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THE PROCESS OF COMPOUND LEXICAL ITEMS FORMATION
IN MODERN WRITTEN ARABIC

One of the basic processes of word formation in modern literary Arabic, is derivation, which may consist either in affixation or in a vowel alternation. The vocabulary of the language, especially of the modern one, is supplemented by both borrowings and calques.

The aim of this paper is to investigate yet another, extremely important, word formation process, namely composition. The term "composition" is used here in its broad sense, i.e. it is to be understood as a process of forming new words by means of combining two or more other words either on the basis of co-ordination or on the basis of subordination.

The result of this process may be a compound, a juxtaposition or a concretion. An attempt will be made to prove that the Arabic language contains forms equivalent to these constructions. The argument will be conducted in such a way as to give a clear definition of the author's standpoint in the on-going debate over the possible border line between compound lexical items and word groups. It should be emphasized from the very beginning that the author introduces two terms, a compound and a compound lexical item, which will be used throughout the text, but which will stand for two different notions. The term "compound lexical item" will be used to denote any linguistic form that comes out of the combination of two or more lexical units. Thus it will include compounds, juxtaposition and concretions.

The paper contains a list of compound words which have not yet been lexicalized, but which will probably soon undergo this process. The prediction made here is based not only on the observable structural identity of these forms, but

above all, on the analysis of their semantic extension as well as their occurrence in given contexts. The linguistic material investigated here comes from numerous press articles and books on diverse subjects, published in various Arab countries in the 70s and 80s. The number of carefully studied examples (about two thousand) seems to justify the claim that composition is still one of the most important word formation processes in modern written Arabic.

§ 1. Compounds

Arabists usually agree that a compound as understood in European terms (i.e. as one word formed out of two others, which has the inflection analogical to this of the simple nominal form) appears considerably seldom in Arabic¹. Only in very few cases can we observe a rise of such a form out of a word group. The new form is always characterized by the disappearance of inflection, e.g.:

ra'smāl - 'capital' (from: ra's^u mālⁱⁿ) ;
māward - 'rose water' (from: mā^u wardⁱⁿ) ;
habqarr - 'hail' (from: habb^{un} qarr^{un})².

The compounds of this type, leaving no doubt as for their morphological nature, have been already investigated in several papers (L. Drozdik, Compounding as a Second - Order Word Formation Procedure in Modern Written Arabic, Asian and African Studies, N° 3, Bratislava 1967, p. 60-97; V. Bielkin, Arabskaya leksikologiya, Moskva 1975; A. Czap'iewicz, Die Kopulativen Zusammensetzungen im modernen Arabisch, Halle/Wittenberg, Arabische Sprache und Literatur im Wandel, 1979/42/19, p. 73 - 83).

But there also exists a highly controversial form called 'idāfa. Some specialists consider it the eldest compound in the Arabic language; for others it is only one more example of a word group. This latter opinion is also held by V. M. Bielkin who claims that "...Such word combinations are used for denoting objects and phenomena of the objective reality; they represent completely independent semantic units ..." ³. And next: "...Such analytical constructions, irrespective of their regularity and typical character, cannot be identified with a single word or a compound word, even if they stand for one notion only. What is important here is not only the precision of linguistic terminology but also the understanding of the essence of the whole phenomenon as well as the object of the lexicological analysis. There are numerous combined forms that cannot be recognized as compound words in the strict sense of the definition neither from the grammatical nor from the semasiological point of view ..." ⁴. The author's main argument against recognizing 'idāfa as a compound is its for-

mal aspect: "...the difference between a compound word and a word group is the indivisibility of the former and divisibility of the latter ..." ⁵.

It seems that Bielkin is too quick in formulating such conclusions here. Taking into consideration the widely accepted definition of a compound ⁶ we may easily recognize 'idāfa as its equivalent. A compound is a motivated form that comes to rise by means of combining two or more separate words into a single formal and semantic unit. It is accomplished in such a way that at least one of the elements has not got a form equivalent to a parathesis and that at the same time the semantic distinction of the components is preserved. The Arabic construction known as 'idāfa seems to fulfil all the requirements of this definition, also as far as the formal aspect goes - but V. M. Bielkin rejects this fact. The formal unity of the 'idāfa construction may be seen in a constant occurrence of the genitive as a determining element (unlike in some European languages in which it is one common stress that performs this binding role), while a determined element takes a specific form - generally definite - different from the one required by the parathesis.

