Egyptian Arabic in the seventeenth century: a study and edition of Yusuf al-Magribi's 'Daf al-isr an kalam ahl Misr'

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Citation for published version (APA):
CHAPTER 6

Linguistic Analysis

6.1 Orthography

Al-Mağribī was a man of letters. He was educated at al-Azhar, and was well versed in language, religion and poetry. We would, therefore, expect that someone like him would know how to spell. It is generally assumed that Middle Arabic is normally found in texts created by people who had either not mastered Classical Arabic, or were unconcerned about whether or not their language and spelling were correct; we would not expect impeccable spelling from a trader writing a business letter, or a woman writing to her sister. In fact, we find many traits known to us from Middle Arabic texts in Daf' al-Iṣr’s orthography. The question is: what were the spelling habits of well-educated people of the time, such as scientists, linguists, or clergymen? We might, perhaps, expect a greater consciousness on this point from a scholar like al-Mağribī. This would mean that we could ask ourselves if the examples of orthography which diverge from the spelling rules of today, and which are pointed out below, were really sub-standard in al-Mağribī’s time. Vrolijk (1998) p. 113 points out that “autographs not only reflect the personal [spelling] habits of the author, but probably also, in a more general sense, the habits of his contemporaries. It is as yet impossible to establish which part is purely personal and which part is common practice”. The answer to this question is beyond the scope of the present study, but it remains an interesting point that certainly requires further investigation in the future.

When considering the orthography of Daf’ al-Iṣr, the fact that we are dealing with two types of text must be borne in mind. Firstly, there are the Egyptian Arabic entries, which are sometimes short sentences or phrases but more often only single words, and secondly, the framework and comments which are in Classical Arabic and include numerous quotations from al-Qāmūs al-muhīt. Al-Mağribī uses the same spelling for his own text written in Classical Arabic, as well as for quotations from, for instance, al-Qāmūs al-muhīt.

In this chapter, the focus will be on the idiosyncratic spelling of the Classical Arabic passages. Only cursory remarks will be made about the spelling of the

313 In particular, the spelling of the hamza in Daf' al-Iṣr deviates a great deal from modern spelling standards. Blau (2002) p. 32 mentions the total absence of the hamza from ancient papyri, and interprets this as ‘reflecting an ancient orthographic habit preserved also through NA [Neo-Arabic] influence’.

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colloquial vocabulary, because this is very much intertwined with the phonology and will, therefore, be discussed at length in §6.2.

6.1.1 **hamza and madda**

In spelling the *hamza*, al-Maġribī does not follow the rules of Classical Arabic, and is inconsistent in the way in which he writes it, even within the same sentence. The same word is written in different ways, as in the case with *nisāʿ* “women”, which we find in the same sentence as *nisa* (64a), and elsewhere as the variant *nisa* (31a). These examples highlight three of the four ways of writing the final *ā* that al-Maġribī employs: *bā*, *bā‘* and *‘ālā* (11a) and elsewhere as the variant *‘ālā* (31a). This is a continuous source of confusion. For instance, the frequently found word *bihā* “with her”, but should more often be read *bi-hā* “with the letter hā” (or actually “with tā marbūta”), frequently used in the expression *wa wāhidatuhā bi-hā* “and its nomen unitatis is with a tā marbūta”.

The final *ā* is, in most cases, written without the *hamza*: مُضِيءٍ *(50a)* mudi “bright”, as is final *i*: الممتالي “full” (11a) and *say* “a thing” (to be found in numerous places).

*ā* in the middle of the word can be written with a *madda*: الـدَّانِـيَ “vileness and loweliness” (104b); بَنَانٌ *binā‘* “two structures” (108a). Moreover, words of the patterns *fāʿ il* and *fā wa il* (mediae infirmae) are often written with a *madda* on the *alif*, followed by either a *hamza* under the *yā* or without *hamza*, e.g. لَطَافٌ “delightful witticisms” (1a), بَأَيْهَا “her seller” (20a). The *madda* seems to be used for *ā* at the beginning of the word and for *ā* in the middle or at the end.

Although the *madda* is often used in unexpected places, it is also omitted from those where, according to the spelling rules of Classical Arabic, it should be used. This is quite a common phenomenon in pre-modern manuscripts, and there are many examples from *Daf' al-Iṣr: al-‘āya* “the Qur'ān-verse” (50b); *الْأَلَّا* “instrument” (78b, 104a), *الْأَلَّاَت* “the instruments” (91a); *أخر* “the last”.

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314 This had already been observed by Wehr (1956) p. xv in his edition of *Kitāb al-ḥikāyat al-ağība wa l-‘āḥbār al-garība*: “Das Hamza-Zeichen wird völlig unkonsequent verwendet”.

315 Compare the orthography of the word *mā* in Jaritz (1993) p. 65.


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mal‘ān “filled” (101b), the word can be read as al-‘ān “now”, but also as alānā “to soften” (58a). What is unusual is the madda written on the wāw. “evil” (64a; 76a; 113b) instead of the final hamza, or in the middle of a word: wuḍūʿuḥu “his ritual ablution” (93a).

The omission of the hamza in the middle of a word is quite common in Dāf al-ʿIṣr. For instance: guʿaṭ “a part” (6b), al-qirā “the readings”, ruʿās “heads” (115a), al-as’ila (93a) “the questions” and masʿala (62b; 121b) “question.” The correct pronunciation for these last words has been indicated by the placement of a kasra or faṭha on the sīn. Also worth noting is a very interesting observation made by al-Maġribī on fol. 6b: “I know there is a difference between al-ġuz with a hamza and al-ġızā with the soft ʿalif [i.e., the ʿalif without a hamza].” In saying this, does he mean with a “soft” ʿalif that he would pronounce it as al-ġızā rather than al-ġızā, i.e. with tashīl, or is he referring to the root of the word, which is ĜZY? The second option is the most likely because al-Maġribī would have been aware that the word ends with a hamza.

In the words ra’s fa’s “the top of a hoe”, the hamza has been omitted. It could be argued that the colloquial pronunciation ra’s fa’s is reflected here, although this is unlikely since it is a quotation from al-Qāmūs al-muhīṭ. There are other cases in which the bearer is written but the hamza itself was omitted, such as in: hay a “form” (79a), ra ʿız “leader” (113b), suʿal “question” (7b), faḍū “my heart”, ṭaṭūʿ “regarding it as a good omen” (89b). This can lead to ambiguities. For instance, confusion is caused by ƙaŋa “he was” or ƙaŋa “as if”. The same goes for l’anna “because” or lāna “to be/become soft” (113a).

317 Attested in several places, e.g. fol. 3b, 9a etc.
318 See also Wehr (1956) p. xv.
319 This spelling of masʿala is also mentioned in Blau (1966) I p. 100.
320 This is the spelling which al-Maģribī uses for this word in most of the cases.
When the yā' is supposed to be the bearer of the hamza, it is more common to find it written with a dotted yā', as in لَيْلَةٌ لَيْلَانَ “at night” (as in for instance fol. 17a). Other examples are بِرْ “well” (124a), رَآءِ “lung” (47a), and اَيْتَأْدِيَا (أَيْتَأْدِيَا) “if”, preceded by the particle ‘a introducing a question (82a, quotation from the Qur’ān). Often the hamza is written under the yā’ instead of on top of it, e.g. مَيْقَ “he sobbed” (55a), الزِّيَرَ “the roaring” (108b).

In فُوْلَ “elephants” (88a) we find a hypercorrection: here al-Maġribī writes a hamza where it should be a yā': fuyūl. Even if the plural فُوْلَ had existed, it should have been written according to the norms of Classical Arabic, although in Modern Standard Arabic the spelling with yā’ is allowed (for instance مُسْتَولٍ is seen often in newspapers instead of مُسْتَولَ).

6.1.2 final yā’ / alif maqṣūra

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6.1.3 final ā

6.1.3.1 ā instead of ی

Sometimes a word is spelt with a final ی where alif would be expected:٢٢٤ عصِّي’ عصِّي’ یُسِّعَ “stick” (51b, 111a and 132b), and النَّاَيَا على النَّاَيَا “the upper front teeth” (104b). Sometimes, ی is used instead of the final alif hamza: بحاري (58a) بُكْرَة “city in Uzbekistan”, and هَوَاء (34b and 89a) “air”. The final ی instead of alif hamza can be seen in المُتَّدَرَّدِيّ “having performed the ritual ablution”. As pointed out in §6.1.2, it is quite common to render the final ی with ی.

6.1.3.2 ی instead of ی

The spelling with alif where alif maqsura would be expected٢٢٥ occurs, although not frequently. Two examples are: (21a) instead of al-ᠠُحْلَ “the more beautiful”, and الرُّحَا instead of al-raḥā “the handmill” (95a).

6.1.4 ۃ marbūta

In a few isolated cases ۃ is found in status constructus: لِعَبِ البَطَنْجِ “the chess-game” (3a), رَوْقَ عَنْهُ “the capital of the Levant” (39b), حَكاَيَهُ لِيْلِي وَالْمَجْنُونِ، “the life of the animals” (56a), ضَعْفَهُ الْكُونِ “weak of posture” (108a), and لِكَذِّبَهُ الْاَسْتَعَمَالِ “because of its frequent use” (117b).

In a few isolated cases ۃ occurs rarely: مَحْرُوقَةٌ مَحْرُوقَةٌ “the blue of his eyes” (38a). However, this was probably a mistake by al-Maġribī, because he changed the word from مَحْرُوقَةٍ to مَحْرُوقَةٌ when copying from al-Qāmūs al-Muḫīṭ. There are no instances of ۃ instead of ی.

6.1.5 Interdentals

In a purely Classical Arabic context, al-Maġribī writes dental plosives in a few cases where we would expect to find interdentals. This is notably in quotations from al-Qāmūs al-Muḫīṭ and classical literature, as in the following examples:


٢٢٥ Already attested in texts from the first millennium, see Blau (2002) p. 32.
“wild pomegranate” (90a), “and its stern” (90b), “like qaṇṭūḍ hedgehog” (96b), and “for the menstruation” (109b), and “laudanum” (118a). However, these cases are rare and are probably the result of inaccuracy rather than intent. It could even be that al-Maġribī had an inaccurate copy of al-Qāmūs al-muhīṭ. We also find zarf “stench” (115b), instead of the correct zarf, in a quotation from al-Qāmūs al-muhīṭ.

6.1.6 Hyphenation
Al-Maġribī sometimes breaks off words at the end of the line, which can be quite confusing. In the following example the – denotes the end of the line: “I mixed it” (8a), “look up” (11b), “the fingers” (14a), “with downy feathers” (36b), “like a large tent” (40b), “like I put it [the arrow] on the bowstring” (53b), “the foodstuffs” (65b), “its Persian [translation]” (91b), and “the lion” (101b). The reason for this quirk seems to be an attempt to keep the margin neat and not leave a gap at the end, or to not have some lines longer than others.

6.1.7 Historical versus phonetic spelling of the colloquial material
In the spelling of dialect words, al-Maġribī alternates between historical and phonetic spelling. As an example, words will be taken which had originally contained interdentals, but had become stops in the dialect used at that time.226 This development is often reflected in al-Maġribī’s orthography: “tamarisk”, “similar”, “despicable”, and “belonging to the Sādīliyya Sūfī order”. In other instances where a dialect word had originally contained an interdental, al-Maġribī uses historical orthography: “to rave” and “raving” (132b), “elegy” (127b), and “cucumis sativus” (9b).

226 As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, this is only a cursory overview of the orthography of colloquial words; these points will be discussed at length in §6.2.
Phonetic orthography can also be found in the reflection of the shortening of long end vowels which had occurred in the Egyptian dialect, e.g. /bakka/ (56b) from /bakkā/ “cry-baby”. The final glottal stop has disappeared and the preceding long ā has shortened. This pronunciation is reflected in the orthography with ā at the end of the word instead of alif. There is also an example of phonetic spelling in the shortening of a long vowel followed by two consonants: /.(1b) / instead of /āffă/ “edge”.

At a certain point, al-Maġribī writes the colloquial /āDU then crosses out the alif, thereby turning the word into the classical /yADHU (24b). This indicates that he hesitated about whether or not to reflect the colloquial pronunciation. No hesitation at all can be found in the colloquial /minnu (twice on 51b); the metrics of the poem in which it occurs demand this form of colloquial pronunciation.

6.1.8 taškil
Al-Maġribī does not make much use of taškil, and either leaves words completely without vowels or uses other methods to describe them (as explained in §3.7). Sometimes, he goes a long way in his simplification, as demonstrated in the following sentence (90a):

If you said ‘what is the difference between al-qaml and al-qaml’, the answer is: al-qaml is well-known, and al-qaml as [mentioned] in al-Qāmūs are small insects”. It is left to the reader to check al-Qāmūs al-muḫřī to discover that the first is supposed to be qaml “lice” and the second qummāl “ticks”! Unfortunately, whenever Al-Maġribī does use taškil it is mostly in Classical Arabic and not in the colloquial passages where it is needed.

