# Word-formation in the Arabic Language of Tourism

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#### ABSTRACT

The tourist flows between the Arabic-speaking world and the West have strengthened the need to develop several Arabic websites, brochures, guidebooks etc. in order to be closer to Arabic speaking visitors to Western countries. In the field of tourism, English has a predominant role and the Arabic language, through different strategies of word-formation, is reacting to Western influence by generating new lexicon that needs to be analyzed in depth. This article aims at examining the challenge tourism poses for the Arabic language: the creation of technical terminology encounters some difficulties such as recourse to different terms to refer to the same concept. Despite the lack of terminological standardization, the vitality of Arabic is evident in the efforts made to bridge communication gaps caused by different cultural contexts: for instance, semantic translation often seems necessary in order to make a foreign term understandable to Arabs. This contribution is the starting point of an indispensable deeper examination of the neologisms and the word-formation strategies in the field of tourist discourse.

*Keywords:* Arabic terminology, Arabic tourist discourse, Arabic tourist lexicon, Arab tourism, word-formation strategies.

### 1. Introduction

Tourism is a multiple-faceted phenomenon which in contemporary societies represents one of the most important elements of cultural interaction based on the circulation of people and information; indeed, it has became a metaphor for post-modern society due to technological evolution in the areas of transportation and communication (Augé 1992; Dann 2002). From a socio-anthropological viewpoint, mass tourism has for many years char-

acterized only western industrialized societies, but in recent decades this phenomenon has also extended to other societies. Contact between Arabs and the West through travel goes back to the beginning of the Islamic era, when the ritual Muslim pilgrimage represented the first form of tourism in Arab society. For most pilgrims it was probably the only opportunity to travel inside the Dār al-Islām and to gain geographic, ethnographic and social knowledge that did not necessarily have any relation to the pilgrimage itself (Gabrieli 1975, 11-12): these rahalāt 'travels', for instance Ibn Battūta, could last several years. However, the Arabs of the time did not travel solely for religious or political reasons, such as pilgrimage, propaganda, or the collection of *Hadīt*, but for commerce, as well: as a result of the Arab expansion, new commercial itineraries were explored that reached Africa and non-Muslim territories belonging to the sphere of Dār al-Harb. Consequently, this can be viewed as the first example of Arabs travelling beyond the boundaries of their belief. Nevertheless, comparing the experience of medieval travelers with modern tourism is misleading: firstly, because of the different causes underlying the Arab exploration of the West; secondly, because travelling has lost, both in Arab and non-Arab communities, its educational purpose.

As a visible effect of globalization, the media pay particular attention to mass tourism: tourist societies and companies actively contribute to the formation of a widespread information network. Advertising, for instance, creates a product based on communicative structures and services that shape identities through reference to art, food and cooking, customs, and so on. The linguistic and visual symbols used in these tourist representations originate in a system of stereotypes ever present in the tourists' collective mind, and the language used in this context plays a central role both in discourse strategies and lexical choices. This contribution will focus on the linguistic aspects of this phenomenon: in order to describe foreign realities, Arabic has had to deal with new terms and concepts that need to be named through unambiguous lexical solutions. A similar analysis, usually conducted in the fields of technology and IT, shows a lack of standardization in the construction of a stable and homogeneous terminology. Our purpose here is to examine word-formation in 'tourism' Arabic. Among the different varieties extant in Arabic we chose to focus on MSA (Modern Standard Arabic); however, this does not mean vernaculars are not involved in the word-formation process. Quite the contrary, in fact, since literary Arabic, having never served as a medium of communication, has not suffered the same invasion of foreign terms dealing with material culture that the dialects have. At the same time, though, literary Arabic has certainly not been immune from external pressure either (Holes 2004). We have concentrated here on MSA for a pragmatic reasons: written material is more widely available in Standard Arabic, so data collection is more practicable. Moreover, this approach permits a large-scale analysis which is independent of the morphological and sociolinguistic phenomena of specific areas. While the collection of data might not seem systematic and comprehensive, something which is probably true, we have tried to follow a criterion founded on a certain semantic area; that is, in the texts collected, selected among guides, brochures and websites, we isolated new terms referring to practical and basic information that a tourist might be looking for, such as accommodation, hotel and travel services, and the like. This kind of information implicitly entails directness and a lack of ambiguity, which means that the words used have to be clearly understood by the readers.

The analysis conducted in this article should be considered a departure point for future study, thereby providing some insights into a topic that has been virtually ignored by researchers until now. Despite the importance attributed by linguists to the processes of word-formation and by Arabists to the changes in the Arabic language, issues related to neologisms and specific language are rarely addressed.

