

Egyptian Arabic in the seventeenth century: a  
study and edition of Yūsuf al-Mağribī's  
*Daf al-iṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr*

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Egyptian Arabic in the  
seventeenth century: a study and  
edition of Yūsuf al-Mağribī's *Daf*  
*al-iṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr*

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aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam  
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus  
prof. dr. D.C. van den Boom  
ten overstaan van een door het college voor promoties ingestelde  
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Elisabeth Willemina Antoinette Zack

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It was during a semester spent in Cairo that my interest in the Egyptian colloquial was kindled. The importance of the dialect in daily life on the one hand, and the lack of attention and, often, appreciation it received for its prose form on the other were some of the issues that fascinated me. As a result of this initial experience, I decided to write my Master's thesis about *Laban il'aşfūr*, a novel by Yūsuf al-Qaīd which is written entirely in the Egyptian dialect. Later, in 1999, when I was looking for a suitable subject for a dissertation, Professor Manfred Woidich suggested that a facsimile edition of *Daf al-işr 'an kalām ahl Mişr* by Yūsuf al-Mağribī, which he had purchased in Cairo in the sixties, may be of interest to me. I was immediately charmed by the fascinating descriptions of Egyptian daily life set out in this 17<sup>th</sup> century word list of the Egyptian Arabic dialect, as I also was by the poems composed by al-Mağribī himself and others, and the delightful anecdotes. So, without further hesitation, I decided to prepare an edition and began studying the text.

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## Introduction

The subject of this dissertation is a book entitled *Daf al-iṣr* ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr:<sup>1</sup> “Removing the burden from the speech of the Egyptians”, which was written in the year 1014-5/1606 by the Egyptian writer Yūsuf al-Mağribī (d. 1019/1611).<sup>2</sup> The work is unique because it was one of the earliest attempts to study colloquial Arabic scientifically. The only surviving manuscript, the autograph, is currently kept in the library of the Oriental Faculty at St. Petersburg University in Russia.<sup>3</sup> It has never before been edited, although a facsimile edition, with an introduction and indices, was published in 1968 by ‘Abd al-Salām ‘Aḥmad ‘Awwād. The work has attracted further scholarly attention over the years. Olga Frolova, for example, discussed its dialectal poetry in several articles published in 1982, 1995 and 1997, while Nelly Hanna used some aspects of its many interesting cultural observations in her work, *In Praise of Books: A Cultural History of Cairo’s Middle Class, Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (2003). Having been published in Moscow forty years ago, the facsimile edition of *Daf al-iṣr* is not widely available, which is perhaps why the book is not widely known and has not received the scholarly attention it deserves. It is for this reason that this edition of *Daf al-iṣr* has been written.

The present work is comprised of two parts: the study of the contents of *Daf al-iṣr* for its linguistics and cultural observations, and the text edition. *Daf al-iṣr* is generally considered to be a linguistic document, and in it the author attempts to relate Egyptian Arabic colloquial vocabulary to Classical Arabic, by checking the Egyptian Arabic entries in the appropriate dictionaries, such as al-Fīrūzābādī’s *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīt*. Many of the entries in *Daf al-iṣr* concern everyday words, such as the names of tools and utensils, food and drink, and the speech of traders and artisans. These entries are often accompanied by anecdotes and lines of (colloquial) poetry. Accordingly, *Daf al-iṣr* is not only a linguistic document, because it also provides us with an insight into the culture and daily life in Egypt at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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<sup>1</sup> From now on, abbreviated to *Daf al-iṣr*.

<sup>2</sup> See GAL II pp. 367-8 and GAL S II pp 394-5. GAL incorrectly cites his year of death as 1609 instead of 1611 and *Raf al-iṣr* instead of *Daf al-iṣr*.

<sup>3</sup> No. MS OA 778.

### 1 The contents of the present study of *Daf al-iṣr*

The present study of *Daf al-iṣr* has two parts: Chapters 1-5 contain background information, while Chapter 6 and the glossary comprise the linguistic study of the text. A brief overview of the contents of the chapters is set out below:

1. *Life and works of Yūsuf al-Mağribī*. In this chapter, al-Mağribī's family background is discussed, as is his education, career, personal life and literary works.
2. *Description of the manuscript*. This chapter describes the current physical appearance and condition of the manuscript. It also looks at its previous owners, and examines the different titles given to the work during the writing process.
3. *About Daf al-iṣr 'an kalām ahl Miṣr*. In this chapter, the contents of *Daf al-iṣr* are described, and al-Mağribī's reasons for writing it are explained. *Daf al-iṣr* is placed in its historical context by consideration of the works which influenced al-Mağribī, and an overview of the earlier studies of the book is provided. The final part of this chapter is devoted to al-Mağribī's methodology, such as his placing of entries in context, the use of metalanguage, and the employment of different ways to describe the pronunciation of the entries.
4. *The poetry in Daf al-iṣr*. This chapter deals with the poetry composed by al-Mağribī, with special focus on a frequently employed dialectal form of the art, the *mawwāl*, as well as some poems called *mutallaṭāt* and riddles, which were also composed in the form of short poems. An overview of the metres used by al-Mağribī is presented, and the chapter concludes with a description of the non-Arabic (Turkish and Persian) poetry in *Daf al-iṣr*.
5. *Aspects of daily life*. In this chapter, various aspects of daily life which are mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr* are discussed, such as food and drinks, drugs and tobacco, medicine, games, clothing and jewellery, and tools and utensils.
6. *Linguistic analysis*. This chapter is divided into the following subject-matters: Orthography, Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, and Vocabulary. The chapter aims to:
  1. Compare the dialectal features of *Daf al-iṣr* with modern Cairo Arabic, and establish which have survived, and which have not. To this end, the Egyptian Arabic dictionary by Hinds and Badawi, the dialect atlas by Behnstedt and Woidich, and Woidich's grammar of Cairo Arabic were utilised.
  2. Provide more information about the dialect in the 16 and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, because knowledge of this period is extremely scarce. The main source of comparison is *Hazz al-quḥūf bi-ṣarḥ qaṣīd 'Abī Ṣādūf* by Yūsuf al-Širbīnī,

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which was written in 1097/1686, 80 years later than *Daf al-iṣr*. An extensive study of the dialectal features of *Hazz al-quḥūf* was conducted by Humphrey Davies,<sup>4</sup> which was an invaluable aid. An earlier source, *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-mudḥik al-‘abūs* by ‘Alī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbūgānī (1407-1464), into which Arnoud Vrolijk carried out a linguistic study, has also been used for the purpose of comparison, as have some Middle-Arabic texts from the same period.<sup>5</sup>

7. *Glossary*. This glossary contains all the entries from *Daf al-iṣr* with their English translations, as well as references to dictionaries and other sources in which these words can be found. The entries are arranged according to their roots.

### 2 The edition

The aim of this edition<sup>6</sup> is to present a text which is as close as possible to that written by al-Mağribī. This includes retaining the spelling which he used, even though I am aware that it is more common to adjust this to the standards of Classical Arabic.<sup>7</sup> A few considerations did, however, prevent me from following this course. Firstly, the manuscript is an autograph. The orthography therefore reflects the scribal habits of an educated person from this particular period.<sup>8</sup> During the *Second International Conference on Middle Arabic and Mixed Arabic*, held at the University of Amsterdam 22-25 October 2007, a number of participants<sup>9</sup> expressed the desire for digital editions which do not normalize the spelling to use in their research into Middle Arabic. By normalizing the spelling, much useful linguistic information is lost. Therefore, I have kept the original script intact as far as possible. Only if the original spelling could lead to confusion have I normalized

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<sup>4</sup> Davies (1981). Some additional remarks about the colloquial features of *Hazz al-quḥūf* can be found in Davies (2005).

<sup>5</sup> Blanc (1981), Jaritz (1993), Palva (1997), Palva (2000), Cohen (2000).

<sup>6</sup> The edition of the Arabic text can be downloaded for free from the following website: <http://www.lotpublications.nl/index3.html>.

<sup>7</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 112.

<sup>8</sup> In the introduction to the edition of *Kitāb al-ḥikāyāt al-‘ağība wa al-‘aḥbār al-ğarība*, which contains some Middle Arabic characteristics, Hans Wehr states that “diese Mischung [i.e. of Classical Arabic and dialect] gehört zur sprachlichen Eigenart des Textes und darf vom Editor nicht durch Korrekturen verwischt werden” (p. xiv). However, Wehr did somewhat normalize the spelling of the *hamza*, as he states on p. xv.

<sup>9</sup> One of them was Han den Heijer during his concluding remarks.

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it, and added the spelling used in the manuscript to the footnotes,<sup>10</sup> preceded by م (*m(aḥṭūṭ)* “manuscript”). There are two exceptions, which I have adjusted without such a reference, because they occur too frequently and would clutter the footnotes unnecessarily:

1. The spelling of final *yā'* and *alif maqṣūra* has been adjusted, e.g. علي has become على and في has become في, to facilitate the reading of the text. Moreover, al-Mağribī's use of ي and ى seems to be completely arbitrary, and so adjusting this spelling does not interfere with the character of the orthography he used.
2. When the letter *yā'* is the bearer of the *hamza*, for practical reasons this is consequently written as ى, whereas al-Mağribī always uses the variant ِ. When the letter does not show any diacritics or only a *kasra*, I have rendered this as ِ, whereas when it is clearly written with diacritic dots ِ, I have retained this spelling. All other instances of the *hamza* which differ to modern spelling standards have been kept as they are.

Words that are red in the manuscript are rendered bold in the text edition. Marginalia have been inserted in the main body of the text between braces { }. An exception is made for marginalia which do not add anything new, e.g. comments like انظر *unẓur* “look up” or a comment that repeats what has been said in the text. These have been added in the footnotes preceded by ه (*h(āmiš)* “margin”). Also included in the footnotes are comments al-Mağribī makes about lines of poetry, which would interrupt the rhyme and lay-out of the verses if left in the main body of the text. The numbering of the quires is also given in the footnotes, as well as the metres of the poetry. I have corrected obvious mistakes in the text, setting out the original spelling in a footnote preceded by م (*m(aḥṭūṭa)* “manuscript”).

Comments about the contents of *Daf al-iṣr* are contained in the endnotes, such as information about persons, books, places, and Qur'anic verses mentioned in the text. We must, however, bear in mind that many of the people mentioned were personal friends of al-Mağribī, who were not necessarily famous, and therefore no information about them could be found. In these cases, the comment “Unknown” is written in the endnote.

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<sup>10</sup> E.g. when ما should be read as *mā'* and not as *mā*, I have changed it to ماء with the original spelling in the footnote.

## Introduction

Because Yūsuf al-Mağribī did not use any kind of layout, it is difficult to see, at a glance, where one entry ends and the next one starts. I have, therefore, emphasised the word يقولون *yaqūlūn* when it is introducing a new entry (or, sometimes, another expression introducing a new entry, such as ومن قولهم *wa min qawlihim* etc.) by using a different font called al-Battar: يقولون.<sup>11</sup> Al-Mağribī divided his work into chapters and paragraphs, introduced by headings such as *ḥarf al-bā'* and *faṣl al-hamza*. In cases where he has forgotten these, I have added them without further notice. These chapter headings are also in the al-Battar font. Although al-Mağribī did not place a new chapter or paragraph on a new line, in my text edition, every new chapter and paragraph is preceded by a space. The manuscript contains no form of punctuation, and I have added none.

I will be using the word “manuscript” when talking of the book’s physical properties, and words such as “word list”, or simply “work” when talking of its contents.

### 3 Technical aspects

Finally, a word on the technical aspects, which mainly concern the fonts used in this study. The search for suitable fonts for this work has not been easy. Working on a PC with Windows, rather than a Mac like many Arabic linguists, meant that it took me a long time to find a transliteration font which suited all of my requirements. The Arabic font was even more problematic, because no standard PC font could handle such anomalies as the  $\frac{ـ}{ـ}$  or the  $\frac{ـ}{ـ}$ , while I was also no admirer of the automatic vocalization of the word الله because I wanted the text to be vocalized exactly as in the manuscript, i.e. without the *šadda* and *fatha*: الله. The solution finally came in the shape of SIL International (formerly known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics), an “organization that studies, documents, and assists in developing the world’s lesser-known languages”.<sup>12</sup> On their website they provide a collection of excellent, Open Font-licensed fonts, and so for the Arabic text I used the Scheherazade SIL font, which “is designed in a similar style to traditional typefaces such as Monotype Naskh, extended to cover the full Unicode Arabic repertoire”.<sup>13</sup> Not only did this font provide me with all of the special

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<sup>11</sup> Al-Mağribī sometimes uses similar devices, such as making the word larger than those which surround it, or by putting a horizontal dash on top of it, or by writing it in red.

<sup>12</sup> See <http://www.sil.org/sil/>.

<sup>13</sup> [http://scripts.sil.org/cms/scripts/page.php?site\\_id=nrsi&item\\_id=ArabicFonts](http://scripts.sil.org/cms/scripts/page.php?site_id=nrsi&item_id=ArabicFonts).

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characters that I needed, but it is also very pleasing on the eye. For the English text, I used Gentium SIL, and my a heart-felt *thanks*, therefore, go out to SIL International.

In the few instances where Coptic is written, I have used the font of the Coptic Orthodox Church Network,<sup>14</sup> while for the hieroglyphs I used GlyphBasic.

### 4 Symbols used in the text edition

- ... text lost by accident, for instance, because of a hole in the paper, or because it is illegible (the number of dots reflects the approximate number of letters that has been lost)
- [ ] text which was crossed out by al-Mağribī
- { } text written in the margin or between the lines
- < > quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*
- ﴿ ﴾ verses from the Qurʾān
- \* separates verses and lines of rhymed prose; in many instances al-Mağribī used a (red) comma for this purpose, while on other occasions he did not use any verse separator; in both cases I have placed the symbol \*
- \ marks the beginning of a new folio; the folio number is mentioned in the left-hand margin
- م in a footnote precedes the word as it is written in the manuscript when this word has been corrected in the text
- ه in a footnote precedes a comment written in the margin which does not belong in the main body of the text

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<sup>14</sup> [http://www.copticchurch.net/coptic\\_fonts/#Download](http://www.copticchurch.net/coptic_fonts/#Download)



## Introduction

### 5 Transliteration

ا	'a, 'i, 'u, ā	ض	ḍ
ب	b	ط	ṭ
ت	t	ظ	ẓ
ث	ṯ	ع	ʿ
ج	ǧ	غ	ǧ
ح	ḥ	ف	f
خ	ḫ	ق	q
د	d	ك	k
ذ	ḏ	ل	l
ر	r	م	m
ز	z	ن	n
س	s	ه	h
ش	š	و	w, ū, ō, aw
ص	ṣ	ي	y, ī, ē, ay

From the Persian alphabet, the following letters are used:

پ	p
چ	č

Al-Mağribī does not use the letter گ for *g* when writing Persian or Turkish; he instead writes ك, and once uses كُ on fol. 118b.

For technical reasons, the ظ is transcribed with ẓ. This does not, however, imply anything about the pronunciation of the ظ. This also applies to the transliteration of the ق with *q* and the ج with *ǧ*.

The symbol ə is used in the transliteration when we know for certain that a word must contain a vowel, but it is unclear which one it should be, e.g. برشق *baršəq* “belt”. Therefore the letter ə does not indicate any phonetic quality.

## Introduction

When the letter *ي* is written in a word, but it is unclear whether it should be read as *ī*, *ē* or *ay*, the transliteration used is *y*, for instance, سيف *syf*. The same goes for *و*, which in case of doubt is transcribed with *w*, for instance, هون *hwn*.

## CHAPTER 1

### Life and Works of Yūsuf al-Mağribī

#### 1.1 Birth, family background and education

Yūsuf 'Abū al-Maḥāsīn Čamāl al-Dīn b. Zakariyyā b. Ḥarb al-Mağribī al-Miṣrī al-'Azharī<sup>15</sup> (±970/1562-1019/1611) was raised in Cairo. In two of his surviving manuscripts he refers to himself as Yūsuf al-Mağribī, and says the following in his book *Buğyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb* ("The desire of the skillful and the wealth of the cultured"):<sup>16</sup>

قاله الفقير المغربي نسبا \* الأزهري موطننا وطلبا

"so says the *sūfi* of North-African descent, an Azhari by residence and study."

The resources which might provide insight into Yūsuf al-Mağribī's life are, unfortunately, rather scarce. There are a few comments, which he makes about himself, in both *Daf al-iṣr* and his other work, *Buğyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb*, and we also have some remarks made by his biographers. The first biography of al-Mağribī was written by Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Ḥafāğī (979/1571-1069/1659).<sup>17</sup> After being *qāḍī* in several Ottoman provinces, al-Ḥafāğī was appointed *qāḍī* in Cairo. He dedicated a chapter to al-Mağribī in his biographical work, *Rayḥānat al-'alibbā' wa zahrat al-ḥayāt al-dunyā*.<sup>18</sup> Al-Ḥafāğī's work is more a selection of some of al-Mağribī's verses than a real biography, since it does not provide us with many details of the subject's life. It does state al-Mağribī's full name was Abū al-Maḥāsīn Yūsuf Čamāl al-Dīn al-'Azharī al-Mağribī,<sup>19</sup> and that he was born in Egypt.<sup>20</sup> The book also mentions his *dīwān* entitled *al-Ḍahab al-Yūsufī*. Not only did al-Ḥafāğī know al-Mağribī personally, but they were also friends. Al-Ḥafāğī writes about his companion with affection, for instance: "He (= al-Mağribī) often praised me for my pleasant company, and treated me with friendly cordiality."<sup>21</sup> They had many things in common: they were about the same

<sup>15</sup> The name as given by 'Awwād (1968) p. 6, based on the information provided by the various biographers.

<sup>16</sup> fol. 2a; more about *Buğyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb* will be said in §1.4.

<sup>17</sup> See GAL II pp. 368-9, GAL S II p. 396 and EF<sup>2</sup> IV p. 912a ff. (F. Krenkow).

<sup>18</sup> Al-Ḥafāğī (1967) II pp. 32-37.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 35-36.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 32.

<sup>21</sup> Al-Ḥafāğī (1967) II p. 36.

age (he mentions that al-Mağribī was a bit older)<sup>22</sup> and shared an interest in poetry and Arabic linguistics, especially the origins of (colloquial) Arabic words. In al-Ḥafāğī's case this is demonstrated in his book *Şifā' al-ğalīl fimā fi kalām al-'arab min al-daḥīl* ("The gratification of the desire concerning the loanwords in the Arabic language").<sup>23</sup> He also wrote a commentary on the *Durrat al-ğawwāş* of al-Ḥarīrī,<sup>24</sup> which is interesting because al-Mağribī produced an arrangement of the same work (see §1.4).

Ḥağğī Ḥalīfa (1017/1609-1067/1657),<sup>25</sup> historian, bibliographer and geographer, mentions al-Mağribī in his great bibliographical dictionary, *Kaşf al-zunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa al-funūn*. Although he only devotes two lines to al-Mağribī, he nevertheless provides some new information, i.e. the full title of his *dīwān*: *al-Dahab al-Yūsufī wa al-mawrid al-'aḍib al-şafi*.<sup>26</sup>

Al-Muḥibbī (1061/1651-1111/1699)<sup>27</sup> calls al-Mağribī *nazīl Mişr* "a stranger residing in Egypt" in his biographical work *Ḥulāşat al-'aṭar fi a'yān al-qarn al-ḥādī 'aşar*.<sup>28</sup> He also tells us when al-Mağribī died, which neither al-Ḥafāğī nor Ḥalīfa mention. We, therefore, know that al-Mağribī died on 18 *Dū al-Qa'da* 1019 AH (around 1 February 1611 AD) in Cairo.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, al-Muḥibbī mentions the names of a few of al-Mağribī's teachers,<sup>30</sup> and this will be dealt with in more detail in §1.1.1.

Al-Mağribī provides the following information about his childhood in *Daf al-işr*:<sup>31</sup> At the age of seven, he went with his father, whose profession is not known,

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<sup>22</sup> It can be deduced from this information that al-Mağribī was born at the end of the sixties or beginning of the seventies of the 10th century AH, which corresponds to the sixties of the sixteenth century AD.

<sup>23</sup> GAL II p. 369 and GAL S II p. 396.

<sup>24</sup> *Durrat al-ğawwāş fi awḥām al-ḥawāşş* by Abū Muḥammad al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Uṭmān b. al-Ḥarīrī al-Başrī (446/1054-516/1122), best known for his *Maqāmāt*, see *EF*<sup>2</sup> III p. 221a (D.S. Margoliouth), GAL I p. 325ff. and GAL S I pp. 486ff. *Durrat al-ğawwāş* is a specimen of the *laḥn al-'amma*-literature, see §3.3.1.

<sup>25</sup> Also known as Kātib Čelebī, real name Muştafā b. 'Abd Allāh, see *EF*<sup>2</sup> IV p. 760b (O. Şaik Gökyay), GAL II pp. 563-5 and GAL S II p. 635-6.

<sup>26</sup> See Ḥağğī Ḥalīfa (1941/1943) I p. 829.

<sup>27</sup> Muḥammad Amīn b. Faḍl Allāh b. Muḥibb Allāh b. Muḥammad Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Dimaşqī; see *EF*<sup>2</sup> VII p. 469b (C. Brockelmann), GAL II pp. 377-9 and GAL S II p. 403.

<sup>28</sup> Al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 501.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* p. 503. GAL II p. 367 and GAL S II p. 394 mentions that al-Mağribī died in 1019/1609. This, however, cannot be correct, since the Islamic year 1019 started in March 1610 and ended in March 1611, see Freeman-Grenville (1995).

<sup>30</sup> Al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 501.

<sup>31</sup> See fols. 70a-71a.

to al-Ḥiğāz, where his father later died. He was buried in *al-Baqī*, the cemetery of al-Madīna.<sup>32</sup> After his father's death, Yūsuf returned to Egypt, where he stayed with his maternal uncles who were famous for manufacturing sword belts (*ḥamā'il al-suyūf*). He learned the craft from and worked for them. In *Daḥ al-iṣr*, al-Mağribī refers to a funny anecdote about his uncles: he used to go to the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque in the evenings to learn the Qur'ān, the language of which awoke his interest in grammar. From that moment on, he started to learn the *'Alfiya*, the famous work about grammar by Ibn Mālik,<sup>33</sup> by heart when his uncles were asleep. He had to do this discreetly, because one of his uncles objected to his studies, stating that there were no scholars in the family, and there was no reason for him to become one, because it would only make him sleepy and affect his work. Each year, his uncles sold large numbers of their sword belts to the caravans which came from the Sudan. When, one year, the caravan did not arrive, the uncles decided to gather up their wares and travel to the Sudan. When they left Egypt, they set Yūsuf up in the fabric trade, as a way for him to provide for himself, and the women and children of the family who had been left behind. Soon after his uncles left, Yūsuf sold the shop, bought books with the proceeds, and joined al-Azhar University.<sup>34</sup> His uncles never returned, and some reports reached al-Mağribī that they had so many children over there, that in the evenings, they had to drive them into the house with sticks, like cattle.

From this anecdote, it is understood that al-Mağribī was, apparently, living in the Ibn Ṭūlūn quarter, since this is where he received his Qur'ān lessons. For centuries, this area had been a meeting point for North-African pilgrims, and a large concentration of North-Africans resided there (believed to be around a quarter of the population).<sup>35</sup> From there, they sold products such as burnouses, woolen *aḥrima*,<sup>36</sup> and fabrics, the latter being the trade in which al-Mağribī was set up by his uncles.<sup>37</sup> The name al-Mağribī “the North-African” does not, necessarily, imply that al-Mağribī himself was born in North Africa, but simply that his family originated from there. Indeed, as we have seen, al-Ḥafāğī mentioned that al-Mağribī was born in Cairo, while Muḥibbī stated that he was originally from

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<sup>32</sup> In his dictionary, al-Mağribī sometimes refers to colloquial words he heard in the Ḥiğāz during his stay there.

<sup>33</sup> See GAL I pp. 359-63 and GAL S I pp. 521-7.

<sup>34</sup> He belonged to the Mağribī *riwāq* at al-Azhar, mentioned in a lecture by Ḥusām 'Abd al-Mu'ī, IFAO, 24 January 2002.

<sup>35</sup> See Raymond (1983) p. 87.

<sup>36</sup> See Raymond (1995) p. 38.

<sup>37</sup> See Raymond (1983) p. 36.

somewhere else. Al-Ḥafāğī's information is more reliable, because he was a personal friend of al-Mağribī, while al-Muḥibbī was from a different generation. Moreover, as we can see from the anecdote from *Daf al-işr*, al-Mağribī's maternal uncles were well-established, famous artisans. This also supports the theory that he must have been born in Cairo.

### 1.1.1 Al-Mağribī's teachers

Al-Mağribī mentions a number of his teachers. He says that at the Ibn Ṭūlūn Mosque, he was encouraged to learn grammar by its *imām*, a certain šayḥ Šu'ayb.<sup>38</sup> His first teacher at al-Azhar was called sheikh Sağğar (*mu'addib al-atfāl*, "the educator of children"), who taught in the office of a šayḥ Ğa'far.<sup>39</sup> This šayḥ, Sağğar, is mentioned by al-Mağribī in relation to the strange way in which he used to greet his pupils, *allāh yikfīk šarr zibbak* "may God forgive you the evil of your prick", which embarrassed the young Yūsuf a great deal.<sup>40</sup> Another teacher who taught him *ilm al-'arūd* (metrics) at al-Azhar was Muḥammad Rakrūk al-Ğazā'irī; although all that al-Mağribī tells about him is that he died in Medina.<sup>41</sup> Two of al-Mağribī's teachers were brothers, namely Aḥmad al-'Alqamī, with whom he read part of al-Mutanabbī's *dīwān*, and Ibrāhīm al-'Alqamī, with whom he read the *Alfiyya* of al-'Irāqī.<sup>42</sup> The following information is available about his other teachers:

- Ibn al-Ğayṭī:<sup>43</sup> full name Nağm al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Ğayṭī al-Iskandarī al-Şāfi'ī (910/1504-981/1573).<sup>44</sup> He was head of the *şūfi*-monasteries al-Şalāḥiyya and al-Siryāqūsiyya in Cairo. One of his writings is *Qişşat mi'rāğ al-nabī*.<sup>45</sup> Al-Mağribī mentions that Ibn al-Ğayṭī pronounced the *qāf* as a *ṭā*.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See fol. 70b.

<sup>39</sup> See fol. 50b.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> See fol. 59a. See also the endnote there for additional information about Rakrūk.

<sup>42</sup> See fol. 103a. Abū al-Fağl 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Zayn al-Dīn al-'Irāqī al-Kurdī (725/1325-806/1404) is the author of *al-Alfiyya fi uşūl al-ḥadīṭ*, also known as *al-Tabşira wa l-tadkira*. See GAL II pp. 77-8.

<sup>43</sup> See fol. 16a.

<sup>44</sup> See al-Ziriklī (1955) VI p. 234.

<sup>45</sup> See GAL II pp. 445-6 and S II p. 467-8. Al-Ğayṭī does not have a separate entry in Muḥibbī, but is mentioned as the teacher of Sālim b. Muḥammad al-Sanhūrī; his name is mentioned as al-Nağm Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Ğayṭī al-Iskandarī *tumma* al-Mişrī and *al-Mi'rāğ* is mentioned as well, see al-Muḥibbī (1975) II p. 204.

<sup>46</sup> See *Daf al-işr* fol. 16a.

- Yaḥyā al-Aṣīlī:<sup>47</sup> full name Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Aṣīlī al-Miṣrī, who was a famous poet at that time. He was born in 910/1504 and raised in Dumyāt, but later moved to Cairo. Muḥibbī provides some samples of his poetry. Al-Aṣīlī died in 1010/1601-2 in Mecca.<sup>48</sup>

- Two ṣayḥs of the Bakrī-family: Abū al-Mawāhib b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Miṣrī al-Šāfi‘ī (973/1565-1037/1627-8),<sup>49</sup> and Zayn al-‘Ābidīn b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Bakrī (d. 1013/1604).<sup>50</sup> Both were sons of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī al-Ṣiddīqī al-Miṣrī al-Šāfi‘ī, called *al-ustād al-kabīr* by Muḥibbī.<sup>51</sup> Of the second ṣayḥ, al-Mağribī reveals in an anecdote that when he got excited while speaking, some foam resembling the faucial bag of a camel came from his mouth.<sup>52</sup>

- ṣayḥ ‘Alī al-Maqdisī,<sup>53</sup> full name Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Ġānim al-Maqdisī al-Ḥanafī (920/1514-1004/1596),<sup>54</sup> head of the *Ḥanafī* order and one of the greatest imams of his time.<sup>55</sup> Al-Mağribī dedicated his work *Muḍahhabāt al-ḥuzn fī al-mā’ wa al-ḥuḍra wa al-wağh al-ḥasan* to him, for which he received a reasonable some of money.<sup>56</sup> One of al-Maqdisī’s works is called *Buğyat al-murtād fī taṣḥīḥ al-ṣād*,<sup>57</sup> which probably inspired the title of al-Mağribī’s *Buğyat al-arīb*. It is also remarkable that al-Maqdisī has written a *Ḥawāšī ‘ala al-qāmūs*,<sup>58</sup> so he was, perhaps, also the one who kindled al-Mağribī’s interest in al-Fīrūzābādī’s *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.<sup>59</sup>

- Yūsuf al-Kurdī, who gave al-Mağribī his name Yūsuf.<sup>60</sup> He was a *ṣūfī* of the Al-Ḥawātirīya-order.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>47</sup> See fols. 29b, 89b, 104b, 122a. Also mentioned by al-Ḥafāğī (1967) II p. 35.

<sup>48</sup> See al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 480-5.

<sup>49</sup> Mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr* on fols. 5b and 13a.

<sup>50</sup> See Kaḥḥāla (1961) IV p. 197.

<sup>51</sup> See al-Muḥibbī (1975) I p. 117 and p. 145; Muḥammad al-Bakrī does not have his own entry but is mentioned in the entries of his sons.

<sup>52</sup> See fol. 47a.

<sup>53</sup> Fols. 3a, 5b; he is the same person as ṣayḥ ‘Alī al-Qudsī, mentioned twice on fol. 19b.

<sup>54</sup> Such is his name in *GAL S II* p. 395; *EI<sup>2</sup> III* p. 772a (Eds.) mentions his name slightly differently: Nūr Dīn ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī Ibn Ġānim al-Maqdisī.

<sup>55</sup> See al-Muḥibbī (1975) pp. 180-5.

<sup>56</sup> See fol. 19b.

<sup>57</sup> *GAL S II* p. 395 has *ḍād* instead of *ṣād*.

<sup>58</sup> See *GAL S II* p. 395.

<sup>59</sup> *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ wa al-qābūs al-wasīṭ al-ğāmi’ li-mā ḍahab min al-‘arab ṣamaṭīṭ* by Abū al-Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ya‘qūb b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Mağd al-Dīn al-Šāfi‘ī al-Širāzī al-Fīrūzābādī (729/1329-817/1415), see *EI<sup>2</sup> II* p. 926a ff. (H. Fleisch), *GAL II* p. 231ff. and *GAL S II* p. 234ff.

<sup>60</sup> See *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 14b.

As well as the teachers mentioned by al-Mağribī in *Daf al-iṣr*, Muḥibbī mentions al-Badr al-Qarāfī (Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. ʿUmar Badr al-Dīn al-Qarāfī, 939/1533-1008/1600).<sup>62</sup> The editor of al-Ḥafāğī (1967) II p. 104 mentions in a footnote that al-Badr al-Qarāfī learned *ḥadīṭ* from al-Mağribī, but this is unlikely because he was at least 30 years older than him. This information is probably taken from Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 258 which states that al-Qarāfī heard *ḥadīṭ* from al-Ġamāl Yūsuf b. al-qāḍī Zakariyā. It is uncertain whether this is our Yūsuf al-Mağribī or not because, although we do not know what his father did, it is unlikely he was a scholar. To complicate matters further, according to al-Muḥibbī, al-Qarāfī was al-Mağribī's teacher.<sup>63</sup> Al-Muḥibbī also mentions al-Sanhūrī<sup>64</sup> as al-Mağribī's teacher, who in his turn was a pupil of Muḥammad al-Bakrī.

Al-Mağribī kept in touch with some of his teachers, as we can see in *Daf al-iṣr*, and al-Azhar remained a favourite place. He even mentions that part of *Daf al-iṣr* was written on the roof there.<sup>65</sup>

### 1.1.2 Knowledge of Persian and Turkish

Al-Mağribī knew Persian and Turkish. We know this because he translated some works from these languages to Arabic (see §1.4). He also mentions in *Daf al-iṣr* that he once made-up a poem in Turkish on the spot.<sup>66</sup> He does not, however, reveal where or from whom he learnt these languages. He had Turkish and Persian friends, and mentions, for instance, a Persian dish, *ḥaška folāw* "dry rice"<sup>67</sup> which he ate at the home of his Persian friends, Muḥammad Riḍā and his brothers.<sup>68</sup> On fol. 10a, al-Mağribī translates a verse from the Persian *Gulistān* into Arabic, and then maintains that he mentions it there to demonstrate that *Daf al-iṣr* (at that point, still called *al-Faql al-ʿāmm*, see §2.3 for more information about the title) not only concerns Arabic. He goes on to say that he will limit the amount of Persian

<sup>61</sup> For more information about this order, see the endnote to fol. 14b.

<sup>62</sup> See al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV pp. 258-262.

<sup>63</sup> See al-Muḥibbī (1975) IV p. 501.

<sup>64</sup> ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū al-Nağā Sālim b. Muḥammad al-Sanhūrī al-Miṣrī (probably around 966/1558-9 - 1015/1606), a Mālikī jurist and *ḥadīṭ*-expert, head of the Mālikī school of Cairo, see *E<sup>2</sup>* IX p. 19b (S.A. Jackson). See also al-Muḥibbī (1975) II p. 204.

<sup>65</sup> See fol. 5a.

<sup>66</sup> This poem will be discussed in §4.3.

<sup>67</sup> From Persian خشکه *ḥushka*, "Boiled rice without butter" (see Steingass (1975) p. 463) and پلاو *palāv*, "a rice dish" (ibid. p. 254).

<sup>68</sup> See fol. 10a.



used because he does not want to make it too difficult for those who have not mastered that language, of whom there are many. This indicates that although knowledge of Persian was not uncommon, it was not, necessarily, wide-spread:

وانما ذكرت مثل هذا هنا حتى يعلم ان هذا الكتاب اسم على مسمى وانه الفضل العام لا يخص  
العربي الا انني لا اكثر من ذلك لئلا يصعب على من لا يعرف الفارسي وكثير ما هم

“I mentioned things like this here so it is known that this book has an appropriate title and that “The general benefit” does not only concern the Arabic language. However, I will not do this [e.g. mention words of Persian origin] in order not to complicate matters for those who do not know Persian, and these are many.”

### 1.2 Career

Little is known about al-Mağribī's further career, although he mentions that he held a *waẓīfā*, or official post, but he does not give any more details. He refers to the fact that he was once afflicted by *faḥāqa*, i.e. a “death rattle”, and that one of his acquaintances who visited him thought he was at death's door, and went to see a judge to ask about a job al-Mağribī held, claiming that he had already died, with a deed being drafted to that effect. This seems to indicate that al-Mağribī had some kind of job in the juridical system. So far as his health was concerned, al-Mağribī recovered from his illness on the same day. Soon after that incident, although still feeling weak, he attended the funeral of his acquaintance's daughter, which caused him to wonder about the strange coincidence.<sup>69</sup>

### 1.3 Personal life

Al-Mağribī refers to himself as *al-faqīr* several times,<sup>70</sup> indicating that he was a *ṣūfī*. As Raymond (1983) p. 33 argued, there were many links between the *ṣūfī*-orders and “official” Islam as represented by al-Azhar. Being an Azhar-educated *‘ālim* and a *ṣūfī* were two different things, but were not mutually exclusive. As discussed above, some of al-Mağribī's teachers were *ṣūfīs*, such as Ibn al-Ġayṭī. He also refers to a great number of books written by *ṣūfīs*, such as Ibn al-‘Arabī,<sup>71</sup> al-Šā‘rāwī,<sup>72</sup> and

<sup>69</sup> See fol. 51a.

<sup>70</sup> On fols. 2a, 16a, 70a, 105a, 133a.

<sup>71</sup> Muḥyī al-Dīn b. ‘Abdallāh ibn al-‘Arabī (al-Šayḫ al-Akbar), 560/1165-638/1240, one of the greatest *ṣūfīs* of Islam, often incorrectly referred to as Ibn ‘Arabī. See *Et*<sup>2</sup> VII p. 707b-708b (A. Ateş). Mentioned on fols. 2a, 4b, 5a, 42b, 59a, 59b, 120b.

<sup>72</sup> “Al-Šā‘rānī, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb b. Aḥmad (897-973/1492-1565), Egyptian *ṣūfī* scholar, historian of *ṣūfism*, and a prolific writer about many religious subjects during a period

al-Ġazālī,<sup>73</sup> to mention just the three most well-known. Al-Mağribī does not reveal to which *ṣūfi*-order he belonged, mentioning a few, such as the *Ḥawāṭirīya* who abstained from eating meat and fruit and other delicacies.<sup>74</sup>

Al-Mağribī frequently visited *mağālis*, which were widespread social gatherings in the seventeenth century. The *mağālis* were held at people's homes, during which intellectuals used to discuss all kinds of topics. They had a variety of functions: some were religious meetings where *dīkr* was practiced; others had a more literary character, the so-called *mağlis adab*.<sup>75</sup> Al-Mağribī gives us the impression that these *mağālis* could sometimes be rather merry events.

In *Daf al-iṣr*, al-Mağribī gives us a glimpse of the kinds of topics that were discussed in these meetings, such as a poem he recited in praise of coffee at the *mağlis* of a certain *amīr* Yūnis, to which a Turk answered with a similar poem in his language. The Turk insisted the word *qahwa* was pronounced *qaḥwa*, and the whole assembly made fun of him. Al-Mağribī tried to convince the Turk of his mistake, by quoting some verses in Turkish, but in the end despaired of such ignorance.<sup>76</sup> He also mentions other *mağālis* in which literary topics,<sup>77</sup> as well as linguistic issues,<sup>78</sup> were discussed.

#### 1.4 Literary works

Al-Mağribī mentions in *Daf al-iṣr* a few of the other books he wrote. Only one of these survives, *Tahmīs Lāmīyat ibn al-Wardī*. Not mentioned is another surviving work, which is called *Buğyat al-arīb wa ġunyat al-adīb* ("The desire of the skillful and the wealth of the cultured"). More will be said about this *Buğyat al-arīb* and the *Tahmīs* in the next paragraph.

The following books are mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr* but have, apparently, not survived:

1. *Mudāhhabāt al-ḥuzn fī al-mā' wa al-ḥudra wa al-wağh al-ḥasan*<sup>79</sup>

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otherwise poor in distinguished figures of learning and piety in the Arab lands." *EI*<sup>2</sup> IX p. 316a (M. Winter). Also known as al-Ša'rāwī. Mentioned on fols. 5a, 21b, 42b, 52b, 59b, 75b, 114b.

<sup>73</sup> Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī al-Ġazālī (450/1058-505/1111), see *EI*<sup>2</sup> II p. 1038b (W. Montgomery Watt).

<sup>74</sup> See fol. 14b.

<sup>75</sup> See Hanna (2003) p. 72-73.

<sup>76</sup> See fol. 6a and §4.3.

<sup>77</sup> Fols. 9a, 28b, 129a.

<sup>78</sup> Fols. 12a, 78a.

<sup>79</sup> Fols. 9b, 19b, 19b, 40a.

2. *al-Muṭallātāt*<sup>80</sup>
3. *Tarğamat al-murabba'āt al-turkīya*.<sup>81</sup> a translation of Turkish *murabba'āt*, poems with the rhyme scheme *aaaa, bbba, ccca*, etc.
4. *al-Alma'īya fī al-alğāz al-adabīya*<sup>82</sup>
5. *al-Badr al-munīr nazm aḥādīṭ al-ğāmi' al-ṣağūr*.<sup>83</sup> an arrangement of *al-Ğāmi' al-ṣağūr*, a collection of traditions by the famous Egyptian scholar, Abū al-Faḍl 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad Ğalāl al-Dīn al-Ḥuḍayrī (849/1445-911/1505); this collection in its turn was a summary of the great unfinished collection, *Ğam' al-ğawāmi*.<sup>84</sup>
6. *Azhār al-bustān tarğamat al-Gulistān*, a translation from Persian of Sa'dī's<sup>85</sup> *Gulistān*,<sup>86</sup> al-Mağribī also mentions this translation as *al-Gulistān al-'arabī*<sup>87</sup>
7. *Tarğamat dībāğat al-bustān*,<sup>88</sup> a translation of the preface of Sa'dī's *Bustān*.
8. *Nazm Durrat al-ğawāṣṣ*.<sup>89</sup> an 'arrangement' and appendix of al-Qāsim b. 'Alī al-Ḥarīrī's (446/1054-516/1122)<sup>90</sup> *Durrat al-ğawwāṣ fī awhām al-ḥawāṣṣ*, which is a specimen of the *Laḥn al-'amma* literature, of which more will be said in §3.3.1.
9. *al-Ağānī al-ṣağūr*,<sup>91</sup> a collection of songs.

While writing *Daf al-işr*, al-Mağribī was also working on other projects, which he mentions on one of *Daf al-işr*'s final pages.<sup>92</sup> They include the following:

- A commentary of al-Mutanabbī's *Dīwān*, partially finished
- Some quires of a commentary on the *Gulistān*, not in Arabic (although on fol. 109b he mentions that he is translating the *Gulistān* and has finished a third of it; it is unclear whether this is the same work or a different project; he again mentions on fol. 133a that he had finished up to the end of the second of a total of five chapters of the *Gulistān*)

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<sup>80</sup> Fols. 56b, 66b, 69a, 101a.

<sup>81</sup> Fol. 91b.

<sup>82</sup> Fols. 60b and 91b.

<sup>83</sup> Fol. 101b.

<sup>84</sup> See *EF* IX p. 914b (E. Geoffroy), *GAL* II p. 180ff. and *GAL* S II p. 178ff.

<sup>85</sup> Abū 'Abd Allāh Mušarrif al-Dīn b. Mušliḥ Sa'dī, poet and prose writer of the 7<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century, one of the most renowned authors of Persia, see *EF*<sup>2</sup> VIII p. 719a (R. Davis).

<sup>86</sup> Fols. 108a and 109b.

<sup>87</sup> Fols. 10a and 133b.

<sup>88</sup> Fol. 109b.

<sup>89</sup> Fols. 3a, 8b, and 9a.

<sup>90</sup> See *GAL* I p. 325ff., *GAL* S I p. 486ff., and *EF*<sup>2</sup> III p. 221a (D.S. Margoliouth).

<sup>91</sup> Fol. 16a.

<sup>92</sup> Fol. 133a.

- Some treatises and introductions.

In addition to the work referred to above, al-Mağribī also copied some books. His next project would be the translation of *Nafahāt al-'uns* by Mullā Ğāmī.<sup>93</sup> He also states his intention to continue the history of al-Bā'ūnī,<sup>94</sup> which ends with the reign of Sultan Barqūq, until Sultan Aḥmad, who ruled in al-Mağribī's time.<sup>95</sup>

We can conclude that al-Mağribī's works cover a variety of genres, including the translation of several works from Persian and Turkish, as well as commentary in a language other than Arabic. It is notable that al-Mağribī was fond of poetry. He immediately composed verses whenever the occasion so required it. He particularly liked the *mawwāl*, which is found quite often in *Daḥ al-iṣr*, and was also fond of verses containing puns and riddles.

#### 1.4.1 A short note on *Buğyat al-arīb wa ğunyat al-adīb* and *Taḥmīs lāmīyat Ibn al-Wardī*

*Buğyat al-arīb wa ğunyat al-adīb* and *Taḥmīs lāmīyat Ibn al-Wardī*<sup>96</sup> are, to our knowledge, the only other of al-Mağribī's surviving works. Brockelmann describes *Buğyat al-arīb* as "Sammelwerk über die verschiedensten Dinge",<sup>97</sup> an accurate description indeed. It is a work in 39 chapters, although al-Mağribī had intended to write 55, and mentions the titles thereof in his introduction. We find that there are such topics as "Names of people called after plants", "The plural of the days", "The eyes of horses", "The feathers of wings", "Children", "Breasts" etc. The work was meant as an aid to composing poetry. The manuscript is kept at the Forschungsbibliothek Gotha, under the no. Ms. Orient. A 172. The work was completed in 1002/1593-4, and the manuscript was copied in *Dū al-Qa'da* 1102/August 1692.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>93</sup> See fol. 133a. Mawlanā Nūr al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ğāmī (817/1414-898/1492), great Persian poet with a passion for mysticism, born in the district of Ğām. His *Nafahāt al-uns* ("The breath of divine intimacy") contains biographies of mystics, preceded by a comprehensive study of Šūfism. See *El<sup>2</sup>* II p. 421b (Cl. Huart), *GAL* II p. 266-7 and *GAL* S II pp. 285-6.

<sup>94</sup> Šams al-Dīn Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Šihāb al-Dīn Abū al-'Abbās A. b. Nāṣir al-Bā'ūnī (776/1374-871/1465), *Tuḥfat al-šurafā' fi tāriḥ al-ḥulafā'*. About the rulers of Egypt until Barsbāy (ruled 825/1422-841/1438), see *GAL* II p. 50. Note that Al-Mağribī mentions that the work goes no further than the reign of Barqūq (d. 801/1399). According to *El<sup>2</sup>* I p. 1109a (W.A.S. Khalidi) Muḥammad al-Bā'ūnī lived from 780/1378 to 871/1466.

<sup>95</sup> See fol. 36b.

<sup>96</sup> Mentioned on fol. 18a.

<sup>97</sup> *GAL* S II p. 395.

<sup>98</sup> See fol. 32a.

The *Taḥmīs* is an adaption of the *Lāmīyat* (or *Waṣīyat* or *Naṣīḥat*) *al-iḥwān wa muršīdat al-ḥillān*, “a moral poem of 77 verses in the *ramal* metre, long a classic”<sup>99</sup> by Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Wardī (689/1290–749/1349).<sup>100</sup> The manuscript is kept at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.<sup>101</sup> An example from this *taḥmīs* will be discussed in §4.2.2. The *taḥmīs* was written in Šawwāl 1010 / March-April 1602. Al-Mağribī mentions that this was a difficult time, because his son had died, there was a plague in Egypt<sup>102</sup> and he was suffering from disease and a lack of food and sleep.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> *EF* III p. 966b (M. Bencheneb).

<sup>100</sup> See *GAL* II pp. 175–176.

<sup>101</sup> Slane (1883–1895) p. 562–3, no. 3200, no. 1.

<sup>102</sup> Egypt was affected by the plague in the years 1601–1603. See *EF* XI p. 4a (D. Panzac).

<sup>103</sup> See fol. 2a of *Taḥmīs lāmīyat Ibn al-Wardī*.



## CHAPTER 2

### Description of the Manuscript

As far as we know, there is only one manuscript of *Daf al-İsr*.<sup>104</sup> This is the autograph, which is kept in the St. Petersburg University Library, number MS OA 778. This chapter will discuss how it ended up there, as well as its physical condition and appearance.<sup>105</sup>

#### 2.1 The historical background of the manuscript – from Cairo to St. Petersburg

After the death of Yūsuf al-Mağribī in 1611, the autograph of *Daf al-İsr* came into the possession of Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī al-Şiddīqī (d. 1653?).<sup>106</sup> Ibn Abī al-Surūr produced an abbreviated version of *Daf al-İsr* in 1057/1647 and called it *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa luğat 'ahl Mişr min luğāt al-'arab*.<sup>107</sup> The first folio has some owner marks, but these cannot be deciphered, because the page is damaged. On the last page, fol. 134b, one of the subsequent owners wrote his name and the date *ġumādā* 1095 AH (1684 AD). Unfortunately, most of the name has been erased, making it partly illegible.<sup>108</sup> At a certain point, *Daf al-İsr* passed into the hands of Yūsuf al-Mallawī Ibn al-Wakīl.<sup>109</sup> No information about the manuscript's whereabouts can be found for the years after it was with Ibn al-Wakīl; we only know that it finally came into the possession of the Egyptian scholar Muḥammad 'Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī (1810-1861), about a hundred and fifty years later. Not only has al-Ṭanṭāwī been vital to the history of the manuscript, but he is also an important source of information about Egyptian Arabic in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Accordingly, al-Ṭanṭāwī will be presented to the reader in the following paragraph.

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<sup>104</sup> See GAL S II p. 394. The “Abschrift in Halle (ZDMG 45, 480, no. 124)” mentioned there is the abbreviated copy made in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the orientalist Thorbecke, see §3.5.

<sup>105</sup> I examined the manuscript in May 2001 in the library of the University of St. Petersburg.

<sup>106</sup> See Ibn Abī al-Surūr (1962) p. 2.

<sup>107</sup> The relation between *Daf al-İsr* and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* will be discussed in §3.4.

<sup>108</sup> The only legible part of the name is: “*al-faqīr* Muḥammad (..) ibn al-marḥūm al-Şayḥ Nūr al-Dīn ibn al-marḥūm al-Şayḥ Şaraf al-Dīn 'Alī b. al-marḥūm (...) al-Aḥmad. We do not have any additional information about these people. It is unclear whether they owned the manuscript before or after Ibn al-Wakīl.

<sup>109</sup> See Ibn Abī al-Surūr (1962) p. 2. This person, also known as Yūsuf b. Muḥammad Ibn al-Wakīl al-Mīlawī, was a copyist, translator and historian, who was active at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. He is mentioned in GAL S II pp. 410, 414 and 637. On the title page of the manuscript of one of his works, *Buğyat al-musāmīr wa-ğunyāt al-musāfir*, his name is written as al-Mallawī. See Rosenthal (1963) p. 452-4.

### 2.1.1 Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭaṭṭāwī

Al-Ṭaṭṭāwī was born in 1810, in the village of Nağrīd, which is located in the neighbourhood of Ṭaṭṭā, in the Egyptian Delta. He was the son of a travelling salesman, and his full name was Muḥammad b. Sa‘d b. Sulaymān ‘Ayyād al-Marḥūmī al-Ṭaṭṭāwī al-Šāfi‘ī. The *nisba* al-Marḥūmī refers to the birth place of his father, Maḥallat Marḥūm, a village close to Ṭaṭṭā.<sup>110</sup> He first went to the local *kuttāb*, and at the age of 13 moved to Cairo, where he joined al-Azhar University.<sup>111</sup> Ibrāhīm al-Bāğūrī (1783-1861) was his main teacher there.<sup>112</sup> The most notable of his fellow students was Ibrāhīm al-Dasūqī (1811-1883), *bāš-muṣaḥḥiḥ* (“chief-corrector”) at the Būlāq printing house. He became known because of the assistance he gave to Edward William Lane in compiling the latter’s dictionary.<sup>113</sup>

Upon completing his studies, al-Ṭaṭṭāwī held a position as a lecturer at al-Azhar for almost ten years.<sup>114</sup> He gave private lessons to foreigners, such as the orientologists Lane, Fresnel, Perron and Weil,<sup>115</sup> as well as two Russian diplomats, Mukhin and Frāhn. Mukhin had read Oriental Studies at the University of St. Petersburg,<sup>116</sup> and in 1839, offered al-Ṭaṭṭāwī the opportunity to teach at the Institute of Oriental Languages in St. Petersburg, when a post became vacant because of the demise of its teacher of Arabic, Demange. Al-Ṭaṭṭāwī arrived in St. Petersburg in 1840.<sup>117</sup> In 1847, he became the third Professor of the Arabic language at St. Petersburg University, and the first Arab to hold the post.<sup>118</sup> He kept this position until his death in Russia in 1861, and was buried in the Volkovo cemetery.<sup>119</sup> Al-Ṭaṭṭāwī left us one of the most interesting sources of Egyptian-Arabic from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a work called *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire* (or in Arabic, *Aḥsan al-naḥb fī ma‘rifat lisān al-‘arab*).<sup>120</sup> His manuscript collection, containing about 150 manuscripts among which was *Daf al-iṣr*, was bequeathed to

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<sup>110</sup> See Kratchkovsky (2000) pp. 21 and 23.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid. p. 25.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid. p. 26.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid. p. 27-8 and *EF*<sup>2</sup> II p. 167a (I. Goldziher).

<sup>114</sup> See Kratchkovsky (2000) p. 31.

<sup>115</sup> Ibid. pp. 34-39.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid. p. 41.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid. pp. 44-5.

<sup>118</sup> See Sharbatov (1984) p. 67.

<sup>119</sup> See Kratchkovsky (2000) p. 7 and 117.

<sup>120</sup> A detailed linguistic study of this work can be found in Woidich (1995) pp. 271-287; a concise description of the book can be found in Sharbatov (1984) pp. 72-75.



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the St. Petersburg University library, where they remain. Unfortunately, where and how al-Ṭaṭṭāwī acquired *Daf al-iṣr* is still unknown.

### 2.2 Physical appearance and condition of the manuscript

The manuscript in its present form consists of 134 folios. It was numbered in Arabic numbers by Baron Victor Romanovič Rosen (1849-1908), who catalogued all of the collection of Arabic and Persian manuscripts at St. Petersburg University.<sup>121</sup> The binding was carried out by the University librarian, Zaleman.<sup>122</sup> On its title page is written, in a different handwriting to that of al-Mağribī's, *al-Faḍl al- 'āmm wa qāmūs al- 'awāmm li-Yūsuf al-Mağribī*. In the lower left corner of each verso page, a catchword is inscribed. Each page contains between 18 and 24 lines. The size of the manuscript is 21.5 cm in length and 15.5 cm in width. Part of the manuscript is missing, from *kurrāsa* (quire) 3 to 13, which equates to 11 quires or 110 pages.<sup>123</sup> In its original state, it numbered 25 quires (including those which were lost), the last of which consists of only four folios. Quire 3 (fol. 20b) ends with the word قطرب and quire 14 (fol. 21a) starts with the word جحف.<sup>124</sup> Another irregularity can be found in the 23<sup>rd</sup> quire, which consists of eight folios (111a-118b) instead of the usual ten. However, there is no text missing so it can be assumed that al-Mağribī unintentionally used an incomplete quire.

The manuscript is in fairly good condition. In some places, there is some minor damage to the pages. The first folio has sustained the most damage: it has two holes and the upper margin is missing. Furthermore, the upper margins of fols. 4, 5, and 7 are torn, as is the lower margin of fol. 10.

It seems that the manuscript is a first draft of *Daf al-iṣr*, because there are large

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<sup>121</sup> Rosen himself refers to this in his letter to Thorbecke, published in Kratchkovsky (1955) p. 369.

<sup>122</sup> See Kratchkovsky (1955) p. 372.

<sup>123</sup> Here Kratchkovsky (1955) p. 373 erroneously mentions that 12 quires, i.e. 120 pages are missing.

<sup>124</sup> 'Awwād (1968) states in the foreword of the facsimile edition that the manuscript after the missing part continues with the word ردف (see p. 11); however, this is incorrect. Indeed the word ردف is mentioned: ويقولون أي الشعراء ردف المحبوب كالجحف (line 3), but the word which is explained here is جحف, not ردف. This becomes clear starting from line four of the same folio where the different plurals of the word جحف are given. Another indication is that the next explained word is جلف (fol. 21). Furthermore, the final explained word in the missing part is from the root ḤFF, because the quotation in lines 1-3 of fol. 21a is from the chapter ḤFF of *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*.

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numbers of corrections, additions and comments added in the margins, which are in the same handwriting as the main body of the text. Any subsequent copyist would have incorporated these corrections in the text. Al-Mağribī wrote *Daf al-iṣr* between *Dū al-Ḥiğḡā* 1014<sup>125</sup> (April-May 1606) and half *Ḥumādā al-'ūlā* 1015 (half September 1606).<sup>126</sup> This is a brief period of time considering the size of the work, as he realized himself:

فإن هذا الكتاب حصل في مدة يسيرة، يسره الله عسيره، فإن ما فيه من المنظوم نظم حال الكتابة  
مع جريان القلم، وكأنه نقل من نسخة ثم<sup>127</sup>

“This book was produced in a short time, may God make his difficulties easy, and the poetry it contains puts the state of the book in proper order with the running of the pen, as if it was written down from an existing copy.”

The year 1014 AH is mentioned several times in the manuscript, on fols. 13a and 16b, and the year 1015 AH is referred to on fol. 19a. In 1016 AH, almost a year after its completion, the manuscript was still in al-Mağribī's possession, because he wrote in the margin of fol. 89b that someone he had mentioned there, had died that year. He also refers to another event that occurred in 1016.<sup>128</sup>

Red ink is used in some parts of the manuscript, notably more towards the end. Often the word *yaqūlūn* “they say”, which is used to introduce a new entry, is written in red ink to make it stand out from the rest of the text. Moreover, the two parts of a line of poetry are often divided by commas in red ink. Some words, such as *yaqūlūn* or the titles of chapters, are written somewhat larger than the rest, and the word *yaqūlūn* is sometimes accentuated with a small stroke on top.

*Daf al-iṣr* contains entries for 1406 words<sup>129</sup> in 134 folios. Taking into consideration that 110 folios were lost, the original manuscript in its complete state must have contained around 2560 entries.

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<sup>125</sup> Mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr* on fol. 1a. On fol. 133a he mentions he started the work half *Šawwāl* 1014 (beginning of February 1606); probably by the time he reached the end of the book he did not remember exactly when he had started it.

<sup>126</sup> See fol. 133a.

<sup>127</sup> Fol. 133a.

<sup>128</sup> In the margin of fol. 43a.

<sup>129</sup> 'Awwād (1968) has 1371 entries in his index. This difference is due to the fact that 'Awwād failed to mention some of the entries, such as the entries *'aflak*, *falāka*, *maflūk* on fol. 61b. Also, some other words, which are not introduced with *wa yaqūlūn*, escaped his notice, such as *al-ḥafalā* on fol. 69b and *kūkī* on fol. 62a.

### 2.3 The title

The title of the book was, initially, *al-Faḍl al-‘āmm wa qāmūs al-‘awāmm*, “The general benefit and the dictionary of the common people”, see folio 2a. It is written in its abbreviated form *al-Faḍl al-‘āmm* at the beginning of the quires on fols. 11a, 21a, 41a and 61a. On fol. 71a we find the abbreviated title, *Qāmūs al-‘awāmm*. However, al-Mağribī erased this title on folio 2a, and wrote the new title in the margin: *Daf al-iṣr ‘an kalām*<sup>130</sup> *ahl Miṣr*. On the headings of the quires we find that the old title (*al-Faḍl* etc.) has been changed into the new one.<sup>131</sup> This happens for the last time on folio 111a. On folio 119a, al-Mağribī wrote the new title directly. It is, therefore, clear that he changed the title during the writing process. He probably got the idea for the new title from the poem he wrote on fol. 99b:

راوا في عالم الرويا \* ضياءً منك يجلو الاصر  
فقلت وجآ في التاريخ \* علي پاشا ينور مصر

“They saw in a vision / a light which removed the burden from you  
I said, ‘In the history / Ali Pasha<sup>132</sup> came to enlighten Egypt’.”

One thing has to be noted: in most places in the manuscript where al-Mağribī has changed the title, it was changed to *Daf al-iṣr ‘an luğāt ahl Miṣr*,<sup>133</sup> while the variant with *kalām* instead of *luğāt* can be found in only one place, on folio 2a. Accordingly, it is not entirely clear which title al-Mağribī preferred. However, it seems likely that, at a certain stage, he decided to change the new title from *luğāt* / *luğāt* to *kalām*, but did not take the trouble to go through the whole document to do this. Since the variant with *kalām* is the one the text has become known for, this is the title I will use in this work.

There is some confusion about the title *Daf al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr*. Some authors refer to it, erroneously, as *Raf al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr*, e.g. GAL II p. 368, including Ibn Abī al-Surūr in his introduction to *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, even though he possessed the original.<sup>134</sup> The confusion is probably due to the existence of a famous work entitled *Raf al-iṣr ‘an quḍāt Miṣr* by Ibn Ḥağar al-‘Asqalānī (773/1372-

<sup>130</sup> Was first *luğāt*, then changed into *kalām*, or vice versa, this is unclear.

<sup>131</sup> Fols. 51a, 81a, 91a, 101a, 111a.

<sup>132</sup> ‘Alī IV, governor of Egypt from Ṣafar 1010/August 1601 to Rabī‘ II 1012/September 1603. See Holt (1973) p. 189. “Several pashas also held the rank of vizier”, see Winter (1992) p. 32.

<sup>133</sup> Fols. 51a, 81a, 91a, 101a, 111a, 119a, 129a.

<sup>134</sup> Ibn Abī al-Surūr (1962), p. 9. More on Ibn Abī al-Surūr and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* will be said in §3.4.

## Description of the Manuscript

852/1449).<sup>135</sup> Nonetheless, there is no doubt that al-Maġribī wrote *Daf* and not *Raf*. Al-Maġribī's *dāl* cannot be mistaken for a *rā'*. The meaning of the two words is similar, the first being "pushing away", the second "lifting up", and therefore "removing".

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<sup>135</sup> See GAL II pp. 80-83.

## CHAPTER 3

### About *Daf al-İşr ‘an kalām ahl Mişr*

#### 3.1 The contents of *Daf al-İşr*

*Daf al-İşr* is an important source of the Egyptian dialect used at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. It is presented in the form of a list of Egyptian Arabic words, which al-Mağribī checked for consistency with Classical Arabic, referring mainly to al-Fīrūzābādī’s *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*. As the title of *Daf al-İşr* indicates, al-Mağribī’s aim was to prove that many Egyptian dialect words, which were considered to be “incorrect” Arabic, in fact have their roots in the Classical Arabic language. This makes *Daf al-İşr* a work of special interest because it is one of very few in this field, as will be shown in §3.3.1.

Since al-Mağribī did not have many precedents to follow, it is interesting to discover more about his motives for writing this work,<sup>136</sup> the books that influenced him,<sup>137</sup> and his methodology, namely what kind of words he discussed, how he examined them, and whether or not he was successful in doing so.<sup>138</sup> *Daf al-İşr* has attracted scholarly interest over the years, and the studies that have been written about it will be discussed in §3.4 and §3.5.

In this chapter, only *Daf al-İşr*’s linguistic aspects will be considered. Another element of the book is its poetry, both by al-Mağribī and others, as well as its many (rhyming) riddles. Al-Mağribī used these as a way of proving the validity of a word (if it was found in a poem in Classical Arabic). He also utilized them to demonstrate the use of a word, or simply to enliven the text and highlight his prowess at the art. These poems will be discussed separately, in Chapter 4.

Apart from its linguistic and literary interest, *Daf al-İşr* contains valuable information about Egyptian culture during the 16th/17th centuries, such as the types of clothing and food that were common, and the new fashion of tobacco and coffee. These aspects will be discussed in Chapter 6.

#### 3.2 Al-Mağribī’s reasons for writing *Daf al-İşr*

The actual word list starts at fol. 3b. Fols. 1a-3a contain an introduction in which al-Mağribī mentions his reasons for writing *Daf al-İşr*. His aim was:

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<sup>136</sup> See §3.2.

<sup>137</sup> See §3.3.

<sup>138</sup> See §3.6 and §3.7.

بيان الفاظ يحكم الظاهر بخطائها والحال انها صواب \* وكلمات تظهر صحتها ولم توافق ما عليه  
ذوو الالباب

“Clarifying words which appear to be wrong, while the fact is that they are correct, and other words which appear to be correct, but about which the intellectuals do not agree”.<sup>139</sup>

So, his main aim was to prove that words which the intellectuals thought were incorrect, i.e. not the same as in Classical Arabic, or about which there were doubts, in fact were not “wrong” at all. The way in which he wanted to achieve this is explained on fol. 2a:

ان يرتب هذا الكتاب على ابهج ترتيب \* ويهذب ما يقع من عوام اهل مصر بان يرجعه للصواب  
وهذا هو التعريب \* مغترفا من القاموس والغباب \* مبيتا لما حكم بخطائه انه صواب

“To arrange this book in the most splendid way, and improve what is said by the common people of Egypt, by relating it to the correct form, which is *ta’rīb* (“Arabization”), scooping from *al-Qāmūs* and *al-‘Ubāb*, and clarifying that what is considered to be wrong, is correct.”

To check the existence of dialectal words in Classical Arabic, al-Mağribī intended to use *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* by al-Fīrūz’ābādī<sup>140</sup> and *al-‘Ubāb al-zāhir wa l-lubāb al-fāḥir* by Raḍī al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Ṣağānī (577/1181-650/1252).<sup>141</sup> Yet, contrary to this statement, al-Mağribī did not actually use *al-‘Ubāb* as a source for *Daf al-iṣr* in the section of the manuscript that is left for us to read.

Al-Mağribī realized that what he intended to do was quite unique, as we can read on fols. 2b-3a:

وكل من هذين اي نظم الالفاظ المشتركة وتطبيق الالفاظ الذي يظهر خطاها على الصواب ما  
صنعه احد في علمي وانما الحريري في درة الغواص يبين أوهام الخواص وغالبها يقبل الاجوبة

<sup>139</sup> Although the sentence *kalimāt...al-albāb* seems grammatically incorrect, the meaning is clear.

<sup>140</sup> See §1.1.1 for full biographical details.

<sup>141</sup> See *GAL I* pp. 443-4.

“To the best of my knowledge, neither of these i.e. the arrangement of joint words<sup>142</sup> and the application of the words which appear to be wrong in their correct form, has been done by anybody before. However, al-Ḥarīrī demonstrated the errors of the elite in his *Durrat al-ġawwās*,<sup>143</sup> and the majority of these errors need a reply”.

On fol. 3a he tells about an incident which strengthened his determination to pursue this idea:

وسبب هذا الصنع ان بعض متشدين سمع من بعض الاصحاب الفاظا فصار يهزو به ويسخر منه مع انها تحتل الصواب مثل فلان خرج باقعه في الشبي الفلاني وسمع عند لعبه الشطرنج رسيله يقول مرماذ فضحك عليه وانما المرماذ من الرمذ وكانه يقول له ما رايت في هذا الدست فاستخرت الله في ذلك

“The reason for this work is that a boaster heard one of his friends say certain expressions, so he started to make fun of him and ridicule him, although they [the expressions] conveyed the correct meaning, like ‘so and so turned out to be a sly fox (*bāqī’a*) in this or that case’; and he heard his messenger say *marmād* during a chess-game so he laughed at him, but *marmād* comes from *ramad* ‘inflammation of the eye’, as if he says to him: ‘I did not see in this game,’<sup>144</sup> so I asked God for proper guidance.”

When reading *Durrat al-ġawwās*, al-Maġribī realised that certain words, which were considered to be incorrect, did in fact not deviate from Classical Arabic. Furthermore, he noticed that people who used this kind of language were being laughed at. He, therefore, felt the need to correct this ignorance by investigating which colloquial words had the same meaning in Classical Arabic. However, on fol. 3a he states that he knows he would not always be able to achieve this goal:

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<sup>142</sup> *muṣṭarik*: al-Maġribī meant: words which have more than one meaning. In the paragraph before this quotation, al-Maġribī discussed the different meanings of the verb ‘*arab*’ (see fol. 2a).

<sup>143</sup> For biographical details, see §1.1. *Durrat al-ġawwās* is a specimen of the *lahn al-‘amma*-literature, see §3.3.1.

<sup>144</sup> Apparently this is an exclamation used when somebody loses a piece or is being checkmated. See §5.4.

وليس المراد أن جميع ما صدر من الناس أصححه وإنما ما قبل الصحة نبينه وما لا يقبل أصرح  
بعدم قبوله

“It is not my intention to correct everything the people say, but to throw light on everything that is acceptable, and to clarify everything that is not acceptable, and why that is the case.”

On fol. 133a, at the end of the work, al-Mağribī gives a completely different reason for writing *Daf al-İşr*:

وكان الباعث لهذا الأمر الغير الإمر انني قصدت مطالعة القاموس المحيط

“The incentive for this not so painful affair was that I intended to study *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*”.

However, the fact that one reason is given does not mean that any others are invalid. Writing *Daf al-İşr*, therefore, served al-Mağribī’s purposes well in defending the Egyptian dialect, while at the same time it enabled him to study *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. The outcome of his examination even surprised him on occasions:

ويقولون ويقع كثيرا من النساء فلان على الحال ما يزعق أي سريع الغيظ والعجيب أنه قال في  
القاموس «الزعقوك كعُصْفُور السبيح الخلق» انتهى ومحل التعجب موافقتهم للمعنى اللغوي وهذا  
ومثله حملني على وضع هذا الكتاب فإن غالب كلمات أهالي مصر يوافق اللغة<sup>145</sup>

“They say, and this is heard often from women, so-and-so ‘*alā l-ḥāl mā yiza‘qaq*, i.e. “he gets angry immediately”, and the amazing thing is that he [= al-Fīrūzābādī] says in *al-Qāmūs* that “*al-zu‘qūq* with the pattern of ‘*uṣfūr* is somebody who has a bad temper”, end of quotation, and the cause of this amazement is their [= the women’s] conformity with the meaning in the Classical language. This and other similar cases induced me to write this book, because the greater proportion of the words of the people of Egypt is in conformity with the [Classical Arabic] language.”

Unfortunately, this example is based on an error, for *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* mentions الزعفوق with the meaning described by al-Mağribī, not الزعقوك.<sup>146</sup> However, it demonstrates that al-Mağribī was genuinely pleased when he could relate an Egyptian-Arabic word to Classical Arabic.

<sup>145</sup> Fol. 42a.

<sup>146</sup> See *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 801c.



### 3.3 Works that influenced al-Mağribī

#### 3.3.1 *Laḥn al-‘amma*-literature

Criticizing the language of certain people, like al-Ḥarīrī did in *Durrat al-ğawwāş*, was common. Works of this genre, generally known as *laḥn al-‘amma*,<sup>147</sup> or “errors of language made by the common people”, already existed in the second century AH.<sup>148</sup> Their design was “to correct deviations by reference to the contemporary linguistic norm, as determined by the purists”.<sup>149</sup>

Al-Mağribī borrows some of the terminology used in the *laḥn al-‘amma* literature, e.g. he introduces the dialect word with *yaqūlūn* “they say”, and the correct form (if he establishes that the dialect form is not ‘correct’) by *wa al-şawāb...* “whereas the norm is...”.<sup>150</sup> This could be an indication that al-Mağribī got his inspiration for *Daf al-İşr* from the *laḥn al-‘amma* literature. We know that he was familiar with at least one specimen of the genre: al-Ḥarīrī’s *Durrat al-ğawwāş fī awḥām al-ḥawāşş*, of which al-Mağribī produced an arrangement and appendix.<sup>151</sup> Nevertheless, al-Mağribī’s purpose was the opposite of that of the *laḥn al-‘amma* literature, i.e. *defending* the colloquial language, instead of attacking it. He introduces a word without prejudice, and *then* examines whether the word is ‘correct’ Arabic or not. However, this positive attitude does not mean that he completely refrains from pointing out ‘errors’ in the language of the Egyptians.

Mağar (1966) p. 56 refers to some authors who have devoted part of their *laḥn al-‘amma* work to words that were considered to be incorrect, even though they were not,<sup>152</sup> as well as to authors who devoted a *complete* work to the dialectal words that can be found in Classical Arabic. As well as *Daf al-İşr*, *Baḥr al-‘awwām fīmā ‘aşāb fih al-‘awāmm* by Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Ḥanbalī (d. 971/1563),<sup>153</sup> and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa luğat ‘ahl Mişr min luğat al-‘arab* by Ibn abī al-Surūr<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> This expression, or the similar *laḥn al-‘awāmm*, is often used in titles of works of this genre, although different titles can be found as well such as *Kitāb ğalaṭāt al-‘awāmm* or *Kitāb mā tağlaṭ fih al-‘awāmm*, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> V p. 606a (Ch. Pellat).

<sup>148</sup> According to *EI*<sup>2</sup> V p. 607a (Ch. Pellat) the *Kitāb mā talḥan fih al-‘awāmm* or *Risāla fī laḥn al-‘amma*, attributed to al-Kisāī (d. 189/805), is probably the first work of the genre.

<sup>149</sup> *EI*<sup>2</sup> V p. 605 (Ch. Pellat).

<sup>150</sup> Compare *EI*<sup>2</sup> V p. 605 (Ch. Pellat).

<sup>151</sup> See *Daf al-İşr* fols. 3a, 8b, 9a and §1.4.

<sup>152</sup> E.g. Ibn Hişām al-Laḥmī, Ibn Makkī in *Tatqīf al-lisān*, and Ibn al-Sayyid al-Baṭalyūsī in *al-Iqtīḍāb*.

<sup>153</sup> See *GAL* S II pp. 495-6.

<sup>154</sup> For the latter see §3.4.

also belong in this category. However, the latter is an abbreviated version of *Daf al-iṣr*.

Al-Mağribī does not include the word *‘amma* or *‘awāmm* (“the common people”) in the title of his book. He speaks of *kalām ahl Miṣr*, “the language of the people of Egypt”, without specifying any particular group. As mentioned in §2.3, al-Mağribī changed the title during the writing process: The original title of the work was *al-Faḍl al-‘āmm wa qāmūs al-‘awāmm*, “The general benefit and the dictionary of the common people”. The word *‘awāmm* was often used in the genre of the “language errors” literature, e.g. al-Zubaydī’s *Laḥn al-‘awāmm*, and the *Kitāb mā talḥan fīhi al-‘awāmm*, which is attributed to al-Kisāī.<sup>155</sup> However, the *‘awāmm* were not always the target, but rather the *ḥawāṣṣ*, whose feelings were spared by the reference in the title to the *‘awāmm*. Al-Mağribī does not give a clear indication of whose speech he is describing. Usually, when he discusses a word, he does not specify which group uses it. However, he does sometimes mention this explicitly: “This can be heard from the *ḥawāṣṣ*”, “this occurs from the *‘awāmm*”, “this is heard from the peasants”, “that can be heard mostly from the women”, etc. Accordingly, it can be concluded that the words which do not have such a specification were those used by all classes of society. This might also be one of the reasons why al-Mağribī decided to change the title of the book.

Moreover, *Daf al-iṣr* differs from the *Laḥn al-‘amma* literature in that al-Mağribī not only mentions mistakes and deviations made in attempts to write Classical Arabic, but also pure dialect words whose meaning cannot be found in any Arabic source, as well as words that have a foreign origin.

### 3.3.2 Al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ

Al-Mağribī admired al-Fīrūzābādī’s *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. It is almost the only dictionary he refers to in his quest for an explanation of colloquial words.<sup>156</sup> It is safe to say that at least half of *Daf al-iṣr* consists of quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. Al-Fīrūzābādī was an outstanding and innovative lexicographer, and his dictionary is original in some respects. In order to include as many entries as possible in a limited space, al-Fīrūzābādī left out examples (*ṣawāhid*), and used a system of abbreviations of his own invention, for instance ع for *mawḍi‘* “place” to indicate a place-name in general, ڤ for *balad* “town”, ڤ for *qarya* “village”, ڤ for

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<sup>155</sup> See *EI* V p. 605b (Ch. Pellat).

<sup>156</sup> Sometimes, notably more towards the end, al-Mağribī also quotes from *Muḥtaṣar al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, an abbreviation of *Tāǧ al-luǧa wa ṣiḥāḥ al-‘arabiya* by Ismā‘īl b. Ḥammād al-Ġawharī (d. ca. 398/1008). See *GAL* S I p. 196 and *EI* II p. 495b ff. (L. Kopf).

ḡam’ “plural”, م for ma’rūf “known” for entries which need not be explained<sup>157</sup> (for instance the word *raḡul*<sup>158</sup>). In this way, he succeeded in cramming 60,000 entries into two volumes.<sup>159</sup> In *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, al-Fīrūzābādī criticizes al-Ġawharī’s *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, and states in his introduction that: “half the language or more escaped him [al-Ġawharī]”,<sup>160</sup> and adds that it contains “clear delusions and shameful mistakes”.<sup>161</sup> Al-Maḡribī copied these criticisms without any research, and even added some of his own, for instance:

ويقولون على المركب الصغير زورق وهو صحيح قال في القاموس «الزورق السفينة الصغيرة» وهو أوضح من قول المختصر الزورق ضرب من السفن<sup>162</sup>

“They say to a small boat *zuraq*, and this is correct. He said in *al-Qāmūs*: ‘a *zawraq* is a small boat’, which is clearer than the words of *al-Muḥtaṣar*:<sup>163</sup> ‘a *zawraq* is a kind of boat’.”

Nonetheless, al-Maḡribī does not criticize al-Fīrūzābādī when the latter includes in his dictionary words which are obviously not of Arabic origin. A good example is the word *mūm* “wax; candles”, which is Persian.<sup>164</sup> Knowing this language, al-Maḡribī must obviously have realized this. Nevertheless, he quoted the following without criticism:

يقولون ويسمع كثيرا من الترك على الشمع موم ويتوهم انه غير عربي وهو عربي قال في القاموس «الموم بالضم الشمع واداة للحائك يضع فيه الغزل وينسج به واداة الاسكاف والبرسام»<sup>165</sup>

“They say *mūm* for “wax; candles”, and this is often heard from the Turks. It is erroneously believed that this is not Arabic, although it is. He said in *al-Qāmūs*: “*mūm* with *ḍamm* means “wax; candles” and an instrument for the weaver into which he puts the yarn and with which he weaves, and an instrument of the shoemaker; [it also means] the pleurisy”.”

<sup>157</sup> See al-Fīrūzābādī’s introduction to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 32d.

<sup>158</sup> See *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 903b.

<sup>159</sup> See Haywood (1965) p. 87. The edition I used (published by Dār al-Fikr, Beirut, in 1999) even succeeded in comprising the whole work in one volume.

<sup>160</sup> *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 32c.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.* p. 32h.

<sup>162</sup> Fol. 42a.

<sup>163</sup> Al-Maḡribī used an abbreviated version of *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*.

<sup>164</sup> Steingass (1975) p. 1348: موم “*mom, mūm, wax; a wax-candle*”.

<sup>165</sup> *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 106a.

Al-Mağribī’s friend and colleague, al-Ḥafāğī, was more realistic when he wrote in *Şifā’ al-ğalīl fīmā fī kalām al-‘arab min al-daḥīl* p. 202:

موم بمعنى الشمع فارسي (...) وكلام القاموس يوهم خلافه وهو وهم  
“*mūm* meaning “wax, candles” is Persian (...) and the words of *al-Qāmūs* wrongly suggest the contrary, but this is a delusion”.

Another sign of the appreciation al-Mağribī felt for *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* is the fact that he followed the same arrangement for entries in his own work, the so-called rhyme arrangement, which arranges roots according to their last radical. The roots are presented in the normal alphabetical order, with the exception of the *wāw*, which is given before the *hā’*. Each new chapter, based on the last radical of a root, is introduced with the word *ḥarf* or *bāb*. Each first radical is introduced with the word *faṣl*, e.g. the word *ğāšim* “unjust, tyrant” can be found in *ḥarf al-mīm*, *faṣl al-ğayn*. This was the common order in the dictionaries of the time.<sup>166</sup> Although other dictionaries used this system, we can assume that had *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* used a different one, al-Mağribī would have followed suit.

Finally, we can detect the significant influence of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* in the choice of entries in *Daf al-İsr*. Sometimes, al-Mağribī mentions a word which he found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* but has a different meaning in the Egyptian dialect, i.e. the word *ğubūq* (fol. 50a) which meant “cloudy” in Egyptian Arabic while *ğabūq* means “evening draught” in Classical Arabic. One often gets the impression that al-Mağribī was leafing through *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, and choosing the entries he found interesting even though he had nothing to add to what *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* had written, other than confirming that the Egyptians used the word in the same way. There are many consecutive pages in which al-Mağribī does not introduce any words that cannot be found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. This could be the reason why many of those included in *Daf al-İsr* are of no interest, or are not even worth mentioning in a dictionary of the spoken Arabic of Cairo. Examples are expressions such as *šā’ir mufliq* “an outstanding poet”<sup>167</sup> or *al-’awwāl wa l-’āḥir* “the first and the last”.<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> See Haywood (1965) p. 48. This order can be found also in *Lisān al-‘arab*.

<sup>167</sup> fol. 53b.

<sup>168</sup> fol. 93b.

### 3.4 *Daf al-iṣr* and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*

As explained in §2.2, the *Daf al-iṣr* manuscript has lost some quires over the course of time. To a certain extent, what was written in the missing section can be reconstructed with the help of another work, known as *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa luḡat ‘ahl Miṣr min luḡāt al-‘Arab* (“The abbreviated speech concerning what corresponds in the language of the people of Egypt with the languages of the Arabs”, hereafter referred to as *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*) by Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī. *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* is a dictionary of the Egyptian Arabic colloquial, and is based on *Daf al-iṣr*, but in an abbreviated form. It was written in 1057/1647, and its author, who at the end of the work states his name as Muḥammad Ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Ṣiddīqī al-Ṣāfiī Sibṭ ‘Alī al-Ḥasan,<sup>169</sup> was a member of a famous Egyptian family, affiliated to the Bakrīya *sūfi* order. Ibn Abī al-Surūr was probably born in 998/1589-90.<sup>170</sup> There is disagreement about the exact date of his death. Opinions vary from anywhere between 1060/1650 and 1087/1676, but Rafeq (1975) pp. 25-27 offers 1653 as being the most likely. Ibn Abī al-Surūr is one of the most important historians from the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>171</sup>

Fortunately, Ibn Abī al-Surūr’s abbreviation of *Daf al-iṣr* is based on the complete manuscript. This helps us to reconstruct some of the entries that were lost. However, he left out all of the words which do not have an Arabic root, depriving linguists of the most interesting aspect of the work. He abbreviated the quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, and left out the anecdotes and poetry etc. because he believed that al-Maḡribī had a habit of elaborating and digressing from the main purpose of the book.<sup>172</sup> *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* is, therefore, a better arranged and more structured document than *Daf al-iṣr*. However, it lacks much of the charm of its predecessor. We should give Ibn Abī al-Surūr credit for checking the entries in *Daf al-iṣr* against other dictionaries that were not consulted by al-Maḡribī, such as Ibn Manẓūr’s *Lisān al-‘Arab*, Ibn al-‘Anbārī’s *al-Zāhir*<sup>173</sup> and Karā‘ al-Naml’s *al-Muḡarrad*.<sup>174</sup> After Ibn Abī al-Surūr, both manuscripts (*Daf al-iṣr* and *al-*

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<sup>169</sup> See Rafeq (1975) p. 25 for his full name.

<sup>170</sup> Ibid. p. 27.

<sup>171</sup> Detailed information can be found in Rafeq (1975). He does not, however, mention *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*.

<sup>172</sup> See Ibn Abī al-Surūr (1962) p. 7 in his introduction to *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*.

<sup>173</sup> Full title *al-Zāhir fī ma‘ānī kalimāt al-nās* by Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim al-Anbārī (231/885-328/940), see GAL S I p. 182.

<sup>174</sup> Full title *al-Muḡarrad fī ḡarīb kalām al-‘Arab wa luḡātihā* by ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Hunāī al-Ru‘āsī, known as Kurā‘ al-Naml (d. 922/1516), see GAL S I p. 201. See e.g. the entry رُؤْسُ أَبَا which

*Qawl al-muqtaḍab*) fell into the hands of Yūsuf al-Mallawī, known as Ibn al-Wakīl.<sup>175</sup> He copied Ibn Abī al-Surūr’s *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, while keeping *Daf al-İşr* open next to it, and added some of the entries that Ibn Abī al-Surūr had left out.<sup>176</sup> The version of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* referred to hereafter is the version published in 1962 by al-Sayyid Ibrāhīm Sālīm, and introduced by Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī. This version contains Ibn Abī al-Surūr’s text, including that added by Ibn al-Wakīl.

*Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* contains 863 entries. As calculated previously,<sup>177</sup> *Daf al-İşr* must, originally, have contained around 2560 entries. This means that *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* includes only one third of the entries of *Daf al-İşr*, since Ibn Abī al-Surūr and Ibn al-Wakīl did not believe that the rest fit the purpose of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, and discarded them.

Not only did Ibn Abī al-Surūr choose which entries to include, but he also often reworded them and made considerable changes to the text. Set out below are four examples which demonstrate how he changed the wording and the effect this has on the meaning of the text:

1. In *Daf al-İşr* fol. 26a: المشغوف وفي اللغة المشغوف المجنون “they say: so-and-so is *mašğūf* and in the [Classical Arabic] language *mašğūf* means ‘crazy’”. *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 111 rewords this as follows: يقولون: فلان (شَغَفَهُ) الحب: أى “they say: so-and-so, love *šagafahu*, i.e. made him go out of his mind, and it is correct in the Classical Arabic language”.
2. *Daf al-İşr* fol. 69a: ويطلق الجميل ايضا على الشتم “they use the word *ğamīl* ‘beautiful’ also as an insult”. *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 134: يقولون: فلان (جميل) الصورة مثلا “they say: so-and-so is *ğamīl* ‘beautiful’ of shape for instance”.
3. *Daf al-İşr* fol. 107a: يقولون فلان كثير النيام أي النوم وهو صحيح ايضا مثل الصوم والصيام “they say: so-and-so sleeps much (*kaṭīr al-niyām*), and it is correct as well, just

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al-Mağribī could not find in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (see fol. 13b), while Ibn Abī al-Surūr found it in *al-Muğarrad* (see p. 14 of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*).

<sup>175</sup> For more information about this person, see §2.1.

<sup>176</sup> See the introduction to the edition of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, p. 7, where the introduction which the copist Ibn al-Wakīl added to the work is published. These additions to the text led Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, who wrote the introduction to the edition of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, to believe that he held in his hands a work which contained the complete contents of *Daf al-İşr*. This is understandable, because he had not seen *Daf al-İşr* so could not compare the two, but he was incorrect.

<sup>177</sup> See §2.2.

like *ṣawm* and *ṣiyām*”. *Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 149: *ويقولون: فلان كثير النوم وهو* صحيح “they say: so-and-so sleeps much (*kaṭīr al-nawm*), which is correct”.

4. *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 92a *يقولون اتمقل بعينك* “they say *itmaqal* ‘look’ with your eye”.

*Al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 141 *يقولون (مقل) بعينك* “they say: *maqal* ‘to look’ with your eye”.

In the first example, Ibn Abī al-Surūr simply changed the way in which the word is represented, from the passive participle to active perfect. In the second example, he totally missed the point of mentioning the specific use of the word *ḡamīl* as an insult, and left us with the less interesting, well-known, meaning of “beautiful”. In the third example, he ignored the information that in the Egyptian dialect, two *maṣḍars* of the verb *nām* are used: *niyām* and *nawm*. He only mentioned the second, more common one, while al-Maḡribī’s point was that the more striking *niyām* should be referred to. In the fourth example, Ibn Abī al-Surūr turned the interesting form V with prefix *it-* into an ordinary form I. Unfortunately, these kind of changes happen a lot, and therefore it must be concluded that as a linguistic document, *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* is far less interesting than *Daf al-iṣr*.

### 3.5 Earlier studies of *Daf al-Iṣr*

Undoubtedly, Ibn Abī al-Surūr and Ibn al-Wakīl were the first to study *Daf al-iṣr*. After these two efforts, it remained unnoticed for almost two centuries, even when it came into the hands of Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī, who took it with him to Russia, along with the rest of his manuscript collection, but did not, apparently, publish anything about it. This is remarkable, since al-Ṭanṭāwī was interested in the Egyptian dialect, as can be seen in his *Traité de la langue arabe vulgaire*.

After *Daf al-iṣr* was added to the collection of the university library in St. Petersburg, the first to note the importance of the work was Victor Romanovič Rosen (1849-1908). In 1875, he wrote a letter to the German orientalist Heinrich Thorbecke (1837-1890), in which he described the manuscript and quoted some interesting passages from it, with the aim of encouraging Thorbecke to study the text. This seemed to work, and Thorbecke copied the manuscript, albeit excluding the quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. After his death, along with Thorbecke’s

other scholarly papers, this copy was bequeathed to the library of the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft. It is now kept in the University of Halle’s library.<sup>178</sup>

The next person to take an interest in the manuscript was Ignatij Julianovič Kratchkovsky (1883-1951), who wrote an excellent article about *Daf al-İşr* and its author in 1926. Subsequently, it seems that the existence of *Daf al-İşr* escaped the notice of many scholars outside Russia. Ibrāhīm al-Ibyārī, who wrote the introduction to the printed edition of *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*, mentions that *Daf al-İşr* had been lost.<sup>179</sup> This was because it had initially been in private hands, and had apparently never been copied and circulated; it was then taken to Russia. If al-Ibyārī had checked Brockelmann’s *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, he would have discovered that the manuscript is still in existence.

In 1968, *Daf al-İşr* was published as a facsimile by the Publishing House Nauk (“Science”), in Moscow. The text was introduced by ‘Abd al-Salām Aḥmad ‘Awwād in Russian and Arabic. He also produced extensive indices of the entries, Qur’ān-verses, *ḥadīṭ*, proverbs, poetry by al-Mağribī and others, songs, riddles, famous people, sects and tribes, places, and books by al-Mağribī and other authors. ‘Awwād worked as a teacher of Arabic at the University in St. Petersburg (Leningrad at that time) between 1961 and 1965. In 1964, he received a Doctorate for his introduction to and indices of *Daf al-İşr*.<sup>180</sup> In his nine page Arabic introduction, ‘Awwād provides some information about al-Mağribī’s life, and a description of the manuscript. It was only after the publication of the facsimile edition that the work attracted the attention of scholars. According to some witnesses, it was distributed in a bookshop in Cairo, and a number of reviews and articles were thus published about it. A few are mentioned below:

- In 1969, Sharbatov presented *Daf al-İşr* in a colloque, and an abbreviation of his lecture was published in French, while in 1970 the full text was published in Arabic. In the Arabic article, he discusses several of the linguistic characteristics of the Egyptian dialect which can be found in *Daf al-İşr*, such as placing the interrogatives at the end of the sentence, the frequent use of certain word patterns, such as *fa‘‘āl*, changes in vowels, proverbs and expressions.

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<sup>178</sup> See Müller-Socin (1891) p. 480, nr. 124. Ms. Th. A93. I gratefully thank the library of the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg for providing me with a digital image on CD Rom of Thorbecke’s copy of *Daf al-İşr*.

<sup>179</sup> See §3.4.

<sup>180</sup> See Hiğāzī (1968) p. 117.



- Ramaḍān ‘Abd al-Tawwāb published an article in 1969-1970 about *Daf al-iṣr*, in which he discusses at length several of the linguistic phenomena that appear in it, such as emphasis, metathesis, loss of interdental, change of vowels etc.
- A review of *Daf al-iṣr* was published by Maḥmūd Fahmī Ḥiḡāzī in 1969. He begins with a statement about the title of the manuscript, when it was written, and for what reason. He then proceeds to discuss a number of linguistic characteristics, such as the loss of interdental and *hamza*, the words of foreign origin, and the words that are specific to certain classes, which al-Maḡribī discusses.
- An interesting book by Nāṣir ‘Abd Allāh ‘Uṭmān, about the sciences in Egypt in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, was published in 2006. In it, a chapter is devoted to the work of linguists. *Daf al-iṣr* is mentioned as one of the most important linguistic documents of that time. Unfortunately, ‘Uṭmān was unable to consult the manuscript or the ‘Awwād edition, and therefore only refers to the aforementioned article by Sharbatov.<sup>181</sup>

So far, the interest in *Daf al-iṣr* had been purely linguistic. The first to shed light on another aspect of the work was Olga Frolova, who wrote a number of articles about the *mawāwīl* in *Daf al-iṣr*.<sup>182</sup> The dialectal poetry in *Daf al-iṣr* will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. In 2003, Nelly Hanna used *Daf al-iṣr* in her study of the culture of the middle classes in Ottoman Egypt. In this work, she gives us clear insight into the reasons for the rising interest in colloquial language at that time. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the middle classes in Egypt were living very comfortably due to thriving trade and low taxes, which gave them the means to spend more time and money on matters such as education and books. In order to communicate their ideas to these ordinary people, the ‘ulamā started to adapt their style and subject-matters to a non-academic readership.<sup>183</sup> At the same time, the culture of the middle classes also started to influence scholarly work.<sup>184</sup> It therefore seems that al-Maḡribī’s *Daf al-iṣr* was part of a wider trend of incorporating non-scholarly content, i.e. the middle class culture, into a scholarly form. The fact that al-Maḡribī was from this class certainly played a part in his choice of subject.

According to Hanna, a similar interest in the dialect appears in three works that were also written during the 17th century, although somewhat later than *Daf al-iṣr*. Two of these concern the loanwords that had entered the Arabic language.

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<sup>181</sup> See Uṭmān (2006) p. 275 footnote 81.

<sup>182</sup> See Frolova (1982), Frolova (1995) and Frolova (1997).

<sup>183</sup> Hanna (2003) p. 112-113.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid. p. 113-114.

