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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CHAPTER 6

Linguistic Analysis

6.1 Orthography

Al-Maḏribī 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 Daʿf al-lṣr’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-Maḏribī. 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-Maḏribī’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 Daʿf al-lṣr, 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-muhīṭ. Al-Maḏribī uses the same spelling for his own text written in Classical Arabic, as well as for quotations from, for instance, al-Qāmūs al-muhīṭ.

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 ʾhamza  in Daʿf al-lṣr deviates a great deal from modern spelling standards. Blau (2002) p. 32 mentions the total absence of the ʾhamza  from ancient papyri, and interprets this as ‘reflecting an ancient orthographic habit preserved also through NA [Neo-Arabic] influence’.
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-Ma'grībī 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 *nisā’* “women”, which we find in the same sentence as *nəsə* and *nəsə* (64a), and elsewhere as the variant *nəsə* (31a). These examples highlight three of the four ways of writing the final *ā* that al-Ma'grībī employs: *mədə*/*mədə*, *mədə*/*mədə*, and *mədə*/*mədə*. This is a continuous source of confusion. For instance, the frequently found word *mədə*/*mədə* could of course be *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 wāhīdatuhā* bi-hā “and its nomen unitatis is with a tā marbūta”.

The final *i* is, in most cases, written without the hamza: َمضيَّ (50a) *mudī* “bright”, as is final *i* : ُمَعَّامَلَيَّ “full” (11a) and *ay*: ُشَيْ “a thing” (to be found in numerous places).

ā in the middle of the word can be written with a madda: ُمَدَّ “vileness and loweliness” (104b); ُبَنَّ “two structures” (108a). Moreover, words of the patterns *fā’* and *fawā’* (mediae infirmae) are often written with a madda on the *alif*, followed by either a hamza under the *yā* or without hamza, e.g. لَمَّا “delightful witticisms” (1a), ُبَيْتَى “delightful witticisms” (1a), ُبَيْتَى “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-Isn*: *al-āya* “the Qur'ān-verse” (50b); ُالْأَلْامُ “instrument” (78b, 104a), ُالْأَلْامُ “the instruments” (91a); ُالْأَلْامُ “the last”, ُالْأَلْامُ “the last”, ُالْأَلْامُ “the last”.

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314 This had already been observed by Wehr (1956) p. xv in his edition of *Kitāb ıl-Ḫikāyat ıl-ʿaǧība wa l-ʿāḥbār al-ġarība*: “Das Hamza-Zeichen wird völlig unkonsequent verwendet”.
315 Compare the orthography of the word mā in Jaritz (1993) p. 65.

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The omission of the hamza in the middle of a word is quite common in Daf‘ al-lṣr. For instance: ġuz‘an “a part” (6b), mamlū‘a “filled” (80b), and ālān “sexual intercourse”. In al-ḫatī‘a “the mistake” (78b, in a quotation from al-Qāmūs al-muhīṭ) not only has the hamza been omitted, but so has its bearer, as is the case in ẓan’ “a thing” (of which there are many instances, e.g. fol. 85a, 103a etc.), ru‘ūs “heads” (115a), al-as‘ila (93a) “the questions” and mas‘ala (62b; 121b) “question”. The correct pronunciation for these last words has been indicated by the placement of a kasra or fatha 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 ġuz with a hamza and ġazā with the soft alif [i.e., the alif without a hamza]. In saying this, does he mean with a “soft” alif that he would pronounce it as ġazā rather than al-ġazā, i.e. with tashīl, or is he referring to the root of the word, which is ġZY? The second option is the most likely because al-Maģribi would have been aware that the word ends with a hamza.

In the words ra‘ sūs “the top of a hoe”, the hamza has been omitted. It could be argued that the colloquial pronunciation rās fās 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 “a form” (79a), ra‘īs “leader” (113b), ẓan’ “a thing”, su‘al “question” (7b), (99b) fu‘ādī “my heart”, tafā‘ulan “regarding it as a good omen” (89b). This can lead to ambiguities. For instance, confusion is caused by ẓan “he was” or kā‘āna “as if”. The same goes for lā‘a “because” or lā‘a “to be/become soft” (113a).

\[117\text{Attested in several places, e.g. fol. 3b, 9a etc.}\]
\[118\text{See also Wehr (1956) p. xv.}\]
\[119\text{This spelling of mas‘ala is also mentioned in Blau (1966) I p. 100.}\]
\[120\text{This is the spelling which al-Maģribi uses for this word in most of the cases.}\]
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When the āʾ is supposed to be the bearer of the hamza, it is more common to find it written with a dotted āʾ, as in ليلًا (40a; 64a; 116a) “in order not to”, which should not to be confused with ليلا laylan “at night” (as in for instance fol. 17a). Other examples are بير biʿr “well” (124a), رية riʿa “lung” (47a), and ایندا ʿaʿīdā (أيندا) “if”, preceded by the particle ʿa introducing a question (82a, quotation from the Qurʾān). Often the hamza is written under the āʾ instead of on top of it, e.g. مَيْق maʿiqa “he sobbed” (55a), الزَّئِير al-zaʿīr “the roaring” (108b).

In فُوُل fuʿūl “elephants” (88a) we find a hypercorrection: here al-Maḡribī writes a hamza where it should be a āʾ: فُؤُول. Even if the plural فُوُل had existed, it should have been written فُؤُول according to the norms of Classical Arabic, although in Modern Standard Arabic the spelling with āʾ is allowed (for instance مسئول is seen often in newspapers instead of مسئول).

6.1.2 final āʾ / alif maqṣūra
There are many inconsistencies in the writing of the alif maqṣūra and final āʾ, which both appear either with or without dots. Instances of the final āʾ where we would expect alif maqṣūra are: the writing of ʿalā is used often instead of على, as is حَتَّى instead of حَتِّى حَتِّى. Some additional examples are: تَحْتَتَā “to overstep”, وُسْبًا “satisfied”; انتَي ʿatā “he gave”, انتَيِّ “female” (87b), al-حُبَّلā “the pregnant woman” (107b), and الْعَلَّي al-ʿalā “the Highest”.

The final āʾ written without dots can be found all over the text, and just one example is the word في في “in”. This is still a very common phenomenon.

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322 It does not, according to Lane VI p. 2474c.
323 In the edition of the manuscript I have adjusted this spelling, see Introduction.
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6.1.3 final ā
6.1.3.1 ی instead of ی

Sometimes a word is spelt with a final yā where alif would be expected:³²⁴ عصبيّ āṣā “stick” (51b, 111a and 132b), and التانايا الالي al-ṭanāya al-‘ūlā “the upper front teeth” (104b). Sometimes, yā is used instead of the final alif hamza: بخاري (58a) Bukhārā “city in Uzbekistan”, and هوا hawā (34b and 89a) “air”. The final yā instead of alif hamza can be seen in المتصدّية almutawadda (126b) “having performed the ritual ablution”. As pointed out in §6.1.2, it is quite common to render the final ā with ی.

6.1.3.2 ی instead of ی

The spelling with alif where alif maqṣūra would be expected³²⁵ occurs, although not frequently. Two examples are: لحفل الاحلي al-ahlā “the more beautiful”, and الرحا instead of الرحا al-raḥā “the handmill” (95a).

6.1.4 ṭā marbūta

In a few isolated cases ی is found in status constructus: لعبا الشطنج “the chess-game” (3a), روقه عيني “the blue of his eyes” (56a), حكاية ليلي والمجون, حياة الحيوان, “the life of the animals” (53a), ضعيفه الكون “weak of posture” (108a), and لكثره الاستعمال “because of its frequent use” (117b).

³²⁵ Already attested in texts from the first millennium, see Blau (2002) p. 32.

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 یل-Qāmūs یل-Mu/uni1E25ī/uni1E6D and classical literature, as in the following examples:
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“wild pomegranate” (90a), “like quņufid hedgehog” (96b), “for the menstruation” (109b), and “‘stench” (115b). We also find zaƙar “stench” (115b), instead of the correct zar, in a quotation from al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ.