We shall discuss: (1) the main issues regarding tourist discourse in general, and those concerning tourist discourse in Arabic in particular; further, we shall (2) deal with the main word-formation strategies used in the Arabic language; and, finally, in part (3) a list of neologisms will be examined from a linguistic and cultural perspective.

## 2. The Language of Tourism in Arabic communication

The aim of language in tourist contexts is to convert people from potential into actual clients through the use of verbal description and visual elements (Dann 2002, 2). As with other specialized languages, the language of tourism exhibits characteristics such as specific linguistic structures and lexicon, as well as a conventional system of symbols and codes. However, unlike other specialized languages, the mode employed in tourism is not unidirectional: tourists often provide feedback, for example when they report on their trip somewhere, and, therefore, become tourism promoters themselves. The latter aspect is generally thought to be a peculiarity of this linguistic typology, and tourism communication in Arabic does not show any substantial difference in transmitting the tourist's message to its community.

The specificity of these texts lies in the 'culture-boundness' of the terms used (Nigro 2006). The cultural diversity is often actualized here by the difficulty in finding unambiguous linguistic elements, the so called 'culture-bound words': these terms are not easily translatable, since their referents, whether material or ideological/religious, do not exist in one of the two cultural contexts. However, they do emerge on the inter-linguistic level both when a distinction between two cultures arises and, for instance, in the elaboration of an image that must be made accessible to potential tourists. In the globalized world of the present-day, the need to bridge these communication gaps becomes fundamental due to the exponential growth of international interaction. In this sense, cultural mediation is realized by language and its capacity to find adequate solutions for culturebound words. In this regard, Arabic shows an especially complex linguistic reality: on the one hand, we have the dialects, the widespread presence of informal texts, and social networks, whereas, on the other, the Academies of Arabic Language 1 attempt, sometimes through anachronistic lexical choices, to avoid the influence of English in the process of coining new words in Standard Arabic. This situation has led to a surplus of coined words, as we shall see in section 4 below.

## 2.1. Arabic and tourism: some linguistic issues

Given that the tourism industry has only emerged in Arab countries within the last few decades, it is natural for the language to borrow a number of tourist activities and experiences from other countries, thus transferring foreign terms and vocabulary related to a number of aspects of that industry, whose terminology, meaning, and cultural background differ along with the societies in which those industries have developed.

There is no doubt about the predominance of English in tourism: the quantity of borrowings into the Arabic language is a direct consequence of how the global tourism industry has accepted English as its chief means of communication. In several cases, as we shall show in the next paragraph, Arabic has adopted different strategies of translation and linguistic adaptation regarding the foreign word/referent. These solutions may be judged successful when the words coined become culturally accepted and understood by the community. On this level, Arabic manifests distinct complexity, for example, the presence on the web of informal texts, very often influenced by vernaculars, together with the different choices suggested

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Academies of Cairo, Amman, Damascus, Baghdad and Rabat.

in MSA by the Academies of Arabic Language. This has brought about the co-existence of two or more alternative terms for the same referent, which to some degree can be viewed as indicative of an unstable language. However, in broader terms it also illustrates the overall peculiarity of the Arabic linguistic geo-sociolinguistic situation.

Linguistic contact between Arabic and other languages is not new. Many eminent scholars have pointed out how the Arab conquests at the beginning of the Islamic era determined fundamental changes in the Arabic language (Fück 1950; Blau 1977; Versteegh 1984): indeed, the corrupting influence on the part of the conquered populations explains the change from Old Arabic to New Arabic (Versteegh 1984, 5). This event led Medieval Arab philologists and grammarians to find appropriate strategies for the inclusion of new words into the vocabulary of Arabic without, at the same time, risking unwanted alteration.

In this contribution, we shall examine the strategies applied by writers of tourist guidebooks, brochures, and specialized dictionaries to build the tourism lexicon. In the upcoming section we shall analyze the main lexical strategies used to coin new words.