At the same time we must agree that not every 'idāfa can be treated as a compound word, and not only grammatical considerations are important here. On the syntactic level each of these constructions is a separate and indivisible unit; the difference in the degree of coherence may be noticed only on the semantic level. Taking this fact into consideration we may divide 'idāfa constructions into the following categories:

I. 'Idāfa constructions whose components are semantically only loosely connected. In order to understand what is denoted by a construction of this type, it is necessary to refer to two separate notions that the respective components of 'idāfa represent, e.g. :
dawr^u t-ṭabīb, 'doctor's role' (*Al-'Arabī, N° 268, April 1981, Kuwait, p. 115, vv. 5) ;
aṣnāf^u t-ṭa'ām, 'kinds of food' (*Al-'Arabī, N° 284, July 1982, Kuwait, p. 59, vv. 12) ;
mabnā l-qāmi'a, 'university building' (*Al-'Arabī, N° 305, April 1984, Kuwait, p. 162, vv. 40).

II. 'Idāfa constructions whose components are semantically very closely connected. In European languages they often have the form of a single word. Dealing with this type we refer to one notion only, e.g.:

ḥaḳībat^u l-yad, 'ladies purse, handbag' ⁷ ;
'ilm^u l-luḡa, 'lexicography' ⁸ ;
'ālim^u t-ṭabī'a, 'physicist' ⁹ ;
madār^u l-'arḍ, 'orbit' ¹⁰ ;

markabat^U 'l-faḡā', 'spaceship'¹¹

III. Various types of names: geographical, botanical, zoological, time expressions - like days of week and months, nouns denoting organizations, societies, etc. E.g.:

bilad^U 'l-yaman, 'Yemen; Arabia Felix'¹²;

'abbād^U 's-šams, 'sunflower'¹³;

qindil^U 'l-baḡr, 'jellyfish'¹⁴;

yawm^U 'l-ḡum'a, 'Friday'¹⁵;

hizb^U 'l-'ammāl, 'Labor Party'¹⁶.

Some observations made by M. P. Panahi¹⁷ seem to support this typology of 'idāfa constructions. Taking into consideration certain formal criteria, Panahi makes a distinction between 'idāfas consisting of loosely and of closely connected components. He claims that the 'idāfa constructions of the first type may be enlarged by adding some new elements to both determined and determining noun (e.g. mayādīn^U wa-šawāri'^U 'l-madīna, 'squares and streets of the town'; ḡarīdat^U 't-tihād¹ 's-ša'ab, 'Journal of the National Union'¹⁸) whereas in the case of 'idāfa constructions which are identified as compounds it is not possible. But it seems that the author makes a mistake when he identifies compounds with the 'idāfa constructions of the exocentric type¹⁹. As may be seen above (II type) compounds can be also represented by the endocentric 'idāfa constructions.

Some of the 'idāfa construction have already undergone the process of lexicalization and may be found in the dictionaries of the modern Arabic language. One of the aims of the present paper is to direct the readers' attention to these other forms, which have not yet been lexicalized. It seems probable that they will undergo this process in the nearest future for at least two reasons. Firstly, they represent the analogical semantic relationship of the components; secondly, they are already widely used in various books, newspapers and magazines. Some of them are listed below:

ālāt^U 'n-naḡḡ, 'the wood-winds' (Maḡallat^U 'l-Kuwayt, November 1980, Kuwait, p. 106, vv. 11);

'inā'^U mā', 'water bowl' (Ibidem, p. 84, vv. 11);

bank^U 't-taslīf, 'loan bank' (Mufakkirat^U 'l-ḡaql fī 'l-maḡāṣil¹ 'l-bustāniyya, N° 77, November 1972, Cairo, p. 13, vv. 5);

burg^U 't-tilifizyūn, 'tower for television transmission' (Maḡallat^U 'l-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 106, vv. 5);

