the root √*ḍ.r.b.*, an extra *bāʾ* could be added to the end of the root to give *ḍarbab*.[20] The result of suggesting this morphological form has led translators and

[15] Ibn ʿUṣfūr 1987, 1: 35.
[16] Al-Jawharī 1987, 5: 1871.
[17] ʿUmar 1995, 11.
[18] Agius 1984, 164.
[19] Al-Mubarrid 1994, 1: 207.
[20] Al-Mubarrid 1994, 1: 207.

students of Arabic to use the criterion of derivation and, in the process, has demonstrated the high flexibility of Arabic in the third/ninth century.[21]

These efforts led other lexicographers to work with linguistic moulds to fit patterns by using the *qiyās* model, such as Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) who wrote two sections about Arabic moulds,[22] while Isḥāq al-Fārābī (d. 350/961) was the first to compile *Dīwān al-adab* (The Divan of Literature) a lexicon which was classified according to Arabic moulds, or the language's morphological patterns. In the introductory chapters of his lexicon, al-Farābī explained the importance of moulds and how they can be used in classifying entries. He also pointed out that classifying entries according to their moulds is a more accurate and consistent means of indexing the language in contrast to other types of classification.[23]

Classifying maritime and nautical terminology under linguistic moulds

As mentioned above, foreign terms and neologisms have been assimilated into Arabic in two ways: the first, according to Sībawayhi, are terms that can be arabicized if reliable Arabic speakers use them, whether they changed their moulds to fit Arabic or not. The second is that current researchers following the criterion of medieval lexicographers claim that terms fitting Arabic moulds are eligible to be arabicized. Both views are represented in the following list of maritime terms either listed in Arabic lexica or still in use by Saudi Red Sea seafaring communities. In fact, some dialectal loan terms that I collected in my survey are difficult to classify under a linguistic mould.

[21] Agius 1984, 164-5.
[22] Ibn Sallām 1996, 2: 513-619.
[23] Al-Farābī (nd), 1: 72.

Category 1.

Terms with the pattern plural *afʿāl*

Sayb (oar), plural *asyāb* [24] and *shirt* (the rope fitted to sail yard),[25] pl. *ashrāt*, on the analogy of *rimth* (a river boat), pl. *armāth* [26] and *bayt* (house), pl. *abyāt*.[27]

Category 2.

Linguistic moulds of terms with a singular feminine-end marker ة

a. On *fuʿla* there is *huẓra* (a space between each rib in the body of the ship), pl. *huẓar*,[28] on the analogy of *rukba* (knee), pl. *rukab*, on the pattern of *fuʿal*.[29]

b. On *fiʿla* there is *ʿirba* (a splice in the rigging rope), pl. *ʿirab*,[30] on the analogy of *qirba* (goatskin), pl. *qirab*, on the pattern of *fiʿal*.[31]

c. On *faʿala* there is *khashaba* (a generic term for ship or boat or piece of wood), pl. *khashabāt*,[32] on the analogy of *raḥaba* (spacious place), pl. *raḥabāt*, on the pattern of *faʿalāt*.[33]

d. On *fiʿāla* there is *siqāla* (a quay), pl. *siqālāt*,[34] of Italian origin,[35] but it could be arabicized because it follows the Arabic moulds in both singular and plural cases on the analogy of *risāla*, pl. *risālāt* on the pattern of *fiʿālāt*.[36]

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[24] ʿĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[25] Abū Nayif al-Ḥmidī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[26] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 21.
[27] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 588.
[28] Nāṣir ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ, interviewed in Al Wajh on 11 June 2010.
[29] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 579.
[30] Nāṣir ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ, interviewed in Al Wajh on 11 June 2010.
[31] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 581.
[32] ʿĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[33] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 579.
[34] Muḥammad Darwīsh, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 18 May 2010.
[35] ʿAbd al-Raḥīm 2011, 122.
[36] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 579, 611.

Category 3.

Singular terms with no documented plural

a. *Faᶜāl* as in *naqāb* (mast-step),[37] on the analogy of *ghazāl* (gazelle).[38]

b. *Fiᶜāl* as in *hirāb* (keel)[39] on the analogy of *ḥimār* (donkey).[40]

c. *Fuᶜul* as in *yusur* (a kind of sea plant),[41] on the analogy of *ᶜunuq* (nick).[42]

Category 4

Plural terms with no documented singular

Faᶜālīl as in *gabālīs* (small ropes that link the sail to the sail yard)[43] on the analogy of *ṣamārīd* (fat sheep).[44]

Category 5.

Singular past participle-*mafᶜūl*

Mafᶜūl as in *mandūl* (bilge),[45] on the analogy of the adjective *maḍrūb* (been struck)[46] and the noun *makhlūq* (creature).[47]

[37] Ḥasan Bḥays ᶜĪsā, interviewed in Jizan on 21 May 2010.
[38] Ibn Sīda 1996, 2: 84.
[39] Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥāzmi, interviewed in Yanbu on 4 June 2010.
[40] Ibn Sīda 1996, 2: 84.
[41] Ibrāhīm Abū ᶜUtayyiq al-Sinānī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[42] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 574.
[43] Msāᶜad al-Kubaydī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[44] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 8: 298.
[45] Abū Nāyif al-Ḥmidī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[46] Ibn ᶜUṣfūr 1987, 1: 108.
[47] Ibn Sīda 1996, 2: 297.

Category 6.

Suffix-ending */-ān /* either in singular or plural

a. *Faᶜlān* as *bardān* (the sides of the ship's hold where sailors keep their belongings),[48] on the analogy of *saᶜdān* (a type of plant).[49]

b. *Faᶜalān* as used in *shalamān* pl. *shalāmīn* (ribs of the ship)[50] on the analogy of *karawān* (curlew).[51]

c. *Faᶜal* as in *daqal* (mast), pl. *duqlān*,[52] on the analogy of *ḥamal* (lamb), pl. *ḥumlān.*[53]

Category 7.

Nouns of instrument which start with a *mīmī* prefix */mi -/*

a. *Mifᶜāl* as in *mijdāf* (oar),[54] *miqlāṣ* (a knife used by divers to pull out oyster

shells),[55] and *mirwās* (drum used for singing and dancing),[56] on the analogy of *mithqāb* (drill) and *mibrād* (rasp).[57]

b. *Mifᶜala* as in *miṭraha* (punting pole)[58] and *mikhdaja* (fishing net),[59] on the analogy of *minshara* (saw), *miskhana* (boiler).[60]

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[48] Ḥāmid Aḥmad Abū Hbayra, interviewed in Farasan on 21 May 2010.
[49] Ibn ᶜUṣfūr 1987, 1: 123.
[50] Shlayyān ᶜAwda al-Rifāᶜī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[51] Sībawayhi 1982, 4: 259.
[52] ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Mashhūr al-Sayyid, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010.
[53] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 570.
[54] ᶜĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[55] Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Sinānī, Interviewed in Umluj on 10 June 2010.
[56] ᶜAwwād al-Nāṣir, interviewed in Yanbu by on 4 June 2010.
[57] Ḥasan (nd), 3: 334.
[58] ᶜAwwād Sālim al-Rifāᶜī, Interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[59] Abkar Muḥammad Abkar, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010.
[60] Ḥasan (nd), 3: 333-4.

Category 8.

Nouns of instrument on the pattern of *fa^{cc}āla*

Fa^{cc}āla as in *thaggāla* (a heavy piece of metal fastened to the foot of the pearl diver),[61] on the analogy of *kharrāma* (punch) and *thallāja* (refrigerator).[62]

Category 9.

Diminutives

a. *Fu^{c}ayl* as in *nuhayd* (a type of shell), pl. *nuhaydāt*,[63] on the analogy of *jubayl* (small mountain),[64] pl. *jubaylāt*, on the pattern of *fu^{c}aylāt*.

b. *Fu^{c}ayy^{c}il* as in *quṣayyir* (small mast),[65] on the analogy of *kutayyib* (small book).[66]

Category 10.

Quadrilateral roots

a. *Fu^{c}lul* as in *lu^{c}lu^{c}* (pearls),[67] on the analogy of *fulful* (a type of plant) and *burthun* (fingers of wild animals).[68]

b. *Fi^{c}lāl* as in *qinbār* or *ginbār* (rigging rope),[69] on the analogy of *qirṭās* (piece of paper).[70]

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[61] Abkar Muḥammad Abkar, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010.
[62] Ḥasan (nd), 3: 334.
[63] Ḥamdān Aḥmad al-Kbaydī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[64] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 415.
[65] Ḥasan ^{c}Abd Allāh ^{c}Īsā, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010.
[66] Ḥasan (nd), 4: 775.
[67] Al-Bustānī 1987, 804.
[68] Ibn ^{c}Uṣfūr 1987, 1: 66.
[69] Msā^{c}ad al-Kbaidī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[70] Sībawayhi 1982, 4: 256.

c. *Faʿlūl* as in *gargūr* (huge fish trap)[71] and *sanbūk* (a type of ship),[72] on the analogy of *Ṣaʿfūq* (the proper name of foreign people who settled in the middle of Arabia).[73] Linguists and lexicographers suggest that terms on this morphological pattern should be classified as foreign, because it is found only in foreign names.

Category 11.

Terms for ship-boot-types

a. *Fuʿlī* as in *hūrī* pl. *hawārī* (beach canoe),[74] *nūrī* pl. *nawārī* (large ship),[75] *dungī* pl. *danāgī* (beach canoe)[76] and *jurdī*, pl. *jarādī* (trading-ship),[77] on the analogy of *kursī* (chair) and *bukhtī* ("bactrian" camel with two humps), pl. *karāsī* and *bakhātī*, on the pattern of *faʿālī*.[78]

b. *Fāʿūl* as in *zārūq*, pl. *zawārīq* (a type of ship),[79] and *bābūr*, pl. *bawābīr* (steam-ship).[80] on the analogy of *ṭāwūs* (peacock), pl. *ṭawāwīs*, on the pattern of *fawāʿīl*.[81]

c. *Fāʿil* as in *qārib*, pl. *qawārib* (small boat),[82] on the analogy of *kāhil* pl. *kawāhil* (the top of a camel's hump), on the pattern of *fawāʿil*.[83]

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[71] Yaḥyā Aḥmad al-Shaykh, interviewed in Jizan on 19 May 2010.
[72] Faḍl Allāh Abū Aḥmad, interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2010.
[73] Ibn ʿUṣfūr 1987, 1: 150; al-Jawālīqī 1990, 431; Ibn Jinnī (nd), 3: 215.
[74] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Mashhūr al-Sayyid, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010.
[75] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Mashhūr al-Sayyid, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010.
[76] ʿAwwād Sālim al-Rifāʿī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[77] ʿAwwād al-Nāṣir, interviewed in Yanbu on 4 June 2010.
[78] Ibn Jinnī (nd), 3: 63.
[79] ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Mashhūr al-Sayyid, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010; Agius 2010, 183.
[80] Ḥasan Bḥays ʿĪsā, interviewed in Jizan on 21 May 2010; ʿAbd al-Raḥīm 2011, 47.
[81] Sībawayhi 1982, 4: 371.
[82] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 723.
[83] Ibn ʿUṣfūr 1987, 1: 80; Ibn Sīda 1996, 2: 84.

d. *Fāᶜila* as in *bākhira* pl. *bawākhir* (a type of ship),[84] *bārija* pl. *bawārij* (a fighting ship)[85] and *sāᶜiya* pl. *ṣawāᶜī* (trading vessel),[86] on the analogy of *mākhira* pl. *mawākhir* and *jāriya* pl. *jawārī* (classical generic terms for a ship), on the pattern of *fawāᶜil*.[87]

e. *Faᶜīla* as in *safīna* (ship), pl. *sufun*,[88] on the analogy of *ṣaḥīfa* (sheet), pl. *ṣuḥuf*, on the pattern of *fuᶜul*.[89]

f. *Fawᶜal* as in *zawraq* (a type of ship), pl. *zawāriq*,[90] on the analogy of *kawkab* (star) pl. *kawākib*,[91] on the pattern of *fawāᶜil*.[92]

From the categories above, it can be said that speakers in this area coined or borrowed these terms according to their natural linguistic faculty; that is why many of these terms follow Arabic morphological moulds and this is helpful for researchers today who can use the criteria of morphology while they are analysing such undocumented terms. It should be noted that some maritime terms are used as plural only, with no listed single, such as *gabālīs* (Cat. 4). These objects are usually used in multiples but we might find them used as singular among sail makers who fixed these small ropes one by one. On the other hand, there are some single artefacts, such as the *hirāb* and *naqāb* (Cat. 3) where the plural is rarely used but it might be used among shipbuilders. This confirms that language speakers only use the terms that fit their daily needs, and this is especially true of material cultural objects used in handicrafts and occupations such as sailing, fishing and dhow building. However, there are some terms which do not fit Classical Arabic moulds.

[84] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.,* 41.
[85] Al-Bustānī 1987, 33.
[86] ᶜĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[87] Sībawayhi 1982, 4: 254; Ibn Sīda 1996, 3:17.
[88] Al-Azharī 2001, 13: 6.
[89] Sībawayhi 1982, 3: 610.
[90] Agius 2010, 44.
[91] Ibn ᶜUṣfūr 1987, 1: 82.
[92] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.,* 793.

Following medieval criteria, such terms cannot be classified as arabicized forms, for example, *bashlīla* (anchor),[93] *balbīl* (oyster-shell)[94] and *danjīl* (bag used by divers to collect pearls).[95] Although the Arabic moulds *fiʿlīla* and *fiʿlīl*, found in *riʿdīd* (a cowardly man)[96] and *qindīl* (lantern),[97] seem similar, there is a vowel discrepancy: *bashlīla* and *balbīl* contain an /a/ in the first syllable, while the Classical Arabic moulds *fiʿlīla* and *fiʿlīl* both have *kasra* /i/. The terms *ṣurunbāq* (soft edible white tissue inside the giant spider conch)[98] and *sardīn* (kind of small fish)[99] also cannot be categorized among Classical Arabic terms: their moulds *fuʿulʿāl* and *faʿlīl* do not fit Arabic moulds. In any case both terms have no roots in Arabic.

I covered in the preceding chapters several linguistic issues that affected the process of language documentation. In Chapter 6 I will investigate other non-linguistic factors such as *al-shuʿūbiyya* movement and historical events.

[93] Ibrāhīm Abū ʿUtayyiq al-Sinānī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[94] Ḥāmid Aḥmad Abū Hbayra, interviewed in Farasan on 21 May 2010.
[95] Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh ʿĪsā, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010.
[96] Ibn Sīda 1996, 1: 279.
[97] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 17: 332.
[98] Saʿd Khamīs al-Thaʿlabī, interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2010.
[99] Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥāzmi, interviewed in Yanbu on 4 June 2010.

Chapter 6. Non-linguistic Factors that Shaped Lexicography

In earlier chapters we shed light on the process of compiling lexica and its criteria since al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791) compiled his first lexicon, *Kitāb al-ᶜAyn* (The Book [Starting with the] Letter ᶜAyn). In those chapters I attempted to answer the question: why are we not able to find maritime and nautical terms in mainstream Arabic lexica? In the context of this question, it can be further asked: are there non-linguistic factors that affected the process of word-collecting and dictionary compiling? First there is the *shuᶜūbiyya* movement, and second is the linguistic situation of Arabic usage and its diffusion and, finally, there are the main historical events that have affected the whole of intellectual activity across Arabic-speaking countries since the advent of Islam.

The *shuᶜūbiyya* movement

The *Shuᶜūbiyya* movement involved social-cultural and ethnic rivalry between the *ᶜArab* (Arabs) and *ᶜAjam* (foreigners)[1] starting at the beginning of the second/eighth century and continuing until the third/ninth century when the rivalry reached its peak.[2] We need to go back to beginnings of the Umayyad Caliphate (first/seventh century) when Muslim society was divided into two groups: the original Arabs who were employed in high positions in the government and the *mawālī* (non-Arab Muslims). Although Muslims, the latter were forced to pay a *jizya* (poll tax),[3] and when they joined the military they received salaries lower than those of Arabs; they were also not allowed to reside in cities.[4] These discriminatory practices led to social, economic and ethnic unrest within the Muslim communities, some of which manifested in the *shuᶜūbiyya* movement with

[1] Al-Jāḥiẓ 1968, 405.
[2] Qaddūrah 1972, 52.
[3] Hitti 2002, 233.
[4] Amīn 1969, 109; Agius 1980, 80.

literary and linguistic views of two opposing camps of writers: the *ʿarab* (Arabs) and the *ʿajam* (foreigners).[5] Although the *shuʿūbiyya* started as a social and literary movement led by the cultured class which included both Arabs and non-Arabs, it extended to linguistic issues where linguists were establishing their view that Arabic or *fuṣḥā* is a rich and most extensive language.[6] As for medieval Arabic, lexicographers influenced by the *shuʿūbiyyah* aimed to purify Arabic from any foreign influence by compiling dictionaries that contained only Arabic vocabulary and eliminated any dubious or foreign words.

The status of Arabic usage

After the advent of Islam, Arabic spread among all Muslims from various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds as the official language of worship and the means of understanding the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth. One question is how the language of warring desert tribes became diffused among all Muslims. This can be answered from three angles: first, the conquering Arabs did not rely only on the power of military conquest but also on the energy of their belief, which gave these new converts a strong desire to demolish all previous myths and superstition. Second, the Qurʾān confirmed the religious truths presented in the Bible in its old and new testaments,[7] which encouraged new converts to believe that all these holy books came from the same source. Finally, it should be borne in mind that people tend to be easily influenced by the culture and language of more powerful nations, and they show that influence by copying the more influential nation's language and culture.[8] These factors played a significant role in making Arabic the dominant language across the expanding caliphate. According to medieval linguists, this

[5] This racism is completely against Islam's teachings: the Prophet Muḥammad said in his speech in *Ḥajjat al-Wadāʿ* (the farewell pilgrimage), "There is no difference between Arabs and non-Arabs except through righteousness". See Al-Arnʾūṭ, (ed) (nd), 5: 411.
[6] Agius 1980, 83; al-Muzaynī 2004, 30.
[7] Woolner 1938, 10, 149.
[8] Shaddādī 2005, 240.

situation led to a sort of change which they described as a deterioration in Arabic; for example, *laḥn* (error) was initially applied only to learners from a non-Arabic background, but it then spread amongst native speakers as well[9] as a result of the strong interaction between Arabs and other ethnic communities such as the Persians in Persia, Copts in Egypt, and the Spanish in Al-Andalus.

Arab governors and rulers imposed linguistic rules in the conquered countries in order to keep the position of Arabic as the dominant language. For instance, after Egypt was conquered in the first/seventh century, people continued to use Coptic and Greek. They used these languages in correspondence and in the administration of the affairs of the country. Then in 87/706 the governor of Egypt ᶜAbd Allāh b. ᶜAbd al-Malik b. Marwān imposed a law which said that all formal correspondence had to be in Arabic.[10] As a result, in the second/eighth century Arabic became the language of Egyptians whether they were Muslims or Christians.[11] Arabic also displaced various languages in North Africa from Libya to Morocco.[12]

Before the advent of Islam there were three main areas of language usage in North Africa: first, Latin, and Greek, which were administrative languages;[13] second, there were speakers of neo-Punic, a late form of Phoenician;[14] and third, there were the Berber languages spoken in general by the local tribes of North Africa,[15] inland and on the coast. After the Islamic political hegemony, the number of Latin and Greek speakers fell.[16]

[9] Versteegh 1996, 17.
[10] Al-Janābī 1981, 91.
[11] Brett 2010, 1: 555; ᶜUmar 1970, 53.
[12] Versteegh 1997, 2.
[13] Horrocks 2010, 196-7.
[14] Krahmalkov 2001, 6, 18, 19.
[15] Brett and Fentress 1996, 120-2.
[16] Horrocks 2010, 196-7.

Arabs led by the Umayyed Caliphate and the ethnic groups who supported them, such as Berbers, continued their conquest until they reached Al-Andalus at the end of the first century/the beginning of the eighth century.[17] In Al-Andalus, Arabic was able to flourish because of the many scholars who moved from the east of the Islamic Empire to the west, such as Abū ᶜAlī al-Qālī (d. 356/967).[18] This encouraged the indigenous people, who spoke a Romance language, to learn Arabic as the language of the religion that many of them had embraced as was the case in Islamic societies.[19]

Despite the fact that there were several lexica compiled by Muslim lexicographers in Al-Andalus, such as *al-Bāriᶜ* (The Sophisticated) by Abū ᶜAli al-Qālī (d. 356/967), *al-Muḥkam* and *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* by Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1065), a great number of cultural and maritime terms are still absent amongst these works. The few cultural and maritime terms that are documented in these works lack clear definitions, for example, *talawwā* Ibn Sīda says it is "a type of ship",[20] and *ṭalal al-safīna* defined as "*jilāluha*" (its sail). [21]

Such terms were not explained sufficiently because lexicographers thought they were common or well known among Arabic speakers at that time.[22] The commonality of such terms can be supported by the following: first, according to some anecdotes concerning society in Al-Andalus, people were named according to their crafts, for example, the famous poet Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Zakariyyā (d. 302/914) was called *al-Qulfāṭ* (a term for the craft of caulking ships) because he was a caulker.[23] Such anecdotes show that the

[17] Brett and Fentress 1996, 120-2.
[18] Naṣṣār 1988, 246.
[19] Al-ᶜUraynī 1995, 281; Agius 1996, 97.
[20] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 19.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Agius 2008, 374.
[23] Ḍayf 1989, 17, 127-9, 131.

craft of shipbuilding was practised in the coastal areas especially, but its terminology was not documented in the existing lexica. Second, historians tell us that the Muslim conquerors (Arabs and Berbers) who crossed the sea from Morocco to Al-Andalus sailed on ships built in Tunisia.[24] This fleet patrolled the borders of the Mediterranean Islamic Caliphate between the Levant and Morocco. We are unable to find specific works that document and explain maritime and nautical terminology. It is probable that there were such works, but they were lost during catastrophic events that took place across the conquered territories because of wars, destruction, fire or abandoned settlements. Such big gaps in the history of Arabic lexicography may hold the answer to a great number of terms related to crafts and skills, such as shipbuilding and seafaring, which cannot be found in the available Arabic lexica.

Historical events

Now I want to consider the main historical events that affected the development of Arabic lexicography. At the beginning of the fourth/tenth century a group of Saljūqī fighters (one of the large groups of Turks who came from central Asia) attacked parts of the Islamic Caliphate and took over rule from Afghanistan in the east to Turkey in the west.[25] Although they eventually converted to Islam, the formal language of the Islamic empire, which they invaded, changed from Arabic to Persian. This was the first notable event in the decline of Arabic as a dominant language in the area.[26] As a result, a new genre of *adab* (literary works) emerged, such as the *Maqāmāt* (Assemblies) of Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 398/1008) and the *Maqāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī (d. 515/1121), whose aim was didactic and moralistic since linguists and lexicographers were aware of the changing

[24] Fahmi 1966, 71; al-Nāṣirī 1997, 1: 150.
[25] Ross 1979, 129; al-Ṣallābī 2006, 111.
[26] Al-Janābī 1981, 93.

status of Arabic, not only among learners from foreign backgrounds but also among native speakers. These literary works played an important role in documenting a great number of material-cultural terms related to the daily life of Arabic-speaking communities. A great number of these terms were ignored by most medieval lexicographers, whose aim was to compile only formal Arabic and because they wanted to defend the purity of Arabic. Another example is *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm fī maᶜrifat al-aqālīm* (The Best System of Divisions of the Knowledge of Climes) by the geographer al-Maqdisī (d. 378/988) who listed several maritime terms without clear explanations, terms such as *safīna, zawraq, markab, miᶜbar* and *burma*.[27] Although he proposed to investigate these terms throughout the sections describing each clime, he did not do so.[28] These terms are types of ships that were well known among Arabic speakers. Al-Maqdisī might have thought that there was no need to discuss such terms, possibly because they were explained in specific works, or they were well known enough that they did not need any explanation.

The decline of Arabic as it was conceptualized by medieval scholars continued during the seventh/thirteenth century when the armies of Tatars and Mongols invaded Iraq.[29] It is reported that they destroyed almost everything and killed many scholars. At that time, the library of Baghdad, which contained a great number of books related to various branches of knowledge, was burned down.[30] One of the most comprehensive in the world at that time, the library was established in the second/eighth century by the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (r. 170/786-193/809).[31] As a result of the Mongolian invasion of the eastern

[27] Al-Maqdisī 2003, 60.
[28] Agius 1984, 45-6.
[29] El-Mouloudi 1986, 52.
[30] Ross 1979, 137.
[31] Al-Ṣallābī 2009, 199-201.

territories of the Islamic Empire, great numbers of scholars and members of the cultured class left Iraq and the Levant for Egypt and North Africa. It is assumed that these scholars were looking for a safe place to collect information and rewrite what had been lost in the library of Baghdad. One of those scholars was the lexicographer Muḥammad b. Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), the compiler of the comprehensive lexicon *Lisān al-ᶜArab* (The Language of the Arabs). A quick look at the preface of this lexicon illustrates his viewpoint that the status of Arabic was changing; he writes that many people did not care about Arabic but rather were proud of mastering foreign languages.[32]

It is likely that there were some authors who documented Arabic material-cultural terms whose books are now lost. This argument is supported by the example of al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 803/1400), who compiled his lexicon *al-Lāmiᶜ* (The Shining) in sixty volumes, which might have contained such terms, but is now lost. He abbreviated this massive sixty-volume lexicon in another lexicon entitled *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (The Surrounding Sea).[33] Although it was a summary of the larger lexicon, *al-Qāmūs* is one of the most important lexica. Other earlier lexica recorded as lost are: *Kitāb al-samāᵓ wa al-ᶜālam* (The Book of the Sky and the World) by Muḥammad b. Abān b. Sayyid (d. 354/965),[34] *al-Taqfiya* (The Rhyming) by al-Bandanījī[35] (d. 384/897), the uncle of al-Jawharī, *al-Jāmiᶜ fī al-lugha* (The Comprehensive in Arabic) by Ibn al-Qazzāz [36] (d. 412/1021), and *Maraj al-baḥrayn* (The Junction of the Two Seas) by al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252). This demonstrates that a substantial body of material has been documented but lost. In addition, we should

[32] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 23.
[33] Naṣṣār 1988, 540.
[34] Al-Wadghīrī, 1984, 62.
[35] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 14.
[36] Al-Wadghīrī 2008, 23.

remember that there were other substantial bodies of Arabic not documented by medieval lexicographers, such as dialects and coastal registers.

The change of Arabic reached its nadir at the beginning of the tenth/sixteenth century when the Ottoman Sultan Salīm (r. 917/1512-926/1520) conquered the Levant and Egypt in 923/1517. The Ottoman Sultanate continued to conquer Arabic speaking countries until the empire covered the area from Iraq in the east to Algeria in the west.[37] Though Ottoman Sultanates were Muslim, they were not interested in learning Arabic, which further exacerbated the status of the language. Ottoman Turkish was used as the formal language of the caliphate instead of Arabic.[38] It should be noted that the unstable situation and the corruption of the language in Arabic countries ruled by the Ottoman sultanate was a major factor in the decline of intellectual activities and the compiling of new lexica.[39] At that time, illiteracy had spread among Arabic speakers and few educated people were able to use "eloquent" Arabic.[40] Also many Arabic references were sent to Istanbul's private and public libraries, which led to a lack of references among Arabic-speaking countries.[41] As a result of Ottoman domination, the Arabic language was exposed to foreign languages: most of the vocabularies were arabicized without concern about the purity of *qawālib* (linguistic moulds).[42] Some lexicographers became interested in this foreign incursion; one such lexicographer was al-Khafājī (d. 1061/1650) in his dictionary *Shifāʾ al-ghalīl fī mā fī kalām al-ʿArab min al-dakhīl* (The Best Answer on Foreign Words in Arabic). Other lexicographers concentrated their efforts on compiling dictionaries of *laḥn* since many educated people were unable to write and speak Arabic in its classical form. Such a

[37] McCarthy 1997, 89.
[38] Versteegh 1997, 2.
[39] Zaydān 1983, 282-5.
[40] Volney 1788, 442-3.
[41] Ḍayf 1990, 87.
[42] Stetkevych 1970, 61.

lexicographer was Muḥammad al-Ḥanbalī (d. 1028/1916) who wrote *Sahm al-alḥāẓ fī wahm al-alfāẓ* (The Arrow which Catches Linguistic Errors).

If the vast majority of Arabic maritime terms today are not listed in the mainstream lexica it is because they are neologisms or loan words, such as *sanbūk* (a type of ship), *hūrī* (beach canoe), *ṣayyādī* (fishing boat), *tharamān* (sail yard) and *burūsī* (anchor). However, why are such terms not documented through the aforementioned semi-etymological works that flourished in Arabic after the eighth/fourteenth century? It could be said that even these works were not comprehensive and there are still a huge body of dialectal terminology that have been neglected, especially technical terms related to handicrafts, as Agius has shown in his seminal 1984 work.[43]

In the following chapter I will shed light on main lexicographical systems applied by compilers since medieval times. Each lexicographer followed the system which best suited his aims and targeted audience. I will also shed light on some distinguished lexica from each system whether these works are available, lost or partially lost, with the aim of highlighting the few maritime terms that were listed.

[43] Agius 1984, 13.

Chapter 7: Arabic lexica

Lexicographical activities started at the time when disciples of Ibn ᶜAbbās (d. 68/687) compiled lists of Qurʾānic terms together with their meanings and together with examples of their usage from pre-Islamic poetry. Lexicographers, such as Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāʾ (d. 154/770), among others, up until al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791) compiled his leading lexicon, began making lists of Arabic vocabularies. And from the time of al-Farāhīdī up until modern times, a great number of Arabic lexical collections were compiled covering several aspects of the language.