327 For more details, see §6.2.10.2.
328 See §6.2.10.1.
329 See al-Qāmūs al-muḫřī p. 946a-b.
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6.2 Phonology

6.2.1 qāf and ġīm

In Egypt, the pronunciation of qāf and ġīm are closely connected. In Cairo, Alexandria, and along the Damietta branch of the Nile they are pronounced as /q/ and /g/, while in other dialects they are pronounced as /g/ and /ǧ/.[330] There has been a discussion ongoing for some time about when the inhabitants of Cairo started to pronounce qāf as /q/ and ġīm as /g/. There are two conflicting theories:

1. Behnstedt and Woidich suggest that the Cairene pronunciation /q/ - /g/ is an ancient feature.[331] The fact that it is also found along the Damietta branch of the Nile is because of the importance Damietta had as a port in medieval times. Two theories are proposed to explain this phenomenon. The first is that the existence of the trade route resulted in the Cairene pronunciation of /q/ - /g/ spreading along this branch of the Nile, while the surrounding regions kept /g/ - /ǧ/. Another possibility is that the entire Delta used /q/ - /g/ at some stage, but this was replaced by /g/ - /ǧ/ in certain areas because of the influence of the influx and settlement of speakers of Bedouin dialects. The areas along the Damietta branch, however, resisted this change because of the strong influence of the Cairo dialect. Some other features, such as a relic area with /q/ - /g/ at the periphery of the Delta, support this second option.[332] This theory is also supported by Davies, who mentions that in Hazz al-qahāf the following is said about a certain peasant: ‘He says, ‘O Gādī’, [pronouncing the initial qāf of qādī] with the letter ġīm”, meaning that the peasant says gādī, which again implies that al-Širbīnī himself pronounced the ġīm as /g/.[333]

2. The second theory, which was first proposed by Blanc (1981), is that the pronunciation of ġīm as /g/ is relatively new to Cairo, and that the final stage of depalatalization of ġīm was not completed until the period 1800-1860.[334] Palva (1997) supports this theory,[335] as does Hary (1996), who suggests that a shift has taken place in the pronunciation of the ġīm not once, but twice: from /g/ in the 6th/7th centuries to /ǧ/ in the 12th-17th centuries and back to /g/ in the 19th-20th

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centuries.\textsuperscript{336} Blanc, Hary and Palva mainly used Judeo-Arabic documents from the Cairo Geniza as their sources of information. These were usually written in the Hebrew script. The \textit{ǧīm} is indicated by the letter \textit{gimel}, to which is added either a supralinear dot \textdegree or a sublinear dot \textdegree to indicate a more fronted pronunciation.\textsuperscript{337} However, caution is required when using the language of these Judeo-Arabic documents as proof of the pronunciation of Egyptian Arabic in general. First of all, it is not at all certain if the reported speech really reflects the dialect of Cairo. Secondly, it is not definitely known whether the Jews of Cairo spoke the same dialect as the Muslims at that time, or if there were any differences. What is, however, known is that the Jewish dialect in Cairo in the twentieth century differed in several ways from the dialect spoken by the Muslims.\textsuperscript{338}

Blanc (1981) pp. 192-3 quotes two passages from \textit{Dıf} in support of his theory. The first is the word \textit{raqī} “man”, and al-Mağribi mentions the following about the pronunciation of the \textit{ǧīm} in it:

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ويقولون ويسمع من اهل الريف فلان ما دلاؤ راجل يفتح الرا وسكون الجيم الغير العربية كجيم ابن جبي المنصوص عليها في شرح جمع النجوم المتبع لتعلمه المحلية.
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“They say, and this is heard from the countryside, ‘so-and-so mā dillā ṭaqārī’, ‘what kind of man is that’, with an \textit{a} after the \textit{rā} and no vowel after the un-Arabic \textit{ǧīm}, which is like the \textit{ǧīm} of Ibn Ginnī, about which is written in the traditional \textit{Śarḥ ġam’ al-ǧawāmi’} by the famous al-Maḥallī.”\textsuperscript{339}

The passage from \textit{Śarḥ ġam’ al-ǧawāmi’} which is referred to is the following:

\begin{flushright}
\textit{Daf} al-\textit{işr} fol. 75a.
\end{flushright}

\textsuperscript{338} Blanc (1974) discusses the \textit{niktib-niktibu} feature of the dialect of the Cairene Jews, although he avoids using the term “Jewish Cairene”. Rosenbaum (2003) p. 546 states: “The language they [i.e. the Jews of Cairo and Alexandria] speak, while of course influenced by the local Arabic dialects, also contains many common elements which are not to be found in the dialects of the non-Jews”.

\textsuperscript{339} \textit{Daf} al-\textit{işr} fol. 75a.

The description “between kāf and ġīm” was the usual way of describing the pronunciation /g/\(^{342}\). According to Blanc (1981) p. 192, this is an indication that this was not the common way to pronounce the ġīm in Cairo at that time. However, al-Maġribī was speaking of a rural dialect in which this might indeed have been an unusual feature, but this provides only indirect information about the dialect of Cairo. There is also the possibility that the ġīm in this particular example was pronounced in a way that was unusual for the rural dialect al-Maģribī was speaking of. He might have expected to hear /g/ and, therefore, found the /g/ worth mentioning. In some modern Egyptian Arabic dialects the ġ is pronounced in a different way before the l. In the West Delta, for instance, the ġ is pronounced as /d/ when it is followed by an l,\(^{343}\) while in Middle Egypt it is pronounced as a slightly palatalized g.\(^{344}\) It is possible that al-Maģribī was speaking of this type of case because it is quite likely that he, with his interest in linguistics, would have noticed such a change.

The second example quoted by Blanc\(^{345}\) concerns the following passage:

“\(\text{And it is astonishing that } \text{laqān with the Persian kāf is a certain vessel in Turkish, and also in Arabic. He }[=\text{al-Fīrūzābādī}]\text{ said: ‘and laka;q with the same vowels as } \text{ḡābal} \text{ is a well-known vessel’}, \text{i.e. with the Arabic kāf’}.”

Blanc’s assumption that this is also a special case where ġīm = /g/ was discussed is incorrect. Al-Maģribī does not say that the Egyptians use this word, only that it is used in Turkish, and that in the Classical Arabic language it is pronounced with
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/k/. Neither of these arguments, therefore, provides us with any information about the pronunciation of ǧīm in Cairo at that time.

As well as the two passages mentioned by Blanc, there is a further example in which al-Maġribī discusses the pronunciation of the ǧīm in a certain word:

“‘ga’ga’ bi-l-ibil’ means ‘he called them [= the camels] to drink’. I heard one of them [= the Egyptians] say at the basin while he was giving his camels to drink, ‘ǧūǧū’ with an un-Arabic ǧīm which is close to the šīn.”

The ǧ in ǧūǧū should probably be interpreted as /č/, because it is said to be close to /š/. We can conclude from this passage that the normal Cairene pronunciation of ǧīm was not at all like /č/ because al-Maġribī perceived this as being “un-Arabic”.

These are the only three passages in Daf’ al-îsr where al-Maġribī mentions something about the pronunciation of the ǧ. He never states explicitly that the ǧīm was pronounced as /g/ in Cairo at that time. However, proof of this is indirectly provided in Daf’ al-îsr in the form of the following mawwâl:

I brought up a mawwâl for the beloved and he brought up back one;

\[^347\] Daf’ al-îsr fols. 6b-7a.
\[^348\] Quoted from al-Qâmûs al-muhîf p. 35a.
\[^349\] Daf’ al-îsr fol. 11b.
\[^350\] The metre is bûsûf; the schwa has to be added here to fit the metre. See also §4.1.
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I threw out my envious (adversary) and all mankind said to me: you won (you gave the final answer);

So the coffee beans (nipples) inside his coffee (areola) said to me: we give ourselves to you for free;

He was generous with kissing and sucking, therefore I came.511

The point of this mawwāl is the pronunciation of the word ǧabbyt. The first word in the first line could be interpreted as the 1st person sg. of the verb gāb. Although in modern Cairene Arabic this would be git, the form ǧabbēt is still found in the Ḥarga-oasis and the Sudan.512 The last word of the first line, ǧāb byt,513 sounds the same as ǧabbyt. In the fourth line, it should be read as ǧabbīt “I came, ejaculated”.514 This rhetorical device is called ǧinās, “paronomasia” or tawriya, “double entendre”515 and is still encountered in mawwāl in Egypt today. In fact, the fun of the mawwāl lies in the discovery of the hidden meanings of the verse. This is an indication that in al-Maġribī’s time, the ǧīm was pronounced as /g/, because the association of /g/ with /k/, from voiced to voiceless velar plosive (ǧabbyt – kıbbyt), is very plausible. That /g/ could be associated with /k/ is less so. In fact, Cachia (1989) p. 142 mentions an example of alternation between /g/ and /k/ in a mawwāl: gamkan (kām kān). Moreover, Eisele (1997) p. 754 notes that in the zahr 516 puns, “the most common type of feature change involves voicing or devoicing, and less often a change in emphasis”. He also states that “there are cases interdialectally where the reflex of a word in one dialect might have a vowel with a different quality”.517 It is possible that al-Maġribī uses these dialectal alternations, i.e. ǧabbyt – git, in this mawwāl to fit the paronomasia.

As mentioned above, the pronunciation of ǧīm and qāf are closely related in Egypt. In areas where ǧīm is pronounced /g/, qāf is pronounced /j/.518 Whether this was the case in Egypt in the 17th century cannot be known for certain. There is one

511 I thank Ellie Kallas for his suggestions for the translation of this poem.
512 See Behnsted-Woidich IV p. 55a “ǧabbēt ich brachte (zu ǧāb, yiǧīb)”.
513 The șadda on the bā only indicates that the following letter is a b, i.e. no vowel should be read after gāb.
514 For both translations see Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 729a-b.
516 A word play which involves phonetical modification. On zahr in Egyptian popular poetry, see Cachia (1989) p. 60ff. and Eisele (1997).
518 See BW II: Compare map 6 “Reflex von */q/” and map 10 “Reflex von */ɟ/”.

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instance from Daf' al-ıșr which could indicate that the qāf was pronounced as //. Al-Maģribī mentions that the Egyptians say: فلان عاقّق والديه fulūn ʿāqiq wālidyh “so-and-so is disobedient towards his parents” (49b). In Egyptian Arabic, the active participle of verbs mediae geminatae is fā’il, e.g. hāsis,359 therefore the active participle form I of the root ‘QQ would be عاقّق /ʿāqiq /ʿāqiq, while in Classical Arabic, this would be عاقّق /ʿaqiq. The only explanation why al-Maģribī would have written عاقّق is because it was pronounced ‘āqiq and he wrongly interpreted the medial glottal stop as belonging to the pattern of the active participle of the verbs mediae infirmae.

6.2.2 Interdentals

It has previously been confirmed that the interdentals in Cairo Arabic had disappeared long before Daf' al-ıșr was written. Some instances thereof can be found in the 15th century texts by Ibn Sūdūn.360 In the Judeo-Arabic zağal entitled Ḥikāya fi ʿdamm al-nisā, which is supposed to be from the 14th century, all interdentals are represented in the text by postdental plosives.361 Satzinger (1972) p. 42 mentions the occurrence of tā’ for ta’ in the 13th century, and Blau (1982a) p. 101 notes that most early Middle Arabic texts show signs of the shift from interdentals to plosives. Yūsuf al-Maģribī even mentions explicitly that the t was pronounced as t in the dialect of Cairo:

المحدثين باتانا المنشاة فوق ابني بهم العوام, “those who speak with a tā’ with two dots, I mean the common people.”362

There are many examples of words in Daf’ al-ıșr in which the change from interdentals to plosives is visible. Some of these have been discussed briefly in the section on Orthography (§6.1.7). As in the present day, the pronunciation of the dāl in al-Maģribī’s time was /ḍ/ and examples are: [∗NDL] nadl (92b) “despicable”, [∗SDL] Šādiliyya ((81a) “belonging to the Šādiliyya sufi order”, [∗ḤDY] hada’ “close to” (125a), [∗HDIRM] yihadrim “to speak quickly” (108a), and [∗DBL] “to wilt (flowers)” (72a). We have only one example of /d/ > /z/, namely [∗DRQ] zrq “bird droppings” (fols. 40a and 42a). In general, al-Maģribī uses the

362 Daf’ al-ıșr fol. 11a.
historical spelling for sibilants which were originally interdentals, i.e. z for what we assume was pronounced as /t/, for instance: 

\[\text{hızā} \] “to talk deliriously” (13.b), 

\[\text{zull} \] “humiliation” (74a), and 

\[\text{rızil} \] “despicable” (75b).