6.1.6 Hyphenation
Al-Maġribī sometimes breaks off words at the end of the line, which can be quite confusing. In the following examples the – denotes the end of the line: hālatathu “she mixed it” (8a), fa-nṣur “look up” (11b), “the fingers” (14a), bi-l-dāl “with the dāl” (40a), “like a large tent” (40b), ka-l-fustāt “like I put it [the arrow] on the bowstring” (53b), “the foodstuffs” (65b), “its Persian [translation]” (91b), and al-ʿasāda “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-Maģribī’s orthography: āl “tamarisk”, mitl “similar”, naḏl “despicable”, and Šādīlīyya “belonging to the Šādīlīyya sūfī order”. In other instances where a dialect word had originally contained an interdental, al-Maģribī uses historical orthography: haḍā “rave” and “raving” (132b), marṭiyya “elegy” (127b), and qittā “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.
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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. بَكَّاء 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: بَكَّة bikkā “cry-baby”.

3.7
At a certain point, al-Maġribī writes the colloquial بدحā then crosses out the alif, thereby turning the word into the classical بدحā (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 مَنَع 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): فِنْ قَلْتِ مَا الْفَرقَ بِنَفْعَ الْفَلَحَابِ انَّ الْفَلَحَابِ عَرَفَ "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-muḫḫīt to discover that the first is supposed to be qaml “lice” and the second qummal “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-muḫḫīt 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 //uni0.BE/ 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 //uni0.BE/ and ġīm as /g/. There are two conflicting theories:

1. Behnstedt and Woidich suggest that the Cairene pronunciation //uni0.BE/ - /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 //uni0.BE/ - /g/ spreading along this branch of the Nile, while the surrounding regions kept /g/ - /ǧ/. Another possibility is that the entire Delta used //uni0.BE/ - /g/ at some stage, but this was replaced by /g/ - /ǧ/ in certain areas because of the 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 Haz al-quḥūf the following is said about a certain peasant: “He says, ‘O Gā/uni1E0Dī’, [pronouncing the initial qāf of qā/uni1EeDī] with the letter ġīm”, meaning that the peasant says gā/uni1EeDī, 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

330 See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) II maps 7, 11 and 15.
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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 ǧīm is indicated by the letter gimel, to which is added either a supralinear dot َ or a sublinear dot َ to indicate a more fronted pronunciation. 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.

Blanc (1981) pp. 192-3 quotes two passages from Dıf/unie2BF ıl-i/uni1E63r in support of his theory. The first is the word raq̱ “man”, and al-Maġribī mentions the following about the pronunciation of the ǧim in it:

They say, and this is heard from the people of the countryside, ‘so-and-so mā dillā raq̱’, ‘what kind of man is that’, with an a after the rā and no vowel after the un-Arabic ǧim, which is like the ǧim of Ibn Ginnī, about which is written in the traditional Şır ǧam' al-ǧawāmi' by the famous al-Maḥallī.

The passage from Şır ǧam' al-ǧawāmi' which is referred to is the following:

338 Blanc (1974) discusses the 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”.
339 Daf' al-îşr fol. 75a.
The description “between kāf and ǧīm” was the usual way of describing the pronunciation /g/. According to Blanc (1981) p. 192, this is an indication that this was not the common way to pronounce the ǧīm 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 ǧīm 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 /ğ/ and, therefore, found the /g/ worth mentioning. In some modern Egyptian Arabic dialects the ǧ is pronounced in a different way before the l. In the West Delta, for instance, the ǧ is pronounced as /d/ when it is followed by an l, while in Middle Egypt it is pronounced as a slightly palatalized g. 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 concerns the following passage:

And it is astonishing that laqan with the Persian kāf is a certain vessel in Turkish, and also in Arabic. He [=al-Fīrūzābādī] said: ‘and lakan with the same vowels as ǧabal is a well-known vessel’, i.e. with the Arabic kāf.”

Blanc’s assumption that this is also a special case where ǧīm = /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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341 Downloaded in Word-format from the internet from the following website: http://www.aslein.net/showthread.php?t=2926 (no hard copy was available to me).
343 See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) l p. 70, note to map 11.
344 Doss (1981) p. 27 speaks of a “[g] très faiblement mouillé”.
346 Daf al-îṣr fol. 188b.
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 Dař al-ʾisr where al-Maģribī 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 Dař al-ʾisr in the form of the following mawwāl:

جمبَتُ مُؤَلُ في الحبيب وهو جابَ بيت
الورى جمبَت قال ولي حسودي جمبَت
والحبيب فقهته قال لي عليك جمبَت
هو جامب بوسه ومعه قمت أنا جمبَت

gabbya50  mawwāla fi-l-māhābāb wa hū gāb byt
  gabbay ḥasūdī wa lī qāl alwarā gabbayt
  wa-l-ḥabbā fi qahwatuḥ qāl līʿ alyk gabbyt
  wa gād bi-būsuh wa māssuh qunt anā gabbyt

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

547 Dař al-ʾisr fols. 6b-7a.
548 Quoted from al-Qāmūs al-muḥīf p. 35a.
549 Dař al-ʾisr fol. 11b.
550 The metre is busī; 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.\(^{351}\)

The point of this maw\(\text{w}a\)l is the pronunciation of the word g\(\text{a}b\)byt. The first word in the first line could be interpreted as the 1\(^{st}\) person sg. of the verb g\(\text{a}\)b. Although in modern Cairene Arabic this would be g\(\text{i}\)bt, the form g\(\text{a}b\)byt is still found in the H\(\text{a}\)rga-oasis and the Sudan.\(^{352}\) The last word of the first line, g\(\text{a}b\) byt,\(^{353}\) sounds the same as g\(\text{a}b\)byt. In the fourth line, it should be read as k\(\text{a}b\)byt “I came, ejaculated”.\(^{354}\) This rhetorical device is called ġ\(\text{i}\)n\(\text{a}\)s, “paronomasia” or taw\(\text{r}\)iya, “double entendre”\(^{355}\) and is still encountered in maw\(\text{w}a\)l in Egypt today. In fact, the fun of the maw\(\text{w}a\)l lies in the discovery of the hidden meanings of the verse. This is an indication that in al-Ma\(\text{ğ}\)rib\(\text{i}\)’s time, the ġ\(\text{i}\)m was pronounced as /\(g\)/, because the association of /\(g\)/ with /\(k\)/, from voiced to voiceless velar plosive (g\(\text{a}b\)byt – k\(\text{a}b\)byt), is very plausible. That /\(\text{g}\)/ 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 maw\(\text{w}a\)l: gamk\(\text{a}\)n (k\(\text{a}\)m k\(\text{a}\)n). Moreover, Eisele (1997) p. 754 notes that in the z\(\text{a}\)h\(\text{r}\)\(^{356}\) 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”.\(^{357}\) It is possible that al-Ma\(\text{ğ}\)rib\(\text{i}\) uses these dialectal alternations, i.e. g\(\text{a}b\)byt – g\(\text{i}\)bt, in this maw\(\text{w}a\)l to fit the paronomasia.

As mentioned above, the pronunciation of ġ\(\text{i}\)m and q\(\text{a}\)f are closely related in Egypt. In areas where ġ\(\text{i}\)m is pronounced /\(g\)/, q\(\text{a}\)f is pronounced /\(\text{f}\)/.\(^{358}\) Whether this was the case in Egypt in the 17\(^{th}\) century cannot be known for certain. There is one

\(^{351}\) I thank Ellie Kallas for his suggestions for the translation of this poem.

\(^{352}\) See Behnsted-Woidich IV p. 55a “g\(\text{a}\)b\(\text{b}\)čt ich brachte (zu ġ\(\text{a}\)b, yiģ\(\text{i}\)b)”.

\(^{353}\) The š\(\text{a}\)dd\(\text{a}\) on the b\(\text{a}\)‘ only indicates that the following letter is a b, i.e. no vowel should be read after ġ\(\text{a}\)b.

\(^{354}\) For both translations see Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 729a-b.

\(^{355}\) See Cachia (1977) p. 91-2. Al-Ma\(\text{ğ}\)rib\(\text{i}\) uses both terms in Daf\(\text{a}\) al-\(\text{i}\)s\(\text{r}\). Another term used by Cachia (1977) but not by al-Ma\(\text{ğ}\)rib\(\text{i}\) is z\(\text{a}\)h\(\text{r}\).

\(^{356}\) A word play which involves phonetical modification. On z\(\text{a}\)h\(\text{r}\) in Egyptian popular poetry, see Cachia (1989) p. 60ff. and Eisele (1997).


\(^{358}\) See BW II: Compare map 6 “Reflex von */q/” and map 10 “Reflex von */\(\text{g}\)/”.

