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Three Cases of Plagiarism?

A study of four nineteenth-century Egyptian-Arabic textbooks

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This article discusses four 19th-century textbooks for teaching Egyptian Arabic to foreigners: Nolden's *Vocabulaire français arabe* (1844), Zenker's *Vocabulaire phraséologique français-arabe* (1854, published under the pseudonym Barthélémy), Sacroug's *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter* (1874) and De Vaujany & Radouan's *Vocabulaire français-arabe* (1887). These books display remarkable similarities. They contain, among other subjects, a vocabulary, a grammar, useful Arabic phrases and Egyptian weights and measures. Zenker, Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan copied extensively from Nolden's book without referring to the original source. However, these three textbooks are not exact copies (or, in the case of Sacroug, not an exact translation) of Nolden's book: although the authors took Nolden's *Vocabulaire* as their basis, they also considerably reworked it and added extra materials. In this paper, the contents of the four textbooks are compared in order to determine how the authors treated Nolden's work, what they added and how they improved it.

“The real mystery of writing, like all forms of creativity, is that we don't know what makes it happen. *Where did he find the words?* we marvel rhetorically over an arresting passage. More rare, and therefore shocking, are those moments when we come upon a paragraph and can say, factually, declaratively, *I know where he got that.*” (Mallon 1991:xiv)

1. Introduction

While doing research on the dialect of Cairo in the 19th century, I collected a large number of books written in, or about, said dialect. Many of these have not yet been described before. One of these works is E. Nolden's *Vocabulaire*

français arabe, published in Alexandria in 1844.¹ For my research, I composed a database of salient features of Cairene Arabic found in the 19th-century sources. While doing this, I found remarkable similarities between Nolden's work, and two other books: Gabriel Sacroug's *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter or Arabic without a Teacher for English Travellers visiting Egypt* (1874) and H. De Vaujany & Radouan's *Vocabulaire français-arabe (dialecte vulgaire de l'Égypte)* (1887).² What alerted me to this, was a chapter called "Mots arabes qui n'ont pas de noms assez descriptifs en Français" by Nolden. While reading De Vaujany & Radouan, I recognized some of the descriptions Nolden gave. Later, I discovered that Sacroug had reused the same information, translated into English. And finally in 2020, I found another book that in some parts shares similarities with the other three: Zenker's *Vocabulaire phraséologique français-arabe* (1854) (published under the pseudonym Barthélémy). It appeared that Zenker, Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan had plagiarized parts of Nolden's book, and none of the authors referred to the original source. This was a shocking "I know where he got that"-moment, as described by Mallon (1991) in the quote at the top of this article. The works are not exact copies (or, in the case of Sacroug, a literal translation) of Nolden's work: although they took Nolden's *Vocabulaire* as their basis, they also considerably reworked it and added extra materials to it.

In this article, the four books will be compared with each other, and the possible reasons for the changes and additions made by the authors will be discussed. The research questions are: how did the authors change, adapt, or add to Nolden's work? Were they aware of the existence of other adaptations of Nolden's work? The copying and reworking of other persons' works will be put in the light of ideas and laws about authorship and the tradition of reusing these types of didactic texts in 19th-century Egypt and Germany, the countries where these books were published.

2. *About the authors*

The following section will discuss the lives and works of the authors, in the order of the year of publication of the books discussed in this paper.

1. Full title details, with links to the scanned versions on the internet (if available), can be found in the references.

2. The first edition, published in 1884, was not available to me; I therefore used the fifth edition, published in 1887. Confusingly, my copy of the book contains both the title page of the first edition, and that of the fifth. Radouan is credited in the first edition only with revising and correcting the book, whereas in the fifth edition he is mentioned as the second author.

2.1 Nolden

We have very little information about E. Nolden, as no dates of birth or death, nationality, profession, or any other data are available; even his first name is unknown.³ The “Avant-propos” does not give away anything either, except that Nolden wrote the book initially for his own personal use (p.i). We do know that Nolden published another book, titled *Egyptian travelling companion for overland passengers* (Alexandria 1844).⁴ An anonymous review of this work in *Simmond’s Colonial Magazine* (Anonymous 1845) sheds some light on the mysterious person of E. Nolden:

Five years’ residence in Egypt, and frequent trips by water and by land between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, have fully qualified Mr. Nolden for the task of describing the route, antiquities, climate, &c. of the country.⁵

Apparently he did not publish anything after these two works.

It seems that Nolden’s work is an original one. In 1844, when he wrote his book, there were not many works describing the dialect of Egypt. There were travel guides which contained some useful phrases or grammar (see Mairs forthcoming), but the popularity of phrasebooks and grammars only started to grow in the 1860s with the rise of tourism in Egypt (see Spiro 2007). Claude-Étienne Savary’s (1750–1788) grammar, finished in 1784 but only published posthumously in 1813, does not seem to have been consulted. Another candidate, Armand-Pierre Caussin de Perceval’s (1795–1871) grammar (1824), does not show similarities to Nolden’s book either. Of course, it cannot be excluded that Nolden used older texts for compiling his book, but I have not found any evidence of this.

3. Today, the highest incidence of the name Nolden is in Germany, see <http://forebears.co.uk/surnames/nolden>. (All hyperlinks in this paper were checked and working on 28 July 2022.)

4. It is not mentioned in www.worldcat.org, but a copy is kept in the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta: <https://www.onesearch.id/Record/IOS1.INLISM00000000124448#holdings>.

5. See this screenshot in Google Books:

https://books.google.nl/books/content?id=oYUVAQAAIAAJ&hl=nl&pg=PA363&img=1&zooom=3&sig=ACfU3U3GD8nV6CDo_TlkXfzgDIDLoyfJ9g&ci=80%2C1330%2C772%2C153&edge=0

2.2 Zenker

Barthélémy is registered in various library catalogues as the pseudonym of the German orientalist Julius Theodor Zenker (1811–1884).⁶ Zenker studied oriental languages in Leipzig, Göttingen, Berlin and Paris. He published his *Bibliotheca Orientalis Pars I*, written in Latin, in 1840. An expanded French version, subtitled *Manuel de bibliographie orientale*, appeared in 1846. In the same year, he received his ‘Habilitation’ from the University of Rostock, where he worked as a lecturer for the remainder of the year. He then moved back to Leipzig and from then on lived and worked as an unaffiliated researcher. He published the second volume of the *Bibliotheca Orientalis* in 1861 (see Klenz 1900: 62–64). He also worked as a private teacher at the residence of one of the princes of Wittgenstein (see Mildbraed 1923: 319). Zenker’s most well-known work is his *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1866–1876). He also translated Edward William Lane’s (1801–1876) *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* into German.⁷ For a list of his publications, see Worldcat.⁸

The question that first needs to be answered, is if Barthélémy was really the pseudonym of Zenker. Already in 1867, the year in which the second edition of Barthélémy’s *Vocabulaire* was published, the *Catalogue général de la librairie française* mentions: “Barthélemy, pseudonyme, sous lequel M. J. Th. Zenker, orientaliste allemand, a publié un « Vocabulaire phraséologique français-arabe ». – Voy. Zenker.” (Lorenz 1867: 157). Another telling sign is that the *Vocabulaire* was published in Leipzig, where he studied, lived after his graduation, and published some of his other works. Also the transcription used in the *Vocabulaire* shows remarkable similarities to the one used in Zenker’s *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch* (see Section 3.2 of this article). All in all, the evidence points to Zenker as the man behind the pseudonym Barthélémy.

As Zenker is not generally known by his pseudonym Barthélémy (no first name is provided on the title page, only the title “Mr.”), I will refer to him from here on as Zenker, following the guidelines of *Chicago Manual of Style*.⁹ It is unclear why he chose to use a pseudonym, but it could be related to the fact

6. See the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb107167108> and the Kalliope Verbundkatalog <https://kalliope-verbund.info/gnd/116979860>, <https://d-nb.info/gnd/1167701178> and Weller (1977: 60).

7. See the Deutsche Biographie <https://www.deutsche-biographie.de/sfz86553.html>. Interestingly, this work does not mention the *Vocabulaire phraséologique français-arabe*, nor his pseudonym.

8. See Worldcat https://www.worldcat.org/search?qt=worldcat_org_all&q=zenker%2C+julius+theodor.

9. <https://www.chicagomanualofstyle.org/book/ed17/part3/ch14/psec080.html>.

that he used someone else's work without attribution, and perhaps he wanted to shield himself from criticism in this way. He only used the pseudonym for this publication. As for the pseudonym itself, it is possible that he took it from Barthélemy d'Herbelot (1625–1695), a French orientalist who wrote, among others, the *Bibliothèque orientale* and an unpublished *Dictionnaire arabe, persan, turc, expliqué en latin* (BNF, mss. arabes 4844–4849), with whose work Zenker may have acquainted himself during his time in Paris.¹⁰ Alternatively, Zenker could have borrowed the name from Jean-Jacques Barthélemy (1716–1795), a classical scholar who deciphered the Palmyrene and Phoenician alphabets.¹¹ Zenker mentioned Jean-Jacques Barthélemy's *Voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce* in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis* part II (1861: 212).