## 3. Coining New Words

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, as well as the twentieth, the influence of Western political, military and scientific ideas proliferated throughout the Arab world. This state of affairs produced several transliterated lexical forms, especially in the sciences, and inaccurate loan translations typically began to appear in Arabic texts. However, foreign lexical influence in Arabic was not new: during the translation of Greek philosophical and scientific texts during the Abbasid period, Arabic was confronted with the first consistent stream of new concepts which required naming. In the course of its linguistic history, Arabic has resorted to numerous strategies to coin new words, and among them the most common was derivation or ištiqāq, a morphological term referring to word-formation based on the application of an affixal morpheme to an existing root. Creating new terms from existing Arabic roots has always been considered the most natural strategy for enrichment in the Arabic language, and, subsequently, it is the strategy favoured by the Academies. In this process, new forms are built on radicals, as in the case of verbal derived forms, active and passive participles, nouns of instrument, place, and profession, and so on. The tradition distinguishes three main types of *ištiqāq*: *al- ištiqāq al-ṣaġīr*, consisting of the application of morphological models to Arabic roots; *al-ištiqāq al-kabīr* 'large derivation', in which the *ma*'nà, the actual sense of the root, is preserved but not the order of the radicals (the process of *qalb* 'metathesis'); and *al-ištiqāq al-akbar* 'largest derivation', represented by the transformation of the root in which neither the specific sense of the root nor the succession of the radicals are preserved (*ibdāl*). In this kind of derivation, grammarians believe that a general semantic nucleus, shared by the unordered root consonants, is preserved (Versteegh 1997).

Aside from the above categories, there also exist other word-formation processes: the actual derivation of the existing root; derivation through the approximation of older vocabulary to create new meanings, either through figurative semantic extension (al-wad' bi-l-maǧāz) or the revival of archaic vocabulary (¿arīb al-luġa) which has been allotted contemporary, though not necessarily directly related, meaning<sup>2</sup>; and, finally, the coinage of neologisms by means of a recent and very productive strategy called ištigāg bi al-tarǧama or al-ištiqāq al-ma<sup>c</sup>nawī, which is used to introduce new terms through the translation of a foreign word's meaning (Stetkevych 1970, 18). In the latter context, we distinguish between loan translation, or calque, and semantic translation: in the first case, the word-for-word translation of the foreign term is respected (e.g. al-in'ikās al-zarfī 'conditional reflex'), while in the latter the translator needs to use a periphrasis to make the term understandable to his reader (e.g. mukabbir al-sawt which literally means 'what enlarges the sound' and which is used to refer to 'microphone').

Another productive strategy, which is preferred among speakers and especially in informal speech, is the  $ta^cr\bar{t}b$  'arabization' of foreign words. The process of arabization is one of naturalization, and it has to satisfy both phonetic and spelling rules. Falsafa 'philosophy', or the more colloquial talfana 'to call on the telephone', are cases of perfect lexical adaptation based on the combination of foreign radicals and the Arabic morphological scheme  $fa^clala^3$ .

This strategy was also theorized by ancient grammarians and lexicographers as a means to enrich Arabic: it is used to distinguish between  $ta^c r \bar{t}b$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Semantic extension through the use of archaic words provided with new meaning is also called *istinbāt*. Some terms suggested by the Academies have not been a success; such as, *irzīz* 'trembling, something which produces noise', *țirbāl* 'high building' and *ğammāz* 'fast-walking'; instead of, respectively, *tilīfūn* or *hātif* 'telephone', *nāṭihat al-saḥāb* 'skyscraper' and *trām* 'tram' (Holes 2004, 311; Elmgrab 2011, 492).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> The paradigmatic root f<sup>-′-</sup>l is used in the Arabic linguistic tradition in order to exemplify morphological patterns.

<code>siyāġiyy</code> 'formal arabization' and <code>ta'rīb ṣawtiyy</code> 'phonetic arabization'. In the first category, the loan word is modeled on Arabic morphological patterns, while in the second it respects phonological constraints. This is the case, for instance, with the term 'television', as it can be rendered <code>tilfāz/talfaza</code> according to the <code>ta'rīb ṣiyāġiyy</code> or <code>tilifīzyūn</code> according to the <code>ta'rīb ṣawtiyy</code>. This method is not always supported by academicians, since it exposes Arabic to the risk of corruption and denaturalization.