ḡadārat^U 'l-muslimīn, 'moslem civilization' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N° 268, March 1981, Kuwait, p. 132, vv. 24);

riḡlat^U 'l-faḡā, 'space voyage' (Ibidem, p. 124, vv. 27);

raqs^U 'l-bantūmīn, 'pantomime' (ʿAl-Muṣawwar, December 1976, Cairo, p. 220, vv. 21);

saḡinat^U 's-saḡar, 'liner (ship)' (Maḡallat^U 'l-Kuwayt, January 1981, p. 62, vv. 14);

širkat^U 'n-naft, 'oil company' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^U 'l-ʿarabiyya, N° 2, February 1980, Tripoli, p. 17, vv. 16);

šakl^U 'l-'adab, 'literary form' (Min^a 'l-masraḡ¹ 'l-ʿālamī, N° 152, May 1982, Kuwait, p. 5, vv. 7);

ṭabaqat^U 'l-ḡaww, 'atmospheric layer' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N° 305, April 1984, p. 86, vv. 34);

ma'rakat^U 't-taḡrīr, 'liberation war' (ʿAl-Muṣawwar, December 1976, p. 219, vv. 14);

ma'had^U 'l-'abhāṭ, 'research institute' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N° 305, April 1984, p. 155, vv. 10);

qism^U 'l-ḡayṣ, 'military squad' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N° 284, July 1982, p. 141, vv. 39);

qisṣat^U 'l-kibār, 'stories for adults' (Ibidem, p. 96, vv. 28);

qā'idat^U 'l-'aḡlāq, 'moral principle' (ʿĀlam^U 'l-fikr, N° 1, April - June 1982, Kuwait, p. 154, vv. 25);

qanāt^U 'r-rayy, 'irrigation canal' (Mufakkirat^U 'l-ḡaql fī 'l-maḡāṣil¹ 'l-bustāniyya, N° 77, November 1972, p. 16, vv. 3);

qā'at^U 'l-'istiḡbāl, 'reception room' (Maḡallat^U 'l-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 110, vv. 33);

qawā'id^U 'l-kitāba, 'spelling principles' (Min^a 'l-masraḡ¹ 'l-ʿālamī, N° 152, May 1982, p. 7, vv. 23);

ka'kat^U 'z-zawāḡ, 'wedding cake' (Maḡallat^U 'l-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 102, vv. 10);

nār^U 'l-ḡaḡīm, 'hell fire' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N° 268, March 1981, p. 125, vv. 25);

nizām^U 'n-naḡd, 'currency organization' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N° 304, March 1984, p. 5, vv. 10);

nizām^U 'd-dawla, 'state organization' (Min^a 'l-masraḡ¹ 'l-ʿālamī, N° 152, May 1982, p. 6, vv. 22);

nuḡtat^U 'l-ḡudūd, 'border post' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^U 'l-ʿarabiyya, N° 2, February 1980, p. 20, vv. 29).

In order to establish the level of semantic coherence between the two elements of an 'idāfa we have to depend on a native speaker²⁰. It is only his

assertion that a given word group evokes a sufficiently homogenous notional representation that allows us to classify this word group as an equivalent of a compound.

The list of the examples presented above has been made according to this method. A similar procedure has been employed when preparing the next list, which contains some examples of juxtaposition.

§ 2. Juxtapositions

There exists in Arabic a special construction that may be viewed as an equivalent of a juxtaposition²¹. It takes the form of a parathesis with an adjective as a determining element and a noun as a determined one. It must be noticed, however, that not all word groups that follow this pattern may be recognized as compound lexical items. Similarly, as in the case of the *ʿiqāfa*, a group of this kind may be characterized by a considerably loose semantic relationship between its components; e.g.:

muṣkilat^{un} siyāsiyya, 'political problem' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^u ʿl-ʿarabiyya, N^o 2, February 1980, p. 19, vv. 6);

kalimat^{un} ṣādiqa, 'reliable word' (Ibidem, p. 20, vv. 12);

masāqat^{un} ḥāʾila, 'vast regions' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 13, vv. 13).