A thematic system

The thematic system is one of the earliest lexicographical systems in Arabic. Each group of terms related to one topic was classified together in a single section such as *al-Ṣifāt* (The Adjectives), compiled by Abū Khayra al-Aᶜrābī, whose death was in the second/eighth century. The reason why he called his dictionary as such can be explained by the following. In fact, there were two different views among medieval lexicographers towards terms that referred to the same object or expressed the same meaning (synonyms). The first view, accepted the idea of synonymity, saying that it is possible for one object to have more than one name, which expresses the same meaning. The second view rejected this, arguing that synonymity in the language is impossible. The evidence supporting this view held that each term contains a slightly different meaning from the other according to the conceptual meaning of its root, and therefore, the argument continued, it was not possible to claim that these terms are equal and, accordingly, synonyms, so they must be called *ṣifāt* (adjectives) of one object.[1] For example, the terms

[1] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 317-20.

safīna, *markab*, *fulk* and *jāriya* are all generic terms for a ship, however, each one of them includes the conceptual meaning of its own root, which gives the named object (ship) numerous adjectives. *Safīna* expresses the meaning of peeling something just as a boat "peels" water during sailing,[2] an action which gives it the adjective "peeling". *Markab* expresses the meaning of something being boarded,[3] giving it the adjective "boarded". And *fulk* expresses the conceptual meaning of an object that moves in circles, which renders the adjective "circling".[4] Finally, *jāriya*, which expresses the meaning of running gives the ship the adjective "running".[5] Al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. 203/818) also compiled a thematic lexicon called *al-Ṣifāt*. In his *Fihrist* (Index), Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 385/1047) described this lost lexicon as consisting of five volumes: the first devoted to humans, the second covering Bedouin lifestyle, the third about camels, the fourth about other animals, and the fifth addressing farming and rain.[6]

Later lexicographers used the collocation *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* (Classified Obscure Words) as a title for such thematic lexica. Al-Shaybānī (d. 206/820) and Quṭrub (d. 206/820) both compiled such lexica entitled *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf*. The only work that has survived of these thematic lexica is one by Abū ʿUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838). He was born to a Latin family in Herat, which is the third largest city in today's Afghanistan. In 179/795, he moved to Iraq to study Arabic, there following famous scholars in Kufa, Basra and Baghdad. Later he settled in Mecca until his death.[7] The importance of his lexicon lies in the fact that it gives researchers today a clear image about early lexicographical activity of the time. Under the chapter on water, he divided the

[2] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 78-9.
[3] Ibid, 2: 432.
[4] Ibid, 4: 453.
[5] Ibid, 1: 448.
[6] Ibn al-Nadīm 1978, 77.
[7] Al-Ḥamawī 1993, 5: 2198-202.

words into various sections, such as valleys, rivers, wells and the ropes that were used in water extracting.[8] He did not, however, mention the sea, or anything related to it. among all these divisions. Another section is *Bāb mā dakhala min ghayr lughāt al-ᶜarab fī al-ᶜarabiyya* (The Section of Foreign Terms that Entered in Arabic); again, this section is free of maritime and nautical terms.

Thematic classification was well known among both eastern and western scholars. In his *al-Muᶜjam al-ᶜArabi bi-l Andalus* (Arabic Dictionary in Al-Andalus) al-Wadghīrī reported that the Spanish orientalist Dario Cabanelas (d. 1992) suggests that *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (The Classified) by Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1065) was the first lexicon to be classified according to subjects (or semantic fields) in Al-Andalus. Al-Wadghīrī refuted this opinion because there was a massive lexicon that classified according to themes before *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*. This lexicon is *Kitāb al-samāᵓ wa al-ᶜālam* (The Book of the Sky and the Universe). It was in one hundred volumes compiled by Muḥammad b. Abān b. Sayyid (d. 354/965),[9] but it was lost. After a long search al-Wadghīrī found a transcript of the third volume in *Khizānat al-Qarawiyyīn* in Fez, which is among the unique transcripts in Arabic lexicography.[10] Although a debate revolves around the identity of the compiler of this lexicon, this piece of the transcript confirms that the lexicon was compiled by Aḥmad b. Abān b. Sayyid, as recorded on the first page. Further, there are several places in the text that read: "Abū ᶜAbd Allāh reported that Abū ᶜAlī said." Most probably, Abū ᶜAbd Allāh is Aḥmad b. Sayyid was the compiler, while Abū ᶜAlī is al-Qālī (d. 356/967) the teacher of the compiler and one of the famous lexicographers in Al-Andalus who compiled *al-Bāriᶜ* (The Sophisticated). Modern researchers such as Muṣṭafā al-Saqqā,

[8] Ibn Sāllām 1996, 1: 443-66.
[9] Al-Wadghīrī 1984, 62; al-Lublī 1972, 102.
[10] Al-Wadghīrī 1984, 63.

Muḥammad al-Ṭālibī and the Spanish orientalist Dario Cabanelas, who suggested that *Kitāb al-samāʾ wa al-ʿālam* was compiled by Ibn Sīda, must have confused him for the real compiler, Muḥammad b. Sayyid, because of the similarity in their surnames. This can be supported by the fact that Ibn Sīda had already compiled his thematic lexicon *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* so there would have been no point in compiling another lexicon following the same method.[11]

The transcript also shows that this dictionary might have contained a great number of terms that were not documented in previous lexica. Al-Wadghīrī states that in the chapter on humans, the compiler made several sections about detailed issues; for example, each part of the human body has a specific section; there is the section on the stomach, the section on the leg and the section on the foot. Each one of these sections is rich with many terms.[12] Also, the compiler deviated from the methods of medieval lexicographers at various points. First, he listed a great number of people's names, such as scientists, linguists, wizards and many other people who were famous for their knowledge or crafts. This suggests that Ibn Sayyid may have listed names of well known sea captains or navigators in the chapter on the sea. Second, he included many stories in his lexicon, which suggests that he may have mentioned some sea stories, which usually contain maritime and nautical terms. Third, he started with the section of the sky and ended the lexicon with a section on the Atom, which means that he aimed to compile a comprehensive lexicon covering several aspects of the language.[13] It is most probable that Ibn Sīda referred to *Kitāb al-samāʾ* due to the fact that by comparing the section on humans in both works some similarities can be easily noticed in terms of headings and

[11] Al-Wadghīrī 1984, 62.
[12] Ibid, 67.
[13] Ibid, 67-70.

subheadings. When analysing terms it appears that *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* of Ibn Sīda is a kind of summary of *Kitāb al-samāᶜ* of Ibn Sayyid. One could argue that if Ibn Sīda referred to this lexicon, which was compiled before him, why did he not mention it as one of his references for his *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*? Ibn Sīda was well known for his complex mental and physical states; he often failed to acknowledge other lexicographers he was jealous of. For example, when he compiled *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* he referred to *al-Bariᶜ* (The Sophisticated) (compiled by his teacher Abū ᶜAlī al-Qālī [d. 356/967]) but without mentioning the author's name.[14]

In the first middle of the fifth/eleventh century Ibn Sīda compiled his lexicon *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* (The Classified) which is classified according to the subjects or themes (semantic fields). He was born in Mursiyya in the eastern part of Al-Andalus and he was blind, as was his father Ismāᶜīl b. Sīda who was also a well known linguist in the Islamic West. Because he was blind, he spent his life in Al-Andalus, while other scholars frequently travelled to the Middle East to study Arabic there. His lexicon *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* was described as consisting of seventeen volumes.[15] He started his lexicon with a long preface discussing several linguistic issues such as the beginnings of the language and its arbitrariness. He also shed light on the importance of language and its crucial role in peoples' lives, and what encouraged him to compile *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ* was his wish to attempt to serve this magnificent tool of understanding which is called language. Further, he states that he was looking for a comprehensive Arabic lexicon from his time but he had not been able to find one. Classifying the lexicon according to themes or semantic fields, as Ibn Sīda said, makes it easier for eloquent speakers and poets to choose the appropriate term,

[14] Al-Wadghīrī 1984, 73.
[15] Ibn Khillikān 1900, 3: 330.

one that expresses the exact meaning they are seeking while they are preparing their speech or writing their poetry.[16] This means that Ibn Sīda made his lexicon for the cultured class, individuals such as poets and orators, but not for students.

He started the lexicon with a chapter of human creation and ended with the names of Allāh. Under each section, he began with general terms and gradually listed more specific terms. He also included syntactical and morphological information, which he believed was important during terms analysis.

Under the section on the Sea, he designated seven parts: adjectives related to the sea, islands, shores, shells and whales, turtles, ships, and that which resembles a ship. These parts seem promising for maritime terms investigators as they seem to contain several terms that were ignored by earlier lexicographers. About the ship, the lexicographer lists the following synonyms: *safīna* and *fulk* accompanied with a long discussion about their morphology in both singular and plural cases.[17] He also added that *saffān* is a person who is in charge of the rudder.[18] Then he mentioned some terms for the parts of a ship, such as *shirāʿ* (sail), *sukkān* (rudder) and *daqal* (mast),[19] terms that had already been mentioned by lexicographers before him. Under the part titled 'That which Resembles a Ship' Ibn Sīda lists some types of ships as follows: *būṣī*, *ʿadūlī*, *zawraq*, *qarqūr*, *harhūr*, *miṣbāb* and *bārija*;[20] terms that were already mentioned before by earlier lexicographers. Agius suggests that, although this lexicon seems promising, a closer inspection shows that many

[16] Ibn Sīda 1996, 1: 36-8.
[17] Ibid, 3: 20.
[18] Ibid, 3: 18.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid, 3: 19.

of the maritime and nautical terms it contains are either not defined or were given equivalents but no description.[21]

Ibn Sīda's *Mukhaṣṣaṣ* is both the end of thematic lexica and the most comprehensive among them. Although there were some attempts to compile other thematic lexica after him, such attempts were very brief and look like pedagogical dictionaries; examples include *Kifāyat al-mutaḥaffiẓ wa nihāyat al-mutalaffiẓ* (The Enough Work of Those who Want to Memorise and Speak) by Ibn al-Ajdābī (d. before 600/1203). Lexicographers may have abandoned this system because they were looking for easier and more logical systems. The only logic that usually followed in thematic lexica is starting from general terms to more and more specific ones, a criterion that seems to be variable from one lexicographer to another. It is, therefore, also variable for the user of the lexica.

The anagrammatical System

An anagrammatical system was the first method applied in Arabic lexica by al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791), in his *Kitāb al-ᶜAyn* (The Book [Starting with the] Letter ᶜAyn).[22] Al-Farāhīdī did not follow several lists of words compiled randomly or thematically by lexicographers before him; he wanted to come up with a new and more logical approach. Radicals of the roots are arranged according to a phonological order. In this order, letters or sounds are arranged according to the point of articulation starting from laryngeals and ending with the labials as follows: /ᶜ/, /ḥ/, /h/, /kh/, /gh/, /q/, /k/, /j/, /sh/, /ḍ/, /ṣ/, /s/, /z/, /ṭ/, /t/, /d/, /ẓ/, /dh/, /th/, /r/, /l/, /n/, /f/, /b/, /m/, /w/, /y/, /ā/, /ᵓ/.[23] *Hamza* /ᵓ/, even though

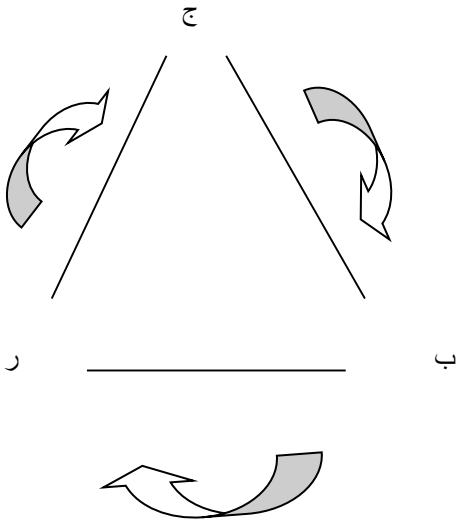
[21] Agius 2008, 373.
[22] This leading lexicon was first edited by two expert Iraqi editors, Mahdī al-Makhzūmī and Ibrāhim al-Samurrāᵓī, in eight volumes between 1980 and 1985.
[23] Haywood 1965, 28; Naṣṣār 1988, 176.

it is articulated further back towards the larynx than the letter *ʿayn*, was put at the end of the sounds list by al-Farāhīdī. According to Ibn Kaysān (d. 299/911) al-Farāhīdī placed *hamza* /ʾ/ later because it is sometimes changed into a vowel – either /ī/ such as *bīr* instead of *biʾr* (well), or /ā/ as *rās* instead of *raʾs* (head).[24] This variability was enough to compel al-Farāhīdī not to start his lexicon with such a weak and changeable sound.

Al-Farāhīdī did not follow the alphabetical order because he was keen on sounds and music, and after he gathered the rhythms of Arabic poetry (أوزان الشعر); he wanted to link lexicography to phonology.[25]

After he arranged the entries according to the aforementioned method, al-Farāhīdī aimed to exercise a new mathematical approach in producing Arabic roots[26] – using the three-radical consonantal system in Arabic, which shifts them to different positions to form a word. Consider the root √*j.b.r.* which produces five different root possibilities:[27] √*j.r.b.*, which gives *jarab* (scabies) and *jirāb* (unladen ship);[28] √*b.j.r.,* which gives *bajir* (a man with a big belly) and *abjar* (the anchor rope);[29] √*b.r.j.*, which produces *burj* (tower) and *mutabarrija* (a woman who shows her beauty to others),[30] √*r.b.j.*, giving *rabj* (a small coin) and *rabij* (fat person);[31] and finally √*r.j.b.*, which gives *rajab* (the seventh month in the Hijrī calendar) and *arjāb* (bowel)[32] (See Figures 3 and 4 below).

[24] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 70; al-Ḥimyarī 1999, 1: 56, 63.
[25] Al-Ḥamawī 1993, 3: 1261.
[26] Collison 1982, 38.
[27] Bo 1993, 41; Versteegh 1997, 24.
[28] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 449, 450.
[29] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 3: 38.
[30] Ibid, 3: 37.
[31] Ibid, 2: 71-2.
[32] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 380-81.



jbr jrb	123 132	j
brj bjr	231 213	b
rjb rbj	312 321	r

Figure 3: (left) The different positions of radicals in one root; figure 4: (right) Radical order (from Agius 1984, 63 adapted by present writer)

When he encountered some roots that were not used he described them as *muhmal* (non-used): for example, the root √*ʿ.sh.r.* gives *ʿashara* (ten), by changing the positions of the radicals we have the following: √*ʿ.r.sh.* giving *ʿarsh* (throne), √*sh.ʿ.r.* gives *shiʿr* (poetry), √*sh.r.ʿ.* gives *shirāʿ* (sail), √*r.ʿ.sh.* gives *raʿsha* (tremble), and finally √*r.sh.ʿ.* not used in Arabic, which al-Farāhīdī describes it as *muhmal* (non-used).[33] Such a method in classifying words seems promising as it gives priority to the usage of the term rather than its authenticity, meaning that used terms will be documented regardless of their origins. However, Ibn Fāris claims that sometimes al-Farāhīdī classifies some roots as *muhmal* while in fact they are used as authentic Arabic. For example, the root √*ʿ.k.sh.*, which expresses the meaning of "collecting something",[34] is thought to be unused by al-Farāhīdī.[35] Another example is the root √*th.j.l.*, which expresses the idea of "big objects" such as *athjal* (a man with a big stomach) and *thajlāʾ* (a woman with a big stomach)[36] and

[33] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 1: 245.
[34] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 108.
[35] Ibid, 4: 108.
[36] Ibid, 1: 371.

the root √*sh.j.dh.* meaning of "the clouds when they stop raining".[37] However, I have consulted *Kitāb al-ᶜayn* and I found these roots documented.[38] Hypothetically, copies of al-Farāhīdī's fundamental work, which were available at the time of Ibn Fāris, could have contained some differences other than those found in the modern copies available today that I relied on.

We can locate some maritime terms in this lexicon as the following: the term *ᶜāmma*, defined as "timbers attached to each other to be used as a boat";[39] *mukhṭif* "a man who in charge of raising the mast";[40] *al-jashar* "coral reefs";[41] *jamal al-baḥr* "a type of fish",[42] *safan* "the thick skin of a huge fish called *aṭūm* – this skin used to cover swords and to make shoes;"[43] *durdūr* "a dangerous place in the sea, where it's usually rough and ships capsize";[44] and *ṭawwāf* "a group of floats made of goat skin and inflated with air and then attached to each other to make a ferry".[45] When we start looking for the terms used in the Red Sea today we will be disappointed by the dearth of such terms – an issue that may have been caused by the fact that, with the exception of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and *Tāj al-ᶜarūs*, Arabic lexica were compiled either in Iraq, Al-Andalus or north Africa, far from the Red Sea.

The second lexicographer who arranged his lexicon according to the anagrammatical system was Abū ᶜAlī al-Qālī (d. 356/967), who compiled *al-Bāriᶜ* (The Sophisticated).

[37] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 246.
[38] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 6: 30, 6: 99.
[39] Ibid, 1: 95.
[40] Ibid, 4: 220.
[41] Ibid, 6: 33.
[42] Ibid, 6: 141.
[43] Ibid, 7: 269, 463.
[44] Ibid, 8: 7.
[45] Ibid, 7: 458.

He started working on his lexicon in 339/950 but died before finishing it, so his disciple Muḥammad al-Jayyānī (death date unknown) finished the final draft and launched the lexicon.[46] Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1179) who reported that he studied *al-Bāriʿ*, said that it consisted of 164 volumes, contained 4,446 pages and was larger than al-Farāhīdī's *Kitāb al-ʿayn*. The reason for this is that al-Qālī listed many terms that were ignored by his predecessors.[47] In spite of its importance, al-Suyūṭī claimed that the vast majority of students and scholars did not consider it useful.[48] As a result, this lexicon did not survive through the centuries with the exception of one part which cover the following letters *hāʾ, ghayn, qāf, jīm, ṭāʾ, dāl* and *tāʾ*.[49]

The third lexicon in this anagrammatical system is *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (The Purification of the Language) by Abū Manṣūr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Azharī (d. 370/980).[50] Al-Azharī's aim focused on purifying the language from any dubious and foreign words and that is why he titled his lexicon as such. He was motivated to compile this lexicon by three issues: first, he wanted to document what he heard from the authentic Arabic speakers who kidnapped him while he was travelling from Iraq to Mecca to perform pilgrimage. He spent a long time with them in living as a Bedouin. This experience enriched his Arabic with many pure terms that lexicographers before him had not documented.[51] Secondly, al-Azharī felt that it was his duty to share this lexicographical knowledge, which he learnt from his kidnapers. Finally, he stated that he was upset by the lexicographical works that were available at the time, because he believed these works

[46] Al-Qiftī 1986, 1: 241; Naṣṣār 1988, 245.
[47] Al-Abyārī (ed) 1989, 2: 461.
[48] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 69.
[49] Naṣṣār 1988, 245.
[50] It was first edited and published by a group editors between 1964 -1967, and in 1976 ʿAbd al-Salām Hārūn published a detailed appendix of the lexicon. Then several copies were edited and published by several editors and publishers.
[51] Al-Azharī 2001, 1: 7.

were full of errors. This led him to criticize *Kitāb al-ᶜayn* as being full of errors. Further, in spite of the fact that al-Azharī cited *Jamharat al-lugha* (The Majority [of Words] of the Language) of Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933), he sharply criticized him saying that Ibn Duryad should not be trusted as he used to get drunk.[52] Such a sharp criticism could be because al-Azharī wanted to draw the attention of lexica users towards his *Tahdhīb*. This dictionary seems a happy find for researchers who are investigating Bedouin life-style terms but not material cultural terminology in urbanized areas where a great number of such terms are not listed.

The final lexicon classified according to this phonetic system is *al-Muḥkam wa al-muḥīṭ al-aᶜẓam* (The Well Structured and the All-Round [Lexicon]) by Ibn Sīda (d. 521/1127). His blind condition had a negative impact on his lexica because he relied on memorizing other works rather than fieldwork. At his time there were several specialized dictionaries devoted to numerous fields, Ibn Sīda aimed to compile these works into one anagrammatically classified lexicon, which points to the fact that it was a popular system for classifying lexica at the time. He attempted to provide clearer definitions of the terms that he listed, which means that he was paraphrasing his quotations and not repeating the errors of his ancestors.[53] His references come from *al-ᶜAyn* by al-Farāhīdī, *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* (Classification of Obscure Words) by Abū ᶜUbayd b. Sallām (d. 224/838), *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* (Correcting the Speech) by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 224/838) and *Jamharat al-lugha* (The Majority [of Words] of the Language) by Ibn Durayd (d. 321/ 933), to name but a few.

[52] Al-Azharī 2001, 1: 27.
[53] Ibn Sīda 2000, 1: 36-7.

Later scholars criticized Ibn Sīda's lexicon on two issues: first, al-Suhaylī demonstrated that Ibn Sīda made fatal errors in his lexicographical works, such as giving the wrong definitions, an issue which could be linked to the fact that he was blind and unable to define tangible objects.[54] Another criticism by al-Shidyāq in his *al-Jāsūs ᶜalā al-Qāmūs* (The Spy on the Qāmūs [Lexicon]) was that the compiler indulged himself in grammatical, morphological and syntactical debates that took place among his predecessors in the Iraqi linguistic schools of Basra and Kufa where Arabic studies flourished during the second/eighth century in Iraq,[55] thus missing out on recording words.

The rhyme system

This is one of the most well known methods for classifying lexica, and most mainstream lexicographical works follow this method. An exemplary lexicon classified on this system is al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*, which has 28 chapters to cover the Arabic alphabet. These chapters classify terms according to the final radical of the root followed by the first and second radical of the term in question.[56] For example, all terms that end in *bāʾ* can be found under the chapter of *bāʾ*. In this chapter, terms are classified according to the first radical of the root. For example, the terms *safīna* (ship) which is derived from the root √*s.f.n.* is found under the chapter of the *nūn*, and in this chapter it is classified under the section of *sīn*. This example illustrates that the search is not determined by the actual terms but by the root from which a word came from. Naṣṣār suggests that al-Jawharī is the founder of the rhyme system since he was the first lexicographer to use it.[57] However, Aḥmad ᶜAbd al-Ghafūr ᶜAṭṭār (d. 1411/1991) and Ḥamad al-Jāsir (d. 1421/2000) do not agree with this.

[54] Al-Dhahabī (nd), 18: 145.
[55] Al-Shidyāq 1299/1881, 47.
[56] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 33.
[57] Naṣṣar 1988, 381.

They claim that the founder of the rhyme system was not al-Jawahrī (d. 400/1009) but Abū Bishr al-Yamān b. Abī al-Yamān al-Bandanījī (d. 284/987), the compiler of *al-Taqfiya* (The Rhyming), which was meant to help poets find the appropriate rhyme while they were writing their poetry.[58] Another lexicon which followed the rhyme system before al-Jawharī was *Dīwān al-Adab* (The Divan of Literature), compiled by his uncle and his teacher al-Fārābī (d. 350/961).[59]

It is clear that the advent of the rhyme system was in existence about one hundred years before al-Jawharī. However, it became well known later, after al-Jawharī used it. The reason why the rhyme system thrived at that time is that a new generation of poets was emerging after the strong interaction between Arab and other ethnic communities. Some of those poets were non-Arabs who needed help in choosing the appropriate rhyme.[60] Moreover, it was a period well known for the development of assonance in prose. Among famous writers of non-Arabic origin are Abū al-Faḍl b. al-ᶜAmīd (d. 367/977), ᶜAlī b. ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz al-Jurjānī (d. 392/1001) and Badīᶜ al-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (d. 395/1007).

In his *Ṣiḥāḥ* (The Correct [Work]) al-Jawharī aimed to compile *ṣaḥīḥ* (correct) only terminology, which is why he titled his lexicon as such. *Ṣiḥāḥ* on the pattern of *fiᶜāl* is the plural of *ṣaḥīḥ* (correct) on the pattern of *faᶜīl*, by analogy, *ẓarīf* (elegant), pl. *ẓirāf*.[61] Although several lexicographers before al-Jawharī paid specific attention to purifying their works by signifying the few dubious and foreign terms which they included as non-reliable, al-Jawharī ignored such terms entirely, which means that his lexicon seems shorter than preceding works. However, he listed some terms and signified them as

[58] Al-Jawharī 1: 13. (Introduction by ᶜAṭṭār, the editor of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*).
[59] Al-Fārābī (nd), 1: 40. (Introduction by Aḥmad ᶜUmar the editor of *Dīwān al-Adab*).
[60] Naṣṣār 1988, 382.
[61] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 75.

muʿarrab (arabicized) since he believed that arabicized terms deserved to be part of Arabic. I searched the whole dictionary and found 158 arabicized terms, the following two examples are the only arabicized maritime terms: *kawsaj* (Persian term for a type of fish),[62] *buṣī* (a type of ship).[63] These two entries illustrate the severe dearth of arabicized maritime terminology in this purist work.

Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) also followed the rhyme system in three of his lexicographical works. He was born in Lahore and travelled to Iraq and Hijaz. Then he settled in India and spent thirty years of his life there. Later he returned to Iraq and died in Baghdād.[64] First of his works is *al-Takmila wa al-dhayl wa al-ṣila li-kitāb tāj al-lugha wa ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya* (Supplement to the *Siḥāḥ* [Correct] of the Language).[65] In the preface the author states that this lexicon concerns itself with terms ignored by al-Jawharī in his *Ṣiḥāḥ*.[66] However, only a small amount of material cultural terms can be found in this lexicon. He compiled another lexicon *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* (A Collection of [The Junctions of] the Two Seas), which has been lost. At the end of his life al-Ṣaghānī wanted to compile a comprehensive lexicon which included all the materials that he had collected in addition to what could be found in other lexica; this is why he called the third lexicon *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir* (The Huge Flood). Only small parts of this lexicon have survived.[67] In the preface, the author states that his aim is to list Arabic terms regardless of whether these terms are *mashhūr* (well known) terminology or obscure

[62] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 337.
[63] Ibid, 3: 1031.
[64] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 35: 307-8.
[65] First edited by Muḥammad Abū al-Faḍl Ibrahīm, ʿAbd al-ʿAlīm al-Ṭaḥāwī, Ibrāhīm al-Abyārī, Muḥammad Khalaf Allāh Aḥmad and Muḥammad Mahdī ʿAllām and published between 1970 to 1979 by Dār al-Kutub in Cairo.
[66] Al-Ṣaghānī 1970, 1: 3.
[67] They have been edited as follows: the preface by the author; and the part that covers the letter /ʾ/ *hamza* edited by Vīr Ḥasan and published in 1978 by the Arabic Academy in Baghdad. Later, Muḥmmad Ḥasan Āl Yāsīn edited four other parts, covering the following letters: /*ṭāʾ*/ 1979, /*ghayn*/ 1980, /*fāʾ*/ 1986 all by Dār al-Rashīd in Baghdād, and /*sīn*/ published in 1987 by Dār al-Ḥurriya lil-Ṭibāʿa in Baghdad.

vocabulary.[68] Ibn Khayr (d. 947/1540) claims that there is no other lexicon that can compete with *al-ʿUbāb* since it was the most comprehensive at the time.[69] This is because the author enriched this book with a great number of terms not listed before him including the names of famous people and places names.[70] In the preface of the lexicon, al-Ṣaghānī wrote two sections: the first is about scholars whom he relied on and the second is about his references including lexica, syntactical and morphological studies, and poetry collections, to name but a few.[71]

Although medieval lexicographers marked the year 400/1009 as the end of the age of reliable Arabic speakers either in urbanized territories or the desert, al-Ṣaghānī set off on several tours in Hijaz doing linguistic fieldwork during his stay in Mecca.[72] This may point to the fact that al-Ṣaghānī did not accept the criteria of the time which had been laid down by purist medieval lexicographers (see Chapter 4). And it explains why he practised fieldwork during his lifetime in the sixth/twelfth and seventh/thirteenth centuries. In addition he referred to all available works at that time and what he listed in his *al-Takmila* and *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* as well. Unfortunately, after he started working on the part which covers the letter *mīm* al-Ṣaghānī died and the last root written is √*b.k.m.*[73] Although this lexicon was not completed by its compiler, al-Zabīdī says that the lexicon was in twenty volumes,[74] which suggests that if this lexicon had been completed by al-Ṣaghānī it would be among the most comprehensive lexica in Arabic. Lane described this lexicon as one of the greatest lexicographical works compiled after Ibn Sīda's *al-Muḥkam*.[75]

[68] Al-Ṣaghānī 1978, volume entiteled Ḥarf al-Hamza: 1.
[69] Abū Makhrama 1987, 86; al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 76.
[70] Al-Ṣaghānī 1978, volume entitled Ḥarf al-Hamza: 41. (Introduction by editor Vīr Ḥasan).
[71] Ibid, 1-9.
[72] Ibid, 41-2.
[73] Abū Makhrama 1987, 86; Naṣṣār 1988, 495.
[74] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 1: 69.
[75] Lane, 1968, 1: XV.

Here are some examples of maritime terms in al-Ṣaghānī's lexicon: *liyāʾ* "a type of fish used to make a fighting shield",[76] *tukhs* and *dukhs* are "synonyms of the *dulfīn* (dolphin) which saves drowning swimmers in the sea",[77] *qalas* "very thick rope made of palm frond or coir, usually used on ships"[78] and *anqalīs* "sea creature that looks like a snake (eel)".[79] Under the root √*j.l.f.ṭ.*, al-Ṣaghānī lists the term *julfāṭ* (caulking), and he adds that this is a practice of boat builders who are usually non-Muslims.[80] Such information gives the modern researcher an important clue about the maritime life there, which was a mix of Muslims and non-Muslims. Other examples include: *ḥashafa* "rocks which form in the sea (volcanic island)"[81] and *minqāf* "sharp bone of sea creature used to soften paper during paper making."[82] Al-Ṣaghānī also used his experience in sailing between India and Arabia to confirm or refute information in his lexicon. For example, under √*f.r.s.*, he lists Farasan, "an uninhabited island in the sea of Yemen where divers used to find pearls",[83] then he adds "I called on this port for a number of days in 605/1208".[84] Under √*k.n.s*, he lists *kanīsa* "a Yemeni port which comes on your right-hand side while you are sailing to Mecca"[85], and he adds, "I called on this port in (650/1252)".[86] Under √*m.y.d.* he lists *mayd* "Indian sea fighters"[87] and he adds that during his long stay in India of about thirty years and his many travels in the south and west he had not heard about them,[88] which means that he put this piece of information under question. His eye-witness information adds value to the historical development of the maritime culture at the time. It could be

[76] Al-Ṣaghānī 1978, volume entiteled Ḥarf al-Hamza: 111.
[77] Al-Ṣaghānī 1987, volume entiteled Ḥarf al-Sīn: 55.
[78] Ibid, 359.
[79] Ibid, 361.
[80] Al-Ṣaghānī 1979, volume entiteled Ḥarf al-Ṭāʾ: 34.
[81] Al-Ṣaghānī 1981, volume entiteled Ḥarf al-Fāʾ: 98.
[82] Ibid, 613.
[83] Al-Ṣaghānī 1987, volume entiteled Ḥarf al-Sīn: 323.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid, 394.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Al-Ṣaghānī 1978, volume entiteled Ḥarf al-Hamza: 50. (Introduction by editor Vīr Ḥasann).
[88] Ibid.

said that Arabic lexicography was unfortunate because only the parts covering five letters /ᶜ/, /s/, /ṭ/, /gh/ and /f/ were survived. If this lexicon were available today it would be possible to have a much better awareness of daily life during the period it was written.

