The use of the Egyptian dialect in the satirical newspaper Abu naddāra zarʾa

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Alf lahğa wa lahğa
Proceedings of the 9th Aida Conference

edited by
Olivier Durand,
Angela Daiana Langone,
Giuliano Mion

LIT
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The Egyptian dialect of the second half of the nineteenth century is very well documented. Indeed, there are many textbooks and works of grammar on the subject, such as those by Spitta-Bey (1880), Naglino (1900), Willmore (1901), Vollers (1890) and Burkitt & Vollers (1895), as well as dictionaries (Spiro 1895 and 1897) and collections of stories (Spitta-Bey 1883). Yet another great source of information about the Egyptian colloquial is found in the satirical periodicals that became popular in that period. One of these is al-ʾUstāḏ by ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm (1843-96), which ran between 1892 and 1893. Another is the newspaper Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa, which was the first of its kind to appear in Egypt and was published for more than three decades (1878-1910). This article will discuss the use of this newspaper for improving our knowledge of the Egyptian Arabic of that period, along with some of the other Arabic dialects.

2. The life and works of Abu Naḍḍāra

Abu Naḍḍāra, “the man with the glasses”, was the nickname of the Jewish Egyptian journalist and playwright Yaʿqūb b. Rafāʾīl Ṣanūʿ, also known as James Sanua. He was born in Cairo in 1839 during the reign of Muḥammad ʿAlī (1806-1848). Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ’s father, Rafāʾīl, was a Jewish merchant who moved from Livorno in Italy to Cairo at some point in the nineteenth century, while his mother, Sara, was a Cairene by birth. Rafāʾīl Ṣanūʿ enjoyed protégé status as an Italian, and worked as the adviser to Aḥmad Pasha Yagan, the nephew of Muḥammad ʿAlī, and therefore had access to court circles.

There is an interesting story to be told about Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ’s birth. His mother had lost four children and, in order to guarantee the health of her unborn son, she consulted the imam of the al-Šaʿrānī mosque. He ordered her to dedicate the baby to Islam and to let the child defend the faith. Both mother and child fulfilled their vows: Ṣanūʿ learned the Qurʾān as well as the Mishnah and the Talmud.

*I thank Manfred Woidich for his valuable comments on an earlier version of this article. Of course, any errors remain my sole responsibility.*

1 See Sadgrove (2011) and the literature mentioned therein for more information about ʿAbd Allāh al-Nadīm. Doss (1997) discusses some aspects of the Egyptian Arabic colloquial as found in al-ʾUstāḏ.

2 Since this newspaper was written in colloquial Egyptian Arabic, I also transcribe its title in this paper according to Egyptian Arabic pronunciation.

3 See Gendzier (1966:17).

4 See Genzner (1966:15) and ʿAbduh (1955:13-14).
By the time he was 12, Ṣanūʿ knew five languages; he had learned Italian and Turkish at home, Hebrew, Arabic and English at school, and later mastered another seven, including French. He apparently also developed a talent for writing literature as a child, since he began to write Arabic poetry at a very early age. Ahmad Pasha Yagan subsidized Yaʿqūb during the course of a three year period of learning in Livorno, where he studied political economy, international law, natural science and the fine arts. Soon after his return to Cairo, at the age of 16, both his patron, Ahmad Pasha Yagan, and his father died, forcing him to find work as a teacher.