One is from Egypt, the aforementioned *Šifā’ al-ḡalīl fīmā fi kalām al-‘arab min al-daḥīl* by Šihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥafāḡī, and the second, from Syria, is by al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699), *Qaṣd al-sabīl fīmā fi al-luḡa al-‘arabīya min al-daḥīl*. Hanna describes the last work as follows: “One of his (al-Muḥibbī’s) aims was to pinpoint colloquial words that were used by the ‘amma. He distinguished them from imported words (*daḥīl*) with the aim of showing them to be distortions (*taḥwīf*), or Arabic words that the ‘amma distorted. He considered the use of the colloquial to be a negative development and one he disapproved of. His work nevertheless indicates that the question had by his lifetime become one of open debate, a significant phenomenon in itself”.<sup>185</sup> Here we see the difference to the approach of al-Maḡribī, who did not disapprove of the colloquial.

### 3.6 Al-Maḡribī’s methodology

As mentioned in §2.3, the first title al-Maḡribī gave to his work was *al-Faḍl al-‘āmm wa qāmūs al-‘awāmm*. The word *qāmūs* “dictionary” implies an attempt at an exhaustive word list, with an explanation of the meaning of every word. Al-Maḡribī does not, however, follow the principle of listing all of the words and giving their meanings. For instance, he does not mention personal pronouns in separate entries. Moreover, many simple, everyday objects are left out. For instance, he gives us the words *mi’laqa* “spoon” and *maḡrafa* “ladle” but not the one for knife. Apart from using *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* as a source of inspiration, it remains unclear which criteria al-Maḡribī used to select the words he went on to discuss. He states that it is his intention to comment on words which were believed to be incorrect, even though they do in fact conform to Classical Arabic. However, this is not always the case, because he also discusses many words which he proved did not so conform, or which are not Arabic at all. Al-Maḡribī, probably, discussed words that raised doubts, whatever the result of his research might be. His love of anecdotes and poetry might also have played a role in his choice of material. I assume that if a certain word had inspired him to compose a clever *mawwāl*, it would then be tempting for him to include it in his work, in order to demonstrate his poetical skills.

In certain cases, al-Maḡribī mentions a word, followed by his opinion on its correctness by referring to *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, but without explaining its meaning. It remains unclear whether al-Maḡribī considered that the meanings of these words were commonly known, or whether he believed that they had the same meaning as given in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, and therefore believed it to be unnecessary

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<sup>185</sup> Ibid. p. 131.

to explain them. As an example, we can consider the entry *kittān* “linen” (117b). In this case, al-Mağribī omitted to give a definition of it, and simply corrected its form:

يقولون فلان ما عنده اداوة ناس ولم يعلم قال «الإداوة بالكسر المطهرة جمع ادوي كفتاوي والاداة الالة جمعه ادوات» ففعل قولهم اداوة ناس اصله ادوات فغيرت  
“They say *kittān* with an *i* after the *kāf*, but it is *kattān* with an *a*”.

This case presents no problem because the meaning of the word *kittān* / *kattān* is known, but when the word or expression is not, as in the following example from fol. 123a, it becomes very difficult to guess its meaning:

يقولون فلان ما عنده اداوة ناس ولم يعلم قال «الإداوة بالكسر المطهرة جمع ادوي كفتاوي والاداة الالة جمعه ادوات» ففعل قولهم اداوة ناس اصله ادوات فغيرت  
“They say: so-and-so has no *idāwāt nās*, and this is unknown.<sup>186</sup> He says:<sup>187</sup> ‘*idāwa* with an *i* is a washroom, pl. ‘*adāwā*, like *fatāwā*, and ‘*adāh* is a tool, pl. ‘*adawāt*. So perhaps the origin of their expression *idāwāt nās* is ‘*adawāt*, which was subject to a change”.

Unfortunately, in most cases al-Mağribī does not vocalize the entries of his word list, which makes it difficult to determine how they should be pronounced. Another problem is the spelling, especially of the *hamza*,<sup>188</sup> as well as the placement of diacritical points, which is sometimes inaccurate.

Al-Mağribī considered any word to be correct Arabic if it could be retraced to an Arabic root, while its meaning has a resemblance, no matter how distant, to the meaning of it. The root should not have undergone any phonetic changes, such as a change from interdental fricative to dental stop.<sup>189</sup> If a word does not have an Arabic root, al-Mağribī normally states that it is “unknown” to him, meaning that he did not find it in the Classical Arabic dictionaries. Al-Mağribī knew Persian and Turkish, as is obvious from the translations he had carried out (see §1.4). Therefore, he was able to trace back some of the dialect words in these languages. When a word was derived from a language like Turkish or Persian, al-Mağribī does not label it “incorrect”, which is a sign that he cannot be considered as a purist who wished to keep the Arabic language “clean” of foreign influences.

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<sup>186</sup> I.e., it cannot be found in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*

<sup>187</sup> See *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* p. 1133a.

<sup>188</sup> See §6.1.1.

<sup>189</sup> For instance *miṭl* → *mitl*, see *Daf al-İşr* fol. 91.

Al-Mağribī’s treatment of the interdentalals will serve as an example of his attitude towards language changes. It is known that in al-Mağribī’s time, the interdentalals had disappeared from the dialect of Cairo.<sup>190</sup> Although he does not make a general statement about this matter, he gives evidence of the shift from interdentalals to dentalals in several entries. The only time he explicitly mentions this change is when, on fol. 11a, he wrote by mistake *faṣl al-bā’ al-muṭannāh* (“Chapter of the *bā’* with two diacritical points”) and then changed it into *al-muwaḥḥada* (“with one diacritical point”). He then added the following comment in the margin:

المحدثين بالتا المشناة فوق اعنى بهم العوام “The people who say the *tā’* with two diacritical points on top, with them I mean the ‘*awāmm*.”

He therefore acknowledges that the shift *tā’* → *tā* had indeed taken place. Some examples of the loss of interdentalals from *Daf al-ʿIṣr* are:

- يقولون على الشجر اتل بالمشاة وانما هو اثل بالمثلثة - “they call the tree *atl* (“tamarisk”) with two diacritical points, while it is *aṭl* with three points”;<sup>191</sup>

- يقولون توم بالمشاة وانما هو ثوم بالمثلثة - “they say *twm*<sup>192</sup> (“garlic”) with two points while it is *tūm* with three points”;<sup>193</sup>

The following fragment is also interesting, because it is a typical example of al-Mağribī’s methodology:

ويقولون حنضل على الحنظل بالطاء المشاة وليس له وجه فان الحنضل الغدير الصغير والحنضلة الماء في الصخرة<sup>194</sup>

“They say *ḥaṇḍal* (“colocynth”) to *hanḍal* with the *ẓā’* with a stroke, and this has no cognate [in the literary language], because *ḥaṇḍal* is a small brook, and *ḥaṇḍala* is water in a rock.”

<sup>190</sup> Proofs of this can be found in earlier texts than *Daf al-ʿIṣr*, see Davies (1981) p. 66. For more details see §6.2.2.

<sup>191</sup> Fol. 63a.

<sup>192</sup> It is not clear whether al-Mağribī means *tōm* or *tūm*, since the Arabic script has no way to distinguish between the *ō* and *ū*-sounds.

<sup>193</sup> Fol. 96a.

<sup>194</sup> Fol. 71b.

Although al-Mağribī realised that the colloquial *حنضل* is derived from *حَنْظَل*, he still insisted on looking up *حنضل* in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* and, unsurprisingly, reached the conclusion that the description he found there did not fit.

There are other cases in which al-Mağribī *did* write interdental, although this does not imply that they were actually pronounced as such, for instance:

- قِتا *qitta* “Armenian cucumber”<sup>195</sup> (note also the *kasra*, while Davies (1981:437) attests *’attāya* for the late 17<sup>th</sup> century), where one would have expected قتا (nowadays pronounced *’atta* in Cairo);<sup>196</sup>
- نَظِيفٌ *nazīf ṣalīf* “spotless”,<sup>197</sup> instead of present-day *niḏīf*;
- رَدَلٌ *raḏil ka-katif*<sup>198</sup> “despicable”.

Due to the fact that the shift from interdental to dental had happened much earlier,<sup>199</sup> we may conclude that the above are examples of historical orthography.

Sometimes, al-Mağribī’s explanation of a word is incorrect, mainly because he did not realise (or did not like to admit) that the word had been subjected to certain phonetic changes.<sup>200</sup> A good example is the word *mi’laqa* “spoon”, which had become *ma’laqa* in the Egyptian dialect of al-Mağribī’s time (see fol. 49b), and is nowadays pronounced *ma’la’a*. Instead of immediately admitting that in the word *mi’laqa* metathesis of the *’ayn* and *lām* has taken place, he gives an explanation that the word has something to do with the verb *’aliqa* “to hang”. He mentions only as an afterthought that it was said to be derived from *mi’laqa*:

ويقولون معلقه لالة يوكل بها ويشرب ولم ارها في القاموس والذي فيه «رجل ذو معلقة كمرحلة يتعلق بكل ما اصابه» انتهى ويمكن بالقياس ان تكون الالة معلقه بالكسر تعلق الطعام والشراب او يقال انها معلقه بتقديم اللام اللعق

<sup>195</sup> Fol. 9b.

<sup>196</sup> See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 686a.

<sup>197</sup> Fol. 28a.

<sup>198</sup> Fol. 75b. Sometimes al-Mağribī used a well-known word with the same vowel pattern as the explained word, instead of vocalizing the word; see the next paragraph.

<sup>199</sup> See §6.2.2.

<sup>200</sup> See for instance the example *زحلفة* and its explanation as mentioned by Ḥiğāzī (1969) p. 119.

“They say *ma’laqa* to the tool with which they eat and drink. I did not find it in *al-Qāmūs*, but it says: ‘a man endowed with *ma’laqa*, like *marḥala*, hangs on to everything he achieves’, end of the quotation. So perhaps in analogy to this the instrument *mi’laqa* with *kasr* hangs on to the food and drink; or it is said that it is *mil’aqa* with preceding *lām* from ‘licking’ ”.

Therefore, we may conclude that al-Mağribī knew the proper explanation of the word *ma’laqa*, but in his eagerness to prove the correctness of the Egyptian language, he preferred to retrace the word to the root ‘LQ, and make-up a far-fetched explanation, rather than admit that the Egyptians had ‘corrupted’ the word *mil’aqa*. Later, he mentions the word again (fol. 54b):

وقد علمت ان قول اهل مصر معلقة لا يصح بخلاف قول اهل مكة وملعقة بكسر الميم كما سمعته منهم في مكة وغيرها

“I learnt that the word *ma’laqa* of the Egyptians is incorrect, contrary to the word *mil’aqa* with *kasr* of the *mīm* of the people of Mecca, as I heard them say in Mecca<sup>201</sup> and other places”.

Al-Mağribī uses this kind of reasoning often. Another example is the following:

يقولون كنّ كذا من المعلوم أن مرادهم كأنّ كذا خفف لكثرة الاستعمال (والكنة بالفتح امرأة الابن أو الأخ (...))

“They say *kənn kaḏā*. It is known that they mean *ka’ann kaḏā*, which has become lighter [i.e., the *hamza* has disappeared] because of its frequent use. And ‘*al-kanna* with an *a* is the wife of the son or of the brother’.”

There was no reason for al-Mağribī to quote the entry KNN from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, because he had already sufficiently explained the etymology of the word *knn*. It is possible that he used the quotation here to underline the fact that the word did not have an equivalent with the root KNN in Classical Arabic, or simply to enlighten the reader on the ‘real’ meaning of the root KNN.

It is clear that al-Mağribī had some understanding of the changes that had affected the language. Therefore, it is sometimes surprising that he did not

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<sup>201</sup> When al-Mağribī was a child, he went on pilgrimage to Mecca with his father, see *Daf al-Iṣr* fol. 70a and §1.1.

mention the obvious, as in the following example, where he did not realise (or did not like to mention!) that a verb *tertiaie hamza* had become *tertiaie yā*:

يقولون خبّيت الشيء أي سترته وأخفيته وليس في اللغة خبّيته بهذا المعنى بل بمعنى آخر قال  
«الخباء واحد الأخبية (...) واستخبينا الخباء نصبناه ودخلنا فيه وأخبيت الخباء وخبّيته (...)»  
“They say, I *ḥabbyt* the thing, i.e. I have hidden it and concealed it. *ḥabbyt* is not in the language with this meaning, but with another meaning. He said: ‘*ḥabā*’ is the singular of ‘*aḥbiya* (...)’; ‘*istaḥbaynā* the tent, i.e. we pitched it and we entered it, and ‘*aḥbaytu* the tent and *ḥabbaytuhu* (...)’.”

### 3.6.1 Entries and their context

Al-Maḡribī often presents the entries in context, in order to demonstrate the use of a word. The following entry will illustrate how useful such a context can be:

ويقولون وَهُمْ العوام الصرف ما احنا من دي القَبَل بفتح القاف والباء ويريدون معنى القبيل أي من الجماعة الذين يفعلون مثل هذا<sup>202</sup>

“The pure common folk say, ‘we are not of this type (*qabal*)’, with an *a* after the *qāf* and the *bā*. They mean *qabīl*, i.e., belonging to the group of people who behave like this”.

The entry here is *qabal*, and the context in dialect is *mā ihnā min dī-l-qabal*. This sentence provides us with a great deal of information: it contains the words *ihnā* “we” and *dī* “this, that”, both of which al-Maḡribī does not mention as separate entries in his word list.<sup>203</sup> This example highlights that al-Maḡribī, sometimes, provides us with much more information than he intended to.

Unfortunately, one sometimes has to ask whether al-Maḡribī’s examples always reflect the speech of the day, since he regularly used classicisms, as in the following:

ويقولون ايش هذه الخُرْعَبَات أي الأمور التي لا أصل لها  
“They say: what are these *ḥuzu‘balāt* (‘superstitions’), which means these things which have no foundation”.

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<sup>202</sup> Fol. 88b.

<sup>203</sup> For more details on *ihnā*, see §6.3.2. For preposed *dī*, see §6.3.3.

The entry here is the word *ḥuzu‘balāt*, and the Egyptian Arabic element is the interrogative ‘ayš / ‘ēš “what” (nowadays *ē* in Cairo, but in many parts of Egypt still pronounced as ‘ēš).<sup>204</sup> Note the use of *hāḍihī* in this example, which is a classicism, unlike the word *dī* in the previous example.

### 3.7 Metalanguage

Yūsuf al-Mağribī uses a system of terminology for describing the phonological, orthographical, linguistic and lexicographical phenomena which are encountered in *Daf al-Iṣr*. This terminology, called the metalanguage, will be discussed in this chapter.

#### 3.7.1 Describing the vocalization of a word

Al-Mağribī uses two systems to describe the vocalization of a word:

- Vowel signs and description of the vowels
- Comparison with well-known words with the same pattern as the colloquial words that are described.

These two methods will be enlarged upon in the following two paragraphs.

##### 3.7.1.1 Vowel signs and description of the vowels

Al-Mağribī makes use, albeit infrequently, of the signs *fatha*, *ḍamma*, *kasra*, *šadda* and *sukūn* to indicate the pronunciation of a vernacular word. He also uses a variety of terms to reflect the pronunciation of the colloquial words he describes. This terminology was not invented by him, but was based upon the system of vocalization used by al-Fīrūzābādī in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīt*, who in turn relied heavily on the system devised by al-Ġawharī in *Tāğ al-luġa wa šihāḥ al-‘arabiya*.<sup>205</sup>

Al-Mağribī often describes in words which vowel was added to which letter. This can be done with verbs, like *kasara* “to provide with the vowel *i*”, *ḍamma* “to provide with the vowel *u*”; *fataḥa* “to provide with the vowel *a*”, or simply with the following: *bi-l-kasr* “with an *i*”, *bi-l-ḍamm* “with an *u*”, *bi-l-fath* “with an *a*”, *bi-l-ḥarakāt* “with two *a*-s”, *bi-l-sukūn* “without a following vowel” etc. The word *muṭallaṭ* is used to indicate that a word can have an *a*, *i* or *u* (note that *muṭallaṭ* can also mean that a letter has three diacritical dots, while al-Mağribī also uses it to describe a certain kind of poem, see §4.2.1). Some examples are:

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<sup>204</sup> For more details on ‘ayš / ‘ēš, see §6.3.5.2.

<sup>205</sup> See Haywood (1965) pp. 86-87.



ويقولون عَنَاب ولكن من كسر عينه لم يصح قال في القاموس عَنَاب كرَّمَان ثمر معروف  
“They say ‘*innāb* ‘jujube’, but those who pronounce an *i* after the ‘*ayn* are wrong; he says in *al-Qāmūs*: ‘*unnāb* like *rummān* is a well-known fruit’”;<sup>206</sup>

ويقولون لما يسف سفوف بضم السين “They say to ‘medicinal powder’, *sufūf*, with a  
*u* after the letter *sīn*”;<sup>207</sup>

ويقولون حصلت له نَصَفَه بالحركات “They say, to him happened *naṣafa* ‘justice’,  
with an *a* after the first and second radical”;<sup>208</sup>

ويقولون دمشق الشام فيكسرون الدال والميم والفصيح فتح الميم  
Levant, pronouncing an *i* after the *dāl* and the *mīm*, while in Classical Arabic an  
*a* would be said after the *mīm*”;<sup>209</sup>

ويقولون فلان زنديق فيفتحون الزاي وانما هو بكسرهما  
“They say, so-and-so is a *zandīq* ‘atheist’, pronouncing an *a* after the *zā*, but it is with an *i*”;<sup>210</sup>

ويقولون لُعُوق بضم اللام وانما هو بفتحها  
“They say *lu‘ūq* ‘electuary’ with a *u* after the *lām* while it is with an *a*”;

ويقولون فلان رِطِل بكسرهما  
“They say ‘so-and-so is *riṭil* ‘weak’, pronouncing an *i* after both [the *rā* and the *ṭā*]”;

ويقولون مصحف تارة بفتح الميم وتارة بضمها ولكن هو مثلث الميم  
“They say *mṣḥaf* sometimes with an *a* after the *mīm* and sometimes with a *u*; however, the  
*mīm* can have the three vowels”.

فيقال لا تفتح الخزانة ولا تكسر المخزن  
“It is said that *ḥizāna* cannot have a *fatha* [i.e., be pronounced as *ḥazāna*], and that *maḥzan* cannot have a *kasra* [i.e., be pronounced as *miḥzan*]”;

<sup>206</sup> Fol. 17b.

<sup>207</sup> Fol. 25a.

<sup>208</sup> Fol. 34a.

<sup>209</sup> Fol. 39b.

<sup>210</sup> Fol. 42b.

The last example is a pun on the words *kasr* and *fath*, and could also be translated as “it is said that the safe cannot be opened and that the warehouse cannot be broken into”. This is one of the little linguistic jokes that al-Mağribī likes to make.<sup>211</sup>

The word *sahhala* means that a word should be read without a *hamza*. The verbs *šaddada* and *ḥaffafa* and their derivatives, indicate whether a word contains a *šadda* or not:

يقولون مرثيه بالتشديد والصواب التخفيف (8b) “They say *martīyya* ‘elegy’ with a *šadda* [of the *yā*], and correct would be without a *šadda*”;

يقولون رثيته مرثية يشدون وانما هي مرثية مخففة (127b) “They say, I lamented him in a *martīyya* ‘elegy’, which they pronounce with a *šadda*, while it is *martīya* without a *šadda*”.

### 3.7.1.2 Comparison with well-known words

The second method al-Mağribī employs in order to clarify the vocalization of a word, is to use comparison with well-known words with the same pattern as those he is discussing. When using this method with a noun or adjective, the well-known word which is used to demonstrate the pattern is introduced with *ka-* “like”. A few examples from *Daf al-Iṣr*:

ويقولون رَضاب بالكسر للريق والصواب رَضاب كغراب (14a) “They say *riḍāb* ‘saliva’ with an *i*, and correct would be *ruḍāb* like *ḡurāb*”;

ويقولون ويقع من الشوام علي الرجل رجال كشدّاد (75a) “They say, and this occurs often from the people of the Levant, *raḡḡāl* ‘man’ like *šaddād*”;

ويقولون فلان رذل ككتف (75b) “They say, so-and-so is *raḍīl* ‘despicable’ like *katif*”.<sup>212</sup>

<sup>211</sup> For more jokes of this type, see §6.5.3.

<sup>212</sup> Although for the word كنف the vocalizations *katif*, *katf* and *kitf* are possible (see WKAS I p. 48a), comparison with *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* learns that the vocalization *katif* is meant here.

Although al-Mağribī himself uses this method only sparingly, it is frequently employed in the numerous quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* that can be found in *Daf al-iṣr*.

When a verb is compared to a well-known verb, the expression (*wa huwa*) *min bāb...* or *wa bābuhu...* “belonging to the category of...” is used alongside the aforementioned *ka-*. An example:

يقولون فلان يكتُم بضم التاء وهو كذلك من باب ينصر (105b) “They say, ‘so-and-so *yiktum*, holds a secret, with a *u* after the *tā*’, and it is indeed like this, belonging to the category of *yanṣur*”.

A list of the most frequently used, well-known words from *Daf al-Iṣr* can be found at the end of this chapter (§3.7.6).

### 3.7.2 Diacritical dots

To indicate either the number of dots on top of or underneath a letter, or the absence of dots, the following terms are used: *muṭallat* “having three diacritical dots”, *muṭannā* “having two diacritical dots”, *muṭgam* “having one diacritical dot”, and *muhmal* “having no diacritical dots”. To specify the upward stroke of the *zā* the word *muṣāl* is used (although only once in the whole work). Some examples:

يقولون توم بالمشاة وانما هو توم بالمشاة (96a) “They say *twm* ‘garlic’ with two dots, but it is *twm* with three dots”;

يقولون ما له مثل بالمشاة فوق وانما هو مثل (91b) “They say ‘it has no *mitl* ‘equivalent’ with two dots on top, but it is *mitl*”;

ويقولون زرق الطائر وانما هو ذرق بالذال المعجمة (40a) “They say *zirq aṭ-ṭā’ir* ‘bird droppings’; however, it is *dirq* with a *dāl* with a dot”;

ويقولون حنضل علي الحنظل بالظا المشالة (71b) “They say *ḥanḍal* ‘colocynth’ for *ḥanḍal* with the *zā* with a stroke”.

### 3.7.3 Linguistic terms

Some linguistic terminology found in *Daf al-Iṣr* includes words like *متعد muta’addī* “transitive” and *لازم lāzim* “intransitive” (although only used in quotations from *al-*

*Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*), إتياع *itbā* ‘ “intensification by repeating a word with its initial consonant changed, such as *kaṭīr baṭīr*”,<sup>213</sup> مشترك *muṣṭarak* “homonym”, and ضد *didd*, pl. أضداد *‘aḍḍād*: “(a word) having two mutually exclusive meanings”.<sup>214</sup> Al-Maḡribī was very fond of using a تورية *tawriya* or “double-entendre” in his poems.

Al-Maḡribī used the expression التثليث وحكم *wa ḥakam al-taṭlīṭ* “here rules triplication” to indicate that a word exists which can have a *kasr*, *fath* or *ḍamm*, each with its own meaning, which often inspired him to use the three words in a poem. This is the case with, for example, the words ملة *malla* “hot ashes”, *milla* “religion” and *mulla* “basking stitch” (92a), which he arranged in a *mawwāl*.

The expression وهي بهاء *wa hiya bi-hā*’ means that the regular feminine of a given word takes the *tā’ marbūṭa*.<sup>215</sup>

The word لغة *luḡa* originally meant “dialect”, “dialectal word” in the Arabic grammatical tradition,<sup>216</sup> but al-Maḡribī uses it with the meaning of the “Classical Arabic language”. Therefore, a dialectal word that, according to him, is *luḡa*, can be found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. He also uses the word *luḡawī* with the same meaning. If a word is *ḡayr luḡawī* this means it is not in accordance with Classical Arabic.

Al-Maḡribī uses the term الجيم الغير العربية *al-ḡīm al-ḡayr al-‘arabīya* “the un-Arabic *ḡīm*” to indicate the pronunciation /č/ or /g/ (see §6.2.1), and it can therefore be concluded that the Arabic *ḡīm* for al-Maḡribī was /ḡ/.

### 3.7.4 Classification of colloquial words

Al-Maḡribī uses a set of terms to describe the conclusions he reached about the origin of colloquial words used by the Egyptians. When a certain word or expression was used by only one group of people e.g. those from a certain class or profession, he used the expressions *wa yusma’ min* “this is heard from”, *wa hādā yaqa’ min* “this occurs from” and the like. When a word had the same meaning and pronunciation in the Egyptian dialect as in Classical Arabic, he uses such expressions as *wa huwa ṣaḥīḥ* “and this is correct”, *wa lahu munāsaba / nisba* “it has something that corresponds to it [in Classical Arabic]”, *wa lahu ‘aṣl* “it has an origin”. The expression *wa fīh luḡāt* is used to indicate that a word has several meanings. When explaining what the Egyptians meant to say with a certain word,

<sup>213</sup> Wehr (1994) p. 109b.

<sup>214</sup> *EALL* I p. 626 (L. Bettini).

<sup>215</sup> Another borrowed expression from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, see Haywood (1965) p. 87.

<sup>216</sup> See *EALL* III p. 88ff (T. Iványi) and *El<sup>2</sup>* V p. 803a ff (A. Hadj-Salah).

he uses *wa yurīdūn* or *wa ya'nūn* "they mean". When a word diverged from Classical Arabic in meaning or pronunciation, it got the classification *wa laysa luġawīyan* "this is not linguistically correct". When al-Maġribī does not find a word at all in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, he describes this fact in a number of ways: *wa lam yu'lam* "it is not known" or *wa lam yu'lam min al-luġa* "it is not known from the [Classical Arabic] language"; *wa lam 'a'lam lahu munāsaba / nisba* "I do not know anything that corresponds to it", *wa laysa ka-dālik* "it is not like this", *wa laysa lahu waġh* "it does not have a meaning". When correcting a "deviation" from Classical Arabic, the following expressions are used: *wa al-ṣawāb* "and the correct [form] would be"; *wa innamā huwa* "however, it should be...". For "to mispronounce / misread", the verb *ṣahḥafa* and its derivatives are used: *yusahḥifūn* "they mispronounce", *taṣḥīf 'an* "[it is a] mispronunciation of", *muṣahḥaf 'an* "mispronounced from". Sometimes al-Maġribī makes use of the "telegram style", for instance when using the word *luġa* to indicate that something can be found in Classical Arabic: والبي لغة الرجل الخسيس (124a) "and *al-bayy* in Classical Arabic means 'the contemptible man'."

### 3.7.5 Other terms and expressions used by al-Maġribī

When quoting from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, al-Maġribī often simply mentions *qāl* "he said". Every now and then he instead uses a phrase like *wa a'lam 'anna* "I know that..." (e.g. 78b) or *wa fī al-luġa* "and in the Classical language [can be found...]" (e.g. 79a). The end of a quotation is marked with *intahā* "[the quotation] is finished". Al-Fīrūzābādī was the first one to introduce a number of abbreviations, as mentioned in §3.3.2. Even though quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* form a substantial part of *Daf al-Iṣr*, al-Maġribī did not follow al-Fīrūzābādī's example of using abbreviations, instead writing them in full, perhaps for the sake of readability or clarity.

When al-Maġribī wrote an afterthought or correction in the margin, this is followed by the word *صح ṣahḥ* (sometimes abbreviated to *ص* or *صد*),<sup>217</sup> which is very common in manuscripts. The word *فائدة fā'ida* "nota-bene"<sup>218</sup> is often employed by al-Maġribī to elaborate on topics of interest that are only indirectly connected to the entry under discussion. He used *انظر unẓur* in the margin to indicate that he is unsure of an entry, and wants to double-check it or consult other dictionaries.

<sup>217</sup> "when used for an omission/insertion or evident correction", *EALL* I p. 2 (A. Gacek).

<sup>218</sup> See *EALL* I p. 2 (A. Gacek).

### 3.7.6 List of common nouns and verbs used to indicate word patterns

#### Verbs

*karuma, yakrumu* “to be noble”  
*mana‘a, yamna‘u* “to hinder”  
*sami‘a, yasma‘u* “to hear”  
*ṭariba, yaṭrabu* “to become affected with emotion”  
*našara, yaṣuru* “to render victorious”  
*daḥala, yaḥulu* “to enter”  
*ḍaraba, yaḍribu* “to hit”  
*ğalasa, yağlisu* “to sit”  
*radda, yaruddu* “to bring back”  
*wadda, yawaddu* “to love”  
*bā‘a, yabī‘u* “to sell”  
*‘adā, ya‘dū* “to pass”  
*ramā, yarmī* “to throw”  
*ṣadiya, yaṣdā* “to be very thirsty”

#### Nouns

*‘amīr* “prince”  
*katīf* “shoulder”  
*hamza* “the letter *hamza*”  
*tannūr* “oven”  
*Zubayr* personal name  
*rummān* “pomegranate”  
*kisā* “garment”  
*‘inab* “grapes”  
*Šaddād* personal name  
*qirtās* “scroll of paper”  
*ṣabūr* “patient”  
*ṣurad* “sparrow-hawk”  
*‘utull* “glutton”  
*nadus* “sharp-minded”

## CHAPTER 4

### The Poetry in *Daf al-iṣr*

#### 4.1 Dialectal poetry

Al-Mağribī composed 26 *mawāwīl* for *Daf al-iṣr*.<sup>219</sup> A *mawwāl* is a non-Classical verse form which could be written in either Classical Arabic or the colloquial.<sup>220</sup> It originally consisted of a monorhyming quatrain, called *rubāʿī* (i.e. comprised of four verses), although additional lines with different rhymes were added as time progressed. Al-Mağribī's *mawāwīl* all consist of four lines and contain homonymous rhyme, i.e. the rhyme word is the same in each line but is used with a different meaning. The varied use of this word sometimes leads to these poems being difficult to understand, and so al-Mağribī often deliberately wrote the meaning next to the poem.<sup>221</sup>

Most *mawāwīl* in *Daf al-iṣr* were composed when an entry inspired al-Mağribī, although he tells us that the example on fol. 11b is the only one of the collection which was composed before the book was written. Olga Frolova has transcribed, translated and analyzed some of these verses in three articles.<sup>222</sup>

All of the *mawāwīl* in *Daf al-iṣr* are in the *basīṭ* metre,<sup>223</sup> which is based on *mustafīlun fāʿilun mustafīlun fāʿilun* ( - - <sup>∨</sup> - / - <sup>∨</sup> - / - - <sup>∨</sup> - / - <sup>∨</sup> -). However, they may have the following variations: the first foot can be *mafāʿilun* ( <sup>∨</sup> - <sup>∨</sup> -), the second *faʿilun* ( <sup>∨</sup> <sup>∨</sup> -),<sup>224</sup> and the final foot is always *faʿlun* ( - -).<sup>225</sup>

Although al-Mağribī used some Classical Arabic vocabulary in these poems, the metre indicates that in most cases words should be read without *iʿrāb* and *tanwīn*.

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<sup>219</sup> Al-Mağribī uses both terms, *mawwāl* and *mawāliyā*, for this type of verse. Here only *mawwāl* will be used. Although the *mawwāl* was originally the composer of the *mawāliyā*, the term *mawwāl* is used nowadays in Egypt for the poem itself, see Cachia (1977) p. 83.

<sup>220</sup> See *EḌ* VI p. 868a (P. Cachia).

<sup>221</sup> See the *mawāwīl* on fols. 51b, 52b, 57b, 69a, 74a and 94b.

<sup>222</sup> The *mawāwīl* on fols. 4a, 24a, 41a, 49a, 51b, 57a, 67b, 69a, 73b, 74a (Frolova 1982) and 46b (Frolova 1995 and 1997).

<sup>223</sup> All of these characteristics fit the observations of Cachia (1977) p. 83, who mentions that all the pre-eighteenth century *mawāwīl* he encountered were monorhyme quatrains in the *basīṭ* metre.

<sup>224</sup> These all are within the *basīṭ*-metre described by Stoetzer (1989) pp. 148-9.

<sup>225</sup> Cachia (1977) p. 83 observes that the last foot is reduced to two long syllables in all pre-eighteenth century *mawāwīl*.

## The Poetry in *Daf al-iṣr*

Sometimes, a short vowel is needed to fit the metre, which is indicated in the transliteration by an *a*. Most of the poems are love poems, and the usual vocabulary of this genre is employed: We frequently find words such as “rebuker” (*‘ādīl* or *‘adūl*), “passion” (*‘iṣq*), “moonlight” (*nūr al-qamar*), “a promise” (*wa’d*), “ardently in love” (*ṣabb*) etc.

A few examples of the *mawāwīl* in *Daf al-iṣr* are set out below. The first plays with the different meanings of the word *bāl*:<sup>226</sup>

اصبحت من عشق حبي حال مني البال  
وطيب ذكره واوصافه دوام في البال  
ان جا لعندي اضيفه بالحمل والبال  
وان رضي بي بارضه البال يكون ذا البال

*‘aṣbaḥtə min ‘iṣqə ḥibbī ḥālə minnī l-bāl*  
*wa-ṭībə ḍikruh wa-’awṣāfuh dawām fī-l-bāl*  
*in ḡā li-’indī uḍīfuh bi-l-ḥamal wa-l-bāl*  
*wa-’in riḍī bī bi-irḍa l-bāl yakūn ḍā-l-bāl*

“my mind is busy since I fell for my darling

The scent of his<sup>227</sup> memory and his description are always on my mind  
If he comes to me, I will offer him lamb and soft bread  
And if he accepts me, this would be the most wonderful thing”.

Another example of a love poem from fol. 57b (note the orthography of the colloquial *lū*):

عيون حبوتي الغزل قد حاكت  
للصّبّ اكفان لما ان مشت حاكت  
الفاظها في فواد الحبّ قد حاكت  
ونور ضيائها لمع لو الشمس قد حاكت

*‘uyūnə ḥabūbatī bi-l-ḡazlə qad ḥākat*  
*li-l-ṣabbə akfānə lammā ‘in maṣat ḥākat*

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<sup>226</sup> Fol. 66b.

<sup>227</sup> Of course, in this and the following poems, he/his/him can be read as she/her/her.



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*alfāzāhā fi fu'ād al-ḥibbā qad ḥākat*  
*wa-nūr dīyāhā lama' lū al-šamsā qad ḥākat*  
“The eyes of my beloved wove with yarn  
Shrouds for the enamored, while walking gracefully  
Her words left a mark on the heart of the beloved  
And the light of her glow shone brightly, for him it resembled the sun”

On occasions, this playing with the various meanings of a word produces poems that sound rather far-fetched and artificial, like the following one on the word *tibn*:<sup>228</sup>

من يعذل الصب مثل العير ياكل تبين  
وكل من يعذره في الحب هذاك تبين  
وحق باري النسم انسان يكن او تبين  
ان زرت اسقي الخلائق في قدح هو تبين

*man ya'dul al-ṣabbā miṭl al-'yrah yākul tibn*  
*wa-kullā man ya'diruh fi-l-ḥubbā ḥādāk tibn*  
*wa-ḥaqqā bārī-l-nasam insān yakun 'aw tibn*  
*in zurt 'asqī-l-ḥalā'iq fi qadaḥ hū tibn*

“Who blames the enamored is like an ass that eats straw  
And everyone who forgives him in love is a noble chief

By the truth of the Creator of the breath of life, whether he is a human being or a  
wolf

If I visit (am visited?), I will give the creatures to drink from a cup which is called  
*tibn*”

In the following, the word *قل* can be interpreted in different ways: as the perfect verb *qall* “diminished”, the imperative *qul* “say!”, the noun *qull* “a small number” and the adjective *qull* “unique”:<sup>229</sup>

يا منية القلب صلني ان صبري قل  
وعاذلي فيك هذا القل من القُل

<sup>228</sup> Fol. 110a.

<sup>229</sup> Fol. 90a.

## The Poetry in *Daf al-iṣr*

وانت في الحسن مفرد في الحبايب قل  
مهما تشا من قضايا يا حبيبي قل

*yā munyāt al-qalbə ṣilnī 'innə ṣabrī qall*  
*wa 'ādīlī fīka hāqā l-qullə min al-qull*  
*wa-'anta fī l-ḥusnə mufrad fī l-ḥabāyib qull*  
*mahmā tašā min qaḍāyā yā ḥabībī qull*

“O desire of the heart, keep in touch, my patience has diminished!  
This person who blames me about you is the most insignificant  
You are singular in beauty, unique among the beloved  
Whatever you want, my beloved, just say it”

An interesting *mawwāl* is the one from fol. 99b, because the first word of the line is the reverse of the last word. Al-Mağribī himself calls it *maḥbūk al-ṭarafayn* “tightly woven from both sides”. He adds that to the best of his knowledge, nobody did this before with words consisting of four letters, but only with three letters:

من منّ بالوصل لو عارض كما نَمَمَ  
ململ فوادي ومالي الكل قد لملم  
مسسم حسودي بوصله لي ولو سمس  
مزمز بشربه من القهوة ولي زمزم

*man manna bi-l-waṣl lū 'āraḍ kamā namnam*  
*malmal fu'ādī wa-mā lī-l-kull qad lamlam*  
*masmas ḥasūdī bi-waṣluh lī wa-lū samsam*  
*mazmaz bi-ṣurbuh min alqahwah wa-lī zamzam*

“The one who granted the union resisted it like he embellished/muttered(?)  
He made my heart restless, and did not gather everything for me  
My envier confused me with his union with me and ran to him  
He sipped his drink from the coffee and murmured to me”

In 'Awwād's index (p. 314), two poems labeled *zaḡal* actually are *mawāwīl*: those on fols. 46b and 91a. The poem on fol. 11b is also not a *zaḡal*. It is in Classical Arabic, and it appears that its metre is *munsariḥ*, with an irregularity in the last foot. This

leaves the reader with two poems by al-Mağribī which do not fit the Ḥalīlian metres and could therefore be classified as *zağal*. These are on fols. 103b and 86b.

Furthermore, we find a *dūbayt*<sup>230</sup> on fol. 27b, which according to al-Mağribī was famous at that time. It has the usual rhyme scheme, *aaba*.

#### 4.2 Poetry in Classical Arabic

The poems by classical authors such as Abū Nawās and al-Mutanabbī which are quoted throughout *Daf al-iṣr* mostly serve to demonstrate the use of a certain word. In view of the well-known status of these authors, these poems will not be the subject of discussion here, and the focus will instead be on Yūsuf al-Mağribī's poetry. As explained earlier, the classical poetry actually written by al-Mağribī in *Daf al-iṣr* is often composed on the occasion of an entry, just as was the case with the *mawāwīl*. These classical poems often consist of only one or two verses. The longer poems are mostly those which al-Mağribī had composed previously. For instance, there are two long poems on fols. 9b and 19b which were taken from his work *Muḍahhabāt al-ḥusn*.

Al-Mağribī often composed poems on special occasions. An interesting example is the one on fol. 99b which eventually gave *Daf al-iṣr* its title.<sup>231</sup> Before the arrival in Egypt of the new pasha,<sup>232</sup> 'Alī Pasha (1010/1601), a Yemeni friend of al-Mağribī's had a vision in which he saw Cairo illuminated with lamps. Al-Mağribī, therefore, composed the following verse:<sup>233</sup>

راوا في عالم الرويا \* ضياءً منك يجلو الاضُر  
فقلت وجأ في التاريخ \* علي پاشا ينور مصر  
*ra'aw fi 'alam al-ru'yā / ḍiyā'an minka yağlū l-'iṣr*  
*fa-qultu-w ḡā'a fi l-tārīḥ / 'alī pāšā yunawwir miṣr*

“They saw in a vision / a light which removed the burden from you  
I said, ‘In the history / Ali Pasha<sup>234</sup> came to enlighten Egypt”.

<sup>230</sup> “A quatrain of a particular metre (*fa'lun mutafā'ilun fa'ūlun fa'ilun*) and rhyme scheme *aaba* (called *a'rađj*) or *aaaa*.” *Eġ VIII* 582b (C.H. de Fouchecour et al.).

<sup>231</sup> See §2.3.

<sup>232</sup> There was always a pasha sent from Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire, to rule Egypt.

<sup>233</sup> The metre is *hazağ*.

<sup>234</sup> 'Alī IV, governor of Egypt from Ṣafar 1010/August 1601 to Rabī' II 1012/September 1603. See Holt (1973) p. 189. “Several pashas also held the rank of vizier”, see Winter (1992) p. 32.

Later, Ali Pasha made some improvements in the city. He illuminated the streets, cleaned up the markets, and closed some of the shops which were selling food to reduce the amount of smoke in the air.<sup>235</sup>

Two other examples of occasional poetry in *Daf al-iṣr* are a poem written by al-Mağribī to his friend Muḥammad Riḍā (fol. 12b-13a) on the occasion of *ʿīd al-ʿaḍḥā*, and an elegy for a Turkish derwish flute player called Čalāl al-Dīn Mullā Ḥānkār (fol. 19a).

#### 4.2.1 *taṭlīt*

There are also 18 small two-verse poems in *Daf al-iṣr*, composed on the occasion of a *taṭlīt*, i.e. a word which can be read with *fatha*, *kasra* or *ḍamma*. Al-Mağribī arranges them into quatrains in which the first, second and third hemistichs end with one of these variants. The fourth ends with another word, thus creating the rhyme scheme *aaab*. These poems are called *muṭallaṭāt*. They are all in the *rağaz*-metre, and are all dimeters (*manḥūk al-rağaz*). It will suffice to present two of them as examples. The first is from fol. 23a and plays with the words *raff* “a kiss with the tips of the lips”, *riff* “a daily drink” and *ruff* “straw”:

لذی الجمال الرف \* وللعنول الرف  
له یلیق الرف \* کالاتن او کالحم

*li-ḍī l-ğamāli l-raffū / wa li-l-ʿaḍūli l-riffū*  
*lahū yalīqu l-ruffū / ka-l-ʿutni ʿaw ka-l-ḥumūrī*

“For the owner of beauty, there is a kiss / and for the critic a daily drink  
Although for him straw would be suitable / like for the asses or the donkeys”.

The second example is from fol. 21a and plays with the words *kalla* “a blunt sword”, *killa* “curtain” and *kullah(u)* “everything”:

شفرة ضدّي كله \* والحبّ وسط كلّه  
انسی ارید كلّه \* اعنی جمیع الامر

*šafratu ḍiddī kallah / wa l-ḥibbu waṣṭa killah*  
*ʿinnī ʿurīdu kullah / ʿa-nī ġamīʿa l-ʿamrī*

“the edge of my adversary’s sword is blunt / and my beloved is behind a curtain

<sup>235</sup> See fol. 99b.

I want it all / I mean everything”

These examples, and especially the second one, highlight that these small poems can hardly be described as sophisticated. Al-Mağribī, however, had a different opinion: “I composed *muṭallatāt* which to the best of my knowledge no one else has composed. This is a gift from God”.<sup>236</sup>

#### 4.2.2 *taḥmīs*

As we have seen in §1.4.1, al-Mağribī made a *taḥmīs* of *Lāmīyat al-iḥwān wa muršīdat al-ḥillān* by Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Wardī (689/1290– 749/1349). The definition of *taḥmīs* is as follows:

“*Taḥmīs* involves the addition of three hemistichs to each *bayt* of a given poem; the rhyme letter of the added hemistichs is determined by the first hemistich of each successive *bayt*. This extra material usually precedes the original *bayt*; however, less commonly the *bayt* may be split and filled (see Cairo, *Fihris*, iii, 49)—a process normally referred to as *taṣṭīr*. (The number of added hemistichs may in fact be more or less than three, in which case the term for the poem is variously *tarbī* [2 added hemistichs], *tasbī* [5 added hemistichs], etc.)”.<sup>237</sup>

In this case, al-Mağribī added the extra three hemistichs before the verse of Ibn Wardī. The following is a sample of this *taḥmīs*, and can be found on fol. 18a of *Daf al-iṣr*; the metre is *ramal*:

قَلَّلَ العِشْرَةَ الا مِنْ حَسَنٍ  
 وارض في الاصحاب خلّ موتمن  
 واذا رمت ازديارا فاسمعن  
 غب وزرّ غبا تزد حبّا فمنّ \* اكثر الترداد أضماه المَلَلُ

*qallil al-‘iṣrata ‘illā man ḥasan*  
*wa-rḍa fī l-‘aṣḥābi ḥillun mu’tamin*  
*wa-‘iḍā rumta zdiyāran fa-sma’an*  
*ḡib wa-zur ḡibban tazid ḥubban fa-man / akṭara l-tardāda ‘aṣmāhu l-malal*

<sup>236</sup> Fol. 101a.

<sup>237</sup> *EF*<sup>2</sup> X p. 123b-124a (P. F. Kennedy).

## The Poetry in *Daf al-iṣr*

“Reduce socializing, except if you do it well  
Only keep as friends those who are trusted  
If you wish to visit then listen  
Stay away and visit at intervals, so you become more beloved, because who /  
passes by very often, is hit fatally by boredom”

### 4.2.3 Riddles

Al-Mağribī also wrote some riddles in *Daf al-iṣr*. As these were in the form of short poems, it is appropriate to elaborate on them in this chapter. The *luğz* “riddle” or “enigma” is “generally in verse, and characteristically is in an interrogative form”.<sup>238</sup> Inspired by the different meanings of words found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, al-Mağribī used the riddles to display his linguistic skills. On fol. 21b we find a riddle playing on the word *ḥarūf*, which has the well-known meaning of “sheep” but the less well-known meaning of “colt”.<sup>239</sup>

يا من لهم حسن فهم \* فهم به في امان  
فهل رايتم خروفا \* وليس ابنا لضان

*yā man lahum ḥusnu fahmī / fahhim bihī fi`amānī*  
*fa-hal ra`aytum ḥarūfan / wa-laysa `ibnan li-ḍānī*

“You who have good understanding / make us understand it safely  
Did you see a *ḥarūf* / that is not the son of a sheep?”

The answer, also rhyming on *-nī*, follows on fol. 22a:<sup>240</sup>

نعم راينا خروفاً \* وليس ابنا لضان  
وذلك المهر حقاً \* على اشتراك المعاني

*na`am ra`aynā ḥarūfan / wa-laysa `ibnan li-ḍānī*  
*wa-ḍālika l-muhru ḥaqqan / `alā štirāki l-ma`ānī*

“Yes, we saw a *ḥarūf* / that is not the son of a sheep

<sup>238</sup> *El*<sup>2</sup> V p. 807a (M. Bencheneb).

<sup>239</sup> The metre is *muğtatt*.

<sup>240</sup> *Ibid*.

And that is indeed a colt / used as a homonym”.

Another *luǧz* in which the writer plays with the double meaning of a word is found on fol. 129b:<sup>241</sup>

خبروني عن صدوق صادق \* وصحيح قولنا فيه افتري

*ḥabbirūnī ‘an ṣadūqin ṣādiqī / wa-ṣaḥīḥun qawlunā fīhī ftarā*

“Tell me about an honest man / About whom we can rightly say that he *iftarā*”

The pun here is that the word *iftarā* has two meanings: “to invent lyingly, fabricate” or “to wear a fur”.

The following riddle on fol. 124b is a pun on the word *ǧarwa*, which not only has the well-known meaning of “she-puppy” but also “cucumber”, and *ǧirwa*, which means “a short she-camel”. The joke is that carrying a puppy to prayer would invalidate the prayer, but carrying a cucumber would not:<sup>242</sup>

احيوا عن فتى امسى \* يصلي حاملا جرّوه

ولم تبطل وؤافانا \* سرّيعا راكب جرّوه

*‘aǧībū ‘an fatan ‘amsā / yuṣallī ḥāmīlan ǧarwah*

*wa-lam tubṭil wa-wāfānā / sarī’an rākibun ǧirwah*

“Tell me about a youth who went to pray in the evening, carrying a *ǧarwa* Which did not invalidate [the prayer], then quickly appeared in front of us, riding a short she-camel”.

The following riddle from fol. 36a plays with the inversion, *qalb* or *taqlīb*, of the word *hawf* “hot, or cold, wind”:<sup>243</sup>

هات قل لي اي لفظ \* حار فيه واصفوه

يجمع الضدين فاعجب \* فهو بالتقليب فوه

*hāti qul lī ‘ayya lafẓī / ḥāra fīhī wāṣīfūhū*

*yaǧma‘u l-ḍiddayni fa-‘aǧīb / fa-hwa bi-l-taqlībi fūhū*

“Come, tell me any word / about which its describers were perplexed<sup>244</sup>

<sup>241</sup> The metre is *ramal*.

<sup>242</sup> The metre is *hazaǧ*.

<sup>243</sup> The metre is *ramal*.

<sup>244</sup> This is a pun, since *ḥārr* also refers to the “hot wind”.

## The Poetry in *Daf al-işr*

It brings together two opposites, so admire it / because inverted it means ‘his mouth’”

### 4.2.4 The metres of al-Mağribī’s poems

The total number of poems by al-Mağribī with a Ḥalīlian metre (including the riddles) is 104. The division of the metres is as follows: *rağaz* 38, *basīṭ* 27 (including 26 colloquial *mawāwīl*), *sarī* 6, *ḥafīf* 5, *wāfir* 5, *hazağ* 5, *ramal* 5, *muğtatt* 4, *kāmil* 3, *ṭawīl* 3, *mutadārik* 2, *munsariḥ* 1. Obviously, the frequent use of the *basīṭ* is due to the large number of *mawāwīl*, for which the *basīṭ* is the usual metre. The popularity of the *rağaz* is because of the large number of *muṭallaṭāt* in this metre. The *rağaz*, with its short lines, and especially *manhūk al-rağaz*, is a particularly suitable metre for improvised poems such as al-Mağribī’s *muṭallaṭāt*. Another element which could have played a role is the fact that the *rağaz* was a well-known metre amongst the reading public because of its use in the *urğūza* or didactic poetry.<sup>245</sup>

### 4.3 Non-Arabic poetry

As mentioned previously (see §1.1.2), al-Mağribī knew Persian and Turkish and translated some literary works from these languages to Arabic. The Persian poetry in *Daf al-işr* consists of three quotations from Sa’dī’s<sup>246</sup> *Gulistān*,<sup>247</sup> and one verse<sup>248</sup> by al-Mullā Ḥāfīz.<sup>249</sup>

The only Turkish poetry in *Daf al-işr* is two poems about coffee, both on fol. 6a. The first was composed by a Turk who recited it at a *mağlis* where al-Mağribī was present.<sup>250</sup>

قهوه حقنده حلال اولامي دين احق  
اصلي بو ندره بيلور قلب ايله اولور هو حق

<sup>245</sup> See Vroljik (1998) p. 117.

<sup>246</sup> See §1.4.

<sup>247</sup> On fols. 10a and 133b.

<sup>248</sup> On fol. 86a.

<sup>249</sup> “Šams ad-Dīn Muḥammad Šīrāzī, Persian lyric poet and panegyrist, commonly considered the pre-eminent master of the *ğazal*. He was born in Šīrāz, probably in 726/1325-6. (...) He is believed to have died in Šīrāz, in 792/1390 (or 791/1389), and his tomb is perhaps that city’s best known monument. Though credited with learned works in prose, his fame rests entirely on his *Dīwān*.” *EF* III 55a-b (G.M. Wickens).

<sup>250</sup> I thank Dr. Erich Prokosch for his help with the transliteration and translation of these two poems.



## The Poetry in *Daf al-işr*

*Qahvâ haqqında hâlâl ola mı (?) deyen 'ahmaq*  
*'aşlı bu: nâ dersä (?), bilür qalb-ilä: olur Hübä / Hübä Haq(q)*  
“Stupid is the one who asks whether coffee is allowed  
In short, whatever they say, one knows that inversed it is the Truth!”

Because he thought that *qahwa* was pronounced *qahwa*, the Turk was under the impression that the word *qhwh* when read backwards was *hw hq* “it is the Truth”.<sup>251</sup> Of course, this caused great merriment amongst the others present at the *mağlis*. Al-Mağribî then composed a reply in Turkish on the spot (which demonstrates his knowledge of the Turkish language):

جهله بکزر جهانده فقر اولمز \* قتی یوخسل جهانده جاهل در  
مال ایله ناقصی غنی صانمه \* اول کشی در غنی که کامل در

*Ğählä bāñzär ğihānda faqr olmaz / qatı yoħsul ğihānda ğāhildir*  
*Māl-ilä nāqışı ğanī şanma! / Ol kişidir ğanī ki kāmildir*

“There is no poverty in the world which resembles the poverty of the mind.  
Really poor in this world is the ignorant.  
Do not consider him rich, who is rich, but incomplete!  
Only the perfect is rich”

Al-Mağribî also provides us with his own Arabic translation of the last poem:

لیس فقر شبیه فقر الجهل \* انّ ذا الجهل مملق سافل  
لا نظنّ الغنی غنیّ الذات \* ما غنیّ سوا الفتا الکامل

“There is no poverty resembling the poverty of ignorance  
The ignorant is a miserable pauper  
We do not consider a stupid person rich of personality  
Nobody is rich except for the perfect youth<sup>252</sup>”

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<sup>251</sup> The word *haqq* was in *şūfi* terminology a synonym of Allāh; the two terms were used interchangeably. See Chittich (1989) p. 132b and Ernst (1985) p. 29 and 141.

<sup>252</sup> In *şūfism*, the concept of *al-insān al-kāmil*, the “perfect man”, comprises the idea that man occupies a leading position in the creation. See *El<sup>2</sup>* III p. 1239a ff. (R. Arnaldez).



## CHAPTER 5

### Aspects of Daily life

Al-Mağribī describes many aspects of daily life in Egypt at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Amongst the other images he paints for us, the descriptions of food and drinks, clothes, medicinal plants and utensils really help us to form a picture of how Egyptians lived in this period. These aspects will, therefore, be highlighted in this chapter.

#### 5.1 Food and drinks

##### 5.1.1 Sweetmeats

It seems that Egyptian dietary habits have not changed much over the years. Like today, the Egyptians in al-Mağribī's time seem to have had a sweet tooth. Al-Mağribī mentions a number of sweets, some of which are still well-known, such as the all-time favourites كنافة *kunāfa* "pastry made of thin vermicelli-shaped dough" (32b, 33b), كحك العيد *kaḥk al-īd* "cookies served at the religious holidays" (62a), قَطَائِف *qaṭā'if* "sweet pancakes" (32b), نَقْل *nuql* "a dessert of dried fruit or nuts" (93a), مَفْتَقَه *məfattaqa* (52a) "jam made of molasses and other ingredients", مَرَابَبَا (9a) "jam" and عَسَل نَحْل *asal naḥl* "honey" (83b). We also find reference to some sweetmeats that are less familiar these days: مَامُونِيَا *māmūniya* (109a), a kind of marzipan, apparently named after al-Ma'mūn;<sup>253</sup> a sweetmeat which al-Mağribī calls alternately خَشْكَنَان *ḥuškanān* (10a) and خَشْتَنَانَك *ḥušṭanānak* (58a), which is a pastry filled with almond paste (عَجْوَة *ağwa* (128b)), a popular dish in the seventeenth century<sup>254</sup> which was still known at the time of Aḥmad Taymūr Bāšā<sup>255</sup> but is now, apparently, forgotten; هَيْطَلِيَا *hyṭaliya*, a sweet dish made of wheat

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<sup>253</sup> "I heard that it is a *nisba* to al-Ma'mūn, because he introduced it" (109a). Lane I 103a confirms this: "مَامُونِيَّةٌ a certain kind of food; so called in relation to el-Ma-moon". Al-Ma'mūn, Abū al-'Abbās 'Abd Allāh b. Hārūn al-Rašīd (170/786-218/833) was the seventh 'Abbāsid caliph, see *El*<sup>2</sup> VI 331a ff.

<sup>254</sup> See Davies (1981) p. 367. It was already popular in the fifteenth century, as attested by Vrolijk (1998) p. 30.

<sup>255</sup> See Taymūr (2001-2) III p. 183.

starch and milk (94a)<sup>256</sup> and رخامية *ruḥāmiyya* “marble sweet” (97b), so called because its colour resembles that of marble. *ruḥāmiyya* is not found in dictionaries of modern Egyptian Arabic, but recipes are available on the internet. It consists of crumbled cookies covered with white cream. The “marble effect” is created by drawing dark lines on the cream with chocolate.

Nuts were eaten as well: Al-Mağribī mentions فستق *fustuq* “pistachios” (53a), nowadays called *fuzdu’* in Egypt,<sup>257</sup> بندق *bunduq* “hazelnuts” (38a), which were called فندق *funduq* (53b) by the Turks, and chestnuts, which were called قسطل / قسطل *qasṭal / qaṣṭal* (89a) or ابو فريوة *abū farywa* “the one with the little fur” (89a), nowadays known as *abu farwa*.

### 5.1.2 Savory dishes

ادم *idām* “gravy” (95a) was eaten with bread, like today, and was perhaps wiped up with a قشفة *qiṣfa* “bread crust” (32b). There were different types of bread:<sup>258</sup> شريك *šryk* (60b) and صامول *šāmūl* (81a) (both unspecified by al-Mağribī; *šurēk* is today used for a type of bun, and comes from the Turkish *çörek*,<sup>259</sup> while *šāmūli* was used for “coarse bread, soldiers’ bread” in the nineteenth century<sup>260</sup>), كوماجا *kumāḡā* “dry bread” (10a) (from Persian كوماج *komāj*) and جراية *ḡirāya* (124b) (also not specified by al-Mağribī; nowadays the word is used for “bread ration, coarse bread”,<sup>261</sup> which is the name of the bread eaten in the Egyptian army these days, which is a kind of old, dried *ēš baladī*). People ate فول *fūl* “broad beans” (88a; 110a) and rice,<sup>262</sup> and the latter could be seasoned with pepper and was then called مفضل *mufalfil* (88a). Lane describes this as follows:

<sup>256</sup> Davies (1981) p. 486: “HYṬLY:H - ‘a dish made of wheat starch and milk; it is extremely delicious to eat and lighter than rice pudding, especially if honey is added to it’”.

<sup>257</sup> This is probably in analogy to *bundu’*, which has the same ending -u’.

<sup>258</sup> Al-Mağribī calls bread *ḥubz*, not *ēš*, in the context of the entries, but this is a classicism. The part of the book in which *ēš* was mentioned as an entry, is lost, but in *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* p. 73 we find that the word عيش *ēš* was indeed included in *Daf al-iṣr*, so we know for certain that the Egyptians called their bread *ēš*.

<sup>259</sup> See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 463b.

<sup>260</sup> See Spiro (1999) p. 331b.

<sup>261</sup> See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 157b-158a.

<sup>262</sup> This is written as ارز *aruz* on fol. 88a, but as رز *ruzz* on fol. 10a.

## Aspects of Daily Life

“A dish of boiled rice (called “ruzz mufelfel”, the “píláv” of the Turks), mixed with a little butter, and seasoned with salt and pepper.”<sup>263</sup>

Al-Mağribī also mentions a rice dish, فلاو خشكه *ḥaška fālāw* “dry rice” (10a) (from the Persian خشكه *ḥushka*, “boiled rice without butter”<sup>264</sup> and پلاو *palāv*, “a rice dish”<sup>265</sup>) which he ate in the homes of his Persian friends.

Food without salt was known as مكفن *mukaffan* (117b). Part of the basic diet were بصل *baṣal* “onions” (65b), توم *twm* “garlic” (96a) and سلجم *salġam* “turnips” (101a). The clarified butter, nowadays called *samna*, which is used in large quantities in Egyptian kitchens, was called سلا *silā* (9a) in al-Mağribī’s time.<sup>266</sup> Bouillon مرق *marāq* (55a) was used just as it is today. A type of cheese, حالوم *ḥālūm* (96b),<sup>267</sup> which is still available today, was also eaten.

Thin sheets of dough, called رقاق *ruqāq* (40b), were used in various dishes and are still eaten. Small savory pastries, such as بريك *baryk* (56b), and the still popular triangular سنبوسك *sanbūsak* (60b), which is now filled with cheese, minced meat or spinach, are both mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr*, as are كشك *kišk* (62a), a dish which is still popular and is prepared with wheat and milk,<sup>268</sup> and نقاتق *naqāniq* “small sausages” (56a). The latter dish is still known in Syria,<sup>269</sup> but in Egypt is now called *sugu*, from the Turkish *sucuk*.<sup>270</sup> A dish which is no longer familiar in Egypt is ارنبية *arnabiyya* “hare ragout”<sup>271</sup> (11a).

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<sup>263</sup> Lane (2003) p. 146.

<sup>264</sup> See Steingass (1975) p. 463.

<sup>265</sup> Ibid. p. 254.

<sup>266</sup> We still find *masli* “clarified butter” in Egypt nowadays, although Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 428b mentions that it is not pure dialect.

<sup>267</sup> From Coptic, see Crum (1972) p. 670a.

<sup>268</sup> Its popularity is attested to by its use in the following proverbs: فلان اكل كشك عند فلان “so-and-so ate *kišk* at so-and-so’s house”, which meant “he ate a lot of food till his belly swelled up”, see Davies (1981) p. 458; and *huwwa farḥa b-kišk* “he is the favourite”, see HB 753a.

<sup>269</sup> Barthélemy (1935) p. 847.

<sup>270</sup> See Hinds-Badawi (1986) 400a.

<sup>271</sup> See Dozy (1927) I p. 19a.

### 5.1.3 Drinks

Red wine was called جريال *ǧiryāl* (67b) due to its colour, because the word literally means “golden red”.<sup>272</sup>

A sweet drink called سوبيا *sūbyā* (9a), which is still popular today, is mentioned by al-Maǧribī. It was originally a Turkish word: Redhouse (1992) p. 1086b “سوبيه *sūbiye*, a sweet drink prepared from pounded almonds, melon or cucumber seeds, etc.”. In Egypt these days, however, it is prepared in a different way, with fermented rice and sugar.

From coffee beans, or بن *bunn* (110a), قهوة *qahwa* “coffee” was made. Coffee was first introduced to Cairo by *ṣūfīs* in the Yemeni quarters of al-Azhar, sometime in the first decade of the tenth century AH / sixteenth century AD.<sup>273</sup> According to al-Maǧribī, coffee sellers used to say جبا *ǧabā* “for free!” when pouring out the drink.<sup>274</sup> He also explicitly mentions that an excellent type of coffee drunk in Egypt is made of قشر *qišr*, i.e. the husks, of the bean. This use of the husks is also mentioned in Hattox’s study about coffee in the Middle East:

“Some descriptions refer almost exclusively to using the husks. The description initially given Khā’ir Beg of coffee, that it is “cooked from the husks of the seed called *bunn* that comes from the Yemen,” is one example.”<sup>275</sup>

Nowadays in Yemen, coffee is still made from the husks, see Behnstedt (2006) p. 996: “*ǧišrin*: Kaffeeschalen, ein Getränk, gebraut aus Kaffeeschalen, Ingwer und Zimt”.

Al-Maǧribī quotes from a poem created by one of his teachers, ‘Alī al-Maǧdisī, in praise of coffee, and there is another about the same topic which al-Maǧribī produced.<sup>276</sup> He even mentions that when the value of the letters of the word *qahwa* is added up, it has the same numerical value as the word *qawī*.<sup>277</sup> To him, this

<sup>272</sup> See Hava (2001) p. 86b and al-Ḥafāǧī (1865) p. 67-68.

<sup>273</sup> See Hattox (1991) pp. 27-8.

<sup>274</sup> See fols. 5b and 124b; al-Maǧribī by mistake mentions the entry *ǧabā* twice, first in the chapter *alif* and later in the chapter *wāw/yā’*. He actually has another explanation of the word, see the entry جبا in the Glossary.

<sup>275</sup> Hattox (1991) p. 84.

<sup>276</sup> Both on fol. 5b.

<sup>277</sup> Every letter of the alphabet has a certain numerical value. Q = 100, H = 5, W = 6, Y = 10, see *El’ III* p. 595 (T. Fahd).

قهوه QHWH: 100+5+6+5=116.

قوي QWY: 100+6+10=116.

is proof of its positive qualities.<sup>278</sup> It was the cause of some hilarity when, during a *mağlis*,<sup>279</sup> a Turk who had apparently not mastered the Arabic language pointed out that when the word قهوة is inverted it reads هو حق “it is the truth”.<sup>280</sup> As well as this passage on fols. 5b-6a, the word قهوة appears five more times in the context of entries in *Daf al-iṣr*,<sup>281</sup> and is mentioned in seven poems in total.<sup>282</sup> It is, therefore, clear that the drink had become important in Egyptian society since the time of its first appearance there.

## 5.2 Drugs and tobacco

Al-Mağribī mentions the use of drugs on a few occasions. The people of Egypt said, for instance: الكيف يأكل من الـ *yākul min al-kyf* “he eats of the hashish”.<sup>283</sup> The word *kyf* is a metonymy: it was first used to describe the state of pleasure caused by hashish, and therefore later also came to mean the drug itself.<sup>284</sup> We can conclude from يأكل *yākul* that the hashish was eaten, not smoked, as still happens today. Sometimes people mixed it (قتل الحشيش *qatal al-ḥašīš*).<sup>285</sup> Although al-Mağribī does not mention with what, it could perhaps have been the innovation called tobacco (see below). Al-Mağribī mentions the word افیون *afyūn* “opium” (117a) as well, although he tells us no more than يقولون افیون *yaqūlūn afyūn*, using a quotation from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.<sup>286</sup> He also comments that somebody can be مسطول *masṭūl* “high or stoned, intoxicated” or can be في سطة *fī saṭla* (same meaning).<sup>287</sup> It is unclear, however,

<sup>278</sup> See fol. 6a.

<sup>279</sup> A social gathering. For more information about this cultural phenomenon, see §1.3.

<sup>280</sup> Fol. 6a. See also §4.3.

<sup>281</sup> يقولون عند اتيان القهوة “they say *bunn* to the origin of coffee” (110a), يقولون عند اتيان القهوة “they say, when the coffee is being served, *ḡabā*” (124b), يقولون قهوة سُخنة “they say: hot coffee” (115a), يقولون فنجان قهوة “they say: a coffee cup” (117a), من البن، يقولون قهوة المستخرج من البن، “they call the extract of coffee beans *qahwa*” (130b).

<sup>282</sup> On fols. 5b (twice), 6a, 11b, 76a, 99b, and 130b.

<sup>283</sup> Fol. 33b.

<sup>284</sup> See Dozy (1927) II p. 505b “... Proprement l’état de gaîté, d’ivresse, causé par le hachich, et ensuite le hachich meme”.

<sup>285</sup> Fol. 89a.

<sup>286</sup> Prosper Alpin mentions in his *Médecine* (1980) I p. 255 that the Egyptians used opium very frequently. Alpin stayed in Egypt from 1581 to 1584.

<sup>287</sup> Fol. 80b.

whether he means that such a person was drunk or high. He explicitly mentions that these two words are used frequently by the people from the Ḥiḡāz.

Tobacco was a completely new phenomenon in al-Maḡribī's time. He explicitly mentions that in the year he wrote *Daf al-iṣr*, i.e. 1014/1606, a new phenomenon called طابغه *ṭābġa* had come into fashion.<sup>288</sup> This is correct, since we know that tobacco was introduced to Egypt in 1603-1604,<sup>289</sup> and it would be reasonable to assume that it would take some time to become popular with the general public. What al-Maḡribī tells us about it is extremely interesting. Shops which specialized in tobacco were established, and there were even suggestions that other special places should open for it, like coffee houses. He mentions in the margin that one رطل *raṭl* (around 443 gram<sup>290</sup>) is sold for three gold coins (ثلاثة ذهب) *ṭalāṭa ḍahab*. This must be the gold coin called *ašrafī* (or *šarīfī*) *muḥammadī*, since this was the only one in use in Cairo in the Ottoman period until the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>291</sup> Its weight was 3,448 gram.<sup>292</sup> Therefore, 1 *raṭl* of tobacco was worth 10,344 grams of gold. The only thing al-Maḡribī can tell us about the origin of tobacco is that it came from the West. He tried it once and did not like it at all because it made him feel dizzy. He further mentions that people smoke it, and for this activity they use the phrase يشربون دخانها *yašrabūn duḥḥānahā* "they drink its smoke".<sup>293</sup> Moreover, he tells us that there was some question about whether it was permissible to smoke while fasting during Ramaḍān. According to a certain *šayḥ* called al-Zayyādī<sup>294</sup> it was actually allowed, which al-Maḡribī believed to be reprehensible.<sup>295</sup>

<sup>288</sup> Fol. 16b. Tobacco was first introduced in Europe by Columbus in 1493, although at that time it stirred mostly botanical interest, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> X 753a (R. Matthee). At the end of the 1580s, smoking was made popular by Sir Walter Raleigh, who introduced it at the English court. See Milton (2000) p. 182ff.

<sup>289</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup> X p. 753b (R. Matthee).

<sup>290</sup> Note that the weights varied throughout the Ottoman period, and also depended on the place and the commodity; this is therefore an estimation, see Raymond (1973) I p. lvii. The *raṭl* remained commonly in use in Egypt until around the 70s of the last century, along with the *wi'iyā* "ounce", in parallel with the metric system.

<sup>291</sup> See Raymond (1973) I p. 28.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>293</sup> Also in Turkish, the word for "to drink", *içmek*, is used for "to smoke".

<sup>294</sup> This is probably 'Alī b. Yaḥyā Nūr al-Dīn al-Zayyādī al-Miṣrī al-Šāfi'ī, d. 1024/1615. He was originally from Maḥallat Zayyād in al-Buḥayra, but lived and died in Cairo. He was a famous *faqīh* and *muftī*. See Zirikli (1955) V p. 32 and al-Muḥbbī (online version): <http://islamport.com/d/1/trj/1/144/3525.html>.

<sup>295</sup> See fol. 75b.



It is natural that such an innovation caused some controversy, even though it nowadays seems incredible that some might have considered smoking during Ramaḍān to be acceptable.<sup>296</sup> During the Ottoman rule smoking became common place, as was proven by archaeological finds. Ward and Baram (1999) p. 145 state that “archaeologists have noted that clay pipes are among the most plentiful artifacts studies from the era that the Ottoman Empire ruled over the Middle East.”

### 5.3 Medicine

In *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, many herbs and vegetables are praised for their medicinal properties. These descriptions were copied by al-Maḡribī, showing that the belief in the healing power of these plants had not diminished since *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* was written in the fourteenth century. For instance, باقلا *bāqillā* “broad beans” were believed to relieve coughing (66a), while فجل *fiġl* “radishes” are almost a magical medicine, curing such various afflictions as وجع المفاصل والبرقان ولوجع الكبد ووجع العقارب ونهش الافاعي والاستسقا و“pain in the joints, jaundice, dropsy, and bites of snakes and scorpions” (86b).

Some of the complaints from which 17<sup>th</sup> century Egyptians suffered were: شقاق *šaqāq* “a disease which causes cracks in the skin” (47a),<sup>297</sup> شقيقة *šaqyqa* “a splitting headache” (47a), فتق *fatq* “hernia, rupture” (51b), قشف *qasšaf* “chapped skin” (32b),<sup>298</sup>

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<sup>296</sup> The dilemma of Muslim scholars on this point is described in *Et*<sup>2</sup> X 754a (R. Matthee): “As in many places around the world, tobacco in the early stage of its introduction in the Middle East aroused suspicion on the part of clerics and bureaucrats alike. Muslim scholars, unable to find references to tobacco in the Qur’ān, resorted to analogical reasoning to determine whether smoking was permitted or should be condemned and banned as contrary to religion. As tobacco did not resemble any of the forbidden substances mentioned in the Qur’ān, proscribing it was not a simple matter. Nor was it easy to “prove” that tobacco in itself was bad, or harmful to one’s health. (...) Arguments for and against tobacco were often made in the context of the controversy between the representatives of orthodoxy, who rejected tobacco, and members of Ṣūfī orders, who took to smoking”. Apparently al-Maḡribī was an exception to the rule that ṣūfīs took to smoking. Kātib Čelebi describes the way smoking was received in Istanbul and discusses whether it is permitted under Islamic law, see Ḥalīfa (1957) pp. 50-59. Rosenthal (1971) p. 129 recounts an interesting anecdote narrated by Ibn al-Wakīl al-Mīlawī (see §2.1) about two men smoking in a park who are caught red-handed.

<sup>297</sup> Still used nowadays in expressions like *ka’bi mša’ a’* “the skin of my heel is cracked”.

<sup>298</sup> Both *fat’* and *ašaf* are still used in Egypt with the same meaning.

or *فهاقه fahāqa* “death rattle” (51a), a condition which once afflicted al-Mağribī.<sup>299</sup> Anyone who became ill was normally dependent on the services of the *مزين muzayyin* or barber,<sup>300</sup> who could stitch up (*قطب qatāb*) a wound (20a), prescribe a *مرهم marham* “ointment” (106a) or *لُعوق lu‘ūq* “electuary” (54b).<sup>301</sup> William Lane did not have a high opinion of them, finding that the Egyptian barbers were “miserably ignorant of the sciences which they profess, and unskilful in their practice”.<sup>302</sup>

An antidote called *فاروق تریاق tiryāq fārūq* “distinguishing theriac” (52a) was used for snakebites. The Ottoman traveller Evliya Čelebi (1611-after 1683) gives us a detailed description of how it was manufactured in Egypt. In the month of July, specialist hunters used to catch a great number of snakes, which were then transported to the hospital of Qalāwūn, slaughtered, hung out to dry, and then used to prepare this special medicine.<sup>303</sup>

#### 5.4 Games

Al-Mağribī mentions some terminology connected with the game of chess. The word *فرزان firzān* (117a) is normally used for “queen” in chess, and is derived from the Persian *فرزین farzīn* “wise man, counsellor”.<sup>304</sup> *دست dast* (3a), another Persian word, means “game”.<sup>305</sup> Less common are three other chess-terms used by al-Mağribī. When somebody loses a game, he says *مرماد marmād*, meaning literally “affected by ophthalmia”, as if the loser wants to say *ما رأيت في هذا الدست mā ra’ayt fi hādā al-dast* “I did not see in this game”.<sup>306</sup> Although at first sight it would be tempting to compare this to the “blind mate”, this would be inaccurate because the latter is “a mate which the winner does not see is mate”,<sup>307</sup> while al-Mağribī

<sup>299</sup> See §1.2.

<sup>300</sup> Lane (2003) p. 218: “The Egyptian medical and surgical practitioners are mostly barbers”. This remained the case until recently, but barbers or *mizayyinīn* have gradually lost their popularity after doctors reached almost every corner of Egypt. For instance, circumcision was always an exercise practiced by the *mizayyin*.

<sup>301</sup> These last three words are still in use in Egypt nowadays.

<sup>302</sup> Lane (2003) p. 218.

<sup>303</sup> see Prokosch (2000) p. 172ff.

<sup>304</sup> See Murray (1962) p. 159 and Wieber (1972) p. 186.

<sup>305</sup> See Wieber (1972) p. 291.

<sup>306</sup> *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 3a.

<sup>307</sup> Murray (1962) p. 832.

mentions that in the case of *mərmād*, it is the looser who did not see. This term is not found in this specific context in any dictionary, but it is mentioned with exactly the same meaning and explained in Ibn Taġrī Birdī's *al-Nuġūm al-zāhira fī 'ulūm Miṣr wa-l-Qāhira*:

ووقع بينه وبين قاضي القضاة عز الدين عبد العزيز بن العز البغدادي الحنبلي مفاوضة في بعض مجالس السلطان لمعنى من المعاني، فكان من جملة كلام ابن السفاح هذا، أن قال: ربيع الوقف - وشدّد الباء - فقال عز الدين المذكور: اسكت يا مرمد، فضحك السلطان ومن حضر، وانتصف عليه الحنبلي. فلما نزلا من القلعة، سألت من عز الدين عن قوله مرمد، فقال: الأتراك كثيراً ما يلعبون الشطرنج، وقد صار بينهم أن الذي لا يعرف شيء يسمى مرمد، فقصدت الكلام بما اعتادوه وعرفتهم أنه لا يعرف شيء، وأنه جاهل بما يقول، وتم لي ما قصدته.<sup>308</sup>

"Between him<sup>309</sup> and the 'judge of judges' 'Izz al-Dīn 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-'Izz al-Baġdādī al-Ḥanbalī, was a discussion in one of the Sultan's *maġālis* about the meaning of a certain word. One of the things Ibn al-Saffāḥ said was the following: '*rayyī' al-waqf* ('the income resulting from a dedicated land for a purpose'), with a *šadda* on the *yā*. So, the aforementioned 'Izz al-Dīn said: 'Shut up you *mərmād*', leading to laughter from the Sultan and the other attendants, and al-Ḥanbalī demanded justice (?).<sup>310</sup> So when they went down from the citadel, I asked 'Izz al-Dīn about the meaning of the word *mərmād*, and he said: 'The Turks play chess often, and when it happens that there is somebody among them who is ignorant, they call him *mərmād*, so I meant this word in the way they are using it in, and let them know that he doesn't know a thing and that he is ignorant about what he said, and that is what I meant."

So, although the term was unfamiliar to an Arabic speaker, it was well-known by the Turkish speaking courtiers. More mysterious is the term مرمد قفة *mərmād quffa* (32b). The meaning of the word يديدب *yidaydīb* (13a) is also not entirely clear, although it seems to be related to the noun *dadabān* / *didabān* "sentry" (see Hinds-

<sup>308</sup> Ibn Taġrī Birdī (1963) XV pp. 174-175.

<sup>309</sup> I.e., the judge Šihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Šalāḥ al-Dīn Šālīḥ b. Aḥmad b. 'Umar, known as Ibn al-Saffāḥ al-Ḥanbalī al-Šāfi'ī, whose demise Ibn al-Taġrī Birdī had just mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

<sup>310</sup> The meaning of *انتصف* here is unclear. Dozy II p. 680a "demander justice d'un tel (من) pour (ل) une personne; كلامه في فلان من انتصف من فلان في كلامه parler de quelqu'un comme de son égal, ne pas lui donner de titre".

Badawi (1986) p. 282b), whose origin is the Persian *dīdabān* (see Steingass p. 552a). Neither of these words is mentioned by Wieber and Murray, two authorities on chess.

Another game described by al-Mağribī, although not in such detail, is the *طاب* *ṭāb* (16b). It is still played today with four pieces of palm branch which are white on one side and green on the other, a board, and a few stones. It is described in detail in Lane's *Manners and customs* (2003) pp. 346-349.

### 5.5 Clothing and jewellery

Al-Mağribī pays a great deal of attention to the different types of clothing worn by the Egyptians. In total, he mentions 27 types of garments or words related to clothing, from the *ʿamāma* “turban” (103a) to the *tarḡīl* “slipper” (75), and from the *tabbān* “short under-pants” (110a) to the *بخنق* *buḥnuq* “veil” (36b). People used to wear a *شروال* *šīrwāl* “drawers” (80b), also called *سروال* (80a), which was kept up with a waistband, called *دكة* *dikka* (57a) or *نيافق* *nyāfiq* (56a). They wore a *زبون* *zabūn* “inner vest”, a *قرطوق* (53b) *qarṭuq* “tunic” or *قبا* (130a) *qabā* “sleeved robe”, and when it was cold, a woollen cloak which was called *عبا* ‘*abā* (9a) or *عباية* ‘*abāya* (128b).

Two types of garment are particularly worth mentioning here because they are generally not well-documented. The first one is the *حنيني* *ḥanyīnī* (112b), which is described in Dozy I 330b as “semble être le nom d’un vêtement”, occurring once in 1001 Nights. Al-Mağribī does not take us closer to an understanding of what kind of garment this might be, since he only mentions that it is *شي يلبس* *šy yulbas* “a thing that is worn”. Unfortunately, it is the same with the second item, the *كامليية* *kāmiliyya* (91b): *يقولون كامليية لما يلبس لم تعلم* *yaqūlūn kāmiliyya limā yulbas lam tu’lam* “they say *kāmiliyya* to something that is worn, and it is not known [in Classical Arabic]”. This word, like *ḥanyīnī*, is not found in any other source apart from Dozy II 489b, who does not specify it: “espèce de robe” (his source is Ibn Iyās).

To these items of clothing we can add some words for jewellery, all of which are well known today: *خزام* *ḥazām* “nose ring” (97a), *خلخال* *ḥulḥāl* “anklet” (72a), *دبله* *dibla* “ring” (72b), *طوق* *ṭuq* “neckband” (47b), *غوش* *gūš* “glass bracelets” (101a) (nowadays the diminutive *ǧiwēša* is used) and *مشنشنة* *libba mašanšina* “a jingling necklace” (115b).

### 5.6 Kitchen utensils, tools, and other household items

There are 33 entries about the utensils used in daily life in *Daf al-iṣr*. Many of these are kitchen items, such as the عكّة *ʿakka* “receptacle for clarified butter” (61a), صلاية *ṣalāya* “mortar and pestle” (128b), مغرفة *mağrafa* “ladle” (31b), لُحُوقِي *luḥūqī* “small cooking pot” (54a), ابريق *abrīq* “ewer with a spout” (36b), ماعون *māʿūn* “kitchen pot” (119a), and هَوْن *hwn* “mortar” (120a). We also find reference to different types of jugs: باطية *bāṭiya* “jug” (123b), بكله (66a) *bakla* “vessel for water for washing one’s backside”,<sup>311</sup> قلة *qulla* “earthenware water jar” (89b), and also the pad put under the jug when carried on the head: حَوَايه *ḥawwāya* (125b). The mention of other items gives us some idea about the things found in the average household at that time: دواية *dawāya* “inkwell” (127a), لَيْقَة *līqa* “bit of wool which is inserted in an inkwell” (55a), مردن *mardan* “spindle” (114a), مَرَجُونَة *marǧūna* “basket” (114a), مَسَلَّة *misalla* “thick needle” (91b), مَسَن *misann* “whetstone” (115b), مصقلة *maṣqala* “burnisher” (81a), عِلْبَة *ʿilba* “small container” (17a), حق *ḥuqq* “small box” (38b), قَرْوَة *qarwa* “basket of palm leaves” (130a), قَفَّة *qaffa* “basket made of palm stalks” (32b), قنديل *qandīl* “oil lamp” (90b), قنينة *qanīniyya* “glass drinking-bowl” (117b), and مكحلة *mukḥila* “kohl-holder” (90b).<sup>312</sup> The most important thing to note about these items is that they show that Yūsuf al-Mağribī, an Azharite scholar and ṣūfī, did not believe it was beneath him to show an interest in such everyday things, which were mostly the domain of women. Indeed, that al-Mağribī was interested in the world of women and children becomes apparent from the presence in *Daf al-iṣr* of several expressions used exclusively by them. For these, the reader is referred to §6.5.1.1.

<sup>311</sup> For this translation of the word *istingāʿ* see Hinds-Badawi (1986) 851a and Hava (2001) 753b.

<sup>312</sup> Al-Mağribī also mentions that in the Mağrib, مكحلة means “rifle”, because of the similarity between the kohl and gun powder. It is still used with this meaning in Morocco, see Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 81a.



## CHAPTER 6

### Linguistic Analysis

#### 6.1 Orthography

Al-Mağribī was a man of letters. He was educated at al-Azhar, and was well versed in language, religion and poetry. We would, therefore, expect that someone like him would know how to spell. It is generally assumed that Middle Arabic is normally found in texts created by people who had either not mastered Classical Arabic, or were unconcerned about whether or not their language and spelling were correct; we would not expect impeccable spelling from a trader writing a business letter, or a woman writing to her sister. In fact, we find many traits known to us from Middle Arabic texts in *Daf al-Iṣr*'s orthography.<sup>313</sup> The question is: what were the spelling habits of well-educated people of the time, such as scientists, linguists, or clergymen? We might, perhaps, expect a greater consciousness on this point from a scholar like al-Mağribī. This would mean that we could ask ourselves if the examples of orthography which diverge from the spelling rules of today, and which are pointed out below, were really sub-standard in al-Mağribī's time. Vrolijk (1998) p. 113 points out that "autographs not only reflect the personal [spelling] habits of the author, but probably also, in a more general sense, the habits of his contemporaries. It is as yet impossible to establish which part is purely personal and which part is common practice". The answer to this question is beyond the scope of the present study, but it remains an interesting point that certainly requires further investigation in the future.

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

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

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

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-Mağribī does not follow the rules of Classical Arabic, and is inconsistent in the way in which he writes it, even within the same sentence.<sup>314</sup> The same word is written in different ways, as in the case with *nisā'* “women”, which we find in the same sentence as نساء and نسآء (64a), and elsewhere as the variant نساآ (31a). These examples highlight three of the four ways of writing the final *ā'* that al-Mağribī employs: آء, آ, ء and ل.<sup>315</sup> This is a continuous source of confusion. For instance, the frequently found word بها could of course be *bihā* “with her”, but should more often be read *bi-hā'* “with the letter *hā'*” (or actually “with *tā' marbūṭa*”), frequently used in the expression وواحدتها بها *wa wāḥidatuhā bi-hā'* “and its nomen unitatis is with a *tā' marbūṭa*”.

The final *ī* is, in most cases, written without the *hamza*: مضى (50a) *muḍī'* “bright”, as is final *i'*: الممتلي *mumtali'* “full” (11a) and ay': شيء *šay'* “a thing” (to be found in numerous places).

*ā'* in the middle of the word can be written with a *madda*: الدنآة والقمآة *al-danā'a wa al-qamā'a* “vileness and lowliness” (104b); بنآن *binā'ān* “two structures” (108a). Moreover, words of the patterns *fā'il* and *fawā'il* (mediae infirmae) are often written with a *madda* on the *alif*, followed by either a *hamza* under the *yā'* or without *hamza*, e.g. راقه لطآيف *laṭā'if rā'iqā* “delightful witticisms” (1a), بآعها *bā'i'hā* “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,<sup>316</sup> and there are many examples from *Daf al-Iṣr*: الآية *al-'āya* “the Qur'ān-verse” (50b); الآلة *'āla* “instrument” (78b, 104a), الآلات *al-'ālāt* “the instruments” (91a); الآخر *'āxir* “the last”,

<sup>314</sup> This had already been observed by Wehr (1956) p. xv in his edition of *Kitāb al-ḥikāyāt al-'ağība wa l-'ağībār al-ğarība*: “Das Hamza-Zeichen wird völlig unkonsequent verwendet”.

<sup>315</sup> Compare the orthography of the word *mā'* in Jaritz (1993) p. 65.

<sup>316</sup> Compare for instance Jaritz (1993) p. 70: “In den meisten Hss. fehlt das Madda ganz”.



ملان *mal'ān* “filled” (101b), المت *'alamat* “it hurt” (114a). The word الان can be read as *al-'ān* “now”,<sup>317</sup> but also as *'alāna* “to soften” (58a). What is unusual is the *madda* written on the *wāw*: سَوّ *sū* “evil” (64a; 76a; 113b) instead of the final *hamza*, or in the middle of a word: وضوّه *wuḍū'uhu* “his ritual ablution” (93a).

The omission of the *hamza* in the middle of a word is quite common in *Daf al-Iṣr*. For instance: جرا *ǧuz'an* “a part” (6b), القرات (37a) *al-qirā'āt* “the readings”, مملوّة *mamlū'a* “filled” (80b), and باه *bā'a* (57a; 88a) “sexual intercourse”. In الخطيئة *al-ḥaṭī'a* “the mistake” (78b, in a quotation from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*) not only has the *hamza* been omitted, but so has its bearer, as is the case in شيا *šay'an* “a thing” (of which there are many instances, e.g. fol. 85a, 103a etc.),<sup>318</sup> روس *ru'ūs* “heads” (115a), اليبله *al-as'ila* (93a) “the questions” and مسئلة *mas'ala* (62b; 121b) “question”.<sup>319</sup> 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-Maǧribī on fol. 6b: واعلم ان هنا فرقا بين الجزء بالهمز والجزء بالالف اللينه: “I know there is a difference between *al-ǧuz'* with a *hamza* and *al-ǧazā'* 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 *al-ǧazā'* rather than *al-ǧazā'*, i.e. with *tashīl*, or is he referring to the root of the word, which is ĞZY? The second option is the most likely because al-Maǧribī would have been aware that the word ends with a *hamza*.

In the words فاس راس *ra's fa's* “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-muḥīṭ*. There are other cases in which the bearer is written but the *hamza* itself was omitted, such as in: هيمة *hay'a* “form” (79a), ريس *ra'īs* “leader” (113b), سوال *su'āl* “question” (7b), فوادي (99b) *fu'ādī* “my heart”, تفاولا *tafā'ulan* “regarding it as a good omen” (89b). This can lead to ambiguities. For instance, confusion is caused by كان, which can be read as *kāna* “he was” or *ka'anna* “as if”. The same goes for لان *li'anna* “because”<sup>320</sup> or لان *lāna* “to be/become soft” (113a).

<sup>317</sup> Attested in several places, e.g. fol. 3b, 9a etc.

<sup>318</sup> See also Wehr (1956) p. xv.

<sup>319</sup> This spelling of *mas'ala* is also mentioned in Blau (1966) I p. 100.

<sup>320</sup> This is the spelling which al-Maǧribī uses for this word in most of the cases.

When the *yā'* is supposed to be the bearer of the *hamza*, it is more common to find it written with a dotted *yā'*, as in لَيْلَا *li-'allā* (40a; 64a; 116a) “in order not to”,<sup>321</sup> which should not to be confused with لَيْلَا *laylan* “at night” (as in for instance fol. 17a). Other examples are بَيْر *bi'r* “well” (124a), رِيَة *ri'a* “lung” (47a), and إِذَا *'a'idā* (أَذَا) “if”, preceded by the particle *'a* introducing a question (82a, quotation from the Qur'ān). Often the *hamza* is written under the *yā'* instead of on top of it, e.g. مَيْق *ma'iqā* “he sobbed” (55a), الزَّيْبِر *al-za'ir* “the roaring” (108b).

In فنول *fu'ūl* “elephants” (88a) we find a hypercorrection: here al-Mağribī writes a *hamza* where it should be a *yā'*: *fuyūl*. Even if the plural *fu'ūl* had existed,<sup>322</sup> it should have been written فنول according to the norms of Classical Arabic, although in Modern Standard Arabic the spelling with *yā'* is allowed (for instance مسئول is seen often in newspapers instead of مسؤول).

### 6.1.2 final *yā'* / *alif maqṣūra*

There are many inconsistencies in the writing of the *alif maqṣūra* and final *yā'*, which both appear either with or without dots.<sup>323</sup> Instances of the final *yā'* where we would expect *alif maqṣūra* are: the writing of عَلِي *'alā* is used often instead of على, as is هَاتِي *hattā* instead of حتى. Some additional examples are: تَخَطَّى (126b) *taḥaṭṭā* “to overstep”, شَبْعِي (46a) *šab'ā* “satisfied”; اعْطَى (78b) *'aṭā* “he gave”, انْشَى *'unṭā* “female” (87b), الْحَبْلِي *al-ḥublā* “the pregnant woman” (107b), and الْأَعْلَى *al-'alā* “the Highest”.

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

<sup>321</sup> Compare Blau (1966) I p. 96.

<sup>322</sup> It does not, according to Lane VI p. 2474c.

<sup>323</sup> In the edition of the manuscript I have adjusted this spelling, see *Introduction*.

### 6.1.3 final ā

#### 6.1.3.1 ي instead of ا

Sometimes a word is spelt with a final *yā'* where *alif* would be expected:<sup>324</sup> عَصِي *aṣī* “stick” (51b, 111a and 132b), and الثنايا العليي *al-tanāya al-'ulyā* “the upper front teeth” (104b). Sometimes, *yā'* is used instead of the final *alif hamza*: بخاري (58a) *Bukhārā* “city in Uzbekistan”, and هوي *hawā'* (34b and 89a) “air”. The final *yā'* instead of *alif hamza* can be seen in المتوضي *almutawaḍḍa'* (126b) “having performed the ritual ablution”. As pointed out in §6.1.2, it is quite common to render the final ā with ي .

#### 6.1.3.2 ا instead of ي

The spelling with *alif* where *alif maqṣūra* would be expected<sup>325</sup> occurs, although not frequently. Two examples are: الاحلا (21a) instead of الاحلى *al-aḥlā* “the more beautiful”, and الرحا instead of الرحي *al-raḥā* “the handmill” (95a).

### 6.1.4 tā' marbūṭa

In a few isolated cases ه instead of ة is found in status constructus: لعبه الشطرنج “the chess-game” (3a), زرقه عينيه “the blue of his eyes” (38a), قاعده الشام “the capital of the Levant” (39b), حياه الحيوان “the life of the animals” (56a), حكايه ليلى والمجنون “the story of Laylā and Maḡnūn” (108a), ضعيفه الكون “weak of posture” (108a), and لكثره الاستعمال “because of its frequent use” (117b).

ة instead of ه occurs rarely: محروقة *maḡrūqihi* (97b). However, this was probably a mistake by al-Maḡribī, because he changed the word from المحروق to محروقه when copying from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḡīṭ*. There are no instances of ت instead of ة.

### 6.1.5 Interdentals

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

<sup>324</sup> Compare Blau (1966) I p. 90.

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

كقنفذ = كقنفذ “and its stern” (90b), وكوتلها = وكوتلها “wild pomegranate” (90a), المغاث “like *qunfuḍ* hedgehog” (96b), للطمث = للطمث “for the menstruation” (109b), and اللادن = اللادن “*laudanum*” (118a). However, these cases are rare and are probably the result of inaccuracy rather than intent. It could even be that al-Maḡribī had an inaccurate copy of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. We also find زفر *zafar* “stench” (115b), instead of the correct ذفر, in a quotation from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.