Blending, or *naht* in Arabic, is a word-formation process which merges two lexical units that function autonomously to express a new concept. This process sometimes involves the contraction of one of the two units, as in rasmāl 'capital' (ra's 'head' + māl 'riches'), kabrumaģnātīsiyy 'electromagnetic' (kabrabā'iyy 'electric' + maġnātīsiyy 'magnetic'), and barmā'iyy 'amphibious' (barr 'land' + mā' 'water'). Until now the blending process has remained completely without any governing rules. Moreover, these constructions, even if used and understood by speakers, are not shared on a widespread basis: for example, šabakīn 'Internet' is derived from mutašabkin 'Internet user' and the verb šabkana 'to browse', itself a combination of šabaka + bayniyya, which compared to šabaka al-intirnīt, or simply intirnīt<sup>4</sup>, are not commonly used. The Greco-Latin affixes, such as un-, in-, -itis, -scope, ultra-, which have contributed so much to the production of new scientific terminology in the West, lack specific correspondents in Arabic. It has always been felt that a policy of forming composite words by joining free-standing prepositions, like *fawga* 'above' for 'ultra' and *tahta* 'under' for 'infra', which resemble the affixes in terms of meaning, runs against the historical grain of the language (Holes 2004, 312): therefore, new formations like *tahbahriyy* 'submarine' (*tahta* + *bahriyy*) and *ġibǧalīdiyy* 'post-glacial' (¿ibba 'after' + ¿alīdiyy 'glacial') have raised opposition on the part of purists. Academicians generally prefer to paraphrase loan words, as in 'psychology' which is rendered 'ilm al-nafs, instead of using the transliterated form saykulūģiyyā. This solution presents some morpho-syntactic problems, such as the difficulty of forming relational adjectives through the addition of the suffix -iyy. This is why, blended forms could respond better to the syntactic needs of the language.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The Academy of Arabic Language of Damascus also suggests šābika.

## 4. Neologisms in the language of Tourism

Due to the importance of preserving the Arabic language, as well as using Arabic substitutes for foreign words in local Arab societies, wherever they may be, some individuals and scientific organizations have translated a number of terms associated with the tourism sector in its various aspects, such as accommodation, tourist attractions, expenditure, and others. These terms have been published in specialized dictionaries. *Table 1* offers a small selection <sup>5</sup>. The words collected in this table show a clear predominance of loan and semantic translations. We examine some interesting cases of loan translations below:

- Minibar: in Arabic barrāda ṣaġīra or tallāga ṣaġīra. Barrāda derives from the root b-r-d (barada 'to be cold') to which is applied the morphological pattern fa'āl; as for tallāga, it instead derives from t-l-g (talg 'ice'). These two words, commonly used for 'freezer', are combined with the feminine adjective ṣaġīra 'small'. This loan translation is present in institutional texts, while the arabized form of mīnī bār is more common in forums and informal guidebooks.
- Online: this term, in Arabic 'ibra al-intirnīt (literally 'through Internet'), seems lexicalized; for example, hağz 'ibra al-intirnīt 'online booking' and wikāla safar 'ibra al-intirnīt 'online travel agency'. However, the widespread use of bi-l-nīt 'online, through the net' in non-institutional advertising once again demonstrates the divergence between the terminology adopted in formal and informal texts.
- Travelers cheques: the Arabic šīkāt siyāḥiyya is an interesting case of change in terms of both nominal category and a combination of two different word-formation strategies; that is, the arabized form šīk 'cheque' is combined with the calque of 'travelers'. Instead of choosing the substantive suyyāḥ 'travelers', the adjectival form siyāḥiyya from siyāḥa 'tourism' has been preferred.
- Terms such as 'suite, voucher, camping, destination and hospitality' are translated by making recourse to pre-existing Arabic words and extending their semantic value: *Ğanāḥ* 'wing', *īṣāl* 'receipt', *sanad* 'document', *muḥayyam* 'camp', *taḥyām* 'the act of camping', *wiğha* 'direction', *maqṣid* 'destination, intention', *ġāya* 'purpose, direction', *ḍiyāfa* 'hospitality' have all acquired new specificity in their meaning. The word *ḍiyāfa* transmits a key cultural concept, semantically characterized and deeply rooted in Arab social tradition. This concept's association with some forms of payment collides with the habit of offering hospitality to guests (Odeh 2007, 11).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The sources are the forums of the websites quoted in the References.

English term Arabic

Accommodation Sakan, Īwā'

Advance deposit 'arabūn, daf'a mu'ǧila

All inclusive travel Safar šāmil

Amusement park Madīna tarfīhiyya, madīna malāh, malhī alʿāb

Baggage check Taftīš, faḥṣ amtiʿa

Bed and Breakfast Sakan bi-fuṭūr, ġurfa maʿa fuṭūr, B&B

Boarding Iṛʿām, irkāb, muġādara Boarding pass Biṭāqa ṣuʿūd al-ṭāʾira

Buffet Būfīh, maqṣaf, māʾida maftūḥa

Camping

Muḥayyam, taḥyīm

Chef

Šīf, ṭabbāḥ māhir

Continental breakfast

Ifṭār Ūrūbiyy

Croissant

Lifāfa ḥalwa

Destination

Wiğha, maqṣid, ġāya

Double room

Gurfa muzdawiğa

Duty-free Sūq ḥurra
Economy class Darağa siyāḥiyya

Fitness center Markaz liyāqa badaniyya, nādi riyaḍiyy Group travel Siyāḥa ǧamāʿiyya, safr al-maǧmūʿāt