In 1863, the khedive Ismāʿīl ascended to the throne. Ismāʿīl wanted to modernize Egypt and thus started a number of projects, such as the construction of canals, railroads and telegraph lines. In 1869, the Suez Canal was completed and opened with a series of extravagant celebrations, leading to an increase in Egypt’s already heavy debt burden. Droughts and floods aggravated the problems, and Egypt’s foreign debts eventually led to the British occupation of the country in 1882. This is the background of the country in which Ṣanūʿ grew up and set out on his literary career. He became a follower of the great thinker, Ġamāl al-Dīn al-Afḡānī (1839-1907), while the khedive Ismāʿīl became his sponsor. Al-Afḡānī encouraged him to apply his literary skills to the cause of reform, and suggested using the theatre as an instrument of public education. Ismāʿīl had opened two theatres in Cairo and Alexandria in 1869, on the occasion of the Suez Canal celebrations. The type of drama that he encouraged was the translation and adaptation of European plays. Ṣanūʿ duly translated some of these works, but he also wrote others in both colloquial and Classical Arabic, setting them in Egyptian society. In this way, he was an important figure in the birth of Egyptian drama, and became known as the “Molière of Egypt.” At first, Ṣanūʿ was invited to perform his plays at the royal palace. However, since they contained satirical portrayals of Egyptian society and criticisms of government officials, khedive Ismāʿīl withdrew his support in 1872. Ṣanūʿ’s plays were accordingly banned, and his career as a dramatist came to an end. In 1877, Ṣanūʿ published the first issue of his satirical newspaper Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa. The title refers to his own dark glasses. When

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5 Gendzier (1966:16-17).
7 Gendzier (1966:16-17).
8 Ibid. p. 19.
9 Ibid. p. 29.
10 Ibid. p. 31.
11 Ibid. p. 33. Seven of Ṣanūʿ’s plays have been published by Naḡm (1963). For more information about Ṣanūʿ as a playwright, see Ġunaym (1966) and ʿAbduh (1953).
13 Ibid. p. 38.
14 No copies of the first issues of Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa, which were published in Egypt, have survived. See ʿAbduh (1955:35).
Ismāʿīl came to power in 1863, Ṣanūʿ had admired him. However, by the time he founded his newspaper, his opinion had changed quite considerably, and he became a firm criticizer of Ismāʿīl’s policies. Yet he never mentioned the khedive’s name in his newspapers; he referred to him as ẓāʾer ʾil-ḥāra, “the Chief man of the Quarter”\(^{15}\). Other well-known public figures were given different names as well, e.g. Ismāʿīl’s prime minister, Nūbār Pasha, was called Šābār. In this way, Ṣanūʿ could vent his criticisms of the regime, without mentioning the names of those he was attacking. Ṣanūʿ himself also made an appearance in his newspaper, where he was known as Abu Naḍḍāra.

The publication *Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa* was, for the large part, written in colloquial Egyptian Arabic\(^{16}\). This meant that it could be read aloud to the illiterate to educate them about the political situation in the country, while the use of the colloquial also contributed to the liveliness of the texts and their satirical effect. The newspaper was comprised of imaginary dialogues and letters, sketches, fictitious minutes of meetings and dreams\(^{17}\). It was also the first newspaper to use cartoons. Since it was handwritten, it had a rather home-made appearance. The newspaper was incredibly popular with its Egyptian audience, both the upper and lower classes alike. Ṣanūʿ was, nevertheless, banned from Egypt in 1878 after he had produced only 15 issues, because of his criticism of the regime. He consequently settled in Paris, but continued to publish the newspaper under a different name, *Rīḥlat Abī Naḍḍāra* “the travel of Abu Naḍḍāra”, and arranged for it to be smuggled into Egypt. Every time the newspaper was banned, he simply published it under another name.

Accordingly, there are issues entitled *Al-Naḍḍārāt al-miṣriyya*, *Abu Ṣuffāra*, *Abu Zu:mmāra*, *al-Ḥāwī*, and *al-Waṭanī al-Miṣrī*, among others\(^{18}\). For clarity’s sake, however, I will always refer to the newspaper as *Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa*. The inclusion of French sections in the paper\(^{19}\) increased Ṣanūʿ’s popularity in Paris and led to a successful career as a lecturer throughout France\(^{20}\). The final issue appeared in December 1910\(^{21}\), which means that it ran for three decades. Ṣanūʿ remained in France for the rest of his life, even when changed political circumstances would have allowed him to return to Egypt. He died in Paris in 1912.