But there also exist examples in which both elements are combined into one semantic unit, whose value goes beyond the semantic extension of the components. And it is only then that we may speak about a noun-adjective parathesis as of an equivalent of a compound word. The modern language of Arabic press provides us with numerous examples of such constructions; some of them have already found their place in the dictionaries of modern written Arabic:

miknasat^{un} kahrabāʾiyya, 'vacuum cleaner'²²;

alat^{un} ḥāsiba, 'calculating machine'²³;

ʿālim^{un} ṭabīʿī, 'physicist'²⁴;

ḡamʿiyyat^{un} taʿāwuniyya, 'cooperative'²⁵;

saʿīnat^{un} širāʿiyya, 'sailship, sailboat'²⁶.

There are also many examples which has not been lexicalized yet:

ʿarādⁱⁿ zirāʿiyya, 'plough lands' (ʿAl-ʿArabi, N^o 304, March 1984, p. 42, vv. 16);

ʿazmat^{un} ʿiqtiṣādiyya, 'economic depression' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^u ʿl-ʿarabiyya, N^o 2, February 1980, p. 14, vv. 13);

muʿassasat^{un} māliyya, 'currency organization' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, January 1981, p. 109, vv. 7);

taʿlīf^{un} masrahī, 'dramatic work' (ʿĀfāq ʿarabiyya, N^o 1, September 1976, Baghdad, p. 91, vv. 37);

bahṭ^{un} ʿilmī, 'scientific research' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 12, vv. 10);

biʿr^{un} ʿartwāzī, 'artesian well' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 268, March 1981, p. 78, vv. 23);

binyat^{un} ʿiḡtimāʿiyya, 'social structure' (Ibidem, p. 113, vv. 9);

bayʿat^{un} ṭabīʿiyya, 'natural environment' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 304, March 1984, p. 39, vv. 4);

ḡabariyyat^{un} nafsīyya, 'psychological determinism' (ʿĀlam^u ʿl-fikr, N^o 1, April-June 1982, p. 153, vv. 15);

ḡumhūriyyat^{un} ṣaʿbiyya, 'national republic' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^u ʿl-ʿarabiyya, N^o 2, February 1980, p. 19, vv. 42);

ḡumhūriyyat^{un} ʿarabiyya, 'Arab republic' (Ibidem, p. 11, vv. 21);

ḡahāz^{un} ʿilīktrūniyya, 'electronic device' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, January 1981, p. 102, vv. 5);

ḡahāz ḡukūmī, 'machinery of government' (ʿĀfāq ʿarabiyya, N^o 1, September 1976, p. 93, vv. 6);

ḡādīl^{un} tāriḡī, 'historical event' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 288, November 1982, p. 90, vv. 37);

ḡarakat^{un} siyāsiyya, 'political movement' (ʿAl- Muṣawwar, December 1976, p. 226, vv. 7);

ḡisāb^{un} riyaḡī, 'mathematical operation' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 82, vv. 3);

ḡiqbat^{un} ḡiyūlūḡiyya, 'geological age' (Ibidem, p. 12, vv. 7);

ḡikāyat^{un} ṣaʿbiyya, 'folk tale' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 284, July 1982, p. 98, vv. 32);

ḡamlat^{un} ʿiʿlāmiyya, 'campaign for information' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^u ʿl-ʿarabiyya, N^o 2, February 1980, p. 18, vv. 28);

ṭahawwulāt^{un} tāriḡiyya, 'historical changes' (Ibidem, p. 6, vv. 2);

ʿal-ḡaṭṭ^u ʿl-ʿarabī, 'Arabic alphabet' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 82, phot.);

ḡall^{un} kuḡūlī, 'spirits vinegar' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 268, March 1981, p. 82, vv. 34);

ḡuyūl^{un} ʿarabiyya, 'Arabian horses' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 284, July 1982, p. 137, vv. 21);