2.3 Sacroug

Gabriel Sacroug / Ğabrā'īl Sakrūĝ (d. 1895) worked as an interpreter for the British consulates in Cairo (1843–1852 and 1864–1884), Jeddah (1858–1860), and Constantinople (1860–1864). His last post was as Acting Consul in Cairo for a few months in 1884 (see Hartslet 1895: 191). Sacroug wrote another guide beside the *Travelling Interpreter*, titled *Elementi della conversazione in francese, italiano, inglese ed arabo* = *Nuzhat al-a'yun fī 'arba'at alsun* (Cairo, 1864) with his brother Mīxā'īl as co-author.¹² Their great-uncle, a native of Acre, was employed as interpreter in Napoleon's army of occupation in Egypt.¹³ It is unclear if Gabriel Sacroug was born in Egypt or in Palestine.

2.4 De Vaujany & Radouan

Jean-Baptiste (Henry) de Vaujany was born in 1843 in Meursault into a French aristocratic family whose history goes back to the 11th century. Henry de

10. https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barth%C3%A9lemy_d%27Herbelot_de_Molainville and <http://dictionnairedesorientalistes.ehess.fr/document.php?id=318>. For the dictionary see: <https://archivesetmanuscrits.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cc32528x>.

11. See Dartmouth Library Archives & Manuscripts (s.d.) <https://archives-manuscripts.dartmouth.edu/agents/people/6915>.

12. See <http://raudabooks.com/vb/showthread.php?t=4839> and <http://menadoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/ssg/content/pageview/312483>.

13. According to Tāĝir (2014: 18) his name was Ibrāhīm Sakrūĝ, while according to Guémard & Ott (1925–1926: 239–240) and Philipp (1985: 45) it was Ğubrān Sakrūĝ. The Sakrūĝ family, originally from Šfā 'Amr, were Greek Orthodox merchants and served in the government administration of Acre, most notably the brothers Mīxā'īl and Buṭrus Sakrūĝ. They were the advisors of Aḥmad al-Ġazzār (d. 1804), the ruler of Acre, and were executed by his order in 1795. See Philipp (2001: 120).

Vaujany was an Egyptologist. After completing his studies in Grenoble, he left for Egypt in 1869 where he attended the inauguration of the Suez Canal. He made his career there, becoming the director of the Language School in Cairo¹⁴ and private tutor of the royal princes. Apparently his Arabic was so good, that he was sent on several confidential missions by the Egyptian government, for which he was awarded the title of Bey by the Khedive Tawfīq Pasha (1852–1892) in 1883. He died in Nice in 1893.¹⁵ De Vaujany wrote several works on Egypt, covering the history of the country from the pharaonic period until the 19th century.¹⁶

Moustapha-Bey Radouan / Muṣṭafā Bēh Raḍwān (d. 1887), who corrected the Arabic of the *Vocabulaire français-arabe* for De Vaujany and is credited as second author in the fifth edition, was head of the Translation Department of the Ministry of Public Instruction at the time the *Vocabulaire* was written.¹⁷ He has two other book titles to his name: *Šarḥ muxtaṣar al-Bayān* (“Explanation of the Abridged Version of *The Eloquence*”) on rhetoric, and *Hidāyat al-ḡanān fī ‘ilm al-mīzān* (“The Guidance of the Soul Concerning the Science of the Balance”) on logic.¹⁸

3. *The transcription systems*

Before discussing the contents of the books, a general comment about the transcription of the Arabic words is needed, because quotes from the four books will be kept in their original transcriptions.

3.1 Nolden, Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan

Nolden, Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan do not use a consistent system of transcription. However, it is clear that the transcription systems are influenced by the spelling of the primary languages of the books. For instance, Nolden and De Vaujany & Radouan, who wrote in French, transcribe the *ū* [u:] and *u* with *ou*, under the influence of French orthography, while in Sacroug’s English book

14. *Madrasat al-alsun*. This school for translators was founded in 1835 by Rifā’a Rifat al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801–1873), the famous Egyptian teacher and translator. The Language School was later incorporated as the Faculty of Languages into the Ain Shams University in Cairo (see Newman 2011).

15. See Dayre de Mailhol (1896:758–760), Bachelin-Deflorenne (1886:1753–1754), and https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_de_Vaujany.

16. For the list of his publications, see <https://www.worldcat.org/wcidentities/lccn-nr99035937>.

17. See the title page.

18. See Al-Ziriklī (2002, VII:233).

it is written with *oo*: *kursi* “chair” is *koúrsi* in Nolden (1844: 110), *koursi* in De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 289), and *koors* in Sacroug (1874: 214). For the long vowel *ī* [i:], the French works use *î*, while the English one uses *ee*; for instance *fiṭīr* “many-layered pastry” is *fetîr* in Nolden (1844: 114) and De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 291), but *fetéer* in Sacroug (1874: 220). Similar influences are found in the transcription of the consonants. For instance, the *š* [ʃ] is transcribed with *ch* in the French books and with *sh* in the English one: *ḥōš* “courtyard” is transcribed as *hhoch*¹⁹ by Nolden (1844: 109) and De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 288), and as *hhosh* by Sacroug (1874: 213). The glottal stop ‘ [ʔ] from *q is transcribed with *q* in all four works, e.g. *tôq* “necklace in the shape of a ring” (Nolden 1844: 113; Sacroug 1874: 219; De Vaujany & Radouan 1887: 295) for *tōʔ*. Nolden notes about the pronunciation:

Le *q* se prononce en Basse-Egypte comme *k* doux, ou à peu près comme le *c* dans le mot second, et au Caire on ne le prononce pas du tout. C’est la lettre arabe *kaf* qu’il représente dans ce vocabulaire, ainsi on prononce *maqâs* (ciseaux) à Alexandrie, et *maâs* au Caire. (Nolden 1844: vii–viii)

Nolden’s “*k* doux” is a rather vague description; however, in the old dialect of Alexandria, before the influence of Cairene Arabic took hold, the *q was pronounced as [g] (see Behnstedt 1980: 35–36), and this pronunciation is still found in large parts of the Delta (see Behnstedt & Woidich 1985: map 7). It is therefore likely that this is what Nolden meant. A similar description is given by De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 6): “*q* est très doux; au Caire, on ne le prononce pas du tout”.

Other notable transcription choices are:

- The *ḥ* [ħ] is transcribed with *hh*. Nolden confusingly also uses this to transcribe *x* [x].
- The ‘ [ʕ] is either not transcribed at all, or with *a*, or with *e* (the latter only by Nolden).

These are some general observation on trends that can be found in the transcriptions of these works, but it has to be noted that none of the authors are consistent in the way they use the transcription. For instance, De Vaujany & Radouan mention in the section “Alphabet arabe” that the emphatic *š* [sʕ] is *ç* or *s*, but in the text itself, *ss* is also found: *ḥuṣān* “horse” is written as *hhoçân* on p. 72, but as *hhossan*’ on p. 8. Nolden and Sacroug do not give the Arabic alphabet, but only discuss the sounds of Cairene Arabic, which does not always help in understanding which phoneme they are describing. An example is Sacroug’s description of the ‘*ayn* [ʕ] (p. 3): “it sounds very like the bleating of a goat or a kid. An acute ear will catch it”.

19. The double *h* is used to indicate *ḥ*.

3.2 Zenker

The transcription of Zenker is a different matter. Zenker studied oriental languages, and his academic background is reflected in his system of transcription. Zenker must be credited for being the first person to apply a consistent system of transcription to Egyptian Arabic, for instance in indicating the emphatics. He mostly used a system in which one symbol indicates one phoneme, but an exception to this are the *x* [x], which he transcribes as *ʿh*, and the *t* whose equivalent is *ṭ* [θ] in Classical Arabic, for which he used *tʿ* (e.g. *matʿal* “example”, p. 55). Other peculiarities of Zenker’s system are found in the emphatics: he used *ç* for *ṣ* [sʰ] and *ž* for *ẓ* [zʰ], while for the other two emphatics *ḍ* [dʰ] and *ṭ* [tʰ] he used *ḍ* and *ṭ*. As he was well aware of the term ‘emphatic’,²⁰ it is unclear why he did not use one system, for instance a dot below the letter, to indicate it. Some examples are: *çîâm* “fasting” (p. 23), *žâlem* “unjust” (p. 69), *qùtṭ* “cat” (p. 26), *yedrub* “to hit” (p. 59).

Zenker used *š* for *š* [ʃ], *r* for *ḡ* [ɣ] and *ʿ* for the ‘ayn [ʕ]. He did not notate the glottal stop (*hamza*) [ʔ].