### 6.1.6 Hyphenation

Al-Maḡribī 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: خا – لطنه *ḫālaṭathu* “she mixed it” (8a), فا – نظر *fa-nẓur* “look up” (11b), صابع – الا *al-aṣābi* “the fingers” (14a), با – لشكير “with downy feathers” (36b), لذال *bi-l-dāl* “with the *dāl*” (40a), كا – لفسطاط *ka-l-fuṣṭāṭ* “like a large tent” (40b), كآ – وُفقته *ka-awfaqtuh* “like I put it [the arrow] on the bowstring” (53b), الا – طعمه *al-aṭ’ima* “the foodstuffs” (65b), فا – رسيته *fārisiyatuhu* “its Persian [translation]” (91b), and سد – الا *al-’asad* “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-Maḡribī alternates between historical and phonetic spelling. As an example, words will be taken which had originally contained interdental, but had become stops in the dialect used at that time.<sup>326</sup> This development is often reflected in al-Maḡribī’s orthography: اطل *atl* (63a) < اطل *atḷ* “tamarisk”, مثل *mitl* (91b) < مثل *miṭl* “similar”, ندل *nadl* (92b) < نذل *naḍl* “despicable”, and شاذليّة *Ṣādiliyya* (81a) < شاذليّة *Ṣādiliyya* “belonging to the *Ṣādiliyya ṣūfi* order”. In other instances where a dialect word had originally contained an interdental, al-Maḡribī uses historical orthography: هذا *hadā* and هذيان *hadayān* “to rave” and “raving” (132b), مرتبة *martīyya* “elegy” (127b), and قيتا *qittā* “*cucumis sativus*” (9b).

<sup>326</sup> As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, this is only a cursory overview of the orthography of colloquial words; these points will be discussed at length in §6.2.

Phonetic orthography can also be found in the reflection of the shortening of long end vowels which had occurred in the Egyptian dialect, e.g. *bakka* (56b) from *bakkā* “cry-baby”.<sup>327</sup> The final glottal stop has disappeared and the preceding long *ā* has shortened. This pronunciation is reflected in the orthography with *hā*’ 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: حفة (21b) *ḥaffa* instead of حافة *ḥāffa* “edge”.<sup>328</sup>

At a certain point, al-Mağribī writes the colloquial ايدہ *īdu* then crosses out the *alif*, thereby turning the word into the classical يده *yaduhu* (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 مَنُو *minnu* (twice on 51b); the metrics of the poem in which it occurs demand this form of colloquial pronunciation.

### 6.1.8 *taškīl*

Al-Mağribī does not make much use of *taškīl*, 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): عرف القمل والقمل فالجواب ان القمل عرف فان قلت ما الفرق بين القمل والقمل فالجواب ان القمل عرف. “if you said ‘what is the difference between *al-qml* and *al-qml*’, the answer is: *al-qml* is well-known, and *al-qml* as [mentioned] in *al-Qāmūs* are small insects”. It is left to the reader to check *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* to discover that the first is supposed to be *qaml* “lice” and the second *qummal* “ticks”!<sup>329</sup> Unfortunately, whenever Al-Mağribī does use *taškīl* it is mostly in Classical Arabic and not in the colloquial passages where it is needed.

<sup>327</sup> For more details, see §6.2.10.2.

<sup>328</sup> See §6.2.10.1.

<sup>329</sup> See *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 946a-b.

## 6.2 Phonology

### 6.2.1 *qāf* and *ǧīm*

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

1. Behnstedt and Woidich suggest that the Cairene pronunciation /ʔ/ - /g/ is an ancient feature.<sup>331</sup> 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 /ʔ/ - /g/ spreading along this branch of the Nile, while the surrounding regions kept /g/ - /ǧ/. Another possibility is that the entire Delta used /ʔ/ - /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.<sup>332</sup> This theory is also supported by Davies, who mentions that in *Hazz al-quḥūf* the following is said about a certain peasant: *يقول يا قاضي بحرف الجيم* “He says, ‘O Gāḍī’, [pronouncing the initial *qāf* of *qāḍī*] with the letter *ǧīm*”, meaning that the peasant says *gāḍī*, which again implies that al-Širbīnī himself pronounced the *ǧīm* as /g/.<sup>333</sup>

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

<sup>330</sup> See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) II maps 7, 11 and 15.

<sup>331</sup> See Behnstedt (1978) p. 65 and Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I p. 31-32.

<sup>332</sup> See Woidich (1996) pp. 346-7.

<sup>333</sup> See Davies (2005) p. xxxv.

<sup>334</sup> See Blanc (1981) pp. 189-193.

<sup>335</sup> See Palva (1997) p. 157.

centuries.<sup>336</sup> 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 *ḡīm* is indicated by the letter *gimel*, to which is added either a supralinear dot ݡ or a sublinear dot ݣ to indicate a more fronted pronunciation.<sup>337</sup> 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.<sup>338</sup>

Blanc (1981) pp. 192-3 quotes two passages from *Daf al-iṣr* in support of his theory. The first is the word *raql* “man”, and al-Maḡribī mentions the following about the pronunciation of the *ḡīm* in it:

ويقولون ويسمع من اهل الريف فلان ما دلاً رَجُلٌ بفتح الراء وسكون الجيم الغير العربية كجيم ابن جني المنصوص عليها في شرح جمع الجوامع الاصولي للعلامة المحلي.<sup>339</sup>

“They say, and this is heard from the people of the countryside, ‘so-and-so *mā dillā raql*’, ‘what kind of man is that’, with an *a* after the *rā*’ and no vowel after the un-Arabic *ḡīm*, which is like the *ḡīm* of Ibn Ginnī, about which is written in the traditional *Šarḥ ḡam‘ al-ḡawāmi‘* by the famous al-Maḡhallī.”<sup>340</sup>

The passage from *Šarḥ ḡam‘ al-ḡawāmi‘* which is referred to is the following:

<sup>336</sup> See Hary (1996) p. 153.

<sup>337</sup> See Hary (1996) p. 155, Blanc (1981) p. 189 and Palva (1997) p. 157.

<sup>338</sup> 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”.

<sup>339</sup> *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 75a.

<sup>340</sup> Abū ‘Alī Ġalāl al-Dīn Muḡammad b. Aḡmad b. Muḡammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī al-Šāfi‘ī al-Maḡhallī, born and died in Cairo (791/1389-864/1459). He became famous as co-author of *Tafsīr al-Ġalālayn* (together with Ġalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī). See *EI* V p. 1223a (Ch. Pellat).

وَلَيْسَ الْمَجَازُ غَالِبًا عَلَى اللُّغَاتِ خِلَافًا لِابْنِ جِنِّي (بِسُكُونِ الْيَاءِ مُعَرَّبٌ كِنِّي بَيْنَ الْكَافِ وَالْجِيمِ)<sup>341</sup>  
 “(And the metaphor is not predominant in the languages, contrary to Ibn Ginnī) with no vowel after the *yā*, Arabized from Kinnī, between the *kāf* and the *ǧīm*.”

The description “between *kāf* and *ǧīm*” was the usual way of describing the pronunciation /g/.<sup>342</sup> 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-Maǧribī 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-Maǧribī was speaking of. He might have expected to hear /ǧ/ 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*,<sup>343</sup> while in Middle Egypt it is pronounced as a slightly palatalized *g*.<sup>344</sup> It is possible that al-Maǧribī 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<sup>345</sup> concerns the following passage:

ومن العجيب ان اللكن بالكاف العجمية ظرف مخصوص باللغة التركية وكذلك في العربية قال  
 (ولكن كجبل ظرف معروف) اي بالكاف العربية<sup>346</sup>

“And it is astonishing that *lakan* 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-Maǧribī 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

<sup>341</sup> 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).

<sup>342</sup> See Blanc (1969) p. 21.

<sup>343</sup> See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I p. 70, note to map 11.

<sup>344</sup> Doss (1981) p. 27 speaks of a “[g] très faiblement mouillé”.

<sup>345</sup> See Blanc (1981) p. 193.

<sup>346</sup> *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 188b.



/k/. Neither of these arguments, therefore, provides us with any information about the pronunciation of *ǧīm* in Cairo at that time.

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

جأجأ بالابل دعاها للشرب وقد سمعت بعضهم عند الحوض وهو سقى الجمال يقول چوچو  
بالجيم الغير العربيّة القريبة للشين<sup>347</sup>

“‘ǧa’ǧa’ bi-l-ibil’<sup>348</sup> 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 *šin*.”

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-Maǧribī perceived this as being “un-Arabic”.

These are the only three passages in *Daf al-iṣr* where al-Maǧribī mentions something about the pronunciation of the *ǧ*. He never states explicitly that the *ǧīm* was pronounced as /g/ in Cairo at that time. However, proof of this is indirectly provided in *Daf al-iṣr* in the form of the following *mawwāl*:<sup>349</sup>

جَبَّيْت مَوَّال فِي الْمَحْبُوب وَهُوَ جَابَّ بَيْت  
الْوَرَى جَبَّيْت قَالَ وَلِي حَسُودِي جَبَّيْت  
وَالْحَبَّ فِي قَهْوَتِهِ قَالَ لِي عَلَيْكَ جَبَّيْت  
هُوَ جَاد بِيُوسَه وَمَصَّه قَمْت اَنَا جَبَّيْت

*gabbyt*<sup>350</sup> *mawwāl* fi-l-maḥbūb wa hū gāb byt  
*gabbyt ḥasūdī wa lī qāl alwarā gabbyt*  
*wa-l-ḥabbā fī qahwātuh qāl lī ‘alyk gabbyt*  
*wa gād bi-bōsuh wa maṣṣuh qumt anā gabbyt*

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

<sup>347</sup> *Daf al-iṣr* fols. 6b–7a.

<sup>348</sup> Quoted from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 35a.

<sup>349</sup> *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 11b.

<sup>350</sup> The metre is *baṣīṭ*; the schwa has to be added here to fit the metre. See also §4.1.

## Linguistic Analysis

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.<sup>351</sup>

The point of this *mawwāl* is the pronunciation of the word *gabbyt*. The first word in the first line could be interpreted as the 1<sup>st</sup> person sg. of the verb *gāb*. Although in modern Cairene Arabic this would be *gibt*, the form *gabbēt* is still found in the Ḥarga-oasis and the Sudan.<sup>352</sup> The last word of the first line, *gāb byt*,<sup>353</sup> sounds the same as *gabbyt*. In the fourth line, it should be read as *kabbyt* “I came, ejaculated”.<sup>354</sup> This rhetorical device is called *ǧinās*, “paronomasia” or *tawriya*, “double entendre”<sup>355</sup> and is still encountered in *mawwāl* in Egypt today. In fact, the fun of the *mawwāl* lies in the discovery of the hidden meanings of the verse. This is an indication that in al-Maǧribī’s time, the *ǧīm* was pronounced as /g/, because the association of /g/ with /k/, from voiced to voiceless velar plosive (*gabbyt* - *kabbyt*), is very plausible. That /ǧ/ could be associated with /k/ is less so. In fact, Cachia (1989) p. 142 mentions an example of alternation between /g/ and /k/ in a *mawwāl*: *gamkann* (*kām kān*). Moreover, Eisele (1997) p. 754 notes that in the *zahr*<sup>356</sup> 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”.<sup>357</sup> It is possible that al-Maǧribī uses these dialectal alternations, i.e. *gabbyt* - *gibt*, in this *mawwāl* to fit the paronomasia.

As mentioned above, the pronunciation of *ǧīm* and *qāf* are closely related in Egypt. In areas where *ǧīm* is pronounced /g/, *qāf* is pronounced /ʔ/.<sup>358</sup> Whether this was the case in Egypt in the 17<sup>th</sup> century cannot be known for certain. There is one

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<sup>351</sup> I thank Ellie Kallas for his suggestions for the translation of this poem.

<sup>352</sup> See Behnsted-Woidich IV p. 55a “*ǧabbēt* ich brachte (zu *ǧāb*, *yǧīb*)”.

<sup>353</sup> The *šadda* on the *bāʾ* only indicates that the following letter is a *b*, i.e. no vowel should be read after *gāb*.

<sup>354</sup> For both translations see Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 729a-b.

<sup>355</sup> See Cachia (1977) p. 91-2. Al-Maǧribī uses both terms in *Daf al-iṣr*. Another term used by Cachia (1977) but not by al-Maǧribī is *zahr*.

<sup>356</sup> A word play which involves phonetical modification. On *zahr* in Egyptian popular poetry, see Cachia (1989) p. 60ff. and Eisele (1997).

<sup>357</sup> Eisele (1997) p. 755.

<sup>358</sup> See BW II: Compare map 6 “Reflex von \*/q/” and map 10 “Reflex von \*/ǧ/”.

instance from *Daf al-iṣr* which could indicate that the *qāf* was pronounced as /ʔ/. Al-Mağribī mentions that the Egyptians say: *فلان عائق والديه fulān ‘ā’iq wāliḍyḥ* “so-and-so is disobedient towards his parents” (49b). In Egyptian Arabic, the active participle of verbs mediae geminatae is *fā’il*, e.g. *ḥāsis*,<sup>359</sup> therefore the active participle form I of the root ‘QQ would be عائق *‘āqiq / ‘ā’i*, while in Classical Arabic, this would be عاق *‘āq*. The only explanation why al-Mağribī would have written عائق, is because it was pronounced ‘ā’ and he wrongly interpreted the medial glottal stop as belonging to the pattern of the active participle of the verbs mediae infirmae.

### 6.2.2 Interdentals

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

المحدثين بالتا المشاة فوق اعني بهم العوام “those who speak with a *tā’* with two dots, I mean the common people.”<sup>362</sup>

There are many examples of words in *Daf al-iṣr* in which the change from interdentals to plosives is visible. Some of these have been discussed briefly in the section on Orthography (§6.1.7). As in the present day, the pronunciation of the *dāl* in al-Mağribī’s time was /d/ and examples are: ندل [\*NDL] *nadl* (92b) “despicable”, شادليّة [\*ṢDL] *šādiliyya* ((81a) “belonging to the *šādiliyya* sufi order”, حَدَا [\*HDY] *ḥadā* “close to” (125a), يهدرم [\*HDRM] *yihadrim* “to speak quickly” (108a), and دبل [\*DBL] “to wilt (flowers)” (72a). We have only one example of /d/ > /z/, namely زرق [\*DRQ] *zrq* “bird droppings” (fols. 40a and 42a). In general, al-Mağribī uses the

<sup>359</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 83.

<sup>360</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 141.

<sup>361</sup> See Palva (1993) p. 179.

<sup>362</sup> *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 11a.

historical spelling for sibilants which were originally interdental, i.e. *ḏ* for what we assume was pronounced as /z/, for instance: هذا *hazā* “to talk deliriously” (132b), ذل *zull* “humiliation” (74a), and رذل *razil* “despicable” (75b).

The same rule applies for the *tā* as for the *dāl*, and in *Daf al-iṣr* we find proof that it was pronounced as /t/. Some examples are: اتل [*\*TIL*] *atl* “tamarisk trees” (63a), تفل [*\*TFL*] *tifl* “dregs” (67a), يتَمَّن [*\*TMN*] *yitammin* “to fix the price of” (110a), توم [*\*TWM*] *twm* “garlic” (96a), and مثل [*\*MIL*] *mitl* “like” (91b). The last one is interesting because in present-day Egyptian Arabic only the pronunciation *misl* is used,<sup>363</sup> which is a direct loan from MSA. However, in the dialects of the Levant, the pronunciation *mətʕl* is still in use.<sup>364</sup> The expression من حيتن *min hytən* “since, because” (111b) from حيت is also fascinating. It is unclear exactly what the *nūn* at the end indicates; it could be *inn*, as in *hēs inn*,<sup>365</sup> or it could be an old case ending, as can still be found in Egyptian Arabic these days in expressions such as *ḡaṣbin ʿanni* “against my will”<sup>366</sup> and *nadrin ʿalayya* “I vow (to do so-and-so)”.<sup>367</sup> It is all the more interesting because al-Maḡribī mentions that this expression is used by the town dwellers, whereas the country folks say *hyṣən* (111b), which would be a rare case of /*t̤*/ > /*ṣ̣*/.

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-Maḡribī never writes a *sīn* in such cases. However, in the proverb قطع بليق لا حرث ولا درس *qaṭaʿ Balyq lā ḥaraṭ wala daras* “he removed Bulayq because he neither ploughed nor threshed” (37b), the rhyme indicates that the pronunciation of *ḥaraṭ* must have been *ḥaras*. The trend of using the historical spelling of *s* < *t̤* with *tā* can still be observed today. It would, for instance, be unacceptable to write a word like *tawra*, which is pronounced *sawra* in Egypt, with a *sīn*: سورة; the word’s image would change too much. In the case of *dāl* – *zāy*, this is less problematic (see ذرق\* < زرق) but the historical orthography is often still preferred.<sup>368</sup>

<sup>363</sup> See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 823b.

<sup>364</sup> Barthélemy (1935) p. 777.

<sup>365</sup> Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 235b.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid. p. 624a.

<sup>367</sup> Ibid. p. 855b.

<sup>368</sup> This is for instance the case in *Laban ilʿaṣfūr* by Yūsuf al-Qaʿīd. This is a novel written entirely in the Egyptian dialect, yet the author sticks to the etymological orthography of *t̤* > *s*. See Zack (2001a) p. 200.

The shift from *z* to *ḍ* is reflected in the word *ḥanḍal* < *ḥanzal* “colocynth” (71b).

### 6.2.3 *hamza*

#### 6.2.3.1 Initial *hamza*

In *Daf al-iṣr*, we find evidence that the initial glottal stop had already disappeared. Where this occurs, it is replaced by a *wāw*, such as *وِدْن* *widn* “ear” (119b) < *’udn*, *وَرِيْت* *warryt* “I showed” (132a)<sup>369</sup> and *وَجْنَة* *wağna* “cheek” (119b) (originally *’ağna*, but *wağna* already attested by Lane VIII p. 3049c). This phenomenon can still be observed today in several dialects.<sup>370</sup> In the word *ḥuwwa* (127a) < *’uḥuwwa* “brotherhood” (also attested by al-Ḥafāğī (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* < *’aḥad* “to take” and *tār* < *’itār* “frame”.

#### 6.2.3.2 Intervocalic *hamza*

*كَنَّ* *kann* (from *ka’ann* - *ka’inn*) “as if” (117b) is still attested in Egypt: Behnstedt-Woidich (1994) p. 422b “*kann* als ob: *kannak* als ob du”. *عَيْلَة* *’ayla* or *’ēla* “dependents” (84b) reflects the disappearance of the *hamza* so *’ā’ila* became *’āyila* and then *’yila*. For the issue of the diphthong see §6.2.8. The word *عِدِّنْ* *’iddinn* “let’s assume that...” (117a) is a contraction of *’idd’inn* in which the *hamza* has disappeared.

#### 6.2.3.3 Final *hamza*

Unfortunately, Al-Mağribī’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 *حَبِيْت* *ḥabbyt* “I hid” (126a), which al-Mağribī placed in the chapter *wāw* and *yā’*. He looked it up under *ḤBY*<sup>371</sup> but did not find it there. Other cases of the disappearance of the final

<sup>369</sup> According to ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 359 the origin is *رَأَيْت*, with disappearance of the *hamza*, so it became *رَوَيْت*, and after metathesis of *rā’* and *wāw* it became *وَرَيْت*. The same theory is supported by Davies (1981) p. 71.

<sup>370</sup> See Watson (2002) p. 18 and Davies (1981) p. 71.

<sup>371</sup> This is remarkable, because he had already mentioned the verb *خَبَا* in the chapter *hamza*.

hamza are: *radī* “bad” (127b), *rafā* “to darn” (9a), *malw* “a ... full” (111b), *milāya* “bedsheet” (10b), *nayy* “raw” (131b), *hannak* “may God grant you good health” (11a), *daffyt* “I warmed up” (127a).

#### 6.2.4 Emphasis

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

*saqī* “chilly” (44a) (صقيع <), *sakk* “to hit” (61a) (صكّ <), *sandūq* “box” (46a) (صندوق <), *nātiq* “endowing with speech (God)” (55b) (ناطق <), *nataʿ* “to endow with speech” (55b) (نطق <), *yizdaq* “to speak the truth” (41b) (يصدق <) (in combination with partial assimilation of the *s*, see §6.2.5), and *saqqaf* < *ṣaffaq* “to applaud” (25b) (with metathesis of *qāf* and *lām*, see §6.2.7).

The only example of emphatization is the word *ṣurm* “arsehole” (102b) (سرّم). This is a case of secondary emphasis due to the vicinity of the *rāʾ*.<sup>372</sup>

#### 6.2.5 Voicing of *s* and *ṣ*

The voicing of *s* and *ṣ* is attested in *Daf al-iṣr*. For instance, in *yizdaq* “to speak the truth” (41b) (يصدق <) the *ṣ* has lost its emphasis and has become partially assimilated to the following voiced *d*. Voicing at the beginning of the word is found in *zihāq* “lesbianism” (سحاق <) and *zahḥāqa* “lesbian” (سحاق <) (both 43a), in *zaʿlūk* “pauper” (61a) (صعلوك <), and *zahḥlafa* < *sulahfā* “tortoise” (23b) (with metathesis of the *ḥ* and *l*).<sup>373</sup> In these four examples, it is unclear why the initial *s* and *ṣ* would be voiced, because there is no assimilation to a following voiced consonant.

#### 6.2.6 Assimilation of *it-*

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 ṣ ṣ̣ t ṭ d ḍ z ḥ g* or *k*.<sup>374</sup> The following

<sup>372</sup> See ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 362 and Woidich (2006) p. 24.

<sup>373</sup> Al-Maḡribī suggests a connection with the word *zahālif* “*Small دَوْبٌ [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 Ḥiḡāzī (1969) p. 119 and §6.2.7.

<sup>374</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 69.

examples of this assimilation, which is often indicated with a *šadda*, are found in *Daf al-iṣr*:

*t > s*: يَسْكَعُ *yissakka* ‘to hang around’ (44a), يَسْلَعُ *yissalla* ‘to try hard to sell his goods’ (44b), يَسْلُقُ *yissallaq* ‘to climb’ (46a), and يَسْوِقُ *yissawwaq* ‘to go looking for’ (46a).

*t > ṣ*: يَصْنَطُ *yisṣannaṭ* ‘to eavesdrop’ (46a).

*t > ṣ̣*: يَشْدُقُ *yisṣ̣addaq* ‘to be diffuse in speech’ (46b).

*t > z*: اِزْقَمُ *izzaqqam* ‘to be force-fed’, and يَزْأُولُ *yizzāwil* ‘to imagine’ (79a).

*t > d*: يَدَّشِّي *yiddaššā* ‘to belch’ (127a).

*t > g*: اِجْهَرِمُ *iğğahram* ‘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 < ZWĠ, e.g. *gōz* ‘husband’. There are a few instances of it in *Daf al-iṣr*: معلقة *ma‘laqa* < *mil‘aqa* ‘spoon’ (fols. 49b and 54b), موايمة *muwāyima* < *muyāwama* ‘day labour’ (108b), صاعقه *ṣāq‘a* < *ṣā‘iqā* ‘lightning’ (47a), زحلفة *zəhləfa* < *sulahfā* ‘tortoise’ (23b) (with voicing of the *s*<sup>375</sup>), and سقاف *saqqaf* < *šaffaq* ‘to applaud’ (25b) (with de-emphatization of the *ṣ*, see §6.2.4.).

### 6.2.8 Diphthongs

When al-Mağribī vocalizes a word that originally contained a diphthong, he often places a *fatḥa* on top, e.g. يا دَوْبِه *ya dawbu / dōbu* ‘just’, nowadays *ya dōb* or *ya dōbak*, رَوَكُ *rawk / rōk* ‘public property’ (59b), زَبَبِي *zaybaq / zēbaq* ‘mercury’ (41b), سَيْفِ *sayf / sēf* ‘sword’ (26a), عَيْلَةٍ *‘ayla / ‘ēla* ‘family’ (84b), هَوْنِ *hawn / hōn* ‘mortar’ (120a), and هَيْفِ *hayf / hēf* ‘open air’ (36a). However, as Blanc pointed out, the use of the *fatḥa* “may or may not stand for diphthongs”.<sup>376</sup> Writing the *fatḥa* before a *wāw* or *yā* could simply be conventional for /ō/ and /ē/. This is certainly the case with the word بُوَسَّه *bōsa* ‘kiss’ (88b), which was never a diphthong originally because it derives from the Persian *bosa*.<sup>377</sup> Perhaps al-Mağribī vocalizes

<sup>375</sup> See also §6.2.5.

<sup>376</sup> See Blanc (1981) pp. 195–6.

<sup>377</sup> See Steingass (1975) p. 207.

it as *bawsa* because, since all *ō*'s were initially *aw*, it could be argued that *bōsa* must have been *bawsa*. Something similar was noted by Woidich (1997) p. 186-7:

“In the areas of Fayyūm and Bani Swēf, the diphthongs /aw/ and /ay/ are preserved, unlike in Standard Egyptian, the dialect of Cairo. Speakers “know” that Cairo /ō/ 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: *'awḍa* for *'ōḍa* ‘room’, *ṣawbar* for *ṣōbar* ‘fertilizer’, *talafawn* for *tilifōn*, 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 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. An argument against this is the word *'ayš* - *'ēš*, which is written four times as *اش* in *Daf al-iṣr*.<sup>378</sup> This suggests that the pronunciation is *'iš* or *'eš*, i.e. a shortening of the vowel *ē*. Based on similar evidence from *Hazz al-quḥūf*, Davies (1981) p. 87 suggests that *ay* and *ē* coexisted in the 17<sup>th</sup> 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-iṣr*. That of *kām* < *kam* (fols. 106a and 106b) is well documented<sup>379</sup> and can be attributed to the need “to give normal length to exceptionally short words”.<sup>380</sup>

The explanation of why the word *na'ām* < *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'ām* with a long *a* is already attested in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.<sup>381</sup>

Spitaler (1967) p. 404, noted that some words with the pattern KaKūK have the plural pattern KawāKīK, which normally belongs to words with the pattern KāKūK. We can find two instances in *Daf al-iṣr* in which the pattern KaKūK has become KāKūK: *ḥarūf* < *ḥarūf* “sheep” (21b) and *qādūm* < *qādūm* “adze” (104a).

<sup>378</sup> On fols. 57a, 62a, 73b, and 125b.

<sup>379</sup> See Davies (1981) p. 86.

<sup>380</sup> Blau (1965) pp. 71-2.

<sup>381</sup> On p. 1049c: *وَنَعَمٌ، بَفَتْحَتَيْنِ، وَقَدْ تُكْسَةُ الْعَيْنِ، وَنَعَامٌ، عَمِ الْمُعَافَى بْنِ زَكْرِيَا: كَلِمَةٌ كَبَلَى.*



These are probably hypercorrections following the same pattern as خازوق *ḥāzūq* (39a) and خاتون *ḥātūn* (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.<sup>382</sup> That this rule was already in existence in al-Mağribī's time is attested by the entry حفة *ḥaffa* "edge" (21b). The same principle is also confirmed in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, in the words *al-ḥagg* and *al-ḥagga*.<sup>383</sup>

Another rule is that an unstressed long vowel is shortened.<sup>384</sup> There is an example of this in *Daf al-iṣr*: حشاك *ḥašāk* *ḡahrak* "mind your back!" (7b) < *ḥāšāk*.

### 6.2.10.2 Word-final

There are five cases where the loss of the final *hamza* and the shortening of the *ā* are found: بكاء *bakka* < بقاء *bakkā* "somebody who is always weeping" (56b), حلفه *ḥalfā* < حلفاء *ḥalfā* "alfa" (21a), عزلة *azla* < عزلاء *azlā* "mouth of the water bag" (83b), وكيه *wikiḥ* < وكاء *wikā* "walking stick?" (132a),<sup>385</sup> and وطفه *waṭfa* < وطفاء *waṭfā* "having bushy eyebrows" (35a). There can be no doubt about the pronunciation because the *-a* is written with *ḥā*. However, in cases where *alif* is written, nothing can be said about the pronunciation, because of the defective way of writing the *hamza* employed by al-Mağribī.<sup>386</sup>

## 6.2.11 Pausal *imāla*

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

<sup>382</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 31.

<sup>383</sup> See Davies (1981) p. 101.

<sup>384</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 31.

<sup>385</sup> See the next paragraph for the pausal *imāla*.

<sup>386</sup> See §6.1.1.

<sup>387</sup> See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) II maps 35-37.

this process must have taken place at the end of the nineteenth century, because no sources from the nineteenth century mention the forms without *imāla*.<sup>388</sup> Moreover, from Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī’s<sup>389</sup> *Traité* p. vii we learn that there was pausal *imāla* in the nineteenth century:

La lettre qui précède l’alef se change quelquefois en kesra, p. ex. سما le ciel, prononcez: *samèh* (bref).

From the seventeenth century, we have two examples from *Hazz al-quḥūf*: *qarrūfih* (name of a vessel) and *libbih* “solidified milk and beestings”<sup>390</sup> There are three more in *Daf al-iṣr*: *tarkih*<sup>391</sup> “inheritance” (57a), *zarāfih*<sup>392</sup> “giraffe” (24a), and *wikih* “walking stick?” (132a). These are the only three words that were pronounced with the final *imāla*, which al-Mağribī 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 *imāla*.

### 6.2.12 Vowel changes

Although al-Mağribī rarely vocalizes the Egyptian-Arabic entries, he does often compare the vocalization of Egyptian-Arabic words with Classical Arabic.<sup>393</sup> This provides us with some information about the distribution of the vowels.

#### 6.2.12.1 *i > u*

Words which have the pattern *fi‘āl* or *fi‘lāl* in Classical Arabic have *fu‘āl* or *fu‘lāl* in *Daf al-iṣr*, which corresponds to normal usage today: *ṭuḥāl* “spleen” (82a), and *ǧurbāl* “sieve for grains (coarse-meshed sieve)” (84b).

<sup>388</sup> Blanc (1973-4) p. 378.

<sup>389</sup> See §2.1.1 for more information about al-Ṭanṭāwī.

<sup>390</sup> See Davies (1981) p. 81.

<sup>391</sup> فيكسرون الكاف “and they put an *i* after the *kāf*”, see *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 57a.

<sup>392</sup> فيكسرون الفا “and they put an *i* after the *fā*”, see *Daf al-iṣr* fol. 24a.

<sup>393</sup> His system is explained in detail in §3.7.1.

**6.2.12.2 i > a**

Quadriliteral words which have the pattern *fi'lil* in Classical Arabic have *fa'lil* in both *Daf al-iṣr' al-iṣr* and modern Cairene Arabic. Some examples are: برطيل *barṭīl* “bribe” (65b), قندیل *qandīl* “oil lamp” (90b), and زنديق *zandīq* “heretic” (42b).

Words with the pattern *mifal* and *mifala* in Classical Arabic have *mafal* and *mafala* in *Daf al-iṣr' al-iṣr*:

*mafal*:

محمل *maḥmal* “camel litter” (70a), مردن *mardan* “spindle” (114a), and مَعْصَم *ma'ṣam* “wrist” (103a). This final example is interesting because under the influence of Modern Standard Arabic it has again become *mi'ṣam* in modern Cairene Arabic.

*mafala*:

مدخنه *madḥana* “smoke funnel” (113b), مصطبة *maṣṭaba* “stone bench” (15b), and مصقلة *maṣqala* “burnisher” (81a).

**6.2.12.3 u > i**

*Daf al-iṣr* has the patterns *KuKāK(a)* and *KiKāK(a)* for words with the meaning of “waste”. In modern Cairo Arabic, words with this meaning have the same patterns,<sup>394</sup> while in Classical Arabic only the pattern with *u* is used. In *Daf al-iṣr* we find: رِضَاب *riḍāb* “spittle” (14a), and مِشَاق *mišāq* “residue that is left after the flax has been combed” (55b), as well as زبالة *zubāla* “garbage” (77a), قُمَامَة *qumāma* “sweepings” (105b), نُحَالَة *nuḥāla* “siftings of flour” (92a), and غَسَالَة *gusāla* “washing water” (85a).

**6.2.12.4 u > a**

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 *Daf al-iṣr*: bal'ūm “gullet” (96a), خرطوم *ḥarṭūm* “hose, elephant's trunk; Khartoum” (96b), صندوق *ṣandūq* “box” (47b), and عربون *'arbūn* “down payment” (116b).

<sup>394</sup> See Woidich (2006) pp. 93 and 98.

### 6.2.12.5 a > u

Words with the pattern KaKūK in Classical Arabic, have in *Daf al-iṣr* the pattern KuKūK like in modern Cairo Arabic: سفوف *sufūf* “medicinal powder” (25a); لُعوق *lu‘ūq* “electuary” (54b); زبون *zubūn* “customer” (114b).

### 6.2.12.6 Assimilation of vowels to vowels

In مَعَدِّل *ma‘addil* < *mu‘addil* “somebody who puts another straight or corrects his faults” (83a), we see the assimilation of the /u/ to /a/. This is a phenomenon that takes place when the two vowels are separated by a pharyngeal, in this case the ʕ. Other examples observed in modern Cairene Arabic are *Muḥammad* - *Maḥammad* “Mohammed” and *mi’ayyah* - *ma’ayyah* “festering”.<sup>395</sup>

## 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*.<sup>396</sup> It is twice written with *kasra* in *Daf al-iṣr*: يَسَّلَعُ *yisalla‘* “to be successful in selling one’s goods” (44b), and يَشْوَلِمُ *yišwalm* “to rage, scream” (102a). Širbīnī also explicitly mentions that the prefix is *yi-* in his comment on YF “it settles (of a fly)”.<sup>397</sup> An ancient example of this feature has been discovered in a Judaeo-Arabic letter from the 12<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> century: *yigī* “it comes”,<sup>398</sup> and many other instances can be found in the 15<sup>th</sup> century text *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.<sup>399</sup>

#### 6.3.1.2 The prefix of form V, VI, quadrilaterals

The prefix *it-* instead of *ta-* in forms V and VI and the quadrilateral verbs occurs frequently: يَدَّشِّي *yiddaššā*<sup>400</sup> “to belch” (127a), اِتْرَسَمُ *itrassim ‘ala* “to guard someone” (97b), اِزْقَمُ *izzaqqam* “to be force-fed” (98b), يَسْكَعُ *yissakka‘* “to loiter” (44a), يَسْلُقُ

<sup>395</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 19.

<sup>396</sup> This phenomenon, called تالتة *taltala*, 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, ʿAsad, Rabīʿa, and the ‘āmmat al-ʿarab’ had *i*”.

<sup>397</sup> See Davies (1981) p. 105.

<sup>398</sup> See Blau-Hopkins (1985) p. 453. This letter is written in vocalized Hebrew script.

<sup>399</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 145.

<sup>400</sup> The assimilation of the *t* to the following consonant is discussed in §5.3.6.

yissallaq “to climb” (46a), يسوق yissawwaq “to go looking for” (46a), يشدد yiššaddaq “to be diffuse in speech” (46b), يصنط يyššannaṭ “to eavesdrop” (46a), اتمقل itmaqqaḥ “to look” (92a), يزاول yizzawil “to imagine” (79a), اتهته ittahtih “to stammer” (121a), اتملك itfaškil “to act incorrectly” (87a), اتمطرق itmaṭraq “to lay down” (36a), اتململ itmalmil “to be restless” (92a), and اتهركن itharkin “to be worn out” (120a).

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

### 6.3.1.3 The prefix of form VII

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

انبشم *inbašam* “to feel nauseated” (95b), انجبه *inǧabah* “to be embarrassed” (121b), انخرى *inhazā* “to be embarrassed” (126b), انخطف لونه *inhṭaṭaf lwnuh* “he became pale” (lit. “his colour was snatched away”) (22a), اندك *indakk* “to be weakened (voice)” (58b), اندلق *indalaq* “to throw oneself on” (39b), انظر *inṭaraf* “to be hurt (the eye)” (29b).

The form with *it-*, which occurs frequently in *Hazz al-quḥūf*,<sup>401</sup> is not attested in *Daf al-išr*, where all form VII-verbs have the prefix *in-*, as in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.<sup>402</sup> The prefix of form VII is *it-* in Cairo these days, while *in-* can be found in a few verbs such as *inbaṣaṭ* “to enjoy oneself”. In the Šarqīya, the prefix is *in-*.<sup>403</sup>

### 6.3.1.4 Vowels of form II, V, and quadrilaterals

In modern Cairene Arabic, the same rule applies to the second vowel of forms II and V, and the quadrilateral roots: if one, or both, of the surrounding consonants are emphatic, laryngeal (not *h*), pharyngeal, or postvelar fricatives, the vowel is *a*. In all other cases it is *i*.<sup>404</sup> Therefore, it is *nazzil* “to bring down”, *ṭallaʿ* to bring up, *bahdil* “to mess up”, but *laḥbaṭ* “to confuse”. There are a few indications from *Daf al-išr* that in al-Maǧribī’s time the distribution of the vowels was the same as it is today: يتنحّم *yitnaḥḥam* “to defecate” (106b), يسّلع *yisallaʿ* “to be successful in selling one’s goods” (44b), اتهركن *itharkin* “to be worn out” (120a), and خربق *ḥarbaq* “to tear apart” (39a). More evidence of this distribution of the vowels can be found in

<sup>401</sup> See Davies (1981) p. 118.

<sup>402</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 148.

<sup>403</sup> See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I map 242.

<sup>404</sup> See Woidich (2006) pp. 64, 67.

Vrolijk (1998) p. 147, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century text *Nuzhat al-nufūs*. For example: *yīṣayyah* “he shouts” and *aḥadditak* “I will tell you”. The only instance in *Daf al-iṣr* where this rule does not apply is *taḥassab* “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.<sup>405</sup> An example from modern Cairene Arabic is the pair *tī'ib*, *yit'ab* “to become tired” and *ta'ab*, *yit'ib* “to tire” (< *at'ab*, *yut'ib*), whereas two instances from *Daf al-iṣr* are: راق *rāq* “to pour” (40b) < أراق *'arāq* and طلّ *ṭall* “to look down” (82b) < أطلّ *'aṭall*. Five examples of form IV can be found in al-Maḡribī's glossary: ارحق *arhaq* “to delay” (41a), اسرع *asra'* “to hurry” (44a), اولم (107b) *awlām* “to give a banquet”, اقرف (32a) *aqraf* “to disgust”, أومي (3b) *'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 *aqraf* has become form I in modern Cairo Arabic, forming a pair like *tī'ib* and *ta'ab*: 'irif, yi'raf “to be disgusted”, and 'araf, yi'rif “to disgust” (< *aqraf*, *yurif*).<sup>406</sup>

A special case is the verb “to go”, which is *rāḥ* (6b and 132a), but is mentioned once as *'arāḥ*: اراح بشحم كلاه *yaqūlūn arāḥ bi-ṣaḥm 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: *'aḥūk 'arāḥ minnak ḡaḍbān* “your brother has left you in anger” and *'arāḥ lak šī ḍāyi'* “have you lost something?”.<sup>407</sup> In the twentieth century dialect of the Jews of Cairo, the same *arāḥ* is found for the 3<sup>rd</sup> sg. masc.<sup>408</sup> In Classical Arabic, we find both اراح and اراح with the meaning “[he] returned in the evening, or afternoon, to rest”, see Lane III 1179b.

<sup>405</sup> See also Brockelmann (1961) I p. 523.

<sup>406</sup> See Woidich (2006) pp. 62-3.

<sup>407</sup> Quoted in Blanc (1974) p. 215.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid.

### 6.3.1.6 The internal passive

The internal passive occurs in only two entries: عيل صبري *īl ṣabrī* “I lost my patience” (84b) and قتل *qutil* “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: يقولون فلان العدو مات ويقول بعض لم يمتهن قتل ولا *yaqūlūn fulān al-‘adaww māta wa yaqūl lam yamut innamā qutil wa lā farq* “they say: ‘so-and-so (may it happen to your enemy) died’, and some say, ‘he did not die, he was killed’, and there is no difference”. In addition, the internal passive can sometimes be found in the context of an entry, e.g. فلان مُسبك بعملته *fulān musik bi-‘amlatuh* “he was caught red-handed” (84b) (the entry here is بعملته), but this can be explained by al-Mağribī’s habit of placing the entries in a classical context.<sup>409</sup>

### 6.3.2 The pronoun

The only two personal pronouns worth mentioning here are: *iḥnā* in ما احنا من دي *ma aḥna min dī* “we do not belong to this type of people” (88b), and *huwwā* in هُوَاْ اَدْ *ad huwwā* “there he is” (3b). Both can be found in the list of personal pronouns of Davies (1981) p. 177.

The use of the word *‘iyāh* إِيَاه is interesting. It can be used as a demonstrative particle (see §6.3.3.), but al-Mağribī mentions its usage by the Bedouins with the meaning of “he”: وهذه الكلمة يستعملها غير الحضرة في معنى هو كأنهم يقولون هو بعينه: “this word (i.e. *‘iyāh*) 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 *dā*, *dī*<sup>410</sup> and *dwlāh* occur in *Daf’ al-iṣr*. The latter is used independently: *wa yaqūlūn dwlāh kazā aw iṣ’ fi dwlāh tayyib* “they say: ‘those are so-and-so’, or ‘which of those is good?’”. Davies (1981) p. 161 suggests that the *-h* of *dwlāh*, which also occurs in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, “may

<sup>409</sup> See §3.6.1.

<sup>410</sup> These are spelt *da* and *dī*, but because interdentalals had already disappeared at this time (see §6.2.2) it can be concluded that this is historical spelling and should be pronounced *dā* and *dī*. Furthermore, *dī* is written once as *dī*.

indicate pausal *'imāla*". Also *dā* appears only independently: *ما ذا الا شكل mā dā illā šikl* "that is nothing but coquetry", *ما ذا هلال واكبر دا مليح dā hilāl wa-akbar dā maliḥ* "that is the crescent and even bigger, that is beautiful" (100b). The demonstrative *dī* occurs once in combination with *illā*, like the aforementioned *dā*: *ما ذي الا زلة mā dī illā zilla* "it is nothing but a mistake" (78b). In two other cases, *dī* / *dī* appears as a preposed<sup>411</sup> demonstrative, once in combination with a feminine noun: *اش ذي الالبكة iš dī l-labka* "what is this confusion?" (62), and once with a masculine noun: *ما احنا من دي القبيل mā iḥnā min dī l-qabal* "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".<sup>412</sup> In *Hazz al-Quḥūf*, we find examples such as *dī l-'amal* "this act" and *dī l-qwl* "these words".<sup>413</sup>

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:<sup>414</sup>

1. noun phrases following the vocative *ya*, e.g. *ya di lḥēba* "what a nuisance!"
2. strongly worded commands, e.g. *ḥallaṣūna min di ššuḡlāna* "rid us of this job!"
3. curses, e.g. *yil'an abu di l'iša* "damn this life!"

The function of this positioning, Doss argues, is "that of emphasis which is usually to express a negative feeling".<sup>415</sup> However, Woidich (1992) contradicts this with some examples with a positive meaning, e.g. *yādi šṣudfa ssa'ida* "what a happy coincidence!".<sup>416</sup> 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.<sup>417</sup> 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".<sup>418</sup> This is probably also the case in

<sup>411</sup> No instances of postponed demonstratives are found in *Daf al-iṣr*.

<sup>412</sup> Davies (1981) p. 163.

<sup>413</sup> Ibid.

<sup>414</sup> See Doss (1979) pp. 350-351.

<sup>415</sup> Ibid. p. 353.

<sup>416</sup> See Woidich (1992) p. 199

<sup>417</sup> Ibid. p. 214.

<sup>418</sup> Davies (1981) p. 168.



*Daf al-iṣr*, although there are not enough examples thereof to establish a general rule.

A very interesting feature is *dillā* دَلَّا. It only appears after *mā* in *Daf al-iṣr*, 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. *دَلَّا الرَّجُلَ dillā l-raḡul* “this man”, but also independently.<sup>419</sup> It never occurs in combination with *mā* though. Therefore, in the examples in *Daf al-iṣr*, the expression *mā dillā* could be translated as “what kind of a ... is this”: *مَا دَلَّا لِكُلُوكِ mā dillā laktūk* “what kind of careless person this is!” (62a), *مَا دَلَّا رَجُلِ fulān mā dillā raḡl* “so-and-so, what kind of man is he!” (75a), and *مَا دَلَّا قِسْمِهِ mā dillā qisma* “what kind of fated lot is this!”.<sup>420</sup> Vrolijk was unaware of its usage in *Daf al-iṣr* and, therefore, concluded that this feature had become obsolete before the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>421</sup> Spiro (1999) p. 550a mentions the similar *ma illa*: *مَا اِلَا رَاغِلِ mā illa rāḡil* “what a man!”, which is also referred to by 'Amīn (2002) p. 501: *ملا*, and El-Ṭanṭāvy (1981) p. xxiv: *مَلَّا*.

### 6.3.4 The demonstrative particles

In modern Cairene Arabic, there are two demonstrative particles with the meaning “there is...” which are used as presentatives: *ahú* (m.), *ahé* (f.), *ahúm* (pl.) and the invariable *ādi*.<sup>422</sup> we also find two such particles in *Daf al-iṣr*. The first is *ādī*: *وَيَقُولُونَ yaqūlūn ādīnī gyt maṭalan aw ādīnī rāyih* “they say: ‘here I am’, or ‘here, I’m going’” (109a). Fischer (1959) p. 176 states that this demonstrative is a combination of the interjection *'ā*, and the old relative pronomen *ādī*. In modern Egyptian, *ādi* can stand alone or be followed by a suffix for the 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person.<sup>423</sup>

The second demonstrative particle found in *Daf al-iṣr* is *'ad* followed by the personal pronoun: *أَدُّ هُوَا كَذَا او أَدُّ هُوَا جَا 'ad huwwā 'amal kaḏā aw 'ad huwwā ḡā* “‘here, he did such-and-such’, or ‘here he is’.” (3b). It is possible that this is a shortened form of *ādi*, since there are examples of *ad* + personal pronoun in

<sup>419</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 152.

<sup>420</sup> In *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, no example of *dillā* + fem. noun can be found, see Vrolijk (1998) p. 152.

<sup>421</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 152.

<sup>422</sup> See Woidich (2006) pp. 48-9.

<sup>423</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 49 and Fischer (1959) p. 176.

modern Cairo Arabic, such as *adīk* ~ *ad-īnta*, *adīki* ~ *ad-īnti*, *adīna* ~ *ad-īhna* etc.<sup>424</sup> In the Dakhla-oasis a form without *-i*, e.g. *ādni*, is still in use today.<sup>425</sup> As mentioned above, *ādī* can nowadays only be followed by suffixes of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person, but this was, perhaps, not the case in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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

ويقولون إِيَّاهُ على صورة ضمير النصب المنفصل يريدون ما هو الا كذا هيئة المستفهم انسان  
 “They say *’iyyāh* 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: *يقولون عند التذکر لشي اياه بكسر الهمزة وتشديد اليا* “they say, when they mention a thing, *’iyyāh* ‘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 *’iyyā* seems to have only negative connotations,<sup>426</sup> 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 *’izzāy*

*إِزَاي* *’izzāy* “how?” was used in al-Mağribī’s time (see 127b). He correctly retraced it to *اَي شَي زِيَّه* *ayy šy ziyyuh* “how is his attire?”

<sup>424</sup> see Woidich (2006) p. 49.

<sup>425</sup> See Behnstedt-Woidich (1999) p. 359a.

<sup>426</sup> 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. *iššuwār ’iyyāha* “certain photos” for “pornographic photos”.

### 6.3.5.2 *iš - ayš / ēš*

*iš* “what?” occurs four times in *Daf al-iṣr*, while *ayš / ēš* occurs only once: *اش* *iš* “what?” occurs four times in *Daf al-iṣr*, while *ayš / ēš* occurs only once: *اش* *iš* *tahwtak* “why are you running around (?)” (57a), *اش* *iš* *ḏī l-labka* “what is this confusion?” (62a), *ايش* *ayš / ēš* *hādīhi l-ḥuzu’balāt* (72a) “what are these superstitions?”, *اش* *iš* *fī dawlāh ṭayyib* “which of those is good?” (73b), and *اش* *iš* *ḥilātuh* “what does he look like?” (125b). *ēš* is a contraction of *ayy šay’* “which thing” and has become *ē* in modern Cairo Arabic. *ēš* was common in Cairo until the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>427</sup> and can still be heard today in the Egyptian countryside. As mentioned before,<sup>428</sup> the writing of *اش* with a short vowel suggests the shortening of the vowel *’ē*. *ayy šay’* instead of *mā* as an interrogative is an ancient feature which has already been attested to in texts from the first millennium.<sup>429</sup> This was, according to Blau, due to the “very heavy functional load of *mā* (which had become the standard negative particle)”.<sup>430</sup>

### 6.3.5.3 *’ymtā*

*’ymtā* “when” occurs once in *Daf al-iṣr*: *’ymtā yikūn* “when will it be?” (3b). Al-Mağribī explains that this is either *matā* plus an extra *’ay*, or that *’ay* on its own is *حرف جواب* “a particle of reply” i.e. *ay* “yes”. This would suggest that the pronunciation is *’aymtā*. Note that El-Ṭanṭāvy also uses the spelling with an initial *alif* plus *yā*: *أيمتي*.<sup>431</sup>

### 6.3.5.4 *anā*

*anā* “which” is an entry in *Daf al-iṣr*: *هَذَا جَا مِنْ اَنَا دَاهِيَه مِنْ اَنَا كَرُوَه مِنْ اَنَا مَقْشَرَه* *hādā ḡā min anā dāhya min anā karwa min anā maqšara* “this came from which

<sup>427</sup> See Spiro (1999) p. 26a.

<sup>428</sup> See §6.2.8.

<sup>429</sup> See Blau (2002) p. 36 and 130. Corriente (1975) p. 53 mentions many early examples of *ayšī* and *ayš* from *Kitāb al-aḡānī* by Abū al-Faraḡ al-Iṣfahānī (4<sup>th</sup> century AH). Spitta-Bey (1880) p. 80 mentions he found *ēš* in a manuscript from the 3rd century: *Kitāb naṭr al-durr* by Maṣṣūr b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ābī.

<sup>430</sup> Blau (2002) p. 36.

<sup>431</sup> See El-Ṭanṭāvy (1981) p. 75.

disaster, from which ...<sup>432</sup>” (3b). Its meaning is explained: *وامّا قولهم من انا محل مثلا* “and concerning their saying *min anā maḥall* for instance, they mean with it *min ayy maḥall* ‘from which place’” (3b). *anā* can be compared with the present-day *āni*,<sup>433</sup> which Woidich (2006) p. 51 mentions in a similar context to al-Maḡribī: *sāfir f-āni dahya* “to which damned place did he travel?”. No instances of *anā* were found in other old texts that I consulted.

### 6.3.5.5 *fyn*

*fyn* “where” was used by the Egyptians, while the Arabs and North Africans said *wayn* according to al-Maḡribī: *يقولون ويسمع من العرب والمغاربة وَيْن هو اي اين* “they say, and this is heard from the Arabs and the North Africans: *wayn*, which means ‘where’, and this is a mispronunciation of *fyn* which is *fī ayn*” (120a). It is interesting that al-Maḡribī considers *wayn* a *taṣḥīf* of *fyn*, which he apparently approves of because it is a contraction of *fī ayn*. An earlier stage of *fyn* can be found in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, where it is spelled *فَيْنِين* *fiyayn*.<sup>434</sup>

### 6.3.6 The diminutive

In modern Cairene Arabic, the diminutive patterns are no longer productive, but survive as relics.<sup>435</sup> Most common is the pattern KvKayyvk, which is found in words such as *kuwayyis* “good”, *ṣuḡayyar* “small”, *ʿulayyil* “few” etc. Davies (1981) p. 132 notes the high frequency of diminutive patterns in *Hazz al-quḥūf*. In *Daf al-iṣr*, however, there are only a few:

KvKyKvK

This pattern is used for the diminutive of quadriliteral roots: *بعيزق* *bəʿyzaq* “squandering” (38a) and *قريطم* *qəryṭəm* “safflower” (104b). The latter is also mentioned in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, as the second element of a *kunya*.<sup>436</sup>

<sup>432</sup> The meaning of the words *مقشرة* and *كروه* in this context is unclear. Al-Maḡribī states his intention to explain them in their proper place, but *كروه* was not explained and *مقشرة* would have been in the part of the manuscript that got lost.

<sup>433</sup> See Spiro p. 22b *any*. Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 42a only mentions *anhu*, *anhi*.

<sup>434</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 154.

<sup>435</sup> See Davies (1981) p. 131.

<sup>436</sup> *Ibid.* p. 136.

KvKvy(a)

This pattern is used for roots with a final *yā*: شويّ *duwayy* “sound” (127a) and شويّ *šawayya* “a little” (128a).

KvKKūK

For the diminutive of quadriliteral roots: بلبول *balbūl* “nightingale” (66b).<sup>437</sup>

KvKyK(a)

لويلات *lawylāt* “nights” (91b), and ابو فريوة *abū farywa* “chestnut” (89a). Following the same pattern are: شريك *šaryk* “type of bread” (60b) and بريك *baryk* “small pastries” (56b), which are from the Turkish *çörek* and *börek*. These loanwords, with a pattern that is unknown in Egyptian Arabic, adjusted to an existing pattern with vowels which resembled the original.<sup>438</sup>

KvKK

يا بياي *yā bāyyī* “o my father” (124a) could be a diminutive.

### 6.3.7 The adverbs

The adverb هون *hwn* “here” (120b) sounds decidedly Levantine to modern ears.<sup>439</sup> However, it is also mentioned in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*,<sup>440</sup> and is still used today in the oases in Egypt.<sup>441</sup>

Al-Mağribī mentions that the *šawāmm* say هايك *hayk* “like this” (63a), but fails to reveal what the Egyptians say. We find a few instances of its Egyptian equivalent, كديه *kidih*, in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.<sup>442</sup>

The adverbs جوه *ğuwwa* “inside” (4a; 123b; 124b) and برّا / برّه *barra* “outside” (4a, 123b; 125a) occur frequently in both *Daf al-iṣr* and *Nuzhat al-nufūs*.<sup>443</sup>

<sup>437</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 96 KaKKūK and p. 100 KaKKūKa for more examples with this pattern.

<sup>438</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 93.

<sup>439</sup> See e.g. Frayha (1995) p. 191a.

<sup>440</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 155.

<sup>441</sup> Behnstedt-Woidich (1994) p. 494b “*hawn hier: min hawn hier lang*”.

<sup>442</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 155.

<sup>443</sup> *Ibid.* p. 154.

## 6.4 Syntax

### 6.4.1 Negation

No instances of *mā...š(i)* can be found in *Daf al-iṣr*, although it is clear from other texts from same the period that this form of negation was used at that time.<sup>444</sup> The negation with *mā* is the only kind we find in *Daf al-iṣr*'s colloquial material. It is used to negate the perfect: *mā qadār yibzām* "he could not speak" (95b); the imperfect: *hādā mā yihawwaq fī l-šy* "this has no effect on it" (38b); prepositional sentences: *mā ʿandī fihā ziyān* "I have no trick for it" (114b); and nominal sentences: *mā ant ḥalā* "you are not lacking in good qualities" (8b).<sup>445</sup> The lack of *mā...š(i)* can probably be attributed to al-Mağribī'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 *ʾan*, occur: *yaqūlūn yā ḡāriya ti'rafi tiḡbuḥī qālat yā sayyidi ti'raf timawwin* "they say: 'Girl, do you know how to cook?' She said: 'Sir, can you provide for your family?'" (119a) and *mā qadār yibzām* "he could not speak" (95b).<sup>446</sup> 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: *masak qalbah* *ḥattā lā yaqdar yatanaffas* "he strangled him until he could not breathe anymore" (99a). In Middle Arabic, asyndetic clauses occur frequently, see e.g. the example mentioned by Blau (2002) p. 52: *tasṭayyūn tasṭayyūn* "you can spend the night awake".

### 6.4.3 Wishes

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

<sup>444</sup> It occurs frequently in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, see Davies (1981) pp. 284-293 and a few times in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*, see Vrolijk (1998) p. 156.

<sup>445</sup> In nominal sentences like this, modern Egyptian Arabic uses the negation *miš*, but the personal pronomen can also be negated with *ma...š*: *ma-ntāš*, see Woidich (2006) p. 336.

<sup>446</sup> Some other examples can be found in Vrolijk (1998) p. 156.

- subject + imperfect: الله يرحم سلفك *allāh yirḥam salafak* “may God have mercy on your ancestors” (25b), and الله يتلته الله *allāh yitaltiluh* “may God put him in hardship” (67a).

- perfect + subject: قاتله الله *qātalahu allāh* “may God fight him” (126b), and هتاك الله *hannāk allāh* “may God grant you good health” (11a).

The wishes with the imperfect are an ancient feature because examples can be found in texts from the first millennium.<sup>447</sup> The use of the perfect in the expression of wishes is, however, still common today, and can be explained as loans from Standard Arabic.<sup>448</sup> An example which is frequently heard in Egypt is *kattar ḥērak* “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-iṣr* are placed at the beginning of the sentence. Sharbatov (1969) p. 312 states that the fact that al-Mağribī 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 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> 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.<sup>449</sup> For example, if the interrogative is the subject it takes the position thereof at the beginning of the sentence: *mīn šāf ‘Ali fi lmadrasa?* “who saw ‘Ali in school?”. If it is the object, it will be placed after the verb: *Ḥasan šāf mīn fi lmadrasa?* “whom did Ḥasan see in school?”.<sup>450</sup> In the examples from *Daf al-iṣr*, 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

<sup>447</sup> See Blau (2002) p. 45.

<sup>448</sup> See Woidich (2002) p. 272.

<sup>449</sup> 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).

<sup>450</sup> More examples from older sources can be found in Singer (1958) pp. 135-6. Also Munzel (1950) p. 573 notes that *ēš*, 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.

'ymtā, 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.<sup>451</sup>

Another argument against Sharbatov's statement relates to the fact that if at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> 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-Mağribī's time. In general, it is supposed that the Coptic language ceased to be a living language in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>452</sup>

#### 6.4.5 dann

The particle *dann* (also *tann* in modern Cairo Arabic<sup>453</sup>) is used to describe the continuation of an action: كذا دُنُّه يقول كذا *dannuh yiqūl kaḏā* "he says so-and-so all the time" (113b). The origin of *dann* / *tann*<sup>454</sup> is \**ta'anna* "to stay",<sup>455</sup> not *dann* "to buzz" as al-Mağribī 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).<sup>456</sup>

#### 6.4.6 šā

In Yemeni Arabic, the word شا *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".<sup>457</sup> This grammaticalisation of *šā* had already taken place in al-Mağribī's time: يقولون شا افعال شا اروح وهم اهل اليمن وهي صحيحة اي "The people of Yemen say اريد افعال او اراد في شا يفعل و اردت في افعال لان شا ماض دائما

<sup>451</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 360.

<sup>452</sup> At least, this has been the case in Cairo since the 12<sup>th</sup> century according to MacCoull (1985) and Rubenson (1996), while *EALL* I p. 495 (T.S. Richter) names the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Relics of Coptic have been reported later than that in Upper Egypt, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> V p. 92b (A.S. Atiya). On the influence of Coptic on Egyptian Arabic, see also Diem (1979) pp. 50-52.

<sup>453</sup> See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 139a and Woidich (2006) p. 324.

<sup>454</sup> 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.

<sup>455</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 324.

<sup>456</sup> Ibid.

<sup>457</sup> Brinton-Traugott (2006) p. 99.



*šā afal šā arūh* which is correct, i.e. “I want to do”, or “he wanted” in the case of *šā yifal* and “I wanted” in the case of *afal*, 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 *šā*-expressing intention and the future tense is only used in the first person, which fits al-Mağribī’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: “شياكل *ša-yākul* he will eat”. Al-Mağribī’s translation of *šā afal* 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, *شا يفعل* could mean “he wanted to do”, as al-Mağribī 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”.<sup>458</sup> The same situation could have existed in al-Mağribī’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.<sup>459</sup>

#### 6.4.7 *qā'id* as an auxiliary verb

In the following sentence, *qā'id* is used as an auxiliary verb expressing continuity: *فلان قاعد مُسَّهِّم* *fulān qā'id musahhim* “so-and-so is frowning” (101a). *'ā'id*, with the function of an auxiliary verb, still has the meaning of “to keep doing something” in modern Cairene Arabic.<sup>460</sup> It can be followed by an imperfect, bi-imperfect or participium: *wi 'a'adt' mistanniyya lbitt* “and I waited for the girl”, *'a'adt' māši māši māši* “and I walked farther and farther,<sup>461</sup> and *innās 'a'adu ynādu 'a-ttaksi* “the people kept calling for the taxi”.<sup>462</sup> Interestingly, the same process has taken place in

<sup>458</sup> See Deboo (1989) p. 215.

<sup>459</sup> See Heine-Kuteva (2002) pp. 310-311.

<sup>460</sup> See Woidich (2006) p. 310 and Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 710a.

<sup>461</sup> Examples from Woidich (2006) p. 323.

<sup>462</sup> Example from Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 710a.

Dutch, where one can say, for example: *zit niet zo te zeuren!* “stop nagging!” (lit. “don’t sit there nagging”) even if the person doing the nagging is standing. This can also be seen in a number of other languages, for instance Danish and Korean.<sup>463</sup>

## 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-Mağribī 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-Mağribī: في لغة الاولاد عند ارادة مشيهم تاتا (fol. 4b) والعجيب انني عند الكتابة توقفت في اثباته هنا وقلت لغة الاطفال لا تكتب (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-Mağribī describes it: to encourage a little child who is just learning how to walk.<sup>464</sup> Ḥiğāzī (1969) p. 120 suggests that al-Mağribī hesitated to mention this word because he did not know how to write it in Arabic. This seems unlikely, however, because al-Mağribī clearly had no problems in writing the dialect down. It can thus be concluded that he was bothered by the question of whether or not to include this entry in his word list because it was “not the done thing” to transcribe children’s language. This is still a live issue today.<sup>465</sup>

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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<sup>463</sup> See Heine-Kuteva (2002) pp. 276-278.

<sup>464</sup> 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.

<sup>465</sup> For more information about the use of dialect in modern Egyptian literature, see Zack (2001a).

being naughty people call him معسّف *mu'assaf* “a nuisance” (30b). When they want to scare a child they say البعو ياكلك *yāk(u)lak al-ba'aww* “may the bogeyman eat you!”.<sup>466</sup> Women say to one another: ينم حتى ينام *hanhīnī liṭ-ṭifl ḥattā yinām* “rock and sing to the baby until he sleeps” (120a). Al-Mağribī also writes about the سبوع *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 مليح هآيل *mālīḥ hāyil* “terribly beautiful / beautiful, wonderful” (95a), in which al-Mağribī 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-Mağribī'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 *Daf al-iṣr* 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.<sup>467</sup> The same development can be found in the Arabic word *fazīr*, which nowadays can mean both “terrible” and “tremendous, terrific”.<sup>468</sup>

The following is an overview of all the entries concerning women in *Daf al-iṣr*:

- غبّة *ğabba* “menstruation” (18a). It is related to the verb *ğabba* “to return at regular intervals”.<sup>469</sup> This is not used in Egypt nowadays: the term that is, is 'āda as in 'alēha l-'āda “she has her period”, which also means “habit” or “something that returns regularly”;
- سبسب *sabsib* “to be lank (hair)” (15a);
- قلبي يشفشف عليه *qalbī yišafšif 'alyh* “my heart longs for him” (26b);
- وّحّم *waḥam* “craving (of pregnant women)” (107b);
- على الحال ما يزعقق *'alā l-ḥāl mā yiza'qaq* “he gets angry quickly” (42a);

<sup>466</sup> Still in use nowadays, as well as the variety *bu'bu'*.

<sup>467</sup> 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.

<sup>468</sup> See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 663b.

<sup>469</sup> See Lane VI 2221a.

- اُوُهْ *uwwiḥ* “exclamation of anger” (120b; 123a);
- بقيت سمائم من كذا *baqyt samā'im min kaḏā* (101a); the meaning is not entirely clear, but could be “suffering from the heat”, since سمائم means “hot wind”, although it could also have a metaphorical meaning;
- ام طبق *umm ṭabaq* “calamity; serpent” (47b);
- عيضة *yḏa* “misery” (122a).

### 6.5.1.2 The working classes

The language of the working classes is by no means neglected by al-Mağribī, who includes the following expressions used by artisans, traders and construction workers (فعلَة *fa'ala* (87b)):

- سلفه *salfa* “advance payment” (25b);
- يقوق *yiḡawwaq* “to have no customers” (54a);
- ماطي *māṭī* “seller of blankets, mattresses etc.” (131a);
- مدماك *madmāk* “course of bricks” (58b);
- صرفان *ṣarfān* “block of limestone” (27b).

Furthermore, we also find expressions used by camel and donkey traders:

- حاحا *ḥāḥā* “sound made to urge on a donkey” (7a);
- چوچو *čūčū* “sound made to encourage the camels to drink” (6b);
- تْنَكْ *tink* “strong” (57a) (used by the stablemen);
- صطبل *iṣṭabl* “stable” (63a).

This interest in the speech of the working classes could be explained by al-Mağribī's background: he grew up in a family of artisans who used to deal with traders and the people from the caravans, and he was also the owner of a shop for a brief period. Yet, al-Mağribī's interest went further than this since he also mentions a number of instances of peasants' speech:

- حنك *ḥanak* “mouth” (57b), which is still used today in rural Egypt with this meaning, while in Cairo it is considered vulgar;
- هلف *hilf* “coward” (35b);
- تَوّه جا *tawwuh ḡā* “he has just arrived” (124a);

- طلع فوق التلّ *ṭalaʿ fwq al-tall* “he went up the hill” (presumably to defecate)<sup>470</sup> (67a);
- من حيشن *min hyšən* “since” (111b), which is the same as the modern *ḥēs < ḥayṭ*. It is very interesting that it was pronounced with a *šin*.<sup>471</sup> Al-Mağribī also mentions that people in Cairo said *min hytin*;
- حُشْنِي *ḥušnī* “rough (person)” (113a);
- حُورَة *ḥuwwa* “brotherhood” (< *uḥuwwa*) (127a);
- رَجُل (75a) *raǧl* “man”;<sup>472</sup>
- رَفّ *raff* “shelf” (23a);
- يضيف ، ضاف *ḍāf, yidīf* “to be a guest” (29a);
- غُوش *ǧūš* “bracelets” (101a);<sup>473</sup>
- قِنِف *qinif* “disgusting?” (32b);
- وَطْفَة *waṭfa* “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* (42a), سنبوق *sənbwq* (46a), سنبوك *sənbwk* (46a; 60b);
- different parts of a boat: حِجْن *ḥinn* “storage space in a boat” (113a), طارمة *ṭārma* “cabin in a boat” (102b), كوتل *kwtal* “stern of a ship” (90b);
- the people who worked on these boats: the رِبَان *rəbbān* “captain” (114a), the كَرَانِي *karrānī* “scribe” (117b) and the نَوَاتِيَّة *nawātiyya* “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 وَيّ *way* “ai!” (132a), and when they believe somebody is hideous, they say he is فَسَل *fasl* (87a).

<sup>470</sup> This is described in *Hazz al-quḥūf*, see Davies (2005) pp. 391-2.

<sup>471</sup> See also §6.2.2.

<sup>472</sup> See also §6.2.1.

<sup>473</sup> Nowadays, the diminutive *ǧiwēša* 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-Mağribī's attention. The following are the words al-Mağribī heard used by the people from North Africa:

- مكحلة *makhla* "rifle" (91a). Nowadays this word, pronounced *mkeħla* or *mkoħla*, is still used with the same meaning in Morocco.<sup>474</sup> It is so called, as al-Mağribī explains, because gunpowder looks like kohl;
- دربال *dərbāl* "garment" (72b);
- زعلوك *zawlūk* "pauper" (59b);
- وین *wyn* "where" (120a)<sup>475</sup> (which is also used by the Arabs according to al-Mağribī);
- زاملة *zāmila* "she-camel" (78b), which was also used by the Sudanese traders.

Al-Mağribī also mentions the vocabulary of those from the Arab peninsula, whom he sometimes simply calls *al-‘arab*, and sometimes specifies as the people from the Ḥiğāz or the people of Mecca:

- مسطول *maṣṭūl* "intoxicated" (80b);
- سلمة *sulma* "kiss" (100b);
- زل *zall* "to pass, to leave" (78a);
- ذال *dāl* "lost" (active part.) (81b);
- هني *hannī* "stuff, things" (120a);
- خصفة *ħaṣfa* "mat of palm leaves, used in the Ka'ba" (22a);
- فصي *fāṣy* "date pit" (130a);
- وملعة *mil'aqa* "spoon" (54b).

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

- رجال *rağğāl* "man" (75a);
- هيك *hyk* "like this" (63a);
- شقفة *šaqfa* "piece"<sup>476</sup> (26b).

<sup>474</sup> See Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 81.

<sup>475</sup> Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 204b "wayn (not common Moroccan) same as *fayn*".

<sup>476</sup> In Egyptian this means "potsherd", see Hinds-Badawi (1986) 471b.

It is remarkable that some words, which would nowadays be classified as typically Levantine, were used by Egyptians at that time:

- هون *hwn* “here” (120b);
- غبوق *gubūq* “cloudy” (50a);
- نقاتق *naqāniq* “small sausages” (56a);
- ييزم *yibzəm* “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.<sup>477</sup> 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.<sup>478</sup> Trade between Egypt and al-Šām (Syria and Lebanon) has gradually dwindled and many of the *šawām* 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 *Daf al-iṣr* (9a), namely the future marker *šā*. This has been discussed in §6.4.6.

#### 6.5.1.4 Loan words

*Daf al-iṣr* highlights the language of people from outside Egypt which could be heard in the metropolis of Cairo. Firstly, there is the Arabic language spoken by the Turks who, as al-Mağribī points out in a very funny anecdote, do not always master the language.<sup>479</sup> A second anecdote illustrates another example of how Egyptians sometimes made fun of their Turkish fellow-countrymen (37b):

فان كثيرا من الناس يقول بحضرة الترك شربت قدر بقّ مثلا فيسخرون منه لان عندهم البقّ هو القدر

<sup>477</sup> See Lentin (1995) p. 134.

<sup>478</sup> Ibid. p. 137.

<sup>479</sup> See §5.1.3.

“Many people say in the presence of Turks: ‘I drank as much as a *buqq*’ for instance. So they make fun of them, because for them [= the Turks] *buqq* means ‘filth’.”

This is a pun: in the Egyptian dialect *buqq* means “mouth”. However, the word بوق *boq*, which to the Egyptians sounds like *buqq*, means “shit” in Turkish.<sup>480</sup> Therefore, the meaning is ambiguous: “I drank a mouthful”, or “I drank an amount of shit”.

However, al-Mağribī 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: بريك *baryk* “small pastries” (56b) from the Turkish *börek*, سوبيا *subyā* “a sweet drink” (9a) from the Turkish *sübye*, and شريك *šaryk* “a type of bun” (60b) from the Turkish *çörek*. The same can be said of Persian loanwords, which came into the Egyptian language through Turkish, e.g. سنبوسك *sanbūsak* “triangular pastry filled with cheese or meat” (60b) from the Persian سنبوسك or سنبوسه, خشكنان *ḫuškanān* (10a) or خشكنانك *ḫušṭanānak* (58a) “a kind of sweet-meat” (58a) from خشك نان *ḫushk-nān*, (lit. “dry bread”<sup>481</sup>), كحك *kaḥk* “cookies” (62a) from كاك *kāk*, and نان كشك *kišk* “a dish made of wheat and milk” (62a) from كاشك *kašk*.

Not all of the loanwords from Turkish and Persian involve food. There are also several references to musical terms: يگاه *yakāh* “the first note, C” (63a), دوگاه *dwkāh* “the second note, D” (63a), سگاه *sikāh* “the third note, E” (63a), چارگاه (63a) *čārkaḥ* “the fourth note, F”, from the Persian يك *yak* “one”, دو *dū* “two”, سه *sih* “three”, چار *čār* “four” + گاه *gāh* “time, place” (amongst others).<sup>482</sup>

Here is a list of all of the other words of Turkish or Persian origin that are referred to:

- اساطوين *asāṭawīn* (109a) “craftsmen”;
- اشنان *ašnān* “potash” (109a);

<sup>480</sup> See Redhouse (1992) p. 405a.

<sup>481</sup> See Steingass (1975) p. 468a.

<sup>482</sup> See Steingass (1975) p. 1074a.



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- براسم *bārāsəm* “silk” (95a);
- برشق *bəršəq* “belt?” (36b);
- برغل *burǧul* “crushed wheat” (65b);
- بستان *bustān* “field” (109b);
- بوسه *bwsa* “kiss” (88b);
- خان *hān* “large shop” (113a);
- خجا *həǧā* (8b), خوجا، خجی، (126a) *həǧā, hǧǧā* “scholar; important man”;
- خاتون *hātūn* “woman of noble origin” (112b);
- خوان *həwān* “table” (113a);
- دایه *dāya* “midwife” (88b);
- رۆشن *rwšən* “air-hole, sky-light” (114a);
- زیون “customer” or “disease” (114b), the first from the Persian *zubūn*, the second from *zabūn*;
- زرباب *zarbāb* “cloth of gold” (15a);
- زردمه *zardama* “throat” (98b);
- زرفن *zarfən* “to curl” (114b);
- زلیه *zəlliyya* “carpet, blanket” (78b; 127b);
- زنبیره *zanbara* “whoremonger” (103b);
- زنبیل *zənbīl* “basket” (77a);
- زنجبیل *zinǧabīl* “ginger” (78a);
- سلجم *salǧam* “turnip” (101a);
- سوسبان *sysəbān* “sesban tree” (15a);
- سروال *širwāl*, سروال *sirwāl* “drawers, long trousers” (80b);
- شيله *šyla byla* “heave-ho!” (128a);
- فرا *firā* “para (coin), 1/40th of a piaster” (9a);
- فرزبان *firzān* “the queen in the game of chess” (117a);
- فنجان *finǧān* “coffee cup” (117a);
- فندق *funduq* “hazelnut” (53b);
- قرطق *qərṭəq* “tunic” (53b);

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- قَزْمَة *qazma* “pick-axe” (104b);
- قُلَنْبَرَة *qulanbara* “sodomite” (103b);
- كَرْكَدَان *karkaddan / karkadann* “rhinoceros” (117b);
- مِزْرَاب *mizrāb* “spout for draining water from a roof or balcony” (15a);
- مَوْم *mūm* “wax; candles” (106a);
- نَمَك *nāmāk* “salt” (62a) in the expression *wala al-nāmāk* “nothing at all”;
- هِنْدَام *hindām* “the way somebody looks, his shape” (108a).

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

يقولون اهيا شراھيا قال وهو خطأ وانما هو اھيا بكسر الهمزة اشر اھيا بفتح الهمزة والشين اي الازلي الذي لم يزل يونانية والناس يغلطون فيقولون اھيا شراھيا وهو خطأ على ما يزعمه احبار اليهود (121b)

“They say *ahya šarāhya*. He (=al-Fīrūzābādī) says: ‘this is wrong; it should be *ihyā* with *kasr* of the *hamza*, *ašar ihyā* with *fath* of the *hamza* and the *šīn*, meaning ‘the eternal one who has not ceased to be’, which is Greek. The people say incorrectly *ahya šarāhya*, and this is wrong according to what the Jewish rabbis declare.’”

This expression derives from the Hebrew אֲנִי הֵאֱלֹהִים אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי “I am who I am” (the name of God, Exodus 3:14<sup>483</sup>). ‘Abd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 365 misunderstands al-Mağribī when he writes that he (al-Mağribī) was under the false impression that the expression is Greek. The whole entry is (almost) completely taken from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 1124a. ‘Abd al-Tawwāb refers to the fact that the formula is used in magic, something both *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and al-Mağribī leave unmentioned. There are many examples of this formula in Islamic magical amulets, sometimes almost unrecognisably corrupted, such as *šarāšā šarā*, *hanšarāhyā*, *hī šarāhī* etc.<sup>484</sup>

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

<sup>483</sup> “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.

<sup>484</sup> See Winkler (1930) p. 30ff.

*azmīl* (78b) “chisel” from *σμίλη* / *ζμίλη*, *افیون* *afyūn* (117a) from *οπιον*, *بطاقة* *biṭāqa* “message sent by pigeon” (37b) < *πυττάκιον*, *بطريق* *bṭrīq* “leader of a Greek army” (37a) from *πατριχίος*, *بطرك* *baṭrak* “Patriarch” (56b) from *πατριάρχης*, *بلان* *ballān* “bathhouse attendant” (110a) from *βαλανειον*, *منجنيق* *manǧaniq* “catapult” (38b) from *μαγγανιχιον*, and *نوابية* *nawāṭiyya* “sailors” (131a) from *ναυτης*.

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

A few words are mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr* whose Coptic origin is confirmed by several authors:<sup>485</sup> *حالموم* *ḥālūm* “white cream cheese” (96b), *شونة* *šwna* “storage place for grain” (115b), *طوب* *tūb* “bricks” (16b), and *اردب* *ardabb* “dry measure” (11a). These words were integrated into the Arabic language to such an extent that they found their way into *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and were, therefore, not recognised as foreign by al-Maǧribī. The only word not mentioned in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* is *بكله* *bakla* “vessel holding water for washing one’s backside” (66a) which is therefore labelled “unknown”.

### 6.5.2 Curses and insults

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

*زبل مفرك* *zibl mufarrak* “crumpled dung” (61a), *قحبة* *qaḥba* “whore” (18b), *قطيم* *qṭīm* “passive sodomite” (105a), *وغل* *wāǧl* “parasite” (93b), *نغف* *niǧif* “dry snout” (34b), *ممحون* *mamḥūn* “catamite” (119a), and *عجينة* *aǧīna* “weak (like dough)” (116b).

Many words with the meaning “to insult” are included: *اكتال* *iktāl* “to heap insults (on s.o.)” (91b), *يناطي* *yināṭī* “to insult each other” (131b), *سب* *sabb* “to insult” (15a), *شتم* *šatam* “to insult” (101b), *يسحل* *yishal* “to slander” (80a), *يرغل*, *رغل*, *irǧal*, *yirǧal* “to insult s.o. in his face” (76b), *شطف* *šaṭaf* “to insult” (lit. “to wash”)

<sup>485</sup> Such as Hinds-Badawi (1986), Behnstedt (1981), Vollers (1896), Bishai (1964), Crum (1972), Kamāl (1997), Youssef (2003).

(26a)<sup>486</sup>, بهدل *bahdil* “to humiliate, scorn” (66b), ل يدري *yidarrī li* “to insult” (lit. “to inform someone of his bad qualities”) (127a), and يلسن *yilassin* “to slander” (118b).

Also numerous are curses: استه نملت *nammilāt istu* “may his ass tingle” (92a), رغم رغبه الله *rəǧām allāh anfu* “may God rub his nose in the sand” (98a), رقية العدو سلعة *fī raqabāt al-‘aduww sal’a* “may the enemy have a cyst on his neck” (44b), قاتله الله *qātalahu allāh* “may God fight him!” (126b), دبة على قلبهم *‘alā qalbəhum dābla* “may there be a lump on their heart!” (72a), لعدا الحكة *li-l-‘adā al-ḥakka* “may the enemy get the itch!” (57a), لعدو ازقم *li-l-‘aduww izzaqqam* “may the enemy be force-fed!” (98b), سخام ولطام *suḥām wa luṭām* “filth and slaps!” (100a).<sup>487</sup>

The number of words describing stupidity or weakness of mind is also impressive: سخيف *saḥīf* “weak-minded”, عطرِب *‘uṭrəb* “stupid”, فقفاق (52b; 53a) *fəqfāqa* “silly”, هبيل (94a) *habīl* “stupid”, مهبول (94a) *məhbūl* “simpleton”, ابلم (95b) *‘abləm* “stupid”, تزل (67a) *tirill* “oaf”, بهلول (66b) *bəhlūl* “silly, foolish”, دهل (73b) *duhull* “simpleton”, دهلان *dəhlān* “simpleton” (73b), and عكفش *‘akfaš* “stupid” (17a). Not all of these expressions are in use today. For details, see the Glossary.

The remarkable thing about these entries is that al-Maǧribī does not condemn or judge this kind of (sometimes very crude) language. He simply states that these expressions are being used by the people of Cairo and clarifies whether or not they are correct according to *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. 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-Maǧribī was very fond of puns, and particularly liked to play with the various meanings of a word. The first example is a pun on the word دل *dall*, which means

<sup>486</sup> *ǧasal* has a similar meaning in Egypt today. Compare the Dutch “iemand de oren wassen”, “to wash someone’s ears”, i.e. to scold him.

<sup>487</sup> Although the word *luṭām* as such does not exist, it is clear that it is formed from the root LṬM “to slap” in the same pattern as *suḥām*. *suḥām* is still used these days; both Taymūr (2001) IV p. 96 and Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 403b mention the variety *suḥām iṭṭīn* used as an adjective (“rotten”), while Taymūr also mentions the variety *suḥām wi-hibāb* “filth and soot”.

“coquetry” and “to indicate”: ويقولون في المحبوب دلال وعنده دل فانظر الدل على اي (73a) “they say about a beloved one: “she is coquet” or “she has coquetry”, so check what the word *dall* indicates”. Another example of a pun with the same root, is found on fol. 57a: “the people say to the *tikka* ‘waistband’ *dikka* with a *dāl* and there is nothing that furnishes evidence for this”: *dāl* - *dāl* “the letter *dāl*” - “furnishing evidence”.

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

The word *شين* can be read as *šin* “the letter *š*” and *šayn* “disgrace”: ويقولون ما ذا (81a) “they say *mā dā illā šikl* so they put a *kasra* after the *šin*, and this is no disgrace”.

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

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

The last example contains two puns on the words *yafham* “to understand” and *yufham* “to be understood”, and on *bill* “stupid” and *bal* “rather”: فقولهم فلان بل (66b) “they say: ‘so-and-so is *bill*, stupid’, with a *kasra*, about someone who does not understand. This is not understood from the language, but rather, in the language *bill* with a *kasra* means ‘a smart fellow’.”

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

According to ‘Awwād<sup>488</sup> 80% of the words mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr* 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

<sup>488</sup> See ‘Awwād (1968), the Russian introduction, p. 24.

native speakers. Accordingly, an investigation of the entries in *Daf al-iṣr* 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 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>489</sup> but have apparently disappeared since that time. Twenty-three entries, i.e. less than 2% are now only found in dialects outside Egypt, such as Syrian and Moroccan, although most of these words belonged to the dialect of Cairo in al-Mağribī's time. Forty-five entries, i.e. 3% can be found only in Dozy's dictionary, which is interesting because he included many Middle Arabic items of vocabulary which are not found in either dictionaries of Classical Arabic or modern dialects. Furthermore, 296 entries, i.e. 21% can only be found in dictionaries of Classical or Modern Standard Arabic, such as those by Lane, Hava, Wehr, and Kazimirski etc. Of course, it is not known for certain whether these items were already classicisms in al-Mağribī's time, but it is clear that he mentions at least some classicisms in his lexicon. Fifteen entries, i.e. 1% are loan words from Persian and Turkish, and can only be found in dictionaries of these languages and have disappeared from the Egyptian lexicon. Finally, there is a group containing 80 entries, i.e. almost 6%, which could not be traced in any dictionary or other reference work.<sup>490</sup>

The discrepancy between 'Awwād's findings that around 80% of the entries in *Daf al-iṣr* 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 *ṣawām* – who were the users of imported words – from Egypt in the '60s and '70s. The effect of Egyptianization on the young generation of Turkish descendants is also likely to be a factor. Another explanation is that al-Mağribī mentions a large number of words that are considered classicisms in our time.<sup>491</sup>

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<sup>489</sup> 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.

<sup>490</sup> Note that these also include the *taṣḥīfāt* or "misplacements of the diacritical dots", i.e. nonsense-words which were made by misplacing the diacritical dots, such as بلابل الرمان *balābil al-rummān* "the nightingales of the pomegranate" for تلاتل الزمان *talātil al-zamān* "the hardships of time".

<sup>491</sup> And some of these were classicisms in al-Mağribī's time as well.

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.<sup>492</sup>

#### 6.5.4.1 Semantic change

Some words and expressions found in *Daf al-iṣr* 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: *نقطع فروتك niqatta‘ farwatak* “we speak well of you” (129b). When compared with its present-day usage: Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 654a “‘*atṭa‘ 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 mašmūm* (102a), literally “can be smelt”, which in al-Mağribī’s time had the meaning of “smelling pleasant”; nowadays it means “spoilt”, i.e. smelling unpleasant, rotten. The word *مِرِن mirin* (119a) meant “hard”, while nowadays it means “pliant, flexible”. Note, however, that in Classical Arabic the word *مَرِن marin* has the meaning of “soft and hard” (see Hava p. 717b), i.e. flexible. The word *يَدْرِي yidarrī* (127a) meant “to insult” in al-Mağribī’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 *أُحْيِهْ uhḥyḥ* (120b) was, in al-Mağribī’s time, an exclamation of admiration, while today *ihḥīh* is an exclamation of disgust.

##### *Metaphor*

In the expression *ما حاك هذا في خاطري mā ḥāk hādā fī ḥāṭirī* “this didn’t come to my mind” (57b), *حاك* which originally meant “to weave”, is used as a metaphor for “weaving a thought”.

<sup>492</sup> E.g. the word *هاهنا hāhunā* “here” (fol. 132b).

## Linguistic Analysis

In the expression *iwki ḥalaqak* “shut up!” (literally “tie up your neck!”) (132a), the neck is likened to a waterskin which could be tied up (*wakā* وكي) with a string (*yakī* يكي).

In *fulān mā huwwa 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”.<sup>493</sup> Compare the abovementioned<sup>494</sup> *ḥāyil* *ḥāyil*, which originally meant “terrifying” but in al-Mağribī’s time was weakening to “great, wonderful”. This is also the case with the word *danaf* *danaf* which appears in the expression *danaf fi l-‘išq* “love-sick” (22b). In Classical Arabic, the meaning of *دنف* is “having any disease: or emaciated by disease so as to be at the point of death”;<sup>495</sup> in MSA it is “seriously ill”,<sup>496</sup> while in modern Egyptian it means “oafish”.<sup>497</sup> We see the same with the word *ḡahḡahwn* *ḡahḡahwn*, which in al-Mağribī’s time meant “tyranny, oppression”, but nowadays means “haphazardly, in any old way”.<sup>498</sup> The word *naqaf* *naqaf* (34b) means “to break the skull” in Classical Arabic,<sup>499</sup> while in the 17<sup>th</sup> 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 *biṭāqa* *biṭāqa* (37b) meant “message sent by pigeon” in al-

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<sup>493</sup> See Görlach (1997) p. 134.

<sup>494</sup> In §6.5.1.1.

<sup>495</sup> Lane (1955-6) III p. 919c.

<sup>496</sup> Wehr (1994) p. 339b.

<sup>497</sup> Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 305a.

<sup>498</sup> Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 176b.

<sup>499</sup> See Hava p. 794b.



Mağribī's time,<sup>500</sup> but nowadays means the more general "card".<sup>501</sup> The word هاف *hāf* (36a) "to become weak (crops)" is also used more generally today, with the meaning: "to be petty, be trivial".<sup>502</sup>

### 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 حقن *ḥaqan* (111b) used to have the meaning "to administer a clyster": دوا المريض حقنه *dawā al-marīḍ ḥaqanuh* "he administered the medicine to the sick person with a clyster" (111b). With the arrival of the hypodermic syringe<sup>503</sup> it came to mean "to inject".

The word جيب *ḡyb* (12a) first meant "bosom" and "bosom of a garment", and the Arabs often carried things in the bosom of their shirts.<sup>504</sup> When the pocket was introduced, it took over this function and was, therefore, also called *ḡyb*. Al-Mağribī says the following about this word: يقولون الجيب على ذلك الذي يوضع فيه: يا قُولُونَ الدَّرَاهِمَ بِالْجَنْبِ *yaqūlūn al-ḡyb 'alā ḡālik alladī yūḍa' fih al-darāhim bi-l-ḡanb* "they say *ḡyb* 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 19<sup>th</sup> century.

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

<sup>500</sup> It is known that the word had this specific meaning at that time, because it is also the only meaning al-Ḥafāḡī p. 41 mentions.

<sup>501</sup> See Hinds-Badawi (1986) p. 81a.

<sup>502</sup> Ibid. p. 920a.

<sup>503</sup> The discovery of the hypodermic syringe is credited to two people: Alexander Wood, secretary of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh and Charles Pravcaz of Lyon, France. Both made successful use of a syringe in 1853. See Kravetz (2005) p. 2614.

<sup>504</sup> See Lane II p. 492c



## Summary and Conclusions

### 1 Life and Works of Yūsuf al-Mağribī

The subject of this dissertation is a book entitled *Daf al-işr* ‘an kalām ahl Mişr, “Removing the burden from the speech of the Egyptians”, a word list of the Egyptian Arabic dialect dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Its author is Yūsuf Abū al-Maḥāsīn Ğamāl al-Dīn b. Zakariyyā b. Ḥarb al-Mağribī al-Miṣrī al-‘Azharī (±970/1562-1019/1611), who was born and raised in Cairo, and was of North-African origin. At the age of seven, and after the death of his father, he went to live with his maternal uncles. They were sword belt manufacturers, and lived in the Ibn Ṭūlūn quarter, a meeting point for North-African pilgrims where a large concentration of North-Africans resided. Al-Mağribī learnt the Qur’ān in the Ibn Ṭūlūn mosque. When his uncles left Egypt, he joined al-Azhar after a very short-lived career as a fabric merchant (§1.1). Some of his teachers there were famous scholars, including: Ibn al-Ġayṭī (910/1504-981/1573), head of the *şūfī*-monasteries al-Şalāhiyya and al-Siryāqūsiyya in Cairo; Yaḥyā al-Aşīlī (910/1504-1010/1601-2), a famous poet; and ‘Alī al-Maqdisī (920/1514-1004/1596), head of the *Ḥanafī* order and one of the greatest imams of the time (§1.1.1).

Details about al-Mağribī’s personal life are scarce. In *Daf al-işr*, al-Mağribī writes that he held a *wazīfa* or official post (§1.2), and refers to himself as *al-faqīr* on several occasions (§1.3), implying that he was a *şūfī*. In fact, some of his teachers were also *şūfīs*, such as Ibn al-Ġayṭī. The influence of Sufism on al-Mağribī’s work is obvious, because in *Daf al-işr* he refers to a great number of books written by *şūfīs*, such as Ibn al-‘Arabī, al-Şa’rāwī and al-Ġazālī. Another aspect about his personal life that is known is that he frequented *mağālis*, social gatherings, during which intellectuals discussed all kinds of topics, such as literary and linguistic issues, and also recited poems. We get a glimpse of these in *Daf al-işr*.

Of the twelve titles that are known to have been written by al-Mağribī, other than *Daf al-işr*, only two have survived (§1.4):

- *Tahmīs Lāmīyat ibn al-Wardī*, an adaptation of the *Lāmīyat al-iḥwān wa murşīdat al-ḥillān*, a moral poem by Abū Ḥafş ‘Umar b. al-Muzaffar b. al-Wardī (689/1290-749/1349);
- *Buğyat al-arīb wa ğunyat al-adīb*, a work about various topics, meant as an aid when composing poetry.

His other works, which as far as we know have not survived, include translations from Turkish and Persian into Arabic, indicating that al-Mağribī had a good knowledge of these two languages.

### 2 Description of the manuscript

The only known manuscript of *Daf al-iṣr* is the authograph, which is kept in the St. Petersburg University Library (§2.1). It was brought to Russia by Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī (1810-1861). He was Professor of Arabic at St. Petersburg University from 1847 until his death, when he bequeathed his entire manuscript collection, including *Daf al-iṣr*, to the university library (§2.1.1).

In its present form, the manuscript consists of 134 folios. Eleven quires, i.e. 110 pages, have been lost over the years. The manuscript is a first draft, and there are a large number of corrections, additions, notes and comments added to the margins. The work was written in 1014-5/1606, and in its present state contains 1406 entries (§2.2).

The book was first entitled *al-Faḍl al-‘āmm wa qāmūs al-‘awāmm*, “The general benefit and the dictionary of the common people”, but al-Maḡribī eventually settled on *Daf al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr* “Removing the burden from the speech of the Egyptians” (§2.3).

### 3 About *Daf al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr*

*Daf al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr* is an important source of the Egyptian dialect at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries (§3.1). It is presented in the form of a list of Egyptian Arabic words, which al-Maḡribī checked for consistency with Classical Arabic by referring, mainly, to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, the great dictionary by al-Fīrūzābādī (729/1329-817/1415). As the title of *Daf al-iṣr* indicates, the author’s aim was to prove that many words of the Egyptian dialect which were considered to be “incorrect” Arabic in fact have their roots in the Classical Arabic language. There are very few works in the same field, which makes *Daf al-iṣr* of special interest.

Al-Maḡribī reveals a number of his reasons for writing *Daf al-iṣr* (§3.2). He was annoyed to find that many words which he knew to be “correct”, i.e. which were used in accordance with Classical Arabic usage, were claimed to be incorrect by some intellectuals. He mentions a case where someone was laughed at for using a particular expression, while al-Maḡribī knew that it was, in fact, entirely appropriate. Therefore, he felt the need to deal with this ignorance by investigating which colloquial words had the same meaning in Classical Arabic. A second reason was his desire to study *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and he, accordingly, combined the two objectives in one book: a work which investigated colloquial Egyptian Arabic words, and checked their meaning in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.