Half-board Nisf igāma

High season Mawsim siyāḥiyy, mawsim al-dawra

Hospitality diyāfa

Hostel Buyūt al-šabāb, ma'wà al-šabāb

Hotel Funduq/ūtīl

Low-cost travel Siyāḥa qalīla al-kilfa
Minibar Barrād ṣaġīr, tallāǧa ṣaġīra
Online booking ḥaǧz ʿibra al-intirnīt
Online travel agency Wikāla safar ʿibra al-intirnīt

Recreational tourism Siyāḥa tarfīhiyya

Registration form Biṭāqat al-uṣūl, istimārat al-tasǧīl, namūḍaǧ al-tasǧīl

Roman Forum Al-sūq al-rūmāniyya
Round trip Riḥla dahāb īyab
Safari Riḥla qanṣ

Sandwich Lifāfa maḥšuwiya, sandwītš
Single room Ġurfa fardiyya, ġurfa li-šaḥṣ wāḥid

SPA Nādi ṣiḥḥiyy, ʿuyūn miyāh miʿdaniyya la-hā ḥawāṣṣ ṭibbiyya

Suite *Ğanāh* 

TagliatelleMa'karūna al-šarā'iṭTravels chequesŠīkāt siyāḥiyyaTouring clubNādī al-suyyāḥ

Vacationer Muǧāz, mustamti' bi-l-iǧāza
Vacation resort muntaǧa', makān li-qaḍā' al-iǧāza

Voucher *Īṣāl*, sanad

Semantic translation is necessary for other terms requiring explanation through paraphrase or lexical change:

- Bed and breakfast: besides the acronym B&B in Latin letters, we find the expressions sakan bi-fuṭūr 'accommodation with breakfast' and ġurfa ma'a fuṭūr 'room with breakfast', both of which specify what Bed and Breakfast consists of.
- Buffet: mā'ida maftūḥa 'open table', maqṣaf 'refreshment room'.
- Croissant: instead of the more common *kruwāsān*, the semantic translation uses the term *lifāfa* 'wrapping, rolling' (from *laffa* 'to roll up') combined with the adjective *ḥalwa* 'sweet'.
- Spa: nād(in) ṣiḥḥiyy 'health club, 'uyūn miyāh mi'daniyya la-hā bawāṣṣ tibbiyya 'mineral waters sources which have medical characteristics'.
- Fitness center: *markaz liyāqa badaniyya* 'center of body suitableness', *nād(in) riyadiyy* 'sports club'.
- Safari: despite its Arabic origin (*safar* 'travel'), this word denotes a specific type of travel which requires, in order to be understood, the semantic translation *ribla qans* 'hunting trip'.
- Duty-free: sūq ḥurra 'free market'.
- Continental breakfast: here the translator has to change the adjective and adopt the word 'European' in place of 'continental' (ar. *qarra* 'continent') in order to make this expression understandable for Arabic-speaking readers.

#### 4. Conclusions

Surveys on tourism discourse and the language used in tourist promotion have been on the increase in recent decades, especially in the Anglophone world: the predominance of English as the medium of communication has forced scholars to analyze the use of this language within tourism discourse both from a linguistic and a cultural perspective. However, very few investigations have been conducted on this topic in Arabic studies.

The neologisms analyzed in this contribution demonstrate the necessity to delve deeper into this domain of research: currently, the Arab world plays a significant role in the tourism industry, and, as a sign of this, the Arabic language mirrors the dynamic interaction between the West and Arab countries. This vitality is evident in the efforts made to bridge communication gaps caused by different cultural contexts: very often semantic translation seems necessary in order to make a foreign term understandable to Arabs. The Arabic linguistic traditions, and the word-formation

strategies adopted over several centuries, have placed this language in the position to react to Western influence by generating new lexicon through the semantic extension of pre-existing words and loan translations, in addition to resorting to arabized formations. No doubt, the linguistic variety manifest in Arabic-speaking countries, as well as various widespread textual typologies present in communication contexts, offer an interesting field of research that warrants further exploration in future investigations.

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