The same rule applies for the \[\text{ā} \] as for the \[\text{al} \], and in \[\text{Dıf} \] we find proof that it was pronounced as /t/. Some examples are: 

\[\text{ıtl} \] “tamarisk trees” (63a), 

\[\text{tifl} \] “dregs (67a), 

\[\text{yitımmin} \] “to fix the price of” (110a), 

\[\text{twm} \] “garlic” (96a), and 

\[\text{mitl} \] “like” (91b). The last one is interesting because in present-day Egyptian Arabic only the pronunciation misl is used, which is a direct loan from MSA. However, in the dialects of the Levant, the pronunciation mat’l is still in use. The expression min hytan “since, because” (111b) from which the end indicates; it could be inn, as in hēs inn, or it could be an old case ending, as can still be found in Egyptian Arabic these days in expressions such as gašbin ‘anni “against my will” and nadrin ‘alayya “I vow (to do so-and-so)”, It is all the more interesting because al-Maġribī mentions that this expression is used by the town dwellers, whereas the country folks say hyšn (111b), which would be a rare case of /f/ > /s/. 

It is likely that the pronunciation as /s/ in loanwords from Classical Arabic also existed, but this is not evident from the orthography because al-Maġribī never writes a sīn in such cases. However, in the proverb qata’ Balyq lā haraqt wala daras “he removed Balyq because he neither ploughed nor threshed” (37b), the rhyme indicates that the pronunciation of haraqt must have been haras. The trend of using the historical spelling of s < /a with tā’ can still be observed today. It would, for instance, be unacceptable to write a word like sawra, which is pronounced sawra in Egypt, with a sīn: Sowra; the word’s image would change too much. In the case of dāl – zāy, this is less problematic (see ḍā’ > zāy) but the historical orthography is often still preferred.

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366 Ibid. p. 624a.
367 Ibid. p. 855b.
368 This is for instance the case in Labun d’asfūr by Yūsuf al-Qaḍ. This is a novel written entirely in the Egyptian dialect, yet the author sticks to the etymological orthography of ḍ > s. See Zack (2001a) p. 200.
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The shift from ız to ı is reflected in the word hanıdıl < hanızıl “colocynth” (71b).

6.2.3 hamza

6.2.3.1 Initial hamza

In Daf al-ıṣr, we find evidence that the initial glottal stop had already disappeared. Where this occurs, it is replaced by a wāw, such as widn “ear” (119b) < ʿudn, wāyıt “I showed” (132a)\(^{369}\) and ṭāqa “cheek” (119b) (originally ṭaqna, but wağna already attested by Lane VIII p. 3049c). This phenomenon can still be observed today in several dialects.\(^{370}\) In the word ḥuwwa (127a) < ʿuḥuwwa “brotherhood” (also attested by al-Ḥafṣī (1865) p. 88) the initial syllable with the glottal stop as its onset has disappeared altogether. There are several examples of this feature in modern Cairene Arabic, such as ḥad < ʿḥad “to take” and ṭār < ʿṭār “frame”.

6.2.3.2 Intervocalic hamza

Kān (from kaʾān - kaʾın) “as if” (117b) is still attested in Egypt: Behnstedt-Woidich (1994) p. 422b “kān als ob: kannak als ob du”. ʿayla or ʿela “dependents” (84b) reflects the disappearance of the hamza so ʿāila became ʿāyila and then ʿyla. For the issue of the diphthong see §6.2.8. The word ʿidd ʿinn “let’s assume that…” (117a) is a contraction of ʿidd ʿinn in which the hamza has disappeared.

6.2.3.3 Final hamza

Unfortunately, Al-Maġribī’s spelling of the hamza is so haphazard (see §6.1.1) that it is impossible to reach a conclusion about either its pronunciation or its disappearance. Instead, we have to rely on those instances where he explicitly mentions that it has vanished, or looks up a word under the wāw or yā where in Classical Arabic it would have a hamza. Such is the case in the entry ḥabbīt “I hid” (126a), which Al-Maġribī placed in the chapter wāw and yā. He looked it up under ḤBY\(^{371}\) but did not find it there. Other cases of the disappearance of the final

\(^{369}\) According to ʿAbd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 359 the origin is رأيت, with disappearance of the hamza, so it became روئت, and after metathesis of rāʾ and wāʾ it became روئت. The same theory is supported by Davies (1981) p. 71.


\(^{371}\) This is remarkable, because he had already mentioned the verb ʿحَا in the chapter hamza.
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hamza are: \textit{radā} “bad” (127b), \textit{rafā} “to darn” (9a), \textit{malw} “a … full” (111b), \textit{milāya} “bedsheet” (10b), \textit{nayy} “raw” (131b), \textit{hāk} “may God grant you good health” (111a), \textit{daffyt} “I warmed up” (127a).

6.2.4 Emphasis

Both emphatization and de-emphatization are attested in Daf al-	extit{iṣr}. We find the following examples of the latter:

- 	extit{saqī} “chilly” (44a) (< 	extit{sandrāq “box”} (46a)
- 	extit{nātīq “endowing with speech (God)”} (55b) (< 	extit{nata} “to endow with speech” (55b) (< 	extit{yizdaq “to speak the truth”} (41b) (< 	extit{saqqaq “to applaud”} (25b)

The only example of emphatization is the word \textit{sūr “arsehole”} (102b) (< \textit{ṣarm}). This is a case of secondary emphasis due to the vicinity of the \textit{rā}.\textsuperscript{372}

6.2.5 Voicing of \textit{s} and \textit{ṣ}

The voicing of \textit{s} and \textit{ṣ} is attested in Daf al-	extit{iṣr}. For instance, in \textit{yizdaq “to speak the truth”} (41b) (< 	extit{ṣāflaq “to applaud”} (25b) the \textit{ṣ} has lost its emphasis and has become partially assimilated to the following voiced \textit{d}. Voicing at the beginning of the word is found in \textit{ṣ̣āl “lesbianism”} (both 43a), in \textit{ṣ̣āl “pauper”} (61a), and \textit{ṣ̣āl “tortoise”} (23b) (with metathesis of the \textit{h} and \textit{l}).\textsuperscript{373} In these four examples, it is unclear why the initial \textit{s} and \textit{ṣ} would be voiced, because there is no assimilation to a following voiced consonant.

6.2.6 Assimilation of \textit{īt}-

In modern Cairene Arabic, the \textit{t} of the passive-reflexive forms (V, VI and VII) can be assimilated to the following letter if this is a \textit{s \textit{ṣ} \textit{ṣ} \textit{t} \textit{ṭ} \textit{d} \textit{ḏ} \textit{ẓ} \textit{g} or \textit{k}.\textsuperscript{374} The following

\textsuperscript{373} Al-Maģribī suggests a connection with the word \textit{ṣ̣āl “Smīl [i.e. reptiles, or insects], having legs, that walk, resembling ants”} (definition from Lane III p. 1220c), to which it is not related. See also Ḥīgāzī (1969) p. 119 and §6.2.7.
\textsuperscript{374} See Woidich (2006) p. 69.
examples of this assimilation, which is often indicated with a šadda, are found in Daf\' al-isr:
\[ t > s : \] yissakla’ “to hang around” (44a), yissalla’ “to try hard to sell his goods” (44b), yissallaq “to climb” (46a), and yissawwaq “to go looking for” (46a).
\[ t > š : \] yissamət “to eavesdrop” (46a).
\[ t > ŕ : \] yissaddaq “to be diffuse in speech” (46b).
\[ t > z : \] izzaqam “to be force-fed”, and yizzawil “to imagine” (79a).
\[ t > d : \] yiddiššā “to belch” (1.7a).
\[ t > g : \] iǧǧıhrım “to be bold” (96a).

6.2.7 Metathesis
In the case of metathesis, two consonants change places. A well-known example in modern Cairo Arabic is the root GWZ < ZWǦ, e.g. gōz “husband”. There are a few instances of it in Daf\' al-isr:
\[ muwalqa < milqa “spoon” (fols. 49b and 54b), mawṣuma < maywama “day labour” (108b), saq’a < sa‘qa “lightning” (47a), żalafa < sulahfā “tortoise” (23b) (with voicing of the s\(^*$\)), and saqqaf < saffaq “to applaud” (25b) (with de-emphatization of the š, see §6.2.4.).

6.2.8 Diphthongs
When al-Maġribī vocalizes a word that originally contained a diphthong, he often places a fata on top, e.g. (folio 13b) ya dawbu / dōbu ‘just’, nowadays ya dōb or ya dōb, żawkar / rōk “public property” (59b), žaybaq / żebq “mercury” (41b), sayf / sêf “sword” (26a), ‘ayla / əla “family” (84b), hawn / hōn “mortar” (120a), and hayf / hēf “open air (36a). However, as Blanc pointed out, the use of the fata “may or may not stand for diphthongs”\(^{375}\). Writing the fata before a wāw or yā’ could simply be conventional for /ō/ and /ē/. This is certainly the case with the word būsa “kiss” (88b), which was never a diphthong originally because it derives from the Persian bōsa.\(^{376}\) Perhaps al-Maģribī vocalizes

\(^{375}\) See also §6.2.5.
\(^{377}\) See Steingass (1975) p. 207.
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it as bıwsı because, since all ā’s were initially /aw/, it could be argued that bıwsı must have been bıwsı. Something similar was noted by Woidich (1997) p. 186-7:

“In the areas of Fayyūm and Bani Swēf, the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ are preserved, unlike in Standard Egyptian, the dialect of Cairo. Speakers “know” that Cairo /ā/ corresponds to /aw/ at home. Thus, all words taken over from Standard Egyptian are given an /aw/, even loanwords that historically never contained a diphthong: ‘awda for ʾāda ‘room’, šawbar for šebar ‘fertilizer’, talağın for tilifôn, and so on.”

Therefore, it cannot be concluded with any certainty whether the diphthongs had developed into long vowels in the dialect of Cairo by this time. Blanc (1981) p. 195 supports the theory that ay was still retained in urban lower Egypt in the 17th and 18th centuries. An argument against this is the word ‘ayš - ĕš, which is written four times as ā in Daf al-İsr. This suggests that the pronunciation is ĕş or ʾeš, i.e. a shortening of the vowel ĕ. Based on similar evidence from Hazz al-quḥuf, Davies (1981) p. 87 suggests that āy and ĕ coexisted in the 17th century. Diem (1985) p. 77-8, however, mentions an example of monophthongisation of the aw dating from the first century AH.

6.2.9 Lengthening of short vowels

A few cases of the lengthening of short vowels are mentioned in Daf al-İsr. That of kām < kam (fols. 106a and 106b) is well documented and can be attributed to the need “to give normal length to exceptionally short words”.

The explanation of why the word naʿām < naʿam (106b) would have a lengthened second a could be, that like in modern Cairene Arabic, it should be understood as “yes” but as “excuse me?”, with a rising intonation. However, naʿām with a long a is already attested in al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ. Spitaler (1967) p. 404, noted that some words with the pattern KaKūK have the plural pattern KawāKīK, which normally belongs to words with the pattern KāKūK. We can find two instances in Daf al-İsr in which the pattern KaKū has become KāKūK: bārūf < bārūf “sheep” (21b) and qādūm < qādūm “adze” (104a).

378 On fols. 57a, 62a, 73b, and 125b.
381 On p. 1049c.
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These are probably hypercorrections following the same pattern as حازوق hāzūq (39a) and حاتون hātūn (112b). From these examples, it may be concluded that long vowels were shortened in open, pre-stressed syllables, because otherwise this confusion would not arise.

6.2.10 Shortening of long vowels
6.2.10.1 Word-internal

In modern Cairene Arabic, the rule that a long vowel followed by two consonants is shortened applies.382 That this rule was already in existence in al-Maġribī’s time is attested by the entry حافة haffa “edge” (21b). The same principle is also confirmed in حاز al-qhāf, in the words al-ḥagga and al-ḥaggā.383

Another rule is that an unstressed long vowel is shortened.384 There is an example of this in داف al-ṣr: حشاك ظهرك hašāk zahrak “mind your back!” (7b) < حشاك hāšāk.