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instance from دیف al-isr which could indicate that the qāf was pronounced as /d/.
Al-Maġribī mentions that the Egyptians say: فلأن عاق ابن والديه fulān ʿāiq wālidhy “so-and-so is disobedient towards his parents” (49b). In Egyptian Arabic, the active participle of verbs mediae geminatae is fāʾil, e.g. hāsis, therefore the active participle form 1 of the root ʿQQ would be عاق ʿaqiq /ʿāʾi/, while in Classical Arabic, this would be عاق ʿaq. The only explanation why al-Maġribī would have written عاق, is because it was pronounced ʿāʾi 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 دیف al-isr was written. Some instances thereof can be found in the 15th century texts by Ibn Südün.360 In the Judeo-Arabic zağal entitled Ḥikāya fi ʿamm al-nisāʾ, 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 tāʾ for tāʾ 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-Maġribī even mentions explicitly that the tāʾ was pronounced as t in the dialect of Cairo:

“those who speak with a tāʾ with two dots, I mean the common people.”362

There are many examples of words in دیف al-isr 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 ǧāl in al-Maġribī’s time was /d/ and examples are: ندل [NDL] nadl (92b) “despicable”, خَادَلَىَّة [*SDL] Šādliyya ((81a) “belonging to the Šādliyya sufi order”, خَنَا [HHDY] hadā “close to” (125a), يَيْهَدِرُ [HHRM] yihadrum “to speak quickly” (108a), and دِبَّل [DBL] “to wilt (flowers)” (72a). We have only one example of /ḍ/ > /z/., namely زَرَق [DRQ] zraq “bird droppings” (fols. 40a and 42a). In general, al-Maġribī uses the

362 دیف al-isr fol. 11a.
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historical spelling for sibilants which were originally interdentals, i.e. ตล for what we assume was pronounced as /z/, for instance: นิ is "to talk deliriously" (132b), ฉล zull "humiliation" (74a), and รฉzl razil "despicable" (75b).

The same rule applies for the ดā as for the จāl, and in ฉา al-ṣār we find proof that it was pronounced as /t/. Some examples are: ฉāl "tamarisk trees" (63a), ฉāl "dregs" (67a), ฉāl "to fix the price of" (110a), ฉāl "asar" and ฉāl "like" (91b). The last one is interesting because in present-day Egyptian Arabic only the pronunciation ฉล is used, 363 which is a direct loan from MSA. However, in the dialects of the Levant, the pronunciation ฉāl is still in use. 364 The expression ฉāl "since, because" (111b) from ฉāl ฉāl is also fascinating. It is unclear exactly what the ฉāl at the end indicates; it could be ฉāl, as in ฉāl inn, 365 or it could be an old case ending, as can still be found in Egyptian Arabic these days in expressions such as ฉāl inn "against my will" 366 and ฉāl "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 ฉāl (111b), which would be a rare case of /t/ > /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-Maģribī never writes a ฉ in such cases. However, in the proverb ฉāl "he removed Bulayq because he neither ploughed nor threshed" (37b), the rhyme indicates that the pronunciation of ฉāl must have been ฉāl. The trend of using the historical spelling of ฉ < ฉā with ฉā can still be observed today. It would, for instance, be unacceptable to write a word like ฉāl, which is pronounced ฉāl in Egypt, with a ฉ: ฉāl; the word’s image would change too much. In the case of ฉāl – ฉāy, this is less problematic (see ฉāl ฉāl) but the historical orthography is often still preferred. 368

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366 Ibid. p. 624a.
367 Ibid. p. 855b.
368 This is for instance the case in ฉāl dāfūr by ฉūsuf al-Qađ. This is a novel written entirely in the Egyptian dialect, yet the author sticks to the etymological orthography of ฉ > ฉ.
The shift from /u/ to /a/ is reflected in the word hanḍal < hanḍal “colocynth” (71b).

6.2.3 hamza

6.2.3.1 Initial hamza

In Daf al-ṣr, we find evidence that the initial glottal stop had already disappeared. Where this occurs, it is replaced by a wāw, such as ʿād “ear” (119b) < ʿudn, warīṭ “I showed” (132a) and waḡna “cheek” (119b) (originally ʿaḡna, but waḡna already attested by Lane VIII p. 3049c). This phenomenon can still be observed today in several dialects. In the word ḥuwwa (127a) < ʿuḥuwwa “brotherhood” (also attested by al-Ḥafṣ (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 < ʿahd “to take” and ṭār < ʾīṭār “frame”.

6.2.3.2 Intervocalic hamza

The intervocalic hamza /kann/ (from kaʿamn - kaʿimm) “as if” (117b) is still attested in Egypt: Behnstedt-Woidich (1994) p. 422b “kann als ob: kannst als ob du”. Gîlân “dependents” (84b) reflects the disappearance of the hamza so ʾāʾla became ʾāyīla and then ʾyla. For the issue of the diphthong see §6.2.8. The word ʿidd “let’s assume that…” (117a) is a contraction of ʿidd ʿimm in which the hamza has disappeared.

6.2.3.3 Final hamza

Unfortunately, Al-Magribî’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 ʿḥabbīt “let’s” (126a), which Al-Magribî placed in the chapter wāw and yā. He looked it up under ḥABY but did not find it there. Other cases of the disappearance of the final

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


371 This is remarkable, because he had already mentioned the verb ʿaʔ in the chapter hamza.
hamza are: rádî “bad” (127b), rafa “to darn” (9a), mawl “a ... full” (11b), .Dictionary “may God grant you good health” (11a), daffî “I warmed up” (1.7a).

6.2.4 Emphasis
Both emphatization and de-emphatization are attested in Daf al-îṣr. We find the following examples of the latter:

- saqi “chilly” (44a)
- sakk “to hit” (61a)
- sandîq “box” (46a)
- natiq “endowing with speech (God)” (55b)
- nata “to endow with speech” (55b)
- yizdaq “to speak the truth” (41b)
- ıf (in combination with partial assimilation of the s, see §6.2.5), and saqqaf < şafqa “to applaud” (25b) (with metathesis of qāf and lām, see §6.2.7.).

The only example of emphatization is the word ıff “arsehole” (10b). This is a case of secondary emphasis due to the vicinity of the râ.

6.2.5 Voicing of s and š
The voicing of s and š is attested in Daf al-îṣr. For instance, in yizdaq “to speak the truth” (41b) the š has lost its emphasis and has become partially assimilated to the following voiced d. Voicing at the beginning of the word is found in ızhaq “lesbianism” (both 43a), in ızlak “pauper” (61a), and ızhlaf < sulhfa “tortoise” (23b) (with metathesis of the h and l). In these four examples, it is unclear why the initial s and š would be voiced, because there is no assimilation to a following voiced consonant.

6.2.6 Assimilation of t-
In modern Cairene Arabic, the t of the passive-reflexive forms (V, VI and VII) can be assimilated to the following letter if this is a s š t d z g or k. The following

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373 Al-Mağribî suggests a connection with the word ızhâf “Small ŏoz [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 ızzî (1969) p. 119 and §6.2.7.
examples of this assimilation, which is often indicated with a šadda, are found in Daf al-isr:
t > s: yissakka ‘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: yissanat ‘to eavesdrop’ (46a).
t > š: yiššaddaq ‘to be diffuse in speech’ (46b).
t > z: izzaqam ‘to be force-fed’, and yizzwil ‘to imagine’ (79a).
t > d: yiddıššā ‘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: muʿallaq < milʿaqa “spoon” (fols. 49b and 54b), muwāyma < muyāwima “day labour” (108b), muwāqima < muyāqima “lightning” (47a), muwāyf < muyāf “tortoise” (1.0a), and muwāf < muyāf “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 fatha on top, e.g. ya dawbu / dōbu ‘just’, nowadays ya dōb or ya doćab, zaybaq / zēbaq “mercury” (41b), sayf / sēf “sword” (26a), āyla / āla “family” (84b), hawn / hōn “mortar” (120a), and hayf / hēf “open air” (36a). However, as Blanc pointed out, the use of the fatha “may or may not stand for diphthongs”. Writing the fatha before a waw or yā’ could simply be conventional for /ō/ and /ē/. This is certainly the case with the word bōsā “kiss” (88b), which was never a diphthong originally because it derives from the Persian bōsā. Perhaps al-Maģribī vocalizes

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375 See also §6.2.5.
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it as bawsa because, since all ô’s were initially aw, it could be argued that bôsa must have been bawsa. Something similar was noted by Woidich (1997) p. 186-7:

“In the areas of Fayyûm and Bani Swēf, the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ are preserved, unlike in Standard Egyptian, the dialect of Cairo. Speakers “know” that Cairo /ô/ 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 ‘ôda ‘room’, šawbar for šôbar ‘fertilizer’, talafawn 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 - ‘eš, which is written four times as ē in Daf’ al-îsir. This suggests that the pronunciation is ē or ‘eš, i.e. a shortening of the vowel ē. Based on similar evidence from Hazz al-qūhîf, Davies (1981) p. 87 suggests that ay and ē 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-îsir. 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 na’âm < na’am (106b) would have a lengthened second a could be, that like in modern Cairene Arabic, it should be understood not as “yes” but as “excuse me?”, with a rising intonation. However, na’am with a long a is already attested in al-Qāmūs al-muhîf. 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 KĀKûK. We can find two instances in Daf’ al-îsir in which the pattern KaKûK has become KĂKûK: ḥārûf < ḥurûf “sheep” (21b) and qādûm < qadûm “adze” (104a).