We are still under the Rhyme System. The *Lisān al-ᶜArab* (The Language of the Arabs) by Muḥammad b. Manẓūr al-Ifrīqī (d. 711/1311) is one of the most important lexicographical works in Arabic. Ibn Manẓūr was born in Egypt and lived in Libya for a long time, hence his affiliation – *Ifrīqī* (African) – while he was the head judge there. He also wrote many books in various areas of Arabic. At the end of his life he became blind and went back to Egypt where he lived until his death.[89]

Ibn Manẓūr attempted to achieve a comprehensive yet simply classified lexica, which is why he entitled his book *Lisān al-ᶜArab*. However, modern researchers have found that this is not a simple method for searching words for Arabic speakers today, so the entries were reclassified according to the modern alphabetical order by Yūsuf Khayyāṭ. In his preface Ibn Manẓūr states that he collected the data from his predecessors. Although his predecessor al-Ṣaghānī compiled three lexicographical works as mentioned above, Ibn Manẓūr did not list him or his works as references, an attitude which can be understood as follows: first, Ibn Manẓūr may have ignored al-Ṣaghānī's works because the terms he collected were not listed in previous mainstream lexica, so it is probable that Ibn Manẓūr did not trust al-Ṣaghānī. Second, Ibn Manẓūr was among the lexicographers who were concerned about the status of Arabic because at his time there were other foreign languages competing with Arabic. That is why he said in the preface: "I compiled this

[89] His lexicon was published first in Būlāq, Egypt in 1883. Later it was edited by ᶜAbd Allāh ᶜAlī al-Kabīr, Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥasab Allāh and Hāshim Muḥammad al-Shādhilī and published by Dār al-Maᶜārif in Cairo, followed by several editions over the years.

lexicon at a time when many people cared little about mastering Arabic, but rather were proud of their ability to master foreign languages".[90] This situation may have led Ibn Manẓūr to hold a purist view of language and as a result made him selective in choosing his references.

The following maritime terms are listed in Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān al-ᶜArab* : from √*k.n.b.r.*, he lists the word *kinbār* specifying that "it is a rope made of coconut palm [fibre] used in sailing and it costs seventy dinars".[91] Although *kinbār* is a foreign term, Ibn Manẓūr describes it in detail, giving information about which material it was made from and what it was used for. It is unusual to mention the price of an item in a medieval dictionary, but its presence indicates two things: first, this term was important because it refers to an item used in the daily activities of the speakers, and second, the conditions of trade at that time meant that important items had a specific price. In relation to such detailed definitions, Ibn Manẓūr has this to say about, *tawᵓam* under the root √*t.ᵓ.m.* "a place in Bahrain where divers bring their pearls to be sold; this place is well known for its good quality and valuable pearls";[92] *marfaᵓ* under √*r.f.ᵓ.* is defined "a port where ships anchor against sandbank";[93] and *nūtī* under √*n.w.t.* is "a Levantine word for a sailor".[94]

Another interesting lexicographer was Muḥammad b. Yaᶜqūb al-Fayrūzabādī who compiled *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. He was born in Shiraz, SW of Iran and travelled to Iraq, Levant and Egypt to study Arabic. Later he moved to Zabīd, a coastal Yemeni town on the Red Sea, during the Rasulid Ismāᶜīl (r. 778/1376 to 803/1400), who ruled from Yemen

[90] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 23.
[91] Ibid, 3: 723.
[92] Ibid, 7: 58.
[93] Ibid, 1: 95.
[94] Ibid, 1: 827.

to Mecca.[95] At that time, many scholars settled in Yemen because it was a safe and stable country in contrast to other parts of the Islamic world. Al-Fayrūzabādī started compiling his *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (The Surrounding Sea) with the aim of composing a comprehensive dictionary. It contained well known and obscure terminology from works that were compiled before him. This need led him to compile his first lexicon *al-Lāmiᶜ al-muᶜlim al-ᶜujāb al-jāmiᶜ bayn al-Muḥkam wa al-ᶜUbāb* (The Shining and Marvellous Teller which Covers both *al-Muḥkam* [of Ibn Sīda] and *al-ᶜUbāb* [of al-Ṣaghānī]), a work which was expected to be in sixty volumes.[96] He was then asked to provide a brief lexicon to help students and Arabic learners so he summarized the sixty volumes in two volumes by omitting *shawāhid* (examples from Qurʾān, Ḥadīth and pre-Islamic poetry) and unnecessary additions such as syntactical and morphological information.[97] After outlining his aim in the preface, al-Fayrūzabādī explained his attitude towards one of the most well known lexica at the time, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* by al-Jawharī, saying that although the information in this lexicon is reliable, it contains scarcely half the language.[98] It should be noted, that al-Jawharī was amongst the purist lexicographers who ignored a great number of terms that he thought did not deserve to be part of Arabic lexica. This attitude illustrates that, although al-Fayrūzabādī linked the language to Islam as a tool that helps in understanding the Qurʾān,[99] he did not hold the purist view of his predecessors, which, as it happened, became promising as a source for the modern researcher because of the lack of material cultural terminology in works of his predecessors.

[95] Al-Khazrajī 1983, 41-134; Naṣṣār 1988, 455; Kaḥḥāla (nd) 12: 118.
[96] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 3.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid, 1: 2.

In spite of his abbreviated lexicon we can find maritime terms that were ignored by previous lexica. For example, *rahnāmaj* "navigation manual",[100] *al-nawākhidha* "ship captains or owners or their agents",[101] *mayda*ᶜ and *dū*ᶜ "tiny red fish",[102] *kurmān* "a type of shell",[103] *nabj* "Cyprus papyrus which was used by shipbuilders for caulking",[104] *umsūḥ* "long timber used in ship buiding",[105] *sulūqiyya* "captain's bench on board ship"[106] and *al-nawl* "sailor's share of money which each one of them gets at the end of their cruise".[107] These examples support the fact that al-Fayrūzabādī was a lexicographer who attempted to introduce a new method in compilation by documenting several terms from spoken registers rather than relying on what could be found in previous lexica. In this context it should be noted that al-Fayrūzabādī, being a resident in a Red Sea coastal city such as Zabīd, was led to list some maritime and nautical terms in his lexicon.

The Moroccan lexicographer Muḥammad al-Ḥaṭṭāb (d. 959/1552) wrote a small dictionary to define the terms that were documented in al-Jawharī's *al-Ṣiḥāḥ.* As mentioned in Chapter 4, Arabic lexicographers defined many words as *maᶜrūf*, i. e. "well known", and therefore unnecessary to be defined. Another work by al-Ḥaṭṭāb, interestingly, elicited entries found in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* and were defined by their opposites.[108] For example, *kadhib* (lie) was explained as "the opposite of *ṣidq* (honesty)",[109] *khabīth* (malignant) "the opposite of *ḥamīd* (benign)",[110] *taraḥ* (sadness) "the opposite of *faraḥ*

[100] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 190.
[101] Ibid, 1: 357.
[102] Ibid, 3: 21, 81.
[103] Ibid, 3: 21.
[104] Ibid, 1: 207.
[105] Ibid, 1: 247.
[106] Ibid, 3: 239.
[107] Ibid, 4: 61.
[108] Al-Wadghīrī 2008, 35-6.
[109] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 210.
[110] Ibid, 1: 281.

(happiness)"[111] and *kufr* (unbelief) "the opposite of *imān* (belief)".[112] It seems that all such words explained by their opposites are subjective in meaning. Both works, which may have expanded our knowledge of the era's material cultural terms, are lost.

One of the most important endeavours in the field of lexicography was made by Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Sharqī (d. 1170/1756) in his *Iḍāʾat al-rāmūs wa iḍāfat al-nāmūs ʿalā iḍāʾat al-Qāmūs* (The Light of *al-Rāmūs* and the Additions on the Light of *al-Qāmūs* [of al-Fayrūzabādī]). This lexicographer travelled across Arabic speaking countries from his home in Morocco to Hijaz in the Arabian Peninsula in order to study Arabic lexicography. During this tour, he met many scholars and students from various regions. This wide experience gave him the chance to criticize Arabic lexica in general and *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* specifically, as it was the most important lexicon at that time. His investigation of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* put critical lexicographical works on the track of purifying the language by providing a guide to lexica compilers after him.[113]

Ibn al-Ṭayyib thought that technical and material cultural terms should not be listed in regular lexica because they are too numerous, instead they should be documented in specialized dictionaries.[114] His criticism of al-Fayrūzabādī was centred on the fact that the latter labelled many words as *muʿarrab* (arabicized), *muwallad* (neologism), *aʿjamī* (foreign) or *ʿāmmī* (colloquial). And as one of the purist lexicographers Ibn al-Ṭayyib believed that Arabic must be protected from foreign influence and colloquial registers. As mentioned previously, most maritime terms are foreign or neologisms, so such

[111] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 357.
[112] Ibid, 2: 807.
[113] Ibn al-Ṭayyib 1983, 1: 14.
[114] Al-Wadghīrī 1989, 198.

criticism perpetuated the ignorance of maritime and nautical terms through not documenting them in Arabic lexica.

The final lexicon to follow the rhyme system was *Tāj al-ᶜarūs min jawāhir al-qāmūs* (The Crown of the Bride made from the Jewels of the *Qāmūs* [of al-Fayrūzabādī]) by Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790). Born in India in 1145/1732, he later moved to the Yemeni town of Zabid, hence his affiliation, al-Zabīdī. Later he settled in Egypt until his death. His lexicon is the most comprehensive of Arabic lexica and the most authoritative in modern Arabic lexicography still in use. He states in the preface that his aim was to elaborate on the definitions of al-Fayrūzabādī's *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. Al-Zabīdī aimed to include entries containing details of all sorts from different aspects of life. This is the reason why the *Tāj al-ᶜarūs* is encyclopaedic.

Although al-Zabīdī does not add new terms any more than his predecessors did, he collected a great amount of information in several fields, including geography, cartography, material culture, and politics. Because some of the references in these fields are lost today, al-Zabīdī was able to preserve such information. He did not intend to paraphrase the data he collected from other sources but rather to copy the information. The drawback to copying data from other sources is that it records mistakes and incorrect information; he in fact did not rectify these errors.[115] Examples of definitions copied from predecessor Ibn Manẓūr[116] are: under the root √*s.y.b.*, is *sayb*, defined as "an oar";[117]

[115] Naṣṣār 1988, 539.
[116] See Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 437, 3: 37, 4: 419, 637.
[117] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 3: 82.

under √*f.y.sh.*, the word *faysha* is defined as "the top of anything";[118] under √*f.r.ḍ.*, he lists *furḍa* "an anchorage";[119] and under √*b.j.r.*, the word *abjar* "the anchor rope."[120]

The rhyme system included the most comprehensive and well known lexica, such as al-Jawharī's *Ṣiḥāḥ*, al-Ṣaghānī's *ʿUbāb*, Ibn Manẓūr's *Lisān*, al-Fayrūzabādī's *Qāmūs*, and the most comprehensive al-Zabīdī's *Tāj*. Each one of these lexica has its own aim and score, for example, *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* focuses on the issue of reliability, while *al-ʿUbāb* paid attention to the terms that were ignored by his predecessors. Later, *al-Qāmūs* aimed to summarize while *Tāj al-ʿarūs* focused on collectivity. One of the most perceptible issues in the rhyme system is that, although it is much easier than the anagrammatical system, lexica users are still in need of a more user-friendly method because the rhyme system requires looking for the last radical alphabetically and then looking for the first radical and then the second radical. This method seems doable when searching terms derived from tri-radical roots but it is much more difficult and confusing in the case of quadrilateral roots. Consequently, lexicographers continued looking for easier methods to classify new lexica that fulfilled the needs of modern users.

The Alphabetical Order

Lexica that followed this system were arranged according to the alphabet as we know it today: /ʾ/, /b/, /t/, /th/, /j/, /ḥ/, /kh/, /d/, /dh/. etc., it needs to mentioned that Arabic lexica never followed the alphabetical order /ʾ/, /b/, /j/, /d/, /h/, /w/, /z/ etc., shared by Semitic languages, such as Hebrew, Aramaic and Syriac up to this very day. It may be argued that lexicographers preferred to group the letters according to their shape; thus / ب ت ث/, ح خ

[118] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 17: 321.
[119] Ibid, 18: 484.
[120] Ibid, 10: 105.

ج/, ذ د /, ز ر /, ش س/, ض ص/, ظ ط/, غ ع/, ق ف /. This similarity is not available in other Semitic languages as clear as it is in Arabic. Three medieval lexica were classified in this alphabetical system: Ibn Durayd's *Jamharat al-lugha*, Ibn Fāris's *Maqāyīs al-lugha* and al-Qazzāz's *al-Jāmiᶜ fī al-lugha*, meaning that the alphabetical system is a device that was not popular until early modern times.

The anagrammatical system introduced by al-Farāhīdī was cumbersome to use, which led Ibn Durayd to think about a new system to simplify the process of looking up terms in lexica. Therefore, he came up with the alphabetical system, a practice that was novel at the time. The system classifies terms alphabetically[121] and places each root under either a tri- or quadri-radical; for example, the root √*sh.r.ᶜ.* is *thulāthī* (triradical), while √*q.n.q.n.* is *rubāᶜī* (quadrilateral), etc. The term *shirāᶜ* (sail) from √*sh.r.ᶜ* can be found in the section of terms derived from triradical roots and the term *qinqin* (a type of shell) from √*q.n.q.n.* can be found in the section of duplicated roots.[122] Before shedding light on his lexicon, it is important to know something about Ibn Durayd. He was born in Basra and grew up in Omani territory travelling between the two sides of the Gulf: the Arabian and Persian coasts. Besides his extensive knowledge in Arabic lexicography, he was also a well known narrator of poetry.

His aim in compiling this lexicon was to document the majority of spoken terms of his time, which means that he supposedly ignored dead and obscure terms that were no longer used at the time. And that, as he said in the preface, is the reason why he called this lexicon *Jamharat al-lugha* (The Majority [of Words] of the Language) since he was

[121] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 3.
[122] Ibid, 2: 343; 1: 163.

interested in spoken registers.[123] Such a liberal aim in compiling a lexicon in the third/tenth century seems interesting to the modern researcher who is unable to find a record of many terms, especially the material cultural terminology that was ignored by medieval lexicographers who were interested only in religious and scientific terms. This is why several lexicographers, especially purists such as al-Azharī and Ibn Fāris, criticized Ibn Durayd for breaking the rules of the language and lexicography by documenting dubious and foreign spoken terms.[124] Al-Azharī also goes beyond this criticism by advising lexica users not to trust anything in *Jamharat al-lugha*. Such a criticism was enough to undermine the efforts of Ibn Durayd in the field of lexicography; furthermore, this criticism led later lexicographers to abandon Ibn Durayd's method, which aimed to document the majority spoken language.[125] He was also criticized for other issues, such as defining many terms as *maʿrūf* (well known) without providing clear definitions.[126]

Having said that, we can find some maritime terms in this lexicon including the following: *jamma* "broad bottom part of the boat where water is collected from the perforations of the sewn planks",[127] *al-kanʿad* "a type of fish",[128] a fish name that is still used in Oman[129] and the Red Sea coast,[130] *al-jamm* "a type of sea shell",[131] *ṣarārī*, plural, *ṣarāriyyūn* which means "sailors",[132] *qabqab* "a type of shell which has edible meat inside",[133] known

[123] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 4.
[124] Naṣṣār 1988, 336.
[125] Baalbaki 2014, 49.
[126] Naṣṣār 1988, 338.
[127] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 55.
[128] Ibid, 3: 315.
[129] Personal communication by D. A. Aguis on 10 December 2014.
[130] Ḥasan Bḥays ʿĪsā, interviewed in Jizan, on 21 May 2010.
[131] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 55.
[132] Ibid, 1: 87.
[133] Ibid, 1: 128.

among Arabian Red Sea sailors today as *ṣurunbāq*,[134] *jūfī* "a type of fish",[135] *sābūṭ* "sea creature",[136] *jilinfāṭ* "a Levantine dialectal term for caulking".[137] These few examples illustrate the importance of this lexicon in modern lexical semantic studies. However, it is clear that many of these definitions are vague and generalized.

The second lexicon that followed the alphabetical order is *Muᶜjam maqāyīs al-lugha* (Dictionary for the Criteria of the Language) compiled by Aḥmad b. Fāris (d. 395/1004), which is one of the most important and fundamental medieval lexica because it concentrates on the conceptual meanings of Arabic roots. This early lexicographer set off on long journeys to study Arabic, spent periods in Iraq, and settled in al-Rayy[138] until his death.[139]

Arabic lexica at the time of Aḥmad b. Fāris tended to be repetitive and vague in terms of definitions. The vast majority of lexicographers relied on al-Farāhīdī's (d. 175/791) *Kitāb al-ᶜAyn* and al-Aṣmaᶜī's aforementioned vocabulary lists. A number of these lexica lacked a clear methodology for classifying entries and as well as clear definitions. Interestingly, however, some lexicographers travelled across the Arabian Peninsula to collect more linguistic information from the Bedouins. Aḥmad b. Fāris did not follow this model of approach, rather he came up with a method of classifying words different from previous lexicographical works. In his preface, he states that he considered numerous

[134] Saᶜd Khamīs al-Thaᶜlabī, interviewed in Jeddah, on 16 May 2010.
[135] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 3: 226.
[136] Ibid, 3: 390.
[137] Ibid, 3: 404.
[138] A city in Iran 15 km south of the centre of Tehran.
[139] His lexicon was edited by an experienced Egyptian editor ᶜAbd al-Salām Muḥammad Hārūn, and first published in Beirut in 1399/1979.

sources, such as *Iṣlāḥ al-manṭiq* (Correcting the Speech) by Ibn al-Sikkīt (d. 224/838) and *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* (Classification of Obscure Words) by Abū ʿUbayd b. Sallām (d. 224/838), to name but a few. In addition, he explained the framework on which his dictionary was based, stating that the language of the Arabs follows logical and regular lexico-semantic criteria. These criteria have many branches, such as the semantic relationships between roots and their derivations, the semantic links between words and morphological moulds, and the interaction between Arabic and other Semitic languages. There were no studies devoted to investigating this aspect of Arabic due to the fact that previous lexica focused on listing as much as could be collected from Arabic words whether they were spoken by reliable speakers or documented in the Qurʾān, lexica, poetry or religious literature.

In terms of classifying words, Ibn Fāris arranged the entries in his lexicon alphabetically. He paid particular attention to the criticisms of Arabic linguists about certain roots. The reliability of information included in lexica was variable, and Ibn Fāris attempted to avoid dubious and foreign roots, and he believed *Jamharat al-lugha* by Ibn Durayd was full of such non-reliable information. So Ibn Fāris states which ones he believes are pure roots in Arabic and sometimes he put the authenticity of some roots in doubt, such as the following roots which he was not sure whether they were pure Arabic or foreign: √*b.y.ḥ.* which gives *biyāḥ* (a type of fish); √*d.q.l.*, which gives *daqal* (mast) and √*z.w.q.*, which gives *ziʾbaq* (mercury).[140] A final example is the root √*ʿ.m.n* which gives ʿUmān (Oman).[141] The *Muʿjam maqāyīs al-lugha* is the first study in Arabic to concern itself with addressing the conceptual meanings of Arabic roots. It provides several clues about

[140] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 325; 2: 289, 3: 37.
[141] Ibid, 4: 133.

undocumented terms, especially those derived from Arabic roots, because it highlights the semantic relationships between entries and roots (see Chapter 2). It could be claimed that words with no roots, or ones not listed in this lexicon, are foreign given that Ibn Fāris's aim was to list only Arabic roots.

The final lexicographer who followed the alphabetical system in the medieval period was al-Qzzāz (d. 412/1021), who compiled *al-Jāmiᶜ fī al-lugha* (The Comprehensive Language), which is the first attempt to write a comprehensive dictionary in the Islamic West. He compiled this lexicon in Kairouan, which is located in modern Tunisia. According to al-Ḥamawī (d. 622/1225), the size of this lexicon was similar to that of *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (The Purification of the Language) by al-Azharī[142] (d. 370/ 980). Although this lexicon was well known among lexicographers such as Ibn Manẓūr, (d. 711/1311), who quoted from it, *al-Jāmiᶜ* is today a lost work.[143]

Specialized dictionaries that are devoted to various fields, such as disease, medicine, pharmacy and plants, need to use the alphabetical system for classification since many of the terms in such dictionaries are of non-Arabic origin, which makes it difficult to look them up by their roots under Arabic moulds. Hence these terms cannot be classified according to the anagrammatical and rhyme systems. Therefore, the use of the regular alphabetical system starting from the first, second, third radical, etc. was inevitable.

These specialized dictionaries are some of the most important in the history of Arabic because they document Arabic during a critical period when Arabs interacted with other

[142] Al-Ḥamawī 1993, 6: 2475.
[143] Al-Wadghīrī 2008, 25.

ethnic communities in Africa Europe and Asia. However, it should be mentioned that this type of dictionary did not follow the criteria of purist medieval lexica. The fact that medicine and pharmaceutical dictionaries were not compiled for linguistic purposes but for health and cures means that such dictionaries contain a great number of loan words and neologisms; Arabic speakers borrowed many medical terms from European languages.

One of the most important works in this field is *Ḥadīqat al-azhār fī māhiyyat al-ᶜushb wa al-ᶜaqār* (The Garden of Flowers for Plants and Medicine) by Abū al-Qāsim al-Ghassānī (d. 1019/1610). There is, for each technical term, sufficient information describing the medicine and plants in detail. The compiler also explains the usages of these medicines or plants and how they can be prepared, listing alternatives to the medicine or plant he is talking about. Additionally, he documents the names of medicines or plants in colloquial or foreign languages.[144]

As mentioned above, lexica users prefer to use an easier method when looking up a term, especially in modern times when most lexica users are students, academic and educated members who are not specialists in Arabic studies.

Muᶜjam ᶜAṭiyya fī al-ᶜāmmī wa al-dakhīl (The Dictionary of ᶜAṭiyya about Colloquial and Foreign Words) (1944), compiled by Rashīd ᶜAṭiyya (d. 1882) to note the importance of assimilating new vocabularies in Arabic, posits that the language should be an actual reflection of its speakers. ᶜAṭiyya encouraged lexicographers to document spoken Arabic and to study its etymology. At the same time, he gave an overview about the problem that

[144] Al-Ghassānī 1990, 48-9.

Arabic encountered in the nineteenth century because of its lack of terms for innovations that came from foreign countries. This dearth led Arabic speakers to adopt a great number of foreign terms without adhering to Arabic moulds. Divided into two parts, the dictionary first deals with colloquial terms, such as *adbakhāna* (Turkish term for house),[145] *arkīla* (Indian term for shisha),[146] *bārūda* (gun),[147] and *bazān* (basin).[148] In the second part he documents some technical foreign terms used for example by physicians, teachers and students, which were not arabicized at that time. Examples include *abūrshun*,"abortion",[149] *adābshun*, "adaptation"[150] and *antīka* "antique".[151] This work is important in the history of Arabic dictionaries because it was a guiding attempt in the field. Moreover, it gives us an insight into the problems that Arabic faced in the nineteenth century when many technical terms in the school curricula had not been documented in other lexica because they were not arabicized. However, the dictionary lacks maritime and nautical terminology.

Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ (The Surrounding of *al-Muḥīṭ* [of al-Fayrūzabādī]) compiled in Lebanon by the Jesuit Buṭrus al-Bustānī (d. 1883), appeared in two volumes, published in 1866 and 1869, respectively. Entries are given in red, while definitions are in black. In the preface, the compiler states his aim was to revive Arabic, which was at the time affected by its interaction with other languages. Speakers were unaware of the new words that had entered their own language from foreign sources. Moreover, the compiler addressed the

[145] Al-Karmī (ed) 1944, 12.
[146] Ibid, 13.
[147] Ibid, 19.
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid, 189.
[150] Ibid, 192.
[151] Ibid, 204.

need to help learners and students of the time who lacked the appropriate tools for learning.

Al-Bustānī relied on al-Fayrūzabādī's approach of omitting Classical Arabic entries that were no longer in use. At the same time, he paid specific attention to arabicized, newly coined words and foreign terms that were used by Arabic speakers of his time. This is one of the most important advantages of al-Bustanī's *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*, whose aim was to break the traditional rules of medieval lexicographers. As a consequence, his lexicon is very rich in technical and material cultural terms that were ignored in medieval lexica. This can be explained by the fact that the cultural background of al-Bustānī was different from that of other Arabic lexicographers; al-Bustānī was a Christian Arabic speaker while the other lexicographers were all Muslims. In other words, al-Bustānī did not hold the same viewpoint as that of Muslim lexicographers, who compiled lexica partly to help Muslims gain a full understanding of the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth. As mentioned earlier, the Muslim compilers felt an aura of sanctity about the language so they did their best to purify it by documenting only Classical Arabic.

Moreover, al-Bustānī documents various names used by sailors for ships according to their status or functions, such as *ʿamāra* "a convoy of fighting ships",[152] classified as *kalām al-muwalladīn* (neologism), and *dūntimma* "a foreign term for a convoy of fighting ships".[153] These examples show that al-Bustānī was not concerned with listing maritime terms only, but he was attempting to prove their origins as far as possible, indicating the source of such words; for instance, *saqāla* is defined as an "Italian word for a port scaffold

[152] Al-Bustānī 1987, 632.
[153] Ibid, 301.

made of wood" by extension quay,[154] *anjar* is listed as an "anchor, which comes from the Persian word *lankar*",[155] and *nākhuda* is cited as "a Persian word for sea captain".[156]

However, this lexicon suffers from some defects. The first is the vagueness of some terms, for example: *qibāb* "a kind of fish",[157] *sabbāra* "a type of ship",[158] *ḍiʾb* "a sea creature",[159] *muddaj* "a type of fish called *mushshaq*".[160] Such definitions, as vague as they are, do not differ in approach from those that medieval lexicographers called *maʿrūf* (well known) and for which they gave no explanation or definition. The second problem in the lexicon is its copying of definitions listed by previous lexicographers without additions; for example, *qāzib* is listed as "a stingy dealer working both on land and at sea";[161] this definition was first noted by al-Azharī[162] (d. 370/980), then it was copied by Ibn Manẓūr[163] (d. 711/1311), and was also appropriated by al-Zabīdī[164] (d. 1205/1790). Another example is *sulūqiyya* entered as "the sea captain's bench on the poop deck",[165] the definition of which was first made by Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 326/937).[166] Strangely, this definition was ignored by lexicographers after Ibn ʿAbbād until al-Fayrūzabādī listed it, and then al-Zabīdī picked it up again for his lexicon in the eighteenth century.[167] Then al-Bustānī copied it as well. The definition of *finṭās* a "wooden tank for drinking water on

[154] Al-Bustānī 1987, 513-14.
[155] Ibid, 880.
[156] Ibid, 883.
[157] Al-Bustānī 1987, 710.
[158] Ibid, 392.
[159] Ibid, 528.
[160] Ibid, 842.
[161] Ibid, 733.
[162] Al-Azharī 2001, 8: 331.
[163] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 617.
[164] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 4: 31.
[165] Al-Bustānī 1986, 422.
[166] Ibn ʿAbbād 1994, 5: 289.
[167] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 3: 239; al-Zabīdī (nd), 25: 461.

the ship"[168] was first entered by al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252),[169] and copied by al-Fayrūzabādī[170] and al-Zabīdī[171], then copied again by al-Bustānī.

In 1908 the Jesuit Luwīs al-Muᶜlūf (d. 1946) published his *al-Munjid fī al-lugha wa al-aᶜlām* (The Rescuer about the Language and Personalities). It is a summary of *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* by al-Bustānī with the exception of some additions from *Tāj al-ᶜarūs*. The compiler concentrated his efforts on simplifying the process of searching for words; he aimed to make a lexicon that fits the needs of Arabic speakers regardless of whether they were educated or not. He used various abbreviations in the compilation, such as *maṣ* for *maṣdar*, "verbal noun", *m* for *muʾannath* "feminine", and *fā* for *ism al-fāᶜil* "active participle."[172] In this context we should remember that al-Maᶜlūf paid particular attention to names of important people and places, which is why he added the word *al-aᶜlām* to the title of his dictionary. Additionally, *al-Munjid* used images to help its users, especially when explaining material cultural terms, animals, plants, persons and places.[173] This made the dictionary look like an encyclopaedia, and the advantage of including illustrations was that it led to the book being the most popular lexicon among Arabic speakers. In the field of maritime terms I am unable to find new additions to what al-Bustānī already listed in his *Muḥīṭ*.

At the beginning of the twentieth century many Arabic speakers, especially students at schools and universities, were in need of a modern lexicon. This was due to the fact that the Arabic curricula in schools were updated, and students encountered a great number

[168] Al-Bustānī 1986, 703.
[169] Al-Ṣaghānī 1979, volume entiteled Ḥarf al-Sīn: 334.
[170] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 2: 236.
[171] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 16: 347.
[172] Naṣṣār 1988, 579; Maᶜlūf (nd), ا.
[173] Naṣṣār 1988, 580.

of new terms that needed definition. Many such terms were not listed in lexica but were coined only recently by the Cairo Academy of Arabic. Moreover, there was a need for a lexicon that overcame the defects of previous lexica to provide a deeper understanding of modern Arabic. So, the Egyptian Minister of the Education, Muḥammad ᶜAllūba, asked the Academy of Arabic to compile a new dictionary that fits these new needs.[174] In 1936, the Academy assigned a group of lexicographers and language experts to collect data for this modern dictionary, which was called *al-Muᶜjam al-wasīṭ*, a task that took twenty years. The linguists chosen by the academy were Ibrāhīm Muṣṭafā, Aḥmad al-Zayyāt (d. 1388/1968), Ḥāmid ᶜAbd al-Qādir, Muḥammad al-Najjār, and Ramaḍān ᶜAbd al-Tawwāb (d. 1422/2001), as overseer of the project. Their mission was to check the collected data and prepare it for publication, a project that took two years. The first edition was published in 1960, followed by the second in 1972, and the third in 1998. These editions were in two volumes and the academy worked to improve each edition by adding new terms, especially technical ones, and clarifying vague definitions. Additionally, the academy added many examples of the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth and poetry. Later, in 2004, the lexicon was republished in one volume without essential additions. This extensive work by the academy *al-Muᶜjam al-waṣīṭ* (The Middle Lexicon) created one of the best lexica fit for the needs of Arabic speakers in modern times. Another advantage that should be noted is that this lexicon includes images as an aid for users in understanding terms related to tangible objects and living creatures.

In the field of animals and plants, clear and practical definitions were offered with the addition of images. In contrast to the medieval definitions, these modern definitions are more detailed since they highlight the shape, colour, feel and lifestyle of living creatures.

[174] Naṣṣār 1988, 593.