The idea of writing a book in defence of the Egyptian dialect was unique for the time. The only other works in which colloquial vocabulary was compared with

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Classical Arabic, were those of the *lahn al-‘amma* genre, “errors of language made by the common people”. As the name suggests, these books aimed to highlight, and then correct, “mistakes” in language, which was quite the opposite to al-Mağribī’s goal. Nevertheless, al-Mağribī was influenced by this genre in the way he set about his task. He was familiar with at least one specimen of the genre: *Durrat al-ğawwāš fi awḥām al-ḥawāšš* by Abū al-Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī (446/1054-516/1122), of which he had created an arrangement and appendix. Indeed, he even borrowed some of the terminology used in the *lahn al-‘amma* literature, e.g. he introduced the dialect word with *yaqūlūn* “they say”, and the correct form (if he established that the dialect form was not “correct”, which happened in spite of his intentions) by *wa al-šawāb...* “whereas the norm is...” (§3.3.1).

*Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* also greatly influenced al-Mağribī, which is logical when considering that studying *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* was one of his reasons for writing *Daf al-išr*. Al-Firūzābādī’s influence is apparent in the arrangement of the entries, the so-called rhyme arrangement, which organises roots according to their last radical. It also had a great influence on the choice of the entries in *Daf al-išr*. Indeed, there are many consecutive pages in which al-Mağribī does not introduce any word that cannot be found in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* (§3.3.2).

*Daf al-išr* was, in turn, a source of inspiration for another Egyptian scholar, Muḥammad ibn Abī al-Surūr al-Bakrī (±998/1589-1063/1653?) (§3.4). He wrote an abbreviated version of it entitled *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa luğat ‘ahl Mišr min luğāt al-‘Arab* (“The abbreviated speech concerning what agrees in the language of the people of Egypt with the languages of the Arabs”). Ibn Abī al-Surūr’s abbreviation of *Daf al-išr* is based on the complete manuscript, which can be useful when reconstructing some of the entries that were lost. However, Ibn Abī al-Surūr left out all of the words that do not have an Arabic root, depriving linguists of the most interesting aspect of the work. He also did some editing work, such as abbreviating the quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*, and omitting the anecdotes and poetry etc. Furthermore, he often reworded the entries and made considerable changes to the text, which decreases *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*’s value when it comes to reconstructing *Daf al-išr*’ lost entries.

After Ibn Abī al-Surūr, both manuscripts (*Daf al-išr* and *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab*) came into the hands of Yūsuf al-Mallawī, known as Ibn al-Wakīl (18<sup>th</sup> century). He copied Ibn Abī al-Surūr’s *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab* while keeping *Daf al-išr* open next to it, adding some of the entries that Ibn Abī al-Surūr had left out. There is then a gap of almost two centuries, and the next information we have is that the manuscript had fallen into the possession of Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī. The sources I have consulted do not indicate how and where this happened. The next person to take

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an interest in *Daf al-iṣr* was the German orientalist Heinrich Thorbecke (1837-1890), who copied the manuscript but did not, apparently, use it in his studies. Then, in 1926, Ignatij Julianovič Kratchkovsky (1883-1951) wrote an excellent article about *Daf al-iṣr* and al-Mağribī, and in 1968, *Daf al-iṣr* was published in Moscow as a facsimile. The text was introduced by ‘Abd al-Salām Aḥmad ‘Awwād in Russian and Arabic, and he also produced extensive indices to it. After the publication of the facsimile edition, some articles about *Daf al-iṣr* were published, all highlighting the dialectal materials. Its dialectal poetry has been discussed in several articles by Olga Frolova,<sup>505</sup> and more recently, Nelly Hanna (1998) has considered some of the work’s cultural aspects (§3.5).

Strictly speaking, *Daf al-iṣr* cannot be defined as a dictionary because the entries often lack a definition. Therefore, “word list” is a more accurate description of the work. As referred to previously, al-Mağribī’s objective of proving the validity of colloquial words was achieved by comparing the entries with *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. Al-Mağribī considered any word to be correct Arabic if it could be traced to an Arabic root and its meaning had a resemblance, no matter how distant, to the meaning of this Arabic root. This meant that the root should not have undergone any phonetic changes, such as from interdental fricative to dental stop. If a word did not have an Arabic root, al-Mağribī stated that it was “unknown” to him. This meant that he had not found it in the Classical Arabic dictionaries. Sometimes, al-Mağribī’s explanation of a word is incorrect, mainly because he did not realise (or did not like to admit) that it had been subjected to certain phonetic changes. For instance, he insists on relating the word معلقة *ma’laqa* “spoon” to the root ‘LQ “to hang”, instead of recognising (or admitting) that a metathesis of ‘ayn and lām had taken place (§3.6).

In most cases, the entries are not vocalized (§3.7.1). The pronunciation of a word is, however, sometimes demonstrated by either a description of the vowels contained in it (e.g. سفوف بضم السين *sufuf* “medicinal powder”, with a *u* after the letter *sīn*), or by a comparison of the entry to a well-known word (e.g. رجال كشدّاد *raǧǧāl* “man” like *šaddād*). Neither of these methods are of al-Mağribī’s own invention: they were simply borrowed from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, which is another sign of the influence this work had on him.

Al-Mağribī classified the colloquial words in a variety of ways (§3.7.4). When a word could not be found anywhere in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, he describes this fact with a variety of expressions: ولم اعلم له مناسبة *wa lam yu’lam* “it is not known”;

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<sup>505</sup> In Frolova (1982, 1995 and 1997).

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*wa lam 'a'lam lahu munāsaba* “I do not know an occasion that corresponds to it” etc. In other cases, when correcting a “deviation” from Classical Arabic, the following expressions are used: *والصواب wa al-ṣawāb* “and the correct [form] would be”; *وانما هو wa innamā huwa* “however, it should be...” etc. For “to mispronounce / misread”, the verb *صحف ṣahḥafa* and its derivatives are used: *يصحفون yuṣahḥifūn* “they mispronounce”, *عن تصحيف taṣḥīf* ‘an “[it is a] mispronunciation of” etc. These comments also indicate that al-Mağribī was not always able to distance himself from the concept of the *lahn al-‘amma*-works, namely that the colloquial was wrong and needed to be corrected.

### 4 The poetry in *Daf al-iṣr*

There are 26 *mawāwīl* written by al-Mağribī in *Daf al-iṣr* (§4.1). A *mawwāl* is a non-Classical verse form which could be written in either Classical Arabic or the colloquial. Al-Mağribī’s *mawāwīl* all consist of four lines and contain homonymous rhyme, i.e. the rhyme word is the same in each line but is used with a different meaning. The *mawāwīl* are all in the *basīṭ* metre. Although al-Mağribī used some Classical Arabic vocabulary in these poems, the metre indicates that in most cases the words should be read without *i’rāb* and *tanwīn*. These poems are generally love poems, and contain the vocabulary that is typical of this genre.

There are also 18 small, two-verse poems in *Daf al-iṣr*, which were composed on the occasion of a *taṭlīṭ*, i.e. a word which can be read with *fatha*, *kasra* or *ḍamma* (§4.2.1). Al-Mağribī arranged them into quatrains, in which the first, second and third hemistichs end with one of these variants. The fourth ends with another word, thus creating the rhyme scheme *aaab*. These poems are all in the *rağaz*-metre, and are all dimeters (*manhūk al-rağaz*). They are called *muṭallaṭāt*.

There is also an example from the aforementioned (see §1.4) *taḥmīs* of *Lāmīyat al-iḥwān wa muršīdat al-ḥillān* by Ibn al-Wardī (§4.2.2). Mainly to demonstrate the use of a word, other instances of al-Mağribī’s Classical Arabic poems are scattered throughout *Daf al-iṣr*, as are fragments of those by famous poets such as al-Mutanabbī and Abū Nawās. There are also some riddles (§4.2.3), which are short poems in the interrogative form. In these, al-Mağribī played with the different meanings that a word could have.

The metres most frequently utilised by al-Mağribī are the *basīṭ* and the *rağaz*, because of their respective use in the frequently occurring *mawāwīl* and *muṭallaṭāt*. The division of the other metres is as follows: *sarī* 6, *ḥaḥīf* 5, *wāfir* 5, *hazağ* 5, *ramal* 5, *muğṭatt* 4, *kāmil* 3, *ṭawīl* 3, *mutadārik* 2, *munsariḥ* 1 (§4.2.4).

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The Persian poetry in *Daf al-iṣr* consists of three quotations from the *Gulistān* by Saʿdī (d. 691/1292), and one verse by al-Mullā Ḥāfiẓ (726/1325-6 - 792/1390). The Turkish poetry is comprised of two poems about coffee: one by an unknown Turk, and one by al-Mağribī himself. He writes that he composed this poem on the spot during a *mağlis*; it would, therefore, be safe to say that he thus displayed great skill in the Turkish language (§4.3).

### 5 Aspects of daily life

Al-Mağribī describes many aspects of daily life in Egypt at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Much attention is paid to food and drink (§5.1), and there is reference to many items which are still known in Egypt today, such as *kunāfa* “pastry made of thin vermicelli-shaped dough”, *kaḥk al-ʿīd* “cookies served at the religious holidays” and *qaṭāyif* “sweet pancakes”. Some of the food stuffs which are no longer available are: *ḥuškanān* / *خشكتنانك* / *ḥuštānānak* “pastry filled with almond paste”, *ḥiṭliyya* “a sweet dish made of wheat starch and milk”, *ruḥāmiyya* “marble sweet” (so called because its colour resembles that of marble), *kumāḡā* “dry bread” (from Persian *کوماج*), *ḥaška fālāw* “dry rice” (from Persian *خشکه* *ḥushka*, “boiled rice without butter” and *palāv*, “a rice dish”) and *arnabiyya* “hare ragout”. The Turkish and Persian influences in Egypt at the time are obvious from the large number of food stuffs with Persian and Turkish names that are mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr*.

It is also clear that coffee was extremely popular in Egypt in al-Mağribī’s time, because he writes about it frequently and even reveals that it was discussed in a *mağlis*. He mentions that the best type of coffee is not made from the beans, but from the *qīṣr*, i.e. the husks (§5.1.3).

The entry about tobacco is particularly interesting (§5.2). Al-Mağribī mentions that in the year *Daf al-iṣr* was written, i.e. 1014/1606, a new phenomenon called *ṭābja* had come into fashion. Tobacco was indeed introduced in Egypt in 1603-1604.<sup>506</sup> Al-Mağribī mentions its price: one *raṭl* (around 443 grams) cost three gold coins. He also mentions that there was some question about whether it was permitted to smoke while fasting during Ramaḡān. According to a certain *ṣayḥ* called al-Zayyādī it was, although al-Mağribī did not agree.

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<sup>506</sup> See *EF* X p. 753b (R. Matthee).



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There are some references to medicine as well (§5.3). Most are descriptions of the medicinal properties of herbs and vegetables. Some common ailments are also referred to, such as شقاق *šaqāq* “cracked skin”, فتق *fatq* “hernia, rupture”, or شقيقة *šaqyqa* “a splitting headache”. Different treatments are described, such as مرهم *marham* “ointment” and لُعُوق *lu‘ūq* “electuary”.

A few entries concern the terminology used in games. Chess was popular, and related terminology is provided, such as فرزان *firzān* “queen”, دست *dast* “game” and مرمام *marmād*, meaning literally “affected by ophthalmia”, i.e. somebody who lost a game but does not realise it. Another popular game was the طاب *tāb*-game, which is still played today (§5.4).

Many items of clothing are mentioned (§5.5). Most of these are still in use today, and only a few are currently unknown. Of the latter, there are two examples. The first is the حنيني *ḥṇynī*, which is mentioned in Dozy I 330b as “semble être le nom d’un vêtement”, and the second is the كامليّة *kāmiliyya*, again mentioned by Dozy II 489b as “espèce de robe”. In both cases, Dozy is the only source where I have found a reference to these items. Unfortunately, al-Mağribī’s lack of description or explanation does not bring us any closer to an understanding of the nature of these garments.

The last category discussed in this chapter are the kitchen utensils, tools, and other household goods (§5.6). All of the items mentioned in *Daf al-iṣr* are still in use today, showing us how little Egyptian society has changed in this respect over the centuries. Their inclusion in *Daf al-iṣr* is also remarkable in the sense that al-Mağribī, as a respectable Azharī scholar, did not believe that it was beneath him to refer to them and make them the subject of his study.

## 6 Linguistic Analysis

### Orthography (§6.1)

The orthography in *Daf al-iṣr* does not comply with the standards of Classical Arabic, particularly the use of the *hamza*, which is placed rather arbitrarily (§6.1.1). The final *ā*’ can be written with ءَآ , آ , ء and ل . Very often, the *hamza* in any position is omitted altogether, and the final *yā*’ and *alif maqṣūra* appear inconsistently, sometimes with and sometimes without dots (§6.1.2). We even find a final *yā*’ where *alif* would be expected, e.g. عصي instead of عصا ‘aṣā “stick” (§6.1.3). In a few cases, *tā’ marbūṭa* is written without the dots in status constructus (§6.1.4). Sometimes, al-Mağribī writes dental plosives where we would expect to

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find interdentalals in a purely Classical Arabic context (§6.1.5). There are also cases of hyphenation, i.e. words broken off at the end of the line (§6.1.6). The colloquial material is sometimes written with historical spelling, following the spelling of Classical Arabic, and sometimes with phonetic spelling, reflecting the colloquial pronunciation. All of these are traits which are characteristic of Middle Arabic texts (§6.1.7).

### *Phonology* (§6.2)

In Cairo, Alexandria and along the Damietta branch of the Nile, *qāf* and *ǧīm* are nowadays pronounced as /ʔ/ and /g/ (§6.2.1). There has been an ongoing discussion about the issue of when the inhabitants of Cairo started to pronounce *qāf* as /ʔ/ and *ǧīm* as /g/. Behnstedt and Woidich (1985) I p. 31-32 propose the theory that the pronunciation /ʔ/ - /g/ is an ancient feature. Another viewpoint, which was first offered by Blanc (1981), is that the pronunciation of *ǧīm* as /g/ is relatively new in Cairo, and the final stage of the depalatalization of *ǧīm* was not finalized until the period 1800-1860. Hary (1996) suggests that a shift has taken place in the pronunciation of the *ǧīm*, not once, but twice: from /g/ in the 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> centuries to /ǧ/ in the 12<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries and back to /g/ in the 19<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Two examples from *Daf al-iṣr*, which are quoted by Blanc in support of his theory, have been proved to provide no conclusive evidence in support of his proposals. The first concerns the word رجل, *raǧl* “man”, which was used in the countryside. Al-Maǧribī describes that the *ǧīm* is pronounced “between *kāf* and *ǧīm*”. From this, Blanc concluded that the pronunciation was *raǧl* with /g/. Because al-Maǧribī found this worth mentioning, this is, according to Blanc, an indication that this was not the common pronunciation of the *ǧīm* in Cairo at that time.<sup>507</sup> However, al-Maǧribī was speaking of a rural dialect, in which this might indeed have been an uncommon feature, but this provides only very indirect information about the dialect in Cairo. There is also the possibility that the *ǧīm* in this particular example was pronounced as /d/ or as a palatalized /g/ because of the following *l*, a feature which can still be found in some rural areas in Egypt.<sup>508</sup> This feature could indeed have attracted al-Maǧribī’s attention.

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<sup>507</sup> See Blanc (1981) p. 192.

<sup>508</sup> In the Western Delta and Middle Egypt, *ǧ* can become *d* before liquid and nasal consonants. See Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I p. 70 (note to map 11). In the Western Delta, it can be pronounced as a slightly palatalized *g* before the *l*, see Doss (1981) p. 27.

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The second example quoted by Blanc is the word لكن *lagan* “brass vessel”. However, al-Mağribī mentions that it is used in Turkish and in *al-‘arabiyya*, by which he means Classical, not Egyptian Arabic.

Unfortunately, al-Mağribī does not make any direct remarks about the pronunciation of the *ğīm*. The only indirect evidence we have is a *mawwā*<sup>509</sup> of which the rhyme word is جبيت *ğabbyt / gabbyt*. The word has a different meaning in every line. This rhetorical device is called جناس *ğinās*, “paronomasia” or تورية *tawriya*, “double entendre”. In the fourth line, جبيت should be read as *kabbyt* “I came, ejaculated”. This is an indication that in al-Mağribī’s time, the *ğīm* was pronounced as /g/, because the association of /g/ with /k/, from voiced to voiceless velar plosive (*gabbyt - kabbyt*), is very plausible, while it is far less plausible that /ğ/ could be associated with /k/.

Al-Mağribī does not make a direct statement about the pronunciation of the *qāf*. However, he does mention that the Egyptians say: فلان عائق والديه *fūlān ‘ā’iq wālidyh* “so-and-so is disobedient towards his parents”. In Classical Arabic, this would be عاق *‘āqq*, the active participle of the root ‘QQ. In Egyptian Arabic, the active participle of verbs mediae geminatae is *fā’il*. Therefore, the Egyptians would have said عاقق *‘āqiq* instead of عاق *‘āqq*. The only explanation of why al-Mağribī would have written عائق is because it was pronounced ‘ā’i, and he wrongly interpreted it because of the glottal stop in the middle of the word as an active participle of a verb mediae infirmae.

There are numerous traits which the colloquial material in *Daf al-işr* has in common with modern Cairene Arabic. There are many examples of words in *Daf al-işr* in which the change from interdental to plosives is visible. Al-Mağribī even explicitly mentions that the *t* was pronounced as *t* in the dialect of Cairo (§6.2.2). It is obvious from many examples that the *hamza*, in the initial, intervocalic and final positions had disappeared (§6.2.3). Both emphatization and de-emphatization are attested in *Daf al-işr* (§6.2.4), and there are also a few examples of the voicing of *s*; once this is caused by the following *d*, but in the other examples it is in the word’s initial position and it is not exactly clear why the voicing has taken place (§6.2.5). Many instances of the assimilation of the *t* of the passive-reflexive forms (V, VI and VII) to the following letter can be found, e.g. يَصْنَط *yīṣṣannaṭ* “to eavesdrop” (46a) < *yitṣannaṭ* (§6.2.6). There are some examples of metathesis in *Daf al-işr*,

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<sup>509</sup> On fol. 11b.

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amongst which are a few that are still in existence today, such as *معلقة* *ma'laqa* < *mil'aqa* “spoon” and *سَقَف* *saqqaf* < *šaffaq* “to applaud” (with de-emphatization of the *š*) (§6.2.7). It cannot be concluded with any certainty whether or not the diphthongs had developed into long vowels in the dialect of Cairo, but the writing of the word *ayš* / *ēš* with *اش* suggests the pronunciation /iš/ or /eš/, i.e. a shortening of the vowel *ē* (§6.2.8). There are some instances of the lengthening of short vowels, e.g. *كَم* *kām* “how much?” (106a,b) < *م* (§6.2.9) and of the shortening of long vowels (e.g. *بَكَّة* *bakka* “cry-baby” (56b) < *بَكَاء*) (§6.2.10). There are also a few examples of pausal *imāla*, a feature which disappeared from Cairo during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but can still be observed in the Egyptian countryside today (§6.2.11). As far as can be judged from the orthography, the vowel distribution is generally the same as in modern Cairene Arabic (§6.2.12).

### *Morphology* (§6.3)

The vowel of the prefix of the imperfect is *i* (§6.3.1.1), and in the perfect the prefix of forms V, VI and the quadrilaterals is *it-*, although *ta-* is also found in some classicisms (§6.3.1.2). The prefix of form VII, however, is *in-*, not *it-* as in modern Cairene Arabic (§6.3.1.3).<sup>510</sup> The vowel distribution in forms II, V and the quadrilaterals is the same as in modern Cairene Arabic, i.e. *a-a* if the second and/or third radicals are emphatic, laryngeal (not *h*), pharyngeal, or postvelar fricatives. In all other cases, the vowel distribution is *a-i* (§6.3.1.4). We also find some instances of form IV and the internal passive, which in modern Cairo Arabic only exist in loan words from MSA (§6.3.1.5-6). It is very likely that these are classicisms and did not belong to the colloquial vocabulary of that time.

The demonstratives were *dā*, *dī* and *dwlāh* (§6.3.3). There are two examples of preposed *dī*, the first followed by a feminine noun, and the second by a masculine noun. Although this does not represent a solid foundation upon which to build any conclusions, this point does confirm the findings of Davies, who notes 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”.<sup>511</sup> In modern Cairene Arabic, the normal word order is noun - demonstrative, e.g. *īṛṛāgil da*, but in certain expressions the order demonstrative - noun can be found. The function of this word order is to cause an “increased intensity of awareness because of its

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<sup>510</sup> However, *in-* is still found in the *šarqīya* today, see Behnstedt-Woidich (1985) I map 242.

<sup>511</sup> Davies (1981) p. 163.

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contrast with the normal word order”,<sup>512</sup> e.g. *yādi ššudfa ssa'ida* “what a happy coincidence!”.

The word *dillā* is a demonstrative which seems to have fallen out of use fairly soon after al-Mağribī wrote *Daf al-iṣr*. In *Daf al-iṣr*, it occurs only in combination with *mā*: *mā dillā* “what kind of ... is”, whereas in *Nuzhat al-nufūs* (15<sup>th</sup> century) it still appears as a normal demonstrative, both in combination with a noun and independently, while in *Hazz al-quhūf* (second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century) it does not occur at all. The demonstrative particle *'ādī* already existed in al-Mağribī's time; moreover, the particle *'ad* + personal pronoun was also used, and can still be found in the Dakhla-oasis today<sup>513</sup> (§6.3.4).

The interrogatives are the same as in modern Cairo Arabic, except for *anā* “which”. This reveals a resemblance to modern *āni* (§6.3.5). The diminutive seems to have been used more often than in modern Cairo Arabic, where it is no longer productive (§6.3.6). As for the adverbs, the most interesting is *hwn* “here”, which sounds decidedly Levantine to modern ears, although it is mentioned in *Nuzhat al-nufūs*,<sup>514</sup> and is still used in Egypt's oases (§6.3.7).<sup>515</sup>

### Syntax (§6.4)

Since the examples of sentences in *Daf al-iṣr* are always rather brief, not much can be learned about syntax. The negation used is always *mā*; however, this can probably be attributed to al-Mağribī's tendency to use a somewhat classicized context for his entries (§6.4.1). There are three examples of asyndetic clauses, i.e. clauses where *'an* is omitted (§6.4.2), one of which is in a Classical Arabic context.

Wishes in *Daf al-iṣr* are either expressed by perfect + subject (as in Classical Arabic) or by subject + imperfect (as in modern Egyptian Arabic)(§6.4.3).

The interrogatives are placed at the beginning of the sentence (§6.4.4). Sharbatov (1969) p. 312 states that the fact that al-Mağribī places *imtā* and *iš* at the beginning of the sentence, while nowadays they are placed at the end, is evidence of the final struggle between Coptic and Arabic in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. This is, however, unlikely. In modern Egyptian Arabic the position of the interrogative is in situ, i.e. it takes its position according to its function in the sentence. In *Daf al-iṣr*, *iš* is in all cases the subject of the sentence, and is therefore placed at the beginning of the sentence, just like in the modern Arabic spoken in Cairo.

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<sup>512</sup> See Woidich (1992) p. 214.

<sup>513</sup> See Behnstedt-Woidich (1999) p. 359a.

<sup>514</sup> See Vrolijk (1998) p. 155.

<sup>515</sup> BW IV p. 494b “*hawn hier: min hawn hier lang*”.

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Furthermore, it has been proven that Coptic was already extinct in Cairo in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>516</sup>

There are three more notable features of syntax:

- the particle *dann* (§6.4.5), which is used to describe the continuation of an action;
- the word *qā'id* (§6.4.7), which is used as an auxiliary verb expressing continuity;
- the word *šā*, which was originally a verb meaning “to want”, had already acquired the function of future marker in the Yemeni dialects in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (§6.4.6).

These three features are still in use in this way today.

### Vocabulary (§6.5)

*Daf al-iṣr* focuses not only on the speech of the intellectuals of the day, but also on various other social classes such as the artisans, working classes, country people, those from other Arab-speaking countries, and women and children (§6.5.1). Al-Mağribī hesitated about including the final category, because he felt that it was not an appropriate subject for a serious work. So far as the speech of women is concerned, an interesting entry is the word *هَائِيل* *hāyil*, which was just making its semantic shift from “terrifying” to “wonderful” at that time, which started in women’s speech according to al-Mağribī (§6.5.1.1).

The loanwords found in *Daf al-iṣr* reflect the long influence of Turkish and, through it, Persian, on the Egyptian dialect. Most of the Turkish and Persian entries remain in use today (§6.5.1.4).

Striking is al-Mağribī’s interest in slang, particularly insults and abuse. Many synonyms of “stupid” are mentioned, as well as a number of words meaning “to insult”. Although al-Mağribī does not condemn this kind of language, the feeling exists that he included these entries because he found them entertaining (§6.5.2).

Another means of enriching the book is the use of puns, which are based on words that have more than one meaning, such as *دل* *dall* “coquetry” / “to indicate” (6.5.3).

I have calculated that about 64% of the 1406 entries in *Daf al-iṣr* are still in use in the Egyptian dialects today. ‘Awwād (1968), on the other hand, suggested that this figure was 80%. This discrepancy can be attributed to two factors: firstly, ‘Awwād wrote his thesis in the sixties, and some words have become obsolete in the past 40 years; secondly, ‘Awwād may well have included some words which are not, strictly speaking, dialect but MSA, but are well-known to educated Egyptians.

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<sup>516</sup> See e.g. MacCoull (1985), Rubenson (1996), and *EALL* I p. 495 (T.S. Richter).

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I did not count these as belonging to the dialect lexicon.<sup>517</sup> 21% of the entries in *Daf al-iṣr* can no longer be found in the Egyptian dialects of today, but can be related to Classical Arabic, and 3% were still in use in the 19<sup>th</sup> and at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, but have become obsolete since then. Less than 2% are still found only in dialects outside Egypt, such as Syrian and Moroccan, even though most of these words belonged to the dialect of Cairo in al-Mağribī's time. A further 3% can be found only in Dozy's dictionary. This is interesting because Dozy included many Middle Arabic vocabulary items, which can be found in neither dictionaries of Classical Arabic nor those of the modern dialects. A further 1% are loanwords from Persian and Turkish, and can only be found in dictionaries of these languages and have since disappeared from the Egyptian lexicon. Finally, almost 6% of the entries could not be traced in any dictionary or other reference work that I consulted.

There are also entries which still exist in modern Egyptian Arabic, although they have undergone a semantic change (§6.5.4.1). In some instances, an expression has come to mean the opposite, e.g. *نقطع فروتك niqaṭṭa' farwatak*, which meant "we speak well of you" but nowadays means "we speak badly of you". There are also examples of metaphors which created new meanings, e.g. *حاك ḥāk* which literally means "to weave" but was used in the sense of "to come to mind" ("weaving a thought"). Words can have a stronger or a weaker meaning, the latter as a result of frequent use (semantic bleaching), e.g. *نقف naqaf* "to hurt with words", which in Classical Arabic means "to break the skull". A device by which words for new concepts are created, is transfer, i.e. using existing words with a new meaning, based on similarity in appearance (metaphor) or function (metonymy) with the new concept. An example from Egyptian Arabic is the word *جيب gyb* which originally meant "bosom of the garment" but because of the similarity of function (carrying things in it) got the new meaning "pocket".

There are only a few sources of the Egyptian-Arabic dialect from this period available. These include *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-muḍḥik al-'abūs* by 'Alī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbūḡānī (1407-1464), described by Arnoud Vrolijk, and *Hazz al-quḥūf bi-šarḥ qaṣīd 'Abī Šādūf* (written in 1686) by Yūsuf al-Širbīnī (17<sup>th</sup> century), described by Humphrey Davies. *Daf al-iṣr* fills the gap of more than two centuries between these two works, and is therefore an invaluable source of the Egyptian-Arabic dialect in the Ottoman period. *Daf al-iṣr* is unique, however, because this was the first time

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<sup>517</sup> E.g. *هاهنا hāhunā* "here" (fol. 132b).

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that the Egyptian dialect was the subject of a serious study, instead of being the object of ridicule or criticism.



## Glossary

The translations in this glossary are based on the explanations al-Mağribī provides for the entries. If no translation or explanation is given by him, but the entry is followed by a statement that he considered its usage to be “correct”, it can be assumed that its use in Egyptian Arabic is the same as in Classical Arabic. Therefore, the translation of the Classical Arabic is used as an indication of its meaning. When no indication at all about the meaning of a word is provided by al-Mağribī, the translation is based upon the definitions in relevant dictionaries.

Some words have been added to the list which are not separate entries in *Daf al-iṣr*, but occur in the context of an entry and are of some special interest. These entries are marked with an asterix \*.

The references to the most frequently used dictionaries are abbreviated. See the *List of frequently used abbreviations* in the *Bibliography* for the full titles.

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- 'āh      آة (120b) 'āh من كذا آة “exclamation of pain or anger”. See HB 2a  
 “āh yes; exclamation of pain”. See also أوّه .
- 'bb      ابّ ويقولون الابّ والابن مثلاً فيشدّون الاب (11a) ابّ  
 here by al-Mağribī because of the doubling of the bā'. See HB 2b.  
 وتعلم ان الإّب بالكسر قرية باليمن والنسبة له إيّي والناس يغلطون ابّي (11a) ubbī  
 حتى الخواصّ فيقولون الابّي بضم الهمزة وهو الإّيّي بالكسر شارح مسلم  
 “nisba of 'Ibb (place in Yemen)”. See *Et*<sup>2</sup> III p. 663b (A. Grohmann).
- 'brq      واما الابريق فمشترك يطلق على السيف (36b) abriq, pl. abāriq.  
 “ewer with a spout”. See HB  
 4a.
- 'bn      يقولون فلان مايون او فيه أبنه يريدون انه يوتي وليس لغويّا مع (109a) ubnah  
 أبنه  
 “passive pederasty”. Lane I 10a “أبنة” a fault, defect,  
 or blemish in one’s grounds of pretension to respect, and in speech,  
 or language. Particularly the enormity that is committed with one  
 who is termed مأبون “مأبون”.  
 مايون (109a) mābūn “passive sodomite”. Lane I 10a “made an object of

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- imputation, or suspected, of evil. Hence, a catamite; one with whom enormous wickedness is committed". See also <sup>أَبْنَهُ</sup>.
- 'bh 120b) *ubbaha* ابهته "splendour". See HB 3a and Wehr 2a.
- 'bh 121a) *'abah* أبه "exclamation of surprise, heard from *ṣa'ādīs*". Still used in this way in Upper Egypt today (personal communication R. Mardiros).
- 'tl 63a) *atl* اطل بالمثناة وانما هو اثل بالمشناة "tamarisk trees". HB 6b "أثل 'atl tamarisk tree(s)". For information about *t̄ > t*, see §6.2.2.
- 'tn 109a) *atāna* اتانة "female donkey". Wehr 3a "*atān* female donkey, she-ass". BW IV 1-2: "*atān* Eselin" (OÄ 4), in Delta only in "der Beschimpfung" *ya-bn il-'atāna* etc. This word is an example of the trend of putting *-a* after words denoting females, such as *'agūz > 'agūza*.
- 'hh 120b) *aḥḥyh* احيه "exclamation of admiration". HB 8b "*aḥḥēḥ* (women in trad. soc.) exclamation of surprise ≈ my (often used sarcastically in badinage)".
- 'hm 95a) *iḥam* إحم "ahum", sound of clearing the throat before going to the toilet, in order to warn the *ḡinn*. HB 9a "*iḥim* onomatopoeic for the clearing of the throat". For the Egyptians' believe in *ḡinn*, see Lane (2003) p. 224-5.
- 'hh 120b) *'uḥḥyh* احيه "exclamation of admiration". HB 9b "*iḥḥīḥ* /interj/ exclamation of disgust ≈ ugh! shame!".
- 'd 3b) *'ad huwwa* أذ هو "there he is". This apparently corresponds to the modern *ahó*. In the Dakhla-oasis, *ādni* is still used, see BW V 359a. See §6.3.4 for more details.
- 'dm 95a) *idām* إدام "gravy". See HB 12b and BW IV 2b.



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- š يقولون معجون اشي نسبة الى بلد بالهند (123a) *ušt* اشي  
*nisba of 'Uš*". According to al-Mağribī, this is the *nisba* of a town in al-Hind. He could mean Osh (Üš), a large town in Kyrgyzstan. معجون اشي *ma'jūn ušt*: no references found.
- šnn يقولون اغسل بالاشنان (109a) *ašnān* اشنان "potash". Wehr 22b "*ušnān* potash; saltwort". Ḥafāğī p. 13 thinks it is Arabized. Steingass 67a "*ušnān, išnān* the herb alkali, and the ashes which are made from it, with which they wash clothes and the hands after eating". Vollers (1896) p. 636 confirms its Persian origin.
- šṭbl يقولون اصطلب على موقف الدواب (63a) *iṣṭabl* اصطلب "stable". See HB 25a. From the Latin *stabulum*, see Vollers (1897) p. 312.
- 'fywn يقولون افيون (117a) *afyūn* افيون "opium". See HB 28a. Lane I 70b "an arabicized word, from the Greek *οπιον*, either immediately or through the Persian افيون". Vollers (1897) p. 294 also mentions its Greek origin.
- 'qḥwn يقولون اقحوان (130a) *uqḥuwān* اقحوان "daisy". See HB 28a.
- 'lh يقولون الله (120b) *allāh* الله "God".
- 'll يقولون هذا امر إلهي (63b) *illī* إلهي "divine". Lane I 75b "أمر إلهي" A thing, or an affair, relating, or attributable, to الإله, meaning either God, or revelation or inspiration".
- الل يقولون اناس الان في مصر يصحفون اكل بال (64a) *allal* "food". *taṣḥīf* means "to misspell" here, since it is very unlikely that people would mispronounce the word *akl* in such a way. See also الرمان تال, بلابل الرمان, رعيق and نفيل فوي, اشتلف رعيق for similar misspellings / mispronunciations.
- 'ml ويقولون أمالا افعل كذا مثلا انسان له دين على اخر فيطالبه (3b) *'ummālā* أمالا "so, in that case". See HB 37b-38a *ummāl*, Dozy I 36b "أمال et امالا donc" (source: Bocthor). According to Brockelmann (1961) II p. 654, *'ummāl* is derived from *'immālā* "if not", which was followed by *fa* with the meaning of "if ... does not happen, then ...". This was then shortened to *'ummāl*.

## Glossary

- 'mn يقولون على حَلوى مامونية لم يعلم وكنت اسمع انها (109a) *māmūniya* مامونية  
 "marzipan". Lane I 103a "مَأْمُونِيَّةٌ a certain kind of food; so called in relation to el-Ma-moon". Dozy I 39a "massepain".
- 'nā ويقولون اذا كانوا مستغربين شيا هذا جا من انا داهيه من انا كروه من (3b) *anā* انا  
 مقشره "which". Compare with the present day *āni*. The latter is not found in HB, where on p. 42a only *anhi* is referred to; I have, however, often heard it in Cairo. Spiro 22b also mentions *any* (he writes *ī* with *y*). See §6.3.5.4.
- 'nq يقولون بز انيق اما البز فقد تقدم في الزاي (والانيق كامير الحسن (36b) *anīq* انيق  
 "Egyptian vulture", *a'azz min byḍ al-anūq* "rarer than the eggs of a vulture". See Wehr 40a.  
 المعجب وانق كطرب وتائق فيه عمل بالاتقان، فكأن قولهم فلان بز انيق من  
 "elegant", used in the expression فلان بز انيق باب التهكم.  
 Unfortunately, the part in which the meaning of بز is explained, is lost. It is unlikely that it is *bizz* "breast"; a more likely explanation is: *bazz* "linen; cloth" (Lane I 198c), so *bazz anīq* could mean that a person is elegantly dressed.
- 'ny يقولون فلان استناني حتى زهق او استنيتته (114b) *istannā* استنى  
*istanna* < *ista'anna* (NY form X + II), but al-Mağribī tries to relate it to the root STN. HB 42b "to wait for".
- 'hy يقولون اها شراها (121b) *ahyā šarāhyā* اها شراها  
 "I am who I am". This expression derives from the Hebrew אֲהִיָּה אֲשֶׁר אֲהִיָּה "I am who I am" (the name of God, Exodus 3:14<sup>518</sup>) and is frequently used in magic, see §6.5.1.4.
- 'wl يقولون الاول والآخر (93b) *awwəl* اول  
 "first". Al-Mağribī does not mention whether it is *awwal* as in Classical Arabic, or *awwil* as in the Egyptian dialect (see HB 44a). As with some other entries, the reason why this word was added to the word list is unclear.
- 'wh يقولون آه من كذا والنسا يقلن أوه؛ يقولون في وقت (120b; 123a) *uwwih* أوه  
 "exclamation of the اغيظ أوه بكسر الواو المشددة وسكون الها وضم الهمزة

<sup>518</sup> "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.

## Glossary

anger”. On fol. 120b it is specified as women’s speech. HB 45a “ooh exclamation of exasperation”. Wehr 46a mentions *āh*, *āhā*, *awwah*, and *uwwāh* “ah! oh! alas!”. See also آه.

- \*’yš ويقولون اش تحوتك؛ ويقولون ايش *iš*; *ayš* / *ēš* (57a; 72a; 73b; 125b) اش؛ ايش هذه الخزعبلات؛ ويقولون دوله كذا او اش في دوله طيب؛ يقولون اش جلاته “what?”. The shortened pronunciation, *iš*, suggests that it was pronounced *ēš*, not *ayš*. Nowadays, it is *ē* in Cairo, but *ēš* in many other places in Egypt, such as the western Delta and the oases (see BW IV 10a). See Sharbatov (1969) p. 312. Also mentioned by Ḥafāḡī 17. See §6.3.5.2.
- ’ymtā “when”. ويقولون اذا وعد احد بشي مثلا فيقول له أيمتا يكون *’ymtā* (3b) أيمتا Earlier form of *’imta*. Al-Maḡribī explains this is *matā* plus an extra *’ay*, or that *’ay* on its own is حرف جواب *ay/aywa* “yes”. See §6.3.5.3.
- ’yyā ويقولون إيّاه على صورة ضمير النصب المنفصل يريدون ما *’iyyāh* (3b; 123b) إيّاه هو الا كذا هيئة المستفهم انسان يحكي لآخر ثم لا يفهم حكايته فيعيدها الى ان يفهم فيقول إيّاه كانه يقول الان فهمت وهذه الكلمة يستعملها غير الحضر في معنى هو كأنهم يقولون هو بعينه؛ يقولون عند التذكر لشي اياه بكسر الهمزة في معنى هو كأنهم يقولون هو بعينه؛ يقولون عند التذكر لشي اياه بتشديد اليا “that one”; “the before-mentioned”; “he”. It is used to refer to a person. The Bedouins apparently used *’iyyāh* instead of *huwa*. HB47a “*’iyyā*- 1. demonstrative particle signalling identity (often with a pejorative connotation)”. See §6.3.2 and §6.3.4.

## b

- bābā “form of address to a government official”. *EF* I p. 838b (F. Taeschner): “The epithet Baba also occurs with non-religious civil servants in the ancient Ottoman Empire”.
- bb “popē”. ويقولون البب كبير النصارى *babb* (11a) بب way of writing بابا *bābā* “popē, pontiff, patriarch” (HB 48b), or perhaps al-Maḡribī had misunderstood the word *bābā*. Its origin is the Greek *πάππας*[ς], which has been attested in Rome since the 4<sup>th</sup> century with the meaning of “popē”, see LTK VIII p. 36 (H. Tüchle).

## Glossary

- btl            يقولون في فاطمة البتول (64a) *al-batūl* “the virgin (used for Fāṭima, the daughter of Muḥammad)”. HB 52b “*batūl* /masc and fem adj/ celibate, virgin. *ilbatūl* the Virgin (Mary)”. Lane I 150c: “with the art. ال , it is applied also to Faṭimeh, the daughter of Moḥammad, because she was separated from the [other] women of her age and nation by chasteness and excellence and religion and [other] grounds of pretension to respect”.
- bğl            يقولون عظمه وبجله (64a) *bağğil* “to honour”. See HB 53b.
- bğm            يقولون فلان بجم اذا كان جلبا مثلا وله نسبة قال بجم يبجم (95a) *bağəm* “(to be) mute, stupid”. Spiro 32a “*bagam*, mute, stupid”. HB 53b “*bagam* /n invar/ oaf dolt, blockhead”. Hava 21b “to be silent out of fear or stupidity”.
- bħlq            يقولون بحلق عينيه (37b) *baħlaq* “to stare”. See Wehr 54b, HB 55a, Spiro 33b.
- \* bħt            يقولون هذا بختي هذا قِسْمِي اي هو نصيبي وحظي (104b) *baħt* “luck”. See HB 55a. It is of Persian origin, see Steingass 158 and Vollers (1896) p. 345.
- bħnq            يقولون بخنق على مثال عصفر (36b) *buhnuq* “veil”. Wehr 55b “*buhnuq* kerchief, veil (to cover the head)”. Spiro 34b “*baħnaq*, to muffle the head”. Dozy (1845) p. 56 mentions that from al-Maqrīzī’s time (1364–1442) the word was also used in the sense of طاقية, i.e. skull cap. However, al-Mağribī indicates that in Egyptian Arabic it had the same meaning as in *al-Qāmūs al-muħīṭ*, namely “veil”.
- bdl            يقولون النجبا والابدال (64b) *abdāl* “substitutes”, pl. of *badal*. *Ef* I p. 94b-95a (I. Goldziher): “ABDĀL (A.; plur. of *badal*, “substitute”), one of the degrees in the *ṣūfī* hierarchical order of saints, who, unknown by the masses (*riğāl al-ğayb*) participate by means of their powerful influence in the preservation of the order of the universe. The different accounts in the *ṣūfī* literature show no agreement as to the details of this hierarchy. There is also great difference of opinion as to the number of the *abdāl*. (...) The vacancies which occur in each of the classes are filled by the promotion to that class of a member of the class immediately below it.”
- bdn            يقولون بدن صوف فيطلقون البدن على غير الجسم (109b) *badan* “garment which covers the upper part of the body”. Spiro 36b and HB 58b

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- “body”. Lane I 169a “a small [garment of the kind called] جُبَّة, as being likened to a coat of mail”. *EF* V p. 739a (Y. K. Stillman): “The *badan*, a short, sleeveless tunic, worn by both sexes and usually associated with the Arabian Peninsula (Dozy, *Vêtements* 56-8), is shown to have been a fairly common article of feminine attire in mediaeval Egypt.”
- bdw يقولون فلان بدوي (123b) *badawī* “bedouin”. See HB 59a.
- brǧm ويقولون فلان بيرجم اذا كثر كلامه ويستعملونه في صوت (95a) *barǧim* “to chatter; to coo (pigeons)”. No longer used in modern Egyptian, but was still used with the meaning “to mutter” in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Spiro 38b “*barǧim*, or *barṭam* to mutter to one’s self, talk unintelligently, talk incoherently”. Taymur II 129 “بِرْجَم: بيرجم”. In Levantine, it still occurs with the meaning “to coo”: Denizeau 24 “*barjam*, inacc. *ybarjem* “roucouler” (pigeon)”.  
ويقولون برّا نقيض جُوّه؛ يقولون برّه ضد جُوّه؛ (123b; 125a) *barra* (4a) برّا “outside”. HB 64a mentions both برّا and برّه. Al-Ḥafāǧī 51 “برّا”.
- brsm ويقولون في صنعة الحرير البراسم اشيا تعمل من الحرير (95a) *barāsam* “silk”. Awwād has براشم. Al-Maǧribī first wrote براشم, but the dots of the *šin* were erased with red ink. The same goes for the word الابريسم in line 20. Al-Maǧribī’s confusion concerning *šin/sīn* is reflected in the dictionaries: in Turkish and Persian the word contains a *šin*: Redhouse (1992) 12a “ابريشم *ebrīshem* 1. silk”, Steingass 8a “ابريشم *abrīsham, abrīshum*, silk”, while in Arabic it has a *sīn*: Wehr 2a “ابريسم *ibrīsam,ibrīsim* silk”. Vollers (1896) p. 636 mentions “ابريسم Seide = *ebrēšem*”.
- bršq ويقولون برشق السيف والظاهر انه غير عربي (36b) *baršaq* “belt?”. It has several meanings in Persian: Steingass 175a “برشك *barshak*, a wine or oil press, a belt”, but because it is used in combination with the word “sword”, the meaning of “belt” seems to be the most appropriate.



## Glossary

- brṭl ويقولون البرطيل شيخ كبير فيفتحون الباء وانما هو البرطيل (65b) *al-barṭīl* بكسرهما “bribe”, *al-barṭīl šyḥ kabīr*; proverb: “the bribe is a powerful *šayḥ*”, i.e. “a bribe is an effective tool”. Taymūr, *Amtāl* p. 129: البرطيل شيخ كبير: الصواب في البرطيل كسر أوله وهو الرشوة، والمقصود بالشيخ الولي “الرشوة” 50 Al-Ḥafāḡī المتصرف، أي البرطيل يحل المشكلات. It is identified as Persian by Littmann (1920) p. 52: “*barṭal* ‘bestechen’. Pers. Lehnwort im Arabischen (*pārtālā* ‘Geschenk’). - *bārtal-ker* ‘to bribe’.” Steingass 240 confirms this: “*partala*, a gift, a present”.
- brṭm يقولون فلان يبرطم او العبد عليه براطم ولهما نسبة قال (95b) *yibartam* يبرطم > (..) والبرطمة الانتفاخ غَضَبًا وتبرطم [تنفخ] تَغَضَّبَ من كلامه وبرطمه غاظه “تكلّم وهو غضبان” 152 Taymūr II “to speak angrily”. لازم ومتعد، he believes it is derived from رطن. HB 66b “*bartam* (...) 2. to mutter crossly, grumble”. BW V 361a “*brṭm yibirṭēm* schnell und undeutlich sprechen [DAX: Baš]”. Abū Sa’d (1990) p. 71 “*برطّم برطمة*: يقول العامة: برطم فلان فهو مبرطم إذا اغتاظ وانقبض وعَبَسَ وتجهّم وأرخی “شفتيه من الغضب ولم يردّ على أحد”. Wehr “big lips”. يقولون فلان يبرطم او العبد عليه براطم (95b) *barāṭim* 66a “*burṭūm, bartūm* trunk of an elephant”. According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ, burāṭim* means “having huge lips”. BW IV 19a “*burṭum, barāṭim* Lippe [BEDU:Azāize, WiVo 353]”.
- brḡl ويقولون طبخنا برغل للبرّ المعلوم (65b) *burḡul* “crushed wheat”. From Persian, see Steingass 176 “*burghol, barghol*, wheat, barley, corn (especially bruised)” and Vollers (1896) p. 637.
- brq ويقولون برق عينه (36b) *barraq ynuh* “to open wide (the eyes)” See HB 67b. Al-Ḥafāḡī 52 “*برق عينه له أي خوفه كذا تقول العامة*”.
- brqq ويقولون برقوق (36b) *barqūq* وبرقوق خوخ ويقولون “plums”. HB 67b “*bar’ū* <Gr *praiokion*> plums”.
- brk ويقولون البركه بالفتح (56b) *baraka* “blessing”. The reason why this word is included here is that بركة can be read as *baraka, birka* and *burka* (this phenomenon is called *taṭlīṭ*, see §4.2.1) and al-Maḡribī

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- composed a few lines of poetry with these words.
- brmk ويقولون البرامكه وهم منسوبون الى بَرْمَكِ جَدِّ يحيى (56b) *barāmika* “dancing girls?” (no definition given in *Daf al-īṣr*). Lane (2003) p. 379 mentions the dancing girls from the *Ghawázee* tribe, who claim descent from the *Barāmika*-family: “Their origin, however, is involved in much uncertainty. They call themselves ‘Baramikeh’ or ‘Barmekees’, and boast that they are descended from the famous family of that name”. This is confirmed by Taymur II 157: “ وفي ”. *Al-Barāmika* or *Āl Barmak* was an Iranian family of secretaries and *wazīrs* of the early ‘Abbāsīd Caliphs. Barmak, the grandfather of Yaḥyā who is mentioned by al-Mağribī, was the ancestor of the Barmakids. He was high priest of the temple of Nawbahār in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. His grandson, Yaḥyā b. Ḥālid b. Barnak, was appointed *wazīr* by Hārūn al-Rašīd. He died in 190/805. See *El*<sup>2</sup> I p. 1033a-1034b (W. Barthold; D. Sourdel).
- brn “type of” يقولون تمر برني وصيحاني وبرنيّة وكل صحيح *barnī* (109b) برني بالفارسية معناه حمل مبارك لأنّ “ 49 *Al-Ḥafāğī* “بر بمعنى حمل ونى بمعنى جيد”. Steingass 180a “a *barnī*, a delicious kind of date”. The origin of the word is unclear. It could be from the Persian بار “load” and نيك “good”, as al-Ḥafāğī suggests, or the *nisba* to a village. Both etymologies are mentioned by Lane I 196a.
- برنيّة “earthenware pot”. يقولون تمر برني وصيحاني وبرنيّة (109b) *bārniyya* HB 70b “*birniyya*, *barniyya* earthenware pot or dish glazed on the inside”. BW IV 21b “*barniyya* Krug für Butterschmalz”. According to Vollers (1896), it is a Persian word. This is confirmed by Steingass 179: “*barnā*, *burnā*: a drinking-cup of earth or metal”.
- brnq ويقولون برق عينه وفلان برناقة (..) واما البرناقة والمبرنق فلم *bārnaqa* (36b) برناقة “a {ويعد ان يقال انه مركب من التركي والعربي بر ناقة اي واحد ناقة} youth?”. The meaning of *bārnaqa* is not explained by al-Mağribī. HB 71a “1. *barnaq* 1. to cause (the eyes) to stare 2. to stare. *ava mitbarnaq*.” “2. *barnaq* <T *parmak*> 1. banister 2. spoke (of a wheel)”. The only thing that could fit is Steingass 179a “*barnāq* برناق (probably mis-spelling for the following), a young man, a youth” (“the following” being برناك *barnāk*, *burnāk*). Al-Ṣabbān describes

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- أما how this word is used for a kind of copper plate in Saudi Arabia: بالنسبة للأطباق النحاسية التي يستخدمها بائع العرقسوس، فأشار خالد إلى أنها عبارة عن طبقين من النحاس يطلق عليهما مسمى “برناقة” أو “الصاجات”، ويعطي لونهما نوعا من البريق الذي يلفت الأنظار، ومن خلال ضربهما بحركات معينة تصدر أصوات تلفت نظر الزبائن والمارة، بالإضافة إلى المهارة في تقديم العرقسوس للزبون: “بحيث يشعر الشارب بالسرور وهو يتناول كأساً . They are called this because they attract the eye. Therefore, a برناقة could be a youth who attracts the eye by his beauty.
- ويقولون بريق عينه وفلان برناقة (..) واما البرناقة والمبرنق (36b) *mubarnaq* مبرنق (بِرْنَقَ) الشيء: صبغه بالبرنيق *Mu‘ġam I 52* “decorated, painted”. فلم يعلم فهو مُبْرِنَقٌ. (البرْنِيقِيّ) مُهْمَلٌ مصنوع من زيت الكتان تدهن به المصورتات و غيرها وهو منسوب إلى برنيقا من بلاد إسبانيا (وهو الورنيش)
- brh “moment” يقولون برهة من الزمان يعتقدون ان البرهة القليل (121a) *burha* برهة  
See Spiro 43b.
- brw “piece of soap”. يقولون لقطعة الصابون بروه (123b) *barwa* بروه  
and Lane I 197b.
- bryk “small pastries”. ويقولون اكلنا بُرْيَكٍ والظاهر انه غير عربي (56b) *buryk* بُرْيَكٍ  
HB 72b “*burēk* <T *bōrek*> small pastries with sweet or savory filling”.  
من الفطائر يصنع من الدقيق مثل الرقاق ويحشى بُورَك: نوع: *İhsanoğlu 294*:  
”يقلى في الزيت أو يوضع في الفرن الخضر، ثم المفروم أو اللحم أو بالجين
- bzm “buckle” HB 4a and Spiro 2a (95b) *abzīm* والابزيم للحلقة المعروفة (95b) *abzīm*  
*abzīm*.  
“to speak”. يقولون فلان ما قدر ييزم اي ما تكلم (95b) *yibzām* ييزم  
See Hava 32b. It is not anymore in use in Egypt, but it is in the Levant, see  
Denizeau 32 “*bazam*, inacc. *yebzom*: “parler, dire un mot”.”
- bzq “saliva”. يقولون البزاق لماء الريق (37a) *bazāq* بزاق  
See HB 73a *buzāq*.
- bstn “field”. يقولون على الغيط بستان (109b) *bustān* بستان  
Most sources give the translation “garden”: HB 73b, Al-Ḥafāḡī 40, Steingass 207a, and  
Vollers (1896) p. 637.
- bsm ويقولون للمحبوب مَبْسَم بفتح الميم يطلقونه على الثغر (95b) *mabsam* مَبْسَم

## Glossary

- “mouth”. See Spiro 46a, Hava 34b. HB 76a and BW V 361a give the meaning of “mouth piece” (of a water pipe).
- bsn يقولون حسن بسن بسن اتباع لا معنى له (109b) *ḥasan basan* “word that rhymes with *ḥasan* ‘good’.” *basan* has no meaning but just repeats the sound; compare e.g. *xāliṣ māliṣ bāliṣ*. This is called *‘itbā’*. Haywood (1965) p. 74: “*‘Itbā’* is a feature of many languages; it consists of pairing words, by adding to one word another which rhymes with it, and which adds nothing to the meaning, and which may even be, of itself, quite meaningless. Thus “*ḥasan basan*” merely means “*ḥasan*” (good). In English this is associated with baby talk, as in “doggy-woggy.””
- Woidich (2006) p. 15 mentions a few examples of b-alliteration from Cairo: *šēla bēla* (see below under root ŠYL) “heave-ho!”, *fi hēṣ bēṣ* “at a complete loss”, *‘ayanān bayanān* “openly”, *ḥatatak batatak* “frantically”.
- bšm يقولون فلان انبشم من كثرة الاكل (95b) *inbašam* “to feel nauseated”. Wehr 74b “*bašima* to feel nauseated”. HB 78b “*itbašam* to be surfeited”.
- bšl ويقولون بصل وهو معلوم الصحّة (65b) *bašal* “onions (coll.)”. See HB 80a.
- bṭrq ويقولون بطريق من بطارقة الروم (37a) *baṭrīq* “leader of a Greek army”. Wehr 77b “*biṭrīq* patrician; Romaeen general; penguin”. Lane I 217c “a قائد (or leader of an army), in the language of the روم (or Greeks of the Lower Empire)”. Vollers (1897) p. 295 mentions its origin is the Greek *πατριχίος*. Al-Ḥafāḡī 43 “بطريق قائد الروم معرب”. Serikoff (1996) p. 178: “Al-Bīrūnī stresses the fact that Greek words sometimes sound similar - for example, with patrice (*biṭrīq*) and patriarch (*baṭrik*) - which could lead to mistakes: “These *biṭrīqs* are in the army something like chief-commanders, and are not to be confounded with the *baṭriks* whom we have mentioned as clerical dignitaries. Those who fear the ambiguity of the words call the clerical dignitary *baṭrak*.””
- bṭrk ويقولون بطرك النصارى (56b) *baṭrak* “Patriarch (Chr.)”. See Wehr 77b, Spiro 49a, HB 82a. From the Greek *πατριάρχης*, see Vollers (1897) p. 295.

## Glossary

- btq ويقولون جات البطاقة للورقة التي ترسل في رجل الحمام (37b) *biṭāqa* بطاقة  
 “message sent by pigeon”. HB 81a “card”. Wehr 77b “slip (of paper),  
 tag; card”. Lane: “a piece of paper”, “price ticket” etc. Al-Mağribī  
 specifically mentions that the word does not mean price-ticket in  
 Egypt. Redhouse (1992) 369a “بطاقة a billet sent by a pigeon”; “حمام  
 البطاقة a carrier-pigeon”. Apparently, this word came back into the  
 Egyptian dialect through the Turkish language, but with a different  
 meaning. Al-Ḥafāğī 41 “بطاقة مولدة بمعنى رقعة صغيرة وتطلق على حمام  
 تعلق به قلت هي لغة صحيحة وقعت في الحديث الشريف وقال في فقه اللغة  
 انها معربة من الرومية وفي المحكم البطاقة الرقعة الصغيرة تكون في الثوب رقم  
 ثمنه. Its origin is the Greek *πιττάκιον*, see HB 81a and Vollers (1897)  
 p. 295.
- bṭl بطّال (65b) *baṭṭāl* ويقولون فلان بطّال “idle, bad”. See HB 83b.
- bty باطية (123b) *bāṭiya* يقولون باطية شراب “jug”. See Wehr 79b. BW IV 28b  
 “*baṭya* die Stelle, an der Teller aufbewahrt werden”. According to  
 Vollers (1896) p. 636, it is derived from the Persian *bādija*. This is  
 confirmed by Steingass p. 141: “باديه *bādiya*, a capacious earthen  
 vessel, in which wine is kept; a large deep jug, cup, bowl”. Bauer  
 267b mentions that in Palestinian Arabic, the *bāṭija* is a “großer  
 Schüssel für Teig und Gastmähler”. Dozy I 98a “plat de bois, jatte”.  
 Barthélemy 50 “gamelle en cuivre étamé; soupière en faïence;  
 cache-pot; plateau de bois pour pétrir”. Qāsim 52b mentions for  
 Sudanese: “قدح كبير، إناء من الزجاج”.
- bʿzq “to ويقولون بعزق الشيء اذا اضاعه ويسمون بعيزق (38a) *baʿzaq*  
 squander”. See Wehr 82a, HB 87b, and Spiro 52a. All mention that  
 the *maṣḍar* is *baʿzaqa*.  
 بعيزق (38a) *bəʿyzaq* “squandering”, the *maṣḍar* of *baʿzaq*. Wehr 82a, HB  
 87b, and Spiro 52a mention that the *maṣḍar* is *baʿzaqa*. Although  
*bəʿyzaq* has the form of the diminutive, this would mean it is the  
 diminutive of *baʿzaq*, while the diminutive of the quadriliteral roots  
 is KaKKaKa, not KaKKak, see Woidich (2006) p. 89.
- bʿw “bogeyman”: يقولون في تخويف الصبيان يأكلك البعو (123b) *baʿaww*  
*yaʿklak al-baʿaww* “the bogeyman will eat you!”. HB 88b “بعو *baʿaww*”

## Glossary

- fabulous beast characterized by fatness and ugliness, bogeyman, troll". See also Davies (1981) p. 346. Also known today as *bu'bu'*.
- bqbq يقولون ييقبق اذا كثر كلامه (37b) *yibaqbaq* "to talk much". Hava 41b "to prattle". HB 89b, Spiro 53a and Taymūr II p 201 only mention the meaning "to gurgle" or "to blister". BW V 361b "*yibiqbēq* quaken [DAX: Bl]". The Egyptian Arabic word for mouth, *bu*" goes back to the Latin *bucca*, which originally meant "swollen cheek", but was later also used for "mouth". Therefore, there is a relationship between *baqbaq* "to talk much" and the modern Egyptian Arabic *ba'ba'* "to blister". See Behnstedt-Woidich (2005) p. 145.
- bq' باقعه (3a) *bāqi'a* الفلاني الشبي باقعه في الشبي الغلاني "sly dog". See Wehr 84a, Lane I 235b-c. Dozy I 103b "باقعة un homme dont les regards exercent une influence funeste sur les personnes ou les objets qu'il contemple avec plaisir, un homme qui a le mauvais oeil".
- bqq باق (37b) *baqq* الناموس مع ان البق يشمل الناموس "bugs". See HB 91a, Spiro 53b.
- باق (37b) *buqq* لما يملى به الفم "a mouthful". See HB 90b. Al-Mağribī mentions that *buqq* means ما قبيح "dirty water" in Turkish. Redhouse (1992) 405a "بوق boq 1. dung, faeces 2. dirt 3. scoride, slag".
- bql باقل (65b) *baqqāl* \ الكامولات باقل يقولون باقل لبائع البقل (..) فلا يقولون لبائع الكامولات "seller of legumes". Nowadays, more general "grocer", as in HB 91a and Spiro 53b. Al-Ḥafāğī 48 "بياع الأطحمة "عامية والصحيح بدال كما فى القاموس".
- باقلاني (66a) *bāqillānī* باقلاني يقولون باقلاني الباقلاني "seller of broad-beans". Hava 42a "باقلا broad-beans". Sharbatov (1969) p. 311 points out the frequent use of the suffix *-ni* in *Daf al-Iṣr* for deriving words. Brockelmann (1961) I p. 400 notes the frequent use of the ending *ān* in combination with *-ī*, i.e. *-ānī*, in the modern dialects. So does Spitta (1880) p. 120, who also points out that the suffixes *-ānī* and *āwī* are frequently used interchangeably, for instance in the name Ša'rāwī / Ša'rānī.
- bqm باقم (95b) *biqqim* البقم فيكسرون الباق والقاف "a wood which is

## Glossary

used as a red dye”. Spiro 54a has *biqqim* “log-wood, red dye”. Wehr 84b, Diem-Radenberg (1994) p. 15, Denizeau 42, and Lane I 237b have *baqqam*. According to Lane, it could be from the Persian بَقَمَ or بَقَمَ. This is confirmed by Vollers (1896) p. 637: “*farbiges Holz=bakam*”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 42 “*بَقَمَ صَبْغٌ مَعْرُوفٌ وَلَمْ يَأْتِ اسْمُ بوزنِ فَعْلٍ بِالْفَتْحِ* “*والتشديد الا هذا* is Arabic: “A *baqqam, baqam*, Brazil-wood; the red dye extracted from it; [*baqami bunafsh*, Campeachy or logwood;–*baqami qirmiz*, Sapanwood]”. Täckholm (1974) p. 799 “*baqm, baqam Reseda luteola* بَقَمَ - بَقَمَ”.

- bqy      “to be talkative”. Spiro 53a “*baqq (jubuqq)*, to spout out from the mouth”, 53b “*jidrab buqq*, he chatters, he talks nonsense”. Lane I 233a “*بَقَى* he spoke, or talked, much”. The word has become tert. inf. Something similar has happened in the dialect of al-Ḥarḡa as well, e.g. *gabbēt* I got (*gibt*), see BW IV 55a.
- bkbk      “to bubble (e.g. food turned sour)”. HB 92b “*bakbik* to bubble, effervesce”.
- bkl      “vessel holding water for washing one’s backside” (for this translation of the word *istinḡā*, see HB 851a and Hava 753b). Its origin is Coptic according to Behnstedt (1981) p. 85: “*bukla*: “grosser runder Wasserkrug zum Transport des Wassers” (Fayyūm/Bani Swēf); s. Winkler (36) T. 25/3. Anderenorts (Delta, Oberäg.) “kleiner Wasserkrug, Milchkrug.” Taymūr II 209 : *بُكْلَةٌ: البكلة في الصعيد هي: “القلة الفخار التي يشرب فيها لتبريد الماء*”.
- bky      “somebody who is always weeping”. HB 95b “*bakkāy* given to weeping, always snivelling”. Shortening of the long *ā* at the end of the word: *bakkā* > *bakka* (see §6.2.10.2). Compare *sa*’a < \**saqqā*’ and *banna* < *bannā*’, HB 418b and 108a.
- lbl      “nightingale”. *faṣīḥ miṭl ilbulbul* (66b) *bulbul* مثل الليل فصيح “Eloquent as a nightingale”.

## Glossary

- and Spiro only *bulbul*. *bālbūl* could be a diminutive of *bulbul*. The patterns KaKKūK and KaKKūKa are used in modern Egyptian for the diminutive, as in e.g. *bint* – *bammūta*, see Woidich (2006) p. 96 and p. 100.
- 67a) *balābil al-ummān* اي بلابل الرمان *balābil al-ummān* (67a) بلابل الرمان  
 ومن تصاحيفهم في الدعا بلابل الرمان اي *balābil al-ummān* (67a) بلابل الرمان  
 “the nightingales of the pomegranate”, a mispronunciation or misspelling of *الزمان* “the hardships of time”. For more information about this kind of misspelling, see also الل.
- bl'm يقولون صاحب بلعوم اي كثير الاكل فيفتحون *bal'um: ṣāhib bal'um* (96a) بلعوم  
 “gourmand, glutton” (lit. “owner of the gullet”). HB 99b “*bal'um*  
 gullet, oesophagus”.
- blq ويقولون في اصطلاح خيال الظل البلّوق مفردة البلّوق *ballūq, balālīq* (38a) بلّوق  
 “comic poem (used in shadowplays)”. Dozy I 114a بلّيق pl.  
 كتنور *espèce de poème populaire comique et licencieux*.
- ويقولون قطع بليق لا حرث ولا درس (..) لا يريدون الفرس ولعله *Balyq* (37b) بليق  
 “name of a proverbial ox”. *qaṭa' Balyq lā ḥaraṭ wala daras* “he removed  
*Bulayq* because he neither ploughed nor threshed”. The rhyme  
 suggests the pronunciation of *t* as *s* in *ḥaraṭ*. Kazimirski I 163b “*بُلَيْقُ*  
*(dimin. de بُلَيْقُ) Bouleïk, nom d'un cheval célèbre, excellent à la course, et*  
*qui cependant ne rencontrait que des critiques. De là le proverbe: يَجْرِي*  
*بُلَيْقُ وِيُدَمَّ بُلَيْقُ Bouleïk court, et cependant on critique Bouleïk,*  
*s'applique à un homme qui fait du bien, et qui n'échappe pas à la censure*”.  
 Al-Mağribī suggests that here, *Bulayq* is not the name of a  
 proverbial horse, but an ox, because these were used for ploughing  
 and threshing. The meaning of the proverb remains unclear.
- 38a) *muballaq* مبلّق مكشوف صدره ويقولون صدره مكشوف مبلّق (38a) مبلّق  
 “open”. Hava 46a “*بَلَقَ* I “*ouvrir*  
 brusquement la porte, ou l'ouvrir tout entière”. Lane I 253a  
 mentions it, but only forms I and VII.
- blل يقولون فلان بلّ قرغان لم يعلم البلّ بمعنى البليد (..) فالظاهر ان *bill* (66a) بلّ



## Glossary

- المفرد بل بالفتح فقولهم فلان بل بالكسر لمن لا يفهم لم يفهم من اللغة  
 “foolish”. Lane I 245b بَلُّ “one who has no sense of shame”.
- blm يقولون فلان ابلم او عنده بلم اي قلة عقل (95b) *’ablam* “stupid”. Dozy I 115a “*أبلم* bête, stupide”; 114b “*بلم* bête, stupide, sans é en parlant d’une femme, 1001 N.” HB 101b *blam* /adj invar/ dim-witted. Širbīnī has a *mawwāl* on the word *ablam*, see Davies (2005) p. 6. In the Ḥarga-oasis, the word *bilām* is used for the upper or lower lip of an animal, which is tied with a cord. The cord is then tightened by turning it with a stick, so the owner is able to control the animal with one hand. See BW IV 36a.
- بلم (96a) *blam* “stupidity”. See *ablam*.
- bln يقولون بلآن على الحمامي (110a) *ballān* “bathroom attendant”. See Wehr 91a. HB 101a and Spiro 56a only mention the feminine *ballāna*. Taymūr II 223 states that it is only used in the feminine: “بلآنة: ولا يقال بلآن للرجل، بل يقال: حمامي”. Vollers (1897) p. 295, mentions that its origin is the Greek *βαλανειον*. According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 871c and 1064b, *ballān* means *ḥammām*.
- blh يقولون فلان أبله اي غافل (121a) *’ablah* “imbecilic”. See HB 102b, and Lane I 254c.
- bndq يقولون البندق للمأكول ولبندق الرصاص (38a) *bunduq* “hazelnuts; guns (coll.).” *bunduq* is still used in Egypt for “hazelnuts”; the word *bunduqiyya* is used for “rifle”, and *bunduqa* is used for “rifle” in rural Egypt (see HB 106a); BW IV 37a mentions *bundiga* in Baḥariyya. Al-Ḥafāḡī 42 منصور قاله أبو منصور لكنهم استعملوه والذي يرمى به كأنه من هذا على طريق التشبيه
- bnk يقولون فلان دخل في بنكي اي جا على وفق طبقي ... يقال *bnk* (56b) بنك البنك اسم لشئ اخر لاهل صناعة تارة ياتيه من يوافقه وتارة من لا يوافقه او يقال انه دخل في بنكي اي اصلي وصرت كاني فرع له ونحوه Meaning unclear. BW IV 37b “*bank* verbindungssteg zwischen den beiden sitborden der Felūka; Tresen (des Händlers)”. Dozy I 119a “*banc* (long siège) (...) condition (état de l’homme quant à la naissance), guise (manière, façon d’agir)”. Winkler (1936) p. 318 “*bank* pl. *benūk* Laden, Niederlage, Geschäftshaus”.

## Glossary

- bmn      بَنَّ (110a) *bunn* لاصل القهوة “coffee beans”. See HB 107b. For more information about coffee in al-Mağribī’s time, see §5.1.3.
- bhdl      بهدل (66b) *bahdil* حقره فلان اي فلانا اي “to humiliate, scorn”. Spiro 61a “*bahdil*, to maltreat, disgrace”. HB 109a “*bahdil* to dishevel, play havoc with, throw into confusion”. Wehr 96a “*bahdala* to insult; to treat contemptuously, meanly; to expose to ridicule (...); bring into disorder”.
- bhll      بهلول (66b) *bahlūl* قليل العقل فلان بهلول اي “silly, foolish”. See Spiro 61b and HB 109b “*bahlūl*”. This word is connected to Buhlūl al-Mağnūn al-Kūfī, who lived in the ninth century and became a prototype of the “wise fool” (*al-‘āqil al-mağnūn*). See *El*<sup>2</sup> I 1288b-1289a and Bosworth (1976) II p. 214.
- bws      بوسه (88b) *bwsa* معرّب فارسي ان البوس وتقدم ان البوس فارسي “kiss”. See HB 112a, who confirm its Persian origin. Steingass 207a “بوسه *bosa* a kiss”; Redhouse 400b “*būse*”. See also Vollers (1896) p. 638. Ḥafāğī 46 “باس بمعنی قبل مولده عامیه تکلموا بها وصرّفوها”.
- bww      بَو (124a) *baww* مثل البَو فلان مثل البَو “stuffed effigy of a calf/camel”; “stupid”. *fulān miṭl il-baww*. See HB 114a, Spiro 62a, BW IV 41a and Hava 50.
- byl      بال (66b) *bāl* خاطري بالي اي “mind”. See HB 103a.
- byy      يا بَيّ (124a) *yā bāyyī* يريدون يا ابي “o father!”. BW IV 1a mentions “*yabāy, yabāya*” (B’ēri). This is the diminutive of *abu*, like ḥayy “Brüderchen”, BW IV 127b.



## Glossary

- “round (face)”. Apparently the Turks were known for having round faces. Lane IV 1994a mentions that: “الوجه عربي often occurs in post-classical works as meaning *having an Arab face*; i.e. *long-faced*; opposed to الوجه تُركي”. See also عربي.
- trll يقولون ترلّ في ارادة عدم الفهم والبلادة (..) وهم يقولون ترل بل (67a) *tirill* “oaf”, *tirill bill* “stupid oaf”. HB 126b “*tirill* oaf, dolt”. *fu‘ull* and *fi‘ill* are patterns used for negative characteristics (see e.g. *duhull* below), see Woidich (2006) p. 102. See also *bill* “foolish”.
- يقولون ترلّ (..) ويستعملونه في الموسيقى والصواب ترن بالنون (67a) *tirill* “onomatopoeia used to indicate the rhythm of music”. Compare HB 127a “*taralam* onomatopoeia for the sound of music ≈ tra-la-la”.
- tryq “antidote” ويقولون ترياقي وفيه لغات وهو نافع للسموم معرّب (38a) *tiryāq* ترياقي. See HB 128a, al-Ḥafāḡī 59. See also §5.3 about the details of ترياقي.
- tfl ويقولون اكلنا الشي وَرَمِينَا تفلّه والصواب الثفل بالمثلثة والضم (67a) *tifl* “dregs”. HB 130b “*tifl* fibrous vegetable sediment, dregs”. Since al-Maḡribī mentions that in Classical Arabic it is *tuf*l with *tā* and *ḍamma*, it can be assumed that the Egyptians pronounced it *tifl*, like today.
- tqtq “to walk quickly”, active participle يتقتق او متقتق (38a) *yitaqtaq* قرب تَقْتَأَقُ وَتُقَاتِقُ “*al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 783c “مُتَقْتِقٌ Rapide, accéléré” et تَقَاتِقُ، تَقْتَأَقُ” Kazimirski I 201b “مُتَقْتِقٌ: سريعٌ (voyage)”.  
 يتقتق
- tktk “to trample/to chatter (teeth)?”. Wehr 115b “to trample down, trample underfoot”. HB 132b “to tick, go tick-tock”; “*sināni ttaktikit mil-bard* my teeth are chattering with the cold”. Dozy I 149b “تَكْتَلُ I petiller, décrépiter”.  
 Hava 61a “to trample a.th. under foot and break it; (...) to shiver from cold or fever”. Kazimirski I 202b “1. Briser en foulant aux pieds, en merchant dessus. 2. Pétiller”  
 يتكتك (57a) *yitaktik*
- tttl “to put in hardship”. *allāh yitaltiluh* “may God put him in hardship”. Lane I 310c “تَلَّلَهُ he moved him, agitated him, shook him, put him into a state of motion or commotion”. HB 134a “to heap up, pile up”. For the syntactic structure of wishes, see §6.4.3.  
 يتتلل (67a) *yitaltil*

## Glossary

- تلتلة (67a) *taltala* هو في تلتلة “hardship”. HB 134a and Spiro 82a: *mašdar* of *taltil* “to heap up”. Wehr 116a “*talātil* hardships”. Qāsim 95a “التلاتل الشدائد”.
- tll يقولون وهم الفلاحون طلع فوق التلّ (67a) *tall* “hill”. Širbīnī writes that the village garbage dump, which is called *kōm*, *tall* or ‘*illiyya*, is the place where the peasants go to defecate, see Davies (2005) pp. 391-2. This could be what al-Mağribī is alluding to when he mentions that the peasants say “he went up the hill”.<sup>519</sup>
- tlw يقولون هذا تلوّ ذاك اي تابعه (124a) *tilw* “belonging to”. HB 136a “*tala* to follow. vn *tuluww*”.
- tmn يقولون يتّمّنه يقول كذا وليس لها وجه في العربية (110a) *yitammin* “to fix the price of”. See HB 137b. For *t* < *ṭ*, see §6.2.2. The second *šadda* seems to be an error.
- tn يقولون تن او تن تن في ايقاع الموسيقى (110b) *tānn* and *tān tān* “to hum to a tune”. HB 138b “*tāntin* to strum, hum”. Taymūr II 355 “تنتن: تنتن العود، وله تنتنّة، والصواب بالطاء من الطنطنة: صوت الطنبور”.
- tnbl ولكن الطلف من هذا التصحيف تنبل وهو شي يوكل في بلاد (67a) *tānbāl* “betel”. Dozy I 153a “*tānbāl* *bétel*”, Hava 63a “*tānbāl* *betel*”. The leaves of the betel plant are chewed in Southeast Asia and work as a stimulant. The *tašhīf* which al-Mağribī talks about, probably refers to the word *tanbal* “lazy”, which he associates with the use of *qāṭ* and betel.
- tnk يقولون وهم طائفة السياس فلان تنك اي شديد ولعله مقلوب عن (57a) *tink* “strong”. Used by stable men. Perhaps from the Persian تنگ *tang* “strong”, see Steingass 330.
- tny يقولون البكري والتّني لم اعلم تصحيح التني مرادهم الثاني (124a) *tānī* “second”, *al-bakrī wa-l-tānī* “the first and the second”. In the Sudan, the expression *ittinī wi-lbikrī* is used nowadays for the first and second round of drinks from the *ḡabana* (“coffee jug”), see Qāsim 102. Al-Mağribī does not mention whether this expression is used specifically for coffee in Egypt. The word *tinī* is also used for a 5 year old camel in modern Sudanese, see Qāsim 102a.

<sup>519</sup> I thank Humphrey Davies for this suggestion.



## Glossary

ثريا (124b) *turayyā* “Pleiades”. See Wehr 124a.

### ğ

- ğba يقولون عند سقى القهوة جَبَا؛ يقولون عند اتيان القهوة جيا *ğabā* (5b; 124b) جَبَا وسمعت ان اصل ذلك لما اظهر القهوة اي البن انسان فاعطى بلدا يقال لها “for free”. Spiro 93b “*gaba gratis*”. جيا: أى خذه بلا عوض. (..) سلوة الغريب لابن معصوم: Taymur III 11-12: ص ١٠٦: أصل قولهم جيا في كتاب المعرب والدخيل للسيد مصطفى المدني ما نصه «جَبَا: من شأن أهل الحرمين واليمن أن يقول ساقى القهوة المعروفة ونحوها، عند إدارتها ومناولته الفنجان: «جَبَا ويقال: أعطيته جَبَا: أى من غير Al-Mağribī has a few theories about the origins of this word: it could come from the Yemenite village *Ğabā*, in which an excellent type of coffee bean was produced; therefore, the seller would say *gabā* in order to let his customers know that his coffee is from that place. Another etymology suggested by al-Mağribī is *ğaba* ‘reservoir, tank; watering-trough’ (Hava 77a). Al-Mağribī favours the first explanation.
- ğbb “robe”. HB لبس الجبّه قال المجدي الحجة بالضم ثوب معروف *ğabba* (11b) جبّه 146b “*gibba* buttonless long outer robe open down the front, worn by Muslim clergy and well-to-do villagers”. Wehr 132a “*jubba*”. Lane (2003) p. 38: “The ordinary outer robe is a long cloth coat, of any colour, called by the Turks ‘jubbeh’, but by the Egyptians ‘gibbeh’, the sleeves of which reach not quite to the wrist.”
- ğbrl يقولون على سيدنا جبرائيل جبريل بل ربما يقولون جبرين بالنون *ğabrīl* (67b) جبريل “the angel Gabriel”. HB 147b mentions both *gibrīl* and *gibrīn*.
- ğbrn قولون علي سيدنا جبرائيل جبريل بل ربما يقولون جبرين بالنون *ğabrīn* (67b) جبرين “the angel Gabriel”. See جبريل
- ğbn يقولون جبانة للمقبرة *ğabbāna* (110b) جبانة “cemetery”. See HB 148a. يقولون جبن *ğabn* (110b) جبن “cheese”. Al-Mağribī does not mention whether the Egyptians said *ğubn* or *ğibn*. Spiro 93b “*gibn* or *gibna*”

## Glossary

- cheese”. HB 148a only *gibna*. BW IV 56a *gubn* and *gubna* in al-Dāḥila. يقال الولد مجبنة مبخله لانه يحبّ البقا والمال لاجله (111a) *maǧbana* مجبنة “coward”. Hava “cause of cowardice”. HB 148a “*gabun, gubun, gibin* to become cowardly”; “*gabān* coward”; does not mention *magbana*. Compare HB 815b “*margala* manly behaviour”, and HB 151a “*magda’a* quality of being a *gada*”; in the same way, *magbana* could mean “cowardly behaviour”.
- ḡbh “to be embarrassed”. HB 148b. فلان انجبه من الشئ اذا استحيى وجبهة فلان (121b) *inǧabah* انجبه “to embarrass”. See HB 148b.
- ḡdy يقولون جديانه وجديانه الخ رقصة لاهل المجون (124b) *ǧidyāna*. جديانه “jumping like a young goat” (“*bokkesprongen*” in Dutch). Only mentioned as the pl. of *ǧidy* “kid” in Wehr, HB, Spiro, and Dozy.
- ḡrdq يقولون فلان مجردق او عنده جردقة يعنون انه مهزول (38a) *muǧardaḡ* مجردق “emaciated”. No references found. Hava 85a “*جرّدق* P cake of bread”; other sources such as Taymūr, Lane, Dozy and al-Ḥafāǧī give the same meaning as Hava. Qāsim 120b mentions that *جرّدقة* means “*نوع من الأملاح الترابية وهي كربونات الصودا. أو الأرض الملحة لا تصلح للزراعة*”.
- ḡrm يقولون كبير الجرم وهو صحيح الجرم بالكسر الجسم كالجرمان (96a) *ǧirm* الجرم “body”. Spiro 99b “*ǧirim* enormous, large”. HB 157a “*gurma* huge quantity, large number”; “*ǧirim* sturdy, robust, large of stature”. Steingass 360b confirms its Persian etymology: “*ǧirm* a body”. In al-Maǧribī’s time, the word, apparently, contained only one *i*, like in Persian, as opposed to two today.
- ḡrn “threshing floor”. HB 157a. جرن (110b) *ǧurn* جرن في القمح
- ḡrw “puppy”. See Wehr 144b. جرو (124b) *ǧarw* جرو الكلب لولد
- ḡry “bread ration, coarse bread”. See HB 157b-158a, Wehr 145b and Spiro 100b. Soldiers were paid in kind in Ottoman Egypt, with rations called *ǧirāya*. One *ǧirāya* equalled an *ardabb* of wheat or other grains. Payment was one *ǧirāya* per day, plus one ‘*aliq*, an *ardabb* of barley for feeding the animals. See



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- Čezzār (1962) p. 26 fn. 1.
- ğryl جريال (67b) *ğiryāl* يقولون على الخمر جريال “wine”. See Hava 86b. Al-Hafāğī 67-68 جريال ويقال جريان صبيغ أحمر وقيل ماء الذهب وتسمى به الخمر لحرمتها
- ğzy يقولون اذا عزّروا شخصا ينادون عليه جزاه واكل من جزاه ومعناه (6b) *ğizā* جزا “punishment”, *ğizāh wa aqall min ğizāh* “(this is) his punishment and less than his punishment”, i.e. “he deserves more than this punishment”. See HB 160a.
- ğb يقولون جعبه لوعآ السهام (11b) *ğə’ba* “quiver”. See Wehr 150b. Mentioned in Taymūr III 36 with a different meaning: “والجعبة – بالكسر: هي الجيب الذي يعمل من جهة الصدر قرب البطن في ثوب الطفل في الأرياف”.
- ğfl ويقولون جفل فلان او الدابة فيها عيب وهي انها (67b) *ğəfəl, yiğfəl* جفل، يجفل “to be startled (person), to shy (horse)”. Spiro 104b “*gafal (jigfal)*, to shy (horse)”. BW IV 66a “*ğifil, yiğfal* scheuen (Esel)”.
- ğfn يقولون جفن العين فيكسرون الجفن وان الصواب فتح (111a) *ğifn* “eyelid”. See Spiro 104b, and HB 163b.
- ğlb يقولون للعبد جلب (12a) *ğalab* “slave”. HB 164a “*galab* /adj inv/ 1. unbroken (of a horse) 2. uncouth, rough (of a person)”. Spiro 104b does not mention *galab*, but refers to the verb “*galab (jiglib)* or *istaglib*, to bring, import” and “*gallāb* slave-dealer”. Wehr 153b “*jalab* imported, foreign” “جلاّب العبيد slave trader”. Dozy I 204a “جَلَبَ étranger, que l’on tire du dehors, Bc.”. Lane II 440a “جَلَبَ a thing, or things, driven, or brought, from one country or town to another, (...) as horses, camels, sheep or goats, captives or slaves”.
- ğll يقولون لروث الدابة جلّة ولم يعلم من اللغة (67b) *ğəlla* (68a) *agilla* “honourable (pl.)”. See HB 167a. Mağribī’s statement that the word is not known (i.e. he did not find it in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*), is incorrect, because *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 880c mentions: الجلّة، مثلثة: البعَر. HB 167a “*gilla* 1 dung (of animals)”.
- ğlw يقولون اخذ الجالية مع ان الجالية اهل الذمة (..) والناس الان (124b) *ğāliya* جالية

## Glossary

- يطلقون الجالية والجوالي على نفس الدراهم الماخوذة وهو مجاز مرسل  
 “tribute paid by non-Muslims”. See Hava 97a. HB 168b “*galya*  
 expatriate community”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 77 الجوالي: قال في الزاهر هم اهل  
 الذمة وانما قيل لهم جوالي لانهم جلوا عن مواضعهم انتهى والناس الآن  
 يتجوزون به عن الخراج وعن الوظائف المرتبة منه وهو ليس بعربي  
 فكانوا يعيبون على من يصحف الحمار بالجمّاز معتقدين عدم (7a) *ḡammāz* جماز  
 دلالة على معنى فاطلت في القاموس على وجود مَعْنَاهُ وعبارته وحمار جمّاز  
 وحمار جَمَّازٌ: *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 455c “bouncing (donkey)”. اي وثاب  
 Hava 98a “*ḡammāz* swift-footed (ass)”.
- ويقولون اكلنا لحم جملي فهل يمكن ان يقولوا شربنا لبن (68b) *ḡamalī* جملي  
 “camel- (adj.)”. Al-Maḡribī wondered whether it was  
 correct to use the word *ḡamal* for a she-camel; that it is correct is  
 confirmed by *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 881b.  
 “favour”. HB 172a يقولون فلان له على جميل اي صنع (69a) *ḡamīl* جميل  
 “*gimīl* favour, service, good turn”. Spiro 107a “*gimyl* favour”. This is  
 as opposed to *gamīl* “beautiful”.  
 “beautiful (used  
 derisively)”. (69a) *ḡamīl* جميل ايضا على الشتم (69a) جميل
- ويقولون بركة جناق لم يذكر المقريري معنى جناق (36b) *birkat ḡanāq* جناق  
 “*Birkat ḡanāq*, a lake in Cairo”. According to al-Maḡrīzī (1998) III p.  
 751, this lake was outside Bāb al-Futūḥ in Cairo, and was  
 surrounded by gardens.
- “to  
 become crazy”. Lane I 462a “تجانَّأ he was, or became, معجون”. (111a) *taḡānin* تجانن  
 من نفسه الجنون
- يقولون الدنيا الان جهجهون اي من شدة (111a; 121a) *ḡahḡahūn* جهجهون  
 “tyranny, الجور والعسف؛ يقولون اذا اشتكوا من الظلم البلاد جهجهون  
 oppression”. HB 176b “*ḡahḡahōn* /adv/ haphazardly, in any old way.  
 /adjectivally/ *rāḡil ḡahḡahōn* a simple fellow”. Taymūr III 57 gives  
 the first meaning of HB. Hava 101b “جهجهه to shout”, Kazimirski I  
 341b “جَهْجَهَ Crier”. Qāsim 140b mentions for Sudanese Arabic:  
 “جَهْجَهَ تقول فلان جَهْجَهْنِي أي حيرني”.

## Glossary

- ğhrm      فلان الجَّهرم على الشيء اي له اقدام *iğğahrām* (96a) الجَّهرم  
s.th.". Dozy I 227b "جهرم II se targuer, se prévaloir; c. على p. braver,  
narguer".
- ğwq      "group". Wehr 176a "*jawq* (38b) الجوق اي الجماعة  
troop, group; theatrical troupe, operatic company; choir (mus.);  
orchestra, band". HB 183a "*gō' = gō'a*"; "*gō'a* 1. musical band, musical  
troupe 2. theatrical group 3. crowd, gathering, group". Spiro 114a  
"*gō* theatrical company, group". Dozy I 235a-b "جُوق المُقرئين  
". According to Bosworth (1976) p. 225 it is a Persian word.  
Confirmed by Vollers (1896) p. 639.
- ğwn      "to go deep  
or far". See HB 183b, Spiro 114a-b. BW IV 74a "*ğawīn tief* [SMĀ:  
il'Ašmunēn]". It could be from *guwwa* "inside" with an extra /n/.  
There are some other quadriliteral verbs in modern Cairo Arabic  
which have an /n/ as the fourth radical, e.g. *waṣṭan* "to place in the  
middle", see Woidich (2006) p. 64.
- ğww      ويقولون بَرًا نقيض جُوه ولم اعلم لكل منهما اصلا *ğuwwa* (4a; 123b; 124b) جُوه  
يرجع اليه في اللغة وكان الصواب في بَرًا الشيء خارجه وفي جواه داخله حتى  
ان الخواص يقولون الاشرفيه البرانيه والجواني؛ يقولون بَرّه ضد جُوه وتقدم انه  
لم يعلم من اللغة بَرّه وجُوه؛ يقولون فلان جُوه اي ليس خارجا نقيض بَرّه وله  
اصل "inside". See HB 184a.
- ğy      "to  
come". See HB 184a.
- ğyb      ويقولون جاب الشيء يريدون جآ به وليس لنا جاب بمعنى اتى او *ğāb* (11b) جاب  
"to bring". See HB 184b. Al-Mağribī looked it up under ĞB and  
did not find its meaning, although he had already, correctly, traced  
it back to its origin: *ğā' bi-*.  
يقولون الجيب على ذلك الذي يوضع فيه الدراهم بالجنب وهو *ğyb* (12a) جيب  
في اللغة طوق القميص او عند طوقه جمعه جيوب فكان الذي يطلقون عليه  
الجيب اسمه غير هذا والمغاربة واهل التكرور هم الذين في اطواقهم الجيوب  
"opening in a garment in which things could be carried". Lane II  
492c "طوق the جيب" [or opening at the neck and bosom] of a shirt

## Glossary

and the like; (...). [The Arabs often carry things within the bosom of the shirt &c.; and hence the word is now applied by them to a pocket]”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 70 جيب القميص طوقه وأما الجيب الذى توضع فيه الدرهم فمولد لم تستعمله العرب صرح به ابن تيمية According to Vollers p. 651, the word is of Indian origin. For more information about جيب, see §6.5.4.1.

ğyl “generation”. يقولون جيل هذه الايام مثلا اي ناس هذه الاوقات (69a) *ğil* جيل. See HB 185b.

### č

\* čār-kāh واما يك... فهي فارسية بمعنى الواحد... وهو المستعمل في (63a) *čār-kāh* چارگاه “the fourth note, F”. اول الانعام يكاہ اي الراسـت والثاني دوکاه والثالث سکاہ چارکاه or چهار is “four” in Persian (see Steingass 384a and 403b). *gāh* means “time” and “place” (amongst other things), see Steingass 1074. *Ef* VI p. 101a (J.-C. Chabrier) speaks of *čahārgāh*.

čwčw وقد سمعت بعضهم عند الحوض وهو سقى الجمال يقول چوچو (6b) *čūčū* چوچو “sound made to encourage the camels to drink”. For the pronunciation of the چ, see §6.2.1.

### ḥ

ḥā “sound made to urge on a donkey”. See HB 187a, *ḥā*. In the Sudan, *ḥāḥā* is nowadays used to chase away birds, see Qāsīm 151b. See also حه.

ḥbk “to cause to fit exactly”. Spiro 122a (57a) *ḥabak* حبك “*ḥabak* (*juḥbuk*) to sew together, unite firmly, weave”. HB 189b “*ḥabak* (u, i) 1. to cause to fit exactly (...) 2. to be (too) precise with (s.th.)”. شدّ means “turban”, see Davies (1981) p. 393.