378 On fols. 57a, 62a, 73b, and 125b.
381 On p. 1049c.
These are probably hypercorrections following the same pattern as حاروق ُهازُع (39a) and حانون ُهازُن (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-Maǧribî’s time is attested by the entry حَافْفُ “edge” (21b). The same principle is also confirmed in حَافُ وَقُحُأ، in the words حَافَ وَقُحُأ and حَافَ وَقُحُأ.\(^{383}\)

Another rule is that an unstressed long vowel is shortened.\(^{384}\) There is an example of this in دَافُ الْإِسْر: حَشَّاَكْ ُهُاَشُك “mind your back!” (7b) < حُشَّاَك.

6.2.10.2 Word-final
There are five cases where the loss of the final حَامْزَة and the shortening of the ُهَا are found: حَفَّا “somebody who is always weeping” (56b), حَفَّا “al-fa” (21a), حَفَّا “mouth of the water bag” (83b), حَفَّا “walking stick?” (132a),\(^{385}\) and حَفَّا “having bushy eyebrows” (35a). There can be no doubt about the pronunciation because the –ا is written with حُا. However, in cases where الْا is written, nothing can be said about the pronunciation, because of the defective way of writing the حَامْزَة employed by al-Maǧribî.\(^{386}\)

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

\(^{382}\) See Woidich (2006) p. 31.


\(^{385}\) See the next paragraph for the pausal ُعَلْلَا.

\(^{386}\) See §6.1.1.

\(^{387}\) See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) II maps 35-37.
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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 imālā.

Moreover, from Muḥammad ʿAyyād al-Ṭantāwī's \(389\) \textit{Traité} p. vii we learn that there was pausal imālā in the nineteenth century:

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

From the seventeenth century, we have two examples from \textit{Hazz al-qūḥīf: qarrūfīh} (name of a vessel) and \textit{lībbīh “solidified milk and beestings”}\(390\) There are three more in \textit{Daʃ al-ɪšt}: تاركيh “inheritance” (57a), زارفیh “giraffe” (24a), and \(\textit{wikh “walking stick?” (132a).} \) These are the only three words that were pronounced with the final imālā, which al-Maḡribī indicates with a kasra. There are, however, many others which would have been pronounced in the same way about which nothing is mentioned concerning the imālā.

6.2.12 Vowel changes

Although al-Maḡribī rarely vocalizes the Egyptian-Arabic entries, he does often compare the vocalization of Egyptian-Arabic words with Classical Arabic.\(393\) This provides us with some information about the distribution of the vowels.

6.2.12.1 \(i Lam\)

Words which have the pattern \(fi/\text{āl or fi/lāl} in Classical Arabic have \(fu/\text{āl or fu/lāl in Daʃ al-ɪšt, which corresponds to normal usage today: }\(\textit{tuḥal “spleen” (82a), and}\)

ギルバール “sieve for grains (coarse-meshed sieve)” (84b).

\(388\) Blanc (1973-4) p. 378.

\(389\) See §2.1.1 for more information about al-Ṭantāwī.


\(391\) “and they put an \(i\) after the \(kāf\), see Daš al-ɪšt fol. 57a.

\(392\) “and they put an \(i\) after the \(fā\), see Daš al-ɪšt fol. 24a.

\(393\) His system is explained in detail in §3.7.1.
Quadriliteral words which have the pattern fi/unie2BFlīl in Classical Arabic have fi/unie2BFlīl in both Dıf/unie2BF ıl-i/uni1E63r/unie2BF ıl-i/uni1E63r and modern Cairene Arabic. Some examples are:

- /uni0644.fina/uni064A.medi/uni0637.init/uni0631.fina/uni0628.init bir/uni1E6Dīl “bribe” (65b),
- /uni0646.medi/uni0642.init qındīl “oil lamp” (90b), and
- /uni0642.fina/uni064A.init /د uni0646.init/uni0632 zındīq “heretic” (42b).

Words with the pattern misal and misala in Classical Arabic have mafal and mafala in Dıf/unie2BF ıl-i/uni1E63r:

- mafal:
  - mahmal “camel litter” (70a),
  - mardan “spindle” (114a), and
  - masam “wrist” (103a). This final example is interesting because under the influence of Modern Standard Arabic it has again become mi/uni1E63m in modern Cairene Arabic.

- misala:
  - madhana “smoke funnel” (113b),
  - masaba “stone bench” (15b), and
  - masala “burnisher” (81a).

Dıf al-ıṣr 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, while in Classical Arabic only the pattern with u is used. In Dıf al-ıṣr we find:

- /uni0628/uni0627.fina/uni0636.init/uni0631/uni0650 ri/uni1E6Dāb “spittle” (14a), and
- /uni0642/uni0627.fina/uni0634.medi/uni0645.init/uni0650 miśāq “residue that is left after the flax has been combed” (55b), as well as
- /uni0629.fina/uni0644.init/uni0627.fina/uni0628.init/uni0632 zubālı “garbage” (77a),
- /uni0647.fina/uni0645.init/uni0627.fina/uni0645.medi/uni0642.init qumāmı “sweepings” (105b),
- /uni0629.fina/uni0644.init/uni0627.fina/uni062E.medi/uni064F/uni0646.init nu/uni1E2Bālı “siftings of flour” (92a), and
- /uni0647.fina/uni0644.init/uni0627.fina/uni0633.medi/uni063A.init ġusālı “washing water” (85a).

Quadriliteral 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 Dıf al-ıṣr:

- balum “gullet” (96a),
- ħartūm “hose, elephant’s trunk; Khartoum” (96b),
- sandūq “box” (47b), and
- arbūn “down payment” (116b).

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6.2.12.5 a > u
Words with the pattern KaKūK in Classical Arabic, have in دَافِ عَلِىّ the pattern KuKūK like in modern Cairo Arabic: مَسْفُوف “medicinal powder” (25a); مُعْقُوق luʿāq “electuary” (54b); زُيْبُون “customer” (114b).

6.2.12.6 Assimilation of vowels to vowels
In مَعْدَلَ < مُعْدِد “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 مُحَمَّد - مُحَمَّد “Mohammed” and مَيْعَالَ - مَيْعَال “festering”.

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 i. It is twice written with kasra in دَافِ عَلِىّ مَسْفُوف “to be successful in selling one’s goods” (44b), and يِشْوَمُ يِشْواء “to rage, scream” (102a). شَرِبَينُ also explicitly mentions that the prefix is يِ- in his comment on يَف "it settles (of a fly)". An ancient example of this feature has been discovered in a Judaeo-Arabic letter from the 12th/13th century: يِيْغُي "it comes", and many other instances can be found in the 15th century text Nuzhat al-nufūs.

6.3.1.2 The prefix of form V, VI, quadriliterals
The prefix يِت- instead of يِت- in forms V and VI and the quadriliteral verbs occurs frequently: يِدْدَّسُ يَدْدَاش "to belch" (127a), يِتِرَسُم يِتِرَسم "to guard someone" (97b), يِتِسَكَّع يِتِسَكَّع "to force-feed" (98b), يِتِسَكَّع يِتِسَكَّع "to be force-fed" (44a), يِتِسَكَّع "to be force-fed" (98b), يِتِسَكَّع "to be force-fed" (44a), يِتِسَكَّع "to loiter" (44a).