Here are some examples of Nolden’s original text and the transcriptions as rendered by Zenker:

- *moušhaf* (Nolden 1844: 116), *múçhaf* (Zenker 1854: 131) “copy of the Quran”;
- *etʿtohttabouč* (Nolden 1844: 109), *et-taʿhtabúš* (Zenker 1854: 123) “peristyle surrounding a courtyard, used for receiving guests”;
- *el qomàch di roufèyah ziâdeh min etʿtâni* (Nolden 1844: 129), *el qomâš dî rufèyah ziyâdè min et-tânî* (Zenker 1854: xi) “this fabric is thinner than the other”.

Zenker used a similar system for his *Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handwörterbuch* (1866–1876),²¹ but his system was not adopted by any other Arabic scholars, perhaps because of its inconsistencies.

4. The four works

4.1 Comparison of the contents

Table 1 shows a schematic side-by-side comparison of the contents of the four books. The order of the chapters in Nolden’s book has been taken as the guideline. In the other three books, the order is different, and the order of the chapters has been rearranged here for easy comparison.

20. See his explanation of the Arabic sounds (pp. i–v).

21. In this system, he used *h* for *ح*, *ž* for *ج*, *g* for *غ* and *ʿ* for *ع*. Emphatics were not indicated as such (see Zenker 1866: viii).

Table 1. Schematic comparison of the contents of the four books

Nolden	Zenker	Sacroug	De Vaujany & Radouan
Avant-propos	–	Preface	–
Orthographe adoptée dans ce vocabulaire pour rendre la prononciation des mots arabes	De l'alphabet et de la prononciation	System of spelling Arabic words, adopted in the present Work, intended to enable Englishmen to pronounce them easily and correctly	Prononciation
Vocabulaire français arabe	Vocabulaire français arabe	English and Arabic vocabulary	[Vocabulaire]*
Mots arabes qui n'ont pas de noms assez descriptifs en français	Mots arabes qui n'ont pas de noms assez descriptifs en français	Arabic words which have no corresponding denomination in English	Mots arabes qui n'ont pas leurs correspondants exacts en français
Petit extrait de grammaire pour faciliter l'usage du vocabulaire arabe vulgaire (dialecte d'Egypte) et français	Extrait de grammaire	A small grammar of the vulgar Arabic of Egypt	Petit abrégé de grammaire
Poids et mesures	Poids et mesures	Weights and measures	[Poids et mesures]**
Petit almanach musulman	Almanach musulman	Small Mussulman almanack	Calendrier musulman
–	–	–	Phrases élémentaires
–	–	Dialogues	Conversations; Quelques phrases particulières fréquemment employées dans la conversation
–	–	Arabic proverbs, current at Cairo	–

* De Vaujany's vocabulary is untitled. ** Like the vocabulary, this section has no title.

Nolden's *Vocabulaire français arabe* starts with the "Avant-propos", in which he describes the purpose of the work as follows:

Le but [...] est de mettre à même les nombreux étrangers qui arrivent chaque année en Egypte d'apprendre en peu de temps les termes les plus nécessaires pour les rapports qu'ils pourraient avoir avec les indigènes, comme domestiques, bateliers, guides, etc. et pour faire des achats dans les marchés arabes. (Nolden 1844: i)

The work then starts with a note on the orthography, followed by the vocabulary after which it is named (pp. 5–406): a French-Arabic word list, giving the Arabic in transcription. This is followed by a section titled "Mots arabes qui n'ont pas de noms assez descriptifs en français", which deals with Arabic words that do not have an equivalent in French, divided into categories such as the house, clothing, professions etc. (pp. 409–419). This is followed by a concise grammar (pp. 420–454), and the work is concluded with a section on measures and weights (pp. 455–458) and an Islamic almanac that lists the Islamic months and feasts (pp. 459–462).

Zenker's *Vocabulaire phraséologique français-arabe* does not have a preface. It starts with the "Extrait de grammaire" (pp. i–li) in which also the pronunciation is explained. The grammar, although using some of Nolden's examples, is completely reworked and greatly expanded and can therefore be considered an original work. The grammar is followed by a vocabulary (pp. 1–122) and by "Mots arabes qui n'ont pas de noms assez descriptifs en français" (pp. 123–134). The book ends with the "Poids et mesures" (pp. 135–139) and the "Almanach musulman" (pp. 140–144).

Sacroug's *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter* starts with a Preface, in which the author does not refer to Nolden's work. In the first paragraph, the goal of the work is explained:

My intention, in preparing this little book, is to supply the wants of English Travellers in the Arabic language, and to render them more independent of Couriers and Dragomans during their excursions in Egypt. With this object in view, I have only selected those common words and sentences which are required on a journey. (Sacroug 1874: 1)

The next paragraph, advising readers to get an Arabic speaker to pronounce some of the words for them, echoes Nolden's text:

Je marque la prononciation des mots arabes aussi distinctement que possible, et autant que les moyens typographiques qui sont à ma disposition, le permettent ; et je suis persuadé qu'il suffira d'entendre articuler une douzaine de mots de ce recueil pour savoir prononcer le reste avec facilité. (Nolden 1844: i–ii)

Although correct pronunciation, as much as possible, of the Arabic words has been given, still to enable Englishmen to pronounce them easily, it would be advisable to get a few words of this compilation read by a person acquainted with the Arabic tongue, so as to pronounce all the rest with facility. (Sacroug 1874: 1–2)

The Preface is followed by two pages explaining the Arabic transcription, followed by an English-Arabic vocabulary (pp. 5–212); then “Arabic words which have no corresponding denomination in English” (pp. 213–226), which is a literal translation (without acknowledgement) of Nolden’s “Mots arabes qui n’ont pas de noms assez descriptifs en français”, as is the “Small grammar” (pp. 227–264), the “Weights and Measures” (pp. 265–26) and the “Small Mussulman Almanack” (pp. 268–273). Whereas Nolden’s work ends here, Sacroug has added a section titled “Dialogues” (pp. 275–337). These dialogues are divided into categories, such as “familiar phrases”, “travelling by rail”, “discourse with a donkey-boy and a guide” and “polite conversation”. Part of the dialogues have been copied from Kayat’s *Turğumān inkilizī wa-‘arabī / The Eastern Traveller’s Interpreter: or, Arabic without a teacher* (1844),²² for instance the dialogue “with an Eastern lady”, in which Sacroug replaced Kayat’s references to Syria with Egypt. The dialogues are followed by two short sections, “Titles of dignity to be used in addressing any of the following orders” (p. 335) and “Some few of the most prevalent proper names in the East” (pp. 335–337) which he also copied from Kayat. The work ends with some “Arabic proverbs” (pp. 338–406), which have been taken verbatim from Burckhardt’s *Arabic proverbs* (1830), again without acknowledgement.²³

De Vaujany & Radouan’s work does not have a preface. It starts with two pages on the pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic, followed by a short grammar and the Arabic alphabet (pp. 7–34). This is followed by a French-Arabic vocabulary (pp. 35–285), which, in contrast with the other two works, contains both Arabic in transcription and in the Arabic alphabet. This is followed by “Mots arabes qui n’ont pas leurs correspondants exacts en français” (pp. 286–297), “phrases élémentaires” (pp. 298–301), “conversations” (pp. 301–312) and “quelques phrases particulières fréquemment employées dans la conversation” (pp. 313–314); the work ends with a “calendrier musulman” (pp. 318) and “mesures” (pp. 319–320).

22. Mairs’ publication (forthcoming) attended me to the fact that Sacroug copied from Kayat’s language guide.

23. See the note by Huxley (1902: 180) in his bibliography of “Dictionaries and Conversational Guides”, where he writes about Sacroug’s book: “there is a collection of proverbs copied verbatim from Burckhardt, without acknowledgement”. However, Huxley did not mention Nolden in his bibliography and clearly was not aware of the borrowing done by Sacroug and Zenker.

A comparison of the French works shows that both Zenker and De Vaujany & Radouan considerably expanded the vocabulary. However, De Vaujany & Radouan's additions are different from those of Zenker, which indicates that they probably were not aware of Zenker's book. Comparing Sacroug's vocabulary to that of Nolden, Zenker and De Vaujany & Radouan is less straightforward, because Sacroug's vocabulary is English-Arabic while the other three are French-Arabic, so the headwords are different and therefore, the arrangement of the lemmas is different as well. However, it is clear that Sacroug also added considerably to the word list, because where Nolden's book contains around 1900 lemmas, Sacroug's has around 3300. Sacroug also changed some of the Arabic translations.