## Glossary

- ḥbw يقولون على الصبي حبا اذا مشى على يديه وركبتيه؛ وَيَقُولُونَ (125a; 7b) *ḥabā* “to crawl (of a little child)”. See Spiro 122b, and HB 190a.
- ḥtk يقولون اش تحوتك اذا ارادوا انه يعالج في غير فائده (57a) *iš taḥwtak* اش تحوتك  
 Its meaning is not clear. On his website, [http://theegyptian.org/Ottomanic\\_Literature.htm](http://theegyptian.org/Ottomanic_Literature.htm), Fayiz Ali suggests that its meaning is “what is your Thoth, i.e. what will cure you?” (Thoth was the god of medicine, amongst other things, in Ancient Egypt). However, it is unlikely that a 17<sup>th</sup> century Egyptian had any knowledge of the gods of Ancient Egypt. Another explanation can be found in Frayha p. 39b “حوتك: فَوْعَلٌ من حتك”. On this website: <http://www.alhasebat.com/vb/showthread.php?t=768>, a topic called *بعض المصطلحات والاشارة الحلبية وبعض المصطلحات* can be found, which mentions: “لا تحوتك : لا تروح وتجي عالفاضي” i.e. “don’t go back and forth in vain”, which fits al-Mağribī’s purpose. Denizeau p. 127 confirms this: “*ḥōtak*, *inacc.* *yḥōtek* tourner sans but, perdre son temps sans savoir que faire”.
- ḥdw تصحيف عن يقولون فلان جلس حدًا فلان اي قريبا منه وهي (125a) *ḥadā* حدًا “close to”. See Spiro 126a “*ḥada* near, with (peasant’s talk); *ḥadāk* with you, close to you”. Nowadays, as in Spiro’s time, it is only used in rural Egypt: BW IV 81b “*ḥada* bei [NMÄ 2: ‘*idwa*; NOD 1: *ṭanāḥ*], *ḥadāna* bei uns [OD 1:arRiyāḏ, ŠF 119,20]”. Wehr 193b “*ḥidā’a* (prep.) and *bi-ḥidā’i* opposite, face to face with”.
- ḥdy يقولون للطير المعروف حدّايه والصواب حدّاه (7b) *ḥiddāya* حدّايه “kite (bird)”. See Spiro 126a, and HB 196a.
- ḥrṣ يقولون انت حُرْصَلَه وغيرك فُرْطَلَه اي انت لا يفرط فيك (65b) *ḥuruṣullāh* حُرْصَلَه  
 “you are being cared for?”, *inta ḥuruṣullāh wa-ğyrak furuṣullāh* “you are being cared for, while another is being neglected?”. HB 199a “*ḥirṣ* care, solicitude”. HB 650a “*farrat fi-* to be negligent in keeping a hold on”. Lane VI 2377c “فُرْطٌ a swift horse; one that precedes, outgoes, outstrips, or gets before, others. (..) A case, or an affair, in which the due bounds, or just limits, are

## Glossary

- exceeded”. It could be from *hīrṣ-u llāh* “the compassion of God” and *farṭ-u llāh* “the neglect of God”. See also *فُطِّلَهُ*.
- ḥrn يقولون فلان يحارن فلانا ويمكن ان يكون مشبها بالفرس (111a) *yiḥārin* يحارن الذي لا ينقاد “to be refractory”. Dozy I 279b “حرن III être rétif”. HB 201b-202a and Spiro 132b only mention form I “to be refractory”.
- ḥzq “to يقولون حَزَقَ الخط اذا ضمه جدا وحزق وسطه شده *ḥazzaq* (38b) حَزَقَ tighten”. See Spiro 133a, and HB 202b.
- ḥzm حزام (96a) *ḥizām* يقولون حزام وحزمة “belt”. See HB 202b. حزمة (96b) *ḥazma* يقولون حزام وحزمة “bundle”. HB 202b and Spiro 133b *ḥizma*, Wehr 203b *ḥuzma*.
- ḥsb ويقولون انا حَسَبْتُك اي استعنت بك وفلانا تحسَّب (12b) *taḥassab bi* بفلان “to be entrusted to the protection of”. See HB 204b. ويقولون انا حَسَبْتُك اي استعنت بك وفلانا تحسَّب بفلان (12b) *ḥasab* “entrusted to the protection of”. It has the same meaning as *maḥsūb* “protégé” (HB 204a, Wehr 206b).
- ḥsk “(may it be only) يقولون في الدعا لمن يسعل حَسَكه (57a) *ḥasaka* حَسَكه the hair of a grain!”. It is said to someone who coughs, hoping that he is coughing because something other than a disease is irritating his throat. BW IV 85a “Granne” (“beard” [bot.]). Lane II 569a “حَسَكٌ” *Various species of thistle, and other prickly plants*”.
- ḥsn (111a) *ḥusn* يقولون حسن هو الجمال حسن “beauty”. See HB 206a. (111b) *ḥasana* يقولون على خال الخد حَسَنه وهي النقطة السوداء “beauty spot”. See HB 206a, and Spiro 136a. (111b) *ḥasyna* يقولون (..) على شهوة المرأة حسينة “lust, craving”. No reference found. The fact that it is specific to women could mean it has the same meaning as *وحمة*, i.e. “craving for a certain type of food (experienced particularly by a pregnant woman)” (HB 928b). (111b) *mahāsīn* محاسن وهو جمع محسن “charms, good qualities”. See Spiro 136b, and Wehr 208b. (111b) *ḥsn* يقولون الشيخ حسن للمبادلة بين المردان لم تعلم له مناسبة (111b) *ḥsn* Meaning unclear.

## Glossary

- ḥšš      والخردل الفارسي نبات بمصر يعرف *ḥašīṣat al-sultān* (71b) حشيشة السلطان  
 “plant from the mustard family”. Dozy I 289a  
 بحشيشة السلطان “*ḥašīṣat al-sultān*”, en Egypte, *lepidium à larges feuilles*, Bait. I, 357c”.  
 Wikipedia “Lepidium, commonly known as the peppergrasses or  
 pepperworts, is a genus of plants in the mustard family  
 Brassicaceae. It includes about 175 species found worldwide,  
 including cress and pepperweed”.
- ḥšy      ويقولون حشاك ظهرك وليس في اللغة ما يناسب حشا بمعنى *ḥašā* (7b) حشا  
 التحذير “mind! (imperative)”, *ḥašāk zaḥrak* “mind your back!”. HB  
 208b حاشي، حاشا “*ḥašā: ḥašā li-llāh* God forbid!”. Wehr 211a حاشي، حاشا  
 (with genit., acc. or ل) except, save. الله حاشي الله، حاشي الله God forbid!  
 ان حاشي far be it from you that you... etc.'. 'Awwād has حاشي، but  
 in line 16 al-Mağribī writes حشا . It is حاشاك with the shortening of  
 the *alif*, see §6.2.10.1. Davies (1981) p. 362 mentions the expression  
*ḥašā al-'yb* “excuse the shame!” (used after referring to something  
 indelicate).
- ḥšl      ويقولون الحواصل جمع الحاصل على *ḥāṣil, ḥawāṣil* (69b) حواصل، حواصل  
 “storehouse”. See Spiro 139a.  
 HB 209a mentions it is used in the countryside. Nowadays in Cairo  
*maḥzan* is used for “storehouse”, which al-Mağribī states is used by  
 the *Šawāmm*.  
 حوصلة *ḥwṣala* (69b) يقولون ضيق الحوصلة *ḥwṣala* “crop of a bird”, *ḍayyaq al-*  
*ḥwṣala* “hot-tempered”. HB 210a حوصلة *ḥuṣāla, ḥuṣla* crow, crop of a  
 bird. *ḥuṣaltu dayyi'a* he's hot-tempered”.
- ḥšrm      يقولون ما الحصرم فيضمون الحا والرا *ḥuṣrum* (96b) حصرم  
 See Spiro 138b, and HB 209a.
- ḥšw      ويقولون فلان طنت حصاته في مصر مثلا ويقع من الخواص ايضا *ḥašātu* (8a) حصة  
 “pebble”, *ṭanət ḥašātu* “he became famous”. HB 210a “*ḥašwa* a  
 pebble”. Lane V 1883a طنَّ ذِكْرُهُ فِي الْبِلَادِ his fame resounded  
 through the countries”.
- ḥḍn      يقولون أخذه بالحضن بضم الحا *ḥuḍn* (111b) حضن  
*ḥuḍn* “he embraced him”. See HB 211a.

## Glossary

- ḥff حفة (21b) *ḥaffa* اللبوان حفة ويقولون “edge”. See HB 214a. Shortening of the *alif*, see §6.2.10.1.
- ḥfl “to stir up, incite (people)”. Lane II 603c form VIII: “exceeding the usual, or ordinary, or the just, or proper, bounds, or degree; acting egregiously, or immoderately, or extravagantly”. Dozy I 305a “amplifier”.  
ومن الاتفاق في اللفظ والمعنى دعاهم الحَفَلَى لغة في الحَفَلَى (69b) *al-ḥafalā* دَعَاهُمْ “general invitation”. Lane II 603c “دَعَاهُمْ”  
الْحَفَلَى and الأُحْفَلَى dial. vars. of الجَفَلَى and الجَفَلَى اي دعوة عامة  
with their company.”
- ḥfn يقولون مَلُو حِفْنَه *ḥifna* (111b) حِفْنَه “handful”. See HB 214b, and Spiro 144a.
- ḥqf يقولون اي الشعرا ردف المحبوب كالحقف (21a) *ḥiqf* “long and winding track of sand”. See Hava 134b. According to al-Maḡribī, it is a classicism only used in poetry. In Farafra, the word *ḥuqayf* is nowadays used for “escarpment”, see BW IV 89a, as is *ḥikf* in Middle Egypt, see BW IV 90a.
- ḥqq يقولون الشى في الحق (38b) *ḥəqq* “small box” See Spiro 145a, and HB 216b *ḥu*”.
- ḥqn يقولون دوا المريض حقنه (111b) *ḥaqan* “to administer a clyster”. Spiro 145a “*ḥaqan* (*jihqin* or *juḥqun*) to inject”. Idem HB 217a. The original meaning of the word can be found in Lane II 613a: “حَقَنَ المَرِيضَ (..) *He administered to the sick person what is termed حُقْنَةَ*, i.e. [a clyster,] a medicine put into a مَحْقَنَةً.” For more information about the word *حقن*, see §6.5.4.1.
- ḥqw يقولون الحقو وله اصل قال «الحقو الكشح والازار ويكسر (125a) *ḥəqw* “loin”. See Wehr 227a and Hava 135a.
- ḥkk يقولون احتك بي فلان وللعدا الحكمة اي الجرب (57a) *iḥtakk bi* “to clash with”. See HB 217b.  
يقولون احتك بي فلان وللعدا الحكمة اي الجرب (57a) *ḥəkka* حكمة  
“itch”, li-l-*’adā-l-ḥakka* “may the enemy get the itch”. HB 217b “*ḥakka* (..) 2. [path] scabies”. Spiro 145b “*ḥakka* a rub, a scratch, the itch”.
- ḥlh يقولون فلان حلاجي اذا كان سريع الحركة وقضا (69b) *ḥalāḥilī* حلاجي



## Glossary

- المصالح “quick”. HB 220 “*halhil* to budge”. Wehr 234b “*tahalhala* to stir from one’s place; to move, stir, budge”. Lane II “حَلَّجَلٌ grave, staid, sedate”.
- hlzn يقولون مادنة الحلزون يطلقون الحلزون على البنا الدائر *halazwn* (112a) حلزون “spiral”. See Spiro 149a, and HB 220a. Its original meaning is “snail” (see Lane II 626b), and thereafter “spiral” because of the spiral shape of the snail’s shell. The “spiral minaret” al-Mağribī refers to is the minaret of the Ibn Ṭulūn mosque, famous for its spiral shape.
- hlf “sworn alliance”. See HB 220a, and Spiro 149a. ويقولون كانوا في حلف اي حزب يعينهم على الخصام *hlf* (21a) حلفه “*alfa*”. Spiro 149a “*alfa*” ويقولون حلفه يطلقونه على الجمع والحلقة مفرد *halfa* (21a) حلفه *halfa* حلفاء، حلقة *halfāja* حلفاءة، حلفاءة *halfa* [bot] *alfa* esparto, *halfa* grass”.
- \* hlq وقيل معناه انه يسكت فلا يتكلم كانه يوكي فمه *awki halaqak* (132a) أو ك حلقك “shut up!” (lit. “tie up your neck”). Wehr 1285a “*wakā* يكي *yakī* to tie up (هـ a waterskin, or the like)”.
- hlm يقولون جبن حالوم *hālūm* (96b) حالوم “white cream cheese”. See HB 222b, and Spiro 150a. It is a Coptic word, see Crum (1972) p. 670a: **Ⲫⲁⲗⲟⲙ** “cheese, now حلوم جبنة”. This is confirmed by Bishai (1964) p. 42 and Vollers (1896) p. 654.
- hlw يقولون طعمه حلو بكسر الحا *hilw* (125a) حلو “sweet, nice”. See HB 223a. Here mentioned by al-Mağribī because it is *hulw* in Classical Arabic. يقولون المومن حلوي وكنت سمعت انه في القتال والمعركة *halwī* (125a) حلوي “loving sweets”. This is a rejected *ḥadīṭ* according to al-Ġawzīya (1983) p. 64: “المؤمن حلو يحب الحلوة”.
- hlw? يقولون اش جلاته بكسر الحا اي ما صفته *iš hilātu* (125b) اش جلاته “what does he look like?” There are two explanations:  
 1. its origin is حلي *hila* “decoration”, i.e. “how is his decoration”, like in *izzayyu* “how are his clothes”;  
 2. its origin is حالة “situation”, like in HB 234a “*zayy halāt*-like”.

## Glossary

- ḥmḥm      يقولون حماحم الريحان (96b) *ḥamāḥim* “basilicum”. Wehr 238b  
 “*ḥimḥim* oxtongue, bugloss (*Anchuse officinalis*; bot.)”. Täckholm  
 (1974) p. 818: “*himhim* جمع *Trichodesma africanum*.” Dozy I 320b  
 “*ocimum basilicum*”. Boulos IV 536 “*Himhim Trichodesma*  
*ehrenbergii* جمع”; “*Himmim Trichodesma africanum* جمع”.
- ḥml      “pregnant”. ويقولون المرأة حامله وهو صحيح مثل حامل (70a) *ḥāmila*.  
 According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 888b, it can be used both with and  
 without -a. Spiro 153a and HB 226a only mention *ḥāmila*.  
 ويقولون حمل زجل لمنظوم معلوم عند اهل هذا الفن اي فن (77b) *ḥiml* حمل  
 الزجل فان الحمل عندهم اسم لمطلع وبعده بيوت كل بيت خمسة ابيات تارة  
 تكثر البيوت تارة تقل ثم بيت الاستشهاد دوبيت المدح فالمجموع حمل ولكن  
 “a *zağal*-poem”. Cachia (1989) p. 32 mentions a collection of *zağal*-poems in which each *zağal* is  
 called a *ḥiml* “load”. Abdel-Malek (1995) p. 148 also mentions a *zağal*  
 entitled *Ḥiml zağal fī qīṣṣat al-isrā’ wa al-mi’rāğ*.
- (70a) *maḥmal* محمل بالكسر محمل بالفتح وانما هو محمل محمل  
 litter”. HB 226b “*maḥmal* richly decorated camel litter; specifically,  
 that formerly sent each year to Mecca with the Egyptian pilgrim  
 caravan”. Spiro 153b “Holy Carpet”.
- ḥmm      ويقولون ضربه خلى دمه حميمه (96b) *ḥamīm* “the hot water in hell”,  
*dammuh ḥamīmuh* “bathing in his own blood”. See Wehr 238a.  
 Barthélemy p. 179 “*ḥamīm* dans *dammo ḥamīmo* (blessé) dans son  
 sang”.
- ḥmw      ويقولون حماتي على ام الزوجة (8a) *ḥamā* “mother-in-law”. See HB  
 224a.  
 ويقولون على الحم حمو (125b) *ḥamw* “father-in-law”. The wāw at the  
 end could indicate the pronunciation *ḥamo*, like *giddo*  
 “grandfather” and *ḥālo* “uncle” today. Another possibility is that  
 the -u has not disappeared. Examples of this can be found in Egypt  
 today, e.g. *abu* in Kharga, see BW IV 1a.
- ḥmy      يقولون المريض في حمية (125b) *ḥamiyya* “fever”. HB 228a “*ḥamiyya*  
 zeal, fervour, intensity”. Spiro 154a “*ḥimma* or *ḥumma* fever,  
 pl. *ḥimmyjāt*”; 154b “*ḥammyja*, zeal, diet”.

## Glossary

- ḥnǧl يقولون يحنجل اذا كان يرقص ويقفز *yihānǧil* (69b) يحنجل “hopping and dancing”. See HB 228b, and Spiro 154b. See also HB 193a “*ḥaḡal* to hop on one foot”. Dozy I 331b “*danser*”. BW IV 79b “*ḥiḡila* ein Spiel, bei dem man mit der linken Hand das linke Fußgelenk packt und dann hüpfend versucht, den Gegner umzuwerfen [OÄ 3: B’ēri]”.
- ḥndl ويقولون حنضل على الحنظل بالطاء المشالة وليس له وجه *ḥandaḡal* (71b) حنضل “colocynth” (a plant with bitter fruits). Boulos IV p. 534 “Handal *Citrullus colocynthis* حَنْضَلٌ”.
- ḥnḡf ويقولون ابو حنيفة والمقلد مذهبه يقولون فيه حنفي والقياس حنفي (21b) ابو حنيفة *Abū Ḥanīfa*. Personal name.  
حنفي (21b) *ḥanaḡfī* “belonging to the school of Abū Ḥanīfa”, *nisba* of Abū Ḥanīfa. EALL p. 17 (W. Fischer): “In the syllable before the *nisba*-ending, the vowels *i*, *ī*, and *ay* change to *a*”. Wright (1971) p. 154 “The letter ى in words of the forms فَعَيْلَةٌ and فَعَيْلَةٌ, when not derived from *verba mediae rad. geminatae* or *infirmas* (و or ى), is rejected, the *kesra* of فَعَيْلَةٌ being at the same time changed into *fetha*”.
- ḥnk ويقولون ويقع من اهل الارياف على الفم الحنك *ḥanak* (57b) حنك “mouth”. Then, as now, it was used by the peasants. HB 229b “↓ (person’s) mouth”. BW IV 99b “*ḥanak* Mund”.
- ḥnn ويقولون يا حنان يا منان *ḥannān* (112a) حنان “compassionate” (one of the attributes of God). Hava 146a “الحنان the All-merciful (God)”.  
حنانة *ḥannāna* (112a) حنانة حنانة قِيَالَةٌ يقولون قِيَالَةٌ حنانة Hava 146a “حنان tender-hearted”.  
قِيَالَةٌ = midday heat. “A pleasant siesta”?  
والحنيني لشي يلبس ومنه طلعت يا بدر في حنيني *ḥanyḡnī* (112b) حنيني “a type of garment”. Dozy I 330b “*semble être le nom d’un vêtement*, 1001 N. Bresl. XII, 399, dern. L.: معها اخرجت”.  
قَمِيصٌ وسراويلٌ وحنيني فوقانية  
يقولون في مقام التحسين يا حُنَيْئُهُ (..) فلم يعلم *yā ḥunaynu* (112b) يا حُنَيْئُهُ “how lovely it is (?)”. Could be a diminutive of *ḥanān*.

## Glossary

- ḥny                    يقولون حَنَيْتَ يدها اذا جعلتها بالحنة (125b) *ḥannyt* “I decorated with henna”. HB 230a “*ḥanna* to dye with henna”. Ibid Spiro 155a-b.  
 حَنِيَّة (125b) *ḥaniyya* حَنِيَّة السَّلام “space under the staircase”. HB 230a “*ḥaniyya* low recess”. Spiro 155b “*ḥanyja*, space under row of fire-hearths or under a staircase, cave”.
- حِنَّا (8a) *ḥinnā* حِنَّا وهي الحِنَّا حِنَّا “henna”. HB 230a “*ḥinna* henna”.
- ḥh                    يقولون لسوق الحمار حَه (121b) *ḥah* “sound made to urge on a donkey”. HB 187a “*ḥā* sound made to urge on a donkey » gee-up!”  
 See also حاحا.
- ḥwb                    يقولون فلان حَوْبُه او انت حوبه يريدون فشله وضعفه (12b) *ḥwba* “a weak man”. Wehr 246b “*ḥauba* sin, offence”. Lane II 662c “ذو حوبة a weak man”. This is a case of ellipsis: *dū ḥawba* > *ḥawba*, see Görlach (1994) p. 133.
- ḥwq                    يقولون هذا ما يَحْوَقُ في الشيء اي ما (38b) *yihawwaq; mā yihawwaq* “to have no effect (because of its insufficiency)”. HB 233a “*ḥawwa* to suffice, be satisfying”.
- ḥwl                    يقولون ويقع كثيرا من النساء فلان على الحال (42a) *‘alā l-ḥāl mā* \* “immediately”. Compare *fi-l-ḥāl* “immediately”, HB 233b.  
 ويقولون حوَالِيه حوَالِيه حوَالِيه (71b) *ḥawālyh* “around it”. HB 234a “*ḥawalēn* /prep, w pron suff *ḥawalē-* (w 1st sing *ḥawalayya*)/ around, about”. Spiro 119b “*ḥawalēn*, round, around”.
- ḥwy                    يقولون حَوَايَه على شيء يجمع ويوضع على الراس تحت (125b) *ḥawwāya* “pad placed under a jar carried on the head”. See HB 235a, Spiro 156a, and BW IV 104a.
- ḥyt                    يقولون ويسمع من الفلاحين من حيثن كان كذا اي (111b) *min ḥytān* من حيثن من وقت وحين كذا واهل البلد يقولون من حيثن كان كذا وكلاهما خطأ اولئك “since”. *ḥītān* was used by people from the towns, whereas the peasants used *ḥīšān*. Compare *-in* of the accusatives *gaṣbin ‘anni* (see HB 624a) and *nadrin ‘alayya* (see HB 855b). HB 235b “*ḥēs* (also *ḥēs inn-*) since, as”. Spiro 157 “*ḥēs*, or *min ḥēs*, because of, since, considering that, whereas”. Al-Mağribī believes it is from *ḥīn*, with a t or š added in the middle. See also §6.2.2.

## Glossary

- ḥyš من حيشن (111b) *min ḥyšin* “since”. See حيتين.
- ḥyf “what” واما قولهم حيف على فلان يريدون التاسف الاولى ما اسفنا (21b) حيف a pity”. Wehr 259b “*ḥaif* wrong, injustice; (...) حيف على what a pity! too bad!”
- ḥyk يقولون ما حاك هذا في خاطري اي ما خطر؛ ما حاك في قلبي اي (57b) *ḥāk* حاك “to come to one’s mind; to impress (on the heart)”. Wehr 251a “to weave; (...) to contrive, (...) think up”. Spiro 118a “*ḥāk* (*jiḥyk*) to weave”. Hava 153b “وأحاك في حاك” to impress a.o. (speech)”. حاك originally “to weave”, which is here used as a metaphor for “weaving a thought”, see §6.5.4.1.
- ḥyl “reptile” يقولون في سبهم يشبه الدابة الحايل (71b) *ḥāyil: dābba ḥāyil* الحايل “heat” (insult, said to a man). HB 236a “*ḥayla* /fem adj/ in heat (of a mare)”. Hava 151a “حائل altered in colour. Barren (female)”. In Al-Mağribī’s time, it still had the form without *-a* for female adjectives (like *ḥāmil*); nowadays it is with *-a*.
- ḥyy ومن الامثال لا يعرف الحيّ من اللّيّ اي الحق من الباطل (126a) *ḥayy* “modest”, *lā yi’raf al-ḥayy min al-layy* “he doesn’t know good from bad”. HB 237b “*ḥayy* diffident, modest and well-mannered”. Al-Maydānī (s.d.) II p. 286 also gives the variant الحو من اللو.  
 حيا (126a) *ḥayā* “modesty”, *qalīl al-ḥayā* قليل الحيا “shameless”. HB 237b “حياء *ḥaya* 1. diffidence, modesty, politeness”. Spiro 158b “حيا *ḥaya*, shyness”.

## ḥ

- ḥam ويقولون خام ومقصور (97a) *ḥām* “raw?”. The meaning is not explained by al-Mağribī. HB 238a “*ḥām* <P *khām*> /adj invar 1. raw, unprocessed. (...) 2. inexperienced, naïve”. With the meaning “raw”: Spiro 160a, also in Persian; see Steingass 442b and Vollers (1896) p. 639. Littmann (1920) p. 66 “خام *ḥām* Baumwollenzeug”.
- ḥan يقولون على المحلّ الواسع خان وليس لغويا لانه قال الخان (113a) *ḥān* خان

## Glossary

- الحانوت او صاحبه انتهى الا ان يقال توسعوا في الخان فاطلقوه على الوكالة  
 "large shop". See HB 238b. It is originally Persian, see Steingass 443.
- هby يقولون خَبًا الشيء اي ستره وهو صحيح *ḥabbā; ḥabbyt* (8a; 126a) خَبًا؛ خَبِيَّت  
 قال المجدي خَبًا الشيء ستره؛ يقولون خَبِيَّت الشيء اي سترته واخفيته وليس في  
 "to hide; I hid". The interesting thing here is that al-Mağribī classifies the  
 word *ḥabbā* as *ṣaḥīḥ*, and *ḥabbyt* as *laysa fī-l-luġa*. This is because he  
 correctly looks *ḥabbā* up under the root ḤB', and *ḥabbyt* incorrectly  
 under ḤBY.
- هtn "a woman of noble origin". وفلانه خاتون للمرأة الاصيله *ḥātūn* (112b) خاتون  
 See Wehr 260a. Its origin is Persian, according to İhsanoğlu 357:  
 خاتون: [وخاذون، قادن، قادين لغات فيها] ودخلت الفارسية ثم عربت منها "  
 Steingass 437a "وجمعت على خواتين. وهي المرأة المعتبرة والسيدة الشريفة  
 "khātūn a lady; matron".
- "slow-witted". يقولون فلان مختون اذا كان قليل العقل *maḥtūn* (112b) مختون  
 Lane II 703c "خَتَلَهُ is also syn. with خَتَنَهُ" [He deceived, deluded, beguiled,  
 circumvented, or outwitted, him, unawares".
- هġā ويقولون خجا للرجل التركي الكبير وهي روميّة وليس في العربيّة ما *ḥaġā* (8b) خجا  
 "important/old man; scholar". يناسبه لانه كثيرا ما يطلق عندهم للعالم  
 Prokosch (1983) p. 82 "xōga Lehrer, Schulmeister, Professor; xūga  
 Aristokrat". See Redhouse 868b "خواجه *kh'āje*" and Steingass 479a  
 خواجه: كلمة فارسية تعني الكبير والسيد: "ḥwāja". İhsanoğlu 362:  
 والعزير والصاحب، وينطقها عامة الترك على شكل خوجه بمعنى المعلم  
 "والمدرس والشيخ المعمم".
- يقولون ويسمع من الاروام خجي ويكتبونه خوجا *ḥaġā, ḥwġ* (126a) خجي، خوجا  
 "scholar; rich man". بالواو يطلقونه على العالم وعلى المتمول وهو غير عربي  
 See previous entry.
- هdl ويقولون فلان رطل بكسرهما يريدون انه عنده رخاوة كما يقولون *ḥidil* (76b) خدل  
 "to be exhausted?". Its meaning is not explained, and the  
 dictionaries give several translations: Spiro 163b "*ḥidil* (*jihdal*), to be  
 tired, exhausted". HB 242b "*ḥidil* (a) to become numb". Dozy I 353b

## Glossary

- “*خدل* I *engourdir, s’engourdir, stupéfier*”. Wehr 267a “*ḵadila* to stiffen; to become numb”. Lane II 711a “*حَدُلٌ* he was, or became, large, and full [or plump], in the shank and fore arm”.
- يقولون في غيظهم لمن يريد النوم انخدل او هو مخدول اي (71b) *inḥadal* انخدل نائم “to sleep”. See *خدل*.
- يقولون في غيظهم لمن يريد النوم انخدل او هو مخدول اي (71b) *maḥdūl* مخدول نائم “sleeping”. See *خدل*.
- ḥrb يقولون خروب وهو صحيح (12b) *ḥarrūb* “carob”. See HB 244a, Spiro 168b.
- ḥrbq يقولون خربقه اذا قطعته وخرقه (39a) *ḥarbaq* “to tear apart”. HB 244a-b “*ḥarba*’ to ruin, wreck, destroy”. Spiro 164b-165a “*ḥarbaq*, to pierce, perforate”.
- ḥrdl يقولون لا يسقط الخردل من كفه لضرب المثل في البخل (71b) *ḥardal* “mustard seeds”, *la yisqaṭ al-ḥardal min kaffuh* “the mustard seeds do not fall from his hand” (proverb indicating stinginess). Wehr 272a “mustard seeds”, HB 245b “mustard”.
- ḥrṭm يقولون الخرطوم بالفتح وانما هو الخرطوم بالضم (96b) *al-ḥarṭūm* “hose; elephant’s trunk; Khartoum” (meaning not specified in *Daf al-iṣr*). HB 247a “*ḥarṭūm* 1. hose, flexible tube. *ḥarṭūm fil* elephant’s trunk”.
- ḥrf يقولون خروف وبعضهم خاروف وليس بصحيح (21b) *ḥarūf* “a sheep”. See HB 247b.
- خاروف (21b) *ḥārūf* “a sheep”. The long *ā* is incorrect. It is a hypercorrection following the same pattern as *ḥāzūq* and *ḥātūn* (see §6.2.9).
- يقولون فلان خرفان اذا ذهل وكبر (22a) *ḥarfān* “senile”. See Spiro 167b and Wehr 273b. HB 247b gives a slightly different meaning: “*ḥarfān* raving, incoherent (especially from hunger)”.
- ḥrk حتى انهم يصحفون اشتلق على الحركة اشتلف على (47a; 58a) *ḥirka* الخركه وسياتي؛ ويقولون في صناعة الخشب خركه حتى انهم يصحفون لمن ادرك الخفي اشتلق على الخركه اي اشتلف على الحركة (366a-b) “*ḥrḵāh* (Freytag) est le pers. خَرَكَاه”. Cette espèce de tente, dit Ibn-Batouta (II, 299, cf. III, 30), qui écrit خَرَقَة, se compose de

## Glossary

- morceaux de bois, réunis en forme de coupole, et sur lesquels on étend des pièces de feutre”. Also mentioned in Taymūr III 232. Steingass 456a “*khār-gāh* a tent, pavilion, tabernacle”; “*khārak* (...) a three-legged stool; a plank whereon culprits are made to lie to receive castigation; the rack; (...) a chopping or sawing-block”.
- ḥry يقولون ايش هذه الخزعبلات اي الامور التي لا اصل لها (..) والحاصل ان الناس يضمون الزاي في الخزعبلات وانما هي مكسورة (8b) *ḥarā* خرا “shit”. See HB 248b.
- ḥzbl ويقولون ايش هذه الخزعبلات اي الامور التي لا اصل لها (..) والحاصل ان الناس يضمون الزاي في الخزعبلات وانما هي مكسورة (72a) *ḥuzuʿbalāt* “superstitions”. HB 249a “*ḥuzaʿbalāt* superstitions”. *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 893c does not mention that the *zāy* should be followed by an *i*, as al-Mağribī claims: كُفِّدَعْمِلَ i.e. خُزْعِلَ.
- ḥzq خازوق “dirty trick?”. HB 249a يقولون في دعائهم خازوق (39a) *ḥāzūq* 1. impaling spike 2. dirty trick, doublecross”. Spiro 184b “*ḥazūq*, impaling machine, stake, peg, (...) *idda loh ḥazūq*, he fooled him”. Prokosch (1983) p. 81 mentions that it is Mamluk, not Ottoman, which is قازق *qaziq*.
- ḥzm يقولون في انفها خزام (97a) *ḥazām* “nose ring”. Described by Lane (2003) p. 568 as being worn by women of the lower classes, especially those of the country towns and villages of both Upper and Lower Egypt. HB 249b “*ḥuzām*, *ḥizām* nose ring”.
- ḥzn يقولون خزانة بالفتح ... والشوام يقولون مخزن وليس كذلك فيقال لا تفتح الخزانة فاصابوا بخلاف اهل مصر يقولون مخزن ولا تكسر المخزن (112b) *ḥazāna* “storage place”. Spiro 169b and HB 249b “cupboard”. Hava 166b “cupboard; magazine, warehouse”.
- يقولون للشوام يقولون مخزن (112b) *maḥzan* “storage place” (Levantine). See HB 249b, and Barthélemy 201.
- ḥzy يقولون للمستحيي او من الزم الحجّه صار خزيان او انخزي (126b) *inḥazā* “to be embarrassed; to look for a pretext”. See Spiro 170a *inḥaza*, and HB 249b-250a *ḥizi*, *yḥza*.
- يقولون فلان مخشّن اذا كان صوته غير مخلص بل (126b) *ḥazyān* “embarrassed”. See Spiro 170a, and HB 249b-250a.
- ḥstk يقولون فلان مخشّن اذا كان صوته غير مخلص بل (112b) *māḥastak* “weak (voice)”. HB 250a “*ḥastik* weak (voice)”. HB 250a يقولون مخشّنك وسياتي في حرف الكاف



## Glossary

<perh P *khastagi*> 1. to become weak, out of sorts, tired or exhausted (...) 2. to weaken, exhaust". Spiro 170b *ḥastik*, or *iḥastik*, to be indisposed; *muḥastik* indisposed". Dozy I 371a "مُحَسَّنَتِكَ" incommodé, un peu malade". Steingass 460a confirms its Persian origin: "خستگی *khastagī* wound; sickness; fatigue".

*ḥsf* ويقولون في الشمس خسفت والقمر كسف والغالب في *ḥasafat* (22a) خسفت "to be eclipsed (sun)". HB 251a "*ḥasaf* to eclipse". Since HB does not specify whether this is for the sun or moon, we can assume it can be used for both. In Classical Arabic, *خسف* is specific for the moon (see Hava 167a).

*ḥšknān/ḥštnānk* ويقولون كتا على شي من الماكول *ḥuškānān/ḥuštānānk* (10a; 58a) خشتنانك قرين الخشكنان والظاهر انه غير عربي لان الثاني غير عربي بل فارسي مركب الخشك هو الناشف والنان الخبز فكانهم قالوا الخبز الناشف وعندهم خشكه فلاو الرز الناشف؛ ويقولون خشتنانك وتقدم انه معرب وان الاصل بالفارسي "kind of sweet-meat". From the Persian: Steingass 468a "*khushk-nān*, dry bread, biscuit; a kind of sweet-meat". Steingass 461b "*khisht* (...) a kind of sweetmeat". Davies (1981) p. 367 "XŠTNANK name of a type of sweet pastry. (...) Reference to the dish in NN (105, 3; 105, 9) and DI (10,6; 58, 9) confirms its popularity. The word occurs, however, in more than one form: NN has XŠTNANK as HQ, but DI has in addition XŠKNAN and Dozy:Sup cites XŠKLAN, XŠNANJ and XŠKNANK. From Pers. *xušḱ nān* "dry bread" (plus diminutive *-ak*)." Vrolijk (1998) p. 30 mentions *ḥuškānānak* and *ḥuštānānak*, "a confection prepared with flour and almond paste, covered with white sugar". Taymūr III 183 "خُشْتِنَان: "قطعة من عجينة الكعك تحشى مثله بالعجمية". Al-Ḥafāḡī 87 "خُشْكُنَانِك" *biscuit*". Dozy I 373b "معروف تكلمت به العرب قديما

*ḥšm* ويقولون خشمه اي قطع خشمه *ḥašam* (97a) خشم "to break s.o.'s nose". HB 252a "*ḥašam* (i) to keep under control". Spiro 172a "*ḥašm*, mouth". Wehr 278b "*ḥašm* nose; mouth; vent, outlet". Lane II 744a "*حَشْمَةٌ* he broke his *حَيْشُوم*". "حَيْشُوم = "the extreme, or most remote, part of the

## Glossary

- nose” (Lane II 744b).
- hšn يقولون فلان مخشّن اذا كان صوته غير مخلص بل *məḥšaššān* (112b) مخشّن “having a rough voice”. HB 252a “*ḥaššin* 1. to roughen, give a rough finish to”. اما قول عامة الفلاحين فلان خُشْنِي بضم الخا أي غير لطيف (113a) *ḥuṣnī* خُشْنِي “rough (person)”. See HB 252a. In the jargon used by the *Sāsānīs* it means “non-beggar”, see Bosworth (1976) I p. 159.
- hšf ويقولون في المجون مع اهل مكة فيك والا في الخصفة (22a) *ḥašfa* خصفة “mat of palm leaves, used in the Ka’ba”. Lane II 750b “a certain Tubba’ [a king of El-Yemen] clothed the House [i.e. the Kaabeh] with خَصَفَ, meaning *very thick cloths*; so called as being likened to the خَصَفَ of woven palm-leaves”. Probably the joke al-Mağribī mentions, is that خصفة also means “basket”: Wehr 281b “*ḥašfa* basket of palm leaves”.
- hšl ويقولون خصله شعر او خصلة حرير (72a) *ḥašla* خصلة “lock of hair; string”. HB 254a “*ḥuṣla* tress, lock”. Spiro 173b “*ḥiṣla*, lock of hair”.
- hšy يقولون خُصَى وهو صحيح *ḥuṣā* (126b) خُصَى “testicles”. HB 254b “*ḥašya*, *ḥiṣya* testicle (especially of a man)”. Spiro 174a “*ḥiṣja*, testicle”.
- hṭa ويقولون فلان ما يفعل الشئ الا في الخطا او خطا يريدون *ḥaṭā: fī l-ḥaṭā* (8b) خطا خَطَا: أى نادر قليل، كأن يقال: أوجد القلة “rarely”. Taymūr III 189: أوجد فيه خطا واحده كده، أى قد يوجد بقلّة. Literal meaning: “by error/mistake”.
- hṭf يقولون فلان انخطف لونه اذا كان مصفراً *inḥaṭaf lwnuh* (22a) انخطف لونه “he became pale”, lit. “his colour was snatched away”. Ḥafāğī 92 خطف: المولدون يقولونه لسرعة تغير البشرة والوجه منخطف، قال: مالى “ارى جارحات اللحظ حائمة \* ولا ارى لونك المحمر منخطفًا”.
- hṭy يقولون فلان تخطّى الصفوف اذا جاوزها *taḥaṭṭā* (126b) تخطّى “to overstep; to cross”. See HB 257.
- hff ويقولون ويقع من الخواص رجع بخفي حنين *ḥuff* (22b) خف *ḥuffyn Ḥunyn* “he returned with the slippers of Ḥunayn, i.e. he returned empty-handed” (proverb). See HB 258b. The origin of the

## Glossary

- proverb is explained by al-Maydānī 9 (s.d.) I p. 296.  
 ويقولون بحر الخفيف وهو فاعلاتن مستفعلين فاعلاتن ست *ḥafif* (22a) خفيف  
 مرات “poetic metre”. Name of the poetic metre with the formula  
*fā'ilātun mustafilun fā'ilātun*, see Stoetzer (1989) p. 144.
- ḥlḥl* خلخال (72a) *ḥulḥāl* المعروف للحليّ ويقولون خلخال للحليّ المعروف  
 ويقولون في الدعا الله يجعلك خلفا باقي بتحريك اللام *ḥalaf* (22b) خلف  
 “offspring”. See HB 262a.
- ḥlq* ويقولون ثوب خلق فيكسرون اللام *ḥaliq* (39a) خلق “rag/clothes”. HB 263b  
 “*ḥalaqa* 1 rag 2 (the only) garment one owns 3 [non-Cairene]  
 clothes”. BW IV 121a “*xalag* Lappen, Lumpen”; “Kleider”.
- ḥlw* ويقولون ما انت خلا او فلان ما هو خلا اذا مدحوه بشي والذي *ḥalā* (8b) خلا  
 يناسبه ولو ببعد ان خلا بفلان سخر منه فكانهم يقولون ما هو رجل يقال فيه  
 “empty, lacking (in good qualities)”. Lane II 803b “accord. to IAr, خَلَا alone signifies *he was, or  
 became, free from a fault, or the like, of which he was accused, or  
 suspected*”. Dozy I 402a “من خَلُوْهُ , manquant de, dépourvu de,  
 p.e. de bonnes qualités”.
- ويقولون لبيت الخلا مرفق؛ يقولون بيت *al-ḥalā* (40b; 126b) *byt al-ḥalā*: بيت الخلا  
 اصل *ḥalā* “toilet”. HB 114b and Spiro 27b mention only *bēt il-  
 'adab* and *bēt il-rāḥa*. Wehr 102b “بيت الخلاء” *b. al-ḥalā* and بيت الأدب  
*b. al-adab* toilet, water closet”. Lane II 805a “خَلَاءٌ any open tract of  
 country or desert, particularly, such as one takes for the purpose of  
 satisfying a want of nature”. *ḥalā* signifies the open space between  
 the villages where people go to relieve themselves, and from this  
 the word came to signify the deed itself.
- ḥmlḥm* ويقولون فلان يخمخم اي ياكل كثيرا ولم يعلم *yiḥamḥam* (97a) يخمخم  
 “to gulp down”. HB 266b “*ḥamm* to gulp down, bolt (food)”. This  
 quadriliteral verb has been derived from *ḥamm* with reduplication,  
 which often occurs with verbs med. gem, e.g. *šamm* > *šamšim* “to  
 sniff”, see Woidich (2006) p. 64.
- ḥml* ويقولون قماش مخمل *maḥmal* (72a) مخمل “nappy (fabric)”. Hava 186a  
 “مُخْمَل nappy silk or wool fabric; velvet”.



## Glossary

- table sur laquelle on pose les plats, plateau de bois ou de métal, sur lequel on met ou présente les plats, les coupes, etc.”.
- خَوَّان (113a) *ḥawwān* العهد خاين او خاين خَوَّان او خاين العهد (113a) *ḥawwān* “traitor”. HB 270a “*ḥawwān* untrustworthy, fickle (of affairs, the world etc.)”, “*ḥāyin* betrayer, traitor”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 87-88 “خوان معرب وقيل عربى مأخوذ من “تخونه أى نقص حقه لانه يؤكل ما عليه فينقص قاله ابن هشام”.
- خاين (113a) *ḥāyin* العهد خاين او خاين خَوَّان او خاين العهد (113a) *ḥāyin* “traitor”. See HB 270a.
- ḥww يقولون ويسمع من اهل الريف بالخَوَّة يعنون الاخوة *ḥuwwa* (127a) *ḥuwwa* “brotherhood”. HB 9b “*uḥuwwa* brotherhood, friendship”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 88 خوة بضم الخاء وتشديد الواو مصدر بمعنى الاخوة مخفف منه ورد فى 88 الحديث وصرح به الكرمانى فليس لحنا disappearance of the initial *hamza*.
- ḥwy “to have an empty stomach”. HB 270a “*ḥiwi* (a) to become empty. *il-wāḥid baṭnu ḥawyāna* I am rather hungry” Wehr 307b “*ḥawā* (i) to be empty (من of); to be hungry”.
- خوى (127a) *ḥawā* الخوا وحصل لنا الجوع وخوى (127a) *ḥawā* “emptiness (of the stomach)”. See Wehr 307b خواء and خوى. HB 270a mentions *ḥawa* as the *maṣdar* of *ḥiwi*.
- ḥym ويقولون انظر خيمه اذا ارادوا نظر حاله وعلمه للطف *ḥym* (97a) *ḥym* “disposition”. Spiro 185b-186a “*ḥēm*, secret, thought; اخذ *aḥad ḥēmoh*, he sounded him”. Lane II 837b “*ḥīm* natural, or innate, dispositions or tempers or the like”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 87 خيم طبيعة معرب خوى قاله أبو عبيدة
- ḥyy “noose”. See HB 272b, and Spiro 186b. خيه (127a) *ḥayya* لم تعلم خيه (127a) *ḥayya*

## d

- d'b يقولون فلان دأبه الشي الفلاني يريدون عادته وطريقته (12b) *da'b* “habit”.

## Glossary

- See HB 274a, and Spiro 186b.
- dāy ويقولون على المرأة التي تاخذ الولد عند الولادة وهي في العرف (88b) داية  
 “midwife”. See HB 274a, from الان الداية وتاتي في محلها ان شا الله تعالى  
 the Persian دايه *dāya*, see Steingass 502. Īhsanoğlu 365 confirms  
 this: دايه: كلمة فارسية الأصل تعني الخادمة المكلفة برعاية الطفل أو أكثر  
 (سامي). وهي من الكلمات الشائعة في مصر حتى اليوم، ولكنها تستخدم  
 بمعنى قابلة
- dbb “untrustworthy”. يقولون فلان دبابي اذا كان غير صالح (13b) دبابي  
 “فلان يدبّ، ودبّاب، أي مبالغ في الكذب لا يبالي بذلك” Taymūr III 238  
 Lane III 841c “One who creeps about with calumny, or slander”.  
 ويقولون فلان دينا من سرقة ونحوه (..) ولعل دينا اي المنا (13b) دبب  
 “to lie”. See كالذباب المولم صح. او هو من ديبب الارض وكذلك الدبابي  
 .دبابي.
- dbq يقولون فلان يدبق في الشئ وهو صحيح على التشبيه (39a) *yidbāq fī* يدبق في  
 “to lay hold of”. See HB 277b. Spiro 192a “*dabbaq* to be sticky,  
 gluey, obtain, procure”.
- dbl “to wilt” ويقولون في الزهر دبل او دبلان وهو مصحف عن ذبل (72a) *dābl*  
 (flowers). HB 277b “*dibil* (a) to wilt”; *maṣḍar dubūl, dibūl, dabalān*.  
 Spiro 192a-b “*dibil* (*jidbal*) to wither, fade, decay”. For information  
 about *d < ḍ*, see §6.2.2.  
 (72a) *dabalān* “wilting (flowers)”. *maṣḍar* of *dibil*.  
 دبله يقولون في الدعا على الاعداء على قلبهم دبله (72a) *dābla* “lump”. Lane III  
 850 دُبلة a lump; دِبْل a severe, or heavy calamity or misfortune; دُبيلة  
 a certain malady in the belly; دِبْل plague, pestilence”.  
 دبله (72b) *dibla* ويقولون على الخاتم دِبْله “ring”. HB 277b “*dibla* 1 ring or  
 band of one width (in contrast with *ḥātim* (q.v.) in case of a ring for  
 the finger)”. Spiro 192b “*dibla*, plain betrothal ring”. Lane (2003) p.  
 566: “A finger-ring without a stone is called ‘debleh,’ or ‘dibleh.’”
- dby يقولون فلان يدي وله اصل قال الدبا المشي الرويد واصغر (127a) *yidbī*  
 “to walk leisurely”. See Lane III 850b and Dozy I 424b.

## Glossary

- dǧl                    يقولون مسيح الدجال (72b) *daǧǧāl* “the Anti-Christ”, see HB 278b.  
 Its literal meaning is “the deceiver”. Its origin is the Syriac adjective *daggālā*. The *daǧǧāl* is the personage who will appear before the end of time and let chaos rule until all mankind converts to Islam. The Antichrist does not appear in the Qurʾān, but is mentioned in the traditions. See *EI*<sup>2</sup> II p. 75bff. (A. Abel) and *EQ* I p. 107bff. (N. Robinson). Al-Maǧribī does not comment on the fact that since *daǧǧāl* is an adjective, it should be *al-masīḥ al-daǧǧāl* and not *masīḥ al-daǧǧāl*.
- dlḥn                   يقولون دُرّه ودخن (113b) *dāḥn* “millet”. HB 282a “*duḥn* millet”. Ibid. Spiro 194b. Boulos IV p. 527 “Dakhn (cultivated) *Pennisetum* spp. (دَخْن مزروع)”.  
 يقولون لما يوضع فيه القنديل مدخنه بفتح الميم وانما (113b) *madḥana* “smoke funnel”. Spiro 194b and HB 282a “chimney, funnel”.
- \* dr                   يقولون دُرّه ودخن (113b) *dura* “corn”. HB 282b “*dura* maize, corn”.
- drb                   يقولون دُرّابة على احد الواح الدكان (13b) *durrāba* “one part of the door of a shop (the door is divided into an upper and lower part)”. HB 282b “*durrāba: bāba xušš wi-ʿfil iddurrāba* (now it’s the month of) Baaba, come in and close the gate (against the cold)”. Dozy 429b “دُرّابة d’une boutique. Quand la porte d’une boutique est partagée en deux, dans le sens de la largeur, chacune de ces deux parties s’appelle درابة”.
- يقولون على الباب الكبير درب (13b) *darb* “large door”. Lane III 867a “a wide gate of a سكة”. HB 282b “*darb* 1. path, way, route (..) 2. main lane (in a neighbourhood)”. Spiro 195a “*darb*, lane, street”. Al-Hafāǧī 95 “درب جمعه دروب الباب والمدخل الضيق”.
- يقولون فلان عنده دُرّبة يريدون معرفة وافعل الشي بدرّبة اي (13b) *durba* “skill”. See Wehr 318b.
- drbl                   يقولون ويقع من المغاربة دربال لشي يلبس (72b) *dərbāl* “garment (Maǧrib)”. *EI*<sup>2</sup> V 745b (Y.K. Stillman): “*dərbāla*: a vest (Lib., Tun.); an old threadbare garment (Mor)”. Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 23a confirms its use in Moroccan Arabic: “*derbala* old, worn-out piece of

## Glossary

- clothing”.
- drq “shield”. See HB 286b, and Spiro 197a. *daraq* (39b) درقه الذي يلاقي به الضرب (39b) درقه
- drk “beat, area of a patrol”. HB 286b *darak* (58a) درك ويقولون مقدم الدرك (58a) درك “*darak* [obsol] area of watch or patrol, beat”. Spiro 197a “*darak*, beat of a policeman or a watchman”. Taymūr III 261 “الدَّرَكُ: بمعنى مسافة”. Lane (2003) p. 232: “Certain welees are said to be commissioned by the Kutb to perform offices which (...) are far from being easy. These are termed ‘Aṣḥab ed-Darak’, which is interpreted as signifying ‘watchmen’, or ‘overseers.’”
- درکه (58a) *darka* درکه “step down?”. Wehr 322 “*daraka* lowest level; descending steps”. Hava 203b “دَرَكَةَ step downwards”. Taymūr III 261 “الدركاه: التي بين البابين”.
- drm “dirham”. Phonetic orthography which reflects the original Persian pronunciation. Al-Ḥafāḡī 94 *diram* (97a) درم ويقولون على الدرهم (97a) درم “درهم معرب درم”. Steingass 514a “*diram*, (..) a silver coin, generally in value about twopence sterling”. The Persian *diram* in turn derives from the Greek *δραχμή*, see Vollers (1897) p. 297.
- dry يقولون فلان يدري لفلان اذا كان يسبه ويدري القمح ولم (127a) *yidarrī* “to winnow; to insult”. HB 288a “to winnow”, p. 287b “to inform, notify”. Spiro 197b “*darra* to inform, winnow, scatter”. In Cl. Ar. it is written with *dāl*: Lane III 964c ذرو and ذرى II “فلان يُدَرِّي” فلان يُدَرِّي “to belch”. Dozy I 485b form II “*répandre des larmes*”. *yidarrī* could be used as a euphemism for “to insult”, i.e. to inform s.o. (of his bad characteristics), see §6.5.4.1.
- dšy “to belch”. Dozy I 443b *yiddaššā* (127a) يدششى اذا حصل له الجشا (127a) يدششى “*roter, faire des rots*”. Hava 206a “تَجَشَّأَ for تدششى” تدششى “to belch”.
- dʿbl “Duʿbāl (personal name)”. *EI*<sup>2</sup> II p. 248b (L. Zolondek) “DĪʿBĪL, poetic nickname of Abū ʿAlī Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Razīn al-Khuzāʿī, ʿAbbāsīd poet, born 148/765 and died 246/860.”



## Glossary

- d'k            يقولون دَعَكَ القماش مثلاً *ak* (58a) *da* “to rub”. See HB 291a. Spiro 199a-b only mentions form I.
- d'y            يقولون دعيتته للشرع مثلاً فان الظاهر دعوته ولكن قال في *da'ytu* (127a) دعيتته «دعيت لغة في دعوت» “I invited him”. See HB 291a.
- dgl            دَعَل (72b) *daḡal* يقولون في قلبه دَعَل اي حقد *daḡal* (72b) *daḡal* *haine couverte, perfidie*”. Lane III 886b “badness, corruptness, or unsoundness, or a bad, a corrupt, or an unsound, state or quality; and a thing that induces doubt, or suspicion, or evil opinion”.
- dff            دَف (22b) *daff* يقولون (..) يضرب الدف بالفتح *daff* “tambourine”. HB 294b “*daff, duff tambourine, larger than the riqq*”.
- dfy            دَفَيْت (127a) *daffyt* يقولون دَفَيْتَه من البرد *daffyt* (127a) *daffyt* “I warmed”. See HB 295a.
- dqq            ويقولون دُقَّاق للشبي الذي يغسل به وكذلك يقولون الدَّق (39b) *duqāq* ويقولون دُقَّاق *duqāq* (39b) *duqāq* “lupin flour, used as soap”. Spiro 202b “*duqāq* lupines in powder (used as soap by the poor)”. HB 296b “*du`ā` ittirmis lupin flour*”.
- الدَّق بِكسر (39b) *diqq* “lupin flour, used as soap”. Taymūr III 272: “دقاق بكسر أوله هو دقاق الكتان”. See also دقاق.
- دَقَّة (39b) *daqqa* يقول الناس على مثل النكتة دقة بالفتح لم يظهر *daqqa* (39b) *daqqa* “joke”. Lane III 895c “And you say, *دَقَّ فِي كَلَامِهِ* [He was, or became, subtle, nice, abstruse, etc, in his speech, or language]”. Therefore, a *daqqa* could be a subtle joke.
- دَقِيق (39b) *dāqīq* يقولون على الشبي الخفي دقيق *dāqīq* (39b) *dāqīq* “obscure, abstruse”. See Lane III 896c.
- المِدْقَة (39b) *midaqqa* ويقولون دقه بالمِدْقَة *midaqqa* (39b) *midaqqa* “trestle”. Spiro 202b “large trestle”, HB 297a “wooden pestle”.
- dkdk            ويقولون حسّ دكدكة ولعلها من تدكدكت الجبال وصار *dakdaka* (58b) *dakdaka* “the sound of something being rammed down?”. HB 298a: *dakdaka* is the *maṣdar* of “*dakdik* to tamp down, ram, beat or press down, level out”.
- dkk            يقولون لا تدك الواجب وهو لغوي قال الدك الدق والهدم فكان *dakk* (58a) *dakk* “to neglect (one’s duty)”. Lane III 898c “to break, to demolish”. Dozy I 453a “glisser, couler adroitement;

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charger, bourrer; altérer, falsifier; escamoter, excoquer”. It is still used in the Sudan with this meaning: Qāsim 246b “دَكُّ: تجاهل وأهمل”.

اندىك (58a) *indakk* “to rush upon s.o.”. Wehr 333a DKK VII “to be crushed; to be leveled”. Spiro 203a “*indakk*, to be rammed”. HB 298b “*itdakk* passive of *dakk*”; “*dakk* 1. to tamp down 2. to stuff 3. to flatten 4. to tighten the weave of (cloth)”.

يقولون الرئيس اندىك اذا خسَّ جسَّه ولعله يصح من دُكَّ مجهولا (58b) *indakk* “to be weakened (voice)”. Hava 212a “دَكُّ to be ill”; “دَكُّ to weaken a.o. (illness), to exhaust (a beast).

والناس يقولون على التكة دكة بالبدال وما عليه دالّ (57a) *dikka* “waistband”. See Spiro 203a, and HB 298b. Lane (2003) p. 30 mentions the *dikkeh* as a waistband for ladies to keep their trousers up. Al-Ḥafāḡī 60 “تكة: ما تربط سراويل معرب جمعه تكك”.

دكة (58a) *dikka* “wooden bench”. See Spiro 203a, and HB 298b.

dldl يقولون للشبي المدلى مدلدل او دلدول حتى انهم ربما قالوا (73a) *daldūl* “hanging; penis”. Spiro 205a “*daldūl*, tail”. HB 299b “*daldūl* minion, one who is submissive or ineffective”. BW IV 140b “*daldūla* Fetzen”.

مدلدل (73a) *māldaldil* “hanging down”. HB 299b “*daldil* to dangle, hang down”.

dlq “to throw oneself on”. Wehr 335 “to dash forward (people)”. Spiro 204a “*indalaq* to be poured out, spilled”. HB 300a “to be poured away, be spilled”; “*itdala* ‘ala to tag after, latch onto”.

دلق (39b) *dilq* “ragged garment”. HB 300b “*dilq* [obsol] woollen cloak”.

Spiro 204b “*dilq*, long ragged cloak worn by Persians”. BW IV 141a “*dilq* Lappen, Fetzen”. *El*<sup>2</sup> V p. 740b (Y.K. Stillman): “*dilk*: the patched garment of *šūfīs*, also worn by clowns (Eg., Ir., Syr.-Pal.)”.

dll دل (73a) *dall* “coquetry”. Wehr 334a “*dall* proper, dignified conduct; coquetry, flirtation”.

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- دلال (73a) *dalāl* دل وعنده دلال والمحبوب دلال ويقولون في المحبوب دلال “coquetry”. See HB 301a, Spiro 204a.
- دلال (73a) *dallāl* دلال البيع للواسطة في البيع دلال “mediator”. HB 301a “*dallāl* broker, auctioneer”. Spiro 204a “*dallāl*, auctioneer, crier”.
- dlā ويقولون في التحقير ما دلاً لكلوك؛ ويقولون ويسمع من (62a; 75a; 105a) *dillā* دلاً اهل الريف فلان ما دلاً رجلاً؛ يقولون ما دلاً قسّمه اذا اتفق اهل المجلس على احد “this”. See §6.3.3 for the demonstratives.
- dmdm “to” ويقولون فلان يدمدم على فلان وهو صحيح (97b) *yidamdīm* ‘*alā* يدمدم على speak to s.o. in anger”. HB 302a “*damdīm* (...) 2. to mutter”. Lane III 910b “دَمَدَمَ عَلَيْهِ he spoke to him in anger”.
- dmšq “Damascus”. ويقولون دمشق الشام فيكسرون الدال والميم (39b) *dimišq* دمشق The pronunciation in Egypt today is *dimaš*’.
- dmk واما قول اهل البنا مدماك فالذي في القاموس (..) المدماك (58b) *mādmāk* مدماك “course of bricks”. See HB 303a, and Spiro 206a. BW IV 144a “*midmāk* Mauerschicht”. Vollers (1897) p. 291-2 suggests this word is of Aramaic origin.
- ويقولون قمح دموكي لم اعلم في اللغة دموكا يناسب (58b) *dāmwkī* دموكي “type of wheat”. There is a hamlet called al-Dāmwkī in Egypt in the neighbourhood of Suhāḡ, see *al-Aḡbār* 25/7/2005 (online ed.), perhaps *qamḡ dāmwkī* was a kind of wheat that came from that area.
- dndn “to speak in a low voice”. HB 304b, ويقولون دندن علينا (113b) *dandīn* دندن and Spiro 206b “to hum”. Lane III 918a “*He (a man) spoke in a low, gentle, or soft, tone, so that his speech was not understood*”.
- dnf “love-sick”. ويقولون فلان دنف في العشق (22b) *danaf fi l-‘išq* دنف في العشق HB 305a “*danaf* /adj invar/ oafish”. Wehr 339b “*danif* seriously ill”. Lane III 919c “دَنَفٌ and دَنَفٌ “having any disease: or emaciated by disease so as to be at the point of death”.
- dnq يقولون حبة ودانق الدانق سدس الدرهم وتفتح (40a) *dānaq, dānāq* دانق، داناق “small copper coin”. HB 274a “*dāniq* <P *dānak*> [obso] (..) 2. type of copper coin”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 95 “دانق معرب “دانه”. Steingass 501 “*dāna*, Grain; a berry; stone of fruit, seed of

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- grain or fruit” etc.
- dnn يقولون دَنُّهُ يقول كذا اي جعله ديدنه قال «الديدن والديدان (113b) *dannu* دَنُّهُ والديدان العادة» فقولهم دَنُّهُ يفعل كذا ليس لغويا (...). ويمكن حمل قولهم دَنُّهُ “constantly”. *dann=tann*. HB 139a “quasi-verb indicating 1. the continuousness or habitualness of an action or state (...). 2. the immediate succession of one action or state to another”. Spiro 84b “*tann*, or *dann*, always, constantly”. The origin of *dann* / *tann* is *ta’anna* “to stay”, not *dann* “to buzz” as al-Mağribī proposes, see §6.4.5.
- dhq يقولون فلان دهقان اي عارف (113b) *dahqān* دهقان “man of importance”. See Wehr 341b “*dihqān*”. Lane III 924c “دُهَقَان, also written دُهَقَان (...) the headman, or chief, of a village or town (...) or, as used by the Arabs, a great man of the unbelievers of the ‘Ajam; ... such of them as was of the people of the districts of cultivated land and of villages or towns; ... a merchant; and one who manages affairs firmly, or strongly, with sharpness”. Al-Ḥafāğī 99 “دهقان بفتح الدال “وكسرهما فارسي معرب ده خان اي رئيس القرية ومقدم اهل الزراعة من العجم”. Steingass 549a “*dihqān*, *duhqān* chief man or magistrate of a village, prince or head of the farmers; a husbandman, cultivator of the ground; a historian; a minstrel, bard”.
- dhl يقولون فلان دهلان او دهلان بالبدال المهملة (73b) *duhull* دهلان “simpleton”. See Spiro 207b and HB 307a. Lane III 984a ذَاهِل “A man who cares not for ornament and the anointing of himself”. KuKuKK is a pattern that is frequently used for negative characteristics, see Woidich (2006) p. 94.
- دهلان (73b) *dahlān* “simpleton”. See دهلان.
- dhy يقولون فلان دُها اذا كان كثير الفهم (127a) *duhā* دُها “clever”. HB 308b “*dahā* cunning”. Spiro 208a دها “*duha*, sagacity, shrewdness, fineness; *rāgil duha*, sagacious man, prudent man, clearheaded man”.
- dwb يقولون يا دَوِّبه يكفي اي انه قليل (13b) *yā dwbu* دَوِّبه: يا دَوِّبه (13b) “hardly”. HB 962a “*yadōb* barely, (only) just, hardly”; also mentions *yadōbak*, but not *yadōbu*. Spiro 208a-b “*dōb* (*ja*), almost, just enough, hardly, when”. BW IV 146a “*ya-dawbih bāyin* er ist noch kaum zu sehen”.

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- This example comes from Farafra. Fischer (1959) p. 156 mentions *ja dūb* “kaum” for Cairo, but without the suffixes. He relates it to *ya du'ūb* “oh trouble, oh pain!”
- \* *dwkā*      واما يك... فهي فارسية بمعنى الواحد... وهو المستعمل في (63a) *dwkāh* دوگاه “the second note, D”. HB 313b “*dōka* <P *du-gāh*> [mus] the note D”. Steingass 546 “*du-gāh*, Name of a musical note”. For more details on گاه, see چارگاه.
- dwl*      “those”. HB 273a ويقولون دوله كذا او اش في دوله طيب (73b) *dwlāh* دوله mentions *dōl* as well as the varieties *dōli*, *dōla*, *dōlat*, *dōlak*, and *dōlan*. Vrolijk (1998) p. 151 mentions the occurrence of ذولة *dawlih* “those” as the subject of a verbal clause. Davies (1981) p. 161 refers to DWL and DWLH. See also §6.3.3 for the demonstratives.
- dwm*      “whirlpool”. See HB 314a. ويقولون في البحر دوامة (97b) *dawwāma* دوامة
- dwy*      “sound”. HB 315a “to resound, make a ringing sound”, *maṣdar*: *day* and *dawy*; Spiro 210a “*dawy* buzz, noise, sound”.  
دوي (127a) *dawy* في اذني دوي او دوي دوي يقولون دوي “sound”. HB 315a “to resound, make a ringing sound”, *maṣdar*: *day* and *dawy*; Spiro 210a “*dawy* buzz, noise, sound”.  
دوي (127a) *duwayy* “sound”. See دوي. *duwayy* is the diminutive of *dawy*, the *maṣdar* of *dawa* “to sound” (see HB 315a), following the same pattern as *ṣuwayya*. See also §6.3.6 for the diminutive.
- dydb*      “inkwell”. See HB 315a. ويقولون كتبنا من الدواية وانما هي دواة (127a) *dawāya* دواية The shift from *dawā* to *dawāya* is the same as in ‘*aṣā* > ‘*aṣāya* and *mirā* (<*mir’ā*>) > *mirāya*.
- dydb*      ويقولون عند لعب الشطرنج فلان يدب ما معنى (13a,20) *yidaydib* يدب الدديدة رايت في اللغة ما يناسبه وهو الدب الرقيب والطليعة كالدبدبان وهو “to explore?” (used in the game of chess). Dozy I 480b “*dydb* I reconnaitre les lieux, les observer, les remarquer”. In HB 282b and Spiro 210a-b only the noun: *dadabān*, *didabān* “sentry”. It is unclear what the meaning of the verb is in the context of the game of chess.
- dyk*      “roosters”. Pl. of *dīk*. See HB 316a. ويقولون صاحت الديوك (58b) *dayūk* ديوك
- dyn*      يقولون ديان وهو لغوي قال الديان القهار والقاضي والحاكم (113b) *dayyān* ديان

## Glossary

والسائس والحاسب والمجازي الذي لا يضيع عملا بل يجزي بالخير  
“creditor”. HB 317a “*dayyāna* creditors”; 317b “*dayyān* Judge  
(epithet of God)”. Spiro 190a “*dayjān*, or *mudājīn*, creditor”.

### d

- dll ذل يقولون فلان في ذل اي اهانة (74a) *dull* “humiliation”. Spiro 254a and  
HB 377b ذل *zull* “humiliation”.
- ḍw يقولون ذو النون النون الحوت (119b) *dū al-nūn* “the man of the  
whale, Jonah”. See EQ III p. 52a (H. Busse).
- \* ḍī يقولون اش ذي اللبكة التي وقعنا فيها مثلا اي في امر صعب وله (62a; 78b) *dī* ذي  
مناسبة؛ وعلم ان قول الناس ما ذي الازلة بالكسر خطأ فان المراد بها الخطبة  
والسقطه “this”. See §6.3.3 for the demonstratives.

### r

- rbb يقولون رب لعسل الخروب (14a) *rubb* “thickened juice of the carob-  
fruit”. HB 321b “*rubb* thickened fruit juice, fruit purée”.
- رباب (13b) *rābāb* يقولون رباب لالة يضرب بها (13b) *rābāb* “musical instrument”. HB  
321b “*rābāba*, *ribāba* musical instrument with one or two strings,  
with a small resonance box usually made of coconut, held vertically  
and played with a bow”. Spiro 214b “*ribāba*, violin, native fiddle”.
- ربّه (14a) *ribba* يقولون للبرسيم ربّه ولم اعرف فيه شيا الان (14a) *ribba* “clover”. See HB  
322a. BW IV 154a “*ribba*, *irbabb* ausgewachsener Klee, der für Samen  
geerntet wird”. It is untrue that *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* does not mention  
it: *الكمثرية والرّبة: ... وبالكسر: نبات، وشجرة، أو هي الخروب، الجماعة: ال-  
Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 82b.
- مرّبي يقولون مرّبي للزنجبيل وغيره وهو صحيح زنجبيل مرّبي (9a) *mārabba* “jam”. See HB 321b, and Hava 239b. Lane III 1024b “(…) مرّبي”



## Glossary

- “man”. ويقولون ويقع من الشوام على الرجل رجال كشدّاد (75a) *rağğāl* رجال  
 Al-Mağribī’s conclusion that this is *Šāmī* is correct; see Frayha (1995) p. 63a: “رَجَّال، رَجَّال، رَجَّال: الرجل: الرجال” and Barthélemy 271: “*raddjāl, riddjāl* homme”.
- “purslane”. ويقولون طبخننا رجلة تقدم انها البقلة الحمقا (75a) *riğla* رجلة  
 HB 328b, and Spiro 219b.
- ويقولون قاله ارتجالا اي بلا مهلة قبل كانه قاله وهو على (75a) *irtiğāl* ارتجال  
 رجله “improvisation”. HB 328b “*irtagal* to improvise”.
- ويقولون ويُسمع ذلك في الحمامات قدّم (75a) *tarğīl* “type of slipper”.  
 Davies (1981) p. 379 “TRJYL, Pl TRAJYL name of a type of peasant shoe (syn. s. JWAD and ZRBWN, q.v.) (Š: 206, 8; 206, 19). The word also occurs in Alf Layla, see Dozy: *vêt*, p 187.” Almkvist (1893) p. 332: “Der allgemeine Name für ‘chaussure’ ohne Hinsicht auf die Form ist in Ag. wie in Syr. مرکوب *merkūb* oder etwas seltener *tergīl* (ترجيلة) *tergīl*”.
- rḥb ويقولون ارحب قادم عليهم وارحب قبيلة والصواب مرحبا كما (11a) *irḥab* ارحب  
 “welcome!”. Spiro 219b-220a “*irḥib*, you are welcome! I am glad to see you!”. This form I verb was originally form IV: Hava 244b “أرّجِبْ make room, clear the way”.
- مرحبا (14a) *marḥaba(n)* صحيح ويقولون مرحبا وهو صحيح (14a) *marḥaba*  
 “*marḥaba* noun equivalent in usage to the English interjection ‘welcome!’.”
- rḥl ويقولون فلان عالم رحلة يريدون بالرحلة انه يرحل اليه ولكن (75a) *riḥla* رحلة  
 “a great man of learning to whom one journeys”. See Lane III 1054b.
- rḥm ويقولون لنوع من الحلوى رخاميّة ولم تعلم ولعلها تشبه (97b) *ruḥāmiyya* رخاميّة  
 “kind of sweetmeat”. No references found in any dictionary; however, there are plenty of recipes on the internet (e.g. <http://saihat.net/vb/showthread.php?t=114332>). It consists of crumbled cookies covered with white cream. The “marble effect” is created by making dark lines on the cream with chocolate. Also called *ḥilwā ar-ruḥām*.



## Glossary

- rdb      يقولون اردب للمكيال المعروف (11a) *ardabb* اردب “dry measure”. HB 14a  
 “*ardabb* <Copt> dry measure of 198 litres, ardeb”. Spiro 9a “*ardabb*  
 measure for cereals (=197.75 cubic litres)”. Crum (1972) 305b “(...)”  
 measure of grain &c, اردب αραβη”. Its ancient Egyptian origin is  
 also mentioned by Vollers (1896) p. 653.
- rdk      ويقولون في تعلقات المحمل الرّدك (59) *radk* اردك “the straps of the camel  
 litter”. Kazimirski I 848a “رُودَك - اردك - enjoliver, embellir”. It could it  
 be some kind of decorative tassel.
- rdm      ويقولون ردم التراب اذا وضع بعضه على بعض (97b) *radam* ردم  
 “to fill up with earth”. See HB 333a “*radam* (i)”, Spiro 222b “*radam* (*jirdim*)”. BW IV  
 161b “*radam*, *yirdim* h mit Erde bedecken, zuschütten”.
- rdn      يقولون مردن الغزل ورمح رديني (114a) *radynī* رديني “well-straightened  
 spear”. Lane III 1070b “رُح رُدَيّي a well-straightened spear”. It is  
 supposed that it was given this name after a woman called  
 Rudayna, who used to straighten spears.  
 يقولون الريدانيّة ولفظها صحيح نسبة الى ريدان (118b) *al-rīdāniyya* الريدانيّة  
 الصقلي احد خدام العزيز بالله كان يحمل المظلة على راس الخليفة ثم قتله  
 الحاكم “*al-Rīdāniyya*, a neighbourhood in Cairo”. It is still a  
 neighbourhood in present-day ‘Abbāsiyya; see Behrens-Abu Seif  
 (1985) pp. 1 and 74.  
 يقولون مردن الغزل ورمح رديني والصواب في مردن كسر (114a) *mardan* مردن  
 “spindle”. HB 333b “*mardin*, *mardan* spindle”. Hava  
 248a “مردَن spindle”.
- rġn      يقولون للقفّة مرّجونة وهو صحيح (114a) *marġūna* مرّجونة  
 “basket”. BW IV 158b “*marġūna*, *maragīn* Vorratskorb”. Hava 244a “مرّجونة basket”.
- rdy      يقولون الشي الفلاني رديّ اي غير جيّد (127b) *radī* رديّ “bad”. See Spiro  
 222a, HB 333b.
- rdl      ويقولون فلان رذل ككتف (75b) *radīl* رذل “despicable”. HB 335a “*rizil*  
 impertinent, insolent”. Wehr 389a “رذيل *radīl* low, base”. Lane III  
 1073c mentions the pronunciation رُذَل , as well as رَذِيل and رَذَل with  
 the symbol ↓.

## Glossary

- rzq يقولون الرزق على الله معلوم ان (40a) *al-rizq 'alā allāh* الرزق على الله الرزق لغوي ولكن قولهم على الله لا يتوهم منه الوجوب فانه واجب الوجود لا "God provides for all" (proverb). See HB 335a and Spiro 223b for this proverb. Al-Maǧribī does not approve of this saying, because according to him God is not obliged to provide.
- rzk "the vizier Ruzzyk". يقولون على باني المشهد الحسيني طلائع بن رزيك (59a) *razyk* *Ṭalā'i' b. Ruzzīk*, al-Malik al-Šālīḥ. According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, the pronunciation of the name is Ruzzayk. He was the vizier in Cairo from 549/1154 to 559/1161. *EI* X p. 150a (Th. Bianquis): "In 555/1160 he built a mosque outside the Bāb Zuwayla, which was destined to receive the head of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī". The al-Ḥusayn mosque is situated between al-Azhar mosque and Ḥān al-Ḥalīlī. *al-Ḥiṭaṭ al-tawfiqīya* IV p. 183 mentions that the mosque was built in 549, during the reign of al-Fā'iz bi-Naṣr Allāh.
- rzm رزمة (97b) *ruzma* يقولون رزمة حطب "bundle". See Spiro 223b-224a. HB 335a "1. ream (of paper) 2. skein". Al-Ḥafāḡī 108 "رزمة بالكسر ما يجمع فيه الثياب والعامّة تضمه وهو من قولهم رازم بين الطعامين اذا ضم أحدهما الى الآخر".
- rstq ويقولون فلان مرستق او عنده رستاق يعنون به الترتيب للشئ (40b) *rastāq* رستاق "precision, tidiness". HB 336a "*rastaq* to fix up, settle"; "*itrastaq* to be or become arranged". Spiro 224a "*itrastaq*, to be well off, possess capital (money)".
- . رستاق (40b) *murastaq* "well-organized, precise (person)". See رستاق (40b) *murastaq* "well-organized, precise (person)".
- rsl فان قلت قول الناس على رسلك اي على مهلك هل هو بكسر الراء (76b) *risl* "take it easy!". Lane III 1082c "ease" وسكون السين قلت نعم gentleness, and a deliberate, or leisurely, manner of acting (...). "إفعل كذا وكذا على رسلك (...)"
- ويقولون فلان رسيل فلان اذا كان خصمه في صنعة الادب ويقع (76b) *rasīl* "rival in composing poems". Lane III 1083c "one who interchanges messages or letters with another; (..) the person who stands with thee (..) in a competition in shooting and the like".

## Glossary

- ويقولون مرسال فلان اي رسوله (76b) *mirsāl* “messenger”. See HB 336b. Lane III 1084b “مرسال” one who sends the morsel [that he eats] into his fauces: or who throws forth the branch from his hand, when he goes in a place of trees, in order that he may hurt his companion. A short arrow, or a small arrow”; in the entry رَسُول III 1083b : “a رَسُول is also called ↓ مِرْسَال, as being likened to the arrow thus termed”.
- rsm يقولون اترسم على فلان اي لا تفارقه لم يعلم (...). فقد (97b) *itrassim ‘ala* “to guard someone”. ظهر ان قولهم رَسَم عليه لم يعلم له وجه في اللغة *itrassim ‘alā fulān* is an imperative, meaning تفارقه “do not abandon him”. Wehr 339a form V “to follow (s.o.’s footsteps, an example, etc.)”. Dozy I 526b “(…) *Etre posté* quelque part, afin de garder un prisonnier”.
- رَسَم (98a) *rassim ‘ala* “to have a person guard someone”. Dozy I 526b “رَسَم عليه p faire garder quelqu’un à vue; aussi c. على et acc., p.e. عشرين مملوكا “il le fit garder à vue par vingt mamlouks””.
- rsn يقولون رسن الدابة (114a) *rasan* “rope with which an animal is led”. Wehr 393b “*rasan* halter”. BW IV 163a “*rasan* Führungsseil des Kamels”. Lane III 1086a “a rope, or cord, with which a camel is led”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 107 “رسن م قيل هو فارسی عربوه قديما”.
- ršm يقولون رشمه الشئ رشما اذا ظهرت عليه حرارة (98a) *rašam* “to make a mark”. HB 338b 1. “*rašam* 1. to make the sign of the cross 2. to mark with the sign of the cross”; Lane III 1090c “رَشَم a mark, an impression”.
- ršf يقولون فلان يرصف اي يحكم الرصف والضرب او الخبط (22b) *yiršaf* “to do something well”. Lane III 1094a “رَصَفَهُ” It was firm, or sound; or firmly, or soundly, or well, executed, or performed”. HB 340a “to pave”.
- rdb يقولون رضاب بالكسر للريق (14a) *riḏāb* “spittle”. Lane III 1096a “رَضَابٌ *Saliva*”.
- rtl يقولون فلان رطل بكسرهما يريدون انه عنده رخاوة كما يقولون (76b) *riṭīl*

## Glossary

- خدل “weak, soft”. Lane III 1102a “رَطْلٌ a man soft, lax, or uncompact”.
- “a weight”. Spiro 228a “*raṭl*, pound weight”. HB 341b “*raṭl* unit of weight equal to 449.28 grams”. The weight of the *raṭl* changed over the centuries, while it also depended on the commodity. Therefore, it could vary from 400g to over 900g. See *El*<sup>2</sup> VI (E. Ashtor, J. Burton-Page) pp. 118b-119a. Vollers (1897) p. 298 believes it is derived from the Greek λίτρα.
- rṭn يقولون فلان يراطن او رطان (114a) *yirāṭin* “to speak in an incomprehensible language, to gibber”. HB 341b only mentions form I: “*raṭan* to speak in an incomprehensible language, talk double-Dutch”. Ibid Spiro 228b “to speak in a foreign language”. Dozy 535b form III: “parler avec quelqu’un, quand il est question d’un calomniateur”. According to Lane III 1103a form III means the same as form I: “he spoke to him with a barbarous, or vicious, speech; or ... in a language not generally understood; ... or he gibbered”.
- رطان (114a) *raṭṭān* “someone who speaks an incomprehensible language”, or: *raṭān* “incomprehensible language”. يقولون فلان يراطن HB 341b “*ruṭāna* incomprehensible language, double-Dutch (applied especially to Nubian)”. Spiro 228b “*ruṭān*, act of speaking in a foreign language, a foreign language”.
- rḅ يقولون ابيض مثل الحمامة الراحية (14a) *ḥamāma rāḥīyya* “a certain kind of pigeon”. Lane III 1104b mentions that حمام راحية or راحية is “a certain kind of pigeon”, or “the pigeon that is loud, or strong, in its cry, or voice”.
- rḥ يقولون احمر مثل دم الرعاف (23a) *ruḥāf* “nosebleed”. See Wehr 400b. “to have a nosebleed” يقولون فلان رحف اذا خرج من انفه دم رحف (22b) *raḥaf* “to have a nosebleed”. Wehr 400b “*anfuḥū* رحف انفه”.
- \* rḳ واطلعت هنا على تصحيف الرعيق بالرعيق وهو صوت يسمع من رعيق (40b) *raḥīq* “loaf of bread”. بطن الدابة وهو قريب من الزعيق بالزاي في اللفظ والمعنى Another example of putting the dots in the wrong place (*taṣḥīf*):

## Glossary

- رغيف. For more information about this kind of misspelling, see also اللّ.
- r'n يقولون فلان ارعن او عنده رعونة وربما استعملوه في وصف (114a) *ar'an* المحبوب حيث قالوا ارعن يلاعب دلّه وفي المونث رعنا يريدون الخفة والنشاط "frivolous". HB 342a "*ar'an* hubristic, pushy and headstrong". Spiro 229a "nervous, irritable, impatient". Wehr 346a "lightheaded; stupid, silly; thoughtless; unsteady". Dozy I 537a "أرْعَنُ *simple, qui se laisse facilement tromper*".  
 رعونة (114a) *rā'una* "frivolity". Wehr 401a "levity, frivolity, flippancy; thoughtlessness".
- rġf يقولون رغيف خبز *rəġif* (23a) "loaf of bread". See HB 342b "*riġif*".
- rġl ويقولون فلان رغل فلانا او يرغله اذا كان يسبّه في (76b) *rəġal, yirġal* "to insult". BW IV 166b: "*yirġil: yirġilūk* sie verprügeln dich (OAE 1)" ("they give you a beating"). Dozy I 538b "appliquer des feuilles d'or ou d'argent sur le cuivre". Kazimirski I 890a "يَا رَغَالٍ Terme de dédain dont on appelle ou apostrophe une servante, esclave"; "أرْغَلُ" (..) 2. Qui a encore son prepuce, non circoncis. 3. Qui a les testicules trop longs." It could be that the verb means saying any of these last three phrases to a person, thereby insulting him.
- rġm يقولون رغم الله انف العدا اي الصقه بالرغام (98a) *raġam anfu* "to rub s.o.'s nose in the sand to humiliate him". HB 342b "*raġam* to force". Lane III 1113b: "رَغِمَ الْأَنْفُ" his nose clave to the earth; he was, or became, abased, or humbled".
- rff يقولون عيني ترفّ وتقدم ان الرفّ اختلاج العين وغيرها (23b) *tiraff* "to twitch", 'ynī *tiriff* "I have a premonition". HB 345a: "*raff* 1. to twitch, flutter. 'ēni *bi-triff* I have a premonition".  
 ويقولون مثلا الفنّاجين على الرفّ {انظر قوله شبه الطاق وظهر انه (23a) *raff* "shelf; arched construction in which items can be placed (rural)". Lane III 1116c: "رَفُّ" a thing resembling a طاق [i.e., a kind of arched construction, app. like the صُفَّة described and figured in the Introduction to my work on the Modern Egyptians."

## Glossary

- rfq      ويقولون لبيت الخلا مرفق (40b) *marfaq* “toilet”. HB 345b “*marfa*’ convenience, facility, anything conducive to ease or comfort”. Hava 263a “مرفق الدار” appertences of a house as kitchen, well, privy”.
- rfa      يقولون رفا الثوب بالالف اللينة والصواب انه بالهمز (9a) *rafā* “to darn”. See Spiro 232a, and HB 346a.
- rqb      يقولون للثقل رقبان (14a) *raqbān* “heavy, fat”. Lane III 1134b “*raqabān*, a man thick or large in the neck”. HB 346a “*ra’abān*: *abu ra’abān* having no feathers on its neck (of a chicken)”.
- rqq      ويقولون فلان رقق اي لان بعد شدة (40b) *raqraq* “to become soft, relax”. HB 346b “*ra’ra*’ 1. to weaken, soften up”.
- rqa      يقولون اكلنا رقاقا بالضم (40b) *ruqāq* “thin sheets of dough”. HB 347b “*ru’ā*’ paper-thin round sheets of dough, usually dried, used in the preparation of various dishes”. Spiro 232b “*ruqāq*, wafer-like cakes”.
- rkk      ويقولون كلام ركيك اي ضعيف (59a) *rakyk* “weak, defective (language)”. HB 350b “*rakik* weak, poor, defective (of language)”. Lane III 1141c “*feeble*, or *weak*, and *incorrect*; applied to a word or an expression”.
- rmd      وسمع عند لعبة الشطرنج رسيه يقول مرمد فضحك (3a; 32b) *marmād* عليه وانما المرمد من الرمد وكانه يقول له ما رايت في هذا الدست؛ واما قول “affected by ophthalmia, blind”. It was apparently used in the game of chess to say that a player did not have any insight into how to play it. Al-Ḥafāḡī 218: مرمد على وزن اسم فاعل من تفعيل الرمد هو الذي لا يحس والعامة تقول له مرمد ولا أعرف له أصلا لكنه في الصادح والباعم وفي كتاب HB 351b . الاعجاز قال فيه ان اشتبه عليك متأدب او متشاعر أو ناشئ او مرمد “*rammad* to develop ophthalmia, get sore eyes”. Dozy I 557b “مرمد *salaud*, sale, impropre” (source: the dictionary of Bocthor). Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 85b “*mermad* pl. -in afflicted with trachoma”. See §5.4 for more information about the game of chess. See also قفة.
- rmm      ويقولون فلان رمك على الشي اي نوى على اخذه (59b) *ramak* “to intend to take (a thing)”. Lane III 1158b “رمك بالمكان” he remained, stayed, dwelt, or abode, in the place”. In the Sudan it is today used with the

## Glossary

- meaning of “to conspire”, see Qāsim 301b: “رمك مرامكة مُرابطة أو ”  
 ”مؤامرة واتفاق على مؤامرة”.
- rmm يقولون ترميم البنا وفي القاموس رمه يرمه ويرمه رمًا ومرمّةً (98a) *tarmīm* ترميم  
 ”restoration”. See HB 353a.  
 يقولون هذا صاحب الرمة بتشديد الراء المضمومة اي صاحب (98a) *rumma* رمة  
 ”matter”, صاحب الرمة, *ṣāhib al-rumma* “the person most  
 concerned in the matter”. Spiro 237b “*rumma*, totality; صاحب الرمة  
*ṣāhib er rumma*, the person most concerned or interested in the  
 matter”. HB 353a “*rumma* all the appurtenances (of s.th.)”.
- rmn يقولون الرمان وهو معروف (114b) *rummān* رمان (coll.). See  
 HB 353a.
- rnb “hare” ويقولون طبخنا ارنبية لم اعرف لهذا الاسم مناسبة (11a) *arnabiyya* ارنبية  
 ragout”. Dozy I 19a “أرنبى qui appartient au lièvre. - fricassée,  
 ragoût de lièvre, civet”.
- rhdl “to” ويقولون فلان يتهدل علينا اي يهزو بنا ولم يعلم (77a) *yitrahdil* يتهدل  
 make fun of, look down on s.o.”. HB 354b “*rahdil* 1. to pull out of  
 shape 2. to become flabby”; *itrahdil* passive of *rahdil*”. In Spiro 238a  
 only form V “to be slovenly, untidy in one’s dress”. Hava 273b  
 “تَرَهْدَلُ to scoff at, to bully”. Dozy II 562b “هدل, II *etre*  
*arrogant*; c. على *morguer*”; “هدن II c. على *se moquer de*”.
- rhf “to become soft” يقولون [مثلا] في العجين المائع رفف (23b) *rahaf* رفف  
 354b “*rahhaf* to make soft, make delicate”; does not mention form I.  
 Lane III 1170a “رَهْفَ it was, or became, thin, and slender”.
- rhq “adolescent”. See يقولون غلام مراهق اي قارب الحلم (42a) *murāhiq* مراهق  
 HB 355a.  
 ويقولون غلام مراهق اي قارب الحلم وارفق الصلاة اخرها حتى (41a) *arhaq* ارفق  
 “to delay”. HB 355 “*arhaq* to exhaust, wear out”.  
 Hava 274b “أَرْهَقَ الصلاةً to delay prayer to the last minute”.
- rhl “flabby”. Hava 275a ويقولون لحم مرهل وهو مسترخي (77a) *murahhal* مرهل  
 “تَرَهَّلَ to be flabby”.
- rhm يقولون المرهم قال هو دوا مركب للجراحات (106a) *marham* مرهم

## Glossary

- مرهم: ما يوضع على الجراحات معرب عن “ 206 Al-Ḥafāḡī HB 355a. See
- ”الجوهري“
- rwḥ يقولون فلان جا وراح (6b) *rāḥ* (6b) راح. See HB 355.
- \* يقولون اراح بشحم كلاه (101b) *arāḥ* (101b) اراح \*  
IV.
- rwšn يقولون رُوْشَن *rawšən* (114a) رُوْشَن “air-hole, skylight”. HB 358b “*rôšan* <P  
*raushan*> [obsol] air vent, skylight”. Spiro 239a “*rôšan*, air-hole, sky-  
light”. Its Persian origin is confirmed by Steingass 594a “روزن, *rozan*,  
*rauzan*, a window; an aperture in the middle of the house for  
allowing the smoke to escape”, İhsanoğlu 380 “كلمة فارسية “  
رُوْشَن: ”الأصل بمعنى المضيئ والمنير أو المَنَوَّر  
and Vollers (1896) p. 623.
- rwq راق الماء اي صبَّه راق (40b) *rāq* (40b) راق “to pour”. Wehr 427b  
form IV “to pour out (a liquid)”.  
ويقولون الطبقة والرواق (40b) *rawāq* (40b) رواق “room; cloister; dormitories of the  
students at al-Azhar” (meaning not specified by al-Maḡribī). HB  
359b “*ruwāq*, *riwāq* section of living-quarters, dormitories and  
workrooms of the students at the old Azhar”. Spiro 239a “*ruwāq*,  
gallery, room, cloister”. Dozy I 572a “*rideau*, *rideau de lit*; *dais*,  
*pavillon*; *salle*, *salon*, *chambre*; *cloître*”. Diem-Radenberg (1994) p. 87  
“*riwāq* arcade”.
- rwk يقولون المال رُوْكَ اي شي واحد (59b) *rwk* (59b) رُوْكَ “public property”. HB 359b  
“*rōk*: *māl ir-rōk* [obsol] public property”. Spiro 239a “*rōk*, general,  
common estate”.
- rwب يقولون لبن رآيب رآيب (13b) *rāyib* (13b) رآيب “curdled milk”. See HB 355b.
- ryb يقولون رابني امره وهو صحيح رابني امره يريني روبا وريبة وارابني (14b) *rāb* (14b) راب  
”to make suspicious”. HB 360b “*irtāb* to  
become suspicious”. Wehr 429b “*rāba i* to disquiet”. Lane III 1175c  
“(…) الرَّجُلُ رَابٌ” The man was, or became, confused, or disturbed, in  
his affair, or case, or in his reason, or intellect, and his opinion; or  
confounded, or perplexed”. Dozy I 574a “I voir de *quelqu'un ce*  
*qui inspire des soupçons et ce qu'on désapprouve*”.
- ryf يقولون فلان في الرِّيف (23b) *rīf* (23b) ريف “countryside”. See HB 361b.



## Glossary

- ryq ريق (41a) *rīq* ريقته ورشفت ريقه ورشفت ريقته *rīq* (41a) “saliva”. See HB 361b.  
 ريقة (41a) *rīqa* “saliva”. HB 361b only mentions *rī* “saliva”. Spiro 241b “*ryqa*, or *lyqa*, sponge inside a native inkstand”. In Classical Arabic, both ريق and ريقة are correct, see Lane III 1203a.
- ryl يقولون ويسمع ذلك من المغاربة على نوع من المعاملات الفضة ريال (74b) *riyāl* ريال “a silver coin”. Dozy I 576a-b “ريال pl. ات réal, écu, piastre forte, piastre d’Espagne, monnaie d’argent, Alc. (real moneda de plata)”. Derived from the word “real (de plata)”, first issued in Spain and Portugal at the end of the 14th century, see *EI*<sup>2</sup> VIII p. 563b (G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville). This is probably the reason why al-Mağribī mentioned that it was heard from the North-Africans. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the “piaster espagnole”, *riyāl*, became a popular foreign currency in Egypt, see Raymond (1973) I p. 21.  
 ريال (74b) *riyāl* ريال ويقولون للعباب الفم “dribble”. HB 361b “*riyāla* dribble”. Spiro 242a “*rijāla*, salver, drivel”.
- rym ريم (97b) *rīm* ريم اللحم ريم يقولون اقشط ريم “left-overs of a slaughtered animal, after the meat has been removed”. HB 361 “*rīm* scum, foam”. Lane III 1204a “a share that remains of a slaughtered camel: or a bone that remains after the flesh of the slaughtered camel has been distributed”.
- ryn رين (114b) *ryn* رين يقولون على قلب الجهلا الرين “blackness of the heart”. Lane III 1204c “رَيْن “rust that overspreads the sword and the mirror”; “the like of rust, covering the heart”, “blackness of the heart”.

## Z

- zbb زب (14b) *zabb* زب يقولون للاير زب “penis”. HB 364a “*zibb*”, Lane III 1208b “زُبُّ”.
- zbrq مزبرق (41a) *muzabraq* مزبرق مزوق يقولون مزوق مزبرق “adorned”. See HB 364b, and Spiro 245a.
- zbq انزبق (41b) *inzabaq* انزبق وهو صحيح انزبق يقولون فلان انزبق دخل وهو صحيح “to dart in”. HB 365a

## Glossary

- “*zabaq* to dart (in or out), slip away, flee”. Spiro 245b “*zabaq* to dart, escape”.
- zbl      زبالة (77a) *zubbāla* بالضم زبالة فلان في الشتم يقولون في الشتم فلان زبالة بالضم (77a) *zubbāla*. See §6.2.12.3 for the vowels of words meaning “waste”.  
 77b) *izbil* اِزْبِلْ يقولون اِزْبِلْ فلانا يريدون اتركه (77b) *izbil* “leave ... alone! (imp.)”. HB 365a  
 365a “*zabal* (i) [slang] to avoid like dirt, treat with contemptuous indifference”.
- \*      زبل (61a) *zibl* مَفْرَكٌ فلان زبل مفرّك في سبهم يقولون في سبهم فلان زبل مفرّك (61a) *zibl* “shit (abus.)”. HB 365a  
 “*zibl* dropping(s) (of birds, goats, sheep, rabbits, mice etc.)”. See also مَفْرَكٌ.
- zbn      زبون (114b) *zubūn* يقولون للمشتري زبون ولقطعة في الثوب زبون (114b) *zubūn* “customer”.  
 HB 365b: *zibūn*, *zubūn*, or *zabūn* (from P *zubūn*). Its Persian origin is confirmed by Steingass 610b “*zubūn* an eager purchaser” and Vollers (1897) p. 292.  
 زبون (114b) *zabūn* يقولون للمشتري زبون ولقطعة في الثوب زبون (114b) *zabūn* “inner vest”.  
 Lane III 1214a: “an inner vest; (...) a thing that is cut so as to fit the body, and worn”. The word has a Persian origin: Steingass 610  
 “*zabūn* (..) a vest worn under another garment”.
- زبون (114b) *zabūn* في لغة الترك فانهم يقولون زبون اي مرض (114b) *zabūn* “disease”  
 (Turks). It is found both in Turkish: Redhouse (1968) p. 1276a “*zebun* (...) P infirmity, indisposition, weakness” and in Persian: Steingass 610b “*zabūn*, weak, infirm, helpless”.
- zğl      زجل (77b) *zağal* ويقولون حمل زجل لمنظوم معلوم عند اهل هذا الفن اي فن (77b) *zağal* “strophic Arabic poem”. Lane III 1217b “a species of verse, well known; [a vulgar sort of unmeasured song or ballad] in this sense post-classical”. See also حمل.
- zḥf      زحف (23b) *zaḥaf* يقولون زحف الصبي علي الارض قبل ان يمشي (23b) *zaḥaf* “to crawl (little child)”. HB 366a “*zaḥaf* (also *saḥaf*) to crawl, creep”.  
 زحافة (23b) *zahaḥafa* ويقولون زحافة لما يجرونها على البيوت لدفع الاتربة ونحوها (23b) *zahaḥafa* “palm-branch with which the house is swept”. HB 366a “*zahaḥafa* (..) *zaḥaf* palm leaves”. Lane III 1219c “*زَحَافَةٌ* the thing, generally a palm-branch, with which the house, or chamber, is swept, to remove the dust and cobwebs from the roof and walls”.