\(^{15}\) Moose (1974:403-404).

\(^{16}\) Some parts are in Classical Arabic, for instance the fictional letters written to the editor. From 1882 onwards, Ṣanūʿ started to include brief French sections in the newspaper, the number of which increased until it was bilingual (Arabic and French). See *Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa* from year 6, no. 8, 21 April 1882.

\(^{17}\) Landau (1952:35).

\(^{18}\) Ibid. p. 36 and Gendzier (1966:69).

\(^{19}\) See footnote 16.


\(^{21}\) Therefore, Gendzier’s (199:138) claim that “Without formally taking leave of his readers, the *Abu Naddara* and *L’Univers Musulman* abruptly ended in November 1907” is incorrect.
3. The use of Egyptian-Arabic in *Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa*

This newspaper, which contains a few thousand pages of colloquial Arabic, is a huge and very interesting source for our knowledge of Egyptian Arabic in the nineteenth century. Ṣanūʿ himself was both very fond and proud of his Egyptian dialect; he expressed it as follows:\(^{22}\):

“(...) in our national language, I mean the delightful dialect of Egypt, the mother of all beautiful expressions and charming meanings”

As has been mentioned before\(^ {23}\), Ṣanūʿ knew many languages, but those he spoke with his parents were Italian and Turkish. The dialect of the Jews of Cairo differed slightly from that of the Muslims. The most striking characteristic of the dialect of the Jews was the *niktib – niktibu* paradigm\(^ {24}\). This meant that they used the prefix *ni*– for the 1\(^ {st}\) person singular in the imperfect and the prefix *ni*– and the suffix *-u* for the first person plural, e.g. *ana niktib* and *ihna niktibu*, while in the Muslim dialect this would be *aktib – niktib*. The *niktib – niktibu* paradigm is typical of North-African dialects and some dialects in Egypt, including in the past in Alexandria, but not Cairo. However, there is no trace of this paradigm in Ṣanūʿ’s writings, and it is thus safe to say that he did not use the Jewish variety of Cairene Arabic. The explanation for this could be that he did not grow up within the Jewish community, but rather in the court circles where his father worked, and he learned Arabic at school rather than from his parents.

The cartoons that follow will give an impression of the language that Ṣanūʿ used in his newspapers. The first of these\(^ {25}\) depicts *šēx ilḥāra* riding a donkey labelled “the peasant”. He beats the donkey with a stick labelled “the property taxes” and “the artisans’ taxes”. The donkey is carrying two sacks labelled “the dept of Egypt” and “a dirty trick”. An Englishman and a Frenchman, representing the two European countries, are ready to take hold of the donkey. The caption reads:

“šēx ilḥāra: (says to the Mister and the Monsieur) Make room, get away from me, because nobody but me knows how to ride this donkey, and the stick which is in my hand is the one that drives it.”

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\(^{22}\) *Abu Naḍḍāra Zaraʾ* year 29, no. 5, p. 15, May 1905.

\(^{23}\) In §2.

\(^{24}\) See Blanc (1974) and Rosenbaum (2002:37).

\(^{25}\) *Riḥlat Abī Naẓẓāra Zarqāʾ* year 3, no. 6, p. 21, 25 April 1879.

\(^{26}\) Badawi and Hinds (1986:608) “"awāyid" rates, taxes assessed on property for local purposes”.

\(^{27}\) Spiro (1897:449) “*firda*, license, tax on artisans”.

\(^{28}\) Or, “goosing, putting one’s finger between someone’s buttocks”, see Badawi and Hinds (1986:85).
The text is pure Egyptian Arabic save for the last four words, which are in Classical Arabic, probably because Ṣanūʿ wanted the khedive to sound pompous.