For example, *ikhṭubūṭ* which is listed as "a sea creature with eight legs coming from its head, effective at catching objects", and in modern times there is an expression for a person who clings to someone or something: [it is called] "an octopus";[175] also *inqlīs* is defined as a "kind of fish which looks like a snake and lives in rivers and seas i.e. eel",[176] *ḥalazūn* is a "soft sea creature that lives in a shell",[177] and plants such as *arz* "an evergreen coniferous tree with a firm trunk, which was used to build ships";[178] *isfing* : "a soft sea creature with large holes which mostly grows in the Egyptian seas from which sponges are made";[179] and *qurm* : "plants which grow in deep water with a thick trunk and white skin, also called *shūrā* ".[180]

Another attempt made by the Cairo Academy is the dictionary of the Qurʾanic words. The aim of compiling this dictionary does not differ from the aims of medieval lexicographers who concentrated their efforts on studying the language of the Qurʾān. If the words of the Qurʾān were fully explained in the medieval lexica, why did the Academy compile this lexicon recycling the information provided by earlier lexicographers? The explanations of medieval lexicographers of the Qurʾānic terms were irregular in numerous lexicographical and religious works, which makes it difficult for Arabic speakers to search among these explanations. It needs to be said that many medieval Arabic works were kept in libraries as manuscripts that had not been published when this dictionary was completed in 1970.[181] An example from this lexicon is the root √*f.l.k.* giving the word *fulk* (ship or ships, according to the context),[182] which is mentioned in various parts

[175] Muṣṭafā 2004, *at al.,* 9.
[176] Ibid, 30-1.
[177] Ibid, 192.
[178] Ibid, 13.
[179] Ibid, 18.
[180] Ibid, 730.
[181] See *Muʿjam alfāẓ al-Qurʾān al-Karīm* 1989 by the Arabic Academy of Cairo.
[182] Ibid, 2: 865.

of the Qurʾān. This method of briefly summarizing a word's meaning makes this lexicon look like a glossary of the Qurʾān. Such attempts prove that there are many modern lexicographers who still follow the aims of purist medieval lexicographers, who concentrate their efforts on Classical Arabic only. Moreover, it must be stressed that a great deal of material and maritime cultural terms in a variety of spoken registers has not been documented yet.

Aḥmad Riḍā's (death date unknown) *Radd al-ʿāmmī ilā al-faṣīḥ* (The Classical Origins of Colloquial Arabic) first published in 1952, aimed to study the classical origins of terms used by Arabic speakers. The lexicon excluded loan terms, thus ignoring the possibility of studying their origins and use because they have no link to Classical Arabic. However, some foreign words are followed by explanations, such as *tanda* (boat's awning), which is classified as *dakhīl* (borrowed),[183] *ḥūz* "Persian word for a kind of plant fishermen used to crush its fruits and throw them on the shore so they could catch fish by hand since this fruit makes fish unable to move",[184] *ṣandal* "small boat carried on big ships",[185] and *fallūka* "a kind of small boat".[186] These are the only maritime terms that were documented in this small dictionary.

Today we can find some specialized dictionaries arranged alphabetically focusing on several areas. Some of these works deal with maritime and nautical terminology, such as *Muʿjam alfāẓ ḥirfat ṣayd al-samak fī al-sāḥil al-Lubnānī* (Fishing Terms on the Coast of Lebanon) published in 1973. The dialectal variation of maritime terminology between the Lebanese coast and Red Sea is exemplified in the following: *braym* in Lebanon refers to

[183] Riḍā 1981, 79.
[184] Ibid, 144.
[185] Ibid, 337.
[186] Ibid, 433.

the keel,[187] which is *hirāb* in the Red Sea,[188] *al-ʿūdān* is used in Lebanon for ribs of a boat,[189] while on the Red Sea coast it is a plural generic term for a boat singular *ʿūd* ;[190] *daffa* (rudder) in Lebanon[191] is *sukkān* in the Red Sea.[192] Similarly *ghallīni* is used for a calm sea[193] in Lebanon, but is *ḥawāl* [194] in the Red Sea; *naw*, a general name for a sea wind[195] in Lebanon is *sharw* [196] in the Red Sea; and *qafaṣ* or *quffa*, a trap used in fishing from which a fish cannot escape[197] in Lebanon, is *ṣakhwa* or *gargūr* in the Red Sea.[198] Such dialectal variations confirm that studies should be conducted as larger projects in various coastal areas coordinated with the Arabic Academies in order to cover all the terms used by Arabic seafaring communities.

Another study in this field is *Muʿjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-baḥriyya fī al-Kuwayt* (Dictionary of Maritime Terms in Kuwait) by Aḥmad Al-Rūmī (d. 1402/1982) published in 1996. Although there are some terms documented in this work that are also used in the Red Sea area, a substantial number of terms focused on Kuwait and along the Arabian coast of the Gulf. For example, anchor in Kuwait is *anjar*;[199] while in the Red Sea it is either *bashlayla*[200] or *burūsī*.[201] The term *bandūl* in Kuwait signifies the bilge,[202] but is pronounced *mandūl* in the Red Sea and another word for bilge in the Red Sea is *jamma*;[203]

[187] Muṭlaq 1973, 40.
[188] Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥazmī, interviewed in Yanbu on 4 June 2010.
[189] Muṭlaq 1973, 42.
[190] Shlayyān ʿAwda al-Rifāʿī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[191] Muṭlaq 1973, 59.
[192] Muḥammad Darwīsh, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 18 May 2010.
[193] Muṭlaq 1973, 77.
[194] Faḍl Allāh Abū Aḥmad, interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2010.
[195] Muṭlaq 1973, 78.
[196] Awwād Sālim al-Rifāʾī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[197] Muṭlaq 1973, 111.
[198] Awwād Sālim al-Rifāʾī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[199] Al-Rūmī 1996, 26.
[200] Ibrāhīm Abū ʿUtayyiq al-Sinānī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[201] Ḥāmid Aḥmad Abū Hbayra, interviewed in Farasān on 21 May 2010.
[202] Al-Rūmī 1996, 30.
[203] Abū Nāyif al-Ḥujūrī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.

bīṣ in the Gulf is used for the keel,[204] while in the Red Sea the term used is *hirāb.*[205] The word *ṣaddāf* is used in the Gulf for a piece of cloth to protect sailors from the sun,[206] while in the Red Sea *ṣaddāf* refers to a small boat used in shell collecting;[207] the term *ṣandūq* used in the Gulf for a small space at the end of the dhow where sailors keep their belongings[208] is known as *al-bardān* in the Red Sea;[209] and the term *fasḥa* in the Gulf refers to the space between each rib,[210] while in the Red Sea the word used is *huẓra.*[211]

The last study in this field, *Muʿjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-baḥriyya* (Dictionary of Maritime Terms) by the Arab Maritime Transport Academy, was designed to help those who work in maritime transport. Although it contains a great number of maritime terms I found only a few mainstream words that were used in the days of sail. Those words are *sukkān* (rudder), *shirāʿ* (sail), *qārib* (boat), and *safīna* (ship). Other terms are literal translations of English and French terms; for example, *dawwārat al-rīḥ* (vane),[212] *qāʾimat al-rukkāb* (passenger list),[213] *mugaddimat al-safīna* (bow),[214] *raʾs al-shirāʿ* (head of the sail),[215] *al-juzʾ al-khalfī min al-safīna* (stern),[216] *janāḥ al-baḥḥāra* (crew accommodation),[217] *ṣārī min al-fūlādh* (steel mast),[218] *irtidād al-baḥr* (rebound of the sea)[219] and *muḥarrik yubarrad bi-al-māʾ* (water-cooled motor).[220] Many of these terms are for objects related to inventions

[204] Al-Rūmī 1996, 31.
[205] Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥazmī, interviewed in Yanbu on 4 June 2010.
[206] Al-Rūmī 1996, 60.
[207] Mannāʿ Raḥīmī, interviewed in Umluj on 7 June 2010.
[208] Al-Rūmī 1996, 62.
[209] Ḥāmid Aḥmad Abū Hbayra, interviewed in Farasan on 21 May 2010.
[210] Al-Rūmī 1996, 72.
[211] Nāṣir ʿAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ, interviewed in Al Wajh on 11 June 2010.
[212] *Muʿjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-baḥriyy* by the Arab Maritime Transport Academy 1989, 548.
[213] Ibid, 383.
[214] Ibid, 73.
[215] Ibid, 260.
[216] Ibid, 417.
[217] Ibid, 140.
[218] Ibid, 495.
[219] Ibid, 417.
[220] Ibid, 556.

appearing after the Industrial Revolution, therefore, such a dictionary does not help researchers who aim to study maritime and nautical terms used in the days of sail. Moreover, the entries are classified according to the English alphabet, which means that it is an English-Arabic glossary rather than an Arabic dictionary.

Conclusion

To sum up, this overview of Arabic lexicography illustrates the importance of some lesser-known and lost lexica. They document a small corpus of Arabic technical terminology which is absent in most medieval and modern lexica that follow the purist criteria of earlier lexicographers. The development of the lexical process went through four stages: the first was thematic, where terms were grouped together according to subject. Such classification gives priority to the meaning, which leads researchers to group several words related to one topic. Probably this system fits the conditions of the early language collectors, such as Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāᵓ (d. 154/771). During their word-collecting they focused on one topic such as the camel, tents, palm tree, etc., and would list these terms accordingly. Secondly, the anagrammatical system launched by al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791) as a result of his interest in phonological rules. In this stage, Arabic lexicography moved a step forward towards a new era of lexicographical tradition when lexica were classified according to a scientifically based system. Thirdly was the alphabetical system, which was first introduced by Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) in his *Jamharat al-lugha* in his attempt to devise a lexicon based on a simple system, and followed then by Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) in his *Maqāyīs al-lugha* and al-Qazzāz (d. 412/1021) in his *al-Jāmiᶜ fī al-lugha*. This system, however, was abandoned after al-Qazzāz until the nineteenth century when al-Bustānī (d. 1883) followed it in his *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*. Finally, the rhyme system, which was first established by Abū Bishr al-Yamān

b. Abī al-Yamān al-Bandanījī (d. 284/987) to help poets find the appropriate rhyme for their poetry. Although its aim was mainly to help poets, this system was applied in the most comprehensive lexica of several periods, examples include *Lisān al-ᶜarab* of Ibn Maẓūr (d. 711/1311), *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* of al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 803/1400) and *Tāj al-ᶜarūs* of al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790).

On the other hand, several specialized dictionaries were compiled in various fields. This begs the question of why specialized dictionaries in crafts and skills such as sailing and ship or boat building are lacking when we can find specialized dictionaries in medicine, agriculture and other fields? It can be argued that pharmaceuticals were important for all people, while crafts such as sailing, fishing and shipbuilding were unimportant as they were for the lower class of people who were illiterate. What follows (Chapter 8) is a sample of technical maritime terms listed in Arabic lexica but no longer used.

Chapter 8: A Sample of Maritime Terminology Listed in Mainstream Lexica

The following are among the few maritime terms listed in Arabic lexica that are no longer used today among Arabian Red Sea coastal communities. This sample will give an idea about how Arabic lexica defined such terms.

1. Term: إسطرلاب *iṣṭirlāb.*

This term is undocumented in most medieval lexica. Al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 803/1400) is among the few lexicographers who document it. However, rather than a clear definition of the word he gives only its morphology, nothing about its content.[1] This he did with many material cultural terms but unlike his purist predecessors, he listed neologisms, foreign and arabicized terms.[2] Later lexica, however, such as *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* [3] and *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ* [4] provide a clearer definition: "an ancient astronomical instrument used to measure the heights of the stars and to identify the four compass points". Agius understands that medieval Muslim scientists played a major role in developing this instrument, due to advanced astronomical studies from the time of al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048) to al-Zarqālī (d. 480/1087).[5] In his *Islamic Astrolabists*, Mayer claims that scientists made their astrolabes themselves.[6] Despite its importance, lexicographers ignored such terms, as they followed the strict criteria related to the purity of terms, which meant that a foreign term that does not follow the Arabic mould (*qālab*) should be excluded.[7]

[1] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 128.
[2] Haywood 1965, 86.
[3] Al-Bustānī 1987, 9.
[4] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 17.
[5] Agius 2008, 202.
[6] Mayer 1956, 21.
[7] Agius 1984, 169.

Following Agius (1984) conceptual framework, the dearth of documentation of material cultural terminology in medieval lexica can only be resolved by consulting literary and non-literary works. This model is the only way found, as the results are more promising. In a literary work entitled, *al-Kashkūl* (Beggar's Bag), al-ᶜĀmilī (d. 1030/1620) says this about the *isṭirlāb* :

> "الاسطرلاب آلة مشتملة على أجزاء يتحرك بعضها فتحكي الأوضاع الفلكية ويستعلم بها بعض الأحوال العلوية ويستنتج منها بعض الأمور السفلية"[8]
>
> (The astrolabe is an ancient instrument consisting of various movable parts which reflects the status of the higher world to understand the status of the lower world).

The use of the terms "higher world" and "lower world" indicates that *isṭirlāb* was used for two purposes: astrology, which links astronomical phenomena with events in the human world,[9] and navigation, the practice by which sailors follow sea routes by measuring the altitude of the sun and stars.[10] In both cases, astronomy, which refers to the "higher world", is applied to understand our planet, or the "lower world". The latter is manipulated by astrology, the quasi-study of the stars and how they affect human beings, which is not scientifically based. The *Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History* suggests that rather than using the complex measuring device of the astrolabe, Arabian sailors used a simple instrument for navigation. It consisted of "three solid boards of increasing size and it is marked off in fingers".[11] This describes a simple nautical astrolabe, which measures the altitude of the sun and stars only. A version of the more advanced astrolabe, which also measures time during the day and night, was developed by Perso–Arabian–

[8] Al-ᶜĀmilī 1998, 2: 56.
[9] Al-Kutubī 1974, 3: 248.
[10] Agius 2008, 202.
[11] Djebbar 2007, 1: 122.

Indian astronomers.[12] In his *Miftāḥ al-ʿulūm* (Key of Sciences) al-Khawārizmī (d. 387/997) claims that the origin of this term is Greek, *aṣṭarlābūn,* and is thought to be formed from *aṣṭar* (star) + *lābūn* (mirror).[13]

The term is also used by Badr al-Dīn b. Jamāʿa (d. 733/1333) in his *Risālat al-iṣṭirlāb* (Study on the Astrolabe) MS 3059, a manuscript in the library of King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz at Riyadh. (Figure 5)

Figure 5: copy of the first page of manuscript MS 3059

At the beginning of this study, Ibn Jamāʿa provides information about this instrument:

> "الاسطرلاب لفظ أعجمي معناه باليونانية مقياس النجوم وقيل معناه ميزان الشمس ويجوز بالسين والصاد وقيل أصله الاسطرلاقون والأسطر نجم ولاقون هي المرآة ثم عُرِّب فقيل أسطرلاب".[14]

(An *iṣṭirlāb* is a foreign term, which in Greek means "the scale of the stars", and also it is said that it means "the scale of the sun". It is pronounced by both *sīn* and *ṣād*, and its origin is *aṣṭirlāqūn* which consists of two parts:

[12] Agius 2008, 202.
[13] Al-Khawārizmī, 1989, 253.
[14] Ibn Jmāʿa (nd), 2.

asṭar meaning "star", *lāqūn* meaning a "mirror", which was arabicized into *iṣṭirlāb*).

Ibn Jamāᶜa confirms the Greek derivation from αστρολάβος or αστρολάβον giving Arabic *iṣṭirlāb*.[15] ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm, though agreeing on its Greek origin, argues that the word comes from *astrūlābos* αστρολάβος i.e. *astrūn* αστρον (stars) and λάβος from λαμβάνω (to take),[16] which sounds odd.

Going back to what was said on this instrument, lexicographers such as al-Ḥimyarī (d. 573/1177),[17] al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252),[18] al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 803/1400),[19] and al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790)[20] claim that *iṣṭirlāb* is from the Arabic verb أَسْطَر *asṭara* (to draw a line) < √*s.ṭ.r* + *lāb* (the name of the Indian man who first used this instrument) and the radical س *sīn* changed to ص *ṣād* because it is followed by ط *ṭāʾ* which makes it difficult to articulate a conjunct composed of two consonants, one is voiceless and the second is highly vocalic. Al-Khawārizmī, not a lexicographer, found this morphological breakdown odd; he did not agree with this definition: he remarked, "some linguists are merely keen to twist etymologies to prove that they are of Arabic origin".[21] This claim that the word is of Greek origin is more scientific, but the aforementioned lexicographers did not trust what al-Khawārizmī had to say, even though he was a scientist, and therefore preferred to give other information.

[15] Hartner 1960, 722.
[16] ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm 1991, 18. For αστρολάβος see Liddle and Scott 1996, 263. Also Woodhouse documented in his English–Greek Dictionary that αστρον means stars and λαμβάνω means "to take", see Woodhouse 1971, 811, 852.
[17] Al-Ḥimyarī 1999, 9: 6135.
[18] Al-Ṣaghānī 1970, 1: 370.
[19] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 128.
[20] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 4: 224.
[21] Al-Khawārizmī, 1989, 252.

However, such lexicographical errors illustrate the failure of Arabic lexica in correcting information provided by earlier compilers as lexicographers tended to copy each other blindly. This method of recompiling or recycling lexical material led Arabic lexicographers to edit out terms that were documented in other non-lexicographical works. Finally, it may be said that *isṭirlāb*, has no Arabic base for a tri-consonantal system. In addition to a Greek origin, the word may be traced to an older language such as Sanskrit. It must be said that terms for instruments that deal with time either by calculation, water or sand are all foreign in Arabic.[22]

Although it was not documented by most medieval lexicographers such as al-Farāhīdī, al-Azharī, Ibn Fāris, and al-Jawharī, who thought that it was foreign and therefore did not deserve to be part of Arabic, some scholars such as al-Suyūṭī thought it as an arabicized term.[23] The reason as noted earlier was that changing the sounds was one criterion used to arabicize a term to fit Arabic phonology this explains why the sound /s/ changed to /ṣ/.[24]

2. Term: آمِد *āmid*

This term is an active participle, following the pattern of *fāʿil* from the root √ *ʾ.m.d.* Abū ʿAmr al-Shaybānī (d. 213/828) is the first lexicographer to document it, and he links it to a maritime term meaning "a laden ship" and its opposite is *jirāb* "an unladen ship".[25] The vast majority of medieval lexicographers after al-Shaybānī, such as al-Azharī (d. 370/980) in his *Tahdhīb*,[26] did not pay attention to this term while al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād (d.

[22] Lane 1968, 1: 58.
[23] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 219.
[24] Stetkevych 1970, 60.
[25] Al-Shaybānī 1974, 1: 132.
[26] Al-Azharī 2001, 14: 156.

385/995) did not link it explicitly to ships but suggested that its meaning applies to any full object.[27] Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) said that this root forms only the word *amad*, but he also did not explain the maritime connection. The meaning he gives is "height and capacity",[28] and the underlying meaning may refer to loading a ship to the limits of its height and capacity. This sense of the word is the semantic link of the root. Ibn Fāris was skeptical though about the "purity" of such a root because it is given to only one word, and this could be a sign that *āmid* is of non-Arabic origin.[29]

In his *Ṣiḥāḥ*, al-Jawharī (d. 400/1009) listed *āmid* as a city name but ignored its maritime context,[30] and this points to a number of issues. First, he relied more on his own knowledge and what Bedouins told him than what lexicographers had said before him. Second, he followed the same practice of early medieval lexicographers in their choice of chronological and regional boundaries of reliable spoken Arabic: concentrating on the language spoken in the middle of Arabia and excluding the language of the coastal territories. Consequently, he did not document *āmid*, since it may have been used in coastal areas only. Further, al-Jawharī's aim was to purify the language by excluding any terms of dubious origin, and he may have thought it to be foreign, as his purist predecessor, Ibn Fāris, did.

Modern Arabic dictionaries, such as *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*,[31] and *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ*,[32] have not added any information about the term above what was offered by medieval dictionaries. With the exception of a few practitioners, modern lexicographers have generally followed

[27] Ibn ʿAbbād 1994, 9: 383.
[28] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 137.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Al-Jawharī 1987, 2: 442.
[31] Al-Bustānī 1987, 15.
[32] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 25.

medieval compilers, they also have not collected information from speakers from coastal communities. This is complicated by the fact that terms tend to develop semantically for cultural reasons, such as a change in the lifestyle of speakers' communities. For example, *safīna,* which was used in medieval times as a generic term for a ship was metaphorically applied to a camel because the camel is the ship of the desert,[33] but today the term is used for spacecraft. Such semantic development is still generally absent from several modern lexica such as *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* and *al-Muᶜjam al-wasīṭ.*

The etymology of this term is still undetermined: while some lexicographers thought it Arabic, others thought the opposite. The attitudes of lexicographers towards its origin can be divided into four camps. The first follows Ibn Fāris,[34] who documented the term as signifying the conceptual meaning of height and capacity only, which may be interpreted as indicating that he was not sure whether it was of Arabic origin. The second interpretation was held by Abū ᶜAmr al-Shaybānī, who defined it to be a "laden ship".[35] The third follows the belief of lexicographers, such as Ibn ᶜAbbād[36] and al-Jawharī,[37] who documented it as a place name. The final interpretation was that of the later lexicographers, such as Ibn Manẓūr,[38] al-Fayrūzabādī[39] and al-Zabīdī[40], who collected as many terms as they could from preceding lexica without additions, so they documented both meanings. Al-Zabīdī suggested, however, that this word is a Byzantine toponym.[41]

[33] Agius 2008, 20, 279.
[34] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 137.
[35] Al-Shaybānī 1974, 1: 132.
[36] Ibn ᶜAbbād 1994, 9: 384.
[37] Al-Jawharī 1987, 2: 442.
[38] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 2: 473.
[39] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 272.
[40] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 8: 472.
[41] Ibid, 7: 392.

Al-Shaybānī[42] and Ibn Manẓūr[43] are the only medieval Arabic lexicographers with an Arab cultural background who documented the maritime term *āmid* as being of Arabic origin. Following Ibn Fāris's criterion, which suggests that an Arabic term must have a semantic link to its root, as explained earlier, the link between *āmid* (laden ship) and the root √ *ʾ.m.d.* is the conceptual meaning of the "limits of height and capacity". Such a non-explicit (implicit) semantic link between a root and a derived term may point to the fact that it could be a neologism or foreign, which may explain its exclusion from lexica.

3. Term: *būṣī* بُوصِي

This noun referring to a type of ship is listed by al-Farāhīdī, but without an explanation of what the ship was used for, or what it looked like.[44] Al-Azharī copied this definition and gave an exemplary verse from pre-Islamic poetry.

وَأَتْلَعَ نَهَّاضٍ إِذَا صَعَّدَتْ بِهِ كَسُكَّانِ بُوصِيٍ بِدَجلةَ مُصعِدِ[45]

Wa atlaᶜa nahhāḍin idhā ṣaᶜᶜadat bi-hī ka-sukkāni būṣiyyin bi-dajlata muṣᶜidi

(The [she-camel's] neck is extended and moving and when raised, it looks like the rudder of a *būṣī* navigating up the Tigris' river) (translation by author)

This verse was written by the well known pre-Islamic poet Ṭarafa b. al-ᶜAbd (d. 569). Describing his *nāqa* (she-camel), he says that when she walks through the dunes in the desert her neck looks like a rudder of a *būṣī* navigating up the Tigris's stream. The comparison between the camel and a ship is a familiar theme among pre-Islamic poets

[42] Al-Shaybānī 1974, 1: 132.
[43] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 2: 473.
[44] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 7: 169.
[45] Al-Azharī 2001, 12: 181.

and Arabic speakers in classical times,[46] and it suggests that this maritime term was widespread among nomadic Arabic speakers before the advent of Islam.

Ibn al-ᶜAbd is among the more reliable sources of the language of pre-Islam. One of the main criteria laid down in collecting data for lexica in the first/seventh century was that lexicographers classified pre-Islamic Arabic speakers such as Ibn al-ᶜAbd among the most reliable sources for the language because they did not interact with other ethnic groups whose mother tongue was not Arabic.[47] However, some poets who lived before the advent of Islam, such as ᶜAdī b. Zayd al-ᶜIbādī (death date unknown), were excluded as non-reliable sources of the Arabic language because of their familiarity with other languages.[48]

The above verse may illustrate that the term *būṣī* was a river craft originating from the communities living along the Tigris. In his *Maqāyīs al-lugha* Aḥmad b. Fāris suggests that the root √*b.w.ṣ.* expresses the meaning of "being fast and overtaking another moving object".[49] Though he did not document the maritime term as al-Farāhīdī did, this concept could be the semantic link between the term and the root. In his *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, Ibn Sīda lists *būṣī* after Abū ᶜUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām's (d. 224/838) definition of being a "type of *zawraq* (a small boat)".[50] We do not know if a *būṣī* was a large or small ship, but it was described as a fast craft.

[46] Agius 2008, 20, 279.
[47] Al-Baghdādī 1998, 1: 30.
[48] Jeffery 2007, 14.
[49] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 317.
[50] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 19.

However, in his *Muḥkam*, Ibn Sīda claimed that *būṣī* was not a boat but a sailor.[51] His argument based on a verse by al-Aᶜshā (d. 629 AD) interpreting the word *būṣī* as being "sailor":

مِثْلُ الفُرَاتِيّ إِذَا مَا طَمَا يَقذِفُ بِالبُوصِيّ والمَاهِرِ[52]

Mithlu al-furātiyyi idhā mā ṭamā yaqdhifu bil-būṣiyyi wa al-māhir

(When the level of the River Euphrates is high the *būṣī* [sailor] and the skilled person [in charge of the rudder] will both be thrown off)
(translation by author)

But this interpretation of Ibn Sīda is wrong. *Būṣī* in such a context refers to a type of ship, not a sailor, because it was al-Aᶜshā who added the term *al-māhir* (a skilled person) navigating a water craft, hence *māhir* refers to a sailor and this points to the fact that *būṣī* means something other than a sailor, and must be a type of ship.[53]

Probably, this verse supports the aforementioned meaning of *būṣī* as being a small ship because large ships are not suitable for navigating in the Tigris or Euphrates rivers.

Further, Ibn Sīda's confusion comes from another verse by Ṭarafa b. al-ᶜAbd. This verse according to the poetry narrators has two different versions, one of them contains *būṣī* and that is correct and the other contains *nūtī* (sailor) and that is wrong. The first is:

كَسُكَّانِ بُوصِيٍّ بِدَجْلَةَ مُصْعِدِ[54]

Ka-sukkāni būṣiyyin b-dajlata muṣᶜidi

(like the watercraft's rudder navigating up the Tigris river)
(translation by author)

[51] Ibn Sīda 2000, 8: 389.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Husayn (ed) 1950, 142.
[54] Nāṣir al-Dīn (ed) 2002, 22.

This version is semantically correct. Interpreting *sukkān* of *al-būṣī* to mean the rudder of the ship seems fine as it fits the context, especially when compared to the second version cited by Abū ᶜUbayda Maᶜmar b. al-Muthannā (d. 209/824), which might have led Ibn Sīda to confuse:

كسكانِ نوتيٍ بدجلةَ مصعدِ [55]

Ka-sukkāni nūtiyyin bi-dajlata muṣᶜidi

(like the sailor's rudder navigating up the Tigris river)

(translation by author)

Semantically, this definition is weak because a *sukkān* (rudder) is fitted usually to a ship or a type of boat, and not to a sailor. Ibn Sīda could have confused these two versions of the same verse, thinking that *būṣī* and *nūtī* were synonyms,[56] on the other hand it could be a scribal error, which led to a semantic misunderstanding.

Etymologically, Ibn al-Sarrāj (d. 316/928) derived *būṣī* from the Arabic root √*b.w.ṣ* which expresses the concept of "being fast and overtaking other objects"; this is the semantic link between the root and the word, which gives us the meaning of a fast ship. Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī (d. 370/987) said that it is borrowed from Persian and gives two meanings for the word: the first is "being safe" and the second a "type of ship".[57] It would be culturally correct to substitute one word for another. A ship is called *būṣī,* which means "safe".[58] Probably, this connotes that the ship will bring you, optimistically, safely from one port to another. By comparison, linguists such as al-Mubarrid[59] and lexicographers such as Ibn Fāris[60] tell us that Arabs in classical times called the desert *mafāza* from

[55] Al-Baṣrī (nd) 261.
[56] Ibn Sīda 2000, 8: 389.
[57] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 91-2.
[58] Ibid, 91-2.
[59] Al-Mubarrid 1997, 1: 94.
[60] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 457.

√*f.w.z.* which expresses the meaning of "achievement". The semantic link between "desert" and the root √*f.w.z.* is that it is culturally correct among Arabic speakers to refer to the desert as *mafāza*, or a place of achievement, as a traveller crossing the desert feels optimistic about achieving his goal and the safety of his trip. Nowadays, Red Sea sailors call the people on board a ship *al-sālimīn* (safe and sound) rather than *rukkāb* "passengers", in other words providing a sense of optimism, asserting that they will reach their port safely.[61]

In his *Jamharat al-lugha* (The Majority [of Words] of the Language) Ibn Durayd like al-Fārisī listed this term as a loan word from Persian, *būzī* , and so did Ibn Sīda, Ibn Manẓūr and al-Zabīdī.[62] In other words, the term was arabicized before or after Islam. In another section, Ibn Durayd explains, phonologically, that /z/ was interchanged with /ṣ/.[63] Shīr states that the word was originally Aramaic.[64]

Lexicographers have laid down a criterion for arabicization, saying that any foreign term used by Arabic speakers before the advent of Islam should be among arabicized term and has the right to be assimilated into the body of Arabic.[65] Although the maritime term *būṣī* was arabicized in pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and documented by some early lexicographers who held a more liberal view, such as al-Farāhīdī (d. 172/789) and Ibn Durayd (d. 321/931), purist lexicographers like Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) and al-Jawharī (d. 400/1009) took a different turn and excluded it from their lexica. The question arises as

[61] Ḥamdān al-Kubaydī, interviewed in Ynbu on 7 June 2010.
[62] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 3: 500, Ibn Sīda 2000, 8: 389, Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 4: 461, al-Zabīdī (nd), 17: 500.
[63] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 50.
[64] Shīr 1988, 31.
[65] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 14.

to why they excluded this arabicized term when they included some other arabicized terms?

To understand their attitude, we should bear in mind that earlier grammarians, such as Sībawayhi who built his linguistic vision following his teacher al-Khalīl al-Farāhīdī, had a liberal concept of arabicization, saying that all terms used by Arabic speakers are arabicized whether their morphological structures had changed or not. However, later lexicographers such as al-Jawharī suggest that foreign terms should not be arabicized unless their sounds or morphological structures are changed to fit Arabic.[66] It could be argued that the vast majority of arabicized terms that these lexicographers documented were used in the Qurʾān, words such as: *qisṭās* (balance), *ṣirāṭ* (way) from Greek and Latin, [67] *yamm* (sea) from Syriac[68] and *ṭūfān* (inundation) from Greek.[69] This selective decision can be explained as follows: first, their main aim in compiling their lexica, as mentioned earlier was to help Muslims understand the Qurʾān and the Ḥadīth,[70] so they were obliged to document all terms used in the Qurʾān regardless of their origins. Second, Ibn Fāris[71] was of the belief that all words and terms in the Qurʾān were of Arabic origin. This opinion was founded by his predecessor Abū ʿUbayda b. al-Muthannā (d. 224/838).[72]

[66] Agius 1984, 169-170.
[67] Jeffery 2007, 195, 238.
[68] Ibid, 293.
[69] Liberman 2009, 141.
[70] Al-Khaṭīb 1986, 597.
[71] Versteegh 1997, 113.
[72] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 209.