ḡahl^{un} sanawī, 'annual income' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 268, March 1981, p. 83, vv. 14);

raḡṣ^{un} ṣaʿbī, 'folk dance' (ʿAl-Muṣawwar, December 1976, p. 217, vv. 1);

murakkabāt^{un} maʿdaniyya, 'minerals' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 16, vv. 23);

irādāt^{un} sanawiyya, 'annual incomes' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 268, March 1981, p. 82, vv. 23);
sirr^{un} ʿadrākī, 'age of adolescence' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 284, July 1982, p. 98, vv. 36);
sanat^{un} dirāsiyya, 'schoolyear' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 305, April 1984, p. 163, vv. 20);
sūq^{un} siyāhiyya, 'tourist market' (ʿAl-Muṣawwar, December 1976, p. 225, vv. 1);
sūq^{un} sawdā, 'black market' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, January 1981, p. 103, vv. 31);
šaʿīrat^{un} dīniyya, 'religious ceremony' (Min^a ʿl-masrahⁱ ʿl-ʿālamī, N^o 152, 1982, p. 8, vv. 14);
muškilat^{un} falsafiyya, 'philosophical problem' (ʿĀlam^u ʿl-fikr, N^o 1, April-June 1982, p. 153, vv. 15);
sanf^{un} ʿadabī, 'literary genre' (Min^a ʿl-masrahⁱ ʿl-ʿālamī, N^o 152, May 1982, p. 5, vv. 11);
miḍḥḥat^{un} ʿāliyya, 'mechanical pump' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 268, March 1981, p. 75, vv. 13);
ṭabaqat^{un} ʿiḡtimāʿiyya, 'social class' (Ibidem, p. 116, vv. 1);
ʿāʿid^{un} māli, 'financial profit' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^u ʿl-ʿarabiyya, N^o 2, February 1980, p. 17, vv. 14);
ʿalāqat^{un} mantiqī, 'logical relationship' (ʿĀlam^u ʿl-fikr, N^o 1, April-June 1982, p. 163, vv. 23);
ʿamal^{un} fannī, 'work of art' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 102, vv. 8);
firqat^{un} ʿiḡtimāʿiyya, 'social group' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^u ʿl-ʿarabiyya, N^o 2, February 1980, p. 18, vv. 41);
ʿafrazāt^{un} luʿābiyya, 'saliva secretion' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 268, March 1981, p. 71, vv. 2);
fann^{un} taṣkīlī, 'figurative art' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 87, vv. 9);
fann^{un} ʿaʿbī, 'folk art' (ʿAl-Muṣawwar, December 1976, p. 217, vv. 1);
qawānīn^u ṭabīʿiyya, 'natural laws' (ʿĀlam^u ʿl-fikr, N^o 1, April-June 1982, p. 157, vv. 14);
qiṣṣat^u ḡarāmiyya, 'love story' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^u ʿl-ʿarabiyya, N^o 2, February 1980, p. 21, vv. 32);
qālīb^{un} mūsīqī, 'music form' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 268, March 1981, p. 133, vv. 10);
qamar^{un} ṣināʿī, 'artificial satellite' (Ibidem, p. 123, phot.);
lawn^{un} mūsīqī, 'music genre' (Ibidem, p. 133, vv. 3);
māddat^{un} sāʿila, 'liquid substance' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 14, vv. 33);

mawādd^u kimāwiyya, 'chemical substances' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, January 1981, p. 102, vv. 5);
miyāh^{un} ḡawfiyya, 'ground water' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 268, March 1981, p. 75, vv. 15);
nass^{un} kitābī, 'text' (Min^a ʿl-masrahⁱ ʿl-ʿālamī, N^o 152, May 1982, p. 5, vv. 8);
mintaqat^{un} rīfiyya, 'rural district' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 304, March 1984, p. 44, vv. 25);
naẓariyyat^{un} ʿilmiyya, 'scientific theory' (ʿĀfāq^{un} ʿarabiyya, N^o 1, September 1976, p. 93, vv. 6);
namuw^{un} ʿiqtisādī, 'economic rise' (ʿAt-Ṭaqāfat^u ʿl-ʿarabiyya, N^o 2, February 1980, p. 10, vv. 4);
waṭiqat^{un} milāhiyya, 'navigational document' (ʿAl-ʿArabī, N^o 288, November 1982, p. 91, vv. 12);
waḥdat^{un} ʿudwiyya, 'organic unit' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, January 1981, p. 59, vv. 22);
wasīlat^{un} ʿilmiyya, 'scientific method' (Mağallat^u ʿl-Kuwayt, November 1980, p. 14, vv. 6);
ʿiqāʿ^{un} mūsīqī, 'music rhythm' (Ibidem, p. 86, vv. 12).