These three examples of lemmas from the vocabularies (a noun, and adjective and a verb) show how the authors changed Nolden's materials:

- “woman”: Nolden (1844:42) “Màrrah. *plur.* nessouân”, Zenker (1854:56) “màrra, *pl.* neswân”, Sacroug (1874:209) “Hhor'mah, màrah, *pl.* nissa, niswân, hhâréem”, De Vaujany & Radouan (1887:102) “امرأة mar'â, *pl.* nessouân”.
- “absurd”: Nolden (1844:1) “moughèffel, moughèffle belîd”, Zenker (1854:2) “muṛèffel, muṛèffle belîd”, Sacroug (1874:5) “muhhâl”, De Vaujany & Radouan (1887:36) “ضد العقل – محال mohal, douddel'aaql”.
- “to know”: Nolden (1844:23) “Araf, *je ne sais pas* màarafche *ne sais tu pas?* matàrafch?”; Zenker (1854:32) “àraf, yàref; *je ne connais pas, màarafse; ne connais-tu pas? mâtàrafš?*”, Sacroug (1874:94) “Aaraf, *I do not know* ana màarafsh, *how do I know* ana âaraf”, De Vaujany & Radouan (1887:76) “عرف aarafa – connaissez-vous?... هل تعرف hal taaraf? – je ne vous connais pas لا أعرفك la aarafak”.

In the following sections, selected parts of the four books will be compared with each other. Firstly, the chapter titled “Mots arabes qui n'ont pas de noms assez descriptifs en français” in the original work by Nolden will be discussed (Section 4.2), to show to what extent the authors borrowed material from each other. Section 4.3 will compare three subjects from the chapters on grammar, namely the personal pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns and the present and future tense. Section 4.4 will compare the “Poids et mesures” and “Petit almanach musulman”, and finally, Section 4.5 will focus on the “Dialogues” by Sacroug and the “Conversations” and “Quelques phrases particulières fréquemment employées dans la conversation” by De Vaujany & Radouan, in order to determine whether De Vaujany & Radouan used Sacroug's dialogues.

4.2 Arabic words that have no equivalent in French or English

The chapters on Arabic words that do not have an equivalent in French or English, and therefore need to be described, have a dedicated chapter in each of the four books. This section will discuss two samples from the four books in order to establish the correspondences and the differences.²⁴

4.2.1 *The Arab house*

The first sample is the section called “La maison arabe, ses parties et son ameublement” (Nolden and Zenker) / “Apartments and furniture of an Arab house” (Sacroug) / “La maison arabe” (De Vaujany & Radouan). The lemmas are presented in Table 2 for easy comparison. Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan do not always follow the same order as Nolden; the order followed here is that of Nolden’s book.

Table 2. The Arab house: Lemmas

	Nolden (1844: 109)	Zenker (1854: 123–124)	Sacroug (1874: 213–215)	De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 288)	Modern Cairene Arabic ^a
1	El Hhoch	el-ḥoś	El hhosh	Hhoch	ḥōś “the entrance yard of the house”
2	El Mástaba	el-máçṭaba	El mástaba	Mástaba	<i>maṣṭaba</i> “a bench for door keepers &c.”
3	El Mándara	el-mánḍara	El mâdara [sic]	Man’dara	† <i>mandara</i> “room for the ground floor for receiving people that are not to be introduced into the inner apartments of the house”
4	Et’Tohhtabuóuch	et-ta’htabús	Et’ takhtabôsh	Takhtabouch	* <i>taxtabūš</i> “open room on the ground floor with a bench”
5	Ed’Divân	ed-diwân	Ed’ diwân	Diwân’	<i>diwân</i> “saloon for receiving people and dispatching business”
6	ElQâah	el-qâ’ah	El qâah	Qaah	† <i>’ā’a</i> “family saloon”

24. This chapter was also plagiarized by Conrad (1859: 320–327), with Dutch translations of the Arabic lemmas. Conrad did not include the sections “Cérémonies, objets religieux etc.” and “Le bain oriental”. Conrad’s book is not taken into consideration in the remainder of this article, because it is a travel description rather than a book for learning Arabic.

Table 2. (continued)

	Nolden (1844: 109)	Zenker (1854: 123–124)	Sacroug (1874: 213–215)	De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 288)	Modern Cairene Arabic ^a
7	El Livân	el-liwân	El liwân	Liwân'	* <i>liwân</i> "elevated part of the room where the sofas are placed"
8	Ed'Dourqah	ed-dúrqa'ah	Ed' doorqâh	Dourqah	* <i>dur'â'a</i> "part of the floor about six inches lower than the rest, in the middle of the saloon [...]"
9	Es'Souffeh	es-súffeh	Es' souffeh	Souffah	† <i>şuffa</i> "niche with a mantle-piece like that of a chimney, on which water bottles, flowers and utensils for ablution are placed"
10	El Mécherebieh	el-mésrebieh	El mashrabèyeh	Mach'rabîeh ou Moucharabîeh.	* <i>maşrabiyya</i> "covered balcony of lattice work with one or two niches exposed to a draught of air, in which porous earthen-ware bottles are placed to cool the water for drink [...]"
11	Es'Sottoúhh,	es-sottúh	–	Sotouhh	<i>suṭūh</i> "flat rooftop"
12	El Mólkoff	el-maqaf [sic]	El mâlqaf	Mâlqaf.	<i>mal'af</i> "sort of ventilator of wood on the roof of the house facing the north, and intended to give fresh air to the apartments below"
13	El Máhhba	el-má'hba	El mákhba	Makhbah	<i>maxba</i> "secret place for hiding treasures"
14	El Kouarsi	el-kúrsi	El Koorsi	Koursi	<i>kursi</i> "stool on which they place <i>Es' sanéyeh</i> "
15	Es'Sennîeh	es-sînîeh	Es' sanéyeh	Sanîeh	<i>şaniyya</i> "large tray, which serves as a table for meals"
16	Et'Ticht	et-tišt	Et'tisht	Ticht	<i>tîšt</i> "tin basin with a double bottom; the upper part is perforated like a

Table 2. (continued)

Nolden (1844: 109)	Zenker (1854: 123–124)	Sacroug (1874: 213–215)	De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 288)	Modern Cairene Arabic ^a
				sieve to pass the water, which a servant pours on his master's hand after dinner, from a water pot called <i>El abréeq</i> " ^b
17 El'Ibriq	el-ibriq	El abréeq	Ibriq	'abri' "metal or earthenware ewer with a spout"
18 –		–	Qouleh	'ulla "earthenware water- jug"
19 –		–	Man'qad ou Man'qal	<i>man'ad</i> "metal or earthenware brazier"

a. The words are transcribed as pronounced in modern Cairene Arabic. The translations are taken from Sacroug (1874), except for the words not given by Sacroug; these are taken from the dictionary of modern Egyptian Arabic by Badawi and Hinds (1986). Words with an * are either marked as obsolete in Badawi and Hinds, or are not found in the dictionary. Words marked with † are described as "rural" by Badawi and Hinds. Note that people in Cairo and other big cities mostly live in apartments nowadays, and houses such as the ones described in this vocabulary list, are not found there anymore, but they can still be found in the countryside.

b. Note that a modern *tišt* is a "large shallow metal or plastic basin used for laundry and bathing" (Badawi and Hinds 1986: 539) and is not perforated.

Zenker adjusted the transcription but other than that copied Nolden's text verbatim, except for small changes in the French text in nos. 9 and 10.

As mentioned in Section 3.1, Sacroug anglicized the transcription, for instance writing *koorsi* with *oo* for *ō*, instead of *ou*, and *tisht* with *sh* for *š* instead of *ch*. Some entries are translations of Nolden's French entries, without adding to or leaving out anything of the contents: nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16. Entry 11 is missing in Sacroug, and he shortened entries 1, 2, 3 and 9. In some entries he added information: in no. 8 it is mentioned that the floor is six inches lower, a fact not mentioned by Nolden; no. 10 mentions a *diwān* in the interior of the *mašrabiyyeh*.

De Vaujany & Radouan copied Nolden's text (almost) verbatim in entries 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11 (with "une palissade" instead of "un mur"), 12 and 13. Sometimes De Vaujany & Radouan add or remove something, for instance in entry 2 where

they mention that the *maṣṭaba*²⁵ is made of masonry, but do not mention the doorkeepers, or entry 4 where they mention that the *taxtabōš* is covered with a tapestry, or entry 9 in which they call the *ṣuffā* “espèce de console” instead of Nolden’s more elaborate “espèce d’armoire ouverte [...] en forme de cheminée”. Some entries have been rewritten: no. 10 *mašrabiyya*, 14 *kursi*, 15 *ṣaniyyeh*, 16 *ṭišt*. De Vaujany & Radouan added two entries: *qoulleh* and *man’qad / man’qal*.