4. Term: جُؤْجُؤٌ *juʾjuʾ*

This term has existed for a very long time and means "the bow of a ship". The first reference to it came from al-Farāhīdī who suggested that it has two different meanings. The first is "the bones of a bird's chest" and the second is "the bow of a ship".[73] Lexicographers after him did not add anything new to his definitions.[74] It is interesting to note that none of these lexicographers explain what appears to be obvious i.e. the semantic link between a bird's chest and a ship's bow. It is possible, however, to find some information in non-lexicographical works, which is what Agius's (1984) followed by Shafiq's framework of inquiry is about.[75] Following this inquiry I looked at al-Qurṭubī's (d. 671/1214) exegesis, in which he reported that Ibn al-ᶜArabī's (d. 543/1148) explanation of the similarity between a ship and a bird points to, first, the physical form, i.e. that the bow of a ship can be likened to a bird's chest and, second, related to physics, because a ship is carried by the density of water and a bird is carried by the density of air.[76] Scientifically, Abū al-Fatḥ al-Khāzin (d. 550/1156) comments that air carries lighter and smaller objects such as birds. Water, on the other hand carries heavier and bigger objects, i.e. ships, as water is denser than air.[77]

The use of *juᶜjuᶜ* is found in a poetic verse by al-Aᶜshā (d. 629 AD):

يَكُبُّ الخَلِيَّةَ ذَاتَ القِلا ع قَد كَادَ جُؤجُؤهَا يَنْحَطِم [78]

Yakubbu al-khaliyyata dhāta al-qilāᶜ qad kāda juʾjuʾuhā yanḥaṭim

(It is rough and the sailing *khaliyya* (a type of ship) had its bow almost broken) (translation by author)

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[73] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 6: 199.
[74] Al-Ṣaghānī 1978, 1: 31; al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 39; al-Bustānī 1987, 89; al-Rāzī 1995, 1: 119; al-Azharī 2001, 11: 160; Muṣṭafā *et al.*, 2004, 103; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 52; al-Zabīdī (nd), 1: 165.
[75] Agius, 1984; Shafīq 2011.
[76] Bukhārī 2003, 2: 194.
[77] Shāhīn (ed) 1415/1994, 54.
[78] Husayn (ed) (nd), 39.

We also find reference to it in religious texts; for example, Ibn Abī Ḥātim (d. 327/938) writes:

> "أن نوحا عليه السلام لما ركب في السفينة لما أتى الجودي وهو جبل بالجزيرة أرست عليه فأصاب جؤجؤها الجبل فأرست".[79]
>
> (At the time when Noah peace be upon him, was on board the ark he approached an island, which had a mountain called al-Jūdī, the ship's bow hit a rock and it came to a halt) (translation by author)

From both examples it is clear that *juʾjuʾ* stands for a ship's bow with no additional details. There may be more references to this word but due to the fact that no complete etymological lexicon of Arabic exists we are unable to trace its usage in other references, as is often the case with such words, leaving a gap in our knowledge of medieval terms.[80]

The term *juʾjuʾ* does not fit Ibn Fāris's criterion of root authenticity because it is not possible to locate any derivations that share the meaning of "a ship bow or a bird chest". This is a clear sign, according to Ibn Fāris, that this term is not of Arabic or Semitic origin since roots in these languages generate more than one word, all of which share a semantic link.[81] Further, as noted in Chapter 1, according to Ibn Fāris's theory, the root √*j.ʾ.j.ʾ.* is quadrilateral and cannot be a duplicated form from a triradical Arabic root such as √*j.ʾ.ʾ.* which confirms that this root is not Arabic.

[79] Al-Ṭayyib (ed) (nd), 6: 2038.
[80] Agius 1984, 75.
[81] Shivtiel 1993, 1: 13; Shimron 2003, 6.

5. Term: رهنامج. *rahnāmaj*

Rahnāmaj or *rahmānī* [82] is a pilot guide, a word recorded by al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 803/1400)[83] and al-Zabīdī.[84] Later lexica such as *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* [85] do not go beyond this definition. In such cases where researchers are encountered by the lack of appropriate tools, it is inevitable, as Agius argued, to source this information from elsewhere. Pilot manuals were not mentioned in earlier Arabic works.[86] The first to mention them was al-Maqdisī (d. 380/990) in his *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm*, here he asserts that he met sea captains who were carefully studying nautical information and had various manuals about sea but does not mention the term *rahnāmaj*.[87] Although an inquisitive observer, he did not tell us about the content of these manuals. Also, there is nothing to suggest whether they were written in Arabic or maybe Persian, the latter he may not have been familiar with. He also called these manuals *dafātir*.[88] In her *Al-Baḥriyya fī Miṣr al-Islāmiyya wa āthāruhā al-bāqiya* by the recent writer Su^{c}ād Māhir, she gives the following detailed information on the term *rahmānī*:

> "وكانت الوظائف الملقاة على عاتق الربان كثيرة ومتعددة تتطلب معرفته بعدة ثقافات كأن يعرف مسالك البحر ومجاريه بواسطة الرهماني، والرهماني كتاب إرشادات الملاحة، ويضم هذا الكتاب جداول فلكية وخطوط العرض، كما يضم معلومات عن الرياح والسواحل والشعاب، بل كل ما يحتاج الربان إلى معرفته من مد وجزر وخلافه من علوم البحار".[89]

> (A *rubbān* (navigator) has many duties that demand knowledge about various matters, such as sea routes and its courses using the *rahmānī* which contained navigational directions, astronomical tables, latitudes and

[82] Ibn Mājid 1971, 252.
[83] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 190.
[84] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 5: 602.
[85] Al-Bustānī 1987, 356.
[86] Agius 2008, 193.
[87] Al-Maqdisī 2003, 43.
[88] Agius 2008, 193.
[89] Māhir 1967, 274.

information about winds, shores, reefs, tides and other maritime information) (translation by author)

Al-Zabīdī states clearly that this term's origin is Persian: the term *rahnāma* is composed of *rāh* (route) and *nāmah* (book)."[90] A Persian origin was also suggested by later lexicographers, such as al-Bustānī.[91] The Persian *rahnāma* gave Arabic *rahmānī* or *rahmānaj* , so the sound /n/ in *rahnāmaj* became /m/ and the final Persian /a/ became Arabic final /i/or /aj/.[92]

The following chapter consists of four sections of terminology collected from the Saudi Red Sea coast, some of which are documented and defined in lexica and some of which are listed without definitions. On the other hand, some terms are not documented at all.

[90] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 5: 602.
[91] Al-Bustānī 1987, 356.
[92] Agius 2008, 193.

Chapter 9: Fieldwork Case Study

This chapter investigates a sample of maritime terms collected from informal meetings with sailors and fishermen. This sample is the core work of the thesis where the theoretical framework is tested to find out what method is best to be applied in order to understand maritime terms. The terms cover four areas: i) Boat types, ii) Ship parts, iii) Ship equipment and iv) Fishing equipment.

i) Boat types:

1. Term: سَنبُوك *sanbūk* (pl. *sanābīk*)

Sanbūk is a common term for a type of ship or boat with different functions.[1] The root √*s.n.b.k* gives different words with meanings not related to maritime culture, for example, *sunbuk* listed by al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791) as a "hoof of livestock";[2] Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1065) lists it as meaning "a manner of fast running",[3] and Ibn Manẓūr defines it as "wasteland".[4] In the sense of "fast running" we have an example of its use in a verse of pre-Islamic poetry by Sāᶜida b. Juᵓayya (fl. first/seventh century):

وَظَلّت تَعَدّى من سَرِيعٍ وسُنبُكٍ تَصَدّى بِأَجوَازِ اللَّهُوبِ وتَركِدِ[5]

Wa ẓallat taᶜaddā min sarīᶜin wa sunbukin taṣaddā bi-ajwāzi al-lahūbi wa tarkudi

(It continued running and overtaking all other fast animals facing severe conditions) (translation by author)

[1] Muḥammad Darwīsh, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 18 May 2010; ᶜIsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, Al Qahma on 19 May 2010; Umluj, Abū Nāyif al-Ḥmidī on 9 June 2010.
[2] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 5: 427.
[3] Ibn Sīda 2000, 7: 163.
[4] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 55.
[5] Ibn Sīda 2000, 7: 163.

As the above-mentioned lexicographers understand it, this is a reference to a very fast mountain goat as it moves from one place to another. Hence, if *sanbūk* is of an Arabic origin it could be claimed that the semantic connection between this meaning and a sea craft has to do with "speed", both words are derived from the same quadrilateral root √*s.n.b.k.* In his *Asās al-balāgha* (The Core of Eloquence) which concerns itself with idiomatic expressions, al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) was the first medieval lexicographer to list the maritime connection in the entry *qārib* with the following description:

> I got on the *qārib*, which is a small boat, used by mariners to transfer goods from the big ships. Some people call this small boat *sanbūk*.[6]

Al-Khafājī (d. 1069/1659) listed it as *sunbuk* and defined it as "a small ship of the Hijaz",[7] while al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) added that "al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) documented the term *sunbūk* on the pattern of *fuʿlūl*, which according to Arabic speakers in the Yemeni coastal areas refers to a small boat too."[8]

I searched al-Ṣaghānī's; *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir* (The Huge Flood) and also *al-Takmila wa al-dhayl wa al-ṣila li-kitāb tāj al-lugha wa ṣiḥāḥ al-ʿarabiyya* (Supplement to the Crown of the Language and the Corrections of the Language), but I did not find this definition. It may have been included in al-Ṣaghānī's *Majmaʿ al-baḥrayn* (The Junction of the Two Seas), which is now lost,[9] or in the lost parts of *al-ʿUbāb al-zākhir* (The Huge Flood). It is probable that al-Zabīdī consulted one of these lexica or heard this information through disciples who recited al-Ṣaghānī's works orally. Later lexica, such as *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* [10]

[6] Al-Zamakhsharī 1998, 2: 64.
[7] Al-Khafājī 1282/1865, 119.
[8] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 25: 468.
[9] Al-Sūdūnī 1992, 155.
[10] Al-Bustānī 1987, 431.

and *al-Muʿjam al-waṣīṭ* [11] do not add any information to what has already been stated. Steingass lists this word as a Persian term, *sanbūq,* also with the meaning "small boat".[12]

Following Agius's theory,[13] that an alternative source to lexica is literary works, one can find the term in Buzurg b. Shahryār's (d. 399/1009) *Kitāb ʿajāʾib al-Hind* (the Book of the Wonders of India) who used it with reference to a ship sailing to China.[14] From its context and usage, it can be inferred that it is an "ocean-going ship" since it travelled to China. Also found in the Basra region: Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's (d. 779/1377) *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār fī gharāʾib al-amṣār* (The Masterpiece of Beholders about the Wonders of Climes), states that he embarked on a *ṣanbūq*, which was a small ferry boat from Basra to Ubulla.[15] In modern times, *sanbūk* (CA /ṣ/, /q/ > /s/, /k/) is a big-sized vessel, usually transporting in the Red Sea[16] and the Arabian Coast of the Gulf and Oman.[17]

Etymologically, the term *sanbūk* does not seem to have been derived from an Arabic root. Before supporting this claim, it is important to throw light on the debate over the supposed Arabic origins of this term.

Although documented in some medieval lexica, the authenticity of this root is at least open to question. First, according to the criterion used by Ibn Fāris, roots consisting of more than three radicals are either loan terms, such as √*q.n.b.r.*, which gives the term *qanbār* (rigging rope), and should be ignored, or they are possibly Arabic but are

[11] Muṣṭafā 2004*, et al.*, 453.
[12] Steingass 1992, 700.
[13] Agius 1984, 11.
[14] Al-Rāmahumuzī 1966, 190.
[15] A small historical city located on the other side of the fork of Tigris and Euphrates in Basra Provenance. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1987, 206.
[16] ʿAwwād al-Nāṣir and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥāzmi, interviewed in Yanbu in 4 June 2010.
[17] Agius 2010, 40.

duplicated from a root with three radicals such as √*b.l.b.l.*, which is classified under √*b.l.l.*[18] The root √*s.n.b.k* does not contain duplicated radicals, which supports the assumption that this could be a loan term. Second, in his *Ṣiḥāḥ* (The Correct [Work]) a lexicon which aims to purify the language, al-Jawharī (d. 400/1009) lists this root but ignores the boat/ship term *sanbūk*, positing that the root is Arabic but the term *sanbūk* is foreign.

However, the question could be asked: following the above mentioned criterion of Arabic radical-root system, if this root was foreign, why did some medieval lexicographers such as al-Farāhīdī, al-Jawharī and Ibn Sīda document it? The possible answer is that they documented √*s.n.b.k.* as an arabicized root since it gives the term *sunbuk* (hoof of livestock), which was used in the aforementioned pre-Islamic Arabic verses of poetry, and this was validation enough to enter it in the Arabic lexicon. Thus, some medieval lexicographers such as al-Zamakhsharī followed the same thinking. Another assumption about the Arabic origins of this maritime term is made by al-Ṣaghānī (d. 650/1252) who said that it is derived from √*s.b.q.* (/*q*/ is interchangeable with /*k*/) which expresses the meaning of "being fast and overtaking".[19] This idea led him to claim that the /*n*/ is not an original radical in this term but an addition. As a result, its mould فُنعُول *fun*ᶜ*ūl* not فُعلُول *fu*ᶜ*lūl*.[20] This was also accepted by Lane.[21] On the other hand, al-Jawālīqī (d. 540/1145) in his *Mu*ᶜ*arrab* (The Arabicized Work) was the first lexicographer to suggest that the root √*s.n.b.k.* is Persian.[22] This reflects a new attitude because medieval lexicographers used to classify terms rather than roots as foreign or Arabic. This implies that al-Jawālīqī

[18] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 188.
[19] Al-Ṣaghānī 1977, 5: 78.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Lane 1968, 4: 1440.
[22] Al-Jawālīqī 1990, 363.

thinks that all terms derived from the root √*s.n.b.k.* are foreign, such as *sunbuk* (hoof of the livestock) and *sanbūk* (a type of ship).

2. Term: صَدَّاف *ṣaddāf*

This term is an intensive form (صِيغَةُ مُبَالَغَة) which means performing the same activity frequently.[23] The term is used today to refer to a boat engaged in collecting conch, oyster and large shells in the Red Sea coastal areas.[24] According to Aḥmad b. Fāris, the root √*ṣ.d.f.* expresses collectively the meaning of "seashells".[25] Al-Farāhīdī, al-Azharī, al-Zamakhsharī, Ibn Sīda and Ibn Manẓūr, to name but a few, have documented this root meaning but they did not list the term *ṣaddāf*.[26] The fact that this term has not been documented in the available lexica shows that it is an example of the huge gap newly questioned by Agius, that exists in the documentation of material culture terminology,[27] and maritime terms as well. This term is typically found in the Red Sea area, but does not occur in the Arabian Gulf, where some dhows were specifically designed for fishing and pearl diving.[28] Before the oil boom, shell collecting was one of the main livelihoods in the Red Sea because of the booming trade for shells in Massawa,[29] Sudan and Djibouti.[30] Divers across the Red Sea collected conch shells and other types of shells to sell at Massawa.

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[23] Al-Suyūṭī (nd), 3: 75.
[24] Aḥmad ᶜĪsā ᶜAqīl, interviewed in Farasan on 21 May 2010; Mannāᶜ Raḥīmī, Umluj on 7 June 2010; also heard by Agius in Yanbu 2007 (personal communication).
[25] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 338.
[26] Al-Zamakhsharī 1998, 1: 541; Ibn Sīda 2000, 3: 506; al-Azharī 2001, 12: 103; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 5: 593; al-Farāhīdī (nd), 7: 101.
[27] Agius 1984, 77.
[28] Al-Rūmī 1996, 15-24; Aguis 2010, 77-132.
[29] According to the Red Sea divers in Yanbu: Ibrāhīm Abū ᶜUtayyiq al-Sinānī, Sulaymān al-Ghumayrī and Ḥamdān al-Kubaydī Interviewed on 1 June 2010, they used to collect shells in the Arabian Red Sea coast and sail to sell them on the African coast in Massawa.
[30] Personal communication by D. A. Aguis. Several conch activities were taking place during his ethnographic activity in Suakin (November-December 2004).

Etymologically, the Arabic root of the word *ṣaddāf* has a Semitic cognate root in Syriac ܨܕܦ, *ṣadap* (Ar /f/ < Syr /p/) which means "mother of pearl".[31] The semantic connection of the Syriac term with the Arabic is the idea that pearls are found inside shells. As pointed out earlier, its pattern is فَعَّال *faᶜᶜāl*, and morphologically it expresses the meaning of "practising an activity frequently".[32] For example, بَحَّار *baḥḥār*, the word for sailor, is connected with sailing, and غَوَّاص *ghawwāṣ*, the word for diver, with diving for pearls. Likewise,صَدَّاف *ṣaddāf* expresses the meaning of shell collecting. This means that *ṣaddāf* was derived according to the Arabic morphological mould (*qālab*) through the method of *qiyās* (analogy).[33] This criterion plays a major role in enriching Arabic with new vocabulary,[34] as Arabic speakers use the linguistic criterion *qiyās* (analogy) according to their natural linguistic practice of deriving new terms to fit their daily needs.

3. Term: صَيَّادِي *ṣayyādī*

Ṣayyādī a coastal fishing boat.[35] From the root √*ṣ.y.d.* Ibn Fāris says that it expresses the meaning of "hunting", whether of an animal or a bird.[36] It also refers to, or signifies, "a king concentrating on ruling his country".[37] The semantic association between "hunting" and "king" may be interpreted to entail the concept that, just as the hunter needs to concentrate to follow his prey and the prey must concentrate on escaping, so too a king must concentrate on ruling his country.[38] It is not clear why *ṣayyādī* is not listed in the

[31] Smith 1903, 474.
[32] Ḥasan (nd), 3: 257.
[33] A criterion used in Arabic for word-patterning according to specific moulds which gives speakers the freedom of patterning new terms from Arabic roots following the phonology of used terms. See Agius 1984, 162-5.
[34] Ali 1987, 23.
[35] Abkar Muḥammad Abkar and Ḥasan ᶜAbd Allāh ᶜĪsā, interviewed in Farasan, on 23 May 2010.
[36] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 325.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.

available lexica despite the fact that fishing is clearly part and parcel of the day-to-day life of coastal people. A reference to fishing is found in a Qurʾānic verse:

"أُحِلّ لكم صَيدُ البَحرِ وطَعَامُه مَتَاعاً لَكم ولِلسَّيَّارَةِ"

Uḥilla lakum ṣaydu al-baḥri wa ṭaᶜāmuhu matāᶜan lakum wa li-al-sayyāra

(Lawful to you is the purist of water-game and its use for food – for the benefit of yourselves and those who travel)[39]

In none of the other religious works is mention made of fishing skills or the tools used, nor does the word *ṣayyād* (fisherman or fishing boat) appear in the religious texts. Mention of fishing in Arabia is made by modern historians such as Jawād ᶜAlī who notes that fishermen in the past used pieces of wood attached together as small boats (i.e. rafts) for fishing in shallow waters.[40] Al-Rūmī is the only modern author who documents the term *ṣayyād* in the Gulf context, which in the recent past referred to "a big ship used by fishermen who used large nets".[41] But as far as the Red Sea *ṣayyādī*, there is no record of it.

Ṣayyādī is an intensive form derived as noted above from the root √*ṣ.y.d.* Although Ibn Fāris states that it is an authentic Arabic root,[42] it is nonetheless, also located in Syriac ܨܝܕ and expresses the same meaning of "hunting", "fishing" and "prey".[43] It also has the same conceptual meaning in Hebrew.[44] The final /*ī*/ of *ṣayyādī* is a *yāʾ al-nasab* (*yāʾ* of relation), which means something belonging to fishing. It is interesting to note that the term *ṣayyād* (on the pattern of *faᶜᶜāl*) used in the Gulf fits the Classical Arabic mould, while the Red Sea regional term *ṣayyādī* is a colloquial term and it should be mentioned

[39] The Holy Qurʾān (Sūrat al-Māʾida) 5: 96; translation Yusuf Ali 2000: 93.
[40] ᶜAlī 2001, 8: 27.
[41] Al-Rūmī 1996, 20.
[42] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 325.
[43] Smith 1903, 477.
[44] Viré: 1984, 98-9.

that the *yāʾ al-nasab* (*yāʾ* of relation) attached to an intensive form is not applicable in formal Arabic. The reason is, according to Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 769/1367), that a word on the pattern of *faʿʿāl* does not accept *yāʾ al-nasab* since this pattern already expresses the meaning of relation.[45]

4. Term: عود *ʿūd* (pl. *ʿīdān*)

ʿŪd is a generic term for water craft but not common in the Hijaz area;[46] however, the word occurs in historical works. Ibn Fāris, suggests that the root √ *ʿ.w.d.* expresses the meaning of "a piece of wood",[47] with reference to any size. By extension, it came to mean a watercraft made of wood. Later lexica such as *Tāj al-ʿArūs*,[48] *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*[49] and *al-Muʿjam al-waṣīṭ*[50] do not add more than medieval definitions. Agius rightly observed it was not available in medieval or modern Arabic lexica,[51] though his theoretical framework[52] assumes that more information about such ignored terms can be extracted from non-lexicographical works, I did find a reference to this term in a historical work entitled *Tārīkh al-Islām wa wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa al-aʿlām* (The History of Islam and the Deaths of Notable People) by al-Dhahabī (d. 748/1348) who reports that Muʿāwiya b. Abī Sufyān, (d. 60/680), the governor of the Shām Provence corresponded with the caliph ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13-23/634-644), asking him for permission to send troops from the Levantine shore to conquer Cyprus in the Mediterranean. Because he had no idea about sailing across the sea, ʿUmar refused, saying:

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[45] ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (ed) 1980, 4: 168.
[46] Shlayyān ʿAwda al-Rifāʿī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[47] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 181.
[48] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 8: 435.
[49] Al-Bustanī 1987, 643.
[50] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 635.
[51] Agius 2010, 35.
[52] Agius 1984, 13.

"كيف أحمل الجنود في هذا البحر الكافر"[53]

Kayfa aḥmilu al-junūd fī hādhā al-baḥr al-kāfir

(How can I put [our] troops on this dangerous sea?)

Then Muᶜāwiya asked again for permission to sail but ᶜUmar decided to consult ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜĀṣ (d. 43/682), the governor of Egypt, asking him to give details about sailing. ᶜAmr replied that:

> "البحر خَلْقٌ كبير يركبه خلق صغير إن ركد حرق القلوب وإن تحرك أزاغ العقول والناس فيه كدود على عود".[54]
>
> *Al-baḥru khalqun kabīr yarkabuhu khalqun ṣaghīr in rakada ḥaraqa al-qulūb wa in taḥarraka azāgha al-ᶜuqūl wa al-nās fīhi ka-dūdin ᶜalā ᶜūd*
>
> (The sea is a great creation and humans are very small creatures navigating on it. When there is no wind, all navigators are upset because their ship will not move, but when the wind blows hard they are scared of drowning. When people navigate on the sea they are just like insects on *ᶜūd* (a piece of wood))
>
> (translated by author)

Ibn al-ᶜĀṣ used the term *ᶜūd* and to rhyme with *dūd* metaphorically, but it is most probably a fact that the generic term *ᶜūd* was then used, as it still is in modern times around the Arabian Peninsula and other coasts of the two sea corridors.[55]

Ibn Fāris asserts that as √*ᶜ.w.d.* is an Arabic tri-consonantal root.[56] The pattern of *ᶜūd* is *fuᶜl*, which is among the morphological moulds of singular formal Arabic and plural either *ᶜīdān* on the pattern of *fiᶜlān* or *aᶜwād* on the pattern of *afᶜāl*.

[53] Arabs used to call the sea *kāfir*, which means someone or something covering or hiding something else, because the sea covers many creatures and treasures. See Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 191; see al-Dhahabī 1987, 3: 334.
[54] Al-Dhahabī 1987, 3: 334.
[55] Agius 2010, 35.
[56] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 181.

5. Term: فَلّوكَة *fallūka* (pl. *fawālīk*)

Fallūka was known among the Saudi Arabian seafarers; however, it is originally an Egyptians water craft.[57] It has existed for a long time in the context of the Red Sea coastal areas. It is described as a small boat ferrying passengers to nearby places, but a *fallūka* is also a small fishing boat. References to this term and its root have been made by several lexicographers; the earliest, al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791), documents what appears a derived form *fulk*, (ship) but also contains an astronomical meaning, which is "the various orbits of stars in the sky".[58]

Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004) claims that under the root (√*f.l.k.*) the word expresses an underlying meaning of "moving in circles". As for the meaning that applies to a ship, *fulk* refers to anything "moving in circles".[59] It could be said that Ibn Fāris was following the scientific criterion of medieval Muslim geographers first developed by al-Masʿūdī (d. 346/957) in his *Murūj al-dhahab* (The Golden Prairies). He suggests that the sea follows the spherical shape of the planet earth, thus, sailing routes travel in the shape of "circles".[60] According to the medieval authors' understanding, sphericity meant that ships travel in circles so when a ship sails from a port into the sea, the port gradually disappears from sight. Likewise, when a sailing ship approaches an island, travellers gradually see it coming into view and when as the island is passed they notice that the island also gradually disappears.[61] That is why Ibn Fāris states that the conceptual meaning of *fulk* is "moving in circular".[62]

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[57] Yaḥyā al-Shaykh and Ḥasan Bḥays ʿĪsā, interviewed in Jizan on 21 May 2010; Sulaymān al-Ghumayrī, Yanbu on 1 June 2010; information on the Egyptian watercraft was given to me by Agius who conducted fieldwork on the Egyptian coast in 2003-2004.
[58] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 5: 374.
[59] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 452-3.
[60] Al-Masʿūdī 1973, 1: 92.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 452-3.

Another meaning for the word was added by Ibn Manẓūr, who suggested that the term *fulk* could also refer to high sea waves, which, according to the above mentioned criterion, also move in circles.[63] Other medieval lexica such as *Tahdhīb al-lugha* [64] and *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* [65] do not add more than these three meanings.

In his "Chapter on the Ship", Ibn Sīda suggests that "*falak* on the pattern of *faʿal* is the singular for ship and *fulk* on the pattern of *fuʿl* is plural; this configuration of singular and plural is morphologically similar to *asad* (lion) and *usd* (lions)".[66] Al-Zabīdī, a much later lexicographer, added a diminutive form, *fulayka*, known by sailors locally as *fallūka*.[67] In his *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Lane lists *fulaka* as "a small boat" with a comment that the vulgar version is *fallūka.*[68] Later lexica such as *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* [69] and *al-Muʿjam al-waṣīṭ*[70] exclude the dialectal usage of *fallūka* , but document the formal definitions of the term and its diminutive form.

We find listings of *fulk* in the Qurʾān, 23 times in 19 *sūras* ; one of which is worthy of mention:

"فَأَنْجَيْنَاهُ وَالَّذِينَ مَعَهُ فِي الْفُلْكِ"

Fa-anjaynāhu wa alladhīna maʿahu fī al-fulk

(We delivered him, and those with him, in the ark)[71]

In this verse, the term *fulk* is used in its singular form because it refers to Noah's ark.

[63] Ibn Maẓūr 2005, 6: 87.
[64] Al-Azharī 2001, 10: 142.
[65] Al-Jawharī 1987, 4: 1604.
[66] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 18.
[67] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 27: 307.
[68] Lane 1968, 6: 2444.
[69] Al-Bustānī 1987, 701.
[70] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 710.
[71] The Holy Qurʾān (Sūrat al-Aʿrāf) 7: 64; translation by Yusuf Ali 2000: 121.

Building on the theoretical framework of Agius, as mentioned in Chapter 1, documenting material cultural terms that are not sufficiently explained in lexica from non-lexicographical sources is crucial. Al-Jabartī's (d. 1237/1821) *Tārīkh ʿajāʾb al-āthār fī al-tarājim wa al-akhbār* (The History of Wonders of Biographies and News) records *fallūka*, as a small boat used in ports for ferrying passengers between larger ships and the shore.[72]

Lane assumes that the origin of *fallūka* is the Italian word *feluca*.[73] A definition by *The Oxford English Dictionary* is that *felucca* or other graphemic versions is "a small vessel powered by oars or lateen sails, or both, mainly used for coastal voyages with reference to the Mediterranean".[74] This example brings up the question of whether derivations from one root is a criterion for judging a term to be a loan word or not.

It needs to be reiterated that derived words sharing the same conceptual meaning from one root is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Arabic.[75] In the case of this word, Ibn Fāris claims that the root √*f.l.k.* expresses "the meaning of circling";[76] likewise all terms derived from this root such as *falak* (orbit), *falaka* (ring), *falak* (waves of the sea) and *fulk* (ship) show movement in circles. A similar example is the root √*s.f.n.* which expresses the meaning of "removing something."[77] It gives terms such as *safana* (to peel) and *safan* (a tool used to remove the peel of anything). It should also be pointed out that this characteristic is not exclusive to Arabic, but is also shared by other Semitic languages such as Hebrew, Syriac, Aramic, etc. In this case, the root √*f.l.k.* is shared with Hebrew and Syriac. In the *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* we find the root פלך

[72] Al-Jabartī (nd), 3: 529.
[73] Lane 1968, 6: 2444.
[74] *Oxford English Dictionary* 1989, V: 823.
[75] Bohas 2012, 4, 7.
[76] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 452-3.
[77] Ibid, 3: 78.

palak (Ar /f/ < Syr /p/) expresses the meaning of "being round", which fits the meaning of the same root in Arabic.[78] It is also documented in the *Compendious Syriac Dictionary* that the ܦܠܛ *palaṭ* refers to "the planet".[79] The semantic link between these Semitic roots expresses the concept of "being round".

The use of this root in other languages such as Hebrew and Syriac means that it refers back to early Semitic: Syriac, of which Aramaic was spoken in Edessa and its environs[80] and flourished in the first few centuries of the Christian era,[81] and Hebrew, which was the language of the Old Testament and can be traced in inscriptions dating back to 800 BC.[82]

[78] Gesenius 1966, 813.
[79] Smith 1903, 449.
[80] Now it is Urfain in eastern Turkey.
[81] Thackston 1999, VIII; Verlage 2005, 1.
[82] Faber 1980, 22; Sanders 2009, 106.

ii) Ship parts:

1. Term: جَمَّة *jamma.*

This term *jamma* is the ship's bilge.[83] Ibn Durayd, the first medieval lexicographer to record this, claimed it was an authentic Arabic word that denotes the "broad bottom part of the boat where water is collected from the perforations of the sewn planks".[84] He refers here to the earlier sewn-plank construction as evidenced in textual sources. However, *jamma* is also applied in the context of nail-planking according to my informant and Agius as well.[85] Without alluding to the bilge, al-Azharī listed the term *jamma* as "a well that contains a large amount of water".[86] In this sense, the semantic link is clear: both meanings of *jamma* refer to collecting water.

It is possible to conjecture that the term *jamma* was a word used by Bedouins for wells, the only source of water in the desert, and that mariners adapted the term for the ship's bilge. Al-Azharī documented only the Bedouin *jamma* because medieval lexicographers thought that seafaring communities in Arabia a non-reliable source of the language,[87] as I noted in Chapter 4. Following the criterion of purists of language, which is linked to place, time and environment, the language of seafaring communities was not to be included in Arabic lexica because these coastal communities interacted with non-Arabic speakers whose speech was not pure Arabic as they interacted with East Africans, Indians, Persians and Chinese.[88] Harbours in these areas were meeting points for Arabians – both

[83] ᶜAwwād al-Nāṣir and ᶜAwwād Sālim al-Rifāᶜī, interviewed in Yanbu on 4 June 2014.
[84] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 55.
[85] Agius, 2010, 3.
[86] Al-Azharī 2001, 10: 276.
[87] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 167.
[88] Plisson 2005, 61, 68; Agius, 2005, 45.