In the second cartoon we see how the khedive is trying to sell the sphinx and the pyramids by auction. The caption reads as follows:

Pharaon après avoir vendu à l’avance les recoltes des sept années grasses, vend les Pyramides aux enchères:

“After having sold the harvest of the seven fat years in advance, Pharaoh sells the pyramids by auction. Pharaoh shouts: “Come to the auction of the sphinx and the stones of the pyramids, travellers and lovers of antiques! The sale is in cash and the currency is pounds, pounds free of copper. One, two, come on people, add some more!””

In the third cartoon, there is a huge beer barrel representing “the revenues of Egypt”. Standing by the tap is Sir Charles Rivers Wilson (1831–1916), who was Minister of Finance in Egypt from 1878-9. He is trying to draw out some beer (symbolizing Egypt’s wealth) for the European bankers who are standing behind him. However, on the left, we can see the khedive, Ismāʿīl, and his prime minister, Nūbār Pasha, who have already emptied the barrel. The moral is that the Egyptian people are being robbed both by their own rulers and foreign powers. The caption says:

“البنكوريه والتاجر – احنا ناس مستبرين ما تصحك انا زنف تقول لنا البرميل حلفيه في يدي ما حدش غيرك يشرب منه ولا نفسه لازم يكون الجندي بيصمه من وراك بدون ما يحسن “The bankers and traders: We consider it not done that you are making fun of us, Wilson, and telling us: “the tap of the barrel is in my hands and nobody but you can drink even a drop from it.” The soldier must be sucking it up behind your back without you noticing it.”

The Arabic rendition of the name Wilson is comical, because it reminds the reader of the word falsān “bankrupt”.

4. Rendering different dialects

Ṣanūʿ was an expert in giving expression to all different kinds of dialects.

29 Ḩabū Naddāra Zar’a year 3, no. 11, p. 41, 30 May 1879.
30 Another epithet used to indicate the khedive, expressing both power and tyranny.
31 “One [way to falsify coinage] was to roll or hammer out blanks from base metal, usually copper, which was both common and close in weight to silver, then plate it within thin sheets of gold or silver, strike it into coin with official dies, mix the false pieces with the good and place the result in circulation.” Darley-Doran (2011).
32 Riḥlat Ḩabī Ḫazzāra Zarqā’ year 2, no. 24, p. 93, 31 January 1879.
33 Farnie (2006).
34 Another nickname for the khedive.
Indeed, an array of people speaking various dialects make their appearance in his newspaper. Since Abu Naḍḍāra Zara’a was a humorous publication, it is unsurprising that one of its ways of creating comical situations was by introducing people with all kinds of different accents.

4.1. Rural dialects

The following paragraph will highlight some instances of how Ṣanūʿ dealt with the use of different Arabic dialects. The first example represents the speech of an Egyptian peasant. We see šēx ilḥāra (the khedive) on his knees begging Abu Naḍḍāra to stop publishing his newspaper. On the right is the peasant, Abu-l-Ḡulb (‘Father of Hardship’). He says:

“Don’t have pity, Abu Naḍḍāra * having pity on such a jealous person is a waste * he killed us with his tyranny and his wrongdoing * he descends on us like a driver on the ox * may a grave collect him * and free us from his tyranny.”

The letter ġim has a double function here: it represents the g with which the Egyptian peasants pronounce the qāf in ma-tišfaʾš, gatalna and sawwāg, which would be ma-tišfaʾš, ʾatalna and sawwāʾ in Cairo. It also has the function of the ğ, which in the Egyptian countryside would be pronounced with ġ or ū like in ilǧōr, but would be ilgōr in Cairo. The letter qāf in yiʿtiqna is not pronounced as g here, but q, because it is a loanword from Standard Arabic.

4.2. Foreigner talk

Also interesting are the imitations of “foreigner talk”, by which I mean the language of the foreigners who only master the Arabic language to a certain extent.

When šēx ilḥāra is ill, he is attended by the doctor, Abu Naḍḍāra, who has definitely not mastered the Arabic tongue, as we can see from the following speeches:

The doctor - “Yesterday the fever was in his belly, but today it went up from his belly to his head, and the fever went into his head. We are very worried about his head.”