4.2.2 Men’s clothing

The following short sample,²⁶ taken from the section “Habillemens d’hommes” / “Dress for men” / “Habillements d’homme”, shows that the descriptions by Nolden, Zenker and Sacroug resemble each other closely, while De Vaujany & Radouan often reword and/or expand the description given by Nolden:

Zenker added *’araqīey* to the entry *taqīeh* (no. 2), and *’emameh* to *’imمه* (no. 4), which were not copied by Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan, indicating that they probably were not aware of Zenker’s book. Sacroug added *shumār*²⁷ to Nolden’s list. De Vaujany & Radouan added two items, the *stambouline ou stamboulīeh*²⁸ and the *balgha*,²⁹ while leaving out *darāboulous*.³⁰ What is interesting here is the word for “turban”, *’imمه*. When looking at the way it is transcribed, it can be noted that Nolden transcribes it as *imمه*, Zenker as *’imمه*, Sacroug as *aem’مه*, and De Vaujany & Radouan as *aemmah* and *imمه*, which seems to combine the two transcriptions of the earlier authors, showing a parallel with Sacroug’s book, although this could also be a coincidence.

Nolden’s chapter ends with a section called “Miscellanées”, which corresponds to Sacroug’s last section “Sundries”. The corresponding section in De Vaujany & Radouan is at the beginning of the chapter. Zenker did not add anything to this list. An interesting observation is that Sacroug added the word *takhtarawān* “camel-litter”, which was also added by De Vaujany & Radouan as *takhtaraouān* “palanquin porté par deux chameau”. Is this an indication that De Vaujany & Radouan had seen Sacroug’s book? It is possible, but it needs to be noted that De

25. Here, instead of choosing one of the four transcriptions, the transcription of the *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics* is used, see http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1570-6699_eall_SIM_0001c.

26. The complete list has 23 entries in Nolden and Zenker, and 24 in Sacroug and De Vaujany. The additions by Sacroug and De Vaujany are not the same.

27. “A silk string with ornamented tassels, commonly worn by grooms over the shoulders to hold up the full sleeves of their *aaéři* or gown” (Sacroug 1874: 217–218).

28. “Tunique, redingote en drap noir à collet droit” (De Vaujany & Radouan 1887: 293).

29. “Large pantoufle en cuir jaune” (De Vaujany & Radouan 1887: 294).

30. “Les chals [sic] en soie fabriqués à Tripoli” (Nolden 1844: 112).

Table 3. Dress for men

	Nolden (1844: 111)	Zenker (1854: 125–127)	Sacroug (1874: 216)	De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 292–3)	Modern Cairene Arabic
1	Tarboûch, bonnet rouge en laine avec un floche en soie bleue.	ṭarbuš, bonnet rouge en laine avec un floche en soie bleue.	Tarboôsh. – Red woollen cap with blue silk tassel.	Târboûch. – Espèce de bonnet rouge en drap avec un gland en soie noire.	<i>ṭarbūš</i>
2	Taqîeh, bonnet blanc en coton qu'on met sous le <i>tarboûch</i> .	taqîeh ou 'araqîey, bonnet blanc en coton qu'on met sous le ṭarbuš.	Taqeéyeh. – White cotton cap, which is worn under the <i>tarboôsh</i> .	Taqîeh. – Calotte blanche en coton que l'on met sous le <i>tarbouch</i> .	<i>ṭa'iyya</i>
3	Libdah, bonnet brun en feutre grossier que portent les pauvres.	libdeh, bonnet brun en feutre grossier que portent les pauvres.	Lib'dah. – Brown felt cap worn by the poor.	Libdah. – Bonnet brun en feutre grossier que portent les gens du peuple.	* <i>libda</i>
4	Immeh, chal [sic] qu'on roule autour de la tête et qui forme le turban.	'immeh, châle qu'on roule autour de la tête pour former le turban ('emameh).	Aem'meh. – Shawl wound round the head to form the turban.	Aemmah ou immeh. – Pièce d'étoffe roulée autour de la tête et qui forme le turban.	<i>'imma</i>
5	Qoufîeh, grand mouchoir en soie que les hommes portent sur la tête pour se garantir du soleil.	qúfîeh, grand mouchoir en soie que les hommes portent sur la tête pour se garantir du soleil.	Qoofeéyeh. – Large kerchief of Syrian silk worn as a head dress.	Koufîeh. – Foulard en soie à longues franges que les hommes porte [sic] sur la tête, à la mode bédouine, pour se garantir du soleil.	<i>kufiyya</i>

Vaujany & Radouan added 33 items in total to this section, so it could be a coincidence that this included the term for camel litter.

4.3 The grammars

When comparing the four works, it becomes clear that Sacroug's grammar is the closest to that of Nolden. It is an almost literal translation of Nolden's text, only adjusting the transcription to the English conventions and sometimes making small adjustments in the Arabic text. Often Sacroug did not correct obvious

mistakes, for instance that *lām + alif* (pronounced as *lā*) could be read as “la, lè, li, lou” (Nolden 1844: 121 and Sacroug 1874: 228).

De Vaujany & Radouan took Nolden’s text as their basis, but often reworded the text, expanded it, added examples and corrected mistakes (although sometimes “correcting” incorrectly, as the next section will show). For instance, they added a section about the broken plurals (De Vaujany & Radouan 1887: 9). They also sometimes changed the order of the paragraphs.

The most different from Nolden’s grammar is the one of Zenker. He rewrote it almost completely and added many new subjects to it. Interesting is that Zenker’s description of the verbs is mostly classical Arabic rather than Egyptian.

The following three examples, of the personal pronouns, the demonstrative pronouns and the present and future tense, show how Zenker, Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan took Nolden’s text and translated or reworked it.

4.3.1 *The personal pronouns*

The personal pronouns, both independent and suffixed, as given by the authors are represented schematically in Tables 4 and 5, followed by the pronouns in modern Cairene Arabic. The forms followed by an asterisk are, according to the authors, little used.

4.3.1.1 *Some remarks about the independent pronouns*

Table 4. The independent personal pronouns

	Nolden (1844: 129–130)	Zenker (1854: xv)	Sacroug (1874: 237)	De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 13)	Modern Cairene Arabic
1 sg. m.	<i>ána</i>	<i>aná</i>	<i>àna</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>ana</i>
1 sg. f.	<i>áni</i>	<i>ani</i>	<i>áni</i>		
2 sg. m.	<i>énta</i>	<i>enta</i>	<i>énta</i>	<i>énta</i>	<i>inta</i>
2 sg. f.	<i>énti</i>	<i>enti</i>	<i>énti</i>	<i>énti</i>	<i>inti</i>
3 sg. m.	<i>houá</i>	<i>hua, hu</i>	<i>howa</i>	<i>houa</i>	<i>huwwa</i>
3 sg. f.	<i>hya</i>	<i>hiyè</i>	<i>heéa</i>	<i>hía</i>	<i>hiyya</i>
1 pl.	<i>neúhna, nàhna</i>	<i>nöhna, nahna, ahna, nöhn</i>	<i>nahh’na, ahh’na</i>	<i>nahnou</i>	<i>iĥna</i>
2 pl. m.	<i>èntom</i>	<i>entom, entu</i>	<i>en’tum</i>	<i>entoum</i>	<i>intu</i>
2 pl. f.				<i>entounna</i>	
3 pl. m.	<i>houúm</i>	<i>hom, hum</i>	<i>hom, hoom’ma</i>	<i>houúm</i>	<i>humma</i>
3 pl. f.	<i>houún*</i>	<i>honn, honne*</i>	<i>hòn, hon’na*</i>	<i>houonna</i>	

- The 1st sg. f. form *ani* “I” does not exist in modern Cairene Arabic, and did not exist in the 19th century either, because no distinction is made between masculine and feminine in the pronoun of the first person singular.³¹ Pre-19th-century sources (e.g. Davies 1981; Vrolijk 1998; Zack 2009) do not mention the feminine form *ani* either. There are other dialects in Egypt where *ani* is used, but without the masculine/feminine distinction.³² There are some dialects in Yemen and the Lower Gulf where a feminine form *ani* is used (see Vicente 2011), but it is unlikely that Nolden borrowed from these dialects; it is therefore unclear from where he derived this feminine form *ani*. De Vaujany & Radouan corrected this and only mention the form *ana* for the first person singular.
- It is doubtful if the forms starting with *n* for “we” are Cairene. Two of the most reliable sources for 19th-century Cairo Arabic, Nakhlah (1874) and Spitta (1880), do not mention them. These forms could be influenced by Levantine Arabic and/or classical Arabic.³³ It is interesting that in the conjugation tables of the verbs, Nolden (1844: 136–151) always uses *áhna* rather than *neúhna* or *nàhna*.
- De Vaujany & Radouan added a 2nd. pl. feminine pronoun *entounna* which is classical Arabic and does not exist in Cairene.

31. Spitta (1880: 72–73), which is the most detailed and precise description of Egyptian Arabic grammar of the time, does mention *ani* in the list of personal pronouns, but his explanation seems to indicate this form with *-i* was used with the suffix *-š*: *ma-niš* “I am not”. This is still the case in modern Cairene Arabic. Spitta does not give examples of *ani* without this suffix.