Both lists of compounds and of juxtapositions may be supplemented with further examples presented and carefully described in the paper *Arabic Idioms* by A. Czapkiewicz²⁷. The chapter entitled "Lexical Idioms" (pp. 23 - 40) contains thirty four examples of compounds. Some of these constructions appear in the form of proper ʿidāfa (ʿal-ʿidāfat^u ʿl-mahda), some take the form of improper ʿidāfa (ʿal-ʿidāfat^u ḡayr^u ʿl-mahda). A. Czapkiewicz presents also eight examples of juxtapositions; seven of them follow the model of noun - adjective parathesis, one is construed according to the scheme noun - attributive noun in apposition (p. 38 - nūr^{un} kaṣṣāf^{un}, 'searchlight'²⁸). This last form may be classified as an example of the type of compound lexical item, i.e. concretion.

§ 3. Concretions

According to the widely recognized definition of concretion²⁹, the main characteristic that distinguishes this form from juxtaposition is a possibility of separating (or exchanging) a determining element from the whole, in the same inflectional form, without causing any change of meaning.

It is known that the structure of a word group, which contains an attributive noun in apposition, is not very rigid in the Arabic language. The decision which particular variant of it should be used is made only on the semantic level³⁰. There exists also a special kind of a nominal group called permutativus, in which the components order is totally free.

Thus we may conclude: if a given word group, made up of a noun and an attributive noun in apposition, represents a notion whose meaning goes beyond the semantic extension of the respective components, and if there exists a possibility to exchange these components without any change of meaning, such word group may be recognized as an equivalent of concretion in the Arabic language. The above mentioned example, taken from *Arabic Idioms* by Czapkiewicz, is a lexicalized form and may be found in various dictionaries of modern Arabic³¹. There exist also some forms which have not yet been lexicalized, but they are rather difficult to find, as their number is fairly small. Two thousand examples of a word group containing an attributive element have been investigated and only one was recognized as a concretion, i. e.:

^{as-safinat}_U ^{l-'umm}_U, 'mothership' (^{Al-'Arabī}, N^o 284, July 1982, p. 59, vv. 8).

Grammar books also provide very few examples of this type:

^{dahab}_{UN} ^{ibriz}_{UN}, 'pure gold'³²;
^{al-waṭan}_U ^{l-'umm}_U, 'motherland'³³;
^{al-'ard}_U ^{l-bikr}_U, 'virgin land'³⁴;
^{ṭawb}_{UN} ^{dirā}_{UN}, 'an ell long garment'³⁵;
^{ḥabl}_{UN} ^{armāt}_{UN}, 'rotten cord'³⁶;
^{al-mīzān}_U ^{l-qist}_U, 'reliable balance'³⁷.

As has been shown in this paper, composition is still one of the most important word formation processes in modern Arabic. Its main products - compounds and juxtapositions - taking the form of ^{idāfa} and noun - adjective parathesis respectively, largely enrich the vocabulary of the language. It should be emphasized, however, that the constructions presented here are only equivalents of compound words which may be encountered in European languages. It often happens that the Arabic forms apparently do not fulfil all the requirements of the traditional definitions, the reason being their structural difference. But we should remember, that in the case of the Arabic language the final classification is made only on the semantic level. A given word group may be recognized as a compound, juxtaposition or a concretion, only when the notional representation that it evokes has a semantic value different from that of its components.

The present paper should by no means be viewed as an attempt to investigate comprehensively the process of word formation in Arabic. The author's aim was rather to point to the great importance of semantic considerations (so often neglected in the literature) for the proper classification of new morphological forms as well as to direct more attention to the process of composition, still immense importance in modern written Arabic.