“So šēx ilḥāra did not sleep last night.”

36 Read: خماره.
37 Riḥlat Abī Naḍḍāra Zara’a no. 4, p. 14, 30 August 1878.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
“Hush, you woke him up, he opened his eyes.”

“Your head is dizzy.”

The language is comical because of its complete ungrammaticality, such as the mistakes in the conjugation of the verbs, the possessive suffixes and the use of bitāʿ, all of which are insurmountable problems for the poor doctor. The sound ḥāʾ is problematic for the doctor, because he pronounces it once with a x in (农牧文字) and another time with a k in (农牧文字).

A similar kind of language is used by a Turkish princess (hānim afandi) who is hitting Abu Naḍḍāra’s portrait with a stick, while her ladies-in-waiting stand by her side in tears:

خائزي كاف لعنت اولسان انا اضربيك يا أم نضاره لما نخطو وشك بتاع انتي يا اديسيز.

“Infidel pig, he be cursed! I beat you, Umm Naḍḍāra, until I mess up your face, you shameless person!”

Abu Naḍḍāra is addressed here in the feminine form, to the point that he is called Umm Naḍḍāra, “the lady with the glasses”. The incorrect use of the masculine and feminine in Arabic by native speakers of Turkish is caused by the absence of grammatical gender in their mother tongue.

There is another interesting passage of foreigner talk in a conversation between three individuals, which portrays how characters from different Arab countries, talking different dialects, interact. It is a conversation between a member of the foreign tribunal, seignor Felissini, the Levantine trader, Luqū, and the xawāǧa, Yūsuf Ramla. Their different accents when discussing Abu Naḍḍāra’s journey to France are reflected in the text:

Luqū: “Good morning people, how are you, how is your exalted person, xawāga?”

Felissini: “What a pity for Abu Naḍḍāra, he is a fine man. The captain, the foreigners, the ladies, the people from the islands and the girls from the country, when they all saw him they were very happy. They travel together with him on the sea.”

Yūsuf: “As soon as we told them our instruction: “the beloved of Egypt, Abu Naḍḍāra Zar’a, is with you”, they embraced him.”

40 Ibid.
41 Turkish, imperative 3rd p. of olmak “to become”.
42 Turkish edehsiz.
43 Some native speakers of Armenian and Nubian make the same kind of mistakes when they speak Arabic, for the same reason.
44 Riḥlat Abī Naḍḍāra no. 5, p. 18-19, 8 September 1878.
The Italian makes the same kind of mistakes as the doctor and the Turkish princess that we have discussed before: he cannot pronounce the x, and therefore pronounces it as a k (e.g. كساره), and the conjugation of the verbs is also incorrect. The Sāmī merchant uses typical Sāmī vocabulary, such as kēfak, išhālak “how are you” and hēke “that way”.

4.3. Maltese

Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ also gives us a taste of Maltese. His boat made a stop in the port of Malta on the way to France. He is addressed by a boy working in the port, who says to him:

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The only thing that is incorrect in Ṣanūʿ’s text is the verb, which should not start with a t for the second person, but with an n for the first person singular.

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45 *Riḥlat Abī Naḍḍāra* no. 8, p. 31, 30 September 1878.
46 Ibid.
51 Ibid. II 1248.
52 Ibid. I 475: “hafna. A graspful. Much, many”.
54 Ibid. II 780.
57 Ibid. I 348.
58 ibid. II 1395. “When attached to pron. suffixes, it becomes tiegħ”.
59 Not in Aquilina; of course, from the *Italian mondo*.
However, this could be a typo since the difference is only in the number of dots. There are many other examples of different Arabic dialects to be found in these texts. It is difficult to tell to what extent these representations give an accurate picture of the dialects of the time, or are only used to create an amusing effect by utilizing stereotypical imitations thereof. This is an interesting point, and requires further investigation.