Bedouin and urban – and overseas travellers,[89] whose interaction was enough to cause medieval lexicographers to believe that such coastal Arabic was impure and dubious. It is important to note that Ibn Fāris and al-Jawharī listed several terms derived from the root √*j.m.m.* but ignored the maritime term.[90] The reason for this exclusion can be explained as follows: both Ibn Fāris and al-Jawharī were "purist" lexicographers who excluded any word that seemed to them open to doubt as I explained in Chapter 7. Basically, the ignored terms were words not usually used by the Bedouin, the original speakers of Arabic.[91]

Their predecessor Ibn Durayd, who recorded *jamma* as a maritime term was not trusted by later lexicographers even though, Ibn Sīda,[92] Ibn Manẓūr,[93] al-Zabīdī,[94] *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ*[95] copied what Ibn Durayd said about *jamma*.[96] Al-Azharī sharply criticised him in the preface of his lexicon, claiming that he "listed neologisms and foreign terms, thinking that such words are part of Arabic".[97] Al-Azharī goes even further by criticising his lifestyle, saying that "once I met Ibn Durayd who was unable to speak clearly because he was blind drunk".[98] Such subjective criticism was enough for medieval lexicographers to mistrust Ibn Durayd, especially for his transgression of religious precepts, such as drinking alcohol, which to them was more crucial than recording lexical items. Without exaggeration, it could be said that echoes of such criticism are still found among purist researchers today who question the reliability of Ibn Durayd's work.

[89] Plisson 2005, 61, 68; Agius, 2005, 45.
[90] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 419; al-Jawharī 1987, 5: 1889-90.
[91] Agius 1984, 126.
[92] Ibn Sīda 2000, 7: 229.
[93] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 7: 96.
[94] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 31: 420.
[95] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 137.
[96] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 55.
[97] Al-Azharī 2001, 1: 27.
[98] Ibid.

The term *jamma* is in built on the pattern of *faʿla*. According to Ibn Durayd (d. 321/933) and later lexicographers, this term is of Arabic origin,[99] and as noted in Chapter 1 Ibn Fāris's criterion, that each Arabic root must generate more than one derivation, makes the root under discussion of pure Arabic descent. Such words must have a semantic relationship to the root.[100] Applying this criterion, various derived words carry related meanings: *jamma* "bilge", *jamūm* "a well that collects a large amount of water", *jumma* "the back part of the head where a lot of hair grows" and *jimām* "many people collected together".[101] These words all express the sense of "being collected". Furthermore, this root fits the tri-radical criterion of Arabic roots.

2. Term: دَقَلْ *daqal* (pl. *duqlān*) and صَارِي *ṣārī* (pl. *ṣawārī*).

Daqal [102] and *ṣārī* [103] stand for a mast. But *daqal* also means, according to al-Farāhīdī, "low quality dates".[104] The semantic link of dates to a mast is that the *daqal* could have been made from the trunk of palm trees that produced low-quality dates. Al-Shaybānī suggests that "*dagal* expresses the meaning of being very small".[105] This is a reference to palm trees that were thought to be low quality because the dates they produce are small in size.

Ibn Durayd listed the term but gave no definition; according to him this Arabic term is "well known" and therefore needs no explanation.[106] Describing terms as "well known"

[99] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 55; Ibn Sīda 2000, 7: 229; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 7: 96; al-Zabīdī (nd), 31: 420.
[100] Ibn Fāris 1979, 2: 289.
[101] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 137.
[102] Interviewed in Al Qunfudhah, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Mashhūr al-Sayyid on 17 May 2010; Jizan, Ḥasan Bḥays ʿĪsā and Yaḥyā al-Shaykh on 21 May 2010.
[103] Musāʿad al-Kbaydī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010; ʿĪd Nāṣir al-Fawwāl, Al Wajh on 11 June 2010.
[104] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 5: 115.
[105] Al-Shaybānī 1974, 1: 247.
[106] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 2: 292.

without defining them is an example of one of the thorniest problems that modern researchers encounter when they attempt to investigate the historical origins of Arabic terminology.[107] In any case, al-Azharī (d. 370/980) and later lexicographers, all define *daqal* as being a ship mast.[108] It seems that *daqal* is a word applied not only in the Red Sea but also in other areas including the Levant,[109] the Gulf and Oman.[110]

Ibn Manẓūr is the first lexicographer who explained the chronological usage of the term *daqal*, saying that "it was used first for a palm tree that bears low-quality dates and then used for mast".[111] However, he does not give us the historical context of this term or evidence that it was in fact used first for a palm tree and then used by mariners; such information is important in understanding lexical development. It could be said that like all palms, the trunk of this type is strong, so it is likely that boat builders felled these trees to make masts. It must be borne in mind that peninsular Arabia, most of which is a desert, lacks trees with long, strong trunks, except for palm trees. However, because of insufficient food resources in the Arabian Peninsula, boat builders were not encouraged to make masts from the trunks of palm trees that produce good-quality dates, and perhaps this could be the reason for using the *daqal* type because of its low quality dates. Early modern and modern lexica do not add to what was included in medieval lexica about the term.[112]

When analysing the root origin of *daqal*, Ibn Fāris questioned the authenticity of the root, arguing that to make a strong case for an Arabic root there should be more than one word

[107] Agius 1984, 76-7.
[108] Al-Jawharī 1987, 4: 1698, 6: 2197; Ibn Sīda 2000, 6: 314, al-Azharī 2001, 9: 46.
[109] Al-Muṭarrazī 1979, 2: 192.
[110] Al-Rūmī 1996, 45; Agius 2010, 163.
[111] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 345.
[112] Al-Bustānī 1987, 286; Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 291.

derived from it.[113] Hypothetically, this term might be a Bedouin word borrowed before the advent of Islam, and may have then been used by shipwrights who made masts from the trunks of the palm tree called *daqal*. Medieval lexicographers did not discuss the origin of this root for two reasons. First, they may have thought that √*d.q.l.* is an authentic Arabic word because it fits the criterion for Arabic roots, which consist of three radicals. Second, because these words could have been arabicized long ago, lexicographers did not find the need to discuss the term's origins as they obviously accepted the word as being Arabic. Bin Murād traced *daqal*[114] to the Greek term δάκτυλοσ (*daktulos*) "the tip of the finger".[115] This may be linked to what farmers in the Arabian Peninsula may have called a low-quality date a *daqal* because it looks like the tip of a finger, compared to other types of good quality dates that have a more spherical shape. Following the criteria of arabicization, or the assimilation of foreign terms into Arabic, *daktulos* changed into *dagal* to fit the criterion of tri-radical Arabic roots, which is one of the most distinguishing features of the Arabic morphological system.[116]

Another word for mast in the Red Sea region is *ṣārī* but it also means "a sailor",[117] a term defined as such in medieval, early modern and modern lexica.[118] In his *Kunnāshat al-nawādir* (The Register of Rare Information) Hārūn (d. 1408/1988) claims that *ṣārī* (mast) and (sailor) are synonyms,[119] indicating a confusion between the roots of this term.[120] This can occur when an Arabic root contains a radical that is semi-consonant, either *yāʾ*

[113] Ibn Fāris 1979, 2: 289.
[114] Bin Murād 1997, 213-4.
[115] Arndt and Girgrich 1979, 170.
[116]Bin Murād 1997, 213-4.
[117] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 2: 361.
[118] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 514; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 3: 424; al-Zamakhsharī (nd), 4: 9; al-Zabīdī (nd), 38: 319, 419.
[119] Hārūn 1985, 115.
[120] See more about this in *Tadākhul al-uṣūl al-lughawiyya wa atharuhu fī bināʾ al-muʿjam* (The Interpenetration of Arabic Roots and its Role in Compiling Dictionaries) by ʿAbd al-Razzāq al-Ṣāʿidī. (1422/2002, Islamic University Press, Medina).

or *wāw*. For example, the third radical of *ṣārī* can be *yāʾ* which gives √*ṣ.r.y.* with a conceptual meaning that according to Ibn Fāris expresses the idea of "collecting something".[121] In this case, the word may be interpreted to be the mast attached to the sail, which harnesses or collects the wind that moves the ship. The second radical of *ṣārī* on the other hand, could be *wāw* giving √*ṣ.w.r.*, which contains the meaning of "turning",[122] and in that sense a sailor was called *ṣārī* because "he turns (*yaṣūr*) the ship according to the direction of the wind".[123] So what we have here is one term with two roots containing different conceptual meanings, which nonetheless have relevant meaning within the context of maritime life.

In his *Muʿjam al-buldān* (The Dictionary of Countries) Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 622/1225) says that *ṣārī* for "mast" is Egyptian dialect,[124] though ʿAbd al-Salām Harūn refuted this assumption, saying that it is not dialectal but a Classical Arabic term.[125] This can be supported by the fact that √*ṣ.r.y.* generates several words that share the meaning of "collecting", for example, the verb itself *ṣarā* (to collect), *ṣaran* (collected water) and *muṣarrāh* (an ewe that has a lot of milk in its udders).[126] Sharing the same conceptual meaning between various words, which were derived from one root is another of the distinguishing features of Arabic roots.

[121] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 346.
[122] Ibid, 3: 320.
[123] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 2: 361.
[124] Al-Ḥamawī (nd), 3: 389.
[125] Hārūn 1985, 115.
[126] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 346.

3. Term: سُكَّان *sukkān*

Sukkān is a rudder. It is common term around the peninsular coast as well as the African and Iranian coast.[127] It was listed by the pioneer lexicographer al-Farāhīdī as "the tail of the ship which controls it in turning left and right".[128] In his *Maqāyīs,* Ibn Fāris states that the root (√*s.k.n.*) is "commonly used in Arabic to express the meaning of being stable, that is why *sukkān* (rudder) is called as such, due to the fact that it helps to stabilize the ship, and that is what makes its movement smooth and calm".[129] Lexicographers of a later period after Ibn Fāris did not add more to what al-Farāhīdī and Ibn Fāris listed.[130] Even later lexica such as *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ*,[131] and *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ* [132] did not go beyond those medieval definitions. This is one of the most noticeable defects that has taken place in the history of Arabic lexicographical works habitually, each lexicographer blindly copies earlier scholars' words.[133]

We encounter the term *sukkān* in a poetic verse by the pre-Islamic poet Ṭarafa b. al-ʿAbd (d. 569):

وَأَتْلَعَ نَهَّاضٍ إِذَا صَعَّدَت بِهِ كَسُكَّانِ بُوصِيٍّ بِدَجْلَةَ مُصْعِدِ[134]

Wa atlaʿa nahhāḍin idhā ṣaʿʿadat bi-hī ka-sukkāni nūtiyyin bi-dajlata muṣʿidi

(The [she-camel's] neck is extended and moving and when raised, it looks like the rudder of a *būṣī* navigating up the Tigris' river) (translation by author)

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[127] Muḥammad Darwīsh, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 18 May 2010; Ḥasan Bḥays ʿĪsā, Jizan, on 21 May 2010; Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥāzmi and Ibrāhīm Abū ʿUtayyiq al-Sinānī, Yanbu on 4 June 2010; see Agius, 2010, 169-170.
[128] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 5: 313.
[129] Ibn Fāris, 1979, 3: 88.
[130] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 18; al-Zamakhsharī 1998, 1: 467; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 7: 799-800; al-Zabīdī (nd), 35: 211.
[131] Al-Bustānī 1987, 418.
[132] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 440.
[133] Agius 1984, 75.
[134] Nāṣir al-Dīn (ed) 2002, 22.

The neck of camel-rudder parallel is clear. However, in his *Awhām shuᶜarāᵓ al-ᶜArab fī al-maᶜānī* (The Semantic Errors of Arab Poets) Taymūr suggests that Ṭarafa made a semantic error in this verse because the imagery between the neck of the camel and the *sukkān* (rudder) is not clear. He argues that the poet used the term *sukkān* (rudder) thinking that it is like the *daqal* (mast) of a ship because the mast is tilted forward similar to the way the projecting neck of the running camel looks.[135] Interesting though his argument may be, his assumption might be wrong: the poet was describing the movement of the neck of his female camel saying إذا صَعَّدَت بِه (when it lifts it up). Camels do that: they move their necks up and down while they are running, and probably the same also can be applied to the rudder of a ship navigating up the Tigris' river, where the rudder goes up and down according to the rising water levels. Although usually a rudder is supposed to move left and right, it may be claimed that it will go up and down as well because of its flexibility and looseness as a rudder in ancient times was the oar fixed to the stern side of the boat. Hence Taymūr misunderstood the poet building his argument on the fact that a rudder was fixed to the stern of the boat, while in pre-Islamic times there is no written or iconographical evidence of a rudder being fixed to the stern.[136] Also, it is hard to claim that Ṭarafa could make such an error of judgment. It needs to be stressed that his poetry contains a remarkable number of maritime and nautical terms, and he knew and understood their meanings, having been born and brought up in Bahrain, a place well known for seafaring in the Arabian Peninsula.[137]

This discussion raises the following question: would, in particular, purist lexicographers accept the poetry of Ṭarafa born and bred in a coastal community as a reliable source of

[135] Taymūr 1950, 9.
[136] Conversation with Dr Agius 28/01/ 2015
[137] Al-Ziriklī 2002, 3: 225.

the Arabic language? Such a community is likely to have been influenced by other languages as a result of its interaction with non-Arabic-speaking ethnic groups that settled there. It could be said that although lexicographers were strict in specifying the criteria of reliable sources of the language, word collectors manipulated these criteria for various reasons and attitudes that were linguistically subjective rather than objective. For example, Bashshār b. Burd (d. 167/783) was among the *muḥdathūn* poets who at the time (after 152/769) were classified as a non-reliable source because of the criteria of the time; moreover, he was of a non-Arabic background. (see Chapter 4) Al-Marzabānī (d. 384/994) reported that some famous linguists, such as Sībawayhi (d. 180/796) and al-Akhfash (d. 210/825), classified pieces from Bashshār's poetry in their studies as reliable Arabic because they feared his strong reprisals.[138]

It is possible to assume that some maritime terms could have entered the medieval lexica from such non-reliable sources. Fück states that Bashshār was not cited as a reliable source of the language in the *Kitāb* of Sībawyhi.[139] Hypothetically, copies of Sībawayhi's fundamental work, which were available at the time of al-Marzabānī, could have contained some differences other than those found in the modern copies available today that Fück relied on.

All terms derived from √*s.k.n.* express the conceptual meaning of "being calm" as noted earlier: for example, *sakan* stands for "home", and it can be interpreted conceptually that a home keeps people comfortable and calm; also *sakan* is "fire", which keeps people warm and tranquil during winter nights; and *sukkān* denotes "residents", for they are safe

[138] Al-Marzabānī 1343/1924, 99.
[139] Fück 1980, 61.

in their house.[140] We find the root √*s.k.n.* in Semitic languages, such as Hebrew שכז *shakan* [141] and Syriac ܣܓܢ *sagan*, with the same conceptual meaning as in Arabic.[142]

In his *Classical Ships of Islām*, Agius takes an opposite stance. His approach is one concerned with morphological analysis. He points out that the /n/ of *sukkān* morphologically part of a Fārsī or Sanskrit root, on the basis of other terms of foreign origins ending in /-*ān* /,[143] though his hypothesis still remains in the realm of probability.

4. Term: شلمان *shalamān* (pl. *shalāmīn*)

Shalamān is a term for the frame of the ship or boat,[144] a term not found in Arabic lexica. We find the term, however, used along the Arabian coast of the Gulf and Oman, as noted by al-Qinā^{c}ī and al-Khuṣūṣī, al-Ḥijjī, al-Rūmī and Agius.[145] Although we find the tri-radical root √*sh.l.m.* listed in lexica, expressing the concept of "tiny objects",[146] it has no link to the maritime term.

In a collection of poetic verses by a Red Sea mariner and sailor Ibn ^{c}Assāf (d. 1375/1955), we have a reference to this term in use at Umluj:

يَارَاكِب اللِي جديد العُود والشَّلَمَان هَودَار ومعَلِّمُهْ رَايقٍ عَقلُه و مِيزَانُه قَرَارا[147]

Yā rākib allī jadīd al-^{c}ūd wa al-shalamān hawdār

w mu^{c}allimuh rāygin ^{c}aqluh w mīzānuh qarārā

[140] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 188.
[141] Gesenius 1966, 1014.
[142] Smith 1903, 576.
[143] Agius 2008, 385.
[144] Shlayyān ^{c}Awda al-Rifā^{c}ī and Abū Nāyif al-Ḥmidī, interviewed in Umluj on 9 June 2010; also heard by Agius in Jizan 2010 (personal communication).
[145] Al-Qinā^{c}ī and al-Khuṣūṣī 1982, 80; al-Rūmī 1996, 59; al-Ḥijjī 2001, 52; Agius 2010, 156.
[146] Al-Bustānī 1987, 479.
[147] Al-Sinānī 1420/1999, 69.

(O you who are on board a new ship built of strong *shalamān* (ribs), you should not worry because its builder is one of the best experts)
(translation by author)

This is a verse from a long piece of poetry written in the Bedouin Hijazi dialect, which describes the *sanbūk* – a type of ship.[148]

Tracing its origin, it seems that *shalamān* is a loan term because the root √*sh.l.m.n.* is not listed in Arabic lexica, whether medieval, early modern or modern, because of its being quadrilateral with no duplicated radical and therefore it is assumed to be foreign. However, the problem of Arabic lexicography is not that roots are unrecorded but that the terms that are classified under such roots are often undocumented.

The root √*sh.l.m.n.* is neither Arabic nor arabicized but a foreign one. There is no indication that the word has any Semitic cognate, though Arabic and Semitic languages characteristically generate from tri-radical roots and rarely from quadrilateral roots.[149] On the other hand, it could be claimed that *shalamān* has an Indo-European origin, from a language such as Persian or Sanskrit. This can be supported by the morphological criterion laid down by Agius, who suggested that maritime terms ending in */ān/* (like *shalamān*) could be of Sanskrit origin. Such words include *damān* (leeward) and *dhubbān* (a unit of measure consisting of four *iṣba's*).[150]

[148] Al-Sinānī 1420/1999, 69.
[149] Bohas, 2012, 2, 3.
[150] Agius, 2008, 362.

5. Term: طُفِي *ṭufī* and سَهْوَه *sahwa*

The terms *ṭufī*[151] and *sahwa*[152] apply to a wide piece of palm wicker mat. Sailors used it to put the wicker mat on the awning to protect them against the rain. It also covered the edges of the vessel since it is very wide.

Al-Farāhīdī lists *ṭufya* instead of *ṭufī* as "a Hijazi term for a cover made of doum palm branches (Hyphaene Thebaica)".[153] No information is given about the usage of the object or its shape, size, and colour, and we do not know if it was used during al-Farāhīdī's time. *Ṭufī* derives from √*ṭ.f.y.*; Ibn Fāris defines it as expressing "light objects located in high positions and that is why *ṭufya* (the big leaf of the Doum palm) is called so since it is light and grows high at the top of the Doum tree".[154] Lexicographers following Ibn Fāris did not add more to what he and al-Farāhīdī said.[155] As for √*s.h.w.*, Ibn Fāris says that it expresses "the meaning of inattention and calmness, *sahwa* is the canopy at the front of the house",[156] a definition repeated by later lexicographers.[157] *Al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ* lists *sahwa* for awning used by sailors to protect them from the sun.[158] According to my informant both *sahwa* and *ṭufī* are wide enough to cover both sides of the vessel.

[151] ʿIsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[152] ʿIsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010; also heard by Agius in Yemen 2009 (personal communication).
[153] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 7: 457.
[154] Ibn Fāris 1987, 3: 414.
[155] Al-Jawharī 1987, 6: 2413; al-Azharī 2001, 14: 24; Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 560; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 8: 463; al-Farābī (nd), 4: 11; al-Zabīdī (nd), 38: 499.
[156] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 107.
[157] Ibn Sīda 1996, 5: 23; Ibn Sīda 2000, 4: 406; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 8: 379-380; al-Zabīdī (nd), 38: 340.
[158] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.,* 459.

Ibn Fāris claims that *sahwa* has no semantic link to the root √*s.h.w.*, which may point to *sahwa* being a word of non-Arabic origin.[159] The relation of the word *sahwa* defined as a shed is clearly similar to the maritime usage of the word as part of a boat's awning due to the fact that both share the function of protecting from rain or sun.

An occurrence of *ṭufī* is found in a verse by the veteran poet (lived before and after Islam) Abū Dhuʾayb al-Hudhalī (fl. first/seventh century):

عَفَا غَيرَ نُؤيِ الدَّارِ مَا إنْ تُبِينُهُ وَأَقْطَاعِ طُفْيٍ قَد عَفَت في المَنازِلِ[160]

ʿAfā ghayra nuʾyi al-dāri mā in tubīnuhū wa aqṭāʿu ṭufyin qad ʿafat fī al-manāzili

(Nothing remains after they left their house except some pieces of *ṭufī* [palm wicker mat]) (translation by author)

This gives us an idea of materials used among Bedouins but also it may be assumed, that this term was used by coastal communities for their houses as well as on boats. Literary works may give us some clues about usages of *ṭufī* in the desert by Bedouins as mentioned above, but it is difficult to locate information about the maritime usage of this object. The only source of such information today is through maritime ethnographic fieldwork, which is what I focused on in the collection of the materials of this research. Unfortunately, such rich sources of undocumented terminology are neglected by most researchers today, who merely concern themselves with Classical Arabic. Without exaggeration it can be said that some conservative researchers still believe that studying spoken registers is damaging to the image of standard Arabic, as they believe such terminology are not of a classical register and therefore cannot be located in literary works.

[159] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 107.
[160] Al-Sukkarī (nd), 1: 140.

Tufī is derived from the Arabic root √*ṭ.f.y.* which gives the verb *ṭafā* (to float) and *ṭafāʾ* (light cloud). These words share the general meaning of √*ṭ.f.y.* which expresses the concept of "light objects located in a high position".[161] The claim that this term is of Arabic origin can be supported by the fact that √*ṭ.f.y.* fits the criterion of the tri-radical root in Arabic. As for *sahwa* I was unable to locate its origin in Arabic or Persian; nor does it appear in Semitic dictionaries. Being a tri-radical root, *sahwa* is understood to be of Arabic origin, even though Ibn Fāris did not say so, which means that this term has passed by undocumented.

It could be claimed that the semantic link between the term *sahwa* (a cover which is made of palm fronds) and the common Arabic root √*s.h.w.* is "calmness" could be interpreted as sailors who take cover (*sahwa*) under the awning would feel calm and relaxed.

[161] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 414.

iii) Ship equipment:

1. Term: بروسي *burūsī* and بشليلة *bashlayla.*

Burūsī[162] and *bashlayla*[163] are terms used for a ship or boat's metal anchor. Neither term is listed in medieval, early modern or modern lexica. Glidden lists *burūsī* as a generic term for "anchor" found in Aqaba.[164] It is difficult to claim that *burūsī* is derived from the Arabic root √*b.r.s.* which expresses the concept of "softness",[165] and there is no semantic link. As for *bashlayla* there is also no lexicographical record. Ibrahīm Al-Faḥḥām listed it as an Alexandrian term, saying that "it refers to a small anchor or a small hook which is used by mariners to pick something up".[166]

The term *burūsī* can be located in a colloquial poetic verse by Saᶜad al-Fāydī in Umluj:

والعَصر وَلْياه فَالفَضَّه مِبْرِحلُه بروصيه ولْيَا سفرهم ثلاث أيام من ذَاك المْكَاني[167]

Wa al-ᶜaṣr walyāh fī al-faḍḍah mibriḥluh brūṣīh wi-lyā safarhum thlāth ayyām min thak al-mukāni

(In the afternoon, he chose a spacious place to anchor; this place is three days away from their home) (translation by author)

These lines are contained in a poem describing a *sanbūk* (Red Sea dhow). In his verse Saᶜad al-Fāydī gives us an image of the status of the ship when the crew reach their destination three days after they have started their voyage. On the afternoon of the third or fourth day, the captain locates a place to lay anchor. Phonetically, he used an emphatic

[162] Ḥāmid Aḥmad Abū Hbayra and Ḥasan ᶜAbd Allāh ᶜĪsā, interviewed in Farasan on 21 May 2010; Yanbu, Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥāzmi on 4 June 2010.
[163] Ibrāhīm Abū ᶜUtayyiq al-Sinānī and ᶜAwwād Sālim al-Rifāᶜī, interviewed in Yanbu, on 7 June 2010.
[164] Glidden 1982, 70.
[165] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 219.
[166] Al-Faḥḥām 1976, 97.
[167] Al-Sinānī 1420/1999, 110.

/ṣ/, which reveals that the poet comes from a Bedouin background as they tend to pronounce emphatic sounds. Sailors from an urban background would use the sound /s/ to say بروسي *burūsī*.[168]

As shown above, because of the lack of a semantic link between the root and what has been recorded in the poetry, we cannot claim that *burūsī* is derived from √*b.r.s.* Glidden reports that Brockelmann claimed that it is a Tigré term which ultimately come from the Arabic term *marāsī*, the plural of *marsā* meaning "anchors". He suggests that following the Tigré phonetic criterion, the sound /m/ in (*marāsī*) changed to /b/ in (*barāsī*); so Tigré speakers borrowed this Arabic plural term. It seems plausible that over time Arabic speakers of the Red Sea by reverse, borrowed *barāsī* from Tigré, changing it from *barāsī* to *burūsī.*[169] However, although what Brockelmann said may be correct, changing the sound is also characteristic of the Arabic dialect of the Quraysh tribe, similar to the usage of Bakka for Makka and *lāzib* > *lāzim* (necessary)[170] where /m/ and /b/ bilabial sounds are interchangeable.

Glidden, however, thinks that the /b/ in *barasī* could have not spread among Red Sea coastal communities as Tigré had no special importance as a maritime tongue at that time. Rather, he assumes that Tigré borrowed the ready-made /b/ form – *barāsī* – from some south Arabic dialect such as Yemeni: "the change m > b is explained through the difficulty of articulating a conjunct composed of two highly sonorous 'vocalic'

[168] Fieldwork on the Red Sea coast in May/June 2010.
[169] Glidden 1941, 70.
[170] Ibn Fāris, 1979, 5: 245.

consonants in an initial position".[171] If this is correct then it means that the term *burūsī* spread northwards along the Arabian Red Sea coast.

The term *bashlayla* contains a quadrilateral root √*b.sh.l.l.*, and is most probably of foreign origin. Having said that, it is possible to assume that the word derived from √*sh.l.l.* as in some Red Sea Hijazi dialects one hears *abū shlayla* (something that has a *shlayla*). Arabic lexica list *shlayla* for "spinal cord".[172] According to Ibn Fāris the conceptual meaning of this root is "distance between two points",[173] which could be a reference to the distance between the ship and the anchor. Al-Faḥḥām suggests that its origin is Turkish, *bashlū* which means an anchor.[174] His study was devoted to the maritime terminology used in Alexandria, so that a connection with Turkish is highly probable. Egypt and the Hijaz were part of the Ottoman Empire from 1522 to 1914.[175] Further, Egyptian contains several terms of Turkish origin[176] for example, *anja* (a small boat with a curved bow), *darīk* (mast), *yaṭaq* (the mattress that sailors sleep on) etc.[177]

2. Term: ثرمان *tharamān*

Tharamān, according to my informants, is a sail yard.[178] However, Ibn Sīda,[179] Ibn Manẓūr,[180] al-Zabīdī[181] and al-Bustānī[182] listed it as a "kind of plant without leaves or

[171] Glidden 1941, 70.
[172] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 451.
[173] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 174.
[174] Al-Faḥḥām 1976, 97.
[175] Hathaway 2008, 51, 234.
[176] Ibid, 232.
[177] Al-Faḥḥām 1976, 96-9.
[178] ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Mashhūr al-Sayyid, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010; Ḥasan Bḥays ᶜĪsā, Jizan on 21 May 2010; Abū Nāyif al-Ḥmidī, Umluj on 9 June 2010; documented by Agius on both the African and Arabian coasts 2004, 2007, (personal communication).
[179] Ibn Sīda 1996, 3: 250.
[180] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 7: 70.
[181] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 31: 353.
[182] Al-Bustānī 1987, 79.

stalk, which grows horizontally, and is very sour and eaten by livestock, such as camels and sheep, as it contains a large amount of water". There seems to be no semantic relation between the maritime usage and that provided by the lexicographers. At Yanbu the term is *farmān* and similar to the Gulf and Oman usage.[183] I am unable to locate a maritime connection in Arabic literary works, either medieval early modern or modern.

Following the criterion of quadrilateral roots in Arabic laid down by Ibn Faris, *tharamān* cannot be of Arabic origin because its quadrilateral root does not contain duplicated radicals, as explained in Chapter 1, examples include √*z.l.z.l.* which is duplicated from √*z.l.l.* and √*j.l.j.l.* which is from √*j.l.l.*[184] A Persian term *tharamān* exists but has a different semantic meaning not related to Arabic.[185] Glidden documented this term from sailors in Aqaba (northern Red Sea) and assumed its origin to be Hindi, *paravān* < Sanskrit.[186] This can be supported by Agius' criterion, which suggests that terms ending in /ān/ are most likely to be of Sanskrit origin. Other examples would be *damān* (leeward), *dhubbān* (a unit of measure consisting of four *iṣbaʾ* (fingers)), and *rubbān* (owner or sea captain). But these terms could also be Akkadian,[187] which is perhaps more probable because of the Akkadian geographical proximity to Mesopotamia.

3. Term: رومة *rūma*

This term stands for a long punting pole to push the boat against the shallow water bed.[188] Ibn Fāris lists it under √*r.w.m.*, saying that "this root expresses the meaning of desire to

[183] Al-Rūmī 1996, 71.
[184] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 190.
[185] Steingass 1992, 921.
[186] Glidden 1942, 71.
[187] Agius, 2008, 362.
[188] Saʿd Khamīs al-Thaʿlabī, interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2014; Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh ʿĪsā, Farasan on 23 May 2010; ʿAwwād Sālim al-Rifāʿī, Yanbu on 7 June 2010; also noted by Agius in Yanbu 2007, (personal communication).

do an action",[189] but he makes no reference to a maritime usage, nor did al-Azharī, Ibn Sīda and al-Zabīdī.[190] Al-Bustānī lists the term *rūmiyya* as "a long timber applied in house building".[191] The only lexicon that links this term to maritime terminology is *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ* (The Middle Dictionary), which states that it refers to "the sail of an unladen ship".[192] Glidden is the only author who lists it, rendering it as "punting pole".[193]

On the Red Sea coast, I heard this term being used in sea songs, (*nabwa*; pl *nabwāt*) songs performed by sailors while they are working:

الحَايَه شَمَال وَ الرُّومَه جَرِيدَه [194]

Al-ḥāya shamāl wa al-rūma jarīda

(The wind is blowing from the north while our *rūma* is of palm branches)

(translation by author)

Sailors repeat this verse while they are using a punting pole, the *rūma* to push the boat against shallow waters. Here we have a description of a sailor's effort to push the boat against the north wind. Using such a flimsy pole made of palm branches would make the process of pushing harder than it would be if the sailors were using a wooden punting pole. And in fact, due to the lack of wood resources in Arabia, seamen have tended to use a palm branch for this function.