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396 This phenomenon, called نَفَّلَ نَفْلَ “saltala”, 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 i.”
400 The assimilation of the t to the following consonant is discussed in §5.3.6.
yissallaq “to climb” (46a), yissawwaq “to go looking for” (46a), yissaddaq “to be diffuse in speech” (46b), yissamanat “to eavesdrop” (46a), itmaqqaq “to look” (92a), yizzawi “to imagine” (79a), ittahth “to stammer” (121a), itfaqil “to act incorrectly” (87a), itmatraq “to lay down” (36a), yisqil “to be diffuse in speech” (46b), yisqilik “to be restless” (92a), and itmphil “to be worn out” (1.0a).

There are also fourteen instances of tı-, but given the proof of it- it is clear that tı- 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>inbašam</td>
<td>“to feel nauseated” (95b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inįbah</td>
<td>“to be embarrassed” (121b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inhuq</td>
<td>“to be embarrassed” (126b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inhuqaf lwnuh</td>
<td>“he became pale” (lit. “his colour was snatched away”) (22a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inδakk</td>
<td>“to be weakened (voice)” (58b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inδaša</td>
<td>“to throw oneself on” (39b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>infarafu</td>
<td>“to be hurt (the eye)” (29b)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form with it-, which occurs frequently in Ḥazz al-quhūf, is not attested in Daf al-isr, where all form VII-verbs have the prefix in-, as in Nuzhät 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-.

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 quadriliteral roots: if one, or both, of the surrounding consonants are emphatic, laryngeal (not h), pharyngeal, or postvelar fricatives, the vowel is i. In all other cases it is ı. Therefore, it is nazzil “to bring down”, falla ‘to bring up, bahdil “to mess up”, but labbat “to confuse”. There are a few indications from Daf al-isr that in al-Maḡribī’s time the distribution of the vowels was the same as it is today. It is nizam “to defecate” (106b), yisqil “to be successful in selling one’s goods” (44b), iṣṭahkin “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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403 See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I map 42.
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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 Daf 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’ib “to tire” (< at’ib, yat’ib), whereas two instances from Daf al-isr are: raq “to pour” (40b) < iraṣl and tall “to look down” (82b) < atall. Five examples of form IV can be found in al-Maġribi’s glossary: arhaq “to delay” (41a), asra ‘to hurry’ (44a), awlam “to give a banquet”, arq “to disgust”, ‘awmā “to make a sign”.

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 aqrif has become form I in modern Cairo Arabic, forming a pair like ti’ib and ta’ab: irif, yirif “to be disgusted”, and ‘araf, yirif “to disgust” (< aqraf, yuqrif).

A special case is the verb “to go”, which is rāḥ (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: ‘ahāk ‘arāḥ mīmāk jādkän “your brother has left you in anger” and ‘arāḥ lak šī ráyī “have you lost something?”.

In the twentieth century dialect of the Jews of Cairo, the same arāḥ is found for the 3rd sg. masc. in Classical Arabic, we find both rāḥ and arāḥ 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: يل شابي “I lost my patience” (84b) and قَتِل “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: يَقِيلُونَ فلَان الْعَدْوَ مَات وَقِتَلْ بَعْض لَمْ يَبْلُغ اَنَا قَتَلَ وَقَتَلَ صلى الله عليه وسلم "I lost my patience" (84b) and قَتِل “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:

6.3.2 The pronoun
The only two personal pronouns worth mentioning here are: نا in ما اهْنَا مِن دَيْنِي هذِه "we do not belong to this type of people" (88b), and هوُنَا in مَّا هُوُنَا "there he is" (3b). Both can be found in the list of personal pronouns of Davies (1981) p. 177.

The use of the word هوُنَا هوُنَا is interesting. It can be used as a demonstrative particle (see §6.3.3.), but al-Mağribî mentions its usage by the Bedouins with the meaning of “he”: وَهُوُنَا the word (i.e. هوُنَا) is used by the non-town dwellers with the meaning of ‘he’, as if they say: ‘he himself’.

6.3.3 The demonstratives
The demonstratives دَا، دَيِّ and دَلَح occur in دَأُف الْإِذْر. The latter is used independently: وَيَقُولُونَ دَلَحْ كَذَا أَوْ أَشْ فِي دُوَّنُه طَيِّب “they say: ‘those are so-and-so’, or ‘which of those is good?’”. Davies (1981) p. 161 suggests that the –هُ of دَلَح، which also occurs in حَزَز الْقَهْف, “may

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409 See §3.6.1.
410 These are spelt دَيِّ and دَيِّ, 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 دَيِّ and دَيِّ. Furthermore, دَيِّ is written once as دَيِّ. 

indicate pausal *imāla*. Also dā appears only independently: *mā dā illā šikl* “that is nothing but coquetry”, *dā hilāl wa-akbar dā malīḥ* “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 preposed411 demonstrative, once in combination with a feminine noun: *āsh dī istīlīka* “what is this confusion?” (62), and once with a masculine noun: *mā iḥnā min dī l-qıbıl* “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”.412 In Hazz al-Quḥūf, we find examples such as *dī l-ʾamal* “this act” and *dī l-qıwāl* “these words”.413

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:414
1. noun phrases following the vocative ya, e.g. *ya di ʾlheba* “what a nuisance!”
2. strongly worded commands, e.g. *ḥalaṣūna min dī ʾṣṣuglāna* “rid us of this job!”
3. curses, e.g. *yilʿ an abu dī lʾiṣa* “damn this life!”.

The function of this positioning, Doss argues, is “that of emphasis which is usually to express a negative feeling”.415 However, Woidich (1992) contradicts this with some examples with a positive meaning, e.g. *yādi ṣṣaṭā ssaʿida* “what a happy coincidence!”.416 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.417 Davies (1981) proves that the same applies to the examples found in Hazz al-Quḥūf, 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”.418 This is probably also the case in

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

A very interesting feature is دَلَلَ. It only appears after mā in Daf al-ıṣr, 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. دَلَلَ الْرَجَلُ “this man”, but also independently. It never occurs in combination with mā though. Therefore, in the examples in Daf al-ıṣr, the expression mā dillā could be translated as “what kind of a ... is this”;


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 ~ ıdı̇ntı, adīki ~ ıd-ı̇ntı, adı̇nə ~ ad-ı̇nə etc. in the Dakhla-oasis a form without -ı, e.g. adı̇n, 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 ıdə̄ was, according to al-Mağribī, used as a demonstrative referring to a person or thing and meaning “that one”, “the aforementioned”:

و يقولون إياه على صورة ضمير النصب المنفصل بريدون ما هو إلا أذا هيئة المستفحم أنسان يحككي لأخيه ثم لا يفهم حكايته فيعددها الذا يفهم فيقول إياه كأن يقول الآن فهمت “They say ıyyā 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, ıyyā ‘the aforementioned’, with an i 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-Mağribī’s explanation, or the examples he provides.

6.3.5 The interrogatives

6.3.5.1 1zzāy

1zzāy “how?” was used in al-Mağribī’s time (see 127b). He correctly retraced it to ıyy šy ziyyuh “how is his attire?”

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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. i会议精神 ıyyāha “certain photos” for “pornographic photos”.

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6.3.5.2 īš - ʾayš / āš

ʾayš “what?” occurs four times in ḏaf’ al-ʾiṣr, while āš “which” occurs only once: īš taḥwaṭak “why are you running around (?)” (57a, 62a) āš āš āš āš “what is this confusion?” (62a, 72a, 73b), āš ḥālātuh “what does he look like?” (125b). āš is a contraction of ʾayy ʾay “which thing” and has become ī in modern Cairo Arabic. īš was common in Cairo until the 19th century, and can still be heard today in the Egyptian countryside. As mentioned before, the writing of īš with a short vowel suggests the shortening of the vowel ī. āš ʾay “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 ʾyṃṭā “when” occurs once in ḏaf’ al-ʾiṣr: ʾyṃṭā yikūn “when will it be?” (3b). Al-Maḡribī explains that this is either matā plus an extra ʾay, or that ʾay on its own is “a particle of reply” i.e. ay “yes”. This would suggest that the pronunciation is ʾayṃṭā. Note that El-Ṭanṭāvy also uses the spelling with an initial ʾalif plus yāʾ: ʾayṃṭā.