5. Cairene Arabic

The largest part of Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa is written in Cairene Arabic. In this paragraph, a few lexical items, as well as a syntactic item, will be discussed. This will give the reader an impression of the kind of information about the dialect of Cairo in the 19th century that can be retrieved from these newspapers.

5.1. Syntax: the future tense

In modern Cairene Arabic, the future tense is expressed by the prefixes ha- or ha-, for instance ḥasāfir or hasāfir “I will travel”. The origin of this particle is the verb ṭāḥ “to go” 60. In Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa, the prefix ha- does not occur, but we do find an earlier version, which is the active participle ṭāyiḥ, fem. rayha, pl. rayḥīn. There are plenty of examples, for instance: “they will get the work going” 61, “there is no doubt that this will happen” 62, “are they going to make drawings in it?”.

When we look at an earlier work, the Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire by Muḥammad ʿAyyād al-Ṭanṭāwī from the year 1848, we see that he does not use a special prefix or even the word ṭāḥ to indicate the future tense, but simply expresses it with the imperfect, e.g. “nous passerons la nuit ici” 63, “ils partirons tous ensemble” 64. A later Egyptian Arabic grammar by Nallino from the year 1900, does not refer to a prefix for the future tense either, but simply mentions “presente-futuro” followed by the conjugation of the simple imperfect, a-ḍrab, ti-ḍrab etc. 65. He then continues by referring to the prefix bi- to indicate that an action is happening at that moment in time 66, but no mention is made of a prefix with which to indicate the future. The grammar by Vollers and Burkitt (1895) provides a similar explanation: “The Imperfect expresses an incompletely action, whether past, present or future. It thus...

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61 Riḥlat Abī Naḍḍāra no. 1, p. 3, 7 August 1878.
62 Riḥlat Abī Naḍḍāra no. 2, p. 5, 14 August 1878.
63 Al-Naḍḍārāt al-Miṣriyya no. 1, p. 16, 16 September 1879.
64 Both examples from Ṭanṭāwī (1848:17).
65 Nallino (1900:50).
66 Ibid. p. 51.
corresponds with our Future tense\textsuperscript{67}. This work then mentions the example “Will you depart on your travels? \textit{tesāfir}?\textsuperscript{68}”. Spitta’s \textit{Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialektes von Aegypten} (1880) does not mention a future particle either, and translates aktīb with “ich werde schreiben”\textsuperscript{69}.

However, in \textit{The spoken Arabic of Egypt} (1901), Willmore refers to several prefixes for the future tense: the participle rāyiḥ with the shortened versions rayḥ and rāḥ, and the particle ḥa\textsuperscript{70}. He gives some examples: \textit{ana rāḥ arūḥ “I will go”}, ḥatīgi bukra? “Shall you come tomorrow?”\textsuperscript{71}.

If we relied on the information contained in some of these textbooks, we might have got the impression that there was no future particle in use in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. However, the information we get from \textit{Abu Naddāra Zar’a} is that such a particle existed, but only in the form of an active participle, which was conjugated for the masculine, feminine and plural. Willmore’s work, however, proves that in 1901 not only the active participle rāyiḥ was used, but also the shortened forms. The question is: why do some of the grammars not mention a future particle? The reason could be that the simple imperfect also indicates a future event, but it indicates that it is unsure whether it will happen. The example of \textit{Ṭanṭāwī} that Safr ṣowā could therefore also be translated with “they want to travel all together”, or “they intend to travel together”. The information given in these works is therefore not incorrect, but merely incomplete.

Ṣanūʿ published the last issue of his journal in December 1910. It would be interesting to see if, in these 30 years, he would have switched to the use of rāḥ or ḥa. He did not, however, do so in his newspaper, as we can see from this example from 1905, which was written when he was 66 years old\textsuperscript{72}:

\begin{quote}

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هذا موضع رواياتي الفرنساوية * التي نشرتها هنا ورابع الخصبة لكم بلغتنا الإهلية

“This is the place of my French story, which I published here and which I will summarize in our national language”.