6.2.10.2 Word-final

There are five cases where the loss of the final hamza and the shortening of the ā are found: يكاء bakka “somebody who is always weeping” (56b), حله halfa “alfa” (21a), عوزاء azlā “mouth of the water bag” (83b), ونكاه wīkā “walking stick?” (132a),385 and وطفاء watfaa “having bushy eyebrows” (35a). There can be no doubt about the pronunciation because the –a is written with ʿā. However, in cases where alif is written, nothing can be said about the pronunciation, because of the defective way of writing the hamza employed by al-Maġribī.386

6.2.11 Pausal imāla

In modern-day Cairo, no traces remain of pausal imāla, although this is not the case in many other dialects in Egypt.387 There are indications that the loss of pausal imāla in Cairene Arabic is a recent development. Blanc (1973-4) p. 375 states that

385 See the next paragraph for the pausal imāla.
386 See §6.1.1.
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this process must have taken place at the end of the nineteenth century, because no sources from the nineteenth century mention the forms without \textit{imāla}.\footnote{Blanc (1973-4) p. 378.} Moreover, from Muhammad ‘Ayyād al-‘Antāwī’s \textit{Traité} p. vii we learn that there was pausal \textit{imāla} in the nineteenth century:

\begin{quote}
La lettre qui précède l’alef se change quelquefois en kesra, p. ex. سما le ciel, prononcez: \textit{sa'meh} (bref).
\end{quote}

From the seventeenth century, we have two examples from \textit{Hazz Al-quhûf: qarrûfih} (name of a vessel) and \textit{libbih “solidified milk and beestings”}\footnote{See §2.1.1 for more information about al-‘Antāwī.} There are three more in \textit{Daf al-‘Isr}: ترک ” ‘inherition” (57a), 

\begin{quote}
\textit{zâfih} “giraffe” (24a), and 
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\textit{wikih “walking stick?” (132a). These are the only three words that were pronounced with the final \textit{imāla}, which al-Mağribī indicates with a \textit{kasra}. There are, however, many others which would have been pronounced in the same way about which nothing is mentioned concerning the \textit{imāla}.}
\end{quote}

\subsection*{6.2.12 Vowel changes}

Although al-Mağribī rarely vocalizes the Egyptian-Arabic entries, he does often compare the vocalization of Egyptian-Arabic words with Classical Arabic.\footnote{His system is explained in detail in §3.7.1.} This provides us with some information about the distribution of the vowels.

\subsubsection*{6.2.12.1 /u/}

Words which have the pattern \textit{fi’āl} or \textit{fi’lāl} in Classical Arabic have \textit{fu’āl} or \textit{fu’lāl} in \textit{Daf al-‘Isr}, which corresponds to normal usage today: دِمحا “spleen” (82a), and غربال “sieve for grains (coarse-meshed sieve)” (84b).
Quadrilateral words which have the pattern fi’l in Classical Arabic have fi’l in both Daf al-’iṣr and modern Cairene Arabic. Some examples are: بِرْطِل “bribe” (65b), ٌقَانِدْل “oil lamp” (90b), and زَانِق “heretic” (42b).

Words with the pattern mi’l in Classical Arabic have mi’l in Daf al-’iṣr: المَحْمِل “camel litter” (70a), مَرَدَن “spindle” (114a), and مَعْصِم “wrist” (103a). This final example is interesting because under the influence of Modern Standard Arabic it has again become ما ‘سَام in modern Cairene Arabic.

Daf al-’iṣr has the patterns KuKāK(a) and KiKāK(a) for words with the meaning of “waste”. In modern Cairo Arabic, words with this meaning have the same patterns,394 while in Classical Arabic only the pattern with u is used. In Daf al-’iṣr we find: رِجَاب “spittle” (14a), and مِشَاق “residue that is left after the flax has been combed” (55b), as well as زِبْأَلَا “garbage” (107b), مُقَمَا “sweepings” (105b), مَسْحَال “siftings of flour” (92a), and جِسَالا “washing water” (85a).

Quadrilateral words with the pattern KuKKūK in Classical Arabic have the pattern KaKKūK in modern Cairo’s dialect. There are a few examples of this phenomenon in Daf al-’iṣr: مَالْعِم “gullet” (96a), خَرْطُوم “hose, elephant’s trunk; Khartoum” (96b), صَانْدَف “box” (47b), and عَرْبُن “down payment” (116b).

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6.2.12.5 \( a > u \)
Words with the pattern \( \text{KaKūK} \) in Classical Arabic, have in \( \text{Daf' al-} \text{isr} \) the pattern \( \text{KuKūK} \) like in modern Cairo Arabic: سُفُف “medicinal powder” (25a); ۱۰۶۸ “electuary” (54b); ۲۰۷۰ “customer” (114b).

6.2.12.6 Assimilation of vowels to vowels
In \( \text{ماًديل} < \text{mu'addil} \) “somebody who puts another straight or corrects his faults” (83a), we see the assimilation of the \( /u/ \) to \( /a/ \). This is a phenomenon that takes place when the two vowels are separated by a pharyngeal, in this case the ‘. Other examples observed in modern Cairene Arabic are 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Mu'addil} - \text{Mī'addil} & \quad \text{“Mohammed” and mi'ayyah} - \text{ma'ayyah} \quad \text{“festering”}.
\end{align*}
\]

6.3 Morphology
6.3.1 The verb
6.3.1.1 The prefix of the imperfect
The vowel of the prefix of the imperfect is \( \text{i} \). It is twice written with kasra in \( \text{Daf' al-isr} \): 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yissalā} & \quad \text{“to be successful in selling one’s goods”} \\
yišwāl & \quad \text{“to rage, scream”}
\end{align*}
\]

Şirbīnī also explicitly mentions that the prefix is \( \text{yi-} \) in his comment on \( \text{YF} \) “it settles (of a fly)”. An ancient example of this feature has been discovered in a Judaeo-Arabic letter from the 12th/13th century: \( \text{yiği} \) “it comes”, and many other instances can be found in the 15th century text \( \text{Nuzhat al-nufūs} \).

6.3.1.2 The prefix of form V, VI, quadriliterals
The prefix \( \text{it-} \) instead of \( \text{tā-} \) in forms V and VI and the quadriliteral verbs occurs frequently: 

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yiddiššā} & \quad \text{“to belch”} \\
\text{itrissim} & \quad \text{“to guard someone”} \\
\text{izziqqām} & \quad \text{“to be force-fed”} \\
\text{yissakkā} & \quad \text{“to loiter”}
\end{align*}
\]

397 This phenomenon, called \( \text{تلا} \text{تلا} \), is an old feature. It was already widespread among the pre-literary dialects of the Arab peninsula. Rabin (1951) p. 61 mentions that “the tribes of Qais, Tamīm, ‘Asad, Rabī’a, and the ‘āmmat al-‘arab’ had \( \text{i} \).”
399 See Blau-Hopkins (1985) p. 453. This letter is written in vocalized Hebrew script.
401 The assimilation of the \( t \) to the following consonant is discussed in §5.3.6.
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yissallaq “to climb” (46a), yissawwaq “to go looking for” (46a), yissaddaq “to be diffuse in speech” (46b), yissamnat “to eavesdrop” (46a), itmaqqal “to look” (46a), yizzāwil “to imagine” (79a), ittahtih “to stammer” (121a), itmaṭraq “to lay down” (36a), itmalmil “to be restless” (92a), and ithırkin “to be worn out” (120a).

There are also fourteen instances of ta-, but given the proof of it- it is clear that ta- must be a classicism.

6.3.1.3 The prefix of form VII

The prefix of the passive-reflexive form VII is always in-. A few examples are:

inbıšım “to feel nauseated” (95b), inğaɓoh “to be embarrassed” (121b), inẖaẓā “to be embarrassed” (126b), inẖataf hwun “he became pale” (lit. “his colour was snatched away”) (22a), indak “to be weakened (voice)” (58b), indalaq “to throw oneself on” (39b), intaraf “to be hurt (the eye)” (29b).

The form with it-, which occurs frequently in Hazz al-quhūf, is not attested in Daf’ al-ısr, where all form VII-verbs have the prefix in-, as in Nuzhát al-nufūs. The prefix of form VII is it- in Cairo these days, while in- can be found in a few verbs such as inbusat “to enjoy oneself”. In the Sarqūya, the prefix is in-.403

6.3.1.4 Vowels of form II, V, and quadriliterals

In modern Cairene Arabic, the same rule applies to the second vowel of forms II and V, and the quadrilateral roots: if one, or both, of the surrounding consonants are emphatic, laryngeal (not h), pharyngeal, or postvelar fricatives, the vowel is i. Therefore, it is nazzil “to bring down”, talsa ‘to bring up, boha’dil “to mess up”, but lahbaq “to confuse”. There are a few indications from Daf’ al-ısr that in al-Maġribī’s time the distribution of the vowels was the same as it is today: yitnaḥham “to defecate” (106b), yisalla “to be successful in selling one’s goods” (44b), ithirkon “to be worn out” (120a), and harbaq “to tear apart” (39a). More evidence of this distribution of the vowels can be found in

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Vrolijk (1998) p. 147, from the 15th century text Nuzhat al-nufūs. For example: yisayyah “he shouts” and abadditak “I will tell you”. The only instance in Dafl al-isr where this rule does not apply is tahassab “to be entrusted to the protection of s.o.”. However, because the classical prefix ta- is used for form V in this example, it could be argued that the vocalization of this word is also classical.

6.3.1.5 Form IV

As explained in detail by Davies (1981) pp. 117-8, the causative role of form IV has been taken over by form II in the dialects, while other form IV verbs have been reinterpreted as form I. An example from modern Cairene Arabic is the pair ti’ib, yit’ib “to become tired” and ta’ab, yit’ab “to tire” (< at’ab, yut’ib), whereas two instances from Dafl al-isr are: raq “to pour” (< araq) and tâl “to look down” (82b) > ً أطلل. Five examples of form IV can be found in al-Mağribi’s glossary: arhaq “to delay” (41a), asra “to hurry” (44a), awlam “to give a banquet”, ṣawf (32a) aqraf “to disgust”.<br />

From a total of 1406 words, these few instances referred to above seem to indicate that form IV was used infrequently, and that this could be due to the effect of elevated speech. Note also that the form IV aqraf has become form I in modern Cairo Arabic, forming a pair like ti’ib and ta’ab: irif, yi’rif “to be disgusted”, and ‘araf, yiraf “to disgust” (< aqraf, yuqraf).<br />

A special case is the verb “to go”, which is râḥ (6b and 132a), but is mentioned once as ‘arāḥ: yaqūlūn arāḥ bi-šīm kilāh “they say: he went away energetically” (101b). This variant can also be found in a text from 1707, a shadow play edited by Paul Kahle: ‘abâk ‘arāḥ mimak yâdbân “your brother has left you in anger” and ‘arâḥ līk šī ‘ādâi “have you lost something?” In the twentieth century dialect of the Jews of Cairo, the same arâḥ is found for the 3rd sg. masc. In Classical Arabic, we find both ً راح and راح with the meaning “[he] returned in the evening, or afternoon, to rest”, see Lane III 1179b.

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405 See also Brockelmann (1961) I p. 523.
408 Ibid.
6.3.1.6 The internal passive
The internal passive occurs in only two entries: ʿil ʿabri “I lost my patience” (84b) and ʿil qaṭīl “to be killed” (89a). The first one can be explained as an expression borrowed from Classical Arabic, and the second by its appearance in the context of Classical Arabic:  

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6.3.2 The pronoun
The only two personal pronouns worth mentioning here are: ʾihnā in mā āhna min dī lqibāl “we do not belong to this type of people” (88b), and huwwā in ʾad huwwā “there he is” (3b). Both can be found in the list of personal pronouns of Davies (1981) p. 177.

The use of the word ʾihnā ʾiyyāh is interesting. It can be used as a demonstrative particle (see §6.3.3.), but al-Maġribī mentions its usage by the Bedouins with the meaning of “he”:

409 See §3.6.1.
410 These are spelt ʾi and ʾi, but because interdentals had already disappeared at this time (see §6.2.2) it can be concluded that this is historical spelling and should be pronounced ʾi and ʾi. Furthermore, ʾi is written once as ʾi.
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indicate pausal *imāla*. Also *dā* appears only independently: *mā dā illā šīl* “that is nothing but coquetry”, *dā hālā wa-akbar dā maliḥ* “that is the crescent and even bigger, that is beautiful” (100b). The demonstrative *dī* occurs once in combination with *illā*, like the aforementioned *dā*: *mā dī illā zilla* “it is nothing but a mistake” (78b). In two other cases, *dī / dī* appears as a preposed demonstrative, once in combination with a feminine noun: *iš dī l-labka* “what is this confusion?” (62), and once with a masculine noun: *ma ahba min dī l-qibil* “we do not belong to this type of people” (88b). This confirms Davies’ findings that “there is no strict correlation between the form of the demonstrative and the gender of the noun”, and that “especially frequent preposed is DY”. In *Hazz al-Quḥīf*, we find examples such as *dī l-īman* “this act” and *dī l-qwl* “these words”.