The term *rūma* or *rūmiyya* may be derived from the Arabic root √*r.w.m.* but this assumption is refuted by the lack of a semantic relationship between the term and the root.

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[189] Ibn Fāris 1979, 2: 462.
[190] Ibn Sīda 1996, 2: 36; al-Azharī 2001, 15: 202; al-Zabīdī (nd), 32: 293.
[191] Al-Bustānī 1987, 361.
[192] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.,* 384.
[193] Glidden 1942, 71.
[194] ʿAwwād Sālim al-Rifāʿī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.

Al-Bustānī provides an acceptable suggestion, saying *rūmiyya* was so called because it was imported from early Greek, *Bilād al-Rūm* (The Land of Greeks).[195] The *yāʾ*/ī/ which is added to the term *rūmī* is *yāʾ al-nasab* (*yāʾ* of relation), and the /a/ of *rūmiyya* is the feminine ending.

4. Term: طربال *ṭirbāl*

Ṭirbāl is a large piece of heavy cloth, which, according to my informant, was used to cover the cargo.[196] Several Arabic lexica listed it but with no reference to a maritime context, thus defining it to be "a high tower, a high rock in a mountain, and a tent made from palm fronds".[197] These meanings, all refer to objects in high positions: so by analogy it can be said that *ṭirbāl* is usually fixed in a high position on the ship. Concerned with the conceptual meanings of Arabic roots, Ibn Fāris did not document its quadrilateral root √*ṭ.r.b.l.* I have not been able to locate this term in Arabic literary works, either in Classical or colloquial Arabic.

Ṭirbāl, it seems, is not of Arabic origin because of the following reasons: first, its quadrilateral root √*ṭ.r.b.l.*, has radicals that cannot be duplicated, as I discussed in Chapter 1, thus rendering it foreign. Consider roots with radicals that can duplicate: √*z.l.z.l.* from √*z.l.l.* and √*j.lj.l.* from √*j.l.l.*[198] However, √*ṭ.r.b.l.* does not fit this criterion. Second, Ibn Fāris did not list this term, which suggests that he did not think it was of Arabic origin, nor did al-Jawālīqī listed the term either. It seems that medieval lexicographers have two different attitudes towards this term. Those who documented this term, such as al-

[195] Al-Bustānī 1987, 361.
[196] Faḍl Allāh Abū Aḥmad, interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2010.
[197] Al-Jawharī 1987, 5: 1751; al-Bustānī 1987, 546; Ibn Sīda 1996, 1: 511; al-Azharī 2001, 14: 40; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 5: 486; al-Farāhīdī (nd), 7: 471; al-Zabīdī (nd), 29: 365.
[198] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 190.

Farāhīdī, al-Azharī, al-Jawharī, Ibn Sīda, Ibn Manẓūr and al-Zabīdī, who thought that it is an arabicized term because Bedouin Arabic speakers used it. And those who excluded it, such as Ibn Fāris, who thought that it was foreign and did not deserve to be an arabicized term.

The origins of the Arabic *tirbāl*, first recorded in the second/eighth century, remains conjectural, but it seems that it has a non-Semitic borrowing. However, though no medieval lexicographers has pointed to its origin, research proves that *tirbāl* is also used in Persian for the same medieval Arabic meaning, [199] which suggests that it could be of Persian origin. Whatever the origin, English has borrowed a term that semantically shares the recent Arabic meaning; hence, the English term, tarpaulin, shares the same Arabic radicals,[200] though this may be accidental.

5. Term: قنْبَار *gunbār*

This word is a collective term for a type of rigging rope made of coir fibre.[201] Phonetically, locals use /g/ for classical Arabic /q/ or /k/. Searching for this term in Arabic lexica, we find that the first lexicographer to list it is Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1065) in his *Muḥkam* (The Masterly [Work]) defining it generally as a rope made of "the fibres of coconut tree, which originally grew in India." He also says, "this rope is used for sailing ships and costs seventy *dīnārs*."[202] In his other lexicon *al-Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, which was classified thematically, Ibn Sīda lists the term *kinbār* under the section of "*al-Saqī wa asmāʾ al-māʾ al-masqī bi-*

[199] Steingass 1992, 812.
[200] The English term tarpaulin refers to a large heavy cloth or piece of thick plastic that water will not pass through, which is used to keep rain off the ground or objects, see Longman 2005, 1697. The oldest form of the English word tarpaulin was recorded circa 1605, see *Oxford English Dictionary* 1989, 17: 645.
[201] Ḥasan ʿAbd Allāh ʿĪsā, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010; Shlayyān ʿAwda al-Rifāʿī and Abū Nāyif al-Ḥmidī, Umluj on 9 June 2010.
[202] Ibn Sīda 2000, 7: 171.

hī " (Irrigation and Nomenclatures of Irrigation), saying "*kinbār*, especially the black one, is the best rope for maritime purposes because of its resilience when used in the hard conditions at sea".[203] It could be said that listing this maritime term under the section of *irrigation* gives us a clue about the chronological use of the rope *kinbār*, which may have been used first in irrigation for retrieving water from wells in the nomadic environment. But it also could be argued that sailors used this type of rope first, and that it was later used by the Bedouin for drawing water from wells. Since *kinbār* was imported to Arabia from India,[204] one may safely conclude that mariners were the first to use it for rigging or anchoring. It is not surprising then to find a link between Bedouin and maritime lifestyles: a great number of Arabian sailors came from a Bedouin background. So one can find a common usage of maritime cultural terms with items that provide almost similar functions. Lexicographers after Ibn Sīda, such as Ibn Manẓūr in his *Lisān* [205] and al-Zabīdī in his *Tāj*, [206] copied what he said. Later nineteenth- and twentieth-century lexica such as *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* [207] and *al-Muʿjam al-wasīṭ* [208] list *kinbār* as "a rope made from the fibres of the coconut palm tree", but they omit other information mentioned by earlier lexicographers, such as the price Ibn Sīda gave us thus providing some idea of the socio-economic development of materials such as coir.

This reveals another problem in Arabic lexica: whereas medieval Arabic lexicographers recorded few material-cultural terms, early modern and modern lexica, on the other hand, ignore some information about these terms. This attitude can be explained by the fact that later lexicographers are concerned with documenting contemporary Arabic, and therefore

[203] Ibn Sīda 1996, 2: 473.
[204] Ibn Sīda 2000, 7: 171.
[205] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 3: 723.
[206] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 14: 70.
[207] Al-Bustānī 1986, 793.
[208] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 800.

they regard some information from medieval lexica as irrelevant to modern users. By doing so, it must be said later lexicographers diminish the importance and significance of etymological lexicography, not only in its linguistic but also in its cultural implications.

Apart from lexica *qinbār* is also located in medieval historical works; for example, in his *Tārīkh Makka al-musharrafa* (The History of Holy Mecca) Ibn al-Ḍiyāʾ al-Makkī (d. 854/1450) reported that:

> "لمّا قدِم أبو جَعفر المنصور سنة أربعين ومائة أمر بستور فستر بها صحن المسجد على عُمُدٍ لها رُؤوس فكانت لا تزال العمد تسقط على الناس فغيرها وأمر بستور أكثف من تلك الستور وحبال تأتي من جُدّة تسَمى القنبار وجُعلت مشتبكة".[209]
>
> (When Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr came to the holy mosque in 140/757 he asked for covers which were fixed to high timbers to protect worshipers from the heat of the sun, but those timbers fell from time to time, so he ordered thicker covers and fixed them to the timbers by stronger ropes known as *qinbār* which were brought from Jeddah) (translation by author)

Kinbār (coir) came from India and it was imported to Jeddah. Coconut palm trees do not grow in Arabia. This illustrates the importance of this type of rope, which was well known for its strength, and is supported by the fact that the aforementioned definition of *qinbār* provided by Ibn Sīda specified the price for this quality of rope, stating that it costs seventy *dīnārs*.[210] Recording its cost in lexica indicates that it was a very important item among all Arabic-speaking communities, a detail, as I researched in Chapter 7, which explains the economic condition of the time, and is uncommon information in lexica.

[209] Ibn al-Ḍiyāʾ 2004, 285.
[210] Ibn Sīda 2000, 7: 171.

The term *qinbār* seems to be of non-Arabic origin because of its quadrilateral root √*q.n.b.r.*; in fact purist linguists such as Ibn Fāris and al-Jawharī did not list it because they doubted its pure Arabic origin. It is also not likely to be of Semitic origin because Semitic languages share with Arabic the same criterion of tri-radical roots.

No medieval or modern lexicographers who listed this term have touched upon its etymology: al-Jawālīqī, al-Khafājī and recently etymological works by ᶜAbd al-Raḥhīm,[211] have ignored this term entirely. I was also unable to locate this term in Persian lexica, such as *Burhāni Qāṭiᶜi* and the bilingual Persian–English Dictionary by Steingass.

To conclude, the term *qunbār* or *kinbār* is a term that signifies a special rope fibre used for rigging. This term is documented in some medieval lexica, which points to the fact that it has had a long history of use among Arabic speakers. It was common among various communities, both seafaring and land-based, because of its strength and resistance to hard usage, especially in wet environments, such as collecting water from wells and seafaring. We are unable to locate a suggestion about the etymology of this term, but it could be claimed that it is probably of Indian origin as *qunbār* was mainly imported from India.

[211] See ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm 1991, 2011.

6. Term: مجداف. *mijdāf* (pl. *majādīf*).

This is a common term for oar.[212] Al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791) defines *mijdāf* as "a long wooden oar with a wide flat blade."[213] Later lexicographers did not go beyond this definition.[214]

The term *mijdāf* was mentioned in pre-Islamic poetry, in the following verse by al-Muthaqqab al-ᶜAbdī (d. 520):

تَكادُ إذْ حُرِّك مِجدَافُهَا تَنْسَلُّ من مِثْناتِها و اليَدِ[215]

Takādu idh ḥurrika mijdāfuhā tansallu min mathnātihā wa al-yadi

(It is as if the oar when it was applied, moved so fast that it was nearly out of control) (translation by author)

Hence Ibn Durayd claims that the verse describes a she-camel, and the poet used the term *mijdāf* to mean *sawṭ* (lash). The verse is documented as an example of the root √*j.d.f.* and √*j.dh.f.* by Ibn Fāris, al-Jawharī and Ibn Manẓūr.[216] Al-Jumaḥī (d. 231/846) classifies al-Muthaqqab al-ᶜAbdī among Bahrain poets who lived and died in Bahrain before the advent of Islam.[217] The question then arises of how could medieval purist lexicographers such as Ibn Fāris and al-Jawharī rely on the poetry of a Bahraini poet who lived in a coastal area at the eastern border of the Arabian Peninsula? Why did they list verses of his poetry as *shawāhid* (examples) that were an examples of an Arabic root? Medieval Arabic lexicographers documented the language from that spoken by some tribes that

[212] Saᶜd Khamīs al-Thaᶜlabī, Interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2010; Al Qahma, ᶜĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī on 19 May 2010; Yaḥyā al-Shaykh, Jizan on 21 May 2010.
[213] Al-Farāhīdī (nd), 6: 86.
[214] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 443; al-Jawharī 1987, 4: 1335; al-Bustānī 1987, 96; Ibn Sīda, 1996, 3: 20; al-Azharī 2001, 10: 354; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 5: 440; al-Zabīdī (nd), 23: 72.
[215] Ṣayrafī (ed) 1971, 33.
[216] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 438; al-Jawharī 1987, 4: 1336; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 5: 440.
[217] Al-Jumaḥī (nd), 1: 271.

lived in the middle of Arabia only,[218] while Arabic speakers at the borders and coastal areas were ignored because, as discussed in Chapter 4 word collectors thought that the language of such speakers was contaminated and did not deserve to be part of Arabic. Again, I argued that compilers of medieval lexica occasionally manipulated the criteria they made when it suited certain events and attitudes. Another acceptable argument is that the area called Al-Bahrain covered a wider area that stretches not only from Kuwait and Qatar but also into the inner land in Arabia far from the Arabian coast of the Gulf.[219] So this poet could have lived in the western part of Al-Bahrain far from the sea and that is why lexicographers classified him among the reliable sources of the language.

Tracing the *mijdāf's* origin, it is derived from the Arabic root √*j.d.f.*, which Ibn Durayd assures us is authentically Arabic.[220] Al-Azharī reports that al-Aṣmaʿī suggested that √*j.d.f.* expresses the meaning of "clip", so the term *jadaf*, which means the clipped wing of a bird, is derived from this root,[221] the semantic link between *mijdāf* (oar) and *jadaf* (a clipped bird's wing) is that both of them move from front to back.[222] Another semantic link is the proportion in size of a bird's clipped wing to its body and the size of an oar in proportion to the ship. This association is more accurate than comparing the oar to a bird's wing without specifying that it must be clipped wing as Agius suggests.[223] The full wing of a bird in contrast to its body looks much bigger than the size of an oar in contrast to a ship. Furthermore, the movements of full wings, which operate up and down, differs from the movement of oars, which operate from front to back.

[218] Agius 1984, 124-5.
[219] Al-Ḥamawī (nd), 1: 346.
[220] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 2: 72.
[221] Breeders of birds clip the ends of the feathers of their birds' wings as soon as they buy them so the birds will not leave their new owner until new feathers grow, and at that time birds will be familiarized with the new place. See al-Jāḥiẓ 1996, 3: 133; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 5: 440.
[222] Al-Azharī 2001, 10: 354.
[223] Agius 2008, 203.

Following Ibn Fāris's semantic criterion, which claims that all terms derived from one root must have a shared semantic link, *al-jadf* (cutting), *majdūf* (a person with a short hand), and *jadaf* (a clipped bird's wing) all express the general conceptual meaning of "cut or clip". *Mijdāf* (oar) does not have a direct semantic link to the root √*j.d.f.* but rather links to one of its derivations, the term *jadaf* (a bird's clipped wing), but this could be an anomaly in Arabic.[224] It raises a suspicion that *mijdāf* (oar) could be of non-Arabic origin, possibly Akkadian, because of its geographical proximity to Mesopotamia, where people have navigated across the Tigris and Euphrates for a long time.

[224] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 433.

iv) Fishing equipment:

1. Term: دنجيل *danjīl*

Danjīl, refers to a small bag which looks like a net made of rope to collect oyster shells.[225] Divers put shells in this bag while they are underwater and continue diving and collecting until the end of their dive. Neither this term nor its root was included in lexica and other literary works, which points to the fact that it is of non-Arabic origin. Such a claim can be supported by the fact that *danjīl* on the pattern of *faʿlīl* does not fit Arabic moulds. Although *fiʿlīl*, in *qindīl* (lantern)[226] seems similar, only vowel discrepancy, *danjīl* contains an /a/ in the first syllable.

2. Term: سَلَب *salab*

Salab is a collective word for fishing lines.[227] Ibn Fāris lists √*s.l.b.* saying that it gives the concept of "taking something misappropriately",[228] from which several terms are derived sharing this conceptual meaning, such as *salaba* (to misappropriate); *salab* with two different meanings, first is "the bark of the tree" which is pealed for several purposes, and second is "belongings of dead solders after battle, i.e. "spoils", because such belongings are taken by conquering solders misappropriately; and finally, *salūb* "a she-camel that has miscarried her embryo" since it feels that it was stolen from her and that is why she feels sad for several days after the miscarriage.[229] Al-Jawharī added that *salab* also refers to a

[225] Ghānim al-ʿAbs, interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2010; Ḥāmid Aḥmad Abū Hbayra and Abkar Muḥammad Abkar, Farasan on 21 May 2010; also recorded by Agius in Farasan 2010, (personal communication).
[226] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 17: 332.
[227] Ḥasan Bḥays ʿĪsā, interviewed in Jizan on 21 May 2010; also documented by Agius in Jizan 2010, (personal communication).
[228] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 92.
[229] Ibid, 3: 92.

"type of rope made of tree bark in Yemen",[230] this type of rope is much stronger than ropes made of coir. In Medina there was a Souk al-Sallabīn (the souk of tree-bark ropes).[231] This illustrates how purist lexicographers dealt with documenting the language; for example, the aforementioned definition by al-Jawharī contains some details about this type of rope, because its name *salab* has an Arabic connotation. On the other hand, he entirely ignored the term *qinbār* (rope made of coir and used by the crew at sea) because it is of non-Arabic origin. This also shows how selective lexicographers can be. Ibn Manẓūr also adds a magnificent piece of information about making this type of rope saying "*salab* is a type of tree with a high extended (tall) trunk which is cut and put on burning coal for a while then it is cut vertically to extract a white material similar to coir which produces this rope".[232] It should be noted that all previous definitions are for rope-type, which must have been thicker than the fishing line, another difference is that *salab* which is used by the crew is made of cotton, while *salab* which is listed in lexica as mentioned above is made of tree trunks. However, al-Zabīdī adds that *salab* is a rope used by farmers around the neck of ox to hold a plough.[233] Later lexica do not add more than what is mentioned above.[234] I am unable to locate this term in the available literary works.

Although most references point to the fact that *salab* is a rope-type, it is possible to claim that this term stands for rope used by farmers and later it is used by mariners for fishing lines. It is claimed by one of my informants that the medieval *salab* and its fibre material

[230] Al-Jawharī 1987, 1: 149.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 1: 433-434.
[233] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 35: 540.
[234] Al-Bustānī 1987, 419; Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.,* 441.

is still being used for fishing lines,[235] fishermen in the Hijazi northern area such as Yanbu use the terms *ḥabl* and *jalab* referring to the fishing lines.[236]

3. Term: شوار *shwār* (pl. *shuwārāt*)

shwār is a term for gillnet, which takes the shape of a narrow rectangle. It has a system of weights and floats to keep it hanging in a horizontal way.[237] Fish get stuck while they try to swim through this net. Several Arabic lexica listed this term but with no reference to a maritime context, defining it to be "house furniture".[238] Ibn Fāris lists √*sh.w.r* suggesting that it expresses the concept of "collecting something".[239] This root provides several terms, such as the verb *shāra* (to collect honey from the hive), *mashār* (bee hive) where honey is taken and the verb *shāwara* (to consult someone), hence the link is "collecting" opinions of the consultants.[240]

I am unable to locate this term in a maritime context either in lexica or literary works. However, the term seems to be derived from the Arabic root √*sh.w.r.* This can be strengthened by a clear semantic link between √*sh.w.r.*, which expresses the conceptual meaning of "collecting something" linking it to the fishing nets which "collect" fish from the sea.

[235] Ḥasan Bḥays ʿĪsā, interviewed in Jizan on 21 May 2010.
[236] Ḥamdān al-Kubaydī and ʿAwwād Sālim al-Rifāʿī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[237] Ibrāhīm Abū ʿUtayyiq al-Sinānī and Ḥamdān al-Kubaydī, interviewed in Yanbu, on 7 June 2010.
[238] Ibn Sīda 2000: 8: 118; al-Zabīdī (nd), 12: 256.
[239] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 226.
[240] Ibid.

4. Term: صخوة *ṣakhwa* (pl. *ṣakhāwī*) and قرقور *gargūr* (pl. *garāgīr*)

Both terms are used for fish traps, which come in different sizes; they are set on the seabed floor and left for a while from one night up to seven nights.[241] Classical Arabic /q/ of *qarqūr* is phonetically /g/ among the locals of the Saudi Arabian coast. Most Arabic lexicographers ignored the root √*ṣ.kh.w.*, which may point to the fact that the root is of non-Arabic origin. Al-Zabīdī lists it saying that it gives *ṣakhāt* "type of tree".[242] I am also unable to find these terms in modern lexica and literary works as well. However, the root √*q.r.q.r.* is listed in several lexica expressing two different conceptual meanings: the first is "length" which can be deduced from the following examples: *qarqarah* (long laugh), *qarqār* (sound of the wind) as it continues for long time and *qurqūr* (very long ship),[243] secondly, "floor and things that are set on it",[244] for example, *qarqar* (soft floor), *qurāra* (food remaining that stuck on the floor of pot after cooking).[245] *Qarqūr* is documented in lexica and mentioned in several literary texts rendering it a type of ship and not a fish trap as used by seamen in the Red Sea today.

Etymologically, *sakhwa* could be of non-Arabic origin: first, most lexicographers ignored listing its root and secondly, there is a lack of semantic link, as mentioned above. On the other hand, *qarqūr* or *gargūr* seems to have been derived from the Arabic root √*q.r.q.r.* or √*g.r.g.r.*, a claim which can be supported by the following facts: *qarqūr* has a clear semantic link to the conceptual meaning "being on the floor" which is expressed by √*q.r.q.r.*, as fish traps which are said to be set on the seabed floor; secondly, as noted in

[241] Yaḥyā al-Shaykh, interviewed in Jizan, on 21 May 2010; ʿAwwād Sālim al-Rifāʿī, Yanbu on 7 June 2010; also noted by Agius in Yemen 2009, (personal communication).
[242] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 38: 413.
[243] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 3: 664
[244] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 8.
[245] Ibid.

Chapter 1 Ibn Fāris suggested that Arabic has some quadrilateral which are usually duplicated from triradical ones, and √*q.r.q.r.* is among them as it is duplicated from √*q.r.r.*[246]

5. Term: صقلة *ṣaqala* (pl. *ṣaqal*)

This term refers to a small-sized stone attached to a fishing line to make the hook with the fishing bait sink in deep water.[247] According to some fishermen it is also pronounced *saqal* by exchanging the sound /ṣ/ with /s/.[248] Ibn Fāris lists the root √*ṣ.q.l.* which conceptually gives "softness and smoothness".[249] Examples includes *ṣaqīl* (sword), *suql* (the side part of a human body) since it is very soft[250] and *maṣqūl* (smoothed or polished).[251] In another place Ibn Fāris lists √*s.q.l.* suggesting that this root is similar to √*ṣ.q.l* because the radicals /ṣ/ and /s/ are interchangeable.[252] I am unable to locate this term in Arabic literary works.

As fishermen described them *saqal* are stones chosen carefully and it is important for these stones to be smooth not to get stuck in the coral reef or seabed floor. This the semantic relationship to the root √*ṣ.q.l.* supports the fact that *saqal* is of Arabic origin. As I mentioned in my theoretical framework (Chapter 1) that in some cases when terms cannot be located in literary works the researcher has to rely on Ibn Fāris's conceptual meaning, the only way to interpret hidden meanings such as in the case of *ṣaqal.*

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[246] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 8.
[247] Faḍl Allāh Abū Aḥmad, interviewed in Jeddah on 16 May 2010; ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Mashhūr al-Sayyid, Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010; Ḥasan Bḥays ᶜĪsā, Jizan on 21 May 2010; also noted by Agius in Farasan 2010, (personal communication).
[248] Nāṣir ᶜAbd Allāh Ṣāliḥ, interviewed in Al Wajh on 11 June 2010.
[249] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 296.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 29: 316.
[252] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 84.

The plural *ṣaqal* is *ism jins* (generic noun) and by adding the feminine ending */tāʾ/* to this term it becomes singular, similar to the following collective nouns: *tuffāḥ* (apples) has *tuffāḥa* (an apple) and collective noun *shajar* (trees) has *shajara* (a tree).[253]

6. Term: لعفة *laᶜafa* (pl. لعف *laᶜaf*)

This term, is used in the Red Sea for "fishing bait".[254] Ibn Durayd listed the verb *laᶜafa* suggesting that it refers to "an animal when it is gazing".[255] Al-Azharī quoted this definition saying we are unable to accept this piece of information because the only lexicographer who reported it was Ibn Durayd without providing an example from reliable sources such as the Qurʾān, Classical poetry or Bedouin registers.[256] As mentioned previously, al-Azharī does not trust what Ibn Durayd says since he reported non-reliable information and breaking religious rules such as drinking.[257] Other lexicographers, such as al-Farāhīdī, Ibn Fāris and al-Jawharī ignored √*l.ᶜ.f.* entirely. Later lexica such as *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* (The Surrounding of *al-Muḥīṭ* [of al-Fayrūzabādī])[258] do not add more than what Ibn Durayd said.

As far as I can gather, I am unable to locate this term in a maritime context either in medieval, early modern, or modern literary works, which point to the fact that it is technical local usage.

[253] Ḥasan (nd), 1: 22.
[254] Muḥammad Darwīsh, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 18 May 2010; Ḥāmid Aḥmad Abū Hbayra Farasan on 21 May 2010; ᶜĪd Nāṣir al-Fawwāl, Al Wajh on 11 June 2010.
[255] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 2: 127.
[256] Al-Azharī 2001, 2: 243.
[257] Ibid, 1: 27.
[258] Al-Bustānī 1987, 818.

It is difficult to claim that the term is derived from the above documented root √*l.ʿ.f.* because the lack of the semantic link. However, it is possible to claim that *laʿaf* is derived from the Arabic root √*ʿ.l.f.*, which according to Ibn Fāris expresses the conceptual meaning of "animal feed".[259] Such a claim can be validated through an Arabic morphological canon called *al-qalb al-makānī* (radical position interchange), i.e. metathesis, where the second radical become the first and vice versa. Examples include √*ʾ.y.s.*, exchanged of √*y.ʾ.s.*, both express the conceptual meaning of "disappointment". Another example is √*y.ṭ.b*, exchanged of √*ṭ.y.b.*, and both express the concept of "kindness".[260] So it is very possible that √*l.ʿ.f.*, gives *laʿaf* (fishing bait) with the first sound switched over, i.e. √*ʿ.l.f.*, which gives *ʿalaf* (animal feed). This can be supported by the semantic relationship between *laʿaf* and *ʿalaf*, where both refer to animals' food. This also can be supported by the fact that several mariners in the Red Sea came from a Bedouin background, which usually uses *ʿalaf* for the food of their animals, and when they used it for fishing they or the urban local people may have switched its first radical with the second to give *laʿaf.*

7. Term: مُخْواه *muḥwāh.*

Red Sea Arabians use this term for a small container or a (cloth or leather) bag in which personal items are kept.[261] Arabic lexica do not make any reference to its maritime context,[262] although the term *muḥwāh* is listed as "an area that contains a great number of snakes". In his *Maqāyīs*, Ibn Fāris lists √*ḥ.w.y.* as expressing "the concept of containing

[259] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 125.
[260] ʿUḍayma 1999, 48-9.
[261] Yaḥyā al-Shaykh, interviewed in Jizan on 21 May 2010; also heard by Agius in Sudan 2004, (personal communication).
[262] Ibn Sīda 1996, 2: 310; al-Azharī 2001, 5: 194; Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 210; Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 8: 196; al-Farāhīdī (nd), 3: 317; al-Zabīdī (nd), 37: 504.

and collecting".[263] I am unable to locate this maritime term in the available literary works, so it is possible to conclude that it is a term local to the Red Sea region. Given Ibn Fāris's conceptual meaning of "containing", the word's semantic link could be a reference to a sailor's chest where he keeps his belongings and fishing equipment.

8. Term: مخدجة *mikhdaja*

Mikhdaja refers to a throw-net with weights on its edges.[264] It has a circular shape and it is the first step that a beginning fisherman starts with because this net is usually for catching the sardines that fishermen need before they go fishing. Ibn Fāris lists the root √*kh.d.j.* saying that it expresses the conceptual meaning of "shortage"[265] This root gives several derivations such as *mukhdaja* (non-completed prayer),[266] *khadīj*, *makhdūj* and *mukhdaj* names of miscarried embryo[267] and *mukhdija* (cloud which gives little rain).[268] The term was not found in a maritime context in the available lexica and literary works.

Mikhdaja seems to be derived from the Arabic root √*kh.d.j.* However, the semantic link of this term is not clear, and as mentioned in the theoretical framework (Chapter 1) Ibn Fāris suggests that it is an anomaly, which suggests that this term could be of non-Arabic origin. This term can be classified under the Arabic morphological pattern *mifᶜala*, which signifies nouns of instrument on the analogy of *minshara* (saw).[269] Red Sea sailor also use the verb *khaddaj* (to practise fishing using *mikhdaja*).

[263] Ibn Fāris 1979, 2: 112.
[264] Abkar Muḥammad Abkar, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010; ᶜAwwād Sālim al-Rifāᶜī and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥāzmi, Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[265] Ibn Fāris 1979, 2: 164.
[266] Al-Azharī 2001, 7: 24.
[267] Ibid.
[268] Al-Zabīdī (nd), 5: 507.
[269] Ḥasan (nd), 3: 333.

9. Term: ناظور *nāẓūr* (pl. *nawāẓīr*)

Nāẓūr refers to a diving mask used by shell collectors and pearl divers.[270] Ibn Fāris lists the root √*n.ẓ.r.* which expresses the conceptual meaning of "looking and staring".[271] Other derivations such as *naẓar* (sight), *naẓira* (green land) as it attracts people to look at it,[272] *minẓār* (telescope) and *naẓẓāra* (glasses).[273] Al-Bustānī lists *nāẓūr* suggesting that it is *muwallad* (neologism) referring to glasses.[274] Muṭlaq lists it for the same meaning used in the Red Sea, saying that it is used among fishermen on the Lebanese coast.[275] So *nāẓūr* refers to a tool used by seamen for "looking and staring" under water. Morphologically, *nāẓūr* lies on the pattern of *fāʿūl*, which is among the patterns of the nouns that render instruments, on the analogy of *sāṭūr* (chopper).[276]

[270] Ḥāmid Aḥmad Abū Hbayra, interviewed in Farasan on 21 May 2010; Sulaymān al-Ghumayrī, Yanbu on 1 June 2010.
[271] Ibn Fāris 1979, 5: 444.
[272] Ibid.
[273] Muṣṭafā 2004, *et al.*, 932.
[274] Al-Bustānī 1987, 418.
[275] Muṭlaq 1973, 128.
[276] Ḥasan (nd), 3: 337.

The analysed sample in this chapter illustrates that some of these terms are listed in variable proportions, for example terms of Arabic origins that were used since medieval times are usually listed and defined such as *jamma* (bilge), *shirāʿ* (sail), *sukkān*, (rudder), *ṣārī* (mast) and *mijdāf* (oar). Terms that were arabicized before or after Islam according to the medieval criteria are also listed and defined such as *daqal* (mast) and *kinbār* (rigging ropes). However, the offered definitions are sometimes vague and generalized. On the other hand, terms of non-Arabic origin that were not arabicized are lacking such as *shalamān* (rib), *tharamān* (sail yard) and *danjīl* (a small bag which looks like a net made of rope to collect oyster shells). This highlights the selectivity of lexica compilers who, as discussed in Chapter 4, built an insurmountable barrier around the language to protect it from foreign influence. There are some terms that were listed but given different definitions such as *ṣaqal*, *shuwār*, *muḥwāh*, *qarqūr*, (all under fishing equipment) and *ṭirbāl*, (under ship instruments) which points to the semantic development of these terms since medieval times up until this very day. Terms that were not listed but have listed Arabic roots such as *sanbūk*, *ṣaddāf*, *ṣayyādī*, *ʿūd* (under ship types section), *salab*, *laʿaf*, *mikhdaja* and *nāẓūr* (all under fishing equipment), which could be locally coined by Arabian sailors and fishermen. Finally, there are a number of terms (6) which I have heard from one person only, a few of them have been heard by Agius in his recent and early ethnographic work in the Red Sea; however, I will explain this further in the last chapter, Conclusions and Final Thoughts.