\end{quote}

We should perhaps take into consideration the fact that Ṣanūʿ remained in exile in France for the rest of his life, and was therefore not influenced by any language changes that might have taken place in his home country.

5.2. Lexicon

As may be expected, some of the vocabulary used in the 19\textsuperscript{th} century has since become obsolete. This paragraph will discuss a few expressions that no longer exist in modern Cairo Arabic, or which have undergone a change of meaning. In

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\textsuperscript{67} Burkitt-Vollers (1895:149).

\textsuperscript{68} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{69} Spitta (1880:203).

\textsuperscript{70} Willmore (1901:286 §486).

\textsuperscript{71} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{72} \textit{Abu Naddāra Zar’a}, year 29, no. 4, p. 15, April 1905.

\end{flushright}
one of the cartoons in the newspaper, šēx ilḥāra is playing the tambourine while some girls dance around him. He is having a party because Abu Naḍḍāra has left the country, and the caption reads:

قولوا على شيخ الحارة صبح مشفرق بدأ يراقص في داهيه أبو ناظره ما عنه يرجع بالناني

“Say about šēx ilḥāra: it is a wonderful morning, my brothers! Abu Naḍḍāra has left and good riddance! I don’t care if he comes back again or not!”

First of all, the word mišaʾraʾ, translated by Spiro (1897:318) as “gay” or “hilarious”, has fallen out of use in Cairo today. Likewise, the expression bi-ttiṇi “again” sounds archaic and would now be min tāni or simply tāni. The expression ma ‘annu can be found in Spiro (1897:415): “ما عنك حيث، ‘annak gēt, or ∫ lay la ‘annak gēt, I don’t care whether you come or not!” Badawi and Hinds (1986:604) mention this expression as well, but with a reversed word order: “‘annu ma-. who the hell cares if (he) does not …, as in ‘annak ma-ruḥ who the hell cares if you don’t go?”.

Of course, there are many more obsolete lexical items to be found. An interesting one is iṣḥa in the sense of “be careful not to”73; nowadays iwʿa is used for this purpose: “be careful not to cross into Egypt”. This meaning of iṣḥa is mentioned by Spiro (1897:334): “be careful to prevent the book!”, but it is neither used, nor understood, in Cairo these days. The usual way to say this now would be: iwʿa tīdayyaʾ ilkitābih, while iṣḥa only means “wake up!” or “pay attention!”

There are also some loanwords, which are now considered obsolete. These have been replaced by their Arabic counterparts, such as جرنبليجي "journalist"74, which is now suḥufi, while jurnalgi is used pejoratively, or تئاترو “theatre”75, which is now masraḥ. Although everyone understands these words, they are no longer in use. The same is true of an Arabic word like عياش “bread seller”.

6. Conclusion

The Egyptian dialect of the 19th century is well-documented in works of grammar, dictionaries and textbooks. However, the biggest corpus of texts in colloquial Arabic from this period is the collection of newspapers known by the title of Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa, written by the Egyptian playwright and journalist, Yaʿqūb Ṣanūʿ. These texts are a very rich source of morphological, syntactic and lexical information. Although the main part of these texts is written in the Egyptian dialect, the newspaper also gives us examples of foreigner talk and various other dialects and languages, such as Levantine Arabic and Maltese. How far these are accurate, or are only used to create a comical effect by adopting stereotypical imitations of these dialects, is a subject for further study.

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73 Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa, year 3, no. 18, p. 69, 22 July 1879.
74 Abu Naḍḍāra Zarʾa, year 29, no. 1&2, p. 8, February 1905.
75 Al-Naẓẓārāt al-Miṣriyya no. 2, p. 24, 14 October 1879.
References


Appendix
Cartoon 2

Cartoon 3