In modern Cairene Arabic, the normal order is noun - demonstrative. However, Doss (1979) shows that the word order demonstrative - noun also occurs, and she refers to three constructions in which this can be found:

1. noun phrases following the vocative *yā*, e.g. *yā dī l-ḥebā* “what a nuisance!”
2. strongly worded commands, e.g. *ḥallaṣūna min dī šṣuqūlāna* “rid us of this job!”
3. curses, e.g. *yil/an abu dī l-ība* “damn this life!”.

The function of this positioning, Doss argues, is “that of emphasis which is usually to express a negative feeling”. However, Woidich (1992) contradicts this with some examples with a positive meaning, e.g. *yādī ṣṣuḍa ṣṣa‘īda* “what a happy coincidence!” He argues that rather than expressing a negative feeling, the combination of demonstrative - noun causes an “increased intensity of awareness” because of its contrast with the normal word order. Davies (1981) proves that the same applies to the examples found in *Hazz al-Quḥīf*, and that the function of the preposed demonstrative is “to mark a general intensity of feeling on the part of the speaker towards the object referred to”. This is probably also the case in

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411 No instances of postponed demonstratives are found in *Daf al-īṣr*.
413 Ibid.
414 See Doss (1979) pp. 350-351.
415 Ibid. p. 353.
416 See Woidich (1992) p. 199
417 Ibid. p. 214.
Daf' al-ısr, although there are not enough examples thereof to establish a general rule.

A very interesting feature is دَلِّلَا. It only appears after mā in Daf' al-ısr, which initially suggested to me the meaning of “nothing but”. However, in Nuzhat al-nufūs, the word occurs several times as a demonstrative in combination with a noun, e.g. دَلِّلَا الْرَجُل “this man”, but also independently. It never occurs in combination with mā though. Therefore, in the examples in Daf' al-ısr, the expression mā dillā could be translated as “what kind of a … is this”: ما دَلِّلَا الْرَجُل “what kind of careless person this is!” (6.a), "what kind of man is he!” (75a), and ما دَلِّلَا قِسْمًا "what kind of fated lot is this!”. Vrolijk was unaware of its usage in Daf' al-ısr and, therefore, concluded that this feature had become obsolete before the 17th century.

6.3.4 The demonstrative particles
In modern Cairene Arabic, there are two demonstrative particles with the meaning “there is…” which are used as presentatives: ıhú (m.), ıhé (f.), ıhúm (pl.) and the invariable ādi. We also find two such particles in Daf' al-ısr. The first is ādi: يَقُولُونِ ۖيَقُولُونِ "they say: 'here I am', or 'here, I’m going’” (109a). Fischer (1959) p. 176 states that this demonstrative is a combination of the interjection ʾādī and the old relative pronomen ʾādī. In modern Egyptian, ādi can stand alone or be followed by a suffix for the 1st or 2nd person.

The second demonstrative particle found in Daf' al-ısr is ʾad followed by the personal pronoun: ʾاَدَّهُ ءَا مُثَلًا ءَا ءَا مُثَلًا ʾاَدَّهُ ءَا مُثَلًا "here, he did such-and-such", or ‘here he is’.” (3b). It is possible that this is a shortened form of ādi, since there are examples of ʾad + personal pronoun in

420 In Nuzhat al-nufūs, no example of dillā + fem. noun can be found, see Vrolijk (1998) p. 152.
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modern Cairo Arabic, such as adīk ~ ıd-ıntı, adiki ~ ıd-ınti, adına ~ ad-ıña etc. In the Dakhla-oasis a form without –ı, e.g. ıd̄ı, is still in use today. As mentioned above, adı can nowadays only be followed by suffixes of the 1st and 2nd person, but this was, perhaps, not the case in the 17th century.

The particle ıd̄ı was, according to al-Mağribi, used as a demonstrative referring to a person or thing and meaning “that one”, “the aforementioned”:

و يقولون بِإِنَّهُ عَلَى صُورَةٍ ضَمْرِ النِّصْبِ المُنْفَصِلِ بِرِبَّادُونِ ما هُوَ أَلَا كَذَا هِيَتِهِ المَسْتَفْهِمُ اِنْسَان

“They say ‘ıyyāh in the shape of an object suffix. They mean with this: ‘he is nothing but such-and-such’, in the form of the person who inquires, [e.g.] a person tells another person something, and then he doesn’t understand his story so he repeats it, until he understands it, so he says ‘that’s it!’, as if he is saying, ‘now I understand’” (3b).

It is explained a second time: “they say, when they mention a thing, ıyya ‘the aforementioned’, with an ī after the hamza and a double yā’” (123b). It could, however, also be interpreted as an interjection.

At the present time, the particle ıyyā seems to have only negative connotations, which does not appear to be the case from either al-Mağribi’s explanation, or the examples he provides.

6.3.5 The Interrogatives

6.3.5.1 ızzāy

ızzāy “how?” was used in al-Mağribi’s time (see 127b). He correctly retraced it to ıyya ıyya “how is his attire?”

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424 see Woidich (2006) p. 49.
426 Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 47a mentions that it is often used “with a pejorative connotation”, while Woidich (2006) p. 235 mentions its use when the speaker wants to avoid saying a certain thing, e.g. iṣwar ıyya “certain photos” for “pornographic photos”.
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6.3.5.2 ی - ایش / ایش

یش “what?” occurs four times in Dıf al-ıšr, while ایش / ایش occurs only once: ایش تحونك "why are you running around (?)" (57a), ایش / ایش hâdihi l-ńuzu balât (72a) "what are these superstitions?”, and ایش جلاته اش فی دوئو طیب "which of those is good?” (73b), and ایش hâlâth "what does he look like?” (125b). ایش is a contraction of ayy šay “which thing” and has become ایش in modern Cairo Arabic. ایش was common in Cairo until the 19th century, and can still be heard today in the Egyptian countryside. As mentioned before, the writing of ایش with a short vowel suggests the shortening of the vowel یش. ayy šay instead of mā as an interrogative is an ancient feature which has already been attested to in texts from the first millennium. This was, according to Blau, due to the “very heavy functional load of mā (which had become the standard negative particle)”.

6.3.5.3 یمّتَا “when” occurs once in Dıf al-ıšr: ایمّتَا یمّتَا یکّن "when will it be?" (3b). Al-Maġribî explains that this is either matâ plus an extra 'ay, or that 'ay on its own is a particle of reply” i.e. ay “yes”. This would suggest that the pronunciation is 'aymätâ. Note that El-Ṭanṭāvy also uses the spelling with an initial alif plus yâ: یمّتَا.اّی.مّتَا.ا 431

6.3.5.4 انا “which” is an entry in Dıf al-ıšr: انا انا یا یمّتَا یمّتَا "this came from which

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disaster, from which..."\(^{432}\)\(^{436}\) (3b). Its meaning is explained: "and concerning their saying min anā mahall for instance, they mean with it min ayy mahall 'from which place'" (3b). anā can be compared with the present-day ānī,\(^{433}\) which Woidich (2006) p. 51 mentions in a similar context to al-Maġribī: sāfir f-ānī dahya “to which damned place did he travel?”. No instances of anā were found in other old texts that I consulted.

6.3.5.5 fyn
فيين fyn “where” was used by the Egyptians, while the Arabs and North Africans said وين and wayn according to al-Maġribī: يقولون ويسمع من العرب والمغارية وين هو اي ابن “they say, and this is heard from the Arabs and the North Africans: wayn, which means ‘where’, and this is a mispronunciation of fyn which is fi ıyn” (120a). It is interesting that al-Maġribī considers wayn a tashīf of fyn, which he apparently approves of because it is a contraction of fi ıyn. An earlier stage of fyn can be found in Nuzhat al-nafūs, where it is spelled فين fīyyn.\(^{434}\)

6.3.6 The diminutive
In modern Cairene Arabic, the diminutive patterns are no longer productive, but survive as relics.\(^{435}\) Most common is the pattern KvKayyvK, which is found in words such as kuwıyyis “good”, suğıyyır “small”, ılyıyl “few” etc. Davies (1981) p. 132 notes the high frequency of diminutive patterns in Hızz ıl-qu/uni1E25ūf. In Dıf/unie2BF ıl-i/uni1E63r, however, there are only a few:

KvKyKvK
This pattern is used for the diminutive of quadriliteral roots: بريق عيوق ılyıyl “squandering” (38a) and قريطم qorytılm “safflower” (104b). The latter is also mentioned in Hızz ıl-qu/uni1E25ūf, as the second element of a kunya.\(^{436}\)

\(^{432}\) The meaning of the words كروه مفصولة in this context is unclear. Al-Maġribī states his intention to explain them in their proper place, but كروه was not explained and مفصولة would have been in the part of the manuscript that got lost.


\(^{436}\) Ibid. p. 136.
KvKyyy(a)
This pattern is used for roots with a final yā: duwayy “sound” (127a) and šawayya “a little” (128a).

KvKKūK
For the diminutive of quadriliteral roots: bolbūl “nightingale” (66b).

KvKyK(a)
لويات lawylāt “nights” (91b), and abū farywa “chestnut” (89a). Following the same pattern are: šaryk “type of bread” (60b) and baryk “small pastries” (56b), which are from the Turkish çörek and börek. These loanwords, with a pattern that is unknown in Egyptian Arabic, adjusted to an existing pattern with vowels which resembled the original.

KvKK
يا يا بيي yā bayyī “o my father” (124a) could be a diminutive.

6.3.7 The adverbs
The adverb hwn “here” (120b) sounds decidedly Levantine to modern ears. However, it is also mentioned in Nuzhat al-nufūs, and is still used today in the oases in Egypt.

Al-Maġribī mentions that the šawāmm say hayk “like this” (63a), but fails to reveal what the Egyptians say. We find a few instances of its Egyptian equivalent, kidih, in Nuzhat al-nufūs.

The adverbs ţuwwa “inside” (4a; 123b; 124b) and barra “outside” (4a, 123b; 125a) occur frequently in both Daf al-iṣr and Nuzhat al-nufūs.

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437 See Woidich (2006) p. 96 KaKKūK and p. 100 KaKKūKa for more examples with this pattern.
443 Ibid. p. 154.
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6.4 Syntax

6.4.1 Negation

No instances of mā..š(i) can be found in Daf al-iṣr, although it is clear from other texts from same the period that this form of negation was used at that time. The negation with mā is the only kind we find in Daf al-iṣr’s colloquial material. It is used to negate the perfect: ما قدر يبرم “he could not speak” (95b); the imperfect: هاذا ما يحوق في الشيء “this has no effect on it” (38b); prepositional sentences: ما عني فيها زيان “I have no trick for it” (114b); and nominal sentences: ما انت خلا “you are not lacking in good qualities” (8b). The lack of mā..š(i) can probably be attributed to al-Maġribī’s tendency to use a somewhat classicized context for his entries.

6.4.2 Asyndetic clauses

Two examples of asyndetic clauses, i.e. clauses which are not introduced with انّ, occur: يقُولون بِجَالِبة تَعْرِف تَطْبِيْح قالل يا سيدي تعرف تطْبِيْح “they say: ‘Girl, do you know how to cook?’ She said: ‘Sir, can you provide for your family?’” (119a) and ما قدر يبرم “he could not speak” (95b). In Classical Arabic, the conjunction انّ should be used in both cases. On one occasion, the conjunction انّ is also omitted from a Classical Arabic sentence in which the meaning of an entry is explained: مَسْك فَلِيهَـا حَتي لا يَقُوم يَنفَس “he strangled him until he could not breathe anymore” (99a). In Middle Arabic, asyndetic clauses occur frequently, see e.g. the example mentioned by Blau (2002) p. 52: كَيْ تَسْتَطِيعُنْ يَصُلُّونْ “you can spend the night awake”.

6.4.3 Wishes

In Classical Arabic, wishes are expressed by perfect + subject, while in Egyptian Arabic they are expressed by subject + imperfect. There are examples of both types in Daf al-iṣr:

444 It occurs frequently in Hazz al-quḥūf; see Davies (1981) pp. 284-293 and a few times in Nuzhat al-nafūs; see Vrolijk (1998) p. 156.
445 In nominal sentences like this, modern Egyptian Arabic uses the negation miš, but the personal pronomen can also be negated with ma..š: ma-ntāš, see Woidich (2006) p. 336.
446 Some other examples can be found in Vrolijk (1998) p. 156.
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- subject + imperfect: allāh yirham salafak “may God have mercy on your ancestors” (25b), and allāh yitūiltuh “may God put him in hardship” (67a).
- perfect + subject: qātalahu allāh “may God fight him” (126b), and ḥānak allāh “may God grant you good health” (11a).