32. It can for instance be found in the Šarqiyya-governorate in Egypt; see Behnstedt and Woidich (1985: map 143). The pronunciation of *ani* with *-i* could be explained as a case of final *’imāla*, the phenomenon of pronouncing final *-a* as *-e(h)* or *-i(h)* (see also Section 4.3.2). Zaborski (1995) however argues that *ani* goes back to Proto-Hamitosemitic rather than being a case of final *’imāla*.

33. See for instance Behnstedt (1997: map 255) for *niḥna*, *niḥne*, *niḥni* in the Syrian dialects. Al-Ṭaṭṭāwī (1848: 9) does mention *nḥn* (the pronunciation is uncertain as the word is not vocalized) as an alternative to *iḥna*. However, Al-Ṭaṭṭāwī was born in the Delta and only went to live in Cairo at the age of 13, so it is unclear if his language shows rural influences (see Woidich 1995: 285–286).

- For “they” two things are notable: first of all, the form *hum* (without final *a*) which is mentioned by three of the sources. There are many other sources that mention *hum* (or both *hum* and *humma*), so it seems likely that they existed side by side.³⁴ The second observation is that all sources mention a feminine form, either *hon* and/or *honna*, which does not exist in Cairene Arabic. They could be influences from Classical Arabic (*hunna*), from Levantine Arabic,³⁵ or, less likely, from Bedouin dialects in Egypt.³⁶

4.3.1.2 Some remarks about the suffixes

Table 5. The suffixed personal pronouns

	Nolden (1844: 130)	Zenker (1854: xv–xvi)	Sacroug (1874: 237)	De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 13)	Modern Cairene Arabic
1 sg. m.+ f.	<i>i, ni, li</i>	<i>i, ni</i>	<i>i, ni, li</i>	<i>i, ni, li</i>	<i>i, ni*</i>
2 sg. m.	<i>ak, k</i>	<i>ak, k</i>	<i>ak, k</i>	<i>ak, k</i>	<i>ak, k</i>
2 sg. f.	–	–	–	–	<i>ik, ki</i>
3 sg. m.		<i>u, o, ho, hu</i>		<i>o, ou</i>	<i>u, h</i>
3 sg. f.	<i>ou</i>	<i>hâ*</i>	<i>oo</i>	<i>ha</i>	<i>ha, aha</i>
1 pl.	<i>na</i>	<i>nâ</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>na, ina</i>
2 pl. m.				<i>koum</i>	
2 pl. f.	<i>kom</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>kom</i>	<i>kounna</i>	<i>kum, ukum</i>
3 pl. m.		<i>hom</i>		<i>hoûm</i>	
3 pl. f.	<i>hom</i>	<i>honne*</i>	<i>hom</i>	<i>hounna</i>	<i>hum, uhum</i>

* I have not included the preposition *li* “for” + suffix, as the authors only mention it for the first person singular.

The object pronouns take the form of suffixes in Arabic. These suffixes can be added to a verb or active participle.

- It is interesting that all books except Zenker mention *li* “for me” in the 1st sg., which is the preposition *li* “for” + *i* “me”, but do not mention this for the other persons.

34. Spitta’s *Grammatik* (1880: 72), mentions both *hum* and *huma*.

35. See e.g. Behnstedt (1997: map 257) for Syria.

36. The feminine plural *hinna* can be found in some isolated places in Egypt, for instance in the area around Luxor (see Behnstedt and Woidich 1985: map 142).

- None of the books mention the 2nd sg. feminine form. Although this may sound surprising, especially since the corresponding independent pronoun is in fact mentioned, it is something that can be seen in most textbooks of the time. The books were clearly meant for a male readership, who would probably never get to speak to a local Egyptian woman. This is reflected in the dialogues in books such as these. A nice exception is Sacroug’s book, which has a short section of phrases that could be used “with an eastern Lady” (pp.328–329). De Vaujany & Radouan’s book, which is the only other one among these four containing conversational phrases, does not have phrases addressed to women.
- 3rd sg.: it is very strange that Nolden and Sacroug mention *o ~ u* as both masculine and feminine, and do not mention the feminine form. It is equally strange that Zenker mentions that the feminine form is little used. Not only was (and is) the feminine suffix *-(a)ha* used to refer to women, but also to inanimate feminine nouns and to the plural of inanimate nouns, so therefore it is used as often as the masculine suffix. De Vaujany & Radouan corrected this.
- 2nd and 3rd pl.: again, the feminine form does not exist in Cairene Arabic. Remarkable is Zenker, who indicates a feminine form in the third person, but not in the second.

4.3.2 *The demonstrative pronouns*

First of all, we see Nolden’s (1844: 131–132) description of the demonstrative pronouns:

PRONOMS DÉMONSTRATIFS

Les pronoms démonstratifs usités en Égypte sont:

Ce, ceci *dī, deh* } pluriel *dôle*

Cette, celle-ci *dī*

Cela, celui-la *dâk* } pluriel *dôk*

Celle-là *dīkha*

Lorsque ces pronoms accompagnent un substantif, ils se mettent après le substantif, et ce dernier est précédé de l’article défini, par ex. ces hommes *er’ragl dī*, ces gens là *en’nass dôle*. Si on disait *dī er’ragl, dôle en’nass* cela signifierait c’est l’homme, ceux là sont les gens.

Zenker (1854: xix–xx) writes the following:

Les pronoms démonstratifs usités en Égypte sont:

Singulier. Pluriel.

hâdâ, dê, dī, ce, ceci } dôle, dôl.

dî, celle-ci
 dak, cela, celui } dôk.
 dikha, celle-la

Les pronoms démonstratifs se mettent après les mots; p. ex. el-ḥoçân dê, ce cheval; el-aşgâr dôk; ces arbres-là.

Sacroug's (1874: 239) version of the text is as follows:

Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns used in Egypt are as follows:

This *da, deh* (mas.) *di* (fem.)

These *dôle*

That *dâk*, fem. *deêk-ha*

Those *dôk*

When these pronouns accompany a substantive, they are placed after the substantive, and the latter is preceded by the definite article, as, this man *er'ragel deh*, these people *en'nass dôle*. If one said *deh er'ragel, dôle en'nass* that would signify he is the man, they are the people.

Finally, De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 14–15) give the following description:

Pronoms démonstratifs. – Ce, ceci, *deh*; celle, celle-ci, *di*, plur. *dôl*.

Cela, celui-là, *dak*; celle-la, *dik'ha*, plur. *douk'houm*.

Lorsque ces pronoms accompagnent un substantif, ils se placent après lui, et le substantif lui-même est précédé d'un déterminatif. Ex : cet homme, *er'rag'l deh*; ces gens-la, *en'nass dôl*. Si l'on disait : *deh er'rag'l, dôl en'nass*, cela signifierait c'est l'homme, ceux-là sont les gens.

Table 6. Comparison of the demonstratives

	Nolden (1844)	Zenker (1854)	Sacroug (1874)	De Vaujany & Radouan (1887)	Modern Cairene Arabic
this m.	<i>di, deh</i>	<i>hâdâ, dê, dî</i>	<i>da, deh</i>	<i>deh</i>	<i>da</i>
this f.	<i>dî</i>	<i>dî</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>dî</i>	<i>dî</i>
these	<i>dôle</i>	<i>dôle, dôl</i>	<i>dôle</i>	<i>dôl</i>	<i>dôl</i>
that m.	<i>dâk</i>	<i>dak</i>	<i>dâk</i>	<i>dak</i>	<i>dukha</i>
that f.	<i>dîkha</i>	<i>dikha</i>	<i>deêk-ha</i>	<i>dik'ha</i>	<i>dikha</i>
those	<i>dôk</i>	<i>dôk</i>	<i>dôk</i>	<i>douk'houm</i>	<i>dukham, dukhum, dukhumba</i>

When analysing the four texts, the following can be noted:

- Zenker added *hâdâ* (from classical Arabic or Levantine) for the masculine singular, but did not add the classical forms for the feminine or plural. He changed *deh* to *dê*, *di* to *dî* and added *dôl* to *dôle*. The form *deh* ~ *dê* (*da* in modern Cairene Arabic) shows pausal *'imāla*, a phenomenon in which final *a* is raised to *e(h)* (in the case of Cairene Arabic) or *i(h)* in some rural dialects.³⁷ *'imāla* disappeared from Cairo Arabic in the second half of the 19th century.³⁸ The normal form in modern Cairene Arabic for the plural is *dôl*; the form *dôla* is a substandard alternative (Woidich 2006: 44). In Nolden and Zenker's time, when there was still pausal *'imāla* in Cairene Arabic, the latter would have been pronounced as *dôle(h)*.
- Sacroug's text is a literal translation of Nolden's; however, Sacroug made two changes. First of all, he corrected the translation of *er'ragl di* from "these men" ("ces hommes") to "this man". Secondly, he changed the masc. sg. from *di*, *deh* to *da*, *deh*. The form *di* mentioned by Nolden and Zenker reflects the historical situation in which *di*, the feminine form, could be used both with masculine and feminine nouns. In modern Cairene Arabic, this is reflected in the word *dilwa'ti* "now", a combination of *di* and the masculine noun *ilwa't* "the time".³⁹ De Vaujany & Radouan removed the old-fashioned *di* for the masculine sg. Like Sacroug, they corrected "ces hommes" into "cet homme". The text has been somewhat rewritten. The most important change compared to Nolden and Sacroug is that De Vaujany & Radouan mention the plural as *doukhoum* instead of *dôk*. Nowadays, the existing distal demonstratives are *dukha* (masc. sg.), *dikha* (fem. sg.), *dukham/dukhum/dukhumma* (pl.).⁴⁰ However, the forms *dāk*, *dīk*, *dôk* are mentioned in some older sources, such as Forskål (1772: 87) and Hassan (1869: 88).