6.3.5.4 anā “which” is an entry in ḏaf’ al-ʾiṣr: anā anā dāḥya min anā karwa min anā maqšara “this came from which

428 See §6.2.8.
Linguistic Analysis

disaster, from which ...” (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 fyīn

fyīn “where” was used by the Egyptians, while the Arabs and North Africans said wayn according to al-Maġribī: يقولون ويسمعون من العرب والمغاربة وتن هو إِيٰ ابن هو وهي تصحيف عن فِين إِيٰ ابن “they say, and this is heard from the Arabs and the North Africans: wayn, which means ‘where’, and this is a mispronunciation of fyīn which is fiyīn” (120a). It is interesting that al-Maġribī considers wayn a taṣḥīf of fyīn, which he apparently approves of because it is a contraction of fiyīn. An earlier stage of fyīn can be found in Nuzhat al-nafūs, where it is spelled fiyīn.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”, suqayyar “small”, ‘ulayyil “few” etc. Davies (1981) p. 132 notes the high frequency of diminutive patterns in Hāzz al-quhūf. In Daf al-ıṣr, however, there are only a few:

KvKyKvK

This pattern is used for the diminutive of quadriliteral roots: بَيْزَاق بَيْزَاق "squandering" (38a) and قرَيطُم قرَيطُم "safflower" (104b). The latter is also mentioned in Hāzz al-quhūf, as the second element of a kunya.436

432 The meaning of the words كَرُوه and كَرُوه in this context is unclear. Al-Maģribī states his intention to explain them in their proper place, but كَرُوه was not explained and كَرُوه would have been in the part of the manuscript that got lost.


436 Ibid. p. 136.
Linguistic Analysis

KvKvyy(a)
This pattern is used for roots with a final yā:  "sound" (127a) and "a little" (128a).

KvKKūK
For the diminutive of quadriliteral roots: bolbāl "nightingale" (66b).

KvKyK(a)
/د_lamMed/uni0644.medi.preAlef/uni064A.init/uni0648.fina/uni0644.init
l/unie1DDwylāt "nights" (91b), and /uni0629/uni0648.fina/uni064A.init/uni0631.fina/uni0641.init
ıbū f/unie1DDrywı "chestnut" (89a). Following the same pattern are: /uni0643.fina/uni064A.init/uni0631.fina/uni0634.init
š/unie1DDryk "type of bread" (60b) and /uni0643.fina/uni064A.init/uni0631.fina/uni0628.init
b/unie1DDryk "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
yā byyī "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 ġuwwa “inside” (4a; 123b; 124b) and bırrı “outside” (4a, 123b; 125a) occur frequently in both *Daf al-ıṣr* 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.
6.4 Syntax

6.4.1 Negation

No instances of mā...š(i) can be found in Dīf al-ṣr, although it is clear from other texts from same the period that this form of negation was used at that time.\(^{444}\) The negation with mā is the only kind we find in Dīf al-ṣr's colloquial material. It is used to negate the perfect: mā qadar yibzam “he could not speak” (95b); the imperfect: hāḍā mā yihwawṣ fi l-ṣy “this has no effect on it” (38b); prepositional sentences: mā ‘ndī fihā ziyan “I have no trick for it” (114b); and nominal sentences: mā ant ḥalā “you are not lacking in good qualities” (8b).\(^{445}\) 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 ‘an, occur: yaqūlūn yā ḏariyya ti’rafi titbuḥī qālat yā sayyīdī ti’rafl timawwin “they say: ‘Girl, do you know how to cook?’ She said: ‘Sir, can you provide for your family?’” (119a) and mā qadar yibzam “he could not speak” (95b).\(^{446}\) In Classical Arabic, the conjunction ‘an should be used in both cases. On one occasion, the conjunction ‘an is also omitted from a Classical Arabic sentence in which the meaning of an entry is explained: mısık qılbıhu /āttā lā yıqdr yıtınıffıs “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 (.00.) p. 52: “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 Dīf al-ṣr:

\(^{444}\) It occurs frequently in Ḥazz al-ṣrūf, see Davies (1981) pp. 284-293 and a few times in Nuzhat al-nafūṣ, see Vrolijk (1998) p. 156.

\(^{445}\) In nominal sentences like this, modern Egyptian Arabic uses the negation miš, but the personal pronoun can also be negated with ma...š: ma-nṭāš, see Woidich (2006) p. 336.

\(^{446}\) Some other examples can be found in Vrolijk (1998) p. 156.
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- subject + imperfect: الله يرحم سلفك “may God have mercy on your ancestors” (25b), and الله يplenله الله يتنله الله ينله الله “may God put him in hardship” (67a).

- perfect + subject: qatălahu allāh “may God fight him” (126b), and حَتَّاَكَ الله “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. The use of the perfect in the expression of wishes is, however, still common today, and can be explained as loans from Standard Arabic. An example which is frequently heard in Egypt is kattar ḥeřak “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-ısr are placed at the beginning of the sentence. Sharbatov (1969) p. 312 states that the fact that al-Maġribi places imtā and iš 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. 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 /unie2BFAli in school?”. If it is the object, it will be placed after the verb: /ısın šāf mīn fi lmıdrısı? “whom did /ısın see in school?”. In the examples from Daf al-ısr, the interrogative iš has the function of the subject in all instances and is, therefore, placed at the beginning of the sentence. The temporal interrogative

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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 iš, 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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‘yntā, 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-Maḡribī’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 tann in modern Cairo Arabic453) is used to describe the continuation of an action: dannuh yiqūl kaḏī “he says so-and-so all the time” (113b). The origin of dann / tann454 is *ta’anna “to stay”,455 not dann “to buzz” as al-Maḡribī 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-Maḡribī’s time:

‘iblān shā ʿāfu allahu a’rāh waḥum ‘ālw ‘ilim waḥum ‘adithi ay “The people of Yemen say

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 Ef 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 tann in the other areas. See BW II map 393.
456 Ibid.
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šā 'af'al šā 'arūḥ which is correct, i.e. “I want to do”, or “he wanted” in the case of šā yīf'al and “I wanted” in the case of af'al, 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 š- or ša- is still used to express the future or an intention. Watson (1993) p. 62 mentions that ša-expressing intention and the future tense is only used in the first person, which fits al-Mağiribī’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) I p. 242b gives an example in the third person: “ša-yākul he will eat”. Al-Mağiribī’s translation of ša ‘af'al 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, šā/unie2BE could mean “he wanted to do”, as al-Mağiribī 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-Mağiribī’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 willan “want”. More examples can be found in Modern Greek, Swahili, and Bulgarian, as well as in several other languages.458

6.4.7 qā'id as an auxiliary verb

In the following sentence, qā'id is used as an auxiliary verb expressing continuity: fulūn qā'id musahihim “so-and-so is frowning” (101a). qāid, 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: wi 'a'adtu mistannīyya lbitt “and I waited for the girl”, 'a'adtu māšī māši “and I walked farther and farther, and the people kept calling for the taxi”. Interestingly, the same process has taken place in

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.\(^{63}\)

6.5 Vocabulary

One of *Daf al-iṣr*’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-Maģribī 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-iṣr* 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-iṣr* 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-Maģribī: في لغة الأولاد عند ارادة مشيهم تأتي (fol. 4b) “In the language of children, when they want to walk, [they say] *tātā*. 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 *tātā* is still in use in Egypt in exactly the way al-Maģribī describes it: to encourage a little child who is just learning how to walk.\(^{64}\) ˤiǧāzī (1969) p. 120 suggests that al-Maģribī hesitated to mention this word because he did not know how to write it in Arabic. This seems unlikely, however, because al-Maģribī 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.\(^{65}\)

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

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\(^{64}\) 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.

\(^{65}\) For more information about the use of dialect in modern Egyptian literature, see Zack (2001a).
being naughty people call him /uni0641.fina/uni0633.medi/uni0639.medi/uni0645.init /uni0651 /uni0651 /uni06fıss/unie1DDf “a nuisance” (30b). When they want to scare a child they say yāk(u)lak al-ba‘aww “may the bogeyman eat you!” .\textsuperscript{466} Women say to one another: hanhinī li-tīfīl ḥattā yīnām “rock and sing to the baby until he sleeps” (120a). Al-Maġribī also writes about the subū, 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 maliḥ 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 Da‘ al-isr 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.\textsuperscript{467} The same development can be found in the Arabic word faţi, which nowadays can mean both “terrible” and “tremendous, terrific”.\textsuperscript{468}

The following is an overview of all the entries concerning women in Da‘ al-isr:

- ġabbā “menstruation” (18a). It is related to the verb ġabbū “to return at regular intervals”.\textsuperscript{469} This is not used in Egypt nowadays: the term that is, is ‘āda as in ‘ālēha l-‘āda “she has her period”, which also means “habit” or “something that returns regularly”;
- sısib “to be lank (hair)” (15a);
- qalbī yīšafšif ‘alyh “my heart longs for him” (26b);
- waḥam “craving (of pregnant women)” (107b);
- ‘alā l-hāl mā yizā qa‘ “he gets angry quickly” (42a);

\textsuperscript{466} Still in use nowadays, as well as the variety bu’bu’.
\textsuperscript{467} 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.
\textsuperscript{468} See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 663b.
\textsuperscript{469} See Lane VI 2221a.