The wishes with the imperfect are an ancient feature because examples can be found in texts from the first millennium.\(^447\) The use of the perfect in the expression of wishes is, however, still common today, and can be explained as loans from Standard Arabic.\(^448\) An example which is frequently heard in Egypt is kattar ḫarīk “many thanks!” (lit. “may God increase your bounty”).

6.4.4 The place of the interrogative

As can be seen from the examples in §6.3.5, all colloquial interrogatives occurring in Daf’ al-īṣr are placed at the beginning of the sentence. Sharbatov (1969) p. 312 states that the fact that al-Maġribī places imtā and īṣ there, while nowadays they are placed at the end, is proof of the final struggle between Coptic and Arabic in the 16th and 17th centuries. This is, however, extremely unlikely. In modern Egyptian Arabic, there is no rule that the interrogative must be placed at the end of the sentence; its position is in situ, i.e. it takes its position according to the function it has in the sentence.\(^449\) For example, if the interrogative is the subject it takes the position thereof at the beginning of the sentence: mīn šāf /unie2BFAli fi lmıdrısı? “who saw /uni0.BFAli in school?”. If it is the object, it will be placed after the verb: īsın šāf mīn fi lmıdrısı? “whom did /uni1E.4asan see in school?”.\(^450\) In the examples from Daf’ al-īṣr, the interrogative īṣ has the function of the subject in all instances and is, therefore, placed at the beginning of the sentence. The temporal interrogative


\(^{449}\) See Woidich (2006) p. 359; the following two examples are also taken from there. More examples can be found in EALL I p. 502 (P. Behnstedt).

\(^{450}\) More examples from older sources can be found in Singer (1958) pp. 135-6. Also Munzel (1950) p. 573 notes that īṣ, when used as the subject of the interrogative sentence, is placed at the beginning thereof. He also points out (pp. 566-8) that in some other Arabic dialects, and even in Classical Arabic, cases have been found where the interrogative is placed at the end of the sentence, thereby ruling out Coptic influence. Diem (1979) pp. 51-2 also finds it unlikely that the influence of the Coptic language has caused this word order. He does, however, suggest that given two possible alternatives, the Coptic substratum may have caused a preference for the construction closest to Coptic. This is also the opinion of Versteegh (1997) p. 106.
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'ýmtā, is mostly found where temporal adverbs are placed, i.e. at the end of the sentence. However, variety in word order is possible, and the interrogative can be placed at the beginning of the sentence in order to stress its meaning.451

Another argument against Sharbatov’s statement relates to the fact that if at the beginning of the 17th century the interrogatives were still placed at the start of the sentence, whereas they are now at the end, this cannot be due to the influence of Coptic because it was already a dead language in al-Mağribî’s time. In general, it is supposed that the Coptic language ceased to be a living language in the 12th century.452

6.4.5 dann

The particle dann (also tamm in modern Cairo Arabic453) is used to describe the continuation of an action: دَنَّ عَنْهُ يقول كنّا dannuh yiqūl kağā “he says so-and-so all the time” (113b). The origin of dann / tamm454 is *ta’anna “to stay”,455 not dann “to buzz” as al-Mağribî suggests. dann is used in the example in combination with an imperfect, while nowadays it is almost exclusively used with the active participle (and sometimes with the imperative).456

6.4.6 šā

In Yemeni Arabic, the word šā has undergone a change from a verb meaning “to want” to a future marker. This process is called grammaticalisation, which is “[T]he change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions”.457 This grammaticalisation of šā had already taken place in al-Mağribî’s time:

452 At least, this has been the case in Cairo since the 12th century according to MacCoull (1985) and Rubenson (1996), while EALL I p. 495 (T.S. Richter) names the 13th century. Relics of Coptic have been reported later than that in Upper Egypt, see EI V p. 92b (A.S. Atiya). On the influence of Coptic on Egyptian Arabic, see also Diem (1979) pp. 50-52.
454 In the Delta, we find dann east of the Damietta-branch of the Nile, and tamm in the other areas. See BW II map 393.
456 Ibid.
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\textit{šā a\textsuperscript{f}a\textsuperscript{l} šā \textit{arūḥ} which is correct, i.e. “I want to do”, or “he wanted” in the case of \textit{šā yi\textsuperscript{f}a\textsuperscript{l} and “I wanted” in the case of \textit{a\textsuperscript{f}a\textsuperscript{l, because šā is always in the perfect tense"}}.}

Since “to want” expresses an intention, and therefore makes it probable that an action will take place in the future, it is easy to imagine how šā became the future marker. In the Yemeni dialects of today, the prefix \textit{š-} or \textit{ša-} is still used to express the future or an intention. Watson (1993) p. 62 mentions that šā—expressing intention and the future tense is only used in the first person, which fits al-Ma\textsuperscript{g}ribi\textsuperscript{\textdegree}’s first two examples. Deboo (1989) p. 215 only refers to its use as the verbal prefix for future or intention, without specifically mentioning the first person. Piamenta (1990) p. 242b gives an example in the third person: “\textit{šā-ya\textsuperscript{k}ul he will eat”}. Al-Ma\textsuperscript{g}ribi\textsuperscript{\textdegree}’s translation of \textit{šā a\textsuperscript{f}a\textsuperscript{l} with “I want to do” is inaccurate and should have been “I will do”, because if “to want” was the meaning the speaker intended to convey, then the verb would have to be conjugated. On the other hand, \textit{ša-} could mean “he wanted to do”, as al-Ma\textsuperscript{g}ribi\textsuperscript{\textdegree} states, because as well as being used as a future marker in modern Yemeni dialects, the word šā is also still used as a verb, with the meaning “to want”. The same situation could have existed in al-Ma\textsuperscript{g}ribi\textsuperscript{\textdegree}’s time.

It is a common phenomenon in many languages that the verb “to want” becomes the future marker. This is for instance the case in English, where the word “will” originates from Old English \textit{wil\textsuperscript{l}an “}want”. More examples can be found in Modern Greek, Swahili, and Bulgarian, as well as in several other languages.

\textbf{6.4.7 qā\textsuperscript{i}d as an auxiliary verb}

In the following sentence, qā\textsuperscript{i}d is used as an auxiliary verb expressing continuity: \textit{fūlān qā\textsuperscript{i}d musāhip “so-and-so is frowning” (101a)}. \textit{qā\textsuperscript{i}d, with the function of an auxiliary verb, still has the meaning of “to keep doing something” in modern Cairene Arabic.} It can be followed by an imperfect, bi-imperfect or participium: \textit{wi ‘a\textsuperscript{d}t mistan\textsuperscript{w}iyu ībīt “and I waited for the girl”}, \textit{‘a\textsuperscript{d}t ‘a\textsuperscript{d}t mā\textsuperscript{s} ‘a\textsuperscript{d}t mā\textsuperscript{s “and I walked farther and farther”,} and \textit{mīn\textsuperscript{s ‘a\textsuperscript{d}u y\textit{nā\textsuperscript{d}u ‘a\textsuperscript{t}tak\textsuperscript{s} “the people kept calling for the taxi”}. Interestingly, the same process has taken place in

\footnotesize{458 See Deboo (1989) p. 215.}
\footnotesize{459 See Heine-Kuteva (2002) pp. 310-311.}
\footnotesize{461 Examples from Woidich (2006) p. 323.}
\footnotesize{462 Example from Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 710a.}
Dutch, where one can say, for example: *zit niet zo te zeuren* “stop nagging!” (lit. “don’t sit there nagging”) even if the person doing the nagging is standing. This can also be seen in a number of other languages, for instance Danish and Korean.\(^{663}\)

### 6.5 Vocabulary

One of *Daf al-ıṣr*’s appealing elements is its focus, not only on the speech of the intellectuals of the day, but also on that of various other social classes such as the artisans, working classes, country people, those from other Arab-speaking countries, and even women and children. Moreover, al-Maġribī also discusses a number of loan words, mainly from Persian and Turkish. An overview of these various categories can be found in this section, which will conclude with research into the question of to what extent words mentioned in *Daf al-ıṣr* are still in use in present-day Egypt.

#### 6.5.1 Words used by the various social classes

##### 6.5.1.1 Women and children

It is interesting to note that *Daf al-ıṣr* pays attention to the speech of women and children. Despite this, it is possible to conclude that reporting the speech of the latter was somewhat problematic for al-Maġribī:

> (fol. 4b) “In the language of children, when they want to walk, [they say] *tāta*. The amazing thing is that while writing I hesitated in recording it and said that the language of children should not be written.” The expression *tāta* is still in use in Egypt in exactly the way al-Mağribī describes it: to encourage a little child who is just learning how to walk.\(^ {664}\) Higail (1969) p. 120 suggests that al-Mağribī hesitated to mention this word because he did not know how to write it in Arabic. This seems unlikely, however, because al-Mağribī clearly had no problems in writing the dialect down. It can thus be concluded that he was bothered by the question of whether or not to include this entry in his word list because it was “not the done thing” to transcribe children’s language. This is still a live issue today.\(^ {665}\)

There is no further speech by children in *Daf al-ıṣr*, although some expressions used when communicating with them are mentioned. For instance, when a child is


\(^{664}\) For detailed information about etymology, present-day use etc. about all of the entries mentioned in this section, the reader is referred to the Glossary.

\(^{665}\) For more information about the use of dialect in modern Egyptian literature, see Zack (2001a).
being naughty people call him *māṣaf* “a nuisance” (30b). When they want to scare a child they say *yāk(u)lak al-ba‘aww* “may the bogeyman eat you!”. Women say to one another: *ḥanhibī liltīf ḥattā yīnām* “rock and sing to the baby until he sleeps” (120a). Al-Maġribī also writes about the ceremony marking the seventh day after the birth of a child (43b), which is still a common ritual.

There are a few entries which address the speech of women. An interesting one is *malīḥ hāyil* “terribly beautiful / beautiful, wonderful” (95a), in which al-Maġribī notes that the original meaning of *hāyil* was “terrifying”. It is unclear what exactly the meaning of *hāyil* is in this context. The first possibility is that it is used as an intensifier or adverb, like ‘awi “very” is today, although this is unlikely because it no longer has the same meaning. Indeed, it would be improbable if the word first acquired this meaning in al-Maġribī’s time and then lost it again. The second possibility is that it should be understood as “wonderful”, i.e. that it had the function of an adjective. This reflects its present-day usage, in which one can, for instance, say: *ilfilm kān hāyil* “the movie was great”. It is clear from *Dīf ḩal-i* that the meaning of the word *hāyil* had just begun to shift from “terrifying” to “wonderful”, and it is interesting to note that this change was, apparently, first manifest in women’s speech. The same development can be found in the Arabic word *fażī*, which nowadays can mean both “terrible” and “tremendous, terrific.”

The following is an overview of all the entries concerning women in *Dīf ḩal-i*:

- *gabbā* “menstruation” (18a). It is related to the verb *gabbā* “to return at regular intervals”. This is not used in Egypt nowadays: the term that is, is ‘āda as in *alīhā l-āda* “she has her period”, which also means “habit” or “something that returns regularly”;
- *sabsīb* “to be lank (hair)” (15a);
- *qalbī yīṣafṣif ‘alyh* “my heart longs for him” (26b);
- *waham* “craving (of pregnant women)” (107b);
- *ālā hāl mā yīza qaq* “he gets angry quickly” (42a);

668 Still in use nowadays, as well as the variety *bu*.

667 Dozy (1927) II p. 770b mentions its use with the meaning “beau, magnifique” in *1001 Nights*. For this semantic shift, see §6.5.4.1.


669 See Lane VI 2221a.
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- اوَعُوِّمَ “exclamation of anger” (120b; 123a);
- لَبَيْطَ سَمِّىْ مُن مُن كَأَا “bukayt samā’in min kadh” (101a); the meaning is not entirely clear, but could be “suffering from the heat”, since سَمَاْم means “hot wind”, although it could also have a metaphorical meaning;
- ام طِمْ عِيْضَهْ “yām ‘m tābaq “calamity; serpent” (47b);
- ليذَا “misery” (122a).

6.5.1.2 The working classes
The language of the working classes is by no means neglected by al-Mağribī, who includes the following expressions used by artisans, traders and construction workers (فَعَّال (87b)):
- سَلَف “advance payment” (25b);
- يَفْيَق “to have no customers” (54a);
- مَايُ “seller of blankets, mattresses etc.” (131a);
- مَدْمَك “course of bricks” (58b);
- صِرْفَان “block of limestone” (27b).

Furthermore, we also find expressions used by camel and donkey traders:
- حَاحَا “sound made to urge on a donkey” (7a);
- جُوْجَر “sound made to encourage the camels to drink” (6b);
- تُيْن “strong” (57a) (used by the stablemen);
- صِتْبَل “stable” (63a).