## Glossary

- zḥq يقولون فلانه زحّاقة وتستعمل الزحاق ويصح على ابدال الزاي (43a) *ziḥāq* زحاق  
 سينا “lesbianism”. Wehr 466a “*musāḥaqa* and *siḥāq* tribady,  
 Lesbianism”. HB 402a “*sāḥiq* to engage in lesbianism”. Lane IV 1319c  
 “سَحّاقَة [Fricatrix; quae confricu libidinem alterius explet: (Golius,  
 from Mejd:)]: an epithet of evil import, applied to a woman”. See  
 §6.2.5 for the voicing of the s.  
 زحّاقَة (43a) *zāḥḥāqa* “lesbian”. See *زحاق*
- zḥl يقولون فلان في زحل اذا كان مغتاظا وزحل كزفر كوكب من (78a) *zuḥal* زحل  
 الخنّس هكذا في القاموس ولم يصفه بشامة ونحوها وفي ذكري ان الصفدي في  
*fulān fī zuḥal* فلان في زحل, “Saturn”, شرح اللامية وسّع الكلام فيه فانظره.  
 “so-and-so is in a rage”. HB 366a “*zuḥal* Saturn. *ḥaẓẓu zuḥal* his luck  
 is bad. *nahāru zuḥal* he’s having an unlucky day”. Saturn is  
 associated with negative feelings according to *EI* XI p. 556a (W.  
 Hartner): “Saturn’s nature is cold, dry and male, and it is  
 characterised as black, malefic and generally of bad omen. It is  
 called “the greater star of misfortune” (*al-naḥs al-akbar*), Mars being  
 the lesser.”
- zḥlf يقولون زحلفة على الدابة المسماة سلحفاة وتاتي وانما (23b) *zāḥlifa* زحلفة  
 “tortoise”. الزحالف كما في القاموس دواب صغار لها ارجل تمشي شبه النمل  
 HB 366a “*ziḥlifa*, *zuḥlifa* tortoise. Also *zilḥifa*, *zulḥifa*, *siḥlifa*”. *Ḥiḡāzī*  
 (1969) p. 119 describes the change this word has undergone as:  
 voiceless *sīn* became voiced *zayn*; methatesis of *lām* and *ḥā*, see  
 §6.2.5 and §6.2.7.
- zḥlq يقولون تزحلق وقع *tazaḥlaq* (41b) تزحلق “to slip”. See HB 366b and Spiro  
 246b.
- zḥrf يقولون زخرف المكان اذا حسّنه *zāḥraf* (23b) زخرف “to adorn”. See HB  
 367a.
- zḥm يقولون فلان في زحّم اذا كان في تعاطم والزحّم في اللغة الدفع (98b) *zāḥm* زحّم  
 “pride, arrogance”. HB 367a “*ziḥim* (..) 2. unbearable (of  
 people)”.
- zḏq ويقولون ولكن يقع من البعض فلان يزدق اي يصدق وهو *yizdaq* (41b) يزدق  
 “to tell the truth”. HB 499a “*sada*’, *ṣada*’ (u) to tell the truth”.  
 In *yizdaq*, the s has partly been assimilated to the d, see §6.2.5.

## Glossary

- zrb يقولون للمعمول من القصب والليف [زرب صح] (15a) *zārb* زرب  
made out of reed and palm fibres". HB 367a-b: "zarbiyya hedge,  
fence, enclosure"; "zirība 1. pen, byre (for livestock)". BW IV 183a  
"zarb Zaun (Hecke)".
- zrbب يقولون للقماش المعلوم زرباب وله اصل (..) وهو معرّب (15a) *zarbāb* زرباب  
زرباب (..) المشتهر على الالسنّة زرباب بالفتح والمناسب للمعنى ايضا الفتح  
"cloth of gold". لان زر بالفتح الذهب وباف بمعنى النسج اي نسج الذهب او منسوجه  
*Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* and Ibn Abī al-Surūr have *ziryāb*. Al-  
Mağribī retraces *zarbāb* to the Persian *zarbāf*: from *zar* "gold" and  
*bāf* "weaving". This is correct: Steingass 613b "زر باف" *zar-bāf*,  
brocade, cloth of gold". Redhouse 1007a "زر باف" *zer-bāf*, 1. a weaver  
of cloth of gold. 2. cloth of gold".
- zrdm يقولون مسك زردمته اي خنقه (98b) *zardama* زردمة  
"throat". Lane III 1225c  
"زردمة the place of swallowing"; "some say that the word is P. [in  
origin; app. holding it to be arabicized from the Pers. زردَمَنَ , which  
signifies the "windpipe"]. Al-Ḥafāğī 114 "عصر حلقه" "zardaman, wind-  
pipe".
- zrf يقولون زرافة فيكسرون الفا وليس من لغاتها (24a) *zarāfiḥ* زرافه  
"giraffe". HB 369a "zarāfa a giraffe". See §6.2.11 for the pausal *imāla*.
- zrfn يقولون ووقع في شعر وقفل الصدغ قد زرفن (114b) *zarfin* زرفن  
"to curl". Lane III 1227a "زرفين and زرفين (..) A ring of a door: (Mgh, 1:) or [a ring] in a  
general sense". Steingass 618 "زرفين" *zufrīn*, an iron ring for holding  
the bolt or chain of a door".
- zrq فان قلت ما معنى قولهم (41b) *'azraq: al-'aduww al-'azraq* ازرق: العدو الأزرق  
"arch enemy". Kazimirski I 987a "ennemi acharné". The colour blue has negative  
connotations: HB 369b "اڈما زار' abusive epithet for a Copt. *nābu azra'*  
he is cunning. *ḥaṭalla' il-bala l-azra' 'ala gittitu l'll* destroy him!"  
etc.  
ويقولون زرق الطائر وانما هو ذرق بالذال المعجمة؛ ويقولون (40a; 42a) *zərq* زرق  
"droppings (of a bird)".

## Glossary

- Wehr 357a “*darq* droppings, excrement (of a bird)”. Also زرق is correct, see Wehr 437a.
- زرق (41b) *zaraq* بالمزراق يقولون زرقه بالمزراق “to pierce”. Wehr 437a “زرق *zaraq* to hit, pierce”. HB 369a “*zara’* (u) (..) 2. to give a piercing sidelong glance”.
- \*مزراق (41b) *mazraq* وهو صحيح بالمزراق يقولون زرقه بالمزراق “javelin”. HB 369b “*muzra’* javelin”. Spiro 249a “*mizraq* lance, javelin”.
- z’q يقولون زعق عليه اي صاح *za’aq* (42a) زعق “to shout”. See HB 371a “*za’a*.”
- z’qq ويقولون ويقع كثيرا من النساء فلان على الحال ما يزعقق اي *yiza’qaq* (42a) يزعقق “to shout”. It is the four-radical equivalent of *za’aq* “to shout”.
- z’l يقولون فلان زعل اي ملّ من الشيء *zā’al* (78a) زعل “to become bored, fed-up”. HB 371a “*zi’il* (a) 1. to become cross, become irritated (...). 2. to become distressed”. Spiro 250a “to be angry, offended, irritated, annoyed, bored”.
- z’lk يقولون فلان زعلوك يعنون انه فقير *zā’lūk*, *zā’ālīk* (59b; 59b; 61a) زعلوك، زعاليك وكثيرا ما يقع هذا من المغاربة؛ يقولون على الفقرا الحجاج منهم زعاليك؛ الصعلوك كعصفور الفقير وتصعلك وتفقر وهذا الذي تقول فيه زعلوك وقد تبدل “pauper”. HB 503b “*ṣa’lūk*, *ṣu’lūk* (also *zā’lūk*) /pl ṣa’alīk/ pauper, down-and-out, bum”.
- z’im يقولون فلان زعموم اسود اذا كان مغبرا *zā’mūm* (98b) زعموم “covered with dust”. According to Lane 1233c, a she-camel “of which one knows not whether there be in her fat or not”. Kazimirsi I 993a “زُعْمُوم” Qui a la parole embarrassée”. No reference found to dust.
- z’gl ويقولون درهم زغل (..) فيمكن ان يكون درهم زغل من *zāgl* (78a) زغل “counterfeited”. HB 372b “*zāgal* deceit, deception”. See also Taymur IV 30. Al-Ḥafāḡī 113 “زغل بمعنى ”زيف وقع في كلام الفقهاء او المولدين”.
- z’ff يقولون عمل له الفرح برفة *zaffa* (24a) زفة “wedding procession”. See HB 373b.
- zqzq ويقولون زرقه ليضحك (..) فان الزرقفة الان العبت باليد *zaqzaq* (42a) زرقق “to tickle”. HB 374a “*za’za’* to

## Glossary

chirp, twitter". To tickle is *zaǧzaǧ* nowadays, see HB 372a. 'Abd al-Tawwāb (2000) p. 364 mentions the shift from *q* to *ǧ* as a common phenomenon in Sudan and some villages in the south of Iraq, and refers to another example from Egypt: مش غادر i.e. لا أقدر. Dozy I 597a زكرك "chatouiller".

- zqq      يقولون زق الحمام اي اطعامها الفرخ (42a) *zaqq* "to feed". HB 374a "za" (u) to push". Lane III 1238a زَقَّ فَرْحَةً said of a bird, (..) *It fed its young one*". It is still used with this meaning in the Sudan, see Qāsim 322b. يقولون على الطريق زقاق وعلى الضرب باليد زَقَّ (..) وان اخذ (42b) *zaqq* "to slap". HB 374a "to push". Dozy I 596a زق بـكوع Bourrer, porter des coups".
- zqm      يقولون على الطريق زقاق وعلى الضرب باليد زَقَّ (42b) *zaqqāq* "alley". HB 374b "zu'ā' dead-end alley or lane, cul-de-sac". يقولون للعدو ازقّم او اكله الزقوم وهو صحيح لان الزقوم طعام (98b) *izzaqqam* "to be force-fed". See HB 375a. يقولون للعدو ازقّم او اكله الزقوم (98b) *zaqqūm* "force-feeding". Hava 292a "ازقّم infernal tree; deadly food; food of cream and dates".
- zkzk      يقولون محل مركزك او فلان له محل زكركه يريدون زَيَّنه (59b) *zakzik* "to adorn". No references found. يقولون محل مركزك او فلان له محل زكركه يريدون زَيَّنه (59b) *muzakzak* "adorned". See زكرك وحسنه
- zkm      يقولون فلان زُكِّمَ اي ثقيل (99a) *zukma* "heavy, coarse". See Lane III 1240a.
- zlf      ويقولون على العذار زلف وما علمت له نسبة الا انه قال في (24b) *zālaf* القاموس الزلفة الاجانة الخضرا فيمكن ان يوخذ من هذه بجامع الخضرة او ان "sideburns". Taymur IV 42 الزُّلْفَة: للشعر النازل على الخد بجانب الأذن عند الأتراك. وهي محرفة عن "السالفة فيما يظهر". Nowadays, these are called *sawālif*, see HB 425a. يقولون في مجونهم على المغاربة الزلفة اي القصعة (24b) *zālfā* "large dish".

## Glossary

See Hava 294a زُلفَة. Lane 1245c “زُلفَة a full [reservoir of water such as is called] مَصْنَعَة ; ... also a [bowl such as is called] صَحْفَة”. Dakhla “ze:lfa Blechschlüssel” (BW IV 190b). It is unclear why the Egyptians would call the North-Africans like this. It could relate to زلف “sideburns”.

“to exaggerate”. Wehr 442a *zallaf* “to exaggerate”. HB 376b “*zala* to slip, trip” *itzallaf* “to fawn (to s.o.)”. Lane 1245a زَلَفَ “he added, or exaggerated, in his discourse”.

z1q زلق (42b) *zalaq* زلق زلق او المحل فيه زلق “to slip”. HB 377a “*zala* (u) to slip”. Lane III 1246a “زَلِقَ he slipped”.

زَلِقَ وَزَلِقَ وَزَلِقَ “mud”. Hava 294a “زَلِقَ وَزَلِقَ وَزَلِقَ a slippery place”. HB 377a “*zala* (street) mud”. Lane III “زَلِقَ مكان a slippery place”.

z1l يقولون ويسمع من اهل الحجاز ومكة فلان زل اي جاز ومشى حتى (78a) *zall* زل “to pass, to leave” (Hiğāz / Mecca). Kazimirski I 1002b زَلَّ “passer rapidly”. Lane III 1241c “He (a man) *passed along quickly*”. It is still used in modern Yemeni Arabic: Piamenta (1990) I p. 203b “to leave, quit, part with (..), to go”, as well as in Central Arabia: Kurpershoek (2005) p. 132 “*zall* ‘to pass; to disappear”, see also Behnstedt (1992-2006) p. 505.

ازلة (78b) *zalla* زلة بالكسر خطأ فان المراد بها الخطية والسقطة “mistake”. See HB 377b.

ويقولون على شي يفرش زليّة؛ يقولون زليته وله اصل قال *zalliyya* (78b; 127b) زليّة “carpet, blanket”. See Hava 293a. Lane III 1242c “زليّة, an arabicized word from the Pers. زيلو (...). a carpet”. Confirmed by Steingass 635a: “*zilū*, *zailū*, a kind of woollen blanket worn by the poor”.

زلل (78a) *zala* زلل اي نقص زلل اي كلامه زلل اي نقص (78a) *zala* زلل اي نقص “slip, mistake (in speech)”. HB 377b “*zala* = *zalla*”; “*zalla* a slip, a mistake, an error, a sin”. Lane 1242b “زَلَة a slip in mud, or in speech”.

## Glossary

- فان قلت قولهم مزلة اقدم هل يتعين فتح الزاي فالجواب لا قال (78b) *mazalla* مزلة  
 مَزَلَةٌ وَمَزَلَةٌ “slippery ground”. Hava 293a “slippery ground”. HB 377b mentions the verb “zall to slip”.
- zlm يقولون زَلُّومٌ ويمصّه من على زلاليم حبيبه (99a) *zəllūm, zalālīm* زَلُّومٌ، زلاليم  
 يريدون الشفاة “lip”. HB 378 “zallūma, pl. zalalīm, trunk of an elephant”.
- \* zmr يقولون طبل وزمر الطبل كما في القاموس معروف الذي يضرب (82a) *zammar* زمر  
 به “to play an instrument”. HB 378b-379a “zammar 1. to pipe, play on a musical wind instrument”. Spiro 255b “zammar to play the zummāra”. In al-Mağribī’s time it could apparently also be used for instruments other than wind instruments.
- zmzm قلت قول الناس الان زمزم الفنجان ما مناسيته فالجواب ان (99a) *zamzim* زمزم  
 الزمزمة هي الصوت وبير زمزم معروفة فقولهم زمزم كانهم يشيرون اليها فكانه  
 “to wash”. HB 379a “zamzim 1. to wash (s.th.) in water from the well zamzam”. Dozy I 603a I “marmottes des prières, des passages du Coran; boire de l’eau de zamzam”.
- zmq يقولون زمقنا او حصل عندنا زمق (42b) *zəmaq* زمق  
 “to be bored”. See HB 379b “zimi’, zumu’ (a) to feel bored, fed up or weary. vn zama”. Dozy I 603b “I. biffer dans Freytag la signif. ira excusit. dans le passage des 1001 N. qu’il cite, il faut lire le verbe زهق (voyez), au lieu duquel on trouve aussi زمق dans d’autres passages de l’éd. de Breslau. - s’échapper, échapper.”
- zmq يقولون فلان زامك او عنده زمك اي عجب ونحوه (...) قال (59b) *zāmik* زامك  
 في القاموس وزمكه عليه حرشه حتى اشتد عليه غضبه وزمك القرية ملاها  
 وازماك غضب شديدا والزمك محرّكة الغضب ورجل زمكة محرّكة عجل  
 غضوب او احمق قصير (...) وفلان يزمك يوخذ من قوله الزمك محرّكة  
 الغضب لان زمك المحبوب هو غيظه وغضبه على العاشق غاية ما فيه انهم  
 “angry”. Hava 296a “zāmik” “anger”. Dozy I 603b “zāmik”  
 “II imprégner, incruster”; “zāmik bien juste (habit)”; “zāmik”  
 s’emploie pour désigner ce qui est très-court; on dit



## Glossary

- زمك: الزمكة من “ Qāsim 326b “ فلان طولُ الزمك proverbialment: “الرجال السريع الغضب”. It could be related to Persian, see Steingass 621a زمج “*zamaj* (v.n.), being angry”.
- زامك (59b) *zamk* “anger”. See زامك.
- قولهم مكتوب بالذهب المزمك وقعت هذه من بعض *muzammak* (59b) مزمك العلما ولم يعلم لها وجهها في اللغة ... قوله زمك القرية ملاها يوخذ منه صحة زمكه “adorned”. Al-Hafāḡī 115 “لفظة عامية مولدة كزينة وزنا ومعنى”.
- zml يقولون على الناقة زاملة ونسمعه من المغاربة وتجار السودان (78b) *zāmil*, HB 17b *azmīl*. Wehr 17b *izmīl*, HB 17b *azmīl*. According to Vollers (1897) p. 294, this derives from the Greek *σμύλη, ζμίλη*.
- ويقولون على الناقة زاملة ونسمعه من المغاربة وتجار السودان (78b) *zāmila* زاملة “she-camel” (North-Africa and Sudan). Lane III 1252c-1253a “a camel or other beast used for carrying the goods, or furniture and utensils, of a man”; “or a she-camel upon which are carried the goods, or furniture and utensils, of the traveller”. Still used with this meaning today in the Sudan, see Qāsim 327a. Dozy I 604a “charge entière ou grande de chameau; bagage”.
- zmm يقولون ضربه زمّه وله نسبة فانهم يريدون بزّمه انه مسك قلبه حتى *zamm* (99a) زمّ “to strangle”. HB 379b “*zamm* (i) to press, press together”. Spiro 225a “*zamm* (*juzumm*), to tie together”. Taymūr IV 45 “زمّ: بمعنى ضَمَّ. زم فُمّه أو بُقّه” 45 “it”.
- znbr يقولون على محب الغلمان قلنبرة وعلى محب النساء زنبرة (103b) *zanbara* زنبرة “whoremonger”. واصله بالفارسي غلام بره وزن بره الغلام معلوم وزن الامراة Steingass 623a “*zan* a woman”; 143a “*bāra*” o.a. “covetous, avaricious; addicted, given to”; 623b “*zam-bāra* a whoremonger, wencher”.
- znbq يقولون زنبق وسوسان (43a) *zanbaq* زنبق “lily, iris”. See HB 381a, Wehr 444b. According to Hava 297a also “night jasmine; flower-de-luce”. Lane 1256a “oil of jasmine” or “signifies the jasmine [itself]”. Dozy I 605a “*lis*”. Boulos IV 559 “*Zambaq Pancratium maritimum* زَمْبَق”.

## Glossary

- znbl      يقولون على القفّة زنبيل (77a) *zənbīl* زنبيل “basket”. See HB 381b. It was originally Persian, see Steingass 624a.
- znğbl      يقولون زنجبيل بكسر الزاي وهو بالفتح كما في القران كان (78a) *zingābīl* زنجبيل “ginger”. HB 381b mentions *zangabīl*, *ganzabīl*, *zanzabīl*. Al-Ḥafāğī 114 “زنجبيل معرب وهو عروق في الارض وليس شجرا ولا نباتا كما “  
 ”هو عربي منحوت من زناً في الجبل اذا صعده وهو بعيد ظنه الدينوري وقيل
- zndq      يقولون فلان زنديق فيفتحون الزاي وانما هو بكسرها (42b) *zandīq* زنديق “atheist”. HB 382a *zindī*, Wehr 445a *zindīq*. Al-Ḥafāğī 112 “  
 ”من كلام العرب انما تقول العرب رجل زندق وزندقى أى شديد البخل
- znq      يقولون زنق فلان وهو مزنوق اي ضيق عليه (43a) *zənāq* زنق “to squeeze, corner”. See HB 382b, Dozy I 607a.  
 (43a) *maznūq* “cornered, squeezed into a confined space”. See  
 زنق.
- zhq      يقولون زهقت رجل فلان مثل عثرت (43a) *zahhaq* زهق “to make stumble”.  
 Dozy I 609b II “faire glisser”. HB 384b only mentions “to cause to be fed up”.
- zhm      يقولون في مدينة مصر باب الزهومة (99b) *bāb al-zuhūma* زهومة: باب الزهومة  
 ولها مناسبة قال الزهومة والزهمة بضمهما ريح لحم سمين منتن انتهى وباب  
 “Bāb al-Zuhūma, one of the gates of Cairo”. Lane 1264a “زهومة” the odour of fat and stinking flesh-  
 meat; a fetid odour”. See text edition, endnote on fol. 99b.
- zwrq      يقولون على المركب الصغير زورق (42a) *zwrāq* زورق “small boat”. See HB  
 386a *zōra*, Hava 288a زُورَق.
- zwf      يقولون شراب زوفه (25a) *zwfāh* زوفه “hyssop”. Hava 301a “زُوفَى وَزُوفَاءَ”  
 hyssop”. HB 386b “zôf [bot] hyssop”.
- zwwq      يقولون مزوّق او زوّقه (43a) *zawwaq* زوّق “to ornament”. See HB 386b. Dozy  
 I 614b “Zouq II farder, aussi au fig., flatter, peindre en beau, chamarrer, orner de broderies”.  
 (43a) *muzawwaq* “decorated”. See زوّق.
- zwwk      يقولون في الشتم فلان ازوك او يا ازوك يريدون ان في مشبته (60a) *azwak* ازوك

## Glossary

- “walking in a crooked way (insult)”. *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 848a “الزَّوَكُ: مَشْيُ الْغُرَابِ، وَتَحْرِيكُ الْمُنْكَبِّينِ فِي الْمَشْيِ، وَالْتَبَخُّرُ”. HB 387a “zūk stifle (horse)”.
- zwl يقولون فلان زَوْل اذا كان له هيئه عظيمه (79a) zwl “a person large in body”. Wehr 450a زَوْل “person, body; ghost”. HB 387a “zawāl 2. shadow (of a person)”. Spiro 244a “zāl appearance, form, shape”. Taymūr III 57 “زول: زَوْل بمعنى شخص. ويقال: زَوْلُه كَوَيْس: أي هيئته “وشكله” Lane III 1271c “زَوْل “a form, or figure, of a man or some other thing, that one sees from a distance or a person: syn. شَخْصٌ.” BW IV 194b “zōl Person” (South-Middle Egypt), “Mann, jemand” (Kharga).
- zwl “ويقولون فلان يزاول من خياله مثلا اي يتخيّل منه (79a) yizzāwil “to imagine”. HB 387a only mentions form II: “zāwil to practise (a profession), pursue (an interest)”; “mazwala sundial”. Lane III 1271c “تراولوا they laboured, exerted themselves, strove, struggled, contended, or conflicted, one with another, to prevail, overcome, or gain the mastery or possession or to effect an object”. Dozy I 614b form III: “asiduare; observer, étudiant assidûment”. Qāsim 331b “زاول تهيّأ له أنه رأى شيئاً غير موجود أو شيطاناً أو خيالاً”.
- zwm يقولون يزوم عليه اذا هم به ان يغلبه وفي القاموس زأم كمنع (98a) yizūm ‘alā “to frighten”. HB 387a “zām (u) 1. to growl 2. to utter a mating call (of a male pigeon)”. Spiro 244a “to groan”. Hava 282b “زأم ه”.
- zwy يقولون زاوية للمسجد (127b) zāwiya “mosque”. HB 387b “zawya (...) 2. a small mosque (without a minaret)”. Ḥiḡāzī (1969) p. 120 says this is the first mention of this word with this meaning.
- zwyl ويقولون باب زويلة قال في القاموس وباب (79a) bāb zuwyla “Bāb Zuwēla, one of the gates of Cairo”. See al-Maqrīzī (1998) II pp. 98-100. Al-Ḥafāḡī 117 “زويلة أرض بالمغرب أو سكانها وباب “زويله بمصر يسمى بهم

## Glossary

- of *Zawīla/Zuwayla* (nowadays in South-Western Libya), from whom the Fāṭimids recruited a corps of *zawīla* soldiers. See *El'* XI p. 466a-b (K.S. Vikør).
- zybq      “quicksilver, mercury”. ويقولون مثل الزئبق فيفتحون الزاي (41b) *zaybaq* زَبَيْق Wehr 451a *zaybaq* (= زَبَيْق *zi'baq*). HB 387b *zeeba'*. Dozy I 616b “زَبَيْق pour *vif-argent*”.
- zyf      “forged”. ويقولون درهم زآيف ودرهم زياف *zāyif* (25a) زآيف “bad, or such as are rejected, or returned, because of adulterating alloy therein”. HB 389b “*itzayyif* or *izzayyif* to be counterfeited, be forged (of money in particular). *iva mitzayyif*”.
- zyq      “collar”. ويقولون للقميص زيقي (43a) *zyq* “*zyq*, long narrow slip”, HB 389b “*zīq* 1. edge, border 2. strip”.
- zyn      “trick”. ويقولون ما عندي فيها زيان بالكسر اي حيلة (114b) *ziyān* Zian etymology is unknown. Most dictionaries (Hava, Wehr, Lane, HB, Spiro) only mention “embellishment”. Dozy I 620b “*avarie*”.

## S

- sbb      “to insult”. ويقولون سبّه اذا شتمه (15a) *sabb* See HB 393a.
- sbsb      “to be lank (hair)”. ويقولون للشعر السبب سبسب وكثيرا ما يكون من النساء (15a) *sabsib* “*tasabsaba* “to be lank (hair)”. In HB 395a, it is divided between 2 entries: “*sabsib'* to take great pains with (one’s hair)”. “*sabsib'* to flow, stream”. Dozy 625b “سبسب I taper, t. de perruquier, faire fenfler les cheveux”.
- sb'      “lion, lioness”. ويقولون على الاسد سبع واللبوة سبعة (43b) *sab'*, *sab'a* “*sab'*, *sab'a* (43b) *subū'* “ceremony marking the seventh day after the birth of a child”. See HB 395b.
- “to do something seven”. ويقولون سبّع الانا اي اغسلها سبعا (43b) *sabba'*

## Glossary

- times". HB 395b "*sabba*' 1. to make seven 2. to complete seven days".
- sbq يقولون فلان له سابقة بالشيء اي سبق الناس اليه (45b) *sābiqa* سابقة  
 "precedence". See HB 396b, Wehr 460b, and Lane IV 1300b. Dozy 628a "prompte soumission"; "anciennes relations ou anciens services".
- sbk يقولون سبكه اذا باعه ولعله على طريق التشبيه فان الاصل في (60a) *sabək* سبك  
 "to sell". Its original meaning is "to mold, melt, cast" (metal), see Lane IV 1300c. Compare English "liquid assets" i.e. assets that can easily be changed into cash, and German "flüssig machen" i.e. "to turn into cash".
- sbl يقولون في سبيل الله اذا تعجبوا من شخص اخطا في شيء (79a) *sabīl* سبيل  
 "path", *fī sabīl allāh* "for the sake of God". See HB 397a. Al-Mağribī mentions its use as an exclamation of amazement when somebody makes a mistake.
- sbhll يقولون فلان سهيل هكذا اي انه بطال (79a) *sabəhlal* سهيل  
 "lazy". Wehr 461b "*sabāhila* people without work, idlers, loafers". HB 397b "*sabahlala* haphazardly, any old how"; "*sabahlali* aimless, careless, vague".
- sby "a sweet drink" ويقولون سويا للمشروب المعلوم في العيد لم نعرفه (9a) *sūbya* سويا  
 drink". See HB 398a. From Turkish, see Redhouse 1086b: "سوييه *sūbiye*. A sweet drink prepared from pounded almonds, melon or cucumber seeds, etc." İhsanoğlu 397 "سوييه: مشروب أبيض اللون يصنع"  
 "من أشياء مثل اللوز وبذور الشمام".
- sğ' ويقولون في النثر ضد النظم سجع (43b) *sağ'* سجع  
 "rhymed prose". See HB 400a.
- sğf يقولون سجاف وهو صحيح قال السجف ويكسر وكتاب الستر (25a) *siğāf* سجاف  
 "curtain". Hava 310a "*curtain*; fringe of a garment". HB 400a "*siğāf* trimming ribbon, facing". Spiro 270a "*siğāf*, edging, border". Lane 1310b "سجف a curtain; a veil"; 1310c borders of a garment, or piece of cloth". It seems al-Mağribī means "curtain", since he says its use is in accordance with *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, which says it is a *satr*.

## Glossary

- sğl ويقولون “register”. This is the document (79b) *siğill* سجلك upon which somebody’s sins are recorded, see *El<sup>2</sup> X* p. 538b (F.C. de Blois): “There is also a *ḥadīṭ* according to which, on the Day of Judgement, God will show the Muslim 99 scrolls (*siğill*), each one extending as far as the eye can see, on which his sins are registered”.
- shl ويقولون في العود سُحاله بالضم وهو صحيح قال والسحالة (80a) *suḥāla* سُحاله “filings of gold and silver”. See Hava 312b, and Wehr 466b.
- سَوَحَل (80a) *swḥal* “to show the coast”. Lane IV 1320a: form III “they took, or came to the shore”. This verb is probably formed from the plural *sawāḥil*. There are a few verbs with the pattern KōKaK in modern Egyptian Arabic, such as HB 610b *it’ōla* “to behave promiscuously”; see also Woidich (2006) pp. 68-9. Another example is *يشوَلَم*.
- ويقولون ينزل في السّاحل ينكتون على من (80a) *yinzil fī-ssāḥil* ينزل في الساحل يريدون بالصفع في قفاه... فان قلت ما المناسبة بين قفاه والساحل فالجواب ان يرددون بالصفع في قفاه... فان قلت ما المناسبة بين قفاه والساحل فالجواب ان “he is slapped on the back of his neck”.
- فقول العامة لما يخاصم ويشتم صار يسحل ويعطى له يصح (80a) *yishāl* يسحل “to slander”. See Hava 312a. HB 402a “*saḥal* (a) 1. to torture by dragging over the ground with a rope tied to the legs 2. to make thin, lean or withered”. Spiro 272a “to cause to be thin or lean”.
- shn ويقولون انظر سحنته بكسر السين (115a) *siḥna* سحنة “physiognomy”. See HB 402b, Spiro 272a.
- shf ويقولون فلان سخيف العقل اي ضعيفه (25a) *saḥīf* سخيف “weak-minded”. See Hava 313b, and Lane 1325b. HB 403a “*saḥīf* 1. fatuous, stupid, asinine (of people and behaviour)”. Dozy I 639a “*سَخِيف* aussi en parlant de paroles ou d’une pièce de vers, *insensé, qui n’est pas conforme au bon sens*”.
- sh̄m ويقولون في السب سخام ولطام (100a) *suḥām* سخام Although the word *luṭām* does not, as such, exist, it is clear that it is formed from the root LṬM “to slap” in the same pattern as *suḥām*. *suḥām* is still in use today; both Taymūr IV 96 and HB 403b mention the variant *suḥām iṭ-ṭīn* used as an adjective (“rotten”), while Taymūr also

## Glossary

- mentions the variant *suḥām wi-hbāb* “filth and soot”. Lane IV 1326a: “crock, or black matter, [that collects upon the outside] of a cooking-pot”.
- shn يقولون قهوة سُخْنَة بالضم وما ساخن (115a) *sāḥin* “hot”. See HB 404a.  
 يقولون قهوة سُخْنَة بالضم وما ساخن (115a) *suḥn* “hot”. See HB 404a.
- sdm يقولون سادم نادم او سدمان ندمان السدم الندم فيكون الثاني (100a) *sādim* “repenting”. Hava 315b “repenting”.  
 سادم (100a) *sadmān* “repenting”. See سادم.
- sdý سُدَى “of no avail”. Hava 315b “سُدَى forsaken, of no avail, useless”. Lane 1336c “left, left alone, or neglected”.
- srđq ويقولون السرادق وهو للذي يمدّ فوق صحن البيت (45b) *sarādiq* “canopy covering the courtyard of a house”. Hava 318a “سُرَادِقُ cloth-tent”. HB 406a “*surādi* temporary pavilion of appliquéd or patterned cloth set up in a public place for funeral receptions or other large gatherings”. Al-Ḥafāḡī “121 معرب سرالبرده وقيل 121 سرادق معرب سراطق وأخطأ من فسره بألة القناديل وهو ما يمد فوق صحن الدار والبيت”.
- srʿ ويقولون اسرع في سيره (44a) *asraʿ* “to hurry”. HB 409b “*asraʿ* to speed up, accelerate”.
- srwl ويقولون في اللباس سروال (80a) *sirwāl* “drawers, long trousers”. HB 410b “loose breeches or trousers gathered at the waist and very full in the seat”. Hava 319a “full trousers, drawers”. According to Vollers (1896) p. 643, the word is derived from the Persian *šālvār*.
- sry يقولون فلان تسرّي بفلانة (127b) *tasarrā* “to take as a concubine”. Wehr 471a, under the root SRR: “*tasarrā* (and *tasarrara*) to take (ب or ها a woman) as concubine (سرية *surrīya*)”. HB 411a “*itsarra* passive of *sarra*” “*sarra* to dispel, drive away (sorrow, worries)” does not fit here.
- stʿ ويقولون يسطع علينا اي يهزو بنا ونحو ذلك ولم ار له نسبة (44a) *yasattaʿ* “to be witty, use one’s eloquence to make

## Glossary

- fun of s.o.". HB 412a "saṭa' to shine brightly". Lane IV 1359a "مِسْطَعٌ  
*Chaste in speech; or eloquent; (..) fluent in speech.*
- stl ويقولون فلان مسطول وكثيرا ما يسمع من اهالي الحجاز وهو في سطله (80b) *səṭla* سطله ونحوها "intoxication" (Ḥiḡāz). See Spiro 278a. Nowadays "a trip, a "high" (see HB 412b). Lane 1359a سَطَلَهُ "said of a medicine, it intoxicated him: but it is a vulgar word".
- سطل ويقال " (80b) *masṭūl* "drunk, high" (Ḥiḡāz). Al-Ḥafāḡī 119 سيطل قال الزبيدي صوابه سيطل وقيل هو دخيل معرب وأما قول العوام لأكل سطله "البنج مسطول وصرفه فعامية مبتذلة ولا أدرى أصلها See سطله ويقولون وقع سطل فلان اذا عشق (80b) *wəqə' saṭl fulān* سطل: وقع سطل فلان "to be madly in love with s.o.". Literally "to fall intoxicated". Dozy I 653a "VII (...) être ravi en extase, s'extasier" (BC) and 832a "enchanter, ravir en admiration" (Bc). HB 412b 1. "suṭal any intoxicating agent 2a. doped, stoned, high 2b. intoxicated, drunk".
- sff ويقولون لما يسف سفوف بضم السين وهو سفوف كصبور (25a) *sufūf* سفوف "medicinal powder". See HB 417b, Hava 323a, and Wehr 480.
- sfq ويقولون سفق لفلان بان يخطب كفا على اخر (45b) *səfəq* سفق "to strike hands in a bargain; to applaud". Hava 324b سَفَقَ "to strike hands in a bargain". Hava 399b صَفَقَ "to strike hands in (a bargain); صَفَّقَ to clap the hands; to applaud". HB 506a "saf'a deal, bargain", "šaffa' to applaud".
- sfy يقولون شكته في رجله سفاية والصواب سفاة (128a) *səfāya* سفاية Nom. un. of سفا (see HB 416b). Dozy 660b "سَفَايَةَ barbe d'un épi (comme سَفَاءٌ)". BW IV 208b "safāya Granne".
- sq' ويقولون فلان سقيع الذقن وهو تصحيف عن سقيع اي الساقط (44a) *saqī* سقيع "chilly", *saqī* من السما بالليل كانه الثلج الا ان يقال تبدل السين صادًا كثيرا *al-daqn* "insensitive". Wehr 607b "saqī frost; ice". It has an extended meaning of "insensitivity". Davies (1981) p. 389 "SQ: SQ' DQNH "he became thick-skinned, became insensitive" (lit. "his beard turned chilly)". Dozy I 662b سقيع بارد يا "fou, sot".



## Glossary

- الساقع الوجه ; يا ساقع الوجه يا بارد اللحية  
sot. De même Macn. II, 408,12: ذنك ما اسقع ذنك . Lane  
1707b “stupid, dull, or wanting in intelligence”. For the de-  
emphatization of the *ṣād*, see §6.2.4.
- sqf يقولون سَقَف على يديه او بيديه *saqqaf* (25b) سَقَف  
“to applaud”. Metathesis (see §6.2.7) and de-emphatization (see §6.2.4): *ṣaffaq* >  
*saqqaf* (see also سفق). HB 418a “to clap, applaud”.  
ويقولون سَقَف على يديه او بيديه وسقيفه *sāqifa* (25b) سقيفه  
“roofed passage”. See Hava 326b, Wehr 484b, and Dozy I 663a. HB 418a “arbour”.
- sqm يقولون فلان كثير السَّقْم مثلا يريدون المرض وليس صحيحا *siqam* (100a) سيقم  
انما المرض السَّقْم بفتح القاف والسين... واما السَّقْم بكسر السين وفتح القاف  
فلم يعلم “illness”. Wehr 485a, mentions *suqm* and *saqam*. Ibid Hava  
327a. HB 418b *suqm*. Dozy I 664a “سَقَم amaigrissement, exténuation,  
langueur”.
- sqy وفسر الساقية بالقاف بالنهر الصغير والمشاهد في الساقية الان *sāqiya* (128a) ساقية  
“water-wheel”. See HB 418b.
- \* skāh واما يك... فهي فارسية بمعنى الواحد... وهو المستعمل في *sikāh* (63a) سكاہ  
“the first note, E”. اول الانغام يگاه اي الراسم والثاني دوگاه والثالث سكاہ چارگاه سه  
the third note, E”. *sih* is “three” in Persian (Steingass 710b) and *gāh*  
means “time” and “place” (amongst other things), see Steingass  
1074a. Steingass 711: “*sih-gāh*, a musical note.”
- sk’ يقولون فلان سكَع لفلان اي طاطا له كالراعي *sakā* (44a) سكَع  
“to bow one’s head”. Dozy I 668b “saluer quelqu’un en baissant la tête”.
- ويقولون ما زال يَسْكَع حتى قبل اي يتدخل ويتملق *yissakka* (44a) يَسْكَع  
“to loiter, hang around”. See HB 420b.
- skk وكذلك استعمالهم السك وانما هو الصك قال صكّه ضربه شديدا *sakk* (61a) سك  
“to hit”. De-emphatization of the *ṣād* (see §6.2.4). HB 420b “*sakk* (..) 4. to hit, punch”. Lane IV 1208c “*صَكَّهُ* (..) *he struck him*”.
- ويقولون لا سكة ولا هندام هو على طريق التشبيه ايضا بالدرهم *sikka* (60a) سكة  
المسكوك بخلاف الذي ما عليه سكة فانه عدم واصل السكة حديدة منقوشة

## Glossary

- تضرب عليها الدراهم وحديدة الفدّان والطريق المستوي والسكّي الدينار  
 “stamped coin”. *lā sikka walā hindām* “a coin without a stamp or a  
 picture, head or tail on it”. HB 420b only mentions the verb *sakk* “5  
 (also *ṣakk*) to mint (money)”. Hava 327b “سِكَّةٌ ... stamped coin”.  
 Dozy 666a “سِكَّةٌ (...) monnaie, argent monnayé”.
- skn يقولون مسكن شرعي وهو صحيح ويجوز مسكن بكسر (115a) *maskan* مسكن  
 الفأ “house”. See HB 421b. الفأ بكسر الفأ is an error and should be read as  
 بكسر الكاف.
- slǧm يقولون سلجم وهو صحيح قال سلجم كجعفر نبت معروف (101a) *salǧam*  
 “turnip”. See Wehr 490b. Dozy I 671b “لفت سلجَم navet long et  
 grand”. Steingass 757b شلغم *shalgham*, a turnip, rape”. Al-Ḥafāǧī 121  
 “سلجم بالسین نوع من الخضراوات”.
- slʿ ويقولون فلان يسَلِّع الشيء يريدون انه يسعى في نفاق متاعه (44b) *yisallaʿ*  
 “to be successfull in selling one’s goods”. HB 424b mentions the noun *silʿa* “commodity”. Dozy I  
 674b “سلِّع حصاناً II سلِّع maquignonner, user d’artifice pour couvrir  
 les vices d’un cheval”.  
 ويقولون في رقبة العدو سلعة وهي زيادة تحدث في البدن كالغدة (44b) *salʿa*  
 “cyst”. See Wehr 493a, and Hava 331b. Dozy 675a “سلعة goître, tumeur grosse  
 de nature spongieuse à la gorge”.
- slf يقولون الله يرحم سلفك وفلان يسلف اي يقرض وكلاهما لغوي (25b) *salaf*  
 “ancestors”. See HB 425a.  
 ويقولون وهم اهل الحرف اعطاه سلفه لشي يعطى للصانع حتى (25b) *salfa*  
 “advance payment”. لا يشتغل عند الغير ولعله ماخوذ من السلف لانه قدمه له واسلفه  
 “advance payment”. Wehr 493b “سَلْف advance payment”; “سلفة *salfa* loan;  
 (cash) advance”.
- يقولون الله يرحم سلفك وفلان يسلف اي يقرض وكلاهما (25b) *yisallif*  
 “to lend”. See HB 425a.
- slq يقولون سلق اللحم مثلا اذا غلاه (45b) *salaq* “to boil”. See HB 425a *salaʿ*.

## Glossary

- “chard”. See HB 425b. Dozy I 675b “سَلَقَ (...) bette blanche”. Boulos “*Salq Beta vulgaris* subsp. *Maritima* سَلَقَ”.
- ويقولون يَسَلِّقُ على الحيط واصله يتسلق كما قالوا يَصْنَطُ (46a) *yissallaq* “to climb”. In HB 425b only as *maşdar*: “*tasallu*’ ↑ climb, ascent”.
- slk سلك (60b) *silk* “thread”. HB 425b “wire”.
- sll المسلَّة (91b) *misalla* “thick needle”. See HB 426b. Al-Mağribī overlooked it in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, because it says on p. 914b: “المسَلَّةُ، بكسر الميم: مَخِيْطٌ صَنَحَ”.
- slm يقولون وهم اهل مكة على البوسه سُلمة بضم الاولى مثل قبله (100b) *sulma* “kiss”. From SLM “to greet”. It is still used with the meaning of “kiss” in Mecca, especially among the older generation and people who live with their parents and grandparents.<sup>520</sup>
- سلالم (100b) *salālim* “stairs”. See HB 427b.
- ومن اقبح ما ياتون به اعني عوام اهل مصر في اوقات انشراحهم (10b) *silām* ان السُّوقَة منه يجتمعون ويصيحون قولهم ذا هلال واكبر ذا مليح واكبر واحده “peace”, *al-silām* ‘alyk “peace be upon you”. In Egypt, it is unusual to say *al-salāmu* ‘alēk; it is more common to say ‘alēkum, even if said to only one person. *silām* is not known with the meaning of “peace”, only as a kind of tree (see Lane IV 1415c).
- sly “clarified butter”. See Wehr 489b (9a) *silā*. HB 428b only mentions the verb *sala* “to melt (butter)”. Clarified butter is now called *samn(a)* in Egypt.
- سلى (128a) *salla* “to distract; to amuse”. HB 428a “*salla* 1. to divert the mind from, take one’s mind off 2. to amuse, divert”. Dozy I 679b II “*distraire, désennuyer, amuser, divertir*”.
- smd يقولون ما يقدر على هذا الاكل سميدع (44b) *sumyda* / *şumyda* “lord”. Lane IV 1424b سَمَيْدَعُ “lord, master, chief, prince, or man of rank or quality”. According to Lane, the vocalization is *samayda*; *sumayda* is vulgar.

<sup>520</sup> I thank Ms. Mahasen Abu Mansour for this information.

## Glossary

- sm<sup>ʿ</sup>      ويقولون ربا وُسْمَعُه وهي فَعْلُه من الاسماع (45a) *sumʿa* “reputation”. See HB 431a. The word ربا should be read as رَأْيًا “by opinion and reputation”.
- smm      يقولون سم ساعة بضم السين (101a) *samm sāʿa* “poison that kills on the spot”. Hava 334b سمّ ساعة “poison killing on the spot”. The vocalization can be *sim*, *summ*, or *samm*, see HB 432a. يقلن اي الواحدة منهن بقيت سمائم من كذا وهو صحيح (101a) *samāʿim* سمائم “suffering from the heat?”. Hava 334b سمائم ج سمائم سمائم *simoom*, pestilential hot wind”. Dozy 680a سمائم le fort de l’été et de l’hiver (...). De même le pl. سمائم ; ceux de l’été, la canicule”. EQ II 455b “those against whom judgment (q.v.) has been given, are exposed to the burning Samūm wind and scalding water”.
- snbsk      ويقولون سنْبوسك للمأكول المخصوص ذي ثلاث زوايا (60b) *sanbūsak* سنْبوسك “triangular pastry”. Dozy I 690a-b mentions the varieties سنْبوسج , سنْبوسك , سنْبوسق “pâtisserie (...) rissole, sorte de pâtisserie (triangulaire, M) de viande hachée et enveloppée dans de la pâte”. HB 433b *sambuska*. It is originally Persian: Steingass 700a سنْبوسك *sambūsak*, a pie; سنْبوسه *sambūsa*, a kind of triangular pastry, a pie.”
- snbq      يقولون سنْبوق للمركب الصغير (46a) *sanbwq* سنْبوق “small boat”. See Wehr 506a *sunbūq*. According to Vollers (1896) p. 651, this is a loanword which originates from the west coast of India.
- snbk      ويقولون سنْدوق بالسين كما يقولون سنْبوق للمركب (46a; 60b) *sanbwk* سنْبوك الصغير وكلاهما صحيح قال السنْدوق السنْدوق والسنْبوق كعصفور زورق صغير والعامّة لا تنطق به الا سنْبوك بالكاف وسياتي حرف الكاف؛ ويقولون على “small boat”. See Wehr 506a *sunbuk*, *sunbūk*. BW IV 218a “*sunbuk*: kleine Feluke [Port Said]; Rettungsboot [NOD2]; kleines Floss [Damietta]”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 118 سنْبوك سفينة صغيرة تستعمله “أهل الحجاز وعبر به في الكشف وقيل من سنْبك للدابة على التشبيه ولم نره في كلامهم قديما”. See also سنْبوق.
- sndq      ويقولون سنْدوق بالسين (46a) *sandūq* سنْدوق “box”. Lane 1445a سنْدوق

## Glossary

- dial. var. of صُنْدُوقٌ”. HB 435a “*sandū’, sundū’* 1. box, container”.
- sndl واعلم ان سِنْدَاب هو الصُّلب والظاهر ان الذي يقولون عليه (15a) *sindāl* سِنْدَال هو السِّنْدَاب “anvil”. See HB 435a. Hava 339b “سِنْدَان anvil”. *sindān* is Persian; see Steingass 701 and Vollers (1896) p. 643.
- snn يقولون مِسْن وهو صحيح قال وكل ما يسنّ به او عليه مسن (115b) *misann* مِسْن “whetstone”. See HB 436a.
- shm يقولون فلان قاعد مُسَهَّم اذا كان في فكرة وحسبان كانه (101a) *musahhim* مُسَهَّم “looking preoccupied, frowning”. See HB 438a.
- shy “the *Suhā*-star, a star in Ursa Major”, يقال فلان في السهى اي انه عالي القدر (50a) *al-suhā* السهى “so-and-so is of high rank”. Hava 342a “سُهَيّ سُهَيّ” *dim star in ursa major*. Lane IV 1456a [often written السُهَيّ].
- swsn “lily of the valley” يقولون سوسن وهو صحيح كجواهر بري وبستاني (115a) *sawsan* سوسن See HB 441b. Boulos 551 “*Sawsan Pancratium arabicum, P. maritimum* سوسن زهر معروف 123 Al-Ḥafāḡī”. *سوسى*
- swq ويقولون فلان يسوق الشر لعل اصله يتسوق وتسوّقوا باعوا (46a) *sāqa* ساقه “rear guard”. See Wehr 517a. ويقولون فلان يسوق الشر لعل اصله يتسوق وتسوّقوا باعوا (46a) *yissawwaq* يسوق “to go looking for”. HB 442b “*itsawwa’* or *issawwa’* (..) 2. to go shopping, go buying”. Spiro 295b “*issawwaq* to purchase, buy”. Al-Maḡribī means “he goes looking for trouble / mischief.”
- swk “stick used for cleaning the teeth” ويقولون المسواك والسواك والكل صحيح (60b) *siwāk* سواك See HB 442b; “*miswāk* = *siwāk*”. سواك (60b) *miswāk* “stick used for cleaning the teeth”. See سواك.
- swy يقولون هما سواآن والذي في النحو انه لا يقال سواآن لانه (128a) *sawā’ān* سواآن “equals”. Dualis of سواء. According to al-Maḡribī this should be سَيَان. See Wehr 519b: “هما سَيَان they are alike, are the same”. Nowadays *sawa* in Egypt, see HB 443a.
- sybwyh ويقولون فلان سبويه زمانه كثير من الخواص لا يعلمون (15a) *sībawayh* سبويه اصل تركية واصله سيب وويه سيب بالفارسي التفاح اي رائحه التفاح

## Glossary

- “Sībawayh, personal name”. *huwwa Sībawayh zamānu* “he is the Sībawayhi of his time”. The etymology proffered by al-Mağribī is incorrect. GAL I p. 99 mentions: “Eigentlich Sēbōe, d.i. Koseform wohl von Sēboxt, s. Nöldeke, SBWA, Bd. 116, 404; durch Volksetymologie auf sīb Apfel und bōy “Geruch” bezogen”. *El<sup>2</sup>* p. 524a-b (M.G. Carter): “In practice, he is never called anything but Sībawayhi, explained by folk etymology as Persian for “Apple fragrance” or even “30 scents”, though actually a nickname, Sēbōe “Little Apple” (Nöldeke, apud Brockelmann, I, 100)”.
- sybn      15a) *sysabān* سيسان للشجر المعروف “sesban tree”. HB 411a “*sasabān, sisibān, saysabān* <P *sīsabān*> sesban, Danchi plant”. Wehr 523a “*Sesbania aegyptiaca* Pers.” Steingass 716b “سيسان *sīsabān*, seed of cinquefoil”. Boulos IV 550 “*Saisaban Pycnocycla tomentosa, Sesbania sesban* سَيْسَبَانٌ”.
- syf      26a) *syf* سَيْف وهو معروف “sword”. See HB 446a. It is unclear why it is mentioned by al-Mağribī since it is such a well-known word. Vollers (1897) p. 298 believes its origin is the Greek ξίφος. See also §6.2.8 for the diphthong.
- syq      46a) *syqān* سيقان جمع ساق “legs”, pl. of *sāq*. In Upper Egypt the plural with this pattern is usual, as in *bāb - bībān*, see BW II map 347.
- sym      101a) *syma* سيمه اذا تغيّرت صورته “appearance”. Wehr 524a “سيمه سيماء سيماء mark, sign, characteristic; mien, expression”. BW IV 225b “*bisīmit kalb* in Gestalt eines Hundes” (Baḥariyya).

## š

- šām      101b) *šāmī* شامي وهو صحيح مهموزا وغير مهموز “Levantine”. In Egypt, the variant without *hamza* is used: HB 448a “*šāmī* 1. pertaining to the Levant, especially Syria and Lebanon”.
- šbb      15b) *šabāb* شباب مصدر لا جمع على “young men”. Initially, al-Mağribī believed that *šabāb*

## Glossary

- was an incorrect plural of *šābb*, but he corrects himself in the margin: ثم ظهر ان الشباب جمع شاب قال في القاموس الشباب الفتا HB 449a classifies it as a collective noun, not a plural. Lane IV 1494b “or the last [= شَبَابٌ] is an inf. n. used as an epithet applied to a pl. number”.
- šbrq ويقولون فلان يشبرق اولاده اذا كان يشتري لهم ما يطلبون (46b) *yišabraq* يشبرق “to give (children) a treat”. See HB 449b, and Spiro 301b.
- šb‘ ويقولون فلان شبعان ضد جوعان وكذلك يقولون حرير شبعان (45a) *šab‘ān* شبعان “satiated, full; thick (material)”. HB 450a “*šab‘ān* 1. satiated, full (with food). (..) 3. full (of pleats)”. Lane IV 1497a “*شَبِيْعٌ* (..) *a garment, or piece of cloth, [of full texture, or] of many threads*”.
- شبعه (45a) *šab‘a* الشين كذا فيفتحون الشين (45a) *šab‘a* شبعه “satisfaction (of food)”. HB 450a “*šab‘a* a repletion, one’s fill”. Lane 1497a “*شُبْعَةٌ* من الطعام the quantity with which one is satiated, sated, or satisfied, once, of food”.
- štl واعلم ان قول العامة فلان شتله اذا ذهب او اشتله اي اذهب (79b) *ištalah* اشتله استلَّ بِكَذًا “to make go away”. Lane IV 1396a meaning *He went away with such a thing covertly, secretly, or clandestinely*”. Wehr 489a *tasallala* “to steal away, slink away”.
- واعلم ان قول العامة فلان شتله اذا ذهب او اشتله اي ذهب (79b) *šatlah* (?) اشتله. See استله عن استل مصحف.
- فيكون ايضا قول العامة لعب معه مشتل مصحفا عن مستل (79b) *maštāl* مشتل وهو الطريق الضيق اي ادخلته في امر صعب واما شتل ومشتل بالمعجمة فلم *lā‘ab ma‘ah maštāl* “he put him in a narrow road”, *lā‘ab ma‘ah maštāl* “narrow road”, *lā‘ab ma‘ah maštāl* “he put him in a difficult position”. Hava 309a “*مَسْتَلٌّ* narrow road”. The word *mastal* was probably no longer understood in al-Mağribī’s time, so it was confused with the more familiar *maštāl* (“plant nursery”).
- štm شتم (101b) *šatam* شتمه اي سبه يقولون شتمه اي سبه (101b) *šatam* شتم “to insult”. See HB 452b.
- štw شتوي (128a) *šitwī* شتوي ضد صيفي يقولون هذا المحل شتوي ضد صيفي (128a) *šitwī* شتوي شتوى: في همع “*šitwī* winter, wintery”. Al-Hafāğī 135-136 الهوامع قولهم في النسبة الى الشتاء شتوى القياس شتائى وفي النسبة الى سوق

## Glossary

- ”الليل سقلى”.
- šḥm يقولون اراح بشحم كلاه (101b) *šəḥm* “grease, fat”, *bi-šəḥm kilāh* “brisk, energetic”. Lane IV 1513b “كَلَاهُ لَقِيْتُهُ بِشَحْمٍ [lit. I met him, or found him, with the fat of his kidneys,] meaning, in his state of briskness, liveliness, or sprightliness.
- šḥn يقولون فلان شحنة اذا كان مشدا على شي (115b) *šəḥna* “hatred”. Lane IV 1514b “شَحْنَاءُ *rancour, malevolence, malice, or spite, or vehement hatred, and enmity; as also شَحْنَةٌ.*” HB 454b “*šāḥin* ↑ to quarrel with, dispute with”.
- šdq ويقولون لكثير الكلام يشدق والظاهر ان الاصل يتشدد (46b) *yiššaddaq* “to be diffuse in speech”. See HB 456b, Spiro 307a, and Lane IV 1520b.
- šdl ويقولون الطائفة الشادلية والشيخ ابو الحسن شادلي شادل (81a) *šādilī* “belonging to the *šādiliyya ṣūfi* order”. Nowadays pronounced as *šazli* and *šadli*.  
شادلي (81a) *šādiliyya* “the *šādiliyya* sufi order”. See
- šdn يقولون في الاشعار شادن وهو بالدال المهملة (115b) *šādin* “gazelle fawn”. See Wehr 538b. Classicism used in poetry.
- šrʿ ويقولون الباب مفتوح مشرّع او فلان مهتوك مشرّع وله (45a) *mušarraʿ* “open to the street (door); disgraced”. HB 461a “*širraʿa* or *šurraʿa* 1. window in or over a door”. BW IV 235a “*šarīʿa* Öffnung zur Heizkammer des Backofens”. Hava 360b form I “to open upon a street (door)”. Lane IV 1534b form I: “شَرَعَ البَابُ إِلَى الطَّرِيقِ” the door, or entrance, communicated with the road”. Dozy I 747b form II “ouvrir une porte, une fenêtre, une tente, à sous-entendre الطَّرِيقِ”.
- šrf يقولون كبيرة شارف (26a) *šārif* “old (fem)”. Wehr 546a “*šārif* old (camel mare)”; idem Lane IV 1538b. Dozy 749b “vieux et décrépit”.
- šrk ويقولون شريك للخبز المخصوص ولعله غير عربي مثل بريك (60b) *šuryk* “type of bread”. HB 463b “*šurēk* <T çörek> type of bun”. It is a Turkish word; see Redhouse 735a “چورك *churek* 1. bread 2. a cake or



## Glossary

- loaf, commonly sweetened”. İhsanoğlu p. 352: “جُورَك: نوع من الكعك”.  
 “اللين على شكل حلقات صغيرة مدورة، ومنه عدة أنواع
- šrwI وقوله سروال بالشين لغة ثانية لم يقل فيها معربا وهي مستعملة širwāl (80b) سروال  
 “drawers, trousers”. Steingass 679b only mentions  
 الان بين الاروام سروال and that it is Arabic. Redhouse (1968) p. 1022b سروال. El<sup>2</sup> IX p.  
 676a (W. Björkman) mentions both širwāl and šarwāl.
- šřf اما شطف الثوب غسله šařaf (26a) شطف  
 “to rinse”. See HB 465b, and Dozy  
 I 759b.  
 وقد علم ان قولهم فلان شطف فلانا شطفه اذا سبّه ولم يبق šařaf (26a) شطف  
 “to insult”. ġasal has a similar meaning  
 in Egypt today. Compare the Dutch “iemand de oren wassen”, “to  
 wash someone’s ears”, i.e. to scold him.
- šřf ويقولون لعلامة الشريف شطفة وليس لها في اللغة اصل šařfa (26a) شطفة  
 of distinction of the nobles”. Dozy I 759b “شَطْفَةٌ” Sous les sultans  
 mamlouks, drapeau, proprement la pièce d’étoffe qui en forme la  
 partie essentielle; ce drapeau flottait au-dessus de la tête du sultan  
 et formait l’attribut de la souveraineté”.
- š’lI يقولون النار تشعلل tišša’lil (81a) تشعلل  
 “to flare up”. See HB 468a.
- šġf ويقولون فلان مشغوف وفي اللغة المشغوف المجنون mašġūf (26a) مشغوف  
 “passionate, crazy (about something)”. See HB 468b. Hava 369a  
 “شَغَفَ to wound in the heart”; “شُغِفَ حُبًّا” to feel a passionate love  
 for”. Lane IV 1567a “مشغوف insane, or mad; بِمَالٍ مشغوف one to  
 whom property is embellished (or rendered pleasing) so that he  
 loves it”.
- šřšf ويقولون قلبي يشفشف عليه ويقع كثيرا من النساء yišařšif ‘alā (26b) يشفشف على  
 “to yearn for”. See HB 469b.
- šřf ويقولون في الشَّفَّةِ شِفَّة فيكسرون الاول ويشددون وانما هي šiffa (26b; 121b) شِفَّة  
 “lip”. See HB  
 الشَّفَّة بالفتح والتخفيف؛ يقولون شِفَّة وانما هي شفة مخفف  
 470b.
- šqdf ويقولون شقدف على الهودج šařqadř (26b) شقدف  
 “camel litter, sedan  
 chair”. Hava 371b “شَقْدَف camel-litter”. Wehr 561b “šuqduf a kind of  
 sedan”.

## Glossary

- šqf      ويقولون شقفه والشوام يستعملونها بمعنى القطعه (26b) *šaqfa* “pot sherd; piece” (Levant). HB 471b “*šaqfa* a (pot)sherd”. Dozy I 774b “شَقَف , vulg. شَقَف , ... pot de terre...; débris de pot cassé, tesson, têt”. Barthélemy 399 *šaqfe* “morceau, pièce”. See also Almkvist (1893) p. 293.
- šqq      ويقولون على بعض الامراض شقاق وعلى اخر شقيقة (47a) *šaqāq* “disease which causes cracks in the skin”. See Lane IV 1578b. BW IV 242a “*šagg*, *šugūg* Schrunde” (Kharga); 242b “*mišiggig* schrundig, mit Schründen bedeckt” (Kharga).
- ويقولون شقة قماش (46b) *šaqqa* “piece of fabric”. According to Lane IV 1578a-b, it can be either *šuqqa* “half, or a piece, of a garment”, or *šiqqa* “a piece split of a garment or piece of cloth”. HB 471b “*ša*” a 1. a split, a cut. 1b half (of s.th. (split) in two parts, e.g., a half-round of Arab bread, a buttock, a side of beef).” Dozy I 773a “شِقَّةَ (...) proprement pièce d'étoffe”.
- ويقولون على بعض الامراض شقاق وعلى اخر شقيقة (47a) *šaqyqa* “splitting headache”. Lane IV 1578c “headache”. Wehr 561a “hemicrania, migraine”.
- šqlb      قال في القاموس السقلبية مصدر سقلبه صرعه فالظاهر ان (15a; 15b) *šaqlib* هذا الذي تقول عليه العامة سقلبه بالمعجمة؛ ويقولون سقلبه اي غيَّره من حال الى اخر انظر اصله “to turn upside down; to change”. HB 472a “*ša'lib* to overturn, flip over”. The root was originally QLB “to overturn” with an old causative š. Brockelmann (1961) I pp. 520-1 mentions that there are three causative suffixes in the Semitic languages: *ša* > *sa*, *ha* and *'a*, of which *ša* > *sa* and *'a* still exist in Arabic. See also Kamil (1963) p. 29 for the causative with *ša*-.
- škrm      يقولون للقصير سُكَيْرِم وليس لغويا فلعلَّه تحريف من (101b) *šukayrām* سُكَيْرِم “short”. No references found.
- škk      يقولون شكَّ هذا في الخيط مثلا اي انظمه فيه (60b) *šakka* “to do neatly (sewing)”. Lane 1582c “شكَّ الثوب” he (the sewer) made the stitch-holes far apart”, “شكوا بيوتهم” they placed their tents in one row, or series, in one regular order, near together”. HB 473b “to prick”.
- škl      ويقولون ما ذا الا شكل فيكسرون الشين وليس فيه شين قال (81a) *šikl* شكل



## Glossary

- مدفون في الصعيد “*Šamardal* (personal name)”. There is a neighbourhood called شمردل *in* حي الشيخ شمردل *in* al-Fašn, a town in the governorate of Banī Suwayf, see [www.marefa.org](http://www.marefa.org) الفشن. Lane 1596c “شَمَرْدَل a youth, strong and hardy, and in the like sense applied to a camel”.
- šml ويقولون في الدعا على الاعدا مَشْمَل بفتح الميمين وليس *mašmal* (81a) مَشْمَل كذلك قال مشمل كمنبر سيف قصير يتغطى بالثوب وكمحراب ملحفة “having the qualities of a bad omen?”. Hava 378a “مَشْمَل small dagger worn under the clothes”. More probably, it has nothing to do with a dagger (al-Mağribī’s suggestion), but is a contraction of *mā ašmal* (from *šimāl* “bad omen”) like *mā aqda’ > magda’* (having the qualities of a *qada’*, HB 151a), which is the admiration formula *mā + elative*, see Brockelmann (1965) p. 175.
- šmm “smelling” يقولون على الطيب مشموم وهو صحيح *mašmūm* (102a) مشموم pleasant”. HB 479b “*mašmūm* spoiled”. Is pass. part. “smelt”. Spiro 321b “*mašmūm* smelt”; “*mašmūmāt* flowers which have perfume”. Lane IV 1594b “مشموم a thing that is smelt; such as any sweet-smelling plant”. See §6.5.4.1.
- šnb ويقولون فاتك الشنب *šanab* (15b) شنب “moustache”, *fātāk aš-šanab* “you are a weakling”. Al-Ḥafāğī 172 “فاتك الشنب: مثل يضرب لمن لا يصل”. The moustache is a sign of masculinity, see HB 480b.
- šnšn ويقولون يشنشن اي يصوّت ومنه قولهم لبّه مشنشنة لحلي *yišanšin* (115b) يشنشن يوضع في عنق المرأة والذي في اللغة الشنشنة الخلق والطبيعة فلم تظهر المناسبة “to jingle”. HB 481a “*šanšin* (..) 2. to jingle, rattle”. Spiro 324a “to crack, be cracked (glass, china, etc.). Kamāl (1997) p. 61 suggests that the origin of this word is the Coptic سنسن .
- ويقولون يشنشن اي يصوّت ومنه قولهم لبّه مشنشنة *mušanšin* (115b) مشنشن لحلي يوضع في عنق المرأة والذي في اللغة الشنشنة الخلق والطبيعة فلم تظهر المناسبة “jingling (necklace)”. HB 776b “*libba* (...) 3. gold necklace (of the choker type)”. Lane (2003) p. 566 “The third [type of necklace] is called ‘libbeh’. It is composed of hollow gold beads, with a bead of a different kind (sometimes of a precious stone, and sometimes of



## Glossary

- 487a.  
 60b) *šwka* وهو صحيح الشوكة و هو صحيح (60b) شوكة  
 “a thorn”. HB 487a  
 “šōka 1. a thorn, a splinter, a spine, a fish bone”.  
 (...) “might, strength”. Wehr 577b “(…) شوكه (60b) *šwka*  
 furor of fighting, bravura, bravery, valor, verve, dash, élan”. Hava  
 383a “power, might”. Lane IV 1621b “vehemence of might or  
 strength”.
- šwlm  
 102a) *yīšwlam* وصخبه اذا كثر صياحه و صخبه (102a) يَشُولُم  
 “to rage, scream”. Lane IV 1592b “سَلَمٌ sparks of anger”. Dozy I 783a “I  
 rendre quelqu’un perplexe”. Another verb with the pattern KwKak  
 that is mentioned by al-Mağribī is سَوَحَل.
- šwn  
 115b) *šwna* وهو صحيح مثلا وهو صحيح (115b) شونة  
 “storage place for grain”. Kamāl (1997) p. 62 mentions that its origin is Coptic: (..) كلمة (شونة) ليست عربية وانما هي لفظة قبطية تنطق (شوني) وهيروغليفيه  
 تنطق (شنوات) ومعناها مخزن غلال. HB 487b and Vollers (1896) p. 654  
 confirm its Coptic origin.
- šwh  
 122a) *mušawwah* قبيحها اذا كان مشوه الخلقه اي اذا كان قبيحها (122a) مشوه  
 “deformed”. HB 487b “šawwih, šawwah ... 2. to be defaced, be  
 disfigured, be deformed”.  
 ولكن الاروام والعجم يقولون التشويه على النقش فعندهم (122a) *tašwīh* تشويه  
 كليله ودمنة مشوهة اي منقوش فيها الاشكال المذكوره وكذلك ديوان حافظ  
 “illustration”. No references found with this  
 meaning. Steingass 304 “*tashwīh* making deformed, ugly”.
- 122a) *šāh* شاه اصلاها شاهة لان تصغيرها شويهة والجمع شياه (122a) شاه  
 “sheep”. Wehr 574b “šā’ sheep”, n. un. is šāh and pl.  
 šiyāh.
- šwy  
 128a) *šuwā* الكسر ويجوز الصحيح وهو صحيح (128a) شُوا  
 “grilled meat”. Wehr 578b “šiwā’, šuwā’ broiled, or grilled, meat, and  
 the like”.  
 يقولون هذا شويّه اي قليل انظر هل هو تصغير شي لم يظهر (128a) *šəwayya*  
 “a little”. See HB 488a. *šuwayya* is indeed the diminutive  
 of šay’.

## Glossary

- šy' يقولون شا افعال شا ارواح وهم اهل اليمن وهي صحيحة اي اريد افعال او (9a) šā شا  
 "to want" (Yemeni). اراد في شا يفعل و اردت في افعال لان شا ماض دائما  
 In the Yemeni dialect of today, the prefixes š- or ša- express the  
 future or an intention. See also §6.4.6.
- šyṭn يقولون فلان تشيطان اي فعل فعل الشياطين (115b) tašayṭan تشيطان  
 "to be  
 naughty". See HB 490a. Spiro 328b has iššēṭan.
- šyl ويقولون شيله بيّله والاصل تركي شويله بويله باشباع (128a) šyla byla شيله بيّله  
 "heave-ho!". الشين والبا والضم اي هكذا والثاني تاكيد للاول  
 See HB 490b.  
 Spiro 300b "altogether, without weighing or count". It was  
 originally Turkish, see Redhouse (1992) p. 1142b: "شويله" *shuyle* adv.  
 So, in that manner, in such manner. بويله - adv. So, so; not so very  
 well."
- šym يقولون وَدَّته الشيميه لكذا šymya (102a) الشيميه "whirlpool". Dozy I 812a  
 "tourbillon". His source is *Dictionnaire français-arabe* of Ellious  
 Bocthor. HB 491a "šīma eddy, whirlpool. - also šīmya."

## Ş

- şbb يقولون فلان عاشق صبابة كانهم قصدوا المبالغة فوصفوا şabāba (15b) صبابة  
 "ardent love". Lane IV 1639b "excessive love". HB 493a  
 "şabāba passionately (in love). muğram şabāba head over heels in  
 love".
- şbn يقولون صابون وهو بهذه اللفظة في كل اللغات قال (...) şābūn (116a) صابون  
 "soap". Vollers (1897)  
 p. 311 mentions that its origin is the Latin *sapo*. According to  
 Room's etymological dictionary (2002) p. 575b: "soap (...). Old  
 English *sāpe*, from Germanic, rel. to Latin *sapo*, *saponis* and so to  
 French *savon*".
- صبان، صئبان "nits (coll.)". يقولون قمل وصبيان şybān (116a) صبيان  
*şibān* /coll n/ eggs of hair-lice, nits". In Classical Arabic, the sg. is  
 صؤاب and the pl. is صئبان , i.e. the root is Ş'B. However, in Egyptian

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Arabic this plural now has the function of collectivum, and therefore has a nomen unitatis *sibāna*; it is, thus, placed under the root ŠBN here, as in HB; al-Mağribī also places it under the N, not under the B.

- šbw يقولون فلان صَبْوَة اطلقوا المصدر على الشخص مبالغة (128a) *šabwa* “young and strong”. Lane IV 1649b: صبوة is the *mašdar* of صبا “He was a youth, or boy, or child”. HB 495a “having spine or backbone, stout, solid”.
- šhf يقولون مثلا الفاتحة في صحايف فلان وهي جمع صحيفة (27a) *šahāyif* صحايف بمعنى الكتاب (...). فمعنى الفاتحة في صحايفه اي تثبت في كتب حسناته “books”. Synonym of كتاب, see Lane IV 1655b.
- ويقولون مصحف تارة بفتح الميم وتارة بضمّها (27a) *mašhaf*, *mušhaf* مصحف “copy of the Qur’ān”. HB 497a only gives the pronunciation *mušhaf*. Hava 390a gives the three pronunciations.
- šhn يقولون صحن صيني مثلا (116a) *šahṇ* “plate”. HB 497b “*šahṇ* 1. plate, dish”. *šahṇ šīnī* is related to *šīniyya* “tray” as a result of ellipsis.
- šdf يقولون فلان يصدف اي ينظر وصدفته اين (27b) *šəḍaf*, *yišḍaf* يصدف، يصدف “to see; to come across”. HB 499a “*šadaf* (a) to happen by chance”, form III “to come across, chance upon”. Lane IV 1665c I “صدف عنه” he turned away from”, III “he found him”. Dozy I 824a form I “vulg., pour la IIIe, rencontrer”.
- šdf يقول الناس كانت صدفة يريدون انها نادرة (27b) *šudfa* “rare”. HB 499a “*šudfa* chance, chance circumstance, coincidence”. A coincidence does not happen often, it is, therefore, rare.
- šdq يقولون مصداق هذا كذا اي الذي يصدقه (47a) *mišḍāq* “touchstone”. Hava 393a “مصداق touchstone; test, criterion”. HB 499b “*mišḍāq* (also *mišḍāqan*) *li-kalāmak*... confirming your (truthful) words...”
- ويقولون نعرض كذا على صدقات مولانا مثلا (47b) *šəḍaqāt* صدقات “charitable deeds”. See HB 499b.
- šrf يقولون صرّاف وصرّافي (27b) *šarrāf* “money changer”. See HB 502a. The *fa*“*āl*-form according to Fleisch (1961) I p. 358 “donne du vocabulaire expressif: adjectives (augmentatifs ou diminutives) qui



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- peuvent être substantivés”.
- صيرفي (27b) *syrafi* صيرافي وبقولون صرّاف وبقولون صيرفي “money changer”. Lane IV 1683a “صيرفي *i.q.* ↓ صرّافٌ (..) A money-changer”.
- صرفان (27b) *ṣarfān* وبقولون على حجارة تخرج من الجير صرفان “block of limestone”. Lane IV 1682b “الصرفان death; lead; copper; a sort of dates”. No source has been found which gives the meaning of “limestone”.
- ṣrm صرم وبقولون على الاست صرم ولم يعلم *ṣarm* (102b) “arsehole”. HB 502b “*ṣurm* [coarse] arsehole”. Hava 319a “سُرْم anus, end of the rectum”. Al-Maḡribī did not find its meaning in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, because the word is written with a *sīn* in Classical Arabic. The emphasis occurred because of the vicinity of the emphatic *rā*; see §6.2.4.
- ṣtb وبقولون مصطبة للذي يجلس عليها وتقدم ان الصواب (15b) *maṣṭaba* مصطبة “stone bench”. See HB 826b, and Hava 319b. Vollers (1897) p. 293 suggests that its origin is Aramaic.
- ṣlk الصعلوك كعصفور الفقير وتصعلك افتقر وهذا الذي تقول فيه (61a) *ṣa’lūk* زعلوك “poor”. See زعلوك وقد تبدل الزاي صادا.
- ṣfṣf وبقولون صفصاف قال وهو شجر الخلف (28a) *ṣafṣāf* “willow”. See HB *ṣafṣāf, suṣṣāf*. Boulos IV p. 550 “*Safsaaf Salix mucronata* صَفْصَاف”.
- ṣff وبقولون فلان من صَفِّي مثلا اي من حزبي (28a) *ṣaff* “group”. HB 506a “*ṣaff* 1. row, line, rank”. Dozy I 834a “bande, essaim; troisième patrie d’une compagnie; ligue entre des tribus”. Lane IV 1693c “a company of men standing in a rank”.
- ṣq’ وبقولون خطيب مصّقع كانه اذا تكلم لا (47a) *miṣqa’* “loud-voiced”. See Hava 401b, and Wehr 607b. وبقولون مصقله فيفتحون الميم وليس كذلك قال والمصقلة (81a) *maṣqala* “burnisher”. See HB 507a *maṣ’ala*. Hava 401b

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- “مِصْقَلٌ وَمِصْقَلَةٌ polisher”.
- şlf صليْف (28a) *şalîf* صليْف نظيف يقولون meaningless rhymeword to *nazîf*, *nazîf şalîf* “spotless”.
- şly صلايَة (128b) *şalāya* لما يدق بها يقولون “mortar and pestle”. See Lane IV 1722a-b. HB 510a “*şalāya [rur]* wooden mortar and pestle”. BW IV 268a “*şalāya* (...) Palmstumpf, Palmwurzel (ausgehöhlt als Mörser verwendet, daher vielfach *şalāya* = hölzener Mörser”.
- şml اصمَل (81a) *işmul* بالتجدد اذا امره بالتجدد يقولون ايضا معنى قولهم اصمَل يا فلان *endure! (imperative)*. See HB 510b, and Spiro 343b.
- صامول (81a) *şāmūl* ويقولون خبز صامول *type of bread*. It seems its origin is Turkish; see Redhouse 1195a “صومون *somun* 1. a loaf (of bread)”. Spiro 331b “صامولي *şamūly*, coarse bread, soldiers’ bread”. In HB 510b only as a verb “*şammal [rur]* to reheat, re-bake (bread)”. İhsanoğlu p. 413-414: صومون: تعني الخبز المستدير، والقطعة المعدنية الصغيرة المربعة أو المسدسة الشكل ذات الثقب المولوب تدخل في المسمار صُمَيْلَة “*şümīle*”. Dozy I 845a الملولب (..) ويبدو أن الصمولة في مصر تحريف لها *des pois chiches qui sont rouges et mauvais*. Bosworth (1976) II p. 281 mentions *maşmūl* and *şumūl*, used in the Sāsānī jargon for “bread”.
- şndq ويقولون صندوق بفتح الصاد قال في القاموس الصندوق *şandūq* (47b) صندوق *şandūq* بالضم وقد تفتح “box”. See HB 435a *sandūʿ*, *sundūʿ*. According to Vollers (1896) p. 651, the word was originally Indian.
- şntف ويقولون يسَلِّق على الحيط واصله يتسلق كما قالوا يَصْنَطُ (46a) *yişşannaṭ* *yişşannaṭ* يتصنط *to eavesdrop*. See HB 511a. Dozy I 845b “صنت V être aux écoutes; c’est pour تنصتت que Bc a dans le même sens; on écrit aussi تنصنط”.
- şnf ويقولون عنده من صنف كذا فيفتحون الصاد ولكن هي لغة فيه *şanf* (28a) صنف *şanf* “type”. See HB 512a. Lane IV 1735b “صِنْفٌ and ↓ صَنَفٌ a sort, or species”.
- şnn صنان (116a) *şunān* يقولون رائحته صنة او صنان *stench*. Lane IV 1730b “صِنَّةٌ a stink, or stench; (..) as also صَنَّان”. HB 512b “*şann* strong

## Glossary

- odour, reek (particularly of urine or onions)”; *ibid.* “*ṣunān = ṣann*”.
- صنة (116a) *ṣann* “stench”. See صنان.
- ṣhl ويقولون كغيرهم في الفرس حَيَوَان صَاهِل وفي الحمار حيوان (81b) *ṣāhil* وناقى “whinnying”. See HB 513a.
- ṣww “al- يقولون على محل عند القلعة في مصر الصوّة (128b) *al-ṣuwwa*, name of a place close to the Citadel in Cairo”. Lane IV 1739b-c “a sign for the guidance of travellers, consisting of stones; (..) Rugged and elevated ground, but inferior to a mountain”. According to al-Qalqaṣandī (1987) III p. 423, al-Ṣuwwa is the elevation on the side of al-Qāhira, upon which the Citadel is built: “(...) الصوّة وهي بقية (...) النشز الذي بنيت عليه القلعة من جهة القاهرة”.
- ṣyh يقولون تمر برني وصيحاني وبرنيّة *ṣyhānī* (109b) صيحاني (109b) “kind of date”. Lane IV 1752b “a sort of dates of El-Medeeneh, black, and hard to chew”. *Ṣayhān* is a river in eastern Turkey, see *Et* IX p. 112a (C.P. Haase), but it is unclear if there is any link between this river and the *tamar ṣyhānī*.
- ṣyr يقولون كاني صاري لعلهما منسوبين الى (128b) *kāni ṣāri* صاري: كاني صاري “excuses?”. HB 729a “*kāni w-māni* <Copt> one thing or another; (..) *ḥat’ulli kāni w-māni* are you giving me a lot of excuses?”. HB’s explanation that this is Coptic is incorrect, because it can be attributed to *mīm*-alliteration. *kāni ṣāri* could be a variant of this. In Syrian, *ṣār* means “devenir, être fait ou rendu tel ou tel” (Barthélemy 452).
- ṣyf ويقولون شتا وصيف (28b) *ṣyf* “summer”. See HB 517a.

## ḍ

- ḍn يقولون لحم ضاني (116a) *ḍānī* ضاني “mutton”. See HB 518a. Dozy II 3a “*viande de mouton* ضاني”.
- ḍrb يقولون في وصف الزيت ضرب الما وهو صحيح اي مثل الما (15b) *ḍarb* ضرب “similar, like”. Lane IV 1781b “...a like (of a thing and of a person).” Wehr 630b “kind, sort (...); similar, like”. Dozy II 6b “*espèce*”.

## Glossary

- ضريبة (16a) *darība* ويقولون ضريبة رز مثلا *darība* "tax". See HB 520b.
- ḏ'f يقولون الضعف فيفتحون العين وهي لغه ويضم مع سكون العين (28b) *ḏa'f* "weakness". See HB 522a.
- ḏff ويقولون في غناهم بكيت حتى مليت الحوض للشفه واسقيت (29a) *ḏaffa* "group". HB 523a "*ḏaffa* group (usually as part of a profession)". Lane IV 1795a "صَفَة a single act of pushing, pressing, crowding, or thronging, together upon water."
- ḏll يقولون فلان في الصحرا ضالّ أي انه تاه وتحيرّ ويقع هذا كثيرا (81b) *ḏāll* "lost (active part.)" (Arabs). In Egypt, the verb is still used in this sense, but the active participle is *ḏālil*, see HB 523b.
- ḏw' ويقولون ضاً وهو صحيح قال المجدي ضاً وضوا وضاً (9a) *ḏā* "to shine". HB 526b only mentions "*ḏawa* to gleam, shine, give off light" and "*aḏā* to light, illuminate". Spiro 354b only gives *ḏawa*. Dozy II 15a "ضوى I s'emploie dans la langue vulgaire pour ضاء, *briller*". It could be a classicism.
- ḏyf يقولون عندنا ضيف ولو كانت امراة (29a) *ḏyf* "guest (m. and f.)". Lane IV 1814b confirms that it is used for the masculine and feminine, as well as the plural.
- وقد وافقت العامة من الفلاحين الصواب في هذه (29a) *ḏāf, yiḏīf* ضيف، يضيف "to be a guest". Lane IV 1813c "ضيفتُه I alighted at his abode". Spiro 348a "*ḏāf (jiḏyf)*, to add, entertain, give hospitality".

## ṭ

- ṭāb يقولون طاب للّذي يلعبون به وطابة للكرة ايضا (16b) *ṭāb* "the *ṭāb*-game". HB 528a "game for two players with stone counters and four strips of palm branch, each strip having one green and one white side; the strips are thrown against a vertical surface and the

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various combinations of green and white govern the movement of the stones on a grid drawn in the dust”. Both the game and the pieces with which it is played are called *ṭāb*, see Lane (2003) p. 346-349. See also Dozy II 65b.

طابة (16b) *ṭāba* “the strip of palm branch with which the *ṭāb*-game is played”. See طاب.

ṭāṭ (9a) *ṭa'ṭa'* طامنه طأطأ راسه يقولون طأطأ “to bow one’s head”. See HB 540a.

ṭbṭb (16a) *ṭabṭab* طبببب على الشئ يقولون طبببب على الشئ “to pat”. See HB 530b, and Dozy II 21b.

ويقولون جا فلان على طببببب *ṭabṭāb*: *ala ṭabṭābi* (19a) طبببببب: على طبببببب اي موافق لمزاجي “just when I wanted it”. HB 530b “*ga ala ṭṭubṭāb* it came just as (and when) wanted”. The word طبببببب means “A broad piece of wood, with which one plays with the ball”, see Lane V p. 1821b. So, the expression would mean that the ball has hit the طبببببب in exactly the right place.

ṭbg (16b) *ṭābga* طبببببب دخانها يشربون باسم طبببببب التي اشتهرت باسم طبببببب “tobacco”. Nowadays تبببب (see Wehr 110a). See §5.2 for more information about the use of tobacco.

ṭbq (47b) *ṭaṭabbaq* طبببببب على الارض ما فعلته *al-samā* “to crush down”. *law ṭaṭabbaqat al-samā* ‘*al-a al-arḍ mā fa’altuh* “(even) if the heaven would crush on the earth, I would not do it”. HB 532a “*ittabba*’ pass of *ṭabba*” “*ṭabba*’ 1b to crush, bend”. For the prefix *ta-* of form V, see §6.3.1.2.

ويقولون فلان طبببببب الارض علما لعله ماخوذ من *ṭabbaq al-arḍ* (47b) طبببببب الارض “to travel the world”. Dozy II 23b “*ṭabbaq* بالارض *il parcourut toute la terre*”. HB 532a *ṭabba*’ “to fold; to crush; to fit together; to apply; to compare; to syncope; to work shifts; to extend (a drawn game) by doubling the score”.

ويقولون جنونه مطببببب قال في القاموس اطبقه غطاه ومنه *muṭbaq* (47b) مطبببببب “complete”. Wehr 647a “*muṭbiq* entire, complete” Hava 426b “covering, overwhelming”. Spiro 361a “*ḡafla muṭbaq*, a stupid piece of ignorance”. Lane V 1827c-1828a “And مطببببب is used



## Glossary

- with an arched roof”.
- tff وقولهم ايضا طف على وجه الما صحيح من قولهم خذ ما طفّ *ṭaff* (30a) طف  
 “to present itself (opportunity)”; لك واستطف اي ما ارتفع لك وامكن  
 with على: “to throw himself on”. HB 541b “to gush out”. Dozy II 47a  
 “على se jeter sur”. Kazimirski II 86b-87a “Se présenter de manière à  
 pouvoir être pris, saisi; prêter le flanc. On dit: خذ ما طفّ لك Prends  
 ce qui se présente à toi, profite de l’occasion”; form X “être proche,  
 être à portée, et prêter le flanc”.  
 ويقولون يرضى بدون الطفيف وهو صحيح اي يرضى باقل من *ṭaffif* (30a) طفيف  
 القليل “trivial”. See HB 541b. Lane V 1858b “little in quantity”.
- tfl ويقولون على الولد الطفل *tifl* (82a) طفل  
 “boy”. See HB 541b.  
 ويقولون طفل للذي يغسل به ولم يعلم *ṭafl* (82b) طفل  
 “fuller’s earth: clay used for washing”. HB 541b “*ṭafl* clay, especially potter’s clay”. Lane  
 V 1860c “طفال and طفال dry clay (K:) of the dial. of El-Yemen”. Dozy  
 II 48b-49a “طفل terre à foulon, (...) on en fait usage dans les bains  
 pour nettoyer la peau et surtout les cheveux”.
- tfl فان قلت قول الناس فلان يتطفل عليكم مثلا او متطفل ويقع *yitṭaffil* (82b) يتطفل  
 “to sponge, be a parasite”. See HB 541b, and Hava 434a.  
 يتطفل (82b) *mutṭaffil* “spongeing”. See يتطفل.
- tqq ويقولون اذا وقع شي قال طق وهو حكاية صوت الحجارة *ṭaqq* (47b) طق  
 “bang!”, *qāl ṭaqq* “he fell with a bang”. Onomatopoeia imitating the  
 sound of something that falls. HB 542a “ṭa” (...) 2. to crack, make a  
 cracking noise”. *’āl* is often followed by an onomatopoeia, imitating  
 the sound of something falling. A few examples are found in BW IV  
 400a-b: “*maṣṣa wiḥda gāl dāradib* aufeinmal machte es “knack”, *gāl  
 dibb* er fiel um, *gāl, igūl dibb* mit einem Plumps hinunterfallen”.
- t!q ويقولون فلان له لسان طلق يريدون انه فصيح *ṭalq* (47b) طلق  
 “eloquent”. Lane V 1872c “طَلَّق اللسان eloquent”.
- t!l ويقولون طل عليه او طل من الطاق *ṭall* (82b) طل  
 “to look down (on)”. HB 545b “*ṭall* (..) 2b to command a view”. In Classical Arabic form IV  
 means “to look down upon” and form I “to rain”, see Lane V 1861-2.

## Glossary

- يقولون الطل من الحبيب وابل (82b) *tall* “fine rain”. See Wehr 658b.  
 Proverb: “a fine rain from a lover is like a downpour”, i.e. we take criticism from a loved one more harshly.
- يقولون عبد طمطماني: عبد طمطماني (102b) *ṭamṭamāni*: *‘abd ṭamṭamāni* عبد طمطماني يقولون عبد طمطماني “somebody who stammers”. According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 1022c, it means someone who speaks Arabic incorrectly. Dozy II 61a “*anonner, parler, lire en hésitant*”.
- يقولون جا بالطم والرم؛ يقولون الطم (98a; 102b) *al-ṭimm wa l-rimm* الطم والرم “tremendous riches”. Lane III 1151a “الطم والرم” *rumma* all the appurtenances (of s.th.). *xadu b-rummitu* he took it lock, stock and barrel”. Kazimirski II 105b “grand nombre, masse, foule. الطم” *richesses immenses.*” Wehr 664b “الطم (*rimm*) tremendous riches”.
- يقولون طامن اخذ الشي اي طأطا راسه (116a) *ṭāmin* طامن “to bow one’s head”. Lane IV 1882a p. “طامن ظهره” *he bent down his back*”.
- ويقولون يطنف نفسه على الشي الحقير وهو لغوي *yiṭnaf* (30a) يطنف “to covet”. Hava 440a “*طَنَفَ to be suspicious; يطنف نفسه الى* to covet a. th.” Lane V 1885c “*طَنَفَ he suspected him; كَنَدَا he made his mind to approach a coveting of such a thing*”. Dozy II 63b V “*être très-avide*”.
- ويقولون طنين وهو يصغر طنّ وانظر ما اشتهر اذا طنت الاذن (116a) *ṭann* طن “to ring”. HB 548a “*ṭann to ring, resound. widni bi-tṭinn* my ears are ringing.”
- ويقولون طنين وهو يصغر طنّ (116a) *ṭanīn* طنين “ringing, buzzing”. See Lane IV 1883b.
- يقولون طن قصب بكسر الطا (116a) *ṭinn* طن “bundle of cane”. Lane V 1883b “*طنّ a bundle of reeds or cane*”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 151 “القصب ونحوها والعامّة تكسره وهو عربي صحيح لا دخيل”.
- انظر قولهم ما دخل طهبي او فلان ما هو طهبي فلان اي ما هو (129a) *ṭahy* طهبي



## Glossary

- نظيره وشبهه “similar, like”. HB 548b “*ṭahy* cooking”. It could be metaphorical: “he is not my type of cooking”.
- ṭwb ويقولون طابوب لفلان اي انه طابا في السلام عليه (16b) طابوب  
 one’s head in greeting”. No references found.
- طوب (16b) *ṭūb* ويقولون على الاجر الطوب “bricks”. It is Coptic according to  
 HB 548b. Lane V 1888c also mentions a Coptic origin. This is confirmed by Youssef (2003) p. 125 “طوبية”  $\text{ⲉⲃⲧⲏⲓⲛ}$  *dbt* **ТУБЕ**,  
 ‘mud brick’,” Vollers (1896) p. 654, and *EALL* I p. 504 (P. Behnstedt).  
 It is also the origin of the English *adobe*.
- ṭwf ويقولون بلاد الطائف في الحجاز ولم يعلموا لم سمي (30a) *aṭ-Ṭāʿif* الطائف  
 بالطائف قيل لانها طافت على الما في الطوفان او لان جبريل طاف بها على  
*Ṭāʿif* (town in the *Hiḡāz*)”. البيت او لان كذا الخ
- ṭwq “window”. See Lane IV 1894b. HB  
 550b “*ṭāʿ* aperture(s), opening(s) (especially in the wall of a mud-  
 brick house”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 147 mentions that it is Persian: طاق: فارسی  
 “معرب جمعه طاقات وطيقان”. However, Steingass 806 maintains that its  
 origin is Arabic.
- “necklace, collar”. ويقولون طوق فضة مثلا والطوق حلبي للعنق (47b) *ṭwq* طوق  
 HB 550b “*ṭō* (...) 2. neckband”.
- ṭyb ويقولون (..) على المزح المطايبية وهو صحيح (16b) *muṭāyaba* مطايبية  
 See Wehr 676b.
- ṭyf ويقولون طيف الخيال اضافة بيانية لان الخيال نفسه (30a) *ṭyf al-ḥyāl* طيف الخيال  
 “apparition, spectre”. HB 554b “*ṭēf* 1. spectre, apparition. 2. image, shadow”. HB 272a “*ḥayāl* 1. shadow”. Lane V  
 1905c “طَيْفٌ, an apparition, a phantom, a spectre, or an imaginary  
 form, (خَيَالٌ) coming in sleep”.