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- ُأَهُب uwäh “exclamation of anger” (120b; 123a);
- ُبَقِيت سَيَامَ من كَذاً baqit samim min kađa (101a); the meaning is not entirely clear, but could be “suffering from the heat”, since سَيَامَ means “hot wind”, although it could also have a metaphorical meaning;
- ام طيق umm tabaq “calamity; serpent” (47b);
- يلَّ يَعِيضهْ yla “misery” (122a).

6.5.1.2 The working classes

The language of the working classes is by no means neglected by al-Mağiribi, who includes the following expressions used by artisans, traders and construction workers (فعلة fa'ala (87b)):
- ُسَلف selfa “advance payment” (25b);
- ُيَقَوق yiqawwaq “to have no customers” (54a);
- ُمَاطِ مَادم madi “seller of blankets, mattresses etc.” (131a);
- ُمِدَمَك madmak “course of bricks” (58b);
- ُسَرْفان surfan “block of limestone” (27b).

Furthermore, we also find expressions used by camel and donkey traders:
- ُحَاكا haka “sound made to urge on a donkey” (7a);
- ُجَوْر جَبِيل gūr “sound made to encourage the camels to drink” (6b);
- ُتَنْطَن tink “strong” (57a) (used by the stablemen);
- ُصَلِب ištabl “stable” (63a).

This interest in the speech of the working classes could be explained by al-Mağiribi’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-Mağiribi’s interest went further than this since he also mentions a number of instances of peasants’ speech:
- ُحَنْك hanak “mouth” (57b), which is still used today in rural Egypt with this meaning, while in Cairo it is considered vulgar;
- ُهَلْف hulf “coward” (35b);
- ُتَوْعَي جَا tawuwh ġa “he has just arrived” (124a);
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- طلع فوق النَّزَّ “he went up the hill” (presumably to defecate); (67a).
- من حيضن “since” (111b), which is the same as the modern ḥēs < ḥayt. It is very interesting that it was pronounced with a ǧīn. Al-Maḡribī also mentions that people in Cairo said min lytin;
- ُحُسْنٰ “rough (person)” (113a);
- ِحُوَّةٌ “brotherhood” (= ḫuwwa) (127a);
- رَجُلٌ (75a) raǧl “man”;
- رَفْ “shelf” (23a);
- ضاف، يضيف “to be a guest” (29a);
- غُوُّشٌ “bracelets” (101a);
- فِنف “disgusting?” (32b);
- وَطَفَّا “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: زورق (zwraq) سنبوك (sanbwq) (46a), سنبوك (46a; 60b);
- different parts of a boat: طَارِمَةٌ “storage space in a boat” (113a), طَارِمَةٌ “storage space in a boat” (113a), تَرْمَبِل “cabin in a boat” (102b), كْوَتْ “stern of a ship” (90b);
- the people who worked on these boats: the رَبْبُ “captain” (114a), the كُرْرَانْي “scribe” (117b) and the نَوَائِيْيَة “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 اَيِّ “ai!” (13.a); and when they believe somebody is hideous, they say he is فِسْل “fusl” (87a).

470 This is described in Hazz al-quḥāf, see Davies (2005) pp. 391-2.
471 See also §6.2.2.
472 See also §6.2.1.
473 Nowadays, the diminutive ǧiweša is used in Cairo for the singular “bracelet.”
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:
- مکحلة “rifle” (91a). Nowadays this word, pronounced nokhla or nokhla, is still used with the same meaning in Morocco.\(^{474}\) It is so called, as al-Maģribī explains, because gunpowder looks like kohl;
- درب “garment” (72b);
- زلوك “pauper” (59b);
- وين “where” (120a)\(^{475}\) (which is also used by the Arabs according to al-Maģribī);
- زاملا “she-camel” (78b), which was also used by the Sudanese traders.

Al-Maģribī also mentions the vocabulary of those from the Arab peninsula, whom he sometimes simply calls الارب, and sometimes specifies as the people from the Hiğāz or the people of Mecca:
- مسطول “intoxicated” (80b);
- سلمة “kiss” (100b);
- زال “to pass, to leave” (78a);
- ضال “lost” (active part.) (81b);
- همي “stuff, things” (120a);
- خصافة “mat of palm leaves, used in the Ka’ba” (22a);
- فصي “date pit” (130a);
- بلعفة “spoon” (54b).

There are also words used by the people from the Levant:
- رجال rağīl “man” (75a);
- هيك “like this” (63a);
- شقفة šaqfa “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.
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It is remarkable that some words, which would nowadays be classified as typically Levantine, were used by Egyptians at that time:
- َهنُ hwn “here” (120b);
- َغَيْبَةً ُغَيْبَةً ġubūq “cloudy” (50a);
- ُنَقَنَقَ ُنَقَنَقَ naqāniq “small sausages” (56a);
- ُيَبْزَمَ ُيَبْزَمَ yībzam “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 ُشَيْمَ ُشَيْمَ 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 ُذَفِطَ ُذَفِطَ Dıf/ı/l-i/ı (9a), namely the future marker ُشَا ُشَا šā. This has been discussed in §6.4.6.

6.5.1.4 Loan words

*Dıf al-išr* 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-Maḡribī 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):

فَان كَثِيرًا مِنِ النَّاس يَقُولُ بِحَضْرَةِ الْتُرَك شَبِيتُ قَدْرٍ بَيْنِ مَثَلٍ مَثَلًا يَفْسَخُونَهُ مِنْهُ لَانَ عَنْدَهُمُ الْقَدْرُ هوَ الْقَدْرُ

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 buq, 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: boq “small pastries” (56b) from the Turkish börek, boq “a sweet drink” (9a) from the Turkish sübye, and šaryk “a type of bun” (60b) from the Turkish şörek. The same can be said of Persian loanwords, which came into the Egyptian language through Turkish, e.g. şantak “triangular pastry filled with cheese or meat” (60b) from the Persian şantak, kisak “a kind of sweet-meat” (58a) from the Persian kisak, kāk “cookies” (62a) from the Persian kāk, and kūk “a dish made of wheat and milk” (62a) from the Persian kūk.

Not all of the loanwords from Turkish and Persian involve food. There are also several references to musical terms: yakāh “the first note, C” (63a), dukāh “the second note, D” (63a), sikāh “the third note, E” (63a), cārkāh “the fourth note, F”, from the Persian yak “one”, duk “two”, sik “three”, cār “four” + gāh “time, place” (amongst others).

Here is a list of all of the other words of Turkish or Persian origin that are referred to:
- ṣasatwiyn (109a) “craftsmen”;
- ṣrān “potash” (109a);

- براسmic **brāsām** “silk” (95a);
- برشق **brāšq** “belt?” (36b);
- برغل **brūgul** “crushed wheat” (65b);
- بستن **bustān** “field” (109b);
- بوس **bwsa** “kiss” (88b);
- خان **hān** “large shop” (113a);
- خنجه **hījja** “scholar; important man”;
- خانون **hātūn** “woman of noble origin” (112b);
- خوان **howān** “table” (113a);
- دایا **dāya** “midwife” (88b);
- روشن **rušn** “air-hole, sky-light” (114a);
- زبون **zubūn** “customer” or “disease” (114b), the first from the Persian **zubūn**, the second from **zūbān**;
- زیب **zarbāb** “cloth of gold” (15a);
- زردمة **zardama** “throat” (98b);
- زرفن **zafan** “to curl” (114b);
- زیّة **zalīyya** “carpet, blanket” (78b; 127b);
- زنبرة **zānbara** “whoremonger” (103b);
- زنبيل **zānbil** “basket” (77a);
- زنجبيل **zānbīl** “ginger” (78a);
- سلجم **salgām** “turnip” (101a);
- سیسیمان **sīsīman** “sesban tree” (15a);
- ،شراول **širwāl** “drawers, long trousers” (80b);
- کیلا **šyla byla** “heave-hol” (128a);
- فرا **fīrā** “para (coin), 1/40th of a piaster” (9a);
- فرزان **firzān** “the queen in the game of chess” (117a);
- قنطان **finjān** “coffee cup” (117a);
- فندق **fundaq** “hazelnut” (53b);
- قطن **qartaq** “tunic” (53b);
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- **qazma** “pick-axe” (104b);
- **qalanbara** “sodomite” (103b);
- **karkaddan** / **karkadann** “rhinoceros” (117b);
- **mizrāb** “spout for draining water from a roof or balcony” (15a);
- **mūm** “wax; candles” (106a);
- **namak** “salt” (6a) in the expression **wila** al-**namak** “nothing at all”;
- **hindām** “the way somebody looks, his shape” (108a).