This interest in the speech of the working classes could be explained by al-Mağribī’s background: he grew up in a family of artisans who used to deal with traders and the people from the caravans, and he was also the owner of a shop for a brief period. Yet, al-Mağribī’s interest went further than this since he also mentions a number of instances of peasants’ speech:
- حَنَك “mouth” (57b), which is still used today in rural Egypt with this meaning, while in Cairo it is considered vulgar;
- هِلْف “coward” (35b);
- تَوْعَحْ جَا “he has just arrived” (124a);
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- طلع فوق النزن، "he went up the hill" (presumably to defecate)

- من حيچن، "since" (111b), which is the same as the modern ʰēs < ḥayt. It is very interesting that it was pronounced with a šīn. Al-Maṣṣībī also mentions that people in Cairo said min lytin;

- ʰuşnī “rough (person)” (113a);

- ʰuwwa “brotherhood” (127a);

- رجل، "man";

- راف "shelf";

- ضاف، "to be a guest" (29a);

- غوس "bracelets" (101a);

- نيف "disgusting?" (32b);

- واتفا “having bushy eyebrows (used as insult to a woman)” (35a).

There are also a number of nautical expressions:

- the names of different types of small boats: زرراق (42a), سنوبق (46a), سنوبوك (46a; 60b);

- different parts of a boat: طارمة, "cabin in a boat" (113a), تارما "cabin in a boat" (102b), كوتل "stern of a ship" (90b);

- the people who worked on these boats: the كارن "captain" (114a), the نواي "scribe" (117b) and the نوايي "sailors" (131a).

Finally, mention is also made of the speech of the lowest class in society, the slaves. When they are in pain slaves say ون، "ai!" (13a), and when they believe somebody is hideous, they say he is فاس (87a).

470 This is described in Ḥazz al-quḥūf, see Davies (2005) pp. 391-2.

471 See also §6.2.2.

472 See also §6.2.1.

473 Nowadays, the diminutive ġiwēša is used in Cairo for the singular “bracelet.”

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6.5.1.3 Non-Egyptian Arabic speakers

The language of people from other Arabic-speaking countries does not escape al-Maġribī’s attention. The following are the words al-Maġribī heard used by the people from North Africa:

- مكحلة “rifle” (91a). Nowadays this word, pronounced mkehla or mkoḩla, is still used with the same meaning in Morocco.\(^{474}\) It is so called, as al-Maġribī explains, because gunpowder looks like kohl;
- درب “garment” (72b);
- رعلوك “pauper” (59b);
- وين “where” (120a)\(^{475}\) (which is also used by the Arabs according to al-Maģribbon);
- زملة “she-camel” (78b), which was also used by the Sudanese traders.

Al-Magages also mentions the vocabulary of those from the Arab peninsula, whom he sometimes simply calls ار، and sometimes specifies as the people from the Hijāz or the people of Mecca:

- مسطول “intoxicated” (80b);
- شمعة “kiss” (100b);
- زال “to pass, to leave” (78a);
- ضال “lost” (active part.) (81b);
- هنّه “stuff, things” (120a);
- خصافة “mat of palm leaves, used in the Ka’ba” (22a);
- فسي “date pit” (130a);
- ملعقة “spoon” (54b).

There are also words used by the people from the Levant:

- رجال “man” (75a);
- هنّك “like this” (63a);
- شقفة “piece”\(^{476}\) (26b).

\(^{475}\) Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 204b “wayn (not common Moroccan) same as fayn”.
\(^{476}\) In Egyptian this means “potsherd”, see Hinds-Badawi (1986) 471b.
It is remarkable that some words, which would nowadays be classified as typically Levantine, were used by Egyptians at that time:
- هن hwn “here” (120b);
- غوبūq “cloudy” (50a);
- نغانيq naqāniq “small sausages” (56a);
- یبزم yibzam “to speak” (95b).

Lentin (1995) discusses the phenomenon of “Egyptian” linguistic traits in Levantine texts from the Ottoman period, and vice versa. He offers two possible explanations. The first is that there was an inter-dialectal koine, which facilitated communication made necessary by the extensive contact between the two regions in this period. The second explanation is that these linguistic traits were common in both dialects, but for some reason disappeared from one of them, while they continued to be used in the other. This led to the general assumption that they are typical of only one of the dialects. Trade between Egypt and al-Šām (Syria and Lebanon) has gradually dwindled and many of the šıwām who were still using these terms until the beginning of the last century have gradually left Egypt and emigrated to other countries. This explains why these terms are still in use in al-Šām but not in Egypt.

Only one item of vocabulary which is specific to Yemen is mentioned in Dıf/ıl-ı/uni1E63r (9a), namely the future marker šā. This has been discussed in §6.4.6.

6.5.1.4 Loan words

Dıf/ıl-ı/uni1E63r highlights the language of people from outside Egypt which could be heard in the metropolis of Cairo. Firstly, there is the Arabic language spoken by the Turks who, as al-Mağribī points out in a very funny anecdote, do not always master the language. A second anecdote illustrates another example of how Egyptians sometimes made fun of their Turkish fellow-countrymen (37b):

فان كثيراً من الناس يقول بحضرة الترك شربت قدر بيّ مثلًا فيسخرون منه لأن عندهم اللّ اهل هو القذر.

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478 Ibid. p. 137.
479 See §5.1.3.
“Many people say in the presence of Turks: ‘I drank as much as a buqq’ for instance. So they make fun of them, because for them [= the Turks] buqq means ‘filth’.

This is a pun: in the Egyptian dialect buqq means “mouth”. However, the word بوق, which to the Egyptians sounds like buqq, means “shit” in Turkish. Therefore, the meaning is ambiguous: “I drank a mouthful”, or “I drank an amount of shit”.

However, al-Maġribī does more than just laugh at the Turks and their language, instead mentioning many words of Turkish origin that had entered the Egyptian dialect. From the way in which he discusses this, it is clear that he does not disapprove of this development, but rather seems to consider it an enrichment of the language. Especially well represented in the category of Turkish loanwords are foodstuffs: بورک “small pastries” (56b) from the Turkish بورک, سويا subyā “a sweet drink” (9a) from the Turkish میوه, and شریک “a type of bun” (60b) from the Turkish جريک. The same can be said of Persian loanwords, which came into the Egyptian language through Turkish, e.g. سنیوسک sanbūsak “triangular pastry filled with cheese or meat” (60b) from the Persian سنیوسک سنیوسک or سنیوسک, خشتیان, شفتیان نان huşkonān (10a) or خشتیانان huştonān (58a) “a kind of sweet-meat” (58a) from خشتیانان نان hushk-nān, (lit. “dry bread”), كحک kahk “cookies” (62a) from كاک kāk, and كشک kishk “a dish made of wheat and milk” (62a) from كشک kašk.

Not all of the loanwords from Turkish and Persian involve food. There are also several references to musical terms: يک یکه vakāh “the first note, C” (63a), دواک چار کاه dākah “the second note, D” (63a), سیک چار کاه sikāh “the third note, E” (63a), چارکاه čarkāh “the fourth note, F”, from the Persian یک “one”, دو dū “two”, سه چار, سه چار, كحک kahk “four” + گاه “time, place” (amongst others).

Here is a list of all of the other words of Turkish or Persian origin that are referred to:
- اسماعیل اساتذه asātawīn (109a) “craftsmen”;
- اسماعیل استان bāšān “potash” (109a);

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- برامس: *barāsam* "silk" (95a);
- ميشت: *barṣaq* "belt?" (36b);
- برغل: *burğul* "crushed wheat" (65b);
- بستان: *bustān* "field" (109b);
- بوسا: *bwsı* "kiss" (88b);
- دايان: *bustān* "large shop" (113a);
- حجا: *hājā (8b), hwāū "scholar; important man";
- خاتون: *hātūn* "woman of noble origin" (112b);
- خوان: *howān* "table" (113a);
- دايان: *dāya* "midwife" (88b);
- رؤش: *rwšun* "air-hole, sky-light" (114a);
- رون: "customer" or "disease" (114b), the first from the Persian *zubūn*, the second from *zıbūn*;
- زیاب: *zarbāb* "cloth of gold" (15a);
- زردمة: *zardama* "throat" (98b);
- زرف: *zarfān* "to curl" (114b);
- زیارة: *zalliyya* "carpet, blanket" (78b; 127b);
- زرب: *zanbā"loremonger" (103b);
- زنبيل: *zonbil* "basket" (77a);
- زنجبيل: *zinjabil* "ginger" (78a);
- هلجم: *salgam* "turnip" (101a);
- سيبان: *sysabān* "sesban tree" (15a);
- شرول: *širwāl, sirwāl* "drawers, long trousers" (80b);
- شيله: *šyla byla* "heave-hol" (128a);
- فرة: *firā "para (coin), 1/40th of a piaster" (9a);
- فرزان: *firzān* "the queen in the game of chess" (117a);
- فنجان: *finğān* "coffee cup" (117a);
- ندق: *funduq* "hazelnut" (53b);
- قطن: *qarṭaq* "tunic" (53b);
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- qazma “pick-axe” (104b);
- قلمرة qalanbara “sodomite” (103b);
- كركدن karkadan / karkadann “rhinoceros” (117b);
- مراب mizrab “spout for draining water from a roof or balcony” (15a);
- موم mūm “wax; candles” (106a);
- نمل namak “salt” (62a) in the expression wila al-namak “nothing at all”;
- هندام hindám “the way somebody looks, his shape” (108a).

As examples of words originating from Greek, Al-Maġribī mentions the following:

“...They say ıhyı şırāhyı. He (=al-Fīrūzābādī) says: ‘this is wrong; it should be ıhyā with kısr of the hımzı, ıšır ıhyā with fıt of the hımzı and the šīn, meaning ‘the eternal one who has not ceased to be’, which is Greek. The people say incorrectly ıhyı şırāhyı, and this is wrong according to what the Jewish rabbis declare’.”

This expression derives from the Hebrew יְהֹוָה יָדַעְתִּי אָנִי “I am who I am” (the name of God, Exodus 3:14483). ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 365 misunderstands al-Maġribī when he writes that he (al-Maġribī) was under the false impression that the expression is Greek. The whole entry is (almost) completely taken from al-Qāmūs ıl-mu/uni1E25ī/uni1E6D p. 11.4a. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb refers to the fact that the formula is used in magic, something both al-Qāmūs ıl-mu/uni1E25ī and al-Maġribī leave unmentioned. There are many examples of this formula in Islamic magical amulets, sometimes almost unrecognisably corrupted, such as šırāšā šırā, hınşırāhyā, hī šırāhī etc.484

A second word which al-Maġribī believes (rightly) to be Greek is علم الموسيقى ılm al-mūsīqā “the science of music” (52b), from the Greek μουσική. Yet, there are also other words of Greek origin which al-Maġribī did not recognise as such:

483 “And God said unto Moses, I AM THAT I AM: and he said, Thus shalt thou say unto the children of Israel, I AM hath sent me unto you”. Translation: King James Bible.
484 See Winkler (1930) p. 30ff.
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asmīl (78b) “chisel” from σμῆλ / ζμῆλ, afīn (117a) from σαφον, bitāqa “message sent by pigeon” (37b) < πεττάκιον, baṭrīq “leader of a Greek army” (37a) from παρτύχος, baṭrakh “Patriarch” (56b) from πατράρχης, bāllān “bathhouse attendant” (110a) from βαλανειον, and mīnjīq “catapult” (38b) from μαγγανίχιον, and nīwātiyya “sailors” (131a) from ναυτής.

A few words of Latin origin can be found as well: istābl “stable” (63a) from stabulum, sābūn “soap” (116a) from sapo, and kūfiyya “square piece of fabric worn on the head” (33b) from cofea. Al-Mağribī does not recognise the first two as loan words, because they are mentioned in al-Qāmūs al-muḥāfīz without further comment. He qualifies kūfiyya as “unknown”.

A few words are mentioned in Dāf al-ḥir whose Coptic origin is confirmed by several authors: ḥālām “white cream cheese” (96b), ṣīwā “storage place for grain” (115b), ṭūb “bricks” (16b), and ardabb “dry measure” (11a). These words were integrated into the Arabic language to such an extent that they found their way into al-Qāmūs al-muḥāfīz and were, therefore, not recognised as foreign by al-Mağribī. The only word not mentioned in al-Qāmūs al-muḥāfīz is beklä “vessel holding water for washing one’s backside” (66a) which is therefore labelled “unknown”.

6.5.2 Curses and insults
Striking is al-Mağribī’s interest in slang, especially insults and abuses. Just to mention a few examples:

zībīl mufṣārak “crumpled dung” (61a), qabīha “whore” (18b), qatīm “passive sodomite” (105a), waļ “parasite” (93b), nūjī “dry snot” (34b), māḏīm “catamite” (119a), and ḵaḏīna “weak (like dough)” (116b).