## Z

- zrf ويقولون كتاب المستظرف في كل فن مستظرف (29b) *mustazraf* مستظرف

## Glossary

“elegant”. This is a book; its official title is *al-Mustaṭraf fi kull fann mustaṭraf* by Šihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abī al-Faṭḥ al-Ibšīhī (ca 1388-ca 1446).

يقولون فلان عنده ظرف بضم الظا (...) وقول العامة وبعض *ẓurf* (30a) ظرف الخاصة الظرف بالضم ينبغي ان يجوز وان لم يكن لغويا ويكون من استعمال "charm". It is *ẓarf* in Classical Arabic, see Lane V 1910c. In the Egyptian colloquial it has become *ẓarīf* - *ẓurf* in analogy with *laṭīf* - *luṭf*. HB 556a “*ẓurf* sweetness, agreeableness, cuteness”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 152 “ظرف بفتح فسكون والعامة تضمه وهو خطأ وقالوا من الظرف جود المهدي بالظرف”

ء

- 'b' يقولون فلان لا يُعْبَأُ به اي انه حقير والصحيح *yu'ba'u: lā yu'ba'u bih* (121a) يُعْبَأُ “he does not care about it/for him”. Lane V 1933a “ما أَعْبَأُ بِهِ” (..) and it signifies also: I do not care for, mind, heed, or regard, him; or I do not receive with approbation anything from him, nor anything of his discourse; I do not hold him to be of any weight or worth; do not esteem him”. It seems that al-Maḡribī confuses the two verbs, because both لا يُؤْبَهُ لَهُ and لا يُعْبَأُ به mean “he does not care about it”. Therefore, contrary to what al-Maḡribī states here, the expression used by the Egyptians is the correct Classical Arabic.
- 'bb' يقولون العَبُّ على ما يلي الصدر *abb* (16b) عَبُّ “space between garment and chest”. See HB 558b. Lane V 1931c عَبُّ “the base of the sleeve”. Dozy II 89a with *kasra* or *fatha*: “poche de sein”.
- 'bdl' يقولون وهم الخواص العبادلة اشارة لجمع عبد الله *abādila* (82b) العبادلة “the ‘Abdallahs”. Plural of the name ‘Abdallah. *fa'ālila* is the plural used for groups of people, see Fischer (1987) p. 56.
- 'by' يقولون عَبَا على شي كالكسا *abā* (9a) عَبَا “woollen cloak”. Lane V 1933b “sort of woollen garment of the kind called كِسَاء”. Lane (2003) p. 30:

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- “In cold or cool weather, a kind of black woollen cloak, called ‘abayeh,’ is commonly worn.” Lane (2003) mentions in the footnote that it is also called ‘abāh (sic) and ‘abā. HB 561a “‘abāya sleeveless woollen robe (usually black) worn by men over a galabiyā”.
- يقولون عباية وله اصل قال العباية ضرب من الاكسية كالعباية (128b) ‘abāya عباية  
 “woollen cloak”. See عَبَا.
- ‘tb      “threshold” ويقولون عتبة الباب يريدون ما يلي سفلى الباب (16b) ‘ataba عتبة  
 See HB 561b.
- ‘trs      يقولون بلا عَتْرَسَه اى بلا شدة ولعله مصحف عن عترفة (30b) ‘atrasa عَتْرَسَه  
 “resistance”. See Spiro 384a. HB 562a “‘atras to resist, balk”. Al-Mağribī relates it to ‘atrafā, although *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 500c has an entry ‘atrasa: “والعترسة: الأخذ بالشدة وبالجفاء والعنف والغلظة”. Dozy II 93b “roideur, impétuosité de mouvement”.
- ‘tršq      ولعل قول العامة فلان عَتْرَشَقِي اكتفا عن عتريف (30b) ‘atrasqī عَتْرَشَقِي  
 “wicked”. There could be a relationship to Hava 452a “عَتْرَسَ to lay violent hands on”, 452b “عَتْرِيسَ hot-tempered”, with the Turkish ending -gī.
- ‘tq      ويقولون في الصديق انه العتيق من العتاقة الحسن وسمي به (48b) ‘atīq عتيق  
 “beautiful”, surname of al-Ṣiddīq (Abū Bakr). Lane V 1947c  
 “العتيقي is an appellation applied to Es-Siddeek, i.e. to Aboo-Bekr as a surname, because he was said by the Prophet to be freed from the fire [of Hell]: or because of his beauty, or comeliness”.
- ويقولون حمله على عاتقه هو موضع الردا من المنكب او ما بين (49a) ‘ātiq عاتق  
 “shoulder”. See HB 562a.
- ‘tl      “to carry”. ويقولون العتالين ويعتلون الاحمال وهو صحيح (83a) yi’tal يعتل  
 HB 562b.  
 “porter”. ويقولون العتالين ويعتلون الاحمال (83a) ‘attāl عتال  
 Lane V 1949a.  
 “crowbar”. ويقولون نقبوا المحل بالعتلة (83a) ‘atala عتلة  
 Spiro 384b.
- ‘tm      يقولون عتيم الحمام (102b) ‘atīm عتيم  
 “fluttering of the wings”. *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 1023c “رَفَرَفَ على رأس الإنسان ولم يُبعِدْ”  
 عَتَّمَ الطائرُ تَعْتِيمًا: رَفَرَفَ على رأس الإنسان ولم يُبعِدْ”

## Glossary

- ‘grf عجرفه (30b) *‘aġrafa* يقولون بلا عجرفه “roughness in speech”. See Lane V 1959b.
- ‘gl عجل (83a) *‘iġl* يقولون عجل بقر *‘iġl* “calf”. See HB 564b.
- ‘gn عجينة (116b) *‘aġīna* يقولون فلان عجينة اذا وصفوه بالرخاوة *‘aġīna* (like dough)”. HB 565a “*huwwa lissa ‘aġīna* he is still young and impressionable”. Lane V 1968b-c عجين: “soft, or yielding”; “weak in his body and in his intellect”; “stupid, foolish”.
- ‘ġw عجوة (128b) *‘aġwa* يقولون عجوة قال العجوة بالحجاز التمر المحسى والعجوة *‘aġwa* “pressed dates”. See HB 565a. Lane V 1969a “a sort of dates (...) and, in El-Hijāz, the dates that are stuffed (مَحْسِيٌّ) [or pressed into a compact mass, while moist, in the receptacle of palm-leaves or skin, as are the dates called عَجْوَةٌ in the present day]”.
- ‘dd عِدِّان (117a) *‘iddinn* يقولون عِدِّان الشيء كان كذا وهو ظاهر الصحة اي عدَّ ان *‘iddinn* “let’s assume that...”. This is a contraction of *‘add* (..) 2. to consider (..) *‘iddini* ‘ult *kida* (even) supposing that I said so”.
- ‘dl مَعْدَل (83a) *ma‘addil* ويقولون فلان يعمل مَعْدَل فلان والمعدَّل هذا مستعمل في *ma‘addil* صناعة القباني وكانهم يشيرون الى انه يكشف حاله المخفي ونحوه “somebody who puts another straight or corrects his faults”. (*qabbāni* = one who weighs with a steelyard, see HB 685a). HB 567a “*addil* 1. to put right, set straight 2. to amend, modify 3. to point out and correct faults”. Spiro 388a “*mu‘addil* average, rate”. (HB gives *mu‘addal* for “average”). *mu‘addil* > *ma‘addil* as in Muḥammad > Maḥammad, see §6.2.12.6.
- ‘dn معدن (116b) *ma‘dan* يقولون معدن بفتح الدال وانما هو معدن بكسرهما *ma‘dan* “metal”. See HB 568a.
- ‘dw عدو (128b) *‘adaww* يقولون فلان عدو وله اصل قال العدو ضد الصديق *‘adaww* “enemy”. HB 568a “*adiww* enemy”.
- يقولون وسرّ العدوي قال *‘adawī: wa sirr al-‘adawī* (128b) عدوي: سرّ العدوي *‘adawī* “by the secret of the ‘Adawī”. It seems to refer to someone from the ‘Adīy-tribe, whose members were apparently known for keeping secrets. The expression is

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- found only four times by Google, in such contexts as كان نفسي اعرف ما هو سر العدوي “I was longing to know the secret” and سر العدوي “what is the secret?” It should not be confused with the similar-looking expression سرت العدوي *sarat al-’adwā* “the contagious disease spread”, because al-Maġribī indicates that the pronunciation is *’adawī* and that it is an oath, introduced with *wa-*.
- ‘rb يقولون اعطاه العربون بفتح العين مع انه بضمها *’arbūn* (116b) عربون “down payment”. See HB 569b. Lane V 1994b “a portion of the price, whereby a bargain is ratified”; “a thing that is paid by the purchaser of a commodity, or by the hirer of a thing, on the condition that if the sale or hire have effect, it shall be reckoned as part of the price, and otherwise shall not be reclaimed”.
- ‘rb ويقولون وجهه متّك اذا كان مدوّر او غيره يقولون فيه عربي *’arabī* (56b) عربي “long-faced”. Lane IV 1994a “الوجه عربي often occurs in post-classical works as meaning *having an Arab face*; i.e. *long-faced*; opposed to *الوجه تُركي*”. See also *متّك*.
- \* ‘rd يقولون للإعادة او العرض مقابلة وهو صحيح بمعنى واجهه *’arīd* (89a) عارض والمغاربة تكتب محل قابله عارضه وهما بمعنى واقبلته الشيء جعلته على مقابله “to oppose” (North-African). Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 253b confirms its use in Morocco: “*’arēd* to oppose, to be in opposition to, to object to”.
- ‘rf يقولون عريف الكتاب لمن هو دون الفقيه *’arīf* (30b) عريف “assistant of the teacher of the *kuttāb*”. See HB 572b. Lane V 2016a “it is now used as meaning *a monitor in a school, who hears the lessons of the other scholars*”.
- ‘rq ويقولون فلان عمل بالعرق اي انه تعب حتى عرق *’araq* (49a) عرق “sweat”. See HB 573b. The reason why al-Maġribī mentions this very common word is that he composed a *qaṣīda* which ended with it. ويقولون نون معرّق او معلق لم اعلم شيئا في ذلك والظاهر *mu’arraḡ* (49a) معرّق “ending in a hook/curl which passes under the line (letter)”. Dozy II 121a “تَعْرِيقَةُ Beaussier donne pour faire la boucle d’une lettre, p.e. عرّق النون “faites la boucle du ن;” sous معرّق il a: (lettre) qui se termine en crochet recourbé à droite [lisez à gauche],

## Glossary

*passant au-dessous de la ligne sur laquelle on écrit; ce sont les caractères* ص س ي ن م ل ف. Note also the *r – l* shift.

- ‘*rqb*      ويقولون عرقب الدابة اذا قطع عرقوبها (17a) ‘*arqab* “to hamstring an animal”. See Lane V 2022b.
- ‘*rqI*      ويقولون تقطع عراقيلنا ونسافر مثلا قال في القاموس العراقي (83b) ‘*arāqīl* عراقيل صعاب الامور وعرقل حاد عن القصد والعرقيل بالكسر صغرة البيض “obstacles”. See Wehr 711a. HB 574a only mentions the verb: “‘*ar’īl* to hinder, complicate, make difficult”. There seems to be a link to عرقب “to hamstring”: Hava 467b mentions both عراقيب الأمور and عراقيل الأمور with the meaning of “difficult affairs”. Therefore, the expression عراقيلنا تقطع would literally mean “let’s cut our hamstrings” and therefore “let’s remove the obstacles”.
- ‘*rm*      ويقولون عُرْمَة على الشي الكثير المجتمع (102b) ‘*urma* عُرْمَة “heap, pile”. Lane V 2024b “heaps of reaped wheat and of barley”; “a place in which sand is collected”. BW IV 308b “Haufen von gedroschenem Getreide” (Delta and Middle Egypt).
- ‘*rnd*      ويقولون لمن يكثر الشرِّ والاصباح والاذية للناس فلان صار (128b) ‘*aranda* عرنده “nuisance, pest, troublemaker”. According to *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*, it is derived from عريدة which means “ill nature, or evil disposition” (see Lane V 1995b). It seems unlikely, however, that the *b* has shifted to *n*.
- ‘*zb*      ويقولون على بعض الحرس ليلا العزب وله مناسبة لان العزب لغة (17a) ‘*azab* عزب “night guard”. Dozy II 124a “milice bourgeoise”. The original meaning is “single” (see e.g. Wehr 713b). This is a metonymy: the word ‘*azab* “bachelor” is used for the night guard in general, which mainly consists of bachelors. From the early days of the Ottoman conquest of Egypt, it was the task of the ‘*azabs* to guard the approaches to the Citadel and the suburbs of Cairo. Later, the patrol of the Nile and the approaches to the port of Suez were added to their tasks. See Čezzār (1962) p. 32 fn.
- وقد علم ان الرجل عزب وهي عزبه لا عازبة كما يقولون (17a) ‘*āziba* عازبة “spinster”. See HB 575a. According to Lane V 2033c both عازب and

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عزب mean “having no spouse”.

- ‘zl يقولون على احد الانغام عزّل والاروام عزال والظاهر انه غير عربي (83b) ‘azāl عزال “musical mode”. Dozy II 125b “عَزَل mode de musique, Descr. de l’Egypte XIV, 29”.
- عزّل (83b) ‘azzal “musical mode”. See عزال
- عزّل (83b) ‘uzzal المفرد مبالغة على الجمع على الناس اطلقوا الجمع على المفرد مبالغة معه فهو والاصل منعزل فاطلقوا العزّل على الاعزل وتقدم انه الذي لا سلاح معه فهو “cut off from other people”. According to Lane V 2037a, the sg. is أعزل or عُزّل; one of the pls. is عَزْلٌ. It means “not having with him any weapon”; or, of sand, “cut off from other sands”. It is possible that عَزْلٌ is not a plural (as al-Mağribī believes), but an intensive adjective, as e.g. HB 764b “kummal /adj inv/ well-bred, genteel”.
- عزلة (83b) ‘azla المأثرة وانما هي العزلة وانما هي العزلة وانما هي العزلة “mouth of the water bag”. Lane p. 2036c عَزْلَاءُ “the lower mouth of the leathern water-bag called مَزَادَة”. Also note the disappearance of the *hamza* and the shortening of the *a*, see §6.2.10.2.
- ‘zw يقولون فلان كثير العزوة بكسر العين اي الجماعة (128b) ‘izwa “group of supporters”. Kazimirski II 248a “عزّة troupe d’hommes”. HB 577b “‘izwa support, backing”.
- ‘zy يقولون فلان في العزا اذا مات له احد (129a) ‘azā عزاء “state of mourning”. Lane V 2039c “عَزَاءٌ is also a quasi inf. n.; (..) or a subst. [signifying *Enjoyment*, or *exhortation*, to be patient: and hence, *consolation*: and, as often used in the present day, the *state*, or *ceremony*, of mourning, when relations and friends come to console the bereaved”.
- ‘sf يقولون في الدعا على الاولاد معسّف والذي يناسب ولو (30b) mu‘assaf معسّف بادنى مناسبه ان العسف الميل عن الطريق وعسّفه تعسيفا اتعبه وتعسّفه ظلمه “nuisance”. Reprimand said to a child, literally meaning “tiresome”. Wehr 716b form II “to overburden, overtask, overtax”. Lane V 2044c “عَسّفه he fatigued, or jaded, him, namely, his camel, by journeying”. Dozy II 127b “II contraindre”.
- ‘sl يقولون عسل نحل ولا يحتاج الى نحل لان العسل (83b) ‘asal nahl عسل نحل

## Glossary

- “honey”. The Egyptians add *nahl* because there are two types of *‘asal*: *‘asal abyḡ* or *‘asal nahl* “honey” and *‘asal iswid* “molasses” (see HB 578b).
- šm 102b) *‘ašmān* كابي عشماني ابن يقولون للقيح “ugly and old, withered”. HB 580a *‘ašmān* “hopeful, expectant” does not fit the meaning here; the meaning of the word has apparently changed over the ages. This can be explained by the fact that the verb has two meanings in Classical Arabic: عَشِمَ “to be dried up” and عَشَمَ “to give hope to, to hope for” (both Hava 475a). Kazimirski II 264 confirms the meaning given by al-Mağribī: “عُشِمَةُ avidite, convoitise. 2. maigre et dessechement du corps qui en est la suite 3. vieillard decrepit 4. vieille femme decripite 5. celui qui marche d’un pas lent, a pas rapproches et le dos courbe. 6. grande vieillesse, decrepitude”.
- šy 129a) *‘āšā* عشا يقولون اكلنا العشا “supper”. See HB 580b.
- šb 17a) *‘uṣba* عَصْبَة يقولون فلان له عَصْبَة مثلا للجماعة المتعصِّين له “league”. See HB 581a. Lane V 2059b “a party, or company, of men who league together to defend one another”.
- šm 103a) *mašam* مَعْصَم يقولون مَعْصَم بفتح الميم وهو مَعْصَم بكسرهما مثل منير مَعْصَم “wrist”. In Classical Arabic it is pronounced *mišam*, as it also is in modern Egyptian Arabic: HB 582b “*mišam* wrist”. The pronunciation with *i* probably returned in modern Egyptian Arabic under the influence of MSA.
- ḡl 84a) *‘iḡl* عِضْل يقولون فلان عِضْل اي فظ غليظ “coarse, rude”. Kazimirski II 281 “عِضْلُ (..) 2. Homme dur et grossier”. Lane V 2074c “عِضْلُ very cunning; very bad, evil”.
- ṭrb 17a) *‘uṭrāb* عَطْرَب يقولون في السبِّ فلان عَطْرَب يريدون عدم الكيس والفتانة “stupid”. No references found.
- ṭl 84a) *‘uṭl* عَطْل يقولون فلان عَطْل اذا وصفوه بعدم المعرفة والتجرد من الكمال “devoid of good qualities, such as knowledge and good manners”. Lane 2083a “عَطْلُ and عَطْلُ destitute of property and of discipline, or good qualities and attributes, of the mind”. Kazimirski p. 288a “عَطْلُ, عَطْلُ 1. Dépourvu de biens, qui n’a rien. 2. Ignorant, illettré”.



## Glossary

- ʿṭn      يقولون ما عطن اي كدر متغير ʿaṭan (116b) "putrid". Lane IV 2084b  
 "عطن stinking".
- ʿff      ويقولون عفت عليه الذبان مثلا مع ان عفت بمعنى تباعد فهو يقتضي aff (31a) عفت  
 "to gather (of flies etc.)". See HB 587a.
- ʿfq      ويقولون عفته اي مسكه بشدة وكذلك عفق العود للضرب على ʿafaq (49a) عفق  
 "to grab violently". See HB 587a, and Dozy II 144b.
- ʿflq      ويقولون عفلق لمن كان طويلا مسترخيا ʿaflaq (49a) عفلق  
 "beanpole (a very tall and thin person)". Not found with this meaning. In the  
 consulted dictionaries, the meaning of "wide and loose vagina" is  
 given, e.g. *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 819a "الفرج الواسع الرخو" and  
 Kazimirski II 302b "عَفْلَقٌ, عَفْلَقٌ 1. Vagin large et lâche. 2. Femme  
 sotté et qui tient des propos indécents". Interestingly, Ibn ʿAbbād  
 (online version: <http://islamport.com/d/3/lqh/1/54/431.html>)  
 refers to the opposite of the meaning given in *Daʿ al-iṣr*, i.e. "a  
 short fat man": "والعفلق من الرجال القصير السمين المكتنز".
- ʿfn      يقولون عفن اي نتن ʿafan (116b) عفن "to rot". HB 587a "affin 1. to rot,  
 cause to decay or go mouldy. 2a to rot, go putrid". In MSA, this is  
 form I (see Wehr 731a). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was used in Egypt in  
 form II, as it is today (see Spiro 403b).
- ʿqq      ويقولون فلان عائق والديه والصواب عاق والديه ... فيكون اسم ʿāʿiq (49b) عائق  
 "disobedient, disrespectful". The active participle of verbs med. gem. is KāKiK in  
 modern Egyptian Arabic, e.g. *šāmim* "smelling". Therefore,  
 Egyptians would say عاقق ʿāʿiq / ʿāʿi and not āqq like in Classical  
 Arabic. عائق is therefore a sign that they pronounced the qāf as a  
 glottal stop, see §6.2.1. Lane p. 2097b "عَائِقٌ *undutiful, disobedient,  
 refractory, or ill-mannered, to his parent, or father*".
- ʿqy      يقولون عقيان وهو الذهب ʿiqyān (116b) عقيان "gold". See Lane IV 2118b.
- ʿkfš      يقولون في السب فلان عطرب يريدون عدم الكيس والفظانة ʿakfaš (17a) عكفش  
 "stupid". There could be a relationship to عكش  
 "awkward, clumsy", see Hava 491b.

## Glossary

- 'kk عَكَ (61a) 'akk ويَقُولون عَكَ المجلس اي غَيِّره وكَدَّره "to mess up". See HB 592a.
- عَكَة (61a) 'akka ويَقُولون عَكَة سَمْن "receptacle for clarified butter". See Lane IV 2119a عَكَّة.
- 'km عَكَام (103a) 'akām ويَقُولون عَكَام وهو صَحِيح "rope or string to bind goods". See Lane IV 2122c. Kazimirski II 332b "عَكَام 1. Drap ou pièce d'étoffe, ou couverture dans laquelle on enveloppe ses effets. 2. Corde avec laquelle on raffermis les paquets sur le dos de la bête de somme".
- 'lb عِلْبَه (17a) 'ilba ويَقُولون عِلْبَه على الظرف المَعْلوم عند العَطَارِين وغيرهم "small container". See HB 592b.
- 'lf عِلْفَه (31a) 'alīfa ويَقُولون فلان عِلْفَه كَذَا وهذا يَقع كثيرًا من التَرك وهو عَرَبِيّ "a soldier's food/pay". Lane V 2131c "عِلْفَه the food, or victuals, of soldiers; as also عِلْفَه". Dozy II 160a "la nourriture qu'un roi fournissait aux ambassadeurs et à d'autres personnes; appointements, paye, pension, solde, traitement, gages."
- عِلْفَان (31a) 'allāf ويَقُولون عِلْفَان لِبَاعِع العَلْف "fodder seller". See HB 593a.
- 'lq مَعْلَق (49a) mu'allaq "ending in a hook / curl which passes under the line (letter)". See معرق.
- مَعْلَقَة (49b; 54b) ma'laqa ويَقُولون مَعْلَقَة لآلَة يوكَل بها ويشرب؛ وقد عَلِمَت ان قول اهل مصر مَعْلَقَة لا يَصِح بخلاف قول اهل مَكَة مِلْعَقَة بكسر الميم كما سَمِعْتَهُ مِنْهُمْ فِي مَكَة وغيرها "spoon". HB 593b "ma'la'a 1. spoon". From مِلْعَقَة with metathesis of lām and 'ayn (see §6.2.7).
- 'lqm مَرَّ مَثَل العَلْقَم العَلْقَم هو الحَنْظَل وكل شَيء مَرَّ 'alqam (103a) عَلْقَم "colocynth". See Lane V 2138a عَلْقَم, HB 594a 'al'am. Boulos IV p. 522 "عَلْجَم Ephedra aphylla".
- 'lk يعلك (61a) yi'lak ويَقُولون يعلك الكلام اذا رَدَّده وهو صَحِيح "to talk confusedly". HB 594a "alak (i) to chatter, prattle, babble on". Spiro 408b-409a "alak (ji'lik) to chatter, talk too much, talk confusedly". Hava 495b form II: "to talk nonsense". Lane V 2138a "عَلْكَه he chewed it". Dozy II 163a form I "ruminer; في كلامه mâcher ses

## Glossary

- paroles, parler d'une manière confuse"; form II "baliverner, bavarder, rabâcher".
- 'll يقولون بنو العَلَّات اولاد الرجل من *banū al-'allāt* (84a) العَلَّات: بنو العَلَّات نسوة متعددة "sons of a man by different mothers". See Wehr 741b.
- 'lūl يقولون فلان معلول والقياس معل *ma'lūl* (84a) معلول "sick, ailing". HB 594a "all 1. to make sick and weary". Spiro 407b "*ma'lūl* sick, patient, poorly".
- 'lwn يقولون علوان الكتاب باللام *'alwān* (129a) علوان "book title". Mentioned in Lane V 2146c. HB 606a "*'inwān* (also *'ilwān* ↓) (..) 2. title (of a book)."
- 'ly يقولون السلام عليكم بكسر الكاف يسمع من بعض الاثراك *'alykim* (107b) عليكم "upon you". This pronunciation can be attributed to vowel harmony in Turkish. The pronunciation *'alēkim* is possible if the suffix *-kum* follows the rules of the fourfold suffixes. However, the *kasra* could also be a way of writing *'alēkūm*, since Arabic has no other way to write the vowel *ü*. See Kissling (1960) p. 18, for the rules of vowel harmony in Ottoman Turkish.
- 'ālī يقولون قاعد في عَليِّه وايضا من غناهم يا قاعده *'illiyya, 'alālī* (84a) عَليِّه، علالي "upper room". See Wehr 749a. HB 598a "*'alālī: fil-'alālī* very high up".
- 'ml يقولون فلان مُسِكْ بعملمته اي بسرقته *bi-'amlāt-* (84b) عملة "in the act, redhanded". HB 601b "*'amla* deed, act (usually bad) ... *miskūh f-'amlitu* they caught him in the act, they caught him redhanded". Lane V 2159b عَمْلَة "theft".
- 'mlq يقولون لمن يكون طويلًا جدًا عملاق *'amlāq* (50a) عملاق "giant". See HB 602b *'imlāq*.
- 'mm يقولون عمامه وهو صحيح *'amāma* (103a) عمامه "turban". See HB 603a *'imāma*.
- 'mn يقولون بحر عَمَّان *baḥr 'umān* (116b) بحر عَمَّان "Gulf of Oman". Nowadays, it is also known as خليج عُمان *ḥalīġ 'Umān*.
- 'nb يقولون عَنَاب ولكن من كسر عينه لم يصح *'innāb* (17b) عَنَاب "jujube fruit". See HB 604a. Lane V 2167c and Hava 503a have عُنَّاب.
- 'nfq يقولون في مداعباتهم ذقنه والعنققه في است كلبة مطلقه *'anfaqa* (49b) عنققه

## Glossary

- “a few hairs between the lower lip and the chin”. See Lane V 2175a.
- ‘nq يقولون عوج بن عنق بضم النون وليس كذلك وإنما هو (50a) *ibn ‘unuq* عنق عوج ابن عوق “Ūğ b. ‘Unuq (personal name)”. He was the king of the giants and was killed by Musa. See al-*Alūsī* (s.d.) VI p. 86.
- عنق (49b) *‘annaq* ويقولون عنقه اي عانقه “to embrace”. According to Lane V 2175a-b, form II means “to take by the neck and squeeze” and III “to embrace”. Kazimirski II 387a “II 1. Saisir quelqu’un au cou, par le cou”. Dozy II 182a “عنق II = III embrasser”.
- ‘nn يقولون فلان عنين اي لا يقدر على اتيان النسا عجزا ولا (117a) *‘innīn* عنين يريدهن “impotent”. See Lane V 2167a.
- ‘wr يقولون مرثيه بالتشديد والصواب التخفيف لما عكسوا في العارية (8b) *‘ārīya* عارية “loan”. Lane 2195a “عارية and sometimes loan”. Lane 2195a “عارية and sometimes loan”. what is taken by persons by turns (generally meaning a loan).” This is from the root ‘WR. This is a pun; *‘ārīyya* “loan” is pronounced *‘ārīya* “naked (f.)”.
- ‘wq ويقولون فلان عوقنا عن مصلحتنا مثلا (50a) *‘awwāq* عوق “to impede”. HB 610a “*awwāq* to delay”. It is also used in Upper Egypt with the meaning “to delay” (see BW IV 329b). HB 610a “*ā* to hamper, impede”.
- ‘wl وعاله الشيء غلبه وثقل عليه ومنه قولهم عيل صبري اي (84b) *īlṣabrī* عيل صبري غلبه “I lost my patience”. Wehr 770b-771a “عال صبره (*ṣabruḥū*) and عيل صبره (*īla*) to lose patience”. See §6.3.1.6 for more information about the internal passive.
- ويقولون فلان عويل يريدون وصفه بالفقر والطلب كالطفيلي وليس (84b) *‘awīl* عويل “poor and miserable” in the language by this meaning as al-*Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* does not refer to this meaning as al-*Mağribī* claims, because on 934b “عال (...): افتقر، فهو عائل” is mentioned. This is under the root `YL, while al-*Mağribī* looked under ‘WL.
- يقولون عند فلان عيلة بكثرة والعيلة ليست العيال وإنما العيلة الفقر (84b) *‘yila* عيلة

## Glossary

- “family”. HB 610a “عائلة، عايلة، *‘ēla*, *‘ā’ila* ↑ family”.
- ‘wn يقولون فلان عواني اذا كان فتان ولم يعلم *‘awānī* (117a) عواني “telltale, betrayer”. Dozy II 192a “mouchard, denonciateur”.
- ‘wh عاهة (122a) *‘āha* يقولون في الدعا عاهة “disease”. See Wehr 772b.
- ‘yb ويقولون هذا الشئ معيوب وهو صحيح *ma’yūb* (17b) معيوب “defective”. See HB 612a.
- ‘yḏ يقولون ويسمع من النسا بقي عيضة اي حصل له التلف *‘yḏa* (122a) عيضة “misery”. HB 613b “*‘ēḏa*, *‘īḏa* a mess, a bad condition. *ḥalithum ba’it ‘ēḏa* their life turned to misery”.
- ‘yf ويقولون عاف الشئ فلم يقبله *‘āf* (31b) عاف “to turn down (food or water)”. Lane V 2211c عاف (root ‘yf) “he disliked it, or loathed it, namely food, or water, (...) and would not drink it”.
- ‘yq ويقولون فلان الان في العتيق وهو نجم احمر مضى في طرف *‘ayyūq* (50a) عتيق “the star Capella”. See Lane 2199c. *fulān fī al-‘ayyūq* “so-and-so is of high rank”. Compare *fulān fī al-saḥī* “فلان في السهى”.

## ġ

- ġbb يقولون غب سلام الخ وهو صحيح لان الغب بالكسر معناه عاقبة (17b) *ġibb* غب “after”. See Lane VI 2222a. Classicism.
- غبية (18a) *ġabba* ويقولون فلانه سمينه لها غبية “double chin”. Lane VI 2222b “*غَبَب* the flesh that hangs down under the part beneath the chin and lower jaw”.
- غبة (18a) *ġabba* وسمعنا النسا تستعمل هذه المادة في الحيض فلانة غبتها “menstruation”. The meaning of the verb *غَبَب* is “to return at regular intervals”, see Lane VI 2221a. Kazimirski I 429a *غَبَب* “action de mettre l’intervalle (au moins d’un jour)”.
- مغبيه (18a) *muġabbaba* ومغبيه كمعظمه الشاة تحلب يوماً وتترك يوماً مغبيه “ewe that is milked every other day”. Hava 515a “*أَغَبَب* to visit a.o. every two

## Glossary

- days; to water (cattle) every two days; to yield (milk) every two days (she-camels)".
- gbq يقولون اليوم غبوق فيضمون الغين ويريدون به الغيم المنتشر في (50a) *ğubūq* غبوق "cloudy". It is not used in Egypt nowadays, but it is in Syria; see Barthélemy p. 569 *ğabaq yağboq* "devenir étouffante, manquer d'air, être nuageuse (journée)", *ğabeq* "manquant d'air et de lumière".
- gtm يقولون غتيم اذا كان يرطن انغتم (103a) *inğatam* "to speak unclearly, speak Arabic incorrectly". Lane VI 2228c-9a "غَتِمَ *He had an impotence, or an impediment, or a difficulty, in his speech or utterance; and a barbarousness, or vitiousness, therein, especially in speaking Arabic*".
- grb يقولون نزل على غاربه اذا اذاه بالكلام (18a) *ğārib* "withers"; *nizil 'alā ğāribu* "he hurt him (lit. hit him in the withers)". Lane VI 2224a "The كاهل [or withers], of the camel".
- grbl يقولون الغربال والمنخل وبينهما فرق ذلك للحيوب والمنخل (84b) *ğurbāl* "sieve for grains (coarse-meshed sieve)". See HB 619a, and al-Ḥafāğī 164. ومن العجيب ان المغربل بفتح الباء يقال للشئ الجيد حتى (84b) *muğarbal* "something good (as if the chaff was sifted from it in the *ğurbāl*)". HB 619a "*ğarbal* 1. to sieve or sift with a *ğurbāl*". Lane VI 2245a "مُغْرَبِلٌ sifted, dispersed, or scattered; the low, base, vile, or mean of men; as though he had come forth from the غَرْبَالٌ".
- grf يقولون غرف اي تخين (31b) *ğirif* "fat". HB 620b "*ğaraf* to eat in large mouthfuls". The connection could be that somebody who *biyiğruf*, eats in large mouthfuls, becomes *ğirif*, fat. ويقولون على البيت الصغير غرفة (31b) *ğurfa* "small room". Lane VI 2249c "an upper chamber". In modern Egyptian Arabic it is only used in loanwords from literary Arabic. See also Davies (1981) p. 428, where the word is used in a colloquial context. ويقولون مغرفة قال مغرفه كمكئسه ما يغرف به (31b) *mağrafa* "ladle". See HB 620b.
- grq يقولون سرج مغرق وهو صحيح قال في القاموس لجام (50a) *muğarraq* مغرق "ornamented with silver or gold". See Hava 522b, and

## Glossary

- Lane VI 2251c. Al-Ḥafāḡī 165 “المغرق بزنة اسم المفعول الفضة “  
 ”المطلاة بالذهب في السروج ونحوها عامية
- gʒl يقولون غزلي غزلا بسكون الزاي (85a) *gʒal* “spun thread”. See HB 622a.
- gʒl يقولون على الما الذي يغسل به غسله وهو صحيح قال (85a) *gʒāla* «الغسالة كشمامة (..)» “washing water”. Lane VI 2259c “الغسالة that with which one has washed the thing”. In modern Cairo Arabic, the nominal form KiKāKa/KuKāKa is often used for words meaning “waste, refuse” such as *zibāla* “garbage” and *kunāsa* “sweepings”, see Woidich (2006) p. 98 and §6.2.12.3.
- يقولون المغسل والمغتسل وكل صحيح قال مغتسل الموتى (85a) *muḡtasil* “somebody who has performed the ritual ablutions”. See HB 623a, and Lane VI 2258c.
- يقولون المغسل والمغتسل وكل صحيح (85a) *muḡassil* “corpse-washer”. See HB 623a, and Spiro 430a.
- gšm يقولون فلان ظالم غاشم وفلان غشيم في الصنعة (103a) *gāšim* “unjust, tyrant”. See Lane p. VI 2261a, and Wehr 790a. HB 623b “*gāšim* brutal, oppressive”.
- يقولون فلان ظالم غاشم وفلان غشيم في الصنعة (103a) *gāšim* “naive”. Lane VI 2261a “not knowing anything”. HB 623b “1. naive, inexperienced 2. crude, raw”.
- gfw يقولون بعد غفوة اي رقدة (129a) *gafwa* “nap”. See HB 626a.
- gʒb يقولون فلان مغلوب اي مقهور وهو صحيح من الغلب (18a) *maḡlūb* “defeated”. See HB 626a.
- gʒf يقولون لسانه اغلف (31b) *aḡlaf* “rude”. Wehr 798a “*aḡlaf* uncircumcised; rude, uncivilized”.
- gʒq يقولون فلان غلق ما عليه اي وفاه (50b) *gʒalq* “to pay a debt”. Lane VI 2284b “غَلِقَ الرَّهْنُ the pledge was, or became, a rightful possession to the receiver of it when not redeemed within the time stipulated”. Hava 533a “to be forfeited (pledge)”. Not in HB, except in form II “to finish all one’s supplies, sell out”. The original meaning of غلق is “to close”. Compare *sadd*, which as well as its basic meaning of “to block”, also means “to pay (a debt, a bill)” (see HB 404b). Al-Ḥafāḡī

## Glossary

- غلق: الغلق ضد الفتح معروف ويقال غلق الرهن اذا استحققه من رهن “ 166  
عنده وهو عربى فصيح  
غلق (50b) *ǧalāq* ويقولون للقفه غلق *ǧalāq*. See HB 628b *ǧala*. See also BW  
339a.
- ǧlm يقولون للصبي غلام (103b) *ǧulām* “boy, young man”. Wehr 798b “boy,  
youth, lad”.
- ǧmq ويقولون في الصباغ غميق ضد الصافي (51a) *ǧamīq* “dark (colour)”.  
Nowadays *ǧāmi*, see HB 631a and Spiro 435b.
- ǧmy يقولون غمّاه (129a) *ǧammā* “to blindfold”. See HB 631b. Lane VI  
2298b “to cover”. Compare also *istuǧummiyya* “hide and seek”.
- ǧny يقولون ما لنا عنه غنية (129b) *ǧanya* “freedom from need”, *mā lanā*  
*‘annu ǧanya* “we cannot do without him”. Lane VI 2303b “ ما له عنه  
... he has not freedom from need of it, or him”; غنية *ǧunya* or  
*ǧinya* has the same meaning as غنى. HB 632b-633a “ (da) *ǧina* ‘an  
(it) allows one to dispense with (...). *lā ǧina* ‘an there is no  
dispensing with, as in *ma-lūš ǧina* ‘an<sup>ha</sup> he can’t do without her”.
- ǧwš انظر الغوش بلغة الفلاحين هو الاساور من القزاز ونحوها (101a) *ǧūš*  
bracelets”. Nowadays in Cairo *ǧiwēša*, see HB 634a. *ǧiwēša* is a  
diminutive, see Woidich (2006) p. 98.
- ǧwǧ ويقولهم البيت يغاي من كثرة الناس (129b) *yǧāǧī* “to buzz (crowd)”.  
HB 616a only mentions the noun: “*ǧāǧa* noise, uproar, tumult”; ibid  
Spiro 424b. Dozy II 198a “ I غاغا huer, faire des huées après  
le loup”. Lane VI 2309c “تغاي عليه الغوغاء” the mixed multitude, or  
the low, base, vile, &c., of men, bore, or pressed, or crowded, (as  
though mounting,) upon him”.
- غوغا يقولون فلان او الجماعة في غوغا ويسمع من الاروام (129b) *ǧwǧā* “crowd”.  
HB 616a “*ǧāǧa* noise, uproar, tumult”. Wehr 805b “*ǧawǧā* mob,  
rabble rifferaff; noise, clamor, din, tumult”. Steingass 898b “غوغاء (..)  
a noise, cry, tumult, uproar”.
- ǧyb ويقولون غاب للقصب (18b) *ǧāb* “reed”. See HB 616a.  
غاب (18b) *maǧyib* “to absent oneself (from)”. HB 634b “*ǧayyib* ‘an to absent oneself for a



## Glossary

long time, be late". Sharbatov (1969) p. 312 mentions it as an example of how 4-radical verbs are formed. According to Kamil (1963) pp. 45, 4-radical verbs beginning with *m* can generally be attributed to participia which have become verbs, the *m* serving as the first radical. See also the examples mentioned by Kamil (1963) pp. 45-7. In HB, some instances can be found in modern Egyptian Arabic, e.g. p. 815a *margil* "to make a man of s.o.", p. 811b *itmagram* "to act or behave in a cruel, ruthless way", and p. 820a *mazla* 'to become slimy".

gyl يقولون أميًا غائلة فلان اي نامن من حقه الباطن الخفي (85b) *gā'ila* غائلة "rancour". See Lane VI 2319c.  
 غيلان (85b) *umm gylān* ام غيلان شجر السمر "a kind of tree (lotus tree?)". Lane 2319b "أمُّ غَيْلَانَ" the trees called "عضاه" or "the lote-trees سِدْر". HB 634a "*umm ilgīlān* mother *gūla* (in children's stories)". The سمر-tree which is, according to al-Mağribī, another name of the same tree is, according to Hava 335b, the "gum-acacia-tree; mimosa, Egyptian thorn".

gym يقولون للقواد غيم وله نسبة من وجهين تصحيف غنم وهم (103b) *gym* يطلقون الغنم والكبش والمقرن على القواد وله نسبة والثاني ان الغيم يحجب القمر عن الابصار والقواد يحجب المحبوب في بعض الاوقات "pimp?". No references found.

## f

fl يقولون الفال وهو ضد الطيره كأن يسمع مريض سالم او طالب يا (85b) *fāl* فال طيرة "good omen". Lane VI 2325c "a good omen, contr. of طيرة, it is when a man is sick, and he hears another say يا سالم (o safe); or seeking, and hears another say يا واجد (o finder)." HB 637b "فال، فأل" *fāl, fa'l* omen".

ftq ويقولون فلان ضعيف بفتق حصل له (51b) *fatq* فتق "hernia". See HB 640a.  
 فتق (51b) *fatīq* الفتق المسك ويقولون المسك الفتق "rendered fragrant by mixing in

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- some other substance”. Lane VI 2331c “فَتَّقَ الْمِسْكَ” (...) he drew forth the odour of the musk [or increased its fragrance] بِغَيْرِهِ by the admixture of some other thing”.
- ويقولون حلاوة المَفْتَقَه لم انظر لها مناسبا ولعلها من (52a) *māfattaqa* مفتقه  
 باشيا “jam made of molasses and other ingredients”. HB 640a “*mifatta’a* jam-like mixture of spices, herbs, nuts and molasses (eaten by women as a fattener)”. Spiro “*ḥalāwa mufattaqa* native jam made of molasses”. There is a relationship to “أَفْتَقَ to have fat (cattle)” and “وَانْفَتَقَ to be swollen in the flanks (cattle)” (Hava 545a).
- ftl يقولون ولا فَتْلَةٌ اذا طلب من احدهم شي مثلا اي لا نعطي شيا (86b) *fatla* فَتْلَةٌ  
 “thread”; *walā fatla* “not a thread (absolutely nothing)”. Lane VI 2334b “ما أُغْنِي عنه فتِلا” (..) I do not avail, or profit, him, (..) and in like manner (..) فَتْلَةٌ”. HB 640b “thread”.
- فتيلة (86b) *fātīla* ويقولون فتيلة السراج “wick of a lamp”. HB 640b “*fitīla* = *fitīl*”; “lamp wick”. Lane VI 2334b “فَيْتِيلَةٌ A wick of a lamp”.
- fġl يقولون وهم الحجاج فلان فَجَّلَ اي لم يزر النبي صلى الله عليه (86b) *fağğil*  
 وسلم ولم يعلم من القاموس له نسبة؛ ويقولون لمن حج ولم يزر النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فلان فَجَّلَ بالفا والجيم ولعل المناسبة انه استرخى في مشيته حيث “to go on pilgrimage without visiting the grave of the Prophet”. Not found with this meaning. Lane VI 2342c form I, “he or it was or became thick, and soft, or flaccid”; II “he made it broad”. Dozy II 243a form II “effrayer”.
- يقولون الفجل يهضم فيكسرون الفا وانما الفجل بالضم وبضممتين (86b) *fiğl* فِجْل  
 هذه الارومة “radishes (coll.)”. See HB 642b.
- fhl يقولون فلان فَحَّلَ يعنون انه شجاع او متميز على غيره في شي (87a) *fahl* فَحَّلَ  
 “manly, courageous”. Lane VI 2346a “a male of animals, (...) stallion”, “masculine”. HB 643b “stud bull”. Hava 549a “stallion, male. Energetic man”.
- fhm متق الصبي كفرح وأماق وهذا الذي تقول العامة فيه (55a; 103b) *infaham* انفحم  
 “to sob”. HB 643b “انفحم وحصلت له الفحمة؛ انفحم الصبي من البكا  
 “*itfaham* to be overcome (by weeping)”. Lane VI 2346c “فُجِمَ and فُجِمَ”

## Glossary

- he (...) wept until his voice became stopped, or until his breath became stopped”.
- اعلم ان المأفة بفتح الهمزة وهي شبه الفواق ياخذ الانسان عند (55a) فحمة البكا والنشج كأنه نفس يقلعه من صدره مثق الصبي كفرح وأماق وهذا الذي “a sob”. The *maṣḍar* of فحم is له الفحمة انفحم، see Hava 549a. See also انفحم.
- fdlk “short, ironic summary” يقولون ويقع من الخواص فذلكة الامر (61a) *faḍlaka* فذلكة summary”. HB 655b “*fazlaka* 1. [joc] (short) comment”. Hava 552a “sum total; recapitulation”. Wehr 821a “brief summary, resume, survey, outline, abstract, epitome”. Its origin is the word فذلک *fa-dālīka* “and so”.
- frā والفرا بمعنى الفضة لغة تركيية بين الفرا والپا لكن تكتب بالبا وتنقط (9a) *firā* فرا “para (coin), 1/40th of a piaster”. The meaning of فِرَّة is: “argent (métal) 2. fedda, pièce de monnaie de billon qui a cours en Égypte; 1/40 d’une piastre” (Kazimirski II 604b). Redhouse 432 “پاره *pāre*, vulg. para. 3. money 4. a Turkish coin of the value of one fortieth of a piastre (b)”. Spiro 28a “باره *bāra*, para (1/40th part of a piastre)”. HB idem p. 49a, mentions “obsolete”. İhsanoğlu p. 308: “على قعدة نقدية تساوي ٤٠/١ من القرش”. Its Turkish/Persian origin is mentioned by Vollers (1896) p. 636. According to Shaw, the para weighed sixteen grains in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, see Čezzār (1962) p. 25 fn. 1.
- frtk “to defeat”. يقولون فرتكه اذا غلبه (61a) *fartik* فرتك HB 645a “*fartik* 1. to rip apart, tear (to pieces)”. Spiro 447a “*fartik*, to tear to pieces, destroy, dissipate, disperse”.
- frtn “rough sea; trouble”. يقولون قامت فرتينة والظاهر انه غير عربي (117a) *fartīna* فرتينة trouble”. Lane VI 2358b “فُرْتُنَةٌ a state of commotion of the sea arising from the violence of the winds”. Dozy II 247a فرتنة and فرتونة “tempête”. HB 645a “*furtēna* <perh T *firtuna* from It> trouble, discord”. Vollers (1897) p. 320 believes its origin is the Italian *fortuna*.

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- frzdq      ويقولون شعر الفرزدق قال الفرزدق كسفرجل الرغيف (52a) *al-farazdaq* يسقط من التنور الواحدة بها وفتات الخبز ولقب همام بن غالب ابن صَعَصَعَة او  
 "al-Farazdaq (personal name)". Steingass 917b "A فرزدق *farazdaq*, a cake baked in the oven; (...) surname of the celebrated poet Humām bin Gālīb".
- frzn      يقولون فرزن اي انظر وفرزان الشطرنج (117a) *firzān* "the queen in the game of chess". Lane VI 2366b "فرزان الشطرنج" the queen of the game of chess, (..) or what occupies the place of the wezeer to the sultan". From the Persian فرزين "the queen at chess" (Steingass 918a). Wieber (1972) p. 321 "Dame (im Schachspiel); abgeleitet aus "فرزين".
- يقولون فرزن اي انظر وفرزان الشطرنج (117a) *farzin* "look". Dozy II 252a "discerner, observer, remarquer". HB 648a "*faraz* 2. to scrutinize". BW IV 349a "*faraz* w jem. untersuchen"; "*itfarzan*, *yitfarzan* genau untersuchen", in the eastern dialects (Šarqiyya). Hava 554b "فَرَزْن في" to observe, to look at".
- frṭ      يقولون انت حُرْصَلَّةٌ وغيرك فُرْطَلَّةٌ اي انت لا يفرط فيك (65b) *furūtullāh* فُرْطَلَّةٌ "neglected?". See حُرْصَلَّةٌ.
- fr'n      وكنتم سمعت ان فرعون اصل اسمه عون وكان سارقا (117a; 117a) *far'wn* فرعون فاخذ شيا وهرب فقتالوا فرعون ثم خفف لفرعون لم اجد هذا في القاموس؛ "pharaoh". The explanation offered by al-Mağribī is a folk etymology: فرّ عون "Awn fled". The origin of the word "pharaoh" is "Pr-ʿ3 Great House, palace: later Pharaoh", see Faulkner (1962) p. 89.
- frq      يقولون افرق بينه وبينه (52b) *afraq byn* "I make a distinction between". HB 652a "*fara'* (i) (...) to separate", 652b *farra'* "to make a distinction, differentiate".
- يقولون ديك افرق (52a) *afraq* "rooster with a split crest; white rooster". Hava 559a "أفرق having parted teeth, hair, or a parted beard. White cock". Lane VI 2386b "a cock whose comb is divided; a white cock".
- ويقولون تريقا فاروق (52a) *fārūq* "distinguishing (theriac)". Lane VI

## Glossary

- 2386b “ترياق فاروق” the most approved sort of theriac, and the most esteemed of compounds; because it makes a distinction between disease and health”. The pattern KĀKŪK (in modern Cairo Arabic KaKŪK due to shortening of the first vowel) is frequently used for instruments, see Woidich (2006) p. 93. See also §5.3 for more information about theriacs.
- frk ويقولون فريك فيكسرون الفا وانما الفريك كامير المفروك من (61a) *fīrīk* فريك “cooked wheat”. HB 653a “*fīrīk* green wheat which has been cut and roasted”. Hava 559b “فريك” wheat cooked with butter”.
- ويقولون في ستهم فلان زبل مفرك (61a) *māfarrak: zibl mufarrak* مفرك “crumbled dung”. Wehr 831b “فرك to rub; II = 1”. HB 653a “*farak* 1. to rub 2. to rub to bits, crumble”. See also زبل.
- frm “small piece of minced meat” يقولون فرمة لحم او لحم مفروم اعني مقطعا (103b) *fārma* فرمة “*fūrma* petit morceau”. Dozy II 261b
- “minced (meat)”. HB 653a “*lahma mafrūma* minced meat” يقولون فرمة لحم او لحم مفروم اعني مقطعا (103b) *mafrūm* مفروم
- frh “lively (donkey)”. يقولون حمار فره بكسر الفا وتشديد (122a) *fīrīh* فره “*fārih* lively, agile, nimble, swift (animal)”. Lane VI 2390a “فاره ... it is applied as an epithet to a hackney and a mule and an ass, (...) meaning brisk, lively”.
- frw “fur”; يقولون كنا نقطع فروتك اي كنا نذكرك بالمحاسن (129b) *farwa* فروة “*niqaṭṭa’ farwatak* “we speak well of you”. HB 654a “*aṭṭa’ fi farwit(-u)* to speak badly of (s.o.) behind his back, spread scandal about (s.o.)”. The expression has changed from positive to negative, see §6.5.4.1.
- يقولون اكلنا قسطل او قسطل لم يعلم وهو الذي (89a) *abū fārywa* ابو فريوة \* “chestnut”. HB 654b “*abu farwa* chestnut(s)”. *abū fārywa* is the diminutive of *abu farwa*, see §6.3.6.
- fstq “pistachio nuts” ويقولون بندق وفتسق (53a) *fustuq* فتسق Nowadays also pronounced *fuzdu’* (see HB 654b); this pronunciation with *d* was probably influenced by the word *bunduq*. The word’s origin is Persian, see Vollers (1896) p. 646 and Steingass 250 “پستا *pistā*, The pistachio nut”.

## Glossary

- fsq ويقولون فسقية للحوض الذي يتوضى منه وللمحل الذي (52a) *fāsqiyya* فسقية  
 “wash basin; grave”. HB 657a “*fāsqiyya* fountain”, idem Spiro 456a; neither of them gives the 2<sup>nd</sup> meaning. Lane VI 2398b “a post-classical word, [arabicized, from the Lat. “piscina”], ... now commonly applied to a basin, or shallow pool, of water, in the court of a house, or in a room, generally having in the centre a fountain that throws up water”. Vollers (1896) p. 616 also mentions its Latin origin *piscina*. The second meaning of “grave” is confirmed by Taymūr V p. 60: “والفسقية أيضا تطلق على داخل القبر” and Winkler (1936) p. 219: “Die Massengruft heißt durchgehends: *fizqīje* pl. *fesāgi*”.
- (53a) *fāsiq* فاسق ويقولون فلان فاسق “adulterer”. See HB 657a.
- fsl يقولون ويسمع من العبيد فلان فسل اي قبيح (87a) *fasl* فسل  
 “ugly”. Wehr 835b “low; despicable”. HB 657a “asinine, silly”.
- fškl فلان اتفشكل اي لم يصح في الامر (87a) *itfaškil* اتفشكل  
 “to act incorrectly”. HB 658a “*itfaškil* passive of *faškil*”; “*faškil* to make (s.th.) go wrong”.
- fšl يقولون على الذكر فيشلة (87a) *fyšala* فيشلة  
 “head of the penis”. Lane VI 2402a “الفَيْشَلَةُ the head (or glans) of the penis”.
- fšl يقولون افتصل منك له اي لا ادخل بينكما (87b) *aftašal* افتصل  
 “I do not interfere”. Lane VI 2406a “he weaned [the suckling from his mother, or the young infant from suckling the breast]”.
- fšy يقولون فاصي او يفصي اذا انحنى (129b) *yifšā* يفصي  
 “to be bent”. Lane VI 2408a FŠY does not fit: form I “he separated the thing from the thing; or removed it therefrom”, form III “he separated himself from him; left, forsook, or abandoned him”. It is more likely that it is derived from the root FS’, with emphasis of the s: Lane VI 2394c “فَسِيٌّ He was, or became, such as is termed أَفْسَأُ”; “أَفْسَأُ having a protuberant breast, or chest, and hollow back; &c.]: or having a protuberant breast, or chest, and the lower part of the belly prominent (..) or whose spine enters into [or turns inwards between] his haunche”.
- (129b) *fāšā* “bent”. See يفصي.
- (130a) *fāšy* فصي ولكن سمعت من اهل مكة يقولون على نوى التمر فصي مع  
 فَصَايَة: في “date pit” (Mecca). Taymūr V p. 63 كونه خاصا بالزبيب

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- . Hava 566a “raisin-seed, date-stone”.  
 أي نواة التمر ”الصعيد: أي نواة التمر
- fdl “what is the distinguished / outstanding”. See HB 661a.  
 يقولون الفضلة للفضيل (87b) *al-fadla li-l-faḍīl* الفضلة للفضيل
- ftm “to wean (*maṣḍar*)”.  
 يقولون فطم الصبي اي فضله عن الرضاع (103b) *faṭm* فطم  
 This expression is mentioned in HB 663a.
- fl “labourers”. HB  
 يقولون للصناع مع البنا فعله الواحد فاعل (87b) *fa’ala* فعله  
 664a mentions *fa’ala* and *fu’ala* as the pls. of *fā’il*. Al-Ḥafāḡī 171 “فاعل  
 ”عند أهل مصر أجير البناء وهو استعمال عربي
- fgy “flower of *Lawsonia inermis*, or  
 يقولون فاغية وهو صحيح (130a) *fāḡiya* فاغية  
*Egyptian privet (henna)*”. See Lane VI 2423a.
- fqfq “silly, stupid”. Ibn  
 يقولون في مجونهم فقي فقفاقه (52b; 53a) *faḡfāqa* فقفاقه  
 Abī al-Surūr p. 126 “المجرد: الفقفاقة هو الأحمق “الهذرة  
 ”. Kazimirski II 622a “فَقْفَاقَةٌ masc. Sot, stupide”.
- fqm “having buck teeth”. Lane VI 2429a  
 قولون في السب أفقم (104a) *afqam* أفقم  
 “فَقَمَ He had the lower central incisors prominent, so that they did not  
 close against the upper, or so that the upper did not close against them  
 when he (the man) closed his mouth: so in the L: or he had the lower jaw  
 long and the upper short: but accord. to the IS, he had the upper central  
 incisors prominent, so that they did not close against the lower: the  
 epithet applied to him is أَفَقَمٌ”.
- fqy ويقولون في مجونهم فقي فقفاقه؛ يقولون علي معلم الاولاد (53a; 130a) *fiqī* فقي  
 يقولون في مجونهم فقي فقفاقه؛ يقولون علي معلم الاولاد (53a; 130a) *fiqī* فقي  
 “Koran-teacher”. HB 666a “fi’i”. The final *h* of *faqīh* has  
 disappeared.
- fkf يقولون فلان يتفكّه في حال فلان وله اصل تفكّه بالشي (122a) *yitfakkīh* يتفكّه  
 يقولون فلان يتفكّه في حال فلان وله اصل تفكّه بالشي (122a) *yitfakkīh* يتفكّه  
 “to make fun of, mock”. HB 667a “*itfakkīh* to engage in light-  
 hearted conversation, kid around”. Hava 572b “ب يتفكّه to enjoy a.  
 th.; to slander a.o. jestingly”. Lane VI 2432b “تفكّهوا بفلان they spoke  
 evil of such a one; or did so in his absence; and defamed him”. Dozy  
 II 283b “jouir de quelqu’un, jouir de la vue de quelqu’un; se  
 moquer de”.
- flf يقولون فلفل بكسر الفأئين وهو صحيح وتجوز ضمهما فلفل (88a) *filfil* فلفل  
 يقولون فلفل بكسر الفأئين وهو صحيح وتجوز ضمهما فلفل (88a) *filfil* فلفل

## Glossary

فلفل بكسر الفاءين تقوله “pepper”. See HB 669b. Al-Ḥafāḡī 167 “العامة والصواب ضمهما”. Vollers (1896) p. 650 mentions its Indian origin *pippali* through the Persian *pilpil*. See also Steingass 254.

يقولون ارز مفلفل الظاهر انه سمي به لوجود الفلفل به كثيرا (88a) *māfalfil* (88a) مفلفل “plain boiled and seasoned with pepper (rice)”. HB 670a “*falfil* ...2. to cook (especially rice) plain. *ruzz* *mfalfil* plain boiled rice”. Spiro 463b “*falfil*, to season with pepper; *falfilna šwayjet ruzz*, we cooked some rice. *mufalfil*, seasoned with pepper; *ruzz mufalfil*, boiled rice, pilaw”. See also §5.1.2.

flq

يقولون فلان فلقني (53a) *falaq* “to annoy”. See HB 670a *fala*’.

يقولون فلان فليق اذا ما استبعدوا عنه الامر وله اصل قال في (53a) *filiq* القاموس الفلق الداهية (..) ولكن كسرهم للفا لا يصح فهو تحريف فقط “unfortunate/annoying?”. Hava 575a “فُلُقٌ wood split in two, splint; wonderful thing; misfortune”. HB 670a “*fala*’ 1. to split 2. to annoy, irritate, incense”.

يقولون ضربه في الفلقة او علقه في الفلقة (53a) *falaqa* “a rope fixed to a stick which, when turned, secures the feet of a person who is going to be flogged”. See HB 670a. Spiro 465a “*falaqa*, bois aux pieds”. Taymūr V p. 71 mentions the *falaqa* is the same as the *qammāta*: “الفلقة: تقال في الكتائب، وأما في الريف فيقال لها العدة. وكانوا قديما “*qammāta*, board to which women were tied to be flogged”. Kazimirski II 632b “فَلَقَّةٌ supplice de la *falaka*, qui consiste en ce que les pieds sont attachés à une chaîne ou à une corde fixée à un bâton auquel on donne autant de tours que l’on juge à propos, pour serrer et tordre les pieds du criminel”.

يقولون شاعر مفلق وهو صحيح قال افلق الشاعر اتي بالعجيب (53b) *mufliq* “a poet who has composed a masterpiece”. Hava 575a “أفلق وافتلق to produce a.th. wonderful, a masterpiece”.

flk

فيه عبرة على اللغة التركية فانهم يقولون فلان افلك او مفلوك او (61b) *falāka* “ill-luck”. See مفلوك. “ill-luck”. في الفلاكة اذا تعثر وافترق جداً (61b) *aflak* “ill-starred, unfortunate”. See مفلوك.



## Glossary

- مفلوك (61b) *maflūk* “ill-starred, unfortunate”. Wehr 851b “*maflūk* ill-starred, unlucky, unfortunate”.
- فلك (61a) *falak* ويقولون الفلك قال هو بالتحريك مدار النجوم فلك (61a) *falak* “universe”. See HB 670b. Sharbatov (1969) p. 314 claims that al-Mağribī mentions a saying “من دار حول الفلك أفلك”, but this is not a saying; it is a quote from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīt*: “قال في القاموس الفلك قطع من الارض تستدير: “وترتفع عما حولها الواحدة فلكة ساكنة اللام جمعه كرجال والافلك من يدور حولها”.
- ويقولون على الردف فلكه وقد علمت صحته لان كل شي فلكه (61b) *falaka* “buttock”. See HB 670a, and Spiro 465b.
- flw يقولون لابن الفرس فلو (130a) *falw* “colt”. See HB 671b. BW V p. 94b “Eselsohlen *filw* [BEDU:Gar]”.
- fnğn يقولون فنجان قهوة للظرف المعلوم ولم يعلم من القاموس (117a) *finğān* “coffee cup”. It is Persian, see Hava 576b, Taymūr V p. 77, Vollers (1896) p. 646, and İhsanoğlu p. 439. Confirmed by Steingass 258b “پنگان *pingān* a bowl, a cup”.
- fndq ويقولون وهم الاروام على البندق فندق وهو صحيح (53b) *funduq* “hazelnut”. Steingass 939b “*funduq* a fibert-nut”. Taymūr V p. 80 also mentions that the Turks say *funduq* instead of *bunduq*.
- يقولون فندق الباب اذا فتحه فتحا بيّنا والباب مفندق وما (54a) *fandaq* علمت له مناسبة لغوية الافندق على وزن بندق مثل الوكالة والخان فكانه شبه “to open wide (door, window)”. See HB 672b, Spiro 466b, and Taymūr V p. 80.
- مفندق (54a) *māfandaq* “wide open (door)”. See فندق.
- fhq يقولون فلان جاته الفهاقه وليس كذلك وانما هي الفواق (51a) *fāhāqa* “gasp, death-rattle”. HB 674b “*fahaq* to gasp, catch one’s breath (in surprise or awe)”. Hava 580b “فُواق” *fūwāq* “gasp, death-rattle”. Dozy II 286a “فَهَقْ render le dernier soupir, 1001 N”.
- fwq ويقولون فوّق السهم ما يريدون به يريدون انه وضع الفُوق وهو (53b) *fawwaq* “to place the notch of an arrow on the سهم

## Glossary

- bowstring”. Hava 580a “to make a notch to (an arrow)”. In Classical Arabic, form II has the meaning of “making a notch in an arrow” and form IV “to place the notch of an arrow on the bowstring”, see Lane VI 2461a.
- fwl يقولون الفول قال هو بالضم حب كالحمص والباقلا؛ يقولون *fūl* (88a; 110a) فول “broad beans”. See HB 678a.
- fyw يقولون فلان ملىخ فوي اي ملىخ قوي بالتصحيح *fawī* (130a) فوي “very”. *taṣḥīf* of *qawī. mālabbah* “messed up” (see HB 777a) is a pun on *malīḥ* “beautiful” which is written in the same way but with different diacritical dots. For more information about this kind of misspelling, see also اللّ.
- fyl يقولون فلان فَيَل اذا صار سمينا وكانهم يشبهونه بالفيل *fayyil* (88a) فيل “to become big and fat”. See HB 680a.
- fywm يقولون الفيوم على البلد المعروف *al-fayyūm* (104a) الفيوم “Fayyoum”. See HB 681a-b.

## q

- qāqā يقولون قاقا اذا داعبوا شخصا؛ ويقولون قاقه لمن *qāqā / qāqa* (9b; 54a) قاقا / قاقه “clucking”. *qāqā* is the imitation of the clucking of chickens, therefore this sound is used to make someone seem ridiculous. Kazimirski II 836a “قاق” *glousser (se dit des poules)*”, “قاق” sot, stupid”.
- qbb يقولون قَبّ جلدي مثل قشعر بدني ولم ار مناسبا له *qabb* (18b) قَبّ “to stand on end (hair)”. See Wehr 864a. HB 682a “to rise, swell”. Spiro 473b-474a “*ša’r rāsy qabb*, my hair stood on end”.
- qbbه يقولون قَبّه وهو صحيح *qubba* (18b) قَبّه “dome”. See HB 682a. Vollers (1896) p. 617 believes its origin is the Persian *gunbed*. Steingass 1098 “*gumbad*, an arch, vault, cupola, dome”.
- qbqb يقولون لما يلبس بالرجل بقباب *qubqāb* (18b) بقباب “wooden pattens”. See HB 683b .

## Glossary

- ويقولون لما يلبس بالرجل قبقاب ولوصف الفرج (18b) *māqabqab* مقبب بالمقبب وكل صحيح وان كان القبقاب يطلق على الكذاب والجمل الهدار قَبَّبَ “making a sound (vagina)”. Hava 583b “قَبَّبَ (...) to emit a sound”. Lane VII 2478a “... said of the فَرْج of a woman by reason of the act of إِيلاج, it made a sound”. إِيلاج = “penetration”.
- qbl يقولون عنده قابليّة وهو قابل للشّي كانه يكون على وجود (89a) *qābil* قابل “capable of, susceptible to”. See HB 684a.
- قابليّة (89a) *qābiliyya* “capability, susceptibility”. See HB 684a.
- class of (88b) *qabīl* ويقولون نحن من هذا القبيل او ما نحن من هذا القبيل (88b) *qabīl* “class of men”; “من هذا القبيل” from this side, from this point of view”.
- قَبَل (88b) *qabal* ويقولون وهم العوام الصرف ما احنا من دي القَبَل بفتح القاف والبا ويريدون معنى القبيل اي من الجماعة الذين يفعلون مثل هذا وهو بعيد عن “class of men”. In HB 684a only “*abīla* tribe”. Hava 586a “class of man”. Dozy II 305b “les chefs des tribus; genus, species”.
- قُبَله (88b) *qubla* يقولون قُبَله وبُوسَه “kiss”. See e.g. Hava 586a. In Spiro 475a it is mentioned, but only as a verb: “*qabbil* to kiss, go southward”.
- مقابلة (89a) *muqābala* ويقولون للإعادة او العرض مقابلة وهو صحيح بمعنى واجهه والمغاربة تكتب محل قابله عارضه وهما بمعنى وأقْبَلْتُهُ الشيء جعلته على مقابله “opposition”. HB 684b “*mu’abla* meeting, encounter”. Hava 586b “مقابلة confrontation; collation of two texts; opposition of two stars”. Lane VIII p. 2983a (Suppl.) “قابله he faced, or fronted, or was opposite to or over against, him, or it (...) see له عرض له”.
- قُبالة (88b) *qubāla* ويقولون قبالة الشيء بضم القاف اي تجاهه وهو صحيح قُبَالته “opposite”. HB 684b “*ubāl* 1. facing, opposite”. Hava 586a “قُبَالته opposite, in front of him”.

## Glossary

- qbw      يقولون لبست القبا (130a) *qabā* “sleeved robe”. Hava 586b “man’s gown with full sleeves”. Dozy II 307b “*qābiya* chemise en laine”.
- qtl      يقال يا كلب ما اشطره وربما يقال قاتله الله (126b) *qātalahu allāh* “may God fight him!”. Wehr 870b “lit.: may God fight him! i.e., approx.: damned bastard!” In *Daf al-iṣr* it is used as an expression of appreciation, as in Lane II 735b: “it is used in lieu of praise, to charm a person against the evil eye”. This is a wish with perfect + subject, see §6.4.3.
- يقولون فلان العدو مات ويقول بعض لم يميت انما قتل ولا فرق (89a) *qutil* “to be killed”. Spiro 476b only mentions the passives *inqatal* and *itqatal*, as does HB 686a. See §6.3.1.6 for more information about the internal passive.
- “to mix and يستعملون قتل الحشيش وليس الا بان شبهه بالمزج (89a) *qatal* (drugs)”. *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 942c “مَزَجُهُ بِالماءِ: قَتَلَ الشَّرَابَ”.
- qtm      يقولون للوجه المعبر قتم او مقتم وهو صحيح (104a) *qattim* “to become dark (face)”. HB 686a “*attim* 1. to darken, blacken. *iššams ’attim wiššu* the sun tanned his face 2. to become dark. *wiššu ’attim miz-za’al*”.
- مقتم (104a) *maqattim* “dark (face)”. See قتم.
- qty      قته، قثاء، ويقولون قثا وهو صحيح (9b) *qittā* “*cucumis sativus*”. HB 686a “*qittā* variety of long cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*)”.
- qhḅ      قحبة (18b) *qahḅa* “whore”. See HB 686a.
- qhḥf      يقولون فلان قحف للغليظ الطبع (31b) *qahḥf* “coarse, fat”. HB 686b “*ahḥf* 1. broad part of a palm branch (where it joins the trunk) 2. (strong) brute”. Spiro 477a “*qahḥf* lower part of a date-palm branch, rude, unpolished”.
- qdf      وتقدم في قطف ان القطايف تشبه القطيفة فسميت لذلك (72a) *qadīfa* والاروام يتركونها فيقولون قديفة بالدال وقد علمت انها عربية كموم للشمع “sweet pancake”. So called by the Turks, while the Egyptians say *qatīfa* (قطايف).
- qdm      يقولون على قديم قادم وليس في اللغة الا قديم بالتخفيف (104a) *qādūm* “adze”. See HB 690a, and Spiro 470a. The normal spelling is without *alif*. It is probably a hyper-correction, see §6.2.9.

## Glossary

- قدام (10b) *quddām* يقولون ورا وقدام “in front of”. See HB 689b.
- qrb ويقولون طيّب ومقارب وله اصل قال في القاموس وشي *maqārib* (19a) مقارب  
 “average”. HB 691a “*ārib* to become close to one another”. Hava 596b “مقارب average, mean”.
- قُربان (19a) *qurbān* ويقولون قُربان وكثيرا ما يستعمل ذلك الترك وهو عربي  
 “offering to God”. Hava 596b “offering to God; holy eucharist”. HB 690b “[Chr] 1. small round loaves impressed with a stamp, either consecrated as communion bread or distributed among the congregation after the eucharistic liturgy. 2. offering”. Spiro 481b “eucharist, sacrament”. Redhouse 1445 “a thing parted with or sacrificed in order to attain proximity to a desired object”.
- qrṭq ويقولون لبس القرطق وهو معرّب كرته (53b) *qarṭaq* قرطق  
 “tunic”. Hava 599b “قُرْطُقُ G tunic”. The word was originally Persian, see Steingass 964 “A *qurṭaq* (P. كرته) a kind of garment”; 1021 *kurta* a tunic, waistcoat, jacket; a long loose-skirted undergown or shirt; a shirt”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 177 “قرطق لباس شبيهه بالقباء ج قراطق وأصله بالفارسية كرته”.
- qrṭm ويقولون قريطم وهو تصغير قُرم بضم القاف (104b) *qarṭm* قريطم  
 “safflower”. Wehr 887a “*qirṭim*, *qurṭum* safflower (*Carthamus tinctorius*)”. HB 694b “*urṭum* safflower, safflower seeds”. Spiro 483b “*qurṭum*, safflower, wild saffron”. Boulos 532 “*Gortom Stachys aegyptiaca* جُرْطُم”. The diminutive is often used in Egyptian Arabic for plant names, e.g. *ḡubbēra* “*Glinus lotoides* L.”, see Woidich (2006) p. 100, *duhrēg* “common vetch”, see Woidich (2006) p. 103. See also §6.3.6 for the diminutive.
- qrf ويقولون اقرفني او حصل لي منه القرف (32a) *aqraf* اقرف  
 “to disgust”. See HB 695b: ‘*irif* “to become disgusted”, ‘*araf* “to disgust (s.o.)”. ‘*araf* in modern Egyptian is originally a form IV, like the pair *ti‘ib* “to become tired” and *ta‘ab* “to tire”. See §6.3.1.5 for form IV.
- قرف (32a) *qaraf* ويقولون اقرفني او حصل لي منه القرف (32a) قرف  
 “disgust”. HB 695b “*araf* filth, something disgusting”.
- ويَقُولُونَ فلان قرفته خفيفة او ثقيلة هذا يمكن له التناسب بان (32a) *qirfa* قرفة  
 توخذ القرفة من الاقتراف اي الاكتساب ثم ظهر لي ان قرفته خفيفة او ثقيلة اي  
 “spirit”, *qirfituh hafifa* / طلبته قال في القاموس وهم قرفتي اي عندهم طلبتي

## Glossary

- taqīla* “he is charming/he is boring”. HB 695b “*irfa* luck (of a deal), way things turn out (on a deal)”. Taymūr V 114 “وفلان قرفته خفيفة: ” أرى روحه خفيفة، لعله لأن القرفة – أى الدار صيني – أجودها ما كان خفيف الوزن”. It is the equivalent of the modern *dammu ḥafif* / *dammu t’il* “he is funny / he is boring”.
- qrq “ويقولون فلان يقرق علينا اذا ضحك عليهم وصاح مثلا *yiqarraq* (53b) يقرق cackle, laugh”. HB 696a “*’arra*’ to chortle, cackle”. Spiro 484a-b “*qarraq*, to say witty vulgar things with play on the words”. Wehr 888b “*qaraqqa* to cluck (hen)”. Ibid “*qaraqara* to make a rumbling noise, (...) to guffaw, laugh continuously and loudly”.
- qrl قرلى ناعمه والقرلى كرمكى طائر ذو حزم لا يري الا فرقا علي *qirillā* (89a) قرلى kind of water bird”. Hava 601a “*qirillā* kind of plungeon, diver”.
- qrm يقولون فلان قرم اذا وصفوه بالقوة والهمة ونحوهما وانما هو قرم *qirm* (104a) قرم tough (person)”. HB 696a “*irim* tough, hard-bitten”. Hava 601b “*qirm* stallion kept in the stable; chief of a tribe; incision on a camel’s nose”.
- qrn يقولون فلان قرنان قال هو الديوث والمشارك في قرينته *qarnān* (117a) قرنان cuckold”. HB 697a “*arran* 1. to cuckold... 3. to become cuckolded (of a man)”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 181 “قرنان بوزن سكران عامية مولدة ” وأصله انهم يكونون عن صاحبها بذى القرون كأنهم جعلوه حيوانا لا يغار على منكحه”.
- qrw يقولون قروة لاينة اي ظرف من حوص *qarwa* (130a) قروة basket of palm leaves”. BW IV 376b “*girwiyya* großer Vorratskorb; Korb, Tasche; Transportkorb; eine runde aus Palmblätter geflochtene Tasche” (used in Upper Egypt).
- qzm يقولون على الة قرمة وليس عربيا والقرم معانيه كلها قبيحة *qazma* (104b) قرمة pickaxe”. See HB 699a, and Spiro 486a. Prokosch p. 107 gives the Ottoman-Turkish قازمه as its origin. This is confirmed by İhsanoğlu p. 442 and Vollers (1897) p. 309.
- qzn يقولون فلان قزون اي بخيل ولم يعلم قال القزة كنية حية بتر *qazzwn* (130b) قزون greedy”. The quotation is from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 1191c, entry

## Glossary

- QZW. Al-Mağribī was under the impression that the *wāw* is part of the root, and the *nūn* is not. An entry \*QZN does not exist in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*. Taymūr V p. 124 “قَزُون: للقصير جدا. هو القزم، وقلبوا “*الميم نونا. ومن أمثالهم: رَبِّي قَزُون المال ... الخ انظره في كراس الأمثال Taymūr Amṭāl* (1986) p. 224 no. 1302: “رَبِّي قَزُون الْمَالُ يَنْفَعُكَ وَرَبِّي إِسْوَد: “*الزَّاسُ يَنْفَعُكَ*. Hava 604a “قَزِم to be mean, paltry”.
- qstl يقولون اكلنا قسطل او قسطل لم يعلم وهو *qasṭal / qaṣṭal* (89a) قسطل / قسطل الذي يقال له ابو فريوة وهو بالفارسي كسته فعل قسطل معرب منه “chestnut”. Wehr 892 “*qasṭal* (eg.) chestnut”. HB 654b “*abu farwa* chestnut(s)”, but does not mention *qasṭal*. Steingass 970 “قسطل *qasṭul*, a chestnut”. See also ابو فريوة.
- qsm قَسَامَة “truce?”. Hava 605b “قَسَامَة (104b) *qasāma* قَسَامَة قَسَامَة قَسَامَة قَسَامَة oath; truce; swearers”; “قَسَامَة alms; portion of the allotter”. Dozy II 346a-b *acte par lequel quelqu’un déclare devant le wali ou le juge qu’il s’abstiendra d’une mauvaise habitude qu’il a contractée*. HB 699b “*asīma* 1. receipt, stub. 2. certificate”.  
 “fate, lot”. يقولون هذا بختي هذا قِسْمِي اي هو نصيبي وحظِّي (104b) *qism* HB 699b “*isma* 1. a division, a (fated) lot”. HB gives a translation of *qism* only as “section” and “police station”. Ibid Spiro 486b.  
 يقولون ما دَلَّ قِسْمَهُ اذا اتفق اهل المجلس على احدٍ يقول (105a) *qisma* ذلك وانظر هل يكون بينه وبين المعنى اللغوي نسبة قال قَسَمَهُ وَقَسَمَهُ حَزَّاهُ وهي القِسْمَةُ بالكسر اي فكان الغلب عليه حصل من كل واحد فتجمعت “lot, division”. HB 699b “*isma* 1. a division, a (fated) lot”. Hava 605 *repartition, allotment. (arith.) division*; “share, portion”.
- qšf ويقولون في رجلي قشف وليس في اللغة بمعنى المرض وانما هو (32b) *qašaf* قشف “chapped skin”. HB 701b “*qašaf* chapping, roughening”. Spiro 488a “*qašaf*, chilblain”.  
 “bread crust”. HB 701b ويقولون قشفة الرغبة لم تعلم (32b) *qašfa* قشفة “*qišfa* crust (of bread), rind (of hard cheese)”.
- qšb “butcher”. Spiro 489a وتقول الخواص للجزار القَصَّاب (19a) *qaṣṣāb* قَصَّاب

## Glossary

- “land-surveyor”. Hava 608b “butcher; flute-player; land-surveyor”. Dozy II 354a “القَصَّابُ , il ne faut pas prendre, je crois, قصاب dans le sens de “joueur de flute”, mais dans celui de “boucher”.” In Syria it is still used with the meaning of “butcher”, see Denizeau p. 421 “boucher”, while in Egypt the word used for “butcher” is *gazzār*.
- qṣṭl قسطل (89a) *qaṣṭal* “chestnut”. See قسطل.
- qṣf ويقولون فلان في قَصَّف اي في لهو ولعب وليس عربيا *qaṣf* (32b) قَصَّف “playfulness”. Hava 610a “قَصَّف to revel, to make good cheer”.
- qṣl ويقولون قَصَل على اليابس من النباتات *qaṣal* (89b) قَصَل “stalks”. HB 705a “*aṣal* = ‘*aṣala*”; “*aṣala* knotty part of stalks of wheat and barley separated out during winnowing and used for fuel”. Spiro 491a “*qaṣal*, stalks”.
- يقولون فلان يتمقصل او عنده قيصلة اي خفة وتبختر في *qyṣala* (89b) قيصلة “a walk with a swagger”. No references found.
- qṭb ويقولون في الجرح قطب له المزين *qaṭab* (20a) قطب “to stitch up (a wound)”. Hava 613b “وقطَّب قَطَبَ to stitch (clothes)”. HB 706a “to make a tuck in, sew a fold in (a garment etc.)”.
- qṭrb ويقولون للمنعزل عنهم قاعد مثل القطرب او يتقطرب *yitqatrab* (20b) يتقطرب “shun company”. Hava 614b “to stir about”. Lane VII 2543b-c “قطرب he hastened, sped, or went quickly”; “قطرب he moved about his head: and made himself to resemble the قطرب (= “a certain bird; a bird that roves about by night and does not sleep”; “a thief who is skilful, or active, in thievishness; the male of the kind of demon called سِعْلَة; a young, or little, jinnee; a young, or little, dog; (...) a species of melancholia”).
- ويقولون للمنعزل عنهم قاعد مثل القطرب او يتقطرب *qaṭrab* (20b) قطرب “somebody who shuns company”. Kazimirski II p. 767a “قُطْرُب “1. sorte de demon ou d’ogre. (...) 12. mélancolie qui fait fuir la société des hommes”.
- qṭf ويقولون كنافه وقطآيف *qaṭāyif* (32b) قطآيف “sweet pancakes”. HB 709a “*qaṭāyif* small pancakes stuffed with nuts or other sweet filling fried and moistened with syrup or honey”. Spiro 494b “native cakes fried



## Glossary

- in butter (eaten with sugar or honey)". Al-Ḥafāḡī 176 “قطايف لنوع ”. “مما يؤكل صحيح على التشبيه لأن القطيفة دثار مخمل walking” ويقولون قُطوف في المشي مثلا اذا كان بطي السير (32b) *qaṭūf* قُطوف slowly”. Hava 616b “قَطُوف walking at a slow pace”. In HB, Spiro, and Dozy, only with the meaning “to pluck”.
- qṭm “passive sodomite”. Davies (1981) p. 449 “QṬYM ‘passive sodomite; unmarried man.’ – ‘the QṬYM in the language of the country folk is the passive sodomite (ṣāḥib al-’ubna) and, in another usage (bi-luḡa ’uxrā) one who is unmarried.” Dozy II 377a “قَطِيم sodomita, bardache, mignon”.  
 قَطِيم (105a) *qaṭīm* “sodomy”. See قَطِيم.
- qṭn “Basement of a house, overlooking water” (al-Ḥalīḡ was a canal in Cairo which has since been filled in). Hava 617a “قَيْطُون cellar; closet”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 178 “قَيْطُون ”. According to Vollers (1897) p. 302, its meaning is “sewer” and its origin is the Greek *κοιτών*. Its specific meaning of “basement overlooking water” can be found in the glossary of the Islamic Art Network: “In Egypt, it was the space in a house that overlooked water. Most of the houses overlooking the ponds in Cairo (*birkat al-fil* or *al-azbakiyya*) had a *qaytun* as its basement”. <http://www.islamic-art.org/Glossary/glossary.asp>
- qff “basket made of palm stalks”. See HB 711b *quffa*.  
 واما قول لاعبي الشطرنج مرماذ قفة فيمكن انه على التشبيه (32b) *qaṭfa* قفة Meaning unclear. There could be a relation to HB 711b “*wāqi’ min qa’r il-quffa* overlooked as trivial, unjustifiably disregarded”, or with Hava 619b “قُفَّ من الناس” *rabble*”. See also مرماذ.
- qfqf “to shiver with cold”. See Hava 619b, and HB 711b.
- qfl يقولون القافلة للرفقة الذاهبين للسفر مع ان قفل رجوع والقافلة (89b) *qaḥila* قافلة

## Glossary

- الراجعة سميت بذلك تفاولا بان ترجع كما قالوا في الصحرا المهلكة مفازة  
 "caravan". HB 712a "قافلة" *ʾafla, ʾāfila caravan*.  
 "a coin يقولون وزن قفله بفتح القاف قال القفلة الدرهم الوزان (89b) *qafla* قفله  
 with the correct weight". Kazimirski II 791b "قَفْلَةٌ qui a le poids  
 voulu (piece de monnaie)".  
 "ignorant?". Hava 621a "locksmith", it is, however, unclear why this would be an insult. Dozy  
 II 384b "قَفَّال serrurier"; "مقفول ignorant". Compare HB 711b "ʾifl (...) 2b  
 [abus] inexperienced, naive. *walad ʾifl a green kid*".
- qql يقولون عود قاقلي وهو صحيح (89b) *qāqullā* قاقلي
- qlql يقولون في رقبته قلقل على الجلجل الكبير ولم يعلم (90a) *qalqal* قلقل  
 خطط المقريري ١٠٢/١ المقلقات: هي محارث " كبير". Dozy II 399b mentions only the pl.: "قَلَاقِل sonnettes, grelots";  
 the source is 1001 Nights.
- qll يقولون املا القلة (89b) *qulla* قلة "earthenware water jar". See HB 716a, and  
 Hava 622a.
- qlm يقولون فلان قلم اذا كان عزبا او كان مفلساً حتى قالوا فقلت (105a) *qalām* قلم  
 ابريني لاني قلم اذا كان على التشبيه بالقلم الذي هو التريعة او بعد البري  
 فواضح والطف منه ان القالم العزب جمعه قلمة محركة فيمكن انه حرّف حتى  
 "bachelor; broke". HB 716a "pen; stalk; department; slap";  
 and Spiro 499b-500a "pen, office, stripe, slap". Hava 625b "قالم  
 bachelor". قالم is a pun: HB 72a "ʾibrīli ʾalam sharpen me a  
 pencil!".
- qlnbr واعلم ان الترك يقولون على محب الغلمان قلنبرة وعلى (103b) *qalanbāra* قلنبرة  
 محب النسا زنبه واصله بالفارسي غلام بره وزن بره الغلام معلوم وزن الامراة  
 "sodomite". From Persian, see Steingass 891b: "ghulām-bāra باره غلام  
 a sodomite". Redhouse 1348a "غلامباره" (vulg. *qulampara*) a  
 pederast". See also زنبه.
- qml يقولون القمل والصبيان (90a) *qaml* قمل "lice". See HB 718a *ʾaml*.
- qmm يقولون اكسس القمامة اي الكناسة (105b) *qumāma* قمامة "sweepings". See

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- Hava 626a.
- qmn      117b) *qamīn* قَمِين جِير يقولون “kiln”. HB 718b “*amīna* <prob Gr kaminos> kiln”. Spiro 502a “*qamyna*, kiln”. Dozy II 407a “قَمِين فournaise”. Its origin is the Greek *καμνος*, see Vollers (1897) p. 302.
- qndl      90b) *qandīl* قَنْدِيل يقولون قَنْدِيل بفتح القاف وانما هو بكسرهما (90b) قَنْدِيل HB 719a.
- qnṣl      90b) *qunṣul* قَنْصُل يقولون قَنْصُل ولعله بلغتهم فان القنصل بالعربي (90b) قَنْصُل “consul”. HB 719a, Spiro 502a and Dozy II 412 “consul”. Its origin is the Italian *console* and according to Vollers (1897) p. 320 has been in use since the 8<sup>th</sup> century AH.
- qnf      32b) *qinif* قَيْف يقولون قَيْف يقع من اهل الارياف في السب (32b) قَيْف “disgusting?”. HB 720a “*inif*, *unuf* to become revolted or disgusted”; “*inif* 1. given to being revolted or disgusted. 2. finicky”. Hava 630b “قَيْف to be covered with dry slime”; “to loathe a.o. or a. th.”
- qnm      105a) *qinim* قَيْم يقولون فلان قَيْم او عنده قنامة اذا تكبر واطهر الكراهة حتى انه (105a) قَيْم “arrogant, walking with a disgusted look on his face (as if smelling a rancid smell)”. Hava 631a “قَيْم to be rancid (nut); to stink (greasy hands); to be dusty”. Dozy II 414a “قَيْم II émonder la vigne”. Kazimirski II 825b “قَيْم qui sent mauvais pour avoir été Sali avec de l’huile gatee (main, etc.)”. 105a) *qanāma* قَانَامَة “arrogance”. See قَيْم .
- qnn      117b) *qanāniyya* قَانَانِيَّة يقولون قَانَانِيَّة ولها اصل (117b) قَانَانِيَّة “glass drinking-bowl”. HB 720b “*ananiyya*, *ananiyya* 1. bottle. 2. [obsol] glass drinking-bowl”. Hava 628b “قَانَانِيَّة glass-bottle, flask”. Barthélemy 686 *qannīne* “flacon, petite bouteille de verre blanc, fiole”.
- qhw      130b) *qahwa* قَاهْوَة يقولون قَاهْوَة المستخرج من البن (130b) قَاهْوَة “coffee”. Lane (2003) p. 332 says the following about coffee: “The cup of coffee, which, when it can be afforded, generally accompanies the pipe, is commonly regarded as an almost equal luxury, and doubtless conducted with tobacco to render the use of wine less common among the Arabs: its name, “*ḳahweh*”, an old Arabic term for wine, strengthens this supposition.” “It was imported into Egypt between the years 900 and 910 of the Flight (towards the end of the fifteenth

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or the beginning of the sixteenth century of our era, or about a century before the introduction of tobacco into the East).” The Italian botanist and physician, Prosper Alpin, who lived in Egypt from 1581 to 1584, was the first person to describe the coffee plant and the use of coffee in European literature. According to him, the grains were called *bonou ban* and the drink itself *caova*. See Alpin *Plantes d’Egypte* (1980) pp. 92-94 and *Médecine* (1980) pp. 265-6. For more details on coffee, see §5.1.3.

- qwf ويقولون فلان قوفي او عنده قوف يريدون به الزور والنصب على (33a) قوف  
 “swindling”. Kazimirski II 835b form V “Refuser à quelqu’un son dû”.  
 قوف. (33a) *qwfī* “swindler”. See قوفي.
- qwq ويقولون ام قويق للطائر المشهور ولم انظره (54a) *umm qwyq* ام قويق  
 HB 722a. Dozy II 420a “chouette قويقة”.
- واما قولهم صار المحل يقوّق اي خال من الناس لم يعلم (54a) *yiqawwaq*  
 “to have no customers (shop)”. HB 722a “*qawwaq* 1. to screech 2. to  
 acquire a pale and withered appearance (especially of the face or  
 features)”. In other dictionaries (Wehr, Hava, Spiro) only “to  
 cackle”.
- qwl ويقولون القال والقيل هما مصدران كالقول (90b) *al-qāl wa-l-qīl* القال والقيل  
 “gossip”. Spiro 471b “*el qāl wil qyl* rumour, gossip,  
 trouble”. Wehr 933a “long palaver; idle talk, prattle, gossip”. HB  
 723a “*ālā* (unpleasant) rumour”; “*al(-lu) l-’ill* response indicating  
 one’s annoyance at being told ‘I told you so’”.
- qwm ويقولون في سبهم للغائب مثلا تعريض قيمانه بكسر القاف لم (117a) *qīmān* قيمان  
 تظهر الان له مناسبة وظهر شي قد خطر الان هو ان في سيرة ساسان يقولون  
 Meaning unclear. No references found.
- qyq ويقولون قل لها قيتي اذا كان يسخر باحد؛ وقد نظرت الان انّ (53b; 54) *qīqī* قيتي  
 معنى قولهم قل لها قيتي اي قل للدجاجة صحي فان التقيق صوت الدجاجة اذا  
 “cackle”, *qul lahā qīqī* “tell her (the hen) to

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cackle”, said to somebody to make him look ridiculous. Taymūr V 186 “يققى: يقولون: يققى ميقى: حكاية صوت. ومن يققى شمر: أي من أدنى “شيء”.

- \* qyl HB 726b يقولون قِيَالَة حنّانة. (112a) *qayyāla* “midday heat, siesta”. “*ayyāla* midday heat, hottest part of the day”. Spiro 506b “*qayjāla*, mid-day heat”. Hava “حنّانة mid-day; siesta”. See also حنّانة.