Chapter 10: Conclusions and Final Thoughts

The objectives of this research were reached by applying two steps: the first was ethnographic, in which audio recordings were made containing maritime terms collected from the Red Sea Saudi mariners and fishermen. The second was the archival work, in which lexica from medieval up to modern times were considered along the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth, exegeses, literary, historical geographical works and poetry collections. These works helped to develop a clearer understanding of terms that were not included in lexica and those that were listed in lexica but not properly defined.

In my past linguistic studies, I was primarily interested in lexicography and always curious about terminology. But when I looked at the mainstream lexica available, I found that a large portion of terminology was missing, particularly in the area of maritime and nautical terms, my present interest. There is a huge gap of knowledge in this area from the recording of terms to the analysis of their semantic development and etymology. As mentioned in Chapter 7, it must be stressed that there is no comprehensive specialized dictionary of material-cultural terminology let alone one for maritime terms in Arabic. There are some modern regional lexical works, such as '*A Comparative Study of the Arabic Nautical Vocabulary from al-ʿAqaba, Transjordan*' (1942) by Glidden, *al-Alfāẓ al-ajnabiyya fī lughat al-ṣayyādīn wa al-mallāḥīn fī al-Iskandariyya wa uṣūluhā al-lughawiyya* (The Origins of Foreign Terms in the Dialect of Fishermen and Mariners in Alexandria, 1976) by al-Faḥḥām, *Muʿjam alfāẓ ḥirfat ṣayd al-samak fī al-sāḥil al-Lubnānī* (Dictionary of Fishing Terms on the Coast of Lebanon, 1973) by Muṭlaq and *Muʿjam al-muṣṭalaḥāt al-baḥriyya fī al-Kuwayt* (Dictionary of Maritime Terms in Kuwait, 1996) by al-Rūmī. These works are devoted to the language of specific coastal territories far from

the Red Sea Saudi coast. However, recently I came across a reference to a Yemeni and Hadrami dictionary of maritime and nautical terms entitled *Muʿjam lil-muṣṭalaḥāt al-baḥriyya fī janūb al-jazīra al-ʿarabiyya* (2004) (The Dictionary of Maritime Terms in the South of the Arabian Peninsula, (2004) by al-Kasādī revised by al-Shihāb, though I had no access to it. Even so they are certainly a beginning to a study that would advance our knowledge of specialist maritime vocabulary. The lack of such important terminology within Arabic lexica poses the question of what has happened to this corpus of terms since medieval times? Addressing this question is what has driven me to write this thesis.

The linguistic scenario

In Chapter 3, I have shown that after the expansion of the Islamic Caliphate, numerous non-Arabic speakers interacted socially and culturally with Arab. As a result, Arabs married non-Arabic speaking spouses, and a new generation of Arabic speakers emerged. These speakers lacked information about several aspects of Classical and Qurʾānic Arabic. Another result of this cultural interaction was linguistic change and development, which included changes within Arabic syntactic and phonological structures. At the same time, the number of borrowed terms was increasing. Although Arabic linguistic change, which was called *laḥn*, or errors, was detected among some Arabic speakers before the interaction between Arab and *ʿAjam* (non-Arabs), these incidents were discrete and particular and did not constitute a general trend among speakers.[1] However, as I argued, after the interaction brought on by the expansion of the Caliphate took place, linguistic change was not exclusively among speakers in urban territories but also influenced the language of some Bedouins in the inner areas of Arabia.

[1] Al-Ṭanṭāwī (nd), 16.

Among the first speakers who it is supposed were influenced by linguistic change were the seafaring communities bordering the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, where port cities constituted a meeting point between Arab and other ethnic communities. Some members of the coastal communities as I discussed in Chapter 4, were seasonal. In winter they travelled from the inner Bedouin areas to participate with maritime communities in sea activities, such as fishing, pearl diving, shell collecting, and some of them joined the crews on board ships sailing to numerous destinations. In summer, seasonal sailors returned to the desert, where they could collect dates from oases and honey from the bees' nests found in the mountains. Summer is known in Arabia as a season of ripe dates and the richness of honeycombs. I was told that in summer honey can be found leaking out of the bees nests as a result of their hard work during the rainy and grass seasons in both winter and spring. By migrating between sea and desert, these sailors worked seasonally developing various survival skills in both desert and sea.

These links between the desert and sea can be detected in some maritime terms. Consider the terms *daqal* (mast), which was first used for the palm tree that produces low quality dates, and which was later used as the word for mast, indicating that sailors would fell these palm trees to make their ship's mast.[2] *Rūma*, which signifies the palm branch used as a punting pole to move boats through shallow waters, are used by fishermen and shell collectors who use small boats.[3] The term *jamma* (bilge), which was first used for wells in the desert,[4] was used by sailors to mean the bilge.[5] Another example is *al-karr*, a term which refers to a "rope used to climb high palm trees"[6] is also used for rigging ropes.[7]

[2] Ibn Manẓūr 2005, 6: 344-5.
[3] ᶜAwwād Sālim al-Rifāᶜī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[4] Ibn Durayd 1344/1925, 1: 55.
[5] ᶜAwwād Sālim al-Rifāᶜī, interviewed in Yanbu on 7 June 2010.
[6] Al-Azharī 2001, 9: 237.
[7] Ibid.

The term *kinbār* (type of rigging rope) also illustrates the relationship between the sea and the desert: the term was first used by mariners in the sea and later used by Bedouins for a strong rope used to retrieve water from wells; *kinbār* is an Indian term for a rope made of coir.[8] It is also reported that sailors used other desert trees such as *sidir* and *samar* during the process of shipbuilding. The relationship between the sea and desert also can be supported by the fact that Arabic lexica contained some foreign maritime terms, which probably entered the documented language of Bedouins far from the sea via seasonal sailors. For example: a deep inspection of al-Azharī's (d. 370/980) *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (The Purification of the Language) illustrates that it contains some maritime terms of foreign origin, for example, *istiyām* "a person who is in charge of passengers on the ship",[9] *anjar* "anchor",[10] *al-khayzarān* "the rudder",[11] *sībajī* "Indian navigator who helps captain",[12] *nūtī* "sailor"[13] and *juʾjuʾ* "bow".[14]

This is the linguistic scenario, which drove medieval lexicographers to start the process of Arabic documenting, a language which was thought to be the only available tool to help in understanding the Qurʾān, Ḥadīth and classical poetry.

Word collecting

Arabic lexicographers and linguists have been hostile towards linguistic change, which was thought as a corruption of the language, therefore, they launched lexicographical studies as a response to change. Pure Arabic was among the top priority during the process

[8] Ibn Sīda 1996, 2: 473.
[9] Al-Azharī 2001, 2: 223.
[10] Ibid, 11: 29.
[11] Ibid, 7: 93.
[12] Ibid, 10: 316.
[13] Ibid, 14: 232.
[14] Ibid, 11: 161.

of language documentation. These lexicographers thought that if they left language to develop naturally, new generations would not be able to understand holy texts and pre-Islamic poetry. This viewpoint made them selective in their choice of terms that were appropriate to list in lexica as I have shown in Chapter 3.

Under the aegis of language purity lexicographers aimed to document *faṣīḥ* only, a linguistic register that was surrounded by several criteria as examined in Chapter 4: first, time, in which speakers considered that there was a reliable source of the language only during a fixed period. Second, place, such lexica compilers relied on Arabic speaking communities only in the hinterland Arabia, which meant that all speakers on the coastal borders of Arabia were ignored. Third, only six tribes were thought reliable sources, and language of others was ignored. Finally, language-collectors did their best to collect Arabic from Bedouin environments, leaving out a substantial number of metropolitan terms from urban and coastal areas.

Another issue added by lexicographers to these aforementioned criteria is *al-isnād* (a chain of authorities). This also played an additional role in limiting the sources of the language. This means that whether a term is listed and defined in lexica must be determined by a righteous and trusted person who is not supposed to invent new terms, and who when claiming that he heard it from a reliable Bedouin speaker must name that speaker personally. If a narrator has not heard the word from a reliable source himself, then he must name the middleman who heard the word himself from a Bedouin reliable speaker. In his *Muzhir* (The Flowered [Work]), al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505) listed six ways for relating linguistic terms, and each of these ways signifies a specific status of narrating reliability in order to clarify if the word under question is genuine or completely fake

(invented by non-reliable source).[15] For instance, the highest status of reliability is when a narrator says: "I heard these terms from so-and-so lexicographer (citing his name) who confirmed to me that he heard it from so-and-so Bedouin and reliable man (citing his name)".[16] On the other hand, the weakest verification of reliability is when a narrator says: "I heard this term from so-and-so lexicographer (citing his name), who said that he heard it from an anonymous source".[17] The complexity of these forms of verification led some lexicographers not to trust Ibn Durayd's (d. 321/933) *Jamharat al-lugha* (The Majority [of words] of the Language) after they saw him drunk while he was compiling his lexicon. Probably they thought that Ibn Durayd might have confused these methods of narrations while he was drunk.

This procedure of classifying the narratives' level of reliability were taken from *ʿIlm al-Ḥadīth* (The Knowledge of Ḥadīth), in which *muḥaddithūn* (Ḥadīth scholars) applied strict criteria to guarantee the reliability of narrating Ḥadīth.[18] Studies in this field started in the middle of the first/seventh century when *muḥaddithūn* noticed that some narrators were inventing fake Ḥadīth.[19] Interestingly, many early lexicographers and linguists such as Abū ʿAmr b. al-ʿAlāʾ(d. 154/771) and al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791), to name but two, thought that pre-Islamic poetry and the Qurʾān as reliable sources of the language, but they excluded Ḥadīth in spite of the fact that *muḥaddithūn* made strict criteria to enable its inclusion.[20] Linguists excluded Ḥadīth from being a reliable source because it was narrated by non-Arabs. For example, the most famous *ḥadīth* scholars were non-Arabs, such as al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim (d. 261/875). Another reason that led

[15] Al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 113.
[16] Ibid.
[17] ʿĪd 1988, 73; al-Suyūṭī 1998, 1: 118.
[18] Baalbaki 2014, 24.
[19] ʿĪd 1988, 70.
[20] Al-Baghdādī 1998, 1: 33.

lexicographers to exclude Ḥadīth from among the reliable sources of the language is that sometimes narrators paraphrased it, which means that it may have been slightly changed by narrators whose mother tongue was not Arabic. This confirms that lexicographers made remarkable efforts to delimit their resources, so when we find a lexicographer who says in the preface of his lexicon that his aim is comprehensiveness, we need to understand that this comprehensiveness is constrained by these aforementioned strict criteria.

Scholars of *balāgha* (rhetoric) who are concerned with literary studies, such as ᶜAbd al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī (d. 471/1078), have a different perception of *faṣīḥ* (correct Arabic). They made phonetic and lexicological criteria different from those criteria made by lexicographers. First, they posited that the sound of *fāṣīḥ* terms should be homogeneous, therefore terms that are difficult to articulate should be excluded, which includes terms such as *mustashzirāt* (ragged hair) and *huᶜkhuᶜ* (grass).[21] Second, they excluded dead and obscure terms, such as *takaʾkaʾ* (to collect).[22] Although such terms are of Arabic origin and used by Bedouins in the desert, rhetoric scholars excluded them because they evolved their criteria from concepts of aural beauty, not purity. Rhetoric scholars do not specify modernity or classicism as a reason to exclude a term, at the same time they do not care if the term is Arabic, a neologism, arabicized or foreign. Another criterion which was applied by lexicographers during their word-collecting is morphological moulds. And as examined in Chapter 5, this criterion were used to judge if the term is arabicized or not.

[21] Abū Mūsā (nd), 62.
[22] Ibid, 67.

Given the information above, it is safe to claim that this is why literary works are a wealth of foreign terms, many belong to material cultural terminology and these were excluded from many lexica,[23] where, it was believed, only pure Arabic terms must be listed by the criteria which medieval lexicographers thought valid. Since we do not have maritime terms of this nature related to this particular problem it could be something that could be looked at in future studies.

The early vocabulary lists of Arabic terms collected by language scholars were short and compiled randomly. Examples of these early lists include *Kitāb al-ḥasharāt* (The Book of Insects) by Abū ᶜAmr b. al-ᶜAlāᵓ (d. 154/771), *Kitab al-naḥl wa al-ᶜasal* (The Book of Bees and Honey) by Abū ᶜAmr al-Shaybānī (d. 206/821), *Kitāb al-khayl* (The Book of Horses) by al-Aṣmaᶜī (d. 216/831), to name but a few.[24] These specialized vocabulary lists focused on the language used only in the desert and Bedouin life style. Similarly, we cannot find lists of maritime terms, textiles, domestic appliances or the administration of the Caliphate, where educated people were working. Does this mean that insects, honey and desert animals, etc., were more important than other topics, such as seafaring and maritime culture? It should be remembered that seafaring was among the most important modes of transportation for trade between Arabia and Africa before Islam. After the advent of Islam the importance of maritime transportation increased because many pilgrims travelled to Mecca via the sea.[25] Another question these lists suggest is who were the targeted users of these lists, which focus on the language of the desert only? Were they Arabs or *ᶜAjam* educated speakers? Were they interested in desert terminology only? All these questions can be answered by the fact that early language collectors worked

[23] Agius 1984, 13.
[24] Naṣṣār 1988, 105-6.
[25] Agius 2008, 64-5.

according to the aforementioned purist view: they thought the language should be kept far from any foreign terms or neologisms.

Although they had available the work of al-Farāhīdī who compiled his leading lexicon *Kitāb al-ᶜayn* (The Book [starting with the] Letter ᶜAyn) as one of the first Arabic lexica, the compilers of these lists did not follow his method. Their aim was to collect words before *laḥn* (errors) were introduced into the language of Bedouins because the compilers of these lists had noticed that changes in the language were spreading rapidly. They were far from the logical lexicographical thinking of al-Farāhīdī, and they collected their lists randomly and sometimes thematically.

As noted in Chapter 7, most lexica compilers, such as Abū ᶜUbayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) in his *al-Gharīb al-muṣannaf* (Classified Obscure Words), al-Azharī (d. 370/980) in his *Tahdhīb al-lugha* (The Purification of the Language) and al-Jawharī (d. 400/1009) in *al-Ṣiḥāḥ* (The Correct [Work]), followed the selective purist model of their ancestors in a general way. Later lexicographers such as Ibn Sīda (d. 458/1065) and Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311), to name but a few, relied principally on the lexicographical work achieved before them, consequently, no new genuine fieldwork was conducted after the death of al-Jawharī.[26] This purist lexicographical view continued from the first/seventh century until the ninth/fifteenth century. Al-Fayrūzabādī (d. 803/1400) in his *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (The Surrounding Sea) is the first attempt to break the stronghold of the purist lexicographical view.[27] His lexica contained several terms that were excluded by earlier compilers. For example, *umsūḥ* "long timber used in ship buiding",[28] *sulūqiyya* "captain's

[26] Al-Wadghīrī 2001, 34.
[27] Haywood 1965, 87.
[28] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 1: 247.

bench on board the ship" [29] and *al-nawākhidha* "ship owners or their agents"[30] were among the terms found in his lexicon. His work was followed by later lexicographers, such as al-Zabīdī (d. 1205/1790) in his *Tāj al-ᶜarūs* (The Crown of the Bride) and al-Bustānī (d. 1883) in his *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* (The Surrounding of *al-Muḥīṭ* [of al-Fayrūzabādī]).

Pragmatic

As outlined in Chapter 1, I chose to document and investigate maritime terminology because it is an endangered corpus. In my fieldwork I collected 122 terms, only 18 of which are listed in Arabic lexica – examples include *shirāᶜ* (sail), *sukkān* (rudder) and *mijdāf* (oar) – and this dearth proves there is a huge gap in the documentation of maritime terms where most of them are excluded. Thirty-nine of the collected sample are not listed – terms such as *burūsī* (anchor),[31] *shawraja* (big oar)[32] and *al-sardānī* (metal fire place on board ship)[33] – and it is safe to claim that these terms are of foreign origin. Finally, terms that have listed roots equal 65 out of the collected sample (122). These terms are not explicitly listed in lexica, but we can find the listed roots that these words seem to be derived from. Such terms can be divided as follows: 46 terms have a clear semantic relationship to the listed roots, which helps modern researchers deduce the meaning of these terms according to the conceptual meanings of their roots. This high number indicates the validity of using Ibn Fāris's (d. 395/1004) theory in his *Muᶜjam maqāyīs al-lugha* (The Criteria of the Language) as a model of interpreting non-listed terms.

[29] Al-Fayrūzabādī 1978, 3: 239.
[30] Ibid, 1: 357.
[31] ᶜĪsā Muḥammad Ḥmūdī, interviewed in Al Qahma on 19 May 2010.
[32] Ḥasan ᶜAbd Allāh ᶜĪsā, interviewed in Farasan on 23 May 2010.
[33] ᶜĪd Nāṣir al-Fawwāl, interviewed in Al Wajh on 11 June 2010.

Consider, for example, *jalab* pl. *julbān* (fishing lines).[34] Ibn Fāris lists the root √*j.l.b.*, which expresses the meaning of "bringing something far from you"[35] and this is exactly what fishermen do when they fish using these lines, which extend deep into the sea where some fish like *al-fāris* (Jopfish) inhabit. Fish such as these can only be caught using very long lines because they are usually found at about 100 meters depth.[36] The term *maᶜdal* (a timber extending from one of the sides of the *hūrī* (beach canoe) to balance it so that it does not capsize),[37] Ibn Fāris lists the root √*ᶜ.d.l.*, suggesting that it expresses the conceptual meaning of "being balanced".[38] Finally, for the term *shifra* (the edge of the long side of the sail that faces the wind),[39] Ibn Fāris lists the root √*sh.f.r.*, which expresses the meaning of "the border of something or its edge".[40]

Nineteen terms have listed roots but with no semantic relationship. This could be a result of occasional similarity between Arabic and foreign roots, or it could be a sign that seafaring communities forged these words arbitrarily, without considering their semantic meaning.

In my case study (Chapter 9) I analysed 29 terms, 5 of which are documented in Arabic lexica and literary works and 5 are only found in lexica. Another 5 terms are found in literary works only. The rest of the corpus, 14 terms, cannot be located either in lexica or literary works which points to the importance and significance of the ethnography I have conducted. Most of the analysed sample (29 terms) are documented from more than one

[34] ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz Mashhūr al-Sayyid, interviewed in Al Qunfudhah on 17 May 2010.
[35] Ibn Fāris 1979, 1: 469.
[36] Sālim al-Baḥḥār, interviewed in Al Wajh on 11 June 2010.
[37] Ḥasan Bḥays ᶜĪsā, interviewed in Jizan on 21 May 2010.
[38] Ibn Fāris 1979, 4: 246.
[39] Abū Nāyif al-Ḥmidī, interviewed in Umluj on the 9 June 2010.
[40] Ibn Fāris 1979, 3: 200.

informant, only 6 terms which is about 20% were heard from one informant only, a fact which raises the need for more fieldwork in this area. One complex issue which would require further research is to clarify the different plurals given for one term which would require interviewing many more informants over a longer period of time. Examples include *sukkān* (rudder), pl. *sakākīn* and *sukkānāt* and *ṣaddāf* (boat used for shell collecting) pl. *sadādīf* and *ṣaddāfāt.*

However, a few reservations we find when applying Ibn Fāris's theory. First, according to him terms that derived from non-Arabic roots cannot be analysed, and therefore, such roots were ignored entirely by him; e.g. non-duplicated quadrilateral roots, √*b.n.d.r.* and √*s.n.b.k.* giving *bandar* (port) and *sanbūk* (ship type). Secondly, some terms seems to be derived from Arabic roots but have no semantic links which according to Ibn Fāris, is an anomaly; e.g. *abū shlayla* (anchor), *rūma* (punting pole), *salab* (fishing lines) and *mikhdaja* (fishing net), (see Chapter 9).

On the other hand, Agius's hypothesis which assumes that the absence of technical terms in lexica can be solved by finding them in literary and non-literary works, calls for attentions. His approach to the study of material cultural terms was synchronic focusing on medieval Islam whereas mine was synchronic though a diachronic approach was applied too. In this instance, some terms I found in non-lexicographical works rendered meanings different form today's e.g. *qarqūr*, for a ship type[41] today is used for a fish trap;[42] *sanbūk*, a small ferry boat,[43] is in today's register a big-sized cargo and fishing vessel.[44] These semantic variations raise issues of lexical development that are affected

[41] Al-Aṣfahānī 2003, 1163.
[42] Yaḥyā Aḥmad al-Shaykh, interviewed in Jizan, on 19 May 2010.
[43] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa 1987, 206.
[44] ᶜAwwād al-Nāṣir and Muḥammad Ḥāmid al-Ḥāzmi, interviewed in Yanbu on 4 June 2010.

through time, space and environment. Further, some terms which were not used in lexica could not be located in literary and non-literary works, such as *ṣaddāf* (small boat used for shell collecting), *ṣayyādī* (fishing boat), *muḥwāh* (a small container or a [cloth or leather] bag in which personal items are kept), and *danjīl* (a small bag which looks like a net made of rope to collect oyster shells) (see Chapter 9). This lexical gap was remedied by collecting ethnographic work, an oral source which strengthened this study.

The sample investigated in Chapter 8 and 9 consists of three groups: first, terms which are not documented in lexica, and these had first priority because if they were not collected they would be forgotten. Second, terms that were documented in Arabic lexica and still in use up until modern times; such terms are important because they illustrate the semantic development of these terms since medieval times. Third, terms that were listed in lexica but no longer used among Red Sea coastal communities in recent times; these terms show an image of documented maritime terms in the past. Had these terms been ignored then we would have lost a legacy of maritime culture. Furthermore, it seems that terms that were listed in lexica, whether they are used today or not, are used more frequently in non-lexicographical works than non-listed terms. According to the purist view of the language which has dominated since the medieval era, listing terms in lexica gives them the legitimacy to be used by speakers, poets and writers.

Listed terms also bring up the question of time and environment since we do not know how far they go back and the place they were used. This is a result of the lack of an Arabic etymological dictionary. The lack of such a dictionary has significant repercussions because lexica might provide several meanings from different periods for a word without indicating the historical development and order of these meanings. In such cases, users

would have to choose the most appropriate meaning for a word: one that fits the context. Such choices are not easy.

Another issue that modern researchers encounter is the absence of etymological information in lexica. Etymology highlights the links between languages, revealing which language influences another and which are influenced. Reading texts with an etymological dictionary available is like seeing a giraffe in its own environment. The lack of such etymological background, on the other hand, is comparable to looking at the same animal behind bars in a zoo.[45] In Chapter 3, I discussed that this lack of etymological information is one of the thorniest problems that researchers and learners encounter. First, because there is a huge corpus of material cultural terminology excluded from Arabic lexica, as stated previously, and even though some medieval lexicographers recognized a range of spoken dialectal terms, they did not document them.[46] Second, a great number of documented terms were given vague and ambiguous definitions.

This thesis achieved the following: a) an assessment of the representation of dialectal maritime terms in Arabic lexica compiled throughout the centuries from the time of al-Farāhīdī (d. 175/791) until the recent Cairene Arabic Academy's lexicon. These lexica were scarcely representative of the maritime culture by the coast or at sea. As mentioned earlier, this lack of information is a result of the purist view that flourished in medieval times; b) it proved that although early language compilers kept their lexica far from the language of seafaring communities, the socio-cultural relationships between the desert and the sea led to the existence of a small number of maritime terms documented in a few

[45] Sidney 1989, 103.
[46] Guillaume 1965, 5.

lexica and in other sources; c) it created a model, which helps modern researchers in investigating terms outside lexicographical works.

Because of the limitation of the number of words required for writing this thesis I was unable to take my research further in investigating more maritime terms. There is a need in future studies to cover more archival work: for example, less known lexicographical works, some of which might still be kept as manuscripts in private collections. In addition, although I consulted a number of non-lexicographical works, it is recommended that future investigations include a wider variety of literary and technical works. There is a need for future maritime terminology studies to cover the Arabian and African coasts of the Red Sea. Reconstructing the terminology by tracing their origins and past would demonstrate the strong relationships that exist between both littorals of the Red Sea from classical times up until this very day. An etymological investigation would help to look at the linguistic network of terms employed in other ethnic communities that interacted with the Red Sea coastal area, such as Indian, Persian Southern Arabian and Tigré speakers.

I spent two seasons collecting the sample of maritime vocabulary, but more time and systematic work is needed to cover several aspects of this ignored corpus. What I experienced during my fieldwork was that the coastal dialects contained a great number of unlisted terms. As for the dialectal variation, there was a number of terms that were different in spite of containing the same meaning. For example, in the north of the Red Sea they use the terms *rayyis* (captain), *ṣārī* (mast), while in the middle and the south of the Red Sea they use *nawkhadha* and *daqal*. In Farasān I heard *ghawwāṣ* (pearl diver), while in Umlij they say *mūkhār*. Also in Farasān they say *lūlū* (pearls), while in Jeddah I

heard *lūl*. In Jizān I heard *salab* and *maqāṭīn* (fishing lines) while in Yanbu they say *julbān*. Synonyms were also detected, examples include, *jamma* and *mandūl* for the bilge, *shabaka* and *mikhdaja* for fishing net, *rūma* and *miṭraḥa* for punting pole and *hūrī* and *sanbūk* for a boat.

It also should be noted that an etymological dictionary would need to be enriched with this neglected corpus to cover the gaps caused by the purist view of early compilers and modern lexicographers who have ignored substantial number of technical vocabulary.

Overall, although the words discussed in this thesis are limited to thirty-four terms, twenty-nine of which are still in use and five of them are listed in mainstream lexica but no longer used. This sample illustrates the variety of the terms' origins, which include Arabic, Semitic languages, Fārsī, Hindi and Turkish. This variety of origins points to the fact that seafaring communities in the Red Sea interacted with various ethnic communities using a maritime corpus which constituted a *lingua franca* used by Arabian and non-Arabian sailors. Other terms that are not listed in lexica but derived from Arabic listed roots with clear semantic relationship could have been forged by local Arabian fishermen. Foreign terms, it is supposed, entered the language of seafaring communities via the sea people who sailed to non-Arabic speaking communities.

This thesis fills a scientific gap in our knowledge and understanding of the material cultural world, which the ethnic communities in urban and coastal regions, engaged over the centuries with a dialectal Arabic that gave size to a number of technical terms. Maritime terms that lexica left out could be found in literary and non-literary works and

as this thesis has proven ethnographic fieldwork often corroborates the written evidence and provides answers to a diachronic approach in the study of such vocabulary.

Appendix

Glossary of terms documented in the fieldwork

A

ʿayāyīr sn. *ʿayyār* (rigging ropes)

B

bābūr pl. *bawābīr* (steam-ship)

bākhira pl. *bawākhir* (a type of ship)

balbīl (oyster-shell)

bandar pl. *banādir* (a port town or city)

bandūl see *jamma*

al-bardān (the sides of the ship's hold where sailors keep their belongings)

bashlīla see *burūsī*

bāṭūṣ (a thick plank of wood fastened to the edges of the boat)

burūsī (anchor)

D

danjīl (bag used by divers to collect pearls)

daqal (mast)

dawmān (rigging rope)

ḍīrāk (kind of fish)

dungī pl. *danāgī* (beach canoe)

F

fallūka pl. *fawālīk* (a kind of small boat)

G

gabālīs (small robes that link the sail to the sail yard)

ginbār (type of rigging rope)

H

ḥawāl (calm sea)

hirāb (keel)

hūrī pl. *hawārī* (beach canoe)

I

ʿirba pl. *ʿirab* (a splice in the rigging rope)

J

jamma (bilge)

jalab pl. *julbān* see *salab*

jurdī, pl. *jarādī* (trading-ship)

H

ḥabl pl. *ḥibāl* see *salab*

K

kanʿad (a type of fish)

karrāni (a man who in charge of the ship's accounts)

khashaba pl. *khashabāt* (a generic term for ship or boat or piece of wood)

L

laʿaf (fishing bait)

laṣaf (fruit like cucumber, used by sailors to cure scurvy when they are far at sea)

M

magāṭīn (fishing threads)

mandūl see *jamma*

mikhdaja (fishing net)

mijdāf pl. *majadīf* (oar)

miqlāṣ (a knife used by divers to pull out oyster shells)

miṭraḥa (punting pole)

muḥwāh (a small container or a cloth or leather bag in which personal items are kept)

mūkhār (pearl diver)

muqaddam (a man who in charge of the safety of passengers)

N

naw (wind)

nawkhadha pl. *nawākhidha* (captain)

nuhayd pl. *nuhaydāt* (a type of shell)

nūrī pl. *nawārī* (large ship)

Q

qārib, pl. *qawārib* (small boat)

gargūr pl. *garāgīr* (huge fish trap)

qulfaṭ (caulking)

quṣayyir (small mast)

R

rayyis see *nawkhadha*

rubbān pl. *rabābīn* see *nawkhadha*

rūma (punting pole)

S

ṣadaf (small oyster shell, with a small living creature inside, which could contain a pearl)

ṣaddāf (in the Red Sea a small boat used in shell collecting)

safīna pl. *sufun* (ship)

sahwa see *ṭufī*

ṣakhwa pl. *ṣakhāwī* (small fish trap)

salab (fishing lines)

ṣanbūk pl. *sanābīk* (an ocean-going ship)

sandarūs (a kind of glue used by ship builders to fill the gaps in the body of the ship)

ṣanjār (a group of fishing boat who sail together for fishing)

ṣaqal (stone fishing weights)

sardīn (sardines)

sayb (oar)

ṣayyādī (fishing boat)

shalamān pl. *shalāmīn* (ship's ribs)

sharw see *naw*

shirāʿ pl. *ashriʿa* (sail)

shirt (the rope fitted to sail yard)

shuwār (gillnet)

sigāla pl. *sigālāt* (a quay)

sukkān (rudder)

ṣurunbāq (soft white tissue inside the oyster shell)

T

thaggāla (a heavy piece of metal fastened to the foot of the pearl diver to help him going down to the sea bed)

tharamān (sail yard)

ṭirbāl (tarpaulin)

ṭufī (a wide piece of palm wicker mat placed on the awning to protect sailors against the rain)

U

ʿūd pl. *ʿīdān* (a generic term for a water craft)

Y

yusur (a kind of sea plant)

Z

zārūq, pl. *zawārīq* (a type of ship)

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