4.3.3 *The present and future tense*

In modern Cairene Arabic, the present tense is expressed by prefixing *bi* to the imperfect verb and the future tense by prefixing *ha* to the imperfect verb; *ha* is a shortened form of the present participle *rāyih* "going". This participle and its shortened form *rāh*⁴¹ were the standard ways of making the future tense in 19th-

37. See Behnstedt and Woidich (1985: maps 35–37) for the current distribution of pausal *imāla* in Egypt.

38. See Blanc (1973–1974) and Zack, Pilette & Den Heijer (2021).

39. See Doss (1979) and Woidich (1992).

40. As well as extended forms adding *-huwwa*, *-hiyya* or *-t* or *-n*. See Woidich (2006: 46).

41. Both could be used either declined for feminine and plural, or indeclinable.

century sources. The shortened form *ḥa* only appears in the last decades of the century.⁴²

Table 7 presents an overview of the way the present and future tense are given in the four books under discussion. Only the 3rd sg. m. form has been mentioned here:

Table 7. The present and future tense

	Nolden (1844: 137; 145)	Zenker (1854: xxxi–xxxiii)	Sacroug (1874: 254–255)	De Vaujany & Radouan (1887: 16–17)	Modern Cairene Arabic
present	<i>yâkoul</i> ~ <i>biâkoul</i> “he eats”	<i>bi-ktob</i> , <i>ammâl</i> <i>byktob</i> , <i>amm</i> <i>byktob</i> “he writes”	<i>yâkool</i> ~ <i>beyâkul</i> “he eats”	<i>yakoùn</i> “he is”	<i>biykûn</i> “he is” (habitual); <i>biyiktib</i> “he writes/is writing”
future	<i>yakoùn</i> “he will be”	<i>beddo yektob</i> “he will write”		<i>sa’yakouñ</i> “he will be”	<i>ḥaykûn</i> “he will be”; <i>ḥayiktib</i> “he will write”

Nolden’s and Sacroug’s information on the present and future tense is quite messy. In the present tense, the only verb for which the prefix *bi* is mentioned, is *biâkoul* ~ *beyâkul* “to eat”. For the others, only verbs without *bi* prefix are mentioned. The future tense is only mentioned for “to be”; both authors mention that the future tense is formed by using the imperfect verb followed by the adverb *ba’dên* “afterwards, later”:

Le FUTUR manque en Arabe vulgaire, et est rendu par une post-position comme: après, par exemple:

Je ne sais pas. mais je le saurai après.

àna maarâfchi. lâkin ârafou bâden. (Nolden 1844: 144)

The Future is wanting in vulgar arabic, and is rendered by a post-preposition [sic] as after; as:

I do not know but I shall know it afterwards

Ana maarâfshi. lâkin aarâfoð baâden. (Sacroug 1874: 253)

It is clear that Nolden’s knowledge of the language was, at least on this point, not sufficient, but the opposite would be expected from Sacroug, who was a native speaker. Nevertheless, he did not bother to correct this information.

42. The earliest example I have found is in Nakhlah (1874).

Zenker has the most complete information on the present and future tense. Beside the prefix *bi* for the present tense, he also gives *'ammâl*⁴³ and its shortened form *amm*. Nowadays, *bidd-* in the future tense is only found in Sinai and to the east of Egypt (Zack 2015); in Egypt, it was used in the 19th century to indicate “to want”, but was not a future marker.

De Vaujany & Radouan do not give a prefix for the present tense, and the prefix they give for the future tense is the classical Arabic *sa*.

4.4 The weights and measures and almanac

Zenker’s “Poids et mesures” and “Almanach musulman” are almost identical to those of Nolden, except for the transcription of the Arabic words and some very minimal differences in wording. The only substantial difference is that the calendar of the Islamic year 1260 (1844 CE) in Nolden’s book (p. 160) was replaced by one of the Islamic years 1270 and 1271 (1853–1855) in Zenker’s (p. 145). Sacroug completely rewrote the part about weights, measures and money (pp. 265–269). He translated the Almanac, only changing the year to 1289–1290 AH/1873–1874 CE (pp. 268–270). De Vaujany & Radouan also rewrote the part about weights, measures and money (pp. 319–320). They, like the others, adjusted the Almanac, covering the years 1299–1310 AH/1881–1892 CE. More interesting, however, is that their book is the only one that contains a list of Coptic feasts. They included Christmas, the Baptism of Jesus, the Annunciation, Palm Sunday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost and the Feast of the Apostles [Peter and Paul]. It also contains a list with the Coptic months (p. 318).

4.5 The dialogues

Nolden’s book did not contain any dialogues. Up to the 18th century, dialogues were used extensively for teaching languages. Proponents of dialogues in Arabic text books were, among others, François Pétis de la Croix (1653–1713) and Claude-Étienne Savary (1750–1788). However, this trend started to wane at the end of the 18th century, when the emphasis shifted to teaching grammar (see Doss 2012: 202). Nolden’s publication from 1844 can be seen in the light of this trend.

When Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan published their books, respectively in the seventies and eighties of the 19th century, the market for grammars and text books had changed. In the mid-19th century, travelling became easier and more affordable due to improved transportation, and Egypt became a popular tourist destination for European and American travellers who wanted to see

43. *Ammāl*; this actually indicates duration and intensity, see Woidich (2006: 282–283).

the monuments and visit the bazaars. With the popularity of tourism in Egypt came a need for guidebooks. Dozens of such guides were published between 1847 and 1929 (see Spiro 2007: 1 and Mairs forthcoming).

The addition of dialogues by Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan can be seen in the light of this fashion for travelling and of the popularity of guide books. Travellers to Egypt would benefit from phrases written in transcription that they could read aloud to make themselves understood, rather than just using a dictionary and grammar to try to put phrases together themselves. That would be a rather hard exercise for someone who was not familiar with the language. The practical side of travelling in Egypt is especially visible in Sacroug's dialogues, which cover all the kinds of transport a tourist in 19th-century Egypt could use, such as the train, boat, carriage, donkey and camel.

De Vaujany & Radouan's dialogues section is very short, only 17 pages, while Sacroug's dialogues cover 60 pages. The subjects covered by De Vaujany & Radouan are: greeting and informing about someone's health, visiting, saying goodbye, waking up, going to sleep, meeting friends, going for a walk, renting an apartment, asking the way and talking to domestics. Sacroug's dialogues cover a lot more ground and include some conversations that are less of a domestic nature, such as talking to a Governor-General and a Pasha or with an eastern lady, but also some very practical ones, like talking to a shopkeeper, the captain of a boat or a donkey boy. As mentioned in Section 4.1, some of Sacroug's dialogues were copied or adapted from Kayat (1844).

The dialogues are very interesting and warrant an article on their own, but there is no space here to go deeper into their contents. However, it is clear that there is no overlap between the two books. The phrases used by Sacroug are in Egyptian Arabic, whereas the phrases by De Vaujany & Radouan are heavily influenced by classical Arabic. Even where there is some slight overlap between the subjects under discussion, the phrases presented are different. It is clear that the two dialogue sections were created independently from each other.

5. *Authorship in the 19th century*

This section will discuss matters of authorship in the light of the countries in which the four books under discussion were published: Egypt (Nolden, Sacroug, and De Vaujany & Radouan), and Germany (Zenker). Copyright laws were introduced in the Arab world at the end of the 19th century, but this does not mean that plagiarism was something that went unnoticed before that time. Authorship questions were already hotly debated in the medieval Arab world. Schallenberg (2007: 511) mentions in his article about a case of plagiarism from the fourteenth century that "[l]iterary theft (*sariqa adabiya*) had a prominent place in medieval

literary controversies and very often poets of the highest standing stood accused of the offence”.