### k

- kaka يقولون لا تتكاكا شي اي لا تتاخّر عن الشي وافعله (10a) *itkākā* “hesitate, be cowardly”. Hava 639a “تكاكأ وتكاكأ to draw back; to run away (thief); to be weak, cowardly”. Lane VII p. 2581a “كأكأ he drew back, or retired, and was cowardly”; “تكاكأ he was prevented, or hindered”; “تكاكأ في كلامه he hesitated in his speech”.
- kbl يقولون على المواشط الكبالي حتى رايتها في قصة الجليلة وتبع (90b) *kabālī* “lady’s maids”. They are also mentioned in *Hazz al-quhūf* in a scene where a bride is being prepared for her wedding: ويأتي اليها الكبالي: see Davies (2005) p. 17.
- kby يقولون فلان كابي (130b) *kābī* “ashen (complexion)”. See HB 733b, and Hava 642b.
- ktā ويقولون كتنا على شي من الماכול قرين الخشكنا والظاهر انه غير (10a) *katā* “a sweetmeat?”. Lane VII 2589c “كثّاء a plant resembling the *چرّجير*, which is cooked and eaten”, 2592a “أقط; what rises (from the milk) above the water, the latter becoming clear beneath it”. However, خشكنا is a kind of sweetmeat, and al-Mağribī calls it *katā* “the companion of خشكنا” so it probably does not resemble a plant or cottage cheese. In Persian, *kate* means “rice boiled in water”, see Junker-Alavi

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- (1968) p. 595a. It could be a dessert made with rice.
- ktf يقولون حل كتافه للحبل والكتيف للضبّه (33a) *kitāf* “handcuff”. See Hava 644a. Not in HB, but it does mention the verb (p. 736a): “*kattif* 1a. to bind the arms of, truss up”. Spiro 511b “*dāru aktāfoh* they tied his hands together behind his back”.
- kti يقولون كتله بضم الكاف اي ثقيل ولها نسبة (90b) *kutla* “heavy weight”. HB 736b “3. [phys] mass”. Spiro 512a “*kutla*, beam, bulk, lump, mass”.
- يقولون كوتل واعطاه وليس لغويا فان الذي في القاموس الكوتل (90b) *kwtal* يقولون كوتل واعطاه وليس لغويا فان الذي في القاموس الكوتل (90b) *kwtal* بالمثلثة موخر السفينة “stern of a ship”. See Wehr 990b *kaūtāl*.
- ktm يقولون فلان يكتم بضم التآ وهو كذلك من باب ينصر (105b) *yiktum* “to keep a secret”. See Spiro 512a *katam* (*jiktim*). Lane VIII 2998c (Suppl.) “he concealed, or suppressed, a secret”.
- ktn يقولون كتان بكسر الكاف وانما هو كتان بفتحها (117b) *kittān* “linen”. See HB 737a. Hava 644b *كتّان*.
- kḥk ويقولون كحك العيد وانما هو الكحك خبز معروف فارسيّ (62a) *kaḥk* ويقولون كحك العيد وانما هو الكحك خبز معروف فارسيّ (62a) *kaḥk* “cookies baked for religious feasts”. See HB 737b. It was originally Persian, see Steingass 1007b “*kāk* biscuit; dry bread” and Vollers (1896) p. 654. Al-Ḥafāğī 192 “كحك معروف فارسيّ معرب”. “عن الجوهرى ورد في الشعر القديم
- kḥl وسمعت من المغاربة مكحلة اي البندقية ولم تعلم وكانها (91a) *mākḥla* وسمعت من المغاربة مكحلة اي البندقية ولم تعلم وكانها (91a) *mākḥla* “rifle” (North-Africa). Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 81a “*mkeḥla*, *mkoḥla* 1. rifle 2. container for storing *kḥul*”. It is called this because of the similarity in appearance of *kuḥl* and gunpowder. Aḥmad Čezzār, who wrote a report on Egypt in 1785, made the interesting observation that “[the Mağribīs] are a gun-shooting people similar to Albanians”, see Čezzār (1962) p. 26.
- يقولون مكحلة بكسر الحا وانما هي مكحلة بضمها والميم (90b) *mukḥila* يقولون مكحلة بكسر الحا وانما هي مكحلة بضمها والميم (90b) *mukḥila* “kohl-holder”. HB 738a “*mukḥila* vessel (usually of brass) for kohl”. Lane (2003) p. 36 mentions the pronunciation *mukḥulah*.
- kdm يقولون على العضّ بادنى الفم كدم (105b) *kədam* يقولون على العضّ بادنى الفم كدم (105b) *kədam* “to bite with the edges of the teeth”. HB 740a only mentions the noun: “*kadma* bruise,

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- contusion”. Hava 647b “كَدَمٌ to bite with the edge of the teeth”.
- kdy pandanus يقولون كادي لشي ريحه طيب في مكة لم يعلم (131a) kādī “pandanus odoratissimus”. Redhouse 1514 “كاذي kyāzī, the East-Indian screw-pine, pandanus odoratissimus”. Steingass 1001a “كاذي kāzī, a sort of unguent; name of a fragrant flower; red”. Dozy II 434a “كادي ou كاذي (Freytag 20 b), pandanus odoratissimus, arbre qui ressemble au palmier, dans l’Inde, en Chine et dans le midi de l’Arabie; on se sert de son écorce en guise de papier, et il donne une huile connue sous le nom de الكادي”. According to Vollers (1896) p. 634, it is the *celastrus edulis*. This is the plant from which *qāt* is made.
- krbl يقولون كربل القمح اذا غربله (91a) *karbil* “to sieve wheat”. HB 741a only mentions the instrument: “*kurbāl* coarse-meshed riddle (used in threshing)”, *ibid.* Spiro 515a. Hava 649b “كَرْبَلٌ to cleanse (wheat)”. BW IV 411a “*karbal*, *yikarbil ḥ* mit dem großen Sieb *kurbāl* ~ *kirbāl* sieben”.
- krswn ويقولون ابو كرسون للرجل الكبير بل للباشا (118a) ‘*abū karswn* ابو كرسون وكرسون الذي رايته في سيرة الحاكم انه اسم ملك من ملوك النصارى كان سلطان النصارى في دمياط حتى جا الحاكم ثم خلصها منه واتسلم وحسن السلامة “an important person”. Unknown. See endnote on fol. 118a.
- krf ويقولون كرف الرآنحه وهو صحيح الا ان اصله مستعمل في (33b) *karaf* كرف الحمار “to sniff up a smell”. HB 744a “*karaf* to absorb an odour from surroundings (of fod, and the like)”. Hava 651b “to sniff and raise the head (ass)”.
- krk يقولون فلان كرك على فلان وضحك عليه (61b) *karrak* “to laugh at s.o.”. HB 744b “*karkar* (...) 3. to laugh at length”.
- krkdn يقولون كركدن مشدد الدال والعامّة (117b) *karkaddan* / *karkadann* كركدن كركدّن “rhinoceros”. Hava 651b “كَرْكَدَنَّ” “P rhinoceros.” Its Persian origin is confirmed by Steingass 1024 “*kargadan* (S. *khadga-dhenu*), the rhinoceros”.
- krkr اخذه في كركر اي في لعب وضحك قال كركر ضحك (91a) *karkar* كركر “laughter and playing”. See HB 744b.

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- krkm يقولون في غنا الموال عجنت كركم بما كركم بقا كركم (106a) *kurkum* كركم  
 “turmeric”. See HB 745a. Al-Ḥafāḡī p. 193  
 كنت عجنت لهذه الثلاثة  
 كركم معرب. Vollers (1897) p. 650 believes that the word’s origin is  
 Indian.
- krm يقولون اذا رأى احدهم في لحية صاحبة شيا تعلق من قشة (105b) *ikrām* إكرم  
 “show some respect!” (said to someone whose looks are  
 somehow embarrassing, e.g. food in the beard). Compare HB 745b  
 “*akramak allāh* no offence taken! (said in the event of unseemly  
 words or behaviour)”.
- يقولون على اخت الانسان كريمته وكذلك على العين وهو (105b) *karīma* كريمة  
 “respectful way of referring to one’s sister; the eye”. HB 745a  
 “*karīma* 1. formal mode of reference to a daughter 2. a kiss on the  
 hand”. Spiro 517a “*karyma*, daughter”. Hava 652b “precious thing;  
 any noble part of the body; noble-born lady; daughter”.
- krm يقولون فلان كّراني في المركب (117b) *karrānī* كّراني  
 Dozy II 460b “le scribe d’un bâtiment”, Dozy’s source is Ibn  
 Baṭṭūṭa. This word is still used with the meaning of “scribe” in  
 eastern Arabia, see Holes (2001) p. 455a.
- kstf يقولون في الشمس خسفت والقمر كسفت والغالب في (22a; 33b) *kasaf* كسف  
 اللغة استعمالا ان يقال للشمس كسفت وللقمر خسف؛ ويقولون كسفت  
 “to eclipse (sun or moon)”. HB 750b-751a does  
 not mention this as a verb, only as a noun: “*kusūf* eclipse; *kusūf*  
*iššams* solar eclipse”. HB 251a “*ḥasaf* 1. to eclipse”. Spiro also fails to  
 mention *kasaf* as a verb, only as a noun: p. 519b “*kusūf* shame,  
 shyness, eclipse of the sun”.
- kšk يقولون طعام كشك ويقولون ان اصله البرّ واللبن (62a) *kišk* كشك  
 “a dish made  
 of wheat and milk”. HB 753a-b “*kišk* <P *kashk*> 1. dish of a creamy  
 consistency based on chicken stock thickened with milk or yoghurt  
 and flour 2. small round cakes made of crushed green wheat, salt  
 and sour milk and dried hard to be eaten either uncooked or  
 stewed in a stock as 1”. Spiro 521a “*kišk*, cakes of flour and milk (for  
 cooking with minced meat)”. Also mentioned in Davies (1981) p.  
 458, Almkvist (1893) p. 388 and Vollers (1896) p. 647. Its Persian  
 origin is confirmed by Steingass 1033b: “كشك *kashk*, sour milk



## Glossary

- dried; a sort of condiment made of butter-milk; a kind of thick pottage made of wheaten flour or barley-meal with sheep's milk, to which is added flesh or wheat".
- kfn يقولون سمك مكفن وله نسبة *makaffān* (117b) "unsalted". Hava 660b "طعام كَفْنٌ: لا ملح فيه" Taymūr V p. 356 "without salt (food)".
- klb والان يستعملون غير هذا كان يقال *yā kalb mā aštaru* (126b) "clever dog!". This is an example of a negative expression which can be used to express something positive.
- klل يقولون الكل والبعض *al-kull wa-l-ba'd* (91a) "everything / body and anything / body".
- klm يقولون فلانة جميلة مكلمته بالتآ المثناة وانما هي كلثمة *makaltam* (106a) "plump". Dozy II 490b "مكلمهم *charnu*, 1001 N; mais *sembles* signifier *qui a la barbe touffue*". *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* p. 1042b "امرأة مكلمة".
- kly يقولون فلان ما تكتليه او ما يكتلي به الشخص لحقارته (..) *yiktālī* (131a) "to fix his eye on?". Hava 662a "كَلَأَ to fix (the eyes) on; اِكْتَلَأَ to be sleepless (eye)". Lane VII 2624a "he preserved, or guarded, himself from him or it; had a care of, or was cautious of, him or it".
- km يقولون كام وهي اشباع في كم الاستفهاميه؛ يقولون نعام *kām* (106a; 106b) "how much, how many?". See HB 762b. This is one of the original 2-radical words, which have become 3-radical in Egyptian, due to the need that was felt to lengthen exceptionally short words, such as *kura* > *kōra*, *yad* > *ʾīd*, *fam* > *fumm* etc. See also §6.2.9.
- kmā ويقولون كما جا او كما راح ولم اعلم له وجهاً ولا مناسبة للمراد *kamā* (10a) "like", "he came like he went". It is unclear why al-Maḡribī labeled this as "unknown", unless he had another meaning in mind.
- kmğ كماجا بضم الكاف (...) الخبز اليابس لم يعلم *kumāğā* (10a) "dry bread". Taymur V 249 "كِمَاج: ويقال كِمَاجَة: تطلق في بعض بلاد القطر " كدمياط وجهاتها على النوع النظيف من الخبز، وعلى الخبز الذي على وجهه

## Glossary

- السمسم”. It was originally Persian; Steingass 1064 “كوماج *kūmāj*,  
يقولون *kūmāch*, unleavened bread”.
- kml يقولون *kāmīliyya* (91b) كامليّة لم تعلم “type of garment”.  
Dozy II 489b “espèce de robe”; he mentions Ibn Iyās as his source.
- knf يقولون كنافة لم اعلم لها اصلا؛ ويقولون كنافة وقطائف (33b; 32b) *kunāfa*  
كنافة “sweet vermicelli pastry”. See HB 765b-766a.
- knn يقولون النار في الكانون (117b) *kānūn* “hearth”. HB 768a “*kanūn* clay  
or mud-brick hearth for cooking”. Spiro 507b “stove, hearth, fire-  
place”.  
يقولون كَنّ كذا من المعلوم ان مرادهم كانّ كذا خفف لكثرة (117b) *kann*  
كَنّ “as if”. This is a contraction of *ka’ann*, see §6.2.3.2. BW IV  
422b “*kann* als ob: *kannak* als ob du”.
- يقولون فلان يكن في الامر او كَنّ اي جبن وتاخر (118a) *kann, yikann*, يكن  
عنه “to cowardly shun away from doing something”. HB 768a “1. to  
hide away, shut away (s.o.) 2. [non-Cairene] to hide away, shut  
away (s.th.)”. Spiro 527a-b “to rest, repose, conceal one’s self”. Hava  
666a “to conceal, to keep (a girl) from sight”.
- kwf يقولون كوفية لما يلبس لم يعلم (33b) *kūfiyya* “square piece of fabric  
worn on the head”. See Dozy II 500a, who mentions that its origin is  
the Latin *cofea*. See also Vollers (1897) pp. 316-7, who refers to the  
relationship to Italian *cuffia* and Spanish *cofia*.
- kwk يقولون كوكا لمن يجي من الهند حتى قالوا عزيز كوكي والظاهر (62a) *kūkā*  
كوكا “somebody from India”. It could refer to the historical  
town, Kūk, in Iran. See Kennedy (2002) map 32.
- كوكا (62a) *kūkī* “somebody from India”. See كوكا.
- kwn صاري يقولون كاني صاري (128b) *kānī* “excuses”. See صاري.
- kyf يقولون ياكل من الكيف وليس الكيف بهذا المعنى في كتب (33b) *kyf* الكيف  
“hashish”. HB 773a-b “(...) 2. addiction 3. narcotic”. Hava  
671b “well-being, enjoyment; caprice, humour”. Dozy II 505b  
“Proprement l’état de gaïté, d’ivresse, causé par le hachich, et  
ensuite le hachich même”. See §5.2 for more information about the  
use of drugs.

## Glossary

kyl يقولون اذا اخبروا عن انسان شتم اخر اکتاله ما خلّی شيا (91b) *iktāl* heap insults on s.o.". Spiro 531a "kayjil loh bil qalam, he slapped him". Wehr 997a "کال له الشتمائم" to heap abuse on s.o."

### l

lbb ويقولون لو عملناها بلبه ما جات كده ورايت في بعض (122a) *labba* لبه / لبه "mind". HB 776b "lubb (..) 3. mind, reasoning power"; "libba 1. a single libb seed 2. base of the neck 3. gold necklace (of the choker type)". Spiro 534a "libb pith, pulp"; "libba, necklace, slight slap". Hava 674a "لُبّ heart, mind, intelligence".

lbd ومن اللام قولهم شي لَبْدَة اي كثير قد يناسبه وانظر قوله تعالى (122a) *labadih* لَبْدَة مَالٌ لُبْدٌ وَلَبْدٌ وَلَابِدٌ "numerous". Hava 675b "Numerous flocks, extensive property".

lbq "skilful". يقولون فلان لبق ككتف اي عارف حاذق وهو صحيح (54a) *labiq* لبق See Hava 676a. HB 779a "labiq ↑ well-spoken, polished in manners and speech".

lbk يقولون اش ذي اللبّكة التي وقعنا فيها مثلا اي في امر صعب (62a) *labka* لبّكة "confusion, trouble". See Spiro 535b. HB 779a mentions *labka* as one of the *maṣḍars* of the verb *labak* "to confuse, muddle".

lbn "resin". يقولون مضغنا لبانا بالضم وهو صحيح (118a) *lubān* لبان "libān frankincense, resin". HB 779b "libān chewing gum. libān dakar resin of frankincense, olibanum". It was chewed in order to keep the gums healthy, see *El*<sup>2</sup> V p. 786b (A. Dietrich).

ltm يقولون لَتَمّه بالشي حتى اخذه اي اوقعه فيه وهذا ظاهر انه (106a) *lattim* لَتَمّ "to land s.o. in a situation". HB 780b "لَتَمّ، لَتَمّ to veil or cover the lower face of; 2. to bind the jaw (of a corpse, to prevent it falling)". Spiro 535b "itlattim to cover a part of the face". Lane VIII p. 3007c "لِغَامٌ a kind of muffler for the mouth".

## Glossary

- lhf      يقولون اللحاف وهو لغوي *lihāf* (33b) لحاف “bed cover”. HB 782a “quilt”, Hava 680b “sheet, ... blanket”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 200 “لحاف غطاء ودفار “معروف”.
- lhq      ويقولون فلان يلحق بالشي من التوه (..) (54a) *yilhāq* “to overtake”. HB 782b “*lihi*’ or *laḥa*’ 1. to reach, catch up with”. Hava 680b “لحقّ to overtake, to reach a. o. or a. th.”.
- “small” ويقولون على القدر الصغير لحوقي بضم اللام والحا *luḥūqī* (54a) لُحُوقِي “cooking pot”. HB 784a “*luḥūqī* type of shallow cooking pan”. Spiro 537b “*luḥūqy* saucepan with handles”. Dozy II 520b “لحوقي poêle, ustensile de cuisine pour frire”.
- lhn      يقولون يسمع الالحن *alḥān* (118a) الحان “melodies”. Plural of *laḥn*, see HB 784a.
- lhy      يقولون فلان لاخى علينا اي لم يساعدنا وفي اللغة بضد ذلك *lāḥā* (131a) لاخى “to befriend somebody against somebody else”. Hava 682b “لأخى to befriend, to court a.o.”; “ب to backbite a.o.”.
- ldn      يقولون لادن ولامي *lādan* (118a) لادن “laudanum”. Hava 683b “لأذنة ولأذنة laudanum”. The words *lādan wālāmī* لادن ولامي can be found on the internet in lists of ingredients of *mayrūn* “chrism”. According to <http://www.stgeorgecz.org/Forum/viewtopic.php?t=307>, it is the resin of the *Gum elemi* tree.
- يقولون فلان خصم لدن كفرح اي كثير الخصام مثل الدّ *ḥaṣam ladin* (118a) لدن “to dispute much/violently”. Lane VIII (Suppl.) 3009b “لَدُّن من لدُن from the time of”. It is more likely related to لَدّ “to dispute violently” (Wehr 1012a) with *-in* for the accusative (like modern *ḡaṣḡin ‘an*, see HB 624a).
- lzaq      ويقولون لرق على فلان اي لصق به وهو صحيح الا انه لرق على *lazāq* (54a) لرق “to stick to”. In Classical Arabic it follows the pattern of *sami’a: laziqa*. Not so in the Egyptian dialect: HB 786a *lizi*’ “to stick” (intransitive), *laza*’ (transitive, originally form IV). Al-Maḡribī does not mention the vowel pattern. Al-Ḥafāḡī 200 “لرق اذا قال كلاما ملفقا “سخيفا”.

## Glossary

- lsn يقولون فلان يلسن فلانا علينا يريدون انه جعل له لسانا (118b) *yilassin* “to slander”. HB 788a “*lassin* (..) to speak unkindly or slanderously”. Spiro 539b “*lassin* to hint, speak”.
- يقولون في لسان العرب كذا وهو صحيح اي في لغتهم (118b) *līsān* “language”. HB 788a “(…) (foreign) language, (foreign) tongue”.
- lṭm يقولون في السب سخام ولطام الثاني ياتي في بابه والاول هو (100a) *lāṭām* لطام “slaps”. HB 790a-b “*lāṭām* to slap”; “*lāṭma* a slap”. Similarly Spiro 541a. See also سخام.
- l'q وقد علمت ان قول اهل مصر معلقة لا يصح بخلاف قول (54b) *mil'aqa* مِلْعَقَة “spoon” اهل مكة مِلْعَقَة بكسر الميم كما سمعته منهم في مكة وغيرها (Mecca). See also معلقة.
- ويقولون لُعُوق بضم اللام وانما هو بفتحها (54b) *lu'ūq* “electuary”. HB 791b “*lu'ū*, *li'ū* electuary”. Hava 689a “لُعُوق linctus, electuary”.
- lfq ويقولون في السب مَلْفَق او لفق الشيء من هنا وهنا (..) وقال (54b) *laffaq* “to fabricate, patch up”. See HB 794b, Hava 691b, and Lane VIII 3011c (Suppl.). Kazimirski II 1011b “*مُلْفَقٌ* alteré par des additions, par des interpolations (récit, tradition)”.  
ملفّق (54b) *mulaffaq* “somebody who fabricates stories”. See لفق.
- lqf ويقولون لقف الشيء اذا تناوله بسرعة ولقف عند الموت (33b; 54a) *laqaf* والاول في اللغة (..) ولم يعلم الثاني؛ ويقولون اللقف او يلقف اذا كان في السياق او ياخذ ما يرمي اليه “to catch; to be in death agony”. Hava 693b “لَقِف to catch (a ball)”. Taymur V p. 289 also gives the meaning “to catch”. HB 796a “*la'af* 1. to catch 2. to be laboured (of breathing, heartbeats). Spiro 544a “*ayjān bijulquf*, he is at death's door”.
- lqq ويقولون لمن اخذ الشيء بلا حق لَقَّه وكذلك لمن ضرب اخر والثاني (54b) *laqq* لَقَّ “to steal; to slap”. Hava 692a “to lap; to be loose (horse-shoe); to rumble (belly); to strike (the eye) with the hand”. Dozy II 550a “*toucher, mettre la main à, ou sur quelque chose*”. Taymur V p. 289 “لَقَّاق: هو بمعنى لَصَّاص، أى يغتاب الناس”.
- lqlq ويقولون لقلق الضبّة اي حرّكها وهو صحيح (54b) *laqlaq* “to move (a

## Glossary

- th.)". Hava 692a "لقلق to agitate a th.". HB 796b "1. to make unsteady or unstable, cause to wobble 2. to be hesitant (in speech)".
- lkik ويقولون في التحقير ما دلاً لكلوك او هولاً لكاليك (62a) *laklūk, lakālik* لكاليك، لكاليك "a person who does things in a slapdash way". HB 798b "*laklik* to do (s.th.) in a slapdash way, do (s.th.) carelessly and badly". Spiro 545a "*laklik* to do a thing carelessly or badly, copulate". Kazimirski II 1021b "لُكُكُ 1. court, petit 2. gras. لكالك qui a les chairs compactes et dures".
- lkn يقولون فلان الكن (118b) *alkan* "speaking Arabic incorrectly". See Wehr 1029a. HB 798b *lakna, lukna* "foreign and defective accent".
- lmq ويقولون فلان مَلَمَّق اي ليس فقيرا من الدنيا ولا مناسبة له (54b) *mulammāq* مَلَمَّق "well-off". Lane V 2135b mentions it under the root 'LQ: "ما في الأرض عَلاقٌ وَلَا لَمَاقٌ there is not in the land a sufficiency of the means of subsistence: or pasturage".
- lwq حصلت له لُوقة وهو الوق اذا حصل له اعوجاج (54b) *alwāq* "crooked". HB 805a-b: "*lawāq* pronouncing of r as y (a speech defect). *alwāq* having the speech defect called *lawāq*". Hava 701b "لَوَّق to twist, to crook a.th." "أَلَوَّق foolish; contorted, twisted".
- الوق (54b) *lwqa* "crookedness". See الوق.
- lyq ويقولون في صوفة الدواة ليقة (55a) *līqa* "bit of wool which is inserted in an inkwell". Wehr 1040a "tuft of cotton or silk threads which is inserted in an inkwell". HB 807b "pad of silk or cotton fibre placed in an inkwell to absorb and hold ink". Spiro 241b-242a "*ryqa* or *lyqa*, sponge inside a native inkstand".
- lyl يقولون لويلات وانما هي لويلات والليلة ايضا تصغرها لبيلة (91b) *lawylāt* لويلات "nights (dim.)". Diminutives with the pattern KuKēKa or KiKēKa occur in modern Egyptian Arabic, see Woidich (2006) p. 98. See also §6.3.6.
- lyy ومن الامثال لا يعرف الحي من (126a) *lāyī* *lā yī'raf al-ḥayy min al-lāyī* "he doesn't know good from bad". HB 806b mentions *lāyī* as one of the maṣḍars of the verb *lawā* "1. to bend 2. to twist 3. to writhe"; "*ṭāyī 'ala lāyī* on an empty stomach". Wehr

## Glossary

1038b “الحي من اللي لا يعرف” (*yaʿrifu l-ḥayya*) he doesn’t know enough to come in out of the rain, he wouldn’t know a snake from a garden hose”. The meaning of *layy* is unclear; it is possible that it only serves as a rhyme word, to *ḥayy*.

### **m**

- mtl      يقولون ما له متل بالمشاة فوق وانما هو مثل (91b) *mitl* مثل  
 equivalent”. HB 823b only mentions the pronunciation with *s*,  
 which is borrowed from MSA. In Syria, the variant with *t* is still in  
 use, see Barthélemy p. 777 *mətʰl*. *mitl* is still mentioned by Willmore  
 (1919) p. 446. Nallino (1939) p. 316 still mentions *mitl* for the  
 countryside, so it appears that it fell out of use in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.
- mṭl      يقولون تمثّل بقول فلان قال في القاموس تمثّل انشد بيتا ثم (91b) *tamattil*  
 تمثّل “to quote”. See Wehr 1047a.
- mğš      يقولون اعني فقها المالكية ابن الماجشون (119a) *ibn al-Māğišūn*  
 (personal name)”. ‘Abd al-Malik b. al-Māğišūn (d. 212/827) was one of the four  
 Medinan disciples of Mālik b. Anas, founder of the Malikite school of jurisprudence.  
 See *El*<sup>2</sup> IV 87a (H. Monés).
- mğn      يقولون فلان يتماجن او عنده مجون وهو صحيح (118b) *yitmāğin*  
 joke with each other”. Wehr 1049b, MĞN form VI: “to mock at each  
 other”.  
 مجون (118b) *māğūn* “joking”. Wehr 1049b “*muğūn* buffoonery,  
 clowning; shamelessness, impudence”. See also يتماجن.
- mḥn      يقولون في السبّ فلان ممحون اي مابون وله نسبة (119a) *mamḥūn*  
 “catamite”. HB 812b “*mamḥūn* sexually experienced (especially of  
 women)”. Taymūr V p. 321 “مُحْنٌ وَمَمْحُونٌ: للغلام الفاسد الرقيق، ولعله  
 “من المحنة”. In Syria: Denizeau p. 489 “*mamḥūn*, fém. *mamḥūne*  
 “blâmable, suspect dans ses mœurs”.”
- mrtk      ويقولون مرّتك ذهبي لعقار لم انظره (62a) *martak*  
 “residue of gold”. Al-

## Glossary

- Ḥafāḡī 208 “مرتك معرب”. Its origin is Persian, see Steingass 1210a “A مرتك *martak*, in P *murtak*, litharge or dross of silver”.
- mrq ويقولون فلان مَرَق اي اغتاط جدا وكانه من مرق السهم من *maraq* (55a) مَرَق “to be infuriated”. HB 818a “*maraq* to go at a fast pace”. Spiro 562b “to pass, dart”. Hava 717a “to pierce through (the game: arrow)”. BW IV 447b “*mara* vorbeigehen, *mārig*: *ana mārig* ich gehe weg (Assuan)”. The meaning given by al-Maḡribī is still found in modern Sudan: Qāsim 738a “مرق من اليد جاوز الحدود وخرج عن الأدب “والحشمة”.
- واما مرق الطعام فقال فيه المَرَق الطعن بالعجلة واكثر مرقة القدر *maraq* (55a) مرق “bouillon”. See HB 818a.
- mrn ويقولون فلان مِرِن في الحاجة وله اصل قال مرن وجهه على الامر *mirin* (119a) مِرِن صلب وانه كمرن الوجه كمعظم صلبه والمارن الانف او طرفه او ما لان منه “hard (person)”. HB 819a “*marin*, *mirin* pliant, flexible”. Hava 717b “مِرِن soft and hard; trained, accustomed”. Al-Maḡribī probably meant “hard”, since the quotation from *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* has this meaning and al-Maḡribī mentions that the Egyptian meaning is in accordance with it.
- mzrb ويقولون مزراب لمجرى الماء قال في القاموس والمزراب *mizrāb* (15a) مزراب “spout for draining water from a roof or balcony”. See HB 367b. According to al-Maḡribī, this is from the Persian *mrz* “border” and *āb* “water”. This is confirmed by Steingass 1214a “مرز *marz* a limit, border, boundary of a country. مزراب *mizrāb* A canal, conduit, waterpipe”; p. 1a “آب *āb*, Water”. Redhouse 1809b “مزراب *mizrāb* 1.a a spout from a roof”.
- mzn ويقولون مازن اسم شخص *māzin* (119a) مازن “Māzin” (personal name). The name of several Arab tribes, see *El<sup>2</sup>* VI p. 953b (G. Levi Della Vida).
- msyq ويقولون علم الموسيقى بفتح القاف لنفس العلم وبالكسر *mūsīqā* (52b) موسيقى للشخص هذا على ما سمعته ولم انظره في كتاب من كتب اللغة فلعله يوناني “music”. See HB 824b. From the Greek μουσική.
- موسيقى (52b) *mūsīqī* “musician”. See HB 824b.





## Glossary

- m'n      يقولون على الانية ماعون وله اصل (119a) *mā'ūn* ماعون "kitchen pot". See HB 828b. Spiro 552a "bowl, dish, receptacle".
- mqs̄l      قولون فلان يتمقصل او عنده قيصلة اي خفة وتبخر في (89b) *yitmaqṣal* يتمقصل "to strut". See قيصلة المشي.
- mql      يقولون اتمقل بعينك (92a) *itmaqqa* "to look". Wehr 916b "مَقَلَّ u "to look, eye, regard". مقلة *muqla* is the eyeball, see Hava 729b, so the verb literally means "to move the eyeballs in a certain direction".
- mkn      يقولون فلان عنده مكنة اي متمكن ولم اعلم مكنة بضم (119a) *mukna* مكنة "power, ability". HB 830a "*mukn* solid (of quality), sound". Similarly, Spiro 578a; also doesn't mention a noun. Hava 730b "مَكْنَة vigour; power, ability".
- \* mlḥ      يقولون ويسمع من النسا مليح هآيل وليس الهائل الا من (95a; 105a) *malīḥ* مليح "nice". HB 831a "*mīlīḥ, malīḥ* 1. good, nice" (it is longer used in Cairo, although HB does not mention this). According to BW IV 455a, the word is still used in the oases, Middle Egypt, and Upper Egypt.
- mlq      ويقولون الملقة واصل الملقة لغة الصفاة الملسا وملاق كغراب (55b) *malaqa* نهر والملق ايضا الارض المستوية كما في القاموس فيمكن ان تكون الملقة من هذا "open space?". HB 832a "*mala'a* 1. open space, waste land (used, e.g., for games etc.)". Spiro 579b "*malaq* open space"; "*malaqa* certain undefined distance, league". BW IV 456b "*malaga* weiter Hof im Haus [XAR: St]; Platz, Ort [OÄ 3: B'eri, Ismant]". Wehr 1081a "*malaqa* Egyptian mile, league, the distance of approximately one hour's walk". Hava 734a "مَلَقَة flat and smooth stone; league of distance; open space".
- mlk      يقولون ملكت العجين وهو صحيح (62a) *mālāk* ملك "to knead (dough)". See Hava 734b.
- mlml      فلان اتململ في الشي اي اتقلب وهو صحيح (92a) *itmalmil* اتململ "to be restless". See HB 833b.
- mlw      يقولون ملو حفته اما ملو فلا يصح لانه مهموز اي ملء والحفنة (111b) *malw* ملء الكف "a ... -ful (e.g. a handful)". HB 834a "*malw* quantity sufficient for one filling. *malw kubbāya* a glassful". HB 214b "*ḥifra*

## Glossary

- handful”.
- mly وَيَقُولُونَ الْمِلَاءَ وتارة الملاية للملحفة المعلومة والصحيح مُلَاة *milā* (10b) مِلَاءٌ  
 “bedsheet”. HB 834a “*milāya* bedsheet”, *ibid.* Spiro 578b.  
 mly ملاية (10b) *milāya* “bedsheet”. The same applies here as for *dawā* -  
*dawāya* (see دواية).
- mnḡnq ويقولون رماه بالمنجنيق *manḡjanīq* (38b) منجنيق “catapult”. Spiro (1999) p.  
 582a “*manganyq*, cistern of water-closet”. Wehr (1994) p. 1086a  
 “*manjanīq* mangonel, ballista, catapult”, similarly in Steingass (p.  
 1824a); he mentions that it is taken from Greek. Vollers (1987) p.  
 304 states that its origin is *μαγγανιχιον*. Al-Ḥafāḡī 207 “منجنيق معرب  
 من چه نيك اى ما اجدونى او اناشئ جيد لانه لا يجتمع الجيم والقاف في  
 ”كلمة عربية غير اسم صوت بكسر الميم كما في القاموس
- mndل ويقولون مندبل وللطيب مندل وكلاهما صحيح *mandal* (92b) مندل  
 “odoriferous wood”. HB 836a “*mandal* [magic] contemplation of the  
 surface of a reflecting liquid such as ink or oil (for the purpose of  
 divination)”. Spiro 582b “*mandal* magic, clairvoyance”. Also Taymūr  
 V pp. 401-2 mentions only the meaning of “witchcraft”. Hava 760a  
 “قال في ”*mandal* root; odoriferous wood; witchcraft”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 217 “  
 المعجم بلد بالهند يجلب منه العود المندلي ذكى الشذا والمندلي المطير قلت  
 ”وهم يغلطون فيه وينطقون المندل نفسه بخورا آخر
- mndل ويقولون مندبل وللطيب مندل وكلاهما صحيح *mandīl* (92b) مندبل  
 “handkerchief”. See HB 836a.
- mnn يقولون لحلاوة الشجر من وهو ما قطع على شجر البلوط *mann* (119a) من  
 sticky substance produced by oak tree-lice”. HB 837a “*mann* honeydew-  
 producing species of aphid that attacks plants”. BW IV 459b “*mann*  
 ein Baumwollschädling, eine Art Mehltau”. Hava 736a “مَنَّ Manna,  
 viscous substance collected from the ash-tree”.
- \*benevolent”. HB يقولون يا حنان يا منان وهو صحيح *mannān* (112a) منان \*  
 837a “*mann* 1. to disburse, bestow in a condescending fashion 2. to  
 enumerate favours one has done (for s.o.)”. Spiro 581a “*mann* to  
 grant, be benevolent”.
- mny يقولون نزلنا من عرفة الى منا *munā* (131a) منا  
 See *EF* VII 65a (Fr. Buhl).

## Glossary

- mwm يقولون ويسمع كثيرا من الترك على الشمع موم ويتوهم انه غير (106a) *mūm* موم  
 “wax; candles”. This is a Persian word: Steingass  
 1348b “*mom, mūm* wax; a wax-candle”. Al-Ḥafāṣṣī 202 “موم بمعنى  
 موم”. See also §3.3.2. “الشمع فارسي (...). وكلام القاموس يوهم خلافه وهو وهم
- mwn يقولون يا جارية تعرفي تطبخي قالت يا سيدي تعرف تمون (119a) *mawwin* مؤن  
 “to provide (for the family)”. See  
 HB 840b.
- n**
- nāna يقولون نانا او نانه سمعت ان بعض العلماء اللطفا سئل عن (10b) *nāna* نانا، نانه  
 “stop!”. Taymūr I p. 165  
 ناني هذه اللفظة “*as*كت. Şabbāḡ (1981) p. 68  
 “إفرنجيتية يستعملوها أهل مصر الأكثر من النساء والبعض من الرجال بمعنى بَسَّ  
 Blanc (1973-4) p. 385 “*nānā* ‘assez!’”.
- ntf يقولون فلان نتيف واعطاني نتفه وكلاهما صحيح الا انهم (33b) *nitfa* نتفه  
 يحرفونهما فيكسرون النون وانما نتيف كامير الجمل الذي نتف حتى يعمل فيه  
 الهنأ فنتيف بمعنى منتوف واما النتفه فهي بالضم ما تنتفه باصبعك من النت  
 “small piece”. See HB 848a, and Spiro 592b. Dozy II  
 647b “*morceau, petite portion de quoi que ce soit*”.
- نتيف (33b) *nitif* “depilated”. Hava 748b “نتيف depilated (camel)”. HB  
 848a “*nataf* to pluck (hair, feathers etc.)”.
- ntq ويقولون ويقع من مربّي الطيور سبحان الناق ومن الحاوي الذي (55b) *nātiq* ناق  
 نتق الاول يريد الناطق اي المنطق له والثاني يريد نطق والظاهر ان عنده الضب  
 فيريد انه نطق للنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم ومن العجيب انهم وافقوا الصواب في  
 اطياف ناطقة” Lane VIII (Suppl.) 3034b “*endowing with speech*” هذا  
 singing birds”. For the de-emphatization of the *ṭ*, see §6.2.4.
- nġl يقولون النجل السعيد على الولد وهو صحيح وتطلق النجل ايضا (92a) *naġl* نجل  
 “son”. See HB 850a, and Spiro 593b.

## Glossary

- nḥl يقولون النحل وهو يطلق على العطا بلا عوض *nahl* (92a) نحل  
 Hava 755b “نَحَل to give a.th. freely to a.o.”. Kazimirski II 1216b  
 mentions both *nahl* and *nuhl* “donation”.
- nḥm يقولون يتنحّم بالحا المهملّة اي يتنحّح في بيت الخلا *yitnaḥḥam* (106) يتنحّم  
 “to defecate”. HB 852a “*naḥnaḥ* to take (a child) to defecate or  
 urinate”.
- nḥl يقولون ويستعملون النخل في الصفع ولم يعلم من اللغة *nahl* (92a) نخل  
 854a “*naḥal* to sift, sieve”. Ibid Spiro 595b and BW IV 466b. Al-Ḥafāḡī  
 234 “نخل معروف تستعمله المولدون بمعنى الصفع”. The women sieve by  
 hitting the sieve with their silver bracelets; therefore, the word for  
 “to sieve” has also taken on the meaning “to slap”.  
 يقولون نخاله بضم النون وهو صحيح *nuḥāla* (92a) نُخاله  
 HB 854a “*nuḥāla* siftings of flour, bran”.  
 يقولون الغربال والمنخل وبينهما فرق ذلك للحبوب والمنخل (84b) منخل  
 “sieve for flour, fine-meshed sieve”. HB 854a “*manḥul* flour-  
 sifter, flour-sieve”. Hava 758a “مُنخُل sieve”.
- nḥm يقولون تنخّم بالخا المعجمة وهو صحيح *tanaḥḥam* (106b) تنخّم  
 one’s throat noisily”. See HB 854b.
- ndl يقولون في السب فلان نذل بالاهمال وانما هو نذل بالمعجمة *nadl* (92b) نذل  
 “despicable”. See HB 855b. From نذل.
- ndm يقولون سادم نادم او سدمان ندمان السدم الندم فيكون الثاني *nādīm* (100a) نادم\*  
 “repentant”. HB 856a “*nidīm* to feel regret, feel remorse. (...)   
*ava nadmān, nādīm*”.
- ندم (106b) *nadmān* “repentant”. See نادم.
- ndh يقولون انه عليه اي صحّ عليه *indah ‘alyh* (122b) انده عليه  
 HB 856a “*nadah* to call (to), call out (to). (...) *rūḥ indah-u* (or *indah-lu*  
 or *indah ‘alē*) go and call him”.
- يقولون ندهه كف اي ضربه وله اصل قال *nadahuh kaff* (122b) نده: ندهه كف  
 “to slap”. Hava 760b “نَدّه to urge (a  
 beast), to repel a.o., to call out a.o.”. HB 856a “*nadah* to call (to), call  
 out (to)”.
- nzq يقولون فلان نَزِق اذا كان ضيق الصدر *naziq* (56a) نَزِق  
 “unsteady”. See Hava



## Glossary

- (1973) I p. 34, mentions that the *para / nişf fiḍḍa* was used throughout the entire Ottoman period. See also فِرا.
- nşf      ويقولون لعب مَنْصَف ولم يعلم من اللغة بهذا المعنى *manşaf* (34a) مَنْصَف  
 fair; a trick?”. HB 866b-867a “*naşaf* 1. to relieve of injustice 2. to  
 treat nicely”; form IV = form I. Hava 775a form IV: “to be fair,  
 impartial” etc. Hava 775a “مَنْصَف trick”. So, it could be either  
 “playing fair” or “playing unfair (with a trick)”. Lane VIII 3033b  
 (Suppl.) “أَنْصَفَهُ” he did justice to him”.
- ويقولون حصلت له نَصَفَه بالحركات اي انصاف وهو صحيح *naşafa* (34a) نَصَفَه  
 “justice”. HB 866b “*naşaf* 1. to relieve of injustice”;  
 867a “*naşafa: ya’ni huwwa (hiyya, humma) lli naşafa* is he (she, they)  
 any better?” Wehr 1139b “*naşaf* and *naşafa* justice”.
- ntf      ويقولون نطفة الرجل فيعتقدون ان النطفة خاصة بآ الرجل وانما *nutfa* (34a) نطفة  
 “sperm”. See HB 869a.
- nṭl      يقولون فلان نطل في الهزء عليه ولم يعلم؛ فلان نطل اهله *nṭl* (92b) نطل  
 “disaster?” (used as a negative description of somebody). Hava  
 779b “نَيْطَلْ calamity, distress”. Lane IV 1359b “نَيْطَلْ سَيْطَلْ a man tall,  
 or long, in body”. Spiro 604b “*niṭil* good, useful”.
- nty      يقولون فلان يناطي الاخر اذا تسابا وله اصل *yināṭī* (131b) يناطي  
 “to insult each other”. Hava 780a “تناطى to struggle together; to strive to outstrip  
 o.a.; تناطى الكلام to discuss, to dispute”. Kazimirski II 1287b  
 “Rivaliser de longueur avec un autre”.
- n’q      نَعَقْ يقولون نعق غراب البين *nə’əq* (56a) نعق  
 “to croak (crow)”. Hava 782b “نَعَقْ  
 to croak (raven)”. HB 871b “*na’‘a’* 1. to caw (of a crow)”.
- n’l      يقولون جعلت للسرموجة نعلا جديدا وليس لغويا *na’l* (92b) نعل  
 “sole of a shoe”. See HB 872a.
- n’m      يقولون انعم صباحا وانما هو عم صباحا؛ يقولون اذا *an’am* (106b; 106b) انعم  
 “to make pleasant; to be gracious to”. Wehr  
 1150a “انعم الله صباحك” good morning!”. HB 873a “*an’am : ‘an’am ‘ala*  
 to be gracious to, bless”. Spiro 606b “*an’am* to confer upon,  
 bestow”.
- ويقولون اذا ذكر احد ونعم او وانعم. *wi-ni’m* (106b) ونعم

## Glossary

- به HB 872a-b “*wa ni‘m or wi-ni‘m bi-* extremely polite response to the mentioning of a name”.
- يقولون نعام اي نعم وهو مثل قولهم كام اي كم يشبعون *na‘ām* (106b) نعام  
 الحرف غفلة “excuse me?”. See §6.2.9 for the lengthening of short  
 vowels.
- n’y يقولون نَعْي فلان وله اصل قال نعا له نعيًا ونعيًا ونُعَيَايا بالضم *na‘y* (131b) نَعْي  
 اخبره بموته “obituary notice”. See HB 873b.
- ngf نَعْف “dry snot”. Dozy II 701a “*نَعْف siccae narium sordes*, Payne Smith 1368” (Thesaurus Syriacus). Lane  
 VIII p. 3036a (Suppl.) “*نَعْفَات* portions of dry mucus”. Hava 784b  
 “worm found in date-stones, in the nostrils of sheep”.
- ngl “to teem with (e.g., lice); to be itching”. Incorrectly mentioned as ينفل by ‘Awwād. Dozy  
 II 693a-b “دوداً” dans Abou’l-Walīd 680, n. 5, comme traduction de  
 וררם תודעים (Exode XVI, 20). Ordinairement on croit que c’est de רום  
 et l’on traduit: “et creverunt vermes;”, mais Abou’l-Walīd dit que  
 c’est de רמם; Fürst est de la même opinion et traduit: “et reprobant  
 vermes.” Le sens que donne Beaussier, fourmiller, grouiller,  
 pourrait donc convenir. - Démanger, avoir la démangeaison, Bc.”
- ngm يقولون فلان حسن النعمة اي حسن الصوت *naġma* (107) نعمة  
 voice”. HB 874a “*naġama, naġma* 1. tune 2. note of the musical  
 scale”. Hava 785a “نَعْمَةٌ وَنَعْمَةٌ melody, melodious voice”.
- ngy يقولون ناغى الولد *nāġā* (131b) ناغى “to speak tenderly to”. See HB 874b.
- nfq يقولون في خياطة الثياب نيافق والذي في القاموس نيفق *nayāfiq* (56a) نيافق  
 waistbands”. Hava 789b “*نَيْفَق* waist-band of trousers; tuck”, does not give the plural. Lane VIII p. 6c  
 (Suppl.) “*نَيْفَق* the part of a pair of drawers, or trousers, which is  
 turned down at the top, and sewed, and through which the  
 waistband, or string, passes”. Steingass 1443a “*نَيْفَق* (for P. *nefa*), open  
 or loose part of breeches”; “*nefa*, the part of the drawers through  
 which the string passes which fastens them; a breeches-belt or strap.”  
 Nowadays, *dikka* is used in Egypt.



## Glossary

- nfl يقولون فلان طلع نافلة في اهله مثلا اي فاق عليهم وله نسبة *nāfila* (93a) نافلة "superior". HB 878a "*nafl* supererogatory acts of devotion"; "*nifla* [rur] an extra amount (usually of land) added at a time of partitioning to compensate for some defect". Hava 790a "نافلة supererogatory work or prayer; booty; voluntary gift; grandson". Lane VIII p. 3036c "نَافِلَةٌ what accedes to, or exceeds, the original; a voluntary gift, by way of alms, or as a good work; a deed beyond what is incumbent, or obligatory; supererogatory prayers".  
ومن تصحيفاتهم فلان نفيل اي ثقيل وليس له معنى مع ان الفيل (88a) *nāfil* نفيل "fat" It is a *taṣḥīf* of *taqīl* "heavy", with a pun on *nāfil* "what exceeds the original" (the difference is only in the diacritical dots) and *fil* "elephant". HB 878a "*nafl* supererogatory acts of devotion". Lane VIII 3036c (Suppl.) "نافلة what accedes to, or exceeds, the original". Dozy II 714a "نَفِيلٌ *bâtard*". For more information about this kind of misspelling, see also اللّ.
- nfnf "to be sniffing" ويقولون ينفنف حواليه اذا تملّق عنده ودار *yinafnif* (34b) ينفنف around somebody constantly". HB 878b "*nafnif* (..) 3. to have a runny nose and be constantly blowing it or sniffing". Spiro 607a "*nafnif* to sniff".
- nqf "to hurt" ويقولون نقفه بالكلام او ينقفه اذا كان يوذيه بكلماته *nəqəf* (34b) نقف s.o. (with words)". Hava 794b "نَقَفَ to break (the skull)". Dozy II 724a "donner une chiquenaude à quelqu'un, et aussi: lancer contre lui une petite pierre avec les doigts".
- nql يقولون في ما يتنقل به نقل بضم النون قال النقل ما يتنقل به على *nuql* (93a) نقل "a dessert of dried fruits or nuts". HB 883a "*nu'l* mixed nut(s)". Spiro 613a "*nuql* dessert, dried fruit".
- nqnq "to nibble". HB 883b "*na'na'* to eat sparingly, pick or nibble at one's food". Spiro 610a "*naqnaq*, to eat slowly, delicately or sparingly".  
"small" ويقولون فلان ينقنق في الاكل مثلا وياكل نقانق *naqāniq* (56a) نقانق "small sausages". Wehr 1168b "*naqāniq* small mutton sausages (syr)". Barthélemy p. 847 "saucisson de viande de mouton faiblement

## Glossary

assaisonné et qu'on fait frire dans le beurre. lat. *lucanica*". This etymology is confirmed by Vollers (1897) p. 317. See also Dozy II 718. Taymūr V p. 397 " ويرى الأب المذكور أن النقانق، أصلها في اللغة " ... باللام بدل الهمزة ثم حرفت بالنقانق "اللغائفى، فحرفت الفاء بالقاف ... باللام بدل الهمزة ثم حرفت بالنقانق". Al-Hafāḡī 201 "لقانق: اسم لأحد الامعاء وبه سمى معى الغنم المحشو المقلى" (131b) *naqāwa* / *naqāya* نقاوه، نقاية It is still used in Syria today, with a *mīm*: مقانق, see 'Abd al-Rahīm (2003) IV p. 1506. He suggests it is derived from the Greek *loukanikon*, or the Latin *lucanica*.

- nqw يقولون نقاؤه الشيء ونقايته اي خياره وكل *naqāwa* / *naqāya* (131b) نقاؤه، نقاية "choice, the best". HB 883b "*na'āwa* (..) selection, choice, pick". He does not mention the variant with *yā*. Neither does Spiro 613b: "*naqāwa* choice, excellent".
- nqy "pit, kernel". يقولون اكلنا التمرة ورمينا نقايتها اي نواتها *naqāya* (131b) نقاية HB 884a "*na'āya* 1. a pip, a pit, a kernel"; Spiro 610b "*naqa*, or *nawa*, stones of fruits, sg. *naqāja*, or *nawāja*". BW IV 481b "*naqāya* Dattelkern [WD 1: Idfīna, BW P. 22.55; WD 4: Itāy il-Barūd]; *ni'āya*, *na'a* Kern: *ni'āyit mišmiš* Aprikosenkern [NMÄ 1: Fay, izZirbi]".
- nkf ويقولون فلان يناكف اي يكابر ويجادل ولم يعلم في اللغة *yinākif* (35a) يناكف "to argue". HB 885b "*nākif* to tease, needle, pester". Hava 799b "تناكف to discuss, to dispute together".
- nkh "flavour". يقولون شممنا منه النكهة وله اصل *nakha* (122b) نكهة HB 885b.
- nmk ويقولون ولا التّمك مبالغة في عدم اعطاء شي *nəmək: wala al-nəmək* (62a) نمك ولم تعلم له مناسبة عربيّة ولكن فارسية فان النمك بالفارسي الملح فكان القائل "salt: not even a grain of salt, nothing at all". HB 886b "*nimaki* fussy, finicky, fastidious". *nimaki* could be derived from someone who is very particular about how much salt he wants in his food. The word *namak* / *nimak* is Persian: Steingass 1426b "نامك *namak*, *nimak*, salt".
- nml يقولون في سبّهم الفظيخ نمّلت استه او نمّل *nammilat istu* (92a) نمّلت استه "may his ass tingle". HB 886b "*nammil* 1. to cause to tingle or have pins and needles 2. to tingle, have pins and needles".
- nmm ويقولون فلان نمام على الريحان وهو صحيح وكثير النّمّ *nammām* (107a) نمام

## Glossary

- تزيين الكلام بالكذب “scandal-monger; basil”. HB 887a “*nammām* scandal-monger”. BW IV 482b “*nīmīma* Klatsch, Verleumdung [BAh: Ma, Gab]”. Al-Ḥafāḡī 232 “نمام معروف وأهل مصر تسمى الريحان الدقيق”. Dozy II 732b “نمام menthe, serpolet”; “نمام n. d’act. نمام dans le sens de *calomnier*”. The meaning of the expression نمام على الريحان is: “so-and-so is more of a scandal-monger (*nammām*) than basil (*nammām*)” (with a pun on the two different meanings of the word). In modern Egyptian Arabic, the comparative can be formed with ‘an instead of elative + *min*, see Woidich (2006) p. 150.
- nny يقولون علي انسان العين نبي ولم يعلم (119b) *ninnī* “pupil of the eye”. See HB 887b. Dozy II 735b “ننى (esp. niḥa), العين, prunelle”.
- nhq ويقولون كغيرهم في الفرس حيوان صاهل وفي الحمار حيوان (81b) *nāhiq* “braying (donkey)”. HB 888b “*nahha*’ to bray (of a donkey)”.
- nhm يقولون ما لي نهمة للشبي وهو صحيح قال النهمة بلوغ الهمة (107a) *nahma* “energy, strength”. See Spiro 616a.
- nwt يقولون النواتية وانما قال النواتي الملاحون (131a) *nawātiyya* “sailors”. Spiro 616b “*nūty* sailor, pl. *nutyja*”. Dozy II 741b “نوتى dans le Voc. sorte de câble dont on se sert sur les navires pour punir les matelots”. From the Greek ναυτης “sailor”, see Vollers (1897) p. 304; he also mentions the pl. *nawātiyya*. *nawātiyya* is a double plural: *nawātī* plus the plural ending -*iyya*.
- nwm يقولون فلان تنوم اذا احتلم وبنى له منامة (107a) *tanawwim* “to attain puberty”. When a boy attains puberty, he builds a place to sleep, i.e. he does not sleep with the women anymore. Hava 809b “تنوم to attain puberty”. يقولون فلان تنوم اذا احتلم وبنى له منامة وكل صحيح (107a) *manāma* “sleeping place”. HB 893a “*manāma* grave”. BW IV 485a “unterer Teil des Dreschschlittensitzes [OÄ 4: Silwa]; gemauerter Schlafplatz auf dem Vorratsturm [B’ēri]”. Hava 810a “منام ومنامة” dormitory, sleeping-place”. يقولون فلان كثير النيام اي النوم وهو صحيح ايضا مثل الصوم (107a) *niyām*

## Glossary

- والصيام “to sleep (*maṣdar*)”. Mentioned in Hava 809b as one of the *masdars* of *nām*. It is the same pair as صوم – صيام “to fast”.
- nyf ويقولون نَيْفٌ وعشرين قال النَيْفُ ككَيْسٍ وقد يخفف الزيادة *nayyif* (35a) نَيْفٌ “more than”. Hava 808b “عشرة ونَيْفٌ *nayyif* excess, redundance”; “عشرة ونَيْفٌ ten and more”.
- nyk ويقولون النَّيْكَ للجماع وهو عربي ورد في الفصحح *nyk* (62b) نَيْكٌ “to fuck (*maṣdar*)”. HB 894b “*nāk* [coarse] to fuck”.
- nyy نِيّ يقولون الطعام نِيّ غير مستو *nayy* (131b) نِيّ “raw”. See HB 895a. Its origin is نِيّ, see *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* 52c.

## h

- hāhā يقولون في الاستعجال هاها *hāhā* (10b) هاها “hurry up!”. Lane VIII 2873a  
هَيّ هَيّ he called the camels to food, or provender, by the cry هَيّ هَيّ, or he chid them”.
- hbl يقولون فلان مهبول او هبيل يريدون انه خفيف العقل وليس في *habīl* (94a) هبيل “stupid”. See HB 898a.  
مهبول (94a) *mahbūl* “simpleton”. HB 898a “*mahbūl* crazy”. Spiro 621b  
“*mahbūl* silly, foolish”.
- hbw يقولون هَبُو النار وله اصل *habw* (132a) هَبُو “blasts (of fire)”. See HB 898b.
- htf يقولون سمع الهاتف يقول يطلقونه على من يسمع ولا يرى *hātif* (35b) هاتف  
“the voice of an unseen man”. See Hava 814b, and HB 899b.
- hġl يقولون فلان مهجّل اذا كان لا يقوم لنفسه تنظيفا *muḥaggal* (91b; 95a) مهجّل  
“dirty, shabby person”; “كسوة؛ ويقولون فلان مهجّل اذا كان لا يعتني بلبس نظيف ونحوه  
Hava 817a “هَجَّل to impair (the reputation of)”;  
817b “هَجُول shameless woman”; “هَوَجَل slow; sluggish; stupid”. Lane  
VIII 3041c (Suppl.) “هَجُول a fornicatress, or an adulteress”.
- hġm يقولون فلان يهاجم اي يغالط *yihāġim* (108a) يهاجم “to deceive with false  
arguments”. HB 901a “*hāġim* to attack, assault”. Spiro 623a

## Glossary

- mentions only forms I and V, with the meaning “to attack”. يغالط  
now has the meaning of “to cheat, deceive (s.o. over a bill or the  
like)” (see HB 628a), while Dozy II 221b gives for يغالط the  
translation “combattre quelqu’un par des sophisms”.
- hġn يقولون على الجمل هجين مع ان الهجين انما هو في الخيل (120a) *haġīn* هجين  
“hybrid (camel), with a father of good stock and a mother of bad stock”. HB 901a “*haġīn* 1.  
hybrid (particularly with a father of good stock and a mother of  
poor stock) 2. racing camel(s), dromedaries”.
- hdrm ويقولون فلان يهدرم الكلام وله اصل قال الهذرمه سرعة (108a) *yihadrim* يهدرم  
“to speak quickly”. Hava 822b “هذَرَمَ to speak, to read  
quickly”.
- hdl ويقولون ضربه بالسيف هدل كتفه مثلا ويمكن ان تكون له (94a) *hədāl* هدل  
“to cut down”. HB 902a “هدال من هدلة بهدله هدلا ارسله الي اسفل وارخاه  
*hadal* “to cut or chop down”.
- hdy يقولون فلان هذا من الهذيان وله اصل قال هذي يهذي هذيا (132b) *hadā* هذا  
“to talk deliriously”. HB 907a “وهذيانا تكلم بغير معقول لمرض او غيره  
“*haza* هذى, talk deliriously. vn *hazayān*”.
- هذيان (132b) *haḏayān* “to talk deliriously (*mašdar*)”. See هذا.
- hr’ هرى (10b) *harā* هراً وهو في شعر المتنبى هراً هراً  
“foul speech”. HB 905b “هراء *harā* (..) to feel agitated, fume”. Hava 823a “هراء indecent, foul  
speech”. Lane VIII 2889a “هراً الكلام he was very foul in his speech:  
or was very incorrect, or faulty, therein”.
- hrkn يقولون إتهركن على الشي الذي فني ولم تبق له قوة (120a) *itharkin* إتهركن  
“to be worn out”. See Spiro 625a. Dozy II p. 755b “هركيل *faible*, caduc,  
*debile*”.
- hrr يقولون هريت الثوب اي اذبه (132b) *harryt* هريت  
“I have worn out (clothes)”. HB 905b “هري *hara* 1. to cause to disintegrate”. Spiro  
625a “*hara* to wear out, use up”.
- hrm يقولون شيخ هرم والهرم اقصى الكبير (108a) *harəm* هرم  
“very old, decrepit”. HB 905a “*hirma* /fem adj/ old and seedy (of a woman)”. Hava 825b

## Glossary

“*haram* advanced age, decrepitude”.

- hrwl يقولون فلان يهرول في مشيته *yiharwil* (94a) “to walk fast”. See HB 905b.
- hff ويقولون هفّ على قلبي كذا او هف على خاطري يريدون بهف *haff* (35b) هفّ “to come to (one’s mind)”. HB 908a “*haff* 1. to blow past, pass quickly by 2. to appropriate quickly for oneself 3. to give a quick going-over to 4. to assail with”; “*nifs-(u) haffit-(u)* ... to have a sudden yen or a desire”.
- ويقولون هفّ طلع النهار يريدون سرعة الشئ وكنت افهم ان هفّ (35b) *huff* هفّ “sound expressing sound expressing brevity”. See HB 908a-b.
- hfhf ويقولون مهفف وهو صحيح قال جارية مهففة ومهففة (35b) *muhafhaf* مهفف “slender”. HB 908b “*hifhaf* thin and fine”.
- hfy ويقولون فلان هفيّه اي عاجز؛ يقولون فلان هفيّة اي (35a; 132b) *hafiyya* هفيّة “weak, coward”. HB 908b “*hafiyya* /masc and fem adj/ insignificant, light-weight (of people)”. Spiro 626b “*hafyja*, weak, feeble”.
- hky يقولون عمله كذا بالهكي يريدون بالهكي عدم (63a) *hikkī: bi-l-hikkī* هكيّ “without precision/with corruption?”. ‘Awwād incorrectly mentions هليّ. HB 909a “*hakk* to stagger from weakness”.
- hlf ويقولون فلان هلف اي جبان ويقع من اهل الارياف (35b) *hilf* هلف “coward” (rural). HB 909b “*halfūt* worthless”. Hava 833b “*hilf* hirsute, thick-bearded”. Two informants told me that it means “tall and strong, but with a weak personality”, like in *huwwa ṭawīl wi hilf*. Both classified *hilf* as *ša’bī*, ‘vulgar’.
- hll ويقولون الشهر استهل والشهر هل (94b) *hall* هل “to start (the new month)”. HB 910a “*hall* to appear, reach its season, start. *iš-šahr illi yhill* the coming month”.
- ويقولون الشهر استهل والشهر هل (94b) *istahall* هل “to begin (new month)”. See Wehr 1208a; HB 910a “to begin, start”.
- ويقولون فلان يهّلل يريدون انه له حظ فاذا نفوا ذلك قالوا قط ما (94b) *yihallil* يهّلل

## Glossary

- يقولون ويقع من الخاصّة الى هلم يعتقدون ان الى هلم معناه (108a) *halumma* "to be lucky". HB 910b "hallil 1. to say *la ilāha illa llāh* 2. to cheer". Spiro 626b "to hoot, vociferate". Dozy II 768a "faire des acclamations".
- hlm يقولون ويقع من الخاصّة الى هلم يعتقدون ان الى هلم معناه (108a) *halumma* "to be lucky". HB 910b "hallil 1. to say *la ilāha illa llāh* 2. to cheer". Spiro 626b "to hoot, vociferate". Dozy II 768a "faire des acclamations".  
 وهلم "now". Dozy II 770b "jusqu'à ce jour". HB 910b "*halumma* very abundant, very numerous". Hava 834a "هَلُمَّ come on, come to me"; "هَلُمَّ الشئى bring it here". Lane VIII p. 3044c (Suppl.) "هَلُمَّ come".
- ويقولون هَيْلَم او يهيلم اذا كان كثير التردد (108b) *hylim, yihylim* هَيْلَم، يهيلم  
*hillam* "to be hesitant/restless". Wehr 1210a هلم "hillam languid, listless, slack, limp".
- hlhl يقولون مُهَلَّهَل للثوب الغير المحكم وهو صحيح قال (95a) *muhalhal* مُهَلَّهَل  
 "thinly (badly?) woven". HB 910b هَلَّهَل بالفتح الثوب السخيف النسج  
 "halhil to make tattered, wear out". Hava 832b هَلَّهَل to weave (a stuff) thin".
- hml يقولون همالي اي كبير والهَمائل اشارة الى سواقي وايبار ولم (95a) *hamāyil* همائل  
 "water wheels". BW p. IV 492a "*hammāla* ein von zwei Zugieren getriebenes Schöpfwerk" [WD en WD 4]. Does not mention the pl. Lane VIII p. 3045b (Suppl.) "هَمَل it (water) overflowed, and poured forth"; p. 3045c "هَمَالَة flowing abundantly with tears".  
 همالي (95a) *hamāyil* "big (as water wheels)". See
- hmm يقولون الليث الهمام بضم الهاء وهو صحيح قال الهمام (108b) *humām* همام  
 "Humām" (personal name). كغراب ما اذيب من السنم
- hmlhm يقولون همهم بشفتيه وهو صحيح (108b) *hamhim* همهم  
 "to mumble". See HB 913a.
- hmy يقولون على كيس هميان وله اصل (120a) *himyān* هميان  
 "purse, money-belt". Hava 837b هميان P purse of a girdle, waist-band, sash". Al-Ḥafāḡī  
 234 هميان: ما يشدّ به الوسط معرب وسموا به "Steingass 1512b "A *himyān* in P. *hamyān, hamayān*, a long purse or scrip, especially hung at the side; a girdle, belt; a money-belt".

## Glossary

- hnā            “here”. مفتوحات مشددات اذا اردت البعد *hənā*; *hāhənā* (132b) هنا وهاهنا  
 Nowadays *hina* يقولون هنا وهاهنا هذا في القرب وهنا وهاهنا وهناك وهاهناك  
 in Eg. Ar (see HB 913a); *hāhənā* is a classicism. Al-Mağribī does not  
 mention whether they said *huna* or *hina*.
- hndm        يقولون فلان له هندام وهو معرّب اندام؛ ويقولون *hindām* (108a; 108a) هندام  
 “the way هندام فلان وشكله وله اصل وهو اندام بالهمز فارسي فعرب  
 somebody looks, his shape”. Steingass 108a “*andām* the body; a  
 member, a limb; stature, figure, form (of the body)”. HB 914a  
 “*hindām* attire”. BW IV 492b *hindām* Aussehen” (from Eastern  
 Delta).  
 ويقولون لا سكة ولا هندام هو على طريق التشبيه ايضا *hindām* (60a) هندام \*  
 سكة. “picture”. بالدهرم المسكوك بخلاف الذي ما عليه سكة فانه عدم
- hnn            يقولون ويسمع من العرب اليسار خذ هنيك اي متاعك وله اصل *hənnī* (120a) هني  
 هُنَّ “stuff, things” (Arabs). Lane VIII p. 3045c (Suppl.) لان الهن الشي  
 and هُنَّ a thing; and a penis: and the vulva of a woman”. Dozy II  
 775a puts it under the root HNW: “هَنَّ et هُنَّةٌ chose en général, soit  
 mauvaise et honteuse, soit bonne et louable”. BW IV p. 493a “*ilhniyy*  
 und dergleichen, und so weiter; das Dings da; *ihniyyāt* pl. Dinger”.
- hnhn        يقولون ويسمع من النسا هُنْهني للطفل حتى ينام ولم يعلم *hanhin* (120a) هُنْهن  
 “to rock and sing a baby to sleep”. HB 914b “*hanhin* to rock and sing  
 (a baby) to sleep. - also *hannin*”. The variant *nannin* is also used  
 today. According to Youssef (2003) p. 37, *hanhin* is Coptic.
- hny            يقولون هُنَّاك الله وتقدم انه مهموز وان الصواب هُنَّاك الله *hannāk* (11a) هُنَّاك  
 “may (God) grant you good health”.  
 HB 915a “*hanna* 1. to make happy 1b. to grant good health to (of  
 God)”.
- hh            يقولون هَه اذا كان احدهم تعبوا واستراح من حمل شي اذا وضعه *hah* (122b) هَه  
 “expression of relief”.
- hwl            يقولون ويسمع من النسا هَآيل مليح هَآيل *hāyil* (95a) هَآئل  
 “*hāyil* wonderful, marvellous”. Dozy II 770b “étonnant, étrange,  
 extraordinare; beau, magnifique”. Originally it meant “dreadful”,  
 but acquired a positive meaning (like *fazī* “terrible”; “terrific” in  
 modern Egyptian).



## Glossary

- hwn هَوْنٌ يقولون ذُقّه في الهَوْنِ (120a) *hwn* "mortar". HB 917b "hōn mortar".  
 فقولهم هَوْنٌ محذوف الألف تخفيفا بكثرة الاستعمال وهو *hwn* (120b) هون \*  
 "here". Still in use in the dialects of the Levant. Frayha p. 191a "هُون، هَوْنِي: هُنَا". Is still used in Egypt in the oases. BW IV 494b "*hawn hier: min hawn hier lang*".
- hwy مهوي يقولون فلان مهوي اي قليل العقل (131a) *mahwī* "feeble-minded".  
 Spiro 630b "*mahwy insane*".
- hyṭl ويقولون طعام الهيطلية ولم تعلم ... فلم تعلم للهيطلية (94a) *hyṭaliyya* هيطلية  
 مناسبة لغوية وقد ظهر لي شي في المناسبة وذلك ان الهيطلية قدر معروف من  
 "dish صفر معربة باتيلة فيمكن انها نسبت الى الهيطلية بان كانوا يطبخونها فيها  
 of wheat starch and milk". Davies (1981) p. 486: "HYṬLY:H - 'a dish made of wheat starch and milk; it is extremely delicious to eat and lighter than rice pudding, especially if honey is added to it'". Cf. Kahlé (31 [20b]) "I will not fight a jihad, you hero, except against الهيطلية والعسل \* ماجاهد الا يا بطل  
 and honey!"; al-Mağribī (94) also mentions the word, with a suggested etymology from Persian *patila* "a well-known vessel of brass" (Steingass: "cauldron, kettle, pot (of copper or brass)"). A recipe is given in Khawam p.170."
- hyf ويقولون هاف الزرع اذا ضعف (36a) *hāf* "to become weak (crops)". HB 920a "*hāf* 1. to be petty, be trivial 2. to be unable to get one's share".  
 BW IV 495b "*hāf minnu zẓarf* der Schuß ging ihm daneben"; "*hayyafat* die Palme wurde ein Jahr lang nicht bestäubt"; "*ilbagara bithayyif* die Kuh bullt nicht". Dozy II 783a "هيف I, en parlant des grains, des legumes, être frappé, torréfié par un vent brûlant, Maml. II, 2, 279".  
 ويقولون ااعدوا في الهَيْف ما الهيف الهيف يريدون به الهوا والسعة (36a) هَيْف  
 "open air". Hava 844b "thirst; hot south-westerly wind".
- hyk ويقولون وهم الشوام هَيْك يريدون كذلك (63a) *hyk* "like this". Frayha 191b "هَيْك، هَيْكِي (...). هكذا". Barthélemy (1935) p. 879 mentions *hayk*, *hēk* and *hayke*, *hēke* "de cette manière, ainsi".
- hykl ويقولون هيكل للحرز وليس في اللغة الهيكل بمعنى الحرز (94b) *hykāl* هيكل  
 "sanctuary". HB 920b "*hēkal* sanctuary (of a church)". Al-Ḥafāğī 236  
 "هيكل في لغة العرب الفرس الطويل والبناء المشرف وبيت الاصنام ومعبد"

## Glossary

- ”النصاري”.
- hym يقولون فلان هائم في المحبة وهو صحيح (108b) *hā'im* هائم “distracted (by love)”. HB 920b “*hām* to be distracted (especially by thoughts of one’s beloved)”.
- hyn يقولون على هينتك وهذا هين وكل صحيح (120b) *hayyān* هين “easy”. See HB 917a and Spiro 620b.
- hyh يقولون هينه هينه هينه (120b) *hīna* “ease”. See Hava 841b.
- hyh يقولون هيه اذا تسمّعوا لمن يحكي وهو صحيح ورد في (51a; 122b) *hīhi* هيه الحديث الشريف والظاهر ان الها الاخيرة للسكت؛ يقولون في استماع الحديث “exclamation of encouragement when somebody is telling a story”. Hava 845b “*هيه هيه* get off! be gone! again, once more!” HB 920b “*hēh* /interj/ hurrah!”.
- W**
- wāh يقولون واه واه وهي لغوية قال واهاً له ويترك تنوينه كلمة (122b) *wāh wāh* واه واه “expression of pain”. HB 958b “*wahwah* to moan or groan with pain”; HB 921b “*wāwa* [children] hurt place”.
- wǧn يقولون وجنة وجنة المحبوب او وجناته وفيها لغات (119b) *waǧna* وجنة “cheek”. See HB 925a, and Dozy II 792a. Lane I 26b “أجنة the ball, or elevated part, of the cheek”, VIII p. 3049c “وجنة the ball, or elevated part, of the cheek”. See §6.2.3.1 for the disappearance of initial *hamza*.
- wḥl يقولون فلان وحلان في الشي (93a) *wahlān* وحلان “stuck (figuratively)”. See HB 928a.
- wḥm يقولون فلانة عندها وحم وهو صحيح (107b) *waḥam* وحم “craving (pregnant women)”. See HB 928b.
- wdk يقولون ودك هذا يريدون استعماله فيصير مودك اي مستعمل ولم (62b) *waddik* ودك “to use”. Spiro p. 636b “*waddik*, to instruct, train”. HB p. 930a “*waddik* 1. to season or condition (s.o.), cause (s.o.) to mature

## Glossary

2. to fire (pottery) in a kiln (of pottery)". Hava "to season (food) with grease". Dozy II 801a "ودك II stiler, former, dresser, habituer".
- wdn وِدْن (119b) *widn* تحريفا على الاذن وِدْن يقولون "ear". See HB 930a.
- wdn وِدْن (119b) *wadan* بودن لم اعلم لم تصف بودن يقولون فلان وِدْن ونعرف عمر وِدْن لم اعلم لم تصف بودن وِدْن تحريفا Meaning unclear.
- wrq ورق (56a) *waraq* وصالا الورق ان اردت وورق "coined silver". In HB and Spiro only with the meaning of "paper" and "document" etc. Lane VIII p. 3051c-3052a (Suppl.) "وَرَق silver, whether coined or not, or coined dirhems". Dozy II 805a "وَرَق، وَرَق، وَرَق، que Freytag n'a pas bien expliqué, signifie monnaies d'argent, par opposition aux monnaies d'or". In Amharic, the word ወርቅ *warq* means "gold", see Dillmann (1955) p. 898.
- wrk تَوْرَك (62b) *tawarrak* ونحوه اعترض عليه وتَوْرَك يقولون تَوْرَك فلان عليه في المسئلة اذا اعترض عليه ونحوه وتَوْرَك "to object, oppose". HB 934a "warrak [coarse] to become thick-thighed". Dozy II 797b "ورك II c. على se pencher, s'incliner, s'appuyer, se coucher sur".
- wrk وِرْك (62b) *wirk* الواو بكسر الواو ويقولون الوِرْك "thigh". HB 934a "wirk 1. thigh (of a rabbit or fowl) 2. [coarse] human thigh".
- wrl وِرْل (93a) *warall* كالضب دابة محرقة دابة كالضب وِرْل يقولون فلان مثل الورل قال الورل محرقة دابة كالضب وِرْل "lizard". Hava 865a "وَرْل skink, species of lizards"; "وَرْل نيلي crocodile". Dozy II 805b "الورل المائي le scinque"; p. 806a "وَرْن pour وِرْل lézard". Lane VIII 3052a "وَرْل: see ضَبب: there are two species: وِرْل البحر the وِرْل of the river; the monitor of the Nile; lacerta Nilotica; and وِرْل الأرض the وِرْل of the land; the land monitor; lacerta scincus". The *šadda* on the *lām* is probably a mistake, because none of the sources describe the word with a double *lām*.
- wry وِرْي (10b) *warā* في الهمز لا في وِرْي يقولون وِرْي وهو صواب الا انه هنا اي يذكر في الهمز لا في وِرْي "behind". See HB 934b.
- wry وِرْي (132a) *warryt* له وِرْي يقولون وِرْي فلانا كذا يريدون اطلعته عليه اي اريته له وِرْي showed". See HB 934b.
- wzn وِزْن (119b) *wāzin* وازن وهو صحيح قال انه قال انه لحسن الوزنة وِزْن وازن

## Glossary

- بالكسر اي الوزن “a coin with the right weight”. Hava 867b “having full weight (money)”. Spiro 640a “*wāzin* or *mawzūn* drunk”.
- يقولون فلان لا يقام له وزن وما اقام له وزن *wazn: lā yuqām luh wazn* (120a) وزن  
 “worthless”. HB 936a “*rāgil ma-lū-š wazn* a man of no consequence”.
- wšl يقولون الوشل وعليه: وانت يكفيك منه مصّة الوشل (93a) *wašal* وشل  
 trickling from a mountain”. See Hava 872a, and Lane VIII 3054a (Suppl.). Classicism.
- wšm يقولون وشام قال الوشم كالوعد ضرب الابرّة في البدن (107b) *wašām* وشام  
 “tattoos”. HB 941a “*wašm* tattoo(s)”. Hava 872a “وَشَم ج وَشَام وَوُشُوم  
 tattooing”.
- wšf يقولون للخادم وصيف وللانثى وصيفة (35a) *wašif(-a)* وصيفة / وصيفة  
 “servant”. HB 941b “*wašifa* [obsol] lady-in-waiting”.
- wṭf ويقولون وتقع من الفلاحين يا وَطْفَه فيجعلون وطفه اسما وقد (35a) *watfa* وَطْفَه  
 يظهر له معنى لان الوطف محرّكة كثرة شعر الحاجبين والعينين وانهمار المطر  
 والمذكر منه اوظف والمونث وطفًا فغاياته انهم انثوه بالتا وعيش اوظف رخي  
 “having bushy eyebrows (used as insult to a woman)” (rural). Hava  
 878b *وَطْفَاءُ أَوْطَفُ* having thick eyebrows”.
- w'k فلان توَعَك اي مرض (63a) *tawa'ak* توَعَك  
 “to fall ill”. HB 948a “*itwa'ak* = *itwa'ak*”; “*itwa'ak* to become slightly ill, become indisposed”.
- wğl يقولون ويسمع من الخواص في شتمهم يا وغل (93b) *wağl* وغل  
 “parasite”. See Hava 882b.
- wqy يقولون وزن وقّيه وانما هي اوقية بالضم وهي سبعة مثاقيل (132a) *waqiyya* وقّيه  
 “unit of weight” كالأوقية بالضم وفتح المشناة التحتيّة مشددة جمعها اواقى واواق  
 HB 953b “*wi'iyya* ounce, unit of weight equal to 37 grams”.
- wky يقولون فلان راح الوكة اي الوكا وهو ككسا رباط (132a) *wikih: rāḥ al-wikih* وكه  
 “he became weak (lit. started using a walking stick?)”. Hava 892a “وِكَاءٌ  
 leather-strap of a skin”. Lane VIII 3059c (Suppl.) “وِكَاءٌ a tie”. Dozy II 844a  
 “وِكَاءٌ *bâton*”.
- وقيل معناه انه يسكت فلا يتكلم كانه يوكي فمه (132a) *iwki halqak* اوك حلقك

## Glossary

- "shut up" (lit. "tie up your mouth").  
 Hava 892a "أوكى حلقته" he became silent".
- wlm يقولون وليمة واولم فعل الوليمة (107b) اولم  
 Hava 894a.  
 وليمة (107b) *walīma* "banquet". See Hava 894a.
- wlwl يقولون المرأة تولول وهو صحيح (93b) تولول  
 956b.
- wmy ومأً يقولون فلان أومي لفلان (3b) 'awmā أومي  
 IV to motion, sign" etc. Spiro 652a "wama, supposition, conjecture,  
 sign, hint, wink." The fact that al-Mağribī wrote it with a *yā'*  
 indicates that it was pronounced without the final *hamza*,  
 otherwise he would have written it with an *alif*.
- whl يقولون من اول وهلة (93b) *min awwil wahla* من اول وهلة  
 moment". See HB 958b and Hava 898a.
- whm يقولون فلان موهوم وهو صحيح (107b) *mawhūm* موهوم  
 958b.
- wy يقولون ويسمع من العبيد وَيْ كلمة توجع عندهم وهي في العربية (132a) وَيْ  
 "ai! Exclamation of pain" (slaves). Hava 899a "وَيْْ interj.  
 Expressive 1. of admiration with ب or ل 2. of sorrow with على".
- wyl يقولون ويل لفلان وهو تفجيع يقال ويله وويلك وويلي (93b) *wyl + li* or suffix  
 وفي الندية ويلاه وويل كلمة عذاب  
 HB 959a "wēl agony (..) ya-  
 wēl... woe is...".
- wym يقولون موايمة اي الشغل باليوم والصحيح موايمة (108b) *muwāyima*  
 labour". HB 959b "miwayma approximation"; p. 966b "miyawma  
 work on a daily basis". In *muwāyima* there is metathesis of the *wāw*  
 and *yā'*, see §6.2.7.
- wyn يقولون ويسمع من العرب والمغاربة وَيْن هو اي اين هو وهي (120a) وَيْن  
 "where" (Arabs; North-Africans).  
 According to BW IV 510b, this is used in Egypt by the Awlād 'Ali and  
 in Upper Egypt. Its use is also attested in modern Moroccan, see  
 Harrell-Sobelman (2004) p. 204b: "wayn (not common Moroccan)  
 same as fayn", as well as in the Sudan, see Qāsim 852b.

## y

- yā ويقولون يا ما عمل فينا مثلا ولعل الاصل يا ما اكثر ما عمل (10b) *yāmā* يا ما  
تعجباً “how often”. See HB 960b.
- yāh يقولون يَا يَا والذي في القاموس يَهِيَّةً بالابل قال لها ياه ياه (123a) *yāh yāh* يَا يَا  
“exclamation made to encourage the camels?”. HB 960a “*yāh*  
/interj/ exclamation of surprise”. Al-Mağribī does not specify its  
use.
- ysmn ياسمين ويقولون ياسمين *yāsmīn* (108b) ياسمين “jasmine”. See HB 963a. Al-Ḥafāğī  
244 “ياسمين وياسمون وان شئت أعربته على نون قال الاصمعي فارسي “  
”معرب”.
- ykāh واما يك... فهي فارسية بمعنى الواحد... وهو المستعمل في (63a) *yakāh* يگاه  
اول الانغام يگاه اي الراسـت والثاني دوگاه والثالث سگاه چاركاه وهو  
“the first note, C”. HB 963b “*yakk* <P *yakk*> one (in dice)”. HB 963b “*yakāh* <T *yegāh* from P>  
[mus] 1. name given to the note G below middle C. 2. mode in  
Arabic music beginning on bottom G and having B flat and E flat”.  
The word is Persian, a combination of يك *yak* “one” and گاه *gāh*  
“time, place”. See Steingass 1532 and 1074.

## List of Quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*

As previously mentioned (see §3.3.2), *Daf al-iṣr* contains many quotations from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*. In fact, there are virtually no entries that are not supported with a quotation. The number of quotations is around 1430, an average of almost 11 per folio. In this edition of the text, I have indicated a quotation from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* by putting the quoted text between angle brackets: < >. Since mentioning the differences between the quoted text and that found in *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ* would result in a large number of endnotes, I have instead chosen to present the quotations which differ from *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*'s text in this index.

Only instances in which the wording is essentially different are mentioned. Cases in which al-Mağribī only rearranged the word order are omitted, e.g. *Daf al-Iṣr* 83b العراقيل صعاب الأمور is a rearrangement of the wording of *al-Qāmūs al-Muḥīṭ*: العراقيل: الدواهي، و~ من الأمور: صعابها which does not change the essence of the text. When there is a substantial difference, for instance different wording is used by al-Mağribī, this is specifically indicated in the following way: QM (page number), ... > ..., for instance QM 796a,<sup>521</sup> ذاقه > داقه means that *Daf al-iṣr* has داقه and *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* has ذاقه. When it says e.g. QM 797c - قوله تعالى , this means that قوله تعالى is not mentioned in *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ*.

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<sup>521</sup> The page number refers to the edition of Dār al-Fikr li-l-Ṭibā'a wa al-Naṣr wa al-Tawzī (al-Qāhira), 1420/1999.

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### List of frequently used abbreviations

- Concordance Wensinck, A.J. and J.P. Mensing, *Concordance de la Tradition musulmane: les six livres, le Musnad d'al-Dārimī, le Muwatta' de Mālik, le Musnad de Ahmad ibn Hanbal*. 8 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1936-1988.
- EI<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam, new edition*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960-2002
- EI<sup>3</sup> *Encyclopaedia of Islam, 3rd edition*. www.brillonline.nl
- EQ *Encyclopaedia of the Qur'ān*. Leiden: Brill, 2001- .
- GAL Brockelmann, Carl, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. 2 vols, 2nd ed., Leiden 1943-1949 + 3 vols Supplement, Leiden 1937-1942.
- GAS Sezgin, Fuat, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*. 12 vols. + indices. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1967-2000.
- HB Hinds, Martin and El-Said Badawi, *A Dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Arabic-English*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1986.
- JAL *Journal of Arabic Literature*
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*
- JSAI *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*
- LTK *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche, 2nd ed*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1930-1938.
- Mu'ğam Muşţafā, Ibrahim (ed.) et al., *Al-Mu'ğam al-wasīţ*. Al-Qāhira: Mağma' al-luğa al-'arabīya, 1380-1/1960-1 (2 vols.)
- QM Mağd al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb al-Fayrūz'ābādī, *Al-Qāmūs al-muḥīţ. ṭab'a ġadīda wa-muwattaqa wa-muṣaḥḥaḥa*. Al-Qāhira: Dār al-Fikr li-ṭṭibā'a wa-l-naşr wa-ttawzī', 1420/1999.
- WKAS Kraemer, Jörg (ed.), et al., *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1957- .
- ZAL *Zeitschrift für arabische Linguistik*
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

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## Samenvatting

Deze studie heeft als onderwerp het boek *Daf al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr*, “het verwijderen van de last van de spraak der Egyptenaren”, van de Egyptische auteur Yūsuf al-Mağribī. Dit boek werd geschreven in 1606. In hoofdstuk 1 worden al-Mağribī’s achtergrond, opleiding, carrière en persoonlijke leven beschreven. Hij werd geboren in de jaren '60 van de zestiende eeuw. Zijn familie was van Noord-Afrikaanse afkomst en woonde in de Ibn Ṭūlūn-wijk, die populair was onder Noord-Afrikaanse emigranten. Al-Mağribī kwam uit een familie van handwerklieden, maar wist zich door zelfstudie en het volgen van lessen aan de Azhar op te werken tot geleerde. Hij kende Perzisch en Turks en vertaalde naar eigen zeggen enkele werken van deze talen naar het Arabisch. Er zijn slechts drie werken van al-Mağribī bewaard gebleven:

- *Tahmīs Lāmīyat ibn al-Wardī*, een bewerking van de *Lāmīyat al-iḥwān wa muršīdat al-ḥillān*, een religieus gedicht van Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar b. al-Muẓaffar b. al-Wardī (1290–1349);
- *Buġyat al-arīb wa ġunyāt al-adīb*, een werk over uiteenlopende onderwerpen, bedoeld als hulp bij het componeren van poëzie;
- *Daf al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr*, een woordenboek van Egyptisch-Arabisch woorden en uitdrukkingen.

In hoofdstuk 2 wordt een beschrijving gegeven van het enige bewaard gebleven manuscript van *Daf al-iṣr*, dat zich bevindt in de bibliotheek van de Universiteit van St. Petersburg (MS OA 778). Het manuscript in zijn huidige staat is slechts de helft van het oorspronkelijke manuscript; de andere helft is in de loop der eeuwen zoek geraakt. Het manuscript werd in de 19<sup>e</sup> eeuw naar Rusland meegenomen door de Egyptische geleerde Muḥammad ‘Ayyād al-Ṭanṭāwī (1810–1861), hoogleraar Arabisch aan de Universiteit van St. Petersburg, die zijn manuscriptencollectie naliet aan de universiteit. De oorspronkelijke titel van het boek was *al-Faḍl al-‘āmm wa-qāmūs al-‘awāmm*, “Het algemeen nut en het woordenboek van het volk”, maar deze werd in de loop van het schrijfproces veranderd in *Daf al-iṣr ‘an kalām ahl Miṣr*.

Hoofdstuk 3 beschrijft al-Mağribī’s redenen voor het schrijven van *Daf al-iṣr*: het verdedigen van het Egyptische dialect tegenover taalpuristen en het bestuderen van het beroemde woordenboek *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* van al-Fīrūzābādī (1329–1415). Hierbij werd al-Mağribī beïnvloed door het *Lahn al-‘awāmm* (“taalfouten van het volk”) genre. *Daf al-iṣr* was op zijn beurt weer de inspiratie voor Ibn Abī al-Surūr’s (±1589–1653?) *al-Qawl al-muqtaḍab fīmā wāfaqa luġat ahl Miṣr min luġāt al-‘arab* “De verkorte spraak betreffende dat wat overeenkomt in de taal

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van de Egyptenaren met de taal van de Arabieren”. Ibn Abī al-Surūr liet alle lemmata weg die geen Klassiek-Arabisch wortel hadden, wat zijn werk aanzienlijk minder waardevol maakt voor de bestudering van het Egyptische dialect. In 1968 werd *Daf al-iṣr* gepubliceerd als facsimile-editie met een inleiding en indices van de hand van ‘Abd al-Salām Aḥmad ‘Awwād, maar een editie van het manuscript was nog niet eerder verschenen.

Hoofdstuk 4 beschrijft de poëzie in *Daf al-iṣr*. Er zijn een groot aantal *mawāwīl* van de hand van Yūsuf al-Mağribī. Een *mawwāl* is een niet-klassieke versvorm bestaande uit vier regels, waarvan de laatste regel steeds eindigt met hetzelfde woord, dat echter iedere keer een andere betekenis heeft. Er zijn ook een aantal gedichtjes naar aanleiding van een *taṭlīl*, een woord dat met *a*, *i* of *u* gelezen kan worden. Verder is er een groot aantal versregels van bekende dichters zoals al-Mutanabbī, die geciteerd werden om het gebruik van een bepaald woord te demonstreren.

Hoofdstuk 5 geeft een overzicht van de vele aspecten van het dagelijks leven die in *Daf al-iṣr* aan bod komen. Er zijn vele lemmata die betrekking hebben op eten en drinken, drugs en tabak, medicijnen, spelletjes, kleding en juwelen en huishoudelijke artikelen. Vooral de informatie die al-Mağribī geeft over tabak is zeer interessant, aangezien tabak in 1604, slechts twee jaar voor het schrijven van *Daf al-iṣr*, voor het eerst werd ingevoerd in Egypte.

Hoofdstuk 6 bespreekt de verschillende taalkundige aspecten van het Egyptisch-Arabisch aan het begin van de zeventiende eeuw. Gezien zijn achtergrond, kunnen wij ervan uitgaan dat al-Mağribī de volkstaal van het Cairo van toen weergeeft. Het eerste aspect dat besproken wordt, is de orthografie die gehanteerd wordt door al-Mağribī. Deze wijkt in verschillende punten af van de gebruikelijke orthografie van het Klassiek Arabisch. Vooral de schrijfwijze van de *hamza* is sterk afwijkend en vrij willekeurig. De paragraaf over de fonologie toont aan dat de *q* en *ğ* hoogst waarschijnlijk uitgesproken werden als /*ʔ*/ en /*g*/ in Cairo, een onderwerp dat al lange tijd een punt van discussie is onder de specialisten. De inderdentalen waren in die tijd al verdwenen uit het dialect van Cairo. Andere interessante aspecten zijn emfase, metathese, de verkorting van lange klinkers en pausaal-*imāla*. In de paragraaf over morfologie wordt aangetoond dat de klinker van het prefix van het imperfectum *i* was en dat het prefix van stam V, VI en de vierradikalige werkwoorden *it-* was, zoals tegenwoordig. Ook de distributie van de klinkers binnen de tweede en vijfde stam en de vierradikalige werkwoorden was gelijk aan de huidige situatie. De demonstrativa waren *da*, *di* en *dwləh*, maar er was ook een demonstrativum *dillā*, dat in *Daf al-iṣr* alleen voorkomt in combinatie met *mā* (*mā dillā*) en kennelijk vrij snel daarna in onbruik raakte. Wat betreft de



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vraagwoorden is *anā* “welk” interessant, omdat het een voorloper is van het moderne *āni*. De informatie over de syntaxis is spaarzaam, aangezien de voorbeeldzinnen in *Daf al-iṣr* altijd kort zijn en veel invloeden van het Klassiek Arabisch bevatten. Toch kunnen er een aantal conclusies worden getrokken. Wensen werden uitgedrukt door perfectum + onderwerp (= verbum + subject zoals in Klassiek Arabisch) of door onderwerp + imperfectum (= subject + verbum zoals in modern Egyptisch-Arabisch). Het partikel *dann* werd gebruikt om continuïteit uit te drukken, evenals het participium *ʿāʾid* (letterlijk “zittend”). Al-Mağribī vermeldt dat in het Jemenitisch het woord *šā*, oorspronkelijk een perfectum met de betekenis “willen”, de functie van prefix voor het futurum had gekregen, zoals het nu nog steeds gebruikt wordt in Jemen. In de paragraaf over het vocabulair wordt aandacht besteed aan de woorden en uitdrukkingen die kenmerkend waren voor verschillende klassen, zoals handwerklieden, vrouwen en kinderen, en sprekers van andere Arabische dialecten. Er wordt beargumenteerd dat 64% van de in *Daf al-iṣr* genoemde lemmata nog steeds in het hedendaagse Egyptisch-Arabisch gebruikt worden. Andere woorden komen tegenwoordig alleen nog in het Modern Standaard Arabisch voor (21%), waren nog in gebruik in de 19<sup>e</sup>/begin 20<sup>e</sup> eeuw maar zijn sindsdien in onbruik geraakt (3%), kunnen nog wel in andere Arabische dialecten worden gevonden, maar niet in het Egyptisch (2%), zijn alleen maar te vinden in Dozy’s woordenboek, dat ook Middel-Arabisch bevat (3%), of komen tegenwoordig alleen nog maar in Perzisch of Turks voor (1%). 6% van de in *Daf al-iṣr* genoemde woorden werden in geen enkel naslagwerk teruggevonden. Tenslotte worden enkele voorbeelden genoemd van de semantische veranderingen die in sommige gevallen hebben plaatsgevonden.

Wat *Daf al-iṣr* zo interessant maakt, is dat het een van de weinige bronnen voor het Egyptisch-Arabisch uit deze periode is. Twee andere bronnen zijn *Nuzhat al-nufūs wa-muḍḥik al-ʿabūs* van ʿAlī Ibn Sūdūn al-Bašbūḡānī (1407-1464), beschreven door Arnoud Vrolijk, en *Hazz al-quḥūf bi-šarḥ qaṣīd ʿAbī Šādūf* (geschreven in 1686) van Yūsuf al-Širbīnī (17<sup>e</sup> eeuw), beschreven door Humphrey Davies. *Daf al-iṣr* vult de lacune van meer dan twee eeuwen tussen deze twee werken en is daarom een zeer belangrijke bron voor het Egyptisch-Arabisch in de Ottomaanse periode. Wat *Daf al-iṣr* echter werkelijk uniek maakt, is het feit dat het de eerste poging was om het Egyptische dialect op een serieuze, wetenschappelijke manier te bestuderen, in plaats van het belachelijk te maken of te bekritisieren.



## Curriculum Vitae

Liesbeth Zack (born in Hoorn, the Netherlands, 1974) received her Gymnasium diploma from the Werenfridus Scholengemeenschap in Hoorn in 1993. Between 1993 and 1998, she studied Arabic Language and Culture at the University of Amsterdam. In 1997, she moved to Egypt where she worked on her Master's thesis. In 1998, she obtained her Master's Degree in Arabic linguistics cum laude, and from October that year worked as Assistant Librarian at the Netherlands-Flemish Institute in Cairo (NVIC). From 1999, she also worked as a teacher of Arabic at the same institute, teaching Egyptian Arabic, Dialectology, and Sociolinguistics to students of Arabic from Dutch and Flemish universities, as well as courses of Arabic grammar and conversation to Dutch residents of Cairo. Since 2006, she has been working as a lecturer in Arabic at the University of Amsterdam, where she teaches both Egyptian and Modern Standard Arabic. She has been carrying out the research which resulted in this dissertation since 1999. Liesbeth is married to Rami Mardiros.