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

They say **aḥyā širāḥyi**. He (=al-Fīrūzābādī) says: ‘this is wrong; it should be **iḥyā’** with kasr of the hamza, aṣār iḥyā’ with fath of the hamza and the shin, meaning ‘the eternal one who has not ceased to be’, which is Greek. The people say incorrectly **iḥyā širāhyi**, and this is wrong according to what the Jewish rabbis declare’.

This expression derives from the Hebrew יִהְיֶה יְהֹוָה יְהֹוָה אָנֵהָי “I am who I am” (the name of God, Exodus 3:14). Abd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 365 misunderstands al-Maġribī when he writes that he (al-Maģribī) was under the false impression that the expression is Greek. The whole entry is (almost) completely taken from **ıl-Qāmūs ılmu** p. 11.4a. Abd al-Tawwāb refers to the fact that the formula is used in magic, something both **ıl-Qāmūs ılmu** and al-Maģribī leave unmentioned. There are many examples of this formula in Islamic magical amulets, sometimes almost unrecognisably corrupted, such as **ṣirāshā širā** **hınširāhyā** **hī širāhī** etc.

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

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683 “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.
684 See Winkler (1930) p. 30ff.
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1.1. /unie3BCzmīl/ (78b) “chisel” from σ/uni3BCίλη, “message sent by pigeon” (37b) < πιττάκιον, بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “leader of a Greek army” (37a) from παρτίριος, بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “Patriarch” (56b) from πατριάρχης, بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “bathhouse attendant” (110a) from βαλανειον, and بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “catapult” (38b)

A few words of Latin origin can be found as well: بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “stable” (63a) from stabulum, بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “soap” (116a) from sàpo, and بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “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-muhīt without further comment. He qualifies بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı as “unknown”.

A few words are mentioned in Daf al-ısr whose Coptic origin is confirmed by several authors: بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “white cream cheese” (96b), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “storage place for grain” (115b), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “bricks” (16b), and بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “dry measure” (11a). These words were integrated into the Arabic language to such an extent that they found their way into al-Qāmūs al-muhīt and were, therefore, not recognised as foreign by al-Mağribī. The only word not mentioned in al-Qāmūs al-muhīt is بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “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:

زبل مفرک “crumpled dung” (61a), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “whore” (18b), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “passive sodomite” (105a), وغل “parasite” (93b), نِعَف “dry snot” (34b), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “catamite” (119a), and بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “weak (like dough)” (116b).

Many words with the meaning “to insult” are included: بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “to heap insults (on s.o.)” (91b), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “to insult each other” (131b), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “to insult” (15a), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “to slander” (80a), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “to insult s.o. in his face” (76b), بٓ/uni1E6Dāqı “to wash”)


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bakhir “to humiliate, scorn” (66b), yidarrī li “to insult” (lit. “to inform someone of his bad qualities”) (127a), and yilassīn “to slander” (118b).

Also numerous are curses: nimmil istu “may his ass tingle” (9.a), istu allāh innī “may God rub his nose in the sand” (98a), và-llā qīlb “may the enemy have a cyst on his neck” (44b), qātılıhu allāh “may God fight him!” (1.6b), vàlıq “may the enemy be force-fed!” (98b), su/wa lutm “filth and slaps!” (100a).

The number of words describing stupidity or weakness of mind is also impressive: sıf “weak-minded”, habīl “stupid”, bhlīl “silly”, bilān “simpleton”, duhull “simpleton”, và-hibāb “filth and soot”.

The remarkable thing about these entries is that al-Maġribī 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 il-Qāmūs il-Muṣī. 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-Maġribī 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 สาว, which means...
In the following example he uses the word evidence for this”:

Egyptian dialects as well. Words not found in these two works were checked with 

In the following, the word bırrāniyyı ‘outer’ is used as a pun:

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

The word barrāniyya can be read as šīn “the letter ș” and šayn “disgrace”:

In the following, the word barrāniyya “outer” is used as a pun:

The following is a pun on the word šadaf “to see”:

The last example contains two puns on the words yafham “to understand” and yuḥfam “to be understood”, and on bill “stupid” and bal “rather”:

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

According to ‘Awwād888 80% of the words mentioned in Daf al-İsr 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 Behnstedt 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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native speakers. Accordingly, an investigation of the entries in Dıf al-qır 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-Maġribī’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-Mağiřī’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 Dıf al-qır 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 šıwām—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-Mağiřī mentions a large number of words that are considered classicisms in our time.

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

And some of these were classicisms in al-Mağiřī’s time as well.
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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.492

6.5.4.1 Semantic change

Some words and expressions found in Daf’ al-’isr 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: niqat’ā farwatak “we speak well of you” (129b). When compared with its present-day usage: Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 654a “’at’ta’ fi farwit(-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 mashmūm (102a), literally “can be smelt”, which in al-Maġribī’s time had the meaning of “smelling pleasant”; nowadays it means “spoilt”, i.e. smelling unpleasant, rotten. The word مرن mirīn (119a) meant “hard”, while nowadays it means “pliant, flexible”. Note, however, that in Classical Arabic the word مرن marīn has the meaning of “soft and hard” (see Hava p. 717b), i.e. flexible. The word يديرّī qiddīrī (127a) meant “to insult” in al-Maġribī’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 آهيّا ulyūh (120b) was, in al-Maġribī’s time, an exclamation of admiration, while today ulyūh is an exclamation of disgust.

Metaphor

In the expression مَا ٓحَاكَهُ هِيَ خَاطِرِي “this didn’t come to my mind” (57b), حاك which originally meant “to weave”, is used as a metaphor for “weaving a thought”.

492 E.g. the word هاهنا hāhunā “here” (fol. 132b).
In the expression *iwki halaqak* “shut up!” (literally “tie up your neck!”) (132a), the neck is likened to a waterskin which could be tied up (*wakā yakī*) with a string.

In *fulān mā huwwı ṭahy fulān* “he is not like him” (129a), the word *ṭahy* “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 *デン* which appears in the expression *denaf fī l-ı̄sq* “love-sick” (22b). In Classical Arabic, the meaning of *デン* 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 *جیحور* which in al-Mağıribî’s time meant “tyranny, oppression”, but nowadays means “haphazardly, in any old way”. The word *ناقف* (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.
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Mağribī’s time,⁵⁰⁰ but nowadays means the more general “card”.⁵⁰¹ The word ُهَافِ (36a) “to become weak (crops)” is also used more generally today, with the meaning: “to be petty, be trivial”.⁵⁰²

Transfer
With the invention of new concepts, the need for new names arises. In some cases, al-Mağribī 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 ُهَاقِن (111b) used to have the meaning “to administer a clyster”: دِوَّاَ الْمَرْيَضَ ُهَاقِنَ “he administered the medicine to the sick person with a clyster” (111b). With the arrival of the hypodermic syringe⁵⁰³ it came to mean “to inject”.

The word ُجُبِ (12a) first meant “bosom” and “bosom of a garment”, and the Arabs often carried things in the bosom of their shirts.⁵⁰⁴ When the pocket was introduced, it took over this function and was, therefore, also called ُجُبِ. Al-Mağribī says the following about this word: يقولون الجيب على ذلك الذي يوضع فيه النراثم بالجيب ُياَقِعٍ ُجُبِ ‘ال ُدُلُكِ اَلْلَايِدَةِ ’فِهِ ُداَرَاهُم بِيْلِ-ِةَجِبِ “they say ُجُبِ to (the place) where they put their money at the side”. It is unclear about which part of the garment al-Mağribī 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 ُهَاتِف “the voice of an unseen man” (35b) which now is used in MSA for “telephone”.

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