The texts discussed here however are not literary texts, but Arabic grammars and vocabularies written for European travellers. As demonstrated in Section 4.5, textbooks dating from before the 19th century mainly consisted of dialogues. In the 17th–19th centuries, reusing dialogues from text books and even copying them literally, was common practice (see Doss 2012:202). This trend can also be seen in manuals of Arabic. Doss (2012:190) states that dialogues which had long been in circulation amongst dragomans, were reused by writers of Arabic manuals. She mentions that the French orientalist Pétis de la Croix and Savary (1750–1788) made use of such dialogues, stating: “Savary s’est donc servi de dialogues répandus, et n’a pas hésité à les reprendre textuellement, selon l’habitude de copier ce type de textes dans la tradition occidentale, mais aussi dans les manuels d’enseignement de l’arabe” (Doss 2012:203). It is clear that the reuse of texts as found in the four manuals discussed here, fits within a long history of reusing materials for teaching vernacular Arabic. Reusing materials was often practiced, and even acknowledged by the authors. For instance, Anton Hassan writes in the preface to his Egyptian Arabic language guide (1869:iii): “Der Anspruch auf Originalität der Leistung lag mir bei der Zusammenstellung dieses Buches vollkommen ferne.” (“When compiling this book, it was far from me to claim the originality of the achievement”). He then proceeds to enumerate four sources from which he had borrowed his materials. Nor was this practice limited to Egypt; for instance, Moscoso García (2012) describes a case of plagiarism in which Pedro María del Castillo y Olivas published a work titled *Diálogos españoles-árabes ó guía de la conversación mogharbi* (1860), purported to be a description of Moroccan Arabic, which in fact was almost entirely plagiarized from a book on Algerian Arabic written by J. Honorat Delaporte (1846).

The question remains if this tradition of copying materials would have any legal implications for the authors. The matter of copyrights needs to be seen in the light of the laws of the countries where the books under discussion in this article were published: Egypt and Germany. In Germany, copyrights were not regulated until the mid-19th century. A Bundesbeschloss (“federal decree”) was introduced in 1837, stipulating that the rights of the copyright holder were protected for at least ten years from the date of publication (see Höffner 2010:234). In an interview with *Der Spiegel*, German economic historian Eckhard Höffner states:

Germany [...] didn’t bother with the concept of copyright for a long time. Prussia, then by far Germany’s biggest state, introduced a copyright law in 1837, but Ger-

many's continued division into small states meant that it was hardly possible to enforce the law throughout the empire.⁴⁴

In 1845, the duration of the copyrights was extended until thirty years after the death of the author and the penalties on copyright infringement were defined in more detail (see Höffner 2010: 236). Zenker therefore was not only morally, but also legally in the wrong by reusing Nolden's work, and his use of a pseudonym raises the suspicion that he knew it.

In Egypt, the situation was different. The first Egyptian copyright law, Law no. 354, was published in 1954. In the 19th century, copyright protection was regulated by the Mixed Courts, which were established in 1875. These courts had jurisdiction in civil disputes between Egyptians and foreigners, or between foreigners of different nationalities. Although the Regulations of the Mixed Courts did not mention copyrights, judges decided, based on Article 34, that "under the principles of natural justice and the laws of equity, copyright ought to be recognised".⁴⁵ Indeed, Amine (2010: 249) cites two court decisions, from 1876 and 1877, in which "acts of infringement, in this case the photographic reproduction of a work conceived and created by an artist, amount to prohibited unfair competition which may give rise to an award of damages". Up to 1904, the court decisions only related to "the reproduction of novels in Egyptian newspapers, the unauthorized performance and execution of European musical, musical dramatic, and dramatic works and infringement of photographs" (Copinger & Easton 1904: 684). For the local Egyptian population, copyright was established in article 323 of the Penal Code of 1883, which was based on the Napoleonic Code of 1810 (see Copinger & Easton 1904: 683 and Pantalone 2021). However, article 323 is not relevant in this case, as Nolden was a European and therefore would have been under the jurisdictions of the Mixed Courts. Sacroug's book was published one year before the establishment of these courts, but De Vaujany & Radouan published theirs in 1884 and would therefore have infringed the law.

6. Conclusion

In this article, the relationship between four books by Nolden, Zenker (pseudonym Barthélémy), Sacroug and De Vaujany & Radouan has been discussed. These books, published in two different countries (Egypt and Germany) over a period of more than forty years (1844–1887), give an interesting insight

44. See Höffner's interview in Thadeusz (2010), <https://www.spiegel.de/international/zeitgeist/no-copyright-law-the-real-reason-for-germany-s-industrial-expansion-a-710976.html>.

45. Copinger & Easton (1904: 683–684). See also Amine (2010: 245–249).

into how authors dealt with texts written by their predecessors. Nolden's *Vocabulaire français arabe, dialecte vulgaire de l'Égypte* (1844) was used as the basis for three new publications, Zenker's *Vocabulaire phraséologique français-arabe* (1854), Sacroug's *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter* (1874) and De Vaujany & Radouan's *Vocabulaire français-arabe* (1887). None of these authors acknowledged Nolden's work.

Rather than copying the original work literally, each of the authors reworked it and added content in order to cater for the intended readership. The first step was to change the transcription of the Arabic words, which Sacroug adjusted for English-speaking readers, De Vaujany & Radouan for a French-speaking readership, and Zenker for a rather more academically-oriented market, using a one sound – one symbol approach. Content-wise adjustments were made as well. De Vaujany & Radouan and Sacroug added phrases and dialogues that would be practical to use for tourists in Egypt. This addition can be seen in the light of the advent of tourism from the second half of the century and the need for practical phrase books. Sacroug also added a section of Egyptian proverbs, literally taken from Burckhardt's *Arabic proverbs* (1830), again without acknowledgement. Zenker did not add any materials for practical use in Egypt. On the contrary, he rewrote the grammar completely, displaying a language much closer to classical Arabic, which shows that his book was probably meant for a more academic, rather than practical, use.

Zenker is a special case. His use of the pseudonym Mr. Barthélémy for this publication only, while using his real name for his other books, suggests that he was aware that what he did was plagiarism and that he wanted to avoid detection. In this respect it is telling that he mentions his own *Vocabulaire*, but with Barthélémy as the author, in his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, whereas he did not mention Nolden's book.

It can be concluded that the way Nolden's text was reused, fits within a long trend of copying and reworking materials for teaching languages, and that each author adopted the material in accordance with the needs of their readership.

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Résumé

Dans cet article nous examinons quatre manuels du 19^{ème} siècle destinés à l'enseignement de l'arabe égyptien aux étrangers et qui présentent des similarités remarquables. Ces manuels sont le *Vocabulaire français arabe* (1844) de Nolden, le *Vocabulaire phraséologique français-arabe* (1854) de Zenker (publié sous le pseudonyme de Barthélémy), *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter* (1874) de Sacroug et le *Vocabulaire français-arabe* (1887) de De Vaujany & Radouan. Ces ouvrages couvrent des sujets tels que le vocabulaire, la grammaire, des phrases utiles en langue arabe, les poids et mesures égyptiennes et d'autres points encore. Il apparaît que Zenker, Sacroug, ainsi que De Vaujany & Radouan ont plagié abondamment Nolden sans faire référence à l'original. Toutefois, les trois livres ne sont pas des copies exactes (ni, dans le cas de Sacroug, une traduction exacte) de l'ouvrage de Nolden. Tout en partant du *Vocabulaire* de Nolden, nos auteurs n'ont pas manqué d'ajouter de nouveaux matériaux. Dans cet article, nous comparerons le contenu des quatre manuels afin de montrer comment l'ouvrage de Nolden a été remodelé, que les auteurs aient apporté des nouveautés ou amélioré le texte original.

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Beitrag untersucht vier Lehrbücher, die im 19. Jahrhundert erschienen und für den Unterricht des Ägyptisch-Arabischen für Ausländer bestimmt waren: Noldens *Vocabulaire français arabe* (1844), Zenkers *Vocabulaire phraséologique français-arabe* (1854 unter dem Pseudonym Barthélémy veröffentlicht), Sacrougs *The Egyptian Travelling Interpreter* (1874) und De Vaujany & Radouans *Vocabulaire français-arabe* (1887). Die Lehrbücher weisen bemerkenswerte Ähnlichkeiten auf, alle enthalten u.a. ein Vokabular, eine Grammatik, gängige arabische Redewendungen sowie Bezeichnungen für ägyptische Maße und Gewichte. Zenker, Sacroug und De Vaujany & Radouan schrieben offenbar vielfach von Noldens Buch ab, ohne

es explizit als Quelle zu erwähnen. Die drei Lehrbücher sind trotzdem keine bloßen Kopien (oder, im Falle von Sacroug, keine bloße Übersetzung) von Noldens Buch, denn obwohl die Autoren sich größtenteils auf Noldens *Vocabulaire* stützten, überarbeiteten und erweiterten sie den Inhalt des Buches doch erheblich. In diesem Artikel wird der Inhalt der vier Bücher miteinander verglichen und ermittelt, wie Zenker, Sacroug und De Vaujany & Radouan mit Noldens Lehrbuch umgingen, was sie dem Buch hinzufügten und wie sie es verbesserten.

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