Many words with the meaning “to insult” are included: ikṭāl “to heap insults (on s.o.)” (91b), yināfī “to insult each other” (131b), sabb “to insult” (15a), ẓātam “to insult” (101b), yīṯal “to slander” (80a), rajal, yirjīl “to insult s.o. in his face” (76b), and šataf “to insult” (lit. “to wash”).

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Also numerous are curses:

*ra'gam allāh anfu* “may God rub his nose in the sand” (98a),
*raqabat al-'adaww sal'a* “may the enemy have a cyst on his neck” (44b),
*qātalahu allāh* “may God fight him!” (126b),
*li-l-/unīdhīdī qīlāb* “may the enemy have a cyst on his neck” (44b),
*li-l-/unīdhīdī qātılıhu ıllāh* “may God fight him!” (1.6b),
*li-l-/unīdhīdī fil₂/uni1E2Bām wı lu/uni1E6Dām* “filth and slaps!” (100a).

The number of words describing stupidity or weakness of mind is also impressive:

*ṣıf* “weak-minded”,
*habīl* “stupid”,
*mahbūl* “simpleton”,
*ablam* “stupid”,
*bebīl* “silly, foolish”,
*dil₆* “oaf”,
*dhull* “simpleton”,
*dhaḥlān* “simpleton” (73b), and
*akinš* “stupid” (17a).

Not all of these expressions are in use today. For details, see the Glossary.

The remarkable thing about these entries is that al-Maḡribī does not condemn or judge this kind of (sometimes very crude) language. He simply states that these expressions are being used by the people of Cairo and clarifies whether or not they are correct according to *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*. He however does not give a judgement about the use of this kind of words. How frequently they are mentioned does, however, make one wonder if they were included because of their 'entertainment value'.

6.5.3 Puns

Al-Maḡribī was very fond of puns, and particularly liked to play with the various meanings of a word. The first example is a pun on the word دل *dall*, which means

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686 *gasal* has a similar meaning in Egypt today. Compare the Dutch “iemand de oren wassen”, “to wash someone’s ears”, i.e. to scold him.

687 Although the word *lutām* as such does not exist, it is clear that it is formed from the root LΤM “to slap” in the same pattern as *suhām*. *suhām* is still used these days; both Taymūr (2001) IV p. 96 and Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 403b mention the variety *suhām itṭīn* used as an adjective (“rotten”), while Taymūr also mentions the variety *suhām wi-hibāb* “filth and soot”.

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“coquetry” and “to indicate”: they say about a beloved one: “she is coquet” or “she has coquetry”, so check what the word *dall* indicates*. Another example of a pun with the same root, is found on fol. 57a: “the people say to the *tikka* ‘waistband’ *dikka* with a *dāl* and there is nothing that furnishes evidence for this”: *dāl* – *dāl* “the letter *dāl*” – “furnishing evidence”.

In the following example he uses the word *farzin* “to see” twice: ولم الفوزن فژن (117a) “and I did not see the word *farzin* [in any dictionary]”.

The word can be read as *šīn* “the letter *š*” and *šayn* “disgrace”: ويقولون ما ذا إلا شكل فيكسرون اللسان وليس فيه شين (81a) “they say *mā dā ʾillā šikr* so they put a *kasra* after the *šīn*, and this is no disgrace”.

In the following, the word *barrāniyya* “outer” is used as a pun: حتى ان قولهم *dihr* (123b) “even their expression ‘the outer Aṣrafyya’ for instance, is a word which is outside the language”.

The following is a pun on the word *šadaf* “to see”: ويقولون فلان يصدف أي ينظر: (27b) “they say: ‘so-and-so sees’, and ‘I met him by chance’. The first one I did not see (*mā šadafūh*), and the second: he [= al-ʿAwwād] said in *al-Muḥtasar* *šadafahu* means ‘he found it’.”

The last example contains two puns on the words *yaḥfūm* “to understand” and *yuḥfum* “to be understood”, and on *bill* “stupid” and *bal* “rather”: فقولهم فلان يل: بالكسر لمن لا يفهم لم يفهم من اللغة بل في اللغة بالكسر الرجل الداهية (66b) “they say: ‘so-and-so is *bill*, stupid’, with a *kasra*, about someone who does not understand. This is not understood from the language, but rather, in the language *bill* with a *kasra* means ‘a smart fellow’.”

6.5.4 *Daf al-īṣr*’s word list and present day Egyptian Arabic

According to *Awwād* 80% of the words mentioned in *Daf al-īṣr* are still in use in contemporary Egypt. I have also checked whether or not its entries are still in use anywhere in the country today. As proof of their usage, I checked whether or not the words are mentioned in Hinds and Badawi’s dictionary (1986) and the Arabic-German glossary by Bohnstedt and Woidich (1994). This enabled me to cover rural Egyptian dialects as well. Words not found in these two works were checked with

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488 See *Awwād* (1968), the Russian introduction, p. 24.
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native speakers. Accordingly, an investigation of the entries in Daf al-ṣwr reveals that of the 1406 mentioned, 903 are still in use in Egyptian dialects today, i.e. 64%. Around 40 words, i.e. 3% were still known in the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries, but have apparently disappeared since that time. Twenty-three entries, i.e. less than 2% are now only found in dialects outside Egypt, such as Syrian and Moroccan, although most of these words belonged to the dialect of Cairo in al-Mağribī’s time. Forty-five entries, i.e. 3% can be found only in Dozy’s dictionary, which is interesting because he included many Middle Arabic items of vocabulary which are not found in either dictionaries of Classical Arabic or modern dialects. Furthermore, 296 entries, i.e. 21% can only be found in dictionaries of Classical or Modern Standard Arabic, such as those by Lane, Hava, Wehr, and Kazimirski etc. Of course, it is not known for certain whether these items were already classicisms in al-Mağribī’s time, but it is clear that he mentions at least some classicisms in his lexicon. Fifteen entries, i.e. 1% are loan words from Persian and Turkish, and can only be found in dictionaries of these languages and have disappeared from the Egyptian lexicon. Finally, there is a group containing 80 entries, i.e. almost 6%, which could not be traced in any dictionary or other reference work.

The discrepancy between Awwād’s findings that around 80% of the entries in Daf al-ṣwr are still in use in Egypt, and my own calculation of 64%, can be explained in two ways. First of all, Awwād wrote his PhD thesis in the ‘60s of the last century. In the forty years which have passed, some of the words that were still in use at that time may well have become obsolete, particularly after the departure of thousands of šiwām – who were the users of imported words - from Egypt in the ‘60s and ‘70s. The effect of Egyptianization on the young generation of Turkish descendants is also likely to be a factor. Another explanation is that al-Mağribī mentions a large number of words that are considered classicisms in our time.

490 These are words that can be found in works such as Spiro’s dictionary (a new impression of the 1895 edition was used), Aḥmad Taymūr’s dictionary (it is unclear when exactly Taymūr wrote his dictionary, but he lived from 1871 to 1930), Lane’s Manners and customs (a reprint of the 1860 edition was used) and other works from this period.

491 Note that these also include the tašfīḥ or “misplacements of the diacritical dots”, i.e. nonsense-words which were made by misplacing the diacritical dots, such as بلال الرمان balābil al-rummān “the nightingales of the pomegranate” for ثلاث الرمان talātīl al-zamān “the hardships of time”.

491 And some of these were classicisms in al-Mağribī’s time as well.
Linguistic Analysis

However, this does not mean that these words are unfamiliar to (educated) Egyptians. Therefore, it is possible that 'Awwād counted a number of these words as “in use”, while strictly speaking they do not belong to the dialect.⁴⁹⁵

6.5.4.1 Semantic change

Some words and expressions found in Daf’ al-ǐṣr are still in use today but have a different meaning. Various types of semantic change are encountered. Below are a few examples of these different categories.

Opposites

There are several instances of words which throughout the centuries have come to mean the opposite of their original meaning. For instance, there has been a shift from a positive to a negative meaning, and vice versa, as in the following example: نیقیت فاروتaki “we speak well of you” (129b). When compared with its present-day usage: Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 654a “یافة فاروت (u) to speak badly of (s.o.) behind his back, spread scandal about (s.o.)”, it becomes clear that the basic meaning of “speaking about someone” remains, but the positive meaning has been replaced by a negative one. Another example is the word مشموم (102a), literally “can be smelt”, which in al-Maģribī’s time had the meaning of “smelling pleasant”; nowadays it means “spoilt”, i.e. smelling unpleasant, rotten. The word مرن mirin (119a) meant “hard”, while nowadays it means “pliant, flexible”. Note, however, that in Classical Arabic the word مرن marin has the meaning of “soft and hard” (see Hava p. 717b), i.e. flexible. The word یداری yīdārī (127a) meant “to insult” in al-Maģribī’s time, while in Classical Arabic it means “to praise” (see Lane III p. 964c) and in modern Egypt it has the neutral meaning of “to inform”. The interjection یذهی jhāh (120b) was, in al-Maģribī’s time, an exclamation of admiration, while today jhāh is an exclamation of disgust.

Metaphor

In the expression ما حاک هاک هاچی هاچی который originally meant “to weave”, is used as a metaphor for “weaving a thought”.

⁴⁹⁵ E.g. the word هاها هنا “here” (fol. 132b).
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In the expression /uni0643/uni0648/uni0627 /uni0642.medi/uni0644.medi/uni062D.init /uni0643.fina iwki /uni1E25ılıqık “shut up!” (literally “tie up your neck!”) (132a), the neck is likened to a waterskin which could be tied up (wıkā yıki) with a string.

In fulān mā huwwı /uni1E6Dıhy fulān “he is not like him” (129a), the word “cooking” should not be taken literally, but is used in a metaphorical way to express similarity: “he is not his (type of) cooking”, as if two people are like two meals which were cooked in a different way and therefore do not look alike. None of these expressions still exist in modern Egyptian Arabic.

Semantic bleaching
When a word is overused it loses its emphasis. A good example is the word very in English, which originally meant “truly”.

Compare the abovementioned hāyil, which originally meant “terrifying” but in al-Maġribī’s time was weakening to “great, wonderful”. This is also the case with the word دنف which appears in the expression دنف fı l-/uni062F “love-sick” (..b). In Classical Arabic, the meaning of دنف is “having any disease: or emaciated by disease so as to be at the point of death”; in MSA it is “seriously ill”, while in modern Egyptian it means “oafish”. We see the same with the word جهجورن which in al-Maѓribi’s time meant “tyranny, oppression”, but nowadays means “haphazardly, in any old way.” The word ناشف (34b) means “to break the skull” in Classical Arabic,” while in the 17th century it had the meaning of “to hurt with words”.

Semantic expansion
When the meaning of a word is expanded over time, this is called semantic expansion. The word بیتغا (37b) meant “message sent by pigeon” in al-

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494 In §6.5.1.1.
495 Lane (1955-6) III p. 919c.
499 See Hava p. 794b.
Linguistic Analysis

Maġribī’s time, but nowadays means the more general “card”. The word hāf (36a) “to become weak (crops)” is also used more generally today, with the meaning: “to be petty, be trivial”.

Transfer

With the invention of new concepts, the need for new names arises. In some cases, al-Maġribī presents the older meaning which has since changed. Existing words often get a new meaning, based on similarity in appearance (metaphor) or function (metonymy) with the new concept. For instance, the word hāqan (111b) used to have the meaning “to administer a clyster”: dawā al-marīd ḥaqanuh “he administered the medicine to the sick person with a clyster” (111b). With the arrival of the hypodermic syringe it came to mean “to inject”.

The word ǧyb (12a) first meant “bosom” and “bosom of a garment”, and the Arabs often carried things in the bosom of their shirts. When the pocket was introduced, it took over this function and was, therefore, also called ǧyb. Al-Maġribī says the following about this word: يقلون الجيب إلى ذلك الذي يضع فيه الضرائب بالجيوب yaqūlūn ʾil-ǧyb ʿalā ǧālīk al-laḍḍi yūḍaʾ fiḥ al-dārāḥim bi-l-ǧānib “they say ǧyb to (the place) where they put their money at the side”. It is unclear about which part of the garment al-Maġribī is speaking here. The pocket as we know it today is, according to Kalfon Stillman (2003) p. 170, a European innovation which was introduced to Palestine during the late 1930s and early 1940s. However, this is contradicted by Lane (1955-6) III p. 492c, who mentions that the Arabs had pockets in the 19th century.

Another well-known example of transfer is the word hātif “the voice of an unseen man” (35b) which now is used in MSA for “telephone”.

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500 It is known that the word had this specific meaning at that time, because it is also the only meaning al-Ḥaḍāǧī p. 41 mentions.
502 Ibid. p. 920a.
504 See Lane II p. 492c