Notes

- ¹ B. M. Grande, *Sloznye imena v semitskich yazykach*, Moskva 1964, p. 140.
- ² *Ibidem*, p. 145.
- ³ V. M. Bielkin, *Arabskaya leksikologiya*, Moskva 1975, p. 24, vv. 12 - 15. The quotation is the translation from the Russian version of the book.
- ⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24, vv. 20 - 28.
- ⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 24, vv. 46.
- ⁶ Z. Gołąb, A. Heinz, K. Polański, *Słownik terminologii językoznawczej*, Warszawa 1970, p. 645.
- ⁷ H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, ed. J. M. Cowan, Ithaca - New York 1976, p. 193.
- ⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 635.
- ⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 552.
- ¹⁰ H. K. Baranov, *Arabsko - russkiy slovar*, Moskva 1984, p. 267.
- ¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 311.
- ¹² E. A. Elias, *Elias' Modern Dictionary Arabic - English*, ed. E. Elias, Cairo 1976, p. 823.
- ¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 421.
- ¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 564.
- ¹⁵ H. Wehr, *op. cit.*, p. 1110.
- ¹⁶ H. K. Baranov, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
- ¹⁷ M. P. Panahi, *O kriterii sloznovo slova v arabskom yazykie*, Semitskiye yazyki, vol.1, Moskva 1965, p. 145.
- ¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 149.
- ¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 148.
- ²⁰ Cf. H. A. Gleason, *Workbook in Descriptive Linguistics*, New York 1955, p. 5; A. Szulc, *Podręczny słownik językoznawstwa stosowanego*, Warszawa 1984, p. 117.
- ²¹ The definition of this term: cf. Z. Gołąb, A. Heinz, K. Polański, *op.cit.*, p. 643.
- ²² H. Wehr, *op. cit.*, p. 843.
- ²³ *Ibidem*, p. 35.
- ²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 552.

- 25 Ibidem, p. 135.
- 26 Ibidem, p. 466.
- 27 A. Czapkiewicz, Arabic Idioms, Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, N^o 75, Kraków 1983.
- 28 Providing that the word kaššār^{un} is a substantivied adjective - cf. H. Wehr, op. cit., p. 829.
- 29 Z. Gołąb, A. Heinz, K. Polański, op. cit., p. 653.
- 30 A detailed study of the problem may be found in doctoral thesis of the author - cf. E. Górska, The Rules Governing Word Order for Nominal Multiattributive Groups in Modern Written Arabic, 1987 (in the Polish language); typescript in Jagiellonian Library, Kraków.
- 31 E. g. H. Wehr, op. cit., p. 1009.
- 32 V. Cantarino, Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose, Indiana University Press, Bloomington/London 1975, vol. 2, p. 71.
- 33 Ibidem.
- 34 Ibidem.
- 35 C. Brockelmann (A. Socins), Arabische Grammatik, Verlag von Reuther Reichard, Berlin 1913, p. 126.
- 36 Ibidem.
- 37 Ibidem, p. 127.

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A NOTE ON ARMENIAN ZUĦNA¹

In a recent article in the Festschrift for Adam Heinz, Andrzej Piśowicz (1986, 115) discusses Arm. zuĦna, a term he glosses as 'fife', and which stands for a type of pipe upon which folk music can be performed. The word is recorded in Armenian apparently only in modern times. ZuĦna is not listed in the compendious Nor baĦgirk' haykazean lezui (Venice 1836-1837), nor is it mentioned in Adjarian's marvellously thorough Root Dictionary (four volumes, Yerevan 1926-1935). Nor is it known in the medieval Armenian vocabulary as reflected in the BaĦgirk' hayoc' (Istanbul 1698, in manuscript; printed in Yerevan 1975), the most complete lexicon compiled during that period. It is only in recent years² that the word has been recorded, and it can now be found in any of the modern Armenian lexicons, that of Malhaseants (1944), of Aghayan (1976), or of the Academy of Sciences (1969). There it is glossed principally as 'a type of oriental flute', by which meaning it is also known in Persian, Georgian and Turkish, with the spelling zuĦna.

The most commonly used classical and middle Armenian term for 'fife' was sring, a loan from Gk. σῦριγξ³. It appears in the Bible ten times and is a common term throughout later Armenian literature. It is unclear to me why the actual literary references to Arm. zuĦna are so late, for the instrument called by that name is itself commonly known, and considered ancient.

Pisowicz, in the article being mentioned here, discusses numerous phonetic features of Persian loan words in Armenian; among them